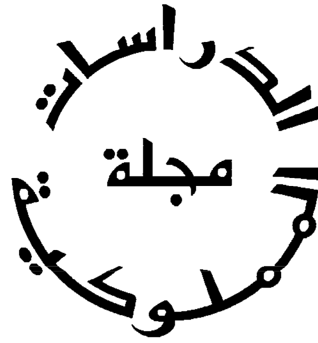
MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW

III



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Middle East Documentation Center (MEDOC)
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MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW

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Mamlūk Studies Review is an annual refereed journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648-922/1250-1517). The goals of *Mamlūk Studies Review* are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, nurture communication within the field, and promote further research by encouraging the critical discussion of all aspects of this important medieval Islamic polity. The journal will include both articles and reviews of recent books. Submissions of original work on any aspect of the field are welcome, although the editorial board will periodically issue volumes devoted to specific topics and themes. *Mamlūk Studies Review* also solicits edited texts and translations of shorter Arabic source materials (*waqf* deeds, letters, *fatāwá* and the like), and encourages discussions of Mamluk era artifacts (pottery, coins, etc.) that place these resources in wider contexts. Transliterated Middle Eastern languages should conform to the system utilized by the Library of Congress. All questions regarding style should be resolved through reference to *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th edition. All submissions should be typed double-spaced. Submissions must be made on labeled computer disk together with a printed copy.

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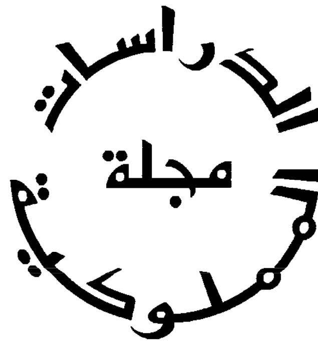
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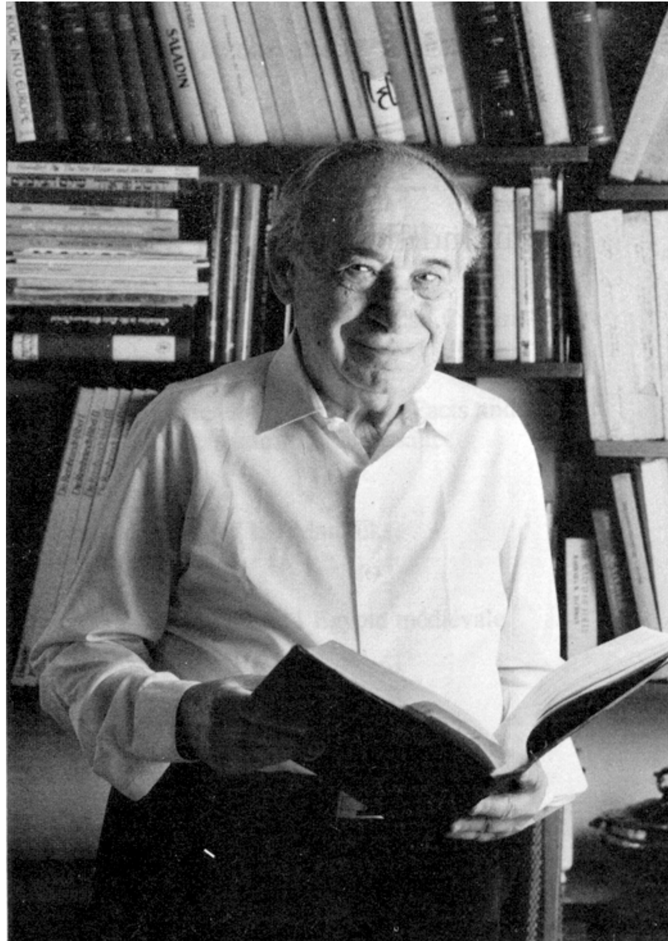


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David Ayalon, 1914-1998

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David Ayalon, 1914-1998

On 25 June 1998 Professor David Ayalon, emeritus professor of Islamic history at the Hebrew University, passed away in Jerusalem, after a long illness. David Ayalon is best known for his seminal studies on the nature of military slavery in the medieval Islamic world and the history of the Mamluk Sultanate. At the same time his interests and studies ranged from the beginnings of Islam up to the modern, even contemporary, history of the Middle East. He was also celebrated as a lexicographer: his *Arabic-Hebrew Dictionary of Modern Arabic*, compiled with his friend and colleague Pessah Shinar in 1947, has continued in print for over 50 years and remains a mainstay for the study of Arabic in Israel.

Born David Neustadt in Haifa in 1914, Ayalon (who changed his surname in the late 1940s) spent his childhood in Zikhron Ya'akov and Rosh Pinah. It was in the latter town that he came into extensive contact with local Arab children and his first exposure to the Arabic language. Upon completing his secondary education in Haifa, Ayalon arrived in Jerusalem in 1933 to study at the recently founded Hebrew University. His chosen subjects were Arabic language and literature, Islamic culture, and Jewish history, and he was the first locally-born student in the newly-formed Institute of Oriental Studies (today the Institute of Asian and African Studies). As part of his studies, and encouraged by Prof. S. D. Goitein, Ayalon went off to spend a year at the American University of Beirut. His experiences there became the basis of his first article, ″Some Characteristics of Educated Arab Youth,″ published in Hebrew in *ha-Po'el ha-Tsa'ir* in 1935; in it Ayalon gave a prominent place to the impression made by European fascism on his Lebanese classmates.

Returning to Jerusalem, Ayalon appears to have devoted himself to the Jewish aspect of the medieval Islamic world. In the late 1930s he published in Hebrew two pieces of research in *Zion*: ″Notes on the Economic History of the Jews and their Settlement in Egypt in the Middle Ages″ (1937) and ″On the Office of Nagid in the Middle Ages″ (1939). Subsequently, he turned towards Islamic history, and specifically the study of the Mamluk institution, primarily during the time of the Sultanate. Ayalon′s studies were disrupted by service in the British army during World War II, but at times during these years (1941-45), he was in circumstances which enabled him to return to his work, at least partially. His doctorate was

awarded in 1946. Ayalon had reminisced that relations with his supervisor, L. A. Mayer, were on occasion difficult, and at times even strained. There appears to have been fundamental disagreement on the nature of the Mamluk institution. We can be thankful that Ayalon persevered in his way of thinking.

Although he published his first scholarly work in English in 1946 (still under the name Neustadt), Ayalon's main concerns at this time were not academic. In the years just prior to Israel's independence he worked in the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, which in 1948 became the nucleus of the new Foreign Ministry, Ayalon becoming head of research in the Middle East section. It was around this time that he Hebraicized his surname.

In 1950, he was called back to the Hebrew University by Profs. Goitein and Baneth, and invited to establish a new department of Modern Middle Eastern History. The following year he was joined by the Turkologist Uriel Heyd, who had been serving in Israel's embassy in Washington. These two, together with Gabriel Baer who joined them somewhat later, were the pillars of the Department, today known as the Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies, throughout the 1950s and '60s. Particularly in the first decade, much of Ayalon's teaching load was devoted to modern history: he later joked that he taught the first course in the world on Middle East oil. Ayalon headed the Department until 1956, and from 1953-57 was chairman of the Institute of Asian and African Studies. During these years some of Ayalon's most important studies were published, most importantly, *L'esclavage du mamelouk* (1951), "Studies on the Structure of the Mamlūk Army" (1953-54) and *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamlūk Kingdom* (1956). He then commenced his researches on the later Egyptian historian al-Jabartī, and subsequently on his broader considerations of relations between the peoples of the Eurasian Steppe and the Islamic world. Around 1970, Ayalon embarked on a completely new area of research: the Mongol *Yāsa* (law) and its role in the Mamluk Sultanate. He launched an extensive discussion of the nature of the *Yāsa* and its place among the Mongols, which in many ways radically changed the way students of Mongol history view the *Yāsa*. Ayalon's main conclusion, however, was that the role of the *Yāsa* in the Sultanate was much more limited than had been previously thought by both Mamluk writers and many modern historians.

During the fifties and sixties, Ayalon maintained an avid interest in sports, serving for many years as the head of the committee for sports at the Hebrew University. He himself was a sprinter of no mean distinction and up to the mid-sixties was faculty champion at the University in short distant running. In 1966 he married Miriam Rosen, now professor of Islamic art and archeology at the Hebrew University.

In the 1960s and ´70s the Department of Modern Middle Eastern History expanded greatly (changing its name in the process). Many of Ayalon´s students from the fifties to seventies completed doctorates in Jerusalem and abroad, and went on to become the pillars of the various departments of Middle Eastern studies and Arabic language and literature in Israeli universities. Ayalon´s lectures and seminars had a profound effect on two generations of Israeli students of Islamic history, and not just those who wrote dissertations with him or specialized in medieval history. His influence went well beyond academia. It would be safe to say that hundreds of graduates who have served in public service, journalism and education in Israel saw him as their *ustādh*, and this sense of devotion was not limited only to Jewish Israelis.[1]

Ayalon´s works can be divided up into several broad categories. First are those studies dealing with the institutions of the Mamluk Sultanate, primarily military slavery and its interaction with the state. In an indirect way, Ayalon was writing the social history of the Mamluk elite. Many of these studies were of a highly technical nature, while others painted a broader canvas. Secondly, he devoted himself to the history of the development of military slavery in Islamic society, and the crucial role it played for some 1000 years. Related to this were his considerations on the encounter between the Muslim peoples and those of the Inner Asian steppe. This was expressed in a scheme of three stages: (1) Mamluks (from the ninth century onward); (2) Turkish tribes under the Seljuqs (from the eleventh century); and (3) the Mongols (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries). Ayalon was adamant in expressing his view that this centuries-long encounter provides the context, and at times the well-spring, for much of Islamic history and culture. A further area of his investigations was the *Yāsa*, of which mention has been made.

Ayalon´s basic method was shaped by his philological training and early work as a lexicographer. He placed great importance on the investigation of terminology as it was understood by contemporaries. His extensive reading in the sources enabled him to gather disparate evidence, discerning phenomena and patterns in the morass of details. His greatness as a scholar lay in his ability to see beyond the particulars, to which he paid a great deal of attention, and to look at the larger picture. This double nature of his scholarship is found in both his technical studies and his more interpretive essays. Without disparaging the need to look at the trees, Ayalon was also able to see the forest.

In recognition of the importance of his studies as well as his role as an educator, Ayalon was awarded in 1972 the Israel Prize, the highest civilian award

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[1]See Aḥmad Ghaban, ″Al-Mustashriq al-Kabīr Dāfīd Ayalūn,″ *Kull al-ʻArab* (Nazereth), 31 July 1998.

in the State of Israel. He retired in 1983 and some two years later was presented with a jubilee volume (*Studies in Islamic History and Civilization*, ed. Moshe Sharon) in honor of his seventieth birthday. He was a member of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, an honorary member of the Middle East Medievalists from its inception in 1990, and, in 1997, he was made an honorary foreign member of the American Historical Association.

During his retirement, Ayalon continued his research, which resulted in the writing of *Eunuchs, Caliphs and Sultans: A Study of Power Relationships* (which will shortly be published by Magnes Press). This book was the culmination of his concern, lasting over two decades, with eunuchs and their role in Mamluk military society and Islamic society as a whole, a preoccupation fueled by an on-going polemic with another scholar. This study shows the breadth and depth of his reading in the Arabic sources and the wide horizon of his historical gaze.

Ayalon at times could wage a polemic without restraint and did not always brook dissent from his views. But he was ever generous with his time with colleagues and young scholars, and forever loyal to, and solicitous of, his students and friends. He combined a superb knowledge of Arabic, historical insight, and great learning with wit and a down-to-earth demeanor. He will be greatly missed in the Israeli Arabist and historical community, and among a wide circle of scholars around the world.

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″Quis Custodiet Custodes?″ Revisited: The Prosecution of Crime in the Late Mamluk Sultanate*

In 1956, Ann Lambton published her now-classic article in *Studia Islamica*, with its subtitle ″Some Reflections on the Persian Theory of Government.″ [1]While Lambton was not concerned about issues of crime or disruption of public order per se, she confronted the endemic dilemma of accountability for protecting society from criminal acts or upholding public order. Lambton traced the evolution of royal authority in Iran from the post-conquest period to the establishment of the Pahlavi regime in 1925. Her commentary clearly focused on the medieval and early modern eras. The article became a reference standard because, beyond its path-breaking descriptive survey, it posed a question of profound relevance to the evolution of political practice in pre-modern Muslim societies. And in fact, this question is significant for any society that equates its moral integrity with the assurance of political stability: How is the conduct of those who bear responsibility for guaranteeing rule by law itself subjected to the dictates of that law? No temporal authority can force them to do so since nothing but God′s sanction stands over them.

This question is particularly applicable to the Mamluk Sultanate, which was paradoxical in its conception of public duty and obsession with conspiratorial politics. The Mamluk regime was acutely conscious of its obligation to defend the *sharīʻah* in the central Islamic lands. Yet simultaneously, the Sultanate indulged enthusiastically in factional disputes (what Michael Chamberlain has euphemistically described as ″positive *fitnah*″[2]) as the operative medium of its political agenda. Contemporary observers were keenly aware of the contradiction implicit in these divergent tendencies, especially since, in the Mamluk system, *fitnah* was pursued with relish and on occasion erupted into violence that affected

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[1]″Quis Custodiet Custodes? Some Reflections on the Persian Theory of Government,″ *Studia Islamica* (1956) 5: 125-48, 6: 125-46; Juvenal, *Satires*, book 6, verse 347.

[2]See his *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350* (Cambridge, 1994), 7-8, 47-51, 125.

the lives of many outside the military caste. For all its emphasis on guardianship of legal propriety, the Mamluk Sultanate was itself the product of usurpation, with no tradition of legitimacy posited on lineage or descent.

The Sultanate inherited an elaborate administrative bureaucracy from its predecessors that included institutions charged with enforcement of the *sharī'ah* and suppression of criminal acts. The offices of *wālī al-shurṭah* (Prefect of Police) and *ra's nawbah* (Captain of the Guard) loom large in the higher echelons of the ruling oligarchy of Mamluk amirs. Yet, as on-site observers were eager to point out, these officials, formally bound to preserve order and quell disruption, were themselves guilty of undermining order and promoting disruption. Having successfully advanced through a combative political system, the Mamluk oligarchy looked upon disruption pragmatically rather than ethically. They realized that the routine function of civil society was requisite to sustaining its production of commodities and generation of assets the regime tapped for its own support. Society could not endure conditions of endemic insecurity. Their civilian subjects, who bore the brunt of disruption tolerated—if not condoned—by their rulers, also looked upon their vulnerability pragmatically. They did not expect lofty ethics, but they did want stability. How stability was enforced remained the regime's prerogative.

The Mamluk oligarchy was readily disposed (a) to collude with criminal elements if mutual profit was available to both sides, and (b) to ignore or gloss over disorder it did not regard as a menace to its privileged status in society. We shall see that the regime's enforcement of legal principle or suppression of criminal acts was calculatingly selective. The Mamluk oligarchy showed little philosophical antipathy towards disruption or violence. It is in this context that the study examines the process of enforcement, the prosecution of crime by the Mamluk oligarchy during the late Sultanate: specifically, the reigns of al-Ashraf Qāytbāy (872-901/1468-96) and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (906-22/1501-16). Why this period? Because I have surveyed the narrative chronicle literature in Arabic for these two reigns, and I have compiled a file of criminal or disruptive acts committed by both civilians and militarists that they recorded. The study's objectives are two: (1) to compare profiles of crime/disruption committed by civilians with those exhibited by the Mamluks themselves; (2) to develop hypotheses about the militarists' conception of criminality. How did they interpret it, as distinct from political disruption? Whom did they regard as culpable and whom did they tolerate? What acts, committed by which individuals or groups, were prosecuted, and concomitantly who were allowed to behave with impunity? If the Mamluk oligarchy did not regard all crime or disruption as meriting prosecution, what rationales are discernible for the distinctions they drew between tolerable and intolerable behavior?

This study is derived from descriptions of crime or disruption committed, prosecuted, or ignored by members of the military elite, primarily in Cairo, in four chronicles: *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr* by Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Taghrībirdī (813-74/1411-69),[3] *Inbā' al-Haṣr bi-Abnā' al-'Aṣr* by Ibn al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī (819-ca. 900/1416-95),[4] ″al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim fī Ḥawādith al-'Umr wa-al-Tarājim″ by 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl al-Malaṭī (844-920/1440-1514),[5] and *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr* by Ibn Iyās (852-930/1448-1524).[6] These four works constitute the primary narrative (not archival) sources in Arabic for events within the Egyptian capital at this time. They refer frequently to the criminal activity discussed above, but they cannot be interpreted as accurate or replete registers of crime or disruption. On the contrary, their selectivity reveals significant biases in their coverage of such episodes. These biases, effectively an interpretive—or distorting—lens through which we are allowed to observe these writers′ impressions of crime, warrant attention as an important question in its own right.

The preceding issues can be more sharply focused and succinctly addressed if the range of criminal or disruptive acts committed by civilians and militarists are compared. Differences emerged between the behavior of the two classes, and this divergence implies contrasting motives—even for acts that appeared superficially similar. In a previous analysis of civilian crime, the categories of theft and homicide predominated.[7] Incidents of theft were evenly divided between heists by individuals and collective brigandage elaborately planned—in some cases, indicating the presence of organized gangs. Homicides by civilians revealed a diverse set of circumstances, but the prominence of slaves or indentured persons murdering their masters was vividly apparent from the figures that emerged. By contrast, militarists—from recently manumitted recruits to senior officers—were more likely to engage in assaults (against their peers or civilian subordinates), factional quarrels, long-term vendettas, riots, and systematic pillaging (as distinguished from spontaneous thievery). The chronicles commented on these disruptions fulsomely, and yet placed little emphasis on personal motives behind them. That is, in comparison with explanations offered for civilian transgressions or ″crimes of

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[3]Edited by William Popper, vol. 7, nos. 1-4 of *University of California Publications in Semitic Philology* (Berkeley, 1930-31).

[4]Edited by Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970).

[5]Vatican MS Arabo 729.

[6]Edited by Mohamed Mustafa, Hans Robert Roemer, Helmut Ritter, vols. 3-5 (Cairo and Wiesbaden, 1960-63).

[7]″Disruptive ′Others′ as Depicted in Chronicles of the Late Mamluk Period,″ paper presented at a conference on *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt* convened by the Department of Mediaeval History at the University of St. Andrews, Scotland, 27-31 August 1997, and scheduled for publication in a volume of its proceedings.

passion,″ the narrative authors seem to have been ill-informed, or indisposed, to speculate on the emotions of individuals within the military class—in the context of describing disruption. That the chroniclers had less access to details about the motives of militarists than for civilians is not credible. Their reluctance to dwell on them thus merits subsequent consideration.

To assume that either theft or homicide figured modestly in militarist crime would be misleading. Among militarists, however, individual thievery appeared less frequently, and was less graphically described, than were acts of pillage by bands of soldiers rampaging through Cairo′s markets or residential districts. And homicides by militarists at all ranks were recounted rather tersely. Their depictions tended not to reflect the passions or sexual frustrations that often characterized reports of murders committed by both free civilians or indentured persons. Quite possibly, the chroniclers could glean such details from registers of open court hearings in which civilian murderers were tried. We shall see that militarists were less likely to be summoned before tribunals, and when they were such proceedings may have been closed to spectators or even to civil jurists. But the consequence of these seeming contrasts in legal accountability was a void of documentation for homicides committed by members of the military elite, regardless of rank.

With regard to cases of homicide by militarists, discernible motives emerged from rivalries between factions, outbursts of rage over presumed insults from subordinates, and simmering anger over stymied access to revenue sources. Eight incidents on the part of amirs or their adjutants were reported. These included the assassination of a Ḥanbalī deputy judge (*nā᾽ib qāḍī*) near the Aydamur Square by a groom (*ghulām*) and his Mamluk patron in Rabīʻ II of 874/October-November 1469. Al-Ṣayrafī, so informative about cases of homicides by civilians, offered no explanation for this murder of a jurist, but merely observed that the Sultan ordered an inquiry.[8] He mentioned nothing about the perpetrators′ punishment. But the same author did describe the fate of a *sulṭānī mamlūk* named Yūnus who belonged to the faction of the deceased Sultan al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam. In Muḥarram of 875/July 1470, this man shot an arrow into a rival during a drunken brawl. Sultan Qāytbāy, still insecure in his position and intolerant of factional disputes that had plagued the capital before his enthronement, ordered this Yūnus cut in half.[9] Qāytbāy was apparently more inclined to gloss over a jurist′s assassination than a shooting that might precipitate a major riot. His action may also have been aimed at appeasing the deceased′s comrades.

Only one of these incidents involved a matter of sullied honor. In Rajab 876/December 1471-January 1472, an officer′s son, unnamed by al-Ṣayrafī, fatally

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[8]*Inbā᾽*, 149, line 2.

[9]*Inbā᾽*, 193, line 4.

stabbed a woman who owed him an indemnity, secured (apparently) by court order, for an act of infidelity with a groom. Whether the woman was the *walad nās*′s wife and the groom was bound to his service, al-Ṣayrafī did not specify. Yet he did note that the perpetrator went openly out to the street brandishing his blood-spattered dagger with no attempt to conceal his act. No sanction against him was mentioned.[10]

During Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī′s reign, his ambivalent chronicler recounted homicides by amirs to underscore the Sultan′s indifference to their prosecution. Ibn Iyās mentioned the escape of al-ʻĀdil Ṭūmānbāy′s assailant from prison (Ramaḍān 910/February-March 1505), an affair that ended in his pardon and honorable exile.[11] In Muḥarram 913/May-June 1507, al-Ghawrī did preside over a hearing to investigate the fatal beating of a boatman (*nūtī*) by the grand amir Arizmak al-Nāshif. When the boatman refused to pay a debt Arizmak claimed of him, the amir responded violently. The incident was presumably considered at the plea of the mariner′s sons during a *maẓālim* audience. Ibn Iyās stated that al-Ghawrī, preoccupied with other matters, dismissed the case by paying the victim′s sons a (trifling) indemnity.[12]

The remaining cases involved an assault upon the Sultan′s postmaster (*bardadār*) that went unsolved,[13] the killing by a valet in the service of al-Ghawrī′s nephew and successor, al-Ashraf Ṭūmānbāy, of his young apprentice,[14] and the strangling by the Sultan′s second chamberlain of his own executive adjutant (*dawādār*) following a drunken dispute.[15] The notice of the apprentice′s death merits quoting for the Sultan′s adroit deflection of a risky prosecution:

> In Shawwāl 915/January-February 1510, a person named Barakāt, valet (*farrāsh*) to the Amir Ṭūmānbāy al-Dawādār, murdered one of his apprentices, a handsome youth. When this Barakāt and his accusers were summoned before the Sultan, he referred them to the Mālikī chief *qāḍī*. When the latter learned that Barakāt was a valet of Ṭūmānbāy′s, he suspended judgment of the case. He ordered Barakāt incarcerated until evidence of his guilt was found. Soon thereafter, one of Ṭūmānbāy′s couriers (*sāʻī*) also committed homicide—this time against al-Shuqayfātī, an aged shaykh. When the courier was brought before the Sultan, who learned of his

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[10]*Inbā'*, 379, line 4.

[11]*Badā'iʻ* 4:75, lines 11-12.

[12]*Badā'iʻ* 4:115, line 7.

[13]*Badā'iʻ* 4:115, line 21.

[14]*Badā'iʻ* 4:168, line 9.

[15]*Badā'iʻ* 4:179, line 18.

> connection to the *dawādār*, he again referred him to the *sharīʿah* court. The courier's indictment was similarly suspended because no one came forth to testify against him. He had done the deed in broad daylight after noon in the Wakālah of al-Ashraf Barsbāy . . . . Thus, the victim's relatives and children received no satisfaction. Final judgment rests with God.

Al-Ghawrī's placement of these cases in the hands of a judge who owed him his appointment should not be dismissed simply as the craven (or prudent) behavior of a subordinate protecting his job, not to mention the innocuous jurisdiction of the civil court over criminal matters. Al-Ghawrī could not afford to irritate his popular nephew upon whose loyalty he depended. Ṭūmānbāy enjoyed the respect of both officers and troops that al-Ghawrī never managed to inspire. But Ibn Iyās probably brought up these incidents to highlight the consternation of the victims' families over unrequited justice, which he attributed to al-Ghawrī's opportunism.

Eleven homicides, by or upon soldiers, were reported. Only one case occurred during Qāytbāy's reign, in which a *sulṭānī mamlūk* was found stabbed to death on the Citadel ramp by worshippers making their way to morning prayer.[16] No further details were noted, except the unknown identity of his attackers. Of the incidents during al-Ghawrī's reign and Ṭūmānbāy's regency, several revealed frustration on the part of recruits awaiting an *iqṭāʿ* assignment. The starkest example occurred in Dhū al-Qaʿdah of 912/March-April 1507.[17]

> A veteran *mamlūk* of advanced age ascended to the Citadel at the hour of morning prayer, on the day in which stipends (*jāmakīyah*s) were distributed. When he reached the ramp, three recruits set upon him, killing him with stab wounds to the belly. He died immediately. They also assassinated his slave who accompanied him bearing his uniform that he donned upon entering the Citadel. The retiree possessed an *iqṭāʿ*. He had been ill and when his condition worsened, the three recruits demanded his allotment. The Sultan replied: "Await his death and then assume it." But the veteran . . . recovered and thus suffered assassination upon his arrival at the Citadel at the hands of these recruits furious over his revival. The upshot of all this was the Sultan's bestowal of the *iqṭāʿ* upon other soldiers.

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[16]*Badāʾiʿ* 3:217, line 8.

[17]*Badāʾiʿ* 4:107, line 11.

This incident sheds light on tensions that led to draconian means of restoring assets hoarded by retirees to individuals on active duty, and as such may suggest a phenomenon more widespread than a case Ibn Iyās linked to murderous recruits and his sovereign's duplicitous disposal of it.

But Ibn Iyās reserved his most egregious denunciations for homicides resulting from caste arrogance. Two cases illustrate his rancor:

> On Tuesday the seventh (of Muḥarram 919/15 March 1513), Qurqmās al-Muqri' was accused (of connivance) in the murder of a *mamlūk* and his spouse. The cause: the *mamlūk* had been living near the . . . hospital in the Kaḥl Alley. His groom and black slaves had assailed this *mamlūk* and his wife with swords . . . , claiming that they (their victims) were robbers. They struck the woman and her husband, and cut off their daughter's ears to get her earrings. The girl died that night. At dawn, the woman and *mamlūk* were discovered badly wounded. They were said to bear sixteen sword strokes. They were placed on stretchers (*aqfās*) and conveyed to the Sultan. The *mamlūk* and his spouse told him: "We have been wronged by Qurqmās al-Muqri' and his servants." This *mamlūk* was dwelling near Qurqmās's residence in the Kaḥl alley. Upon ascertaining the truth of their account, he cast Qurqmās in irons and put him in the *wālī*'s custody, along with his servants . . . .[18]

But "soon thereafter, the Sultan demurred on this case . . . taking no cognizance of the complaint of the *mamlūk* and his wife . . . . Their daughter had died following her mutilation . . . . Thus do the victims pay for the guilty." Was Ibn Iyās's detailed summary of this flagrancy an accurate example of criminal justice by Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī? We cannot know since his version cannot be checked against a court register.

But despite Ibn Iyās's more positive attitude toward al-Ghawrī's regent, Ṭūmānbāy, he did not ignore an incident of blatant assault on a civilian, albeit the only such case reported:[19]

> During the Sultan's absence, one of his *mamlūk* recruits intended to buy grain from a ship on the Nile shore. . . . He could locate no porter to transport it, so he apprehended a peasant (*fallāḥ*) from Upper Egypt with a donkey and sack. The *mamlūk* seized the donkey and sack but the farmer refused to give them up. The *mamlūk*

[18]*Badā'i'* 4:296, lines 7, 22.

[19]*Badā'i'* 5:50, line 12.

> struck him a violent blow to the head, causing the blood to flow. The farmer fell into the river, fainted and drowned. Thereupon, the populace assaulted the *mamlūk* and conveyed him to the house of the *dawādār*, viceroy of the absence (Ṭūmānbāy). There, he was put in irons and sent to the *wālī* who imprisoned him to await the Sultan's return. When the *mamlūk*'s comrades learned of this, they marched upon the *dawādār*'s house. They found him away repairing the Fayḍ causeway damaged by flood. The comrades were told that this *mamlūk* who had committed murder had been sent by the *dawādār* to the *wālī*. A large number of recruits then descended from the barracks and proceeded to the *wālī*'s residence, released the *mamlūk* . . . and threatened to arson the structure. The *dawādār* thus dropped the charge of homicide and tension subsided.

This case was presented in terms of a recruit's sense of superiority over a civilian of the lowest social level: a Ṣa'īdī peasant. Ṭūmānbāy's dismissal of charges against him occurred only in the prospect of a severe riot on the part of the recruit's fellows, whose class solidarity alone determined their priorities of justice. Although the affair contradicted the *dawādār*'s own scruples, he took a decision that probably headed off more widespread suffering. But was this case representative of settlements in incidents of homicide against civilians by militarists generally? Ibn Iyās would likely have wished to leave this impression, but in the absence of corroborative, and more impartial, archival evidence one is left uncertain.

Many assaults and altercations between militarists appeared in the chronicles, but only four cases involving officers, five involving soldiers, were discussed in the context of behavior that should have warranted at least a reprimand. Two of the incidents implicating amirs were noted by al-Ṣayrafī, his depiction of the intense reprisals for them serving as rationale for disclosure of deceit or greed on the amirs' part. The first occurred on the sixteenth of Ṣafar 875/14 August 1470. The market inspector (*muḥtasib*), a senior officer, brutally flogged a fig seller who was subsequently pilloried above his shop.[20] After honey was daubed on his body, he was left to hang in the sun enveloped by a swarm of stinging insects causing him "torment beyond description." Only when Qāytbāy's esteemed confidential secretary, Ibn Muzhir, noticed the fig seller's appalling state was he released. Al-Ṣayrafī hardly condoned such heinous demeaning of a human being. But he offered an explanation, if not a justification, for the *muḥtasib*'s wrath. This fig seller apparently oversaw a price fixing network, in which vendors of foodstuffs routinely charged customers one *dirham* per *raṭl* above the rate set by the *muḥtasib*.

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[20] *Inbā'*, 203, line 11.

One wonders whether the inspector was outraged more by the price-fixing or by the possibility that he had not been included in the network′s illegal take. I discovered many similar incidents of price-tampering in the chronicles, but nothing that provoked a reprisal like this. Whether the fig seller′s ghastly fate set an example that effectively curbed future price-fixing ventures cannot be ascertained, but one suspects that they continued.

The second episode took place on the twenty-ninth of Rabīʿ II of the same year/25 October 1470. A *mamlūk* in Qāytbāy′s service was flogged and imprisoned for punching the prefect (*walī*). He was summoned from detention in the house of the majordomo (*ustādār*) in walking shackles and fined 18,000 *dīnār*s, a sum he disclaimed by stating: ″I have nothing but my soul (*rūḥ*) to offer.″[21] Eventually the *kātib al-sirr* Ibn Muzhir interceded for his release, although the matter of his fine was left to the majordomo to recalculate. The severity of the *mamlūk*′s punishment may have stemmed from his audacity at striking a superior in rank, although the Sultan′s propensity to confiscate hoarded assets even from his own soldiers cannot be ruled out.

Assaults on the part of troopers could rapidly degenerate into mob violence, especially if perpetrators went unchastised for their behavior. Sultan Qāytbāy secured his reign by responding quickly to such behavior with public floggings of his own recruits.[22] Following a street brawl during which black slaves attacked civilians in the aftermath of a revolt by recruits in late 872/June-July 1469, the prefect ordered their lashing and dismemberment.[23] Al-Malaṭī noted that when their owners—many of whom were notables—sought their release, most were rebuffed and received their property back only after punishment had been meted out. Confronting endemic hostility from his recruits, Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī was compelled to allow many of their assaults to go unreprimanded. The most unsettling incident occurred in Jumādá I 917/July-August 1511. An eminent *walad nās* who belonged to the family of Qāytbāy′s widow, Fāṭimah al-Khāṣṣbakīyah, was watching a (mock?) battle between street gangs (*zuʿar*) from a rooftop near the Sunqur Bridge.[24] His son and two hundred other observers had crowded onto the roof. A band of *mamlūk*s attacked them and during the fracas, the roof collapsed, killing the structure′s owner within. Seventeen persons perished in the rubble and many more were injured—including the *walad nās* and his son. Despite their rank, Ibn Iyās mentioned no sanction against the soldiers who had leapt up onto the roof. Only after al-Ghawrī′s death in battle at Marj Dābiq did his regent Ṭūmānbāy restore Qāytbāy′s policy of strict reprisals to head off full-scale riots. In Shāʿbān

[21]*Inbā*ʾ, 216 line 1.

[22]″Rawḍ,″ fol. 178b, line 15; *Ḥawādith*, 650, line 7; ″Rawḍ,″ fol. 186b, line 14.

[23]″Rawḍ,″ fol. 186b, line 24.

[24]*Badāʾiʿ* 4:232, line 20.

922/August-September 1517, Ṭūmānbāy admonished the barracks commanders to lock up their recruits following their assaults on Anatolian merchants. The troops had sought revenge against them for their patron′s devastating humiliation in Syria by the Ottomans.[25]

When riots did erupt, they represented a violent intensification of the recruits′ ire over withheld rations (often sold on the black market), unpaid bonuses or orders to prepare for a war abroad. Incidents considered here specified criminal acts committed under the guise of a general melee. Of eleven such cases, the riot of 11 Muḥarram 916/21 April 1510 caused the most damage.[26] Following a delay in meat rations and al-Ghawrī′s refusal to pay a bonus (*nafaqah*) of one hundred *dīnār*s per man, the recruits apprehended several senior amirs and forced them to negotiate their stipends with the Sultan. When he remained adamant, the recruits claimed they would glean their bonuses from the merchants and fell upon Cairo′s markets. Typical in such events, grooms and black slaves exploited the chaos to join in the mass thievery. When irate merchants presented bills for damages to al-Ghawrī′s street-wise *muḥtasib*, al-Zaynī Barakāt ibn Mūsá, the total came to 20,000 *dīnār*s from 570 pilfered shops. The specter of *julbān* rioting loomed over Cairo in the late Sultanate. Although the chroniclers acknowledged the troops′ justification from their perspective, they denounced arson, homicide, injury, and rapine as the criminal legacy of these affairs. Losses in terms of goods or money were not condoned, but were nonetheless expected as the consequence of frustration by those possessing a monopoly of military force.

As noted above, thievery committed by individuals already privileged in Mamluk society revealed patterns of behavior that contrasted with theft by civilians. Motives for seizing property differed because of the contrasting perspectives of the perpetrators. And proclivities for reprisal also differed markedly. Civilians were most likely to be pursued and punished severely if they trespassed upon militarist space by robbing assets held by the ruling caste or its senior members. Militarists, on the other hand, possessed more leverage to adjudicate their way out of reprisal. No cases of individual thievery on the part of amirs emerged in the narrative sources, but one dramatic example of mistaken blame occurred. In Rajab of 915/October-November 1509, the amir Qurqmās al-Muqri', already discussed, was robbed of 1000 *dīnār*s stashed in his house. Rounding up all those who lived in the quarter, he had the prefect question them abusively until they yielded a sum in excess of his loss.[27] Subsequently, the theft was discovered to have been an ″inside job″ committed by one of Qurqmās′s own *mamlūk*s. The shake-down

[25]*Badā'i'* 5:82, line 10.

[26]*Badā'i'* 4:177, line 8.

[27]*Badā'i'* 4:162, line 4; 180, line 12.

traumatized several civil notables resident in the district. The thief, arrested in Mecca by the pilgrimage commander some months later, confessed to the crime upon interrogation in Cairo but could make no restitution since he had spent the money. After Qurqmās's neighbors petitioned al-Ghawrī, the Sultan summoned the amir and forced him to pay them back. Ibn Iyās noted that al-Ghawrī was already rankled by Qurqmās's heavy-handed ways and may have exploited this incident to curb his arrogance.

Individual thievery by troops was so seldom reported by the chroniclers that their credibility must be suspected. The cases that did attract the attention of one, Ibn Iyās, pointed to repeat offenders whose acts outweighed their martial utility in the Sultan's eyes. One such recruit so angered Qāytbāy that he ordered both his hands cut off and, annoyed by an amir's intercession, demanded that the soldier's feet be removed as well.[28] Late in his reign, Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī's attention was distracted from preparations for his expedition against the Ottomans by the predation of a recruit named Jānim al-Ifranjī. This individual exploited the security void left by the *sulṭānī mamlūk* guard who had already departed for Syria. The Sultan ordered "district chiefs" (*arbāb al-idrāk*) to arrest the *mamlūk* and execute him on the spot. He was eventually captured near Bilbays where he was hanged from a tree.[29]

The chroniclers were hardly reticent on the ubiquity of pillaging by troops. Incidents of seizure of assets by marauding recruits were the most frequently recounted criminal acts: thirteen cases distinct from troop revolts. Those considered here were chosen for their occurrence apart from troop revolts. The latter should be interpreted as part of the Mamluk political process. Pillaging certainly might be stimulated by political conditions. The assaults against the palace of Amir Qānṣūh Khamsmi'ah during Qāytbāy's declining months were inspired by the troops' perception of his conspiracy to assume the Sultanate.[30] When the recruits ransacked Qānṣūh's home, they were already acting on precedent. Ibn Iyās claimed that pillaging intensified when the soldiers believed their predation could occur with impunity. To his knowledge, the troops tested this kind of defiance against the regime for the first time in 887-88/1482-83. The signal event erupted on the tenth of Jumādá I 888/16 June 1483, when a gang of *julbān* torched the house of Amir Barsbāy Qará.[31] They then stole precious carpets from two *madrasah*s in its vicinity. The *julbān* bore a grudge against Barsbāy because one of their comrades had disputed with a cloth merchant over the purchase of expensive Ba'labakkī

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[28]*Badā'i'* 3:218, line 11.

[29]*Badā'i'* 5:37, line 20.

[30]Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, "Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Wafayāt al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān," Istanbul MS Feizullah 1438, fol. 157a, line 5; 157b, line 10; *Badā'i'* 3:309, line 15.

[31]*Badā'i'* 3:202, line 11.

fabric. When the recruit made off with the cloth without payment, the merchant complained to Barsbāy—who was then captain of the guard. Barsbāy summoned the offender and had him flogged. Upon learning of his punishment, his comrades turned on the *ra's nawbah.* Ibn Iyās stated that the *julbān* ″intended to burn the cloth market and settle the score once and for all with its merchants. The situation was grave and the entire city unsettled. But the Atābak Azbak mediated between Barsbāy Qará and the recruits to arrange a truce. Calm was restored.″

The truce was only temporary, it would seem, since the recruits learned from this precedent and held Qāytbāy′s eventual successor, al-Ghawrī, hostage to the threat of pillage throughout his reign. This incident clearly stood as a criminal act in Ibn Iyās′s judgment. Yet he regarded it as much more significant than an act of simple thievery: a pivotal development that marked the transformation of the Mamluk army from a disciplined service unit to an implacable interest group. Since no documentation of the *julbān*′s views about this incident is available, we are left with the chronicler′s appraisal as a negative indictment of the entire Mamluk system in its later years. The recruits quite probably would have pointed to their own sense of progressive degradation and lapsed support on their patron′s part.

If pillaging was the *julbān*′s crime of choice, and the most profitable to them, acrimony among peers emerged as their superiors′ favored disruption. Circumstances behind the initiation of disputes between senior amirs differed widely. Few were instigated solely by feelings of slighted honor, but often erupted because of covert ambitions that the quarreling parties saw their opponents thwarting. The chroniclers interpreted quarrels as criminal if they became prolonged vendettas that supplanted the amirs′ formal duties and disrupted mundane functions of society. Of the innumerable incidents of acrimony between amirs, I counted thirteen such cases. One of the most interesting occurred in Jumādá II 875/November-December 1470. The inspector (*kāshif*) of Gharbīyah Province, ʻAlā' al-Dīn ibn Zawayn returned from an expedition to curb bedouin raids with the flayed skin of a defeated chief: ʻAbd al-Qādir ibn Ḥamzah.[32] The inspector had it stuffed with cotton and displayed as a mannequin. This ʻAbd al-Qādir apparently had established client ties with another grand amir, Timrāz al-Shamsī, who found his bedouin associate′s display in the procession repugnant. When the inspector′s entourage reached the *dawādār* Yashbak min Mahdī′s house, Timrāz forced entry and assaulted Ibn Zawayn. Al-Ṣayrafī noted that Yashbak may not have been aware of their altercation, that presumably complicated the government′s attempts to quell bedouin brigandage in its rich Delta provinces.

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[32]*Inbā'*, 232, line 17.

The dispute between officers of the highest rank that boded most ominously for future disruption flared for the first time in late 896/October 1491. The Amir Qānṣūh Khamsmi'ah, then chief fodderer (*amīr akhūr*), and Aqbirdī, who succeeded Yashbak as *dawādār*, clashed because of a perceived protocol slight.[33] This acrimony over a transparently trivial insult obviously triggered latent hostilities between the two ambitious officers, who each recognized that the other harbored designs on Qāytbāy's office. As the Sultan's strength ebbed in his last years, the dispute between these two matured into a bloody vendetta the chroniclers lamented as a revival of strife they had hoped Qāytbāy's reign would have alleviated. That neither amir would succeed in duplicating Qāytbāy's achievement did not diminish the potential for arson, chaos, and pillaging that their confrontation inflicted on the capital over several years. And from Ibn Iyās's jaundiced point of view, an orderly succession that might have secured the succession for Qāytbāy's son, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, could have prevented the dark horse Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī from attaining the Sultanate. The threat of a personal quarrel between two individuals escalating into a vendetta burdening the lives of thousands therefore constituted for the chroniclers one of the most egregious crimes committed by those duty-bound to uphold order and promote public welfare.

Not all quarrels came across as the harbingers of future trouble. Ibn Iyās related one dispute as darkly humorous, albeit tainted by disclosure of illicit activity. In Dhū al-Ḥijjah 914/March-April 1509, the grand chamberlain Anaṣbāy clashed with Nawrūz, one of the *muqaddamūn.* The chamberlain had intended to shut down a house of prostitution located near Nawrūz's residence.[34] The property had belonged to the former Atābak Azbak. When Anaṣbāy's *dawādār* arrived to disperse the prostitutes he encountered Nawrūz's grooms and black slaves. The *dawādār* and his entourage were severely beaten and driven off. When Anaṣbāy learned of his secretary's mishap, he rode to the house in a rage, thrashed the prostitutes and paraded them through Cairo on donkeys. Nawrūz then complained to al-Ghawrī, who, instead of giving him satisfaction, rebuked him verbally and backed his chamberlain's action. Nawrūz had probably extended his protection to a profitable enterprise in return for a share of profits. Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī wished to show himself a defender of moral probity and took Anaṣbāy's part.

Ranking second in frequency to vendettas, incidents of embezzlement or fraud were reported by the chroniclers as the exclusive preserve of senior amirs and

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[33]*Badā'i'* 3:285, line 3; "Ḥawādith al-Zamān," fol. 155b, line 3; al-Sakhāwī, "al-Dhayl al-Tāmm 'alá Duwal al-Islām," Ms.: Tunis: Dār al-Kutub al-Waẓīfah, 6856, fol. 260b, line 1; Ibn Iyās, "'Uqūd al-Jumān fī Waqā'i' al-Azmān," Ms.: Istanbul: Aya Sofya, 3500, fols. 237a, line 18-238b, line 1; Anonymous, "Jawāhir al-Sulūk fī al-Khulafā' wa-al-Mulūk," Ms.: London: British Museum, 6854, fols. 397, line 14-399b.

[34]*Badā'i'* 4:148, line 12.

their civilian adjutants. These affairs indeed appeared consistently as collusive enterprises. Senior officers entered into lucrative arrangements with civilian officials charged with judicial or fiscal responsibilities, the former lending enforcement muscle to their colleagues' designs. These affairs were covert, and reached the chroniclers' notice only when one of the parties became disgruntled or outsiders saw themselves adversely affected and disclosed them. Some cases may seem trivial, as with an incident that occurred in Rabīʿ I 874/October-November 1469. The *wazīr*, Qāsim Shughayṭah, one of the most adroit bureaucrats of Qāytbāy's reign and a confidant to the *dawādār* Yashbak, detected receipt of livestock from Upper Egypt (primarily sheep according to al-Ṣayrafī) by the Sayfī amir Qānṣūh Aḥmad al-Īnālī, on which no impost (*maks*) had been paid.[35] The *wazīr* confiscated the livestock even though the amir accosted him physically. The *wazīr*'s defiance of a powerful officer was risky, but may have stemmed from his connection to an even more influential patron, the *dawādār* himself. Yashbak min Mahdī had staked out virtually absolute proprietorship over fiscal matters relating to Upper Egypt. He was not disposed to tolerate competition from rival amirs. The *wazīr* Qāsim appealed to him after the abuse he received at Qānṣūh's hands. Yashbak stood behind his adjutant and may have appropriated the livestock himself.

A subsequent event, of more widespread notoriety, lends credibility to the preceding hypothesis. Less than a year later, on 1 Muḥarram 875/30 June 1470, a procession composed of senior amirs rode from the Citadel to Yashbak's residence.[36] At its head were two of Qāytbāy's highest-ranking colleagues: the Atābak Azbak and the *ra's nawbah*, Īnāl al-Ashqar. They came bearing a subpoena demanding a full account of Yashbak's finances relative to Upper Egypt. The *dawādār* disdained to receive the delegation, which nonetheless claimed that he owed the *dīwān*s *al-mufrad* and *al-dawlah* no less than 250,000 *dīnār*s, not counting livestock or slaves. Yashbak ultimately insisted that he had reached a personal understanding with Qāytbāy over what he owed to the Special and Privy Bureaus. But al-Ṣayrafī reported that Qāytbāy appointed the *ustādār*, Ibn Gharīb, and the *wazīr*, Qāsim, to inventory the *dawādār*'s receipts from Upper Egypt every month for the indefinite future. Whether Qāsim found this duty hazardous in light of his tie to Yashbak al-Ṣayrafī did not recount.

A decade later, al-Ṣayrafī commented at length on a complicated case in which the sitting Ḥanafī chief *qāḍī* was implicated for accepting bribes from the *ustādār*, Taghrībirdī, who had served as treasurer to the former *dawādār*, Yashbak.[37] The precise circumstances behind the case, initiated as a complaint against the

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[35]*Inbā'*, 148, line 1.
[36]*Inbā'*, 186, line 10.
[37]*Inbā'*, 502, line 15.

ustādār before the *qāḍī* himself, are elusive in al-Ṣayrafī′s summary. But he elaborated on precedents for judges accepting bribes from senior officers in return for dismissals of charges or favorable decisions in court. Al-Ṣayrafī′s remarks listed accusations against the *ustādār* for fiscal malfeasance and neglect of formal duties. The incident disclosed probable collusion between a senior jurist and an officer high placed in the oligarchy. It also revealed active participation in litigation over administrative matters by the *sharī'ah* courts.

Other prominent cases involved a *muḥtasib* condoning price-fixing,[38] a delegation of merchants from Alexandria protesting their governor′s corruption,[39] a guard captain′s impounding and forced sale of waqf properties,[40] and an *ustādār* who collected a special (possibly illegal) ″protection″ tax (*ḥimāyah*) from both wealthy civilians and militarists.[41] The sultans′ efforts to curtail their subordinates′ dealings were marginally effective. Only the *ustādār* who extorted the protection money was actually arrested, most likely because he offended members of his own peer group. Ibn Iyās noted that when the *muḥtasib* was flogged for negligence, he allowed marketeers and grain speculators even more leeway to fix prices. The bribes he received from them in return presumably saw no decrease, especially since no mention was made of his dismissal.

References to crimes committed by civilians on their own rarely involved embezzlement or fraud. All of the preceding cases implicated civilians in tandem with militarists as joint perpetrators. All held positions that gave them opportunities for illicit procedures. For corruption of this kind to succeed, it would seem to have required fiscal expertise and political clout of the respective parties. But the exclusivity of culpability attributed to militarists in these corruption cases by the narrative authors once again raises the issue of source bias. Can we assume that responsibility for such corruption was solely the prerogative of these client-patron teams? Or did the chroniclers select their examples to depict these crimes as a burden inflicted on society by the military overclass and its civilian subordinates? The latter remains a distinct possibility, a distortion so far irremedial for lack of archival documentation.

In marked contrast to the profile of transgressions reported for civilians, very few crimes of turpitude or sexual license were linked to members of the military class. The narrative writers alluded to a mere seven cases in these categories, and with one exception, all implicated recruits rather than officers. They were: two incidents of rape, one allegation of poisoning, two of unsanctioned marriage, and two of public intoxication. The chroniclers described the rapes most vividly, if

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[38]*Badā'i'* 3:263, line 13.
[39]*Badā'i'* 3:267, line 21.
[40]*Badā'i'* 4:109, line 21.
[41]*Badā'i'* 4:390, line 13.

succinctly. The first occurred in Dhū al-Qaʻdah 895/September-October 1490. In a brief entry by al-Sakhāwī in his *Dhayl*, he mentioned that a *mamlūk* transferred from Syria (Damascus?) violated a woman to whom he was betrothed but not formally wed.[42] Fleeing Qāytbāy′s arrest warrant, the *mamlūk* attempted to escape to Upper Egypt but was apprehended, flogged and cast into the Maqsharah Prison where he expired the next day. The second incident took place in Rabīʻ II 916/July-August 1510. On the Maqs road three Mamluk soldiers attacked a group of women wearing bridal attire.[43] One woman managed to escape but the others were taken to the soldiers′ stables. When news of the assault reached the *wālī*, he captured the three offenders and brought them before al-Ghawrī, who lashed them to the point of death. Since the soldiers committed this rape on the day when troops drew their monthly pay, al-Ghawrī directed the *kātib al-mamālīk* to turn their stipends over to their victims in compensation for their violation. Each woman received 2000 *dirham*s.

While only a pernicious rumor, the allegation of poisoning was sufficient to cause the individual implicated some discomfiture. In Rajab 884/September-October 1479, the *julbān* became convinced that the *dawādār* Yashbak had murdered his rival, Jānim, in this fashion.[44] To avoid provoking their riot, Yashbak was forced into seclusion away from audiences in the Citadel for several days. The illicit marital affairs were interesting because of the conditions of service they compromised. In Shawwāl 875/March-April 1471, Qāytbāy ordered one of his purchased *mamlūk*s beaten for eloping without his consent.[45] The *mamlūk* had departed his barracks with nothing but his uniform and horse. Al-Ṣayrafī mused about the Sultan′s wrath over this incident. Since the *mamlūk* had been manumitted, he could not be prevented from concluding the marriage. But Qāytbāy stripped him of his rank and privileges, and refused to allow his residence in Cairo as a private subject. The Sultan remanded him to Aleppo under the custody of the merchant who had sold him originally. Qāytbāy′s ire over unapproved marriages flared again fifteen years later when he prohibited judges or witnesses from contracting any weddings for his own *mamlūk*s.[46] Ibn Iyās noted that the soldiers refused to abide by their patron′s decree, and continued to marry against his orders. Marriage of course divided a trooper′s loyalty to his sovereign, particularly if his spouse belonged to the civilian elite. Marriage provided the spouse′s relatives opportunities for influence within the military class. From the Sultan′s point of

[42]″Dhayl,″ fol. 199, line 34.

[43]*Badāʼiʻ* 4:187, line 21.

[44]*Badāʼiʻ* 3:157, line 22.

[45]*Inbāʼ*, 275, line 6.

[46]*Badāʼiʻ* 3:217, line 5.

view, in-service marriages diminished his *mamlūk*s′ reliability. Whether the chroniclers regarded these elopements as criminal acts is unclear, but the ruler interpreted them as an affront to his authority of ownership. Yet his attempts to prevent such unions proved ineffective, suggesting the troopers′ autonomy in their personal relations whatever their patron′s reaction.

The incidents of intoxication were mentioned in the context of individual waywardness or violated religious proscriptions. The first occurred during Ramaḍān of 895/July-August 1490 when the *wālī* arrested several *mamlūk*s from Anatolia who had been caught drinking wine in broad daylight.[47] They had sullied the fast with a forbidden substance. The prefect had them flogged, paraded through the city, and imprisoned. The second involved the drowning of one member of the Sultan′s elite guard (*khāṣṣakī*s) who had attempted to swim across the main channel of the Nile to the central island while drunk.[48] Ibn Iyās mentioned the case only to note the khāṣṣakī′s reputation, which he claimed merited little praise.

These meagerly recounted incidents do not compare with the copious and lurid details provided for similar transgressions by civilians. The narrative authors were more laconic in their descriptions. And only one amir was implicated, albeit the one on whose insatiable ambition and ruthless persecution of rivals the chroniclers concurred. Yashbak′s involvement with poisoning was never proved. Those actually convicted of immorality or sexual assault belonged to lower ranks of the military elite. They were punished for their acts—severely. The paucity of these cases, and the intensity of reprisals meted out, mutually point to the incidence of prosecution as the motive for the chroniclers mentioning them.

The chroniclers′ silence about officers implicated in such crimes suggests more about their ability to deflect reprisal than their unblemished character. This minuscule sample, in comparison to the multiple references to quarrels, riots, pillaging, embezzlement, and fraud, cannot be taken as more than an indication of reprimands inflicted to set an example. What the contrasts in profiles of crimes committed by civilians and militarists do imply are differences in receptivity on the part of those who recorded their criminal activities. One has no reason to assume that civilians were less prone to embezzlement than militarists, although their opportunities for profit from it may have been more restricted. Nor is there reason to assume that militarists were less susceptible to crimes of passion or deviance than civilians. But the narrative writers seem to have been inclined to dwell on their fiscal or political improprieties rather than on their moral lapses.

Looking at these profiles more broadly, one notes the prominence of indenture as a motive for acts of individual violence, while unrest among *mamlūk* trainees chafing under their patrons′ dominance seems to have spurred their most devastating

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[47]*Badā'i'* 3:273, line 22.

[48]*Badā'i'* 4:133, line 2.

disruptions. Slaves and bonded persons appeared as the most salient class of murderers, although references to mobs of black slaves seizing the chance offered by their superiors' riots to engage in mob plunder figured significantly in the chroniclers' depictions of crime. The patterns of crime that emerged implied that perceptions of poverty cut across class lines, with *mamlūk* trainees equally apt to regard themselves in penury as were civilian street gangs.

The lens through which a contemporary observer can glimpse these acts powerfully influences the impression he or she may discern of crime in urban society under Mamluk rule. The contrasts between patterns of criminal activity discussed here cannot be interpreted as credible indicators of what actually was happening, by whom or how frequently. Yet these contrasting patterns do reveal the priorities of those who depicted the cases we are allowed to see. What these writers elected to include provides a measure of their own values, ethical and social, and their scale of criticisms heaped on a regime that oppressed their society. Were the guardians disposed to police themselves? Ann Lambton did not think so with respect to her reading of treatises on government in medieval Persia. Chroniclers of the Mamluk Sultanate in its final decades acknowledged self-discipline on the militarists' part when it occurred. Yet the impression one takes away from their choice of crimes and perpetrators is of vulnerability by the civilian majority compelled to abide the indiscipline of those who sapped their assets. And when the ruling elite chose to rein in its wayward members, it did so primarily when its own hegemony was perceived as compromised, or its honor sullied. This is the enduring message that the narrative sources of the late Mamluk period convey most convincingly.

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Mamluk Art and Architectural History: A Review Article*

Introduction

With the publication of a splendid full color luxury book by the noted team of Henri Stierlin and Anne Stierlin, the study of Mamluk art and architecture has finally made it into the Big Time.[1] The Stierlins, who have previously brought us books on Islamic architecture, Mughal architecture, Ottoman architecture, and the Alhambra, have now brought us the first affordable ($59.50) coffee-table book on Mamluk art and architecture. Dramatic long shots compete with exquisite details for the viewer′s attention which, in the tradition of architectural photography, is rarely, if ever, distracted by the presence of people, apart from the picturesque natives populating reproductions of David Roberts′s nineteenth-century lithographs. The stunning photographs of Mamluk buildings and objects will explain to even the most sceptical audiences why Mamluk art has had its devotees for over a century; the text, infelicitously translated from the French, is mercifully brief and appears oblivious of the content (although not the titles) of recent scholarship on the subject.

Now that Mamluk architecture has its picture book, it seems an especially appropriate time to undertake the daunting invitation by the Mamluk Studies Workshop to review recent work on Mamluk art and architectural history. Unlike most contributors to this learned journal, I do not consider myself a specialist in Mamluk anything; I have, however, over the last fifteen years written on, edited, and reviewed general and specific aspects of Mamluk art and architecture.[2] I have therefore approached this invitation not from the perspective of Mamluk studies but from that of a historian of Islamic art and architecture, with a particular—but

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[1]Henri and Anne Stierlin, *Splendours of an Islamic World: Mamluk Art in Cairo 1250-1517* (London, 1997).

[2]See for example Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam, 1250-1800*, The Pelican History of Art (New Haven, 1994), chapters 6-8. My first published article was on Mamluk architecture: ″The Mosque of Baybars al-Bunduqdārī in Cairo,″ *Annales islamologiques* 18 (1982): 45-78; see also my ″A Mamluk Basin in the L. A. Mayer Memorial Institute,″ *Islamic Art* 2 (1987): 15-26.

by no means exclusive—interest in the art of the Mediterranean Islamic world. While specialists in Mamluk art may find something of interest in the following remarks, I have intended them as an introduction, guide, and survey for the broader audience of this journal's readers. The increased interest in all aspects of Islamic art over the last two decades has led to an explosion of articles and books on the subject. It is therefore impossible to address all the literature on Mamluk art, and this survey makes no pretense to completeness. Searches in the on-line Mamluk bibliography maintained by the University of Chicago Library, for example, produced nearly one thousand "hits" for the subjects "architecture" and "arts," and the list is admittedly incomplete.

The arts of the Mamluks encompass architecture and the "decorative arts" (for want of a better term) produced between 1250 and 1517 in Egypt, as well as in parts of Syria and Arabia. The evidence comprises hundreds, if not thousands, of buildings surviving *in situ*, as well as thousands of examples of Mamluk manuscripts, metalwares, glasswares, textiles, and ceramics scattered throughout European, American, and Middle Eastern museums and private collections. For the historian of Islamic art, Mamluk art can either be understood diachronically as one phase in the development of Islamic art in the region (usually restricted to Egypt) or compared synchronically with contemporary artistic traditions in the Islamic lands. These include Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, and Transoxiana under the Ilkhanid and Timurid dynasties; northern India under the Sultanate dynasties—some of which were also "Mamluk"; Anatolia under the late Saljuqs, Beyliks, and Ottomans; and the Islamic West, including the Nasrids in Spain and the Hafsids and Marinids in North Africa. For the historian of medieval art in general, the relationship of Mamluk architecture and art to that of contemporary Europe remains largely unexplored, except in the special field of Crusader studies. For better or—as I believe—for worse, the diachronic approach has dominated scholarship on Mamluk art.

Among all types of Islamic art—with the exception of the Nasrid art of Granada and the Ottoman art of Istanbul—Mamluk art has been unusually accessible to Europeans, who were the first to study it, and until very recently the study of Mamluk art, like all Islamic art, has remained a speciality of European and North American scholars. From almost the moment Mamluk objects of metal and glass were made, they entered European ecclesiastical and private collections, and indeed some, such as the brass basin in the Louvre made for Hugh of Lusignan, king of Cyprus and Jerusalem from 1324 to 1359, were made specifically for Europeans.[3]

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[3]For the brass basin made for Hugh of Lusignan, see D. S. Rice, "Arabic Inscriptions on a Brass Basin Made for Hugh IV de Lusignan," in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida* (Rome, 1956), 2:390-402; see also the two Mamluk glass vessels in the Dom- und Dioszesan-Museum,

Mamluk buildings—which could not of course be collected—were among the first Islamic buildings to become known to European audiences. The artist from the school of Bellini responsible for the huge sixteenth-century painting in the Louvre, *The Reception of a Venetian Embassy*, for example, was familiar with the Mamluk buildings of Damascus.[4] Far more important for European knowledge of Mamluk architecture were the plates published in the *Déscription de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1802-28), the record of Napoleon's expedition to Egypt in 1798-1801, which was followed by a steady stream of publications such as Pascal Coste's *Architecture arabe* (Paris, 1839), Jules Bourgoin's *Les arts arabes* (Paris, 1873) and A. C. T. E. Prisse d'Avennes, *L'art arabe d'après les monuments du Kaire* (Paris, 1877). Mamluk settings and objects became familiar to a wide audience through the Orientalist works of such painters as Jean-Leon Gérôme (1824-1904), and Mamluk themes became popular for Oriental interiors and exteriors ranging from smoking rooms to factories. The tradition reached its climax in the popular *Street of Cairo* at the Midway Plaisance for the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago.[5]

British political involvement in nineteenth-century Egypt was—typically—followed by scholarly interest. *The Art of the Saracens in Egypt*, first published in London in 1886, was one of the first serious books devoted exclusively to Islamic art. Written by Stanley Lane-Poole, nephew of the noted Orientalist Edward W. Lane, it largely concerned the Mamluks, as did one of the earliest attempts in English to describe the historical evolution of Islamic architecture, Martin S. Briggs's *Muhammadan Architecture in Egypt and Palestine* (Oxford, 1924).[6] By the time Briggs published his book, K. A. C. Creswell (1879-1974) had begun systematically studying Egyptian Islamic architecture, a task that would continue to occupy him for the rest of his long life and usher in a new era in the study of Islamic architecture.[7]

Vienna, in the catalogue by Arthur Saliger et al., *Dom- und Diozesan-Museum Wien* (Vienna, 1987), 22-24.

[4]For this painting, see Julian Raby, *Venice, Dürer, and the Oriental Mode* (London, 1982).

[5]Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs* (Berkeley, 1992).

[6]One should remember that Sir Banister Fletcher (1866-1953), the doyen of British architectural history, had considered "Muhammadan" architecture to be one of the "ahistorical" styles in his influential *History of Architecture on the Comparative Method* (London, 1905).

[7]Creswell's initial idea was to write a history of the Muslim architecture of Egypt. Before doing so, he had to investigate the Muslim architecture of Arabia and Syria on which he felt it depended; thus volume 1 of his *Early Muslim Architecture* (Oxford, 1932) was followed by volume 2 in 1940. Only with the publication of the first volume of *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt* (Oxford, 1952-59), some twenty years after he began, did Creswell begin publishing exclusively on the architecture of Egypt.

Familiarity, of course, is said to breed contempt, and many, if not all, historians of Islamic art would probably confess, albeit somewhat reluctantly, that Mamluk art—with the notable exception of such acknowledged masterpieces as the Mosque of Sultan Ḥasan, the Mausoleum of Qāytbāy, and the Baptistère de Saint-Louis—is rather dull. Although Cairo became the center of Arab-Islamic literary culture following the fall of Baghdad to the Mongols in 1258, in this period the center of Islamic *visual* culture shifted to such Iranian cities as Tabriz and Herat, where Mongol and Timurid patrons set the artistic taste in virtually every medium for most of the Islamic lands until the emergence of the imperial Ottoman and Mughal styles in the sixteenth century. Even Mamluk artists themselves looked to Iranian art for inspiration. Whereas the Ottomans and Mughals looked back on Mongol and Timurid art for inspiration, nobody really important (until the Orientalists came along in nineteenth-century Europe) looked to Mamluk art for anything.[8]

Mamluk art may be aesthetically inferior to Persian art of the same period and it may have been less of an inspiration for later developments, but these are not reasons to consider it any the less worthy of study, particularly since there is so much of it and we are blessed with an unusually rich array of contemporary sources about it. This abundance not only helps the art historian to understand the range of Mamluk art in its own time, but it can also provide us with models for interpreting other less well documented periods of Islamic art. The arts of the Mamluk period, such as buildings, manuscripts, textiles, and metalwares, moreover, are important sources of information about the society that produced them. The evidence they provide can supplement and augment that supplied by texts, which were often produced by segments of society very different from those that produced art. The historian of art and architecture, in interpreting such visual evidence, can play an essential role in contributing to a more nuanced reading of the past.

Sources

Apart from the surveys of the arts and architecture of the Mamluk period contained in general works on Islamic art and the recent *Dictionary of Art*,[9] the last (and

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[8]For a history of the arts of this period, see Blair and Bloom, *Art and Architecture of Islam*.

[9]See, for example, Blair and Bloom, *Art and Architecture of Islam*, chaps. 6-8, and Jane Turner, ed., *The Dictionary of Art* (London, 1996), 20:226-31, s.v. ″Mamluk, II: Mamluks of Egypt and Syria,″ as well as articles on individual subjects. See, in particular, the articles on ″Cairo″ and ″Islamic Art,″ the latter including: ″Architecture, c. 1250-c. 1500: Egypt and Syria,″ by John A. Williams, II, 6, (iii), (a); ″Painted book illustration, c. 1250-c. 1500: Egypt and Syria,″ by Rachel Ward, III, 4, (v), (a); ″Metalwork in Egypt and Syria, c. 1250-c. 1400; c. 1400-c. 1500,″ by J. W. Allan, IV, 3, (iii); ″Ceramics in Egypt and Syria, c. 1250-c. 1500,″ by Helen Philon, V, 4, (ii); ″Fabrics, c. 1250-c. 1500: Egypt and Syria,″ by Anne E. Wardwell, VI, 2, (ii), (b); ″Carpets and flatweaves, c. 1450-c. 1700: Mediterranean lands,″ by Giovanni Curatola, VI, 4, (iii), (b); ″Woodwork:

first) broad review of the state of research on Mamluk art and architecture was on the occasion of the traveling exhibition of Mamluk art organized by Esin Atıl in 1981, which was seen in Washington, Minneapolis, New York, Cincinnati, Detroit, Phoenix, and Hartford.[10] Atıl's catalogue serves as a permanent record of the exhibition, although many pieces did not travel to all venues and other pieces were added, notably by the Metropolitan Museum when the exhibition went to New York. Atıl also organized a symposium on Mamluk art, and many of the papers presented were published in the second volume of the journal *Muqarnas*.[11] In his introduction to the volume, Oleg Grabar raised several provocative but unanswerable questions about the meaning and interpretation of Mamluk art, which he seemed to imply was interesting because of its immutability.[12] In contrast, Ira Lapidus, in his concluding remarks to the symposium, succinctly summarized what was known about Mamluk art, particularly from the perspective of a social historian. By comparing the Mamluks to the Fatimids and Ottomans, he revealed several essential characteristics of Mamluk art, particularly its lack of universal pretension, its attitude towards religion, and the ranges of tastes it served.[13] The initial excitement generated by the Mamluk exhibition, however, evaporated without generating any great surge of interest in the subject, as the attention of many historians of Islamic art turned in the 1980s and 1990s from the Arab world to the

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Egypt and Syria, c. 1250-c. 1500," by Bernard O'Kane, VII, 2, (ii); "Glass: 12th-15th centuries," by Marian Wenzel, VIII, 5, (ii).

[10]Esin Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks* (Washington, DC, 1981).

[11]*Muqarnas* 2 (1984); among the papers presented at the symposium that were not published in this volume, were ʻAlī ʻAbd al-Ra'ūf Yūsuf, "Wooden Vessels of the Mamluk Period"; David Ayalon, "From Ayyubids to Mamluks"; Manuel Keene, "Developments in Mamluk Geometric Ornament"; J. M. Rogers, "Mamluk and Ottoman Decorative Arts"; Hayat Salam-Lieblich, "Patronage in the Building of a New Mamluk City"; and John Woods, "East-West Relations in the Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries"; Michael Meinecke's paper was ultimately published as "Mamluk Architecture: Regional Architectural Traditions: Evolution and Interrelations," *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 2 (1985): 163-75.

[12]Oleg Grabar, "Reflections on Mamluk Art," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 1-12; Grabar suggested that traditional art historical strategies, such as stylistic analysis and connoisseurship, seemed to have little relevance to the study of Mamluk art, for Mamluk art hardly seemed to change over the centuries. The real concern of Mamluk patrons, he hypothesized, was not the creation of individual works of art or architecture but the cities they ruled and in the lives of the several social classes that inhabited them. Furthermore, he imagined that the defeat of the Crusaders and the Mongols created an equilibrium in the social climate of the urbanites that would remain unchallenged until the early sixteenth century.

[13]Ira M. Lapidus, "Mamluk Patronage and the Arts in Egypt: Concluding Remarks," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 173-81.

arts of Iran, India, and the Ottoman Empire.[14] Nevertheless, the general increase of interest in the study of Islamic art has led a growing number of scholars to investigate the architecture and arts of the Mamluk period.

Architecture

Architecture was the preeminent art of the Mamluk period, and it is no accident that architecture has received more extensive treatment than the other arts. In comparison to contemporary Iran, Central Asia, or Anatolia, where a single building may represent the artistic activity of the period in a given city, literally hundreds of buildings survive from the Mamluk period in such major cities as Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem, and Aleppo, and the buildings of the Mamluk period can be said to have defined their urban character. Although scholars continue to write about ″the Fatimid city,″ the historic parts of Cairo are much more a creation of the Mamluk period. Not only did the Mamluks pour considerable sums into building, but their architectural patronage can be said to have defined many of the other arts, which were often conceived and used as fittings and furnishings for their charitable foundations. Thus many manuscripts of the Quran were made for presentation to religious foundations, wooden *minbar*s and *kursī*s were presented to mosques, and glass lamps were made to illuminate them.

Creswell′s extraordinary presence dominated the study of Mamluk architecture until 1992, largely through his *Brief Chronology* of 1919 and the second volume of his monumental history *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt* (Oxford, 1959).[15] Creswell′s massive tome begins with the advent of Ayyubid rule in 1171 and gives monographic treatment to every surviving work of Egyptian Islamic architecture in chronological order, breaking off in the middle of the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (r. 1294-1340, with interruptions). Creswell is said to have been working on a third volume at the time of his death, but he had only prepared studies of six monuments (still not published). Thus, some of the best known and most important architectural monuments of the Mamluk period remained virtually unpublished.[16] The most accessible publication of the Mosque

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[14]See, for example, such ″blockbuster″ exhibitions of the period as Esin Atıl, *The Age of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent* (Washington, 1987); Stuart Cary Welch, *India: Art and Culture, 1300-1900* (New York and Munich, 1988 [reprinted 1993]); and Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision* (Los Angeles, 1989).

[15]K. A. C. Creswell, ″A Brief Chronology of the Muhammadan Monuments of Egypt to A. D. 1517,″ *Bulletin de l′Institut français d′archéologie orientale* 16 (1919): 39-164. For Creswell and his legacy, see *Muqarnas* 8 (1991), the proceedings of a 1987 Oxford conference held in his memory.

[16]I am not including here such cursory surveys of Egyptian Islamic architecture as Gaston Wiet, *The Mosques of Cairo*, photographs by Albert Shoucair ([s.l.], 1966); Dietrich Brandenburg,

of Sultan Ḥasan, for example, was an illustrated section of Michael Rogers's *Spread of Islam*,[17] and the exquisite complex of Qāytbāy was barely published at all.

All this changed, however, with the publication of Michael Meinecke's *Die Mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien*.[18] Meinecke, director of Berlin's Museum of Islamic Art until his sudden and untimely death in early 1994, had worked on the project for over two decades. During this time he had supervised the restoration of the *madrasah* of Amir Mithqāl in Cairo and had been director of the German Archaeological Institute in Damascus. The second volume of his work, compiled largely by his colleague and wife, Viktoria Meinecke-Berg, is a chronological list of 2,279 Mamluk building activities between the advent of Mamluk rule in 1250 and the Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt in 1517. Organized by reign (numbered 0 to 48, in vol. 2) and then by project, each entry gives each building activity a unique reference number (e.g., 19B/13 for the Madrasah of Sultan Ḥasan, corresponding to the thirteenth activity in the nineteenth sultan's second reign) along with a capsule description, indication of relevant contemporary sources including endowment deeds, published inscriptions, and general publications about the building (designated Q, I, and B, respectively). These activities, whether new constructions or restorations, extant or destroyed, have been tabulated for some fifty locations in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Arabia, and Anatolia according to the two main periods of Mamluk history, 1250-1382 and 1382-1517, to give a fascinating graphic representation of the chronological and geographical range of Mamluk architecture. In contrast, a survey of Timurid architecture in all of Iran and Transoxiana discusses a mere 250-odd buildings.[19]

The heart of Meinecke's book is the historical discussion of Mamluk architecture in the first volume, which is based on the data collected in the second. Unlike Creswell, who just discussed one monument after another, or others who followed the stale historical divisions of Baḥrīs and Burjīs or Turks and Circassians, Meinecke saw six periods of Mamluk architecture with different characters. The renaissance of early Islamic architecture under Baybars I (r. 1260-77) was followed by a development of local styles under Qalāwūn and his successors (1279-1310) and a golden age under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (1310-41). He then followed the

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Islamische Baukunst in Ägypten (Berlin, 1966); or Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo: An Introduction*, Supplements to Muqarnas (Leiden, 1989).

[17][J.] Michael Rogers, *The Spread of Islam* (Oxford, 1976), based in part on his "Seljuk Influence on the Monuments of Cairo," *Kunst des Orients* 7, no. 1 (1970-71): 40-68.

[18]Michael Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien*, 2 vols., Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe, vol. 5 (Glückstadt, 1992).

[19]Lisa Golombek and Donald Wilber, *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan* (Princeton, 1988).

internationalization of Mamluk architecture in the period 1341-82, architecture in Cairo from the accession of Barqūq (1382-1517), and architecture in Syria from the invasion of Timur to the Ottoman conquest (1400-1516). Finally he considered the afterlife of the Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo traditions following the Ottoman conquest in 1516-17.

No book is perfect, and Meinecke would never have claimed that his was. It was, however, as good as he could make it. One may criticize a certain stuffiness in the presentation, in which every photograph is reduced to 3 by 4.5 inches and every building reduced to a plan. Although there are no sections or elevations, the plans are drawn to a consistent scale, and the reader can see at a glance the relative dimensions of Mamluk buildings. It is quite obvious that the Mosque of Sultan Ḥasan (fig. 78), for example, does not cover nearly as much ground as the Great Mosque of Damascus (fig. 69). Far more important than what Meinecke did, however, is what his book now allows others to do. Meinecke's registers and indices alone provide fertile ground for exploration, as it is now possible to see a particular building in the context of all other acts of patronage by a particular individual, or to extract all the building activities in Mecca or Medina and write the history of Mamluk architectural involvement there.

One can only be glad, however, that Meinecke did not live long enough to see how his work was reviewed by friend and foe alike. Oleg Grabar used the occasion to mourn the passing of an immensely knowledgeable and erudite friend, but he criticized the book for what its author had never intended it to have, notably analytical and judgmental themes.[20] Had Meinecke lived longer, he might have turned his attention to such philosophical questions of why Mamluk architecture did not change or whether the Mosque of Sultan Ḥasan is a great building, but he should not have been faulted for not having done what he did not set out to do. As unfashionable as Meinecke's (or Creswell's) work may be, we return to it constantly for accurate reference, while the myriad interpretative works are like so many leaves in the wind. Doris Behrens-Abouseif's review of Meinecke's book barely acknowledges the enormous scope and erudition of Meinecke's work.[21] She criticized his interpretation of the evolution of Mamluk architecture in terms of foreign workers and regional schools, in which he had tried to demonstrate exactly how workmen might have carried architectural ideas around the eastern Mediterranean region, a theme expanded in his posthumous *Patterns of Stylistic Change*.[22] Instead

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[20]Oleg Grabar, "Michael Meinecke and His Last Book," *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 1-6.

[21]Doris Behrens-Abouseif, review of *Die Mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien*, by Michael Meinecke, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 122-27.

[22]Michael Meinecke, *Patterns of Stylistic Change in Islamic Architecture: Local Traditions Versus Migrating Artists* (New York, 1996).

Behrens-Abouseif relied on rather nebulous theories of artistic ″influence″ to explain Mamluk architecture, but such theories, as the noted art historian Michael Baxandall has demonstrated, seriously confuse the roles of agent and patient.[23] Her conclusion that Meinecke′s analytical and synthetic masterpiece does not measure up to Godfrey Goodwin′s entertaining narrative history of Ottoman architecture says more about the reviewer than about the relative values of these two works. In contrast, Yasser Tabbaa′s review of Meinecke′s book in *Ars Orientalis* was more balanced, although he, too, criticized Meinecke for not going ″beyond formal analysis and fine points of influence into a broader investigation of the [Mosque of Sultan Ḥasan′s] unusual form, its highly original plan, and the peculiar circumstances of its patronage.″[24]

Meinecke, the most generous of scholars, would have been the first to admit that his work was based on the labor of others: his bibliography runs to twenty-five closely-set pages, including some thirty citations of his own works. While Creswell and Meinecke attempted to be encyclopedic, other works on particular aspects of Mamluk architecture can be characterized as monographic, topographic, or typological. Monographs on individual Mamluk buildings have been produced for over a century and have ranged from book-length studies to brief articles on specific problems of restoration. A model monograph is the collaborative project on the *madrasah* of Amir Mithqāl directed by the German Archeological Institute in the 1970s.[25] It combines a thorough technical and historical investigation of the building with a study of the urban environment as well as the relevant Arabic documents.

Other monographs have resulted from group or individual efforts and have dealt with a wide range of buildings. A Polish team, for example, published a more modest study of the Mausoleum of Qurqmās in the Northern Cemetery.[26] Saleh Lamei Mostafa has published several monographs on the buildings of Barqūq and his son Faraj,[27] to which J. M. Rogers′s brief but qualitative assessment is an

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[23]Michael Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention* (New Haven, 1985), 58-62.

[24]Yasser Tabbaa, review of *Die Mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien*, by Michael Meinecke, *Ars Orientalis* 26 (1996): 118-20.

[25]Michael Meinecke, *Die Restaurierung der Madrasa des Amīrs Sābiq al-Dīn Mitqāl al-Ānūkī und die Sanierung des Darb Qirmiz in Kairo* (Mainz, 1980).

[26]Marek Baranski and Bozena Halicka, *Mausoleum of Qurqumas in Cairo: Results of the Investigations and Conservation Works 1984-88*, vol. 3 (Warsaw, 1991).

[27]Saleh Lamei Mostafa, *Kloster und Mausoleum des Farağ ibn Barqūq in Kairo*, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe, 2 (Glückstadt, 1968); idem, *Moschee des Farağ ibn Barqūq in Kairo*, with a contribution by Ulrich Haarmann, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe, 3 (Glückstadt, 1972); idem, *Madrasa, Ḫānqāh, und Mausoleum des Barqūq in Kairo*, with a contribution by Felicitas Jaritz,

important addition.[28] Archibald Walls, working under the aegis of the British School in Jerusalem, produced a meticulous study of the largely-destroyed Ashrafīyah *madrasah* in Jerusalem.[29] Careful examination of the remaining structure as well as comparable buildings in better condition allowed him to propose (and draw!) a convincing reconstruction of the original building. Oddly enough, the success of such studies may be inversely proportional to the importance of the building itself, for the great monuments of Mamluk architecture, such as the funerary complex of Sultan Ḥasan, seem to defy or discourage monographic treatment. For example, a recent attempt to elucidate that building's symbolic meaning proposes that it is at once a sign of the rising power of the Mamluks' offspring (*awlād al-nās*), a grand gesture to lift up the spirits of a population depressed by the Black Death, and a symbolic re-creation of the birth canal.[30] Despite R. Stephen Humphreys's bold attempt some twenty-five years ago to assess the "expressive intent" of Mamluk architecture[31] and my own youthful effort,[32] it remains to be proven that Mamluk builders gave a hoot about symbolic meaning.

Cairo was the Mamluk capital and the focus of Creswell's interest, but the buildings of other Mamluk cities have also received scholarly attention. A model of such a topographical study is Michael Burgoyne's publication of the twenty-year investigation by the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem of the Mamluk monuments of that city. This splendid and massive volume comprises a series of interpretive essays followed by a catalogue of sixty-four buildings.[33] Burgoyne's book is notable for its extensive documentation, which includes photographs, plans, sections, and axonometric (three-dimensional) drawings. It also benefits from extensive historical research by D. S. Richards, and shows, as one might expect, that teamwork can produce splendid results.

Abhandlung des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe 4 (Glückstadt, 1982), 118 ff.

[28] J. M. Rogers, "The Stones of Barquq: Building Materials and Architectural Decoration in Late Fourteenth-Century Cairo," *Apollo* 103, no. 170 (1976): 307-13.

[29] Archibald G. Walls, *Geometry and Architecture in Islamic Jerusalem: A Study of the Ashrafiyya* (Buckhurst Hill, Essex, 1990).

[30] Howyda N. al-Harithy, "The Complex of Sultan Hasan in Cairo: Reading between the Lines," *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 68-79, based on her "Urban Form and Meaning in Bahri Mamluk Architecture," Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1992.

[31] R. Stephen Humphreys, "The Expressive Intent of the Mamluk Architecture of Cairo: A Preliminary Essay," *Studia Islamica* 35 (1972): 69-119.

[32] Bloom, "Mosque of Baybars."

[33] Michael Hamilton Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study*, with additional historical research by D. S. Richards (Buckhurst Hill, Essex, 1987).

The urban development of Damascus, not only in the Mamluk period, has recently been studied by Dorothée Sack,[34] but for many individual buildings one must still consult earlier studies by Watzinger and Wulzinger, Sauvaget, and Herzfeld.[35] Similarly, the urban development of Aleppo has been recently studied by Gaube and Wirth,[36] but the earlier studies of Sauvaget and Herzfeld remain essential reading.[37] Perhaps the most innovative of recent studies on Aleppan architecture is Terry Allen′s electronic publication on the Ayyubid and early Mamluk periods.[38] Allen′s extraordinarily close reading of texts and examination of masonries has led him to see how individual masons worked and how they moved from one project to another. Not only is Allen′s methodology innovative, but so is the electronic form in which he has published his book, although the lack of illustrations (one must read it with copies of Sauvaget and Herzfeld at one′s side) makes it difficult going for the uninitiated. The Mamluk monuments of provincial cities have also been made available: Hayat Salam-Lieblich published the monuments of Tripoli and Mohamed-Moain Sadek published those of Gaza.[39] While such studies have made inaccessible monuments available to a wider public, some are methodologically unsophisticated and fail to discern the forest for the trees.

The large numbers of Mamluk buildings in particular cities have also provided invaluable primary source material for writing nuanced urban history, such as the works of Sack, Gaube, and Wirth already mentioned. Compared to contemporary Islamic cities elsewhere, with the possible exception of Fez, the physical and documentary remains for Mamluk cities are extraordinarily rich. This wealth of

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[34]Dorothée Sack, *Damaskus: Entwicklung und Struktur einer Orientalisch-Islamischen Stadt*, Damaszener Forschungen (Mainz, 1989).

[35]Jean Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques de Damas* (Beirut, 1932); Ernst Herzfeld, ″Damascus: Studies in Architecture,″ pts. I-IV, *Ars Islamica* 9-13/14 (1942-48): 9:1-53; 10:13-70; 11/12:1-71; 13/14:118-38; Karl Wulzinger and Carl Watzinger, *Damaskus, die islamische Stadt* (Berlin, 1924).

[36]Heinz Gaube and Eugen Wirth, *Aleppo: Historische und geographische Beiträge zur baulichen Gestaltung, zur sozialen Organisation, und zur wirtschaftlichen Dynamik einer vorderasiatischen Fernhandelsmetropole*, Beihefte der Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, Geisteswissenschaften (Wiesbaden, 1984).

[37]Jean Sauvaget, *Alep: Essai sur le développement d′une grande ville syrienne des origines au milieu du XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1941); Ernst Herzfeld, *Inscriptions et monuments d′Alep* (Cairo, 1954-55).

[38]Terry Allen, *Ayyubid Architecture*, electronic publication on the Internet: www.wco.com/~books/ ISBN 0-944940-02-1 (Occidental, California, 1996).

[39]Hayat Salam-Liebich, *The Architecture of the Mamluk City of Tripoli* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1983); Mohamed-Moain Sadek, *Die mamlukische Architektur der Stadt Gaza*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, 144 (Berlin, 1991).

information has allowed scholars to study even the districts of particular cities, such as Ḥusaynīyah, Būlāq, and Azbakīyah in Cairo[40] or Sūq al-Sārūjā in Damascus.[41]

The great number of buildings to survive from the Mamluk period has also inspired studies of types or parts of buildings. Creswell himself seems to have led the pack, for the last twenty plates of the second volume of his *Muslim Architecture of Egypt* comprise sequences of *miḥrāb*s, domes and pendentives, and minarets, as if looking at them alone would explain the development of architecture.[42] His unspoken assumption seems to have been that builders of *miḥrāb*s looked only at other *miḥrāb*s, while builders of domes looked only at other domes, a premise that may represent a rather simplistic view of architectural history, not to mention human nature. Nevertheless, this approach has been continued by many with greater or lesser success. Among the most successful is Christel Kessler's brief but elegant study of the carved masonry domes of medieval Cairo.[43] She documented an increased sophistication among stonemasons in their ability to combine structural and decorative elements, showing that specialized teams were responsible for building this particular type of dome. Other specialized studies concern the evolution of portals in Cairo,[44] the minarets of Cairo,[45] *sabīl*s,[46] and *madrasah*s in Damascus.[47] Leonor Fernandes's studies of the evolution of the institution of the *khānqāh* are notable for combining architectural with institutional history.[48]

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[40]Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "The North-Eastern Extension of Cairo Under the Mamluks," *Annales islamologiques* 17 (1981): 157-89; Nelly Hanna, *An Urban History of Būlāq in the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods* (Cairo, 1983); Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Azbakiyya and Its Environs from Azbak to Ismail, 1476-1879* (Cairo, 1985).

[41]'Abd al-Razzāq Ma'ādh, "Sūq Sārūjā: Bidāyāt Nushū' Ḥayy bi-Dimashq khilāla al-Qarn al-Sādis al-Hijrī," *al-Turāth al-'Arabī* 32 (1988): 89-96; idem [Abd al-Razzaq Moaz], "Suwayqat Sārūǧā, un quartier de Damas extra-muros (XIIe-XIXe siècles)," *Bulletin de la Fondation Max van Berchem* 8 (1994): 1-2.

[42]One of Creswell's first forays into this approach was his article "The Evolution of the Minaret, with Special Reference to Egypt," *Burlington Magazine* 48 (1926): 134-40, 252-58, 290-98.

[43]Christel Kessler, *The Carved Masonry Domes of Medieval Cairo* (London, 1976).

[44]Daad H. Abdel Razik, "The Circassian Mamluk Monumental Entrances of Cairo: A Survey and Analysis of Extant Portals 784/1384-901/1496," Master's thesis, American University in Cairo, 1990.

[45]Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Minarets of Cairo* (Cairo, 1985).

[46]Sophie Ebeid, "Early Sabils and Their Standardization," Master's thesis, American University in Cairo, 1976.

[47]Abd al-Razzaq Moaz, "Les madrasas de Damas et d'al-Sāliḥiyya depuis la fin du V/XIe siècle jusqu'au milieu du VII/XIIIe siècle: Textes historiques et études architecturales," Ph.D. diss., Université de Provence, Aix-Marseille I, 1990.

[48]E.g., Leonor E. Fernandes, "The Evolution of the Khanqah Institution in Mamluk Egypt," Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1980; idem, "The Foundation of Baybars al-Jashankir: Its Waqf, History,

The history of Islamic architecture is normally studied as the history of religious architecture, because—apart from a few notable exceptions—later generations saw little need to maintain the secular buildings of their predecessors. They concentrated their efforts on maintaining mosques, *madrasah*s, and the like, and so houses and palaces quickly fell into ruin. An unusually large number of domestic buildings from the Mamluk and Ottoman periods has, however, been preserved in Cairo. Creswell published them when they fit into his chronological scheme, but as most surviving buildings postdate the 1330s he never got around to them. Most other scholars consider domestic architecture to be an entirely separate field from the history of religious or monumental architecture, although the patrons of these religious buildings had to live somewhere and builders could construct one as well as the other. Indeed, there seems to have been a distinct convergence in the late Mamluk period between domestic and religious architecture.

The surviving houses of Cairo have been studied, surveyed, and published under the auspices of the Institut français d′archéologie orientale (IFAO), the Egyptian government, and the French Centre nationale de la recherche scientifique (CNRS), which has sponsored research on domestic architecture throughout the north of Africa. Jacques Revault and Bernard Maury, eventually joined by Mona Zakariya, published architectural studies of the remaining mansions; they were joined by Jean-Claude Garcin in a more interpretative and synthetic study using *waqf* documents and other sources to present a more nuanced history of habitation in Cairo.[49] Middle-class housing has been a speciality of Laila Ali Ibrahim, the doyenne of Mamluk architecture in Cairo,[50] and Hazem Sayed has followed her in combining monumental and textual sources in several studies concerning the *rab‘*, or multi-family housing, and the evolution of the distinctive *qā‘ah*, or central reception hall, in Cairene architecture of the Mamluk period.[51] Some middle-class housing units were combined with *wakālah*s, or urban caravanserais, which Scharabi has studied.[52]

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and Architecture,″ *Muqarnas* 4 (1987): 21-42.

[49]Jacques Revault and Bernard Maury, *Palais et maisons du Caire du XIVe au XVIIIe siècle* (Cairo, 1975); Jean-Claude Garcin et al., *Palais et maisons du Caire,* I: *Époque mamelouke (XIIIe-XVI siècles)* (Paris, 1982).

[50]Laila ‘Ali Ibrahim, ″Middle-Class Living Units in Mamluk Cairo: Architecture and Terminology,″ *AARP Art and Archaeology Research Papers* 14 (1978): 24-30; idem, ″Residential Architecture in Mamluk Cairo,″ *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 47-60.

[51]Hazem I. Sayed, ″The Rab‘ in Cairo,″ Ph.D. diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1987; idem, ″The Development of the Cairene *Qā‘a*: Some Considerations,″ *Annales islamologiques* (1987): 31-53.

[52]Mohamed Scharabi, ″Drei traditionelle Handelsanlagen in Kairo: Wakālat al-Bāzar‘a, Wakālat Dūl-Fiqār, und Wakālat al-Quṭn,″ *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung*

The abundance of information for Mamluk architecture may lead us to forget that what remains was not necessarily all that was. Important buildings and works of art have been destroyed and lost, or changed so significantly that it takes an archaeologist to disentangle their original aspect. Mecca and Medina, for example, were major foci of Mamluk architectural patronage, but there are virtually no monumental remains, and texts provide the sole means of recreating these activities. Apart from the classic studies, such as Sauvaget′s book on the Mosque of the Prophet in Medina,[53] some recent studies begin to explore the possibilities of this material.[54] But there is much more that can be done, as it is now possible, thanks to Meinecke′s work, to write the history of Mamluk architectural involvement in these cities. A more archaeological approach has been taken by Nasser Rabbat in his dissertation and book on the Cairo citadel, which judiciously combines textual, architectural and archaeological evidence to reconstruct the center of Mamluk power in the thirteenth century.[55]

In addition to the architectural evidence and texts, inscriptions, *waqf* documents, and court records are other important sources for architectural history of the Mamluk period. For inscriptions, the work of Max van Berchem and Gaston Wiet on the *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* remains essential,[56] although Bernard O′Kane has announced a project to update the portions of the *Corpus* dealing with Egypt. Over one thousand documents in the Cairo archives survive from the period of the Mamluk sultans,[57] and almost nine hundred fourteenth-century legal

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Kairo (1978): 127-64; idem, *Industrie und industriebau in Ägypten: Eine Einführung in die Geschichte der Industrie im Nahen Osten* (Tübingen, 1992).

[53]Jean Sauvaget, *La Mosquée Omeyyade de Médine: Étude sur les origines architecturales de la mosquée et de la basilique* (Paris, 1947).

[54]Inscriptions in the Haram at Mecca before 1421 are discussed in Hassan Mohammed el-Hawary and Gaston Wiet, *Inscriptions et monuments de la Mecque, Ḥaram et Ka'ba*, Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, pt. 4: Arabie (Cairo, 1985). Another approach was taken by Amy W. Newhall, ″The Patronage of the Mamluk Sultan Qa'it Bay, 872-901/1468-1496,″ Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1987. See also Doris Behrens-Abouseif, ″Sultan Qaytbay′s Foundation in Medina, the *Madrasah*, the *Ribāṭ*, and the *Dashīshah*,″ *MSR* 2 (1998): 61-71.

[55]Nasser O. Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden, 1995); see also my review in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 117, no. 2 (1997): 381-82.

[56]Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, I: Égypte 1*, Mémoires de la Mission archéologique française au Caire, 19 (Cairo, 1894-1903); Gaston Wiet, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum I: Egypte 2*, Mémoires de l′Institut français archéologique du Caire, 52 (Cairo, 1929-30).

[57]Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Laila Ali Ibrahim, *Architectural Terms in Mamluk Documents/al-Muṣṭalaḥāt al-Mi'mārīyah fī al-Wathā'iq al-Mamlūkīyah (648-923H) (1250-1517)* (Cairo, 1990); Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Catalogue des documents d′archives du Caire/Fihrist*

records and endowment deeds survive in Jerusalem.[58] These sources are being used increasingly for architectural history. For example, Amīn and Ibrahim used the Cairo documents to create a glossary of architectural terms, but the usefulness of the brief English translation is diminished by the arrangement of terms following the order of the Arabic alphabet. Thus the first column in the English glossary contains such words as *abzin*, *utruja*, *izār*, *isṭabl*, and *a'yun*. Their order makes perfect sense only to people who know enough Arabic not to need the English translation.

Decorative Arts

As with architecture, the abundance of surviving works of decorative art from the Mamluk period makes easy categorization difficult. For an introduction to the subject, there can be no better place to start than Atıl's 1981 exhibition catalogue, which is readable, generally accurate, well-illustrated, and has an extensive bibliography.[59]

Manuscripts

As elsewhere in the Islamic lands, the arts of the book were of primary importance in Mamluk times. The Quran, as in all other times and places in the Islamic lands, was *the* book, and lavish manuscripts of the Quran were produced throughout much of the period. The most important study of early Mamluk Quran manuscripts, that is, those manuscripts produced during the fourteenth century up to the reign of Sha'bān (r. 1363-76), was done by David James, once curator at the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin.[60] Scholars had also supposed that the presence in Cairo of a magnificent manuscript of the Quran made for the Mongol ruler Uljāytū had inspired the florescence of Mamluk manuscript production, but James suggested that Cairene production had already begun its distinctive course with the seven-part Quran manuscript commissioned in the early fourteenth century from the calligrapher Ibn al-Waḥīd by Baybars al-Jashnakīr for his *khānqāh*. As Ibn al-Waḥīd had trained in Baghdad with the great calligrapher Yāqūt al-Musta'ṣimī, James argued that he and his illuminator colleagues were responsible for introducing the new styles of calligraphy and illumination to Cairo.

What is most surprising is that James attributes a group of large-format manuscripts to the patronage of sultan Ḥasan's wife Khawand Barakah and their

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Wathā'iq al-Qāhirah ḥattá Nihāyat 'Aṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk (Cairo, 1981).

[58]Donald P. Little, "The Haram Documents as Sources for the Arts and Architecture of the Mamluk Period," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 47-61.

[59]Atıl, *Renaissance*.

[60]David James, *Qur'ans of the Mamluks* (London, 1988).

son, the sultan al-Ashraf Shaʿbān II (r. 1363-76), for most of them were given to their charitable foundations, the Umm al-Sulṭān (Mother of the Sultan) and the Ashrafīyah *madrasah*s in Cairo. Their fine quality and immense scale suggest instead that the manuscripts might have been conceived for Ḥasan's colossal complex in Cairo, but his untimely death and the abandonment of the project may have led other patrons to take over the original commission and take credit for them.

While there can be no doubt of the importance of Iraqi and Iranian models and calligraphers for the development of early Mamluk calligraphy, it is unreasonable to imagine that there was no indigenous tradition of calligraphy in Egypt, even though no manuscripts have survived (or been identified) to represent this tradition. The religious foundations of such Mamluk rulers as Baybars and Qalāwūn, quite apart from those of their Fatimid and Ayyubid predecessors, would have required manuscripts, and local calligraphers must have continued to produce despite changes in government and patronage. A complete and more nuanced history of the development of Mamluk calligraphy awaits the publication of more manuscripts in public and private collections.[61] The relatively large number of Quran manuscripts to survive in Egypt's dry climate, however, has allowed scholars to begin the study of Mamluk bookbinding, largely on the basis of collections in Chicago's Oriental Institute[62] and London's Victoria and Albert Museum.[63]

Mamluk manuscripts of the Quran often rival those produced in the eastern lands, but there can be no question that the arts of the illustrated book were less important and of lower quality in Mamluk lands than they were in Iran. The relatively few illustrated books that exist are not up to the aesthetic or programmatic levels of Iranian illustrated books. Only about sixty illustrated manuscripts can be ascribed to the entire Mamluk period, and Duncan Haldane has prepared a convenient introduction to them.[64] Most of them were produced in the late thirteenth century and first half of the fourteenth, although a few point to a revival at the very end of the Mamluk period.[65] In contrast to Iran, where Mongol and Timurid sultans are known to have ordered illustrated copies of a wide range of Persian classic texts including the "Shāhnāmah," Niẓāmī's "Khamsah," Saʿdī's "Gulistān" and the fables

[61]Vlad Atanasiu has announced that he is working, under the direction of François Déroche at the École Pratique des Hautes Etudes IV, on a dissertation on Mamluk calligraphy.

[62]Gulnar Bosch et al., *Islamic Bindings and Bookmaking* (Chicago, 1981).

[63]Duncan Haldane, *Islamic Bookbindings in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1983).

[64]Duncan Haldane, *Mamluk Painting* (Warminster, 1978).

[65]For example, *Kitāb al-Zardaq*, a veterinary manual with eleven paintings or diagrams (Istanbul, University Library, A.4689) was produced for Yalbāy, a *mamlūk* of Qanibāy al-Ḥamzāwī (d. 1458), probably in Damascus, ca. 1435. Yalbāy was Keeper of the Horse for the Commander-in-Chief of Damascus during the reign of Barsbāy (r. 1422-37).

in ″Kalīlah wa-Dimnah,″ the only illustrated manuscript known to have been commissioned by a Mamluk sultan is a two-volume Turkish translation of the ″Shāhnāmah″ with sixty-two paintings copied by Ḥusayn ibn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥanafī for Qānsūḥ al-Ghawrī at the very end of the Mamluk period.[66] Most illustrated Mamluk manuscripts are scientific treatises and works of belles-lettres popular in earlier periods, such as al-Jazarī′s ″Automata,″ al-Ḥarīrī′s ″Maqāmāt″ (″Assemblies″), and ″Kalīlah wa-Dimnah.″[67]

Scholars have not yet established where these manuscripts were produced, although it is commonly assumed that they were made in Cairo. None of them, however, is known to have been made for a member of the Mamluk elite, and only two fourteenth-century manuscripts contain dedications linking them to high-ranking Mamluk amirs.[68] The most probable patrons seem to have been members of the Arabic-speaking bourgeoisie, such as Aḥmad ibn Jullāb al-Mawṣilī, the inspector of alms in Damascus, who acquired a copy of the ″Maqāmāt″ in 1375 which had been made a half-century earlier.[69] Indeed, Damascus seems a more likely center of manuscript production, for another copy of the ″Maqāmāt″ in the British Library (Or. 9718) was written and illustrated by the well-known Damascene calligrapher, Ghazī ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān, and the Escorial ″Manāfiʻ al-Ḥayawān″ was compiled by ʻAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz ibn ʻAbd al-Fatḥ ibn al-Durayhim (d. 1360), a prominent member of the Damascene *ʻulamā*ʼ who taught at the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus.[70] Other illustrated books, such as manuals on horsemanship (Arab. *furūsīyah*) illustrated from the 1360s onward, may have been owned by Mamluks. They depict the equestrian exercises that

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[66]Istanbul, Topkapı Palace Museum, H. 1519; Esin Atıl, ″Mamluk Painting in the Late Fifteenth Century,″ *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 159-72.

[67]One exceptional manuscript is a dispersed copy of *Sulwān al-Muṭaʻ*, for which see *Muhammad ibn Zafar al-Siqilli′s Sulwān al-Muṭaʻ* [*Prescription for Pleasure*], commentary by A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, translated by M. Amari (Kuwait, 1985).

[68]Two manuscripts can be associated with the sons of Mamluk officials. The first is a copy (Oxford, Bodleian Lib., Marsh 458) of the ″Maqāmāt″ made in 1337 for Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, the free-born son of Ṭurunṭāy (d. 1290), who served as viceroy of Egypt under Qalāwūn. A copy of Ismāʻīl ibn al-Razzāz al-Jazarī′s ″Kitāb fī Maʻrifat al-Ḥiyāl al-Handasīyah″ [Treatise on Automata] was transcribed in 1354 by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Izmīrī for the amir Naṣr al-Dīn Muḥammad, the son of Tūlak al-Ḥarrānī, a military judge in the service of sultans al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ (r. 1351-54) and his brother al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (r. 1347-51, 1354-61). Most of the manuscript is in Istanbul, Süleymaniye 3606. Both of these patrons were therefore members of the *awlād al-nās*, who presumably could have read Arabic fluently and would have enjoyed doing it. See *The Arts of Islam*, exhibition catalogue, Hayward Gallery ([London], 1976), no. 535; Haldane, *Mamluk Painting*, 55.

[69]London, British Library, Add. 7293.

[70]Haldane, *Mamluk Painting*, 50.

formed a regular part of the Mamluks′ training. They contain only simple artless illustrations in which clarity is the dominant consideration.[71] Unlike Mongol Iran, where the richest and most powerful patrons had great interest in having books illustrated,[72] the Mamluks were not, perhaps because they did not participate in the Arabic literary culture of the people they ruled.

Textiles

As in most other parts of the medieval Islamic world, textiles were the mainstay of the Mamluk (and Egyptian) economy, but their inherent fragility has meant that relatively few have survived, either in the relative safety of European treasuries or in the dry Egyptian ground. Mamluk textiles have generally received less attention than those of earlier periods in Egypt (e.g., Abbasid and Fatimid *ṭirāz*) or other regions (e.g., Iranian drawloom silks), although under the Mamluks Syrian and Egyptian looms continued to produce fine fabrics and carpets. Over the course of the Mamluk period, however, the Egyptian textile industry, like the paper industry, faced increasing competition from European exports. It is said that, of the 14,000 looms operating in Alexandria in 1388, only 800 were still in use a half-century later.[73]

Surviving fragments of Mamluk textiles acquired on the antiquities market have traditionally been published as private or public collections,[74] although Louise Mackie has looked at Mamluk silks in the broader international context.[75] Only recently have several scholars attempted to present Mamluk textiles in the archaeological contexts from which most have been taken, but a review of this literature is more properly the purview of the archaeologist. The role of international trade in the textile industry has led to studies of Mamluk drawloom silks as shown in Italian paintings or Indian block-printed cottons discovered in Mamluk Egypt.[76] Apart from the late Yedida Stillman′s work on dress as portrayed in the Geniza

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[71]For the latest word on the subject, see David Alexander, ed., *Furusiyya: The Horse in the Art of the Near East* (Riyadh, 1996).

[72]Sheila S. Blair, ″The Development of the Illustrated Book in Iran,″ *Muqarnas* 10 (1993).

[73]Anne E. Wardwell, *Dictionary of Art*, 16:441.

[74]E.g., Georgette Cornu et al., *Tissus islamiques de la collection Pfister* (Rome, 1992); *Tissus d′Égypte: Collection Bouvier*, exhibition catalogue, Musée d′art et histoire de Genève and Institut du monde arabe à Paris (Paris, 1994).

[75]Louise W. Mackie, ″Toward an Understanding of Mamluk Silks: National and International Considerations,″ *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 127-46.

[76]Ruth Barnes, ″From India to Egypt: The Newberry Collection and the Indian Ocean Trade,″ in *Islamische Textilkunst des Mittelalters: Aktuelle Probleme*, Riggisberger Berichte (Riggisberg, 1997), 79-92; and Ruth Barnes, *Indian Block-Printed Textiles in Egypt: The Newberry Collection in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1997).

documents (which are largely earlier than the Mamluk period), L. A. Mayer′s seminal work on Mamluk dress has never been continued.[77] In any event, costume has been woefully underutilized as a tool for dating other aspects of Mamluk art and culture.

Perhaps most attention has been accorded the distinctive group of Mamluk carpets that survives from the very end of the Mamluk period. Texts mention woven and knotted floor coverings earlier in the Mamluk period, but these carpets are the first to survive and seem to have some relationship to those produced in Aqquyunlu Iran and Anatolia.[78] A special issue of the journal *Halı* (4/1 [1981]) was devoted to the subject, and in subsequent years these carpets have been the focus of some wild speculation.[79] Increased interest has led collectors and scholars to explore dusty attics and storerooms. In the 1980s, for example, three previously-unknown Mamluk carpets of great importance were discovered in Italy, and recently many more fragments of an important large carpet were discovered there.[80]

METALWARES

Metalwares are among the most familiar of Mamluk decorative arts and the best studied, having a solid foundation in catalogues by Wiet and articles on individual pieces and groups by such noted scholars as D. S. Rice.[81] James Allan has produced some of the most important recent work on Mamluk metalwares, such as his article on the decline of the metalwork industry in the late fourteenth century.[82] It is an art historical fact that the absolute quality of metalwork declines in this period; Allan convincingly argues that the decline can be attributed to inflation, civil wars, Timur′s conquest of Damascus, the plague and the resulting scarcity of workers, as well as a shortage of metal, particularly silver and copper. Allan has

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[77] L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume: A Survey* (Geneva, 1952); Yedida K. Stillman, ″Libās,″ in collaboration with Norman A. Stillman, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2d ed., 5:732-50. Stillman was at her death in the process of preparing, with the help of Sheila Blair, a new edition of R. P. A. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845).

[78] Belkis Acar, ″New Light on the Problem of Turkmen-Timurid and Mamluk Rugs,″ in *Ars Turcica,* Akten des VI. internationalen Kongresses für türkische Kunst, Munich, 1979, eds. K. Kreiser et al. (Munich, 1987), 2:393-402.

[79] See R. Pinner and W. Denny, eds., *Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies, II: Carpets of the Mediterranean Countries 1400-1600* (London, 1986), in which one author proposed that features of their design indicated that some Mamluk carpets had to have been woven in Morocco!

[80] Alberto Boralevi, ″Three Egyptian Carpets in Italy,″ in ibid., 205-20; Carlo Maria Suriano, ″Mamluk Blazon Carpets,″ *Halı*, no. 97 (March 1998): 73-81; 107-8.

[81] E.g., Gaston Wiet, *Objects en cuivre*, Catalogue générale du Musée arabe du Caire (Cairo, 1932); D. S. Rice, *The Baptistère de Saint-Louis* (Paris, 1953).

[82] James W. Allan, ″Sha‘bān, Barqūq, and the Decline of the Mamluk Metalworking Industry,″ *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 85-94.

also published a volume on the Nuhad es-Said collection, which contains several important objects made for Qalāwūn, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and other sultans.[83] One may, however, be somewhat sceptical of Allan′s argument that the radiating inscription on an incense-burner made for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad should be interpreted as solar imagery which suggests that the ruler was the [metaphoric] source of light for the earth. Lapidus, in his 1984 article, reasonably suggested that such interpretations are quite foreign to the Mamluks′ view of themselves.[84]

Rachel Ward has approached the study of Mamluk metalwork in a new way by looking at objects from the Nuhad es-Said collection produced by a single workshop over a period of six decades.[85] She was able to show the transition from earlier styles of engraving to the inlaid decoration typical of Mamluk work. Her careful study is a necessary prelude to distinguishing regional centers, particularly Cairo and Damascus. James Allan has similarly approached the work of a particular metalworker, Muḥammad ibn al-Zayn, with extraordinary care and sensitivity.[86] By meticulously studying the nature and placement of Ibn al-Zayn′s signatures on his famous vessels, Allan ingeniously proposed that this craftsman must also have been a maker of thrones and ironwork.

As in many fields of art history, technical analysis holds great promise for explaining much about Mamluk art, but there has been a remarkable reluctance to apply these techniques to metalwork. It is simply unacceptable, for example, not to differentiate brass (primarily an alloy of copper and zinc) from bronze (primarily copper and tin), for they have different working properties, and the presence (or absence) of imported (and expensive) tin can tell us something about the economic circumstances in which a particular piece was made. It is therefore surprising that the author of a recent book on metal lamps writes that it is ″not possible within the scope of this study to indicate precisely the material.″[87]

CERAMICS

Ceramics is one of the fields in which scientific analysis is playing a major role in revising received opinion. Considering that Egypt was a major center of ceramic

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[83]James W. Allan, *Islamic Metalwork: The Nuhad es-Said Collection* (London, 1982). A few Mamluk pieces are also published in James Allan, *Metalwork of the Islamic World: The Aron Collection* (London, 1986).

[84]See note 13 above.

[85]Rachel Ward, ″Tradition and Innovation: Candlesticks Made in Mamluk Cairo,″ in *Islamic Art in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1995), 147-58.

[86]James W. Allan, ″Muhammad Ibn al-Zain: Craftsman in Cups, Thrones, and Window Grilles?″ *Levant* 28 (1996): 199-208.

[87]Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Mamluk and Post-Mamluk Metal Lamps*, Supplément aux Annales islamologiques (Cairo, 1995), 6.

production in the Fatimid period, when magnificent luster-painted earthenwares were among the most important ceramics made anywhere in the Islamic lands, the apparent decline of ceramic production in Egypt under Ayyubid and Mamluk rule comes as something of a shock. The center of ceramic innovation shifted from Egypt to Syria and Iran in the twelfth century, as potters began to make finer and harder ceramics from an artificial body (known as fritware or stonepaste) which was then painted and glazed. The majority of glazed ceramics produced in Egypt were rather coarse scratched and slip-painted earthenwares. At the same time, fine quality Chinese ceramics were being imported into the Mamluk realm by way of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, and large quantities of blue-and-white porcelain have been excavated at Hama in Syria and at Fustat in Egypt.[88]

The chronology of Mamluk period ceramics has yet to be established with certainty, not only because they are less beautiful and hence less ″collectible,″ but also because the Fustat excavations—the major key to dating Egyptian ceramics from the earlier periods—provide less information about the Mamluk period. On the one hand, most sealed contexts predate the Mamluk period; on the other, the overlying rubbish mounds which presumably contain Mamluk material are not sufficiently stratified to provide dates, although by excavating a cesspit Scanlon has had some success with characterizing the range of wares available in Mamluk Cairo.[89] Approaches other than archaeology and stylistic analysis have been necessary, and these include neutron-activation analysis,[90] which can show chemical similarities between different ceramics, and petrography, which analyzes and identifies the specific clays and minerals from which ceramics are made.[91]

Perhaps the most innovative work on Mamluk-period ceramics has been at the Royal Ontario Museum, where a group of scholars has used petrography, for example, to suggest that all Syrian glazed ceramics of the Mamluk period—whether underglaze-painted in blue and white or overglaze painted in luster—were made from the same body, and they concluded that they were made in one location,

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[88]Tsugio Mikami, ″China and Egypt: Fustat,″ *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 45 (1980-81): 67-89; Lisa Golombek, Robert B. Mason, and Gauvin A. Bailey, *Tamerlane′s Tableware: A New Approach to the Chinoiserie Ceramics of Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century Iran* (Costa Mesa, California, 1996), 126.

[89]George Scanlon, ″Mamluk Pottery: More Evidence from Fustat,″ *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 115-26.

[90]Marilyn Jenkins, ″Mamluk Underglaze Painted Pottery: Foundations for Further Study,″ *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 95-114.

[91]Robert B. Mason and Edward J. Keall, ″Petrography of Islamic Pottery from Fustat,″ *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27 (1990): 165-84; Robert B. Mason, ″Defining Syrian Stonepaste Ceramics: Petrographic Analysis of Pottery from Ma‘arrat Al-Nu‘man,″ in *Islamic Art in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1995), 1-18.

presumably Damascus.[92] Furthermore, they suggested that Timur forcibly took Damascene potters, along with Chinese porcelains that had been imported into the Mamluk realm and Syrian copies of them, to his capital at Samarqand, where the potters established workshops using particularly Syrian techniques to produce Central Asian imitations of Syrian imitations of Chinese porcelains.[93] As provocative as these hypotheses may be, to believe that all glazed ceramics of the Mamluk period were produced in one Syrian center seems to fly in the face of common sense, for economic or historical explanations for such a concentration of industry are lacking.

OTHER ARTS

In contrast to Mamluk-period ceramics, Mamluk glass is magnificent: nearly-colorless blown-glass vessels decorated with brilliant enamels and gold. Nevertheless, Mamluk glass had not attracted much scholarly attention after the publication of Wiet′s catalogues of the Cairo museum′s Mamluk lamps, although recently there has been a revival of interest in the subject. A careful study of glass coin-weights led to a proposed chronology of Egyptian glass,[94] and the excavation of several glass bracelets at the Mamluk-period site of Quseir al-Qadim led Carboni to reattribute several bracelets in the Metropolitan Museum from Coptic to Mamluk.[95] The results of an international conference devoted to the subject in London in 1994 are just about to appear.[96] The art of woodwork, which enjoyed extraordinary importance in Mamluk times, when it was used for doors, shutters, *minbar*s, *kursī*s, and chests, has not received the attention it deserves, apart from a few specialized studies.[97] One of the most distinctive features of Mamluk art is the presence of emblems, which have often been likened, incorrectly, to the blazons

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[92]Golombek, Mason, and Bailey, *Tamerlane′s Tableware*, 32.

[93]Ibid., 126-27; Robert B. Mason, ″Medieval Egyptian Lustre-Painted and Associated Wares: Typology in a Multidisciplinary Study,″ *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 34 (1997): 201-42.

[94]J. G. Kolbas, ″A Color Chronology of Islamic Glass,″ *Journal of Glass Studies* 25 (1983): 95-100.

[95]Stefano Carboni, ″Glass Bracelets from the Mamluk Period in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,″ *Journal of Glass Studies* 36 (1994): 126-29.

[96]Rachel Ward, ed., *Gilded and Enamelled Glass from the Middle East: Origins, Innovations* (London, 1998).

[97]Gloria S. Karnouk, ″Form and Ornament of the Cairene Baḥrī Minbar,″ *Annales islamologiques* 17 (1981): 113-39.

of medieval heraldry.[98] Recent work on the subject includes an investigation of its origins by the late Estelle Whelan and overviews by Meinecke and Rabbat.[99]

SPECIFIC TOPICS

While Mamluk art has normally been studied in terms of architecture and the decorative arts, several scholars have addressed topics that transcend these traditional categories. As we have seen, the traditional art historical investigation of ″influence″ confuses the agent with the patient, for the question should not be, for example, what is the ″influence″ of Iranian—or Chinese—art on that of the Mamluks but what was it that Mamluk artists saw in the arts of Iran—or China—that they felt was worth borrowing. Nevertheless, the question of foreign ″influence″ has interested such scholars as J. M. Rogers, who investigated the relationships between Mamluk art and that of Saljuq Anatolia and Ilkhanid Iran.[100] While Rogers rarely specified exactly how these architectural ideas might have been brought to Cairo, Meinecke approached the subject from the perspective of the movement of artists and workshops in his study of a group of tile makers who came to Cairo from Tabriz.[101] More recently, Rachel Ward has investigated the presence or absence of chinoiserie decoration on Mamluk metalwork in terms of Mamluk-Mongol political relations.[102]

Meinecke also turned around the question of ″influence″ and explored the relationship of Mamluk architecture to that of other traditions in his studies on the dispersal of the workshops assembled to build Sultan Ḥasan′s funerary complex to Damascus, Aleppo, Anatolia, and ultimately via Timur, to Turkestan,[103] as well as the legacy of Mamluk marble decoration in Ottoman Turkey.[104] He also explored the relationships between the art of the capital and that of the provinces,[105] and

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[98]L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry* (Oxford, 1933).

[99]Estelle Whelan, ″Representations of the *Khāṣṣakīyah* and the Origins of Mamluk Emblems,″ in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*, ed. Priscilla P. Soucek (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1988), 219-54; Michael Meinecke, ″Die mamlukische Heraldik in Ägypten und Syrien,″ *Der Herold* (N.F.) 13, no. 2 (1990): 38-40, 47; Nasser Rabbat, ″Rank,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2d ed., 8:431-33.

[100]J. M. Rogers, ″Seljuk Influence″; idem, ″Evidence for Mamluk-Mongol Relations, 1260-1360,″ *Colloque international sur l′histoire du Caire* (Cairo, 1972), 385-404.

[101] Michael Meinecke, ″Die mamlukischen Faiencemosaikdekorationen: eine Werkstätte aus Tabriz in Kairo (1330-1350),″ *Kunst des Orients* 11 (1976-77): 85-144.

[102]Rachel Ward, ″Mongol Mania in the Mamluk Court,″ unpublished paper scheduled for publication in 1998, to be edited by Robert Hillenbrand.

[103]Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien*, 130-52 (chap. 5, pt. E).

[104]Michael Meinecke, ″Mamlukische Marmordekorationen in der osmanischen Turkei,″ *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 27, no. 2 (1971): 207-20.

[105]Meinecke, ″Mamluk Architecture, Regional Architectural Traditions.″

between provincial capitals and local centers.[106] As buildings do not move about, these relationships are fairly easy to study, but it is much more difficult for the decorative arts. In the absence of any specific information to the contrary, historians have tended to attribute most Mamluk art to the capital, but studies have shown, or tended to suggest, that significant numbers of manuscripts, metalwares, glasswares, ceramics, and carpets were made elsewhere, particularly in Damascus.

It is easy for a specialist to distinguish the art of Baybars I from that of al-Ghawrī some 250 years later, but to the non-specialist most Mamluk art looks remarkably alike. Conservatism was an important attribute of Mamluk art, particularly in comparison to the arts of contemporary Iran where styles changed markedly from the Mongols to the Timurids and Safavids. While this conservatism in Mamluk art has not been the focus of particular study, several scholars have investigated the strong dependence of Mamluk art on the past. The mosque of Baybars I in Cairo, for example, has been shown to recreate not only the Fatimid mosque of al-Ḥākim but also that of Ibn Ṭūlūn,[107] and Baybars′s *madrasah* in Damascus is decorated with recreations of the Umayyad mosaics in the Great Mosque nearby.[108] It has long been recognized that the tomb of Qalāwūn is a free quotation of the equally Umayyad Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem,[109] and even contemporaries knew that the monumental vault in the funerary complex of Sultan Ḥasan surpassed the dimensions of the Sasanian Ṭāq-i Kisrā at Ctesiphon in Iraq.[110]

Because of the Mamluks′ peculiar system of succession, their art lacks the dynastic emphasis of contemporary Islamic art, particularly in Iran, where the Chingizid/Mongol-Timurid ideology was particularly important. The subject of Mamluk patronage remains oddly underexplored, although recently it has begun to attract more attention.[111] Amy W. Newhall′s study of the patronage of Qāytbāy is unusual because it combines architecture and decorative arts.[112] In contrast,

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[106]Meinecke, *Patterns*, 43-47.

[107]Bloom, ″Mosque of Baybars.″

[108]F. B. Flood, ″Umayyad Survivals and Mamluk Revivals: Qalawunid Architecture and the Great Mosque of Damascus,″ *Muqarnas* 14 (1997): 57-79.

[109]Michael Meinecke, ″Das Mausoleum des Qalā'ūn in Kairo: Untersuchungen zur Genese der mamlukischen Architekturdekoration,″ *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Archäologischen Institut Abteilung Kairo* 26 (1970): 47-80.

[110]Bernard O′Kane, ″Monumentality in Mamluk and Mongol Art and Architecture,″ *Art History* 19, no. 4 (December 1996): 499-522.

[111]Leonor Fernandes, ″Mamluk Architecture and the Question of Patronage,″ *MSR* 1 (1997): 107-20.

[112]Newhall, ″The Patronage of the Mamluk Sultan Qa'it Bay, 872-901/1468;″ Khaled Ahmad Alhamzeh, ″Late Mamluk Patronage: Qansuh al-Ghuri′s Waqf and His Foundations in Cairo,″ Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1993, appears to concern only the sultan′s patronage of

most studies of patronage have been restricted to architecture, such as that of the amirs of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad[113] or al-Ghawrī.[114] Al-Harithy has investigated the architectural patronage of women, showing that it was not very different from that of men in Mamluk Egypt.[115] She concludes that members of the Mamluk ruling class erected the buildings and that members of the indigenous population used them. Her study would have been more convincing had she attempted to further identify these female patrons and explain whether this was an Egyptian or a Mamluk phenomenon. As in many other fields, Mamluk patronage in Egypt and Syria might profitably be compared with that of contemporary Mongol and Timurid Iran.[116] The abundance of evidence makes it possible to explore the patronage of many rulers, including Baybars, Qalāwūn, and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and one hopes that more scholars will turn their attention in this direction.

Conclusion

The great range of work already mentioned in this overly long survey makes it clear that no one scholar or approach dominates the field, and that there is a healthy range of opinion. I do believe, however, that the study of Mamluk art and architecture suffers from several general problems, and I would like to conclude by discussing three.

The first problem is a failure by some art historians to be also good historians. While good historians have learned to treat their written sources with caution, understanding that each document or text represents one particular view of a situation, art historians tend to be more gullible and believe that all written documents are true. At the same time, art historians have failed to convince the larger scholarly community that visual evidence is as valid, if not more valid, than written evidence. These issues are particularly important in view of the textual basis of much scholarship on Mamluk art, which treats al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* as a revealed text rather than as a rich and important selection of earlier works by one fifteenth-century scholar. In my study of Baybars's mosque, for example, I found (much to my surprise) that al-Maqrīzī was not a completely reliable source, probably because

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architecture.

[113]Shāhindah Fahmī Karīm, "Jawāmi‘ wa-Masājid Umarā’ al-Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn," Ph.D. diss., Cairo University, 1987.

[114]Alhamzeh, "Late Mamluk Patronage: Qansuh al-Ghuri's Waqf and His Foundations in Cairo."

[115]Howyda al-Harithy, "Female Patronage of Mamluk Architecture in Cairo," *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 1, no. 2 (1994): 152-74.

[116]See, for example, Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shah-Nama* (Chicago, 1980); Roya Marefat, "Timurid Women: Patronage and Power," *Asian Art* 6, no. 2 (Spring 1993): 28-49; and Noha Sadek, "Rasulid Women: Power and Patronage," *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 19 (1989): 121-26.

of his own bias against Baybars.[117] In studying the complex of Sultan Sha'bān on al-Tabbānah street, Howyda al-Harithy noted that the foundation inscription on the main portal reads: ". . . Our lord the sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'bān ordered the building of this blessed *madrasah* for his mother . . . in the year 770/1368," and this statement is repeated at least eight other times in the complex. Nevertheless, Mamluk chroniclers unanimously attribute the construction of this building to the sultan's mother, Khawand Barakah. What should we then conclude about the relative value of texts and inscriptions? Al-Harithy, believing that later texts were more accurate than the building itself, concluded that the building was funded by and intended for Khawand Barakah and her husband, although her son was buried there as well.[118]

The second problem is the Egyptocentrism of Mamluk studies and the consequent reluctance or failure of scholars to look beyond the confines of Egypt. If Mamluk Egypt was indeed unique, as so many studies conclude, then there is no point in studying it, for it has no lessons to teach us. This is clearly not true, as three examples show. Nasser Rabbat's recent study of the Cairo citadel concluded that it was a unique response to a unique situation.[119] The Cairo citadel may have had no parallel in the eastern Mediterranean, yet the features that Rabbat reconstructed so deftly find striking parallels in the Islamic architecture of contemporary Andalusia. The Alhambra in Granada, just like the Citadel, was built from the thirteenth century on the remains of an earlier mountain-top fortress linked to the city's system of defensive walls, dominating the city from above. The Alhambra, too, originally had several enclosures arranged hierarchically, with barracks and defensive works separated from mosques and areas for reception and residence. Although the Alhambra is also considered unique, a comparison of these two "unique" fortresses should reveal important points about urbanism and architecture in the medieval period.

Another example of Egyptocentrism concerns the funerary complex of Sultan Ḥasan (1357-1361), perhaps the most famous of Mamluk structures. Scholars have long noted that it was the first *madrasah* in Cairo to combine a congregational mosque with a *madrasah*, and al-Harithy has suggested that the incorporation of a congregational mosque "reinforces the symbolic reference to society."[120] While this may or may not be true, the presence of a congregational mosque was not

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[117]Bloom, "Mosque of Baybars."

[118]Howyda al-Harithy, "Female Patronage," 166; it should be noted, although al-Harithy does not, that this anomaly was discussed nearly a century ago by Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, I: Égypte 1*, 285-86, and more recently by Leonor Fernandes, "Mamluk Architecture and the Question of Patronage," 114.

[119]Rabbat, *Citadel of Cairo.*

[120]Al-Harithy, "Complex of Sultan Hasan."

unique. The largest *madrasah* in Fez, the Bū ʿInānīyah, which was built in 1355, also incorporates a congregational mosque for the first time. One wonders whether there might be any relationship between the two structures.

A third example of Egyptocentrism concerns the interpretation of the bulbous profile of several domes erected in Cairo in the middle of the fourteenth century, with ribs rising from a *muqarnas* cornice around a high drum. The best examples in Cairo are found in an anonymous mausoleum in the southern cemetery known as the Sulṭānīyah, which probably dates to the 1350s. It consists of two ribbed bulbous domes on high drums flanking a vaulted *īwān*. Some scholars have claimed this to be an Egyptian invention, but the structural system attempts to translate the structural requirements of a brick dome into limestone and clearly shows that this was a foreign type of construction imported to Egypt from the Iranian world. Although the earliest examples there, such as the Gūr-i Mīr in Samarqand, date from the early fifteenth century and postdate the Egyptian examples by some fifty years, the Iranian tradition of brick double domes can be traced back as far as the eleventh century.[121] Clearly all that remains is not all that was.

The final problem I see with the study of Mamluk art and architecture is the failure to exploit art historical techniques. Art history as a discipline is now well over a century old, as is the more specialized study of Islamic art, and scholars have developed varied and sophisticated techniques for studying works of art. The interpretation of the so-called Baptistère de Saint-Louis, the most celebrated example of Mamluk metalwork, illustrates this problem well. A large basin of bronze inlaid with silver, the Baptistère belongs to a well-known type with incurving sides and flaring rim used for the ceremonial washing of hands and made in a set with a matching ewer. It differs from most other pieces of Mamluk metalwork in the absence of epigraphic decoration and the total reliance on the extraordinarily detailed and superbly executed figural compositions which cover most of the exterior and interior surfaces. The maker was justly proud of his work, for the master (Arab. *muʿallim*) Muḥammad ibn al-Zayn signed it six times: one formal signature is located under the rim and five informal signatures are found on representations of metal objects and thrones within the scenes. The Baptistère bears no date or identification of a specific patron, yet the brilliance of the conception, quality of the execution, and specificity of the detail make it impossible to believe that it was made to be sold on the open market.

D. S. Rice was the first to propose that the scenes were specific representations and identified the bearded figure wearing a short-sleeved tunic and carrying a

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[121]Blair and Bloom, *Art and Architecture of Islam*, 84.

mace as the amir Sālār (d. 1310), thereby dating the basin to the period 1290-1310.[122] Other scholars, while accepting that the scenes depicted real events, proposed different identifications which would put the basin at least thirty years earlier than the date proposed by Rice.[123] While none of Muḥammad ibn al-Zayn′s other work is dated,[124] these ″historical″ attributions disregard the stylistic evidence Rice and others have adduced so carefully. There is no question that figural scenes were increasingly used on metalwork throughout the second half of the thirteenth century and then abandoned during the long reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.[125] Other scholars, working from the appearance of chinoiserie motifs in the decoration, have suggested that the basin might date as late as the mid-fourteenth century, nearly a century after the earliest date proposed![126] I myself have joined the fray, proposing that Rice′s date was right for the wrong reasons: despite their apparent specificity, the images are not narratives but emblems corresponding to the inscriptions that normally appear on early fourteenth-century metalwork.[127] In sum, it seems inconceivable that such a seminal piece could engender such wildly varied opinions, and it shows why historians have often been reluctant to take the work of art historians seriously.

To conclude where I began, now that Mamluk art has finally entered the coffeetable book Big Time, the gate of innovation has been opened. The new generation of scholars, whose work has focused so assiduously on the minutiae of Mamluk art and architecture, should use their considerable expertise to speak not only to each other but to make this attractive and potentially interesting subject more accessible and relevant to a wider audience of historians of culture as well as the reading public in Egypt and elsewhere.

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[122]Rice, *Baptistère de Saint-Louis*; Ettinghausen pointed out in his review of Rice′s book that it is unlikely that Sālār was its patron, for he would then have been the focus of the decoration rather than one of the attendant amirs; see Richard Ettinghausen, review of *The Baptistère de Saint-Louis: A Masterpiece of Islamic Metalwork*, by D. S. Rice, *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954): 245-49.

[123]Elfriede R. Knauer, ″Einige trachgeschichtliche Beobachtungen am Werke Giottos,″ in *Scritti in onore di Roberto Salvini* (Florence, 1984), 173-81; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, ″The Baptistère de Saint Louis: A Reinterpretation,″ *Islamic Art* 3 (1988-89): 3-9.

[124]James W. Allan, ″Muhammad Ibn al-Zain.″

[125]See Robert Irwin, *Dictionary of Art*, s.v. Mamluk II/3.

[126]Rachel Ward, ″Mongol Mania.″

[127]Bloom, ″A Mamluk Basin.″

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SAVING MUSLIM SOULS: THE *KHĀNQĀH* AND THE SUFI DUTY IN MAMLUK LANDS

I

Elements of community and ritual are embedded in the Persian term *khānqāh* with its etymology of ″place of the table″ or ″place of recitation.″ Whatever these pre-Islamic origins, the Muslim *khānqāh* seems to have first appeared in Khurasan in northeastern Iran. There, it sometimes served as a *madrasah*, or law school and, increasingly, as a meeting place for the mystically inclined.[1] In this latter function, the *khānqāh* is linked to Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī al-Khayr (357-440/967-1049), who is believed to have established a rule for Muslim men seeking to live a communal life devoted to the worship of God. According to the *Asrār al-Tawḥīd*, a late sixth/twelfth century hagiography of the mystic, Abū Sa'īd founded or visited hundreds of *khānqāh*s in this region. Abū Sa'īd would travel from one *khānqāh* to the next, lecturing and teaching, and he authorized chosen disciples to establish *khānqāh*s to spread his rule.[2]

The *khānqāh*s mentioned in the *Asrār* were usually named for their location or for a shaykh who resided and taught there. Several large establishments accommodating as many as forty dervishes were endowed by members of the ruling elite, but most of these early *khānqāh*s appear to have consisted of a house with a common gathering room for mystics, a room serving as a mosque, and a

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[1]See Jacqueline Chabbi, ″Khānḳāh,″ *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 4:1025-26; Richard Bulliet, *The Patricians of Nishapur* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 250-51; and Muḥsin Kiyānī, *Tārīkh-i Khānqāh dar Īrān* (Tehran, 1990), 123-60. For a brief survey of the *khānqāh* and early Sufi communities, see J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders of Islam* (Oxford, 1971), esp. 5-11, 17-23, 168-72; also see Bruce B. Lawrence, ″Khānagāh,″ *Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York, 1987), 8:278-79, and Marcia K. Hermansen, ″Khānqāh,″ *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World* (Oxford, 1995), 2:415-17.

[2]For a study and translation of the *Asrār*, see John O′Kane, *The Secrets of God′s Mystical Oneness* (New York, 1992). For more on Abū Sa'īd and his rule see R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (1921; reprint, Cambridge, 1967), 1-76, esp. 46, and Kiyānī, *Īrān*, 187-93. Also see H. Ritter, ″Abū Sa'īd,″ *EI*[2] 1:145-47, and Fritz Meier, *Abū Sa'īd-i-Abī l-Hayr (357-440/967-1049): Wirklichkeit und Legende* (Leiden, 1976).

few rooms for residents and guests.[3] The *Asrār*, unfortunately, does not give us a detailed account of the living arrangements in any specific *khānqāh*. A Sufi master probably resided there in most cases, perhaps with some of his students and disciples, but we have little information regarding the average size of such communities, whether or not they were strictly celibate, or the extent of family members and lay affiliates attached to them.[4] The *Asrār*, however, explicitly describes these early Sufi *khānqāh*s as centers for study, spiritual contemplation, and communal worship; frequently they were gathering places for Quranic recitations and, in at least one instance, a *khānqāh* also contained a holy relic. Abū Sa'īd had given his green woolen jacket to a disciple to serve as a ″banner″ in a new *khānqāh*, and, over time, people came to pay their respects to this garment which they believed protected them from pestilence and other impending disasters.[5]

Nevertheless, as the *Asrār* attests, not all *khānqāh*s at this time revolved around mysticism; some legal scholars and theologians, too, had their own *khānqāh*s.[6] Further, parallel institutions known as *khān*s were constructed in this period near mosques where important teachers held their classes, to serve as hostels and places of residence for out of town students. These structures were gradually incorporated into separate *madrasah* complexes focusing on legal studies, and into the *khānqāh*s, with their increasing emphasis on Sufism.[7] But whatever their size and major focus, the *khānqāh*s were to accommodate travellers, though some guests did not receive the gracious hospitality given to Abū Sa'īd. The celebrated Persian Sufi 'Alī al-Hujwīrī (d. ca. 465/1072) had a rather different experience in Khurasan, and he reminds us that not everyone residing in a *khānqāh* was a pious Sufi:

> One night I arrived in a village in the country where there was a convent (*khānqāh*) inhabited by a number of aspirants to Ṣûfism. I was wearing a dark-blue frock . . . such as is prescribed by the Sunna, but I had with me nothing of the Ṣûfî′s regular equipment . . . except a staff and a leathern water-bottle. . . . I appeared very contemptible in the eyes of these Ṣûfîs, who did not know me.

[3]O′Kane, *Secrets*, 89, 111, 191, 230, 253, 276, 280, 308, 336, 345.

[4]The *Asrār* quotes Abū Sa'īd as saying that his era was in such decline that a ″time is coming when no one will be able to reside in the k̲ânqâh for more than a year. . . .″ O′Kane, *Secrets*, 336. Regarding the controversial practice of celibacy among the Sufis of this period see 'Alī al-Hujwīrī, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, ed. and translated by R. A. Nicholson, 2nd ed. (London, 1936), 360-66.

[5]O′Kane, *Secrets*, 227-28, and also see 111, 191-92, 230-31, 253, 336, 345.

[6]Ibid., 410-11, and Bulliet, *Patricians*, 250-51.

[7]J. Pedersen and George Makdisi, ″Madrasa,″ *EI*^{2}, 5:1123-34, esp. 1124-25, and Makdisi′s *The Rise of Colleges* (Edinburgh, 1981), 23-24.

> They regarded only my external habit and said to one another, ″This fellow is not one of us.″ And so in truth it was: I was not one of them, but I had to pass the night in that place. They lodged me on the roof, while they themselves went up to a roof above mine, and set before me dry bread which had turned green, while I was drawing into my nostrils the savour of the viands with which they regaled themselves. All the time they were addressing derisive remarks to me from the roof. When they finished the food, they began to pelt me with the skins of melons which they had eaten, by way of showing how pleased they were with themselves and how lightly they thought of me. I said in my heart: ″O Lord God, were it not that they are wearing the dress of Thy friends, I would not have borne this from them.″[8]

During the fifth-sixth/eleventh-twelfth centuries, the *khānqāh* spread throughout Iran and westward to Baghdad where, designated by the Arabic term *ribāṭ*, it became a prominent institution under the Saljuq sultans.[9] The Saljuqs vigorously promoted Sunni interpretations of Islam, and the ruling elite created *waqf*s, or pious endowments, for Quran and *ḥadīth* schools, *madrasah*s, and *ribāṭ*s. These institutions were undoubtedly intended to curb politico-religious movements, including Ismāʻīlī Shiʻism and the Karrāmīyah, which might threaten Sunni Islam, its caliphate, and the Saljuq sultanate.[10] But the *madrasah*s and *ribāṭ*s, in particular, also served the Saljuqs as sources for patronage in their continual struggle with the Abbasid caliphs for political supremacy. Since the caliphs controlled the congregational mosques of Baghdad, the Saljuqs turned to the newer institutions of the *madrasah* and *ribāṭ* to support members of the religious establishment who espoused and legitimized their cause as the caliph′s ″protector,″ and, so, de facto ruler.[11]

Not surprisingly, then, the three earliest *ribāṭ*s in Baghdad were founded for popular pro-Saljuq preachers arriving from Khurasan, and, subsequently, *ribāṭ*s

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[8]Translated by R. A. Nicholson, *Kashf*, 69.

[9]Jacqueline Chabbi, ″La fonction du *ribāṭ* à Baghdad du cinque siècle au debut du septieme siècle,″ *Revue des études islamiques* 42 (1974):101-21, and Kiyānī, *Īrān*, 162-250.

[10]C. E. Bosworth, ″Saldjūḳids,″ *EI*², 8:936-59, esp. 951-52, and his ″Karrāmiyya,″ *EI*², 4:667-69. Also see Trimingham, *Orders*, 6-8, 16-17.

[11]Pedersen and Makdisi, ″Madrasa,″ 1128; Makdisi, *Colleges*, 10-14, 27-34; and Chabbi, ″Fonction,″ 107-9. Also see Trimingham, *Orders*, 7-8, and Carl W. Ernst, *Eternal Garden* (Albany, 1992), 14-15.

were often directed by Sufi shaykhs who backed the Saljuq cause.[12] While many of these *ribāṭ*s had been established specifically for Sufis and their rituals, the directors and focuses of other *ribāṭ*s were not primarily mystical in orientation, and so during the mid-sixth/twelfth century, the *ribāṭ* was still not exclusively for Sufis. This stemmed from the fact that the *ribāṭ*s could be used to reward not only mystics, but preachers and other men of religion who were not scholars of law or jurisprudence and so not qualified for a lucrative *madrasah* position. Therefore, even as Saljuq central control and dominance declined late in the century, the *ribāṭ*s continued to be supported. Similar to other endowed institutions, the *ribāṭ*s sheltered the wealth of the ruling elite and so preserved a source of patronage, of whatever cause, especially in times of political instability.[13]

Reasserting control in Baghdad, the Abbasid caliphs became major patrons of these institutions, as did the Zangids and, subsequently, the Ayyubids. Successors to the Saljuqs in Syria and Palestine, the Zangids and Ayyubids continued to champion Sunni Islam, especially in the face of Crusader attempts to reclaim Jerusalem and the Holy Land for Christianity. This underscores another compelling motive for supporting the *ribāṭ*s in addition to acquiring political legitimation and preserving personal wealth and patronage, namely, access to spiritual power. Tales abound of saintly Muslims miraculously defeating infidel foes, and while this became the stuff of legend, Muslim ascetics, mystics, and saints were often sought out for spiritual aid in times of crisis. According to one historian, advisors to the Zangid sultan Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd (r. 541-69/1146-74) once urged him to appropriate funds set aside for ascetics, Sufis, and other men of religion in order to bolster his badly depleted Muslim forces prior to a battle with the Crusaders. But Nūr al-Dīn rebuked his aides, declaring:

> By God, I can′t hope for victory save by means of them, for they sustain and assist the weak among you. How can I cut off the pensions of a folk who, while I′m asleep in my bed, fight for me with arrows that never miss, and then turn around and spend their money on someone whose arrows are hit or miss?[14]

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[12]Chabbi, ″Fonction,″ 101-12. Likewise, the Ash'arī theologian and major ideologue for the Saljuq sultanate, Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), was rewarded with a major position at the Niẓāmīyah *madrasah*; see Bosworth, ″Saldjūḳids,″ 950, and Ernst, *Garden*, 15.

[13]Chabbi, ″Fonction,″ 112-16. Also see Jacqueline Chabbi, ″Ribāṭ,″ *EI*², 8:493-506, and Pedersen and Makdisi, ″Madrasa,″ 1128.

[14]Muḥammad Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1957), 1:136. For more on Nūr al-Dīn′s patronage of the religious classes, including the Sufis and their *khānqāh*s, see ibid., 263-86, esp. 281-84, and 'Alī ibn Muḥammad Ibn Kathīr, *al-Kāmil fī al-Ta'rīkh* (Beirut, 1979), 11:404-5. Also see 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ḥamzah, *al-Ḥarakah*

Nūr al-Dīn and other rulers may well have regarded the Sufis as spiritual reinforcements, a kind of mystical cohort in their holy war efforts. From this perspective, the term *ribāṭ* in the sense of a ″guard against danger″ or a ″frontier garrison″ seems appropriate for a Sufi residence, though there is no evidence that these *ribāṭ*s were ever convents for Sufi soldiers.[15] In fact, the Zangid and Ayyubid *ribāṭ*s were generally located in urban areas, and, far from Spartan quarters, they could be grand affairs, as noted by the traveller Ibn Jubayr (539-613/1144-1217) when he passed through Damascus in 580/1184:

> As for the *ribāṭ*s, which are called *khānqāh*s [here in Damascus], they are many and intended for the Sufis. They are lavish palaces with water flowing through them all, a most lovely sight to behold. The Sufis associated with these institutions are the kings of this country, for God has provided for their worldly needs and more, thus freeing their minds from the worries of making a living so that they can worship Him; He has lodged them in palaces that remind them of the palaces of Paradise! So by God′s favor these fortunate and favored Sufis receive the grace of both this world and the next.[16]

Ibn Jubayr added that the most sumptuous *khānqāh* that he had personally seen had, in fact, been a former palace with an attached garden, bequeathed by Nūr al-Dīn to the Sufis. In such *khānqāh*s the Sufis would hold stirring audition sessions (*samā'*) in which sensitive souls would achieve mystical ecstasy. Ibn Jubayr further described these Sufis as following a noble path and an admirable way of life dedicated to religious service.[17]

Though Ibn Jubayr thought highly of the Sufis and their *khānqāh*s, other, more conservative Muslims took a dim view of such opulent quarters and the happenings that went on there. A contemporary of Ibn Jubayr, the Ḥanbalī scholar Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) denounced the *ribāṭ* as a harmful innovation encouraging celibacy, which aped the Christians and ran counter to prophetic custom in favor of marriage. But this was not all:

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al-Fikrīyah fī Miṣr fī al-'Aṣrayn al-Ayyūbī wa-al-Mamlūkī al-Awwal (Cairo, 1945?), 104-10, and P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades* (London, 1986), 80.

[15]See Chabbi, ″Ribāṭ,″ 493-506.

[16]Muḥammad Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr* (Beirut, 1979), 256-57. Also see Trimingham, *Orders*, 9-10.

[17]Ibn Jubayr, *Riḥlah*, 257. Also see Trimingham, *Orders*, 169, for a description of another *khānqāh* established by Nūr al-Dīn, this one in Aleppo, founded in 543/1148.

> We have seen a horde of more recent Sufis lounging around in the *ribāṭ*s so as to avoid working for a living, occupied by eating and drinking, song and dance; they seek the things of the world from any tyrant, not hesitating to accept the gift of even the tax-collector! Most of their *ribāṭ*s have been built by despots who have endowed them with illegal properties. . . . The Sufis′ concern revolves around the kitchen, food, and ice water . . . while they spend most of their time in amusing conversation and visiting the nobility. . . . [18]

Despite an obvious difference of opinion regarding the reputation of the *ribāṭ*s and their residents, both Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Jubayr linked this institution almost exclusively to Sufism in the late sixth/twelfth century. This had resulted in part from the determined efforts of the Abbasid caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (r. 575-622/1180-1225), who sponsored chivalric associations (*futūwah*) and Sufi brotherhoods (*ṭuruq*) to legitimate and extend the power of a weakened caliphate. Attempting to re-unify Sunni and Shi‘i Muslims under a single ruler, al-Nāṣir invoked mystical concepts and analogies to project himself as a divinely appointed ″mediator″ (*wāsiṭah*) between God and humanity. A major proponent and propagandist of these doctrines was al-Nāṣir′s advisor and envoy, the renowned Sufi ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī (539-632/1145-1234).[19]

‘Umar′s family had long been involved with Sufism, particularly in its institutional aspects; a great uncle had been the director of an early *ribāṭ* in Baghdad, while his uncle and spiritual guide Abū Najīb (ca. 490-563/1097-1168) had founded his own *ribāṭ* and enjoyed Saljuq patronage in exchange for his support. By contrast, during the Saljuq decline ‘Umar pledged his loyalty to his caliphal patron al-Nāṣir, who rewarded him with a *ribāṭ*, complete with a garden and bath-house. ‘Umar′s extensive experience with *khānqāh* life made him keenly aware of the need for regulating the Sufi communities in order to enhance mystical training and worship while, at the same time, curbing abuses such as those noted by al-Hujwīrī and Ibn al-Jawzī.[20]

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[18]‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talbīs al-Iblīs* (Cairo, n.d.), 169-70. Also see Leonor Fernandes, *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt: The Khanqah* (Berlin, 1988), 10-12, and Ernst, *Garden*, 16-17.

[19]Angelika Hartmann, ″al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh,″ *EI*^{2}, 7:996-1003, esp. 998-1000, and Chabbi, ″Fonction,″ 116-21. Also see Trimingham, *Orders*, 7-14; Julian Baldick, *Mystical Islam* (New York, 1989), 72-75; and Ernst, *Garden*, 15.

[20]See Menahem Milson′s introduction to Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī′s *A Sufi Rule for Novices* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), 10-16, and Trimingham, *Orders*, 33-37.

Building, then, on his uncle′s brief ″Rules for Novices,″ ʿUmar composed his famous Sufi manual, *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif*, which specifically addressed issues relating to Sufi communal life, including *ribāṭ* residence. Drawing an analogy to the Muslim holy warriors of the frontiers, ʿUmar praised the pious Sufis of the *ribāṭ*s for using their prayers and obedience to God as weapons in the fight against strife and affliction on behalf of all believers; by means of their exemplary behavior and good works, the *ribāṭ* Sufis had brought spiritual blessings (*barakah*) to Muslim lands once again.[21]

However, in the *ʿAwārif*, ʿUmar does not dwell on these benefits despite his belief in the efficacy of the *ribāṭ* Sufis for fending off the enemies of Islam, something which clearly attracted rulers including the Zangid Nūr al-Dīn. Rather, ʿUmar turns instead to a foundational tenet of Islamic mysticism: the Sufi′s interior holy war against his own selfish nature. With this struggle in mind, ʿUmar instructs his followers on a variety of essential matters, including the spiritual guide′s qualifications, various mystical states and stages, and the practice of mystical audition (*samāʿ*) and invocations (*dhikr*). But throughout his discussion of these and other topics, ʿUmar never loses sight of the centrality of the community for nurturing Muslim spirituality, and advancing the mystical life.[22]

ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī′s attentiveness to the Sufi path and community is evident in the success of his brotherhood, which spread and flourished throughout the Islamic world, especially eastward in Iran and the Indian sub-continent. There, based in large part on the *ʿAwārif*′s guidelines and instructions, *khānqāh*s were founded and organized usually to advance the teachings of a specific Sufi brotherhood, often ʿUmar′s own Suhrawardīyah, but other brotherhoods too, such as the Chishtīyah. While the brotherhoods often differed on the legality of accepting a regime′s support, nearly all of them established *khānqāh*s based on their own rules and under the leadership of their senior members.[23] Yet, the *khānqāh* in Mamluk lands would take a different path, one sponsored almost exclusively by sultans and powerful amirs who, in turn, set the criteria for *khānqāh* life.

II

The Mamluks followed the precedent of *khānqāh* patronage set by their former Ayyubid masters, and a model of particular importance was Cairo′s Dār Saʿīd

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[21]ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī, *ʿAwārif al-Maʿārif* (Cairo, 1973), 99-101.

[22]Ibid., esp. 99-159, 364-400. Also see Trimingham, *Orders*, 13-14, and Baldick, *Mystical Islam*, 71-75.

[23]See K. A. Nizami, ″Some Aspects of *Khānqāh* Life in Medieval India,″ *Studia Islamica* 7 (1957): 51-69; Trimingham, *Orders*, 64-65, 21-23; and Ernst, *Garden*, 15-17, 89, 132.

al-Su'adā', or al-Ṣalāḥīyah. Established in 569/1174 by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin), the founder of the Ayyubid dynasty, this lavish *khānqāh* was Egypt's first, being designated as a hostel for as many as three hundred Sufis, with preference given to those arriving from foreign lands.[24] Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn likewise founded several *madrasah*s to support Cairo's Sunni religious establishment and its legal scholars, though here too he favored non-Egyptians to fill the highest posts.[25] This preference for foreign Sunni scholars may have fostered a religious elite loyal to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and his Ayyubid successors. Further, their support of *khānqāh*s and *madrasah*s nurtured a Sunni ideology free of Shī'ī and Christian elements, so prevalent in sixth/twelfth century Egypt and Syria. For the *madrasah*s aimed to re-establish Sunni law and doctrine, while the *khānqāh*s functioned as devotional centers for the dissemination of correct beliefs, rituals, and spiritual exercises.[26]

As conscious heirs to the Ayyubids, the early Mamluk sultans Baybars I (r. 658-76/1260-77) and Qalāwūn (r. 678-89/1279-90) actively supported the existing *khānqāh-madrasah* system, and they appointed the Shaykh al-Shuyūkh, or "Shaykh of Shaykhs," who was in charge of the prestigious Dār Sa'īd al-Su'adā'. These shaykhs were usually learned men of some distinction, including the Persian Sufi and legal scholar, Shams al-Dīn al-Aykī (631-97/1234-98), and the chief judge and vizier to Qalāwūn, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn Bint al-A'azz (d. 695/1296), who succeeded al-Aykī in 687/1288. As Shaykh al-Shuyūkh, they were to appoint "upright and knowledgeable" Sufis to be in residence there, lead the weekly processions of Sufis to perform the Friday prayer, and oversee the prayers, Quran readings, and *dhikr* ritual, which formed a large part of their daily routine.[27]

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[24]Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Baghdad, 1970), 2:415-16; Fernandes, *Khanqah*, 21-25; 'Āṣim Muḥammad Rizq, *Khānqāwāt al-Ṣūfīyah fī Miṣr* (Cairo, 1997), 1:127-58; and Trimingham, *Orders*, 18-20.

[25]In 566/1171, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn named the jurist Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Hadhabānī, a fellow Kurd, chief Sunni judge of Egypt; P. M. Holt, *Crusades*, 50-51; also see Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350* (Cambridge, 1994), 54.

[26]R. Stephen Humphreys, "The Expressive Intent of Mamluk Architecture in Cairo," *Studia Islamica* 35 (1972): 69-119, esp. 78-87, 93-94; Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo* (Princeton, 1992), 130-32; and Muḥammad M. Amīn, *al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimā'īyah fī Miṣr, 648-923 H./1250-1517 M.* (Cairo, 1980), 204. Also see Chamberlain, *Knowledge*, 54-57; Holt, *Crusades*, 78-81; Ḥamzah, *al-Ḥarakah*, 104-7; Chabbi, "Khānḳāh," 1025-26; and Fernandes, *Khanqah*, 20-22.

[27]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:415, and for these and other Sufis there see his *al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad Ya'lāwī (Beirut, 1991), 5:99, 105, 173, 447, 450-51, 573, 660, 694; 6:39, 130, 365, 466; 7:109-10, 236, 529; also see Rizq, *Khānqāwāt*, 1:139-41. For Qāytbāy's decree appointing al-Aykī as Shaykh al-Shuyūkh of the Dār Sa'īd al-Su'adā' in 684/1285, see Muḥammad Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt*, ed. Qusṭanṭīn Zurayq and Najlā' 'Izz al-Dīn (Beirut, 1939), 8:29-32.

Further, Baybars I, Qalāwūn, and their amirs established additional *madrasah*s, *ribāṭ*s, and *zāwiyah*s. The *zāwiyah*s were generally of more modest size and endowments than the *ribāṭ*s, and they often served as a meeting place for students and a teacher in residence. Several *zāwiyah*s were attached to saints′ shrines, where novices and more experienced Sufis might study, practice seclusion, and participate in communal rituals such as *dhikr* and *samā‘*. The *zāwiyah*s were frequently named for a specific resident saint or Sufi master, such as Khiḍr al-Mihrānī (d. 676/1277), Baybars I′s spiritual advisor. However, just as Sufi masters taught in mosques and *madrasah*s, *zāwiyah*s were also residences for Sunni scholars of jurisprudence, *ḥadīth*, and other subjects, which were also studied there.[28]

A number of *zāwiyah*s from the Mamluk period functioned primarily as hospices for the needy, in one case for Abyssinian eunuchs, but more often for foreign Sufis and ascetics and, increasingly, the *zāwiyah*s became centers for specific Sufi brotherhoods. Similarly, the early Mamluk *ribāṭ*s were often larger hostels accommodating both resident and itinerant Sufis with provisions and individual cells adjoining space for communal worship. At least eight *ribāṭ*s in Egypt were specifically endowed to provide for elderly women and pious widows, and two of them, including one founded by a daughter of Baybars I, were established for women shaykhs who were charged with preaching, and teaching women of good character regarding religious matters.[29] The early Mamluk *ribāṭ*s and *khānqāh*s, then, like their Zangid and Ayyubid predecessors, were primarily Sufi institutions, which along with the *madrasah*s, and *zāwiyah*s, were intended to support Sunni Islam in its spiritual, doctrinal, and ritual aspects.[30]

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[28]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:230-35. Based on al-Maqrīzī′s accounts, the Mamluk *zāwiyah* closely resembled the early *khānqāh*s of Khurasan. Also see Leonor Fernandes, ″The Zāwiya in Cairo,″ *Annales islamologiques* 18 (1982): 116-21, and her *Khanqah*, 13-16; Holt, *Crusades*, 151-52; Laylá ‘Alī Ibrāhīm, ″The Zāwiya of Šaiẖ Zain ad-Dīn Yūsuf in Cairo,″ *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 34 (1978): 79-110; Sheila S. Blair, ″Sufi Saints and Shrine Architecture in the Early Fourteenth Century,″ *Muqarnas* 7 (1990): 35-49; Th. Emil Homerin, ″‘Umar Ibn al-Fāriḍ, A Saint of Mamluk and Ottoman Egypt,″ in *Manifestations of Sainthood in Islam*, ed. Grace Martin Smith and Carl W. Ernst (Istanbul, 1993), 85-94; and Berkey, *Knowledge*, 56-60.

[29]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:427-28, 454, and see Fernandes, *Khanqah*, 10-16; idem, ″Zāwiya″; and Berkey, *Knowledge*, 174. For *ribāṭ*s established for women in Damascus see ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Nu‘aymī, *al-Dāris fī Ta'rīkh al-Madāris*, ed. Ja‘far al-Ḥasanī (reprint, Cairo, 1988), 2:193 (no. 188), 194 (nos. 197-98, 203-4), and Louis Pouzet, *Damas au vii*[e]*/xiii*[e] *siècle: Vie et structures religieuses d′une métropole islamique* (Beirut, 1991), 211.

[30]Especially see Donald P. Little, ″The Nature of *Khānqāhs, Ribāṭs*, and *Zāwiyahs* under the Mamlūks,″ in *Islamic Studies Presented to Charles J. Adams*, ed. Wael B. Hallaq and Donald P. Little (Leiden, 1991), 91-105, esp. 99-104; also see Rizq, *Khānqāwāt*, 1:159-207, and Éric Geoffroy, *Le Soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie* (Damascus, 1995), 165-75. For these institutions in Damascus see al-Nu‘aymī, *al-Dāris*, 2:139-91 (*khānqāh*s), 192-96 (*ribāṭ*s), 196-221 (*zāwiyah*s), and Pouzet,

However, the term *ribāṭ* as used in Mamluk documents soon came to denote a residence for the destitute and elderly, whereas the larger establishments housing Sufis would generally be termed *khānqāh*s.[31] This increasing specificity in terminology is apparent in the endowment deed of Baybars II (r. 708-9/1309-10), who briefly usurped the sultanate from Qalāwūn′s son al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Baybars II donated funds to establish a *ribāṭ* for one hundred needy people, with special preference given to retired Mamluk soldiers formerly in his service. As for the *khānqāh*, which was among the first founded by the Mamluks, Baybars II modeled it on Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn′s Dār Sa'īd al-Su'adā', providing for up to four hundred Sufis, of whom one hundred were to be unmarried men in residence. Though foreigners were again preferred, Egyptians were also eligible provided they, too, were in accord with Sunni Islam and conformed to the Sufi rules of conduct and the brotherhoods (*ṭuruq*).[32]

Baybars II′s *khānqāh*, however, differed from that of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in one very fundamental feature: the *khānqāh* enclosed the mausoleum of its founder. Earlier during the Ayyubid period, a founder′s grave was sometimes placed in or near his endowed religious institution, whether a *khānqāh*, *ribāṭ*, *madrasah*, or a school teaching *ḥadīth* or Quran.[33] Similarly, a number of the Mamluk ruling elite bequeathed funds to their tombs to support a *madrasah*, Quran school or, more modestly, Quran readers, so that pious acts performed on the site would bring divine favor upon the deceased.[34] For this reason, too, burial on the premises likewise became a regular and defining feature of the Mamluk *khānqāh*, where

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Damas, 208-11, 446-47; for Jerusalem and Hebron see Mujīr al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī, *al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Ta'rīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl* (Amman, 1973), 2:23-48, 79, 89, 294, 325-27, 377-81.

[31]See Little, ″*Khānqāhs*,″ 91-105; Amīn, *al-Awqāf*, 219-22; Fernandes, *Khanqah*, esp. 10-19; and Chabbi, ″Khānḳāh,″ 433-34.

[32]Leonor Fernandes, ″The Foundation of Baybars al-Jashankir: Its Waqf, History, and Architecture,″ *Muqarnas* 4 (1987): 21-42, esp. 24-34, with excerpts from the *waqf* text, 39-40; also see her *Khanqah*, 25-29, and Rizq, *Khānqāwāt*, 1:211-46.

[33]E.g., in Damascus, al-Nu'aymī, *al-Dāris*, 1:97 (no. 19), 530-31 (no. 109); 2:150 (no. 165), 164-65 (no. 172), 169 (no. 177), 178 (no. 181), 243 (no. 259), 268 (no. 284), 277 (no. 297). For examples in Cairo see Doris Behrens-Abouseif, ″The *Maḥmal* Legend and the Pilgrimage of the Ladies of the Mamluk Court,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 87-96, esp. 87-89, regarding the funerary complex of the sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb (d. 647/1249) and that of his wife Shajarat al-Durr (d. 655/1257). Although Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was not buried in his Dār Sa'īd al-Su'adā', the Sufis there recited daily prayers on his behalf; see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:415. Also see Humphreys, ″Expressive Intent,″ 114-15.

[34]Humphreys, ″Expressive Intent,″ 112-19; John Alden Williams, ″Urbanization and Monument Construction in Mamluk Cairo,″ *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 33-46, esp. 38-40; Berkey, *Knowledge*, 143-46; Chamberlain, *Knowledge*, 55-56; and al-Nu'aymī, *al-Dāris*, 2:223 (no. 234), 240 (no. 254), 258 (nos. 278-79), 260-61 (nos. 282, 284), 274-75 (no. 294), 287-88 (nos. 298-99), 291-92 (no. 304).

the founder often placed his tomb together with the graves of his relatives; by generously funding Sufis and their religious activities near the graves, the *khānqāh* founders hoped to secure blessings and spiritual power (*barakah*) for themselves and their loved ones. As a result, over the next two hundred years, the Mamluk elite established more than thirty-five *khānqāh*s in or near their capitals of Cairo and Damascus, and though not all of them were operating at the same time, the *khānqāh*s must have supported hundreds of Sufis during the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries.[35]

According to endowment deeds, the Sufis′ terms of employment could be quite generous, with Sufis in residence earning lodging and food, including ample portions of bread and meat daily.[36] Along with the non-resident Sufis affiliated with the institution, resident Sufis normally received monthly money stipends and, on holidays and special occasions, gifts of food, cash, and clothes. The Sufis residing in the *khānqāh* could earn additional money by assuming specific religious duties at the *khānqāh*, including reciting the Quran and leading prayers, or by performing more worldly tasks such as cooking or cleaning. Employment as a Sufi could certainly earn a man enough to support a family, which might even have lived nearby, if rarely in the *khānqāh* proper.[37]

Further, a number of Mamluk *khānqāh*s, such as that of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 693-741/1293-1341, with interruptions) at Siryāqūs, and those of the sultans Barqūq (r. 784-801/1382-99), Barsbāy (r. 824-41/1421-37), and Qāytbāy (r. 872-901/1468-96) north of Cairo, were part of larger complexes often containing a mosque, *madrasah*, Quran school, *ribāṭ*, and/or a *zāwiyah*. So in addition to creating hundreds of religious positions, these foundations also employed a

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[35]See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:416-27; al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris*, 2:141-43 (no. 161), 161-63 (no. 167), 166-69 (nos. 173, 174, 176), 173-74 (no. 179), 188-95 (nos. 183-85); and Fernandes, *Khanqah*, 20. Several Mamluk *ribāṭ*s also contained their founder′s tomb; for Cairo see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:428 (Ribāṭ al-Khāzin) and 430 (Ribāṭ al-ʿAlāʾī); for Jerusalem see Mujīr al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī, *al-Uns*, 2:42 (Ribāṭ ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn), and for Damascus see al-Nuʿaymī, *al-Dāris*, 2:193 (no. 187).

[36]For published partial texts of some of these endowments see Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Wathāʾiq Waqf al-Sultān al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn* (Cairo, 1982), esp. 58-120 for Siryāqūs; Amīn, *al-Awqāf*, 210-16 (with excerpts from Baybars al-Jāshankīr, Qāytbāy, al-Ghawrī, and others); Fernandes, *Khanqah*, 168-72 (Mughultāy al-Jamālī), 173-85 (Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār), 186-91 (Barsbāy); her ″Baybars al-Jashankir,″ 39-40; and Felicitas Jaritz, ″Auszüge aus der Stiftungsurkunde des Sultans Barqūq,″ *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe* 4 (1982): 117-29.

[37]Fernandes, *Khanqah*, 20-68, and Amīn, *al-Awqāf*, 204-8, 216. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s *waqf* for Siryāqūs made accommodations for the Shaykh al-Shuyūkh′s family to live on the premises, as well as provided for the needs of married Sufis; see Amīn, *Wathāʾiq*, 75, 78, and John Alden Williams, ″The Khanqah of Siryāqūs: A Mamluk Royal Religious Foundation,″ in *In Quest of an Islamic Humanism*, ed. Arnold H. Green (Cairo, 1984), 111-14. Also see Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭah* (Beirut, 1987), 56.

significant number of support personnel, including engineers, laborers, physicians, water-carriers, grocers, and butchers, who worked to meet the physical needs of the complex, which then became the center of a thriving population both inside and outside of the *khānqāh*'s walls.[38]

The endowments of even modest *khānqāh*s could be quite substantial, and so the top administrative position of endowment supervisor (*nāẓir*) often went to a relative or close friend of the founder; similarly, the lucrative senior positions of Shaykh and Shaykh al-Shuyūkh were often assigned to a patron's favorites. These coveted positions became objects of competition among members of the religious elite who vied with one another in supporting their patrons. The Mamluks were praised for their defense and support of sound religion, thereby giving religious legitimacy to their right to rule, and the sultans, in turn, held receptions and banquets at their *khānqāh*s to honor their religious officials. Thus, Mamluk patronage of the *khānqāh*s clearly had political dimensions as sultans and amirs sought to win influence among the Sufis and other members of the religious establishment who might profit from the endowments.[39] In addition, sultans sometimes retreated to their *khānqāh*s during times of revolt or strife among the Mamluk factions. Since the residents and personnel of the larger *ribāṭ*s and *khānqāh*s could be several hundred strong, they were a large contingent for a show of support on their founder's behalf.[40]

Despite such political and economic motives, however, the Mamluk elite frequently attended the *khānqāh*s for spiritual and aesthetic reasons as well, praying with the congregation, listening to readings of the Quran and *ḥadīth*, and participating in Sufi rituals of chant and dance. In times of plague, sultans and amirs also sought out the *khānqāh*s as places of spiritual power and refuge, particularly those *khānqāh*s outside of Cairo in the desert.[41] The Mamluks certainly intended these imposing desert *khānqāh*s to serve as architectural witnesses to Islam's power and their own authority, yet the deadly plague epidemics probably provided another

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[38]Amīn, *Wathā'iq*, 58-120; Williams, "Siryāqūs," 109-19; Fernandes, *Khanqah*, esp. 47-94; her "Three Ṣūfī Foundations in a 15th Century Waqfiyya," *Annales islamologiques* 18 (1981): 141-56, 216; and Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and al-Ashraf Qāytbāy—Patrons of Urbanism," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk Eras*, ed. Urbain Vermeulen and Daniel De Smet (Leuven, 1995), 267-84; also see Rizq, *Khānqāwāt*, esp. vol. 2.

[39]Amīn, *al-Awqāf*, 69-98, 204-8; Carl F. Petry, "A Paradox of Patronage during the Later Mamluk Period," *Muslim World* 73 (1983): 182-207, esp. 190-95; Fernandes, *Khanqah*, 4-9, 20, 51-54, 60-63, 103-4; Williams, "Urbanization," 40; and Berkey, *Knowledge*, 134-42. Also see Th. Emil Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint* (Columbia, South Carolina, 1994), 39-44.

[40]See Fernandes, "Baybars al-Jashankir," 38; her *Khanqah*, 104-5; and Boaz Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo* (Cambridge, 1993), 9-22, esp. 16-19.

[41]Michael W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (1977; 2nd printing with corrections, Princeton, 1979), 157, 167, 248-50, and Fernandes, *Khanqah*, 104-8.

incentive for Mamluk construction in the desert outside of Cairo. The sultan Barsbāy, for example, began his desert *khānqāh* complex following an outbreak of plague in 832/1429 although he already possessed a *khānqāh* in central Cairo.[42]

These many *khānqāh* functions, however, were subordinate to the major task assigned by the endowment deeds to the Sufis: the *waẓīfat al-taṣawwuf*. This ″Sufi duty″ or ″Sufi office″ was the *ḥuḍūr*, the daily gathering of Sufis to perform communal prayers and readings from the Quran. This task was so central that teaching and other activities supported by the endowments were to be scheduled around the *ḥuḍūr* session, which each Sufi was required to attend, with absences duly recorded.[43] The *ḥuḍūr*′s importance was directly linked to the founder′s desire to earn divine favor by supporting religious institutions and activities. But in addition to the blessings derived from these endowments, in general, the author received, in a focused and regularized fashion, benefits from the *ḥuḍūr*. In fact, many *khānqāh* endowment deeds not only stipulate *ḥuḍūr* performance, but they also set its appointed time, as well as some of the prayers and Quranic passages to be recited.

Almost invariably, the sessions began after one of the five daily canonical prayers. Quranic passages required for recitation included the ″Sūrat al-Fātiḥah″ (1), the beginning and end of ″al-Baqarah″ (2) along with its ″Āyat al-Kursī,″ or ″Throne Verse″ (2:256), ″al-Ikhlāṣ″ (112), and the final two *sūrah*s known as the ″al-Muʿawwidhatān″ (113 and 114), i.e., the two requests for refuge with God. The prayers were repetitions, called *dhikr*, combining praise of God (*tamḥīd*) with declarations of His greatness (*takbīr*), glory (*tasbīḥ*), and oneness (*tahlīl*), followed by prayers for the Prophet Muḥammad, and petitions for God′s forgiveness (*istighfār*). These prayers and the Quran readings were to be recited on behalf of the donor and his family, whether living or dead, who were named as major beneficiaries of the religious merits and divine blessings accruing from each session.[44]

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[42]Humphreys, ″Expressive Intent,″ 83, 90-91, 117-19, esp. 91, n. 2. Leonor Fernandes has suggested that Barsbāy′s desert *khānqāh* was part of a conscious policy to relieve urban congestion (Fernandes, ″Three Ṣūfī Foundations,″ 144-45). It should be noted, however, that Cairo′s population had dramatically declined a century earlier following the Black Death, which presumably alleviated some of the city′s crowded conditions since the population did not recover until the tenth/sixteenth century; see Williams, ″Urbanization,″ 40-42, and Dols, *Black Death*, esp. 183-85.

[43]Amīn, *al-Awqāf*, 208-10; Fernandes, *Khanqah*, 18, 54-58, 119 n. 37; Little, *″Khānqāhs*,″ 101-2; and Berkey, *Knowledge*, 59-60, 79-81, 84-85. While these and other scholars have mentioned the *ḥuḍūr* as ″the Sufis′ duty,″ the *ḥuḍūr*′s function and relevance to Mamluk religious life have, to my knowledge, never been explored beyond several brief descriptions of the ceremonies.

[44]For descriptions of the *ḥuḍūr* in Arabic *waqf* texts, see n. 36, especially Amīn, *al-Awqāf*, 211-16, and idem, *Wathāʾiq*, 75, 78-79, 110-11. Also see Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Riḥlah*, 56-57; Fernandes, *Khanqah*, 54-58; Little, *″Khānqāhs*,″ 98; and Berkey, *Knowledge*, 60, n. 37. Concerning some of

The careful attention given by the endowment deeds to the *ḥuḍūr* session, and the consistency of its ritual, indicate that these recitations and prayers were not random selections, but established supererogatory invocations and appeals (*du'ā'*).[45] This is confirmed by several manuals on dying, death, and the afterlife popular in the Mamluk period, as they cite the exact Quranic passages and prayers specified in the endowment deeds as being the most efficacious for assisting the dead. These prayers and Quranic recitations, when said on behalf of the dead, were believed to ease their agony in the grave, and to atone for past misdeeds, so that the deceased would arise on the Judgment Day ready for Paradise.[46]

But the *ḥuḍūr* was not only for the dead; the living, too, shared in the blessings. The *ḥuḍūr* was to benefit its founding sponsor and his relatives both in this life and the next, while a portion of the blessings was also dedicated daily to all Muslims, whether living or dead. Further, in addition to the *khānqāh* mausoleums, the *ḥuḍūr* was held in other religious establishments, as were similar sessions for the recitation of the Quran, *ḥadīth*, and prayers, whose merits were likewise offered, first, to the founder, then his relatives, and, finally, to all Muslims. These latter types of ritual performance were to be carried out by professional reciters of the Quran and *ḥadīth*, who need not be Sufis, and it should also be emphasized that neither the contents nor the ritual of the *ḥuḍūr*, itself, were of a particularly mystical character requiring Sufi involvement.[47] Nevertheless, the *ḥuḍūr* was closely linked to Sufism, for it was an explicit duty of the *khānqāh* Sufis, who were widely considered to be channels for God's blessings due to their piety and mystical practices, which included training in recitations and prayers.[48]

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these prayers and recitations composing the *ḥuḍūr*, and their significance to Muslim worship in general, see Constance E. Padwick, *Muslim Devotions* (London, 1961), esp. xxiv-xxvii, 12-22, 33-36, 65-93, 108-17, 126-36, 198-207.

[45]Further evidence that these *ḥuḍūr* recitations, prayers, and related activities were standard may be found in Muḥammad al-Asyūṭī's (b. 813/1410) notarial manual *Jawāhir al-'Uqūd*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqqī (Cairo, 1955), 1:356-59, where he cites them in his formulary for *khānqāh* endowment deeds for both men and women; also see Little, "*Khānqāhs*," 98-102. For more on *du'ā'* see Padwick, *Devotions*, esp. 12-13, and Louis Gardet, "Du'ā'," *EI*[2], 2:617-18.

[46]Muḥammad al-Qurṭubī (d. 681/1273), *al-Tadhkirah fī Aḥwāl al-Mawtá wa-Umūr al-Ākhirah* (Cairo, 1986), 1:118-31; Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (839-911/1445-1505), *Sharḥ al-Ṣudūr bi-Sharḥ Ḥāl al-Mawtá wa-al-Qubūr*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Ḥimṣī (Beirut, 1986), 406, 409, 411-12, 416-21, 424.

[47]Al-Asyūṭī mentions such daily sessions involving the Quran, *ḥadīth*, and prayers as being a standard part of a variety of endowments; *Jawāhir*, 1:330-31, 335 (congregational mosques), 1:348 (Quran schools), 1:367 (endowed Quran readings at mosques), 1:367-68 (endowed Quran readings for the Prophet's birthday), 1:370 (endowed *ḥadīth* readings); also see Rizq, *Khānqāwāt*, 2:587.

[48]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 1:357-61, 365-66. Also see Berkey, *Knowledge*, 59-60, and al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:426 (Ṭaybars) for instances of the *ḥuḍūr* ritual in *madrasah*s, and Amīn, *Wathā'iq*, for

Moreover, in addition to their daily *ḥuḍūr*, the Sufis also gathered outside of their *khānqāh*s with other members of the religious establishment to hold special services and prayers in trying times including those of famine and plague, disasters which help to account for the demise of a number of *khānqāh*s.[49] First the Black Death of 749/1348-49, then successive waves of plague and famine over the next two centuries, ravaged the population and economy of Egypt and Syria. Sultans were forced to levy heavy taxes in efforts to replenish their supply of slave soldiers killed by the plagues, and to ward off the increasing threat of foreign invasion, particularly to the north in Syria and Anatolia where the Ottomans were consolidating and expanding their empire.[50] As a result, salaries for the religious occupations were sometimes cut or in arrears, and many religious establishments fell to ruin. Still, several Mamluk sultans founded new and architecturally impressive *khānqāh* complexes in the ninth/fifteenth century, occasionally at the expense of earlier *khānqāh*s, whose endowments had been appropriated to finance the new projects. While many of the older *khānqāh*s continued in operation, they were substantially reduced in size and services, or combined with *madrasah*s. Of course, the religiously essential *ḥuḍūr* continued to be performed throughout the empire, whether in the *madrasah-khānqāh*s, mosques, or other religious institutions established by the later Mamluks. Often Sufis were paid for this service, but they did not necessarily receive room and board.[51] This may also help to account for an apparent increase at this time in the *zāwiyah*s with their specific brotherhood and ethnic affiliations, as Sufis sought a mystical communal life and residence elsewhere than in the diminished *khānqāh*s.[52]

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its performance in a mosque; Sufis were participants on many of these occasions as well.

[49]E.g., Dols, *Black Death*, 236-55, esp. 248-53; Fernandes, *Khanqah*, 42, 106-8; and Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994), 105. Also see Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī's account of these prayers during the low Nile and devastating drought of 806/1404, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr (Cairo, 1970-73), 3:3:1110.

[50]Dols, *Black Death*, 178-231, 261-80; Williams, "Urbanization," 41-44; Carl F. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1981), 19-36; and idem, *Protectors*, esp. 102-30.

[51]For the fate of several specific *khānqāh*s in Cairo, see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:416 (Sa'īd al-Su'adā'), 417 (Baybars II), 421 (Shaykhū and al-Jaybughā), 422 (al-Bunduqdārīyah), 423-24 (Baktimur), 425 (Qawṣūn), and 426 (the *khānqāh* of 'Alā' al-Dīn Ṭaybars [d. 719/1319] where the *ḥuḍūr* had been performed since the *khānqāh*'s founding in 707/1307. However, following the disastrous drought of 806/1404 the *khānqāh* fell into ruin, and the *ḥuḍūr* was eventually moved to the amir's *madrasah* in 814/1412). Also see Rizq, *Khānqāwāt*, 2:748-49, 774-75.

[52]Fernandes, *Khanqah*, 37-46, 111-13, and her "Some Aspects of the Zāwiya in Egypt at the Eve of the Ottoman Conquest," *Annales islamologiques* 19 (1983): 9-17; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "The Takiyyat Ibrahim al-Kulshani in Cairo," *Muqarnas* 5 (1988): 43-60, esp. 44-45, 51-54, 57-58; and her "Change in Function and Form of Mamluk Religious Institutions," *Annales islamologiques*

III

During the Crusades, the Arab poet and holy warrior Usāmah ibn Munqidh (488-584/1095-1188) chanced upon a group of Christian monks. Their piety and dedication to Christianity unsettled him, but later he was relieved to find a similar Muslim devotion among the Sufis of a *khānqāh*. Usāmah's brief record of these two encounters contains one of the earliest comparisons made between the Christian monastery and Sufi *khānqāh*.[53] Both communities were often organized around a founding saintly figure or his disciples, and they enabled individuals to participate in a common religious life away from worldly affairs. The monasteries and *khānqāh*s also encouraged prayer, meditation, and study which contributed to the larger society in the forms of education, and prayers for all believers. As a result, many monasteries and *khānqāh*s received the generous favor of the ruling class who sought spiritual support and political influence in exchange. Nevertheless, the monks and Sufis generally set the rules and, accordingly, administered their establishments.[54]

Yet the Mamluk *khānqāh*s did not conform to this model, for the founding sultan or amir set the rule for his *khānqāh* within the rather broad legal parameters established for pious endowments. The foundation deeds specified not only the architectural and financial details of the *khānqāh*, but also such important religious matters as the appointment of shaykhs, the number of Sufis to be employed, their assigned religious and non-religious tasks, required attendance and permissible leaves, and other restrictions involving marital status, place of origin, and prohibitions against employment outside of the *khānqāh*. Further, these rules were not those of a specific brotherhood, though the endowment deeds explicitly state that qualified Sufis must adhere to traditional Sufi rules (*ādāb*), and belong to one of the four major Sunni law schools.[55]

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21 (1985): 73-93, esp. 81-93; Doris Behrens-Abouseif and Leonor Fernandes, "Sufi Architecture in the Early Ottoman Period," *Annales islamologiques* 20 (1984): 103-14; and Geoffroy, *Soufisme*, 170-75.

[53]Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades* (Berkeley, 1957; 1984 reprint ed.), 83-84.

[54]See F. E. Peters, *Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Princeton, 1990), 3:123-85, who elaborates on Usāmah Ibn Munqidh's comparison of monastic lives with quotations from al-Hujwīrī, Ibn Jubayr, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, and others. Also see Bernard McGinn, "Monasticism," *Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed. Mircea Eliade (New York, 1987), 10:44-50; Trimingham, *Orders*, 166-72; and Baldick, *Mystical Islam*, 59-60, 72-75.

[55]Amīn, *al-Awqāf*, 210-18, and Fernandes, "Baybars al-Jashankir," 39. Also see al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 1:357; Little, "*Khānqāhs*," 98; and Fernandes, *Khanqah*, 170. Exceptions may have been made on occasion regarding law school affiliation, for the Damascus *khānqāh* of the amir Yūnus, Dawādār of the Sultan Barqūq, apparently required that the Sufis and their shaykh there be Ḥanafīs (al-Nu'aymī, *al-Dāris*, 2:189-90 [no. 184]).

The Mamluks obviously desired to control their *khānqāh*s from which they expected to benefit financially, politically, and religiously, and so several scholars have regarded the Mamluk *khānqāh* as an embodiment of an ″official″ or ″institutional″ Sufism. From this perspective, Leonor Fernandes, a pioneer in her studies of the *khānqāh*, has suggested that the Mamluks intended their *khānqāh*s as a means to monitor, if not control, Sufi doctrine and activities, and she has drawn attention to the fact that Sunni affiliation was a stated criteria for *khānqāh* residency. But Fernandes and others go too far in their view of the *khānqāh* as a state-sponsored bastion of ″orthodox Sufism″ standing against a ″popular″ religion of the *zāwiyah*s.[56]

The Mamluks certainly founded their *khānqāh*s with an eye to the endowment′s influence on the religious elite, but this was no different than other religious institutions supported by the Mamluks. Further, there is little evidence that these endowments were made with any overall state policy in mind, and the fact that the *khānqāh*s were usually named for and ordered by their Mamluk founders suggests a more individual or personal aim.[57] By contrast, most *zāwiyah*s were under the control of a shaykh or a brotherhood, which initiated and trained new members, and set the rituals and rules to be followed.[58] Still, the historian al-Maqrīzī (769-845/1367-1441) frequently notes in his account of Cairo′s *zāwiyah*s that many of these establishments had, likewise, been founded by the Mamluks, who had dedicated them to respectable Sunnis, most of whom were Sufis.[59] Al-Maqrīzī′s two major exceptions were the *zāwiyah* of the Qalandārs, charged with violating prophetic custom, and the *zāwiyah* of the Yūnusīyah order, suspected of Shi‘i affiliation. This underscores the crucial fact that the Sunni Islam of this period did not define itself in opposition to some type of popular or ″heretical″ Sufism, so much as to Shi‘ism, and militant Christianity.[60]

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[56]E.g., Fernandes, *Khanqah*, 1-2, 17-18, 96-103; idem, ″Three Ṣūfī Foundations,″ 141, 150; idem, ″Baybars al-Jashankir,″ 21, 34; Behrens-Abouseif, ″Change in Function,″ 84-85, 92; and Little, ″*Khānqāhs*,″ 94-95, 99. Also see Chabbi, ″Khānḳāh,″ 1026; Hermansen, ″Khānqāh,″ 415-17; and Geoffroy, *Soufisme*, 170-75.

[57]For more on the personal nature of Mamluk endowments see Berkey, *Knowledge*, 132-34.

[58]See Fernandes, *Khanqah*, 13-20, 96-104; her ″Zāwiya″; and her ″Three Ṣūfī Foundations,″ 141, 150, 155-69. Also see al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 1:360-63, and Little, ″*Khānqāhs*,″ 102-4.

[59]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:430-36. For more on respected Sunni *zāwiyah*s and their shaykhs in Damascus see al-Nu‘aymī, *al-Dāris*, 2:196-222, and Pouzet, *Damas*, 446-47, and for the *zāwiyah*s of Jerusalem and Hebron, many of which were founded by Ayyubid and Mamluk amirs, see Mujīr al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī, *al-Uns*, 2:23-48, 78-80.

[60]See John E. Woods, review of *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Īlkhānid War, 1260-1281,* by Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mamluk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 133; and al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:432-35, who notes that in 761/1359 Sultan Ḥasan forbade the Qalandārs from shaving their beards and wearing foreign, Persian dress, as both practices were counter to well established prophetic custom;

Of course, the sultans rarely tolerated abnormal religious practices in the *zāwiyah*s, *khānqāh*s, or anywhere else, since this could lead to public and political unrest.[61] Perhaps for this reason, some Mamluk religious officials advocated the careful scrutiny of *khānqāh* residents. The Sufis in residence were not expected to be distinguished scholars or celebrated spiritual masters, with the possible exception of their shaykhs.[62] In fact, the conservative Ḥanbalī scholar Ibn Taymīyah (661-728/1262-1328) stated that the great Sufi masters rarely had need of a *khānqāh*, which was normally the place for "funded Sufis" (*ṣūfīyat al-arzāq*). These professional Sufis should obey sacred law, adhere to the Sufi rules of conduct (*ādāb*), fulfill their religious obligations, and avoid greed and other selfish behavior.[63]

Similarly, the Shāfiʻī judge Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (727-71/1327-70) was particularly concerned that the resident Sufis lead ascetic lives, for he believed a number of individuals stayed in the *khānqāh*s only for an easy life; they were lazy drones who should be thrown out together with the frauds who posed as mystics to conceal their filthy lives dedicated to smoking hashish and other illicit acts.[64] Al-Subkī's criticisms, however, and those by other Mamluk religious authorities should not be read as attacks on Sufism, for while they might criticize individual Sufis or practices of a specific order, they seldom contested Sufism's positive contributions to religious life or the important roles of the *zāwiyah* and *khānqāh* within Muslim society.[65]

As for the differences between the *khānqāh*, *zāwiyah*, and, for that matter, the *madrasah*, they resulted largely from differences in size and focus, not their underlying Sunni mission. There was a considerable amount of overlap between these institutions, particularly with the joining of the *madrasah* and *khānqāh* in the Mamluk period. But for the most part, the *madrasah*'s curriculum was law, while the shaykhs of the *zāwiyah*s instructed students in the foundational beliefs and rituals of Islamic mysticism. Senior Sufi shaykhs in the *khānqāh*s also advised younger protégés on mystical matters, while the endowments sometimes established stipends for further non-mystical religious studies in jurisprudence, *ḥadīth*, and,

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also see al-Nuʻaymī, *al-Dāris*, 2:209-18, and Fernandes, *Khanqah*, 102.

[61]For several incidents see Shoshan, *Popular Culture*, 9, 18-19.

[62]Al-Maqrīzī, for instance, refers by name to only a dozen or so of the hundreds of Sufis who resided at the Dār Saʻīd al-Suʻadā' in the seventh-eighth/thirteenth-fourteenth centuries; see n. 27.

[63]Th. Emil Homerin, "Ibn Taymīya's *al-Ṣūfīyah wa-al-fuqarā'*," *Arabica* 32 (1985): 219-44, esp. 233.

[64]Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Muʻīd al-Niʻam wa-Mubīd al-Niqam*, edited by David Myhrman (Leiden, 1908), 171-80, esp. 178-79; also see Makdisi, *Colleges*, 177-79, and Geoffroy, *Soufisme*, 170-71.

[65]See Th. Emil Homerin, "Sufism and Its Detractors in Mamluk Egypt: A Survey of Protagonists and Institutional Settings," forthcoming in *Islamic Mysticism Contested*, ed. Frederick De Jong and Bernd Radtke (Leiden); Trimingham, *Orders*, 19-21; and Geoffroy, *Soufisme*, 170-87.

occasionally, in other subjects, including Quranic commentary and dialectical theology.[66] Yet references to specific Sufi orders, doctrines, or rituals, such as seclusion (*khalwah*), are almost never found in *khānqāh* endowment deeds, which stipulate that the residents of the *khānqāh* were to be initiated Sunni Sufis, not untutored novices. Sufi instruction and private mystical devotions were certainly a part of *khānqāh* life, but they were not its only mission.[67] Rather, as spelled out in the deeds of endowment, the primary ″Sufi duty″ of the *khānqāh*s was the daily communal performance of the *ḥuḍūr*.

In terms of function, then, the Mamluk *zāwiyah*s resembled the Christian monasteries, while the *khānqāh*s had a closer parallel in the chantries of medieval England. Founded around this same time by a wealthy nobility, the chantries were to say mass on behalf of Christians, living and dead, so as to free them from purgatory. Like the Mamluk *khānqāh*s, these chantries were endowed in perpetuity to secure blessings for the founder, his or her relatives, and finally, all Christians. In comparison to the *khānqāh*s, most of the chantries were rather modest, supporting several priests who said mass daily in accord with the founder′s will. But the endowments often paid for the erection and care of a free standing chapel, along with maintaining a residence for the priests; some endowments also provided alms for the poor, support for primary schooling, or stipends for student priests at college.[68]

The English chantries, too, were funded by private donations, usually of properties. The founder designated the endowment′s supervisor, who was often a relative or close friend, as was frequently the case with the priests appointed to say mass. In addition, the founder determined such matters as the particular liturgy to be said, its time and place, and the priests′ terms of employment, including room and board, religious and non-religious duties, required attendance and excused leaves, restrictions pertaining to other forms of employment, and the priests′ permissible interactions with women and possible concubinage.[69]

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[66] See al-Subkī, *Mu'īd*, 176-78; Makdisi, *Colleges*, 216; Behrens-Abouseif, ″Change in Function,″ 81-93; al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 1:357-59; Little, ″*Khānqāhs*,″ 99; Berkey, *Knowledge*, 44-60, 74; Amīn, *al-Awqāf*, 237-39, 253; Fernandes, *Khanqah*, 16; idem, ″Three Ṣūfī Foundations,″ 152; Pedersen and Makdisi, ″Madrasa,″ 1129; and Rizq, *Khānqāwāt*, 1:247, 257-70, 315-38; 2:438-500, 545-47, 612-18, 636-38, 657.

[67] See al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 1:357-59; Little, ″*Khānqāhs*,″ 97-99; and Doris Behrens-Abouseif, ″An Unlisted Dome of the Fifteenth Century: The Dome of Zāwiyat al-Damirdāš,″ *Annales islamologiques* 18 (1982): 105-15, esp. 112.

[68] K. L. Wood-Leigh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge, 1965), 2-5, 34-54, 143, 177-79, 210-11, 269; Alan Kreider, *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 26-46; and T. S. R. Boase, *Death in the Middle Ages* (London, 1972), 59-69.

[69] Wood-Leigh, *Perpetual Chantries*, 65, 95, 140-45, 154, 186, 195-97, 242-89, and Kreider, *English Chantries*, 26-46.

Like the Mamluk *khānqāh*s, the English chantries attested to the nobility′s power in both secular and religious affairs, serving their founders as an important source of patronage and support. But endowing a chantry for such selfish motives did not pass unnoticed, and the religious reformer John Wycliffe (ca. 1320-84) denounced the chantry as yet another example of the spiritual pride of the rich, who parted with their wealth solely to buy a plot in Paradise. Ecclesiastic officials, too, occasionally criticized the chantries, with their undistinguished priests prone to lax behavior. Echoing the moral indignation voiced by his Muslim contemporary al-Subkī against charlatan Sufis in the Mamluk *khānqāh*s, the Archbishop Islip in 1362 accused some chantry priests of being ″pampered with exorbitant salaries, and discharging their intemperance in vomit and lust, becoming delirious with licentiousness and finally drowning themselves in the abyss of vice.″[70] Yet, these criticisms aside, few medieval Christians prior to the Reformation questioned the importance of the chantry per se, and for one very good reason: purgatory. For whatever the economic, political, or philanthropic aims of the founders, the prime motive for founding a chantry was the soul′s release from the pains of purgatory.[71]

Christian purgatory derived a scriptural basis from 1 Cor. 3:13 in which Paul declared ″the fire shall test what sort of work each one has done.″ As elaborated by the early Church fathers, this purgatorial fire was different from that of hell, as it would punish and, perhaps, purify sinners after their death and prior to the Judgment Day. For Origen (ca. 185-254 C.E.), this assured eventual salvation for all, but others such as Augustine (354-430 C.E.) disagreed. Augustine divided humanity into four groups with their respective fates after death. First, there were the godless who went straight to hell, and their blessed counterparts, the martyrs, saints, and the righteous who would quickly enter Paradise. Between the two were those sinners who did some good, but not enough and so were bound for a less intense hell, and, finally, there were those sinners who might yet enter Paradise after the purgatorial fire, but who could use some help to attain salvation.[72]

Based in part on Augustine′s categories, Christian doctrines of purgation and intercession continued to develop, eventually coalescing by the late twelfth century in the notion of a distinct, spatial purgatory. There, many of the dead would be punished for their past sins in preparation for eternal life, but their stay in purgatory could be made more amenable and even curtailed by the pious efforts of the living. Suffrages such as prayers, fasting, and alms performed by the living for the dead were believed to help the deceased, especially if offered by devoted loved

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[70]Wood-Leigh, *Perpetual Chantries*, 190, 209-11, and Kreider, *English Chantries*, 26-30.

[71]Wood-Leigh, *Perpetual Chantries*, 189-90, 303-6. Also see Kreider, *English Chantries*, 40.

[72]For an excellent study of Christian notions of purgatory and intercession see Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, translated by Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago, 1984), esp. 4-12, 52-95.

ones.[73] Further, as early as the third century, the eucharist was given as solace for the souls of dead Christians, and subsequently, Pope Gregory the Great (590-604 C.E.) permitted the saying of mass as a way to deliver sinners from the purgatorial fires. Naturally, right doctrine and good deeds were essential for salvation, but many Christians came to believe that priestly intercession in the form of prayers and masses said on their behalf were even more effective for assuaging the horrors of purgatory and securing eternal life. As a result, the laity gave alms and offerings to churches and monasteries which, by the ninth century, annually performed services for the dead.[74]

Donors, however, had little control over monasteries or churches, whose routines and rituals had long been established by either a religious order or ecclesiastic authorities. Further, their masses and prayers were often said collectively for the good of all Christian souls while, increasingly, the quantitative equation took hold that the more masses said for the fewer beneficiaries, the greater their effectiveness. So beginning in the tenth or eleventh century, the chantry arose as an attractive individual alternative, for those who could afford it. Of course, as Wycliffe had sharply noted, the chantry founders were largely concerned with their own souls and those of their relatives; while chantry foundation deeds invariably stipulated that the spiritual benefits must be shared, the distribution was not equal, for the order of those blessed was believed to be directly proportional to the amount of blessings received.[75]

Still, the larger society apparently felt blessed by these somewhat diluted prayers, as well as by the considerable alms and activities supported by the many chantry endowments, when they were in operation. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, there were an estimated two thousand active chantries, employing priests and members of the laity essential to the daily life and work of these institutions. But by this time, too, other chantries had fallen into ruin or been dissolved. For like the Mamluk *khānqāh*s, many chantries were eventually closed due to a decline in revenues as a consequence of plague and other natural catastrophes, mismanagement, or from outright confiscation of the endowments.[76]

Then, in 1545, Henry VIII closed all of the chantries and pensioned off their priests. Henry was strapped for cash in his war with France, and the extensive lands and revenues held by monasteries, chantries, and other Catholic institutions were easy targets for this recently converted king. Not surprisingly, he justified his actions based on the Protestant denial of purgatory. Luther and other Protestants

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[73]Ibid., 154-59, 275-77, and Kreider, *English Chantries*, 40-42.

[74]Le Goff, *Purgatory*, 102-7, 274-75; Wood-Leigh, *Perpetual Chantries*, 3-6, 303-6; and Kreider, *English Chantries*, 40-42, 86-87.

[75]Wood-Leigh, *Perpetual Chantries*, 5, 34-35, 154, 289, 304-10.

[76]Ibid., 93, 125-29, 194-95, 314 and Kreider, *English Chantries*, 89.

had denounced belief in purgatory as lacking a firm scriptural foundation and being premised on the false belief that one could enter heaven by way of others′ good works. By annulling purgatory, they undercut the intercessory role of the Catholic Church, and cleared the way for Henry to dissolve the chantries.[77]

In comparison to the English chantry, the Mamluk *khānqāh* had a far less dramatic decline, yet this institution likewise underwent transformation in the ninth/fifteenth century, often resulting from economic stress, as noted above, though politics, too, continued to play a part. In 923/1517, the empire fell to the Ottomans who, as Sunni Muslims, continued to support pious endowments in the former Mamluk domains. But few Ottoman governors or amirs appear to have been willing to commit the substantial funds necessary to establish a *khānqāh* there, perhaps reserving such investments and their graves for the imperial capital at Istanbul.[78] Whatever the case, the *khānqāh*′s decline cannot be traced to a major upheaval in religious belief, as happened with the chantries. Yet, despite this significant difference, the English chantry and the Mamluk *khānqāh* bear striking similarities in terms of their foundation, administration, and economic affairs.

As important, they also shared an analogous intercessory function within their respective religions, and this underscores the centrality of purgatory not only to the chantry, but to the Mamluk *khānqāh* as well. Similar in spirit to portions of the New Testament, the Quran warns of a judgment day when each person will learn his eternal fate. On a number of occasions, Muslims have feared that this day was fast approaching, and at least twice during the Mamluk period, some warned that the final hour would soon arrive with the Mongols or the plague.[79] But, normally, this day has not been considered imminent, and Muslims have wondered about the state of their dead prior to the resurrection, and the possibility of a purgatory.[80]

Some Muslim exegetes found allusions to a type of purgatorial process in several verses of the Quran, especially 9:101: ″. . . We will punish them twice, then they will be thrown back into a terrible punishment!″ For the most part, however, Muslim notions of a purgatorial existence derive from traditions ascribed to the Prophet Muḥammad (*ḥadīth*), and often grouped together as *ʻadhāb al-qabr*,

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[77]Kreider, *English Chantries*, esp. 93-208.

[78]Doris Behrens-Abouseif has noted the exception of one Ottoman governor, Maḥmūd Pasha, who constructed a mausoleum in Cairo in 975/1568 next to a mosque where sixty non-resident Sufis were to perform the *ḥuḍūr* daily (″Takiyyat Ibrahim al-Kulshani,″ 43-60, esp. 44). Also see Chabbi, ″Khānḳāh,″ 1026.

[79]See Aḥmad Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʻat al-Rasāʼil wa-al-Masāʼil*, ed. Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍá (Cairo, 1922-30; reprint, Beirut, 1983), 1:186, and Dols, *Black Death*, 243-45.

[80]See Jane Idleman Smith and Yvonne Y. Haddad, *The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection* (Albany, 1981), esp. 34-36, and Le Goff, *Purgatory*, 12-13.

"the punishment of the grave."[81] Beginning as early as the second/eighth century, Muslim creeds asserted that the recently deceased must undergo a trial in the grave. If the dead person can bear witness to his belief in the one God and Muḥammad as His Prophet, then he will eventually enter Paradise, but if he is unable to do this, he will be tortured in the grave before being cast into hell on the Judgment Day. Yet punishment for past transgressions also awaits many of the Muslims destined for heaven, though opinions varied to what extent this punishment took place in the grave or in hell itself.[82]

In a manner reminiscent of Augustine, the theologian Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (450-505/1058-1111) divided humanity into four groups: the damned, the punished, the saved, and the victorious. The damned are the godless infidels engrossed with the world who will be destroyed in hell, whereas the victorious include the martyrs and great gnostics who love only God and so will dwell in the highest reaches of Paradise. On lower levels, and of less stature, will be the saved, who lead a devout life to acquire the pleasures of Paradise and who repent of their sins before death. As for the punished (*mu'adhdhabūn*), they believe in God, but they have committed major or minor sins in pursuit of selfish passions, and these unrepented acts have contaminated their faith. As a result, these individuals are punished after death and prior to the Judgment Day, with their afflictions in hell being commensurate to their misdeeds. Al-Ghazālī adds that of this last group, the majority have oppressed other people, and so after death they will be made to bear the sins of those they had oppressed who, in exchange, will reap the rewards for the good deeds done by their oppressors.[83]

In a similar fashion, al-Ghazālī and a number of Muslim scholars throughout the Mamluk period, including al-Qurṭubī (d. 681/1273) and al-Suyūṭī (839-911/1445-1505), discussed the tortures in the grave, which afflict the dead proportionally to their past sins. A primary aim of these authors was to exhort the living to mend their ways while time remains and so avoid an anguish far exceeding any earthly pain. But their doctrine of a purgatory also resolved theological issues regarding divine justice and punishment short of eternal damnation, and, more important still, this purgatory offered many sinners a second chance. For even the most sinful believer would eventually be released when the Prophet Muḥammad

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[81]A. J. Wensinck and A. S. Tritton, "'Adhāb al-Ḳabr," *EI*[2], 1:186-87; Ragnar Eklund, *Life Between Death and Resurrection According to Islam* (Uppsala, 1941), esp. 72-92; and Smith and Haddad, *Understanding*, 24-59.

[82]Eklund, *Life*, esp. 86-87, and Smith and Haddad, *Understanding*, 33-49.

[83]Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (Cairo, 1957), 1:24-30. Also see idem, *The Remembrance of Death and the Afterlife*, translated by T. J. Winter (Cambridge, 1989), xxii.

intercedes for all believing Muslims on the Judgment Day.[84] Further, prior to this final all-encompassing intercession, God allows the prophets, the pious, the religious elite (*'ulamā'*), and anyone else whom He chooses, to intercede on behalf of relatives, friends, and acquaintances. The prayers, alms, and other pious acts performed by these individuals on behalf of the deceased could substantially reduce both the severity and length of the dead's purgatorial punishment. These suffrages also gave hope to the living that they could intercede on behalf of their dead loved ones, and, in turn, be aided by others when their time came.[85]

Among the acts of intercession, the chanting of the Quran has long been considered most efficacious, with *sūrah*s 1, 112-114, and the beginning of chapter 2 held to be especially powerful.[86] As we have seen, these passages were a central part of the *ḥuḍūr* ritual conducted in the *khānqāh*s and other Mamluk religious establishments. Although Islam does not have an equivalent to the saying of mass by an ordained clergy, Quranic recitation and prayers chanted by the Sufis offers an intriguing parallel. In addition, the daily performance of the *ḥuḍūr*, and the naming of its beneficiaries beginning with the founding sponsor and ending with all Muslims, suggest that medieval Muslims, like medieval Christians, thought quantitatively about the spiritual power and effectiveness of these suffrages. This may also account for the large numbers of Sufis employed by the *khānqāh*s, though there may be a more sociological reason as well.

Collectively, the English chantries and the Mamluk *khānqāh*s could support several thousand persons, despite differences in the size of their respective establishments. There were at least two thousand small chantries by the sixteenth century, each with a priest or two and widely distributed throughout England and Scotland. Reflecting the family and gentry life of the nobility, the chantries frequently employed the founder's relatives or friends as priests, while building the chapel on the family estates. By contrast, the Mamluks concentrated their buildings in major urban areas such as Cairo and Damascus, and though they probably built fewer than seventy *khānqāh*s, many of them could support up to a hundred resident Sufis. These large groups of often foreign, unmarried Sufis, and their barracks-like residence halls mirrored the life of their Mamluk patrons, who had been imported

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[84]Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, 4:433-578, esp. 483-86, and Winter's translation in *Remembrance*, esp. 135-44; al-Qurṭubī, *al-Tadhkirah*, 1:173-86, 189-215, 330-43; al-Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ*, esp. 212, 245-51. Also see Eklund, *Life*, 1-53, and Smith and Haddad, *Understanding*, 33-48.

[85]Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, 4:509, and 4:473-77; Winter's translation, *Remembrance*, 210, and 111-20; al-Qurṭubī, *al-Tadhkirah*, 1:118-29; and al-Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ*, 404-15. Also see Eklund, *Life*, 7; Smith and Haddad, *Understanding*, 27, 59; and Le Goff, *Purgatory*, 5, 156, 173, 227-29.

[86]Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*, 4:476; Winter's translation, *Remembrance*, 117; al-Qurṭubī, *al-Tadhkirah*, 1:118-29; and al-Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ*, 416-19.

to Egypt as young slaves without family, to be raised and trained together as a cohort.

Further, just as aspiring Mamluk amirs recruited their personal corps of Mamluk soldiers, so too, did a sultan or powerful amir endow a *khānqāh* in his own name to be manned by a contingent of Sufis to pray on his behalf. With these prayers and other rituals, the Sufis could aid their patron while alive, and then, after his death, strive to free him and his loved ones from the agonies of the grave and hellfire. Given this important religious mission, it is not surprising to learn that a reigning sultan would suppress a rival's *khānqāh*. While sultans often appropriated endowments of existing religious establishments to finance their own projects, there may have been other, less material motives for tampering with a *khānqāh*.

When al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn returned to power as sultan in 709/1310, he not only had the usurper Baybars II strangled, but he closed the latter's *khānqāh* and gouged out his titles from the *khānqāh's* building inscription. Fifteen years later, after completing his own massive *khānqāh* complex at Siryāqūs, al-Nāṣir allowed the *khānqāh* of Baybars II to reopen in 725/1325.[87] Nevertheless, by closing this *khānqāh* for such an extended period, the sultan had denied his foe the prayers and blessings believed to help the recently deceased, and so al-Nāṣir may have intended to torture Baybars II both in this world and the next.[88]

As this incident indicates, the *khānqāh*s were a vital concern of the Mamluk sultans, but not as outposts of some state-sponsored "orthodox Sufism." For, as we have seen, the inculcation of mystical doctrine and practice was not the major function of the *khānqāh*s; this was going on elsewhere, increasingly within the *zāwiyah*s of specific Sufi orders, likewise supported by the Mamluks. Instead, the *khānqāh*s primarily served the Mamluks as chantries, where pious Sufis could undertake the essential task of intercession. For, like Egypt's early pharaohs who raised pyramids in search of immortality, the Mamluk sultans built their *khānqāh*s to secure eternal life.

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[87]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:417, and noted by Fernandes, "Baybars al-Jashankir," 36-38; Williams, "Siryāqūs," 116; Berkey, *Knowledge*, 132-33; and Rizq, *Khānqāwāt*, 1:215.

[88]Similarly, when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's viceroy Qawṣūn tried to usurp the throne after the sultan's death in 741/1341, the populace favored an heir of al-Nāṣir and pillaged Qawṣūn's *khānqāh*; Shoshan, *Popular Culture*, 54; Rizq, *Khānqāwāt*, 1:276. Also see Berkey, *Knowledge*, 133-34 and Chamberlain, *Knowledge*, 56, for other instances of sultanic desecration and/or appropriation of religious endowments for reasons of fame and fortune.

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Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: al-ʻAynī, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī

Introduction

In fifteenth-century Mamluk Cairo the *ʻulamāʼ* and the military elite were interdependent. The elite provided financial and material patronage to the learned in return for legitimation and integration into Cairo's dominant Islamic cultural environment. In *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350*, Michael Chamberlain suggests that the "natural" environment for the *ʻulamāʼ* was one of constant competition, in which scholars jockeyed both for proximity to powerful members of the military elite, and for the salaried positions (*manṣib*, pl. *manāṣib*)[1] they could attain through such proximity. Indeed, for the *ʻulamāʼ* it was often within an intimate web of simultaneously personal and professional ties that the road to material and financial success lay. Nevertheless the long-held Islamic societal ideal of intellectual success—that is, the scholar untainted by the corrupting hand of government—still held firm both in Chamberlain's Damascus and in Cairo throughout the Mamluk period. As Chamberlain is quick to point out, the sources provide us with plenty of references to the notion of the polluting aspect of the *manṣib*, as well as to those who refused such positions and consequently earned praise from other scholars for it.

In this paper I will examine the lives of three fifteenth-century historians, al-Maqrīzī, al-ʻAynī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī. The story of these men offers us a case study of the dynamics of Chamberlain's arena of scholarly competition for access to the military elite, as well as the workings of Mamluk patronage practices. We may also investigate the ways in which the manipulation—or lack thereof—of patronage opportunities affected not only the careers of all three historians, but also their relationships to and with each other and, ultimately, their writing of history, the ramifications of which are perhaps most significant for scholars today.

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[1] I use *manṣib* rather than *manṣab*, the form used by Chamberlain in his *Knowledge and Social Practice* (Cambridge, 1994), for the same concept—a salaried position or stipendiary post; for a discussion of the differences between the readings, see Li Guo, "Mamluk Historiographic Studies: The State of the Art," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 24-25, esp. note 46.

The Early Years

Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Maqrīzī was born into a scholarly family in Cairo in 766/1364. As a youth he studied *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, grammar, and *qirā'āt*, in addition to history and *adab*; soon he was competent enough to practice jurisprudence in the Ḥanafī tradition. In his early twenties, however, al-Maqrīzī renounced his affiliation with the Ḥanafīs and became a Shāfiʻī like his father. The reasons for this change are unclear, although they may be related to his father's death in 786/1384. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid suggests that al-Maqrīzī became aware of the strategic preeminence of the Shāfiʻī school in Cairene intellectual and political circles and changed his *madhhab* accordingly.[2] Sayyid's source for this information, however, is not made clear; nor does this explain the lifelong bias that al-Maqrīzī maintained against Ḥanafīs, which was strong enough to prompt Ibn Taghrībirdī to point out its presence in al-Maqrīzī's writing.[3]

The Ḥanafī scholar who was to become one of al-Maqrīzī's rivals and academic foes, Maḥmūd al-ʻAyntābī or al-ʻAynī, was born in ʻAyntāb (modern Gaziantep) in 762/1360, also into a scholarly family. Like al-Maqrīzī, al-ʻAynī studied history, *adab*, and the Islamic religious sciences; in addition, he was fluent in Turkish and knew a degree of Persian.[4] Al-ʻAynī's knowledge of several languages was to make a significant difference to his later career.

The youngest of the three scholars, Aḥmad ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī was born in 773/1372 in Egypt, the only son of one of the Kārimī merchants, Nūr al-Dīn ʻAlī. Ibn Ḥajar and his younger sister Sitt al-Rakb were left orphans by the time Ibn Ḥajar was four years old. Consequently, they were brought up and educated by a guardian, al-Zakī al-Khurūbī. Ibn Ḥajar began studies at an early age and was a precocious student; as a child he went to Mecca with his guardian, and in his twenties embarked on a study tour in Egypt, followed by another in Yemen and the Hijaz. Ibn Ḥajar also visited Syria more than once; indeed, on one of his trips to the Syrian cities in 802-3/1400 he was forced to make a hurried retreat to Cairo

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[2]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*, ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (London, 1995), 39.

[3]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī fī-al-Mustawfá baʻda al-Wāfī,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1984), 1:417.

[4]Al-ʻAynī, *al-Sayf al-Muhannad fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Cairo, 1967). Several pieces of circumstantial evidence in the text suggest that al-ʻAynī knew some Persian: he was familiar with Firdawsī's "Shāhnāmah" (109) and the work of Bayhaqī (127); he also included a long list of Persian royal titles in the text (5). Also see his analysis of the name "Jārkas" as a Persian phrase ("four people" *chahār kas*) in Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, 4:207.

for fear of the approaching armies of Timur.[5] He later visited Yemen and the Hijaz several more times.

While Ibn Ḥajar was travelling in search of knowledge, so was al-ʻAynī, whose itinerary led him south from his home city of ʻAyntāb. It was in Jerusalem in 788/1386 that al-ʻAynī made the first contact that gained him an entrée into Cairene academic circles. This was the Ḥanafī shaykh al-Sayrāmī, then visiting Jerusalem, who was head of the Ẓāhirīyah *madrasah* and *khānqāh* complex in Cairo, which had just been established by al-Ẓāhir Barqūq. Al-Sayrāmī had emigrated from Central Asia to eastern Anatolia, where he settled in Maridin before Barqūq invited him to Cairo. Thus he may have shared linguistic and cultural ties with al-ʻAynī, although the sources are not explicit. As the spiritual leader of an institution with ties to the highest level of the ruling elite, al-Sayrāmī was a good contact for promising young members of the *ʻulamā'*. Al-ʻAynī must have made a favorable impression on the older scholar, for al-Sayrāmī invited the twenty-six year old to accompany him to Cairo. There al-ʻAynī became one of the Sufis of the Ẓāhirīyah; he also took classes and became better known in Cairene circles.[6]

The third of these historians, al-Maqrīzī, was also embarking upon his career in 788/1386. He began as a scribe in the chancellery, as had his father, and was subsequently designated deputy *qāḍī*. Following this he became the *imām* at the mosque of al-Ḥākim and the *khaṭīb* at the mosque of ʻAmr ibn al-ʻĀṣ and at the *madrasah* of Sultan Ḥasan. We may assume that it was prior to and during this period that al-Maqrīzī was making some of those personal contacts necessary to the achievement of financial and material success within the parameters of the Mamluk patronage system. However it is difficult to identify the exact channels through which al-Maqrīzī may have gained access to the higher levels of patrons, or to the sultan himself, although we may set forth some suggestions.

One possibility is Ibn Khaldūn, who arrived in Cairo in 784/1382 and whom Barqūq made Chief Mālikī *qāḍī* in 786/1384. Competition soon caused Ibn Khaldūn to lose the position—his enemies succeeded in ousting him in 787/1385, and he was only reappointed years later in 801/1399. Nevertheless, he managed to remain an instructor at several institutions in Cairo, and was appointed the head of the Baybars *khānqāh*, which was arguably the most important Sufi establishment in Egypt.[7] An important player on the academic and intellectual scene, Ibn Khaldūn

[5] Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ʻIzz al-Dīn, *al-Tārīkh wa-al-Manhaj al-Ta'rīkhī li-Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī* (Beirut, 1404/1984), 129.

[6] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Beirut, 1992), 15:287.

[7] M. Talbi makes this claim, although the reasons for it are not specified. Was it merely because of the *khānqāh*'s link to the illustrious al-Ẓāhir Baybars? Was it the relative age of the *khānqāh*, established at the beginning of Mamluk patronage of Sufi institutions? See M. Talbi, "Ibn Khaldun,"

was not only acquainted with the sultan, but also had other patrons from among the amirs, including the amir Altunbughā al-Jubānī or al-Jawbānī, who had first introduced him to Barqūq.[8] It is difficult to determine the exact degree of closeness between al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Khaldūn; we do know, however, that al-Maqrīzī studied history with the Mālikī scholar and learned the use of different instruments for measuring time from him. He later repaid his teacher by writing a lengthy biography of him.[9]

Al-Maqrīzī may also have reached the higher levels of the royal court through his contact with Yashbak al-Sha'bānī, the *dawādār* and tutor to Barqūq's son Faraj. Al-Maqrīzī seems to have known Yashbak fairly well, although it is unclear how they met.[10] At any rate, in some way al-Maqrīzī gained access to the very pinnacle of the patronage hierarchy. Al-Sakhāwī reports that al-Maqrīzī was on good terms with Sultan Barqūq, while Ibn Taghrībirdī goes so far as to describe al-Maqrīzī as one of Barqūq's boon companions (*nadīm*, pl. *nudamā'*).[11] Thus far, al-Maqrīzī's story is one of successful advancement within the framework of patronage practices, and achievement of not only a respectable amount of professional success, but also direct access to the sultan himself.

Ibn Ḥajar, meanwhile, was still involved in his travels. As for al-'Aynī, despite al-Sayrāmī's initial favor, the young 'Ayntabī ran into trouble after the shaykh's death in 790/1388 when Barqūq's *amīr akhūr*, Jārkas al-Khalīlī, attempted to run the scholar out of Cairo.[12] It seems that the two personalities clashed, for al-'Aynī characterized Jārkas as proud, arrogant, and tyrannical—a man pleased by his own opinion.[13] Al-'Aynī had managed to make enough contacts among the *'ulamā'* to be saved from physical expulsion from the city through the intervention of one of his teachers, the well-known Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī, but nevertheless decided to leave for a short time.[14] After a brief stint teaching in Damascus, where he was appointed *muḥtasib* through the auspices of the amir Baṭā',[15] al-'Aynī returned to

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The Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed., 3:827.

[8]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 7:208.

[9]Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Cairo, [n.d.]), 2:24. Also see Aḥmad al-Jalīlī, "Tarjamat Ibn Khaldūn lil-Maqrīzī," *Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Irāqī* 13 (1965): 215-42.

[10]Al-Sakhāwī goes so far as to report a rumor that al-Maqrīzī entrusted Yashbak with an unspecified amount of money at an unspecified date, although other sources make no mention of this. See *al-Ḍaw'*, 2:22.

[11]Ibn Taghrībirdī*, al-Nujūm*, 14:270.

[12]Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw',* 10:132.

[13]Ibn Taghrībirdī, quoting al-'Aynī, in *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, 4:207.

[14]Al-'Aynī, *al-Sayf al-Muhannad,* editor's introduction, page h.

[15]Al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān fī Ta'rīkh Ahl al-Zamān*, ed. 'Abd al-Rāziq al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Qarmūt

Cairo, presumably older and wiser. There he lost no time in establishing ties with four amirs: Qalamtāy al-ʻUthmānī, Taghrībirdī al-Qurdamī or al-Quramī, Jakm min ʻAwḍ and Tamarbughā al-Mashṭūb; al-ʻAynī went on the pilgrimage with this last amir. Of these four men only one—Jakm min ʻAwḍ—seems to have attained any significant station.[16] Jakm was one of Barqūq's *khāṣṣakīyah,* and was eventually promoted to the position of *dawādār*. Following Barqūq's death in 801/1399, he rebelled against Barqūq's son and successor al-Nāṣir Faraj (801-15/1399-1412) and set himself up as an independent ruler in Northern Syria and Southern Anatolia in 809/1406-7; shortly thereafter, however, all his promise went for naught when he was killed in battle by the Ak Kuyunlu Turkmen. Despite his ultimate defeat and death, however, it was clear during Barqūq's reign that Jakm was a powerful man, and as such a desirable patron for a talented and ambitious scholar like al-ʻAynī.[17]

THE *MUḤTASIB* INCIDENT

Al-ʻAynī and al-Maqrīzī came into direct competition during the two years of the famous *muḥtasib* incident. In Rajab 801/March 1399, Barqūq appointed al-Maqrīzī *muḥtasib* of Cairo, an important and prestigious *manṣib*, the duties of which included the regulation of weights, money, prices, public morals, and the cleanliness of public places, as well as the supervision of schools, instruction, teachers and students, and attention to public baths, general public safety and the circulation of traffic. In addition to being prestigious, the position of *muḥtasib* offered direct contact with the sultan.[18] Like many such *manṣib*s, however, it was not a particularly stable position; *muḥtasib*s could be and frequently were appointed, dismissed, reappointed, and redismissed several times in a short period.

Indeed, this is what happened to al-Maqrīzī. His acquaintance with Barqūq had suggested a promising career; he must, presumably, have been troubled on both personal and professional levels by the death of his patron in Shawwāl 801/June 1399. Within the Mamluk system, the death of a sultan provoked shifts in the power relations within the military elite and, by extension, could alter the patronage relations between the elite and the *ʻulamā'*. Barqūq's death, therefore,

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(Cairo, 1985), 2:18.

[16]Qalamtāy al-ʻUthmānī, Taghrībirdī al-Qurdamī or al-Quramī and Tamarbughā al-Mashṭūb were all amirs of ten under Barqūq. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, 4:54 (Taghrībirdī al-Quramī); 4:100 (Tamarbughā al-Mashṭūb). For Qalamtāy al-ʻUthmānī, see Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʻrifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. Saʻīd ʻĀshūr, 3:2:740. For Jakm min ʻAwḍ, see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, 4:313-22.

[17]Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 10:132.

[18]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá fī Ṣināʻat al-Inshā'* (Beirut, 1407/1987), 4:38.

meant that the position of *muḥtasib* lay open to the immediate ambitions of other scholars and their patrons.

It was at this moment that al-ʻAynī's cultivation of the ruling elite began to show fruit. In Dhū al-Ḥijjah 801/August 1399 al-ʻAynī replaced al-Maqrīzī in the post of *muḥtasib* through the intervention of none other than the amir Jakm.[19] Historians, both contemporary and modern, view this moment as the starting point for the antipathy between the two scholars. Ibn Taghrībirdī states, "From that day on, there was hostility between the two men until they both died."[20] Al-ʻAynī did not enjoy the post for long, for one month after his appointment he was dismissed (Muḥarram 802/September 1399) and reappointed two months later in Rabīʻ I/November. He managed to remain *muḥtasib* until Jumādá I 802/February 1400, when al-Maqrīzī succeeded in replacing him for almost a year. Then, again by the intervention of the amir Jakm, al-ʻAynī resumed the post in Rabīʻ I 803/October 1400, which marked the end of al-Maqrīzī's brief *muḥtasib* career. Al-ʻAynī himself did not remain *muḥtasib* for long, for he was dismissed once again four months later in Rajab 803/February 1401.

It was also during this period that the struggle for power between Jakm, al-ʻAynī's patron, and Yashbak al-Shaʻbānī, al-Maqrīzī's second patron after the late Sultan Barqūq, was approaching its height. In brief, this struggle included the imprisonment of Yashbak in 803/1401, while Jakm took his position as *dawādār*, then Yashbak's release and the imprisonment in turn of Jakm in 805/1402, and culminated in a pact that included both amirs, the amir and future sultan Shaykh, and Kara Yūsuf of the Kara Kuyunlu Turkmen, all of whom attempted but ultimately failed to overthrow al-Nāṣir Faraj in 807/1405.[21] If we assume that this rivalry extended to the protégés of the respective amirs, this would help account in part for the rapidity with which the two scholars replaced each other as *muḥtasib*. Certainly the hostility that generated from the *muḥtasib* incident was to have discernible repercussions in the later works of both al-ʻAynī and al-Maqrīzī, particularly in their treatment of each other.

Meanwhile Ibn Ḥajar, who was travelling during al-ʻAynī's and al-Maqrīzī's *muḥtasib* struggles, returned to Cairo in 806/1403-4. He seems to have spent the next ten years establishing himself in Cairene intellectual society under the new order of Barqūq's son and successor, al-Nāṣir Faraj. This he did through a number

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[19]His appointment was through Jakm alone, according to al-Maqrīzī in *Kitāb al-Sulūk* (Cairo, 1973), 3:3:1038. According to Ibn Taghrībirdī in *al-Nujūm*, 15:287, it was through all three amirs: Jakm min ʻAwḍ, Qalamtāy al-ʻUthmānī, and Taghrībirdī al-Qurdamī.

[20]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 15:287.

[21]See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 4:313-19.

of different positions, including *muftī* of Dār al-ʻAdl in 811/1408-9, a post he held until his death.[22]

After the *muḥtasib* incident, al-ʻAynī's career remained relatively stable, and even included a brief stint in the lucrative and prestigious position of *nāẓir al-aḥbās* (overseer of pious endowments) in 804/1401. Al-ʻAynī spent the next several years teaching in various *madrasah*s in Cairo, then succeeded in being appointed again, briefly, as *muḥtasib* and *nāẓir al-aḥbās* near the end of Faraj's reign.[23] He was appointed and dismissed from the latter post several more times during his long career, which is reflected in the wealth of economic detail he includes in his chronicle.

As for al-Maqrīzī, despite his failure to remain in the position of *muḥtasib*, he should be given full credit for the success of his interactions with patrons during this period. Throughout the reign of Faraj, al-Maqrīzī managed to maintain some degree of intimacy with the new sultan, if not as close as that which he had enjoyed with Barqūq and in spite of the rebellious career of Yashbak al-Shaʻbānī. In 810/1408 al-Maqrīzī accompanied Faraj to Damascus. There the sultan appointed the scholar instructor of *ḥadīth* in the Ashrafīyah and the Iqbālīyah *madrasah*s, and also made him the supervisor of *waqf* at the Nūrī hospital. At the same time Faraj offered al-Maqrīzī the position of Chief Shāfiʻī *qāḍī* in Damascus, but he refused it.[24] The reasons for this are unclear. Perhaps al-Maqrīzī had grown disillusioned with competition, the "corruptive" influence of government, and the patronage system in general, although we must wonder why, since he was doing well according to the norms of the day. Or he may have been reluctant to take on an office that throughout the course of Islamic history had been associated with corruption and hypocrisy. It is possible that he was attracted by the cultural ideal of the historian who abandons political involvement and worldly obsessions in order to produce untainted history, and thus was seeking a more scholarly form of success, uncorrupted by political ties. Al-Sakhāwī suggests in his biography: "Then he relinquished [all] that (i.e., his teaching posts) and abided (*aqāma*) in his home city, obsessed by the occupation of history."[25]

In 810/1408 al-Maqrīzī returned to Cairo, and appears to have devoted himself to fulfilling the academic ideal of the scholar.[26] Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah

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[22]Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ʻIzz al-Dīn, *al-Manhaj*, 152.

[23]Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 10:132. Also al-ʻAynī, *al-Sayf al-Muhannad*, editor's introduction, page h.

[24]Al-Sakhāwī in *al-Ḍaw'* reports that al-Nāṣir Faraj offered al-Maqrīzī the *qāḍī*ship several times (2:22); Ibn Taghrībirdī in *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī* claims only once (1:417).

[25]Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 2:22.

[26]Ibid.

suggests generously that the time-consuming demands of both a professional academic and an administrative career were a significant factor in al-Maqrīzī's eventual decision to turn away from the exigencies of the competitive arena.[27] While a desire for more leisure time in which to write history may have been a factor in al-Maqrīzī's withdrawal from the fifteenth-century academic rat race, additional evidence suggests otherwise, particularly after the death of Faraj in 815/1412, and the accession, first of the caliph al-Musta'īn (815/1412), then of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (815-24/1412-21).

Al-Sakhāwī presents two interesting pieces of information. The first is that al-Maqrīzī versified a *sīrah* of Shaykh written by Ibn Nāhid (d. 841/1438). Al-Sakhāwī says nothing about its reception at court, however—if indeed it was received at all.[28] That al-Maqrīzī would take such a step, however, casts doubt upon the image of his voluntary withdrawal from court. Al-Sakhāwī also credits al-Maqrīzī with attaining a teaching position in *ḥadīth* at the Mu'ayyadīyah. This refers, presumably, to the Mu'ayyadī mosque complex, which also included a *madrasah*, mausoleum, and *khānqāh*. Al-Maqrīzī mentions the complex frequently in *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, although not at all in the *Khiṭaṭ*. Nevertheless in no place does al-Maqrīzī declare that he received a teaching appointment there, although he does take care to identify those scholars who did, among them Ibn Ḥajar. Nor does Ibn Taghrībirdī state that al-Maqrīzī taught at the Mu'ayyadīyah in his biography of his mentor.

We are left, therefore, with a question. What did al-Maqrīzī do after his refusal of the position of *qāḍī* in Damascus? Did he indeed voluntarily withdraw from the world? Perhaps, although the testament of Ibn Taghrībirdī, reporting years later for 841/1437, suggests otherwise:

> . . . Shaikh Taqī ad-Dīn (God have mercy on him) had certain aberrations for which he was well known, though he is to be forgiven for this; for he was one of those whom we have met who were perfect in their calling; he was the historian of his time whom no one could come near; I say this despite my knowledge of the learned historians who were his contemporaries. But with all this is the fact that he was far removed from government circles; the Sultan did not bring him near to himself, although he was an interesting conversationalist and a pleasant intimate companion; in fact al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barqūq had brought him near, made him a boon companion

[27]Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah, "Ta'rīkh Ḥayāt al-Maqrīzī," in *Dirāsāt 'an al-Maqrīzī* (Cairo, 1971), 16.
[28]Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 2:23.

> and appointed him market inspector of Cairo in the latter days of his rule. But when al-Malik al-Ẓāhir died, he (al-Maqrīzī) had no success with the rulers who came after him; they kept him away without showing him any favor, so he on his part took to registering their iniquities and infamies—"and one who does evil cannot take offense."[29]

This suggests that al-Maqrīzī's isolation from royal circles may not have been due to an active desire for solitude on his part, but rather to a degree of failure in his attempt to compete for the patronage of powerful men. This later manifested itself in bitter remarks, noticeable biases in his work, and other behavior of the "sour grapes" variety. Of the trio of Cairene historians writing in the first half of the fifteenth-century—al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Ḥajar and al-'Aynī—al-Maqrīzī is decidedly the most critical of Shaykh and, later, al-Ashraf Barsbāy (r. 825-41/1422-38), neither of whom favored him. Al-Maqrīzī called Shaykh:

> . . . avaricious, parsimonious, and niggardly, even in eating; opinionated, irascible, harsh, envious, evil-eyed, addicted openly to various abominations, using obscenity and curses . . . the greatest cause of the ruin of Egypt and Syria . . .[30]

Writing later, Ibn Taghrībirdī disagreed with al-Maqrīzī's assessment and responded with, "I could with justice refute all that he says, but there is no call for me to do so; and I refrain from blackening paper and wasting time."[31]

Al-Maqrīzī was hardly any more complimentary to Barsbāy:

> His days were [of] calm and tranquillity, except that there were tales about him; [tales] of avarice, stinginess and greed, cowardice, tyranny, distrust and aversion to the people, as well as . . . capriciousness of events and a lack of stability, of the likes of which we had never heard. Ruin prevailed in Egypt and Syria, as well as a scarcity of money; people became poor, and the behavior of rulers and governors worsened, despite the attainment of

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[29]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt 1382-1467*, trans. William Popper, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology (Berkeley, 1958), 18:143. Gaston Wiet has already pointed out the usefulness of Ibn Taghrībirdī's habit of commenting on the opinions of al-Maqrīzī, his teacher and mentor in the historical field. See Gaston Wiet, "L'historien Abul-Maḥāsin," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 10 (1930): 102-3.

[30]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt*, trans. Popper, 17:87.

[31]Ibid.

> [Barsbāy′s] hopes and goals, and the subjugation of his enemies and their death at the hands of others, [therefore] know that God has mastery of all things.″[32]

Ibn Taghrībirdī again took his teacher to task for his criticism, saying:

> As for the faults ascribed to him (Barsbāy) by Shaikh Taqī ad-Dīn al-Maqrīzī in his history, I shall not say he was biassed in this, but I would quote somebody′s words:
>
> > And who is the man of whom every trait meets approval?
> > It is glory enough that the faults of a man can be counted.
>
> It would be more fitting from various standpoints to have withheld these shameful remarks about him.[33]

While an increasingly frustrated al-Maqrīzī was building up bile and bitterness against Shaykh and later Barsbāy, al-ʻAynī′s career also took an active downward plunge when he was ″tested″ (*umtuḥina*) at the beginning of Shaykh′s reign. It was not long, however, before he was later restored to favor.[34] Unfortunately, both the reason for and nature of this ″test″ remain unclear, as does the way in which al-ʻAynī regained royal approval. Nevertheless, al-ʻAynī managed to overcome his awkward beginning with Shaykh, and within a short span of time had become one of the sultan′s boon companions. It was during al-Mu'ayyad′s reign that al-ʻAynī was again made *nāẓir al-aḥbās*, a post he was to hold—except for a few brief periods—until 853/1449.[35] Al-ʻAynī′s fluency in Turkish was a distinct asset, which he used to his advantage, for in addition to academic and financial appointments, al-Mu'ayyad made the ʻAyntābī native his ambassador to the Qaramanids at Konya in 823/1420.[36]

By this time, al-ʻAynī seems to have acquired a degree of nimbleness in maneuvering within the patronage system, as well as an awareness of the importance of remaining in royal favor. One time-honored method for solidifying one′s position was direct praise, which al-ʻAynī employed in his biography of al-Mu'ayyad,

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[32]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:2:1066.

[33]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt*, trans. Popper, 18:157.

[34]W. Marçais, "al-ʻAynī," *EI*[2], 2:790; also see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw',* 10:132.

[35]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt*, trans. Popper, 19:118; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'* , 10:132.

[36]Al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd al-Jumān,* 1:377.

al-Sayf al-Muhannad fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad.[37] In this one-volume prose work, al-'Aynī legitimized Shaykh by situating him within the context of universal history, Islamic history, and ancient Arab lineage, respectively.

Physical evidence of al-'Aynī's successful competition for patronage also exists in the form of the *madrasah* he commissioned to be built next to his house, which was near al-Azhar. The majority of endowed religious buildings constructed during the Mamluk period were sponsored either by the sultan and his family, or other high-ranking and wealthy members of the military elite. Some civilian officials in the administration also funded the construction and maintenance of smaller projects. As Chamberlain has pointed out, however, the '*ulamā*', by contrast, tended to be the beneficiaries of building projects, usually by obtaining a *manṣib* in the form of a teaching, financial or administrative post within a religious institution. Relatively fewer members of the '*ulamā*' endowed buildings. The exact date of construction of al-'Aynī's *madrasah* is unknown, but must have been during al-Mu'ayyad's reign, since, in a clear indication of his favor for al-'Aynī, the sultan himself had it restored and a dome added before his own death in 824/1421.[38]

At the same time Ibn Ḥajar was also increasingly coming to Shaykh's attention. Ibn Ḥajar had been appointed *khaṭīb* at al-Azhar by 819/1416, and in 820/1417 was reading notices of the sultan's campaign in Anatolia to the populace at that mosque. In 822/1419 Shaykh asked Ibn Ḥajar as *muftī* of Dār al-'Adl to judge in the case of the Chief Shāfi'ī *qāḍī* al-Harawī, who had been accused of embezzlement. After Ibn Ḥajar's successful resolution of the case, he was appointed instructor of Shāfi'ī *fiqh* at the Mu'ayyadī mosque, which, unsurprisingly, was one of the two most important mosques of Shaykh's reign in terms of patronage (the other was al-Azhar).

After Shaykh's death in 824/1421 both al-'Aynī and Ibn Ḥajar remained in favor; al-Maqrīzī's career seems to have been going nowhere, as demonstrated by his apparent failure in the competitive arena. Al-'Aynī's professional life in particular only improved during the brief reign of al-Mu'ayyad's successor, al-Ẓāhir Ṭaṭar (824/1421), and reached its height during the reign of Barsbāy. It was under Barsbāy's rule that al-'Aynī's personal relationship with a Mamluk ruler became most developed, and it is this reign more than any other that contemporary historians cite when describing his closeness to the sultans in general. Continuing in what seems to have been a profitable exercise in praise, al-'Aynī wrote biographies of both Ṭaṭar and Barsbāy. Again his command of Turkish proved useful, for he translated a legal treatise of al-Qudīrī into Turkish for Ṭaṭar, and would read

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[37]See footnote 4.

[38]Layla Ali Ibrahim and Bernard O'Kane, "The Madrasa of Badr ad-Dīn Al-'Aynī and Its Tiled Mihrāb," *Annales islamologiques* 24 (1988): 267.

history aloud to Barsbāy in Arabic and then explain it in Turkish.[39] Later al-Sakhāwī wrote:

> Our teacher Badr ad-Dīn al-ʻAynī used to lecture on history and related subjects before al-Ashraf Barsbāy and others. (His lectures impressed) al-Ashraf so much that he made something like the following statement: ″Islam is known only through him.″ Al-ʻAynī and others, such as Ibn Nāhid and others, compiled biographies of the kings . . . since they knew that they liked to have it done.″[40]

The relationship between al-ʻAynī and Barsbāy was not merely that of sovereign and entertaining historian, however, for it was to al-ʻAynī that Barsbāy turned for advice on religious matters, to the extent that he reportedly said on more than one occasion, ″If not for al-ʻAyntābī there would be something suspect in our Islam″ (*law lā al-ʻayntābī la-kāna fī islāminā shay*').[41] Nor was this the extent of al-ʻAynī′s success within the outlines of established patronage practices, for he was made Chief Ḥanafī *qāḍī* in 829/1426. It was also during Barsbāy′s reign that al-ʻAynī became the first to hold the offices of *muḥtasib*, *nāẓir al-aḥbās*, and Chief Ḥanafī *qāḍī* at the same time in 835/1431.[42]

In addition to engaging the sultan with anecdotes and instructing him on his religious rights and obligations, al-ʻAynī advised Barsbāy on delicate legal matters.[43] Barsbāy also relied at least once on al-ʻAynī to substitute for him in greeting foreign dignitaries, perhaps in part because of his competence in several languages.[44] Ibn Taghrībirdī provides an interesting image of al-ʻAynī′s didactic role when he writes:

> . . . frequently he [al-ʻAynī] would read in his [Barsbāy′s] presence the histories of earlier rulers and their good deeds, recounting to him their wars, troubles, expeditions and trials; he would explain this to him in Turkish and elaborate on it eloquently, then began to make him desire to do good deeds and look into the welfare of the

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[39] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:2:698; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 10:132.

[40] Al-Sakhāwī, "al-Iʻlān bi-al-Tawdīḥ li-Man Ḍamma Ahl al-Tārīkh,″ ed. and trans. Franz Rosenthal, in *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden, 1952), 259.

[41] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm,* 15:287; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'* , 10:132.

[42] Al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd al-Jumān,* 2:21. This occurred considerably before the 846/1442-4 date cited by Marçais in his *EI*[2] article(1:790-91).

[43] See footnote 74.

[44] Al-ʻAynī,*ʻIqd al-Jumān*, 2:21.

> Mohammedans; he deterred him many times from acts of injustice. . . . And because of what he heard through al-ʿAinī′s reading of history to him, al-Ashraf could dispense with the council of the amirs in regard to important matters, for he became expert through listening to the experiences of past rulers.
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> . . . al-Ashraf when he became Sultan was uneducated and young in comparison with the rulers among the Turks who had been trained in slavery; for at that time he was something over forty years old, inexperienced in affairs, and had not been put to the test. Al-ʿAinī by reading history to him educated him and taught him matters which he had been incapable of settling previously.
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> . . . For this reason al-ʿAinī was his greatest boon companion and the one nearest to him, despite the fact that he never mixed in government affairs; on the contrary, his sittings with him were devoted only to the reading of history, annals and the like. . . .[45]

Ibn Ḥajar′s relationship with Barsbāy does not seem to have been of the same personal quality. Ibn Ḥajar possessed an enormous amount of what Chamberlain has referred to as ″cultural capital″; he was, by all reports, extraordinarily learned in a wide variety of subjects, highly intelligent, and extremely prolific.[46] He acquired significant *manṣib*s in the reigns of five successive sultans, and spent years in the highest and most prestigeous *manṣib* in Mamluk realms, that of Chief Shāfiʿī *qāḍī* in Egypt. Nevertheless, although it was Barsbāy who appointed Ibn Ḥajar to the position in 827/1424, the scholar does not appear to have been one of the sultan′s close personal friends. Certainly Ibn Ḥajar was hampered by a linguistic barrier, for unlike al-ʿAynī he did not know Turkish, and at times went so far as to rebuke those who spoke Turkish to him.[47] Chamberlain has also pointed out that many *ʿulamāʾ* lived in a certain ″moral middle ground.″[48] Muḥammad Kamāl ʿIzz al-Dīn depicts Ibn Ḥajar as a man conflicted about his employment as a *qāḍī*, troubled by the demands of being simultaneously just and politic.[49] Certainly this tension emerged in periodic conflicts with more than one sultan.[50]

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[45]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt*, trans. Popper, 18:158.

[46]Chamberlain, *Knowledge*, 6.

[47]ʿIzz al-Dīn, *al-Manhaj*, 161.

[48]Chamberlain, *Knowledge*, 104.

[49]ʿIzz al-Dīn, *al-Manhaj*, 158.

[50]See al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:3:1181-83, 1203; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān,* 2:372 (quoted below).

Rivalries

The relationship between Ibn Ḥajar and al-ʻAynī, both major figures for over twenty years, both successful competitors for patronage, was a changeable one. The two scholars kept up a certain amount of poetic competition, and used the occasion of the collapse of a minaret from the Muʻayyadī mosque in 821/1418-19 to make fun of one another in verse. This poetic rivalry goes unmentioned by either scholar or by al-Maqrīzī, although it emerges both in Ibn Taghrībirdī's *Nujūm* and in works as far removed from Cairo as the *Ṣidq al-Akhbār* of Ibn Sabāṭ (d. 926/1520), who lived on the northern Syrian coast.[51] This was only the forerunner of a later, more serious rivalry between Ibn Ḥajar and al-ʻAynī over their differing interpretations of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī. Although both scholars had their supporters, Ibn Ḥajar can be viewed as the ultimate victor with his *Fatḥ al-Bārī fī Sharḥ al-Bukhārī,* as well as his *Intiqāḍ al-Iʻtirāḍ*, a critique of al-ʻAynī's critique of *Fatḥ al-Bārī.* Relations between the two sometimes deteriorated significantly, most notably in the period directly preceding 26 Ṣafar 833/24 November 1429, on which date both men were simultaneously removed from their posts as *qāḍī*s. Ibn Ḥajar provides no explanation, but al-ʻAynī is anxious to point out that the dismissal not only was not his fault, but did not actually impair his association with Barsbāy; in doing so, he inadvertently indicates the tense relationship he had with Ibn Ḥajar:

> On Thursday, 26th Ṣafar, the *qāḍī* ʻAlam al-Dīn Ṣāliḥ al-Bulqīnī was granted a robe, and he became the Chief Shāfiʻī *qāḍī* in Egypt, replacing the *qāḍī* Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Ḥajar, by virtue of his dismissal (*ʻazlih*), and likewise ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Tafahnī was granted a robe, and he became the Chief [Ḥanafī] *qāḍī*, replacing the author [of this book, *musaṭṭirih*, i.e., al-ʻAynī] by virtue of his dismissal. The reason for that was the effort of some enemies with (*ʻinda*) al-Malik al-Ashraf, [saying] that these two *qāḍī*s would not cease fighting, nor agree, such that the interests of the Muslims were lost between them. They [these ill-wishers] found no way [to achieve] the dismissal of the author [except by] this calumny; thus the dismissal happened because of this.[52] The Sultan spoke to me about

[51]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 13:225; also see Ibn Sabāt, *Ṣidq al-Akhbār* (Tripoli, Lebanon, 1993), 2:775-76.

[52]The text seems to be corrupt: *lam yajidū ṭarīqan fī ʻazli musaṭṭirihi ilá hādhā al-iftirā*ʼ.

> that and said: ″I did not dismiss you for a matter that required dismissal, nor because of a legitimate accusation, but the situation is thus.″[53]

So, too, both men were not loath to point out weaknesses or physical infirmities in one another. When in that same year al-ʻAynī fell off his donkey and broke his leg, Ibn Ḥajar took care to mention it in his chronicle.[54] Later al-ʻAynī replied in kind by referring to the fatigue Ibn Ḥajar felt when visiting the prince Muḥammad ibn Jaqmaq. Such visits forced the elderly scholar to climb up not only the steps to the citadel but also additional steps within it to Muḥammad′s elevated apartments.[55] Nevertheless relations between the two scholars at other times seem to have been good, so much so that, when both men accompanied Barsbāy during his campaign to Āmid in 836/1433, al-ʻAynī invited Ibn Ḥajar to be his houseguest in ʻAyntāb for the ʻĪd al-Fiṭr.[56]

Nor was sporadic petty griping merely a private matter between these two men. The outsider, al-Maqrīzī, was similarly prone to such tendencies—with one exception. Al-Maqrīzī′s opinion of Ibn Ḥajar seems to have been very high; in no place does he utter a word against him, and when possible al-Maqrīzī takes the time to praise Ibn Ḥajar′s remarkable learning.[57] Unfortunately for al-Maqrīzī, this high regard may not have been fully returned; rather, al-Sakhāwī reports that Ibn Ḥajar considered al-Maqrīzī to be a plagiarist, and condemned him for stealing the bulk of his *Khiṭaṭ* work from a neighbor, al-Awḥadī.[58] But it is unclear how much of this accusation was al-Sakhāwī′s opinion and how much Ibn Ḥajar′s own view.

At any rate, although he remained deferential to Ibn Ḥajar, al-Maqrīzī′s opinion of al-ʻAynī seems to have been poor. This can be glimpsed in al-Maqrīzī′s treatment of al-ʻAynī in *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, as well as in his lack of treatment of the ʻAyntābī in the *Khiṭaṭ*. Nowhere in the *Khiṭaṭ* is al-ʻAynī′s *madrasah* mentioned, although its location near al-Azhar, the addition to it of its dome by al-Mu'ayyad, and its unusual Anatolian-influenced *mihrab* seem to make it worthy at least of mention. In his introduction to the work al-Maqrīzī states his intention of depicting the glories of past ages, that of the Fatimids in particular. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid points

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[53]Al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd al-Jumān*, 372.

[54]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Abnā' al-ʻUmr*, ed. ʻAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bukhārī (Beirut, 1986), 8:204.

[55]Al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd al-Jumān*, 617.

[56]Ibid., 431.

[57]See al-Maqrīzī, *Kitab al-Suluk*, 4:2:992.

[58]Al-Sakhāwī, "al-Iʻlān,″ ed. and trans. Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 402.

out, however, that al-Maqrīzī departed noticeably from his own plan in later sections of the work—the text includes dates as late as 843/1439-40. Sayyid also reminds us that the *Khiṭaṭ* was compiled gradually throughout al-Maqrīzī's lifetime, with a definitive edition composed near the end of his life after the completion of most of his other works.[59] It seems impossible that al-Maqrīzī would have been ignorant of the existence of al-ʻAynī's *madrasah*.

Nor, since composition of the *Khiṭaṭ* spanned decades, does it seem plausible that he left these structures out because he had already completed the work. This cannot but prompt the question: What other buildings have been left out of the book? Did al-Maqrīzī's personal opinion of their founders play any role in his selection of material? Or, if their omission were indeed a function of al-Maqrīzī's preoccupation with the Fatimids, we must wonder what prompted that preoccupation. Was it al-Maqrīzī's alleged descent from the Fatimids? Did he himself accept this lineage? Or did his status as a reclusive outsider in his own time have any influence on his preoccupation with a vanished historical age?

It is not my purpose to address these issues here, however, as they do not pertain directly to the subject at hand, namely al-Maqrīzī's literary treatment of al-ʻAynī. Certainly the case seems clearer in *Kitāb al-Sulūk*. There, although most of al-Maqrīzī's references to al-ʻAynī are circumspect notices of promotions or dismissals, hints of al-Maqrīzī's dislike of al-ʻAynī emerge where issues of *ḥisbah* are concerned. In one reference to al-ʻAynī as *muḥtasib*, al-Maqrīzī states:

> On Friday, Dhu'l-Ḥijja 7, there was a disgraceful occurrence. Bread was scarce in the markets; and when Badr ad-Dīn Maḥmūd al-ʻAinī, market inspector of Cairo, left his house to go to the citadel, the populace shouted at him, implored the amirs to come to their relief, and complained to them against the market inspector. In fear lest the people would stone him, he turned from the Boulevard and went up to the Citadel; he complained about them to the Sultan [Barsbāy], of whom he was a favorite, and to whom he used at night to read the histories of kings and translate them into Turkish for him. The Sultan was enraged and sent a party of amirs to Zuwaila Gate; they took possession of the entrances into the streets in order to seize the people. One of the slaves threw at an amir a stone which struck him; he was captured and beaten. Then a large number of people were seized and brought before the Sultan, who

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[59]Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, "Remarques sur la compositions des Ḫitat de Maqrīzī d'après un manuscrit autographe," *Hommages à la memoire de Serge Sauneron, 1927-1976, II: Égypte post-pharaonique*, 231-58, Bibliothèque d'étude, 81:2 (Cairo, 1979), 240.

> ordered them to be cut in two at the waist; but then he handed them over to the governor of the city who beat them, cut off their noses and ears, and imprisoned them on the eve of Saturday. In the morning they were reviewed before the Sultan, who set them free; they numbered twenty-two respected men, *sharifs* and merchants. Men's hearts were alienated by this, and tongues were loosed with imprecations and the like.[60]

This passage is not directly critical of al-'Aynī, or at least, not at first glance. Indeed, Ibn Ḥajar seems much more critical in his description of the same incident when he writes:

> On Dhū al-Ḥijjah 7, 828 [10 October], a group rose up against the *muḥtasib*, who was the *qāḍī* Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī, because of [his] negligence of the matter of the vendors, and the excessiveness of bread [prices] despite the cheapness of wheat.[61]

Al-'Aynī may indeed have been an inept *muḥtasib*; his skill or lack thereof, however, is not the point here. Rather it is the opinions of his peers that are interesting, especially that of al-Maqrīzī, and especially when we note that in *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah* Ibn Taghrībirdī provides a different perspective on the incident. After quoting al-Maqrīzī's entry, Ibn Taghrībirdī confirms that the information supplied is true, but then adds that al-Maqrīzī neglected to report that the mob did in fact stone al-'Aynī, thus justifying his complaint to the Sultan. Ibn Taghrībirdī goes on to explain that al-Maqrīzī omitted this detail because "He wished thereby to increase the vilification of him [al-'Aynī], for there was long-standing hostility between the two."[62]

In another passage al-Maqrīzī's criticism is simultaneously more long-winded and more pronounced:

> In the middle of this month (Ṣafar 829/December-January 1425-26), the price of wheat rose and one *irdabb* exceeded 300 *dirham*s; flour became scarce at the mills and [so did] bread in the markets. The matter became atrocious on the twenty-ninth [of the month] and people crowded to the bakeries asking for bread; and they

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[60]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt*, trans. Popper, 18:29; idem, *al-Nujūm*, 14:117-18; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:2:698.

[61]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā'*, 8:77-78.

[62]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:118; also idem, *History of Egypt*, trans. Popper, 18:29.

clamored to buy bread. Through this the souls of the bakers became miserly, and a *qadaḥ* of *fūl* was offered for sale at four *dirham*s. For this there were many reasons: One of them is that al-Badr Maḥmūd al-ʻAyntābī tended to be lenient on the vendors, to the extent that it was as if there were no limitation on them in what they did, nor on the prices by which they sold their goods. So when al-Shashmānī[63] was appointed [*muḥtasib*], he terrorized the vendors and curbed them with severe blow[s] . . . .[64]

And it happened in those days that there was destruction of a great many water buffalos and cattle, to the extent that [there was] a man who had 150 water buffaloes and all of them died. There remained no more than four water buffaloes, and we don′t know what happened to them. Milk, cheese, and butter [also] became scarce. Then in the middle of this month [?] winds blew,[65] [which] continued (*tawālat*) for more than ten days. The boats could not travel in the Nile, and the coast was laid bare of crops. News arrived of high prices in Gaza, Ramla, Jerusalem, Nablus and the coast, Damascus, Hārrān, and Hamāh, until the price of an Egyptian *ardab* [of grain] among them would exceed 1000 *dirham*s′ worth of copper (*alf dirham fulūsan*) if it were counted. News arrived of high prices in Upper Egypt; in the whole area wheat and wheat bread were scarcely to be found. Despite these disasters, the notables became greedy. Indeed when wheat reached 250 *dirham*s per *irdabb* some of the Amirs of One Thousand said: ″I will only sell my wheat at 300 *dirham*s per *ardab*.″ The Sultan forbade that any wheat be sold from his granaries because of the scarcity of what he had. People thought bad thoughts, and became agitated and angry. Cautiousness became strong, and greed increased. The wheat vendors kept what wheat they had, hoarding it, and hoped to sell earth (i.e., wheat) for pearls. All this, and the one in charge of the *ḥisbah* was far from [any] knowledge of it. And the long and short of it was what is said: ″Tribulation piled up on one person.″[66]

[63]The amir Ināl al-Shashmānī was appointed *muḥtasib* in mid-Ṣafar 829, at the end of the period of inflation, Dhū al-Qaʻdah 828- Ṣafar 829; perhaps in an effort to stabilize the situation?

[64]In this sentence the text seems to be corrupt: *fa-kādūhu* (??) *wa-taraka ʻiddatun minhum mā kāna yuʻānīhi* (??) *min al-bayʻ*.

[65]I could not make sense of this word: *muraysīyah*? *marīsīyah*? *murīsīyah*?

[66]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:2:710-11.

That prices rose dramatically during those few months seems to be generally acknowledged, for Ibn Ḥajar, Ibn Taghrībirdī and al-ʻAynī himself also mention it. For each historian, however, the possible causes seem to differ: for al-Maqrīzī, as seen above, it is a combination of al-ʻAynī's inefficiency and a number of natural disasters; for Ibn Ḥajar it is a similar combination of al-ʻAynī's negligence and a plague of vermin in Syria.[67] Al-ʻAynī himself mentions both the inflation and the vermin but neglects to expand on his own actions,[68] while Ibn Taghrībirdī's later contribution is little more than the transmission and critique of al-Maqrīzī's opinion.[69]

Nor did al-ʻAynī refrain from returning such favors to his peers. Although al-ʻAynī managed to achieve a high level of financial and material success through competition for *manṣib*s, access to powerful people and generally an adroit manipulation of patronage opportunities during his lifetime, this did not automatically result in success on the more idealized level of scholarship. In the field of history Ibn Ḥajar and al-Maqrīzī could be counted among al-ʻAynī's competitors. In addition, al-ʻAynī was involved in the above-mentioned heated debate with Ibn Ḥajar about the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.

Matters came to a head in 833/1428, when an ambassador arrived in Cairo from the court of Shāh Rukh, the son of Tīmūr and ruler of Herat, requesting copies of two books: al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb al-Sulūk* and Ibn Ḥajar's *Fatḥ al-Bārī bi-Sharḥ al-Bukhārī.* The royal commission of works from authors who had achieved a level of renown was one specific patronage practice at that time. Al-Maqrīzī records the titles of both books in *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, mentioning Ibn Ḥajar's first.[70] Ibn Ḥajar neglects to mention al-Maqrīzī's book, although he informs us that he immediately set about having a copy of his own work prepared; nor does he mention, as does Ibn Taghrībirdī, that Barsbāy in fact turned down Shāh Rukh's request.[71] If we take al-Sakhāwī's portrayal of al-Maqrīzī's desire for detachment from court life at face value, we might infer here that Shāh Rukh's request did not impress the historian. However, Ibn Taghrībirdī's image of him as a man disappointed by his own failure within the competitive arena might instead lead us to conclude that he viewed this specific request of his scholarly work by a foreign ruler—and the son of Timūr at that—as an honor.

We may also infer that Shāh Rukh's desire for works by two of al-ʻAynī's major rivals was quite a professional blow to the ʻAyntābī historian. In his own

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[67]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā'*, 8:77-79, 94.

[68]Al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd al-Jumān*, 2:252-53.

[69]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 14:117-18.

[70]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:2:818.

[71]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inba'*, 8:194; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujum*, 14:170.

entry for the event, al-ʿAynī curiously fails to refer in any way to the two works requested, although he goes into some detail about the foreign gifts presented to Sultan Barsbāy:

> On Tuesday 21 Muḥarram [833], a messenger came from Shāh Rukh ibn Tīmūrlank, sultan of the lands of the Iranians and the Turks; he had a letter to al-Malik al-Ashraf containing much information, and he had some gifts from their country. Likewise he had the letter of the son of Shāh Rukh, who is Ibrāhīm Shāh, ruler of the lands of Fārs, whose capital is the city of Shīrāz. He also sent gifts, among them: a bezoar stone,[72] eleven *mithqāl*s, and a letter from him written in gold in Arabic letters, and a letter from the Shāfiʿī *qāḍī* Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Jazarī, chief *qāḍī* in Shīrāz. The date of their letters was from the beginning of [8]32.[73]

In his biography of al-ʿAynī and despite his high opinion of him as an historian, al-Sakhāwī critiques the ʿAyntābī scholar because his books were not the stuff of requests made by foreign kings:

> . . . al-ʿAynī's *Sharḥ* [of al-Bukhārī] is also copious but it did not become as widespread as that of our shaykh [Ibn Ḥajar], nor did rulers of the outlying areas [*mulūk al-aṭrāf*] request it from the ruler of Egypt.[74]

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[72]Bezoar stone, from Arabic *bazhar*, from Persian *pādzahr* (*pād*, protecting against, and *zahr*, poison); refers to stone-like concentrations of resinous organic matter considered to have medicinal qualities.

[73]Al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān,* 2:370-71.

[74]Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 10:134. It may be, however, that al-ʿAynī took his revenge on Shāh Rukh in the only way possible, that is, by using his own education against the Timurid. Throughout Barsbāy's reign one controversial strategic, ideological and legal issue was Shāh Rukh's attempt to provide the *kiswah* or covering for the *ka'bah,* traditionally maintained by the Mamluks. Barsbāy's repeated refusal of Shāh Rukh's requests to provide the *kiswah* was generally unpopular among the amirs. In 838/1434, therefore, when Shāh Rukh once again wrote demanding this privilege, explaining that he was bound by an oath he had made after a dream, Barsbāy met with the four chief *qāḍī*s to discuss the legal ramifications of denying the request of such an individual. It comes as little surprise to discover that it was al-ʿAynī, spurned academically six years earlier, who stated that Shāh Rukh's vow was null and void, thereby giving Barsbāy the legal grounds on which to refuse the request; see al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:2:928.

Al-ʻAynī′s contempt for al-Maqrīzī even survived the latter′s death in 845/1442. The first to go, the seventy-nine year-old al-Maqrīzī died on 16 Ramaḍān/28 January after a long illness.[75] By nature isolated, by professional circumstance removed from the circles of power and wealth, al-Maqrīzī did not even have the comfort of his children in his final days, for the last of his offspring, his daughter Fāṭimah, had predeceased him in 826/1423.[76] In terms of the competitive arena and Mamluk patronage practices, al-Maqrīzī seems to have died a failure; in terms of academic endeavor, a resounding although not unqualified success with at least his followers, although not his detractors.[77] Nor could mortality soften al-ʻAynī′s antagonism for al-Maqrīzī; Ibn Taghrībirdī points out that al-ʻAynī incorrectly noted al-Maqrīzī′s death date as 29 Shaʻbān/12 January.[78] Al-ʻAynī′s death notice for al-Maqrīzī is a mere five lines long. In it al-ʻAynī makes no mention of al-Maqrīzī′s works, nor of the achievements of his earlier career, but rather accuses him of geomancy, then attempts to ″clarify″ the *ḥisbah* incident of 801-3/1398-1401:

> [In this year died] the shaykh Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn al-Maqrīzī; he died Friday, 29 Shaʻbān; he was occupied with writing history and with geomancy (*ḍarb al-raml*); he was appointed to the *ḥisbah* of Cairo at the end of the days of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir [Barqūq], then was dismissed for the author (*musaṭṭirih*; i.e., al-ʻAynī) [of this book]; then was appointed another time in the days of the amir Sūdūn, al-Ẓāhir′s nephew the great *dawādār*, replacing the author because the author had [already] dismissed himself because of the oppression of the above-mentioned Sūdūn.[79]

Ibn Ḥajar′s death notice for al-Maqrīzī, by contrast, is twenty-five lines long, and the date is 17 Ramaḍān/29 January. In it he refers to al-Maqrīzī′s love of history, then goes on to praise him:

> He was a skillful, outstanding, versatile, precise, pious, superior imām; [he was] fond of the people of the *sunnah*; he inclined

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[75]Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 2:25.

[76]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 4:2:651.

[77]These include al-Sakhāwī, who accused al-Maqrīzī of plagiarizing the manuscript for his *Khiṭaṭ*, and possibly Ibn Ḥajar as well. See above; also al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw'*, 1:358-59; 2:22; and ″al-Iʻlān,″ ed. and trans. Rosenthal, *Historiography*, 285, 402.

[78]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 15:226.

[79]Al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd al-Jumān*, 2:574.

> towards *ḥadīth* . . . [he was] pleasant company [and] entertaining; he went on the pilgrimage often and lived [and studied in Mecca] many times.

Ibn Ḥajar spends the rest of the notice musing about al-Maqrīzī's alleged link to the Fatimids.[80] This notice tempers al-Sakhāwī's version of Ibn Ḥajar's dislike of al-Maqrīzī because of the alleged plagiarism of the *Khiṭaṭ*. Al-Maqrīzī was buried at Maqābir al-Ṣūfīyah.[81]

A few years later, in Dhū al-Qa'dah 852/January 1449, Ibn Ḥajar sickened. This prompted streams of visitors to pay their respects, as could be expected for one of his intellectual stature and reputation, before he passed away at the end of the month. His funeral was extremely well-attended; the Sultan Jaqmaq was there, as was the Abbasid caliph, who led the prayers. (Ibn Taghrībirdī reports 50,000 mourners in the cortège.)[82] Ibn Ḥajar was buried near the tomb of the Imām al-Shāfi'ī, and, appropriately enough for such a well-known and revered figure, prayers were said for him in Damascus, Jerusalem, Mecca, Hebron and Aleppo.[83]

One year after Ibn Ḥajar, it was al-'Aynī's turn as the last of the trio. He suffered from failing memory at the end of his life, which may have been part of the reason for his dismissal from the post of *nāẓir al-aḥbās* in 853/1449 by Jaqmaq "because of his advanced age."[84] Another reason may have been the machinations of a younger scholar, 'Ala' al-Dīn ibn Aqbars. But the waning of al-'Aynī's career had begun earlier. The scholar who had managed to befriend three sultans in a row did not seem to make as successful a transition to the new era of al-'Azīz Jaqmaq. Ibn Taghrībirdī tells us that after Barsbāy's death in 841/1438 al-'Aynī was replaced as chief Ḥanafī *qāḍī* and kept to his house. Al-Sakhāwī adds that he focused on his writing during this period, and managed financially on his income as *nāẓir al-aḥbās* until he lost that position, after which he sold his property and his books, with the exception of those items he had left as *waqf* in his *madrasah*, a testament to the uncertain nature of even his substantial material success.[85] Like al-Maqrīzī, al-'Aynī had outlived all his children. In 855/1451 at the age of ninety-three al-'Aynī died, and was buried in his own *madrasah.*

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[80]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā'*, 9:172.

[81]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, 1:420; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 2:25.

[82]Ibn Tagrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 15:259.

[83]Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn 'Izz al-Dīn, *Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Mu'arrikhan* (Beirut, 1407/1987), 106-10.

[84]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt*, trans. Popper, 19:118.

[85]Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 10:133.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion we see that the lives of Ibn Ḥajar, al-ʻAynī, and al-Maqrīzī, as well as the numerous rivalries among and between the men, provide a case study of some types of interaction both among the *ʻulamā'* and between the *ʻulamā'* and members of the military elite. The lives of many scholars during the Mamluk period were caught up with those of the sultan and the amirs in a kind of interdependence, which expressed itself through elite financial and material patronage of the *ʻulamā'* in exchange for legitimation and involvement in the dominant Islamic cultural environment. As Chamberlain has pointed out, for the *ʻulamā'* the road to material and financial success could lie within the realm of social and academic competition, itself delineated by the parameters of Mamluk patronage practices. Thus hostility, partisanship, and rivalry inevitably arose as scholars maneuvered for proximity to patrons and favorable material and financial rewards within the competitive arena. In the case of al-ʻAynī and al-Maqrīzī, rivalry sprang up between them after the *muḥtasib* incident of 801-3/1399-1401. For al-ʻAynī and Ibn Ḥajar, their rivalries were multi-faceted and ongoing. So, too, the lives of the three scholars provide a case study not only of the types and manifestations of rivalries common among scholars at that time, but also the multiple and often conflicting definitions of success.

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Environmental Hazards, Natural Disasters, Economic Loss, and Mortality in Mamluk Syria[1]

The role of natural disasters and environmental disruptions has received considerable attention among historians of various cultures and regions over the past twenty-five years. Beginning with J. D. F. Shrewsbury's *A History of Bubonic Plague in the British Isles* and William McNeill's *Plagues and Peoples* and continuing most recently with William Jordan's study, *The Great Famine: Northern Europe in the Early Fourteenth Century* and Carol Benedict's *Bubonic Plague in Nineteenth-Century China*, scholars have examined the historical significance of such phenomena as severe weather, droughts, pest influxes, epizootics and, more importantly, famines, epidemics, earthquakes, and fires.[2] In addition to studies of this type, the examination of such phenomena in an historical context reflects the influence of a body of literature devoted to the classification, description, and assessment of catastrophes in recent times, perhaps best exemplified in the work of Gilbert White, R. W. Kates, and John Whittow, and also presented systematically in the journal *Disasters*.[3]

Aside from the plague studies of Michael Dols and Lawrence Conrad and the books and articles of Charles Melville, scholars of Near Eastern and Islamic history have paid little attention to environmental catastrophes.[4] In a study published

[1]The present study is derived from a paper delivered at the 1997 annual meeting of the Middle East Studies Association in San Francisco. My special thanks go to Bruce D. Craig, Winslow W. Clifford and the Middle East Documentation Center for the invitation to participate in the panel.

[2]J. D. F. Shrewsbury, *A History of Bubonic Plague in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1970); William McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (New York, 1976); William Jordan, *The Great Famine: Northern Europe in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Princeton, 1996); Carol Benedict, *Bubonic Plague in Nineteenth-Century China* (Stanford, 1996).

[3]Gilbert F. White, ed., *Natural Hazards: Local, National, Global* (New York, 1974); Ian Burton, Robert W. Kates, and Gilbert F. White, *The Environment as Hazard* (New York, 1978); John Whittow, *Disasters: The Anatomy of Environmental Hazards* (Athens, Georgia, 1979); *Disasters: The Journal of Disaster Studies and Management*, published by Basil Blackwell (Oxford, 1977-present).

[4]Michael W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977); idem, "The Second Plague Pandemic and Its Recurrences in the Middle East: 1347-1894," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 22, pt. 2 (1979): 162-189; Lawrence Conrad, "The Plague in the Early Medieval Near East" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1981); idem, "Arabic Plague

more than fifteen years ago, I tried to address this issue, albeit in a limited fashion.[5] The present essay constitutes an attempt to extend this research to a different locale and to provide a somewhat broader perspective on the issue. The methodology to be employed is adopted from my own 1981 article (cited in note 5) and the study of metereological hazards by Melville referred to in note 4.

I have chosen to examine the nature and impact of disasters in Mamluk Syria with a view to providing greater insight into the various ways they affected public health, economic life, and population levels. The thesis of this study, simply stated, is that natural hazards or disasters played a significant role directly and indirectly in the livelihood and health of Syrian society as a whole, that is, not just Mamluk military or *'ulamā'* elites but within the entire social spectrum. Although certain disasters, as we shall see, were particularly destructive or deadly, for example, earthquakes and epidemics, a variety of natural dysfunctions or catastrophes visited health and financial damage upon the population. In order to understand this process, furthermore, it is imperative to examine each type of disaster with a view to determining the particular nature of the harm inflicted. Most of these phenomena have their own direct effects, but in some cases they generate other destructive events or create serious loss in an indirect, long-term fashion. Also, disaster studies, including those cited above (note 3), suggest that it is more valid to proceed inductively, analyzing the events as classes or groups in a diachronic framework so as to suggest relationships rather than simply concentrating upon one, however spectacular, event. Such a mode of analysis can also indicate the relative destructiveness of an incident. It shows clearly, for instance, the pronounced lethality of plague epidemics, famines, and severe earthquakes. On the other hand, it demonstrates that weather events can generate food crisis or famine, or even spawn mortality themselves.

The source materials utilized in this study are mainly chronicles emanating from both Syria-Palestine and Egypt. Most of these works are arranged annalistically, which has both advantages and disadvantages. From the positive side, this method of organization seems to foster an interest in recording the important ″events″ or

Chronologies and Treatises: Social and Historical Factors in the Formation of a Literary Genre,″ *Studia Islamica* 54 (1981): 51-93; idem, ″Ṭā'ūn and Wabā': Conceptions of Plague and Pestilence in Early Islam,″ *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 25, pt. 3 (1982): 268-307; N. N. Ambraseys and Charles P. Melville, *A History of Persian Earthquakes* (Cambridge, 1982); N. N. Ambraseys, Charles P. Melville, and Robin D. Adams, *The Seismicity of Egypt, Arabia, and the Red Sea: A Historical Review* (Cambridge, 1994); Charles P. Melville, ″Earthquakes in the History of Nishapur,″ *Iran* 18 (1980): 103-122; idem, ″Metereological Hazards and Disasters in Iran: A Preliminary Survey to 1950,″ *Iran* 22 (1984): 113-150. This latter essay is one of the finest examples of the utilization of disaster research in the study of Near Eastern history.

[5]William Tucker, ″Natural Disasters and the Peasantry in Mamlūk Egypt,″ *JESHO* 24, pt. 2 (1981): 215-224.

″curiosities″ of a given year and thereby encourages the inclusion of more than simple military and political affairs. On the other hand, it also results frequently in extremely terse and summary descriptions of phenomena with little detailed information about immediate effects other than the sort of ″much destruction″ or ″many people perished″ reportage. The nature of the problems in working with such material can be readily seen in the excellent remarks of Charles Melville in his *Arabic and Persian Source Material on the Historical Seismicity of Iran from the 7th to the 17th Centuries A.D.*[6] One might expect the necrologies in the chronicles to afford useful information with regard to disaster-caused mortality, but that does not seem to have been the case except with the plague pandemic and other instances of exceptionally lethal plague events.[7] Plague material, in fact, constitutes a notable exception to the problems with the volume and coverage of catastrophes; however, in view of Professor Dols′s masterful contribution, I touch upon this issue only briefly in this study. Other than the chronicles and the voluminous material on plague, there are useful treatises on certain disasters, such as al-Maqrīzī′s *Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah* (on famines) and al-Suyūṭī′s *Kashf al-Salsalah ʻan Waṣf al-Zalzalah* (earthquakes), but these kinds of texts are unfortunately not numerous and, in the case of al-Maqrīzī′s work, the emphasis is almost entirely upon Egypt.[8] Presumably documents and *waqf* materials would yield information about loss through disasters, but unfortunately I have been unable to locate such materials for Syria, and regrettably the materials I have seen or analyzed (confined to data from Palestine or Egypt) have yielded much less than one would expect or hope.[9] Similarly, biographical dictionaries have proved to be far less helpful than might be anticipated. In the first place, they

[6]Charles P. Melville, *Arabic and Persian Source Material on the Historical Seismicity of Iran from the 7th to the 17th Centuries A.D.* (Ph.D. diss., Cambridge University, 1978), 184-194.

[7]Dols, *Black Death*, 220-222.

[8]For al-Maqrīzī, we have now the excellent study and translation of Adel Allouche, *Mamluk Economics: A Study and Translation of al-Maqrīzī′s* Ighāthah (Salt Lake City, 1994); al-Suyūṭī *Kashf al-Salsalah ʻan Waṣf al-Zalzalah* (Fez, 1971); idem, ″Soyuti′s Work on Earthquakes called Kashf al-Salsalah ʻan Waṣf Az-Zalzalah, i.e., Removing the Noise from the Description of the Earthquakes . . .,″ trans. A. Sprenger, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* 141 (n.s. 57) (1843): 741-749.

[9]The important document studies of Professor Donald Little are noteworthy here, e.g., ″The Significance of the *Haram* Documents for the Study of Medieval Islamic History,″ *Der Islam* 57 (1980): 189-217; and more recently, his ″Documents Related to the Estates of a Merchant and His Wife in Late Fourteenth Century Jerusalem,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 93-193. See also Huda Lutfi, *al-Quds al-Mamlūkiyya: A History of Mamlūk Jerusalem Based on the Ḥaram Documents* (Berlin, 1985), esp. 220, 223, 225, 231. For Egypt, see Carl F. Petry, ″A Geniza for Mamluk Studies? Charitable Trust (*Waqf*) Documents as a Source for Economic and Social History,″ *MSR* 2 (1998): 51-60.

focus upon social elites and therefore afford little insight into the lives of common people, urban or rural, but also they yield minimal information about economic issues related to disaster and also contain negligible data about mortality causes except plague. Even in the case of plague, the situation is not nearly as clear-cut as one might expect, as Michael Dols′s treatment of the issue showed many years ago.[10]

If one must rely largely upon chronicles in the study of catastrophes and natural hazards, it is at least useful to examine the evidence through comparison with details and techniques gleaned from studies of populations and areas outside the Middle East which may be blessed with more copious information. While the present investigation is technically not a work of comparative history, it does utilize where possible materials from other cultures and periods. In particular, I have found the research of scholars in East Asian history and in Early Modern European history to be invaluable. In the latter case, information based upon medical, climatic, and seismological studies have provided much greater insight into how these events unfold and what their effects, especially indirect or covert results, are.

Warfare and military operations constituted, potentially, a source of disaster in themselves. Obviously, the Mongol-Mamluk wars resulted in a number of calamitous incursions into Syria. Reuven Amitai-Preiss refers to some half dozen invasions and goes on to examine carefully the military and political aspects of these struggles.[11] Referring to the same sorts of events, Eliyahu Ashtor years earlier spoke of what he termed ″mass flights″ of people from Syria into Egypt and suggested that these migrations played a role in the slower population growth of Syria than that of Egypt in the Baḥrī Mamluk period (late 1250s to 1381).[12] Such military action and occupation of towns or cities could produce noncombatant casualties, destruction of property (looting or burning), or the spread of epidemics (although there seems to be no evidence of plague spread in this fashion in Syria).

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[10]Dols, *Black Death*, 222, note 73. I have found no indication of Professor Dols′s expectations being realized in later research. A number of years ago Carl Petry kindly shared with me mortality information gleaned from the biographical works consulted in his study of the Cairene *ʻulamā*ʼ, and I was unable to find any correlation between this material and the disaster data afforded by the chronicles; in a number of cases, in fact, the cause of death was unidentifiable. For the use of Mamluk biographical materials, one must consult Professor Petry′s *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1981).

[11]Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1261-1281* (Cambridge, 1995), 1; see also chapter 8 on the second battle of Homs.

[12]Eliyahu Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1976), 290.

Plague epidemics seem to have been spread most often by religious pilgrims or by merchants, especially maritime traders.[13] In point of fact, epidemics seem to have negatively affected Mamluk military strength through decreased revenues and lowered *iqṭāʿ* values and through the disruption of military campaigns.[14] In any case, these issues have been discussed more fully by Professors Ashtor and Dols, and one may consult their respective works for further details.

The role of what William McNeill has referred to as ″macro-parasites,″ that is, tribal raiders, predatory government officials, or unruly urban groups, will not be discussed here except insofar as they intensified or prolonged environmental dysfunctions.[15] Furthermore, one should recall the admonitions of Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie years ago, when he cautioned against relating political change and environmental disturbance.[16] The concatenation of dynastic change and disasters, for instance, may work very well in an analysis of Imperial Chinese history, but any such linkage is not evident in any of the data from the medieval Near East.

Given Mamluk political and familial rivalries, I question Mounira Chapoutot-Remadi′s inclusion of political factors in her otherwise excellent study of the terrible famine-epidemic cycle of 1294-1295 in Egypt.[17] Having examined the evidence concerning this catastrophe, it seems to me that environmental disturbance and popular response to it played a far greater role than Mamluk political concerns or factional disputes. Governmental responses to disasters appear to have been *ad hoc* and, if anything, somewhat haphazard. As will be seen in the case of famine, official aid to affected populations was indirect and variable. While Professor Boaz Shoshan′s concept of the ″moral economy″ may be applicable in Egypt and, by extension, in Syria, the Mamluk government apparently did not see a need to establish a regular, rationalized organizational structure to address food crises or, for that matter, other hazards (see the discussion of famine relief below).[18]

In his *The European Miracle; Environment, Economic and Geopolitical History of Europe and Asia*, E. L. Jones divides disasters into four groups: (1) geophysical (earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, etc.); (2) climatic (floods, droughts, hurricanes, etc.); (3) biological (epidemics, epizootics, locusts); (4) social (warfare, fires,

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[13]Dols, *Black Death*, 53-67.

[14]Ibid., 190-192.

[15]McNeill, *Plagues*, 6-7, 138, 181, 188.

[16]Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Times of Feast, Times of Famine: A History of Climate since the Year 1000*, trans. B. Bray (New York, 1971).

[17]Mounira Chapoutot-Remadi, ″Une grand crise à la fin du XIIIe siècle en Egypt,″ *JESHO* 24, pt. 3 (1983): 217-245.

[18]Boaz Shoshan, ″Grain Riots and the ′Moral Economy′: Cairo, 1350-1517,″ *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 10, pt. 3 (Winter 1980): 459-478.

etc.).[19] In the present study, emphasis will be placed upon the first three of these categories in the most common order: climatic, biological, or social (depending upon one′s classification of famine), biological (epidemics), and geophysical (earthquakes). Having established a general framework for the following analysis, it is time to examine generically the various disasters which affected Mamluk Syria and in the process to contrast these where feasible with similar phenomena in Egypt, which was, after all, the locus of power in the Mamluk realm.

Although different from Egypt in climate and topography, Syria too suffered from a number of the same weather problems that plagued Egypt. Damaging wind storms, sometimes accompanied by sand, wrought destruction at various times between 1260 and 1516. In 1315 houses and goods in Tripoli were damaged by severe winds, which were followed by rain and cold.[20] Three years later the Tripoli area was hit again by wind, waterspouts, and hail.[21] In the next year, 1319-1320, violent wind destroyed many houses in Damascus, uprooting trees and burying many people in their houses. The same storm system apparently hit Aleppo with wind and sand.[22] Damascus experienced substantial damage and injury or death in later wind storms also; 1382 or 1383 saw severe damage to trees and houses.[23] In 1441-1442 the city was buffeted by strong winds for four days with the destruction of houses and trees, and damage to the Umayyad Mosque. The same storm ravaged crops and trees at Tripoli, Latakia, Hamah, Aleppo, and Homs.[24] Again, in 1490, violent winds devastated trees and houses in Damascus.[25] Aleppo also suffered from wind storms in 1317-1318. In the account preserved in al-Mufaḍḍal′s chronicle, the terrifying storm is described as having been accompanied by dust, hail, thunder, and lightning. Just to the west of the city, wind destroyed hundreds of oaks, olive trees, and vines. People, domestic and wild animals, as well as birds, were killed. The people, we are told, prayed for God′s mercy.[26] Obviously, one sees in these events substantial economic loss in terms of homes and livelihood (crops and animals). Rural dwellers were hurt by loss of animals and valuable trees, while urban residents who escaped collapsed

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[19]E. L. Jones, *The European Miracle: Environment, Economic, and Geopolitical History of Europe and Asia* (Cambridge, 1981), 23-41.

[20]Al-Duwayhī, ″Tārīkh al-Azmināt,″ *al-Mashriq* 44 (1951): 169-170.

[21]Sibṭ ibn al-ʻAjamī, ″Les trésors d′or,″ trans. Jean Sauvaget (Beirut, 1950), 9.

[22]Al-ʻAynī, *Ta'rīkh al-Badr*, British Library, MS Or. Add. 22360, fol. 8a.

[23]Al-Sakhāwī, *Dhayl Duwal al-Islām*, Bodleian Library, Arabic MS Marsh 508, fol. 87a.

[24]Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Abnā' al-ʻUmr* (Hyderabad, 1976), 9:13; al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Ta'rīkh al-Zamān* (Cairo, 1973), 3:401-402.

[25]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān* (Cairo, 1967), 1:67.

[26]Al-Mufaddal ibn Abī al-Fadā'il, *Ägypten und Syrien zwischen 1317 und 1341* (Freiburg, 1973), 1-2.

dwellings incurred substantial property loss as well as increased prices for scarce commodities or goods. Clearly, these storms were most devastating to the infrastructure and to the agricultural macroeconomy (this latter term used here in the sense of economic sectors). Also, one sees in the report of the Aleppo event of 1317-1318 one of the rare glimpses of psychological response to catastrophe in Syria, not surprisingly, a religiously based reaction. Disasters may well have stimulated heightened religious consciousness, but the references are too sparse to warrant any confident statements in this respect.

Hail, snow, and severe cold also caused hardship for producers and/or merchants of crops and commodities. In 1274, for example, severe rain and hail hit Damascus, and al-Birzālī reports that the apricot crop in the Ghūṭah suffered major loss.[27] In 1292-1293 Syria experienced severe cold and wet weather. Baalbak was hit by rain and snow, and it is reported that the Syrian pilgrimage caravan lost pilgrims to the terrible cold and rains. The intense cold of this time also made itself felt at Damascus, where rain and snow compounded the suffering.[28] Six years later (1298-1299) Damascus was hit by a snow storm which left the ground covered for fifteen days.[29] Snow and cold then destroyed fruit crops in 1307-1308.[30] Syria was famous for its fruit crops and exported these to other areas, for example, Iraq.[31] Damage of the sort mentioned above would thus be expected to disrupt regional trade and, thereby, adversely affect the Syrian mercantile economy at least in the short run.

The fourteenth century saw a number of episodes of cold, ice, or snow. In 1377 there were hail and ice storms throughout the region, in which olive trees were damaged or destroyed and in which people and animals perished. Villages were buried under a cover of snow.[32] Snow in 1345 blocked roads, killing travellers, and domestic and wild animals perished also. Damascus was hard hit in the storm, and it was said that people had not seen the like of it before.[33] Aleppo experienced

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[27]Al-Birzālī *al-Muqtafā' li-Ta'rīkh al-Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Abī Shāmah*, Arab League, MS 507, fol. 56a.

[28]Al-Jazarī, *Chronique des Damas*, trans. Jean Sauvaget (Paris, 1949), 27.

[29]Al-Jazarī, *Jawāhir al-Sulūk fī al-Khulafā' wa-al-Mulūk*, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS arabe 6739, fol. 268a.

[30]Al-Duwayhī, "Azminat," 163.

[31]Eli Ashtor, "The Diet of the Salaried Classes in the Medieval Near East," *Journal of Asian History* 4 (1970), 6.

[32]Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh*, British Library, MS Or. Add. 7335, fols. 40a-b.

[33]Al-'Aynī, *al-Badr*, British Library, MS 22360, fol. 49a; al-Dhahabī, *Kitāb al-'Abr*, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS arabe 5819, fol. 148b.

considerable snowfall in 1348, and bad crops were the result.[34] Syria again was the scene of snow and ice in 1352, 1363, 1399, and 1400. The freeze of 1363 was noteworthy because the Euphrates and other rivers froze, allowing travellers to walk across them.[35] The 1399 event consisted largely of frost, which spread in most parts of the area and destroyed walnuts, almonds, and apricots.[36] The very next year, the Biqāʿ valley and the mountains north of Damascus received snow, an unusual occurrence according to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah.[37] The fifteenth century seems to have been easier, although Syria had significant snow in 1496, and Palestine was very hard hit with snow accumulations in 1499. In the latter case, paths and streets were blocked in Jerusalem, the snow becoming hard frozen and lasting for almost three weeks.[38]

The episodes of freezing cold and precipitation were severe blows to the affected populations. Agricultural commodities were damaged or destroyed, and commercial travel was disrupted by the snow storms. People were stranded and, at times, killed by the weather. Although there seems to be no way to prove it, one may also conjecture that some losses resulted from hypothermia, or what John Post has called "accident hypothermia." As Post points out, sharp temperature changes are also known to occasion deaths from pneumonia, bronchitis, and arteriosclerotic heart disease.[39] It is interesting to note here that the 1496 storm in Damascus was associated not only with broken or damaged trees but also with the increased costliness of badly needed firewood.[40] Sickness or death stemming from these episodes clearly reduced affected populations in the short term and probably contributed to the population decline evident throughout the Burjī period (1382-1517).[41]

Heavy rains and floods appear to have been far more common and more destructive in Mamluk Syria. Damaging rains and/or floods hit Syria some two dozen times in the period between 1269 and 1477. Damascus experienced the greatest number of these, but that may represent the geographical bias of the chroniclers. In 1269 Damascus was hit by a great flood which carried away

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[34]Sibṭ ibn al-ʿAjamī, "Trésors," 10.

[35]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk* (Cairo, 1970), 3:1:77.

[36]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Dhayl ʿalá Taʾrīkh al-Islām* (Damascus, 1977), 1:613.

[37]Ibid., 612, 654.

[38]Al-ʿUlaymī, *al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Taʾrīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl*, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS arabe 1671, fols. 401-402.

[39]John Post, *Food Shortage, Climatic Variability, and Epidemic Disease in Preindustrial Europe* (Ithaca, New York, 1985) 202-207.

[40]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-Khillān*, 1:134-135.

[41]Ashtor, *Social and Economic History*, 302-305.

houses, animals, and goods. Trees were uprooted, bridges were destroyed, and many horses and camels drowned. The loss of human life was also said to have been severe.[42] The city faced virtually the same ordeal in 1282, 1317, 1319, 1326, 1377, 1382, and on still other occasions. The flood of 1317 is reported to have destroyed 895 houses, eleven mills, seventeen ovens, forty gardens, twenty-one mosques, and five *madrasah*s. A large number of men, women, and children drowned, particularly in the baths and the mosque. Also, many markets were ruined by the flood waters.[43] The flood of 1326 resulted from rains in the Euphrates region and is reported to have triggered an epidemic which sickened many Damascenes.[44] Here again one sees economic loss, destruction, and increased morbidity (susceptibility to disease), indeed, outright mortality, associated with weather fluctuations. One can also see here with respect to the flood-caused epidemic a case of one disaster generating another.

The reverse side of the coin was, of course, the occurrence of damaging or severe drought. Drought perhaps worked more slowly in its destructiveness, but it too served to bring on crises not only in economic life, but also, and of greater import, in food consumption and public health. In 1294 Syria endured a severe drought, and eventually prices rose and famine ensued. This crisis situation intensified in the next two years, and Syria was the scene of serious famine and epidemic mortality.[45] During 1295 things reached such a pass that the *qāḍī al-quḍāh* in Damascus recited the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī from the pulpit of the Umayyad Mosque.[46] Drought losses, then, more often than not created shortages or full-blown famine conditions and, thus, touched health issues directly. Here again, one sees a causal relationship between one catastrophe and another.

Locust infestations and epizootics also adversely affected food supplies and economic activity. Locust invasions struck Syria on a number of occasions in the fourteenth century. Destruction of crops, plants, and trees occurred during the

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[42]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Mukhtār al-Akhbār* (Cairo, 1993), 45-46; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Die Chronik des Ibn al-Dawādārī* (Freiburg, 1971), 8:160; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Durrat al-Aslāk fī Dawlat al-Atrāk*, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS arabe 1719, fol. 32a; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1990), 30:176-177.

[43]Abū al-Fidā', *The Memoirs of a Syrian Prince: Abū al-Fidā', Sultan of Hamāh (672-732/1273-1331)*, trans. P. M. Holt (Wiesbaden, 1983), 73; al-Duwayhī, "Azminat," 170; Sibṭ ibn al-'Ajamī, "Trésors" II (Beirut, 1950), 150.

[44]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* II, pt. 1 (Cairo, 1956), 275.

[45]Al-Yūnīnī, *Continuation of Mir'āt al-Zamān*, British Library, MS Or. Add. 25728, fol. 89a; al-Jazarī, *Chronique*, 47; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat* 31 (Cairo, 1992), 286.

[46]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat*, Leiden MS in Shah Elham, *Kitbuġa und Lagīn: Studien zur Mamluken-Geschichte nach Baibars al-Mansūrī und Nuwairī* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1977), 48 of the Arabic text.

infestation of 1301.[47] Al-Maqrīzī reports that the locust attack of 1365 led to high prices and, eventually, an epidemic.[48] Other episodes occurred in 1370 and 1402. Epizootics, while not as common, played their own negative role in Syria; for example, many horses died in an epidemic in 1431.[49] Not surprisingly, of course, the great plague pandemic of 1347-1349 devastated the animal population as well as the human one. As Michael Dols pointed out in his classic study of the great plague, the loss of animals hurt agricultural production badly.[50] Epizootics, as noted in my *JESHO* study, were a serious matter because animals were an important form of fixed capital and especially significant as analogues to machines and power sources in modern societies.[51]

Serious fires were another scourge for the population of late medieval Syria, particularly urban dwellers. In 1281 fire damaged mosques in Damascus, destroying in the process a number of markets, for example, those of the feltmakers and booksellers.[52] Merchants lost much property in a fire which hit Ḥamāh in 1335.[53] Two hundred and fifty shops burned in the same city.[54] These instances could be multiplied, but the information is invariably the same: merchants incurred severe loss of goods, while the *'ulamā'* and the poor were hard hit by the destruction of mosques and *waqf* properties. The ordinary citizens also lost their houses in some of these conflagrations, for example, in that of 1459.[55]

In the final analysis, of course, the three most devastating types of catastrophes in the medieval Islamic world were famine, epidemic disease, and destructive earthquakes. The remainder of this paper will be devoted to an examination of the morphology and effects of these major disasters. In view of the societal dislocation, stress, and mortality created by famine, it is surprising to note how little has been published about such subsistence crises in the medieval Near East. Some years

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[47]Ibn Ḥabīb, *Durrat al-Aslāk*, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS arabe 1720, fol. 135b; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* 1:3:923; al-Sakhāwī, *Dhayl Duwal al-Islām* (Hyderabad, 1337), 2:160; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl*, as cited in Li Guo, *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography: Al-Yūnīnī's Dhayl Mir'āt al-zamān* (Leiden, 1998), 1:207.

[48]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:1:92.

[49]Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS arabe 1602, vol. 2, fol. 59b.

[50]Dols, *Black Death*, 158-160.

[51]Tucker, "Disasters and Peasantry," 220.

[52]Ibn Ḥabīb, *Durrat*, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS arabe 9, fol. 52a; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:3:709; al-Sakhāwī, *Dhayl* (Hyderabad), 2:142.

[53]Al-Dhahabī, *Kitāb al-'Abr*, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS arabe 1469, fol. 146a.

[54]Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadhārat al-Dhahab fī Akhbār min Dhahab* (Beirut, 1966), 6:109.

[55]Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr* (Berkeley, 1930-31), 8:2:247.

ago, I undertook a brief, theoretical study of this subject, and this work, supplemented by considerably more recent examination of famines in other cultures, will serve as the basis of this discussion.[56]

Mamluk Syria appears to have been much more fortunate than Egypt when it came to food shortage and hunger. In the first place, the Syrians did not have to rely upon the vagaries of the Nile. Syrian agriculture benefitted from a more regular water regime based upon annual rain and snow. In spite of this, Syria itself suffered from around twenty-five famine or food crises during the Mamluk era.[57] Such crises had a variety of causes, although they usually began with a drastic rise of cereal prices and quickly escalated to the inability of people to afford or even to find basic foodstuffs. As noted above, the great famine-epidemic crisis of 1294-1296 began with a severe drought within Syria. Hot winds and drought also provoked famine conditions in Syria in 1317 and 1397.[58] A locust invasion in 1323 led to high prices and shortages, although in this case grain was imported through Beirut and Tripoli in order to offset the crisis.[59] Crops in the Ḥawrān were ″ruined″ in 1347 resulting in famine in that region.[60] From other sources, one may surmise that snow and cold were the culprits. Food shortages and/or famines were at times generated or exacerbated by hoarding on the part of merchants or even the Mamluks themselves.[61] It was also possible, as in the year 1372-1373, that migration of people into an area might stimulate food crises.[62] Migration was dangerous on another count, since it could lead to disease epidemics in the migrants′ destinations.[63]

Once the famine or dearth had begun, mortality due to starvation was the most obvious result. In the great crisis of 1295, people died of starvation along the

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[56]Tucker, ″The Effects of Famine in the Medieval Islamic World,″ paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Seattle, November, 1981.

[57]I have tabulated instances of famine or food crises in Syria and Palestine occurring in the following *hijrah* years: 660, 694-696, 724, 742-743, 765, 771, 775-777, 790, 798-800, 818-819, 825, 827, 832-833, 835, 865, 870-871, 873, 882; Tucker, ″Famines,″ 19-24.

[58]Al-Duwayhī, ″Azminat,″ 170; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Dhayl*, Bibliothèque Nationale MS arabe 1599, vol. 2, fol. 130b.

[59]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* , 2:1:254.

[60]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Dhayl*, MS arabe 1598, vol. 1, fol. 84a.

[61]Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 51-55.

[62]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Les Gouverneurs de Damas sous les Mamlouks et les premiers Ottomans (658-1156/1260-1744), Annales d′Ibn Ṭūlūn*, trans. Henri Laoust (Damascus, 1952), 12.

[63]John Walter and Roger Schofield, ″Famine, Disease, and Crisis Mortality in Early Modern Society,″ *Famine, Disease, and the Social Order in Early Modern Society* (Cambridge, 1989), 27-28.

roads.[64] In 1375, famine initially killed ″the frail,″ but eventually the mortality became more generalized.[65] Needless to say, such occurrences seriously disrupted all forms of economic life, especially commerce and agriculture. Sustained hunger at the very least impairs work and productivity. As Sara Millman and Robert Kates have pointed out in their essay ″Toward Understanding Hunger,″ manual work is hampered, and the ability to sustain physical effort is lessened.[66] Labor productivity was in all probability adversely affected by famine but, unfortunately, it is not possible to measure this or the economic loss related to it.

Famine and severe food deprivation affect populations in another direct and often lethal fashion. Starving populations at times resort to eating whatever is to hand, regardless of its repulsiveness or toxicity. In 1372-1373, for instance, Ibn Ṭūlūn reports that people in Aleppo were reduced to eating dogs and even carcasses.[67] Similar reports are available for the year 1375.[68] Similar reports are numerous for corresponding events in other societies. Desperate measures were resorted to in a Chinese famine of 1641.[69] The same situation was to be found in the terrible Russian famine of 1230, where people are reported to have eaten leaves, cats, and dogs.[70] Diets of this sort obviously gave ample cause for death from any number of toxic organisms.

Clearly the most macabre and intense reaction to famine was resort to cannibalism. Although it appears that instances of this may not have been as common in Syria as in Egypt, we do have evidence of such behavior. The terrible crisis of 1374-1375 in Aleppo gave rise to acts of cannibalism, and the same thing is said to have happened again the next year.[71] Similar reports come from the earlier famine-epidemic cycle of 1294-1296.[72] Ironically, comparable accounts

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[64]Al-Duwayhī, ″Azminat,″ 155.

[65]Ibn Ḥabīb, *Durrat al-Aslāk*, Bodleian Library, Arabic MS Marsh 319, fol. 127b.

[66]Sara Millman and Robert Kates, ″Toward Understanding Hunger,″ *Hunger in History*, ed. Lucile Newman (Oxford, 1990), 16.

[67]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Gouverners*, Laoust, 12.

[68]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 3:1:256.

[69]Helen Dunstan, ″The Late Ming Epidemics: A Preliminary Survey,″ *Ch′ing-shih Wen-t′i* 3, no. 3 (Nov., 1975), 12-13.

[70]Arcadius Kahan, ″Natural Calamities and Their Effect upon the Food Supply in Russia″* [An Introduction to a Catalogue], in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, ed. Fritz Epstein (Wiesbaden, 1968), 368.

[71]Ibn al-ʻImād, *Shadhārat* 6:250; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Dhayl*, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS arabe 1598, fol. 236a.

[72]Ibn Ḥabīb, *Durrat al-Aslāk*, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS arabe 1720, vol. 2, fols. 111-112.

exist for the terrible Syrian famine of 1915-1918.[73] Numerous descriptions of such behavior come from other parts of the world at various times. Cannibalism is reported to have occurred in terrible famines in medieval Poland and Italy.[74] Dunstan points to instances of the same sort occurring during the Chinese famine of 1641.[75] In his recent book on early fourteenth-century European famines, William Jordan has cited allegations of cannibalism being practiced in England and Eastern Europe during the years 1315 to 1317. He goes on to say that most recent historians have tended to regard such reports as a literary topos, while some have suggested that these accounts are a signal to the reader of the emotional stress of famine conditions.[76] My own research indicates to me that neither of these explanations is satisfactory. It is hard to sustain the thesis that events reported in such strikingly similar fashions from different cultures at different times are mere literary devices. Even allowing for exaggeration, it is perfectly plausible to think that horrible stress and desperation drove people to commit the unthinkable.

Such behavorial deviation was bound to have an impact upon the society experiencing it. As I have written elsewhere, ″Medieval Islamic society placed great value upon familial relationships, community solidarity, and hallowed and predictable modes of behavior or interaction.″[77] Such activities as cannibalism can only have undermined social and community cohesiveness and identity.

Famines had other more indirect but equally damaging effects upon public health and demography. For some years now a debate about the relationship between subsistence crises and epidemic disease have divided the scholarly community. Scholars such as Ann Carmichael (Indiana University), Roger Schofield (Cambridge University), and the Italian demographer Massimo Livi-Bacci have questioned the ″synergism″ concept linking disease and the nutritional profile of a given ″host.″[78]

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[73]I owe this information to the article of my colleague, Professor Linda Schilcher: L. Schatkowski Schilcher, ″The Famine of 1915-18 in Greater Syria,″ *Problems of the Modern Middle East in Historical Perspective: Essays in Honour of Albert Hourani*, ed. John Spagnolo (Reading, 1992), 231.

[74]Piero Camporesi, *Bread of Dreams: Food and Fantasy in Early Modern Europe*, trans. David Gentilcore (Chicago, 1989), 87.

[75]Dunstan, ″Ming Epidemics,″ 12.

[76]Jordan, *The Great Famine*, 148-149.

[77]Tucker, ″Famine,″ 6.

[78]Ann Carmichael, ″Infection, Hidden Hunger, and History,″ *Hunger and History* (Cambridge, 1983), 51-66; Roger Schofield, ″The Impact of Scarcity and Plenty on Population Change in England, 1541-1871,″ ibid., 67-92; Massimo Livi-Bacci, *Population and Nutrition: An Essay on European Demographic History* (Cambridge, 1991), esp. chaps. 2-3.

On the other side, investigators ranging from health professionals such as Carl E. Taylor (Johns Hopkins University) to such medical historians as Thomas McKeown (University of Birmingham) support the proposition that nutritional levels are directly related to susceptibility to epidemic disease.[79] The evidence forthcoming from medieval Near Eastern authors would seem to support the latter argument. The data show that while epidemics could and did occur without preceding famines, nearly one-third of the famines recorded were followed by epidemics of some severity. In virtually all cases, the chroniclers make explicit linkages between the two phenomena. Famines were followed by epidemics in Mamluk Syria during the years 1294-1295, 1341-1342, 1347, 1369, 1373-1374, 1375, 1421, and 1468 in Palestine.[80]

Parenthetically, it should be noted that famine may have been allowed to worsen in some cases due to hoarding or manipulation of whatever existing stocks there were.[81] In fact, one may argue that it is here that we see one of the few plausible linkages between catastrophes and political life in Mamluk Syria. Although Lapidus and Allouche speak of Mamluk sultans providing grain relief in bad times, in point of fact the evidence does not show that there was a regular institutional or rationalized mechanism for food relief. In this sense, one may argue that this factor, combined with the food hoarding by Mamluk amirs and, at times, by the sultan himself, intensified or even brought on food crises.[82] In this case, politics can be seen as stimulating a crisis. In China, in contrast, by the eighteenth century the imperial government had taken proactive measures to deal with famine. Central and local granaries were maintained in order to combat famine. Furthermore, in times of crisis the imperial administration used state funds to purchase foodstuffs outside the stricken area and then to transport the grain to local distribution areas. On other occasions, money was distributed directly to the affected population, and in the case of the desperate, officials were authorized to give food or money on the spot.[83]

Famine and subsistence crises can affect demography in important ways, and one may conjecture that they did so in the medieval Near East, including Mamluk

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[79]Carl E. Taylor, "Synergy among Mass Infections, Famines, and Poverty," *Hunger and History*, 247-284; Thomas McKeown, "Food, Infection, and Population," conference paper presented at Bellagio (June 22-July 2, 1982), 1-32, paper now located in the Library of the Cambridge Group for the Study of the History of Population and Social Structure, Trumpington St., Cambridge, England.

[80]Tucker, "Famines," 30-31, note 19.

[81]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 52-57.

[82]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 51-55; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics*, 14.

[83]Pierre-Etienne Will, *Bureaucracy and Famine in Eighteenth Century China*, trans. Elborg Forster (Stanford, 1990), 130, 282-289.

Syria. Modern research indicates that nutritional deficiency and stress play a major role in male and female infertility. As Rose Frisch (Dept. of Population Sciences and Center for Population Studies, Harvard University) pointed out years ago, undernourished females have a high frequency of irregular and anovulatory cycles, and ″menstruation stops completely if undernutrition is severe.″ Furthermore during pregnancy undernourished women have a higher probability of miscarriage or stillbirth, and even if they deliver successfully, their lactation amenorrhea is longer, thus leading to a longer birth interval.[84]

In the case of adult males, sperm count is reduced, and ″such children as are born tend to be underweight and of reduced viability.″[85] Research also shows that stress conditions trigger pituitary hormonal changes in both men and women, leading to at least temporary infertility.[86] Were these conditions present in Mamluk Syria? Presumably, if Syrians were of the same biological makeup as other populations, the response would have to be in the affirmative.

The greatest killer among all the disasters in Mamluk Syria as elsewhere was epidemic disease. The area was hard hit by epidemics at least forty-one times just in the period after the pandemic of 1347-1348.[87] Of greater import, perhaps, is the tremendous loss incurred during the pandemic of 1347-1348. Michael Dols has provided the definitive study of this catastrophe, and there is neither time nor need to recount fully the macabre results. Suffice it to say that in Damascus alone one to two thousand people are said to have died daily during the peak period. Dols suggests that the Damascene population decline amounted to more than thirty percent.[88] Elsewhere, after looking at figures for other Syrian cities, he estimates that the Syrian population as a whole was reduced by one-third.[89] One must also note that Dols and that Shoshan in his table both indicate that plague recurrences were sufficiently numerous and frequent that the general Middle Eastern population was unable to recover successfully from the Black Death.[90]

Unfortunately, most of Dols′s research centers upon Egypt, so it is difficult to determine the range of Syrian economic loss from the pandemic. Presumably, the

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[84]Rose E. Frisch, ″Population, Food Intake, and Fertility,″ *Science* 199 (6 Jan., 1978), 22.

[85]J. P. W. Rivers, ″The Nutritional Biology of Famine,″ *Famine*, ed. G. A. Harrison (Oxford, 1988), 79; Robert Dirks, ″Famine and Disease,″ in *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, ed. Kenneth Kiple (Cambridge, 1994), 157-163.

[86]J. P. Henry and P. M. Stephens, *Stress, Health, and the Social Environment: A Sociobiologic Approach to Medicine* (New York, 1977), 12.

[87]See the valuable table in Boaz Shoshan′s ″Notes sur les epidemies de peste in Egypte,″ *Annales de démographie historique*, Société de Démographie Historique (Paris, 1981), 401-403.

[88]Dols, *Black Death*, 218-220.

[89]Ibid., 220.

[90]Dols, *Black Death*, 223; Shoshan, ″Epidemies,″ 401-403.

loss of people and animals in Syria badly hampered commercial exchange, labor, and production just as happened in neighboring Egypt. It must also be remembered that non-plague epidemics generated significant population loss. For instance, an epidemic of something other than plague killed many in Aleppo in 1422—supposedly as many as seventy thousand.[91] What this and other non-plague diseases were is virtually impossible to say; Lawrence Conrad has indicated some of the issues surrounding the Arabic terms *wabā'* and *ṭā'ūn*, generally used to designate epidemic and plague, respectively.[92] The information afforded in the chronicles seems much less precise than, for instance, terms for epidemic diseases in early modern Japan.[93] Clearly, however, plague was not the only epidemic disease that troubled Mamluk Syria. As indicated previously, disease could be sparked by severe or changeable weather or by malnutrition.

Whatever the nature of the epidemic, the results were largely the same. Civic life was disrupted. The Mamluk elite and army were hard hit,[94] and continuation of public security and order became problematic. Normal family and community life were disrupted by the frequently overwhelming mortality. Mass burials and similar departures from the norm placed great strain upon medieval Islamic societies, including that of Mamluk Syria (especially the terrible plague of 1429).[95]

If famine and epidemics were lethal events in the medieval Islamic world, earthquakes were at times also lethal and always terrifying phenomena. The damage and destruction were immediately apparent and, therefore, probably a much greater stressor. In 1293 there were severe earthquakes in Palestine at such places as al-Ramlah and al-Ludd. Fortifications in al-Karak were damaged, and three villages in the vicinity were destroyed.[96] A terrible earthquake struck both Syria and Egypt in 1302-1303, destroying houses and killing many.[97] In January of 1343 the town

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[91]Sibṭ ibn al-'Ajamī, ″Trésors,″ 2:11.

[92]Lawrence I. Conrad, ″Ṭā'ūn and Wabā': Conceptions of Plague and Pestilence in Early Islam,″ *JESHO* 25, pt. 3, 268-307.

[93]Ann B. Jannetta, *Epidemics and Mortality in Early Modern Japan* (Princeton, 1987).

[94]Dols, *Black Death*, 154.

[95]Al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs* (Cairo, 1973), 3:186-190; al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān*, Dār al-Kutub, MS Ta'rīkh 8203 H, fol. 326; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, British Library MS, Or. Add. 7321, fols. 293b-294a.

[96]Al-Jazarī, *Chronique*, 83; al-Suyūṭī ″Soyuti's Work on Earthquakes, called Kashf al-Salsalah 'an Waṣf Az-Zalzalah, i.e., Removing the Noise from the Description of the Earthquakes . . .,″ 748.

[97]Ibn Ḥabīb, *Durrat al-Aslāk*, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS arabe 1719, fol. 116b; Ibn al-Shihnah, *Rawdāt al-Manāzib*, British Library MS, Or. Add. 23336, fol. 117a; al-Muqrī, *Nathr al-Jumān*, Chester Beatty, MS 4113, fols. 65a-b.

of al-Manbij in northwest Syria was ruined and 5,700 people killed there.[98] Information on other severe earthquakes in Syria during this period can be gleaned from the pages of what is probably the definitive catalogue, the Paris dissertation of Mustapha Anwar Taher.[99] The results were frequently the same: numerous buildings ruined, fortifications leveled, and people dead in the rubble. Here, again, although architects and builders may have benefited, economic losses were severe for property owners, *'ulamā'* and those associated with mosques and *waqf* properties, and for commercial interests losing shops or goods. Furthermore, one can surmise that governments needing to repair fortifications, walls, and other similar structures, had to expend extra revenues which were probably passed on to taxpayers.

The earthquake risk for Syria (including the Lebanon-Palestine areas) can be said to place this region within a category which might be termed ″disaster influenced.″[100] As the important article by Poirier, Romanowicz, and Taher shows, the Dead Sea and Syrian faults render the region vulnerable to serious seismic activity. Their work demonstrates the frequency of serious earthquake activity, indicating the probability of earthquakes over seven points on the Richter scale every 350 to 400 years and, rather more seriously, events of from five to seven points every *fifty* to one hundred years.[101] My colleague Dr. Walter Manger points out the devastation caused by anything in the range from six to seven plus.[102] The data from the Mamluk period seem to confirm this estimate and, more importantly in this context, to illustrate the damage sustained by structures and lives.

Published and manuscript materials provide considerable information about the nature and frequency of disasters or naturally induced crises for both Egypt and Syria in the Mamluk era. Such phenomena were capable of causing economic loss or disruption and mortality directly and in a combination of ways. Severe weather generated famine which in turn often led to disease epidemics. Also, in the case of famine, birth rates and patterns could be influenced indirectly. In this respect, one must also factor in an element which is impossible to measure and yet necessary in any ultimate assessment of the role of catastrophe in any society: the element of stress.

As I indicated years ago in my *JESHO* study and in my paper on famines, modern disaster studies have shown the stress reactions to various types of

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[98]J. P. Poirier, B. A. Romanowicz, and M. A. Taher, ″Large Historical Earthquakes and Seismic Risk in Northwest Syria,″ *Nature* 285 (May, 1980), 219.

[99]Mustapha A. Taher, ″Corpus des textes arabes relatifs aux tremblements de terre de la conquête arabe au xii H./xviii J.C.,″ Ph.D. diss., Sorbonne, 1979. See especially vol. 2 for Arabic texts.

[100]I owe this designation and the following remarks to my colleague Dr. Walter Manger, Department of Geology, University of Arkansas at Fayetteville.

[101]Poirier, Romanowicz, and Taher, ″Seismic Risk in Northwest Syria,″ 219-220.

[102]Personal communication, Oct. 3, 1997.

catastrophic events.[103] Medical researchers have demonstrated that stress reactions affect human immunity and susceptibility to disease. In the case of serious food crises, this is compounded by reduced efficiency of ″cell and humoral defence mechanisms.″[104] Adrenalin changes associated with the brain can disturb tissue and immunological defenses leaving the affected organism open to disease onset.[105]

The evidence indicates that stress reactions in the form of intense fear and anxiety were, as one would indeed expect, present in a number of Mamluk Syria′s crises. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah reports that people in Damascus were terrified by a violent wind and storm in 1381.[106] The Damascenes were said to have been ″dejected″ by the great famine of 1294-1295.[107] On any number of occasions furthermore, the general fear and distress were evidenced by people imploring God′s mercy and holding communal prayers, recitations from the Quran and/or the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī.[108] Michael Dols, in an important article on comparative European-Muslim responses to plague, and I, in my *JESHO* essay, have addressed the issue of religious and magical responses to disasters.[109] The focus of the present study excludes a sustained examination of religious-supernatural responses, but their presence indicates the sort of emotional trauma and strain accompanying these frightening events.

Given the nature of this stress, one may hypothesize that public health and patterns of illness were altered from the ″norm″ by these destructive phenomena. Short of resorting to the macabre skills of paleopathologists, it seems unlikely that proof for this hypothesis will be forthcoming. However, research suggests that such considerations have to be recalled when making any serious statements about public health, disease incidence, or mortality over periods following or intervening between recurring disasters. What, finally, can one say about the role of catastrophic events in Mamluk Syria? Given the frequency of one disastrous episode or another, the direct, indirect, and cumulative results of these events

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[103]George Baker and Dwight W. Chapman, *Man and Society in Disaster* (New York, 1962); Allen H. Barton, *Communities in Disaster* (Garden City, New York, 1969).

[104]Iancu Gontzea and Florin R. Jantea, *Human Nutrition [formerly] The Heinz handbook of Nutrition*, 3rd ed. (Basel, 1974), 20.

[105]Henry and Stephens, *Stress, Health*, 12-13.

[106]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Dhayl*, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS arabe 1598; see also al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* 3:2:442.

[107]Al-Yūnīnī, *Cont. of Mir′at*, British Library, MS Or. Add. 25, 728, fol. 89a; al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith*, Sauvaget, 47.

[108]See al-ʻUlaymī′s account, e.g., of Jerusalem′s serious drought in 1490; *al-Quds* [Najaf], 2 (1968): 348.

[109]Dols, ″The Comparative Communal Responses to the Black Death in Muslim and Christian Societies,″ *Viator* 5 (1974): 269-287; Tucker, ″Disasters and Peasantry,″ 223-224.

negatively affected Mamluk Syria. Politically, to be sure, with the exception of the plague pandemic and recurring epidemics, many of these incidents seem to have had no direct bearing. The structure of Mamluk political life as such, factionalism, and power struggles among Mamluk amirs all seem to have shaped politics much more significantly than any environmental dysfunction.[110] Disasters probably did erode the economic base and in damaging infrastructure and commerce undercut the material base of the Mamluk system. But in the absence of statistics and hard information from the sources, one may only conjecture this. Furthermore, it should be noted that Mamluk rule persisted for more than 150 years after the greatest of these catastrophes, the 1347-1348 pandemic.

In a similar vein, one may not point to any perceptible revolution in Mamluk Syrian social structure resulting from disastrous phenomena. None of the available information suggests that catastrophes changed the class system or vaulted the peasantry, for example, into the elite. The information we do have does not even indicate a major transformation in the makeup of Mamluk period commercial elites or *ʻulamā*ʼ.

Does this mean that disasters had a negligible impact upon the population of Mamluk Syria? By no means. Although we shall never have the sort of data, follow-up interviews, or economic statistics generated from modern U.S. disasters by such agencies as the International Red Cross, Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), or the U.S. Department of Agriculture, we can nevertheless see from the data presented in this study that Syrians incurred loss of property, disrupted lives and, most regrettably, loss of life as a result of many of these phenomena. Clear evidence of this can be seen in the already noted demographic decline of the region by the mid-fourteenth century. Syrian society and government, to be sure, did not collapse. Life went on for survivors and for those suffering economic loss, but there is no doubt that these lives and Syrian society generally would have been healthier and more prosperous had such events not occurred.

In this respect, one must note again that disaster study treats society holistically. The phenomena themselves, after all, do not observe social distinctions or class differences. The well-to-do may be insulated for a time against famine, but earthquakes, plague, and most meteorological disasters do not discriminate socially. If we are to understand the role of these events, we must look carefully at each type and its recorded consequences. Speculation and analogy can be fruitful in assessing probable physiological or micro-organic repercussions, but behavioral responses, including political actions or psychological reactions, are too variable

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[110]One may readily see the nature of Mamluk-era political activity in Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 165-191; and P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517* (London, 1986), 107-129, 178-202.

to allow us to stray far from the explicit information of the sources. On both of the latter counts, unfortunately, these sources in fact do not offer us much, certainly not as much as given for Egypt in the comparable period. The sorts of psycho-religious reactions I noted in my study of the Egyptian peasantry of the Mamluk period were not nearly as evident in the research conducted for this essay. Such information as can be gathered offers some insight into trauma or stress reactions, as noted previously, but does not allow one to draw any meaningful conclusions about significant religious change associated with disasters.

With respect, indeed, to any comparison with Mamluk Egypt, Syria seems to have been a much more fortunate region. A rough tabulation, for instance, would yield the following comparative figures: about fifty-five epidemics in Egypt compared to thirty in Syria; twenty-eight earthquakes in Egypt versus fifteen in Syria; and forty-seven famines in Egypt as opposed to twenty-five in Syria.[111] The differences may reflect the quantitative and, perhaps, qualitative differences between the historiography of the two areas during the relevant period. More likely, Egypt really did endure more disasters than Syria. Syria, after all, was not dependent upon the Nile and its uncertainty with the attendant effects upon food supplies. Also while Syria, as indicated above, could be confronted with serious earthquake activity, the fact is that Egypt had its own problems with a Red Sea fault line that could be, if not frequently, certainly upon occasion, a source of damaging shocks.[112] Compared to ″disaster-prone″ Egypt, ″disaster-influenced″ Mamluk Syria was a more fortunate place with regard to natural and environmental disasters, if not with respect to foreign invasion or domestic socio-political crises.

[111]Concerning the epidemics, especially those of plague, see Dols, *Black Death*, 305-334; idem, ″Second Plague Pandemic,″ 168-169, esp. notes 11-12; Shoshan, ″Epidemics,″ 395-403. Concerning earthquakes, see text above and Ambraseys et al., *Seismicity of Egypt*, 41-55; Taher, ″Corpus des textes arabes,″ 2:166-210. For famines see Tucker, ″Famines,″ 18-25.

[112]Ambraseys et al., *Seismicity of Egypt*, xi and passim.

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Qāytbāy's *Madrasah*s in the Holy Cities and the Evolution of Ḥaram Architecture

Qāytbāy was renowned for being a great traveler, who in spite of his advanced age spent a great part of his time traveling and sight-seeing both within and outside of Egypt. Among his travels were a visit to Jerusalem and the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina. As he was also a great builder and sponsor of religious and philanthropic foundations, Qāytbāy used his tours to inspect construction works everywhere and to articulate his own ideas about architecture. In the following pages the design of Qāytbāy's *madrasah* in Medina will be discussed, with reference to his *madrasah*s in Jerusalem and Mecca, in order to demonstrate the Sultan's role in the articulation of what may be understood as the concept of *ḥaram* architecture.

The *waqf* descriptions of Qāytbāy's *madrasah*s in Jerusalem and in Medina document the innovations that the monuments themselves can no longer demonstrate.[1] The original appearance of the Ashrafīyah in Jerusalem has not been preserved, and the *madrasah*s of Mecca and Medina are no longer extant. The innovations at the *madrasah* of Medina were considered at that time bold enough to provoke a discussion among the *'ulamā'*, as Ibn Iyās and al-Samhūdī report.[2] In his reconstruction of the Ashrafīyah in Jerusalem, Archibald Walls has reconstructed architectural features that occurred there for the first time.[3]

Although this was not usual for Mamluk architecture outside Cairo, both Qāytbāy's *madrasah*s in Jerusalem and Medina were erected by Cairene craftsmen.[4] The Ashrafīyah of Jerusalem was rebuilt by order of the Sultan who, displeased with its original layout, ordered its remodeling by craftsmen sent from Cairo. As

*This article is a revised version of a lecture given on April 24, 1998 at the Mamluk Studies Workshop convened by the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at The University of Chicago.

[1] Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Ar. no. 471, fols. 28v.-32.

[2] Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden and Cairo, 1961-75), 3:196; al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā' bi-Akhbār al-Muṣṭafá*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, 3 vols. (Beirut, 1401/1981), 2:643.

[3] Archibald Walls, *Geometry and Architecture in Islamic Jerusalem: A Study of the Ashrafiyya* (London, 1990).

[4] Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Ta'rīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl* (Amman, 1973), 2:326; al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā'*, 2:618; for the Medina *madrasah*, see below.

for the *madrasah* in Medina, it was erected by a team of Egyptian craftsmen who were working at the time on the restoration of the Prophet's Mosque.

Prior to his pilgrimage in 884/1480, Qāytbāy undertook the restoration of the Prophet's Mosque, which lasted with interruption from 879/1474-75 to 881/1477. In the following year, 886/1481, a fire devastated the sanctuary so that new radical restorations had to be made which were completed in 889/1484. The construction of the Sultan's *madrasah* began in Rabī' I 883/June 1478, that is, after the first restoration of the Prophet's Mosque was resumed, and it was completed in Ramaḍān 887/October 1482, prior to the completion of the second restoration.[5] The reason for the relatively long time span between the beginning and completion dates of the *madrasah* was probably the second restoration of the Prophet's Mosque, which required the involvement of the craftsmen working at the *madrasah.* The simultaneous occurrence of the *madrasah* construction and the restoration of the mosque gave the master-craftsmen the opportunity to make adjustments to both buildings in order to achieve a unity of design between the two.

The Medina *madrasah* abutted the Prophet's Mosque south of Bāb al-Salām and north of Bāb al-Raḥmah. It was part of a complex that occupied the block between two east-west oriented streets leading to these gates. Both gates, piercing the western wall of the mosque, led directly into the prayer hall. The *madrasah*'s facade was striped with black and white masonry, and a two-storied minaret stood above the entrance on the street leading to Bāb al-Salām. It was built on the Egyptian *qā'ah* plan with a northern and a southern *īwān* separated by a *dūrqā'ah.* It had seven windows *(shabābīk*) opening directly onto the Prophet's Mosque; five others overlooked the street (fig. 1).

The *waqfīyah* mentions that on the *madrasah*'s northern side there was a two-storied building called a *majma'*, which is an assembly hall.[6] Its lower floor had three windows *(shabābīk*) opening onto the Prophet's Mosque and the upper floor overlooked the mosque's roof. On the northern side of the *majma'* was a *sabīl* with one window opening onto the mosque and another onto the street. The window on the mosque's side must have served to give the worshipers inside the mosque access to water from the *sabīl* (fig. 2).

Adjacent to the *madrasah* on its western side was a *ribāṭ,* a complex of thirty-eight cells built around a courtyard, in the middle of which was an octagonal domed fountain. It is not clear whether this *ribāṭ* had one or two stories.[7] No cells

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[5]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 3:145, 196.

[6]van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Syrie du sud, I: Jerusalem ville* (Cairo, 1922), 89; in Mujīr al-Dīn's terminology, *majma'* is another word for a mall mosque.

[7]The precise location of this *ribāṭ* is not indicated in the document, neither in relation to the *madrasah* nor to the street.

overlooking the mosque or the street are mentioned, which suggests that they opened onto the courtyard. Another forty-two cells were beneath the *madrasah* and the *majma'*, some of them with windows overlooking the Prophet's Mosque; others were integrated into the *madrasah* itself, overlooking its interior and connected with the Prophet's Mosque by a staircase. This makes for a total of eighty cells. The document does not specify how many cells overlooked the mosque. Al-Samhūdī writes that Qāytbāy's complex had a total of thirty openings *(fataḥāt)* pierced on three levels and overlooking the mosque[8] (figs. 3 and 4).

From the reconstruction of the plan of the Prophet's Mosque as it was in the fifteenth century, it appears that between Bāb al-Salām and Bāb al-Raḥmah ten naves run parallel to the *qiblah* wall,[9] six of which were part of the sanctuary, the other four belonging to the lateral western *riwāq*. Since the complex was located between Bāb al-Raḥmah and Bāb al-Salām, only its southern part, probably the *madrasah*, was juxtaposed to the prayer hall itself; the northern part, or *majma'*, was juxtaposed to the lateral western *riwāq*.

If thirty openings overlooked ten naves, one is tempted to imagine that three windows arranged vertically opened onto each nave but, according to al-Samhūdī, there were also three doors leading through the *madrasah* into the mosque.[10] The *waqfīyah* uses the word *shabābīk* for windows, a term which usually does not include the arched bays with stucco grills filled with colored glass, which are called *qamarīyah*, nor does it include the oculi. Al-Samhūdī uses the general term for openings *(fataḥāt)*, which can refer to any type of openings, including doors.[11] When the sanctuary was rebuilt by the Ottoman sultan 'Abd al-Majīd, the number of naves between the two gates was only nine.[12] The reconstruction showing how Qāytbāy's *madrasah* abutted to the Medina mosque, as shown in figures 1 and 2, can therefore be only schematic and conjectural.

On both streets adjacent to the Qāytbāy complex were apartment houses and shops. Other buildings, including the public kitchen, a *ḥammām*, a mill, a bakery, and a *wakālah*, were built opposite the *madrasah*'s entrance, partly on the *qiblah* side of the mosque. Based on the *waqf* document, this description suggests that, in order to erect this *madrasah* with the living units and the *sabīl* communicating with the mosque through windows, it must have been necessary to make important

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[8]al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā'*, 2:643.

[9]Ṣāliḥ Lam'ī Muṣṭafá, *al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah: Taṭawwuruhā al-'Umrānī wa-Turāthuhā al-Mi'mārī* (Beirut, 1981), 87.

[10]al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā'*, 2:643.

[11]Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Laila Ali Ibrahim, *Architectural Terms in Mamluk Documents* (Cairo, 1990), 69, 90f.

[12]Muṣṭafá, *al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah*, 94.

modifications in the mosque's western wall, in fact eliminating it entirely in this section and replacing it by the *madrasah*'s facade.[13] It seems very likely that these restorations and the planning of the *madrasah* were coordinated so as to produce a *madrasah* with a facade inside the mosque.

The *madrasah* did not stand directly on the street level, but was built above a row of shops on the street side, and above living units on the inner side overlooking the Prophet's Mosque. Its floor must have been, therefore, on a level higher than the mosque's, and the living units beneath must have had their windows close to their ceiling in order to leave enough vertical space for the *madrasah*'s facade with its windows.

The innovation at the *madrasah* of Medina consisted of its juxtaposition to the sanctuary in an intimate way, with its facade forming the lateral wall of the prayer hall. Ibn Iyās and al-Samhūdī refer to the windows as a characteristic feature of the *madrasah* complex; they report that some *'ulamā'* objected to their presence, arguing that the windows constituted an intrusion into the Prophet's Ḥaram. But, as might be expected, the Sultan found other scholars to override them. Whereas Ibn Iyās mentions only the *fatwá* authorizing the windows, al-Samhūdī, who also refers to this *fatwá*, writes that God made the Sultan change his mind, so that the windows were ultimately walled up. Unlike Ibn Iyās, al-Samhūdī was an eyewitness in Medina, so that his version is more trustworthy. It is difficult to imagine, however, how so many windows could be done without.

Due to the lack of a *waqf* document, we are less informed about the Ashrafīyah of Mecca, which was built prior to that of Medina. It was completed just in time to host the Sultan during his pilgrimage in 884/1480. Located on the left hand side of Bāb al-Salām on the eastern wall of the Ḥaram, it included also a *majma'* overlooking the Ḥaram. Its curriculum included the teaching of the four rites of Islamic law with four teachers and forty students, as well as Sufi services. Its premises comprised seventy-two living units, a primary school (*maktab*) for forty pupils, a *ribāṭ*, a *majma'* for the four chief *qāḍī*s, and a library. Both the *madrasah* of Mecca and that of Medina were built by the same contractor-architect, Ibn al-Zamin.[14]

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[13]al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā'*, 2:640 f.

[14]Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Zamin was a merchant who had been working as a commercial agent for Qāytbāy already prior to the latter's sultanate. Qāytbāy sent him to Mecca on business and at the same time to build for him a religious complex next to the Holy Mosque, and another in Medina next to the Prophet's mosque. He moreover executed infrastructural works, such as the conduction of source water to the holy cities and for pilgrims' use. When a fire broke out in the Prophet's mosque, he was in charge of the reconstruction as well as of building the Sultan's *madrasah*. From all historical accounts it appears that Ibn al-Zamin was a contractor who designed the buildings as well. Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Nahrawālī, *Kitāb al-I'lām bi-A'lām Bayt Allāh*

Whether in Medina or Mecca, Qāytbāy′s constructions provoked a controversy. In Mecca, the contractor and architect Ibn al-Zamin laid the foundations of the complex in such a way as to make them encroach upon the *mas'á*, thus disturbing the *ḥajj* ritual. This infuriated the *'ulamā'*, but the petitions they sent to the Sultan were not of much help; Qāytbāy confirmed Ibn al-Zamin′s appointment and dismissed the *qāḍī* who had tried to stop the construction. Quṭb al-Dīn comments by expressing his mixed feelings about Qāytbāy who, although one of the most pious and charitable rulers was, nevertheless, able to act in such a ruthless manner.[15]

For both of his constructions in Mecca and Medina, Qāytbāy did not hesitate to demolish his predecessors′ buildings in order to replace them with his own or to remove them simply for aesthetic purposes; in Mecca an old *sabīl* was demolished because it obstructed the view of his new *madrasah* and an ablution fountain of al-Ashraf Sha'bān was razed because its space was needed. In Medina a *ribāṭ*, parts of the Madrasah Jūbānīyah, the Dār al-Shubbāk, as well as houses had to make place for the Sultan′s new religious complex. Ibn Iyās reports how the acquisition of the houses had raised a controversy which led one of the house owners to kill the *qāḍī* involved in the transactions. This did not, however, stop the Sultan′s scheme.[16] In fact, the demolition of parts of the Jūbānīyah, a pious foundation, could not have been fully correct.

Quṭb al-Dīn, who also criticized Sultan al-Ghawrī′s encroachments upon the Holy Mosque in Mecca, commented with resignation that the Sultan would not have listened to the jurists anyway; they were too dependent on the rulers to be capable of true opposition.[17] This, in fact, conforms with what Mamluk sources regularly report about the *'ulamā'*′s opposition being easily overruled; alternative jurists could always be found to issue more convenient opinions.

The idea of establishing visual contact between a building and an adjoining mosque or shrine was obviously not a matter of mere architectural design, but rather of religious significance. As Christel Kessler has demonstrated in the case of Mamluk funerary architecture, sultans and amirs tried to place their mausoleums in a location adjacent to the prayer hall of their mosques, both connected by windows, so that the soul of the dead would benefit from the *barakah*, or blessing,

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al-Ḥarām (Mecca, 1370/1950), 197; al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā'*, 2:639; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 3:188; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'*, 12 vols. (Cairo, 1896), 8:260; U. Haarmann, ″Eine neue Quelle zur Bautätigkeit Sultan Qāyitbāys im ersten Jahrfünft seiner Herrschaft,″ forthcoming in *Gedenkschrift Michael Meinecke* (Damascus, 1998), n. 2.

[15] Quṭb al-Dīn, *Kitāb al-I'lām*, 101.

[16] Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 3:145.

[17] Quṭb al-Dīn, *Kitāb al-I'lām*, 212.

emanating from the mosque's prayers.[18] In the recess of a window overlooking the street, a *shaykh shubbāk*, regularly mentioned in *waqfīyah*s of religious foundations, would sit reciting the Quran for the soul of the dead, thus extending this *barakah* to the passersby, and soliciting at the same time their prayerful response.

The practice of attaching a mausoleum to a religious building started under the Saljuqs, when Sultan Sanjar (d. 1157) built his mausoleum next to a mosque in Marw, connecting them with a window.[19] A few decades later the Zanjid vizier Jamāl al-Dīn Jawād al-Iṣfahānī erected a *ribāṭ* for Persian visitors and a mausoleum for himself on the eastern side of the Prophet's Mosque. The complex was built across the street, facing the mosque's door, Bāb ʻUthmān, also called Bāb Jibrīl. The mausoleum, where the vizier was buried in 1193, was pierced with a window facing yet another window in the mosque, allowing the passersby to see the Prophet's tomb within the sanctuary. The two windows established a visual connection between the tombs of Jawād and the Prophet.[20] Jawād had been a great benefactor of the Holy Cities, where he ordered important improvements at his own expense, such as the reconstruction of the walls of Medina. To the south of this *ribāṭ*, there was another funerary structure purchased by Shīrkūh, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's uncle, in which he and his brother, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's father, were to be buried.

Also in Medina, the funerary *madrasah* called al-Jūbānīyah, erected in 1324 by Jūbān, the *atābak* of the Ilkhanid sultan Abū Saʻīd, was connected with the Prophet's Mosque through a window pierced in the wall of the mausoleum. After his death the remains of Jūbān were sent from Baghdad to Medina for his burial there. This, however, was prevented by the Mamluk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad who gave orders to bury him at the cemetery of Baqīʻ. Al-Samhūdī mentions that the reason for this opposition was the location of the mausoleum: in order to be buried facing the *qiblah*, Jūbān's feet would have had to point at the Prophet's grave.[21] Part of this *madrasah* was later demolished by Qāytbāy in order to build his own *madrasah* at this place.

In Ayyubid Syria, when al-Malik al-Kāmil (d. 1238) built his mausoleum near the great mosque of Damascus, he pierced the mosque's northern wall with a window, ignoring the general opposition against his initiative. A similar conflict occurred in Cairo, at the Azhar mosque, when the amir Jawhar al-Qanqabāʼī built his funerary *madrasah* (1440) adjacent to the sanctuary's northern wall and wanted to pierce a window in the prayer hall to connect it with his mausoleum. He

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[18]Christel Kessler, "Funerary Architecture with the City," in *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire* (27 Mars-5 Avril 1969) (Cairo, n.d.), 257-68.

[19]Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, *Yacut's geographisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1924), 4:509.

[20]al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʼ al-Wafāʼ*, 3:689.

[21]Ibid., 2:702.

requested, therefore, a *fatwá* from the jurists authorizing him to do so. The jurist and historian al-ʻAynī, who was involved in this case, refused to sign this *fatwá* and accused the others who had signed it of corruption. This episode was recorded by al-Sakhāwī in his biography of Jawhar and by al-ʻAynī himself. None of them, however, discusses the arguments presented by the two parties.[22]

The earlier *madrasah*s of Āqbughā (1340) and Ṭaybars (1309-10), which were erected in the northwestern *ziyādah* of al-Azhar, are not mentioned to have provoked any opposition from the *ʻulamā'*. In Jerusalem several religious foundations built along the portico of the Ḥaram included funerary chambers with windows opening onto the Masjid al-Aqṣá.

To understand the *ʻulamā'*'s opposition to Qāytbāy's windows at his *madrasah* in Medina, it is necessary to understand the layout of the Ḥaram complex prior to Qāytbāy's constructions and the physical relationship between the adjoining buildings and the mosque. In his description of the Prophet's Mosque, al-Samhūdī mentions that dwellings, *madrasah*s, and *ribāṭ*s surrounded the mosque with their walls facing its doors. This description indicates that there was a street between the mosque and the surrounding quarters.

Only on the *qiblah* and western sides did buildings abut the mosque. Between Bāb al-Salām and Bāb al-Raḥmah, there were two buildings adjacent to, and overlooking, the prayer hall; one was a house called Dār al-Shubbāk because it had a window onto the mosque. It was built by Kāfūr al-Muẓaffarī (d. 1311-12), known as al-Ḥarīrī, one of the eunuchs who attended the mosque. It was the only house with a window overlooking the mosque; al-Samhūdī does not indicate, however, the reason for this exception, which could have been related to Kāfūr's task of policing the precinct. The other building was Jūbān's funerary *madrasah* mentioned above, whose window by that time had been walled up. It was there, on the site of the Dār al-Shubbāk and parts of the Jūbānīyah, that Qāytbāy built his *madrasah*. A bakery, a mill, a *wakālah*, and a public kitchen were erected on the *qiblah* side of the mosque on the site of houses whose demolition he also ordered.

Burton's map, which was drawn during the reign of ʻAbd al-Majīd, shows streets next to the Prophet's Mosque, except on the *qiblah* side and along the western side between Bāb al-Salām and Bāb al-Raḥmah. This means that buildings touched the mosque to the south and west of the prayer hall. Burton himself writes of the Medina mosque: "Like that at Meccah, the approach is chocked by ignoble buildings, some actually touching the holy 'enceinte,' others separated by a lane compared with which the road round St. Paul's is a Vatican Square."[23]

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[22]al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʻ*, 3:82f.; al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd al-Jumān* (Cairo, 1989), 566.

[23]Richard Francis Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to al-Madinah and Mecca*, 2 vols.

The layout of the Meccan shrine was a different matter. Originally, in pre-Islamic times, the sanctuary was the roofless unwalled space around the Kaʿbah. Houses surrounded this central space with streets between them converging from all sides towards the open space. With the expansion of the sanctuary in the Islamic period at the expense of the surrounding quarters, walls and porticoes were added around the central space. The legitimacy of the surrounding pre-existing dwellings could not be questioned. Gradually, the houses around the sanctuary which served as guest-houses during the pilgrimage season were replaced by philanthropic foundations of the *ribāṭ* and *madrasah* type, including a hospital, to provide lodging and teaching and care for sojourners and pilgrims. The earliest *ribāṭ* was founded in 400/1009-10. It was followed by several others to house the poor and the Sufis. As for *madrasah*s, they began to appear slightly later and multiplied in the following centuries so that by the end of the fifteenth century almost the entire wall of the holy mosque was hidden behind buildings.[24] This made it necessary for Qāytbāy to demolish two *ribāṭ*s in order to establish his own religious complex along the mosque's wall.

The sources do not mention windows between the satellite structures and the mosque; these dwellings overlooked the mosque at the level of the roof, and not below. Windows are mentioned only in the case of the Dār al-Nadwah, formerly an adjacent guest-house that the caliph al-Muʿtaḍiḍ (r. 892-902) had turned into a prayer hall. It thus became an extension of the mosque, at which point large windows were pierced in the wall between it and the sanctuary.[25]

The construction of windows in the Medina mosque was protested by the *ʿulamāʾ* with the argument that this was an indiscretion against the Prophet, whose tomb lay within the mosque. Such an argument could not have been used in Mecca, where from the outset the sanctuary had been exposed to its neighbors, or in Jerusalem, where the Ḥaram with its large open space was surrounded by religious and residential buildings built above porticoes, creating a zone of transition between the city and the sanctuary.

Qāytbāy's *madrasah* in Medina had an interesting feature in common with the Ashrafīyah of Jerusalem: a visual opening onto the adjoining sanctuary. The *madrasah* in Jerusalem was completed in 887/1482, slightly after that of Medina. The building was devastated by an earthquake in 1545.[26] Later restorations did not

(New York, 1964) 1:307, 392.

[24]al-Fāsī, *Shifāʾ al-Gharām bi-Akhbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām*, 2 vols., ed. N. Maʿrūf (Mecca, 1956), 1:328 ff.

[25]Quṭb al-Dīn, *Kitāb al-Iʿlām*, 133 ff.

[26]ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, "Wathīqat al-Sulṭān Qāytbāy: Dirāsah wa-Taḥlīl al-Madrasah bi-al-Quds wa-al-Jāmiʿ bi-Ghazzah," *Dirāsāt fī al-Āthār al-Islāmīyah* (Cairo, 1979), 483-538, 509 ff.; Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, 2:325 ff.; Walls, *Geometry and Architecture*, 198, n. 1, 199.

replicate the original shape. The unusually detailed description in the *waqf* deed, and a comprehensive description by the contemporary historian Mujīr al-Dīn, in addition to the vestiges of the *madrasah* itself, allowed Archibald Walls to produce a reconstruction of this remarkable building, erected within the complex of the Masjid al-Aqṣá.

The *madrasah* acquired its final configuration after Qāytbāy visited Jerusalem and expressed his dislike for the first building, the reconstruction of which he ordered to be executed by Egyptian craftsmen. Like the *madrasah* of Medina, it was designed with an Egyptian *qā'ah* plan, on a north-south axis. It was constructed on two floors; the *waqfīyah* refers to lower and upper *madrasah*s. Mujīr al-Din calls the lower *madrasah* a *majma'*,[27] which consisted merely of a hall reached from the Masjid al-Aqṣá by an entrance on its eastern side.[28]

The *madrasah* projected onto the Ḥaram of the Masjid al-Aqṣá with three facades pierced by large windows (fig. 5). The *qiblah*-side *īwān* had ten large rectangular windows (*shabābīk*) in its lower part, and six arched windows (*qamarīyāt)* in its upper part. The northern *īwān* had six large rectangular windows surmounted by eight arched windows and a bull's eye in its upper part.

The *madrasah* was built in place of a section of the western portico, which was partly integrated into the *majma'* on the lower floor. When Qāytbāy's Egyptian master-mason inspected the first *madrasah*, he disliked in particular the way it abutted the portico.[29] The new design was bold. It needed the authority of a sultan to encroach upon the adjacent Madrasah Baladīyah, to block the window of the *madrasah*'s tomb-chamber, to demolish parts of the Ḥaram's portico and, moreover, to make the *madrasah* project beyond the portico onto the Ḥaram in such an unprecedented manner.

The plan of the Jerusalem *madrasah* differs from the commonly known *qā'ah* applied in religious architecture, however, in that, instead of a lateral recess, it has on one side a *maq'ad* (fig. 6) or loggia that commanded the Ḥaram panorama through three large arches. The *maq'ad* is a feature of Cairene residential architecture, where it is connected with a reception hall (*qā'ah)*, while it overlooks at the same time the inner courtyard of a house. Although it is the only *maq'ad* in the Cairene style known so far to have been used in religious architecture, the idea of a loggia overlooking the Ḥaram was not new in Jerusalem. Smaller loggias with a double-arch

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[27]Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, 2:328. This term is not used in the *waqf* description of this building, but it was used in the earlier document describing the *madrasah* that Qāytbāy replaced with this one.

[28]Michael H. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem* (London, 1987), 589-605.

[29]Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, 2:509, n. 1; 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, "Wathīqat al-Sulṭān Qāytbāy," 499f.

window existed already in several Mamluk satellite buildings around the Ḥaram. They had double arched windows overlooking the Ḥaram,[30] such as the one at the Manjakīyah (762/1361), the pair of lateral chambers at the Isʻardīyah (1340s), and the one at the ʻUthmānīyah (840/1437). These were sometimes surmounted by domes, as at the Manjakīyah and the Isʻardīyah. There is also a kind of forerunner to this device in Fatimid architecture at the Azhar mosque where the caliph al-ʻAzīz built a *manẓarah*, or loggia, where he used to sit on festive occasions with his family.[31]

The *madrasah*s of Qāytbāy in both Medina and Jerusalem were built in order to have a maximum number of bays overlook the adjoining sanctuary. Both had their *majma*ʻs built so as to give their residents visual access to the sanctuary, creating a permanent interaction between the community of the sojourners (*mujāwirūn*) and the shrine.[32]

In Jerusalem, the Masjid al-Aqṣá had been able to integrate additional structures into its premises apparently without legal conflicts because of the open character of its architecture and the natural separation of the platform from the walls. Mujīr al-Dīn defines the Masjid al-Aqṣá as the entire enclosed complex, and not only the Umayyad mosque known as al-Jāmiʻ al-Aqṣá, which is a *jāmi*ʻ within the *masjid*.[33] By means of this definition, he included the surrounding buildings within the sanctuary. This idea is essential for understanding Qāytbāy′s windows in Medina. In the Ḥaram of Jerusalem the surrounding *madrasah*s and hostels were not viewed as ″outdoor″ structures; their windows and doors, as well as Qāytbāy′s *maqʻad*, were not considered an intrusion into the sanctuary, but rather were considered part of it. Already in the eleventh century, oratories were built along the walls of the Ḥaram in Jerusalem, and Nāṣir-i Khusraw mentions a handsome mosque along the eastern wall, within the portico, between Bāb al-Raḥmah and Bāb al-Tawbah (the Golden Gate).[34] This could have been the building used by the Shāfiʻī scholar, Shaykh Naṣr ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Dāwūd, who is reported to have

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[30]Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 391, 368-79, 552.

[31]al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Būlāq, 1270/1853-54), 1:465 ff.

[32]In Jerusalem the cells were at the same level as the *madrasah*, whereas the *majma*ʻ was beneath it; in Medina the *majma*ʻ was adjacent to the *madrasah*, and the cells were partly beneath it or included in the adjacent *ribāṭ*.

[33]Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, 2:11, 24.

[34]Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Book of Travels*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston (Albany, 1986), 25; idem, *Safarname,* trans. S. Najmabadi and S. Weber (Munich, 1993), 59 f.; idem, *Safarnāmah*, trans. Y. al-Khashshāb (Cairo, 1993), 72. Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, 2:27; Michael H. Burgoyne, ″The Gates of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf,″ in *Bayt al-Maqdis: ʻAbd al-Malik′s Jerusalem*, pt. 1, ed. Julian Raby and Jeremy Johns, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art, 9 (Oxford, 1992), 105-24, esp. 111, 120.

founded in about 1058 an oratory described as a *madrasah*, and also as a *zāwiyah*, above Bāb al-Raḥmah.[35] It was during the Mamluk period, however, that religious monuments with funerary chambers began to cluster along the northern and western porticoes of the Ḥaram,[36] whose street walls faced the busiest quarters of the city. In all these *madrasah*s and *khānqāh*s the main hall (*majma‘*) was built so as to have windows overlooking the Ḥaram. Some of these satellite buildings had their entrances within the portico, while others had two entrances. These were reached from both the street and the portico, or they might be reached only from the street. Several of them, such as the Awḥadīyah (697/1298), the Amīnīyah (730/1329), the Arghūnīyah (759/1358), the Khātūnīyah (completed 782/1380), and the Baladīyah (782/1383), included funerary chambers with a window open to the Ḥaram. The living units were either on the street side, or on the upper floor with a view of the Ḥaram.

Here it is interesting to add a note about the use of the term *majma‘* in the sources and in the *waqf* deeds in connection with the Ḥaram structures. *Majma‘* means literally ″place of assembly″ and it refers in these texts to the main hall in a residential institution that includes the *miḥrāb*. The term *majma‘* is never used in *waqf* descriptions of Cairene religious architecture. This cannot be explained by local scribal traditions, for the terminology used in Qāytbāy′s *waqfīyah*s is otherwise the same for foundations in or outside of Egypt. Also, Mujīr al-Dīn uses this term when speaking of the ″prayer halls″ of the *madrasah*s and *khānqāh*s in Jerusalem. The choice of the term *majma‘* instead of *masjid* seems to be of particular significance. It may involve a premeditated avoidance of the term *masjid* in the context of these boarding institutions since they were part of the Masjid al-Aqṣá. The *madrasah*s, *ribāṭ*s, and *khānqāh*s in the Masjid al-Aqṣá were seen as dependencies to lodge pilgrims and provide religious education, rather than autonomous mosques. Another example for this complementary relationship between the shrine and the adjoining structures is the absence of a *miḥrāb* at the *madrasah*s of Ālmalik and Sanjar al-Jawlī, both situated along the northern portico.[37] Instead, their *qiblah* walls are pierced by three windows each, the central one, which replaces the *miḥrāb*, being the largest; its view of the Ḥaram to the south is oriented to Mecca. The view of the Ḥaram thus replaces the *miḥrāb*: the Dome of the Rock and the Jāmi‘ Aqṣá, both on the same axis signal the more remote Ka‘bah which is in the same cardinal direction. It should be recalled in this context that the *madrasah* of Qāytbāy at Medina had neither an *imām* nor a

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[35]Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalīl*, 2:28, 34.

[36]Rā’if Najm, *Kunūz al-Quds* (Amman, 1983), 131 f.

[37]Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 201, 308, 313 f.

khaṭīb. This means that the community prayed in the Prophet's Mosque and gathered for teaching and Sufi rituals in the adjoining boarding structures.

While the satellite foundations created a zone of transition between the city and the shrine, the Mamluk market of Sūq al-Qaṭṭānīn, is connected with the Ḥaram through a gate, Bāb al-Qaṭṭānīn, located along the western portico. This magnificent gate, built by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and Amir Tankiz for the benefit of the Masjid al-Aqṣá and the Tankizīyah,[38] signals the market-street to the visitor of the Ḥaram, thus emphasizing the intersection between the urban-commercial zone and the religious precinct. It fulfills an equivalent function from the street's perspective where its market side, which was once also decorated, signals the Ḥaram to the market visitor.

Although it did not stretch along the entire enclosure, the portico built along the northern and eastern walls of the Ḥaram contributed to the creation of a parallel to the layout of a classical mosque. Mujīr al-Dīn's reading of the Masjid al-Aqṣá as a mosque built around a courtyard, within which is the Dome of the Rock, having porticoes and minarets and encompassing educational and boarding structures, is of particular interest because it established a formal parallel between the Masjid al-Aqṣá and the mosques of Mecca and Medina. It is interesting to note here that the Mamluk minarets at the Jerusalem Ḥaram were placed so as to be attached to the Ḥaram rather than to the individual *madrasah*s. The minaret of Bāb al-Silsilah, built at the same time as the Tankizīyah, and most likely also by Tankiz, stands above an entrance to the Ḥaram, and not at the *madrasah*. With the Meccan shrine the Jerusalem Masjid shares the central structure, a common feature that the Muslim theologians were aware of as they made the parallel between the Rock in Jerusalem and the Black Stone in Mecca.[39] It shares with Medina the classical mosque plan of porticoes around a courtyard.

By the late Mamluk period the three holiest mosques of Islam in Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem were encircled by hospices and religious institutions devoted to lodging communities of pilgrims and sojourners from various parts of the Muslim world. These buildings, which had expanded gradually and spontaneously from the eleventh century onward, added a new dimension to the shrines, creating an architectural and functional intermediary between them and the city. The intensive building activity of the Mamluks adjacent to the Ḥaram in Jerusalem was the most articulate manifestation of this phenomenon. It was Qāytbāy, however, who made a concept out of this phenomenon, as the bold layout of his *madrasah*s in Medina and Jerusalem demonstrate. The Sultan's visit to Jerusalem in 880/1475, prior to

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[38]Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem*, 273 ff.

[39]Cf. A. Elad, *Medieval Jerusalem and Islamic Worship* (Leiden, 1994), 157 f.; al-Zarkashī, *I'lām al-Sājid bi-Aḥkām al-Masājid* (Cairo, 1397/1977), 291.

his pilgrimage to Medina in 884/1480, seems to have been decisive for the architecture of his buildings in both cities. It inspired him to reshape the first and to emulate in Medina the Ḥaram pattern he had witnessed at the Masjid al-Aqṣá. The boldness of this design was due to the Sultan´s personal involvement with architecture and to his power of taking radical measures when necessary.

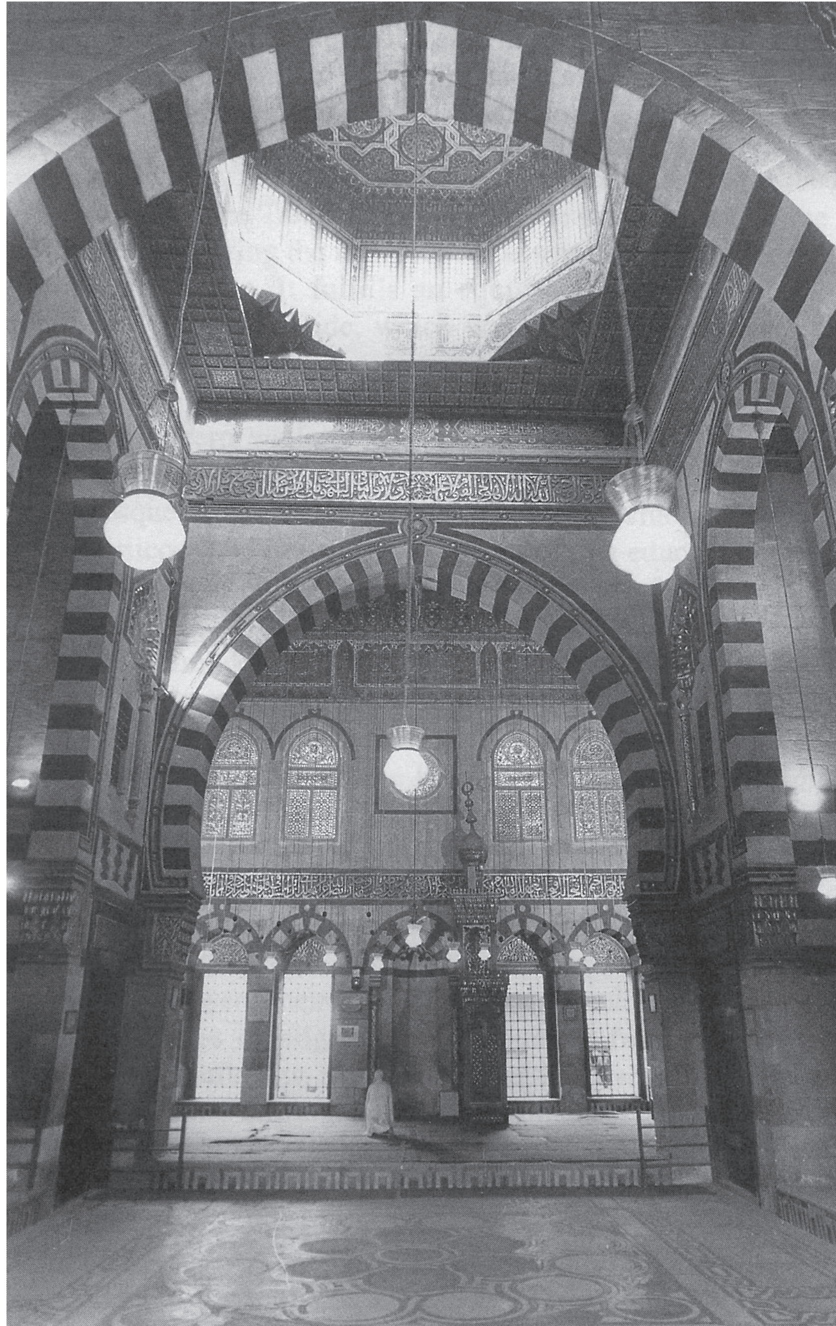


Figure 1. The *qā'ah* interior of Qāytbāy's funerary mosque in Cairo

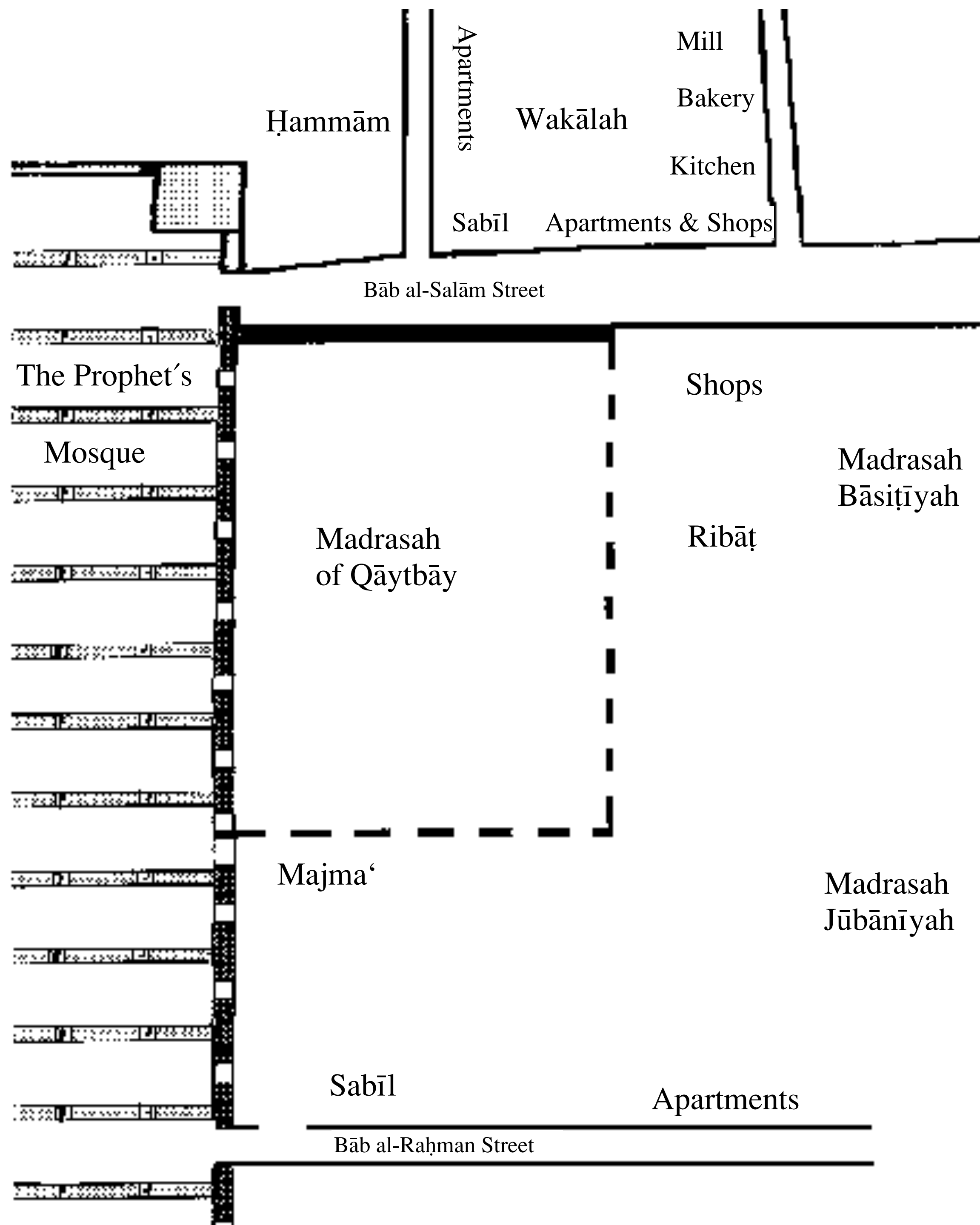


Figure 2. Schematic reconstruction of the layout of Qāytbāy´s complex in Medina

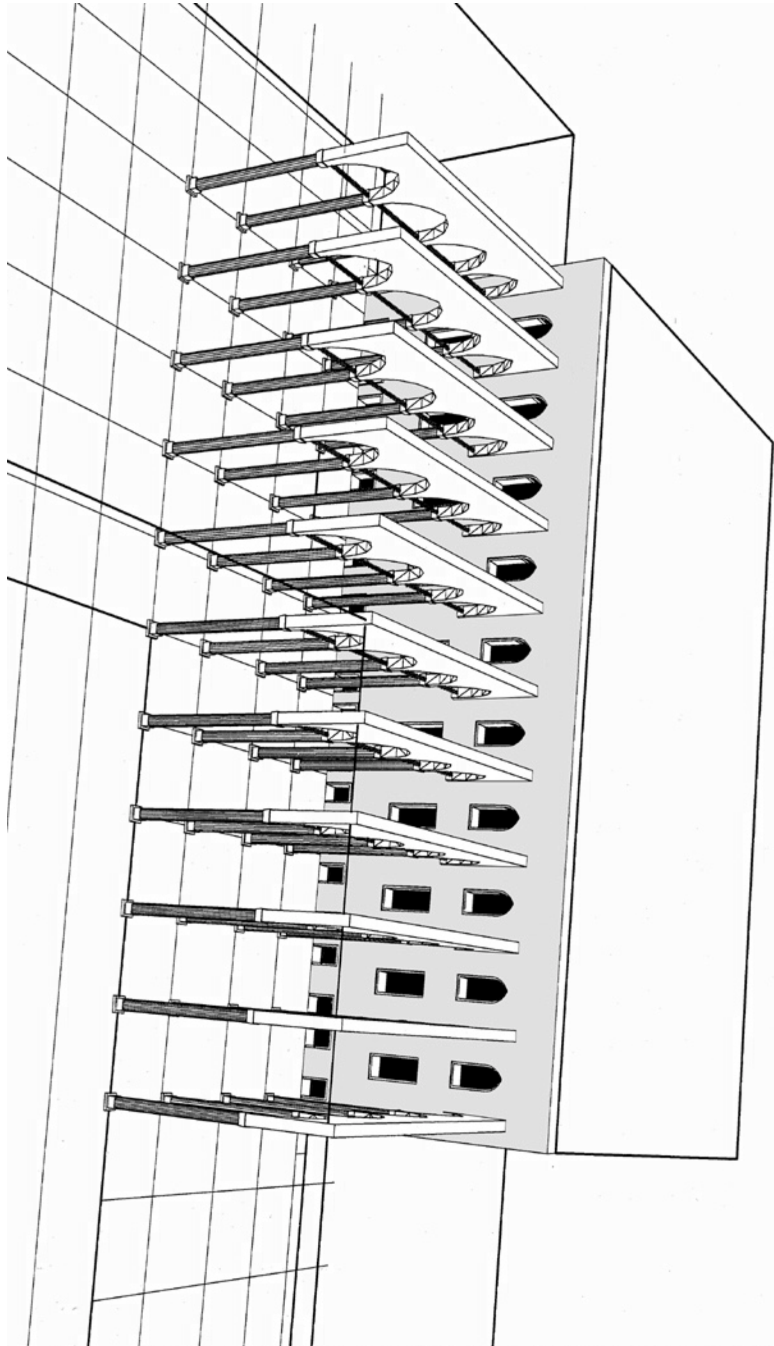


Figure 3. Axonometric drawing of Qāytbāy's *madrasah* and *majma'* in Medina

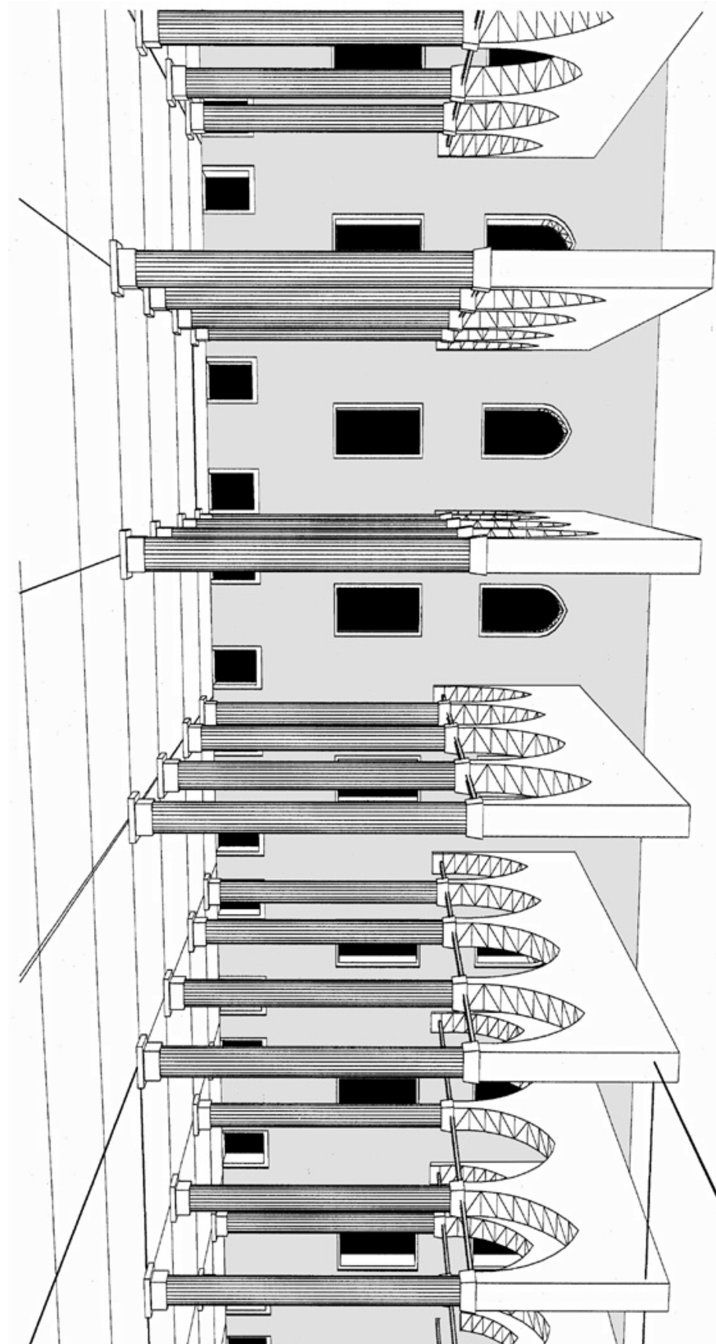


Figure 4. Schematic elevation of Qāytbāy's *madrasah* and *majma'* in Medina

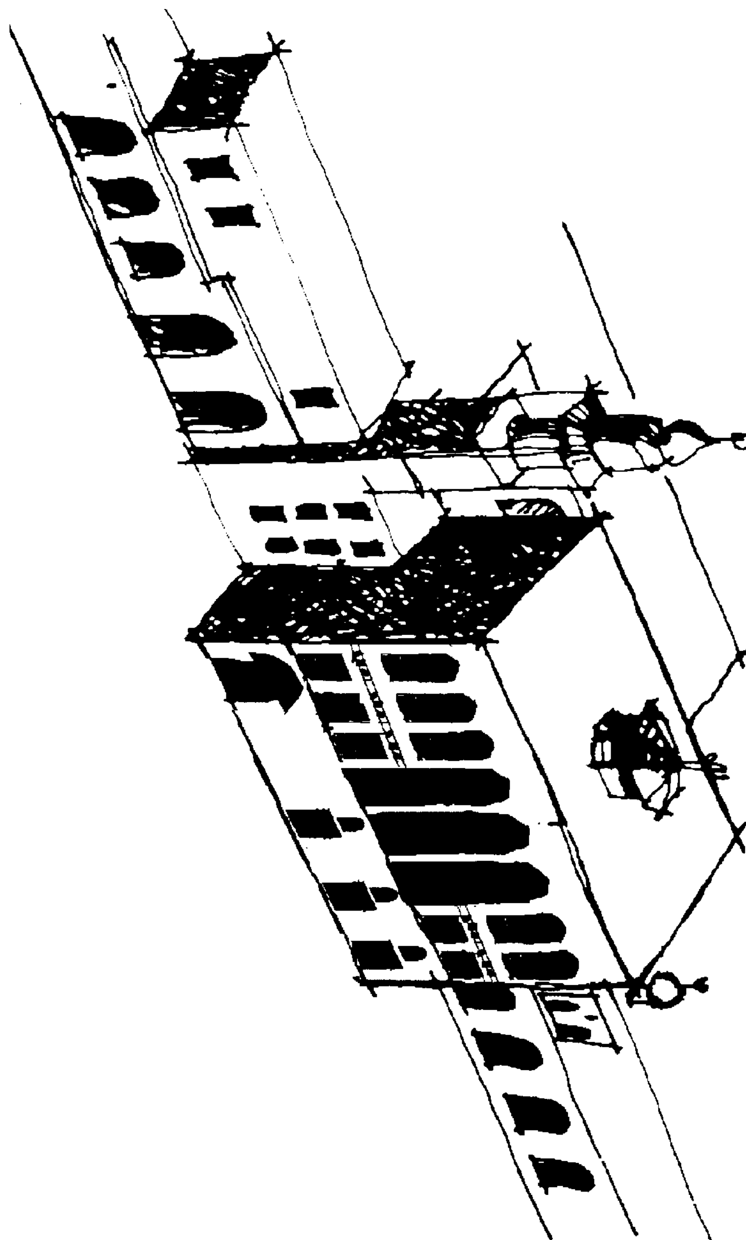


Figure 5. Qāytbāy's *madrasah* in Jerusalem (based on A. C. Walls)

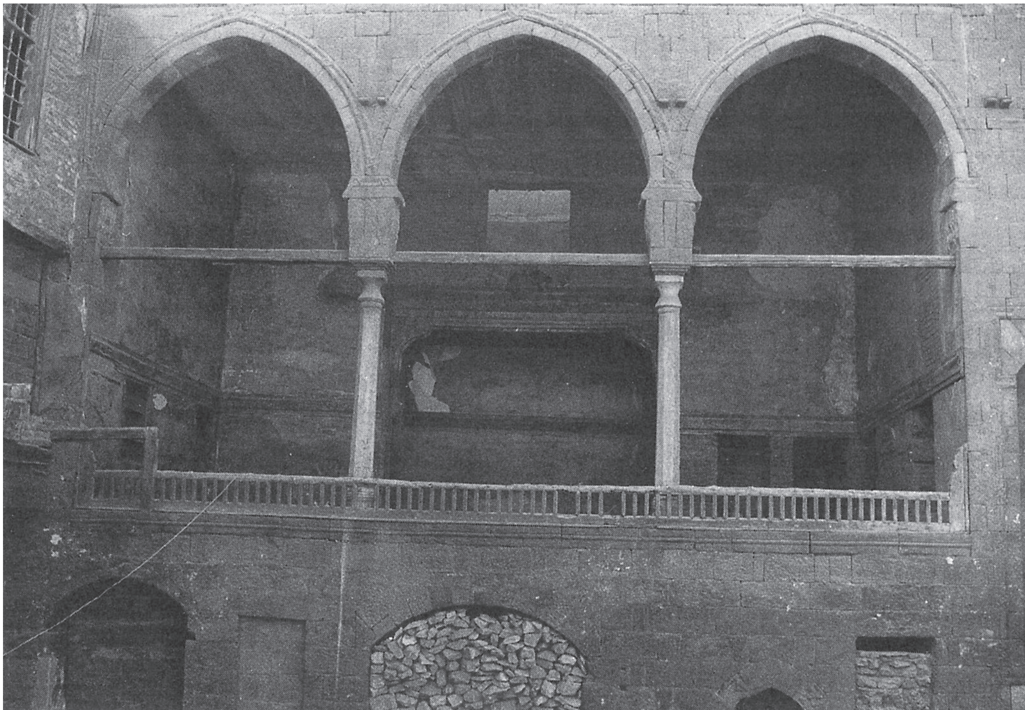


Figure 6. *Maq'ad* from the period of Qāytbāy (Bayt al-Razzāz)

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Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Makkī "al-Shahīd al-Awwal" (d. 1384) and the Shi'ah of Syria

THE "FIRST MARTYR"

Muḥammad ibn Makkī was not the first martyr of Shi'ism, nor indeed the first individual to be killed as a heretic in Mamluk Syria. It is rather the literary heritage of Shi'i legal thought, a discipline Ibn Makkī helped to shape decisively during his life, that cast him as its "Felicitous Martyr" (*al-shahīd al-sa'īd*), "the Martyr," and subsequently "the First Martyr." He is an historic representative both of the high intellectual tradition of Shi'i scholarship and of an important confessional community in the Mamluk Empire. The aim of this essay is to explore the career of Ibn Makkī and, through him, the position of the Twelver Shi'is in medieval Syrian society.

While alive, Muḥammad ibn Makkī's fame as a legal expert spread as far as Khorasan, where the reigning monarch invited him to instruct his court in Imāmī Shi'ism. Ibn Makkī's considerable literary production, in large part extant and widely commented upon by other Imāmī *faqīh*s (jurisprudents), makes him one of the most influential figures in the history of Shi'i thought.[1] His contribution to, and reception in, Shi'i jurisprudence has been examined in some detail by Norman Calder, while his scholarly career as recorded through *ijāzah*s (reading diplomas) has been studied in outline by Devin Stewart.[2] The Shi'i tradition has preserved the memory of Ibn Makkī's erudition and martyrdom through successive biographical dictionaries (*rijāl*, *ṭabaqāt*). The most prominent of these are products of the seventeenth to twentieth centuries, and draw in large part on a single

[1] Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharī'ah ilá Taṣānīf al-Shī'ah* (Najaf, 1936-78), 1:427-28, 3:173-74, 5:43-44, 8:145-46, 10:40, 16:17, 17:193-94, 18:352, 20:322; Hossein Modarressi Tabataba'i, *An Introduction to Shī'ī Law* (London, 1984), 48-50, passim.

[2] Norman Calder, "Zakāt in Imāmī Shī'ī Jurisprudence from the Tenth to the Sixteenth Century A.D.," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 44 (1981): 468-80; and "*Khums* in Imāmī Shī'ī Jurisprudence from the Tenth to the Sixteenth Century A.D.," *BSOAS* 45 (1982): 39-47; Devin Stewart, "Twelver Shī'ī Jurisprudence and its Struggle with Sunnī Consensus" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1991), 164-71, passim.

contemporary account of Ibn Makkī's death with emendations either from family archives or from imagination.[3]

The significance of Ibn Makkī extends beyond the endogenous scholarly heritage of Shiʻism. He is noted in several Sunni sources, particularly the local history of the Damascene cleric Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah.[4] Ibn Makkī was but the most prominent of several Imāmīs executed in fourteenth-century Damascus for *rafḍ*, an ill-defined notion of heresy frequently invoked by Sunni authorities to justify persecuting individuals of the Shiʻi sects. The picture Ibn Kathīr paints of ubiquitous religious persecution in Egypt and Syria has led some historians to surmise a highly organized, government-run ″inquisition in the Mamluk state.″[5] Michael Chamberlain's excellent analysis in *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus*, however, presents heretication as one strategy of the *ʻulamā'* (clerics) to exercise or defend their social power.[6] This essay will begin by examining official Mamuk attitudes toward Shiʻism, and turn later to individual cases of persecution in Damascus. The author hopes that a discussion of Ibn Makkī's career and execution, set in this wider framework of Shiʻism under the Mamluks, may serve also to illustrate medieval Syrian society's perceptions of deviance and orthodoxy.

The Shiʻah of Qalawunid Syria

Any discussion of Shiʻism in fourteenth-century Syria must begin of necessity with the Kisrawān campaigns. Between 1292 and 1305, the Mamluks carried out a series of three punitive expeditions against the predominantly Shiʻi populations of the Kisrawān (and Jird) region in the Lebanese mountains immediately east of Beirut. The circumstances are well known and need not detain us for long.[7] The final, devastating campaign in the summer of 1305 was attended by the famous Ḥanbalī evangelist Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah, and succeeded, in the course of two

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[3]Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥurr al-ʻĀmilī (d. 1692), *Amal al-Āmil fī ʻUlamā' Jabal ʻĀmil*, 2 vols. (Beirut, 1983); Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad al-Baḥrānī (d. 1772), *Lu'lu'at al-Baḥrayn fī al-Ijāzāt wa-Tarājim Rijāl al-Ḥadīth* (Beirut, 1986); Muḥammad Bāqir al-Khwānsārī (d. 1895), *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt fī Aḥwāl al-ʻUlamā' wa-al-Sādāt* (Qom, 1971); Muḥsin al-Amīn (d. 1952), *Aʻyān al-Shīʻah*, 10 vols. (Beirut, 1986).

[4]Abū Bakr ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (d. 1448), *Ta'rīkh*, 4 vols. (Damascus, 1977-97).

[5]Eliyahu Ashtor, ″L'inquisition dans l'État Mamlouk,″ *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 25 (1950): 11-26.

[6]Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350* (Cambridge, 1994), 167-75.

[7]The best survey remains Henri Laoust's ″Remarques sur les expéditions du Kasrawān sous les premiers Mamluks,″ *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 4 (1940): 93-115.

weeks of plunder and bloodshed, in wiping out the Shi'i communities of the region.

Many modern historians, both western and Arab, have sought to explain the Kisrawān campaigns as part of the fledgling Mamluk regime's intolerant drive to stamp out religious heterodoxy.[8] Fewer have argued that the raids were connected only to the Kisrawānīs' alleged complicity with the Mongols in 1300 and with the crusaders before that, and that the Mamluks in fact possessed no religious policy of the sort.[9] As far as the victims of the campaigns are concerned, Kamal Salibi has shown that the Maronites were as much the target of the Mamluks' wrath as were the Shi'is. The Maronite communities organized resistance against the state armies, but were also overwhelmed and eradicated in 1305.[10] How permanent the exile was is questionable, and a local dispute between Maronites and Twelver Shi'is in 1671 shows that the Shi'is once again enjoyed a position of primacy in at least a part of the Kisrawān.[11] As for the perpetrators, Salibi's work has also served to underline the role in 1305 of the Buhturids, a local dynasty that ruled the Gharb mountains on behalf of the Mamluk Sultanate. Buhturid amirs were recruited on more than one occasion to quell revolts in the Kisrawān, in return for fief rights and a modest rank in the Syrian provincial *ḥalqah* corps. The Buhturids belonged in fact to the Druze sect.[12]

Nevertheless, some uncertainty remains in the literature over the identity of the Shi'i groups that were being pursued in the Kisrawān. Many contemporary observers believed the expeditions were sent to chastise the Druze. Also, Ibn Taymīyah's notorious *fatwá* calling for violence against the Nuṣayrīs, or 'Alawīs, has frequently been cited in association with the campaigns, but it seems actually to be of a slightly later date and has no bearing on the Kisrawān.[13]

8Philip Hitti, *Lebanon in History* (London, 1957), 325; Muḥammad 'Alī Makkī, *Lubnān 635-1516: Min al-Fatḥ al-'Arabī ilá al-Fatḥ al-'Uthmānī*, 4th ed. (Beirut, 1991), 213-32, may be seen as representative.

9Laoust, "Remarques;" Urbain Vermeulen, "Some Remarks on a Rescript of an-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalā'ūn on the Abolition of Taxes and the Nuṣayrīs (Mamlaka of Tripoli 717/1317)," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 1 (1970): 195-201.

10Kamal Salibi, "The Maronites of Lebanon under Frankish and Mamluk Rule (1099-1516)," *Arabica* 4 (1957): 288-303.

11Malouf Liman, Haifa Mikhael [Jirjis Zghayb], "A Troubled Period in the History of Kisrawān from an Original Lebanese Manuscript," *Arab Historical Review for Ottoman Studies* 11-12 (1995): 145-77.

12Kamal Salibi, "The Buḥturids of the Ġarb: Mediaeval Lords of Beirut and of Southern Lebanon," *Arabica* 8 (1961): 74-97; see also Nadīm Nāyif Ḥamzah, *al-Tanūkhīyūn: Ajdād al-Muwaḥḥidīn (al-Durūz) wa-Dawruhum fī Jabal Lubnān* (Beirut, 1984), 125-32.

13*Majmū' Fatāwá Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah* (Riyadh, 1961-66), 5:149-60; Laoust, "Remarques," 108.

Ibn Taymīyah was certainly aware at this time of the variety of Shiʻi denominations, clearly differentiating between the Twelvers and the antinomian "Ismāʻīlīyah, Nuṣayrīyah, Ḥākimīyah, and Bāṭinīyah, who are worse infidels than the Jews and Christians."[14] Nonetheless, in a lengthy letter to Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, in which he sought to justify the carnage after the fact, Ibn Taymīyah demonstrates beyond any doubt that the final Kisrawān campaign was directed against Imāmī or Twelver Shiʻis. After blaming the entire Mongol scourge from the rise of Jenghiz Khan to the 1300 sack of the town of Ṣāliḥīyah on Shiʻism, he goes on to enumerate their heretical views: they, the Shiʻis, hold anyone who touches the forehead on the ground (rather than on a prayer tablet), who forbids *mutʻah* temporary marriage, or who loves Abū Bakr, ʻUmar, ʻUthmān and all the other Companions, to be apostate.

> And whoever does not believe in their Awaited [Imām] is considered an apostate. This Awaited One is a boy of two or three or five years, and they claim that he went into a subterranean vault in Samarra over four hundred years ago. He knows everything and is God's proof [*ḥujjah*] to mankind. . . . And according to them, whoever believes in the truth of God's names and physical attributes.. is an apostate.
>
> This is the *madhhab* dictated to them by their shaykhs, such as the Banū ʻAwd. They are the shaykhs of the people of this mountain, and they were the ones who ordered them by a *fatwá* to fight the [fleeing Mamluk] Muslims. A number of their books, written by Ibn al-ʻAwd and others, fell into the Muslims' hands, and they contain all of the above and worse.[15]

Such a pronouncement creates the impression that the Kisrawān campaigns were part of an official policy against Shiʻism in Syria *per se*, which is exactly what Ibn Taymīyah was urging Sultan al-Nāṣir to adopt. However, the campaigns were not Ibn Taymīyah's private initiative. As stated, the 1300 expedition was launched in direct reaction to the Mongol occupation of Damascus, while that of 1305 seems to have been precipitated by a revolt of the Shiʻis against their Buhturid overlords.[16] Furthermore, in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 704/June 1305 the Mamluk

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[14]Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʻAbd al-Hādī (d. 1344), *al-ʻUqūd al-Durrīyah min Manāqib Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqqī (Beirut, [ca. 1938]), 182-94.

[15]Ibid., 185-86.

[16]Isṭfān al-Duwayhī (d. 1704), *Ta'rīkh al-Azminah* (Jounieh, 1976), 286; Kamal Salibi, *Maronite Historians of Mediaeval Lebanon* (Beirut, 1959), 117, 218-19.

governor of Damascus, Aqqūsh al-Afram, sent a mediator to the Kisrawān in an effort to resolve the dispute and to ″return them to obedience″ to the legitimate authority.[17] The mediator was Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʻAdnān al-Ḥusaynī (d. 1308), the *naqīb al-ashrāf*—and thus the lay official representing the Twelver Shiʻis—of Damascus.[18]

The confessional identity of the *ashrāf*, the descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad through the Imāms Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, has not yet received its due share of scholarly attention. The *ashrāf* as a corporation enjoyed certain fiscal privileges within Islamic society, which the *naqīb* or syndic was in charge of administrating. In Mamluk Cairo, the *naqīb* was likely to be of the Shāfiʻī legal school;[19] the Zuhrid family of Aleppo, which monopolized the post there for many years, was unmistakably Twelver Shiʻi. Recent work by Richard Mortel has shown that the Sharifs of Mecca, the guardians of Islam′s holiest shrine, remained committed to the politically quietist Zaydī branch of Shiʻism until the latter fourteenth century.[20]

The community of *ashrāf* in Damascus was rather small and primarily associated with the prestigious Husaynid shrines at the Bāb al-Ṣaghīr cemetery, and as such enjoyed an excellent reputation within Damascene society.[21] There are some indications that the Banū ʻAdnān, who held the post of *naqīb* for much of the fourteenth century, tended toward Twelver Shiʻism, but the question demands further research. At the very least, their ideal devotion to the line of Imāms can be construed as a ″mild″ Shiʻism, inasmuch as it did not openly contest the validity of the Sunni caliphate and was perfectly compatible with loyalty to the Mamluk state. When Aqqūsh al-Afram issued a call to arms to the citizens of Damascus to defend against a renewed Mongol threat in 1300, the corporation of *ashrāf* also presented itself for review.[22] Already in Fatimid times, with Shiʻism finding few converts in staunchly conservative Damascus, the rulers had made a policy of appointing ʻAlid *qāḍī*s as an acceptable medium between the needs of Ismāʻīlī ideology and of the Sunni populace.[23] Sending the *naqīb al-ashrāf* to negotiate

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[17]Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyá (d. 1436), *Taʼrīkh Bayrūt* (Beirut, 1969), 27.

[18]al-Amīn, *Aʻyān al-Shīʻah*, 6:157.

[19]Ibn al-ʻIrāqī (d. 1423), *al-Dhayl ʻalá al-ʻIbar fī Khabar man ʻAbar* (Beirut, 1989), 69, 109.

[20]Richard Mortel, ″Zaydi Shiʻism and the Ḥasanid Sharifs of Mecca,″ *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19 (1987): 455-72; see also idem, ″The Husaynid Amirate of Madīna during the Mamlūk Period,″ *Studia Islamica* 80 (1994): 97-123.

[21]Louis Pouzet, *Damas au VIIe/XIIIe siècle: Vie et structures religieuses d′une métropole islamique* (Beirut, 1988), 200, 245-62.

[22]Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah fī al-Taʼrīkh* (Beirut, 1985), 14:14; Li Guo, *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography: Al-Yūnīnī′s Dhayl Mirʼāt al-Zamān* (Leiden, 1998), 1:171, 2:130-31.

[23]Thierry Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination Fatimide* (Damascus, 1986-89), 211-12, 340-42, 684.

with the Shiʻis of the Kisrawān was, both in substance and in style, an honest effort on Aqqūsh al-Afram′s part to find a mutually salutary way to subject the Shiʻis to Mamluk sovereignty. It is only after Zayn al-Dīn′s failure that the course of relations with the Kisrawān was left over to the adepts of intolerance.

Ibn Taymīyah would not have had trouble finding piety-minded fanatics for his crusade against the heterodox. Already the twelfth-century traveler Ibn Jubayr (d. 1217) writes of a sort of *futuwwah* youth organization in Damascus that ″kills these *rāfiḍī*s, wherever they find them,″ and Ibn Taymīyah′s biographer ʻAbd al-Hādī (d. 1344) claims that there was wide public support for the endeavour.[24] However, the seminal interpretations of the Kisrawān campaigns as an anti-heresy drive are above all the products of historians of the piety-minded *ʻulamā*ʼ class. A quick survey of Donald Little′s *Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography* shows clearly that the important Muslim historians who cite revenge for the Kisrawānīs′ political sedition as the grounds for the campaigns (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, al-Nuwayrī) belonged to the Mamluk military and bureaucratic apparatus, while those who cite their ″foul beliefs″ (al-Birzālī, Ibn Kathīr, and especially al-Maqrīzī) were *ʻulamā*ʼ.[25] As is equally true for medievalism in the European context, it is the historiography of the clerical class that ultimately gained the wider currency. The moralist prejudice of an al-Maqrīzī, however, did not necessarily coincide with the day-to-day concerns of the actual Mamluk administration in Damascus. (Aqqūsh al-Afram, incidentally, later defected to Persia and ended his career as governor of Hamadān for the Shiʻi Ilkhanid monarch Öljeitü.[26])

The Buhturids certainly continued to flourish as vassals of the Syrian Mamluk governate, their degree of leverage in Damascus illustrated by the amendment in their favor of the 1313 sultanic land cadastre (*rawk*) for Syria.[27] The Syrian Ismāʻīlīs, though incriminated for their political role during the crusades, were given tax reprieves and were relied upon by the Mamluk Sultanate to carry out covert missions in Mongol Persia.[28] There is little cause to think that the Twelver Shiʻis of middle Syria, on whom we shall concentrate here, fared any worse. In his seminal *Taʼrīkh Jabal ʻĀmil,* the old-guard *zaʻīm*-class author Muḥammad Jābir

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[24]Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Jubayr, *Riḥlat ibn Jubayr* (Cairo, 1992), 352-53; Ibn ʻAbd al-Hādī, *al-ʻUqūd al-Durrīyah*, 179-80. Ibn Jubayr appears to exclude Twelvers from the term *rāfiḍī*s.

[25]Donald Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography* (Wiesbaden, 1970), passim. An important exception is Abū al-Fidāʼ, the religiously educated Ayyubid governor of Ḥamāh, who counts heresy as one of several grounds for the campaigns.

[26]Charles Melville, ″′Sometimes by the Sword, Sometimes by the Dagger′: The Role of the Ismaʻilis in Mamlūk-Mongol Relations in the 8th/14th Century,″ *Medieval Ismaʻili History and Thought*, ed. Farhad Daftary (Cambridge, 1996), 247-63, 249-50.

[27]Salibi, ″Buḥturids of the Ġarb,″ 90-91.

[28]Melville, ″Sometimes by the Sword.″

Āl Ṣafā (d. 1945) argues that ″the land had lived in peace and security″ under the Mamluk regime. The context of this assessment is an impassioned apologia, much in the spirit of the pre-Aḥmad Pasha al-Jazzār (d. 1804) ″Golden Age″ Shiʻi historiography described by Fouad Ajami, for the justice and merit of the feudal system in the virtually autonomous medieval Jabal.[29]

The Sultanate in Cairo never adopted a uniform policy on Shiʻism in the empire. Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʻUmarī (d. 1349), head of the Mamluk chancery in Cairo and author of an important manual of government, differentiated very well between the various Shiʻi sects and accepted the Twelvers as part of the community of the Muslim faithful with only minor reservations.[30] Al-Qalqashandī′s famous chancery manual contains a copy of a decree issued in 1317, ordering the Nuṣayrīs of the province of Tripoli to build and maintain mosques in their villages and prohibiting their shaykhs from speaking in public.[31] Only the year before, Mamluk troops had had to put down a rebellion inspired by a self-proclaimed Nuṣayrī prophet in the region. Yet the order against the Nuṣayrīs is buried in a general rescript on taxation matters for Tripoli, and is relatively indifferent in tone to the actual existence of the community so long as they begin behaving outwardly like Muslims. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah′s well-known anecdote about the utilization of mosques as stables in the region suggests that neither the Sultanate nor the provincial authorities seriously pursued such matters.

A second sultanic rescript from 1363 is directed unequivocally against the ″*rāfiḍī*s and Shiʻis″ of Sidon, Beirut and surroundings.[32] Written in a remarkable, rhyming chancery style (*inshā*ʼ), the rescript harangues the Shiʻis at length for having distorted Islamic faith and tradition, and for subscribing to abominable practises such as permitting simultaneous marriage with two sisters and cursing the Companions of the Prophet that are dear to the Sunnis. It goes on to threaten military action should the Shiʻis not abjure and return to the fold of Sunnism. It is not clear what occasioned the rescript′s promulgation. Urbain Vermeulen has suggested that the Cypriot incursions frequent in those years stoked fears of the Shiʻis′ complicity,[33] yet the rescript concerns only religious deviancy and is conspicuously devoid of any of the standard references to the external enemies of

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[29]Muḥammad Jābir Āl Ṣafā, *Taʼrīkh Jabal ʻĀmil*, 2nd ed. (Beirut, 1981), 98; comically telling is the author′s comparison of *iqṭāʻīyah* to a mistranslated European ″federalism″ (p. 88); Fouad Ajami, *The Vanished Imam: Musa al Sadr and the Shia of Lebanon* (Ithaca, 1986), 52-58.

[30]Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʻUmarī, *al-Taʻrīf bi-al-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf* (Beirut, 1988), 196-205.

[31]Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Qalqashandī (d. 1418), *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá fī Ṣināʻat al-Inshā*ʼ (Cairo, 1964), 13:30-35; see also Urbain Vermeulen, ″Some Remarks.″

[32]Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá,* 13:13-20.

[33]Urbain Vermeulen, ″The Rescript against the Shiʻites and Rāfiḍites of Beirut, Saidā, and District (764 AH/1363 AD),″ *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 4 (1973): 169-75.

Islam. There is evidence, as will be discussed below, that the rescript provided the context for oppressing Shi'is in the region for a number of years. Yet its geographical scope is limited to two *wilāyah*s of the province of Damascus, and can therefore not stand in for a general imperial protocol.

Where the Mamluks did pursue the formal suppression of the Shi'i faith itself was in Mecca. Ever since the Hijaz had passed under Mamluk control in the 1260s, the pre-eminence of the Sharifs′ Zaydī Shi'ism around the prestigious shrine had been an embarassment to the Sultanate.[34] Over the course of the second half of the fourteenth century, the Mamluks succeeded through a variety of means in pressuring the Sharifs to renounce Zaydism. However, this served the purely political purpose of consolidating the Mamluk regime′s symbolically vital suzerainty over the Holy Places, and never resulted in the persecution of Zaydīs for heresy.

A cursory glance at the careers of later Mamluk governors of Damascus presents the full range of attitudes toward Shi'ism, from burning a *qāḍī* alive for his *″rāfiḍī″* beliefs, to official protection of Shi'i *'Āshūrā'* festivities in the capital.[35] The treatment of Shi'is both as compact communities in the hinterland or as individuals in the Syrian capital was not dictated, from the very rise of the Qipchak Mamluk regime, by a universal policy on Islamic heterodoxy. The career of Muḥammad ibn Makkī may be illustrative of *tashayyu'* under the Mamluks.

Between Jizzīn and Ḥillah

The town of Jizzīn, at the time of Muḥammad ibn Makkī′s birth in 1333, was already developing into a modest haven of Shi'i learning. Situated a mere 15 km. east of Sidon but at an altitude of 1,700 m. in the northernmost part of the Jabal 'Āmil, Jizzīn was attacked only once by the crusaders, in 1217, and not taken.[36] It seems already to have been populated by Shi'is then, before their numbers were swelled by the influx of refugees from the Kisrawān in 1305.[37] Both Ibn Makkī′s father and grandfather are described as *'ulamā'*. His great-uncle (and father-in-law) Asad al-Dīn al-Ṣā'igh al-Jizzīnī, probably his first teacher, was known more for his pious devotion than as a legist.[38] Little is reported of Ibn Makkī′s early life,

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[34]Mortel, ″Zaydi Shi'ism.″

[35]Henri Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas sous les Mamlouks et les Premiers Ottomans* (Damascus, 1952), 81, 168.

[36]Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1256), *Mir'āt al-Zamān fī Ta'rīkh al-A'yan* (Hyderabad, 1952) 8:585-86; René Grousset, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1936), 3:204-5.

[37]Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyá, *Ta'rīkh Bayrūt*, 96; Ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, *al-'Uqūd al-Durrīyah*, 185; Ja'far al-Muhājir, *al-Ta'sīs li-Ta'rīkh al-Shī'ah fī Lubnān wa-Sūrīyah* (Beirut, 1992), 150.

[38]al-Amīn, *A'yān al-Shī'ah*, 3:281.

other than that he left the Jabal ʿĀmil at the age of sixteen or seventeen to study in Ḥillah, Iraq.

Jizzīn already had connections with the *ʿulamāʾ* of Ḥillah through the likes of Najīb al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAwd al-Asadī al-Ḥillī. A scholar of some repute, Ibn al-ʿAwd had begun to make his career in Aleppo. However, he was abused and driven from town after making an unfavourable remark about the Prophet′s Companions to the local *naqīb al-ashrāf,* and moved to Jizzīn where he died in 1280.[39] Yet another scion of the Banu ʿAwd, Shihāb al-Dīn Ismāʿīl ibn al-Ḥusayn al-ʿAwdī al-Jizzīnī (d. ca. 1184) had been among the first natives of the area to travel to Ḥillah for religious studies.[40] Finally, Najm al-Dīn Ṭumān ibn Aḥmad al-ʿĀmilī al-Manārī (d. ca. 1327) taught *fiqh* in Ḥillah before returning to the Jabal, where one of his students was Muḥammad ibn Makkī′s father.[41]

Ḥillah, in the early fourteenth century, had taken the place of Baghdad and Qom as the foremost center of religious scholarship in the Shiʿi world. Under the aegis of the Ilkhanid Sultanate, a distinctive school of theological and legal thought was forming in Ḥillah that emphasized the authority not of accumulated tradition, but of the living scholar′s independent reasoning in jurisprudence. With his writings on *ijtihād* and *taqlīd*, al-ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī Ḥasan ibn Yūsuf al-Muṭahhar (d. 1325) provided the first theoretical basis for the social and political role of the later Shiʿi clerical hierarchy.[42]

Ibn Makkī spent his entire learned career on the articulation of this school, and he wrote numerous commentaries on the works of al-ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī and his students. Ibn Makkī′s first and most influential teacher in Ḥillah was Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn Muḥammad (d. 1370), son of al-ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī and a major scholar in his own right. Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn certified, in an *ijāzah*, that Ibn Makkī had studied all of his father′s works as well as many others, and reportedly praised his young pupil saying that ″I benefitted more from him than he from me.″ Ibn Makkī also studied under Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim (Ibn Muʿayyah) al-Dibājī al-Ḥillī, himself a former student of both al-ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī and Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn. Ibn Muʿayyah seems to have become a lifelong friend, for he wrote Ibn Makkī and his two sons *ijāzah*s shortly before dying, in Ḥillah, in 1374.[43] Ibn Makkī′s other mentors included ʿAmīd al-Dīn and Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-

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[39]al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿah*, 10:206.

[40]al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿah*, 3:319; al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-Āmil*, 1:41.

[41]al-Baḥrānī, *Luʾluʾat al-Baḥrayn*, 205-7; al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-Āmil*, 1:103-5; al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿah*, 7:402.

[42]Heinz Halm, *Shiism*, trans. Janet Watson (Edinburgh, 1991), 67-71.

[43]al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿah*, 10:39-40; not the same as Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Muʿayyah (d. 1372/73); ibid., 9:431.

Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī, nephews of al-ʻAllāmah al-Ḥillī and also commentators on his works.

From Ḥillah, Ibn Makkī traveled to Kerbala and, in 1353-54, to Mecca and Medina. On the way it seems that he also stopped in Jerusalem and al-Khalīl (Hebron), earning *ijāzah*s from other scholars in each of these places.[44] Before quitting the Iraq definitively, Ibn Makkī sojourned in Baghdad and studied at the two famous Sunni *madrasah*s al-Niẓāmīyah and al-Mustanṣirīyah. By his own reckoning he read under ″some forty Sunni shaykhs,″ including Ḥanbalīs as well as some noted Egyptian scholars whom he most likely met in Iraq and Mecca. Contemporary Shiʻi writers have made much of his expertise in Sunni *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, seeing in it his desire for a rapprochement between Sunnism and Shiʻism along the lines of the modern ″five *madhhab*s″ formula.[45] Ibn Makkī was in fact rebuked by later traditionalist Shiʻi scholars precisely for his pioneer role in the adoption of rationalist Sunni legal principles.[46]

Ibn Makkī began teaching other students while still in Iraq and seems also to have had followers in Medina.[47] However it is after his return to Syria, around 1357, that he began to make his mark in the development of Shiʻi scholarship. Already an accomplished *faqīh* at the age of twenty-four, he took on students in Jizzīn and is universally celebrated today as the founder of the Shiʻi scholastic tradition in the Jabal ʻĀmil.[48] It is indeed from this point onward that a significant number of ʻĀmilī scholars are recorded in the biographical dictionaries. Ibn Makkī′s many students included his eldest son Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, a prolific writer of *fiqh* works,[49] and al-Miqdād ibn ʻAbd Allāh al-Suyūrī al-Ḥillī (d.

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[44]Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī (d. 1699), *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Tehran, 1971, 1972), 107:177-78, 181-201; 109:54-56, 70-73; Stewart, ″Twelver Shīʻī Jurisprudence,″ 165-69.

[45]Mahdī Faḍl Allāh, *Min Aʻlām al-Fikr al-Falsafī al-Islāmī* (Beirut, 1982), 14-15, 20-21; Muḥammad Kalāntar, introduction to Zayn al-Dīn ibn ʻAlī (al-Shahīd al-Thānī), *Rawḍāt al-Bahīyah fī Sharḥ al-Lumʻah al-Dimashqīyah* (Beirut, 1983), 1:83-84.

[46]al-ʻAmilī, *Amal al-Āmil*, 1:89.

[47]Ḥasan al-Amīn, ″al-Shahīd al-Awwal Muḥammad ibn Makkī,″ *al-Minhāj* 4 (Winter 1996): 150-72; 5 (Spring 1997): 132-58; 6 (Summer 1997): 201-12; 7 (Fall 1997): 166-75; here 6:204, 211.

[48]See furthermore Āl Ṣafā, *Taʼrīkh Jabal ʻĀmil*, 233-36; Muḥammad Kāẓim Makkī, *al-Ḥarakah al-Fikrīyah wa-al-Adabīyah fī Jabal ʻĀmil* (Beirut, 1982), 29-30; Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Amānī, *al-Shahīd al-Awwal Faqīh al-Sarbadārān*, trans. Kamāl al-Sayyid (Qom, 1995), 47-50.

[49]al-Amīn, *Aʻyān al-Shīʻah*, 9:407, 410-11; al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, 7:22-24.

1423), whose unique account of Ibn Makkī′s trial and execution has been handed down through successive Shi'i *ṭabaqāt*.[50]

Perhaps his most illustrious student, however, was his daughter, Fāṭimah.[51] She received an *ijāzah* from Ibn Mu'ayyah just like her brothers, and in time came to be known as ″Sitt al-Mashā'ikh,″ matron of the *shaykh*s, for her knowledge. A deed from Ramaḍān 823/1420 discloses that she ceded her entire share of her father′s bequest, ″in Jizzīn and elsewhere,″ to her two brothers as a pious act, in exchange for several books including a copy of the Shi'i *ḥadīth* canon ″Man Lā Yaḥḍuruhu al-Faqīh″ and a Quran said to have been a gift from 'Alī Mu'ayyad, ruler of Khorasan. Seventy *mujtahid*s from around the Jabal 'Āmil are said to have attended her funeral. Ibn Makkī himself held her up as a model of piety and scholarship, and told the women of the area to refer to her or to his wife, another ″*faqīhah*,″ on legal questions pertaining to menses and prayer.

IBN MAKKĪ′S INTELLECTUAL PRODUCTION

Muḥammad ibn Makkī was one of the most influential scholars of the long middle age of Shi'i history, between the fall of the Buyids in 1055 and the rise of the Safavids in the early sixteenth century. Beyond this, however, there exists no consensus as to the importance of his contribution to Shi'i legal thought, and little work has been undertaken toward a comprehensive evaluation. Part of the difficulty lies in the incremental nature of developments in Shi'i jurisprudence throughout this period, which makes it difficult to identify precise watersheds or delineate schools of thought historically. More importantly, scholarship in the last twenty years has focused almost exclusively on one aspect of Shi'i intellectual history; the authority of the *faqīh* to act as the Hidden Imām′s deputy.

Chronologically and conceptually, Ibn Makkī is located somewhere between al-'Allāmah al-Ḥillī (d. 1325) and Zayn al-Dīn ibn 'Alī (d. 1558). The former is credited with having introduced rigourous *ḥadīth* criticism into Shi'i jurisprudence, thus laying the groundwork for the emergence of a specifically Shi'i legal methodology on a par with that of the four classical Sunni schools. At the other end of the spectrum, Zayn al-Dīn ibn 'Alī is largely responsible for originating, in his ten-volume commentary on Ibn Makkī′s *al-Lum'ah al-Dimashqīyah*, the theory of the *faqīh*′s comprehensive deputyship to act as temporal leader of the Islamic

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[50]al-'Amilī, *Amal al-Āmil*, 2:325; al-Baḥrānī, *Lu'lu'at al-Baḥrayn*, 172-73; Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2:199, S2:209; Khayr al-Dīn Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, 11th ed. (Beirut, 1995), 7:282; further references in 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Kūhkamarī′s introduction to al-Suyūrī, *al-Tanqīḥ al-Rā'i' li-Mukhtaṣṣ al-Shāri'* (Qom, 1983), 1:xxiv-xxxviii.

[51]al-'Amilī, *Amal al-Āmil*, 1:193; al-Amīn, *A'yān al-Shī'ah*, 8:388-89, 10:39; al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, 7:24-25.

community. To what degree the Shiʿi jurist′s political authority is germinal in Ibn Makkī′s thought is debatable; one recent enthusiast has made him to be the very source of Ayatollah Khomeini′s *wilāyat al-faqīh* theory of state.[52]

Ibn Makkī was first and foremost a *ḥadīth* scholar, pursuing the system of scientific classification devised by the Ḥillah school. His numerous treatises, particularly on traditions concerning ritual purity (*ṭahārah*) and prayer (*ṣalāt*), are still considered essentials in the field.[53] Besides ritual, his manuals of jurisprudence primarily treat mundane social transactions, from inheritance to sharecropping to conjugal favours. His purported political thought can only be inferred from the rare references to the Imām and *faqīh* in his works.

The most fruitful line of inquiry in this respect concerns the collection of *zakāt*, the alms tax incumbent on all Muslims. The early Shiʿi jurisprudents had suggested that, during the absence of the Imām, the faithful distribute the alms themselves rather than through an illegitimate state tax collector. By the fourteenth century, the legists were claiming the right to allocate *zakāt*, not as the Imām′s deputy but as the most competent representatives of the community. Ibn Makkī further refined this view by making the *faqīh* the moral equivalent of the Imām. In *al-Bayān*, probably one of his last books, he states that

> The best method of paying is not by agency but, so as to achieve certainty, payment either to the Imām or to the *faqīh*. We consider this to be best, inasmuch as the two are above perfidy: the Imām by virtue of his infallibility; and the *faqīh* by virtue of his probity [ʿ*adālah*] and his knowledge of who receives [*zakāt*] and the manner of its distribution.[54]

In the concisely worded corresponding passage of *al-Lumʿah al-Dimashqīyah*, Ibn Makkī implies that payment of the *zakāt* to the jurisprudent can also be considered as incumbent. It is this wilfully ambiguous passage which Zayn al-Dīn ibn ʿAlī, writing one and a half centuries later, interprets as signifying unequivocally the *faqīh*′s general deputyship on behalf of the Imām.[55] Ibn Makkī is similarly vague on the *khums*, a surtax on war spoils and mineral resources of which half is paid to ″the Imām, when he is present, or to his deputies, when he is absent.″ It is in Zayn al-Dīn ibn ʿAlī′s commentary that we are told explicitly that these deputies ″are the righteous Imāmī *faqīh*s . . . as they are his agents and must perform that

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[52]Jaʿfar al-Muhājir, *Sittat Fuqahāʾ Abṭāl: al-Taʾsīs li-Taʾrīkh al-Shīʿah (2)* (Beirut, 1994), 88.

[53]Ṭihrānī, *al-Dharīʿah*, 1:427-28, 10:40.

[54]Muḥammad ibn Makkī, *al-Bayān*, lithograph (Qom, n.d.), 202.

[55]Calder, ″Zakāt,″ 476-77.

which their *madhhab* demands."[56] Ibn Makkī's references to the Imām's representative at Friday communal prayers and in *jihād* (holy war) are utilized to make the same argument.[57]

One of Ibn Makkī's own rare direct references to the executive authority of the *faqīh* occurs in the context of the fundamental Islamic precept of "enjoining the good and prohibiting the evil":

> During the Imām's occultation, the *faqīh*s may administer the penalties (*ḥudūd*) among the people in full legality and security, by virtue of their qualities of jurisconsult (*muftī*) which are correct faith, righteousness, and versedness in law. . . . It is obligatory to take recourse to the *faqīh*s and, whoever does not, sins.[58]

It is clear from the above statements that Ibn Makkī was advocating the social responsibility of the legal scholar. But to deduce a precocious political theory therein would be ill-considered. Not only are the references to the *faqīh*s' role too few, but they are also never invested with functions that the Sunni *'ulamā'*, for instance, did not already have. In the chapter on judicature (*qaḍā'*), we read that "During the occultation, the *faqīh* possessed of the qualities of jurisconsult administers justice. Whoever foregoes him in favor of tyrannical [i.e. non-*sharī'ah*] judicature is a rebel." Elsewhere the judge (*ḥākim*) is identified as the guardian of the legally incompetent.[59]

As a Shi'i, Ibn Makkī naturally expressed some of the legists' prerogatives in terms of an ideal authority inherited from the Imām. In substance, however, he was simply claiming the same social leadership that the primates of the Sunni *madhhab*s had long enjoyed in their communities, and no more. This view is also more in line with Devin Stewart's argument that Ibn Makkī and the Ḥillah school, in championing the adoption of rationalist legal principles (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), were endeavouring to bring Shi'i legal thought into the mainstream of Islamic jurisprudence at this time. For the Shi'i community of Mamluk Syria, certainly, the question of a jurist's comprehensive authority did not arise. The notion that

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[56]Zayn al-Dīn ibn 'Alī, *Rawḍāt al-Bahīyah*, 2:78-79; see also Calder, "Khums," 44-45.

[57]Zayn al-Dīn ibn 'Alī, *Rawḍāt al-Bahīyah*, 2:381; Norman Calder, "The Structure of Authority in Imāmī Shī'ī Jurisprudence" (Ph.D. diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, 1980), 153-54; Abdulaziz Abdulhussein Sachedina, *The Just Ruler (al-Sultān al-'Ādil) in Shi'ite Islam: The Comprehensive Authority of the Jurist in Imamite Jurisprudence* (Oxford, 1988), 187-89.

[58]Muhammad ibn Makkī, *al-Lum'ah al-Dimashqīyah fī Fiqh al-Imāmīyah* (Qom, 1990), 46; cf. the slightly variant text with commentary in Zayn al-Dīn ibn 'Alī, *Rawḍāt al-Bahīyah*, 2:417-19.

[59]Ibn Makkī, *al-Lum'ah*, 50, 82; Zayn al-Dīn ibn 'Alī, *Rawḍāt al-Bahīyah*, 3:61-68, 4:105-7.

the ″worldview of the faithful in Imāmī Shiʿism is dominated by the question of the leadership of the Muslim community—the Imamate″[60] is ahistorical and ageographic.

Ibn Makkī′s struggle to assert the primacy of law in Shiʿi society was perhaps not directed against obscurantist traditional scholars or a hostile secular authority. There is evidence to suggest that his greatest adversaries were the wandering Sufi mystics, who traditionally exerted a great influence over the rural populations of the Lebanese mountains. In a long poem, Ibn Makkī celebrates mystical experience but decries the modern dervishes′ duplicity and corruption:

> Sufism is not simply a staff and a rosary.
> Poverty does not mean the dream of exaltedness
> And that you go about in tatters,
> Hiding the sin of vainglory and ostentation underneath;
> And that you affect to renounce the worldly,
> But are addicted to it like a dog is to bones.[61]

In another instance, it is reported that Ibn Makkī fought a certain ″charlatan″ named Muḥammad al-Yālūshī, from the obscure Tower of Yālūsh near the village Brayqaʿ. Apparently, he had been Ibn Makkī′s student but then turned his interests to the magical arts and went about the Jabal ʿĀmil claiming to be a prophet.[62] The tale of Ibn Makkī′s clash with the sorcerer of the tower appears in the southern Lebanese folk tradition in several forms and must be treated with caution.[63] Nevertheless, the common belief that Ibn Makkī had enemies among the followers of popular religion in the Jabal, and that these contributed to his downfall in the end, should not be entirely discounted.

The point that has fascinated Shiʿi historians of Ibn Makkī most is that he was called upon by the Shiʿi ruler of Khorasan, the Sarbadār ʿAlī Mu'ayyad, to come serve at his court. In the fourteenth century, the provinces of Iran were under the increasingly autonomous control of local potentates, while the Ilkhanid empire deteriorated. The Sarbadārs, who first took power in Sabzavār around 1337, were an uneasy alliance of the local petty nobility and the popular following of a vaguely Shiʿi Sufism. In 1362, ʿAlī Mu'ayyad seized power with the support of

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[60]Sachedina, *Just Ruler*, 29.

[61]al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, 7:16-18; al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿah*, 10:63.

[62]al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, 7:4; al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿah*, 10:60.

[63]Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Khiṭaṭ Jabal ʿĀmil* (Beirut, 1961), 200-201; Ibrāhīm Āl Sulaymān, *Buldān Jabal ʿĀmil: Qilāʿuhu wa-Madārisuhu wa-Jusūruhu wa-Murūjuhu wa-Maṭāhinuhu wa-Jibāluhu wa-Mashāhiduhu* (Beirut, 1995), 82-84.

the dervish faction, proclaiming Imāmī Shi'ism as an ideology acceptable to all. However, the radicalism of his dervish partners soon proved to be inopportune, and 'Alī Mu'ayyad took to repressing the movement with force, until they succeeded in ousting him in 1376-77 with the help of the province's Sunnis.[64] It is in the context of 'Alī Mu'ayyad's quest to institutionalize a staid Twelver Shi'ism in this period that his invitation to Ibn Makkī must be placed.

Ibn Makkī declined, penning a concise, comprehensive guide to Shi'i law, *al-Lum'ah al-Dimashqīyah fī Fiqh al-Imāmiyya* (*The Gleam of Light from Damascus: Imāmī Jurisprudence*) to send to him instead. Popular tradition holds that he composed the work in just seven days while he was confined in the Damascus citadel, but already some of the early *ṭabaqāt* biographers have pointed out that it must have been written earlier.[65] The invitation was conveyed by the scholar Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Āwī, an intimate of the Sarbadār who had known Ibn Makkī since his days in Iraq.[66] The text of the letter, in which the sultan beseeches Ibn Makkī to come and quench their thirst for religious instruction, fearing "the wrath of God on this land for its loss of integrity and its need of guidance," is preserved in some popular biographies.[67] However, it is contained neither in Zayn al-Dīn ibn 'Alī's commentary nor in the more serious *rijāl* works, and is probably another instance of the imaginative embellishment of al-Shahīd al-Awwal's story.

Neither *al-Lum'ah al-Dimashqīyah* nor any other of Ibn Makkī's works was examined at his trial. Muḥammad al-Āwī is said to have prevented copies from being made, while Ibn Makkī apparently expressed relief that no one saw the book while he was writing it, despite the fact "that his sessions in Damascus at the time were usually frequented by scholars from the general public, due to his association and companionship with them."[68] An early eighteenth-century biographer supplies the claim that Ibn Makkī taught comparative Sunni law (*mukhālifīn*) by day and Shi'i law by night "in a special house which he had built underground" out of fear of persecution.[69] The likelihood of this is disputable, but the statement

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[64]John Masson Smith, *The History of the Sarbadār Dynasty 1336-1381 A.D. and Its Sources* (The Hague, 1970).

[65]Mīrzā 'Abd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī (d. ca. 1718), *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā' wa-Ḥiyāḍ al-Fuḍalā'* (Qom, 1980), 5:190. Zayn al-Dīn is also sceptical of the claim; see Zayn al-Dīn ibn 'Alī, *Rawḍāt al-Bahīyah*, 1:23.

[66]Zayn al-Dīn ibn 'Alī, *Rawḍāt al-Bahīyah*, 1:23-24; Nūr Allāh ibn 'Abd-Allāh Shushtarī, *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, lithograph (Tehran, 1881), 406.

[67]Muḥammad Riḍā Shams al-Dīn, *Ḥayāt al-Imām al-Shahīd al-Awwal* (Najaf, 1957), 4-5; al-Amānī, *al-Shahīd al-Awwal*, 85-7.

[68]Zayn al-Dīn ibn 'Alī, *Rawḍāt al-Bahīyah*, 1:24.

[69]Iṣfahānī, *Riyāḍ al-'Ulamā'*, 5:189.

does underline the fact that Ibn Makkī´s authorship of the work would not have been generally known in Damascus. Despite the many students who studied with Ibn Makkī, *al-Lum'ah al-Dimashqīyah* does not seem to have received particular attention in Shi'i circles in this period either. Before Zayn al-Dīn ibn 'Alī´s commentary from the sixteenth century, *al-Lum'ah al-Dimashqīyah* was simply a legal primer for a marginal religious community, making its first tentative steps, in Syria as in Khorasan, to constitute itself as civil society.

In any event, Ibn Makkī´s scholarly influence in distant Khorasan was to be short-lived. 'Alī Mu'ayyad, after he retook control of Sabzavār in 1380-81, was astute enough not to resist Tīmūr´s onslaught from the East. He entered into vassalage to Tīmūr (and died in his service in 1386), and abjured Shi'ism.

At Damascus

To what extent and under which auspices did Muḥammad ibn Makkī pursue his scholarly career in Damascus? This question is vital to an understanding both of his eventual condemnation and of the position of the Shi'ah in Syria at this time. Ibn Makkī is generally portrayed in the Shi'i literature as a constant visitor and respected participant in the intellectual life of the capital.[70] Certainly the conspicuous reference to *Dimashq* in the title of his law manual suggests a long-standing attachment to that city. Yet there are few textual references to him in the local histories, and even Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah identifies him mistakenly as an Iraqi who had settled in Jizzīn, or distorts his *nisbah* to read ″al-Juraynī.″[71]

Ibn Makkī was known in at least one circle of Damascene literate society, that of the Quran reciters. He studied with several disciples of Ibn al-Mu'min, the doyen of *qurrā'* of the epoch. One of them, Ibn al-Labbān al-Dimashqī (d. 1374), who rose to become the most acclaimed reciter in Damascus, reported that he taught the erudite Ibn Makkī ″for a long time, and never heard him say anything at variance with (*mā yukhālifu*) Sunnism.″ The statement shows, of course, that Ibn al-Labbān knew very well that Ibn Makkī himself was not a Sunni. The author of the contemporary Quran reciters´ *ṭabaqāt*, Muḥammad ibn al-Jazarī (1350-1429), also knew Ibn Makkī as a ″shaykh of the Shi'is and *mujtahid* in their *madhhab*″ and, mentioning that he was away in Egypt at the time, intimates regret over his execution.[72]

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[70]See also Sulaymān Ḍāhir, ″Ṣilat al-'Ilm bayna Dimashq wa-Jabal 'Āmil,″ *Majallat al-Mujtama' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī* 9 (1929): 269-79.

[71]Ibd Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:134, 151.

[72]Muḥammad ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-Nihāyah fī Ṭabaqāt al-Qurrā'* (Cairo, 1935), 2:72-73, 265.

Ibn Makkī also consorted with other Shi'i scholars in Damascus. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Shāmī (d. 1389) had been a close friend since their earliest days together in Ḥillah as students of Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn.[73] In Ḥillah he had also studied under Amīn al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Zuhrah of Aleppo (d. ca. 1394), and it is likely that he maintained contact with him or with other members of the illustrious Zuhra family after their return from Iraq.[74]

Surely his most interesting acquaintance in Damascus was Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad (or Maḥmūd) al-Rāzī, whom he met "by chance" and then earned an *ijāzah* from him in 1365.[75] A native of Rayy, al-Rāzī had moved to Damascus a few years previously and lived in the Ẓāhirīyah *madrasah*. He was buried in Ṣāliḥīyah, with the elite of Damascus in attendance, after dying later that year. Ibn Makkī described him as "an inexhaustible ocean of knowledge" and declared that "he was, beyond any doubt, of the Imāmī *madhhab*. He made this clear and I heard so from him, and his devotion to the entire Family of the Prophet is well known."[76] In fact al-Rāzī consistently protested that he was a Shāfi'ī. He was certainly accepted as such, and though he "never got a taste of Arabic linguistics," he has gone down as a great Sunni scholar of rational philosophy (*ḥikmah*) and logic.[77] In addition to his Shāfi'ī credentials, al-Rāzī also held an *ijāzah* from al-'Allamah al-Ḥillī, and may indeed have been a Shi'i practising *taqīyah*. However, one should note that in an age where the line between Sunni and Shi'i religiosity was not yet so clearly drawn, he would not have been the only scholar to be appropriated by the Shi'is by reason of his devotion to the Prophet's Family.[78]

Did Ibn Makkī feel compelled to dissimulate his Shi'ism while in Damascus? An *ijāzah* issued to him by a Sunni shaykh in Baghdad gives his *nisbah* as "al-Dimashqī," perhaps an indication that he was concealing his Shi'i Lebanese origins.[79] Devin Stewart has argued that Ibn Makkī, like other stigmatized Shi'i scholars, usually pretended to be of the Shāfi'ī legal school. Ibn Makkī, as will be

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[73]al-Amīn, *A'yān al-Shī'ah*, 10:18.

[74]al-Amīn, *A'yān al-Shī'ah*, 3:149-50; see also 9:411, 444.

[75]al-'Amilī, *Amal al-Āmil*, 2:300-301; al-Amīn, *A'yān al-Shī'ah*, 9:413; al-Baḥrānī, *Lu'lu'at al-Baḥrayn*, 194-99.

[76]Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, 107:140-41.

[77]Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), *Bughyat al-Wu'āt fī Ṭabaqāt al-Lughawīyīn wa-al-Nuhāt* (Cairo, 1964), 2:281; see also Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd-al-Raḥīm al-Isnawī (d. 1370), *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyah* (Baghdad, 1970), 1:322-23; Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd-al-Wahhāb al-Subkī (d. 1370), *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyah al-Kubrá* (Cairo, 1964), 9:274-75; Aḥmad ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī (d. 1449), *al-Durar al-Kāminah fī A'yān al-Mi'ah al-Thāminah* (Cairo, 1966), 5:107-8.

[78]Cf. the case of Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Dimashqī (d. ca. 1418) in al-Amīn, *A'yān al-Shī'ah*, 2:510.

[79]Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, 107:183-84.

discussed below, did in fact tell the recently inducted Shāfiʻī judge at his trial in 1384, "My *madhhab* is the Shāfiʻī. You now are the chief and judge of this *madhhab*, so rule according to your *madhhab*."[80] The only other indication that Ibn Makkī ever claimed to be a Shāfiʻī is given by the *qurrā'*-biographer al-Jazarī, who received a court summons (*istidʻā'*) signed by Ibn Makkī with the *nisbah* "al-Shāfiʻī."[81] The details are no longer known, but it is not improbable that the summons, and the claim to be a Shāfiʻī made therein, were connected to this very trial, for which Ibn Makkī may have been seeking al-Jazarī as a witness.

There is little to suggest that Ibn Makkī persistently resorted to *taqīyah* in Damascus prior to his capital trial. One might even debate whether affiliation with the Shāfiʻī *madhhab* would have constituted genuine *taqīyah* in the context of Syrian Shiʻism in the Middle Ages. The *tashayyuʻ* of Ibn Makkī and his associates never laid claim to an actual legal "guild" of their own. They were at times described as members of the Shiʻi *madhhab*, but it is interesting to note that the term "Jaʻfarī"—the technical name for the Twelvers' legal school—is never used in this period to denote *madhhab* nor affixed to the name as a *nisbah,* even in Shiʻi biographies. Ibn Makkī of course made significant theoretical advances in the elaboration of a distinctive Shiʻi legal identity, but these were not at issue in his trial. For procedural purposes, he may well have counted as a legal Shāfiʻī in Damascus, regardless of his religious denomination. One indication that Shiʻism and Shāfiʻī law were not mutually exclusive in Syria at this time is the career of Ibn Millī al-Baʻlabakkī (d. 1300), a respected, ostensibly Shāfiʻī *muftī* and scholar well known for his interest in Shiʻism. The chronicler Quṭb al-Dīn Mūsá al-Yūnīnī (d. 1326), a fellow native of Baʻlabakk, reported "He was an *imām* of the Shāfiʻī school, and the Shiʻi school heeded him as well."[82] The situation cannot be compared with that obtaining two centuries later, when the Ottoman regime came to treat Shiʻism as an explicit political threat. When the "Second Martyr" Zayn al-Dīn ibn ʻAlī (d. 1558), who was probably the first *mujtahid* to advance the formula of "the five *madhhabs*," got himself appointed headmaster of an important Ḥanafī college by the Shaykh al-Islām in Istanbul, some *taqīyah* may well have been in play.[83] It is unlikely that the First Martyr saw the need for this during his lifetime.

We have already seen that the mild Imāmī Shiʻism of the Damascene *ashrāf* was held in high esteem. Indeed, even Ibn Taymīyah was capable of carrying on a

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[80]Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, 107:185; al-Baḥrānī, *Lu'lu'at al-Baḥrayn*, 147; al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, 7:13. In *Aʻyān al-Shīʻah,* 10:60, "my *madhhab*" has been changed to read "your *madhhab*."

[81]Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-Nihāyah*, 2:265.

[82]al-Muhājir, *Sittat Fuqahā'*; Guo [Yūnīnī], *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography*, 2:198.

[83]al-ʻAmilī, *Amal al-Āmil*, 1:85-91; al-Amīn, *Aʻyān al-Shīʻah*, 7:143-58.

respectful, scholarly dispute with al-ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī.[84] Far from evoking the threat of Shiʿi sedition, the *naqīb al-ashrāf* was very much a part of the religious establishment in Syria and, as in the case of Ibn al-ʿAwd, vigilantly guarded against excessive ʿAlid partisanship within their own ranks that might prejudice their rapport with the Sunni majority. Again, it is not until the Ottoman period that the office of *naqīb* becomes principally assigned to Sunni functionaries. What then caused Muḥammad ibn Makkī and a handful of Shiʿi contemporaries to be persecuted and killed? A look at the narratives of their prosecution may be instructive of the persecuting mentality in fourteenth-century Damascus.

In Jumādá II 744/1343, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah writes, "the wayward apostate Ḥasan, son of shaykh Abū Bakr . . . al-Dimashqī al-Sakākīnī, was beheaded in the horse market on account of his Shiʿi heresy (*rafḍ*) that verged on atheism (*zandaqah*)."[85] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah seems to have relied on Ibn Kathīr's (d. 1373) *al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* for his account, but has added some details on the victim's father borrowed from Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's (d. 1449) biographical dictionary *al-Durar al-Kāminah*.[86] Other than Ibn Kathīr's slightly more abusive characterization of al-Sakākīnī, the accounts of the charges levied against him are virtually identical:

> The matter was established before the Mālikī *qāḍī* Sharaf al-Dīn, . . . namely, that he declared the two *shaykh*s (the caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿUmar) to have been infidels, and that he slandered their daughters [the Prophet's wives] ʿĀʾishah and Ḥafṣah. And he claimed that Gabriel had made a mistake and revealed himself to Muḥammad, when he had actually been sent to ʿAlī, and other such injuries.

They then proceed to contrast the son's wickedness with the father's integrity. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, elaborating somewhat on Ibn Ḥajar's brief notice, continues:

> His father was a shaykh of the Shiʿis and scholar of the people, known for his non-*ghulūw*, non-cursing Shiʿism, and he held the two *shaykh*s in high honour . . .

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[84]Michel Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Ṣafawids: Šīʿism, Ṣūfism, and the Ġulat* (Wiesbaden, 1972), 28-30.

[85]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʾrīkh*, 1:358.

[86]Ibn al-Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah*, 14:222; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāminah*, 2:119.

The less charitable Ibn Kathīr is unimpressed even by non-*ghulūw* (i.e., restrained) Shiʻism and prefers rather to emphasize the elder Sakākīnī's inclination towards the Sunnah. After mentioning his correspondance with Ibn Taymīyah (in a passage hopelessly miscopied by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah), Ibn Kathīr concludes:

> More than one of the *shaykh*'s [Ibn Taymīyah's?] companions recalled that al-Sakākīnī abjured his *madhhab* just before he died, and went over to Sunni doctrine. And I was informed that his son, this reprehensible Ḥasan, had wanted to kill his father when he proclaimed his Sunnism.

The father, Muḥammad Abū Bakr (d. 1321), was an ex-knifesmith, a pupil of the famous illuminationist mystic al-ʻAfīf al-Tilimsānī (d. 1291), an accomplished *ḥadīth* scholar, and a noted muʻtazilī theologian. He was reportedly even described by Ibn Taymīyah as "one of those where the Shiʻi acts like a Sunni and the Sunni acts like a Shiʻi."[87] Ibn Kathīr's deliberately abstruse report of a deathbed "conversion" is a literary device, serving to underscore the son Ḥasan's depravity. In a literature singularly obsessed with citing its sources, the unsupported claim that Ḥasan had wanted to kill his father (who was, of course, already on his deathbed) is likewise a mere *topos*. The Archangel Gabriel's confusion of Muḥammad and ʻAlī is a commonplace of *ghulūw* or "exaggerated" Shiʻi folk-theology, but is in fact spotlighted most frequently by Sunni heresiographers. Yet the really crucial aspect of Ḥasan al-Sakākīnī's heresy was his alleged cursing of the Prophet's Companions. Instituted as a communal religious rite during the Buyid protectorate of the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad, cursing the Companions became the most deliberately offensive method of asserting Shiʻi confessional partisanship down into the twentieth century. The case of the Sakākīnīs shows that the concept of heresy in Damascus was very much a question of communal honour, not doctrinal divergence. The muʻtazilī and pantheist proclivities of the father earned praise and acclaim; a base insult against the venerated elders of Sunnism earned his son the death penalty.

Under the title of "strange and bizarre events" for the year 755/1354-55, Ibn Kathīr recounts:

> On Monday, 16 Jumādá I, a *rāfiḍī* from Ḥillah came into the Umayyad Mosque, cursing "the original oppressors of the Prophet's Family."[88] He kept repeating this and would not let up, and prayed

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[87]al-Amīn, *Aʻyān al-Shīʻah*, 9:61.

[88]The formula recalls the moderate curse instituted by the Buyid Muʻizz al-Dawlah in 962. See ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1200), *al-Muntaẓam fī Tawārīkh al-Mulūk wa-al-Umam* (Beirut,

> neither with the other people nor over at the funeral then in progress. Though the people were praying, he continued to repeat this in a loud voice. When we had finished praying, the crowd took notice of him and brought him over to the Shāfiʿī chief *qāḍī* who was with the others at the funeral. They cross-examined him, ″Who oppressed the Prophet′s Family?″ He said ″Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq″ and then, openly so that everyone could hear, ″God damn Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān, Muʿāwiyah and Yazīd!″ He repeated this twice, and the judge sent him off to jail. Then the Mālikī *qāḍī* had him brought before him and flogged him, while he screamed insults and curses and words only villains use. The name of this miscreant was ʿAlī ibn Abī al-Faḍl . . . ibn Kathīr, God rebuke and shame him. The following Thursday a session was convened in the Dār al-Saʿādah court with the four *qāḍī*s. He was brought before them and God ordained that the Mālikī deputy should sentence him to death. He was taken quickly and beheaded beneath the citadel. The crowd burned his body and paraded around with his head, shouting ″This is what happens to those who insult the Prophet′s Companions!″ I myself observed this idiot before the Mālikī *qāḍī*, and his opinions were something like those of the *ghulāt* Shiʿis. He had adopted some elements of apostasy and *zandaqah* from the followers of al-ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī, God disgrace him and them.[89]

Again, it is cursing the Companions that leads to persecution. The offender′s link to Ḥillah is only tenuously established[90] and it is rather unlikely that he was instructed in *zandaqah* by the school of al-ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī. His odious behaviour toward the community of the faithful is the basis of the pronouncement of heresy. This particular episode was conspicuous enough to be included, in abridged form, by the Maronite historian Isṭfān al-Duwayhī in his general history *Taʾrīkh al-Azminah*, three centuries later.[91]

Ibn Kathīr makes specific reference to this outstanding case, after describing the third and last execution of a Shiʿi heretic known to him:[92]

1995), 8:309-10; Heribert Busse, *Chalif und Gross könig* (Wiesbaden, 1969), 421.

[89]Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah*, 14:262.

[90]Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī thought him to be from Aleppo. See *al-Durar al-Kāminah*, 3:168-69.

[91]Al-Duwayhī, *Taʾrīkh al-Azminah*, 319.

[92]Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah*, 14:325. In the entry on Ḥasan al-Sakākīnī, Muḥsin al-Amīn states that ″he was accused of the same thing as Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-M*qṣātī, which points to a conspiracy against them and plot to kill them, in that age of religious oppression;″ al-Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿah*, 4:628; I have found no other reference to al-M*qṣātī.

> On the morning of Thursday, 17 Rabī‘ I 763 [January 1362], a man named Maḥmūd ibn Ibrāhīm al-Shīrāzī was found in the Umayyad Mosque, cursing the two shaykhs and declaring them anathema. The matter was submitted to the chief *qāḍī*, the Mālikī Jamāl al-Dīn al-Maslātī, who called on him to repent and had him flogged. With the first lash, he said ″There is no god but God; ‘Alī is the *walī* of God!″ and with the second lash, he cursed Abū Bakr and ‘Umar. The crowd assailed him, beating and striking him until he almost died. The *qāḍī* attempted to restrain them but was unable. The *rāfiḍī* began to curse and insult the Companions, saying ″They were in error.″ With that he was dragged before the governor and his statement attested. Thereupon the *qāḍī* ordered his blood to be shed, and he was taken to the outskirts of town and beheaded, and the crowd burned his body, God shame him. He had been a student in the *madrasah* of Abū ‘Umar before displaying symptoms of *rafḍ*. The Ḥanbalī [*qāḍī*] had jailed him for forty days, but that did not help. He continued to preach in the entire county, calling for the cursing of the Companions, until his day came and he expounded his *madhhab* in the Great Mosque. . . .

This passage is noteworthy for the initial leniency afforded to the victim, first by the Ḥanbalī, and more importantly by the Mālikī *qāḍī*. As we have seen, the Mālikī *qāḍī* usually took the lead role in the condemnation of heretics. The Mālikī school was known to be the most severe of all on heresy. This in fact accounted for the early popularity of the school, and the Abbasid caliphs on occasion relied on Mālikī *qāḍī*s to dispense with politically vexatious freethinkers, such as the famous Sufi mystic al-Ḥallāj, martyred in 922 AD.[93] Under Mālikī law, apostates were given the chance to repent, but *zindīq*s, or those declared to be such, had to be executed forthwith. This is clearly what the crowd was expecting in this instance, and they refused to accept the Mālikī′s judgement when he disappointed them. It is worthwhile to point out the initiative of the crowd, *al-‘āmmah*, in bringing heretics to justice. Maḥmūd al-Shīrāzī′s views were already known in certain branches of the religious establishment, namely at his *madrasah* and by the unnamed Ḥanbalī *qāḍī*. Yet, in contrast to the persecution of heretics in Latin Europe at the same time, it is here the ″clergy″ that had to be pressed into the service of the wrathful crowd.

[93]Nicole Cottart, ″Mālikiyya,″ *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd. ed., 6:278-83.

In another case reported by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, the Mālikī and Ḥanbalī *qāḍī*s tried a case brought in all the way from Karak. In 1379-80, a sitting was held for Ibn Ḥurayṣ,

> a leading figure of the town and a known *rāfiḍī*. It was attended by those who testified that he cursed and disparaged the Companions, as is prescribed by *zandaqah*. He was imprisoned and the Mālikī was undecided in the matter. Then the Ḥanbalī *qāḍī* sentenced him to death. He was beheaded beneath the citadel, in the presence of the governor and the *qāḍī*s, after he had spoken the profession of faith and stated his approval of the two Shaykhs.[94]

One may conclude that Shiʿism was not subject to a formalized inquisitorial process in fourteenth-century Damascus. The persecution of individual *"rāfiḍī*s*"* followed from spontaneous and essentially populist initiatives. Once accused (whether rightly or wrongly) of having insulted the feelings of the catholic majority, the member of a minority, inherently dissident faith was left defenceless against his detractors. A few spectacular cases of persecution made it into the local chronicles; the ordinary lives of quietist Shiʿis such as the *ashrāf* did not.

One final (though also not unique) example of persecution is striking for some of its similarities to Muḥammad ibn Makkī's case. In 1355, Ibn Kathīr informs us, the Mālikī *qāḍī* al-Maslātī ordered the execution of a man from a town near Baʿlabakk.

> It had been established at a sitting in Baʿlabakk that he acknowledged, as Aḥmad ibn Nūr al-Dīn . . . from the village al-Labwah testified, the foul words with which he had injured the Prophet, and cursed and slandered him in terms that cannot be repeated here. So he was killed, God damn him, on this day after the noontime *adhān* in the horse market, and the people burned his body . . .[95]

The significant difference to Ibn Makkī's case is that the man, Dāwūd ibn Salīm, was a Christian and not a schismatic Muslim.

IBN MAKKĪ'S TRIAL AND EXECUTION

In *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*, R. I. Moore determines that

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[94]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:10.

[95]Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah*, 14:265.

> Heresy . . . can only arise in the context of the assertion of authority, which the heretic resists, and is therefore by definition a political matter. Heterodox belief, however, is not. Variety of religious opinion exists at many times and places, and becomes heresy when authority declares it intolerable.[96]

In the preceding section, we have seen that the Mamluk Sultanate, the Damascene *qāḍī*s, or simply an agitated crowd, *al-ʿāmmah*, were liable to declare certain Shiʿis to be intolerable heretics (*rāfiḍī*s). Yet none of them truly followed a consistent policy with regards to Shiʿism. The Sultanate´s campaigns and edicts were directed against certain Shiʿi communities of the province of Tripoli only, not against the Shiʿi faith *per se*. The rabble of cities such as Damascus or Baʿlabakk could work itself into a persecuting frenzy when it felt its communal honour had been impinged upon, but most of the time it was perfectly capable of coexisting with the heterodox minorities. The religious judges frequently became a party to the persecutions and sentenced *rāfiḍī*s to die, but at other times even Ḥanbalī and Mālikī *qāḍī*s sought to reform heretics rather than to execute them. All three of these social entities were involved in one way or another with the conviction of Muḥammad ibn Makkī. Even if we cannot discover the exact, underlying reasons for his execution as a heretic, a close look at the circumstances of his trial may help demonstrate the ambiguous position of Twelver Shiʿis in Syrian Mamluk society.

The only contemporary, possibly eye-witness report of the trial is that of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Miqdād al-Suyūrī, Ibn Makkī´s former pupil. Though no longer extant, versions of it were reproduced, independently from one another, in the Persian Majlisī´s vast compendium of traditions *Biḥār al-Anwār*, in the Lebanese biographical dictionary *Amal al-Āmil*, both from the seventeenth century, and in the broader *rijāl* work, *Lu´lu´at al-Baḥrayn* from the eighteenth. Of these, the last comprises the most extensive version.[97]

Al-Suyūrī´s narrative suggests that Ibn Makkī was first denounced in southern Lebanon by a certain Taqī al-Dīn al-Jabalī, a native of al-Khiyyām (some 10 km. north of the Golan). This seems not to have had any immediate consequence, for the denunciations were perpetuated by another man, Yūsuf ibn Yaḥyá,[98] after the first had died. Both of them were former Imāmī Shiʿis who had abjured.

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[96] R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society* (Oxford, 1987), 68-69.

[97] al-ʿAmilī, *Amal al-Āmil*, 1:182-83; Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār*, 107:184-86; al-Baḥrānī, *Lu'lu'at al-Baḥrayn*, 145-48.

[98] The Āl Yaḥyá was a prominent family of al-Khiyyām; see al-Amīn, *Khiṭaṭ*, 231.

Ibn Yaḥyá composed a procès-verbal (*maḥḍar*) detailing Ibn Makkī's "vile doctrines and abominable beliefs." We are not told of what these consisted. In any event, the precise nature of the heresy was not as important as the fact that Ibn Yaḥyá found numerous witnesses to corroborate it. Seventy inhabitants of the mountain, all of them former Shi'is who had abjured, signed the procès-verbal, as did "over a thousand of the outwardly Sunni (*mutasanninūn*) inhabitants of the coastlands." Al-Suyūrī offers no explanation as to why a significant number of Shi'is from the coast should have converted, or affected to convert, to Sunnism. However, a brief and otherwise unrelated passage in Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyá's *History of Beirut* shows that it was the consequence of Sultan al-Nāṣir's 1363 edict against the *rāfiḍī*s of Beirut and Sidon. After Baydamur became governor of Damascus for the second time (July-August 1362), the Druze chronicler relates,

> The Shi'is of Beirut were stirred up. They manifested their adherence to Sunnism, as they had received a sultanic edict, but inwardly they subscribed to the doctrine of the Shi'ah. A campaign of inquisition (*ḥarakah riddīyah)* followed from this in Beirut, which Baydamur exploited . . . to expropriate the fief of [an old political enemy].[99]

Though we are still not informed what occasioned Cairo's promulgation of the edict, we must conclude that religious persecution in the coastal districts, where Shi'is constituted a significant proportion of the population, bore the imprint of official imperial policy. Yet there is little connection between the ideological intent of the edict and the social reality of its consequences. Among the Shi'i community, the effect of the edict was to create a witchhunt in which, eventually, Ibn Makkī was betrayed by his own co-religionists. The Mamluk governor of Damascus, in whose jursidiction the *wilāyah*s of Beirut and Sidon fell, took an interest in the quasi-inquisition issuing in Beirut only in so far as it allowed him to assail his personal enemies. There is nothing in the sources to suggest that Baydamur or the higher judgeship of the Damascus province became involved in local battles fought through the medium of religious correctness in the coast districts.

A further detail in Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's *Inbā' al-Ghumr* ties Ibn Makkī to the persecution of Shi'is on the coast: around the time of his execution, "his friend [*rafīq*] 'Arifah, who subscribed to the same [Nusayrī] beliefs as he, was beheaded in Tripoli."[100] Ibn Makkī's detractors, al-Suyūrī's account then continues, proved

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[99]Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyá, *Ta'rīkh Bayrūt*, 195.

[100]Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Anbā' al-'Umr* (Damascus, 1979), 1:228.

his guilt ″before the *qāḍī* of Beirut (it is also said the *qāḍī* of Sidon), and went with the procès-verbaux to the [Shāfiʻī] judge in Damascus.″

What was Ibn Makkī′s relationship with the authorities in the provincial capital? The Shāfiʻī judge had Ibn Makkī imprisoned in the citadel of Damascus for one year in order for him to repent. Sometime in the course of that year, he purportedly wrote a versified letter to the aforesaid governor of Damascus, Sayf al-Dīn Baydamur al-Khwārazmī (d. 1387), disclaiming all the charges made against him. The only source for this letter is the Shiʻi biographer al-Khwānsārī, who reports having seen it in a copy made unquestionably by Zayn al-Dīn ibn ʻAlī, the later medieval authority on Ibn Makkī.[101] In it, Ibn Makkī protests his love for ″the Prophet and all who loved him, all the Companions without exception,″ and goes on to name not only Abū Bakr and ʻUmar but also Abū ʻUbaydah, Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, and ʻUthmān, the irreconcilable enemies of the early Shiʻah.

The important part of the letter, however, is where he refers to false accusations made against him in the past. He implores Baydamur to ″be like Manjak″ (Sayf al-Dīn Manjak al-Yūsufī; d. 1375), the great Mamluk amir who served as governor of Damascus twice, in rotation with Baydamur and others, from May 1357 to November 1357 and December 1367 to April 1374.[102]

> Reporters of evil came to him, indeed they lied
> Whereupon he smote them for what they implied.
> The amir, the chamberlain,[103] knows this quite well,
> So ask him about it, that he may tell.
> By God, I received no punishment, nay
> And suffered not as then suffer did they.

Furthermore, Ibn Makkī reminds the governor, he had just gone on pilgrimage to Mecca in the retinue of his own son, Muḥammad Shāh ibn Baydamur. According to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, Muḥammad Shāh (d. 1391) did in fact perform the *ḥajj* in 1382.[104] Baydamur must have remained unmoved by Ibn Makkī′s purported connections with members of the Mamluk military aristocracy, but there is no firm indication that he actively pursued the case against him either.

The picture that emerges of Ibn Makkī′s trial is very much one of collusion among the *sharīʻah*-jurists. Al-Suyūrī claims that the Shāfiʻī judge ordered the

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[101]al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, 7:19-20; see also al-Amīn, *Aʻyān al-Shīʻah*, 10:61.

[102]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʼrīkh*, 2:473-75; 3:226-27; Laoust, *Gouverneurs de Damas*, 12-15. The months given are the most likely approximations.

[103]″Amīr Ḥājib Najl al-ʻAskarī″; the amir Ḥasan ibn al-ʻImād (d. Nov./Dec. 1384), known popularly as Ibn al-ʻAskarī, was a chamberlain (*ḥājib*) in Damascus; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʼrīkh*, 3:142.

[104]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʼrīkh*, 3:88, 409-10.

Mālikī, ″Judge him according to your *madhhab* or I will fire you!″ This may be an exaggeration for the sake of literary effect, but the co-optation of the Mālikī judge is indeed substantiated by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s account. Let us consider it in its entirety before returning to the Shi‘i point of view. On 10 Jumādá I 786 (30 June 1384),

> a sitting was held concerning Shams Muḥammad ibn Makkī, an Iraqi in origin [sic] and resident in the town of Jizzīn, after he had spent some time in prison. His guilt was established by a procès-verbal [*maḥḍar*] from the *qāḍī* of Beirut, which indicated that he was a *rāfiḍī* and had called ‘Ā’ishah, her father (Abū Bakr), and ‘Umar terrible things, tantamount to apostasy according to a number of Shāfi‘īs, Ḥanafīs and others. . . . So the *qāḍī*s and *‘ulamā’* assembled in the Dār al-Sa‘ādah [court of Damascus]. He was called before the Mālikī *qāḍī*, and he denied that he had said anything of the sort. The Mālikī hesitated for a long moment, and so it came that they cajoled Ibn Makkī into confessing, thinking that this would help him, and he spoke the Islamic profession of faith. At that point, the Mālikī was asked to rule him an infidel and order his blood to be shed. He responded, ″For that, you all must rule by formal legal opinion, on the basis of what you have just heard, that he is a *zindīq*.″ The Mālikīs and some of the Shāfi‘īs [present] ruled thus. When Ibn Makkī realized the gravity of the situation he retracted [*raja‘a*] and said something to which no one listened or paid attention.
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> Then the Mālikī *qāḍī*, after beseeching God for guidance, ruled him to be an infidel and ordered his blood to be shed, even if he repented. He made his decision contingent on two things: one, that no one before him had judged Ibn Makkī to be a good Muslim; and two, that the other judges uphold his judgement and that the Ḥanbalī agree as well. The Ḥanbalī also ruled him to be a *zindīq* and ordered his blood to be shed, and the two [other] *qāḍī*s upheld the judgement. He was taken out below the citadel and beheaded, after he had prayed, made the profession of faith and stated his approval of the two Shaykhs and the Companions. Ibn Ḥijjī reported, ″He showed neither anxiety nor fear, God help us. . . . He was known for his *rafḍ*, but he was learned in jurisprudence [*uṣūl*], Quran-recital and more.″[105]

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[105]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:134-35. Aḥmad ibn Ḥijjī (d. 1413) was a historian whose unfinished

A few observations can be made before we turn to al-Suyūrī's account. The trial was presided over by the three *qāḍī*s of the Mālikī, Shāfi'ī and Ḥanafī schools. A Ḥanbalī was also present, but apparently not in the rank of full *qāḍī*. This may reflect the fact that the Ḥanbalī school as a whole was negatively seen and somewhat ostracised in Mamluk Damascus.[106] The Mālikī was called upon to impose the death sentence, as his was the only *madhhab* that does not admit the penitence of a proven heretic. He, however, sought to protect himself by requiring that all the other jurists present also commit themselves, by formal legal opinion, to pronouncing Ibn Makkī to be a *zindīq*: *hattá taftaw bi-zandaqatihi*. This would provide the legal basis, under Mālikī law, for executing the accused. The Mālikīs, the Ḥanbalī representative and some of the Shāfi'īs obliged, which suggests that the Ḥanafīs and some other Shāfi'īs were against the sentence. No one, on the other hand, was prepared to certify Ibn Makkī as a good Muslim, another condition which the Mālikī *qāḍī* had set. The trial appears as much an arena of professional tensions and rivalries among the jurists as the object of a common cause against heresy.

Al-Suyūrī's account essentially corroborates Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's. Ibn Makkī, he writes, was killed on the basis of a *fatwá* from the Mālikī and Shāfi'ī *qāḍī*s, Burhān al-Dīn[107] and 'Abbād ibn Jamā'ah,[108] "and a large group of people ganged up on him in this matter." Ibn Makkī vigourously denied espousing the doctrines laid out in the procès-verbal from Beirut, a move al-Suyūrī interprets as "resorting to the required *taqīyah*." But what was this heresy that Ibn Makkī should have dissimulated? Al-Suyūrī never actually discloses the exact contents of the procès-verbal, and assumes like many later writers that Ibn Makkī was prosecuted simply for being a Shi'i.

In fact, the Sunni sources are quite clear on the point that he was tried for *rafḍ*, however equivocal its definition. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī reports the charges as "dissoluteness, adherence to Nuṣayrī doctrine, declaring wine to be absolutely lawful, and other such abominations"[109] while Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah cites his alleged cursing of 'Ā'ishah, Abū Bakr, and 'Umar. Indeed, Ibn Makkī defended himself against nothing more in his poem to the governor Baydamur. To state that denying these charges constituted *taqīyah* would imply, of course, that they were true. It is

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manuscript Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah incorporated into his own *Ta'rīkh*.

[106]Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice*, 169.

[107]Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Tādhilī (d. 1402). Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ta'rīkh*, 4:195-96; Shams al-Dīn ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 1546), *Quḍāt Dimashq* (Damascus, 1956), 250.

[108]Actually Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd-al-Raḥīm ibn Jamā'ah (d. 1394). Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ta'rīkh*, 3:248-51.

[109]Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 228.

unlikely that they were, given Ibn Makkī's stature as a Muslim intellectual, moreover one who had made a career of studying Sunni law. [110] More importantly, it cannot be any Shi'i writer's intention to state that they were true. The characterization of Ibn Makkī's defence as *taqīyah* is a misinterpretation by al-Suyūrī, if not a later transmitter, who was unfamiliar with the accusations listed by the Sunnis and wrongly thought Shi'ism and rafidism to be perfectly synonymous in their vocabulary of persecution.

Nevertheless, al-Suyūrī's account is valuable in that it shows more clearly how the law was manipulated in order to produce a conviction. The denial was not accepted, with the judges claiming, "This has been legally established; a *qāḍī*'s decision cannot be repealed." At this point Ibn Makkī made use of his legal training. The defendant, he argued, has the right to be heard; if the evidence he adduces contradicts the judgement, it must be quashed. "And I confute the testimonies of those who testified to the offences. I have proofs against each one of them." What evidence could Ibn Makkī have tendered? He presumably sought a character reference from Ibn al-Jazarī, the Quran-reciter, who did receive a court summons but was away in Cairo at the time. As mentioned, his colleague Ibn al-Labbān (d. 1374) had been prompted to state that Ibn Makkī never said "anything at variance with Sunnism," most likely when the accusations first surfaced during Manjak's governorship. It was this failed attempt to mount a defence which, in the terse summary of the Sunni cleric Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, "no one listened or paid attention to."

Only then did Ibn Makkī, "realiz[ing] the gravity of the situation," change strategy and place his hopes in the clemency afforded to penitent heretics under Shāfi'ī law. He reminded the Shāfi'ī judge, as cited above, that he is of his *madhhab* and wants to be tried as such.

> The judge responded, "In my *madhhab*, you have to be imprisoned for a whole year, then asked to repent. Well, you have been imprisoned. Now ask God for forgiveness, so that I may rule that you are a good Muslim."
> "I have not done anything for which I should ask forgiveness," he said, fearing that if he did repent, it would confirm his having sinned.

Here the versions of the account begin to diverge slightly. Majlisī claims that the Shāfi'ī judge "seized on his mistake" (*istaghlaṭahu*) and said "You repented;

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[110]On Ibn Makkī's condemnation of wine-drinking, see *al-Lum'ah*, 169; Zayn al-Dīn ibn 'Alī, *Rawḍāt al-Bahīyah*, 9:197-212.

that proves you sinned.″ But this sequence is inconsistent with Ibn Makkī′s denial, and can be explained as the result of a copyist′s error. For the more thorough Baḥrānī reports that the judge

> found him to be obstinate (*istaghlaẓahu*) and was confirmed in this. Ibn Makkī refused to repent. An hour passed. Then he said, ″You repented; that proves you are guilty.″

What happened during this hour? Muḥsin al-Amīn hypothesizes that the Shāfiʻī judge encouraged him to confess in secret so that he could absolve him, but then betrayed him and disclosed his penitence — and therefore his guilt — to the entire assembly.[111] There is no evidence for this but the end result stands: the fact of his heresy was established, albeit dubiously, in Shāfiʻī law (which does not stipulate execution), so that his sentence could be pronounced under Mālikī law (in which confession is ordinarily inadmissible).

Ibn Makkī was thus handed over to the Mālikī *qāḍī* for sentencing. Al-Ḥurr al-ʻĀmilī writes summarily that Mālikī radicalism prevailed over Shāfiʻī leniency owing to the numerous fanatics in the assembly. In fact, Baḥrānī′s and Majlisī′s version suggests that the Shāfiʻī judge, not the Mālikī, was the driving force behind Ibn Makkī′s conviction.

> He told the Mālikī, ″He has repented, so the decision is no longer mine. . . .″ ″Judgement reverts to the Mālikī!″ The Mālikī got up, performed the ablutions and prayed twice (*rakʻatayn*). Then he said, ″I have sentenced you to die.″

Ibn Makkī, the Shiʻi sources agree, was taken to the open square beneath the Damascus citadel and beheaded, his body crucified and later burned.

Conclusion

A short tale from the Shiʻi *ṭabaqāt* proffers an explanation of the Shāfiʻī *qāḍī*′s hatred toward Ibn Makkī. According to Nūr Allāh Shushtarī (d. 1610-11), the two used to participate in the same study circle in their youth. Ibn Jamāʻah ″broke out in a sweat of jealousy and hatred″ when it became clear that Ibn Makkī ″had surpassed his peers and excelled them in merit and perfection,″ a rage which intensified as scholars of the ″five *madhhabs*″ began to seek out his Shiʻi rival to ″learn and benefit from.″ Ibn Jamāʻah arranged for Ibn Makkī to be executed by

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[111]al-Amīn, *Aʻyān al-Shīʻah*, 10:61.

the governor for *rafḍ*, but was overcome with emotion at the trial as he recalled their erstwhile companionship. Playing on his name, Ibn Makkī denounced him as a ″bastard″ before the entire assembly.[112] In Khwānsārī′s version, the two were one day arguing some scholarly matter when the corpulent and unimaginative Ibn Jamāʻah mocked Ibn Makkī for his slight physique.

> ″I hear a sound from behind that inkwell; what could that be?″ Ibn Makkī responded without missing a beat, ″Yes, a son of only one father (*ibn al-wāḥid*, as opposed to Ibn Jamāʻah, meaning literally ′son of a group′) is no bigger than that!″ Ibn Jamāʻah got extremely angry at this and was so filled with spite and fury that he did to Ibn Makkī what he did.[113]

This sort of dramatization is a *topos* of Shiʻi hagiography.[114] Yet it serves the authors to articulate an important truth about such trials as Ibn Makkī′s: that justice was more a function of personal loyalties and jealousies than of an unyielding codex. Indeed, the trials that we have reviewed undermine the notion of any formal institution charged with inquiring into crimes of heresy. Most glaringly absent are the Mālikī *qāḍī*s who, despite (or because of?) the perceived immutability of their *madhhab*′s stance on heresy, repeatedly shirked the role of grand inquisitor attributed to them by Ashtor. In Ibn Makkī′s case at least, the true advocate of persecution for whatever reasons was the Shāfiʻī judge, the senior religious authority in Damascus at the time, despite the fact that his legal rite was the one most proximate to Shiʻism.

Furthermore, in all the above cases the heretics first had to be called to the attention of the religious authorities. The unspecified crowd was involved from beginning to end, denouncing neighbours for having insulted the venerable Companions, bringing victims into Damascus from Karak, Beirut, and Baʻlabakk, and finally desecrating the bodies after the executions. Al-Suyūrī mentions explicitly that the most barbarous participant in the killing of Ibn Makkī was a merchant and not the religious leaders. When left to their own discretion, *qāḍī*s could ignore or try to reform an individual′s religious idiosycrasies; when presented with a popular petition, they did better to score points by indulging the crowd in its fanaticism. This is a far cry from the inquisitions of Europe, where the bishops were committed

[112]Shushtarī, *Majālis al-Mu'minīn*, 249.

[113]al-Khwānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-Jannāt*, 7:14.

[114]For another usage of the inkwell topos in a dispute between a Sunni and a Shiʻi scholar, see Josef van Ess, ″Anekdoten um ′Adudduddin al-Igi″ in *Die Islamische Welt Zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Ulrich Haarmann and Peter Bachman (Beirut, 1979), 126-31.

by the papacy, beginning in the twelfth century, to search out heretics and uproot their secret networks.[115]

The *'ulamā'* of the Levant rarely made it their business to inquire into other people's religious thoughts. The leading Sunni dignitaries were ready to believe that Ibn Makkī cursed the Companions and had declared wine to be lawful, yet none showed the slightest interest in any of the treatises on Shi'i law he had written. Modern Shi'i historians have tried to explain Ibn Makkī's execution by his political ties to the rising Shi'i state in Khorasan. However, the Mamluk authorities of Damascus declined to portray Ibn Makkī as the archtypical Shi'i collaborator. The Mamluk governor was singularly uninterested in anti-Shi'i campaigns even within his own province; it is not fortuitous that Ibn Makkī turned to him in an appeal to save his life.

This essay has attempted to place Ibn Makkī at the juncture of two autonomous historiographical traditions: one that remembers him as al-Shahīd al-Awwal, the other as a *rāfiḍī.* In the history of Shi'ism, Ibn Makkī's work remains a keystone in the development of Ja'farī law. The commentary of his *al-Lum'ah al-Dimashqīyah* is taught today in religious colleges from Sayyidah Zaynab in Syria to Mashhad in Iran; the growing importance of Shi'i jurisprudence has seen the recent edition of more of his works.[116] Moreover, as the "First Martyr" of medieval Shi'ism, Ibn Makkī has become an essential part of a confessional identity predicated on a seemingly timeless antagonism with the Sunni majority in Islam. Yet the formal Shi'i *rijāl* dictionaries, which articulate this identity, begin to appear only after the foundation of the Safavid empire.

In the context of Mamluk history, the story of Ibn Makkī's life and death serves to illustrate the ambivalent position of the Shi'is in medieval Syrian society. On the one hand, Shi'ism evoked—unlike Ibn Taymīyah's anthropomorphism or the Ḥurūfī sect of the later fourteenth century—a religio-political ideology essentially opposed to the Sunni orthodoxy espoused by the Mamluk Sultanate. Cairo did set the tone in creating an atmosphere hostile to Shi'ism throughout the empire. The fact that the first trials in Damascus, the rescript against the Shi'is of Tripoli, and acts of violence against the Zaydī Sharifs of Mecca all coincided between approximately 1354 and 1363 cannot be dismissed.

However, one should not historicize the persecution of Shi'is too much. Earlier writers explained religious oppression as a function of the Mamluk regime's political and cultural consolidation; recent writers have tended to emphasize the strains placed on society, particularly after the "golden age" of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad

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[115]Moore, *Persecuting Society*, 26.

[116]Ibn Makkī, *Kitāb al-Mazār* (Qom, 1990); ibid., *al-Durūs al-Shar'īyah fī Fiqh al-Imāmīyah*, 3 vols. (Qom, 1992).

(r. 1310-41), by foreign invasion, rapid economic growth and the Black Death.[117] Yet if there were any immutable constants throughout Mamluk history, political upheaval was surely one of them. Even a historiographically dramatic event such as the replacement of the Qipchak with the Circassian regime, still in progress when Ibn Makkī was executed in 1384, could have surprisingly little local effect. In Damascus, it did not even occasion the replacement of the governor Baydamur. Moreover, for the nearly three centuries of their reign, the Mamluks faced neither foreign enemies nor domestic rebellions that were militantly Shiʻi. Unlike so many other Islamic dynasties, the Mamluk Sultanate never resorted to an ideology of Sunni vs. Shiʻi conflict in order to express its own religious and political legitimacy.

The unassuming presence of Shiʻism in all regions of Syrian Mamluk society is perhaps another constant of the period. Shiʻism, whether as a personal expression of religious devotion to the Prophet's Family, or as the creed of large communities in northern and western Syria that were remnants of the "Shiʻi centuries" (tenth-eleventh centuries), was not considered as something alien, the historiography of the piety-minded *ʻulamāʼ* notwithstanding. Only in the sixteenth century did Sunnism and Shiʻism become, both in political and personal terms, definitively incompatible; and the *ashrāf* had to choose either loyalty to the state as Sunnis or ostracism as Shiʻis.

Where did Mamluk society fix the boundary between *tashayyuʻ* and *rafḍ*, between heterodoxy and intolerable heresy? Chamberlain has argued convincingly for regarding *ṭabaqāt* as the Mamluk-era equivalent of archives; rosters of prestige and authority that constituted the "useful past" for the learned elite of medieval Syria and Egypt. By "decoding" them further, we may also gain new insights into Syrian society's ambivalent position toward Shiʻism in its midst: not just why some individuals and communities were persecuted as *rāfiḍī*s while others were not, but also what it meant when some *ashrāf* developed a bizarre interest in muʻtazilism[118] and why ordinary scholars sometimes included Shiʻi studies in their curriculum.[119] Nowhere is the ambivalence toward Shiʻism better illustrated than in Ibn Kathīr's strangely disgusted, strangely reverent necrological notice for the great Iraqi Shiʻi scholar al-ʻAllāmah al-Ḥillī.[120] The on-going editing of such local histories as Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's *Taʼrīkh* and al-Yūnīnī's *Dhayl Mirʼāt al-Zamān*

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[117]See, e.g., Jonathan Berkey, "The Mamluks as Muslims: The Military Elite and the Construction of Islam in Medieval Egypt," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 163-73.

[118]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Taʼrīkh*, 1:494.

[119]Cited in Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice*, 86.

[120]Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah*, 14:129-30.

will provide further correctives to the picture of an undifferentiated anti-Shiʿism in medieval Damascus. In the Mamluk centuries, *tashayyuʿ* still represented a moral and historical alter-ego to dominant Sunni society, not an ideological threat. Muḥammad ibn Makkī is integral to both Syrian Mamluk and Shiʿi history.

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Mamluk Monetary History: A Review Essay

> Surviving specimens of Islamic coinage were once treated merely as a small part of medieval economic or monetary history. Today they constitute an extremely important body of tangible, unintentional relics or traces, or source materials. Once these Islamic numismatic relics become heuristically re-monetized they acquire the status of key sources of information about the economic problems of Near Eastern society in the Middle Ages.[1]

Mamluk money is important. Knowledge of what it was and awareness of how it circulated are crucial to the broader economic history of the sultanate, the medieval Mediterranean world, and the contemporary Indian Ocean basin. And as is well-known, the surviving Mamluk coins—the tangible remains of the Mamluk monetary system—are also important sources for other avenues of historical inquiry. These coins reveal information about epigraphy, heraldry, dynastic claims of legitimation, and political chronology, to list but a few.[2] These other uses of Mamluk coins are not addressed in this essay, however, as I concentrate on the field of monetary history proper: that is to say, the study of the surviving coins and other sources that reveal how money circulated and was valued in the Mamluk domains. This decision needs little defense, since interesting coin legends aside, the primary purposes of coins *qua* money are economic: as a store of value and as a medium of exchange. In what follows, I survey the state of the field of Mamluk monetary history, beginning with a discussion of the surviving numismatic evidence and the issues affecting its use, moving on to comments about the relevant literary and documentary sources concerning Mamluk money, and concluding with an overview of modern scholarship. Throughout the essay, I identify issues facing the field and suggest avenues of continuing inquiry.

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[1]Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz, "Numismatics Re-Monetized," in *Michigan Oriental Studies in honor of George G. Cameron*, ed. Louis L. Orlin (Ann Arbor, 1976), 209.

[2]The latter has most recently been demonstrated by Stefan Heidemann in his *Das Aleppiner Kalifat (AD 1261): Vom Ende des Kalifates in Bagdad über zu den Restaurationen in Kairo* (Leiden, 1994).

MAMLUK MONEY: THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE

MAMLUK COINS

The most visible and important source for Mamluk monetary history is the coinage itself. Mamluk coins survive in the thousands. They span the entire 267 years of the regime. The vast majority of these coins were struck in one of six major mints.[3] The Egyptian mint cities were Cairo and Alexandria. Mints in the Syrian provinces were located in Damascus, Hamah, Aleppo, and Tripoli. (A few coins survive from Malatyah and Ladhiqiyah, but these seem to have been occasional issues only.[4]) These Mamluk mints produced coins in gold, silver, and copper, although not every mint produced coins of each metal. Nor is a specimen necessarily known from each year for every mint. Yet as is developed below, the presence of gaps in current collections of Mamluk coins is seldom sufficient evidence upon which to base conclusions about the Mamluk monetary system.[5] Nor should the presence or absence of coins of a particular metal be used to argue about the existence of ″metallic standards″ in Mamluk money. The Mamluk monetary system was trimetallic in the sense that coins of gold, silver and copper circulated together, but their values in relation to one another were interdependent and in frequent flux.[6]

Before embarking on a brief survey of this coinage, two issues must be mentioned. First, it should be noted that coins of foreign origin often circulated within Mamluk domains. Thus it is not uncommon to encounter in the archeological evidence or read in the written sources about Armenian silver trams (some with Mamluk overstrikes), gold and silver coins from the Italian city-states, or coins

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[3]No Mamluk-era mint manual has been found. Our knowledge of Mamluk mint practices is therefore derived from the Ayyubid period. For a summary of what is known, see Helen W. Brown, ″The Medieval Mint of Cairo: Some Aspects of Mint Organisation and Administration,″ in *Later Medieval Mints: Organization, Administration, and Technique*, ed. N.J. Mayhew and P. Spufford, B.A.R International Series 389 (1988), 30-39.

[4] These specimens are preserved in the collection of the Forschungstelle für islamische Numismatik, Tübingen. It is possible, of course, that other occasional mints will surface. For example, one specimen of a *dirham* minted in al-Marqab in the reign of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn was recently discovered, and will be published soon by Elisabeth Puin. The phenomenon of coins minted by subject states yet bearing the names of Mamluk rulers is not addressed in this article. See M.R. Broome, ″An Enigmatic ′Mamluk′ Sequin,″ *Spink′s Numismatic Circular* (July-August, 1979): 355.

[5]This is especially so since new coin types appear not infrequently. In a telephone conversation with Stephen Album, specialist in Islamic coins, in September 1997, for example, he revealed to me the existence of the first known Cairene *dirham* for the Sultan al-Ashraf Ṭūmānbāy (922/1516-17). The coin was found in a miscellaneous lot of 20-30 coins he had recently acquired, and is now in the Tübingen collection.

[6]In this approach to Mamluk money I follow the lead of Hennequin, as discussed below.

from the neighboring Muslim dynasties.[7] The existence of such a wide variety of coins in circulation with Mamluk-produced coinage no doubt ensured that Mamluk-era money-changers (*ṣayrafī*, pl. *ṣayārifah*) were kept busy determining the relative values of all these different coins.

The second issue is that of terminology. In the medieval Islamic world the basic vocabulary of money was remarkably similar from place to place and over the passage of time. While local usage of names for specific coins could vary tremendously, the following terms remained essentially constant: a gold coin was usually called a *dīnār* (pl. *danānīr*); a silver coin a *dirham* (pl. *darāhim*); and a base metal coin referred to as a *fals* (pl. *fulūs*). What must be stressed here, however, is that the many coins to which these terms were applied varied tremendously. The failure to address this fact has been the source of many modern misinterpretations of Islamic coinage.[8] In the case of Mamluk coinage, *dīnār*, *dirham*, and *fals* are the usual terms encountered for gold, silver and copper coins, but there are significant differences of appearance, weight, and purity found among the coins bearing these labels. (The variations in purity are especially important. This is an area in which further research is always welcome.[9]) Adding to the possibility of confusion (for the modern observer at least) is the fact that other terms for these coins are frequently found in the sources. Thus *dirham*s were occasionally labeled *nuqrah* or *wariq*, terms whose meanings are not constant, and which have been the subject of modern disagreement.[10] Furthermore, it is

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[7]On the Armenian trams in Mamluk contexts, see Paul Bedoukian, ″Some Armenian Coins Overstruck in Arabic,″ in *Armeniaca: Melanges d′Etudes Armeniennes* (Venice, 1969), 138-47. On the presence of Italian coins, see Jere Bacharach, ″The Dinar Versus the Ducat,″ *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 4 (1973): 77-96; idem, ″Foreign Coins, Forgers, and Forgeries in Fifteenth Century Egypt,″ in *Acte du 8[eme] Congrés International de Numismatique* (Paris, 1976), 500-511.

[8]See Ehrenkreutz′s succinct discussion of this in his ″Monetary Aspects of Medieval Near Eastern Economic History,″ in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, ed. M.A. Cook (London, 1970), 40-41. A similar caveat applies to metrology. Amounts such as the *mithqāl* and *dirham* [as weight unit] were not always and everywhere 4.25 and 2.97 grams as is often assumed.

[9]The following studies have provided a baseline for future research: Jere L. Bacharach and Adon A. Gordus, ″Studies on the Fineness of Silver Coins,″ *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 11 (1968): 298-317; Bacharach, ″Monetary Movements in Medieval Egypt, 1171-1517,″ in *Precious Metals in the Later Medieval and Early Modern Worlds*, ed. J.F. Richards (Durham, NC, 1983), 159-81, esp. table 1.

[10]Compare the discussions of these terms in William Popper, *Egypt and Syria Under the Circassian Sultans 1382-1468 AD: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghri Birdi′s Chronicle of Egypt*, vol. 16 of The University of California Publications in Semitic Philology (1957), 41-79; Christopher Toll, ″Minting Techniques According to Arabic Literary Sources,″ *Orientalia Suecana* 19-20 (1970-71): 125-39; and Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz, ″Extracts from the Technical Manual on the Ayyubid Mint in Cairo,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15 (1953): 423-47.

common to encounter the generic terms for gold (*dhahab*) and silver (*fiḍḍah*) in contexts where coined money is clearly meant. Finally, it was quite usual in the Mamluk era for coins to be referred to by an adjective based on the issuing ruler's *laqab*; thus a *dīnār* bearing the name of al-Ashraf Barsbāy (825-41/1422-37) was called an *Ashrafī*, to cite perhaps the best known example of this phenomenon. This practice has been adopted by modern numismatists, albeit with occasional imprecision.[11] Since gold and silver coins were seldom withdrawn from circulation in the Mamluk sultanate, it is not unusual to encounter mentions of several such *laqab*-labeled coins in the chronicles. This multiplicity of terms and the ambiguity they engender are two of the major difficulties encountered in the field of Mamluk monetary history.

Coins properly described as Mamluk were first struck in the reign of al-Ẓāhir Baybars (658-76/1260-77). Prior to his reign, the coinage minted in Egypt and Syria was essentially a continuation of Ayyubid monetary practice, with only the names on the coins changed.[12] Only the briefest overview of developments in Mamluk coinage is appropriate here. I will discuss first developments in Mamluk *dīnār*s and *dirham*s, and end with a discussion of the *fulūs*. The characteristics of Mamluk *dīnār*s suggest a threefold periodization. The first period, lasting from Baybars's reign through the second reign of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (792-801/1390-99), is characterized by gold coins of high purity, but of such highly irregular weights that they clearly were weighed in any transaction.[13] In the third period, stretching from the reign of Barsbay until the end of the sultanate, the *dīnār*s are remarkably consistent in terms of appearance, size and weight, as they all resemble the *Ashrafī dīnār* mentioned above. Their purity began to drop in the final decades, however. Between these two periods is one of transition, spanning the first three decades of the ninth/fifteenth century, during which several short-lived gold issues of varying size, design and weight were minted.[14] These same parameters of periodization and appearance hold true when the silver coinage is examined.[15]

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[11]The *Ashrafī dīnār* established a design and size imitated by all subsequent Mamluk *dīnār*s. Thus it is common for numismatists to refer to these later coins as *Ashrafī*s, even though a *dīnār* of al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq (842-957/1438-55), for example, is technically a *Ẓāhirī*, etc.

[12]For an introduction to Ayyubid coins, see Paul Balog, *The Coinage of the Ayyubids* (London, 1980).

[13]Warren C. Schultz, "Mamluk Money from Baybars to Barquq: A Study Based on the Literary and Numismatic Evidence," Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1995; see especially chapter 3, "The Precious Metals: Mamluk Gold and Silver Coinage."

[14]See Bacharach, "The Dinar vs. the Ducat."

[15]For an analysis of *dirham*s in the first period, see Schultz, "Mamluk Money," pp. 103-64; for periods two and three, see Bacharach, "Circassian Monetary Policy: Silver," *Numismatic Chronicle* 7th ser., 11 (1971): 267-81.

Mamluk *dirham*s from the third period are easily distinguishable from those of the first, and are also higher in silver content, at least initially. Both the gold and silver coins of the third period, however, await detailed metrological investigation, which is dependent on the weight and purity of more specimens being made available. Furthermore, these general observations about the precious metal coins hold true for both the Egyptian and Syrian mint issues.[16]

In the case of the copper coins, developments are not nearly as well known as with gold and silver, and much work remains to be done. Mamluk *fulūs* are generally assumed to have been of local currency only. That this is largely so is illustrated when the issues of respective mints are compared. Despite the existence of large gaps in the numismatic record, it is clear that the copper coins of Syria are quite different in appearance and method of issue than those of Egypt. Significant runs of copper are known for Cairo only for the last half of the eighth/ fourteenth century and for the reigns of al-Ashraf Qāytbāy (872-901/1468-96) and al-Ashraf Qānsūh al-Ghawrī (906-22/1501-16). From Baybars up through the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (709-41/1309-40), the surviving record is spotty, to say the least.[17] In Alexandria, copper was apparently only struck in the last three decades of the eighth/fourteenth century.[18] Thanks to the work of Lutz Ilisch, curator at the Forschungstelle für islamische Numismatik, Tübingen, the runs of the four major Syrian mints for much of the first 150 years of the sultanate have been established and clarified.[19] Significant gaps exist, however, between the known issues of the

[16]Cf. Irwin, ″The Supply of Money and the Direction of Trade in Thirteenth Century Syria,″ in *Coinage of the Latin East: The Fourth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, ed. P.W. Edbury and D. M. Metcalf (Oxford, 1980), 73-104, who argues that through the Ayyubid period, Egypt and Syria constituted different money markets. During the Mamluk period, however, it is clear that gold and silver coins were minted and circulated in the same fashion. While periodic differences in value no doubt occurred, it is highly unlikely that widespread and purposeful arbitrage took place to take advantage of such fluctuations. It is safe to assume that the costs and risks of transporting precious metal would be greater than any profit made in arbitrage.

[17]There are many unanswered problems with these early Mamluk *fulūs*. For example, copper coins of Baybars are known, but most lack a mint name. On the basis of style, Lutz Ilisch has attributed most of these coins to Damascus, but the retrieval of some of these coins from the digs at al-Fuṣṭāṭ at least raises the possibility of Egyptian origin. There is a *fals* of Baybars of Fuṣṭāṭ provenance preserved in the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago, accession number 25444.

[18]This assertion is supported not only by the numismatic evidence, but by the chronicles as well. For developments in fourteenth century Egyptian copper coinage, see Schultz, ″Mahmud b. ‘Ali and the ′New Fulus′: Late Fourteenth Century Egyptian Copper Coinage Reconsidered,″ forthcoming in *The American Journal of Numismatics.*

[19]Unfortunately, his important article on the subject, ″The emission system of copper coins in 8th century H. Mamluk Syria,″ delivered at the Balog memorial symposium, remains unpublished.

ninth/fifteenth century for those mints. The developments in Mamluk copper coinage for the ninth/fifteenth century have attracted significant attention from modern scholars.[20] The copper of this period is intimately linked with the money of account known as *dirham min al-fulūs* found with increasing frequency in the Mamluk chronicles. This term, the subject of much modern disagreement, is best understood as the amount of copper coins necessary to equal the value of a *dirham*′s worth of silver.[21]

BALOG′S *THE COINAGE OF THE MAMLUK SULTANS OF EGYPT AND SYRIA*

When compared to other fields of medieval Islamic numismatics, the coinage of the Mamluk sultans is well studied. At the center of this scholarship is Balog′s corpus, *The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria* (henceforth *CMSES*).[22] This work, the product of his many years of collection and research, identifies and orders over 900 types of Mamluk coins. (In numismatic terminology, ″type″ signifies a group of coins distinguished and united by their design.[23]) The value and impact of this work cannot be overestimated. In it, Balog made a hitherto confused and often inaccessible body of information available to a wider audience. Since the *CMSES* has become the necessary starting point for research into Mamluk monetary history, it is worth discussing in detail.

In ordering the Mamluk coinage, Balog followed the approach that was the norm for most numismatic publications until relatively recently. He divided the coins first according to sultanic reign. Within each regnal period, the coins are then divided into three groups based on metallic content, and then further according to stylistic features. Thus coins featuring ″heraldic″ devices, for example, were grouped separately from those with designs that were purely epigraphic.[24] Only within these sub-groupings was a chronological ordering followed. The resulting

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[20]Bacharach, ″Circassian Monetary Policy: Copper,″ *JESHO* 19 (1976): 32-47; and Shoshan, ″From Silver to Copper: Monetary Change in Fifteenth Century Egypt,″ *Studia Islamica* 56 (1982): 97-116.

[21]Boaz Shoshan′s assertion (in ″From Silver to Copper,″ 113) that this term originally referred to a copper coin of ″about 3 grams″ is not supported by either the passage he cites from Popper′s *Egypt and Syria*, 41, nor by the numismatic evidence.

[22]Paul Balog, *The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria* (New York, 1964).

[23]For an introduction to numismatic terminology and techniques, see Philip Grierson, *Numismatics* (London, 1975); John Casey, *Understanding Ancient Coins: An Introduction for Archaeologists and Historians* (London, 1986).

[24]For contrasting answers to the question of whether the symbols found on Mamluk coins are heraldic, see J.W. Allan, ″Mamluk Sultanic Heraldry and the Numismatic Evidence: A Reinterpretation,″ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1970): 99-112; and Balog, ″New Considerations on Mamluk Heraldry,″ *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 22 (1977): 183-212.

coin types were then provided a number. The *CMSES* listed 910 coin types, plus 24 additional types in the first supplement which are given letters and not numbers, and finally 11 more types in a second supplement, labeled SS.1-SS.11. Within this typology, Balog listed the specimens known to him for each type. This information was taken from his own and other private collections, public collections, and the catalogues of collections he did not have the opportunity to visit.

There are, however, two serious drawbacks to Balog′s typology. First of all, this system leaves no room for the inevitable discovery of new coin types. Later scholars are thus forced to come up with labels such as 142A to describe a new coin that is similar to 142, yet not 143.[25] The lack of any oversight in assigning these hybrid numbers, combined with the often solitary nature of numismatic inquiry, frequently results in labels such as 142A being applied to different coins. In some cases, where coins of previously known design but unattested dates show up, the labels can become increasingly cumbersome and difficult to use.

Secondly, to borrow the words of Michael L. Bates, curator of Islamic Coins at the American Numismatic Society, this system is in fact ″classification, not attribution. A scheme like this provides a pigeon-hole for every coin, but in no way does it represent the historical or geographical evolution of the coinage.″[26] The historical and geographical evolution of the coinage is illustrated far better when coins are arranged in what is termed a mint series. In this attribution schema, the coins of all metals produced by one mint are laid out in chronological order. When coins are organized in such a manner, developments that are obscured by the jumble of types found in the *CMSES* are more easily seen. Trends such as debasement, stylistic diffusion, etc.—details that can help determine where undated coins fall in the chronology—become immediately more apparent. When combined with the mint series of preceding and following dynasties even longer term monetary trends may be observed. The value of the mint series format can be seen in the sylloges of Islamic coins published and in preparation by the Forschungstelle für islamische Numismatik in Tübingen.[27] A useful analogy is that of using libraries organized by either the Dewey Decimal or Library of Congress systems. If you know what you are looking for, you can eventually find what you want in the Dewey library, but browsing the shelves is easier in the LOC library and often leads to unexpected discoveries and links.

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[25]This is what Balog himself had to do in his ″*The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria*, Additions and Corrections,″ *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 16 (1970): 113-72.

[26]Bates was referring in this case to the British Museum catalogues of Arab-Byzantine and Arab-Sassanian coinages, but the observation is also valid for the *CMSES*. See Michael L. Bates, ″The Earliest Arab Coinage of the Maghrib,″ a paper delivered at the 1993 MESA conference.

[27]The series title is *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum.* To date, volumes have appeared for Palestine (4a) and Eastern Khorasan (14b), with the volume for Hamah expected soon.

Thus a major desiderata for the field of Mamluk monetary history is the creation of a new organizing framework for the numismatic evidence. This system should be organized by mint series, and not be restricted to the coins found in only one collection. It should feature a numbering code that can easily incorporate new types and dates. This numbering system could, perhaps, be modeled on the format of a telephone number, where the different fields of numbers represent different discrete bits of information such as mint, date, sultan, etc. This new framework would be easily adaptable to electronic publication. As the technology for scanning images improves, it may soon be possible to produce an electronic corpus of Mamluk coins. Freed of the restrictions and cost of print, this corpus could be continually updated to reflect additional specimens and new discoveries.

FACTORS AFFECTING RESEARCH ON MAMLUK COINS

Suffice to say, the collection of Mamluk numismatic information did not end with the publication of *CMSES*. At the core of Balog′s corpus was his personal collection.[28] This collection was stronger in Egyptian coins than those minted in Syria, reflecting Balog′s long residence in Egypt. In the more than 30 years since the *CMSES* appeared, it has been added to and corrected by numerous studies.[29] Many of these ″new″ types are from the Syrian mints. There are now more than a thousand known types of Mamluk coins. Some are known only by one specimen, others survive by the hundreds. As a result, the basic parameters of the Mamluk monetary system are known. Yet there remain some important issues affecting the use of this numismatic material that must be raised. These include questions of coin survival and the many factors which affect the assembly and accessibility of coin collections.

An important batch of implications surrounds the issue of coin survival. So many factors affect survival that it is unwise to base elaborate economic arguments solely on the basis of a small number of coins surviving to the present.[30] The factors influencing the preservation of old coins include but are not limited to the number originally produced, the type of metal involved, competing demands for that metal, and pure luck. While Mamluk coins have survived in large numbers, the distribution of those coins across metal, mint of origin, and type is not equal. Mamluk copper coins, for example, survive in large numbers from some mints and years, but are rare or nonexistent from others. In terms of sheer numbers,

[28]The bulk of Balog′s personal collection of Mamluk coins is now preserved at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem.

[29]Most notably by Balog himself in his ″Additions and Corrections.″

[30]This has not stopped some scholars from making this mistake. See, for example, Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt* (London, 1972), 192, where he argues for a ″return to a gold standard″ in 724 H. based upon one undated *dīnār*.

there may very well be more surviving Mamluk copper coins from the end of the eighth/fourteenth century than total specimens of Mamluk gold and silver coins known.[31] Yet this does not necessarily mean that silver and gold coins were scarce in the Mamluk era. Such modern scarcity could be due to a number of reasons, chief among them that gold and silver coins are always subject to remelt into jewelry, plate, or even new coins. In addition, the location where coins were lost or stored can affect their survival. If lost in a wet environment, the coins might survive only in the form of a congealed lump, adhering to what remains of the container in which they were stored—if they survive at all. On the other hand, coins hoarded in a dry house wall may emerge in perfect condition after hundreds of years or more.

Of course, the mere fact that a coin has survived is of little use if it is not available for examination and study. Coin accessibility usually means that the coin is located in a collection, but not all coins find their way into museum or private holdings, nor are the latter always available for perusal. Moreover, to put it bluntly, the interest of the collector and that of the monetary historian are not always the same. This has major repercussions on the systematic study of coins. Such factors as the idiosyncratic tastes of the collector or curator, the vagaries of donations to public collections, the metal, beauty and uniqueness of the coin, cost or even space limitations have shaped collections, and thus impose limits on numismatic research. For example, the long-held collecting practices of acquiring one example of each coin type produced by a mint, individual or dynasty, as well as the tendency to collect only unique or rare specimens, often means that relatively few coins of any one type are preserved in any one collection. While such collections may provide a nice overview of the typology of numismatic issues, they do not accurately represent the ordinary coinage that was in use, nor do they preserve the large number of coins necessary for large-scale die studies or for statistical research into issues such as metrology and purity. Thus, as Cahen pointed out, a gap in a collection so structured ″does not give us license to deduce systematic conclusions″ about monetary developments.[32]

Finally, the repercussions of modern treasure-trove laws affect the study of Mamluk coins today. Ancient coins are considered national treasures by most of the modern nations found in the lands of the Mamluk sultanate. Trade in such coins is regulated by a variety of antiquities legislation. The selling and exporting of such coins is usually illegal or at least severely restricted. The export of such

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[31]See Bacharach, ″The Ducat in Fourteenth Century Egypt,″ *Res Orientales* 6 (1994): 99, where he estimates that hundreds of thousands of copper coins entered into circulation at the end of the eighth/fourteenth century.

[32]Cl. Cahen, ″Monetary Circulation in Egypt at the Time of the Crusades and the Reform of al-Kamil,″ in *The Islamic Middle East, 700-1900*, ed. A.L. Udovitch (Princeton, 1981), 319-21.

coins may be considered smuggling, and subject to penalties. Nevertheless, a number of new coins show up in dealers′ lists and auctions every year. Rightly or wrongly, laws are being broken. The situation is further complicated by the fact that some of these coins can be valuable, often fetching prices equivalent to tens, hundreds, and occasionally thousands of dollars. It is naïve to expect that such factors, often considered too sensitive or discomforting to discuss, do not affect those interested in the serious study of these coins. They have a profound impact, for instance, on the study of hoards, those groups of coins deposited on purpose or by accident that the original owners never returned to retrieve.

Coin hoards are particularly valuable sources of monetary information. They are especially useful in determining what coins were circulating at a given time and place. Many hoards of Mamluk coins have been found, but few have been studied in depth. Part of this is due no doubt to the realities of the present-day coin market. Few Mamluk hoards have been found during official archeological digs, with the subsequent result that only rarely has a Mamluk-era hoard been studied *in situ*, with its integrity intact.[33] More hoards show up in the coin trade. Needless to say, the finders of such hoards are often conscious of the presumed illegality of their actions, and are silent about such issues as provenance, perhaps out of the dual desire to protect not only themselves but the area itself, in the hope of finding more coins nearby. As a result, it is rare to have more than a general sense of the location (e.g. upper Egypt, northern Syria) where the hoard was found. Similarly, as a hoard makes its way through the trade, it is always possible that it is subject to culling—the removal of the best specimens—which further compromises its integrity. When such a hoard is finally studied (if ever), it may still reveal a great deal of information, but not nearly as much as if it had been studied in its original state.

Mamluk Money: The Literary and Documentary Evidence

Mamluk-era Literary Sources

The major mint cities of the Mamluk sultanate were centers of learning as well as international marketplaces. As a result, the Mamluk regime is well recorded in many contemporary chronicles, biographical compilations, and other texts. The resulting wealth of literary source material—much of it published in editions of widely varying quality—is unparalleled for most other states of this era in Islamic

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[33]For brief theoretical overviews of the use of coins as physical remains, see both Donald Whitcomb, ″Mamluk Archeological Studies: A Review,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 97, and Hans Ulrich Vogel, ″Introduction″ to Special Theme Issue: Money in the Orient, *JESHO* 39 (1996): 209-11. The contents of several small hoards found during the Danish-sponsored digs at Hamah are described in *Hama: Fouilles et Recherches 1931-38*, IV$_3$ *Les petits objets médiévaux sauf les verreries et poteries* (Copenhagen, 1969).

history. As students of Mamluk history have long been aware, scattered throughout these works are numerous references to monetary events. These range in length from a brief sentence to entire chapters and works. They occur in the form of price quotations, exchange rate citations, discussions of confiscations, gifts or inheritances, the mention of a new coinage, and even the criticism of monetary policy. They are often precisely dated. These passages have provided the raw material for most treatments of Mamluk monetary history.[34]

The discussions of money found in the Mamluk-era literary texts may be grouped into six categories. The first is that of treatises devoted specifically to money and economic matters. The best known examples of this type are certainly the two screeds composed by al-Maqrīzī, the *Ighāthat al-Ummah* and the *Shudhūr al-ʻUqūd*.[35] To this short list should be added the near-contemporary work of al-Asadī, *al-Taysīr wa-al-Iʻtibār*.[36] A sub-category of this group are those treatises that address money from within the *fiqh* tradition. While of a normative bent, there are occasional observations about contemporary monetary developments. An example of this category is the "Nuzhat al-Nufūs" of Ibn al-Hāyim.[37] In general, material of this last type has not been fully exploited for the Mamluk period.[38]
The second category contains the extended discussions of money found in the encyclopedic works of authors such as al-ʻUmarī or al-Qalqashandī. These are often longer than a page in length and discuss both Islamic money in general and

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[34]The importance of these literary passages for economic data was established and exploited by Sauvaire in the previous century. His pioneering work in culling the contemporary texts for references to money identified many of the basic passages still cited today. H. Sauvaire, "Materiaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la metrologie musulmanes," *Journal asiatique* 14 (1879): 455-533; 15 (1880): 228-77, 421-77; 18 (1881): 499-516; 19 (1882): 23-77, 97-163, 281-327. The first systematic exploitation of this material for the Mamluk period is found in William Popper, *Egypt and Syria,* 41-79. For a discussion of the relative value of specific Mamluk era historians, see Bacharach, "Circassian Mamluk Historians and Their Economic Data," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 12 (1975): 75-87.

[35]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1359/1940); cf. the translation by Adel Allouche, *Mamluk Economics: A Study and Translation of al-Maqrizi's* Ighathah (Salt Lake City, 1994). There have been numerous editions of the *Shudhūr* prepared. The latest is *Shudhūr al-ʻUqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqūd*, ed. Muḥammad ʻUthmān (Cairo, 1990).

[36]Al-Asadī, *Kitāb al-Taysīr wa-al-Iʻtibār*, ed. ʻAbd al-Qādir Ṭalīmāt (Cairo, 1968).

[37]Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Hāyim, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs fī Bayān Ḥukm al-Taʻāmil bi-al-fulūs*, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah, ms. no. 1073 (*fiqh shāfiʻī*). Ibn al-Hāyim died in 815/1412.

[38]For examples of the use of *fiqh* materials for earlier periods, see Brunschvig, "Conceptions monétaires chez les juristes musulmans (VIII[e] -XIII[e] siecles)," *Arabica* 14 (1967): 113-43; and A. L. Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit in Medieval Islam* (Princeton, 1970).

developments in Mamluk money in particular.[39] The third group are those specific citations of monetary information such as new coinage, exchange rates, or prices. Such observations are quite common in the chronicles. They usually are just one or two sentences in length, although occasionally some are much longer. They are much more common for developments in Egypt than they are for those in the Syrian provinces. Tables of these prices and exchange rates in particular are found appended to many modern studies of Mamluk economic history. Given the overlapping and repetitive nature of such tables, this type of information seems a good candidate for a web-based database, readily searched and easily updated.[40]

The fourth category consists of anecdotal mention of money, as when an entourage is rewarded with coins, money is mulcted from someone out of favor, or troops are paid.[41] Monetary information of this type—encountered as corroborating detail or casual aside to a bigger story—is both abundant (at least for Egypt) and valuable. Both specific and anecdotal monetary information are encountered in the fifth category, which consists of the observations and accounts of foreign travelers.[42] Included in this grouping are the pilgrimage narratives of European travelers to the Holy Land, which, to my knowledge, have not been examined systematically for the monetary information they sometimes contain.[43] Last but not least, monetary terminology is found in Mamluk-era *belles lettres*, especially poetry, although the usual lack of chronological setting means care must be taken when material of this sort is utilized.[44]

In fact, using all categories of the literary sources is not without risks. In some cases, for example, it is clear that the Mamluk-era author is simply wrong about events that occurred before his lifetime.[45] Other problems include incidents of

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[39]Al-ʻUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, ed. Ayman Fu′ād Sayyid (Cairo, 1985), 14-15. Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá fī Ṣināʻat al-Inshā*ʼ, 14 vols. (Cairo, 1913-19), 3:439-40, 463-64.

[40]A model of this sort of invaluable research tool, albeit in paper format, is Elizabeth Gemmill and Nicholas Mayhew′s *Changing Values in Medieval Scotland: A Study of Prices, Money, and Weights and Measures* (New York, 1995), in which over 6000 prices for 24 commodities are tabulated, indexed and annotated.

[41]On the payment of troops, see David Ayalon, ″The System of Payment in Mamluk Military Society,″ *JESHO* 1 (1958): 37-65, 257-96.

[42]Cf. D. Sperber, ″Islamic Metrology from Jewish Sources, II,″ *Numismatic Chronicle* 7th series, 12 (1972): 275-82; and W. Fischel, ″Ascensus Barcoch,″ *Arabica* 6 (1959): 57-72; 152-72.

[43]Cf. Symon Semeonis, *The Journey of Symon Semeonis from Ireland to the Holy Land*, ed. and trans. Mario Esposito (Dublin, 1960); Ludolph von Suchem, *Ludolph von Suchem′s Description of the Holy Land and the Way Thither*, trans. Aubrey Stewart (London, 1895).

[44]For a rare bit of poetry actually linked to a specific event, see Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr* (Cairo, 1931), 1:565

[45]De Bouard, for example, pointed out the unreliability of al-Maqrīzī for certain monetary developments before his lifetime. See ″Sur l′evolution monétaire de l′Égypte médiévale,″ *L′Égypte*

scribal errors and the inconsistent use of terminology. These contemporary obstacles are in turn occasionally exacerbated by poor editorial decisions, as the following illustrates. In a discussion of the events of Muḥarram 699/October 1299, al-Maqrīzī wrote that a charge of one *kharrūbah* was leveled on every measure of wheat purchased in Cairo.[46] The word *kharrūbah* is glossed by the editor as a small piece of a copper coin, worth *one-tenth of a* dirham (emphasis added), citing Dozy′s nineteenth-century Arabic/French dictionary. There are at least two problems with this assertion. First, while this meaning is indeed found in the dictionary, the source for the monetary value of the term is a history of the Almohades.[47] It is worth noting that there are significant differences between the coinage of the twelfth-century Maghrib and thirteenth-century Egypt. Secondly, one need only look at the exchange rates cited by al-Maqrīzī himself to see that such a value would be ludicrously high for the end of the thirteenth century. In his entry for 695/1295, for example, al-Maqrīzī wrote that the exchange rate of copper to silver was three ″pounds″ (*raṭl*s) of copper coins per two silver *dirham*s. Regardless of how much any individual copper coin weighed at the time (the numismatic record for copper coins for this period is sketchy), it is safe to assume that it took a good many to equal the one and a half ″pounds″ of coins necessary to exchange for a *dirham*′s worth of silver. A *kharrūbah* may have been a piece of a copper coin, but given the previously known exchange rates, it is inconceivable that it could have been worth one-tenth of a *dirham*. While this is just one episode, it is not atypical of the problems encountered in some editions.

Mamluk-era Documents

In addition to the various literary sources mentioned above, there exist many contemporary documents, of both indigenous and foreign origin, that contain monetary data.[48] Perhaps the best known group of these documents are the Geniza materials produced by the Jewish community of medieval Cairo. While most Geniza texts date from Fatimid and Ayyubid times, a few specimens survive from the Mamluk era.[49] These contain frequent references to money, often revealing

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contemporaine 30 (1939): 427-59. As Cahen has pointed out, this observation is the only merit of this article; ″Monetary Circulation in Egypt,″ 331, note 14.

[46]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, 2nd. ed., ed. Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (Cairo, n.d.), 1:899.

[47]Dozy, *Supplement aux Dictionnaires Arabes* (Beyrouth, 1981 [reprint of the 1881 edition]), 1:xvii, 357.

[48]For a general overview of the Mamluk documentary evidence, see D.P. Little, ″Documents as a Source for Mamluk History,″ *MSR* 1 (1997): 1-13.

[49]S. D. Goitein, ″The Exchange Rate of Gold and Silver Money in Fatimid and Ayyubid Times. A Preliminary Study of the Relevant Geniza Material,″ *JESHO* 8 (1965): 1-46. Despite this title, nine

precisely dated information on the circulation and exchange of the many coinages found in the marketplace. Similar to the Geniza, a collection of around 200 letters concerning the Red Sea and Indian Ocean trade was found during excavations of the port of Quseir. While these were first thought to date from the Mamluk period, subsequent examination by Li Guo has established that most date from the late Ayyubid era. Nevertheless,the possibility remains that a few are of Mamluk provenance. Whatever the case, dynastic boundaries aside, since preliminary surveys revealed the existence of much monetary information in this material, the publication of these letters is eagerly awaited.[50]

Another promising documentary source of monetary information are *waqf* deeds. Several caches of these endowments are known, and while their systematic examination is in its infancy, they are clearly fertile ground for those interested in monetary matters.[51] (The same observations hold for the Ḥaram al-Sharīf collection, which includes not only endowment deeds but wills, inventories and other documents[52]). Coinage and monetary values are frequently mentioned in these documents, revealing important aspects of the workings of Mamluk money. For example, the existence of several different coins circulating simultaneously is confirmed by the *waqf*-administrators′ struggles to keep track of exchange rates and differing monies of account.[53]

Finally, there are contemporary documents of foreign origin, usually preserved in European archives, that contain useful information. Copies of treaties between the Mamluks and their Italian trading partners survive, for example. While few in number, these treaties occasionally yield the odd bit of monetary data.[54] A much larger corpus of materials are the commercial records of the merchants from the Italian city-states. These archives have been exploited to good effect by Ashtor and others, but are by no means exhausted. These documents include not only

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of the documents discussed date from the Mamluk period.

[50]See Donald Whitcomb, ″Mamluk Archeological Studies,″ 99. These documents are currently being edited by Li Guo; see his forthcoming article ″Arabic Documents from Quseir (1): Business Letters,″ *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, in which Guo provides a description of the corpus, along with several edited letters.

[51]J-C. Garcin and M. A. Taher, ″Enquête sur le financement d′un *waqf* égyptien du xv[e] siécle: Les comptes de Jawhar al-Lala,″ *JESHO* 38 (1995): 262-304; Gilles Hennequin, ″*Waqf* et monnaie dans l′Égypte Mamluke,″ *JESHO* 38 (1995): 305-12.

[52]See Donald P. Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from al-Ḥaram aš-Šarīf in Jerusalem* (Beirut, 1984).

[53]See Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimāʻīyah fī Miṣr, 648-923/1250-1517* (Cairo, 1980), 297-99.

[54]Cf. J. Wansbrough, ″Venice and Florence in the Mamluk Commercial Privileges,″ *BSOAS* 28 (1965): 483-523.

price lists and exchange rates, but also information about the metrology and purity of coins which circulated in the Mamluk market places. In one case, for example, evidence found in Venetian trading records reveals that some Venetian merchants knew that the purity of the Armenian trams mentioned above was approximately two-thirds silver content. As this fineness matched that of the contemporary Mamluk *dirham*s, it helps explain why these trams are so often found mixed with Mamluk *dirham*s in hoards which date from the eighth/fourteenth century.[55]

Taken *in toto*, this non-numismatic material has proven to be a mine of information for Mamluk monetary history. This mine is far from being exhausted, thanks in part to the regular appearance of new editions. Admittedly, the classification of texts offered above is somewhat arbitrary. Be that as it may, it should be emphasized that none of these works were written for the express purpose of providing monetary and economic data for modern historians, and therefore the monetary information found in them must be evaluated carefully. Specifically, this information should, whenever possible, be meshed with the data derived from the surviving coins. This is especially so since these sources are often completely silent about developments that are suggested by the numismatic record. Any study of Mamluk money that aims for thoroughness should make use of both the written and the numismatic evidence. Unfortunately, this has rarely been done in most studies undertaken to date.

THE SCHOLARSHIP

Modern scholars have not ignored Mamluk monetary history as a field of inquiry. The more than 135 entries in the ″Numismatics: Including Metrology and Monetary History″ section of the electronic Mamluk Bibliography project are testament to that.[56] An examination of each of these works is beyond the scope of this article. I will instead restrict my comments to the following observation: scholarship on Mamluk money is marked by two major divides. The first has to do with theoretical assumptions of how pre-modern money circulated. Significant differences of interpretation exist in the studies. The second has to do with usage of sources. The scholarship may be divided into works based primarily on the coins, those based primarily on the literary and documentary data, and those which made use of both. While these divisions may strike some as crude, they hold up under scrutiny.

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[55]See Alan Stahl, ″Italian Sources for the Coinage of Cilician Armenia,″ *Armenian Numismatic Journal* 15 (1989): 59-66. Cf. Schultz, ″Mamluk Money,″ 156-59.

[56]The URL of the Mamluk Bibliography is: http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/LibInfo/SourcesBySubject /MiddleEast/MamBib.html. This does not include the many works that touch upon monetary issues but which are listed within the broader ″Economics″ section of the bibliography.

THE THEORETICAL DIVIDE

In order to describe this divide, it is necessary to begin with some basic definitions. Minor details may vary, but most definitions of money define it in terms of function: money serves as a store of value, a measure of value, and a means of exchange. A coin, of course, is just one of many possible objects that fulfill the roles of store of value and means of exchange.[57] Before the widespread acceptance of fiat money in the last half century, a coin's value is usually held to have been determined by three elements. The first was the value of its raw material (usually bullion), or what is usually called its *intrinsic* value. The remaining two elements are said to be determined by the actual production of the coins. They are the cost of minting and the profit to the coin maker. Together, the intrinsic value of the bullion combined with the cost and profit of minting make up the coin's *extrinsic* (or par) value. Few would disagree that for coins struck in the precious metals of gold and silver, their bullion content was the major factor of their extrinsic value. Once coins entered the market place, and assuming that that marketplace was well-regulated, it is assumed that coins would circulate at their extrinsic value.

Invariably, however, once any coin entered circulation, it would encounter both coins of its own type and possibly other types of coins as well. How these coins circulated together is usually said to be governed by the principle known as Gresham's Law. This law states that when a coin of low intrinsic value circulates with a coin of equal extrinsic but higher intrinsic value, the first coin will drive the second coin out of circulation. Or as it is sometimes stated, "bad money" (coins of low intrinsic value) drives out "good money" (coins of higher intrinsic value). Thus if two gold coins are said to be worth the same (have the same extrinsic value), but one has more gold in it—i.e. it is either heavier or of a higher purity—the holder of the coins will spend the one with less gold and hoard the one with more gold.

Gresham's law appeals to common sense. It is important to note, however, that this model rests upon the assumption that the declared extrinsic value of a coin can be maintained (or guaranteed or enforced) after the coin enters circulation. A substantial body of literature now argues that it is doubtful that any medieval government (or other issuing authority) had the ability to do so.[58] In the absence

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[57]The system of valuation role of money is fulfilled by what is often called the "money of account." For the role of "monies of account" in pre-modern monetary systems, see Peter Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1988), 411-14. For the money of account known as the *dīnār jayshī*, used to calculate the value of *iqṭā*'s in medieval Egypt, see Richard Cooper, "A Note on the *dinar jayshi*." *JESHO* 16 (1973): 317-18.

[58]Among the important exponents of this theoretical approach for the medieval Islamic world in general, and the Mamluks in particular, is Gilles Hennequin. A good introduction to his approach

of this ability, the ″official extrinsic value″ of a coin would become meaningless, as once it entered circulation it would find its own value in relation to the other coins present. This value would be determined by a number of factors, such as bullion content, supply of and non-monetary demand for bullion, whether a coin was acceptable for payment of taxes and dues, consumer preference (which for Muslims might show itself in a reluctance to accept coins with overt Christian images), etc. In such a monetary marketplace, ″dinars and dirhams, even when issued by the same mint at the same time, were as much two separate currencies as are pounds and dollars today. The operation of Gresham′s law takes on a different character in such a situation, and such terms as ′gold-standard′ or bi-metallism′ become virtually meaningless.″[59]

The implications of this revision of how medieval money circulated for our understanding of the Mamluk monetary system are wide-ranging. If this interpretation is accepted then the conclusions reached in much of the earlier research must be revisited, and the evidence cited therein must be reexamined. I find the evidence marshaled in support of this approach convincing. First of all, there is little in the Mamluk-era sources to suggest that the Mamluk government was ever able to guarantee the extrinsic value of the coins it issued. Certainly attempts were occasionally made to enforce exchange rates, but there is no evidence of their long-term success. Secondly, there is ample numismatic evidence, primarily in the form of hoards, to show that gold and especially silver coins of widely varying weight, purity, and date and mint of origin circulated simultaneously.[60] Nor is there anything to suggest that this plethora of coinages caused any difficulty in the marketplace. Rather it was a known factor taken into account in business transactions.[61] There is thus ″no observable trend of bad coins driving good ones from circulation; rather good and bad coin coexisted peacefully at their respective values.″[62]

Furthermore, the assertions that Mamluk money was based on a series of ″metallic standards″ must be reevaluated. Balog, for example, wrote that the

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is ″Problèms théoriques et pratiques de la monnaie antique et médiévale,″ *Annales islamologiques* 10 (1972): 1-57.

[59]Michael L. Bates, ″Islamic Numismatics (pt. 3),″ *MESA Bulletin* 13 no. 1 (1979): 14.

[60]Mamluk silver hoards, in particular, often include *dirham*s worn completely smooth from their extended time in circulation. The commonplace nature of this phenomenon argues against the view that such hoards are only the bullion accumulations of jewelers.

[61]Rabie′s assertion regarding the ″problem of many types of coins circulating together″ is not supported by literary evidence (*Financial System of Egypt*, 187-88).

[62]R. Lopez, H. Miskimin, A. Udovitch, ″England to Egypt, 1350-1500: Long-term Trends and Long-distance Trade,″ in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, ed. M. A. Cook (London, 1970), 124.

Mamluks first adhered to a gold-silver bi-metallic system, in which the silver ″supported″ the gold, and then a silver-copper system, with the copper supporting the value of the silver.[63] This view has percolated widely, yet is no longer tenable.[64] Three observations are usually cited to support the existence of these standards. The first involves the exchange rates mentioned in the Mamluk sources, in which the first coin listed has been interpreted as representing the standard coinage. For example, an exchange rate stating that one *dīnār* was worth twenty *dirham*s, as it was in 699/1299-1300, has been used to argue that Mamluk money was based on a gold standard in that year.[65] Such a conclusion ignores a fundamental aspect of these exchange rates; they are statements of relative value between two different currencies, and are therefore reversible. Not only is a *dīnār* worth twenty *dirham*s, but twenty *dirham*s are worth one *dīnār*. Neither coin is based on the other, rather their respective values are being defined in terms of the other. Secondly, the quoting of prices in coins of one metal rather than those of another is often cited as evidence of metallic standards. Such price listings more accurately reflect what was the appropriate coinage for the transaction being discussed, or perhaps what coin was most commonly available, but do not by themselves prove that coins of that type formed a monetary standard. Thirdly, the absence of known coins of specific metals in specific years is often cited as evidence of the abandonment of a standard. The problems of arguing from a lack of coins have already been alluded to, but in this case, the numismatic record itself disproves any such assertion. A survey of the coin production of the Cairo mint reveals that precious metal coins were minted with almost yearly regularity throughout the entire period of Mamluk rule. Specimens of such coins are known from the reigns of all but the most ephemeral puppet sultans. Any suspensions of mint activity in gold or silver are best explained as temporary or short-term disruptions brought on by such factors as acute bullion shortage, hoarding, political uncertainty, etc. There seems little doubt, therefore, that assertions of metallic standards are little more than the anachronistic application of nineteenth century assumptions of monetary behavior to the Mamluk context.

The Use of Sources

Even the most cursory examination of the scholarship devoted to Mamluk monetary history reveals the existence of three approaches to the available source material.

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[63]Balog, *CMSES*, 39-41.

[64]Cf. its use by Archibald Lewis to dismiss some of the conclusions reached by Janet Abu-Lughod, in his review of her *Before European Hegemony: The World System, A.D. 1250-1350* (New York, 1989), in *Speculum* 66 (1991): 605-6.

[65]This example, along with others, is found in Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt*, 184-97. The exchange rate is from al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1:900.

There are those works based primarily on the numismatic evidence, those which rely largely on the literary and documentary sources, and those in which both sets of information are utilized. Of course the borders between these categories are sometimes blurred, and the value of any respective work within this tripartite division is dependent on a number of factors which any critical reader is capable of evaluating. But while significant contributions have been made by works that fall in the first two categories, the most important advancements of our knowledge of Mamluk money history have emerged from the third.

There exist many articles about Mamluk money that may be labeled purely numismatic in content. These are based primarily on observations about a specific coin or group of coins. Examples of this type of work are announcements of new coin types, additions and corrections to existing coins or series, studies of dies, hoard announcements, analysis of peculiar coin legends, and the like. The information found within these works has provided some of the basic building blocks of our knowledge of Mamluk money, yet it is often left to someone else to do the building.[66] What this material frequently lacks is the application of the numismatic evidence to a wider context, to explain why a numismatic discovery is of significance to the non-numismatist. This shortcoming is often caused by a failure to consult the relevant written evidence. This may be due to simple lack of awareness or due to the existence of a language barrier. Balog himself is an example of the latter case. A close examination of his work reveals that, coin legends excepted, Balog did not read Arabic (an observation that makes his accomplishments all the more impressive). Some chroniclers, such as al-Maqrīzī, were available to him in French translation, but the bulk of his output was based on the numismatic evidence. As a result, and not surprisingly, there were certain problems in the numismatic record that he could not resolve. One such problem concerned the large copper objects struck in Cairo in 783 H. during the reign of al-Ṣāliḥ Ḥājjī: were they coins or weights? Another problem area involved the large Cairo copper coins of Qāytbāy and Qānsūh al-Ghawrī: there were several questions about these *fulūs*, among them the chronology of minting, which Balog was unable to solve. In both cases these problems were later resolved (at least partially) by scholars who had access to the chronicle evidence.[67]

At the other end of this source-usage divide are those works that depend primarily upon the contemporary literary and documentary evidence. Much has

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[66]Unfortunately, this information is sometimes buried in publications off the radar screen of many academics, and thus is not always incorporated into the wider field, but this is certainly not the fault of the authors.

[67]For the 783 H. event, see Balog′s comments in ″Additions and Corrections,″ 146. In the case of the late Circassian coppers, see John L. Meloy, ″The Copper Coinage of Late Mamluk Cairo, 1468-1517″ American Numismatic Society 1992 Graduate Seminar unpublished paper.

been achieved in this category, but the failure to make use of all the available evidence renders many of the conclusions about Mamluk money found therein incomplete, incorrect, or in need of modification. This grouping includes works such as the economic histories of Labib and Ashtor that range wider than monetary history proper, but which of necessity contain discussions of money.[68] It also includes the studies by Popper and Ayalon, path-breaking when they appeared, but which also made little use of numismatic material (perhaps in part due to their publication before the arrival of the *CMSES*).[69] Unfortunately, there are many studies that have appeared since the *CMSES* was published that have continued to neglect the numismatic data. In these works, it is common to encounter only token acknowledgments that the coinage exists, or limited attempts at the incorporation of numismatic material which are imprecise at best, careless and misleading at worst.

An example of the former practice is the recent work by Ḥammūd al-Najīdī, which briefly acknowledges the existence of the *CMSES*, but then presents an overview of Mamluk money based entirely on the written evidence.[70] Examples of numismatic imprecision detract from the valuable work of Boaz Shoshan. In his dissertation and the three important articles which arose from it, Shoshan made major contributions to our knowledge of ninth/fifteenth century Mamluk monetary history.[71] In general, his work is marked by a careful reading and thorough knowledge of the written sources, a sophisticated use of economic theory, and most especially an emphasis on the wider geographical context in which Mamluk monetary developments are to be understood. Yet his use of the numismatic evidence is frustratingly irregular and inconsistent. For example, in his analysis of Egyptian copper at the end of the eighth/fourteenth century, he asserts that the ″numismatic evidence corroborates″ literary accounts that this coinage was increasingly lighter in weight. As proof of this, he cites that coins struck in the first decades of the

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[68]Subhi Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter (1170-1517)* (Wiesbaden, 1965). (Abu-Lughod′s utter dismissal of the work of Labib for this shortcoming is extreme and unwarranted: *Before European Hegemony*, 222, note 9); Eliyahu Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1976). Ashtor also authored an article on the Circassian monetary system that makes little use of numismatic evidence: ″Études sur le systeme monetaire des mamlouks circassiens,″ *Israel Oriental Studies* 6 (1976): 264-87.

[69]William Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans*; David Ayalon, ″System of Payment.″

[70]Al-Najīdī, Ḥammūd ibn Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī, *al-Niẓām al-Naqdī al-Mamlūkī 648-6922 H./1250-1517 M.: Dirāsah Tārīkhīyah Ḥaḍārīyah* (Alexandria, 1993).

[71]Boaz Shoshan, ″Money, Prices and Population in Mamluk Egypt, 1382-1517,″ Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1978; idem, ″From Silver to Copper″; idem, ″Money Supply and Grain Prices in Fifteenth Century Egypt,″ *Economic History Review*, second series, 36 (1983): 47-67; idem, ″Exchange Rate Policies in Fifteenth Century Egypt,″ *JESHO* 29 (1986): 28-51.

ninth/fifteenth were lighter than those from the second half of the previous century, an observation gleaned from his "survey" of copper coins preserved at the American Numismatic Society.[72] There are indeed lighter coins from the early fifteenth century, but their existence does not prove that lighter coins were struck in the last decade of the fourteenth century (which is what some of the Mamluk chroniclers assert). Only the numismatic evidence from that period can shed light on that. Shoshan's failure to specify what coins he surveyed, from what years, and from what mints, renders his "survey" of the *fulūs* so vague as to be meaningless.

Shoshan also occasionally ignores the numismatic evidence in situations where it could shed light on a thorny issue. For example, al-Maqrīzī wrote that a *"Kāmilī" dirham* was circulating in Egypt at the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century.[73] In his analysis of the developments in Mamluk silver in this period, Shoshan points out that these are troublesome citations, due mainly to the fact that it is not clear what kind of silver coin al-Maqrīzī was referring to.[74] Relying exclusively on literary evidence, Shoshan argues that this coin must be the *dirham* of the Ayyubid al-Malik al-Kāmil (615-35/1218-38). This is a creative explanation to a difficult problem, and Shoshan is correct in stating that the Ayyubid *Kāmilī dirham* was a low purity silver coin. But it is a problematic assertion for a number of reasons. First of all, the dynamics of how large numbers of an old coin suddenly resurface after more than 150 years are left unexplored: Why then and not earlier? If it did happen, why is it not mentioned by other observers? Moreover, such a development is not supported by the numismatic evidence. I am not aware of a single Mamluk hoard from this era which contains Ayyubid silver.[75] In each of these examples and in others, Shoshan's lack of familiarity with the numismatic evidence undermines important aspects of his overall conclusions.

Finally, there are those few studies which follow good historical method and attempt to incorporate all the evidence available. Topping this list are the articles on Circassian monetary developments authored by Jere Bacharach, in which he was the first to carefully and systematically compare coin to chronicle, and chronicle to coin.[76] The result was deeper awareness and more nuanced knowledge of the

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[72]"From Silver to Copper," 108; see especially note 6.

[73]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:1111; 4:166.

[74]"Exchange Rate Policies," 44-46.

[75]See the list of silver hoards in Schultz, "Mamluk Money," 152-55. Ayyubid silver is found in hoards dating from the beginning of the Mamluk sultanate, but these *dirham*s usually bear the names of later Ayyubid princes only.

[76]Jere L. Bacharach, "Circassian Monetary Policy: Silver"; idem, "The Dinar versus the Ducat"; idem, "Circassian Monetary Policy: Copper." Cf. his Ph.D. dissertation, "A Study of the Correlation Between Textual Sources and Numismatic Evidence for Mamluk Egypt and Syria, A.H. 784-872/A.D. 1382-1468," University of Michigan, 1967.

parameters of the Mamluk monetary system than was present before. While some of his conclusions have been questioned, his approach cannot be. It remains the model to be followed. It is discouraging that it spawned few imitators.

On a smaller scale, this is the approach followed by Lutz Ilisch. In a series of articles buried in the *Münstersche Numismatische Zeitung*, Ilisch in particular made significant additions and corrections to the series issued by the Syrian mints.[77] His work is thorough in its attention to both literary and numismatic material. Attention should also be directed to two studies in Arabic that, when combined, offer the reader what is essentially an updated version of the CMSES (albeit only for Egypt), but with new specimens added and frequent incorporation of pertinent chronicle information. These are Sāmiḥ ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Fahmī′s *al-Wiḥdah al-Naqdīyah al-Mamlūkīyah* for the Bahri period, and Ra'fat al-Nabarāwī′s *al-Sikkah al-Islāmīyah fī Miṣr: ʻAṣr al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah* for the Circassian period.[78] It should be stressed, however, that the traditional Bahri-Kipchaq/Burji-Circassian division has little significance in the context of Mamluk monetary developments.

Conclusion

I conclude this essay with a plea for those who do not consider themselves numismatists to familiarize themselves with the Mamluk coinage and the approaches and concepts that govern its study. This information is accessible. While there is no substitute for hands-on examination of Mamluk coins—and this is not always easy to do—the general learning curve for the historian′s use of monetary information is not that steep. Numismatics was once a respected ancillary field of history, and numismatic inquiry deserves more than a cursory acknowledgment or outright dismissal as insignificant. Mamluk numismatic information is important and full of surprises. It also cannot be ignored if our understanding of the role of money in the Mamluk economy and society is to be increased. I introduced this essay with a passage from an article entitled ″Numismatics Re-Monetized.″ In this short but significant piece, Andrew Ehrenkreutz reminded those interested in medieval

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[77]Lutz Ilisch, ″Beiträge zur Mamlukischen Numismatik,″ *MNZ* (Nov. 1975): 5-10; idem, ″Berichte über die Einführung neuer Kupfurmünzen in Kairo im Jahr 759 H.,″ *MNZ* (Feb. 1977): 3-4; idem, ″Gegenstempel auf ägyptischem Inflationskupfer,″ *MNZ* (Aug.-Dec. 1977): 8-9; idem, ″Neue Materalien zur Münzprägung der Bahri-Sultane,″ *MNZ* (Mar. 1981): 11-16; idem, ″Inedita des ʻAbbasidenkalifen al-Mustaʻin bi′llah aus Syrischen Münzstätten,″ *MNZ* (Dec. 1982): 39-41.

[78]Sāmiḥ ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Fahmī, *Al-Wiḥdah al-Naqdīyah al-Mamlūkīyah: ʻAṣr al-Mamālīk al-Baḥrīyah* (Jeddah, 1983); Ra'fat al-Nabarāwī, *Al-Sikkah al-Islāmīyah fī Miṣr:ʻAṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah* (Cairo,1993). Cf. his Ph.D. dissertation, a copy of which is preserved in the library of the American Numismatic Society, ″Maskūkat al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah fī Miṣr: Naẓmuhā wa-Qiyāmuhā al-Naqdīyah,″ University of Cairo, Faculty of Letters, 1981.

Islamic money to keep foremost in mind the economic functions of the coins studied.[79] At several points during the composition of this essay, I considered entitling it ″Mamluk Monetary History Re-Numismatized,″ since I strongly believe that the fissure between those familiar with the Mamluk textual tradition and those aware of the numismatic record must be bridged in order for progress to continue in this field.

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[79] Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz, ″Numismatics Re-Monetized,″ 207-18.

Book Reviews

SATO TSUGITAKA, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta‘s, and Fallahun* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997). Pp. 337.

REVIEWED BY AMALIA LEVANONI, University of Haifa

This is a study of the *iqṭā‘* system in Iraq, Syria, and Egypt from its inception in Iraq in the mid-tenth century to the mid-fourteenth century. The author argues that the *iqṭā‘*, despite seemingly common features, differed in each region because of both historical and regional peculiarities.

Sato develops his argument in nine chapters (the first and the ninth being the introduction and conclusion). The introductory chapter, through a wide-ranging survey of the research to date, reveals the origins of the *iqṭā‘* and its development up to the Ayyubid system in Syria and Egypt. Chapter 2 examines the *iqṭā‘* system in Iraq and its influence on the evolution of Iraqi society. The Buwayhids were the first to introduce a hierarchical military *iqṭā‘* into the Islamic world, specifically the Sawād region of Iraq (334/946). In the course of time, the position of fief holder (*muqṭa‘*) strengthened to such an extent that it encroached on the provincial governors′ (*wālī*) administrative authority, such as the right to collect protection fees from both *muqṭa‘*s and peasants. The Seljuqs inherited the Buwayhid *iqṭā‘* and, with slight changes, continued to assign land revenues to military forces of a lower standing. With the consolidation of Seljuq rule, however, the allocation of the administrative *iqṭā‘* to amirs, limited under the Buwayhids, became common practice in both Iraq and Iran.

Chapters 3 to 7 trace in detail the history of the *iqṭā‘* system in Egypt and Syria under the Ayyubids (564-649/1169-1250) and the Mamluks. Imitating the system of the Seljuqs, Salāḥ al-Dīn, the founder of the Ayyubid dynasty, introduced the *iqṭā‘* into Egypt and Syria. During the Ayyubid period, the fief holders had to perform certain duties in exchange for the *iqṭā‘*s allocated to them; for example, to render military service in accordance with *iqṭā‘* revenues and to maintain the irrigation system in their fiefs.

During al-Ẓāhir Baybars′s reign (658-76/1260-77), *iqṭā‘*s were allocated not only to prominent Mamluk amirs and the sultan′s *mamlūk*s, but also to non-*mamlūk* soldiers serving as auxiliary forces for the Mamluk Sultanate, such as members of the *ḥalqah*, Bedouins (*‘urbān*) and the Mongol *wāfidīyah* warriors. Because of his political talents, Baybars, the author concludes, attributed more importance to the assignment of *iqṭā‘*s to the *‘urbān* and the *wāfidīyah* warriors than to the *mamlūk*s.

Behind this policy lay Baybars′s aim of attracting these two forces to his army for use against the Mongol threat from the East.

Sato uses the set of instructions that Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (678-89/ 1279-90) gave to Amir Kitbughā al-Manṣūrī, then Vice-Sultan (*nā'ib al-salṭanah*), delegating to the amir the management of the Sultanate in the Sultan′s absence while on an expedition in al-Marqab (Dhū al-Ḥijjah 679/March 1281), as a basis for studying the *iqṭā'* system during Qalāwūn′s reign. The author finds that during this period there was a classification of *muqṭa'*s according to income, which was complicated because this revenue was closely related to the local taxation system. The author, however, does not explain the complexity of either this revenue or local taxation.

The need to improve the position of the sultan′s *mamlūk*s later led to the carrying out of two cadastral surveys (*rawk*). The first, *al-rawk al-ḥusāmī*, was conducted by Sultan Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn (698/1298). The second, *al-rawk al-nāṣirī*, which had more far-reaching ramifications for the structure and economy of the Mamluk Sultanate, was carried out by Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (713-25/1313-25). *Al-rawk al-nāṣirī* brought about uniformity in the *iqṭā'* system by transferring the right to levy taxes (i.e., land tax [*kharāj*], poll tax [*jawālī*] and tribute goods [*ḍiyāfah*]), from state authorities to the private hands of the *muqṭa'*s. This provided the opportunity to abolish miscellaneous taxes (*mukūs*); the introduction of fair administration further improved the conditions of the villagers.

In the wake of the ″privatization″ of the *iqṭā'*, a withdrawal of the officials previously occupied as tax collectors was also inevitable. The transfer of the right to levy taxes in the *iqṭā'* to the *muqṭa'*s, however, did not encroach on the authority and centralized power of the state because the right to appoint or dismiss amirs and soldiers and to allocate *iqṭā'*s remained at the absolute discretion of the sultan.

Chapter 8 describes the life of the peasantry in Syria and Egypt under the *iqṭā'* system. The author concludes that the sources tell little about the actual conditions of the peasantry in Syria during the Mamluk period. As for Egyptian rural society, the sources are clearer. Relations between the *iqṭā'* proprietors and the peasants (*fallaḥūn* or *muzāri'ūn*) were arranged through *qabālah* contracts. According to this arrangement, the former allocated land and lent seed (*taqāwī*) to the latter; the proprietors employed private agents (*mubāshirūn*) to collect taxes and distribute the seed. Later, when the *muqṭa'*s stepped into the government′s shoes and their position vis-à-vis the peasantry strengthened, they thrust responsibility for the maintenance of the irrigation system in the *iqṭā'*s upon the peasants by levying corvée (*sukhrah*) on them every winter. Under such conditions, the author maintains, village-based peasants (*fallāḥū qarrār*) were treated as ″serfs″ (*'abd qinn*) by their *muqṭa'*s.

Moreover, after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death (741/1341), when the government's control over the *muqṭa'*s loosened, the latter increased taxes without regard to the changing conditions of cultivation. A further deterioration in the management of the *iqṭā'* system occurred following the Black Death (749/1348), when common people (*al-'āmmah*) were assigned fiefs in the *ḥalqah*. Political disorder, maladministration, and the repeated outbreak of plagues during the period of the Circassian rule brought about a general decline in Egypt and Syria. One of the major victims of the Circassians' misrule was the peasantry. Officials and fief holders, whose appointments were gained through bribery, exploited the peasants while neglecting their share in maintaining the irrigation system and in promoting the cultivation of land in their *iqṭā'āt*. The failure of the Circassian government to secure public order left the peasants subject to the constant threat of the Bedouins. Unable to bear up under this neglect, the peasants abandoned cultivation.

The author rejects al-Maqrīzī's contention that "political corruption was the cause of economic decline during the Circassian rule." Instead he regards the economic decline as the catalyst for the Circassians' misrule. It was the decline in the *iqṭā'* revenues, in this view, that led the Mamluks to increase taxes, which brought about a stagnation in economic activity in both rural and urban society.

Sato's study is a welcome contribution to the research on medieval Muslim history. It is the first inclusive and comprehensive survey of the history of the *iqṭā'*s, which until now has been fragmentary, based on restricted studies of a specific period and region. The author has also laid out remarkably detailed chronological information on the *iqṭā'* system in the Middle Ages. The contribution of the study could have been more significant if new insights, interpretations, and general conclusions had been provided as well.

A few slips may briefly be noted. The transliteration of the feminine suffix, *al-tā' al-marbūṭah*, is occasionally wrong. There are several cases in which it is silent, whereas it should be pronounced (such as when it is the suffix of a determined noun in an annexation). On p. 193, "Hiba Allāh al-Qibṭī" should read "Hibat Allāh al-Qibṭī"; on p. 212 "qilla al-mā'" should read "qillat al-mā'". In other cases, however, the suffix should be silent: thus, on p. 76, "al-Madrasat al-Fakhrīya" should be "al-Madrasah al-Fakhrīyah"; on pp. 263 and 264, "al-Nuzhat al-Sanīyah . . ." and "al-Tuhfat al-Mulukīyah . . ." should be, respectively, "al-Nuzhah al-Sanīyah . . ." and "al-Tuhfah al-Mulukīyah . . ." The definitions of *muqṭa' aṣlī* and *muqṭa' al-jihah* (pp. 113, 235) do not appear in the glossary. Finally, the process whereby the peasant in Egypt was treated as a slave for life (*'abd qinn*) (p. 236) is not clear.

This study is based on a wide-ranging survey of both primary sources—including both major and less well-known printed books and manuscripts—and modern studies of Abbasid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk history and institutions. These sources

are fully listed in the bibliography, which provides a precious mine for scholars who work in these fields.

'Abd Allāh ibn Rashīd ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥawshānī, *Minhāj Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyah fī al-Da'wah ilá Allāh Ta'ālá* (Riyadh: Markaz al-Dirāsāt wa-al-I'lām, Dār al-Ishbīlīyā, 1996). Two volumes.

Ṣā'ib 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, *Ibn Taymīyah: Ḥayātuhu wa-'Aqā'iduhu* (Beirut: al-Ghadīr lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Nashr, [1994?]). Pp. 465.

Reviewed by David C. Reisman, Yale University

Studies devoted to various aspects of Ibn Taymīyah's life and thought have proliferated in recent years. In one respect, such a growing interest is to be expected and perhaps even applauded; the importance of this independently minded thinker for the history of medieval Islamic thought cannot be overestimated. In another respect, the sheer number of works on Ibn Taymīyah requires a principle of classification (both of a given work's content and the author's intention in studying and writing about Ibn Taymīyah) that has yet to be articulated or even discussed in a scholarly manner; hence, the present review.

There are essentially two categories of works written about Ibn Taymīyah these days: one is a historical study that employs a critical methodology to elucidate some aspect of Ibn Taymīyah's life or thought within the context of medieval Arabic-Islamic intellectual history; the other studies Ibn Taymīyah as an important contributing voice to modern Muslim debates on religion, society, and politics. There have been no comprehensive critical studies of Ibn Taymīyah since Henri Laoust published his *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taki-d-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Taimīya* in 1939. Works of the first category can be critically assessed in a modern scholarly publication. If works of the second category are to be critically analyzed, such analysis should occur only within the context of a study on modern Islamic movements and thought, but relevant responses properly speaking should come from participants in those modern Muslim debates.

The two publications reviewed here fall under the second category. As such, this review should be correctly viewed as an anomaly to a publication such as *Mamlūk Studies Review*, concerned as it is with *medieval* history and thought. While both works contain a great quantity of raw data on a number of issues of central concern to Ibn Taymīyah (in the form of extensive quotations from a

number of his treatises and monographs) and so might conceivably be *described* for their potential use as source books of collected passages, *critical review* of the authors′ overall aims, methodology, and opinions should properly be reserved for publications concerned with modern Muslim thought (and Ibn Taymīyah′s place therein).

Al-Ḥawshānī, Director of the Institute for Imams and Preachers at the Jāmi‘at al-Imām Muḥammad ibn Sa‘ūd al-Islāmīyah in Saudi Arabia, has written a rather wide-ranging, if entirely descriptive, two-volume study of the major aspects of Ibn Taymīyah′s thought and socio-religious activity, entitled ″Ibn Taymīyah′s Missionary Program.″ The author understands the wide breadth of Ibn Taymīyah′s interests to be part of a larger missionary activity and the work is designed as a blueprint for modern missionary activity that takes as its model the career of Ibn Taymīyah. It opens with a brief, laudatory biography of Ibn Taymīyah (the main source of which is the hagiographical *al-‘Uqūd al-Durrīyah* by Ibn Taymīyah′s erstwhile disciple Ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī) and then passes to the substantive areas of study. Part 1 (pp. 49-358) treats particular characteristics of Ibn Taymīyah′s ″mission,″ including his views on language and technical terminology, his attempts at reconciling religious knowledge with the dictates of rational demonstration (a collection of passages, pp. 131-35, in which Ibn Taymīyah addresses the *ḥaqīqah-majāz* issue is of particular interest for studies of this Ḥanbalī′s treatment of anthropomorphic Quranic passages), the comprehensiveness of his mission in addressing all groups of his society (a section which overlaps considerably with a later section on ″objectivity in Ibn Taymīyah′s method″), the clarity of his various styles of composition, tailored as they were to specific audiences (for Ibn Taymīyah′s views on women, see pp. 210-20), and concludes with a group of passages highlighting Ibn Taymīyah′s knowledge of the culture of his age. Part 2 (pp. 361-529) deals with the ″basic principles of Ibn Taymīyah′s mission″ which the modern missionary may use as templates with which to organize and assess particular situations and ideas; it is divided into sections on general beliefs (pp. 365-89), religious practices (393-417), and ethics (421-529, spaced across the two volumes). Part 3 (pp. 535-737) is entitled ″al-Asālīb wa-al-Wasā’il″; the author explains that these terms are to be understood as referring to the methods and means of missionary activity respectively (defined p. 544). Missionary methods include the construction of a model believer based upon Ibn Taymīyah′s life-style, the use of debating techniques for defending the religion, and the use of the *fatwá* genre for guiding individual believers. The means of missionary activity are exemplified by Ibn Taymīyah′s use of different genres of writing (it is not clear why the *fatwá* was not included here), his style of preaching, the importance of travel, and Ibn Taymīyah as the moral champion of soldiers engaged in war against unbelievers. Two final discussions of the arenas of preaching—mosques and schools—conclude the section.

Al-Ḥawshānī concludes the work as a whole with a descriptive list of the parts of his work and recommendations for future study of Ibn Taymīyah′s missionary activity that will emphasize the influence of the ″pious forefathers″ of the religion and involve religious students of modern Saudi Arabia.

ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd′s *Ibn Taymīyah: His Life and Beliefs* is a highly personal and often very emotional critique of Ibn Taymīyah′s views on Shiʻism. The author claims that Ibn Taymīyah′s thought has been willfully misrepresented in the past and that it is as a remedy of that distortion that he has written the present work (pp. 10-11). The first part of the work is a largely undocumented and highly anecdotal biography of Ibn Taymīyah (pp. 15-89) that includes rough sketches of the political, social, cultural, and religious dimensions of his age. The second part (pp. 97-184) addresses major areas of belief, including Ibn Taymīyah′s views on *ijtihād* and *taqlīd*, the ever present debate on God′s attributes, and his understanding of Sufism. The third part (pp. 189-271) focuses on Ibn Taymīyah′s discussions of Shiʻism, especially those in his monumental work *Minhāj al-Sunnah* to which Ibn Taymīyah′s contemporary Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī responded with *Minhāj al-Karāmah fī Maʻrifat al-Imāmah* (the biography of al-Ḥillī, pp. 197-212, is to be contrasted with that of Ibn Taymīyah). The final section (pp. 277-428) discusses Ibn Taymīyah′s views on the Prophet′s family, with detailed sections on ʻAlī and Ḥusayn. Throughout, Ibn Taymīyah is engaged less as a subject of historical enquiry than as a formidable and unrepentant opponent. Ibn Taymīyah′s understanding of and response to Shiʻism is an important subject and the debate between Ibn Taymīyah and al-Ḥillī represents a critical moment in medieval Islamic intellectual history. Henri Laoust′s ″Les Fondements de l′imamat dans le Minhāǧ d′al-Ḥillī″ has yet to be surpassed as an introductory essay.[1]

A serious and comprehensive revision of Henri Laoust′s fundamental *Essai* on Ibn Taymīyah has yet to appear despite the continued growth of interest in this major figure of medieval Islamic intellectual history. Arabic-Islamic studies is no more plagued by a lack of continuity in scholarship than any other field, but the absence of very basic research on Ibn Taymīyah should nonetheless be perceived as a serious shortcoming to a proper understanding of the man and his work and not simply as a typical, if woeful, characteristic of the field as a whole. Basic spadework, such as a critical biography, a list and chronology of works, a study of extant manuscripts, and an informed assessment of work to date, seems to be viewed as an unfortunate mechanical aspect of Arabic-Islamic studies best done by someone else, but without such work any study of a discrete aspect of Ibn Taymīyah′s life and thought cannot but be tentative.

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[1]*Revue des études islamiques* 46, no. 1 (1978): 3-55.

In many ways the study of Ibn Taymīyah is blessed with an enormous amount of primary material, perhaps more so than for any other comparably significant medieval figure. The wealth of primary biographical sources, much of it contemporary, is vast. The very topical nature of Ibn Taymīyah's writings has insured that much of the corpus is internally dated (many of his works are introduced with very specific dates of composition). The diligence of his disciples in preserving their master's program of thought has provided modern scholars with two major lists of his works (Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, Ibn ʻAbd al-Hādī), in addition to the many partial lists found in the *ṭabaqāt* entries. The continued interest in Ibn Taymīyah on the part of modern Muslim intellectuals as well as the increasing sophistication in the cataloguing of medieval Arabic manuscripts has made the study of the manuscript remains of Ibn Taymīyah's work more viable than ever before.[2] At this critical juncture in Ibn Taymīyah studies, what is most needed is a diligent researcher to undertake such a primary and comprehensive introduction to Ibn Taymīyah. Until such a study is undertaken, we might profitably, if modestly, begin the process of organizing Ibn Taymīyah studies with the simple classification of modern studies on Ibn Taymīyah introduced here.

IBN AL-ʻADĪM, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab min Ta'rīkh Ḥalab*, edited by Khalīl al-Manṣūr (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʻIlmīyah, 1417/1996). Pp. 528

REVIEWED BY MICHAEL CHAMBERLAIN, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Historians of medieval Aleppo have long benefited from Sami Dahan's admirable edition of the *Zubdat al-Ḥalab* (Damascus, 1951-68). While it may be premature to believe that this edition is getting long in the tooth, so much has been published since that a new edition would seem to be justified. Unfortunately, it is difficult to recall an edition so remarkably inferior to the one it intends to supersede. It appears that the same manuscript was consulted, so there is nothing new - or more accurate for that matter - here. The project could have been justified if the editor

[2]A fine beginning in this regard has been made by Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Shaybānī in two manuscript catalogues published in the same year: *Majmūʻat Mu'allafāt Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyah: Al-Makhṭūṭah (al-Aṣlīyah wa-al-Muṣawwarah) al-Maḥfūẓah fī Markaz al-Makhṭūṭāt wa-al-Turāth wa-al-Wathā'iq* [Jordan], Qism Ibn Taymīyah, 1 (Kuwait: Manshūrāt Markaz al-Makhṭūṭāt wa-al-Turāth wa-al-Wathā'iq, 1993); and *Majmūʻat Mu'allafāt Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyah: Al-Makhṭūṭah al-Maḥfūẓah fī al-Maktabah al-Sulaymānīyah bi-Istānbūl,* Qism Ibn Taymīyah, 3 (Kuwait: Manshūrāt Markaz al-Makhṭūṭāt wa-al-Turāth wa-al-Wathā'iq, 1993).

had taken into account recently discovered or published works (the complete *Bughyat al-Ṭalab* published by S. Zakkār in 1988-89 comes to mind). However, this opportunity was not only not taken up, the notes fail to include many of Dahan′s references. Bizarrely, it appears that al-Manṣūr declined to consult Dahan′s notes even as he adopted his corrections of scribal errors, and all too often Manṣūr claims that names and toponyms that Dahan managed to track down are unmentioned in other sources (compare Dahan, ii: 293n with al-Manṣūr, p. 331n for a particularly egregious example). In short, where this new edition is generally accurate, and possesses the virtue of availability, it induces a *fasād al-zamān* mood in the reader, and a sense of puzzlement that it was published at all.

MAJD AL-AFANDĪ, *al-Ghazal fī al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī al-Awwal* (Damascus: Dār al-Maʻādd, 1994). Pp. 318.

REVIEWED BY THOMAS BAUER, Universität Erlangen

That poetry of the Mamluk period has a flavor different from that of previous periods is due to a shift of importance given to the various genres of Arabic poetry rather than to a specific stylistic change. Of particular importance was the fact that the number of political leaders capable of appreciating the subtleties of sophisticated panegyric odes had decreased conspicuously. One of the few remaining court poets was Ibn Nubātah, who had managed to win one of the last Ayyubid princes in Ḥamāh as patron. Consequently, the laudatory ode addressed to a ruler, in which the basic values of society were to be reformulated in a ceremonial game between prince and poet, was no longer considered to be the most noble and important genre. Instead, those genres gained ground that immediately reflected the ideas and interests of the civilian elite, a group of which the poets themselves were a part. In this context, the panegyric ode survived, but was now mostly directed to scholars (and often composed by scholars) and other members of the *aʻyān*. In its function as a means of communication between members of the civilian elite, *madīḥ* poems were supplemented by consolation, invitation, and congratulation poems and other kinds of occasional poetry with a more informal character. Even a superficial glance into chronicles and biographical dictionaries of scholars reveals the high importance these and other genres of poetry must have played for the shaping of social identity in Mamluk society. Since the *aʻyān* of this period ″constructed their most intimate and socially critical social bonds

through the cultivation of ʿilm,"[1] as Michael Chamberlain has shown in his seminal study, and since poetry was clearly one of the major fields of *ʿilm*,[2] one can only be amazed by the general neglect of poetry by modern scholars.

It is not sufficiently clear what role love poetry played in all this, but there can be no doubt that the *ghazal* was a genre that profited greatly from developments in this period. Again, the *ghazal* poems of the Mamluk period are not very different from those of the ninth and tenth centuries (which, from a Mamluk point of view, must be seen as its "formative period").[3] Nearly all features that the author of the study in review considers to be new in the Mamluk period were already present two or three centuries earlier (a glance in al-Thaʿālibī's *Yatīmat al-Dahr* would have been helpful). However, love poetry starts to turn up in a great variety of writings as, for example, in all sorts of anthologies and biographical dictionaries. I would even dare to assert that, by the tenth or eleventh century, love poetry had taken the place of the most important poetic genre next to *madīḥ*. Nevertheless, the question of its social function has not even been touched upon yet. Majd al-Afandī does not make an exception even if she devotes an entire chapter to the role of women in Mamluk society, stating that this period can be considered the "golden age of the woman" in the history of Islam (p. 12). But since more than half of the love poems composed during this period are homoerotic, this chapter answers less than half of the questions. More interesting would have been a discussion about possible parallels between teacher-pupil relations on one side and lover-beloved relations on the other, or a more general enquiry about the function of different kinds of emotional bonds between men in this society and their literary representation (and construction), which would help to allocate love poetry's proper place. Al-Afandī cannot see in homoerotic poetry anything other than a sad sign of moral decadence, and has not realized that today the great importance of male-male love relations in pre-modern Islam from the ninth century onwards can no longer be considered a problem of morals, but must be treated as a subject of gender studies, an approach unknown to the author. This is very regrettable since poetry as a simultaneously rather informal as well as generally acknowledged and widely practiced means of communication is one of our most important sources for social history and the history of mentalities of the Mamluk period.

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[1]Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 108.

[2]A fact not unnoticed by Chamberlain, ibid., 85f.

[3]Cf. my study, *Liebe und Liebesdichtung in der arabischen Welt des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts: Eine literatur- und mentalitätsgeschichtliche Studie des arabischen Ġazal* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1998).

Majd al-Afandī confines herself to the study of six major poets from the seventh/thirteenth and the first half of the eighth/fourteenth century: (1) Sharaf al-Dīn al-Anṣārī (586-662/1190-1263), who belongs rather to the Ayyubid than to the Mamluk period (as he is not mentioned in the authoritative Western handbooks, al-Afandī has to be thanked for having rescued this interesting poet from oblivion); (2) Shihāb al-Dīn al-Talla'farī (593-675/1197-1277); (3) Ibn al-'Afīf al-Tilimsānī, known as al-Shābb al-Ẓarīf (661-688/1263-1289); (4) Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (677-759/1278-1348); (5) Ibn Nubātah (686-768/1287-1366); and (6) Ibn al-Wardī (689-749/1290-1349). Each of these poets is treated twice; first in a chapter entitled "The Traditional *Ghazal*" (pp. 44-97) and again in a chapter entitled "The Most Important *Ghazal* Poets of the Time" (pp. 170-258), in which al-Afandī discusses the achievements of these poets in a field she calls the "innovative *ghazal*." Western Arabists might be more familiar with the distinction between *nasīb* and *ghazal*. In fact, nothing else is meant by the differentiation between "traditional" and "innovative" *ghazal*. Al-Afandī simply follows the terminology of traditional Arabic literary theory which does not assign different meanings to the terms *nasīb* and *ghazal*. The author is right in dealing with both types of love poetry in two separate chapters, because the differences between "traditional *ghazal*" on the one hand, and the "innovative *ghazal*" on the other, are still relevant in Mamluk times. "Traditional *ghazal*" (that is, *nasīb*) is love poetry continuing an intertextual line going back to the *jāhilī* prelude of the *qaṣīdah* and featuring themes like the deserted campsite. "Innovative *ghazal*" (what Western Arabists are used to calling simply *ghazal*) continues the tradition of independent love poems in the vein of Abū Nuwās, Abū Tammām, and others (therefore not being really "innovative" in the Mamluk era). One must, however, be aware of the fact that love poetry in the "innovative" style, even in its homoerotic variety, can be found very often now as prelude in the panegyric ode, a place mostly reserved for traditional-style *nasīb* in earlier centuries. Due to this rather complicated situation, one misses a discussion of terminology in al-Afandī's book. Her own classification of the "innovative" *ghazal* in three categories, "sensual," "obscene," and "spiritual" (pp. 98ff.), reflects modern ideas of morality but was rather irrelevant for Mamluk authors, many of whose poems combine lines of more than one type.

In principle, there are two different ways of approaching literature. One can either listen to literature as a recipient, asking if the work appeals to one's taste and wondering what the author has to say to "us." Or one can look at works of literature from a more scholarly angle, trying to elucidate the aesthetic principles of the author's period and the role of literature in his cultural environment and asking about the relation between the particular work of art and the communicative field of which it formed part. Al-Afandī's book belongs to the first category. It is mainly dedicated to an evaluation of the six poets mentioned. The criteria according

to which they are judged are not those of the Mamluk period (or those of any other period of pre-modern Islamic culture), but those of Western literature of the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. For al-Afandī, the main criterion is to what extent a love-poem ″expresses the true feelings″ of the poet. Of course, no Arab poet prior to the nineteenth century ever cared about this. Even the expression *al-shuʿūr al-ṣādiqah*, ″true feelings,″ used by al-Afandī *ad nauseam*, would have been completely incomprehensible to the authors of these poems, *shuʿūr* designating nothing but sensory impressions. In fact, there is no way to translate the expression ″true feelings″ into Classical Arabic since pre-modern Islam (as well as pre-modern Europe, China, etc.) lacked any such concept. In their eyes, emotions either were there or they were not. Emotions could not be true or false; they could, however, be concealed or expressed in a more or less sincere way. Further, and most important, pre-modern Arab poets (and perhaps poets of any pre-modern culture) were not supposed to express feelings, but rather to evoke emotions. A poem—any poem—was not judged by its potential of ″expressing″ something but by its potential to arouse the interest of the hearer (if, e.g., it was *muṭrib*, evoking *ṭarab*, or not). To evoke emotions, the poet was not supposed to possess the feeling as ″truly″ as possible, but to possess a poetic gift and the technical command of composing poems. Part of this ability was mastery of the rhetorical devices. These devices were seen as one of several means of arousing emotion (*ṭarab*) in the hearer/reader. To arouse *ṭarab* in this way was considered a legitimate and admirable achievement. Not for al-Afandī, who is startled as soon as she comes across a *jinās* or any similar device. For her, Ibn Nubātah, generally considered by his contemporaries to be the most gifted poet of the period, limited himself to pure formalism which makes no impression whatsoever in the heart of the reader, appealing to the brain but not to the soul (see pp. 244f.). Even worse is the case of Ibn al-Wardī, whose poetry is ″devoid of affection and feelings and inconsistent with the poetical spirit″ (p. 247). It is frustrating to see Arab scholars imitating Western conceptions of aesthetics that never existed in the pre-modern Islamic world and that have become fairly outdated today in the West. At the turn of the century, Western culture displayed a considerable contempt for great segments of its own aesthetic tradition, denouncing everything that hinted of pure *ṭarab* (to use the Arabic term) which did not serve any ideological purpose as false and trivial. As this was the time of colonialism, these concepts were immediately exported to the colonialized parts of the world. In the West, however, these concepts have been overcome or, at least, modified in the last decades. Ornament is no longer seen indiscriminately as a ″crime″ (as the architect Adolf Loos put it at the beginning of the century), and coloratura in music is no longer considered to be merely empty formulas that detract from its ″real″ essence, as is demonstrated with sufficient clearness by the Rossini revival in Europe and the United States. It was this new appreciation of

form and rhetoric that has enabled Western scholars to hold a less prejudiced view of classical Arabic poetry, whereas many colleagues from Arab countries still persist in a negative view of their own aesthetic tradition. Al-Afandī´s book gives several examples of applying the standards of the age of colonialism, as can be seen not only from her negative attitude towards pre-modern Arabic aesthetic principles, but also from her moralistic approach to the homoerotic content of the bulk of Arabic Mamluk *ghazal*, and, finally, even from the book´s cover illustration imitating the style of some bad ″orientalist″ extravagances of Ingres.

This approach prevents the author from noticing some of the most original achievements of the Mamluk *ghazal*. To mention only one example, the Mamluk period represents the apogee in the history of the Arabic epigram. This history starts in the ninth century with poets like Ibn al-Rūmī, and the popularity of epigrams rose from century to century. Never, however, were there composed so many and such original epigrams as during the age of the Mamluks. The most important collection of *ghazal* epigrams was assembled in the Mamluk period by Shams al-Dīn al-Nawājī (d. 859/1455). His book is entitled *Marāti‘ al-Ghizlān*,[4] and is still in manuscript. It contains hundreds of epigrams, mostly from the Mamluk period, many of them from the six poets treated by al-Afandī. Al-Afandī, limiting herself to printed publications, does not know it. Had she known it, she would have disliked it anyway, since epigrams, which were supposed to be witty and pointed, are certainly not the right medium to express ″true feelings.″ Blinded by her normative approach, al-Afandī does not even notice the existence of the epigram as a distinct formal model in Mamluk poetry. So, for example, Ibn al-Wardī, al-Afandī´s most hated poet, was first and foremost a composer of epigrams, dozens of which were included in al-Nawājī´s collection. Al-Afandī, however, does not recognize Ibn al-Wardī as a poet of epigrams, but, bewildered by the fact that most of his poems comprise only two lines (as epigrams usually do), ascribes this ″defect″ to ″the weakness of Ibn al-Wardī´s poetical spirit″ (p. 248).

To do justice to al-Afandī´s book, one should mention that it contains a lot of interesting and useful observations. The best chapter deals with the *ghazal* in ″popular″ forms, where al-Afandī talks about *mawāliyā*, *qūbā*, *kān wa-kān* and *zajal* (pp. 151-69). Al-Afandī likes folk poetry (since she finds true feelings expressed in it) and pleads convincingly for a proper appreciation of its elegance and freshness. If only she would have been able to emancipate herself from aesthetic normativism as readily as she does from the linguistic normativism of disparaging poetry that uses dialect forms!

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[4]Cf. Brockelmann, *GAL* 2:56

Al-Afandī´s study is, as far as I can see, the first monographic study of love poetry in the Mamluk period. Unfortunately, the author is not able to free herself from the prejudices associated with the Mamluk period since the *nahḍah* period (most of them of Western origin). For her, the Mamluk period is a period of decadence, of economic decline, and of deplorable moral standards. Some gifted poets did their best to compose good poetry despite this sorry state of affairs. In her eyes, they did better the more their poetry complied with literary norms created in the modern West and borrowed by the Arab literati a century ago. Needless to say, this approach does not do justice to the rich and exciting tradition of love poetry in the Mamluk period which has to be measured by its own yardstick and which in turn has to be set in relation to its historical and cultural environment. In reviewing several contributions to the history of Mamluk poetry, Th. Emil Homerin came to the conclusion that ˝most Arab negative opinions [towards Mamluk poetry] appear to be the product of a pervasive reading of this poetry in terms of romantic notions of creativity that embrace the simple and emotional as indicative of personal experience, sincerity, and truth. Therefore, condemnation of Mamluk Arabic verse as decadent and superficial says more about modern tastes than it does about this poetry and its roles within Mamluk society.˝[5] This is also the quintessence of what can be said about al-Afandī´s book.

ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD NAWWĀR, *al-Ṭawā'if al-Mughūlīyah fī Miṣr wa-Ta'thīrātuhā al-'Askarīyah wa-al-Siyāsīyah wa-al-Ijtimā'īyah wa-al-Lughawīyah wa-al-'Umrānīyah fī 'Aṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Baḥrīyah (658-783 H./1260-1382 M.)* (Alexandria: Munsha'at al-Ma'ārif bi-al-Iskandarīyah, [1996?]). Pp. 160.

REVIEWED BY REUVEN AMITAI, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

From the title I expected this small volume to deal in a comprehensive way with the history and influence of the successive groups of Mongol immigrants—the so-called *wāfidīyah*, *musta'minah*, or *musta'minūnah*—who found refuge in the Mamluk Sultanate in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Although the subject has been studied in the short but seminal article by David Ayalon

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[5] *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 71

almost fifty years ago,[1] and further discussed by him and other scholars within larger studies, there is certainly room for a monograph which presents the evidence in a systematic and detailed way, analyzing it in light of recent advances in Mamluk studies. From the outset, however, I must say that this book is a great disappointment. The actual events themselves are treated in a most cursory manner, and the author′s thesis—that the influence of these Mongol refugees along with the large number of Mamluks of supposedly Mongol origin was a fundamental if not decisive one on the Mamluk Sultanate—is basically wrong.

This erroneous thesis is due to three major problems:

1) The author completely misunderstands the ethnic composition of the early Mamluk army and officer class. He is, of course, correct in asserting that the majority of the early Mamluks and certainly the Baḥrīyah regiment hailed from the Qipchaq Turkish tribes who lived in the steppes of southern Russian. His mistake is to assume that since the Mongols conquered the Qipchaq steppes around 1240, the Qipchaqs and Mongols should be equated. Thus, whenever the sources mention the importance and prominence of both individual Qipchaqi Turks or these Turks as a group within the Mamluk Sultanate, the author takes it for granted that these were Mongols. The equating of Mongols and Qipchaqs, almost invariably unjustified, is found on virtually every page of the book. To the author′s mind, then, the importance of Qipchaq Turks in the early Sultanate means only the predominant position of Mongols, and thus the extensive Mongol influence on the Mamluk state. This, however, is an untenable position. There is no denying that among the continuous batches of young Mamluks from the Golden Horde there were some of Mongol origin, or Mongolized Turks, or even Turkified Mongols, but this is still a far cry from all Qipchaqs—the dominant ethnic group in the early Sultanate—being Mongols or bearers of Mongol influence.[2]

2) The importance of the Mongol *wāfidīyah* has been greatly exaggerated by the author. Without negating the military qualities of these *wāfidī*s, Ayalon has already shown in his article published in 1951 their inferior position in the Mamluk military society, albeit with some notable exceptions in the early fourteenth century. (These, by the way, are barely mentioned by the author). For Baybars′s reign, the decisive period when the supposedly Mongol influence was at its height, Ayalon′s suggestion can be easily strengthened by examining some evidence from Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī, who writes that among some 3,000 Mongol *wāfidīyah* who arrived during the time of Baybars, ″he made some of them *ṭablkhānah* amirs (i.e.,

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[1]″The Wafidiya in the Mamluk Kingdom,″ *Islamic Culture* 25 (1951): 89-104 (reprinted in David Ayalon, *Studies on the Mamluks of Egypt (1250-1517)* (London, 1977).

[2]This whole matter is dealt in some detail by David Ayalon in ″The Great *Yāsa* of Chingiz Khān: A Re-Examination,″ *Studia Islamica* 36 (1972): 126-28.

amirs of 40), and others amirs of 10 to 20."[3] There is no reason to assume that anything higher than the middling rank of amir of forty was granted even to Geremün, who led the second group of some 1,300 *wāfidīyah*, which arrived in the Sultanate in 661/1263, and whom one contemporary writer called a commander of a *tümen*, i.e., a unit of 10,000 men.[4] As Ayalon pointed out, there is no evidence that any *wāfidī* leader received the rank of amir of one hundred in these first decades of Mamluk rule. There is certainly no textual basis for the author's conclusion (p. 31) that Baybars gave the senior Mongol *wāfidī*s commissions of amir of one hundred. Another indication of the secondary status of even the senior *wāfidīyah* is seen in the allocations of private land granted by Baybars in 663/1265, after the conquest of Arsūf and Caesarea. Only two of the sixty-one officers named were of Mongol *wāfidī* origin (one of them the above-mentioned Geremün).[5] The Mongol refugees—as a group or as individuals—do not appear to have had a particularly prominent position in the early Sultanate, and it is unlikely that they were a source of overwhelming influence on it.

3) The author virtually ignores all that has been written by modern scholars on the *wāfidīyah* and Mongol influence on the Sultanate. Granted, David Ayalon, tastelessly referred to as "the Jewish historian," is mentioned in passing in a note in the author's introduction (p. 2), as is his famous 1951 article, but there is nothing in the book to indicate that it was consulted.[6] Even in that preliminary overview, Ayalon had discerned the limited role and influence of the *wāfidīyah*, Mongol and otherwise, in the Mamluk military society. No mention whatsoever is made of Ayalon's later study of Mongol influence on the Sultanate, "The Great *Yāsa* of Chingiz Khān: A Re-Examination," which appeared in four parts in *Studia Islamica* in the early 1970s,[7] and was later reprinted in his third Variorum volume, *Outsiders in the Lands of Islam* (London, 1988). Ayalon there dealt in a most cogent way with the contention that there was a decisive Mongol influence,

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[3]Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī, *Ta'rīkh al-Malik al-Ẓāhir*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ (Wiesbaden, 1983), 337. This passage is cited with some changes by Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1930-56), 7:190. Later, Nawwār cites this latter passage (p. 59), but only to give the total number of Mongol *wāfidīyah*, and conveniently leaves out the information regarding the low ranks granted to their chiefs.

[4]Shāfi' ibn 'Alī, *al-Faḍl al-Ma'thūr min Sīrat al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, MS Bodleian Marsh 424, fol. 4a.

[5]Reuven Amitai-Preiss, "The Mamluk Officer Class during the Reign of Sultan Baybars," in *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th-15th Centuries*, ed. Yaacov Lev (Leiden, 1997), 284, 295, 296.

[6]L. A. Mayer, Ayalon's teacher and professor of Islamic archeology at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, is misleadingly described (p. 80), as "the German historian."

[7]See vol. 33 (1991): 99-140; 34 (1971): 151-80; 36 (1972): 113-58; 38 (1973), 107-56.

particularly of the *Yasa* (the body of Mongol law attributed to Chinggis Khan), on the Mamluk military society in Egypt and Syria, and showed that this influence was much more limited than had been previously thought. His most decisive proof was the demonstration that the famous evidence by al-Maqrīzī in his *Khiṭaṭ* on the adoption of the *Yasa* by the Mamluks was a deliberate falsification. In addition, Ayalon showed that Ibn Taghrībirdī's well-known passage on Baybars's adoption of Mongol institutions also deserved little credence. Ayalon, it should be emphasized, did not deny any Mongol influence, but showed that it was restricted in scope. It is, of course, Nawwār's right to adopt a different position towards the credibility of these passages (and thus draw dissimilar conclusions on Mongol influence), but the normal approach would be to discuss Ayalon's work, try to disprove it, and demonstrate the veracity of this evidence, not just to assume so in the face of what has become the accepted position among historians of the early Sultanate. It is worth mentioning that Nawwār only fleetingly cites A. N. Poliak, and then only through the work of another modern Arab historian (p. 80 in the note), in spite of the fact that Poliak's work (preceding that of Ayalon) attempted to show the important role of Mongol influence on the early Sultanate.[8]

Throughout the book I was struck by the frequency of unsupported statements, let alone those which were wrong. I will mention just a few. First, it is stated that Baybars himself was raised according to the *Yasa* (p. 61). This, however, was unlikely: Baybars was born in the 1220s in the steppe area north of the Black Sea. Around 1241-42, his tribe fled to Anatolia, where he was taken into slavery. Since the Mongols only gained control over this area in 1238, one wonders how formative the *Yasa* was on this young Qipchaqi Turk. Second, Quṭuz is called a Mongol Qipchaq (p. 23).[9] This is one of countless examples of the arbitrary, and unjustified, juxtaposition of these two ethnic terms. It is interesting to note that some sources report that Quṭuz himself claimed he was descended from the Khwārazm-Shāhs;[10] any Mongolness that Quṭuz was supposed to have had does not seem to have left much of an imprint on his own sense of identity. Third, the author states that the Mamluks did not forget the important role played by the group of Mongols which Berke Khan sent *before* the battle of ʻAyn Jālūt at that battle (p. 24). I do not have a clue as to the possible basis for such an assumption. Finally, it is suggested that the letter sent by the Īlkhān Tegüder Aḥmad was sent in Mongolian, and only upon reaching the Sultanate was it translated into Arabic (pp. 137, 139). This, it is

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[8]On p. 117, the author claims that the Mamluk state was a sort of branch of the Golden Horde, an assertion eerily reminiscent of the argument found in A. N. Poliak, "Le caractère colonial de l'État mameluk dans ses rapports avec la Horde d'or," *Revue des études islamiques* 9 (1935): 213-48.

[9]On p. 95, Quṭuz is mistakenly called the *khushdāsh* of Baybars.

[10]Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250-1382* (London, 1986), 23.

suggested, shows how widespread was the knowledge of the Mongolian language in the Mamluk Sultanate. In fact there is nothing to indicate that this letter was sent in anything but Arabic. When the Mongols did dispatch a letter in Mongolian to the Mamluk court, this was noted by the sources.[11] Further proof of this letter originally being written in Arabic is that identical texts of its contents are found in both Mamluk sources and the pro-Mongol Persian Waṣṣāf. It seems likely that the latter saw a copy of the Arabic letter from before it was sent, rather then a hypothetical Mamluk translation into Arabic from a supposed Mongolian original that found its way back to the Ilkhanate.

To be fair, the book has some value. For example, there is a thoughtful discussion of some of the reasons behind the large-scale trade in *mamlūk*s from the Golden Horde to the Sultanate (pp. 20-21), and the section on the influence of Mongol sartorial practices on the Mamluks is interesting (pp. 71-79). But there is no getting around the unconvincing way in which the book´s main thesis is presented. If one ignores previous scholarship, exaggerates in a most excessive way the role of the *wāfidīyah* in the Sultanate, and equates Mongols and Qipchaq Turks, let alone everything Mongol and Turkish, then one is surely bound to find decisive Mongol influence on the Mamluk state in the military, political, cultural, and even linguistic realms. I, for one, was not convinced.

MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤABĪB AL-HĪLAH, *al-Tārīkh wa-al-Mu'arrikhūn bi-Makkah min al-Qarn al-Thālith al-Hijrī ilá al-Qarn al-Thālithah 'Asharah: Jam' wa-'Arḍ wa-Ta'rīf* (London: Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1994). Pp. 518.

REVIEWED BY FRÉDÉRIC BAUDEN, Université de Liège

The work at hand belongs to the type of study that flourished mainly after the publication of the first volumes of the *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* by Carl Brockelmann—that is, the bio-bibliographical analysis of the historiography of a certain area in the Muslim world at a particular time. Similar works were published for Andalusia by Francisco Pons Boigues,[1] for Morocco by Évariste

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[11]Waṣṣāf, *Ta'rīkh-i Waṣṣāf* (*Tajziyat al-Amṣār wa-Tazjiyat al-A'ṣār*) (Bombay, 1269 H./1852-53; reprt. Tehran, 1338/1959-60), 113-18.

[1]Francisco Pons Boigues, *Ensayo bio-bibliográfico sobre los historiadores y geógrafos arábigo-españoles* (Madrid, 1898).

Levi-Provençal,[2] for Tunisia by Ahmed Abdesselem,[3] for Yemen by Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid[4] and, finally, for al-Shām by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid.[5] The first aim of these works has always been to give new impetus to historical research by offering researchers compendiums listing the available sources in published or manuscript form for the defined area.

As far as the Hijaz is concerned, and more particularly Mecca, one can only agree with the author's statement (p. 10) that no wide-ranging study on the historiographical school of Mecca has been completed until now.[6] One may even go further, stressing the fact that scholars specializing in this field have had to wait until recent years for the appearance of a surge of text editions dealing with the history of Mecca.

Indeed, if we glance at the record, we notice that, with the exception of some worthless attempts, the first scholar whose attention was drawn to this field was Heinrich Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, who devoted several volumes to the edition of extracts of basic texts such as *Akhbār Makkah* by al-Azraqī (d. 244/858), *Ta'rīkh Makkah* by al-Fākihī (ca. 272/885), and *Shifā' al-Gharām* by al-Fāsī (d. 832/1429).[7] This first attempt failed to generate any interest among Orientalists.

In the Middle East, we have had to await the second half of this century to witness the appearance of the first editions of historical texts dealing with the history of the Holy City: for the complete edition of *Shifā' al-Gharām* by al-Fāsī in 1956 and for the issue of the first volume of *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn* by the same author in 1959 (the last volume was issued in 1969). These editions may be considered the first of a stream of editions of historical texts about Mecca, several of which were edited as dissertations and, unfortunately, remain unpublished.[8]

[2]Évariste Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa: Essai sur la littérature historique et biographique au Maroc du XVIe au XXe siècle* (Paris, 1922).

[3]Ahmed Abdesselem, *Les historiens tunisiens des XVII^e, XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles: Essai d'histoire culturelle* (Paris, 1973).

[4]Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *Sources pour l'histoire du Yémen à l'époque musulmane* (Cairo, 1974).

[5]Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, *Mu'jam al-Mu'arrikhīn al-Dimashqīyīn* (Beirut, 1398/1978).

[6]We should emphasize that another book rather close to this subject, although the approach is less scientific, was published in the same year as al-Hīlah's: 'Ātiq ibn Ghayth al-Bilādī, *Nashr al-Rayyāḥīn fī Tārīkh al-Balad al-Amīn: Tarājim Mu'arrikhī Makkah wa-Jughrāfiyīhā 'alá Marr al-'Uṣūr* (Mecca, 1415/1994).

[7]Heinrich Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka* (Leipzig, 1858-61).

[8]'Abd al-Qādir al-Ṭabarī's "Nash'at al-Sulāfah" (d. 1033/1624), ed. Ḥamad al-'Uraynān (University of St. Andrews, 1973); 'Alī al-Ṭabarī's "al-Araj al-Miskī" (d. 1070/1660), ed. Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Ṭāsān (University of Edinburgh, 1979); Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī's "Itḥāf Fuḍalā' al-Zamān" (d. 1173/1760), ed. Nāṣir al-Barakātī (University of St. Andrews, 1972).

The last to be published was probably *Itḥāf al-Wará* by al-Najm Ibn Fahd (d. 885/1480), edited between 1983 and 1989.

Anyone wishing to publish an Arabic text knows that the inevitable starting point must be Brockelmann′s *GAL* and its partial supplement, that is, Sezgin′s *GAS.* Nevertheless, since their issue, several catalogues of manuscripts have appeared, supplementing these two essential works. In order to avoid neglecting any manuscript, a thorough survey of the sources requires the investigation of catalogues. Al-Hīlah′s work happily completes both these sources for Mecca.

By offering researchers a study that includes most of the historians who were born or resided in Mecca, al-Hīlah facilitates forthcoming research in this area and, in particular, serves as a general survey which may help to define a Meccan historical school.

The period in question (from the third to the tenth century A.H.) might appear too broad for the study to be complete. However, the author does not pretend to be exhaustive (see p. 11, note 1) by invoking the fact that numerous texts which may include supplementary information remain unpublished. He invites readers to inform him of missing information; this may appear to some as a weakness.

The reader will perhaps wonder why no explanation is given in the introduction justifying the choice of the period in question. Why did he not take into account the authors preceding the third century?[9] Perhaps because most of the works dating to this time have not been preserved?

In his survey, al-Hīlah has been able to identify 187 Meccan historians whom he orders chronologically according to their death dates. To perform this selection, he considers as Meccan all those who were born in the Holy City, or who went there in order to live permanently, so that they have been described by historians as ″Makkī.″ For this, he mainly relies on *al-ʻIqd al-Thamīn* by al-Fāsī, *Itḥāf al-Wará* by al-Najm Ibn Fahd and *al-Mukhtaṣar min Kitāb Nashr al-Nūr wa-al-Zahr fī Tarājim Afāḍil Makkah min al-Qarn al-ʻĀshir ilá al-Qarn al-Rābiʻah ʻAsharah* by ʻAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad Mirdād (d. 1343/1954). However, this method produces some inconsistencies. One will be astonished to find a record of ʻUmar ibn Aḥmad al-Shammāʻ (d. 936/1529) from Aleppo, who resided in Mecca in 916 and in 927, but nothing about Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, who resided at Mecca from 727 to 730 and whose travel account is an excellent source for the history of the Holy City at that time. Such instances are common, notably for Egyptian historians (e.g., al-Maqrīzī).

The total number of works for which the author has found any trace amounts to 846. Yet al-Hīlah notes that only ninety-eight titles are available in printed editions, which is not a reasonable sample for such a large number of works. As

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[9]It seems that *Faḍā'il Makkah* by al-Ḥumaydī (d. 219/834) has escaped the author′s attention.

for the remaining titles, only 245, according to al-Hīlah, are still extant in manuscript form. The terrible conclusion is that 505 titles have not survived.

Al-Hīlah follows a scheme that he repeats for each author: he starts by giving a short biography of the author, mentioning also his most important non-historical works. This biography is followed by the chief bibliographical references. Then he lists the author's historical works alphabetically. Al-Hīlah takes into account not only those works ordinarily considered historical, but also texts from which historical information may be gleaned. These include law texts by *fuqahā'* (*fatwás* and works dealing with pilgrimage ritual) which remain, in al-Hīlah's eyes, the best sources on culture.

For each work, al-Hīlah gives, insofar as manuscripts have been preserved, the contents and sometimes even the table of contents. Al-Hīlah quotes those manuscripts for which he has found a reference in the many catalogues he has consulted, by adding the name of the library, the shelf mark and, if possible, the date of copying. An important place is also reserved for quotations of the works by later authors, and most of the time he manages to give the pages where these are to be found. If the work has been published, he mentions the various editions, and expresses an opinion on the scientific value of these and their historical importance. All of this will surely delight researchers.

Because some Meccan families have been rendered illustrious by several famous representatives, the author strives to devote to them several lines and to establish chronologically a list of the representatives of a given family (Banū Fahd, pp. 99-108; Banū 'Allān, pp. 311-12; Banū al-'Ujaymī, pp. 367-70; Banū Dahhān, p. 397). But al-Hīlah does not explain his criteria for doing so, and some families deserving of similar treatment are ignored. We particularly note the Banū al-Ṭabarī[10] (of whom seven representatives are mentioned in al-Hīlah's book, however), the Banū Ẓahīrah, the Banū Nuwayrī, and the Banū al-Qasṭallānī.

The author begins his work (p. 15) with the famous al-Azraqī (d. 244/858) and ends it (p. 423) with Abū Bakr al-Zur'ah al-Makkī (fl. 13th/19th c.). The book also includes a bibliography, divided into two parts, listing manuscript (p. 427) and printed sources (p. 440), as well as valuable indexes of authors' names

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[10]For a genealogical tree of this family, from the end of the 12th c. up to the end of the 15th c., see Frédéric Bauden, *Les Ṭabariyya: Histoire d'une importante famille de la Mecque (fin XII^e-fin XV^e s.)*, in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk Eras*, Proceedings of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd International Colloquiums organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 1992, 1993, and 1994, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, vol. 73, ed. Urbain Vermeulen and Daniel De Smet (Leuven, 1995), 253-66. The author of this review is currently preparing a study of the whole Ṭabarī family in Mecca from the end of the 12th c. up to the end of the 18th c., which will contain a complete genealogical tree and will study the family's relationships with other Meccan families.

(p. 460) and titles of quoted works (p. 473). However, no reference is made in the bibliography to the manuscript catalogues consulted by the author. The table of contents is at the end. A few pictures are scattered within the text of samples of historians′ writings mentioned by al-Hīlah.

The main value of this work is, no doubt, the mention made by al-Hīlah of the manuscripts held in Mecca that represent a significant percentage of those that have been preserved. As a matter of fact, he was able to study these manuscripts because he is Professor of History at the Jāmiʻat Umm al-Qurá in Mecca and is the author of a catalogue of historical manuscripts kept in one of the libraries of the Ḥaram.[11] As for the manuscripts preserved in other parts of the world, one must be more cautious. There are just a few quotations of Brockelmann′s *GAL* and Sezgin′s *GAS*, although the author had at his disposal the Arabic versions of both. Indeed, the author does not seem to have a fluent knowledge of European languages, except perhaps English. This is unfortunately apparent in the European names and titles: Wustenfeld instead of Wüstenfeld (p. 17, and *passim*), Ahlward instead of Ahlwardt (p. 25), Tubengen instead of Tübingen (p. 34), Hands Chriften (read Handschriften) by Edwald Warner (read Ewald Wagner) (p. 63), Mignana instead of Mingana (p. 69), and so on. These mistakes are minor compared to other more serious ones. He constantly refers to the Berlin catalogue of Arabic manuscripts, compiled by Ahlwardt, but most of these references are false, and this is due to his misunderstanding of the German language. He does not seem to have understood that Ahlwardt was citing, at the end of each section, a list of titles belonging to the same subject, relying on the information in Ḥājjī Khalīfah′s *Kashf al-Ẓunūn.* Al-Hīlah mistakenly understood these titles to be preserved in Berlin. Thus the following references are erroneous and must be corrected: p. 17 (MS Berlin 9751 does not contain *Akhbār Makkah* by al-Azraqī, but rather *Zubdat al-Aʻmāl* by al-Isfarāʼinī [see p. 75]), pp. 41, 48, 94, 327 (Berlin 6073 is not a MS), pp. 55, 58 (Berlin 5536/10 is not a MS), p. 118 (MS Berlin 9873 is not dated 1850, but ca. 900/1494), p. 146 (Berlin 9633 is not a MS), p. 165 (Berlin 9877 refers to two copies, and not just one).

In the same way, the author devotes, in reference to no. 141, a record to a certain Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad al-Makkī, about whom he says that he was alive in 1117/1705. According to al-Hīlah, this individual is the author of *Majallat al-Ḥunafāʼ* for which he refers to MS Berlin 9658. He acknowledges that he has found no information relating to the life of this author, and he mentions also that he relies only on Ahlwardt. If we go back to Ahlwardt′s work (vol. 9, p. 202), however, we ascertain that this is not the case. Ahlwardt simply says that the

[11] *Handlist of Manuscripts in the Library of Makkah al-Mukarramah: History Section* (London, 1994).

author´s name is missing in the manuscript and adds: ˝Auf der Innenseite des Vorderdeckels steht als solcher (nebst Angabe des Titels) in ganz neuer Schrift Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad al-Makkī. Diese Angabe geht aber auf den Abschreiber: der ungenannte Verfasser ist jüngerer Zeitgenosse des Majd al-dīn Abū al-Ṭāhir al-Fīrūzābādī, [. . .], lebt also um 850/1446.˝ Thus, al-Hīlah has gone astray and regarded this copyist, who is unknown, as the author. It may be added that there is another copy of this work in Paris (MS Ar. 1571).

Because this reviewer has been working on a Meccan *faqīh*, al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī,[12] who is mentioned by al-Hīlah (no. 24), an assessment of the accuracy of information gathered by al-Hīlah can readily be made. Al-Hīlah mentions (p. 54) that an *ijāzah* of al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī, dated 640 A.H., is preserved in MS Leiden Or. 2544. This is absolutely not true: a *samā‘*, dated 604 A.H. (note that al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī was born in 615 A.H.), is found on fol. 55b, but nothing else is indicated. However, an *ijāzah* of al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī is held in the Maktabat al-Asad in Damascus, MS 3857 (on fol. 71a), and is dated 685 A.H. Al-Hīlah specifies that *Istiqṣā’ al-Bayān* is MS Berlin 5536, being thus a *unicum*, although Ahlwardt just mentions the title, as noted earlier in this review. If al-Hīlah sticks to the rule he has defined in his introduction, and since he mentions two works by al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī consisting of *fatwá*s, we wonder why there is no mention of his *Sharḥ al-Tanbīh*, which has not been preserved but which seems to have contained important historical information about Mecca since al-Fāsī quoted it on numerous occasions in his *Shifā’ al-Gharām*, as did al-Samhūdī in his *Wafā’ al-Wafā’*. On the other hand, we do not understand why he mentions his *Kitāb al-Ghinā’ wa-Taḥrīmuhu* (?) for which he says that a *unicum* exists in Berlin (no. 5536/11). Once again, this is erroneous. Comparing our census of the manuscripts preserved for each of al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī´s works with al-Hīlah´s, we are struck by the difference. For *Khulāṣat Sīrat Sayyid al-Bashar* (al-Hīlah´s no. 4, p. 55), four manuscripts are listed as opposed to the twenty-nine we have found. *Khayr al-Qirá fī Ziyārat Umm al-Qurá* (no. 5, p. 56) is identical with no. 9 (p. 57), while the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah manuscript is not dated to 781 A.H., but was copied before 881 A.H. (three editions were published, all of which are unknown to al-Hīlah). For *Dhakhā’ir al-‘Uqbá fī Manāqib Dhawī al-Qurbá* (no. 6, p. 56), four manuscripts are listed as opposed to twenty-seven that we have found; for *al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍrah*

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[12]Frédéric Bauden, *Les trésors de la postérité ou les fastes des proches parents du Prophète (Kitāb Ḏaḫā’ir al-‘Uḳbā fī Manāḳib Ḏawī al-Ḳurbā) de Muḥibb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī (ob. 694/1295): Édition critique accompagnée d´une traduction annotée et d´une étude sur la vie et l´œuvre de l´auteur* (Université de Liège, 1996). The Arabic text and the French translation will probably be published by the IFEAD in Damascus. See also on this author, Frédéric Bauden, ˝al-Ṭabarī, Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh,˝ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 10.

fī Faḍā'il al-'Asharah (no. 7, p. 56), eleven manuscripts are listed as opposed to forty; for *al-Simṭ al-Thamīn* (no. 8, p. 57), two manuscripts are listed as opposed to fourteen; al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī's *'Awāṭif al-Nuṣrah* (no. 11, p. 57), is preserved in a *unicum* (Princeton, 2275, dated 785 A. H.) that al-Hīlah does not mention. Finally, we do not understand what al-Hīlah's aim is when he limits himself to mentioning just a few manuscripts, as these are not even the most important ones, especially in terms of date of copying. Because a comparison of this material with ours produced this result, we actually fear that this might be only the tip of the iceberg. And our fear also seems to be confirmed by the following corrections and additions which may be added to the preceding remarks:

p. 20: *Kitāb Mizāj al-Nabī* (read *Mizāḥ*, cf. *GAS* I, p. 318).

p. 20: *al-Muwaffaqīyāt* consisting of nineteen parts, but only parts fifteen to nineteen are preserved in two manuscripts: the one quoted by al-Hīlah and another one in Gotha (Ar. 76, cf. *GAS* I, p. 318). The following edition of this text, based on both manuscripts, seems to have escaped al-Hīlah's attention: *al-Akhbār al-Muwaffaqīyāt*, ed. S. Makkī al-'Ānī, Dirāsat Dīwān al-Awqāf, Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-Islāmī, no. 7 (Baghdad: Maktabat al-'Ānī, [1392/1972]), 719 pp.; reprint (Qom: Manshūrāt al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, 1996).

p. 25: There is another copy of al-'Uqaylī's *Kitāb al-Ḍu'afā' al-Kabīr*, which is preserved in the Chester Beatty Library, no. 3783 (mentioned in *GAS*).

p. 57: There are three editions of al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī's *Ṣafwat al-Qirá*.[13]

p. 57 : al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī's *'Awāṭif al-Nuṣrah* is preserved in a *unicum* (Princeton University Library, MS 2275).

p. 59: al-Jamāl al-Ṭabarī's *al-Tashwīq ilá al-Bayt al-'Atīq* has been edited.[14]

p. 153: Richard Mortel[15] refers to another manuscript of al-Najm Ibn Fahd's *al-Durr al-Kamīn* (King Saud University Libraries, Riyadh, MS *fā'* 113/2).

p. 188: al-Hīlah mentions no manuscript for al-Shammā''s *al-Durar al-Multaqaṭah* although we found a copy of it in the Chester Beatty Library (MS 3400), where it is entitled *al-Durrah al-Nayyirah min al-Riyāḍ al-'Asharah*.

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[13]Ed. Riḍwān Muḥammad Riḍwān (Cairo, 1354/1935), under the title *Ḥijjat al-Muṣṭafá*. The second was also published under the title, *Ḥijjat al-Muṣṭafá* (Cairo, [1981?]). The third was published by Dār al-Ḥadīth in Cairo in 1988, under the same title as the first two (pp. 37-107), together with Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's *Quwwat al-Ḥajjāj li-'Umūm Maghfirat al-Ḥujjāj* (pp. 7-36), and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah's *Awhām al-'Ulamā' fī Ḥijjat al-Nabī* (pp. 109-121).

[14]Ed. 'Abd al-Sattār Abū Ghuddah, under the title *al-Tashwīq ilá Ḥajj al-Bayt al-'Atīq* (Cairo, 1413/1993).

[15]"Madrasas in Mecca during the Medieval Period: A Descriptive Study Based on Literary Sources," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 60 (1997): 246, note 95.

p. 201: Jār Allāh Ibn Fahd′s *Taḥqīq al-Ṣafā' fī Tarājim Banī al-Wafā'* is preserved in a *unicum* in the Chester Beatty Library (MS 4868) and it was transcribed from the author′s autograph.
p. 233: Al-Hīlah quotes Sylvestre de Sacy′s edition and French translation of al-Jazīrī′s *'Umdat al-Ṣafwah fī Ḥill al-Qahwah*, but not Antoine Galland′s nonliteral translation.[16]
p. 257: There are two other copies (Princeton University Library, MSS 2883 and 4713) of *Tuḥfat al-Ṭālib bi-Ma'rifat man Yantasibu ilá 'Abd Allāh wa-Abī Ṭālib*.
p. 260: another copy of *al-Risālah al-Maqāmīyah fī Faḍl al-Maqām wa-al-Bayt al-Ḥarām* is to be found in the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah, MS 8304 *ḥā'*.[17]
p. 299: The number of pages (352) given for the 1316 A.H. edition of *'Uyūn al-Masā'il min A'yān al-Rasā'il* should read 252.
p. 300: The information given for 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ṭabarī′s *Kashf al-Niqāb 'an Ansāb al-Arba'ah al-Aqṭāb* must be supplemented by the following: This work was indeed published in 1309 A.H., but within *Majmū' Jalīl wa-Mu'allaf 'Adīm: al-Mathīl Mushtamil 'alá Khams Rasā'il 'Āliyat al-Isnād 'Aẓīmat al-Imdād* (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-'Āmirah al-Sharafīyah, 1309), 119 pp.
p. 314: It is said that Muḥammad 'Alī ibn Muḥammad 'Allān used to copy manuscripts to earn his living. Evidence of this information may be found in the Maktabat al-Asad, Damascus, MS 4808, which is a copy of al-Muḥibb al-Ṭabarī′s *Dhakhā'ir al-'Uqbá*, where it is to be found on fol. 1: *min kutub al-faqīr ilá Allāh subḥānahu wa-ta'ālá Muḥammad 'Alī ibn Muḥammad 'Allān al-Ṣiddīqī al-Shāfi'ī khādim al-ḥadīth al-sharīf bi-al-ḥaram al-makkī*.
p. 385: there are two more copies in the Leiden University Library of al-Sinjārī′s *Manā'iḥ al-Karam* (MSS 7018-19).[18]

It must be clear that these additions and corrections are those detected upon the first reading of this book. There is no doubt that further readings might reveal additional shortcomings.

To conclude, al-Hīlah′s book remains a good, first step towards the history and the historiography of Mecca that will be useful to students and scholars specializing in this field, especially as a compilation of the manuscripts kept in Mecca and Medina and the contents of published editions. Be that as it may, it must be kept in mind that nobody should rely only on this book in light of the inconsistencies and deficiencies revealed in this review.

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[16]*De l′origine et du progrès du café, sur un manuscrit arabe de la Bibliothèque du Roy* (Caen and Paris, 1699; reprint, Paris, 1992).

[17]See Fu'ād Sayyid, *Fihrist al-Makhṭūṭāt: Nashrah bi-al-Makhṭūṭāt allatī Iqtanathā al-Dār min sanah 1936-1955*, 2:186.

[18]See P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in the Netherlands*, 182.

AḤMAD IBN ʻALĪ AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Durar al-ʻUqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-Aʻyān al-Mufīdah: Qiṭʻah minhu*. Edited by ʻAdnān Darwīsh and Muḥammad al-Miṣrī. (Damascus: Wizārat al-Thaqāfah, 1995). Two volumes.

REVIEWED BY DONALD P. LITTLE, McGill University

As Claude Cahen, Li Guo, and I have had occasion to note before, publication of Mamluk texts and historiographical studies has been erratic, with preference often shown to derivative over contemporary sources and with instances of plagiarism and incompetence. The work here under review provides still another example of scholarly caprice.

As is well known, al-Maqrīzī supplemented his famous annalistic and topographical works on Islamic Egypt with biographical dictionaries; indeed, he undertook to do so with at least two such projects. His *Kitāb al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr* was to consist of biographies of famous men from many professions who had flourished in Egypt since the Muslim conquest. According to Ibn Taghrībirdī, these would have filled more than eighty volumes, or sixteen according to al-Sakhāwī.[1] Surviving portions have been edited and published recently in Beirut.[2] A more specialized work, *Durar al-ʻUqūd*, prepared in the tradition of al-Ṣafadī's *Aʻyān al-ʻAṣr*, was devoted to biographies of al-Maqrīzī's eminent contemporaries. The rationale for such a book the author set forth rhetorically in the preface:

> When I was still close to the age of fifty I had lost most of my friends and intimates. My grief was intense at their loss, and my life went sour thereafter. So I consoled myself with meeting them in remembrance and compensated for not seeing them by listening to reports about them, dictating my information about them in this book, taking pleasure from commemorating them. . . . Then I saw fit to compile the reports about those whom I had encountered, whether in absence or in person, Egyptian or foreign, recording news of kings, amirs, notable scribes and viziers, transmitters of tradition and legists, scholars and poets, both famous or renowned,

[1]Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, ed., *Le manuscrit autographe d'al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (London, 1995), 50.

[2]Edited by Muḥammad al-Yaʻlāwī, 8 vols. (Beirut, 1991).

> whether men of worldly affairs or seekers of the next world, beginning with the year 760.[3]

According to Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *Durar al-'Uqūd* contained about 666 biographies,[4] of which the present edition, a fragment, contains 382, all of which cover a person whose name begins either with *alif* or *'ayn*. Oddly enough, although most of the biographees qualify as al-Maqrīzī's contemporaries, a few do not. Perhaps these were intended for *al-Muqaffá*?

Be that as it may, this edition by Darwīsh and al-Miṣrī is based on a *musawwadah*, a rough draft, in the author's hand, with notes and additions from others. Accordingly, many of the biographies are brief and incomplete, with blanks to have been filled in later. But some are fairly long, complete with quotations of poetry. But what is unique about this edition is the fact that the editors do not reveal the identity of the manuscript they used and refer to it only as "the manuscript which we have relied upon in 177 folios."[5] With a truly bizarre twist, they present a cropped facsimile of the title page which eliminates the bottom of the page containing the identifying seal of ownership. This despite the fact that there are known to be only two surviving copies, one in the Gotha collection in Germany, and the second, an apparently complete, privately owned copy in Mosul, which its owner has so far declined to publish or share.[6] Darwīsh and al-Miṣrī were obviously unaware of the latter copy since they express the hope of finding a complete copy some day.[7] Stranger still, three hundred selected biographies were edited and published in Beirut in 1992 with the title *al-Maqrīzī wa-Kitābuhu Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-A'yān al-Mufīdah*, edited by Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī. It is not for me to speculate as to why Darwīsh and al-Miṣrī saw fit to suppress identification of the Gotha manuscript and neglected to cite the Beirut edition; nor do I know the basis of 'Alī's selection of the biographies he included or omitted since he does not himself state this criterion. Suffice it to say that we now have two independent editions of a surviving autograph fragment of *Durar al-'Uqūd*, one apparently complete, the other obviously not. Of the two, the Damascus edition is clearly the more valuable, especially since the editors have provided copious vowels to the text as well as detailed footnotes. On the other hand, 'Alī has written a valuable introduction describing al-Maqrīzī's methodology as a biographer, whereas the Syrian editors were satisfied for the most part with

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[3]Darwīsh and al-Miṣrī, ed., *Durar al-'Uqūd*, 1:50-51.

[4]Sayyid, ed., *Le manuscrit*, 52.

[5]Darwīsh and al-Miṣrī, ed., *Durar al-'Uqūd*, 1:36.

[6]Sayyid, ed., *Le manuscrit*, 52.

[7]Darwīsh and al-Miṣrī, ed., *Durar al-'Uqūd*, 1:37.

repeating banalities about Arabic biographical literature in general. Neither edition contains a bibliography. As to the value of the source itself for historians, it would seem from the footnotes in both editions that biographies of practically all the subjects are available in other sources, some of which show signs of borrowing from *Durar al-'Uqūd*, so that with the exception of unique biographies, if such there be, the main value of *Durar al-'Uqūd* may turn out to be historiographical.

Strange are the ways of Mamlukologists.

DORIS BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF, *Mamluk and Post-Mamluk Metal Lamps* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1995). Pp. 107.

REVIEWED BY NUHA N. N. KHOURY, University of California at Santa Barbara

Objects of illumination, lighting devices, or, simply, lamps perform the same function today as they always have: to "magically" transform a patch of darkness into light. Beyond their basic, necessary function, all lamps—from the most humble portable earthenware oil-and-wick holders to the translucent "cloth" and paper lanterns such as appear in Timurid miniatures, to the plain and enameled glass, glazed ceramic and more labor intensive metal ones—are compound devices in which a light-giving substance is combined with a "holder" and/or body that is capable of becoming a decorative object. Lamps are eminently useful objects for the archeologist and the cultural historian; they provide information on architectural and urban activities, on technologies, materials, and decorative techniques, and, in the case of Islamic ones especially, often also elicit discussions of religious and philosophical views pertaining to light and its metaphorical or allegorical applications.

The Mamluks—or, at least, a particular sector of Mamluk society—favored two general types of suspended lamps: the well-known enameled glass ones that are occasionally inscribed with the Verse of Light, and the punched, incised, inlaid, and otherwise decorated metal lamps often designed to hold a number of "lights," usually small glass oil containers that are sometimes placed in special compartments within or around the metal body. Although some recent studies have expanded our knowledge of these often beautiful objects, there is still much information to be extracted from them, and, in fact, some collections are still incompletely known. A case in point is the important collection of lamps that forms the core of the study under review, at the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo (formerly the Museum of Arab Art), which has remained virtually untouched

since Gaston Wiet catalogued some samples in his *Objets en cuivre* over sixty years ago. Now, Doris Behrens-Abouseif revisits this collection to study the formal rather than the purely epigraphic aspects of metal lamps produced in Mamluk, Ottoman, and later times (covering the span from the thirteenth through the nineteenth centuries, and including the so-called Mamluk Revival lamps). In the process, she adds a number of unknown or previously unpublished examples, many of which post-date the "classical" moment that has dominated studies of the arts of Syria and Egypt. Her text at once communicates the excitement of discovery, rehabilitates the often ignored later examples, and positions lamps within a general functional framework on the basis of a variety of historical and descriptive accounts.

The book is divided into an introduction discussing lamps and their uses, followed by five succinct but richly illustrated chapters, and a short conclusion on "stylistic evolution." Of the five chapters that form the body of the book, four are devoted to specific Mamluk types: the *tannūr* ("a monumental type of bronze polycandelon"), "vase-shaped lamps" (considered the classic Islamic type in as much as they have counterparts at other times, elsewhere, and in different media, primarily glass), the *thurayyā* ("polycandelons with spherical shade"), and "pyramid lamps." The author analyzes these lamps from the point of view of design, manufacture, and decoration, in order to create a catalogue and provide a typology of Mamluk metal lamps. Although some of the attributions of anonymous lamps will no doubt be refined in future, the additional samples offered here, ranging from a lamp at the Muʿallaqah church in Old Cairo to ones at the Egyptian Ethnographic Museum, are valuable additions to the available repertoire of Mamluk objects.

The stylistic analysis that appears in these chapters is carried forward into the fifth one, which combines different formal types from post-Mamluk times. The arrangement allows the author to view the objects within a larger comparative and chronological framework that aids in the dating and attribution of the anonymous examples on the one hand, and leads to a discussion of the changes in decorative techniques, tastes, and market demands on the other. Thus Behrens-Abouseif is able to point to a continuity—even renewed creativity—in the production and design of metal lamps after Cairo became a provincial capital under the Ottomans; proof of the persistence of local "styles" based on a Mamluk paradigm. The durability of local traditions in the manufacture and decoration of metal lamps apparently justifies the "post-Mamluk" designation, though it remains unclear why this was the case with lamps and not with other sorts of metal objects, which were more open to developments in Istanbul, or why the "vase-shaped" type disappeared from Cairene markets but not in Istanbul. The extent to which still later post-Mamluk metal (as opposed to glass) lamps satisfied primarily antiquarian demands that transformed them into "*objets d'art*," whether for local consumption or for an

export market, is also problematic. As Behrens-Abouseif's inclusion of these later objects in her catalogue demonstrates, it may be time to reevaluate the evidence arising from the nineteenth and early twentieth century, whose scholars and collectors may have been more captivated by Mamluk products than by their later counterparts.

If the later lamps raise general questions of fashion, manufacture, and market demand, the earlier ones are also implicated in similar problems. The break-down into four formal types, for example, has yet to inform us whether any (and, if so, which) of these types was reserved for domestic uses as opposed to use in mosques or the various religious complexes patronized by the Mamluk elites. The correlation (or lack thereof) between formal types and their functions is of particular interest in regard to Mamluk visual culture, which concentrated on an increasingly limited repertoire of decorative designs. Although this repertoire leads to an immediate identification of Mamluk objects, it does not immediately distinguish functions, leaving such differentiation to larger formal categories or to epigraphy.

Similarly, we are still ill-informed about the material constitution of these objects (even though some are defined by both form and metal, such as the bronze *tannūr* type) and the degree to which they reflect shortages in raw materials (studies that require extensive and expensive technical analyses). However, this raises the issue of possible correspondences between medium, terminology, form, and specific functions and uses as sources of information, as is the case, for instance, with the gold and silver lamps that were donated to shrines and/or used on special occasions, or the *fānūs*, a special functional type discussed by the author and associated with Ramadan celebrations. Although there are rare instances in which an inscription provides its carrier object with a name (for example, the *thurayyā* discussed on p. 43), the vocabulary associated with the lamps remains ambiguous, and there is little attempt here to use terminology as an informative category that may correlate to specific metals, formal types, or uses. This lacuna is particularly striking in regard to Mamluk times, for which we possess copious amounts of historical sources, dictionaries, and *waqf* deeds that have been used in other analyses of material remains and some of which are also used by the author in discussions of certain lamps. Despite this wealth of information, it is, of course, often difficult to connect textual data with actual objects. Still, it would have been interesting to know if, for instance, lamps—or certain types of lamps—were among the objects included in bridal dowries among other essential household furnishings, information that is likely available in some of the same sources that are used to set the scene in the introduction and that do not always correspond to the temporal frameworks of the objects under discussion. Ferreting out such information would add immeasurably to our understanding of Mamluk lamps as objects of daily life, as opposed to their persistent association with mosques and shrines, and would

enhance our knowledge of the typological, functional, and terminological varieties in which they exist. Similarly, the author's incidental reference to olive oil also raises the question of lamp fuels, which are likely to have been less costly vegetable and mineral by-products. These incidentals are yet another part of the reason why lamps are such valuable indicators of the economies and means as well as the tastes and activities of their societies and users. Raising such questions, however, goes beyond the stated aims of the book, whose focus is the formal typology of the lamps and their decorations.

In the end, it is decoration, more than any other aspect, that frames this study of Mamluk and post-Mamluk metal lamps. The lamps are decorated in a variety of designs and techniques, with floral and geometric patterns produced through incising, inlay, *repoussé*, *à-jour* perforation, and various other, less delicate open-work techniques. Many of the lamps carry inscriptions that are either inlaid or "silhouetted" through open-work. As is usual for Mamluk objects, the inscriptions on the more expensive commissions often include the patron's name or titles along with Quranic quotations, with the Verse of Light associated with Mamluk glass lamps noted by the author for its conspicuous absence from the metal ones.

The open-work technique is particularly fitting for objects that play with light and shade, and in which decoration—and the objects themselves—take on one aspect when the lamps are not in use and another when they are lit. The complexity of these effects increases when other materials, such as pieces of colored glass, are incorporated into the lamps. In this respect, these metal lamps most clearly illustrate the additional layer of visual complexity that is a hallmark of Islamic decorative arts. Behrens-Abouseif's sensitivity to this quality is indicated by her inclusion of illustrations of lit lamps, a rare and welcome occurrence that underscores the use of light itself as a medium of decoration. It is in this use, which effects the dematerialization of the surface itself through light, that the objects take on their most striking appearance. These qualities lead to comparisons with Quranic imagery, thereby once again reflecting the tension that exists between the practical need for light and the urge to interpret its carriers and their decorations. The "magical" properties of lamps are thus reasserted, but how far these properties can lead us toward a better understanding of the technical and social aspects of these objects, of their various contextual uses, and of contemporaneous interpretations of light and its metaphoric representations remains a topic for further investigation.

Behrens-Abouseif's book is then a valuable contribution not only because it adds to the repertoire of Mamluk and post-Mamluk metal lamps, providing several previously unknown examples and placing them within a considered formal typology, but also because it continues to reflect questions that need to be raised and, eventually, answered.

YĀSĪN AL-AYYŪBĪ, *Āfāq al-Shi'r al-'Arabī fī al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Tripoli, Lebanon: Jarrūs Priss, 1995). Pp. 560.

REVIEWED BY TH. EMIL HOMERIN, University of Rochester

This introduction to Mamluk poetry is largely descriptive and somewhat disorganized. Al-Ayyūbī quotes over two thousand verses, but usually in an anecdotal fashion, and so his overall literary analysis is superficial. Further, he draws the vast majority of this verse from published biographical and historical works from the period. Though he occasionally cites several published collections of Mamluk poetry, he never refers to manuscripts, nor to any of the essential studies of the Mamluk period published during the last twenty years, whether by Western or Arab scholars. This is a glaring weakness in the book's first section (pp. 15-98), where the author attempts to frame this verse within its historical, political, and cultural contexts. When listing the great Circassian sultans, for example, he omits reference to Qāytbāy, while his comparison of the Baḥrī and Burjī Mamluk periods is based largely on a long quote from al-Maqrīzī. This Mamluk historian lauded the Baḥrī reign as a golden age in contrast to the later period in which he lived. Yet, al-Ayyūbī never questions al-Maqrīzī's personal stake in the matter and, similarly, he accepts other Mamluk historical and biographical sources as unbiased objective accounts.

The situation improves little when al-Ayyūbī turns from politics to culture, as he adduces evidence of an intellectual life from lists of scholars migrating to Cairo. Then, following an uncritical discussion of important religious and cultural institutions, including the *madrasah* and the mosque, al-Ayyūbī cites the titles and authors of over eighty-five works composed during the Mamluk period on subjects ranging from Quranic commentary, biography, and history, to rhetoric and the belles lettres. Conspicuous by its absence here is any review of collections of poetry, whether by a single author or compiled by anthologists.

The second and longest section of the book is loosely organized around poetic genres and themes, beginning with *madīḥ*, or panegyric (pp. 101-37). Al-Ayyūbī cites examples of verse lauding individuals' good qualities, especially those of the poets' Mamluk patrons. At one point, he draws attention to Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī's (d. 749/1349) conscious comparison of the poet's praising his patron to the latter's bestowal of honors on his poet (p. 111). Yet this intriguing reference to the intertwined issues of aesthetics, honor, and ritual exchange is left behind. Instead, al-Ayyūbī quickly outlines recurring themes and elements in panegyrics

of Muḥammad by describing one of al-Būṣīrī's (d. 694/1295) odes to the Prophet. Al-Ayyūbī regards these panegyrics as a subset of poetry in praise of God, and due to its overtly religious themes, he accepts this verse as more sincere than poetry composed for sultans and amirs. Even if true, it is quite clear that these poets, too, offered their praise in hopes of reward, albeit of a more heavenly coin.

Next, al-Ayyūbī reviews the Mamluk *ghazal*, or love poem (pp. 138-61), which he divides into two broad categories. First is the chaste and virtuous 'Udhrī style verse, which was a favorite among the Mamluk Sufi poets. Nevertheless, some of them occasionally referred to the beloved's physical features, if only symbolically, and this leads al-Ayyūbī to a brief review of his second type of love poem, that of sensuality. Whether the subject be male or female, al-Ayyūbī notes, most of this love verse followed earlier models, though with the rhetorical flare characteristic of the Mamluk period. Al-Ayyūbī reaches a similar stylistic conclusion regarding Mamluk *rithā'*, or elegy (pp. 162-80). He divides elegies between those referring unambiguously to historical persons or events, and more general elegies that could be offered for any number of deceased persons. This division, however, is of little critical use as it ignores the importance of standardized themes and their repetition, which are crucial to successful elegies as poets attempt to place their personal sorrow within more universal contexts. Al-Ayyūbī does draw attention to the elegy's broader social and cultural dimensions in his comments on elegies for lost lands and cities, particularly on the traumatic fall of Baghdad.

Al-Ayyūbī's next chapter on *hijā'*, or invective verse, is surprisingly brief given the prominence of this genre in the earlier periods of Arabic literature (pp. 181-191). Yet, al-Ayyūbī argues that this was not a favored form during the Mamluk period, perhaps due to the decline in tribal rivalries. As a result, he claims, Mamluk invective verse tended more toward wit and charm than to scathing insults and personal attacks. Most of al-Ayyūbī's examples resonate with light-hearted or comic tones, as when a wife berates her miserly husband, or when a poet deplores the sorry state of his vermin-infested house. Still, in a later section on social criticism (pp. 238-58), al-Ayyūbī cites many other verses that underscore invective's persistent power to demonize one's enemies, as well as to serve as a form of social protest.

Waṣf, or descriptive poetry, is the subject of the next chapter (pp. 192-222), which quickly becomes tedious as al-Ayyūbī quotes numerous verses cataloging an assortment of human features, animals, plants, and "inanimate objects," including descriptions of cities, and references to the Black Death of 1348-50. Several quatrains on the plague suggest the destructive and demoralizing impact of this pandemic on Muslim life, society, and religion, although al-Ayyūbī seems unaware of such implications or its possible effects on poetry.

Turning to verse of self-praise and personal bravery, *fakhr* and *ḥamāsah* (pp. 227-37), al-Ayyūbī notes the scarcity of boasting matches among Mamluk poets and suggests that this may be due to their homogeneity in terms of social rank and class, and the lack of religious rivalries among them. His one exception is Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, who devoted a section of his *Dīwān* to such poems inspired by the murder of his uncle and tribal chief, for whom the poet demands revenge in the defiant tone of many pre-Islamic odes. The obvious similarities between the genres of *fakhr* and *ḥamāsah*, *hijā'*, and *madīḥ* raise the question as to why al-Ayyūbī did not treat them in a more coherent fashion, particularly in light of his following sections which take up the larger thematic issues of poetry and social criticism (pp. 238-58) and the poets′ relationship to their patrons and power (pp. 259-84). Al-Ayyūbī quotes verses from poets calling for control of marauding bedouins, tax-collectors, and exorbitant prices, and then devotes considerable space to Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī′s (d. 771/1370) critiques of unqualified religious officials, and al-Būṣīrī′s harangues against corrupt amirs and their civil servants. Al-Ayyūbī then reprints an earlier article on relations between poets and their Mamluk patrons, noting the participation of poets in Mamluk ceremonies and their roles within the civil service as secretaries and press men, who were assigned to record favorably Mamluk military campaigns and public policies.

The final seven chapters of the book′s second section take up a number of prominent cultural themes and issues mentioned earlier in discussions of the genres. On wisdom and manners (pp. 285-305), al-Ayyūbī cites verses on the brevity of life, the importance of friendship, and the golden mean, while his chapter on complaint and longing (pp. 306-39) revolves around laments for lost beloveds, one′s home far away, or for the holy lands of Mecca and Medina. His chapter on wine poetry also contains a few verses on hashish but not on mystical wine (pp. 340-50), though Sufi elements are evident in the chapter on ascetic poetry (pp. 351-60). Verse on the strange and the marvelous (pp. 361-78) and examples of verse riddles and puzzles (pp. 394-404) conclude this second section.

In the book′s third and final section, al-Ayyūbī briefly describes common stylistic and structural elements of Mamluk poetry, including *tawriyah* (double-entendre), *jinās* (paronomasia), and the use of grammatical, rhetorical, and other technical terms in verse (pp. 409-34). He also gives examples of narrative poems, especially on the life of Muḥammad, and Mamluk military campaigns, and some colloquial verse (*zajal*) on political events and crises (pp. 435-66). He then ends the work with a short chapter on didactic poetry, including that on morals, Arabic grammar, and poetics (pp. 467-85).

Al-Ayyūbī could have improved his book significantly had he been more informed and analytical regarding this poetry′s social, political, and religious contexts. Rather than following the standard introduction by genre, he might have

integrated his chapter on poet-patron relations into his introduction, to be followed by his thematic studies on poetry in Mamluk life and culture. Genres should be discussed, but the overall emphasis would be on the life and world views of the cultural elite which, in turn, would give more credence to al-Ayyūbī´s dependence on historical and biographical sources. Granted, the focus of the book would be different, but by so doing al-Ayyūbī could have made a far more substantial and original contribution to the study of Arabic literature in the Mamluk period.

MAḤMŪD AL-SAYYID, *Tārīkh ʻArab al-Shām fī al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Alexandria: Mu'assasat Shabāb al-Jāmiʻah, 1997). Pp. 255.

REVIEWED BY STEFAN H. WINTER, The University of Chicago

The relative paucity of specialized studies on Syrian Mamluk history makes Maḥmūd al-Sayyid´s short book on the Arab tribes of al-Shām a particularly welcome contribution to the field. In it, the author takes exception to the conventional image of the refractory bedouin in perennial conflict with the central state authority, and argues instead for the Syrian tribes´ loyalty to the Mamluk regime and their contribution to Islamicate culture in that period. While not entirely successful in proving this, the case he presents is happily long on scholarly references and short on (viz. devoid of) nationalist or religious jingoism.

The book´s four chapters comprise an overview of Syrian society under the Mamluks, Arab tribal *ʻaṣabīyah* in Syria, and the tribes´ political and ˝civilizational˝ roles in the Mamluk age. These chapters are preceded by a section somewhat inaccurately titled ˝source criticism,˝ in which the author discusses the wide range of documentary, narrative, and archeological sources available to the historian. While he freely cites western scholarly literature throughout, he uses nothing more recent than 1975, and the text consequently lacks any reference to actual problems or debates within the discipline. Nor indeed does al-Sayyid engage in any critical reflection on his primary sources, a fact compounded by the book´s fatal dependence on al-Maqrīzī, al-Qalqashandī and Ibn Iyās.

The first chapter is meant to provide a geographical, administrative, social, and religious sketch of Syria under the Mamluks. To this monumental task it can do little justice, and the reader is left with only some ahistoric generalities on Syria´s ethnic and societal composition that appear either mundane or ill-informed. In particular, the assertions that Hanbalism was the principal *madhhab* and the Protestants an important Christian minority in Mamluk Syria do not inspire

confidence. Al-Sayyid′s mention of some select Arab tribes does little more than anticipate the discussion of later chapters. The references to Kurds, Turkmen, Druze, and their contribution to certain military campaigns, frame the author′s ideological concept of a multicultural Syrian nation united in its support for the Mamluk regime against its foreign enemies. The final chapter suffers from a similar lack of focus, encompassing aspects of Mamluk-era culture at large on the one hand and reaching back to describe great Syrian literateurs from previous centuries on the other. Among the more pertinent and interesting passages is perhaps the discussion of the bedouins′ dress and the gifts received from al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in return for horses (pp. 194-97).

The second chapter concentrates more specifically on the bedouin tribes, and in particular how politics in Syria have been played out historically against a backdrop of tribal rivalries when these could not be subsumed into a single ideology (such as Islam) directed against an external foe. However, the author makes no attempt to come to any sociological, Khaldunian understanding of *ʻaṣabīyah* and is content simply to reduce the dynamics and complexity of tribalism throughout Syrian history to the timeless and overarching Qays vs. Yemen rivalry. Thus the genius of the Syrian tribes is defeated by the Abbasids, re-emerges with the Hamdanids to struggle against Persian, Turkish, and Byzantine encroachment, and attains its full flowering with the coming of the Mamluks. The third chapter, covering the political and military role of the Syrian tribes, serves the author′s central thesis that the Arabs of Syria pursued a conscious policy in supporting the Mamluk regime, in war and in peace, throughout its 250-year existence. The argument rarely transcends an *histoire événementielle* of battles and rebellions, from ʻAyn Jālūt to Marj Ḍābiq, in which certain tribal groups (thence ″the Arabs of Syria″) fought on the side of the Mamluks, receiving fiefs (*iqṭāʻ*) or even political office in return. The heroes of the story are unquestionably the Āl Faḍl and, in particular, ʻĪsá ibn Muhannā and his progeny, who were confirmed as official tribal *zuʻamā'* by successive sultans and even enjoyed a measure of political influence in Cairo. The Arabs, we are told finally, would even have held out against the Ottoman Turks had Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī sent reinforcements to chief Ibn Ḥanash in time.

In sum, the reader interested in the Syrian tribes might do better to refer back to the relevant parts in Gaudefroy-Demombynes′s *La Syrie à l′époque des mamelouks.* The complex issues of urban center vs. nomadic province and of foreign elite and domestic legitimization raised by al-Sayyid serve foremost to recall that the sub-field of Syrian Mamluk history still desperately awaits the sort of narrative study Thierry Bianquis has devoted to the Fatimid era. While this particular work suffers from some critical shortcomings, al-Sayyid deserves credit for his care and evenhandedness in addressing the question of Arab tribal support

for the sultans. His differentiation between the purported Syrian collaboration with, and Egyptian disdain for, the Mamluks, although not entirely original and here not exploited sufficiently, is noteworthy, as is his readiness also to cite evidence contrary to his central arguments. Finally, though the book cannot pretend to have made exhaustive use of the available literature, the author's meticulous footnoting and well-organized bibliography (but unfortunately no index) make it a potentially useful tool for the specialist wishing to locate particular items connected with the bedouin tribes of Mamluk Syria.

BAYYŪMĪ ISMĀ'ĪL AL-SHIRBĪNĪ, *Muṣādarat al-Amlāk fī al-Dawlah al-Islāmīyah (Aṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk)* (Cairo: al-Ḥay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1997). Two volumes.

REVIEWED BY MARLIS SALEH, The University of Chicago

The term "*muṣādarah*," as used in medieval Islamic administration, refers firstly to "an agreement with someone over the payment of taxation due." Its most frequent and characteristic meaning, however, is "the mulcting of an official of his (usually) ill-gotten gains or spoils of office."[1] Readers of Mamluk chronicles cannot fail to be struck by the pervasiveness of *muṣādarah* (or confiscation, as we may loosely translate the term); virtually no individual of any prominence seems to have escaped unscathed by it. It therefore appears to be a topic well worth isolation and focused study. Little attention, however, seems to have been paid to the phenomenon per se; I have come across only a slim volume, approximately half of whose 120 pages are devoted to the Mamluk period.[2] The present substantial two-volume work, originally the author's doctoral dissertation at the University of al-Manṣūrah, thus promised to be a welcome addition to the list of studies devoted to specific aspects of Mamluk history and economic life.

Following a preface discussing the difficulties encountered in doing the research for the book and then outlining it in considerable detail, Shirbīnī begins with a brief introduction defining *muṣādarah* and overviewing it use prior to the Mamluk period. He starts out with the Muslim world in general through the Umayyad age, and then narrows his focus to Egypt.

[1]C. E. Bosworth, "Muṣādarah," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 7:652-53.

[2]Muḥammad Bahjat Mukhtār 'Uṣfūr, *al-Muṣādarah fī Miṣr al-Islāmīyah min al-Fatḥ al-Islāmī ḥattá Nihāyat 'Aṣr al-Mamālīk (20-923 H./641-1517 M.)* (Cairo, 1990).

Chapter 1, ″The Nature of and Reasons for Confiscation in the Mamluk Age,″ establishes the pattern which is followed throughout the succeeding three chapters. The author divides the reasons for confiscation into the general categories of political, economic, social, and unknown, subdividing each category and providing examples. He next discusses the types of confiscation, which are really more reasons looked at from a different angle: confiscation was used to punish, for reasons of fiscal administration, and to provide compensation.

Shirbīnī proceeds to discuss the personnel and the specific procedures involved in actually carrying out a confiscation. This is one of the more interesting sections of the book, and highlights the potential value of an intensive study of a narrowly defined topic, describing as it does in detail the sort of information which would normally not be dealt with in a more general work. He then goes on to discuss the amounts and types of items which could be seized in a confiscation, the various localities where they could be deposited and the procedures for recording them, and the final fates which befell people whose property was confiscated.

A number of problems with the book become apparent in this first chapter. First of all, the author quotes the specific figure 3306 as the number of confiscations carried out in the Mamluk period, without ever explaining how he arrived at it. Judging by the footnotes and the appendixed chart, he went through the standard chronicles, but nowhere does he discuss his methodology. He then uses this figure to come up with specific percentages of this or that type of confiscation under one sultan as compared to another, lending a scientific aura to the data which it may not deserve.

An even more important flaw, undermining what could have been the primary value of the book, is that the author does not stick to his chosen topic. Instead, he widens his scope to consider virtually any action involving the state whereby anyone suffered a loss of wealth or property as a ″form of″ *muṣādarah*. This includes everything from any sort of non-canonical taxation, to debasement of coinage, to the sultan′s visiting an *iqṭā*ʻ holder who was then obliged to give his royal guest gifts. The book thus becomes much too diffuse, offering superficial discussions of practically every aspect of economic life.

Chapter 2, ″Confiscations and Men of State,″ and Chapter 3, ″Confiscations and the Rest of the People,″ follow the paradigm established in Chapter 1 for discussing confiscations: reasons, types, procedures, types of property, localities of deposit, and final fate of the victim(s), each time applied specifically to men of state and to the general populace respectively. This naturally makes for a great deal of repetition, and any differences there may have been between the groups that would benefit from this presentation are obscured rather than highlighted.

In Chapter 4, ″Confiscations and Family Resources,″ the author shows that despite the fact that one of the major motives for putting property into pious

endowments (*waqf*) was to attempt to protect it from government rapacity, *waqf*s were in fact regularly plundered under various pretexts. Once again, he puts the material through its assigned paces as set down in Chapter 1. Oddly, he feels compelled to adduce some positive aspects of state despoilment of *waqf*ed resources, which include the return of capital to the active economy as well as forcing idle sufis from their parasitic existence back into the labor market.

Chapter 5, ″The Effects of Confiscations on the Nature of the Mamluk State,″ contains a hodgepodge of observations on everything from the decline of Egyptian agriculture due to the *iqṭāʿ* system, to the European discovery of the Cape of Good Hope sea route around Africa. Once again, the book′s lack of focus proves detrimental.

The Conclusion rehashes a number of mostly obvious points that have been made repeatedly before (e.g., men of state suffered confiscation more frequently than the general public). Most of the author′s major conclusions—for example, that confiscations were one of the principal sources of state income, and that their implementation was a symptom of the political and economic decline of the state due to the atrophy of agricultural production—are reduced to banalities by his lumping virtually every source of revenue exploited by the state under the umbrella of ″*muṣādarah*.″

The work concludes with several appendices. First comes a *fatwá* from al-Azhar, requested by the author, on whether or not the practice of *muṣādarah* is permissible. Though throughout the book the author has made it clear that the practice, at least as implemented by the Mamluks, is shocking to his personal religious sentiments, disappointingly, the *fatwá* supports its use under circumstances ″approved by Islam.″

Next come two charts, which are not labelled. The first presents the name of the sultan, the name of the *shādd al-dawāwīn* [the official usually responsible for execution of confiscations ordered by the sultan], the year, comments [on the fate of the *shādd al-dawāwīn*], and sources.

The second chart is potentially more useful. It lists the name of the person or group whose goods were confiscated/his office/year/name of the sultan/executor of the confiscation/type of confiscation/amount/place of deposit/final fate of the victim. In other words, it is basically a schematic distillation of Chapters 1 through 4 of the preceding book, in chronological order. However, as noted, the author has stated that 3306 confiscations occurred during the Mamluk period; this chart contains only 1222 entries. On what basis were these 1222 extracted from the total? The author gives us no clue.

Despite its considerable length, *Muṣādarat al-Amlāk* feels more like an outline for a book than an actual finished work. There is virtually no sustained prose, with each point developing and leading into the next point. Rather, the book is formatted

as a series of discrete lists. An opening paragraph will state, for example, that there were various economic motives for confiscation, then the author will proceed to recount them in list form. Individual items range in length from an incomplete phrase to several pages. The lists are often nested within each other down to several levels, and are enumerated in various ways, such as by numbers, letters, bullets, and flowers, which do not follow a standardized nesting order. This makes it very confusing for the reader suddenly coming upon a *jīm* or a 7 or a bullet in the middle of a page, who is then forced to flip back to discover whether this is a new item in the overarching list, or in a sub-list at the second or third level down. To make matters even more confusing, the author occasionally slips up in the numbering.

Notes, though copious, are extremely difficult to use, due mainly to the author's resorting to "op. cit." and its Arabic equivalent (*al-marji' al-sābiq*). To cite only one example, if the reader is interested in tracking down the reference to a work by Ḍūmaṭ in note 3 on page 290, he must page back through hundreds of notes on hundreds of pages until finally arriving at a full citation (buried within a footnote containing dozens of citations) in note 1 on page 18. In addition, the text of the footnotes is riddled with errors; the references to Western works in particular are virtually certain to contain typos and are often garbled to the point of unintelligibility. Bizarrely, a bibliography promised and described in detail in the introduction (divided into documents, manuscripts, printed texts, and modern sources [Arabic and foreign]), is nowhere to be found.

Despite its promising title, *Muṣādarat al-Amlāk* is a disappointment. If the author had confined himself to the topic (narrowly defined) and had made use of a good editor, this could have been a much more useful work.

'ĀṢIM MUḤAMMAD RIZQ, *Khānqāwāt al-Ṣūfīyah fī Miṣr*. Vol. 1: *Fī al-'Aṣrayn al-Ayyūbī wa-al-Mamlūkī*. Vol. 2: *Fī 'Aṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Burjīyah* (Cairo: Maktabat Madbūlī, 1997). Pp. 875.

REVIEWED BY TH. EMIL HOMERIN, University of Rochester

During the Mamluk period, nearly fifty *khānqāh*s were founded in or around Cairo alone, suggesting the prominence and importance of this religious institution to medieval Muslims. Nearly two dozen of these *khānqāh*s are profiled and extensively described by 'Āṣim Muḥammad Rizq in this two-volume work, prefaced by three short introductions which outline, in very general terms: 1) the earlier

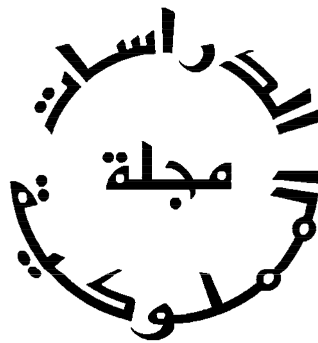
history of the *khānqāh* and the related institutions of the *ribāṭ* and *zāwiyah* (vol. 1, pp. 21-35); 2) the development of Sufism (vol. 1, pp. 39-63); and 3) architectural features of the *khānqāh* in Mamluk Egypt (vol. 1, pp. 67-123). These chapters offer nothing new, as Rizq reiterates the traditional interpretation of the *khānqāh* as an educational institution meant to spread Sunni Islam among the masses in opposition to Shiʿism. Rizq goes on to claim that, despite this noble origin, the *khānqāh* in the twilight years of the Mamluk period was often the site of outlandish un-Islamic practices encouraged by the ruling elite, and hidden from the larger public under the guise of Sufism (vol. 1, p. 57).

By this point in the book, it is painfully apparent that Rizq has accepted medieval criticism of the *khānqāh*s at face value, and that he is largely unaware of the extensive scholarship devoted to Sufism and its institutions over the last thirty years. Most telling in this regard is Rizq's failure to refer to even one of the many in-depth studies of the *khānqāh* by either Leonor Fernandes or Doris Behrens-Abouseif; also missing are references to similarly important work by Donald P. Little, J. Chabbi, Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, and others. Further, although Rizq knows of the many *waqf* documents detailing *khānqāh* endowments and lists them in his bibliography, he rarely cites them directly, choosing to rely instead on secondary sources, particularly Ibn al-Jīʿān and ʿAlī Mubārak.

Clearly, *Khānqāwāt al-Ṣūfīyah fī Miṣr* is a disappointment, especially given its size and, moreover, the importance of its topic. But the work may still be of some use to the careful reader, for Rizq has expended great effort to detail the physical remains and reconstruct the floor plans of a number of *khānqāh*s, and each *khānqāh* reviewed is recorded by diagram and several photographs. Further, Rizq has combed published Arabic sources from the Mamluk period to record the names and occupations of those who studied or worked in these *khānqāh*s, and he usually cites verbatim or slightly abridges the sources. Nevertheless, Rizq draws few conclusions from this mass of evidence, other than such well-established facts as, for example, that Sufis in the *khānqāh*s also assumed non-mystical functions there, such as serving as an *imām* (vol. 2, p. 663), or that Sufis performed their duties at other religious establishments in addition to the *khānqāh*s (vol. 2, p. 587). Sadly, Rizq never tells his reader what these "Sufi duties" were, nor why they were important to religion and society in the Mamluk domains. Indeed, the daily performance of the *ḥuḍūr* with its Quran recitations and prayers, and not teaching, was the primary mission of the *khānqāh* Sufis, and though many *waqf* deeds assign funds for teaching law, *ḥadīth*, and other religious subjects, references in medieval sources to the teaching of Sufism in the *khānqāh*s are conspicuous by their absence. But readers will not find discussion of this or similarly important issues in Rizq's largely descriptive and superficial work.

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II



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Mamlūk Studies Review is an annual refereed journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648-922/1250-1517). The goals of *Mamlūk Studies Review* are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, nurture communication within the field, and promote further research by encouraging the critical discussion of all aspects of this important medieval Islamic polity. The journal will include both articles and reviews of recent books. Submissions of original work on any aspect of the field are welcome, although the editorial board will periodically issue volumes devoted to specific topics and themes. *Mamlūk Studies Review* also solicits edited texts and translations of shorter Arabic source materials (*waqf* deeds, letters, *fatāwá* and the like), and encourages discussions of Mamluk era artifacts (pottery, coins, etc.) that place these resources in wider contexts. Transliterated Middle Eastern languages should conform to the system utilized by the Library of Congress. All questions regarding style should be resolved through reference to *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th edition. All submissions should be typed double-spaced. Submissions must be made on labeled computer disk together with a printed copy.

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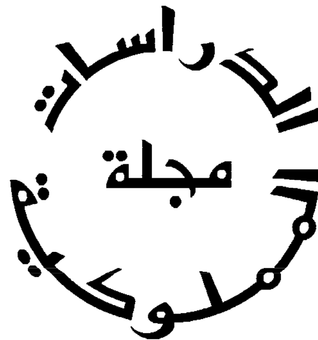
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MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW



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Ayyubids, Mamluks, and the Latin East in the Thirteenth Century*

There was, once upon a time, a widely accepted myth that the Muslim rulers and peoples of southwest Asia were from the outset bitterly opposed to the presence among them of the Crusaders (variously portrayed as infidels or proto-imperialists), and that they struggled unceasingly if ineffectually to expel them. But that myth has long since been discarded among serious scholars. A series of essays in the mid-1950s by Claude Cahen and Sir Hamilton Gibb demonstrated that we can only perceive a consistent policy and ideology of opposition to the Crusades with the rise to power of Nūr al-Dīn (r. 1146-1174), and then in a more heightened manner under Saladin (r. 1169-1193). A more precise definition of this process, covering the whole two centuries of Crusader rule in Syria-Palestine, was developed for the first time in the splendid monograph of Emmanuel Sivan, *L'Islam et la Croisade*. Sivan almost certainly understated the sanctity of Jerusalem in Islamic consciousness in the pre-Crusade era, and he may not have done justice to the military efforts of the later Fatimids and the Saljuq amirs of Syria, both of whom had to contend with a very unfamiliar threat from a position of grave weakness. But on balance his account remains the best introduction to the subject of the "Counter-Crusade."[1]

In spite of Sivan's important contribution, however, the nature of the relations between the Muslim rulers of Syria and Egypt and the Crusader states after the death of Saladin (1193) has remained something of a puzzle. But in the last three decades we have had an important series of studies on the eastern Mediterranean

*Delivered as the Second Annual *Mamlūk Studies Review* Lecture at The University of Chicago, January 17, 1997.

[1]H. A. R. Gibb, "The Achievement of Saladin," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 35 (1952-53): 44-60; reprinted in *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, ed. Stanford J. Shaw and William R. Polk (London, 1962), 89-107; idem, "The Career of Nur al-Din," in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth M. Setton (Madison, 1955-89), 1:513-27, esp. 514-16; and idem, "The Rise of Saladin," ibid., 563-89. Gibb's near-apotheosis of Saladin should not be allowed to obscure his political acumen. Claude Cahen, "L'Islam et la Croisade," *Relazione del X Congresso internazionale dei scienze storiche, Roma 1955: Storia del medio evo* (Florence, 1955), 625-35. Emmanuel Sivan, *L'Islam et la Croisade: Idéologie et propagande dans les réactions musulmanes aux Croisades* (Paris, 1968).

world in the thirteenth century. These began with two major books by Jonathan Riley-Smith, and now include studies on Crusader Cyprus by Peter Edbury, Crusader-Mamluk diplomacy by Peter Holt, the mid-thirteenth-century Crusades and the Mongol invasions by Peter Jackson, and the reign of Sultan Baybars by Peter Thorau and Reuven Amitai-Preiss. Taken together, these have brought the key issues into far sharper focus and suggested how they might be resolved.[2]

The problem, long familiar to students of the period, is simply that Saladin—by long-term design or happy accident—had left the Crusader states of Syria in a shambles. Even after the bitter and frustrating struggle with Richard Lion-Heart, the Crusaders retained only a few ports on the coast, with a hinterland no more than ten miles deep. The forces of the Franco-Syrian barons had been shattered in 1187-1188, and apart from their severe manpower losses, they had been stripped of almost all the landed possessions which had allowed them to support the surprisingly large military forces of the Kingdom of Jerusalem—forces which had been very nearly equal to those which Saladin himself could mobilize, though of course they were very different in character. And yet the Crusader states, even the frail Principality of Antioch, survived and even flourished for another century.[3] They were clearly prosperous, more so than in the twelfth century. Finally, significant pieces of land, especially in Galilee and southern Lebanon, were recovered and refortified; even Jerusalem reverted to Latin control for about fifteen years, between 1229 and 1244, albeit in a very conditional and tenuous manner. How did they do it?

Part of the answer is certainly that the Crusader states were in reality far less fragile than we had once supposed. A number of scholars, but Professor Riley-Smith in particular, have underlined two key resources which these states still possessed:

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[2]Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, ca. 1050-1310* (London, 1967); idem, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174-1277* (London, 1973). Riley-Smith's more recent publications have focused on the earlier phases of the Crusades, in particular the nature of the movement and the motives which drove its participants. Peter W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374* (Cambridge, 1991). Peter Jackson, "The Crisis in the Holy Land in 1260," *English Historical Review* 95 (1980): 481-513; idem, "The End of Hohenstaufen Rule in Syria," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 59 (1986): 20-36; idem, "The Crusades of 1239-41 and Their Aftermath," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 50 (1987): 32-60. Peter M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260-1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers* (Leiden, 1995). Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Peter M. Holt (London, 1992). Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Īlkhānid War, 1260-1281* (Cambridge, 1995).

[3]This point is argued by Riley-Smith in *The Feudal Nobility*, but the evidence for it was already presented by Wilhelm Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen Age*, trans. Furcy Reynaud, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1885-86).

1) The positive role of the military orders, whose income from gifts and their vast landed holdings in Europe allowed them to garrison a large number of castles throughout Syria, and even to undertake the defense of new ones.

2) The revenues generated by the growing commerce of the Levant, especially through Acre, but Tyre, Beirut, and Antioch/San Simeon as well, largely replaced the agricultural rents and dues of the twelfth century.

Both of these points clearly imply that the Crusader states of Syria flourished because western Europe was flourishing—more precisely, because some part of the new wealth of Europe was siphoned off to keep them going. In spite of the undoubted contribution of Acre to the burgeoning commerce of Pisa, Genoa, and Venice, one suspects that on balance the Crusader states gained a good deal more from this commerce than they contributed to it.

Such considerations are strengthened when we look at the Crusades of the thirteenth century—which were far more numerous and better organized than those of the preceding era. Indeed, the recovery of Jerusalem and the security of the Latin Kingdom were a major focus of concern by the Papacy throughout the century. Apart from the two massive Crusades aimed at Damietta (the Fifth Crusade of 1217-1221 and the Crusade of St. Louis in 1249-1254), there were many smaller expeditions which focused on the Holy Land. These latter ironically achieved far more than the two big expeditions. Even when (as was often the case) the new Crusades were more a nuisance than a help to the Crusader states, they were always a standing threat, one which Muslim rulers had to keep constantly in mind in framing their policies. Even the miraculous victories of 1221 and 1250 had been a very near thing indeed—gifts of Crusader stupidity rather than the fruits of Muslim military prowess.

Yet even these elements of strength in the Crusader position do not explain the durability of the Frankish domains in Syria, beset as they were by structural fragmentation and (especially after 1210) weak leadership. This is especially the case after the catastrophic battle of La Forbie (al-Ḥarbīyah) in 1244, which decimated their military resources and led to the dissolution of the last vestiges of political cohesion among them. Even under these circumstances, the Franks managed to hang on for almost half a century longer. The Muslims plainly held an overwhelming theater advantage; they ought to have been able to eliminate these infidel vestiges at almost any moment had they really wanted to do so. But on the contrary, they often went to some lengths *not* to drive away the Franks, and indeed to incorporate them within their alliance and economic structures.

We have all been conditioned to interpret Muslim/Crusader interactions in ideological terms; even when we know better we cannot stop ourselves from measuring actual policies against the normative criteria of ideology, and then being mildly outraged by the inevitable gulf between one and the other. Even with

this caveat, however, it can be instructive to compare the pursuit of concrete goals by the two sides with their professed values. When we do that, we obtain an interesting result. Broadly speaking, the Franks of Syria were occasionally induced by the ideals of Crusade and Holy War to do things that they might otherwise have avoided on grounds of solid material interest. On the other hand, Muslim political elites during the thirteenth century appealed to the idea of *jihād* only to legitimize policies which were clearly demanded by very concrete geopolitical, economic, and military imperatives. That does not mean that this appeal was in any way hypocritical. But the concept of *jihād* is a plastic one, which can be deployed in widely varying ways for varying ends. For thirteenth-century Muslim rulers, there was a happy and all too rare marriage of values and interests. Our task in the balance of this paper is thus to search out the imperatives which underlay the apparently vacillating, shifting Muslim policies toward the Crusader states during the decades between 1193 and 1291.

Policy can only be generated within and applied through political institutions, and so we should begin by noting that Egypt and Syria were governed (more or less) by two very distinct political formations during this period: the Ayyubid Confederation created by Saladin and his kinsmen in the 1170s and 1180s, and the Mamluk Sultanate established by the palace guards who assassinated the last Ayyubid ruler of Egypt in 1250. These two formations had much in common—their formal ideologies, their fiscal administration, many (though certainly not all) of their basic military institutions—but on the deeper level of the often unspoken values, attitudes, and assumptions which shaped political conduct, the rules of the political game, they were fundamentally different.[4] One question we have to ask is

[4]Claude Cahen, "Ayyūbids," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 1:796-807. R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193-1260* (Albany, 1977). There is no modern, full-length monograph on the early Mamluk regime (from 1250 to 1310). However, the concise survey of Robert W. Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate, 1250-1382* (Carbondale, 1986) is a good introduction. For brief treatments, see Peter M. Holt, "Mamlūks," *EI*[2], 6:321-31; and R. Stephen Humphreys, "Mamluk Dynasty," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1982-89), 8:70-78. Reflections on the relationship between the two regimes are found throughout the voluminous publications of David Ayalon; see especially his "Aspects of the Mamluk Phenomenon: Ayyubids, Kurds, and Turks," *Der Islam* 54, no. 1 (1977): 1-32; and idem, "From Ayyūbids to Mamlūks," *Revue des études islamiques* 49, no. 1 (1981): 43-57. Ayalon insists on the fundamental identity of the Ayyubid and Mamluk political and military systems. As always, his arguments are enlightening and richly documented; in spite of his criticisms, however, I still adhere to the main conclusions in my "The Emergence of the Mamluk Army," *Studia Islamica* 45 (1977): 67-99, and 46 (1977): 147-82. A recent reevaluation of the early Mamluk state is given in Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nasir Muhammad Ibn Qalawun, 1310-1341* (Leiden, 1995), who departs from Ayalon on certain important points.

whether, or to what degree, these changes in political structure led to changes in policy. We should not take it for granted that the shift from Ayyubid to Mamluk rule necessarily entailed changes in Muslim policy toward the Crusaders, of course, but neither should we just dismiss the possibility.

Apart from the change in regime per se, the Ayyubids and early Mamluks each found themselves acting within a very different international milieu. For most of their existence, the Ayyubids faced no serious threat from their neighbors in southwest Asia; the Crusaders were the only dangerous ″foreign″ problem on the radar screen.[5] The Mamluks, of course, had to contend with a very powerful and extremely hostile Mongol presence on their eastern and northern borders. The Il-Khans, we should recall, could draw on the fiscal and manpower resources of Iran, Iraq, the Jazira, and Anatolia, and they made a number of serious efforts to add Syria (and perhaps ultimately Egypt) to that list. On the other hand, after the end of Louis IX′s venture in 1254 the threat of new Crusades receded markedly. Obviously one could take nothing for granted, and the Mamluks always had to be prepared to confront a new expedition from overseas. But in the event they never had to do so; in effect, the Muslims were now free to take the offensive against the Crusader states in Syria.

With these general points in mind, let us return to the first of our two questions. How did the characteristics of the Ayyubid and Mamluk political systems affect their policy toward the Franks of Syria?

The Ayyubid domination did not represent any sort of unified and centralized state; it was rather a confederation of autonomous appanages or principalities. (At least the principalities desperately desired to be autonomous.) Each of these principalities was governed, usually in a fairly regular hereditary succession, by an appanage prince belonging to a lineage stemming from Saladin′s father Ayyūb or (in one case) his uncle Shīrkūh. For most of the six decades between 1193 and 1250 there were six major principalities (Egypt, Damascus, Homs, Hama, Aleppo, Jazira-Armenia), and each of these might claim suzerainty over one or more satellite principalities held by a cadet member of the locally dominant lineage.

There were no formal administrative structures to ensure general cohesion within the confederation. Such cohesion as there might be was achieved through the sense of common descent among the princely lineages, reinforced (not too strongly) by marriage ties. In addition, all the princes owed allegiance and personal deference to the senior member of the Ayyubid house (*al-bayt al-ayyūbī*, *banū Ayyūb*), who was usually the ruler of Egypt. The senior prince had the customary

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[5]To be precise, there were two bad moments: an invasion of northern Syria by the Rum Saljuqs in 1218, at the very moment the Crusaders were laying siege to Damietta, and the penetration into Armenia and the Jazira by the stateless warlord Jalāl al-Dīn Mankūbirtī in 1225-1226 and 1228-1230. Threatening as they seemed, both of these dangers were quickly dispelled by Ayyubid counter-attacks.

right to confirm the succession to the throne in the other principalities, and he was expected to go to the aid of any appanage prince threatened by outside attack. This frail web of obligation and deference had real political consequences only in a few situations, however. First, when every appanage prince owed his current status and future hopes to the head of the family, as under Saladin and later his brother al-ʿĀdil. Second—perhaps a special case of the first—when the head of the family was the father of the most important appanage princes and could use his position within the family to dominate them. (Happily the Ayyubids were not given to patricide.) If the nominal head of the confederation had the bad luck to be merely the older brother or nephew of the key appanage princes, he could enforce only a modicum of deference to his authority through cunning and war. These tools were wielded brilliantly by al-Kāmil (1218-1238), the son of al-ʿĀdil and the brother of the princes of Damascus and the Jazira, but even he only got the upper hand in the last decade of his rule.

Political formations of this kind were very widespread throughout the Nile-to-Oxus region between the tenth and fifteenth centuries, and obviously they are inherently unstable. We might have expected the Ayyubid Confederation to fragment into a congeries of city-states after two or three generations, as so many such entities did. Instead, in the course of a complex series of internal struggles between 1237 and 1245, it bifurcated into two large and relatively centralized states. Egypt, Palestine, and Damascus were ruled by al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb (r. 1240-1249), who created a unitary, centralized regime with its capital in Cairo; in al-Ṣāliḥ′s domains all territorial government was assigned to men who belonged to his inner circle, either his personal *mamlūk*s or free-born amirs with demonstrated loyalty to him, and these deputies held office at his pleasure. In building this regime, al-Ṣāliḥ created the model for the Mamluk Sultanate, though the turmoil following his death prevented this model from being deployed in any conscious and effective way for more than a decade. But when Baybars finally seized power in 1260, he proclaimed from the outset his firm resolve to follow the practices of his revered master al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb.[6]

In northern Syria, the troubles of 1237-1245 yielded a state centered in Aleppo and ruled by a great-grandson of Saladin. This entity was more loosely structured than the rival regime of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, since it was still based on the old appanage or confederative principle, but now the appanage princes were far more closely supervised than in the past. The ″reformed″ Ayyubid principality of Aleppo survived the Mamluk coup d′etat in Egypt in 1250 and even occupied Damascus and part

[6]David Ayalon, ″The Great Yasa of Chingiz Khan: A Re-examination,″ *SI* 36 (1972): 156-58. See also Humphreys, ″Emergence of the Mamluk Army,″ 154-55.

of Palestine for the next decade. But it had no future, and was swept away in the Mongol deluge of 1259-1260.

What are the implications of the Ayyubid political system for Muslim-Frankish relations? In my judgment there are two main points to consider.

First, each principality within the Ayyubid Confederation had interests of its own, and each had to make its own arrangements with the Crusader states on its borders. Solidarity in the face of the infidel was hardly even an ideal, and was certainly not a reality. Thus, Aleppo was constantly embroiled with Cilician Armenia, and only once (in 1207) did the head of the confederation intervene. Aleppo also signed a series of four commercial treaties with Venice, with no reference to Cairo or anyone else. Likewise, Homs got little help in its constant skirmishes with the Hospitallers of the Crac des Chevaliers. Damascus and Cairo had the same neighbor (the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem) and were equally affected by new Crusades, but from 1227 on they consistently lined up on opposite sides of any conflict. A Crusader threat to one was a welcome opportunity to the other.

Second, because the Crusader states down to the battle of La Forbie (1244) still represented a considerable military force, they were inevitably drawn (albeit with some reluctance) into the internecine quarrels of the Ayyubid princes. Their participation came with a price tag, of course, and they often gained substantial if temporary advantages from Ayyubid princes bidding for their support. Most significant perhaps was the series of concessions granted by al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā‘īl during his struggle with his nephew al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb during the early 1240s; these restored many of the castles in Galilee and south Lebanon lost to Saladin a half-century earlier, and the Franks would retain them until the campaigns of Baybars in 1265. Most shocking to contemporaries, no doubt, was al-Kāmil′s agreement in 1229 to return Jerusalem to the Emperor Frederick II for a period of ten years. Indeed, the evidence suggests that al-Kāmil had himself initiated discussions with Frederick three years before, well before the Emperor had even begun to gather his forces for his long-promised and oft-postponed Crusade. At that time al-Kāmil had indicated that he might return Jerusalem to the Franks in return for Frederick′s aid against his troublesome brother, al-Mu‘aẓẓam of Damascus.

Only in moments which combined grave crisis and an unusual degree of internal cohesion could the Ayyubids act in concert against the Franks. The severest test fell in the summer of 1218, when al-‘Ādil died at a critical moment in the siege of Damietta. His eldest son and successor, al-Kāmil, was able to obtain the active support and close cooperation of his brothers ruling in Damascus and the Jazira until the collapse of the Crusade in 1221. This situation was never replicated, and it is worth asking how it happened even once. Any answer to that question is a matter of speculation rather than hard evidence, but I offer the following reflections. First, it was obvious to everyone that the summer of 1218 represented a very

grave crisis, one which could easily have led to the end of Ayyubid rule. Second, al-Kāmil was defending his own lands; his armies in the Egyptian Delta posed no threat to any other Ayyubid prince. Finally, the three brothers had not yet had any opportunity or need to test their positions vis-à-vis one another; each had been securely ensconced in his own principality for many years, and each had been kept on a very short leash by his autocratic father. The usual rivalries surfaced quickly enough after the crisis passed in 1221.

The political structure of the Ayyubid Confederation does much to explain the restraint, the eagerness to make a deal, which seems so anomalous in a dynasty which owed its legitimacy to the *jihād* of Saladin. But it does not explain everything. Let us examine two points in particular:

1) Sometimes the Ayyubids hastened to make concessions which were not compelled by internal feuding or external pressure. For example, al-ʻĀdil restored a number of places on the Palestinian coast to the Franks in the quite petty Crusades of 1198 and 1204. Only once did they launch a serious sustained offensive; in 1247, the armies of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb recaptured Tiberias and Belvoir/Kawkab in eastern Galilee along with the coastal town of Ascalon. Otherwise, Ayyubid forces always stuck to a defensive posture.

2) How were the Ayyubids able to square their conduct with the demands of the ideology of *jihād* which they had inherited from Saladin, and which they were obligated to exemplify in order to retain their mandate to rule?

The latter point first. As Sivan showed (following the lead of earlier scholars like Elisséeff and Max van Berchem), *jihād* was a complex concept in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Far more than a struggle against the foreign infidel, it was also an internal struggle within the Dār al-Islām against laxity and heresy. The commitment to *jihād* found expression not only in military expeditions and occasional inquisitions, but in such positive works as the founding of *madrasah*s, *khānqāh*s, and other institutions of piety and sound learning. To the men of religion and the urban notables generally, the inward-looking face of the *jihād* was perhaps more significant. Indeed, as Michael Chamberlain has recently reminded us, they profited far more directly from this aspect of *jihād* than from any number of victories over the Franks—here again, that happy marriage of interest and religious values which frustrates our efforts to probe the inner motives of these people.[7]

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[7]Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350* (Cambridge, 1994), 51-66. See also Sivan, *L'Islam et la Croisade*, chap. 5; Nikita Elisséeff, *Nur al-Din: Un grand prince de la Syrie musulmane aux temps des Croisades* (Damascus, 1967), especially vol. 3. Van Berchem's ideas are scattered throughout his *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, especially the three volumes on Jerusalem: *Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale au Caire*, vols. 43-45 (Cairo, 1920-27).

In the internal *jihād*, Saladin′s heirs performed splendidly. Most of the Ayyubid princes were, if not pious, men (and women) learned in the religious sciences, skilled litterateurs and poets, and exceedingly generous in the establishment of religious foundations. In Damascus alone they founded sixty-three *madrasah*s, as many as the combined total of the regimes a century on either side.[8] In their official epigraphic protocols, the Ayyubid princes consistently combined titles and epithets denoting three qualities: God-given military victory, religious learning, and royal justice. Victory, of course, could be won against heretics and rebels as well as foreign infidels. A few outrages, such as al-Kāmil′s retrocession of Jerusalem to Frederick II in 1229, or al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl′s exchange of eastern Galilee for a military alliance with the Franks of Acre in 1240, provoked scorching public denunciations from a few *'ulamā'*, but nothing the Ayyubids did of this kind ever provoked a crisis of legitimacy among either the men of religion or the military elite. The coup d′etat of 1250 was rooted in quite different problems. In brief, the Ayyubids knew how to make the ideology of *jihād* serve their policy, however paradoxical it might seem to the literal-minded.

The first point, however—the characteristic and often needless military diffidence of the Ayyubids—is more elusive. It was certainly not a matter of cowardice, since they were bold and tenacious solders when they had to be. The solution to this puzzle, I suggest, lies on two levels.

First, material self-interest. The Ayyubids profited enormously from the trade opportunities brought them by the Frankish outposts in Syria. It is clear that from Jaffa, Acre, Tyre, and Beirut a great deal of wealth (and apparently considerable silver) was funneled into Damascus. Likewise, these ports were prime outlets for goods that came to Damascus by way of the pilgrimage road to Mecca, the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf-Euphrates route. The major Syrian towns had their own products and manufactures as well, and the Frankish seaports provided a convenient outlet for these.

No doubt Italian and Catalan ships would have continued to visit these places had they been in Muslim hands, but the Ayyubid princes of Syria must have reflected how much more attractive they were if they remained in Frankish hands. Recall also that the Syrian Ayyubids at least had no naval resources at all. Hence if they did recapture the Syro-Palestinian seaports, they had no means of protecting them from piracy or reconquest.

A second reason for Ayyubid caution in dealing with the Franks was doubtless even more compelling. The Ayyubids had been on the verge of ruin on three

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[8]R. Stephen Humphreys, ″Politics and Architectural Patronage in Ayyubid Damascus,″ in *The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times: Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, ed. C. E. Bosworth et al. (Princeton, 1989), 151-74; idem, ″Women as Patrons of Religious Architecture in Ayyubid Damascus,″ *Muqarnas* 11 (1994): 35-54.

separate occasions—the Third Crusade, the Damietta Crusade of 1217-1221, and the Crusade of Louis IX in 1249-1250. At Acre in 1189-1191 and again at Damietta in 1218-1219, the combined forces of the Ayyubid confederation had been inadequate to break a Frankish siege. Indeed, after the fall of Acre Saladin´s splendid army never won another victory, and came perilously close to disintegrating altogether. After the fall of Damietta, al-Kāmil´s forces almost dissolved. And on more distant horizons, the Ayyubids were certainly aware of the catastrophic Almohad defeat at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 and the subsequent loss of al-Andalus to the armies of Castile and Aragon.

In brief, the Ayyubids were terrified of the Franks, who, however badly mauled they might be, just kept coming back. For this reason, they often went to extraordinary lengths to avoid threatening the status quo, and even to make generous concessions, in order to fend off a new expedition which might, this time, be fatal. In view of the powerful forces behind the crusading movement in Europe, such a policy of appeasement was bound to fail, but it was at least a rational choice.

We turn at last to the Mamluk Sultanate. The Mamluk coup d´etat of course took place during—and on some level as a consequence of—Louis IX´s expedition to Egypt. Louis´s forces were defeated and he himself captured during the brief reign of the Ayyubid Tūrānshāh, but the final dispositions for his evacuation were made under the new regime. So the Mamluks started their career not only as assassins of their sovereign, but as victors over the Crusaders. For the next decade, however, they paid precious little attention to the Franks of Syria; they were after all too busy struggling to stay in power, sorting out (in what we would now call a mean-spirited manner) problems among themselves, and finally cobbling together an army which could defend Egypt from the Mongols. Only after that terrifying man Rukn al-Dīn Baybars seized and secured his throne did the Mamluks turn their attention to the Franks in any serious way. After 1263, however, Baybars began a relentless series of campaigns that by 1271 left the Frankish states of Syria in ruins and utterly beyond any serious hope of restoration. How can we account for such a radical and sudden shift in policy?

To answer this question, I propose a line of inquiry based on the following five propositions:

1) The Mamluk Sultanate was in principle—and to remarkable degree in fact—a highly centralized autocracy. In contrast to the localized perspectives of the Ayyubid principalities, the Mamluk regime was well able to shape a unified policy toward the Crusader states.

2) The political center of the Mamluk state was Cairo; Syria was a province (or more precisely, a cluster of provinces), and down to 1310 it was also a vulnerable and often-contested frontier zone. As a result, the interests of Egypt always had primacy in the Mamluk political calculus. As a frontier zone, Syria

was strategically vital to the early Mamluks—they fought all their campaigns there—but economically and politically it was of secondary concern. For that reason, the Mamluk regime could quite readily envision neglect or even suppression of the Syro-Palestinian ports and trade routes. Indeed, there was good reason to funnel all commerce with Europe through Alexandria, where it would most directly benefit the Cairo elite, while simultaneously depriving the provincial governors of Syria of a lucrative source of revenue.

3) The Mongol invasion of Syria and the Jazira in 1259-1260 had drastically altered the international context of Mamluk policy. The Mamluks did not have one permanent enemy, as did the Ayyubids, but two; assessing the preponderance of danger had to be their constant concern. Moreover, the Mamluks had to conjure with the possibility of a Mongol-Frankish alliance, and hence to devise a strategy which could frustrate that possibility.

4) The early Mamluks rose to power at an extremely turbulent moment in Mediterranean political history, and the tensions cut right across the traditional regional boundaries of the basin. In the West, the final dissolution of Almohad power left Spain and the Maghrib up for grabs among a host of local contenders, including the rival Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. In the central Mediterranean, the struggle between the Papacy and the Hohenstaufen for the control of Italy also implicated the ruling house of France, the crown of Aragon, the Hafsids of Tunis, and the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII. In the East, there was an ongoing contest between the Byzantines and their countless enemies to control Constantinople, along with the rivalry between Pisa, Genoa, and Venice to dominate the Levant trade. These constantly shifting political alignments provided some useful opportunities for the Mamluks, but also delicate challenges. After 1260 Mamluk policy had to be multi-focal, simply because the Sultanate's vital interests were challenged from every direction.[9]

5) Although the Mamluks maintained the formal ideology of the Ayyubids, with its emphasis on *jihād*, Islamic piety and learning, and royal justice, they laid far greater stress on the purely military dimension of *jihād.* Official Mamluk historiography and Mamluk chancery documents make it clear that in the final analysis *jihād* is war against the infidel. The tone of these texts is almost oppressively strident; a reader of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's official biography of Baybars almost gets a headache from the throbbing drums and the glare of sunlight on armor. The Mamluk regime was a near-perfect embodiment of the praetorian state, of course,

[9]The literature is far too vast to survey here. Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1976-78), weaves together many of the threads. Naturally the general histories of the Crusades by Runciman and Setton are indispensable, uneven and out-of-date as they are.

so one should not be surprised at this. But the shift of tone is important and must be noted.

In following out the implications of these five propositions, we might begin by listing the main Mamluk campaigns against the Crusader states of Syria. The sequence is well-known and can be sketched as follows:

1265-1266: conquest of Caesarea, Arsuf, and Haifa on the coast, Ṣafad and Toron in Galilee and south Lebanon
1268: conquest of Jaffa, Beaufort, and (the crown jewel) Antioch
1271: conquest of the Crac des Chevaliers, ʻAkkar, and Montfort
1289: conquest of Tripoli
1291: conquest of Acre, followed by the Frankish abandonment of the remaining seaports, including Tyre, Sidon, and Beirut.

These major conquests clearly fall into two separate blocks, the first from 1265 to 1271, the second from 1289 to 1291. The apparent hiatus of almost two decades deserves some brief comment, since the campaign of 1271 had clearly set the stage for a final assault on Tripoli and Acre. The gap is partly an illusion, since this list of campaigns does not include Baybars′s and Qalāwūn′s extremely destructive raids on the Kingdom of Cilician Armenia, which was closely linked to the ruling house of Tripoli and Antioch. Nor does it include the incessant raiding by the two sultans against the coastlands, raids which both demonstrated Frankish defenselessness and deprived the Franks of any revenues from the villages around their main towns. Nor, finally, does it include Baybars′s eradication of the Ismāʻīlī strongholds in the mountains between Homs and Latakia.

But the eighteen-year break in campaigns against the Franks of Syria is not just an illusion. It reflects in part a complex transition of power. When Baybars died unexpectedly in 1277, he was succeeded by two of his sons, neither of whom was up to the job in the eyes of the Mamluk elite. The throne was ultimately seized (in 1280) by one of his most effective generals, Sayf al-Dīn Qalāwūn, but almost immediately he had to face a major Mongol invasion. When this was turned back at the battle of Homs (1281), Qalāwūn faced a severe struggle to secure his throne against the ambitions of other amirs, who regarded him as no more worthy than they. Only in 1289 did it again seem plausible to mount a major, and perhaps definitive, campaign against the Franks of Syria. For a brief time, the succession from Qalāwūn to his son al-Ashraf Khalīl (1290-1293) appeared to go smoothly, and al-Ashraf was able to complete the work commenced by his father. (Like his unfortunate predecessors Tūrānshāh and Quṭuz, he was unable to convert a brilliant victory into effective political capital, but that is a story for another time.)

Even though the war against the Franks of Syria was brought to an end under Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf Khalīl, it is clear that Baybars had made that end inevitable. His achievement therefore deserves closer inspection. Although Baybars was a soldier and spent much of his adult life on horseback, I think we must interpret his goals as essentially defensive rather than expansionist. He certainly realized that however powerful an army he might build—and he unquestionably devoted enormous resources and labor to this enterprise—he would never have the resources needed to capture and hold any substantial Il-Khan territories east of the Euphrates or north of the Taurus. With even greater reason, he could not hope to pursue the Franks beyond the sea. This sense of limits was surely confirmed by his two brief efforts to ″expand the envelope″: the abortive naval attack on Cyprus in 1271, and his brilliant but evanescent victory over Il-Khan and Rum Saljuq forces at Elbistan in 1277.[10] What he could do was to secure the borders of Egypt and Syria—essentially, just those lands held or seized by the Mamluks in the wake of ʻAyn Jālūt. These he could make into a mighty citadel which his adversaries—the adversaries of Islam—could not penetrate or subvert, and that is what he tried to do. On the east, the Euphrates River, secured first and foremost by the great fortress of al-Bīrah, would fence out the Mongols. On the west, the Mediterranean Sea would be his rampart, and that explains his systematic dismantling of the port facilities of the coastal towns as they fell into his hands. (The great fortresses of the interior, like Ṣafad and the Crac, were in contrast not only maintained but reinforced.)

The boundaries (and they really are boundaries, not fuzzy frontier zones) defined by Baybars remained almost unchanged down to the very end of the Mamluk Sultanate. The only area in which we find persistent efforts at territorial and administrative expansion is Nubia, and even that was foreshadowed in a pair of punitive campaigns sent out by Baybars. In the early fifteenth century, Sultan Barsbāy (1422-1438) did launch a far more aggressive policy, but his principal target was the Crusader Kingdom of Cyprus—a logical completion of the policy of Baybars and Qalāwūn. In any case, Barsbāy displays the only significant departure from the geopolitical conceptions of his great predecessor.[11]

I have used the image of a fortress to describe the territorial entity constructed by Baybars. I might also have used the more Islamic metaphor of purification, a concept to which his propaganda often explicitly appealed. The enemies of the Mamluk Sultanate were in every case infidels and heretics—the Christian Franks, the Ismāʻīlīs, the pagan Mongols. In walling out the latter and eradicating the first two, he was purifying the lands of Islam from the pollution of unbelief. It is easy to think of Baybars as a wholly Machiavellian politician, a man obsessed with

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[10]The best treatment of Elbistan is in Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*.

[11]Ahmad Darrag, *L´Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay* (Damascus, 1961), chaps. 7, 9.

power for its own sake. Certainly he was willing to do whatever it took to gain and hold power. But he also saw himself as a Muslim. We witness the public dimension of his commitment to the faith in his extensive program of public works and charitable/religious foundations, in his judicial reforms, in the quite puritanical public morality which he demanded, and—perhaps more persuasively—in his disciplined fiscal administration. The political elite was terrified of him, his ordinary subjects regarded him as a just and equitable monarch—and that was how things ought to be. Most intriguing, though a subject we cannot explore here, was his devotion to the shaykh Khaḍir al-Mihrānī, a man whom many of his contemporaries regarded as a despicable charlatan, but whom Baybars saw as a precious spiritual mentor. In any case, all the evidence indicates that Baybars was personally and deeply engaged with Islam, and this inevitably colored the way he envisioned his strategic policy.[12]

If it is fair to say that Baybars imagined his policies toward the Crusaders in a language of citadel-building and purification, we still need to review the substance of those policies. He was aware, to a very unusual degree, that he could succeed in his goals only within a favorable international environment, and he worked extremely hard to achieve such an environment. In the East, he strove to keep the Il-Khans ″otherwise engaged,″ to limit their opportunities to stage a new invasion of Syria. In the West, Baybars hoped to neutralize the possibility of any major new Crusades—and recall that only hindsight allows us to assert that after the fiasco of Louis IX, there was no longer any real danger from this quarter. Perhaps most of all, he had to do whatever he could to subvert a Papal-Mongol alliance.

To Baybars must surely go the credit for the first systematic and sustained diplomacy with Christian powers in Islamic history, and this he undertook right from the outset of his reign. In 1261 he established links with the Hohenstaufen in Sicily, knowing that they were not only the great barrier to Papal ambitions but also (since 1229) a traditional ″friend″ of the Egyptian court.[13] But Baybars was a realist; when the Hohenstaufen collapsed in 1266 before the armies of the Papal

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[12]A detailed list of his public works and charitable foundations is given in the contemporary biography written by ʻIzz al-Dīn ibn Shaddād, edited by Ahmad Hutait as *Die Geschichte des Sultan Baibars*, Bibliotheca Islamica, vol. 31 (Wiesbaden, 1983), 339-59. On his administration of religious institutions, see Joseph Escovitz, *The Office of Qâdî al-Quḍât in Cairo under the Baḥrî Mamlûks*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, vol. 100 (Berlin, 1984). On Khaḍir al-Mihrānī, see Peter M. Holt, ″An Early Source on Shaykh Khaḍir al-Mihrānī,″ *BSOAS* 46 (1983): 33-49; Thorau, *Lion of Egypt*, 225-29.

[13]A fascinating if all too brief ″memoir″ by Ibn Wāṣil, Baybars′s emissary to the court of Manfred in Sicily: *Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, ed. Saʻīd ʻAbd al-Fattāḥ ʻĀshūr and Ḥasanayn Rabīʻ (Cairo, 1972), 4:48-251. For recent discussions and bibliography on the issues in this paragraph see: Thorau, *Lion of Egypt*; Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*; and Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*.

candidate Charles of Anjou, he quickly moved to establish ties with the latter—and those ties may well have been instrumental in diverting Louis IX´s second Crusade to Tunis in 1271. Likewise, in 1261, he sought a commercial treaty and a sort of alliance with the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII, newly reinstalled in the ancient capital of Constantinople. In harmony with his Byzantine alliance, he successfully sought an alliance with Genoa. Except for the commercial clauses (all-important in the case of Genoa), these treaties did not really commit any of Baybars´s partners to anything substantive, but they did allow him to stay informed about events and trends in Christian Europe, and no doubt reinforced the innate coolness of his treaty partners toward the Crusading enterprise.

In the second half of the thirteenth century, the Il-Khans clearly represented the deadliest and most immediate threat faced by the Mamluk Sultanate. At three points—1260, 1281, and 1299-1303—the very existence of the state was in question. But apart from these major invasions, Baybars had to deal with a large number of Mongol incursions, and at least a few of these went well beyond raids in force. In this light, Baybars´s understanding with the Golden Horde was invaluable. First of all, the very location of the Golden Horde was important, since they could penetrate through the Caucasus passes into northwest Iran, which was the center of Il-Khan power. These same passes gave them access to Il-Khan communications with their Rum Saljuq clients in Anatolia, and to the trade termini in the region (Trabzon, Sīvās, Āyās). Second, the Golden Horde controlled the slave markets of southern Russia (the Dasht-i Qipchaq), and in the thirteenth century (though not later) these were an essential source of Mamluk military manpower. We need to stress, I think, that much of the tension between the Golden Horde and the Il-Khans lay in the fact that these two empires represented rival lineages within the house of Chingiz-Khān, and had conflicting claims to Azerbayjan and Anatolia.[14] Nevertheless, these tensions were clearly exacerbated by the conversion of the Golden Horde ruler Berke Khān to Islam, while the Il-Khans remained firmly committed to traditional Mongol beliefs. Certainly Baybars was able to exploit the religious link between his regime and the Golden Horde to great effect in his early contacts with Berke Khān in 1261-1262. Obviously the conversion of the Il-Khan elite to Islam under Ghāzān Khān (1295-1304) changed the religio-political dynamic, but that lay decades in the future.

Apart from the direct threat represented by the Il-Khans, there was the constant shadow of a Mongol-Papal alliance. No doubt the fear of such an alliance was one of the things that encouraged an aggressive policy toward the Franks of Syria, so as to deprive both the Il-Khans and any European expedition of a foothold in

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[14]On this point, see Peter Jackson, ″The Dissolution of the Mongol Empire,″ *Central Asiatic Journal* 32 (1978): 186-244.

Syria. Again in hindsight, we can say that all the diplomatic coming-and-going between Rome and Karakorum or Tabriz was a farce, in view of the cosmic political claims of the two parties. But in the mid-thirteenth century this was not so clear. Not only did the Papacy send several missions to the Mongol court; it was ultimately able to establish several flourishing missions in northern China, which survived down to the Ming restoration in 1368. Several Nestorian Christians held high positions at the court of Hülegü—his best general Kitbughā and his wife Dokūz Khātūn, to name two. In 1260, the Christian rulers of Cilician Armenia and Antioch were active allies of the Mongols, though the Franks of Acre did maintain a nervous neutrality. There was, in brief, every reason for Baybars to assume that an effective alliance between the Pope and the Il-Khans might be brought off. In fact such an alliance was concluded at the Council of Lyon (1274), which also momentarily reunited the Greek and Roman Churches. Fortunately for Baybars, this alliance quickly disappeared, due to the death of its guiding spirit Pope Gregory X in 1276 and the conflicting interests of Charles of Anjou, now titular King of Jerusalem and the would-be emperor of Constantinople. But it had been a near thing, and no doubt Baybars felt that his efforts with Michael VIII and Charles of Anjou had been well-invested.[15]

We might, finally, take a glance at the diplomacy involved in maintaining regular access to the slave markets of southern Russia. It required three simultaneous alliances: with the Golden Horde, which controlled the manpower reservoir; with Genoa, which controlled the Black Sea trade and the shipping routes between Constantinople and Alexandria; finally, with Byzantium, which controlled the Straits. These three alliances required a nice calculation of the vital interests of each party, and a capacity to exploit the conflicts of each with outside forces. This latter point involved, for example, Genoa vs. Venice, the Golden Horde vs. the Il-Khans, and Byzantium vs. the Papacy and the Angevins. That Baybars and later Qalāwūn brought it off is a high testament to their knowledge of the world outside their borders as well as to their diplomatic skills.

It is time to conclude. The Ayyubids were indeed, as their critics then and since have maintained, reluctant warriors, but I have suggested that they had compelling reasons to be. And likewise the early Mamluks were intensely focused on ridding Syria of the Crusading states at the earliest opportunity. But although

[15]The most recent treatment of Mongol-Frankish diplomacy is Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, 94-105. Jean Richard has devoted many important articles to this subject; as examples, see "The Mongols and the Franks," *Journal of Asian History* 3 (1969): 45-57; and idem, "Les Mongoles et l'Occident: Deux siècles de contacts," in *1274, année charnière: Mutations et continuité* (Paris, 1977), 85-96. An older (much older than its date of publication) but carefully documented overview is Marshall W. Baldwin, "Missions to the East in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in Setton, *History of the Crusades*, 5:452-518.

this policy was in part driven by ideology, it was no expression of mindless fanaticism. On the contrary, the geopolitical realities of the world inherited by the Mamluks almost mandated such a policy; at the very least, it represented a sober and realistic assessment of the realities they had to face. Recall that both Ayyubids and Mamluks draped themselves in the mantle of *jihād*; they did so in very contrasting ways, with perfect accuracy and no doubt with perfect sincerity.

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A Holograph MS of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's "*Dhayl*" *

Introduction

The following is a study of a hitherto uncatalogued holograph manuscript of a later Mamluk history entitled "al-Dhayl" by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (d. 851/1448). A description of the manuscript and a short bibliographical study of the author or authors is provided, and the work itself is discussed within the framework of a number of larger questions. These questions include the value Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's work as a whole has for the modern historian of the Mamluk period; what the manuscript and other related manuscripts might offer studies of Mamluk historiography; and the place Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's work occupies as a product of the particular genre of Mamluk historiography known as the "Syrian school." Such questions are addressed through an examination and comparative analysis of the manuscript, other related manuscripts, and other contemporary histories.

Description of Chester Beatty MS 5527

In the summer of 1995, I undertook research at the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, Ireland. In the course of that research, I was informed by the library staff that there were a number of manuscripts acquired after A. J. Arberry had completed his *Handlist* and which, in addition, had not been included in the more thorough catalogue made by Paul Kahle (the one copy of which is held at the Library). Loosely bound slips of paper, usually with no more than the name of the author and a guess at the title of the work, are all that identify these manuscripts. The manuscript to be examined here is MS 5527. It was rightly identified by the anonymous cataloguer as a holograph copy of a work entitled simply "al-Dhayl" by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah.[1] This manuscript is but one volume of a larger Mamluk

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*I would like to thank Dr. Michael Ryan and his staff at the Chester Beatty Library for their hospitality in August of 1995. I would also like to thank the staff at The University of Chicago Library for providing me with a number of manuscript microfilms. Dimitri Gutas and Ahmad Dallal, both of Yale University, read an initial draft and offered valuable advice and suggestions. I am particularly indebted to Franz Rosenthal for a number of corrections.

[1]There is, however, a parenthetical note which questions whether it might be "al-I'lām bi-Ta'rīkh al-Islām," another work by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah which contains biographies extracted from the history of al-Dhahabī, with supplemental information taken from the works of Ibn Kathīr and al-Kutubī. For the "I'lām," see Adnan Darwich, ed., *Ta'rīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah* (Damascus, 1977-94),

history which our sources tell us covered, in its various versions, the years 764-ca. 850/1362-ca. 1446. The Chester Beatty manuscript contains the years 797-810/1392-1407.

A brief autopsy of this holograph manuscript provided the following information. The manuscript measures 28 cm. by 19 cm. It is heavily wormed and water-stained, particularly in the later folios. It is bound in worn brown leather and board. The manuscript consists of 402 folios; the work begins on folio 1v. and ends, without colophon, on folio 402r. There are twenty-three lines to the page, with extensive marginalia on almost every page. The author's hand is an abysmal *naskh*;[2] there is one other hand (aside from ownership and readership notes): a poor *ta'līq*, in the margin of folio 20v. The upper right margin of the title page is torn away, leaving only part of the title: . . . *manhal min al-Dhayl baynahu wa-bayna al-mujallad alladhī qablahu naqṣ arba' wa-'ishrīn sanah*. Most of this would seem to be an added note to the actual title, of which all that remains is the word [*al-*]*Manhal*. The note indicates that between (at least) two volumes held in one place, there were missing volumes which covered the years 773-796/1371-1393. The actual title ends with *al-Dhayl*; prior to the title there may have been an indication of volume number.[3] The word *manhal* is interesting here: a similar title is to be found in two other manuscripts of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's work. In his description of the holograph manuscript (Asad Efendi 2345) of the abridgement (*mukhtaṣar*) Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah made of the "Dhayl," Adnan Darwich notes that he found:[4] [*mu*]*jallad thānī min al-Dhayl al-Wāfī fī al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī.* In Chester Beatty 4125, which contains at least part of the "Dhayl" as well as other works by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, we find on the title page: *min al-Dhayl min Kitāb al-Manh*[*al*] *lil-Shaykh al-Imām Taqī al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī al-Ḥalabī*; which has been corrected to: *min al-Dhayl min Kitāb al-Tawārīkh al-Imām* [sic] *Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah*. And on folio 179r. of the same manuscript: *al-mujallad al-thālith al-Dhayl* [sic] *min al-Manhal al-Ta'rīkh li-Imām* [sic] *Ibn al-Shiḥnah* [sic] *al-Ḥalabī al-Ḥanafī bi-khaṭṭih*. The title is incorrect and, in the last note, the author's name presumably confused with (Muḥibb al-Dīn) Ibn al-Shiḥnah.[5] All of these notes are in different hands, so

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vol. 2, French introduction, 23-27; and Caesar E. Farah, *The Dhayl in Medieval Arabic Historiography* (New Haven, 1967), 21.

[2]Modern scholars are not alone in this judgement; see his student's comments in a manuscript of the *mukhtaṣar* of the "Dhayl" described by Darwich (vol. 2, Arabic intro., 70) and Darwich's own comments (ibid., 59). For specimens, see the plates in Darwich, 2:63-68 and in Georges Vajda, *Album de paléographie arabe* (Paris, 1959), pl. 34.

[3]What remains of the bottom portion of the letters of the title would suggest *al-juz' al-rābi'*.

[4]Darwich, vol. 2, Arabic intro., 58.

[5]This Ibn al-Shiḥnah would seem to be Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad

ascription to one misguided owner or cataloguer is precluded, though there may have been a series of owners or cataloguers repeating an initial error. The note in the manuscript of the abridgement would suggest that the work was thought to be a *dhayl* of some sort to Ibn Taghrī Birdī's *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfī ba'da al-Wāfī*.[6]

To the right of the title fragment in MS 5527 there is a brief note indicating the years 797-810 as those covered in the volume. One ownership note is clear: *min 'awārī al-dahr ladá al-faqīr shaykh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-shahīr bi-Chūyi Zādah*. This gentleman remains unidentified, though he did own other manuscripts of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's work.[7] There are additional notes, now almost entirely effaced, in the upper and lower left corners. Additional information on the title page includes three catalogue numbers: one in Arabic, 44; and two others in Roman script, the Chester Beatty Library 5527 and what seems to read 2275. Four readership notes are found on folio 402r.: one by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ghazzī, dated 848/1444;[8] the second by Ibrāhīm Ibn Mufliḥ, dated 849/1445;[9] the third, undated, is for one Muḥammad ibn 'Alī (?); and the fourth by one 'Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Buṣrawī, dated 873/1468.[10]

The identification of the work is a simple matter. Chester Beatty MS 5527 is unquestionably one of the later volumes, if not the last, of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's work which came to be known alternately as "al-Dhayl" or simply "Ta'rīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah."[11] The work is a history of the Mamluk period between the latter

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(d. 890/1485), who wrote, among other works, a *dhayl* entitled "Nuzhat al-Nawāẓir fī Rawḍ al-Manāẓir" to the work by his grandfather Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Kamāl al-Dīn (d. 815/1412) entitled "Rawḍat al-Manāzir fī 'Ilm al-Awā'il wa-al-Awākhir," itself a *dhayl* to Abū al-Fidā''s history; see Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1943-49; hereafter *GAL*), 1:377, 2:42, 44; and idem, *Supplement*, vols 1-3 (Leiden, 1937-42; hereafter S1-3), 2:40-41 for Muḥibb al-Dīn; for the grandfather see *GAL* 2:46, 141, S2:176, and Dominique Sourdel, "Ibn al-S̲h̲iḥna," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 3:938.

6Published Cairo, 1957.

7His ownership notes are found in Chester Beatty MS 4125 (on which see below) and in a copy of the *mukhtaṣar* of the "Dhayl" (see Darwich, vol. 2, Arabic intro., 71). Darwich records the name with a *jīm* but the *che* is clearly pointed in CB 4125.

8This is in fact Muḥammad *ibn Ibrāhīm* ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ghazzī (d. 864/1459) who, al-Sakhāwī tells us, "met with Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah"; see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Beirut, 1992), 6:324.

9This is Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Mufliḥ al-Ḥanbalī (d. 884/1479); see al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 1:152, and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, *Mu'jam al-Mu'arrikhīn al-Dimashqīyīn* (Beirut, 1978), 258.

10This is perhaps 'Alī ibn Yūsuf ibn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad, whom al-Sakhāwī mentions (*al-Ḍaw'*, 6:53) without birth or death dates.

11Identification can be determined through: (1) references to such a work written by Ibn Qāḍī

half of the eighth/fourteenth and the first half of the ninth/fifteenth centuries and deals primarily with events in Syria and, more specifically, those centered on Damascus. The work was written jointly by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah and his master Ibn Ḥijjī (d. 816/1413) and was conceived as a supplement to the histories written by earlier Syrian traditionist-historians such as al-Birzālī (d. 739/1338), al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347), and Ibn Kathīr (d. 765/1373).[12] The history of the work's composition is a rather convoluted one, exemplified by its many revisions and abridgements. This issue, along with brief biographies of the authors and additional description of the work, will be discussed further below. First, however, it might prove beneficial to examine some of the larger contexts in which this history may be situated in order to determine precisely what the discovery of this manuscript might mean for modern historians, whether concerned with Mamluk history or Mamluk historiography.

THE LARGER CONTEXTS OF THE "DHAYL"

One can approach a medieval Arabic history—whether hitherto unknown or not—with at least two initial goals: (1) to determine the importance the work might have as a historical source for the modern historian; and (2) to situate that history within the context of a study of medieval Arabic historiography, that is, to undertake a thorough examination of the conceptualizations of history, as well as the aims and methodology of the medieval Arab historian. It has long been accepted in the field of Mamluk studies that the first of these two aims represents the cornerstone of any research in Mamluk historical writing. The plethora of historical materials from the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods prompted Claude Cahen over thirty years ago to set forth his suggestions for the editing of these materials and to call for a "repertorium" of sources.[13] Such a repertorium, which would identify,

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Shuhbah in autobiographical and biographical sources (see, e.g., his own introduction to the *mukhtaṣar*, Darwich, 2:111-12); (2) a comparison of the hand in MS 5527 with that of previously identified specimens of his hand (see above, note 2); (3) comparison of this portion of the work with other identified portions of the work (e.g. Köprülü 1027, Chester Beatty 4125).

[12]Indeed, the work is often titled "al-Dhayl ʻalá Ta'rīkh al-Dhahabī wa-Ghayrih" (viz., al-Birzālī, Ibn Kathīr, al-Ḥusaynī, etc.); see, e.g., al-Munajjid, *Muʻjam al-Mu'arrikhīn*, 229, and Darwich, vol. 2, Arabic intro., 30.

[13]Claude Cahen, "Editing Arabic Chronicles: A Few Suggestions," *Islamic Studies* 1 (1962): 1-25. Cahen chose the term "repertorium" as well as the unusual plural form "repertoriums" (ibid., 4); while one might prefer the simpler "repertory" (which, it should be noted, Cahen used to describe Carl Brockelmann's *GAL* [ibid.]), Donald P. Little continued such a usage (*An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography* [Montreal, 1970], 2) and so the term seems to have established itself in modern scholarly parlance. Cahen's call for this repertorium stemmed from his dismay at the haphazard way in which the editing of manuscripts has been undertaken in the field. On the question of whether or not to devote the requisite energy to editing a manuscript, Cahen offered

analyze, and prioritize Mamluk histories on the basis of the original material they contained, was undertaken some ten years after Cahen by Donald Little.[14] While Little limited his research primarily to the early Baḥrī period historians, he did provide the field with a developed methodology for comparing our sources, with concrete examples of what such collation would produce and, most importantly, with a clear picture of the relations and interdependency of many major Mamluk histories. Work continues in this area, though largely confined to studies of individual historians and their histories; nothing on the scale of Little's production has been undertaken for the later Burjī period of Mamluk historiography. Thus, when approaching any historical source the student of Mamluk historiography must be prepared to present similar findings. The source's relation to and dependency on other sources of the period need to be outlined and a conclusion concerning the existence of any original material in that source should be provided.

The other aim, which Franz Rosenthal called the history of historiography,[15] is concerned with developing an understanding of the contexts in which medieval Arab historians viewed history, and how they went about producing their works on history. The first of these questions is a large and formidable one and the present paper will not attempt to address it. The second of these questions, that concerning the methodology of medieval historians, cannot fail to be addressed in the course of analyzing the sources and dependencies of a medieval history. For instance, when reading Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah with an eye to identifying his sources, one is immediately presented with at least one aspect of his methodology, that is, the various ways in which he integrates his sources into a narrative (or not). Furthermore, in the case of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's "Dhayl," we are fortunate in that a number of the work's recensions have been preserved. As we shall see, the group of manuscripts in which the Chester Beatty manuscript finds a place provides a graphic representation of the development of the work. The various stages in the composition of the work are represented by different manuscripts containing revi-

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the following guidelines: (1) if the manuscript preserves older, extant works, publish those first; (2) if the manuscript preserves an older lost work, it is worth publishing; and (3) if the manuscript contains original, contemporary (to the author) materials, publish those sections first. More recently, Li Guo ("Mamluk Historiographic Studies: the State of the Art," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 [1997]: 15-43) has surveyed and critiqued a number of editions of Mamluk histories, reiterating Cahen's exhortations.

[14]*An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography*; a year before Little's survey appeared, Ulrich Haarmann published a similar work, though one more narrow in scope: *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 1 (Freiburg, 1969).

[15]See his *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 2nd rev. ed. (Leiden, 1968); more recently, Tarif Khalidi has published his *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period* (Cambridge, 1994).

sions, additions, and abridgements. These manuscripts are a virtual treasure trove for information on the craft of at least one Mamluk historian.

These are the two larger contexts, then, in which a study of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah´s ˝Dhayl,˝ and the portion of it represented by Chester Beatty 5521, needs to be placed. They are concerned largely with the uses modern historians may have for medieval Arabic chronicles, one for the study of history, the other for the study of historiography. We also need to situate the ˝Dhayl˝ and the Chester Beatty manuscript within more immediate contexts. On the one hand, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah´s ˝Dhayl˝ needs to be placed within its proper historical genre. On the other hand, the Chester Beatty manuscript has to be viewed within that group of manuscripts which represents the development of the ˝Dhayl.˝ The identification of genres of Mamluk historical writing is, again, a large one and will be touched upon only briefly here. An excursus on the authors and the background of the composition of the work will provide us with the arena in which to identify the manuscripts of the ˝Dhayl˝ in its various versions.

Historical sources for the Mamluk period can be situated within a wide variety of genres but two such genres concern us here. Again, it was Little who first emphasized the contrast between histories written by Egyptian historians and those written by Syrian historians.[16] Broadly speaking, the former are chiefly political histories while the latter are intellectual histories. Such intellectual histories are by no means concerned with the history of ideas (which is a distinctly modern concept); rather, the primary intention of intellectual histories of the Mamluk period is to produce a record of events and people connected to the institutions and fields of religion, law, and education. Moreover, the ˝Syrian school˝ of historians, as distinct from its Egyptian counterpart, produced works which, in terms of their structure, devote much more attention to biographies and specifically to biographies of people from the intellectual class. While the division of historical writing into *ḥawādith* (reports of events) and *tarājim* (biographies) is common to both genres, the differences that allow us to speak of the ˝Egyptian school˝ and the ˝Syrian school˝ are really those of emphasis.[17] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah´s ˝Dhayl˝ is clearly a

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[16]Little, *Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography*, esp. 46; see also Li Guo, ˝The Middle Baḥrī Mamlūks in Medieval Syrian Historiography: The Years 1297-1302 in the ´Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān´ Attributed to Quṭb al-Dīn Mūsā al-Yūnīnī˝ (Yale University, Ph.D. diss., 1994), 117 ff.

[17]In ˝Mamluk Historiographic Studies,˝ 29 ff., 37 ff., Li Guo has surveyed the scholarly debate over the existence of such ˝schools˝ and provided a detailed and convincing argument for the existence of a ˝Syrian school˝; he is, however, less prepared to admit an Egyptian counterpart. There is a certain, admirable, hesitancy among those scholars who have addressed the question of the existence and nature of ˝schools˝ in Mamluk historiography in using the term ˝schools˝ to speak of what may very likely be no more than roughly discernible trends, concerns, and tendencies in conceptualizations of the aims, functions, and forms of historiography. While one is perhaps

conscious product of the "Syrian school." We shall see that, in his conception of the role of historical writing and in his identification of his predecessors, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah was himself aware that he was writing a specific type of history.

THE "DHAYL," ITS AUTHORS, AND THE MANUSCRIPTS

Before discussing the work of history represented in part by Chester Beatty MS 5527, a note concerning nomenclature would seem requisite, largely because the work exists or existed in a number of versions and chiefly because one of those versions has been edited and published under a somewhat misleading title. In the following pages, the title "Dhayl" (Supplement) refers to the history as represented by the Chester Beatty manuscript and the title *mukhtaṣar* (abridgement) to the version of the work represented by Adnan Darwich's three-volume edition which he chose to entitle *Ta'rīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah*. Admittedly, this choice of nomenclature might result in a certain degree of superficial confusion; however, it will prove to be of some importance not only for a discussion of the composition of the work but also when we draw conclusions about the importance the various versions of the work might have as sources for the modern historian. Our sources—both the biographical literature on or by Ibn Ḥijjī and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah as well as later historians—equally show no unanimity in naming the work. It was undoubtedly known as "al-Dhayl" but we also find reference to it as "al-Ta'rīkh."[18] That said, we can now turn to a background study of our two authors and their work with its various recensions.

The composition of the "Dhayl" was initially undertaken by Ibn Ḥijjī and later, at his request, it was enlarged and continued by his student Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah.

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bound to recognize and appreciate such scholarly caution by signalling the peculiar connotations of terms like "school" by the use of quotation marks (viz., "Egyptian school," "Syrian school"), it would seem equally appropriate to recall the words of the "literary critic" Qudāmah ibn Ja'far (d. 337/948) on technical terms, written in another time and another context (*Naqd al-Shi'r*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Khafājī [Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmīyah, n.d.], 68): ". . . I needed to establish certain technical terms (*asmā'*) for what became apparent [in the course of the research]. . . . I have, in fact, done so and there should not be any controversy with regard to them, since they are just labels (*'alāmāt*). If one is satisfied with the technical terms I have established, fine; if not, then anyone who objects to [them] can devise others, for surely no one would argue about *that*."

[18]See, e.g., al-Nu'aymī, *al-Dāris fī Ta'rīkh al-Madāris* (Beirut, 1990), passim; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 1:270, 11:22; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Thaghr al-Bassām fī Dhikr Man Wulliya Qaḍā' al-Shām* (Damascus, 1957), passim; idem, *al-Qalā'id al-Jawharīyah fī Ta'rīkh al-Ṣāliḥīyah* (Damascus, 1949-56), 1:178, 181. One would like to think that later historians distinguished between the "Ta'rīkh" as Ibn Ḥijji had initially written it and the "Dhayl" as it was revised and supplemented by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, but this does not seem to be the case. In his biography of Ibn Ḥijjī, Ibn Ṭūlūn (*al-Qalā'id*, 1:181), calls the work "al-Ta'rīkh al-Tadhyīl."

The works of Aḥmad ibn Ḥijjī ibn Mūsá al-Ḥusbānī (d. 816/1413)[19] fall into a number of broad categories, including law, *ḥadīth* and, most important for our purposes, biography and history. He is credited with a "Mu'jam al-Shuyūkh," a biographical work of the scholars from whom he heard *ḥadīth*, and a work entitled "al-Dāris fī Akhbār al-Madāris"[20] on the *madrasah*s of Damascus and their endowment deeds. The last of his historical works listed is the "Dhayl." We are told that nearly all of his works, excluding the "Dhayl," were destroyed in the sack of Damascus in 803/1400.

Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn Aḥmad ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah[21] was born in Damascus on 24 Rabī' al-Thānī 779/30 August 1377 and died on 11 Dhū al-Qa'dah 851/18 January 1448. The corpus of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's writings fall into three categories: works on Shāfi'ī theoretical and applied law (most of which were commentaries on or abridgements of Shāfi'ī textbooks), studies in *ḥadīth*, and works on biography and history. In the biography (*ṭabaqāt*) genre, his two most important works are the collection of biographies of grammarians and the collection of biographies of Shāfi'īs. His most significant contribution in the field of history is the "Dhayl," a work which, as we have noted, was a revision, enlargement, and continuation of his master Ibn Ḥijjī's work. He also compiled another type of historical work, one of which is important for our purposes here. This type is made up of small books, properly notebooks, which were entitled "Selections," or "Excerpts" (*muntaqá*) and, on the basis of what remains of them in manuscript form, they were just that: excerpts, usually verbatim quotes, taken from the works of other historians. He is credited with making excerpts of works by such authors as Ibn 'Asākir, al-Dhahabī, Ibn al-Furāt, Ibn Duqmāq, and al-Nuwayrī. Of these, three have been identified in manuscript form: "al-Muntaqá min Ta'rīkh Ibn al-Furāt," "al-Muntaqá min Ta'rīkh Ibn Duqmāq," and "al-Muntaqá min Ta'rīkh al-Dhahabī." This last is identical to what has been called Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's "al-I'lām bi-Ta'rīkh al-Islām," and

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[19]Bio-bibliographical sources for Ibn Ḥijjī include: Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyah* (Beirut, 1987), 4:12-14 (no. 717); Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Abnā' al-'Umr fī al-Ta'rīkh* (Cairo, 1969), 7:121-24; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 1:269-71; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Qalā'id*, 1:178-82; al-Nu'aymī, *al-Dāris*, 1:104-7; Brockelmann, *GAL* S2:50; al-Munajjid, *Mu'jam al-Mu'arrikhīn*, 229-30; 'Umar Riḍā al-Kahhālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn, Tarājim Muṣannifī al-Kutub al-'Arabīyah* (Damascus, 1957), 1:188. The edition of *Inbā'* used here notes (7:122, n. 3) manuscript evidence for the *nisbah* al-Ḥushbānī rather than al-Husbānī, which latter all other sources provide, though in the same note al-Sakhāwī's *al-Ḍaw'* is said also to indicate al-Ḥushbānī. It is not clear which edition of al-Sakhāwī's work was consulted by the editor of *Inbā'* but the one consulted for this article provides al-Ḥusbānī.

[20]The title recalls the work by al-Nu'aymī (n. 18, above).

[21]Sources for the Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah corpus have been treated in detail by Darwich, vol. 2, Arabic and French intros., passim.

includes extracts from al-Dhahabī's *Ta'rīkh*, his *Mu'jam*, and his *al-'Ibar*, with additions from Ibn Kathīr's *al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* and al-Birzālī's "al-Muqtafá." The former two, extracts from Ibn al-Furāt and from Ibn Duqmāq, exist at least in part in another manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library, MS 4125. The importance of these notebooks will become clear in the discussion of the "Dhayl" and its recensions.

DESCRIPTION OF THE "DHAYL"

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah provides us with the most detailed description of the "Dhayl" in his introduction to its *mukhtaṣar*.[22] The backdrop to this description is a brief excursus on the benefits to be had from writing and reading history. It is here that he clearly aligns his interests in historiography to those of the "Syrian school." Indeed, the chief benefit to be had from history books in Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's eyes are the biographies. From biographies the common man learns of the people from whom he has received his religion. And on the basis of biographies, the scholar (and here he has in mind specifically the traditionist) can "give preference to the most learned and deserving in cases of conflict" (*ta'āruḍ*).[23] The historians of the "Syrian school" were all traditionists first and foremost. The value of history books for these traditionists lay in the use to which they could be put in *ḥadīth* studies. But this did not mean, for Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah at least, that the reports of events (*ḥawādith*) in history books were of minor importance.[24] In fact, in his introduction, he proceeds to identify histories which have managed in an equitable manner to combine both *ḥawādith* and *tarājim*. Significantly, not one contemporary history produced by the "Egyptian school" is mentioned in this list, presumably because such works generally avoided detailed biographies. In fact, when he reaches the eighth century, the works mentioned are entirely products of the "Syrian school," some of which managed to strike a proper balance between *ḥawādith* and *tarājim* and others which fell short.

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[22]Darwich, 2:107-112.

[23]Ibid., 107.

[24]It is interesting to note that the benefits of such reports for Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah were akin to what *adab* works, for instance, provided the reader. The reader could "take the good qualities of human nature [recorded in history books] as examples, protect against what people condemn and censure, and learn profitable lessons from those who have passed away." Compare Ibn al-Athīr's discussion in his *al-Kāmil fī al-Ta'rīkh* (Beirut, 1987), 1:9-10. The place of history in the education of rulers is an important element of this theme; see, generally, Rosenthal, *History*, 48 ff. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah also had recourse to the common argument of the traditionist-historian which notes al-Shāfi'ī's admiration of Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī's attention to history as an aid to legal studies (Darwich, 1:107-8); cf. Abū Shāmah's defense of historiography noted by Rosenthal, *History*, 41, n. 3.

This list prefaces a discussion of the "Dhayl." Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah presents Ibn Ḥijjī's work as one which struck the desired balance (though, as we will see, not as thoroughly as Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah would have liked). Noting that there were no such histories available in his lifetime which covered the years after 741/1340-1341, Ibn Ḥijjī began his "Dhayl," conceiving of it as a combined supplement to the works of al-Birzālī (d. 739/1338), al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347), Ibn Rāfi' (d. 774/1372), Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1372), and al-Ḥusaynī (d. 765/1363), all Syrian historians.[25] (See fig. 1.) Ibn Ḥijjī began his work with the block of years 741-747/1340-1346 and then took it up again from 769-815/1367-1412. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah tells us that Ibn Ḥijjī's method of presentation was characterized by the monthly division of the year, that is, he divided the year into months and further divided those months into days, providing reports (*ḥawādith*) on a daily basis. Ibn Ḥijjī then appended to each month the biography section (*tarājim*) in which he provided biographies of those who had died in a given month. On his deathbed, Ibn Ḥijjī entrusted the completion of the work to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah. The latter had thought this task would involve the simple completion of the missing years 748-769/1347-1367. However, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah tells us that once he resolved to take up this task, he found his master's work to be less than adequate as a whole: many biographies had been neglected and accounts of events occurring outside of Syria had been omitted.[26] So he filled the lacunas, enlarged the existing biographies and added others; he also added reports concerning places beyond Syria and additional reports of events he had personally witnessed in Syria. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah indicates that in this revision he followed the structure of his master's work, that is, the monthly division with appended biographies.[27] He then tells us that he abridged the work

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[25]These authors are important because it is their works the "Dhayl" was designed to continue: al-Birzālī's "al-Muqtafá" (MS Ahmet III 2951) ended in 738; al-Dhahabī's *Ta'rīkh al-Islām wa-Ṭabaqāt al-Mashāhīr wa-al-A'lām* (Cairo, 1974-present), combined with his other work *al-'Ibar fī Khabar man Ghabar* (Beirut, n.d.), reached the year 740; al-Ḥusaynī's work was a *dhayl* of al-Dhahabī to the year 764 (published in the Beirut edition of al-Dhahabī's *'Ibar*, 4:119-207); Ibn Rāfi''s work ("al-Wafayāt"; see Munajjid, *Mu'jam al-Mu'arrikhīn*, 208-9) was a *dhayl* of al-Birzālī's work to 774; and Ibn Kathīr's *al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* (Beirut, 1988) ended in 767. But Ibn Ḥijjī and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's work begins with the year 741; why weren't the works of Ibn Kathīr, Ibn Rāfi' and al-Ḥusaynī taken into account? According to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (Darwich, vol. 1, Arabic intro., 109-10), Ibn Kathīr's work was, up to the year 738, just an abridgement of al-Birzālī's "al-Muqtafá"; Ibn Kathīr's own additions to 767 were somewhat remiss in the quality of the biographies. One can only surmise that the reason Ibn Ḥijjī and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah did not take up where the works of Ibn Rāfi' and al-Ḥusaynī ended was that the latter were concerned only with biography, without the historical record. Perceived deficiencies in the original work is a reason often cited by authors of *dhayl*s for such overlapping (see Farah, *Dhayl,* 1, 8).

[26]Again we see the emphasis on a balanced history.

[27]He is said to have then continued the work from 815/1412 to shortly before his death in

and gives a brief description of that process: he reduced the ″Dhayl″ to about one-third, summarizing accounts of well-known events,[28] abridging the biographies and relocating them to the end of the year in alphabetical order. This alphabetical arrangement he tells us he copied from al-Dhahabī′s method in his *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*.[29] Manuscript evidence indicates that he later made an abridgement of this abridgement.[30]

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s description of the ″Dhayl″ clearly indicates his allegiance to a particular type of historiography in vogue among Syrian traditionist-historians. His description of his predecessors′ work and his explicitly stated conceptualization of his own historical writing as a continuation of that genre is of great value to our understanding of the ″Syrian school″ of Mamluk historiography.

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s Recensions of the ″Dhayl″

This, then, is the broad trajectory of the composition of the ″Dhayl″: Ibn Ḥijjī′s initial work; a recension by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah; an abridgement of that recension; an abridgement of the abridgement. However, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah also tells us what was involved in completing his master′s work, viz., he added information to it from other histories, expanded the biographies and added additional biographies. Manuscript remains of the ″Dhayl″ tell us precisely how Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah went about that process. There exists an incomplete recension of Ibn Ḥijjī′s work in Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s hand and another recension which incorporated his additions. (See fig. 2.) Many of those additions (for the years 797 and following) can be traced to the works of excerpts noted above, specifically those made of the works of Ibn al-Furāt and Ibn Duqmāq. The details concerning this process will play a part in the analysis of selected years presented below. Here I will provide descriptions of the manuscripts which represent this process of revision. Manuscripts for the *mukhtaṣar* will not be dealt with here (nor certainly the *mukhtaṣar al-mukhtaṣar*) but the work will be used in the analysis.[31]

This group is made up of the following manuscripts: Berlin 9458, Köprülü 1027, Chester Beatty 5527, and Chester Beatty 4125:

851/1447. These last years seem to have been written out in a number of separate notebooks which, his son Badr al-Dīn tells us, could not be found in his library after his death; see Darwich, vol. 2, French intro., 21.

[28]On the basis of Darwich′s edition of the *mukhtaṣar*, it would seem that, beyond a summary of content, these synopses of events (the term Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah uses is *jumlah*; see Darwich, 1:14) involved the elimination of precisely identified dates.

[29]Darwich, vol. 2, Arabic intro., 112.

[30]Ibid., French intro., 27.

[31]Darwich has provided comprehensive descriptions of the various manuscripts of the *mukhtaṣar* in his edition, vol. 2, Arabic intro.

Berlin 9458: Wilhelm Ahlwardt, in his customary, detailed manner, provided a rich description of this manuscript.[32] Though it was incorrectly identified as the history of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī,[33] Ahlwardt determined it to be Ibn Ḥijjī′s version of the ″Dhayl,″ covering the years 796-815/1393-1412. Unfortunately, I have not been able to examine the manuscript. I argue here—rather boldly—that those years found in the other manuscripts of this group which have been identified as the first recension by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah will be found to reflect closely the corresponding years in the Berlin manuscript. This hypothesis is based on characteristics of the first recension ″Dhayl″ outlined below.

Köprülü 1027: A detailed description of this holograph manuscript cannot be provided here.[34] Darwich described this manuscript as a copy of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s ″Dhayl,″ covering the years 787-812.[35] In fact, the years covered are 787, 788, 791, 792, 796, 797, 798, 803, 811, and another recension of 791, in that order. A thorough study of the manuscript has also shown that we have in this manuscript years that are part of the second recension by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (787-788, 792), years that are part of the first recension (791, 797; perhaps 796, which might also comprise no more than rough notes), years that are no more than rough notes (798, 803, 811) and finally one year—the second 791—which is probably from one of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s *muntaqá*s, likely that of Ibn al-Furāt′s work, but might also prove to be no more than rough notes.

Chester Beatty 5527: A description of this holograph manuscript has been given above. It is the second recension of the ″Dhayl″ made by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, covering the years 797-810/1394-1407.

Chester Beatty 4125: There is a brief identification of this holograph manuscript in Arberry′s *Handlist*[36] which lists the three works contained in it as: ″al-Muntaqá min Ta'rīkh Ibn al-Furāt″; ″al-Muntaqá min Ta'rīkh Ibn Duqmāq″; and a fragment

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[32]Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1887-99), no. 9458. Basing himself on Ḥājjī Khalīfah′s information, Ahlwardt identified Ibn Ḥijjī′s work as a *dhayl* to al-Ḥusaynī′s ″ʻIbar al-Aʻṣār wa-Khabar al-Amṣār″; see also Farah, *Dhayl,* 29.

[33]Presumably, it was thought to be his *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Abnā' al-ʻUmr*; the title page has: *min Ta'rīkh al-ʻAllāmah al-Ḥāfiẓ Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Ḥajar*.

[34]A microfilm of the manuscript from Maʻhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʻArabīyah in Cairo (no. 99 *Ta'rīkh*) provided by the University of Chicago Library was used for the present article. A brief description of the manuscript can be found in *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Köprülü Library*, R. Şeşen et al. (Istanbul, 1986), 1:525-26, where it is incorrectly identified as ″al-Iʻlām bi-Ta'rīkh Ahl al-Islām,″ covering the years 787-791.

[35]Vol. 2, French intro., 23.

[36]A. J. Arberry, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Handlist of the Arabic Manuscripts* (Dublin, 1955-66), 4:40.

of a history of the ninth/fifteenth century. Darwich, for reasons unknown, believed this manuscript to be a copy of the ″Dhayl″ of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah covering the years 775-810/1373-1407.[37] This is clearly an error. The manuscript does indeed comprise three works, the first two of which Arberry correctly identified. The *muntaqá* of Ibn al-Furāt′s work covers the years 773-793/1371-1390, that of Ibn Duqmāq′s work the years 804-805/1401-1402. The last work in the manuscript comprises parts of both recensions of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s ″Dhayl.″ The first recension covers the years 801, 803-810 (fols. 206v.-325r.); the year 791 is found in its second recension (fols. 181v.-196r.). (See fig. 3.)

Two recensions of the ″Dhayl″ made by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah have been identified here; what is the evidence for this hypothesis? First and foremost, obviously, is the existence of two versions of certain years in the manuscripts described above: the Chester Beatty MS 5527 contains the years 797-810; overlapping years include 797, 798, 803 (Köprülü 1027), 804-810 (CB 4125). It could be argued that one copy represents Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s work copy, the second his clean copy, but nothing about either indicates this: the extent of marginalia is the same for both, the hand no neater, the material presented no more precisely. A beneficial starting point for determining recensions is marginalia. Marginal corrections (those ending with *ṣaḥḥ* and made by the copyist in the course of collation) are of little use here; both copies contain them and at any rate one cannot determine which copy served as the basis for correction.

However, marginal additions (those ending with the abbreviation *ḥ* for *ḥāshiyah*) can prove useful. The account of the year 810/1407 in the Chester Beatty MS 4125 (identified here as the first recension) contains lengthy *ḥāshiyah* marginalia which in the Chester Beatty MS 5527 are incorporated into the text.[38] The process does not work the other way: *ḥāshiyah* marginalia in Chester Beatty MS 5527 are not found in Chester Beatty MS 4125, either in the text or again in the margin.[39] Because these marginalia are not found anywhere in Chester Beatty MS 4125 and because they are clearly marked *ḥāshiyah* marginalia in Chester Beatty MS 5527, a hypothesis in favor of a mere copying process from Chester Beatty 4125 to Chester Beatty 5527 is untenable. We have before us, then, a clear recension process.

Other indications of a recension process from Chester Beatty MS 4125 to MS 5527 involve the wording of phrases, chiefly exemplified by a change from the first person to third person. Two examples from the year 810:

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[37]Darwich, vol. 2, French intro., 27.

[38]E.g., CB 4125, 328r. marginalia incorporated into text of CB 5527, 392r., lines 19 ff.

[39]E.g., two such *ḥāshiyah* marginalia in CB 5527, 392r.

1. In Chester Beatty MS 4125, 328v., lines 23-24, we find Ibn Ḥijjī´s ″quotation marks″: *samiʿtu min. . . .* (″I heard from″) which in Chester Beatty 5527, 393r., line 12, becomes: *hādhā kalām Ibn Ḥijjī* (″These are the words of Ibn Ḥijjī″).
2. In Chester Beatty MS 4125, 327r., lines 5-6, Ibn Ḥijjī offers his opinion of someone: . . . *qubiḍa ʿalá Sulaymān ibn al-Ḥājjī wa-sullima ilá ustādhdār al-ṣuḥbah wa-huwa min aẓlam khalq wa-alḥasihim.* In Chester Beatty MS 5527, 391r., lines 4-5, this becomes: . . . *qāla al-shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Ḥijjī taghammadahu Allāh fīhi wa-huwa min aẓlam khalq wa-alḥasihim.* This first person to third person process evinces Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah´s acquisition of the work. The original narrator has become just another source.[40] Obviously, it is a process that does not work the other way. Further, this process is one of the reasons for arguing that the Berlin manuscript of Ibn Ḥijjī´s original version would, if compared to the first recension years, on the whole agree. The first recension made by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah represents a *copy* of Ibn Ḥijjī´s original which, with the marginal notes he added to it, formed the basis of his second recension.

There is one other very significant indication of the recension process. Again, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah tells us that one of the changes he made to Ibn Ḥijjī´s work was to add material from other sources. We find graphic illustration of this in a comparison of Köprülü 1027 (the first recension) and Chester Beatty MS 5527 (the second recension), this time for the year 797 (the month is al-Muḥarram):

1. a. First Recension (Köprülü MS 1027, 166v., lines 15-16):
ويوم الخميس ثانيه وصل صاحبنا الشيخ محمد المُغَيْرِبي عارف السلطان
يومَ خروجه من حلب و أقام بحماة أياماً.

1. b. Second Recension (Chester Beatty MS 5527, 3r., lines 7-9):
ويوم الخميس ثالثه وصل الى مصر طلب الامير جمال الدين محمود
الاستاذدار من الشام ويومئذ وصل الى دمشق الشيخ محمد المُغَيْرِبي عارف
السلطان يومَ خروجه من حلب و أقام بحماة أياماً.

1. c. The additional material can be traced to Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh*, 396, lines 6-7:[41]
وفي يوم الخميس ثالث المحرّم الشهر المذكور حضر الى مصر المحروسة طلب
الامير جمال الدين محمود الاستاذ الدار العالية من الشام.

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[40]It might also be noted that the optative following Ibn Ḥijjī´s name indicates that this recension was begun after Ibn Ḥijjī´s death.
[41]Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh Ibn al-Furāt* (Beirut, 1936-42), vol. 9 pt. 2.

This process is repeated in our second example:

2. a. First Recension (Köprülü MS 1027, 166v., lines 16-18):

ويوم الجمعة قبْلَ الصلاة ثالثه وصل قاضي القضاة بدر الدين بن أبي البقاء عارف السلطان من حمص ويومئذ قدم آخرَ النهار الامير الكبير كَمُشْبُغا فنزل بدار الحاجب على عادته.

2. b. Second Recension (Chester Beatty MS 5527, 3r., lines 7-13):

ويوم الجمعة رابعه توجّه حاشيةالسلطان أحمد بن أوَيْس صاحب بغداد وحريمه لقصد بلادهم حسب مرسوم السلطان ويومئذ قبل الصلاة وصل قاضي القضاة بدر الدين بن أبي البقاء عارف السلطان من حمص ويومئذ قدم الامير الكبير كَمُشْبُغا الاتابك فنزل بدار الحاجب على عادته وبَكْلَمِش العلائي أمير سلاح.

2. c. Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 397, lines 3-4:

وفي يوم الجمعة رابع المحرّم المذكور توجّهوا غلمان السلطان مغيث الدين أحمد بن أوَيْس صاحب بغداد وحاشيته وحريمه لقصد بلادهم حسب المرسوم الشريف الظاهري

The formulations of the common report in the first and second recensions generally accord, though with minor modifications in the second recension. The second recension and Ibn al-Furāt are also in accord, showing a definite borrowing from Ibn al-Furāt in the wording of the report. Interestingly, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah adds the name of a second amir to the report common to the first and second recensions, *wa-Baklamish al-'Alā'ī amīr silāḥ*. The mention of this amir does not seem to find a place in the content of the report; certainly the intent might prove clear but the syntax is somewhat obscure. Turning to Ibn al-Furāt again (397, lines 5-6), we find Baklamish mentioned at the end of the report for 7 al-Muḥarram 797/2 November 1394, which immediately follows Ibn al-Furāt's report given above: . . . *dakhala al-Sulṭān al-Ẓāhir ilá Dimashq al-maḥrūsah wa-dakhala qablahu al-amīrayn* [sic] *Kamushbughā al-Ḥamawī atābak al-'asākir wa-Baklamish al-'Alā'ī amīr silāḥ.*

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, in combining the report from his first recension (by way of Ibn Ḥijjī's original) with Ibn al-Furāt's report, has reduced the two reports in Ibn al-Furāt to one—with, it might be added, awkward results. In fact, we might have here a case of homoeoteleuton or homoeoarchon, though one would need to examine the copy of Ibn al-Furāt's history that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah used, if indeed that copy has survived and could be identified.

This process is clearly one in which a second, expanded recension has been made from a first, more elemental one. Even more importantly perhaps, this examination of recensions has allowed us to identify one source Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah used for his account of the year 797/1394 as Ibn al-Furāt's *Ta'rīkh*. This should not come as a surprise; it has been noted above that he made a *muntaqá* of the Egyptian's history. But while he occasionally names his sources or alludes to them (e.g., *qāla ba'ḍ al-mu'arrikhīn al-miṣrīyīn*), those instances in which he does not do so (as in the examples above) are far more numerous and they are almost exclusively—at least for the year 797—from Ibn al-Furāt.[42]

It is clear, then, that manuscript remains of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's corpus include two recensions of the "Dhayl" and, as such, constitute an important source of information for the study of book composition in the Mamluk period.

IBN QĀḌĪ SHUHBAH'S SOURCES: SOUNDINGS OF THE YEARS 797, 801, 804, 810

In order to assess the importance the "Dhayl" may have for modern historians as a source for the Mamluk period, a number of soundings were made of Chester Beatty MS 5527. In what follows, an attempt is made to delineate the major sources Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah drew upon in composing the "Dhayl" and to determine what unique information the "Dhayl" has to offer.

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's reliance on Ibn al-Furāt's *Ta'rīkh* for his account of the year 797 is in fact far more pervasive than these minor reports might lead us to believe. The two examples which follow illustrate this reliance and, in addition, provide illustration of how Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah reworked the information taken from Ibn al-Furāt for inclusion in the *mukhtaṣar*.

The first example is of a report about the clash between the Sharīf of Mecca 'Alī ibn 'Ajlān and his forces and the Banū Ḥasan in Shawwāl of 797/July 1395.[43]

1. a. Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. 9, pt. 2, 413:

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[42]Darwich (vol. 2, French intro., 35-42) has rendered a valuable service in identifying many of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's sources. However, his list would seem to be based almost exclusively on citations in Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's *mukhtaṣar* in which the author explicitly names his sources. The degree of borrowing is in fact far greater than such citations suggest.

[43]One correction to the text of each of the three works used for this example has been made. This concerns the place name *Baṭn Marr*. Ibn al-Furāt's *Ta'rīkh* reads *m-r-w*, Chester Beatty 5527 likewise, while Darwich's edition of the *mukhtaṣar* reads *Murah*. Medieval Arab geographers would seem to agree that the correct name is the one given above; see, for instance, Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* (Beirut, 1990), 1:533 and al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rifat al-Aqāsīm* (ed. M. J. de Goeje, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, [Leiden, 1906]), 106. B. A. Collins, in his translation of al-Muqaddasī (*The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions* [London, 1994], 97), transliterates the name as *Baṭn Marr*. It might be noted in connection with this that a manuscript variant in the account in Ibn Ḥajar's *Inbā'* (1:495) is given as *m-r-w*.

في يوم الاربعاء أول ذي قعدة من شهور هذه السنة قدم مقبل مملوك عجلان وجماعة نجابة من الحجاز الشريف الى الابواب الشريفة وأخبروا أن في شوال المذكور وقعت وقعة بين بني حسن وقواد مكة ببَطْن مرّ وحصل بين الشريف علي سلطان مكة وبين شخص من بني حسن تماسك فوقعا عن الخيل فضرب كل منهما صاحبه فقتل علي بن عجلان وعاش غريمه وأن قواد مكة وعبيدها ملكوا وحصنوها ولم يمكنوا بني حسن منها ولا من الدخول اليها وأن لهم عن مكة ثلاثة عشر يومًا وكان الشريف حسن بن عجلان محبوسًا فأفرخ السلطان عنه وأخلع عليه وولاه سلطانة مكة المشرفة عوضًا عن أخيه علي وأمره أن يسافر و يلحق الحجاج.

1. b. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, ″Dhayl″ (CB 5527), 24v., marg. and *mukhtaṣar* (ed. Darwich), 3:555; those parts in brackets are missing from the *mukhtaṣar*:

وفي يوم الاربعاء المذكور قدم الى مصر نجابة من الحجاز الى مصر وأخبروا أن [في شوال المذكور] وقعت وقعة بين بني حسن و قواد مكة ببَطْن مرّ [وحصل بين الشريف علي صاحب مكة وبين شخص من بني حسن تماسك فوقعا عن الخيل فضرب كل منهما صاحبه] فقتل علي بن عجلان [وعاش غريمه] وأن قواد مكة وعبيدها حمَوها [وحصنوها] ولم يمكنوا بني حسن منها وأن لهم عن مكة ثلاثة عشر يومًا وكان السيد حسن بن عجلان محبوسًا فأفرج السلطان عنه وخلع عليه سلطانة مكة عوضًا عن أخيه علي وأمر أن يلحق الحجاج.

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s reliance on Ibn al-Furāt for this report is clear; aside from some minor changes and omissions the two reports are identical.[44] The report in the *mukhtaṣar* evinces what one expects of an abridgement, namely, the exclusion of extraneous material. The report in the *mukhtaṣar* does, however, contain an additional sentence: *wa-sāra wa-ma'ahu Yalbughā al-Sālimī fī sābi' al-shahr al-ātī 'alá al-hujun*. This sentence is to be found in Ibn al-Furāt (p. 414), and consequently in Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (fol. 26v., lines 1-7) under Tuesday, 6 Dhū al-Qa'dah as part of an account of the Amir Yalbughā′s postponement of a trip to the Hijaz, a postponement occasioned by a dream in which his late master Abū Bakr al-Bajā'ī warned him against going before Dhū al-Qa'dah. He then duly set out with the new Sharīf of Mecca, Ḥasan ibn 'Ajlān.

[44]It is worth comparing the reports of Ibn Ḥajar (*Inbā'*, 1:495) and al-Maqrīzī (*al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk* [Cairo, 1934], 3:2, 841), who also relied on Ibn al-Furāt (see Jere L. Bacharach, ″Circassian Mamluk Historians and their Quantitative Data,″ *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 12 [1975]: 84), with those of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah to see the differences in approach the three authors have to quoting other historians′ material.

The second example is a more complex one. It again demonstrates Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah´s reliance on Ibn al-Furāt for a report which he recorded in his ˝Dhayl˝ (under the month Sha'bān) and then abridged for the *mukhtaṣar*. But we also find additional related reports unique to the ˝Dhayl˝ (in both recensions). The background is the sultan´s borrowing of money against *waqf*s established for orphans in Egypt and Syria to finance an expedition to Syria. The related reports in the ˝Dhayl˝ detail the legal and financial processes involved in such a transaction.

2. a. Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rīkh*, vol. 9 pt. 2, 410:
وفي يوم السبت تاسعه رسم السلطان الظاهر بردّ دراهم الايتام الذي كان اقترضها من المُودَعَين بمصر والشام عند توجّهه للشام، من مودع القاهرة خمسمائه الف وخمسين الف ومن مودع الشام ستمائة الف درهم فتسلّموها أُمناءُ الحكم من مباشري السلطان.

2. b. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, ˝Dhayl˝ (CB 5527), 19v., lines 18-23 and *mukhtaṣar* (ed. Darwich), 3:551; again, those parts in brackets are missing from the *mukhtaṣar*:
وفي بعض تواريخ المصريين أن في يوم السبت تاسعه رسم السلطان الملك الظاهر بردّ دراهم الايتام الذي كان اقترضها من المُودَعَين بمصر والشام عند توجّهه للشام، من مودع القاهرة خمسمائه الف وخمسين الف [ومن مودع الشام ستمائة الف درهم] فتسلّم دلك أُمناءُ الحكم من مباشري السلطان.

The reports are nearly identical, though it is interesting to note that the *mukhtaṣar* has left out the sum borrowed from the Syrian depository, considering the usual emphasis Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah places on Syrian affairs.[45] Next we find an additional report (under Dhū al-Qa'dah) in the ˝Dhayl˝ and the *mukhtaṣar*, detailing the result of this order from the Sultan:

2. c. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, ˝Dhayl˝ (CB 5527), 26v., lines 7-13 and *mukhtaṣar* (ed. Darwich), 3:555:
ويوم الاربعاء سابعه وصل كتاب السلطان الى نائب السلطانة بأن يشتري ما أُبيع على الايتام وغيرهم من بيت المال عام أول وهو الطاحون بباب السلامة ونصف قرية الأَقْتَريش ويبلغه خمسمائة الف درهم وأن يدفع الثمن اليهم من ثمن القَنْد المبيع على نائب السلطانة ففعل ذلك بعد شهر وقبض المبلغ وأن يسامحوا بما قبضوا من الريع وكان السلطان فعل في شعبان مثل ذلك

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[45]There are other slight variations in the *mukhtaṣar*: for *'inda tawajjuhihi lil-Shām*, there is *fī al-sanah al-khāliyah*; and in one of the MSS (as Darwich tells us [vol. 3, 551, n. 1]) the correction of *alladhī* to *allatī*.

بالقاهرة كما تقدّم.

We then find two additional reports (under Dhū al-Ḥijjah) in the ″Dhayl″ (both recensions) not found in the *mukhtaṣar*:

2. d. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, ″Dhayl″ (Köprülü 1027), 185v., lines 4-9 and (CB 5527), 27v., line 19-28r., line 2:

ويوم الثلاثاء خامسه جرى عقد التبايع لطاحون بباب السلامة ونصف قرية الأَقْتَريش اشترى نائب السلطانة ذلك لمولانا السلطان بطريق الوكالة بمقتضى الكتاب الوارد في الشهر الماضي من المشتريين كذلك من بيت المال للايتام وغيرهم بحضور قاضي القضاة و القاضي المالكي و أحال النائب بالمال على المستلم من المشتريين للقَنْد من النبات وقبلوا الحوالة وحصل القبض الشرعي وشرعوا في كتابة النسخ لذلك.

2. e. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, ″Dhayl″ (Köprülü 1027), 185v., lines 12-17 and (CB 5527), 28r., lines 6-11:

وليلة الثلاثاء ثاني عشره أندبتُ كتاب التبايع الصادر من النائب بطريق الوكالة عن السلطان من المتكلمين على الايتام وغيرهم من الاوصياء على مشتري الوقوف لما كان أُشتري من بيت المال لهم في العام الماضي بعد أن يُندب وكيل السلطان للنائب عند القاضي المالكي وأندبتُ التبايع المذكور بعد استيعاء الشرائط الشرعية ونقد من الغد على القضاة الاربعة وكتب به نسخة أُرسلت الى مصر ونسخة استمرّت عند النائب ثم كتب به نسختان أخريان بخط العليلي [؟] وتلك النسختان احداهما بخط ابن غزّي و الاخرى بخط الرملي.

Two general conclusions can be drawn from these examples: (1) for the year 797/1394, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s source for much of the information in his ″Dhayl,″ and so also in his *mukhtaṣar*, was Ibn al-Furāt′s *Ta'rīkh*; (2) there is information, perhaps valuable information, to be had from the ″Dhayl″ (whichever recension) which cannot be found in the *mukhtaṣar*. With regard to the first conclusion, the reliance upon Ibn al-Furāt is much more pervasive than two examples alone can demonstrate. In fact, a rough estimate of the combined *ḥawādith* and *tarājim* taken from Ibn al-Furāt for the year 797 is *fully half* of the ″Dhayl″ and *fully half* of the *mukhtaṣar*. The second conclusion, too, has further implications: *there is no information in the mukhtaṣar which is not to be had from the "Dhayl."* Moreover, the ″Dhayl,″ as we have seen, contains information not taken from Ibn al-Furāt (or it seems from any other source) and which was not incorporated into the *mukhtaṣar*.

Such information is of two types: (1) information which expands upon the brief accounts found in the *mukhtaṣar*; (2) fully unique reports and biographies. The first type of information is akin to our second example above. The second is reports centered around academic, legal, and religious life in Damascus. These are accounts of who taught where and what was taught, legal and teaching appointments received and lost (and often the scandals which occasioned such changes), daily activities of the chief judges, lists and descriptions of letters received from travelling scholars, and bureaucratic information. There are some thirty such reports. Next, there are some twenty biographies unique to the ″Dhayl,″ biographies of usually minor figures who were involved, again, in the intellectual life of Damascus.

So far, we have dealt with the historical importance of the ″Dhayl″ in relation to its *mukhtaṣar*, but what of the relative importance of the two recensions of the ″Dhayl″? We have already seen that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah filled out his first recension with information taken from Ibn al-Furāt. There is, however, material in the second recension for the year 797 not to be had from the first recension. Such additions are largely biographies: of the twenty biographies unique to the two recensions of the ″Dhayl,″ roughly half are found only in the second recension represented by Chester Beatty 5527. These are Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's own additions to the first recension.

But, admittedly, none of the information unique to the ″Dhayl″ for the year 797 is of a particularly profound nature. The *mukhtaṣar* records the most important events and biographies.[46] The information in the ″Dhayl,″ then, helps to flesh out more fully the social and intellectual dimensions of Damascene life at the end of the eighth/fourteenth century. Granted, it is unfortunate that for the years 797-810/1394-1407 a manuscript of the ″Dhayl″ was not available when the decision to publish the *mukhtaṣar* was made, but such is the state of the field. However, it should be clear now that for the year 797/1394, only half of the information in the *mukhtaṣar* is of real worth as unique information for modern historians: the rest can be had from Ibn al-Furāt. Such a judgement most likely is also applicable to those years preceding 797/1394 and covered by Ibn al-Furāt. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's *muntaqá* of Ibn al-Furāt's *History*, found in Chester Beatty MS 4125, covers the years 778-793/1376-1390, and so it is for those years that we can assume there was borrowing. And though not found in Chester Beatty MS 4125, we can surmise that information for the years 794-799/1391-1396 were also ″selected″ by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah on the basis of the presence of such information in the account of the year 797 in both the ″Dhayl″ and the *mukhtaṣar*. But—and this has significance beyond the question of the relative worth of the ″Dhayl″ and *mukhtaṣar*—no manuscripts of Ibn al-Furāt's *Ta'rīkh* have come to light for the years 698-789/1298-

[46]Such a qualitative judgement is, however, relative to what one wants from a Mamluk history.

1387.[47] A thorough investigation of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s *muntaqá* of Ibn al-Furāt, his *mukhtaṣar* (as edited by Darwich) and the Köprülü MS of his ″Dhayl″ (which includes the years 787-788) for borrowings from Ibn al-Furāt would prove invaluable in reconstructing Ibn al-Furāt′s *Ta'rīkh* for that period.[48]

To return to the ″Dhayl″ and Chester Beatty MS 5527, what can be said about the years after 800, the year the published edition of the *mukhtaṣar* ends?[49] For content concerning events in Syria and particularly Damascus, they resemble closely the preceding years and so equally have a value for the social and intellectual life of that city. It is not necessary to provide as detailed a study of those years as has been done for the year 797 as we are no longer constrained to a comparative study of the ″Dhayl″ and the *mukhtaṣar*. The pattern of expansion from first recension to second recension has also been established and need not be illustrated further.

We know the value of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s history for events and biographies close to home, but as for those areas beyond Syria, and most especially Egypt, a pattern of borrowing from other histories has been established; thus, it would seem wise to determine just which histories he used to this end. Again, his *muntaqá*s provide a good starting point. The *muntaqá* of Ibn Duqmāq in Chester Beatty MS 4125 covers only two years, 804-805. A brief analysis of the year 804 indicates Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s reliance on Ibn Duqmāq in the ″Dhayl.″ One example, dealing with a minor rebellion by a group of amirs, will suffice. Ibn Duqmāq′s version is given first, followed by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s version from the Chester Beatty MS 5527, with sections in brackets indicating elements missing from his *muntaqá*.

1. a. Ibn Duqmāq, ″al-Jawhar al-Thamīn,″[50] 219v., line 9 - 220r., line 4:

وفيها في يوم الجمعة ثاني شوال حصل كلام بين الامير نوروز الحافظي وجكم الدوادار وبين الامير سودون طاز أمير أخور وحصل سرّ كبير الى أن لبسوا ونزل السلطان الى الاصطبل وأقام بالمقعد وترامَوا بالنفط والنشاب. ثم إن أمير المؤمنين وشيخ الاسلام والقضاة دخلوا بينهم ومشَوا بالصلح فاصطلحوا وطلع السلطان الى القلعة ونزل كلّ من الامراء الى بيته. ثم طلب السلطانُ

[47]I rely on Cahen′s somewhat dated article on Ibn al-Furāt in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., but I am not aware of any further discoveries. Within that roughly hundred year gap, it is the latter half coinciding with the author′s life that might prove of most importance.

[48]Other historians, e.g. Ibn Ḥajar, al-Maqrīzī, and al-ʻAynī, also used Ibn al-Furāt (see Bacharach, ″Circassian Mamluk Historians,″ 48), and so should be included in such a comparative study.

[49]Darwich tells us (vol. 2, Arabic intro., 57) that the holograph manuscript of the *mukhtaṣar* ends with the year 808; it is not at all clear why he chose not to continue editing the work to this year.

[50]A microfilm of the Bodleian MS Digby Or. 28 of Ibn Duqmāq′s ″al-Jawhar al-Thamīn fī Siyar al-Mulūk wa-al-Salāṭīn″ was kindly provided by The University of Chicago Library.

الخليفةَ وقاضي القضاة فطلعوا الى السلطان. ثم نزلوا فحلّفوا الامراء.

1. b. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, ″Dhayl″ (CB 5527), 247r., lines 3-11 (brackets enclose major omissions in ″al-Muntaqá min Ta'rīkh Ibn Duqmāq″ [CB 4125], 201r., line 20-201v., line 2):

في يوم ثانيه حصل بين الامراء نوروز وجكم وقاني بيه ومَن معهم وبين الامير سودون طاز أخور ومَن انضاف اليه سرّ كبير ولبسوا في اليوم المذكور ونزل السلطان الى الاصطبل السلطاني وأقام به ويقاتل الامراء والمماليك السلطانية و تعس الامراء في ذلك اليوم. ثم إن الخليفة والقضاة وشيخ الاسلام دخلوا بينهم ومشَوا بالصلح فاصطلحوا في ذلك اليوم وطلع السلطان عشية النهار الى القلعة. ثم راح كلّ واحد منهم الى بيته وفي صبح الغد طُلب الخليفة والشيخ والقضاة الى القلعة فاجتمعوا بالسلطان. ثم نزلوا الى بيت الامير[نوروز ثم الى بيت الامير ولي الدين الاتابك والى بيوت مهمة الامراء] وحلّفوهم.

Clearly, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s version displays a few substantive differences, chiefly with regard to other people involved in the event. While the *muntaqá* made by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah reflects some of these changes (viz., Qānī Bāy, *mamālīk sulṭānīyah*), it does not include them all (e.g., the last line[51]). Two possibilities arise. The most obvious is that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah used a version of Ibn Duqmāq other than that represented by the Bodleian MS used here. This, however, does not explain the changes from the *muntaqá* version to the ″Dhayl″ version. In other words, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah drew either entirely on another source which also used Ibn Duqmāq but which also added the other elements, or he added the additional information from another source. This process could have begun with the *muntaqá* version which was then expanded for the ″Dhayl″ version using additional sources. For the example above, the problem is a minor one; the report agrees almost exactly with Ibn Duqmāq in substance and wording. But the implications for other borrowed elements found in the account for the year 804 are significant: it is likely that he used more than one source (Ibn Duqmāq) for the version he provides in the ″Dhayl.″ This other source remains unidentified.

What of those years not treated in Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s books of excerpts? There is evidence that for the year 810 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah relied at least in part on al-Maqrīzī′s *al-Sulūk*. For instance, the reports of the sultan′s hunting trip in

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[51]The last line in the *muntaqá* in fact reads: *thumma nazalū bi-dār wa-a'lá buyūt al-umarā' fa-ḥallafūhum.*

al-Muḥarram of that year in al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah agree almost exactly:

1. a. Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 4:1, 54:
وفي يوم الاثنين ثامن عشرينه سار السلطان من قلعة الجبل في آخر الثانية بطالع الاسد ونزل بمخيمه من خارج القاهرة تجاه مسجد تبر. وقد بلغت النفقة على المماليك الى مائة ألف دينار وثمانين ألف دينار وبلغت عدة الاغنام التي سيقت معه عشرة آلاف رأس من الضأن [الخ].

1. b. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, ″Dhayl″ (CB 5527), 390v., lines 5-10:
ويوم الاثنين سابع عشرينه خرج السلطان من قلعة الجبل ونزل بمخيمه خارج القاهرة قال بعضهم وبلغت النفقة على المماليك الى مائة ألف دينار وثمانين ألف دينار وبلغت عدة الاغنام التي سيقت معه عشرة آلاف رأس من الضأن [الخ].

Aside from Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s editorial note, his report is very similar to that of al-Maqrīzī. But we also find in the ″Dhayl″ a marginal note listing which amirs accompanied the sultan and which of them stayed behind; no such list is found in al-Maqrīzī. There are additional reports for the year 810 that can be traced to al-Maqrīzī, but, significantly, others which cannot. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah introduces these other reports with the words *wa-fī tawārīkh al-miṣrīyīn*, ″and in the Egyptian histories.″ Some biographies, like that of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Iskandarī, the *muḥtasib* of Cairo, are verbatim copies of al-Maqrīzī. Biographies for other, perhaps more significant individuals, such as that for the *atābak* of the Egyptian army Sayf al-Dīn Aytamish, cannot be found in al-Maqrīzī. This suggests that either Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah used a common source with al-Maqrīzī or that he added these additional elements from another source altogether. This common or other source remains unidentified.

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s account of the year 801 is replete with references to Egyptian histories. It seems that for this year, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s source recorded events with a date differing from the one established by him, so we find phrases such as *wa-yawm al-aḥad sādisuhu wa-huwa fī tawārīkh al-miṣrīyīn khāmisuhu* continually repeated. Perhaps the most significant event of this year was the death of Sultan Barqūq. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s biography does not, in even a general sense, reflect any of the other contemporary Egyptian sources (e.g., Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-ʻAynī,[52] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, al-Maqrīzī) though he must certainly have had

[52]A microfilm copy (Maʻhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʻArabīyah 738) of the MS Ahmet III 2911 of

to rely upon an Egyptian source for this record. It is tempting to think that for 801/1398 and perhaps a few more years early in the ninth/fifteenth century, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah relied on Ibn al-Furāt who, as some sources tell us, wrote ″a little″ for the beginning of this century.[53] But as no manuscript remains of Ibn al-Furāt′s *Ta'rīkh* have come to light for the years after 799/1396, this is difficult to prove. Perhaps a stylistic study of these quotations in Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s works might help in this regard.[54]

In brief, then, we have evidence that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah relied on both Ibn Duqmāq and al-Maqrīzī (or common sources) for certain years after 800, if only in part. It is also clear that other sources were used, but these remain to be identified. (See fig. 4.)

The soundings of Chester Beatty MS 5527 reveal a number of important facts. At least three contemporary historians were drawn upon in the composition of the ″Dhayl.″ Modern historians′ use of the ″Dhayl″ must, thus, be undertaken with a critical eye. Next, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s use of Ibn al-Furāt′s *Ta'rīkh* has secured for modern historians parts of an important Mamluk history no longer extant in their original form. Finally, information unique to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, and especially the information unique to the ″Dhayl,″ can be added to the corpus of ″Syrian school″ histories upon which modern historians base analyses of the social and intellectual life of Mamluk Syria.

Conclusions

In drawing conclusions from the above analysis of Chester Beatty MS 5527 in particular and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s ″Dhayl″ in general, it would be helpful to return to those larger contexts with which this study was introduced. Our first context is that of the modern study of Mamluk historiography, the immediate aim of which is to establish the general contours of relationship among Mamluk period histories. Precisely, one wants to know on the one hand what unique material is to be had from a Mamluk history and on the other what sources that Mamluk history drew upon. The above analysis has provided a number of answers to these questions. It has become clear that the historical information unique to the ″Dhayl″ (in its various recensions and including its abridgement) can be characterized largely as Damascene history for the latter half of the eighth/fourteenth century and the early

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al-'Aynī′s ″'Iqd al-Jumān fī Ta'rīkh Ahl al-Zamān″ was provided by The University of Chicago Library.

[53]E.g., Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Beirut, n.d.), 4:72: *wa-kataba shay' yasīr minhu awwal al-qarn al-tāsi'*.

[54]Ibn al-Furāt′s style is very distinctive (contemporaries and later historians accused him of a certain vulgarity; see Cahen, ″Ibn al-Furāt″) and so might allow for fruitful comparison with quotations in Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s work.

part of the ninth/fifteenth century. Moreover, the "Dhayl" is a history concerned with the social and intellectual dimensions of life in that particular time and place. The nature of this history, and its strength, lies in its detailed record of the minutiae of daily life. This characteristic is perhaps the immediate result of the work's emphasis on prosopography, that is to say the overwhelming emphasis and space it assigns to biographies. This is not to diminish its importance for political history, but again, in the elements original to the "Dhayl," that political history is limited to the Damascus-Syria area. For political history beyond that geographical area, the "Dhayl" has been shown to rely on other, Egyptian historians. Often, such reliance makes the "Dhayl" redundant as an original source, but in such cases where the original work no longer exists—as in the case of portions of Ibn al-Furāt's history—the "Dhayl" along with its *mukhtaṣar* proves an invaluable repository for information which may not be had from other contemporary sources. In short, and as always when dealing with Mamluk histories, the "Dhayl" is a mixture of important and not so important information for the modern historian.

Studies on the aims and methodology of Mamluk historians do not as yet seem to have acquired cachet with modern historians.[55] The field as a whole is still in its infancy. The group of manuscripts of the various recensions, reworkings, revisions, and abridgements of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's historical legacy, collectively called the "Dhayl," will prove of enormous value to students and scholars who might direct their attention to such methodological studies. Obviously the process to which Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah subjected his historical information is a complex one and perhaps taxing to work through but, perhaps unlike other contemporary historians whose main historical work gained immediate popularity and so quickly became standardized in clean copy, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah has left us with a detailed record of his job as an historian. Such a detailed record is of immense value for an understanding of the craft of the Mamluk historian.

Our third larger context is that of genre. From the foregoing, we can identify Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah as a representative of the "Syrian school" of Mamluk historians. In his concerns and emphases, in the methodology and structure of his historical writing, he consciously aligns himself with the type of history common to the historians of that school. He, and his master Ibn Ḥijjī, were unquestionably important representatives of the "Syrian school." This is obvious from the readership notes in the manuscripts of his work, obvious even more in the extensive use later Syrian historians made of his work. Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546) and al-Nuʿaymī (d.

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[55]For an example of the directions in which such studies might proceed, see Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid's analysis in "Early Methods of Book Composition: al-Maqrīzī's Draft of the *Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ*" in *The Codicology of Islamic Manuscripts, Proceedings of the Second Conference of al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 4-5 December 1993* (London, 1995), 93-101.

978/1570) come to mind in this regard. Egyptian traditionist-historians, such as Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī (d. 852/1448) and al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1496) also quoted the ˝Dhayl˝ extensively.[56] For modern historians, then, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah represents the link between the earlier eighth/fourteenth century historians such as al-Birzālī, al-Dhahabī, and Ibn Kathīr and the later ninth/fifteenth century historians such as al-Sakhāwī and Ibn Ṭūlūn. The addition of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah´s work to the corpus of ˝Syrian school˝ histories, for now in the form of the *mukhtaṣar*, should further contribute to our understanding of the nature and development of this type of Mamluk history writing.

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah and his ˝Dhayl,˝ then, are important to the many different facets of the study of Mamluk history and historiography. The dimensions to this judgement of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah´s importance of course need to be more fully investigated and understood. Such work, in a profound sense, begins where this small study ends and it can only really begin with a critical edition of those years of the second recension ˝Dhayl˝ left to us in manuscript: 801-810/1398-1407.

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[56]For these authors in general see the articles in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, *GAL*, and al-Munajjid´s *Muʻjam al-Mu'arrikhīn*. The case of Ibn Ḥajar is an interesting one; in his *Inbā' al-Ghumr* he cites only Ibn Ḥijjī by name (and not Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah), a fact which leads one to suspect that he had access to the original draft of the ˝Dhayl˝ by Ibn Ḥijjī.

APPENDIX: WORKS BY IBN QĀḌĪ SHUHBAH

″Al-Dhayl.″

Köprülü 1027 (microfilm: Maʻhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʻArabīyah 99 Ta'rīkh).

Chester Beatty 5527.

Chester Beatty 4125, fols. 181v.-196r., 206v.-325r.

Fragments of unidentified historical and biographical works.

Chester Beatty 3151.

″Al-Muntaqá min Ta'rīkh Ibn al-Furāt.″

Chester Beatty 4125, fols. 1v.-196r.

″Al-Muntaqá min Ta'rīkh Ibn Duqmāq.″

Chester Beatty 4125, fols. 197v.-206r.

Ta'rīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah. 3 vols. Edited by Adnan Darwich. Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1977-1994.[57]

Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʻīyah. 4 vols. Edited by ʻAbd al-ʻAlīm Khān. Beirut: ʻĀlam al-Kutub, 1987.

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[57]Despite the title, this is the *mukhtaṣar* (abridgement) Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah made of the ″Dhayl.″ The sequence of the volumes for this edition is somewhat misleading: vol. 1, published in 1977, covers the years 781-800; vol. 2, published in 1994, covers the years 741-750 and includes lengthy introductions (in Arabic and French) by the editor on Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, the corpus of his works, and the manuscripts of the *mukhtaṣar*; vol. 3, published in 1994, covers the years 751-780.

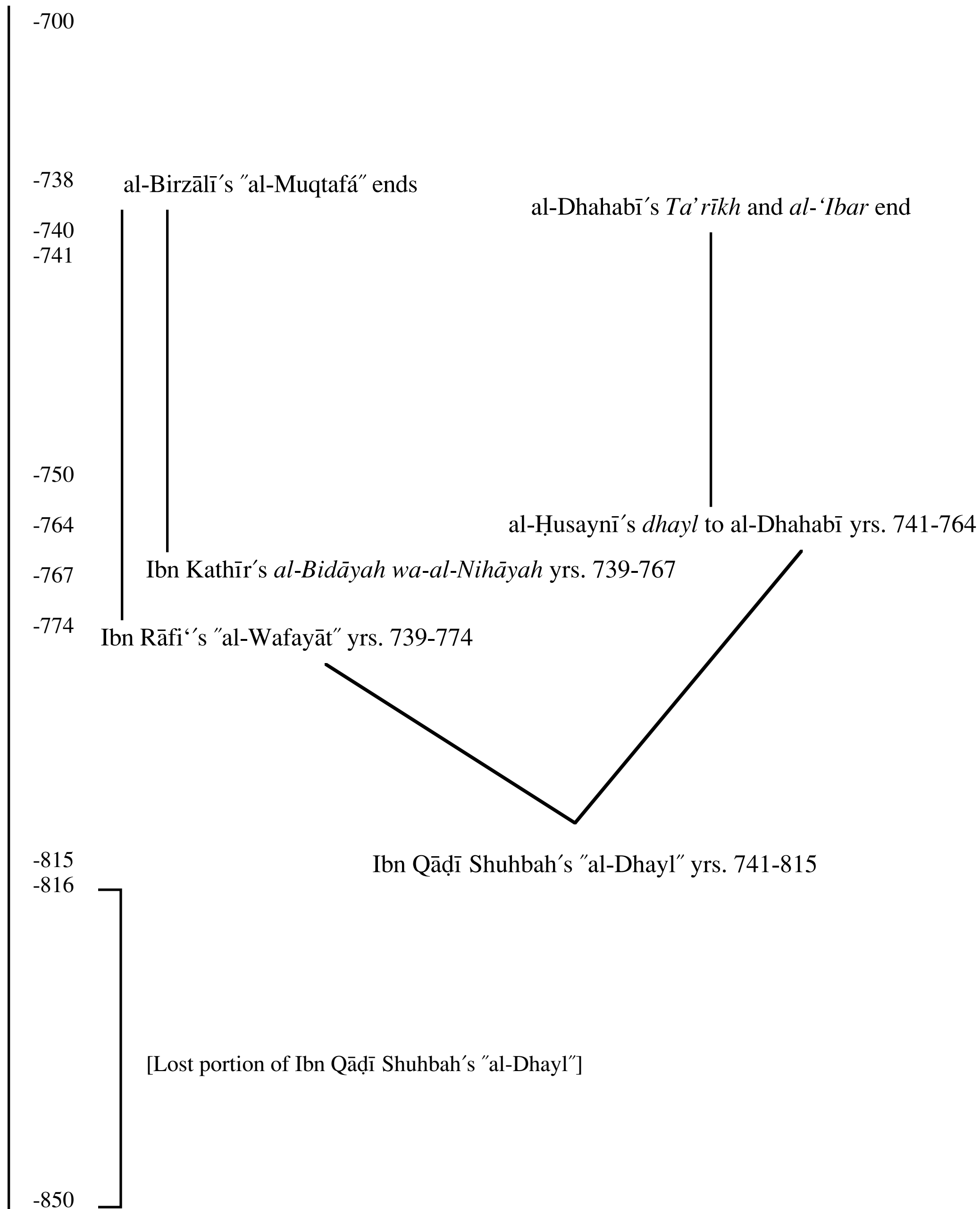


Figure 1. The "Syrian School" Histories Supplemented by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah

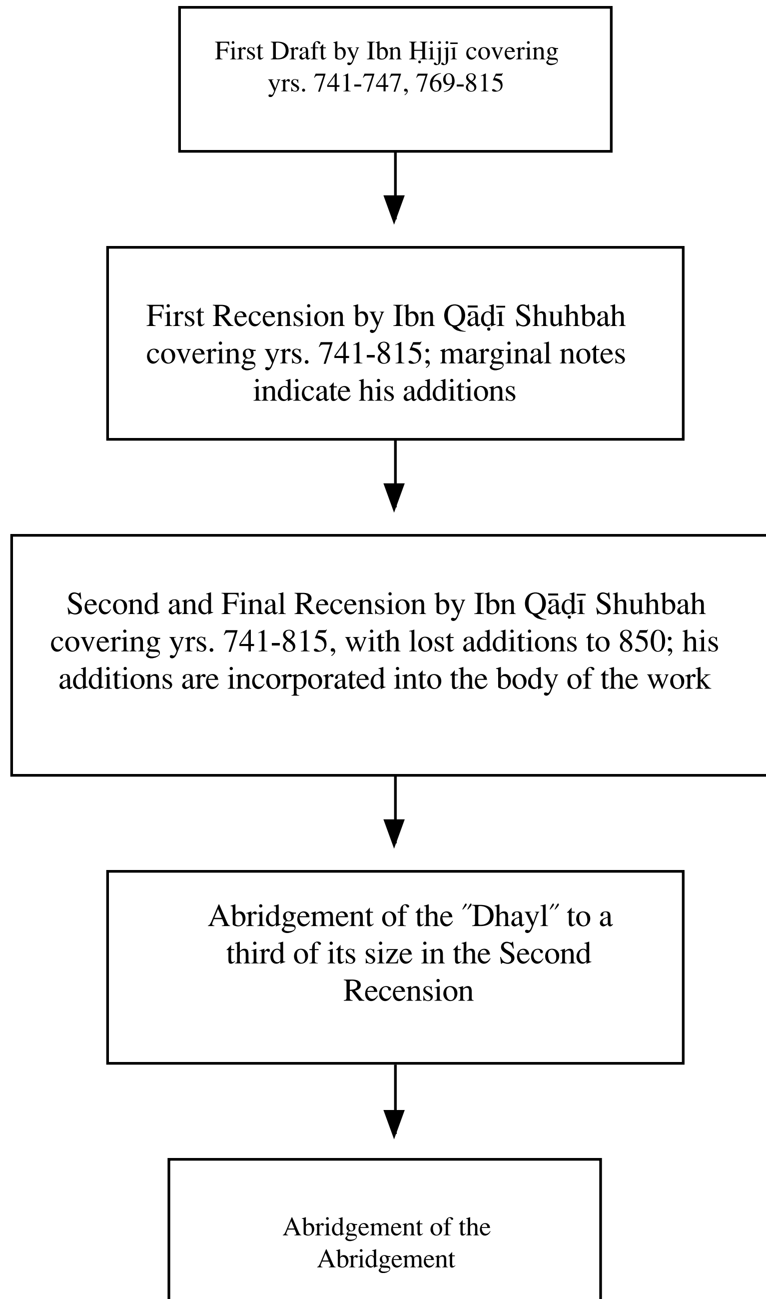


Figure 2. The Recensions and Versions of the "Dhayl"

	Ibn Ḥijjī	Rough Notes	1st Recension	2nd Recension
787				Köprülü 1027
788				
791			Köprülü 1027	Chester Beatty 4125
792				Köprülü 1027
796	Berlin 9458		Köprülü 1027	
797				**Chester Beatty 5527**
798		Köprülü 1027		
799				
800				
801			Chester Beatty 4125	
802		Köprülü 1027		
803			Chester Beatty 4125	
804				
805				
806				
807				
808				
809				
810				
811		Köprülü 1027		
812				
813				
814				
815				

Manuscripts
Chester Beatty 5527: "al-Dhayl" (Second Recension)
Chester Beatty 4125: "al-Muntaqá min Ta'rīkh Ibn al-Furāt"; "Muntaqá min Ta'rīkh Ibn Duqmāq"; Fragments of "al-Dhayl" (First and Second Recensions)
Köprülü 1027: "al-Dhayl""(First and Second Recensions)
Berlin 9458: Ibn Ḥijjī's First Draft of "al-Dhayl"

Figure 3. Manuscript Remains of the "Dhayl" in its Various Drafts and Recensions

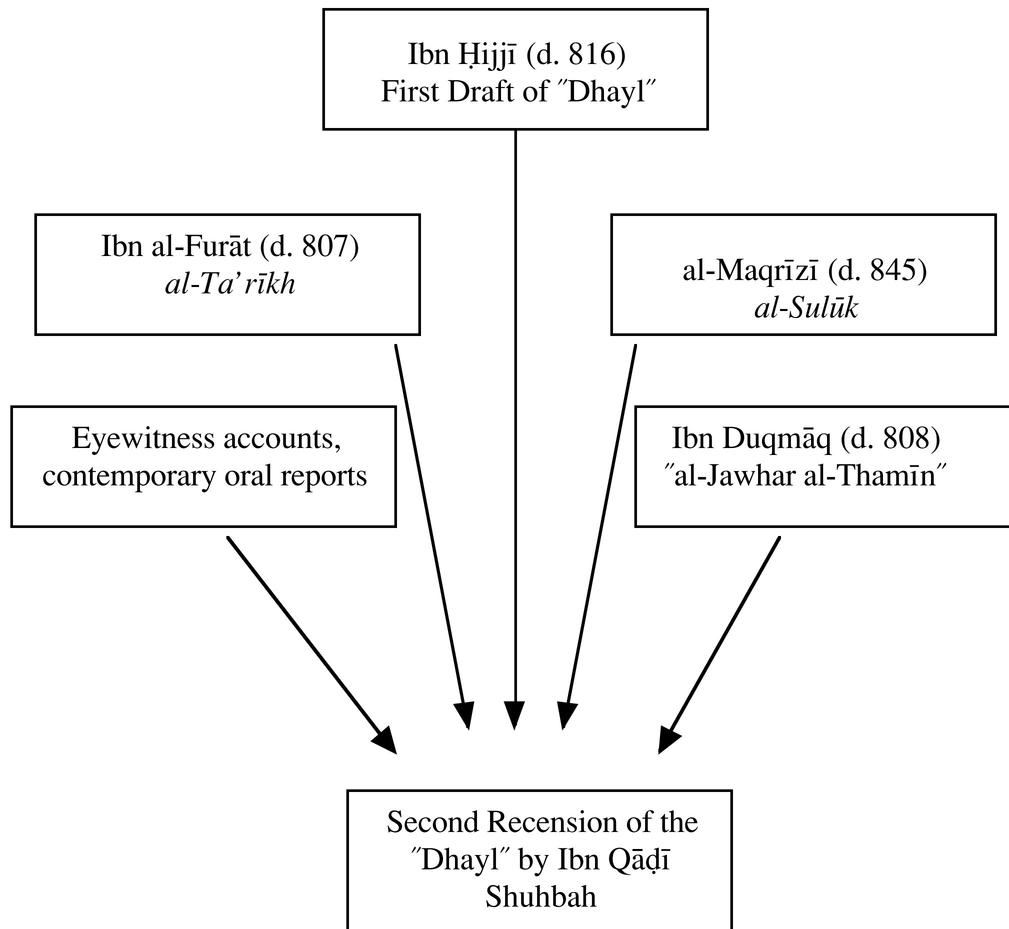


Figure 4. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's Major Sources for the Years 797-810

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A Geniza for Mamluk Studies? Charitable Trust (*Waqf*) Documents as a Source for Economic and Social History*

R. Stephen Humphreys initiates his discussion of primary sources in chapter 2 of his magisterial *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry* with the following:

> Islamists like to complain about the state of their sources, but in fact what they have is extraordinarily rich and varied, far surpassing the miserable fragments which challenge the student of the late Roman Empire or early medieval Europe. The real problem is to use this patrimony effectively.[1]

No one would dispute Humphreys's assertion about effective use of surviving texts. But when one considers these admittedly copious sources, the nature of exactly what was preserved does qualify the kind of inquiry a researcher may undertake. It is now widely recognized that the discovery, and subsequent analysis, of the Cairo Geniza documents during the first half of the twentieth century enabled students of the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods to ask questions previously considered unanswerable—beyond exceedingly broad conjecture.[2] I have chosen to compare *waqf* documents with the Geniza material because I am convinced that the former play a role at least as significant for the Mamluk period as the Geniza documents have done for the eras preceding it.

It is important to realize that, for all its diversity and richness, the enormous trove of sources compiled during the independent Mamluk period in Egypt and Syria remains secondary for the most part. That is, most of what has survived

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[1](Princeton, 1991), 25.

[2]On the progress of study on documents of the Cairo Geniza, see Norman Golb, "Sixty Years of Geniza Research," *Judaism* 6 (1957): 3-16; S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 5 vols. (Berkeley, 1967-88); and idem, "The Documents of the Cairo Geniza as a Source for Islamic Social History," in his *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* (Leiden, 1966), 279-95.

amounts to narrative commentary by either on-site observers or post-hoc distillers of material from a preceding period. While the observations of a contemporary witness certainly count as a primary source, it is a highly selective one since that witness could only report what he saw personally or regarded as important enough to select out for discussion. And this problem of selectivity is greatly compounded in the second case when a chronicler did indeed tap archival material that no longer survives. His subsequent readers are totally dependent on what he elected to draw out from the original archival repository. His rationale for choice of material can only be surmised; his errors of omission or transmission cannot be detected and thus cannot be checked.

With regard to historians of medieval Islam—those for whom original archival data is important—the range of questions they could address has until recently been quite constrained. Why has this been so? An archive above all does not automatically introduce the bias of personal agenda. It rarely represents a process of selective culling on the part of a post-hoc commentator, but stands as the original body of evidence—presumably compiled as an accurate, and thus objective record, of the procedure it documented. An archive has rarely been compiled by a single author. In fact, most archives were assembled anonymously (we thus do not know who organized or quantified its data), or by known accountants, scribes, or notaries (certifying their work with signatures) whose job it was to record evidence accurately rather than to interject their own opinions. We may thus assume that an archive, even if not replete, was compiled objectively with the purpose of leaving an accurate account of the procedure it documented.

It is widely recognized that the states of the eastern Mediterranean and southwest Asia have been administered by sophisticated bureaucracies for millennia. Bureaucracy was indeed their invention. But the Islamic phase of their history is distinguished by a striking paradox. Despite the production of vast archival materials by these bureaucracies, almost none have been preserved from the time of the early Caliphate until around 900/1500. After this date, most of the larger Muslim states are documented by archival collections which are progressively better preserved as the decades proceed from ca. 900/1500. Exactly why archival materials were minimally preserved before this date, if at all, remains one of the salient enigmas of Islamic Studies, yet to be effectively explained. Such materials certainly existed because the extraordinary array of secondary historiographical sources so obviously derive their data from these lost collections. It is impossible to explain the production of such a work as al-Qalqashandī´s enormous encyclopedia of diplomatic, *Ṣubḥ al-A‘shá fī Ṣinā‘at al-Inshā’*,[3] without recognition of the vast

[3]14 vols. (Cairo, 1913-20, repr. Cairo, 1963).

archives of the chancery bureau (*dīwān al-inshā'*) which its author mined. Nonetheless, the original chancery materials have disappeared.

It is in this light that the surviving charitable trust (*waqf*; pl., *awqāf*) deeds of the independent Mamluk period warrant exploration for topics that have previously gone unaddressed. I do think that an explanation for their survival can be hypothesized. *Waqf* documents certify a perpetual legal endowment. As an act of bequeathal performed in the spirit of fulfilling the fourth so-called pillar of behavior incumbent upon a believer: charitable donation (alms-giving or *zakāh*), a pious endowment represented one of the most respected benefits a believer could bestow on the community.[4] As I shall discuss subsequently, this benefit invariably aided its donor as well as its recipient(s)—in tangible as well as spiritual ways. As they evolved over the centuries, legal procedures governing the administration of charitable trusts were enormously elaborated to provide a rich diversity of religious, educational, and welfare services to the Muslim community.

At the same time, these procedures were structured to assure a secure legacy to descendants of their donors. Given the array of strategies that were designed to realize these objectives, the charitable trust remained in its essence an instrument dedicated to perpetual provision of resources. And for this reason, the preservation of its documentation was essential. That is, if a document provided evidence for legal precedent, it merited preservation. On the other hand, altruistic historical reference did not, by itself, constitute a motive for preservation. We cannot assume that the one thousand-plus documents that have survived from the independent Mamluk period in Egypt represent anything approaching the total number of deeds that were actually drawn up during this lengthy epoch. Nonetheless, the fact that these thousand have survived at all—uniquely among the myriad archival collections which once existed in the Mamluk bureaucracy—can be attributed to this underlying imperative of perpetuity and legal precedence. It should also be stressed that *waqf*s continued to be working documents, providing successive details of manipulation and change for the ongoing life and transformation of a perpetual trust.

In this context, some generic comments about the nature of the *waqf* document are in order before considering how it may enlighten our understanding of economic processes heretofore undetected. As I mentioned above, the *waqf* or charitable trust represents a specific aspect of inheritance law inspired by the fourth pillar of

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[4]On the legal status of *waqf* endowments, see: W. Heffening, "Waḳf," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., 4:1096-1103; George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Higher Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh, 1981), 35-74; H. Cattan, "The Law of Waqf," in *Law in the Middle East, I: Origins and Development of Islamic Law*, ed. M. J. Khadduri and H. J. Liebesny (Washington, 1955), chapter 8; Nicolas Michel, "Les rizāq iḥbāsiyya: Terres agricoles en main mort dans l'Égypte mamelouke et ottomane," *Annales islamologiques* 30 (1996): 105-98.

behavior incumbent upon a Muslim: charitable donation. In brief, any Muslim man or woman sound of mind and true of faith may grant a portion of his/her personal estate to pious activities that promote the religion or provide for the needs of less fortunate believers. In general, only fixed property (real estate), assets, or services may be designated as *waqf*, although the range of trust instruments is broad enough to permit flexibility in this matter. *Waqf*s were legally categorized as either charitable (*khayrī*) or familial (*durrī, ahlī*), and could be reassigned, exchanged, replaced, sold, or transferred—but only under the supervision of a *qāḍī* or judge.[5] The proceeds of a *waqf* were to be administered by a supervisor (*mutawallī, nāẓir*), often—but not always—the donor, and upon his/her demise one or more heirs. Since family *waqf*s designated a member of the donor′s kin group as a recipient of proceeds, these endowments in particular were frequently subject to corruption and acrimonious litigation in the courts.

The institution of *waqf* attracted the special interest of the Mamluks because of policies and traditions imposed by their own class with respect to tenure over property. Since the Sultanate claimed ownership (or at least custodianship) over state lands, individuals received income rights from allotments (*iqṭā*ʿs) only during active service to the regime. Permanent ownership of an *iqṭā*ʿ was normally denied them, and upon their retirement, dismissal, or death, such allotments reverted to the government for reassignment to a succeeding officer. Accordingly, fixed property granted to support an officer (*amīr*) in lieu of salary during active duty could not be bequeathed to his heirs as a patrimony. Under the law, only cash, movable items or real estate purchased independently constituted an amir′s personal estate. Mamluk amirs regarded this policy of usufruct as a threat—and a very serious one—to their descendants′ future security, not to mention their prosperity. They therefore devised a variety of maneuvers to circumvent it—of which manipulation of charitable trusts was the most reliable.

Given the hallowed status of the *waqf* under the Fourth Pillar of meritorious activity, it transcends laws designed to promote the objectives of a temporal regime. The state cannot prohibit an individual from donating assets to charity, since his generous impulse is sanctioned by Revelation and *sharī*ʿ*ah*. Pious endowments thus provided Mamluk amirs with a convenient means of retaining a measure of control over property that otherwise would revert to the state at the end of their active careers. The extraordinary munificence of the military elite, beginning with the sultan himself, who was bound by the same principle of

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[5]On alterations legally permissible for a *waqf* endowment, see Claude Cahen, ″Reflexions sur le *waqf* ancien,″ *Studia Islamica* 15 (1961): 37-56; Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimāʿīyah fī Miṣr* (Cairo, 1980), esp. chapter 2: ″Izdihār al-Awqāf wa-Tanẓīmuhā fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī″; idem and Laylá ʿAlī Ibrāhīm, *Architectural Terms in Mamluk Documents, 648-923/1250-1517* (Cairo, 1990).

usufruct as his subordinate officers, must be understood in this light. From the perspective of the Mamluk elite, the charitable trust enabled them to assure the integrity of their estates, and to pass at least a portion of them on to their heirs.

It is in this context that I should like to summarize some of my own findings that shed light on the fiscal agendas of Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (872-901/1468-1496 and 906-922/1501-1517, respectively), and then the discoveries of the prominent French analyst of the late Mamluk period, Jean-Claude Garcin—along with his Egyptian colleague, Mustapha Taher—with regard to the enormous *waqf* of the eunuch guardian of royal princes, Jawhar al-Lālā.[6]

With regard to Qāytbāy and al-Ghawrī, I noted, during my initial survey of Muḥammad Amīn's catalogue,[7] that about thirty-five percent of all the one thousand documents listed there were either granted or acquired by three individuals: al-Ashraf Qāytbāy, his wife al-Khawand Fāṭimah al-Khaṣṣbakīyah, and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī. My curiosity piqued by this extraordinary concentration, I began examining not only the deeds themselves but their patterns of acquisition.

I observed that Qāytbāy had begun acquiring property and placing it in trusts long before his enthronement. The earliest surviving deed in his name dates from 29 Dhū al-Qaʻdah 855/23 December 1451, seventeen years in advance of his succession.[8] He then purchased a 26.7 percent share of an agrarian tract in Nāḥiyat Salamūn, Gharbīyah Province, for 1,100 *dīnār*s.[9] From this time until the year preceding his death in 1496, Qāytbāy acquired a vast array of rural and urban real estate, the bulk of which he assigned to his *waqf* donations. These deeds, several of which are lengthy and complex, date from 24 Jumādá II 879/5 November 1474 to 15 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 895/30 October 1490. They support some fourteen charitable foundations, including the sultan's mausoleum-mosque located in the Desert Cemetery east of Cairo, several public fountains, district mosques in the capital or Delta, and a college (*madrasah*) in Jerusalem (al-Quds).[10]

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[6]"Enquête sur le financement d'un *waqf* égyptien du XV[e] siècle: Les comptes de Jawhar al-Lālā," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 38, no. 3 (1995): 262-304.

[7]*Catalogue des documents d'archives du Caire de 239/853 à 922/1516* (Cairo, 1981).

[8]Amīn, no. 116: Dār al-Wathā'iq, Maḥfaẓah 18, Ḥujjah 111.

[9]Shares were not calculated on a decimal basis. Rather, each agrarian/district unit (Ar. *nāḥiyah*), usually corresponding to a village with surrounding fields, was divided into twenty-four portions at the time it was initially surveyed in the Nāṣirī *rawk*, the cadastre commissioned by Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 1309-1340) and relied upon throughout the late Mamluk period. As the proceeds from these units were subdivided for subsequent reassignment, shares were recalculated as fractions of the original twenty-four portions. To derive percentages, I obtained the relevant fractional values for each transaction and then transformed them into the appropriate percentage figures. On the location of Nāḥiyat Salamūn, see Heinz Halm, *Ägypten nach den Mamlukischen Lehenregistern*, 2: *Das Delta* (Wiesbaden, 1982), 568.

[10]For a roster of Qāytbāy's charitable foundations, see my *Protectors or Praetorians: The Last*

Rather than elaborate further on Qāytbāy′s generosity—which is well documented in narrative sources and widely known in the field—I want to focus on the marked discrepancies I found between annual yields of Qāytbāy′s trusts: the total income they provide, and their annual disbursements for his designated charities as listed in the documents: their total expenses. I estimated the annual income from Qāytbāy′s primary *waqf*—which supported eight of the above fourteen foundations—at about 58,600 *dīnār*s.[11] Annual disbursements, on the other hand, amounted to 4,082 *dīnār*s, 7 percent of the preceding estimated yield. Ninety-three percent of the yield was thus undesignated.

Note that this latter figure, 4,082 *dīnār*s, is not an estimate. The *waqf* deeds specify disbursements but do not provide income figures. Even if the yield estimate undercalculated revenues provided for student stipends, staff salaries, or operational supplies by half, the total would still amount to only 14 percent. Eighty-six percent of income would remain undesignated for any official purpose. Clearly, the great majority of generated income from the *waqf* writs, between 80 to 90 percent of the total, was not devoted to the writ′s stated functions. Since the deeds simultaneously provided for the welfare of Qāytbāy′s family and retainers, one might assume that these individuals collected all the remainder. But in fact, the writs often allow for discretion within the lineage. Amounts reserved for specific persons designated as beneficiaries vary widely from a majority of residual to mere pittances. And sums allotted for supervisory personnel represent minute fragments of total income. Allocation of the majority share of income thus remained undesignated in the documents examined here. For what purposes then was this undesignated majority share intended? To develop a hypothesis, one should compare

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Mamluk Sultans and Egypt′s Waning as a Great Power (Albany, 1994), 198, note 28.

[11]The term ″estimate″ is emphasized. Since accountants compiling *waqf* documents did not provide specific figures for yields, only for disbursements, the former had to be estimated. Since many properties listed in the primary *waqf* writs granted by Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī also appeared in individual sale deeds held by the Waqf Ministry or National Archives, I was frequently able to identify their selling price. I then calculated their estimated annual yield as a percentage of this price, the percentage being derived from average figures on yields provided by scholars who have analyzed Egypt′s agrarian system during the Middle Ages, in particular: Eliyahu Ashtor, ″The Development of Prices in the Medieval Near East,″ *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Abteilung 1: *Der nahe und der mittlere Osten*, Band 6: *Geschichte der islamischen Länder*, Abschnitt 6: *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des vorderen Orients in islamischer Zeit*, Teil 1, ed. Bertold Spuler (Leiden, 1977), 98-115; idem, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l′Orient médiéval* (Paris, 1969); Richard S. Cooper, ″Land Classification Terminology and the Assessment of the *Kharāj* Tax in Medieval Egypt,″ *JESHO* 17 (1974): 91-102; idem, ″A Note on the *Dīnār Jayshī*,″ *JESHO* 16 (1973): 317-18; Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt, 564-741 A.H./1169-1341 A.D.* (London, 1972). While I am confident of the broad accuracy of figures resulting from these calculations, I acknowledge that they are approximations with an inevitable measure of error. General proportions rather than exact sums should be noted.

Qāytbāy´s pattern of donations with that of his eventual successor, Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī.

In marked contrast with Qāytbāy, Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī placed nothing in trusts prior to his enthronement in 1501. His earliest alleged purchases of real estate date from the year 907/1502, several months after his accession. But from then on to his departure for Syria to confront Selim Yavuz in 1516, al-Ghawrī engaged in an unprecedented acquisition of *waqf* properties (at least on the basis of the surviving collection of documents). Of the one thousand total that survive from before 1516 and the Ottoman conquest, some three hundred bear al-Ghawrī´s name—almost one-third. Yet despite this wealth of documentation, al-Ghawrī´s charitable donations are far more restricted than Qāytbāy´s. Al-Ghawrī issued only one major trust deed, and it supports only four foundations—with its benefits concentrated overwhelmingly on the Sultan´s own mausoleum and Sufi hospice (al-Qubbah wa-al-Khānqāh al-Ghawrīyah al-Sharīfah).

From early 907 to the first transaction of his primary *waqf* deed,[12] dated 26 al-Muḥarram 909/21 July 1503, al-Ghawrī amassed a network of properties large enough to generate an estimated annual yield approaching 53,000 Ashrafī *dīnār*s. By the end of 914/April 1509, he had added holdings that provided 31,000 more per year. Thus, by 915, during an interval of seven years, this man gathered a trove of real assets providing roughly 83,000 *dīnār*s annually—all sheltered in a blanket trust dedicated ostensibly to the maintenance of his mausoleum. The other three foundations utilized minimal sums from the trust. But even yearly expenditures on al-Ghawrī´s mausoleum were dwarfed by the trust´s undesignated output. In 914, his mausoleum actually received slightly less than 6,000 *dīnār*s, again 7 percent of the total. The parallel with the ratio between yield and expenditures in Qāytbāy´s main *waqf* is obvious. In both cases, more than 90 percent was left as unassigned income.

Now it is in the context of al-Ghawrī´s fiscal dilemmas which plagued his entire reign that this situation becomes quite interesting. It fits plausibly into the Sultan´s fiscal stratagems. Al-Ghawrī was compelled to raise money to meet incessant demands for bonuses and pay increases by his troops from the day of his accession. He initially turned to the time-tested but politically risky expedient of mass confiscation—in particular of *waqf* yields.[13] While al-Ghawrī was prepared to weather the storm of protest and ill-will generated by mass confiscations of assets, he seems to have found the productivity of this tactic to be inadequate to his fiscal needs—and certainly erratic. Confiscation yielded insufficient and unreliable results.

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[12]Amīn, no. 652: Wizārat al-Awqāf 882 *qadīm*.

[13]On the decreasing reliability of confiscation as a provider of revenue, due to concealment and hoarding strategies devised by asset holders, see Petry, *Protectors*, 166-76.

During this process of confiscation, al-Ghawrī (and his fiscal advisors) seem to have discerned the enormous potential benefit of acquiring title to trust properties outright, and thereby gaining control over the enormous undesignated surplus yield I mentioned above. I want to stress that no narrative sources allude to such a strategy—while they uniformly condemn al-Ghawrī´s confiscatory measures. But when I compared the acquisition dates on the hundreds of documents certifying properties al-Ghawrī allegedly purchased (or appropriated since no prices are listed on the sale certificates), I found that these paralleled periods of extreme fiscal exigency, when al-Ghawrī confronted truly dangerous episodes of sedition from even his own Mamluk corps. I should emphasize that al-Ghawrī does not seem to have advanced beyond conceiving of this trove as more than a reliable revenue base locked clandestinely in a personal, unofficial reserve. Keep in mind that just when al-Ghawrī was most aggressively engaged in *waqf* acquisition, the political situation on his northern frontiers was becoming unsettled—and diverting his attention from domestic matters.

Given the hypothesis I sketched out for Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī´s stratagem, what processes did Garcin and Taher discover when they examined the enormous trust set up by the eunuch guardian Jawhar al-Lālā? Well, some broad parallels, but also some perceptive discoveries. Jawhar, of Abyssinian (*ḥabashī*) origin, rose through the ranks open to a eunuch guardian of Mamluk trainees to become tutor (*lālā*) to two of Sultan Barsbāy´s sons. Prior to his death in 842/1438 (shortly after Barsbāy´s demise), he endowed a residence (*dār*) and a college (*madrasah*) in the Maṣna‘ district of Cairo near the Citadel. Garcin and Taher meticulously studied each of several transactions (eight total) marking stages in the elaboration of the trust that Jawhar established in support of these and other charities. One should note that eunuchs who rose to elite levels of the ruling establishment were exceedingly vulnerable to appropriation, if not outright confiscation, of their worldly goods.[14] And even though they could produce no children of their own as heirs, they often wished to leave a patrimony either to close associates, or to members of their particular class, or to the heirs of their former benefactors—presumably in return for some measure of protection for the integrity of their estates.

Garcin and Taher observed early on that Jawhar arranged for all proceeds from his trust to remain at his disposal without further justification in his own lifetime.[15] Second, they detected that the majority of the *waqf*´s yield—from its several sources of rural agrarian land and urban rent-paying real estate—was left

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[14]On the status of eunuchs in the Mamluk military hierarchy, see David Ayalon, ″The Eunuchs in the Mamluk Sultanate,″ *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. Myriam Rosen-Ayalon (Jerusalem, 1977), 267-95; Shaun Marmon, *Eunuchs and Sacred Boundaries in Islamic Society* (New York, 1995).

[15]Garcin and Taher, 265, 274, 278, 282.

undesignated. They arrived at a proportion of roughly one-third designated/two-thirds undesignated.[16]

Garcin and Taher then proceeded to trace the acquisition process as applied to property purchases in several stages between the dates Jumādá I 831/February 1428 and 17 al-Muḥarram 840/1 August 1437. Over the course of these nine years, Jawhar concluded eight transactions in which property was purchased and/or reclassified. Garcin and Taher detected a shrewd pattern of land purchase wherein Jawhar (or, more likely, his accountants who remain unknown) selected land that was potentially productive but temporarily underutilized due to depopulation from such causes as plague mortality or bedouin spoliation.[17] Available at a depressed price, the property was bought cheap. But its yield was soon restored, even within a decade (thus presumably repopulated and recultivated?). Jawhar was accordingly able to predict and benefit from future yield restoration and consequent price inflation for the rural properties he placed in *waqf*.

And once in trust, these properties were sheltered from taxes, and thus remained as secure from confiscation as any asset held by someone in such a high-profile but vulnerable position could be. Garcin and Taher went on to analyze the salary rates of officials paid out of the *waqf* yield. They noted that, even given the majority surplus, these salaries were calculated to be paid primarily from predicted rates of yield increase resulting from price inflation for the crops and/or rents generated by the *waqf* properties.[18] That is, most of the actual costs of operating the trust charities were covered by inflation and thus represented no real drain on *waqf* proceeds at all.

What I should add to Garcin and Taher′s exceedingly astute analysis is that Jawhar, or more likely his fiscal agents, had to possess some mechanism for calculating inflation accurately. What such a mechanism would be we cannot know, but its existence is a certainty because the predictions are a fact that can be noted by the figures provided in the several trust transactions. Jawhar and his advisors were sufficiently informed to make what amounted to futures decisions when they established salary rates for officials in the several *waqf* charities. But without the presence of these figures in the *waqf* document, this process could not be recovered; and thus no basis would exist for this hypothesis. It is the formation of such hypotheses, resting on careful and penetrating decipherment of the fiscal data in a rich primary source, that has advanced our understanding of financial procedures—and the economy in general—during the later medieval period in

[16]Ibid., 276.

[17]Ibid., 272-80.

[18]Ibid., 287-88, 291-301.

Egypt. Future research of a similar vein bodes well for even more promising discoveries.

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Qāytbāy´s Foundation in Medina, the *Madrasah*, the *Ribāṭ* and the *Dashīshah*

Muslim rulers have always endowed the shrines of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, competing, and even fighting, for the privilege to be titular custodians of the Ḥaramayn. With the annual pilgrimage caravan, gifts and donations of all kinds were sent to maintain, enlarge, and embellish the shrines, sponsor various religious and philanthropic institutions, support the inhabitants of the holy cities, and assist the pilgrims and the sojourners (*mujāwirūn*) settled there. Pious as well as private endowments, i.e., *awqāf*, from the entire medieval Muslim world generally include a clause stating that in case the primary beneficiary of the endowment or the designated alternatives, whether individuals or institutions, no longer exist, the *waqf* revenue should revert to the Ḥaramayn. Another endowment possibility frequently used was the allocation of a share of a *waqf* revenue, whether a family or a philanthropic *waqf* or a combination of both, for the benefit of the Ḥaramayn in order to provide a specific service, such as the supply of water, the purchase of candles, or the distribution of alms or food. But there were, of course, also direct endowments which were intended primarily for the benefit of the holy cities. The Mamluk sultans, who considered themselves the heirs of the Abbasid caliphs as guardians of the Ḥaramayn, and who did not allow other Muslim rulers to share this prerogative with them, constantly contributed to the architectural, philanthropic, and scholarly promotion of the Holy Cities, including Jerusalem and Hebron, which they had reconquered from the Crusaders.

One of the most prominent sponsors of Muslim holy places all over the Mamluk empire was Sultan al-Ashraf Qāytbāy, the only sultan of the Circassian period to have performed the pilgrimage.[1] His endowments for Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and Hebron have been emphasized in contemporary sources,[2] and some of them

[1]Of the Baḥrī Mamluk sultans, al-Ẓāhir Baybars, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and al-Ashraf Sha'bān are reported to have performed the pilgrimage.

[2]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden-Cairo, 1961-75), 3:164f., 329f.; al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā' al-Haṣr bi-Abnā' al-'Aṣr*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970), 480f.; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Cairo, 1896), 6:205ff.; Quṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī, *al-I'lām bi-A'lām Bayt Allāh al-Ḥarām*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Tübingen, 1857; repr. Beirut, 1964), 104f., 223, 225f., 229ff.; al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-Wafā bi-Akhbār Dār al-Muṣṭafá* (ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Beirut, 1401/1981), 2:639-47,

are also documented by extant *waqf* documents. The *waqf* deeds of Qāytbāy′s *madrasah*s in Jerusalem and Gaza have been published,[3] while that of the *madrasah* in Mecca is not yet known. Qāytbāy′s opulent endowment for Medina is the subject of this study.

The substantial *waqf* deed of Qāytbāy at the Bibliothèque Nationale (BN) in Paris, which has so far not been taken into consideration, opens up a new perspective for a study of Qāytbāy′s pious works.[4] It describes an endowment made for the benefit of a *madrasah*, a *ribāṭ*, and a charitable kitchen in Medina. But of course the value of the document goes beyond the religious and charitable aspects. The considerable real estate alienated in Cairo to finance this foundation reveals another interesting aspect of *waqf* administration in this period, and, moreover, the architectural descriptions of secular and religious buildings can significantly contribute to our knowledge of late Mamluk architecture.[5]

Like his earlier *waqfīyah* endowing his religious-funerary complex in Cairo, Qāytbāy′s *waqfīyah* (235 fols.) at the BN consists of a collection of consecutive endowments dated between 889 and 899.

Qāytbāy′s charitable works in Medina received particular attention in the chronicles because of the circumstances that accompanied this initiative and the way Qāytbāy himself advertised it. The sultan was deeply moved during his pilgrimage in 884/1480 by the poverty and deprivation he saw there. A few months later, in Rabī‘ I 885/1480, during the traditional banquet given by the sultan for the celebration of the Prophet′s birthday and in the presence of the four chief *qāḍī*s and the great amirs, six slaves came in carrying dishes on their heads. When the dishes were uncovered, heaps of gold *dīnār*s were revealed to the guests. According to Ibn Iyās′s account, Qāytbāy asked the Shāfi‘ī *qāḍī* to keep the money (60,000 *dīnār*s) in trust, but he declined. Jawharī adds that none of the four *qāḍī*s was willing to keep this amount in trust, nor the three highest amirs, the great *dawādār,* the *atābak*, and the *rās al-nawbah*. Finally it was the treasurer, or *khazindār*, who agreed to take it in order to conduct the transactions necessary for the *waqf*. This is confirmed by the *waqf* deed which mentions the name of the *khazindār,* Barsbāy al-Maḥmūdī,[6] as having purchased estates in his function as proxy for the sultan.

710-17; Mujīr al-Dīn, *al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Ta'rīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl* (Amman, 1973), 2:325ff.

[3]‘Abd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, ″Wathīqat al-Sulṭān Qāytbāy, Dirāsah wa-Taḥlīl: al-Madrasah bi-al-Quds wa-al-Jāmi‘ bi-Ghazzah,″ *Dirāsāt fī al-Āthār al-Islāmīyah* (Cairo, 1979), 483-538.

[4]Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Ar. No. 471.

[5]See my forthcoming article ″Qāytbāy′s Real Estate in Cairo: *Waqf* and Power.″ The architecture of the Ashrafīyah of Medina will be discussed in another study now in progress.

[6]BN *waqf*, fol. 22.

Jawharī reports, furthermore, that the sultan urged his officials to acquire any decaying estate they might find, even by the means of *istibdāl*, i.e. exchange, and to restore it and invest it for the *waqf*. The Ḥanafī chief *qāḍī*, however, aware of the abuses that an *istibdāl* transaction usually led to, warned the sultan that this should not be practiced, unless it were fully justified.[7] *Istibdāl* is the exchange or sale of an alienated estate that is no longer profitable, in order to allow the endower to substitute for it another more lucrative estate. Alienated or *waqf* estates were not allowed to be objects of transactions under normal conditions. In case the estate had deteriorated to the extent of no longer yielding a revenue, it could be sold in order to allow the acquisition of a better investment. This device was, however, regularly misused to release alienated estates for other purposes, for example when a sultan or an amir became interested in it.

Jawharī praised Qāytbāy for having established a *waqf* in the first instance for the benefit of Medina, and not as ″other kings and people nowadays do″ who dedicate the *waqf* to themselves, their family, and descendants in the first place, leaving to the holy cities only the remainder. The sultan meant to support the people of Medina by making them the first beneficiary of the *waqf* before its yield was consumed, and Jawharī adds: ″if only it remains safe from *istibdāl*!″ It is interesting to note that the sultan himself in his own *waqf* deed strictly prohibited the use of *istibdāl* without his permission, at any time and not even after his death.[8] This did not prevent him, however, from making use of *istibdāl* in order to acquire the plot he wanted for his complex in Medina; a *madrasah*, a *ribāṭ*, and a house had to be demolished and rebuilt elsewhere to make place for Qāytbāy′s constructions.[9]

THE *MAWQŪFĀT* OR ALIENATED ESTATES

When Qāytbāy pledged to donate the sum of 60,000 *dīnār*s to the people of Medina, he stressed that this entire sum came from his own private account, not from the *bayt al-māl*.[10] This is interesting because his previous endowment, dedicated to his funerary complex in Cairo, included both personal property as well as estates from the *bayt al-māl*. Some of the agricultural land alienated for the Medina foundation was *arāḍī kharājīyah*, that is, it belonged to the *bayt al-māl*, which means that Qāytbāy did not finance his philanthropic works exclusively with his private funds, but used also property of the *bayt al-māl*. The inclusion of *kharāj* land that had not been purchased in a *waqf* meant that only its tax revenue

[7]Ibn Iyās, 3:164f.; Jawharī, 480.
[8]BN *waqf*, fol. 17.
[9]Samhūdī, 2:643.
[10]Ibn Iyās, 3:165.

was alienated, not the land itself which remained in the possession of the state.[11] Without entering into the discussion over the complex subject of land property in medieval Islam and its evolution, one may generally say that in medieval Egypt land was considered property of the state. The *kharāj* or tax revenue of land was thus the property of the *bayt al-māl,* held in trust by the ruler for the community. The ruler had the right to lease the land in the name of the *bayt al-māl,* leasing only its usufruct to the holder who would pay the *kharāj* tax. Under the military *iqṭāʻ* system applied in Egypt since the Ayyubid period, the tax revenue of the land belonging to the *bayt al-māl* was granted as *iqṭāʻ* to the amirs as remuneration for maintaining the army.[12]

Theoretically the alienation of an estate as *waqf* could take place only when the estate had been acquired as private property, otherwise it was not *waqf* but *irṣād.* The latter was applied prior to the Ayyubid period, whenever the rulers financed institutions for the public interest or for philanthropic purposes. According to Muḥammad Amīn it was Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn who began to alienate *bayt al-māl* property for the benefit of members of the ruling establishment and their descendants. From that time on, the line between *bayt al-māl* and the sultan's private property was blurred; the Mamluk sultans alienated *bayt al-māl* estates and included them in their *waqf*s in which they themselves and their families were beneficiaries. The sultans were also authorized to sell property of the *bayt al-māl*, which officially opened the way for its alienation as *waqf.* At the end of the Mamluk period, half of Egypt's *kharāj* land was alienated in *waqf*s. Even when the purpose was a philanthropic one, the alienation of a *bayt al-māl* estate was subject to criticism because of its detrimental effect on the *iqṭāʻ* system and thus on military potential.[13] As a result, it happened that in times of military emergency the state treasury was found empty, and the sultans had to request from the religious and administrative establishment authorization to confiscate *waqf* funds in order to pay the soldiers, a measure which was of course illegal. Sultan Qāytbāy himself, during his wars with the Dhū al-Qadr, found himself in such a situation and had to confront the violent opposition of the *ʻulamāʼ*.[14] Thus when he declared that the 60,000 *dīnār*s he had sponsored came exclusively from his private purse, he was probably aiming

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[11]BN *waqf*, fol. 13v.

[12]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1270/1853-54), 1:85ff.; A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and the Lebanon (1250-1900)* (London, 1939; repr. 1977); Abdalaziz Duri, *Arabische Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Zurich, 1979), chap. 4; Claude Cahen, "Iḳṭāʻ," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd. ed., 3:1088-91.

[13]Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimāʻīyah fī Miṣr* (Cairo, 1980), 32f., 300f.

[14]Amīn, 326f.; Jawharī, 33ff.

to avert criticism from this side. He did, nonetheless, alienate *kharāj* land for his Medina foundation, as he had done earlier for his funerary complex.

Concerning the legal problems involved in the alienation of *bayt al-māl* property in *waqf*s, Jawharī reports a heated debate between the jurists of the four rites in which Qāytbāy himself participated. It dealt with the question of the extent to which the endower was allowed to modify the stipulations of a *waqf* in which *bayt al-māl* estate is included. He does not inform us, however, about the outcome of the debate.[15]

Apart from the agricultural land, the sultan alienated substantial commercial complexes within the city of Cairo, which shows that he did acquire buildings previously alienated and included them in his own *waqf*. There were also a few estates in Damascus, Aleppo, and in Medina itself.[16] In Medina there were shops, a *ḥammām*, an apartment complex (*rab'*), as well as individual apartments, a house for rent, and three orchards whose revenue served the trust.[17] A *wakālah* with a mill and a bakery were dedicated to the storage and preparation of the wheat for the *dashīshah.*

STIPULATIONS

The BN *waqf* document states that this endowment should follow the same stipulations established in the sultan's previous great *waqf* for his funerary complex.[18] This seems to suggest that no other important *waqf* was established by Qāytbāy between that of the funerary complex dated 879, 881, and 884, and the Medina endowment. As supervisor (*nāẓir*) of the foundation, Qāytbāy nominated himself, to be succeeded by future sultans.[19] The deputy-supervisors (*nā'ib nāẓir*) were to be the Chief of the Armies (*atābak)*, the Chief Secretary (*dawādār kabīr)*, and the Privy Secretary (*kātib al-sirr*). In his first endowment for the funerary complex there is no mention of future sultans as succeeding supervisors. As for the deputy supervisors, they are the same in both endowments. The four chief *qāḍī*s were to act as *shāhid*s or notaries of the endowment.

THE DASHĪSHAH

Qāytbāy employed his public kitchen in Medina for the distribution of the *dashīshah*, a dish made of wheat and fat, following the model of the Hebron kitchen. The sultan had restored the shrine of al-Khalīl, or Hebron, but his chroniclers do not

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[15]Jawharī, 354f.

[16]BN *waqf*, fols. 13v.-15.

[17]Ibid., fols. 30ff.

[18]Ibid., fols. 8v., 16v.

[19]Ibid., fol. 15v.

provide details about a public kitchen there. Mujīr al-Dīn, however, writes that Sultan Barqūq (r. 1382-1399) had made an endowment specifically for the *simāṭ* in Hebron, i.e., for the distribution of food, and that he inscribed the endowment text at the doors of the shrine of Abraham.[20] This *simāṭ* was still going on during the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq (r. 1438-1453).[21] This could have been the model for Qāytbāy's *dashīshah*. In his earlier endowment in Mecca, Qāytbāy also included a kitchen for the distribution of *dashīshah*.[22] The word *dashīshah* derives from the verb *dashsha* meaning to crush. The *dashīshah* was thus a kind of porridge made of wheat and fat, perhaps something like the *harīsah* common in Syria today.

Qāytbāy commemorated his endowments for the *dashīshah* in Medina in a long inscription at the entrance of his *wakālah* near Bāb al-Naṣr, which is unique in Cairene epigraphy.[23] It states that the sultan alienated this structure to serve bread and *dashīshah* to the pilgrims and the needy of Medina. It ends with a kind of prayer written as a poem in the first person, in which the sultan beseeches God to acknowledge his piety and reward him. This poem, of mediocre quality, could have been composed by Qāytbāy himself, for Ibn Iyās writes that he was the author of religious poems which were recited in mosques.[24]

The *waqf* stipulates, furthermore, that six hundred *ardabb*s of Upper Egyptian wheat should be sent every year for *dashīshah* and bread to be distributed at Qāytbāy's *madrasah* in Mecca, also called al-Ashrafīyah, and that funds should be added to the endowment of the Meccan foundation whenever necessary. This *madrasah* is not included in this deed; it was begun in 883/1478-1479 and completed by the time Qāytbāy arrived in Mecca.[25]

Seventy-five hundred *ardabb*s of wheat were to be shipped yearly to Medina for the preparation of *dashīshah* and bread (two loaves daily per person), to be distributed to the poor and the visitors (*al-ghurabā' wa-al-fuqarā' al-āfāqīyah*). Also the community of the *madrasah* was to benefit from this wheat, which was to be distributed indiscriminately to all of these people, whether rich or poor, big or small, male or female, free or slave, so that no one would need to buy food, "as is the case for the *simāṭ* of Hebron."[26] Whatever remained of the wheat was to be stored in order to be used when needed. The reference to women in this stipulation

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[20]Mujīr al-Dīn, 2:94.

[21]Ibid., 2:97.

[22]Quṭb al-Dīn, 106.

[23]Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, vol. 1: *Égypte* (Cairo, 1894-1903), 4:494ff.

[24]Ibn Iyās, 3:326.

[25]Quṭb al-Dīn, 225.

[26]BN *waqf*, fol. 15.

is noteworthy, but because of its singularity it does not allow more than speculation about a possible presence of women among the *madrasah*'s community.

The *waqf* was responsible for the transportation costs of the wheat from Suez to Yanbuʿ, through Jiddah and on to Mecca and Medina, including the cost of its storage, the purchase of oil and kitchen utensils, the upkeep of mills and bakeries, and the cooking and the distribution of the *dashīshah*. It seems that the wheat was to be processed in Cairo, as the *waqf* mentions among the alienated estates a large *wakālah* for wheat and its processing south of Bāb Zuwaylah. Qāytbāy moreover alienated two ships (*markab mismār*) for the transportation of the wheat. The one was called Abū Salāmah, the other Abū al-Saʿādāt. The first was twenty-nine *dhirāʿ bukhārī* long, and the other twenty-six.[27] One thousand *ardabb*s of wheat were to be granted yearly to the amir of Medina.

The Tax Exemption

A decree dated 890/1485 is included in the BN *waqf* document stipulating that the amir of Medina should free the city from all taxes.[28] The tax exemption was not an innovation of Qāytbāy; al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and his son Sultan Ḥasan, as well as al-Ashraf Shaʿbān, had coupled their endowments in the Holy Cities with a tax exemption.[29] It is interesting to note that the text of Qāytbāy's decree included in his deed is almost identical with the one in Sultan Shaʿbān's endowment deed for the Ḥaramayn, with one important difference, however. Shaʿbān's decree excludes from this privilege persons adhering to Shiʿism (*zaydīyah wa-al-rāfiḍīyah*). There is no such exclusion in Qāytbāy's endowment.

The Religious Institution

Qāytbāy's buildings at Medina consisted of a *madrasah,* a *ribāṭ,* and a so-called *ʿimārah*, which is described as a public kitchen and its annexes.[30] They were built as a complex adjoining the mosque of the Prophet. According to Ibn Iyās the building of the *madrasah* had already begun in Rabīʿ I 883/June 1478 and it was completed in Ramaḍān 887/October 1482,[31] which, by Mamluk standards, is a long period. The reason for the delay could have been the fire which destroyed the

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[27]The Ottoman sultans took over the tradition of alienating ships for the transportation of the *dashīshah* to the Hijaz. Muḥammad ʿAfīfī, "al-Awqāf wa-al-Milāḥah al-Baḥrīyah fī-al-Baḥr al-Aḥmar fī al-ʿAṣr al-ʿUthmānī," in *Le Waqf dans l'espace islamique: Outil de pouvoir socio-politique*, ed. Randi Deguilhem (Damascus, 1995), 87-100.

[28]BN *waqf*, fol. 98v.

[29]Rāshid Saʿd Rāshid al-Qaḥṭānī, *Awqāf al-Sulṭān al-Ashraf Shaʿbān ʿalá al-Ḥaramayn* (Riyadh, 1994), 40, 46, 229f.

[30]BN *waqf*, fols. 28v.- 31v.

[31]Ibn Iyās, 3:145, 196.

prayer hall of the Prophet's Mosque and his funerary chamber in 886/1481, which Qāytbāy began immediately to rebuild. The earliest date mentioned in the *waqf* deed is 889/1484, two years after the date of the *madrasah's* completion as reported by Ibn Iyās.

The restoration works were completed at the end of 887 and cost as much as 100,000 *dīnār*s.[32] A second fire which broke out in Rabīʻ II 898 was followed by a new restoration. The rebuilding of the mosque, which required craftsmen and funds from Egypt, may have delayed the construction of the *madrasah.* Another, though less likely, reason for this delay was the legal problem that obstructed the acquisition of the land for the *madrasah.* To build this complex, Qāytbāy, as stated in the *waqf* deed, purchased and demolished several buildings, including houses. This did not occur without difficulty, however. Ibn Iyās reports that the *qāḍī* who authorized, or rather forced, the transaction was eventually killed by a Shiʻite (*rāfiḍī*) who owned one of these houses.[33] Similarly, the sultan had to dismiss a *qāḍī* in Mecca who tried to stop construction because the new *madrasah* encroached upon a public passage.[34]

Next to the *madrasah*, which adjoined the Prophet's Mosque, was a *majmaʻ* described as a shelter for the poor and the visitors coming to the madrasah (*ma'wan lil-fuqarā' wa-al-wāridīn min zuwwār al-madrasah*).[35] The complex also included a *sabīl*, and a *ribāṭ* consisting of eighty cells to be used as a hostel for visitors (*al-fuqarā' wa-al-wāridīn*), "as is the custom in the *arbiṭah*."[36] It included an ablution fountain and a small bath (*mustaḥamm*). Opposite the *madrasah* was a second building consisting of a *wakālah* with ten rooms for storing wheat above which was an apartment complex (*rabʻ*) with ten living units. The building included also a *sabīl* with a primary school (*maktab*) above it. The vestibule of this *ʻimārah* opened on to a mill, a bakery, the *dashīshah* kitchen, and a stable.

Unlike his *madrasah* in Cairo, Qāytbāy's *madrasah* in Medina was not a Friday mosque; neither a *khaṭīb* to preach the Friday sermon nor an *imām* to lead the prayer were appointed. The staff consisted of thirty Sufis and their shaykh who were to perform the daily *ḥuḍūr al-taṣawwuf* [37] and to dedicate the *thawāb*, that is, the blessing, to the founder and his descendants, as well as a reader of

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[32]Ibid., 3:187, 188, 294.

[33]Ibid., 3:145.

[34]Quṭb al-Dīn, 104f.

[35]BN *waqf*, fol. 29.

[36]Ibid., fol. 229v.

[37]The *ḥuḍūr* consists of reading of specific Quranic texts followed by prayers, invocations, and chanting. J. S. Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, 204ff.; Leonor Fernandes, *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt: The Khānqāh* (Berlin, 1988), 57.

ḥadīth. The Quran reader appointed in this *waqf* was to perform in the Prophet's Mosque. The Sufis were to meet daily in the afternoon with their shaykh in the *madrasah* and to perform the *ḥuḍūr*, dedicating their prayers to the Prophet, to the founder and his descendants, and to all Muslims. The shaykh of the *ribāṭ*, who was not identical with that of the *madrasah*, was required to have scholarly qualifications (*min ṭalabat al-ʻilm*), to assist visitors, and to perform the *dhikr* ceremony with them.

The functions of the *majmaʻ* and the *ribāṭ* seem to have been complementary. The first is described as a shelter but without living units, perhaps only a gathering place like the *majmaʻ* at Qāytbāy's *madrasah* in Jerusalem.[38] The *ribāṭ*, however, was a complex of living units with domestic facilities but does not seem to have included a gathering room. The complex thus hosted a permanent *madrasah* community which consisted of the thirty Sufis and their shaykh who all received allowances, and served visiting scholars and Sufis for whom the *majmaʻ* was the meeting place. These were entitled to food but they received no stipend.

It is noteworthy that the term *ribāṭ* here does not refer to a well-defined Sufi institution but rather to a boarding facility connected with the *madrasah* and the *majmaʻ*. The *madrasah* itself, as far as the stipulations indicate, did not include the teaching of *fiqh*, as in earlier academic institutions, as none of the four rites of Islamic law is mentioned in this context, but only *ḥuḍūr* and *ḥadīth* reading. The only reference to *madhhab*s is made in connection with the ablution fountains, one consisting of a basin and called *shāfiʻīyah*, and the other a fountain with running water of the *ḥanafīyah* type. The *madrasah*, however, had a library for the use of students and scholars (*ṭalabat al-ʻilm*).

The term *madrasah* here should not be taken in its classical sense, but rather in the sense of a *khānqāh*. The fact that it did not include a *khuṭbah* may be explained by its close vicinity to the Prophet's Mosque, because the community could attend the Friday sermon and prayer there. In the Ashrafīyah of Jerusalem, however, the shaykh of the Sufis was in charge of teaching (*tadrīs*) as well as reading the *ḥadīth*; at the same time, he held the office of the *mashyakhah* of the Sufis. This *madrasah* included, according to the original stipulations of 878/1473, sixty Sufis and ten students, but later in 896/1491 the sultan changed the stipulations and appointed only Sufis.[39] However, at the *madrasah* in Mecca, which was planned to house forty students, the curriculum included the four rites of Islamic law.[40] The program offered by Qāytbāy's *madrasah* in Medina could be found in any mosque of this period and was no longer that of the thirteenth and fourteenth

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[38]Mujīr al-Dīn, 2:238.

[39]ʻAbd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, 505, 525.

[40]Quṭb al-Dīn, 225.

century orthodox institutions of this name. The loosening of the *madrasah* curriculum in favor of Sufi rituals was a development of the late fifteenth century.[41]

The Expenditures

The revenue of the *waqf* was to cover all expenses of the alienated agricultural land, including the expenses for peasants, fertilizers, dams, bridges, water ways, and waterwheels. The salaries of the staff appointed in Egypt were paid in silver *dirham*s on a monthly basis; the Medina staff was paid yearly in gold *dīnār*s. The latter must have received their pay upon the arrival of the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan. Allowances of the Cairene staff were paid in *dirham*s on a monthly basis:[42]

2,000 each of the four chief *qāḍī*s of Egypt
3,000 each of the two prime deputy-supervisors, the *atābak* Azbak and the *dāwādār* Aqbardī; their successors were to receive only 2,000 *dh*. each
2,000 the Privy Secretary for his function as second deputy-supervisor
2,000 the secretary Abū al-Baqā ibn al-Jī'ān (*mubāshir*)
3,000 the intendant of the *waqf (shādd al-waqf)* Janbalāṭ min Yashbak (his successors were to receive only 2,000 *dh*.)
1,000 an administrator to collect the rents and oversee the craftsmen (*shādd al-mustakhraj wa-al-'imārah*)
1,000 an overseer of the silo *(mubāshir al-shūnah*)
500 a clerk (*muwaqqi'*)
1,500 two notaries (*shāhid 'adl*) to oversee the maintenance of the buildings (*taṣqī'* [?] *al-musaqqafāt*)[43]

Allowances of the staff of Medina paid in gold *dīnār*s, on a yearly basis:[44]

44 the four chief *qāḍī*s of Medina as notaries (*shāhid*) of the endowment[45]
20 the *shaykh ṣūfīyah*
6 each of the thirty Sufis
24 a reader of *Ḥadīth al-Bukhārī* in the *madrasah*
24 a Quran reciter in the Prophet's Mosque
10 a custodian for the Quran (*khādim al-muṣḥaf*) in the Prophet's Mosque
36 a shaykh of the *ribāṭ*

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[41]See Behrens-Abouseif, "Change in Function and Form of Mamluk Religious Institutions," *Annales islamologiques* 21 (1985): 73-93.

[42]BN *waqf*, fols. 184v.-186v.

[43]I was not able to find the exact meaning of *taṣqī'* in this context.

[44]BN *waqf*, fols. 187ff.

[45]The sums indicated for several persons were to be shared equally among them.

10 a custodian for the Qurans in the Prophet´s Mosque (*khādim rab'a*)
30 a librarian (*khāzin kutub*)
20 a teacher in the primary school for orphans (*mu'addib aytām*)
90 thirty orphaned schoolboys
32 four *mu'adhdhin*s
8 a chief *mu'adhdhin* and time-keeper (*mu'aqqit*)
50 the shaykh of the Prophet´s Mosque to supervise the *madrasah* and the *ribāṭ*
30 a eunuch to supervise the trust in Medina (*shādd al-madrasah wa-al-awqāf*)
20 two attendants for the two fountains (*muzammilātī*)
84 cost of refilling the cisterns
32 two overseers of the *dashīshah* (*amīn)*
32 two accountants for the bakery (*shāhid makhbaz*)
16 an accountant for the warehouses in Medina (*amīn ḥawāṣil*)
12 a rent collector *(jābī*)
20 two sweepers for the *madrasah* (*farrāsh*)
8 a sweeper for the ablution fountain of the *madrasah* (*farrāsh mīḍā*)
4 a sweeper around the *madrasah* (*kannās*)
20 two persons in charge of the lighting (*waqqād*)
32 two doormen (*bawwāb*)
6 a craftsman to repair the marble of the *madrasah* (*murakhkhim*)
6 a plumber (*sabbāk*)

The expenditures enumerated in the *waqfīyah* do not indicate the salaries of the personnel working in the bakery and the *dashīshah* kitchen, or the staff in charge of transportation of the wheat and its processing and the maintenance of the *wakālah* and its kitchen, all of whom were to be remunerated by the *waqf*.

Less than a century later, Quṭb al-Dīn (d. 988/1580) wrote that the funds of the Meccan endowment were already exhausted; the pots of the *dashīshah* kitchen as well as *waqf* real estate were being sold.[46] A few years after these words were written, in 997/1589, another sultan, the Ottoman Murād III (r. 1574-1598) made a large endowment for Medina for which he alienated large plots of Egyptian agricultural land, to sponsor renovations at the mosque of Medina and a large public kitchen which served not just *dashīshah*, but an extensive menu including meat and sweets.[47]

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[46]Quṭb al-Dīn, 106, 226.

[47]Wizārat al-Awqāf, Cairo, *waqf* deed no. 906.

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The Proposers and Supervisors of *al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī* in Mamluk Egypt

The Nāṣirī cadastral survey (*al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī*) in Egypt and Syria during the years 713-725/1313-1325 was significant in that it determined state structure during the early and middle years of the Mamluk period (648-922/1250-1517). The Egyptian *rawk* of 715/1315, in particular, brought about great changes in the *iqṭā‘* system through comprehensive land surveying and drastic taxation reform. In my recent book I investigated the object, content, and result of the Nāṣirī *rawk,* based on contemporary Arabic sources.[1] However, the names of the proposers and supervisors of the survey were cited without mentioning their origins, careers, or official duties.[2]

The present paper therefore will discuss in detail the proposers and supervisors of the Nāṣirī *rawk* in Egypt in order to better our understanding of this important survey. Using the biographical descriptions of the Coptic officials and the Mamluk amirs involved with the survey, the following questions will be addressed: (1) To what extent were the Coptic financiers responsible for *iqṭā‘* administration in Mamluk Egypt? (2) Were there any criteria for choosing *rawk* supervisors from among Coptic officials and Mamluk amirs?

The primary sources are four biographical dictionaries*: Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt* by al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), *Kitāb al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr* by al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), *al-Durar al-Kāminah fī A‘yān al-Mi'ah al-Thāminah* by Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852/1449), and *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá ba‘da al-Wāfī* by Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470). In addition to these sources*, Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-A‘yān* by Ibn al-Ṣuqā‘ī (d. after 725/1325), *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*

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[1]Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta‘s, and Fallahun* (Leiden, 1997), 124-61. Other studies of the cadastral surveys during the Mamluk period include: A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon, 1250-1900* (London, 1939), 36-39; Ibrāhīm ‘Alī Ṭarkhān, *al-Nuẓum al-Iqṭā‘īyah fī al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ fī al-‘Uṣūr al-Wusṭá* (Cairo, 1968/1388), 91-114; Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt, A. H. 564-741/A. D. 1169-1341* (London, 1972), 52-56; P. M. Holt, "The Sultanate of al-Manṣūr Lāchīn (696-8/1296-9)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 36 (1973): 521-32; Heinz Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1979, 1982); Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn, 1310-1341* (Leiden, 1995); Heinz Halm, "Rawk," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 8:467-68.

[2]Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 138-40.

by al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333), *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk* and *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*, both by al-Maqrīzī, also provide us with valuable information on the persons concerned with the survey. Al-ʿAynī's (d. 855/1451) description of the Egyptian *rawk* in his *ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Taʾrīkh Ahl al-Zamān*, of which parts are still in manuscript, is unique in offering the most detailed list of the supervisors dispatched to the provinces.[3]

THE PROPOSERS OF THE *RAWKS* IN MAMLUK EGYPT

In his third reign (709-741/1310-1341), Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn carried out four comprehensive cadastral surveys: in central and southern Syria (713/1313), Egypt (715/1315), Tripoli (717/1317), and Aleppo (725/1325). Prior to these surveys, Sultan al-Manṣūr Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn (696-698/1296-1299) had carried out an Egyptian survey in 697/1298, known as *al-Rawk al-Ḥusāmī*. The person who proposed the *rawk* to Sultan Lājīn was Tāj al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl (d. 711/1312), a Coptic convert to Islam.[4]

His full name was Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Sīrajī al-Miṣrī, but he was widely known as Tāj al-Ṭawīl.[5] He was a Coptic Muslim (*Muslimānī al-Qibṭ*), who had converted to Islam in the reign of Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl ibn Qalāwūn (689-693/1290-1293). Even after his conversion, it is said that he strongly favored the Coptic people.[6] However, he was skilled in accounting (*ḥisāb*) and finance (*istīfāʾ*), and understood well the characteristics of every Egyptian district. According

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[3]On Mamluk historiography, see the following works: Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden, 1968); Ulrich Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit* (Freiburg, 1970); Donald P. Little, *An Introduction to Mamluk Historiography* (Wiesbaden, 1970); idem, *History and Historiography of the Mamlūks* (London, 1986); Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah, *al-Muʾarrikhūn fī Miṣr fī al-Qarn al-Khāmis ʿAshar al-Mīlādī* (Cairo, 1954).

[4]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1975-92), 31:346; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1939-58), 1:842-43; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963-72), 8:92. On the Ḥusāmī *rawk*, see A. N. Poliak, "Some Notes on the Feudal System of the Mamlūks," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1937): 97-107; Rabie, *The Financial System*, 52-53; Holt, "The Sultanate of al-Manṣūr Lāchīn," 521-32; Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 124-34.

[5]Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah*, ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Jād al-Ḥaqq (Cairo, 1966-97), 2:50; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:114. According to Ibn al-Ṣuqāʿī, Tāj al-Dīn's personal name was not ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, but ʿAbd Allāh; a mistake was made by the copyist; see *Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*, ed. and trans. Jacqueline Sublet (Damascus, 1974), 110.

[6]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:842-43; Ibn al-Ṣuqāʿī, *Tālī*, 110. The behavior of the Coptic converts to Islam is described vividly by Donald P. Little, "Coptic Converts to Islam during the Baḥrī Mamluk Period," in *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Michael Gervers and Ramzi J. Bikhazi (Toronto, 1990), 263-88.

to al-Nuwayrī, Tāj al-Ṭawīl also had full knowledge of the *iqṭā*ʻs held by the amirs in his time.[7]

When Tāj al-Ṭawīl proposed the implementation of the Egyptian *rawk* to Sultan Lājīn, the sultan appointed two amirs, Badr al-Dīn Bilīk al-Fārisī al-Ḥājib and Bahā' al-Dīn Qarāqūsh al-Ẓāhirī al-Barīdī, as supervisors of the survey.[8] We are not well informed about Badr al-Dīn Bilīk's career, but in 679/1298 he was cited as one of three chamberlains (*ḥājib*) supervising Mamluk military affairs.[9] Bahā' al-Dīn Qarāqūsh was appointed as governor (*wālī*) of Qūṣ in 680/1281, but his *iqṭā*ʻ was later granted to the Mongol amir, Jankalī ibn al-Bābā, who emigrated to Egypt from Āmid in 703/1304.[10]

Together with these two amirs, Tāj al-Ṭawīl joined the Ḥusāmī *rawk* as a chief of finances (*mustawfī al-dawlah*). When the *rawk* was completed, Tāj al-Ṭawīl distributed the land according to the order of Sultan Lājīn and Vice-Sultan Mankūtamur. However, the distribution of *iqṭā*ʻs in favor of the two rulers caused a violent reaction by the amirs against the government, and the Ḥusāmī *rawk* ended in the assassination of Sultan Lājīn and his *mamlūk* Mankūtamur by these amirs.[11] When Sultan al-Muẓaffar Baybars al-Jāshankīr (708-709/1309-1310) ascended the throne in 708/1309, Tāj al-Ṭawīl was dispatched to Tripoli to manage its financial affairs. However, as soon as al-Nāṣir Muḥammad started his third sultanate in 709/1310, he was called back to Cairo and was appointed superintendent of the central administration (*nāẓir al-dawāwīn*).[12]

From the very beginning of his third reign, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was annoyed with the increasing power of the Manṣūrī *mamlūk*s, that is, the Burjī *mamlūk*s formed by his father, Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn.[13] A man called Asʻad al-Shaqqī

[7]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 31:364-65. See also al-ʻAynī, "ʻIqd al-Jumān fī Ta'rīkh Ahl al-Zamān," Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, MS Hacı Beşir Ağa 457, fol. 292v.; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Yaʻlāwī (Beirut, 1991), 4:23.

[8]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:842; see also Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 127.

[9]Karl Wilhelm Zetterstéen, ed., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlūkensultane in den Jahren 690-741 der Hígra nach arabischen Handschriften* (Leiden, 1919), 43. The text reads Aylīk, not Bilīk.

[10]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:703; idem, *al-Muqaffá*, 3:76. Jankalī ibn al-Bābā, also known as Badr al-Dīn Jankalī, was sent to the region of al-Gharbīyah on the occasion of the Egyptian survey of 715/1315.

[11]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:842-44; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 31:346. See also Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 129-34.

[12]Ibn al-Ṣuqāʻī, *Tālī*, 110; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:842-43, 2:114.

[13]Reuven Amitai-Preiss, "The Remaking of the Military Elite of Mamlūk Egypt by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn," *Studia Islamica* 72 (1990): 145-63; David Ayalon, "Baḥrī Mamlūks, Burjī Mamlūks: Inadequate Names for the Two Reigns of the Mamluk Sultanate," *Tārīḫ* 1 (1990): 36-37.

(d. 716/1316), who had been appointed superintendent of the central administration (*nāẓir al-dawlah*) after the death of Tāj al-Ṭawīl, proposed to the sultan that a cadastral survey be carried out. Al-Maqrīzī has the following to say about this in his *Kitāb al-Muqaffá*:

> [As'ad al-Shaqqī] advised Sultan [al-Nāṣir] to carry out the cadastral survey of Egypt, because the sultan was disturbed by [*al-mamālīk*] al-Burjīyah, the core of the Egyptian army. Because they had taken control of most of the districts [as *iqṭā'*s], there remains no income to cover the sultan's expenditures. When he was informed of this, As'ad met the sultan secretly and discussed the *rawk* with him in order to regain and increase districts which might cover his expenditures.[14]

Like Tāj al-Ṭawīl, As'ad al-Shaqqī was also a Coptic convert to Islam. His full name was Taqī al-Dīn As'ad ibn Amīn al-Mulk, generally known as *al-shaqqī al-aḥwal* (Squint-eyed the Oppressive) due to his "evil" conduct.[15] As already mentioned by Donald P. Little,[16] he was forcibly converted to Islam by his Mamluk employer, the amir Burulghī al-Tatarī. After he served Burulghī as his scribe (*kātib*), As'ad al-Shaqqī was appointed financier of the sultan's servants (*mustawfī al-ḥāshiyah*). In 711/1311, when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's senior officer Tāj al-Ṭawīl died, As'ad al-Shaqqī was appointed *nāẓir al-dawlah* and administered state affairs single-handedly after the abolition of the vizirate (*wizārah*).[17]

Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was pleased with As'ad's advice about a cadastral survey. Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Faḍl Allāh (d. 732/1332), supervisor of military affairs (*nāẓir al-jaysh*), was ordered to draw up the documents according to As'ad's specification. When the documents were about to be read before the sultan, however, Fakhr al-Dīn opposed As'ad's plan, saying that his aim was to sow dissension between the sultan and his *mamlūk*s. Although Fakhr al-Dīn persisted, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad did not change his favorable view of As'ad's plan until the amirs and soldiers began criticizing him after the cadastral survey.[18] However, al-Maqrīzī

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[14]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 2:77.

[15]Ibid., 78; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 1:383. According to Ibn Ḥajar, As'ad was called al-Shaqqī al-Aḥwal because the Muslims hated him.

[16]Little, "Coptic Converts to Islam," 264.

[17]Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 1:383; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 2:76. Burulghī al-Tatarī (d. 711/1311) was arrested by Muhanná ibn 'Īsá, *amīr al-'arab* in Syria, and presented to al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl; however, he later married the daughter of Sultan Baybars al-Jāshankīr and was put in a position of prestige under him; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:9-10.

[18]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 2:77-78.

says in his *Khiṭaṭ*, "The sultan agreed with Fakhr al-Dīn about the implementation of the cadastral survey."[19] If this account is correct, it might suggest that Fakhr al-Dīn, though unwillingly, gave in to As'ad al-Shaqqī and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Incidentally, when the Syrian cadastral survey was completed in 713/1314, the sultan bestowed robes of honor on both Fakhr al-Dīn and his associate, Quṭb al-Dīn ibn Shaykh al-Sallāmīyah.[20]

Al-Qāḍī Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Faḍl Allāh was also a Coptic convert to Islam. After his conversion he would not allow any Christian to come near him, lest he associate with his former co-religionists. He made pilgrimages to Mecca and Jerusalem many times and built many mosques in Egypt. Since he enjoyed al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's full confidence, not a few notables, such as amirs, *qāḍī*s, and provincial governors, visited his house hoping to receive favors from him.[21] One day al-Nāṣir said to a soldier who requested an *iqṭā'*, "Don't worry. If you are the son of the Qalāwūnid family, al-Qāḍī Fakhr al-Dīn will grant you a *khubz* ("bread"; that is, *iqṭā'*) with revenue exceeding 3,000 dirhams." [22]

As mentioned above, three Coptic converts to Islam—Tāj al-Ṭawīl, As'ad al-Shaqqī and Fakhr al-Dīn—all acquired high positions in the central government and made the most of their superior knowledge of fiscal affairs. They exerted great influence on state policy through their advice to the sultan, particularly in *iqṭā'* administration. Although they were not favored by the common Muslims, the fiscal administration did not function well without their knowledge and efforts. According to Little's study, besides the sultan's privy purse, many other offices were often filled by Copts and Coptic Muslims. All of them were connected with finances and accounting during the Baḥrī Mamluk period.[23]

THE SUPERVISORS OF THE *RAWK*

As stated above, upon the advice of As'ad al-Shaqqī, Sultan al-Nāṣir ordered the Egyptian *rawk*. During Sha'bān 715/November 1315, therefore, the government dispatched amirs and Coptic officials as supervisors to five regions of Lower Egypt and six regions of Upper Egypt. Al-'Aynī lists the names of these supervisors in the most detail in "'Iqd al-Jumān." The following is the list quoted in my book with some revisions.[24]

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[19]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1270/1853, repr. Baghdad, 1970), 1:88.

[20]Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 160-61.

[21]Al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt*, ed. Sven Dedering (Wiesbaden, 1959), 4:335; see also Little, "Coptic Converts to Islam," 277, 285.

[22]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 6:516-17.

[23]Little, "Coptic Converts to Islam," 270.

[24]Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 138-40; al-'Ayni, "'Iqd al-Jumān," fol. 318r.-v.; their names are

Lower Egypt
- (A) al-Gharbīyah
  - (1) Amir Badr al-Dīn Jankalī (Janghalī)[25]
  - (2) Naqīb al-Jaysh Ṭaybars
  - (3) Ḥājib Āqūl (A'zal)[26]
  - (4) Kātib Makīn al-Dīn ibn Qarawīnah (Farawītah)[27]
- (B) al-Daqahlīyah and al-Murtāḥīyah
  - (5) Qullī al-Silāḥdār
- (C) al-Sharqīyah
  - (6) Amir 'Izz al-Dīn Aydamur
  - (7) Aytamish al-Muḥammadī (al-Majdī)[28]
  - (8) Amīn al-Dīn Qarmūṭ
  - (9) Sanjar Khāṣṣ Turkī
- (D) al-Manūfīyah
  - (10) Wābiyār Sāṭī
  - (11) Balabān al-Muḥassin (al-Muḥassinī)[29] al-Zarrāq
- (E) al-Buḥayrah
  - (12) Mughulṭāy ibn Amīr Majlis
  - (13) Muḥammad ibn Ṭurunṭāy[30]
  - (14) Balabān al-Ṣarkhadī (al-Ṣarkhaṭī, al-Sarkhadī)[31]
  - (15) Ṭurunṭāy al-Qulanjiqī (al-Qalījī)[32]
  - (16) Baybars al-Jamdār

Upper Egypt
- (A) al-Iṭfīḥīyah

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listed also in al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:146-47, and idem, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:88, in an abbreviated form.

[25]Zettersté en has Janghalī (*Mamlūkensultane*, 128). On the etymological explanation of Mamluk names, see Jean Sauvaget, "Noms et surnoms de mamlouks," *Journal asiatique* 238 (1950): 31-58.

[26]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:88, has A'zal.

[27]Al-Maqrīzī, ibid., has Makīn ibn Farawītah.

[28]Al-Maqrīzī, ibid., lists Aytamish al-Majdī. According to al-Yūsufī, Aytamish carried out an inspection (*kashf*) in the year of the *rawk*; *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ (Beirut, 1986), 331.

[29]Both Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:28, and al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:37, 385, have al-Muḥassinī.

[30]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:88, and idem, *al-Sulūk*, 2:147, list Ibn Ṭurunṭāy.

[31]Zettersté en, *Mamlūkensultane*, 134, lists al-Ṣarkhaṭī; al-Ṣafadī (*A'yān al-'Aṣr wa-A'wān al-Naṣr*, ed. Fuat Sezgin [Frankfurt am Main, 1990], 1:261), lists al-Sarkhadī.

[32]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:88, lists al-Qalījī.

(17) Bahādur al-Karakī (al-Karkarī)[33]
(18) Ṭanqish ibn al-Ḥimṣī
(B) al-Fayyūm
(19) Ṭuquṣbā al-Ẓāhirī
(20) Sanjar al-Damīrī (al-Dumaytrī, al-Dumaythrī)[34]
(21) Baybars al-Sāqī
(22) Mughulṭāy al-Martīnī
(C) al-Bahnasāwīyah
(23) Aydughdī al-Talīlī (al-Balīlī)[35]
(24) Uzbak al-Jarmakī
(25) Khaḍir ibn Nūkīyah (Nūkāy, Nūghīyah)[36]
(26) Bahādur al-Ibrāhīmī
(27) Sanjar al-Marzūkī
(D) al-Ushmūnayn and al-Ṭaḥāwīyah
(28) Azuktamur al-Silāḥdār
(29) Ṭaybughā al-Shamsī
(E) al-Ikhmīmīyah
(30) Qijlīs
(31) Sunqur al-Saʻdī
(F) al-Qūṣīyah
(32) Ṭuquṣbā

Among these supervisors the following nine persons cannot be identified from any Arabic biographies and chronicles: (9) Sanjar Khāṣṣ Turkī, (10) Wābiyār Sāṭī, (15) Ṭurunṭāy al-Qulanjiqī, (18) Ṭanqish ibn al-Ḥimṣī, (21) Baybars al-Sāqī, (24) Uzbak al-Jarmakī (27) Sanjar al-Marzūkī, (28) Azuktamur al-Silāḥdār and (32) Ṭuquṣbā. We find that two Coptic officials, (4) Makīn al-Dīn ibn Qarawīnah and (8) Amīn al-Dīn Qarmūṭ, were appointed as supervisors of the *rawk* in Lower Egypt. According to al-Nuwayrī, the sultan dispatched one or several amirs into each region.[37] Most of the other supervisors, therefore, must have been chosen from among the Mamluk or Mongol amirs.

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[33]Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, 10:300-301, lists al-Karkarī.

[34]Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 165, lists al-Dumaytrī, and al-Ṣafadī, *Aʻyān al-ʻAṣr*, 1:407, al-Dumaythrī.

[35]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:88, lists al-Balīlī.

[36]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 7:192, and Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:173, list Nūkāy, while al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:63, lists Nūghīyah.

[37]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 30:299; see also al-ʻAynī, "ʻIqd al-Jumān," fol. 318r.-v.

THE SUPERVISORS DISPATCHED TO LOWER EGYPT

First, let us look at the careers of the supervisors dispatched to the regions of Lower Egypt.

(A) al-Gharbīyah

(1) Badr al-Dīn Jankalī ibn al-Bābā al-Tatarī (d. 746/1346)[38] migrated with his family from near Āmid, then under the rule of the Mongols, to serve al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 703/1304.[39] He was granted an amirate of a hundred cavalrymen *(imrat mi'at fāris*) and enjoyed prestige and the favor of the sultan. He came to sit at the right hand of the sultan (*ra's al-maymanah*) at banquets (*simāṭ*), following the amir Jamāl al-Dīn Āqūsh.[40] His daughter married al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's son, the amir Aḥmad.[41] Because Jankalī was talented in poetry and enjoyed amusements, he was said to have been loved by everyone. When al-Nāṣir died in 741/1341, Jankalī was reported to be the leader of twenty-five amirs of the rank of *muqaddam al-alf* (commander of a thousand).[42] Two years later he was designated vice-sultan (*nā'ib al-salṭanah*) by these grand amirs to administer state affairs under the newly installed sultan, al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (743-746/1342-1345).[43]

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[38]Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:76, has Jankalī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Bābā ibn Jankalī ibn Khalīl ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Ijlī. See also al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 1:300.

[39]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 3:75-76; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 10:143-44.

[40]For example, Baybars al-Manṣūrī, author of *Zubdat al-Fikrah*, held *ra's al-maysarah* until 725/1325 when the post was transferred to the amir Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī (6). See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:266, 269. The editor of *al-Nujūm* explains that *ra's al-maysarah* designated an older amir holding the rank of amir of a hundred, who gave advice to the sultan (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 12:274, note 2). According to al-Qalqashandī, at the sultan's banquets the *nā'ib al-salṭanah* sat first in line before the sultan, then the *qāḍī al-quḍāh* sat on his right side, and the *kātib al-sirr* (chief secretary) on his left side. Amirs of *ra's al-maymanah* sat behind the *wazīr*, and amirs of *ra's al-maysarah* behind the *kātib al-sirr*. See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'* (Cairo, 1963), 4:195-96; cf. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān, *Dimashq fī 'Ahd al-Mamālīk* (Damascus, 1964), 29.

[41]Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 195.

[42]Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, 11:199-201; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:76-77; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá ba'da al-Wāfī*, ed. Nabīl Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz (Cairo, 1988), 5:22-25; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:425; 2:116, 134, 305; al-Shujā'ī, *Ta'rīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī wa-Awlādih*, ed. and trans. Barbara Schäfer (Wiesbaden, 1978), 121, 191, 235; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Dalīl al-Shāfī 'alá al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Mecca, 1983), 251; al-Yūsufī, *Sīrat al-Nāṣir*, 145, 387; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 1:300-301. According to Zetterstéen (*Mamlūkensultane*, 222), Jankalī was one of four grand amirs at the end of al-Nāṣir's reign. Furthermore, al-Ṣafadī relates that he derived his origin from Sultan Ibrāhīm ibn Adham, a famous Sufi saint in the early Abbasid period; see al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 1:301.

[43]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:425; however, in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Sulūk*, 1:620, the amir who was

(2) ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ṭaybars (d.719/1319), an amir of forty (*amīr al-ṭablakhānah*), held the post of chief of military police (*naqīb al-jaysh*) for the long period of twenty-two years until his death.[44] He was also called al-Khāzindār, since he originally came from the *mamlūk*s of Badr al-Dīn Bilīk al-Khāzindār, vice-sultan during the reign of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars (658-676/1260-1277).[45] Ṭaybars designed the Khashshāb garden along the bank of the Nile, used for excursions, and constructed a school (*al-Madrasah al-Ṭaybarsīyah*) adjacent to the Azhar Mosque, where he was buried.[46]

(3) Sayf al-Dīn Āqūl al-Ḥājib (d. 738/1337-1338). In 725/1325 when al-Nāṣir ordered the amir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars to organize an army, Āqūl al-Ḥājib participated in it as an *amīr al-ṭablakhānah*. In 731/1331 Āqūl was also dispatched to the province of al-Buḥayrah as a supervisor (*mushidd*) to repair the Alexandria Canal.[47] Furthermore, he was appointed to the post of chamberlain in charge of the military administration under the grand chamberlain (*ḥājib al-ḥujjāb*),[48] although we cannot ascertain the exact year of his appointment. In 734/1334 Āqūl went to Damascus to assume the office of grand chamberlain.[49]

(4) Al-Qāḍī Makīn al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Qarawīnah (d. 771/1370)[50] was a Coptic official who served al-Nāṣir, as did his brother, Mājid ibn Qarawīnah.[51] After the Egyptian cadastral survey in 715/1315, Makīn al-Dīn took the office of chief financial administrator (*mustawfī al-ṣuḥbah*), following Sharaf al-Dīn Ibrāhīm.[52] In 725/1325 he was appointed supervisor of the cadastral survey in Aleppo, together with the amir ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Mughulṭāy al-Jamālī.[53] After he held the successive

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designated as vice-sultan was not Jankalī, but Āqsunqur al-Salālī.

44Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 149; according to al-Maqrīzī (*al-Sulūk*, 2:199), Ṭaybars held the post of *naqīb al-jaysh* for about twenty-four years.

45Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:330; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 4:11-12.

46Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:330-31; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 4:11-12; idem, *al-Sulūk*, 2:194, 199; idem, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:304, 383, 426; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmiʿ al-Ghurar* (Cairo, 1960-72), 9:295; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 9:246.

47Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 183.

48On the position of *ḥājib*, see David Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army-III," *BSOAS* 16 (1954): 60.

49Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:260, 371, 457; al-Shujāʿī, *al-Nāṣir Muḥammad*, 91; Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 188.

50As to the year of his death, we have other accounts: 749/1348 (al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr*, 1:27), 750/1349 (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 10:243), and 751/1350 (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:812).

51Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 1:54. Mājid served Sultan al-Nāṣir as *wazīr* in Syria and Egypt; see *al-Durar*, 3:361.

52Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:247.

53Al-Fayyūmī, "Nathr al-Jumān fī Tarājim al-Aʿyān," Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, MS Taʾrīkh 1746, vol. 3, fol. 190r.; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:264, 812; al-ʿAynī, "ʿIqd al-Jumān," fol. 423v.; see also Sato,

posts of *wazīr*, *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* (supervisor of the sultan′s estate), and *mustawfī al-ṣuḥbah*, Makīn al-Dīn was appointed supervisor of military affairs in 740/1339-1340.[54] He constructed a grand mansion at the Khashshāb garden;[55] however, his entire estate was soon confiscated and he died of plague in 749/1348 as an unemployed person (*baṭṭāl*).[56]

(B) al-Daqahlīyah and al-Murtāḥīyah

(5) Sayf al-Dīn Qullī al-Silāḥdār (d. 717/1318). In 711/1311 when he went to Syria with Badr al-Dīn Jankalī (1) and other amirs to subjugate Qarāsunqur al-Manṣūrī, the most prominent Manṣūrī (or Burjī) amir in Aleppo,[57] Sayf al-Dīn Qullī commanded an army as *ra's al-maymanah*.[58] When he died in 717/1318, his *iqṭā'* was granted to his comrade, Badr al-Dīn Jankalī.[59]

(C) al-Sharqīyah

(6) 'Izz al-Dīn Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī (d. 737/1337) was a *mamlūk* of Sharaf al-Dīn Awḥad al-Khaṭīr. Then he became one of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s *mamlūk*s and was given the rank of amir when al-Nāṣir ascended to his second sultanate in 698/1299. He served the sultan as majordomo (*ustādār*), administering the distribution of monthly salaries and rations to the Royal Mamluks.[60] In 708/1309 he traveled to Mecca together with al-Nāṣir. He was promoted to the rank of amir of a hundred as well as the holder of the left-hand seat at the sultan′s banquets (*ra's al-maysarah*). People saw his favored status in the fact that he stayed at the Citadel in Cairo with al-Nāṣir even at night.[61]

State and Rural Society, 144-45.

[54]Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 1:54-55; al-Shujā'ī, *al-Nāṣir Muḥammad*, 62.

[55]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:132.

[56]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:812; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 1:55; al-Shujā'ī, *al-Nāṣir Muḥammad*, 71; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 1:27; see also al-Yūsufī, *Sīrat al-Nāṣir*, 307, 381. According to al-Shujā'ī (*al-Nāṣir Muḥammad*, 231, 238), he held the post of *nāẓir al-jaysh* again from 742/1341-1342 to 743/1342.

[57]Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Kitāb al-Nahj al-Sadīd wa-al-Durar al-Farīd*, published as ″Histoire des sultans Mamlouks (III),″ ed. and trans. E. Blochet, *Patrologia Orientalis* 20 (1929): 208; Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250-1382* (Carbondale, 1986), 105-6.

[58]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:109; Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 156.

[59]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:177, 180.

[60]David Ayalon, ″Studies on the Structure-III,″ 61-62.

[61]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 2:365-68; idem, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:312; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, 10:17-18; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 1:458; al-Shujā'ī, *al-Nāṣir Muḥammad*, 12, 15; Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 193. According to both al-Ṣafadī (*al-Wāfī*) and al-Maqrīzī (*al-Khiṭaṭ*), Aydamur led one hundred twenty cavalrymen.

(7) Sayf al-Dīn Aytamish ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Muḥammadī al-Nāṣirī (d. 736/1336). He was originally one of Qalāwūn's *mamlūk*s (*al-Manṣūrīyah*) and then served al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. After holding the post of governor (*nā'ib*) of Karak for a period, Aytamish was called back to Cairo in 711/1311. The next year he took charge of the Citadel as acting sultan (*nā'ib al-ghaybah*) during al-Nāṣir's pilgrimage to Mecca. He was appointed *amīr al-rakb* or leader of the pilgrims to Mecca three times, in 724/1324, 731/1331, and 734/1334. He was a well-educated Mongol, fully literate in his native language, and had full knowledge of Mongol customs. Perhaps because of his abilities and reputation for truthfulness, Aytamish was made an emissary between the Mamluk sultan and the Ilkhanid ruler, Abū Saʿīd, at the conclusion of a peace treaty (*ṣulḥ*) in 723/1323.[62] In 736/1336 he was appointed governor (*nā'ib*) of Ṣafad where he died five months later.[63]

(8) Amīn al-Dīn Qarmūṭ (d. ?) was a Coptic financier from the sultan's treasury (*mustawfī fī al-khizānah al-sulṭānīyah*). In 734/1333-1334 he was ordered by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Nashw, the Coptic supervisor of the sultan's estates (*nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*), to confiscate the sultan's property in order to reduce the Sultan to financial difficulties. However, in 738/1337-1338 Qarmūṭ's property was confiscated by al-Nāṣir.[64]

(D) al-Manūfīyah

(11) Balabān al-Muḥassin al-Zarrāq (d. 736/1336) was given an amirate of ten (*imrat ʿasharah*) in 707/1307-1308 during the second reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. After he held the posts of the supervisor of the central offices (*shādd al-dawāwīn*) and the governor (*wālī*) of Cairo, Balabān was appointed governor (*nā'ib*) of Damietta, probably in 735/1335.[65]

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[62]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 2:335-42; idem, *al-Sulūk*, 2:242; al-Yūsufī, *Sīrat al-Nāṣir*, 329-34; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 1:454; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 3:138; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Dalīl al-Shāfī*, 164; Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 166, 168, 175, 182; al-Shujāʿī, *al-Nāṣir Muḥammad*, 3. On the career of the amir Aytamish, an article by Donald P. Little is the most informative: "Notes on Aitamish, A Mongol Mamlūk," in *Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, ed. Ulrich Haarmann and Peter Bachmann (Wiesbaden, 1979), 387-401 (reprinted in Little's *History and Historiography of the Mamlūks* [London, 1986]); see also Reuven Amitai-Preiss, "Ghazan, Islam and Mongol Tradition: A View from the Mamlūk Sultanate," *BSOAS* 59 (1996): 5.

[63]Al-Yūsufī, *Sīrat al-Nāṣir*, 287-88, 332; Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 191, 192.

[64]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:370, 455; idem, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:165. On ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Nashw, see Little, "Coptic Converts to Islam," 270, 285.

[65]Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:28; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:37, 385.

(E) al-Buḥayrah

(12) Mughulṭāy ibn Amīr Majlis (d. ?) is not to be confused with ʻAlā' al-Dīn Mughulṭāy ibn ʻAbd Allāh al-Jamālī (d. 732/1331), majordomo of al-Nāṣir.[66] The first account of Mughulṭāy ibn Amīr Majlis says that he advanced into Syria as the commander of a thousand in 712/1312.[67] When the bedouin captured ʻAydhāb in 716/1316, Mughulṭāy was dispatched to regain it with five hundred troops.[68] However, he was then ordered to go to Syria in 718/1318, retaining the same post of commander, and his *iqṭāʻ* of eighty cavalry in Egypt was granted to Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Dawādār al-Manṣūrī.[69]

(13) Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy al-Nā'ib (d. 731/1331). The Arabic sources give us very little information on his career. We know only that his father Ṭurunṭāy was vice-sultan and that he was promoted to commander of a thousand.[70]

(14) Balabān al-Ṣarkhadī (d. 730/1330) was an amir of forty, and it is said that he was diligent in observing everyday prayer. In 725/1325 he participated in the expedition to Yemen under the command of the amir Baybars al-Ḥājib.[71]

(16) Baybars al-Jamdār al-Ruknī al-Muẓaffarī (d. 740/1339-1340). In 729/1329 the amir Baybars was appointed governor (*wālī*) of Alexandria.[72] The city of Alexandria was included administratively in the province of al-Buḥayrah where Baybars took charge of the *rawk* of 715/1315. He held the post of governor until the year of 740/1339, when all his property was confiscated. He died in Alexandria.[73]

THE SUPERVISORS DISPATCHED TO UPPER EGYPT

(A) al-Iṭfīḥīyah

(17) Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur al-Saʻīdī al-Karakī (d. 749/1348). In 710/1310 Sultan al-Nāṣir arrested the *mamlūk*s of the amir Salār al-Manṣūrī, who, together with the amir Baybars al-Jāshankīr, actually controlled state politics during al-Nāṣir

[66]Mughulṭāy al-Jamālī was appointed supervisor of the *rawk* in Aleppo together with Makīn al-Dīn ibn Qarawīnah (4).

[67]Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 157.

[68]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:162; Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 165.

[69]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:185; Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 167-68. On the career of Baybars al-Dawādār, see al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, 10:352.

[70]Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 4:79; al-Shujāʻī, *al-Nāṣir Muḥammad*, 121; according to al-Ṣafadī (*Aʻyān al-ʻAṣr*, 3:27), he made his pilgrimage to Mecca four times.

[71]Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:27; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 2:522; idem, *al-Sulūk*, 2:260.

[72]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:309; Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 180. Al-Maqrīzī relates that he was also governor of the frontier (*nā'ib al-thaghr*) in *al-Sulūk*, 2:319.

[73]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:487, 505; Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 205.

Muḥammad's second reign (698-708/1299-1309). Al-Nāṣir then bestowed the rank of amir on some of his own *mamlūk*s, including this man, Bahādur al-Karkarī (al-Karakī), as well as Baybughā al-Ashrafī and Ṭaybughā al-Shamsī (29).[74] Bahādur first served the sultan as an amir of the banner (*amīr ʻalam*), which corresponded to an amir of ten. He was in charge of managing the storehouse for drums and trumpets.[75] In 717/1317 he went to the Hijaz together with the amir Aytamish al-Muḥammadī (7) and returned to Cairo after an absence of one hundred days.[76] He was then appointed chief of administrative offices in Ḥimṣ under the rule of Sayf al-Dīn Tankiz. He afterwards changed his post to that of an amir of forty in the local provinces of Syria, and died at Tripoli in 749/1348.[77]

(B) al-Fayyūm

(19) Sayf al-Dīn Ṭuquṣbā al-Ẓāhirī al-Nāṣirī (d. 745/1344) often transferred his services from one amir to another and was himself granted an amirate by Sultan Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn. During the Egyptian *rawk* in 715/1315, Ṭuquṣbā held the post of governor (*wālī*) of Qūṣ.[78] He made two expeditions to Nubia in 705/1305-1306 and 716/1316. In 733/1332-1333 he was appointed *amīr al-rakb* of the year.[79] He lived over 120 years, and died as an amir of forty in Cairo in 745/1344.[80] This information implies that he was over ninety years old when the cadastral survey was carried out.

(20) ʻAlam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Damīrī (d. 732/1331). We know only that he participated in the campaign against the town of ʻAydhāb together with the amir Mughulṭāy ibn Amīr Majlis (12) in 716/1316.[81]

(22) ʻAlā' al-Dīn Mughulṭāy ibn ʻAbd Allāh al-Martīnī (d. 749/1348). The sources give us no information on his origins. He was first appointed to the governorship (*niyābah*) of Bahnasā in Upper Egypt and was transferred to Syria

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[74]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:87; see also idem, *al-Muqaffá*, 2:535-36.

[75]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 3:689. On the *amīr ʻalam*, see al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 4:13.

[76]Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 166.

[77]Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, 10:300-301; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:33. Al-Ṣafadī in *Aʻyān al-ʻAṣr*, 1:265, has Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur ibn al-Karkarī.

[78]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:128.

[79]Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 187. Every year during the month of Shawwāl the camel-borne litter (*maḥmal*) departed from Cairo leading the Muslims to Mecca. An *amīr al-rakb* was chosen annually from among the influential amirs to guard them from raids by the bedouins; see F. Buhl and Jacques Jomier, "Maḥmal," *EI*^{2}, 6:44-46. The *amīr al-rakb* was also called *amīr al-ḥājj* during the Mamluk period; see al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 7:74-75.

[80]Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:326-27; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:177-78, 236, 673; idem, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:189; al-Shujāʻī, *al-Nāṣir Muḥammad*, 274. The person who was sent to Qūṣ in the survey was also called Ṭuquṣbā (32), who seems to be different from this *wālī Qūṣ*.

[81]Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 165; see also al-Ṣafadī, *Aʻyān al-ʻAṣr*, 1:407.

as the governor (*nā'ib*) of the citadel in Damascus. Then he was given the post of chamberlain, also in Damascus, but was arrested in 747/1346 and died of the plague in 749/1348.[82]

(C) al-Bahnasāwīyah

(23) 'Alā' al-Dīn Aydughdī al-Talīlī al-Shamsī (d. 728/1328) was one of the amirs in Damascus. In 705/1305-1306 during the second reign of al-Nāṣir, he was sent to the ruler of the Maghrib with the amir Aydughdī al-Khwārizmī. In 710/1310 Aydughdī was also chosen to be *amīr al-rakb*.[83] He died unemployed in Damascus.[84]

(25) Jamāl al-Dīn Khaḍir ibn Nūkīyah al-Nāṣirī (d. 758/1357). His father, Nūkīyah or Nukāy al-Silāḥdār al-Tatarī, also had a daughter named Urdukīn. Khaḍir was made an amir in 709/1309-1310 by Sultan al-Nāṣir. His sister, Urdukīn, married al-Ashraf Khalīl, then after his death married his brother, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and gave birth to a son. When she died in 724/1324, Khaḍir was allowed to inherit her property.[85]

(26) Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur al-Ibrāhīmī (d. ?) changed service and was promoted to the rank of *naqīb al-mamālīk*, which was restricted to the Royal Mamluks.[86] Although he was relieved from this post in 716/1316, Bahādur still held an amirate and was repeatedly appointed *amīr al-rakb*. However, he failed to quell the revolt of Ḥumayḍah ibn Abī Numayy, lord of Mecca, against the Mamluk regime in 718/1318. When he returned to Cairo the next year, Bahādur was arrested and imprisoned at Alexandria until 720/1320.[87] However, he still held the rank of amir of forty when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad died in 741/1341.[88]

(D) al-Ushmūnayn and al-Ṭaḥāwīyah

(29) Ṭaybughā al-Shamsī (d. ?), together with Bahādur al-Karakī (17), was given the rank of amir when al-Nāṣir, as mentioned above, arrested amir Salār al-Manṣūrī and his *mamlūk*s in 710/1310.[89]

(E) al-Ikhmīmīyah

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[82]Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 5:125; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Dalīl al-Shāfī*, 738; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:717; Zettersteén, *Mamlūkensultane*, 209; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr*, 3:276.

[83]Zettersteén, *Mamlūkensultane*, 132, 154.

[84]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 2:345; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 1:454.

[85]Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 1:370, 2:173; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 7:192; idem, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:63.

[86]David Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure-III," 65.

[87]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 2:504; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:31; Zettersteén, *Mamlūkensultane*, 165, 167-68.

[88]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:305.

[89]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:87.

(30) Sayf al-Dīn Qijlīs ibn ʻAbd Allāh al-Nāṣirī al-Silāḥdār (d. 731/1330) was one of the *mamlūk*s of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and was first appointed *amīr silāḥ* (amir of arms), which was customarily held by an amir of forty;[90] that is, it was an exceptional promotion for the Baḥrī Mamluk period. He was said to have dressed well and to have had a sense of camaraderie. When the Mamluk army succeeded in conquering the town of Malaṭyah, Qijlīs returned from Syria with 350 captives in Rabīʻ I 715/June 1315, four months before the start of the Egyptian *rawk*.[91] After the *rawk* was completed, he was chosen *amīr al-rakb* for 717/1317. Qijlīs became the supervisor of the Ibn Ṭūlūn mosque in Cairo in 723/1323.[92] When al-Nāṣir dispatched his son, al-Nāṣir Aḥmad, to Karak in 726/1326, Qijlīs and other amirs accompanied him.[93] Since Qijlīs had been given great prestige under al-Nāṣir, it is said that he was always ready to manage the important affairs entrusted to him.[94] Furthermore, he was well known as an expert in the making of time-pieces (*mawāqīt*), astrolabes (*asṭurlāb*), and quadrants (*arbāʼ*).[95]

(31) Shams al-Dīn Sunqur al-Saʻdī (d. 728/1328) came from the non-Mamluk cavalry (*ajnād al-ḥalqah*). When al-Nāṣir went to Mecca in order to avert the threat of Amir Salār and Sultan Baybars al-Jashankīr in 708/1309, Sunqur accompanied him, as well as the amir Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī (6).[96] In Cairo Sunqur held the post of *naqīb al-mamālīk*,[97] but was exiled to Tripoli in 723/1323. He was greatly interested in the development of agriculture, and single-handedly established a village in the province of al-Gharbīyah.[98]

The Principles for Choosing Supervisors

We have described the origins, careers and official posts of the supervisors appointed for the Egyptian *rawk* in 715/1315. Now we will examine whether any principles

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[90] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Dalīl al-Shāfī*, 535. According to Ayalon, the office of *amīr silāḥ* was held not by an amir of forty, but by an amir of a hundred ("Studies on the Structure-III," 60). This amir's duty was to bear the sultan's arms during public appearances.

[91] Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 162-63.

[92] Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:247.

[93] Ibn Ḥabīb al-Dimashqī, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1976-86), 2:161.

[94] Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 3:328.

[95] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʻyān al-ʻAṣr*, 2:350.

[96] Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 7:190.

[97] According to Ibn Ḥajar (*al-Durar*, 2:273), he held the post of *niyābat al-jaysh* (supervisor of military affairs).

[98] Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 2:273; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:246; idem, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:226. He also constructed al-Madrasah al-Saʻdīyah outside Cairo in 715/1315; see *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:250.

or criteria governed the way these twenty-three persons were chosen. Let us examine the above accounts from several points of view.

First, let us compare these men with the supervisors dispatched to the Egyptian regions to survey the irrigation system in 714/1314. According to al-Maqrīzī, the supervisors for the irrigation survey were:[99]

Lower Egypt

(A) al-Gharbīyah:
Amir Sayf al-Dīn Āqūl al-Ḥājib

(B) al-Sharqīyah:
Amir ʻIzz al-Dīn Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī

(C) al-Buḥayrah:
Amir ʻAlā' al-Dīn al-Talīlī

(D) al-Qalyūbīyah:
Amir Badr al-Dīn Jankalī ibn al-Bābā

Upper Egypt

(A) al-Fayyūm:
Amir Badr al-Dīn Baktūt al-Shamsī

(B) al-Bahnasāwīyah:
Amir ʻAlā' al-Dīn Aydughdī Shuqayr

(C) al-Ushmūnayn and al-Ṭaḥāwīyah:
Amir Sayf al-Dīn Qullī

(D) Asyūṭ and Manfalūṭ:
Amir Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn ibn Ḥaydar (Jandar)[100]

(E) Ikhmīm:
Amir Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur al-Muʻizzī

(F) Qūṣ:
Amir Bahā' al-Dīn Aṣlam

Among the above-mentioned ten amirs, those who were re-appointed for the cadastral survey the next year were the following five persons: Sayf al-Dīn Āqūl, ʻIzz al-Dīn Aydamur, ʻAlā' al-Dīn al-Talīlī, Badr al-Dīn Jankalī (in Lower Egypt), and Sayf al-Dīn Qullī (in Upper Egypt). Among them, Sayf al-Dīn Āqūl (dispatched to al-Gharbīyah) and ʻIzz al-Dīn Aydamur (to al-Sharqīyah) were sent to the same regions as in the cadastral survey. However, the above accounts of their careers show that the two amirs had no close connection to either region.[101]

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[99]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:137-38; see also Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 227.

[100]Al-Maqrīzī in *al-Muqaffá*, 3:649, has Jandar.

[101]In 712/1313 Sultan al-Nāṣir dispatched the Mamluk army to Syria against the Mongol invasion. Among the twenty-one amirs of a hundred who led the army, the following eight amirs were

Among the five amirs who were not chosen as supervisors in the cadastral survey in 715/1315, two—Aydughdī Shuqayr (al-Ushmūnayn and al-Ṭaḥāwīyah) and Bahādur al-Muʿizzī (Ikhmīm)—were arrested with the amir Sayf al-Dīn Ṭughāy under suspicion of a plot to assassinate al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in Rabīʿ I 715/July 1315,[102] just after the irrigation survey. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aydughdī Shuqayr (d. 715/1315) originally came from the Mamluk corps formed by Lājīn. During al-Nāṣir's reign he was promoted to a high position through the good offices of his comrade (*khushdāsh*), the amir Ṭughāy, and became one of the sultan's favorites.[103] Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur al-Muʿizzī (d. 739/1339) was also one of the *mamlūk*s fostered by Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn, and was given the rank of amir when Lājīn ascended to the throne in 696/1296.[104] Thereafter Bahādur was arrested, but was later released. In 730/1330, he was promoted to commander of a thousand.[105]

Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn ibn Jandar al-Rūmī (d. 729/1329), who was dispatched to Asyūṭ during the irrigation survey, came to Cairo from al-Rūm with his father and served al-Manṣūr Lājīn in Egypt and Syria. When al-Nāṣir ascended to the sultanate for the third time in 709/1310, Ḥusayn was appointed amir of a hundred because of his talent for hunting (*ṣayd*). Although he had belonged to Ṭughāy's group of suspected plotters, he was found blameless when Aydughdī, Bahādur, and Ṭughāy were arrested.[106] However, the fact that Ḥusayn was one of Ṭughāy's intimate comrades (*min khawāṣṣ Ṭughāy*) might explain why he was passed over for the position of supervising the *rawk* in 715/1315. It is not clear why the two remaining amirs, Baktūt al-Shamsī and Bahāʾ al-Dīn Aṣlam,[107] were not chosen as supervisors of the *rawk*. However, we may say that the way in which the supervisors

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chosen again as supervisors of the irrigation survey in 714/1314: ʿIzz al-Dīn Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī, Badr al-Dīn Jankalī, Badr al-Dīn Baktūt al-Shamsī, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Aydughdī Shuqayr, Sayf al-Dīn Qullī, Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur al-Muʿizzī, Bahādur Aṣlam, and Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn; cf. Amitai-Preiss, "The Remaking of the Military Elite," 149.

[102]Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 162; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:144; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr*, 1:214-15. Aydughdī Shuqayr, accused of plotting to murder the sultan, was killed on the day of his arrest. In 713/1313 a dispute over *iqṭāʿ* holdings occurred between Aybak al-Manṣūrī and Aydughdī Shuqayr. Sultan al-Nāṣir arrested Aybak al-Manṣūrī, grand amir of the Manṣūrī *mamlūk*s, on the pretext that Aybak and his comrade intended to usurp the sultanate; see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:128.

[103]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 2:342-43; Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar*, 1:455; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr*, 1:214.

[104]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 2:501.

[105]Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr*, 1:264.

[106]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 3:649-50; *al-Sulūk*, 2:177-78, 313-14.

[107]Bahāʾ al-Dīn Aṣlam ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Nāṣirī (d. 747/1346) was originally a *mamlūk* of al-Malik al-Nāṣir and was promoted to amir of a hundred by him, a rank he held until he lost it to the sultan's anger after the cadastral survey; see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Manhal*, 2:455-56; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*, 9:285.

were chosen was closely connected to the movements of the Mamluk factions competing around the sultanate in Cairo.

Now let us examine the accounts of the supervisors appointed for the cadastral survey in the following year. As mentioned above, among thirty-two supervisors we may identify twenty-three persons, including two Coptic officials. The biographical accounts do not reveal any close relation between the regions to which the twenty-one amirs were appointed and their posts or *iqṭā*'s. In the *rawk* of Tripoli in 717/1317, for example, Sharaf al-Dīn Ya'qūb al-Ḥamawī, chief of military affairs (*nāẓir*) at Aleppo, was put in charge of the cadastral survey. In the *rawk* of Aleppo in 725/1325, Mughulṭāy al-Jamālī, who held the offices of *ustādār* and *wazīr*, was appointed supervisor; that is, he was neither governor of Aleppo nor chief of military affairs there. This method of appointment was to avoid unfairness on the part of local chief officials or *iqṭā'* holders (*muqṭa'*).[108] Accordingly, it may well be said that such a principle was also followed in the *rawk* of Egypt in 715/1315.

We know the following posts of the supervisors, except the two Coptic officials, at the time of the cadastral survey:

(2) 'Alā' al-Dīn Ṭaybars: *naqīb al-jaysh* (chief of military police)
(3) Sayf al-Dīn Āqūl: *ḥājib* (chamberlain)
(5) Sayf al-Dīn Qullī: *silāḥdār* (bearer of arms)
(6) 'Izz al-Dīn Aydamur: *ustādār* (majordomo)
(11) Balabān al-Muḥassin: *shādd al-dawāwīn* (supervisor of central offices)
(17) Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur al-Karakī: *amīr 'alam* (amir of banners)
(19) Sayf al-Dīn Ṭuquṣbā: *wālī Qūṣ*
(26) Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur al-Ibrāhīmī: *naqīb al-mamālīk* (chief of *mamlūk* affairs)
(30) Sayf al-Dīn Qijlīs: *amīr silāḥ* (amir of arms)
(31) Shams al-Dīn Sunqur: *naqīb al-mamālīk*

It is remarkable that only one local governor (*wālī Qūṣ*) was appointed supervisor. The other supervisors held posts that were closely connected to the sultan's privy council, the Royal Mamluks, or the central administration. This indicates that the cadastral survey was carried out under al-Nāṣir's strong leadership. Al-Nuwayrī says, "Sultan al-Nāṣir himself proceeded to Upper Egypt to preside over the amirs and scribes."[109] The sultan had to obtain good results from the cadastral survey in order to establish a stable Mamluk regime.

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[108]Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 143-45.

[109]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 30:299-300; see also Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 140.

Finally, let us look at the origins of the amirs appointed as supervisors of the cadastral survey in 715/1315. Among the twenty-one amirs identified above, one, Shams al-Dīn Sunqur (31), was from the non-*mamlūk* cavalry, and two, Badr al-Dīn Jankalī (1) and Khaḍir ibn Nūkīyah (25), were Mongol immigrants (*al-Wāfidīyah*) or the sons of such immigrants who came to serve al-Nāṣir. Both Mongol amirs were appointed to high positions through their relations by marriage to al-Nāṣir. From among the remaining supervisors, those who were *mamlūk*s purchased and fostered by al-Nāṣir were (11) Balabān al-Muḥassin, (17) Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur al-Karakī, (29) Ṭaybughā al-Shamsī, and (30) Sayf al-Dīn Qijlīs. Those who had been originally bought by another sultan or by an amir, and who later switched service to al-Nāṣir were (2) 'Alā' al-Dīn Ṭaybars, (6) 'Izz al-Dīn Aydamur, (7) Sayf al-Dīn Aytamish, (19) Sayf al-Dīn Ṭuquṣbā, and (26) Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur al-Ibrāhīmī. It is interesting that the same number of supervisors was chosen from among both the Nāṣirī and non-Nāṣirī *mamlūk*s. However, even among these amirs we find no one who remained in his former faction, even after the accession of al-Nāṣir to the sultanate.

As I mentioned above, during al-Nāṣir's second reign the Vice-Sultan Salār al-Manṣūrī and majordomo Baybars al-Jāshankīr actually controlled state politics. They were from the Burjī, or Manṣūrī, *mamlūk*s formed by al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn.[110] Accordingly, when al-Nāṣir ascended to his third sultanate after eliminating Baybars al-Jāshankīr and his followers in 709/1310, the first thing he had to do was eliminate the influence of the senior Manṣūrī and other amirs.[111] He immediately sent letters to the local *wālī*s, ordering them to seize the estates of these amirs and send them to the prison in Alexandria.[112] In 710/1310 Sultan al-Nāṣir captured Salār and his *mamlūk*s,[113] and in 712/1312 he arrested six amirs of a hundred, including three Manṣūrī amirs.[114] Furthermore, just after the irrigation survey in 714/1314, he arrested those senior amirs, like 'Alā' al-Dīn Aydughdī Shuqayr and Bahādur al-Mu'izzī, who had been fostered by al-Manṣūr Lājīn .[115]

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[110]Ibn al-Ṣuqā'ī, *Tālī*, 57-58, 89-90; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 2:534-55.

[111]Abū al-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar* (Cairo, 1325), 4:58-59; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:71-72, 77-78; Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 145-150; P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517* (London, 1986), 112-13; Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages*, 106-7; Amitai-Preiss, "The Remaking of the Military Elite," 106-7.

[112]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:77-78.

[113]Ibid., 2:87; Abū al-Fidā', *Mukhtaṣar*, 4:60.

[114]Amitai-Preiss, "The Remaking of the Military Elite," 154-55.

[115]Zetterstéen, *Mamlūkensultane*, 162; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:144. As to the affiliation of these amirs, see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá*, 2:342-43, 501; see also Amitai-Preiss, "The Remaking of the Military Elite," 149.

The next step was the execution of the cadastral survey, in order to decrease the *iqṭā'* revenue of those amirs left over from the reigns of the previous sultans.[116] When al-Nāṣir resolved to establish a regime based on his own *mamlūk*s, it was probably deemed proper that the *rawk* supervisors be chosen not from the Manṣūrī *mamlūk* amirs, but from his own confidants, including the Nāṣirī *mamlūk* amirs. After the cadastral survey, al-Nāṣir granted new *iqṭā'*s to the amirs, his own *mamlūk*s and the *ḥalqah* cavalrymen, and ordered that the land the Manṣūrī amirs had purchased in Giza be integrated into the sultan's domain. Furthermore he declared that anyone who returned his authorization (*mithāl*) of *iqṭā'* or complained of the survey results would be beaten and imprisoned after his *iqtā'*s were confiscated.[117] This shows that al-Nāṣir evidently carried out the cadastral survey in order to implement his resolution to eliminate the senior non-Nāṣirī amirs.

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[116]On the causes and objectives of the Nāṣirī *rawk*, see Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 145-52.

[117]Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:156. On the results of the Nāṣirī *rawk*, see Levanoni, *A Turning Point*, 53-54; Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 152-61.

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Documents Related to the Estates of a Merchant and His Wife in Late Fourteenth Century Jerusalem

Introduction

The majority of the Ḥaram documents[1] are related in some way to the settlement of the estates of persons who died in Jerusalem during the last decade of the fourteenth century. There are over four hundred estate inventories alone, by which we mean lists of the assets and liabilities of dead or dying persons compiled under the supervision of the Shāfiʻī or Ḥanafī courts, often with the participation of officials of the Public Treasury and the Bureau of Escheat Estates as well as representatives of the Viceroy of Jerusalem. These inventories have been studied in detail, by no means exhaustive, for the purposes of social history by Huda Lutfi in her *Al-Quds al-Mamlūkiyya: A History of Mamlūk Jerusalem Based on the Ḥaram Documents*.[2] In this article I shall study one such inventory in conjunction with other types of court and notarial records from the Ḥaram collection which bear on settlement of the estate in question. While my main purpose will be to elucidate the general process of settling estates in Mamluk Jerusalem through the study of documents, several subsidiary goals will be served. Since so few court and notarial records have survived from the Muslim Middle Ages, those that have are of capital importance *qua* documents from several points of view: language and palaeography, for example, and notarial style. They are also significant, of course, as records of legal transactions and court procedures under Mamluk rule. All these points will be addressed in my commentary and analysis.

The four documents here in question—an estate inventory, a record of sale of objects from the estate, an attestation regarding the disposition of the estates, and a certification of the attestation—are all related to the estates of a merchant and

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[1]The Ḥaram documents consist of approximately nine hundred documents discovered in 1974-1976 in Jerusalem at the Islamic Museum located at al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf. See Linda S. Northrup and Amal A. Abul-Hajj, ″A Collection of Medieval Arabic Documents in the Islamic Museum at the *Ḥaram al-Sharīf*,″ *Arabica* 25 (1979): 282-91; Donald P. Little, ″The Significance of the *Ḥaram* Documents for the Study of Medieval Islamic History,″ *Der Islam* 57 (1980): 189-217, reprinted in idem, *History and Historiography of the Mamlūks* (London, 1986); and idem, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from al-Ḥaram aš-Šarīf in Jerusalem* (Beirut, 1984).

[2](Berlin, 1985).

his wife, both from Baalbek, who had possessions there as well as in Bekaa, Damascus, and Jerusalem. It is only because this merchant happened to die in Jerusalem that we have any knowledge of his or his wife′s affairs, for the local Shāfi'ī Court, some of whose records have fortuitously survived for five hundred years, became involved in the settlement of their estates. I have chosen this particular case for study mainly because it is an extremely complicated one for which, exceptionally, several documents have survived and thus illustrates the intricacies and efficiency of the legal system in the Mamluk empire, even though, as will be seen, the surviving records are incomplete. But there is another reason for my choice. Three of the documents contain notations of numbers written in the Mamluk version of the *siyāqah* script, which I have gradually learned to read after much trial and, alas, continuing error. Though the *siyāqah* or *siyāqat*, as used by the Ottomans, is well known,[3] its use by Mamluk notaries and chancery scribes has come to light only recently.[4] Pending the publication of a fuller study of the Mamluk *siyāqah*, I would like to share with other scholars what I have learned so far.

Before we plunge into the details of this specific case, it should be helpful to review what is already known about the process of settling estates in Mamluk Jerusalem, drawing on Lutfi′s work and my own. Basically, individuals had three options for arranging the disposition of their estates: wills, estate inventories, or a combination of the two. At an appropriate time a person, whether Muslim or *dhimmī*,[5] could voluntarily draw up a will, in which he or she appointed an executor of the estate and designated bequests, not to exceed a third of the estate (in the case of Muslims), to persons, or charities, other than their legal heirs. Moreover, the testator could include in the will an enumeration of assets and liabilities, a declaration of legal heirs, and special instructions, regarding the funeral, for example, or for the performance of memorial prayers or proxy-pilgrimage.[6] Wills were drawn up in the form of notarized documents and could be certified by a court.[7] After the testator′s death the executor proceeded to distribute

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[3]See Lajos Fekete, *Die Siyāqat-Schrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*, vol. 1: *Einleitung, Textproben* (Budapest, 1955), 13-33.

[4]See Felicitas Jaritz, ″Auszüge aus der Stiftungsurkunde des Sultan Barqūq,″ in *Madrasa, Ḫānqāh und Mausoleum des Barqūq in Kairo*, ed. Saleh Mostafa, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe, vol. 4 (Glückstadt, 1982), 118, 168-69.

[5]See Donald P. Little, ″*Ḥaram* Documents Related to the Jews of Late Fourteenth Century Jerusalem,″ *Journal of Semitic Studies* 30 (1985): 255-56.

[6]For information on Ḥaram wills see Little, *Catalogue*, 311-17, and Lutfi, *al-Quds*, 30-31. For samples, see Lutfi, *al-Quds,* 61-63 (no. 849), and K. J. Asali*, Wathā'iq Maqdisīyah Ta'rīkhīyah ma'a Muqaddimah ḥawla Ba'ḍ al-Maṣādir al-Awwalīyah* (Amman, 1983), 1:272-73 (no. 501).

[7]Ḥaram no. 55 is an example; *Catalogue*, 313.

the estate in accordance with the will.[8] If a person did not choose to make a will, and sometimes even when he or she did, the odds were strong that the state would intervene in the disposition of the estate, either before or after the person's death. As is well known, medieval Muslim states in Egypt and Syria maintained a special institution known as Dīwān al-Mawārīth al-Ḥashrīyah (Bureau of Escheat Estates), whose purpose was to insure that the government would receive the residue of estates not exhausted by the claims of legal heirs.[9] The Ḥaram documents afford ample evidence that this Bureau was operative in Mamluk Jerusalem and that its efforts were coordinated with the Bayt al-Māl (Public Treasury).[10] Although we cannot yet be sure whether all residents of Jerusalem of a certain class were subject to an estate inventory conducted under the auspices of these institutions and the courts,[11] the survival of 423 inventories conducted in Jerusalem during the last decade of the fourteenth century indicates that many (including Christians and Jews), if not most, were. These inventories always included an enumeration of assets and liabilities and identification of the heirs, including the Bayt al-Māl if it was entitled to a share. In addition, if the person was still alive when the inventory was made, he or she could designate bequests or, more rarely, appoint an executor.[12] Instances of both dispositions are infrequent but suffice to demonstrate the similarity of estate inventories to wills. Nevertheless, the fact that many of the inventories

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[8]Examples of Ḥaram documents that contain information on the actions of executors include no. 659, a will, with an attestation dated four months later, that the executor had received the proceeds from the estate (*Catalogue*, 315); nos. 102, 184, and 205, acknowledgments that women had received maintenance payments for themselves or their children from executors (*Catalogue*, 195, 199, 203; Huda Lutfi, "A Study of Six Fourteenth Century *Iqrār*s from al-Quds relating to Women," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 26 [1983]: 262-66, 269-73; and Huda Lutfi and Donald P. Little, "*Iqrār*s from al-Quds: Emendations," *JESHO* 28 [1985]: 326-27). See also Ḥaram nos. 500, 625, and 709 (*Catalogue*, 265, 269, and 307-08).

[9]See Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt A.H. 564-741/A.D. 1169-1341* (Oxford, 1972), 127-32; Michael W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977), 175-81; and Little, "The Jews," 254.

[10]Lutfi, *al-Quds*, 179-83.

[11]Ibid., 18-22; Donald P. Little, "Relations between Jerusalem and Egypt during the Mamluk Period According to Literary and Documentary Sources," in *Egypt and Palestine: A Millennium of Association (868-1949)*, ed. Amnon Cohen and Gabriel Baer (Jerusalem and New York, 1984), 89-93, reprinted in Little, *History and Historiography*.

[12]Examples of bequests: no. 607, published by Lutfi, "A Documentary Source for the Study of Material Life: A Specimen of the *Ḥaram* Inventories from al-Quds in 1393 A.D.," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 135 (1985): 213-26; also nos. 121, 189, 242, 290, 338, 408, 541, 638, 711, and 715 (*Catalogue*, 71, 201, 89, 97, 99, 175, 215, 150, 239, 221). Executors: nos. 161, 709 (*Catalogue,* 81, 269). In addition, no. 725 (*Catalogue*, 156) cites a will that was prepared three to four months before the inventory was made.

were made for persons already dead, the frequent presence of military and civilian officials, and evidence from Ayyubid, Mamluk, and Ottoman literary and documentary sources, indicate that estate inventories, unlike wills, were not voluntary or, at least, not always so.[13] In most cases we do not know how the estate was distributed after the inventory was made. Sometimes, when there was a possibility of dispute or settlement had to be delayed for some other reason—the absence of heirs from the locality, for example—the estates were kept under seal or in a court depository. Public sales of chattels were held when necessary to satisfy the claims of beneficiaries, be they Quranic heirs or the Public Treasury.[14] From a few documents we learn that after burial expenses and debts had been settled, the residue of an estate was distributed by an executor if there was one, or by a court,[15] as we shall see in the documents studied in this article. Curiously, the Ḥaram documents make only infrequent reference to the apportionment of estates according to the *sharī'ah* formulae governing shares—the *farā'iḍ*.[16] Nevertheless, the identification of heirs both in wills and in estate inventories and the presence of witnesses appointed by the courts certainly suggest that at some stage the precise share due to each heir would have to be reviewed. Be that as it may, the Ḥaram records do show that the courts continued to oversee the disposition of estates when disputes arose among beneficiaries.

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[13]See Lutfi, *al-Quds*, 13-21. Personally, I find the Ottoman seventeenth century procedures suggestive of what may well have happened under the Mamluks:

"According to Ottoman *qānūn*, when anyone died the treasury had to be notified immediately. A representative of the treasury was sent to the home of the deceased to determine whether the state had any rights over the inheritance (as happened when the deceased left no heirs or if the shares of the heirs did not exhaust the property). The main function of the treasury representative at first was to check the legitimacy of heirs. . . .

"The treasury referred cases in which the state had rights to the *qassām* [apportioner of estates for division]. . . . A committee was then formed, under the supervision of the *qassām*, to survey the estate. The committee was made up of the legal heirs, the representative of the treasury when appropriate, *'udūl* from the court, and *ahl al-khibrah*, whose services were needed for the evaluation or sale of properties. . . .

"The committee began by making a survey of the decedent's estate: personal belongings, commodities and equipment, urban properties, loans outstanding, animals, and slaves. . . ." (Galal H. El-Nahal, *The Judicial Administration of Ottoman Egypt in the Seventeenth Century* [Minneapolis and Chicago, 1979], 47-48). While there were obvious differences between Ottoman and what we believe to be Mamluk procedures, the similarities are striking.

[14]El-Nahal, *Judicial Administration*, 35, and our own document no. 591, below.

[15]E.g., no. 709 (*Catalogue*, 269).

[16]References to the fourth due to a widow and the third set aside for charity and Quran recitations occur in no. 355.

Against this sketchy background we shall now proceed to examine our specific case by transcribing, translating, and analyzing the documents.

I. Ḥaram document no. 133. 27 x 18 cms. Paper.
Recto. An estate inventory, dated 10 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 793/9 October 1391, signed by a judge and containing his judgement, written in the right-hand margin, that the document and its contents are to be certified. See figure 1, p. 181.

Arabic Transcription[17]

١. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه توفيقي الحمدُ للَّهِ وَاساله التوفِيقَ
٢. بتاريخ عاشر القعدة الحرام سنة ثلاثة وتسعين وسبعَمئة حصل الوَقوف على رجل ضعيف يسمى شمس الدين محمد بن شمس الدين محمد البعلبكي
٣. الشهير بابن جمال بدار يعرف بعبد الرحمن العتال بحارة المغاربة بالقدس الشريف والذين ذكر انهم يستحقون ارثه شرعا
٤. زوجه الملك بنت حسن بن علي البعلبكيةالحاضرة معه وشقيقاه حسين وستيتة واخوه لامه احمد واخته لامه التي
٥. ولدا محمد العجمي الغا[يبـ]ـون بمدينة بعلبك والذي وجد بالبيت المذكور ضمن كيس اخضر فضة معاملة وضمن كيس ثان حرير
[٧٧٨ درهماً][18]
٦. ذهب افلوري ضمن ورقة عدة وفضة معاملة وبندقية درهم واحد ضمن
[١٦] [٣٤٧ درهماً وربع درهم]
ورقة وضمن كيس ثالث ابيض قطن ذهب
٧. افلورى ضمن ورقة عدة وبندقية ضمن ورقة وفضة معاملة وفضة بيد
[٧] [٧ دراهم] [الف][19]
زوجته المذكورة فيه برسم النفقة [٩١ درهماً]
٨. وذلك بجملته (؟) ذكرت زوجته انه كان مودعا عند شمس الدين الزرعي

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[17]Transcriptions generally follow the orthography of the documents with the addition of missing dots and occasional *hamzah*s.

[18]See for a full explanation of the interlinear numbers the list of numerical notations in appendix B, at the end of the article. In the Arabic transcription of the documents the interlinear numerical abbreviations (*siyāqah*) have been transcribed as numbers and are put between square brackets. This has been done for reasons of typography only.

[19]Or: الفا درهم. Our scribe has written an abbreviation resembling either of these words: or
.

التاجر بالقدس الشريف واحضره اليها (؟) تاريخه والذي

٩. وجد عليه ثياب بدنه قميص ابيض كتان وعمامة قطن وقبع وملوطة طرح وحنين طرح وميسر (؟) بحيده صوف

١٠. ازرق على فرو روس وضمن خرقة قطن بيضا عتيقة قميص ابيض كتان وعمامة صغيرة وشاش قطن وحنده طرح

١١. وملوطة طرح وملوطة ثانية طرح وعرقية راس (؟) بيضا وذلك كله في تسليم زوجته المذكورة ضبطه شهوده وتسلمته (؟) بحضرتهم

١٢. وله ايضا عند شهاب الدين احمد بن سناجق التاجر بالقدس الشريف من الدراهم الفضة الجيدة ثلاثة الاف درهم ودعها في مضانه

١٣. بمقتضى مسطور شرعي بشهادة كاتبه وشهاده الشيخ شهاب الدين احمد بن علم الدين سليمان المالكي وضبط ذلك حسب الاذن الكريم

١٤. سيدنا ومولانا العبد الفقير الى اللّه تعالى قاضي المسلمين الشرفي الانصاري الشافعي الحاكم بالقدس الشريف واعمالها

١٥. وسيخ الشيوخ وناظر الاوقاف المبرورات ادام اللّه تعالى تاييده واجزل من فضله مزيده وذلك في تاريخه اعلاه

[a]

١٦. وقفت

١٧. [على] المذكور وشهدت عليه بوراثه

١٨. وعلى زوجته بتسليم الاعيان تم

١٩. كتبه عبد الرحمن الشافعي

٢٠. شهد عندي

[b]

١٦. وقفت على المذكور اعلاه

١٧. شهدت عليه بوراثه وعلى زوجته بتسليم

١٨. الاعيان المذكوره فيه وعلى شهاب الدين

١٩. ابن سناجق بما عينه كتبه

٢٠. عبد الرحمن النقيب الحنفي

٢١. شهد عندي

[c]

١٦. وقفت

١٧. على المذكور وشهدت

١٨. عليه وعلى زوجته

١٨أ. بما نسب اليهما فيه (؟)

١٩. في تاريخه كتبه عبد الله بن محمد بن حامد تم
٢٠. شهد عندي
[d]
١٦. وقفت على المذكور وشهدت عليه
١٧. بوراثه وعلى زوجته
١٨. بتسليم الاعيان المذكورة
١٨أ. في تاريخه كتبه احمد بن النقيب الحنفي

In the right margin of lines 2-14 is written:

ليشهد بثبوت ما قامت به البينة من اقرار شرعي فيه من العدلة وبالله المستعان
نسختان

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful, in Whom is my success. Praise be to God, I ask Him for success.
2. On the tenth of the sacred [Dhū] al-Qaʿdah 793 [9 October 1391], viewing [the estate of] a weak man named Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Baʿlabakkī,
3. known as Ibn Jamāl, took place in a house known as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAttāl's, in the Maghribī Quarter of Jerusalem the Noble. He mentioned that those legally entitled to his inheritance
4. are his wife, Ālmalik bint Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī al-Baʿlabakkīyah, present with him; his two full siblings, Ḥusayn and Sutaytah; and his brother and sister by his mother, Aḥmad and Altī,
5. the two children of Muḥammad al-ʿAjamī, absent in Baalbek. That which was found in the aforementioned apartment is [as follows]: the contents of a green sack: silver in current use; the contents of a second, silk sack:
   [778 *dirham*s]
6. Florentine gold in a piece of paper, numbering, silver in current use, and
   [16 coins] [347 1/4 *dirham*s]
   one Venetian *dirham* in a piece of paper; the contents of a third, white cotton sack: gold,
7. Florentine, inside a piece of paper, numbering, Venetian [*dirhams*?] inside
   [7 coins]
   a piece of paper, and silver in current use; and silver in the possession of
   [7 *dirham*s] [2000 (?) *dirham*s]
   his aforementioned wife for the purpose of maintenance: [91 *dirham*s].

8. All of that, she mentioned, had been deposited with Shams al-Dīn al-Zuraʻī, the merchant in Jerusalem the Noble, and he brought it to her (?) on the date of the inventory. That which
9. was found on him (Shams al-Dīn al-Baʻlabakkī) were the clothes of his body: a white linen shirt, a cotton turban, a skull cap, a *ṭarḥ* cloak, a *ṭarḥ ḥanīn*, a ميسر with a blue wool حيده
10. on a Russian fur; inside an old piece of white cotton there was a white linen shirt, a small turban; a cotton turban wrapping, a *ṭarḥ* حنده
11. a *ṭarḥ* cloak, another *ṭarḥ* cloak, and a white head(?)-cap. All of that was placed in the safekeeping (?) of his aforementioned wife. It was enumerated by the witnesses, and she received (?) it in their presence.
12. Also, he has with Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Sanājiq, the merchant in Jerusalem the Noble, of good silver *dirham*s, 3000, which he deposited in their usual places,
13. in accordance with a legal document witnessed by its clerk and al-Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʻAlam al-Dīn Sulaymān al-Mālikī. That inventory was made with the generous permission of
14. Our Lord and Master, the Servant Needy of God the Exalted, Qāḍī of the Muslims, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Anṣārī al-Shāfiʻī, Magistrate in Jerusalem the Noble and its districts,
15. Chief Shaykh, and Supervisor of the Blessed Pious Endowments, may God the Exalted perpetuate his support and reward his increase generously from His bounty. That was done on the date mentioned above.

[a]

16. I viewed
17. the aforementioned person and acted as witness to him regarding his heirs
18. and to his wife regarding delivery of the enumerated items. The end.
19. Written by ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shāfiʻī.
20. He testified before me.

[b]

16. I viewed the person mentioned above
17. and acted as witness to him regarding his heirs and to his wife regarding delivery
18. of the items mentioned therein and to Shihāb al-Dīn
19. ibn Sanājiq regarding his deposition. Written by
20. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Naqīb al-Ḥanafī.
21. He testified before me.

[c]
16. I viewed
17. the aforementioned person and acted as witness
18. to him and to his wife
18a. regarding what is attributed to them therein
19. on the document′s date. Written by ʻAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥāmid. The end.
20. He testified before me.

[d]
16. I viewed the person mentioned above and acted as witness to him
17. regarding his heirs and to his wife regarding
18. delivery of the aforementioned items
18a. on the document′s date. Written by Aḥmad ibn al-Naqīb al-Ḥanafī.

Right hand margin:

Let there be witnesses to the certification of the evidence established regarding a legal acknowledgment in it by a veracious person. God is the One Whose help is to be sought.

Two copies

Commentary

This estate inventory conforms to one of the five Ḥaram formats for this type of document, the one used most frequently in fact.[20] Its distinguishing characteristic is the use, after the date, of the opening phrase, *ḥaṣala al-wuqūf ʻalá rajul/imra'ah* (viewing of the estate of so-and-so took place).[21] Like the other types of inventories, this one includes the name and physical condition of the person in question; the place where the inventory was made; identification of the legal heirs, their relationship to the person, and their whereabouts; a list of assets and liabilities, including deposits; the name of the official who authorized the inventory; and the witnessing clauses of the witnesses. Although our document does conform to a standard Ḥaram format, it is unusual, being one of the three that were viewed and approved for certification by a judge. In two instances (no. 133, no. 707), the judge signed the document with his motto and added his judgement for its certification by

[20]Of 423 inventories, 322 are written in this format. *Catalogue*, 63.

[21]Specimens of this type of document have been published by Lutfi, *al-Quds*, 37-38 (no. 82); Asali, *Wathā'iq*, 2:262-69 (nos. 163, 372, 395); Muḥammad ʻĪsá Ṣāliḥīyah, ″Min Wathā'iq al-Ḥaram al-Qudsī al-Sharīf al-Mamlūkīyah,″ *Ḥawlīyāt Kullīyat al-Ādāb, Jāmiʻat al-Kuwayt*, no. 6 (1405/1985), 84-91 (no. 163); and Little, ″The Jews,″ 232-40 (no. 554).

witnesses.[22] In the third (no. 715) the judge did not sign but certified the transaction anyway, on verso.[23] Curiously, our document no. 133 is apparently incomplete. Normally, as we shall see when we examine no. 355, once a judge had endorsed a document with his motto and called for its certification, a consequential document of certification was written on verso, as is indeed the case with the second such inventory, no. 707.[24] Unless, then, the verso of no. 133 has not been photographed (and I do not believe this to be the case), the process of certification was not completed for some unknown reason. Also unknown is why only three of 423 estate inventories should have been singled out for judicial certification.

Contrary to what I have written elsewhere,[25] references to estate inventories can be found in some of the manuals of the Mamluk period, i.e., handbooks of judicial formularies drawn up for the benefit of notaries and judges. Since one of the aims of studying the Ḥaram documents is to determine the degree of conformity of judicial theory with practice, it will be useful to review what two Mamluk *shurūṭ* manuals record about inventories.[26] Only one of these has been published in full: *Jawāhir al-ʻUqūd wa-Muʻīn al-Quḍāh wa-al-Muwaqqiʻīn wa-al-Shuhūd* (The Nature of Contracts and the Aid of Judges, Notaries, and Witnesses) by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Minhājī al-Asyūṭī.[27] An Egyptian Shāfiʻī *faqīh* who served a Mamluk amir as notary, al-Asyūṭī completed his manual of legal principles and models to be used in drafting documents in 865/1461.[28] His references to estate inventories come at the end of his chapter on wills, ″Kitāb al-Waṣāyā,″ where he discusses the procedures that should be followed after the death of the testator and the executor has assumed responsibility for the estate. Once a judge has, if necessary, probated the will (*wa-thabata ʻalá al-ḥākim al-sharīʻah al-muṭahharah mā yuʻtabaru thubūtuhu fīhā bi-al-ṭarīq al-sharʻī*) and ″there is need to sequester the estate″[29] in the presence of the witnesses to the will,

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[22]Two other inventories were drawn up in a court, before a judge, but were not certified: nos. 500 and 698 (*Catalogue*, 265, 269).

[23]Ibid., 221.

[24]Ibid., 238.

[25]Little, ″Significance,″ 202; *Catalogue*, 59. Cf. Lutfi, *al-Quds*, 67.

[26]Two other Mamluk manuals, which will be cited below, do not mention estate inventories.

[27]Ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1375/1955).

[28]Ibid., vol. 1, plate 2 and p. *nūn.*

[29]According to *shurūṭ* formularies for wills, the executor was enjoined to sequester an estate upon the death of the testator so that the proceeds could be used to pay funeral expenses, outstanding debts, legacies, and claims of legal heirs. Ibid., 1:464; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʻAbd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, vol. 9 (Cairo, 1351/1933), 105; and Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī al-Jarawānī, ″al-Kawkab al-Mushriq fīmā Yaḥtāju ilayhi al-Muwaththiq,″ Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, MS Fiqh Shāfiʻī 892, p. 58.

or others, ″pending its settlement, a list is to be drawn up of the effects left by the deceased and surveyed by witnesses.″[30] Here the implication seems to be that estate inventories, for al-Asyūṭī, were necessary only when a will existed. Not surprisingly, given the inherent rigidity of formularies, the list should follow a prescribed order, beginning with coinage, identified by type, weight, and number; cloth goods (*qumāsh*), by type and attributes; books, by title and number of parts; weapons; real estate; and instruments of debt. According to al-Asyūṭī, the list, signed by witnesses to the inventory and containing the names and relationships of the heirs, should be kept under lock or seal until such time as the goods were sold or distributed.[31]

The second, unpublished, *shurūṭ* manual, ″al-Kawkab al-Mushriq fīmā Yaḥtāju ilayhi al-Muwaththiq″ (The Resplendent Star for the Needs of the Notary),[32] was also compiled by a Shāfiʻī scholar, Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī al-Jarawānī, who, according to Carl Brockelmann, flourished around 788/1386.[33] Al-Jarawānī′s references to estate inventories are also subsidiary to a discussion of other matters; they form one of six sections in a chapter on miscellaneous ″Matters from Which a Notary Might Benefit.″ However, unlike al-Asyūṭī, al-Jarawānī did not confine the use of inventories to estates for which there was a will and an executor. On the contrary, he placed his discussion in the context of sales of estates which might be initiated by one of several persons, including ″a judge, the director of the public treasury (*wakīl bayt al-māl*), the trustee of orphans (*amīn al-ḥukm*), or the certified executor of the will (*waṣī thābit al-īṣā*ʼ).″[34] Obviously, then, in al-Jarawānī′s view an estate was subject to inventory if a public official—each of whom figures in the Ḥaram inventories—or a legally certified executor decided that the estate, or parts of it, should be sold. Such a view, as opposed to al-Asyūṭī′s, is somewhat closer to our own characterization of the nature and purpose of the Ḥaram estate inventories insofar as the claims of the Public Treasury are concerned. Nevertheless, the format outlined by al-Jarawānī is very similar to al-Asyūṭī′s: ″The inventory of the possessions left behind by the deceased (*ḍabṭ al-mawjūd al-mukhallaf ʻan al-mayyit*) will not omit coinage, cloth goods, or anything else, so that everything is enumerated in witnessed documents″ (*awrāq mashhūd fīhā*).[35] In addition to the list of possessions, the document contains identification of the heirs, the names of the witnesses (the executor or other persons), and the place and date of the

[30]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 1:464.
[31]Ibid., 465.
[32]See note 29 above.
[33]*Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden, 1936-42), S2:271.
[34]Al-Jarawānī, ″al-Kawkab,″ 151.
[35]Ibid., 152.

inventory. That the inventory was not regarded as an independent document but was drafted as a preliminary record prior to a public sale al-Jarawānī makes clear when he stipulates that each item is to be listed in a specified order "so that there will be no confusion at the time of viewing [the goods] at the sale."[36] Furthermore, as will be seen in our discussion of document no. 591 below, both al-Asyūṭī and al-Jarawānī considered estate inventories to be closely related to another type of document, i.e., records of public sales.

A glance at the text of no. 133 and of other published Ḥaram estate inventories shows that they contain all the elements described by the two *shurūṭ* authors, though there are often deviations from the prescribed order of lists. In my view the most persuasive indication that the inventories described by al-Asyūṭī are equivalent in form to those drawn up by the Ḥaram clerks comes in a clause he recommends for inclusion in the document: *wa-ḥuḍūr man sayaḍaʻu khaṭṭahu bi-ẓāhirihi min al-ʻudūl al-mandūbīn bi-dhālika min majlis al-ḥukm al-ʻazīz al-fulānī fī taʼrīkh kadhā* . . . (in the presence of those witnesses who will place their signatures on verso, delegated by such-and-such court on such-and-such date . . .).[37] Except for the substitution, usually, of *shuhūd* for ʻ*udūl*, and *ākhirihi* for *ẓāhirihi*, the same, or a similar, clause appears on dozens of Ḥaram inventories, though not, unfortunately for our purposes, on no. 133.[38] Thus I would argue that despite deviations from the exact purposes and formats described by the two Mamluk *shurūṭī*s, the Mamluk notaries and clerks of late fourteenth century Jerusalem were clearly not working in a vacuum but were conforming to and adapting practices recommended by jurists. Conversely, one might argue with equal cogency that some of the *shurūṭ* scholars were describing and prescribing practices already in effect to varying degrees in such provincial sections of the Mamluk empire as Jerusalem.

1. *bismillāh* . . . The practice of opening legal documents with pious phrases is commended in Mamluk *shurūṭ* manuals.[39] The same practice was followed in Mamluk chancery documents for what Hans Ernst calls the "Eingangsprotokol."[40]

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[36]Ibid.

[37]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 1:464.

[38]See, e.g., no. 376: *"wa-dhālika bi-ḥuḍūr . . . man yaḍaʻu khaṭṭahu ākhirahu min al-ʻudūl al-mandūbīn min majlis al-ḥukm al-ʻazīz al-Shāfiʻī bi-al-Quds al-Sharīf . . . fī taʼrīkhih,"* Asali, *Wathāʼiq*, 1:266; see also ibid., 264, and 2:35, 39, 44.

[39]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 1:25; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 9:7.

[40]*Die mamlukischen Sultansurkunden des Sinai-Klosters* (Wiesbaden, 1960), xxv-xxvi; but cf. S. M. Stern, "Petitions from the *Mamlūk* Period," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African*

al-ḥamd lillāh wa-as'aluhu al-tawfīq. This is the *'alāmah* (motto) used in lieu of a signature by the officiating judge who reviewed the transactions described in the document as well as the document itself.[41] It was obviously written by a different hand and pen from those used in the text of the document.[42] This particular *'alāmah* was used by al-Qāḍī Sharaf al-Dīn 'Īsá al-Shāfi'ī,[43] about whom more below. As we have already noted, this estate inventory is exceptional for the very reason that a judge has signed it, signifying here that the document should be certified, as per his judgement (*tawqī'*) written in the right-hand margin (also with a thick pen) and his endorsement of the witnessing clauses at the end of the document. Because, however, the process of certification was apparently aborted for this document, we shall defer discussion of certification until we analyze no. 355 recto and verso below, wherein the process ran full course.

2. *bi-ta'rīkh* . . . This, of course, is the date of the inventory. Unfortunately, we do not know precisely when the person died. Obviously this occurred on or after the date of the inventory, when he was deemed to be *ḍa'īf*, literally "weak," and before the sale of goods from his estate, which took place on 23 Rabī' II 794/17 March 1392, a period of five months.[44]
   ḥaṣala al-wuqūf 'alá . . . ; *wa-alladhīna dhakara annahum yastaḥiqqūna irthahu shar'an* (line 3); *wa-alladhī wujida bi-al-bayt* (line 5); *wa-ḍubiṭa dhālika ḥasaba al-idhn al-karīm* (line 13); *wa-dhālika fī ta'rīkhihi a'lāhu* (line 15) are all stock phrases and clauses used routinely in estate inventories.[45]

Studies 29 (1966): 246, and Geoffrey A. Khan, "A Copy of a Decree from the Archives of the *Fāṭimid* Chancery in Egypt," *BSOAS* 49 (1986): 448.

[41]For the use of *'alāmah*s by judges of late Mamluk and early Ottoman Egypt, see Rudolf Vesely, "Die richterlichen Beglaubigungsmittel: Ein Beitrag zur Diplomatik arabischer Gerichtsurkunden," *Orientalia Pragensia* 8 (1971): 12-18.

[42]With what al-Asyūṭī calls "a thick pen" *(al-qalam al-ghalīẓ)* (*Jawāhir*, 2:370).

[43]The same *'alāmah* appears on no. 649, published in my "Two Fourteenth Century Court Records from Jerusalem Concerning the Disposition of Slaves by Minors," *Arabica* 29 (1982): 17-28, reprinted in Little, *History and Historiography.* The same document has been published by Asali, *Wathā'iq*, 2:25-27. See also the marriage contract reproduced in *Catalogue*, plate 11. Since the Ḥaram documents originated in the court of this judge, his *'alāmah* appears on several other—as yet unpublished—documents.

[44]Document no. 591, presented below, is a record of that sale.

[45]Cf. Little, "The Jews," 236.

3. *Ibn Jamāl* not *Ibn Kamāl*.[46] The correct reading is derived from no. 355, line 6, and no. 591, line 3, below. He is further identified as a merchant in the former document.
Ḥārat al-Maghāribah is the famous quarter of Jerusalem adjacent to the Wailing Wall of the Ḥaram, settled since the late twelfth century by immigrants from the Maghrib.[47]

3-5. *alladhīna . . . yastaḥiqqūna* . . . is a clause used to specify the heirs to an estate in accordance with Islamic law. Without going into detail, suffice it to say that Ālmalik was a primary Quranic heir, one of the *ahl al-farā'iḍ*, as wife to Shams al-Dīn. Since he had no descendants, she was entitled to one-quarter of his estate. The uterine brother and sister, as secondary Quranic heirs, would share equally one-third of the estate. The full brother as a secondary male agnate, would inherit as a residuary.[48] In this respect it is interesting that this list of legal heirs differs somewhat from that in no. 355 recto, line 8, where Sutaytah is identified not as a full sibling but only as a half sister to Shams al-Dīn and, like Aḥmad and Altī, one of the children by their mother and Muḥammad al-'Ajamī. This shows how easy it was, and is, for error to creep into legal documents, even certified documents.

5. *al-ghā'ibūn* . . . would probably read *al-ghā'ibīn* if we could restore the missing letters, since this is the form it takes in other Ḥaram documents. Be that as it may, the presence or absence of heirs is usually specified in estate inventories, presumably because this factor would affect the ease with which the estate could be settled and the possibility of intervention by the Bureau of Escheat Estates.[49] In reference to the Ayyubid period S. D. Goitein makes the following point:

> . . . a person whose family was not with him at the time of his demise had to face the dire prospect that his property would be confiscated—a case particularly frequent in Jerusalem where old people used to spend the end of their days in devotion, far away from their families.[50]

wa-alladhī wujida . . . It is noteworthy that the list of Shams al-Dīn's possessions follows the order recommended by al-Asyūṭī and al-Jarawānī

[46]*Catalogue*, 75.

[47]See Little, "The Jews," 250-51, and Lutfi, *al-Quds*, 246-47.

[48]See N. J. Coulson, *Succession in the Muslim Family* (Cambridge, 1971), 41, 67.

[49]See Little, "Relations," 90; Lutfi, *al-Quds*, 26; S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 3, *The Family* (Berkeley, 1978), 277-78.

(coins followed by fabrics), though a cash deposit is added in the end.[51]
al-bayt. Previously, in line 3, the inventory was said to have been conducted in a *dār*. In Ḥaram usage a *bayt* is normally one of the living units comprising a *dār.*
fiḍḍah muʿāmalah is often accompanied in the Ḥaram documents by the name of the mint. Here the term obviously means coinage which was negotiable in Jerusalem at the time and may have included coins from several mints.
sabʿ mi'ah. Although we shall defer discussion of the *siyāqah* numbers until the commentaries on nos. 355 and 591, here it may be noted that the *siyāqah* figures are usually placed under the objects numbered. But in line 7, the money held by Ālmalik for maintenance is incorporated, in *siyāqah*, into the text, while in line 12, three thousand *dirham*s is spelled out in normal script in the text. In other words, the scribe had considerable latitude in treating numbers in the text of a document.

6. *dhahab iflūrī* refers to florins, to be discussed in relation to Mamluk exchange rates in no. 355 recto, line 5, below.
bunduqīyah. Although this term sometimes denotes the Venetian ducat,[52] here it clearly means the Venetian silver *dirham*, known to have been in circulation in Mamluk territory.[53]
7. *nafaqah.* Presumably the amount legally due to the wife from the husband as support for food and shelter for a set period of time. The *shurūṭ* manuals often contain a chapter on documents which spell out such arrangements.[54] Many Ḥaram documents relate to *nafaqah*, particularly that due to minors after their father's death.[55]
8. *mūdaʿan* . . . The depositing of goods or cash for safekeeping with another person was a practice sanctioned by Islamic law. Often a document was drawn up to record this transaction, as, indeed, was the case with another deposit made by Shams al-Dīn to one Ibn Sanājiq (line 13).[56] Perhaps the

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[50]Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1, *Economic Foundations*, 63.

[51]See pp. 103-4, above.

[52]William Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382-1468 A.D.: Systematic Notes*, part 2 (Berkeley, 1957), 46.

[53]Jere L. Bacharach, "A Study of the Correlation between Textual Sources and Numismatic Evidence for Mamluk Egypt and Syria, A.H. 748-872/A.D. 1382-1468" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1967), 229, 375.

[54]E.g., al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:210-48; al-Jarawānī, "al-Kawkab," 87-89; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 9:125-26. Cf. John L. Esposito, *Women in Muslim Family Law* (Syracuse, 1982), 26-27.

[55]See Lutfi, "*Iqrār*s," 258-69; Lutfi and Little, "Emendations," 326-28.

[56]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 1:473-74; al-Jarawānī, "al-Kawkab," 60-61. For a specimen of a Ḥaram

absence of such a document explains why al-Zura‘ī brought the deposits to the house before the death of Shams al-Dīn al-Ba‘labakkī.

Shams al-Dīn al-Zura‘ī al-Tājir is probably the same merchant referred to as Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Zura‘ī al-Tājir bi-al-Quds al-Sharīf in two other Ḥaram documents, nos. 17 and 70, both dated 4 Shawwāl 795/13 August 1393.[57] In these he also figures as the holder of a deposit of a person who died in Jerusalem. These two documents are also interesting in that they both record the same transaction, each being drafted and written by a different witness.

9. *malūṭah* is defined by L. A. Mayer as an ″ordinary cloak″ or an ″upper coat with a collar.″[58]

ṭarḥ is a type of cloth, frequently associated with cotton or linen.[59]

ḥanīn. Dozy says that a *ḥanīnī* ″semble être le nom d′un vêtement″![60] In the Ḥaram documents *ḥanīn* is often associated with wool or linen.

9-10. حيده also written as in no. 591, line 29 below, حندا, sometimes in combination with *ḥizām* (waistband, girdle).

11. *fī taslīm* . . . Occasionally the contents of an estate were turned over to an individual or individuals before the estate was settled but after the inventory had been conducted. In no. 524, for example, the goods of a weak woman were in the *taslīm* and *ḥifẓ* of one Ḥājj Mūsá, where *ḥifẓ* would seem to imply safekeeping.[61] But in no. 154 the goods of a dead woman were turned over to two of the heirs.[62] Whether these goods were being held in safekeeping before the final settlement of the estate is not clear. See also documents nos. 173 and 635.[63]

12. *fī maḍānnihi* should probably be read *fī maẓānnihi*, meaning the places where one would expect to find such things. This confusion of *ḍ* and *ẓ* is a rare example of phonological confusion in the Ḥaram documents.[64]

13. *masṭūr* is one of several general terms used for a legal document. *Ḥujjah*, as we shall see in no. 355, is another term frequently encountered in

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wadī‘ah, no. 487, see *Catalogue*, 322.

[57]*Catalogue*, 226, 230.

[58]*Mamluk Costume: A Survey* (Geneva, 1952), 24; cf. R. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845), 412-13.

[59]See Little, ″The Jews,″ 236.

[60]*Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (Leiden, 1881), 2:230.

[61]*Catalogue*, 136.

[62]Ibid., 179.

[63]Ibid., 85, 149.

[64]See Little, ″Court Records,″ 44.

Ḥaram documents, as is *maktūb*.[65] This particular *masṭūr* would have contained a *wadīʿah*, a document of deposit.

al-Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn . . . al-Mālikī may be al-Mawlá al-Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn al-Mālikī, apparently a court clerk who endorsed the *tawqīʿ* written on no. 279.[66]

14. *Qāḍī al-Muslimīn al-Sharafī* . . . is the Shāfiʿī judge whose *ʿalāmah* appears on line 1. Of shady reputation, al-Qāḍī Sharaf al-Dīn Abū al-Rūḥ ʿĪsá ibn Jamāl al-Dīn Abī al-Jūd Ghānim al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī al-Shāfiʿī is the Shāfiʿī judge from whose court the Ḥaram documents are derived. In addition to the offices specified in the document he was Shaykh of the Ṣalāḥīyah Khānqāh.[67] For the title, al-ʿAbd al-Faqīr ilá Allāh taʿālá, see commentary on no. 355 verso, lines 2-3 below, and no. 591, lines 6, 13-14 below.

16-21. These lines contain the witnessing clauses of the four witnesses to the documents, each of which is introduced by the clause, *waqaftu ʿalá al-madhkūr*. Three of these clauses, [a], [b], and [d], specify that they bore witness to the identification of Shams al-Dīn′s heirs and to his wife′s receipt of the inventoried goods; [c], however, mentions neither the heirs nor the receipt of goods—only to what was attributed (*bi-mā nusiba ilayhimā*) to the husband and the wife in the document. I cannot account for the discrepancy. In any case these clauses make clear that three aspects of the process were deemed to be legally important by the witnesses: the inventory itself, identification of the heirs, and the *taslīm* of the goods.

It is also noteworthy that three of the clauses, [a], [b], and [c], were endorsed by the judge with the formula, written like his *ʿalāmah* at the top and his *tawqīʿ* in the margin, with a thick pen, *shahida ʿindī*, rather than the usual *shahida ʿindī bi-dhālika*, as in no. 355 below. According to al-Asyūṭī this judicial notation is called in Arabic *al-raqm bi-al-shuhūd*,[68] and signifies that the judge has heard the testimony of witnesses whose legal integrity is known to him:

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[65]Other terms used by notaries are *kitāb, wathīqah, ṣakk*. See Émile Tyan, *Le notariat et le régime de la preuve par écrit dans la pratique du droit musulman*, 2nd ed. (Beirut, 1959), 44.

[66]*Catalogue*, 45.

[67]For other biographical details, see *Catalogue*, 9-10; Little, ″Court Records,″ 24-25; idem, ″The Jews,″ 238-39.

[68]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:370. But not *tarqīm* as in Lutfi, ″*Iqrār*s,″ 281. Cf. the work of still another Mamluk notary in Gabriela Guellil, *Damaszener Akten des 8./14. Jahrhunderts nach aṭ-Ṭarsūsīs Kitāb al-Iʿlām: Eine Studie zum arabischen Justizwesen* (Bamberg, 1985), 300-302, 366-67.

> *Raqm* varies in consideration of the testimony of the witnesses. If they are persons whose legal integrity has been confirmed (*al-mu'addalīn*) and who sit in central offices (*marākiz*) according to Syrian practice or in shops (*ḥawānīṭ*) according to Egyptian, the judge notes (*yarqumu*) for each of them who has testified before him (*shahida 'indī bi-dhālika*). If they are not professionals (*al-jālisīn*), but the judge is recognizant of their legal integrity (*'adālah*), he makes the same notation for them. But if he is not cognizant of their legal integrity, he requests attestation to this from an authorized person. If witnesses are accredited in his presence, he notes under the name of each, *shahida bi-dhālika wa-zukkiya.*[69]

In our document it would seem that the judge was cognizant of the integrity of three of the four witnesses. His failure to have the integrity of the fourth attested to (*zukkiya*) may mean simply that he realized that the testimony of three accredited witnesses was more than was required to certify the document.[70]

Margin:

li-yushhada bi-thubūt mā qāmat bi-hi al-bayyinah . . . fī-hi . . . This notation, written with a thick pen, constitutes the third element, along with the *'alāmah* and the *raqm* of a document deemed by a judge to be certifiable. Called a *tawqī'* by al-Asyūṭī, it contains the judge's verdict that witnesses should be called to attest to his opinion that the transactions recorded in the document and, by implication, the document itself are legally valid.[71] As we have already noted, such a document is usually accompanied by a consequential document written on verso, containing the certification, as is the case with no. 355 below. Since no. 133 lacks this element, we shall defer full discussion of the *tawqī'* to the commentary on no. 355.
mā qāmat bi-hi al-bayyinah. See commentary on no. 355, lines 32-33 below.

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[69]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:370.

[70]It is well known that although only two male witnesses were needed to attest to Islamic documents, supplementary witnesses were often produced. See Jeanette A. Wakin, *The Function of Documents in Islamic Law: The Chapter on Sales from Ṭaḥāwī's* Kitāb al-Shurūṭ al-Kabīr (Albany, 1972), 48-49.

[71]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:370-71. Cf. Lutfi, "*Iqrār*s," 282.

min iqrār shar'ī . . . This reading, along with *min al-'adalah*, is conjectural. If accurate, it refers to what is tacitly the wife's legal acknowledgment (*iqrār*) regarding her husband's estate.
nuskhatān. Many Ḥaram documents bear a notation in the lower right hand margin, close to the right-hand witnessing clause (which I believe to be that of the witness who actually drafted the document), which indicates how many copies were prepared.[72] In fact, al-Nuwayrī notes that it was the practice to make such a notation "next to (*'inda*) the witnessing clause."[73]

II. Ḥaram document no. 591 recto and verso. 27 x 18 cm. Paper.
A record of a public sale, dated 23 Rabī' II 794/17 March 1392, of chattels from the estate of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ba'labakkī, authorized by a Ḥanafī judge in Jerusalem.

Arabic Transcription

Recto A. See figure 2, right, p. 182.

١. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
٢. مخزومة
٣. مباركة بما ابيع من الحوايج المخلفة عن المرحوم شمس الدين محمد بن شمس الدين محمد بن جمال الدين البعلبكي
٤. بمدينة القدس الشريف المتوفى الى رحمة الله تعالى قبل تاريخه ابيع ذلك في وفا
٥. دين شرعي ثبت في ذمة شمس الدين محمد المسمى اعلاه للجناب العالي المخدومي
٦. الناصري بن الفقير الى الله تعالى القاضى امين الدين ابي الروح
٧. عيسى اعز الله اقضائه بطريق الحوالة الشرعية من خالته المصونة الملك
٨. بنت بدر الدين حسن بن علي بن ابي النور البعلبكي زوجة شمس الدين محمد
٩. المسمى اعلاه بمقتضى مسطور شرعى يتضمن اقرار شمس الدين محمد المذكور اعلاه
١٠. لزوجته الملك المذكورة اعلاه بمبلغ عشرة الاف درهم تاريخ الاقرار ثالث
١١. عشر شوال سنة ثمان وثمانين وسبع مية تاريخ الحوالة من الملك

[72] I have only recently been able to decipher what I refer to as "squiggle" throughout my *Catalogue*.
[73] Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 9:9.

المذكورة الى بن اختها

١٢. الجناب الناصري من[74] المشار اليه اعلاه على زوجها المذكور اعلاه ثالث عشرى

١٣. صفر سنة تسع وثمانين وسبع مية وثبت مضمون الاقرار لدا سيدنا العبد الفقير

١٤. الى الله تعالى القضائي البدري الرضي الحنفي خليفة الحكم العزيز الحنفي

١٥. بدمشق المحروسة تاريخ الثبوت مستهل الحجة سنة ثمان وثمانين وسبع مية وثبت

١٦. مضمون الحوالة لدا سيدنا ومولانا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى القضائي

١٧. الشمسي الاخنائي الحاكم بالعساكر المنصورة وخليفة الحكم العزيز

١٨. الشافعي بدمشق المحروسة تاريخ الثبوت ثامن عشري شهر ربيع الاول سنة

١٩. اربع وتسعين وسبع مية واتصل الثبوتين المذكورين اعلاه مجلس الحكم العزيز

٢٠. الحنفي بالقدس الشريف لدا خليفته العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى القضائي التقوى

٢١. الحنفي ايده الله تعالى وابيع ذلك بحضور من وضع خطه من الشهود المندوبين

٢٢. من مجلس الحكم العزيز القضائي التقوي الحنفي المشار اليه اعلاه بتاريخ

٢٣. ثالث عشري شهر ربيع الاخر سنة اربع وتسعين وسبع مية

٢٤. مفصلة من الدراهم

٢٥. شاش قطن بيلون ابيض [٣٨٢ درهماً وربع درهم]

٢٦. [٢٨ درهماً ونصف درهم] [١٦ درهماً وربع درهم]

٢٧. قميصين كتان شاش قطن

٢٨. [١٤ درهماً] [١٦ درهماً ونصف درهم]

٢٩. حندا صوف ازرق حنين طرح بفرو

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[74] This word has been crossed out in the document.

٣٠. بفرو روس — مصيص
٣١. [٩٨ درهماً] — [٤٥ درهماً ونصف درهم]

Recto B. See figure 2, left, p. 182.

١. حنين طرح — ملوطة طرح
٢. [١٦ درهماً] — [٢٠ درهماً]
٣. ملوطة طرح — ملوطة قضي
٤. [٩ دراهم وربع درهم] — [١٦ درهماً]
٥. حندا فضي — عباه اكمونى
٦. [٣٨ درهماً] — [١٥ درهماً ونصف درهم]
٧. عباة ونص عباة — بقجة وجوبين
٨. [٩ دراهم] — [٤ دراهم ونصف وربع درهم]
٩. سجادة عتيقة — بساط عتيق
١٠. [درهمان] — [٨ درهماً ونصف درهم]
١١. قبع وثلاث عرقيات — لباد وخلق ـــــ؟ـــــ
١٢. [٤ دراهم] — [١٤ درهماً ونصف درهم]
١٣. المصروف من ذلك
١٤. فيما يذكر — [١٨ درهماً وربع درهم]
١٥. مفصلة
١٦. دلالة بيع — حمولة حوايج
١٧. [٦ دراهم] — [نصف درهم]
١٨. ثمن ورق — شهود بيع ثلاث نفر
١٩. [ربع درهم] — [١٠ دراهم]
٢٠. صيرفي
٢١. [درهم ونصف درهم]
٢٢. البارز بعد ذلك بما قبض ذلك جميعه الجناب الناصري المشار
٢٣. اليه اعلاه ثمنه من الدين الثابت حسب ما عين فيه مبلغ
٢٤. وهذه الاعيان هي التي كانت بمودع [٣٦٤ درهماً]
٢٥. الحكم العزيز الشافعي كتبه جمال الدين خليل
٢٦. وحسبني الله ونعم الوكيل

Verso C. See figure 3, right, p. 183.

١. والحمد لله وحده وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى اله وصحبه وسلم

Verso D. See figure 3, left, p. 183.

[a]

١. حضرت
٢. بيع القماش المعين باطنا وشهدت على الجناب
٣. الناصري بقبض المبلغ الباقي بعد
٤. المصروف كتبه يوسف بن سليم الحنفي تم

[b]

١. حضرت
٢. البيع على ما شرح فيه باطنا وشهدت على الجناب الناصري بقبض المبلغ
٣. الباقي بعد المصروف
٤. كتبه ناصر بن سالم ـ؟ـ

[c]

١. حضرت
٢. مبيع القماش المذكور باطنا على ما شرح فيه
٣. وشهدت على الجناب المشار اليه بقبض المبلغ
٤. المتاخر بعد المصروف باطنه في تاريخ المبيع
٥. كتبه ابراهيم بن محمد بن حامد

Translation

Recto A

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2. A blessed *makhzūmah*
3. for the sale of chattels left in the estate of the late Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Jamāl al-Dīn al-Baʻlabakkī
4. in the city of Jerusalem the Noble, who was taken into the mercy of God the Exalted before the date of this document. These were sold in fulfillment
5. of a legal debt, certified as being the liability of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, named above, to the High Excellency and Master
6. Nāṣir al-Dīn *ibn* of the Needy of God the exalted al-Qāḍī Amīn al-Dīn Abū al-Rūḥ
7. ʻĪsá, may God strengthen his judgements, by a legal transfer from his maternal aunt, the virtuous Ālmalik
8. bint Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan ibn ʻAlī ibn Abī al-Nūr al-Baʻlabakkī, wife of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad
9. named above, in accordance with a legal document containing the acknowledgment of the above mentioned Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad

10. to his wife, the above mentioned Ālmalik, for the amount of ten thousand *dirham*s. The date of the acknowledgment is
11. 13 Shawwāl 788 [7 November 1386], and the date of the transfer from the aforementioned Ālmalik to the son of her sister
12. the Excellency Nāṣir al-Dīn referred to above, from her husband mentioned above, is 23
13. Ṣafar 789 [15 March 1387]. The contents of the acknowledgment were certified by Our Master the Servant Needy of
14. God the Exalted al-Qāḍī Badr al-Dīn al-Raḍī al-Ḥanafī, Deputy Judge of the Esteemed Ḥanafī Court
15. in Damascus the Protected, the date of certification being 1 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 788 [24 December 1386].
16. The contents of the transfer were certified by Our Master and Lord the Needy of God the Exalted al-Qāḍī
17. Shams al-Dīn al-Ikhnā'ī, Magistrate for the Victorious Armies and Deputy Judge of the Esteemed Shāfi'ī Court
18. in Damascus the Protected, the date of certification being 28 Rabī' I
19. 794 [23 February 1392]. The two certifications mentioned above were conveyed to the Esteemed Ḥanafī Court
20. in Jerusalem the Noble, to its deputy the Servant Needy of God the Exalted al-Qāḍī Taqī al-Dīn
21. al-Ḥanafī, may God the Exalted support him. The sale was conducted in the presence of those witnesses who affix their signatures, delegated
22. by the Esteemed Court of al-Qāḍī Taqī al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī referred to above, on
23. 23 Rabī' II 794 [17 March 1392].

24.	Details		*dirham*s
24a.			[382 1/4]
25.	a cotton turban wrapping	a white بيلون	
26.	28 1/2 *dirham*s	16 1/4 *dirham*s	
27.	two linen shirts	a cotton turban wrapping	
28.	14 *dirham*s	16 1/2 *dirham*s	
29.	a blue wool حندا	a *ṭarḥ ḥanīn* with a	
30.	with Russian fur	*Maṣīṣ* fur	
31.	98 *dirham*s	45 1/2 *dirham*s	

Recto B

1.	a *ṭarḥ ḥanīn*	a *ṭarḥ* cloak
2.	16 *dirham*s	20 *dirham*s
3.	a *ṭarḥ* cloak	a mildewed (?) cloak
4.	9 1/4 *dirham*s	16 (?) *dirham*s
5.	a mildewed حندا	a light brown wrapper
6.	38 *dirham*s	15 1/2 *dirham*s
7.	one and a half wrappers	a bundle with red kerchiefs
8.	9 *dirham*s	4 3/4 (?) *dirham*s
9.	an old prayer rug	an old carpet
10.	2 *dirham*s	8 1/2 *dirham*s
11.	a cap and three skull caps	an outer garment and a worn . . .
12.	4 *dirham*s	14 1/2 *dirham*s
13.	The expenses for that	
14.	as mentioned	18 1/4 *dirham*s
15.	Details	
16.	sale brokerage	portage of chattels
17.	6 *dirham*s	1/2 *dirham*
18.	price of paper	three witnesses to the sale
19.	1/4 *dirham*	10 *dirham*s
20.	money changer	
21.	1 1/2 *dirham*s	
22.	The balance after that, all of which was received by the High Excellency Nāṣir al-Dīn referred to	
23.	above, toward the value of the certified debt in accordance with what is specified in the document, is	The amount of
24.	These chattels were those in the depository of	364 *dirham*s
25.	the Esteemed Shāfiʻī Court. Written by Jamāl al-Dīn Khalīl.	
26.	God is my sufficiency. What an excellent Guardian is He!	

Verso C

1. Praise be to God alone. God bless and grant peace to Our Master Muḥammad, his family, and his followers.

Verso D

[a]

1. I attended
2. the sale of the cloth specified on recto and served as witness to the Excellency
3. Nāṣir al-Dīn′s receipt of the amount remaining
4. after expenses. Written by Yūsuf ibn Salīm al-Ḥanafī.
   The end.

[b]

1. I attended
2. the sale as set forth therein on recto and served as witness to the Excellency Nāṣir al-Dīn′s receipt of the amount
3. remaining after expenses.
4. Written by Nāṣir ibn Sālim—?—

[c]

1. I attended
2. the sale of the cloth mentioned on recto as set forth therein
3. and served as witness to the aforementioned Excellency′s receipt of the amount
4. remaining due after expenses on recto on the date of the sale.
5. Written by Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥāmid.

Commentary

As we have seen in the commentary on document no. 133, according to two compilers of Mamluk *shurūṭ* manuals, estate inventories were to be drawn up only in special cases, one of these being when an authorized person decided that goods left in an estate should be sold for some reason or other. Although we have reason to believe that the Ḥaram estate inventories were not so restricted, we need to refer again to the *shurūṭ* manuals on the sale of estates in order to set the present document, a record of the sale of chattels from the estate of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Baʻlabakkī, in the perspective of Mamluk notaries.

Interestingly enough, the sale, conducted under the auspices of a Ḥanafī court in Jerusalem, was held not to satisfy the claims of the legal heirs but to pay a debt which Shams al-Dīn had owed his wife, Ālmalik, which she subsequently transferred to her nephew, al-Amīr Nāṣir al-Dīn. The sale was not held until five months after the inventory had been made. This delay may be accounted for by one or both of

two factors. Shams al-Dīn may have died considerably later than the inventory since he was only ″weak″ when it was conducted. But also important is the fact that Nāṣir al-Dīn, in support of his entitlement, had to produce in Jerusalem two documents that had been certified by courts in Damascus. One of these certifications was granted only three and a half weeks earlier. Accordingly we may surmise that some time must have been lost in communications between the two cities.

Recto A

2-3. *makhzūmah mubārakah.* Among the Ḥaram documents there are twenty-three labelled *makhzūmah*s.[75] All of these except one contain itemized records of court-authorized sales of estates of persons who died in Jerusalem. The exception, no. 539, contains an itemized record of crop revenues included in the income of a *waqf*.[76] In addition there are two documents (nos. 530 and 580), among nineteen Ḥaram documents entitled *waraqah mubārakah*, which are written in the same format as the *makhzūmah*s and which also contain records of estate sales.[77] Several of the other *waraqah*s, like the exceptional *makhzūmah*, deal with *waqf* or other types of institutional finances or with estate matters. Thus we can say that a Ḥaram *makhzūmah* is one of two types of documents drafted to record the sale of chattels from an estate, though a *makhzūmah* might be used for other purposes.[78]

All the *makhzūmāt* have the same format.[79] Written on a sheet of paper folded twice vertically in the middle so as to form four narrow pages, each page is divided into two parts divided by a fold. Page recto A begins with a preamble that contains a heading, the name of the owner of the chattels, the names of those who authorized the sale and the beneficiaries of the sale, and other relevant details. On the right-hand half of this page, under

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[75]*Catalogue*, 335-47.

[76]Ibid., 338.

[77]Ibid., 347-56.

[78]For reference to a *makhzūmah* produced in a criminal case in Damascus in 682/1283-84, in al-Jazarī′s *Ḥawādith al-Zamān*, see Ulrich Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit* (Freiburg, 1969), 14. Elsewhere Haarmann points to the similarity between *makhzūmah*s and a Ḥaram *mufradah* containing a list of books and other items sold from a Jerusalem estate: ″Die Leiden des *Qāḍī* ibn aṣ-Ṣā'igh,″ in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients*, ed. Hans R. Roemer and Albrecht Noth (Leiden, 1981), 17, and ″The Library of a Fourteenth Century Jerusalem Scholar,″ in *The Third International Conference on Bilad al-Sham: Palestine*, vol. 1, *Jerusalem* (Amman, 1983), 105-10, reprinted in *Der Islam* 61 (1984): 327-33.

[79]For photographs of other *makhzūmah*s see *Catalogue*, plates 13 and 14, and Asali, *Wathā'iq*, 2:162-63 (no. 586), with transcription, 157-61. Lutfi (*al-Quds*, 63-66 [no. 767j]) also transcribes and translates a *makhzūmah.*

the preamble, there is an itemized list of the objects sold, the price written in *siyāqah* script for each item sold, and, sometimes, the name of the purchaser. This list continues on subsequent pages if necessary and ends with itemized expenses incurred for the sale, with a notation of the net balance. The gross value of the sale is noted on recto A, in the left-hand half of the page, under the preamble. On a separate page, verso D in the present document, the witnessing clauses are written parallel to the center fold. Since verso C was not needed for the list, a pious sentiment was written on it.

Curiously, given the standardization of the Ḥaram *makhzūmah*s, the *shurūṭ* manuals lack formularies precisely corresponding to the practice of the Jerusalem notaries, as, indeed, was the case for the estate inventories. Nevertheless, both al-Asyūṭī and al-Jarawānī discuss similar documents in the context of estate settlement. If, says the former, goods from an estate were sold after probate of the will and drafting of the inventory, documents of sale (*awrāq al-mabī‘*) were drawn up. These contained (a) a heading with the name of the deceased; (b) a detailed presentation of the contents of the inventory, including the names of the heirs; (c) the name of the person charged with conducting the sale (e.g., the executor of the will, an heir or his agent) plus the names of the witnesses, broker, and money changer; (d) an itemized list of the goods sold with the price opposite, along with the name of the purchaser and the broker; (e) the expenses incurred in the market, broken down into brokerage, rent, witness fees, etc., along with the balance; and (f) a statement of receipt of the proceeds.[80] In many, if not most, respects, al-Asyūṭī's *waraqat al-mabī‘* sounds similar to the Ḥaram *makhzūmah*s, the main difference being that the latter do not contain the names of the purchasers, the brokers, or the money changers. Moreover, the *makhzūmah* for al-Asyūṭī seems to be a distinct document, for he goes on to say, "If the sale was conducted in a single market, a *makhzūmah* should be written for each day of the sale," and given to the executor, "in order to calm his heart."[81] The format of the *makhzūmah* is similar to that of the *awrāq al-mabī‘* and should contain (a) the heading (*makhzūmah mubārakah bi-mā buyi‘a min tarikat . . .*); (b) the name of the deceased; (c) the name of the executor who undertakes the sale along with the name of the wife of the deceased and her agent; (d) the name of the market where the sale was conducted; (e) a list of the items sold and their

[80]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 1:465-66.
[81]Ibid., 466.

price; and (f) itemization of daily expenses subtracted from the total sales.[82] Still another document was to be drawn up summarizing the *makhzūmah*s: a *jāmi'ah mubārakah*.[83]

For al-Jarawānī, too, a *makhzūmah* is one of several documents used in settling estates which required a public sale of chattels left by the deceased. These documents include an estate inventory (*ḍabṭ al-mawjūd al-mukhallaf 'an al-mayyit*), *makhzūmah*s, and a *jāmi'ah mubārakah*. In one passage al-Jarawānī, like al-Asyūṭī, characterizes the *makhzūmah* as a daily record of sale, containing much the same material as al-Asyūṭī's model. However, in a later passage al-Jarawānī briefly describes a *makhzūmat al-mabī'*, which seems to be an independent document, also similar to al-Asyūṭī's model but with the addition of a clause, declaring that the net balance from the sale was divided among the heirs according to their legal shares.[84]

Since al-Asyūṭī's and al-Jarawānī's conceptions of the purpose and content of the *makhzūmah*s are similar, how do we account for the discrepancies between formularies and the Ḥaram *makhzūmāt*? Here we can only speculate, but it is important to recognize that the *shurūṭ* scholars of the Mamluk period did not regard estate inventories or *makhzūmah*s as primary Islamic documents of the same rank as acknowledgments, bills of sale, endowment deeds, marriage contracts, court records, etc. In fact, two authors, al-Nuwayrī and al-Ṭarsūsī, did not mention these two documents at all, and al-Asyūṭī and al-Jarawānī relegated them to chapters on other subjects—wills, for the former, and miscellaneous matters, for the latter. Accordingly we can surmise that an ability to draft estate inventories and *makhzūmah*s was not regarded as essential equipment for a notary, perhaps because they were not rooted in, or justified by, Islamic law. In addition, we should not assume that any of these particular *shurūṭ* works were available to or used by Jerusalem notaries, who may well have been following a local tradition or traditions which may, or may not, have been codified in a manual or manuals. Instead we refer to these four manuals as representative of those compiled under the Mamluks, without knowledge of how widely they circulated. That being the case, and taking into account the short shrift given to estate inventories and *makhzūmah*s, it is surprising that the Ḥaram specimens contain most, if not all, the elements described by al-Asyūṭī and al-Jarawanī.

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[82]Ibid.

[83]Ibid.

[84]Al-Jarawānī, "al-Kawkab," 151, 256.

makhzūmah mubārakah bi-mā ubīʿa min al-ḥawāʾij al-mukhallafah ʿan al-marḥūm, the heading of the document, corresponds fairly closely to that recommended by al-Asyūṭī: *makhzūmah mubārakah bi-mā buyiʿa min tarikat fulān.*[85]

4-5. *fī wafāʾ dayn* . . . provides the reason for the sale, i.e., to settle a debt originally owed by the deceased to his wife. Islamic law countenances three types of claims against estates: burial, obligations incurred by the deceased, and succession to his property, in that order of precedence. This means that Shams al-Dīn's debts would have to be paid before his heirs designated in his estate inventory could make a claim on the estate.[86] It is noteworthy, to say the least, that the estate inventory makes no reference to the original debt or to its transfer.

5. *al-Janāb al-ʿĀlī*, according to al-Asyūṭī, is not a title denoting high rank. It was applied to notables in the non-slave regiment of the Mamluk army, i.e., the Ḥalqah, as well as leading non-commissioned officers and functionaries in the service of Mamluk amirs.[87] Since Nāṣir al-Dīn is further identified in document no. 355 recto, below, as a Baʿlabakkī amir, it would seem safe to conclude that he was indeed a member of the Ḥalqah, especially since he was the son of a *qāḍī*. I have not been able to find any references to him or his father in Mamluk chronicles or biographical dictionaries.
al-makhdūmī is not mentioned by al-Asyūṭī. Al-Qalqashandī states merely that it denotes someone who bears high enough a rank to be served by someone else.[88]

6. *al-Nāṣirī* is the polite, *nisbah*, way of referring to a man who bears the *laqab* (honorific title) Nāṣir al-Dīn. Unfortunately his *ism* (given name) is not mentioned in either document, but his *laqab* is often associated with military officers named Muḥammad and, less frequently, ʿUmar.[89]
al-Faqīr ilá Allāh taʿālá is a title associated with persons of piety or a pious office but who enjoy no great distinction.[90] The absence of a loftier

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[85]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 1:466.

[86]Muhammad Abu Zahra, "Family Law," in *Law in the Middle East*, ed. Majid Khadduri and Herbert J. Liebesny (Washington, D.C., 1955), 161-62.

[87]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:590.

[88]*Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ* (Cairo, 1913-19), 5:27.

[89]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:574-75.

[90]See my "Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds for Slaves from *al-Ḥaram aš-Šarīf*," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 131 (1981), reprinted in Little, *History and Historiography*, 302.

title and of mention in literary sources indicates that he was a low-ranking judge. In no. 355 he is further identified as *ibn al-Bayḥānī*, which probably refers to the south Arabian origins of the family, *Bayḥān* being a wadi and territory in Yemen.[91]

7. *al-ḥawālah al-shar'īyah.* A *ḥawālah* is a type of legal document by which one person transfers a debt owed to him or her to the benefit of a third party. Al-Asyūṭī devotes a short chapter to the *ḥawālah*, and al-Jarawānī and al-Nuwayrī discuss it briefly.[92]

9. *masṭūr shar'ī.* See the commentary on line 13 of no. 133, above.

10. *iqrār.* This term, meaning legal acknowledgment, is one we have already encountered in the margin of no. 133 above. Though an *iqrār* normally constitutes an independent document with a distinct format of its own,[93] it frequently forms a constituent part of other types of documents. In fact, al-Nuwayrī's formulary for a *ḥawālah* begins with *aqarra fulān . . . iqrāran shar'īyan. . . .*[94] In the present case, however, the *iqrār* seems to have been an independent document acknowledging Shams al-Dīn's indebtedness to his wife, written on a larger document, referred to here as a *masṭūr* and in no. 355, line 15, as a *ḥujjah.*

13. *thabata* in notarial parlance refers to the process whereby a judge certifies the validity of a document and its content. Thus, in the *tawqī'* written in the margin of no. 133 above, *li-yushhada bi-thubūt mā qāmat bi-hi al-bayyinah* . . . , the judge is calling for witnesses to certify the legal evidence established in the document. We shall discuss this process more fully in connection with no. 355 below.

13-14. *Sayyidunā al-'Abd al-Faqīr ilá Allāh ta'ālá*, according to al-Asyūṭī, is a title used for deputy judges (*khalīfat al-ḥukm*, *nā'ib al-ḥukm*) in Syria as distinct from a longer title used for Egyptian deputies.[95]

14. *al-Qaḍā'ī al-Badarī* . . . refers to al-Qāḍī Badr al-Dīn ibn Sharaf al-Dīn ibn Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī, *Nā'ib al-Ḥukm wa-Shaykh al-Ḥanafīyah*, who served as deputy to various judges in Damascus from as early as 784/1382 until his death in 800/1398. He was an acknowledged expert on Ḥanafī

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[91]O. Löfgren, "Bayḥān," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd. ed., 1:1132.

[92]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 1:179-80; al-Jarawānī, "al-Kawkab," 27-28; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 9:17. Cf. A. Dietrich, "Ḥawāla," *EI*², 3:283.

[93]See Lutfi, "*Iqrār*s," 255-58, and *Catalogue*, 188-89.

[94]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 9:17.

[95]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:594.

jurisprudence, Arabic language, Quranic recitation, and other subjects, and taught in at least three *madrasah*s in Damascus.[96]

16. *Sayyidunā wa-Mawlānā*. Oddly enough, this title, as opposed to *Sayyidunā* alone, was used, according to al-Asyūṭī, to differentiate a Chief Qāḍī from a deputy, both in Egypt and Syria.[97] But the former could also be used for "leaders in knowledge, legal opinion, and instruction" (*mashā'ikh*), so that the drafter of this document may have bestowed it on this Deputy Qāḍī in this sense, since he identifies him as *khalīfat al-ḥukm* in line 17.

16-17. *al-Qaḍā'ī al-Shamsī* . . . refers to Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʻUthmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn ʻĪsá ibn Badrān ibn Raḥmah al-Saʻdī al-Ikhnā'ī al-Shāfiʻī, known as al-Ikhnā'ī, born in 757/1356 and died in Damascus in 816/1413. He served in many judicial and administrative capacities in Gaza, Raḥbah, Zurʻah, Aleppo, Damascus, and Egypt; he also delivered *fatwá*s and taught in a *madrasah* in Damascus. He is known to have been Deputy Qāḍī in Damascus in 793/1391 and 797/1394-1395 in addition to 794/1392 mentioned in the document.[98] In his obituary in *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, Ibn Taghrī Birdī refers to al-Ikhnā'ī as *qāḍī al-quḍāh*.[99]

17. *al-Ḥākim bi-al-ʻAsākir al-Manṣūrah* is probably equivalent to *qāḍī al-ʻaskar*, the judge "responsible for handling judicial cases which arose while the army was on campaign."[100] None of the literary sources mentions that al-Ikhnā'ī held this post.

19. *wa-ittaṣala al-thubūtayn* . . . is a stock phrase signifying that a document certified by one court has been conveyed to and received by another court. According to al-Asyūṭī this conveyance could be effected in two ways: (a) by a *kitāb ḥukmī*, a court letter, issued by a judge and addressed to any Muslim judges that might be concerned, containing a summary of a legally certified transaction with the names of witnesses; and (b) by *shuhūd al-ṭarīq*, mobile witnesses, who accompany a claimant from one court to another in order to testify to the certification of the contents of a document issued by the former. Al-Asyūṭī asserts that judicial letters are little used at present, their effectiveness having atrophied, but produces, nevertheless, formularies

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[96]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīḫ Ibn Qāḍī Šuhba*, ed. Adnan Darwich (Damascus, 1977), 1:686-87.

[97]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:594. Cf. no. 133, line 14 above.

[98]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīḫ*, 1:388, 544, 545; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1971), 14:125.

[99]Gaston Wiet, *Les biographies du Manhal Safi* (Cairo, 1932), 351.

[100]Joseph H. Escovitz, *The Office of Qâḍî al-Quḍât in Cairo under the Baḥrî Mamlûks* (Berlin, 1984), 187.

to be followed by both the original and the recipient judges.[101] The fourteenth-century Ḥanafī judge of Damascus, Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭarsūsī, also produces formularies for correspondence between *qāḍī*s regarding legal transactions that transpired in their courts.[102] In the present document there is no indication as to the method of transfer.

20-21. *al-Qāḍī al-Taqawī* . . . refers to al-Qāḍī Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-Anṣāf wa-Abū Bakr ibn Fakhr al-Dīn Abī ʻAmr ʻUthmān ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Abī al-Khayrāt Khalīl al-Ḥanafī. According to the historian Mujīr al-Dīn al-ʻUlaymī, Taqī al-Dīn was known to have been serving as Deputy Ḥanafī Qāḍī in Jerusalem in the year 796/1394 and thereafter.[103] This document establishes, of course, that he held that position as early as 795.

25. *shāsh quṭn.* It is interesting to compare the items contained on this list with those included in the inventory (no. 133) of Shams al-Dīn′s estate compiled five months earlier, recalling that the latter goods had been placed in the *taslīm* (safekeeping?) of his wife. Although all of the items in the inventory, except two turbans, are listed among the goods sold, the *makhzūmah* records several items sold that do not appear in the inventory: two rugs, for example, and several garments (two *ḥanīn*s, two *ʻabā'ah*s, a *shāsh*, etc.). Why? The simplest explanation is that the inventory was not accurate; for some reason or another, the witnesses failed to record all the possessions that showed up later at the sale. But it should also be recalled that we do not know when Shams al-Dīn died so that some of these possessions may have been acquired during the interval between the inventory and his death. Noteworthy, too, is the fact that we learn nothing from the *makhzūmah* about the various amounts of cash mentioned in the inventory as belonging to Shams al-Dīn.

بيلون is perhaps Persian *pīlavan*, ″a fine and costly silk.″[104] In context this seems more likely than *biliyūn*: bucket.[105] But my reading is conjectural.

لير The *makhzūmah* offers arithmetical difficulties associated with the use of the Mamluk *siyāqah.* Every Ḥaram *makhzūmah* drawn up for the sale of an estate contains five sets of computations in a standardized format: (a)

[101] Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:403-5.

[102] Guellil, *Akten*, 217-18.

[103] *Al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Ta'rīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl* (Amman, 1973), 2:218.

[104] F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary* (London, 1892), 269, transliterated as *pelawan*.

[105] Dozy, *Supplément*, 1:137.

the price paid for each item, written under the item; (b) the total paid for all the items, written at the bottom left of the text of the *makhzūmah* preamble; in the present document this total appears on recto A, line 24; (c) the total expenses incurred in the sale, written immediately after the itemized sales: recto B, lines 13-14; (d) an itemization of the expenses, written under the total, i.e., following (c); (e) the balance remaining from the sale after the subtraction of the expenses, written to the left of the concluding text of the *makhzūmah*: recto B.

The presence of these computations provides a useful, but frustrating, check on our decipherment of the *siyāqah* numbers. Frustrating, because it is often the case that all the numbers cannot be reconciled with the totals because of errors made by the clerks in writing them or by us in trying to read them. In the present document there is no difficulty in reading (e), the balance of 364 *dirham*s, or (c), the total expenses of 18 1/4, which when added give 382 1/4. Nor is there any problem in reconciling the itemized expenses, which clearly add up to 18 1/4 *dirham*s. The trouble lies in reconciling the individual sales with the total (b). This figure looks very much like 382 1/4 *dirham*s, but if one calculates the sum of the individual prices, they add up to only 381 1/4 *dirham*s. Therefore, either the scribe, or we, have apparently made an error. Additional details on the *siyāqah* are provided in the commentary on no. 355, lines 42-46 below, and in Appendix B.

29. حندا Note that here this word is written with a dot over the second ligature, unlike recto B, line 5, and no. 133, lines 9, 10: حـيـدة. Moreover, in no. 721, line 6, the word is clearly written جندا.[106]

30. *Maṣṣīṣ* refers to the Anatolian town known in Arabic as al-Maṣṣīṣah. "A speciality of the town was the valuable fur-cloaks, exported all over the world."[107]

Recto B

3. قـضـي I read as *qaḍī*, which, when applied to a garment, means "old and worn out . . . from being long moist and folded."[108] *Fiḍḍī* is also a possibility, meaning sky blue.[109]

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[106]*Catalogue*, 179.

[107]E. Honigman, "al-Maṣṣīṣa," *EI*^{2}, 6:778.

[108]Edward W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (1885; reprint, Beirut, 1985), 7:2537.

[109]Dozy, *Supplément*, 2:273.

5. *akmūnī* I believe to be the Persianized form of *kammūnī*, meaning cumin colored.[110]
7. *jūbīn* is probably Persian *chubīn*, ″a red kind of kerchief tied over the head.″[111]

24-25. *bi-mawda‘ al-ḥukm al-‘azīz* refers to the depository of the Shāfi‘ī Court in Jerusalem, to which there are many references in the Ḥaram documents.[112] In this depository money and goods were kept under the jurisdiction of the Shāfi‘ī judge until they could be turned over to whoever was legally entitled to them. Thus it would seem that after the inventory of Shams al-Dīn′s estate was made, his possessions were held temporarily in safe-keeping by his wife. At some point, perhaps at his death, they were consigned to the Shāfi‘ī Court and held in its depository until the sale was held, interestingly enough, under the jurisdiction of the Ḥanafī Court.

26. *wa-ḥasbunī* . . . Al-Asyūṭī comments on the meritorious and traditional practice of ending documents with *al-ṣalāt ‘alá al-nabī*, followed by the *ḥasbala*.[113] In our document the former phrase is written on the otherwise blank verso C.

Verso D

All three witnessing clauses are phrased in such a way as to record the witnesses′ testimony to the legality of two transactions set down in the document: (a) the sale itself and (b) Nāṣir al-Dīn′s receipt of the proceeds.

III. Ḥaram document no. 355 recto and verso. 76 x 28 cms. Some holes.
Recto. An *ishhād* (of attestation), dated 24 Jumādá I 795/7 April 1393, calling for witnesses to and certification of Nāṣir al-Dīn′s receipt of amounts held by the Shāfi‘ī Court Depository in Jerusalem, due to him from the estates of Ālmalik and Shams al-Dīn. Like no. 133 recto, the document has been signed by a judge and contains his judgement, written in the right margin, that the document and its contents are to be certified. See figure 4, p. 184.[114]

Arabic Transcription

Lines 1-13. See figure 5, p. 185.

110See Steingass, *Dictionary*, 90 for *akmūn*.

111Ibid., 402.

112See *Catalogue*, index iv, ″deposit.″

113Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 1:25.

114Unfortunately there is no photograph of the entire recto. Figure 4 is a montage of figures 5-11.

١. بسـ[ـم] اللّه الرَحمن الرَحيم الحمدُ للّه علّى نعمه
٢. اشهد عليه الجناب الكر[يم المو]لوى الا[ميـ]رى [الكبيـ]رى الناصري ناصر الـ[دين ابن العبد الفقير] الى الله تعالى القاضي امين الدين عيسى ابن المرحوم
٣. البيحانى احد الامرا البعلبكية الحاضر يومئذ بالقدس الشريف اعز الله نصرته وهو معروف عند شهوده انه قبض وتسلم وصار اليه من مقبض شرعي
٤. ما كان مودعا بمودع الحكم العزيز الشرفي الشافعي بالقدس الشريف وهو من الدراهم الفضة المتعامل بها يومئذ بالشام المحروس الف درهم
٥. واحدة وسبعماية درهم واربع وتسعين درهما ونصف وربع درهم ومن الذهب الافلوري عشرة شخوص مصارفها ماية درهم وخمسة وتسعون درهما
٦. وذلك من تركة شمس الدين محمد ابن محمد بن الجمال التاجر البعلبكي ومن تركة الملك بنت بدر الدين حسن بن ابي النور البعلبكية زوجة شمس الدين المذكور
٧. بحكم وفاة شمس الدين محمد المذكور الى رحمة الله تعالى بالقدس الشريف وانحصار ارثه شرعا في زوجته الملك المذكورة وشقيقه عز الدين حسين واخوته
٨. لامه شهاب الدين احمد والتي وستيته اولاد محمد بن ابراهيم العجمي الغايبين عن القدس الشريف ثم توفيت الملك المذكورة وانحصر ارثها شرعا في اخوتها
٩. العشرة ستيتة والتي واسن وست الوزرا وفاطمة اشقاها ومحمد الكبير المعروف بالاول [و]محمد الاوسط المعروف بالثاني ومحمد الصغير
١٠. المعروف بالاخر واسما ومغل لابيها من غير شريك ولا حاجب بمقتضى محضر شرعي تاريخه ا[لعشر] الاوسط من محرم سنة اربع وتسعين وسبعماية ثابت مضمونه
١١. لدى العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى اقضى القضاة تقي الدين ابي العباس احمد ابن المنجا الحنبلي الحاكم بدمشق المحروسة بمقتضى الاشهاد بظاهر المحضر تاريخه سادس عشر
١٢. الشهر المذكور متصل ثبوته بمجلس الحكم العزيز الحنفي بالقدس الشريف لدى اقضى القضاة تقي الدين ابي الانصاف ابي بكر خليفه الحكم العزيز الحنفي بالقدس الشريف بمقتضى الاشهاد
١٣. المورخ بتاسع عشر شهر ربيع الاخر سنة خمس وتسعين وسبعماية

واتصل ثبوته بسيدنا ومولانا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى قاضي المسلمين شرف الدين ابي الروح عيسى

Lines 14-24. See figure 6, p. 186.

١٤. ابن العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى جمال الدين مفتي المسلمين ابي الجود غانم الانصاري الشافعي الحاكم بالقدس الشريف واعمالها وشيخ الشيوخ وناظر الاوقاف المبرورة ايده الله تعالى

١٥. بمقتضى الاشهاد المورخ بالرابع والعشرين من جمادى الاولى سنة خمس وتسعين وسبعماية وبمقتضى حجة شرعية تاريخها ثالث عشر شوال سنة ثمان وثمانين وسبعماية يتضمن اقرار

١٦. شمس الدين محمد بن محمد بن الجمال المذكور اعلاه ان في ذمته بحق صحيح شرعي لزوجته الملك المذكورة اعلاه عشرة الاف درهم وبها فصل حوالة تاريخه

١٧. ثالث عشري صفر سنة تسع وثمانين وسبعماية يتضمن الاشهاد على الملك المذكورة انها احالت ابن اختها الجناب الناصري القابض اعلاه على زوجها المذكور اعلاه

١٨. بالمبلغ المقر لها في اعلاه في الحجة المذكورة حوالة صحيحة شرعية وقبول المحتال الحواله قبولا شرعيا وثبتت الحجة لدا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى اقضى

١٩. القضاة بدر الدين ابن الرضي الحنفي خليفه الحكم العزيز بدمشق المحروسة بمقتضى الاشهاد المورخ بمستهل الحجة سنة ثمان وثمانين وسبعماية وثبت

٢٠. فصل الحواله لدا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى اقضى القضاة شمس الدين الاخنائي الشافعي خليفه الحكم العزيز بدمشق المحروسة بمقتضى الاشهاد المورخ بثامن عشري

٢١. شهر ربيع الاول سنة اربع وتسعين وسبعماية واتصل ثبوت الحجه والحوالة باقضى القضاة تقي الدين ابي الانصاف ابي بكر الحنفي خليفة الحكم العزيز بالقدس

٢٢. الشريف بشهادة من يعين ذلك في شهادته اخرا ممن حضر مجلس حكمه من العدول حين الاشهاد عليه بالثبوت المذكور واحضر القابض المذكور اشهادا شرعيا

٢٣. مورخا بحادي عشري محرم سنة اربع وتسعين وسبعماية يتضمن اقرار محمد الثاني اقرارا صحيحا شرعيا في صحة منه وسلامة وجواز امر

ان الجناب الناصري

٢٤. القابض اعلاه يستحق قبض ما جره الارث الشرعي الى المقر من اختة الملك وما جره الارث الشرعي اليها من زوجها شمس الدين محمد بن الجمال المذكور اعلاه

Lines 25-34. See figure 7, p. 187.

٢٥. من قماش واثاث وذهب وزركش ولولو ومصاغ وديون شرعية ومال حاصل وغير ذلك مما هو بدمشق وبعلبك وبمودع الحكم بالقدس الشريف

٢٦. ومن الزبيب والحبهان وغيره المعروف بينهما المعرفة الشرعيه وبذيله وكالة شرعية تاريخها رابع محرم سنة اربع وتسعين وسبعماية تتضمن وكالة وزرا

٢٧. وفاطمة وستيته ومحمد اولاد حسن للجناب الناصري القابض اعلاه في المطالبة بما يخص الموكلات الثلاثة وما يخص اليتيم محمد الصغير المعروف

٢٨. بالاخر اخيهم لابيهم المستمر تحت وصية الموكل الرابع من تركة اختة الملك المذكورة وقبض ذلك وقبول الوكيل ذلك قبولا شرعيا ثابت

٢٩. مضمون الاقرار ومضمون الوكالة لدا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى اقضى القضاة تقي الدين ابن مفلح الحنبلي الحاكم بدمشق المحروسة بمقتضى

٣٠. اشهاد شرعي تاريخه رابع شهر ربيع الاخر سنة اربع وتسعين وسبعماية واتصل ثبوته باقضى القضاة تقي الدين ابي الانصاف ابي بكر الحنفي خليفة

٣١. الحكم العزيز بالقدس الشريف بتاريخ ثامن عشر شهر ربيع الاخر المذكور واتصل ثبوت ذلك بمجلس الحكم العزيز الشرفي الشافعي الحاكم بالقدس الشريف المشار

٣٢. اليه اعلاه ايده الله تعالى بتاريخ الرابع والعشرين من جمادى الاولى سنة خمس وتسعين وسبعماية وقامت عنده بينة شرعية ان الموكل عن اليتيم المذكور

٣٣. وصي على اليتيم حين التوكيل مستمر الوصاية وقامت بينة شرعية عنده ان محمد الكبير المعروف بالاول واختيه لابيه اسما واسن اولاد المرحوم

٣٤. بدر الدين حسن ابن ابي النور وشقيقتهم التي اقروا في صحة منهم وسلامة وجواز امر في العشر الاول من صفر سنة خمس وتسعين وسبعماية

Lines 35-43. See figure 8, p. 188.

٣٥. ان الجناب الناصري المشار اليه اعلاه يستحق قبض ما جره الارث الشرعي اليهم من تركة اختهم لابيهم الملك المذكورة اعلاه مما خلفته ومما انتقل اليها

٣٦. بالارث الشرعي من تركة زوجها المذكور اعلاه بحق الربع من قماش واثاث وذهب وفضة ولولو وزركش و مصاغ ونحاس وديون ومال حاصل

٣٧. واملاك مما هو مخلف بدمشق وبعلبك وبقاع بعلبك والقدس الشريف وهو معلوم لكل منهم استحقاقا صحيحا شرعيا من وجه صحيح شرعي انتقل

٣٨. اليه بناقل شرعي يسوغه الشرع الشريف وحلف المقر له الجناب الناصري بالله العظيم اليمين الشرعية المعينة في الحكم على الغايب على ذلك وثبت

٣٩. الاقرار والحلف لدى سيدنا القضائي الشرفي الشافعي الحاكم بالقدس الشريف المشار اليه ايده الله تعالى بمقتضى الاشهاد عليه المورخ بالرابع والعشرين من

٤٠. جمادى الاولى سنة خمس وتسعين وسبعماية فلما ثبت ذلك جميعه واتصل ثبوته بمجلس الحكم العزيز الشرفي الشافعي الحاكم بالقدس الشريف المشار اليه ايده الله تعالى

٤١. وساغ للجناب الناصري المذكور فيه قبض المبلغ المذكور اعلاه قبض ذلك قبضا كاملا تاما وافيا بحضرة شهوده ومعاينتهم ذلك وجملة ذلك بما فيه من مصارفه ذهب

٤٢. من الدراهم الفضة المتعامل بها يوميذ بالشام المحروس الف درهم واحدة وتسعماية درهم وتسعة وثمانون درهما ونصف وربع درهم وذلك من التركتين

Lines 43-49. See figure 9, p. 189.

٤٣. المذكورتين من جملة سبعة الاف درهم وسبعماية درهم وتسعة وثمانين درهما تفصيله من تركة شمس الدين الزوج المذكور ومن تركة الملك

[٥٧٠٧ دراهم ونصف وربع درهم][115]

[115]Although the notation interpreted here as 700 looks more like *tis'ūn* than *sab'a*, I have forced the latter reading in order to reconcile the arithmetical computation. In any case the notations for *sab'a* and *tis'a* are often difficult to distinguish from each other.

المذكورة انصرف من تركة الملك

[٢٠٨١ درهماً وربع درهم]

٤٤. تجهيز ودين ام محمد والثلث الموصى به صدقة وختمات شريفة بالقدس

[٥٠ درهماً] [٥٠ درهماً]

الشريف البارز بعد ذلك من ذلك ما قبضه الجناب الناصري قبل تاريخه

[٦٣٣ درهماً ونصف وربع درهم] [٧٠٥٥ درهما وربع درهم]

بمقتضى اشهاد من ابن سناجق من تركة

٤٥. شمس الدين وثمن الاعيان من تركة شمس الدين ايضا وما قبضه من

[٣٠٠٠ درهم] [٣٦٤ درهما وربع درهم]

تركة الملك ثمن حوايج مباعة قبل تاريخه وبقية المبلغ ما قبضه من

[١٧٠٨ درهم وربع درهم][116]

مودع الحكم العزيز الشافعي بالقدس الشريف المعين اعلاه

٤٦. وذلك من تركة شمس الدين المذكور ومن تركة الملك واقر الجناب

[١٨٤٣ درهما ونصف درهم] [١٤٦ درهما وربع درهم]

الناصري المشار اليه اقرارا صحيحا شرعيا طوعا واختيارا في صحة منه

وسلامة و جواز امر انه اتصل

٤٧. الى جميع ما عين اعلاه وانه لم يبق يستحق بعد ذلك بمودع الحكم العزيز

المشار اليه ولا عند امين الحكم بالقدس الشريف شيا قل ولا جل بوجه من

الوجوه وسببا من الاسباب

٤٨. وصدق على ما اوصت به الملك المذكورة وهو ثلث مالها حسبما عين اعلاه

وان ذلك صرف في مصارفه الموصى بها وانه لم يتاخر بعد ذلك له ولا

لموكليه بمودع الحكم

٤٩. بالقدس الشريف ولا عند امينه شي قل ولا جل واشهد عليه بجميع ما

نسب اليه اعلاه ووكل في ثبوته وطلب الحكم به توكيلا شرعيا فيه شهد

في الرابع والعشرين

Lines 50-56. See figure 10, p. 190.

٥٠. من جمادى الاولى من شهور سنة خمس وتسعين وسبعماية وصلى الله

على سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه وسلم   حسبنا الله تعالى ونعم

[116]This is what the document reads, but, to make the arithmetic in the document balance, this figure should read الف وسبعماية درهم واحد وربع درهم. Accordingly, I assume that the scribe made an error in recording this figure by writing the abbreviation for eight dirhams instead of that for one dirham (cf. Appendix B), and I translate the latter numeral.

الوكيل

٥١. واشهد عليه الجناب الناصري المشار اليه انه لا مطعن له ولا دافع فيما اوصت به الملك المذكورة ولا في شي منه وبه تم الاشهاد في تاريخه المعين اعلاه

[a]

٥٢. اشهد على سيدنا الحاكم الشرفي المشار اليه اعلاه
٥٣. اسبغ الله ظلاله بما نسب اليه اعلاه وعلى الجناب
٥٤. الناصري المذكور اعلاه بما نسب اليه فيه اعلاه
٥٥. في تاريخه المعين اخرا اعلاه كتبه
٥٦. محمد بن سليمان الشافعي
٥٧. شهد عندي بذلك اعزه الله تعالى

[b]

٥٢. اشهد على سيدنا ومولانا الحاكم الشرفي
٥٣. المشار اليه اعلاه ايده الله تعالى وعلى القاضي
٥٤. تقي الدين الحنفي الحاكمين بالقدس الشريف بما نسب
٥٥. اليهما فيه اعلاه كتبه عيسى بن احمد العجلوني الشافعي

[c]

٥٢. اشهد على الحاكم الشرفي
٥٣. والقاضي التقوي ايدهما الله
٥٣أ. والجناب الناصري بما
٥٤. نسب اليهم فيه اعلاه
٥٤أ. وعاينت القبض في تاريخه
٥٥. كتبه احمد بن الجلال
٥٦. شهد عندي بذلك

[d]

٥٢. شهدت على سيدنا الحاكم الشرفي المشار
٥٣. اليه اعلاه
٥٣أ. ايده الله تعالى بما نسب اليه اعلاه وعلى الجناب
٥٤أ. الناصري المشار اليه اعلاه بما نسب اليه اعلاه
٥٥. في تاريخه وعاينت ما قبضه من مودع الحكم العزيز
٥٦. المشار اليه اعلاه كما عين اعلاه كتبه يوسف النقيب (؟) الحنفي

Lines 57-66. See figure 11, p. 191.

[a]

٥٨. اشهد على سيدنا ومولانا الحاكم الشرفي
٥٩. المشار اليه اعلاه ايده الله تعالى وعلى القاضي تقي الدين
٦٠. الحنفي الحاكم بالقدس الشريف بما نسب اليهما فيه اعلاه
٦١. وعلي الجناب الناصري بما نسب اليه فيه اعلاه في تاريخه
٦٢. كتبه عبد الحميد محمد بن الجلال الانصاري

[b]

٥٨. اشهد على ما صدر من القابض المذكور اعلاه بما نسب اليه فيه اعلاه
٥٩. وبقبض ما عين اعلاه وعاينت القبض في تاريخه المعين اعلاه
٦٠. اعلاه[117] كتبه احمد بن يوسف عفى الله عنهما وغفر لهما

[c]

٥٧. شهدت على سيدنا الحاكم الشرفي المشار
٥٨. اليه اعلاه ايده الله تعالى بما نسب اليه
٥٩. اعلاه وعلى الجناب الناصري المشار اليه
٦٠. اعلاه اعز الله نصرته بما نسب اليه اعلاه
٦١. وعاينت قبض ما قبضه من مودع الحكم
٦٢. العزيز في تاريخه اعلاه كتبه
٦٣. عبد الرحمن النقيب الحنفي

[a]

٦١. اشهد على سيدنا ومولانا الحاكم الشرفي المشار اليه فيه
٦٢. اعلاه ايده الله تعالى وعلى القاضي تقي الدين الحنفي الحاكم بالقدس الشريف بما نسب اليهما
٦٢أ. فيه اعلاه وعلى الجناب الناصري بما نسب اليه فيه اعلاه في تاريخه كتبه محمد بن احمد الشافعي

[a]

٦٣. اشهد ان الثلث المذكور صرف لمستحقيه
٦٤. شرعا على الوجه الشرعي كتبه احمد بن محمد الشافعي
٦٥. شهد عندي بذلك

[b]

٦٣. اشهد على القاضي الشرفي والقاضي التقوي خليفة الحكم الحنفي ايده الله تعالى
٦٤. والجناب الناصري بما نسب اليهم فيه في تاريخه وبصرف الثلث لمستحقيه شرعا

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[117]*a'lāhu* has been inadvertently repeated.

٦٥. كتبه احمد بن محمد بن على عفا الله عنهم اجمعين
٦٦. شهد عندي بذلك

Upper line of the *tawqīʻ* in the margin:

ليشهد بثبوته والحكم بموجب ذلك وصحة الحوالة ولزومها وعدم رجوع المحتال على المحيل وفي ما له مع العلم بالخلاف فيما فيه الخلاف وبالله المستعان

Bottom of the *tawqīʻ* in the margin. See figure 12, p. 192.

وصرف المبلغ الموصى به وهو الثلث الى مستحقيه شرعا وبالله المستعان

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Praise be to God for His blessings.
2. The Honorable, Masterful Excellency, the Great Victorious Commander, Nāṣir [al-Dīn], *ibn* of the [Servant Needy of] God the Exalted, al-Qāḍī Amīn al-Dīn ʻĪsá, son of the deceased
3. al-Bayḥānī, one of the Baalbek amirs, present on that day in Jerusalem the Noble, may God bolster His aid, and known to the witnesses of this document, called for witnesses that he took, received, and acquired from a legal repository
4. that which was deposited in the depository of the Esteemed Shāfiʻī Court of Sharaf al-Dīn in Jerusalem the Noble, namely, of silver *dirham*s in current use at that time in Damascus the Well-Guarded
5. one thousand seven hundred ninety-four and three-quarter *dirham*s, and of Florentine gold, ten pieces at the exchange value of one hundred ninety-five *dirham*s,
6. this amount being from the estate of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Jamāl al-Tājir al-Baʻlabakkī and from the estate of Ālmalik bint Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Abī al-Nūr al-Baʻlabakkīyah, wife of the aforementioned Shams al-Dīn,
7. by dint of the demise of the aforementioned Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad in Jerusalem the Noble. His inheritance was legally restricted to his wife, the aforementioned Ālmalik, his full brother ʻIzz al-Dīn Ḥusayn, and his siblings
8. by his mother: Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, Altī, and Sutaytah, the children of Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-ʻAjamī, they being absent from Jerusalem the

Noble. Thereafter, the aforementioned Ālmalik died, and her inheritance was legally restricted to her

9. ten siblings: Sutaytah, Altī, Asin, Sitt al-Wuzarā', Fāṭimah: full siblings; and Muḥammad the Elder, known as the First; Muḥammad the Middle, known as the Second; Muḥammad the Younger,
10. known as the Last; Asmā'; and Mughul, [all being related] through her father [alone], with no other partner or precluder. This is in accordance with a legal court record dated the middle [ten days] of Muḥarram 794 [9-18 December 1391], the contents of which were certified
11. by the Servant Needy of God the Exalted, Aqḍá al-Quḍāh Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn al-Munajjā al-Ḥanbalī, Magistrate in Damascus the Well-Guarded, in accordance with the attestation (of certification) on the verso of the court record, dated the sixteenth
12. of the aforementioned month [14 December 1391], this certification having been conveyed at the Esteemed Ḥanafī Court in Jerusalem the Noble to Aqḍá al-Quḍāh Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-Anṣāf Abū Bakr, Ḥanafī Deputy Qāḍī in Jerusalem the Noble, in accordance with the attestation (of certification)
13. dated 19 Rabī' II 795 [4 March 1393], the certification of which was conveyed to our Lord and Master the Servant Needy of God the Exalted, Qāḍī of the Muslims, Sharaf al-Dīn Abū al-Rūḥ 'Īsá
14. son of the Servant Needy of God the Exalted, Jamāl al-Dīn, Muftī of the Muslims, Abū al-Jūd Ghānim al-Anṣārī al-Shāfi'ī, Magistrate in Jerusalem the Noble and its districts, Chief Shaykh, and Supervisor of the Noble Endowments, may God support him,
15. in accordance with the attestation (of certification) dated 24 Jumādá I 795 [7 April 1393]. [The disposition of the estate was also] in accordance with a legal document dated 13 Shawwāl 788 [7 November 1386] containing the acknowledgment
16. of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Jamāl mentioned above that he was indebted by a valid, legal claim to his wife Ālmalik mentioned above for ten thousand *dirham*s. In this document there is a transfer clause dated
17. 23 Ṣafar 789 [15 March 1387] containing the aforementioned Ālmalik's attestation that she transferred to her nephew (her sister's son) the Excellency Nāṣir al-Dīn, the receiver mentioned above, against her husband mentioned above,
18. the amount acknowledged to her above in the aforementioned document, this transfer being valid and legal and the acceptance of it by the transferee being legal acceptance. The document was certified by the Servant Needy of God the Exalted, Aqḍá

19. al-Quḍāh Badr al-Dīn ibn al-Raḍī al-Ḥanafī, Deputy Qāḍī of the Esteemed Court in Damascus the Well-Guarded, according to the attestation (of certification) dated 1 [Dhū] al-Ḥijjah 788 [24 December 1386].
20. The transfer clause was certified by Aqḍá al-Quḍāh the Servant Needy of God the Exalted, Shams al-Dīn al-Ikhnā'ī al-Shāfi'ī, Deputy Qāḍī in Damascus the Well-Guarded, in accordance with the attestation (of certification) dated 28
21. Rabī' I 794 [23 February 1392]. Certification of the document and the transfer was conveyed to Aqḍá al-Quḍāh Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-Anṣaf Abū Bakr al-Ḥanafī, Deputy Qāḍī in Jerusalem
22. the Noble, by the testimony at the end of the document of one of the legal witnesses in attendance at the court at the time of the attestation to the aforementioned certification. The aforementioned recipient brought a legal attestation
23. dated 21 Muḥarram 794 [19 December 1391] containing the acknowledgment made in health and sound mind and with free disposition of his affairs, that His Excellency Nāṣir al-Dīn,
24. the above-mentioned recipient, is entitled to receive whatever is conferred on the acknowledger by legal inheritance from his sister Ālmalik and to whatever was conferred on her by legal inheritance from her above-mentioned husband Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Jamāl
25. of fabric, furniture, gold, brocade, pearls, jewelry, legal debts, productive property, etc., in Damascus, Baalbek, and the Court Depository in Jerusalem the Noble as well as
26. raisins and cardamom, and other things known to the two of them in legal cognizance. An appendix [to the acknowledgment] contains a legal power of attorney dated 4 Muḥarram 794 [2 December 1391] for [Sitt al-]Wuzarā',
27. Fāṭimah, Sutaytah, and Muḥammad [II], children of Ḥasan, assigned to His Excellency Nāṣir al-Dīn, the aforementioned recipient, to claim whatever pertains to the three female mandators and to the orphan Muḥammad the Younger, known as
28. the Last, their brother by their father, who remains under the guardianship of the fourth [male] mandator, of the estate of their aforementioned sister Ālmalik. The proxy received that [power of attorney], his acceptance being legal, and the contents of the
29. acknowledgment and the power of attorney were certified by the Servant Needy of God the Exalted, Aqḍá al-Quḍāh Taqī al-Dīn ibn Mufliḥ al-Ḥanbalī, Magistrate in Damascus the Well-Guarded, in accordance with

30. a legal attestation (of certification) dated 4 Rabīʻ II 794 [29 February 1392]. Its certification was conveyed to Aqḍá al-Quḍāh Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-Anṣāf Abū Bakr al-Ḥanafī, Deputy
31. Qāḍī in Jerusalem the Noble, on 18 of the aforementioned Rabīʻ II [12 March 1392], and the certification of that was conveyed to the Esteemed Court of the above-mentioned Sharaf al-Dīn al-Shāfiʻī, Magistrate in Jerusalem the Noble,
32. may God support him, on 24 Jumādá I 795 [7 April 1393]. Legal evidence was established before him that the mandator for the aforementioned orphan
33. was his legal guardian, with continuing guardianship, at the time of assignment of the power of attorney. Legal evidence was [also] established before him that Muḥammad the Elder, known as the First, and his two sisters by his father, Asmā' and Asin, children of the late
34. Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Abī al-Nūr, and their full sister Altī acknowledged in health, sound mind, and free disposition during the first ten days of Ṣafar 795 [17-26 December 1392]
35. that the above-mentioned Excellency Nāṣir al-Dīn is entitled to take possession of whatever is conferred on them by legal inheritance from the estate of their sister by their father, the above-mentioned Ālmalik, from what she left behind and from what was transmitted
36. by legal inheritance from the estate of her above-mentioned husband, by the right of one-fourth, of fabric, furniture, gold, silver, pearls, brocade, jewelry, copper, debts, productive property,
37. and real estate from that left behind in Damascus, Baalbek, Bekaa Baalbek, and Jerusalem the Noble, he being known to each of them, and this being a valid, legal entitlement in a valid, legal mode.
38. This [entitlement] was transmitted to him by a transmittance sanctioned by the Noble Law. The acknowledgee, the Excellency Nāṣir al-Dīn, swore to that by God the Glorious, the legal oath designated for a judgement against an absent person.
39. The acknowledgment and the oath were certified by Our Lord the aforementioned Qāḍī Sharaf al-Dīn al-Shāfiʻī, Magistrate in Jerusalem the Noble, May God the Exalted support him, in accordance with the attestation (of certification) dated 24
40. Jumādá I 795 [7 April 1393]. When all of that had been certified and its certification conveyed to the Esteemed Shāfiʻī Court of Sharaf al-Dīn, the aforementioned Magistrate in Jerusalem the Noble, may God the Exalted support him,
41. and the aforementioned Excellency Nāṣir al-Dīn was permitted to take possession of the amount mentioned above, he did so completely, entirely,

and exhaustively, in the presence of legal witnesses and under the surveillance of them. The total of that, with the exchange for gold,

42. of silver *dirham*s in current use in Damascus the Well-Protected is one thousand nine hundred eighty-nine and three-quarter *dirham*s, this being from the two aforementioned estates

43. from the total of seven thousand seven hundred eighty-nine *dirham*s, divided between the estate of Shams al-Dīn, the aforementioned husband, and
[5707 3/4 *dirham*s]
from the estate of the aforementioned Ālmalik. There was spent from
[2081 1/4 *dirham*s]
Ālmalik's estate

44. for burial, the debt of Umm Muḥammad, and the third bequeathed as
[50 *dirham*s] [50 *dirham*s]
charity and for noble recitations of the Quran in Jerusalem the Noble,
[633 3/4 *dirham*s]
leaving a balance thereafter, less that which the Excellency Nāṣir al-Dīn
[7055 1/4 *dirham*s]
received previously, according to an attestation from Ibn Sanājiq, from the estate of

45. Shams al-Dīn, plus the value of the chattels, also from the estate of Shams
[3000 *dirham*s] [364 1/4 *dirham*s]
al-Dīn, and what he received from the estate of Ālmalik from the value of goods sold previously. The balance is what he received from the Depository
[1701 1/4 *dirham*s][118]
of the Esteemed Shāfi'ī Court in Jerusalem the Noble, specified above:

46. from the estate of the aforementioned Shams al-Dīn and from the estate of
[1843 1/2 *dirham*s]
Ālmalik. The aforementioned Excellency Nāṣir al-Dīn made a valid, legal
[146 1/4 *dirham*s]
acknowledgment voluntarily, by choice, in health, sound mind, and free disposal of his affairs, that he had received

47. all which is specified above and that he was no longer entitled thereafter to anything whatsoever, in any manner or form, in the aforementioned Depository of the Esteemed Court or with the Trustee of Orphans in Jerusalem.

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[118] الف و سبع مية درهم و ثمانية دراهم و ربع درهم, but to make the arithmetic in this document balance, this figure should read الف و سبع مية درهم و درهم واحد و ربع درهم. Accordingly, I assume that the scribe made an error in recording this figure by the logogram for eight *dirham*s instead of that for one *dirham*, and I translate the latter numeral.

48. He verified what the aforementioned Ālmalik bequeathed, i.e., one-third of her property in accordance with what is specified above, that this was spent on the expenses of the legacy, and that thereafter nothing remained to him nor to his mandators, either in the Court Depository
49. in Jerusalem the Noble or with its Trustee, nothing whatsoever. He called for witnesses to everything attributed to him above and made a legal warrant of attorney authorizing that this be certified and requesting that a judgement be made to that effect. He testified on 24
50. Jumādá I 795 [7 April 1393]. Blessings and peace upon Our Lord Muḥammad, his family, and companions. God the Exalted is our sufficiency! What an excellent Guardian is He!
51. The aforementioned Excellency Nāṣir al-Dīn attested that there is no challenge or rebuttal to that which the aforementioned Ālmalik bequeathed or in anything thereto appertaining. Thus the attestation was completed on the date designated above.

[a]

52. I am witness to Our Lord the Magistrate Sharaf al-Dīn mentioned above,
53. may God lengthen his shadow, as to what is attributed to him above in this document, and to the aforementioned Excellency
54. Nāṣir al-Dīn as to what is attributed to him above in this document
55. on the date designated above at the end. Written by
56. Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Shāfiʿī.
57. He testified to that before me, may God the Exalted strengthen him.

[b]

52. I am witness to Our Lord and Master the Magistrate Sharaf al-Dīn
53. mentioned above, may God the Exalted support him, and to al-Qāḍī
54. Taqī al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī, the two magistrates in Jerusalem the Noble, as to what is attributed
55. to them above in this document. Written by ʿĪsá ibn Aḥmad al-ʿAjlūnī al-Shāfiʿī.

[c]

52. I am witness to the Magistrate Sharaf al-Dīn
53. and to al-Qāḍī Taqī al-Dīn, may God support them,
53a. and to the Excellency Nāṣir al-Dīn as to what
54. is attributed to them above in this document,
54a. and I viewed the taking of possession on its date.
55. Written by Aḥmad ibn al-Jalāl
56. He testified to that before me.

[d]

52. I was witness to Our Lord the Magistrate Sharaf al-Dīn

53. mentioned above,
53a. may God the Exalted support him, as to what is attributed to him above, and to the above-mentioned Excellency
54a. Nāṣir al-Dīn as to what is attributed to him above
55. on its date, and I viewed that which he took possession of from the Depository of the Esteemed Court
56. mentioned above as designated therein. Written by Yūsuf al-Naqīb (?) al-Ḥanafī.

[a]

58. I am witness to Our Lord and Master the Magistrate Sharaf al-Dīn
59. mentioned above, may God the Exalted support him, and to al-Qāḍī Taqī al-Dīn
60. al-Ḥanafī, Magistrate in Jerusalem the Noble, as to what is attributed to them above in this document,
61. and to the Excellency Nāṣir al-Dīn as to what is attributed to him above in this document on its date.
62. Written by ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd Muḥammad ibn al-Jalāl al-Anṣārī.

[b]

58. I am witness to that which issued from the above-mentioned recipient as to what is attributed to him above in this document
59. and to his taking possession of that which is designated above. I viewed the taking possession on its date specified above.
60. Written by Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf. May God forgive and pardon both of them.

[c]

57. I was witness to Our Lord the Magistrate Sharaf al-Dīn mentioned
58. above, may God the Exalted support him, as to what is attributed to him
59. above, and to the above-mentioned Excellency Nāṣir al-Dīn,
60. may God strengthen his aid, as to what is attributed to him above,
61. and I viewed the taking possession of what he received from the Depository of the Esteemed Court
62. on its date. Written by
63. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Naqīb al-Ḥanafī.

[a]

61. I am witness to Our Lord and Master the Magistrate Sharaf al-Dīn mentioned
62. above, may God the Exalted support him, and to al-Qāḍī Taqī al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī, Magistrate in Jerusalem the Noble, as to what is attributed to them
62a. above in this document, and to the Excellency Nāṣir al-Dīn as to what is attributed to him above in it on its date. Written by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Shāfiʻī.

[a]

63. I testify that the mentioned one-third was spent for those entitled to it
64. legally, in the legal manner. Written by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Shāfiʻī.
65. He testified to that before me.

[b]

63. I am witness to al-Qāḍī Sharaf al-Dīn and to al-Qāḍī Taqī al-Dīn, Ḥanafī Deputy Qāḍī, may God the Exalted support him,
64. and the Excellency Nāṣir al-Dīn, as to what is attributed to them in this document on its date and to the disbursement of the one-third to those legally entitled to it.
65. Written by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī, may God forgive all of them.
66. He testified to that before me.

Right-hand margin:

1. Let there be witnesses to its certification and to the judgement to the obligatoriness of that, to the validity and bindingness of the transfer, and to the absence of a claim for restitution on the part of the transferee against the transferor and his property, in spite of cognizance of disagreement about that which disagreement exists, God being the One Whose help is to be sought. And [witnesses] to disbursement of the bequeathed amount, i.e., the third, to its claimants legally, God being the One Whose help is to be sought.

Commentary

This *ishhād* forms the first part of a type of document described by al-Asyūṭī in a chapter on *al-qaḍāʼ*, meaning judging, or judicial procedure. Therein al-Asyūṭī discusses the different practices followed by Egyptian and Syrian judges and notaries in drafting documents certifying (*thubūt*) legal transactions. His comments on the Syrians′ practice are relevant to this document and to no. 133 recto, above, though, as will be recalled, the latter lacks the requisite consequential document:

> They write (a) the judge′s request for witnesses (*ishhād*) to [the validity of] certification (*thubūt*), judgement (*ḥukm*), and implementation (*tanfīdh*). (b) The judge writes his motto (*ʻalāmah*) on the recto of the document, to the left of the *basmalah*. Next, (c), in the margin he writes in his own handwriting a request for witnesses to the judge regarding certification, judgement, and implementation. Then (d) he endorses [the witnessing clauses of] the witnesses. (e) The clerk (*al-kātib*) writes the request for witnesses to the judge

(*al-ishhād*) on the verso of the document, without a motto or anything else.[119]

Although no. 355 recto does not mention implementation (*tanfīdh*), it does contain all the formal components mentioned by al-Asyūṭī except (e), which is found, of course, on no. 355 verso.[120]

The recto of this document takes the form of an *ishhād* judged to be valid by a judge. In notarial parlance *ishhād* is an ambiguous term, and I myself have mentioned elsewhere the different types of *ishhād*s found among the Ḥaram documents.[121] I have also pointed to the similarity of one type of *ishhād*, attestation, to the *iqrār*, or acknowledgment, concluding that the difference between the two is a matter of form and language.[122] In her study of the fourteenth-century Ḥanafī formularies of al-Ṭarsūsī, Guellil describes three types of *ishhād*s, which, on the basis of format, she labels as *ishhād-shahādah*, corresponding, roughly, to my attestation;[123] *ishhād-isjāl* (*kitābat ḥukm*), corresponding to my certification;[124] and the *ishhād* form of witnessing clauses.[125] Professor ʻAbd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm has also called attention to the various types of documents subsumed by the term *ishhād* and gives a concise statement of its applications. *Ishhād*, he explains, originally meant a request that witnesses testify to the occurrence of a matter; later, it denoted legal instruments such as *iqrār*s; finally, during the Mamluk period in particular, it was applied to court documents which certify and register transactions. In the last case, *al-ishhādāt al-sharʻīyah* applies to "a *waqf* document, [for example,] which had become an official, notarized record with executive force and a legal deed accepted in every circumstance and condition. Accordingly, the purpose of *ishhādāt* is to increase the certitude, confirmation, and authority of the contract, 'pour confirmer le contrat'."[126]

Our document no. 355 recto-verso contains, or refers to, all types of *ishhād* adumbrated above. Recto is (i) an *ishhād* of attestation calling for witnesses to the document and the legal transactions it records; as such it is both a simple attestation

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[119]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:369-70.

[120]For other examples from the Ḥaram, see Asali, *Wathā'iq*, 1:227-30 (no. 28a-b) and Lutfi, "*Iqrār*s," 278-87 (no. 315a-b).

[121]*Catalogue*, 224.

[122]Ibid., 225.

[123]Guellil, *Akten*, 257.

[124]Ibid., 260.

[125]Ibid., 360.

[126]"Al-Tawthīqāt al-Sharʻīyah wa-al-Ishhādāt fī Ẓahr Wathīqat al-Ghawrī," *Majallat Kullīyat al-Ādāb, Jāmiʻat al-Qāhirah* 14 (1957): 301.

before a judge and a step in al-Asyūṭī´s process of judicial certification. Verso is (ii) an *ishhād/isjāl*, the witnessing clauses of which are cast in an *ishhād* form (iii). In my translations I have distinguished between (i) and (ii) with the term ″attested,″ ″called for witnesses,″ and ″attestations″ for (i) and ″attestation (of certification)″ for (ii).

On 24 Jumādá I 795/7 April 1393, a year and a month after the public sale of Shams al-Dīn´s Jerusalem estate and a year and six months after the original inventory was made, Nāṣir al-Dīn appeared before a Shāfiʻī judge in Jerusalem, calling for witnesses to attest that he had taken legal possession of silver and gold worth 1989 3/4 Damascus *dirham*s which had been kept in the Shāfiʻī Court Depository in Jerusalem until the estates of his uncle, who had died in Jerusalem, and his aunt had been settled there. Nāṣir al-Dīn´s claims on the estates were complex and had nothing to do, apparently, with his blood relationship to his aunt Ālmalik. When Shams al-Dīn died, sometime before 23 Rabīʻ II 794/20 March 1392 (the date of the public sale), his legal heirs, according to this document, were his wife, a full brother, and three brothers and sisters, though as we have seen, Sutaytah was identified in the inventory as a full sister.[127] Since he had no surviving descendents, his wife, Ālmalik, was entitled to a fourth of his estate. But this amount was augmented by the long-standing debt of 10,000 *dirham*s owed her by Shams al-Dīn and legally acknowledged in an *iqrār* dated 13 Shawwāl 788/7 November 1386. In the following year Ālmalik transferred her claim on the debt to her nephew, Nāṣir al-Dīn, in a *ḥawālah*. As we have seen Shams al-Dīn neglected to declare this debt in his Jerusalem estate inventory, perhaps, we may speculate, because he considered it to be a liability against his Damascus, as distinct from Jerusalem, holdings. In any case the *ḥawālah* constituted one basis for Nāṣir al-Dīn´s claim to Shams al-Dīn´s estate. In the meantime, however, Ālmalik died, leaving heirs of her own, namely her ten brothers and sisters, five of whom were full siblings, the other five related to her through their father alone. When Ālmalik died, all of these brothers and sisters, apparently with one exception, formally authorized Nāṣir al-Dīn to represent them in their claims against their sister´s estate, and these authorizations formed the second basis of Nāṣir al-Dīn´s claim when he appeared before a Shāfiʻī judge in Jerusalem.

Remarkably, all or most of these transactions were recorded in legal documents that were certified and registered in courts, originally in courts located in Damascus, presumably because Shams al-Dīn and Ālmalik had been living there or under its jurisdiction. Later, however, when Shams al-Dīn died in Jerusalem and some of his estate had to be settled by Jerusalem courts, it became necessary to have the Damascus documents transferred and certified there, including those related to

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[127]See no. 133, line 4, above.

Ālmalik′s estate. Some of these we have already had occasion to notice in connection with the *makhzūmah*.[128] In brief, this process took place in two phases, as follows:

(a) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad made an *iqrār* acknowledging his debt of 10,000 *dirham*s to Ālmalik on 13 Shawwāl 788/7 November 1386.
(b) The *iqrār* was certified on 1 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 788/24 December 1386 by a Ḥanafī judge in Damascus.
(c) Ālmalik added a transfer clause (*faṣl ḥawālah*) to the *iqrār*, transferring the proceeds from the debt to her nephew, Nāṣir al-Dīn, on 23 Ṣafar 789/15 March 1387.
(d) The transfer clause was certified on 28 Rabīʿ I 794/23 February 1392 by a Shāfiʿī judge in Damascus.
(e) Both these certified documents were conveyed to a Ḥanafī judge, Taqī al-Dīn, in Jerusalem sometime before 23 Rabīʿ II 794/20 March 1392,
(f) when, under the authorization of this *qāḍī*, a sale of chattels in Shams al-Dīn′s estate was held in order to satisfy his debt to his wife, transferred to Nāṣir al-Dīn.

But these legal transactions were conducted only in conjunction with Nāṣir al-Dīn′s claim to the transferred debt. As we have already seen, he also made a claim to Ālmalik′s estate on the basis of authorizations assigned to him by some of her legal heirs. We do not know the date of Ālmalik′s death; it must have occurred around 4 Muḥarram 794/2 December 1391, when some of those heirs assigned their power of attorney to Nāṣir al-Dīn, enabling him to act on their behalf in settling the estate. Nor do we know with certainty where she died since the place is not specified in any of the available documents. In all probability she died in Jerusalem since part, at least, of her estate was held and settled there, but there is no evidence to place her there at the time of her death. In any event Nāṣir al-Dīn appeared in Jerusalem with several certified powers of attorney and other forms of authorization from Ālmalik′s heirs, which he used to take possession of money in Jerusalem due to these heirs and himself. The process by which the relevant documents were issued and certified can be outlined as follows:

(a) Muḥammad II made an *iqrār* on an unspecified date authorizing Nāṣir al-Dīn to claim his (Muḥammad′s) portion of Ālmalik′s estate.
(b) In an appendix to this *iqrār*, dated 4 Muḥarram 794/2 December 1391, three sisters and Muḥammad II in his capacity as guardian over Muḥammad III assigned their power of attorney to Nāṣir al-Dīn.
(c) In mid-Muḥarram 794/9-18 December 1391, a court record was issued defining Ālmalik′s heirs.

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[128]See no. 591 recto A, lines 7, 9, 10, 15, 18, above.

(d) This court record was certified by a Ḥanbalī judge in Damascus on 16 Muḥarram 794/14 December 1391.
(e) Muḥammad II's *iqrār* mentioned in (a) was certified on 21 Muḥarram 794/19 December 1391.
(f) The *iqrār* and the appendix mentioned in (b) were certified by the Ḥanbalī judge in Damascus on 4 Rabī' II 794/29 February 1392.
(g) The certified *iqrār* and appendix were conveyed to the Ḥanafī judge Taqī al-Dīn on 18 Rabī' II 794/15 March 1392. (Shortly thereafter, on 23 Rabī' II 794/20 March 1392, the sale of chattels from Shams al-Dīn's estate in favor of Nāṣir al-Dīn was held in Jerusalem.)
(h) Muḥammad I and three sisters made an *iqrār* during the first ten days of Ṣafar 795/17-26 December 1392 that Nāṣir al-Dīn was entitled to their share of Ālmalik's estate. Nāṣir al-Dīn swore an oath to this effect.
(i) The certified court record mentioned in (d) was conveyed to the Ḥanafī judge Taqī al-Dīn in Jerusalem on 19 Rabī' II 795/14 March 1393.
(j) On 24 Jumādá I 795/7 April 1393 all the relevant documents already conveyed to the Ḥanafī judge Taqī al-Dīn, plus others held by Nāṣir al-Dīn, were conveyed or presented to the Shāfi'ī judge in Jerusalem, Sharaf al-Dīn. On the same date this judge heard evidence on other dispositions connected with Nāṣir al-Dīn's claims, to which Nāṣir al-Dīn swore an oath. All that being done, and certified by Sharaf al-Dīn, Nāṣir al-Dīn took possession of what was owed to him and acknowledged that nothing more was due to him and that Ālmalik's provisions for legal bequests had been fulfilled.
(k) On the same date Nāṣir al-Dīn requested that all these transactions, along with the document recording them, be certified by a court.
(l) Thereupon, on the same date, witnesses signed the document, and their signatures were endorsed by a Shāfi'ī deputy judge. He himself signed the document, issued the judgement that the transactions therein recorded were legally valid, and called for witnesses to certify the judgement, the transactions, and the document.

In Appendix A, below, we shall synthesize all the transactions involved in Nāṣir al-Dīn's claims. In the meantime we should note that neither of the two documents already discussed in this article, i.e., the estate inventory and the *makhzūmah,* is mentioned in no. 355. This document we shall now proceed to annotate.

1. *al-ḥamd lillāh ʿalá niʿamihi* is the motto[129] used by the Shāfiʿī Deputy Judge Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī, cited on verso, lines 2-5, where biographical details are given in the commentary. For obvious reasons judges were supposed to choose distinctive *ʿalāmah*s that no other judge of the same district and time used. Nevertheless, this was apparently a popular motto in fourteenth-century Palestine. It appears on Ḥaram no. 35, dated 6 Rabīʿ II 778/23 August 1376 as the motto of Deputy Qāḍī Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī . . . al-Ghazzī al-Shāfiʿī, a judge in Gaza;[130] no. 708, dated 7 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 778/17 April 1377, for Deputy Qāḍī ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Shāfiʿī of Jerusalem;[131] no. 76, dated 26 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 790/26 December 1390, no. 353, dated 15 Ṣafar 777/16 July 1375, no. 354, dated 14 Muḥarram 781/2 May 1379, and no. 369, dated 10 Muḥarram 771/14 August 1369, for Deputy Qāḍī ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Umawī.[132]
2. *ashhada ʿalayhi*. The use of this phrase, or of *ashhada ʿalá nafsihi*, meaning he called for witnesses to himself,[133] establishes the document as an *ishhād* no. (i): ″an *ishhād* of attestation calling for witnesses to the document and the legal transactions it records″ (see above, p. 143). As we shall see, the response of the witnesses to an *ishhād*, which they write in the witnessing clauses at the end of the document, normally takes the form *ashhadu ʿalá fulān.*
3. *aḥad al-umarāʾ al-Baʿlabakkīyah.* Previously (see above, pp. 121-122), we noted that Nāṣir al-Dīn was probably a member of the Ḥalqah in Baalbek. During the Baḥrī Mamluk period Baalbek had the status of a *niyābah* (viceroyship) and was administered by an amir of ten, later an amir of forty, named by the Viceroy of Syria.[134] Nāṣir al-Dīn was apparently an officer of the Ḥalqah attached to this administrative center. In any case Nāṣir al-Dīn, his aunt Ālmalik, and her husband Shams al-Dīn have all been identified now as being associated with Baalbek. As a merchant Shams al-Dīn seems to have been active in both Damascus and Jerusalem.
wa-huwa maʿrūf ʿinda shuhūdihi is an identification formula used in legal depositions to establish that the identity of the attestor is known to the witnesses. According to al-Asyūṭī, ″the Muslim community′s consensus is

[129]For a survey of the use of the *ʿalāmah* in various types of Islamic documents, see S. M. Stern, *Fāṭimid Decrees* (London, 1964), 123-65.
[130]*Catalogue*, 255-56.
[131]Ibid., 253.
[132]Ibid., 289.
[133]Not ″called upon himself as witness″ as in my ″Court Records,″ 21, and ″The Jews,″ 259.

that if someone acts as a witness to a person whose name and *nasab*s he does not know, his testimony is not valid. . . ."[135]
qabaḍa wa-tasallama wa-ṣāra ilayhi are all stock terms to establish not only that the receiver has taken possession of the property but that it has moved into his hands in a legal manner.[136]

4. *al-Sharafī*. This is the same Shāfiʻī judge who authorized the estate inventory for Shams al-Dīn. See commentary on no. 133, line 14 above.
al-mutaʻāmila bi-hā . . . bi-al-Shām. According to al-Qalqashandī, Jerusalem's standard currency was that of Damascus. This was only natural since Mamluk Jerusalem was under the administrative jurisdiction of Damascus.[137]
5. *al-dhahab al-iflūrī . . . maṣārifuhā* . . . refers to the florin, a coin of about 3.5 grams, in use in the Mamluk empire. Its exchange rate in relationship to the *dirham* fluctuated according to the gold and silver content of coins, not to mention governmental monetary policy. According to al-Qalqashandī the "exchange value around 790 A.H., 1388 A.D., was . . . 85 per cent of a dînâr (*Ṣubḥ*, III:442.8: the dînâr at 20 dirhams, the ifrantî [florin] at 17)."[138] According to our document, dated 795/1393, the exchange rate in Jerusalem was 19.5 *dirham*s per florin. This citation is important because it provides independent documentary evidence for the relative value of the florin in the Mamluk empire at a time, moreover, when literary references are lacking.[139]
6. *min tarikat Shams al-Dīn . . . wa-min tarikat Ālmalik* . . . It is not clear here whether Ālmalik left an estate of her own in Jerusalem apart from what was owed to her from the estate of her husband. Later in the document, however, there are indications that she left possessions of her own in the city.[140]

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[134] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 12:115.

[135] Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 1:80.

[136] Wakin, *Function*, 54, note 4.

[137] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 4:199.

[138] Popper, *Systematic Notes*, 2:47. For a fuller discussion see Bacharach, "A Study," 160-69. Cf. also Bacharach, "The Dinar versus the Ducat," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 4 (1973): 77-96, and Boaz Shoshan, "Exchange-Rate Policies in Fifteenth-Century Egypt," *JESHO* 29 (1986): 28-51.

[139] Using Venetian documents, Eliyahu Ashtor (*Les métaux precieux et la balance des payements du Proche-Orient à la basse époque* [Paris, 1971], 43) records that a ducat was worth 20 3/4 Egyptian *dirham*s on 2 August 1395.

[140] See commentary on line 45 below.

7. *wa-inḥiṣār irthuhu* is a stock phrase used to specify the heirs to an estate according to Islamic law.[141]

7-8. *ikhwatuhu li-ummihi . . . Sutaytah.* It will be recalled that Sutaytah was designated a full sister in the estate inventory.

8-9. *fī ikhwatihi al-ʻasharah.* Without going into the complex issue of how much of the estate would be due to the uterine collaterals as opposed to agnatic brothers and sisters, suffice it to say that Nāṣir al-Dīn, as a nephew, would have been excluded.[142]

10. *maḥḍar sharʻī*. Perhaps this court record took the form of an estate inventory certified by a court, similar to no. 133 above. Estate inventories, it will be recalled, invariably list assets and liabilities as well as legal heirs.
thābata maḍmūnuhu ladá . . . signifies that the document was certified by a court according to the same process by which the present *ishhād* no. 355 was certified.

11. *Aqḍá al-Quḍāh Taqī al-Dīn . . . al-Ḥanbalī*. Al-Qāḍī Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Munajjā ibn ʻUthmān ibn Asʻad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Munajjā al-Ḥanbalī served as a Deputy Qāḍī (hence the title Aqḍá al-Quḍāh)[143] to his brother ʻAlā' al-Dīn and later became Ḥanbalī Chief Qāḍī of Damascus in 803/1401 for a few months. He died in 804/1402.[144]
al-Ḥākim . . . In a study of medieval Islamic documents from Chinese Turkestan, Monika Gronke discusses the distinction in rank between *qāḍī* and *ḥākim*. After examining the evidence in her documents, she observes that *qāḍī* seemed to have a higher value than *ḥākim* and asks, "May we conclude that *qāḍī* did not just designate a superior judge in the Yārkand area, but was also the current general term for 'judge' without referring to specific rank? The question must remain open."[145] Insofar as I have been able to determine, in the Ḥaram documents *al-ḥākim*, in the sense of presiding judge or magistrate, was used for both full *qāḍī*s or Qāḍī al-Quḍāh and Deputy Qāḍīs or Aqḍá al-Quḍāh and Nā'ib al-Ḥukm.[146] In terms of

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[141]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 1:43.

[142]See Coulson, *Succession*, 65-78.

[143]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:594.

[144]Ibn al-ʻImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Cairo, 1351/1932-33), 7:42.

[145]"The Arabic Yārkand Documents," *BSOAS* 49 (1986): 483. Cf. Gronke, *Arabische und persische Privatsurkunden des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts aus Ardabil (Aserbeidschan)* (Berlin, 1982), 77.

[146]E.g., in the present document, line 11, "Aqḍá al-Quḍāh Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-ʻAbbās . . . al-Ḥanbalī, al-Ḥākim"; lines 13-14, "Qāḍī al-Muslimīn Sharaf al-Dīn . . . al-Ḥākim"; line 12, "Aqḍá al-Quḍāh Taqī al-Dīn . . . Khalīfat al-Ḥukm"; but lines 59-60a, "al-Qāḍī Taqī al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī al-Ḥākim";

rank, then, I am inclined to believe that *qāḍī* and *ḥākim* were equal in Mamluk Jerusalem.

bi-muqtaḍā al-ishhād bi-ẓāhir al-maḥḍar refers to an *ishhād* of certification like that on the verso of the present document and as defined above, no. (ii), p. 143.

12. *Aqḍá al-Quḍāh Taqī al-Dīn* . . . The same judge who authorized the public sale of Shams al-Dīn's estate in Jerusalem. See commentary on no. 591, recto A, lines 20-21 above.
15. *ḥujjah shar'īyah.* This is the same document referred to in no. 591, recto A, line 9 above as a *masṭūr shar'ī.*
16. *faṣl ḥawālah.* The use of *faṣl* makes it clear that the *ḥawālah* was added as a clause to the *iqrār* and that the *iqrār* and *ḥawālah* constituted the *masṭūr/ḥujjah*.
18. *qubūl al-muḥtāl al-ḥawālah qubūlan shar'īyan* is a stock phrase used to indicate that the person to whom the debt is transferred accepts the transfer in lieu of an obligation owed him by the person who initiates the transfer. Although members of the various legal schools do not agree on all details of this transaction, they do concur that "it is not obligatory for the transferee (*al-muḥtāl*) to accept the transfer."[147] Hence the necessity to include the clause in the document.
19. *Aqḍá al-Quḍāh Badr al-Dīn* . . . See the commentary on no. 591, recto A, line 14 above.
20. *Aqḍá al-Quḍāh Shams al-Dīn* . . . See the commentary on no. 591, recto A, lines 16-17.
22. *bi-shahādat man* . . . This is the most explicit and detailed reference we encounter in this document and no. 591 of the process by which a document from one court was conveyed to (*ittaṣala*) another. Although the Arabic is ambiguous, it could mean that the witness was actually present in the court of Taqī al-Dīn and was thus one of the *shuhūd al-ṭarīq* referred to above in the commentary on no. 591, recto A, line 19. In any event it would seem that it was only the *iqrār* and the *ḥawālah* that were conveyed by this means rather than by a *kitāb ḥukmī*. *'Udūl* was sometimes used like

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and lines 52-54b, "al-Ḥākim al-Sharafī . . . wa-'alá al-Qāḍī Taqī al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī al-Ḥākimayn . . ."!

[147]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 1:179. Cf. Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford, 1964), 148-49.

shuhūd to denote notaries or witnesses.[148] But *ʿudūl* could also mean professional witnesses whose integrity had been examined, confirmed, and certified by a court.[149]

ishhādan sharʿīyan refers here to the simplest form of this type of document—an attestation in which the attestor calls for witnesses to the transaction recorded in the document, namely the *iqrār* cited in line 23. In all probability this type of *ishhād* corresponds to no. (i), p. 143, above.

23. *fī siḥḥah minhu wa-salāmah wa-jawāz amr*. These are standard phrases of *iqrār*s, establishing the competence of the acknowledger to make a valid acknowledgment.[150]

23-24. These lines establish Nāṣir al-Dīn´s entitlement to receive Muḥammad II´s share of his sister´s estate, including the assets due to her from her late husband´s estate, whether in Baalbek, Damascus, or Jerusalem. We do not know, of course, whether estate inventories and public sales were conducted in the two former places as well as in Jerusalem. In effect, Muḥammad II´s acknowledgment must have constituted an assignment of his power of attorney to Nāṣir al-Dīn.

25. *qumāsh wa-athāth* . . . Whether or not this is a list of specific assets and liabilities or simply a formula is not clear. In model documents al-Asyūṭī uses such phrases as *darāhim wa-dhahab wa-thaman qumāsh wa-naḥās wa-athāth wa-ḥayawān wa-ṣāmit wa-nātiq wa-ghayr dhālika.*[151] In another model he adds *ḥulī zarkash*, and *lu'lu'*.[152] Notice, however, that this list in the document adds two specific items—*al-zabīb wa-al-ḥabbahān*—not covered by the generic list. Cf. the list on lines 36-37 below.

26. *al-maʿrūf baynahumā al-maʿrifah al-sharʿīyah.* It is not evident here what would constitute legal cognizance on the part of the two parties (the *muqirr*, Muḥammad II, and the *muqarr lahu*, Nāṣir al-Dīn) but *maʿrifah sharʿīyah* is certainly a recurring phrase in legal documents. There are, of course, standard formats for assigning proxies or powers of attorney.[153]

27. *wa-Muḥammad.* Inadvertently, I believe, the notary has failed to specify which of the three Muḥammads is meant. But since Muḥammad III was an orphan, and Muḥammad I assigns his own power of attorney in lines 33-35, Muḥammad II is left by process of elimination.

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[148] Tyan, *Le notariat*, 17-18.

[149] See the commentary on no. 133, lines 16-21, above. Cf. El-Nahal, *Judicial Administration*, 18.

[150] See Lutfi, *"Iqrār*s,*"* 260; Guellil, *Akten*, 244.

[151] Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 1:42-43.

[152] Ibid., 50.

[153] Ibid., 192-208; Guellil, *Akten*, 175-76. For examples from the Ḥaram see *Catalogue*, 306-10.

al-yatīm Muḥammad al-ṣaghīr, therefore, refers to the fact that he was not yet of age, as does the term *al-ṣaghīr*.

28. *waṣīyah.* The usual term for guardianship is *wiṣāyah*, whereas a *waṣīyah* is a testamentary deposition "appointing an executor and/or guardian" (*waṣī*).[154] *wa-qabaḍa dhālika wa-qubūl al-wakīl dhālika qubūlan shar'īyan* . . . in order for a *wakālah*, or power of attorney, to be valid, the proxy must formally accept it from the person who assigns it.[155]

29. *Taqī al-Dīn ibn al-Mufliḥ* . . . refers to al-Qāḍī Burhān al-Dīn wa-Taqī al-Dīn Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Mufliḥ ibn Mufarraj al-Rāmīnī al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanbalī. Born in 749/1348-1349 into a family of prominent Ḥanbalī scholars and judges, he became a teacher in Damascus, where his discourses were attended by jurisprudents of all four legal schools. Author of several books, he was regarded as leader of the Ḥanbalī school in Damascus. Before becoming Ḥanbalī Chief Judge, he served as a Deputy Judge to several Ḥanbalī judges. He died in 803/1401.[156]

32-33. *wa-qāmat bayyinah shar'īyah 'indahu.* The use of this clause probably indicates that oral testimony was given to establish that Nāṣir al-Dīn was (a) the guardian of Muḥammad III when the power of attorney was assigned and (b) the agent of Muḥammad I, Asmā', and Asin, authorized to take possession of Ālmalik's estate. "In legal terminology the word *bayyinah* denotes the proof *per excellentiam*—that established by oral testimony—, although from the classical era the term came to be applied not only to the fact of giving testimony at law but also to witnesses themselves."[157] In any case the use of this clause signals that these aspects of Nāṣir al-Dīn's claims to his aunt's estate were established by a means different from those used for other aspects, for which he produced legal documents, as opposed to testimony, certified by courts in Damascus and conveyed to courts in Jerusalem. For some reason or another it would seem that he did not have certified documents for (a) and (b) above and that he therefore had to produce oral testimony in support of them. The clause also appears in the *tawqī'* of no. 133 above.

35. *mimmā khallafathu wa-mimmā intaqala ilayhā bi-al-irth* . . . This clause reinforces Nāṣir al-Dīn's claim to what was due to his aunt from her husband's estate.

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[154]Schacht, *Introduction*, 173.

[155]*Catalogue*, 306.

[156]Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, 7:22-23.

[157]R. Brunschvig, "Bayyina," *EI*[2], 1:1150-51. Cf. Little, "Court Records," 27.

36. *ḥaqq al-rub‘* refers to the fourth due to a widow from her husband′s estate in the absence of a descendant.[158]

37. *Biqā‘ Ba‘labakk* refers to the plain, Bekaa, lying between the mountains of Lebanon and anti-Lebanon, the most important center of which is Baalbek itself. In the Mamluk period the *Biqā‘ al-Ba‘labakkī* was one of two *Biqā‘ wilāyah*s subject to the Viceroy of Baalbek.[159]

37-38. *intaqala ilayhi bi-nāqil shar‘ī*. I do not know the precise meaning of this clause. Although al-Ṭarsūsī gives two formularies for a *munāqalah*, both the transactions therein described involve the exchange of goods without resort to cash.[160] In our document the use of this clause reaffirms the inference that Nāṣir al-Dīn did not have certified legal documents for this aspect of his claims against the estate.

38. *al-muqarr lahu* is the beneficiary of an *iqrār*, one of the three essential components of this type of document. The others are *al-muqirr*, the declarant, and *al-muqarr bi-hi*, an object of recognition.[161]

ḥalafa al-yamīn al-shar‘īyah . . . Again, presumably because there were no certified legal documents for this *iqrār* and no contrary witnesses to it available in Jerusalem, Nāṣir al-Dīn was required by the judge to swear an oath to its content. Al-Asyūṭī divides oaths into two categories: those which are given in legal disputes and those which are administered in other contexts. The former are further divided into oaths of response and oaths of entitlement (*yamīn al-istiḥqāq*). The latter have five forms, the last of which is an oath with a witness (*al-yamīn ma‘a al-shahīd*), which has seven applications; no. 6 involves a claim regarding an absent person (*al-da‘wá ‘alá al-ghā’ib*).[162] The use of this type of oath is discussed fully by al-Asyūṭī in his chapter on *al-qaḍā’*, under a sub-section entitled ″Judging against an Absent Person.″ There he explains that if a defendant is legitimately absent from the court and the judge decides, notwithstanding, that the claim can be legally heard and qualified witnesses testify to its truth, the judge cannot rule in the plaintiff′s favor ″until the plaintiff takes an oath that he is entitled to that which is owed him by the absent person and that until the present time he has not received any portion of it. . . . This oath is legally obligatory,″ i.e., in Shāfi‘ī *fiqh*.[163] This clause, then, I interpret to

[158]Coulson, *Succession*, 41.

[159]J. Sourdel-Thomine, ″al-Biḳā‘,″ *EI*², 1:1214.

[160]Guellil, *Akten*, 65, 125-29.

[161]Y. Linant de Bellefonds, ″Iḳrār,″ *EI*², 3:1078.

[162]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:317.

[163]Ibid., 361.

mean that in the absence of the declarants listed in lines 33-34, the Amir Nāṣir al-Dīn had to swear an oath that he had legal entitlement to receive their share of their sister's estate.

wa-ḥalafa . . . bi-Allāh al-ʻAẓīm. According to some jurists an oath (*yamīn*) "is constituted by the use of the name of Almighty God, or by any of those appellations by which the Deity is generally known or understood."[164] Especially efficacious are those which refer to His power, glory, or might. Thus the reference to God as "al-ʻAẓīm."

38-40. *wa-thabata al-iqrār wa-al-ḥalf . . . fa-lammā thabata dhālika jamīʻuhu wa-ittaṣala thubūtuhu . . .* The procedure alluded to in these three lines is not altogether clear. If *jamīʻuhu* refers to certification of the acknowledgment and the oath by Judge Sharaf al-Dīn, why should it be necessary to convey it to his court, where said certification had actually taken place? Probably, therefore, *jamīʻuhu* refers to the certification and conveyance of all the documents involved in the case. Once this had been accomplished, Sharaf al-Dīn could authorize Nāṣir al-Dīn to take possession of the sum owed to him.

41. *qabaḍa dhālika qabḍan . . . bi-ḥaḍrat shuhūdihi.* As we shall see below in the witnessing clauses, four of the witnesses to the document testified that they saw Nāṣir al-Dīn take possession of the amount due to him.

42-46. The most complicated aspect of this document lies in the arithmetic: How was the amount finally received by Nāṣir al-Dīn calculated? The complexity is increased, moreover, by the use of the *siyāqah* script for some, not all, of the figures. Those written on line 42 and the first half of line 43, as well as lines 4-5 and 16, are written in full, in regular script, whereas "the details" mentioned in the second half of line 43 are written in the *siyāqah.* In what follows I shall attempt to reconstruct the computations.

As we have seen, Nāṣir al-Dīn had two claims: one, a debt of ten thousand *dirham*s owed by Shams al-Dīn to Ālmalik, which Ālmalik had transferred to Nāṣir al-Dīn, and two, the shares of nine of Ālmalik's ten heirs, who had assigned to Nāṣir al-Dīn their power of attorney, or its equivalent, in this matter. Why the tenth, Mughul, had not done so we do not know. Perhaps she had died, since the entire residue of the estate in Jerusalem was paid to Nāṣir al-Dīn. From the commentator's point of view it is fortunate that the document does not take up the question of how much of the total residue was due to Nāṣir al-Dīn in his capacity of transferee and how much was due to him as a proxy and guardian of the heirs. The settlement outlined in the document is complex enough as it

[164] Thomas Patrick Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam* (reprint, New Delhi, 1977), 437.

stands. If my reading of the *siyāqah* script is correct, this is what happened: Nāṣir al-Dīn received the equivalent of 1989.75 *dirham*s from the depository of the Shāfiʻī Court in Jerusalem, 1794.75 silver *dirham*s and ten gold florins worth 195 *dirham*s. The total figure of 1989.75 was ultimately derived from the residue from the estates of Shams al-Dīn and Ālmalik, these being calculated as 5707.75 *dirham*s for Shams al-Dīn and 2081.25 for Ālmalik, for a total of 7789. But 733.75 *dirham*s had to be subtracted from Ālmalik′s estate: 50 *dirham*s for her burial expenses and 50 for a debt, and 633.75 *dirham*s as a bequest for Quranic recitations and other charitable purposes, for a total of 733.75 *dirham*s, leaving a balance of 7055.25 *dirham*s. And, the document goes on to state, Nāṣir al-Dīn had already received substantial portions of the amount due him: 3000 *dirham*s in cash and 364.25 and 1701.25 *dirham*s from goods sold from the estates of Shams al-Dīn and Ālmalik respectively, for a total of 5065.50 *dirham*s. Subtracting, then, 5065.50 *dirham*s from the total balance of 7055.25 leaves the residue of 1989.75 which Nāṣir al-Dīn received, 146.25 *dirham*s from Ālmalik′s estate and 1843.50 from Shams al-Dīn′s. These calculations can perhaps be more readily grasped in the following form:

On deposit in the Shāfiʻī Court and received from the estates of Shams al-Dīn and Ālmalik	1794.75 *dh*	(line 5)
10 gold florins worth	195.00 *dh*	(line 5)
	1989.75 *dh*	(line 42)

This balance represents a split between the proceeds from two estates:

Shams al-Dīn	1843.50 *dh*	(line 46)
Ālmalik	146.25 *dh*	(line 46)
	1989.75 *dh*	(line 42)

Their total estates had been worth:

Shams al-Dīn	5707.75 *dh*	(line 43)
Ālmalik	2081.25 *dh*	(line 43)
Total	7789.00 *dh*	(line 43)

But this total had been reduced by expenses, a debt, and a legacy from Ālmalik′s estate:

Debt	50.00 *dh*	(line 44)

Burial	50.00 *dh*	(line 44)
Legacy	633.75 *dh*	(line 44)
Total subtraction	733.75 *dh*	

Net result: 7789.00 *dh* – 733.75 *dh* = 7055.25 *dirham*s (line 44). In addition, Nāṣir al-Dīn had already received from the two estates:

Cash from Shams al-Dīn´s	3000.00 *dh*	(line 45)
Sale from Shams al-Dīn´s	364.25 *dh*	(line 45)
Sale from Ālmalik´s	1701.25 *dh*	(line 45)
Total already received	5065.50 *dh*	

Balance (line 42): 7055.25 *dh* – 5065.50 *dh* = 1989.75 *dh*.

This means that Nāṣir al-Dīn´s total received in Jerusalem, however it may be calculated, fell considerably short of the ten thousand *dirham*s owed him from the transferred debt, not to mention the amounts due to the other heirs whose proxies he held. But it should be recalled that Shams al-Dīn and Ālmalik had other assets in Damascus, Baalbek, and Bekaa, which presumably were also distributed to the legal claimants. Were these distributions coordinated with the Jerusalem courts? We do not know.

Before leaving this subject we should note that although some of these figures may be reconciled with those contained in the death inventory and the *makhzūmah,* others cannot. The figures cited for the sale from Shams al-Dīn´s estate come close: 364 from the *makhzūmah,* 364.25 from the *ishhād*. The 3000 *dīnār*s held by Ibn Sanājiq are identical in both these documents. But of the total of twenty-three florins mentioned in the inventory, only ten are mentioned in the *ishhād*; it is also difficult to account exactly for the total of 3133.25 *dirham*s (apart from Ibn Sanājiq´s 3000) enumerated in the estate inventory. Again, however, it should be recalled that we do not know how much time elapsed between the date of the inventory and the death of Shams al-Dīn, or what happened to his assets during the interval.

In Appendix B below I have noted the *siyāqah* numbers deciphered so far from the Ḥaram documents.

44. *tajhīz wa-dayn . . . wa-al-thulth al-mūṣá bi-hi . . .* As already noted above (see p. 94) there are three types of claims against estates: burial expenses, debts, and legal heirs. But the testator also has the right to dispose of a maximum of one-third of the estate, after the payment of burial expenses

and debts, in the form of legacies.[165] Obviously Ālmalik left instructions in her will, or estate inventory, that the disposable third of her estate be devoted to charity and Quranic recitations, presumably coupled with prayers for her soul.

45. *thaman al-aʻyān min tarikat Shams al-Dīn* . . . This refers to the proceeds from the sale of chattels, recorded in *makhzūmah* no. 591 above.
min tarikat Ālmalik thaman ḥawāʼij mubāʻah qabla taʼrīkhihi. Although there was obviously a public sale of goods from Ālmalik's estate, there is no indication of when or where the sale was held except that it was concluded before the date of the document. Since there is no specific reference to any sums received by Nāṣir al-Dīn outside Jerusalem, I would infer that the goods were sold in Jerusalem. Unfortunately, if this was indeed the case, no *makhzūmah* has showed up so far.

As already mentioned in footnote 118, this must be an error for . Otherwise the figures on line 45 itemizing the sums that Nāṣir al-Dīn had already received from the two estates add up to 5072.50 *dirham*s, which, if subtracted from the balance of 7055.25 entered on line 44, yield a final balance of 1982.75 *dirham*s rather than the 1989.75 entered on line 42.

47. *Amīn al-Ḥukm.* "In the Mamluk period the *Amīn al-Ḥukm* was a judicial officer, under the jurisdiction of a *qāḍī*, responsible for the welfare of minor orphans."[166] Given the fact that Ālmalik had left at least one orphaned heir, for whom Nāṣir al-Dīn was legal guardian, it is not surprising that he should be required to acknowledge that nothing was due to him from this source.

48. *mā awṣat bi-hi Ālmalik*. The use of this clause, which is standard in wills, indicates that Ālmalik had indeed drawn up a will before her death.[167]
thulth mālihā. Note that a third of her estate (2081.25 *dh* – 100 *dh* = 1981.25 *dh*) is 660.42 *dirham*s, not 633.75 (line 44).
wa-lā li-muwakkilīhi presumably refers to those heirs listed in lines 26-27 above who had assigned their power of attorney to Nāṣir al-Dīn.

49. *wa-wakkala fī thubūtihi . . . tawkīlan sharʻīyan*. This clause means that Nāṣir al-Dīn appointed an agent to act in his behalf in obtaining court certification of his *ishhād* and a judgement as to his claims, a well documented practice during the Mamluk period.[168] I suspect that either the Shāfiʻī *qāḍī*

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165 Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 1:455. Cf. Muhammad Abu Zahra, "Family Law," 161-62; also Coulson, *Succession*, 213-58.

166 Lutfi and Little, "Emendations," 330.

167 See *Catalogue*, 311-12.

168 For discussion of the service of *wakīl*s in court, representing clients in the absence of attorneys

Sharaf al-Dīn or the court clerk/notary who drafted the *ishhād* served in this formal capacity.

50. *wa-ṣallá Allāh . . . wa-niʻama al-wakīl.* Al-Asyūṭī mentions the merit of closing legal documents with such pious phrases.[169] In practice they were often used as fillers, to complete a final line of a document which might otherwise have been partially blank. This is graphically demonstrated in the photographs of the *iqrār*s photographed in Lutfi's "*Iqrār*s."[170] These phrases were also used in chancery documents, in what Ernst calls the *Schlussprotokoll*.[171]

51. Curiously, although the *taṣliyah* and *ḥasbalah* normally indicate the end of the text of a document, a sentence has been appended here, almost as an afterthought, to indicate that Nāṣir al-Dīn attested to the validity of Ālmalik's bequest.

lā maṭʻan lahu wa-lā dāfiʻ. . . This is a stock phrase that sometimes appears in al-Asyūṭī's formularies after a judge has heard a claim or request from a plaintiff/claimant for a judgement. Before delivering the judgement, the judge will ask the defendant in the case whether he has any challenge or rebuttal. If he has none, he replies that he has no *maṭʻan* or *dāfiʻ*, and the judge issues his verdict.[172] In the context of this document the phrase means that Nāṣir al-Dīn has no challenge to Ālmalik's bequest, and that it should be honored accordingly.

52-65. These lines contain witnessing clauses of no less than ten witnesses to the document or, more accurately, to various depositions and processes contained or described therein. Although two male witnesses would have sufficed, the presence of more is by no means unusual.[173] Nevertheless, ten is a large number and may indicate that the case was perceived to be so complex and problematic that the agreement of this extraordinary number

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in Muslim law, see Émile Tyan, "Judicial Organization," in *Law in the Middle East*, ed. Khadduri and Liebesny, 257-59. See also Guellil, *Akten*, 297, 363, and especially al-Ṭarsūsī's formulary for a *wakālah*: "*Fulān* appointed *fulān* A his agent in legal claims and in response as to what is claimed against him, in referring his affairs to judges, in establishing proofs, and verifying rights . . ." (175-76). Also Lutfi, "*Iqrār*s," 276, 280, and al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:373. For a similar example from the Mamluk documents of St. Catherine's Monastery, see ʻAbd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, "Min Wathā'iq Sānt Katrīn: Thalāth Wathā'iq Fiqhīyah," *Majallat Kullīyat al-Ādāb, Jāmiʻat al-Qāhirah* 25 (1963): 99.

[169]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 1:25.

[170]Plates I, III, IV, V, VI, VII. Also, *Catalogue*, Plate 6.

[171]Ernst, *Sultansurkunden*, xxxv-xxxvii.

[172]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:461, 506, 507, 519, 520, 526.

[173]See note 70 above.

of witnesses would serve to reinforce the legality of the proceedings. As in no. 133 above, the certifying judge saw fit to endorse the testimony of a limited number of the witnesses with the *raqm*, written in a thick pen, *shahida ʿindī bi-dhālika.* Note, however, that of these four ([a]52, [c]52, [a]63, [b]63), one ([a]52)—Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān, who probably indited the document[174]—is distinguished by the addition of the epithet, *″Aʿazzahu Allāh taʿālá.″* According to al-Asyūṭī this epithet was used for witnesses who enjoyed repute as jurists, teachers, or chancery clerks.[175] Lacking further information about the witnesses, we can only opine that the judge singled out Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān for a special mark of respect for reasons unknown. Similarly, we can only speculate as to whether the judge′s endorsement of only four witnesses′ testimony betokens his recognition of the *ʿadālah.*[176]

The witnessing clauses can be further divided according to content. Three witnesses ([a]52, [d]52, [c]57) testify to what the document ascribes to the Shāfiʿī *qāḍī* Sharaf al-Dīn and Nāṣir al-Dīn; of these, the latter two add that they witnessed Nāṣir al-Dīn take possession of the amount kept in the court depository. One witness ([b]58) served as witness to Nāṣir al-Dīn alone, including his receipt of what was owed to him. Two witnesses ([b]52, [c]52) testify to what the document ascribes to the Shāfiʿī judge *and* the Ḥanafī judge Taqī al-Dīn; three more ([a]58, [a]61, [b]63) testify to what is ascribed to all three parties, i.e., both judges plus Nāṣir al-Dīn. Of these, one ([b]63) testifies in addition that Ālmalik′s bequest of one-third of her estate was disbursed legally; and one ([a]63) testifies to this fact alone. Clearly, then, this document required testimony to four specific issues: (a) the validity of the actions and depositions of one or both of the two contemporary judges involved in the proceedings; (b) the validity of the depositions and actions of the claimant, Nāṣir al-Dīn; (c) his receipt of the residual estates held by the Shāfiʿī Depository in Jerusalem; (d) the legal disbursement of Ālmalik′s bequest.

It should be noted, moreover, that of the four witnessing clauses endorsed by the judge, one ([a]52) refers to the Shāfiʿī judge and Nāṣir al-Dīn; one ([b]52) to both judges; one ([c]52) to both judges and Nāṣir al-Dīn′s

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[174]Although al-Ṭarsūsī suggests that modesty requires the drafter of the document to write his witnessing clause in ″the neutral middle,″ I am convinced from my survey of the Ḥaram documents that the right-hand position directly beneath the text was reserved for this purpose. See Guellil, *Akten*, 364-65.

[175]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:372.

[176]See the commentary on no. 133, lines 16-21, above.

transactions and receipt; and one ([b]63) to the three principals plus Ālmalik′s bequest. Thus, all four issues are witnessed by endorsed witnesses. Although none of the witnesses, whether endorsed or not, testified to all issues, all but one ([a]63) testified to two or more issues.

The witnessing clauses can also be characterized on the basis of format, using the categories derived by Guellil from her study of al-Ṭarsūsī′s formularies. All but one of the clauses ([a]63) fall into the category of *Instrumentszeugnis* or testimony to the document itself, and all follow the standard form (*gewöhnliches Instrumentszeugnis*).[177] In response to Nāṣir al-Dīn′s request for witnesses in line 2, *ashhada ʻalayhi al-Janāb* . . . , all ten witnesses reply, *ashhadu ʻalayhi* (I am witness to him), or in the case of [d]52 and [c]57, in the past tense, *shahidtu ʻalá* (I was witness to . . .). This opening clause is followed in each instance by the name/s of the principal/s involved and the phrase, *bi-mā nusiba ilayhi/ilayhim aʻlayhu/fīhi . . . fī ta'rīkhihi* (to that which is attributed to him/them above/in this document . . . on its date). These witnessing clauses end with the name of the witness, preceded by *katabahu* (he wrote it). But some of these clauses ([c]52, [d]52, [c]57, [b]63) take an expanded form of the standard format, called by Guellil the *erweitertes Instrumentszeugnis*,[178] since they add a clause witnessing either Nāṣir al-Dīn′s receipt of the goods or the correct disposition of the estate. Finally, the one exceptional witnessing clause ([a]63) is couched in the form of a *Sachzeugnisse*, testimony to the case itself,[179] in this instance to the disbursement of the one-third bequest.

Margin:

li-yushhada bi-thubūtihi wa-al-ḥukm bi-mūjab dhālika . . . As noted in the commentary on no. 133 above, this clause, written like the judge′s *ʻalāmah* and the endorsement of some of the witnessing clauses with a thick pen, is called a *tawqīʻ*. It contains the judge′s verdict (*ḥukm*) in response to Nāṣir al-Dīn′s claim (*daʻwá*) that the transactions set out in the document should be certified by a court. Al-Asyūṭī describes the process in some detail in his chapter on *al-qaḍā'*: ″When the witnesses have completed their depositions,″ and the judge has endorsed them and inscribed his motto,

> he turns his attention [to writing] the *tawqīʻ* on the document (*al-maktūb*). Its position is beneath the *bā'* of the *basmalah*,

[177]Guellil, *Akten*, 360.
[178]Ibid., 263.
[179]Ibid., 361.

> at the side of the text, at the beginning of the first line. If the *tawqīʻ* follows the Egyptian model, the judge writes *li-yusajjala khāṣṣatan* and the court clerk handles the phrasing of the certification. . . . If the judge desires, he writes *li-yusajjala bi-thubūtihi wa-al-ḥukm bi-mūjabihi*, or *li-yusajjala bi-thubūtihi wa-tanfīdhihi*, or *li-yusajjala bi-thubūt mā qāmat bi-hi al-bayyinah fīhi wa-al-ḥukm bi-hi*. If the *tawqīʻ* is according to the Syrian model, the judge writes it in the margin, from the beginning of the first line of the text, in the following form: *li-yushhada bi-thubūtihi wa-al-ḥukm bi-mūjabihi*, and mentions in his handwriting everything for which testimony has been given to him, root and branch. If there is any disagreement (*khilāf*) about the question, he states *maʻa al-ʻilm bi-al-khilāf wa-billāh al-Mustaʻān.*[180]

Thus it can be readily seen that this *tawqīʻ* was composed in conformity with the pattern followed by Syrian notaries. Conversely, the document provides evidence that al-Asyūṭī was not writing in a vacuum, from the perspective of a theorist, but was describing actual notarial practice. The fact that he was writing a century or so later than our document merely underlines the conservatism of the Arabic notarial tradition.

ṣiḥḥat al-ḥawālah . . . wa-ṣarf al-mablagh al-mūṣá bi-hi . . . It is noteworthy that in addition to the verdict that Nāṣir al-Dīn's request for certification was valid the judge also singled out the validity of two specific transactions connected with the case, namely the *ḥawālah* and the disposition of the bequest. Obviously the judge must have regarded these transactions as the two critical legal issues, whose validity was open to challenge.

maʻa al-ʻilm bi-al-khilāf is one of several phrases cited by al-Asyūṭī to register a *qāḍī*'s awareness of the possibility of a divergent judgement from another judge on the basis of the same evidence.[181] It is interesting that in al-Ṭarsūsī's formulary the phrase takes the form, *maʻa ʻilmihi . . . bi-al-khilāf bayna al-ʻulamā*' (despite his knowledge of disagreement among legal scholars).[182]

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[180]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:370-71.

[181]See Little, "Court Records," 43-44. Cf. Wakin, *Function of Documents*, 32-37, for a discussion of the means used by notaries to avoid the possibility that a dissenting *qāḍī* might declare a contract invalid.

[182]Guellil, *Akten*, 305.

IV. Verso, no. 355. An *ishhād*/*isjāl*, dated 7 Rajab 795/19 May 1393, made in response to the *ḥukm* contained in the *tawqīʿ* on recto (dated five weeks earlier), calling for witnesses to attest to the validity of the document and the transactions recorded therein. See figure 13, p. 193.

Arabic Transcription

١. ا[لحمـ]ـد لله
٢. [اشهـ]ـدنى الفقيـر [الـ]ـى [الـلـ]ـه تعالى الشيخ الامام العالم جمال الدين ابو محمد
٣. مفيد الطالبين بقية السلف الصالحين ابو محمد[183] عبد الله
٤. ابن العبد الفقير الى الله تَعالى الشيخ الامام العَالم العَلامة
٥. شمس الدين مفتي المسلمين صدر المدرسين ابي عبد الله محمد ابن المرحوم
٦. الفقير الى الله تَعالى زين الدين حامد الشَافعي خليفة الحكم العزيز
٧. بالقدس الشريف ايده الله تَعالى وهو في مجلس حكمه ومحل ولايته
٨. انه ثبتَ عنده بعد تقدم الدعوى المسموعة وما
٩. يترتب عليها شرعاً مضمون الاشهاد المسطر باطناً على ما نُصَ
١٠. وشرح وبين واوضح ومضمون ما قامت به البينة باطنا في جميع
١١. ما سطر باطناً حسب ما نص وشرح وبين واوضح وفصل
١٢. باطناً على الوجه المشروح باطناً ثبوتاً صحيحا شرعيا
١٣. معتبرا مرضياً معمولا به معولا عليه موثوقاً مركوناً اليه
١٤. مستجمعاً شرايطه الشرعية وانه ايده الله تعالى حكم بموجب
١٥. ذلك كله وصحة الحوالة المعينة باطناً ولزومها وعدم رجوع
١٦. المحتال على المحيل وفي ماله وَصرف المبلغ الموصى به وهو
١٧. الثلث المعين باطناً الى مستحقيه شرعاً مع العلم بالخلاف
١٨. في ما فيه الخلاف حكما صحيحاً شرعياً بتة وامضاه وقضى بموجبه
١٩. والزم بمقتضَاه مسؤولا فيه مستجمعاً شرايطه الشرعية
٢٠. وواجباته المرعيَّة فشهدت عليه بذلك في سابع شهر رجب
٢١. الفرد سنة خمس وتسعين وسبعماية وكتبه
٢٢. محمد الصفدي
٢٣. كذلك اشهدني ايده الله تعالى فشهدت عليه بذلك كتبه عيسى بن احمد

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[183]This *kunyah* has been inadvertently repeated.

العجلوني الشافعي

٢٤. كذلك اشهدني ايده الله فشهدت عليه بذلك كتبه خليل بن موسى

٢٥. وكذلك اشهدني ايده الله تعالى فشهدت عليه بذلك كتبه احمد بن محمد بن الجلال

٢٦. وكذلك اشهدني سيدنا ومولانا الحاكم المشار اليه اعلاه ايده الله تعالى فشهدت عليه بذلك

٢٧. كتبه احمد بن رشيد (؟) فتح اللّه (؟)

٢٨. كذلك اشهدني سيدنا الحاكم المشار اليه اعلاه ايده الله تعالى فشهدت عليه بذلك في تاريخه كتبه احمد بن النقيب الشافعي

٢٩. كذلك اشهدني سيدنا الحاكم المشار اليه اعلاه ايده الله تعالى فشهدت عليه

٣٠. بذلك كتبه احمد بن محمد بن علي

Translation

1. Praise be to God
2. The Needy of God the Exalted, the Shaykh, Leader, and Scholar, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad,
3. Benefactor of Seekers, Survivor of the Virtuous Forefathers, ʻAbd Allāh
4. *ibn* of the Servant, Needy of God the Exalted, the Shaykh, Leader, and Learned Scholar,
5. Shams al-Dīn, Muftī of Muslims, Chief of Teachers, Abū ʻAbd Allāh Muḥammad, *ibn* of the late
6. Needy of God the Exalted, Zayn al-Dīn Ḥāmid al-Shāfiʻī, Deputy Judge in
7. Jerusalem the Noble, may God the Exalted support him, while present in his council of judgement and the place of his jurisdiction,
8. called upon me to witness that there was certified before him, after presentation of a permissible claim and that which
9. ensues from it by law, the content of the attestation recorded on recto, in accordance with that which is stated,
10. set forth, explained, and elucidated and the content of that which has been established by testimony on recto as to all
11. that which is recorded on recto, in accordance with that which is stated, set forth, explained, elucidated, and detailed on recto
12. in the manner set forth on recto, such certification being legal, valid,
13. recognized, executable, and in force, worthy of trust, reliance, and confidence,

14. comprising all its legal conditions. [He further called on me to witness] that he, may God the Exalted support him, issued his judgement to the obligatoriness
15. of all that, to the validity and irrevocability of the transfer of debt designated on recto, to the lack of recourse of
16. the creditor against the transferor and his property, and to [the legality of] the disbursement of the amount of the bequest
17. to its claimants, this being the third designated on recto, in spite of cognizance of a divergence of opinion
18. as to that which is contended. This ruling being absolutely valid and legal, he implemented it, judged in accordance with it, and
19. enjoined in conformity with it, having been requested to do so, fulfilling its legal conditions
20. and its permissible obligations. I was witness to him in that on 7 Rajab
21. the Unique 795 [19 May 1393]. Written by
22. Muḥammad al-Ṣafadī.
23. Likewise he, may God the Exalted support him, called on me as witness, and I was witness to him in that. Written by ʻĪsá ibn Aḥmad al-ʻAjlūnī al-Shāfiʻī.
24. Likewise he, may God support him, called on me as witness, and I was witness to him in that. Written by Khalīl ibn Mūsá.
25. Likewise he, may God the Exalted support him, called on me as witness, and I was witness to him in that. Written by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Jalāl.
26. Likewise Our Lord and Master the Magistrate mentioned above, may God the Exalted support him, called on me as witness, and I was witness to him in that.
27. Written by Aḥmad ibn Rashīd (?) ibn Fatḥ Allāh (?).
28. Likewise Our Lord the above-mentioned Magistrate, may God the Exalted support him, called on me as witness, and I was witness to him in that on its date. Written by Aḥmad ibn al-Naqīb al-Shāfiʻī.
29. Likewise Our Lord the above-mentioned Magistrate, may God the Exalted support him, called on me as witness, and I was witness to him
30. in that. Written by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī.

Commentary

2. *Ashhadanī* . . . This document takes the form characterized by Guellil as *ishhād/isjāl*,[184] whereby a judge calls for witnesses to certify the validity of

[184]Guellil, *Akten*, 260.

the document on recto and all the transactions therein recorded. The intent was obviously to insure that these transactions would not be invalidated by another jurist. In fact, further steps were often taken whereby an *ishhād* was prepared by still another judge certifying the original *ishhād*/*isjāl*. This second *ishhād* would have been written in the space left blank to the right of the *ishhād*/*isjāl* on the present document.[185] In his chapter on *shahādāt* (testimony), al-Asyūṭī distinguishes between two formats for court certifications: the *isjāl* format followed by Egyptian notaries and the *ishhād* followed by Syrians. Since our document follows the latter format, we shall confine the present discussion to it.[186] Here is al-Asyūṭī's formulary:

> Format of a judge's *ishhād*, in lieu of an *isjāl*, in the mode of the Syrians, in which the judge signs with his *'alāmah* on the recto of the document and inscribes on the margin his request for witnesses to him regarding certification, judgement, implementation, etc., in the aforementioned form: Our Lord and Master—if he is a Chief Judge, the appropriate honorifics are mentioned along with the invocation, "may God perpetuate his days, strengthen his judgements, lengthen his shadow, and seal his deeds with good ones"; if he is a Deputy Judge, his honorifics are mentioned along with the invocation, "may God the Exalted support him" (*ayyadahu Allāh ta'ālá*)—with complete citation of the magistrate, his name and those of his father and grandfather, so as to avoid any confusion, followed by "al-Shāfi'ī" or "al-Ḥanafī," for example, in such-and-such a kingdom, called upon me as a witness to his generous soul, may God the Exalted guard him, in his noble council of judgement (*fī majlis ḥukmihi al-'azīz*) in such-and-such a place, that there was certified before him the *ishhād* (of attestation) on recto of the aforementioned buyer and seller[187] as to all that which is attributed to them (*bi-jamī' mā nusiba ilayhim*) on recto, and the validity

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[185]For examples see *Catalogue*, 258-59 (no. 639), 307-8 (no. 625), 309-10 (no. 717).

[186]See Lutfi, "*Iqrār*s," 282-86; Ibrāhīm, "al-Tawthīqāt," 293-94; and, for a broader discussion of judicial records and registrations, Rudolf Vesely, "Die Hauptsprobleme der Diplomatik arabischer Privaturkunden aus dem spätmittelalterlichen Ägypten," *Archiv Orientální* 40 (1972): 312-43. For further specimens of certified/registered Mamluk documents see [Noberto Risciani], *Documenti e Firmani* (Jerusalem, 1936), 98-109, 190-209, 264-67.

[187]This phrase is used as an example of what the contents of recto might be.

> of the contract of sale between them in the sale designated on recto, in the manner set forth (*'alá al-wajh al-mashrūḥ*) therein, with valid and legal certification (*thubūtan ṣaḥīḥan shar'īyan*). I was witness to him in that (*fa-shahidtu 'alayhi bi-dhālika*) on such-and-such a date. If evidence is established before the judge to more than we have mentioned, this is added, the principle to be followed being the language and expressions the judge employed in signing the document, neither more nor less.[188]

Similar formularies for this type of *ishhād* are found in al-Ṭarsūsī's *Kitāb al-I'lām*.[189] As we shall see, our document conforms fully with these patterns, beginning with the first word, *ashhadanī*, which is the distinguishing opening of the Syrian model, as opposed to *hādhā mā ashhada bi-hi* . . . , which opens the Egyptian *isjāl*.[190]

2-3. *al-Faqīr ilá Allāh ta'ālá al-Shaykh al-Imām al-'Ālim* . . . are titles used in al-Asyūṭī's formularies for deputy *qāḍī*s.[191]
baqīyat al-salaf al-ṣāliḥīn, according to al-Qalqashandī, is used for scholars and virtuous persons.[192]

2-5. *Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh ibn Shams al-Dīn Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Zayn al-Dīn Ḥāmid al-Anṣārī al-Shāfi'ī.* This *qāḍī* is mentioned only briefly by Mujīr al-Dīn, with the extra *nisbah* al-'Irāqī and with the comment that he was judge of Jerusalem, in office in 812/1409-1410.[193] But from the Ḥaram documents we know that he was Shāfi'ī Deputy Judge in Jerusalem as early as 795/1393, the date of this document. Note that in accordance with al-Asyūṭī's formulary his *nasab*s include both his father and his grandfather. The former, Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn al-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn Abī Muḥammad Ḥāmid ibn al-Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Abī al-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Maqdisī al-Anṣārī al-Shāfi'ī, was also a *qāḍī* in Jerusalem according to Mujīr al-Dīn.[194] From

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[188]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:452-53.
[189]Guellil, *Akten*, 212-14.
[190]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:450, 452.
[191]Ibid., 450.
[192]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 6:40.
[193]Mujīr al-Dīn, *Al-Uns*, 2:129.
[194]Ibid., 126.

the honorifics assigned to him in the document—Muftī al-Muslimīn, Ṣadr al-Mudarrisīn—we can infer that he too was probably a deputy *qāḍī*.[195]

7. *ayyadahu Allāh ta'ālá*. Note that according to al-Asyūṭī's formulary above, this invocation is used for deputy *qāḍī*s.
wa-huwa fī majlis ḥukmihi wa-maḥall walāyatihi. Only the first half of this phrase is found in al-Asyūṭī's formulary above. But the entire phrase occurs in at least one of al-Ṭarsūsī's formularies.[196] Apparently it indicates that the judge was in his legally constituted court when the proceedings were conducted.

8. *annahu thabata 'indahu ba'da taqaddum al-da'wá al-masmū'ah.* This is a stock phrase in the Ḥaram documents.[197] According to al-Asyūṭī the first step for a judge to take in adjudicating a matter is to determine whether a claim (*da'wá*) is legally permissible and can be heard in court. This process is known as *taṣḥīḥ al-da'wá*, which can be a formal proceeding, in which case the judge writes an '*alāmat al-da'wá—uddu'iyat bi-hi*—on verso, indicating that the claim has been heard and is valid.[198] Although in our document this formal procedure was apparently not followed (since there is no '*alāmat al-da'wá*), inclusion of the phrase, *al-da'wá al-masmū'ah*, indicates that the claim was heard and found to be permissible.

8-9. *wa-mā yatarattabu 'alayhā shar'an* is a stock phrase in the Ḥaram documents, indicating that a permissible claim and its legal implication and consequences have been duly submitted to the court.[199]

9-11. *'alá mā nuṣṣa wa-shuriḥa* is a stock clause used by al-Asyūṭī and al-Jarawānī in their formularies to refer to the contents of a certified document.[200] It is found as well in surviving specimens of Mamluk *ishhād*/*isjāl*s.[201] *Buyyina* and *ūḍiḥa* can also be found.[202] *Nuṣṣa wa-shuriḥa* is also used in witnessing clauses at the end of documents.[203]

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[195] Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:594.
[196] Guellil, *Akten*, 213; see also Asali, *Wathā'iq*, 2:57 (no. 647).
[197] E.g., Asali, *Wathā'iq*, 1:229 (no. 28b), 2:57 (no. 647).
[198] Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir,* 2:373; cf. Lutfi, "*Iqrār*s," 281.
[199] Asali, *Wathā'iq*, 1:229 (no. 28b), 2:57 (no. 647); cf. al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:445, 446, 461.
[200] Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:450; al-Jarawānī, "al-Kawkab," 110.
[201] Asali, *Wathā'iq*, 1:229 (no. 28); Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, ed., *Fihrist Wathā'iq al-Qāhirah ḥattá Nihāyat 'Aṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk (239-922 H./853-1516 M.),* Textes arabes et études islamiques, 16 (Cairo, 1981), 350; Risciani, *Documenti*, 190.
[202] Risciani, *Documenti*, 264.
[203] Ibid., 184.

10. *mā qāmat bi-hi al-bayyinah.* See commentary on no. 355 recto, lines 32 and 33.

12. *'alá al-wajh al-mashrūḥ*. See al-Asyūṭī's formulary above, pp.165-166.

12-13. *thubūtan ṣaḥīḥan shar'īyan mu'tabaran marḍīyan . . . mawthūqan bi-hi markūnan ilayhi* . . . are all stock phrases which can be found in formularies and documents to denote the absolute validity and effectiveness of the certification.[204] I have not come across examples of *ma'mūlan bi-hi mu'awwalan 'alayhi*, but they undoubtedly exist.

14. *mustajmi'an sharā'iṭahu al-shar'īyah* . . . is apparently a variant of the much more common *mustawfīyan sharā'iṭahu al-shar'īyah*.[205] In lines 19 and 20 below the phrase on line 14 is combined with *wa-wājibātihi al-mar'īyah*. Commenting on this combination as it occurs in a Mamluk *isjāl*, Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn makes the following pertinent remarks:

> It is essential that the conditions of legal validity be fulfilled in the document and that it be written in a legal form which will leave no room for controversy. The most important of the legal conditions which the document fulfills is mention of the legal actor, identification of that which is disposed, without any ambiguity or conjecture, and mention of everything that enhances the validity of the disposition and its freedom from that which diminishes it, in addition to the testimony and signatures of the witnesses and the *qāḍī*'s endorsement of the testimony.[206]

14, 18. *ḥakama bi-mūjab dhālika kullihi . . . wa qaḍā' bi-mūjabihi.* We have already confronted the first clause above in the margin of no. 355 recto. According to Amīn these stock phrases

> mean that the judgement was issued validly and in accordance with other legal requirements, signifying that it is binding for whatever results from the matter in the way in which the judge considered it by law. The judgement requires (a) capacity to dispose (*ahlīyat al-taṣarruf*) and (b) correctness

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[204]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:450, 506; Guellil, *Akten*, 212; Little, "Purchase Deeds," 306-7 (no. 574); Asali, *Wathā'iq*, 1:229; Ibrāhīm, "al-Tawthīqāt," 343; Amīn, *Fihrist*, 350.

[205]See al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:451; Guellil, *Akten*, 213, 214, 216; Little, "Court Records," 28 (no. 649); Asali, *Wathā'iq*, 2:57 (no. 647); Risciani, *Documenti*, 264.

[206]Amīn, *Fihrist*, 350, citing Ibrāhīm.

of form (*ṣiḥḥat al-ṣīghah*). The judge delivers his judgement in accordance with these.[207]

15. *wa-ṣiḥḥat al-ḥawālah.* This is the second element cited in the judge's *tawqī'* written in the margin on recto. Note also that the clause contained therein, *wa-'adam rujū' al-muḥtāl 'alá al-muḥīl*, is repeated in the *ishhād/isjāl.* According to al-Asyūṭī, jurists disagree on this aspect of the *ḥawālah*, i.e., as to whether the creditor (*al-muḥtāl*) has any recourse against the property of the transferor (*al-muḥīl*) if he, the former, does not receive his right from the cessionary (*al-muḥtāl 'alayhi*).[208] The possibility of a challenge on this issue is, of course, one reason for including the phrase, *ma'a al-'ilm bi-al-khilāf* on line 17 and in the *tawqī'* on recto.

16. *wa-ṣarf al-mablagh al-mūṣá bi-hi.* This is the third element which the judge, in the *tawqī'*, cited for certification. By mentioning these three elements explicitly—the *ḥukm*, the *ḥawālah*, and the bequest—the *ishhād/isjāl* conforms to al-Asyūṭī's view that such a document should follow "the language and expressions the judge employed in signing the document, neither more nor less."[209]

18-19. *wa-amḍāhu wa-qaḍá bi-mūjabihi wa-alzama bi-muqtaḍāhu mas'ūlan fīhi* . . . are all stock phrases to be found in the formularies for *ishhād/isjāl*s and other judicial documents. Compare, for example, al-Ṭarsūsī's *wa-qaḍā' bi-mūjabihi wa-alzama bi-muqtaḍāhu wa-ajāza dhālika wa-anfadhahu wa-amḍāhu mas'ūlan fīhi . . .*"[210]

20-30. *fa-shahidtu 'alayhi bi-dhālika . . . ashhadanī . . .* The witnessing clauses follow the format characteristic of the Syrian *ishhād*, in which the drafter of the document responds to the judge's request for witnesses—*ashhadanī*—in the opening line of the text with *fa-shahidtu*. . . .[211] The co-witnesses use the formula *ka-dhālika ashhadanī . . . fa-shahidtu 'alayhi bi-dhālika.*[212] It is noteworthy that two of the witnesses to the *ishhād* served

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[207] Ibid.

[208] Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 1:180.

[209] See his formulary, p. 166, above.

[210] Guellil, *Akten*, 213, 214, 216; cf. al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:510.

[211] Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir*, 2:452-53; Guellil, *Akten*, 260. For examples, see Asali, *Wathā'iq*, 2:57 (no. 647); Lutfi, "*Iqrār*s," 283-84 (no. 315 verso).

[212] Guellil, *Akten*, 364. For examples, see Asali, *Wathā'iq*, 2:57 (no. 647); Risciani, *Documenti*, 200, 204, 208.

also as witnesses to the document on recto, namely ʻĪsá[213] ibn Aḥmad al-ʻAjlūnī al-Shāfiʻī and Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī.

I hope that the above commentary has demonstrated that this document is a standardized one which complies with the formularies recommended by al-Asyūṭī (and al-Ṭarsūsī), so much so, in fact, that it resembles a printed form which the notary has copied, filling in only the relevant particulars of name, dates, and transactions. Otherwise, almost all the language of the document consists of notarial clichés in common use in Mamluk Syria and Palestine. In this respect it is noteworthy that al-Asyūṭī, writing around a century after the date of the document, accurately recorded the different practices for certifying documents followed by Syrian, as opposed to Egyptian, notaries and court clerks. Thus we have one more reason for confirming the value of al-Asyūṭī's notarial manual as a historical source.[214]

CONCLUDING REMARKS

What is to be learned from this extended paper chase apart from a mass of detail related to the drafting of legal documents? Not as much, perhaps, as we would like but more than enough to justify the pursuit, given the paucity of data from literary sources on how society functioned below the level of the Mamluk elite and their clients. Here our documents afford us rare glimpses of a thriving but otherwise unknown family from a remote area of the Mamluk empire. The core of the family consisted of a childless merchant and his wife, both from Baalbek, who owned assets there as well as in Damascus and Jerusalem. At the time the first document, an estate inventory, was drafted in October 1391, the two were living in an apartment in the Maghribī Quarter of Jerusalem, presumably on a temporary basis since Shams al-Dīn did not own the building and his possessions listed in the inventory consisted solely of cash, clothing, and two carpets. Shams al-Dīn must have been in Jerusalem on business; otherwise it is difficult to explain the large amount of cash at his disposal in the city: 6133.25 *dirham*s and twenty-three gold coins, plus ninety-one *dirham*s declared by Ālmalik as maintenance. According to the inventory all the money had been deposited by Shams al-Dīn with two other merchants in Jerusalem. Although we do not know whether he took this action for reasons of security, profit, or both, it is interesting that he had such financial arrangements with two colleagues in the city. But the state of the couple's finances should not blind us to the possibility that they were combining business

[213]"ʻĪsá" I now prefer to "ʻAlī" in my "The Jews," 247.

[214]See Little, "Purchase Deeds," 333-35, and idem, "The Nature of *Khānqāh*s, *Ribāṭ*s, and *Zāwiya*s under the Mamlūks," in *Islamic Studies Presented to Charles J. Adams*, ed. Wael B. Hallaq and Donald P. Little (Leiden, 1991), 91-105. Cf. Monika Gronke, "La rédaction des actes privés dans

with piety and pleasure during their sojourn in Jerusalem. After all, the city was a pilgrimage center for Muslims, for which Ālmalik must have felt some affection since she arranged to pay for recitation of the Quran there after her death. In any event, by the ninth of October Shams al-Dīn had fallen sick and had become so weak that arrangements were initiated to prepare for his death. These took the form of the estate inventory conducted in his residence, with Ālmalik and four witnesses authorized by the Shāfi'ī judge Sharaf al-Dīn al-Anṣārī in attendance. Exceptionally, this same judge endorsed the inventory and ruled that it should be certified by witnesses to his judgement, though this step was apparently not taken. Perhaps he, or Shams al-Dīn and Ālmalik, thought that settlement of the estate would be complicated by their ownership of assets, and the presence of their heirs, in Syria and that certification might facilitate the process. Why the certification was not completed is not known.

Nor can we ascertain how soon thereafter Shams al-Dīn died, before the public sale of his possessions in March 1392. However, enough time had elapsed for his wife's nephew in Baalbek to obtain, in February, court certification of a document in Damascus supporting his claims on Shams al-Dīn's estate and to bring that document to Jerusalem. Himself the son of a judge, Nāṣir al-Dīn was an officer in the non-Mamluk corps stationed in Baalbek—the Ḥalqah. As a mere nephew to Ālmalik, he was excluded by other heirs to Shams al-Dīn's estate. Indeed, Shams al-Dīn's heirs are identified in the inventory and a later document as Ālmalik and two brothers and sisters; two or three of these were only half siblings, being the children of Shams al-Dīn's mother by another husband, apparently of non-Arab origin if his *nisbah*, al-'Ajamī, is a reliable indicator. Why these heirs made no claim on their brother's Jerusalem estate is a matter for conjecture: perhaps they were aware that Shams al-Dīn's long-standing debt of ten thousand *dirham*s to Ālmalik, legally transferred to her nephew, took precedence and would exhaust the Jerusalem holdings. Be that as it may, it was the nephew in the army, Nāṣir al-Dīn, who took the initiative and journeyed to Jerusalem, stopping in Damascus to put the necessary papers in order, so as to press his claim to the transferred debt. For the time being, under the auspices of the Ḥanafī Court, he was able to obtain all the proceeds of the sale of Shams al-Dīn's personal effects, netting 364 *dirham*s. More than a third (143.5 *dirham*s) of this amount was fetched from the sale of two garments (*ḥanīn*s) trimmed with fur; the rest came from other clothes and two old rugs. Nāṣir al-Dīn also managed to obtain three thousand *dirham*s held on deposit by one of the Jerusalem merchants mentioned above. But it seems that this was as far as Nāṣir al-Dīn got at this time. Was his aunt still alive at the time of the sale, i.e., 17 March 1392? Undoubtedly not, since four months earlier, in December 1391, Nāṣir al-Dīn had taken steps to make a claim on her estate on behalf of her legal heirs. Ālmalik came from a much larger

family than Shams al-Dīn; one of eleven children by the same father, she had five full sisters and two half-sisters and three half-brothers (all named Muḥammad!) by a second wife to her father. Apparently none of these heirs made a claim on their sister′s estate. Instead all of them, except Mughul, whose actions are unspecified, formally ceded their rights as heirs to Nāṣir al-Dīn, who was himself excluded as an heir. This was accomplished in two stages. In December 1391 he obtained certified documents authorizing him to act on behalf of five of the heirs in their claims against the estate; a year later, in December 1392, four of the remaining heirs granted him similar authorization. Moreover, at some unspecified time a public sale of Ālmalik′s effects was conducted in Jerusalem, from which Nāṣir al-Dīn realized the sizeable sum of 1701.25 *dirham*s. Whether this was released to him to retire the transferred debt or to satisfy the claims of the heirs is not known since no *makhzūmah* or any other document other than the *ishhād* recording the final settlement, drawn up in April 1393, has survived.

Whatever the case may be in this particular instance, our documents as a group acquaint us with the workings of a small nuclear family extended by numerous brothers and sisters, born of various husbands and wives—siblings represented by a nephew—split from the nuclear core by the considerable distance between Jerusalem and Baalbek by way of Damascus. But what is noteworthy in all this is the fact that despite the elaborate provisions made by the Islamic law of inheritance to insure the prescribed distribution of property and wealth among the closest blood and marital relations, in this case a remote relative, a nephew of one of the decedents, was able by assiduously availing himself of legal opportunities to interpose himself in the system to his own advantage. To be sure we cannot determine from our incomplete set of documents whether Nāṣir al-Dīn should be regarded as defender or exploiter of the rights of the legal heirs to his aunt′s estate. But the fact remains that a complex legal system gave him occasion to intervene. In this respect we might heed the advice of another scholar, who speaks in a similar vein on a related matter:

> Thus, if we are to understand how property passed from one generation to the next, we should pay less attention to the fixed rules of inheritance and greater attention to the flexible and dynamic rules that govern the transmission of endowment property.[215]

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le monde musulman médiéval: Théorie et pratique,″ *Studia Islamica* 59 (1984): 159-74.

[215]David S. Powers, ″A Court Case from Fourteenth-Century North Africa,″ *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 110 (1990): 243.

If for the last clause we substitute ″rules that govern the judicial system,″ we come close to recognizing one of the advantages to be gained from studying the Ḥaram documents.

The complexity and efficiency of the Islamic judicial system under the Mamluks is a second lesson to be learned from our documents. Here some observations can be made about the operations of the courts in Palestine and Syria at the end of the fourteenth century. First, it is clear that the activities of judges were not isolated according to *madhhab* but that the actions of a judge of one school were recognized as valid by judges of the others. Thus the decisions made on 7 April 1393 by the Shāfiʻī judge of Jerusalem, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Anṣarī, to accept the validity of the proxies assigned to Nāṣir al-Dīn as well as his entitlement to the transfer of the debt owed by his uncle to his aunt involved recognition of the validity of actions taken by Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī judges as well as other Shāfiʻī judges. Furthermore it is obvious that the activities of the judges were not restricted in venue but were recognized as valid in different towns of the Mamluk empire. It is not surprising, of course, that a court in Jerusalem would accept documents certified by courts in Damascus since the former were under the jurisdiction of the latter for a considerable stretch of the Mamluk period.[216] Nevertheless, we have seen that the *shurūṭ* manuals describe the procedures by which court rulings could be conveyed from one court to another, no matter what the location may have been. In this respect it is possible that the Mamluks′ policy of equalizing the four schools of jurisprudence facilitated recourse to judges of diverse affiliations.[217] The uniformity of judicial and notarial documents throughout the empire, taking into account variations in the Egyptian and Syrian traditions, also served to give the system coherence. In any event no less than seven judges of three *madhhab*s (three Shāfiʻī, two Ḥanafī, and two Ḥanbalī) in two cities are known to have participated in the settlement of the estate in question; there may well have been more cited in documents missing for Ālmalik (estate inventory or will and *makhzūmah*). In addition the four extant documents bear the names of twenty-one witnesses, three of whom witnessed two documents. In line with what has been observed regarding the interaction of the *madhhab*s, it is noteworthy that both the estate inventory and Nāṣir al-Dīn′s *ishhād* of attestation were witnessed by affiliates of both the Shāfiʻī and Ḥanafī schools. Nevertheless, it is somewhat curious that the Ḥanafī judge in Jerusalem loomed so large in the settlement process: he authorized the sale of Shams al-Dīn′s

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[216]According to Mujīr al-Dīn (*al-Uns*, 2:119), the Shāfiʻī judges in Jerusalem were appointed by the *qāḍī* of Damascus until 800/1397-98, when the Mamluk sultan in Egypt asserted this prerogative.

[217]See Joseph H. Escovitz, ″The Establishment of Four Chief Judgeships in the Mamluk Empire,″ *JAOS* 102 (1982): 529-31; Little, ″Religion under the Mamluks,″ *The Muslim World* 73 (1983): 174-75, reprinted in Little, *History and Historiography.*

chattels; consequently, all the documents from Damascus were conveyed to him before they reached the Shāfiʻī Court where the residue of the estate was deposited.

Finally, the obvious point should be stressed that despite what is often claimed to be an Islamic bias in favor of oral as opposed to written testimony, documents played a conspicuous and essential role in legal transactions. In this particular case, Nāṣir al-Dīn′s certified attestation that he received the money due to him from the Shāfiʻī Depository in Jerusalem, more than twenty documents listed in Appendix A can be identified. Documents issued in Damascus as early as 1386 were adduced in Jerusalem in 1393 in support of legal claims in accordance with a recognized system of conveying legal instruments from one court to another. This is not to deny the importance of witnesses who were physically present to give testimony in judicial proceedings; references in our documents to *bayyinah* and the signatures of witnesses beyond the requisite two demonstrate the prominence of their role. Still, in the tradition of the states that antedated Islam, the medieval Muslim courts were clearly awash with documents and personnel to draft and register them. There can be no doubt that Muslim courts accepted documents as proof as long as they met long-standing criteria drawn up and continuously monitored by jurists.

APPENDIX A

Chronological list of documents and legal transactions involved in the disposition and settlement of the estates of Shams al-Dīn al-Baʻlabakkī and his wife.

1. 13 Shawwāl 788/7 November 1386. A *ḥujjah/masṭūr* (document) containing an *iqrār* (acknowledgment) of Shams al-Dīn′s ten thousand *dirham* debt to his wife Ālmalik and a *faṣl ḥawālah* (no. 3 below).[218]
2. 1 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 788/24 December 1386. An *ishhād* (attestation of certification) by Aqḍá al-Quḍāh Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī in Damascus certifying the *iqrār* (no. 1 above).[219]
3. 23 Ṣafar 789/15 March 1387. A *faṣl ḥawālah* (transfer clause) added to the *iqrār* (no. 1) containing Ālmalik′s *ishhād* (attestation) that she had transferred the debt to her sister′s son, Nāṣir al-Dīn.[220]
4. Unspecified date prior to the estate inventory (no. 5 below). A *masṭūr* (document) containing Ibn Sanājiq′s *ishhād* (attestation) that Shams al-Dīn had deposited 3000 *dirham*s with him.[221]
5. 10 Dhū al-Qaʻdah 793/9 October 1391. An inventory of Shams al-Dīn′s estate in Jerusalem, containing a *ḥukm* (judgement) by al-Qāḍī Sharaf al-Dīn al-Shāfiʻī that the document is certifiable.[222]
6. Unspecified date. Ālmalik′s will or estate inventory.[223]
7. 4 Muḥarram 794/2 December 1391. A *wakālah* (power of attorney), added as a *dhayl* (codicil) to *iqrār* no. 10 below, authorizing Nāṣir al-Dīn to act on behalf of Sitt al-Wuzarā', Fāṭimah, Sutaytah, and Muḥammad III (through his guardian Muḥammad II) in regard to Ālmalik′s estate.[224]
8. Mid-ten days of Muḥarram 794/9-18 December 1391. A *maḥḍar* (court record) from Damascus containing a list of Ālmalik′s heirs.[225]
9. 16 Muḥarram 794/14 December 1391. An *ishhād* (of certification) by Aqḍá al-Quḍāh Taqī al-Dīn ibn al-Munajjā al-Ḥanbalī in Damascus certifying the *maḥḍar* (no. 8).[226]

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[218]References to this document are found in docs. no. 591, lines 9-11; no. 355 recto, lines 15-16.

[219]No. 591 recto, lines 13-15; no. 355 recto, lines 18-19.

[220]No. 591 recto, lines 11-13; no. 355 recto, lines 16-18.

[221]No. 133, lines 12-13; no. 355 recto, line 44.

[222]No. 133.

[223]No. 355 recto, line 48.

[224]No. 355 recto, lines 26-28.

[225]No. 355 recto, line 10.

[226]No. 355 recto, lines 10-12.

10. 21 Muḥarram 794/19 December 1391. An *ishhād* (attestation) containing an *iqrār* of Muḥammad II, acknowledging Nāṣir al-Dīn′s entitlement to his (Muḥammad′s) inheritance from Ālmalik.[227]
11. 28 Rabīʻ I 794/23 February 1392. An *ishhād* (of certification) by Aqḍá al-Quḍāh Shams al-Dīn al-Ikhnāʼī al-Shāfiʻī in Damascus, certifying the *ḥawālah* (no. 3).[228]
12. 4 Rabīʻ II 794/1 March 1392. An *ishhād* (of certification) by Aqḍá al-Quḍāh Taqī al-Dīn ibn Mufliḥ al-Ḥanbalī in Damascus, certifying Muḥammad II′s *iqrār* (no. 10) and the *wakālah* of four of the heirs (no. 7).[229]
13. 18 Rabīʻ II 794/15 March 1392. Certification (no. 12) of the *iqrār* (no. 10) and the *wakālah* (no. 7) was conveyed to and received by Aqḍá al-Quḍāh Taqī al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī in Jerusalem.[230]
14. On or before 23 Rabīʻ II 794/20 March 1392. Certifications (nos. 2 and 11) of the *iqrār* of debt (no. 1) and the *ḥawālah* (no. 3) were conveyed to and received by Taqī al-Dīn ibn al-Munajjā al-Ḥanbalī in Jerusalem.[231]
15. 23 Rabīʻ II 794/20 March 1392. A *makhzūmah* recording the sale of Shams al-Dīn′s chattels in Jerusalem to settle the debt to Ālmalik transferred to Nāṣir al-Dīn.[232]
16. First ten days of Ṣafar 795/17-26 December 1392. An *iqrār* by Muḥammad I, Asmāʼ, Asin, and Altī authorizing Nāṣir al-Dīn to receive whatever was due to them from Ālmalik′s estate.[233]
17. 19 Rabīʻ II 795/4 March 1393. An *ishhād* (of certification) certifying that certification (no. 9) of the *maḥḍar* (no. 8) was conveyed to and received by Taqī al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī in Jerusalem.[234]
18. 24 Jumādá I 795/7 April 1393. An *ishhād* (of certification) certifying that certifications (nos. 9 and 17) of the *maḥḍar* (no. 8) were conveyed to and received by al-Qāḍī Sharaf al-Dīn al-Shāfiʻī.[235]
19. Same date. Certifications (nos. 12 and 13) of the power of attorney (no. 7) were conveyed to and received by Sharaf al-Dīn al-Shāfiʻī.[236]

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[227]No. 355 recto, lines 22-26.

[228]No. 591, lines 16-19; no. 355 recto, lines 20-21.

[229]No. 355 recto, lines 29-30.

[230]No. 355 recto, lines 30-31.

[231]No. 591 recto, lines 19-20; no. 355 recto, lines 21-22.

[232]No. 591.

[233]No. 355 recto, lines 33-37.

[234]No. 355 recto, lines 12-13.

[235]No. 355 recto, lines 13-15.

[236]No. 355 recto, lines 31-32.

20. Same date. *Bayyinah* (legal evidence from witnesses) was established before Sharaf al-Dīn al-Shāfiʿī regarding the guardianship of Muḥammad III and the *iqrār* of four of his siblings (no. 16).[237]
21. Same date. A *yamīn* (oath) in which Nāṣir al-Dīn swears to the validity of *iqrār* no. 16.[238]
22. Same date. An *ishhād* (of certification) by Sharaf al-Dīn al-Shāfiʿī certifying the *yamīn* (no. 21) and the *iqrār* (no. 16).[239]
23. Same date. An *iqrār* by Nāṣir al-Dīn that he had received what was due to him from the Shāfiʿī Court Depository in Jerusalem and that Ālmalik′s bequest had been spent as directed.[240]
24. Same date. Nāṣir al-Dīn makes a *tawkīl* (warrant of attorney) authorizing an agent to certify the document.[241]
25. Same date. A *tawqīʿ* (judicial notation) containing deputy *qāḍī* Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shāfiʿī′s *ḥukm* (verdict) of the certifiability of the document and its transactions.[242]
26. 7 Rajab 795/19 May 1393. An *ishhād*/*isjāl* attesting to the validity of the *ishhād* on recto (no. 355).[243]

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[237]No. 355 recto, lines 32-33.
[238]No. 355 recto, line 38.
[239]No. 355 recto, lines 39-40.
[240]No. 355 recto, lines 46-50.
[241]No. 355 recto, line 49.
[242]No. 355 recto, right-hand margin.
[243]No. 355 verso.

APPENDIX B: NOTES ON THE MAMLUK *SIYĀQAH*

As we have observed in three documents, there is no consistency in the use of the *siyāqah* script for numbers; much obviously depended on the preferences of the clerks and notaries. In the estate inventory (no. 133), all numbers except the date (line 2), one *dirham* (line 6), and 3000 *dirham*s (line 12), are written in *siyāqah*. Almost all the *siyāqah* numbers are placed between the lines of the text, below the nouns they qualify. The one exception is Ālmalik′s *nafaqah* (line 7), which is written on the line of the text. In the *makhzūmah* (no. 591), all the dates except one are written in a normal notarial *naskh* (although the *mi'ah* of *sab'mi'ah* almost disappears in a ligature written beneath the *'ayn* on lines 11, 13, 15, 19, recto A); the exception is the 700 on line 23, recto A: .

In addition, the sum of 10,000 *dirham*s (line 10, recto A) is written out in full in the preamble. All the other numbers are written in *siyāqah*, in conformity with *makhzūmah* conventions. In Nāṣir al-Dīn′s long attestation (no. 355 recto) many numbers are written in *naskh* on the lines of the text (lines 4-5, 16, 42, 43) plus all the dates except one (line 10): 790.

Only when the detailed breakdown of the sums involved in the estates is given does the clerk begin to enter *siyāqah* figures interlineally (lines 43, 44, 45, 46). If, then, we were to try to infer a rule or pattern followed by the clerks in these three documents, it would be that numbers, including dates, are normally written out full in *naskh*, in the text, except when the clerks are required to present itemized lists, as in the estate inventory and the *makhzūmah*, or to summarize calculations, as in Nāṣir al-Dīn′s *ishhād*. Nevertheless, there are unpredictable exceptions to the rule, as noted. As far as dates are concerned, they are usually written out in full, but the clerks sometimes lapsed into *siyāqah* or another form of abbreviation.

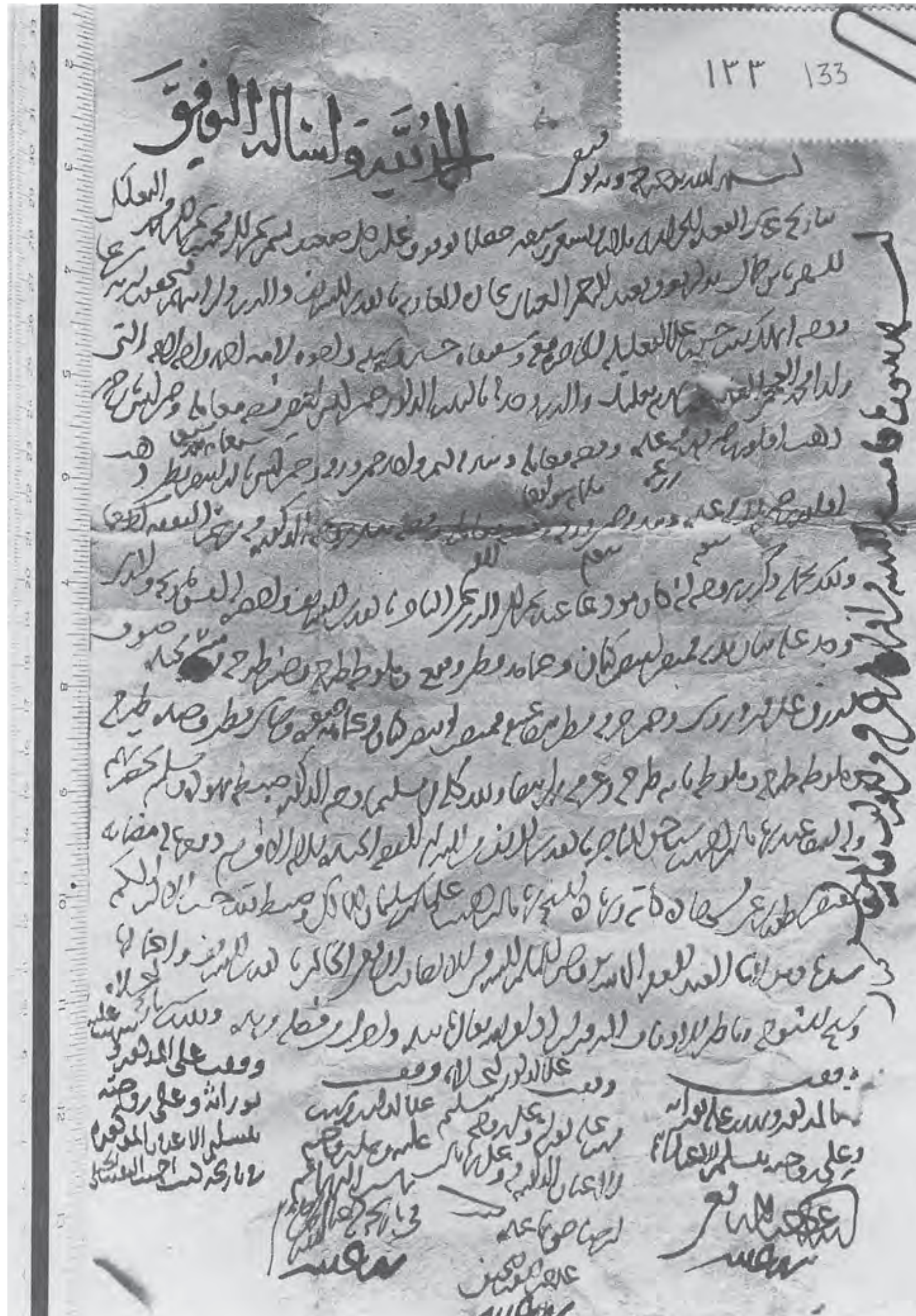
Having confessed in the article to our inability at times to reconcile our readings of individual numbers with some of the totals recorded in the documents, we can still present the following list of *siyāqah* notations used by clerks and notaries in Mamluk Jerusalem of the late fourteenth century.[244] Note that the notations for 10, 20, 28, 45, 64, 81, 91, 98, 300, 600, and 3000 have a terminal *mīm*, which stands for *dirham/darāhim*. Fractions are written below the whole numbers in the *siyāqah* texts.

1/4	1/2 (alone)
1/2 (in combination)	3/4

[244]Cf. the notations described by Jaritz, ″Auszüge,″ 169.

1 (alone)	1 (in combination)
2	3
4	5
6	7
8	9
10	14
15	16
18	20
26	28
33	38
43	45
46	47
50	55
64	78
81	82
91	98
100	146
300	347
364	382
600	700

707	سعها عل	708	سعها [illegible]
778	سعها [illegible] سعا	800	وها
843	وصا بل لبعى	1000	للو
1708	للوسعها [illegible]	1843	للووصا بل لبعى
2000	للع	2081	للع لوها
3000	للم	5000	حالو
5707	حالوسعها عل	7000	عالو
7055	عالوحا		


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الحمد لله وأسأله التوفيق

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

Figure 1

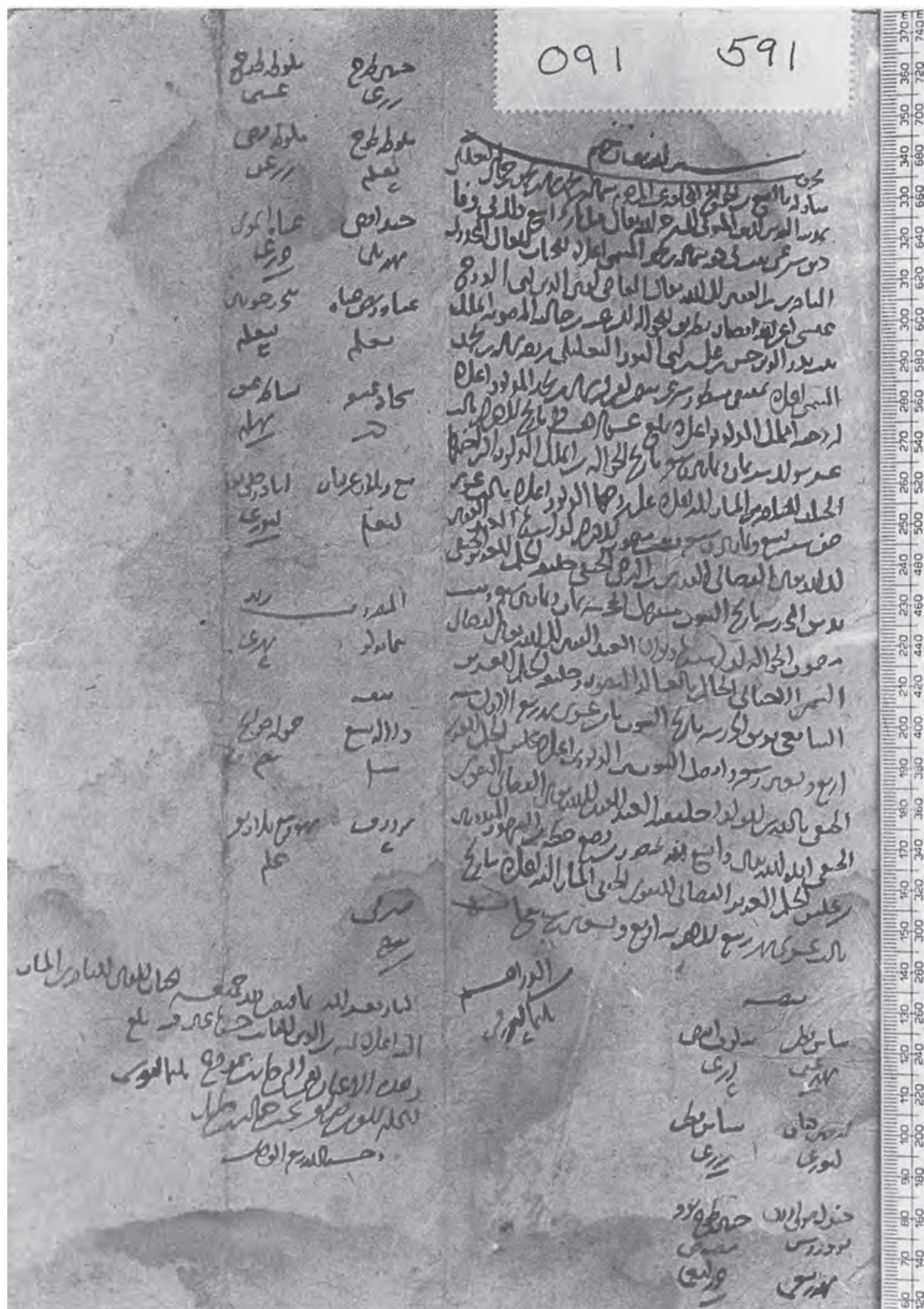


Figure 2

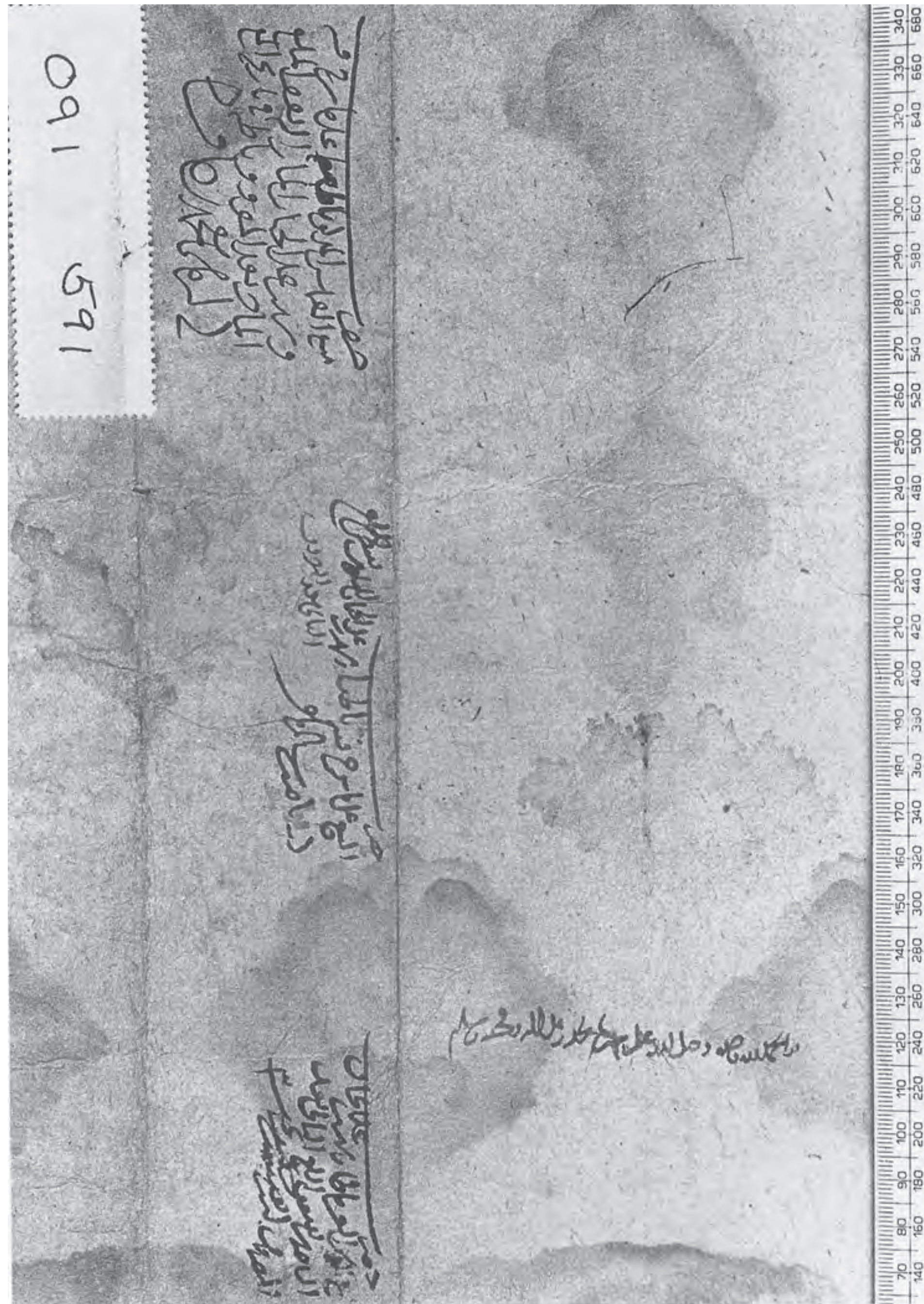


Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5

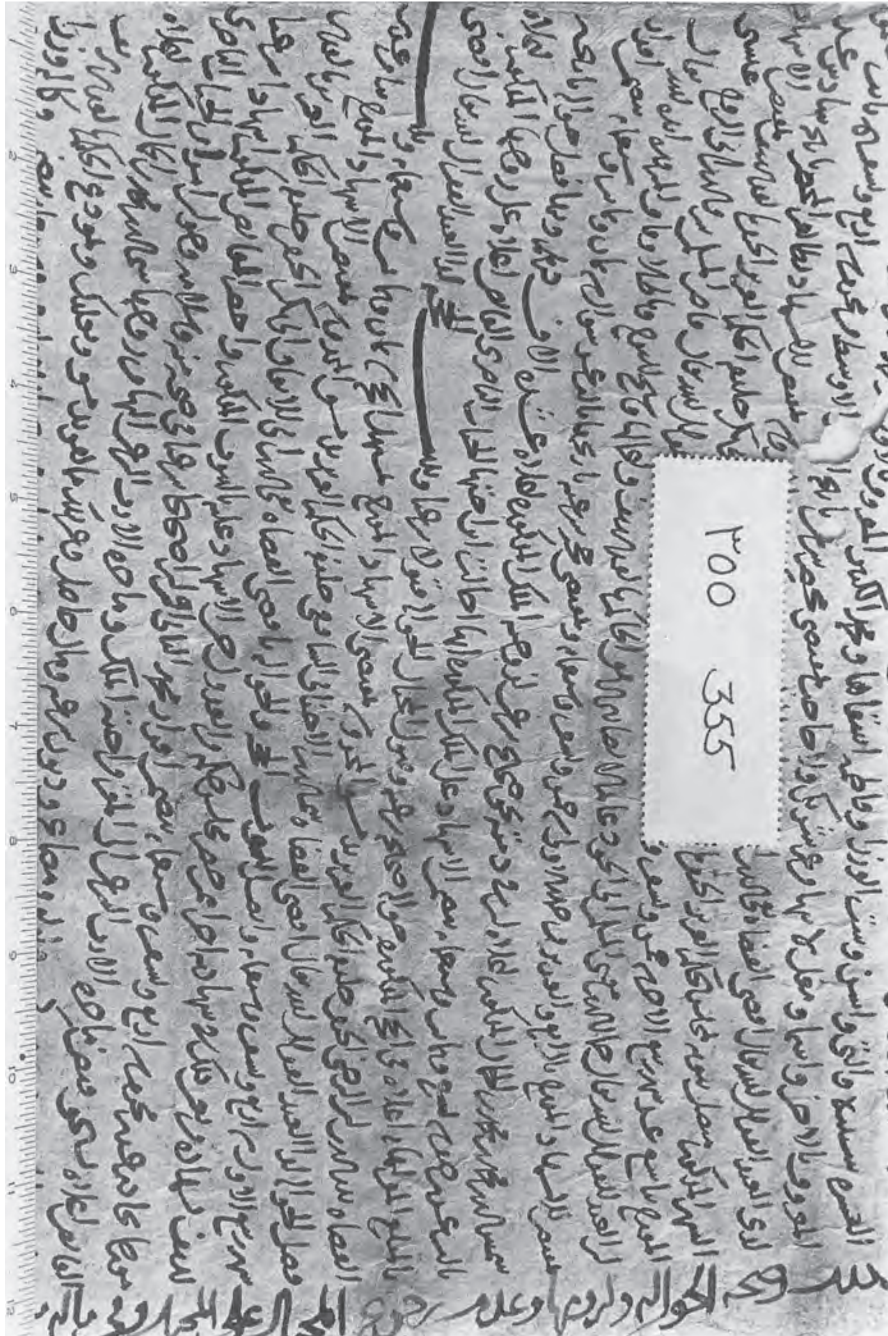


Figure 6

Figure 7

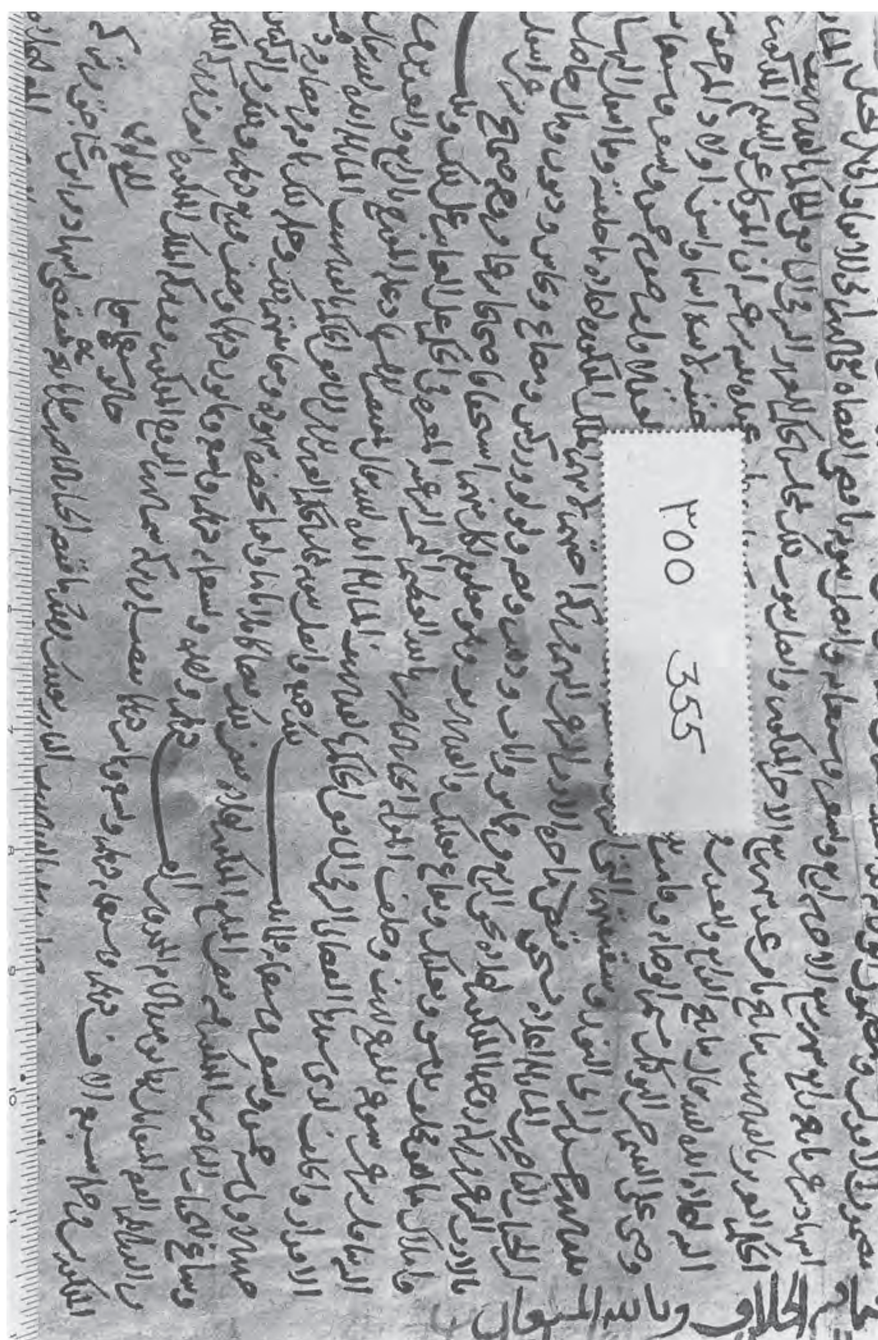


Figure 8

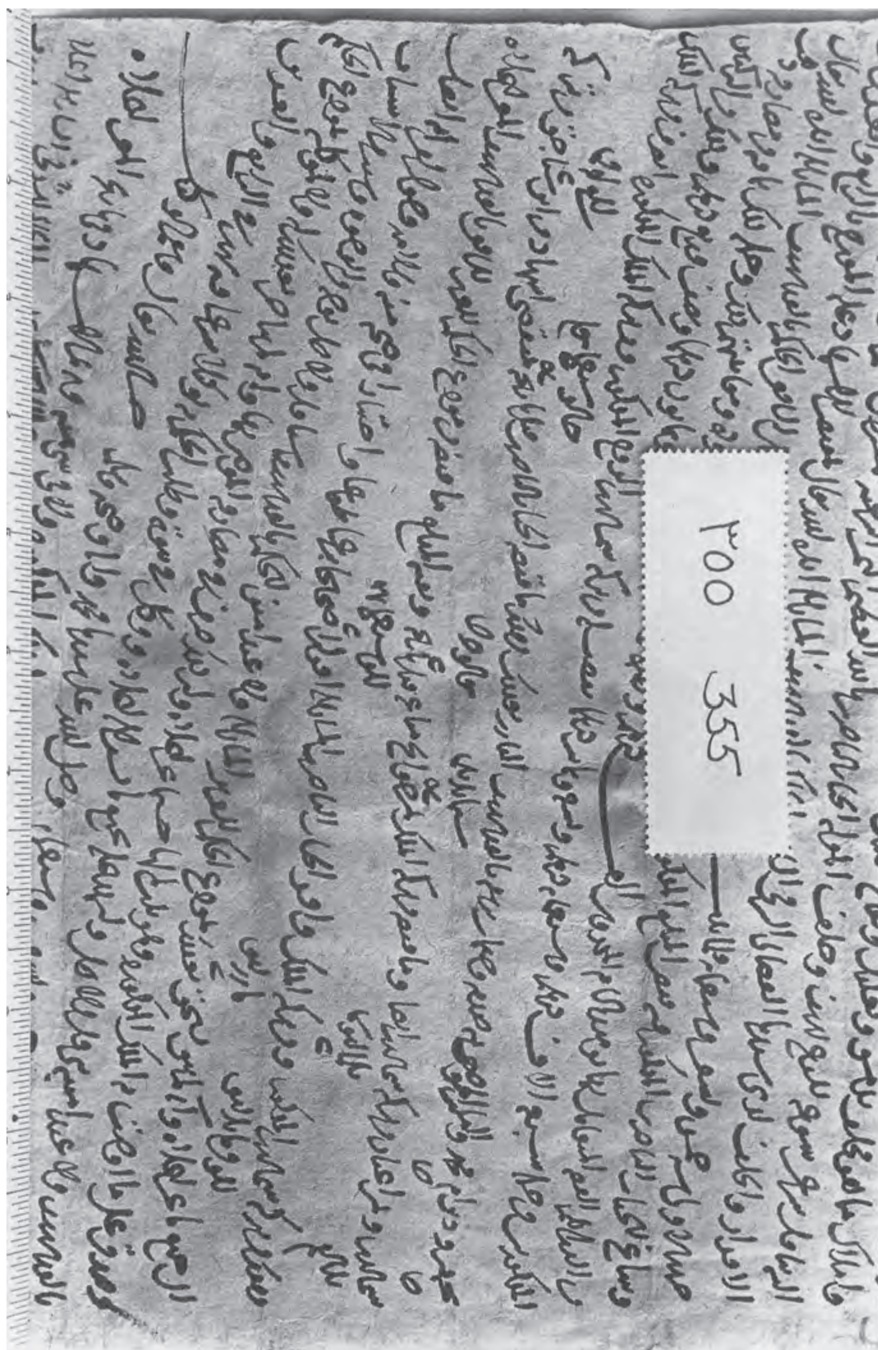


Figure 9

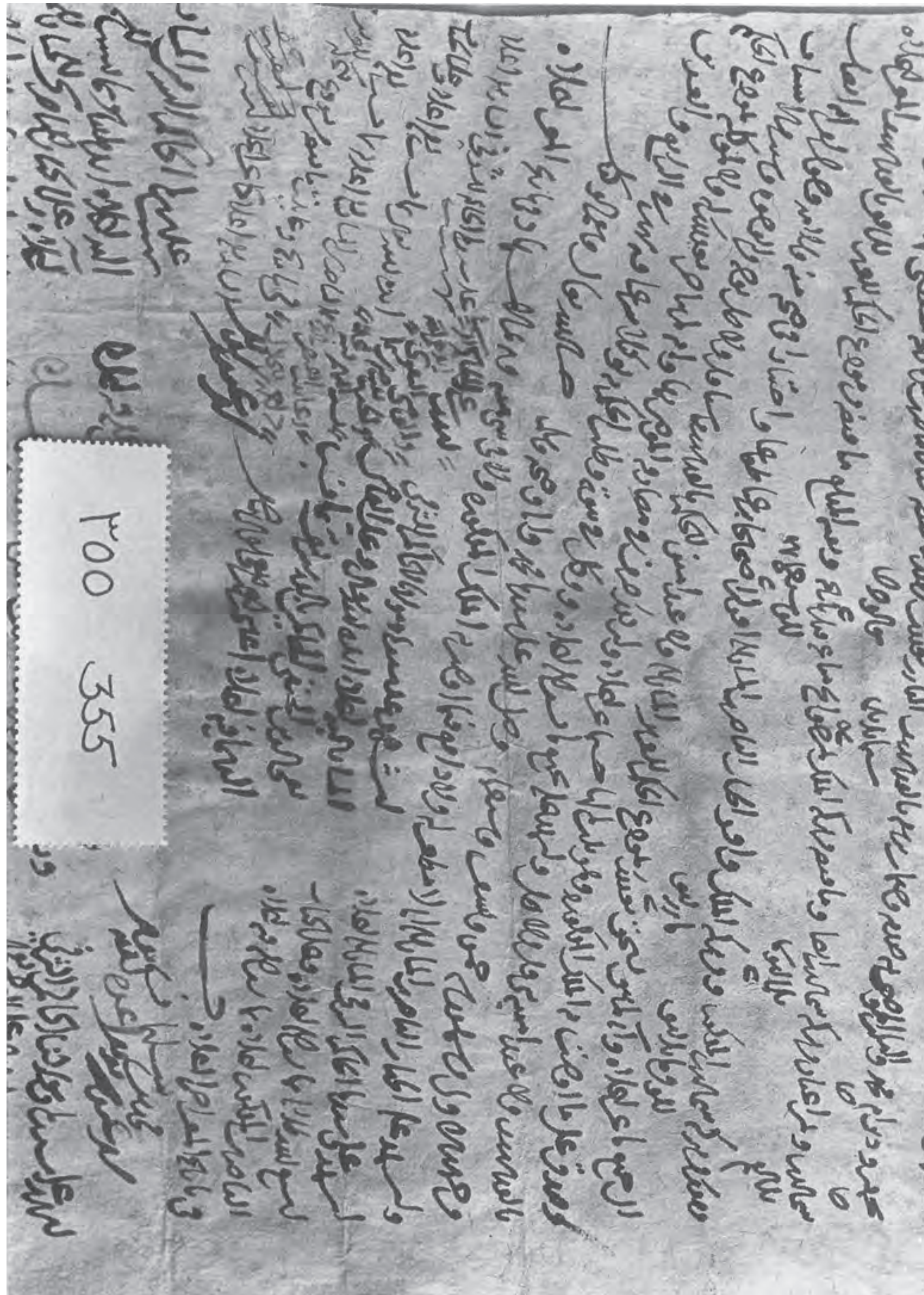


Figure 10

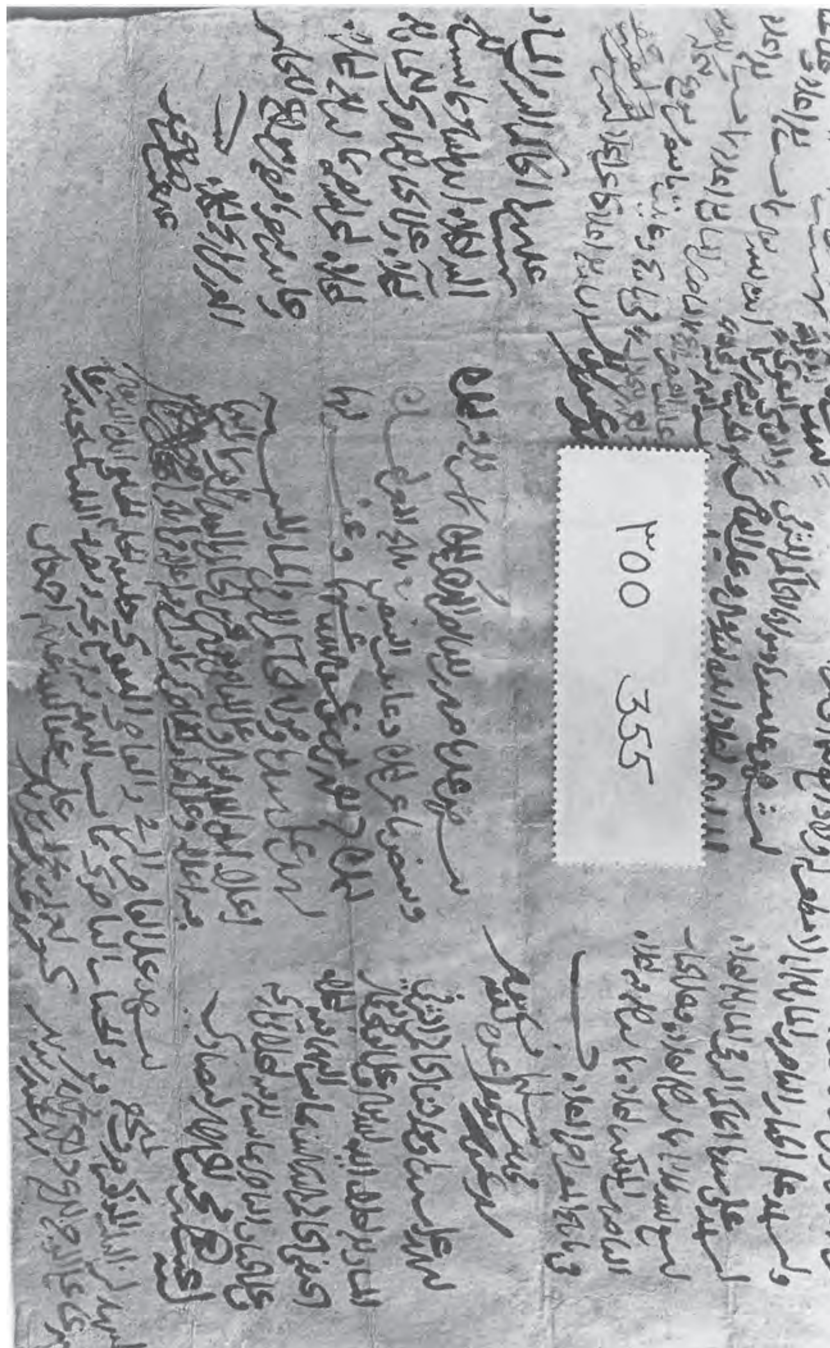


Figure 11

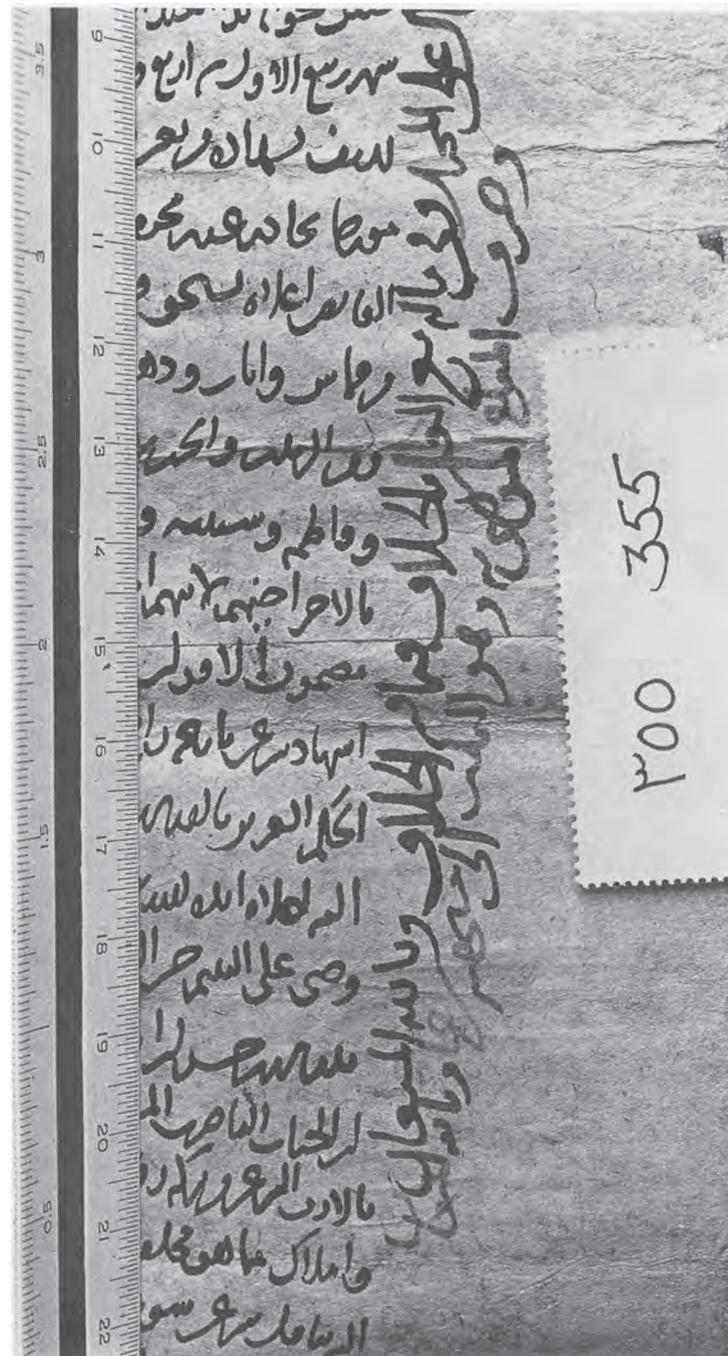


Figure 12

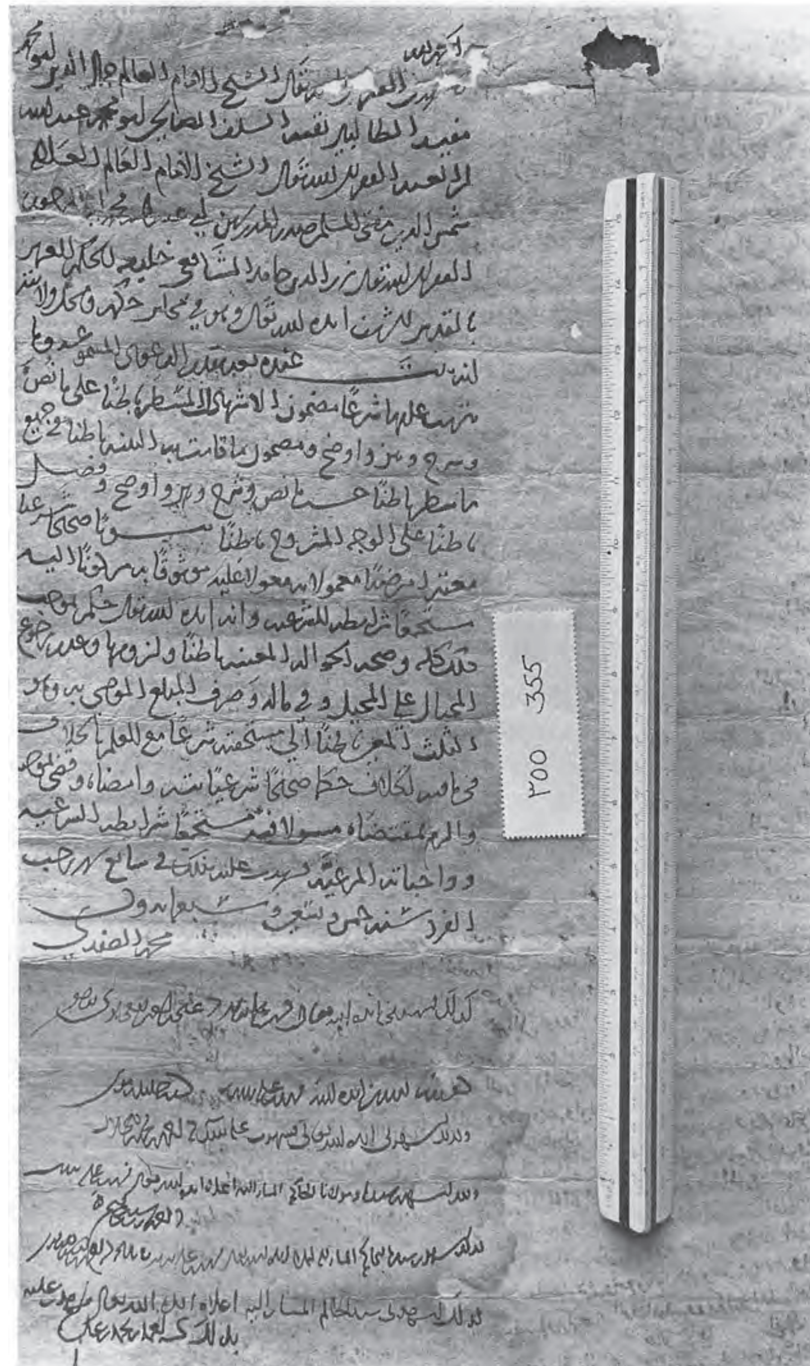


Figure 13

Book Reviews

André Clot, *L´Égypte des mamelouks: L´empire des esclaves (1250-1517)* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 1996). Pp. 354.

Reviewed by Paul M. Cobb, Wake Forest University

Can Mamluk history be popular history? For some historians, no more damning praise could be bestowed than to have one´s work labeled ″popular.″ Yet, to judge from his other works (*Haroun al-Rachid et le temps des mille et une nuits* [1986], *Mehmed II, le conquérant de Byzance* [1990], etc.), popular history seems to be André Clot´s baguette and butter, and he has carried it off with verve in his latest book, a whirlwind tour of the Mamluk Sultanate from its origins to its demise.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part is a narrative survey of the political history of the period, with a brief prologue about precedents for Turkish slave troops in the Islamic world (″Mamluks before Mamluks″). The title of part one, ″Two Hundred Fifty Years of Power and Splendor,″ sums up why the author thinks the Mamluks are worthy of study, as well as his romantic vision of the Islamic past. In summing up this period, Clot concludes (p. 207): ″The *mamlūk*-system possessed enormous defects. Absolute power corrupts absolutely. . . . [The Mamluks were] [b]rutal and without scruple, to be sure, but what grand chivalry was that of the Mamluks, courageous, ready for any sacrifice for Islam and for the empire!″

Clot´s anecdotal narrative, then, is one that chronicles the ″power and splendor″ of the Mamluks, focusing on the colorful, the violent, and the weird. This first part deals with the politics of the Sultanate, and above all with the territorial expansion of the state. For Clot, the Mamluk Sultanate especially saw its greatness in its victories over the Crusader states and the Mongols. Their ″golden age″ was the ″long and glorious reign″ of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (i.e., his third reign), ending only with the Black Death in 1348, followed immediately by a ″time of crises″ and ″years of blood.″ Despite the Sultanate´s ″Indian summer″ under Barsbāy, the Mamluk achievement was slowly dismantled as Barsbāy´s successors led the Sultanate to its demise. This is hardly a radical vision of Mamluk history. As this periodization suggests, Clot attaches special importance to the personality of individuals as agents of change, and much of this first part is given over to biographical and psychological sketches of the various personalities of the period.

The second part of the book is a topically-arranged survey of various aspects of Mamluk history: social organization (heavily indebted to Lapidus), cities, trade, daily life, art (without any illustrations), and literature. The book concludes with

an epilogue, a sketch of the continuity of the *mamlūk*-system in Ottoman Egypt. Six appendices contain digressions on the Nile flood, Felice Brancacci′s audience with Barsbāy in 1422, a European account of a wedding, the status of Christians, a list of sultans, and a handy time-line.

Specialists may feel themselves above this sort of book, and the author may well be happy to leave them there. On the other hand, some (like this reviewer) might feel a certain guilty pleasure at the author′s fondness for the lurid. Be that as it may, Clot does not treat his subject haphazardly, and the book has much to recommend it, especially to non-specialists. The historical narrative appears to be accurate, although a detailed analysis of the book might turn up errors of fact. Although Clot does not appear to have consulted any indigenous sources in the original, he did make use of the standard Orientalist translations, as well as some of the more important (and older) secondary studies. The second part of the book is especially noteworthy, fleshing out in telling detail an otherwise traditional ″trumpets and drums″ narrative with the sights and smells of daily life. If Clot′s book will not satisfy all readers, it at least paints a rich (if idiosyncratic) picture of an Islamic past.

TH. EMIL HOMERIN, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, His Verse, and His Shrine* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1994). Pp. 162.

REVIEWED BY WARREN C. SCHULTZ, DePaul University

This monograph is a study of the Cairene poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ (576-632/1181-1235). Given when he lived, readers of this journal might well ask why this book is being reviewed here. The answer lies in the fact that this volume is more than a biography of Ibn al-Fāriḍ. It is a study of the posthumous transformation of Ibn al-Fāriḍ from highly regarded poet into first, an influential Sufi, then a Muslim saint (*walī*) whose tomb was a locus of pilgrimage, and finally into his modern image as a "God-intoxicated" poet. The first two stages of this transformation happened during the Mamluk period. Thus while the focus of this book is not limited to things Mamluk, Mamlukists will find much that is worthy of their attention.

Ibn al-Fāriḍ's posthumous roles in the Mamluk era are apparent from the first page. The book begins with an account of the appearance of the ghost of Ibn al-Fāriḍ before the father-in-law of Sultan al-Ashraf Qāytbāy. As Homerin demonstrates, the Mamluk sources are replete with mentions of Ibn al-Fāriḍ.

While he is often cited as a poet of supreme quality, those sources often mention that the man and his poetry were open to frequent charges of advocating various "heretical" beliefs, chief among them monism (*waḥdat al-wujūd*), divine incarnation (*ḥulūl*), or the possibility of mystical union with the divine (*ittiḥād*). What is also clear, however, is that Ibn al-Fāriḍ also had his share of supporters. Thus Homerin devotes much of chapters 1 and 3 to detailed discussion of three occasions during the Mamluk era in which the poet's name and verse figured in major controversies. The first occurred in the waning years of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn's sultanate (pp. 40-44), the second in 831/1428 (pp. 59-60), and the third and most important in 874-875/1469-1470 (pp. 60-75). The figures involved in these disputes ranged from high-ranking members of the *'ulamā'* and leading Sufis to civilian political officials and representatives of the Mamluk elite. It is a major strength of this book, however, that these controversies are not dismissed as merely dichotomous conflicts between learned *'ulamā'* and mystical Sufis. Ibn al-Fāriḍ's supporters and detractors defy such simplistic classification, and Homerin's awareness of this—coupled with his thorough reading of the available sources—enables him to draw out the various political, economic, and even personal contexts (in addition to the theological) of these episodes. He has unpacked levels of information that are all too often lost as one plows through the chronicle accounts.

By concentrating on these episodes, of course, I have ignored several important aspects of the book that are not limited to a Mamluk-only perspective. (In this sense, I am reminded of Robert Irwin's *The Arabian Nights: A Companion* [1995], a book which, while not about the Mamluk era *per se*, contains important and cogent analyses of several aspects of Mamluk society.) Homerin provides a sophisticated introduction to Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poetry, accompanied by lucid translations of many verses. And, as Frederick M. Denny points out in his preface, since there is not an official procedure in Islam for the canonization of saints, this book provides a valuable case study of one long process of sanctification. Homerin also illustrates how Ibn al-Fāriḍ has become part of the fabric of Egyptian culture, whether in the Mamluk era rivalries mentioned above or in the fiction of Naguib Mahfouz. In short, Homerin has distilled a 750-year tradition into a well-written monograph deserving of wide readership.

FĀYID ḤAMMĀD MUḤAMMAD ʻĀSHŪR, *al-Jihād al-Islāmī ḍidda al-Ṣalībīyīn wa-al-Mughūl fī al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Tripoli, Lebanon: Jarrūs Press, 1995). Pp. 368.

REVIEWED BY ANNE F. BROADBRIDGE, The University of Chicago

ʻĀshūr′s work provides what its title promises, and presents the field with a history of Mamluk *jihād* against the Crusaders, the Mongols, the Ethiopians, and Tīmūr, informed by a late twentieth-century consciously Islamist world view. It is not a narrative of general Mamluk military encounters throughout the 267-year span of their rule, but rather focuses only on those battles or campaigns that fit the author′s definition of *jihād*. This results in a somewhat disjointed work, in which chapters can either bear too little relation to each other, or too much.

ʻĀshūr sets up the book by laying out a detailed description of *jihād*. This accomplished, he then employs this definition to call for revolution against, and the removal of, un-Islamic government, as well as for *jihād* and terrorism (*irhāb*) against non-Muslims. Having established his ideological framework, ʻĀshūr proceeds to the body of the work, in which he uses the example of the Mamluks both to illustrate the abstract idea of *jihād* with concrete examples, and to support his call for *jihād* against contemporary corrupt governments, Egypt's in particular.[1]

ʻĀshūr′s arrangement of this subsequent material is quite interesting, although it differs decidedly from standard historiographical practices of chronological or topic-related organization. Most of the chapters focus on the forty-two-year period between 1249 and 1291 in general, and the reigns of Baybars, Qalāwūn, and al-Ashraf Khalīl ibn Qalāwūn in particular. However, ʻĀshūr also includes chapters on al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (only up to 702/1303), Ethiopia, Cyprus, and Tīmūr′s campaign of 1400-1401.

To state that ʻĀshūr focuses mainly on the years 1249-1291, however, does not mean that he approaches these years in chronological fashion. Rather ʻĀshūr chooses to tell the story of the Mamluks and their enemies several times over, focusing in each chapter on different facets of the historical picture. This style of writing is reminiscent of—and might be modeled after—the fascination of early Islamic authors like Ibn Saʻd (d. 844) with the *khabar* or report. Such early authors recorded similar accounts of the same event one after another in order to emphasize different aspects of the event itself, as well as the varying degrees of their confidence in different sources. This technique gradually gave way to the annalistic style favored by al-Ṭabarī (d. 923) and subsequent authors, although the importance of the *khabar* never disappeared entirely. Unlike early Islamic scholars, however, ʻĀshūr is not presenting and critiquing the voices of others in this book,

[1]N.B.: The book was published in Lebanon although ʻĀshūr teaches at ʻAyn Shams University in Cairo.

but merely providing his own voice. As a result the book as a whole lacks any overarching evaluation or source criticism. Additionally, since ʿĀshūr explores different facets of the same or similar sets of historical data in each chapter, the work as a whole suffers greatly from repetition of material, and generally reads like a poorly-edited collection of overlapping lectures.

Following his introduction on *jihād*, ʿĀshūr provides two chapters of historical background, after which he arranges the remaining chapters according to the different enemies the Mamluks faced, first Christian or Crusader enemies (chapters 4-8), then Mongol foes (chapters 9-12). His second chapter, ″The Appearance of the Mamluk State,″ presents the formation of the Mamluk Sultanate in 1249 in opposition to the invasion of the French king Saint Louis IX, and its perpetuation up through both the battle of ʿAyn Jālūt (1260) and the re-establishment of the Abbasid caliphate (1261). Rather than progressing chronologically from 1261, however, the next chapter, ″The Victory of Islam at ʿAyn Jālūt, 1260 AD,″ begins with a brief history of the Mongols before once again treating the French invasion of Egypt, this time in the context of a Frankish-Mongol exchange of envoys. Following this, ʿĀshūr investigates the battle of ʿAyn Jālūt again, this time in much more detail and with a great deal more analysis. These two chapters provide a general historical background.

Next begins the section addressing Christian or Crusader foes of the Mamluks. In chapter 4, ″*Jihād* against the Crusaders in the Age of Sulṭān al-Ẓāhir Baybars,″ ʿĀshūr returns for the third time to the French invasion of Egypt, this time drawing attention to the Crusader presence vis-à-vis not only the Mamluks but also the Ayyubids of Syria. He also discusses Mamluk-Ayyubid rivalry, and touches briefly upon some of the tensions among various Crusader groups, although not with enough detail or specificity, closing the chapter with the introduction of Baraka Khān of the Golden Horde, hitherto unknown to the reader.

These first chapters are the strongest in the book, due to the amount of detailed information they contain and ʿĀshūr′s extensive supportive quotation from sources. The book begins to weaken significantly in its fifth chapter, ″*Jihād* in the Days of Sulṭān Qalāwūn al-Alfī,″ in which ʿĀshūr moves on to discuss Baybars′s successor Qalāwūn and his struggles against the Crusaders. Although equally detailed, this chapter is weakened by a number of moralistic asides and exhortations, which begin by taking up historical issues like Qalāwūn′s internal punitive measures against Christians and Jews, and end with such anachronistic topics as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The remaining chapters become increasingly marred by carelessness and similar ahistorical and rampant moralizing.

Chapter 6 is entitled ″Crusader Alliances with Ethiopia against Islam.″ ʿĀshūr′s inclusion of Ethiopia is interesting, as many other scholars of the Crusades ignore the Ethiopian presence; unfortunately, however, Ethiopia occupies only the final

six pages of this twenty-page chapter. ʿĀshūr builds up to the Ethiopian connection with a vitriolic fourteen-page discussion of Christianity's desire to destroy Islam, either through the military action of the Crusades, or through economic warfare against the Mamluks. Although clearly aware of the arguments for economic, strategic, social, or political motives behind the Crusades, ʿĀshūr chooses to hold religion responsible as the single cause for enmity between medieval Europe and the Mamluk Sultanate, and thus takes care to discard all other possible causes as false (p. 211).

Moving away from this promising and yet ultimately unsatisfactory treatment of Ethiopia, ʿĀshūr turns next to "The Mamluks' *Jihād* against the Crusader [State of] Little Armenia," in light of the aforementioned theory of Christian economic warfare against Islam. ʿĀshūr attempts to situate his comments by providing a brief history of Armenia-Cilicia. This is a decidedly superficial presentation of the material; for example, ʿĀshūr describes settlement of the area in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in terms of Armenians "who fled to that region" (p. 229), but neglects to mention the Seljuks, from whom they were fleeing. Nor does he make any reference to the ninth-century Byzantine practice of using Armenian administrators in Cilicia. Following this faulty introduction, ʿĀshūr goes on to rework much of the material from chapter 4 about Baybars's attacks on Cilicia, then brings the narrative up to the final Armenian defeat of 1374.

ʿĀshūr's eighth chapter, "Relations of the Mamluk State in Egypt and al-Shām with Cyprus," seems to have been merely tacked on to round out this section on the Mamluks' Christian foes. After an encapsulated history of Cyprus since the rise of Islam, he focuses on those campaigns that took place in 1365 or later. This sits oddly with the preceding sections of the text, which, except for the Armenian chapter, only reach the year 1291. Although in this chapter events are presented as a unified sequence, the gap of years or decades between them, and the omission of other important internal political and strategic events makes this casual stringing together of battles unconvincing. One example should suffice: ʿĀshūr jumps from 1368 to 1424 without transition, and compounds the problem by discussing one of Sultan Barsbāy's policy decisions without supplying any kind of introduction, background, or greater historical framework.

Having finished his treatment of Christian enemies, ʿĀshūr proceeds to a discussion of the Mamluks' Mongol foes. This means that the ninth chapter, "*Jihād* against the Mongols in the Age of Sulṭān al-Ẓāhir Baybars," is a continuation of the story of ʿAyn Jālūt begun 135 pages earlier. Like chapter 4, this chapter focuses on the period directly following ʿAyn Jālūt, but this time ʿĀshūr concentrates on tension between the Mamluks and the Ilkhanids, rather than military encounters between the Mamluks and the Crusaders. To his credit, he does include a new angle here, namely detailed information about the role of the city of Mosul in

Mamluk-Mongol skirmishing, which has been omitted by such authors as Runciman and Setton, as well as more recently by scholars like Amitai-Preiss.

Similarly the tenth chapter, ″*Jihād* of Sulṭān Qalāwūn al-Alfī against the Tatars,″ once again presents the story of Qalāwūn and the Crusaders (chapter 5), this time with an emphasis on the Ilkhanids′ activities. It is followed by ″*Jihād* against the Tatars in the Age of Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn.″ This is an entirely new piece filled with fresh information, but is nevertheless disappointing. ʻĀshūr seems to be unaware of the work of Emmanuel Sivan and his discussion of the role of the *faqīh* Ibn Taymīyah (d. 1328) in overcoming Mamluk/Muslim reluctance to fight their co-religionist foes, the Mongols.[2] Rather ʻĀshūr′s treatment of Ibn Taymīyah and his importance in the formation of ideology during the Ilkhanid campaigns of 1299 and 1303 is largely restricted to unadulterated praise, which is then used as a vehicle for ʻĀshūr′s condemnation of modern governments for not fighting infidels with enough conviction.

Already limping severely, the book stumbles and falls short in the final full chapter, ″The Attack of Tīmūr Lang on al-Shām.″ ʻĀshūr seems compelled to write on Tīmūr′s campaign against the Mamluks as the last gasp of the ″Mongols,″ but does not do the topic justice. It is clear that he has not yet read the works of Beatrice Manz and John Woods,[3] when he states, for example, that Tīmūr was a Mongol and that his mother was descended from Chingiz Khān, ignoring that it was Tīmūr′s very inability to lay claim to the Chingiz Khanid heritage that led to his elaborate construction of identity and ideology (p. 339). ʻĀshūr also ignores important historical details like the treachery of the Mamluk amir Damardāsh at Aleppo and the presence of Ibn Khaldūn in Damascus at the time of Tīmūr′s campaign, to say nothing of Ibn Khaldūn′s actual meeting with Tīmūr.

ʻĀshūr ends his work with a five-page conclusion in which he waxes fulsome in his praise for the *jihād*-inspired military skills and zeal of the Mamluks. That accomplished, he proceeds to his main purpose, which is to condemn so-called "Islamic" countries today, and to call first for a unified Islamic community, and second to action against Christians and Jews. ʻĀshūr closes with a final general call to terrorism (*irhāb*) to achieve the goals set out throughout the book.

In conclusion, ʻĀshūr′s work is interesting mostly as an example of late twentieth-century Islamist history. He is clearly familiar with the Arabic source material, especially for the earlier years of the Mamluk Sultanate, and often provides detailed

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[2]Emmanuel Sivan, *Radical Islam: Medieval Theology and Modern Politics* (New Haven, 1985).

[3]Beatrice Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge, 1989); idem, ″Tamerlane and the Symbolism of Sovreignty,″ *Iranian Studies* 21 (1988): 105-22; John Woods, ″The Rise of Timurid Historiography,″ *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 46 (1987): 81-108; idem, ″Timur′s Genealogy,″ in *Intellectual Studies on Islam: Essays Written in Honor of Martin B. Dickson*, ed. Michel M. Mazzaoui and Vera B. Moreen (Salt Lake City, 1990), 85-125.

information, particularly in the first chapters. Certainly ʿĀshūr′s presentation of his material, although repetitive, unwieldy and obfuscating, is interesting when viewed as an attempt to assert an alternate framework for the writing of history. Nevertheless, even as a modern recasting of the *khabar*-centered histories, the book is unsuccessful. It neither provides a coherent chronological progression, nor, as in the case of the three successive accounts of ʿAyn Jālūt, a broad view of all the intricacies of one event or period. Nor is ʿĀshūr positioning the reports of others within a coherent framework, but rather is merely refracting his own opinions through his organizational scheme. ʿĀshūr′s factual carelessness in his later chapters, as well as his inability to resist opportunities to moralize, seriously weaken the later sections of the book and detract from its overall quality as a work of history. As a final note, it should be pointed out that the book is plagued by numerous typographical errors, poor footnotes, anachronistic, ahistorical and careless use of terminology, and a noticeable lack of uniformity in dates, which sometimes appear using the *hijrī* calendar, sometimes the common era calendar, and only occasionally both. Thus the book should be used with extreme caution, if at all, by anyone other than the student of late twentieth-century Islamist historiographical trends.

MUḤAMMAD IBN ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-SAKHĀWĪ, *Wajīz al-Kalām fī al-Dhayl ʿalá Duwal al-Islām*, edited by Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, ʿIṣām Fāris al-Ḥarastānī, and Aḥmad al-Khuṭaymī (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1416/1995). Four volumes.

REVIEWED BY FRANZ ROSENTHAL, Yale University

Al-Sakhāwī (831-902/1427-1497) is one of the most informative and prolific authors of his century, above all as an historian but also as a writer on numerous religious subjects, whose work lives on to this day as an inexhaustible source of information and instruction. The appearance in print of an unpublished work of his may deservedly be termed an event. The *Wajīz*, edited here in a well turned-out edition, is no exception.

(After completion of this review in manuscript, I happened upon an earlier edition of the work entitled *al-Dhayl al-Tāmm ʿalá Duwal al-Islām lil-Dhahabī* and edited by Ḥasan Ismāʿīl Marwah and Maḥmūd al-Arnāʿūṭ [Kuwait, 1413/1992]. The edition ends with the year 850; I do not know whether the announced second part has been published. As stated in the preface, it is based upon a photocopy of a manuscript in Tunis dated 979 and thus deserves checking. It is, however, sad that

editions continue to be based upon limited manuscript material [see below], and earlier printings are not even mentioned. The all too frequent phenomenon of the appearance of the same text at about the same time in different places, although it is understandable, constitutes a waste and loss for all concerned, manufacturers, private and public libraries, and, above all, scholarship.)

By Mamluk times, the forms of historical writing were fully developed in all their many varieties. As a faithful disciple of his revered teacher Ibn Ḥajar, al-Sakhāwī followed him in writing a great centennial history, and it is not surprising that he also wrote a history such as the *Wajīz*, arranged annalistically with each year divided into events and obituary notices just as Ibn Ḥajar had done in his *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Abnā' al-'Umr*. He, however, did not follow the *Inbā'* with its strict systematic arrangement, but continued the rather skimpy and disorganized *Duwal al-Islām* of al-Dhahabī from 745 to 898. Why he did so is one of the problems we face in this work. It would have been helpful if he had indicated the name of the individual who supposedly suggested to him the composition of the *Wajīz* and who may or may not have been a real person and not merely a convenient fiction. He speaks of him in the beginning as an extremely accomplished and exemplary individual who had inherited his many good traits from his father and grandfather and added to them by his own exertion, ″so much so that when his excellent qualities are counted, it may well be said: ′How much did the first leave to the later′″ (a well-known remark which seems strangely misapplied here). A simple explanation would be at hand if it could be shown that a descendant of al-Dhahabī is meant, but this does not seem to be possible. Thus, it seems, we must fall back upon the feeble assumption that it was merely the fame of al-Dhahabī as the author of a large world history of events and obituaries as well as its very concise abridgment that convinced al-Sakhāwī, who admired him greatly, to compile an abridged history here of the events and obituaries for the century and a half that had passed since al-Dhahabī′s time. It may be noted that following al-Maqrīzī, al-Sakhāwī himself had also compiled a very extended work in the same form, entitled *al-Tibr al-Masbūk* (again see further on).

Since the abridgment covers such a long period of time, the selection process had to be severe, and since the ethos of Muslim historiography required that only information from one or the other presumably authoritative sources be considered for inclusion, another intriguing problem is the motives that governed the choice of material and its relationship to the sources. But first a few remarks on some of the formal characteristics of the work (which, of course, it shares with many others).

There can be little doubt that formal matters in reference works such as the *Wajīz* were as passionately discussed in earlier times as they are nowadays, and they are indeed of almost crucial importance if a given reference work is to be of

use to researchers (as well as a commercial success to the degree possible in the manuscript age). Occasional reflections of such deliberations are preserved in the literature. Alphabetization procedures were occasionally explained, as was done already by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī in his *History of Baghdad* at a time when those procedures were still in their infancy. In *al-Durar*, for instance, Ibn Ḥajar explained why he put the Abū Bakrs where he did, namely, after the names beginning with *alif* and before those beginning with *bā'*: ″I put the Abū Bakrs here on the assumption that Abū is part of the name and the name thus begins with *alif* and assuming at the same time that the name is a composite and would thus begin with *bā'*. Therefore, I [hit upon a compromise solution and] put the Abū Bakrs in between the letters *alif* and *bā'*.″ However, where Abū Bakr is the name of the father of the biographee, it appears at the end of the names beginning with *bā'*. In the *Wajīz*, al-Sakhāwī followed no alphabetical (or precise chronological) arrangement, a step backward but one easily explained as conditioned by the example of al-Dhahabī and the need for brevity. The lack of any order in the obituary notices of the *Wajīz* made it unnecessary for al-Sakhāwī here to ponder where to alphabetize the ʻAbd Allāhs, whether before all other names composed with ʻAbd (as in *al-Durar*) or where the second element belongs in the alphabetical order (as in *al-Ḍaw'*).

A significant difference is the placement of women biographees. In *al-Durar*, Ibn Ḥajar had inserted their obituaries in the alphabetical order. Al-Sakhāwī, in his *al-Ḍaw'*, followed precedents that had been established earlier, as in al-Khaṭīb′s *History of Baghdad*, and put them all together at the end after all the male biographees. This may suggest that he had reasoned that women scholars should be considered as a separate, and presumably less important, category of scholars; to us, it would seem to be another step backward. In an annalistic arrangement as in Ibn Ḥajar′s *Inbā'* and al-Sakhāwī′s *Wajīz*, this, of course, was no issue.

A minor but intelligent choice was made in the *Wajīz* by indicating the age, or the approximate age, of a biographee at the time of death instead of using references to the year of birth. This has been done fairly consistently beginning with the ninth century when al-Sakhāwī usually had the necessary information. It saved some space and allowed elegant variations in expression. For earlier times, this was not really possible. When in his *Rafʻ al-Iṣr ʻan Quḍāh Miṣr*, for instance, Ibn Ḥajar covered the entire Muslim period down to his own time, he often had to take recourse to dating his biographees merely to the century in which they lived.

The abridgment procedures are much more difficult to reduce to a common denominator. Each biographical entry needs to be considered separately. More often than not, interesting differences to ponder and, if possible, to explain, present themselves. Why, for instance, should al-Sakhāwī have added the *laqab* al-Badr (Badr al-Dīn) in an obituary notice (p. 227, no. 476) that seems to be a straightforward rearrangement of *Inbā'*; we cannot tell whether it derives from some other source.

It is easier to explain why, in the extremely brief and uninformative fifty-word entry on Ibn Khaldūn (p. 385), the statement that ″he never changed his (Western) dress in Egypt″ is retained. In al-Sakhāwī′s mind, it had no doubt entertainment value, which was an important factor in all Muslim historiography. It also explains the frequent retention of verses here, although their inclusion obviously conflicted with the aim to be brief. One wonders, however, why, from the often numerous verses in the biographical sources, just some particular verses made it into a given obituary notice in the *Wajīz*. Special artistic merit and conceptual originality may have prompted their retention, but it more probably was meant to prevent boredom and provide an incentive for the reader to go on browsing through the work.

As stated, the historiographical ethos normally forbade the abridger from making extraneous comments of any length prior to his own period; where we cannot pinpoint a source, it is just because we have not yet located it. Very rarely in the earlier years do we find remarks going back to al-Sakhāwī and introduced by *qultu* such as appear on pp. 111 and 163. In the latter passage (as he does again on p. 425), he calls attention to the omission of a reference to the endemic plague in *Badhl al-Māʿūn*, Ibn Ḥajar′s monograph on the subject. It is not clear where the verses on the plague quoted on p. 205 came from; possibly, they were inserted by al-Sakhāwī himself from some less used source, but his introductory words are ambiguous. The sparsity of al-Sakhāwī′s own comments disappears when he chronicles the last fifty years where he himself was a witness. It turns into an avalanche of information for the last few years. He indicated the reason for this at the beginning of the year 895: ″I have enlarged the coverage for this year in comparison to the previous year[s]. The enlarged coverage also extends to the book′s subject matter (*mawḍūʿ*), because now a clean copying of *Tibr al-Masbūk* would be difficult.″[1] The obituaries here remain brief and are all traceable to *al-Ḍaw'*, but the events are in part either directly reported by al-Sakhāwī or first attested for us here. One cannot fail to notice how much he saw himself as part of the happenings during that period. He considers it news where he spent a year, as in traveling for purposes of enlarging his knowledge (pp. 649 and 690) or continuing his residence in the holy cities. His activities as a scholar, lecturer, and author, and whom he saw or who came to visit him take up more and more space. For instance, the year 897, he states (p. 1218), ″began when I was, thank God, in

[1]He adds the general observation: ″Often someone gets angry at what is mentioned about him and therefore (is ready in the future) to avoid the implications of what is written about him. Or he may enjoy agreeable statements about him and, therefore, exert his efforts to do what he likes to be mentioned about him. This belongs to the useful aspects of history that are not kept out from an abridgment′s limited coverage.″ Al-Sakhāwī, as we know from his *Iʿlān al-Tawbīkh*, was fond of general reflections on the value of history, as in the introduction of his *Tibr*, cf. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 2d ed., 329 f. (Leiden, 1968). The ″clean-copying″ here seems to involve the preparation of a new edition and continuation of the work.

Mecca, hoping for acceptance and blessing by God, He be praised. My writings that year included a new essay on the completion of [the reading of] the *Sīrah* of Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, a clean copying of my work *al-Tawbīkh li-Man Ḍamma al-Tawrīkh* in several quires, and a second draft of my work on *al-Firaq*, a volume I have not yet completed the way I would like.″ [2] For the Muslim historian (as well as the modern historian), it was not unusual to see his own times in a more personal light, but the extent to which this was done by al-Sakhāwī possibly reflects an increasingly pronounced inward turn away from public life to the individual. This, of course, is not to deny the innate human weakness for self-advertisement.

The editors of the *Wajīz* have done a very satisfactory job overall. Their introduction covers the essential items. One misses a list of the sources cited in the footnotes with bibliographical indications as to the editions used (which would be especially useful for readers in later generations) and a listing of the secondary literature including information on previous relevant publications by the editors. The index covers the entire fourth volume or almost half the number of pages of the text. For the voluminous Mamluk histories, indices are indispensable and most important. It is a sign of true progress that in recent years they have become a prominent feature in text editions. The one here contains a survey of the contents according to years (233 pp.) and an alphabetical listing, with cross-references, of the individuals whose obituary notices are in the text (269 pp.), followed by indices of places and localities (36 pp.), groups (2 pp.), selective cultural topics (13 pp.), and books mentioned in the body of the text (32 pp.). Some might have been expanded, others shortened, and more might have been provided; there is no end to what can usefully be done and the editors′ choice is acceptable. For reasons of space, their decision to restrict footnotes to the most basic minimum must also be endorsed. References to *al-Durar* and *al-Ḍaw'* are given with complete regularity, so much so that sporadic omissions as on p. 887, note 1, and p. 943, note 2, or a wrong reference as on p. 964, note 1, deserve notice (one wonders why references to Ibn al-ʻImād, *Shadharāt*, are often included, seeing that they contain nothing additional).

The text itself is based on two manuscripts, preserved, respectively, in the Köprülü and Bodleian libraries. The latter dates to the lifetime of al-Sakhāwī. The former ends on p. 1125 and thus lacks about 270 pages. Considering the fact that the available sources have also served in lieu of manuscripts, the two manuscripts appear to be sufficient to establish a basically reliable text, but for a scholarly edition, it would have been advisable at least to try to give some information on

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[2]The essay on the biography of the Prophet by Ibn Sayyid al-Nās was entitled *Rafʻ al-Ilbās*, and the accepted title for *Firaq* was *Rafʻ al-Qalaq wa-al-ʻAraq bi-Jamʻ al-Mubtadiʻīn min al-Firaq*, see *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʻ*, 8:18, lines 11f., and 19, lines 8-10 (Cairo, 1353-55).

other manuscripts such as those listed with some confusion in *GAL* (as far as I can see, the Vienna manuscript does not contain the text of the *Wajīz*, the Berlin manuscript has part of it, containing the years 828-894). This might have contributed to a better understanding of the interrelationship of the manuscript material and clarified the gradual growth of the text at the end, customary in all annalistic historiography. Some more detail on later continuations as preserved in the manuscripts might also have been useful. This reviewer realizes how difficult it would have been for the editors to become acquainted with manuscripts outside the Near East. It shows how much remains to be done for international cooperation between Near Eastern and Western scholars and scholarly institutions, on all levels and in all directions.

The editing appears to have been done with care. The specimen pages reproduced on pp. 28 to 35 of the introduction tend to confirm this impression. Comparison with the photo (intro., p. 30) shows the omission of *f-ʿ-l-y* before *bi-ḥusn al-taṣawwur* on p. 3, line 9. Furthermore, note 2 on p. 3 states that for *al-muʿaddilīn*, Ms. Köprülü has an apparently meaningless *al-ʿāl-m-y-n* in the text; however, the Bodleian Ms. has the same word in the text and offers the correction *al-muʿaddilīn* in the margin. This situation requires rechecking with the manuscripts. As the photo (intro., p. 31) shows, on p. 873, line 16, *lī* is omitted after *qarraḍa* (*al-Ḍaw'* confirms its existence). In the following line the printed text adds *sanatan* after *sittīn*; ″year,″ however, does not appear on the photo, and the word is not ordinarily, if ever, used here in connection with indicating the age of a biographee. Finally, the photo (intro., p. 32) shows that on p. 885, line 15, *al-Ḥanafī* followed *qāḍīhā*. This is very little. If a check of the manuscripts in their entirety should produce nothing more substantial, it testifies to careful work done by the editors. Editing all these pages is a tremendous task. A couple of minor mistakes is fully allowable for each page. It should, however, be kept in mind that even such trivial mistakes may have unforeseen consequences.

The problem of where and how to indicate vocalization cannot be solved systematically and to everybody′s satisfaction. In the present edition, vowels have been supplied judiciously. Minor errors and misplacements go doubtlessly back not to the editors but to the printer, certainly in *ṣallū*, for *ṣallaw* (p. 81, line 20), but there also occur some debatable vocalizations such as (p. 59, line 16*) lam tughayyar lahū ḥay'atun wa-lā wassaʿa lahū dā'iratan*, where *yughayyir . . . ḥay'atan* would seem preferable. The editors show the same concern with the often doubtful vocalization of proper names as did their Mamluk predecessors, and they try to give guidance to the reader. Nevertheless, much vacillation and uncertainty remain. This sometimes occurs in the case of Arabic names and is hardly avoidable. For instance, al-Zuraʿī, accurately vocalized in most occurrences, suddenly becomes al-Zarʿī on p. 742, line 2. Foreign, especially Turkish, proper

names, cause special headaches. There are two ways of looking at them, either from the point of view of Arabic speakers and how they pronounced them or from the point of view of etymology. Thus, names beginning with *K-m-sh* may sometimes have been pronounced *Kamash*- as indicated in the edition, but since *k-m-sh* represents *gümüş*, ″silver,″ *Kumush*- would seem preferable. While final *-miş* and *-muş* may both be acceptable, *-maş* hardly is, and so on. A most obvious desideratum (at least, according to the knowledge of this reviewer) is a comprehensive dictionary, complete with etymological discussion, of the foreign, mainly Turkish, elements occurring in Mamluk literature. It is difficult but can be done.

When dealing with the edition of a text, small, indeed piddling, details are what really count. When they are taken care of, the content will take care of itself, and the reader can enjoy what is offered to him, in this case insight into the method and the psychological and material background of the abridger, on the one hand, and valuable new information coming from the historian′s own period, on the other. Of course, no text edition is ever perfect. The present one appears to have done what, considering its time and circumstances, can fairly be expected. The work itself, as al-Sakhāwī says in his autobiography,[3] referring to it simply as *al-Dhayl ʻalá Duwal al-Islām lil-Dhahabī*, is indeed ″very useful″ if only in some ways.

ḤAMMŪD IBN MUḤAMMAD IBN ʻALĪ AL-NAJĪDĪ, *al-Niẓām al-Naqdī al-Mamlūkī, 648-922 H./1250-1517 M.: Dirāsah Tārīkhīyah Ḥaḍārīyah* (Alexandria: Mu'assasat al-Thaqāfah al-Jāmiʻīyah, 1993). Pp. 664.

REVIEWED BY WARREN C. SCHULTZ, DePaul University

This voluminous work is best approached as a useful compilation of much, but not all, earlier work on the Mamluk monetary system. Its strengths lie in the massive amount of data crammed between its covers; its weaknesses lie in what is surprisingly absent from these six hundred-plus pages. While it thus has the potential to become a well-thumbed resource, it should be used with caution.

The book is organized into an introduction, six major sections, a brief conclusion, nine appendices of limited usefulness, and a seven-part bibliography. The first section (pp. 47-159) provides an overview of mints and coin minting in the Mamluk Sultanate. The second section (pp. 161-261) introduces the reader to Mamluk money itself, with major subsections addressing types of money (including

[3] *al-Ḍaw'*, 8:17, lines 6f.

a discussion of monies of account—*al-nuqūd al-ḥisābīyah*), weights, purity, and how coins were issued. The last passage contains a useful, though incomplete, historical survey of coin issues. The next section (pp. 263-372) addresses the topic of monetary values (*al-qiyam al-naqdīyah*) across the spectrum of gold, silver, and copper coins. Section four (pp. 373-461) discusses the purchasing power (*al-qīmah al-shirā'īyah*) of Mamluk money. The fifth section (pp. 463-536) covers the circulatory relationships between Mamluk money and the money of the Sultanate's neighbors. Finally, the sixth section (pp. 537-597) addresses what al-Najīdī calls the monetary weakness and collapse (*al-fasād al-naqdī)* observed in the Mamluk Sultanate.

The analyses found in the above sections are based upon evidence found in the usual sources. By this I mean the standard Mamluk-era chronicles. As is well known, these chronicles are chock-full of monetary information, and much of that information shows up in this book. These sources are much richer for the Circassian period, however, and that bias is reflected here. There are, however, frustrating and unexplained lacunae in how al-Najīdī handles this data. An example of this is found in table I (pp. 521-530). This table lists those rates of exchange between Mamluk and Italian gold found in the chronicles for the period 790-849/1388-1445. It is an impressive list. But given that exchange rates are known for dates outside of this period, and from other sources than those consulted in this study, their unexplained omission is curious. (On this matter there is another point—or rather an admission—that I must make. In a review published in this journal last year, I asserted that this particular table of exchange rates superseded the discussion of the same topic found in Ra'fat al-Nabārāwī's *al-Sikkah al-Islāmīyah fī Miṣr: 'Aṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah* [Cairo, 1993]. Upon closer examination and comparison, however, it is clear that my earlier assertion was wrong. There is more exchange rate information available in the second section of al-Nabārāwī's book, albeit not in convenient tabular format.) There is one welcome development, however, for which al-Najīdī should be commended. He has begun to incorporate monetary data derived from *waqf* documents into his analysis, sources that have yet to be thoroughly exploited for Mamluk monetary history.

More important to note, however, are those sources which are not fully exploited in this discussion of Mamluk money: the coins themselves. While the views of such figures as Ibn Taymīyah or Ibn al-Hāyim (discussed by al-Najīdī) on how money should work are valuable, it must be emphasized that such normative descriptions give only part of the picture of Mamluk monetary history. The analysis of Mamluk coins, which survive in great number, does much to complete that picture, and it is in the exploitation of these actual artifacts of the Mamluk monetary system that al-Najīdī's work falls short. No catalogues of major collections are consulted. While there is an obligatory acknowledgment of Balog's corpus of

Mamluk coins, there is only limited application of numismatic data, such as the examination of actual coin weights, hoard evidence, or issues of metallic purity. In this last area, the evidence presented is drawn from the works of others, such as Bacharach and al-Nabārāwī. The failure to use the coins as either a check against the veracity of the chronicle citations or to supplement our knowledge where the Mamluk authors are silent is this book´s most serious weakness.

Finally, in a similar vein, the bibliography is strong in some areas, and weak in others. The bibliography is strongest for Arabic language resources, including several unpublished theses that we can hope will one day surface as published studies. Works in European languages are few (nine, with ten others in translation), and unevenly represented. Thus two of Bacharach´s valuable articles are utilized extensively, but others are completely ignored. The important works of Shoshan and Hennequin are missing. Al-Najīdī also makes some striking omissions in his use of modern analyses of Mamluk economic history. Important overviews and specific studies by authors such as Rabie or Labib (regardless of language) are absent, and only one work of Ashtor´s is utilized. While it may be the case that these works were inaccessible to the author, their absence diminishes the overall value of the conclusions made by al-Najīdī.

ÉRIC GEOFFROY, *Le Soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie sous les derniers Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans: Orientations spirituelles et enjeux culturels* (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1995). Pp. 510.

REVIEWED BY MICHAEL WINTER, Tel Aviv University

By the end of Mamluk rule in Egypt and Syria, Sufism had grown into an extremely rich, complex, sophisticated, and multifaceted religious, cultural, and social phenomenon. Far from being a marginal or a sectarian movement, Sufism became a central, mature and, one could add, highly successful trend of Islamic culture, which was followed and practiced by illiterate commoners, but also by many members of the political, social, and intellectual elites. Fully realizing these basic characteristics of the movement, Éric Geoffroy presents in this comprehensive study a panoramic view of Egyptian and Syrian Sufism in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. He is aware that in order to do justice to his subject, it cannot be studied in isolation from other aspects of Islamic religion and culture in that period. The result is a thorough, extensive, useful, and readable volume that contains much more than its title implies.

The study is based on impressive source-materials, including many Arabic manuscripts located in Damascus libraries. The list of the primary and secondary sources used for this study is exhaustive. The bibliography is well organized and convenient to use. So are the five indices.

The first part consists of the usual survey of sources and the existing studies on the subject, and the political and social background. Some central themes are already examined here, such as the *'ulamā'* and the Mamluk government, the religious minorities and Sufi attitudes regarding them, and the Ottoman conquest.

The second part of the book, entitled ″Sufism and Muslim Society,″ addresses such topics as Sufism and the Sunnah, Sufism and *ḥadīth*, the model of the Prophet as a way to enhance Sufism′s legitimacy, aspects of sanctity (*walāyah*), miracles, and relationships between rulers and Sufis. Sufi institutions are discussed, and the writer makes a strong case for the centrality of the *zāwiyah* in Sufi life. On the other hand, the *khānqāh* was an official institution established by the authorities in earlier times, which did not have a good reputation with many Sufis. The *zāwiyah* was more independent and was associated with Sufi teachers and masters. The Ottomans constructed *zāwiyah*s and *takīyah*s, but not *khānqāh*s.

The third part deals with different modes of affiliation with the Sufi *ṭarīqah*s, which the writer prefers to translate as a spiritual method or a way of initiation rather than a Sufi order.

On the question of multiple membership in the *ṭarīqah*s, Geoffroy writes that in the period studied it became a general phenomenon and under the Ottomans it became the norm (pp. 199-201). This is certainly true about prominent Sufis. A famous example is al-Sha'rānī′s initiation into twenty-six *ṭarīqah*s. The question which is still to be answered satisfactorily is whether this principle applied also to simple adherents of the Sufi way. There are indications that in those cases this was discouraged by the Sufi shaykhs.

Chapter 11 surveys the various orders in Syria and Egypt. Chapter 12, called ″Contrasts and Similarities,″ compares Egyptian and Syrian Sufism with its Maghribi and Turco-Persian counterparts. This is an interesting and important analysis, since these alternative versions of Islamic mysticism left their mark on the Sufism of the central Arab world (which in turn influenced them).

The book′s fourth part is called ″An Outline of Spiritual Typology.″ It describes and analyzes extensively (pp. 283-360) the main types associated with Sufism: *al-zāhid*, the ascetic; *al-'ālim al-'āmil*, the scholar who lives up to his scholarship; the *ummī* (illiterate) shaykh; the *majdhūb*, the enraptured one; *arbāb al-aḥwāl*, those of the spiritual states; the *malāmatī*s, those who invoked blame upon themselves by their ostensibly outrageous behavior. Of course, sometimes the lines separating one character from another are blurred.

The fifth part deals with confrontations, debates, and mutual perceptions of Sufis and jurisconsults (*fuqahā'*). The writer presents the standard accusations, arguments, and debates across the Sufi-*faqīh* divide. In these confrontations, there was room for accommodation, dissimulation, exegesis, apologetics, and other means to defend one's position and to denounce the other side. Some well-known themes and practices associated with the Sufis, which were denounced or looked upon with suspicion by their opponents, are discussed, such as *dhikr,* the central Sufi ceremony; *samā'*, listening to music and dancing; as well as the mystical doctrines of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, "the unity of being," or *waḥdat al-shuhūd*, "the unity of contemplation." These notions were regarded by a few, strict theologians as blasphemous, verging on infidelity. Public debates and quarrels erupted occasionally around the figures of the mystical poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ and the mystical writer Ibn 'Arabī, both controversial thirteenth-century figures, whose ideas were still attacked and defended three hundred years after their deaths. Ibn Taymīyah, the great fundamentalist theologian and polemicist, who was the archenemy of Ibn 'Arabī's ideas, was still quoted and considered as an authority, centuries after his death in 1328. As Geoffroy shows, although Ibn 'Arabī's ideas were often proscribed and condemned (in Damascus more than in Cairo), the leading scholars and writers of Islam, notably the great al-Suyūṭī and al-Sha'rānī among others, wrote long treatises in defense of Ibn 'Arabī, who was also called al-Shaykh al-Akbar. It can be stated that by the sixteenth century Ibn 'Arabī had become a shibboleth for Sufism. Finally, the triumph of Ibn 'Arabī over Ibn Taymīyah was best expressed by the official support given to his ideas by the Ottomans. Sultan Selim erected a domed mausoleum over Ibn 'Arabī's grave in Damascus, but the work had to be done at night to avoid antagonizing the residents of the Ṣāliḥīyah quarter of Damascus, who were hostile to the deceased mystic. Finally, Ibn Kamal Pasha, the Ottoman Grand Mufti, issued a strongly-worded *fatwá* supporting Ibn 'Arabī (the Arabic text is reproduced on p. 511). According to Geoffroy, it was the writings of Ibn Taymīyah that were forbidden for a long time (p. 83, but references are needed for such a statement).

The writer is undoubtedly right in emphasizing the success of Sufism as a spiritual trend, Islamic discipline, and cultural force in the late Mamluk and early Ottoman period. Among his interesting observations is the notion that the "candidates" to the distinction of *mujaddid al-dīn*, "the renewer of religion" which, according to a well-known *ḥadīth*, should appear at the turn of every century, were now Shādhilī Sufis (pp. 489-491).

As the book's title indicates, the study is stronger as an intellectual and religious history than a social history. It is successful in demonstrating the richness of Egyptian and Syrian Sufism and masterfully examines it against the heritage of Islamic culture. Yet some questions concerning the decline of Sufism *after* the

period covered by the study should be raised and addressed. Why did the great figures studied here, such as Zakarīyah al-Anṣārī, al-Suyūṭī, al-Shaʻrānī, ʻAlī ibn Maymūn and his disciples Muḥammad ibn ʻArrāq and ʻAlwān al-Ḥamawī, not have worthy successors and followers? And, on the other hand, what were the circumstances that encouraged the unprecedented proliferation of popular *mawlid*s in sixteenth-century Egypt, as attested by Evliyā Çelebi, al-Jabartī, and ʻAlī Bāshā Mubārak?

The writer′s mastery of Arabic is impeccable and his numerous quotations well chosen. (Yet, *al-ḥūr al-ʻayn* should be corrected to the Quranic *al-ḥūr al-ʻīn*, p. 325.)

A few critical comments:

The writer says (p. 75) that the Syrian and Egyptian population regarded the Ottoman occupation as a liberation. This statement has some truth with regard to Syria, but not as far as Egypt is concerned, as is abundantly clear from every page of the fifth volume of Ibn Iyās′s chronicle. It is shown even from scattered remarks in al-Shaʻrānī′s writings.

Ṭarīq al-qawm (the Way of the People) is a term sometimes used for Sufis. The author mentions *ṭā'ifat al-qawm* instead (p. 270), a term which at least this reviewer finds unusual; references would have been welcome here.

Geoffroy writes (p. 77) that for the leading Sufis and men of religion generally, Mamluks and Ottomans were equally strangers, ″Turks.″ Yet in the Arabic sources, the term ″Turks″ (*atrāk*) was reserved for the Mamluks (despite the fact that at this time they were predominantly Circassians), while the Ottomans were called Turkomans (*tarākimah*), Rumis (*arwām*), or Ottomans (*ʻathāminah*). The Mamluks were thoroughly familiar and seemed ″strangers″ much less than the Ottomans.

On the same page, the writer cites without any reservations a notice by Ibn Ayyūb, a Damascene historian, that after his conquest of Damascus, Sultan Selim visited the Shādhilī Shaykh Muḥammad ibn ʻArrāq, the disciple of ʻAlī ibn Maymūn al-Fāsī, and asked his authorization to conquer Egypt as well. Even if this had really taken place (which is unlikely, owing to the Sufis′ tendency to brag about their influence with members of the ruling class), it seems hardly more than a gesture of respect on the part of the sultan. One can be too carried away in admiring one′s research subjects.

The Bakrī family head did not assume the *mashyakhat al-mashāyikh* (*al-ṣūfīyah*) before Mehmet Ali′s reign (p. 79); the source Geoffroy is using, Muḥammad al-Bakrī′s family history, is inaccurate.

Discussing the relevance of the *madhāhib* (legal schools) to Sufism, Geoffroy concludes that in the debates regarding Sufism, the *madhhab* was not pertinent (p. 500). True, but still the impression, from al-Shaʻrānī′s works at least, is that it was the Mālikī *faqīh* who personalized for the Sufis the critical and hostile opponent.

Finally, while the present reviewer is described (correctly) by the writer as ″le chercheur israelien″ (p. 49), Bilād al-Shām is defined in the following manner: ″Cette region comprend *grosso modo* Syrie, Liban, Jordanie et Palestine actuel″ (p. 52, note 3). A writer whose favorite expressions throughout the text are *nuance* and *subtil* should be more careful in his geography of the Middle East: In 1995, the year of the book′s publication, the historical Bilād al-Shām comprised a state called Israel, while no state named Palestine was on the map.

These few comments notwithstanding, Éric Geoffroy′s study will be a basic, required reading for anybody interested in the history of Sufism or in the history of the central Arab lands in the transition period from Mamluk to Ottoman rule.

Le Waqf dans l′espace islamique: Outil de pouvoir socio-politique. Edited by Randi Deguilhem (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1995). Pp. 337.

REVIEWED BY LEONOR FERNANDES, New York University

One can only applaud an ambitious work that brings together a large and diverse number of articles under the title *Le Waqf dans l′espace islamique: Outil de pouvoir socio-politique*. Before reviewing the book one has to pause and wonder about the choice of the title for such a work: Does ″espace islamique″ have any particular meaning for the editor herself? What are the criteria used to define an ″Islamic space″? And what is the place of the *waqf* in this so-called space?

Setting aside the odd title of the book, we can appreciate the efforts of this group of distinguished authors whose research has contributed to our understanding of this otherwise poorly studied institution. They have indeed proved, as the author has mentioned (p. 15), that if one knows how to question the texts of the *waqf*s, they can yield interesting information which can improve our understanding of the histories of Arab and Islamic societies.

In her introduction, Randi Deguilhem indicates (p. 21) that the subject of the book itself, the study of the *waqf* from the beginning of Islam to the present time, has dictated a thematic approach to its organization. Hence, she divides the book into three sections: methodology, case studies, and the *waqf* and the world of politics. An Arabic section is added to the preceding three and bears the title ″Partie arabe″ without any reference to its relation to the other sections. One wonders if the fact that the contributions to this section were written in a non-Western language made them difficult to integrate within the themes of the book.

The methodology adopted by the book follows two different lines of research, one defined as ″ponctuel″, the other as ″quantitatif.″ Both lines of research yield

information which are said to be complementary. The ″approche ponctuelle″ deals with features concerned with the infrastructure of the society and throws light on such features as the *wāqif*s themselves, the type of properties they endowed, and their beneficiaries (p. 19). The ″approche quantitative″ uses an empirical method to sort out the data provided by a collection of documents, thus allowing for a statistical analysis of the information. This latter approach favors a computerized analysis of the data collected.

The book consists of sixteen articles that cover a wide range of topics spread mostly between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries. Among the articles one notes Abdelhamid Henia′s ″Pratique habous, mobilité sociale et conjoncture à Tunis à l′époque moderne (XVIIIe-XIXe siècle).″ The author uses the data provided by *waqf*s to draw interesting conclusions about the nature of a group of *wāqif*s, the ʻĀ'ilāt (elite) of Tunisia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He analyzes the data to show the mobility of the properties endowed. Furthermore, he links the internal dynamics regulating this mobility to the economic changes affecting the group of notables in question, as well as to the historical events influencing a change in conjuncture. Marco Salati follows the evolution of a Shiʻite family living in Aleppo in the seventeenth century, the Zuhrāwī, tracing the role of *waqf*s in the consolidation of the socio-economic activities of the family. Randi Deguilhem studies the development of a *waqf* founded in Damascus by a woman, Ḥafīẓah Khānum al-Mūrahlī, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

The control and administration of the *waqf*s and/or the socio-political factors affecting their development is the object of a number of articles. Richard van Leeuwen looks at the economic and political pressures exerted by two prominent families, the Khāzin and the Ishʻayā, on the administration of *waqf*s created by the Maronite Church in the Lebanon. He examines the *waqf*s founded in the eighteenth century for a monastery in Kisrawān, that of Sayyidat Bkirkī, and traces the role played by the Vatican and the Maronite Church at the local level in Lebanon. Gregory Kozlowski′s study examines the degree of control exerted by the state on the administration of *waqf*s. He chooses to focus his research on particular cases from India, post-revolutionary Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, post-colonial regions of the Maghrib and Mashriq, and other regions of the former Soviet Union. Aḥmad Qāsim deals with Tunisia during the second half of the nineteenth century, and tries to determine the role played by the state in the administration of *waqf*s and more specifically on the Jamʻīyat al-Awqāf established under the French Protectorate and designed to provide the state with a tighter control over the resources of the *waqf*s. Byron Cannon examines the administration of *waqf*s in Algeria under colonial rule in the middle of the nineteenth century. He studies the degree of control the state had over the region of Biskra, on the edge of the Sahara, and the relationships that existed between the local chiefs and elites on the

one hand and the state on the other. Ḥamzah ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz Badr and Daniel Crecelius choose to look at a social institution, the *ḥammām*. Relying on the information provided by a *waqf* (Waqf al-Maṭrabāz), they study the place it occupied in the urban fabric of Mamluk Cairo. The authors provide us with a valuable translation of a document found in the archives of the Ministry of Waqfs listed under the name of a certain ʻUthmān al-Maṭrabāz Jāwīshān (no. 337, dated 1181 *hijrī*, Maḥkamat al-Bāb al-ʻĀlī). It is unfortunate that they do not provide us with any biographical information about al-Maṭrabāz himself. Moreover, they do not indicate how these two *ḥammām*s, which were originally part of the *waqf* of Sultan Qalāwūn, ended up in the hands of this new *wāqif*. Also, a better and fuller analysis of this important document would have certainly enhanced our understanding of the functioning of this poorly studied institution. An interesting article in Arabic, that of Muḥammad ʻAfīfī, sheds light on the role played by *waqf*s in the Red Sea trade and the religious and politico-economic changes affecting it. The author examines a number of Ottoman *waqf*s, focusing on the one founded by the wife of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent in 1553, and the one created by Sultan Murad in 1588, known as Waqf al-Dashīshah. He concludes that by that period ships were bought to benefit a *waqf* and, in some cases, were specifically built with *waqf* revenues. Such ships were involved in the transportation of grain and staples from Cairo to the Hijaz. By 1723 the number of ships belonging to *waqf*s had reached six. In time, the ships were used for the transportation of diverse goods between Egypt and the Hijaz and came to play an important role in the Red Sea trade as a whole.

Two of the contributions in the book deal specifically with Mamluk Egypt: Denoix offers an interesting approach for the study of *waqf*s focusing on a corpus of Mamluk *waqf*s, while Jean-Claude Garcin and Mustafa Anouar Taher concentrate on a case study. A third contribution by Doris Behrens-Abouseif concentrates on the analysis of some *waqf*s from the early Ottoman period.

Sylvie Denoix′s ambitious and challenging contribution which forms part of a larger project of the Institut de recherches et d′études sur le monde arabe et musulman, entitled ″Histoire de la vie materielle et des sociétés urbaines,″ draws our attention to the fact that there is still a lot to be done by scholars specializing in the study of *waqf*s. Her idea is to look at the large corpus of Mamluk *waqfīyah*s, since they represent a homogeneous collection of documents which, as she points out, have the same structure and provide the same type of information. Accordingly, she sees that the analysis of these documents yields data that sheds light on the *wāqif*s, their socio-political status, the type of properties they endow, the group of beneficiaries, and so on. She urges scholars to examine whole collections rather

than concentrate on individual documents, implying that the study of a collection as a whole can be more fruitful than the traditional approach that limits itself to the detailed analysis of individual cases.

Her main goal is to classify the data provided by Mamluk *waqfīyah*s in order to draw some general conclusions about the nature of the *wāqif*s, their socio-economic background, their professions, gender, and the type of investments. One has to recognize that her approach has a certain appeal and what she proposes to do with the data collected could be justified. However, a number of questions have to be answered and some comments have to be made here.

The title of her article, ″Pour une exploitation d′ensemble d′un corpus: Les waqfs mamelouks du Caire,″ builds up our expectations as to the benefits of what is termed an ″approche globale et serielle″ (p. 30) to be used in the study of these documents. Yet, rather than study the *waqfīyah*s themselves, or even the catalogues in the archives of Cairo, the Dār al-Wathā'iq al-Qawmīyah, Denoix deems it sufficient to base her research on a published catalogue and focuses exclusively on Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn′s *Catalogue des documents d′archives du Caire de 239/853 à 922/1516*. She hastily explains that it is fortunate that Amīn has researched the topic (p. 32) and that he already provides the necessary data on the *wāqif*s′ names, their titles, professions, gender, the type of transactions, and other information. In order to show how her ″étude serielle″ would work, Denoix proposes to look at some entries in the catalogue. She selects a sample (pp. 32-33) consisting of fifteen entries (nos. 13 to 27) from the catalogue which spans over 327 pages and covers 888 entries (in addition to the publication of a number of documents covering pp. 334-508) and provides us with the results of her analysis of the data. Since the choice of the entries is nowhere explained, the reader has to assume that they were selected at random. Furthermore, since the sample covers only fifteen out of the 888 entries in the catalogue, the reader has to be prepared to accept her choice without questioning it and assume that her reading and analysis of the data collected from the rest of the catalogue will lead to a meaningful ″study of Mamluk *waqf*s.″ However, before we accept her conclusions and the general statements she makes on *waqf*s, two crucial questions have to be answered first: How reliable is the data provided by the catalogue? How accurate is her reading of the data? A brief look at the entries she examined helps the reader make up his own mind on the matter. Indeed, even though she has chosen to limit her analysis to a very short list of *waqf*s (fifteen entries only), the author has managed to provide a sloppy and inaccurate reading of the entries. For instance in the very first entry of her sample, corresponding to no. 13 in the catalogue, she gives the date of 13 Shawwāl 687 for the *waqf* of Ṣandal ibn ʻAbd Allāh al-Ṭawāshī, while Amīn writes 1 Rabīʻ al-Ākhir 669. Any such mistake could be regarded as trivial or attributed to a typographical error. But, trivial as it may appear, when examined in

the context of the other information collected from entries in the same collection, it may prove to be serious and misleading. Also, entry no. 17 is listed as the *waqf* of Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Majd al-Dīn al-Tājir al-maʿrūf bi-al-Sharābīshī and dated 687, while Amīn specifically mentions two *waqf*s under this number, one being the *waqf* mentioned by Denoix, the other being that of Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Khazrajī dated 802 and 803. Since the purpose of the study is to produce a systematic analysis of the collection as a whole and since conclusions will be based on statistical data put at the disposal of a great number of researchers who do not have access to the documents themselves, one should hope that greater caution will be applied in the retrieval and analysis of the data from the remaining entries which represent the bulk of the collection.

Equally, some reservations have to be voiced as to the validity of relying on a catalogue and not on the *waqfīyah*s themselves. Without undervaluing the study undertaken by Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, relying on his catalogue represents a danger. Indeed, the goal of its author is to provide the researcher with easy yet not fully comprehensive access to the information contained in the documents he lists. Since a detailed analysis of the documents lies outside the scope of his catalogue he often does not bother to specify the nature of the listed *waqf*, i.e., whether the *waqf* is *khayrī* (for charitable purposes), *ahlī* (a family *waqf*) or a mixture of the two. Often, he does not mention that the document he lists includes more than one type of transaction. Hence, the rubric of an entry in his catalogue may indicate that the document is a *bayʿ* or an *istibdāl*, while the reading of the corresponding document may reveal that it was followed by a *waqf*. Occasionally, discrepancies can be detected between what Amīn lists in his entries and what appears in the register of the Dār al-Wathā'iq al-Qawmīyah and/or the text of the *waqfīyah*s themselves. Finally, the accidental omission of some *waqfīyah*s from the list in the catalogue could weaken conclusions based on statistics. These are some of the problems faced when dealing with a catalogue. If one adds to these the fact that we cannot assume that we have in our possession all of the *waqf*s dating from the Mamluk period and that the great bulk of *waqf*s created by civilians have disappeared (we know of their existence from the sources), statistics regarding the involvement of that particular group of individuals in the creation of *waqf*s would be irrelevant unless complemented by data provided by chronicles and biographical dictionaries.

Some mistakes in the translation of professional occupations and of certain Mamluk titles could have been avoided by consulting al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá*. For instance in no. 95, Khushqadam, "al-Adur al-Sharīfah" does not refer to the "biens chérifiens" but to the Royal Harem (or residences of the wives of the sultan). Likewise, no. 110, which mentions al-Jamālī Yūsuf as a Nāẓir al-Khawāṣṣ al-Sharīfah, does not refer to a "*nāẓir* des biens chérifiens" (p. 35) but a Nāẓir of

the Privy Fund of the Sultan. Sitt Ḥadaq/Miskah was not the wife of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (p. 36); all contemporaneous chroniclers refer to her as being his Dada or Qahramānah put in control of his harem. Disregarding these petty mistakes, one can hail the initiative taken by Denoix and hope that her approach and methodology, when applied properly, will benefit and enrich our understanding of Mamluk society as a whole and that of the *waqf* institution in particular.

An interesting contribution focusing on a case study is presented by Jean-Claude Garcin and Mustafa Anouar Taher. Following the traditional approach, this study deals with the *waqf*s of a fifteenth century amir, Jawhar al-Lālā, a eunuch and tutor of Sultan Barsbāy′s children. The authors undertake the painstaking effort of retracing, if I may say, the road to the creation of a large *waqf*. Focusing on the *waqfīyah* of Jawhar al-Lālā and the data retrieved from chronicles and biographical dictionaries, they succeed in showing how the eunuch had planned the foundation of his *madrasah*, built between 1429 and 1430, and how he worked over the years to accumulate properties which would form part of the large *waqf* created to maintain it. Through their analysis of the amir′s urban acquisitions and the historical developments affecting Jawhar′s career in general, they allow us to determine how a member of the military elite occupying a privileged position in the court would use his power and influence to acquire the commercial and residential properties necessary to sustain his charitable foundation and at the same time accommodate his own life-style. Explaining the logic behind the choice of the properties acquired between 1429 and 1437, they track all of his *waqf*s and analyze the data they provide to come up with the conclusion that the acquisition of properties by Jawhar focused primarily on two urban localities, Khuṭṭ al-Maṣnaʻ and Khuṭṭ al-Khiyamīyīn, where the *wāqif* bought a large number of residential and commercial properties. The former locality seems to have been the most important of the two since it was part of a residential quarter located near the Citadel and inhabited by Mamluks, and because it was in this particular Khuṭṭ that Jawhar chose to live. The commercial nature of the second Khuṭṭ, that of the Khiyamīyīn, located near al-Azhar, attracted the founder′s interest because of its lucrative advantages. Relying on the information in the *waqfīyah* in a *tour de force*, the authors managed to trace the plan of the *madrasah* and situate it in its immediate urban context. They also managed to show how Jawhar′s acquisitions in the vicinity of his own residence had slowly come to surround his religious foundation, which became the center of his *waqf*s. Once the *madrasah* complex had formed the nucleus of his properties, he took up residence in quarters located within the foundation. In an interesting comment, the authors suggest that perhaps Jawhar had deliberately intended to build for himself a little estate in a quarter in which he himself had personal ties: the Khuṭṭ al-Maṣnaʻ, and that the revenues

from the properties he had acquired in the Khuṭṭ al-Khiyamīyīn were to be used for the maintenance and functioning of his *madrasah*.

The study is followed by the edition of the Arabic text of two documents representing, respectively, the *waqf* of a *qāʻah*, dated 1435, and that of a complex comprising rental properties, shops, and warehouses, dated 1436. Such well-researched and thorough analysis of a *waqf* in its urban and historical context is most welcome and one hopes it will open the door for more researchers to follow in their footsteps.

The last contribution, by Doris Behrens-Abouseif, deals with Egypt in the early Ottoman period and is entitled ″The Waqfs of a Cairene Notable in Early Ottoman Cairo, Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū al-Ṭayyib, Son of a Physician.″ The study of his *waqfīyah*, dated 1528, eleven years after the conquest of Egypt by the Ottomans, is of great importance since, as the author notes, very few *waqf*s were created by local notables at the time. While Garcin and Taher have focused on the *waqf*s of a member of the military elite, Behrens-Abouseif chose to study the *waqf*s of a Cairene notable in order to show the extent of his investments in the city. She focuses on one *waqfīyah*, that of Abū al-Ṭayyib Muḥammad (Wizārat al-Awqāf, Daftarkhānah no. 1142, dated 1528). (There exists another *waqfīyah* in the Dār al-Wathā'iq al-Qawmīyah, no. 45, dated also 934/1528, in the name of Abū al-Ṭayyib Muḥammad; one wonders if it is a copy of the same *waqfīyah* or whether it contains some additional information about the *waqf*s.) Looking at the *waqf*s forming part of the *waqfīyah* as well as at a number of historical sources, Behrens-Abouseif manages to trace the biography of this notable who was the son of a physician. She clearly shows how the information contained in Abū al-Ṭayyib′s *waqf*s can shed light on the life-style of this sixteenth century notable living in Cairo. Worthy of mention is her painstaking effort to enumerate the 169 books endowed by the *wāqif* to be part of the library in his religious foundation. As she mentions, the study of the subjects of the books selected to form part of this library helps to sharpen the picture we have of the educational background of the fifteenth to sixteenth century *'ulama'*, and falls in line with the information provided by al-Sakhāwī in his biographical dictionary.

Studies on the *waqf* institution as a whole are wanting; therefore, the publication of a book like the one edited by Randi Deguilhem is most welcome and deserves great credit. The collaboration of so many distinguished scholars writing in three different languages is most enriching. Thanks to the new approaches they have adopted in their study of *waqf*s, they have succeeded in opening new avenues for the investigation of this institution and have challenged us to do more research in the field. Reading this book increases our awareness of the importance of this new genre, which is crucial not only for the study of architecture, the development of cities, and their urban fabric, but also for understanding the interdependence of

*waqf*s and political control and the relationships that existed between political power and the religious establishment on one hand and the religious establishment and the civilian notables on the other. Regardless of the approach adopted for their studies, contributors have proved that, when examined within the proper socio-economic context affecting the fortunes of the *wāqif*s (military or civilian), *waqf*s contribute greatly to our understanding of Arab and Muslim societies as a whole.

AL-QAḤṬĀNĪ, RĀSHID SA'D RĀSHID, *Awqāf al-Sulṭān al-Ashraf Sha'bān 'alá al-Ḥaramayn* (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Malik Fahd al-Waṭanīyah, 1994). Pp. 259.

REVIEWED BY DORIS BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF, University of Munich

Al-Ashraf Sha'bān, together with al-Ẓāhir Baybars, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and al-Ashraf Qāytbāy, was among the few Mamluk sultans who performed the pilgrimage. Sultan Sha'bān's deed of endowment for Mecca and Medina is the subject of this study.

After a short introduction about the origins of *waqf* in Islam and the history of *waqf* in Egypt, relying mainly on Muḥammad Amīn's work, the author documents briefly Baḥrī Mamluk policy concerning the Ḥaramayn, using published chronicles as well as some *waqf* documents. This first chapter includes, in addition, a biographical résumé of Sultan Sha'bān with reference to his buildings and pious works in the Holy Cities as described in the chronicles (pp. 51-62). In the second chapter the alienated estates of the *waqf* are enumerated, which consisted of agricultural plots in Syria. Their locations are indicated on several maps (pp. 65-85).

The third chapter (pp. 89-137) describes the endowment itself with a list of the expenditures both in Mecca and in Medina. These do not include the construction of new buildings or institutions but rather the enhancement of existing institutions by means of the restoration of buildings, the supplementing of salaries, and the creation of additional staff positions, such as teachers of Quran, *ḥadīth*, the four rites of Islamic law as well as teachers for a primary school for orphans. The *waqf* provides additional stipends for the Shāfi'ī, Ḥanafī, and Mālikī shaykhs, thus neglecting the Ḥanbalī shaykh. In Medina, the endowment emphasizes philanthropic services, such as the distribution of food and the upkeep of a hospital with one physician, although no hospital building is mentioned. Besides the religious and

scholarly institutions, the endowment provides for a wide range of social services such as burial of the dead, maintenance of the water supply, cleaning and infrastructural works, building restoration, and distribution of alms and food. A significant charity for the population of the Holy Cities was tax exemption.

The full text of the *waqfīyah* is published at the end, following the short conclusion (pp. 167-259). There are a number of noteworthy points in this document, such as the equal salaries for male and female cleaning staff and the salaries of the teachers and students of the four rites of Islamic law. Teachers were given equal salaries for teaching a class of ten students each; the instructor of a class of five, however, received a smaller salary. The discrimination against the Ḥanbalī shaykh has been mentioned. Similarly, the Ḥanbalī students had smaller stipends than the students of the other rites. Moreover, it is interesting that Shi'i Muslims (Zaydīs and Rāfiḍīs) were excluded from all charitable services provided in the endowment. The author does not try to investigate these points.

The interest of this book, which is a junior scholar's work, lies in the topic of the *waqfīyah* itself, rather than in the analysis of the subject, which could have been more developed. More information on the Mamluks' policy towards the Ḥaramayn could have been extracted from the chronicles. Al-Qaḥṭānī could have consulted Quṭb al-Dīn's (d. 988) or al-Fāsī's (d. 832) histories of the Holy Cities. He does not refer to the *imārat al-ḥājj*, nor to the competition between Mamluks and other Muslim rulers for the privilege of protecting the Holy Cities, which would have been part of this subject. Every publication of a *waqfīyah*, however, is beneficial to scholarship, and this is a very interesting document.

ḤAYĀT NĀṢIR AL-ḤAJJĪ, *Anmāṭ min al-Ḥayāh al-Siyāsīyah wa-al-Iqtiṣādīyah wa-al-Ijtimāʻīyah fī Salṭanat al-Mamālīk fī al-Qarnayn al-Thāmin wa-al-Tāsiʻ al-Hijrīyayn/al-Rābiʻ ʻAshar wa-al-Khāmis ʻAshar al-Mīlādīyayn* (Kuwait: Jāmiʻat al-Kuwayt, 1995). Pp. 260.

REVIEWED BY LI GUO, The University of Chicago.

The book under review, as the title suggests, deals with some "aspects" of the political, economic, and social history of the Mamluk Sultanate during the eighth/fourteenth and ninth/fifteenth centuries. Instead of a monograph with a coherent theme, this volume is a collection of three previously published articles, each of which takes on a particular issue not necessarily related, either chronologically or thematically, to the others. It thus defies explanation why they

should be brought together and reprinted here without any revision. It should also be pointed out that the author never mentions this fact in her preface to the book, leaving the impression that these are new studies. Oddly enough, not only are the topics of these essays largely independent of each other, but so are the bibliographies. Thus we have in this small volume three separate bibliographies, many of the titles having been repeated three times. Sometimes non-Arabic works are cited (essays 1 and 2), sometimes not (essay 3); sometimes the titles are underlined, sometimes not. There is no index.

The first study, entitled ″The Political and Economic Situation during the Reign of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (815-824/1412-1421)″ (previously published in *al-Majallah al-'Arabīyah lil-'Ulūm al-Insānīyah* 9, no. 36 [1989]: 8-55), begins with a discussion of three major issues of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh′s political legacy: his seizing power (pp. 19-22), his rivalry with the Abbasid caliph al-Musta'īn billāh (pp. 22-28), and his Syria policy (pp. 28-56). The author then moves on to al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh′s economic reform (pp. 56-96). The reason why al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh is singled out, the author claims, is because his reign ″saw a series of political changes and economic initiatives that were unprecedented and unique″ (p. 10). We never learn, however, what exactly these ″changes″ and ″initiatives″ were, much less their impact on Mamluk society at large. The author, for instance, disputes al-'Aynī′s statement that the transfer of power from al-Musta'īn billāh, the first Abbasid caliph to be appointed sultan, to al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh was peaceful and smooth by arguing that ″most of such transfers in the Mamluk period were known for violence, bloodshed, and brutality″ (pp. 20-21). Nevertheless, she fails to provide any sources or facts to support this generalization. One is left wondering whether the transfer of power, in this particular case, was bloody or not. The author′s discussion of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh′s economic reform also suffers from this kind of superficial generalization. Except for a brief discussion, based merely on speculation, of the factors that are thought to have caused high prices during al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh′s reign and a laundry list of the functions and duties of the market inspector (*muḥtasib*), it is unclear what exactly al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh′s ″economic initiatives″ were, or indeed, whether there were such things to begin with. The most interesting part of this chapter may be the discussion of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh′s monetary reform as well as the problem of counterfeit *dirham*s (*al-darāhim al-maghshūshah*) that had a long lasting effect on the decline of the late Mamluk economy (pp. 76-96). But, unfortunately, the author has limited the scope of her inquiry to a single literary source, i.e., al-Maqrīzī′s *al-Sulūk*, while totally ignoring the rich body of contemporary sources on the subject, especially those treatises on monetary issues, e.g., al-Maqrīzī′s *al-Ighāthah* (she clearly is not aware of Allouche′s 1994 study of the work), as well as many new studies on Islamic

numismatics. As a result, the author's discussion contributes very little to our understanding of Mamluk economic life.

The second study, entitled "Amīr Qawṣūn: A Living Example of the System of Governing in the Mamluk Sultanate" (appeared earlier in *al-Majallah al-ʻArabīyah lil-ʻUlūm al-Insānīyah* 8, no. 32 [1988]: 6-55), is a case study of the dynamics of Mamluk internal politics (pp. 109-187). The author has utilized a great number of primary sources, many of which are unpublished manuscripts, in an attempt to reconstruct Amir Qawṣūn's (d. 743/1341) life. One is not sure why this particular amir is selected here, for as far as can be gathered from his biographical sketch, his "unique" career path, which the author tries to prove, appears to be anything but. Is this amir's career typical? If this is the case, how is it so? Or does this amir's life story offer a rare and special case in which some intriguing irregularities and nuanced peculiarities in Mamluk internal politics can be traced? If this is the case, how? There are no answers to these questions.

The third study is a social history of the markets in Mamluk Cairo and was previously published in *Buḥūth wa-Dirāsāt fī al-Tārīkh al-ʻArabī* (Damascus, 1992). It begins with a general historical survey of the growth and development of markets in Cairo (pp. 200-205). This is followed by a description of the system of specific market places, such as the horse market, the fruit market, and others (pp. 205-214). The following two sections deal, respectively, with different types of markets and the professional guilds associated with them (pp. 214-217), and various alternate types of markets, such as the *wikālah*, the *khānah*, and the *qaysārīyah* (pp. 217-226). The function and duties of the market inspector (*muḥtasib*) are discussed, again, at length (pp. 226-238). The study concludes with a discussion of the decline of market places in Cairo which the author attributes to "some"—again, without any details—practices of price fixing established by the sultan for the purpose of control and stability (pp. 246-256). Two photographs of the *wikālah* of Qāytbāy at the Azhar Mosque in Cairo are presented (pp. 223-224) and their quality is rather poor. Like the previous two essays, this ambitious one is no more than a summary of the author's reading of some well-known Mamluk sources, such as al-Maqrīzī's *al-Khiṭaṭ* and *al-Sulūk*, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah's *al-Riḥlah*, Ibn Taghrībirdī's *al-Nujūm*, Ibn Iyās's *al-Badā'iʻ*, etc., and a few modern studies (e.g., those of Ziyādah, ʻĀshūr, Ayalon) published in the '60s and '70s. The division of some of the sections is rather arbitrary and confusing; the section on the *wikālah* and other markets, for instance, ought to be a subsection under the rubric "the different types of market"; and the section on "the social and cultural significance of the office of the *muḥtasib*" ought to be a subsection under the section on the *muḥtasib*.

Throughout the book, the author has demonstrated a very rigid style of writing. The essays usually open with a "big" statement, quotes from various sources, often

selected at random, then the posing of some questions, usually three in number, with some answers. This mechanical way of presenting material and discussion reaches its peak in the second essay which is entirely based on this ″question, answer, 1, 2, 3 . . .″ mode. In addition to typos in both Arabic and English, the book is laced with incomprehensible jargon (e.g., [*al*-]*nufūdh al-adabī*, [*al*-]*markaz al-adabī*, [pp. 114, 115]), combined with an assertive and self-serving tone in argument (″This volume contains a detailed and meticulous survey of the subject and offers fruitful results . . . ″ [p. 14]; ″We who study the primary sources are absolutely sure that . . .″ [p. 20]) and irritating punctuation marks (″!!?,″ ″??!,″ ″!!!″). It is not an easy read.

Overall, the book is a disappointment for those looking for new information and insightful analysis of the political, social, and economic history of the Mamluk era. One is bound to come away empty-handed. The book not only suffers from serious flaws in methodology, but it is also marred by its rigid style, confusing writing, and numerous typos. I would not recommend it to anyone. For the graduate student who ventures into the secondary literature written in Arabic, this book is not worth the time and effort. And for the researcher, he or she may well be better off simply checking the primary sources and secondary literature instead of the unreliable, incomplete, and confusing synthesis this book offers.

SHERMAN A. JACKSON, *Islamic Law and the State: The Constitutional Jurisprudence of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996). Pp. 249.

REVIEWED BY JONATHAN P. BERKEY, Davidson College

In his now-classic study *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (1967), Ira Lapidus observed that we know remarkably little about the inner functioning of the schools of law (*madhāhib*, sing. *madhhab*) in Cairo and other medieval Islamic cities. Three decades later, we at last have a book-length monograph in which the *madhhab* and its legal and political role provide the center of attention. Sherman Jackson′s study of the seventh/thirteenth-century Mālikī jurist Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī represents a fascinating and useful contribution to several fields of investigation concerning the legal and political configuration of medieval Islamic societies. Mamluk-period specialists may be surprised by Jackson′s choice of a Mālikī jurist as the focus of his attention, accustomed as we are to thinking of the Shāfiʻī and Ḥanafī schools as the principal jurisprudential parties of post-Fatimid Egypt; but Jackson reminds us that, at least until Saladin′s favoring of the Shāfiʻī

school, Mālikism was dominant among Egyptian Sunni Muslims, and so al-Qarāfī's viewpoint proves exceptionally valuable to a study of the *madhāhib* during the period of Sunni consolidation under the Ayyubids and early Mamluks.

The book addresses several important but conceptually difficult themes. The first concerns what Jackson labels "constitutionalism," which he identifies in his introduction as "the value of and mechanisms for promoting and sustaining the rule of law" in the face of the raw power of the state (p. xxi). (Incidentally, readers should not be tempted by its separate pagination to skip the author's introduction, for it represents one of the most intellectually satisfying portions of the book.) The starting point of al-Qarāfī's (and Jackson's) discussion of this issue was the exclusivist policy of the Shāfiʻī chief *qāḍī* Ibn Bint al-Aʻazz, who refused to implement judgements made by his deputies which contradicted his own interpretation of Shāfiʻī law. To understand al-Qarāfī's frustration, one must recall that Ibn Bint al-Aʻazz served as *qāḍī al-quḍāh* before Sultan Baybars's appointment of four chief justices, one for each of the four Sunni *madhāhib*: the rulings he ignored, in other words, may have been perfectly acceptable according to the Mālikī or Ḥanafī schools of his deputies. Hence the "constitutional" issue: al-Qarāfī groped for arguments to compel the chief *qāḍī* to implement rulings made according to non-Shāfiʻī law, in effect, to level the playing field and remove the arbitrary advantage held by the Shāfiʻī school as a result of its status as the *madhhab* favored by the state. In making this argument, Jackson draws on the insights of the Critical Legal Studies (CLS) school of late twentieth-century American jurisprudence, in one of several instances in which he tries to connect his own very specialized research with discussions in other, quite disparate fields. The connection is obvious: CLS has stressed the incoherence of legal patterns outside the context of the power wielded by the state and by dominant social elements, precisely the situation confronted by a Mālikī jurist such as al-Qarāfī. In al-Qarāfī's opinion, the principle of the mutual acceptance of the four *madhāhib* required that, once a legal viewpoint had been adopted as a legal ruling (*ḥukm*) by a jurist acting as a *qāḍī* and not simply as a *muftī*, accepting it was binding upon all (including the *qāḍī al-quḍāh*), provided that the ruling fell within the consensus of the *madhhab* of the judge who issued it.

A second issue takes the discussion considerably beyond the constitution of the early Mamluk state. Jackson throws himself fearlessly and confidently into the on-going debate about the persistence or demise of *ijtihād* (independent legal reasoning) in the Islamic Middle Period. He provides a useful survey of the debate, from Joseph Schacht's formulation of the standard position (that, at some point in the early Middle Period, the "doors of *ijtihād*" effectively closed) to Wael Hallaq's vigorous contention that *ijtihād* remained central to Islamic jurisprudence throughout the medieval period. On the surface, Jackson adopts a position closer

to that of Schacht than Hallaq: despite the arguments of some jurists who always insisted the ″doors of *ijtihād*″ remained open, the historical record clearly indicates the existence and dominance of a ″regime of *taqlīd*″ in the later Middle Period. He would prefer that we not view *ijtihād* and *taqlīd* as ″mutually exclusive linear moments in Muslim history but rather [as] competing hegemonies that stood (and continue to stand) in perpetual competition with each other″ (p. 77). But he notes a profound shift in the practical experience of Islamic law, one reflected most clearly in a transformation of the character of treatises describing the role of a *qāḍī* (*adab al-qāḍī*): whereas earlier works in this genre were essentially on the ″foundations of jurisprudence″ (*uṣūl al-fiqh*), ″designed to teach judges how to interpret scripture, deduce rules, and apply them to cases″ (p. 78), those dating from the sixth/thirteenth century and later ″assume the form of statute manuals designed to provide judges with the rule already deduced on the basis of one of the recognized schools″ (p. 79).

In fact, however, Jackson′s argument is more nuanced, and he would recast the terms of the debate itself. What Jackson refers to as the ″post-formative″ period of Islamic jurisprudence was a self-conscious one: it was aware that times had changed, that the character of its jurisprudential thought and practice was different than that of an earlier era. The most fundamental change was that of the nature of authority: no longer did it reside in an individual jurist, whether the founder of one of the four schools or any later *mujtahid* (one who exercises *ijtihād*); now it lay squarely with the *madhāhib* themselves. In al-Qarāfī′s jurisprudence, the *madhāhib* really do move to center stage, for in a sense it is the received body of opinion within a *madhhab*, rather than the Quran or *sunnah* of the Prophet, which defines the parameters of the law. With al-Qarāfī, the

> *madhhab* has come to constitute not merely a broad method of legal reasoning but a specific body of concrete legal rules. At the same time, *taqlīd*, as the institution relied upon by the *madhhab* to sustain and perpetuate itself, emerges as the dominant hegemony. This marks the second phase in the development of the *madhhab*, one that witnesses the ultimate ascendancy of the regime of *taqlīd* (p. xxx).

It is a mistake, however, to view the institution of *taqlīd* as a reflection of ″decline″ from some earlier, golden period of free and independent thinking; rather, it represents a *development* of Islamic jurisprudential thought, one which provided Islamic law with a critical element of all successful legal traditions: reasonable consistency, internal coherence, and freedom from arbitrary judgment. But neither did *taqlīd* preclude change and innovation in the application of the law. *Taqlīd* did

not necessarily constitute ″blind imitation,″ as Western scholars have sometimes translated the term. Rather, it was performed at a variety of different levels, the most advanced of which al-Qarāfī identified as *takhrīj*, which Jackson translates as ″extrapolation″ (i.e., of methods of legal reasoning from the rulings of the founder of the *madhhab*). And *takhrīj* provided scope for flexibility in the application of established legal principles, a flexibility which could even take into account changes in the customs and popular expectations which lay behind those actions and controversies which jurists were expected to judge. In effect, then, *takhrīj* is ″the *ijtihād* of the *muqallid*-jurisconsult″ (i.e., the jurist operating under the regime of *taqlīd*) (p. 94).

Clearly this is a rich vein of argument, one which speaks to a variety of both historical and contemporary debates, and Jackson is fully aware of the political and religious implications of his analysis. Those who have seen Islamic law under the regime of *taqlīd* as characterized by ″crippling and ubiquitous stagnation″ (p. xxxi) have missed the true nature of that regime. *Ijtihād* goes on all the time, in the modern world in the work of Mohammed Arkoun, Fazlur Rahman, Fatima Mernissi, and others. Its success, however, is limited by the failure to recognize the proper method of debate under the regime of *taqlīd*, a method outlined by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī. Where the locus of authority is the *madhhab*, a successful argument will claim that authority for itself, rather than quixotically attempt to return to Islam′s ″roots″ and dispense with the accumulated discourse of the post-Prophetic centuries. A successful argument, in other words, will avail itself of what Jackson calls ″legal scaffolding,″ the process of modifying and mitigating existing rules by arguing *within* a legal tradition, which is the product of Islamic jurists in the post-formative period.

Like all good monographs, Jackson′s leaves a number of questions unanswered. Islamic modernists may not fully accept his advice on how to conduct a debate and make authoritative arguments from within the Islamic tradition. They may observe, for example, that Jackson himself seems to acknowledge that the regime of *taqlīd* and the ″legal scaffolding″ it implies, for all their hidden flexibility, tend inevitably to ossification and ″increased rigidity and farther removal from the practical needs of society″ (p. 99). As a historical matter, too, the impact of al-Qarāfī on medieval jurisprudence remains an open question. Is it not a matter of some consequence that Jackson found few references to al-Qarāfī in the biographical literature through which the medieval ʿ*ulamā*ʾ perpetuated memory of themselves? How widely accepted were al-Qarāfī′s views? Jackson himself admits that some of them were ″unique″ to him (p. 186). In particular, how did the creation of four separate chief *qāḍī*-ships affect Mamluk-period jurists′ understanding of the *madhāhib* and their function? In the final analysis, this book′s most valuable contribution may be its implicit reminder that we err if we

conceive of Islamic jurisprudence simply as an impersonal abstraction. It was/is in fact the product of particular jurists with strong personalities and articulate and discernible viewpoints, more of which deserve to be studied with the care that Sherman Jackson has devoted to Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī.

Le Manuscrit autographe d'al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār de Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʻAlī b. ʻAbd al-Qādir al-Maqrīzī (766-845 AH/1325 [sic]*-1441 AD)*, edited by Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (London: al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1416/1995). Pp. *106, 534.

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Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*, widely known as al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, is one of the most significant sources on the history, architecture, and topography of Islamic Cairo. The 1853 Būlāq edition, the first and the only complete edition of the text, is notorious for its serious defects and countless errors (several later printings published in Baghdad, Beirut, and Cairo are all based on the Būlāq edition without significant corrections). The French scholar Gaston Wiet's ambitious editing project, which began in 1911, ended abruptly in 1927 when the editor, having discovered more manuscripts along the way, came to the conclusion that the enormous number of extant codices, more than 170, were too many for a single person to handle. Since then, editions of parts of the work, as well as translations and studies, have continued. In addition, an ongoing project of compiling indexes of the monumental work under the auspices of the French Institute in Cairo was started in 1975 and has so far produced three volumes, and the need to complete Wiet's aborted project has been repeatedly reiterated.

With all this in mind, the current edition of al-Maqrīzī's masterpiece is timely and most welcome. This lavishly printed, handsomely produced, and superbly edited volume, the first in the series of Arabic manuscripts published under the sponsorship of the London-based al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, is an autograph and draft version (*musawwadah*) of the work. Its significance is manifold. First, being an autograph with the author's own marks and vowel signs, a solid and surer textual basis is thus established to correct errors of the Būlāq edition. Second, it offers a draft version that differs from the complete version (*mubayyaḍah*), thus paving the way for further investigation into the history of the development of the text. Third, the publication of this abridged version of the lengthy text

provides the reader with a handy one-volume synopsis. And furthermore, no one is more qualified to undertake a project like this than Dr. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, who wrote his Sorbonne dissertation on the history and topography of Fatimid Cairo and has published extensively in the field of studying and editing Arabic manuscripts.

The volume is divided into four parts: the introduction (pp. *1-*106; a French abstract is on pp. iii-v), the Arabic edition (pp. 1-435), a bibliography (pp. 436-453), and indexes (pp. 457-534).

The introduction comprises an excellent monograph in its own right on the history of the *khiṭaṭ* genre and al-Maqrīzī's work. After a preface that highlights the importance of the work (pp. *1-*6), it begins with a discussion of the purpose and scope of the work in question and a historical survey of *khiṭaṭ* writings in Islamic historiography (pp. *6-*35). This section is, in my opinion, the most illuminating segment of the introduction. It explores the historical evolution of the *khiṭaṭ* genre, with special reference to those produced in, and about, Cairo, and al-Maqrīzī's own contribution to its development, from the so-called "Pre-Maqrīzī *Khiṭaṭ* Writings" (pp.*7-*21), to "al-Maqrīzī's Cairo" (pp. *22-*24), to the "Post-Maqrīzī *Khiṭaṭ* Writings" (pp. *24-*35). The pre-Maqrīzī period included pioneers of the genre like al-Kindī (d. 961). The Fatimid historians Ibn Zūlāq (d. 996), al-Musabbiḥī (d. 1029), al-Quḍā'ī (d. 1062), and al-Sharīf al-Jawwānī (d. 1092) played a central role in giving the genre its reputation and serving the needs of the Fatimid dynasty after the city of al-Fusṭāṭ became the center of the state and a "Métropole" in the real sense.

The Ayyubid era witnessed a decline of interest in urban development and thus *khiṭaṭ* writing suffered from a lack of attention. However, some descriptions of the church and monastery buildings and Coptic quarters by Christian authors (e.g., Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī) and Muslim travelers from the Maghrib and Baghdad, such as Ibn Jubayr (d. 1217), 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (d. 1231), and Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī (d. 1287), who visited Cairo and al-Fusṭāṭ and left us their recollections, kept interest in the genre alive.

An ambitious expansion and re-planning of Cairo took place in the Mamluk period, especially during the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn. And it is not surprising that his contemporary Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's (d. 1349) *Masālik al-Abṣār*, a historical topography of Egypt, Syria, Hijaz, and Yemen, was a milestone in the evolution of the *khiṭaṭ* genre. It is noteworthy that while all the previous authors focused their attention on al-Fusṭāṭ, i.e., the old city of Cairo, the first *khiṭaṭ* work on al-Qāhirah, the new Cairo, was actually produced during the Mamluk period by Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir (d. 1293). The latter's *al-Rawḍah al-Zāhirah fī Khiṭaṭ al-Mu'izzīyah al-Qāhirah* is important in that it not only served as a model for al-Maqrīzī's future writings but was also the primary source utilized by

al-Maqrīzī in his *Khiṭaṭ*. Other Mamluk authors who were significant sources for al-Maqrīzī's writing are al-Qalqashandī (d. 1418), and two of al-Maqrīzī's contemporaries, Ibn Duqmāq and al-Awḥadī, who are discussed at length in the introduction. In the segment on "al-Maqrīzī's Cairo," the editor draws attention to the fact that despite being a native of Cairo, al-Maqrīzī himself did not see the glorious "good old days" of Cairo which he recorded in his *Khiṭaṭ* in utmost detail, but rather, he witnessed the decline of the city in the chaotic years after Timur's invasion of Syria and the deteriorating economic situation caused by internal and external turmoil. Therefore, he relied heavily on what he had heard or read about the city when he wrote most of the *Khiṭaṭ*, in the years between 818/1410 and 827/1422. The segment on "Post-Maqrīzī *Khiṭaṭ* Writing" begins with stellar names such as Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 1470), al-Maqrīzī's own student, and al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), who incorporated material from the *Khiṭaṭ* in their writings. However, only three works of the genre in its strict sense are known, and all of them are *mukhtaṣar*s, or abridgements, of al-Maqrīzī's *al-Khiṭat*, by Āqbughā al-Khāṣikī, al-Bakrī (d. 1650), and an unknown author named Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī, a fact that further attests to the fame of al-Maqrīzī's work. The rest of the story is well known to those familiar with the scholarship on pre-modern Egypt. The editor offers a brief but balanced survey (pp. *27-*31) of works on the topography of Egypt since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, works by Western, especially French, scholars, such as the monumental *La description de l'Égypte*, and works by Egyptian scholars, such as al-Jabartī (d. 1822), 'Alī Mubārak, and Wafā'ī al-Ḥakīm, among others. The introduction also contains a discussion of the so-called *kutub al-ziyārāt* (descriptions of visitations to saints' tombs) as a body of literature that is closely linked to the *khiṭaṭ* topoi (pp. *31-*35).

Section 2 of the introduction deals with the life and works of al-Maqrīzī. The editor offers a "new biography" of al-Maqrīzī (pp. *35-*45) which supplies the reader with more details of al-Maqrīzī's life and career than can be found in previous studies. Among the interesting issues raised is al-Maqrīzī's alleged filiation to the Fatimids (pp. *44-*45), which has a certain bearing on his being keen on the description of Fatimid Cairo. The list of al-Maqrīzī's works (pp. *45-*64) is most useful insofar as the editor has provided the reader, drawing from his vast knowledge of and immense practical expertise in Arabic manuscripts, much new information on manuscripts, publication records, and the current state of research on al-Maqrīzī's works. One example will suffice here: the editor mentions a manuscript of al-Maqrīzī's *al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr* discovered by Jan Just Witkam in 1990 and the discussion he had with the latter, in 1993, about its verification and other issues (pp. *50-*51). This stock-taking is presented under two rubrics: (1) al-Maqrīzī's major historical writings; (2) al-Maqrīzī's minor works. Here the editor echoes al-Shayyāl's assessment that al-Maqrīzī's minor works have not

received the scholarly attention they deserve. Many of these works deal with particular issues, or topics, or theoretical details that are not usually dealt with in mainstream historical writings, and thus shed light on various rarely explored issues and interesting materials (pp. *57-*60). A short discussion is devoted to the so-called ″pseudo-Maqrīzī″ works (pp. *62-*64) as well.

The third section of the introduction deals with the work in question. The editor begins with a discussion of the format and structure of the *Khiṭaṭ*. His observations are that, just as in Ibn Khaldūn′s case, there is a gap between al-Maqrīzī′s *ideal* of historical writing, and his *actual* writing, inasmuch as the *Khiṭaṭ* is not balanced in its overall structure. Al-Maqrīzī, for instance, mentions that he intended to arrange his materials in seven chapters (*ajzā'*): (1) a general survey of the topography of Egypt; (2) cities and towns; (3) al-Fusṭāṭ; (4) al-Qāhirah; (5) newly constructed buildings in Cairo and suburbs; (6) the Cairo Citadel; (7) the causes of the destruction and deterioration (*khirāb*) of the historic sites in Egypt. However, as modern scholars, such as the Russian orientalist I. Kratchkovsky and others, have already noted, chapter 6, which is on the Cairo Citadel, is in fact incorporated into chapter 5 in the final version (*mubayyaḍah*) of the work as a natural continuation of the latter, which is devoted to the newly constructed buildings of Cairo. More tellingly, the work actually concludes with a chapter on the Jewish and Coptic architectural sites in Cairo. The promised final chapter, that is, ″The Causes of the Destruction of Egypt,″ was in fact never delivered. In his discussion of the contents of *al-Khiṭaṭ,* the editor stresses that the most original and significant parts of the entire work are those in which al-Maqrīzī describes the taxation system (*al-kharāj*, *al-ḍarā'ib*) and the *iqṭā'* fiefs, as well as the parts on Fatimid Cairo and the foundation of al-Qāhirah (pp. *66-*67). It is rather a surprise, as the editor observes, that al-Maqrīzī′s coverage of his own time, i.e., the Mamluk period, is not as original and sound as that on earlier periods. This is particularly true with regard to the present autograph manuscript, a draft version of the work, which is very short on the Mamluk era (p. *67). This problem is then discussed in a segment entitled ″The Problems of Editing the *Kitāb al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār*″ (pp. *67-*79). The main argument is that this has to do with the on-going nature of al-Maqrīzī′s writing which perhaps never resulted in a final version of the work. More importantly, it has to do with the way al-Maqrīzī handled his sources, in that he usually quoted from other independent sources, many of them ″pre-Maqrīzī″ as well as contemporary *khiṭaṭ* works, verbatim and without acknowledging them, a practice for which al-Sakhāwī accused him of ″literary theft″ (*al-sariqah*). Among al-Maqrīzī′s sources, the most frequently quoted ones are Ibn Duqmāq′s (d. 1407) *al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat 'Iqd al-Amṣār* and al-Awḥadī′s (d. 1408) draft of an unfinished manuscript on the description of Cairo. Previous scholarship on the controversy (Quatremère, Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh 'Adnān, Kratchkovsky,

Brocklemann, Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr, and Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid) over the relationship of al-Maqrīzī's *al-Khiṭaṭ* to these two sources is presented with insightful analysis (pp. *68-*74). The editor seems to be of the opinion that al-Maqrīzī is not to blame given the nature of the manuscript as an autograph "work-in-progress" draft and the fact that half of the material in the *Khiṭaṭ* in fact deals with the sites built after al-Awḥadī's death. A lengthy, perhaps slightly repetitive, source criticism follows. It is basically a summary of the previous scholarship on the subject (Langlès, Sylvestre de Sacy, Quatremère, Wüstenfeld, Ravaisse, Casanova, van Berchem, Salmon, Guest, Creswell, Garcin, Raymond, Aḥmad Fakrī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Zakī, Yūsuf Rāġib, among others), with a list of the titles that were evidently utilized by al-Maqrīzī in the preparation of his *Khiṭaṭ*, especially the sources used in the current edited *musawwadah* version (pp. *79-*89). Other issues presented in this section include the publication history of al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, including partial translations and index volumes, as well as studies of the work (pp. *89-*99).

The introduction concludes with a description of the manuscript (pp. *99-*101) and the editing method. Thirty-two plates of sample folios of the manuscript are presented. It is a little disappointing that the plates are not of high quality since they are produced from microfilms rather than directly from the original manuscript now housed in the Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul.

The edition is admirable. It is based on the sole Istanbul manuscript, collated with the Būlāq edition and other parallel sources, such as Ibn Taghrībirdī's *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah* and Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir's *al-Rawḍah*. The integrity of the text is taken into consideration so that we find that the entire text of the author's introduction (pp. 1-11), which is *not* in the draft manuscript, is supplied from the Būlāq and Wiet editions. The first chapter, which is misplaced at the end of the Istanbul manuscript (fol. 179), is returned to its appropriate place (pp. 15-18). There are two kinds of apparatus underneath the main text: the upper level apparatus deals with textual matters (verification of text, variant readings, etc.), and the lower level is devoted to historical, biographical, and bibliographical annotations. The indexes are organized under fifteen categories: proper names, historic sites, architectural terms, titles and ranks of the *dīwān* system, places, rare words and technical terms, tools and equipment, textiles, food and drink, Quranic verses, *ḥadīth*s, poetic verses, tribes and peoples, writers and poets, and written sources mentioned in the work.

Since the project is such a gigantic enterprise, some shortcomings may be unavoidable. As far as the physical aspects of the edition are concerned, there certainly is some room for improvement. In the following I have proffered some remarks on editorial and typographical details.

1) A major reservation may be raised concerning the way the footnotes are arranged. By and large, these notes are meticulously executed; however, frequent inconsistencies have made them less useful and occasionally confusing. For instance, the original manuscript, as we are told, is referred to as *khazīnah* (which stands for the Hazine collection at the Topkapı Library), but very often it is mentioned as *al-aṣl*, and occasionally as *al-musawwadah* instead. The Būlāq edition is abbreviated as "Būlāq," but not infrequently we have "al-Khiṭaṭ" instead (the different references to the same source even occur on the same page, e.g., pp. 201, 212). More serious problems emerge when the variant readings from the Būlāq edition and other independent sources are repeatedly provided for cross-checking, which tends to work better on single words rather than on phrases and clauses. In the latter cases, the device of marking the beginning and end of a phrase or clause with superscript letters is *sometimes* applied but unfortunately not always. As a result in most cases, we are not told where the variant reading begins and where it ends (e.g., p. 4, notes (b), (c), (e), (f), illustrate this problem). Other inconsistencies are seen in the emendations made in the text. Textual additions, quoted between brackets, are sometimes given their sources, e.g., "added after such-and-such" (*ziyādah min* . . .); but quite often, they are simply indicated as "missing from (*sāqiṭah min*) the original"; so we do not know whether the addition is the editor's conjecture, or from another source. On many occasions, the information of the parallel sources is not adequately given; e.g., p. 295, the sources for the volume and page numbers in notes (a), (d), (g) are not identified. Textual emendations are usually given explanations and sources, but occasionally we are left wondering why they should read so; e.g., p. 56, the change of the original *al-gharbī* to *al-sharqī*; p. 119, *al-safīnah* to *al-saqīfah*; p. 158, an entire clause in the manuscript is omitted after the (a) sign; pp. 221, 222, we are given neither reasons nor sources for the emendations between the signs (a - a). Likewise, some lacunas in the text need more explanation; e.g., p. 31, line 4. While the editor provides the reader with an enormous amount of information in the footnotes, certain difficult words are not treated satisfactorily; e.g., p. 240, the words *al-aqwāt* and *al-muḥāqa'ah* are merely commented on by "[sic]"; one might wonder if there are parallel readings from the Būlāq edition or other sources. Sometimes upper apparatus textual notes should be lower apparatus explanatory notes, and vice versa; e.g., p. 194, (b); p. 227, (d); p. 301, (2); p. 326, (4); p. 336, (a); p. 344, (1); p. 351, (1); p. 360, (2); p. 379, (3); p. 396, (a). Occasionally a question mark replaces the regular apparatus signs (e.g., p. 323, line 3).

2) Another reservation I have is about the typesetting. Various fonts and inconsistent indentation appear throughout the text. The inconsistency of typesetting frustrates the reader's effort to figure out the complex structure of the work and the exact division of chapters and sections of the text. In this regard, I find the

table of contents does a better job than the main text whose rubrics and headlines are always confusing due to inconsistent sizes and styles (plain, bold, calligraphic, etc.) of the Arabic fonts. For instance, on p. 64, the section heading (″Khiṭaṭ al-Qāhirah . . .″) and the sub-section heading (″Dhikr Quṣūr . . .″), according to the division given in the table of contents, ought to be set in each other′s fonts. The indentation of these headings is just as chaotic. Oddly enough, the wording of many items in the table of contents is not the same as they appear in the main text. A more serious problem is that many of the headings are marked with brackets, indicating conjectural additions, but without any explanation. Should we assume that they are taken from the Būlāq edition? Or perhaps from other sources? Or supplied by the editor?

Other general observations concerning the typesetting: (a) Footnotes are, in most cases, arranged in a double-column format, but quite often this format is not observed. (b) Inconsistent spacing is frequent. (c) The Arabic fonts used in the edition are nice, with one exception: in the plain text, the coarse, aloof *hamzah* is really ugly. (d) The *alif maqṣūrah* is often misspelled as *yā'* (with two dots underneath); examples are too numerous to be listed here. (e) The punctuation is generally good, but occasionally inconsistent: for instance, parentheses and brackets are used inconsistently (p. 127, line 4); blank spaces (e.g., pp. 308, 412) and ellipsis points (e.g., pp. 410, 433), both used to indicate the lacunas in the manuscript, are also used inconsistently. Sometimes the punctuation is odd; e.g., p. 112, line 12, the quotation mark splits the definite article *al* into two parts.

3) The vocalizations on the text are very helpful, but sometimes they tend to be excessive (e.g., the *alif maqṣūrah* and the *fatḥah* sign are constantly, and unnecessarily, used together), or inadequate (e.g., full vocalizations are given to some common words and obvious case endings, while some rare words and difficult passages that call for attention are not vocalized). On several occasions, the vocalizations are inconsistent (e.g., the same word is vocalized as *ṣinf* on p. *57, but *ṣanf* on the next page) or inaccurate (examples will be listed below). Following are some of the obvious errors that I caught:

p. *20, line 10, تَعَدّ , read تُعَدّ
p. *47, note 1, *Tā'rīkh*, read *Ta'rīkh*
p. *54, line 12, بمناسة, read بمناسبة
p. *69, line 6, امُتُحن, read امْتُحن
p. *79, line 17, دارسةَ, read دراسة
p. *81, line 11, سمّيتَ , read سمّيتُ
p. *82, line 11, وُجَدْتُ, read وَجدْتُ
p. 21, note (a - a), omit في
p. 26, note (a), بالسوداء , is identical with the Būlāq edition, so what′s the

point?
p. 33, line 1, حدَّها , read حدُّها
p. 33, note (5), الأن , read الآن
p. 35, line 3, يطْلق , read يطْلق
p. 41, note (f) is incomprehensible
p. 47, line 14, الأربعة , read الأربع
p. 58, line 2, add (a) to the end of the headline
p. 65, line 3, قصرُ الشوق , read قصرَ الشوق
p. 91, line 12, كُنَّواب , read, كنُوَّاب
p. 94, line 12, مبنا , read مبنى (?)
p. 95, line 8, هذ , read هذه
p. 98, line 14, يسئل , read يسأل
p. 107, line 3, يدعوا , read يدعو
p. 110, line 3, قلَّ , read قلْ
p. 111, line 8, امرا ءة , read امرأة
p. 125, line 4, بحريه (?)
p. 128, the footnote sign of (a) is missing in the main text
p. 136, a line between line 3 and line 6 is missing
p. 141, line 13; p. 349, line 4, the sign of (كذا) usually occurs in the apparatus, not the main text, in this edition
p. 143, line 12, مئين , read مائتين or مائة
p. 147, line 12, يبيعوا , read يبيعون
p. 157, line 8, عمَل , read عملِ
p. 161, line 14, ليومأو (?)
p. 162, line 6, دارِ , omit the *kasrah* sign
p. 233, line 4; p. 289, line 6, المظله , read المظلة
p. 247, line 11, الرسُل , read الرُسُل
p. 272, line 10, الغَره , read الغرة
p. 275, the content of note (a) is missing
p. 282, line 17, (c), ought to be (a)
p. 298, line 14, انتشا (?)
p. 305, line 1, هذ , read هذا (?)
p. 317, line 7, رَكَبَ , read رَكِبَ
p. 327, line 9, تسموا , read تسموَ
p. 336, line 13, يسوف , read بسوق

p. 337, line 10, يسّلك , read يسْلك
p. 338, note (b), أضافة , read إضافة
p. 406, line 1, قرقه , read قرقة
p. 425, the second (b) in the upper apparatus ought to be (c)
p. 431, note (b) in the upper apparatus, كلمة , ought to be كلمات (the addition cited here is more than one word)

These, however, are minor defects. Dr. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid is to be commended for an excellent job in bringing to light al-Maqrīzī's rare autograph of a draft version (*musawwadah*) of his all-important *al-Khiṭaṭ* and for keeping alive the vision of eventually publishing the complete work. One can only hope that the dream will one day come true.

MUḤYĪ AL-DĪN IBN 'ABD AL-ẒĀHIR, *al-Rawḍah al-Bahīyah al-Zāhirah fī Khiṭaṭ al-Mu'izzīyah al-Qāhirah*, edited by Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (Cairo: Maktabat al-Dār al-'Arabīyah lil-Kitāb, 1996). Pp. 185.

REVIEWED BY PAUL E. WALKER, Chicago, IL

Having completed and published an edition of the *musawwadah* of al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* (reviewed above), Dr. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, who has given us so many important editions of major texts or what remains of them, next turned to a work that was thought lost, but which resurfaced recently in a collection of manuscripts in the British Museum. It is another *Khiṭaṭ* from an earlier period and is, in fact, the earliest *Khiṭaṭ* of Cairo, since its predecessors—those by al-Kindī, al-Quḍā'ī, and al-Sharīf al-Jawwānī—concentrated almost exclusively on Fusṭāṭ and the Qarāfah. The new text was compiled by the Baḥrī official and historian Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir al-Miṣrī (d. 692/1293), who is well known both for his various roles in the government, particularly in the Dīwān al-Inshā', and for his authorship of biographies of the sultans he served: Baybars,[1] Qalāwūn,[2] and al-Ashraf Khalīl.[3]

Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir was fully cognizant of the ascendancy of Cairo in his age, due, in part, to the near total eclipse of Baghdad after 656, and he knew also that his subject had not yet been covered satisfactorily. Al-Maqrīzī, who used this

[1] *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir.*
[2] *Tashrīf al-Ayyām wa-al-'Uṣūr fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*.
[3] *Al-Alṭāf al-Khafīyah min al-Sīrah al-Sharīfah al-Sulṭānīyah al-Ashrafīyah.*

Khiṭaṭ extensively in his own, also gave credit to its author for being the first to assemble the data on Cairo. Beginning about 647, Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir drew for his work on a number of sources that he cites by title in his introduction. Out of his initial efforts came a first draft—a *musawwadah*—and later he either rewrote it at least once or continued to add notes on the margins of the earlier version, possibly both. Ibn al-Dawādārī examined the former and noted that it was a *musawwadah* specifically from 647, and al-Maqrīzī and al-Qalqashandī used the latter. Al-Maqrīzī, in fact, consulted two different versions of it. Unfortunately, it is the first—the earlier draft—that appears to be what we now have, although it contains information that can only have been added after 647. To compound the difficulties of understanding the history of this work, and unlike the situation with al-Maqrīzī, the surviving manuscript is itself a late (and evidently quite poor) copy of Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir′s original first draft (with some additions). The copyist says explicitly that he copied all that he found in the hand of the author, including an appendix containing a copy of the *waqfīyah* of al-Ḥākim in favor of al-Azhar, the mosques of al-Ḥākim and of al-Maqs, and the Dār al-ʻIlm.

In order to achieve a usable edition, Sayyid had, therefore, not only to emend the text on the basis of common sense and his own extensive knowledge of the subject, but add words, phrases, and whole passages that appear in the works of later writers who quoted from one or the other versions of it but which, for various reasons, are missing from the one manuscript now available. He has marked these additions carefully as to provenance and has provided, as well, a valuable series of citations for sources that run parallel to or complement Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir. There are also eleven separate indexes and a clear, informative introduction. Despite a few inconsistencies of form and some typographical errors, it is on the whole a welcome contribution and a commendable piece of scholarship.

It is, however, of some interest to assess the value of this undertaking given how much of the text was known previously either in the form of direct quotations or in other transmissions of the information it contains. Quite apart from its critical role in the history and development of the *Khiṭaṭ* genre prior to the work of al-Maqrīzī—a matter of special concern to Sayyid—this version of Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir adds, it seems on first inspection, little. One curiosity, for example, is that it accords but a single line to al-Azhar and thus confirms by its silence the neglect of this mosque in the century preceding the time of the author. There may be other examples of a similar kind and importance but, as few are obvious, spotting and evaluating them must be done on a case by case basis.

JÖRG-DIETER BRANDES, *Die Mameluken: Aufstieg und Fall einer Sklavendespotie* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke-Verlag, 1996). Pp. 340.

REVIEWED BY STEPHAN CONERMANN, University of Kiel

What *can* "popular historiography" achieve?

Until now only very few scholars have succeeded in presenting their studies to a wide and varied audience in popular language. This is the reason why a "popular historian" can be a mediator between the scholarly researcher in the field of history at a university and the uninformed but interested outsider. For twenty-five years there has been an ongoing debate among theoreticians over the question of whether language is at all capable of "translating" historical events. Language as such does not necessarily lead to understanding, but refers only to the cognitive impotence of the person who uses it, or in the words of Hayden White: "All systems of knowledge begin in a metaphorical characterization of something presumed to be unknown in terms of something presumed to be known, or at least familiar."[1] However, the human consciousness turns "incidents in time" into "historical events." In the first place, the "popular historian"—like any other historian—observes the deeds, thoughts, and feelings of the actors concerned and formulates his own impressions in accordance with the reports on and the evidence of the acting persons. The common medium for fixing this mental process is the narrative text, although one should keep in mind that in principle the deeds committed, the narration of these deeds, and their interpretation differ only insignificantly from each other. In this way, the difference between fiction and historiography becomes questionable, and the role of "popular historiography" naturally becomes more important, as one of its presumptions is normally the use of fictional characters and a plot.

If this kind of historiography aims at "reviving the past" for an uninformed reader, the "popular historian" should neither disregard the complexity of different epochs nor should he fall back upon positivist modes. Positivist historiography was based on the concept of a passive historical thought from which the compliant historian is able to extract only the most obvious information: legal data from a legal text, information on production and distribution from an economic source, a narration of events from a chronicle. The hallmark of this kind of historical writing was the mere accumulation of such facts within a narrative of wars, kings and empires. To avoid this antiquated positivist method it might be useful to the "popular historian" to write his work against the backdrop of a theoretical approach (structuralism, micro-history, history of mentalities, psychohistory, etc.). In any

[1]Hayden White, "The Question of Narrative in Contemporary Historical Theory," *History and Theory* 24 (1984): 12.

case, one of his main tasks should be to reconstruct images of the world which are representative of different epochs and cultural traditions. This requires the reconstruction of the subjective reality which formed the content of the consciousness of the people of a given epoch and culture. It is, however, wrong to try to understand a foreign epoch by forgetting one´s own cultural background. A pre-condition of this understanding is that the ″popular historian″ should recognize that he belongs to a time and culture different from the people he seeks to describe. He should be guided by an understanding of the ″otherness″ of what he presents to the reader. This implies that he has in mind that there is a difference between the people, the culture and the mentality being studied, and the spiritual make-up of his own society.

Last but not least, the ″popular historian″ has the privilege of dropping footnotes and bibliographies. This, however, should not mean that he is allowed to refrain from making a diligent and systematic inquiry into his subject. On the contrary, it is necessary for him to consult the relevant literature and to go through the most important sources, at least in translation. In any case, he should seek the help of a scholarly advisor if he wants his book to be taken seriously.

The problem with Jörg-Dieter Brandes´s book *Die Mamluken: Aufstieg und Fall einer Sklavendespotie* is that it does not fulfill any of the above-mentioned criteria. The very title is badly chosen and tells us a lot about the author´s conception of the world. Who does not associate *Sklavendespotie* with Karl A. Wittfogel´s controversial *Oriental Despotism: A Comparative Study of Total Power* (New Haven, 1957) and thus with Karl Marx´s idea of an *Asiatische Produktionsweise* within Oriental societies? But, without referring to these known theories, Brandes draws the outline of a more and more degenerating Mamluk caste (pp. 202-205) within a society, which for him represents dictatorship (p. 133).

His presentation does not and cannot assert a claim to originality and literary quality. He therefore abandoned the idea of introducing fictitious characters within a Mamluk setting. So, what we have is neither a historical novel like Umberto Eco´s *Il nome della rosa* (Milan, 1980) or Frans Gunnar Bengtsson´s *Röde Orm* (Stockholm, 1941-45), nor a literarily high-ranking historiography like Roy Mottahedeh´s *The Mantle of the Prophet* (New York, 1985) or Theodor Mommsen´s *Römische Geschichte*, vols. 1-3, 5 (Leipzig, 1854-85), for which the Nobel prize for literature (!) was granted in 1902. Brandes pretends to have written a scholarly study, but this is not a maintainable claim if we take a closer look at the work.

The author has done nothing more than produce a narrative account of the political history of the Mamluks. Unfortunately, he did this with the help of only a very few books that partly consist of obsolete secondary titles and partly of unrepresentative translations from the original sources. It is unpardonable that he

made no effort to consult recent literature, although any scholar could have named him dozens of well-written articles and monographs.

If Brandes's book is not literature in the common sense of the word but a pseudoscholarly work, it is no wonder that a theoretical approach is missing as well. On the contrary, we have to deal with a quite antiquated kind of historiography that even stands behind the somewhat outdated works by Stanley Lane-Poole (*History of Egypt in the Middle Ages* [London, 1913]) and Gustav Weil (*Geschichte der Chalifen*, vols. 4 and 5 [Stuttgart, 1860-62]). Mere descriptive accounts of rulers, kings, and empires go hand in hand with lengthy reports of battles. Besides some historical distortions, many things are told erroneously and without questioning the trustworthiness of the translated sources. The author's positivist *Weltanschauung* becomes clear when he speaks of an alleged "higher cultural level of the Burdjī-Mamluks" (pp. 180ff.) or when he characterizes the life of the Mongols "throughout the centuries" as "primitive and without history" (p. 60). The scant comments on social phenomena during the Mamluk period give only a static impression of Egypt without leaving any room for inner developments. They do not at all tackle the complex socio-economic changes within Mamluk society but rather serve to create an Oriental coloring of Brandes's battle-stories.

The author does not make an effort to undertake an objective analysis or to describe the past as a "sympathetic observer." Thus, his book is full of subjective judgements and inappropriate evaluations. Above all, he gives the reader vivid but inopportune characterizations of all Mamluk rulers. The whole narration is more or less essentialist. The Druzes are "proud" (p. 154) and the Copts and Jews constantly suffer from suppression and mistreatment (pp. 34, 97-98, 110). The narrow streets in the cities are always "full of vibrating life and noise" (p. 46). They breathe the "atmosphere of a Thousand and One Nights" (pp. 7, 8, 45) and you can hear "old Arabian music" with its "inciting rhythm" (p. 196). All Brandes tells us about Sufism during the reign of the Mamluks in Egypt is a supposed "ecstatic howling of the Dervishes" (p. 43) on the battlefield. As an explanation of bedouin rebellions we read: "The will for freedom stirred up the sons of the desert to impetuous rebellion" (p. 50). Similarly superficial is his analysis of the "fall" of the Mamluk empire: "The empire had become large and tired and fell to pieces" (p. 15). For him, one of the reasons for this decline seems to be the "fact" that "at the beginning of the fourteenth century within the Islamic countries the imaginative power and the scholarly quest for knowledge had come to an end" (p. 177). Perhaps by following Stefan Zweig's well-written *Sternstunden der Menschheit* (Leipzig, 1927), Brandes formulates: "Historic *Sternstunden* to save the unity of the Islamic World passed by unused. Islam remained without a spiritual leader and, in this way, the way had been smoothed for foreign rulership and later on, for the rather confused ideas of an 'Arabian World' without corporate identity" (pp.

76, 238). This is also a good example for the constant attempts on the part of the author to refer to the present political situation in the Near East (pp. 8, 12, 69, 90). Unfortunately, his interpretations do not contribute to a better understanding of today's problems in this region. The only thing one can conclude from these passages is that Brandes considers the policy there to be determined by irrational forces.

As to the transcription of Arabic names and technical terms, no logic or system is visible. If one does not have a very good knowledge of Arabic—no one would really care when dealing with a "popular historian"—one should not pretend to be an expert in it. Transcriptions like *la ilaha, illaha wi mohammedun rasulullah* (p. 260) are as incomprehensible as "Nizam al-milk" (p. 98) or "Hasan ben Saba" (p. 89). A very interesting translation of Miṣr al-Qāhirah can be found in the glossary: "Capital of the triumphant" (p. 334). By the way, the reader should avoid a glossary altogether in which *qibṭ* is deduced from *kutub*.

Last but not least, one has to speak of some of the historical inaccuracies and errors. Who, one might ask, is this frequently mentioned "Allah" (pp. 55, 162, 163, 187-188, 202) and who are the "Shi'ite Abbasids" (p. 14)? The reader is also caught by surprise when Brandes alludes to a "wave of Shi'ism" that came like a flood over *Vorderasien* in the beginning of the tenth century (pp. 16, 263). The brief sketch of the rise of the Safavids (pp. 251ff.), Brandes's understanding of *siyāsah* (p. 131), the characterization of Tīmūr (pp. 193f.), or the account of the Assassins (pp. 89f.), all give evidence for the misinterpretation of basic facts within the history of Islam. In the fourteenth century "Moghuls" did not exist in India (p. 177), "within the Sunnite community" there were more than "originally four different *madhāhib*" (p. 100), and "former Islamic rulers" were not "possessed of a religious zeal to convert all unbelievers" (p. 163). The culmination of these distortions seems to be the following general description of the religious scholars during the Mamluk period which should better be left in the German original: "Die finstere Ulema kannte [*sic*!] in ihrem religiösen Starrsinn selten Erbarmen. Der Tod eines politischen Widersachers war für sie kein Mord, sondern lediglich ein notwendiges religiöses Opfer, ist doch Politik im fundamentalen Islam [*sic*!] seit jeher Mittel und Werkzeug der Religion und der Geistliche der von Allah Auserlesene, der über Leben und Tod zu entscheiden hat." (p. 217)

To make a long story short, there might be someone who buys this book, but anyone who would like to read something serious about the era of the Mamluks in Egypt should leave it on the shelf.

SHAUN MARMON, *Eunuchs and Sacred Boundaries in Islamic Society* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). Pp. 162.

REVIEWED BY MICHAEL CHAMBERLAIN, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

In spite of their ubiquity in the sources, eunuchs have received surprisingly little attention from Islamicists. Apart from Pellat's "Khāṣī," in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Ayalon's seminal articles on the subject, and a few recent studies of the endowments of particular eunuchs, the field has produced little to stack up against the historiography of eunuchism elsewhere. One has only to consult Orlando Patterson's *Slavery and Social Death* to note how Islamic as opposed to Chinese or Byzantine eunuchism has been neglected, all the more so since significant new research on Chinese and Byzantine eunuchs has appeared since Patterson's book was published. Islamicists, and Mamlukists especially, will welcome this intriguing and original study of the eunuch-guardians of the Prophet's tomb.

Since eunuchs were often to be found at liminal zones, between men and women in domestic life, between rulers and their subjects in citadels, and between the living and the dead in tombs, Marmon begins with an examination of the boundaries that eunuchs "both defined and crossed." The first chapter deals with eunuchs and boundary-mediation in medieval Cairo, a little disorienting perhaps in a book intended to deal with the Hijaz, but understandable given that the sources from Cairo are so rich in comparison. Using al-Ghuzūlī's imaginary topography of domestic space as a starting point, Marmon examines vestibules (*dihlīz* and *darkāh*) as transitional zones between the protected—and partly sacred—interior of the household and the outside world. Moving from domestic space to the citadel of Cairo, Marmon argues that eunuchs controlled access to the sultan in much the same manner as they marked the boundaries of domestic life. In both cases eunuchs protected the sacred inviolability (*ḥurmah*) of the interior (*ḥarīm*) from disruption (*fitnah*, sexual and political) and in both cases the line was not drawn between the political and the sexual or the domestic, but between the sanctuary and the exterior. After the deaths of powerful individuals, eunuchs could guard their tombs in much the same way as they guarded households. Underlying the domestic, the political, and the world of the dead, therefore, was a single way of conceiving of space. The most highly-charged boundaries were mediated by the presence of eunuchs, people who were ideally suited to both mark and cross them.

Chapter 2 attempts to find the origins of the society, to describe the endowments that supported it, to chart changes in its patronage, and to understand its organization, social networks, and leadership. Succeeding chapters deal in part with the activities of the society in the politics of the Hijaz. Marmon argues that Saladin supported

the eunuch society less to suppress Shiʿism in the Hijaz than to demonstrate his reverence for the Prophet and the *sunnah*, a point that seems well-taken and confirmed by research into the "Sunni Revival" elsewhere. She also shows how eunuchs marked boundaries to separate Sunnis and Shiʿis in *fitnah*s, the *ṣaff al-khuddām* (the "row of the eunuchs," between worshippers and the pulpit in the Prophet's mosque) making its first appearance to quiet one such *fitnah*. The physical boundary, here as in domestic and sultanal eunuchism in Cairo, was also a moral line, one that reduced the possibility of *fitnah*. Marmon also asks how eunuchs were viewed by others, and argues that they inspired reverence and dread even as jurists viewed the phenomenon of eunuchism with skepticism, and others saw eunuchs as somehow incomplete or childlike. Particularly striking (and worthy of comparison with Cairo) are the patronage activities of wealthy eunuchs: as patronage was a necessary attribute of any great man or woman, some eunuchs seem to have been esteemed in much the same light as a high-ranking amir or a sultan—as great men themselves. The final chapter, "The Longue Durée of the Eunuchs of the Prophet," seems tacked on and a bit out of place (it is based almost entirely on Western travelers' accounts, with a few minor exceptions); in any case the chapter will be of less interest to scholars of the Mamluk period.

The book is thus as much about social, cultural, and religious boundaries as it is about eunuchs. Many readers will hear an echo of Bernard Lewis's suggestion that the pre-modern Islamic world was a place of ins and outs rather than ups and downs: it is the interiority and exteriority of relatively equivalent entities, rather than hierarchies of specialized elements, that gave form to fields as distinct as domestic life, politics, and architecture. Less directly, one senses an unacknowledged debt to symbolic anthropology's insights into how people build boundaries in space in the same way as they make them in their heads, and into how anomalous beings and substances mediate such boundaries. But in a book such as this, intended to be neither theoretical nor programmatic, the absence of any explicit discussion of the approaches that helped Marmon disentangle this most complex subject is no defect.

A work of such originality will inevitably inspire more reservations and criticisms than one that follows better traveled paths. One possible reservation is that the work is too short to cover such a broad expanse of time and space. Although it has the length of an essay and the scope of what could have been a large book, this is more than made up for by its originality. The same reply could be made to the usual niggling concerns over terminology (the *muṣādarah* as "enforced extralegal taxation" seems especially anachronistic) and small errors (al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭāṭ* should be *Khiṭaṭ*). A larger reservation is that many Mamlukists will want to know why so many of the sources that carry significant accounts of important eunuchs were not cited. Moreover, in a work that devotes so much

attention to eunuchs, power, and domestic life, it would have been useful to hear something about those eunuchs who maintained their own powerful households. Though Marmon mentions that the eunuch-guardians of the Prophet's tomb had their own household retinues (p. 55), it seems to this reviewer that more could have been made of this issue, especially since she was willing to bring Cairo into the discussion. Similarly, Marmon's discussion of the boundary-mediating roles of eunuchs in tombs is exciting and convincing, but the absence of any discussion of those eunuchs who built their own magnificent tombs leaves the reader with the feeling that more could have been said. The sources—both the usual chronicles and biographical dictionaries, together with the *waqfīyahs* that Petry and Garcin have studied—contain masses of information on these topics. But these are minor reservations, reflecting this reviewer's hunger for additional information more than anything else, and should not deflect attention from this fascinating and path-breaking work.

Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras. Edited by U. Vermeulen and D. De Smet (Leuven: Peeters, 1995). Pp. 371.

REVIEWED BY R. STEPHEN HUMPHREYS, University of California, Santa Barbara

This useful but loose-knit volume is made up of papers in English, French, and German presented at three international colloquia held at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Louvain) between 1992 and 1994. The contents are quite evenly divided between the three dynasties, with nine on the Fatimids, six on the Ayyubids, and eight on the Mamluks. In spite of the title, there is very little here on Syria; Cairo continues to dominate scholarly discourse—perhaps to a degree which distorts the realities of medieval life.

Those who edit volumes of this kind have three principal tasks: to obtain contributions from outstanding scholars, to see that these papers are carefully prepared and well-presented, and to bring the papers together within some sort of unifying framework. In the present case, De Smet and Vermeulen have seen to the first two tasks quite successfully; the third they have not attempted. The papers are of variable weight and substance, but all have a contribution to make. Some are still very much oral presentations, others have been considerably revised for publication. The standard of production is high—a compliment to the publisher as well as the editors—with good paper, an attractive format (including real footnotes rather than endnotes!), and careful proofreading. The volume is a pleasure to read,

something which is too often not the case in contemporary scholarly publishing. Beyond grouping the papers according to dynasty, however, the editors make no effort to link them together. There is no introduction (the usual device), and under each dynastic heading, they simply arrange the papers by the authors′ names in alphabetical order. Nor is there an index or a consolidated bibliography. To this miscellany every reader will have to bring his own sense of coherence and unity.

Four scholars have contributed papers to the Fatimid section: two from Michael Brett, three each from D. De Smet and Heinz Halm, and one from Pieter Smoor. They cover a wide range of topics: military institutions, political biography, caliphal ceremonial, theology, legal prescriptions, poetry. Under such circumstances detailed commentary is out of the question, but a few points can be noted. In his two articles Brett throws much light on the military resources available to the twelfth century Fatimids, and thereby on their inability to take effective action against the Franks and then Nūr al-Dīn. His first paper does this by a deconstruction of the Arabic sources for the several battles of Ramlah between Crusaders and Fatimids in the crucial period of 1099-1105. His second looks at late Fatimid fiscal practices and shows how these were carried over into the distinctive *iqṭāʿ* regime of Mamluk Egypt.

In his three articles, De Smet examines aspects of Fatimid doctrine. The first interprets (quite persuasively) al-Ḥākim′s apparently arbitrary decrees on food and drink by showing that they represent an extremely rigorous application of Ismāʿīlī *fiqh* or *ḥikmah*; as such they are the product not of madness but of hyperzealousness. The second examines the conflict between Sunni and Ismāʿīlī doctrine on determining the dates of the Ramaḍān fast. The third is an analysis of al-Shīrāzī′s brilliant defense of revealed religion against the attacks of that mysterious arch-heretic Ibn al-Rāwandī. In all three papers De Smet demonstrates both a detailed knowledge of Fatimid theological and legal texts and a gift for subtle analysis.

Heinz Halm devotes one paper to examining the locales where Ismāʿīlī *ḥikmah* and *fiqh* were studied; al-Azhar, he points out, was a mosque, never a center for training *dāʿī*s. His second and third papers examine Fatimid ceremonial and royal symbolism. Especially interesting is his argument that the *shamsah* was not a parasol (as it is usually taken to be) but a crown suspended on a chain from a baldachin or arch. This symbol had its origins in Sasanian Iran, but it spread all over the medieval Mediterranean world and even into Germany. Finally, Pieter Smoor analyzes the imagery of Fatimid court poetry; in view of the opacity of much of this verse, his extensive citations and analyses are very welcome. As poetry, I am sorry to say, it is mostly very poor stuff.

The Ayyubids receive rather less attention than the two dynasties flanking them. They still tend to be the step-children of Syro-Egyptian history. Of the six

articles in this section, in fact, the most substantial is Angelika Hartmann's study on the Abbasid caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh ("Wollte der Kalif sufi werden?"). The two appreciations of Saladin and al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil by D. E. P. Jackson are thoughtful and pleasant to read, but rather light-weight. On the other hand, the pieces by A. Louca on the fiscal clerk Ibn Mammātī and by J. N. Mattock on a panegyric ode to al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb by the poet Baḥā' al-Dīn Zuhayr are more closely focused. Anne-Marie Edde examines three much-discussed Ayyubid military terms—*ḥalqah*, *jamdār*, and *ustādh al-dār*. The meanings of the latter two words are convincingly worked out. To the problem of the Ayyubid *ḥalqah*, she brings both new texts and a clear head; her discussion is a real step forward in decoding this vexing term, though important questions remain.

The eight papers on the Mamluks come from five authors. The longest are a pair by Doris Behrens-Abouseif, who focuses on the architecture of Cairo—obviously one of the most important and permanent achievements of Mamluk rule. Her first paper compares the patronage of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and al-Ashraf Qāytbāy; the goal of these two sultans was not merely to leave a large body of monuments to perpetuate their names, but also, and more importantly, to build up or conserve the urban fabric of the capital. Though she does not make the comparison, the ambitious designs of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad recall those of his distant successor, the Khedive Ismā'īl. Her second paper looks at Norman Sicily as a possible source for some of the distinctive features of Cairene Mamluk architecture; she argues her case cautiously, but it is interesting and suggestive.

P. M. Holt continues his valuable studies on early Mamluk diplomacy with a meticulous analysis of Qalāwūn's abrogation of his treaty with the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem just before his death in 1290. His other paper examines the complex web of family relationships in which al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was embedded. Al-Nāṣir's many marriage alliances with the military aristocracies of the Golden Horde and the Il-Khans—and his own mother was in fact the daughter of a Mongol commander—demonstrate that the ties between Mongols and Mamluks were far more intimate than we have recently been led to believe. Likewise intriguing is the failure of al-Nāṣir's complex marriage diplomacy to establish a secure succession to the throne for any of his numerous sons.

The other papers can be treated more concisely. Frederic Bauden reconstructs the very complex family tree of a learned family of Mecca—an enormous amount of labor, which yields results interesting in their own right, but also needing to be placed within a broader study of Mamluk-era *'ulamā'* "dynasties." Jean Michot takes a new look at Ibn Taymīyah, to see what light he can throw on some of the key political controversies of his time. Particularly revealing is Ibn Taymīyah's scathing (and probably ill-informed) denunciation of the Il-Khanid vizier Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, whom he encountered during Ghāzān's occupation of Damascus

in 1299-1300. The volume closes with two brief papers by Urbain Vermeulen, one on Mamluk royal insignia, the other on a letter by the shadow-caliph al-Mustakfī to the Yemen in 1307.

In spite of the disparate contents of this collection, many of the papers should be read together. For example, it is very useful to compare Brett´s source analysis of the battles of Ramlah with Holt´s dissection of the texts describing the reasons for Qalāwūn´s treaty abrogation two centuries later. Likewise, Smoor´s survey of the Fatimid court poets fits neatly with Jackson´s discussion of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil and Mattock´s of Baḥā' al-Dīn Zuhayr. The family networks explored by Bauden and Holt throw a bright light on the radically contrasting social and political worlds inhabited by the learned and military aristocracies of the Mamluk era. Other readers will find equally useful groupings of their own. In brief, De Smet and Vermeulen have given us a useful volume which accurately reflects the current state of research on Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk Egypt. With some additional effort, they could have provided a much better integrated view of the field.

Short Notices

Ṣubḥī ʿAbd al-Munʿim, *al-Sharq al-Islāmī Zaman al-Mamālīk wa-al-ʿUthmānīyīn* (Cairo: al-ʿArabī lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 1995). Pp. 258.

This book is a superficial survey of events in the Middle East from the mid-thirteenth century to the early years of the twentieth. Focusing primarily on the history of Mamluk and Ottoman Syro-Egypt, the author also reviews such collateral issues as the rise of Safavid Iran and the expansion of the Ottoman Empire into the Hijaz, Yemen, and Iraq in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as the late eighteenth century French invasion of the Levant. The early sections on Mamluk history, which make up nearly half the book, are organized briefly around events occurring in the reigns of some of its most famous rulers from Shajar al-Durr through Qānṣūḥ al-Ghawrī. Copious but short notes at chapter endings. (W. W. C.)

Najm al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAlī al-Ṭarsūsī, *Tuḥfat al-Turk fīmā Yajibu an Yuʿmala fī al-Mulk*, edited by Riḍwān al-Sayyid (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalīʿah lil-Ṭibāʿah wa-al-Nashr, 1992). Pp. 110.

This example of *Fürstenspiegel* was composed for the benefit of the Mamluk Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (fl. 748-762) by the author, Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭarsūsī (d. 758). Al-Ṭarsūsī was the outspoken Ḥanafī *qāḍī al-quḍāh* of Damascus, who succeeded his father to that position in 746. Preceded by a long and useful historical introduction, the text is divided into twelve short chapters commemorating his *tarājim* as a Ḥanafī *qāḍī al-quḍāh* concerning the proper operation of the then century-old Mamluk state. Al-Ṭarsūsī's *fuṣūl* contain a variety of stock admonitions calling for the investigation of such things as the functioning of government *dawāwīn*, conditions among local peasants, maintenance of local infrastructure (dikes, fortifications, ports), as well as related fiscal issues (*awqāf*, confiscations, disbursements from the *bayt al-māl*). While the author's ambition to review the condition of "everything pertaining to the interests of Muslims" falls short, reading between the lines of al-Ṭarsūsī's text may be helpful in developing a fuller appreciation of the problems facing Mamluk society in the critical decades following al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's passing. The notes and bibliography are useful. (W. W. C.)

Anwar Zaqlamah, *al-Mamālīk fī Miṣr*, Ṣafaḥāt min Tārīkh Miṣr, no. 24 (Cairo: Maktabat Madbūlī, 1995). Pp. 192.

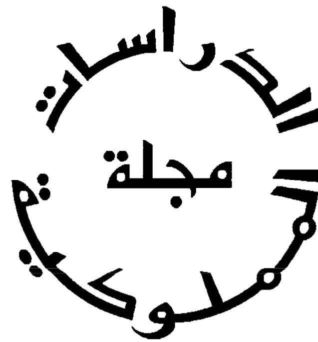
This reprinted volume undertakes in twenty-one short chapters to characterize briefly the external relations of Mamluk Egypt with various states, both Muslim and Christian, some well-known (Mongol, Armenian, Ottoman, Venetian, French), some not (Nubian, Cypriot, Portuguese). The book´s chronological scope ranges from the end of the Ayyubid period in the mid-thirteenth century to the end of the French occupation in the early nineteenth century. The notes are short, and the book is without a bibliography. (W. W. C.)

Al-Sayyid ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz Sālim and Saḥar al-Sayyid ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz Sālim, *Dirāsah fī Tārīkh al-Ayyūbīyīn wa-al-Mamālīk* (Alexandria: Mu'assasat Shabāb al-Jāmiʻah, 1997). Pp. 321.

This is primarily a history of the Levantine maritime frontier from the thirteenth through fourteenth centuries and, in particular, the events leading to the infamous Cypriot sack of Alexandria in 1369. Beginning with Saladin´s seizing power in Egypt (1169), much of the book in fact covers the Ayyubid period. Those limited number of pages concerning Mamluk history are devoted largely to a review of earlier Cypriot maritime raids in the Baḥrī period as well as the state of Mamluk Alexandria before 1369. Appended also are brief histories of several prominent constructions of the Mamluk period located principally in the maritime cities of Tripoli and Alexandria. (W. W. C.)

MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW

IV



2000

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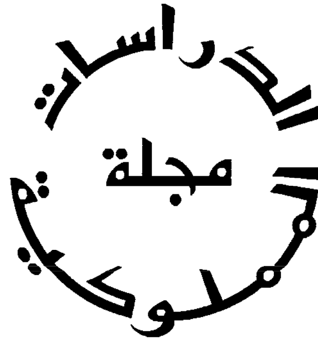
Mamlūk Studies Review is an annual refereed journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648-922/1250-1517). The goals of *Mamlūk Studies Review* are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, nurture communication within the field, and promote further research by encouraging the critical discussion of all aspects of this important medieval Islamic polity. The journal will include both articles and reviews of recent books. Submissions of original work on any aspect of the field are welcome, although the editorial board will periodically issue volumes devoted to specific topics and themes. *Mamlūk Studies Review* also solicits edited texts and translations of shorter Arabic source materials (*waqf* deeds, letters, *fatāwá* and the like), and encourages discussions of Mamluk era artifacts (pottery, coins, etc.) that place these resources in wider contexts. Transliterated Middle Eastern languages should conform to the system utilized by the Library of Congress. All questions regarding style should be resolved through reference to *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th edition. All submissions should be typed double-spaced. Submissions must be made on labeled computer disk together with a printed copy.

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MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW



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BOOK REVIEWS

Stephan Conermann
University of Kiel

Ulrich Haarmann, 1942-1999

When I had to fulfil the sad task of writing this obituary about Ulrich Haarmann, I recalled the following two scenes: The solemn burial service at the Littenweiler cemetery in Freiburg was in progress, when suddenly out of nowhere, in the midst of this very peaceful gathering, the faint utterances of a newborn were heard. After a while, the escalating little voice of the infant grew louder and louder and more demanding—it was the sound of a baby crying out to the world. With disapproving glances, the crowd turned their heads in an attempt to signal the student, who had brought her child to the funeral, that she should take the disturbance away. If Ulrich Haarmann had been there to witness this, he would have given a sympathetic smile, which was so typical of him, and I am sure he would have asked the mother to come to the front. After all, he had been fascinated, since his childhood, by creation in its immeasurable variety and by life in all its unfathomable dimensions; thus, he would have certainly enjoyed this allegorical representation of life and death on such an occasion.

It was the mixture of self-irony, uprightness, the enchanting ease with which he made contacts and professional appearances, his cosmopolitan tolerance, and the ability to unite and compromise without ever losing sight of his own interests which made people want to befriend Ulrich Haarmann. In addition to this, his strong sense of duty and profound scholarly dedication, along with his warm kindness, made him a highly esteemed colleague wherever he went. It is, therefore, no surprise that first and foremost it was his personality which made him the perfect candidate for the post of Director of the Zentrum Moderner Orient/Center for Modern Oriental Studies (ZMO) in Berlin. In spite of his illness, he carried out his duties as Director of the Center from 1 April 1998 to the end with enthusiasm and earnestness. In fact, even during the last days of his life, he added corrigenda and addenda by hand to the Center′s current proposal book submitted to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft/German Research Association (DFG) in July 1999. Incidentally, he was thrilled about working in Berlin from the very first day. This was not only because of the fantastic atmosphere at the ZMO but also due to the twelve months he had spent in Berlin as a fellow at the Wissenschaftskolleg/

Institute for Advanced Study (1995/96 and February/March 1997)—a time which he always considered as having been wonderful, important, and very productive.[1]

It was also within the rooms of the Wissenschaftskolleg where the second scene I recalled took place: It was a beautiful, sunny day when I visited Ulrich Haarmann and found him, upon my arrival, amidst a group of other fellows in one of the residents′ rooms at the institute. He was in his element: First, he spoke to a German colleague on his right about cultural life in Berlin; then he discussed emphatically in French with someone on his left the financial misery of German universities before he switched to English to converse with the gentleman opposite him about the complicated careers and activities of Mamluk descendants before the Ottoman conquest of Egypt. Somewhat shy, I had stepped into the international circle without Ulrich Haarmann having noticed. When he took notice of me, he jumped up enthusiastically and introduced me in perfect Standard Arabic to a colleague from the Comores. Later that evening, he even tried his (to my reassurance) somewhat rusty Russian on an acquaintance from Moscow. One could really feel the ease with which he changed from one idiom to another. Enchanted by the phenomenon of language, he delighted himself in engaging others in his enthusiasm.

Ulrich Haarmann was born in 1942 in Swabia. After having attended the Eberhard-Ludwig-Gymnasium in Stuttgart (classics), it was Arabic which he chose to study at the University of Freiburg. Thereafter, he quickly attained a Fulbright scholarship at Princeton, from which he graduated with a B.A. in Oriental Studies on 15 June 1965. In many ways, this early stay abroad in the USA had a strong influence on the rest of Ulrich Haarmann′s life: First, he discovered a love for Arabic grammatical theories, acquired from his examination work under Rudolf Mach on Ibn Bābashādh′s *Al-Muqaddimah fī al-Naḥw*; second, he developed an interest in editing Arabic texts. In a short time, he mastered this philological craft, which for a long time was one of the most sought-after skills in a German orientalist. Despite the demands of today′s students to deal only with modern topics, he made a continuous and conscious effort to stress that a solid philological education was indispensable.

At Princeton, Ulrich Haarmann hardly visited the hectic city of New York although it was only an hour away by train. He learned to value the exclusivity and privacy of a campus university, and therefore I believe that the wonderful location of the ZMO in Berlin fulfilled his expectations of a scientific retreat. The years at Princeton laid the groundwork for his lifelong and heartfelt relationship with the USA and Canada. In 1974, he spent four months as visiting professor of Islamic History at the University of California in Los Angeles (UCLA). After two

[1]See his account of this year at the Wissenschaftskolleg: ″Joseph und seine Söhne,″ *Wissenschaftskolleg –Jahrbuch 1995/96*, 65-71.

similar stays at McGill University in Montreal (1976 and 1986), he participated as a fellow in a research program at the Annenberg Institute for Judaic and Near Eastern Studies in Philadelphia (January-April 1990). In the meantime, he remained loyal to Princeton over the years: first, as a research fellow (January-April 1987), then as a visiting professor (March-June 1992) in the School of Historical Studies of the Institute for Advanced Studies, where he had the opportunity to further his scholarly activities.

Free from the bureaucratic burdens of a German professorship, during these quiet and peaceful months he was able to finish many of his scientific projects. It should suffice to mention the critical edition of Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī´s *Duwal al-Islām;* some important articles about the careers of the sons of the Mamluks, the legal opposition to Mamluk autocracy, and ethnic and racial prejudices in the medieval Near East; and lastly his pioneering study on life and trade in Ghadames (Libya) in the nineteenth century.

The starting point for Ulrich Haarmann´s intellectual occupation with the somewhat controversial, unique, and fascinating rule of Turkish slaves over the native population of Egypt was his decision to leave Princeton and to return to Freiburg to write his dissertation on *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*. His supervisor then was Hans Robert Roemer, the leading figure in German Oriental Studies after 1945.[2] Roemer not only supported Ulrich Haarmann´s Ph.D., but he also took great pleasure in witnessing Haarmann´s work at the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut/German Archeological Institute (DAI) in Cairo from autumn 1969 until May 1971. Upon completing this first stay in Egypt, he was offered an assistant professorship in Freiburg. Just one year later he would qualify for his *Habilitation* in Islamic Studies on the basis of his current writings, in particular his dissertation and his edition of the *Chronik des Ibn ad-Dawādārī*. With this, he paved the road for a university career: From 1974 to 1976, he was an assistant professor; from 1976 to 1978 an unscheduled professor; and from 1979 to 1992 a full professor at the University of Freiburg. At the same time, he continually worked in different areas and offices within the administrative organization of his alma mater. His last position before his post in Berlin was a full professorship in Oriental Philology (Arabic and Islamic Studies) at the Christian-Albrechts University in Kiel (1992 to 1998).

Considering the often difficult financial situation of today´s young academics, time and again he mentioned how thankful he was for his early job opportunities. All the more reason for him to want to undertake everything in his power to help promising younger scholars. Therefore, he also saw his position in Berlin as a

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[2]See Ulrich Haarmann´s obituary about his ″Doktorvater″ (supervisor): ″Zum Gedenken: Hans Robert Roemer (18.2.1915-15.7.1997), *Die Welt des Islams* 38 (1998): 1-8.

chance to turn the ZMO into a place for advanced research on the Orient, where above all, postdocs would be invited as fellows. With regard to the overall conceptual framework of the ZMO, he always emphasized the importance of partnerships and cooperation with individuals and institutions, at regional as well as interregional levels. Haarmann believed the ZMO should act as an (inter)national mediator, bringing together various entities for the enhancement of Oriental Studies both within and outside Germany. The West, in his opinion, had neither an intellectual monopoly on research, nor on the art of mastering the future.

Contact with the Islamic world and its people was always important to Ulrich Haarmann. He personally knew the Arab countries—with the exception of Iraq and the Sudan—from long or short private trips, international congresses, and several research and teaching programs. For instance, in Cairo he was not only employed by the DAI, but also acted as a visiting professor at the American University in Cairo/Center for Arabic Studies (Spring 1971), as well as a lecturer at the University of Cairo (Spring 1977). The time he worked during the Lebanese civil war as Director of the Orient Institute of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft/German Oriental Society (DMG) in Beirut (1978-1980) was an especially important experience for him. This task was particularly difficult for him personally, since his wife, his six-month-old daughter and his almost three-year-old son had to remain in Germany. The fact that he nevertheless completed this duty, with courage, was honored by the award of a Golden Medal for Education and Science by the Lebanese President on 15 November 1980. Finally, he kept in close contact with Kuwait ever since his discovery of the earliest naming of this state from the travel logs of Murtaḍá ibn ʻAlī ibn ʻAlwān.

Because of Ulrich Haarmann′s high reputation among his colleagues, many honorable tasks and duties were offered to him. From about 1976 to 1992, he was principal lecturer (″Vertrauensdozent″) at the Studienstiftung des Deutschen Volkes, and from 1981 to 1991 he was a member of the advisory body of the Institute for Oriental Studies at the DMG. From the winter term 1990/91 he worked as an expert on the Entrance Exam Committee of Princeton University (Alumni School Committee), and in 1995 the role of publishing the highly reputed *Bibliotheca Islamica* was assigned to him.[3] In addition to this, the DAI asked him to oversee the publication of *Quellen zur Geschichte des Islamische Ägyptens,* and in 1992 he acted as co-editor of Brill′s series *Islamic History and Civilization.* In 1994, the Academia Europaea nominated him as a member and one year later he was admitted into the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Science.

For a long time, Ulrich Haarmann′s wide-ranging interests focused on the various facets of Mamluk society. He, who was also talented at writing substantial

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[3]In Spring 1999 he handed over this task to Prof. Dr. Tilman Seidensticker (Jena, Germany).

and well considered reviews, did a lot of thorough research in this field. In addition to the above-mentioned titles, his scholarly contributions on medieval Muslim perceptions of Pharaonic Egypt deserve to be highlighted: He introduced and critically edited the *Pyramidenbuch des Abū Ǧaʿfar al-Idrīsī (st. 649/1251),* and no student should miss the opportunity to read his well-written articles on this subject. Besides the difficult subjects of the interdependencies of the Arabic language and Muslim jurisprudence, and socio-political questions on the history of Muslim Central Asia—I will mention only his articles about Faẓl Allāh ibn Rūzbihān Khunjī (860-925/1456-1519), and on Transoxania in the sixteenth century—Ulrich Haarmann was generally interested in the social, cultural, and intellectual history of the medieval Near East as a whole.

One of Ulrich Haarmann′s lasting merits was editing the *Geschichte der arabischen Welt.* This work—already in its third edition—has become a classic not only among German students, but also among specialists. Through this inspiring and exemplary teamwork by German orientalists, many students are now able to acquire a very high level of understanding and deep insight into the confusing variety of the political and social systems in the different Arab regions.

Ulrich Haarmann had never been just a resident of the ivory tower. It was for him a basic necessity on suitable occasions—be it during lessons or public appearances, in conversation with amateurs of both religions, in discussion groups or lectures on specific topics—to emphasize the common roots of the Muslim and Christian world views. In his opinion, mutual acceptance and tolerance—with all of the necessary remaining unfamiliarities—were the keywords to opening the way to a multi-cultural society. In this regard, Berlin as a metropolis also seemed to him to be opening up to new perspectives.

After becoming Director of the ZMO, he started looking for new scholarly fields. With his typical curiosity, he quickly found his way into theoretical discussions within the humanities and social sciences. As time went on, he considered these new methodological approaches as being the core of all multi- and interdisciplinary projects. On these grounds, he believed that the identity-producing effect of historiography and the international ″contact areas″ of the Islamic world during the modern age (the Sahara, Central Asia, the Indian Ocean) would be interesting subjects for future projects. These undertakings were prevented, however, like so many other plans, by his sudden death. There were a lot of good things still to be expected from Ulrich Haarmann; instead there remains an impressive, but somehow brutally interrupted life. The contemporary German community of orientalists has lost a wonderful person and a very erudite scholar.

Ulrich Haarmann´s Scholarly Works

1965

˝Ibn Bābashādh´s *al-Muqaddima fī l-naḥw:* An Arabic Grammatical Treatise of the 11th Century A.D. Edition, Translation, Annotation.˝ B.A. thesis, Princeton University, Department of Oriental Studies, 1965.

1969

Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit. Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 1. Freiburg im Breisgau: D. Robischon, 1969. (2d. ed., Freiburg im Breisgau: K. Schwarz, 1970).

1971

˝Auflösung und Bewahrung der klassischen Formen arabischer Geschichtsschreibung in der Zeit der Mamluken.˝ *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 121 (1971): 46-60.

Die Chronik des Ibn ad-Dawādārī. Achter Band: Der Bericht über die frühen Mamluken. Quellen zur Geschichte des Islamischen Ägyptens 1h. Cairo and Freiburg: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo, 1971.

1972

˝Die Beschreibung der Moschee des Sultans Farağ b. Barqūq: Auszüge aus der Stiftungsurkunde des Sultans Farağ.˝ In *Moschee des Farağ ibn Barqūq in Kairo, mit einem Beitrag von Ulrich Haarmann,* by Saleh Lamei Mostafa, 44-56. Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo. Islamische Reihe 3. Glückstadt: Verlag J. J. Augustin, 1972.

Review of *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography: An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn,* by Donald P. Little. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 122 (1972): 356-59.

Review of *Yādnāma-yi Īrānī-yi Minorskiy,* by M. Mīnuwī and I. Afshār. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 122 (1972): 394-99.

1974

˝Alṭun Ḫān und Čingiz Ḫān bei den ägyptischen Mamluken.˝ *Der Islam* 51 (1974): 1-36.

"L'édition de la chronique mamelouke syrienne de Šhams ad-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ğazarī." *Bulletin d'études orientales* 27 (1974): 195-203.

"Die islamische Moderne bei den deutschen Orientalisten." *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* 24, no. 2 (1974): 5-18.
Reprinted in *Araber und Deutsch:. Begegnungen in einem Jahrtausend,* edited by Friedrich H. Kochwasser and Hans Robert Roemer, 56-91. Tübingen: H. Erdmann, 1974.
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Shortened Arabic version in *al-Majmūʻah al-Istishrāqīyah fī Maktabat al-Jāmiʻah al-Urdunīyah,* 4-28. Amman: 1980.

"Kreuzzüge." *Lexikon der islamischen Welt,* edited by Klaus Kreiser, Werner Diem, and Hans Georg Majer, vol. 2, 110-12. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne, and Mainz: Kohlhammer, 1974.

"Mamluken." *Lexikon der islamischen Welt,* edited by Klaus Kreiser, Werner Diem, and Hans Georg Majer, vol. 2, 148-50. Stuttgart, Berlin, Cologne, and Mainz: Kohlhammer, 1974.

"Religiöses Recht und Grammatik im klassischen Islam." *XVIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 1. bis 5. Oktober 1972 in Lübeck: Vorträge,* edited by Wolfgang Voigt, 149-69. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1974. (Supplement II of Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft).

Review of *Ägypten und Syrien zwischen 1317 und 1341 in der Chronik des Mufaḍḍal b. Abī 'l-Faḍā'il,* by Samira Kortantamer. *Der Islam* 51 (1974): 319-20.

"Staat und Religion in Transoxanien im frühen 16. Jahrhundert." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 124 (1974): 332-69.

1975

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Review of *Cambridge History of Islam*. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 125 (1975): 387-89.

Review of *History of Persia under Qājār Rule: Translated from the Persian of Ḥasan-e Fasā'ī's Fārsnāme-ye Nāṣerī,* translated by H. Busse. *Der Islam* 52 (1975): 184-86

Review of *'Imâd ad-Dîn al-Iṣfahânîy: Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine*, translated by H. Massé. *Der Islam* 52 (1975): 153-55.

"Turkish Legends in the Popular Historiography of Medieval Egypt." *Proceedings of the VIth Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies, 13-19 August 1972, Visby and Stockholm*, edited by Frithiof Rundgren, 97-107. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens, Filologisk-filosofiska serien 15. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell International/Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975.

1976

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1977

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1978

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Review of *Edirne im 17. Jahrhundert nach Evliyā Čelebī: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der osmanischen Stadt*, by K. Kreiser. *Der Islam* 55 (1978): 163-64.

Review of *The Reign of al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (386/996-411/1021): A Political Study,* by S. A. Assad. *Muslim World* 68 (1978): 67-68.

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1979

"Abū al-Hawl fī al-Mu'taqadāt al-Sha'bīyah khilāl al-'Uṣūr al-Wusṭá al-Muta'akhkhirah." *Tārīkh al-'Arab wa-al-'Ālam* 1, no. 11 (1979): 48-57.

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Under Western Eyes: A History of Mamluk Studies

The exotic and savage Mamluks, the despotic sultans, their vast and extravagant harems, the political murders, the sanguinary punishments, the mounted skirmishes in the shadow of the pyramids, the moonlight picnics in the City of the Dead, the carnival festivities at the time of the flooding of the Nile, the wild dervish *mawlid*s . . . .

Is there not something paradoxical in the fact that the Mamluks owe their survival in modern memory to men (mostly) who were and are for the most part quiet and solitary scholars, much more familiar with the book than the sword? I have not punched anyone since I was a schoolboy. Yet, when, as a research student, I looked for a thesis topic, I was hooked by Steven Runciman's description of the sultan Baybars I. According to the doyen of Crusading history, Baybars "had few of the qualities that won Saladin respect even from his foes. He was cruel, disloyal and treacherous, rough in his manners and harsh in his speech. . . . As a man he was evil, but as a ruler he was among the greatest of his time."[1] (Peter Thorau, of course, has since offered a slightly more benign view.)

Many of those who have studied the Mamluks have not done so out of liking for them. Edward Gibbon, who was a contemporary of the Mamluks (or neo-Mamluks, if you prefer), put the case against them in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-78): "A more unjust and absurd constitution cannot be devised than that which condemns the natives of a country to perpetual servitude under the arbitrary dominion of strangers and slaves. Yet such has been the state of Egypt above five hundred years." Gibbon went on to contrast the "rapine and bloodshed" of the Mamluks with their "discipline and valour."[2]

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[1]Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades,* vol. 3, *The Kingdom of Acre and the Later Crusades* (Cambridge, 1955), 348. This work is listed as no. 2158 in the Chicago *Mamluk Studies* bibliography. However, from this point on, since this article ranges so widely over the extensive range of Mamluk studies, references in my notes will usually only be given to works which, for one reason or another, have not been listed in the excellent *Mamluk Studies: A Bibliography of Secondary Source Materials* (Middle East Documentation Center, the University of Chicago, October 1998 and in progress).

[2]Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* ed. J. B. Bury (London, 1912), 6:377-78.

Constantin-Francois de Chassebouef, comte de Volney (1757-1820), took a similarly bleak view of the Mamluk system as he knew it in his own time: ″how numerous must be the abuses of unlimited powers in the great, who are strangers both to forbearance and to pity, in upstarts proud of authority and eager to profit by it, and in subalterns continually aiming at greater power.″[3] Volney′s writings, his *Voyage en Égypte et en Syrie* (1787) and his *Les Ruines, ou méditations sur les révolutions* (1791), helped to direct predatory French interests in the direction of Egypt and are part of the background to Bonaparte′s expedition there in 1798. Famously (or notoriously, if one happens to be of Edward Said′s party) Bonaparte took a team of savants with him. Of course, the past which most attracted these scholars was the Pharaonic one. However, a few interested themselves in the history of the medieval Mamluks, if only for latter-day utilitarian reasons. Jean-Michel Venture de Paradis had helped Volney with his *Voyage en Égypte et Syrie.* Having come across a manuscript of Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī′s *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik* in Paris, he went on to produce a stylish, if erratic, translation of it. Venture de Paradis studied the Egypt of Barsbāy and Jaqmaq, the better to understand the same country under Murād and Ibrāhīm Bey, and he subsequently took part in the 1798 expedition to Egypt and took a leading role in the researches of the Institut d′Égypte.[4]

The French who landed in Egypt in 1798 and who went on to invade Palestine were intensely conscious of the fact that Frenchmen had been there before them. The history of the Mamluks was for a long time ancillary to the study of the Crusades and of the fortunes of France in the Levant. In the eighteenth century, religious scholars belonging to the Maurist order had played the leading role in editing documents relating to the history of France and therefore also relating to the history of French Crusades. In the course of the French Revolution, the Maurist Superior-General was guillotined and the order was dissolved. When monarchy was restored the Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres was set up to continue the work of the Maurists. Quatremère and Reinaud, who had oriental interests, were both members of the founding committee of five. They, among other tasks, oversaw the publication of the *Recueil des historiens des croisades,* which, in its volumes devoted to *Historiens orientaux,*[5] offered translated extracts from chronicles by Abū al-Fidá and Abū Shāmah covering the early years of the

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[3]Volney cited in Albert Hourani, *Europe and the Middle East* (London, 1980), 85-86.

[4]Jean Gaulmier, ed., *La Zubda Kachf al-Mamālik de Khalīl az-Zāhirī, Traduction inédite de Venture de Paradis* (Beirut, 1950).

[5]Paris, 1872-1906.

Baḥrī Mamluk Sultanate. However, the oriental volumes of the *Recueil* were overwhelmingly weighted to coverage of the edifying career of that chivalrous paladin, Saladin.

Even so, others were editing and sometimes translating texts which had a bearing on Mamluk history, such as Ibn ʿArabshāh′s *ʿAjā'ib al-Maqdūr.* Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838) was the grandest and most influential orientalist of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Before the Revolution he had worked for the Royal Mint and he had strong prejudices about money. It was, I think, because of this that in 1796 he published a translation of al-Maqrīzī′s *Shudhūr al-ʿUqud,* since, as Silvestre de Sacy saw it, the fifteenth-century Egyptian historian was an ally in the latter′s argument against contemporary French ministers and bankers, who were so foolish as to believe that there must be a fixed rate of exchange between gold and silver.[6] Silvestre de Sacy (who was a much more polemical orientalist than Said has allowed) also took up cudgels against Montesquieu′s account of oriental despotisms and the notion that there were no real property rights under such despotisms. In his exceedingly scholarly polemic, Silvestre de Sacy drew heavily again on al-Maqrīzī, making much reference this time to the *Khiṭaṭ*.[7] Furthermore the *Chrestomathie de la langue arabe* (1806) included biographical notices of al-Maqrīzī by al-Sakhāwī and Ibn Taghrībirdī.

Sylvestre de Sacy seems to have transmitted his enthusiasm for al-Maqrīzī to his distinguished pupil, Étienne-Marc Quatremère (1782-1857). Quatremère studied and taught Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic, and he also had a strong interest in Coptic and Pharaonic Egyptian. Despite his wide range of interests and publications, he was the first to devote serious and sustained study to the Mamluks. His edition and translation of al-Maqrīzī′s *Kitāb al-Sulūk* under the title *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l′Égypte*[8] is an example of text as pretext, being not so much a work of history as of philology. Although al-Maqrīzī is a useful source for his own lifetime, Quatremère, who was not primarily a historian, chose to translate the *Sulūk* for the early Mamluk period, since obviously the fortunes of Baybars, Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf Khalīl overlapped with those of the Crusaders. (The only reason that Quatremère did not start with al-Maqrīzī on the Fatimids and Ayyubids was because it was planned that those sections of the *Sulūk* should go in the

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[6]Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy, *Traité des monnoies musulmanes* (Paris, 1797).

[7]Silvestre de Sacy, ″Sur la nature et les révolutions du droit de proprieté territoriale en Egypte, depuis la conquête de ce pays par les musulmans jusqu′à l′expédition de François,″ part1, *Mémoires de l′Institut Royal de France, classe d′histoire et de littérature ancienne,* vol. 1 (Paris, 1815), 1-165; part 2, *Mémoires de l′Institut Royal de France, académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres,* vol. 5 (Paris, 1821); part 3, *Mémoires de l′Institut Royal de France, académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres,* vol. 7 (Paris, 1824), 55-124.

[8]Paris, 1837-45.

Receuil, though nothing ever came of this.) Quatremère had inherited his teacher′s passion for and mastery of philology and the inordinately lengthy footnotes to *Histoire des sultans mamlouks* are tremendous displays of erudition on the meanings of words for military offices, gypsies, polo balls, wardrobe-masters, heraldry, and much else. Those annotations were later heavily drawn upon by Dozy for his dictionary of post-classical Arabic. They also provided a starting point for later researches into institutions by Gaudefroy-Demombynes and Ayalon. They were industrious giants in those days and among Quatremère′s other publications was an edition of Ibn Khaldūn′s *Muqaddimah, Prolégomènes d′Ibn Khaldoun: texte arabe.*[9] As we shall see, Ibn Khaldūn was to do as much as anyone in shaping western historians′ perceptions of the Mamluks.

A student of Quatremère, Gustave Weil (1808-89) was the first scholar to provide a sustained, detailed, and referenced history of the Mamluks. Those were the days when one did not need a historical training to write history and Weil′s wide range of publications included a translation of *Alf Laylah wa-Laylah.* His history of the Mamluk period, *Geschichte des Abbasidenchalifats in Egypten,*[10] was a sequel to *Geschichte der Chalifen,*[11] and, like its precursor, it uncritically reproduced the material provided by sources such as al-Suyūṭī and Ibn Iyās.[12] William Muir′s *The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt 1260-1517*[13] acknowledged a heavy debt to Weil′s ferreting among obscure manuscripts on the continent. Apart from Weil, Muir′s three main sources were al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Taghrībirdī and Ibn Iyās. Muir was a devout Christian and, as he made plain in his preface and introduction, the Mamluks′ chief importance was as adversaries of the Crusaders, as the Mamluks ″were finally able to crush the expiring efforts of that great armament of misguided Christianity.″ A few exceptional figures apart, Muir was not favorably impressed by the Mamluks: ″But the vast majority with an almost incredible indifference to human life, were treacherous and bloodthirsty, and betrayed, especially in the later days of the Dynasty, a diabolic resort to poison and the rack, the lash, the halter and assassination such as makes the blood run cold to think of. . . .″[14]

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[9]Paris, 1858. On the life and work of Quatremère, see Johann Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa bis in den Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1955), 152-53.

[10]Stuttgart, 1860-62.

[11]Mannheim, 1846-51.

[12]Fück, *Die arabischen Studien,* 175-76; D.M. Dunlop, ″Some Remarks on Weil′s History of the Caliphs,″ in Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt, eds., *Historians of the Middle East* (London, 1962), 315-29.

[13]London, 1896.

[14]Ibid., xii, 220.

Max van Berchem (1863-1921), a Swiss archaeologist and epigrapher, established and worked on the *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* from 1903 onwards. This massive collaborative survey was designed to cover the inscriptions of Anatolia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Van Berchem's team of collaborators included Sobernheim, Mittwoch, and Herzfeld in Syria and Gaston Wiet in Egypt. Van Berchem treated buildings as historical documents, or rather he actually considered them to be superior to documents as they could be used to check the accuracy of documents.[15] Van Berchem's work (small essays within the *Corpus*) on the names and entitulature featured in such inscriptions prepared the way for later work done by Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Sauvaget, Ayalon, and others on office holding and other institutional aspects of Mamluk society.

> They flee from me, that sometime did me seek
> With naked foot, stalking in my chamber.
> I have seen them gentle, tame and meek,
> That now are wild. . . .

. . . are the opening lines of a fine erotic poem by Sir Thomas Wyatt (ca. 1503-42). Gaston Wiet, though a French citizen, was directly descended from the Scottish poet. Van Berchem was the major influence on the youthful Gaston Wiet. Wiet was to publish a great deal on a wide range of topics relating to Mamluk history and culture. (Besides his narrative history, *L'Égypte arabe . . . 642-1517* [1937] in G. Hanotaux, *Histoire de la nation égyptienne,* these include a translation from Ibn Iyās, a digest of Ibn Taghrībirdī's *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* a book on Cairo's mosques, a translation of al-Maqrīzī's *Ighāthah,* extensive work on the same author's *Khiṭaṭ,* a little book on medieval Cairo, a catalogue of the Cairo Museum's holdings of glassware, etc., etc.) Nevertheless, though Wiet wrote frequently and at length on the Mamluks, he was not especially interested in them per se. He was just as interested in modern Egyptian novels, of which he translated several examples. The real focus of his enthusiasm was the city of Cairo, which he lived in and loved and finally departed from with the greatest reluctance.

Although Creswell was Wiet's furious enemy and rival, this was not really Wiet's fault, since what Creswell especially hated about Wiet was that the latter was French. Keppel Archibald Cameron Creswell (1879-1974) was like Wiet an admiring disciple of Van Berchem. Creswell's *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*[16]

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[15]On van Berchem, see K. A. C. Creswell, "In Memoriam—Max van Berchem," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1963): 117-18; Solange Ory, "Max van Berchem, Orientaliste," in *D'un Orient l'autre: Les métamorphoses succesives des perceptions et connaissances* (Paris, 1991), 2:11-24.

[16]Oxford, 1952-59.

unfortunately goes no further than 1326. Although he planned to cover the last two centuries of Mamluk architecture, he never got to it. Creswell knew no Arabic and he concentrated rather narrowly on dating and surveying the buildings he studied, leaving a mass of theoretical problems to be tackled by later scholars such as Michael Rogers, R. S. Humphreys, and Jonathan Bloom.[17]

The Anglo-French colonial moment in the Near East from ca. 1918 until, perhaps, the 1950s, made it relatively easy for European scholars to study the buildings, archaeological sites, and town plans of the region. Many of the early leading figures in these fields were French. France's historic mission in the Orient drew upon the crusading past to justify its reoccupation of a Syria in which so many Frenchmen had fought and died in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. From 1921 onwards France exercised a Mandate in Syria and set up an antiquities service which oversaw work done on both Muslim and Crusading architecture. Jean Sauvaget (1901-50) was the leading figure. "Beware of Sauvaget!" Creswell once warned Oleg Grabar. It was not just that Sauvaget was French (always a bad sign), but also that Sauvaget had ideas (also always a bad sign). The classic theory of the "Islamic city" was first developed by the French in Algeria, and then exported to Syria—where Sauvaget was its main exponent. Sauvaget was obsessed with the *Nachleben* of Antiquity. He wanted to find Rome in Damascus and in Lattakia and elsewhere. Naturally the main focus of his interest was in Umayyad Syria, but he was more generally interested in the notion of the "Islamic city." In his work on "the silent web of Islamic history," he treated buildings as texts (and really only as texts, for, like Creswell, he had a healthy dislike for art historians). As for texts, Sauvaget (like Claude Cahen a little later) placed great stress on understanding the sources of one's sources, or, to put it another way, it was not enough to parrot the information of late compilators like Ibn al-Athīr or al-Maqrīzī. Sauvaget also did a lot to draw local histories into consideration.

Sauvaget's main work, *Alep: essai sur le développement d'une grande ville syrienne des origines au milieu du xixe siècle,*[18] is the "sad" story of the late antique city's failure to preserve itself from later encroachments and its ultimate breakdown, into quarters based on tribes, crafts, and what have you. Although Aleppo experienced a partial revival in the Mamluk period, this could not be credited to the Mamluks. Rather, both Aleppo and Damascus owed their prosperity to their trade with Venice (as well as, perhaps, the collapse of Genoese trading operations in the Black Sea). Sauvaget was always conscious of the need to place his various urban studies in a broader Mediterranean context. His study of quarters

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[17]*Studies in Islamic Architecture in Honour of Professor K. A. C. Creswell* (Cairo, 1955); Michael Rogers, "Creswell's Reading and Methods," *Muqarnas* 8 (1991): 45-54.
[18]Paris, 1941.

of Syrian cities led him to present a mosaic view of Islamic cities. He looked in vain for strong cohesive urban institutions. What little unity the Syrian cities possessed depended on the walls, the cathedral mosque, and the central souk.

Sauvaget's *La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des mamelouks*[19] was a prime example of history with one's boots on and of matching buildings to documents. As Ayalon noted in his encomium of the work and the man, Sauvaget was attracted to the Mamluk period by the comparative wealth of sources which he described as "rich, variegated and dependable of such a kind that no praise of them can be too high." Ayalon commented on this observation of Sauvaget's, remarking that it was "no hyperbole to say that those sources make it possible to write scores, if not hundreds, of works of research of the highest order, on subjects concerning which, when other periods of Islam are in question, only a few sentences can be indited, and that after Herculean scientific labours."[20] (Following this last insight, it seems clear that Ayalon himself and other researchers in the history of Islamic institutions have pitched their research tents in Mamluk pastures because the sources are so rich. However much one might want to know about, say, the Abbasid *barīd* or the Umayyad fisc, it is really only in the Mamluk period that sufficient source material comes easily to hand.)

Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes (1862-1957), another of van Berchem's students, spread his researches quite widely (including a translation of a Maghribi version of *The One Thousand and One Nights*), but his main interests were philological and institutional and these preoccupations shaped his *La Syrie à l'epoque des mamelouks,*[21] in which he sought to set out the terminology of office holding and the formal functions of those offices as set out in the chancery treatises of the period. It would be left to Ayalon to flesh out Gaudefroy-Demombynes's account by drawing on chronicles and other sources in order to establish the real functions of officers whose formal duties had been set out by al-Qalqashandī and others and then annotated by Gaudefroy-Demombynes.

Early studies tended to be weighted towards the early Mamluk period, because this was when the Mamluks fought the Crusaders. But the gloomy paradox here is that people who studied the Baḥrī Mamluk period tended to use chronicles from the Circassian period, because the latter were more compendious. Popper's work in editing and translating the later sections of Ibn Taghrībirdī's *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* as well as his *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr* and related publications, ought to have had the effect of directing attention to the Circassian period. But it did not—at first at least. Even though William Popper (1874-1963) published a great deal on the

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[19]Paris, 1941.

[20]David Ayalon, "On One of the Works of Jean Sauvaget," *Israel Oriental Studies* 1 (1971): 302.

[21]Paris, 1923.

Circassian Mamluks, he was not a pure Mamlukist, for he had other interests and did major work on the Prophet Isaiah.

Hitherto the primary impetus in Mamluk studies had consisted of the amassing, translating, and editing of material bearing on the Mamluks. Israeli scholars pioneered a more interpretative approach. Some particularly bold interpretations of various features of Mamluk society were put forward by A. N. Poliak in his *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and Lebanon (1250-1900).* This short book was one of the most determined, but least successful, attempts to present the Mamluks as chivalrous feudatories. Amirs were ″knights,″ they were ″dubbed″ by the sultan or his vice-regent and they held ″fiefs.″ Error crowded upon misjudgment in Poliak′s dense pages. The sultan was elected by an electoral college.[22] The *al-ajnād al-qarānīs* were Caucasian noblemen who had not yet been dubbed amirs.[23] ″The feudal aristocracy″ settled their lawsuits according to rules based on the Great *Yāsa* of Chingiz Khan.[24] *Futūwah* was an order of knights devoted to Muḥammad′s posterity.[25] The ruler of the Golden Horde was the suzerain of the Mamluk sultan.[26]

Poliak′s various articles repeated these errors and disseminated new ones. For example, in an article on the impact of the Mongol *Yāsa* on the Mamluk Sultanate, Poliak suggested that Mongol immigrants to the Mamluk realm enjoyed an especially high status. Also that ″knights″ who had never been slaves held themselves to be superior to Mamluks. Also that the Mamluks′ subjects welcomed the Ottoman invasion, because it meant liberation from the yoke of the *Yāsa* and a return to *ʿadl*.[27] Much of Poliak′s work was carefully dismantled by Ayalon, who observed that the ″late P. had the genius of putting his finger on crucial problems. His solutions to these problems, however, which were guided more by quick intuition than by thorough and dispassionate examination of the source material, proved to be, unfortunately, too often, wide of the mark.″[28] Elsewhere Ayalon, writing about Poliak′s erroneous population estimates for the medieval Near East, described him

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[22]A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and Lebanon (1250-1900)* (London, 1939), 1.

[23]Ibid., 2.

[24]Ibid., 14-15.

[25]Ibid., 15.

[26]Ibid., 16-17 n.

[27]Poliak, ″The Influence of Chingiz Khan′s *Yasa* upon the General Organization of the Mamluk State,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 10 (1942): 862-76.

[28]David Ayalon, ″The Great Yāsa of Chingiz Khan: A Re-examination; part C_1, The Position of the Yāsa in the Mamluk Sultanate,″ *Studia Islamica* 36 (1972): 137.

as ″a misguided genius.″[29] It is indeed rare to see a work of apparent scholarship become so thoroughly superseded.

Some of Poliak′s notions, particularly concerning Middle Eastern feudalism and the size of the population of Egypt and Syria, were uncritically echoed by Ashtor. Eliyahu Strauss, later Eliyahu Ashtor (1914-84), first worked on Mamluk manuscript sources in the Vienna library and, even before he left Austria at the time of the *Anschluss,* he had produced a dissertation on Baybars al-Manṣūrī and Ibn al-Furāt. In early articles on the Arabic historians who wrote in the Mamluk period, he compared their writings unfavorably to Europeans writing in a humanist tradition—such as Suetonius. However, Ashtor′s hatred was reserved for the Mamluks themselves—corrupt, backward, violent, parasitic feudatories. I do not know, but I wonder if he thought of the Mamluks as the Nazis of the medieval Near East.

By contrast, Ashtor identified first with the Middle Eastern bourgeoisie who struggled as best they could to get along under the alien oppressors and secondly he sympathized with the European, mostly Venetian, traders who came to do business with the Mamluks. In Ashtor′s vision of the social history of the region, there was a ″bourgeois moment″ around the second half of the eleventh century in such merchant republics as Tyre and Tripoli. Thereafter, however, the region was subjected to increasing militarization. Ashtor′s *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* presented a remarkably consistent picture of Syria and Egypt in this period as prey to the ravages of predatory feudatories and already (but surely prematurely?) part of the Third World. Every earthquake, flood, pestilence, and instance of banditry or unjust taxation was lovingly added to Ashtor′s gloomy record. (Inconsistently he also, following Poliak, treated the Baḥrī period as one of demographic growth and monetary stability.) The intervention of the military in industry and commerce stifled technological innovation. Their control of the cities prevented the development of urban autonomy and communal institutions of the ″proper″ sort that one found in medieval Europe. ″The flourishing economy of the Near East had been ruined by the rapacious military, and its great civilizing achievements had been destroyed through inability to adopt new methods of production and new ways of life.″[30]

In *Levant Trade in The Later Middle Ages*[31] Ashtor concentrated on the commercial and diplomatic toings and froings between the Mamluk Sultanate and

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[29]Ayalon, ″Regarding Population Estimates in the Countries of Medieval Islam,″ *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 28 (1985): 16.

[30]Eliyahu Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1976), 331.

[31]Princeton, 1983.

the Republic of Venice from the 1340s onwards. The two did not enjoy an easy relationship and recriminations were frequent. What is remarkable about Ashtor's account of the bickering is that in every single case he accepted Venetian complaints about Mamluk monopolies, corruption, etc., etc., while rejecting out of hand Mamluk complaints about Venetian short-changing, piracy, etc., etc. Another obvious criticism that can be made of Ashtor's commercial history is that he grossly underestimated the scale of Genoese trade with the Levant. Although Ashtor was certain that the Mamluk sultans' monopolies were a bad thing, some historians would argue that those monopolies explain the fifteenth-century revival of the sultanate—a revival which was invisible to Ashtor. Ashtor's views about the technological and industrial failure of the Mamluk Sultanate have received some support from the findings of art historians who have worked on glass and metalwork. Certainly it would seem that in the fifteenth century Venice was exporting to Egypt and Syria the sort of high-quality painted and enamelled glass which it had formerly imported from those regions.[32] However, the so-called "Veneto-Saracenic" ware has recently been firmly reascribed to Middle Eastern workshops.[33] But, to come back to *Levant Trade* itself, this and related articles by Ashtor did have the definite merit of stressing the economic importance of such local products as cotton, Syrian silk, sugar, and soap. Some earlier books had treated the sultanate as if it were a mere conduit for silks and spices from further East.

Ashtor's findings were much criticized in his lifetime and subsequently. Several scholars were unhappy with his handling of data and his fondness for tables of prices and salaries in which the unlike tended to be bundled in with the like. As we shall see, Jean-Claude Garcin was critical of Ashtor's view of Mamluks as agents of stagnation. Janet Abu-Lughod has had similar doubts about Mamluk monopolies causing technological stagnation. As she put it, Ashtor consistently "blames the victim."[34] Abu-Lughod and other economic historians have preferred to stress such factors as the cumulative impact of Venetian commercial aggression, the Black Death, and Tīmūr's invasion of the Near East. Moreover, though Ashtor blamed the Mamluk sultans, especially Barsbāy, for the extinction of the Kārimī corporation of spice merchants, Gaston Wiet's listing of known Kārimīs showed

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[32]On this, see Rachel Ward, ed., *Gilded and Enamelled Glass from the Middle East* (London, 1998).

[33]Rachel Ward, Susan la Niece, Duncan Hook, and Raymond White, "'Veneto-Saracenic' Metalwork: An Analysis of the Bowls and Incense Burners in the British Museum," in Duncan R. Hook and David R. M. Gaimster, eds., *Trade and Discovery: The Scientific Study of Artefacts from Post-Mediaeval Europe and Beyond*, Occasional Paper 109 (London, 1995), 235-58.

[34]Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350* (Oxford, 1989), 233.

that they were still trading in the fifteenth century. These and other criticisms notwithstanding, Ashtor was a considerable figure, not just in Mamluk studies, but also as an authority on the history of the Jews under Islam.

Ashtor's reputation in the field has, I guess, only been surpassed by that of another Israeli, the late, great David Ayalon (1914-1998).[35] Ayalon's earliest work was an important and still constantly used Arabic-Hebrew dictionary. In his later years he became fascinated by the history of terminology for eunuchs in the medieval Islamic lands. In the years between the dictionary and the eunuchs, however (from the 1950s onwards), he devoted himself obsessively to the military caste of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria. He put the Mamluks on the historians' map. He has done more than anyone else to explain how the system worked and to demolish outdated misconceptions. From the beginning of his researches, Ayalon was aware of Ibn Khaldūn's view of the Mamluks and regarded it as cogent. While Ayalon was working on his doctorate, he had come across a key passage in the *Kitāb al-'Ibar,* in which Ibn Khaldūn discussed Turks and the mamluk institution. Ibn Khaldūn regarded the mamluk institution as a very good thing indeed: "This status of slavery is indeed a blessing . . . from Divine Providence. They embrace Islam with the determination of true believers, while yet retaining their nomadic virtues, which are undefiled by vile nature, unmixed with the filth of lustful pleasures, unmarred by the habits of civilizations, with their youthful strength unshattered by excess of luxury."[36] Time and again Ayalon returned to these Khaldunian themes: the resort to the import of mamluks as the salvation of Islam and most specifically the salvation of Egypt and Syria from the Mongols and Crusaders, the mamluks' retention of nomadic virtues, most notably that of *'iṣābah,* which in a mamluk context was replaced by the artificial bonding of *khushdashīyah,* and, finally, the effectiveness of the Mamluk system in breaking free from the otherwise doomed cycle of dynastic decay which Ibn Khaldūn had perceived as operating everywhere else in Islamic history.

Ayalon, impressed by Ibn Khaldūn, took a much more favorable view of the military elite than most of his precursors and contemporaries, but still not all that favorable. Although Ayalon agreed with Ashtor on very little, he did agree that their military and conservative cast of mind militated against innovation. This particularly comes out in *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom: A Challenge to a Mediaeval Society*.[37] This book has had a massive influence on

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[35]On the life and works of Ayalon, see Reuven Amitai, "David Ayalon, 1914-1998," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 1-12.

[36]Quoted in David Ayalon, "Mamlukiyyāt: (B) Ibn Khaldūn's view of the Mamlūk Phenomenon," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 2 (1980): 345.

[37]London, 1956.

historians working within and beyond the field—in shaping an image of hidebound chivalrous Mamluks doomed by new technology. But it is not his best work and recent studies by Carl Petry and Shai Har-El have chipped away at some of Ayalon's arguments. Har-El, in particular, has taken a more positive view of the Mamluks and their military response to the Ottomans. He argues that their main problem was lack of such resources as wood, iron, etc. Neither Petry nor Har-El seem to think that Mamluk defeat at the hands of the Ottomans was a foregone conclusion.

Ayalon's "Aspects of the Mamluk Phenomenon," published in *Der Islam* in 1977, stressed the essential continuity between the Ayyubid and Mamluk regimes, whereas the drift of R. S. Humpreys's "The Emergence of the Mamluk Army," which appeared in *Studia Islamica* in the same year, was to argue for distinct changes—for reforms taking place early on in the reign of Baybars. Ayalon was to reply to Humphreys in an article in the *Revue des études islamiques* in 1981. The heart of their disagreement concerned the specific problem of the continuity of the *ḥalqah* in any but a merely verbal form. There was also the issue of the chronology of the establishment of a three-tier officer class. Ayalon's arguments for continuity were detailed and ingenious and it is certainly true that if, say, Baybars carried out a sweeping program of reform, there is little direct evidence for it. Even so, I believe that Humphreys has carried the day, particularly on the decline of the *ḥalqah* from an Ayyubid elite force to a poorly rewarded kind of auxiliary arm of the Mamluk army.

In 1968 Ayalon published an article on "The Muslim City and the Mamluk Military Aristocracy." Although it was published the year after Lapidus's *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages,* Ayalon's article had presumably been in press too long to take account of Lapidus's arguments. Certainly its conclusions were very different from those of Lapidus (to which we shall come). Ayalon placed heavy emphasis on the alienness and social isolation of the mamluks. The mamluks, immured in the Citadel, were more or less immune from contaminating and weakening contact with Cairo's citizens. Only in one very striking way did they involve themselves in the life of the city and that was in the endowment of mosques, madrasahs and *khānqāh*s. And here again Ayalon drew attention to Ibn Khaldūn's reflections on the matter. Ibn Khaldūn was inclined to see the buildings as the outcome of the amirs' desire to protect their wealth and to ensure its transmission to their descendants by creating *waqf*s. Having emphasized the isolation of the military from the civil, Ayalon did go on to note that Syria seemed to be different, but he left the matter there. He was never so interested in Syria as in Egypt, a bias which, to some extent, unbalances his presentation of the *ḥalqah* elsewhere. (While on the subject of the relative importance of Egypt and Syria, Garcin has argued, rightly I think, that whereas Syria was hardly more than

Egypt´s protective glacis in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, thereafter its economic and political importance increases vastly.[38] It is an argument which fits smoothly with Sauvaget´s findings about the revival of Damascus and Aleppo in the later Middle Ages.)

Ayalon had rightly stressed the urban nature of Mamluk power. Ashtor had asked himself why Middle Eastern cities were not successful in developing durable autonomous institutions. Both these matters were taken up in Ira Marvin Lapidus´s *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages.*[39] Unlike most of its precursors and some of its successors in Mamluk studies, Lapidus´s book was problem-oriented and it addressed a wider audience than just Mamlukists. The Syrian cities of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries were special cases of the perceived problem of the ˝Islamic city˝—a problem which had attracted not only Sauvaget, but also Massignon and others earlier in the century. The ˝Islamic city˝ notoriously failed to preserve such features as the agora, the theaters, and the wide straight streets which had distinguished its antique precursor. Not only this but the ˝Islamic City˝ failed to grow up into something like a European city and free itself from feudal control. Lapidus´s version of how the Mamluks existed in the city contrasted quite strongly with that of Ayalon. Whereas Ayalon effectively imprisoned the military in the Citadel, Lapidus showed them intervening in every aspect of urban life. In large measure, the Mamluks oversaw the provisioning of the cities. More generally, they acted as mediators between town and countryside. And ˝the mamluk household was a means of transforming public into private powers and state authority into personal authority.˝[40] Mamluks were commercial entrepreneurs and the bourgeois who competed against them did so at a disadvantage. At another level the Mamluks opened their purses to such ruffian rabble as the *ḥarāfīsh*.

It was not only the *ḥarāfīsh* who were prepared to sell themselves for Mamluk *dīnār*s. The ulama did the same and much of *Muslim Cities* is devoted to this *trahison des clercs.* The book is above all a study in the power of patronage. The Mamluks, acting out of individual and corporate self-interest, set up *waqf*s for mosques, madrasahs, *khānqāh*s and similar institutions and the civilian elite competed for stipends at these places. Having sold themselves in this manner, the ulama then served as go-betweens or mediators between the military and the urban masses. Everybody lived cheek-by-jowl in these cities and, outside the army and palace, there was little in the way of formal hierarchy. Civic affairs were managed by means which were effective though informal, without recourse

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[38] Garcin, ˝Pour un recours à l´histoire de l´espace vécu dans l´étude de l´Egypte Arabe,˝ *Annales-Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 35 (1980): 436-51.

[39] Cambridge, MA, 1967.

[40] Ibid., 48-50.

to chambers of aldermen or guilds. *Muslim Cities* has been widely and rightly praised.

At the same time, it attracted criticism and debate. Lapidus had studied the Mamluk city rather than the Muslim city. As a heuristic device, Lapidus had constructed a Weberian ″ideal type″ of Islamic city in order to compare it with the European city. But one might as well compare the cities Lapidus had studied with Samarkand, Tabriz, and Fez in the same period, for there were many significant dissimilarities. It was not even clear to what extent Lapidus′s insights applied to Egyptian cities. He had sometimes had recourse to Egyptian data, but he did not come up with Egyptian conclusions. He had, on the whole, taken a synchronic approach to the subject, which meant that the book failed to register distinctly the impact on the Syrian cities of the Black Death or of the expansion of Venetian trade.

Lapidus (and others after him, including R. S. Humphreys) stressed the overwhelming role of Mamluk patronage. But it is natural for cultural historians to go looking for a role for the bourgeoisie here. (After all, most historians these days have bourgeois origins and therefore there is perhaps a certain *parti pris*.) Oleg Grabar has argued that what little evidence we have suggests that the bourgeois were the chief patrons of the illustrated *Maqāmāt*s which are such a feature of the age. Less plausibly, Grabar has assigned a role for the bourgeois in the construction of the Sultan Ḥasan Mosque. How, he asked, did such a very weak ruler as al-Nāṣir Ḥasan find the resources to build the greatest madrasah in Cairo? Grabar suggested that the grand bourgeoisie was the real builders. The Mamluks were in shaky control whereas the urban bourgeoisie ″had considerable financial and bureaucratic power within the state.″ (It is not an argument which has much in the way of evidence to recommend it.) Once built, the Sultan Ḥasan Mosque became a monument for popular piety and a focus for legend.[41]

In 1974 at the request of MESA, Albert Hourani prepared a report on ″The Present State of Islamic and Middle Eastern Historiography.″ Hourani′s *tour d′horizon* is full of interest, but I restrict myself here to what he said about Mamluk studies: ″for the Mamluks of Egypt even the basic institution, the military society, has not yet been studied, although Ayalon has laid very solid foundations and Darrag has studied one reign in depth.″[42] Hourani based himself on the *Gunpowder* monograph plus ″Studies in the Structure of the Mamluk Army″ and I rather feel he underestimated the scope of Ayalon′s publications. Additionally,

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[41]Oleg Grabar in J. R. Hayes, ed., *The Genius of Arab Civilization: Source of Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA, 1983), 108.

[42]Albert Hourani, ″The Present State of Islamic and Middle Eastern Historiography,″ reprinted in idem, *Europe and the Middle East,* 176.

Lapidus′s *Muslim Cities* was referred to by Hourani in the context of urban studies and the study of ideal types in Islamic culture.

Well, that was how it looked in 1974. By then however important works on source criticism had already appeared, of which Hourani had taken no account: Donald Little′s *An Introduction to Mamluk Historiography*[43] and Ulrich Haarmann′s *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*.[44] Of course, a good deal of work on identifying, editing, and translating thirteenth-century sources had already been done by Claude Cahen. Cahen indeed criticized Little′s sampling method and the conclusions which Little derived from it regarding the alleged dependence of Yunīnī on al-Jazarī.[45] Indeed, quite how complex the relationship was between the two historians has been brought out by more recent research by Li Guo. But Little′s research led him on to wider issues than source dependence. His investigation of the varying accounts of the career of Qarāsunqur, the Mamluk defector to the Mongols, led him on to investigate other connections between the Mongols and the Mamluks. Little′s book was downbeat about history writing in the Mamluk period. We have copious chronicles, but they are carelessly put together, they plagiarize one another, and most of the time they are frankly dull.

I should like to linger on Ulrich Haarmann, whose *Quellenstudien* and whose articles—on the literarization of history writing, on the appearance of Turco-Mongol folklore in chronicles, on the culture of the amirs and of the *awlād al-nās*, and on Pharaonic elements in Egyptian culture—I personally have found the most stimulating things to have been produced in the field. (It is not easy for me to be stimulated in German, as the stimulation has to be mediated by a dictionary, even so . . .) I believe that Haarmann′s ideas on the literarization of chronicle-writing have influenced everyone who has since written on the historiography of the age. Even more important, his work on the libraries of the great amirs and on the civilian career-patterns of the *awlād al-nās* has permitted a more nuanced view of the ruling elite and softened the stark contrast between the Men of the Sword and the Men of the Pen. Haarmann′s researches into the literary attainments of the Mamluks and their children have been given further support in work done by, among others, Barbara Flemming and Jonathan Berkey. Haarmann′s work on source criticism was taken further by his own students, Samira Kortantamer, Barbara Langner, and Barbara Schäfer among them.

The beginning of the 1980s was when Mamluk studies really took off—and when non-Mamlukists started to take an interest. As William Muir had observed almost a hundred years earlier, the prolonged Mamluk domination of Egypt ″must

43Wiesbaden, 1970.

44Freiburg im Breisgau, 1969.

45In a review published by Cahen in *JESHO* 15 (1972): 223-25.

still remain one of the strange and undecipherable phenomena in that land of many mysteries."[46] In the 1980s several scholars tried their hand at cracking the mystery. In *Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity,*[47] Patricia Crone, having argued that the mamluks were a distinctively Islamic phenomenon, went on to ask why this was the case. Her (somewhat moralistic) conclusion was that the mamluks were the product of the failure of the Islamic *ummah* to arrange its affairs according to the ideal program of the shari'ah. The mamluks were a kind of punishment for political sin. In the *Muqaddimah,* Ibn Khaldūn had argued that Muslims had failed to follow the shari'ah perfectly and their political regimes thereby become prey to cyclical decline and fall. The influence of Ibn Khaldūn pervades *Slaves on Horses*. Crone was trying to explain the general phenomenon of the slave soldiers throughout Islamic history. However, she did note the special features of the Mamluk regime in Egypt and Syria. She took the (surely exaggerated) view that the Egyptian Mamluk system only worked when there was an external threat; otherwise it degenerated into a civil war. The Mamluks were predatory shepherds. (The shepherd image comes, I think, from Ottoman political theory.) Finally Crone stressed the comfortable symbiosis between Mamluks and ulama and how the Mamluks were seen by their subjects as the providential protagonists of the jihad—again very Khaldunian.

Daniel Pipes' *Slave Soldiers and Islam: The Genesis of a Military System*[48] appeared just a year later. Pipes' view of the problem was similar, though different. Mamluks and other marginal troops rushed in to fill a politico-military vacuum, that vacuum having been created by the withdrawal from public affairs of other Muslims. The withdrawal from public affairs of these *fainéant* Muslims was the product of their disillusion at their failure to implement the Islamicate ideal. As the use of "Islamicate" indicates, Pipes was somewhat influenced by Marshall Hodgson. Ibn Khaldūn's influence is equally evident, but, whereas Ibn Khaldūn had argued that renewed imports of mamluks served to infuse the ruling regime with fresh nomadic vigor, Pipes argued that it was because of the unreliability of such troops that they kept having to be replaced. The notion of Mamluks as a punishment for perceived failure to live up to Islamic ideals is a curious one. Papal and Imperial theorists in Christendom also had unreal and idealistic notions of government—and most Christians probably did not care about those ideals nor did they wish to be involved in politics. But only the medieval German *ministeriales* look anything like mamluks.

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[46]Muir, *The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty,* 221.
[47]Cambridge, 1980.
[48]New Haven, 1981.

Garcin took a particularly critical view of Pipes′ ideas (and come to that, of Ashtor′s as well) concerning the Mamluks as a response to failure of civil society and as agents of a technical and cultural ″blockage″ in the Middle East. He was sceptical too about Crone′s condemnatory view that the mamluk institution ″bespeaks a moral gap of such dimensions that within the great civilizations it has been found only in one.″[49] Garcin was disinclined to indict the Mamluks as agents of ″blockage.″ Instead he adduced such factors as demographic decline and lack of resources. He also gave consideration to the possible role of the Bedouin in the ″blockage.″ Garcin′s contrasting perspective derived from his previous research on Upper Egypt and his *magnum opus, Un centre musulman de la Haute-Égypte médiévale: Qūṣ*.[50] The latter is a grand work in the *Annales* tradition, an *oeuvre de longue haleine,* which drew on a remarkably wide range of sources and which gave full weight to topographic, demographic, economic, tribal, and even folkloric matters. Garcin viewed the politics of the Cairo Citadel from the perspective of the provinces. As an *Annales* historian, he paid far more attention to long-term trends, demographic factors, and shifts in trade routes than he did to personalities and dramatic incidents. Like the citizens of medieval Qūṣ (I guess) he was inclined to see the Bedouin as more of a problem than the Mamluks, though, of course, the Bedouin were also integral to the economy of the region. It seems likely that al-Suyūṭī played a larger role than Ibn Khaldūn in forming Garcin′s idea of the Mamluks.

As already noted, the early 1980s were the time when Mamluk studies really accelerated. The Washington exhibition of Mamluk art in 1981 provided some of the stimulus for this lift-off. Esin Atıl produced an admirable catalogue for the exhibition —admirable, that is, except for the title: *Renaissance of Islam.* The notion that one is dealing with a ″rebirth″ in this context is quite strange. True, it is possible to find antiquarian features, or backward-looking references, in certain Mamluk buildings and artifacts. (For example, Jonathan Bloom has shown how the Mosque of Baybars harks back to that of the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim bi-Amrillāh, while Bernard O′Kane has argued that some Mamluk buildings were built in conscious emulation of Abbasid precursors.) In general, however, it is striking how Mamluk art broke with past precedents and even with the immediate precedent of Ayyubid art. Thus it is usually easy to distinguish Mamluk metalwork from Ayyubid metalwork. In architecture, to take another example, Mamluk patrons eschewed the Ayyubid preference for the free-standing mosque. The carving up of

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[49]Garcin, ″The Mamluk Military System and the Blocking of Medieval Moslem Society,″ in Jean Baechler, John A. Hall, and Michael Mann, eds., *Europe and the Rise of Capitalism* (Oxford, 1988), 113-30.
[50]Paris, 1976.

art history on dynastic lines may be questionable, but in the particular case of the Mamluks it may be justified, because the patronage and taste of the court and those in the immediate service of the court seem to dominate the work produced.

Atıl´s catalogue was not the only fruit of the Washington exhibition. There was also a concurrent conference, the first conference ever to be devoted to the specific topic of the Mamluks. Its proceedings were published as a special issue of *Muqarnas*.[51] The *Muqarnas* papers were topped and tailed by the broad-sweep papers of Grabar and Lapidus. The former reflected on the cohesiveness of Mamluk art, while the latter´s manifesto urged historians of Mamluk art to snatch leaves from Michael Baxandall´s certainly quite wonderful *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy*.[52] As Lapidus noted, Baxandall´s was ″an approach to art history that seeks out the mentality and culture of peoples from a study of their art.″ It drew on a remarkably wide range of sources, including dance manuals and treatises on barrel-gauging, in an attempt to establish how fifteenth-century Italians looked at paintings, how they verbalized their responses, and the mechanics of how artists actually set about their work. It is an inspiring book, but, alas, I do not think that it has yet inspired anyone working on the arts under the Mamluks.

My own view is that art history and socio-political history are false friends, in the sense that they have not yet given each other much assistance. Take the Saint Louis Baptistery, which, with its wealth of iconographic detail including heraldry, should be easy to date. In a meticulous yet probably mistaken study, David Storm Rice assigned the Baptistery to the patronage of the amir Salār, ca. 1290-1310. Rice´s dating has recently been hesitantly accepted by Bloom and Blair and they argue that it could not have been made for the open market. However, Elfriede R. Knauer contends that the Baptistery was made in the reign of Baybars, and so does Doris Behrens-Abouseif, although she adduces different arguments for this dating. However, Rachel Ward is about to demonstrate (I think) that it was made late in the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad for the European export market. Arguments about the date and provenance of the Baptistery and other objects rely in part on blazons. In Rice´s time the way Mamluk heraldry worked was poorly understood. Since then, thanks to articles by Michael Meinecke and Estelle Whelan, we now have a much better notion of how Mamluk heraldry worked.

To take another example, Mamluk carpets are among the most controversial objects in the field of Islamic art. These exquisite textiles seem to have no real precursors in medieval Egyptian art and there is hardly any textual evidence. There is no consensus about where the carpets were made, when they were made, or why they were made. Although many scholars believe that they were woven in

[51]Vol. 2 (1984).
[52]Oxford, 1972.

Cairo under the patronage of the Mamluk sultans, others have argued that these carpets may have been produced in North Africa, Syria, or Anatolia. Some believe that production started in the late fifteenth century (and hence the appearance of Qāytbāy´s blazon on one of them), but others argue that they only begin to be produced after 1517. They may have been produced for the Mamluk court; then again it is possible that they were chiefly exported to the west. The significance of the elaborate octagonal design is inevitably also controversial. The carpets were manufactured while the chroniclers´ backs were turned and out of sight of the eyes of European visitors.

There are exceptions to the lack of success in matching objects to documents—Nasser Rabbat´s recent monograph on the Citadel makes exemplary use of both documentary and non-documentary sources. In general, Mamluk architectural history is relatively well mapped. In Cairo, this has been the work first of Creswell and his student Christel Kessler and more recently the work of Michael Meinecke (d. 1995), as well as the work on domestic architecture by Garcin, Jacques Revault, and Bernard Maury. Consequently, Cairo is the most thoroughly studied of all Muslim cities. Jerusalem has also benefited from a meticulous survey by Michael Burgoyne and historical research by Donald Richards. Yet, despite their work and despite the work of Donald Little on the Ḥaram documents, it is curious and even a little dispiriting to consider how many gaps there are in the record of Mamluk Jerusalem. More theoretical and evaluative approaches to Mamluk architecture have tended to stress the importance of procession and ceremony, of boastfulness and statements of legitimation through the prosecution of the jihad in determining the forms of the grand Mamluk foundations. This sort of approach parallels work being done on Fatimid architecture and ceremonial. Examples for the Mamluk period include articles by Humphreys, Bernard O´Kane, and Doris Behrens-Abouseif. The scale of the Sultan Ḥasan Mosque and its possible models have attracted much attention (from Rogers, O´Kane, and others)—as has the financing of its building. Did ˝the inheritance effect,˝ a hypothetical consequence of the Black Death, fund this massive architectural project? And, to look at another aspect of funding, did the building mania of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad before him seriously contribute to the decline of the Mamluk Sultanate?

Mamluk madrasahs have inevitably attracted a lot of attention. There were after all so many of them. Some have followed Ibn Khaldūn in stressing the patronage of such institutions as a way for amirs to protect their incomes in the guise of *waqf*. However, Robert Hillenbrand´s observation that the Ayyubids and Mamluks were, like the Pharaohs, obsessed with death is a fruitful one.[53] With this

[53]Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning* (Edinburgh, 1994),

death-consciousness in mind, Hillenbrand has presented madrasahs as primarily ways of ″laundering″ mausolea. That is to say the endowment of a religious college legitimized the placing of the patron′s tomb within a religious enclosure. While on the subject of the purpose of madrasahs, there has also of course been debate on the importance or not of the teaching carried out in these institutions. It is possible to view the curriculum of the madrasah as a way of promoting and controlling Sunni orthodoxy and, also, as perhaps offering training of a sort to Arabs, some of whom would later enter state service. However, Michael Chamberlain in particular has argued that the madrasahs were primarily ways of managing property and money, and that teaching was carried out everywhere and anywhere, informally, without significantly depending on structured madrasah courses. It is possible that each madrasah will have to be studied on an individual basis, for some performed quite unexpected functions. Berkey noted that al-Ghawrī′s ″madrasah″ had no teaching facilities at all and Hillenbrand has pointed out that the Mosque-Madrasah of Qarāsunqur was used by *barīd* couriers as a hostel en route to and from Syria.

Another major area of interest has been the role of immigrant craftsmen and the imitation of foreign models in both the architecture and the arts of the Mamluks. There are occasions when it would make more sense to reclassify ″Mamluk art″ as Saljuq, or Mosuli, or Ilkhanid, or Qaraqoyunlu art. Creswell, in particular, was fond of explaining developments in Egyptian architecture in terms of disasters elsewhere and the consequent incoming waves of refugee architects and craftsmen. There is plenty of evidence for the influence on Mamluk architecture of buildings in Anatolian towns as well as in Ilkhanid Sulṭānīyah and Tabriz. In other art forms, it is difficult to separate out Ilkhanid Mongol from Chinese influence (for example, the lifting of motifs from textiles imported from China). The question of Mongol influence on the arts shades into the question of Mongol influence on the Mamluks more generally—covering such matters as large-format Qurans, dress, folklore, the courier system, haircuts, the code of the *Yāsa*. The subject got off to a poor start with Poliak′s essay. However, matters have since been put on a sounder footing by Michael Rogers, Ulrich Haarmann, Donald Little, and David Ayalon. Ayalon′s articles on the Mongol *Yāsa* and related matters are fundamental. The weight of the evidence now suggests that the cultural influence of the Mongols on the Mamluk Sultanate was not a significant factor until the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.

The civilian elite has been another major focus of research—inevitably, since the sources are so rich (the civilian elite was very good at celebrating itself). Carl

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Petry′s *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*[54] has taken apart the notion that there was a single civilian elite. Rather there was a threefold division into first, bureaucrats—often from Syria; secondly, jurist-scholars —from all over the Islamic world; and, thirdly, religious functionaries, who tended to come from Cairo and the Delta. As for Joseph H. Escovitz′s *The Office of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt in Cairo under the Baḥrī Mamluks,*[55] it of course says many things, but the main thing I got from reading it was that it poured cold water on the notion of the qadis as spokesmen for the subjects of the Mamluks. The qadis accommodated themselves to the Mamluk regime and they handed down its decrees. They defended the interests of the civilian elite as best they could, but were on the whole oblivious to wider needs. Jonathan Berkey′s survey of teaching establishments, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education,*[56] used both chronicles and *waqfīyah*s to study the way that the religious sciences were taught and showed how they were taught on an informal and personal basis. I have already mentioned Michael Chamberlain′s view, put forward in *Knowledge and Social Practice in Damascus 1190-1350,*[57] that the madrasah was a conduit for managing property and paying stipends. Chamberlain has studied how a medieval society, by and large, managed without documents and, like Lapidus, he has emphasized how informal ways of getting things done compensated for a relative lack of hierarchy and formal institutions. However, Chamberlain does not believe that madrasahs were endowed in an effort to buy the ulama. In this he differs from, say, Fernandes, whose *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt: The Khānqāh*[58] argued that *khānqāh*s were a way of, as it were, buying Sufis and controlling Sufism. One problem with all this research on the civilian elite is that only civilians of a certain class got into the biographical dictionaries of Ibn Ḥajar and al-Suyūṭī. Such works tell us very little indeed about merchants, poets, sorcerers, and most of the *awlād al-nās.*

The golden prime of the Mamluks in the late thirteenth century and their wars against the Crusaders and Mongols seems to be relatively uncontentious territory. The same cannot be said of the decline of the Mamluks and there is no agreement yet on when or why or even if the Mamluk Sultanate started declining. Ayalon′s ″The Muslim City and the Military Aristocracy″ blamed it on decadent al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, the expensive and capricious harem, the failure to keep proper military discipline, and extravagant expenditure on building projects. This kind of approach

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[54]Princeton, 1981.

[55]Berlin, 1984.

[56]Princeton, 1992.

[57]Cambridge, 1994.

[58]Berlin, 1988.

has been echoed and underlined by Amalia Levanoni in her *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāsir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn 1310-1341*.[59] She similarly found seeds of decline in the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, though there are points of difference between her and Ayalon. Levanoni places less stress, I think, on the personal failings of the Qalawunid sultans. However, I think if one is looking for the causes of Mamluk collapse in the sixteenth century, then the 1330s is too early to start looking for it. It also seems rough to blame any of it on the royal princesses. I doubt if the cost of their dresses contributed much to the decay of one of the world's great medieval empires and I do not think we should encourage al-Maqrīzī and al-Suyūṭī in their misogyny.

Others have been disinclined to blame al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's alleged fecklessness and extravagance and they have looked for broader causes. For example, Rabbat's book on the Citadel suggests a more positive approach to the sultan's public works and attributes decline to international economic factors.[60] Similarly, Garcin, in his contribution to *Palais et maisons du Caire,* does not find fault with the sultan. Moreover, it must be asked, could things ever have gone all that well with the sultanate after the onset of the plague epidemics from 1347 onwards? Ayalon, himself, was the pioneer on the subject of the plague—in the first study he published in English on the Mamluks in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in 1946. Ayalon's article suggested that the declining quality of mamluk training and the breakdown in discipline were in large part a product of the need to recruit and train soldiers faster, because of losses due to plague. The few pages in A. L. Udovitch's incisive little essay "England to Egypt" devoted to the demographic and economic effects of the plague are hard to beat, as they demonstrate how demographic decline explains military rapacity, Bedouin incursions, and most of the rest of the problems of the later sultans. Subsequently Udovitch's student, Michael Dols, published *The Black Death in the Middle East*.[61] Dols, like Lapidus, was preoccupied by comparisons with Europe and he, as it were, constructed an ideal type of bubonic plague, in order to assess how Egypt's plague matched up with those of England and Italy. Anybody who might conceivably have been seduced by Poliak's notion that Egypt experienced a slow but steady demographic increase after 1348 would have been firmly disabused by Dols. And finally on plagues, Lawrence Conrad's more literary approach to chronicles which reported on them provides a necessary caution against believing that everything one reads

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[59]Leiden, 1995.

[60]Nasser O. Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden, 1995), 242-43.

[61]Princeton, 1977.

on this matter is documentary fact.[62] Similarly Adel Allouche′s introduction to his translation of the *Ighāthah* in *Mamluk Economics: A Study and Translation of al-Maqrizi′s Ighāthah*[63] cautions against taking al-Maqrīzī to be an unprejudiced and reliable source on money matters. Religion took precedence over monetary theory in his muddled brain.

From decline one proceeds to doom. Until recently there was hardly anything to read on the last days of the sultanate. (Well, there was Stripling′s old book.) Now we have Petry′s two books, one by Har-El, and a number of other more specialized studies (for example, James B. Evrard′s *Zur Geschichte Aleppos und Nordsyriens im letzen halben Jahrhundert der Mamlukenherrschaft (872-921 A.H), nach Arabischen und Italeinischen Quellen*[64]). Petry has emphasized the contrasting personalities of Qāytbāy, the dignified conservative, and Qānṣuh al-Ghawrī, the ruthless innovator. In some ways Petry is very hard on al-Ghawrī (for I think that anyone who has heard the penultimate sultan talking—as he does in the *Majālis* and the *Kawkab al-Durrī*—must admire him). But Petry′s approach to al-Ghawrī is a useful corrective to Ayalon, who overdid the image of the last Mamluks as blinkered, chivalrous reactionaries. Petry′s earlier article ″A Paradox of Patronage during the Later Mamluk Period″ on the coexistence of financial crisis and royal magnificence under Qāytbāy is cogent, for the question is well-put and persuasively answered. The trouble with studying the very last days is the paucity of Arabic sources. The way forward will, I think, depend on increasing use of European sources. Ulrich Haarmann′s important recent article ″Joseph′s Law″ makes strikingly effective use of Western sources. Evrard has similarly used Italian sources.

So now, what of the future? I think the main thing is to get away from the activity of studying whatever it is that the obvious sources (mostly chronicles and biographical dictionaries written by ulama) want to tell us. One way of doing this is by use of archives, but I am not clear how much more the Geniza and the Ḥaram al-Sharīf documents have to tell us. There is clearly more material in *waqfīyah*s to be worked on. Even so there are limits to this sort of evidence and several architectural historians have noted mismatches between an endowment′s specifications and the building as actually built. Also, I feel that the study of *waqfīyah*s tips Mamluk studies even further in the direction of becoming ulama studies, at the expense of looking at the secular aspects of the age.

One way of getting away from the pious mutterings of the turbaned elite is to focus properly on the amirs. Reuven Amitai has already produced a prosoprographic

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[62]Lawrence Conrad, ″Arabic Plague Chronologies and Treatises: Social and Historical Factors in the Formation of a Literary Genre,″ *Studia Islamica* 54 (1981): 51-93.

[63]Salt Lake City, 1994.

[64]Munich, 1974.

essay on the Ẓāhirī and Ṣāliḥī amirs and I have great expectations concerning the similar research he has in progress on Manṣūrī amirs and mamluks. Another way is to redirect attention to the marginals in Mamluk society. Paul Kahle, an obsessive collector of shadow-puppets, was a pioneer in this sort of territory, with his articles on shadow theatre and on gypsies. Poliak wrote on popular revolt and Brinner on the mysterious *ḥarāfīsh*. Much more recently we have had Boaz Shoshan on popular culture in general, Shmuel Moreh on live theatre, Carl Petry on crime, Everett Rowson on gay literature, and G. J. H Van Gelder on *Ḥalbat al-Kumayt* (an *adab* treatise on wine-drinking). Perhaps the biggest problem in dealing with popular culture is clearly separating it out from high culture. Consider the cult of the criminal and the mendicant among the literary elites in Abbasid and Buyid times. Where should one place Ibn Dāniyāl, the friend of the sultan and the amirs, but also the author of low-life shadow plays? Where should one place those wild Sufis with a following of riffraff, but who nevertheless found patronage and protection in the highest places? While on the subject of people who were neither amirs nor ulama, Huda Lutfi's "Manners and Customs of Fourteenth-Century Cairene Women: Female Anarchy versus Male Shar'i Order in Muslim Prescriptive Treatises" has shown how much interesting material about antinomian behavior can be derived from just Ibn al-Ḥājj's *Madkhal* alone. And, of course, we are likely to see a lot more published about Mamluk women in the near future.

A reasonable amount has been produced fairly recently on popular literature. There is more written on *The Thousand and One Nights* than one can shake a stick at. Malcolm Lyons, Remke Kruk, Harry Norris, and others have produced important works on the popular epics. However, as I see it, far too little work is being done in America or Europe on the high literature of the late Middle Ages—the *adab* and poetry. Emil Homerin is practically unique, as far as I know. Nothing is more likely to transform our perceptions of the Mamluk age than a detailed study of the belles-lettres of the period. But perhaps a forthcoming volume of the *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature* will encourage researchers to venture into the *terra incognita* of Mamluk *adab*. And with reference to *terrae icognitae*, what about the Mamluks in the scramble for Africa? André Raymond has shown how much Cairo's prosperity under the Ottomans depended on trade with Black Africa—on the commerce in black slaves, gold, and other commodities.[65] It is also plausible then that the African trade may have been important in the Mamluk period also. On the subject of commerce and slave imports, I find it astonishing how little reference is made by Mamlukists to Charles Verlinden's various publications on the European trade in white slaves.[66]

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[65]Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle* (Damascus, 1974).

[66]See especially Charles Verlinden, *L'Esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale* (Ghent, 1977).

I have not discussed scholars working and publishing in the Arab world (though the names of Hassanein Rabie, Aḥmad ʻAbd al-Rāziq, Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, and others come to mind). In sad practice, so much of Western research is conducted without reference to Arab work. This should change. But I have gone on long enough as it is. When I started as a student, there was hardly anything to read on the Mamluks, except what had been produced by the Israelis. Really one could read one′s way through the field in a week. Now, though, there is a lifetime′s reading awaiting your students. (Aren′t they the lucky ones!) Israel is still an important place for Mamluk studies, as are Germany and France, but most of the work in the field is now being done in America. Compared with Fatimid, Saljuq, or Ayyubid studies, Mamluk studies is in great shape. It has its set-piece controversies, its website, its journal. You here at Chicago, at the center of Mamluk studies, should feel particularly cheerful. Even so most of one of the world′s great empires still remains mysterious. ″So we beat on, boats against the current, borne back ceaselessly into the past.″

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Storytelling, Preaching, and Power in Mamluk Cairo*

I

As with many other Islamic institutions, the origins of the *qāṣṣ* (storyteller) and the *wāʿiẓ* (preacher) are obscure.[1] However, from an early point in the Islamic period, storytellers and popular preachers became the principal channel of instruction for the common people, those not engaged in a rigorous course of study of the religious sciences under the supervision of one or more scholars.[2] By the sixth/twelfth century, the Hanbali jurist and theologian Ibn al-Jawzī, whose famous treatise on the storytellers, *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ wa-al-Mudhakkirīn* (″The Book of Storytellers and Those Who Remind [People of God′s Blessings]″), sought to rein in their excesses and set proper bounds for the material which they related, acknowledged their important role in the transmission of religious knowledge to the common people *(al-ʿawāmm).* Drawing on the ethical injunction related in the Quran in surah 3, verse 104 and elsewhere, he remarked that God had sent prophets ″to draw people to the good and warn them against evil,″ and after them the ulama who are distinguished by their learning *(ʿilm).* ″Moreover,″ he said, ″the storytellers and the preachers were also given a place in this order *[amr]* so as to exhort *[khiṭāb]* the common people. As a result, the common people benefit from them

*This article is based upon material in my forthcoming book, *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East.* My thanks to the University of Washington Press for permission to reproduce it here.

[1]Much of the earlier secondary material dwelt upon this issue; see now Khalil ′Athamina, ″Al-Qasas: Its Emergence, Religious Origin and Its Socio-Political Impact on Early Muslim Society,″ *Studia Islamica* 76 (1992): 53-74.

[2]Preaching of course took place on a variety of different levels. At one end of the spectrum, the activity included delivery of a formal sermon *(khuṭbah)* at noon on Fridays. Beyond that, however, there was considerable scope for less formal exhortation. The Muslim masses might attend formal Friday services, but might also hear sermons or edifying stories read in other venues as well. In these settings, the individual delivering the sermon or reciting the tale was usually referred to as a *wāʿiẓ* (preacher) or *qāṣṣ* (storyteller). The medieval sources use the terms *wāʿiẓ* and *qāṣṣ* more or less interchangeably to refer to individuals engaged in the delivery of exhortations and the transmission of religious knowledge to the common people. See, for example, Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ wa-al-Mudhakkirīn*, ed. Merlin Swartz (Beirut, 1986), 11 (Eng. trans., 97-98).

in a way that they do not from a great scholar."[3] At another point, he was more precise. "The preacher brings to God a great number of people, while a jurist *[faqīh]* or a traditionist *[muḥaddith]* or a Quran reader *[qāri']* cannot bring [to God] a hundredth of that number, because [the preacher's] exhortations are addressed to both the common people and the elite *[lil-'āmm wa-al-khāṣṣ],* but especially the common people, who only rarely meet a jurist, so they discuss things with [the preacher]. The preacher is like the trainer of animals, who educates them, reforms them and refines them."[4]

Despite their important role, popular preachers and storytellers were subjected to vigorous and sustained criticism throughout the Middle Period. One of their most persistent critics was Ibn al-Jawzī himself. His attack on the lies preached by storytellers to their credulous listeners pulled no punches. What earned the disapprobation of Ibn al-Jawzī and others was not preaching per se, nor reciting to gullible crowds stories about the Hebrew prophets or other topics of sacred history, projects which are an integral feature of Islam as experienced in most times and places; rather, it was certain practices, and excesses, of those who engaged in these activities. The attack came from various quarters. Interestingly, in light of the later history of storytelling and popular preaching, many of the earliest critics were mystics. But traditionists and jurists such as the late Mamluk scholar Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) were also sharply critical of certain features of the storytellers' craft, and it was their objections which formed the central themes of the polemic against storytellers and preachers. Many of those who denounced the storytellers or their excesses were themselves prominent transmitters of Prophetic traditions, or adherents of a stridently traditionalist religious viewpoint, such as Ibn al-Jawzī, the Maliki jurist Ibn al-Ḥājj (d. 737/1336), and the irrepressible Hanbali scholar Ibn Taymīyah (d. 727/1328). Since much of what the preachers and storytellers recited took the form of hadiths, the concerns of their critics focused on the untrustworthy character of the material they transmitted. Ibn al-Jawzī worried that false hadiths *(mawḍū'āt)* formed the stock-in-trade of many storytellers, and that the common people to whom they related them transmitted the unsound traditions to others, thereby compounding the damage.[5] In Ibn al-Ḥājj's opinion, the fundamental error of the *quṣṣāṣ* was that they transmitted "weak sayings and stories" *(al-aqwāl wa-al-ḥikāyāt al-ḍa'īfah)*.[6] Ignorance was no excuse, but al-Suyūṭī was especially critical of storytellers and preachers who transmitted hadith which

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[3]Ibid., 20-21 (Eng. trans., 107).

[4]Ibid., 230 (Eng. trans., 144).

[5]Abū al-Faraj 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Mawḍū'āt*, ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad 'Uthmān, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1983), 1:29, 32.

[6]Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal al-Shar' al-Sharīf* (Cairo, 1929; reprint, Beirut, 1981), 2:14.

they knew, or had reason to suspect, were false.[7] And the scope for error was enormous: some credited ″heretics″ *(zanādiqah)* with falsely attributing to the Prophet more than 12,000 traditions.[8]

A more biting and formal criticism, and one that was repeated over the centuries, was that storytelling itself was in some way an ″innovation″ *(bid'ah),* and therefore suspect and dangerous. This concern is implicit already in certain traditions about the origins of the practice, such as those which depict the pseudo-legendary Tamīm al-Dārī as pestering the caliph 'Umar to condone a novel practice.[9] Sometimes the scholars′ anxieties focused on particular practices associated with the *quṣṣāṣ,* such as their singing verses of the Quran ″beyond the proper bounds″ *(al-qirā'ah bi-alḥān al-khārijah 'an al-ḥadd al-ma'lūf),* or their transmission of heretical innovations in the form of what they claimed were hadith.[10] But others saw the practice generally as an illicit innovation. Thus, for example, al-Suyūṭī pointedly began his treatise against the ″lies of the *quṣṣāṣ*″ by citing a hadith in which the Prophet condemned innovations, while rigorous Maliki critics such as Ibn al-Ḥājj saw the practice of storytelling itself as novel and a threat to the Islamic social order.[11]

The polemical discourse over preachers and storytellers is dominated by their critics, but these transmitters of religious lore and knowledge to the common people were not without their defenders. One treatise written to justify them is *al-Bā'ith 'alá al-Khalāṣ min Sū' al-Ẓann bi-al-Khawaṣṣ* (″The Enciter to Liberation from the Low Opinion of the Elites″—i.e., the elite scholars who scorned popular preachers and storytellers), a work which exists in a single anonymous manuscript in the British Library.[12] This treatise contains a point-by-point response to a critical tract (now apparently lost) penned by Zayn al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-'Irāqī (d. 806/1404), a Shafi'i jurist and traditionist who lived most of his life in Egypt.

[7]Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥdhīr al-Khawaṣṣ min Akādhīb al-Quṣṣāṣ,* ed. Muḥammad al-Ṣabbāgh (Beirut, 1972), 67f.

[8]Ibid., 162. Other estimates, dutifully recorded by al-Suyūṭī, also circulated. Cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Mawḍū'āt,* 1:38, where he gives the figure of 14,000.

[9]Al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥdhīr al-Khawāṣṣ,* 171-72; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ,* 22 (Eng. trans., 108).

[10]Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ,* 118 (Eng. trans., 203); Zayn al-Dīn al-'Irāqī, as quoted in ″Al-Bā'ith 'alá al-Khalāṣ min Sū' al-Ẓann bi-al-Khawāṣṣ,″ British Library MS Or. 4275, fol. 2v. On the innovation of chanting the Quran, see Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Ṭurṭushī, *Kitāb al-Ḥawādith wa-al-Bida',* ed. A. M. Turki (Beirut, 1990), 183-93, and Maribel Fierro, ″The Treatises Against Innovations *(kutub al-bid'a),*″ *Der Islam* 69 (1992): 211-13.

[11]Al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥdhīr al-Khawāṣṣ*, 3; Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 2:144f.

[12]British Library MS Or. 4275; see Charles Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1894), 155 (no. 239). This treatise has not, to my knowledge, been the subject of close scholarly scrutiny. Louis Massignon mentioned it briefly in his *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane* (Paris, 1954), 254-55, as did Merlin Swartz in the introduction to his edition of Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ,* 59n.

Al-ʻIrāqī cut a prominent figure among the ulama of late eighth/fourteenth-century Cairo.[13] As a youth, he studied the variant Quran readings, jurisprudence and its methodology, but above all hadith; his father was careful to ensure that his son received *ijāzah*s (licenses) attesting that he had studied hadith with and received permission to transmit traditions from the leading authorities of the day. His academic record reads like that of a model late medieval religious scholar. He travelled widely and frequently, for instance, to study with the ulama of Syria and the Hijaz, his efforts made more efficacious by the fact that he had a prodigious memory, and was able to memorize up to four hundred lines of text per day. He held a number of teaching posts in the leading academic institutions of Cairo, and served as both judge and Friday preacher in Medina. His interlocutor, by contrast, was apparently one of the leading mystics in Cairo at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century. For reasons which I have given elsewhere, the author of the anonymous treatise rebutting al-ʻIrāqī´s criticisms was almost certainly ʻAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Wafā’ (d. 807/1404), the son of the founder of the Wafā’ī order of Sufis. ʻAlī was one of the most popular and influential mystics and preachers in Egypt at the turn of the ninth/fifteenth century.[14] The dispute between these two men, as well as the broader polemical tradition represented by individuals such as Ibn al-Jawzī and Mamluk-era scholars such as Ibn Taymīyah, Ibn al-Ḥājj, and al-Suyūṭī, should help us to understand the social and political context in which both popular preaching and scholarly condemnations of it took place.

II

Preaching, of course, was nothing new in Mamluk Cairo. Returning to his home in eastern Iran after performing the pilgrimage in the year 486/1093, a preacher named Ardashīr ibn Manṣūr al-ʻAbbādī stopped in Baghdad, and began to deliver sermons in the great Niẓāmīyah madrasah in that city. The sessions, which Abū

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[13]Biographical information is taken from Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr bi-Abnā’ al-ʻUmr* (Hyderabad, 1967-76), 5:170-76; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfī baʻd al-Wāfī,* ed. Muḥammad M. Amīn (Cairo, 1984-), 7:245-50; Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw’ al-Lāmiʻ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʻ* (Cairo, 1934), 4:171-78; Ibn al-ʻImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Cairo, 1931-32), 7:55-56.

[14]On ʻAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn Wafā’, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr,* 5:253-56; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw’ al-Lāmiʻ*, 6:21-22; ʻAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʻrānī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrá* (Cairo, 1965), 2:20-60; Ibn al-ʻImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab*, 7:70-72. For the argument regarding the authorship of British Library MS Or. 4275, see my forthcoming work *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority*.

Ḥamīd al-Ghazālī attended, were extremely popular. According to Ibn al-Jawzī, the number of attendees grew with each meeting, until the congregation filled the courtyard, the building's upper rooms, and its roof. Judging by their relative numbers, women apparently were even more strongly drawn to the shaykh than were men. Eventually, according to the historian, the number of attendees reached 30,000. Al-ʻAbbādī apparently commanded his audience through a profound dramatic sense, since his sermons were punctuated by long and effective silences: "this man," reported Ibn al-Jawzī, "was more silent than not." His power over his audience soon grew obvious. In response to his preaching, attendees would shout aloud; some abandoned their worldly occupations in order to take up the shaykh's call to piety and pious action. Young men shaved their heads and began to spend their days in mosques, or roamed through the city's streets spilling jugs of wine and smashing musical instruments.[15]

Al-ʻAbbādī drove his audience, or at least some members of it, to live a more pious life, or to implement, sometimes violently, the injunctions of the sharīʻah. Other preachers were able to manipulate their audiences to more explicitly political ends. For example, a preacher named Abū ʻAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Shīrāzī (d. 439/1047-48) came to Baghdad and there "spoke to the people in the language of exhortation *[lisān al-waʻẓ]*." Attracted by his reputation for asceticism—"seduced" *(iftatana),* said the biographer al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī—uncounted numbers attended his preaching sessions (although after acquiring a certain degree of wealth, he abandoned his rags in favor of more splendid garments). With his following intact, he turned his attention to holy war *(ghazw),* to the frontier skirmishes which were intensifying in the early fifth/eleventh century. A large group of his followers assembling outside the city, they banged drums and set off to the north, toward the frontier. Some apparently lost their zeal, for they abandoned their march around the northern Mesopotamian city of Mosul, but Abū ʻAbd Allāh himself carried on, ultimately reaching Azerbaijan.[16]

Whatever their purposes, preachers like al-ʻAbbādī and al-Shīrāzī potentially exerted a considerable degree of power over their audiences. Ibn al-Jawzī recognized this, and understood that the root of the preachers' power lay in their exposure to and following among the common people. To complicate matters further, however, it should be remembered that power in preaching and storytelling circles flowed in both directions. Preaching was not a simple, didactic affair, in which one individual, whatever his standing and reputation, delivered his message to a passive audience. Of course, the reaction of a congregation to a sermon delivered or a

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[15]Abū al-Faraj ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-al-Umam* (Hyderabad, 1359 AH; reprint, Beirut, 1966), 9:75-76.

[16]Abū Bakr Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād* (Beirut, 1966), 1:359-60.

story recited some five, six, or seven centuries ago is the most fleeting aspect of the problem, at least from the standpoint of the texts on which the historian must rely, and consequently the most difficult facet of the social context of preaching to reconstruct. But our understanding of the phenomenon would be incomplete if we did not assume that those who listened to preachers and storytellers had minds of their own, and somehow collectively expressed their own expectations of what they should be hearing.[17] From a broader perspective, the common people were capable of influencing the consensus of the Muslim community as to what was and was not legitimately Islamic.[18] They were capable, too, of expressing quite vociferously their opinion of one preacher or storyteller or another, as al-Suyūṭī discovered to his chagrin. His treatise *Taḥdhīr al-Khawāṣṣ* in fact was occasioned by an altercation between himself and a storyteller who recited false hadith. After al-Suyūṭī had condemned the man, the *qāṣṣ* reacted angrily, and spurred on his audience (the ″common people″ [*al-ʻawāmm*], al-Suyūṭī calls them) until they cursed and threatened to stone the scholar.[19] Even ʻAlī ibn Wafā', the great defender of the popular storytellers, worried that individuals who preached correctly—i.e., ordering that which was good, and warning against evil behavior—risked destruction at the hands of the ″rabble″ (*raʻāʻ*).[20] A Hanbali scholar and preacher named Shihāb al-Dīn ibn ʻAlī al-Shīshīnī (fl. late ninth/fifteenth century) ″concerned himself with reading to the common people from works of exegesis and hadith,″ and ″was in much demand among them for that.″ Later, however, after he had expressed in writing his approval of the sultan′s efforts to raise an extraordinary tax, the people turned against him, and ″despised him for this and loosed their tongues in both verse and prose,″ and even tried to kill him and burn down his house.[21] There exists no fury, it seems, like that of a congregation scorned.

Consequently the fundamental issue surrounding preachers and storytellers was one of control: who was to control their activities, their words and their message, and how was such control to be exercised? This was already an issue at an early date, since it forms the subject of several important reports about the origin of the practice of storytelling—for example, the hadith asserting that ″only three kinds of persons narrate stories: one who commands *[amīr],* someone specially

[17]Peter Heath makes a similar point regarding public performances of epic narratives such as the *Sīrat ʻAntar* in *The Thirsty Sword: Sīrat ʻAntar and the Arabic Popular Epic* (Salt Lake City, 1996), 41. See also Boaz Shoshan, ″On Popular Literature in Medieval Cairo,″ *Poetics Today* 14 (1993): 349-65, esp. 351.

[18]Jonathan P. Berkey, ″Tradition, Innovation, and the Social Construction of Knowledge in the Medieval Islamic Near East,″ *Past & Present* 146 (1995): 38-65.

[19]Al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥdhīr al-Khawāṣṣ*, 4.

[20]″Al-Bāʻith ʻalá al-Khalāṣ,″ fols. 11r-12v.

[21]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʻ*, 2:9-11.

commissioned for that purpose *[ma'mūr],* or a hypocrite *[murā'ī],"* as well as the various stories about early storytellers, such as Tamīm al-Dārī seeking the permission of the caliph to practice their art.[22] Ibn al-Jawzī, commenting on the hadith, defined "*amīr*" as referring to those "on whom rests the responsibility for giving the *khuṭbah*, and so they exhort the people and admonish them."[23]

What we are encountering here is the complex of issues surrounding the fact that Islam, unlike for instance the Roman Catholic church, has no specific institutional structure for settling controversies of an ideological or doctrinal nature. This is a point which has been recognized for some time, and despite the perhaps natural tendency of Western scholars to fall back upon unfortunate terms such as "orthodoxy" and "heresy," it is one that seems to be relatively well-settled.[24] On the other hand, the absence of a formally-constituted decision-making body does not mean that it is fruitless to attempt to define an "Islamic tradition," nor that that tradition has not experienced the necessity of setting, or attempting to set, boundaries to what constitutes permissible thought and behavior. Islamic rulers have been capable of instituting very precise limits to the theological positions which could be publicly expounded, as during the third/ninth-century *miḥnah* (sometimes translated as "inquisition") set in motion by the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mūn. Less formally, the doctrine of "consensus" *(ijmā')* has given the ulama an instrument, however unwieldy, which can be used to define what is and is not acceptable, particularly in the area of ritual and behavior. But inevitably, the process of defining what is "Islamic" has been a flexible one, and one subject to a variety of internal and external pressures.[25]

This was certainly the case in the city of Cairo under the Mamluks, the forum in which Zayn al-Dīn al-'Irāqī and 'Alī ibn Wafā' waged their polemic over the storytellers. The Mamluks were perfectly willing to intervene in religious matters when a dispute threatened directly to disrupt the social order, or when doing so would strengthen their own political position. Sultan Qaytbāy, for instance, stepped into the simmering controversy over the verse of the Sufi poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ, firmly aligning himself with those scholars who considered it religiously unobjectionable, when doing so enabled him to realign the power structure within the ulama hierarchy

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[22]Al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥdhīr al-Khawāṣṣ,* 172; see also Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ,* 28-29 (Eng. trans., 114-15). Other versions of the hadith replace *murā'ī* with *mukhtāl* (deceitful) or *mutakallaf* (false).

[23]Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ,* 28-29 (Eng. trans., 114-15).

[24]Bernard Lewis, "The Significance of Heresy in Islam," *Studia Islamica* 1 (1953): 43-63; Alexander Knysh, "'Orthodoxy' and 'Heresy' in Medieval Islam: An Essay in Reassessment," *Muslim World* 83 (1993): 48-67.

[25]On this point, see Berkey, "Tradition, Innovation, and the Social Construction of Knowledge," passim.

in such a way as to consolidate his own authority and that of his Mamluk supporters.[26] More generally, the Mamluk practice of building and endowing religious and academic institutions should be read in part as an effort to bring the ulama and the religious sphere under some degree of influence and control.

But the Mamluks had little interest in taking up the daunting task of systematically policing popular preachers and storytellers; neither, for that matter, had most previous governments in the Islamic Near East. Al-ʻIrāqī objected that the storytellers of his day did not bother to seek the permission of those in a position to judge whether or not they were sufficiently trained and knowledgeable to practice their art—in the absence of qualified rulers such as the ″rightly-guided caliphs″ *(rāshidūn),* al-ʻIrāqī mentioned somewhat vaguely ″those who govern″ *(al-ḥukkām)* and, more pointedly, the ulama themselves. In this they compared unfavorably even with Tamīm al-Dārī, who at least sought the permission of the caliph ʻUmar before he began to recite his stories. ʻAlī ibn Wafāʼ responded that nothing in the report about Tamīm indicated that one is always *required* to seek the permission of those in authority in order to recite stories, only that Tamīm had once done so; perhaps, ʻAlī suggested, he had done so out of respect for the pious and esteemed caliph ʿUmar, as if to remind al-ʻIrāqī that, in political terms, the eighth century after the Hijrah was very different from the first.[27] But ʻAlī also went beyond the formal question of permission. The hadith limiting ″storytelling″ *(al-qaṣaṣ)* to those who command *(al-amīr)* or who are granted permission *(al-maʼmūr)* was directed specifically, said ʻAlī, at the delivery of the formal Friday sermon *(khuṭbat al-jumʻah),* which, since it had an explicitly political purpose, was indeed to be delivered by those in authority *(al-umarāʼ)* or their substitutes *(nuwwāb).* Alternatively, he argued, the storyteller criticized in the tradition was one who did not ″command the good and forbid the evil,″ or whose intentions in delivering his sermon were not pure. As long as the storytellers told tales which incline their listeners to that which is good and drive them away from the wicked, or which in some way ″elucidate the book of God,″ in ʻAlī′s opinion they had already been granted ″permission″ by God and His Prophet *(maʼmūr bi-dhālika min Allāh wa-rasūlihi).*[28]

Such license posed any number of dangers. On the one hand, it threatened to make the definition of what constituted legitimate religious knowledge far too open and uncritical.[29] It also opened the door to quacks and unscrupulous and

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[26]Th. Emil Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, His Verse, and His Shrine* (Columbia, South Carolina, 1994), 55-75, esp. 69-75.

[27]″Al-Bāʻith ʻalá al-Khalāṣ,″ fol. 4r-v.

[28]Ibid., fols. 4v-6r.

[29]This is an important but analytically separate issue, taken up in my book *Popular Preaching and*

venal profiteers—individuals who resorted to various tricks to delude their gullible audiences, to convince them of the false preachers′ sincerity and so to elicit from them generous financial contributions.[30] But the problem must also be seen against the background of the power wielded, or potentially wielded, by preachers and storytellers, because of their deep and privileged connections to the common people. Both al-ʻIrāqī and Ibn al-Jawzī understood the danger posed by the preachers and storytellers in social terms. According to a tradition cited by al-ʻIrāqī, and one which should perhaps be seen against the background of the broader concern that the Muslim community would share the unhappy fate of the earlier chosen peoples, the Banū Isrā'īl had *quṣṣāṣ,* and this was a cause of their destruction.[31] He also recounted a tale about the first Umayyad caliph, Muʻāwiyah, encountering and condemning a storyteller who preached without permission, and then himself preaching a sermon suggesting that freelance preaching had contributed to the hateful fissiparousness of the Jews and Christians. Could its consequences be any different for the Muslim community?[32]

All sermonizing took place in a social and even political context, but the connection between storytellers and preachers and the ruling order was problematic and fraught with tension. As George Makdisi has shown, preaching played an important role in the revival of Sunni power and the articulation of a more precisely defined Sunnism in Baghdad in the fifth/eleventh century.[33] During the Crusades, too, Muslim rulers employed preachers to instill the spirit of jihad into their soldiers and subjects.[34] Such preaching worked to the advantage of the secular authorities, but possessed a power and momentum of its own, which at times threatened to spiral out of hand. In the early sixth/twelfth century, for example, a jurist named Ibn al-Khashshāb whipped an Aleppan crowd into a frenzy with his denunciations of the Franks for their profaning of Muslim shrines in Jerusalem,

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Religious Authority.

[30]Zayn al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Raḥīm ibn ʻUmar al-Jawbarī, *Al-Mukhtār min Kashf al-Asrār* (Damascus, 1302 AH), 33-38; ibid., trans. René Khawam as *Le voile arraché*, (Paris, 1979), 91-101; C. E. Bosworth, *The Medieval Islamic Underground: The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature* (Leiden, 1976), 1:88, 111-12, 291; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ*, 93-94 (Eng. trans., 171); Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal*, 2:271.

[31]″Al-Bāʻith ʻalá al-Khalāṣ,″ fols. 10r-11r. See also Ibn al-Jawzī, *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ*, 37, 127 (Eng. trans., 122-23, 211), and M. J. Kister, ″Ḥaddithū ʻan Banī Isrā'īla wa-lā Ḥaraja: A Study of an Early Tradition,″ *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972): 232.

[32]″Al-Bāʻith ʻalá al-Khalāṣ,″ fols. 6r-10r.

[33]George Makdisi, *Ibn ʻAqīl et la résurgence de l′Islam traditionaliste au xi^e siècle (v^e siècle de l′Hégire)* (Damascus, 1963).

[34]Emmanuel Sivan, *L′Islam et la croisade: Idéologie et propagande dans les réactions musulmanes aux croisades* (Paris, 1968), 68-69.

and then by way of revenge led them in a march to forcibly convert several Christian churches into mosques.[35]

Clearly, some preachers drew their standing and influence from their close connection to those in authority. Such individuals were, of all possible types of preachers, perhaps the most likely to catch the eye of biographers such as Ibn al-Jawzī, who both sought to record an accurate account of the leading men and women of their day, and also hoped to help set standards for the preaching profession. For example, the son of Ardashīr al-ʻAbbādī, Abū Manṣūr al-Muẓaffar (d. 547/1152) (an even more famous preacher than his father), whose sermons in Baghdad were widely attended, developed an especially close relationship with the caliph al-Muqtafī, whose trust extended to sending the preacher on diplomatic missions.[36] Given the tense but symbiotic ties which bound religious scholars and the ruling military elites together during the Middle Ages, it is not surprising that some preachers developed close relationships with the predominantly Turkish rulers, and even profited from them. The Egyptian Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Qurdāḥ (d. 841/1438), for example, a noted *wāʻiẓ,* musician, and student of astronomy, had the good graces of Mamluk sultans and the leading amirs, connections which allowed him to die a wealthy man.[37]

Others preachers, however, derived their reputations directly from their oppositional stand, from setting themselves against those in positions of power. Despite the formal connection between Friday sermons and political legitimacy, such opposition was quite natural to a preaching tradition which frequently stressed the ephemeral, even diseased, character of worldly success, wealth, and power, and indeed forms a sort of trope of literary accounts of famous preachers. What was required in a preacher was courage sufficient to preach a sermon capable of making the high and mighty weep, as Manṣūr ibn ʻAmmār did in preaching before Hārūn al-Rashīd.[38] The famed Hanbali mystic and preacher Ibn Samʻūn (d. 387/997), for example, ignored a prohibition on preaching promulgated by the Buyid amir ʻAḍuḍ al-Dawlah in an effort to suppress the communal violence between Hanbalis and Shiʻis which plagued Baghdad in the fourth/tenth century. Called before the amir, Ibn Samʻūn continued to preach, and according to a report recorded by Ibn al-Jawzī, moved the sovereign to tears.[39] The *wāʻiẓ* Abū Saʻd al-Muʻammar ibn

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[35]Ibid., 41-43.

[36]Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʻyān wa-Anbā' Abnā' al-Zamān,* ed. Iḥsān ʻAbbās (Beirut, 1978), 5:212-13; ibid., trans. William MacGuckin de Slane as *Ibn Khallikān's Biographical Dictionary* (Paris, 1842), 3:365-66; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*, 10:150-51.

[37]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 9:15-165; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 2:78; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʻ,* 2:142; Ibn al-ʻImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab,* 7:238.

[38]Abū al-Faraj ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣayd al-Khāṭir* (Amman, 1987), 409-10.

[39]Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam*, 8:88-89; Adam Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, trans. Salahuddin

ʿAlī Ibn Abī Imāmāh (d. 506/1112-13), who had ″a sharp mind and a Baghdadi intellect,″ was by all repute fearless in preaching to kings and princes, whether the caliph al-Mustaẓhar billāh or the famous vizier Niẓām al-Mulk. Once, according to Ibn al-Jawzī, he delivered a sermon to the latter in a mosque in Baghdad, addressing him directly as the ″hireling of the Muslim community″ *(ajīr al-ummah),* and reminding him in no uncertain terms that his duty consisted in looking after the well-being of the Muslims, and that God would demand of him an accounting of how he had discharged that responsibility. At its conclusion, Niẓām al-Mulk was so moved to tears that he handed Abū Saʿd 100 dinars, which the preacher piously refused, instructing the vizier instead to distribute the money to the poor.[40] Just so, a preacher named Abū ʿUmar al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Filw (d. 426/1035) composed a poem in honor of himself and his preaching to an unnamed sultan: ″I went in to the sultan in the palace of his majesty / In poverty—I did not make noise with horses or foot soldiers *[wa-lam ujlib bi-khayl wa-lā rajil]* / —And I said: ′Look! Between my poverty and your wealth / is the distance between sainthood and separation [from God].′″[41]

Not every ruler was as pious and god-fearing as the sources portray Hārūn al-Rashīd or Niẓām al-Mulk, and even Ibn al-Jawzī urged circumspection. Those who preach to sultans, he warned, should exercise extreme caution *(ghāyat al-taḥarruz),* for sultans reserve to themselves a monopoly on the use of force, and a sharp reprimand *(tawbīkh)* may appear to them as an intolerable public humiliation *(idhlāl).* Ibn al-Jawzī shared the common medieval attitude that manners and morals were in steep decline. Rulers such as Hārūn used to listen attentively to sermons, but now times have changed: rulers are arrogant, and corrupt ulama seek to flatter them. ″In these times,″ said Ibn al-Jawzī, ″it is preferable [for the honest preacher] to distance himself from such people, and to avoid preaching to them, for that is the safer approach.″ If a preacher is forced to speak before men of authority, he should take an indirect approach: he should preach by way of allusion *(ishārah),* or direct his remarks to the people generally *(ʿawāmm),* and mix his exhortation with statements about the nobility of rulership and remind his audience of the comportment of the just rulers of earlier days.[42]

Ibn al-Jawzī′s personal circumstances—an enormously popular and well-respected preacher in twelfth-century Baghdad—made him especially aware of the complex nexus of preaching and power. Some members of the ulama no doubt played the sycophant to those who wielded the sword, but the rulers, too, were

Khuda Bukhsh and D. S. Margoliouth (New York, 1975), 330-31.

[40]Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam,* 9:173-74.

[41]Ibid., 8:87.

[42]Ibn al-Jawzī, *Ṣayd al-Khāṭir*, 409-10.

cognizant of the power of the preachers′ word, and so, he implies, feared it. Consequently, despite his warning, the ideal of the confrontational stance remained popular with preachers throughout the later Middle Ages, and instances in which individuals lived up to the ideal were carefully noted by their biographers. In 638/1240, the famous preacher ʻIzz al-Dīn Ibn ʻAbd al-Salām al-Sulamī (d. 660/1262) quarreled with the Ayyubid sultan of Damascus, al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʻīl, over the latter′s treaty with the Crusaders by which he surrendered to them a number of fortresses and the town of Ṣafad. To chastise the sultan for his cowardice in dealing with the infidel Franks, Ibn ʻAbd al-Salām refused to pray for him and dropped his name from the official Friday *khuṭbah*, as a result of which al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʻīl exiled the preacher to Cairo, where his nephew and rival al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb was happy to appoint the famous man to the pulpit of the mosque of ʻAmr.[43]

The Mamluk sultans and amirs provided the more intrepid among late medieval preachers with ample opportunities to chastise those in power. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Naqqāsh (d. 819/1416), a popular preacher who was appointed *khaṭīb* at the large congregational mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn south of Cairo, was respected for ″his severe and sharp ordering of the good and in his preaching *[waʻẓ],* both in his Friday sermons and his storytelling *[fī khuṭabihi wa-qaṣaṣihi],* so that he came to have high standing among both the elite and the common people″; more particularly, he was credited with a willingness to condemn whatever evildoing he witnessed or heard about, even if it embroiled him in controversy with the ruling Turkish authorities.[44] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dayrūṭī (d. 921/1515), a famous preacher at the end of the Mamluk period, was respected and feared, according to the Sufi biographer al-Shaʻrānī, by sultans and amirs, as well as by those of lesser station. Many of the leading figures of state attended his sessions; all left humbled.[45] Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī (d. 926/1520), by his own account, was fearless in preaching to the awesome but pious sultan Qāytbāy. ″If I was unable to speak to him directly,″ he recalled, ″I would give him my advice in a sermon *[khuṭbah],* and he would grasp my meaning; and if I then greeted him at Friday prayers, he would come up to me to greet me and say: ′May God reward you for your faithful advice to us.′″ The envious, he said, sought to turn the sultan

[43]Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʻīyah* (Hyderabad, 1979), 2:138; Ismāʻīl ibn ʻUmar Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* (Cairo, 1932-39), 13:235-36; Tāj al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʻīyah al-Kubrá,* ed. ʻAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥilw and Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanṭāwī, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1992), 8:209-55; R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193-1260* (Albany, 1977), 267; Sivan, *L′Islam et la croisade,* 149-52.

[44]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʼ al-Ghumr,* 7:232-33; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʻīyah*, 4:31-33; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 7:223-34; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʼ al-Lāmiʻ*, 4:140-42.

[45]Al-Shaʻrānī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrá,* 2:164-65.

against him, and encouraged the sultan to forbid al-Anṣārī to preach to him in a disrespectful manner. But Qāytbāy responded: ″What [would you have me] say to someone who has opened my eyes to my own faults and has given me good advice?″ Summoning up all the rhetorical weight of the Islamic preaching tradition and applying it directly to the Mamluk system itself, al-Anṣārī was able to drive this sultan to tears. ″One day I said to him in a sermon *[khuṭbah]:* ′Awake, O you whom God has put in charge of His servants, and think of your origins, and of your condition today. Once you did not exist, and now you do; once you were an unbeliever, and now you are a Muslim; once you were a slave, and now you are free; once you were ordered *[ma'mūran],* and now you give orders *[amīran];* once you were an amir, and now you are a sultan. Do not accept these blessings with vainglory and pride, and [do not] forget your beginning and your end: for your nose will be ground in the dust when you die, and the worms will eat [you] and you will become dust.′ Then the sultan wept and said to those amirs around him: ′If I were to send this one away, who would preach me such a sermon *[wa'ẓ]?*′″[46]

Given the influence which preachers at least potentially wielded, the issue of control was especially problematic. Direct control of course was impossible, given the absence of a formal ecclesiastical structure. Further complicating the situation, much sermonizing and storytelling took place in settings which even the informal sinews of Islamic religious authority found it difficult or inexpedient to police, such as the vast cemeteries outside Cairo. Ibn al-Ḥājj, for one, harbored a particular concern that unscrupulous storytellers and preachers would ply their trade to gullible audiences in the shadowy warrens of the Qarāfah.[47] Moreover, many preachers and storytellers were peripatetics, traveling through the Islamic world, sometimes on pilgrimage, and practicing their art before always new and different audiences. Such wanderers already provided a stock character for al-Ḥarīrī′s fifth/eleventh century *Maqāmāt,* where one tale describes the rascally hero Abū Zayd as appearing in ″the equipment of pilgrimage″ and preaching to the people of the Yemeni city of San'ah.[48] Not infrequently, such individuals acquired a good deal of contemporary fame: so, for example, al-Sayyid 'Alī ibn Ya'lá (d. 527/1133), a famous preacher from Khurasan, roamed through Iran and Iraq, receiving the enthusiastic approbation of the people *(wa-ẓahara lahu al-qabūl al-tāmm min al-nās),* finally arriving in Baghdad where he received the welcome of both the

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[46]'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣughrá* (Cairo, 1970), 42.

[47]Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal*, 1:268.

[48]Qāsim ibn 'Alī al-Ḥarīrī, *Maqāmāt* (Beirut, 1980), 16-21; ibid., trans. T. Chenery as *The Assemblies of al-Ḥarīrī* (London, 1867), 1:109-11.

elite and the common people.[49] The Sufi preacher known as al-Shābb al-Ṭā'ib (d. 832/1429), who held preaching and instruction sessions ″in the manner of the Shādhilīyah,″ circulated widely among the common people: he was born and educated in Cairo, but visited Yemen, the Hijaz, Iraq, and Syria, most of them several times, and ″constructed a number of *zāwiyah*s in the various countries″ in which to ply his trade.[50]

Given the fluidity of the situation, one can understand the bitterness of scholars such as al-Suyūṭī who perceived the power and influence of the preachers and storytellers, and who worried that their discourses were not always, as it were, kosher. A treatise such as Ibn al-Jawzī′s *Kitāb al-Quṣṣās* or al-'Irāqī′s polemic against the storytellers was fundamentally an effort to assert control over what its author perceived to be a lawless activity, or, perhaps more accurately, a cry of frustration that wicked and ignorant practitioners of the craft operated without any effective restraints. But in fact the predicament was not so stark as the scholars believed. The issue of authority and control, in relation to the activity of popular preachers and storytellers, was extraordinarily complex, as it was in all aspects of medieval Islamic religious life. There were at least sporadic, and not altogether unsuccessful, efforts to exert formal, if not systematic, control. More importantly, the preaching tradition itself set certain boundaries which prevented a degeneration into wholesale anarchy. Those boundaries were reinforced by the symbiotic, if sometimes tense, relationship between popular preaching and storytelling and the more disciplined transmission of religious knowledge represented by scholars such as Ibn al-Jawzī, al- 'Irāqī, and al-Suyūṭī, and also by the thematic content of the preaching tradition itself.

The prospect of some form of direct control of preachers and storytellers by the ruling authorities was an old one, which at least in theory stretched back to the caliph 'Umar′s ambivalent attitude toward the *qāṣṣ* Tamīm al-Dārī. Al-Suyūṭī peppered his polemic against the storytellers with narratives from the early decades of Islamic history about the *ṣāḥib al-shurṭah* (indicating some high-ranking officer charged with policing responsibilities) taking action to prevent unauthorized *quṣṣāṣ* from practicing their art.[51] Those who dare to transmit false stories about the Prophet, he indicated, deserve to be whipped and threatened with even worse punishments; in these matters, said al-Suyūṭī, the ruler *(al-ḥākim)* should be appealed

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[49]Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt*, ed. H. Ritter et al. (Istanbul, 1931-), 22:333-34.

[50]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, 2:50-51; Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr (Cairo, 1956-73), 4:815-16.

[51]Al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥdhīr al-Khawāṣṣ*, 198.

to for help.[52] Such arguments and anecdotes may be read most accurately as expressions of a pious hope and of the widespread pessimistic conviction that Muslim society no longer operated as it once had, and as it should, rather than as an accurate memory of a formerly consistent pattern. On occasion, however, rulers had complied, as when the caliph al-Muʻtaḍid ordered the storytellers (along with astrologers and diviners) swept from the streets of Baghdad in 279/982.[53] Several decades later, the vizier Ibn al-Muslimah ordered preachers and sermonizers, both *khuṭabāʼ* and *wuʻʻāẓ,* not to recite hadiths in their sermons without first checking their authenticity with the traditionist al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī.[54] The assertion by Ibn al-Ukhūwah (d. 729/1329), in his manual of instruction for the *muḥtasib* (roughly, ″market inspector″), that individuals who were not qualified to preach should be forbidden from doing so, and that those who did so anyway should be punished, would seem to indicate that this official appointee of the sultan held, at least formally, some right of supervision over the activities of preachers.[55]

It is difficult to determine whether medieval ruling authorities followed the advice of Ibn al-Ukhūwah and al-Suyūṭī and systematically supervised the activities of popular storytellers and preachers, since routine matters often escaped the notice of chroniclers and biographers. Authority to regulate their activities was diffuse, and shared by numerous individuals. Sultans, of course, held rights of appointment over preachers in the Friday congregational mosques, or at least some of them, and when an official *khaṭīb* preached a sermon which challenged the political order, he could find himself dismissed, as Ibn ʻAbd al-Salām al-Sulamī discovered. But al-Qalqashandī noted in his eighth/fourteenth-century reference manual for scribes and bureaucrats that in practice, the ruler′s prerogatives were limited. He identified the official Friday preaching post *(khiṭābah)* as ″in truth, the most powerful [religious] post and most exalted in rank,″ since the Prophet himself had undertaken it. By his day, however, there were ″countless″ such positions all over Egypt, so that the sultan did not routinely concern himself with any but the most important, such as that in the congregational mosque in the Citadel of Cairo, or those in which, by the terms of their endowment, he held the right of supervision.[56]

Preachers in less visible positions must have been subject to even looser control. On the other hand, occasionally matters did reach a point where secular

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[52]Ibid., 109-38.

[53]Bosworth, *The Medieval Islamic Underground*, 28.

[54]Makdisi, *Ibn ʻAqīl*, 419-20.

[55]Ḍiyāʼ al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ukhūwah, *Maʻālim al-Qurbah fī Aḥkām al-Ḥisbah*, ed. Reuben Levy, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, n.s., vol. 12 (Cambridge, 1938), 179.

[56]Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá fī Ṣināʻat al-Inshāʼ* (Cairo, 1914-28), 4:39.

and/or religious authorities found it expedient to intervene, as did the Saljuq Sultan Masʿūd in forbidding ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ghaznawī (d. 551/1156) from preaching, after the latter began to incline toward Shiʿism.[57] Occasional anecdotes in the chronicles and biographical dictionaries give us some sense of how the mechanisms of control might operate. The Sufi ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī recounted a wonderful tale about Ibrāhīm ibn Miʿḍād al-Jaʿbarī (d. 687/1288), a charismatic Cairene preacher. According to al-Shaʿrānī, the qadis held a council in order to condemn al-Jaʿbarī's preaching, and in particular his ungrammatical singing of the Quran. After the council meeting, the Maliki qadi issued a *fatwá* forbidding al-Jaʿbarī to preach, but shortly thereafter fell from a gate of Cairo's citadel and broke his neck; chastened by this expression of God's judgment, the other qadis threw themselves at al-Jaʿbari's feet and begged his forgiveness. Triumphant, the preacher told them that it was not he who had recited improperly, but their ears which were at fault.[58] This story, and a parallel one in which, after condemning the preacher, the leading ulama of Cairo suffered from the painful retention of urine, clearly contain apocryphal elements, but the essence of the story is confirmed by the earlier and far more sober biographer, Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī. He reports the council of qadis and their condemnation of al-Jaʿbarī, although in his account the accusing jurist fell, more prosaically, from his mule, and broke his wrist, rather than his neck. He indicates that others, too, had condemned his preaching, but that al-Jaʿbarī had persisted nonetheless and proved "his innocence and the correctness of his belief."[59] What is of interest in both of these accounts is the interactive pattern of control and resistance: of a council of qadis and jurists seeking to restrain a popular and charismatic preacher of suspect convictions or dubious intellectual competence, and his assertion of an independent right to preach. No doubt al-Jaʿbarī felt, as ʿAlī ibn Wafāʾ might say, that he had been granted permission to preach by God and His Prophet.

Sometimes the qadis sought to involve the sultan in an effort to give their interdictions more force. Al-Shaʿrānī records another imaginative tale about Ḥusayn al-Jākī, a pious preacher who died in 730/1329-30, who like al-Jaʿbarī was accused of mispronouncing the Quran. Again a council was held, this one presided over by the sultan, as a result of which al-Jākī was forbidden to preach. The *wāʿiẓ* complained to his shaykh, Ayyūb al-Kannās ("the sweeper"), who arranged a trick. After the sultan had entered a toilet, Ayyūb appeared to him, emerging through a wall, with a broom in his hand. The sultan mistook him for a lion, and, afraid that the cat was about to swallow him up, fell down trembling. Ayyūb then ordered the sultan

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[57]Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam,* 10:166-68.

[58]Al-Shaʿrānī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrá*, 1:177.

[59]Al-Subkī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah*, 8:123.

to issue an edict allowing al-Jākī to preach; the sultan having done so, the shaykh then slipped back through the wall.[60] The colorful ending of this story aside, its central drama—the qadis and sultan, in council, examining and condemning a popular preacher—was not unique. The jurist, exegete, and preacher Ibn al-Labbān (d. 749/1349), who was criticized for weaving monism and other suspect doctrines into his sermons, was condemned by the Shafiʿi chief qadi Jalāl al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī and forbidden to preach at the insistence of a group of legal scholars, but not before the sultan and a group of amirs had become involved, the latter apparently interceding to seek his repentance.[61]

It would be wrong, however, to view the situation as one that uniformly pitted qadis and senior scholars, allied with sultans or other ruling authorities, representing a kind of quasi-official religious establishment, against more free-wheeling preachers and storytellers catering to a popular constituency. There was considerable overlap between the different groups and the perspectives they represented. The various individuals of the Bulqīnī family, for example, ranked among the most accomplished and respected members of the learned elite of Cairo; but in addition, they held popular preaching sessions, in mosques and madrasah*s*, large and small, throughout the city. Here, too, the fundamental similarity of the material which formed the subject of class sessions, official Friday sermons, and popular preaching and storytelling is important. Tales of the prophets were to be found in rigorous and esteemed exegetical works, as well as in more popular circles, and hadiths of course were a fundamental component of religious discourse at any level.

As a result, the storytelling and preaching tradition generated its own informal mechanisms of control, mechanisms built largely upon reputation and the moral force wielded by particularly respected preachers. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kallāʾī (d. 801/1398), a Shādhilī Sufi, began his career as an official notary (*shāhid*) in a shop outside Bāb Zuwaylah in Cairo, but later became the companion of the shaykh and preacher Ḥusayn al-Khabbāz, and in fact took up the latter's preaching duties in his *zāwiyah* after his death.[62] Al-Kallāʾī seems not to have

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[60]Al-Shaʿrānī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrá*, 2:2.

[61]Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah* (Cairo, 1966), 3:420-21; al- Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 2:408. For another example, see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, 1:184-85. On Ibn al-Labbān, see Jean Claude Vadet, "Les idées d'un prédicateur de mosquée au xiv[e] siècle dans le Caire des Mamlouks," *Annales islamologiques* 8 (1969): 63-69.

[62]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 4:91-92; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 10:113-14. Ibn Ḥajar and, following him, al-Sakhāwī give his shaykh's name as Ḥusayn al-Ḥabbār; that may, however, be a scribal error, for the individual intended is clearly the same whom most sources name al-Khabbāz. See ʿAlī ibn Dāʾūd Ibn al-Ṣayrafī al-Jawharī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970-), 1:277; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:685-86; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1929-72), 11:385. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn

been a shining example of the preaching tradition: the sources report that he made glaring errors and carelessly mispronounced God′s word, and that his sermons contained misguided and unjustified exegeses of Quranic texts. His errors came to the attention of the aged Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī (d. 805/1403), who took it upon himself to prohibit him from ″speaking to the people″ *(al-kalām ʻalá al-nās).* In essence, al-Bulqīnī′s reprimand was that of a widely admired scholar and preacher directed against an individual whose incompetence threatened to undermine the authority of all those who preached.

Practitioners of the art of preaching and storytelling might close ranks in order to silence a particularly dangerous individual. In response to al-ʻIrāqī′s repetition of the tradition that ″the storyteller can anticipate only God′s wrath,″ ʻAlī ibn Wafā' agreed—if, that is, the storyteller preached that which contradicted the shariʻah. Such an individual should indeed worry about the retribution he will face on the Day of Judgment.[63] But in fact even the Wafā'īs did not rely entirely on conscience to ensure the integrity of their preaching. Take, for example, the case of ʻAbd al-Qādir ibn Muḥammad al-Qāyātī al-Wafā'ī (d. 873/1469), a member of the order who was originally trained to be a muezzin, but who was drawn to preaching because of the ″power, fame, and reputation″ it brought him. ʻAbd al-Qādir, it seems, was something of an imposter, reciting poetry which he falsely claimed was his own, and impersonating more famous scholars: once, while on the pilgrimage, he claimed to be Walī al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī (d. 865/1461), and led preaching sessions in his name. His ensuing altercation with Walī al-Dīn, who was described as having preached ″in the manner of the Banū al-Wafā',″[64] seems in some way—the biographer al-Sakhāwī is sparse with details—to have led to a falling out between ʻAbd al-Qādir and the Wafā'ī order. As a result, some wags gave him the *nisbah* ″al-Jafā'ī,″ i.e., ″one who is alienated,″ or ″one who is treated with distaste.″ The order, that is, took it upon itself to ostracize a member whose misdeeds embarrassed it in front of a family known for its concern for preaching and the transmission of knowledge to the common people.[65]

In the end, the nature of the preaching tradition, and the character of the sermons and tales which formed the bulk of the material transmitted in storytelling circles, themselves acted to blunt the hard edge of the power potentially wielded by religious figures with close ties to the common people, and to minimize the threat which they presented to the social and political order. Generalizations are dangerous, since we can know so little about the particular circumstances in

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al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* ed. Qusṭanṭīn Zurayq and Najlā' ʻIzz al-Dīn (Beirut, 1938), 9:173-74, however, named him al-Ḥabbār. There seems also to have been confusion as to whether his name was Ḥasan or Ḥusayn.

[63]″Al-Bāʻith ʻalá al-Khalāṣ,″ fols. 11r-12v.

[64]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʻ,* 2:188-90.

which sermons and stories were recited, and still less about the audiences′ reaction to them. However, we can be certain that popular sermons typically focused on sin, suffering, and death, on poverty and its endurance, on the trials and tribulations of this world, and in particular on the promise of personal (as opposed to social) salvation. The root meaning of the verb *wa'aẓa,* after all, is ″to admonish,″ ″to warn.″ Meditation upon the misery to which humans are subjected in life, the horrors of death, and the promise of release to those who are God-fearing, was a staple of medieval sermonizing. It finds reflection in a variety of sources: in collections of sermons by well-known figures such as Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Nubātah al-Fāriqī (d. 374/984-85); in a compendium of hadith in use among the storytellers, as compiled by Ibn Taymīyah; and in the sermons and tales recounted by popular preachers such as the Sufi Shu'ayb (or 'Ubayd) al-Ḥurayfīsh.[66] Popular preachers such as al-Ḥurayfīsh laid special emphasis on patience in the face of adversity. So, for example, he elucidated for his audience the saying that ″the poor man is doctor of the sick, and his bleacher″: if a rich man is ill, and gives alms, and a poor man prays for him, he will be cured; and if a rich man gives alms to the poor, and the poor man prays for him, the rich man will be cleansed of his sins.[67] Such a sermon grants the poor a certain power, it is true, but it is a power which manifests itself in the next world, and not in this.

Accordingly, popular sermons must surely in many instances have acted as a kind of social safety valve, deflecting and deflating the various pressures experienced by those medieval Muslim men and women who listened to the preachers and storytellers. The excessive weeping which disturbed Ibn al-Jawzī, and which was noted by many medieval observers of preachers and preaching circles, played the social role of internalizing the despair, anger and angst of listeners. The suspicion of and hostility toward the world which were characteristic of sermons hardly amounted to a call to arms against those who benefitted from the established social order. On the contrary, the spirit of penitence which sermons sought to induce, the copious weeping, and all the reminders of our frailty and sin and the hopelessness and injustice of the present world, reminded listeners that true justice would be found only in eschatological time. Al-Ḥurayfīsh and his listeners drew comfort from the Prophet′s observation that of the eight doors to paradise, seven are reserved for the poor, while six of seven entrances to hell are set aside for the rich.[68] Social distinctions will be set aside at the end of time—God created heaven

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[65]Ibid., 4:296-97.

[66]Shu'ayb al-Ḥurayfīsh, *Al-Rawḍ al-Fā'iq fī al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-Raqā'iq* (Cairo, 1949). On al-Ḥurayfīsh, see William M. Brinner, ″The Significance of the *Ḥarafīsh* and Their ′Sultan′,″ *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 6 (1963): 190-215. For more on the content of popular sermons, see my *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority,* Chapter 3.

[67]Al-Ḥurayfīsh, *Al-Rawḍ al-Fā'iq,* 67-68.

for those who obey him, ″even a black Ethiopian slave,″ and hell for those who do not, ″even a Qurayshī *sharīf*″[69]—but in the meanwhile, the underlying hierarchies went unchallenged. Ibn Abī Imāmah preached fearlessly to Niẓām al-Mulk, so vigorously and forthrightly reminding him of his duties in this world and the punishment which threatened him in the next that the vizier, under the preacher′s instructions, distributed a sum to the poor of Baghdad—but Niẓām al-Mulk remained vizier, of course, and the social and political order unchanged. Qāytbāy appreciated being reminded of his sins and the frailty of his soul, but for all his piety thoroughly understood the modalities of raw political power in which he operated. In one of the few records we have of an actual medieval preaching circle, the preacher observed that on the Day of Judgment, our lots in life will be reversed. Ascetics *(zuhhād)* and those who serve God *(ʻubbād)* will, in paradise, have plenty to eat and drink, and live in large palaces, and be served by houris, as do the profligate *(fujjār)* and dissolute *(fussāq)* in this world. By contrast, the profligate will, after the judgment, suffer the lot of those who scorn (or who are denied) the joys of this life: they will be poor, sad, and afflicted by trials and tribulations.[70] But such a sermon postpones the social revolution beyond the limits of history.

Through mechanisms such as these, the social and even political power latent in the tradition of Islamic preaching, and in the ties which bound preachers to their audiences, was softened, its disruptive potential muted. The activities of popular preachers and storytellers remind us of the complex nexus of political and religious power which characterized the society of Mamluk Egypt, as well as that of other military regimes in the medieval Islamic world. The Mamluks stood in an ambivalent and problematic relationship to the Muslim Egyptians over whom they ruled: religious identity and commitment always represented a potential threat, but could also, under certain circumstances, be harnessed to lend prestige and credibility to their regime. It is in such light, of course, that the decision of individual Mamluks to construct and endow religious institutions should be understood. As it turned out, however, many leading religious scholars themselves perceived an ambivalence in certain popular religious phenomena, such as the sermons and recitation of tales which form the subject of this article. The *quṣṣāṣ* and *wuʻʻāẓ* held a privileged position in the transmission of religious knowledge to the Muslim masses, but were also perceived as a threat by senior scholars and representatives of the faith, men such as al-Suyūṭī and Ibn al-Ḥājj. Religious power in Mamluk Egypt did not emanate from individuals or institutions as much as it flowed in circles around them. It could be tapped to support the social and political hierarchies, but at the same moment could undermine them. In this way it

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[68]Ibid., 67.

[69]Ibid., 73.

bound everyone—Mamluks, scholars, popular preachers and their audiences—to the common project of continually constructing and reconstructing Islam.

[70]"Al-Bāʿith ʿalá al-Khalāṣ," fol. 56v.

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Silver Coins of the Mamluk Sultan Qalāwūn (678-689/1279-1290) from the Mints of Cairo, Damascus, Ḥamāh, and al-Marqab

This article is an amendment to the pertinent chapters of Balog's[1] standard work on Mamluk coins and an article on Mamluk *dirham*s by Helen W. Mitchell.[2] The basis of the research presented here consists of 121 silver coins of Sultan Qalāwūn minted in the period between the years 680 and 689. As I have mentioned elsewhere,[3] they are part of a collection of approximately 700 Mamluk silver coins which came to Europe from Aleppo about a dozen years ago. Although it is not a hoard in the proper sense, about three quarters of the coins stem from the Baḥrī Mamluks.

Coins provide excellent witness to the specific political and economic circumstances of a certain region at a particular moment in history. Therefore it seemed necessary to gain as much information as possible from the newly acquired corpus. The most important prerequisite to this kind of work turned out to be drawings of the coins, which enabled the reconstruction of dies and the research on die linkages. Quite a few questions raised by Balog and Mitchell were thus solved. An unknown silver coin struck at the stronghold of al-Marqab is of special historical interest, because it is not only a document for Qalāwūn's important conquest but allows for some conclusions about changes in his monetary policy. It is described in the appendix to this article.

Apart from their worth as objects of documentary value, these coins constitute works of art on a minimal surface and thus their calligraphy as well as their scriptural and ornamental inventory are described in detail. Mamluk coins, in this respect, do not easily disclose their aesthetic charm. While the mosques, madrasahs and mausoleums erected during the reign of Qalāwūn or other Mamluk sultans

[1]Paul Balog, *The Coinage of the Mamlūk Sultans of Egypt and Syria,* Numismatic Studies No. 12 (New York, 1964) (henceforth MSES). Idem, "The Coinage of the Mamlūk Sultans: Additions and Corrections," *Museum Notes* 16 (1970): 113-71, plates XXVIII-XXXVI (henceforth "Additions").

[2]Helen W. Mitchell, "Notes on Some Mamlūk Dirhems," *Museum Notes* 16 (1970): 179-84, plate XXXVII.

[3]Elisabeth Puin, "Beobachtungen an den Silbermünzen des Mamlukensultans Aynāl (857/1453-865/1461), mit Berichtigungen und Ergänzungen zu Balog: Münzzeichnungen und ihre Möglichkeiten," *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 47 (1997): 117-66.

are of unprecedented beauty and perfection, their respective coinage is of a rather unpleasant appearance. Practically every coin is of irregular shape and off center, while the inscription is hard to decipher because of the weak and defective impression of the die on the flan. As will be shown, it is only by reconstructing the dies and types that the originally intended coin designs can be resurrected, revealing, more often than not, unexpected artistic qualities in calligraphy and ornamentation. Therefore, it seemed appropriate to illustrate the description of the coin types not with photographs but rather with line drawings.

Line Drawing of Coins

The coins were drawn with the aid of a device constructed by my husband Gerd-R. Puin. The coin is placed on a revolving stand below a semi-transparent mirror which throws the concentrated beam of a lamp onto the coin vertically. From there the reflected light passes through the mirror in a vertical direction; a lens above the mirror serves for projecting the coin image onto a transparent paper laid on a pane of glass. This arrangement allows for the convenient drawing of an enlarged natural picture of the coin, and accidental defects like scratches or holes etc. are easily disregarded. Subsequently, these drawings are either reduced on a copy machine or by a computer program until the ultimate scale of exactly 2:1 or 1:1 is achieved. Bob Senior, in his article ″Line Drawing the Easy Way,″ provided a description of his similar computer-aided procedure. He scanned the coin directly, then drew the contour of its features on the monitor and finally reduced the resultant drawing to the scale of 1:1 for print.[4]

Admittedly, the drawings do not convey the appearance of the coins as authentically as photographs would, yet they are, in our case, easier to make than photographs, considering the weaknesses of the coins already mentioned. Line drawings are, moreover, easier to reproduce in print, which allows for their exhaustive representation and insertion in the text at any place. However, the main advantage achieved by this kind of drawings lies in the possibility of offering a more profound evaluation of the coins, especially in such cases as this, when the ″hoard″ at hand is big and homogeneous.

Die Linkages

By laying one drawing of an obverse (or reverse respectively) upon another it is immediately evident whether both coin sides were struck with the same die or not. After comparing all the drawings with each other it is clear how many obverse and reverse dies were used for the production of this coin corpus. In this respect, the minting places of Qalāwūn′s coins show surprisingly different patterns.

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[4]ONS Newsletter no. 151 (Winter 1997): 8 ff.

Regarding the Cairo and Damascus mints, the number of obverse dies approximately equals the number of reverse dies, while of the Ḥamāh coins, 22 reverse dies are linked with only eight obverse dies. Although the number of coins is not sufficient to allow for a generalization, neither is the difference merely fortuitous. Evidently, but for no discernible reason, the reverse dies in the Ḥamāh mint became worn out much earlier than the obverse dies and had to be exchanged for new ones more frequently.

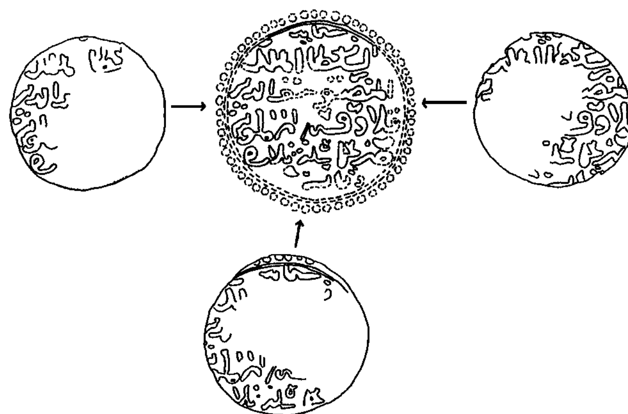
The combination of one particular obverse with one particular reverse on one coin is a die linkage. Coins closely related to each other show patterns of die linkages which can be represented in a tabular arrangement. On the charts at the end of each section (below) every single combination of obverse and reverse dies is represented by one line connecting the drawings of the obverses (1, 2, . . .) and the reverses (A, B, . . .) with each other. The number of lines emanating from one obverse number equals the number of coins representing this particular obverse die and shows, moreover, its pattern of combination with the reverse dies. Thus it is possible to visualize whether the combination of a pair of dies is singular only, or whether there are groups of dies in combination (represented on the charts by intersecting lines). In some cases it was possible, by this method, to determine the chronological details of a coin devoid of a date. If the dies used for striking such a coin were also used in combination with dies used for striking other coins, then all these dies (and coins) are necessarily contemporary. And if one exemplar from this group of coins shows an explicit date, this will be, with high reliability, the dating of the whole group, too. As an example we take the coins from Damascus, type I (see below): on two of the coin specimens the reverse #G is clearly dated 682. This die occurs linked with the obverses #6 and #7; now these two obverses are also combined with three other reverses (#F, #H, #J) all of which lack the year of strike. Yet, as all of these reverses belong to the same linkage group they necessarily belong to the same period.

The linkage patterns, too, can differ from one mint to another. The coins from Cairo and Ḥamāh were only struck by specific combinations of obverse and reverse dies—every obverse die is linked to only one reverse die. In the Damascus mint, however, groups of coins were struck by varying combinations of dies, i.e., simultaneously. This is certainly due to a difference in the organization of the minting work. Unlike the habit observed in the Cairo and Ḥamāh mints, it can be concluded that in the Damascus mint the dies were not kept in fixed pairs, but rather the obverse dies were stored together, apart from the reverse dies. The next ″shift″ would then combine the pairs of dies at random.

DIE RECONSTRUCTION

Apart from the advantages of line drawing thus far put forward, its main importance is that it enables the reconstruction of the dies with which the coins were struck. No single Mamluk silver coin ever shows the complete impressions of its dies! In the case of the Qalāwūn silver coinage the average diameter of the coins is only around 20 mm, whereas their dies measure between 23 and 28 mm, which implies that no coin can possibly show more than part of the die(s). Moreover, the impression on the coin is mostly very weak and even leaves part of the flan completely blank, thus reducing again the visible print of the die(s). The only way to find out the size and the calligraphic/ornamental concept of the dies is to make use of as many coins as possible stemming from the same die. The more coins you have at hand, and the more they are off-centered the more completely the reconstruction of a die will succeed. While the well-centered coins are usually of interest for collectors, for our purpose those coins which extend to the very margins are of importance, for they yield the complete legend and even the border line! Any accidental defect on the real coins (e.g., scratches, double strike, weak or blundered writing) may undergo tacit correction. In those cases where a certain (sub-) type cannot be associated exclusively with one specific year, the type drawings leave out the variable parts of the date. If only a few details remain missing from the reconstruction, these details can be safely taken from drawings of other coins from the same (sub-) type.

An example illustrates the procedure: by closely comparing the drawings of individual coins from Ḥamāh it became evident that the obverses of three specimens (#3 on the die linkage chart below) were struck by the same die. Every coin, however, and thus every drawing, shows a different part of the die. Through accumulation of the drawings, the largest part of the die reappears and can be drawn, yet lacunae remain in the center as well as towards the lower edge. These can be amended, however, by inserting the missing details from the drawing of obverse #2 on the one hand, as well as by completing the visible lines of *thamānīn* at the bottom, in accordance with the prevalent width of the strokes used for the script of the legend. Although these amendments are founded on safe grounds, they are, nevertheless, marked in the illustrations by dotted lines.



By this method many dies from Damascus and Ḥamāh can be reconstructed either completely or at least partially. Thus, even for the many coins with the date off-flan the year could be determined if they were derived from a die whose reconstruction included the minting year. E.g., although only one out of nine specimens from Ḥamāh struck with the obverse die #5 shows the date 687, it is evident by the reconstruction that all of the other eight specimens were struck in the same year.

Typology

The concept of ″type″ and ″sub-type″ applied in this article certainly differs from that of conventional usage. It emerged as the result of an ″inductive″ process while classifying an unusually high number of coins at hand, with side-glances at Balog′s book. An obverse or reverse die is here defined as belonging to the same obverse or reverse *type,* if the same text is arranged in the same way, except for the variable wording of the year. In this respect, it is only the disposition of the units, tens, and hundreds on the coin that is decisive, because one type may have been in use for a longer time than one year. A *sub-type* of an obverse or reverse die still has the same text and the same disposition, but varies regularly in certain details regarding, for instance, calligraphic execution or ornamentation. Finally, a *coin type* is defined by the regular linkage of an obverse die type to a reverse die type.

Sometimes, however, the decision whether to distinguish between two separate types or simply two sub-types of a same type is difficult. The types I and II from Damascus are an example of such a dilemma. Neither their general concept, their texts nor their dispositions differ, whereas their ornamentation as well as their calligraphic realization does. Essentially the obverses (*Obverse I 1* to *Obverse II*) and the reverses (*Reverse I 1* to *Reverse II*) are all variants of the same obverse and reverse types. Not every ″variant″ is found freely combined with other ″variants,″ however. *Obverse II* is, for instance, regularly linked with *Reverse II* and vice versa. Thus it seems reasonable to define this linkage as a coin type of its own. Slightly different is the problem of Damascus type I: there are two obverse variants (*Obverse I 1, 2*) and three reverse variants (*Reverse I 1, 2, 3*); *Reverse I 1* is exclusively linked with *Obverse I 1*, as is *Reverse I 3* with *Obverse I 2*. Each of the obverse variants, however, is also linked with the third variant of the reverse, *Reverse I 2*. Thus, in contrast to the first example, it does not seem wise to split them up into two separate types.

As for the practical side of making type drawings, it must be borne in mind that they are *derived from* the die reconstructions and do not represent individual dies, but constitute the fundamental appearance of (normally) a group of dies bearing the same legend in the same arrangement, as mentioned already. As type

drawings no longer represent individual coins or dies, there is no need to distinguish between ″original″ and ″amended″ features. The basis of the type drawing is the drawing of the most completely reconstructed die; still missing details are then taken from the drawings of one or several closely related die reconstructions. This procedure is similar to the way in which the die reconstructions were gained from several coins, yet the degree of abstraction is now one level higher. It is even possible to prepare a type drawing on the basis of one single coin, on the condition that it shows an adequate number of characteristic (″typical″) elements, and that the missing details are not only known in principle, but are available as drawings from related coins. A good example of this is the gradual development of the type drawing from the single known specimen of the al-Marqab mint (see Appendix): it shows the essential parts of the legends and ornaments including parts of the edges on both sides, so that the missing details can safely be amended by referring to the drawings of similar types from Cairo and Damascus.

Mode of Presentation

In this article the coin types are quoted by Roman numerals, e.g., Type III. Obverse or reverse types appear as *Obverse I* or *Reverse II*; the sub-types of these are differentiated by the addition of Arabic numerals, e.g., *Obverse I 2* or *Reverse II 1*. Individual dies, like those displayed on the die linkage charts, bear numbers for the obverse dies or capital letters for the reverse dies, such as 1, 2, 3 or A, B, C. If these dies are quoted within the text, the numerals or letters are written #1 or #F.

The sections deal with the mints of Cairo, Damascus, and Ḥamāh. After starting with a few statistics, each section proceeds to a type chart, where the drawings in 1:1 scale of the occurring obverse and reverse types are arranged in such a way that they constitute a synoptical preview of the detailed description of types and sub-types to follow. These descriptions are illustrated by 2:1 enlarged outline type drawings in which the features decisive for the definition of this particular (sub-) type in contrast to the previous one(s) are filled out in black. There is a further section devoted to the metrological evaluation of the corpus. The unique coin from the mint of al-Marqab is dealt with in the Appendix.

Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Cairo

Statistics

Number of specimens:	32
Coin diameter:	19 to 22 mm
Die diameter:	24 to 25 mm
Average weight:	2.77 g; for details see below

28 obverse dies:

Obverse I 1:	9 dies on 9 specimens: #1-9 (1x each)
Obverse I 2:	8 dies on 11 specimens: #10 (2x), #11 (1x), #12 (2x), #13-14 (1x each), #15 (2x), #16-17 (1x each)
Obverse II:	11 dies on 12 specimens: #18 (1x), #19 (2x), #20-28 (1x each)

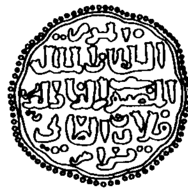
30 reverse dies:

Reverse I:	30 dies on 32 specimens: #A-J (1x each), #K (2x), #L-P (1x each), #Q (2x), #R-E´ (1x each)

CAIRO TYPE CHART

Type I, here years 680, 685, 686, 68x, 6x9; on reverse void left for units of minting year.


Obverse I 1


Obverse I 2*

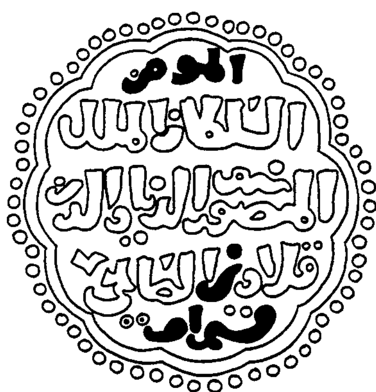

Obverse II


Reverse I

Obverse I 1 and *Obverse I 2* correspond to Balog´s type *B* (Balog no. 126), while *Obverse II* corresponds to his type *A* (Balog nos. 121-25). As the reverse type is always identical it seems appropriate to regard all combinations as forming one single coin type consisting of three different obverse variants.

DESCRIPTION OF CAIRO TYPE I (enlargement of drawings 2:1; on reverse void left for units of years)

Obverse I 1



Central inscription in three lines:

(1) السلطان الملك

(2) المنصور سيف الدنيا والدين

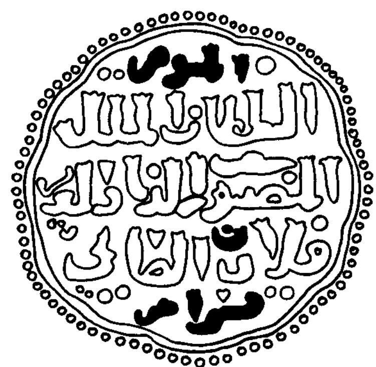
(3) قلاون الصالحى

Specific to line (2): سـيـف is placed above المنصـور, while the يـن of الديـن is above the *dāl*.

Characteristic feature as distinct from *Obverse II*, in the drawing set off in black: completion of text in bottom (قسيم امير) and top (المومنين) segments.

Characteristic feature as distinct from *Obverse I 2* and *Obverse II*, in the drawing set off in black: the *nūn* of قلاون is placed on the line.

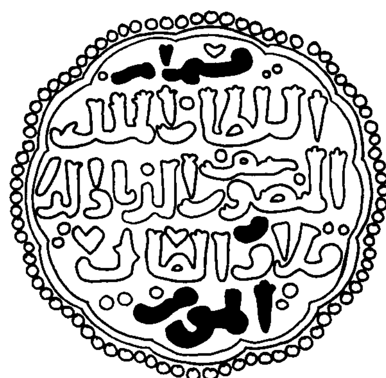
Obverse I 2



Characteristic feature as distinct from *Obverse II*, in the drawing set off in black: completion of text in bottom (قسيم امير) and top (المومنين) segments.

Characteristic feature as distinct from *Obverse I 1*, in the drawing set off in black: the *nūn* of قلاون is placed above the *wāw*.

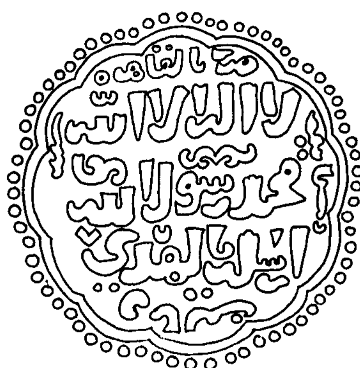
Obverse II



Characteristic feature as distinct from *Obverse I 1* and *Obverse I 2*, in the drawing set off in black: completion of text in bottom (قسيم امير) and top (المومنين) segments.

Characteristic feature as distinct from *Obverse I 1*, in the drawing set off in black: the *nūn* of قلاون is placed above the *wāw*.

Reverse I



Central inscription in three lines:

(1) لا اله الا الله

(2) محمد رسول الله

(3) ارسله بالهدى

Circular legend: ضرب بالقاهرة (top; *tā' marbūṭah* mostly lacking), [. . ./تسع/ست/خمس] سنة (left), وثمانين (bottom), وستماية (right).

GENERAL FEATURES OF CAIRO TYPE I

Border on both sides: linear dodecalobe in dodecalobe of dots. This kind of border is typical for the Qalāwūn coins of Cairo (versus Balog, *MSES,* 114, where the border is described as ″dodecalobe of dots between two linear dodecalobes,″ like the coins from Damascus).

Style of writing: *naskhī.* The *hastae* taper from top to bottom and often show a more or less tight lacing below the tops. Some dies have *hastae* with flat tops, others are bicuspid or multicuspid, which contributes to a cauliflower-like appearance, looking, at times, rather frayed and unbalanced.

Diacritical points occur occasionally with the *bā'* of بالهدى, the *fā'* of سيف, the *qāf*s, the *nūn*s (in case of the name قلاون the point of the *nūn* is sometimes substituted by a V-shaped angular *muhmal* mark, cf. below), and the *yā'*s.

Muhmal marks:

V-shaped angle: on top of some letters a V-shaped angle or a truncated bifoil is placed. This sign is the *muhmal* mark لا which has probably been developed from the abbreviation of لا وقف "no pausal reading." It informs the reciter that stopping at this place would have a detrimental effect on the true sense of the passage. In epigraphic usage the *muhmal* mark has lost its original meaning; it rather serves to indicate a letter which, in ordinary script, bears no diacritical point—in a way it is a diacritical mark although its meaning is something like لا نقطة عليها "without diacritical point." Occasionally, however, it is, like other *muhmal* marks, simply used to fill void spaces between and above any letter.[5] On the Cairene coins the V-shaped *muhmal* marks are observed above the *sīn*s of قسيم and ارسله, the *ṣād* of الصالحى (occasionally a circle instead), and the final *yā's* of الصالحى and بالهدى.

circle sometimes with a cleft on top, above the *hā'* of بالهدى (occasionally a V-shaped angle instead), above the *qāf* of قلاون and the *ṣād* of الصالحى.

vertical wedge above the *sīn*s of السلطان and ارسله, and the *ṣād* of الصالحى (occasionally a circle with cleft on top instead).

"*shaddah*" on top of the first الله (reverse, first line).

Pausal indicators: occasionally the lines in the top or bottom segments are framed by one dot or a pair of dots.

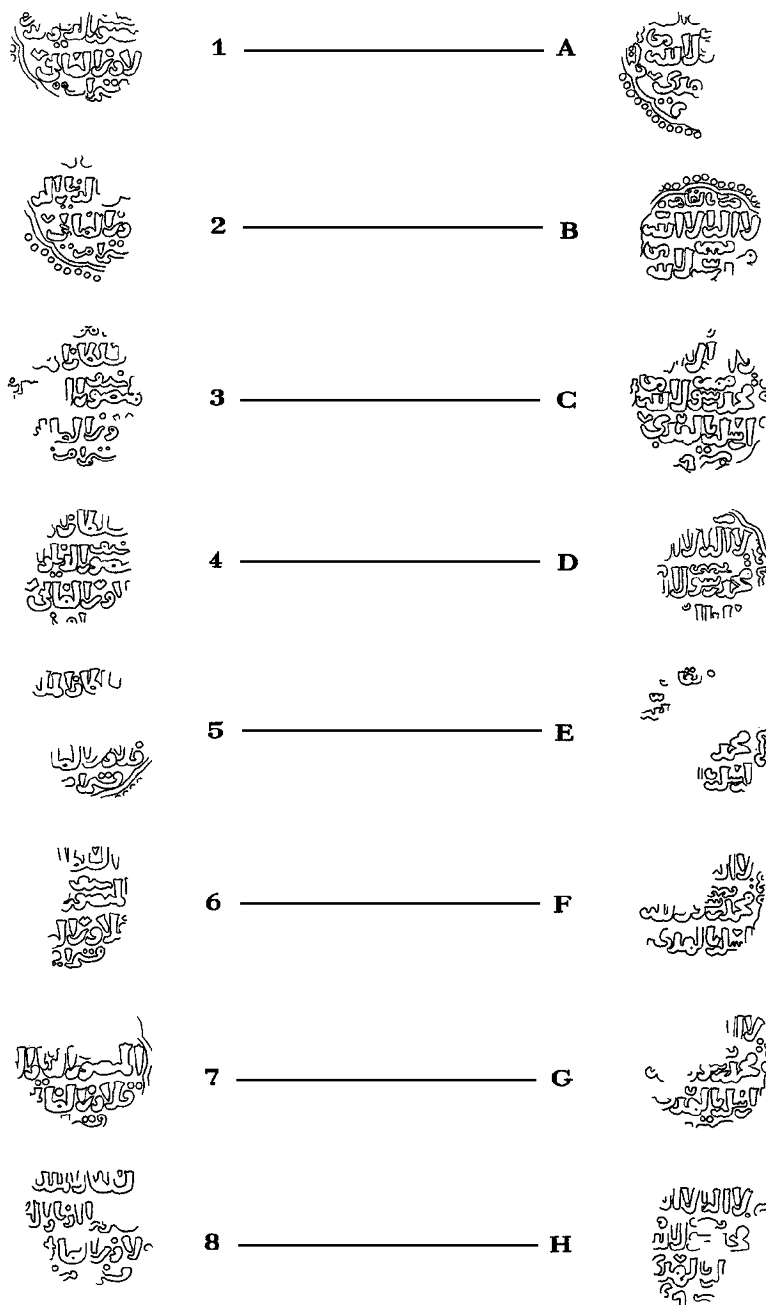
Ornaments:

symmetrical scroll ornament on top of رسول. The same ornament occurs, in the same position, on coins of the Damascus III type, although the execution is mostly neater. Close to these is the scroll ornament on the coins of the Ḥamāh III type which, however, always occurs in combination with a V-shaped *muhmal* mark. Thus, Balog's view *(MSES,* 115) that this ornament is specific to the Cairene coins of Qalāwūn is

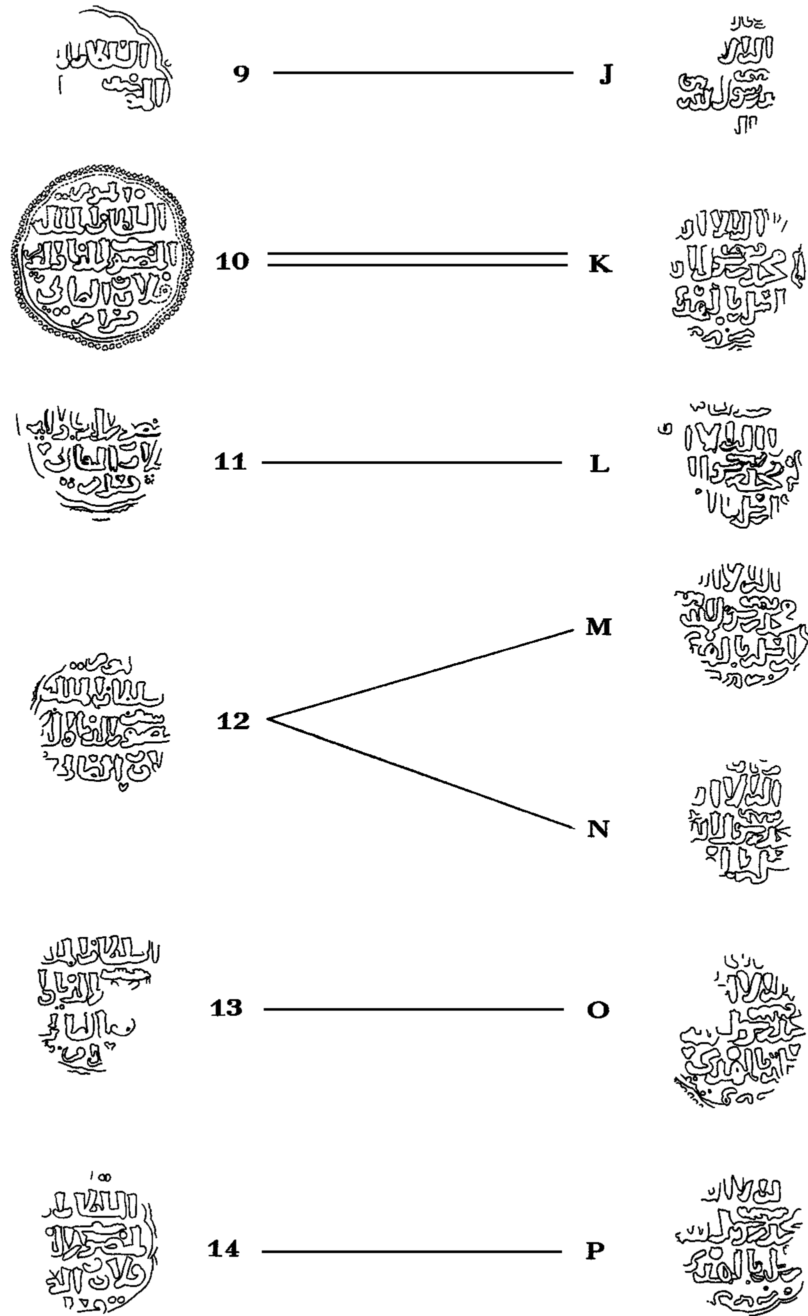
[5] Adolf Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie,* part 2, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Denkschriften, vol. 94 (Vienna, 1971), 43-44.

not tenable any more; the rule can only be maintained if other criteria of Cairene coinage are fulfilled.

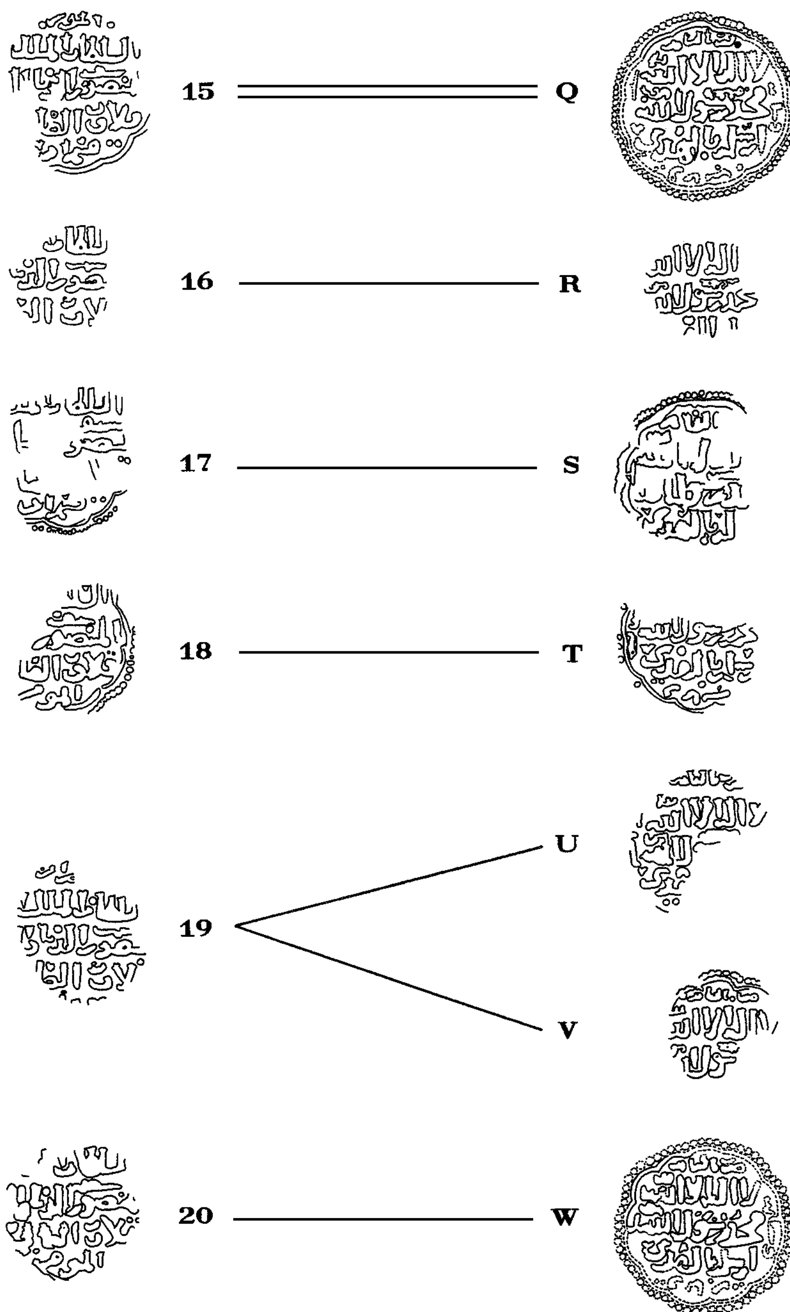
asymmetrical scroll ornament on top of the second الله (reverse, second line).



Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Cairo, Type I



Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Cairo, Type I (cont.)



Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Cairo, Type I (cont.)

21 —— X

22 —— Y

23 —— Z

24 —— A’

25 —— B’

26 —— C’

27 —— D’

28 —— E’

Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Cairo, Type I (cont.)

Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Damascus

Statistics

Number of specimens:	53
Coin diameter:	19 to 22 mm; one (light-weight) specimen 13 mm
Die diameter:	24 to 26 mm
Average weight:	2.87 g; for details cf. below

27 obverse dies:

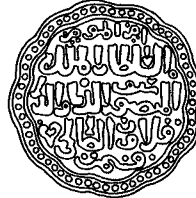
Obverse I 1:	6 dies on 10 specimens: #1-2 (2x each), #3 (1x), #4 (2x), #5 (1x). #6 (2x)
Obverse I 2:	7 dies on 12 specimens: #7 (3x), #7´ (2x), #8 (1x), #9 (2x), #10-11 (1x each), #12 (2x)
Obverse II:	11 dies on 27 specimens: #13 (1x), #14 (3x), #15 (2x), #15´ (2x), #16 (9x), #17 (1x), #18 (4x), #19 (2x), #20-22 (1x each)
Obverse III 1:	2 dies on 2 specimens: #23 (1x), #25 (1x)
Obverse III 2:	1 die on 2 specimens: #24 (2x)

27 reverse dies:

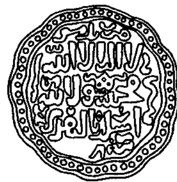
Reverse I 1:	5 dies (+ possibly 1 additional die) on 6 (+ possibly 2) specimens: #A (1x), #B (1x), #C (2x), #D (1x), #F (1x), [#G (2x)]
Reverse I 2:	3 dies on 6 specimens: #E (3x), #H (1x), #J (2x)
Reverse I 3:	4 dies (+ possibly 2 additional dies) on 5 (+ possibly 2) specimens: #K (1x), #L (2x), #N (1x), #O (1x), [#M (1x), #P (1x)]
Reverse II:	9 dies on 27 specimens: #Q (2x), #R (6x), #S (1x), #T (7x), #U (6x), #V (2x), #W-Y (1x each)
Reverse III 1:	2 dies on 3 specimens: #Z (1x), #A´ (2x)
Reverse III 2:	1 die on 1 specimen: #B´ (1x)

DAMASCUS TYPE CHARTS

Type I, here years 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 68x, 6xx; on reverse void left for units of years.

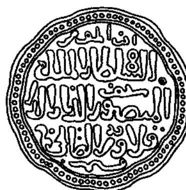
Obverse I 1 *Obverse I 2*





*Reverse I 1 * *Reverse I 2* *Reverse I 3

Type II, here years 685, 686, 68x, 6xx; on reverse void left for units of years.




Obverse II *Reverse II*

Type III, here years 688, 689, 68x






Obverse III 1 *Obverse III 2* *Reverse III 1* Reverse III 2*

DESCRIPTION OF DAMASCUS TYPE I, here years 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 68x, 6xx (enlargement of drawings 2:1; on reverse void left for units of years)

Obverse I 1



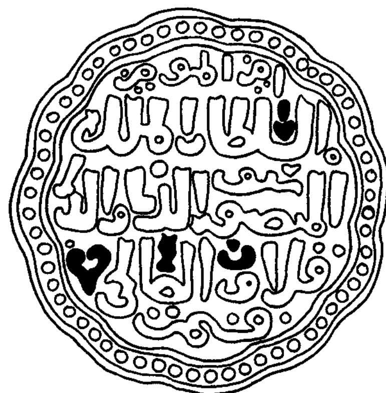
Central inscription in three lines:
(1) السلطان الملك
(2) المنصور سيف الدنيا والدين
(3) قلاون الصالحى

Completion of text in bottom (قسيم) and top (امير المومنين) segments.

Specific to line (2): سيف is placed above المنصور, while the ين of الدين is above the *dāl*.

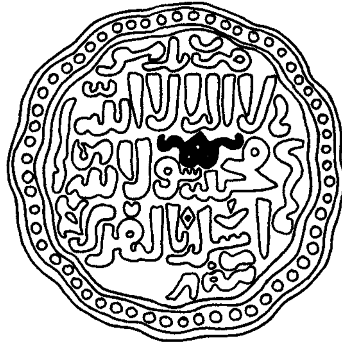
Characteristic features as distinct from *Obverse I 2*, in the drawing set off in black: the *nūn* of قلاون is placed on the line; rhomboid knot above the *sīn* of السلطان; heart-shaped knot concluding the last line; rhombus over triangle above the *ṣād* of الصالحى.

Obverse I 2



Characteristic features as distinct from *Obverse I 1* and *Obverse II*, in the drawing set off in black: the *nūn* of قلاون is placed above the *wāw;* V-shaped angle with wedge between the sides above the *sīn* of السلطان; bifoil concluding the last line; rhomboid knot on top of the *ṣād* of الصالحى.

Reverse I 1

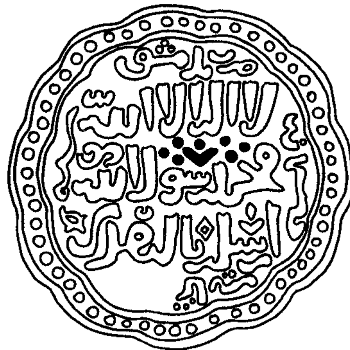


Central inscription in three lines:
(1) لا اله الا الله
(2) محمد رسول الله
(3) ارسله بالهدى

Circular legend: ضرب بدمشق (top), سنة (left), ثمانين [. . ./اثنى/اربع] (bottom), وستماية (right).

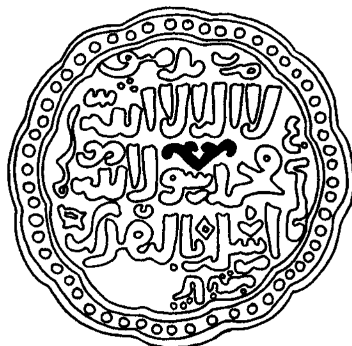
Characteristic feature as distinct from *Reverse I 2* and *Reverse I 3*, in the drawing set off in black: heart-shaped knot above رسول.

Reverse I 2



Characteristic feature as distinct from *Reverse I 1* and *Reverse I 3*, in the drawing set off in black: V-shaped angle with three dots on either side and, occasionally, one dot between the sides above رسول.

Reverse I 3



Characteristic feature as distinct from *Reverse I 1* and *Reverse I 2*, in the drawing set off in black: V-shaped angle above رسول branching out in bifoil shape.

GENERAL FEATURES OF DAMASCUS TYPE I

Border on both sides: dodecalobe of dots between two linear dodecalobes.

Style of writing: *thulth*/*naskhī*. The *hastae* taper from top to bottom, frequently having a bicuspid or tricuspid top; the *kāf* of الملك often ends up in the shape of a leaf, a bifoil, or a trifoil.

Diacritical points frequently occur with the *thā'* of ثمانين, the *shīn* of بدمشق, the *fā'* of سيف, the *qāf*s of قلاون and قسيم, the *nūn*s of السلطان, المنصور, الدنيا, قلاون, المومنين, and ثمانين, the *yā'*s of سيف, قسيم, امير, المومنين, and ثمانين.

Muhmal marks:

- frequently V-shaped angle above the *sīn* of سيف.
- V-shaped angle with dot or small wedge between the sides, above the *sīn* of ارسله.
- circle , sometimes with a cleft on top , above the *hā'* of بالهدى and the *dāl* of الدنيا, occasionally dot instead.
- rhombus , frequently on top of the *hā'* of بالهدى.
- rhomboid knot above the *sīn* of السلطان (on *Obverse I 1* only) and on top of the *ṣād* of الصالحى (on *Obverse I 2* only).
- big V-shaped angle, with wedge between the sides , on top of the *sīn* of السلطان (on *Obverse I 2* only).
- rhombus over triangle above the *ṣād* of الصالحى (on *Obverse I 1* only).

"shaddah" on top of the first الله (reverse, first line).

Pausal indicators:

inverted heart-shaped knot above the *yā'* of الصالحى, mostly in conjuncture with a dot on either side of its top, concluding the text (on *Obverse I 1* only).

bifoil, in the same position as before (on *Obverse I 2* only).

bifoil or trifoil above the *yā'* of بالهدى, concluding the reverse text.

group of three dots in triangle formation, framing the lines of the circular reverse legend.

Ornaments:

asymmetrical scroll ornament on top of the second الله (reverse, second line).

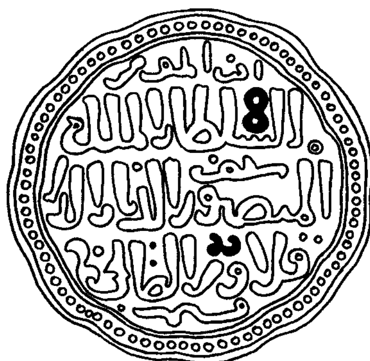
inverted heart-shaped knot with protruding curved ends above رسول (on *Reverse I 1* only).

wide V-shaped angle with three dots on either side and occasionally with an additional dot between the sides, in the same position as before (on *Reverse I 1* only).

wide V-shaped angle branching out in bifoil shape on either side, in the same position as before (on *Reverse I 3* only).

DESCRIPTION OF DAMASCUS TYPE II, here years 685, 686, 68x (enlargement of drawings 2:1; on reverse void left for units of years)

Obverse II



Central inscription in three lines:
(1) السلطان الملك
(2) المنصور سيف الدنيا والدين
(3) قلاون الصالحى

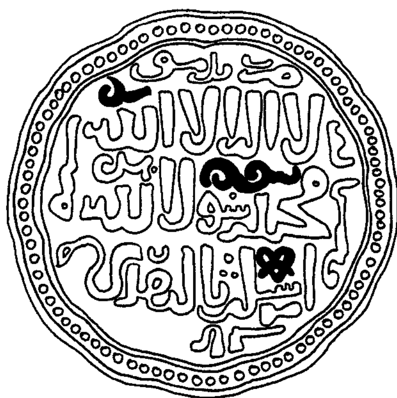
Completion of text in bottom (قسيم) and top (امير المومنين) segments.

Specific to line (2): سيف is placed above المنصور, while the ين of الدين is above the *dāl*.

Specific to line (3): the *nūn* of قلاون is placed on the line.

Characteristic features as distinct from *Obverse I 1* and *Obverse I 2*, in the drawing set off in black: 8-shaped *muhmal* mark above the *sīn* of السلطان; asymmetrical scroll ornament above the last two characters of قلاون; dots above the *ṣād* of الصالحى.

Reverse II



Central inscription in three lines:
(1) لا اله الا الله
(2) محمد رسول الله
(3) ارسله بالهدى

Circular legend: ضرب بدمشق (top), سنة (left), ثمانين [ست/. . .] (bottom), وستماية (right).

Characteristic features as distinct from *Reverse I 1*, *Reverse I 2*, and *Reverse I 3*, in the drawing set off in black: asymmetrical scroll ornament above رسول; heart-shaped knot above the *sīn* of ارسله (occasionally V-shaped angle with dot between the sides instead); asymmetrical scroll ornament above the first الله (reverse, first line).

GENERAL FEATURES OF DAMASCUS TYPE II

Border on both sides: dodecalobe of dots between two linear dodecalobes.

Style of writing: *thulth*/*naskhī*. The *hastae* taper from top to bottom and frequently have bicuspid or tricuspid tops; often the *yā*'s of الصـــالحى and of بـالهدى as well as, occasionally, the *kāf* of الملك, end in the shape of a leaf.

Diacritical points occur occasionally with the *fā'* of ســيف and the *qāf*s of قلاون and قسيم.

Muhmal marks:

V-shaped angle occasionally above the *sīn* of سيف.

V-shaped angle with dot between the sides occasionally above the *sīn* of ارسله.

circle with a cleft on top above the *hā'* of بـالهــدى and the *dāl* of الدنيا, occasionally with dot instead.

one point or a colon above the *ṣād* and, occasionally, above the *yā'* of الصالحى.

a group of three dots in triangle formation occasionally above the *hā'* of ارسله.

a big ″eight″ 8 or 8 above the *sīn* of السلطان.

No pausal indicators.

Ornaments:

asymmetrical scroll ornament above رسول.

heart-shaped knot, frequently inverted, above the *sīn* of ارسله; occasionally V-shaped angle with dot between the sides instead.

asymmetrical scroll ornaments on top of both occurring اللهs (reverse, first and second line).

asymmetrical scroll ornament above the last two characters of قلاون.

DESCRIPTION OF DAMASCUS TYPE III (corresponds to Balog´s type *B),* here years 688, 689, 68x (enlargement of drawings 2:1; on reverse void left for units of years)

Obverse III 1



Central inscription in two lines:
(1) السلطان الملك
(2) المنصور سيف الدنيا والدين

Completion of text in bottom (قـــلاون) and top (الصالحى) segments.

Specific to line (2): ســـيـف is placed above المـنصــور, while the يـن of الديـن is above the *dāl*.

Characteristic feature as distinct from *Obverse III 2*, in the drawing set off in black: the *nūn* of السلطان is laid over the second *lām*.

Obverse III 2



Characteristic feature as distinct from *Obverse III 1*, in the drawing set off in black: the *nūn* of السلطان is placed on the line.

Reverse III 1



Central inscription in three lines:
(1) لا اله الا الله
(2) محمد رسول الله
(3) ارسله بالهدى

Circular legend: ضرب بدمشق (top), سنة ثمان (left), وثمانين (bottom), وستماية (right).

Characteristic features as distinct from *Reverse III 2*, in the drawing set off in black: *muhmal* mark in the shape of a V-angle or a truncated bifoil above رسول; year ″688.″

Reverse III 2



Characteristic features as distinct from *Reverse III 1*, in the drawing set off in black: symmetrical scroll ornament above رسول; year ″689.″

GENERAL FEATURES OF DAMASCUS TYPE III

Border on both sides: dodecalobe of dots between two linear dodecalobes.

Style of writing: *thulth*/*naskhī*. In distinction from all other coin types of Damascus, this type is characterized by its extraordinarily elegant calligraphy. The *hastae* taper from top to bottom and often have bicuspid or tricuspid tops; the *yā'* of بالهدى ends in the shape of a bifoil.

Diacritical points occur with the *qāf* of قلاون, the *yā'* s of ثمانين and ستماية, the *tā'* of ستماية, the *nūn*s of ثمانين, قلاون, and الدين, and the *fā'* of سيف.

Muhmal marks:

V-shaped angle or truncated bifoil above the *sīn*s of رسـول (on *Reverse III 1* only) and ارسـلـه, as well as, occasionally, above سـيـف and سـتـمـايـة.

circle with cleft on top above the *dāl* of مـحـمـد and above the *hā'*s of both occurring اللهs (reverse, first and second line).

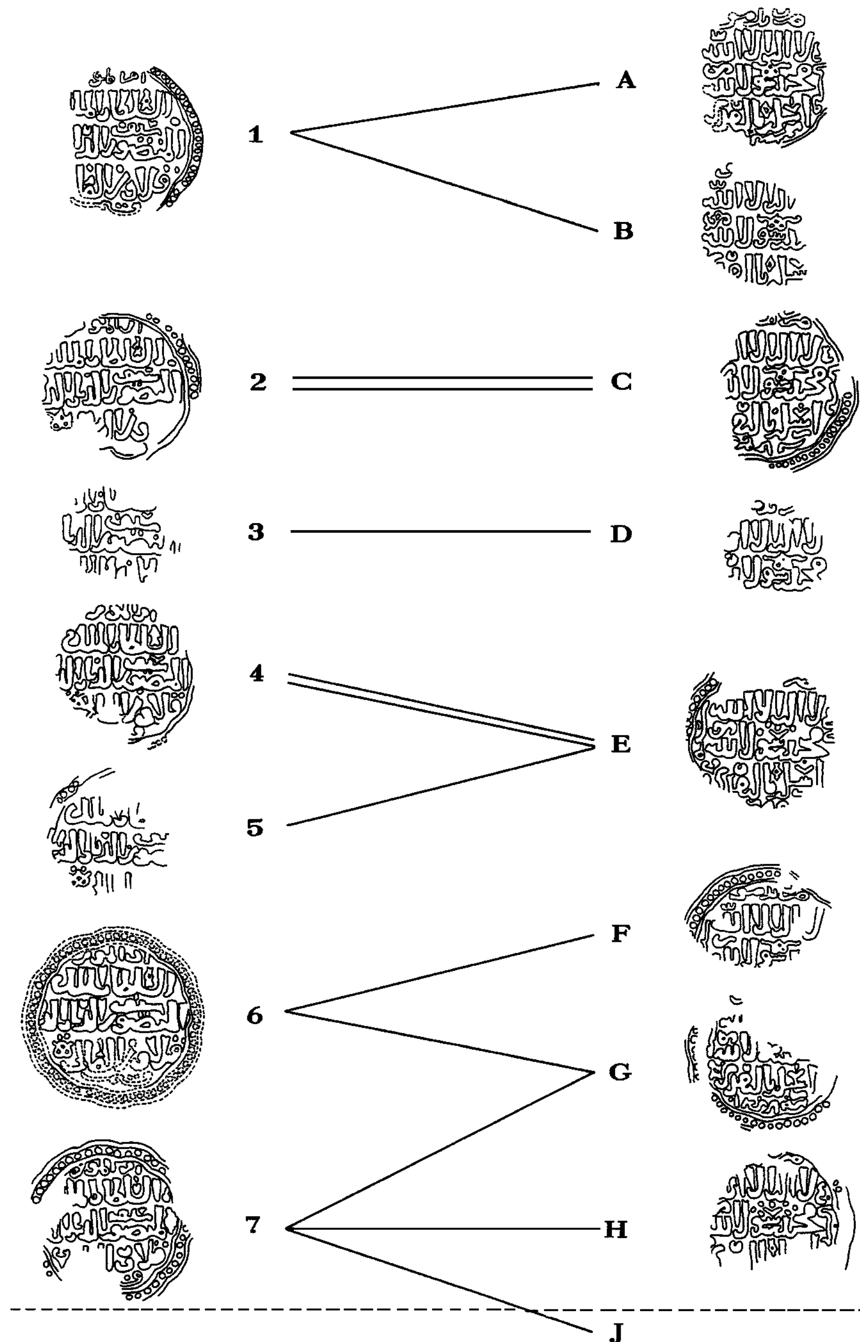
circle with cleft on the left side above the *hā'*s of ارسـلـه and بـالـهـدى.

"shaddah" above the *ṣād* of الصـالحى, occasionally with *fatḥah*-like dash on top, above both occurring اللهs (reverse, first and second line), and above the *sīn* of السلطان.

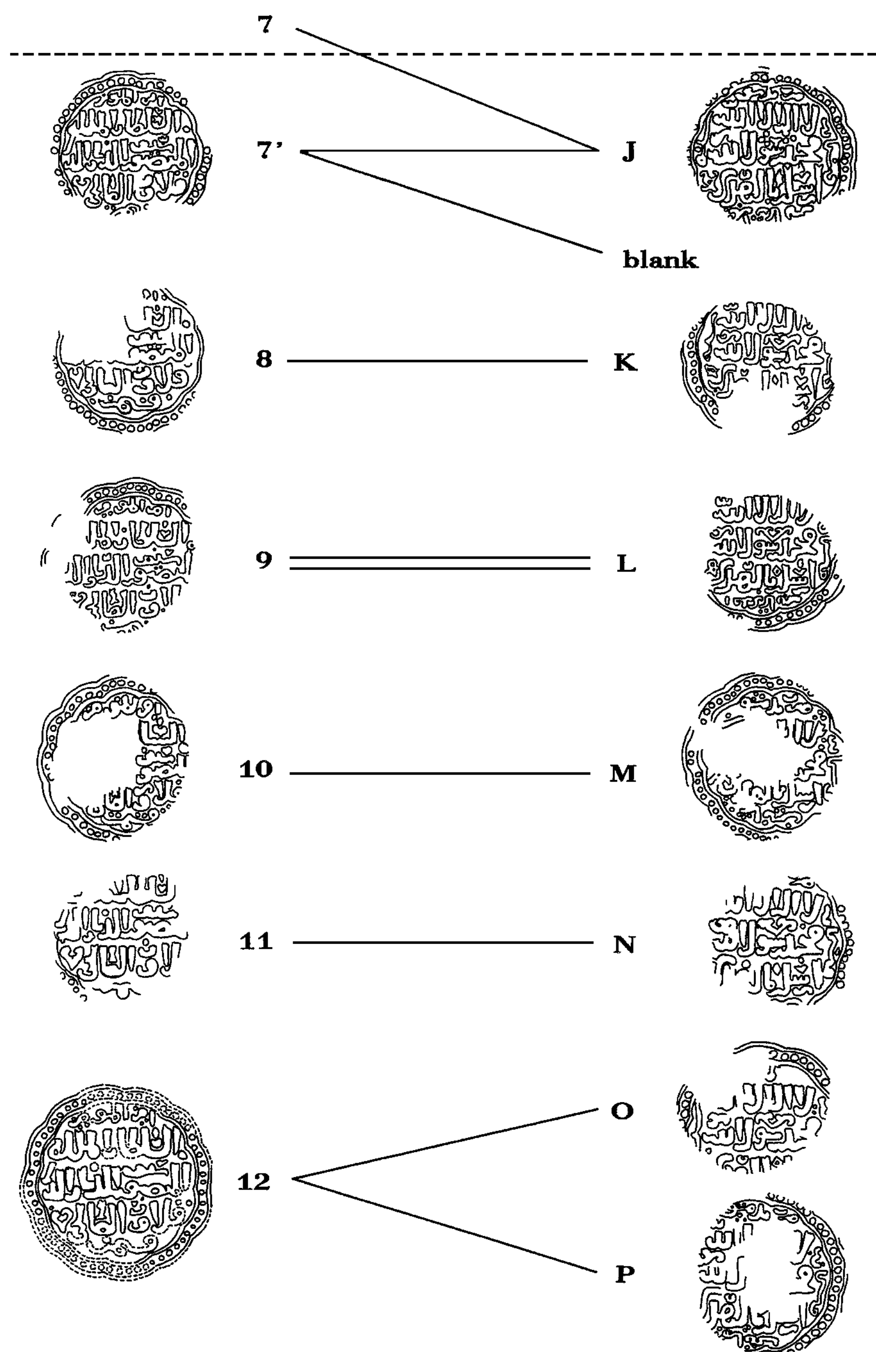
Pausal indicators:

to the right of الصـالحى, opposite ornaments on either side of the name قلاون.

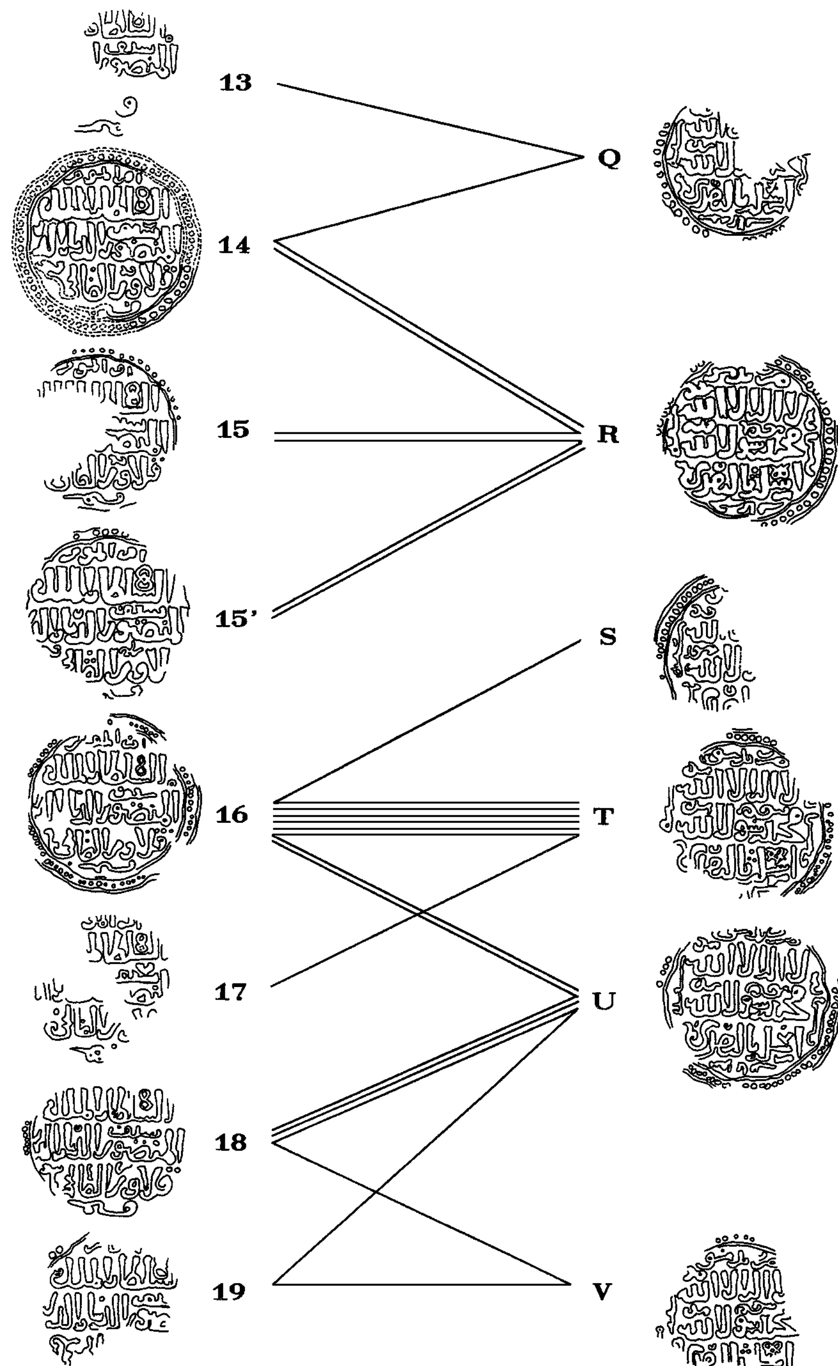
Symmetrical scroll ornament above رسـول (on *Reverse III 2* only).



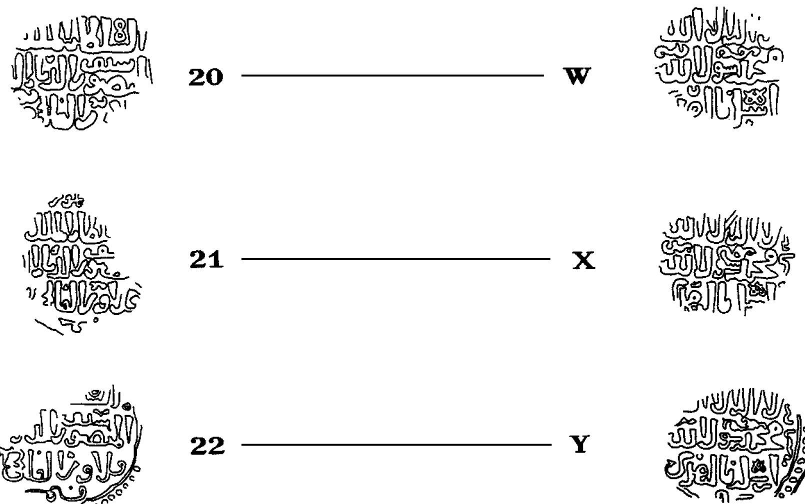
Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Damascus, Type I



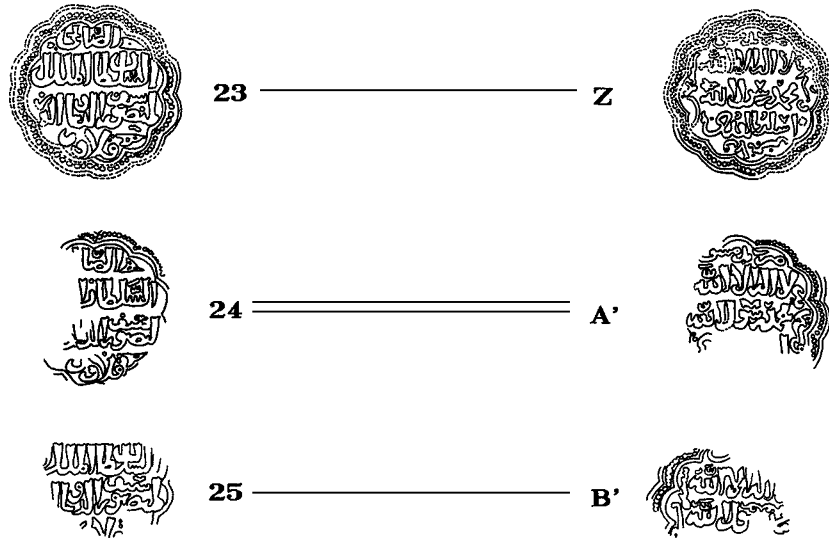
Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Damascus, Type I (cont.)



Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Damascus, Type II



Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Damascus, Type II (cont.)



Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Damascus, Type III

SILVER COINS OF QALĀWŪN FROM ḤAMĀH[6]

STATISTICS

Number of specimens:	35
Coin diameter:	19 to 22 mm
Die diameter:	26 to 28 mm
Average weight:	2.89 g; for details cf. below.

8 obverse dies:

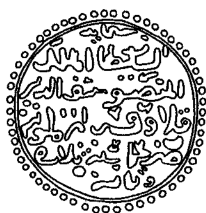
Obverse I:	3 dies on 6 specimens: #1 (2x), #2 (1x), #3 (3x)
Obverse II:	1 die on 6 specimens: #4 (6x)
Obverse III 1:	1 die on 9 specimens: #6 (9x)
Obverse III 2:	3 dies on 14 specimens: #5 (9x), #7 (1x), #8 (4x)

22 reverse dies:

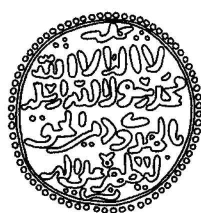
Reverse I:	6 dies on 6 specimens: #A-E (1x each)
Reverse II:	4 dies on 6 specimens: #F (3x), #G-J (1x each)
Reverse III 1:	6 dies (+ possibly 1 additional die) on 15 specimens (+ possibly 1): #K-M (1x each), #N (6x), #Q (2x), #V (4x), (+ possibly #U [1x])
Reverse III 2:	6 dies on 7 specimens: #O-P (2x each), #R-T (1x each)

ḤAMĀH TYPE CHARTS

Type I (here year 683)

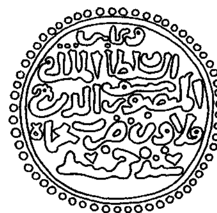


Obverse I

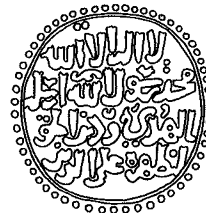


Reverse I

Type II (here year 685)



Obverse II

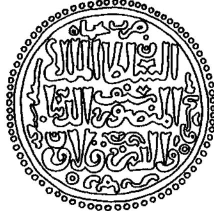


Reverse II

[6]Only after the completion of this article did the special publication by Lorenz Korn on the coins of Ḥamāh come to my notice: *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen. Ḥamāh IV c Bilād aš-Šām III* (Berlin, 1998). Korn examined 56 silver coins of Qalāwūn from Ḥamāh. His findings generally confirm my own, adding the minting years 679 to my Type I, and 688 to my Type III. The completion of the text by the word *kullihi* on the reverse of my Type II is in the bottom segment. Another type, which is not represented in my corpus, is recorded for the year 684.

Type III (here years 687, 689)


Obverse III 1


Obverse III 2


Reverse III 1


Reverse III 2

DESCRIPTION OF ḤAMĀH TYPE I (corresponds to Balog´s no. 135 B), here year 683 (enlargement of drawings 2:1)

This *dirham* is two years older than the Ḥamāh type II coin of 685, which was published by Helen W. Mitchell[7] (see below). A coin of this type I has been dated 678 or 688 by Balog,[8] possibly due to mistaking the initial characters of ثلاثة to mean ثمانية; moreover, he evidently misreads the decade ثمانين in the bottom segment to be the word for the century ستماية. If my reading is correct, then this type was minted exclusively in the year 683.

On the Ḥamāh types I and II the naming of the mint and the year of coinage appear as parts of the field inscription, unlike the disposition found on the Cairene and Damascene coins as well as on the Ḥamāh type III. This particular distribution of the legend is typical for many coins of the Ḥamāh mint. It appears for the first time in 658 on Mongol coinage; it was maintained by Baybars on his Ḥamāh coins after he had introduced the *dirham ẓāhirī* and thereafter.[9] It seems to be a peculiarity of Qalāwūn´s Ḥamāh types I and II that the mint and the year are part of the *obverse* inscription, while the same feature occurs on the *reverses* of Ḥamāh coins prior to Qalāwūn´s reign (Hūlāgū 658, Baybars 660 and following) as well as later, e.g., under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 715.[10]

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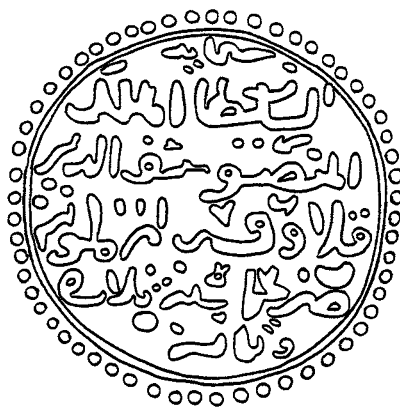
[7]Helen W. Mitchell, "Mamlūk Dirhems," 180, no. 6.

[8]"Additions," 122, no. 135 B.

[9]For more details and photographs of the coins cf. Stefan Heidemann, *Das Aleppiner Kalifat (A.D. 1261): Vom Ende des Kalifates in Bagdad über Aleppo zu den Restaurationen in Kairo,* Islamic History and Civilization. Studies and Texts 6 (Leiden, 1996), 282-90, 360-61.

[10]Ibid., 282-90; Balog's nos. 64-66, 204.

Obverse I



Central inscription in four lines:
(1) السلطان الملك
(2) المنصور سيف الدين
(3) قلاون قسيم امير المومنين
(4) ضرب بحماة سنة ثلاثة

Completion of the date in bottom (وثمانين) and top (ستماية) segments versus Balog, "Additions," 122, where the decade وثمانين in the bottom segment is mistaken for the century ستماية.

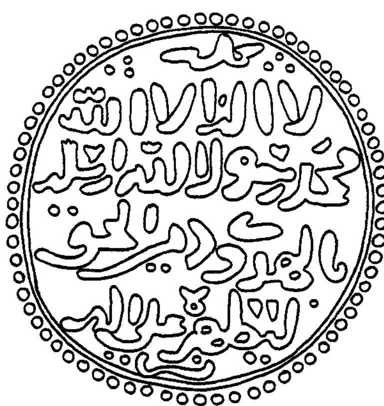
Specific to line (1): the *nūn* of السلطان overlays the second *lām*.

Specific to line (2): the *rā'* of المنصور is placed above the *ṣād*.

Specific to line (3): the *nūn* of قلاون is placed above the *wāw*, and the منين of المومنين is above the *wāw*.

Specific to line (4): the *bā'* of ضرب is placed above ضر, and the *hā'* of بحماة is above the *sīn* of سنة.

Reverse I



Central inscription in four lines:
(1) لا اله الا الله
(2) محمد رسول الله ارسله
(3) بالهدى ودين الحق
(4) ليظهره على الدين

Completion of text in the top segment: كله.

Specific to line (3): the *yā'* of بالهدى is written retroflex and placed above the *dāl*.

On some specimens the inscription protrudes slightly beyond the marginal circle, cf. drawing of die #D here:



GENERAL FEATURES OF ḤAMĀH TYPE I

Border on both sides: circular line in circle of dots. Contrary to Balog, "Additions," 122, where the borders are described as ″circular line,″ this marginal design seems to be typical for the Qalāwūn coins from Ḥamāh.

Style of writing: *naskhī.* In distinction from the other Qalāwūn coin types the tops of the *hastae* are not flat or bicuspid but rounded; the calligraphic standard is rather poor.

Diacritical points occur with the *nūns* of السلطان and المنصور, the *fā'* of سيف, the *qāf*s of قلاون and الحق, the *ḍād* of ضرب, and the *yā'* of الدين. There is a confusing multitude of other dots of only decorative purpose.

Muhmal marks:

V-shaped angle above the *sīn*s of سيف, رسول, ارسله, and, occasionally, of قسيم. occasionally ″*shaddah*″ on top of both occurring اللهs.

Pausal indicators: group of three dots in triangle formation occasionally at the outset and at the end of the line in the top segment (reverse).

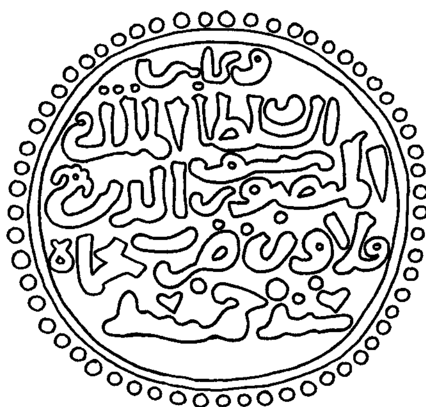
No ornamentation.

DESCRIPTION OF ḤAMĀH TYPE II (corresponds to Balog′s no. 137 A), year 685 (enlargement of drawings 2:1)

Helen W. Mitchell[11] has studied a coin of this type and of the same year, although on hers mint and date were missing. It can be confirmed here that the coin is of Syrian provenance, as she surmised. She is also right in interpreting the last distinguishable character on her coin to be read as the *khā'* of the date خمسة. Thus it is indeed ″an early example of the date appearing as part of the field inscription.″ However, it is not the earliest occurrence of that phenomenon, as she states. It can be found on coins from the Ḥamāh mint as early as 658, although these earlier coins from Ḥamāh have the mint and the year on the reverse, as those above.

[11]"Mamlūk Dirhems," 180, no. 6.

Obverse II



Central inscription in four lines:
(1) السلطان الملك
(2) المنصور سيف الدين
(3) قلاون ضرب بحماة
(4) سنة خمسة

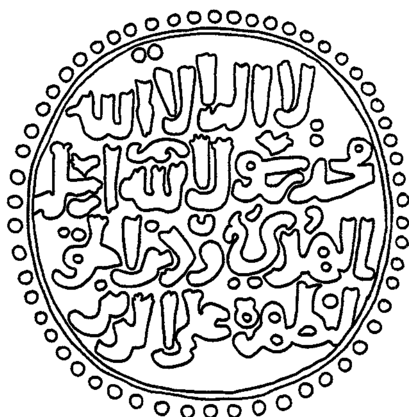
Completion of date in the top segment: وثمـــانـين. If, however, this word is read as وسـتـمـايـة, which is possible, then the decade وثمانين has its place at the very bottom.

Specific to line (1): the *nūn* of السلطان is placed above the *sīn*.

Specific to line (2): سيف is placed above المنصور.

Specific to line (3): the *bā'* of ضرب is placed over the *rā'* .

Reverse II



Inscription in four lines:
(1) لا اله الا الله
(2) محمد رسول الله ارسله
(3) بالهدى ودين الحق
(4) ليظهره على الدين

Probable completion of the text by كله in top segment, if the two dots there are rightly interpreted as pausal indicators.

General Features of Ḥamāh Type II

Border on both sides: circular line in circle of dots.

Style of writing: *naskhī*. The *hastae* taper from top to bottom and frequently have bicuspid or multicuspid tops. This feature contributes to a cauliflower-like appearance which is accentuated by scroll ornaments and floriated characters: the *nūn* of الدين ends in a blossom, the *yā'* of بالهدى in the shape of a bifoil.

Diacritical points occur with the *nūn*s of قلاون, of سنة, and of دين, the *ḍād* of ضرب, the *khā'* of خمسة, the *qāf* of الحق, and the *ẓā'* of ليظهره.

Muhmal marks:

V-shaped angle above the *sīn*s of سنة, of رسول, and of ارسله.

circle with a cleft on top or on the left side above the *wāw* of ودين and the *hā'* of بالهدى.

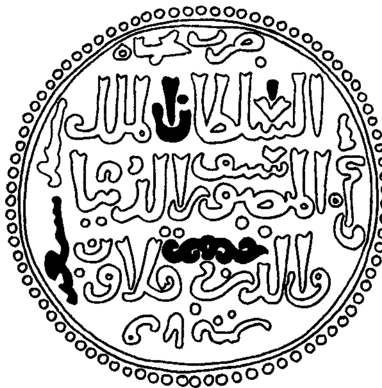
occasionally *"shaddah"* above the first الله (reverse, first line).

Pausal indicator: three dots in horizontal alignment concluding the text in the top segment (obverse).

Asymmetrical scroll ornament on top of the second الله (reverse, second line); occasionally *"shaddah"* instead.

DESCRIPTION OF ḤAMĀH TYPE III (corresponds to Balog's no. 135 C), here years 687 and 689 (enlargement of drawings 2:1)

Obverse III 1



Central inscription in three lines:

(1) السلطان الملك

(2) المنصور سيف الدنيا

(3) والدين قلاون

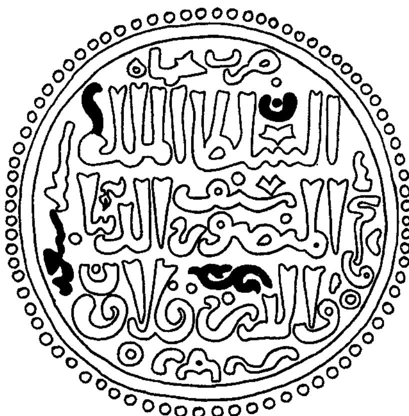
Circular legend: ضرب بحماة (top), سنة تسعة (left), وثمانين (bottom), وستماية (right).

Specific to line (2): سيف is placed above المنصور.

Specific to line (3): The *nūn* of قلاون is placed above the *wāw*.

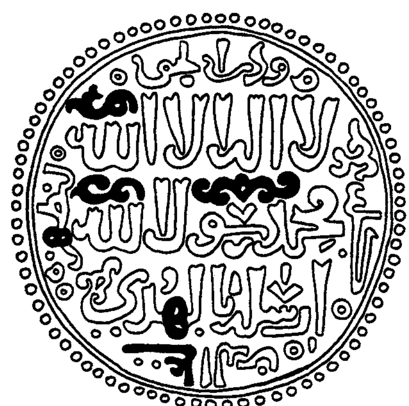
Characteristic features as distinct from *Obverse III 2*, in the drawing set off in black: all known coins of this (sub-) type are dated 689, as far as visible (cf. Balog, "Additions," 122); the *nūn* of السلطان is placed on the line, and the *alif* of الملك is above the *nūn*; the space above دين قـ (obverse, last line) is filled up by a roughly symmetrical scroll ornament; between the sides of the angle above السلطان there is a vertical wedge.

Obverse III 2



Characteristic features as distinct from *Obverse III 1*, in the drawing set off in black: the date is 687; the word سبعة has a diacritical point below the *bā'*; the *nūn* of السلطان is placed above the *sīn;* the *kāf* of الملك ends in a scroll; the space above دين قـ is filled up by an asymmetrical scroll ornament.

Reverse III 1



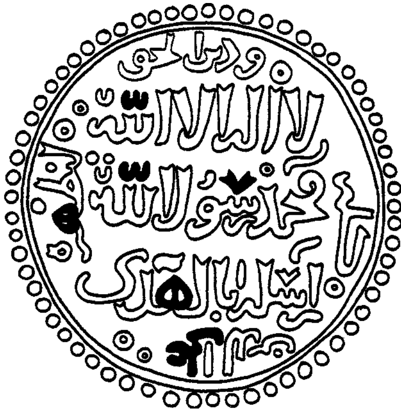
Central inscription in three lines:
(1) لا اله الا الله
(2) محمد رسول الله
(3) ارسله بالهدى

Circular legend: ودين الحق (top), ليظهره (left), على الدين (bottom), كله (right).

Specific to line (3): the *yā'* of بالهدى ends up in a trifoil.

Characteristic features as distinct from *Reverse III 2*, in the drawing set off in black: symmetrical scroll ornament above a V-shaped angle on top of رسول, rarely just the angle; asymmetrical scroll ornaments on top of both occurring اللهs; the loops of the medial *hā'*s in بالهدى and ليظهره are written vertically above each other; the *yā'* of على is written retroflex.

Reverse III 2



Characteristic features as distinct from *Reverse III 1*, in the drawing set off in black: V-shaped *muhmal* mark above رسول, without scroll ornament; *"shaddah"* above both occurring اللهs; the loops of the medial *hā'*s of بالهدى and ليظهره are written in juxtaposition forming a symmetrical pointed arch on the line; the *yā'* of على is not retroflex.

Only the discovery of a better specimen could clarify the specific variant of the *yā'* in بالهدى and how the space before على and after كله was used.

GENERAL FEATURES OF ḤAMĀH TYPE III

Border on both sides: linear circle in circle of dots.

Style of writing: *thulth,* of high calligraphic standard. The *hastae* taper from top to bottom and have bicuspid or multicuspid tops, which contributes to a cauliflower-like appearance, accentuated by scroll ornaments (cf. below).

Diacritical points occur with the *nūn*s*,* the *qāf*s*,* the *yā'* of الدنيا (on *Obverse III 1* only), the *fā'* of سيف (on *Obverse III 2* only), the *bā'* of سبعة in the circular legend (on *Obverse III 2* only), and the *ẓā'* of ليظهره.

Muhmal marks:

V-shaped angle above every *sīn* of the central inscriptions on obverse and reverse.

V-shaped angle with wedge between the sides above the *sīn*s of السلطان (on *Obverse III 1* only) and occasionally above ارسله.

circle with a cleft at the bottom above the *nūn* of الدنيا.

circle with a cleft on the left side above the *dāl* of الدنيا (on *Obverse III 1* only), the *hā'* of بالهدى, and occasionally above the *wāw* of رسول; circle with a cleft on top above the *hā'*s of both occurring اللهs (on *Reverse III 2* only).

"shaddah" on top of the *lām*s of both occurring اللهs (on *Reverse III 2* only).

Pausal indicators:

frequently circles framing the lines of the circular legends.

asymmetrical scroll ornament concluding the circular legend on reverse.

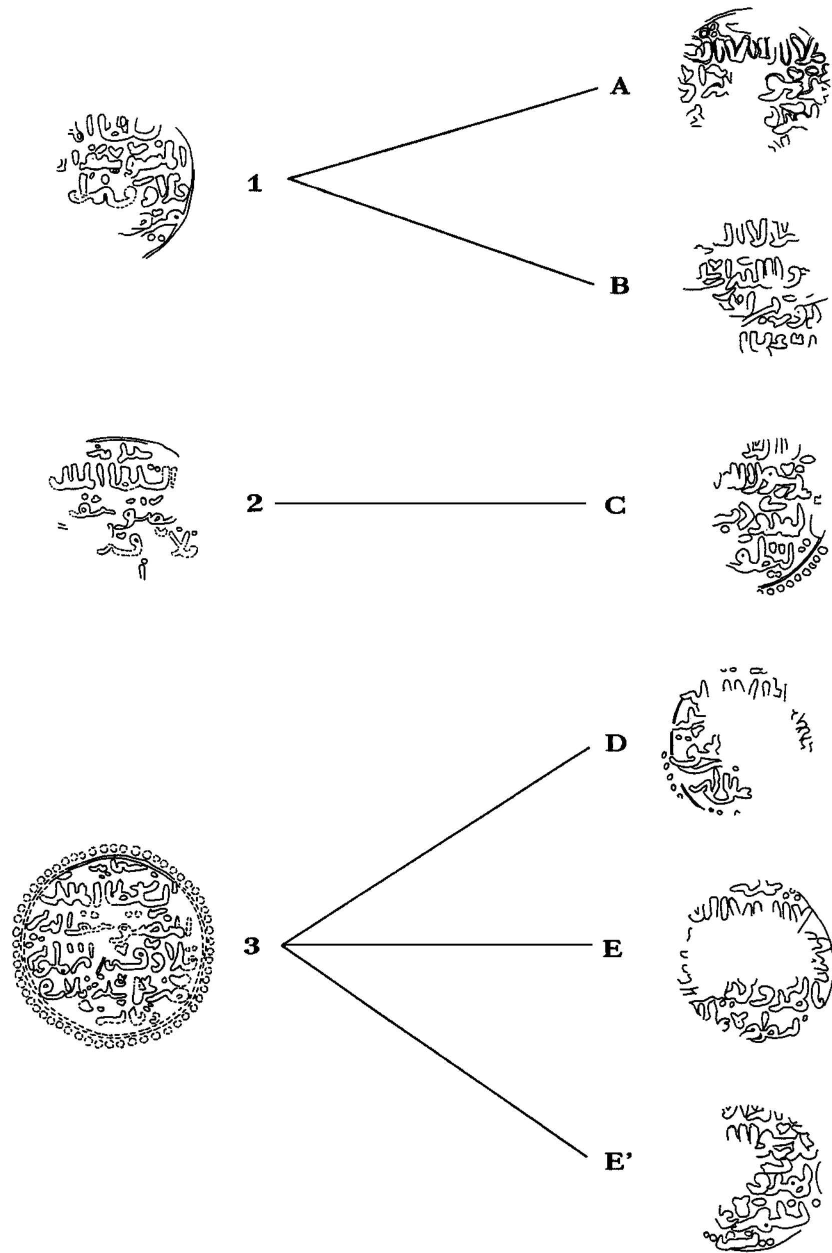
Ornaments:

approximately symmetrical scroll ornament above الـديـن (on *Obverse III 1* only)

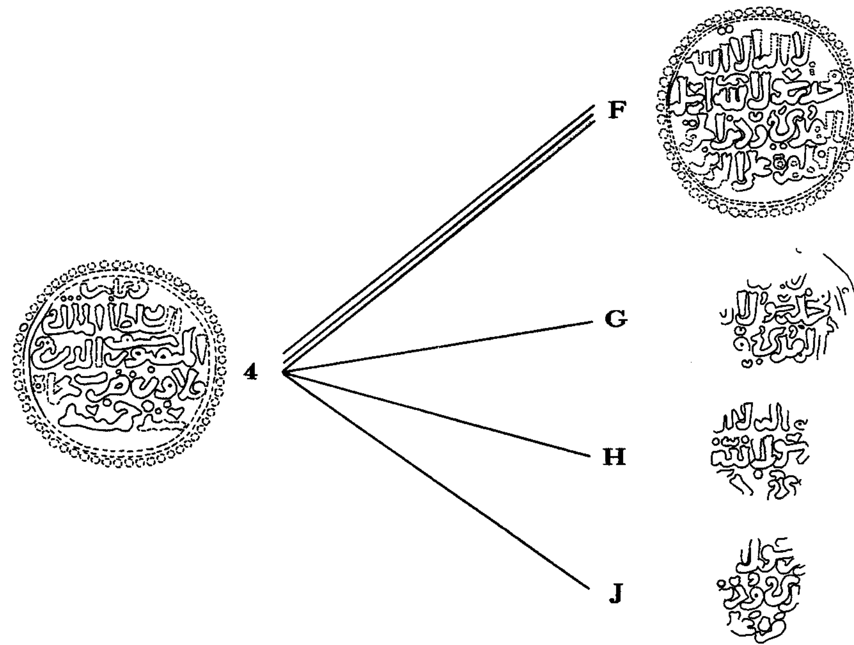
asymmetrical scroll ornament above الـديـن (on *Obverse III 2* only)

symmetrical scroll ornament above the V-shaped *muhmal* mark or above رسـول (on *Reverse III 2* only)

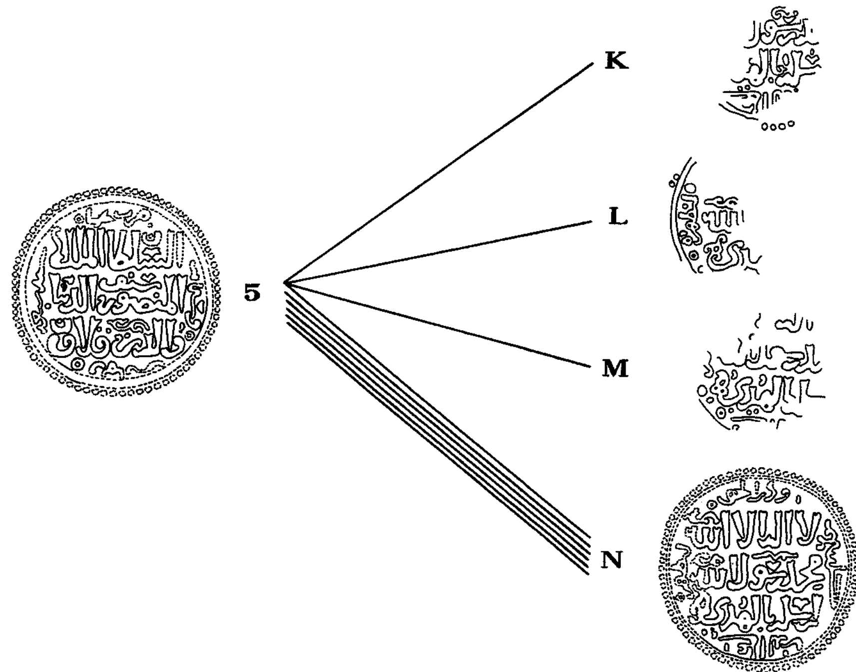
asymmetrical scroll ornaments above both occurring اللهs (on *Reverse III 1* only).



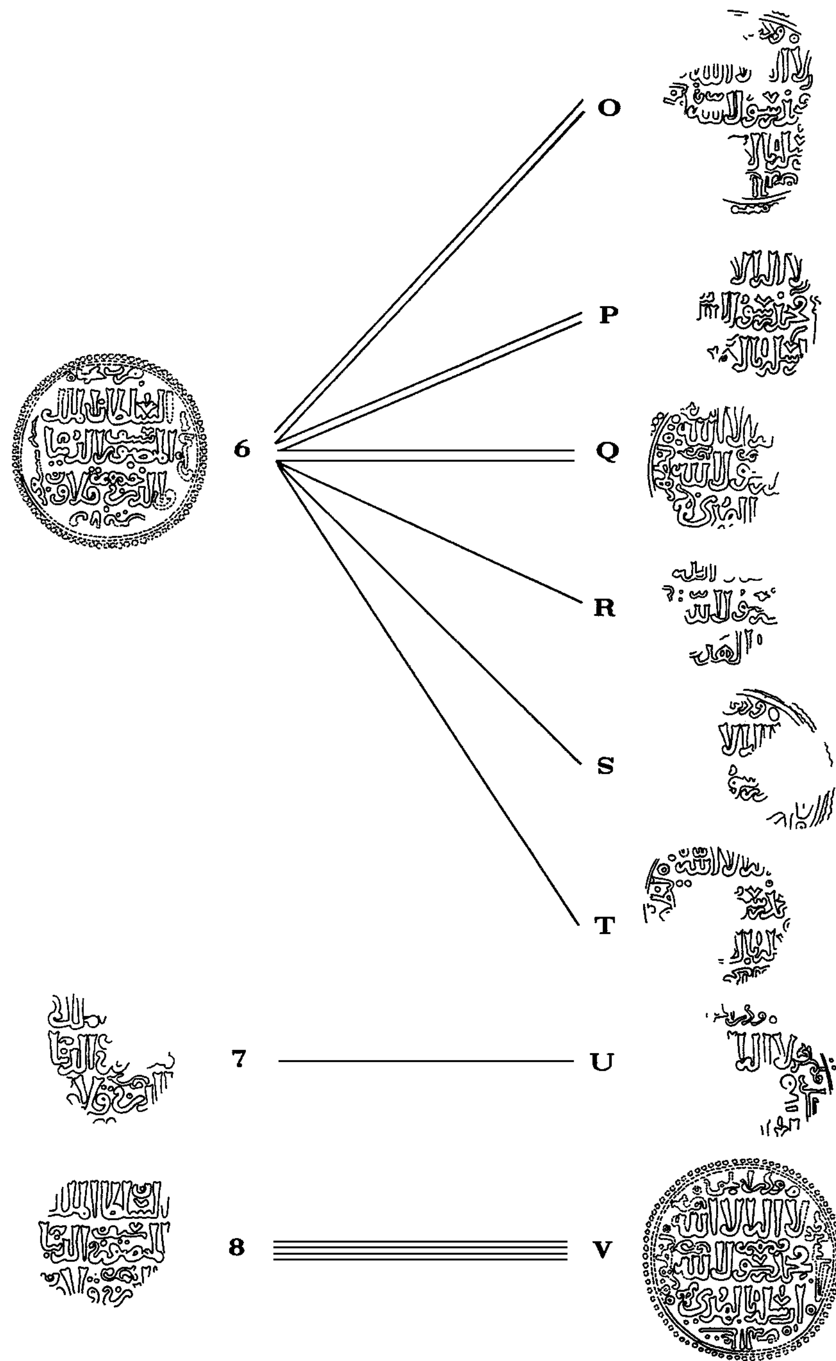
Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Ḥamāh, Type I



Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Ḥamāh, Type II



Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Ḥamāh, Type III



Die Linkages for the Silver Coins of Qalāwūn from Ḥamāh, Type III (cont.)

METROLOGY

The following frequency table of the Qalāwūn corpus in question serves to clarify its composition according to the three minting sites represented, but at the same time aims at linking its metrological properties to the meticulous findings of Warren C. Schultz.[12] Every coin is symbolized by a circle (**o**). The weight range of 0.1 g was chosen for compatibility with Schultz′s statistics. The extremely wide variation of weight observed among the coins supports his conclusion that the individual specimens did not represent a prescribed value but only the intrinsic value of their silver content.

[12]Warren C. Schultz, ″Mamluk Money from Baybars to Barqūq: A Study Based on the Literary Sources and the Numismatic Evidence,″ Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1995. In addition to appreciating his dissertation I gratefully acknowledge his help in rendering my initial version of this article into clear English.

Weight range	Cairo 32 coins	Damascus 53 coins	Ḥamāh 35 coins	specimens 120
1.20-1.30 g		**o**		1*
2.00-2.10 g	**o**			1
2.10-2.20 g				0
2.20-2.30 g	**oo**	**o**	**o**	4
2.30-2.40 g	**o**		**o**	2
2.40-2.50 g	**ooo**	**oooo**	**o**	8
2.50-2.60 g	**ooooo**	**ooo**	**oo**	10
2.60-2.70 g	**o**	**ooooooo**	**o**	9
2.70-2.80 g	**ooooo**	**oooooo**	**oooooo**	17
2.80-2.90 g	**oooo**	**oooooo**	**ooo**	13
2.90-3.00 g	**o**	**ooooooooooo**	**ooooooo**	19
3.00-3.10 g	**oo**	**o**	**oooooooo**	11
3.10-3.20 g	**ooo**	**ooooo**	**ooo**	11
3.20-3.30 g	**o**	**oooo**	**o**	6
3.30-3.40 g	**oo**	**ooo**	**o**	6
3.40-3.50 g		**o**		1
3.50-3.60 g				0
3.60-3.70 g	**o**			1
Average	2.77 g	2.87 g	2.89 g	

*Due to its extreme light weight, this coin is excluded from the determination of the average weight.
Note: The unique coin from al-Marqab (see Appendix) has the weight of 2.47 g.

APPENDIX: A SILVER COIN OF QALĀWŪN FROM AL-MARQAB, 685

Among the coins of Qalāwūn described in the previous article there was one specimen minted in al-Marqab, a fortress on the Mediterranean coast of Syria which was not previously known to have been a mint. In this appendix, a description of the coin is presented as well as photographs and drawings in 1:1 and 2:1 scale. As is usual with Mamluk coins, only part of the dies′ designs are visible on the flan. For this reason it was advisable to reconstruct the original dies in three steps. First, a line drawing of the two sides was made showing every single discernible detail. Due to an absence of other examples, the second step consisted of amending the off-flan details by referring to the ″closest relatives″ of the coin, i.e., contemporary coins from Damascus and Cairo for which type drawings have already been established in the previous article. At this stage the accidental defects on the coin like the hole and the slight double strike on the reverse (bottom left) were rectified. In the drawings which follow, all reasonable amendments have been characterized by dotted lines. The final drawing was achieved by converting these dotted lines into ordinary ones in order to give an impression of how the complete dies would most probably have appeared.

THE COIN

Coin diameter:	20 mm
Die diameter:	24 mm
Weight:	2.47 g

Photograph, 1:1 size



Obverse

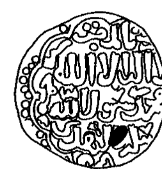


Reverse

Line drawing, 1:1 size

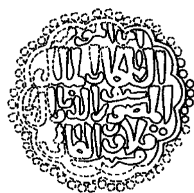


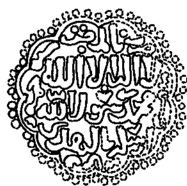
Obverse

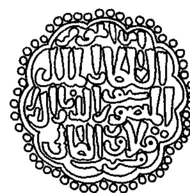


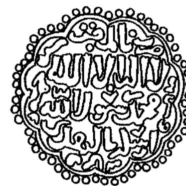
Reverse

Die reconstruction | Type drawing


Obverse

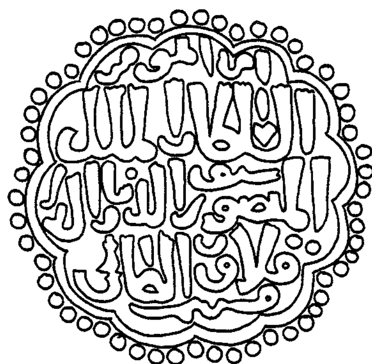

Reverse


Obverse


Reverse

DESCRIPTION OF THE AL-MARQAB TYPE (enlargement of drawings 2:1)

Obverse



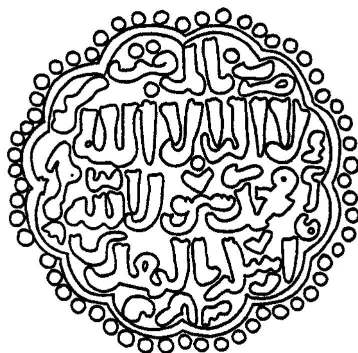
Central inscription in three lines:
(1) السلطان الملك
(2) المنصور سيف الدنيا والدين
(3) قلاون الصالحى

Completion of text in bottom (قسيم) and top (امير المومنين) segments.

Specific to line (2): سيف is placed above المنصور.

Specific to line (3): the *nūn* of قلاون is placed on top of the *wāw*.

Reverse



Central inscription in three lines:
(1) لا اله الا الله
(2) محمد رسول الله
(3) ارسله بالهدى

Circular legend: ضرب بالمرقب (top), سنة خمسة (left), وثمانين (bottom), وستماية (right).

Specific to line (2): The *rā'* of رسول is placed above the *dāl* of محمد.

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE AL-MARQAB TYPE

Border on both sides: linear dodecalobe in dodecalobe of dots.

Style of writing: *thulth*/*naskhī*. The *hastae* taper from top to bottom; the tops of the *hastae* and of other characters are bicuspid or multicuspid as with almost all silver coins of Qalāwūn, which contributes to a slightly cauliflower-like appearance.

Diacritical points occur with the *nūn* of الدنيا, the *qāf*s of قلاون and بالمرقب, and the final *bā'* of بالمرقب.

Muhmal marks:

V-shaped angle above the *sīn* of ارسله.

V-shaped angle with dot between the sides above the *sīn* of رسول.

V-shaped angle with vertical wedge between the sides above the *sīn* of السلطان.

vertical wedge above the *ṣād* of الصالحى.

"*shaddah*" above the second الله (reverse, second line).

No pausal indicators, as far as visible.

No ornaments, as far as visible.

As a coin of Syrian provenance, its closest resemblance is with the contemporaneous types I and II of the Damascene mint. Both the text of the central inscriptions and their disposition, as well as the completion امير/قسيم المومنين in the bottom and top segments of the obverse, are identical with the respective features on the Damascus coins. Additionally, the al-Marqab coin and Damascus *Obverse I 2* have in common the *muhmal* mark above the *sīn* of السلطان and the position of the *nūn* on top of the *wāw* of قلاون. Nevertheless, there are a few differences in conception: The border (linear dodecalobe in dodecalobe of dots) as well as the disposition of the date (unit خمسة following سنة immediately) correspond with the Cairo type, but not with the Damascus coins. While the contemporary Damascus and Cairo coins have an asymmetrical scroll ornament above the second الله (reverse, second line), the al-Marqab coin, in the same position, has a "*shaddah*". (A "*shaddah*" in this position only occurs later on Damascus type III, dated 687, cf. Balog no. 132.) Another peculiarity of the al-Marqab coin consists in the positioning of the *rā'* of رسول above the *dāl* of محمد; all other coin types have the *rā'* below the *sīn* of رسول. And it is only on the al-Marqab coin that the space above the *sīn* of رسول is filled with a V-shaped *muhmal* mark with a dot between the sides.

Thus, although its Syrian appearance is obvious, the al-Marqab coin is not a simple copy of one of the Damascene die designs in use, bearing only a different mint name. On the contrary, it constitutes a type of its own, including features of Damascene coins (especially on the obverse) and, to a lesser extent, coins from the Cairo mint.

THE HISTORICAL SETTING

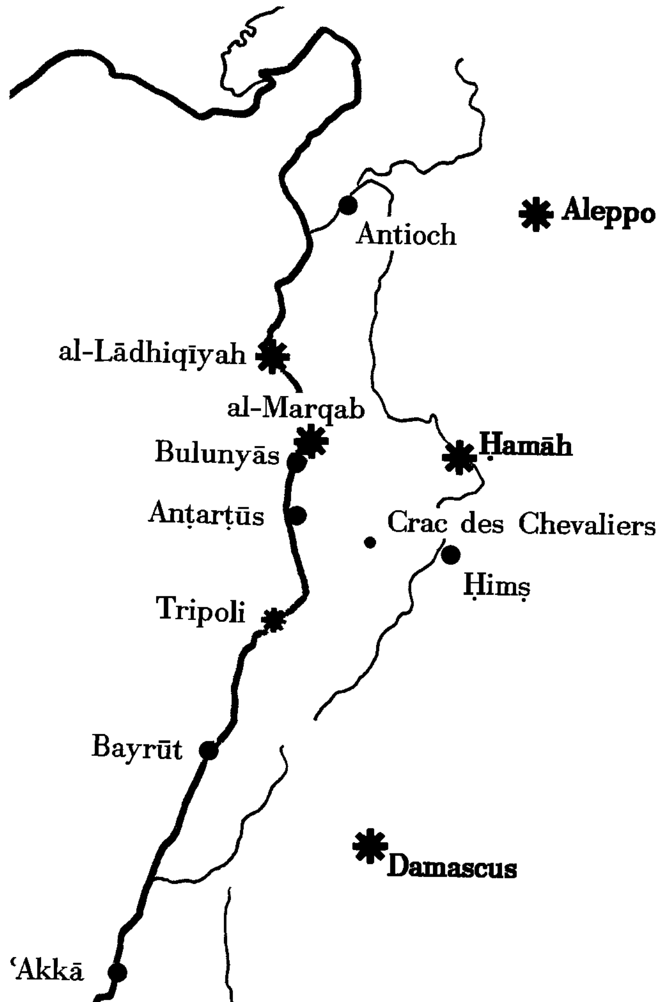
The discovery of the new mint is surprising in so far as al-Marqab was not an important town like the other minting cities but a mere stronghold with only a few villages in the vicinity. The fortress of al-Marqab (Arab authors also call it Qalʿat Marqab or Ḥiṣn Marqab*;* western works have various other spellings like Markappos, Markab, Margat or Margant) was situated near the harbor of Bulunyās (occasionally called Banyās) (Valania) on the Syrian coast, roughly half way between Anṭarṭūs (Tortosa) in the south and al-Lādhiqīyah (Latakia) in the north. It was erected on the spur of a ridge which ends close to the coastline. This position not only offered a view over the hinterland in the east but also control of the coastal plain and the sea-side towards the west. Until its fall it was believed to be impregnable, and was thus of strategic value, though not of commercial importance. Nevertheless, the opening of a mint at this place by Sultan Qalāwūn may be interpreted as an indication of his special regard for the fortress, which is connected with his part in the history of the place.[13]

The construction of the castle by the Muslims in 454/1062 was intended to block intrusion into the south by the Byzantines, who at that time controlled the province of al-Anṭākiyah (Antioch). After the Byzantines had been driven away by the Muslims, who subsequently were driven away by the Franks, and after the county of Ṭarābulus (Tripoli) had been founded as the last of the Crusader states, the heights of al-Marqab marked the frontier between the principality of Antioch (towards the north) and Tripoli (towards the south). In 511/1117 the Muslim master of al-Marqab was obliged to leave the fortress—in exchange for other landed properties—to Renaud Mazoyer, Frankish master of Bulunyās and (subsequent) High Constable of the principality of Antioch; in 581/1186 the house of Mazoyer ceded al-Marqab with all its territories and dependencies to the Grand Master of the Knights Hospitallers.

In 1187 the Ayyubid Sultan Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, 566-589/1171-93) went to war against the Franks. Within a few months, he was successful in destroying the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem and in taking much of the territory surrounding

[13]For the history see N. Eliséeff, "al-Markab," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 6:577-83. A description of the site is in Wolfgang Müller-Wiener, *Burgen der Kreuzritter im Heiligen Land, auf Zypern und in der Ägäis: Aufnahmen von A. F. Kersting* (Munich, Berlin, ca. 1960), 58-60 (with layout plan), photographs 52-61.

the two Crusader states of Antioch and Tripoli towards the north. Of the Crusader county of Tripoli, only the city of Tripoli itself and the fortress of al-Marqab remained in the hands of the Christians. The Hospitallers improved the citadel and thus the castle remained one of the Crusaders′ foremost strong points in the defensive fortifications against Muslim encroachment. Towards the middle of the seventh/thirteenth century, al-Marqab even became the official residence of the bishop of Bulunyās.



In 601/1204 al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, Ayyubid governor of Aleppo, tried to take the castle, but his army withdrew when its leader was killed. The next Muslim leader to attack al-Marqab was Sultan Baybars, who had launched offensives against the Hospitallers since 659/1261 and succeeded in throwing them back to a small coastal strip; nevertheless he failed twice to capture the fortress. Finally, after the capture of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād (Crac des Chevaliers) by Baybars in 669/1273, the Order was left with only the stronghold of al-Marqab. Subsequently, the Grand Master was able to obtain a truce of ten years and ten days in exchange for the cession of part of the territories surrounding al-Marqab and on condition that no new fortifications be established.

In 676/1277 Baybars died. He was succeeded by his son Barakah Khān for a reign of about two years; after him Baybars′ seven-year-old son Salāmish ruled for a mere three months. Then Qalāwūn, who had been the most important of the amirs and the real ruler behind Salāmish, became sultan in 678/1279. He followed

the example of Baybars in pursuing the war against the Crusaders in Syria. In the same year, the Hospitallers took advantage of unrest in Syria and moved forth against Buqayʿah, but withdrew when attacked by the Muslims. On reaching the coast, they turned and routed the Muslims. Qalāwūn in 679/1281 ordered the siege of the fortress of al-Marqab in a counterattack, but the Hospitallers made a sortie and repelled the Muslims, inflicting heavy losses. On 22 Muḥarram 680/13 May 1281, a truce of ten years and ten months was concluded between Qalāwūn and Nicolas Lorgne, the Grand Master of the Order. Nonetheless a few months later, in autumn 680/1281, the latter appealed for help from Edward I, King of England, and simultaneously sent a contingent to aid the Ilkhān during a Mongol invasion of Syria. Qalāwūn succeeded in repelling the Mongols near Ḥimṣ, but now no longer felt obliged to maintain the conditions of the peace treaty. In 684/1285, the sultan sought to punish the Hospitallers of al-Marqab for the assistance they had provided to the Mongols, driving them out of the ″impregnable″ fortress for good.

At Damascus, in great secrecy, Qalāwūn concentrated a considerable quantity of siege materials assembled from all over Syria and even from as far as Egypt. Experts in the art of siege warfare were engaged and catapults were brought up from the surrounding strongholds. Qalāwūn himself appeared before al-Marqab on 10 Ṣafar 684/17 April 1285. As the siege began, miners set about digging numerous tunnels under the walls. As soon as one of the mines was in good position, it was filled with wood and set on fire on Wednesday, 17 Rabīʿ I/23 May. When the fire reached the southern extremity of the walls, right under the Ram Tower, the Muslims attacked, trying to climb the tower, but to no avail. In the evening, the tower collapsed, but the rubble rendered any further assaults difficult. The catapults had become useless and all possibilities of undermining were exhausted. That night the Muslims were at the point of giving up. When the Hospitallers discovered that a number of tunnels were reaching their ramparts at various places, however, they lost courage and surrendered under condition of safe-conduct. The *amān* was granted by the Amir Fakhr al-Dīn Muqrī, on 19 Rabīʿ I/25 May, and the Knights were conducted under escort to Tripoli. They were not allowed to take anything with them except for their personal belongings. Their weapons as well as all of the equipment fell into the hands of the sultan.

Aware of the strategic importance of al-Marqab, the sultan decided not to raze the fortress but to repair the damages. Qalāwūn installed a well-armed garrison there, 1000 foot-soldiers and 150 Mamluks. The chronicler of these events, Ibn

ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir,[14] however, does not mention that coins were minted there. In 688/1289 Qalāwūn conquered Tripoli and shortly thereafter the rest of the principality of Antioch came to an end. Only two years later, ʿAkkā (Acre, St. Jean d′Acre) was conquered by Qalāwūn′s son al-Ashraf Khalīl, and the last Franks left the country.

For Qalāwūn the conquest of al-Marqab was his first real victory over the Franks. It proved his ability as a warrior no less successful in warfare than his predecessor Baybars, particularly because he was able to recover the country from the foreign rule of the Christians. Moreover, the sultan′s victory, which was due to God′s intervention, as the chronicler states, had a major effect on the political legitimacy of his rule, since he had ousted Baybars′ two sons from the sultanate.

Historical Evaluation of the Coin

Thanks to Michael L. Bates (American Numismatic Society, New York), Stefan Heidemann (Jena) and Lutz Ilisch (Tübingen), discussion about the mint of al-Marqab started before the coin was presented to the meeting of the Oriental Numismatic Society at Tübingen in April 1998, where the debate was continued by the audience. Several possible explanations were proffered. One was that Qalāwūn celebrated his important victory by striking coins bearing the name of al-Marqab for commemorative, propagandistic reasons. Yet, considering the fact that all coins only show part of the dies and that most of the Mamluk coins only mention the mint in the margin, the name of al-Marqab could only rarely have appeared on a coin. Such coins can hardly claim to be efficient mass media! (However, the Ottomans established mints at newly conquered places, although their coinage only rendered part of the legend as well). Another reason for minting coins in al-Marqab could have been the fact that among the Knights′ equipment left behind in the fortress the Mamluks found quite a lot of treasure. Then they could have brought minters there to transform the treasure into *dirham*s, perhaps as payment for those troops who had participated in the conquest.

Both motives may have played a role, but they are not sufficient to explain the existence of al-Marqab′s mint. Our coin does not bear the year of the conquest but of the year after. If propaganda and/or the conversion of a treasure had been the only reasons, the activity of the mint would certainly have been limited to the year 684. However, the fortress was taken during the third month of the Islamic year, and it was advisable, for the sake of security, to mint the bullion as soon as

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[14]Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf al-Ayyām wa-al-ʿUṣūr fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr,* ed. Murād Kāmil (Cairo, 1961), 77-81. Our report of the conquest of al-Marqab is directly based on his account.

possible. It can be imagined that the overland transport of the silver into one of the established minting places would have been a dangerous enterprise. This is why it seems more likely that a workshop was in fact established in al-Marqab. Furthermore, if this was not the case, we would have to explain why, for instance, the Damascus mint should have produced coinage in the name of al-Marqab. At that time, the opening and operation of a mint was not complicated at all—only a few tools and workmen were needed—and it was certainly not a condition for starting production that the fortress be completely repaired. Likewise, the cutting of a die was an affair of only a few hours. Yet the design of the coin does not suggest that the dies were prepared by a simple blacksmith who happened to work in the region but rather by an experienced die-sinker, possibly from Damascus. Even if the transfer of a workshop and of the dies from, for instance, Damascus would have taken a few months′ time, the minting activity would have surely started during the year 684. But could the treasure have been so substantial that coins were minted from its silver even in 685? Probably not—which implies that bullion was fetched to al-Marqab for minting after the (hypothetical) initial treasure was exhausted.

These considerations lead to the conclusion that the coin is to be interpreted as an indication of the Mamluks′ attempt to integrate the administration and economy of the regained coastal region by founding a new mint there. As mentioned above, our coin was only minted in the year after al-Marqab′s conquest; thus, coins might eventually show up from 684 and possibly even from the years after 685. Nevertheless, in view of the uniqueness of this coin among hundreds of others, it can be taken for granted that the mint of al-Marqab did not produce coins in the quantities of the traditional minting places. Perhaps the establishment of a mint in a relatively remote area proved to be too ambitious, and was abandoned because the mint of Damascus was able to supply the coastal region.

Another explanation for the closure of the al-Marqab mint after a short working period may be derived from subsequent developments in the region. Only two years after the fall of al-Marqab, Qalāwūn succeeded in conquering the seaport and commercial center of al-Lādhiqīyah in 686/1287, and again two years later, in 688/1289, the capital of the county of Tripoli fell into the hands of Qalāwūn. This bustling port was one of the most important towns in Syria and one of the earliest conquests of the Franks, as well as their last major resort in the Holy Land. For political and economic reasons, both newly captured towns were much better situated for the founding of a mint than the fort of al-Marqab, which lost its

strategic importance as a result of the expansion of Mamluk territory.[15] From this time onwards, until the middle of the ninth century, Mamluk coins are known to have been regularly produced in Tripoli.

[15]In fact, only a short time after Qalāwūn's death (689/1290), the first coins were minted in both coastal towns. The first dated silver coin known from Tripoli was struck in 709 by al-Muẓaffar Rukn al-Dīn Baybars II (708-9/1308-10, cf. Balog's no. 172), along with a copper coin (Balog's no. 175). A few coins from al-Lādhiqīyah exist from the third reign of one of Qalāwūn's sons, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (709-41/1310-41) (Lutz Ilisch and Stefan Heidemann, personal communications).

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Nile Floods and the Irrigation System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt

Of all of the chronicles that survive from the Mamluk period, al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* is no doubt the most renowned and familiar source for historians. Yet near the beginning of his text, he voices concern about an issue that has thus far remained unexplained and unaccounted for. "The people used to say," al-Maqrīzī writes, "'God save us from a finger from twenty,'" meaning 'please, God, don't let the Nile flood reach the height of twenty cubits on the Nilometer!'" For, he explains, this dangerously high flood level would drown the agricultural lands and ruin the harvest. Yet in our time, the chronicler bemoans, the Nile flood approaches twenty cubits and this high flood level—far from drowning Egypt's arable land—doesn't even suffice to supply them with water.[1] Al-Maqrīzī associates this phenomenon with various problems in the social structure and the economy—including the breakdown of the irrigation system.[2]

The story behind this tale of misery, echoed by other chroniclers, is both more complicated and more revealing than appears at first sight. For not only is al-Maqrīzī correct in his assertion, but—as a seemingly strange coincidence—the Nile floods during his time are in fact much higher than they had ever been before. Was nature conspiring with the economic woes of this period to create this bizarre situation?

I would like to offer a theory that will explain this puzzling coincidence, link it to the catastrophic period of bubonic and pneumonic plague epidemics that started with the Black Death in 1348-49,[3] and give us a sense of the quantitative scale of the breakdown in the irrigation system.

Egypt's basin irrigation system was the mechanism by which the Nile's annual flood provided for the winter harvest. As the summer monsoon in Ethiopia swelled

[1]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (hereafter *Khiṭaṭ*) (Cairo, 1270/1853-54), 1:60.

[2]Ibid.

[3]The Black Death actually began in Egypt in late 1347, when a ship arrived in Alexandria with all but a few of its crew and passengers dead—the few survivors died shortly thereafter. The plague then spread rapidly throughout the city (this story of corpse-ridden ships arriving from ports in the Black Sea and Constantinople is repeated by various sources throughout the Mediterranean world). But the main years for mortality from the Black Death were 1348 and 1349.

the level of the Blue Nile and Atbara rivers, the Nile in Egypt would rise by an average of some 6.4 meters. The system used canals of various sizes to draw this water off the Nile into basins along the Nile Valley and in the Delta. Dikes were then employed to trap the water and allow moisture to sink into the basins (Fig. 1). The alluvium washed down from Ethiopian topsoil also settled on the fields and provided a rich fertilization that guaranteed annual seed-to-yield ratios of up to 1 to 10 for the winter crop.[4]

Yet the irrigation system was very maintenance-intensive. It required constant dredging of canals and shoring up of dikes in order to work efficiently. Failure to do so would mean that the Nile flood would wash in and out of the basins without providing enough moisture or fertilizer.[5]

Before discussing the hydraulic dynamics of the basins, we need to look at the Nilometer itself and the dynamics of measurement and sedimentation (Fig. 2). The Nile was at its minimum around the beginning of June and would rise and then reach its maximum level around the end of September. Over the course of centuries—from the time of the construction of the Roda Nilometer to the early Mamluk period—the levels of the minimum and maximum increased at a steady rate. This was because the Nile alluvium from the Ethiopian topsoil left a small amount of sediment on the bed of the Nile each fall (as it had done since the end of the last ice age). So as the river bed rose—at the rate of about 10 centimeters per century—so did the June minimum and September maximum.[6]

Between 750 and 1260, the rising layer of sediment pushed up the level of the river bed, the June minimum, and the September maximum. All three rose at

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[4]Ibn Mammātī, *Kitāb Qawānīn al-Dawāwīn,* ed. A. S. ʻAṭīyah (Cairo, 1943), 259.

[5]Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, *Kitāb Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik wa-Bayyān al-Ṭuruq wa-al-Masālik,* ed. Paul Ravaisse (Paris, 1894), 128-29; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá fī Ṣināʻat al-Inshā',* ed. M. Ḥusayn al-Dīn (Beirut, 1987), 3:515-16 (hereafter *Ṣubḥ*). For a discussion of irrigation repairs in a wider context, see Hassanein Rabie, ″Some Technical Aspects of Agriculture in Medieval Egypt,″ in *The Islamic Middle East, 700-1900: Studies in Social and Economic History,* ed. Abraham Udovitch (Princeton, 1981), 59-90. For data on irrigation repairs during the Ottoman period that demonstrates the expenditure needed to maintain the system, see Stanford Shaw, *The Budget of Ottoman Egypt 1005-1006/1596-1597* (The Hague, 1968), 124, and idem, *The Financial and Administrative Organization and Development of Ottoman Egypt 1517-1798* (Princeton, 1962), 61-63.

[6]Rushdī Saʻīd, *The River Nile* (New York, 1993), 162-88; Barbara Bell, ″The Oldest Records of Nile Floods,″ *Geographical Journal* 136 (1970): 569-73; Karl W. Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt: A Study in Cultural Ecology* (Chicago, 1976), 28; John Waterbury, *Hydropolitics of the Nile Valley* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1979), 25; John Ball, *Contributions to the Geography of Egypt* (Cairo, 1939), 176.

roughly the same rate—between .5 and .6 meters total, or an average of slightly more than 10 centimeters per century.[7]

Contemporary observers knew about the buildup of alluvium on the Nile river bed and they report that the ideal level of the September maximum in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was about 17 cubits. A level of 14 or 15 was too low and would leave many of the basins dry, while 19 or 20 cubits was too high and would flood the basins with too much water and damage the harvest.[8]

Over the course of the next two and a half centuries—from 1260 to 1502—the June minima oscillated but on average continued to rise at the same rate as before: roughly 10 centimeters per century.

Fig. 3 shows the increase in the June minimum between 750 and 1502. Note that the minimum has increased by 34 centimeters between 1260 and 1502: over the course of these two and a half centuries it rose at a fairly normal rate of 14 centimeters per century.[9]

However, in the fifteenth century, the records of the maximum flood in September begin to tell us a dramatically different story—a story that brings us back to our introduction and al-Maqrīzī's concern about the changing impact of high flood levels. Ibn Iyās, al-Qalqashandī, and al-Maqrīzī all report that the Nile flood was reaching abnormally high levels as measured at the Cairo Nilometer. They also report that the very high level of 20 cubits, previously considered a dangerous overflood that would ruin the crop, was now leaving many of the basins dry.[10] They all mention this phenomenon while discussing problems in the Mamluk economy and polity, including the extensive decay of the irrigation system.[11]

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[7]The data for the Nile levels are from William Popper, *The Cairo Nilometer* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951), 221-23 (hereafter Popper, *Nilometer*).

[8]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʻrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Saʻīd ʻAbd al-Fattāḥ ʻĀshūr (Cairo, 1934-73) (hereafter *Sulūk*)*,* 2:753 in 748/1347, 2:769 in 749/1348; *Ṣubḥ* (referring to the fourteenth century), 4:516; Ibn Iyās, *Nuzhat al-Umam fī al-Ajā'ib wa-al-Ḥikam,* ed. M. Zaynahum Muḥammad ʻAzab (Cairo, 1995), 88-89 (referring to the fourteenth century); *Khiṭaṭ* (referring to the fourteenth century), 1:60; ʻAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Ifādah wa-al-Iʻtibār,* ed. and trans. K. H. Zand, John Videan, and Ivy Videan (London, 1965); Zakariyā' ibn Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād wa-Akhbār al-ʻIbād,* ed. Wüstenfeld (Gottingen, 1848-49), 1:175, as cited in Popper, *Nilometer;* Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Tuḥfat al-Nuẓẓār,* ed. and trans. C. Defremery and B. R. Sanguinetti as *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah* (Paris, 1914-22), 1:78-79, as cited in Popper, *Nilometer,* 81.

[9]Data from Popper, *Nilometer*, 221-23.

[10]*Ṣubḥ,* 3:515.; Ibn Iyās, *Nuzhah*, 88-89; *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:60.

[11]*Ṣubḥ,* 3:516; *Sulūk,* 4:564 in 824/1421, 4:618 in 825/1422, 4:646 in 826/1423, 4:678 in 828/1425, 4:709-10 in 829/1426, 4:750-53 in 830/1427, 4:806-9 in 832/1429, 4:834 in 833/1430, 4:863, 874 in 835/1432, 4:903-4 in 837/1434, 4:831, 950 in 838/1435. *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:101. Muḥammad ibn Khalīl al-Asadī, *Kitāb al-Taysīr wa-al-Iʻtibār,* ed. Aḥmad Ṭulaymat (Cairo, 1968), 92-93. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. William Popper (Berkeley and Los

Indeed if we compare flood records for the Nile minima (Fig. 3) and Nile maxima (Fig. 4), we see that while the June minimum rose at its regular rate, the September maximum increased dramatically over the course of these two and a half centuries, rising by almost twice as much as it had increased in the previous five centuries. Furthermore, 90% of this increase occurred in the 150 years following the arrival of the Black Death and the onset of repeated plague epidemics.[12]

Why did the September maximum jump by such an unprecedented amount over the course of 150 years? An intensification of the Indian Ocean monsoon would be a possible cause, and yet there are no accounts of a dramatic increase in rainfall for this period in Yemen, East Africa, or the Indian subcontinent.[13] The Nile flood variations at this time are also normal compared to earlier periods in Egypt's history; again indicating that environmental factors are not to blame.[14] Shifts in the course of the Nile also occurred over time, but shifts in the river that affected the Nilometer bedrock would also appear as an aberration in the Nile minima data; they do not. William Popper briefly addressed this issue, but failed to note the true significance of the data for this period.[15]

My explanation rests upon quantitative data drawn up by a nineteenth-century hydraulic engineer who observed the Upper Egyptian basins before they had converted to perennial irrigation.[16] The Upper Egyptian basins would be filled from August 12 to the 21st of September. Each basin would be filled to an average level of one meter and the water and sediment would settle in the basin for an average of 40-50 days before being drained back into the Nile in October. Willcocks calculated the average volume of water drawn into the Upper Egyptian basins and the average loss due to evaporation before being drained back into the Nile.[17]

Now, if we take a total of some 2 million feddans (of 4200m^2 each) of basins in Upper Egypt (based on a rough computation from the 1315 Rawk al-Nāṣirī)[18] then the total volume of water drawn from the Nile in Upper Egypt from August

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Angeles, 1930-31), 4:673. Ibn Iyās, *Nuzhah,* 182. Ibn Iyās's testimony from *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden-Cairo, 1961-75), as cited and quoted in Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?* (Albany, 1994), 114-15, 124-25.

[12]Data from Popper, *Nilometer,* 221-23.

[13]H. H. Lamb, *Climate, History, and the Modern World* (London and New York, 1995), 185, 208-9; Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, *Climate and History: Studies in Interdisciplinary History* (Princeton, 1981), 12-13.

[14]Popper, *Nilometer,* 180.

[15]Ibid., 242-43.

[16]W. Willcocks, *Egyptian Irrigation* (London, 1889) (hereafter Willcocks, *Irrigation*).

[17]Ibid., 61-65.

[18]Ibn al-Jī'ān, *Kitāb al-Tuḥfah al-Sanīyah*, ed. Mortiz (Cairo, 1898).

12 to September 21st is 8.4 billion cubic meters over this period, or 2,430 m^3/sec. Let us assume that from 1355 to 1502, the Upper Egyptian irrigation system decayed and many of the basins were no longer functioning. Most of the water formerly trapped in these basins is now being swept down to Cairo.[19] What does this do to the September maximum flood level? We have the following graph based on a table by Willcocks that allows us to correlate volumetric discharge with the maximum Nile levels based on a gauge at Cairo (Fig. 5).[20]

Note in the following table that if we take the .88 meter jump in the maximum from 1355 to 1502 and subtract 15 centimeters for normal alluvium buildup on the river bed, we have a .73 meter rise to account for. If we look at the table of volumetric discharge versus flood height we see that the difference in volumetric discharge for 1 meter (between meter 8 and meter 7 on Willcocks′ gauge) is 2200 m^3/sec. If we then multiply 2200 m^3/sec by .73 meters we end up with an additional 1600 m^3/sec (1606 m^3/sec exact) of flood water coming from Upper Egypt. This suggests that 1600 m^3/sec of Nile water out of the normal 2,430 m^3/sec is no longer being drawn off into the basins in Upper Egypt. Taken at face value, this would suggest that 1600/2430, or some 2/3, of the basins in Upper Egypt were no longer operational: all of this in the 150 years following the onset of the plagues.

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[19]Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī′s observations for an earlier period demonstrate this phenomenon. In 596/1200 there was an unprecedented and disastrous Nile maximum of only 12 cubits and 21 fingers. The famine that followed caused the peasants to flee their villages in large numbers (this seemingly contradictory tendency of peasants to flee to urban centers during famines was due to the grain storage facilities located there—this type of rural flight was also witnessed immediately following the Black Death, although the reasons were more complex). Al-Baghdādī reports that the floods washed in and out of unmanned and uncontrolled irrigation channels and basins. This in turn led to another short and disastrous flood, although the level should have been more than enough to water all of the agricultural lands. According to his account, in the two years following the devastatingly low flood, the flood waters ″receded without the country having been sufficiently watered, and before the convenient time, because there was no one to arrest the waters and keep them on the land,″ al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Ifādah wa-al-I'tibār,* 253-54. Al-Maqrīzī reports that the same phenomenon occurred following the first and most devastating outbreak of the new, mutant strain of *Pasteurella pestis* (i.e., the Black Death, 1348-1349). In 751/1350, the Nile flood ″reached 17 cubits—but then dropped down: much of the land was left dry. This ′drought′ lasted for three years and matters became grievous for the people because of the lack of peasants (*fallāḥīn*),″ *Sulūk,* 2:832-33.

[20]Willcocks, *Irrigation*, 66.

Table: Volume Discharge vs. Height of Nile

Volumetric Discharge of Water at Cairo	Height of Nile (19th Century gauge)	Difference in m^3/sec between 1m on gauge
9800 m^3/sec	8m	2200 m^3/sec
7600 m^3/sec	7m	1750 m^3/sec
5850 m^3/sec	6m	1500 m^3/sec
4350 m^3/sec	5m	1250 m^3/sec
3100 m^3/sec	4m	970 m^3/sec
2130 m^3/sec	3m	

Volume of water in 1 ″modern″ feddan square = 4200 m^3
Total number basin feddans in Upper Egypt = 2 million ″modern″ feddans
Total volume of water taken by basins in Upper Egypt over 12 Aug - 21 Sep 4200 m^3 x 2 million ″modern″ feddans = 8.4 billion m^3
Total volume of water taken per second from the Nile from 12 Aug to 21 Sep 8.4 billion m^3/(40 x 24 x 60 x 60) = 2430 m^3/sec

Let us examine another piece of this puzzle that may illuminate this linkage more clearly. Again relying on a graph drawn by Willcocks, we can observe the ordinary difference between the autumn flood profile as measured at Aswan and that measured at Cairo (Fig. 6).[21]

We can see on this graph that the flood reaches a higher peak at Aswan and then drops to a lower level much more quickly than the flood at Cairo. The peak is initially lower at Cairo because the upstream basins are being filled. The flood level then drops more slowly at Cairo as the basins are sequentially emptied. There is additionally a secondary peak at Cairo which appears in the late autumn as the last of the upstream basins are emptied at the same time. If a large percentage of the upstream basins had ceased functioning, their effect on the Nile level at Cairo would diminish and we would see the two flood profiles—Aswan and Cairo—slowly converge.

In fact we have already been looking at this process in the data above: the ″jump″ in the Nile maxima brings the Cairo flood peak up closer to Aswan′s.

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[21]Ibid.

But there is more here: the flood profiles following the Nile maximum—in October and November—also appear to converge. In the fifteenth century there are abundant references to floods which are ″too short,″ or ″receded too quickly,″ or fell ″too soon.″ Al-Maqrīzī makes numerous references to this trend in the 1420s and 1430s, often during years in which the Nile maximum was between 19 and 20 cubits.[22]

Carl Petry quotes what may be a colorful illustration of this phenomenon from Ibn Iyās in 916/1510, when a woman′s dream about the coming flood was widely reported in Cairo: ″It was said that she beheld in a vision two angels descending from Heaven. They proceeded to the river, and after one of them touched its surface with his foot, it sank rapidly. The angel then addressed his companion: ′Truly, God the All-High did order the Nile to reach a level of twenty cubits. But when tyranny prevailed in Egypt, he caused its sinkage after only eighteen!′ Upon the woman′s awakening the next morning, the Nile had indeed fallen over the night by the foretold measure.″[23]

The data for the late autumn flood profile are far from comprehensive. Yet if they are taken together with the convergence in the Aswan/Cairo maxima—and the rest of the quantitative data—basin decay seems to be the only probable cause for the flood variations in this period.

But why did the Upper Egyptian basins decay? Was it due to rural depopulation from the plague or were there other elements involved?

It is beyond the scope of this article to go into a full analysis of the economic dynamics of the plague′s impact, but I would like to discuss one crucial development that played a major role in Upper Egypt. Here there was a seemingly paradoxical reaction to the plagues′ decimation of the rural population: as settled agriculture decayed, the power and even the population of bedouin tribes grew in tandem.[24] There were two reasons for this; both had to do with an ecological niche that was opened by *Pasteurella pestis*. The first of these was the environmental product of basin decay. The breakdown of the basin system—accelerated by the bedouin

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[22]*Sulūk,* 4:646 in 826/1423, 4:678 in 828/1425, 4:709-10 in 829/1426, 4:750-52 in 830/1427, 4:806 in 832/1429, 4:834 in 833/1430, 4:903-4 in 837/1434, 4:931, 950 in 838/1435.

[23]Petry, *Protectors*, 105.

[24]Among the many studies which highlight this problem, see J. C. Garcin′s study of bedouin incursions in Qūṣ in Upper Egypt: Garcin, *Un centre musulman de la Haute-Egypte médiévale, Qūs* (Cairo, 1976), 468-507; Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ ‘Āshūr, *Al-Mujtama‘ al Miṣrī fī ‘Aṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk* (Cairo, 1993), 59-63; idem, *Al-‘Aṣr al-Mamlūkī fī Miṣr wa-al-Shām* (Cairo, 1994); Petry, *Protectors*, 106-13. Stanford Shaw notes that it took the Ottomans over a century to subdue bedouin tribes in Upper Egypt, a task that was never fully realized; see Shaw, *Ottoman Egypt 1517-1798,* 12-13, 19.

tribes themselves[25]—did not lead to desertification. The product of breakdown was rather the emergence of wasteland that was no longer suitable for grain agriculture. With the Nile flood no longer under control and water sweeping in and out of the basins, the effect was an expansion in the category of land known as *khirs*. *Khirs* was the category applied to areas not suitable for agriculture due to the proliferation of weeds and lack of proper maintenance. It was the most extreme of the three land-clearing categories (the other two being *al-wisikh al-muzdara'* and *al-wisikh al-ghālib*). It was also associated with the categories of *sharāqī* (unirrigated) and *mustabḥar* (flooded).[26] It was the natural product of any area of the flood basin which was no longer controlled by dikes and canals. It was not suitable for agriculture—not unless the irrigation system were restored and the land arduously weeded and plowed.

Yet *khirs* was quite well suited to the bedouin economy. Nomadic pastoralists, leading their grazing livestock over marginal scrub areas, could ask for no better terrain than the weedy product of Egypt's collapsing irrigation system. Their arrival in these areas, and their use of *khirs,* went hand in hand with Egypt's post-plague irrigation problems. The bedouin spread because the land was becoming increasingly suitable for their way of life, just as it had become wasteland for agriculturalists.[27]

The second contribution to the growth of bedouin powers and numbers came from another environmental factor that was just as important: the bedouin had a relative "immunity" to the plague. This was by no means an immunity in the ordinary biological sense. If any part of Egypt's population were to develop a hereditary biological immunity, it would have been the more densely populated agrarian communities and urban centers,[28] but modern medical studies have shown no evidence that human populations develop hereditary adaptive immunities to *Pasteurella pestis.*[29]

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[25]It was often the practice of the bedouins to deliberately break the dikes as a means of taking over and adapting the land for their use. See, for example, *Sulūk,* 2:832-33; Petry, *Protectors*, 124-25.

[26]*Khiṭaṭ*, 1:100-101.

[27]This was not universally the case. When bedouin shaykhs assumed the role of *muqṭa'* for the land they controlled, some of them did oversee agrarian production. See 'Āshūr, *Al-Mujtama',* 59.

[28]Had that been the case, the bedouin would have been more vulnerable to the plague over time, not less (as was the case for other communicable diseases that appeared earlier, such as smallpox and measles).

[29]It is theoretically possible that a population of Homo sapiens, under continual and prolonged pressure from one particular strain of *Pasteurella pestis*, could develop a hereditary resistance. However, if this is the case, the mutual adaptation period must be in the range of hundreds of years. Lawrence I. Conrad stresses that twentieth century medical studies have shown no evidence

The bedouin tribes were less vulnerable because of their primary mode of subsistence. Living in less densely crowded conditions, pursuing a more autarchic economy, and engaging only tangentially in agrarian production, the bedouin were far less susceptible to the deadly locus of rat and flea concentration that devastated other population groups in Egypt.[30] This ″immunity″ allowed them to thrive during the devastating plague years. These two environmental factors thus opened a large ecological niche which allowed the bedouin to turn many areas of organized basin agriculture into pastoral land upon which they flourished.

The interaction between agrarian plague depopulation and the bedouin mode of subsistence thus offers a likely explanation for the decay of the Upper Egyptian basins. The decay of these basins further explains the ″puzzling coincidence″ between the high floods of the fifteenth century and the failure of these floods to irrigate agricultural areas in both the Nile Valley and the Delta. Finally, the hydraulic calculations allow us to estimate the scale of this phenomenon in Upper Egypt: probably half or more of the basins there were no longer functioning.

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of adaptive immunities in exposed populations: see ″The Plague in the Early Medieval Near East,″ Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1981, 32-33.

[30]This pattern, and the contagious nature of *Pasteurella pestis*, was first recognized by Ibn Khaṭīb, a fourteenth century Andalusian doctor and observer of the Black Death′s impact on different segments of the population. See Michael Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977), 65. For a good analysis of the bedouins′ environmental resistance to *Pasteurella pestis*, see Conrad, ″The Plague in the Early Medieval Near East,″ 466 f.

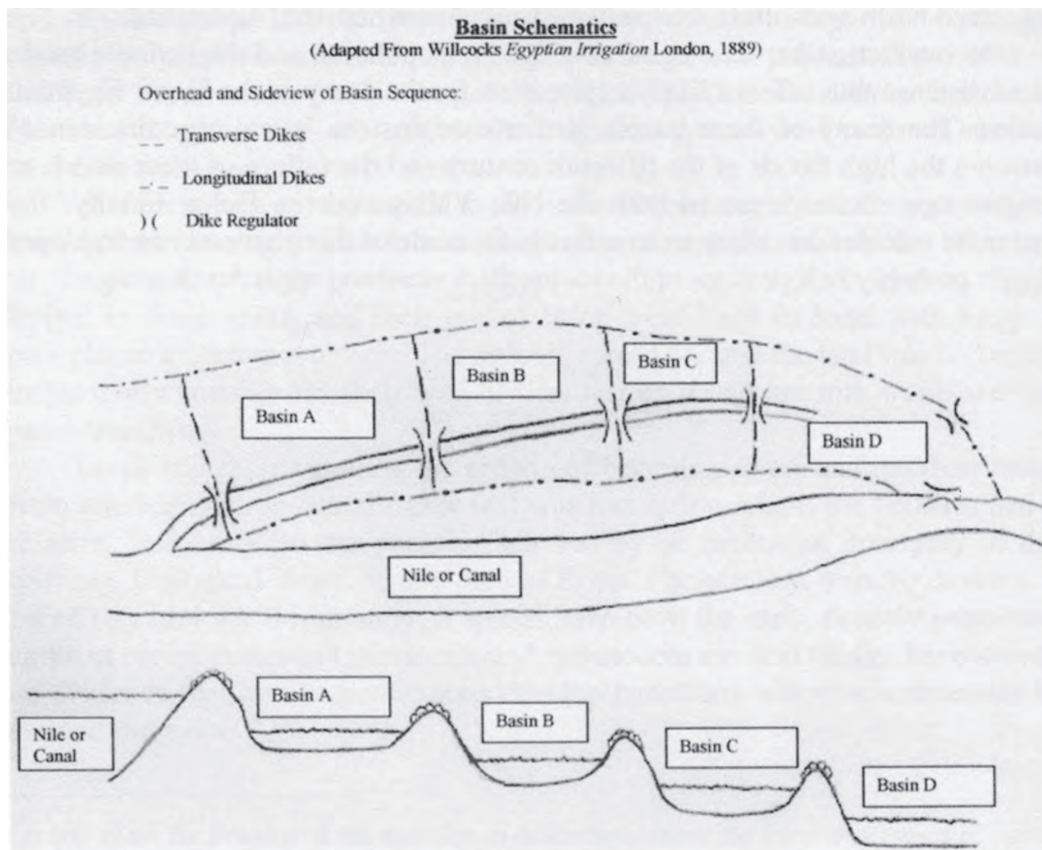


Figure 1. Basin Schematics

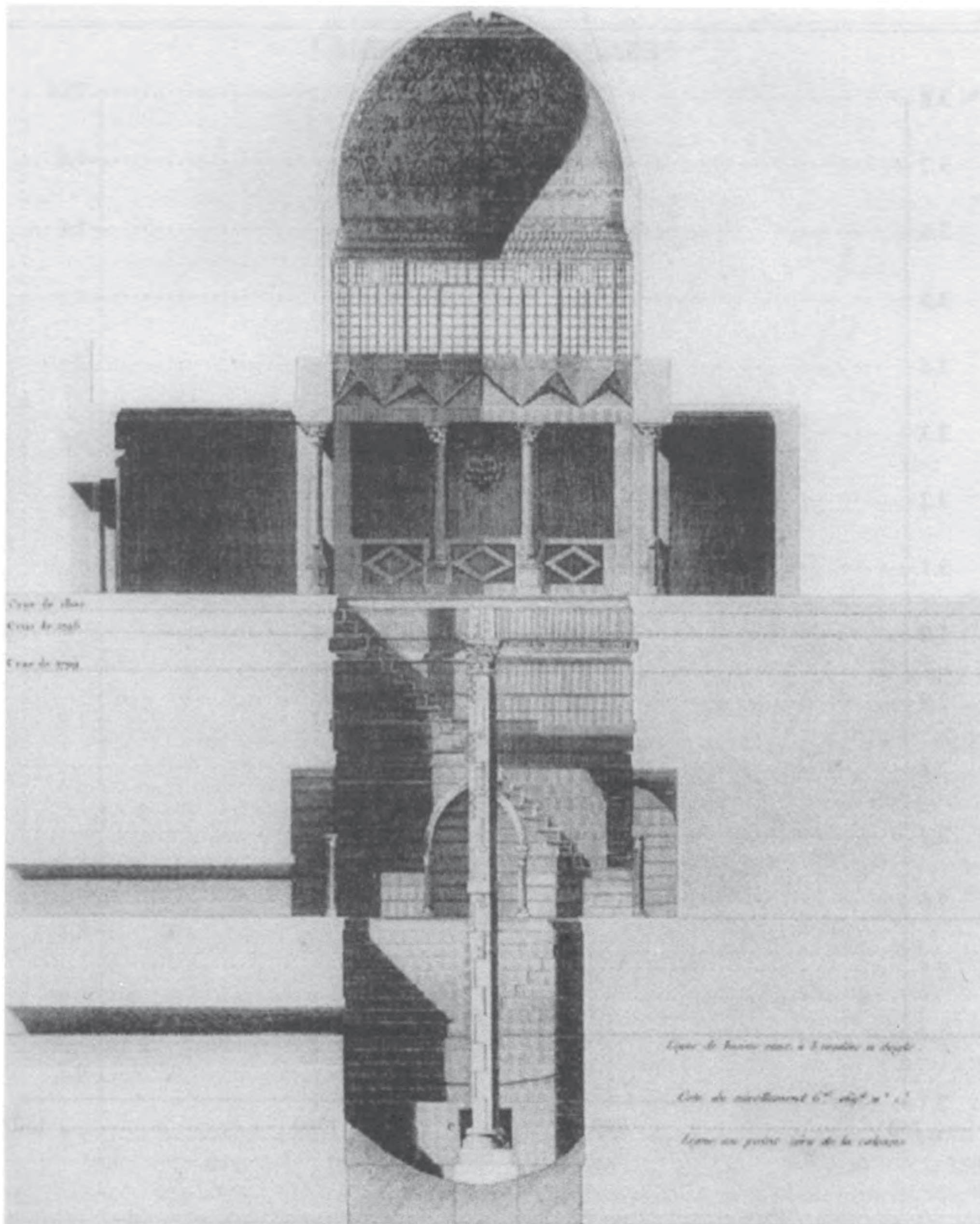


Figure 2. The Nilometer

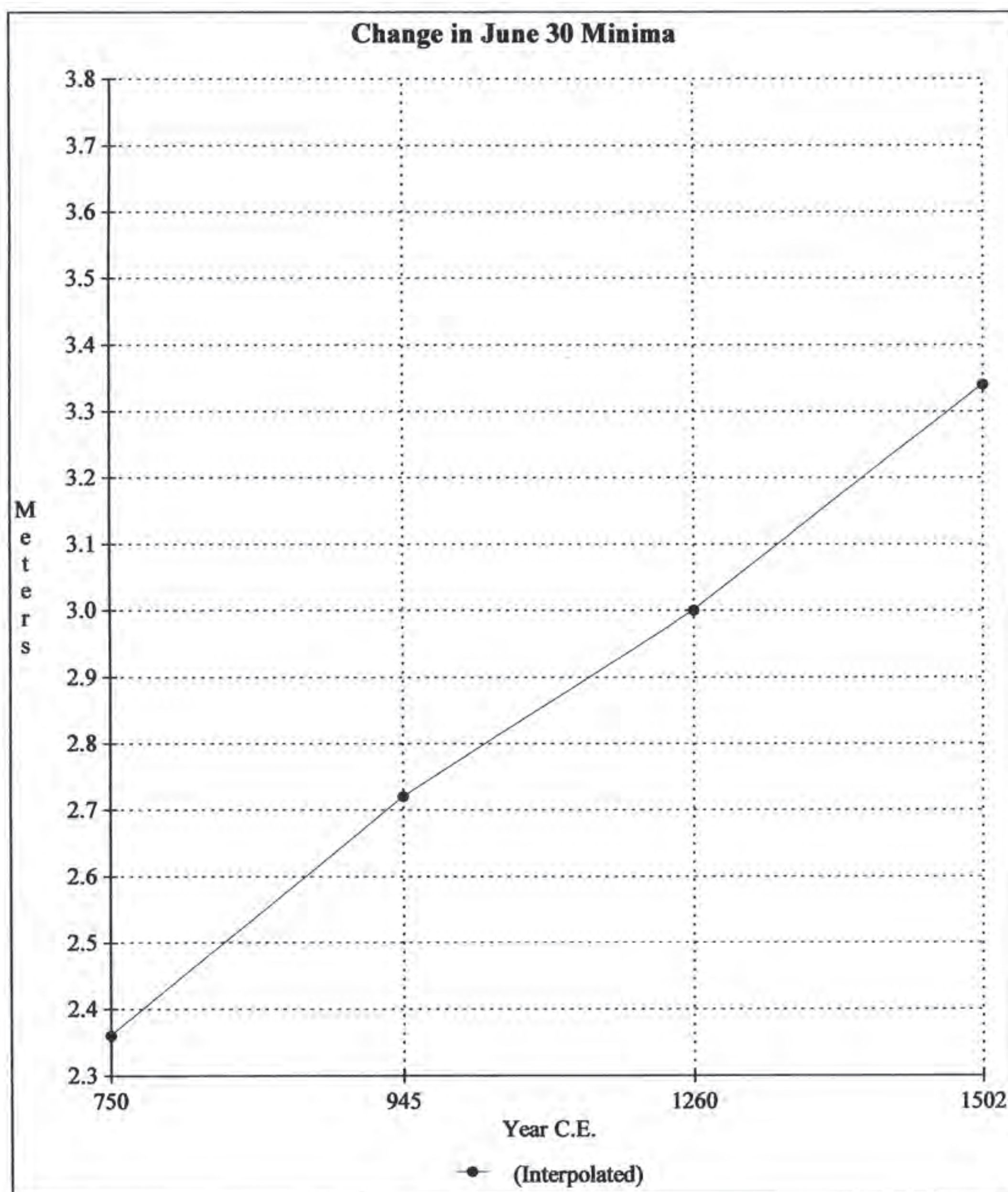


Figure 3. The Nile Minima

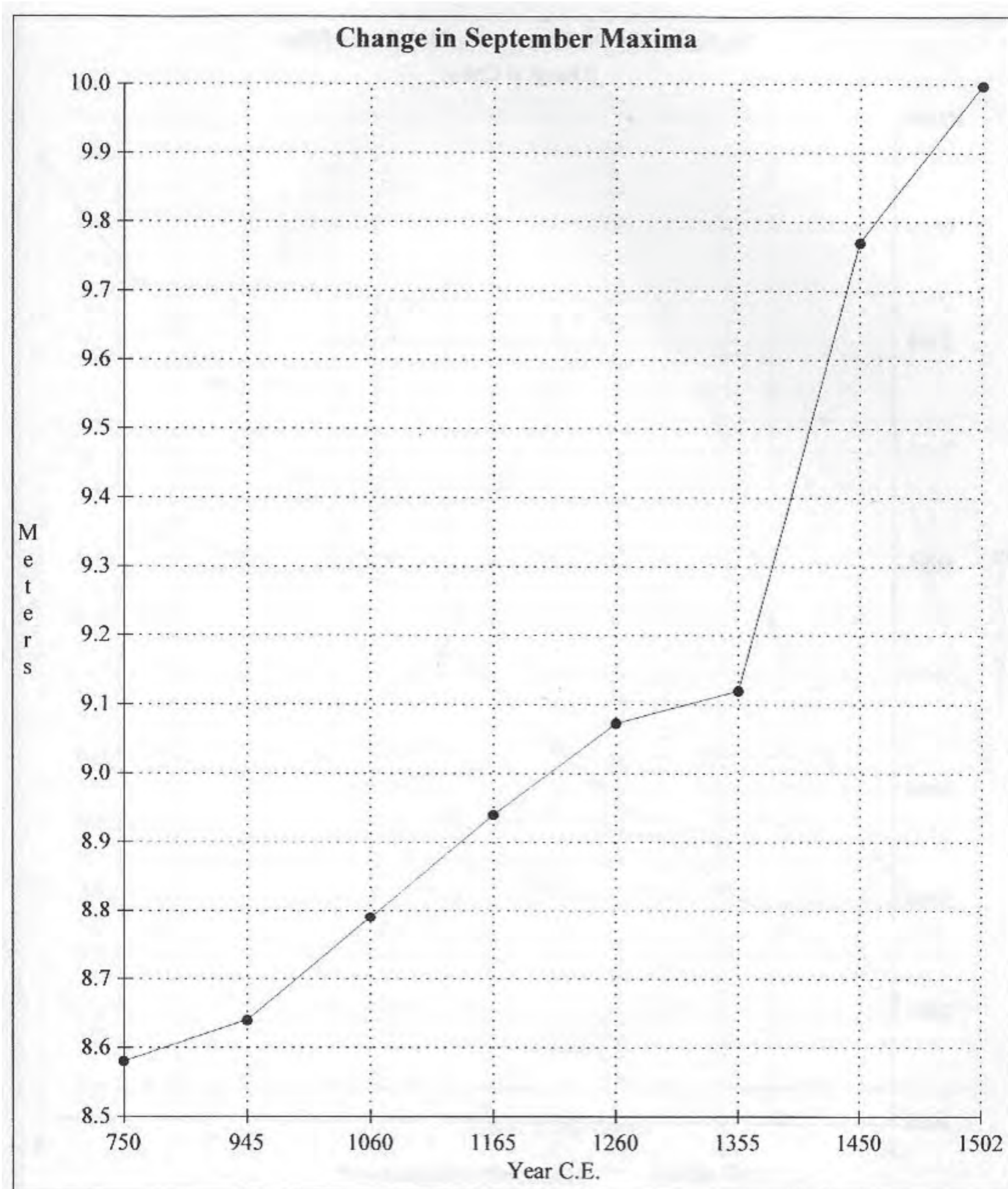


Figure 4. The Nile Maxima

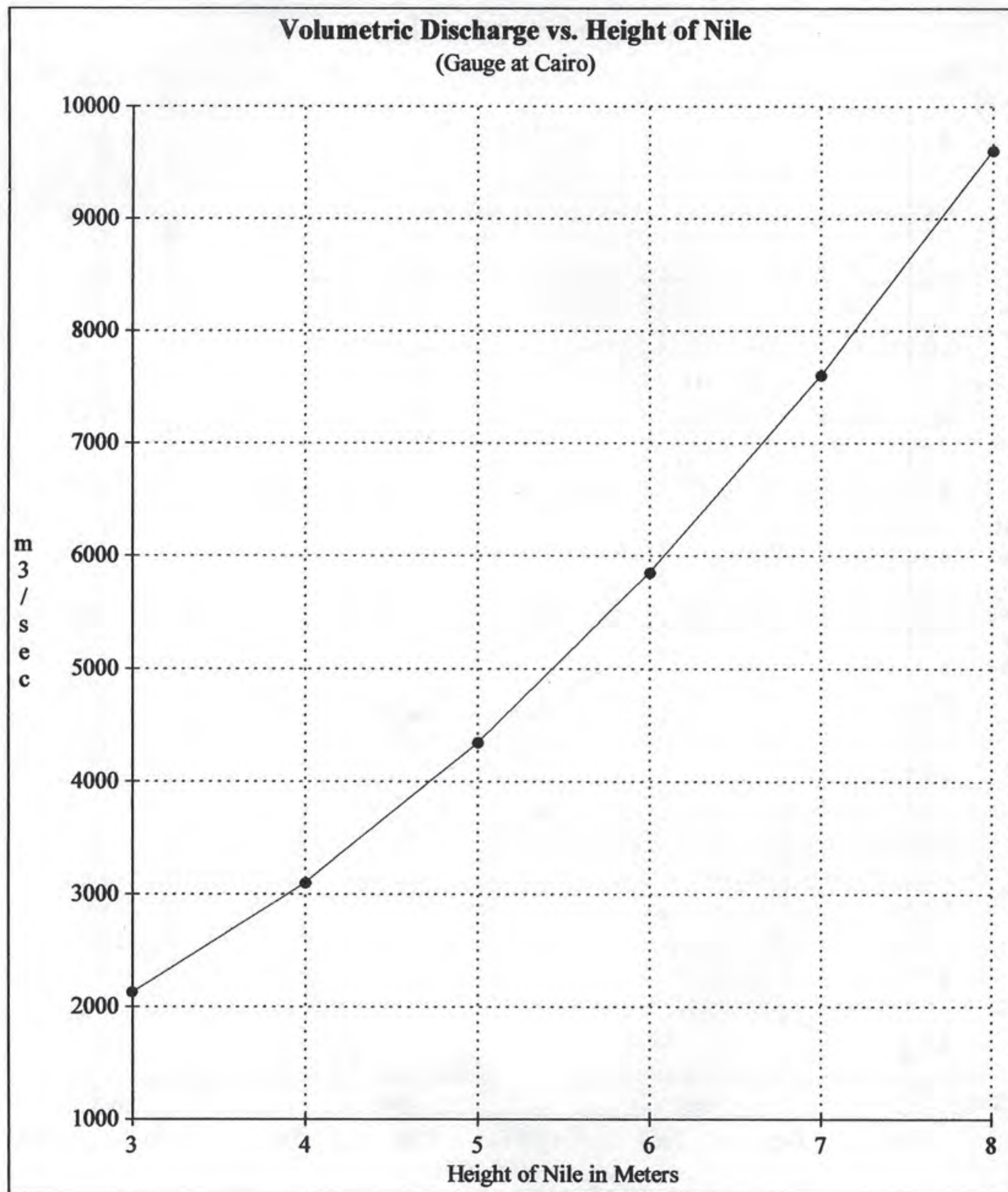


Figure 5. Volumetric Discharge vs. Height of Nile

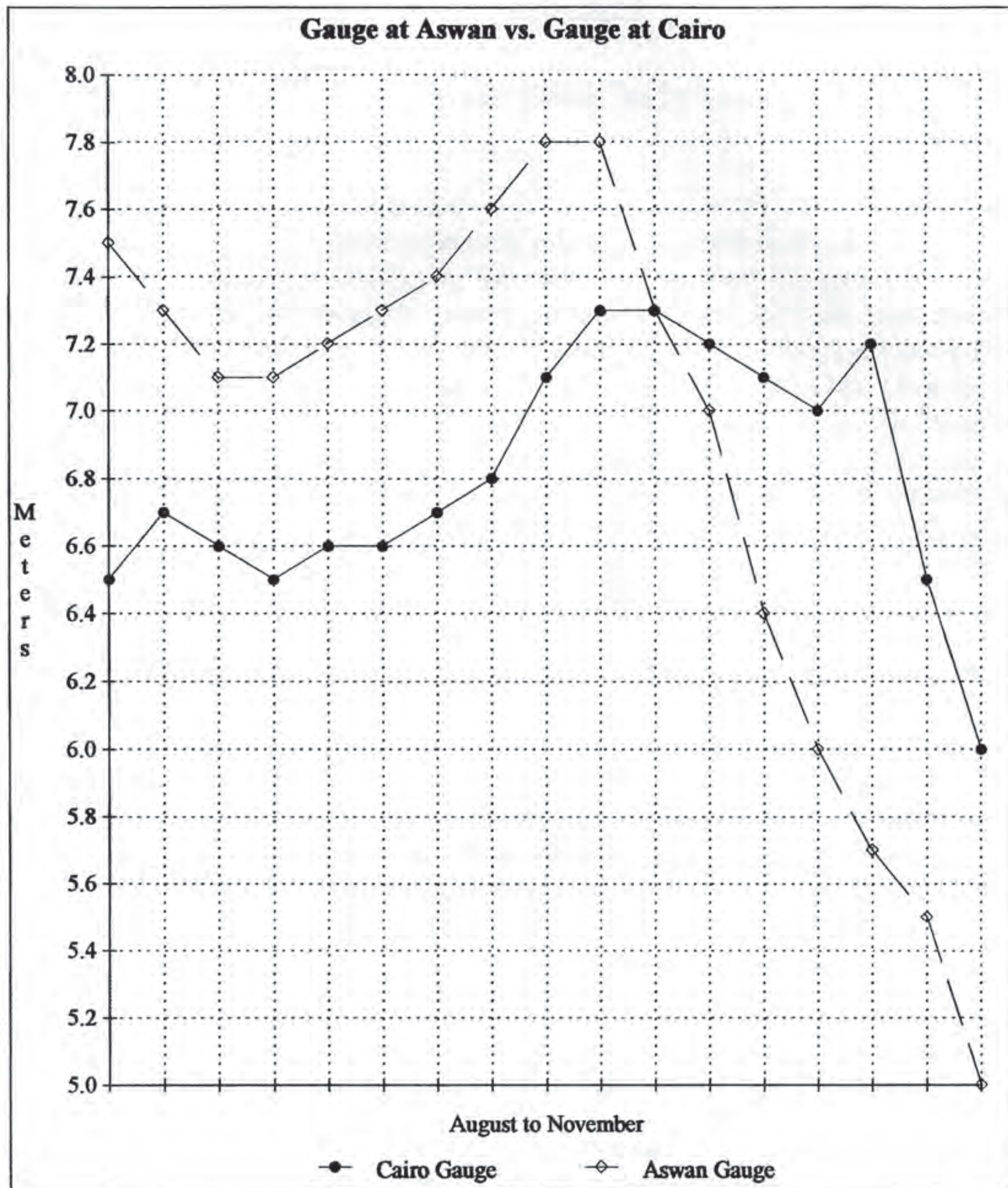


Figure 6. Aswan vs. Cairo Flood Profiles

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The Sultan Who Loved Sufis: How Qāytbāy Endowed a Shrine Complex in Dasūq

QĀYTBĀY´S SHRINE COMPLEX IN DASŪQ

During the Mamluk and Ottoman periods, rulers often patronized individual saints and religious institutions. In Egypt, the rural saint Aḥmad al-Badawī of Ṭanṭā (596-675/1200-76), for example, was popular among the Mamluk elite. Sultan Qāytbāy (872-901/1468-96), one of the last Mamluk rulers, is portrayed as a pious Muslim, active in building religious and public welfare institutions. One of his lesser-known establishments is a religious complex in Dasūq, in the Delta area, mentioned briefly in Heinz Halm´s register, and later by Carl F. Petry in his list of the sultan´s building activities, as ″a mosque.″[1] However, what we are discussing here is more than a mosque. This article discusses the *waqfīyah* in which Qāytbāy, in 886/1481, established a pious endowment to support the shrine of Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī (ca. 653-96/1255-99) and several other buildings, and stipulated the whole complex to serve as an abode for Sufis and to perpetuate the memory of Sīdī Ibrāhīm.[2] On the basis of the document, we can form a picture of the various activities that took place in Dasūq.

The *waqfīyah*, together with other sources, gives us a chance to understand something of the complex motives that lay behind the establishment of pious endowments, while at the same time providing us with a view on the intertwined connections between Mamluks and ulama. It is only rarely that we have descriptions of rural cult centers. Qāytbāy´s decision to endow a large religious complex in a rural area was due to a variety of reasons which will be discussed below.

[1]Heinz Halm, *Ägypten nach der Mamlukischen Lehenregistern* (Wiesbaden, 1979), 2:497-98; Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt´s Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994), 213, n. 28.

[2]Waqfīyah document no. 810, al-Majmūʿah al-Jadīdah, Wizārat al-Awqāf, Cairo. I am grateful to Carl F. Petry for providing me with a copy of the document. The document is in the form of a continuous long roll and, therefore, in the following, references will be made to the *waqfīyah* with no specific folio citations.

THE EARLY CULT OF IBRĀHĪM AL-DASŪQĪ

We know nothing about the Sufi saint Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī prior to the fourteenth century, and how he became a saint is obscure.[3] The cult most likely reflects a local agricultural festival, since even today his *mawlid* is celebrated according to the agricultural calendar.[4] For centuries, Ibrāhīm remained an obscure figure, and it is only in the sixteenth century that a wealth of writings concerning him emerged. Of the early history of al-Dasūqī's shrine little is known. Su'ād Māhir Muḥammad mentioned, without citing her sources, that after al-Dasūqī's death a large sum of money and property was invested in a religious foundation, and that the revenues were spent on his mosque and on those working and studying there. She stated that this was done by Baybars, whom she credited with having a *zāwiyah* (a Sufi institution formed around a shaykh or a Way *[ṭarīqah]*) built for Ibrāhīm where the latter "could teach his students *(murīdūn)* and educate them in the principles of their religion."[5] Though Sultan Baybars al-Bunduqdārī (r. 658-76/1260-77) was very much involved with Sufism, there is no evidence that he endowed a *zāwiyah* or *khānqāh* for al-Dasūqī.

However, from Qāytbāy's *waqfīyah* we learn that by the fifteenth century there was an edifice on the tomb site in Dasūq, and that the complex was supported by a religious endowment *(waqf),* though the original patrons are unknown. The staff of the shrine consisted of at least nine persons, who received salaries from the *waqf*.[6] We can thus see that the shrine had by that time become the vital focus of al-Dasūqī's posthumous cult and miracles. All these constructions remained as part of Qāytbāy's shrine complex.

By the fifteenth century, Sufi practices had been incorporated into the religious ceremonies of the Mamluk sultans, who established numerous Sufi *khānqāh*s,

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[3]The grammarian Ibn al-Mulaqqin briefly mentioned him in 1385 in his Sufi genealogy; a little later, he was also mentioned by al-Maqrīzī, who like Ibn al-Mulaqqin stated that the tomb of al-Dasūqī was visited to obtain blessings, since al-Dasūqī was described as being "possessor of mystical states." Shams al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Beirut, n. d.), 5:319. On Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī and the evolution of his cult, see Helena Hallenberg, "Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī (1255-96)—a Saint Invented" (Ph.D. diss., Institute for Asian and African Studies, University of Helsinki, 1997).

[4]Al-Dasūqī's *mawlid*s were celebrated in the spring at harvest time and in August around the beginning of the flood. The latter celebration, called the big mawlid *(al-mawlid al-kabīr),* is nowadays celebrated in November, coinciding with the end of the cotton harvest and following the big *mawlid* of al-Badawī. Hallenberg, "Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī," 169-73. See also Edward B. Reeves, *The Hidden Government: Ritual, Clientelism and Legitimation in Northern Egypt* (Salt Lake City, 1990), 15; 'Alī Bāshā Mubārak, *Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīqīyah al-Jadīdah li-Miṣr al-Qāhirah wa-Mudunihā al-Qadīmah wa-al-Shahīrah* (Bulaq, 1306/1890), 11:7:8.

[5]Su'ād Māhir Muḥammad, *Masājid Miṣr wa-Awliyā'uhā al-Ṣāliḥūn* (Cairo, 1971-80), 2:307-8.

[6]Waqfīyah document no. 810.

which operated independently of the Sufi orders. The Sufis were paid a monthly salary in addition to the food and shelter they received, and thus had a post *(waẓīfah)*.[7] The *awqāf,* including Sufi *khānqāh*s, served as public welfare institutions and thus could potentially increase a ruler's popularity. In addition, the donor was able to safeguard his own economic interest by nominating himself or one of his family members as supervisor of the *waqf*.[8] The sultan may have sought political support from influential Sufi circles in this way, but we should not ignore spiritual motives; some sultans were greatly influenced by their Sufi shaykhs, to the extent that they built establishments for them.[9]

QĀYTBĀY ESTABLISHES A SHRINE COMPLEX IN DASŪQ

During the Mamluk era, the sultans thus had both economic and spiritual motives for patronizing a saint, whether living or dead. The patron of Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī and his shrine, Qāytbāy, is described in contemporary sources as a just and pious ruler, and his construction activities included many charitable projects not only in the capital but in the outlying provinces.[10] This may have made him popular among the peasants. The historian Ibn Iyās recorded that in 884/1479, Qāytbāy visited Dasūq and the tomb of Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī.[11] Two years later he made the shrine *(maqām)* of al-Dasūqī the beneficiary of a pious endowment consisting of real estate in Dasūq. In doing this, he incorporated the old *waqf* into his new endowment. He also added a number of constructions (as alms, *ṣadaqah*), and these renovations gave new prestige to the site and turned the shrine into a shrine

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[7]Leonor Fernandes, *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt: the Khanqah* (Berlin, 1988), 1-8. Fernandes quotes Ibn Khaldūn writing about the Mamluks' keen interest in establishing Sufi institutions: he remarked that "khanqahs increased especially in Cairo and became a source of income for Sufis." *Al-Ta'rīf bi-Ibn Khaldūn* (Cairo, 1979), 304; quoted in Fernandes, *Evolution,* 17.

[8]A *waqf,* in the strict sense, means the act of endowment, but "in popular speech [it] became transferred to the endowment itself." W. Heffening, "Waḳf," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 1st ed., 4:1096.

[9]On the reasons for establishing religious institutions, see Th. Emil Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, his Verse, and his Shrine* (Columbia, S. C., 1994), 60; idem, "Saving Muslim Souls: The Khānqāh and the Sufi Duty in Mamluk Lands," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 74 f.; E. M. Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī* (Cambridge, 1975), 1:118.

[10]Carl F. Petry, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt*, Occasional papers no. 4, Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, The Middle East Center (Seattle and London, 1993), 80.

[11]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Ẓuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr,* ed. P. Kahle and M. Mustafa with M. Sobernheim, Bibliotheca Islamica 5, c, d, and e (Istanbul, 1931-36), 3:156.

complex.[12] The document *(waqfīyah)* confirming this was signed on 29 Sha'bān 886/23 October 1481, and is preserved in the Ministry of Pious Endowments (Wizārat al-Awqāf) in Cairo. The description below is based entirely on this document.[13]

The shrine was intended for mendicant Sufis *(fuqarā')*, with no attachment to a particular order stipulated, for visitors *(wāridūn, mutaraddidūn)* to the shrine *(maqām)*, and for other Muslims connected with it *(murābiṭūn)*, most likely referring to the staff and local laymen who performed tasks for the shrine and received food as compensation, so that "they would benefit from sitting there during their visitation *(ziyārah)*, have a rest, and find shelter."

First the document states the location of the premises:

> It is located in the *nāḥiyah* [according to Carl F. Petry, fiscal area, sometimes but not always equal to a village][14] of Dasūq in the West, close to Rosetta on the blessed river Nile. It is known for the tombs *(maqābir)* of our lord and master, the God-knowing helping axis saint *(quṭb al-ghawth)*, Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī—may God bless him. According to what is told, he—may God grant him victory—was a servant *(jārī)* in the hand of God and in [? unclear].[15]

Then follows a description of the endowment and the premises maintained by its revenues. The *waqf* consisted of houses *(duwar)* outside the shrine complex, on the other side of the street, and of fields outside the village, which were leased to peasants. The rent of these properties was the source of income for the endowment.

The most important of the additions made by Qāytbāy was a congregational mosque *(jāmi')*, which was "added *(mulāsiq)* to the shrine *(maqām)* of Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī." From the congregational mosque there was a door leading to "the mausoleum-mosque *(masjid wa-maqām)* of al-Dasūqī." Sometimes the whole complex is referred to as "the graves" *(maqābir)*, since it included the tombs of both Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī and his brother Mūsá. Because of these and many other

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[12]Qāytbāy seems to have established an abode for Sufi scholars called Bayt al-Barāhinah, "The House of the Burhānīs," in Cairo as well. See the seventeenth-century travel account of 'Abd al-Ghanī ibn Ismā'īl al-Nābulusī (1050-1143/1641-1731), *Al-Ḥaqīqah wa-al-Majāz fī al-Riḥlah ilá Bilād al-Shām wa-Miṣr wa-al-Ḥijāz*, ed. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Majīd Harīdī (Cairo, 1986), 294. The Burhānīs are the same as the Burhāmīs; their name refers to Ibrāhīm (=Burhān al-Dīn) al-Dasūqī.

[13]Waqfīyah document no. 810.

[14]Oral communication from Carl F. Petry.

[15]The signing of the *waqfīyah* took place in the presence of two witnesses (or notaries, *shāhid*) and a man who probably was an expert appointed by the Dīwān al-Awqāf to inspect the premises. On building experts, see Fernandes, *Evolution*, 6.

overlappings in the terminology it becomes difficult to draw a clear picture of the area.[16] The congregational mosque, also called *jāmi'-masjid,* was intended ″for prayers, the Friday prayer, and gatherings, and for reciting the Book of God and the hadith of the Prophet.″ As for the *maqām* of Sīdī Ibrāhīm, it was endowed ″as a mosque *(masjid)* to God in order [for people] to devote themselves to all legal forms of worship *('ibādāt shar'īyah).″*

The renovations made by Qāytbāy in the establishment—specifically mentioned in the document as renovated *(mustajaddah)*—include a *maydanah* (?mydnh), which presumably refers to a large square or opening, the façade *(wājihah)* of the shrine-mosque *(masjid)* with eleven new doors, a garden, the interiors of the stores *(ḥānūts)* reserved for livestock, and two large domes above the tombs *(ḍarīḥ)* of Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī and Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh al-Dasūqī (d. ca. 850/1446), the third *khalīfah* of the Burhāmīyah Order. Then there is a long list of buildings for which there is no indication as to who built them. A very detailed list indicates a variety of activities which Qāytbāy helped to maintain by instituting a religious endowment, the income of which was partly used to support these activities.

The whole area belonging to the shrine complex was surrounded by a brick wall, and one entered the complex from the street on the western side. In the east the complex was bounded by the Nile. The total space of the enclosed area was ca. 4132.67 square meters which equals approximately one *faddān* (4200.83 m^2). The mosque had a total area of ca. 363.31 square meters, and included a lecture room *(bayt khiṭābah),* which was long and narrow, probably because the students would sit in one row. Two marble pillars at the entrance of the mosque were engraved with the name of Sultan Qāytbāy.[17] Within the area, on opposite sides of the mosque, there were also residences for the superintendent *(nāẓir)* of the *waqf* on the western side, and for the shaykh/*khalīfah* of the shrine on the eastern side. In the superintendent′s residence there was also the loggia of the sultan *(maq'ad sulṭānī),* which suggests that Qāytbāy expected to spend some time in the complex whenever he came for a visit. Close to the residence of the shaykh (since he also acted as the teacher *[mudarris]*) were the teaching premises: a Quran school and a

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[16]The word *maqām* used in *waqfīyah*s does not necessarily refer to a shrine alone but to the whole complex of buildings around a tomb and thus to the institution. The inconsistency of the terminology in the *waqfīyah*s is also pointed out by Fernandes, *Evolution,* 9. J. Chabbi notes that in medieval Egypt, *khānqāh*s often ″became part of complexes containing several institutions, e.g. *masdjid-madrasa*-mausoleum. Nevertheless, terminology remained still imprecise, and medieval historians could not always agree on the name for such and such institution.″ J. Chabbi, ″Khānḳāh,″ *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd. ed., 4:1025-26.

[17]Unfortunately, during my visits to Dasūq I was not yet familiar with the *waqfīyah* and therefore cannot say whether the pillars still exist.

recitation hall *(mudda'á)* where texts of jurisprudence *(fiqh)* were recited and learned by heart in front of the teacher. For children there was a *kuttāb-sabīl,* also referred to as *maktab.*

The Staff of the Shrine Complex

To maintain such a complex required staff as well, and we obtain a clear picture of its activities from the list of the salaries paid to the staff as well as of the duties prescribed for them. The salaries paid by Qāytbāy's *waqf* in Dasūq seem to be in proportion with those of other similar institutions of the time, which varied a great deal from one to another. The staff consisted of twenty-six persons and a number of Sufis—how many is not told.[18] The total of the salaries paid to the staff, including the two witnesses of the document, amounts to 4960 *dirham*s per month (=16.5 *dīnār*s, one *dīnār* equaling 300 *dirhams*),[19] which makes 198.4 *dīnār*s a year, excluding the stipends paid to the Sufis. Additions in the margins of the document discuss extensively which value of the *dirham* should be used, coming to the conclusion that the silver *dirham,* the value of which is three *niṣf* of silver, should be used.

The new donor *(wāqif)* of course wanted to change the key personnel, and Qāytbāy thus nominated a new *nāẓir* (superintendent, or general supervisor or controller), whose tasks are not mentioned in the document though from other sources we know that he was in charge of finance and administration. An addition in the margin indicates that the *nāẓir* was also responsible for distributing the salaries, "taking into consideration what the 'ulamā' have stipulated about the paying of the alms-tax *(zakāt)*." This left the *nāẓir* considerable liberty. He received the highest salary, 1000 *dirham*s a month, and also had a separate residence in the area. He had two administrative staff members under his command to help him to

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[18]As a comparision, the *jāmi'ah* of Azbak (890/1485) had a staff of over forty, including twenty Sufis. Barsbāy's desert *khānqāh* (840/1436) had twenty-nine persons, of whom seventeen were Sufis. But even larger institutions may have had only a small number of Sufis, such as Qāytbāy's *khānqāh-jāmi'* (884/1479) in Cairo with its one hundred twenty persons, of whom forty were Sufis and twenty orphans. (Fernandes, *Evolution,* 85-87). Michael Winter gives much higher numbers from the sixteenthth century: the *zāwiyah* of al-Sha'rānī housed two hundred residents—we do not know the nature of the residents—and that of his teacher, Ibrāhīm al-Matbūlī, "provided food and shelter for five hundred people, not all of them necessarily Sufis." Michael Winter, *Society and Religion in Early Ottoman Egypt: Studies in the Writings of 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī,* Studies in Islamic Culture and History, the Shiloah Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies, Tel Aviv University (New Brunswick, 1982), 127. For a detailed description of the different positions and their respective salaries in *khānqāh*s as calculated based on *waqfīyah* documents, see Fernandes, *Evolution*, 47 ff., esp. 69 f; on the different *waẓīfah*s in *khānqāh*s, see Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimā'īyah fī Miṣr 648-923/1250-1517* (Cairo, 1980), 184-204.

[19]See Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?,* 227.

collect the revenues from the *waqf*'s leased lands, to register its income and expenditures, to keep accounts, and see to other administrative and financial tasks.

Some of the staff members of minor importance hired by the old *waqf* kept their positions, such as the imam and the two muezzins. Through Qāytbāy's stipulations three Quran reciters were added, one of whom recited the Quran at the tomb *(ḍarīḥ)* of Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī. The second reciter together with the shaykh was responsible for recitations during the *dhikr,* and a third one was to recite every day after the evening prayer by the window of the dome *(qubbah)* of al-Dasūqī.

The *waqfīyah* contains no separate information about the shaykh of the complex, which one usually finds in such documents. Normally, his duties are listed along with the qualities he should possess and the law school he must represent.[20] Instead, we find his duties listed under the title of teacher, *mudarris,* also called *muḥaddith.* This combined shaykh-teacher was explicitly told to instruct the students in Shafi'i law, which was favored by the majority of the Egyptian population. The teacher was further expected to provide instruction in *mī'ād* (public reading sessions with commentaries on religious texts), exegesis of the Quran *(tafsīr),* and hadith—thus the whole apparatus of conventional Sunni doctrine—but also in exhortative sermons *(mawā'iẓ)* perhaps composed by Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī, the subtleties of Sufi rhetoric *(raqā'iq kalām al-qawm),* and the virtuous deeds, or *manāqib,* of Ibrāhīm. The *manāqib* were to be recited by the teacher "on evenings of gathering *(layālī al-jam')* and on festive days *(mawāsim al-a'yād).*" He was appointed to instruct not children but students *(ṭalabah),* of whom the majority likely consisted of Sufis, especially since he was to teach them the *manāqib* of the saint.[21] The identity of the teacher-shaykh is revealed in an addition in the margin as Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Karakī al-Shāfi'ī, the *khalīfah* of the Dasūqī shrine *(al-maqām al-Dasūqī).* Thus, while no specific *ṭarīqah* affiliation is mentioned, the Burhāmīyah stood to profit.

THE SUFIS OF THE SHRINE COMPLEX

The absence of any mention of the Burhāmīyah Order (there is no stipulation that the Sufis need be affiliated with the Burhāmīyah) tells us that the order was still evolving and did not play a vital role in the shrine complex. The Sufis are collectively referred to as "the *fuqarā',*" "mendicants," "the Sufis," or "the *ṣūfīyah,*" the Sufi

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[20]Compare this with the detailed description of the duties of the shaykh of the *khānqāh*s. Fernandes, *Evolution,* 47 f., see also 30-31.

[21]Secular subjects were not taught among the Sufis even during the early Ottoman period, and it is therefore no wonder that subjects such as grammar are not listed. Winter comments that many Sufis had a reserved attitude towards even al-Azhar, since its curriculum included subjects they considered secular. Winter, *Society and Religion,* 229.

brotherhood. This was thus a complex not reserved for any particular *ṭarīqah* but serving general religious needs and Sufi aspirations, while at the same time perpetuating the memory of Sīdī Ibrāhīm. Most of the Sufis seem to have been temporary visitors, and the number of visitors was likely very high, since they were provided with various facilities and services. The number of permanent residents was likely less than twenty, perhaps as few as ten, to judge from what we know of other establishments of similar size. They were to receive free lunch and supper, provided that there was surplus in the income of the *waqf*, plus a sum of fifty *dirham*s each month on the condition that they were ″in the presence of the shaykh *(yaḥḍurū al-shaykh),*″ that is, received instruction. Clothing, normally provided by *khānqāh*s, is not mentioned. In addition both the shaykh and the Sufis, probably collectively, received each day fifty *dirham*s after the afternoon prayer.

On the basis of the *waqfīyah*, we can reconstruct how in the complex most of the day, from early afternoon till dark, was spent in religious practices, the length of time varying according to the season of the year. After the dawn prayer, which in January in Egypt falls around 5:20 A.M. and in the summer around 3:30 A.M., some of the Sufis sat in Ibrāhīm′s dome and started reciting the Quran at his tomb. There was a window opening to a street outside, so that the voice of this ″window reciter″ *(qāri' al-shubbāk)* would carry out to people passing by and bring blessings to them. He was to recite the same prayers as stipulated for the *ḥuḍūr,* described below, and to conclude with a prayer for the late *nāẓir* of the shrine, al-Sayfī Abū Yazīd. Teaching took place in the early morning in the lecture room and recitation room provided for that purpose. Among the students were perhaps also people other than Sufis. After the midday prayer, around noon, those not engaged in the window recitation likely assisted visitors or were absorbed in private worship. The early afternoon in Egypt is still today normally spent resting, and we can imagine visitors taking their nap in the cool interior of the mosque. The Sufis probably retired to their solitary cells and chambers of retreat (the words *khalāwá* and *ma'āzil* are used), but what kind of meditation or recitation they practiced can only be guessed. They probably used the invocations composed by Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī, recited the Quran, or practised ascetic exercises consisting of fasting and vigilance. Their residences were likely very spartan, but at least some of them were located on the second floor of the mosque, with a view overlooking the garden, and seeing the lemon, orange and pomegranate trees and the fountain with ornamented tiles may have encouraged them to contemplate beauty and God′s grace in creation.

The daily communal service was called *ḥuḍūr al-taṣawwuf,* and it lasted from the afternoon prayer (from around 3:00-3:30 P.M.) until the sunset prayer at 5:15-7:00 P.M. It took place in Ibrāhīm′s dome, where the presence of the saint could be felt,

and started with Quran recitation, of "whatever [parts of the Quran] they take delight in." The shaykh then read a fourth part of the Quran, which was followed by various prayers: to the Prophet, to Sīdī Ibrāhīm, his parents and brothers, to "the protector of the shrine *(mawlá al-maqām),* the donor *(wāqif)*, whose name be praised," to the shaykhs of the shrine, and to all Muslims. Visiting shaykhs perhaps also came to organize *ḥuḍūr* sessions for Sufis, as can be concluded from the plural used *(mashāyikh),* which of course may also refer to senior Sufis at the shrine.[22] The daily *ḥuḍūr* was followed by a short break, after which they gathered again after the evening prayer, which took place around 6:45-8:30, and possibly stayed up until late at night. Some Sufis would recite again by the window of the dome.

The only exception was Friday night, when they would perform the *dhikr* and spend part of the night reciting the *ḥizb,* or invocation, of Ibrāhīm and praise the Lord "in the Sufi manner" *('alā 'ādat maqāmāt al-awliyā').*[23] This was followed by a public recitation of religious texts, and the night was concluded by prayers for the Prophet and others, as mentioned above.[24] In this, the shaykh was assisted by some of the Sufis. Except for the *dhikr,* the reciters were free to choose whatever surahs from the Quran they preferred. We do not know how the Sufis of Dasūq performed the *dhikr:* whether they were sitting or standing, whether they used instruments or chanting, whether men and women were together, or whether they attained ecstasy. We see from the stipulations that in the *ḥuḍūr,* the Sufis were free to recite any surahs they desired, whereas in many *khānqāh*s' *waqfīyah*s the parts of the Quran to be recited were specifically mentioned, as were other recitations and incantations. As shown by Emil Homerin, this ritual of the *ḥuḍūr* formed the *waẓīfat al-taṣawwuf,* the Sufi duty, or office, which was their main task in a *khānqāh*.[25]

Qāytbāy, or the shaykh in charge of writing down the stipulations, considered it important that all the residents as well as the visitors should perform the *dhikr* according to the Sunnah. Therefore, "a pious and knowledgeable man" *(rajul min*

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[22]By the fourteenth century, the institution of *mashyakhat taṣawwuf*, or "group of Sufis who met daily with their shaykh for the hudur," had appeared in mosques and madrasahs. The shaykhs were free to move from one place to another, and this made it possible for Sufis to practice the rituals without belonging to any institution. By the fifteenth century, most mosques and madrasahs had a *mashyakhah* and the Sufis who belonged to it received a salary. Fernandes, *Evolution,* 33, 54.

[23]A *ḥizb* is a prayer asking God for spiritual blessings and may be recited at any time. Most Sufi orders have more than one *ḥizb,* of varying length. Valerie Hoffman, *Sufism, Mystics and Saints in Modern Egypt* (Columbia, S. C., 1995), 131-32.

[24]In the fifteenth century sessions of readings with commentaries on religious texts *(mī'ād 'āmm)* were opened to the public after the Friday *jum'ah* prayer. Fernandes, *Evolution,* 50.

[25]Homerin, "Saving Muslim Souls," 71.

ahl al-khayr wa-al-dīn wa-al-ʻilm) was to instruct the *fuqarā'* and other Muslims in the Sunnah and other information necessary in order to learn the *dhikr*. During the Mamluk period, Sufis were sometimes accused of practicing alchemy in their convents; any such attempts were severely punished, and it was partly in order to avoid such accusations that Sunni practices were stressed.[26]

The Sufi Sisters

In the shrine complex in Dasūq, there were places for women to relax, referred to as a *maqṣūrah,* ″a closed area,″ which is typically reserved for female visitors to mosques and shrines and ″keeps them from mixing with men.″ Women had separate toilets as well. These may also indicate the presence of female Sufis residing at the shrine. During the Mamluk period there were convents or hospices, called *ribāṭ*s, for women, and some women acted as shaykhahs; the sixteenth-century al-Shaʻrānī took it for granted that women performed *dhikr* as well.[27] Even if we cannot necessarily draw conclusions from today′s practices to describe the past, it is worth noting that Valerie Hoffman mentioned the Burhāmīyah Order in the 1980s as among the most flexible as far as the relations between the sexes is concerned.[28]

Further, al-Sahkāwī has a special section about holy women in his *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʻ,* and Huda Lutfi, in her study of that section, has drawn conclusions about the social and economic status of women in the fifteenth century. She focuses attention on the large number of widowed women and on the fact that many were left without any family to look after them; therefore the *ribāṭ*s established by wealthy men or women were a welcome asylum for many. The Sufis were especially active in patronizing orphans and widows.[29] It is possible that the shrine of Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī also hosted some women who probably were family members of those employed by the shrine. In that case they lived either outside it or within its premises, in the residences of the shaykh and the superintendent.[30] The term ″*ribāṭ* for ladies″ is used in the document once but its meaning is ambiguous. It seems to have been a two-winged room or building with vaults located beside the mosque, and from it there was access to the cells *(khalāwá)*. This could be an

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[26]On how, e.g., Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī treated those practicing alchemy, see Winter, *Society and Religion,* 174-75.

[27]ʻAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʻrānī, *Al-Baḥr al-Mawrūd fī al-Mawāthīq wa-al-ʻUhūd* (Cairo, 1321), 207; quoted by Winter, *Society and Religion,* 131.

[28]Hoffman, *Sufism, Mystics and Saints,* 119, 247-48.

[29]Huda Lutfi, ″Al-Sakhāwī′s Kitāb al-Nisā' as a Source for the Social and Economic History of Women during the 15th C. AD,″ *Muslim World* 71:2 (1981): 104-24.

[30]Those employed by *khānqāh*s were allowed to have their families with them, and sometimes even married Sufis were accepted to reside on the premises. Fernandes, *Evolution,* 31, 34, 43.

indication that there were female Sufi residents who had their own cells. On the other hand, the *ribāṭ* is said to be separated by a ″painted silk,″ by which a curtain is obviously meant, and this could rather refer to a separate ladies′ section in the mosque itself and not to a separate residence. All this points to women participating in the life of the shrine.

Michael Winter assumes that in the sixteenth century, ″the Sufis who were active in the countryside formed a much more homogeneous group socially than did those in Cairo.″[31] In the case of a small agricultural village such as Dasūq it almost certainly was so. The people residing in or visiting the shrine consisted probably of local fellahs, fishermen, craftsmen and the like, and their wives, sisters and daughters, with a limited number of educated people. Urbanization was not a large-scale phenomenon, and even many Sufis of Cairo had their background in the villages and provinces.[32] With Qāytbāy patronizing this rural cult, it gained status, and perhaps on his initiative, the traditions on Sīdī Ibrāhīm were recorded. This made the cult and the shrine more acceptable to the urban, literate ulama, and incorporated the cult into the larger religious topography of Egypt.

Other Activities of the Shrine Complex

A religious endowment of this size naturally would have staff for the service of the public as well; it was, after all, an institution meant for public welfare. For that purpose, there was a gate-keeper *(bawwāb),* servants (sing. *khaddām*/*khādim*, both forms used) in charge of maintaining the facilities, a caretaker of the waterwheel *(sawwāq)* who also filled the ablution basins and watered the garden, and a teacher *(mu'addib)* who taught children to read and write in the *kuttāb-sabīl* or *maktab*. For the riding animals of the visitors, there was a *wakālah* (caravanserai). Since providing public meals was often one of the functions of pious endowments, there was a separate bakery to provide ″bread for the shrine *(maqām)* and the visitors.″ Bread was the staple food then as it is now; in some *waqfīyah*s the amount of bread the Sufis were to receive daily is mentioned, and decreasing the daily rations was used as a means of punishment. Meals were also served, and there was an inspector of the kitchen *(mushrif al-maṭbakh)* and a cook *(ṭabbākh)*, who was also expected to know how to knead dough and bake bread. Storehouses and an oil press were located close to the kitchen.

Our *waqfīyah* also contains instructions concerning surplus income, expenses, and other points vital to the functioning of the institution. The surplus of the

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[31]Winter, *Society and Religion,* 129.

[32]Ibid., 131 and 276-77. On the relationship between the orders and various guilds, see idem, *Egyptian Society under Ottoman Rule, 1517-1798* (London and New York, 1992), 155.

income *(ray‘)* remaining after the salaries had been paid was to be spent on lunch and supper for the *fuqarā’*, those visiting the shrine, and the laymen, and on meals to be served on festive days and during *mawlid*s. Here the plural *mawālīd* is used with no reference as to whose *mawlid* is meant, but we may take it that Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī′s saint′s day and the Prophet′s birthday celebration are indicated. The latter was an established practice by then, and by no means limited to observance by Sufis but rather a state festival financed by the government.[33] If something was still left over from the income, the *nāẓir* was instructed to invest it in real estate, according to detailed advice given in the document, and to use it for repairs needed at the shrine complex. In case this could not be done or was not needed, and some income still remained, it was to be divided ″among the *fuqarā’* and the poor *(masākīn)* Muslims wherever they are.″

AMIR MUGHULBĀY, THE SUPERINTENDENT

From an addition in the margin we learn that the *nāẓir* of the *waqf* was Amir al-Sayfī Mughulbāy al-Muḥammadī al-Bahliwān al-Malikī al-Ashrafī, who also was the witness (or notary, *shāhid*) of the *waqfīyah*. The name of the superintendent gives us some clues about his life, even if his genealogy remains unclear—for Mamluks, as slaves, are given no lineage. He belonged to the highest rank of the Mamluk military hierarchy, officers who were given the title of amir.[34] The name Mughulbāy, ″the Mongol lord,″ implies Mongol origin, which would not be unusual. But, as pointed out by David Ayalon, especially during the late Mamluk period, names had sometimes lost their function of indicating origin.[35]

Mughulbāy probably received his military training from an amir of the sultan Qāytbāy, after which he was manumitted and entered the service of the sultan. He was thus called Qāytbāy′s personal mamluk, as revealed by his title al-Malikī al-Ashrafī, ″Belonging to the Malik, or King, al-Ashraf″ (Qāytbāy′s honorific). The ″al-Sayfī″ is short for Sayf al-Dīn, ″the Sword of Islam.″ The Mamluk historian al-Qalqashandī wrote that most Mamluks had this title, or *laqab,* in their names, due to its association with power and forcefulness. Towards the end of the Mamluk period almost every amir was given the *nisbah* al-Sayfī. The ″Muḥammad″ in his

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[33]On the *mawlid*s during the sixteenth century, see Winter, *Society and Religion,* 177 f. The first mention of al-Dasūqī′s *mawlid* comes from ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha‘rānī (d. 973/1565), *Laṭā’if al-Minan* (Cairo, 1357/1938-39), 2:207; quoted by Winter, *Society and Religion,* 181. We may, however, assume that it had been celebrated earlier.

[34]On the hierarchy of the Mamluk state, see Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī,* 1:1-9.

[35]David Ayalon, ″Names, titles and ′nisbas′ of the Mamlūks,″ *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975): 189-232. Repr. in David Ayalon, *The Mamlūk Military Society,* Collected Studies (London, 1979), 219f.

name refers to the person to whom Mughulbāy belonged before Qāytbāy. This could be the slave merchant or the amir who had bought him for the sultan, or it could be the master who had taught him his military skills. He must have been a man who had influenced Mughulbāy greatly or for whom he had great respect, since he decided to keep his name as a *nisbah* even after entering the service of Qāytbāy, which was not usual.[36]

One of the conditions set by sultan Qāytbāy was that the guardianship *(walāyah)* of the *waqf* was to be in his own name as long as he lived; after him in the name of Amir Mughulbāy; and after him in the name of whoever was the sultan. The second condition concerns the expenditures and income of the *waqf,* and Mughulbāy was assigned his fair share of the profit. This is further stated in an addition in the margin, which indicates that he had the right to dispose freely of everything that was contained in the shrine, including all the votive offerings *(nudhur)* brought there.

We can be sure that Qāytbāy wanted to favor his amir for one reason or another, and that the *naẓr,* or control, of the *waqf* was assigned to him as a reward and a means of income. On the basis of our evidence, it seems at first that Mughulbāy was not left penniless. However, his control over the *waqf* was not hereditary; this means that it was not within his power to transfer it to his descendants.[37] In fact, the shrine had earlier been controlled by another Mamluk amir named al-Sayfī Abū Yazīd, for whom prayers were to be recited at the tomb. It would be interesting to speculate as to how much influence Mughulbāy as *nāẓir* really had on the affairs of the *waqf,* but on this we have no information.

Looking at the matter more closely, Mughulbāy's position may not have been as personally lucrative as it first appears, for even if Qāytbāy favored his amir, his motives for establishing an endowment were at least partly economic. It is worth remembering that the revenues of the *waqf* benefited the sultan himself as long as he lived, and only after his death did they benefit Mughulbāy. Through the

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[36]Ibid., 191-92, 213-14. Ibn al-Sayrafī mentions a person by the name of Mughulbāy who was a commander of ten *(amīr 'asharah),* later the *nā'ib* (governor) of Jerusalem and the sultan's cupbearer *(sāqī).* However, the information about this person's activities concern much earlier years (813/1410, 816/1413 and 823/1420), and he is said to have been appointed to a post already in 813/1410. From that time until the signing of the *waqfīyah* there are seventy-one years (seventy-three lunar years). If he was around twenty years old at the time of his appointment, he would have been over ninety at the time of the signing. This makes it unlikely that he is our man. Ibn al-Sayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān* (Cairo, 1971), 1:287, 330, 478.

[37]The situation was similar when a professional army officer was granted an *iqṭā',* a form of administrative grant, because "the area granted and the grantee were constantly changed." Cl. Cahen, "Iḳṭā'," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd. ed., 3:1088. Sartain has pointed out that "an emir held his fief *(iqṭā')* in the province in which he served and if transferred to a different province he received a new fief." Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī,* 1:5-6.

stipulations in the *waqfīyah,* Qāytbāy in fact remained in control of the *waqf*. Qāytbāy was facing a war with the Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd II, and in order to raise money, seven months′ income was demanded of all *awqāf*.[38] It was under these financially troubled circumstances that Qāytbāy′s *waqf* in Dasūq was established.

SULTAN QĀYTBĀY′S SPIRITUAL ADVISORS

All of this does not mean, of course, that Qāytbāy′s motives for establishing the endowment could not have been spiritual as well. He was influenced by several religious persons, even if we cannot always prove that they directly advised him. Among the spiritual advisors who surrounded him were his personal imam, Ibn al-Karakī, who had a great impact on him, and a Sufi saint, Ibrāhīm al-Matbūlī, who roused the sultan′s interest in the local saint of Ṭanṭā, Aḥmad al-Badawī. We shall now focus on the relationship between the sultan and his imam, which changed from a close friendship to the latter′s dismissal. The scope of the influence that the imam had on the sultan′s affairs will be discussed, as well as the colorful circumstances of his dismissal. As a result, the sultan was drawn to Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Karakī for comfort and advice. This shaykh was a follower of Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī, and although we do not know the precise nature of their relationship, Qāytbāy appointed Jalāl al-Dīn as the shaykh of the shrine complex in Dasūq.

THE SUFI SHAYKHS

Al-Sha‘rānī noted in his *Ṭabaqāt* that there were Sufi shaykhs in Sultan Qāytbāy′s life, such as ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Dashṭūṭī (d. 923/1517), whom the sultan admired to the extent that he kissed his feet and asked him to bless his army. Another was Ibrāhīm al-Matbūlī, who was an illiterate Malāmatī Sufi with a convent *(zāwiyah)* of his own, and who performed miracles such as foretelling the future. According to al-Sha‘rānī, who was his student, he guided the sultan for many years. Al-Matbūlī wore a red garment as a token of his affiliation with the followers of Aḥmad al-Badawī.[39] Al-Matbūlī′s biography is given by al-Sakhāwī, who met him personally and wrote that before moving to Cairo, the saint used to live at the tomb of al-Badawī in Ṭanṭā, where he later established a large mosque *(jāmi‘)*.[40]

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[38]The same recklessness continued during Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī′s reign, and the pious foundations remained under a heavy burden: one year′s income was demanded, but due to rioting it was reduced to seven months′ income. Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī,* 1:16-17.

[39]‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha‘rānī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrá = Lawāqiḥ al-Anwār fī Ṭabaqāt al-Akhyār* (Cairo, 1343, 1355/1925, 1936), 2:77-80.

[40]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi‘,* 1:85-86; Winter, *Society and Religion,* 95 f. and 271; Boaz Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo,* Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge, 1993), 76.

Al-Sakhāwī, however, did not mention anything of al-Matbūlī's connection with Qāytbāy, but only said that many notables *(akābir)* came to see al-Matbūlī in search of blessing *(tabarruk)*—this in spite of his illiteracy. If we can rely on al-Sha'rānī's words about the role of al-Matbūlī in Qāytbāy's life—which he may have exaggerated since he himself had high appreciation for his teacher al-Matbūlī—we can believe that the sultan was influenced by Aḥmadī ideas. For the Mamluks to support the Aḥmadīs was not in itself strange, since the cult had gained root in society, especially among the ruling elite.[41] During his many trips to the Delta the sultan visited Ṭanṭā in 903/1498 and ordered al-Badawī's tomb to be enlarged.[42]

The Hanafi Imam

The Mamluks favored the Hanafi school of law, and the personal imam of Qāytbāy was a Hanafi judge by the name of Ibrāhīm (also called Burhān al-Dīn) ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Karakī. Ibn al-Karakī was an educated and learned man, among whose teachers were some members of the famous al-Bulqīnī family. He had much influence on Qāytbāy and received many high posts; he was, among other duties, responsible for reciting the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of al-Bukhārī in the Citadel of Cairo.[43] The tie between Sultan Qāytbāy and Imam Ibn al-Karakī was perhaps made closer by the fact that both had Circassian mothers. Al-Sakhāwī says that Ibn al-Karakī was in favor with Qāytbāy already when the latter was still an amir, and when al-Matbūlī died in 880/1475, Qāytbāy was drawn even closer to his imam. While accompanying him on the pilgrimage in 884/1480, the imam composed poetry in honor of the sultan. They were so close that it was recorded that Qāytbāy said that he wanted Ibn al-Karakī to recite the Quran at his tomb and visit it after his death.[44]

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[41]See, e.g., Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen, *Al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī: Un grand saint de l'Islam égyptien,* Textes arabes et études islamiques, 32 (Cairo, 1994), 751.

[42]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Ẓuhūr,* 3:199, 330; also summarized in Shoshan, *Popular Culture,* 77.

[43]During the Mamluk era, the recitation of *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* took place every year at the end of Ramaḍān in the Citadel, and during times of crisis also at the tombs of Imam al-Shāfi'ī and Sayyidah Nafīsah. Annemarie Schimmel, "Kalif und Kadi im spätmittelalterlichen Ägypten," *Die Welt des Islams* 24 (1942): 78-79.

[44]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi',* 1:59-64; 'Abd al-Ḥayy Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Beirut, n. d.), pt. 8, 103. Ibn al-'Imād gives the complete name as Burhān al-Dīn Abū al-Wafā' Ibrāhīm ibn Zayd al-Dīn Abī Hurayrah 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Majd al-Dīn Ismā'īl al-Karakī, also known as Ibn al-Karakī. He was born on 9 Ramaḍān 835/10 May 1432 in Cairo. Al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) states that Ibn al-Karakī died in 898/1492-93. It is therefore strange to read of his "resurrection" in the *Badā'i' al-Ẓuhūr* of Ibn Iyās (d. 930/1524), who writes that Ibn al-Karakī was dismissed from his post as Hanafi judge in 906/1501. Summarized in Petry, *Twilight of Majesty,* 146.

Ibn al-Karakī´s important position is revealed in the stories describing the conflict between Sultan Qāytbāy and the learned but arrogant scholar Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). Al-Suyūṭī had refused to pay the official monthly visit to the sultan, until finally, on 1 Muḥarram 899/12 October 1493, he appeared in the Citadel wearing a cloth called *ṭaylasān* over his shoulders. *Ṭaylasān* was a cloth of honor worn by the learned only, covering the turban and shoulders and hanging down the back.[45] Qāytbāy was offended by this, taking it as a Maliki tradition, and in this he was supported by his imam Ibn al-Karakī, who was angry about the incident even though he himself was not present. During another incident, according to al-Suyūṭī´s biographer, Ibn al-Karakī was doing

> his utmost to provoke [the sultan] . . . , and kindling fires which will burn against [al-Suyūṭī] in his grave. . . . He persuaded him [the sultan] that the sultan´s order was to be obeyed, that obedience to him was obligatory, and that anyone who disobeyed him, sinned and rebelled.[46]

Ibn al-Karakī thus had considerable influence on Qāytbāy, who listened to his advice and acted accordingly. However, from Ibn al-ʻImād (d. 1089/1679) we learn that the good relationship between Qāytbāy and his imam lasted only until 886/1481, when ″the sultan´s opinion about him and his company deteriorated (lit. became miserable).″ Ibn al-ʻImād gave no reason for this sudden change. Imam Ibn al-Karakī thus did not recite the funerary prayers for Qāytbāy as the latter had wished. Instead, he kept to his house and concentrated on his studies, until he was appointed as the Hanafi qadi of Cairo in 903/1497, the year following Qāytbāy´s death, during the short reign of the deceased sultan´s minor son al-Nāṣir. Ibn al-Karakī stayed in this position for only three years, after which he was dismissed (Shawwāl 906/May 1501) because, as Ibn Iyās (d. 930/1524) tells us, he had earned the ire of Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī for sheltering one of this new sultan´s political opponents. Therefore, Ibn al-Karakī was dismissed and a favorite of Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī, Sarī al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Barr ibn al-Shiḥnah, was appointed in his place.[47]

At this point Ibn al-Karakī was 68 years old and withdrew into seclusion, perhaps exhausted by the rapid succession of sultans and their changing whims.

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[45]See, e.g., Schimmel, ″Kalif und Kadi, ″56-57.

[46]Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī,* 1:89, quoting ʻAbd al-Qādir al-Shādhilī´s biography of al-Suyūṭī, ″Bahjat al-ʻĀbidīn bi-Tarjamat Jalāl al-Dīn.″

[47]Ibn al-ʻImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab,* pt. 8, 103. Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Ẓuhūr,* 3:367; summarized in Petry, *Twilight of Majesty,* 146. Schimmel, based on Ibn Iyās, gives a detailed description of how Ibn al-Karakī and Sarī al-Dīn were each nominated for the post and, after a few months or even days, were replaced by one another. Schimmel, ″Kalif und Kadi, ″103-4.

He lived on to be 84 and met a sad but pious death. He used to climb down stairs to a pool for his ablutions in his wooden clogs; on 5 Shaʻbān 922/2 September 1516 his clog slipped and he fell into the pool, with no one to help him. When people came to look for the old man, they found one of his clogs on the stairs, his turban on the water, and later his dead body. As an honor to him he was buried close to Qāytbāy.[48]

THE IMAM WHO FELL INTO DISGRACE

Why should Qāytbāy, after such a close relationship, have dismissed Imam Ibn al-Karakī in 886/1481, only one year after they had performed the pilgrimage together? The reason given by al-Sakhāwī is that in the end of Jumādá I 886/end of July 1481—thus two months before the signing of the *waqf* document in Dasūq—the *muhtār*[49] of Qāytbāy lodged a complaint against Ibn al-Karakī. He claimed that the imam had insulted him by polluting his clothes with excrement. This had happened at Ibn al-Karakī′s home in Birkat al-Fīl; though we are not told the details about the heated discussion that led to such an extreme outburst of anger, we can imagine the sight, and what was probably involved: the imam threw his chamber pot at the *muhtār* (a severe insult indeed, which leads to a state of ritual impurity). As the victim came, likely rushing, out of the house, a crowd of curious people gathered around him to hear about the outrageous behavior of the imam. Al-Sakhāwī describes the scene:

> The complainant *(mushtakī)* explained vividly what is not proper to be mentioned, and hastened to send [Ibn al-Karakī] his garments because there was excrement on them. . . . Then he [Ibn al-Karakī] forbade him to enter his house, and at that moment his [Ibn al-Karakī′s] status among the spectators sank because of this, and people eagerly discussed the matter.[50]

Then the son of Shaykh al-Shumunnī, who together with Ibn al-Karakī was in charge of the *mashyakhah* of the mosque of Qāytbāy, where the latter taught Hanafi *fiqh,* interceded in the matter. He was probably horrified by such conduct

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[48]Ibn al-ʻImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab,* pt. 8, 103-4. Ibn al-Karakī′s residence in Birkat al-Fīl was bought for him by Qāytbāy in the early years of the latter′s sultanate (thus some time after 872/1468), on Ibn al-Karakī′s previous residence, see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʻ,* 1:63.

[49]< Turkish *mehter*, meaning ″a doorkeeper at the Sublime Porte; official who announced the award of promotions or decorations; a soldier in charge of setting up the Sultan′s tent; or Ottoman military musician.″ Tuncer Gülensoy, ed., *Doğu Anadolu Osmanlıcası: Etimolojik Sözlük Denemesi* (Ankara, 1986), s.v. *mehter*.

[50]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʻ,* 1:63.

by a religious scholar, and as al-Sakhāwī says, he ″was agitated to make complaints as well.″ He took the insulted man to see a Shafiʻi qadi, and the matter was settled, the man receiving 100 *dīnār*s as compensation.[51] After such behavior, Ibn al-Karakī was not deemed worthy of reciting in the Citadel, and Qāytbāy expelled him because to allow him to continue would have meant a disgrace to his own authority—though al-Sakhāwī implies that the sultan did this reluctantly and tried not to put Ibn al-Karakī to shame.[52] The sultan then saw to it that the insulted *muhtār* received new clothes. He nominated other persons for the posts formerly held by Ibn al-Karakī, but the post of imam was left empty, since he ″held back the imamate *(waffara al-imāmah)*.″ Years passed, and so eager was Qāytbāy to have his favorite imam back that he asked one of his amirs to find out if there could be any excuse made for the Ibn al-Karakī′s behavior. But since nothing came of this, in 895/1490 the sultan simply pardoned his former imam and began to associate with him again. He made Ibn al-Karakī sit in front of him in the Citadel among the Hanafi officials of the executive secretary *(dawādār)*—thus in a place of very high rank and respect. But the matter had not been forgotten in the nine years that had passed. The public appearance must have been painful to Ibn al-Karakī, but he seems to have controlled himself bravely, for al-Sakhāwī writes:

> He was pointed at and talked about, and nobody wanted to show him any signs of approval, but he showed very firm persistence at this trial he had to face, and he behaved very intelligently.[53]

After Ibn al-Karakī was restored to his former position, he still had considerable influence on the sultan; the case of al-Suyūṭī, mentioned earlier, took place after the reconciliation.[54] His final absolution took place when Qāytbāy gave him permission to participate in the celebration of the Prophet′s birthday in the Citadel.[55] There, on the night of the *mawlid* (12 Rabīʻ I 895/2 February 1490), the sultan publicly spoke of his affection for him.[56]

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[51]Ibid.

[52]″The sultan was extremely angry at this, and he threatened the Imam, but his nature was good to the extent that the matter was suppressed/concealed *(ikhtafá)* and he began to reconcile through [the intercession] of some of his amirs. But this did not have a wholesome effect *(mā anjaʻa)* on the continuation of his authority *(istimrār jihātihi),* and he therefore expelled him from reciting the Tradition in the Citadel and employed the shaykh′s nephew instead.″ Ibid.

[53]Ibid., 64.

[54]Ibid., 63-64.

[55]Here only the word *mawlid* is used, and I have interpreted it to refer to *mawlid al-nabī*.

[56]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʻ,* 1:63-64.

What would the imam who in anger throws a chamber pot at the sultan′s high official have to do with the establishment of a religious foundation in Dasūq? Perhaps more than is evident at first sight. The *waqfīyah* stipulated that a man called Jalāl al-Dīn al-Karakī—not to be confused with Ibn al-Karakī, the imam of Qāytbāy—was to act as shaykh and teacher of the shrine complex. Jalāl al-Dīn acted as the teacher and *khalīfah* of the Burhāmīyah Order, following his father Khayr al-Dīn, from 888/1483 until his own death in 912/1506.[57] His salary as a teacher was as much as 400 *dirham*s a month; what he received on the basis of an earlier *waqfīyah,* if anything, is obscure. His status was well established, and he may have had an important position in Qāytbāy′s life as a spiritual advisor.

From the day when Qāytbāy′s imam Ibn al-Karakī fell into disfavor and was dismissed, until he officially regained royal favor again, nine years elapsed. Since Qāytbāy could not be in touch directly with his polluted imam, and since his former Sufi advisor al-Matbūlī had died, he most likely felt the need for a new spiritual advisor. During this period (886-96/1481-90) the sultan may have consoled himself through a friendship with Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn in Dasūq. This is speculation, but we know for certain that the imam was dismissed in July, and in October of the same year Qāytbāy made the shrine the beneficiary of a religious endowment. Fifteen years passed between the establishment of the *waqf* and the death of Qāytbāy in 901/1496, and there was thus ample opportunity for him to go and visit Dasūq. We know that between 875 and 891/1470 and 1486 the sultan made several trips to the Delta, and it is easy to believe that he also on those occasions performed a *ziyārah* to Sīdī Ibrāhīm′s tomb and consulted Shaykh al-Karakī. The content of their conversations or the advice al-Karakī may have given to the sultan are lost to us, but there may have been a soft spot in Qāytbāy′s heart for the Deltan saint Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī and his shaykh, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Karakī. It was perhaps at Qāytbāy′s initiative that Jalāl al-Dīn wrote the biography of Sīdī Ibrāhīm. Since rulers are known to have built *zāwiyah*s and mosques for their favorite shaykhs, the shrine complex in Dasūq was perhaps established to honor Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn.

Qāytbāy in Search of Immortality

The study of Qāytbāy′s connections with his religious advisors shows us how intertwined politics and religion were during the late Mamluk period. It provides

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[57]His name is given in the catalogue of manuscripts in the library of Dār al-Kutub in Cairo as Jalāl al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Khayr al-Dīn al-Karakī (d. 912/1505), which makes Jalāl al-Dīn a son of Khayr al-Dīn. This is very possible. *Qā′imat al-Ḥaṣr al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʻArabīyah bi-Dār al-Kutub wa-al-Wathā'iq al-Qawmīyah* (Cairo, n.d.), s.v. Lisān al-Taʻrīf. The *waqfīyah* gives the name of Jalāl al-Dīn′s son as well: ʻAbbās.

us with a glimpse of what was going on behind the façade of establishing religious institutions, and of how complex the motives of the donors could be.

The shrine complex in Dasūq was endowed by Qāytbāy for various reasons. The stress in the *waqfīyah* on formal Islamic education and on following the Sunnah suggests that the shrine was meant not only to preserve the memory of Sīdī Ibrāhīm but to consolidate the status of Islamic education in the rural Delta area—and thus to bring it within the power of the urban ulama.[58] Qāytbāy also sought to manifest his power by adding a congregational mosque *(jāmi')* to what was already a popular religious center. His name would be mentioned not only in the Friday *khuṭbah*s, but also in the prayers of the Sufi gatherings in the mausoleum-mosque *(masjid wa-maqām)* of al-Dasūqī. This way, Qāytbāy took advantage of the fame of a local holy man to promote his own fame. The shrine complex acted as a constant reminder of the sultan's power all over Egypt, and may have helped to legitimize his status among the rural population.

During his first trip to Dasūq Qāytbāy had perhaps witnessed the great number of visitors coming to the shrine and bringing votive offerings. Inspired by the example of Ṭanṭā and its flourishing Badawī cult, he incorporated the earlier *waqf* in Dasūq into his new endowment and enlarged the shrine complex—making sure that he remained in control of the revenues that helped him to finance his war with Bāyezīd II.

However, being a pious man and inclined to Sufism, Qāytbāy may have had genuine spiritual motives as well: his decision to promote the memory of a seemingly minor rural saint was perhaps due to his own personal devotion to Sīdī Ibrāhīm, the shrine serving as a token of this devotion. And in the constant presence of death cause by plague, the need to have staff to recite prayers for his immortal soul must have influenced his decision.[59] The construction of a religious complex in itself would bring immortality to its constructor by preserving his name and memory.

The reasons why Sultan Qāytbāy established a pious endowment in Dasūq were thus a combination of economic and spiritual ones. He may have been seeking spiritual consolation in times of crisis, while at the same time safeguarding his economic interests. Whatever the reasons, Qāytbāy helped to develop and activate the cult of Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī, and it was in the sultan's interest to promulgate the fame of this saint to attract more people to the site and to make it the famous center of pilgrimage which it remains today.

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[58]As Vincent Cornell has pointed out, in pre-thirteenth-century Morocco, Sufi institutions served as efficient means to spread Islamic doctrine to rural areas. Vincent J. Cornell, *Realm of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism* (Austin, 1998), esp. 3-31.

[59]This may have been the primary purpose of the whole *khānqāh* establishment, as suggested by Emil Homerin. Homerin, "Saving Muslim Souls," 77 f., esp. 83.

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Rethinking Mamluk Textiles[*]

With the emergence of Mamluk studies as a distinct area of specialization within Islamic studies, an evaluation of the current ″state-of-the-field″ of Mamluk art and architecture is required.[1] Although textiles are included in most discussions of Mamluk art, a full-length review of the literature, goals, and methods of this field has not yet appeared. The following article is a contribution to this end.

The literature on Mamluk textiles is vast and varied. Because of the centrality of textiles in medieval culture, textile analysis has been of interest to scholars from a variety of disciplines.[2] Art historians, more traditional historians, and archaeologists have all written on the subject; sometimes, but not always, their work is done in consultation with textile specialists, who have contributed their own body of scholarly literature.[3] Archaeologists, for example, have taken a special interest in Mamluk textiles, because of their superior preservation in excavations. More complete pieces have been preserved from the Mamluk period than from

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[*]This article grew out of a post-doctoral fellowship in textiles (Veronika Gervers Research Fellowship) I held at the Royal Ontario Museum in the fall of 1998 and a paper on Mamluk textiles and ceramics given at the MESA annual meeting in Chicago in December of the same year. All pieces illustrated herein belong to the Abemayor Collection of the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto and were photographed by Brian Boyle. I am grateful to Bruce Craig for the invitation to contribute this study.

[1]Donald Whitcomb, ″Mamluk Archaeological Studies: A Review,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 97-106; Jonathan M. Bloom, ″Mamluk Art and Architectural History: A Review Article,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 31-58; Bethany J. Walker, ″The Later Islamic Periods: Militarization and Nomadization,″ *Near Eastern Archaeology* (″Archaeological Sources for the History of Palestine″ series) 62 (1999), in progress.

[2]Lisa Golombek has written eloquently about the ″textile mentality″ of medieval Islamic society in her ″The Draped Universe of Islam,″ in Priscilla P. Soucek, ed., *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World* (University Park, PA, 1988), 25-38.

[3]In archaeological reports, textile analysis is generally contained in a separate chapter and is written by a textile consultant. Two of the more notable, and successful, joint efforts by art historians and textile specialists are Ernst Kühnel and Louisa Bellinger, *Catalogue of Dated Tiraz Fabrics: Umayyad, Abbasid, and Fatimid,* The Textile Museum (Washington, D.C., 1952) and Lisa Golombek and Veronika Gervers, ″Tiraz Fabrics in the Royal Ontario Museum,″ in Veronika Gervers, ed., *Studies in Textile History in Memory of Harold B. Burnham*, Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto, 1977), 82-125.

any other time.[4] For economic historians, textile analysis is particularly significant. Textiles were the ″most important form of bourgeois wealth″ and appear regularly in medieval texts as a commodity of import and export.[5] Moreover, the textile industry has been described as a mainstay of the Mamluk economy, and, along with metalwork, Mamluk fabrics were the largest exports to the Far East in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries.[6]

Scholars of social and political history have emphasized the politicization of textile production by the Mamluks. The manipulation of costume by the ruling establishment for state functions, such as pageants, banquets, and processions, is a familiar phenomenon for medieval Europe, as well as the Islamic world.[7] As Bierman and Sanders have illustrated, the Fatimids appreciated the political potential of textiles and used them, along with the architectural backdrop of the city of Cairo, to punctuate their official ceremonies.[8] The Mamluks, even more than the Fatimids, made expensive fabrics, particularly inscribed silks *(ṭirāz, zarkash),* tools of state by incorporating certain kinds of dress and the change of dress into their court rituals. The elaboration of official ceremonial by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and the codification by rank of dress which went along with it are important phenomena to consider in this regard.[9] Most of what has been written on Mamluk ceremonial in recent years has made reference to dress.[10] Similarly, there has been

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[4]*Tissus d′Égypte: Témoins du monde Arabe, VIIIe-XVe siècles (Collection Bouvier),* Musée d′art et d′histoire (Geneva, 1993), 28. For an excellent example of costume preservation in an archaeological context, one should see Elisabeth Crowfoot, ″The Clothing of a Fourteenth-Century Nubian Bishop,″ in *Studies in Textile History*, 43-51.

[5]Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1967), 31.

[6]Louise W. Mackie, ″Toward an Understanding of Mamluk Silks: National and International Considerations,″ *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 127, 140, and Bloom, ″Mamluk Art and Architectural History,″ 48.

[7]An excellent source on European pageantry is Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650* (Suffolk, 1984).

[8]Irene Bierman, ″Art and Politics: The Impact of Fatimid Uses of Tiraz Fabrics″ (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1980) and idem, *Writing Signs: The Fatimid Public Text* (Berkeley, 1998). Paula Sanders′ *Ritual, Politics, and the City in Fatimid Egypt* (Albany, NY, 1994) is a broader investigation of Fatimid processions.

[9]This is the central theme of L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume* (Geneva, 1952). The effects that development in ceremonial had on Mamluk art of the fourteenth century are examined in Bethany J. Walker, ″The Ceramic Correlates of Decline in the Mamluk Sultanate: An Analysis of Late Medieval Sgraffito Wares″ (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1998).

[10]Karl Stowasser, ″Manner and Customs at the Mamluk Court,″ *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 13-20; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, ″The Citadel of Cairo: Stage for Mamluk Ceremonial,″ *Annales Islamologiques* 24 (1988): 25-79; Boaz Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo* (New York, 1993); and Nasser O. Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture*

an interest in textiles used by the contemporary Mongol courts, as exemplified by the work of Allsen and Wardwell.[11]

The purpose of this article is to reevaluate the contributions of these disciplines in light of the results of recent scholarship in Mamluk studies. Specifically, the coexistence of two distinct groups of patrons (military and civilian) is considered for its impact on the production, consumption, and artistic development of textiles in Mamluk Cairo.

Historical Developments in Mamluk Textile Production

Two themes dominate discussion of the Mamluks′ textile industry: the increasing privatization of production throughout the fourteenth century and the decline of this industry in the fifteenth. There has been a heavy reliance on Maqrīzī′s *Khiṭaṭ* for information on the operation and ownership of *ṭirāz* factories in the Mamluk period.[12] According to this historian, robes of honor *(khila‘)*—a broad category of official garments, including textiles we traditionally call *ṭirāz,* and ensembles of clothing, equipment, and accessories—were manufactured in the state-run *dūr al-ṭirāz* well into the fourteenth century. Ibn Khaldūn, furthermore, situates the *dār al-ṭirāz* of his day in Cairo′s marketplace rather than the palace, as was the case in the Fatimid period.[13] The date 1340-41 is recognized as a turning point in the textile industry in Egypt, because in that year the administration of the royal workshop in Alexandria was delegated to an appointee of a local government official. Alexandria′s *dār al-ṭirāz* closed soon afterwards.[14] Whether seen as a growing disinterest in textile manufacture by the central authority or as a step towards directing Egypt′s best textile production and sales to Cairo, this action was only one example of the ways in which the industry was transformed. Production was increasingly privatized with the expanding influence of the amirs. Lapidus

(Leiden, 1995).

[11]Thomas T. Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange in the Mongol Empire: A Cultural History of Islamic Textiles* (Cambridge, 1997); Anne Wardwell, ″Flight of the Phoenix: Crosscurrents in late Thirteenth to Fourteenth Century Silk Patterns and Motifs,″ *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 74, no. 1 (Jan. 1987): 1-35; idem, ″Panni Tartarici: Eastern Islamic Silks Woven with Gold and Silver (13th and 14th Centuries),″ *Islamic Art* 3 (1989): 95-173; idem, ″Two Silk and Gold Textiles of the Early Mongol Period,″ *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 79, no. 10 (Dec. 1992): 354-78; and James Watt and Anne Wardwell, *When Silk was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles,* exhibition catalogue, New York Metropolitan Museum of Art and Cleveland Museum of Art (New York, 1997). While Allsen relies on textual sources, Wardwell′s work is more technically based.

[12]For a definition of the term *ṭirāz,* see discussion below and Golombek and Gervers, ″Tiraz Fabrics in the Royal Ontario Museum.″

[13]Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* 33.

[14]Patricia L. Baker, *Islamic Textiles* (London, 1995), 78.

mentions several instances of amirs in Damascus transferring silk and cloth markets to their own *qayṣarīyah*s, in at least one case in violation of an endowment benefiting the Umayyad Mosque.[15]

Contemporary sources leave no doubt that the manufacture and sale of expensive fabrics and costumes were lucrative. Surprisingly, there was no consistent policy towards this industry in the Mamluk period. Maqrīzī explains that after a period of private manufacture and sale, the market, in his day, had been taken over once again by the sultan. In his description of the *Sūq al-Sharābīshīyīn* (a specialized cap market) he writes:

> And the people greatly benefited from this, and they amassed an immense fortune through the regulation of business in this industry. For this reason no one could sell [robes of honor] except to the sultan. The sultan appointed the *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* to buy all he needed. If anyone other than the sultan′s agents tried to buy from this market, he would be punished accordingly.[16]

The ″owners″ of these businesses, while they were still independently run, were probably both amirs and civilian merchants. Privatization of this level of the textile industry may have also contributed to a change of fashion among non-Mamluks, as the most prestigious garments were now available, at a price, to wealthier civilians.[17] The result of the sultan′s renewed monopoly over *khila‘* would have been not only a concentration of resources but also restricted access to the most valuable fabrics and costumes, reinforcing the hierarchy of dress codes which reached its full development under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.

The introduction of chinoiserie was one of the most significant developments in textile production. While oriental motifs begin to appear in Mamluk art of the late thirteenth century, their powerful presence in the mature Baḥrī style of the fourteenth may be related to the success of the Yüan silk export market. The well-known reference by Abū al-Fidá to the gift of 700 silks from the Il Khan Abū Sa‘īd to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, in celebration of the 1323 peace treaty, is usually cited as evidence for the large-scale import of Mongol silks.[18] The impact of Yüan silks on the Mamluk textile industry, if not the other way around, not to

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[15]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 60.

[16]Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā‘iẓ wa-al-I‘tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār,* ed. Muḥammad Zaynahum and Madīḥah al-Sharqāwī (Cairo, 1998), 2:591. See also Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, 63.

[17]Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310-1341)* (Leiden, 1995), 113.

[18]Baker, *Islamic Textiles,* 72; Mackie, ″Toward an Understanding,″ 132.

mention the differentiation of Mongol (Yüan or Il Khanid) from Mamluk silks, are still matters of debate.[19]

Scholars are increasingly emphasizing the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad as a watershed in textile development. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's elaboration of official ceremonial was complemented, and in fact buttressed, by the beautification of official apparel and the institution of a strict hierarchy of dress according to rank.[20] Mayer's *Mamluk Costume* is to this day the single most important reference for information on official costumes and their codification. Mayer was able to attribute many textile innovations to this period, such as gold *ṭirāz,* gold brocade, and gold belts. Fashions for the military changed under his rule, with the introduction of the "Sallārī" and "Tartar" coats and the *aqbiyah maftūḥah.*[21] The art historical record confirms the picture the Arabic sources paint of this sultan. The majority of historically inscribed silks (both Mamluk and Yüan) name him, and some of the highest quality damasks can be dated to his third reign on a stylistic basis.[22]

The art historical literature suggests that while the Mamluk textile industry fully blossomed in the fourteenth century, the fifteenth century witnessed its decline. The oft-quoted reference to the reduction in the number of Alexandria's silk looms (from 14,000 in 1394 to a mere 800 in 1434) illustrates vividly the extent to which textile production suffered at the turn of the century.[23] Prices for textiles, in some cases, doubled and even tripled, as price lists provided by Ashtor indicate.[24] Ashtor further argues that the high price of domestic textiles led to a change of dress in the fifteenth century, as a cheaper European woolen fabric *(jūkh)* became fashionable.[25]

Three factors are supposed to have contributed to this state of affairs: the Black Death of 1348, the return to royal monopolies over textile production, and the flooding of Mamluk markets with high-quality, less expensive fabrics from

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[19]Wardwell's work, as above; see also discussion on "silk" below.

[20]Walker, "Ceramic Correlates of Decline, " 269 ff.

[21]Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* 21 ff. He describes the *Sallārī* coat as a long coat, often richly decorated with pearls and stones, and with short, wide sleeves. The Tartar coat is so called for the diagonal hem across the chest (from left to right), which was typical of Mongol dress. It was striped and had narrow sleeves.

[22]Mackie, "Toward an Understanding," 128 ff and 139, fig. 2.

[23]Eliyahu Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (London, 1976), 306; Baker, *Islamic Textiles*, 78; Bloom, "Mamluk Art," 48 and 73; Mackie, "Toward an Understanding," 127.

[24]Eliyahu Ashtor, "L'Evolution des Prix," reprinted in *The Medieval Near East: Social and Economic History*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1978), 35 ff.

[25]Ashtor, "Levantine Sugar Industry in the Later Middle Ages, an Example of Technological Decline," *Israel Oriental Studies* 7 (1977): 263.

Europe.[26] Mackie has observed that ″the textile industry was a vital force in the prosperity and subsequent decline of the Mamluk economy.″[27] It is impossible to determine the percentage of Cairo′s population in the fifteenth century that was occupied with the production, finishing, and sale of textiles, but by the eighteenth century, we are told, one-fifth of the city′s artists continued to specialize in the manufacture of textiles and one-quarter of its merchants sold them.[28]

PROBLEMS OF MAMLUK TEXTILES

The main characteristic of textiles which makes their study problematic is their fragility. Mamluk fabrics are woven from linen (from native flax fibers), cotton, wool, and silk. Plant and animal fibers, such as these, are vulnerable to attack from insects and are easily broken down by humidity, mildew, and the acidity of human sweat. In fact, the structure of a fabric begins to weaken the moment it is first worn; the normal wear-and-tear of wearing and laundering clothing is a constant factor in the eventual destruction of the garment. It is nothing short of miraculous that textiles as much as 700 years old survive at all. The fact that Mamluk textiles have been preserved in greater numbers and more completely than from any other period in medieval Islamic history is due to the special conditions of Egypt′s physical environment. Egypt′s air is dry and the soil relatively low in acidity. Perishable materials, such as textiles, basketry, paper and parchment, and even hair, skin, and foodstuffs, have survived when buried, to the delight of archaeologists.

One characteristic of Mamluk silks that has mitigated against their preservation is the inclusion of metal threads. *Nasīj al-dhahab al-ḥarīr* (*nasīj* for short and also known as *zarkash* in Mamluk sources) was a gold brocade, or a silk woven with supplementary wefts of gold ″threads″ for decoration.[29] It became very popular as a fabric for official dress (and for robes of honor) in the fourteenth century. In Mamluk *nasīj* gold filaments were twisted around silk threads and then wrapped around a substrate of animal gut or leather.[30] While pure gold is not corrosive, other metals are. Copper filaments have been woven into the fabric of the Ottoman towel illustrated in Fig. 1. Two roundels containing four lines of embroidered

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[26]For a complete discussion of these factors, one should consult Michael W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977); Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt′s Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, NY, 1994); Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History*; and idem, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983).

[27]Mackie, ″Toward an Understanding,″ 127.

[28]Baker, *Islamic Textiles,* 14.

[29]Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange,* 2.

[30]Ibid., 97.

greetings and well-wishes are punctuated with dots or bosses in copper-wound threads. The copper has eaten holes into the surrounding linen.

Ironically, the antiquities market has further contributed to the destruction of Mamluk textiles. The cutting up of textiles into smaller pieces by collectors and dealers increases their financial return while destroying their integrity as complete garments. Inscribed pieces have been particularly vulnerable to this kind of dissection, as borders containing Arabic inscriptions were torn from the surrounding fabric and sold separately. This probably accounts for the high proportion of *ṭirāz* in museum collections.[31] Some of the finest fragments of brocade were cut up into smaller pieces and sewn into medieval church vestments. This practice has, on the other hand, preserved many Mamluk silks.

At the same time, textile fragments in collections are often sewn together, in an attempt to reconstruct the larger piece and to prepare specimens for display. While the intent is conservation, the result for analysis is that the form of the original costume is lost and the overall pattern becomes more difficult to make out (Fig. 2).

Preservation is only one factor that makes the study of Mamluk textiles problematic. The interest in Mamluk textiles by specialists from different disciplines, most of whom work and write independently of one another, exacerbates preexisting methodological problems while introducing new ones. Art historians have traditionally focused on textile decoration. While their literature is almost dominated by what one may call the "*ṭirāz* obsession," important contributions have been made towards determining dates and provenances for groups of objects on the basis of decorative motifs and overall design.[32] Decorative parallels from historically inscribed textiles, as well as examples from other media which have been confidently dated, provide a range of dates to which similarly decorated fragments could belong. In addition, defining the Mamluk style has been an overriding concern for art historians. There has been a lively debate on how to differentiate Egyptian (Mamluk) silks from Il Khanid and Yüan weaves, what characterizes Egyptian rugs from those produced in Spain and Anatolia in the fifteenth century, and how to distinguish locally manufactured block prints from those imported from India. Moreover, there is still some question about distinguishing Mamluk from Ayyubid

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[31]This is certainly true for Mamluk earthenware ceramics with incised inscriptions ("sgraffito"). The dominance of inscribed and heraldic bowl rims and wells in museum can be attributed to the same pattern of retrieval and collection (Walker, "Ceramic Correlates of Decline," 223 ff).

[32]Some important work has been done recently on the social and political implications of *ṭirāz:* Irene Bierman, *Writing Signs*; *Islamische Textilkunst des Mittelalters: Aktuelle Probleme* (Riggisberg, 1997); and Carol Fisher, *Brocade of the Pen, the Art of Islamic Writing,* exhibition catalogue, Kresge Art Museum (East Lansing, 1991).

textiles. Stylistic analysis, without the aid of other methodological approaches, is limited by the kinds of questions it asks and can answer.

Fortunately, there has been a growing number of joint contributions by art historians and textile specialists. In addition, most museum catalogues and textile analyses in archaeological reports are written by textile specialists.[33] These specialists are generally interested in a different set of questions than art historians or archaeologists; stated another way, they look for information about similar issues in very different ways. Textile specialists focus on the technical aspects of the textiles: their structure, fabric composition, method of coloring, methods of decoration, how hems and edges are finished, how the garment was prepared for wearing. Groups of textiles, for the purpose of dating and determining provenance, are established on the basis of these characteristics. Textile experts have been the most successful in defining Egyptian production and explaining changes in weaving and decorating techniques in this period. Important in these respects are their emphasis on the introduction of the drawloom, the shift to Z-spinning, and the appearance of new embroidery stitches, all of which are attributed to the Mamluks.

The contributions of historians, in addition to studies by art historians and textile specialists, have expanded our present understanding of the political and social contexts of Mamluk textiles. In their scholarship the objects themselves fade into the background, as textual sources are spotlighted and scrutinized. Historians′ interest in textiles has been, by and large, limited to three areas: identifying costume, defining terminology, and describing the use of textiles in ceremonial.[34]

In spite of the central role played by textiles in medieval society, we have only a vague notion of what the garments worn by the Mamluks, and their civilian compatriots, looked like. Illustrations of costume from other media are very rare, and when textiles are depicted they are rendered in short-hand form. Miniature paintings, for example, do not do justice to the variation in cut, fabric, type, and decoration of Mamluk-period textiles. The illustrators of the *Maqāmāt, Kalīlah wa-Dimnah,* and the automata and *furūsīyah* texts showed little interest in what the characters in their tales wore outside of long, flowing gowns, decorated with

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[33]A comprehensive list of specialized studies is beyond the scope of this article. However, some of the most useful archaeological reports are Louise Mackie, ″Textiles,″ in Wladislaw Kubiak and George T. Scanlon, eds., *Fustat Expedition Final Report,* vol. 2, *Fustat-C*, (Winona Lake, IN, 1989), 81-97; Gillian Eastwood, ″A medieval Face-veil from Egypt,″ *Costume* 17 (1983): 33-38; idem, ″Textiles, 1978 Season,″ in Donald S. Whitcomb and Janet H. Johnson, eds., *Quseir al-Qadim 1980* (Malibu, FL, 1982), 285-326; Elisabeth Crowfoot, ″The Clothing of a Fourteenth-Century Nubian Bishop,″ 43-51.

[34]The term ″costume,″ as opposed to ″textile,″ which is simply a woven fabric, refers to an entire way of dressing, designating complete garments along with accessories.

an overall, almost water-marked patterning, and turbans with *ṭirāz* bands. One noticeable exception is the frontispiece of the Vienna Ḥarīrī, which is quite precise in its detailing of surface decoration and differentiation of native Egyptian from imported Mongol dress.[35] In contemporary metalwork, an inlaid bowl and basin signed by one Ibn al-Zayn (the so-called ″Vasselot bowl″ and ″St. Louis′ basin″), dated to around 1290-1310, present in thought-provoking detail the headgear, coats, pants, boots, weapons, and accessories of the *khāṣṣakīyah* at the turn of the fourteenth century.[36]

Contemporary European depictions of Mamluk dress are more informative than Egyptian or Syrian illustrations. Mayer has brought attention to a series of line drawings done by European pilgrims to Mamluk lands during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, including those of Bernhard von Breydenbach and Arnold von Harff.[37] Renaissance Italian paintings are quite lively for the color, variations, and luxuriance with which they bring to life patterned silks worn at the Mamluk court. Among the most notable of this group are *The Embassy of Domenico Trevisano to Cairo in 1512, Reception of an Ambassador in Damascus* by the Bellini school (1490s), the St. George cycle by Carpaccio (sixteenth century), and the *Episodes in the Life of St. Mark* of Mansueti (1499).[38]

Because detailed miniatures of costume are few, historians have tried to reconstruct the appearance of Mamluk textiles, and how they were worn, draped, or tied on or wound around the body as garments, from textual accounts. There were several early attempts to collect and decode all the technical terms for textiles (garment types, fabrics, colors, types of weave, etc.) that are found in contemporary Arabic sources. The first serious attempt to collect vocabulary pertaining to dress appeared in Quatremère′s edition and notes to Maqrīzī′s *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk*.[39] Soon to follow was Dozy′s dictionary of

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[35]Clearly, a specific kind of dress is intended in this illustration. The bowl-shaped hats and an outer coat with a diagonal cut are probably Mongol, although Mayer suggested that the coat better fit textual descriptions of the ″*Sallārī* coat″ (Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, 24).

[36]For illustrations and discussions of both vessels see Esin Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks* (Washington, DC, 1981), 74-79, cat. #20-21; D. S. Rice, *The Baptistère de Saint Louis*, (Paris, 1953); idem, ″The Blazons of the ′Baptistère de Saint Louis′,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 13 (1950): 367-80; and Walker, ″Ceramic Correlates of Decline,″ 292 ff.

[37]Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, Introduction.

[38]Hermann Goetz, ″Oriental Types and Scenes in Renaissance and Baroque Painting - I,″ *Burlington Magazine* 73 (1938): 50-62, Pl. A; Julian Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode* (London, 1982); *Vittorio Sgarbi Carpaccio* (Milan, 1994); and Michelangelo Muraro, *I Disegni di Vittore Carpaccio* (Florence, 1977), Pl. 14.

[39]M. E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks de l′Égypte* (Paris, 1837-45). See also Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, Introduction.

textile terminology, an encyclopedic effort which has not been repeated on such a scale since.[40] The most useful reference on Mamluk dress by a historian, however, has been Mayer′s *Mamluk Costume*. While this work is not a comprehensive study, by any means, and does not take into account the contributions of art historians or archaeologists (and for this it has been criticized), *Mamluk Costume* is a good place to find rich descriptions of a wide variety of clothing worn by the Mamluk elite. Some of the most important references are borrowed from Ibn Khaldūn (on the organization of *ṭirāz* factories), Abū al-Fidá, Maqrīzī, and Ibn Faḍl Allāh (for a detailed classification of robes of honor). For information on fabric types and production centers, Serjeant′s *Islamic Textiles* is a good initial reference. However, it only covers sources up to the Mongol invasions.

The collection of Arabic terminology is, unfortunately, as far as most historically-based studies of textiles have gone. There have been some notable exceptions, studies concerned with specific textile categories and their social context.[41] These in addition to critiques of textiles and ceremonial, as noted earlier, are the historians′ greatest contributions. Most studies, however, fall short of their potential because they are done without the collaboration of art historians, textile specialists, or archaeologists. One senses that lexicography has taken precedence over the material culture, which is, of course, the primary object of study.

Basic Characteristics of Mamluk Textiles

Textiles from the Mamluk period are usually grouped into one of five categories, each characterized by its method of decoration, ground fabric, and repertoire of decorative motifs. Each textile type seems to have served a special purpose, to which the technique of manufacture and decoration was best suited. These categories form the basis of organization for Baker′s monograph on Islamic textiles, as well as Atıl′s section on the same in her survey of Mamluk art.[42] For further reading on

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[40]Reinhard Pieter Anne Dozy, *Dictionnaire detaillé des noms des vêtements chez les arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845). A revised edition of Dozy′s dictionary was being prepared by Yedida Stillman at the time of her death. Norman Stillman is completing her work.

[41]M.A. Marzouk, ″The Tiraz Institutions in Mediaeval Egypt,″ in C. L. Geddes, ed., *Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honour of Professor K. A. C. Creswell* (Cairo, 1965), 157-62; L. A. Mayer, ″Some Remarks on the Dress of the ʻAbbasid Caliphs in Egypt,″ *Islamic Culture* 17 (1943): 36-38; idem, ″Costumes of Mamluk Women,″ *Islamic Culture* 17 (1943): 298-303; Franz Rosenthal, ″A Note on the *Mandīl*,″ in his *Four Essays on Art and Literature in Islam* (Leiden, 1971), 63-99; Yedida Stillman, ″Female Attire of Medieval Egypt″ (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1972); S. D. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders* (Princeton, 1973); and Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange.*

[42]Baker, *Islamic Textiles,* and Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam*, 223-48. See also Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250-1800* (reprint, New Haven, 1995), 108-9, 113.

any subject discussed herein, one might refer to the textile bibliography which came out in print by the Textile Museum last year.[43]

SILKS

Mamluk silks are generally woven on drawlooms. The drawloom, introduced into Egypt sometime in the middle of the thirteenth century, facilitated the production (and reproduction) of complex designs, repeat patterns, and double- and triple-cloth. Threads are predominately Z-spun, and much use is made of gold and silver filament-wound threads in the most expensive fabrics. In terms of color, blue, brown, and ivory dominate. The most common patterns tend to be stripes (vertical and horizontal), ogival lattices, and undulating vines and large blossoms. Silk was the favored fabric for robes of honor.

CARPETS

S-spun, asymmetrically knotted, wool pile rugs appear suddenly in Egypt sometime in the fifteenth century. They generally adhere to a three-color scheme (deep reds, greens, and blues), with occasional highlights in lighter shades of pink, yellow, and white. The layout of design adheres to what has been called the ″international style″ of carpets for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: radiating patterns of geometric elements (stars, rosettes, hexagons) with repeat patterns and lattices and cartouche bands.

APPLIQUÉ

″Appliqué″ refers to the technique of sewing onto a ground fabric another fabric pattern. In Mamluk appliqué the ground fabric is usually a tabby of cotton, linen, or wool, and the applied ornament a tabby of similar fabrics (colored or plain), rolled over and lightly ″hemmed″ onto the backing fabric with basting. What is significant about this technique is its association with ″military surplus″: emblazoned saddlebags, caps, horse and camel gear, and the like. The most common ornament is the amiral blazon. Appliqué blazons are easily removed, thereby simplifying the transfer of ″army issue″ equipment from one amir to another. *Ṭirāz* bands are occasionally applied to garments in this manner.

PRINTS

Because linen (a native Egyptian fabric) does not take inking well, Mamluk prints are usually made of Z-spun cotton. They are block-printed, more often with indigo than any other colorant, probably under the influence of imported Indian block

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[43]*Islamic Textile Arts: Working Bibliographies,* The Textile Museum (Washington, DC, 1998).

prints. They share the same patterns as silks and embroideries. Printed fabrics are one of the most inexpensive decorative textiles used by the Mamluks.

EMBROIDERY

Although traditionally viewed by art historians as a ″plebeian″ form of decoration produced by women at home, there is textual evidence for the use of embroidered fabrics in all segments of Egyptian society and for a variety of purposes (see below). The art of embroidery experienced a revival under the Mamluks, as their numbers in collections of Mamluk textiles indicate. The majority of Mamluk embroideries are created with dyed floss silk (indigo, brown, or red) on Z-spun, undyed linen or cotton tabby. A wide range of new stitches appeared with the Mamluks, some, it would seem, to accommodate the reproduction of popular patterns used in figured silks.

Mamluk Textiles: The Issues

SILKS

It is difficult to differentiate Mamluk figured silks from those manufactured in China, Italy, and Spain in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries. This was a period of active international exchange of top quality textiles, including silks and rugs, which resulted in the development of what could be called an ″international style.″ Moreover, European silks imitated Oriental silks, while weavers in China produced Islamic designs for the Mamluk market. The characterization, then, of Egyptian or Syrian products on the basis on decoration alone is misleading. Wardwell has suggested that Mamluk and Yüan silks can be differentiated from each other by a single structural detail: the gold and silver brocades in Egypt and Syria were accomplished by wrapping the metal threads around a silk core, while those in China were either wrapped around a cotton core or animal substrate or were replaced by gilded strips of mulberry paper.[44]

Dating Mamluk silks is equally problematic. As is the case generally with Egyptian art of the thirteenth century, it is not clear what the characteristics of early Mamluk silks are as opposed to late Ayyubid (Figs. 2 and 3). Earlier this century, striped silks were identified as Ayyubid because of the absence of figural decoration.[45] Not until excavated contexts ascertained the continuity of these designs into the fourteenth century could art historians be sure that they did not belong to an earlier period.[46]

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[44]Baker, *Islamic Textiles*, 70; Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange,* 97; Wardwell, ″Panni Tartarici″; idem, ″Flight of the Phoenix″; and idem, ″Two Silk and Gold Textiles.″

[45]Baker, *Islamic Textiles,* 70.

[46]For fragments excavated at Jebel Adda, see *Islamic Art in Egypt: 969-1517* (Cairo, 1969), cat.

Within the Mamluk period, there is very little precision in dating individual pieces. Historically inscribed silks, all Baḥrī Mamluk, which name an identifiable personality (a sultan), have been used to classify and date silks through related designs.[47] These designs fall into one of four categories: stripes (Fig. 4), chinoiserie, ogival patterns, and geometric latticework.[48] Vertical and horizontal stripes, inscriptional registers, or friezes with running animals and floral designs are considered the earliest because of their similarity to Ayyubid decoration. Moreover, there was an indigenous tradition of horizontal banding in Egyptian tapestry weaving, which was apparently adapted to drawloom weaving with the change in looms.[49] The introduction of Chinese motifs (such as the peony, lotus, clouds, phoenix, and fluid floral designs) is often attributed to Kitbughā, although chinoiserie became more common with the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The use of repeat patterns of ogival or tear-drop medallions in lampas weave is quite characteristic of Mamluk silk production, but it has not been properly dated. Their depiction in mid-fourteenth- to mid-fifteenth-century Italian paintings has provided a convenient range of dates for the ″Burjī Mamluk″ style of diamond and square-shaped lattices, which appear as yellow or green on an indigo-colored tabby or twill ground.[50]

Much has been made about the introduction of the drawloom at the beginning of the Mamluk period and the new predominance of Z-spun fabrics. The shift from tapestry to drawloom weave was a very significant one that revolutionized the Mamluks′ textile industry, transforming costume and making possible the mass-production of what we would call ″robes of honor.″ The drawloom is a horizontal loom that allows complex patterns to be ″tied into″ the warp, facilitating the reproduction of large figures, repeat patterns and mirror-images (Fig. 5), and elaborate, long inscriptions.[51] Fabrics also became more complicated, as colorful double-, fancy double-, incomplete double-, and triple-cloths became more common. It has been suggested that the drawloom was brought to Egypt in the thirteenth century by weavers fleeing the Mongol advances. They could have come from Iraq, Iran, or even Spain, where the technology already existed.[52]

#254.

[47]Mackie, ″Toward an Understanding,″ reviews Mamluk silks which have been securely dated in this manner. See also Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 224-25.

[48]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 225; Baker, *Islamic Textiles,* 73.

[49]Mackie, ″Toward an Understanding,″ 136.

[50]Baker, *Islamic Textiles,* 73.

[51]For a clearly written and simply illustrated introduction to drawloom technology, see Katherine Koob, ″How the Drawloom Works,″ in Irene Emery and Patricia Fiske, eds., *Irene Emery Roundtable on Museum Textiles, 1977 Proceedings: Looms and Their Products,* The Textile Museum (Washington, DC, 1979), 231-41.

[52]Blair and Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250-1800,* 108; Mackie, ″Toward an

One of the best explanations for technical peculiarities in Mamluk weaving and embroidery was provided by Louisa Bellinger in a larger catalogue of *ṭirāz* fabrics.[53] Silk, she argues, was an imported fabric in a country where linen ruled supreme. The tapestry loom, used since pre-Islamic times for weaving wool, was adapted to weaving silk with *ṭirāz* inscriptions in the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods (Fig. 3). Drawloom weaving replaced tapestry weaving in the Mamluk period, as more complicated fabrics and designs for more elaborate forms of costume were required by the court. Both the fashions and the technology to produce them were imported from the east. At the same time, the Z-spinning of Iraq and Iran more or less replaced the Egyptian tradition of S-spinning. Z-spinning was not regularly used with linen until the Mamluk period. This technology was an imported one, ″a habit caught from people used to other fibres without a natural spinning direction, such as wool and cotton.″[54] The abandonment of the tapestry loom and the adoption of Z-spinning were ways of adapting to the demands of a more silk-dominated textile industry.

How were the Mamluk silks on display in museums used? Are we justified in calling these ″*khila*ʿ″? Atıl claims we have no extant examples of the ″robes of honor″ *(khilaʿ)* which appear regularly in Mamluk-period texts.[55] Contemporary sources describe *khilaʿ* as textile ensembles that included silks (fur-lined for the highest grades) and, particularly, gold brocades. Children′s tunics, shoes, caps, and a few silk robes are among the complete garments retrieved from archaeological excavations. If anything in our collections comes close to qualifying as *khilaʿ* it would be the silk robes, but most of these are fragmentary and are not sturdy enough to have been used on any regular basis or as an outer robe. Furthermore, there is no evidence of their having been lined or trimmed with fur.[56] If we associate *khilaʿ* with *ṭirāz* fabrics, we have a comparable dilemma. Most of the *ṭirāz* bands, which number into the thousands, belong to turbans, thin outfits (perhaps summer apparel), and household items such as towels, sashes, and handkerchiefs.[57] Moreover, these textiles are made of linen and cotton. It is quite possible that what was meant by the terms *khilaʿ* and *ṭirāz* must have included a much wider range of materials and costumes than have survived.

Understanding,″ 128.

[53]Louisa Bellinger, ″Technical Analysis,″ in *Catalogue of Dated Tiraz Fabrics*, 101-9.

[54]Crowfoot, ″The Clothing of a Fourteenth-Century Nubian Bishop,″ 50.

[55]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 223.

[56]Granted, fur is usually devoured by insects. However, there is no evidence that these thin robes were ever lined with any material.

[57]Golombek and Gervers, ″Tiraz Fabrics in the Royal Ontario Museum,″ 85. Franz Rosenthal groups together smaller inscribed items like the handkerchief and towel in his ″A Note on the *Mandīl*,″ 63-99.

Ṭirāz is borrowed from the Persian term for embroidery. It appears that the original sense of *ṭirāz* was of an elaborately embroidered band on a textile. In an art historical sense it denotes any decorative band on textiles, specifically one carrying an Arabic inscription. This meaning has been extended to all media, incorporating registers of writing, borders or braids, and decorative strips of a variety of forms.[58] A more precise technical definition, one based on the kinds of textile fragments normally identified as *ṭirāz* in museums, has been provided by Golombek and Gervers: "those fabrics of linen, cotton, or *mulḥam* upon which the decoration is executed in a technique differing from that of the ground weave."[59]

One could, alternatively, define *ṭirāz* fabrics as those textiles which were produced in the royal factory, or *dār al-ṭirāz*. Two kinds of *ṭirāz* factories, *khāṣṣah* (royal) and *ʻāmmah* (public), produced textiles for two different markets. In the Umayyad and Abbasid periods the *dār al-ṭirāz* was located in the ruler's palace. According to Ibn Khaldūn, under the Mamluks the workshops were found in the public *sūq*, at times under direct control of the sultan and his amirs and at other times run independently of the state.[60] Approximately 50% of all extant Mamluk silks contain inscriptions.[61] The most common formula of the period, *ʻizz li-mawlānā al-sulṭān . . . ʻazza naṣruhu,* replaces the Fatimid pattern of well-wishing while transforming the formulae used to name the ruler and list his titles. With the exception of customs stamps, the place of manufacture or point of transfer is not named on Mamluk textiles.[62] It has been argued that the heraldic arrangement of short, dedicatory *ṭirāz* paved the way for the development of the military inscriptions of the fourteenth century.[63]

Garments with *ṭirāz* borders bestowed upon officials or given as diplomatic gifts came to be known as "robes of honor" or *khilaʻ* (singular *khilʻah*). The term *khilʻah* comes from the Arabic verb for "to take off" and refers to the taking off of one's garment and giving it to another as a sign of personal protection. It was first used in an official sense in the Abbasid period.[64] The term practically supersedes *ṭirāz* in Mamluk sources and, in fact, may have meant the same thing. The matter

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[58]A. Grohmann, "Ṭirāz," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., 8: 785-93.

[59]Golombek and Gervers, "Tiraz Fabrics in the Royal Ontario Museum," 85.

[60]Ibn Khaldūn in Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, 33. The *kiswah,* on the other hand, was made in the Mashhad al-Ḥusayn during the Mamluk period, according to al-Qalqashandī (Grohmann, "Ṭirāz," 788).

[61]Mackie, "Toward an Understanding," 130.

[62]One example is a striped silk in the Islamic Museum in Cairo, stamped with the place name "Asyūṭ" (Baker, *Islamic Textiles,* 71).

[63]L. A. Mayer, "Das Schriftwappen der Mamlukensultane," *Jahrbuch des Asiatischen Kunst* 2, no. 2 (1925): 183-87; Grohmann, "Ṭirāz," 788.

[64]N. A. Stillman, "Khilʻa," *EI*^{2}, 5:6.

of terminology is further complicated by Ibn Khaldūn′s association of *zarkash* (gold brocade) with *ṭirāz;* he states that textiles with the name of the sultan or an amir are called *zarkash,* the same material which was formerly referred to as *ṭirāz*.[65]

Medieval Egyptians may have understood terms like *ṭirāz* and *khil'ah* on different levels, different circumstances evoking different meanings. In the Mamluk period *ṭirāz* in its most basic sense probably referred to a textile inscription, regardless of how it was executed or in what material. Garments with official inscriptions naming the sultan or an amir and executed in gold embroidery or woven in gold brocade were referred to as *zarkash,* the term acting as much as an adjective as a noun. ″*Zarkash*″ described the decorative quality of the garment. In discussing an account by Abū al-Fidá, for example, Mayer describes contemporary *ṭirāz* bands in the following fashion:

> [he] distinguishes between the brocaded band *(ṭirâz zarkash)* on the upper coat *(fauqânî)* and the gilt bands *(ṭuruz mudhhaba)* on the under-tunic *(thaub)*. Since the top coat . . . was gorgeous enough . . ., whereas the under-tunic . . . was hardly visible, the difference between the two kinds of *ṭirâz* is obviously one of importance as well as of form.[66]

In this case, the inscription on the under-tunic may have been stamped in gold, while the one on the outer garment was embroidered or woven in gold thread. The term *zarkash,* then, would have both qualitative and technical connotations.

A *khil'ah,* in the Mamluk sense, was an ensemble of clothing and equipment that included a *zarkash* robe (with cut and fabric suitable for the recipient′s rank), bestowed in an official manner. The inclusion of *khila'* distributions during a variety of elaborate Mamluk ceremonies, while it had precedent in Egyptian (Fatimid) court protocol, may have been directly influenced in the fourteenth century by Il Khanid practice. The Mongols did the most to politicize silk through their reliance on silk and gold in their banquets, drinking parties, and other state celebrations. In ceremonies that strongly resemble Mamluk practice in the fourteenth century, we know from travelers′ accounts and official court records that the Great Khans of the thirteenth century distributed gold silks and gold belts studded with precious stones and pearls at nearly every important occasion at court.[67]

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[65]Ibn Khaldūn in Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* 33.

[66]Ibid., 34, note 1.

[67]Walker, ″Ceramic Correlates of Decline,″ 290 ff; Aldo Ricci, *The Travels of Marco Polo* (London, 1950), 131 ff; Reay Tannahill, *Food in History* (New York, 1973), 135 ff; Peter Jackson, *The*

Allsen´s groundbreaking work on the Mongol textile industry has proven the existence of colonies of West Asian silk weavers in the east, some working under forced labor, others as more or less independent tradesmen.[68] They produced *nasīj,* a gold brocade, for the Mongol court. These textiles were distributed as *khila‘* in the Mamluk court.

The relationship between Il Khanid and Yüan and Mamluk silks, either in the historical sources or as extant fragments in collections, is far from clear. *Ṭirāz* (an official textile inscription), *zarkash* (gold embroidered or woven *ṭirāz*), *nasīj* (gold brocade), and *khil‘ah* (an assortment of officially distributed gifts including *nasīj* or *zarkash* textiles) were clearly important terms within the vocabulary of Mamluk silk-weaving, but they are extremely ambiguous. We still do not know how surviving Mamluk silks relate to these textile categories or how silk functioned outside the ceremonial apparatus of the Mamluk state.

RUGS

There has been quite a lot written about Mamluk rugs. A good part of the literature describes the red wool rugs we normally associate with Mamluk Egypt as part of an ″international style″ of pile rug production which was fashionable from Spain to eastern Anatolia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[69] In spite of the quantity of studies which have been done on the topic, however, we still cannot say for certain when the tradition began, how it came to Egypt, where in Egypt these rugs were manufactured, and to whom they were sold. Scholars writing on the subject have generally agreed, however, that their production in Egypt can be dated from 1470 to 1550, that the style was introduced sometime after 1467 with the migration

Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke 1253-1255 (London, 1990); and J. A. Boyle, *Genghis Khan: History of the World Conqueror* (Manchester, 1997).

[68]Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange,* 38. For material correlates see references to Wardwell´s work in note 11.

[69]On the characteristics of this style see Louise Mackie, ″Woven Status: Mamluk Silks and Carpets,″ *Muslim World* 73 (1983): 253-61; R. Pinner and W. Denny, eds., *Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies, II: Carpets of the Mediterranean Countries 1400-1600,* (London, 1961); Ernst Kühnel, *Cairene Rugs and Others Technically Related, 15th-17th Century,* The Textile Museum (Washington, DC, 1957); Donald King and David Sylvester, *The Eastern Carpet in the Western World from the 15th to the 17th Century* (London, 1983); Charles Grant Ellis, ″Gifts from Kashan to Cairo,″ *Textile Museum Journal* 1, no. 1 (1962): 33-46; idem, ″A Soumak-Woven Rug in a 15th-Century International Style,″ *Textile Museum Journal* 1, no. 1 (1962): 4-20; idem, ″Mysteries of the Misplaced Mamluks,″ *Textile Museum Journal* 2, no. 2 (1967): 2-20; and idem, ″Is the Mamluk Carpet a Mandala?,″ *Textile Museum Journal* 4, no. 1 (1974): 30-50. *Halı* 4, no. 1 (1981) and *The Muslim World* 73, no. 3 and 73, no. 4 (1983) are special issues highlighting Mamluk rugs.

of rug weavers from the fallen Karakoyunlu Turkmen state, and that they were manufactured in Cairo for mosque and palace interiors.[70]

Carlo Suriano has challenged this interpretation in an article on Mamluk blazon carpets published in a recent issue of *Halı*.[71] He argues that the geometric patterns and overall layout adhere to an international style that characterized not only Turkmen but also Ottoman, Safavid, and Nasrid production. While the form of the composite blazon dates the three carpets between 1468 and 1516, Suriano cites fragments of pile carpets, claimed to have been excavated at Fusṭāṭ and structurally related to the emblazoned examples, as possible evidence of Cairene production in an earlier period.[72] Donald Little, in response to Suriano′s article, emphasizes references to Cairene carpets *(min ʻamal al-sharīf bi-Miṣr)*[73] by Ibn Taghrībirdī and Maqrīzī for the fourteenth century.[74] The origin of Mamluk carpets, therefore, remains an open issue.

The colors of Mamluk rugs have attracted a lot of attention and debate. The deep reds, blues, and greens of these rugs have been compared to stained glass windows[75] and jewels.[76] Moreover, there was a long tradition in Egypt (from pre-Islamic to Fatimid times) of weaving wool in these very same colors.[77] In her analyses of Mamluk and Anatolian rugs, Louise Mackie has suggested that the silk industry had a significant impact on not only the color scheme of Mamluk rugs, but also their decorative patterning.[78] She claims that each of the three colors was integral to the overall design, just as in incomplete silk triplecloth. Small motif compositions and repeat patterns are characteristic of both Mamluk silks and rugs.[79]

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[70]Louise Mackie, ″Woven Status,″ 256-57; Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 226-27; Kurt Erdmann, ″Neuere Untersuchungen zur Frage der Kairener Teppiche,″ *Ars Orientalis* 4 (1961): 65-105; and Belkis Acar, ″New Light on the Problem of Turkmen-Timurid and Mamluk Rugs,″ *Ars Turcica* 2 (1987): 393-402.

[71]Carlo Maria Suriano, ″Mamluk Blazon Carpets,″ *Halı* 97 (Mar. 1998): 72-81.

[72]Ibid, 81.

[73]Parallels in ceramics and metalworking suggest that this is an artist′s signature. ″*Al-sharīf*″ may be a technical term for the head of a workshop.

[74]Donald Little, ″In Search of Mamluk Carpets,″ *Halı* 101 (Nov. 1998): 68-69. Both accounts describe the looting of Amir Qawsūn′s house in 1341.

[75]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 227.

[76]Mackie, personal communication.

[77]Mackie, ″Woven Status,″ 260.

[78]Mackie, ″Woven Status″; idem, ″Rugs and Textiles,″ in *Turkish Art,* ed. Esin Atıl (Washington, DC, 1980), 301-43.

[79]See also Ellis, ″Gifts from Kashan to Cairo,″ 39.

The rug industry was thriving, however, at a time when the other textile industries in Egypt were in decline. Because of the technical differences in Mamluk weaving and rug-making (threads spun in different directions, use of different looms), it is unlikely that one industry simply replaced the other. Woven stuffs and rugs appear to have served different purposes and were, perhaps, made for different markets. Until the sources are combed for relevant data, nothing conclusive can be said about the marketing of Mamluk rugs. We do know, however, that this was no passing ″fad.″ Mamluk rugs continued to be produced in Cairo until approximately the middle of the sixteenth century, when the local workshops began to manufacture floral and prayer rugs for the Ottoman courts. The workshops continued to operate until well into the eighteenth century.[80]

APPLIQUÉ

While woven silks and pile rugs adhere to an international style, appliqué is, by contrast, characteristically Mamluk. Amiral blazons are the most common form of applied decoration. It is significant that amiral blazons, while they proliferate in almost all media are, with the exception of appliqué fabrics, rare in textiles.[81] The appearance in silks of the sultanic cartouche and inscriptions dedicated to the sultan may indicate that silks and appliqué fabrics were put to different uses. Silk production was, at times, monopolized or regulated by the sultan. Furthermore, inscribed silks were distributed as *khilaʿ* by the sultan and worn during public processions as a sign of fidelity to the ruler.[82] On the other hand, the regular association of appliquéd ornaments with amiral heraldry suggests that these fabrics were ″army issue″: when equipment passed to another amir, the blazon could be changed accordingly.

Fig. 6 is an interesting exception. This fragment boldly proclaims the sovereignty of the sultan with the phrase ″ʿizz li-mawlānā al-sulṭān,″ a dedication more appropriate to woven silks than to a coarse cotton tabby. The *ṭirāz* appliqué in this instance reflects function, as the durability of the fabric would make it suitable for a saddlebag or flag. Another fragment from the Royal Ontario Museum is illustrated in Fig. 7. It has been tentatively dated to the Mamluk period, because of the characteristic zigzag pattern and a stylistic similarity with Mamluk appliqué. The piece in question achieves an appliqué effect through laid-and-couched work in undyed linen, which secures the underlying blue linen threads. As the blue threads

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[80]Mackie, ″Rugs and Textiles,″ 320 ff.

[81]For emblazoned rugs see Ellis, ″Mysteries of the Misplaced Mamluks″ (Figs. 3-9 include blazons in appliqué, embroidery, and block printing, as well) and Carlo Maria Suriano, ″Mamluk Blazon Carpets,″ 73-81 and 107-8. Carl Johan Lamm, ″Some Mamluk Embroideries,″ *Ars Islamica* 4 (1937): 66-67, Fig. 2.

[82]For an exposition of this idea, see Walker, ″The Ceramic Correlates of Decline,″ 269 ff.

are completely covered by the linen embroidery and were, apparently, never intended to be seen, they may have been yarn left-over from another embroidery. I know of no other examples of imitations of appliqué in other techniques. However, it would not be surprising if they did exist. The Mamluk elite were fashion-setters, and Cairo′s civilian population was quick to imitate the dress, tastes, and mannerisms of the amiral class.

Block Prints

The type of Mamluk textile most often retrieved from archaeological excavations is the block print.[83] First identified during the excavations of Fusṭāṭ, they were initially attributed to India, because of the superficial resemblance of their patterns to Gujarati architectural decoration.[84] This idea has been recently challenged by Barnes, who has cited parallels for Z-spun cotton and block printing with indigo in Iraq, Iran, and Yemen.[85] While many printed textiles found on excavations were imported, most were probably produced in Egypt. Indigo, the primary colorant for Mamluk block prints, was cultivated and processed locally and was relatively inexpensive.[86] Moreover, Z-spinning was known in Mamluk Egypt, used primarily in woven silks and alternately with S-spinning in woven cottons and linens.[87]

The designs on block prints are largely derivative. Inscriptional registers on a densely scrolled ground and bands with cartouches are borrowed from contemporary metalworking.[88] Repeat patterns of whirling rosettes, geometric shapes, and medallions replicate the patterns of woven silks. While prints are monochrome, the colors of choice are reminiscent of silks: blue, ivory, and brown.

Mamluk prints are usually made of lightweight, but quality, cotton. It is the most sensible fabric for the warmest months in Egypt and makes comfortable

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[83]See especially the chapter on printed fabrics in Carl Johan Lamm, *Cotton in Medieval Textiles of the Near East* (Paris, 1937); *Tissus d′Égypte (Collection Bouvier);* and Georgette Cornu, *Tissus Islamiques de la Collection Pfister* (Rome, 1992) for excellent catalogue entries.

[84]Baker, *Islamic Textiles,* 76; R. Pfister, ″Tissue imprimées de l′Inde médiévale,″ *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* 10 (1936): 161-64; and idem, *Les Toiles imprimées de Fostat et l′Hindoustan* (Paris, 1938).

[85]Baker, *Islamic Textiles,* 76; Ruth Barnes, ″Indian Trade Cloth in Egypt: the Newberry Collection,″ in *Textiles in Trade: Proceedings of the Textile Society of America Biennial Symposium* (Washington, DC, 1990), 178-91; and idem, *Indian Block Printed Cotton Fragments in the Kelsey Museum of the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor, 1993).

[86]R. B. Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles; Material for a History up to the Mongol Conquest* (Beirut, 1972), 164.

[87]Eastwood, ″Textiles,″ 286 and 292. At Quseir al-Qadim, as at many archaeological sites in Egypt, one cannot generalize about the direction of spinning.

[88]For good illustrations of these, see Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* cat. #120-22.

daily wear. Prints imitating silk patterns no doubt constituted clothing, but one wonders about those fragments that bear metalwork designs. In his thought-provoking essay on the *mandīl*, Rosenthal has described a variety of ways in which smaller pieces of decorated textiles were used.[89] Many covered serving vessels during banquets. Such prints could have been used in this fashion.

EMBROIDERIES[90]

Embroidery is a decorative needlework in fancy thread. In the case of Mamluk embroidery, the needlework was usually done in floss silk on an uncolored, tabby cotton or linen background. The needlework alone enlivened what was an otherwise plain textile. As the most common way of trimming the edges of everyday clothing, it could be a simple, often inexpensive, and readily available way of making textiles of any form beautiful.

Embroidery, as opposed to weaving, was a cottage industry. While some needlework was produced by professionals in the public marketplace, most was made at home by women (Fig. 8).[91] Embroideries were an important component of the bridal trousseau during the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods, as we know from the Geniza documents.[92] The average person in medieval Cairo, for instance, was well-informed about embroideries and had a sophisticated sense of what was of high quality and aesthetically pleasing. One Ja'far ibn 'Alī al-Dimāshqī, writing shortly before 1175, stated:

> People's tastes vary in regard to the ṭirāz borders and the ornamented embroideries . . ., but they are agreed in the preference of that

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[89]Rosenthal, "A Note on the *Mandīl*."

[90]The textile fragments illustrated in this study belong to the Abemayor Collection in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. The Abemayor family business was in Cairo, and it was in this city that the collection was built up. The collection contains some 114 items which have been identified as Mamluk, in addition to a considerable number of early Islamic *ṭirāz* bands and tunics from various periods. Most of the Mamluk samples are embroideries, none of which had been the focus of extended analysis until now.

[91]S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* (Los Angeles, 1967), 1:128 ff. It would seem that embroidery was not so strictly regulated in the marketplace in the fourteenth century; see Ibn al-Ukhūwah's [d. 1329] entries on embroidery *(raqqām)* and needlework *(naqshīyah)* (Ibn al-Ukhūwah, *Kitāb Ma'ālim al-Qurbah fī Aḥkām al-Ḥisbah* (Cairo, 1976), 221 and 328. For an interesting comparative study of domestic embroidery in modern Morocco, see Louise Mackie, "Embroidery in the Everyday Life of Artisans, Merchants, and Consumers in Fez, Morocco, in the 1980's," in *Textile Society of America Proceedings 1992* (1993), 10-20.

[92]Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society,* 3:342.

> which is of the finest thread and closest of weave, of the purest white, of the best workmanship, red and golden . . .[93]

Embroidery experienced a revival in the Mamluk period. With a rise in quality came a rise in prices. Maqrīzī describes finely embroidered goods that could be worth a small fortune:

> Among the stuffs woven in Alexandria is this linen cloth which is called sharb, one drachm of which is worth a dirham of silver, and those kinds of embroideries which are sold for several times their weight in silver.[94]

Most museum and private collections of Mamluk textiles consist in large part of embroidered fragments. In spite of this, they have not been the object of focused investigation. There are no monographs on the subject and, outside of entries in exhibition catalogues and archaeological reports, very few studies.[95] To this day, Kühnel's classification of excavated fragments is used to assign relative dates to embroideries.[96] These categories heavily emphasize stylistic attributes with little consideration of independent criteria for dating. Most embroideries can be dated no more precisely than by a century or two.

There has been a passing interest, however, in medieval Islamic embroidery by scholars of European needlework. The work of the late Veronika Gervers, a former curator of textiles at the Royal Ontario Museum, represents this trend. The original accession catalogue in the museum's files makes frequent comparisons between fragments in the medieval Egyptian collection and Renaissance needlework. More convincing arguments are made in two posthumous works, which look for the origins of some Hungarian embroidery patterns in Ottoman work.[97] There is no such direct correlation between Mamluk and this kind of

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[93]Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles,* 140.

[94]Ibid., 148.

[95]Two very old but useful articles are Carl Johan Lamm, "Some Mamluk Embroideries," Figs. 1-22, and Essie Newbury, "Embroideries from Egypt," *Embroidery* 8, no. 1 (1940): 11-18.

[96]Ernst Kühnel, *Islamische Stoffe aus aegyptischen Gräbern in der islamischen Kunstabteilung und in der Stoffsammlung des Schlossmuseums* (Berlin, 1927).

[97]Veronika Gervers-(Molnár), *The Influence of Ottoman Turkish Textiles and Costume in Eastern Europe,* Royal Ontario Museum History, Technology, and Art Monograph, no. 4 (Toronto, 1982) and idem, *Ipolyi Arnold hímzésgüjteménye az esztergomi keresztény múzeumban* (Arnold Ipolyi Collection of Embroideries in the Christian Museum of Esztergom, also known as *Hungarian Domestic Embroidery from the 16th to the 19th Centuries*) (Budapest, 1983).

European needlework. The Mamluk penchant for rigid geometry contrasts markedly with Ottoman floral designs.

One of the best interpretations of Mamluk embroidery is Louisa Bellinger's technical analysis of *ṭirāz* fabrics cited earlier.[98] She reviews the long and very complex history of embroidery in medieval Egypt and comes to some interesting conclusions. First, embroidery was a foreign technique, brought to Egypt from the Far East as an easier and cheaper method of making silk patterns. Second, the development of Egyptian embroidery is intimately tied up with producing inscriptions in textiles. Embroidery began to replace tapestry weaving for colored and inscriptional designs by the end of the Fatimid period and was more or less completed with the Mamluks. The kinds of stitches used in Egypt relied rather heavily on tapestry technology.

What is most useful about Bellinger's arguments are the functional and etymological connections she makes between the *ṭirāz* industry and Egyptian embroidery and the reasons she gives for idiosyncrasies in the Mamluk craft. One of the most characteristic innovations of Mamluk embroidery, for example, was the preference for counted stitches (Figs. 9 and 10). This Bellinger relates to the way linen in Egypt was prepared for embroidery; the practice of counting stitches from a base thread, she claims, was borrowed from the design of inscriptions in tapestry weaving.[99] I have argued elsewhere that new embroidery stitches appeared in the fourteenth century to respond to changes in silk production, which were generated by heightened demand and the expansion of ceremonial.[100] In both its origin and later development, Mamluk embroidery was indebted to local traditions of silk weaving.

The kinds of stitches used by Mamluk embroiders were uniquely suited to producing inscriptions and repeat patterns and creating the surface appearance of woven silk. The crewel or stem stitch, known from well before the Mamluk period, outlined patterns and produced inscriptions. The fluid chain stitch, also familiar from early Islamic needlework, was used for *naskhī* inscriptions and chinoiserie (Fig. 11). The most characteristic stitch used by Mamluk embroidery was the "Holbein," or square, stitch, a sturdy, reversible counted stitch that is most often associated with repeat patterns in blue (Figs. 12 and 13). Several stitches also appeared which intentionally reproduced the effect of silk, such as the weaving and satin stitches (Fig. 14).

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[98]Louisa Bellinger, "Technical Analysis."

[99]Ibid., 104 ff.

[100]Bethany Walker, "Material Correlates of Decline in Mamluk Egypt: Ceramics and Textiles," paper given at MESA Annual Meeting in Chicago, IL, December 4, 1998.

Mamluk embroideries are very broadly dated according to Kühnel′s stylistic groups of the 1920s.[101] To the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries are attributed various abstract geometric motifs, including hooked-X′s, the checkerboard pattern, the omnipresent trellis of lozenges or hexagonal cartouches (Fig. 15), rosettes (Fig. 16), and triangular-shaped pseudo-epigraphic motifs (Figs. 12 and 15). Most of what we normally identify as Mamluk dates to the fourteenth century and includes embroideries with blue-dyed silk or linen (Figs. 12 and 13), the Holbein stitch (Figs. 12 and 13), historical inscriptions (Fig. 14), blazons, an ″impressionistic and nervous style,″[102] double-ended arrows, zigzags (Fig. 13), and teardrop-shaped medallions (often surrounded by barbs, or ″hooks″ [Fig. 17]). In the later Mamluk period can be placed the common angular S-shaped motif (Figs. 9 and 10), hooked triangles, angular motifs on a ground of interlacing bands, and a preference for a marine blue-brown dye.

Embroidered bands generally decorated the edges of garments and accented sleeve openings and collars. Embroidered *ṭirāz* encircled the upper arm and wound around turbans. However, most of the fragments illustrated in this article probably did not belong to clothing. One piece is reversible, which would indicate it was used as a towel (Fig. 13). The first of two inscribed examples, while preserved only in part, is long enough to have been a ″tablecloth″ or light cover of some sort (Fig. 11). The layout of its decoration, with inscriptions legible from opposite ends of the fabric, strengthens this attribution. Fig. 14, a formally inscribed piece, could have served the same purpose or formed part of a banner or panel of an *ʻabā'* cloak.[103] Fig. 18 belongs to a group of finely worked panels called ″laps,″ which were hung off of poles as flags or banners. Many smaller embroidered pieces probably belonged to the multi-purpose category of ″*manādīl,*″ items used as handkerchiefs, napkins, cloth envelopes, or head or face coverings.[104]

The written sources are ambiguous in their descriptions of embroideries and the kinds of textiles which they embellished. The word ″*ṭirāz*″ comes originally from the Persian ″*tarāzīdan,*″ which means ″to embroider.″[105] In modern Arabic, ″*taṭrīz*″ is the term generally employed for ″embroidery.″ It means, alternatively, ″embellishment″ or ″garnish.″ ″*Tanmīq*″ (ornamentation) and ″*tawshiyah*″ (ornamentation with color), although not as common, may also imply an embroidered

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[101]The following is a collation of Kühnel, *Islamische Stoffe;* Lamm, ″Some Mamluk Embroideries″; *Tissus d′Égypte;* and conclusions based on my study of the ROM collection.

[102]Lamm, ″Some Mamluk Embroideries,″ 66.

[103]It is too wide to have been a belt or turban, and without intact hems we do not know enough about its original length to say for certain how it was used.

[104]Rosenthal, ″A Note on the *Mandīl*.″

[105]A. Grohman, ″Ṭirāz,″ 785.

ornament. In a similar fashion, medieval Arabic sources do not always differentiate between ″embroidery″ and ″decoration″; in fact, there may not have been a technical term for this kind of needlework. Ibn al-Ukhūwah does differentiate between regular needlework *(naqshīyah)* and what we may call embroidery *(raqqām),* but most sources do not.[106] Any embellishment of a textile, whether sewn or painted on, woven into, or stamped upon, could be called *″ṭirāz,″* for instance.[107] It seems not to have been the technique of application but the visual effect which was important. Mamluk sources use many terms which, in one way or another, make reference to the appearance of embroidered designs: *mushaḥḥar* or *marqūm* (striped), *muzarkash* (a brocade, embroidered with silver and gold thread), *ṭirāz* (an embroidered inscription), and *manqūsh* (colored/striped or inscribed).[108]

While most everyday embroidery was produced at home by women, there existed at the same time a market industry which catered to the court. Embroidered fabrics, second only to brocades, were the most decorative and sought-after textiles in Mamluk Egypt. Embroidered garments were not only worn at home by most people; they also made up the textile ensembles known as *khilaʻ*. Serjeant reproduces the following description, related by Maqrīzī, of robes of honor given by the sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to his most important amirs:

> [They consisted of] a kind of cloth called ṭardwaḥsh made in the ṭirāz factory which was in Alexandria, Miṣr (Cairo) and Damascus. It was embroidered with bands (mudjawwakha djākhāt) which were inscribed with the titles of the sultan. It had bands (djākhāt) of ṭardwaḥsh, and bands of different colors intermingled with gold-spangled linen (ḳaṣab mudhahhab), these bands being separated by embroideries in color (nuḳūsh), and a ṭirāz border. This was made of ḳaṣab [linen], but sometimes an important personage (among the officials) would have a ṭirāz border embroidered with gold (muzarkasha bi-dhahab) with a squirrel . . . and beaver . . . fur upon it. . . .[109]

[106]See note 89. The term *raqqām* would seem to be related to the more common *″marqūm,″* which denotes a striped (embroidery) in most Mamluk sources. *″Raqqām″* may also be connected to the use of counted stitches.

[107]*Ṭirāz* generally means ″embroidery″ in the Geniza documents, where invoices for textile orders are calculated. For example, we read of bleaching, pounding, cleaning, scraping, mending, and ″embroidery″ *(ṭirāz)* of an ordered garment and the individual prices of each (Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders,* 275, no. 3).

[108]Most of the references to these terms can be found in Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* and Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles*.

[109]Serjeant, *Islamic Textiles,* 150.

Once again, the terminology is confusing. What Serjeant defines as "embroidery" may be any one of several techniques. For instance, "*zarkash*" may designate true brocade, in this case a woven silk with supplementary weft threads in gold or silver thread. "*Zarkash*" could, alternatively, also be a decorative band embroidered (as opposed to woven) in a baser fabric in gold or silver thread. "Stripes" and "bands" could be painted on the fabric, woven into it, or embroidered. In other words, the medieval Arabic terms describe the decorative function of the colored threads, not how they were structurally related to the ground fabric.

It is likely, however, that in this passage several techniques are implied and that embroidery was simply one of many ways to embellish a textile. We tend to think in terms of a hierarchy of textile techniques (woven designs are much better than printed designs, for example). The medieval textile connoisseur, on the other hand, discriminated on the basis of fabric and color. A beautifully executed silk embroidery (on linen) may have been in as much demand as equally colorful decoration woven into the fabric. It would appear that the finest embroideries decorated robes of honor, that the court special-ordered embroidered fabrics, and that some embroideries were quite expensive and cherished by their owners.

These passages, of course, only refer to the highest quality embroideries which were manufactured in the *sūq* and destined for the court. There was a second and larger market, for civilian Cairenes. These were made at home by women. What the domestic style looked like may be reconstructed from surviving pieces. Angular and geometric patterns may be related to what we can call the "folk art" of the period, while designs imitating silks patterns would belong to a more official strain of Mamluk art. The differentiation of domestic from Mamluk textiles requires further study.

CONCLUSIONS

What kinds of questions should we be asking about Mamluk textiles? It is easy to become preoccupied with the minutia of stitch and thread counts, extensive motif descriptions, and terminology. While such details are useful starting points, it is crucial that we conceptualize the broader social issues. What were these fragments used for, why were they decorated the way they were, who owned them, what did they mean to their owners? In short, in what ways were textiles socially significant?

The significance of the "militarization" of Mamluk art has been often discussed by art historians.[110] Whelan relates the widespread use of military imagery, amiral

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[110]Most sources on Mamluk art make this point, but see especially Nasser Rabbat, "The 'Militarization' of Architectural Expression in the Medieval Middle East (11th-14th Century): An Outline," *Al-'Uṣūr al-Wusṭá* 6, no. 1 (1994): 4-6; Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam*; and Estelle Whelan, "Representations of the *Khāṣṣikīyah* and the Origins of Mamluk Emblems," in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World,* 219-43. For studies on heraldry in Islamic art, consult the bibliography in

blazons, and specialized inscriptions of dedication (which contain the owner's military titles) throughout the Islamic world in the twelfth through fourteenth centuries to the development of *khāṣṣakīyah* imagery.[111] I have suggested that the appearance of heraldic devices and militarized inscriptions in all media in the fourteenth century was the result of increased patronage within an empowered amiral class during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's sultanate.[112] The correlation between the rise of a military class and the popularization of such imagery is a phenomenon paralleled in contemporary Cyprus (where Crusader coats-of-arms and court scenes are omnipresent in arts sponsored by all classes),[113] in contemporary France (where the tastes of the *parvenus*—professional soldiers—affected the growth of knightly art and culture),[114] and in Byzantium (where in the twelfth century the military aristocracy sponsored a militarization of culture which affected official imagery, poetry, leisure activities, and official ceremonial).[115]

Official ceremonial was one area which al-Nāṣir Muḥammad cultivated to consolidate his power vis-à-vis his amirs. If the popularization of amiral symbols in public art was evidence of the growing power of the amiral class, the elaboration and regularity of "state ceremonies" could be seen as the sultan's response to its challenge. The daily repetition of rituals designed to demonstrate the exalted status of the sultan over the mamluks reinforced the Mamluk hierarchy while emphasizing his sovereignty.[116] Participation in these ceremonies by both the military elite and the civilian population, however obligatory, was a physical symbol of loyalty to the sultan, and in this sense can be compared to the recitation of his name in the *khuṭbah* every week or the pledge of allegiance upon his investiture.[117]

A greater part of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's building projects were focused on the Citadel, to accommodate the expansion of these official ceremonies.[118] In addition to banquets *(asmiṭah),* royal audiences, and investitures, military officers were required to participate in drinking parties (where *qumiz*—a fermented mare's

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Walker, "The Ceramic Correlates of Decline," Ch. 5.

[111]Whelan, "Representations of the *Khāṣṣikīyah.*"

[112]This is a theme which runs throughout Walker, "The Ceramic Correlates of Decline."

[113]The bibliography on Crusader art in Cyprus is extensive and can be found in ibid., Ch. 4.

[114]Georges Duby, *Foundations of a New Humanism 1280-1440* (Geneva, 1966).

[115]Alexander P. Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley, 1985), 104 ff.

[116]Walker, "The Ceramic Correlates of Decline," 284.

[117]A similar argument has been made for Renaissance festivals in France and Italy. See Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650,* 15.

[118]Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo,* 193; Behrens-Abouseif, "The Citadel of Cairo: Stage for Mamluk Ceremonial"; and Stowasser, "Manner and Customs at the Mamluk Court."

milk—was consumed in large quantities), bi-weekly polo games, formal hunting excursions, and processions.[119]

Processions, like banquets, were held at most important state occasions and during religious festivals; they marked investitures, military victories, hunting excursions, the return of a sultan or an important amir from abroad, the two *'Īd*s, the plenitude ceremony, and the *maḥmal* procession.[120] As at banquets, strict rules were observed regarding the order of the participants (or their seating arrangements), the color and material of costume, and protocols of address and behavior.

The visual effect of these ceremonies must have been impressive. This was, of course, the intention. Large, elaborate, colorful parades and banquets, in particular, were meant to have an impact on both the Mamluk participants and the civilian spectators of Cairo. The material expressions of these events—costumes, objects of office, and serving vessels—were created by local artisans to meet the ceremonial requirements of the state.

Like Mamluk art in general, the textile industry was ″militarized″ in the fourteenth century to respond to demands by the elite for appropriate garments to be used in processions and other ceremonies of state. Mamluk costume had changed and began to adopt the cut of Mongol and Chinese court dress.[121] In terms of decoration, the Mamluks had developed a taste for combining military designs (such as blazons and inscriptions) with fluid chinoiserie. Weavers responded to these demands by making use of the drawloom, which aided in production of triple cloth. With this technology, complicated designs and, particularly repeat patterns could be produced, and reproduced, fairly quickly.

Civilian Cairo quickly developed a taste for silk brocade *(ṭardwaḥsh, nasīj).* Public processions were draped in expensive textiles, from the participants′ costumes to the mounts′ saddles and covers, the banners used in the parades and those hung over the city gates through which the procession progressed, the ″brocades″ which were out along the parade route, the decorations of shops along the way, and temporary pavilions which were set up to distribute refreshments. In a society that was already ″textile conscious,″ this regular and dramatic display of fine textiles rapidly induced a hunger for silk among the non-elite. Moreover silk was woven in the public *sūq*. With the closure of the royal textile workshops in 1341, brocades were not only produced but sold openly in the marketplace. It did not take long

[119]Walker, ″The Ceramic Correlates of Decline,″ 283.

[120]Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo,* and Stowasser, ″Manner and Customs at the Mamluk Court,″ 18.

[121]Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* and Allsen, *Commodity and Exchange,* cite contemporary sources on this subject.

for civilian Cairenes to begin dressing, shopping, and otherwise behaving like the Mamluk elite did just a few years before.[122]

Embroidered work was yet another industry that underwent considerable expansion in the fourteenth century. Mamluk embroidery to a large degree imitated the patterns and surface effects of woven silk, although it gradually developed its own distinctive decorative repertoire. The craft must have specialized, to some degree, since the late Fatimid period. The many Arabic terms used to designate embroidered work in contemporary sources (*marqūm, zarkash, ṭirāz, nuqūsh*) reflect a variety of materials, patterns, and functions. Embroidery was also used for the ceremonial garments of the elite and in the robes of honor distributed by the sultan.

We can differentiate between two distinct styles of embroidery during the fourteenth century. Geometric designs seem to have catered to civilians and may have been produced at home. This domestic, or ″folk,″ art contrasts with the inscriptional and flowing compositions that still retained a visual affiliation with silk designs. These fabrics served a different purpose than the geometric embroideries and may have been destined for a more elite clientele.

Technological changes in embroidery in the fourteenth century kept pace with developments in ceremonial and the market demands of the amiral elite, as well as the urban bourgeoisie who imitated them. Types of stitches which had been known before, such as the chain and crewel stitches, were now used to produce inscriptions and the fluid designs of Chinese silks. New stitches (the Holbein and a group of techniques known as the ″weaving stitch″) were developed to recreate repeat patterns and the sheen of woven silk.

Technical developments in many media (textiles, ceramics, metalworking, architecture) can be explained to a large degree by the elaboration of official ceremonial. How textiles were socially significant on an unofficial level, what the mechanisms were for private production and sale, and to what extent we can differentiate between civilian and Mamluk styles of decoration are promising areas of future research.

[122]Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History,* 113.

Appendix: Catalogue of Illustrated Pieces

Figure 1. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.117
Towel fragment
Egypt, Ottoman
yellow, green, pink, and white cotton embroidery on white linen; copper threads
H: 19 cm, W: 37 cm
Technical analysis: 2/2 twill and looped weave, embroidery in double-running stitch and satin stitch couching
For further reading: Maçide Gönül, "Some Turkish Embroideries in the Collection of the Topkapi Sarayi Museum in Istanbul," *Kunst des Orients* 6, no. 1 (1969): 43-76.

Figure 2. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.802
Fragment sewn together from three pieces
Egypt, late Ayyubid-early Mamluk
red and blue silk embroidery on undyed linen
H: 82.5 cm, W: 23 cm
Technical analysis: tabby ground, embroidery in chain stitch
Inscription: "Everlasting glory and prosperity . . . to its owner" (in *naskhī*)

Figure 3. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.574
"*Ṭirāz*" fragment
Egypt, Ayyubid or early Mamluk
red and yellow silk, blue linen
L: 4.6 cm, W: 4 cm
Technical analysis: tabby with tapestry-woven inscriptional register (yellow on red)
Parallels: Cornu, *Tissus Islamiques,* BAV 6797 (p. 575) and 6928 (p. 576)

Figure 4. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #981.207
Silk fragment, *khil'ah?*
Egypt, Mamluk (14th century)
dark blue, light blue, and ivory silk
L: 37.5 cm, W: 25 cm
Technical analysis: weft-faced compound tabby with warp-faced tabby stripes, triple-cloth
Inscription: "Sulṭā[n]"
Parallels: Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* cat. #119 (p. 236)—nearly identical

Figure 5. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #970.364.4
Silk fragment, *khil'ah?*
Egypt, early Mamluk
dark and light brown silk
H: 19 cm, W: 23 cm
Technical analysis: lampas weave—satin ground and tabby pattern
Inscription: ″al-Sulṭān al-Malik . . .″ (in register, in *thuluth*), pseudo-epigraphy in crescent (related to ″al-'ālim″ or ″al-'ālī″?)

Figure 6. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.291
Appliquéd ″*ṭirāz*″ fragment
Egypt, Mamluk (14th century)
undyed, red, and blue cotton
L: 21 cm, W: 25 cm
Technical analysis: coarse tabbies, Z-spun threads
Inscription: ″Glory to our Lord the Sultan . . .″ (in *thuluth*)

Figure 7. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.1110
Fragmentary band of couched work
Egypt, Mamluk
undyed and blue linen
Technical analysis: tabby ground (two layers), embroidery in satin stitch couching (border registers) and laid and couched work (main design)
Parallels: Lamm, ″Some Mamluk Embroideries,″ Figure 3

Figure 8. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.799
Embroidery fragment
Egypt, Mamluk
red and blue linen embroidery on undyed linen
Technical analysis: tabby ground, embroidery in chain and stem stitches
Inscription: illegible
Parallels: For an illustrated embroidery sampler see Baker, *Islamic Textiles,* 75 (right)

Figure 9. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.1148
Embroidery fragment
Egypt, Mamluk
brown silk embroidery on undyed linen
Technical analysis: tabby ground, embroidery in satin stitch and some laid and couched work; double cloth
Parallels: Lamm, ″Some Mamluk Embroideries,″ Figure 5 (for stippling)

Figure 10. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.1148

Figure 11. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.348
Large embroidered fragments, repaired
Egypt, probably Ayyubid
blue, green, and black silk embroidery on undyed linen
H: 35 cm, W: 28 cm
Technical analysis: tabby ground, embroidery in chained feather stitch
Inscription: difficult to read, possibly ″Everlasting glory, blessings, and happiness to its owner″ (in floriated *naskhī*)
Parallels: Cornu, *Tissus Islamiques,* BAV 6929 (Pl. VIII and p. 581)

Figure 12. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.292
Embroidered *″ṭirāz″* fragment
Egypt, Mamluk
blue silk embroidery on undyed linen
L: 12 cm, W: 56 cm
Technical analysis: tabby ground, embroidery in Holbein and counted zigzag stitches
Inscription: pseudo-epigraphy in diamonds (related to ″al-‘ālim″ or ″al-‘ālī″?)
Parallels: Lamm, ″Some Mamluk Embroideries,″ Figures 2 and 3

Figure 13. ROM, Abemayor cat. #978.76.178
Towel fragment
Egypt, Mamluk
blue linen embroidery on undyed linen
L: 20 cm, W: 17 cm
Technical analysis: tabby ground, embroidery in Holbein and counted zigzag stitches
Parallels: Lamm, ″Some Mamluk Embroideries,″ Figure 3; Gönül, ″Some Turkish Embroideries,″ 50

Figure 14. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.442
Large *"ṭirāz"* fragment
Egypt, Mamluk
blue and yellow silk embroidery on undyed linen
L: 30 cm, W: 70 cm
Technical analysis: tabby ground in Z-spun yarn, embroidery in satin stitch
Inscription: "Honor and long life and glory and [ ]"

Figure 15. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.272
Embroidery fragment, pocket?
Egypt, Mamluk
brown, red, white, and blue silk embroidery on undyed linen
L: 18 cm, W: 15 cm
Technical analysis: tabby ground (two layers sewn together on all sides with darning stitch), embroidery in satin and chained feather stitch
Inscription: pseudo-epigraphy in the dodecahedral cartouches
Parallels: Lamm, "Some Mamluk Embroideries," Figure 14

Figure 16. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.921
Embroidery fragment
Egypt, early Mamluk
red and blue silk embroidery on undyed linen
H: 9.5 cm, W: 8 cm
Technical analysis: tabby ground, embroidery in couching stitch

Figure 17. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.1098
Embroidery fragment
Egypt, Mamluk
red, black, and blue linen embroidery on undyed linen
L: 4.5 cm, W: 13.5 cm
Technical analysis: tabby ground, embroidery in chain stitch

Figure 18. ROM, Abemayor, cat. #978.76.532
Embroidered panel
Egypt, Mamluk
blue, yellow, and brown silk embroidery on undyed linen
Technical analysis: tabby ground; embroidery in satin, darning, stem, and double running stitches with drawn thread work
Parallels: Lamm, "Some Mamluk Embroideries," Figures 16-19

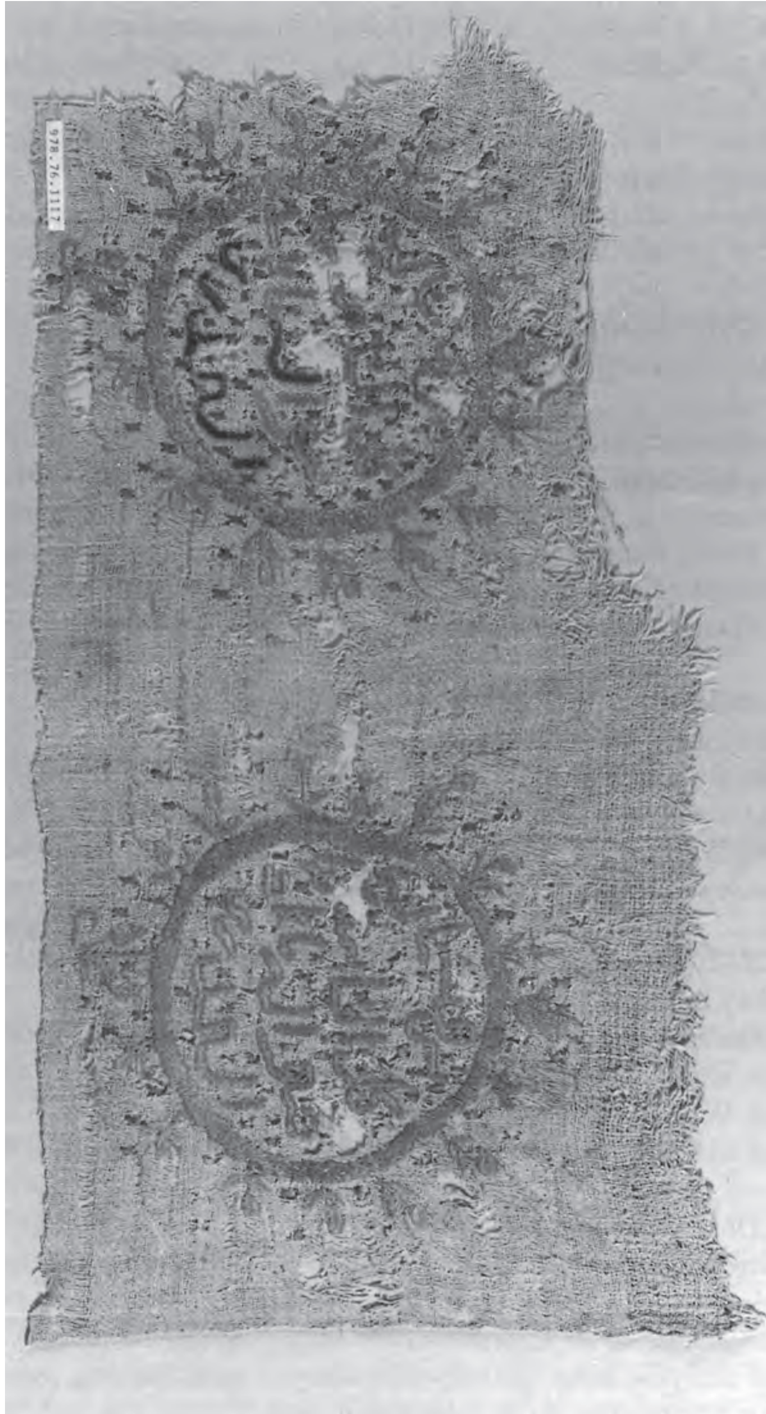


Figure 1. Ottoman towel with copper threads

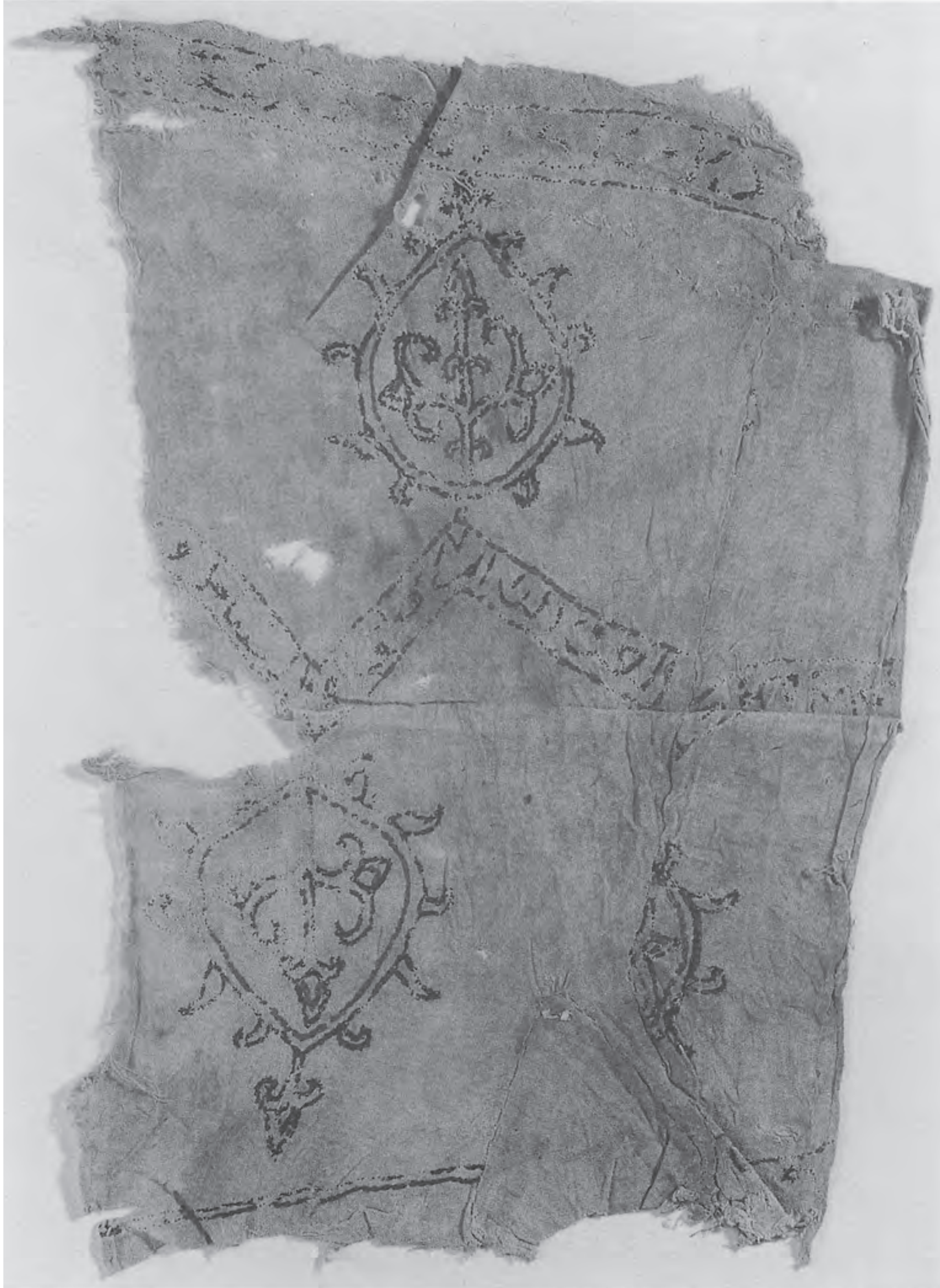


Figure 2. Poorly preserved embroidery

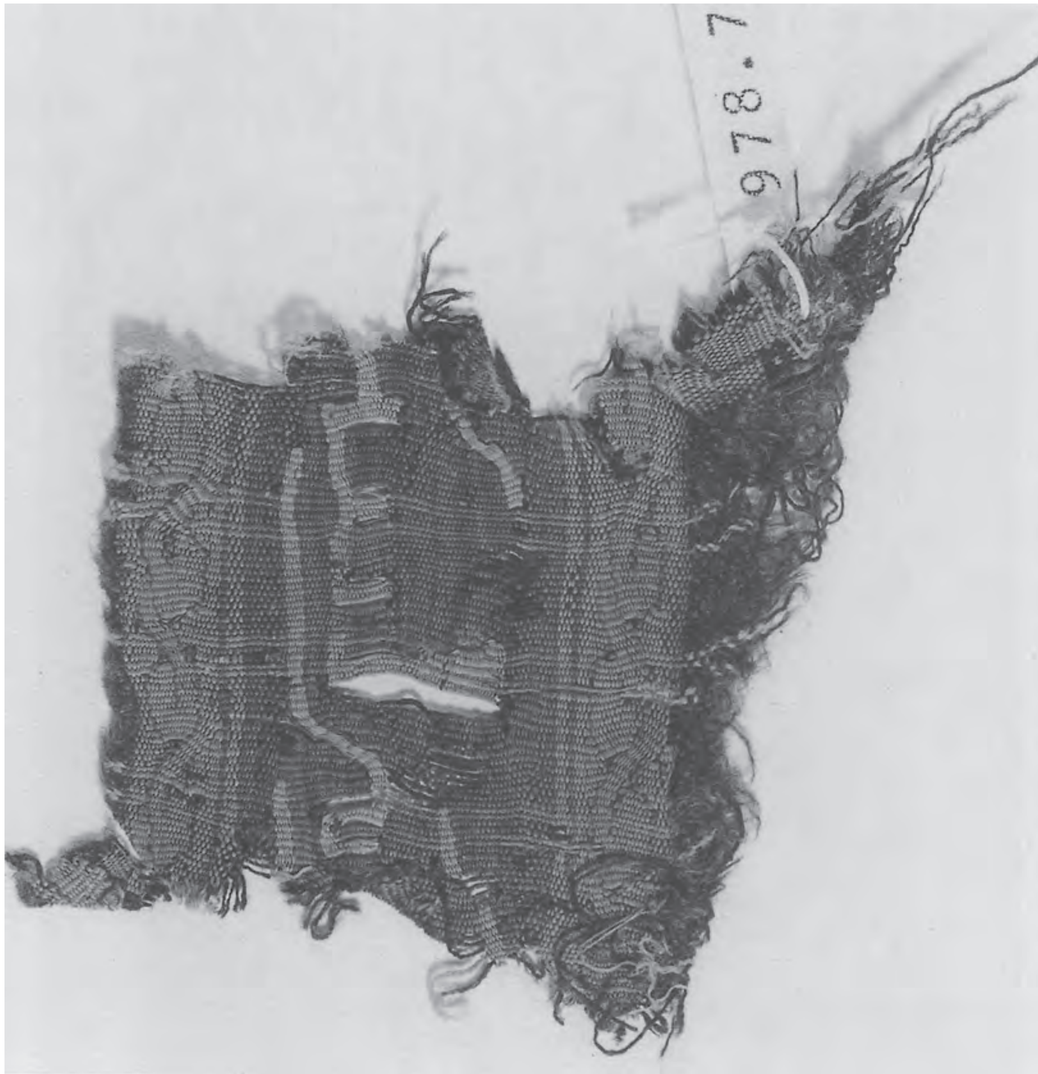


Figure 3. Ayyubid or Mamluk tapestry

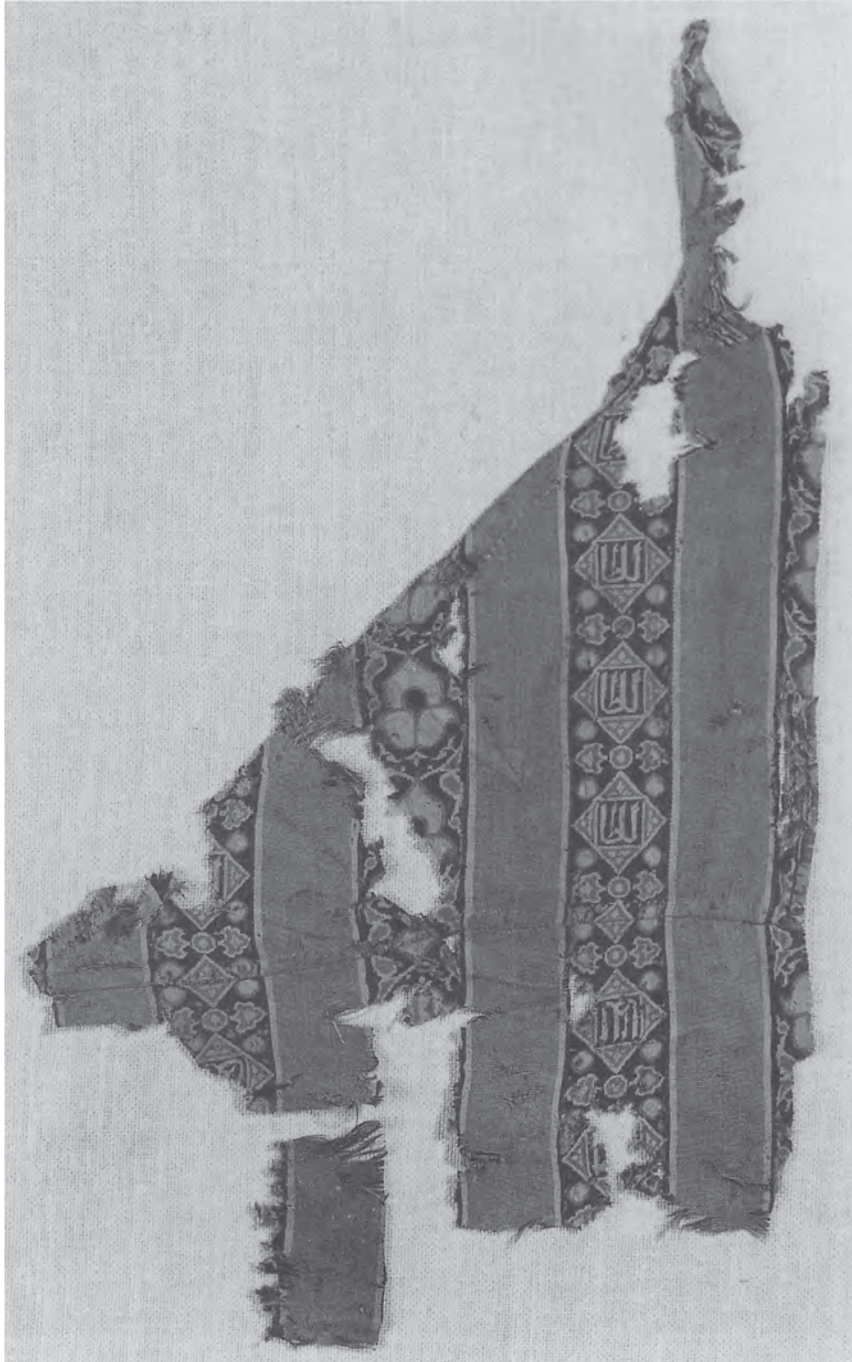


Figure 4. Mamluk striped silk in triple cloth



Figure 5. Mamluk silk lampas with mirror image repeat

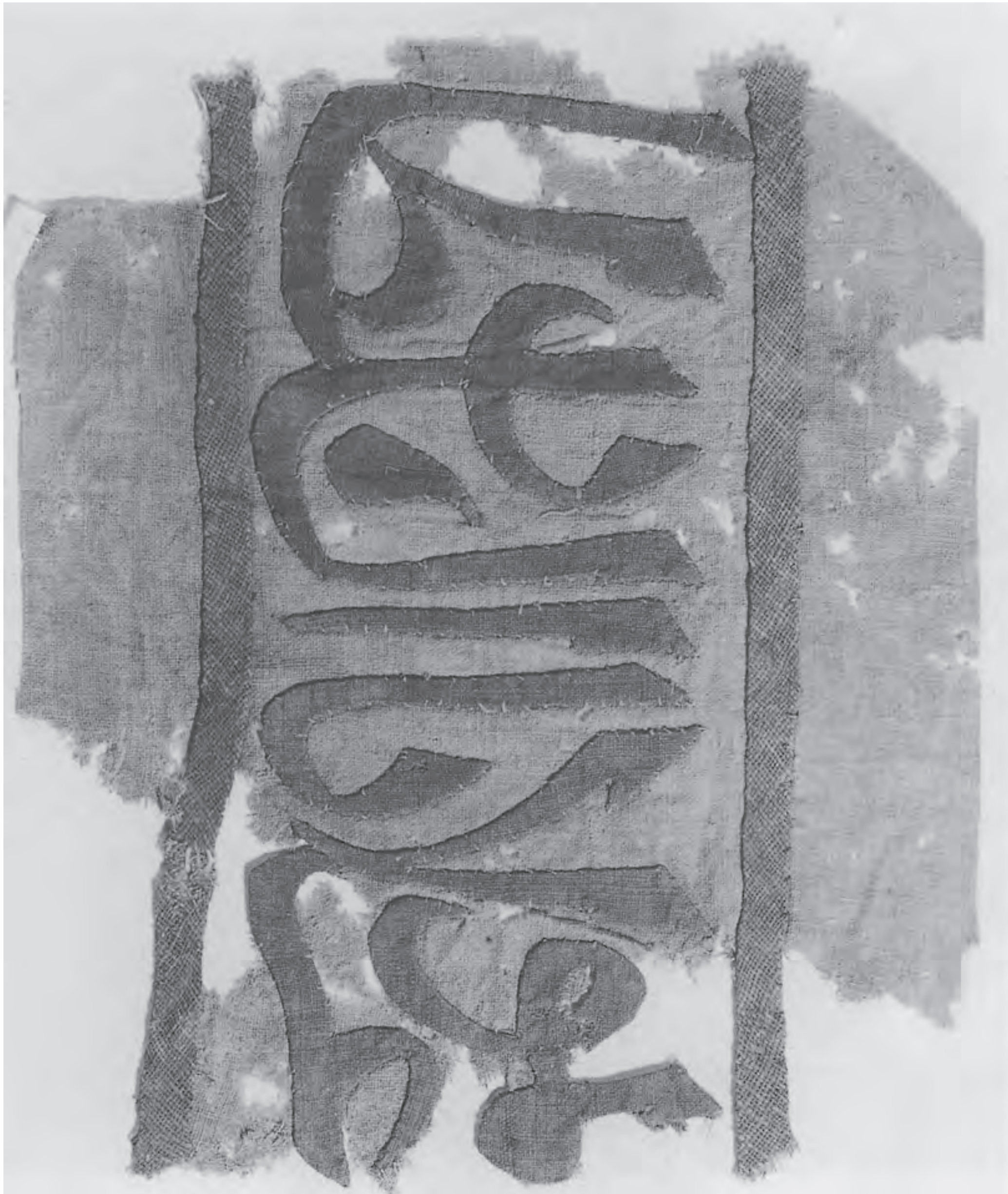


Figure 6. Mamluk appliqué



Figure 7. Faux appliqué

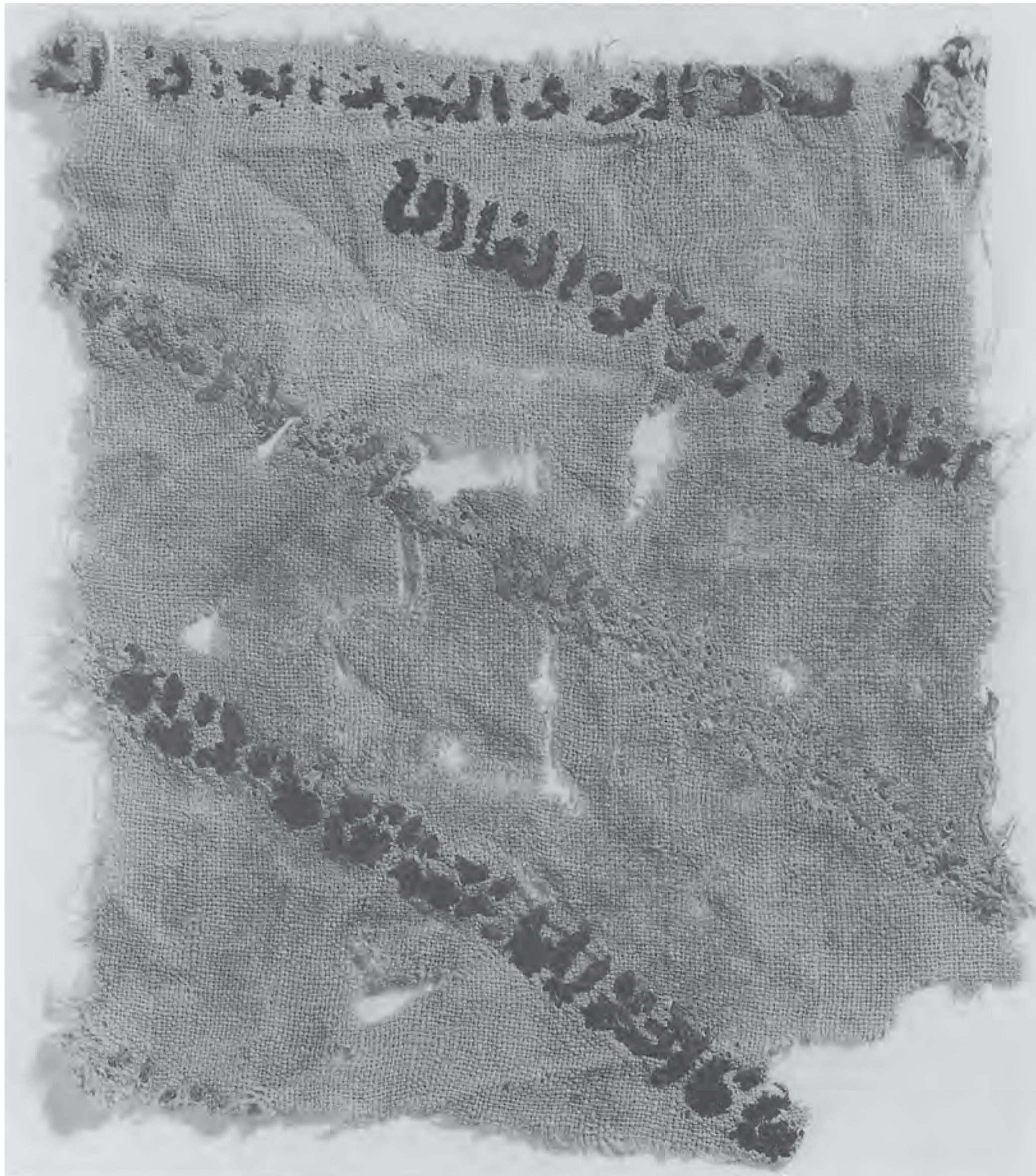


Figure 8. Practice piece or embroidery sampler

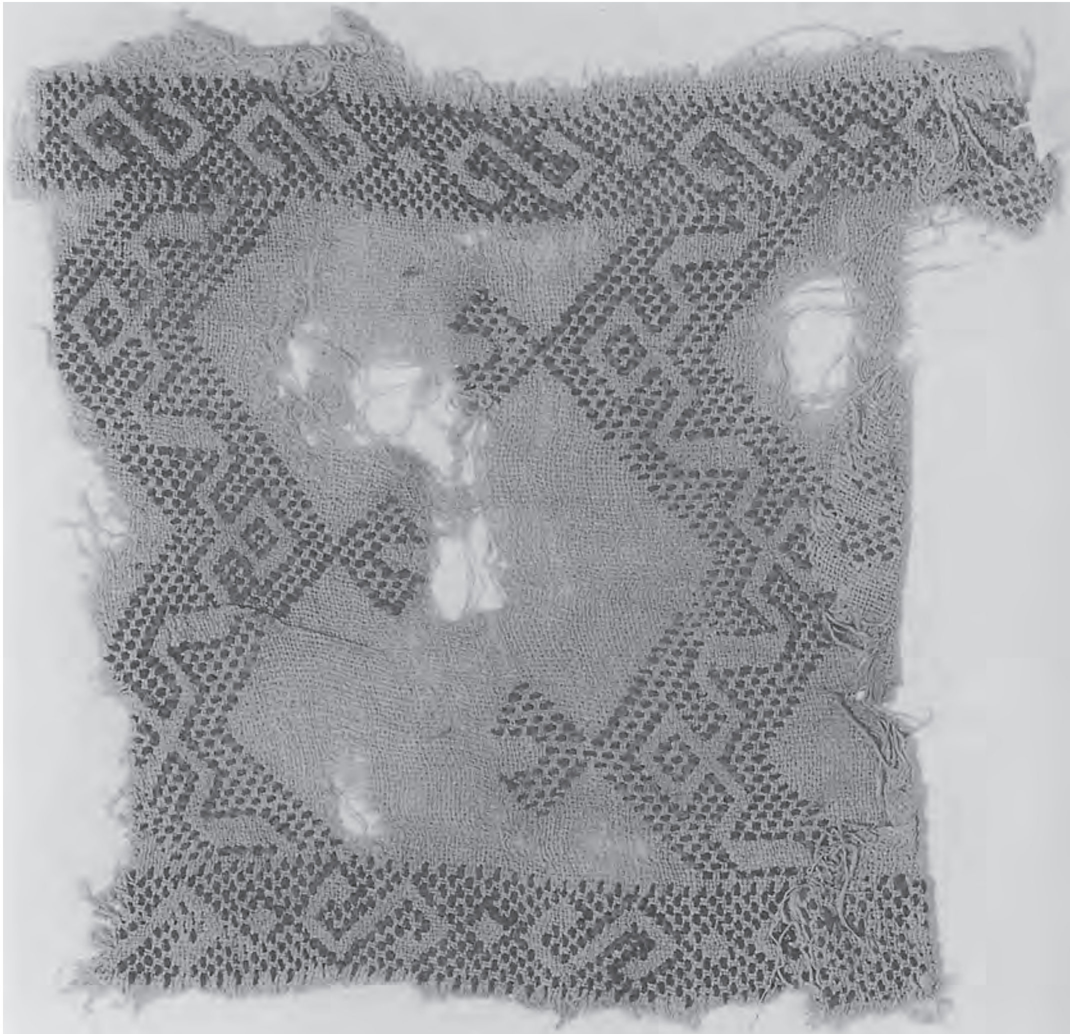


Figure 9. Mamluk counted stitch



Figure 10. Detail of Mamluk counted stitch



Figure 11. Embroidered inscription in mirror image



Figure 12. Pseudo-epigraphy and repeat patterns in the Holbein stitch

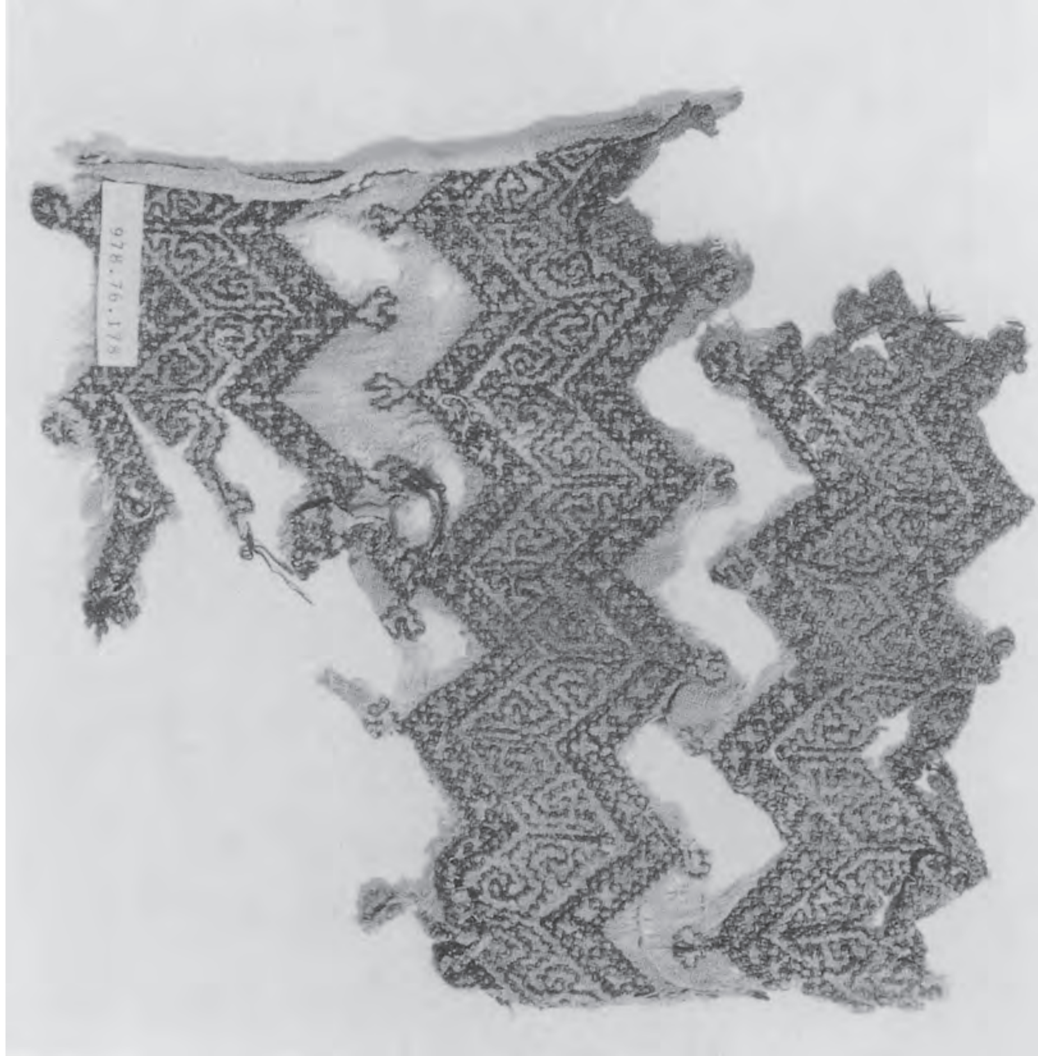


Figure 13. Geometric designs and repeat patterns in the Holbein stitch

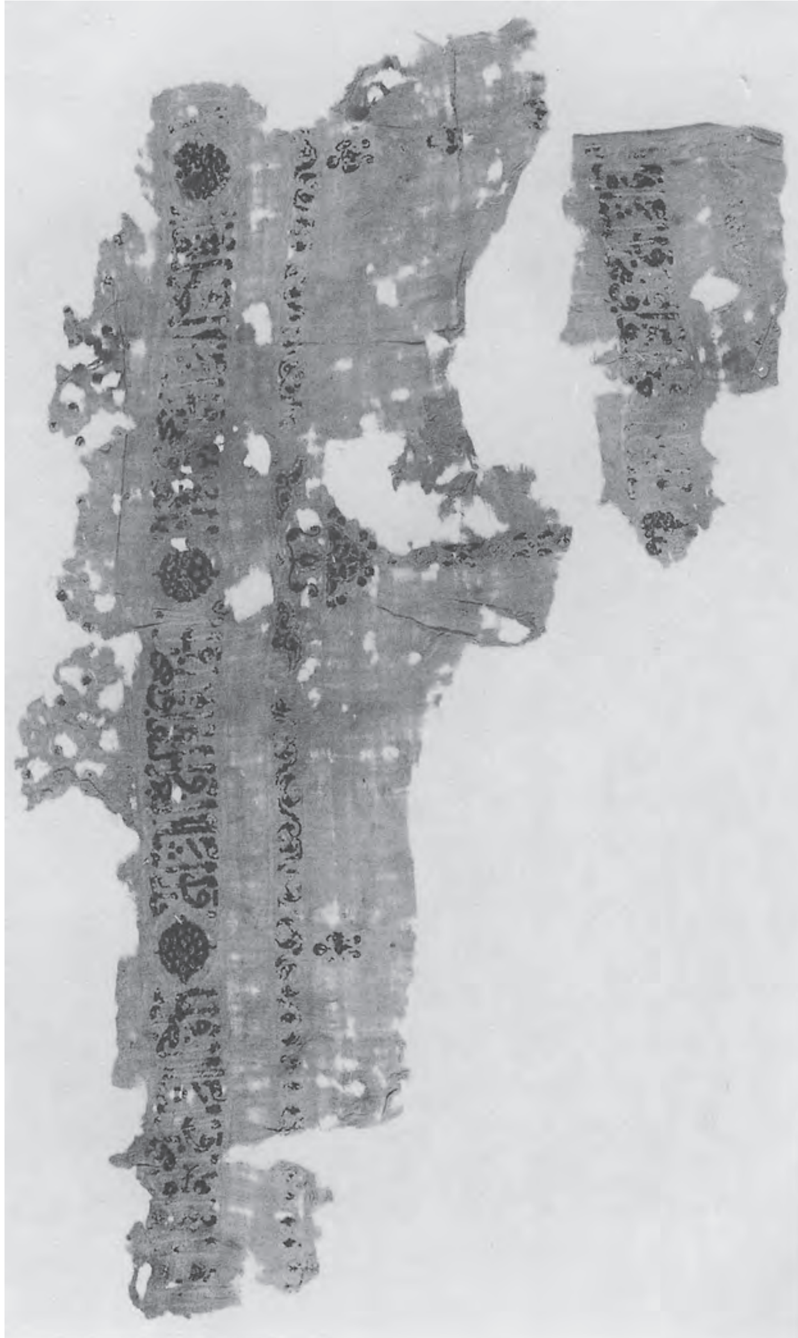


Figure 14. Ceremonial embroidery

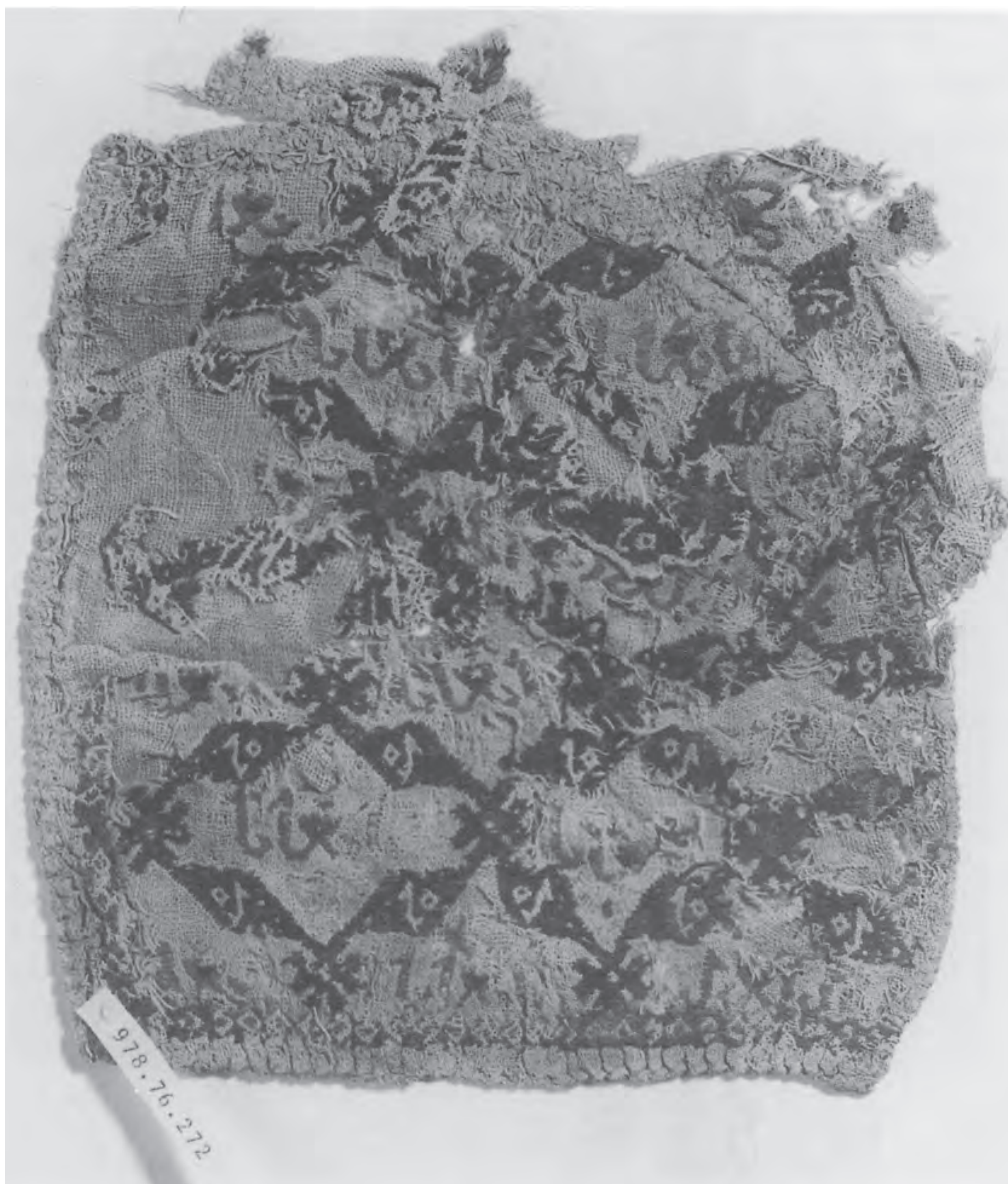


Figure 15. Embroidery with hexagonal trellis pattern



Figure 16. Emblazoned embroidery

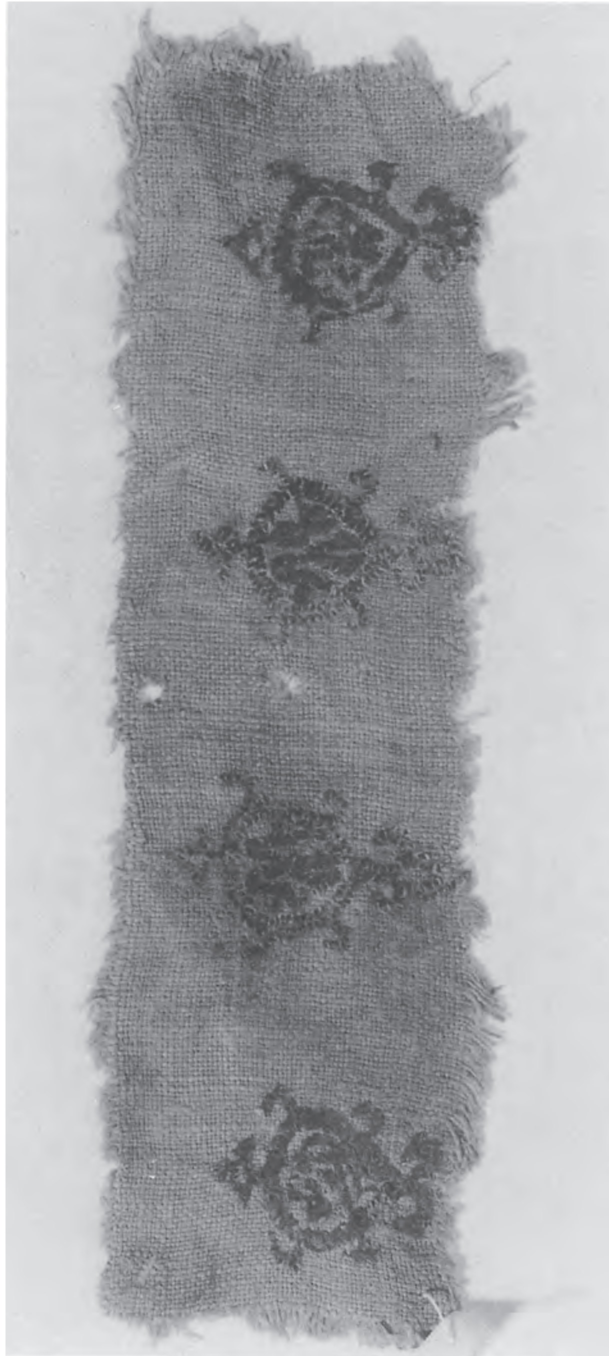


Figure 17. The barbed medallion motif



Figure 18. Mamluk ″lap″

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The Patronage of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, 1310-1341*

The explanation for the nature of Mamluk architectural patronage that is now widely accepted by scholars is that the Mamluks, who were slave soldiers who had illegally seized the throne from their masters, the Ayyubids, sponsored monuments, mostly madrasahs, that would redound to their economic as well as political advantage. Under the law, the Mamluks had no right of inheritance; therefore, they sought to build religious institutions whose endowment would enable them to transfer their wealth, give employment to their children, establish local ties, and win the favor of the religious elite, the ulama, all at the same time. This patronage was also interpreted as a means of political legitimation: their sponsorship of madrasahs displayed a commitment and devotion to the Ayyubid Sunni revival and thus made them legitimate heirs of the Ayyubids.[1]

This thesis, though valid as far as it goes, does not account for the change in the social structure of the ruling elite over time. It cannot be applied to individuals who ceased to fit the profile constructed for Mamluk rulers by choosing not to perpetuate the system, but to change its course. In particular this was true of the house of Qalāwūn, who did inherit the throne of the Mamluk sultanate and whose most distinguished figure was al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn. Al-Nāṣir was not a slave soldier and did not rise to power through the army. His reign stands in sharp contrast to those of his predecessors. Unlike the short unstable regimes of Mamluk military generals, al-Nāṣir's third reign placed on the throne a free-born ruler who succeeded his father and brother and ruled for over thirty years in peace and prosperity. His patronage of architecture also stands in contrast to that of his predecessors; it shifts from the founding of madrasahs to the building of congregational mosques. This shift was not only due to practical reasons but has symbolic significance, as this article will make clear.

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[1]See R. Stephen Humphreys, "The Expressive Intent of the Mamluk Architecture of Cairo: A Preliminary Essay," *Studia Islamica* 35 (1972): 69-119, and I. M. Lapidus, "Mamluk Patronage and the Arts in Egypt: Concluding Remarks," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 173-81.

Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn was raised to the sultanate for the first time in 693/1293, with the title al-Malik al-Nāṣir (victorious king).[2] He was only nine years of age at the time, and power was in the hands of his viceroy, Kitbughā al-Manṣūrī, and his vizier, ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Shujāʾī.[3] The next year Kitbughā deposed the boy king, removed him from the palace, and confined him and his mother to an apartment in the Citadel;[4] he then claimed the throne for himself as al-ʿĀdil Kitbughā, and appointed as viceroy Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn, the former governor of Damascus who had emerged from hiding after his involvement in the assassination of al-Ashraf Khalīl ibn Qalāwūn.[5]

Kitbughā′s two-year reign ended when al-Manṣūr Lājīn deposed him in turn and exiled al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to al-Karak.[6] In 698/1299, the mamluks of al-Ashraf Khalīl, aided by Burjī mamluks, revolted against Sultan Lājīn, murdered him while he was at prayer in the Citadel, and brought al-Nāṣir Muḥammad back from exile at al-Karak to his rightful throne.[7] A new government was formed. Amir Sayf al-Dīn Salār was appointed to the office of viceroy and Amir Baybars al-Jāshankīr to the office of *ustādār*.[8] But this only began yet another struggle between Amir Salār, the leader of the Ṣāliḥī and Manṣūrī mamluks, and Amir Baybars, the leader of the Burjī mamluks. The increasing rivalry between them, and their interference with the authority of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, resulted in al-Nāṣir′s losing his throne once again. He fled back to al-Karak in 708/1308.[9]

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[2]Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan ibn ʿUmar Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh* (Cairo, 1976-82), 1: 169; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah fī al-Dawlah al-Turkīyah* (Cairo, 1987), 138; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk* (Cairo, 1934-71), 1:3:794.

[3]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr* (Cairo, 1982-84), 1:1:378-79; al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah,* 138.

[4]Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 1:175; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:3:806-7.

[5]Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, ″Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,″ MS 549 Maʿārif ʿĀmmah, Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, fol. 30; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1953-54), 2:239; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 1:178.

[6]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:3:832-33; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 1:204; al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah,* 149.

[7]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:3:868-69; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr,* 1:1:398-99; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 1:212-13; al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah,* 154-55.

[8]Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 1:213; al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah,* 155.

[9]Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1929-56), 8:179; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:44; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr,* 1:1:421; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 1:281-86; al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah,* 181, 187.

Baybars al-Jāshankīr was declared sultan in 708/1309,[10] and Salār was appointed to the office of viceroy.

This time al-Nāṣir Muḥammad prepared his return to the throne of Egypt. He gained the support of the bedouin Arabs in al-Karak and of the governors of Aleppo, Ḥamāh, Jerusalem, and Ṣafad. Although Baybars had seized all his wealth, al-Nāṣir was still able to recruit some of the mamluks of his brother Khalīl in addition to defectors from Baybars′s rule.[11] In a triumphal procession al-Nāṣir Muḥammad entered the city of Damascus.[12] On Friday, the twelfth of Sha'bān of the year 709/1310, the *khuṭbah* was delivered in the name of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad instead of Baybars in Damascus, and the amirs gave their oath of allegiance to the sultan. On the nineteenth of Ramaḍān, the name of al-Nāṣir replaced that of Baybars in the *khuṭbah* in Cairo. From Damascus, al-Nāṣir proceeded to Cairo, where he arrived on the first of Shawwāl of the year 709/1310.[13] Baybars had fled with his mamluks, and the city had prepared to receive the sultan. Al-Nāṣir mounted the throne for the third time at the age of twenty-four, this time to stay.

Al-Nāṣir′s third accession to the throne ushered in a new era in Mamluk history. He began by eliminating the amirs who had betrayed him; both Baybars al-Jāshankīr and his viceroy Salār were executed.[14] They were replaced by the mamluks who supported him, most of whom were former mamluks of his brother al-Ashraf Khalīl. They were promoted to the rank of amir and assigned official posts.

Al-Nāṣir governed with a limited number of trusted men of high caliber, whose long terms are reflective of the stability of al-Nāṣir′s court. Among them were Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī, the governor of Damascus (1312-40),[15] 'Alā' al-Dīn Alṭunbughā, governor of Aleppo (1314-17, 1331-41),[16] and Arghūn al-Dawādār al-Nāṣirī, viceroy of Egypt (1310-26),[17] who earlier had been chancellor and was something of an intellectual: he collected books and studied hadith and Hanafi

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[10]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 8:181; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:45-46; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:417.

[11]Al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah,* 193-98; Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmi' al-Ghurar* (Cairo, 1971), 9:167; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:62-67.

[12]Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 2:19; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 9:172-73; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:66-67.

[13]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:72-73; al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah,* 201; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar,* 9:187-89.

[14]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:81, 88; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar,* 9:197-98.

[15]Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* 10:420-35; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:2:499-501; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 9:145-59.

[16]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:137, 2:2:330.

[17]For more biographical information, see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá*

law, and was permitted to issue *fatwá*s.[18] Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī was an effective governor in Damascus for most of al-Nāṣir′s reign; imitating al-Nāṣir′s efforts at urban reform in Egypt, he both restored and built a large number of institutions, reformed the management of *waqf*s, and built an aqueduct to supply the city with water.[19]

Al-Nāṣir was a strong, autocratic ruler; his third reign lasted thirty-one years, until his death in 741/1341. Those years have been described as the ″climax of Egyptian culture and civilization,″[20] a time when ″the empire reached the highest pinnacle of its power.″[21] He was popular with the people, and established strong ties with the bedouin tribes who had supported him while he was in exile. He was the first of the Mamluk sultans to speak fluent Arabic. Twice a week, he administered justice before the people in the Dār al-ʻAdl of the Citadel.

At the frontiers of the Mamluk empire, al-Nāṣir′s third reign was better known for peace than war. The reign of al-Ashraf Khalīl had seen the fall of Acre and an end to the Crusades in Syria. In al-Nāṣir′s second reign the Mongol invasion under the Ilkhan Ghazan Maḥmūd in 699/1299[22] was defeated by the Mamluk army in 702/1303 at Shaghab.[23] The threat from Mongol Iran was completely eliminated during al-Nāṣir′s third reign. In their last attempt to invade Syria in 712/1312, led by the Ilkhan Öljeitü, Ghazan′s successor, the Mongols were forced by the Mamluks to retreat beyond the Euphrates.[24] A peace treaty, the treaty of Aleppo, was later negotiated and signed with the Ilkhanid Abū Saʻīd, Öljeitü′s successor, in 720/1320.[25] Freed from these problems, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad could direct his efforts at establishing diplomatic relations and encouraging trade.[26] His court was said to have received eight embassies in a single year (716/1316),

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baʻd al-Wāfī (Cairo, 1984-90), 2:306-8.

[18]Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʻyān al-Miʼah al-Thāminah* (Beirut, 1970), 1:351-52; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 9:288-89.

[19]Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250-1382* (London, 1986), 107.

[20]Stanley Lane-Poole, *The Story of Cairo* (London, 1902), 215.

[21]J. B. Glubb, *Soldiers of Fortune: The Story of the Mamluks* (London, 1973), 226.

[22]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:3:882-901.

[23]Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar,* 9:85-88; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:3:930-38; Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Jawhar al-Thamīn fī Sīrat al-Khulafāʼ wa-al-Mulūk wa-al-Salāṭīn* (Mecca, 1982), 132-35.

[24]Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 9:245-251; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr,* 1:1:442; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 2:45.

[25]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:209-10; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 2:115.

[26]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr,* 1:173; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:2:537; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 9:173-75.

among them representatives from the Byzantine Emperor, the Khan of the Golden Horde, and the Ilkhan Abū Sa'īd.[27] To further strengthen his relations with the khan, al-Nāṣir proposed to marry Abū Sa'īd's daughter, but no agreement could be reached about her dowry. Eventually a descendant of Chingiz Khan was sent as wife to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to establish ties between them.[28] Other fronts were also secured. Expeditions between 720/1320 and 738/1337 resulted in an agreement with Cilician Armenia to double the annual tribute to which it had consented during the reign of Lājīn.[29] To secure trade with the East, al-Nāṣir strengthened diplomatic relations with both the sultan of Delhi and the Rasulids of Yemen.[30]

Having stabilized and secured his empire the sultan turned his attention to public works. Roads, irrigation systems, bridges, mosques, and religious institutions were built. Al-Nāṣir's enthusiastic patronage of architecture set the tone for his followers and initiated a building boom. The sultan was beyond doubt the most lavish patron of architecture in the Mamluk period. Mamluk historians acknowledge this when they compare him to his predecessors. Writes al-Maqrīzī:

> Al-Nāṣir was fond of architecture. From the time that he returned from al-Karak for his third sultanate he kept on continuously building until his death. His expenditure was estimated at eighty thousand *dirham*s per day. When he saw something he disliked, he demolished it entirely and rebuilt it to his satisfaction. No king before him equaled his expenditure on architecture. When al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn desired to build a covered *maṣṭabah* to sit on, protected from the heat of the sun, and al-Shujā'ī wrote for him an estimate of its cost (four thousand *dirham*s), he took the paper from the hands of al-Shujā'ī and tore it up. He said: "I sit in a *maq'ad* of four thousand *dirham*s! Erect me a tent when I descend [the Citadel], for I will not release anything from the treasury for such a thing." This was the case with al-Ẓāhir Baybars and those who preceded him; they did not spend money but saved it conservatively and fearfully.[31]

Al-Nāṣir instituted an official *dīwān* for the administration of building projects: "He built extensively, assigned Aqsunqur to manage construction, and brought

[27] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:2:163-64.

[28] Glubb, *Soldiers of Fortune,* 210.

[29] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 2:124.

[30] Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'* (Cairo, 1913-18), 5:52; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:254-60.

[31] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:2:537.

construction workers from all over Syria. For construction, he designated a *dīwān* whose expenditures amounted to eight to twelve thousand *dirham*s per day."[32] These projects were paid for by the new wealth brought in by the reform achieved by al-Nāṣir's *rawk* (land survey) in 715/1315.[33] Under the old system, used by al-Ẓāhir Baybars and al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, the cultivatable land was divided into twenty-four shares, and was distributed so that the sultan and his mamluks had four, the *ḥalqah*[34] had ten, and the amirs had ten. This was slightly modified by Lājīn to a four, nine, and eleven distribution. Al-Nāṣir's *rawk* awarded himself ten shares, with the remainder going to the *ḥalqah* and the amirs.[35]

Among al-Nāṣir's extensive projects was the canal at Alexandria, around which grew the town of al-Nāṣirīyah,[36] a *maydān* at the foot of the Citadel,[37] the Khānqāh of Siryāqūs,[38] and al-Jāmi‘ al-Nāṣirī.[39] In the Citadel he built the Qaṣr al-Ablaq,[40]

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[32]Ibid., 2:1:130.

[33]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i‘ al-Zuhūr,* 1:1:446.

[34]*Ḥalqah* literally means "ring." During the Ayyubid period the term referred to a small group of bodyguards around the sultan. During the Mamluk period the term came to refer to the free-born members of the Mamluk army. See D. Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army-II," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15 (1953): 448-49.

[35]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:87-89.

[36]This project was carried out in 710/1310, employing one hundred thousand men according to Ibn Taghrībirdī, and forty thousand according to al-Maqrīzī. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 9:178; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:111; idem, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:171.

[37]It is called Maydān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn today. The history of this *maydān* goes back to the time of Aḥmad Ibn Ṭūlūn. It was rebuilt by the Ayyubid sultan al-Kāmil in 611/1214. During the reign of al-Nāṣir the *maydān* was revived, planted with trees, supplied with water, and enclosed by a stone wall. It became an important urban feature that provided pleasant scenery as viewed from the Citadel, especially from al-Qaṣr al-Ablaq. Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:228; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 9:179.

[38]The area of Siryāqūs, outside of al-Qāhirah to the north, received a great deal of attention from al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who developed it and built in it a number of palaces, houses, and gardens. The *khānqāh* incorporated a Friday mosque and was completed in 725/1324. Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2:422; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 9:79; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 2:149.

[39]It was built by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 711-12/1311-12 on the shore of the Nile at the southern tip of the Grand Canal outside of Fusṭāṭ. This mosque also incorporated a *khānqāh.* Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat 'Iqd al-Amṣār* (Cairo, 1893), 4:77, 101; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:304; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 9:211.

[40]Built by al-Nāṣir in 713-14/1313-14. It was described by Ibn Iyās as three interlinked palaces with five *qā‘ah*s. See al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:209-10; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:129; and Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i‘ al-Zuhūr,* 1:1:445. Remains of this palace were standing at the time of the French expedition, and are thus documented in drawings. See J. Jomard, "Description de la Ville et de la Citadelle du Kaire," *Description de l'Égypte par les Savants de l'Expédition Francais. Etat Moderne* (Paris, 1812).

the Great Īwān,[41] the mosque,[42] and the seven *qā'ah*s.[43] He built a number of residences for his amirs, including palaces for Ṭaqtimur al-Dimashqī in Ḥadrat al-Baqar, Baktimur al-Sāqī on the lake of al-Fīl,[44] and the two palaces of Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī and Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī in Rumaylah.[45] His restoration efforts included the Jāmi' al-Nāṣirī around the mausoleum of al-Sayyidah Nafīsah in 714/1314[46] and the rebuilding of the mosque of Rashīdah[47] in 741/1340.[48] Among his public works were a number of bridges *(qanāṭir,* sing. *qanṭarah):* the al-Jadīdah bridge and the al-'Āwiz bridge were constructed over the Grand Canal in 725/1324.[49] When the new canal named al-Khalīj al-Nāṣirī was finished,[50] the bridge of Bāb al-Baḥr was built across it in 725/1324.[51]

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[41]This *īwān* has not survived; it was known as Dār al-'Adl. It was built by al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and was renovated by his son al-Ashraf Khalīl. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad renovated the *īwān* twice before ordering its demolition. He rebuilt the *īwān*, to which he added monumental granite columns and a great dome, in 734/1333. For a description of the *īwān* see al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:206; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:148-49.

[42]The existing mosque was built by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 735/1334. On its site there was a much smaller mosque which was demolished by Sultan al-Nāṣir and rebuilt in 718/1318. That mosque was in turn demolished to be replaced by the existing mosque. Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:212.

[43]Overlooking the *maydān,* the *qā'ah*s were built by al-Nāṣir to house his one thousand two hundred concubines. See al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:212.

[44]This palace was built by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad for a favored amir, al-Sāqī, whose daughter later married al-Nāṣir's son Ānūk. It was built in the year 717-18/1317-18. It is described as one of Cairo's greatest palaces to which a large and well-equipped stable was attached. 'Alī Basha Mubārak, *Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīqīyah al-Jadīdah li-Miṣr al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1888), 2:328-29; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:68.

[45]The two palaces were built in 738/1337 by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad opposite each other at the foot of the Citadel, on the *maydān* of al-Rumaylah. They were demolished by al-Nāṣir Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, who built on the site his *jāmi'*-madrasah complex in 757-63/1356-62. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:2:537-41; idem, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:71; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 9:121.

[46]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:306; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:1:485.

[47]This mosque was built in 393/1002 by the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim. When it fell into ruin around the year 738/1337, it was looted. According to al-Maqrīzī, Amir al-Māridānī transferred a number of columns from it to his mosque on al-Tabbānah Street in al-Qāhirah.

[48]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 4:177; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:517.

[49]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:148.

[50]This canal was dug by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 725/1324. It was to supply the area of Siryāqūs in which al-Nāṣir built his *khānqāh,* palaces, and pleasure gardens. See al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah fī Akhbār Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1882), 2:389; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:145-46.

[51]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:151; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 2:145.

The amirs followed in al-Nāṣir′s footsteps: fourteen bridges were constructed across the Grand Canal and five across al-Khalīj al-Nāṣirī.[52] Al-Nāṣir encouraged this patronage by offering both moral and financial support. Ibn Taghrībirdī related that al-Nāṣir, upon being informed of a new project, offered his thanks publicly and his financial support privately.[53] In this building frenzy whole new neighborhoods developed: ″The Island of al-Fīl and the site of Būlāq were built up. After having been empty sand on which mamluks shot arrows and amirs played ball, they were covered with houses, palaces, mosques, markets, and gardens.″[54] The most significant impact of al-Nāṣir′s patronage on the city itself was the expansion of al-Qāhirah beyond its walls. The extension of the city at its southern edge is of particular significance because that part of the city had acquired a ceremonial function. It linked the walled city of al-Qāhirah to the Citadel, thus extending its processional routes along which prestigious monuments were erected.

At the architectural level, al-Nāṣir′s patronage resulted in the revival of the hypostyle mosque, which had fallen into disuse. In fact, in Cairo, for a period of a century and a half (555-711/1160-1311)[55] only one congregational mosque had been built, and that was the Great Mosque of al-Ẓāhir Baybars north of the walled city of al-Qāhirah in 665-67/1266-69.[56] In contrast, during the time of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, over thirty of them were built.[57] Three by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad himself used the traditional hypostyle plan and were outside the walled city. The first built by al-Nāṣir was the Jāmiʻ al-Nāṣirī on the shore of the Nile north of Fusṭāṭ; the second was constructed around the mausoleum of al-Sayyidah Nafīsah; and the third was al-Nāṣir′s royal mosque in the Citadel.

The Jāmiʻ al-Nāṣiri was built in 711-12/1311-12.[58] It no longer exists, but Ibn Duqmāq left a detailed description:

> It has four doors: one is in the qiblah wall, which is the door to the chamber of the *khaṭīb;* the second is in the *baḥrī* wall opening onto

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[52] ʻAlī al-Mīlayjī, ″ʻAmā'ir al-Nāṣir Muḥammad al-Dīnīyah″ (master′s thesis, Cairo University, 1975), 93, 99.

[53] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 9:185.

[54] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:2:539.

[55] In 555/1160, the last of the Fatimid congregational mosques was built by al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalā'iʻ ibn Ruzzīk.

[56] During that period a very small number of *jāmi*ʻs were built outside the city, in the Qarāfah and on private farmland in the outskirts of the city, for example the *jāmi*ʻ near the mausoleum al-Shāfiʻī, built in 607/1210, and the *jāmi*ʻ of al-Ṭaybarsī, built in 707/1307. See al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:296-304.

[57] They are listed by al-Maqrīzī in *Al-Sulūk,* 2:2:544.

[58] Al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah,* 226; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:304; Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Intiṣār,* 1:76.

> the blessed Baḥr al-Nīl; the third is in the eastern wall that is reached from between the two gardens of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ṭaybarsī al-Wazīr; and the fourth is reached from the small street which separates it from the well and leads to the door of the Qāʿat al-Khaṭabah and all else. It also has three doors, each leading to the roof. . . . It has three mihrabs on the wall of the qiblah: the large one is in the dome, the second to the east of it, and the third is to the west of it. It also has its enclosed *maqṣūrah,* which has three doors, and its *maqṣūrah* which is in its *baḥrī* side, adjacent to its eastern side, which is dedicated to the *fuqarāʾ* who are installed below and above. . . . [There are] one hundred thirty-seven columns, of which the columns of the dome, and they are ten, are large and solid. Between the dome and the roof of the *jāmiʿ* are again eight solid columns; they are shorter and thinner than the first ones. On the eastern front area, between the domed area and the eastern wall, are twenty-six columns. On the western front is an equal number, that is, twenty-six columns. On the eastern side of the *ṣaḥn,* between the *ṣaḥn* and the eastern wall, are sixteen columns. In the western side of the *ṣaḥn* is the same number. On the flank of its eastern end are thirteen columns, and on the flank of its western end the same number. Flanking the mihrab are two columns. In the *maqṣūrah* of the Sufis there are seven columns.[59]

It is clear from this description that this was a domed hypostyle mosque with a *ṣaḥn* and four *riwāq*s, the largest of which was the *riwāq* of the qiblah, three mihrabs on the qiblah wall (reminiscent of the treatment of the qiblah wall in late Fatimid mosques), and an axial symmetrical arrangement. According to the measurements given by Ibn Duqmāq, the Jāmiʿ al-Nāṣirī was one hundred *dhirāʿ* [65.5 m] on its *qiblī* and *baḥrī* sides, one hundred twenty on its eastern side, and one hundred ten on its western side, and thus was not a perfect rectangle.

The second *jāmiʿ* founded by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was begun in 714/1314 around the mausoleum of al-Sayyidah Nafīsah. It too has not survived, but, according to the brief description of Ibn Duqmāq, it was also of the hypostyle type.[60]

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[59]Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Intiṣār,* 1:76.
[60]Ibid., 124.

The third *jāmi'* of al-Nāṣir was built in the Citadel in 718/1318 on a site originally occupied by a small mosque believed to have been built by the Ayyubid Sultan al-Kāmil,[61] which was demolished along with the royal kitchens.[62] By 735/1334, the mosque was again judged not fit for royalty and it was rebuilt once more. The extent of that reconstruction is unclear in Casanova's study, since none of the Mamluk historians consulted by him clearly identified the parts which were rebuilt at that time.[63] But Ibn al-Dawādārī, who lived during the reign of al-Nāṣir, provides detailed information. "In it [the year 735/1334] royal decrees were issued to demolish the *jāmi'* erected by our master the sultan, may his victory be exalted, in the Citadel, and to renovate its structure. The interior was demolished: the *riwāqs*, the *maqṣūrah,* and the mihrab. It was rebuilt to a structure the likes of which no eye has seen. He raised the arches of the *riwāqs* to an enormous height, also the dome was raised until it became very high. He brought to this mosque huge columns which were left in the city of Ashmūnayn."[64] These antique granite columns were brought to Cairo on boats and carried up to the Citadel by thousands of workers. The reconstruction of the interior involved increasing the height of the walls, which produced the reaction by Briggs that "its walls are higher in proportion to their length than those of Ibn Ṭūlūn or Ḥākim."[65]

The Jāmi' of al-Nāṣir is almost square in plan, measuring 63 by 57 meters (Fig. 1). The *ṣaḥn* is a large rectangle measuring 35.50 by 23.50 meters; it originally had a fountain in the center, but that no longer exists.[66] The qiblah *riwāq* is four bays wide and each of the side *riwāq*s are two bays wide. As in the Jāmi' of al-Ẓāhir Baybars (Fig. 2), the area in front of the mihrab, covering nine square bays, is covered by a dome carried by wooden stalactite pendentives resting on ten cylindrical granite columns.[67] Neither the original mihrab nor the marble paneling

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[61]Paul Casanova, *Tārīkh wa-Waṣf Qal'at al-Qāhirah,* trans. Aḥmad Darrāj (Cairo, 1974), 93-95.

[62]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:325.

[63]Including the accounts of al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, and al-'Umarī, who discussed the rebuilding but failed to indicate the changes made to the first structure.

[64]Al-Mīlayjī in "'Amā'ir al-Nāṣir Muḥammad al-Dīnīyah," 205-6, discloses the important account of Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 9:382.

[65]M. Briggs, *Muhammadan Architecture in Egypt and Palestine* (New York, 1924), 101.

[66]This fountain was documented by Watson in 1886. The *ṣaḥn* of the mosque remains bare today. His survey and description of the mosque were published in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 18 (1886): 477-82.

[67]The original dome was covered with green tiles; it collapsed and was rebuilt during the reign of Sultan Qāytbāy in 893/1487, but this dome has also perished. The present dome is a modern addition made by the Comité in 1935. Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 3:253; Ḥasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb, "Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Baḥrīyah: 'Aṣr al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn," *Majallat al-'Imārah* 7-8 (1941): 295.

of the interior walls has survived.[68] Three projecting portals provide access to the mosque. The main portal is of the stalactite type; it is in the center of the northwestern facade on an axis with the mihrab (Fig. 3). The second portal is placed in the center of the northeastern facade and leads to the *ṣaḥn;* it has a trilobed arched recess. The third is located at the end of the southwestern wall; its pointed-arched recess features an *ablaq* medallion. This portal opens onto the qiblah *riwāq* and gives access to the royal *maqṣūrah* to the right of the mihrab.[69] It was the entrance used by the sultan on Fridays; the amirs entered through the portal on the northwestern wall.[70]

The two minarets built of stone and adorned with faience mosaics that rise above the structure contrast with the otherwise austere exterior. One minaret is located above the main portal; the other occupied the eastern corner of the mosque. The minaret above the portal has a conical shape of three stories; two balconies with stone-paneled parapets separate the shafts. The lower two shafts are carved with zigzag motifs; the upper shaft is ribbed and carries a bulbous ribbed top below which is an inscription band of white faience mosaic. The whole of the upper shaft is covered with white, blue, and green faience mosaic. The eastern minaret has a rectangular base and a cylindrical second shaft, both undecorated. The third story is similar to that of the first minaret only in that the upper structure is raised on an open arcade. Both the bulbous shapes and the use of faience mosaics testify to the participation of Persian craftsmen.[71] The interior facade of the *ṣaḥn* is articulated by a row of arched windows running across the facade above the arcade (Fig. 4). Painted *ablaq* masonry highlights the frame of the windows and the voussoirs of the arcade below. The wall is capped by stepped crenellation. At each of four corners is a sculptural element featuring the *mabkharah* minaret top.

Al-Nāṣir′s example was followed by many amirs who built Friday mosques within the city. The privilege of building congregational mosques was no longer reserved for the sultan. Five examples of the hypostyle *jāmi'* dating to this period

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[68]The marble paneling was dismantled and transferred to Istanbul by Sultan Selim. Both the mihrab and the marble dado were reconstructed by the Comité on the basis of photographs in 1947. See Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo: An Introduction* (Leiden, 1989), 109; Al-Milaīgī, ″'Amā'ir al-Nāṣir Muḥammad al-Dīnīyah,″ 216-17.

[69]Achille Prisse D′Avennes, *L′Art Arabe* (Paris, 1877),1:106.

[70]Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyá Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār: Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Ūlá,* ed. Dorothea Krawulsky (Beirut, 1986), 6:105.

[71] For further discussion, see Michael Meinecke, ″Die mamlukischen faience Dekorationen: Eine Werkstatte aus Tabriz in Kairo (1330-1355),″ *Kunst des Orients* 11 (1976-77): 85ff.

are extant. The Jāmiʿ of Qūṣūn al-Nāṣirī, the son-in-law of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad,[72] was constructed in 730/1329[73] outside of Bāb Zuwaylah, on the street of al-Qalʿah. Today only the *riwāq* of the qiblah remains; the rest was demolished when the street of Muḥammad Alī was constructed. ʿAlī Pasha Mubārak proposed a design for its reconstruction that was implemented in 1893. The only remaining part of the original structure is the northwestern portal containing the foundation inscription: "Qūṣūn al-Sāqī al-Malākī al-Nāṣirī ordered the construction of this blessed *jāmiʿ* during the reign of our master al-Malik al-Nāṣir . . . in the year seven hundred thirty [1329]."[74]

The Jāmiʿ of Ulmās al-Ḥājib, the chamberlain of the imperial court,[75] located at the intersection of Ḥilmīyah Street and the Boulevard Muḥammad Alī, was begun in 729/1328-29 and completed in 730/1329 (Fig. 5). Attached to the *jāmiʿ* is the mausoleum of the founder. It occupies the northern corner of the *jāmiʿ* in the sharp angle formed by the adjustment between the edge of the street and the orientation of the qiblah wall. The site is very irregular so the *riwāq*s differ in size; their organization is maintained by a shift in the main axis of the building.

Amir Bashtāk al-Nāṣirī[76] constructed his *jāmiʿ* opposite a *khānqāh*[77] he had built (it no longer survives) and linked the two with a bridge.[78] According to

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[72]Qūṣūn al-Nāṣirī was a mamluk of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who came to Cairo in the company of Khawand Ibnat Uzbek, the wife of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, in 720/1320. He was drafted, trained in the Citadel, and appointed to many posts until he was promoted to a commander of a thousand mamluks. The sultan was married to his sister but also became his father-in-law in 727/1326-27. Al-Nāṣir appointed him guardian to his son Abū Bakr, whom he executed and replaced with another son of al-Nāṣir, the five-year-old al-Ashraf Kuchuk. Qūṣūn ruled the country as *nāʾib al-salṭanah* in Cairo. He was murdered by the amirs who allied with Aḥmad ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in his quest for the throne in 742/1341. Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:257; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:307.

[73]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:307.

[74]Cited by Suʿād Māhir Muḥammad, *Masājid Miṣr wa-Awliyāʾuhā al-Ṣāliḥūn* (Cairo, 1971-83), 3:191.

[75]Ulmās al-Ḥājib also held, though not officially, the office of viceroy when Amir Arghūn left the post and was appointed governor of Aleppo. Al-Nāṣir left him in charge of the Citadel when he traveled to the Ḥijāz in 732/1331. He lost the trust of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 734/1333 and was killed under mysterious circumstances in that year. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 3:89-91.

[76]Amir Bashtāk al-Nāṣirī was a mamluk of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. It is said that al-Nāṣir wanted to purchase a mamluk who looked like the Ilkhan Abū Saʿīd; Bashtāk was sold to him for six thousand *dirham*s, and for that he was favored by the sultan. He grew rich by confiscating the wealth of Baktimur al-Sāqī after his death. Conflict between him and Amir Qūṣūn ended his life in 742/1341. See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:477; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 9:18-19.

[77]The *sabīl* built by Ulfat Hānim in 1280/1863 stands on the site of the *khānqāh* today.

[78]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:262.

al-Maqrīzī, the *jāmi‘* was completed in 736/1335,[79] but the inscription carved on the door of the minaret leading to the roof of the *jāmi‘* indicates a completion date of 727/1326-27. It is located outside the walled city on the street of Qabū al-Karamālī on Birkat al-Fīl (Port Sa‘īd Street today). This *jāmi‘* was rebuilt by Princess Ulfat Hānim, the mother of Muṣṭafá Pasha Fāḍil, in 1278/1861 and is now called the Jāmi‘ of Muṣṭafá Pasha Fāḍil. Only the main portal and the minaret remain of the original structure (Fig. 6).

The Jāmi‘ of Sitt Miskah (Fig. 7), located in Sūwayqat al-Sibā‘īyīn was founded by Sitt Miskah al-Qahramānīyah (also known as Sitt Ḥadaq), the majordomo of the harem of al-Nāṣir,[80] in 741/1340.[81] The inscription on a wooden panel above the door of the minbar provides the date of its completion, 746/1345.[82] In its northwestern corner, the *jāmi‘* contains Sitt Miskah′s tomb; there is a band of Quranic inscription (from Sūrat Yāsīn) carved in stone on the exterior of the building, and a religious poem carved in wood in the interior.[83] The qiblah wall is lavishly decorated in marble. Marble columns also support the elaborate roof structure of the qiblah *riwāq*. The courtyard has a well—the ablution fountains are outside the *jāmi‘*—and its walls are decorated in stucco.[84]

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[79]Ibid., 309.

[80]Sitt Miskah al-Qahramānīyah al-Nāṣirīyah was a concubine who was brought up under the sultan′s roof. Admiring her competence, the sultan appointed her to administer the royal harem. She was in charge of all affairs of the harem, from raising the sultan′s children to organizing celebrations and weddings. The responsibilities she assumed and the control she demonstrated granted her the respected title ″Sitt.″ She had an influential role in the sultan′s decision to relieve merchants of unjust taxation. See Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:7; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:116.

[81]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:326.

[82]K. A. C. Creswell, *A Brief Chronology of the Muhammadan Architecture of Egypt to A.D. 1517* (Cairo, 1919), 101.

[83]Mubārak, *Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīqīyah,* 1:3:91.

[84]See H. Al-Harithy, ″Female Patronage of Mamluk Architecture in Cairo,″ *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 1, no. 2 (1994): 152-74, and C. Williams, ″The Mosque of Sitt Hadaq,″ *Muqarnas* 11 (1994): 55-64.

The Jāmi' of Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī, the son-in-law of al-Nāṣir,[85] is located outside of Bāb Zuwaylah on al-Tabbānah Street (Fig. 8).[86] It was begun in 738/1337 and completed in 740/1339.[87] Al-Maqrīzī, in a rare instance, gives us the name of the architect as Ibn al-Suyūṭī, al-Nāṣir's chief architect and the architect responsible for the Madrasah al-Aqbaghāwīyah (740/1340) attached to the Mosque of al-Azhar.[88] Like the *jāmi'*s of al-Nāṣir, al-Māridānī's has a traditional hypostyle plan (Fig. 9) but was built inside the city. The hypostyle plan was, therefore, adapted to its urban setting. Internally, it maintains a symmetrical axial arrangement around the open courtyard. The plan is rectangular, measuring 20 by 22.5 meters, with the northern corner carved out. To retain its symmetrical interior, a chamber was built in the southern corner of the qiblah *riwāq*, which comprises four bays; the remaining three *riwāqs* have two bays each. Three entrances lead to the *ṣaḥn,* with a fountain in the center. The first is on the northeastern side opening onto al-Tabbānah Street. The second entrance is across the *ṣaḥn* from the main portal and is the simplest of the three. The third is on the northwestern side on an axis with the mihrab. The side entrance on al-Tabbānah Street is transformed into the main entrance, for it links to one of the major ceremonial streets of Cairo through which the sultan's procession passed on its way to the Citadel from Bāb al-Naṣr.

In this series of mosques two significant architectural developments are worth noting. The first was the attachment of the mausoleum to the *jāmi',* as was already customary with madrasahs. The second was the revival of the hypostyle *jāmi'* and the adaptation of its plan to the constrained sites within the urban fabric. In the case of al-Māridānī, for example, the mosque is located at a bend in the street. To accommodate the bend, the corners are cut at an angle to reflect the change in the direction of the street; the axial symmetry of the interior was maintained by building a cell to occupy the right corner of the qiblah *riwāq*. The portal is placed in the section of the building that is set back from the street, thus forming a pocket in front of the entrance which becomes part of its transitional spatial sequence. The minaret is located in the most visible section of the building. The jagged corner of the building joins the entry porch to make the portal appear to be projected, a reference to the tradition to which the mosque belongs that includes the Mosque of al-Ḥākim and the Mosque of al-Ẓāhir Baybars, both of which have projected portals.

The number of *jāmi'*s built during the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad has been attributed simply to the growth of the city and its population, but it may also

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[85]Amir Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī al-Sāqī was a favored mamluk of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who appointed him to the post of *sāqī* (cup-bearer) followed by many other posts until he became commander of a thousand. After the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, his son al-Manṣūr Abū Bakr ascended the throne and imprisoned Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī in 742/1341. He was released after al-Manṣūr was deposed and replaced by his brother al-Ashraf Kuchuk in the same year. In

have broader significance. It can be first explained in light of the shift in authority from the Shafi'i to the Hanafi rite, whose law differed on the number of *jāmi'*s allowed in the city.[89] During the Ayyubid period no congregational mosques were built; the Friday *khuṭbah* was suspended from the Jāmi' of al-Azhar, and the number of *jāmi'*s in which the Friday *khuṭbah* had taken place during the Fatimid period was now reduced to two: the Jāmi' of al-Ḥākim in al-Qāhirah and the Jāmi' of 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ in Fusṭāṭ.[90] Though the Ayyubids were Hanafis, Shafi'i law predominated during the Ayyubid period, and only Shafi'is were appointed to the position of *qāḍī al-quḍāh* (chief justice), assisted as well by other Shafi'i qadis. The Shafi'i law allows only one congregational mosque in each city. The situation continued during the early years of the Mamluk period until al-Ẓāhir Baybars built his *jāmi'* in 665/1266 in the new quarter of al-Ḥusaynīyah and Sultan Lājīn restored the Jāmi' of Ibn Ṭūlūn and its Friday *khuṭbah* in 696/1296. When al-Ẓāhir Baybars ordered the restoration of the Friday *khuṭbah* in the Jāmi' of al-Azhar in 665/1266, the Shafi'i *qāḍī al-qudāh* Tāj al-Dīn ibn Bint al-A'azz issued a *fatwá* that two Friday *khuṭbah*s should be allowed in the same city and the Hanbali *qāḍī al-qudāh* Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī issued a *fatwá* contradicting the Shafi'i qadi.[91]

The Shafi'i rite gradually lost its dominance. First al-Ẓāhir Baybars in 663/1264 appointed four people to the office of *qāḍī al-qudāh,* one for each of the four rites, instead of a single Shafi'i *qāḍī al-qudāh*.[92] The Shafi'i rite continued to dominate for a while—the positions of imam and *khaṭīb* were reserved for the Shafi'is, and the Shafi'i qadi led the hierarchical order of seating at court. During the fourteenth century, however, the Hanafi rite gradually gained popularity, and the number of madrasahs devoted to it increased. Towards the end of the Baḥrī period, the Hanafis enjoyed the special favor of the sultan, who reserved the most prestigious positions for them.[93] The Friday *khuṭbah* and prayer were even held in madrasahs after Amir Jamāl al-Dīn Aqūsh obtained a *fatwá* in 730/1329 from Majlis al-Qaḍā' to conduct the Friday prayer in the madrasah of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn.[94] This shift away from Shafi'i dominance, combined with al-Nāṣir's patronage, resulted in the large number of congregational mosques in the city.

743/1342, during the reign of al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl ibn Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, he was appointed governor of Ḥamāh and later Aleppo. He died in Aleppo in 744/1343. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 4:67-70; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:308.

[86]The mosque was restored by the Comité in 1314/1896.

[87]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:308; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 10:105; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī* (Wiesbaden, 1978), 70-71, 115-17.

[88]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:384.

[89]J. A. Williams, "Urbanization and Monument Construction in Mamlūk Cairo," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 35.

The shift from the building of madrasahs to the building of congregational mosques can also be explained in light of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's competitive streak, especially where al-Ẓāhir Baybars, the founder of the Mamluk sultanate, was concerned. A number of incidents that took place during the reigns of al-Nāṣir reveal a certain resentment of rulers who interrupted the reigns of the house of Qalāwūn, and a very competitive attitude towards al-Ẓāhir Baybars al-Bunduqdārī. Kitbughā al-Manṣūrī and Baybars al-Jāshankīr were the two Mamluk sultans who had interrupted al-Nāṣir's own rule, deposed him, and sent him into exile. Al-Nāṣir acquired the madrasah built by Kitbughā and replaced Kitbughā's name in the foundation inscription with his own. He also ordered the royal title of Baybars al-Jāshankīr to be removed from his *khānqāh*. Al-Nāṣir's actions can be interpreted as a gesture of disapproval of their claim to the throne on the one hand, and a desire to establish an uninterrupted royal lineage for the house of Qalāwūn on the other.

Having erased the imprint of the sultans who unjustifiably interrupted the rule of the house of Qalāwūn, al-Nāṣir must have viewed himself in direct competition with the memory of al-Ẓāhir Baybars, who was not only the founder of the Mamluk dynasty but a ruler known for his architectural patronage. Al-Nāṣir saw in him a legend in Mamluk military and political history, a rival against whom he felt the need to compete. He set about outdoing his achievements. In the Citadel al-Nāṣir built the Qaṣr al-Ablaq to match the Ablaq Palace al-Ẓāhir Baybars had built in Damascus. Contemporary historians did not miss the point: al-Maqrīzī writes, "In this year [713/1313] [al-Nāṣir] began construction of al-Qaṣr al-Ablaq on the site of the royal stable at the beginning of the year, and [it] was completed on the seventh of Rajab. He intended it to rival the palace of al-Ẓāhir Baybars outside of Damascus; he recruited craftsmen from Damascus and called on the craftsmen of Egypt."[95] Al-Nāṣir built other architectural parallels to those of al-Ẓāhir Baybars as well. Baybars had founded the royal suburb of al-Ḥusaynīyah, north of the walled city, around the congregational mosque and palace he built on the bank of the Grand Canal.[96] To match it, al-Nāṣir built the royal suburb of Siryāqūs in the northern outskirts of the city around his *jāmi'-khānqāh* complex after the building of the new canal, al-Khalīj al-Nāṣirī, in 725/1324.[97]

This competitive streak is best illustrated by the events of the year 735/1334. Al-Nāṣir proposed to rebuild Qanāṭir al-Sibā' (the Bridge of the Panthers), which had been built by al-Ẓāhir Baybars. Al-Maqrīzī tells the story:

[90]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:244-45.

[91]M. A. Al-Zarkashī, *A'lām al-Masājid bi-Aḥkām al-Masājid* (Cairo, 1982), 34-35.

[92]Al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah,* 2:165-66; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:343-44.

[93]Leonor Fernandes, "Mamluk Politics and Education: The Evidence From Two Fourteenth Century Waqfiyyas," *Annales Islamologiques* 23 (1987): 94.

> It was originally built by al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Bunduqdārī. He placed on it panthers of stone, for his emblem was in the shape of a panther. It was then called Qanāṭir al-Sibā‘ [the bridge of panthers] for that reason. It was lofty and high. After al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn built the royal *maydān,* on the site of Bustān al-Khashshāb by Mawridat al-Balāṭ, he frequently went there and had to go over Qanāṭir al-Sibā‘ in order to reach the *maydān* from the Citadel. He was discomfited by its height and told the amirs: ″When I ride to the *maydān* across this bridge, my back hurts from its height.″ It is said that though he spread that [excuse], the reason was his dislike of having to look at an edifice of one of the kings who preceded him, and his hatred of having anyone other than himself be associated with something by name. Whenever he passed by it, he saw the panthers, which were the emblem of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir, and wished to remove them so that the bridge would be attributed to him and known by his name.[98]

The sultan ordered the bridge to be rebuilt wider and at a shallower angle. At first the reconstruction did not incorporate the panthers, which did not go unnoticed by the public.

> Amir Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī fell ill, went to the royal *maydān,* and stayed there. The sultan [al-Nāṣir] visited him frequently. Al-Māridānī was made aware of the public′s talk that the sultan only destroyed Qanāṭir al-Sibā‘ in order for it to become attributed to him, and that he ordered Ibn al-Marwānī to break to pieces the stone panthers and to throw them in the river. It is said that he [al-Māridānī] was healed after the completion of the construction of the *qanṭarah* and rode to the Citadel. The sultan was happy to see him, for he had loved him. He asked him about his health and conversed with him until the *qanṭarah* was mentioned. ″How do you like its construction?″ asked the sultan. ″By God, the likes of it has never been made,″ he replied, ″but it is not finished.″ ″How?″ [asked the sultan]. ″The panthers which were there have not been

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[94]An important event to which a contemporary, al-Nuwayrī, devoted a section in ″Nihāyat al-Arab,″ fol. 31.

[95]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:129; also see Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i‘ al-Zuhūr,* 1:1:444.

[96]Williams, ″Urbanization and Monument Construction,″ 35.

[97]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:422; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 9:79; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat*

> put back, and the people say that the sultan's purpose in removing them was because they are the emblem of another sultan." The sultan was ill-humored.[99]

On the advice of al-Māridānī the sultan ordered the panthers to be put back in their original place.

The unprecedented number of congregational mosques built by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and members of his family and court may have encapsulated another symbolic intention beyond competing with the memory of al-Ẓāhir Baybars. Al-Nāṣir built no madrasahs but many hypostyle congregational mosques. His patronage was aimed at reinforcing the royal lineage of the house of Qalāwūn and overcoming the stigma associated with their slave origin. Building madrasahs was a tradition associated with the Mamluks advertising themselves as heirs to the Ayyubids, a legitimacy based on the slave-master relationship. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, a non-slave who was born a free Muslim and spoke fluent Arabic, had no wish to associate himself with such a tradition. He sought rather to revive and establish an association with a much older tradition of Islam, the caliphal tradition of building great congregational mosques.

al-Nabīh, 2:149.

[98]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:146.

[99]Ibid., 147.

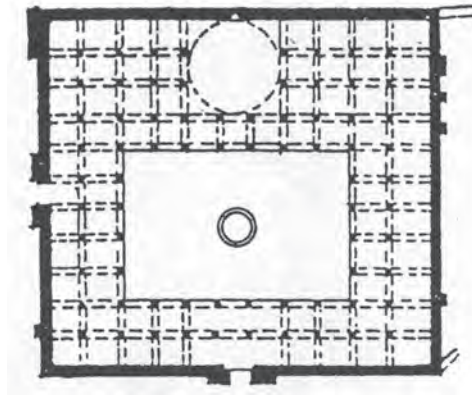


Figure 1. Mosque of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in the Citadel, plan (Creswell)

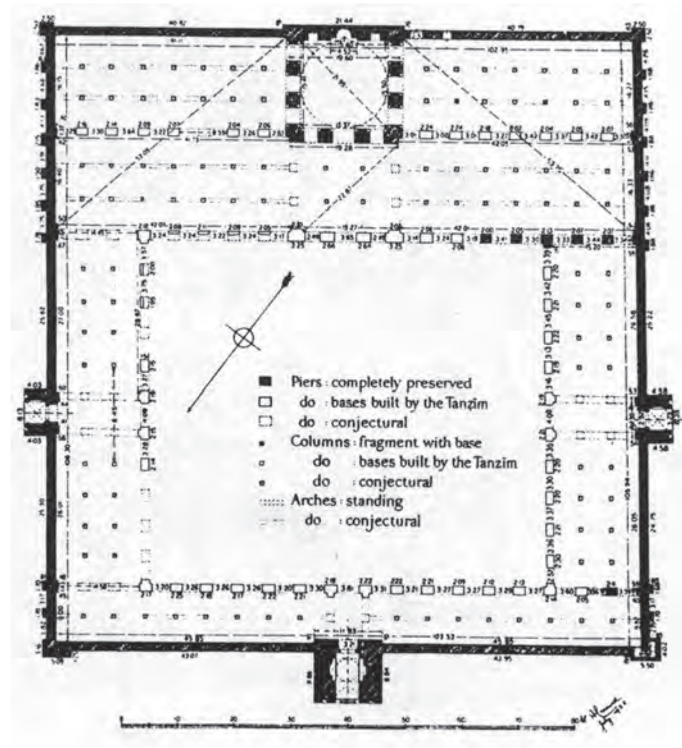


Figure 2. Mosque of al-Ẓāhir Baybars (Creswell)

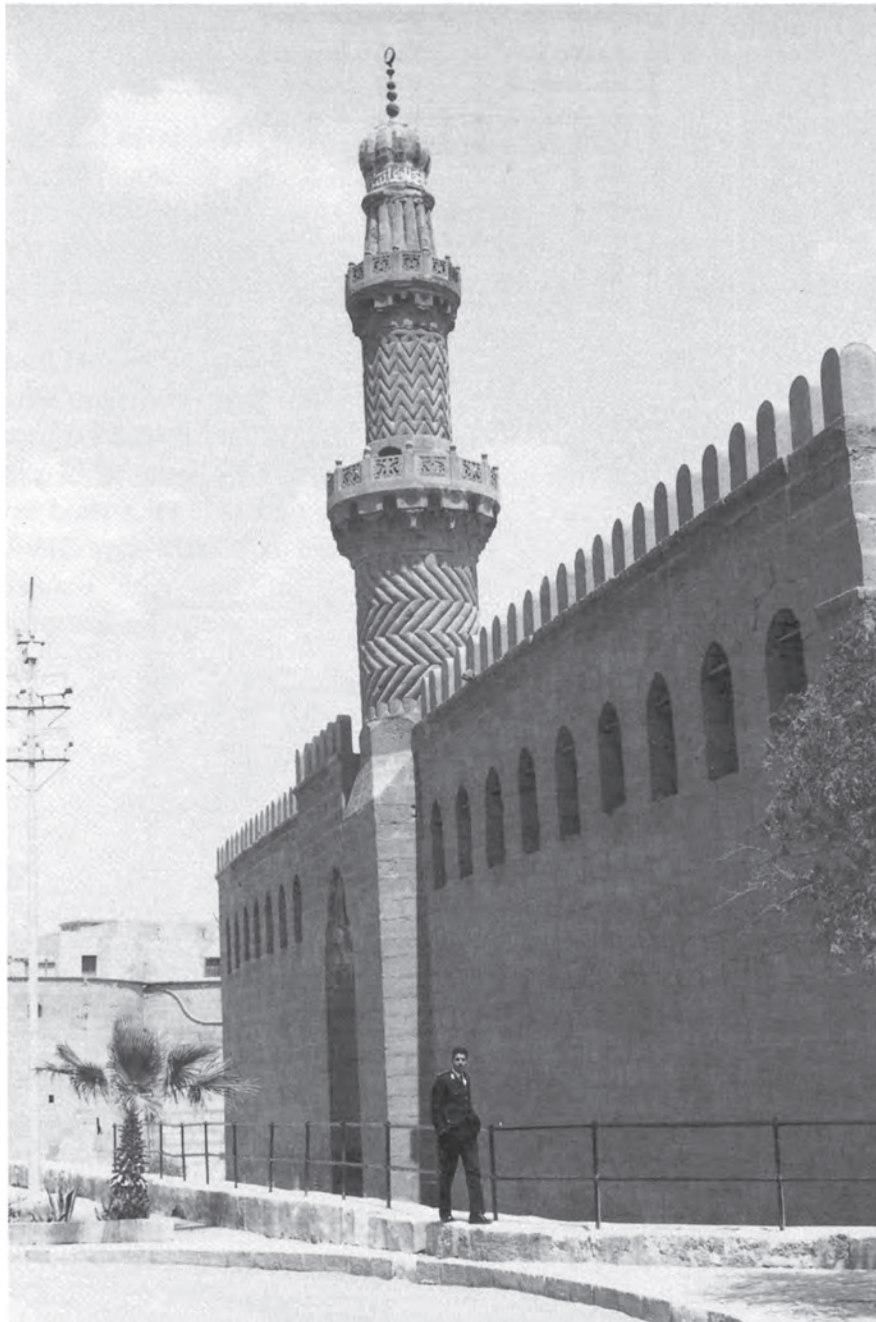


Figure 3. Mosque of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in the Citadel, main facade

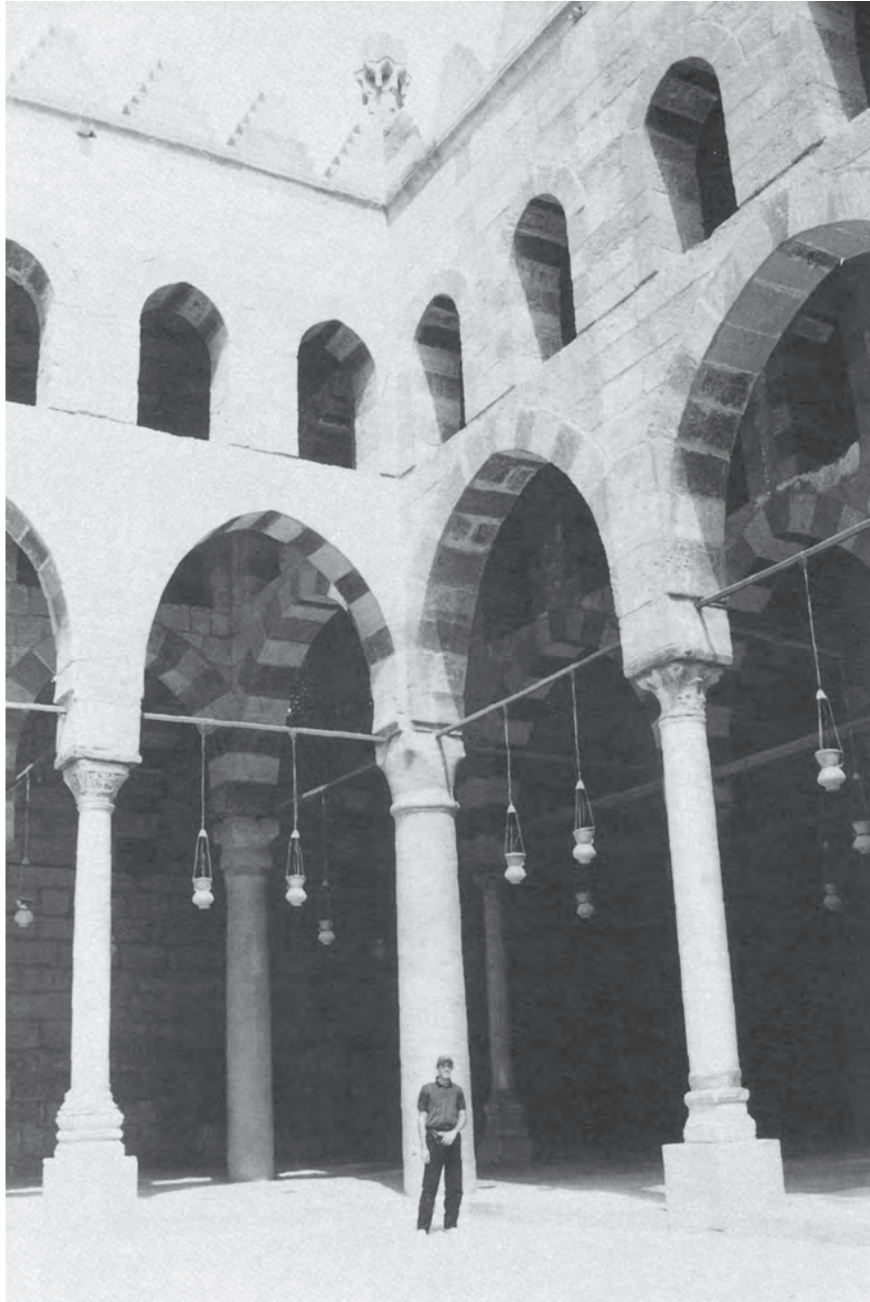


Figure 4. Mosque of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in the Citadel, view from the courtyard



Figure 5. Mosque of Ulmās al-Ḥājib, qiblah *riwāq*



Figure 6. Mosque of Bashtāk, portal



Figure 7. Mosque of Sitt Miskah, exterior facade



Figure 8. Mosque of Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī, qiblah *riwāq*

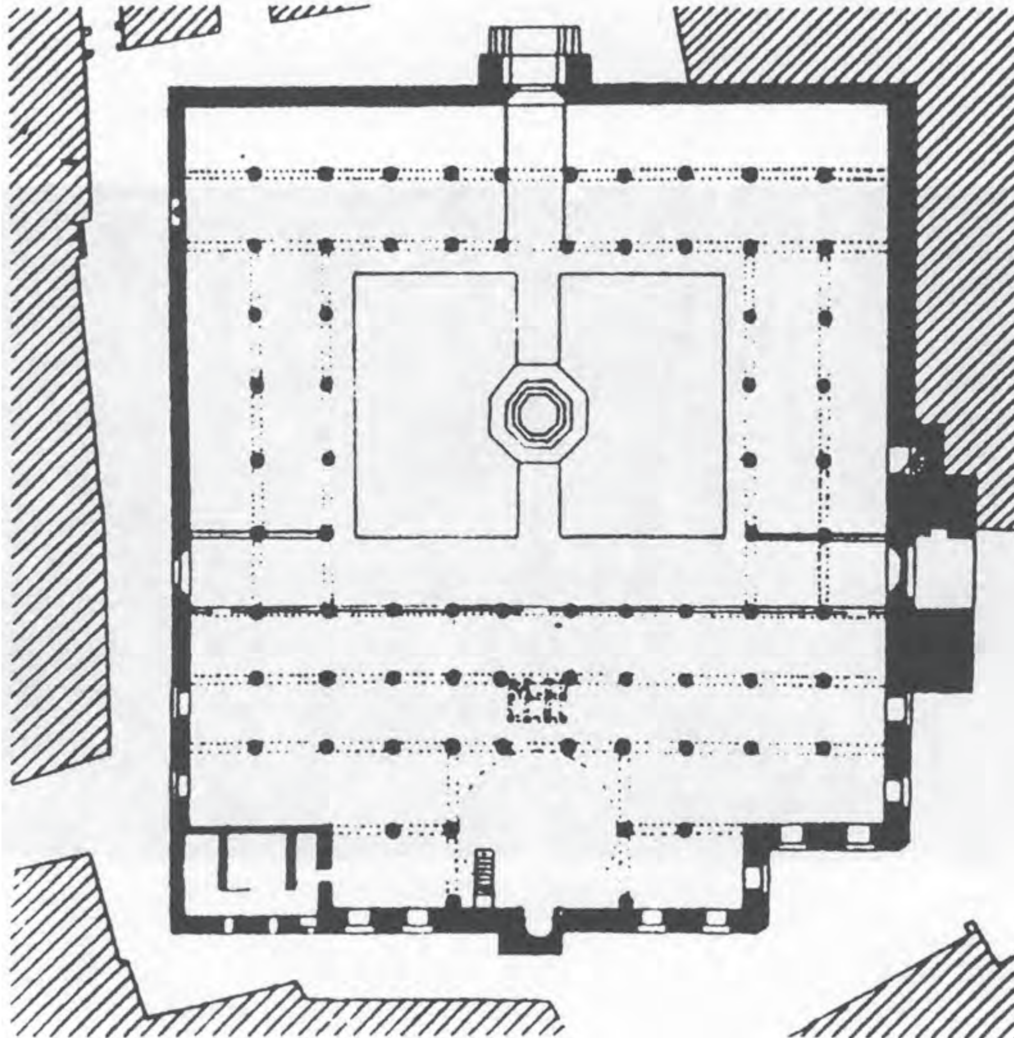


Figure 9. Mosque of Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī, plan (Comité)

Book Reviews

Linda S. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678-689 A.H./1279-1290 A.D.)* (Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag, 1998). Pp. 350.

Reviewed by Robert Irwin, London, England

This has, I believe, been a long time coming. However, it has been worth waiting for. It is lucid, assiduously annotated, and in quite a few areas it breaks new ground. The opening chapter on sources is exceptionally clear. I note that she is more positive than Donald Little (in *The Cambridge History of Egypt*) in her assessment of Ibn al-Furāt. It is also curious to note that the Copt Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī Faḍā'il appears to have identified so strongly with the anti-Crusader enterprise that he even refers to Qalāwūn as *al-Shahīd.* Her portrait of Qalāwūn, the man, brings few surprises. He was, as earlier historians have judged him to be, capable, cautious, and unusually clement to defeated rivals. What is unusual in Northrup's monograph is her close focus on such matters as the sultan's real and theoretical relationship with the caliph, the phrasing of the *'ahd* or investiture diploma, and the underlying significance of the sultan's entitulature. She points again and again to the ways in which Qalāwūn took care to associate himself with the traditions of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb. Also welcome is her use of the *tadhkirah*s, which were drawn up to guide Qalāwūn's deputies during his absences from Egypt, in order to shed light on details of administration and especially the supervision of irrigation and agriculture.

Even more striking is Northrup's repeated emphasis on the strength of civilian hostility to Qalāwūn. It is one of her leading themes. Some of the sources for this are rather late, but she is inclined to believe them (and so am I). According to al-Maqrīzī, Qalāwūn was at first at least so unpopular that he did not dare ride out in a traditional accession procession. The reasons for the antipathy of many of the ulama towards Qalāwūn seem to have been various, but the main issue seems to have been the high-handed fund-raising procedures of Qalāwūn and Sanjar al-Shujā'ī and their ready resort to confiscations and misappropriations of *waqf*s. It is also clear that Syrians resented Egypt's dominance and, for example, the Syrian chronicler Ibn Kathīr stated that Egypt "was a place where wrongdoing was perpetrated with impunity."

Doubtless there were others who suspected that Qalāwūn had not dealt honestly with the sons of Baybars. The death of al-Malik al-Sa'īd, possibly of a fall from his horse, must have looked suspicious. Ibn Taghrībirdī claimed that, because

Qalāwūn poisoned the prince, he was loathed until he started making conquests. Qalāwūn's grand charitable gesture, the building of the Manṣūrī Bīmāristān and Madrasah, was also very unpopular, because of the extravagance and the corvées. It is also interesting to note that, at first at least, amirs must have had reservations about their new sultan, as they threatened to depose him if he did not advance against the Mongols in northern Syria.

Finally with regard to Qalāwūn's unpopularity, on page 155 Northrup notes that Qalāwūn "was met with demands for an end to his rule on what should have been his triumphal return to the city following the conquest of Tripoli in 688/1289," but tantalizingly she does not dwell any further on this final disappointment (unless I have missed it).

Northrup believes that there were commercial reasons for Qalāwūn's final offensives against Tripoli and Acre: "Repossession of the ports of the Syrian Littoral, therefore, gave the sultanate access to a port in which the slave trade had figured and greater control over the trade routes to the interior as well as the revenues from the commerce that passed through the ports and along those routes." Yet the history of the Syrian Littoral and its once great ports for at least the next half century or so was one of desolation. The trade routes to the interior were in abeyance and almost the only revenues to be earned were earned by a small band of troopers stationed at Acre who sold caged birds to the occasional pilgrim. (But Northrup has a much better case when she argues against Meron Benvenisti's contention that the Mamluks systematically destroyed Palestinian agriculture.)

I do have one other substantial reservation. On page 47, in a discussion of the value as a source of the chronicle of Qirṭay al-ʻIzzī al-Khazindārī she notes that I have raised doubts about its veracity, but does not refer to the article in which I did so. (I did so in "The Image of the Greek and the Frank in Medieval Arab Popular Literature" in Benjamin Arbel et al., eds., *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* [London, 1989], 226-42; also published in *Mediterranean History Review* 4 [1989]: 226-42.) Northrup goes on state that while she believes that "it is too early to dismiss the entire chronicle as fiction, it is perhaps necessary to use it with caution." While I did not dismiss all of Qirṭay's chronicle as fictional, I did note that some of his most improbable and exciting information is not corroborated by other chroniclers and I concluded that the "fact that the pages he devoted to the embassy to England are demonstrably nonsensical should encourage us to look with a colder eye on the other original snippets of information he offers elsewhere." When Qirṭay is the only source, as he is, for example, on Qalāwūn's recruitment of the sons of Baḥrīyah from the riffraff of the Bāb al-Lūq quarter (Northrup, 83), or on Qalāwūn's riding out on an accession procession (Northrup, 84), I think that we have to look on these reported incidents with great suspicion. The question mark over Qirṭay's reliability is not without

importance, as Northrup quotes *in extenso* an account relayed by Qirṭay of how Qalāwūn on separate days successively delegated military power, financial power, and spiritual power to three of his trusted officers. It is a fascinating narrative and one is grateful to see it translated, but I fear that its only value may lie in the light it sheds on the way that Qirṭay, or his alleged source Ibn al-Wāḥid, thought about things. As Northrup herself notes, we know practically nothing about the third officer, Ṭughrīl al-Shiblī, and there is no other evidence at all to suggest he was the supremo over spiritual affairs in Egypt. While on the subject of unreliable sources, I used to believe that the *waṣīyah* of the dying Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb was an authentic document. (It is cited by Northrup in a note on p. 163 on the need for military discipline.) But I now believe it should be read more carefully in order to determine, if possible, who forged it.

LI GUO, *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography: Al-Yūnīnī's Dhayl Mir'āt al-zamān* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998). Two volumes.

REVIEWED BY DONALD P. LITTLE, McGill University

Readers of this journal will be familiar with the name Li Guo as a member of its editorial board and as author of the important review article, "Mamluk Historiographic Studies: The State of the Art," which appeared in the first issue.[1] The present work is a revised version of his Ph.D. dissertation on al-Yūnīnī's continuation of Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī's famous history *Mir'āt al-Zamān*.[2] Since the *Dhayl* has long been recognized as one of the key contemporary sources for Baḥrī history during al-Yūnīnī's lifetime (640-726/1242-1326) spent mainly in Syria, both Guo's edition and translation and his clarification of its relationship to other Mamluk histories should be of considerable interest to scholars.

Unfortunately, publication of the *Dhayl* has been sporadic, piecemeal, and, until Guo's work, sometimes incompetent. The most substantial portion of the text appeared in four volumes some forty years ago, covering the years 654-86.[3] Ironically, this section is of secondary significance, being based for the most part

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[1] *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997):15-43.

[2] "The Middle Baḥrī Mamluks in Medieval Syrian Historiography: The Years 1297-1302 in the *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān* Attributed to Quṭb al-Dīn Mūsá al-Yūnīnī; A Critical Edition with Introduction, Annotated Translation, and Source Criticism," Ph.D. diss, Yale University, 1994.

[3] (Hyderabad,1954-61).

on secondary sources, which Guo identifies as Ibn Khallikān, Abū Shāmah, Ibn Ḥamawayh al-Juwaynī, Ibn Shaddād, Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, and Ibn Wāṣil (1:60-63). In recognition of this fact a dissertation by Antranig Melkonian, published in 1975, produced the text and German translation of the years 687-90,[4] a period when al-Yūnīnī's "originality" became more strikingly evident, that is, when he seems to have relied on his own observation and that of his informants and colleagues, although, in fact, he was heavily indebted to the work of his Syrian contemporary, al-Jazarī. Now with Guo's book we have the text for another segment, 697-701, which means, however, that the years 691-96 and 702-11 are still available only in manuscript.

Why, we might ask, did Guo choose to edit these particular years rather than pick up where Melkonian left off? Unless I have missed something he does not explicitly say, though in his historiographic article he does declare his intention to complete "the remaining ten-year portion (702-711),"[5] leaving 691-96 unclaimed. Presumably a combination of factors historiographical and historical guided his choice. In any case, of the twenty-three known manuscripts, he has based his edition on two: one at Yale, the other in Istanbul. Another complicating factor is that Guo's edition of the *Dhayl* has been collated with the text of al-Jazarī's *Ḥawādith al-Zamān* for the years 697-99 in a separate footnote apparatus. Since, however, al-Jazarī's text in the Paris MS used by Guo covers the years 689-99 he could presumably have chosen the years 691-95, say, and still collated them with a1-Jazarī and followed Melkonian's sequence. I am sure that there must be a good reason for Guo's decision not to do so. I'm just not sure what it is.

Since I have not been able to compare his edition with the two manuscripts, I cannot judge his editorial skills with any authority But signs of his competence and care are plentiful inasmuch as Guo follows in many respects Claude Cahen's suggestions for editing Arabic texts by collating the best manuscripts and "providing the textual, linguistic and historical explanations which help him [the reader] in understanding the narrative, but also give him the references to all other sources.'"[6] Thus Guo introduces his edition with a summary of what is known of al-Yūnīnī's life, a descriptive survey of the twenty-three extant manuscripts of parts of the *Dhayl,* an analysis of the formation of the text, and a description and analysis of the two manuscripts he used for his edition, including paleographic, orthographic, and grammatical discussions. To find the reasons why Guo opted to adapt and "correct" orthographic peculiarities and grammatical irregularities (due to the

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[4]*Die Jahre 1287-1291 in der Chronik al-Yūnīnīs* (Freiburg, 1975).

[5]"Historiographic Studies," 16.

[6]"Editing Arabic Chronicles: A Few Suggestions," *Islamic Studies* (Sept., 1962): 1-25, quoted by Guo in "Historiographic Studies," 26.

influence of colloquial usages) in the text and to relegate the originals to the footnotes, one must refer to his already-cited article, where he contrasts ″free editing″ with ″the traditional Orientalist method.″[7] By the former he apparently means arbitrary, if not whimsical, tampering with a text, whereas the latter results in a faithful transcription of a text with its errors and peculiarities with ″corrections″ relegated to the footnotes. Arguing that a free edition is capricious and that a traditional transcript could be reproduced by a photocopy, Guo takes the conservative option of standardizing the unpunctuated text and footnoting irregularities. This, of course, is a matter of editorial choice of no great importance as long as the reader interested in linguistic issues related to Middle Arabic can cut through the editorial apparatus to find the original text. The addition of variations from al-Jazarī′s *Ḥawādith al-Zamān* in the footnotes is not as confusing as it might sound, given the fact that the *Dhayl* and the *Ḥawādith* are virtually the same for the years Guo has edited.

The relationship between these two authors, plus another contemporary, al-Birzālī, is the main issue addressed by Guo in the prefatory analysis. As other scholars have already shown, ″until A. H. 690, the two texts are clearly independent of each other and contain their exclusive stories supported by their own sources″ (1:42), even though these same sources ″demonstrate that the mutual borrowing between the two, often without acknowledgment, did take place in certain portions (covering the years prior to A. H 690) of their works″ (1:41). In addition, I myself have claimed that for the annals 694, 699, and 705, al-Yūnīnī copied al-Jazarī without explicit acknowledgment, and this portion should be regarded as al-Yūnīnī′s copy of al-Jazarī′s lost work, the extant copies of which end at the beginning of 699.[8] Guo confirms this impression on the basis of his painstaking comparative analysis for 691-99, concluding that this part of the *Dhayl* should be regarded as a synthesis of *Ḥawādith* edited by al-Yūnīnī. But then Guo goes a step further to argue that the remaining portion of the *Dhayl,* for 699-711, represents a nearly verbatim edition of al-Jazarī′s work but ″was wrongly attributed to al-Yūnīnī by a later editor″ (1:59). Although he stops short of identifying that editor as al-Birzālī (he is often quoted as a source by both authors), Guo does state that al-Birzālī′s ″stamp was so deeply marked on these two works that one wonders whether the insertion of al-Jazarī′s collection into al-Yūnīnī′s ′third volume′ of the *Dhayl* and the probable misattribution of the ′fourth volume′ of the text may somehow be due to al-Birzālī′s involvement″ (1:80). This explanation is certainly plausible, but it seems to me that the evidence for misattribution is slim, consisting as it does of instances in which Yūnīnī is mentioned by name not only as a narrator

[7]″Historiographic Studies,″ 21-23.

[8]*An Introduction* to *Mamlūk Historiography* (Wiesbaden, 1970), 57-61.

but as a subject of narration (possibly a scribal interpolation?). In any case, as Guo concedes, the question of authorship is not so important from a historical, as opposed to a historiographical, point of view, since the Yūnīnī/Jazarī version is one of our most important sources for mid-Baḥrī history, no matter who the original author may have been. For this reason alone we are indebted to Li Guo for making a key segment of this central source available to scholars, quite apart from the light he sheds on how history was composed by a group of early fourteenth-century Syrian scholars.

As far as the translation is concerned, spot checks show it to be accurate and idiomatic and accompanied by informative footnotes. Needless to say, I do have a few complaints. First of all, I wonder why only the *ḥawādith* have been translated, when the obituaries constitute so sizable a chunk of the text. In his dissertation Guo says only that the *wafāyāt* have not been translated, being ″reserved for the use of specialists.″[9] Surely the purpose of translating the *Dhayl* is to make it available to non-specialists, meaning non-Arabists; I′m not sure that the latter will gain an adequate view of al-Yūnīnī and al-Jazarī or ″the Syrian school″ of historians from this partial translation. Probably Guo′s consideration was practical: enough is enough. Also missing are translations of some of the verses that appear in the annals. Although the dissertation contains a helpful glossary of Arabic terms, the published version does not. This is especially unfortunate since the English index includes only names of persons and places. True, volume 2 contains an index of technical terms in Arabic, but these don′t help the non-Arabist. Also frustrating is the lack of headers on the pages of the translation; worse, there are no cross page—much less line—references between text and translation, so that it is not easy to check one against the other. But given the fact that this is basically a revised and improved dissertation, one can only express admiration and appreciation for the extraordinary effort and skill required to produce such an impressive and useful work. It is also gratifying to observe that with Li Guo Mamluk historiographic studies have passed into capable hands.

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[9]″Middle Baḥrī Mamluks,″ 1:136.

MUḤAMMAD MAḤMŪD AL-NASHSHĀR, *'Alāqat Mamlakatay Qashtālah wa-Arājūn bi-Salṭanat al-Mamālīk, 1260-1341 M/658-741 H* (Cairo: 'Ayn lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Buḥūth al-Insānīyah wa-al-Ijtimā'īyah, 1997). Pp. 319.

REVIEWED BY KENNETH J. GARDEN, The University of Chicago

In this work, Muḥammad Maḥmūd al-Nashshār provides a detailed examination of diplomacy between the Mamluk sultanate and the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile respectively from 608/1260 to 741/1341. He gives a comprehensive portrayal of the circumstances of both Aragon and Castile that shaped their diplomatic agendas and charts the unfolding of their relations with the Mamluks in a way that is clear to readers not familiar with the history of these kingdoms. The book is written for those with a familiarity with the Mamluk sultanate and its diplomatic agenda. Its treatment of the relations between Castile and Aragon and the Mamluk Sultanate focuses almost exclusively on the Iberian states and has little to say about the concerns and reactions of the Mamluks.

The book begins with a review of the sources used by the author. These include published collections of diplomatic documents from Aragonese archives, Mamluk chronicles, Aragonese chronicles, and Castillian chronicles, as well as other documents found in the Aragonese archives. From here he begins his study, which he divides into five chapters dealing with three topics. These are the historical backgrounds of Castile, Aragon, and the Mamluk Sultanate before and during the period covered in the book, the political relations of Castile and Aragon with the Mamluks, and trade relations between them.

Chapter one outlines the broader historical background of the period covered. After their establishment, Castile and Aragon were initially concerned with their survival and then were too engrossed in the *reconquista* to have any foreign diplomatic concerns until the period covered by the book. Beginning in this period, both nations sought to foster trade with the east. Aragon was concerned with finding allies in its struggle against the papacy and France to maintain control over the island of Sicily. This situation changed when the dispute was resolved under Jaime II. A brief section is also devoted to the concerns of the Mamluks who sought to obtain war materiel from abroad as well as to prevent an alliance between the Crusaders and the Mongols and reinforcements to the remaining crusader outposts in the eastern Mediterranean.

Chapters two and three are devoted to the political relations between Aragon and the Mamluk sultanate. As the ruling military power in the western Mediterranean and one of the leading trading powers in the whole of the Mediterranean at the time, it is natural that Aragon would have more diplomatic concerns with the Mamluks than Castile would. One of Aragon´s major concerns early in this period

was its search for allies in the Mediterranean during its conflict with France and the papacy over its control of the island of Sicily. To this end, Aragon signed a treaty of alliance with the Mamluks in 1287. This suited the Mamluks as well, as it allowed them to circumvent a ban issued by the pope on trade in strategic materials with them. It also allowed them to count on Aragon's not sending reinforcements to the remnants of the Crusaders in the eastern Mediterranean. The treaty only lasted as long as the conflict over Sicily. This was briefly resolved in 1291, when Alfonso III signed the treaty of Tarascon, at which point Aragonese-Mamluk relations entered a period of "confusion." The treaty was, however, rejected by Alfonso III's successor Jaime II when the former died shortly after its signing. Jaime II quickly renewed his alliance with the Mamluks. The alliance ended when Aragonese relations with the pope and France were restored in 1295 with the signing of the treaty of Anagni. Aragon's return to the good graces of the pope affected its relations with the Mamluks. After briefly flirting with the idea of an alliance with the Mongols and a new crusade, Jaime II began to press the Mamluks for recognition as patron of the Christians of Egypt and the Levant and for the release of Christian prisoners held in Egypt.

Chapter four, devoted to political relations between Castile and the Mamluks, is much briefer than the section devoted to Aragonese-Mamluk political relations because Castile had few political issues to resolve with the Mamluk sultanate. However, owing to the personality of Alfonso X (the Wise) and his interest in Arabic culture, Castillian diplomatic relations with the Mamluks actually preceded Aragonese-Mamluk relations. These were shortlived, however. They consisted mainly of exchanges of gifts and requests for trading privileges and came to an end after the death of Alfonso X, at which point Castile entered into a period of protracted civil war.

Chapter five deals with trade relations of both Aragon and Castile with the Mamluks. Again, Aragon is the principal player in this story due to its possession of Barcelona, one of the busiest Mediterranean ports of the era. Aragon wanted to insure that Barcelona remained a major player in trade in eastern goods throughout this period. The main obstacle to this was the papal ban on trade in commodities of strategic importance with the Mamluks. Prior to the treaty of Anagni, this was not a difficult obstacle to overcome as Aragon was anyway at odds with the papacy and flagrantly violated the ban. After Jaime II returned to the papal flock, he had to be more circumspect in carrying on this lucrative trade with the Mamluks. One way around the ban was to send merchants along with diplomatic missions. As for Castile, Alfonso X encouraged trade in hopes that revenues generated thereby could solve Castile's chronic economic difficulties. To this end he sent ambassadors to Cairo to discuss matters of trade. Castile, though, was not as well positioned geographically for trade as was Aragon. Such diplomatic missions

were never as important to the Mamluks as were those of Aragon and they anyway ceased nearly entirely after the death of Alfonso X and the ensuing civil war.

Following chapter five is an afterword that provides a synopsis of the book and appendices of diplomatic documents with partial translations into Arabic, as well as charts of the kings of the Spanish kingdoms in the Middle Ages and maps of the Iberian peninsula in that period. That there are no maps provided of Egypt or lists of the Mamluk sultans confirms the point made above that this is a book for readers already familiar with Mamluk history.

Readers of the *Mamlūk Studies Review* can rest assured that they fit the profile of the book′s intended audience, though even Mamlukists (or perhaps especially Mamlukists) will find themselves wishing at times for a greater emphasis on Mamluk responses and motivations. The book′s organization is, in some ways, well suited to readers who are not familiar with the history of the western Mediterranean. The three-topic approach—general background, political relations, trade relations—means that the history of Castile and Aragon and their relations with the Mamluk sultanate is told three times with a different emphasis in each telling. While some repetition may be welcome for those unfamiliar with Iberian history, another repetition of much of the information is unnecessary by the third telling. Combining the section on trade relations with the section on political relations would not only have avoided a retelling of events but perhaps would have better illustrated the ways in which trade and political concerns interacted in determining policy. The book is poorly edited. In addition to typographical errors in the Arabic text, the text in Latin characters is especially full of errors. Consistent use of both *hijrī* and common era dating would have been welcome. Sometimes one, sometimes the other and sometimes both are used. Aside from these minor problems, the book provides a clear description of relations between the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon and the Mamluk sultanate. It is a useful resource for those interested in a detailed history of the Mamluks′ diplomatic relations with a particular region.

HENRI AND ANNE STIERLIN, *Splendours of an Islamic World: Mamluk Art in Cairo 1250-1517* (London and New York: Tauris Parke Books, 1997). Pp. 219.

REVIEWED BY BERNARD O´KANE, American University in Cairo

A pithy but cogent judgement of this work has already appeared within the pages of volume three of this journal:

> With the publication of a splendid full color luxury book by the noted team of Henri Stierlin and Anne Stierlin, the study of Mamluk Art and Architecture has finally made it into the Big Time. The Stierlins, who have previously brought us books on Islamic Architecture, Mughal architecture, Ottoman architecture and the Alhambra, have now brought us the first affordable ($59.50) coffee-table book on Mamluk art and architecture. Dramatic long shots compete with exquisite details for the viewer´s attention which, in the tradition of architectural photography, is rarely, if ever, distracted by the attention of people, apart from the picturesque natives populating reproductions of David Robert´s nineteenth-century lithographs. Their stunning photographs of Mamluk buildings and objects will explain to even the most sceptical audiences why Mamluk art has had its devotees for over a century; the text, infelicitously translated from the French, is mercifully brief and appears oblivious of the content (although not the titles) of recent scholarship on the subject.[1]

One might wonder why a coffee table book merits a review in this journal, but the quality of the photographs is truly such as to provide an inspiration for potential students of the subject. If they can indeed attract attention to our field then we should be grateful. It is all the more important, therefore, that the photographs be identified accurately, but as there are numerous errors in this respect I concentrate in the following on setting the record straight.

The text is not so brief that it does not also have its share of mistakes and misleading information. Its organization is somewhat haphazard, although most chapters are straightforward accounts of the monuments that they illustrate. While the text may be generally accurate, a few examples of its more serious errors may be sufficient to show that not too much reliability should be placed on it:

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[1]Jonathan M. Bloom, ˝Mamluk Art and Architecture: A Review Article,˝ *Mamluk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 31.

14: ″the Ilkhans of Amou-Daria″
12: ″Greeks (Syrian or Byzantine) . . . often played a role in [Mamluk] art and architecture.″ I know of no evidence for this, and none is proffered.
24: The dome of the mosque of Baybars is no longer standing.
26: ″the *khanka*, or monastery for soldier monks . . .″
29: ″Mangu controlled the Mongols of the Golden Horde″—a reference to the Ilkhanid Möngke-Temür.
49: ″the eleventh-century Tulunid period″
178: It is curious, to say the least, when several Mamluk examples have survived, to pick the Ottoman house at Darb al-Labbān as representative of Mamluk style.

The writing can be eccentric, leading to such statements as (p. 98) ″the centripetal space lends itself to the teaching of the four theological schools of Islam″ (the central courtyard of the complex of Sultan Ḥasan and its *īwān*s [whether or not one thinks of them as centripetal] were a congregational mosque); or, referring to the complex of Faraj ibn Barqūq, ″Everything is ruled by a seemingly natural order, based on the right angle, as part of an all-pervasive orthogonal system″ (p. 140), despite the unusual total lack of flat roofs in the hypostyle areas of the complex.

Moving to the photographs, the eye for detail is remarkable. A judicious number of these, combined with medium and long distance shots and redrawn plans, gives a viewer the best possible impression both of the spatial qualities and the textural variety of the decoration of the major monuments. The numerous ways in which the Mamluks exploited sunlight dappling on diverse surfaces are captured imaginatively. Would that the captions were of the same standard:

18: ″The crenellated walls of the Madrasa of Sultan Hasan . . .″ The crenellated walls visible in this photograph belong instead to the nineteenth century mosque of al-Rifāʻī.
44: ″the quarter of the Mosque of Ibn Tulun at Fustat″—it is in the quarter of al-Qaṭā'iʻ, far to the north of Fusṭāṭ.
53: ″Constructed immediately after Sultan Baibars took power, the Mausoleum ′of the Abbasids′ (1242) . . .″ Baybars took power in 1260; the date of 1242 comes from earliest cenotaph preserved within it.

72-73: The details of the doors of the complex of Qalāwūn are surprisingly repeated on an even larger double spread on pages 76-77.
79: This is not the front façade of the mausoleum of Qalāwūn, but rather the façade leading from the vestibule to the interior of the mausoleum.
89: The detail of the mihrab of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, also used as the illustration on the jacket, is of one which was almost totally reconstructed in 1948 (only partially on the lines of the original).[2]
90: This is not from the madrasah of Sultan Ḥasan.
107: This is the mausoleum of Qāytbāy, not of Sultan Ḥasan.
154: The background is of glass paste rather than ceramic.
167: The mihrab is from the mosque of al-Mu'ayyad, not the Qāytbāy complex.
169: This is not the madrasah of al-Ghawrī.
170: The tomb is on the right and the madrasah on the left, not the other way around.
176: The captions to this page are to be found on p. 181.
178: not the window of the Bashtak palace, but the façade of the *wakālah* of Qāytbāy at Bāb al-Naṣr. The caption, misplaced on p. 182, wrongly identifies it as the *wakālah* of Qawṣūn.
180: The caption to this, the Ottoman house at Darb al-Labbān, is found on p. 185.
181: The basin used in the restoration of the Bashtak palace is of an unknown provenance; it was lying for some years behind the shops fronting the façade of the madrasah of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb until reused in the restoration of the palace by the German Archaeological Institute of Cairo.
184: This is the interior of the northern mausoleum in the complex of Faraj ibn Barqūq (the correct caption is on p. 189).
185: This is again the *wakālah* of Qāytbāy at Bāb al-Naṣr, not the *wakālah* of Qawṣūn.
186: The private collection in which this Quran stand is held is not identified. However, judging from the photograph, it appears be a nineteenth century copy of a virtually identical stand in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo (a detail of the stand, with a misplaced caption, is shown on p. 183).

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[2]Mona Zakariya, ″Technique de Construction du miḥrāb mamlūk,″ *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron* (Cairo, 1979), 2:377-82.

188: The caption to this, the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, has been misplaced on p. 193.

In short, the relative inexpensiveness of the volume makes it a suitable tool to fire the visual imagination, provided the text is used with caution.

N. MAḤMŪD MUṢṬAFÁ, *Al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī—Min Taṣfiyat al-Wujūd al-Ṣalībī ilá Bidāyat al-Hajmah al-Ūrūbbīyah al-Thāniyah, 642-923/1258-1517* (Cairo: al-Maʻhad al-ʻĀlamī lil-Fikr al-Islāmī, 1996). Pp. 177.

REVIEWED BY STEPHAN CONERMANN, University of Kiel

Every Western scholar who does research in the field of Islamic studies would in principle agree with the statement Carl F. Petry issued in the first volume of *Mamlūk Studies Review*: ″And since so much contemporary scholarship in Arabic is neglected by Western readers for obvious linguistic reasons, the inclusion of recent works in this language by the editorial staff of *Mamlūk Studies Review* for assessment is to be commended.″[1] Unfortunately, Petry himself was anything but impressed by the book of an Arab colleague that the journal had offered him for review. In his opinion, the work suffered from at least five considerable deficiencies: (1) the monograph′s value derives exclusively from its factual information; (2) it contributes no fresh methodological insights; (3) it does not significantly alter existing perceptions of the commercial economy of prominent Red Sea ports throughout the Middle Ages; (4) while numerous monographs published in Arabic are listed in the bibliography, these fall into the same particularistic category as the book under review; and (5) few works of broader scope, either in Arabic or other languages, are noted.[2]

One might say: ″Well, perhaps the author did his work after a fashion, but the reviewer had no real interest in it,″ but after a careful reading of Maḥmūd Muṣṭafá′s *Al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī—Min Taṣfiyat al-Wujūd al-Ṣalībī ilá Bidāyat al-Hajmah al-Ūrūbbīyah al-Thāniyah, 642-923/1258-1517,* I came to the same conclusions as Petry. All the shortcomings he criticized in his review accorded with my own

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[1]See his review of ʻAlī al-Sayyid ʻAlī Maḥmūd′s *Al-Ḥayāh al-Iqtiṣādīyah fī Jiddah fī ʻAṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk, 648-925 H./1250-1517 M.* (Cairo, 1991) in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 128-29.

[2]Ibid., 128.

findings: this book has, as it were, some value as a first survey of intra-Arab relations during the age of the Mamluks, but in general it consists of mere facts, offers no methodological approach, gives no new insights, is based on old and outdated secondary literature, and completely ignores recent research on this topic.

Was this coincidental, or could it be that these books represent typical scholarly output in Arab countries? Instead of jumping to final conclusions I decided to reread all reviews of historical works written in Arabic that had been published in the first two volumes of *Mamlūk Studies Review*. With the exception of two titles,[3] all books under review were sharply critcized. Thus, Richard T. Mortel writes on ʻAlī al-Sayyid ʻAlī Maḥmūd′s *Al-Ḥayāh al-Thaqāfīyah fī al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah: ʻAṣr al-Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk, 642-923 H.*: ″After a careful reading of the work I must, however, confess to a serious disappointment. ʻAlī al-Sayyid′s book . . . appears to this reviewer as a verbose and quite undisguised apology for the Mamluks lacking in sophistication or the application of any identifiable modern historical methodology.″[4] Similarly, Linda S. Northrup criticizes Muḥammad Ḥamzah Ismāʻīl al-Ḥaddād′s *Al-Sulṭān al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn: Tārīkh Aḥwāl Miṣr fī ʻAhdihi, Munshaʼatuhu al-Miʻmārīyah*: ″There are, in my opinion, two problems with this study, the first of which is methodological. There is no apparent thesis. Further, the author fails to define the relation between the historical and descriptive sections of the work. . . . Al-Ḥaddād brings neither new information nor a new perspective to his narrative. Nor does he use his synthesis as a framework within which to interpret the findings of his survey of the monuments. . . . A second criticism concerns the historiographical basis of al-Ḥaddād′s monograph. . . . Although al-Ḥaddād has used current secondary literature in Arabic, his failure to supplement older, and still valuable, foreign scholarship with more recent research . . . is unfortunate. Important recent foreign studies treating aspects of Qalāwūn′s reign are not cited in the narrative.″[5] Virtually identical argumentation can be found in the remarks of Warren C. Schultz on Ḍayf Allāh Ibn Yaḥyá al-Zahrānī′s *Zayf al-Nuqūd al-Islāmīyah: Min Ṣadr al-Islām ḥattá Nihāyat al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī,* in Anne F. Broadbridge′s comments on Fāyid Ḥammād Muḥammad ʻĀshūr′s

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[3]See the ambivalent reviews by Warren C. Schultz of Raf'at Muḥammad al-Nabarāwī′s *Al-Sikkah al-Islāmīyah fī Miṣr: ʻAṣr al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah* (Cairo, 1993) in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 142-43 and of Ḥammūd Ibn Muḥammad Ibn ʻAlī al-Najdī′s *Al-Niẓām al-Naqdī al-Mamlūkī, 648-922 H./1250-1517 M.: Dirāsah Tārīkhīyah Ḥaḍārīyah* (Alexandria, 1993) in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 208-10.

[4]*Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 135-37.

[5]*Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 145-48.

Al-Jihād al-Islāmī ḍidda al-Ṣalībīyīn wa-al-Mughūl fī al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī, and in the reviews of Ḥayāt Nāṣir al-Hajjī's books.[6]

What kind of conclusions can be drawn from these findings? It seems to me that we find ourselves in an orientalist predicament. On the one hand, considering the postmodern reappraisal of the colonial past, generally it is politically incorrect to make derogatory remarks about the scholarly works of Arab historians. As a product of Western socialization, one is not only suspected of judging the ″natives″ as foolish and incompetent but also of reducing them again to the rank of mere objects to be studied. On the other hand, in the age of ongoing globalization the Western scientific approach carries the day. If science stands for a special kind of communication that has been (at least temporarily) established by scholars who dominate *this* discourse, it can be taken for granted that everyone who wants to be part of the game has to follow its rules. This is of course—in spite of the overall calling for authenticity—the endeavour of the majority of Arab scholars.

It is therefore legitimate to ask for the reasons for the insufficiencies in their books. Without getting into the details of the much-discussed internal discourse of the colonized, according to my own judgement, first and foremost three simple factors are responsible for the above-mentioned assertion: (1) the old-fashioned structure of higher education in most Arab countries leads to the adoption of strictly hierarchical patterns in which the students have to follow the beaten tracks of their teachers; (2) the overwhelming majority of Arab researchers have access neither to new publications in foreign languages nor to sources that have been edited and published in the West; (3) for that reason, many Arab colleagues have not had the opportunity to follow the early debates of the ′60s and ′70s over methodological and theoretical questions, nor is it possible today for them to keep abreast of the still ongoing discussion. In their works they take no account of the recent interchange of views in journals like *History and Theory, American Historical Review, Past & Present, Central European History, Annales; economies, societes, civilisations, Storia della storiografia, Journal for Interdisciplinary History* or *Journal of the History of Ideas*—just to mention a few.

What can be done in view of these circumstances? The East European historians who faced a similarly difficult situation before 1989—and some Russian scholars still do—delved into the accessible local archives and confined their efforts to writing articles and books with a microhistorical approach or to editing the material and adding a commentary and some introductory remarks. In limiting their ambitions

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[6]See John L. Meloy's review of her *Ṣuwar min al-Ḥaḍārah al-ʻArabīyah al-Islāmīyah fī Salṭanat al-Mamālīk* (Kuwayt, 1412/1992) in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 149-50 and Li Guo's remarks on her *Anmāṭ min al-Ḥayāh al-Siyāsīyah wa-al-Iqtiṣādīyah wa-al-Ijtimāʻīyah fī Salṭanat al-Mamālīk fī al-Qarnayn al-Thāmin wa-al-Tāsiʻ al-Hijrīyayn/al-Rābiʻ ʻAshar wa-al-Khāmis ʻAshar al-Mīlādīyayn* (Kuwayt, 1995) in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 222-25.

to this kind of research some of these East European scholars were able to build up an excellent international reputation. Perhaps Arab historical scholarship should also limit itself in this way, since all reviewers in *Mamlūk Studies Review* of text editions produced by Arab scholars not only warmly welcome these works but highly praise them. It seems that this indeed could be a way out of their predicament.[7]

Ibn Zunbul, *Wāqi‘at al-Sulṭān al-Ghawrī ma‘a Salīm al-‘Uthmānī,* edited by ‘Abd al-Mun‘im ‘Āmir (Cairo: al-Hay’ah al-Miṣrīyah al-‘Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1997). Pp. 209.

Reviewed by Nabil Al-Tikriti, The University of Chicago

This edition—a slightly revised reprint of an earlier 1962 edition[1]—renders accessible to a wide audience one of only a few eyewitness accounts from the Mamluk side of the 1516-17 Ottoman conquest of Egypt and Syria, extending up to the Mamluk-turned-Ottoman governor Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī´s abortive attempt to restore Mamluk independence in Syria following the accession of Sultan Süleyman (1520-66).[2] The author, Aḥmad Ibn Zunbul al-Rammāl al-Maḥallī (d. ca. 1552-53), by virtue of his position as a geomancer at the Mamluk court, appears to have been privy to many of the sensitive and tortured debates among the leading Mamluk amirs concerning how to deal with tens of thousands of Ottoman troops bearing down on Cairo armed with blisteringly effective small firearms and a train of cannon.

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[7]See Franz Rosenthal´s praise of Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī´s *Wajīz al-Kalām fī al-Dhayl ‘alá Duwal al-Islām*, edited by Bashshār ‘Awwād Ma‘rūf, ‘Iṣām Fāris al-Ḥarastānī, and Aḥmad al-Khuṭaymī (Beirut, 1416/1995) in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 202-8; Doris Behrens-Abouseif´s remarks on the publication of a *waqfīyah* included in Rashīd Sa‘d Rashīd al-Qaḥṭānī´s *Awqāf al-Sulṭān al-Ashraf Sha‘bān ‘alá al-Ḥaramayn* (Riyadh, 1994) in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 221-22; Li Guo´s comments on *Le Manuscrit autograph d´*al-Mawā’iẓ wa-al-I‘tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār *de Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn ‘Alī ‘Abd al-Qadir al-Maqrīzī (766-845 AH/1325* [sic]*-1441 AD),* edited by Ayman Fu’ād Sayyid (London, 1416/1995) in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 229-37; and Paul E. Walker´s review of Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ‘Abd al-Ẓāhir´s *Al-Rawḍah al-Bahīyah al-Zāhirah fī Khiṭaṭ al-Mu‘izzīyah al-Qāhirah,* edited by Ayman Fu’ād Sayyid (Cairo, 1996) in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 237-38.

[1]In this 1997 reissue of ‘Abd al-Mun‘im ‘Āmir´s 1962 edition, a confusing editor´s postscript describing medieval Cairo was deleted. No more publishing details were available in the photocopy of the older edition examined by this reviewer.

[2]Names of Ottoman characters or authors are transliterated here according to the norms of modern Turkish.

The editor, ʿAbd al-Munʿim ʿĀmir, starts his introduction with a brief historical survey celebrating the Cairo-ruled Egyptian and Syrian unity of the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods and blaming corruption and divisiveness for bringing an end to that unity. Following this opening survey, ʿĀmir states that he has published the complete version of this text for the first time, basing his edition on a comparison of Dār al-Kutub MS 376 Taymūr (copied in 1654-55) with MS 714 Taymūr (copied in 1794-95) and an Alexandria University manuscript previously owned by a German library. The editor has discounted a significantly variant text, identified as Dār al-Kutub MS 44 Tārīkh.[3] The first part of this mysterious text was copied in 1921 from a text held by the Orthodox Coptic Patriarchate in Cairo, and is ″defective″ in many parts. The second part, however, was copied in 1657. Taken together, this text is far longer than the version common to the other three copies due to extensive poetic interludes as well as numerous digressions on ancient mythology and other such matters which ″have no connection to the events between Selim and al-Ghawrī″ (p. 11). In this reviewer′s experience, such digressions and poetic asides fit the style of a sixteenth-century geomancer′s account more closely than the rather straightforward version presented here. These digressions, combined with other incongruities based on a summary comparison of the first and last pages of MS 44 Tārīkh with the three editions, suggest that the text has not remained stable through its various recensions and editions.

In a possible sign of textual evolution, the narrative occasionally quotes Ibn Zunbul, stating ″al-Shaykh Aḥmad Ibn Zunbul al-Maḥallī has related″ (pp. 33, 100). In addition, at one point the narrative voice mentions in an offhand fashion that ″al-Qāḍī Aṣīl al-Ṭawīl always spoke of the strange and wonderful stories he had witnessed . . . and he died in 970 [1562-63]″ (p. 178). Finally, while discussing Süleyman′s accession to power the narrative states that ″he came to rule 48 years″ (p. 189). The combination of widely variant texts and references to people and events dating nearly fifteen years *after* Ibn Zunbul supposedly died leads this reviewer to speculate whether the text presented here might be an abridged version of Ibn Zunbul′s account produced at some point between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries, with the variant MS 44 Tārīkh text perhaps closer to an ″original″ account.

While the narrative presents an omniscient point of view by including deliberations within the Ottoman camp, the story is told mostly from the Mamluk side. As such, this text can be compared with other contemporary sources covering the same set of events, such as Ibn Iyās′s (d. ca. 1524) celebrated chronicle[4] and

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[3]For a listing of other extant manuscripts, see Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden, 1938), S2:409-10; and ibid., 2:384-85.

[4]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden-Cairo,

the numerous Ottoman narrative histories from this period.[5] As the Ottoman sources offer far less detail concerning events and debates within the Mamluk camp, Ibn Zunbul′s narrative is a valuable source to use as a check against the only other extant Mamluk source as well as a supplement to the more numerous Ottoman sources.

Much of the text reads like a morality play, intent on demonstrating the correct behavior of an amir. Both Khā'ir Beg and Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī are repeatedly condemned as traitors to their [Mamluk] ″Circassian brotherhood.″ Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (1501-16) is blamed for neglecting his supporters, failing to control his forces, and playing the diplomatic game poorly. In one example, al-Ghawrī is said to have made a mistake of epic proportions: when his geomancer—probably Ibn Zunbul—informed al-Ghawrī that the next ruler′s name would begin with the letter *sīn,* the wily sultan concluded that the Mamluk amir Sībāy[6] was out to get his crown rather than that the Ottoman Padishah Yavuz Selim (1512-20) was out to get his empire (p. 17). Meanwhile, the Mamluk amirs Kartbāy, Sībāy, Shārdbeg, and Tūmānbāy are portrayed through their respective noble actions and passionate monologues as courageous leaders who fought for their families, beliefs, and properties against impossible odds.

The ″Rūmīs″ [Ottomans] are portrayed as weak fighters who could not possibly have defeated the Mamluks without firearms or Mamluk treachery. Selim, despite the congratulatory opening *du'ā'* deleted in this edition, is castigated repeatedly—through dialogue rather than the narrator′s own voice—for attacking fellow Muslim rulers without sufficient cause and for having the audacity to use firearms against chivalrous Muslim fighters. Without doubting the authenticity of such viewpoints in the original text, the concept of heroic forces defeated due to internal disunity while facing an unscrupulous and technologically superior invader from the north must have had a certain resonance with Egyptian readers when this edition first appeared in 1962.

1961-75).

[5]Some of the more valuable Ottoman narrative sources for these events include the Turkish *Selim-nâme*s by Celalzade Mustafa Çelebi (d. 1567), Hoca Sadettin Efendi (d. 1599), Kemal Paşazade (d. 1534), Sücûdi (fl. 1520), and Şükrü-i Bitlisi (fl. 1521); the Persian *Salīm-nāmah*s by Idrīs-i Bitlīsī (d. 1520), Kabīr ibn 'Uvays Qāḍīzādah (fl. 1518), and Ādā'ī-yi Shīrāzī (d. 1521); and Arabic equivalents by Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Lakhmī (fl. 1516) and Jār Allāh ibn Fahd al-Makkī (d. 1547). For descriptions of these and other works, see: Ahmed Uğur, *The Reign of Sultan Selîm I in the Light of the Selîm-name Literature*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 109 (Berlin, 1985); and M. C. Şehabettin Tekindağ, ″Selim-nâmeler,″ *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 1 (1970): 197-231.

[6]Sībāy was the Mamluk governor of Damascus who had rebelled against al-Ghawrī while governor of Aleppo in 1504-5. See P. M. Holt, ″Ḳānṣawh al-Ghawrī,″ *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 4:552-53.

This text contains a number of memorable episodes, some of which suggest that Ibn Zunbul drew freely from older themes to embellish his morality tale. When the Mamluks send a militant and haughty delegation, Selim orders his men to shave their leader Mughulbāy′s chin and parade him around on a donkey (p. 27). When a number of Sufi shaykhs who had supported al-Ghawrī were caught trying to flee after Marj Dābiq, Selim had all one thousand of their necks wrung, one by one and without distinction according to status (p. 50). At one point, a number of Mamluks who had accepted Selim′s offer of safe passage were beheaded or strangled and thrown in the Nile (p. 68). After a couple of small victories over the Ottomans, Shārdbeg inscribes on the Pyramids ninety-two verses of Arabic poetry celebrating their heroism (pp. 93-98). In an episode reminiscent of Muḥammad ʻAlī Paşa′s (r. 1805-48) famous 1811 Citadel massacre of Mamluks,[7] Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī launched his bid for independent rule in Damascus by inviting the local Ottoman commanders to a feast and having all of them murdered (p. 193).

Other passages offer valuable anecdotes concerning religious and ideological components of the conflict. Shārdbeg and a number of Ottoman troops trade curses labelling each other as ″infidel louts″ *[kuffār,ʻulūj]* and ″profligates″ *[fujjār]* (p. 124). The Ottoman battle formation is described as including seven banners carrying Quranic battle slogans and the names of Selim′s forefathers, with a large white flag said to represent the ″banner of Islam″ (p. 135). Tūmānbāy accuses Selim of attacking Muslims without cause and contrasts the Ottomans′ ″worship of idols and crosses″ with the Mamluks′ ″unitary Islam″ (pp. 142-43). Confronted with these and similar accusations, Selim responds that he would not have attacked without a *fatwá* from the ulama authorizing an attack against those ″sons of Christians with no lineage″ who had helped the *rawāfiḍ* (pp. 166, 187). After Tūmānbāy was executed, his widow marries the Halveti Shaykh İbrahim Gülşeni′s son (p. 178).

ʻĀmir′s edition appears to follow closely an earlier edition published in Cairo in 1861-62. This edition, used extensively by David Ayalon for his study on Mamluk firearms,[8] was entitled *Tārīkh al-Sulṭān Salīm Khān ibn al-Sulṭān Bāyazīd Khān maʻa Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī Sulṭān Miṣr*. Note that in the century between these two editions, following the intervening Cairene political perceptions, al-Ghawrī′s relative titular pre-eminence grew and Selim′s fell. The only significant differences between these editions—other than the choice of title and the lack of footnotes in the earlier edition—come at the beginning and the end of the text.

[7]E. R. Toledano, ″Muḥammad ʻAlī Pasha,″ *EI*[2] 7:423-31.

[8]David Ayalon, *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom: A Challenge to a Mediaeval Society* (London, 195_), especially 86-97.

ʿĀmir deleted the following congratulatory *duʿāʾ* offered to Selim in the beginning of the text, present in the 1861-62 edition:[9]

> Praise be to God, Lord of the two worlds. May God bless our master Muḥammad, his family, and his companions. May God preserve this treatise treating the invasion of the paramount sultan, exalted khāqān, master of the slaves of all nations, master of sword and pen, deputy to God in this world, protector of the kings of the Arabs and ʿAjam, knight on the field of courage, guardian of the foundation of gallantry, killer of pharaohs and tyrants, Khusraw of the Khusraws and the Caesars, completer of Ottoman fortune, guide for sultanic codes, the sultan son of the sultan, Sultan Salīm Khān, son of Sultan Bāyazīd Khān with Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī, sultan of Egypt, and the deeds contained in it . . .

While it may be true, as David Ayalon pointed out,[10] that this *duʿāʾ* does not fit the tenor of the rest of the treatise, it is striking that ʿĀmir chose to delete it altogether. In addition, the 1997 edition reviewed here extends beyond the 1861-62 edition, which ends with Süleyman′s 1521 conquest of Rhodes. This brief extension includes a summary of events and governors of Egypt until the death of ʿAlī Bāshā al-Tawāshī.

There are some intriguing historical inaccuracies in the text which suggest that either the author, some of the copyists, or the editor(s) were not at all intimate with Ottoman developments of the time. On p. 22 the narrator states that Selim′s brother Korkud (d. 1513) had fled and taken refuge with al-Ghawrī upon Selim′s coming to power and ordering the execution of his brothers. According to the text, Selim requested his return, al-Ghawrī refused, and this was the earliest cause for enmity between the two rulers. In fact, Korkud had visited Cairo as al-Ghawrī′s guest while ostensibly on the *ḥājj* and returned in 1511—a full year before Selim came to power.[11] Other persistent inaccuracies include the mistaken statements that Selim fled to ″Kūfah″ rather than ″Kafah″ after losing a skirmish with Bayezid′s forces in 1512 and that Süleyman conquered ″Russia″ [Rūs] rather than ″Rhodes″ [Rūdus] when he came to power. There are also consistently peculiar spellings for

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[9]This *du'ā'* is also present in Yale MS Landberg 461.

[10]The ″submissive eulogy to Sultan Selim I . . . is only to camouflage his real attitude. In reality the book reflects the agonized protest against a hated and despised conqueror of a humiliated military caste. . . .″ Ayalon, *Gunpowder and Firearms*, 86.

[11]For a detailed account of the events leading up to Selim′s coming to power, see Çağatay Uluçay, ″Yavuz Sultan Selim Nasıl Padişah Oldu?″ *Tarih Dergisi* 6/9 (1954): 53-90, 7/10 (1954): 117-42, 8/11-12 (1955): 185-200.

″Janissary″ *[al-Yakinjarīyah]* and ″Shahsuwār″ *[Shahwār]*. The fact that these peculiarities were present in both this edition and the 1861-62 edition suggest that ʿĀmir may have concentrated less on textual comparison than on reissuing a forgotten nineteenth-century edition.

In conclusion, ʿĀmir has provided neither a critical nor a mistake-free edition. The edition lacks critical apparatus. The footnotes, while useful for an understanding of Egyptian geography and certain military or administrative terms, are neither very extensive nor entirely accurate. Two footnotes in particular, one explaining that ″Edirne is a city in Shām″ (p. 24) and the other describing ″Jīlān″ [Gīlān] as ″a Persian clan which moved from around Persepolis *[Istakhr]* to one side of Baḥrayn on the Arab Gulf″ (p. 40)[12] struck this reviewer as indicative of careless editing. While any edition of such a rare and valuable text is to be welcomed in the fields of both Ottoman and Mamluk studies, the text itself does not appear to have remained consistent through the years and this edition has not been carefully prepared. In order for this source to be used with greater confidence, more careful philological and editing work remains to be done.

NAJM AL-DĪN AL-ṬARSŪSĪ, *Kitāb Tuḥfat al-Turk. Oeuvre de combat hanafite à Damas au XIVè siècle,* edited and translated by Mohamed Menasri (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1997). Pp. 47 + 209.

REVIEWED BY BERNADETTE MARTEL-THOUMIAN, Université Paul-Valéry, Montpellier III

The starting point of this work is the textual edition of a tract, *Kitāb Tuḥfat al-Turk,* whose author, Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭarsūsī (d. 758/1357), completed his redaction in 1353. This edition is followed by an annotated translation, then an introduction situating the work in its religious as well as cultural and political context. The editor, Menasri, outlines the condition of the different juristic schools in Damascus under Mamluk control (Baḥrī period) and provides us with information concerning the author′s personal life—at any rate what he could gather about someone already dead at 37, in his prime. If one considers that the purpose of this work is to make known a text which is presently unedited, one cannot fathom why the presentation of the manuscript is so brief. Indeed, in the section dedicated

[12]It is clear from the context that the *region* Gīlān is meant—the coastal area south of the Caspian Sea in northern Iran.

to this, Menasri even fails to indicate the number of pages (one realizes this from reading the Arabic text, in which 91 folios are marked). Similarly, he seems to be unaware of the existence of copies other than those he has used, which are held in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (they number two, pp. 54-56). The text does not seem to be furnished with a colophon, but the copyist's name is specified (p. 54). The date of the copy, quite frankly, has not been established, the author merely referring to Baron de Slane. These various points, which bear significantly on the framework of a document which Menasri styles a juridico-political manual, have not received any comment by him. How, further, does one evaluate the importance of this work if one cannot gauge its dissemination? It is difficult to imagine that this tract could have had a ″favorable reverberation in the service of the Mamluks″ if it remained secret. If that were not the case, one would like to know if the Shafi'i *madhhab,* sued by al-Ṭarsūsī repeatedly, reacted and counterattacked, and if comparable writings as a consequence have come to light (knowing, of course, that the author was to die just a few years later). Does the work of al-Ṭarsūsī reflect the positions of the Hanafi school of Damascus, for which he would have played in some fashion the role of spokesman? This issue seems the most interesting, for in reality, considering all those who were bound up with the government, be they military, civil, or religious, could al-Ṭarsūsī have been sufficiently naive to believe that his masters would be grateful for his precious advice and modify their criteria for recruitment when they were themselves the primary beneficiaries of certain practices (e.g., venality of office)? The study of biographies and chronicles shows that moralization had not become manifest but rather that prohibited practices had, for all intents and purposes, become a way of governance. If, as Menasri suggests, power appears to have affected the author′s position regarding the Hanafi *madhhab,* which seems to have acquired more importance, one can always ponder if the question was really one of honest compliance with the practices remonstrated against by Abū Ḥanīfah, or if personal self-interest carried all before it; but this, only a detailed study would allow us to know.

As a final comment, we must note that this tract is not "a hitherto unpublished text" as the abstract claims. It has been published by Riḍwān al-Sayyid (Beirut, 1992), based upon manuscripts from Berlin, the Umayyad Mosque, and Medina.

IBN ḤAJAR AL-ʻASQALĀNĪ, *Dīwān,* edited by Firdaws Nūr ʻAlī Ḥusayn (Madīnat Naṣr: Dār al-Fikr al-ʻArabī, 1416/1996). Pp. 358.

REVIEWED BY THOMAS BAUER, Universität Erlangen

In the ninth/fifteenth century seven ″shooting stars″ (*shuhub*) were sparkling in the heaven of poetry in Egypt, as we learn from al-Suyūṭī.[1] These *shuhub* were seven poets, all of them bearing the name Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, who were counted among the best poets of their time. Due to the almost complete neglect of the Arabic literature of the Mamluk period, the names of these once much admired artists fell into oblivion and their works, despite their undisputable quality, are still in manuscript.[2] There is, however, one exception. One of these Shihāb al-Dīns was none other than Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, whose fame as one of the most ingenious hadith-scholars of Islam has endured. Few people may, however, be acquainted with the fact that this same Ibn Ḥajar started his career as an *adīb* and poet, eulogizing the rulers of the Rasulid dynasty of the Yemen. Even later in his life, Ibn Ḥajar never ceased to appreciate and to compose poetry. The importance Ibn Ḥajar assigned to his own poetic production is shown by the fact that al-Suyūṭī mentions three different recensions of Ibn Ḥajar′s *Dīwān,* obviously compiled by the author himself.[3] Of these three recensions at least two seem to have survived. A larger one, represented by a manuscript now in the Escorial, gives the poems in alphabetical order. It still awaits edition. The smaller recension is a selection of those poems that Ibn Ḥajar considered to be his best. The arrangement of the poems is rather sophisticated and shows again Ibn Ḥajar′s care for his poetry. The poems are organized in seven chapters, each chapter comprising seven poems. The only exception is the last chapter, which consists of seventy epigrams (each comprising two lines), since it was Ibn Ḥajar′s idea that ten epigrams would equal one long poem. As might have been expected, the book starts with poems in praise of the prophet *(nabawīyāt),* followed by a chapter comprising poems in praise of princes (mainly from the Rasulid dynasty) and the caliph *(mulūkīyāt),* and a chapter with poems in praise of other members of the military and civilian

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[1]*Naẓm al-ʻIqyān fī Aʻyān al-Aʻyān*, ed. Philip K. Hitti (New York, 1927), entries 20, 34, 37, 39, 42, 43.

[2]A major exception is the recent edition of two collections of *ghazal*-epigrams (a smaller one dedicated to girls, a larger one dedicated to young men) by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ḥijāzī, *Al-Kunnas al-Jawārī fī al-Ḥisān min al-Jawārī* and *Jannat al-Wildān fī al-Ḥisān min al-Ghilmān,* ed. Raḥāb ʻAkkāwī (Beirut, 1418/1998).

[3]See *Naẓm al-ʻIqyān,* 50. The editions mentioned in this review in all probability contain the recension mentioned by al-Suyūṭī under the title *Al-Sabʻah al-Sayyārah,* though this title does not appear in the title pages of the manuscripts.

élite *(fī al-amīrīyāt wa-al-ṣāḥibīyāt)*. The fourth chapter is dedicated to love poems *(al-ghazalīyāt)*. Chapter five is made up of poems of different genres, among them an interesting elegy on the death of Ibn Ḥajar′s teacher al-Bulqīnī. The following chapter is dedicated to the *muwashshaḥāt*. Most of the epigrams that form the last chapter deal with love, just as do all of the *ghazalīyāt* and the *muwashshaḥāt*. It goes without saying that Ibn Ḥajar′s book is of primary importance not only for literary history, but also for the history of culture and mentalities. Apart from this, the main themes of his poetry being praise and love, Ibn Ḥajar′s *Dīwān* offers ample material for the study of Mamluk representations of social relations.

It was certainly mainly Ibn Ḥajar′s fame as a scholar that first aroused the interest of modern scholars in his poetry. The outcome was that today Ibn Ḥajar is the only Mamluk poet whose poetry is accessible in more than one edition. To my knowledge, his *Dīwān* (in the shorter recension) has been edited at least four times. A Ph.D. thesis from 1962 by Syed Abul Fazi was not accessible to me. The edition by Ṣubḥī Rashād ʿAbd al-Karīm (Ṭanṭā: Dār al-Ṣaḥābah 1410/1990), certainly no philological masterpiece, is criticized in detail in the introduction of Nūr ʿAlī Ḥusayn′s edition (pp. 4-7). So there remain two editions that deserve attention: (A) Nūr ʿAlī Ḥusayn′s (the book under review), and (B) an edition by Shihāb al-Dīn Abū ʿAmr, published 1409/1988 in Beirut (Dār al-Dayyān) under the title *Uns al-Ḥujar fī Abyāt Ibn Ḥajar*. Both editions present a reliable text. (A) is based on six, (B) on three manuscripts. The greater textual basis of (A) is, however, not very significant, since the range of variants in the different manuscripts is fairly small. Most variants noted in the apparatus of (A) are either obvious misspellings or mere orthographic variants that hardly deserve to be mentioned. Unfortunately, (B) does not record variant readings. But whereas (A) gives scarcely any commentary on the poems, (B) is in fact, as its subtitle notes, a *sharḥ balāghī,* a commentary explaining the tropes used by the poet, whereby it becomes an absolutely indispensable tool for every serious reader of Ibn Ḥajar′s poetry. Typical for most poets of this period, Ibn Ḥajar makes more than ample use of rhetorical devices, especially of the *tawriyah,* a form of *double entendre* that has been considered to be the most characteristic trait of Mamluk literature. Consequently, for the modern reader many lines of Mamluk poetry remain obscure without further explanation. Since even specialists of Arabic poetry are often confronted with insuperable difficulties, the number of good commentaries is fairly rare. Shihāb al-Dīn ʿAmr′s commentary, however, is a masterpiece. The author (another ″shooting star″!) not only explains the meaning of every difficult line, but gives an inventory of all rhetorical devices used by Ibn Ḥajar. His edition can thus be considered a valuable contribution to the growing interest in rhetoric in general and Arabic rhetoric in particular. Beyond helping to understand Ibn Ḥajar′s verses,

ʿAmr′s commentary may also be used as a textbook for the study of *balāghah* and *badīʿ*. Though Nūr ʿAlī Ḥusayn′s (poorly printed) edition is not completely superfluous (due to its critical apparatus), Shihāb al-Dīn ʿAmr′s beautiful and erudite edition and commentary remains first choice.

CHRISTOPHER S. TAYLOR, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous:* Ziyāra *and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 1999). Pp. 264.

REVIEWED BY PAUL E. WALKER, Chicago, IL

Every visitor to Cairo is soon aware of the presence of the massive cemetery complexes that lie adjacent to the city on its eastern side just beneath the Muqaṭṭam plateau, particularly of the one known as al-Qarāfah, which stretches for a considerable distance southward from the Citadel. The placement there of thousands upon thousands of Muslim burials, and with them often impressive aboveground mausoleums, has always seemed as if it constituted a city in its own right. Inhabited from the beginning by a full complement of the living alongside the dead, it is a special feature of the Islamic urban pattern. But the meaning and role of the city of the dead, as the residence not merely of ordinary deceased individuals, is even more complex. Home to numerous saints who radiate blessings to those who live in close proximity and to those who come to visit them, the cemetery is a celebrated abode of righteousness and piety. Despite fairly consistent rejection from the earliest days by strictly traditional Islamic authorities and constantly renewed attacks against the practice, saint veneration—a universal phenomenon in any case—is an integral feature of local religious devotion. Having the saints nearby or available for ready visitation increases the sanctity of the neighborhood. It serves as well to draw pilgrims from farther away. And, although the importance of these sacred spaces on the border of the modern city remains active, for the medieval inhabitants both living near and being buried in the vicinity of the holy dead provided enormous religious benefits that are not quite so obvious now.

The intrinsic value of a cemetery like the Qarāfah is frequently made clear even in passing references in the standard chronicle histories of Egypt. But as the accumulation of saints and the number of their tombs in it grew over time, it increased to the point that a special literature was created to record the many loci of such special sanctity and to guide the increasing numbers of pilgrims by giving them rules of proper behavior in the presence of a saint (do not, for example, sit on the saint′s tomb!) and a topographical inventory of the places to visit along

with a catalog of the miracles and other achievements of the person buried there. Of many such guides to the Qarāfah that are known to have been written, four in fact survive from the medieval period. They, together with other writings about saints and other examples of their veneration, offer an almost irresistible source for a sociology of Islamic practice, especial for the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries from which these particular guidebooks come.

However, although these subjects—cemeteries, tomb visitation, and saint veneration—possess their own natural fascination, and there exists a literature dedicated to them in this instance, shaping the information to serve a scholarly purpose cannot be an easy task. It is not simply that much about the subject involves what is often called ″folk″ or ″popular″ Islam but that the sources—the pilgrims′ guides—tell stories about a timeless ahistorical world that, although supposedly rooted in the real presence of individual persons, proves surprisingly imprecise and unspecific. It is not confined by time and space. The guides, for example, serve poorly as a tool to reconstruct the actual landscape of the Qarāfah in the period they cover, partly because the details in them seldom match the surviving physical evidence, but partly also because they, like other literature about saints, are not as much concerned with this world as with the next. The lives of saints tend to take on generic qualities; a saint here is much like a saint there, places blur and times merge.

Nevertheless, succumbing to the more obvious attractions of this material, Christopher Taylor in this fine study of the Qarāfah, of the literature about it, and the whole subject of saint veneration in late medieval Egypt, approaches the task with admirable resolution and skill. He has had *per force* to assume a mastery over the material and thereafter to extract from it a suitably scholarly analysis from which to fashion his sociology of this aspect of Islamic observance. Nicely written for the most part this book presents an often vivid picture of life in and around the tombs, of the city of the dead′s liminal role in the sacred universe of Muslims, and of the ambiguity of official and unofficial attitudes toward it. Basing himself primarily on the following four guidebooks: *Murshid al-Zuwwār ilá Qubūr al-Abrār* by Ibn ʻUthmān (d. 1218), *Miṣbāḥ al-Dayājī wa-Ghawth al-Rājī wa-Kahf al-Lājī* by Ibn al-Nāsikh (d. about 1297), *Al-Kawākib al-Sayyārah fī Tartīb al-Ziyārah fī al-Qarāfatayn al-Kubrá wa-al-Ṣughrá* by Ibn al-Zayyār (d. 1412), and *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb wa-Bughyat al-Ṭullāb fī al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Mazārāt wa-al-Tarājim wa-al-Biqāʻ al-Mubārakāt* by ʻAlī al-Sakhāwī (d. about 1483), he necessarily limits his perspective to the Qarāfah and to the time frame defined by these sources. The many additional cemeteries both in Egypt and in other Muslim countries, as well as funerary practice before and after this period, are not covered. Also, since his focal point is the Qarāfah and its saints, he largely avoids or stays away from the issue of saint veneration and visitation elsewhere. He did not

consider Christian and Jewish (nor ancient) practice, as another example, although in Egypt it parallels that of the Muslims.

In covering his several basic themes, he offers individual chapters on 1) the history, topography, and role of the Qarāfah itself; 2) the *ziyārah* as an institution; 3) notions of righteousness and piety; 4) *barakah,* miracles, and mediation as related to the saints and their tombs; 5) an analysis of the legal attack against visitation and veneration (Ibn Taymīyah and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah); and 6) the defense of them (al-Subkī). There are of course many limitations in his coverage of any one of these topics and it shows in his discussion of them. Such restrictions were in part dictated by the narrow scope that is inherent in the original sources from which he began. Some historians will, accordingly, find too little that is truly historical; those wanting a topography will be frustrated by the vagueness of the physical mapping; and even for the sociologists of religion the citation and consideration of parallel materials or theory could have been richer. Still, Taylor was able to extract from his material a highly interesting, often intriguing portrait of his subject and that represents an impressive success which will certainly please most readers, both the specialist and the non-specialist.

The Cambridge History of Egypt. Vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640-1517*, edited by Carl F. Petry (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Pp. 645.

REVIEWED BY ROBERT IRWIN, London, England

When *The Cambridge History of Islam* came out in 1970 it attracted much criticism (and some praise). Edward Said, in *Orientalism,* was particularly cruel: ″For hundreds of pages in volume 1, Islam is understood to mean an unrelieved chronology of battles, reigns, and deaths, rises and heydays, comings and passings, written for the most part in a ghastly monotone.″ One knows what he means. Happily standards in the writing of medieval Islamic history have improved quite a bit in the last few decades, and *The Cambridge History of Egypt* cannot fairly be accused of offering a monotonous chronology of the doings of exotic bigwigs. All the contributions to the new volume seek to address broad institutional, social, and ideological issues and, sometimes, methodological issues too. The contributions are argumentative, so that at times, as we shall see, *The Cambridge History of Egypt* appears to argue with itself, and that is no bad thing.

As Carl Petry notes, this is the first such survey in a European language to have been attempted since Gaston Wiet′s *L′Égypte Arabe* (1937). Yet is Egypt a

self-standing, coherent unit with a continuous history? Some contributors, those dealing with the Fatimids and the Mamluks, are writing about the heart of a great empire. Other contributors, for example those dealing with Byzantines and the Ottomans, are discussing a province which was being milked of its resources. Thierry Bianquis, writing about the Tulunids and Ikhshidids, shows Egyptian history being shaped by developments in Iraq. At times, Egypt's affairs are impossible to disentangle from those of Syria and under the Ayyubids Egyptian interests were often subordinated to those of Syria. It is not surprising then that Michael Chamberlain's chapter on the Ayyubid period devotes a great deal of attention to Syria. Also Donald Little's chapter pays almost as much attention to Syrian historians as it does to Egyptians.

Contributions dealing with the pre-Mamluk period may be dealt with selectively and briskly. Hugh Kennedy's chapter on Egypt in the Umayyad and Abbasid periods stresses the degree to which we are dependent on the restricted coverage of the sources, both Muslim and Christian. It is also strong on institutional history and is heavily weighted towards the way in which the army in Egypt was paid for. Kennedy concludes by remarking that Egypt's failure to develop a strong local elite prepared the way for the coming of the Turkish soldiery. The next chapter, "Autonomous Egypt from Ibn Ṭūlūn to Kāfūr, 868-969" by Bianquis is commendably wide-ranging and packed with vivid detail. I learned a lot about the Tulunids and Ikhshidids that I did not know before. Paul Walker's 'The Ismāʻīlī Daʻwa and the Fāṭimid Caliphate' has a tighter focus than its precursors. One gets the impression that the Fatimids liked Cairo well enough but it was not Baghdad. Yet their stooge Basāsīrī's brief occupation of Baghdad proved to be the kiss of death for Fatimid ambitions. Paula A. Sanders writes about the Fatimid state. The main activity of the Fatimid army seems to have been to fight itself. Its endemic military factionalism seems to foreshadow that of the Mamluks. I note that in a later chapter on art and architecture, Irene A. Bierman refers to a major institutional change regarding the way *waqf* was centrally administered, which led to the rapid increase in the building of major monuments and pious endowments supported by rural revenues. According to Bierman, this took place around the time Badr al-Jamālī became vizier, i.e., ca. 1075. However, neither Walker nor Sanders discusses this phenomenon. (They do not discuss *waqf* at all.)

Although the next chapter by Michael Chamberlain, on Ayyubid Egypt, rightly pays a great deal of attention to Egypt's relations with the Crusader regime, this has not been prepared for in the Fatimid chapters, so that we hear nothing in them about Amalric and Manuel II's Egyptian project or, more generally, about the havoc wreaked by various Crusader expeditions in the Delta area prior to the coming of Saladin. Chamberlain's chapter on the Ayyubids stresses the informality of office-holding and of social and administrative procedures in general. Men

made their own authority and offices were molded to fit the office-holder rather than the reverse. His argument is persuasive, yet his contribution is in marked contrast to later chapters on Mamluk history and society which, as might have been expected, emphasize the importance of hierarchy, discipline, and set career patterns.

The coverage of this first volume of *The Cambridge History of Egypt* is heavily weighted towards the Mamluk period. Linda Northrup's "The Baḥrī Mamlūk Sultanate, 1250-1390," while covering much ground that is uncontroversial, judiciously deals with two issues which are debatable and debated. In the first of these, regarding the degree of continuity between the Ayyubid military system and that of the Mamluks, she favors Ayalon's view of the essential continuity between the late Ayyubid and early Mamluk regimes. The institutional changes, whenever they did come, seem to have been carried out while the chroniclers' backs were turned, so that we are not sure whether they happened in the reign of Baybars, Qalāwūn, or later yet. The second issue is whether changes initiated by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn had a deleterious effect on the sultanate or not. According to Northrup, "the political, military and economic reforms instituted by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, although intended to strengthen his political and economic position, led in the long term to the end of Qalāwuñid and Kipchakī-Turkish rule." However, as Maynard Keynes once observed, "In the long run we are all dead," or, as Ibn Zunbul put it, "It is God who decrees an end to all dynasties." Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad is indicted for presiding over "demamlukization" of the regime by appointing non-mamluks to senior military posts, but this was not necessarily a bad thing. He is also condemned for running down the Egyptian *ḥalqah,* but it seems likely that by the 1320s this was already a diminished and ineffective force (unlike the Syrian *ḥalqah*). The thesis that the *khānqāh* was used by the Mamluk regime to promote "moderate Sufism," as Northrup contends, remains unproven. However, these positions can be defended and doubtless will be defended in seminars and essays for years to come.

Incidentally, Northrup's chapter on the Baḥrī Mamluks starts by citing Ibn Khaldūn. (When shall we ever be free of this man and his brilliant insights?) Elsewhere, in the chapter on "Culture and Society in the Late Middle Ages," Jonathan Berkey refers to Ibn Khaldūn's views on the splendor and wealth of Cairo. Ibn Khaldūn thought that the Mamluks were marvellous and the saviors of Islam and he perceived the capital city over which they presided to be thriving. Ibn Khaldūn's enthusiasms are in cheerful contrast to al-Maqrīzī's later grumps and glooms. However, Ibn Khaldūn was in Egypt most of the time from 1382 until his death in 1406 and I note that, if we turn to Jean-Claude Garcin's chapter, "The regime of the Circassian Mamluks," we find that Ibn Khaldūn's Egyptian sojourn overlapped with a famine as well as not one but three plague epidemics.

Both Barqūq and Faraj had to fight for their thrones and at times Cairo was the battlefield, as in 1497, ″when the battle line stretched from Fusṭāṭ in the south to Maṭarīyah in the north.″ It was a battle for control of not much more than the Delta region, for in the opening decades of the fifteenth century control of Upper Egypt had passed into the hands of the Bedouin. When Tīmūr invaded Syria in 1399, the Mamluk army was too disorganized to face him in open battle. In the light of all this, Ibn Khaldūn′s Pollyannaish approach towards the Mamluks seems misplaced.

Warren Schultz′s ″The monetary history of Egypt, 642-1517″ has an attractive rigor and iconoclastic bite. Because of its engagement with methodological issues, it can be recommended not just to Mamluk historians, but to anyone with an interest in pre-modern history. It can particularly be recommended to anyone who has cracked his or her skull trying to master Hennnequin′s long, dense, and fiercely argued papers on Islamic coins and currency problems. Irene A. Bierman′s ″Art and Architecture in the medieval period″ makes interesting points about urban topography and architecture. She is good on the history of the study of Egyptian architecture and, for example, she points out the damage done by the Comité de conservation des monuments de l′art arabe. However, the chapter is almost wholly devoted to architecture. The treatment of metalwork is perfunctory, glass is hardly mentioned, and miniatures and Mamluk carpets are not discussed at all. Berkey′s ″Culture and Society during the late Middle Ages″ pays more attention to these sorts of artifacts. Berkey, among other points of interest, stresses the piety and learning of a significant number of sultans and amirs and, more generally, the degree to which the military intermingled with civilians in the Mamluk period.

Berkey′s stress on the *gravitas* of at least some of the Mamluk elite is echoed in a different key by Garcin′s chapter on the history of the Circassian Mamluks. This is one of the best chapters in the book and makes many cogent points, but if there is one big argument he is advancing, it is, I think, that Mamluk politics at the top was much less violent and chaotic than it appeared to earlier historians such as Muir, Lane-Poole, and Wiet. He suggests that the ″sultanate was acquiring the appearance of a military magistrature, no longer threatened by the ambition of the amirs.″ Moreover, ″a new political mechanism had gradually been imposed: any amir who rose to be sultan had first to remove his predecessor′s recruits relying on the previous age group that had been kept waiting in the wings until that point, which marked their genuine entry into the political arena. The initial rhythm of Mamluk political life was thus much slowed down.″ Indeed, it is hardly an exaggeration to describe late medieval Egypt as a gerontocracy. Incidentally Garcin′s researches on Upper Egypt, published as *Un centre musulman de la Haute-Égypte médiévale: Qūṣ* (1976) can now be seen to have been one of the

most influential books on Mamluk Studies. Almost every contributor to *The Cambridge History of Egypt* makes some reference to Garcin's work on such matters as shifting trade routes in Upper Egypt, the contribution to intellectual life made by men from Qūṣ, the role of the Bedouin, and the eventual dominance of the Hawwārah over that region.

I think that Garcin exaggerates the incapacity of the last Mamluk sultans to innovate and I think Carl Petry thinks so too. In "The military institution and innovation in the late Mamluk period," he presents a convincing portrait of Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī as a thorough-going innovator. "Under trying circumstances, the military institution was capable of exploring creative ways of reconstituting its hegemony." Michael Winter, in his chapter on the Ottoman occupation, is more inclined to labor the alleged conservatism of the last generation of Mamluks. Winter remarks quite rightly that Ibn Zunbul "was not a reliable chronicler and his work is a kind of historical romance," but he spoils this by going on to observe that nevertheless "it is important as a genuine expression of the mamluks' view of themselves and their ethos." But why should a geomancer from Bahnasā who worked in the household of a sixteenth-century Ottoman pasha be taken as a *porte-parole valable* for the Mamluks? Winter claims that Ibn Zunbul, as the best exponent of the Mamluk military ethos, "regarded firearms as un-Islamic and unchivalrous." Yet all the evidence suggests that Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī and Tūmānbāy had no prejudice against guns. Indeed what doomed Tūmānbāy at the Battle of Raydanīyah was his over-reliance on artillery. It is tempting to rely on Ibn Zunbul, as otherwise the modern historian is almost entirely at the mercy of Ibn Iyās. The trouble with Ibn Iyaš is that one cannot, as it were, walk round him, in order to discover what realities he may have been concealing. Ibn Iyās was certainly anti-Mamluk. (He did not realize that the Ottomans were going to be worse.) Although one cannot avoid using Ibn Iyās, nevertheless one can supplement his evidence with that of the Turkish chroniclers and this is what Winter has done in his valuable chapter.

In "Historiography of the Ayyubid and Mamluk epochs," Donald Little notes how Ibn Iyās shared the tendency of al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī to idealize the Baḥrī period. This is certainly true. Our view of Mamluk history would be transformed if Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī had maintained a servile court historian like Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, while Baybars I had been systematically denigrated by the carping of an *ʻālim* like Ibn Iyās. Although Little is chiefly concerned with chroniclers and biographers from the point of view of their value to the modern historian, he does also sometimes linger on their literary qualities as well (an approach pioneered by Ulrich Haarmann). On a minor point, Little states that Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir's topography of Cairo is lost. In fact it survives in the British Library, but unfortunately it turns out to be a rather brief and dull treatise. The original source or sources for so much of al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* remain to be discovered.

Little notes that, though Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī Faḍā'il was a Copt, his chronicle cannot be seen as having been produced outside the Islamic tradition. Indeed "he occasionally copied Muslim religious formulae into his work!" The Islamization of the Coptic community is a leading theme of Terry G. Wilfong's "The non-Muslim communities; Christian communities." For example, Coptic men sought to impose controls on their women which mimicked those of the Muslim community. One consequence of the Islamization of Coptic culture is that it seems unsafe to deduce conversion to Islam on the basis of the adoption of Arab names. Although the chronology of Coptic conversion remains unclear, there is a perfect consensus among the contributors to this volume that the Copts suffered a catastrophic decline in their numbers and fortunes in the course of the fourteenth century.

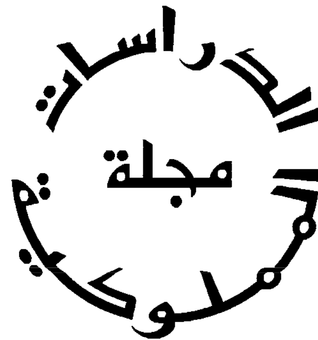
In "Egypt in the world system of the later Middle Ages," R. Stephen Humphreys has drawn together common themes and places Egypt in a wider political and commercial context. There is very little agreement in this volume even about the broadest outlines of Egypt's commercial history. Humphreys argues that the destruction of the Crusader ports, while it crippled Syrian trade, had the advantage of channelling all the Mediterranean trade through Alexandria. On the other hand, Sanders believes that in the Fatimid period it was precisely the establishment of the Crusader states which led to a diversion of one of the main routes for international commerce from the Red Sea to the Nile Valley and that this was a leading source of Fatimid prosperity. Both Humphreys and Northrup seem to be implying that the spice trade only became an important part of the Mamluk economy in the Baḥrī Mamluk period. This is very likely true, though one does not get the impression that the spice trade ranked high in the thinking of Baybars or Qalāwūn or even al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. It is possible that Northrup takes an excessively bleak view of the Mamluk economy in the late fourteenth century. She states that there was "a shortage of specie" in this period, but it is hard to see why this should have been so, as most (or even all?) Europeans in this period were under the impression that the balance of trade in this period was very much in Egypt's favor. (Northrup here cites Abraham Udovitch, who in a brief survey article published in 1970 placed too much trust in al-Maqrīzī's *Ighāthah*). Schultz, on the other hand, states that by the end of the fourteenth century "both the numismatic and literary evidence indicates that there were many different types of precious metal coins in circulation." Northrup suggests that there was a lack of exports in the late fourteenth century. This seems intrinsically unlikely, given the granting to Venice of Papal licenses to trade with Egypt from the 1340s onwards. Venice's regular convoys to Egypt only began in 1346. Eliyahu Ashtor in *The Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (1983) identified the period from 1291 to 1344 as the years of commercial crisis. By contrast, he presented the period from 1345 to 1421 as a boom period. It does seem likely that the volume and importance of the

spice trade increased yet further under the Circassians. Garcin suggests that threats posed to the overland routes by the wars of Tīmūr and the Turkomans benefited Red Sea commerce and consequently the coffers of the sultans. Therefore a model of Mamluk economic (or military, or social) history in which everything just gets worse and worse is implausible.

As can be seen from the above, there is plenty in *The Cambridge History of Egypt* to engage the mind and interest of anyone with a background in Mamluk studies. For students coming new to the subject, it will also of course serve as a work of reference and a history which, besides engaging with complex social and institutional issues, tells the essential chronological story. It is an immensely valuable work, a compendium of state-of-the-art syntheses of research in the field. Still it is a pity that there is no chapter on Egyptian literature. It is sad not to see any sustained discussion of the works of Bahā' al-Dīn Zuhayr, Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Ibn Dāniyāl, Ibn Sūdūn, and others. Finally, there is the odd charming misprint. On page 313, we learn of the "building by al-Ghawrī alongside the Nilometer (*Miqyās*) of a royal palace where a veil fluttering at a widow announced that the flood had reached its maximum . . ." This reminds me of a friend who, while he was working on a *Time-Life History* part-work, typed in the sentence "All of Egypt's prosperity depends upon the headwaters of the Nile," only to have it corrected by his spell-checker to "All of Egypt's prosperity depends upon the headwaiters of the Nile."

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REVIEW

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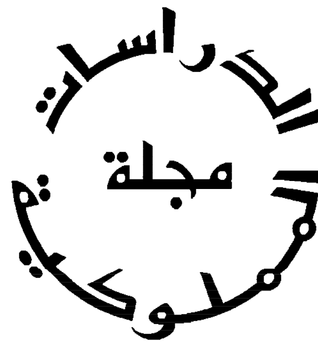
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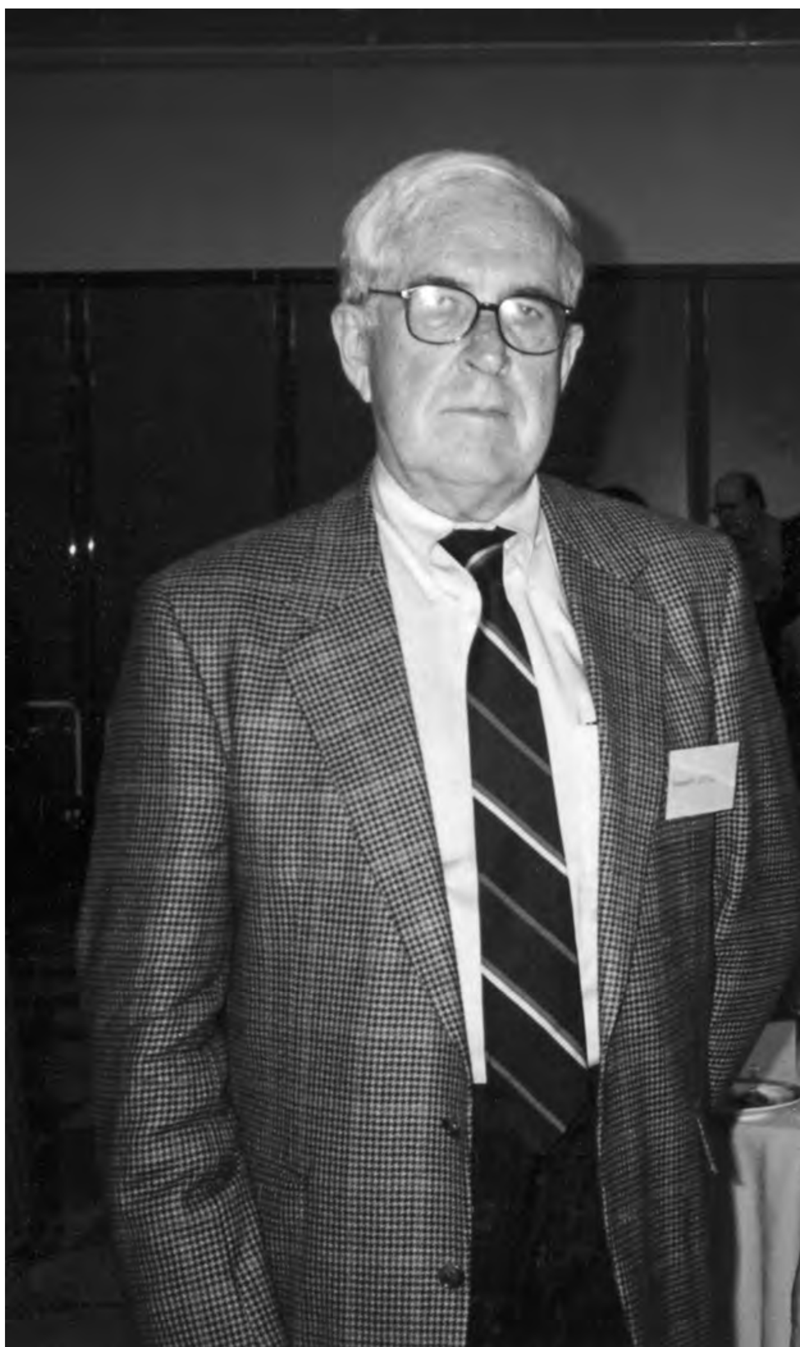
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MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW





This volume is dedicated to Professor Donald P. Little,
in recognition of his profound influence
on the field of Mamluk Studies,
by his colleagues and former students.

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Publications of Donald P. Little

1962

(translator) ″The Intellectual Problem of Westernization in the Self-View of the Arab World.″ In *Modern Islam: The Search for Cultural Identity,* by G. E. von Grunebaum, 128–79. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962.

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Mamluk Era Documentary Studies: The State of the Art*

Introduction

Manuals on historiography routinely say that the discipline of history is shaped by documents. In this context, the word ″document″ is interpreted in a broad sense as the traces left behind by the thoughts and actions of men. More pragmatically, what is understood in the field of history as a document are the authentic traces of tools necessary for the needs of daily life (thus administrative and private documents, coins, buildings, etc.), or put in other words ″everything that has remained immediately and directly of the historical facts or events.″[1]

All these materials are the subjects of particular disciplines, that is to say papyrology, epigraphy, numismatics, and archeology, better known as the auxiliary sciences of history. Each one studies a documentation defined as impartial, because documents are not reckoned to lie (although forgeries are sometimes found); that must be the starting point for research, ″the historian′s choice morsels″ to quote one documents expert.[2] It is thus clear that in speaking of documentary studies, one could expect this article to treat all these disciplines. It does not, but rather aims at presenting the state of actual research on handwritten documents from the Mamluk period. I do not say papyrology because I think this word is unfortunately misleading. Although influenced by the discipline developed by scholars of antiquity, Arabic papyrology does not deal exclusively with documents written on papyrus. In the Islamic context, this would be nonsensical, as other writing materials

*To Donald Little for the countless hours he has devoted to Mamluk documents. This article is the revised version of a paper presented at the Conference on Mamluk Studies organized by the University of Chicago (7–8 May, 2003). On various occasions, I benefited from the help and information provided by several colleagues, among whom are Gladys Frantz-Murphy, Anne Regourd, Donald Little, Geoffrey Khan, Johannes Pahlitzsch, and Christian Müller. I wish to express to all of them my gratitude for having shared with me their experience and their knowledge.

[1]Ahasver von Brandt, *Werkzeug des Historikers,* 15th ed. (Stuttgart, 1998), 52, cited in Klaus U. Hachmeier, ″Private Letters, Official Correspondence: Buyid *Inshā'* as a Historical Source,″ *Journal of Islamic Studies* 13 (2002): 127. Von Brandt names this category *Überreste* and divides it into three classes, which comprise the written *Überreste,* that is private and official documents, as well as some literary works not primarily intended as historical evidence.

[2]Hans Robert Roemer, ″The Sinai Documents and the History of the Islamic World: State of the Art—Future Tasks,″ in *Studia Arabica et Islamica: Festschrift for Iḥsān ʻAbbās on His Sixtieth Birthday,* ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī (Beirut, 1981), 386.

were used together with papyrus (ostracum, parchment, and at a rather early stage paper, but also cloth, and such odd materials as ostrich eggs, etc.). On the other hand, as we will see, archives have been preserved in institutions for which the documents had been issued. If we were considering only papyrology, they would not be included in this survey since they were not discovered through excavation, or in a cave.[3] Numismatics,[4] epigraphy, and archeology are thus left aside even though they clearly involve documents and some of them are of great help in corroborating information found in handwritten documents. I particularly think of the Mamluk decrees found on monuments in Egypt and Syria which reproduce originals that once were written on paper.[5] Documents, in the sense just defined (handwritten), are thus the exclusive focus of this article.

Students of medieval Islamic history are confronted with a leitmotiv that until the sixteenth century Islamic civilization has left only a few documents. This calamitous statement, somewhat tempered for Egypt, which historically, even in antiquity, has preserved more documents than other areas like Syria, the Arabian peninsula, or even North Africa, has been reassessed recently, particularly by R. Stephen Humphreys, who judged the situation to be encouraging,[6] and Donald Little, who said some time ago that ″original documents [for the Mamluk period] or remnants of archives are exceedingly important.″[7] I do not know if this is a problem of the bottle being half full or half empty, but I am rather optimistic, too.

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[3]Arabic papyrologists generally consider that their discipline covers all the documents from the dawn of Islam until the emergence of Ottoman rule on the grounds that official archives prior to this period have not been preserved. I agree that it is difficult in Islamic studies to trace a border line between papyrology and diplomatics, which in Western studies defines archival materials in a broad sense, but I tend to believe that differences remain between the study of a papyrus of the first century of Islam and a document of the late Mamluk period, and the criteria invoked by papyrologists are not relevant, in my opinion.

[4]Numismatics has lately been the subject of a review article: Warren Schultz, ″Mamluk Monetary History: A Review Essay,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 183–205.

[5]Jean Sauvaget, ″Décrets mamelouks de Syrie,″ *Bulletin d′études orientales* 2 (1932): 1–52; 3 (1933): 1–29; 12 (1947–48): 5–60; Gaston Wiet, ″Répertoire des décrets mamlouks de Syrie,″ in *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud* (Paris, 1939), 2:521–37; Janine Sourdel-Thomine, ″Deux décrets mamelouks de Marqab,″ *BEO* 14 (1952–54): 61–64; Gaston Wiet, ″Un décret du sultan mamlouk Malik Ashraf Shaʻban à La Mecque,″ in *Mélanges Louis Massignon* (Damascus, 1957), 3:383–410. Recently an important tool has been published by the Fondation Max van Berchem that puts at the disposal of searchers a database of all Arabic, Persian, and Turkish inscriptions, published or unpublished, up till 1000 A.H. The latest update covers Egypt and now includes more than 20,000 searchable items. See *Thesaurus d′épigraphie islamique*, ed. Ludvik Kalus and Frédérique Soudan, CD-ROM (Paris and Geneva, 2003).

[6]*Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry* (Cairo, 1992), 40.

[7]″The Use of Documents for the Study of Mamluk History,″ *MSR* 1 (1997): 9.

Of course, compared to medieval Europe or China, the situation is not so good and it has led some scholars to allege that medieval Islamic civilization (not the Ottoman one) was less bureaucratic than, say, Sung China or the Italian states.[8] This statement is based on the surviving evidence, but is a non sequitur. It is as if Assyriologists, prior to the discovery of thousands of tablets through excavations, would have said that the chancery of the Assyrian kingdom was not fond of red tape. The problem, for medieval Islam, lies in the fact that few official documents which have been preserved are the original documents that were issued by the chancery and given to the beneficiary. What we lack are the state archives, because we know that for every original document issued, a copy was made in the various bureaux in charge of the affair treated. These state archives have completely disappeared, except for one item, almost a hapax, going back to the Fatimid period,[9] which offers us the opportunity to imagine how the registers prepared by chancery clerks must have looked.

To explain the disappearance of the state archives, different scholars have offered various explanations. One of the most repeated is that, unlike what happened in Europe, Islam had no legally organized social bodies which could have preserved archives, the unique exception being the *waqf* documents, as shown by Carl Petry. This means that only state archives could exist. Secondly, it has been argued that written documents do not establish the law (*kitābun yushbih kitāban:* one writing looks like another writing and can be exchanged with it), but if so why would non-Muslim communities have held for centuries documents that had no legal value and that were referred to in case of necessity? Thirdly, it has been alleged that in Europe most of the documents are of a judicial nature, while in Islam, on the other hand, these kinds of documents were kept by the qadis. When they became useless or obsolete, they were discarded. Whatever the case may be, my feeling is that an answer must be found in the sources, considering both state archives and private documents, including original documents issued by the chancery and handed over to the beneficiaries. In the first case, an important protagonist of the Mamluk sultanate, who experienced the transition between the Qipchak and Circassian regimes, witnessed a decisive event for our purpose: al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442). Speaking of his experience as a secretary in the chancery, he notes that in 791–92/1389–90, during Sultan Barqūq's reign, all the documents kept in the

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[8]Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (Cambridge, 1994), 13ff.

[9]Geoffrey Khan, "A Copy of a Decree from the Archives of the Fāṭimid Chancery in Egypt," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 49 (1986): 439–53. According to the author (oral communication), other documents originating from the archives of the Fatimid chancery are preserved in the Geniza papers.

room of the *dīwān al-inshā'* at the Citadel of Cairo were removed and sold by weight,[10] probably to paper merchants. Clearly, the disappearance of the state archives of the first Mamluk dynasty may be explained by this testimony, and this behavior must have been repeated in the periods that preceded and followed. As for private archives, the sources remain silent, although we may surmise that the same conduct prevailed. Original documents were often recycled and used as scrap paper. A unique case of this phenomenon, for the Mamluk period, has recently been discovered in several autograph manuscripts of al-Maqrīzī.[11] To conclude with this crucial problem, documents were obviously no longer valuable after a given period of time, and depending on various circumstances (political events, need for money, etc.), they were either destroyed, or more appropriately, reprocessed due to economic reasons.[12]

SURVEY

In what follows, the reader will find a census that aims at surveying quite exhaustively the collections that hold documents from the Mamluk period.[13] Two approaches to the subject may be employed: either to take into account the venue of the collections, or to consider the nature of the documents as described above. I chose the first because it gives a more unequivocal idea of the number of documents preserved and their location.

Islamic documents, generally speaking, whatever their nature may be, are to be found in two different forms: copies preserved in historical or literary sources,

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[10]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Būlāq, 1853), 2:225–26. See now Frédéric Bauden, "The Recovery of Mamlūk Chancery Documents in an Unsuspected Place," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society,* ed. Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni, The Medieval Mediterranean, no. 51 (Leiden, 2004), 74.

[11]See Bauden, "The Recovery of Mamlūk Chancery Documents," and below, pp. 56–57. Other examples may be found in the Geniza papers, as shown previously (see n. 9).

[12]Interestingly, it could be added that Islamic civilization has been described as the civilization of the book. No other civilization for the medieval period has produced such a vast quantity of works and manuscripts. Among those preserved, estimated at 3 million, how many of them come from the Abbasid, Fatimid, or Ayyubid periods, with the exception of Qurans? Here too, undoubtedly, political events entailed looting which caused destruction of material.

[13]For previous presentations of Muslim documents in general, see Claude Cahen, "Du Moyen Âge aux temps modernes," in *Les Arabes par leurs archives,* ed. Jacques Berque and Dominique Chevallier (Paris, 1976), 9–15; Humphreys, *Islamic History,* 40–49, 170–72, 217–21, 261–65. As for Egypt in particular, see Hans Robert Roemer, "Über Urkunden zur Geschichte Ägyptens und Persiens in islamischen Zeit," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 107 (1957): 519–38; idem, "Documents et archives de l'Egypte islamique," *Mélanges de l'Institut dominicain d'études orientales du Caire* 5 (1958): 237–52. Regarding the Mamluk period, see Little, "The Use of Documents," 1–13.

and original documents held in different institutions in various countries, mostly in Europe, North America, and the Middle East. None of these categories are sufficient due to the limited number of documents, but placing them side by side and examining them does allow the raising of questions, and even the verification of their respective value. From this starting point, a more detailed investigation will be carried out, which will lead to broader conclusions.

SOURCES

The literary and historical sources from the Mamluk period are renowned to be, if not comprehensive, at least plentiful in comparison with other periods of Muslim history. It is one of the features that has attracted many of us to Mamluk studies. Critical editions of important sources are becoming more available, even if some gaps remain, as Li Guo noted in his state of the art article on historical sources.[14] It is a well-known fact that some of them have preserved in one form or another copies of official or private documents and it is easily understandable why these have been the source of numerous studies on treaties concluded with other Muslim rulers or Christian rulers. However, we must insist on the fact that historical and literary sources be used with the greatest caution. They raise numerous problems, particularly that of authenticity. The historian must always bear in mind that what he has in hand is only what the author wanted to transmit, adding to this the problems of the accuracy of the copy, and sometimes of falsification. When several authors quote a document from different sources, it is possible to establish the discrepancies between the versions,[15] and this calls once more for caution. Generally speaking, we must keep in mind that these copies are important for their content. As for diplomatics, it realizes little benefit from this kind of source because most of the authors systematically disregard the less interesting parts, in their eyes; yet elements such as preamble formulas, customary expressions of the various bureaux of the chancery, dates, names of persons, mottos, as well as paper sizes, may be crucial in terms of diplomatics.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS

Confronted with the apparent scarcity of archives from the Mamluk period, historians first settled for documents quoted in the narrative sources. Their works mainly dealt with the edition, translation, and analysis of the correspondence exchanged between the Mamluk sultans and their counterparts or others. The result is a quite detailed knowledge of the nature of the relations between the Mamluk sultanate

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[14]Li Guo, "Mamluk Historiographic Studies: The State of the Art," *MSR* 1 (1997): 15–43.

[15]A clear example of this is to be found in William M. Brinner, "Some Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Documents from Non-Archival Sources," *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972): 117–43.

and other states and how this was expressed in diplomatic terms. The copies of these documents have been retrieved from sources the nature of which may vary greatly. They may be classified as follows:

I. Historical and Literary Works

Among the most widely-used sources of this type are the *Tashrīf al-Ayyām wa-al-ʻUṣūr fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr* by Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir,[16] *Al-Faḍl al-Maʼthūr min Sīrat al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr* by Shāfiʻ ibn ʻAlī,[17] *Zubdat al-Fikrah* by Baybars al-Manṣūrī,[18] all three of them dealing with Qalāwūn′s reign; and finally Ibn al-Furāt′s *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk*[19] for the other periods. As we will see, documents are sometimes found in European archives in translation and this allows a comparison with the Arabic versions. The stage of inventory and study of these texts is well advanced and it can be said that no surprises are awaiting us, even if some sources are still available only in manuscript form. Among these studies, P. M. Holt′s are particularly noteworthy. These are devoted to the treaties concluded with Christian states,[20] and his pioneering book on those concluded

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[16]Edited by Murād Kāmil (Cairo, 1961).

[17]*Šāfiʻ ibn ʻAlī′s Biography of the Mamluk Sultan Qalāwūn,* ed. Paulina B. Lewicka, Orientalia Polona, no. 2 (Warsaw, 2000).

[18]*Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah,* ed. Donald S. Richards, Bibliotheca Islamica, no. 42 (Beirut, 1998).

[19]Vols. 7–9, ed. Qusṭanṭīn Zurayq and Najlāʼ ʻIzz al-Dīn, [American University of Beirut] Publications of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Oriental Series, nos. 9, 10, 14, 17 (Beirut, 1936–42).

[20]″Baybars′s Treaty with the Lady of Beirut in 667/1269,″ in *Crusade and Settlement: Papers Read at the First Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East and Presented to R. C. Smail,* ed. P. W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), 242–50; ″The Mamluk Sultanate and Aragon: The Treaties of 689/1290 and 692/1293,″ *Tārīẖ* 2 (1992): 105–18; ″Mamluk-Frankish Diplomatic Relations in the Reign of Baybars (658–76/1260–77),″ *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 32 (1988): 180–195; ″Mamluk-Frankish Diplomatic Relations in the Reign of Qalāwūn (678–89/1279–90),″ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1989): 278–89; ″Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s Letter to a Spanish Ruler in 699/1300,″ *Al-Masāq* 3 (1990): 23–29; ″Qalāwūn′s Treaty with Acre in 1283,″ *English Historical Review* 91 (1976): 802–12; ″Qalāwūn′s Treaty with Genoa in 1290,″ *Der Islam* 57 (1980): 101–8; ″Qalāwūn′s Treaty with the Latin Kingdom (682/1283): Negotiation and Abrogation,″ in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras,* vol. 1, *Proceedings of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd International Colloquium Organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 1992, 1993 and 1994*, ed. U. Vermeulen and D. de Smet, Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta, no. 73 (Leuven, 1995), 324–34; ″The Treaties of the Early Mamluk Sultans with the Frankish States,″ *BSOAS* 43 (1980): 67–76; ″Treaties between the Mamluk Sultans and the Frankish Authorities,″ in *XIX. Deutscher Orientalistentag,* ed. Wolfgang Voigt, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Supplement III (Wiesbaden, 1977), 474–84.

mainly with Crusader states has remained unsurpassed.[21] He translated them and made an historical and diplomatic commentary, comparing them with other sources, in particular Christian ones. The Muslim sources to which he traced these treaties are Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, Ibn al-Furāt, and al-Qalqashandī. Beside Holt, other studies are useful, such as the one carried out by Daoulatli[22] on an exchange of letters between Qalāwūn and rulers of Ifrīqīyah on the basis of Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir's text. It is this same source which recently gave Reuven Amitai-Preiss the opportunity to examine the correspondence between the Mongol ruler Abagha and Baybars.[23] Despite the numerous articles published on the subject, some sources have been neglected, particularly the *Tārīkh Bayrūt* by Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyá (fl. 1424–37). He was a member of a family of amirs in Lebanon (the Buhturids) and his text was available to scholars as early as 1898,[24] although a more accurate edition, by Francis Hours and Kamal Salibi, appeared in 1969.[25] This is a special case in the category of historical sources because the author reproduced archival documents of his family, such as nomination documents to the rank of amir. This is not

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Michele Amari also studied a peace treaty preserved in Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir's *Tashrīf al-Ayyām* regarding the King of Aragon and the King of Sicily: Michele Amari, *Bibliotheca arabo-sicula ossia raccolta di testi arabici che toccano la geografia, la storia, le biografie e la bibliografia della Sicilia* (Lipsia, 1857), 342–52. See also Francesco Gabrieli, "Trattato di Qalawūn coi Templari di Tortosa," in *Storici Arabi delle Crociate,* ed. idem, Scrittori di storia, no. 6 (Turin, 1957), 305–12, 314–21.

[21]*Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers,* Islamic History and Civilization: Studies and Texts, no. 12 (Leiden-New York-Cologne, 1995).

[22]Abdelaziz Daoulatli, "Les relations entre le sultan Qala'un et l'Ifriqiya d'après deux documents égyptiens (680 Hg/1281 J.C.-689 Hg/1290 J.C.)," *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 17 (1974): 43–62.

[23]Reuven Amitai-Preiss, "An Exchange of Letters in Arabic between Abaγa Īlkhān and Sultan Baybars (A.H. 667/A.D. 1268–69)," *Central Asiatic Journal* 38 (1994): 11–33. Very early, de Sacy published a similar letter exchange between Baybars and Timur's son on the basis of the evidence found in Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī's *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik:* "Lettre du Sultan Mélic-alaschraf Barsébaï, à Mirza Schahrokh, fils de Timour," in *Chrestomathie arabe* (Paris, 1826; repr. Osnabrück, 1973), 2:71–87 and Arabic text, 11–17. Furthermore, documents regarding private affairs may also be found in this kind of source, as demonstrated by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, "Marsūm mamlūkī šarīf bi-mukhālafat ʻaqīdat Ibn Taymīyah," *Majallat al-Majmaʻ al-ʻIlmī al-ʻArabī/Revue de l'Académie arabe de Damas* 33 (1958): 259–69 (document found in Ibn al-Dawādārī's *Al-Durar al-Fākhirah*).

[24]*Tārīkh Bayrūt wa-Akhbār al-Umarā' al-Buḥturīyīn min Banī al-Gharb,* ed. Louis Cheikho as *Histoire de Beyrouth et des Bohtor émirs d'al-Gharb par Salih ibn Yahya* (Beirut, 1902). First appeared in several fascicles of *Al-Mashriq* 1 (1898).

[25]*Tārīkh Bayrūt: Akhbār al-Salaf min Dhurriyat Buḥtur ibn ʻAlī, Amīr al-Gharb bi-Bayrūt,* ed. Francis Hours and Kamal Salibi, Recherches publiées sous la direction de l'Institut de lettres orientales de Beyrouth, série 4: Histoire et sociologie du Proche-Orient, no. 35 (Beirut, 1969).

exceptional, but what makes it valuable is that in this particular case he indicated in great detail all the elements appearing on the documents, which were commonly disregarded by others, and if we now have a good knowledge of which motto was used by which sultan, it is largely thanks to his work.

Besides Egyptian sources, it must be kept in mind that other sources may be useful. Although copies of Mamluk correspondence are rarely found in the works of Andalusian historians, in one instance they are (al-Maqqarī, d. 1632).[26] Christian sources may also prove interesting and reliable in this respect as was demonstrated by Marius Canard,[27] who found a copy of a letter sent by al-Nāṣir Ḥasan to the Byzantine emperor John VI Cantacuzene (dated 1349), a document which gives valuable information on the fate of Christians in the Mamluk sultanate, events about which Mamluk chronicles remain silent. The letter was found in the chronicle written by the emperor himself at the end of his life, and although it is preserved only in its Greek translation, it undoubtedly reflects the Arabic original as Canard was able to prove by a comparison of the epithets reserved for the Byzantine emperors according to Muslim chancery manuals.

II. Chancery Encyclopedias and Manuals

Among all the sources, this kind of work is one of the most useful in tracing the evolution of diplomatics, particularly in the Egyptian context. Written by several authors at various periods, they offer the possibility to recreate the functioning of the Egyptian chancery over several centuries. The most famous of these manuals is unquestionably al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá fī Ṣināʻat al-Inshāʼ*. Available in a rather good edition with an index,[28] its value has been quickly recognized and it is no surprise if we find it frequently utilized in the studies published so far. Its major shortcoming lies in the fact that it is not practical to use, even with the indexes, and Björkman is to be commended for having given a clear account of its contents,[29] although he failed to supply the required diplomatic commentary. Since that time, several parts of the *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá* have been translated, the most recent

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[26]Marius Canard, ″Les relations entre les Mérinides et les Mamelouks au XIVe siècle,″ *Annales de l′Institut d′études orientales* (Algiers) 5 (1939–41): 41–48.
[27]Marius Canard, ″Une lettre du Sultan Malik Nâṣir Ḥasan à Jean VI Cantacuzène (750/1349),″ *Annales de l′Institut d′études orientales* (Algiers) 3 (1937): 27–52.
[28]Cairo, 1913–20, repr. 1963. Muḥammad Qindīl al-Baqlī, *Fahāris Kitāb Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá fī Ṣināʻat al-Inshāʼ* (Cairo, 1970).
[29]Walther Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde, vol. 28, Reihe B: Völkerkunde, Kulturgeschichte und Sprachen, vol. 16 (Hamburg, 1928).

being Maria Pia Pedani´s book on the *dār al-ṣulḥ,*[30] where the section dealing with truces (sing. *hudnah*) is translated into Italian. The *Ṣubḥ* is renowned for the great number of documents it has preserved, and these have been the subject of various articles. In addition to Holt´s studies already mentioned, the articles of Canard on the relations with the Merinids in the fourteenth century and with the Byzantines[31] are important, and also those of Urbain Vermeulen concerning the correspondence exchanged between the Crusaders and the Mongols.[32] Unfortunately, most of these lack a diplomatic commentary.

Besides al-Qalqashandī, other works, some of which he used extensively, have been made available in critical editions. Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʻUmarī´s *Al-Taʻrīf bi-al-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf,*[33] Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh´s *Tathqīf al-Taʻrīf bi-al-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf,*[34] and al-Nuwayrī´s *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* are now completely

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[30]Maria Pia Pedani, *La dimora della pace: Considerazioni sulle capitolazioni tra i paesi islamici e l´Europa,* Quaderni di Studi Arabi, Studi e testi, no. 2 (Rome, 1996).

[31]˝Les relations entre les Mérinides et les Mamelouks au XIVe siècle,˝ *Annales de l´Institut d´études orientales* (Algiers) 5 (1939–41): 41–81; ˝Le traité de 1281 entre Michel Paléologue et le Sultan Qalâ'ûn,˝ *Byzantion* 10 (1935): 669–80; ˝Un traité entre Byzance et l´Egypte au XIIIe siècle et les relations diplomatiques de Michel VIII Paléologue avec les Sultans Mamlûks Baibars et Qalâ´ûn,˝ in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes* (Cairo, 1935–45), 197–224. On this subject, see also Franz Dölger, ˝Der Vertrag des Sultans Qalā´ūn von Ägypten mit dem Kaiser Michael VIII. Palaiologos (1281),˝ in *Byzantinische Diplomatik* (Ettal, 1956), 225–44; also published in *Serta Monacensia: Franz Babinger zum 15. Januar 1951 als Festgruss dargebracht,* ed. Hans Joachim Kissling and Alois Schmaus (Leiden, 1952), 60–79. On the relations between Byzantium and Mamluk Egypt, see now Mohamed Tahar Mansouri, *Recherches sur les relations entre Byzance et l´Egypte (1259–1453) d´après les sources arabes,* Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de la Manouba, Série Histoire, no. 1 (Tunis, 1992); and Dimitri A. Korobeinikov, ˝Diplomatic Correspondence between Byzantium and the Mamluk Sultanate in the Fourteenth Century,˝ *Al-Masāq* 16 (2004): 53–74.

[32]Urbain Vermeulen, ˝Le traité d´armistice entre le sultan Baybars et les Hospitaliers de Ḥiṣn al-Akrād et al-Marqab (4 Ramadan 665 A.H./29 mai 1267),˝ *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 19 (1988): 189–95; ˝Le traité d´armistice relatif à al-Marqab conclu entre Baybars et les Hospitaliers (1 ramadan 669/13 avril 1271),˝ *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 8 (1990): 123–31; ˝Timur Lang en Syrie: la correspondance entre le Mamlūk Farağ et le Mérinide Abū Saʻīd,˝ in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras,* vol. 2, *Proceedings of the 4th and 5th International Colloquium Organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 1995 and 1996,* ed. U. Vermeulen and D. de Smet, Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta, no. 83 (Leuven, 1998), 303–11. Add to these William Brinner´s study already quoted. See also Henri Lammens, ˝Correspondances diplomatiques entre les Sultans Mamlouks d´Égypte et les puissances chrétiennes,˝ *Revue de l´Orient Chrétien* 9 (1904): 151–87 and 359–92; idem, ˝Relations officielles entre la Cour Romaine et les sultans mamlouks d´Egypte,˝ *Revue de l´Orient Chrétien* 8 (1903): 101–10.

[33]Ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 1988); ed. Samīr al-Durūbī (al-Karak, 1992).

[34]Ed. Rudolf Veselý, Textes arabes et études islamiques, no. 27 (Cairo, 1987).

published.[35] Other minor works may still prove useful for specific subjects, as is shown by Rudolf Veselý, who published a short treatise by the same Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī: the *ʿUrf al-Taʿrīf,* one of the sources used by al-Qalqashandī, which was considered lost, and of which he discovered a unique copy in the Chester Beatty Library (no. 3849). He provided an edition of this notable work on official letters to which he added the text of another treatise ascribed to the same author and dealing with the same subject,[36] providing an essential supplement to the references available on this subject.

III. *Munshaʾāt*

Compared to the manuals which have a wider aim, these anthologies of models are more restricted. Their authors had a different aim, that is collecting various models of documents issued by the chancery, so that they could be used by uninspired clerks. Once again, caution is required for the use made of them. Few of them are available in published form, although manuscripts have been identified for a long time. A quick glance in catalogues of manuscripts arranged according to themes will inform students of the work that remains to be done. Among the most valuable, let us note the Paris Ms. 4439, entitled "Al-Maqṣid al-Rafīʿ."[37] Already described by Max van Berchem at the beginning of the last century,[38] its interest has diminished since most of its sources (al-Qalqashandī, Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh) have been published. However, it remains important for the documents issued under the last sultans. Another manuscript, held by the same institution under shelfmark 4440, is also noteworthy.[39] Anonymous and with no title recorded, it is divided into two parts: one containing examples of letters written by high government officials, and another preserving samples of letters addressed by the Mamluk sultans to other Muslim rulers. The manuscript is undated, but the most recent document goes back to 1468. Despite its value, since it supplements previous sources for the correspondence exchanged with other Muslim powers, it has not been thoroughly studied. Colin studied five letters among which

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[35]Cairo, 1964–97.

[36]Rudolf Veselý, "Zwei *Opera Cancellaria Minora* des Šihābuddīn Aḥmad b. Faḍlullāh al-ʿUmarī," *Archiv Orientální* 70 (2002): 513–57.

[37]William MacGuckin Baron de Slane, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1883–95), 708.

[38]Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum: Égypte* (Cairo, 1894–1903), 441–53.

[39]Baron de Slane, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*.

one had been issued by Baybars,[40] while Darrāj published two letters exchanged with the Indian sultanate of Malwa[41] (one was issued by Qāytbāy's chancery).

Less known but nonetheless significant, the *Qahwat al-Inshā'* of Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī (lived beginning fifteenth century) is preserved in several manuscripts. It deals with another kind of model (writs of investiture) and Veselý called our attention to its value in 1991.[42] As early as 1967, Rose di Meglio studied a copy held by the Naples library. She published one of these deeds dealing with the governorship of Tripoli under the rule of Khushqadam (866), confirming that in this case too the chancery rules as prescribed in manuals had been applied.[43]

Other texts of this kind are still waiting to be discovered and studied. Recently, Veselý published[44] new data about a Leiden manuscript whose title ("Zumrat al-Nāẓirīn wa-Nuzhat al-Nādirīn") reveals nothing about its contents. After having examined the whole manuscript, which contains more than 100 documents and letters all connected to the Qaramanid princes of Larende, he was able to demonstrate that these were original documents, not models, and that the volume was a copy of documents found in the Qaramanid archives by a professional clerk. As for the Mamluk period, 31 letters regarding international affairs (letters exchanged with Barqūq about Timur's threat) as well as private matters (e.g., demand for the return of a young kidnapped boy) complete our knowledge of the relations established between these two powers. It is to be hoped that Veselý will complete an edition of this important text in the near future.

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[40]Georges S. Colin, "Contribution à l'étude des relations diplomatiques entre les Musulmans d'Occident et l'Égypte au XVe siècle," in *Mélanges Maspero,* vol. 3, *Orient islamique,* Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, no. 68 (Cairo, 1935–40), 197–206. At the same time another article dealing with a similar subject was published: Ḥabīb Zayyāt, "Athar Unuf: Nuskhat Qiṣṣah Waradat ilá al-Abwāb al-Sharīfah al-Sulṭānīyah al-Malakīyah Īnāl min al-Muslimīn al-Qāṭi'īn Lishbūnah," *Al-Machriq* 35 (1937): 13–22.

[41]Aḥmad Darrāj, "Risālatān bayna Sulṭān Mālwah wa-al-Ashraf Qāytbāy," *Majallat Ma'had al-Makhṭūṭāt al-'Arabīyah/Revue de l'Institut des manuscrits arabes* 4 (1958/1377): 97–123.

[42]Rudolf Veselý, "Eine neue Quelle zur Geschichte Ägyptens im 9./15. Jahrhundert," in *XXV. Deutscher Orientalistentag,* ed. Cornelia Wunsch, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Supplement X (Stuttgart, 1994), 136–43; idem, "Eine Stilkunstschrift oder eine Urkundensammlung ? Das *Qahwat al-inšā'* des Abū Bakr ibn Ḥidjdja al-Ḥamawī," in *Threefold Wisdom: Islam, the Arab World and Africa: Papers in Honour of Ivan Hrbek,* ed. Otakar Hulec and Miloš Mendel (Prague, 1993), 237–47. He is currently preparing a critical edition of this work which will be published by the German Institute in Beirut in the "Bibliotheca islamica" series.

[43]Rita Rose di Meglio, "Un decreto di nomina alla *niyāba* di Tripoli di Siria al tempo del Sultano mamelucco Khushqadam (10 Sha'bān 866 Eg.)," *Rivista degli studi orientali* 42 (1967): 229–40 + pl. I–II.

[44]"Ein Briefwechsel zwischen Ägypten und den Qaramaniden im 14. Jahrhundert," *Asian and African Studies* (Bratislava) 9 (2000): 36–44.

Private Documents

As for private documents, Muslim scholars devoted various works to their composition. The most important ones for our purpose are those dealing with the judicial formularies *(shurūṭ),* whose main aim was to provide judges with models of legal documents so that their own could withstand scrutiny and legal challenges. Donald Little has shown, on several occasions, that a serious study of legal documents cannot be undertaken without the help of these works, which provide indispensable help in the deciphering of technical terms. The restriction put forward regarding documents found in historical sources and chancery manuals is confirmed for this kind of source: these manuals offer to the reader models where the scholar finds interesting information on the formularies used in a great variety of circumstances illuminating judicial and *a fortiori* social life, but no genuine documents.[45] Some of these valuable texts have been published, mainly for periods preceding the Mamluk sultanate. For this period, Mamlukists have had at their disposal, for a long time, al-Asyūṭī's treatise,[46] one of the most important in this genre. There is still new material which requires study and publication. To this end, Gabriela Linda Guellil published in 1985 a study of al-Ṭarsūsī's *Kitāb al-I'lām,* an important *shurūṭ* work for the judicial system of Damascus in the fourteenth century.[47]

Private documents may also be found in historical sources, as Carl Petry has shown.[48] He discovered an account of a divorce case mentioned in al-Ṣayrafī's *Inbā' al-Ḥaṣr bi-Abnā' al-'Aṣr*. In his capacity as deputy judge, al-Ṣayrafī used to record the proceedings of the court, and it is on these notes that he relied to report this case, giving quite a detailed account of it, and in particular the text of the petition. The value of this example lies mainly in the information it provides on the status of women in medieval Egypt and their rights in marriage. Another significant source of this type of data lies in the many collections of judicial

[45]On the discrepancies noted between these theoretical treatises and the surviving evidence, see Monika Gronke, "La Rédaction des actes privés dans le monde musulman médiéval: théorie et pratique," *Studia Islamica* 59 (1984): 159–74; Wael B. Hallaq, "Model *shurūṭ* Works and the Dialectic of Doctrine and Practice," *Islamic Law and Society* 2 (1995): 109–34.

[46]Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Minhājī al-Asyūṭī (*adhuc viv.* 889/1484), *Jawāhir al-'Uqūd wa-Mu'īn al-Quḍāt wa-al-Muwaqqi'īn wa-al-Shuhūd,* ed. Muḥammad Ḥ. al-Fiqqī (Cairo, 1374/1955).

[47]Gabriela Linda Guellil, *Damaszener Akten des 8./14. Jahrhunderts nach aṭ-Ṭarsūsīs "*Kitāb al-I'lām*": eine Studie zum arabischen Justizwesen,* Islamwissenschaftliche Quellen und Texte aus deutschen Bibliotheken, no. 2 (Bamberg, 1985).

[48]Carl F. Petry, "Conjugal Rights Versus Class Prerogatives: A Divorce Case in Mamlūk Cairo," in *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety,* ed. Gavin R. G. Hambly, The New Middle Ages, no. 6 (Basingstoke, 1998), 227–40.

decisions *(fatāwī),* very numerous for the period under consideration. They allow us to get a glimpse of various social strata in their disparate circumstances.[49]

DOCUMENTS

NON-MUSLIM COUNTRIES

I. Archival Collections

Dozens of documents from the Mamluk period are preserved in the archives of the contemporary Latin states (mainly Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Florence, Ragusa, and Barcelona).[50] This figure is however less than what one might expect in view of the close relations between some of these states over the centuries and even more so when one takes into account that European institutions kept well-organized archives. This is partly explained by the fact that Arabic documents, as well as others in foreign, exotic languages, were translated and their content transcribed into the official records *(Libri commemoriali, Libri iurium)*. Some of them, however, have survived despite this practice. As expected, these collections contain above all else documents regarding diplomacy, and they throw some light on the nature of the relations that two states, one being Muslim, could establish. Despite this, it is not surprising to discover documents of a private nature, such as those regarding European merchants in the Levant. But here again, these deliver more information on the conditions of *dhimmī*s in the Muslim country than on the country itself. A Mamlukist might therefore believe that their benefit is less than other documents, but he must keep in mind that thanks to them we know how the Mamluks treated citizens from the *Dār al-Ṣulḥ* or the *Dār al-Ḥarb*. Moreover, if these documents have been preserved in their original form, they permit us to see how these chancery or private documents issued for foreign non-Muslim countries looked and how the chancery operated.

The majority of these documents may be classified in two categories: one comprising original documents, and the other translations (into Latin, Italian, or Spanish) of Arabic documents. The historian of the Mediterranean world must be able to handle both types, because those of the second type turn out to be helpful,

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[49]See for instance Aziz Suryal Atiya, "An Unpublished XIVth Century *Fatwā* on the Status of Foreigners in Mamlūk Egypt and Syria," in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Nahen und Fernen Ostens: Paul Kahle zum 60. Geburtstag,* ed. W. Heffening and W. Kirfel (Leiden, 1935), 55–68 (includes edition and translation of a judicial decision dated to 754 A.H. and found in British Library MS Or. 9509, fols. 1–4); Benjamin O'Keeffe, "Aḥmad ibn Taymiyya: *Mas'alat al-kanā'is* (The Question of the Churches)," *Islamochristiana* 22 (1996): 53–78.

[50]A general assessment of this kind of source was proposed in the following article, which was however too brief to be useful: Aḥmad Darrāj, "Les documents arabes sur l'Egypte islamique dans les archives européennes," in *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire/Al-Nadwah al-Duwalīyah li-Tārīkh al-Qāhirah, Cairo 27 March–5 April 1969,* ed. André Raymond et al. (Cairo, n.d.), 131.

above all when the translation is faithful to the original (rather than a paraphrase, as in most cases). Comparisons with other preserved documents of the same sort (either original or copies in manuals) afford us the opportunity to complete their study. Finally, the bulk of preserved archives regarding merchants and their business illuminates their trading practices in the Levant, and correspondingly commercial activities under Mamluk rule. The last example is eloquent: Georges Jehel's study of the Genoan trade in the eastern Mediterranean is based exclusively on such documents.[51]

Under the influence of Occidental diplomatics, the study of documents preserved in these countries, in particular Italy, began as early as the nineteenth century. The great Arabist de Sacy took an interest in these kinds of documents and published some of them.[52] However, it was Amari, above all, who should be considered the founder of the study of Arabic documents preserved in Europe, which were the basis of several of his works.[53] A summary work, always valuable, is that of L. de Mas Latrie, who gathered in a thick volume all the peace and commercial treaties concluded by Latin states with the Muslim countries of North Africa (Egypt included).[54] The majority of the documents he gathered had already been the subject of studies by other scholars, but it would be erroneous to believe that their work does not call for revision. Firstly, the diplomatic commentary is frequently defective or obsolete. On the other hand, for the period we are considering, reproductions are rarely provided. These remarks are based on personal experience, although others, like John Wansbrough, had already noticed it. Recently, I have been charged with the task to reexamine in the light of recent research documents

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[51]*Les Génois en Méditerranée occidentale (fin XIème–début XIVème siècle): Ébauche d'une stratégie pour un empire* (Amiens, 1993). For the Mamluk field, such studies as the following were based on both types of material: Subhi Y. Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter (1171–1517)*, Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beihefte, no. 46 (Wiesbaden, 1965); Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983).

[52]A. I. Silvestre de Sacy, "Pièces diplomatiques provenant des Archives de Gênes," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale* 11 (1827): 1–96.

[53]Michele Amari, *I diplomi arabi del R. Archivio fiorentino* (Florence, 1863); idem, *I diplomi arabi del R. Archivio fiorentino: Appendice* (Florence, 1867); idem, "De' titoli che usava la cancelleria de' Sultani di Egitto nel XIV secolo scrivendo ai reggitori di alcuni stati italiani," in *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*, 3rd ser., 12 (1884–85): 194–224; idem, "Il trattato stipulato da Giacomo II d'Aragona col sultano d'Egitto il 29 gennaio 1293," in *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei,* 3rd ser., 11 (1883): 423–44.

[54]*Traités de paix et de commerce et documents divers concernant les relations des Chrétiens avec les Arabes de l'Afrique septentrionale au moyen âge: Introduction historique* (Paris, 1865), *Documents* (Paris,1868), *Supplément et tables* (Paris, 1872). De Mas Latrie reproduced documents in their original language, when it was an Occidental one, and only the translation of the Arabic documents.

published by Amari.[55] These documents consist of two peace treaties concluded between the Banū Ghāniyah amirs of Majorca (one dated to 1181 and the other to 1188) and Genoa.[56] Along with another one issued in favor of Pisa,[57] these are rare witnesses, almost unique, of the existence and functioning of the Almoravid chancery in these islands which were to be conquered a couple of decades later by the Christians. This work allowed some corrections to Amari's readings, but more essentially the reinterpretation of the texts in the light of the latest developments in the field. Anxious to compare both documents with the only other surviving example of this chancery bureau (the document issued in favor of Pisa), I was soon disappointed to learn that the original had been destroyed during the World War II bombing of Naples in 1944, where the document had been sent for an exhibition. No facsimile or photograph is known for this document and this means that the unique third witness of the activity of Almoravid chancery practice in Majorca has definitely been lost.

Among the most important archives from the Mamluk period in European countries, the collection of Venice is undoubtedly the one that holds the most value for Egypt and Syria. Almost 20 commercial treaties were concluded and are preserved in the State Archives. Most of them are in Latin or Venetian, which is explained by the fact that original documents were commonly held by the Signoria in Alexandria while the translations were sent to Venice. The whole collection was published by Tafel and Thomas in the nineteenth century.[58] However, Wansbrough, who devoted his Ph.D. thesis to the commercial relations between the Italian states and Egypt in the Mamluk period,[59] discovered several Arabic documents from the Circassian period that he published in several articles (a letter

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[55]Michele Amari, "Nuovi ricordi arabici su la storia di Genova," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 5 (1867): 549–635 + 1–39 (Arabic).

[56]Frédéric Bauden, "Due trattati di pace conclusi tra i Banū Ġāniya, signori delle isole Baleari, e il comune di Genova nel dodicesimo secolo," in *I trattati del comune di Genova in età consolare,* ed. Maddalena Giordano, Frédéric Bauden, and D. Russo, Fonti per la storia della Liguria (Genoa, forthcoming).

[57]Amari, *I diplomi arabi del R. Archivio fiorentino*, 230–36, 274–75.

[58]G. L .F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig, mit besonderer Beziehung auf Bysanz und die Levante*, pt. 2: 1205–1255 (docs. CLXI–CCCXXX) (Vienna, 1856), pt. 3: 1256–1299 (docs. CCCXXXI–CCCXCII) (Vienna, 1857; repr. Amsterdam, 1964). See also G. M. Thomas and R. Predelli, *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum* (Venice, 1880–99); and more recently Maria Pia Pedani Fabris, "Gli ultimi accordi tra i sultani mamelucchi d'Egitto e la Repubblica di Venezia," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 12 (1994): 49–64.

[59]John Wansbrough, "Documents for the History of Commercial Relations between Egypt and Venice, 1442–1512," Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1961.

of Qāytbāy dated 1473 and a study of the embassy of Taghrībirdī in 1507).[60] More recently, Rossi studied Venetian documents regarding an embassy sent to the Mamluk sultan in 1490,[61] even if in this case they are less important for our field. But more documents are to be discovered. Thus, Benjamin Arbel has discovered, in a manuscript held by the Marciana library, a copy of an Italian translation of a letter written by the *dawādār*, who was in 1473 at the head of an expeditionary force in Northern Syria, directed to the Venetian authorities.[62] This document, although it has been preserved only in a translation, is important in that it bears witness to the fact that official correspondence was exchanged between functionaries other than rulers.

Moreover, some time ago, Maria Pia Pedani,[63] Professor at the University of Venice, who probably knows better than anyone else the Arabic and Turkish documents preserved at the State Archives as she worked there as an archivist for many years, brought to my attention the existence of 15 Arabic documents pertaining to the Mamluk period. A first examination reveals that we are dealing with documents of a private nature (lease contracts, purchase deeds, sworn declarations, etc.)[64] as well as official documents concerning the Venetian community in Alexandria. They owe their preservation to the fact that they were found in the archives of a former Venetian consul in the harbor city and were sent to Venice with the rest of his estate.

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[60]John Wansbrough, ″A Mamluk Ambassador to Venice in 913/1507,″ *BSOAS* 26 (1963): 503–30; idem, ″A Mamluk Letter of 877/1473,″ *BSOAS* 24 (1961): 200–13 (also studied by Subhi Labib, ″Ein Brief des Mamluken Sultans Qā′itbey an den Dogen von Venedig aus dem Jahre 1473,″ *Der Islam* 37 (1957): 324–29); and also published by Francis Hours, ″Fraude commerciale et politique internationale: Les relations entre l′Égypte et Venise d′après une lettre de Qayt Bay (1472–1473),″ *BEO* 25 (1972): 173–83); idem, ″Venice and Florence in the Mamluk Commercial Privileges,″ *BSOAS* 28 (1965): 483–523.

[61]*Ambasciata straordinaria al sultano d′Egitto (1489–1490)*, ed. Franco Rossi, Fonti per la storia di Venezia, Sez. 1, Archivi pubblici (Venice, 1988).

[62]Benjamin Arbel, ″Levantine Power Struggles in an Unpublished Mamluk Letter of 877 AH/1473 CE,″ *Mediterranean Historical Review* 7 (1992): 92–100.

[63]Maria Pia Pedani Fabris, ″The Oath of a Venetian Consul in Egypt (1284),″ *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 14 (1996): 215–22.

[64]Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens,* 501–3 (with several mistakes in the identification, dates, and location); Maria Pia Pedani, ″The Mamluk Documents of the Venetian State Archives: Historical Survey,″ *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 20–21 (2002–3): 133–46; Frédéric Bauden, ″The Mamluk Documents of the Venetian State Archives: Handlist,″ *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 20–21 (2002–3): 147–56; idem, ″The Role of Interpreters in Alexandria in the Light of an Oath (*qasāma*) Taken in the Year 822 A.H./1419 A.D.″ (forthcoming); idem, ″L′achat d′esclaves et la rédemption des captifs à Alexandrie d′après deux documents arabes d′époque mamelouke conservés aux Archives de l′Etat à Venise (ASVe),″ in Mélanges à la mémoire de Louis Pouzet, *Mélanges de l′Université Saint-Joseph* 58 (2005) (forthcoming).

Documents are also held in Florence, Pisa, and Genoa. They were the subject of two books published by Amari in the nineteenth century, scarcely available for consultation these days.[65] The main critique to be made with regard to these studies concerns the fact that almost no reproduction of the documents is provided. Their reconsideration by modern scholars has revealed that part of the work must be revised in light of the most recent research. Wansbrough republished in 1971 a safe-conduct granted by Qānṣūh to the Republic of Florence in 1507,[66] adding to his edition and translation a complete study of *amān*s in Islam, and particularly those issued by the Mamluk chancery. He also discovered unpublished material in Arabic in Florence at the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana consisting of Mamluk treaties dated 1489[67] and 1497.[68]

These were the main Republic cities in Italy, but the less important Republic of Ragusa, competitor of Venice in the late Middle Ages, also had contacts with other Mediterranean powers and it is not surprising to find within the holdings of the State Archives of this city (now Dubrovnik) three Mamluk documents, all of which have been published.[69]

Closing this panorama of the main archives collections in Europe, a word must be said about the Archives of Castilla and Aragon (Barcelona). Mamluk documents preserved in this collection reveal the extent of the relations established between the Mamluk state and the West. These consist of nine treaties concluded with the King of Castilla and Aragon. Some of them were examined by Atiya for his study on the relations between Aragon and Egypt during the second and third

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[65]Amari, *I diplomi arabi del R. Archivio fiorentino*; idem, ″Nuovi ricordi arabici su la storia di Genova″; Joseph Karabacek, ″Arabische Beiträge zur genuesischen Geschichte,″ *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 1 (1887): 33–56. See also Charles Clermont-Ganneau, ″Explication d′un passage du traité conclu entre le sultan Qelaoun et les Génois,″ in idem, *Recueil d′archéologie orientale,* vol. 1 (Paris, 1888), 219–23.

[66]John Wansbrough, ″The Safe-Conduct in Muslim Chancery Practice,″ *BSOAS* 34 (1971): 20–35.

[67]John Wansbrough, ″A Mamlūk Commercial Treaty Concluded with the Republic of Florence 894/1489,″ in *Documents from Islamic Chanceries,* ed. S. M. Stern (Oxford, 1965), 39–79, pl. XX–XXIX.

[68]John Wansbrough, ″Venice and Florence in the Mamluk Commercial Privileges,″ *BSOAS* 28 (1965): 483–523.

[69]Gliša Elezović, *Turski spomenici* (Belgrade, 1952), 1:2:168, 175–76; Besim Korkut, *Arapski dokumenti u državnom arhivu u Dubrovniku* (Al-Wathā'iq al-'arabīyah fī Dār al-Maḥfūẓāt bi-madīnat Dūbrūwnīk), vol. 1, pt. 3, *Osnivanje Dubrovačkog Konsulata u Aleksandriji,* Posebna Izdanja (Orijentalni Institut u Sarajevu) no. 3 (Sarajevo, 1969).

reigns of Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn,[70] but not without mistakes in the dating and reading, as has been demonstrated.[71] Later, these documents were published extensively in a general catalogue of the archives collection.[72]

II. Library Collections

Besides these archival collections where the documents have been kept since their issue, there exist other small collections in Europe, particularly in libraries, where important collections of papyri are preserved.[73] The most important collection of Arabic papyri outside Egypt is the Erzherzog Rainer Sammlung at the National Library in Vienna. Here, 235 documents on paper have been discovered and studied by Werner Diem in three different catalogues according to their subject (business letters, private letters, and state letters).[74] A few of them are dated, but most are not and pose a problem since their identification as belonging to the Mamluk period must rely mainly on paleographical elements and philological

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[70]Aziz Suryal Atiya, *Egypt and Aragon: Embassies and Diplomatic Correspondence between A.D. 1300 and 1330,* Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, 23:7 (Leipzig, 1938). See also Amari, ″Il trattato stipulato da Giacomo II d′Aragona;″ Peter M. Holt, ″The Mamluk Sultanate and Aragon: The Treaties of 689/1290 and 692/1293,″ *Tārīḫ* 2 (1992): 105–18 (reprinted in his *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*).

[71]Peter M. Holt, ″Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s Letter to a Spanish Ruler in 699/1300,″ *Al-Masāq* 3 (1990): 23–29.

[72]*Los documentos árabes diplomáticos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. and trans. Maximiliano A. Alarcón y Santón and Ramón García de Linares, Publicaciones de las escuelas de estudios árabes de Madrid y Granada, series C., no. 1 (Madrid, 1940). The following publication is now useless: Antonio de Capmany y de Montpalau, *Antiguos tratados de paces y alianzas entre algunos reyes de Aragón y diferentes príncipes infieles de Asia y África, desde el siglo XIII hasta el XV* (Madrid, 1786).

[73]For an overview of the collections and their contents, with specific references to the published material, see Adolf Grohmann, *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde,* vol. 1, *Einführung*, Monografie Archiv Orientální, vol. 13 (Prague, 1954); *Chrestomathie de papyrologie arabe*, ed. Adolf Grohmann and Raif Georges Khoury, Handbuch der Orientalistik (Leiden, 1993).

[74]Werner Diem, *Arabische Geschäftsbriefe des 10. bis 14. Jahrhunderts aus der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, Documenta Arabica antiqua, no. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1995); idem, *Arabische Privatbriefe des 9. bis 15. Jahrhunderts aus der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, Documenta Arabica antiqua, no. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1996); idem, *Arabische amtliche Briefe des 10. bis 16. Jahrhunderts aus der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien,* Documenta Arabica antiqua, no. 3 (Wiesbaden, 1996); idem, ″Dringende Bitte aus dem bedrängten Aleppo um Truppen: Anmerkungen zur Form des mamlûkischen Dienstschreibens,″ in *Urkunden und Urkundenformulare im klassischen Altertum und in den orientalischen Kulturen*, ed. Raif Georges Khoury (Heidelberg, 1999), 143–45 (study of doc. 37 already published in his *Arabische amtliche Briefe*); idem, ″Vier arabische Rechtsurkunden aus dem Ägypten des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts,″ *Der Islam* 72 (1995): 193–257.

analysis. Diem has been criticized for his working method by Yūsuf Rāġib, as too hasty. Rāġib′s critiques[75] may be accepted to a certain extent, but there is no doubt that what is involved here is a settling of scores which goes beyond scientific work. Diem may be criticized for his classification (some documents that appear in a given volume are not really of this nature), his readings, and/or his translations,[76] but he must be commended for having published each time a volume of plates which illustrates all the documents, giving the reader the opportunity to verify his results. Hasty as he may have been, his work has the merit of putting at the disposal of scholars the majority of the Mamluk documents held in Vienna in a relatively short time.

The Cambridge University Library is known for its large collection of Geniza documents. Besides this, it also holds the Michaelides collection of papyri and papers. It was among these that Richards discovered a scroll acquired from Christie′s in 1971, the origin of which is unknown. The document is the product of a series of court procedures in Damascus with various acts stretching over a period of one hundred eighty years from 1366 to 1546. As Richards has shown in his study,[77] it deals essentially with a *waqf* in favor of the Yūnusīyah Sufi order in Damascus, the terms of which were confirmed during this long period. Later on, he published an article about a rare type of document issued by the army bureau[78] (called *murabba*ʻ: square decree) of which only nine examples were attested in the Ḥaram collection.

Undoubtedly, some documents, small in number, must have found their way into other library collections. Even the Cyril and Methodus Library in Sofia, which preserves several hundred Arabic and Turkish documents dating to the Ottoman period, owns a copy of a *daftar* regarding *waqf* properties in Beirut, stretching over a period of 250 years (1274–1544).[79] Ottoman copies of documents pertaining to the Mamluk period are as such significant and cannot be disregarded on the basis of chronology.

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[75]*Bulletin critique des Annales islamologiques* 14 (1997): 171–79; ibid., 15 (1998): 194–97; ibid., 16 (2000): 185–86.

[76]To state that a reading and the translation offered, whoever did them, are never definitive is probably depressing for young students, yet unavoidable.

[77]Donald S. Richards, ″A Damascus Scroll Relating to a Waqf for the Yūnusiyya,″ *JRAS* (1990): 267–81.

[78]Donald S. Richards, ″A Mamlūk Emir′s ′Square′ Decree,″ *BSOAS* 54 (1991): 63–67.

[79]Doc. F.278, a.u. 1. See Stoyanka Kenderova, *Opis na dokumentite na arabski ezik, zapazeni u orientalskiya otdel na narodnata biblioteka ′Kiril i Metodii′ u Sofiya XIII–XX v*. (Fihris al-wathā'iq bi-al-lughah al-ʻarabīyah al-maḥfūẓah fī al-qism al-sharqī ladá al-maktabah al-waṭanīyah ″Kīrīl wa-Mītūdī″—Ṣūfyā: al-qarn al-thālith ʻashar–al-qarn al-ʻishrīn) (Sofia, 1984). It was studied by Vera Mutafčieva, ″On the problem of landowning in Syria in the XIV–XVI c.,″ *Vizantijski vremennik* 26 (1965): 58–66.

III. Museum Collections

Museum collections undoubtedly hold Mamluk documents. However, they are seldom catalogued and known (Louvre, British Museum, etc.).[80] Recently, D. S. Richards learned of the existence of a scroll preserved at the Oriental Institute Museum of Chicago, which obtained it in 1929 from Bernhard Moritz.[81] His study has shown that it deals with Frankish commercial practice at Tripoli in 1513. It is quite a rare chancery document as it was addressed to a Muslim official. Another document, still unpublished (OIM 13789), was issued in the reign of Ṭūmān Bāy (dated to 12 Muḥarram 922/17 February 1516) and regards the trade of the Venetians in Alexandria and other ports.[82]

The University of Pennsylvania Museum is also worthy of mention as it holds four letters written by Mamluk officers. These are scattered in the middle of a collection of Arabic papyri catalogued by Levi della Vida.[83] The author provided in an appendix a reproduction of one of these letters, which served as the basis for an edition by Diem.[84] However, the remaining three still await study.

IV. Private Collections

Some documents find their way into private hands. To get a clear idea of these is almost impossible. If one surfaces, it is always by chance and depends on the collector′s good will. Most of the time, the collection has to be sold and bought by an official institution to get an exact accounting of its contents. One example of the first reality is illustrated by Denise Rémondon, who owned a Mamluk document. This was fortunately published by Cahen, who got a photograph from the owner before her death.[85] The document is interesting as it deals with a short news item of a type rarely reported by the chronicles regarding the murder of three persons

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[80]In addition to the census of libraries and museum collections of papyri surveyed by Grohmann and Khoury (*Chrestomathie de papyrologie arabe*), consult now for the U.S.A. Petra M. Sijpesteijn, ″North American Papyrus Collections Revisited,″ *Al-Bardiyyat, Newsletter of the International Society of Arabic Papyrology* 1 (2002–3): 11–19, where references to documents on paper, some of them from the Mamluk period, are found.

[81]Donald S. Richards, ″A Late Mamluk Document Concerning Frankish Commercial Practice at Tripoli,″ *BSOAS* 62 (1999): 21–35.

[82]Gladys Frantz-Murphy, who shared this information with me, intends to publish the document in question.

[83]Giorgio Levi Della Vida, *Arabic Papyri in the University Museum in Philadelphia (Pennsylvania)*, Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, no. 378 (Rome, 1981).

[84]Werner Diem, ″Ein mamlūkischer Brief aus der Sammlung des University Museum in Philadelphia,″ *Le Muséon* 99 (1986): 131–43.

[85]Claude Cahen et al., ″Un fait divers au temps des Mamluks,″ *Arabica* 25 (1978): 198–202.

in the countryside of Egypt. An order is given to arrest the perpetrators and bring them to Cairo, but the accused prefer to pay blood money instead. Since the death of its owner it has been impossible to discover what has become of this document.

MUSLIM COUNTRIES

I. Non-Muslim Collections and Archives

A. Egypt

1. Geniza (Ben Ezra Synagogue, Cairo)

The word *geniza* designates in Hebrew a repository of discarded writings. It was a common feature among certain Jewish communities not to discard papers where the name of God was written. This explains why, for centuries, the Jewish community of Old Cairo gathered all the documents considered obsolete in a particular repository. These consist of religious manuscripts as well as private documents regarding merchants, although some official documents from the chancery were also recovered among them.[86] This huge trove was packed into a room (Geniza) during a period that stretches from the tenth to the fifteenth century (mainly to the thirteenth century). After this time, its existence was forgotten until 1890, when it was rediscovered. It gave an extraordinary impetus to Jewish studies in general, not only for Egypt, but also for all the Mediterranean area and even Asia (India). Almost half a million scraps of papers and manuscripts, sometimes almost complete, were retrieved from this room.[87] The majority are written in Hebrew or in Judaeo-Arabic. However, some 10,000 scraps of paper are in Arabic characters. Unfortunately for researchers (or fortunately, because who knows what would have happened to these documents otherwise?), most of them were bought by private collectors who gave them, or bequeathed them, to libraries in Europe and North America. Among these, two took the lion′s share: the Firkovitch collection (St. Petersburg), which is not relevant for our topic, and the Taylor-Schechter collection in Cambridge (Cambridge University Library).[88] This dispersal does not facilitate their consultation as well as the fact that, being mostly scraps of paper, the cataloguing work is still in progress. Be that as it may, study has begun and to date has thrown new light on the religious, economic, and social life of the

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[86]For this last category, it remains questionable how they found their way into private hands, in this case Jewish. A convincing answer would be the reason invoked in the Introduction, pp. 17–18.

[87]Shlomo Dov Goitein, ″The Documents of the Cairo Geniza as a Source for Mediterranean Social History,″ *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 80 (1960): 91–100.

[88]For a good introduction to the Cambridge collection of Genizah papers, see now Stefan C. Reif, *A Jewish Archive from Old Cairo: The History of Cambridge University′s Genizah Collection* (Richmond, 2000), and idem, ″A Centennial Assessment of Genizah Studies,″ in *The Cambridge Genizah Collections: Their Contents and Significance*, ed. idem and Shulamit Reif, Cambridge University Library Genizah Series, no. 1 (Cambridge, 2002), 1–35.

medieval Jews in the Orient, and more particularly on the middle class which is rarely mentioned in the contemporary chronicles.[89] Some dated, or datable, documents go back to the Mamluk period, as has been demonstrated by S. D. Goitein in an article published in 1972, which has remained little known because it is in Hebrew.[90] Undoubtedly, Goitein is the scholar most familiar with these Geniza documents of a private nature, and his masterly study in several volumes is a prerequisite for anyone working on the Mediterranean societies in the Middle Ages (mainly eleventh–thirteenth centuries).[91] This work is essential reading, even for Mamlukists, as the author makes reference here and there to documents from this period.[92] A similar assessment can be made of Ashtor's book on the evolution of prices.[93] Unfortunately, most of the documents relevant for us are still awaiting publication and are not easily available for consultation. A list of these documents would be most welcome. Meanwhile, the researcher has at his disposal bibliographies

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[89]Besides the essential study of S. D. Goitein (see below), the most recent results are to be found in David Marmer, "Patrilocal Residence and Jewish Court Documents in Medieval Cairo," in *Judaism and Islam: Boundaries, Communication and Interaction: Essays in Honor of William M. Brinner,* ed. Benjamin H. Hary et al., Brill's Series in Jewish Studies, no. 27 (Leiden, 2000), 67–82; Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, *Karaite Marriage Documents from the Cairo Geniza: Legal Tradition and Community Life in Mediaeval Egypt and Palestine,* Etudes sur le judaïsme médiéval, no. 20 (Leiden, 1998).

[90]Shlomo Dov Goitein, "Geniza Documents from the Mamluk Period" (in Hebrew; English summary), *Tarbiz* 41 (1972): 59–81. For a more recent, but general, assessment of the Arabic documents for all periods in the Geniza collection, see Geoffrey Khan, "Arabic Documents in the Cairo Genizah," *Bulletin of the Israeli Academic Center in Cairo* 21 (1997): 23–25.

[91]Shlomo Dov Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: the Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza* (Berkeley, 1967–93); Werner Diem and Hans-Peter Radenberg, *A Dictionary of the Arabic Material of S. D. Goitein's "A Mediterranean Society"* (Wiesbaden, 1994).

[92]See also Shlomo Dov Goitein, "The Exchange Rate of Gold and Silver Money in Fatimid and Ayyubid Times: A Preliminary Study of the Relevant Geniza Material," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 8 (1965): 1–46, where, despite the chronological span indicated in the title, nine documents from the Mamluk period are studied.

[93]Eliyahu Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval,* Monnaie, prix, conjoncture, no. 8 (Paris, 1969). See also idem, *History of the Jews in Egypt and Syria under the Rule of the Mamluks,* vol. 3 (Jerusalem, 1970), which studies 74 documents that are undated, but that Ashtor was able to date to the Mamluk period due to exchange rates between dinars and dirhams; and more recently, Avraham L. Udovitch, "L'énigme d'Alexandrie: sa position au moyen âge d'après les documents de la Geniza du Caire," *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 46 (1987): 71–79; idem, "Medieval Alexandria: Some Evidence from the Cairo Genizah Documents," in *Alexandria and Alexandrianism: Papers Delivered at a Symposium Organized by the J. Paul Getty Museum and the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities and held at the Museum, April 22–25, 1993* (Malibu, 1996), 273–84.

published regularly for the Cambridge collections (the most recent was published by Reif in 1988 and covers the period stretching from 1896 to 1980),[94] albeit the main criticism I would make is that the material is arranged according to the shelfmark of the documents studied. This means that it allows one to know whether a document has been published or not, but it presupposes that one knows what one is searching for. It is thus like squaring the circle. Fortunately, in 1993, Geoffrey Khan published a book devoted to the study of 159 administrative and legal documents in Arabic in the Cambridge collection.[95] Among them, some are dated or datable to the Mamluk period (business and personal correspondence, wills, contracts of all kinds, bills of account, etc.), the most recent one being dated to 697/1298. The only criticism to be made, for which the author must surely not be blamed, rather the commercial editor, regards the small number (22) of documents reproduced, which does not facilitate further study by other scholars. Other documents from the Mamluk period are still awaiting publication.

2. Monastery of Saint Catherine (Mount Sinai)

This is an old story, too, in the sense that the discovery of the treasures it holds goes back to the nineteenth century. In fact, the first who paid attention to it was a traveller, Konstantin Tischendorf. During his travels in the East in 1844 and 1859, he visited the monastery, where he was shown a manuscript which was to revolutionize the field of Biblical studies, and was to be known later on as the *codex sinaiticus* (Greek translation of the Bible dated to the fourth century A.D.). Afterwards, a Prussian mission was sent in 1914 under the direction of Carl Schmidt and Bernhard Moritz. Photographs were taken not only of manuscripts, but also of documents in Arabic and Turkish. Unfortunately, despite the publication of the results of this mission,[96] all the photographs were destroyed in St. Petersburg during the First World War. The treasures of the monastery had to await an American mission in 1950 which resulted in the microfilming and measuring of all the manuscripts and documents which were presented to the staff by the librarian, some of them being discovered by A. S. Atiya. Atiya published a handlist

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[94]*Published Material from the Cambridge Genizah Collections: A Bibliography, 1896–1980,* ed. Stefan C. Reif et al. (Cambridge-New York, 1988).

[95]Geoffrey Khan, *Arabic Legal and Administrative Documents in the Cambridge Genizah Collections* (Cambridge, 1993).

[96]See particularly B. Moritz, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Sinaiklosters im Mittelalter nach arabischen Quellen,* Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, no. 4 (Berlin, 1918).

(this is not the only one[97]) in 1955 where 1,072 Arabic documents (from the Fatimid down to the Ottoman period) are mentioned, which makes it the most important collection of chancery documents for Islam.

However, there is a caveat, since these documents deal exclusively with the affairs of the monastery, meaning that they were issued for the benefit of non-Muslims by the successive chanceries. Nevertheless, this is a remarkable group of different kinds of official and private documents for the dynasties which succeeded each other in Egypt. Fortunately, in this case, the whole collection has been made widely available to researchers as various sets of the microfilms were distributed (Egypt, North America, and Europe). On the other hand, scholars drew attention to the importance of this collection very early, like Hans R. Roemer, who wrote at least four articles on this topic from 1957 to 1981.[98] He also succeeded in convincing some of his students to prepare Ph.D. theses on various aspects (Ayyubid and Ottoman documents in Arabic and Turkish[99]). What immediately attracted scholars were the decrees issued by the chancery bureau in answer to petitions sent by the monks to the sultan regarding problems they faced with the local authorities or populations. Their interest lies in the fact that some of the petitions have been preserved as the decree was sometimes written on the back of it. Decrees of the Mamluk period are particularly significant in this collection since they were issued

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[97]Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai: A Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts and Scrolls Microfilmed in the Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai* (Baltimore, 1955); Kenneth W. Clark, *Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine′s Monastery, Mount Sinai, Microfilmed for the Library of Congress, 1950* (Washington, D.C., 1952); Kamil Murad, *Catalogue of All Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai* (Wiesbaden, 1970). See further Aḥmad Muḥammad ʻĪsá, ″Makhṭūṭāt wa-Wathā′iq Dayr Sānt Kātarīn,″ *Majallat al-Jamʻīyah al-Miṣrīyah lil-Dirāsāt al-Tārikhīyah* 5 (1956): 105–24, where reproductions of several of the sultans′ mottos *(ʻalāmah)* are provided, completing those published by Atiya, *Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai*.

[98]Roemer, ″The Sinai Documents,″ 381–91; idem, ″Sinai-Urkunden zur Geschichte der islamischen Welt: Aufgaben und Stand der Forschung,″ in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Vorderen Orients: Festschrift für Bertold Spuler zum siebzigsten Geburtstag,* ed. idem and Albrecht Noth (Leiden, 1981), 321–36; idem, ″Über Urkunden zur Geschichte Ägyptens und Persiens in islamischen Zeit,″ *ZDMG* 107 (1957): 519–38; idem, ″Documents et archives de l′Egypte islamique″; idem, ″Christliche Klosterarchive in der islamischen Welt,″ in *Der Orient in der Forschung: Festschrift für Otto Spies zum 5. April 1966,* ed. Wilhelm Hoenerbach (Wiesbaden, 1967), 543–56.

[99]Horst-Adolf Hein, *Beiträge zur ayyubidischen Diplomatik,* Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, no. 8 (Freiburg, 1971); Klaus Schwarz, *Osmanische Sultansurkunden des Sinai-Klosters in türkischer Sprache,* Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, no. 7 (Freiburg, 1970); Robert Humbsch, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des osmanischen Ägyptens nach arabischen Sultans- und Statthalterurkunden des Sinai-Klosters,* Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, no. 39 (Freiburg, 1976); and also Elias Khedoori, ″Charters and Privileges granted by the Fāṭimids and Mamlūks to St. Catherine′s Monastery of Tūr Sinai (ca. 500 to 900 A.H.),″ M.A. thesis, University of Manchester, 1958.

under the rule of no less than 20 sultans and cover quite comprehensively the whole period, with only a few small gaps. This gives us the opportunity to follow how a particular kind of document evolved over time through the different Egyptian dynasties. Thanks to this, the system of *maẓālim* in Egypt during the three periods (Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk) is better understood.[100] S. M. Stern's pioneering work on the study of this kind of document, within a broad context which took into account other periods and countries, especially for the diplomatic commentaries, has led the way.[101] The decrees from the Mamluk period were studied by Hans Ernst in his Ph.D. thesis, published in 1960. He edited and translated all the decrees of the given period he had knowledge about, basing himself on Atiya's catalogue (although, as already mentioned, others exist).[102] However, in some cases, Atiya misread the dates of documents, which means that some of them were not considered by Ernst. Qāsim al-Sāmarrā'ī published in 1990 an article on one of these neglected decrees which was in fact issued by the first Mamluk sultan, Aybak![103] Besides this, Ernst's book has been the object of criticism mainly for his meagre diplomatic commentary, due to the fact that he was unable to read most of the confirmation formulas of the various bureaux, and for the lack of reproductions (this last is less fair as Ernst had to publish his thesis at his own expense before presenting it). His work must be read in the light of Stern's review article,[104] where he carefully studied three of the petitions and gave a full diplomatic commentary. Since Stern's premature death, other scholars, like D.

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[100]Jørgen S. Nielsen, *Secular Justice in an Islamic State: Maẓālim under the Baḥrī Mamlūks, 662/1264–789/1387*, Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te İstanbul, no. 55 (Leiden, 1985).

[101]Samuel Miklos Stern, "Two Ayyūbid Decrees from Sinai," in *Documents from Islamic Chanceries,* ed. idem, Oriental Studies, no. 3 (Oxford, 1965), 9–38 + pl. I–XIX; idem, *Fāṭimid Decrees: Original Documents from the Fāṭimid Chancery* (London, 1964).

[102]Hans Ernst, *Die mamlukischen Sultansurkunden des Sinai-Klosters* (Wiesbaden, 1960). Doc. XXI was also published later by Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, "Marsūm al-Sulṭān Barqūq ilá Ruhbān Dayr Sānt Kātarīn bi-Sīnā': Dirāsah wa-Nashr wa-Taḥqīq," *Majallat Jāmi'at al-Qāhirah bi-al-Kharṭūm* 5 (1974): 83–113. A comparison with Ernst's reading of the decree shows that Amīn's work is not trustworthy, although it was published fourteen years later.

[103]Qāsim al-Sāmarrā'ī, "A Unique Mamluk Document of al-Malik al-Mu'izz Aybak al-Turkumānī al-Ṣāliḥī, the first Mamluk Sultan of Egypt, from the Monastery of Sinai," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 21 (1990): 195–211 + pl. IV–VII. The document was dated by Atiya (*The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai,* no. 29) to 701 instead of [6]51. According to al-Sāmarrā'ī, no. 964 in Atiya's handlist (dated to 861 instead of 860) is also missing in Ernst's book.

[104]Samuel Miklos Stern, "Petitions from the Mamlūk Period (Notes on the Mamlūk Documents from Sinai)," *BSOAS* 29 (1966): 233–76; reprinted in idem, *Coins and Documents from the Medieval Middle East,* Collected Studies, no. 238 (London, 1986).

S. Richards and Geoffrey Khan, have followed in his footsteps and have shed new light on the system of petitions.[105]

This aspect of the royal chancery *(dīwān al-inshā')* has thus been revealed, even if our knowledge of it is based only on *dhimmī* petitions. The functioning of other bureaux, less prestigious than the chancery, remains less known as documents issued by them have rarely survived. This is the case, for instance, for the *dīwān al-jaysh,* the army bureau, which was responsible for the granting of fiefs *(iqṭā'āt)* and their control. But here, documents of the monastery can provide some relevant information. Richards studied a petition regarding a problem encountered by the monks with the beneficiary of a fief.[106] On the back of it, he found a report from the army bureau connected to the fief in question where previous attributions of it are mentioned. This significant document shows that the clerks updated their records regularly and that accurate records were available when required.

The Saint Catherine Monastery documents are probably the best studied so far. The significance of these studies for the history of the Mamluk sultanate is limited, as they essentially give us important historical and economic information on the monks (relations with the surrounding populations, the bedouins, and also their properties elsewhere, like Cairo). However, unlike the Geniza documents, they are an invaluable source of chancery practice and provide us with a unique opportunity to study the diplomatics of the Egyptian *dīwān al-inshā'*. Nonetheless, much remains to be done. Private documents have so far received little attention. Only recently, Richards has studied three of them (Muslim and Christian documents), two dating from the Mamluk period.[107] They are related to a *waqf* made in favor of

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[105]Donald S. Richards, "A Fāṭimid Petition and 'Small Decree' from Sinai," *Israel Oriental Studies* 3 (1973): 140–58; Geoffrey Khan, "The Historical Development of the Structure of Medieval Arabic Petitions," *BSOAS* 53 (1990): 8–30, where a comparison with papyri held at Cambridge is provided.

[106]Donald S. Richards, "A Mamlūk Petition and a Report from the *Dīwān al-Jaysh*," *BSOAS* 40 (1977): 1–14.

[107]Donald S. Richards, "Some Muslim and Christian Documents from Sinai Concerning Christian Property," in *Law, Christianity and Modernism in Islamic Society: Proceedings of the Eighteenth Congress of the* Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants *Held at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (September 3–September 9, 1996),* ed. U. Vermeulen and J. M. F. Van Reeth, Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta, no. 86 (Leuven, 1998), 161–70. Similar documents regarding properties of the monastery located mainly in Cairo, but also in Alexandria, Gaza, and Siryāqūs, have been studied by the same scholar: "Documents from Sinai Concerning Mainly Cairene Property," *JESHO* 28 (1985): 225–93.

the monastery and they enabled him to demonstrate that the Christians followed the Muslim legal system for the redaction of documents of this nature.[108]

Beside the private documents, official ones, the decrees, as I said, were not all studied by Ernst and still await publication. More worrisome is the fact that probably not all the documents were microfilmed. This is evidenced by the fact that Atiya catalogued 17 decrees from the time of Qāytbāy although Schmidt and Moritz described more than 20 during the 1914 mission.[109] On the other hand, new discoveries have been made since the American mission of 1950. In 1976, cases were discovered by the librarian and their contents were placed in 47 boxes. The material consisted of papyri, parchment, and scraps of paper and was described as being mainly of a liturgical nature, but it remains unknown whether Arabic documents are among them.[110]

3. Karaite Community (Cairo)

The Karaite community in Cairo holds a small collection of Arabic documents preserved in their old synagogue, situated in the old Fatimid city (Shāri' Khurunfīsh). As early as 1904, these drew the attention of Gottheil, who published (1908) a Fatimid decree issued under the Caliph al-Ẓāhir (415/1024) and a Mamluk document (*ḥukm tanfīdhī* = order confirming previous documents) dated 860/1456, which deals with the permission to lawfully repair the synagogue which had been damaged in the course of recent riots.[111] In 1969, D. S. Richards had the opportunity to study the entire collection and he presented the results of his researches carried

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[108]Furthermore, see for a study of two juridical documents (purchase deeds) from this collection 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, "Min Wathā'iq Dayr Sānt Kātrīn: Thalāth Wathā'iq Fiqhīyah," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts (Cairo University)* 25 (1963): 95–133 + 4 pl.

[109]It is essential to mention here that Moritz sold a private collection of manuscripts and documents to various institutions around the world, and particularly to the University of Chicago. Surprisingly, some of these documents may originate from the Monastery of Saint Catherine and the question must be raised how he got them (see above, p. 34) Other documents were found in Istanbul, Cairo, and even in the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin. See Stefan Heidemann, Christian Müller, and Yūsuf Rāġib, "Un décret d'al-Malik al-'Ādil en 571/1176 relatif aux moines du Mont Sinaï," *Annales islamologiques* 31 (1997): 81–107, particularly 81.

[110]Roemer, "The Sinai Documents," 381.

[111]Richard J. H. Gottheil, "Dhimmis and Moslems in Egypt," in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper,* ed. Robert Francis Harper, Francis Brown, and George Foot Moore (Chicago, 1908), 2:353–414. He also published another document from the fifteenth century which was at that time in the possession of the Cattaoui Brothers: see idem, "A Document of the Fifteenth Century Concerning Two Synagogues of the Jews in Old Cairo," in *Jewish Quarterly Review* 18 (1927–28): 131–52.

out on the spot in an article published in 1972.[112] This detailed catalogue describes the contents of 27 documents running from the early eleventh century to the mid-nineteenth century, all of which focus on the Karaite community. With the exception of the Fatimid decree just mentioned, they are all of a private nature (deeds of conveyance, grants of ownership, deeds of *waqf,* sworn declarations, etc.). Among them, 18 pertain to the Mamluk period. Working on such collections often requires that the researcher, after having received permission to study the documents, must still bring with him all the necessary tools (camera, rule) so as to be in a position to study them properly. One should not be surprised that Richards could not measure all the documents nor photograph them completely. While he intended to return to several issues in connection with these documents, and to fully publish the texts with facsimiles, to my knowledge such a study has never appeared, so that they still await complete publication.[113]

4. Orthodox Coptic Patriarchate (Cairo)
This institution in Cairo holds several *waqf* documents concerned with Copts. They were catalogued by Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and will be dealt with together with the archives collections in Cairo.[114]

5. Centre of Oriental Studies/Franciscan Custody of the Holy Land (Cairo)
Our knowledge of the documents preserved in this center relies completely on articles published in 1956, where 69 items are described.[115] According to the first of these, only one document pertains to the Mamluk period (dated 914 A.H.).

B. Palestine
1. Franciscan Monastery of the Custody of the Holy Land (Jerusalem)
The Franciscan Monastery of the Custodia di Terra Santa (Mount Zion) in Jerusalem, like the Saint Catherine Monastery, is another important repository of documents,

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[112]Donald S. Richards, ″Arabic Documents from the Karaite Community in Cairo,″ *JESHO* 15 (1972): 105–62.
[113]With the following exception: Donald S. Richards, ″Dhimmi Problems in Fifteenth Century Cairo: Reconsideration of a Court Document,″ *Studies in Muslim-Jewish Relations* 1 (1993): 127–63.
[114]See below, pp. 44–45.
[115]E. Boers, ″Arabische Documenten in het Archief van het Studiecentrum in Muski,″ *Studia Orientalia* (Cairo) 1 (1956): 177–79. Martiniano Roncaglia, ″Catalogus documentorum Muski,″ *Studia Orientalia* (Cairo) 1 (1956): 165–75, presents the contents of a manuscript which consists of a catalog of Arabic and Turkish documents held by the Center (″Manoscritto degli Archivi del Centro di Studi Orientali del Muski″). They are all dated after the Mamluk period (the oldest is from 942 A.H.) and are thus irrelevant for our purposes.

although in this case too we are speaking of documents issued for Christians. The whole collection amounts to 2,644 documents dated from 1219 to 1902. Among them, 83 pertain to the Mamluk period, consisting mainly of decrees and legal documents (court records). As one would expect, the majority belong to the last period of the Mamluk sultanate (43 from 1427 to 1513). A study of 12 of them (dated 1309 to 1472) was published by Pourrière as early as 1898,[116] but it was not until 1922 that a general catalogue, by Eutimio Castellani, appeared.[117] This catalogue, published by the Franciscan monastery and printed in Jerusalem, was not put on the market and is as inaccessible as the documents themselves. In 1936, another Franciscan, Norberto Risciani, published a book[118] where he studied 28 Mamluk documents (21 decrees and 7 court records), all belonging to the Circassian period. This is a landmark study, due to the nature of the documents, the quality of the analysis, and the facsimiles provided, but is unfortunately as unobtainable as the preceding one. Produced under the same conditions, it even seems that the copies preserved in very fortunate libraries lack the title page, which does not facilitate research. Allusions to these studies are seldom found in the scientific literature, except from those who are fortunate enough to own a copy (Stern and Little, who made reference to some of the documents published by Risciani) or to have access to it in a library (Richards).[119]

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[116]Leone Pourrière, ″Appendice I: Firmani e documenti arabi inediti estratti dall′Archivio della procura di T. S. in Gerusalemme colla traduzione italiana,″ in Girolamo Golubovich, *Serie cronologica dei reverendissimi superiori di Terra Santa: ossia dei provinciali custodi e presidenti della medesima già Commissari Apostolici dell′Oriente e sino al 1847 in officio di Gran Maestri del S. Militare Ordine del SS. Sepolcro attuali prelati mitrati, provinciali e custodi di T.S. guardiani del S. Monte Sion e del SS. Sepolcro del N.S.G.C. ecc.* (Jerusalem, 1898), 123–87 (12 documents dated from 1309 to 1472 published).

[117]Eutimio Castellani, *Catalogo dei Firmani ed altri documenti legali emanati in lingua araba e turca concernenti i Santuari, le proprietà, i diritti della Custodia di Terra Santa conservati nell′Archivio della stessa Custodia di Gerusalemme* (Jerusalem, 1922) (docs. 1–83 dated from 1247 to 1523).

[118]Norberto Risciani, *Documenti e firmani* (Jerusalem, 1936). See also *Custodia di Terra Santa, 1342–1942,* ed. Virgilio Corbo (Jerusalem, 1951), 82 (regarding doc. VI in Risciani = decree issued by Barqūq in 1396).

[119]The Library of the University of Leiden (the Netherlands) is particularly fortunate to possess two original copies of this work. Aḥmad Darrāj, *Wathā᾿iq Dayr Ṣahyūn bi-al-Quds al-Sharīf* (Cairo, 1968), is the only work so far in which the documents held by the Franciscan monastery are extensively studied on the basis of the above-mentioned catalogs. Its main focus is on Mamluk-Christian relations in Jerusalem during the period covered by these documents, with the help of other kinds of documents preserved in other places (historical sources, epigraphy).

2. Greek Orthodox Patriarchate (Jerusalem)
Jerusalem seems to be a good place for Mamlukists interested in documents. This is due to the numerous Christian institutions which were developed over time and which were eager to maintain good relations with the Muslim authorities by negotiating treaties. Until a few years ago, the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate was not particularly known for the collection it inherited from the Monastery of the Holy Cross at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Recently, Johannes Pahlitzsch was fortunate enough to gain access to it and discovered several documents, some of which date to the Mamluk period.[120] Among these is a missive addressed by Baybars to one of his amirs (665/1266), which sheds light on his relations with the Georgians.[121] The remaining items will be published progressively in chronological order. The arduous circumstances in which he had to study the documents is also symptomatic of the difficulties met with by researchers: lengthy negotiations with the Franciscan authorities, lack of adequate tools on the spot (camera, rule), etc.

II. Muslim Collections
A. Egypt
1. Archives Collections (Cairo)
What is meant by the Cairo archives are the National Archives of the Citadel[122] which, if my information is accurate, are now held by the Dār al-Wathā'iq, close to the Dār al-Kutub, the Ministry of *Waqf* (*Daftarkhānah*), the Dār al-Kutub wa-al-Wathā'iq al-Qawmīyah, and finally the Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate. Consisting of private legal documents (court records, deeds of *waqf,* contracts on subjects of all kinds [marriage, sale, partnership, lease, etc.]), they were estimated at 2,000 by a pioneering scholar in this field, 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm 'Alī. Dating mainly from the thirteenth century to the sixteenth century, their importance has

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[120]For a provisory evaluation of these, see Johannes Pahlitzsch, "Georgians and Greeks in Jerusalem from the End of the 11th to the Early 14th Century," in *East and West in the Crusader States: Context, Contacts, Confrontations: Acta of the Congress Held at Hernen Castle in September 2000,* ed. Krijnie N. Ciggaar and Herman Teule, Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta, no. 125 (Leuven, 2003), 35–51.
[121]Delivered at the conference *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society* organized by Tel Aviv and Haifa Universities in May 2000. The article will be published in a forthcoming issue of *Arabica.*
[122]Maḥkamah Shar'īyah, which became Maḥkamat al-Aḥwāl al-Shakhṣīyah wa-al-Wilāyah 'alá al-Nafs.

been quickly recognized,[123] and Daniel Crecelius and Carl Petry[124] have drawn the attention of Mamlukists to these documents *in tempore non suspecto,* before the publication of Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn's catalogue.[125] This catalogue, published in 1981, gave for the first time a clear overview of all these documents held by the various institutions mentioned above. It inventories 888 numbers, but documents are more numerous as one number may contain more than one document. Among these, I would like to call attention to one in particular that is identified as a chancery document. This is in fact a *manshūr iqṭāʿī* (grant of a fief) dated to the reign of Qānṣūh.[126] Many studies have dealt with the feudal system of Egypt,[127] but they lacked original documents of this kind. The survival of this almost unique (see Unsuspected Places, below) witness provides the opportunity to compare its structure to the models in chancery manuals like al-Qalqashandī's, written a century before, and to study the evolution which it underwent.

Yet the most impressive, no doubt, of these documents are clearly the several endowment deeds that have survived. In a rather provocatively entitled article,[128] Carl Petry has emphasized the various issues that can be addressed thanks to the Cairene *waqf* documents. *Waqf* documents offer the greatest challenge for future study, and the recently announced foundation of a journal devoted entirely to this topic reinforces this impression.[129] The recently published article "Waḳf" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*[130] and the bibliography to be found in it relieve me from

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[123]Leo A. Mayer, *The Buildings of Qaitbay as Described in His Endowment Deed* (London, 1938). Endowment deeds may also be found in historical sources. For a good example taken from ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's work, see Axel Moberg, "Zwei ägyptische Waqf-Urkunden aus dem Jahre 691/1292 (nebst Bemerkungen zur mittelalterlichen Topographie Kairos)," *Le Monde Oriental* 12 (1918): 1–61 + 3 pl.

[124]Daniel Crecelius, "The Organization of *Waqf* Documents in Cairo," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 2 (1971): 266–77; Carl F. Petry, "Medieval Waqf Documents in Cairo: Their Role as Historical Sources," *American Research Center in Egypt Newsletter* 118 (1982): 28–33; idem, "Research on Medieval Waqf Documents: Preliminary Report from the Field," *ARCE Newsletter* 133 (1986): 11–14.

[125]Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Catalogue des documents d'archives du Caire de 239/853 à 922/1516,* Textes arabes et études islamiques, no. 16 (Cairo, 1981).

[126]Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, "Manshūr bi-Manḥ Iqṭāʿ min ʿAṣr al-Sulṭān al-Ghūrī," *AI* 19 (1983): 2–23.

[127]Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt A.H. 564–741/A.D. 1169–1341,* London Oriental Series, vol. 25 (London, 1972); Tsugitaka Sato, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqtaʿs and Fallahun*, Islamic History and Civilizations, Studies and Texts, no. 17 (Leiden, 1997).

[128]Carl F. Petry, "A Geniza for Mamluk Studies? Charitable Trust (*Waqf*) Documents as a Source for Economic and Social History," *MSR* 2 (1998): 51–60.

[129]*Waqf: An Annual Journal for the Study of Islamic Endowments and Charitable Foundations.*

[130]Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Waḳf," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 11:63–69.

giving a complete list of all the publications regarding Egyptian *waqf* documents, save for the latest of them. Undoubtedly, endowment deeds provide answers to a lot of questions and this has been understood by scholars. So far, the main studies carried out on this material have dealt with architectural,[131] social,[132] and economic issues.[133] I am quite confident that things will proceed smoothly and that the state of research in this matter is far from giving cause for concern. My main concern is that we need more text editions.[134] It is in this sense that I would like to mention an important project of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO) in Cairo. This project, under the direction of Mustafa Taher, Sylvie Denoix, and Michel Tuchscherer, aims at cataloguing all the microfilmed archival documents of Cairo (thus not only the endowment deeds, but also the sale contracts, court records, etc.), as well as those of the Saint Catherine Monastery, so as to provide researchers with a catalogue, to be published on the Internet or on CD-ROM, which would foster further research on this material, particularly editions and studies of technical terms (legal, and not just architectural). So far, since the work began in 1995, 88 reels out of 129 have been analyzed.[135]

2. Museum Collections

We have seen that European and American museums hold in their collections some Mamluk documents and we would expect the same for Muslim countries.

[131]Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Laylá Ibrāhīm, *Al-Muṣṭalaḥāt al-Mi'mārīyah fī al-Wathā'iq al-Mamlūkīyah* (Cairo, 1990).

[132]Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimā'īyah fī Miṣr, 648–923/1250–1517: Dirāsah Tārīkhīyah Wathā'iqīyah* (Cairo, 1980); Ulrich Haarmann, "Mamluk Endowment Deeds as a Source for the History of Education in Late Medieval Egypt," *Al-Abḥāth* 28 (1980): 31–47; Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1517* (Cambridge, 2000); Jonathan P. Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton, 1992).

[133]Jean-Claude Garcin and Muṣṭafá A. Taher, "Enquête sur le financement d'un *waqf* égyptien du XVe siècle: les comptes de Jawhar al-Lala," *JESHO* 38 (1995): 262–304.

[134]This seems to have been understood only recently. See particularly *The Waqf Document of Sultan Al-Nāṣir Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn for his Complex in Al-Rumaila,* ed. Howayda N. al-Harithy, Bibliotheca Islamica, vol. 45 (Beirut and Berlin, 2001) (with Julien Loiseau's critique, however, in *Bulletin critique des Annales islamologiques* 19 (2003): 129–31); and Stephan Conermann and Suad Saghbini, "*Awlād al-Nās* as Founders of Pious Endowments: The *Waqfīyah* of Yaḥyá ibn Ṭūghān al-Ḥasanī of the Year 870/1465," *MSR* 6 (2002): 21–50.

[135]See Bernard Matheu, "Rapport d'activités," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire* 102 (2002): 536. The database created is already searchable and accessible to students and scholars visiting this institution.

a) Matḥaf al-Fann al-Islāmī (Cairo)
The museum seems to hold several documents from the Mamluk period, although it is not possible to obtain a complete census of the holdings at this time. I have had to rely on the published material to determine approximately what one can find in this museum. I found an article published in 1964 by Āmāl al-ʻUmarī where she wrote about a collection of 27 documents dealing with the purchase and sale of horses and fabrics. She only published those contracts related to the horses,[136] announcing her intention to study the remaining items (I may have missed some Arabic publications, but I have not found anything for the latter documents). There are 15 published contracts which date back to the very end of the Circassian period.

Besides these, the museum also has preserved an important group of marriage contracts written on cotton. Most of them are available to researchers through the study carried out by Suʻād Māhir,[137] a book hitherto rather neglected. It was generally thought that all the contracts had been published by her, but this was a false impression. Aḥmad ʻAbd al-Rāziq studied one of these regarding the marriage of two slaves in 1343.[138] These documents are important as far as social and economic history is concerned because they shed light on the nature of the dowry, and in this particular case on the conditions applied to slaves. Other contracts are still unpublished.

The above documents reached the museum under obscure circumstances, as is often the case. But material pertaining to the Islamic period unearthed during excavations is presented to the museum. This is the case with the material found on the site of Quṣayr al-Qadīm. Located on the Red Sea coast, approximately 100 km. from Qūṣ, this ancient seaport, in which activity is attested since the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, was still active in the Ayyubid period and began to lose its importance under the Mamluk sultans with the emerging port of ʻAydhāb as the main departure point for travel to Jedda. Digs were carried out by a team from the University of Chicago under the direction of Donald Whitcomb and Janet Johnson in 1978, 1980, and 1982. Besides the archeological discoveries, some 500 scraps

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[136] Āmāl al-ʻUmarī, ″Dirāsah li-Baʻḍ Wathā'iq Tataʻallaq bi-Bayʻ wa-Shirā' Khuyūl min al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī,″ *Majallat Maʻhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʻArabīyah/Revue de l'Institut des manuscrits arabes* 10 (1964): 223–72.

[137] *ʻUqūd al-Zawāj ʻalá al-Mansūjāt al-Atharīyah* (Cairo, n.d.).

[138] Ahmad ʻAbd ar-Raziq, ″Un document concernant le mariage des esclaves au temps des Mamlūks,″ *JESHO* 13 (1970): 309–14. It is unknown whether the two marriage contracts concluded in Aswan and studied in the following article are part of this collection or of another, as no information is given by the author: ʻAbd Allāh Mukhliṣ, ″ʻAqdā Nikāḥ Kutibā fī Awāsiṭ al-Qarn al-Thāmin,″ *Majallat al-Majmaʻ al-ʻIlmī al-ʻArabī* 21 (1946): 419–26. Both were written on silk and are dated to 734/1334 and 740/1339 respectively.

of paper were found, most of them undated. Those which were dated go back to the beginning of the thirteenth century, thus clearly Ayyubid, while numismatic evidence has shown that the remaining fragments must be from the same period. These documents consist of business and private letters, all coming from a merchant's house, and are important in this respect and will no doubt throw light on trade in this remote region. Studied by Thayer in the context of her thesis,[139] they were not classified or catalogued prior to the works of Li Guo, who has devoted his attention to them.[140] Since these documents have now been clearly identified as Ayyubid they are not relevant to our subject. But since 1999, new expeditions by the University of Southampton under the direction of David Peacock and Lucy Blue have taken place. The site excavated is somewhat different. Among medieval rubbish and in the Muslim necropolis, they brought to light 300 paper fragments stretching from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. They also consist of business and private letters, but the period is clearly Mamluk. On the other hand, the funerary context has revealed a hitherto unknown practice: Arabic inscriptions on ostrich eggs. The whole material discovered during these campaigns will now be studied in the framework of a project called "Reconstructing the Quseiri Arabic Documents."[141] Edition, translation, analysis, and interpretation of all the documents within their context will be done by a recently constituted team made up of Arabists and computer specialists. There is no doubt that this project will elicit important new data on the commercial and religious activities of this peripheral community of merchants.

b) Egyptian Museum (Cairo)

This renowned institution for Egyptology has received excavated material, mainly going back to antiquity. Nonetheless, useful discoveries for our field can be made

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[139]Jennifer Thayer, "Land Politics and Power Networks in Mamluk Egypt," Ph. D. diss., New York University, 1993; idem, "In Testimony to a Market Economy in Mamlūk Egypt: The Qusayr Documents," *Al-Masāq* 8 (1995): 45–55.

[140]Li Guo, "Arabic Documents from the Red Sea Port of Quseir in the Seventh/Thirteenth Century: Part 1: Business Letters," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 58 (1999): 161–90; idem, "Arabic Documents from the Red Sea Port of Quseir in the Seventh/Thirteenth Century: Part 2: Shipping Notes and Account Records," *JNES* 60 (2001): 81–116. Li Guo has just published a detailed study of all the fragments unearthed by the Chicago team: *Commerce, Culture, and Community in a Red Sea Port in the Thirteenth Century: The Arabic Documents from Quseir,* Islamic History and Civilization, 52 (Leiden, 2004).

[141]See http://www.rqad.leeds.ac.uk. For a preliminary presentation of these documents, announcing a thorough study to come, see Anne Regourd, "Trade on the Red Sea during the Ayyubid and Mamluk Periods: The Quṣeir Paper Manuscript Collection 1999–2003, First Data," *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 34 (2004): 277–92.

among its holdings. Two private letters on paper, discovered by specialists in Greek papyri, were brought to the attention of Diem, who studied them in an article published in 1993.[142] One of these letters, consisting of an invitation to a meal, has been dated by this scholar as being from the fourteenth century, and improves the knowledge we have of private letters in the period under consideration.

In an old study, Charles Bachatly brought to the attention of scholars the existence of a particular document held by the then Société Royale de Géographie (Cairo). This specimen concerns an Egyptian pilgrim who made an agreement with a camel dealer.[143]

B. Palestine

1. Islamic Museum (al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf, Jerusalem)

This is the latest significant and sizeable discovery that has been made in the last decades, and shows that we must be optimistic regarding future finds. The story is well known. Discovered, as often happens, more or less by accident, by the curator Amal Abul-Hajj, in 1974 and 1976, these 883 documents from the Mamluk period could have returned to their dusty cupboards if she had not enlisted the help of one of Donald Little′s students, Linda Northrup. This demonstrates once more the need for international cooperation in regard to archival research. Announced in 1979 in an international journal,[144] the discovery received a cool, or at least indifferent, reception in the scientific world, as Donald Little noticed in 1980.[145] But things were to change with the publication of his catalogue in 1984.[146] The documents had been measured and photographed during a mission and it is on this basis that he could prepare his work. The classification revealed that the majority of the documents were of a private nature and consisted of the papers of a judge, Ibn Ghānim, who died at the end of the fourteenth century, which makes

[142]Werner Diem, ″Zwei arabische Privatbriefe aus dem Ägyptischen Museum in Kairo,″ *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 25 (1993): 148–53.

[143]Charles Bachatly, ″Document sur un pèlerinage à la Mecque au début du Xe siècle de l′hégire (907/1501),″ *Bulletin de la Société Royale de Géographie d′Egypte* 21 (1943): 23–27.

[144]Linda S. Northrup and Amal A. Abul-Hajj, ″A Collection of Medieval Arabic Documents in the Islamic Museum at the Ḥaram al-Šarīf,″ *Arabica* 25 (1978): 282–91.

[145]Donald P. Little, ″The Significance of the Ḥaram Documents for the Study of Medieval Islamic History,″ *Der Islam* 57 (1980): 189–219; and also idem, ″The Judicial Documents from al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf as Sources for the History of Palestine under the Mamluks,″ in *The Third International Conference on Bilad al-Sham: Palestine, 19–24 April 1980,* vol. 1, *Jerusalem* (Amman, 1983), 117–25.

[146]Donald P. Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from al-Ḥaram aš-Šarīf in Jerusalem,* Beiruter Texte und Studien, no. 29 (Beirut, 1984). See more recently Robert Schick, ″Arabic Studies of Mamluk Jerusalem: A Review Article,″ *MSR* 5 (2001): 159–68.

the discovery even more crucial. It had previously been maintained by Ottomanists that the Ottoman judges were the first to institute the principle of the *dīwān al-qāḍī* (*sijill* as they call it), on the basis that Ottoman *sijill*s alone had been preserved. Wael Hallaq has recently tackled this question[147] and demonstrated that the *dīwān al-qāḍī* truly existed in earlier Islamic times and that the qadi had to keep his records up to date. The Ḥaram documents provide another proof for this, showing that it is nonsensical to believe that an administration was not full of red tape only because the documents have not survived.[148]

This material has given scholars the opportunity to study various issues. This has been the case for some official documents, as some of them are clearly unique items: the square decrees (*murabbaʿāt*, documents issued by the army bureau), have been dealt with by Richards[149] and the petitions and their associated decrees have been addressed by Little.[150]

Yet the private documents obviously present the greatest challenges. They are of an incomparable richness for the history of Jerusalem and its environs during the given period, although it must be kept in mind that it is a short period of time. This richness is particularly noted for social and economic life. This is due to the fact that they include a great variety of deeds, the main category being represented by estate inventories (almost half of the collection) and court records. Thus, unsurprisingly, this kind of document has received first attention. An initial attempt to publish several of them in their context and to draw more general lines was provided by Kāmil Jamīl al-ʿAsalī in a three-volume work.[151] Later on, Huda Lutfi based her study[152] on them, trying to draw conclusions on a statistical basis for the social history of the city. Later, Little published a study devoted to three of these

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[147]Wael B. Hallaq, ″The *qāḍī*′s *dīwān* (*sijill*) before the Ottomans,″ *BSOAS* 60 (1997): 415–36.
[148]The Ḥaram documents have recently been appraised at their true value for the understanding of the *qāḍī*′s role in Jerusalem during the Mamluk period. See Muḥammad Ḥusayn ʿAlī Abū Ḥāmid, ″Quḍāt al-Quds fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī,″ M.A. thesis, Jāmiʿat al-Qiddīs Yūsuf, 1998.
[149]Richards, ″A Mamlūk Emir′s ′Square′ Decree.″
[150]Donald P. Little, ″Five Petitions and Consequential Decrees from Late Fourteenth Century Jerusalem,″ *Arab Journal for the Humanities* 54 (1996): 34–94.
[151]Kāmil Jamīl al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq Maqdisīyah Tārīkhīyah: Maʿa Muqaddimah ḥawla Baʿḍ al-Maṣādir al-Awwalīyah li-Tārīkh al-Quds* (Jerusalem historical documents), vol. 1 (Amman, 1983) (edition of 44 documents pertaining to the Mamluk period among 60); vol. 2 (s. l., 1985) (edition of 61 documents from the Mamluk period among 104); vol. 3 (Amman, 1989) (of the 156 documents edited, 1 is from the Mamluk period).
[152]Huda Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlūkiyya: A History of Mamlūk Jerusalem Based on the Ḥaram Documents,* Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, no. 113 (Berlin, 1985). See also idem, ″A Documentary Source for the Study of Material Life: A Specimen of the Ḥaram Estate Inventories from al-Quds in 1393 A.D.,″ *ZDMG* 135 (1985): 213–26.

inventories,[153] and more recently, Müller has published one of these to illustrate how the record of an estate was drawn up by the qadi′s court.[154] His study fits into the framework of a larger project dealing with the functioning of the judicial system in Jerusalem in the fourteenth century[155]

As far as the court records are concerned, Little gave an overview of their contents[156] and has lately published two of them.[157] In this study as well as in previous ones, he has followed the way paved by Stern for official documents, which consists of comparing the private documents to models as they are preserved in *shurūṭ* manuals, showing that there is a correspondence between the principles prescribed there and the documents.[158]

Attention has been paid to other categories of documents, although in a less systematic manner. Contracts were the subject of one of Little′s articles in 1981 devoted to the question of slaves.[159] Richards, in 1990,[160] has been able to define more precisely a particular kind of document called *qasāmah* (sworn declaration) and to study the evolution of the term from Fatimid times until the early Ottoman period, proving its persistence through the successive chanceries. More recently, he studied two pieces (a statement of account and an order) related to a *maktab* in charge of the education of children.[161] This unique document offers the possibility

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[153]Donald P. Little, ″Ḥaram Documents Related to the Jews of Late Fourteenth Century Jerusalem,″ *Journal of Semitic Studies* 30 (1985): 227–64, 368–70. See also idem, ″Documents related to the Estates of a Merchant and His Wife in Late Fourteenth Century Jerusalem,″ *MSR* 2 (1998): 93–193.

[154]Christian Müller, ″Contrats d′héritages dans la Jérusalem mamelouke: les témoins du cadi dans un document inédit du Ḥaram al-Šarīf,″ *AI* 35 (2001): 291–319. Recently Donald S. Richards published a study on fourteen of them, with special emphasis on two of this group with edition and translation. See Donald S. Richards, ″Glimpses of Provincial Mamluk Society from the Documents of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf in Jerusalem,″ in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society,* ed. Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni, The Medieval Mediterranean, no. 51 (Leiden, 2004), 45–57.

[155]See also Rūksī ibn Zā'id al-'Azīzī, ″Min Tawṣiyāt wa-Mawāthīq al-Mamālīk lil-Ruhbān fī al-Quds wa-Ḍawāḥīhā,″ *Al-Dārah* 7 (1981): 208–32.

[156]Donald P. Little, ″Two Fourteenth Century Court Records from Jerusalem Concerning the Disposition of Slaves by Minors,″ *Arabica* 29 (1982): 16–49.

[157]Donald P. Little, ″Two Petitions and Consequential Court Records from the Ḥaram Collection,″ *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001): 171–94.

[158]See now Hallaq, ″Model *shurūṭ* Works.″

[159]Donald P. Little, ″Six Fourteenth Century Purchase Deeds for Slaves from Al-Ḥaram Aš-Šarīf,″ *ZDMG* 131 (1981): 297–337.

[160]Donald S. Richards, ″The *qasāma* in Mamlūk Society: Some Documents from the Ḥaram Collection in Jerusalem,″ *AI* 25 (1990): 245–84.

[161]Donald S. Richards, ″Primary Education under the Mamlūks: Two Documents from the Ḥaram in Jerusalem,″ in *Proceedings of the 20th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et*

of examining how a modest provincial foundation such as this one could exist. Legal depositions *(iqrār)* have also been the subject of detailed study.[162]

Account records may also reveal unexpected results as in the study of Richards[163] which shed new light on the Mamluk postal service, particularly in Jerusalem, some years before the collapse of the whole system after Tamerlane's invasion.

A less-expected aspect of these documents is the philological one. As is generally done for papyrological studies, Diem has recently done a thorough study of philological notes based on the various editions provided by Little, Richards, and others.[164]

Significant as they are in themselves, all these documents provide further revealing data on Mamluk society, specifically lower levels neglected by historical sources, in Jerusalem and its surroundings. These aspects have been emphasized in the various studies on individual documents as well as in broader perspectives.[165]

To conclude with this part, the Ḥaram documents have clearly received greater attention since the publication of the catalogue. Various issues have been approached and answered. Various types of legal documents have been systematically examined together with the functioning of the judicial system connected to them. Nevertheless, many documents still await editing, translation, and analysis.[166]

Islamisants, part 1, *Linguistics, Literature, History,* ed. Kinga Dévényi, The Arabist: Budapest Studies in Arabic, nos. 24–25 (Budapest, 2002), 223–32.

[162] Huda Lutfi, "A Study of Six Fourteenth Century Iqrārs from al-Quds Relating to Muslim Women," *JESHO* 26 (1983): 246–94; idem and Donald P. Little, "Iqrārs from al-Quds: Emendations," *JESHO* 28 (1985): 326–30.

[163] Donald S. Richards, "The Mamluk Barīd: Some Evidence from the Haram Documents," in *Studies in the History and Archeology of Jordan,* vol. 3, ed. Adnan Hadidi (Amman, 1987), 205–9.

[164] Werner Diem, "Philologisches zu den mamlūkischen Erlassen, Eingaben und Dienstschreiben des Jerusalemer al-Ḥaram aš-šarīf," *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 33 (1997): 7–67. In this article, Diem also edited, translated, and analyzed documents on the basis of the reproductions provided by D. Little in his catalogue.

[165] Donald P. Little, "Relations between Jerusalem and Egypt during the Mamluk Period According to Literary and Documentary Sources," in *Egypt and Palestine: a Millennium of Association (868–1948),* ed. Amnon Cohen and Gabriel Baer (Jerusalem-New York, 1984), 73–93; idem, "The Ḥaram Documents as Sources for the Arts and Architecture of the Mamlūk Period," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 61–72; Donald S. Richards, "Saladin's Hospital in Jerusalem: Its Foundation and Some Later Archival Material," in *The Frankish Wars and Their Influence on Palestine: Selected Papers Presented at Birzeit University's International Academic Conference Held in Jerusalem, March 13–15, 1992,* ed. Khalil Athaminah and Roger Heacock (Birzeit, 1994), 70–83.

[166] In an oral communication, Donald Little informed me that other Mamluk documents, probably originating from the same collection, are being offered for sale by a private owner. This evidence proves, if necessary, that other such documents have survived.

C. Syria

1. Umayyad Mosque of Damascus (Istanbul)

Mosques commonly owned libraries containing manuscripts, and not exclusively of the Quran. Some of them are even renowned for the antiquity of their collections (Qarawīyīn/Fez, Qayrawān/Tunisia). It would have been surprising if the Great Mosque of Damascus, one of the oldest in the Muslim world, had not been in the same position. In fact, this was the case, but unfortunately it suffered from several fires which destroyed most of its original structure. The last one happened in 1893 and at that time the Ottoman authorities decided to transfer to Istanbul all the manuscripts that had survived, even incompletely. They were installed in the collections of the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts where a rough handlist was drawn up (Şamdan gelen evrak: Damascene papers). Nobody studied them until 1963 when the Sourdels heard of their existence. They were presented with thousands of fragments of manuscripts and documents written on parchment or paper, most of which had been damaged by the fire or water. Going through them, they soon realized that they mainly consisted of religious works, but surprisingly some archival material of a private nature was noticed. They soon published the results of their discovery in two articles describing the contents of the collection.[167] If the Quranic fragments, some of which go back to the first centuries of Islam, were examined quite quickly, the other documents have not so far been fully considered. The Sourdels published some of them, mainly dealing with the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods.[168] Two of their articles dealt with three documents going back to the beginning of the thirteenth century.[169] One example concerns a particular kind attested from the Fatimid period: the certificates of pilgrimage by proxy. These have been the subject of several articles by the Sourdels covering different periods,[170] and recently the documents pertaining to the Mamluk period were

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[167]Janine Sourdel-Thomine and Dominique Sourdel, ″Nouveaux documents sur l′histoire religieuse et sociale de Damas au Moyen Âge,″ *Revue des études islamiques* 32 (1964): 1–25; idem, ″A propos des documents de la Grande Mosquée de Damas conservés à Istanbul: Résultats de la seconde enquête,″ *REI* 33 (1965): 73–85.

[168]Janine Sourdel-Thomine and Dominique Sourdel, ″Biens fonciers constitués waqf en Syrie fatimide pour une famille de šarīfs damascains,″ *JESHO* 15 (1972): 269–96; idem, ″Trois actes de vente damascains du début du IVe/Xe siècle,″ *JESHO* 8 (1965): 164–85.

[169]Janine Sourdel-Thomine and Dominique Sourdel, ″Un acte de vente arabe portant sur la région d′Ahlat au VIIe/XIIIe siècle,″ *Tarih araştırmaları dergisi* 6 (1968): 51–60; Dominique Sourdel, ″Deux documents relatifs à la communauté hanbalite de Damas,″ *BEO* 25 (1972): 141–49.

[170]Janine Sourdel-Thomine and Dominique Sourdel, ″Une collection médiévale de certificats de pèlerinage à la Mekke, conservés à Istanbul: Les actes de la période seljoukide et bouride (jusqu′à 549/1154),″ in *Etudes médiévales et patrimoine turc* (Paris, 1983), 167–93; idem, ″Une collection médiévale de certificats de pèlerinage à la Mekke: II: Les actes de la période zengide et ayyoubide″ (forthcoming).

studied.[171] This article focuses on 21 of the certificates that have survived. Some of them are dated, others are not but can be dated quite precisely thanks to the study of the stylistic evolution noticed by the Sourdels. They all go back to the Qipchak period (the oldest dated 1282, the most recent 1304–5). Written on the same kind of scroll used by the chancery (the longer measures 1.60 m., but was originally bigger [2 m.]), these certificates were displayed by their owners. These documents might seem anecdotal as they give little historical information (rather religious formulas, few names, except that of the beneficiary). However, once more, it is the study of the evolution of this kind of document over the centuries that is more meaningful for history. Indeed, the Sourdels demonstrated that a comparison with other periods clearly indicates that in the Mamluk period this kind of document was no longer produced for prominent figures of Damascene society (princes, etc.), but rather only for other classes. This could indicate that during the Mamluk period, the military aristocracy of governors and officers who succeeded one another at a frenetic pace had little concern for their local reputations, since the role of capital city had been transferred from Damascus to Cairo. The ruling amirs in Damascus had no incentive to make a show for the local population of the importance that the pilgrimage to Mecca held for them.

2. Maktabat al-Asad (Damascus)

The recent publication of a book gives me the opportunity to speak about a kind of document rarely mentioned by the sources: reading certificates. This is perhaps due to the fact that this kind of document is only found in manuscripts, yet these certificates are authentic documents, important in many respects. It was Georges Vajda who first studied the collection of manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the result of which was published in book form.[172] Others of his articles were devoted to manuscripts held in Damascus (the then Ẓāhirīyah) and Tunis.[173] The Ẓāhirīyah library (now at the al-Asad Library) was known to have rich holdings of this sort of document, given that an important part of its manuscripts came from the library of an influential Hanbali family, the Maqdisīs, who were originally

[171]Janine Sourdel-Thomine and Dominique Sourdel, ″Certificats de pèlerinage par procuration à l′époque mamlouke,″ *JSAI* 25 (2001): 212–33.

[172]Georges Vajda, *Les certificats de lecture et de transmission dans les manuscrits arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris,* Publications de l′Institut de recherche et d′histoire des textes, no. 6 (Paris, 1956).

[173]Georges Vajda, *Le Dictionnaire des Autorités (Mu‘ǧam aš-Šuyūḫ) de ‘Abd al-Mu′min ad-Dimyāṭī,* Publications de l′Institut de recherche et d′histoire des textes: documents, études et répertoires, no. 7 (Paris, 1962); idem, ″La mašyaḫa d′Ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb al-Rāzī: Contribution à l′histoire du sunnisme en Egypte fāṭimide,″ *BEO* 23 (1970): 21–99.

from Jerusalem and settled in Damascus in the twelfth century.[174] Most of these manuscripts were read during recitation sessions and the names of all the participants were written at the end of the work read on that occasion. The structure of the reading certificate is invariably the same: it provides the names of the participants, the shaykh who listens *(musmiʿ),* the reader *(qāriʾ),* the writer of the certificate *(kātib),* the date, and finally the place. These certificates are thus significant documents for social history: they provide us with precious information on the way texts were transmitted, the education system, the biographies of scholars, the culture of Damascene inhabitants, the families, their occupations, the toponyms, and last but not least the role played by women in this particular case. This important collection has finally been studied at length by Stefan Leder with the help of other researchers.[175] They went through 86 manuscripts collecting 1,350 certificates that appear on 524 folios and date from 1155 to 1349. The results are impressive: more than 10,000 names and 250 toponyms listed. The work is to be commended given the difficulties presented by the discouraging scripts, but also because a volume of facsimiles for all the certificates was published subsequently.[176] There is no doubt that such a book will foster further research on the ulama in Damascus, and in this sense it is to be hoped that other studies will be published for the remaining certificates held in the Maktabat al-Asad, as well as elsewhere in Cairo, Istanbul, India, and in European and North American libraries.

3. Private collections

Private collections which hold family archives must exist in the Middle East. Most of them date from the Ottoman period, though even in this case they can still be useful for Mamlukists as some of them consist of copies made during the Ottoman period of earlier specimens. An interesting example of this was recently studied by Marco Salati,[177] who edited and studied a document dated 1066/1656, but dealing with matters of the Mamluk period, preserved in the private archives

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[174]Stefan Leder, ″Charismatic Scripturalism: the Ḥanbalī Maqdisīs of Damascus,″ *Der Islam* 74 (1997): 279–304.

[175]Stefan Leder, Yāsīn Muḥammad al-Sawwās, and Maʾmūn al-Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-Samāʿāt al-Dimashqīyah: al-Muntakhabah min Sanat 550 ilá 750 H./1155 ilá 1349 M.* (Damascus, 1996). See also Stefan Leder, ″Hörerzertifikate als Dokumente für die islamische Lehrkultur des Mittelalters,″ in *Urkunden und Urkundenformulare,* 147–66.

[176]Stefan Leder, Yāsīn Muḥammad al-Sawwās, and Maʾmūn al-Ṣāgharjī, *Muʿjam al-Samāʿāt al-Dimashqīyah: Ṣuwar al-Makhṭūṭāt: al-Muntakhabah min Sanat 550 ilá 750 H./1155 ilá 1349 M.* (Damascus, 2000).

[177]Marco Salati, ″Un documento di epoca mamelucca sul *waqf* di ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū l-Makārim, Ḥamza b. Zuhra al-Ḥusaynī al-Isḥāqī al-Ḥalabī (ca. 707/1307),″ *Annali della Facoltà di Lingue e Letterature Straniere di Ca′ Foscari* 33 (Serie Orientale 25) (1994), 97–137.

of the Kawākibī family in Aleppo. Such discoveries will probably be made in the future, depending on the good relations established by a scholar with a local family.

UNSUSPECTED PLACES

I will finish this census with an account of the most recent and challenging discovery in terms of Mamluk documents. These have been found in what might be called an unsuspected place. As early as the nineteenth century, it was known that Islamic documents could have been recycled as new writing material in Europe, at a time when paper was still rare in this part of the world. A unique example of this reuse was published at that time by Michele Amari.[178] In this case, the fragments were found in the notarial records of Giovanni Scriba of Genoa, where contracts dating from 1154 to 1166 constitute a *terminus ante quem* for the reuse of these fragments of an Arabic document. In Amari's eyes, it could be nothing other than an official document from the Fatimid period, though the surviving parts of it did not allow a reconstruction of a coherent text or precise date.

This example makes us wonder if such reuse of old documents was not also prevalent in Islam for the same reason (scarcity of paper).[179] I have answered this question with the discovery of an unpublished autograph manuscript of al-Maqrīzī.[180] One of the main features of this notebook is that it was partly written on Mamluk chancery documents (scrolls) that were cut into pieces at a given period due to the high cost of paper. Put together to form quires, they were used by this historian as scratch paper for his drafts and notebooks. The greatest challenge was to develop a technique that would allow a coherent reconstruction of the original documents, hoping that they could be dated quite accurately. Fortunately, this was the case, and among the five documents reconstructed, I was able to precisely date three of them from 1344, demonstrating, thanks to the sources, that these were grants of fiefs (sing. *manshūr iqṭāʿī*).[181] This sort of document was previously attested only by a unique example from the reign of Qānṣūh.[182]

While the document discovered by Amari was of no great interest, the fragments preserved in al-Maqrīzī's autograph manuscripts are undoubtedly valuable and

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[178]Amari, "Nuovi ricordi arabici," 633–34 and plates II–IV.
[179]See above, pp. 17–18.
[180]Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana I: Discovery of an Autograph MS of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method: Description: Section 1," *MSR* 7, no. 2 (2003): 21–68.
[181]Bauden, "The Recovery of Mamlūk Chancery Documents," 59–76.
[182]Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, "Manshūr bi-Manḥ Iqṭāʿ," 2–23.

current research should be directed to the other autograph manuscripts of al-Maqrīzī, where more than 400 leaves have been identified as recycled documents.

Conclusion and Prospects

We may conclude that the situation of documents for the Mamluk period is not as disastrous as it has generally been presented. An approximate figure would be meaningless given that, as we have seen, several collections still remain to be studied. Compared to other periods and areas in Islam, Mamluk documents offer the researcher more than expected at first sight. Rather than lamenting our situation, research should proceed in various ways: edition with translation and diplomatic commentary, thematic studies, and searching for new documents.

The first of these issues should receive more attention: the temptation to study large sets of documents rather than editing, translating, and commenting on individual documents prevails in some cases. One should keep in mind that published documents, besides the fact that they enlarge the corpus and offer new elements for the comparison of formularies, provide not only data for further research on a subject, but also for related topics like diplomatics, paleography, the history of paper, and other matters unsuspected by the editor.

In this sense, the following *vade mecum* should be observed step by step by any person wishing to publish a document:

(1) physical description: description of the support material and of the physical appearance. Paper is preeminent for documents from the Mamluk period. Our knowledge of the paper of this period, and of Arabic paper in general, limits itself to a few certitudes. For sure, codicology and all related topics are still in their infancy and will not grow without detailed analysis of individual items. Careful description of the paper found in Mamluk documents will make it possible to distinguish it from paper used in manuscripts of this period.[183] If possible,[184] paper should be described in detail, indicating its color, the presence of chain lines (number, assembled or not, distance between groups) and laid lines (thickness, space occupied by 20 of them). Furthermore, the physical appearance provides a mass of information on the nature of the document itself, especially in the case of chancery documents where strict rules prevailed. The document should be accurately

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[183]For a first attempt to study this kind of paper, see Geneviève Humbert, "Le manuscrit arabe et ses papiers," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 99–100 (2002): 55–77, particularly 68–74 for papers used by the chancery.

[184]It is true that most scholars studying Arabic documents usually work with a reproduction (photograph, microfilm) which does not allow this kind of analysis.

measured[185] and different measurements taken into consideration (width of the space between two lines of text and between introducing and concluding formulas, width of the right and upper margins).

(2) paleographical description: Arabic paleography has also been quite neglected although Greek, Latin, and Western scripts have been categorized for a long time. The editor should not forget to mention all the peculiarities of the script as well as orthographical features.

(3) grammatical commentary: all the inconsistencies noted in comparison with the standard rules of Arabic grammar. Philological notes will help future editors to understand some seemingly incoherent readings, as well as linguists working on the various levels of Arabic in the Middle Ages.

(4) diplomatic commentary: due to the lack of a manual of diplomatics for the Mamluk period, this kind of commentary is a must and should not be neglected. Comparison with the sources (manuals and chancery anthologies) and evidence preserved from all periods, due to the relative continuity of formularies through the various dynasties, allow an improved knowledge of the features of diplomatics in Islam.

(5) historical commentary: the editor must consider all the data provided or not by the document itself (identification of persons, places, explanation of technical terms, study of the context, of what is implied by the document, etc.).

(6) reproduction: Reproduction is essential for many reasons. A reproduced document will be available to all and for centuries. Furthermore, all the descriptions made and the readings proposed by the editor can be checked by anyone else wishing to study the document for another purpose. Several systems have been developed, some being preferable to others. The best solution, I believe, is to be found in Risciani's book,[186] where the document is reproduced in the left margin with the proposed reading in the other part of the page, respecting the spacing between lines, the disposition of words (horizontally and vertically), and even the size of characters noticeable in some parts of the document.

Besides this, there are urgent requirements which must be met. It remains true that few students are interested in the study of Arabic documents. Perhaps the difficult handwriting commonly used by careless clerks[187] discourages them. Courses devoted to paleography are not to be found in the curricula of most universities. In

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[185]In the case of scrolls, the approximate measurements of a single sheet should be indicated as well as the width of the glued part.

[186]Risciani, *Documenti e firmani*.

[187]As quoted by Richards, "The qasāma in Mamlūk Society," 251, "al-Asyūṭī strongly recommended that clerks, especially the clerk of the court, should write well and not curtail letter shapes nor run

this respect, the project of the Arabic Papyrological School[188] could help as a first step to attract students, but a more profound reflection on the necessity of reintroducing this discipline in the programs of universities is required.[189]

There is a pressing need for a microfilming project for various reasons. Firstly, it allays the danger of destruction of documents. Secondly, we can see that once a collection is put at the disposal of the scientific community (via printed catalogues, microfilms, or photographs), the documents are studied by a wide range of scholars and research moves forward quickly. The foundation of an institute for Arabic archives, similar to the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts in Cairo, would be most welcome. Before this ever happens, an easy way to foster research would be the use of the Internet. Collections that have already been microfilmed could easily be made available to the scientific community through this medium (at least those already published).

An intermediate measure would be the publication of an analytic bibliography classified according to the different kinds of documents published with mention of the place of conservation, date of the document, content, and type. What we need is something similar to what Roemer did in 1966 for the Mamluk official documents,[190] a work which has to be reexamined in view of the new discoveries made since that date.

Finally, there is an urgent need for a manual of diplomatics for the Mamluk period. In 1966, Hans Roemer already stressed this lacuna in these words: ". . . die Diplomatik der Kanzleien des islamischen Orients den Kinderschuhen noch nicht entwachsen ist."[191] It is not at all scientifically acceptable that this matter has been dealt with for other periods and areas for which fewer or an equal number of documents have been preserved.[192] Since that statement, substantial contributions to the field of diplomatics have been made, but always on specific types of

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them one into another, all of which produces error. He recalls that a certain Qadi in Egypt chastised careless clerks, with the result that legal documents of all sorts in his time were written accurately and clearly."

[188]http://www.ori.unizh.ch/aps/

[189]Good introductions to the study of documents were proposed by Muḥammad Aḥmad Ḥusayn, *Al-Wathā'iq al-Tārīkhīyah* (Cairo, 1954); ʻAbbās Maḥmūd Ḥammūdah, *Al-Madkhal ilá Dirāsat al-Wathā'iq al-ʻArabīyah* (Cairo, 1984).

[190]Hans Robert Roemer, "Arabische Herrscherurkunden aus Ägypten," *Orientalische Literatur Zeitung* 61 (1966), columns 325–43.

[191]Ibid., column 343.

[192]Heribert Busse, *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen: an Hand türkmenischer und safawidischer Urkunden* (Cairo, 1959); M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Osmanlı paleografya ve diplomatik ilmi* (Istanbul, 1979); Valeri Stojanow, *Die Enstehung und Entwicklung der osmanisch-türkischen Paläographie und Diplomatik,* Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, vol. 76 (Berlin, 1983).

documents and in scattered publications.[193] Thus, a major contribution which would embrace the various issues implied by this field would be most welcome by both scholars and students. Let us hope that this call will be heard.

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[193]First attempts to foster research in this direction will be found in Claude Cahen, ″Notes de diplomatique arabo-musulmane,″ *Journal asiatique* 251 (1963): 311–25; to which must be added the following bibliography: Martiniano Pellegrino Roncaglia, *Essai bibliographique de diplomatique islamique (arabe-persane-ottomane),* Subsidia Bibliographica Historica, no. 1 (Beirut, 1979). In addition to Stern′s and Khan′s publications on the petition already quoted, see also Walther Björkman, ″Die Bittschriften im *dīwān al-inšā,″ Der Islam* 18 (1929): 207–12; Jørgen S. Nielsen, ″A Note on the Origin of the Ṭurra in Early Mamlūk Chancery Practice,″ Der Islam 57 (1980): 288–92. For the nomination deeds of amirs, see Annemarie Schimmel, ″Einsetzungsurkunden mamlukischer Emire,″ *Die Welt des Orients* 1, no. 4 (1949): 302–6 (based on al-Qalqashandī′s *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá*). The following reference on the *dīwān al-inshā*' is too general to be taken into consideration: S. Imamuddin, ″*Diwān al-inshā* (Chancery in Later Medieval Egypt), (with Special Reference to Later Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Decrees Dated 528–894 H/1134–1489 A.C.),″ *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 28 (1980): 63–77. On private documents, see more specifically Rudolf Veselý, ″Die Hauptprobleme der Diplomatik arabischer Privaturkunden aus dem spätmittelalterlichen Ägypten,″ *Archiv Orientálni* 40 (1972): 312–43; idem, ″Die richterlichen Beglaubigungsmittel: ein Beitrag zur Diplomatik arabischer Gerichtsurkunden,″ *Orientalia Pragensia* 8 (1971): 7–23, 10 (1977): 99–122; Claude Cahen, ″A propos des *shuhūd,″ SI* 31 (1970): 71–79.

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The Conquest of Arsūf by Baybars: Political and Military Aspects*

A modern-day visitor to Arsūf[1] cannot help but be struck by the neatly arranged piles of stones from siege machines found at the site. This ordering, of course, represents the labors of contemporary archeologists and their assistants to gather the numerous but scattered stones. Yet, in spite of the recent nature of this ″installation,″ these heaps are clear, if mute, evidence of the great efforts of the Mamluks led by Sultan Baybars (1260–77) to conquer the fortified city from the Franks in 1265. This conquest, as well as its political background and its aftermath, will be the subjects of the present article, which can also be seen as a case-study of Mamluk siege warfare.

The immediate backdrop to the Mamluk attack against Arsūf was the events of the preceding weeks. At the end of 1264, while Baybars was hunting in the Egyptian countryside, he received reports that the Mongols were heading in force for the Mamluk border fortress of al-Bīrah along the Euphrates, today in south-eastern Turkey. The sultan quickly returned to Cairo, and ordered the immediate dispatch of advanced light forces, which were followed by a more organized, but still relatively small, force under the command of the senior amir (officer) Ughan Samm al-Mawt (″the Elixir of Death″), and then by a third corps, together with

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*I would like to thank Prof. Israel Roll of Tel Aviv University, who conducted the excavations at the site, and was most helpful when he showed us the site. He also kindly gave permission to reproduce maps and illustrations. The assistance of the archeologist Mr. Haggi Yonatan, the manager of the newly-established national park at Arsūf, is gratefully acknowledged. I am very thankful to my colleague Dr. Roni Ellenblum (Hebrew University), who has been my main interlocutor on Muslim-Frankish warfare for almost two decades, and with whom I discussed many of the matters that arise in this article. Finally, I would like to record my appreciation to my student, Ms. Kate Raphael, who coauthored the article which follows this one, and brought some of the archeological evidence to my attention.

[1]Grid reference for the entire site in maps of the Survey of Israel: 1317–1325/1775–1783. During classical times, the city here was known as Apollonia. Today, the site falls within the municipal boundaries of Herzliyya. Some 500 meters to the south is the important Maqām Sīdnā (<Sayyidunā) ʻAlī, about which see below. For recent archeological work on the pre-Islamic periods, see *Apollonia-Arsuf: Final Report of the Excavations,* vol. 1, *The Persian and Hellenistic Periods,* ed. Oren Tal and Israel Roll (Tel Aviv, 1996). A general survey of the Crusading period is found in I. Roll, H. Yonatan, Y. Tepper and T. Harpak, ″Apollonia-Arsuf in the Crusader Period in Light of Recent Discoveries,″ *Qadmoniot* 33, no. 1 (1999): 18–31 (in Hebrew).

important officers. Orders were also dispatched to Syria so that the governor of Aleppo and the Ayyubid prince of Ḥamāh would join the expeditionary force, together with the troops of Damascus. Finally, the bedouins of northern Syria, under the command of their leader (ʻĪsá ibn Muhannā) were ordered to cross the desert so as to raid Ḥarrān, apparently to act as a diversion.[2] It should be noted that according to Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, Baybars′ privy secretary and the main source for these and the following events, the sultan also received intelligence that unspecified Franks had informed the Mongols that at this time the Mamluk army was split up throughout the country for the (annual) grazing of their horses, and thus it was an appropriate time to launch a raid on the northern frontiers of the sultan′s realm.[3]

Throughout the month of January 1265, Baybars busied himself with preparing the lion′s share of his army for the campaign. He left Cairo on 27 January and arrived at Gaza thirteen days later. Initial reports from al-Bīrah indicated that this was a large-scale Mongol raid, perhaps the beginnings of a serious offensive into Syria. The sultan wrote, ordering Ughan to make haste, although he himself elected to remain in Palestine. It appears that Baybars thought it prudent to wait upon developments before committing his forces to the north. He devoted himself to hunting in the region. Subsequently at his camp near Yabnā (Ibelin), he received a report that the Mongols—facing concerted opposition from the garrison at al-Bīrah and learning of the approach of the relieving force—had withdrawn.[4] Baybars received this happy news on 26 Rabīʻ II 663/15 February 1265, four days after the Mongols′ retreat, a clear indication of the efficiency of the Mamluks′ communication network, based on a pigeon-post and horse relays. The commanders of the expeditionary force received orders to remain in the area of al-Bīrah to assist *inter alia* in the repair of the fortress. A large share of the army, then, would not be participating in the events in Palestine of the next few weeks, although the sultan still had a significant force with him.[5]

The danger from the Mongols having been averted for the time being, the sultan now turned his attention to the local Franks. First, he organized a hunting expedition in the forests of Arsūf, interestingly enough to hunt lions *(al-sibāʻ)*. It is clear that the sultan′s goals were more than just sport: he was able ″under cover″

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[2]For these events, see Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century,* tr. P. M. Holt (London and New York, 1992), 158–59; Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhānid War, 1260–1281* (Cambridge, 1995), 111–12.

[3]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* ed. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1396/1976), 222.

[4]It is also possible that news had reached the besiegers that Hülegü Ilkhan had just died. See the discussion in Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks,* 113 and note 29.

[5]Ibid., 112–14; Thorau, *Lion of Egypt,* 112.

to gather intelligence about the nearby fortifications; the large-scale hunt was also an opportunity to put the troops through maneuvers.[6] Thereupon, he made a quick jaunt to Arsūf and Caesarea (Qayṣarīyah) to check them out before returning to his camp, now at the Awjā' or Yarkon River. From there he ordered the construction of unspecified siege machines *(manjanīqāt)* from locally gathered wood: four large ones were built, besides numerous small machines. Orders were sent out to unnamed castles to assemble more siege machines, as well as skilled workers and stonemasons *(al-ṣunnā' wa-al-ḥajjārīn)*. Meanwhile, the already present troops were ordered to build ladders, probably also from locally-collected wood. From Awjā' the sultan moved with his troops to 'Uyūn al-Asāwir. Al-Maqrīzī writes that this location was in Wādī 'Ārah and 'Ar'arah.[7] Although this is not in his apparent source (Ibn al-Furāt), al-Maqrīzī appears to have acquired reliable information, either from an independent source or from his own geographical knowledge.[8] In Sheet XII of the maps of the *Survey of Western Palestine* (ca. 1880), I have found a site called 'Uyūn al-Asāwir, but it is in the Jordan Valley, near Wādī al-Māliḥ, about 50 kms southeast of Caesarea. This is clearly not a candidate for the location in question. But in Sheet VIII, one finds immediately south of the entrance of Wādī 'Ārah a location called Tall al-Asāwir.[9] This surely must be the location referred to by the sources, and is about 15 kms in a straight line from Caesarea. Although it may have taken Baybars a bit out of his way, it is not illogical for him to have gone there: this may have been a feint, and in any event he could make sure that no Frankish forces were going to surprise him from the north, via one of the main routes through the Carmel range. From there the sultan moved to the coast: on 9 Jumādá I 663/27 February he appeared suddenly at Caesarea.[10] I can do no better than quote Peter Thorau's biography of Baybars at this point:

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[6]This is similar in intent, if not in scope, to the hunting circles organized by the Mongols; see David Morgan, *The Mongols* (Oxford, 1986), 84–85; S. Jagchid and Paul Hyer, *Mongolia's Culture and Society* (Boulder and Folkestone, 1979), 27–37. This evidence leads me to revise a statement in *Mongols and Mamluks,* 218, that the Mamluks did not conduct cavalry exercises *cum* hunting expeditions.

[7]Wādī 'Ārah (in Hebrew: Nahal 'Īrōn) cuts across the Carmel range from the southwest to the northeast; the northern entrance is near Megiddo, while its southern opening is about 15 km as the crow flies to the east of Caesarea. 'Ar'arah is a village some five miles to the north of the southern entrance of Wādī 'Ārah. Following the modern roads, it is about a 25 km march from this village to Caesarea.

[8]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah et al. (Cairo, 1934–74), 1:526. On his reliance for these events on Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,* who in turn cites by name Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* see below.

[9]C. R. Condor and H. H. Kitchener, *Maps of Western Palestine* (London, 1880), sheets VIII and XII.

[10]This summary is based on Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 229–30.

> [Caesarea] was immediately encircled and stormed by the Muslim army. Taken by surprise, the defenders gave up the gates and walls after a short resistance, and withdrew into the citadel, while the attackers stormed into the town. Now began the struggle for the citadel. It lay on a peninsula, which, without naval support, could in practice be attacked from the town on one side only. . . . [T]he citadel was the target of stones and Greek fire from the catapults, and its defenders were overwhelmed by a shower of arrows from the siege-towers. . . . When a siege-tower was successfully brought up to the wall, the sultan himself joined in the fighting, and satisfied himself of *[sic]* the siege operations. . . . On 15 Jumādā I/5 March the defenders in Caesarea surrendered the citadel, withdrew to ships . . . and sailed to Acre. Baybars ordered the town and citadel to be razed, probably in order to prevent once and for all Caesarea ever again being used as a bridgehead for a Crusading army.[11]

During the siege, Baybars had dispatched small forces to raid in various directions: Syrian troops went off to Baysān, while nomads—bedouins and Turcomans—harried the region of Acre.[12] No doubt these raids were aimed at both gathering intelligence and keeping the Franks off balance and thus unable to extend assistance to their brethren in Caesarea. In the aftermath of the conquest, while the majority of the army was busy dismantling Caesarea, Baybars himself raided the outskirts of ʻAthlīth, before succeeding in taking Haifa, which was also destroyed.[13] He thereupon returned to Caesarea, where the destructive work continued. There a Frankish delegation of unknown provenance was warmly received. Meanwhile, more siege machines arrived from al-Ṣubaybah in the Golan, and Baybars was ready for his next goal, which he kept secret for the time being. On 29 Jumādá/19 March he left Caesarea; two days later he took up position at Arsūf.[14]

Before proceeding to the description of the actual siege of Arsūf, I would like to make two points. The first is of a historiographical nature. Virtually all of our information on the conduct of the siege, as well as the preceding events and

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[11]Thorau, *Lion of Egypt,* 160–61.

[12]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ*, 231.

[13]Ibid., 234, who also describes the dispatch of a force which destroyed a castle *(qalʻah)* called al-Mulūḥah, whose location is unclear. See Thorau, *Lion of Egypt,* 180, note 11. Haifa was later recovered by the Franks, and it was finally occupied by the Mamluks after the fall of Acre in 1291 ("Hayfā," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 3:325.)

[14]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 234–35.

subsequent developments, is derived from the Arabic sources, although some details can be gleaned from the Frankish sources. As is well known, Mamluk historiography is extremely rich and voluminous. At times, however, this gives a mistaken impression of a surfeit of different accounts, when really all we have is the same account repeated or summarized, usually more or less faithfully, by a series of writers. (Although, it should be noted, that even in this case, all versions should be checked, since occasionally a later author introduces significant information from a different source, even one which is not extant, and which may not have come down to us otherwise.) Such is the case in the present circumstances. All the usual Arabic sources for the modern studies of these events—al-Nuwayrī,[15] Ibn al-Furāt,[16] and al-Maqrīzī[17] are the most prominent—are derived directly or otherwise from the account of Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir′s biography of Baybars, *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir*. In fact, al-Maqrīzī′s account in his chronicle *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʻrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* the mainstay of much scholarship on Mamluk-Frankish relations at this time due to its availability in Quatremère′s translation,[18] is a somewhat shortened version—and not always an accurate one—of that related by Ibn al-Furāt in his *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk.*[19] As usual, the latter does a credible job of relating Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir′s narrative, and even adds to it from another source.[20] Yet in spite of the very good edition of the relevant portion by U. and M. C. Lyons, and their fine translation, the following discussion will be based on the ″real thing,″ as given by Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, who besides his access to the sultan and at least some of his secrets has the added

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[15]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923–97), 30:268–72.

[16]Ibn al-Furāt, ″Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,″ Staatsbibliothek (Vienna) MS 814, fols. 69b–72b; most of this section is found in the partial edition published as *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders: Selections from the Tārīkh al-Duwal wa′l-Mulūk of Ibn al- Furāt,* ed. and trans. U. and M. C. Lyons, with introduction and notes by J. S. C. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 1971), 1:91–97; Arabic text, 2:73–78.

[17]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:528–32. As mentioned above, this author does provide one interesting original, and apparently correct, additional tidbit of geographical information.

[18]M. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l′Égypte* (Paris, 1837–42); this translation only runs up to 708/1308–9.

[19]The relationship between the two works is discussed in R. Amitai, ″Al-Maqrīzī as a Historian of the Early Mamluk Sultanate (or: Is al-Maqrīzī an Unrecognized Historiographical Villain?),″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, no. 2 (2003): 99–118; one of the examples adduced in that article is the siege of Arsūf.

[20]This is the passage with which he opens the entire section on the siege, taken from Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī′s historical-geographical work *Al-Aʻlāq al-Khaṭīrah fī Dhikr Umarā' al-Shām wa-al-Jazīrah,* vol. 2, pt. 2, *Tārīkh Lubnān wa-al-Urdunn wa-Filasṭīn,* ed. S. Dahhān (Damascus, 1963), 253–54.

advantage of having been present on this campaign.[21] This author has his disadvantages, not the least of which is that he was not a military man, and also his penchant for hyperbole and pro-Baybars panegyric. These, together with some lacunae, can be at least partially rectified by the use of some critical sense, and a look at the physical remnants of the city and the battle.

The second point demands a longer discussion: why is it that Baybars had decided to commence the conquest of Frankish territory in general, and why at this time? The sultan's relations with the Franks of Palestine had hitherto not been a bed of roses but they did not differ dramatically from those of his Ayyubid predecessors in Syria. True, raiders had set out from Acre in the winter of 1260, evidently hoping to take advantage of the confused state of the country; these, however, were trounced in the Golan by local Muslim troops.[22] But in September of the following year, the sultan had reached a *modus vivendi* with John of Ibelin, ruler of Jaffa. This was of some importance, as Baybars around this time used that harbor to import grain from Egypt to Syria to help relieve famine in the latter country. By the early fall of this same year, Baybars concluded a treaty with the Franks of Acre, based on one concluded several years before with the last Ayyubid ruler of Damascus, al-Nāṣir Yūsuf; this recognized the status quo and stipulated the exchange of prisoners. This latter provision, however, was not fully carried out, because of Frankish dithering.[23]

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[21]See Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 237, for proof that this writer was present at the siege. Some early Mamluk authors—such as Ibn al-Dawādārī (*Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmiʿ al-Ghurar,* vol. 8, ed. U. Haarmann [Cairo, 1971], 107), al-Yūnīnī (*Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān* [Hyderabad, 1954–61], 2:318–19), Baybars al-Mansūrī al-Dawādār (*Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah: History of the Early Mamluk Period,* ed. D. S. Richards [Beirut, 1998], 96)—give accounts independent of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, but these are so short that they have little if any value; the last mentioned, however, notes that he himself participated in the campaign. J. Prawer, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem* (2nd ed., Paris, 1975), 2:467, note 41, remarks on the problematic—if not confused—nature of al-Maqrīzī's account, and the superiority of Ibn al-Furāt's report, but did not notice that the former is derived from the latter. At the time of his writing, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's text had not been published, let alone translated, and therefore it is understandable that Prawer would not have known of its importance. The annals for the early years of the reign of Baybars are missing in the biography by ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Ẓāhir (Die Geschichte des Sultan Baibars),* ed. A. Ḥuṭayṭ (Wiesbaden, 1983), and thus there is no description of the siege there. The last mentioned writer's *Aʿlāq,* 254, gives a very terse account . Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī, *Ḥusn al-Manāqib al-Sirrīyah al-Muntazaʿah min al-Sīrah al-Ẓāhirīyah,* ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1976), 89–90, only gives a summary of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's account, and adds nothing new.

[22]Peter Jackson, "The Crisis in the Holy Land in 1260," *English Historical Review* 95 (1980), 509 and note 4.

[23]See Thorau, *Lion of Egypt,* 143–44; Prawer, *Histoire,* 2:442–47.

In 1263, when Baybars was in Syria dealing with various matters, he launched a series of raids in Palestine, whose targets included the Church of St. Mary in Nazareth and the environs of Acre, where he reached as far as the gates of the city. The sultan′s large army camped at Mt. Tabor and his belligerent rhetoric convinced the Hospitallers to abandon the site without a fight. In the aftermath of these actions, the Franks of Palestine concluded agreements with Mamluk governors in the area to cease hostilities (December 1263). In spite of this, a month later Templars and Hospitallers raided in the area of al-Lajjūn (Megiddo). In the early spring of 1264, Mamluk troops raided Ramla, while in June the Franks launched a foray against Ascalon. Baybars retaliated by ordering his governor in the area to raid Caesarea and ʻAthlīth, laying waste to the territory between them. The Franks of Acre, reinforced by the arrival of Oliver of Termes, attacked Baysān in November of this year, causing some damage.[24]

There is little here to signal a departure from the decades-long policy adopted by local Muslim rulers, although Baybars′ actions were certainly on the militant side, reflecting perhaps his growing self-confidence as he gained control over all Muslim Syria. Why, then, the apparent sudden change *vis-à-vis* the Franks around 1265, and the adoption of a much more belligerent mien? I think that the explanation is tied to Baybars′ perception of the growing Frankish-Mongol relationships and the attempts to formulate a common policy against the Muslims.[25] The name Frank here can refer to both local Franks and their mentors across the sea. Yet with regard to the latter, the first explicit evidence that the sultan knew that the Ilkhans of Iran were maintaining diplomatic contact with Latin rulers to arrange a joint campaign against the Mamluks is only from 1267, when Jaime I of Spain launched an ill-fated crusade after corresponding with Abagha Ilkhan. There are, however, indirect indications that Baybars may have learned from Manfred of Hohenstaufen, ruler of Sicily and southern Italy, that Hülegü had been trying to contact Louis IX of France for the same purpose.[26] On the other hand, Mamluk sources give clear evidence that Syrian Franks, and not just those in Antioch—who were known for their pro-Mongol attitudes—were already passing on intelligence to the Mongols. In early 1261, unnamed Franks in Acre had notified Mongol raiders near Aleppo that a Mamluk force was on its way to attack them.[27] More to

[24]Thorau, *Lion of Egypt,* 143–50; Prawer, *Histoire,* 2:460; Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks,* 53–54. Towards the Franks of Antioch, Baybars adopted a much more truculent policy at an early date, surely caused by the unequivocally pro-Mongol policy of its prince, Bohemond VI; see ibid., 54.

[25]The following is based on the argument in my article ″Mamluk Perceptions of the Mongol-Frankish Rapprochement,″ *Mediterranean Historical Review* 7 (1992): 50–65.

[26]Ibid., 52–53; a mistaken date appears on p. 53: it should read 664/1265–66 and not 644/1264–65.

[27]Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar,* 8:71–72; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl,* 1:439, 2:93.

the point in the present context, as mentioned above, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir reports that one of the reasons why the Mongols had chosen to attack al-Bīrah at this time was that Franks of unknown provenance had informed them that the Mamluks were split up and that their horses were out to pasture. After the Mongols had withdrawn, Baybars is said to have complained to the Castellan of Jaffa about the Frankish leaders: ″Those people have committed many wrongs against me, such as their writing to the Mongols to attack my territories.″[28]

I am suggesting, therefore, that besides an upgrade of anti-Frankish feeling, albeit within the parameters of traditional policy towards them, a new element had been introduced by the Mamluks under Baybars by the mid-1260s. This was the increasing realization that Frankish leaders in Syria were in contact with the Mongols, assisting them with intelligence, encouraging them to attack the Muslims, and possibly even planning a joint campaign with them (although this is not stated explicitly). In any case, it was becoming increasingly clear to the Mamluk leadership that the Frankish neutrality of 1260, so well analyzed by Peter Jackson in his 1980 article ″The Crisis in the Holy Land in 1260,″ had been replaced by an ever stronger pro-Mongol tilt. It may be that one contributory factor in Baybars′ growing truculence towards the Franks in the Levant, including the adoption of a strategy of conquest, was the desire to nip the problem in the bud. Even the initial execution of such a strategy would have weakened the local Franks; reduced territory would have meant less of a beachhead for a new crusade if the Franks from across the sea decided to launch an attack in cahoots with the Mongols.

Before getting on with the description of the siege, I will make two more short remarks regarding Arsūf. Firstly, in 1263 Baybars had exchanged letters with Hugh Revel, grandmaster of the Hospitallers. In his letter, Baybars complained that the fortifications of Arsūf had been strengthened in contradiction to a previous agreement.[29] Secondly, in spite of this complaint, around this time Baybars warmly received envoys from Yaffa and Arsūf. The sultan, having received gifts from them, assured both parties that they would not be attacked.[30] As will be seen, neither the improved fortifications nor the sultan′s assurances were to avail the defenders of Arsūf even in the short run.

The siege and conquest of Arsūf have been studied in some detail in previous works.[31] These studies have much value, but a number of difficulties remain,

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[28]Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī, *Ḥusn al-Manāqib,* 87–88; translation in P. M. Holt, ″Some Studies on Shāfīʿ ibn ʿAlī′s Biography of Baybars,″ *Journal of Semitic Studies* 29 (1984): 127.

[29]See Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 153, who writes that the Hospitallers built a suburb (*rabaḍ*); cf. Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī, *Ḥusn al-Manāqib,* 57, who writes that they constructed a wall around the *rabaḍ,* which seems more logical. This is an interesting example of Shāfiʿ improving on his source.

[30]Thorau, *Lion of Egypt,* 154, note 21.

[31]See M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1970), 132–33; Prawer, *Histoire,*

which I will raise in the following discussion. The beginning of the story is simple enough: Baybars arrived at the city on 1 Jumādá II/21 March. He immediately ordered the construction of ″covers″ *(satā'ir),* possibly mantlets (mobile shields).[32] This makes perfect sense, given the ready supply of wood, and a large garrison with its own fire-power.

The next stage, however, is not completely clear. According to Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir′s account, the sultan ordered that two tunnels *(sarābayn)*[33] were to be dug from ″the moat *(khandaq)* of the city to the moat of the citadel.″ These tunnels were roofed *(suqqifat),* i.e., reinforced, with wood. Each tunnel was entrusted to several senior officers along with lesser commanders. Thereupon, ″a way *(ṭarīq)* was made from the moat to the citadel.″[34] The language is clear enough: mines reinforced by wood had been dug up to the inner moat, and from there some type of path had been made up to the citadel. What is really going on can be inferred from continued reading of the source and looking at the map.

At this stage there was a Frankish sortie, which attempted ″to ignite the wood″ (more about this below). The Mamluks, led by Qalāwūn—one of the previously mentioned senior commanders—succeeded, however, in dousing the flames. Here, Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir tells us that at this point, ″. . . the barrier of wood in the moat was completed . . .″ *(. . . takāmala radm al-aḥṭāb bi-al-khandaq . . .)*.[35] The key word here is *radm,* which Lane translates *inter alia* as: ″. . . an obstruction; a barrier . . . a rampart, or a fortified barrier . . .″[36] It seems, then, that we have some type of wood covering which was found inside the citadel moat, which abutted the exit of at least one of the mines and led at least to the foot of the citadel. This was the ″way″ *(ṭarīq)* to the citadel described above, and it was intended to provide

2:467–69; Steven Runciman, *The History of the Crusades* (Cambridge, 1951–54), 3:318–19.

[32]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 235 (=Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 1:91 [tr. 2:73]; mantlets is given in this translation).

[33]This word as written causes some problems. E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Dictionary* (London, 1863–93, rept., Cambridge, 1984), 1:1341–42, gives the following meaning for *sarab* (with no long vowel over the second *a*): ″A subterranean excavation . .. .a habitation of a wild animal . . . in, . . . or beneath . . . the earth, or ground . . . [A] secret or hidden place of passage; or . . . it means a road, or way . . . And *sarab ṭarīq* means [a] way, or road, in which people follow one another continuously.″ The form *sarāb* exists, but it describes a mirage ″or the semblance of water.″ This is obviously not the case here. It seems rather that in this particular context, in spite of the slightly different (and probably mistaken) spelling, the first meaning is clearly meant, and we are dealing with two underground tunnels or mines. It should be noted that subsequently Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir (*Rawḍ*, 236) uses the form *sarab* to refer to the same tunnel. D. Ayalon, in his article ″Ḥiṣār, iv.-The Mamlūk Sultanate,″ *EI*^{2}*,* 3:473, notes that mines were usually known as *naqb*/*nuqūb,* but occasionally the term *sirb*/*asrāb* or *surūb* is found.

[34]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 235–36 (=Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 1:91–92 [tr. 2:73–74]).

[35]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 236 (=Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 1:92 [tr. 2:74].

cover for advancing Mamluk troops, who would either try scaling the walls at the foot of the citadel or begin mining underneath it.

Since the distance between the moat of the city and the moat of the citadel was quite short on the north, it makes sense that at least one of the mines described above was dug from that direction. It may be, as will be soon seen, that another mine may have run east to west, more or less across from the gate of the citadel; at this point, the distance between the two moats was also not great, although it was longer than on the north. Given that the distance between the southern wall of the city was quite far from the citadel, it seems highly unlikely that tunnels were dug from that direction. Thus the suggestion by M. Benvenisti that the attack on the city commenced from the south is not convincing.[37]

One might ask how the Mamluk soldiers could construct the *radm* in the inner moat, when on both sides—the citadel and the city—Franks would be raining upon them arrows, stones, and other objects. It may be possible that the north and northeast of the city, which—as noted above—were very narrow at this part, may have been partially or completely abandoned at this point, perhaps due to the slightly higher lay of the land to the north of the city, which gave a certain advantage to the Mamluk archers and artillery. It may be that these sections of the city suffered from heavy fire from both arrows and siege engines, and thus were abandoned—perhaps only temporarily—by the inhabitants, even if the walls there were still at least partially manned. The Mamluks tunneling under this part of the city and then erupting into the inner moat would have therefore been undisturbed from one side. This is all admittedly speculative, but I cannot do better at this point.

The Franks in the citadel, however, were not ready to just sit and watch the Mamluks advance. According to Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, ″The Franks used a stratagem when they dug a mine *(naqabū)* from inside the citadel until they arrived underneath the barrier [in the moat]; they pierced the earth up to the wood.″ The Franks thereupon lit barrels of grease and fat, and whipped up the flames with bellows in the tunnels *(nuqūb)*. This indeed was a well-planned action, showing the sophistication and determination of the Hospitallers, and caught the Mamluks completely off guard. All attempts to quench the fire were unsuccessful.[38]

It should be noted that a tunnel about 70 meters long, most probably of Frankish construction, has been discovered underneath some of the citadel. One end was to the southwest of the citadel, below the moat; the earth here has

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[36]Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon,* 1:1069.

[37]Benvenisti, *Crusaders in the Holy Land,* 133. Raphael and Tepper reach the same conclusion as expressed here by me through examining the archeological evidence, as seen in the accompanying article.

collapsed into the sea below, and thus the tunnel is entered further in than originally planned (it can be reached at the present time by descending a hanging ladder on a cliff). As the enclosed map shows, the tunnel, which is well built, ran along the south wall, and in one spot—towards the middle—continued under the southern barbican. It appears that the planned second entrance was in the moat, just beyond the entrance to the citadel. At the same time, there is a second branch of the tunnel, about 10 meters in length, which branched off close to this latter opening. This branch has the appearance of being hastily dug. Both of these latter openings are today blocked. The fact that the majority of the tunnel is well and carefully constructed, and given its location and length, leads to the conclusion that we are dealing with a Frankish tunnel that was prepared before the siege. The branch, however, may have been dug during the siege itself, and it may have been the means by which the Franks were able to launch their sortie which led to the destruction of the Mamluk wooden barrier in the moat. It hints that perhaps one of the Mamluk tunnels came in from the east, and abutted the inner moat more or less across from the gate of the citadel.

At about this time, Baybars probably came to the conclusion that these underground probes into the city were not going to bring about the capture of the citadel, and it would thus be pointless to continue the above-described tactic. To successfully attack the citadel across the wide moat, first the entire city had to be taken. To achieve this goal, the sultan ordered a massive engineering project under the direction of two senior amirs. The first, Sunqur al-Rūmī, was to lead a significant part of the officers and troops, and dig a trench *(ḥafr),* ″along the border of the [city] moat″ *(min ḥāfāt khandaq),* from the mouth of one of the above-described tunnels (here referred to as *sarab,* without the long vowel over the second *a*) to the sea. The second amir, Qalāwūn al-Alfī, with the remainder of the troops, was to do the same thing from the other tunnel, running along the wall in the other direction to the sea. The trenches were to be hidden by the ″wall″ *(ḥā'it)* of the moat of the city, referring, it would seem, to the outside wall of the moat. In this wall, openings *(abwāb)* were to be dug, and the earth from these was to be dispersed (literally ″thrown from″ *[wa-yurmā al-turāb minhā]*). The trench was to be as deep as the moat. An officer known as Aybeg al-Fakhrī, one of the Atabeg Aybeg al-Musta'rib′s men, was placed in charge, and he in turn brought in the construction experts to execute this work.[39]

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[38]Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 236 (=Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 1:92 [tr. 2:74]).

[39]Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 236–37 (=Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 1:92–93 [tr. 2:74]). The translation of Ibn al-Furāt is a bit confusing: ″Openings were to be dug in this wall from which soil could be thrown down into the ditch until the earth reached the level of that in the moat.″ I have translated *muhandisīn* as ″construction experts,″ since engineers here might be anachronistic. On this matter, see R. Amitai, ″An Arabic Inscription at al-Ṣubayba (Qal'at Namrûd) from the

This description is not completely clear. This fuzzy account may be due to the fact that Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir was not a military man. It seems, however, that we can reconstruct the project as follows: parallel to most of the outside perimeter of the city′s moat, a large and deep trench was excavated at some distance, but not too far (as implied by the text, which has the trench ″hidden″ by the wall of the moat). From the trench, short connecting ditches were dug to the wall, in which openings were made (to enable passage of attackers directly into the moat). The dirt extracted from the excavation was piled up, thereby providing some more protection for the Mamluk soldiers and sappers. It would appear that much of the external wall of the city was abandoned or poorly manned, since otherwise the Mamluks would have encountered difficulty executing the project. No archeological evidence of this massive project has been found yet, but this is not surprising: to the north and south of the city walls, roads and deep drainage trenches have been dug in recent decades (with complete disregard for the archeology of the site, it might be added), and the eastern wall has yet to be excavated.

The above-described excavation work continued for some time, during which the bombardment by the siege machines was kept up. The sultan participated in both activities as well as constant inspections and lobbing off of arrows. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir takes care to emphasize Baybars′ frenetic yet heroic activities, during which he was often endangered.[40] That this is more than panegyric or a topos is seen by the numerous examples from the sources attesting to Baybars′ bravery and energy during and between his many campaigns. While standing at a firing post, the sultan was confronted by a Frankish *chevauchée*. Together with some senior amirs, including Sunqur al-Rūmī (who was wounded) and his trusted mamluk and viceroy Bilik al-Khaznadār, he beat back the Franks.[41]

In the case of the siege of Arsūf, we have few details about the nature and size of the artillery actually used, called here by the generic terms *majānīq* or *manjanīqāt*. But before the attack on Caesarea—as noted above—when Baybars was laying the groundwork for this campaign, he had some *manjanīqāt* constructed from local wood (four large ones and other small ones), and others were brought from

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Reign of Sultan Baybars,″ in M. Hartal, *The al-Ṣubayba (Nimrod) Fortress, Towers 11 and 9,* Israel Antiquities Authority Reports, no. 11 (Jerusalem, 2001), 116; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, ″Muhandis, Shâd, Muʿallam—Note on the Building Craft in the Mamluk Period,″ *Der Islam* 72 (1995): 293–309. The amir Aybeg al-Fakhrī subsequently was one of the officers who received an entire village in the environs of the city as private property, surely in recognition of his work in the siege. See R. Amitai-Preiss, ″The Mamluk Officer Class during the Reign of Sultan Baybars,″ in *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th–15th Centuries,* ed. Yaakov Lev (Leiden, 1997), 298 (no. 45). The information from the siege cited above clears up any question about his private name and his affiliation.

[40]See the appreciation of his deeds and personality in Thorau, *Lion of Egypt,* 251–55.

fortresses, probably transported disassembled and then rebuilt on the site. These included the timber for Maghrabi and Frankish-type *majānīq,* or counterweight trebuchets.[42] During the actual attack on Arsūf, additional, unspecified machines arrived from Damascus. The exact types of artillery used in the campaign are also not specified. There is here no mention of Maghrabi or Frankish machines, although it seems that they would have been in the area, and there is no reason not to have used them. On the other hand, from the extant stones found in and around the citadel,[43] it appears that mainly artillery of somewhat modest size and power was employed; one wonders about the whereabouts of the large stones that would have been thrown by the counterweight trebuchets. There is, however, some evidence that traction machines were used. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir reports that Baybars joined the soldiers in pulling the siege machine *(fī jarr al-manjanīqāt*; also *yajurru fī majānīq),* meaning that the sultan participated in the all-important slinging of the stones, by pulling on the rope which propelled the beam that in turn slung the stones.[44] While this may have been important for morale, and his image as a fighting sultan, no less significant was his constant inspection of the machines. One notable piece of artillery was built by Geremün Agha,[45] whose device was able to shoot seven bolts at one time; one large "arrowhead" has been discovered at the site which might be from a bolt of this type.[46] The commander of the artillery, Aybeg al-Afram, is commended for his diligence in his work.[47]

It was, however, not all work and fighting for the sultan and his troops. The army was accompanied by "pious people, ascetics, legal scholars, and indigent Sufis" *(al-ʿubbāb wa-al-zuhhād wa-al-fuqahāʾ wa-al-fuqarāʾ)* and others. How

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[41]Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 237–38 (=Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 1:93–94 [tr. 2:74–75]).

[42]Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 230 (=Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 1:85 [tr. 2:69]). For these types of trebuchet, see Paul E. Chevedden, "The Hybrid Trebuchet," in *On the Social Origins of Medieval Institutions,* ed. D. Kagay and T. Vann (Leiden, 1998), 179–200.

[43]See the accompanying article by Raphael and Tepper.

[44]Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 237 (=Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 1:94 [tr. 2:75], which gives a paraphrase).

[45]On this officer, an important Mongol who had fled to the Sultanate several years before and received a high rank in the Mamluk army, see Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks,* 108–9.

[46]See the article by Raphael and Tepper. For this type of trebuchet, see Paul Chevedden, "Black Camels and Blazing Bolts: The Bolt-Projecting Trebuchet in the Mamluk Army," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 1 (2004): 227–77.

[47]Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 238 (=Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 1:95 [tr. 2:76]). Aybeg al-Afram, a member of the Ṣāḥilīyah (i.e., the unit from which Baybars himself hailed) known as *amīr jāndār,* was a senior officer who received part of a village as freehold in the aftermath of the campaign. See Amitai-Preiss, "The Mamluk Officer Class," 296 (no. 29). This amir can probably be identified with ʿIzz al-Dīn Amīr Jāndār, who had brought the wood for the siege machines early in the campaign; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawd*, 230 (=Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 1:85 [tr.

many of each category were actually present at the siege is unclear: the importance of rhyme in this list cannot be denied. In any event, three Sufi shaykhs who were present are named: ʻAlī al-Majnūn (″the crazy one″), Ilyās, and ʻAlī al-Bakkā' (″the weeper″), who all enjoyed the sultan′s largess. Although the Mamluk army was basically a professional army of cavalrymen, and non-professionals and militiamen had been pretty much pushed to the side in these major campaigns (and the Mamluk army in general),[48] a large crowd of religious figures, with an emphasis on Sufis of various ilks, was deemed desirable so as to encourage the fighters in their efforts for the sake of jihad. During the campaign, Baybars took time off to visit the nearby tomb of Shaykh ʻAlī ibn ʻAlīm, known as Sīdnā ʻAlī. It was particularly convenient to have a Muslim saint just ″down the block,″ especially one whose tomb could not be defiled by the Franks, try as they had.[49]

The siege machines, reinforced by new ones brought from Damascus, kept up their pounding of the walls and city, and began to have an effect. When the trenches (here called, to confuse us, *sarābāt;* N.B. the long vowel over the second *a*) along the moat were completed, the gates referred to were opened into the moat. The assault was commenced on Monday, 8 Rajab/26 April, i.e., some five weeks after the investment had begun. Unfortunately, Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir gives us no details beyond the fact that the city was taken that very day.[50] We can imagine that the Mamluk fighters rushed across the moat of the city, threw up ladders, and scaled the walls, while being covered by missiles launched from bows and heavier weapons.

Having taken the city, it can be assumed that the Mamluks took up position along the inner moat, across from the citadel. For three days they probably maintained a withering fire of arrows, stones, and other missiles. This is testified to by the large concentration of arrowheads around the citadel on the barbican, as described in Raphael and Tepper′s article that follows this one. The large number of trebuchet stones and the clearly-perceived impact points on the extant walls shows that artillery was also trained on the citadel, although it is unclear how much of this

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2:69]).

[48]On this matter, see R. Amitai, ″Foot Soldiers, Militiamen and Volunteers in the Early Mamluk Army,″ in *Texts, Documents and Artifacts: Islamic Studies in Honour of D. S. Richards,* ed. C. F. Robinson (Leiden, 2003), 232–49.

[49]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 238–39 (=Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 1:94–95 [tr. 2:75–76]). Interestingly enough, Baybars′ Sufi mentor Khaḍir is not mentioned by this source, although he may have been in the vicinity and even predicted the date of the city′s capture; Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh*, 272–73. Ibn ʻAbd al- Ẓāhir may have deliberately suppressed the information on Khaḍir, since he later fell afoul of the sultan and was imprisoned. On this matter, see P. M. Holt, ″An Early Source on Shaykh Khaḍir al-Mihrānī,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 46 (1983): 33–39, esp. 35.

was from outside the city and how much from newly-erected or moved machines. The great number of arrowheads and trebuchet stones found in the environs of the citadel gate shows that the Mamluks especially concentrated their fire there, as would be expected.

After three days of softening up the citadel, the Mamluks commenced their final assault. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir mentions the attack against the *bāshūrah,* the barbican or forward fortification surrounding the main citadel wall,[51] which is clearly seen on the map of the site. On Thursday, 11 Rajab/29 April, the *bāshūrah* fell, with some of its wall collapsing; it is not stated why this happened, but it was surely due to either mining or the bombardment (or a combination of the two). The Mamluk soldiers scaled the walls of the *bāshūrah* and were among the Frankish defenders there before the latter knew what was upon them; the Muslim banners were soon flying from there. But the main citadel was still in the hands of the Franks. At this time, the sultan, who evidently was not in the thick of the fighting, offered an *amān,* or guarantee of safety, to the Franks. This was accepted, and a Mamluk officer was hoisted up to the citadel by ropes, with the sultan's banner *(sanjaq);* the citadel gate must have been well barricaded from the inside or blocked with rubble. The officer took possession of the citadel, the Franks handed over their swords, and were taken into captivity. Forty days of fighting were now ended.[52]

There is no description of fighting within the citadel. On the other hand, as seen in the article by Raphael and Tepper, a large number of arrowheads were found inside the citadel. These may be the remnants of Frankish arrows which were left behind. Possibly these were Mamluk arrows which were shot over the wall of the citadel. Finally, it may be that small groups of Mamluks managed to penetrate the citadel before it surrendered and these arrowheads are evidence of fighting at close quarters. This is a matter upon which it is difficult to decide, although I must admit that none of these possibilities are very satisfactory.

We should first examine what the reasons for the Mamluk victory here were, and then see whether one can find here indications of a general Mamluk strategy for the taking of fortresses. The Mamluk conquest of Arsūf was not a foregone conclusion at the commencement of the campaign, as the city was well fortified and garrisoned. Baybars, however, had several advantages: while much of his army was off in the north, and some had remained in Egypt, he still commanded a relatively large force of several thousand, perhaps even more than ten thousand, trained fighters. His army therefore greatly outnumbered the defenders, who have

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[50]Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 238–39 (=Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 1:95 [tr. 2:76]).

[51]On this term, see R. Amitai, "Notes on the Ayyūbid Inscriptions at al-Ṣubayba (Qalʿat Nimrūd)," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43 (1989): 114, note 9.

been estimated at 270 knights, plus auxiliary troops and civilians who could contribute to the defense.[53] Secondly, once the Mongol threat was temporarily removed, the sultan could devote his full attention to the Franks virtually where he chose. Thirdly, it became increasingly clear as the siege wore on that the defenders at Arsūf had almost no hope of receiving reinforcements. The raiding forces which Baybars sent in various directions before and during the siege reduced any chance of such help being dispatched. There was hardy any possibility that the Franks could slip in help by sea, in spite of their almost total control of the sea along the Levant. The little harbor of Arsūf, such as it was, was totally covered by the Mamluk positions, including their artillery; Baybars himself is recorded shooting at ships.[54] This also meant the Franks probably could not withdraw in a serious way by sea. Fourthly, as has been seen, the Mamluks employed sophisticated engineering techniques, as well as much artillery. Fifthly, Baybars´ presence and hands-on leadership meant that discipline and alertness among the Mamluks was at a fairly high level during the campaign. This is related to the sixth, and last, reason: morale. As the siege continued, it became increasingly clear that the Muslim army would prevail, spurring on the soldiers even more. The presence of Sufis and other religious figures contributed to the atmosphere of jihad which in turn strengthened morale. As the *élan* in the Mamluk camp increased, desperation among the Franks would have also become amplified. In the long run, barring unexpected news from another quarter, an outbreak of disease among the besiegers, or serious—but increasingly unlikely—Frankish reinforcements, the Mamluk victory was almost a certainty.

In this campaign, we can already discern several of the characteristics of early Mamluk siege warfare: (1) a large concentration of troops; (2) careful logistical planning; (3) mining and other sophisticated engineering techniques; (4) massive use of artillery; (5) attention to matters of morale, discipline, and motivation; 6) a frontal attack after attrition and the completion of preparations. Most of these characteristics are found in Baybars´ later sieges, such as Safad, Beaufort (Shaqīf Arnūn), Montfort (al-Qurayn) and Crak des Chevaliers (Ḥiṣn al-Akrād), as well as the sieges of his successors, e.g., Tripoli and Acre. The Mamluks, then, were not only first-class cavalrymen, but could transform themselves into infantrymen and sappers if the need arose. It was the latter skills which contributed much to their successes against the Franks.[55]

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[52]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 241–42 (=Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 1:96 [tr. 2:76–77]).

[53]Runciman, *History of the Crusades,* 318.

[54]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 237 (=Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 1:93 [tr. 2:75]).

[55]For some general but important considerations of Mamluk siege warfare, see D. Ayalon, ″Ḥisār,″ 472–76; David Nicolle, *The Mamluks, 1250–1517,* Men-at-Arms Series, no. 259 (London, 1993),

As is well-known, among Baybars′ acts after the conquest was the destruction of the city, its fortifications, and its harbor. To carry out the work, he divided different sections among the commanders.[56] That this destruction was far from complete is seen by the impressive remnants of the moats and citadel. The policy of deliberate destruction of coastal cities which were conquered by the Mamluks had already been initiated in the aftermath of the Muslim victory at Caesarea, and would be continued virtually without exception after every Mamluk conquest along the coast. This strategy was examined in detail by the late Prof. David Ayalon,[57] and there is therefore no reason to expand upon it here. Suffice it to say that Baybars had a keen understanding of the Mamluks′ weakness on the sea, as well as the numerical limitations of his army. Unable to devote large forces to garrison the conquered port cities, he deemed it wise to destroy them with their harbors to hinder a new Frankish landing and occupation. Long-term Mamluk security in the area was not to be guaranteed by large static forces divided into garrisons, but rather the existence of a fairly large and powerful, highly mobile army, which could be moved to meet every danger.

In the aftermath of the conquest of Caesarea and Arsūf, Baybars divided all the villages in their agricultural hinterland, 37 in number, among many of his officers, in total 61. This land, by the way, was not given as *iqṭā‘,* or the right to collect revenue to pay for one′s military household, but rather as *mulk,* that is, private property. The recipients of this largesse were both senior and junior officers, including some rather obscure individuals. Most were being rewarded for their actions on the present campaign on the Palestinian coast, but a few were commanders who took part in the operation at al-Bīrah, demonstrating the sultan′s concern that they should not feel that they had been left out of the action, profitable as it was.[58] The list of villages has been analyzed by several scholars, and virtually all have been identified and placed on the map, thereby providing us with a fairly accurate idea of the scope of the lordships of both Caesarea and Arsūf, although perhaps the border between them is not completely clear.[59]

Finally, the conquest of these two towns, the fate of their inhabitants, and their destruction, must have made it clear to all—Franks, local Christians, local Muslim civilians, and members of the military elite—that there was a ″new sheriff″ in

19–22.

[56]Ibn ‘Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 243 (=Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 1:97 [tr. 2:78]).

[57]David Ayalon, ″The Mamluks and Naval Power: A Phrase of the Struggle between Islam and Christian Europe,″ *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 1, no. 8 (1967): 1–12, reprinted in D. Ayalon, *Studies on the Mamlūks (1260–1517)* (London, 1977), art. VI.

[58]See Amitai-Preiss, ″The Mamluk Officer Class during the Reign of Sultan Baybars,″ 267–300.

[59]F. M. Abel, ″La liste des donations de Baibars en Palestine d′aprés la charte de 663 H (1265),″ *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 19 (1939): 38–44; see also the discussion and reference

town with an unequivocal anti-Frankish policy. Baybars had commenced a strategy which was to result in the sizeable reduction of the Crusading entity; his successors, of course, were to bring this policy to fruition some fourteen years after his death. It is not a coincidence that it was about this time that Baybars adopted in inscriptions the sobriquet of *mubīd al-tatar wa-al-ifranj,* "the annihilator of Mongols and Franks,"[60] giving clear expression to the double-headed policy which he so forcefully adopted in 1265.

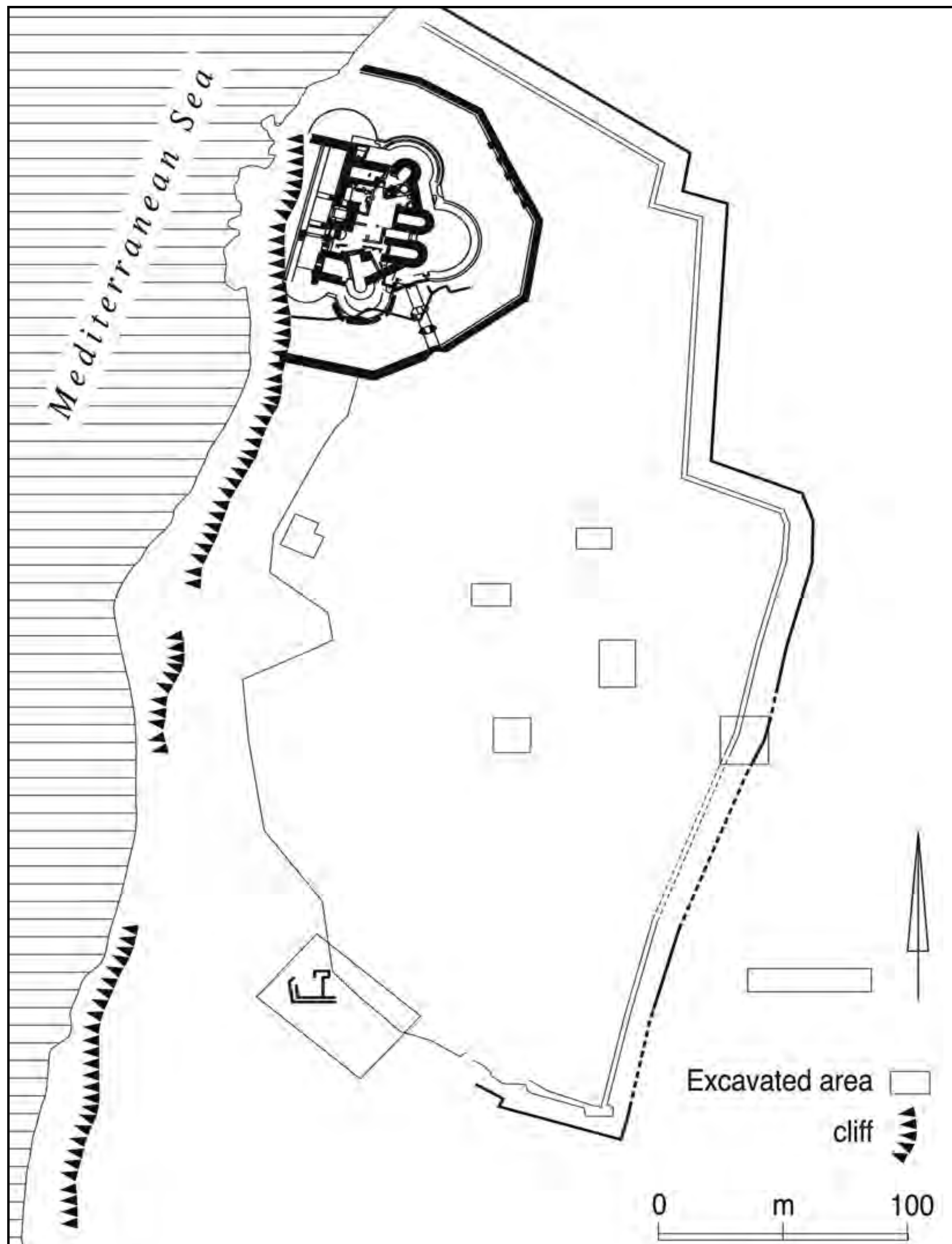
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in the notes to Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* ed. Lyons, 2:208.

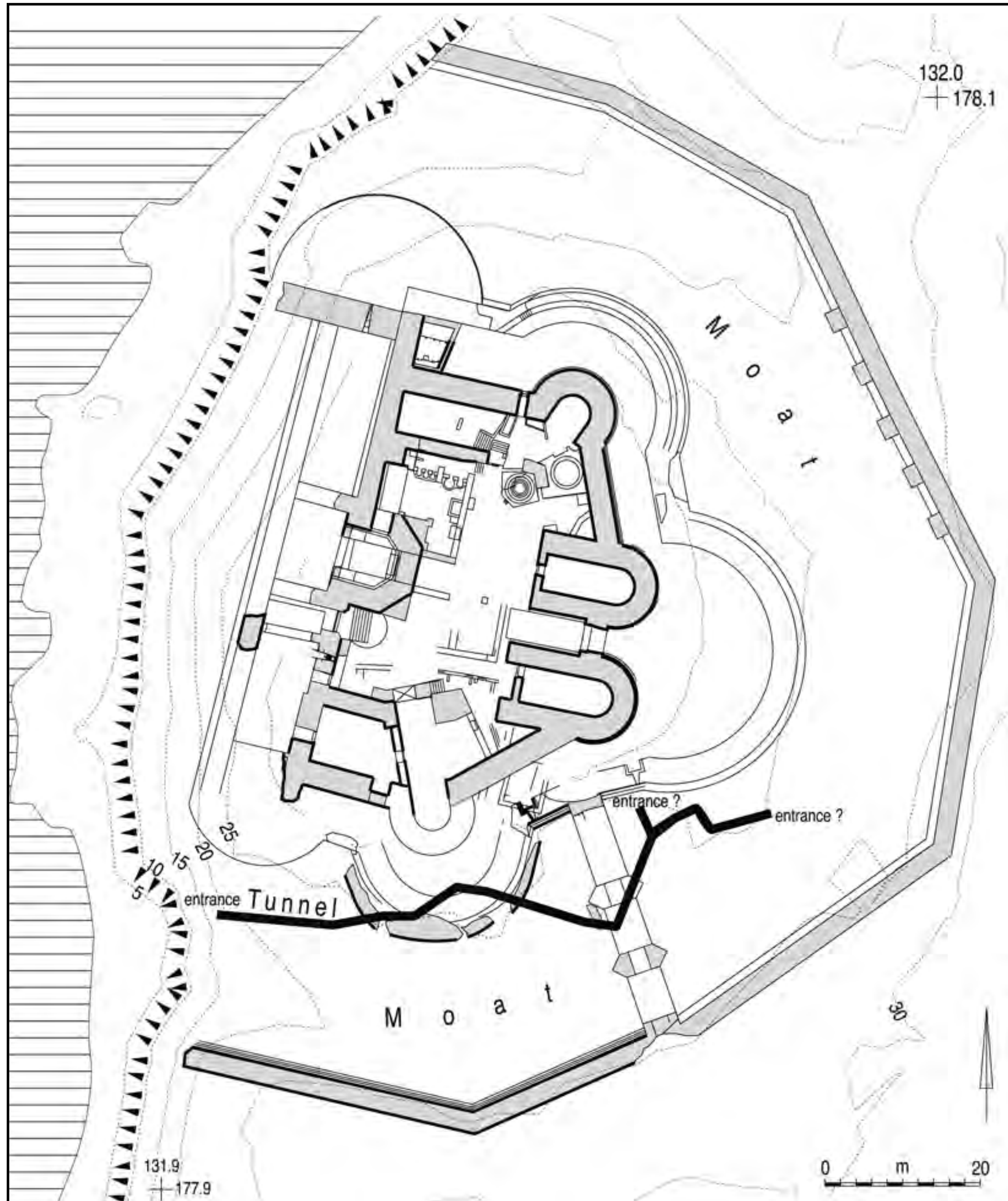
[60]Sometimes *al-arman,* "the Armenians," is added to this expression. See R. Amitai, "Some Remarks on the Inscription of Baybars at Maqām Nābī Mūsā," Michael Winter *Festschrift,* edited by Ami Ayalon and David Wasserstein, forthcoming.



Map 1. Palestine and its environs in the early Mamluk period. (Based on R. Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhānid War, 1260-1281* [Cambridge, 1995]; reproduced with permission).



Map 2. The city of Arsūf. (Tamar Sofer, The Cartography Laboratory, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem).



Map 3. The city of Arsūf, showing the Frankish tunnel. (Tamar Sofer, The Cartography Laboratory, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem).

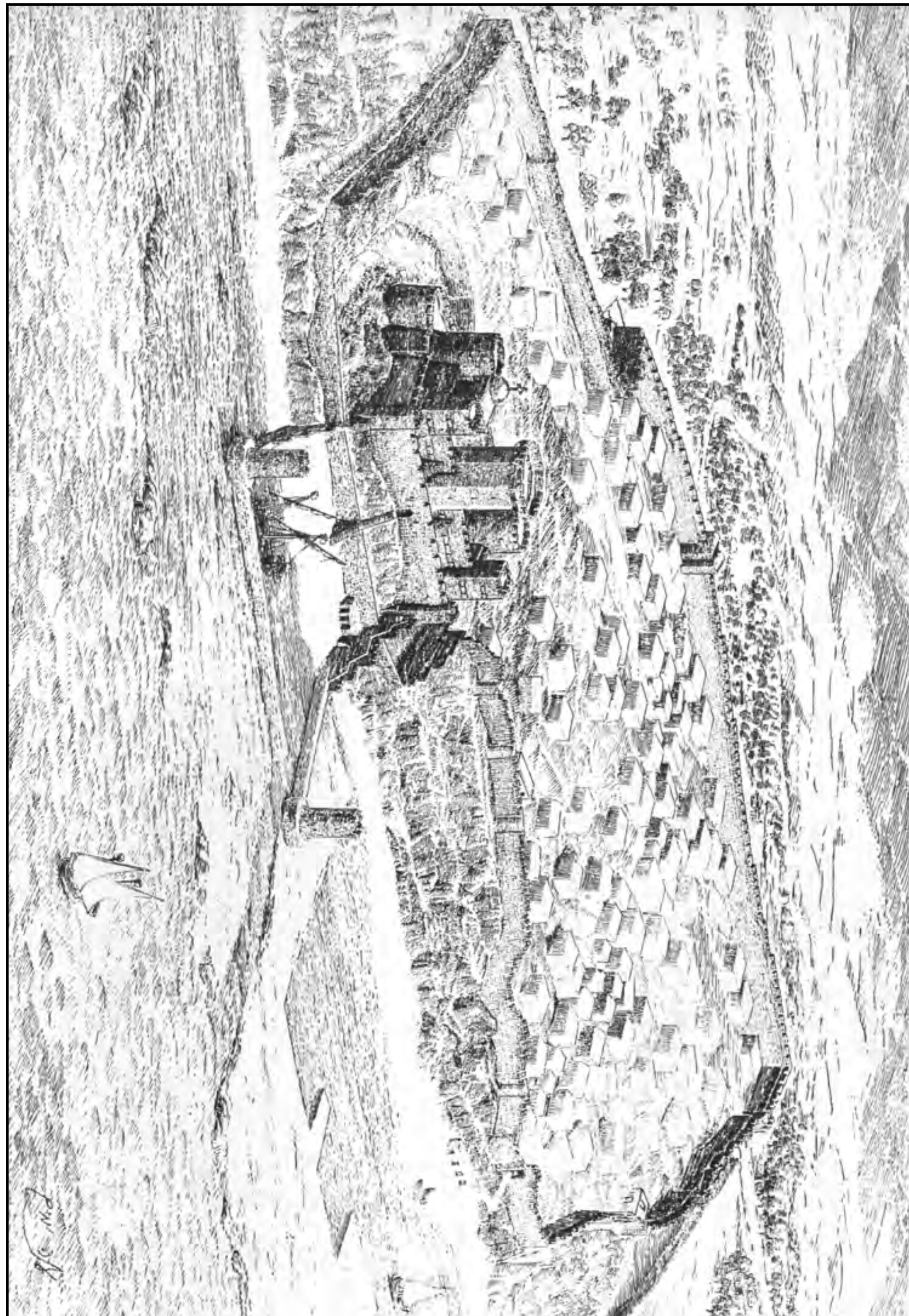


Figure 1. Suggested reconstruction of the city of Arsūf. (From I. Roll et al., "Apollonia-Arsuf in the Crusader Period in Light of Recent Discoveries," *Qadmoniot* 33, no. 1 [1999]: 18-31; reproduced with permission).



Fig. 2. A pile of *manjānīq* stones from Arsūf (photograph by the author).



Fig. 3. The moat of the citadel of Arsūf: a view of the north side looking west (photograph by the author).

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The Archaeological Evidence from the Mamluk Siege of Arsūf

During the past five seasons of excavations at the Crusader fortress of Arsūf, over a thousand arrowheads were found along with close to three thousand catapult stones. It is important to note that those numbers will change once the excavation of the moat is completed. The aim of this article is to map the distribution of the arrowheads and catapult stones, and try to determine the location of the Mamluk siege machines and archers that were employed throughout the battle. We shall also discuss some of the problems that Baybars encountered and solved while preparing his siege engines.

Each arrowhead and catapult stone was marked on the map of the site according to where it was found. Due to rain and landslides the original location may have shifted somewhat, so the locations given here are approximate.

As we were mapping out the location of each arrowhead and catapult stone on the map of the fortress of Arsūf, the full scale of the final stage of the Mamluk siege slowly became clear. One can easily imagine the force of the attack, the heavy bombardment and the horrifying sound of *majānīq* stones continually thundering and crashing down on the citadel during the final three days after the city itself had been taken; there would have been scarcely a place within the walls of the citadel that was safe or protected.

1243 Arrowheads and 2748 Catapult Stones

The arrowheads are all of the same design. Made of iron, their average length was 4.5 cm and their width approximately 1 cm. In cross section they are square or diamond shaped. The shaft was secured to the arrowhead with a tang that was driven deep into the wood (Fig. 1). Similar arrowheads were found on various Crusader and Mamluk sites: Montfort (al-Qurayn), Chastel Pèlerin (ʻAthlīth), Yoqne'am, Safed, Burj al-Aḥmar, Ḥamāh, Vadum Jacob (Bayt al-Maḥāzin), and Belvoir (Kawkab al-Hawā').[1] This design seems to have been dominant throughout

[1]D. Bashford, ″A Crusader Fortress in Palestine,″ *The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Sept. 1927, pt. 2, Fig. 53:N; C. N. Johns, ″Excavations at Pilgrims Castle ʻAtlit (1932–3):

the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. From the evidence gathered so far, they were used by both Frankish and Muslim archers.[2] They were designed to penetrate armor, and once imbedded in the flesh, pulling them out became a tricky maneuver, since the shaft was more than likely to break, leaving the arrowhead buried deep inside the flesh. The shafts were made out of pine or cedar.[3] Only five arrowheads differ from those described above. Those five are kite shaped and flat (Fig. 2). They were often used for hunting game or for wounding horses in times of battle.[4] Although the Mamluk archers played an important part in the siege, the main role belonged to the teams that operated the siege machines, and the engineers who assembled them. The masons who quarried the stone saw that the weights matched the required order and shaped the stones into suitable projectiles.

Arsūf has so far been the only site within the boundaries of the Crusader kingdom that has yielded such a large number of trebuchet stones. Although many sieges were recorded by both Latin and Muslim sources, very few sites have supplied the archaeological evidence to support the historical sources. While some sites have not yet been excavated, others have simply been resettled and the archaeological evidence lost or scattered. Much has been written on siege warfare in the Latin East, the invention and development of siege engines, and the changes that followed in the field of military architecture. Most of those works rely on the examination of historical sources, some on experimental archaeology, but very few have gathered evidence from the actual fortresses, towns, or cities where those sieges occurred.[5] The importance of Arsūf lies in the fact that in addition to

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Stables at South West Suburb," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine* 5 (1936), fig. 15:2; A. Khamis, "Chapter 18: The Metal Objects," in *Yoqne'am: The Later Periods* (=*Qedem Reports* 3), ed. A. Ben Tor, M. Avisar, and Y. Portugali (Jerusalem, 1996), photo. xviii.4, No. 6; E. Damati, "Safed Citadel," in *Excavations and Survey in Israel 1988–89*, 7–8 (Jerusalem 1988–89),159–60; D. Pringle, *The Red Tower (al-Burj al-Ahmar): Settlement in the Plain of Sharon at the Time of the Crusaders and Mamluks A.D. 1099–1516* (London 1986), fig. 57:21, 22; G. Ploug et al., *Hama, 1932–1938 IV3* (Copenhagen, 1969), fig. 21:1; K. Raphael, "Archers in the Crusader Period," M.A thesis, Hebrew University, 2001; M. Ben Dov, "Crusader Fortresses in Eretz Israel," in *Qadmoniot* 32 (=vol. 8, no. 4) (1975), 102–14 (in Hebrew).

[2]Raphael, "Archers in the Crusader Period," 103–16.

[3]The botanical research was done by Dr. Nili Lifshitz from Tel Aviv University. Among the shafts that were examined there was also a type of coniferous wood that could not be identified with certainty.

[4]W. Swietoslawski, *Arms and Armour of the Nomads of the Great Steppe in the Times of the Mongol Expansion,* trans. M. Abramowicz (Lodz, 1999), 131, plate XIX:4–6.

[5]Christopher Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1191–1291* (Cambridge, 1996), 212–14; J. Bradbury, *The Medieval Siege* (Suffolk, 1992); P. Chevedden, "Artillery in Late Antiquity," in *The Medieval City under Siege,* ed. I. A. Corfis and M. Wolf (Woodbridge, 1995), 131–73; P. Chevedden, "Fortifications and the Development of Defensive Planning during the Crusader Period," in *The*

the historical references, we can map and analyze the catapult stones and arrowheads that have been left as testimony to the Mamluk siege that took place in the spring of 1265.

Out of the 2747 catapult stones that were found, 800 were measured and weighed (Chart 1). While working on the typology, we noticed that the catapult stones that were found to the north of the gate, among a pile of burnt cedar logs, were larger in diameter and heavier than the stones that were collected from the main area within the citadel walls (Map 1). It is more than likely that the siege engine, which dealt with the Frankish defenders who evidently took refuge under the wooden construction, was of a different type and was capable of hurling stones of greater diameter and weight. The prevalent weights of the catapult stones that were found in the area of the burnt cedar logs were 16 kg, 20 kg, 28 kg, and 35 kg (Chart 2).

Although the majority of catapult stones are carved out of limestone, they vary a great deal in weight, diameter, shape, and quality of the stone dressing. The table below gives the dominant weights and diameters among the catapult stones that were found within the fortress walls.

WEIGHTS AND DIAMETERS OF THE CATAPULT STONES IN ARSŪF

Weight (kg)	Diameter (cm)
8	20
10–11	21–23
16	25
20	27–28
28	30
35	31
40	33–34
41–42	35–37
48	40

The heaviest catapult stone reached 78 kg, but altogether only 11 catapult stones weighed over 70 kg. The lowest weights recorded are 1–3 kg. Almost 50 stones weighed less than 3 kg.[6] While the majority are carved, some are more like huge pebbles (Fig. 3), and appear to have been gathered from the mouth of a riverbed at

Circle of War in the Middle Ages: Essays on Medieval Military and Naval History, ed. D. J. Kagay and A. J. A. Villalon (Suffolk, 1999), 33–43; K. DeVries, *Medieval Military Technology* (Peterborough, Canada, 1998), 133–40; Swietoslawski, *Arms and Armour,* 70–71.

[6]Some of those stones may have broken and therefore these figures may not represent the original weight.

the foot of the Samarian hills to the east of Arsūf.[7] Among the catapult stones that are dressed, a small percentage has an almost perfect round shape (Fig. 4); most are roughly round and dressed in a coarse manner. Very few are just large stones that have not been dressed and simply left with jagged rough edges (Fig. 5). Five catapult stones were carved out of a marble Roman-Byzantine column (Fig. 6). Two are from flint, and four from kurkar (calcareous sandstone, found along the coast of Israel), which would have left very little impact on the fortress walls.

One of the problems Baybars encountered while laying out the plan and setting up the logistics for the siege of Arsūf would have been finding a nearby quarry that could supply the stone for the making of stone projectiles. The cliffs overlooking the sea are made of kurkar, which was used for the construction of the fortress, but is not quite suitable for the making of catapult stones. Prior to the beginning of the siege and possibly while the fighting was taking place, a group of masons were busy preparing catapult stones at nearby quarries. The stones were probably then loaded on large wagons that were sent off to the Mamluk siege camp. As noted above, the source of the limestone has been identified at the foot of the nearby Samarian hills which lay approximately 15 km to the east of Arsūf.

In order to try to calculate the location of the Mamluk archers and siege machines, each arrowhead and catapult stone was marked on the map of the fortress. Both maps show a similar distribution. The majority of the arrowheads, 812 (65%), were found between the two towers of the main gate (Map 1). This correlates with 1112 (40%) catapult stones that were gathered from around and between the walls of the gate (Map 2). The majority of the catapult stones in the region of the main gate fell somewhat closer to the northeastern gate tower. This may indicate that a siege machine was stationed almost opposite, at an angle of fire that gave a clear view and turned the northern gate tower into a relatively easy target. On the other hand, the southern gate tower yielded less than 75 catapult stones. The front wall of the southern tower is slightly damaged on the side facing the northeast (Fig. 7), giving a clear idea of the angle of fire. As noted above, one of the larger or stronger siege engines was positioned directly in front of the wooden construction. The markings left on the southeastern peripheral wall (Fig. 7) indicate that at least one of the siege engines must have been carried through the town after it fell and stationed on the southeast edge of the fortress moat.

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[7]According to the geological survey conducted by Ram Ben-David.

In an analysis of the siege given by Meron Benvenisti it is proposed that Baybars opened his attack from the south.[8] This view seems quite unlikely, as the distribution of catapult stones is mainly in the northern section of the fortress.[9]

The land to the north and the northeast of the fortress is slightly elevated, so that the Mamluk siege engines may have gained sufficient advantage, until the city wall was breached. It seems, though, that the Mamluk force concentrated most of its efforts opposite the main gate. From the archaeological evidence it appears that a fierce attack was carried out by both siege engines and a strong group of archers that was stationed almost opposite the gate. The following description may indicate that a great crossbow was used in the attempt to break through the main gate.

Among the arrowheads that were found between the gate towers was a huge bolt made of iron (Fig. 8a–b).[10] While cleaning the bolt under a magnifying glass strands of rope could be seen. The rope had been tightly tied around the bolt and one of the knots is still quite visible.[11] The size and weight of the bolt present the possibility that it was shot out of a large crossbow that was probably mounted on a wooden frame. As the bolt is covered with burnt fragments of wood it is possible that it served as a torch and the rope secured a thick piece of cloth that was lit and aimed at the wooden doors that secured the main entrance to the fortress.

The southwest corner of the fortress yielded 187 arrowheads. There are a number of explanations that may be given in order to understand this scattered distribution. It could indicate that those arrows were shot once the fortress was entered and close combat took place within the fortress walls. Or, they may have been shot by a group of archers that made its way through the city and stood south of the fortress moat.

When it comes to establishing the type of siege engines that Baybars used, the task becomes rather difficult. Although the weight of the catapult stones varies a great deal, most stones could be lifted by one man, while the heavier stones required two people, who could handle each stone without much strain. This does not fit the descriptions of weights given by some of the Latin and Muslim chronicles and the modern historians that have dealt with the subject of early medieval siege warfare.

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[8]M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1976), 133. It is not clear if this refers to the attack on the town or the fortress.

[9]For the development of the siege, see the article by R. Amitai in this volume.

[10]With it were two fragments that seem to belong to bolts of a similar size and design.

[11]We would like to thank Mimi Lavi, who heads the conservation laboratory in the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University, for pointing out this incredible find to us.

Paul Chevedden states that the hybrid trebuchet that the Franks operated during the siege of Damietta launched projectiles that weighed 185 kg. The counterweight trebuchet launched projectiles that probably reached a common maximum of 300 kg, while the counterweight trebuchet used at the siege of Ḥimṣ (1248–49) threw projectiles weighing 259 kg. At the siege of Acre (1291) the large Frankish trebuchet employed by the Mamluks threw stone projectiles that weighed 185 kg. The only weights that are close to those measured in Arsūf are the weights of stone projectiles from Qal'at Sahyūn,[12] and even those are heaver than the average weight found in Arsūf. Donald P. Little quotes al-Yūnīnī, who reports—evidently on the authority of an eyewitness at the siege of Acre—that the Frankish mangonels employed by the Mamluks could fire a shot of 45 kg and more.[13] Christopher Marshall quotes a modern experiment in which a model of a counterweight trebuchet hurled stone projectiles that weighed 100 to 150 kg to a distance of 150 m.[14] The siege engines used by Baybars at Arsūf were probably not quite as powerful as those described above. Very few of the stone projectiles that were found at Arsūf reach those weights. The majority weigh well under 45 kg. And yet the damage that those siege engines caused was encountered throughout the excavation.

There are still quite a few enigmas left. No evidence has been found of the Mamluk sappers′ tunnels described by Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir. There are very few clues as to the methods the Hospitaller garrison used in order to defend the fortress. Could they have possibly mounted artillery on the citadel′s towers or roofs? And what was the exact nature of the wooden construction, the pile of burnt cedar logs on the northeastern side of the citadel? We may find some of the answers to those questions as the excavation continues in the grounds around the fortress and once the moat is cleared.

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[12]Chevedden, ″Fortifications and the Development of Defensive Planning ,″ 37–38.

[13]D. P. Little, ″The Fall of Akkā in 690/1291: The Muslim Version,″ in *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon,* ed. M. Sharon (Jerusalem, 1986), 171, citing Quṭb al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī, in A. Melkonian, *Die Jahre 1287–1291 in der Chronik al-Yūnīnīs* (Freiburg, 1975), 86.

[14]Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East,* 213.

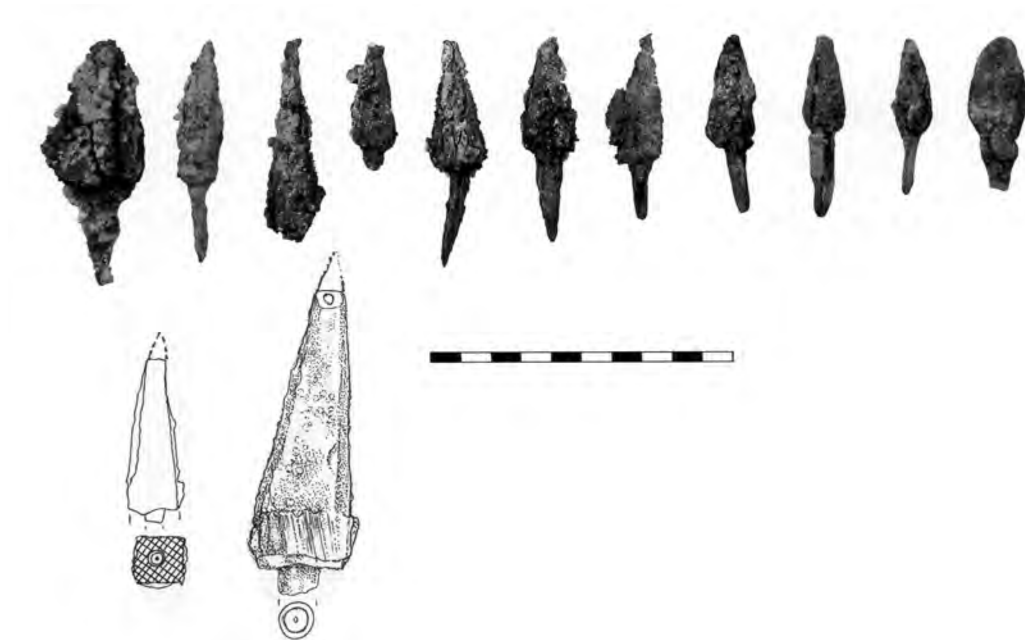


Figure 1. Arrowheads made to penetrate armor (photograph: Yotam Tepper).

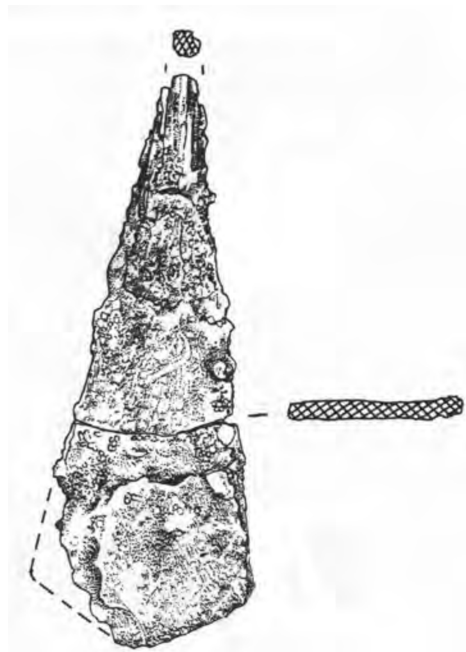


Figure 2. Arrowheads meant to wound horses.



Figure 3. On the right, a large pebble. On the left, a catapult stone that had been dressed (photograph: Yotam Tepper).



Figure 4. Well-dressed catapult stones (photograph: Yotam Tepper).



Figure 5. Far right: a catapult stone that has not been dressed and simply left with rough edges (photograph: Yotam Tepper).



Figure 6. A catapult stone cut out of a Roman marble column (photograph: Yotam Tepper).



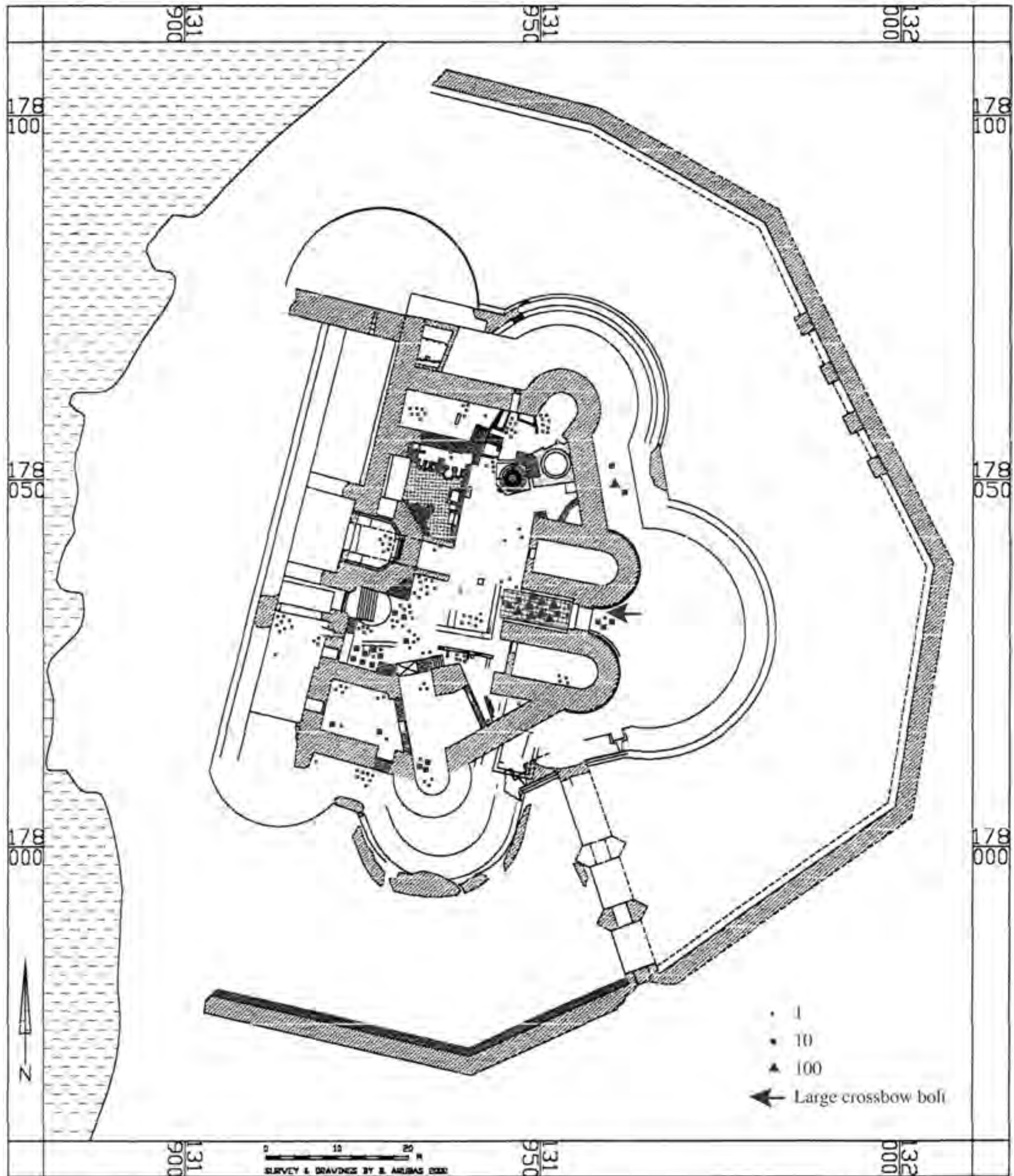
Figure 7. “Craters” from direct catapult hits on the face of the southern gate tower (photograph: Yotam Tepper).



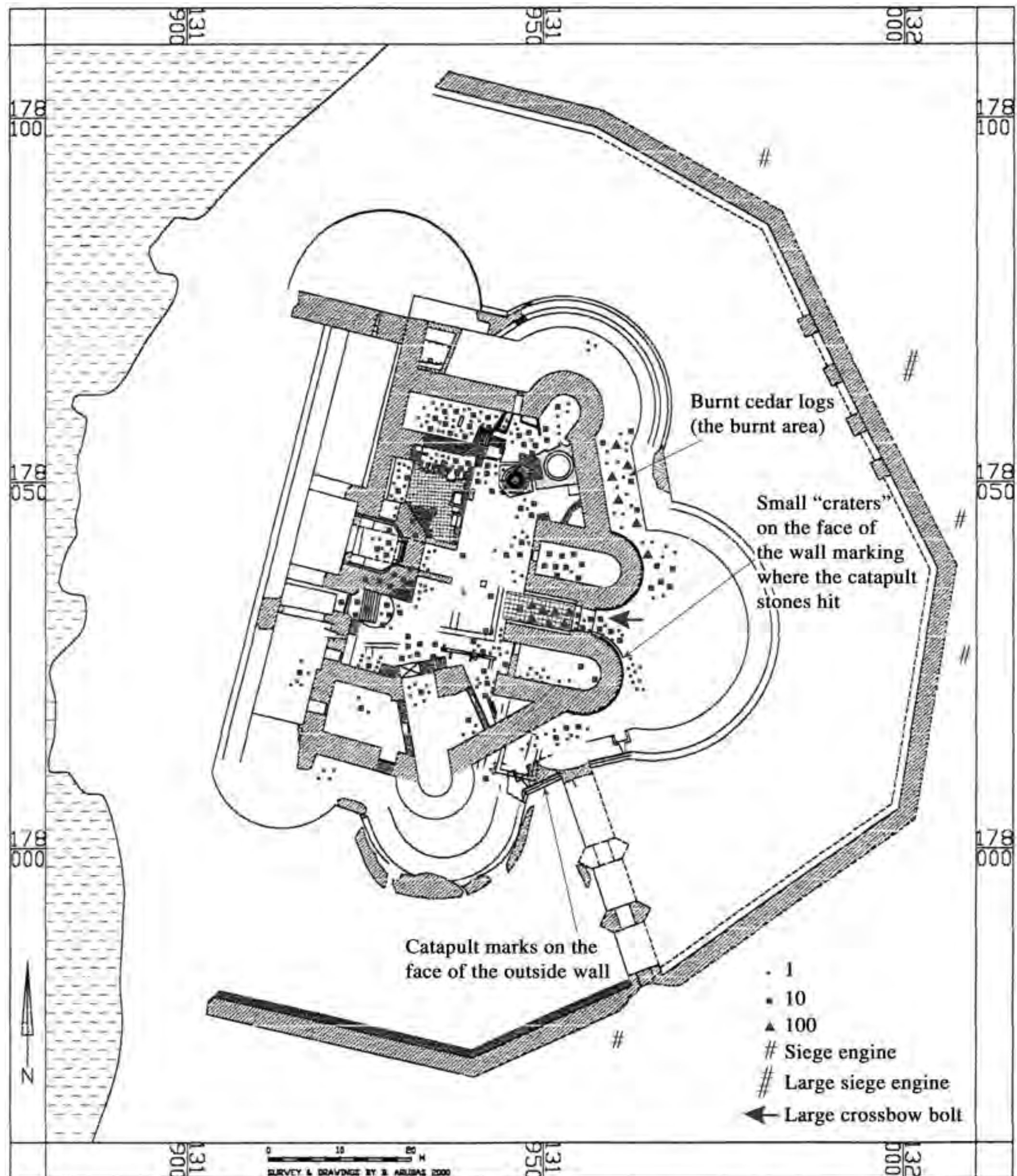
Figure 8A. Iron crossbow bolt (photograph: Gabi Laron).



Figures 8B and 8C. Close-ups of the iron crossbow bolt, remains of rope tightly tied round the bolt (photograph: Gabi Laron).



Map 1. Distribution of arrowheads.



Map 2. Distribution of catapult stones.

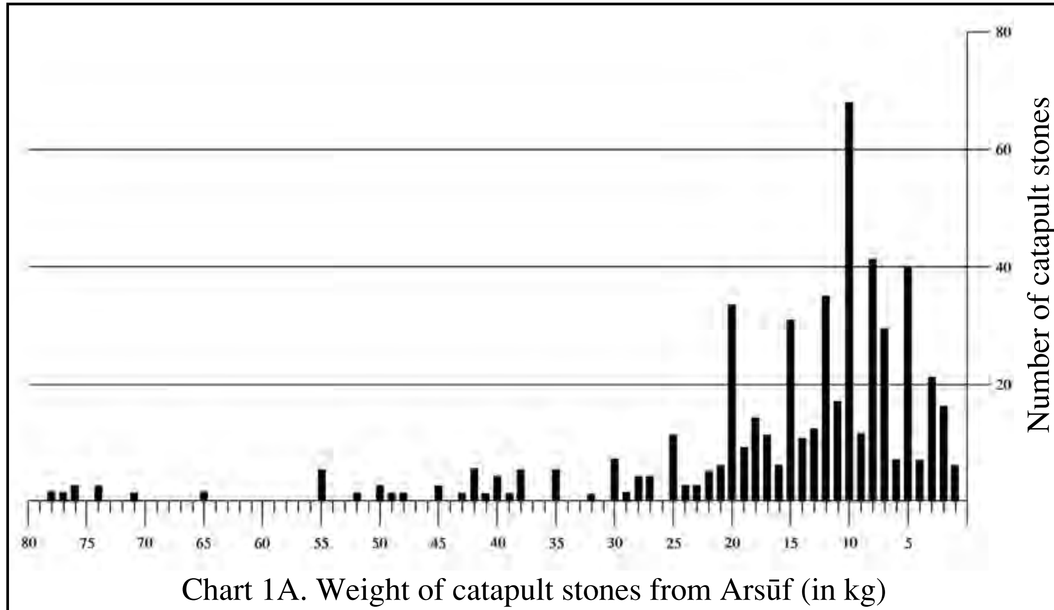


Chart 1A. Weight of catapult stones from Arsūf (in kg)

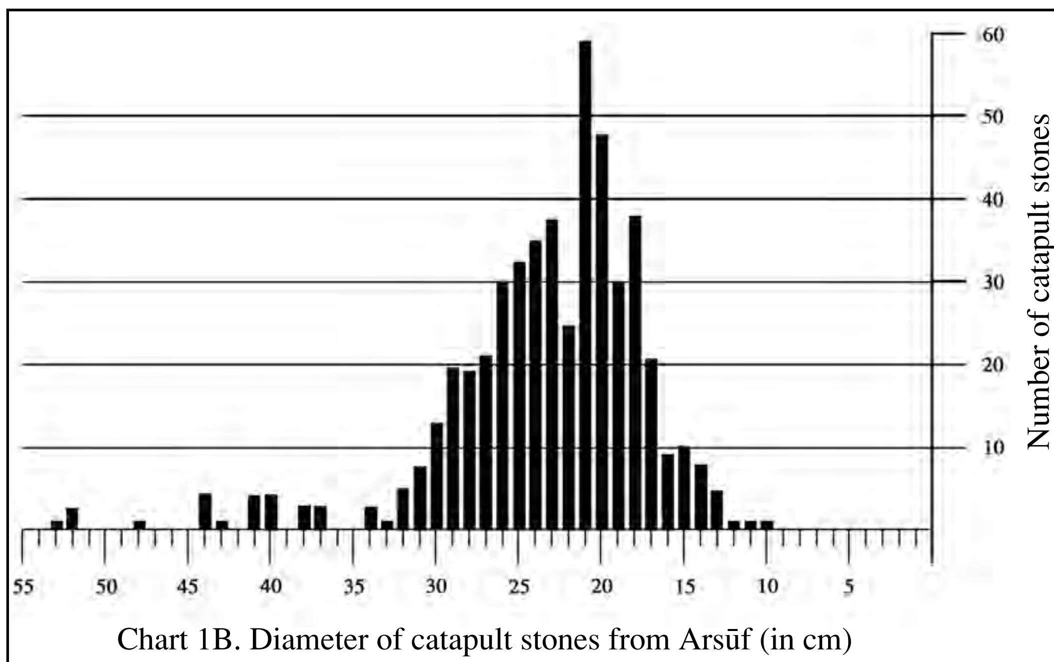


Chart 1B. Diameter of catapult stones from Arsūf (in cm)

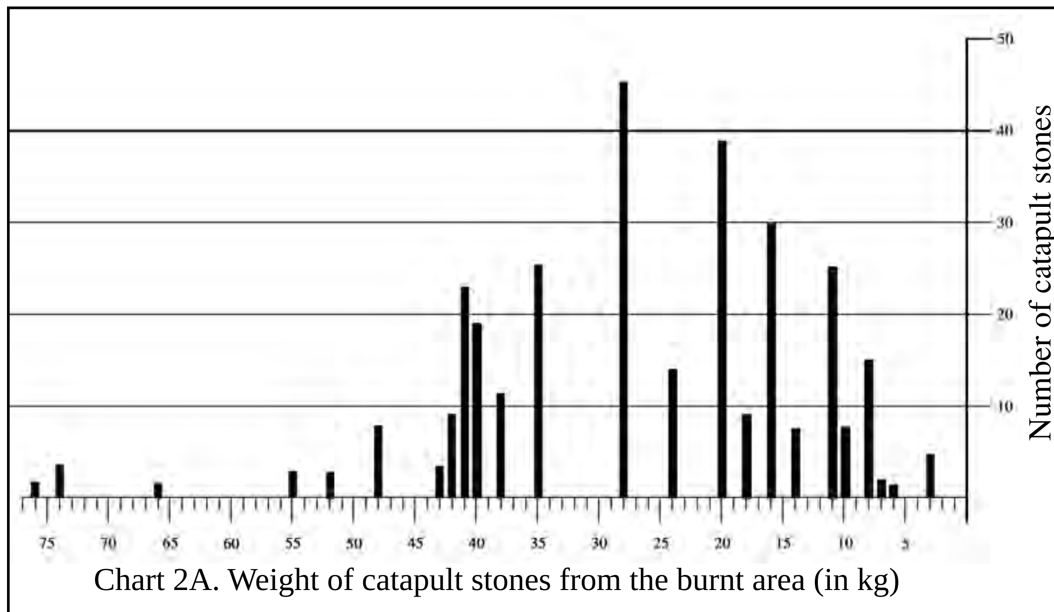


Chart 2A. Weight of catapult stones from the burnt area (in kg)

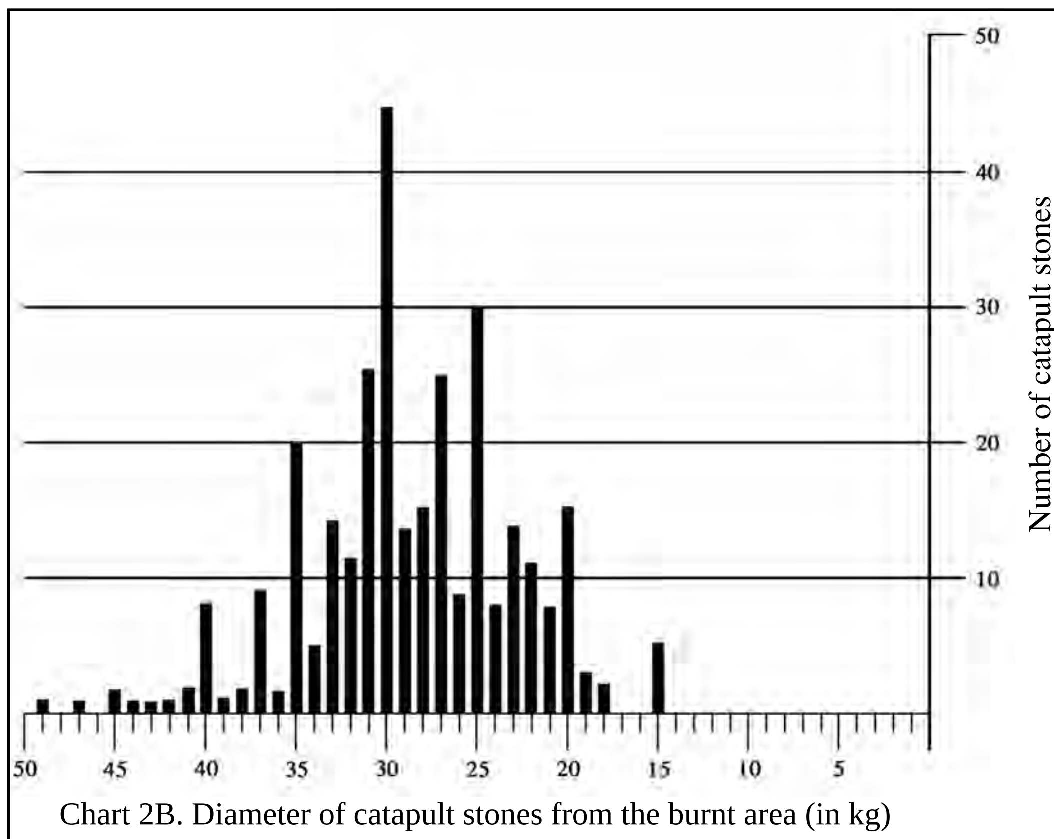


Chart 2B. Diameter of catapult stones from the burnt area (in kg)

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Tales of a Medieval Cairene Harem: Domestic Life in al-Biqāʿī′s Autobiographical Chronicle

Among the findings of recent scholarship on medieval Arabic autobiography[1] is a reaffirmation, or redefinition, of the long-held notion that the realm of ″private″ life was ″never the central focus of pre-modern Arabic autobiographical texts.″[2] To address this paradoxical contradiction between the business of ″self-representation″ and the obvious lack of ″private″ material in such texts, four sets of recurring features have been identified to help in uncovering the ″modes″ the medieval Arabic authors used to construct their individual identities: portrayals of childhood failures, portrayals of emotion through the description of action, dream narratives as reflections of moments of authorial anxiety, and poetry as a discourse of emotion.[3] Other related areas, such as domestic life, gender, and sexuality, are largely left out. The ″autobiographical anxiety,″ after all, has perhaps more to do with the authors′ motivations to pen elaborate portrayals, in various literary conventions, of themselves as guardians of religious learning and respected community members (and in some cases, to settle scores with their enemies and rivals) than self-indulgence and exhibitionist ″individuating.″ In this regard, a good example is perhaps the universally acclaimed autobiographical travelogue, the *Riḥlah* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (d. 770/1368), who married and divorced over a period of thirty years of globetrotting more than twenty women and fathered, and eventually abandoned, some seventy children. However, little, if any, information is provided

[1]The term autobiography is broadly defined in this essay. It includes autobiographies proper as well as autobiographical materials found in chronicles and biographical dictionaries. The latter is particularly important with regard to the later Mamluk period, which saw a surge of autobiographical writings of all kinds. Recent studies have demonstrated that Mamluk historians, especially those who wrote in the fifteenth century, tended to insert the autobiographical materials into their chronological works, thus combining memoirs and history; see Donald Little, ″Historiography of the Ayyubid and Mamluk Epochs,″ in *The Cambridge History of Egypt,* ed. Carl Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 412–44, especially 413–14. For a comprehensive survey of medieval Arabic autobiographical writings, see *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition,* ed. Dwight Reynolds (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 2001).

[2]*Interpreting the Self,* 243.

[3]Ibid., 242–43; also see 28–29, 30–31.

in Ibn Baṭṭūṭah's accounts about these women and children, most of whom remain nameless.[4]

Such, however, is not the case with the Mamluk alim Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Biqāʻī (d. 885/1480), in whose autobiographical chronicle, entitled *Iẓhār al-ʻAṣr li-Asrār Ahl al-ʻAṣr* (Lightening the dusk with regard to the secrets of the people of the age), various aspects of his private life loom large.[5] In this remarkable, and somewhat odd, work, the author's colorful life and eventful career, as well as the historical events in which he participated, witnessed, or otherwise learned about, are wrought in a narrative that combines conventional *tārīkh* narration, Quranic exegesis, and dream interpretation,[6] and is constantly switching between the third person voice—that of a chronicler—and the first person—that of an autobiographer. The extraordinarily intimate nature of the text is best illustrated by the author's tell-all accounts of his own messy domestic life: failed marriages, family feuds, harem melodrama, as well as childbirth, nursing, and infant mortality. The personal nature of the material thus offers glimpses into the autobiographer's mindset and sheds light on his personality and emotions, a rarity in pre-modern Arabic autobiographical writing.

A Syrian immigrant later based in Cairo, al-Biqāʻī's life and career, as he tells it, saw highs and lows. He studied with the great masters in Damascus, Jerusalem, and Cairo; among his teachers was Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī (d. 852/1449). Through his connection to Ibn Ḥajar, he was appointed to serve as a scholar-in-residence to the Mamluk sultans Jaqmaq (r. 857/1453) and Īnāl (r. 857–65/1453–61). Although hailed by many as one of the best minds of his generation, al-Biqāʻī never attained in his lifetime the status of a leading figure among the intelligentsia in Cairo and Damascus, although he tried very hard to present himself as such in his writings.[7]

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[4]See Ross Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta: A Muslim Traveler of the 14th Century* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London, 1989), 39, 44, 62, 67, 176–77, 195, 207, 224–29, 233–34, 236–37, 247–48, 269.

[5]Also known as *Tārīkh al-Biqāʻī;* the first half of the work, covering 855–65/1451–61, has been published in three volumes (ed. Muḥammad Sālim ibn Shadīd al-ʻAwfī [Riyadh, 1992]). The remainder is still in manuscript form: MS Medina, Maktabat al-Shaykh ʻĀrif Ḥikmat 3789 (microfilm: Cairo, Maʻhad al-Makhṭūṭāt, tārīkh 893). The folios of the original manuscript are not numbered; the pagination given in this article is therefore my own. The work is not included in "An Annotated Guide to Arabic Autobiographical Writings, Ninth to Nineteenth Centuries, C.E.," in *Interpreting the Self,* 255–88 (whereas al-Biqāʻī is mentioned as a major author of autobiography, 271).

[6]Li Guo, "Al-Biqaʻi's Chronicle: A Fifteenth Century Learned Man's Reflection on his Time and World," in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800),* ed. Hugh Kennedy (Leiden, 2001), 121–48.

[7]The situation has been improved only in recent years. Among some sixty works attributed to him, the *Naẓm al-Durar fī Tanāsub al-Āyāt wa-al-Suwar,* a Quranic commentary in 22 volumes (Hyderabad, 1969–84), is perhaps better known. Of his history works, several have been published:

His scholastic achievements were overshadowed by his highly publicized and ill-fated attacks on the saint-like Sufi poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235) and his resulting estrangement from the Cairene ulama establishment.[8] He was also battling against chronic poverty and hardship, compounded with a series of disastrous turns in his personal life.

While in the *Iẓhār* he talks about the glories and failures of his lifetime with equal enthusiasm and attention, it is his recounting of his domestic life that will be the focal point in the following pages. Based on a close reading of the intensely personal and anecdotal accounts, I will discuss three intertwined episodes concerning the various aspects of his domestic life: his infamous divorce case, the harem politics among his concubines, and the premature deaths of his children. Through an analysis of the dynamics of various storytelling strategies, the larger question of presentation and self-presentation in Mamluk autobiographical writings will be assessed as well.

DOOMED MARRIAGE: THE CASE AGAINST SU'ĀDĀT

By all accounts, al-Biqā'ī married and divorced numerous times; some of these occurred prior to the time period covered by the *Iẓhār* and are therefore not documented. His marriage to, and eventual divorce from, Fāṭimah bint Muḥammad (d. 884/1479), the daughter of a Cairene merchant, are recounted in a brief and scathing account by his contemporary al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497), which is nothing short of the tale of a poor immigrant marrying into a "good" local family only to have second thoughts when his luck changed for the better.[9]

As his career began to take off in Cairo, al-Biqā'ī married well, at least in appearance. On Friday, 24 Ṣafar 858/23 February 1454, al-Biqā'ī, then forty-eight

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in addition to the *Iẓh*ār, we have the *'Inwān al-Zamān bi-Tarājim al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān,* a biographical dictionary of the learned men al-Biqā'ī had personal contacts with (vol. 1 ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī [Cairo, 2001]) and the *'Unwān al-'Unwān bi-Tajrīd Asmā' al-Shuyūkh wa-Ba'ḍ al-Talāmīdh wa-al-Aqrān,* an epitome of the above (ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī [Beirut, 2002]). The interconnectedness, in both form and content, of these works is discussed in Guo, "Al-Biqa'i's Chronicle," 137–38.

[8]For a detailed account of this debate, see Th. Emil Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, His Verse, and His Shrine* (Columbia, SC, 1994), 62–75; Guo, "Al-Biqa'i's Chronicle," 123–24.

[9]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Cairo, 1934–36), 12:105 (no. 664). Al-Sakhāwī's wording also seems to suggest that Fāṭimah was not the only woman who fell victim to al-Biqā'ī's opportunistic marriage scheme (*kānat mimman tazawwajat bi-al-Biqā'ī fī ḥāl qillihi wa-faqrihi* . . , "she was one of those [women] who married al-Biqā'ī when he was a poor nobody. . . ."). Al-Sakhāwī was a fellow student of al-Biqā'ī under the tutelage of Ibn Ḥajar and later became his archrival; his negative take on al-Biqā'ī should come as no surprise; for more details on this rivalry, see Guo, "Al-Biqa'i's Chronicle," 122–24.

years old and riding high thanks to his association with Sultan Īnāl, married Su‘ādāt,[10] the daughter of the late Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Būshī (d. 856/1452), a prominent former head of the prestigious Nāṣirīyah *khānqāh* in Siryaqus on the northern outskirts of Cairo.[11] The engagement *(al-‘aqd),* held at the *khānqāh,* was attended by the sultan (al-Biqā‘ī was his personal secretary) and his son-in-law, the powerful Mamluk amir Buradabek (al-Biqā‘ī was his confidant and advisor). The author tells us that this was "the first wedding ever" in this small backwater town attended by the Mamluk officials and civilian elite *(a‘yān)* from Cairo. A long list of prominent guests includes the Hanbali chief judge, the leading shaykhs of nearly all the major madrasahs in Cairo, several Mamluk amirs, the Treasurer *(wakīl bayt al-māl),* the head of the State Hospital *(nāẓir al-māristān),* the chief of the State Stable, the sermon-giver at the Grand Mosque in Mecca, and various Sufi masters, among others.

On the night of 7 Jumādá I, three months after the engagement, the bride was brought to the groom for their first night together *(juliyat ‘alayya wa-zuffat ilayya).* It is here that the author's elaborate narrative gets interesting. First, he introduces the idea of divine blessings on his marriage. Not only were the festive events marked by a "God-sent aura of dignified peace and tranquility," they were also highlighted by many "coincidences" *(al-ittifāqāt),* not least of which is the date of the engagement, which happened to be on a Friday, the day the author usually held his weekly Quran commentary sessions *(mī‘ād).* The material for that day "happened" (*ittafaqa*) to be Quran 43:67–70 and 47:15: "Enter Paradise, you and your wives, walking with joy. . ."; "This is the similitude of Paradise. . . therein are rivers of water unstaling, rivers of milk unchanging in flavour, and rivers of wine. . . ."[12]

The Quranic prophecy of the author's marital happiness is further recast by the bride's dream, which occurred on 5 Sha‘bān, three months after the couple's first coition. The dream narration is itself a fine piece of belletristic prose:

> [She said: In her dream,] a man came to her. He wore fine white garments and an exquisite turban the likes of which she had never

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[10]Her biography is found in al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw',* 12:62–63 (no. 377); she was still alive at the time of al-Sakhāwī's writing. A discussion of al-Biqā‘ī's two marriages is found in Yossef Rapoport, "Marriage and Divorce in the Muslim Near East, 1250–1517," Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2002, 273–75.

[11]Founded by Sultan Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn for the Sufis, the construction was completed in 725/1325; see al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā‘iẓ wa-al-I‘tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Cairo, 1853–54), 2:422.

[12]Translations of the Quranic passages are from A. J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted* (New York, 1955).

> seen before; his long hair flowed over his shoulders. Although wearing a veil, his face radiated with lights and halo. He stood in front of our door and said: ″Come on!″ She said: ″So I dressed up and went along with him, and you [i.e., al-Biqāʻī] followed behind me. He took us not far, then opened a door and said: ′Come on in *(udkhulū)*!′ We entered *(dakhalnā)* a garden full of trees, apple trees, pear trees, lotus, and more. Rivers ran here and there without courses. Birds were perching on the trees, warbling the most beautiful songs. We kept walking, and all of a sudden over our heads there were fruits, and the grounds appeared yellow as the color of saffron. The grounds, the trees, and the aromatic plants all had this incredible fragrant scent I had never smelled before. We ended up in a corner; when we looked up, there was a thing that looked like a bed; then we sat in that bed, leaning on each other. The fruits were above us, and we began to pluck them, and ate.″ As if thinking that we were heading home, she said to me [i.e., al-Biqāʻī]: ″Take these fruits with you!″ Then that man said: ″You should not leave this place.″ When we entered the garden, he [i.e., the strange man] gave us white and green garments, and told us to take our clothes off, throw them away, and put on these garments. We did so. . . . Then she woke up while we were in such a happy state. God made all this happen. Amen![13]

This account gets a little fuzzy at the end of the narrative as it weaves the wife′s narration, of *her* dream, with the author′s explanatory note. But the basic elements and their symbolism are clear. The biblical reference to the Garden not only underlines the heavenly bliss of matrimony, but also alludes to pleasure-seeking sensuality. All this is done through the guidance of the strange man, who fits the descriptions, in popular religious lore, of the Prophet Muḥammad. The pun on the words derived from the root *d-kh-l, udkhul,* ″enter!,″ *dukhūl al-jannah,* ″entrance to Paradise,″ and *laylat al-dukhūl,* ″the night of coition,″ links the spiritual enlightenment directly to the earthly pleasure of the flesh. The repeated reference to ″fruits,″ and the Prophet′s warning against ″leaving this paradise,″ bear yet another biblical topos of the forbidden fruits and the resulting Fall of Adam and Eve. Following the biblical line, the blame rests squarely on the woman: it is Suʻādāt the bride that insisted on taking the fruits and leaving paradise. The implication of this ″blame the woman″ topos is fully explored later in the narrative.

The marriage produced a son, Abū al-Yusr Muḥammad, who was born in

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[13] *Iẓhār,* 2:22–23.

859/1455, one year after the wedding. Al-Biqāʿī was at the time traveling in Syria where he received the news from a letter by the boy's maternal step-grandfather. The birth of Muḥammad was an important event in the author's life,[14] to which a lengthy section of the text is devoted (we will come back to this point soon). However, the marriage itself was doomed. During his trip to Syria, which lasted approximately a year,[15] something happened.

What happened exactly in Damascus, where al-Biqāʿī stayed to supervise the building of a *khān al-funduq* on behalf of Sultan Īnāl's son-in-law, the Mamluk amir Burdabek, is not very clear. In the *Iẓhār,* al-Biqāʿī only has this to say:

> I arrived at al-Khānkah [on the outskirts of Cairo] on the night of Saturday, 19 [Shawwāl 859/September 1455]. I stayed the night with my in-laws. They blamed me for my marriage in Damascus. I explained to them that I was unable to endure celibacy *(ṣabr . . . ʿan al-nikāḥ)* for such a long period, and that I had already divorced her [i.e., the woman in Damascus] prior to my return [to Egypt]. I then took off for Cairo and slept in my own house Sunday night, the end of Shawwāl. They did not treat me well at all. They did not show any hospitality for the homecoming man.[16]

More trouble was waiting for the returning alim. In his usual self-righteous tone, al-Biqāʿī recalls the ensuing battle over custody of his newly-born son. It is noted here that Suʿādāt's voice is never heard in the whole process. The major figure leading the fight on her behalf was al-Biqāʿī's soon-to-be ex-mother-in-law,[17] who mobilized an army of relatives and supporters marching on Cairo to confront the disgraceful al-Biqāʿī. Tempers ran short while tensions rose high. "Things got so bad that its ugliness is unheard of. . . . But I stayed calm and remained patient, because I did not want to risk losing my son."[18] The standoff lasted for a few days before a great number of the Cairene elite (*ghālib ruʾasāʾ,* literally "most of the leading scholars," obviously an exaggeration) felt compelled to intervene. The matter was even brought to the attention of Sultan Īnāl himself, who, by the way,

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[14]Al-Biqāʿī had a son named Abū Ḥātim Muḥammad, from an earlier relationship, who died in 853/1449 (*Iẓhār,* 3:119). Suʿādāt's son Abū al-Yusr Muḥammad would be his first boy since then.

[15]He left Cairo shortly after Dhū al-Qaʿdah 858 and returned from Damascus in Shawwāl 859; see *Iẓhār,* 2:87, 141.

[16]Ibid., 2:143–44.

[17]Aṭlas bint ʿAlī Ibn al-Bilbīsī (d. 884/1479); her biography is in al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 12:7 (no. 7).

[18]*Iẓhār,* 2:144.

was very satisfied with al-Biqāʻī′s work in Damascus where all the trouble had started. It is, as the author pointedly informs us, under the direct intervention of the sultan that the divorce was finalized. The date was Friday, 19 Dhū al-Qaʻdah 859/31 October 1455. The marriage made in heaven lasted exactly a year and a half on earth.

Al-Biqāʻī apparently got himself a very good deal in the settlement. We do not know much about the details of the legal maneuvers. But it is obvious that al-Biqāʻī gained what he wanted, including sole custody of his son *(asqaṭtu ḥaqqahā min ḥiḍānat waladī minnī lī),* and a pledge by Suʻādāt that at any time if she, or her legal representative, wanted visitation rights, ″or anything else,″ she would have to pay al-Biqāʻī five hundred dinars up front *(ḥālatan).*

It is here that al-Biqāʻī′s account differs drastically from that of al-Sakhāwī. In al-Biqāʻī′s account, the harsh terms, at the expense of Suʻādāt′s rights, were approved by *(wa-ḥakama lī bi-dhālika)* a local Maliki deputy *(nā'ib)* named Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Mukhallaṭah. In al-Sakhāwī′s version, however, this settlement was in fact vehemently rejected *(ṣammama ʻalá al-imtināʻ)* by a Maliki deputy by the name of Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Maḥallī, on the grounds that according to a famous hadith, ″He who separates a mother from her son, God will separate him from his loved ones″ *(man farraqa bayna wālidah wa-waladihā farraqa Allāh baynahu wa-bayna aḥibbatihi),* affirming that the rights of a child′s biological mother in such a custody dispute should not be denied.[19]

There are two interesting things about the contradictory accounts of this settlement. First is the identity of the Maliki qadi(s) in question. It is likely that the Muḥammad Ibn al-Mukhallaṭah in al-Biqāʻī′s account is the same as Muḥammad al-Maḥallī in al-Sakhāwī′s version. If that proves to be the case, then the question would be: who, al-Biqāʻī or al-Sakhāwī, lied? Even if there were *two* Maliki deputies named Muḥammad whose opinions al-Biqāʻī sought, then our historian still had something to hide in that only the judgment in his favor, a claim al-Sakhāwī′s account flatly rejects, is reported. And this leads to our next point: the fact that al-Biqāʻī, a Shafiʻi by training and affiliation, would seek the approval of a Maliki—the least popular and influential legal branch in Mamluk Egypt—deputy judge in the first place, certainly says something about his cunning. This was most likely for practical reasons: Yossef Rapoport has speculated that al-Biqāʻī′s choice of legal venues in this particular case has to do with the notion that the Maliki school in general allowed greater freedom of contract for men in custody settlements.[20] Furthermore, given the often hostile receptions our historian received

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[19]Al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw'*, 9:113–14.

[20]Rapoport, ″Marriage,″ 274 (with bibliographical references).

from the ulama at large, and the fact that his soon-to-be ex-mother-in-law's husband was a Shafi'i qadi,[21] his being selective in choosing the "right" person to do the job is justifiable.

This perhaps also explains the seemingly unnecessary ranting from a man who appears to have it all. Su'ādāt's family "did not give truce a chance," al-Biqā'ī bitterly complains, "despite my efforts to settle *(al-i'tirāḍ)*. . . , leaving the matter in God's hands."[22] Perhaps as a gesture of goodwill, al-Biqā'ī was willing to allow Su'ādāt to stay with her family during the entire *'iddah,* or waiting period, before she could legally remarry. However, Su'ādāt's family would not cooperate: they refused to accommodate the divorced woman, but instead chose to move her around "whenever and wherever they, and she, so desired."[23] And more importantly, they did not give in under pressure, refusing to give up the family's claims of Su'ādāt's rights, including custody of the boy.

This whole affair, al-Biqā'ī assures us, like many others in his life, could not have taken place without divine intervention. Around the time when the divorce was finalized, the triumphant alim, in his regular *mī'ād* session, began to teach the surah the title of which happened to be *al-mumtaḥanah*, "The Woman Tested."[24] The relevance of the themes of this surah, chief among them how to handle marriages between the "true believers" and those "unbelieving women" (60:10–12), is evident. In addition, the mention herein of Abraham's example in "justice," "love," and "virtue" also alludes to a parallel between Abraham's domestic situation, seen in a wife (Sarah) vs. concubine (Hagar) conflict, and that of al-Biqā'ī, the details of which will be discussed below. Here again, al-Biqā'ī is using hermeneutic tools in an attempt to interpret the events taking place in his own life and to justify these less-than-holy developments.

Al-Biqā'ī's insistence on using this technique, which at times seems far-fetched, did not come from a vacuum. In this regard, one should bear in mind that the combative alim perhaps had to fend off the attacks launched by the likes of al-Sakhāwī. In his account, al-Sakhāwī insisted that Su'ādāt, the "virgin daughter" of a highly respected shaykh "could not take it any more" and *asked* for a divorce,[25] and that the marriage was just one means used by the opportunistic Syrian immigrant

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[21]For more details of his troubled relationship with the Cairene establishment, see Guo, "Al-Biqa'i's Chronicle." Al-Biqā'ī's ex-mother-in-law married Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Wannā'ī after the death of Su'ādāt's father al-Būshī; see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw',* 12:7.

[22]*Iẓhār,* 2:144.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Ibid., 2:144–45; al-Biqā'ī cited Quran 60:1–9.

[25]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw',* 12:62; Rapoport, "Marriage," 274.

to consolidate his status among the Cairene elite.[26] It is perhaps against this backdrop that al-Biqāʿī's elaborate narrative strategy, which is rich in scriptural allegories, makes more sense. If al-Sakhāwī's emphasis on the innocence and frailty of Suʿādāt was meant to make the groom look bad, then al-Biqāʿī would assure us: it was not the marriage itself that went wrong, but rather that the "woman tested" turned out to be the wrong one; and, consequently, all the "love" and "affection" underlined by divine bliss and lavished on her were largely wasted. It follows that the son should stay with the right person, that is, his father, who is the true guardian of his children, just like Abraham was. The case against Suʿādāt is, al-Biqāʿī would like us to believe, closed. Or is it?

Harem Politics: The Plots of Ḥasbiya Allāh the Concubine

Al-Biqāʿī maintained a modestly-sized harem. A number of women, whom he calls *fatātī,* literally "my slave girl," *amatī,* "my house maid," and *surrīyatī,* "my concubine," are named in the *Iẓhār*. It should be pointed out here that the distinction among these terms is not always clear-cut, in that a woman could be mentioned as a *fatāh* in one place, an *amah* in another, and a *surrīyah* yet elsewhere. In addition, the term *fatāh,* in al-Biqāʿī's usage, also denotes wives of his male slaves *(fatá)*.[27] We have reason to believe, as the text hints, that al-Biqāʿī the master enjoyed sexual rights to many, if not all, of these *fatāh*s in his harem.

These maids/concubines were of various ethnic stocks. There was, for example, an Indian woman, Thurayyā, "Stellar," to whom our author variously refers to as *surrīyah, fatāh,* and *amah*.[28] She died during the Black Death. "For an Indian woman," al-Biqāʿī reflects in her obituary, "she was obedient *(rayyiḍah),* pious, quiet, and soft-mannered."[29] There was an Ethiopian woman named Ḥulwah, "Sweetie," who is mentioned as *jārah* (for *jāriyah*?), *amah,* and *fatāh*.[30] This concubine sometimes also served as an informant for our historian; for example, she saw the locusts that struck the village in the year 861/1456 and reported it to al-Biqāʿī, who recorded the event in his chronicle.[31]

Among the many women in the household, none seem to have generated as much attention and fuss as one Ḥasbiya Allāh, who was, it seems, constantly in the thick of harem intrigue. An African princess of sorts (she was the daughter of

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[26]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw',* 12:62–63.

[27]For example, Shahīdah, the wife of ʿAmr, a male servant *(fatá)* of the family; see *Iẓhār,* 3:117.

[28]Ibid., 2:367; 3:120, 127.

[29]Ibid., 3:120.

[30]Ibid., 2:235, 299; 3:118.

[31]Ibid., 2:235.

Khaliṣṣah, the king *[sulṭān]* of the land of al-Masalāt),[32] Ḥasbiya Allāh al-Zanjīyah, ″The Black Girl,″ was purchased by al-Biqāʻī in Rajab 853/1449 under unknown circumstances. There are two peculiar events that put this African concubine at the center of controversies. First is her bizarre story of a multi-year pregnancy, which is recounted in detail by al-Biqāʻī, an aficionado of medicine.[33] The story goes something like this: when al-Biqāʻī first purchased the young woman, she was menstruating *(ḥā'iḍ),* but one month later stopped having periods. Everyone thought she was pregnant, presumably by her new master. Nothing happened, though. Then the woman developed a series of strange symptoms the details of which are recorded meticulously by al-Biqāʻī. The symptoms— irregular menstrual cycles, chronic fatigue, lack of appetite, and persistent stomach pains—convinced al-Biqāʻī and a local physician that she suffered from a condition called, in the Avicennian terminology, *al-rajā',* that is, false (literally ″wishful″) pregnancy. But Ḥasbiya Allāh insisted that she was *actually* pregnant and that the baby was in her womb. The unsettling situation continued to baffle and trouble everyone involved until years later, in the month of Jumādá I 863/1459, Ḥasbiya Allāh finally gave birth to a son, to be named Abū al-Luṭf Aḥmad.

The story did not stop here. The woman claimed that this was the same boy conceived nearly ten years earlier shortly after she was purchased by al-Biqāʻī. What concerns us here, of course, is not the truth of such a fable, but rather the extraordinary attention paid to its documentation. If one bears in mind that al-Biqāʻī's narrative is based on observations made over a period of more than nine years, the sheer tenacity, on the part of both the concubine and the master, to hold the miraculous story together is incredible:

> Then she developed what one might call pregnant woman's ″craving″ for food *(waḥam al-nisā')* . . . to the extent that she could not observe the rituals of fasting during Ramaḍān. She lacked the resolve *(futūr al-quwwah)* to fast in the year [8]54. She would force herself to keep the fast until noon for a couple of days, then she would feel dizzy and nauseous *(dawkhah wa-qay')* and would break the fast; after eating, she would feel fine. The same happened in Ramaḍān 855. She was able, however, to fast in the year 866 and [the year] after that, and everything was fine. . . . And then all of a sudden, she began to have periods [again], all the while her womb remaining lean. . . . Her menstrual cycle was irregular: sometimes it occurred

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[32]Bilād al-Masalāt, on the Mediterranean shore, is thirty-five miles from Tripoli in present-day Libya; see *Iẓhār,* 3:42 (note 2).

[33]For al-Biqāʻī's interests in medicine, see Guo, ″Al-Biqaʻi's Chronicle,″ 132.

> earlier than expected, and sometimes it was late; sometimes it was cut short by a few days, and sometimes it lingered for a few more days; sometimes she would menstruate once a month on a regular basis, and sometimes every two months, making it hard to calculate and predict. This continued until the year 859 when a bit of milk was found in her breasts. The milk was not white, but of a dusty color, and this continued until she gave birth [in the year 863]. When Ramaḍān 862 came, her periods stopped totally, and her belly began to swell, exceeding the normal size. I thought it would at least be twins![34]

If Ḥasbiya Allāh's motive was to attract attention and lay the grounds for bettering her position in the harem, al-Biqāʻī's attitude towards, and treatment of, the incident is quite revealing. Alongside his year-to-year account of the physical condition of his concubine are citations from Avicenna and Ibn al-Nafīs, an obvious attempt to reconcile the inexplicable phenomenon with mainstream medical literature.[35] Worth notice also is his note that in recording the story, he consulted with other women in the harem. The result is a "paraphrased" account *(ḥarrartuhu)* based on claims by the protagonist, i.e., Ḥasbiya Allāh, as well as confirmation from witnesses. If the excessive details of his concubine's menstrual cycle, eating habits, changing belly, and even the color of her milk, sound a bit "kinky" for an alim, he keeps a straight face throughout.

Women have always played a central role in folklore and popular traditions, such as medical care and superstitious beliefs and practices, in the Islamic Near East.[36] Viewed from this perspective, al-Biqāʻī's acceptance of, and respect for, tales of marvels and miracles perhaps should not be seen as out of place. As the text shows, the high-minded alim was in fact taking sides in this debate by openly challenging those "[ignorant] people who have yet to put their feet in the field of knowledge *(al-ʻilm)* and let their minds wander in the garden of learning *(al-jawalān fī fayāfī al-maʻārif)*."[37] By "knowledge" and "learning" he meant not only a recognition of the works by the likes of Avicenna and Ibn al-Nafīs, but also an acknowledgment of miracles and wonders *(ʻajā'ib wa-gharā'ib)* and their role in worldly affairs

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[34] *Iẓhār,* 3:42–45.

[35] Ibid., 3:43–44.

[36] See, for example, Huda Lutfi, "Manners and Customs of Fourteenth-Century Cairene Women: Female Anarchy versus Male Shariʻa Order in Muslim Prescriptive Treatises," in *Women in Middle Eastern History,* ed. Nikki Keddie and Beth Baron (New Haven and London, 1991), 99–121. A contemporary description of the phenomenon is to be found in Fatima Mernissi, *Dreams of Trespass: Tales of a Harem Girlhood* (Cambridge, MA, 1994).

[37] *Iẓhār,* 3:45.

and the human condition, a major topos in medieval Arabic historiography.

As is usually the case, miracles and wondrous stories are substantiated by visions. Ḥasbiya Allāh′s dreams about her miraculous marathon-pregnancy are cited, with an interesting note stating that our historian was in the habit of writing down his and others′ dreams in ″large notebooks″ for future reference.[38]

Next time we hear from Ḥasbiya Allāh, she is once again in the center of harem politics. This time, she offered an apocalyptic vision supporting al-Biqā‘ī′s case against his wife Su‘ādāt, which we discussed earlier in this essay. In the dream, Ḥasbiya Allāh claimed she saw a female sheep give birth to a strange creature, in the shape of a fish, that was barely alive. The next thing she knew, a group of ″strange women″ approached her, asking, ″What do you think? Do you want the baby dead or do you want us to bring life to him?″ Those strange women, Ḥasbiya Allāh recalls, ″looked very vicious *(laysa fīhim khayr).* I turned to them, and suddenly realized that they were none other than your wife and mother-in-law! I cried out, ′Please save the baby, and do whatever you want with the sheep!′″ The dream concluded with a series of allegorical images—among them a dying fish, a big jar *(zīr)* filled with a mixture of milk and greenish paste, some holy smoke—and then Ḥasbiya Allāh woke up to realize that ″there is no fish, no sheep, no Su‘ādāt, and no other harem women at all.″[39]

What grudges this concubine harbored against her mistresses we do not know. If a person′s dream reveals some truth, then we are certain that no love was lost between the two women. Here one may be surprised by such poisonous assaults coming from the mouth of a concubine, but bearing in mind that childbirth has always been a source of tension among the jealous and competitive wives and concubines in the harem, Ḥasbiya Allāh′s tales are by no means beyond reason. In this regard, one may place all of her dream-related stories in a context: the plot was, first, to allude to the notion that Ḥasbiya Allāh′s son somehow had more seniority than Su‘ādāt′s (although the former was born after the latter, he was ″conceived″ earlier in Ḥasbiya Allāh′s account); and next is a crafty allegory aimed at damaging Su‘ādāt′s and her family′s credibility. Al-Biqā‘ī′s ulterior motive in penning such tales, on the other hand, stems from his own overall strategy: it all has to do with a continuous spin on his divorce and child custody case against Su‘ādāt, whom, for some reason, our author seems to have been unable to let go.

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[38]Ibid. For the use of wives′ dreams to verify dates and events in medieval Arabic autobiographical writings, see, for example, Nicholas Heer, ″Some Biographical and Bibliographical Notes on al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhi,″ in *The World of Islam: Studies in Honour of Philip K. Hitti,* ed. James Kritzeck et al. (London, 1959), 121–22.

[39]*Iẓhār,* 2:89.

In this connection, it is also evident from the narrative that al-Biqāʻī′s principal motive for keeping records about his harem women derives largely from his concerns about their, and his, children. We hear about Ḥasbiya Allāh a few years later, in the year 865/1461, when she gave birth to a second son, Abū al-Luṭf Aḥmad II, this time after a ″mere″ fourteen-month pregnancy, according to her own count. The birth, ″an extremely easy one,″ as our author happily informs us, is described with repeated elaborate textual devices aimed again at showing divine intervention in his personal affairs. The scriptural quote this time is from Quran 12:43–57, the story of Joseph and his brothers. The significance of this newborn is underlined by the fact that his birth came after the death of Abū al-Yusr Muḥammad I, Suʻādāt′s only son, and after the outbreak of plague, in 863–64/1459–60, that killed his older brother Abū al-Luṭf Aḥmad, Ḥasbiya Allāh′s first-born. Detailed descriptions of the birth of the boy and the ensuing celebration of his circumcision and other related activities are given. The proud father was so overwhelmed with joy that he took upon himself the task of cutting the baby′s hair for the *ʻaqīqah* ceremony, and decided to shower all the neighbors with free bread and watermelons in celebration, twice. That must have been extra sweet for Ḥasbiya Allāh, the African concubine: not only was her rival Suʻādāt now long gone, but more importantly, the *tafriqah,* or giving gifts to celebrate the birth of a son, was offered on the occasion of the birth of Muḥammad I, the precious son of the formal wife Suʻādāt, only once.[40]

About A Boy: Birth, Rearing, and Death of Children

The accounts of childbirth, rearing, and infant mortality in the household constitute a considerable part of the *Iẓhār.* The birth of a child is always celebrated and accorded rhetorical notice. The reason for this intense attention perhaps lies in the fact that, as the narrative shows, none of al-Biqāʻī′s sons survived. Was it a curse, or God′s plan? Our historian certainly had some explaining to do.

Among the several elaborate accounts of the birth of a child is that of Abū al-Yusr Muḥammad I,[41] whose custody case became a bone of contention in al-Biqāʻī′s divorce battle against the boy′s mother Suʻādāt. There were, as al-Biqāʻī tells it, many ″marvelous and spectacular things about this boy *(ʻajā'ib hādhā al-walad).*″ Foremost of these was his birthday, 12 Rabīʻ I, corresponding to that of the Prophet Muḥammad. The proud father, then in Damascus, composed a poem to celebrate the occasion. The poem is replete with the formulaic panegyric elements celebrating the *mawlid,* or birth, of the Prophet. Its motif is a confirmation of the coincidence of the birthday of his son and that of the Prophet; this is

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[40]Ibid., 3:355–56.

[41]Ibid., 2:85–89.

achieved through word-play with repeated juxtaposition, and deliberate mixing, of the *mawlid* of the Prophet Muḥammad and that of the boy, whose name is, of course, Muḥammad.

As can be expected, the wonders also have to do with dreams and ″coincidences″ (*ittifāqāt*) prior to, and after, the boy′s birth. Al-Biqāʻī′s own dream, we are told, occurred on the eve of receiving the good news from Egypt. In the dream, he was crossing a road and stumbled upon a piece of paper containing the names of God. This reminded him of the famous incident involving the Sufi Bishr Ibn al-Ḥārith, known as al-Ḥāfī, ″the Barefooted″ (d. 226/841?). Legend has it that Bishr, having accidentally trampled the paper underfoot, heard God saying, ″If you honor my name, I will honor your name in this world and the hereafter.″ Following the Baghdadi saint′s footsteps, our Cairene historian duly placed the paper on his forehead, honoring God′s names. For al-Biqāʻī, this dream, like many others recorded in the *Iẓhār,* was a sure sign of divine intervention. Furthermore, by showing respect to God, he was also betting on the future, ″hoping that a great deal of benefit will befall my newborn son.″[42]

The joyful father was apparently not the only one who saw this coming. On the eve of al-Biqāʻī′s trip to Damascus, the Shafiʻi judge Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ziftāwī[43] told of a similar, but more complex, dream he had: while contemplating the reading of the phrase *wa-yazīdahum* (or was it *yazīduhum*?) *min faḍlihi* (Quran 24:38), the shaykh fell asleep and had a vision that his father, the prominent Shafiʻi scholar Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, was standing in front of him, chanting the correct reading of the Quranic verse in question (it is *yazīdahum,* to be sure). Surprised, Nāṣir al-Dīn asked his father, ″Why are you here?″ The father said, ″Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn′s [i.e., al-Biqāʻī′s] son just went downstairs, carried by a servant; . . . I am here to watch over him lest the boy fall.″ ″But Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn has no son!″ the bewildered Nāṣir al-Dīn protested. ″He surely does now,″ the father replied. After telling the bizarre anecdote, Nāṣir al-Dīn turned to al-Biqāʻī and inquired, ″Is any one in your household pregnant?″ ″Yes indeed,″ al-Biqāʻī assured him, and then went on, ″God has brought the pregnancy to term, in the form of a boy, and He is solely responsible for materializing the remainder of the Quranic verse,″ which reads: ″God may recompense them for their fairest works and give them increase of His bounty; and God provides whomsoever He will, without reckoning.″

The wonder-boy′s marvelous stories never ceased to dazzle our keen-eyed historian. The baby, we are told, not only resembled his father in looks, he also acted like him: an anecdote related to al-Biqāʻī by his own mother Fāṭimah has it

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[42]Ibid., 86.

[43]He died in 876/1471; for his biography see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʼ,* 9:116 (no. 302).

that when al-Biqāʿī was born, he did not cry and showed no sign of life; assuming he was dead, people left him aside, uncovered. Then some female relatives took a closer look at the baby and realized that he was still alive. They quickly poured sulfur powder around the baby's nose; after a sniff came a big sneeze and the happy sound of a baby crying. The same thing, al-Biqāʿī writes, happened to his own son. What comes next is perhaps central to the whole story:

> I was told by his mother [i.e., Suʿādāt] and other women, who are experts in this matter, that the baby was delivered in the eighth month of the pregnancy—may God make all His blessings available to him and protect him from all evils! But two months after the birth, the baby still could not suckle the breasts [of his mother for milk]. So his aunt Fāṭimah, the daughter of Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Būshī, would squeeze milk from her breasts and then drop the milk to his mouth. It was only after two months that he began to suckle [his mother's] breasts; but he did not like her milk at all. From her left breast, he did not drink a thing; and from her right breast, he would suck and drink with reluctance *(ʿalá kurh),* and then he would throw up most of what he had consumed.[44]

As a result, the baby, we are told, was nursed by a group of concubines and maids in the Biqāʿī harem: among them the above-mentioned Ḥasbiya Allāh, "only in whose arms the baby would become calm and content," and ʿAzīzah, the daughter of a male slave *(ghulām)* owned by the family, whose milk "was preferred by the baby boy."[45]

There are, to be sure, some obvious holes in the whole story, not least of which is the availability of milk at the exact time in question from so many women other than the nursing mother, Suʿādāt. As the narrative proceeds, the underlying theme is unmistakable: that Suʿādāt is an unfit mother by any standard. It follows that al-Biqāʿī's harsh, and seemingly unfair, custody claim, discussed above, is not only legally sound but also morally right and biologically appropriate. The fact that the newborn baby was raised largely by the father, with the help of other women in the harem, "is proof," the author claims, "that what happened as a result of the evil-doings wrought by his mother, which led to the separation [of the baby and the birth mother], turned out to be God's merciful blessings. Amen!"[46]

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[44]*Iẓhār,* 2:88.

[45]Ibid., 89.

[46]Ibid. For Islamic legal discourse on the subject, see Avner Giladi*, Infants, Parents and Wet Nurses: Medieval Islamic Views on Breastfeeding and their Social Implications* (Leiden, 1999),

Sadly, this heaven-bestowed son was not to live long. He died on 12 Shaʻbān 860/1456, at the age of "one year, four-and-a-half months, and two days," by al-Biqāʻī's own count.[47] The exact cause of death is unknown. From the symptoms described in great detail (nearly two pages), one learns that the boy suffered from diarrhea, vomiting, loss of appetite, and perhaps high fever. In a poignant passage, the lamenting father recalls what happened during the final hours: when the dying boy showed signs of thirst, the father asked a slave girl to hurry to fetch some melon juice; however, the boy's body language made it clear that he would only drink from a jar *(zīr),* a reference to the *zīr* that saved him at the time of his birth, in Ḥasbiya Allāh's above-mentioned dream version of the event. Now the tale has come full-circle: the boy—who in the concubine's dream was a dying fish taken out of the sea and later rescued in a big "jar" of water—then drank from the jar, on his deathbed, and stopped crying. "He remained very calm and content, till he passed away," our historian recounts.[48] The grief-ridden father then goes on to devote a long passage to describing the final moment:

> He continued in this state up until Thursday morning, . . . and every passing hour was a struggle. Despite that, he seldom complained, nor did he utter a sigh of pain. . . . Then I heard a moan from him . . . and rushed to his side as he was dying: his head became stiff up to the upper palate, and his gaze became frozen . . . , his eyes closed . . . , and he showed no sign of movement except for his lower palate and below. His chest began to clatter, with continuous moans. . . . I felt a profound sense of compassion *(al-wijd)* that no words can describe, and I sought comfort in prayers. I ordered the maids to perform the ritual ablution *(wuḍū'),* that each of them should bow two prostrations, asking God to ease the pain of death. I then washed myself and started performing the ritual. During my second prostration, I heard women's whispers, which indicated to me that he was dead. I hastened to his bedside and he was gone.[49]

This account offers one of the most poignant moments in the entire *Iẓhār,* the likes of which, to the best of my knowledge, is rarely seen in Mamluk historical writings. Adding to the sadness is the fact that even in the boy's death, his mother,

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especially 45–62 (maternal breastfeeding vs. wet nursing), 94–101 (parents; father's responsibility and legal rights).

[47] *Iẓhār,* 2:192.

[48] Ibid., 193.

Su'ādāt, was kept totally out of the picture. No word of her reaction is even mentioned.

The cycle of childbirth and infant mortality occurred again a few years later, in Ramaḍān 861, when the Ethiopian concubine Ḥulwah gave birth to a son. In celebrating the coming of the new boy, who was named after his late half-brother Abū al-Yusr Muḥammad I, and perhaps in an attempt to eradicate the memories of the tragic loss of Muḥammad I, al-Biqā'ī threw a big party on the occasion of his *'aqīqah,* or hair cutting ceremony and circumcision for the newly born. More than a hundred notables, among them Sufi masters from Mecca and Medina, attended the feast. Food was distributed to all of his neighbors. Panegyrics, including the ones praising the virtues of "Ethiopian women," were presented.[50] Al-Biqā'ī once again takes pains in describing the marvels and wonders *('ajā'ib)* of his newborn son. Among these is his account of a rift between the boy and a neighbor's naughty children, "the most evil creatures on earth," in al-Biqā'ī's characterization. When the bullying boys were about to harm the then two-year-old Muḥammad II in front of the mosque where al-Biqā'ī was teaching, the boy was miraculously rescued by his father and nanny.[51]

This younger Muḥammad was a lovely boy, indeed, the proud father repeatedly emphasizes. He was "smart, confident, and full of self-esteem," and had a vigorous intellectual curiosity. He began to crawl when he was eight months old, began to comprehend the world around him from the ninth month, and started walking in the next. He was weaned on 18 Ramaḍān 863, that is, two full years after his birth,[52] by which time he had the appearance of a five-year-old toddler. "He was able to ride on horseback. He would ask for a whip, and would hold it in his hands, in the manner of a horseman." The proud father also predicates the boy's "potential for future greatness."[53] Unfortunately, the promising boy would soon perish, this time during a new outbreak of the Black Death in 863–64/1459–60.[54] Muḥammad II, we are told, was "martyred" by the epidemic *(shahīdan maṭ'ūnan),* the infection from which "started creeping up from his left armpit," at the age of "two years and nine days, no more and no less."[55]

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[49]Ibid.

[50]Ibid., 299–301.

[51]Ibid., 3:54.

[52]Ḥasbiya Allāh's second son was also weaned after two full years; see *Iẓhār,* 3:356. This seems to follow a common medical recommendation in the Islamic Near East; see Giladi, *Infants,* 62–67.

[53]*Iẓhār,* 3:118.

[54]Two outbreaks of the plague hit Egypt during the period in question, first in 858–59/1454–55, and then again in 863–64/1459–60; see *Iẓhār,* 3:114 (years 863–64); Michael Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977), 217, 312.

Al-Biqāʻī's documentation of the Black Death presents a vivid firsthand personal account of the events. In the *Iẓhār,* aside from many obituaries of the Cairene notables who fell victim to the epidemic, we also find a long list of casualties in the author's own household. Among them was Shahīdah, a female slave *(fatāh)* who died in Jumādá II 863;[56] Ghāliyah, her daughter, and Thurayyā, the Indian concubine, both died in the same month;[57] Abū al-Luṭf Aḥmad, Ḥasbiya Allāh's first son, died five months later, in Dhū al-Qaʻdah.[58] All told, in a few months, the plague claimed a handful of lives in this household alone. The dead were all buried in the family cemetery, next to the corpses of many sons, daughters, and concubines who had died earlier.[59]

More births are reported in the remainder of the *Iẓhār*. For example, Ḥulwah, the Ethiopian concubine, gave birth to another son named, again, Abū al-Yusr Muḥammad in 866/1461.[60] All in all, infant mortality seems to have been a curse hovering over al-Biqāʻī's head. Even for those who managed to survive temporarily, destiny was never in their favor. Ḥasbiya Allāh's second son, Abū al-Luṭf Aḥmad II, for example, would later suffer from developmental problems; not only was he slow in learning to walk and talk, but was also, worst of all, always sick, "with gross sores on his face and body all the time."[61] Eventually the boy died when he was three years old.[62] Ḥulwah's son Abū al-Yusr Muḥammad III died when he, too, was merely three years old.[63] We don't know much about the fate of al-Biqāʻī's daughters.[64] As far as the period covered by the *Iẓhār* is concerned, none of al-Biqāʻī's sons survived. All told, this is, in the end, a very sad story, indeed.

Concluding Remarks: Private Life and Autobiography

The various episodes presented above form the story of an eccentric Mamluk alim's turbulent domestic life. In the category of dysfunctional families, our protagonist and narrator al-Biqāʻī was not alone, given the extremely high rate of

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[55]*Iẓhār,* 3:118.
[56]Ibid., 117.
[57]Ibid., 119, 120.
[58]Ibid., 127.
[59]Ibid., 111.
[60]*Iẓhār,* MS, 338.
[61]*Iẓhār,* 3:356.
[62]*Iẓhār,* MS, 462.
[63]Ibid., 486.
[64]One daughter, Umm Hānī Fāṭimah, was born to Thurayyā, the Indian concubine, in 862/1457 (*Iẓhār,* 2:367); another daughter, Umm al-Ḥasan Zaynab, was born to Ḥulwah, the Ethiopian concubine, in 869/1464 (*Iẓhār,* MS, 486).

divorce in the Mamluk era.[65] However, as Leo Tolstoy′s adage about unhappy families goes, everyone′s story is unique. When it comes to the various factors that caused a marriage to collapse and a family to dissipate in medieval Muslim societies, little is known beyond the legal (and economic) parameters.[66] This, of course, has largely to do with the nature of our sources. While ″family″ occupies substantial importance in Islamic legal discourse, historians, on the whole, usually have little, if anything, to say on the subject. Even in autobiography, a presumably ″ideal″ genre for such a pursuit, one is confronted with the predominance of generic narratives over individual voices. In al-Biqāʻī and his *Iẓhār,* the subject of the present study, we find a rather special voice.

The first remarkable thing about al-Biqāʻī′s *Iẓhār* is its blending of literary genres. This is evidenced by the at-times-confusing narrative structure, constantly switching back and forth between a chronicle and an autobiography. Very often the awkwardness of the seemingly bungled narrative is obvious. For instance, al-Biqāʻī′s wedding to Suʻādāt is narrated in a strictly third person tone, as part of a larger narrative frame of the sultan′s, not the author′s—that is, the groom′s—activities. It begins with an account of: on such-and-such day, ″he [i.e., the sultan] came to″ the Nāṣirīyah *khānqāh*, ″to marry off his secretary *(li-tazwīj kātibihi)* [i.e., al-Biqāʻī] to Suʻādāt. . . .″ The author then abruptly switches to first person narrative in the next paragraph when the groom, ″he,″ becomes ″I.″[67] Another example of this oddity is seen in the obituary of al-Būshī, al-Biqāʻī′s late father-in-law, who had died two years prior to al-Biqāʻī′s marriage to his daughter Suʻādāt. This relationship, although posthumous, is never acknowledged.[68] This kind of inconsistency may reflect the raw condition of the unfinished autograph manuscript, a work-in-progress *musawwadah*-draft; the author was perhaps writing a chronicle on the basis of his own diary. However, the possibility that such a narrative strategy was so designed cannot be ruled out. In the case of al-Būshī, the silence on the relationship between the two may have to do with al-Biqāʻī′s awareness of the accusations, by al-Sakhāwī and the like, of his opportunistic marriage schemes for career advancement. And in the case of his wedding, the interpretive tension between a heavenly matrimony and its eventual ugly reality is

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[65]Thirty percent of marriages in the Mamluk period ended in divorce; see Rapoport, ″Marriage,″ 268. A quick glimpse at vol. 12 of al-Sakhāwī′s *Al-Ḍaw',* the most extensive Mamluk biographical work covering women′s lives and careers, will give the unmistakable impression of the frequency of divorce.

[66]For the most up-to-date bibliography of the current scholarship on marriage and divorce in the Islamic Near East, see Rapoport, ″Marriage,″ 300–25. The literature on women and family in Muslim societies in general is very extensive and need not be repeated here.

[67]*Iẓhār,* 2:20–21.

[68]Ibid., 1:193.

reconciled by a multiple-narrative line with various voices and perspectives. By switching back and forth between the first person narrative and the third person commentary, as both protagonist *and* eye witness, the narrator is in total control of the narrative.

The second remarkable thing about al-Biqāʻī's *Iẓhār* is its rare insights into the author's personality and emotions, an element that is commonly held to have been largely missing from medieval Arabic autobiographical writings. In this respect, his poignant depictions of the births and deaths of his children come to mind immediately. Despite the common attitude of treating such disastrous events as a manifestation of God's unknowable plans for His creatures, al-Biqāʻī seeks some concrete explanations for, and human elements in, the tragedies. As the text attests, in telling the heart-wrenching stories, the author's emotions are genuine and sincere. This is in sharp contrast to his tell-alls about his sinister ex-wives and in-laws. Full of grudges, voluntary self-voyeurism, and vendetta, these flashy tales further expose, by default, the author's true character and attitudes. What we see here is a far cry from a calculated, self-righteous, stoic alim, but rather a man full of contradictions: an overzealous moralist, a caring father, a wife abuser, and finally, a big-mouthed jackass. During his entire life, there were too many battles to fight and too many scores to settle. In the *Iẓhār*, his many smear campaigns and personal vendettas are always in full swing, with all the trimmings of literary manipulation. You would not want to be on al-Biqāʻī's enemy list.

The third thing that sets al-Biqāʻī aside from his peers is his portrayal of his relationships with women. While women are relatively well represented in Mamluk autobiographies, the authors tend to talk more about their mothers and daughters than about their wives and concubines,[69] much less about their perspectives on their relationships with them. In al-Biqāʻī, however, we have someone who lets us into these areas of his world and psyche. His support of Ḥasbiya Allāh the concubine against Suʻādāt the wife in the baby-bearing melodrama is but one example of such personalized and overtly biased interpretive narrative. It obviously has to do with his overall plan to defame Suʻādāt; but on the other hand, it does allow the reader to appreciate his plain style in voicing his likes and dislikes of the women in his harem. Compared with his peers, this certainly marks a leap; but unfortunately it perhaps is not big enough. Al-Biqāʻī's women, in the final analysis, are like those in a Dostoevsky novel: they do not have their own personal history and voice—they enter the male heroes' lives, constitute part of their fate, and disappear.[70]

For al-Biqāʻī, the "autobiographical anxiety" stems directly from his need to

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[69]Rapoport, "Marriage," 13–17.

[70]Konstantin Mochulsky, Introduction to *The Brothers Karamazov,* by Fyodor Dostoyevsky (New York, 2003), xxi.

explain many seeming downturns in his life experiences: failed marriages, messy domestic situations, and worst of all, the endless deaths of male descendents, the utmost blow to a man whose very existence was facing the danger of eternal oblivion and meaninglessness. Thus writing his autobiography perhaps became, in a sense, his way of finding salvation. Call it egocentric or self-serving, al-Biqāʻī´s writing is always of, and for, himself. The depiction of his domestic life serves as part and parcel of this salvation history project. It is through his overtly subjective lens and intimate personal experiences that we are able to view the history of the time period he covered. It is true that many things are not entirely novel here: the *ʻajāʼib* and *nawādir* elements, the use of dream interpretation, the apocalyptic spins, and hermeneutic manipulation, all point to a continuation of the traditions in Arabic historical writing, but it is the sheer volume of using such devices, and the way they are put together, that distinguish al-Biqāʻī from his predecessors and contemporaries. Although his story-telling is not always elegant and convincing, his story is unusual and his voice unique.

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The Construction of Gender Symbolism in Ibn Sīrīn´s and Ibn Shāhīn´s Medieval Arabic Dream Texts*

INTRODUCTORY AND METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS

It was years ago when I first bought my Bulaq edition of Arabic dream texts authored by the three canonical interpreters: Ibn Sīrīn, Ibn Shāhīn, and al-Nābulusī. In the eighties it was a favorite pastime among some Cairene intellectuals to read such popular classics, a way to converse with and learn more about the past. But what began as a pastime developed into an exercise in cultural and historical probing, a wish to use the dream text as a potential source for examining the cultural assumptions that shape us as social beings. In this article, I propose to use a gender-sensitive reading of selected narratives so as to explore both accepted and undetected cultural constructs of gender, and to examine how the text re-enforces or subverts conventional notions of gender hierarchy. In doing so, a dialogue is established with the text, infusing it with new grounds of sensibility, with memory, and questions that may help us understand the genealogy of cultural assumptions.

It is important to bear in mind, however, that although linguistic symbols reflecting a dichotomy between masculinity and femininity may not be remarkable in and of themselves, they do serve as reminders of the underlying connection between the textual or ideological construction of gender and the existing structures of order which constitute the social ground of the text. An interactive relationship between the symbols used in the dream text and its social context is thus expected to be at play. Notions of gender, economic status, age, religion, and sometimes race and color closely intersect in dream imagery, just as they do in the existing social context. And as Toufy Fahd rightly remarks, these texts may be considered as mirrors of society, providing reflections about everyday life in medieval Arab-Muslim society that cannot be found in conventional historical texts.[1]

Apart from a few recent studies, modern scholars still show little interest in the use of the dream text as a source for understanding the cultural assumptions of

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[1]Toufy Fahd, ″The Dream in Medieval Islamic Society,″ in *The Dream and Human Societies,* ed. Gustave. E. von Grunebaum and Roger Caillois (Berkeley, 1966), 362.

Arab-Muslim society.[2] Such lore of dreams has been doubly ignored: historians dismiss it as not pertaining to facts and events, psychologists and psychoanalysts follow Freud's famous devaluation of such popular manuals in his *Interpretation of Dreams*. For him, the key to a dream was to be sought in the unconscious of the dreamer, and not in manuals that simply offer ready-made correspondences between dream motifs and their meanings. My approach in examining the dream narrative does not simply focus on the psychological, but rather on how the dream text might be helpful in contributing to our knowledge of cultural constructs. This study therefore will draw attention to the wealth of social implications latent in the dream narrative, to the complexity and ambivalence of its mode of symbolizing, without however appropriating its meaning.

While many of the Arabic dream texts still survive in manuscript form, only a few of these texts have been published. However, the fact that these three canonical dream texts have been published together and continue to circulate widely in the Egyptian Bulaq edition is significant in its own right, for it implies that these dream texts continue to have a certain level of credibility and relevance in the popular imaginary of the Egyptian-Arab reader. For the purposes of this article, I will examine in some detail two of these three dream texts. The first is the text attributed to the eighth-century interpreter Ibn Sīrīn (born in Basra, died there in 110/728), and who is unanimously acknowledged by later Muslim scholars to be the greatest master in the field. It should be noted, however, that Ibn Sīrīn may not have written this text himself, but most probably it was his disciples who collected his teachings in a text that was later attributed to him and which is entitled *Muntakhab al-Kalām fī Tafsīr al-Aḥlām* (A concise guide for the

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[2]Ibid., 351–63; idem, "Les Corps de metiers au IV/Xe siècle a Bagdad d'apres le chapitre xii d'al-Qadiri-fi-t-Ta'bir de Dinawari," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 8, no. 2 (1965): 186–212. For a more detailed discussion of Arabic dream texts, see idem, *Le Livre des Songes* (Damascus, 1964); see also his *Les Songes et leur Interpretation*, Sources Orientales, vol. 2 (Paris, 1959). More recently, Leah Kinberg published a critical edition of Ibn Abī al-Dunyā's dream text entitled *Morality in the Genre of Dreams* (Leiden, 1994). See Steven M. Oberhelman's recent study of medieval Greek and Arabic dreams, *The Oneirocriticism of Achmet: A Medieval Greek and Arabic Treatise on the Interpretation of Dreams* (Lubbock, TX, 1991). See also his article "Hierarchies of Gender, Ideology, and Power in Medieval Greek and Arabic Literature," in *Homoeroticism in Classical Arabic Literature,* ed. Jerry Wright, Jr., and Everett Rowson (New York, 1997), 55. For a comparative approach on dreams, see *Dream Cultures: Explorations in the Comparative History of Dreaming,* ed. David Shulman and Guy Stroumsa (New York, 1999). Western scholarship has produced numerous studies on dreams; for example, see Michel Foucault's classic work *The Care of the Self,* trans. Robert Hurley, The History of Sexuality, vol. 3 (New York, 1988); John Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (New York, 1990); Patricia Miller, *Dreams in Late Antiquity: Studies in the Imagination of a Culture* (Princeton, 1994).

interpretation of dreams). The second text which I will examine is authored by the Mamluk statesman and scholar Ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī (born in Jerusalem, died in 873/1468 in Tripoli), and is entitled *Al-Ishārāt fī ʻIlm al-ʻIbārāt* (Signs in the science of dream interpretation). In light of its authoritative status in the Arabic dream tradition, Ibn Sīrīn′s text will be used as a basic reference source against which Ibn Shāhīn′s later text is compared and examined, thus allowing us to investigate the degree of continuity or discontinuity within the tradition of dream interpreting. As for ʻAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī′s text (born in Damascus, died there in 1143/l731), it is used more as a supplementary source for the useful commentaries that the author makes on interpreting dreams, and when necessary, for further comparative purposes.[3]

The Arabic medieval dream text is an encyclopedic maze. Whereas Ibn Sīrīn′s earlier text comprises 59 chapters, Ibn Shāhīn expands them to 80, each dealing with related dream motifs. The list of such motifs is exhaustingly long and varied, and a few examples of these will suffice to give the reader an idea of their rich variety: death, heaven and hell, sacred spaces, religious rituals, the Prophet and his Companions, food, sexual relations, man, woman, slaves, children, body parts, houses, furniture, funerals, festivals, torture, plants, beasts, insects, birds, etc.[4] Given such a wide variety of topics, I decided to narrow down the data to be studied to a more manageable size. Out of the various chapters dealing with animals, I chose the one on the bird kingdom, and out of the numerous chapters dealing with human actors and related activities, I chose two: one dealing with men, women, children, and slaves; the other dealing with sexual and marital relations. For analytical and comparative purposes, textual choice of chapters from the two dream texts was based on the detected similarities in title and content. Furthermore, the choice of examining and comparing two different dream motifs, one dealing with birds, the other with humans, allows us to investigate how the two interpreters constructed correspondences between animal and human

[3]For this article, I have used the Bulaq two-volume edition, reprinted by Maṭbaʻat ʻĪsá al-Bābī (Cairo, n.d.). The edition includes the three dream texts attributed respectively to al-Imām Muḥammad Ibn Sīrīn, Ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī, and the eighteenth-century scholar ʻAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī. On the upper section of the first volume is al-Nābulusī′s text entitled *Taʻṭīr al-Anām fī Tafsīr al-Aḥlām*. Ibn Sīrīn′s text *Muntakhab al-Kalām* is printed on the lower section of the same volume. Al-Nābulusī′s text is continued in the second volume, but on the lower section of this volume is Ibn Shāhīn′s *Ishārāt*. For more information on these three authors, their lives, and their works, see Yehia Gouda, *Dreams and Their Meanings in the Old Arab Tradition* (New York, 1991), 29–34. On the importance of Ibn Sīrīn as the most authoritative oneirocritic, see Fahd, ″The Dream in Medieval Islamic Society,″ 360–61.

[4]For a full English translation of Ibn Sīrīn′s table of contents, see Gouda, *Dreams and Their Meanings,* 21–25.

symbols. In the first part of this article findings based on the bird chapters will be examined, and in the second part such findings will be compared with those deduced from chapters directly dealing with human actors.[5] While animals, birds, and insects are generally used in the dream texts to signify events or actions relating to human subjects, the choice to examine the bird, as opposed to any other animal category, is based on the observation that the dream narratives of the bird kingdom appear to be analogously constructed according to the social structures that informs them.

Closer examination of our two historically disparate dream texts reveals more similarities than differences in structure and content, suggesting a high degree of continuity within the tradition of dream interpretation. Both Ibn Sīrīn′s and Ibn Shāhīn′s texts follow a thematic classification that demonstrates similarity in content and structural sequence. For instance, both texts begin with introductory chapters on the theoretical principles of dream interpretation, followed by those on dreams dealing with eschatological and religious themes, and then by those dealing with mundane matters. Finally, both conclude with anecdotes about master interpreters, addressed primarily to those who wish to study the discipline of dream interpretation. The two texts also reveal close parallels in the manner symbols are interpreted, which is not surprising, given the well-known dependence of later interpreters on earlier masters. Ibn Shāhīn seems to have had great respect for Ibn Sīrīn′s teachings, for the latter is frequently used as one of his authoritative sources.[6] Nonetheless, some thematic differences or emphases may be noted; a notable example of this is the subject of human torture and violence, a theme which does not merit a separate chapter in Ibn Sīrīn′s text, but to which Ibn Shāhīn devotes four chapters. The prevalence of torture in Mamluk society is

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[5]The chapter I used from Ibn Sīrīn′s text *Muntakhab* are 21, 35, and 54. Chapter 21 is entitled ″Fī Ru'yā al-Nās: al-Shaykh minhum wa-al-Shābb wa-al-Fatāh wa-al-'Ajūz wa-al-Aṭfāl″ (The vision of people: the old man, the young man and woman, the old woman, and children); Chapter 35 is entitled ″Fī Ru'yā al-Ṭuyūr al-Waḥshīyah wa-al-Ahlīyah wa-al-Mā'īyah″ (The vision of wild, domesticated, and water birds); Chapter 54 is entitled ″Fī al-Nikāḥ wa-Mā Yaṭṭasilu bihi″ (Concerning marriage and other matters which relate to it). Chapters from Ibn Shāhīn′s *Ishārāt* are 16, 27, and 60. Chapter 16 is entitled ″Fī Ru'yā al-Rijāl wa-al-Nisā' wa-al-Ṣibyān wa-al-Ṣighār wa-al-Ṭawāshiyah wa-al-'Abīd wa-al-Khadam wa-al-Khinathá″ (The vision of men, women, male adolescents, children, eunuchs, slaves, servants, and hermaphrodites); Chapter 27 is entitled ″Fī Ru'yā al-Khuṭbah wa-al-Tazwīj wa-al-'Urs wa-al-Ṭalāq wa-al-Jimā' wa-al-Qublah wa-al-Mulāmasah wa-Mā naḥwahu″ (The vision of engagement, marriage, weddings, divorce, sexual intercourse, kissing, touching, and other matters relating to it); Chapter 60 is entitled ″Fī Ru'yā Sā'ir al-Ṭuyūr min al-Jawāriḥ wa-Ghayrihā″ (The vision of birds, those that are predatory and otherwise).

[6]In his introduction, Ibn Shāhīn lists at least thirty master interpreters whom he cites as his sources (*Ishārāt,* 3).

confirmed by contemporary historical sources, suggesting that the practice may have reached special heights during this period.[7] Furthermore, on examining al-Nābulusī's eighteenth-century dream text, which is structured along alphabetic rather than thematic lines, I have observed that the interpretive meaning of bird symbols does not seem to have changed in substantial ways. In a general statement on this textual tradition, Toufy Fahd tells us: "This seemingly very rich literature will appear in rather more modest dimension, I think, when all known manuscripts have been collated."[8]

THE MEDIEVAL ARABIC TRADITION OF DREAM INTERPRETATION

Medieval Arabic dream texts were primarily written by men and for men, for they were mostly addressed to the male dreamer, his desires, anxieties, hopes, and obsessions relating to society. The female dreamer, on the other hand, makes fewer appearances in these texts, and when she does, her dreams appear to relate primarily to household matters such as marital or domestic affairs, physical looks, pregnancy, and birth of children.[9] This being so, the dream discourse may be viewed more as an expression of the Arab-Muslim masculine imaginary, one in which the male author replays, among other things, cultural notions of difference, interdependence of gender, and other social boundaries. How much of what the interpreter says is a reflection of his social and cultural makeup is a question that will be addressed in the course of this article.[10]

The belief that dreams could have a predictive value was almost universal in both ancient and medieval cultures of the Mediterranean region. To fulfill the need to understand the symbolic value of the dream, interpreting dreams developed as a profession performed by the ancient priestess and priest of the temple. But it was in the precincts of the market place that dream interpreters were readily accessible to their clients, and where much rivalry between different prognostic practices prevailed. In time, dream texts were produced recording standard interpretations of culturally defined and shared dream symbols. And while there is evidence that an extensive literature has been written on the subject, we are told that most ancient dream texts have been lost.[11]

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[7]See Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* chapters 17, 24, 25, and 26. For more details on this subject see Tamer el-Leithy's excellent M.A. thesis, "Public Punishment in Mamluk Society," Darwin College, Cambridge University, 1997.

[8]"The Dream in Medieval Islamic Society," 362.

[9]For example, see Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 58, 59, and Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 133–34.

[10]On this question, see Oberhelman, "Hierarchies of Gender, Ideology, and Power," 56.

[11]Fahd, "The Dream in Medieval Islamic Society," 351, 359–63. Fahd argues that while the Greco-Romans seem to have produced a large body of dream literature, very little survived apart from Artemidorous of Ephesus's text, which was translated into Arabic from Greek by Ḥunayn

Arabic medieval dream texts did not suffer such a loss, for a large legacy of manuscripts on dreams still survives. ″Enriched by a Greek element working within like ferment, Arab-Muslim oneirocriticism reached heights no other civilization seems to have known.″[12] Despite its discomfort with earlier pagan practices, medieval Muslim discourse privileged dream interpreting with an honored status not accorded to any of the other common prognostic practices. Visions conveyed through dreams were taken seriously because they were considered to be intimately connected to prophecy. Consequently, the ″science of dream interpreting,″ as our Arab-Muslim scholars liked to call it, enjoyed the same respectability bestowed on canonical religious sciences.[13]

The profession of dream interpreting came to be primarily perceived in the written texts as the reserve of the male scholar who has received training in the formal religious sciences. And despite the fact that women continued to be dream interpreters, they do not appear to have enjoyed the status they had occupied in earlier historical periods.[14] The dream texts that I have examined also testify to the less important status given to female interpreters; thus whereas master male interpreters are normally mentioned by name, female interpreters only appear in anonymous terms. For example, in Ibn Sīrīn′s dream text they are referred to simply as *al-mu*ʿ*abbirah* (female interpreter) or *al-*ʿ*ālimah* (female scholar).[15] Moreover, although Ibn Shāhīn meticulously lists his bibliographic sources in his introductory chapter, I have not been able to find any reference to names of

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Ibn Isḥāq (d. 873/260). On the practice of dream interpreting in the ancient world, see A. Leo Oppenheim, ″Mantic Dreams in the Ancient Near East,″ in *The Dream and Human Societies.* On the significance of dreams in the Indic tradition, see Wendy O′Flaherty, *Dreams, Illusion and Other Realities* (Chicago, 1984).

[12]See Fahd, ″The Dream in Medieval Islamic Society,″ 359 ff.

[13]See ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Abū Zayd ibn Muḥammad Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah,* trans. Franz Rosenthal, abridged edition by N. J. Dawood (London, 1967), 371, 367. On dream interpretation, Ibn Khaldūn states:

> This is a science resplendent with the light of prophecy, because prophecy and dreams were related to each other. . . . This is one of the sciences of the religious law. It originated in Islam when the sciences became crafts, and scholars wrote books about them. The science of interpretation implies a knowledge of general cultural norms upon which the interpreter bases the interpretation and explanations of what *he* is told. . . . The dream interpreter knows these general norms by heart and interprets the dreams in each case as required by the data establishing which of these norms fits a particular dream vision best.

[14]In the ancient Near East dream interpretation was largely practiced by women. For more details, see Oppenheim, ″Mantic Dreams in the Ancient Near East,″ 350.

[15]Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 143, 144, 150. All translations of the dream texts I have used are mine, unless otherwise stated.

female interpreters. This inadequate recognition of women´s contribution confirms what we already know of the authorship of the medieval text, for it was more the prerogative of the male-author to inscribe his society´s cultural traditions and values. Perhaps the question of literacy among women interpreters might also explain why they were less likely to have left a written record of interpretations.

Whereas Ibn Sīrīn´s earlier text does not contain explicit restrictive statements with regard to who should or should not practice dream interpretation, by the time we reach the fifteenth century we find Ibn Shāhīn emphatically insisting that ˝visions should not be related except to an interpreter *(mu'abbir).* As for those who are not versed in the ˝*science* of interpretation˝ *('ilm al-ta'bīr),* they should not interpret dreams for anyone. For if he does so he sins, because it is like issuing a religious decree *(fatwá).* Indeed this is a demanding science.˝[16] Ibn Shāhīn here is defining the boundaries within which only those who belonged to a professionally trained elite could practice interpreting. In effect, he is calling for the censoring of the unprofessionally-trained interpreter, who may have been nonetheless an equally talented interpreter. Furthermore, he seems to elevate the interpreting of dreams to the status of issuing a religious decree *(fatwá),* which we know could only be performed by professionally recognized male scholars. Two interpretive traditions may very well have coexisted here, a written one that is accorded respectability, and an orally popular tradition that is considered suspect. It was probably within the latter tradition that women performed the practice of dream interpreting. And while our dream texts furnish little evidence for the existence of a separate oral feminine tradition, we can assume the earlier presence of one practiced by and for women within the context of the household. For we can still find today *baladī* Egyptian women continuing the practice of interpreting dreams for neighbors and members of their family.[17]

What constituted the required training in the formal discipline of dream interpretation seems to have already been in the making as early as the ninth century, when Muslim scholars were earnestly synthesizing, recording, and codifying what they constructed as the cultural canons. For such purposes, the famous ninth-century literary scholar and critic Ibn Qutaybah outlined a demanding curriculum for the dream interpreter:

> For every scholar of some branch of the sciences, the tool of his science can be sufficient for practicing it; but the oneirocritic has

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[16]Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 361.

[17]The term *baladī* here refers to urban traditional women of Cairo. On the living practice of interpreting dreams by Cairene women, I have consulted Ḥasan Surūr, an Egyptian anthropologist who works on Egyptian folklore, and who confirmed that Egyptian women in the traditional quarters of Cairo continue to interpret dreams for their neighbors and relatives.

> to be a scholar of Quran and hadith in order to interpret dreams according to their ideas, to be acquainted with Arab proverbs and rare verses of poetry, to have a knowledge of Arabic etymology and of current colloquial speech. Besides, he has to be an *adīb*, gentle, sagacious, endowed with a capacity to judge the countenance of people, their character-features, their rank and state, to have a knowledge of analogy *(qiyās)* and an acquaintance with the principles *(uṣūl)* of oneiromancy.[18]

Again, such statements remind us that the profession of dream interpretation is cast in preference for a male practitioner. The professional interpreter seems to be at once a religious scholar and a connoisseur of his culture, as well as of people. Such scholarly consensus to define the practice of dream interpreting as a formal science has significant gender implications, as it may have contributed to marginalize the practice of female interpreters who lacked such training.

Just like other canonical religious sciences, dream interpreting also developed its own parameters of interpretation as well as its own biographical narrative. Following the canonical model of the science of the principles of jurisprudence *(uṣūl al-fiqh),* the science of dream interpretation also developed its own principles of interpretation *(uṣūl al-taʿbīr)* inscribed by male scholars who pronounced its interpretive rules. The tradition also produced its own specialized biographical dictionaries *(ṭabaqāt al-muʿabbirīn),* classifying its interpreters according to chronological categories that stretch back as far as pre-Islamic times.[19]

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[18]M. J. Kister, ″The Interpretation of Dreams: An Unknown Manuscript of Ibn Qutayba′s *ʿIbārat al-ruʾyā,″* in his collected volume entitled *Society and Religion from Jāhiliyya to Islam* (Hampshire, 1990), 75.

[19]See *Ṭabaqāt al-Muʿabbirīn* by al-Ḥasan ibn Ḥusayn al-Khallāl (before 400/1000), which al-Nābulusī summarizes in his dream text *Taʿṭīr,* 355. On al-Khallāl, see Fahd, ″The Dream in Medieval Islamic Society,″ 359. Al-Khallāl′s biographical text of dream interpreters comprises fifteen categories *(ṭabaqah),* bestowing top ranking to monotheistic prophets, such as Abraham, Joseph, and Muḥammad. The Medina Companions of the Prophet and their followers occupy the second and third categories. Interpreters from the earliest generations of pious Muslim scholars *(al-fuqahāʾ)* and ascetics *(al-zuhhād)* follow these, then Arab-speaking master interpreters, authoring the earliest written texts of dreams. In this category, the ancient Greek interpreter Artimedorous and the Arab speaking Ibn Sīrīn rank the highest. Philosophers and physicians versed in the Hellenistic tradition come next in importance, followed by famous interpreters from the Jewish, Christian, and Magian religious traditions. Lastly, Arab pagan interpreters, soothsayers *(al-kahanah)* and specialists in physiognomy *(al-firāsah)* are ranked in the lowest categories. A special status seems to be bestowed on Greek interpreters in this hierarchy, for they are ranked above their Jewish, Christian, and Magian counterparts, and honored with a category separate from other pagan interpreters. This is an implicit recognition on the part of Arab interpreters of the importance

While Ibn Sīrīn's and Ibn Shāhīn's dream texts demonstrate that pre-Islamic Arab, Greek, and Persian master interpreters were incorporated as authoritative sources, a monotheistic, and more particularly, an Arab-Islamic preference is to be noted. Understandably, Arab Muslim interpreters used their own cultural iconography as the primary source for interpreting dreams encoded in the Arabic language. This may be readily seen in the primacy given to the Quran and hadith, to classical Arabic poetry, and to popular sayings *(al-amthāl al-sā'idah, al-amthāl al-mubtadhalah)*.[20] Yet this did not preclude dream interpreters from freely using the wisdom and knowledge of ancient masters, such as Artemidorous, for they continued to believe that these classical traditions conveyed universal truths about human dreams and experiences. This is evident not only from the numerous bibliographical references to be found in our dream texts, but also from what dream specialists say about the ancient principles of interpretation. Ibn Sīrīn tells us that "the ancient principles of dream interpretation *(uṣūl al-ru'yā al-qadīmah)* have not changed, but it is people's conditions that constantly change with regard to their daily worries, manners, and their preference for the mundane as opposed to the sacred."[21] Likewise, but much later, al-Nābulusī modestly states that his work is simply a synthesis of earlier texts, to which he added little.[22] Despite this respect for early authority, interpreters seem to have been equally aware that interpreting dream symbols was not a fixed or mechanical exercise. For we are told that "dream interpreters invented innumerable ways of interpretation which are always subject to new additions, depending on the knowledge of the interpreter, his sharp perception and intuition."[23] Two complementary views may be seen here, one respectful of the ancient tradition, the other giving more leeway to the creativity of the individual interpreter. To come up with the best interpretation possible, the interpreter was probably expected to combine both, his creative intuition and his thorough knowledge of interpretive principles.

Not all dreams possess a predictive value, for many were classified as muddled dreams unworthy of the interpretive endeavor. Dreams of predictive value were classified into two categories: the non-allegorical dream, which is straightforward and does not need interpretation, and the allegorical dream which makes use of ambiguous symbols to convey its message. It is the latter type of dream that demanded the attention of the interpreter. But this was no simple matter, for symbols often conveyed rich and contradictory meanings. The interpreter's awareness of the elusive nature of a symbol, one that defies precise and simple

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of Greek influence on their tradition.

[20]Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 3–4.

[21]Ibid., 13.

[22]Al-Nābulusī, *Ta'ṭīr,* 351.

[23]Ibid., 8; see also Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 6.

definitions, explains the relative flexibility adopted in decoding it, and thus it was agreed that more than one interpretation could always be possible. While interpreters assumed the principle that a symbol must in some way be related to the meaning, as connoisseurs of culture, they also recognized that symbols did not possess fixed intrinsic meanings, and therefore they perceived them as culturally specific constructs. The interpreter came to understand this to be an important working principle. Thus in his discussion on how to interpret dream symbols, al-Nābulusī stresses the significance of the cultural factor, which in turn is defined by such variables as geographical location and climate:

> Know that the soil of each country is different from others, due to the differences in water, wind, and geographical location. This explains why the interpretation *(ta'wīl)* of every group of interpreters from the community of unbelievers and Muslims differs according to variations in character and geography. For example, if a dreamer living in a hot country dreams of snow or ice, this signifies famine and high prices, but in a cold country, it may signify prosperity and wealth.[24]

In another passage al-Nābulusī stresses the significance of cultural difference, pointing to variations in religious morality and people´s customs *('ādāt al-nās)* as important principles to be considered in interpreting symbols:

> For example, if one dreams of wine, it is interpreted as illegal wealth for those who consider it a forbidden object, but as a blessing for those who do not. Similarly, if a woman dreams that she is committing adultery in the mosque, this would signify a great evil or misfortune in Muslim culture. In contrast, the same image in Indian religious culture would signify worship and virtue. This is because the sexual act in Indian culture is linked to the sacred, and hence receives approval.[25]

Here al-Nābulusī aptly demonstrates how symbols are culturally constructed, confirming the presence of a dynamic, interactive relationship between symbolic language and the social ground which informs it.

The idiosyncratic factor is another important principle in interpreting dream symbols. Relevant personal details relating to the dreamer´s life must be revealed

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[24]Al-Nābulusī, *Ta'ṭīr,* 5.
[25]Ibid., 360–61.

in order for the dream to be aptly interpreted. As with culture, the meaning of a symbol may also differ along idiosyncratic or personal lines. The pomegranate, for instance, may signify multiple meanings. Round and impregnated with seeds, the fruit is readily used as a symbol of femininity. Thus for the sultan, the pomegranate in his dream signifies a city to rule; for the single man, it is a wife or concubine; while for the pregnant woman, it is a female baby.[26] Sultan to city, man to wife or concubine, mother to baby, are all pairs in which the first party dominates the second, revealing the constructed power dynamics in play.

Interpreters also resorted to interpreting the linguistic signifier *(al-ta'wīl bi-al-asmā')* as a way of understanding dream symbols; thus we are told that if one dreams of a bird with a feminine name like *al-ansīyah,* a derivative from the Arabic root *uns* (intimacy), it is interpreted as a symbol of a friendly woman.[27] However, interpreting the signified meaning (*al-ta'wīl bi-al-ma'ná)*[28] seems to have been the most commonly-used method, primarily mediated through the logic of analogy *(al-qiyās)*.[29] A mountain in a dream may thus be likened to the erect phallus, not because of its lexical root, but because of the shared attribute of erectness.

In addition, dream interpreters adopted an overall system of taxonomy which proved quite useful in examining dream symbols, and which further informs us of their methodological principles of interpretation. Such taxonomy is made up of three differentiating categories: genus *(al-jins);* type *(al-ṣinf);* and behavioral nature *(al-ṭab').*[30] Accordingly, trees, animals, and birds may be classified under different genus categories. The latter is further sub-divided into two more categories: type and nature. What follows is an example of how the palm tree may be interpreted. Given their erectness, all trees (as genus) are constructed as masculine symbols, and since the palm tree grows in the territory of the Arabs, it is used to signify an Arab male. To define the behavioral traits of the palm tree, interpreters refer to Quranic iconography, which describes the tree as noble and giving. Hence the palm tree in a dream is said to signify a generous and pleasant-natured Arab man. In Table 1, I would like to demonstrate the rationale of this taxonomy and its significance in relation to the classification of birds, which will be examined later in greater detail.

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[26]For more details on the multiple meanings of the pomegranate, see Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 5.
[27]Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 298.
[28]Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 8.
[29]Ibid., 10.
[30]Ibid., 10–11.

Table 1: Bird Taxonomy

Genus:	**Bird**	
Type:	**Predatory**	**Non-predatory**
	Falcon	Dove
Nature:	swift aggressive powerful	slow peaceful domesticated

Here we see how the bird as a genus is classified according to two different main types, predatory and non-predatory. Perceived as swift, aggressive, and powerful, the falcon is classified as predatory, while perceived as peaceful, slow, and domesticated, the dove is classified as non-predatory. What is more relevant to our analysis is to explore how the text uses such behavioral patterns in constructing the gender of birds. In defining docility as a feminine trait, our interpreters consistently construct the dove as feminine. Conversely, constructing aggressiveness as a masculine trait, the falcon is assigned masculinity. Clearly, such an interpretation reflects the interpreter's cultural assumptions with regard to gender roles, and confirms the close connection between symbols and the cultural ground that informs them. The examples of the falcon and the dove are also useful in demonstrating what medieval Arab-Muslim culture perceives to be the "normative" feminine and masculine behavioral traits. Moreover, the construction of such a sharp opposition between the essential feminine and masculine traits demonstrates how this culture defines the constitutive difference between femininity and masculinity.

Further examination of how the dream text genders other symbols shows that it is not always immediately clear why different symbols such as the horse, lion, mountain, tree, and predatory birds are all used to signify masculinity. Here we need to understand how the symbolic language of dreams creates relations of resemblance or association between objects that may seem far apart. Symbols such as the lion, wolf, and predatory birds share the qualities of power, swift movement, and aggressiveness, and therefore are constructed as masculine traits which constitute the cultural model of masculinity. Similarly, the horse, being closely associated with masculine martial behavior in medieval Arab culture, is used to signify masculinity. In the same vein, given that mountain, tree, spear, and dagger share the qualities of hardness and erectness, they are readily likened to the erect male sexual organ, and therefore are constructed as symbols of masculinity.

In such cases analogy is based on either resemblance or association.

Woman is also symbolized by diverse objects, such as the saddle, ship, glove, *sirwāl,* non-predatory birds, and cattle. The saddle and ship metaphors are likened to the image of the conventional female sexual posture in relation to the male, while the glove is likened to the enveloping womb of the female. The *sirwāl*, typical attire of Arab-Muslim medieval women, having become so closely associated with the female body, is metonymically used to signify woman. The symbol of the cow is commonly used as the archetypal feminine symbol, evoking the female role of the good, docile, and nurturing mother.[31] Dream interpreters use docility and gentleness as essential behavioral traits of the female, and thus animals that exhibit ″passive″ behavior are almost always used as symbols for women and occasionally for children. Interestingly, the inverse notion of the predatory woman may also be detected in the dream text, and as we shall see in the following section, the symbol of the wild and untamed female bird (signifying woman) seems to always receive negative recognition.

The Structuring of the Bird Kingdom

The bird often appears as a favorite topos in the medieval Arabic literary tradition.[32] Here, I would like to examine how our interpreters constructed the bird kingdom as a sort of metaphorical reflection of human social hierarchy, and how they constructed correspondences between behavioral patterns on the one hand, and

[31]Ibid.

[32]There are numerous examples of classical Arabic and Persian works which use bird or animal motifs in their literary works. *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah,* a literary fable in which animals play the role of human actors, became a classic shortly after its translation into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ. The famous ninth-century scholar and writer al-Jāḥiẓ also wrote another Arabic classic on animals which he entitled *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* (The book of animals) and which is considered a masterpiece of both Arabic literature and zoology. Medieval Sufi writers often used animals and birds as important metaphors in their spiritual teachings. Persian Sufis such as ʿAṭṭār and Rūmī are important in this respect; the former wrote a brilliant work devoted totally to the quest of the birds to discover the Divine, which he entitled *Manṭiq al-Ṭayr* (The conference of the birds). Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ also used animals as allegorical characters in their pedagogical treatises, the most famous of these being the one entitled *Tadāʿī al-Ḥayawān* (The complaint of animals), which Denys Johnson-Davies has translated into English as *The Island of Animals* (Austin, 1994). In addition there is also a rich zoological literary tradition that deals with the animal kingdom, and in which Arab-Muslim zoologists used cultural and scientific data to describe the animals. An example of such classical works is the one written by the fourteenth-century zoologist Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī, which he entitled *ʿAjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt* (The wonders of created beings); the fifteenth-century author Muḥammad ibn Mūsá al-Damīrī wrote another classical zoological work, entitled *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* (The life of the animal). Such zoological studies contain large sections on birds, which also include an examination of the symbolic significance of birds in dreams. The works of both al-Qazwīnī and al-Damīrī are available in one edition (Cairo, 1978).

gender or social roles on the other. By way of introduction, I would like to give a brief synthesis of the principles of bird interpretation *(uṣūl ta'wīl al-ṭayr)* as expounded by both Ibn Sīrīn and Ibn Shāhīn:[33]

Anonymous birds *(al-ṭuyūr al-majhūlah)* are variously interpreted as the human spirit, the angel of death, or simply as human deeds. Given the taboo against usage of the figurative to signify the Divine, Muslim interpreters have censored this ancient symbolic meaning in their text.

The behavioral nature of birds, and sometimes their size, are used to determine both their gender and social status. Predatory birds in general are gendered as masculine, and predictably, the most powerful or aggressive of these birds often denote the highest social status. On the other hand, non-predatory birds may be gendered as both masculine and feminine, but some are viewed as more feminine and others as more masculine. Birds that devour dead corpses, or steal things that belong to others, signify outcasts or criminals who subvert social boundaries, and thus signify deviant masculine types. Small size birds may sometimes signify lowly or parasitic status; thus they are the lowliest *(al-arādhīl)* of the bird kingdom. They are also interpreted as female slaves, servants, or children, but more frequently as male rather than female children.

Birds that fly close to the ground, and hence are more easily domesticated, are almost always gendered as feminine. Water birds are mostly gendered as feminine, but they also signify nobility, wealth, and fertility, for they control two domains, air and water.

Movement or flying indicate acquisition or loss of status, travel, or death, depending on the bird′s gender. Birds that possess the capacity of flying long distances are exclusively gendered as male birds. Conversely, a female bird flying away from home may indicate divorce or separation, or death, hence loss of status for the male.

Possession of a large numbers of birds may indicate both power and wealth. Similarly, their flesh, bones, and feathers indicate economic status.

The act of slaughtering or cutting a female bird, a common dream motif in our bird text, signifies the deflowering of a female virgin in the sexual act. The slaughtering of the female bird is understood as a masculine act of conquest of the female body. Conversely, the slaughtering or capturing of a male bird signifies the defeat of a male opponent, hence equating male sexuality with power and conquest.

Catching or hunting a female bird signifies marriage or union with a woman. But if this involves a male bird it signifies victory, power, and wealth for the victorious male hunter. A similar interpretive rationale may be detected here, however, since interpreters also interpret marriage as power and wealth for the

[33]Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 146; Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 303–4, 356.

male. Thus, for the male hunter, catching a female or a male bird carries similar connotations in terms of social status.

Bird eggs are interpreted variously as women, children, and family; a large number of eggs may signify wealth.

Color is often used to signify social status; thus the whiteness of a dove or a duck may signify high social status.

Drawing on both dream texts, I have a sample of seventy-six different bird types, constituting what our interpreters call the bird kingdom. Bird entries differ greatly in size, and depending on the symbolic significance of the bird in question, these may vary between two words and a paragraph. The crow, though perceived as the least favored predatory bird by both Ibn Sīrīn and Ibn Shāhīn, occupies the longest entry in their bird narrative, for it is assigned the significant social role of the extreme ″other,″ the archetypal evil male. In collating the two bird texts, I observed that Ibn Shāhīn′s narrative is more systematically structured than Ibn Sīrīn′s, suggesting perhaps a later textual maturity that is absent in the earlier text. But it may also be that Ibn Shāhīn′s membership in the Mamluk establishment could have made him more conscious of the significance of social hierarchy, which in turn becomes reflected in his structuring of the bird kingdom narrative. Both texts, however, seem to assume, and thus reify, some sort of hierarchy in the kingdom of birds, just as would be assumed for human society.

Some difference in bird taxonomy is observed between the two texts. Whereas Ibn Sīrīn′s bird text is more or less organized around three categories: wild birds *(al-waḥshīyah),* domestic birds *(al-ahlīyah),* and water-birds *(al-mā'īyah),* Ibn Shāhīn′s taxonomy seems to be based more on aggressive power and its absence. The latter′s entire system of bird classification appears to be based on whether birds have the power to aggress or not. Thus predatory birds *(al-ṭuyūr al-jawāriḥ)* occupy the top category, followed by non-predatory birds *(al-ṭuyūr al-khārijah ʻan al-jawāriḥ),* and finally by the category of small birds *(al-ʻaṣāfīr).*[34] Bird power is primarily defined by such traits as size, physical strength, aggressiveness, and swift capacity of movement, as well as intelligence. It follows then that birds exhibiting these traits are classified as the most powerful and deserving of high status. More important for our gender analysis is the fact that the most powerful birds are almost always defined as symbols of masculinity, while those least exhibiting of such powers signify femininity, or persons of lower social status, such as servants, slaves, youth, or children, confirming that woman as a social category is perceived to be of a lower status than man. In the following statement, Ibn Sīrīn aptly demonstrates how the socially constructed informs the bird narrative:

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[34]See Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 146; Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 295.

> The bird is a man among men, whose status corresponds to a specific bird among birds, depending on his capacity, weaponry, power, feathers, and his ability to fly and soar in the sky. Known birds are therefore interpreted according to their power. Thus large and predatory birds signify the kings, the leaders, the notables, the scholars, and the wealthy. As for corpse-eaters, like the crow, the kite, and the vulture, these are trespassers, thieves, and evil. Water birds signify noble people *(ashraf),* who obtain high status through two powers, the power of water and wind. They may also signify male travelers by land or sea. . . . Birds who sing or wail signify people who sing or wail, be they masculine or feminine birds. As for small birds, such as sparrows and nightingales, these are young males.[35]

This allocation of gender or social roles, however, does not seem to be as rigidly defined as Ibn Sīrīn would like us to believe. For on closer analysis we can detect shifting definitions in the gendering process. And while these may not appear to be remarkable in themselves, they allow us to understand the rationale behind such flexibility. Both seem to agree on assigning masculinity to the most powerful of the predatory birds. They disagree only on three predators, which turn out to be the least significant of them. Thus, whereas Ibn Sīrīn assigns neutrality to the owl, Ibn Shāhīn assigns it masculinity. Ibn Sīrīn assigns both femininity and masculinity to the kite, Ibn Shāhīn assigns it masculinity. There is also disagreement on the vulture. Defined as neutral by Ibn Sīrīn, it is described as a stupid and useless woman by Ibn Shāhīn *(al-mar'ah al-balhā' al-qalīlat al-fā'idah),* suggesting a negativity with regard to predatory birds gendered in the feminine.[36]

Likewise with non-predatory birds, out of seventeen cases, five are differently gendered by our two interpreters. For instance, the gendering of the sandgrouse *(al-quṭāh)* is inverted; Ibn Sīrīn assigns it femininity, the other masculinity.[37] The case of the pheasant *(al-tadruj)* is also interesting for us, for Ibn Sīrīn tells us that this bird underwent transformation from a domestic to a big wild bird, hence changing from a female to a male bird.[38] On the whole, it may be argued that a sharp gender dichotomy is mostly reproduced with regard to the most aggressive or the most docile birds. However, when bird traits seem to be more ambiguous in

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[35]Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 151, 146.
[36]Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 298; Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 148.
[37]Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 146; Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 298.
[38]Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 147, 149.

terms of defining gender construction, this bipolarity becomes less clear, permitting simultaneous gendering, flexibility, and even reversals in roles.

Predatory Birds

As mentioned earlier, hierarchy is most emphasized among predatory birds, especially by Ibn Shāhīn, who carefully places the masculine-gendered falcon at the top and the feminine vulture at the bottom.[39] In contrast, the vulture in Ibn Sīrīn's text is not even given a specified place within the constructed hierarchy of predatory birds, for even though it is considered a predator, it is textually placed in the midst of non-predatory birds.[40] In total, out of sixteen predatory birds, eleven are identified as masculine, three as feminine, and two as masculine and feminine simultaneously. Both interpreters define the most powerful of the predatory birds as royal masculine archetypes. We are told that they are the kings and masters of the bird kingdom. Ranked at the top of this category are the three predatory birds: the falcon, the eagle, and the hawk. The textual language used by our interpreters is noteworthy, for the Arabic terms *mulūk wa-asyād al-ṭuyūr* (the kings and lords of birds) clearly reproduce the same linguistic terms that are used to refer to kingship and nobility in medieval Arab-Muslim society. A number of common traits describe these masculine-gendered predatory birds, which appear to be the very same traits constituting the male stereotype: physical power, aggressiveness, courage, swift and powerful movement, honor, respect, spirituality, and intelligence.[41] However, parallel to these positive traits of masculinity, there is an underside that is negatively perceived in the text. This is detected in the usage of highly negative traits to describe most of these masculine-gendered birds, such as stubbornness, injustice, oppressiveness, deceit, religiosity, and theft.[42] Interestingly, both dream texts seem to view masculine power in suspicious terms, reflecting a strong fear of the powerful male figure whose abuse of power may violate the patriarchal norms of society. Two of the three royal birds appear to be constructed as symbols of degenerate power, whose strength is based more on oppressive physical force and usurpation than on justice. In this bird imagery, the ancient link between divinity and kingship seems to have been lost, revealing instead a low opinion of kingship. The eagle, though, deserves special attention, for it uniquely combines the attributes of power, honor, and spirituality, making it a more appropriate symbol of ideal royal masculinity. Absence of these royal birds as signifiers of the ancient goddess-queen must be noted, for these powerful

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[39] Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 296.
[40] Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 148.
[41] Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 295–96; Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 146–47.
[42] Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 146.

bird types appear to signify exclusively masculine as opposed to feminine power, suggesting that royal power in medieval Arab-Muslim culture was ideally perceived in masculine terms only.

While the eagle is constructed as the ideal masculine prototype within the kingdom of predatory birds, the crow is depicted as the male villain par excellence. Both dream interpreters employ strong negative terms to describe the crow, for it commits the worst of social crimes: trespassing and disrupting social boundaries. It is described as a murderer, an adulterer, an unjust sultan, and a thief. Furthermore, its name *(al-ghurāb)* signifies, through its etymology, that it is the ultimate ″other″ or stranger *(al-gharīb),* whose presence signifies corruption in both the domestic and public spaces. Ibn Sīrīn tell us that ″if a man dreams that a crow is in his house, it signifies both an attack from the sultan and a man betraying him with his wife.″[43] Why is the crow chosen to signify the archetypal male villain? It turns out that in actuality the bird eats anything and attacks birds′ nests to eat their eggs and young ones.[44] Though a large variety of traits are used to describe the crow, the bird is rarely assigned femininity. It represents a negative masculinity which violates social boundaries, and hence its denunciation in the two dream texts.[45]

Predatory birds gendered in the feminine signify the prototype of the evil or the useless woman. However, woman-as-predator makes only fleeting appearances in the bird texts under study, and when she does, she is portrayed negatively. Given that social norms equate ideal femininity with passivity, this may explain why Ibn Shāhīn establishes a direct correlation between the trait of wildness and the negative traits of evilness or stupidity in woman. As we have seen earlier, Ibn Shāhīn defines the vulture *(al-rikhmah)* as a stupid and useless woman. As for the gold crest *(al-ṣafāwah)* it signifies for him a chaotic woman who commits ugly actions, particularly if the bird is wild *(mudabbirah sayyi'ah, dhāt af'āl qabīḥah khuṣūṣan in kānat barrīyah).*[46] If wild predatory birds are free-moving and able to fly long distances, hence uncontrollable, we can understand why they are more readily constructed as symbols signifying the feminine figure of disorder, depicted as evil, treacherous, disastrous, disorganized, useless, sinful, stupid, and finally,

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[43]Ibid., 149.
[44]Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 297.
[45]Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 146; Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 296. Other masculine-gendered predatory birds used as symbols signifying different male types are the petty prince, the irreligious scholar, the thief, and the soldier; most share the essential trait of physical aggression. Once again, adjectives describing these figures appear to be predominantly negative; they are depicted as envious, corrupt, destructive, sinful, vain, untrustworthy, and lazy. Cleverness and self-control seem to be the only two positively-constructed traits in this group of male predatory birds.
[46]Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 146; Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 296.

predictive of misfortune.[47] For both interpreters, however, predatory birds generally signify human figures of power and evil, causing tyranny and brutality in the world *(al-ẓulmah wa-al-ghashmah)*. Such acts, however, are predominantly perceived as man′s rather than woman′s domain of activities.[48]

NON-PREDATORY BIRDS

Non-predatory birds are also gendered according to what is socially perceived as feminine or masculine, belonging to either high or low social status. Among the masculine-gendered birds, the cock, the peacock, and the griffin signify the status of petty kings and the wealthy. Similarly, among the feminine-gendered birds, the dove, duck, and goose signify women of wealth and nobility.[49] In between, there is a wide variety of birds, representing various urban social classes. Dream language has even invented bird symbols signifying the riffraff of society *(al-arādhil)*. Tables 2 and 3 are specifically constructed to demonstrate which of these non-predatory birds are gendered as masculine or feminine.

Table 2: Non-Predatory Masculine-Gendered Birds

Bird Type	**Signified Activity**	**Attributes**
Cock *(al-dīk)*	petty prince, religious scholar, muezzin, soldier, chief male slave	courageous, honest, pious, evil
Starling *(al-zarzūr)*	male traveler, ascetic	irreligious, untrustworthy, liar, infidel, thin
Hoopoe *(al-hudhud)*	male traveler, scholar	perceptive, knowledgeable, highly professional, irreligious
Blackbird *(al-shuḥrūr)*	ascetic monk, captive lover	
Parrot *(al-babaghā')*	slave merchant, philosopher	unjust, liar

[47]See cases of other female birds signifying evil and misfortune in Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 296.
[48]Ibid.
[49]Ibid., 298–303.

Stork *(al-luqluq)*	noble man, weak king, peasant, guardian, ascetic	harmless, respectable, wise, strange
Partridge *(al-ya'qūb)*	man of war, soldier	
Palm dove *(al-dubsī)*	preacher	
Swan *(al-tamm)*	petty king	
Quail *(al-summānī)*	male servant, male youth *(ghulām)*	

Table 2 depicts masculine-gendered birds signifying males who represent a wide range of urban professions, such as the petty prince or king, the soldier, the scholar, the intellectual, the ascetic monk, the philosopher, the preacher, the muezzin, the traveler, the merchant, the broker, as well as the slave and servant. Only in one instance do we encounter the solitary figure of the peasant, betraying the urban bias of our texts. Male figures of high power and wealth appear less prominently here than they did among predatory bird types. Instead, we see a predominance of the intellectual and religious professions among these non-predatory birds. The gendering of the long-distance traveling bird in the masculine deserves special attention. Though delicate in size and gentle in behavior, birds such as the hoopoe and the starling are known to fly long distances, and hence are gendered in the masculine, again demonstrating how the text reflects the normative in gendering social space. Both dream interpreters appear to reinforce the notion of public space as the legitimate and primary domain of the male. With the exception of the starling that is said to signify a thin man, little interest is expressed in describing the physical attributes of the male body. More interest is reflected in attributes reflecting economic, social, and ethnic status. Thus some figures appear as rich, noble, powerful, poor, or of slave origin, and are simultaneously depicted in ethnic terms such as the Iraqi, the Arab, and the Persian.[50] It is interesting to note here that the appearance of such varied ethnic categories seems to be more characteristic of Ibn Sīrīn's text than Ibn Shāhīn's, reflecting perhaps the existence of a wider range of ethnicity in Ibn Sīrīn's socio-historical context.

[50]For more details on ethnic identities, see Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 146–51, and Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 295–305.

Table 3: Non-Predatory Feminine-Gendered Birds

Bird	Profession/status	Attributes
Dove *(al-ḥamāmah)*	slave, noble	virtuous, good, faithful to spouse, most beloved by man
Goose *(al-awz)*	noble, wealthy	corpulent, fertile body
Duck *(al-baṭṭ)*	white: noble, wealthy black: slave	fertile
Chicken *(al-dajājah)*	slave, domestic servant	beautiful, frivolous, virgin
Ring-dove *(al-fākhitah)*	--	evil, unfriendly, defective in religion, domineering, liar, unveiled around people
Partridge *(al-ḥijlā)*	slave	beautiful woman, unfriendly, wild
Al-ansīyah (?)		friendly, sharp, coherent mind, good, harmless
Woodpecker *(al-shufruq)*	rich	beautiful
Sandpiper *(al-ṭīṭawá)*	slave	virgin
Al-ḥurayrah (?)	slave	black
Turtledove *(al-qumrīyah)*	--	pious
Dipper *(al-ghaṭṭās)*	--	religious

An almost equal number of non-predatory birds are gendered as feminine by our two interpreters. These seem to be depicted more in terms of their character traits and physical attributes, rather than by their vocational activities. The few, but most typical, female activities that appear in this table are the wife, slave, servant, and the ″beloved″ of man, reflecting characters defined in relation to the male and

the household. The figure of the wealthy woman is signified by such birds as the goose, the duck, and the dove. Color seems to be used as a sign of status; thus in the case of the duck, white stands for the noble and wealthy woman, whereas black stands for a fertile slave. As with the masculine-gendered birds, feminine traits are described in oppositional terms: virtuous, pious, good, faithful, and friendly, as opposed to frivolous, unfriendly, evil, domineering, unveiled, and irreligious. In only one case is she described by her intellectual capacity: the *ansīyah* signifies a woman with a sharp and coherent mind. In contrast to the male birds, depictions of the body abound in this small sample, revealing an emphasis on the female body and its sexuality. Thus it is described as beautiful, fertile, corpulent, unveiled, and most importantly as virginal. Male dreams depicted in the bird narrative seem to confirm that virginity is a highly prized trait in the female. Imagery of possessing, hunting, or slaughtering the virginal slave or woman abounds in dreams of domestic birds.[51] And as we shall see later, this is also a common feature in the dream chapters dealing with man, woman, slaves, and sexuality.

Among the feminine-gendered birds, both the dove and the streptopelia or wild dove *(al-fākhitah)* deserve special attention, for they are constructed as opposite feminine prototypes. The dove, archaic symbol of feminine divinity and the spirit, is perceived here as the noble, virtuous woman, and most importantly, as the good and faithful wife. The wild dove on the other hand is constructed as the evil woman par excellence. Arab zoologists depict this bird as a liar that possesses a sharp voice and is most feared by snakes.[52] Like the predatory bird *al-ṣafāwah* whom we have encountered earlier, *al-fākhitah* is described in negative terms, as a woman who is untamed, irreligious, and who does not cover her body before strangers. But most importantly, she is a woman possessing an unrestrained tongue *(salīṭah).* It is interesting to note that the word *salāṭah* comes from the verb *tasallaṭa,* and it is also related to the noun *sulṭān*. In contrast to masculine power, primarily defined in our bird text in terms of physical force and aggression, this feminine trait of *salāṭah* (absence of restraint) is linked to the power of the tongue *(salāṭat al-lisān),* a trait that seems to be most feared in women. According to medieval Arabic lexicography a person who possesses *salāṭah* is defined as someone who possesses a strong, firm, glib, sharp, loose, and vicious tongue.[53] Thus the aggressive-tongued woman is perceived as a powerful and therefore dangerous character; so threatening is she to man that elsewhere in our dream text we are told that ″if a man dreams of a woman who is *salīṭah* his dream signifies that he

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[51]Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 300, 302; Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 150.
[52]Al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān,* 2:135.
[53]Muḥammad ibn Yaʻqūb al-Fīrūzābādī, *Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* (Cairo, 1911), 2:363.

will be killed."[54] Inasmuch as dream language seems also to establish a close correspondence between the tongue and the phallus as symbols of sexual power,[55] the *fākhitah* becomes most feared because her "long tongue" may be considered as a weapon that corresponds to and therefore threatens male sexual power. Both the *ṣafāwah* and the *fākhitah* signify two of the most threatening feminine traits, wildness and verbal aggressiveness, and are therefore perceived as disruptive figures that contest normative gender roles.[56] The *fākhitah* and the *ṣafāwah,* however, are more exceptions to the rule, for birds that are gendered as feminine typically share the common trait of gentleness, and hence are constructed as symbols of domesticity. Among these, the dove, duck, goose, and chicken represent the archetypal feminine sacrificial birds, restricted in mobility, and most ubiquitous within the domestic space.[57]

Non-predatory birds may also be simultaneously gendered as masculine and feminine. Understanding the rationale behind this simultaneous gendering is equally important because it may help us to find out why our interpreters no longer observe the sharp dividing lines between birds exclusively gendered as masculine or feminine. In Table 4, I would like to correlate these simultaneous traits so as to examine the blurred or gray areas in gender construction.

Table 4: Simultaneous Gendering of Non-Predatory Birds

Bird	**Male Attributes**	**Female Attributes**
Pheasant *(al-tadruj)*	deceitful	beautiful
Griffin *(al-ʻanqā')*	heretic, noble easygoing, reasonable	beautiful noble, reasonable, pleasant
Francolin *(al-durrāj)*	mamluk, treacherous, infidel	Persian, treacherous
Ostrich *(al-naʻāmah)*	eunuch	bedouin

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[54]Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 129.

[55]See Gouda, *Dreams and Their Meanings,* section on the tongue, 421; Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 79–80.

[56]Oberhelman discusses the image of the "talkative woman" and how it provokes men; see "Hierarchies of Gender, Ideology, and Power," 92. Also, in her study *Tales of Sex and Violence,* 102, O'Flaherty discusses the threatening power of "long-tongued" women depicted in Vedic texts. We may also find a similar attitude to the "long-tongued" woman in Shaykh Nafzāwī's classical text on sexuality, *The Perfumed Garden,* trans. Richard Burton (New Jersey, 1964), 37, 109.

[57]Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 302; for other examples, see ibid., 300.

Nightingale I *(al-'andalīb)*	singer, Quranic reciter	eloquent and pleasant
Nightingale II *(al-bulbul)*	rich, Quranic reciter	rich woman
Nightingale III *(al-hazār)*	boy singer, Quranic reciter, eloquent cultured scholar	good looking, good voice, slave singer
Swallow *(al-sunūnū)*	male slave, Quranic reciter, pious man of culture, rich, stupid	slave, rich
Peacock *(al-ṭāwūs)*	noble Persian or Persian king	beautiful noble Persian, slave girl, corrupt woman
Sparrow *(al-'uṣfūr)*	big, dangerous man, rich and of high status	beautiful
Pelican *(al-baja'ah)*	judge	uncouth, gluttonous
Bustard *(al-ḥubārá)*	wealthy, generous, gluttonous	butcher, wealthy
Bat *(al-khuffāsh)*	ascetic monk	sorceress
Parrot *(al-durrah)*	good servant, ascetic	virgin

Table 4 shows that more activities and professions are assigned to the male as opposed to the female of the same bird type. In addition to some male figures of authority, such as the petty king, the vizier, the judge, and the soldier, we encounter a few male figures of wealth and noble status. But what is worth observing here is the prevalence of male figures of cultural, spiritual, and artistic inclinations, such as the singer, the Quranic reciter, the heretic, the eloquent scholar, the eunuch, and the ascetic.[58] Figures of a lower status may also be found among these male types. More female vocational activities appear in this sample. In addition to the

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[58]See Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 148–51; Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 298–303.

wife, the beloved of man, the domestic slave, and servant, we encounter for the first time the female slave singer, the female butcher *(al-laḥḥāmah),* and the sorceress, figures that may be considered of a lower social status. Table 4 also shows that beauty and other physical descriptions recur as the most common description of the female figure. The dream text establishes a close link between the trait of female physical immodesty *(lā tastatir amāma al-nās)* on the one hand, and corruption or treachery on the other, suggesting that the unveiled woman is perceived as a corrupt figure in her social surroundings. This is confirmed elsewhere in the chapter on animals in our dream texts, where the she-goat is singled out as signifying a corrupt woman who shamelessly exhibits her body.[59] Different social status and ethnic categories appear to closely intersect here; thus the female is depicted variously as wealthy, noble, or poor, as well as of bedouin, Arab, or Persian origins. Once again, Ibn Sīrīn's bird text makes more references to ethnicity than does Ibn Shāhīn's.

A closer examination of these simultaneously-gendered bird types help us in understanding how feminine and masculine traits correlate. Whereas the male bat is cast as an ascetic *(nāsik),* his female counterpart is cast as a sorceress *(sāḥirah),* assigning a dangerous spirituality to woman, but a more respectable one to man. Likewise, the bird text casts the male pelican as a judge, but denies this to his female counterpart; instead she is perceived as an uncouth and gluttonous woman. Equally interesting is the case of the parrot, which, as a male bird, signifies a religious or ascetic man, but as a female bird, signifies a virgin. This parallelism between female virginity and male asceticism is confirmed elsewhere in the bird text, allowing us to observe how the dream text differently perceives male and female states of purity.[60] Table 4 also suggests a correlation between the feminine attribute of beauty and masculine attributes such as deceit, heresy, innovation, wealth, and danger, revealing a fear and suspicion of physical beauty as an attribute of female power. In some cases, though, similar traits are assigned to both the male and female bird; thus the *hazār,* a type of nightingale, signifies both a boy singer and a female slave singer, indicating a close connection between lower social status and the profession of singing, as well as the equally low status of children and women. Equating women with children is a stereotype which is repeatedly found in our dream texts, and which is confirmed by the insistence of existing legal and social norms within medieval Arab-Muslim culture that both children and women must have male guardianship. Finally, if this bird sample generally represents men and women of less privileged social status, then it is

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[59] Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 139.

[60] Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 302. For comparative purposes see *Sexual Asymmetry: Studies in Ancient Society,* ed. Josine Blok and Peter Mason (Amsterdam, 1987).

easier to understand why such birds may be gendered either way, for the social stakes do not seem to be so high.

Sexuality and Dynamics of Power

How do men′s dreams about sexuality and marital dynamics reveal their obsessions, fears, and anxieties? In the remaining sections of this article I would like to further examine the bird narrative along with those directly related to human actors, so as to explore points of convergence and divergence between them. Men′s dreams relating to sexuality and marital dynamics seem to be generally centered on the male agent, and are structured around the act of penetration. A close correlation between social power and sexual posture can be clearly observed in reading sexual dreams—this is so with regard to both the heterosexual and the homosexual act. Following their own social parameters, our dream interpreters view the male partner who initiates the act of penetration as the one who is in a position of power or in a position to receive benefit. Difference or sameness of the biological sexes of the persons engaged in the sexual act does not seem to be a crucial factor in interpreting the sexual dream; what is more important here is to determine its predictive significance for the dreamer. To determine the predictive value of the dream, actors—regardless of their sex—are classified according to two basic categories, the active *(al-fāʻil or al-nākiḥ)* and the passive *(al-mafʻūl or al-mankūḥ).* But while the dream chapters on sexuality and marriage seem to generally assume a relationship of dominance in the heterosexual act, where the male is normally expected to be the sexually dominant partner, this is not so in the homosexual act. As will be seen, with the exception of pederasty, homosexual acts are interpreted alternately in terms of power and social benefit, receiving little negative judgment on the part of the interpreter.

Numerous passages in the bird text reflect the all-important male desire to marry, inherit, or receive wealth from a rich wife. Here, Ibn Shāhīn reminds us that water birds, primarily gendered as feminine, ″are better off than any of the other birds in dreams; their flesh, feathers, and bones signify great wealth and status.″[61] But it is the female duck that is viewed as the best signifier of wealth and prosperity in the bird text: ″the white duck is wealth or a rich woman. . . . Thus if a man dreams that he slaughtered a duck or ate its flesh, he inherits from his wife a lot of money or hoards it.″[62] This dream motif is reiterated in the case of other female birds as well.[63] It is not surprising therefore to find that possession of a

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[61]Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 303.
[62]Ibid., 299.
[63]For instance, ″if a man dreams that he caught the children of a *fākhitah,* it signifies the birth of male children, and its flesh signifies receiving money from women″ (ibid., 300). For other examples of female birds, see the case of the dove, the ostrich, and the griffin, ibid., 299–300.

woman reflects a major desire in men´s dreams, for it ultimately signifies increase in his social status and power. This may partly explain why the bird text is replete with images of slaughtering, catching, or hunting female birds.[64] On the other hand, if a man dreams of slaughtering, catching, winning, or possessing a male bird, it is interpreted as attaining power or success, vanquishing an enemy, or befriending a man. This seemingly variant interpretation is illustrated in the cock and chicken dream:

> If a man dreams that he is fighting a cock and he gets hurt it means he will get hurt by an evil man, if he dreams that he slaughtered a cock, it means the death or sickness of his male slave, and if he dreams that he caught a cock and held it, he will achieve far reaching aims.[65] . . . But if a man dreams that he slaughters a chicken it means that he will marry a virgin female slave.[66]

One may argue, however, that the cock and chicken dreams seem to be equally inspired by the same male desire to attain power, benefit, and high social status. The close link between male sexual potency and attainment of power and status is brilliantly demonstrated by male dreams of the archetypal woman, which are best illustrated in Ibn Sīrīn´s narrative of the sexual conquest of the female virgin:

> As for deflowering the female virgin, this signifies confronting difficult matters such as meeting sultans, war, sword fighting, conquering the city, digging underground granaries and wells, hunting treasures, *dīwān*s, searching for difficult sciences, hidden wisdom, and entering in all tight matters *(al-umūr al-ḍayyiqah)*. Thus if he performs the opening *(fataḥa)* and penetrating *(awlaja)* in his sleep, he succeeds in his quest in his state of awakening. But if his penis goes limp, or its head is hidden, or if he ejaculates without penetration, this signifies that he will receive much harm and his vigor will be weakened.[67]

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[64]Thus ˝if a man dreams that he caught *(amsaka)* a partridge it signifies that he will get married . . . and if a man dreams that he cuts *(qaṭa‘a)* her, it signifies that he penetrates a virgin female slave˝ and ˝if a man dreams that he slaughters *(dhabaḥa)* a *ḥurayrah* (?) it signifies that he will deflower a virgin female slave˝ (ibid., 300, 299). For other cases, see the chicken, the peacock, the female ostrich, the griffin, the hoopoe, and the starling, ibid., 298, 299, 301, 302.
[65]Ibid., 300.
[66]Ibid., 302.
[67]Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 264.

Woman is perceived here as crucial in defining masculine power. Her sacrifice or conquest seems to be essential in order that man may achieve social greatness and wisdom. But this is also a dream that reflects the thing most feared by men: failure in fulfilling the sexual or sacrificial act, and hence great social harm. Moreover, this dream celebrates man as the phallic conqueror and woman as the object of his conquest. In his dreams she stands for all that he aims for: power, cities, wealth, science, knowledge, and wisdom, and most of all, she is the fulfillment of his sexual and erotic desires. For the male dreamer then, the successful act of female defloration or possession signifies the magical attainment of his desires, and conversely, the failed sexual act signifies great harm and loss of social power.

Linguistic terms denoting the masculine act of conquest or sacrifice in the bird text are also revealing, for the dreamer frequently appears in the act of catching *(amsaka),* killing *(qatala),* slaughtering *(dhabaḥa),* or hitting *(aṣāba),* an imagery that is reminiscent of the language of the male hunter who masters the act of sacrifice through ″slaughtering″ or ″killing″ the female in the sexual act.[68] An equally revealing vocabulary is used in the dream text on the sexual act between man and woman. Here the term commonly used for the heterosexual act is *al-waṭ'* (intercourse) which we are told is analogous to the act of killing *(al-waṭ' ka-al-qatl);* the tool used in such an act is the phallus *(al-dhakar),* likened in dream language to the dagger and the arrow.[69] We are also reminded that sexual intercourse is analogous to man′s achievement of desired goals *(al-waṭ' bulūgh al-murād)*, because as Ibn Sīrīn states, ″it is pleasure and benefit achieved as a result of man′s hard work.″[70] Moreover, if the erect penis is used as a symbol of male power, the flaccid one is often used as a symbol of powerlessness.[71] One might also add that the significance of the male phallus as an important tool of masculine power is corroborated in other dream texts by the lengthy attention it receives there.[72] The metaphor of deflowering or marrying the virgin appears to take pride of place in man′s sexual dream imagery. Here, the virginal slave seems to be more favored than her free-born sister, suggesting perhaps a male preference for the more submissive of the two. The virginal body is assumed to be still intact and therefore uncontaminated, hence, the male who lets its blood can take full possession of it, assuming the uncontested position of master. Not surprisingly, the dove, faithful wife par excellence in the bird text, is used to signify the archetypal metaphor of

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[68]On the significance of sacrifice, see O′Flaherty, *Tales of Sex and Violence,* 15–28.
[69]Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 263.
[70]Ibid., 264.
[71]See Oberhelman, ″Hierarchies of Gender, Ideology, and Power,″ 61.
[72]Drawing upon the content of several Arabic classical dream texts, Gouda assigns the longest coverage to the symbol of the phallus. See *Dreams and Their Meanings,* 311–15.

the sacrificial virgin.[73]

The close link between the sexual or marital act and achievement of male social power may be further observed in the dream narrative on marriage. Marriage is perceived as a significant achievement of power *(sulṭān),* depending on the social status of the woman, her beauty, and her virtue. On this Ibn Sīrīn tells us that if the man dreams that he marries ten wives, then all the more power to him. Similarly, if a woman dreams that she takes a second husband, this would also signify more benefit for her.[74] Marriage to a close relative is viewed with much favor, for it signifies that the dreamer will dominate his household, a situation that is highly favorable in a society where kinship relations determine much of male social power.[75] On the whole, marriage is perceived according to the expected husband-wife roles: for the man it signifies power, for the woman benefit. But not all marriages signify power or benefit; again this depends on the woman in question. Accordingly, Ibn Shāhīn tells us that if a man dreams that he marries a Jewish, a Christian, or a Mazdian woman, these signify acts of abomination, futility, confusion, and distraction from religion. Such reservations, though, seem to be more of a worry to Ibn Shāhīn than Ibn Sīrīn, for in the latter′s text, marriage simply signifies both power and social benefit. This difference between our two interpreters may demonstrate that Ibn Sīrīn′s social context allowed more openness to mixed marriages than Ibn Shāhīn′s.[76]

Male Anxieties over Domestic Boundaries

Dreams expressing male anxieties about marriage, seduction, promiscuity, adultery, divorce, and restriction of female movement abound in the bird text. Once again the dove, as archetypal wife, occupies a prominent place in domestic and sexual dynamics. Fear surrounding wife seduction or betrayal naturally produces images of anxiety in male dreams: ″if a man dreams that he is using tricks to catch domestic doves *(al-ḥamām al-ahlī),* this means that he is seducing women of the household.″[77] Ibn Shāhīn also tells us ″that if a man dreams that he caught a dove, he will commit a forbidden act with a woman if she is a domestic dove *(ḥamāmah ahlīyah).* However, if she happens to be a wild one, then there is no harm.″[78] Unlike hunting or catching wild birds, which is considered fair game, catching domesticated birds, which stand for women of the family, is interpreted as a taboo *(ḥarām),* hence reflecting a close parallelism between the text and the existing

[73]Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 300; see other cases as well, 299–305.
[74]Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 265.
[75]Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 129.
[76]Ibid.
[77]Ibid., 300.
[78]Ibid.

social values of domestic integrity. Moreover, if a man dreams that a peacock and a dove, or a peacock and a francolin, are intimate with one another, this denotes corruption *(fasād)* in the family, or encouraging corrupt sexual behavior between women and men.[79] The rationale behind such an interpretation may not be immediately clear, but I have observed in other cases as well that dreams of cross-intimacy of different types of birds are almost always interpreted as transgression of social boundaries or classes, and hence perceived negatively in our texts, just as they would be in the interpreters′ social setting.

Dream imagery also reflects male anxieties about divorce, death, and movement of the wife outside domestic boundaries. Imagery of flying birds is of particular significance, and, as we have already seen, is interpreted differently depending on the gender of the bird. Thus, ″dreaming of doves flying away from the house signifies divorce of the woman.″[80] Moreover, ″if a man dreams that he saw a female peacock fly away from his house, it signifies that he will divorce his wife or she will die.″[81] On the other hand ″if a man dreams that a griffin carried him and flew into the sky, it signifies that he will meet a noble man in his traveling.″[82] Similarly ″if he dreams that a parrot flew from his hands, it signifies travel of his male slave or his servant.″[83] Traveling, or free movement in the public space, is repeatedly viewed in our texts as a male prerogative, reifying the moral values of the urban middle and upper middle classes to which our interpreters belonged. Such concerns do not necessarily reflect the reality of everyday life of working or middle class women in the urban context, for as I have shown in an earlier study of Mamluk Cairo, women appear to have been moving in a relatively free manner outside their domestic boundaries.[84] Male anxiety over women′s movement outside the domestic space is nonetheless detected in the following dream depicted by Ibn Shāhīn. Thus ″if a man dreams that he cuts the wings of the dove, it signifies restricting his wife from going outside the house.″[85] This imagined act of physical aggression against the female body perhaps allows us to sense the vulnerability of

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[79]Ibid., 301. See other examples of what the text views as family corruption, for instance the case of the francolin and the peacock, ibid., 301.
[80]Ibid., 300.
[81]See the case of the francolin in ibid., 301.
[82]Ibid., 303.
[83]Ibid., 302.
[84]See Huda Lutfi, ″Manners and Customs of Fourteenth-Century Cairene Women: Female Anarchy versus Male Shar‘i Order in Muslim Prescriptive Treatises,″ in *Women in Middle Eastern History, Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender,* ed. Nikki Keddie and Beth Baron (New Haven, 1991). In this article I showed that, much to the discontent of some religious scholars, women from the lower and middle classes in medieval Cairo were moving with relative freedom in the public space.
[85]Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 300.

male power over the female, one that may burst into acts of physical aggression in his dreams.

Male anxiety over separation or divorce in the domestic space is also reflected in dreams relating to marital and sexual acts. Here also, divorce signifies a decrease in male honor and power. This is because—as both dream interpreters keep reminding us—"women, like kings, possess the feared power of '*kayd*'"—an Arabic term which denotes multiple meanings signifying ruse, artifice, and subtle cunning, practiced by both women and kings alike.[86] Like *salāṭah* (aggressive tongue), *kayd* is another feminine power trait feared by men. Most important for us is the parallelism drawn between woman and power; thus we are told that if a governor or a king has a divorce dream, this signifies loss of their power or office. Worse still is the case of the monogamous dreamer, for his divorce dream signifies his pending death.[87] Given such a negative charge in divorce imagery in our dream texts, we may get a sense of the degree of cultural anxiety over matters concerning domestic rupture. The dream text clearly reflects the significance with which the culture in question views the crucial role that women play in upholding or disrupting the integrity of the basic social structure.

Children in Male Dreams

Dreams about children receive much attention in the dream texts, reflecting a major recurrent concern of the male dreamer—sometimes joy, other times intense anxiety and worry: "Dreams about children in general signify worry *(hamm),* because they are brought up through pain and suffering."[88] But the child's gender is important in determining the joy or sorrow to which the dream points. In the bird text, the male child *(al-walad)* is signified by the young or small bird,[89] while the female child *(al-bint)* is signified by the bird nest or egg.[90] Elsewhere in Ibn Shāhīn's text, "the testicles of a man signify his power or his male children *(bayḍ al-insān quwwatuhu aw wilduhu)*.[91] Here we can see the close link between male power and the possession of male children, and since the desire to possess power is often accompanied by emotions of anxiety, this might explain why dreams about male children in particular evoke contradictory feelings of extreme tension or joy. Conversely, dreams about female children appear to signify release of tension and absolute joy. On this Ibn Shāhīn tells us that while dreaming about a

[86]Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 265. On the notion of *kayd* see also Oberhelman, "Hierarchies of Gender, Ideology, and Power," 89.
[87]Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 130.
[88]Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 57.
[89]Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 297.
[90]Ibid., 300, 305.
[91]Ibid., 305.

male child may be variously interpreted as good fortune, worry, an enemy, or a bad omen, dreaming of a female child simply signifies release *(faraj)* from worry and restraint.[92]

The desire to beget a male child occurs more frequently in dreams of the royal masculine-gendered bird. Here, there is hardly any mention of the female baby. Thus young predatory birds are almost always interpreted as male children: "If a man dreams of a wild hawk, it signifies a stubborn son, and if he dreams that he caught a hawk, but did not use him in hunting, he receives a son, and if he dreams that he eats the flesh of the hawk, he receives a son, who will cause him pain and difficulty when he grows older."[93] As for the young of the eagle, it is interpreted as a son who will become famous; similarly with the falcon, he will become a great and courageous son.[94] It may be argued here that such anxiety over begetting the male child may be said to reflect the obsessive desire on the part of the noble and the wealthy to produce male heirs, who will bring an extended increase in social power. Generally, female children appear less frequently in the bird texts. This may be readily observed from a simple statistical count—the son appears thirty times, the daughter only three times.[95] Moreover, fear of death, poverty, difficulties, or misfortunes appear to revolve more around the son than the daughter;[96] for instance "if a man dreams that he is holding a sparrow in his arms, which flew away and did not return, it signifies the death of his son."[97] Desire for a son who will bring benefit to the father also seems to be strongly reflected in male dreams; thus "if he sees that a young bird comes out of an egg, it signifies benefit from male children."[98] And "as for the nightingale, it signifies an eloquent son, of pleasant voice and speech, or a boy who will become a Quranic reciter."[99]

Anxiety over the sexuality of the child is another important theme in dreams about children. In both dream texts sexual penetration of a male child *(ṭifl)* signifies sorrow and difficulties. Textual references to the act of molesting boys are more explicit than those referring to girls: "If a man dreams that he is stitching shut the eyelids of sparrows, it signifies that he is deceiving boys *(yakhdaʻu al-ṣibyān),"* and once again, "if he dreams that he is fondling *(yaʻbathu)* sparrows or their young ones, it means that he is fondling boys."[100] Reference to pederasty appears

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[92]Ibid., 64.
[93]Ibid., 296.
[94]Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 147.
[95]Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 295–305.
[96]Ibid., 296, 298, 300.
[97]Ibid., 303.
[98]Ibid., 304.
[99]Ibid., 301.
[100]Ibid., 303.

more frequently in Ibn Shāhīn′s bird text than in Ibn Sīrīn′s, and more than any other sexual act, it seems to demand his moralizing intervention:

> Some interpreters say that if a man dreams that he is playing with doves *(al-ḥamām)* and he belonged to the people of corruption *(min ahl al-fasād),* it signifies that he is a homosexual *(lūṭī),* because this was part of the rituals of the people of Lūṭ. And nowadays, there are many who take a great liking *(yaghwī)* to this art of playing with doves. They should fear God![101]

In this passage there is a double play on the meaning of the term *ḥamāmah* (dove), which we have come to know in the bird text as the good wife. In this context, however, Ibn Shāhīn may be using the term *ḥamām* as a metonym for boy. The terms used to describe dreams of child molesting call for some attention, for they denote that serious harm, deceit, or corruption is done to the child. Pederasty here is perceived as a form of sexual transgression socially harmful to the family and society at large, and therefore is negatively depicted by the dream interpreter. Moreover, Ibn Shāhīn′s remark that ″nowadays there are many who take a great liking to this art″ coupled with his admonition that ″they should fear God″ suggest his disapproval of the prevalence of pederasty in his society.[102]

In contrast, when it comes to dreams about the sexuality of the female child, the text seems to be more ambivalent. Thus ″if a man dreams that a francolin is sleeping beside him, it signifies that someone is trying to mislead his children *(yakhda'u 'iyālahu).*[103] Here, it is unclear whether the Arabic term *'iyāl* refers to sons or daughters, or both, for it simply refers to dependent children of the family. But nowhere else in the bird text or in the other examined texts is there explicit mention of the sexual molesting of young girls. Textual ambivalence, or perhaps one should say silence, over the sexuality of young girls may reveal an even greater male anxiety over the sexual chastity of the female child.

THE ARCHETYPAL WOMAN, THE ARCHETYPAL MAN

Equally important for our gender analysis are the symbolic notions of man, woman, and their reversed or inverted models in the dream text. Here, I would like to further explore how the dream text on human actors reflects gender relations. In male dreams about the archetypal woman, she appears to occupy a special centrality,

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[101]Ibid., 300.
[102]On pederasty in the Mamluk period, see Everett Rowson, ″Two Homoerotic Narratives from Mamluk Literature,″ in *Homoeroticism in Classical Arabic Literature,* 158–91.
[103]Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 301.

appearing as an awesome figure, unfamiliar in the bird text where she is depicted more in a subordinate relationship to the male. In this narrative the archetypal woman is perceived as the earth with all its earthly things and concerns. She is the source of fertility and movement in life because ″she adorns herself, brings forth children, and pours milk.″[104] She has tremendous power over man, leading him either to temptation *(fitnah)* or salvation. As in the bird text, woman is also depicted in oppositional terms: she is either good or evil, the force behind the world of material pleasure, as well as the world of the spirit. She is described as beautiful, virginal, smiling, corpulent, clean, and adorned as opposed to old, ugly, emaciated, dirty, hairy, unkempt, and nude. As we have seen in the bird text, physical attributes seem to be crucial in defining the female body, and once again feminine beauty appears to be the most important attribute of female power. Conversely, male repugnance at female ugliness is reflected in the way it is used, signifying reversal of matters *(inqilāb al-umūr)*.[105] Thus the old, ugly, or defective woman is used as a metaphor of the deceptive material world, the source of all temptation and evil. On the other hand, the good, beautiful, and clean woman signifies the spiritual world and the hereafter.[106] We are repeatedly reminded that the good accruing from woman is determined by the degree of her beauty, adornment, and perfume, for we are told that in the ugly one there is no benefit, but only harm.[107] Male fear of the threatening power of woman may also be seen in dreams about the frowning, or the quarrelsome, woman. Here, Ibn Shāhīn warns the dreamer that if ″he dreams that he saw many women quarreling, this is predictive of strange events, resulting in social confusion.″[108]

Male dreams of the archetypal man occupy a shorter narrative space than that on woman. One could even argue that man, as a dream symbol, does not seem to evoke the strong emotions of fear, desire, admiration, hate, and love that are reserved for woman in male dreams. In this text, he is depicted in a straightforward manner, for he appears primarily in the role of bestowing wealth, benefit, and security. Age is significant, for the old man seems to be a more positive masculine symbol, signifying at once benefit, grace, wisdom, knowledge, fulfillment of needs, and security.[109] Unlike the bird text, physical looks seem to be an important attribute of the male in this narrative. Hence terms indicating both beauty *(jamāl)*

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[104] Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 259.
[105] Ibid., 56–57. The female slave is often used as a feminine symbol, but what has been said of the free-born woman may apply to her as well.
[106] Ibid., 258.
[107] Ibid., 259, 57. See also Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 62, who states that a beautiful and smiling woman signifies joy, benefit, and a fertile year.
[108] Ibid., 63.
[109] Ibid., 62.

and good looks *(ḥusn)* are used to describe the male figure. And while ugliness is equally disliked in men, signifying the male enemy, the language used here does not betray the same intense fear and anxiety reserved for the ugly woman. In addition to physical appearance, other attributes seem to constitute the male image; thus traits such as social or cultural refinement *(al-adab)* seem to be more typically masculine.[110] To sum up, while this dream narrative seems to betray the typical gender construct of woman as nature versus man as culture, it strongly reflects a male anxiety regarding woman′s awesome power.

THE DYNAMICS OF GENDER INVERSION

Earlier, we have seen how the bird text negatively constructs the images of the wild dove and the crow, reinforcing their otherness or marginality as social actors. The notion of social or gender inversion will be further examined here, for it allows us to examine gender relations beyond the simple dichotomy of the ″ideal″ or ″evil″ man or woman. What happens when gender roles are reversed or undergo transformation? More imagery of gender reversals appear in dreams relating to man, woman, marriage, and sexual acts than in the bird dreams: women in male dress, women with a beard or penis, menstruating men, or men giving birth to children, bisexuals, homosexuals, eunuchs, and hermaphrodites.

Unable to cast the latter in either role, interpreters do not know what to do with the figure of the hermaphrodite.[111] And whereas Ibn Shāhīn is ready to entertain several interpretations in relation to the hermaphrodite, Ibn Sīrīn gives a gloomy image of this socially ambivalent figure, for he tells us that ″if a man becomes a hermaphrodite it is predictive of a great catastrophe and grief.″[112] Ibn Shāhīn′s interpretation, though less gloomy, still points to a lack, for he asserts that ″dreaming of becoming a hermaphrodite may be interpreted in several ways: absence of sexual intercourse and progeny, lowering of status *(ta'khīr manzilatihi),* weak power, but also affection and sympathy.″[113] Predictably, low status here is juxtaposed to two defective attributes: lack of sexual potency and of children. Hence, the hermaphrodite is a symbol of a low social status, lacking in what our interpreters consider to be two of the most important ingredients of male social power. This reminds us of what we already know from the bird text: the close connection constructed between male power and sexual potency, and between male social status and male children. Attributing other positive traits to the hermaphrodite, however, compensates for this lack of social status and social

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[110]Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 56.
[111]Paula Sanders ″Gendering the Ungendered Body: Hermaphrodites in Medieval Islamic Law,″ in *Women in Middle Eastern History,* 74–98.
[112]Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 266.
[113]Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 65.

power: the more affective, perhaps feminine, traits of affection and sympathy.

In a different vein, the eunuch, presumably a male figure without phallic power, is perceived as an angelic and spiritually virtuous being who possesses knowledge and wisdom.[114] But instead of the positive qualities of affection and sympathy found in the hermaphrodite, the dream text assigns the eunuch the masculine spiritual qualities of knowledge and wisdom. Like the hermaphrodite, however, he seems also to be perceived as a marginal social figure; the eunuch here corresponds to the bat, the male ascetic that we have encountered in the kingdom of birds.

As for the bisexual male, he is seen as both an outsider to the household and a trespasser of social boundaries, corresponding perhaps to the crow in the bird text, a figure who disrupts boundaries. But he is not perceived as an inherently defective social figure, for as the dream text tells us, he needs only to repent in order to return within such boundaries.[115] Similarly, a woman who dreams of having a lesbian relationship signifies that she will be widowed or separated from her husband, suggesting again that reversal or subversion of ″normal″ sexual roles leads to disruption of the domestic order.[116] Conversely, Ibn Sīrīn tells us that male homosexuality signifies both victory and impoverishment, depending on sexual posture and social status. Therefore, if a man dreams that he is penetrated or mounted by his male slave, this would signify a drastic decline in both power and wealth, but if the sultan or an older man penetrates him, this would signify receiving benefit or enhancement of power.[117]

While the dream texts allow a positive interpretation of male homosexuality, it is less so for female homosexuality. The image of the masculine woman, who grows a beard or a penis or who dresses in men′s attire, inspires various interpretations. According to one, a woman turning into a man signifies a loss of her femininity and therefore the impossibility to relate in a ″normal″ fashion to the male. As in a lesbian relationship, this gender reversal is perceived in terms of social displacement, and hence threatening to acceptable social relations. Another interpretation of the masculine woman signifies the acquisition of masculine behavioral traits, allowing her to assume a position of dominance, but still perceived as violating the normative power relationship between man and woman.[118] Similarly,

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[114]Ibid., 64.
[115]Gouda, *Dreams and Their Meanings,* 85.
[116]Ibid., 258.
[117]On homosexual acts in dreams see Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 263, 266; Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 130. See Oberhelman on homoerotic acts in dream texts in ″Hierarchies of Gender, Ideology, and Power,″ 70.
[118]For instance, if a man dreams that he is ″holding firm a woman′s vagina with his hand, which turns into a penis, her morals will change. If it remains a penis, she will remain authoritarian,

the image of a woman who imitates men *(al-tashabbuh bi-al-rijāl),* who behaves socially like men or adopts their attire, may signify improvement in her status, but on condition that ″this dress or behavioral reversal is not exercised in excess″ *(ghayr mujāwiz lil-qadr);* otherwise, as Ibn Sīrīn tells us, it will bring grief and fear for the woman.[119] This note of warning against excess is significant because it cautions against the complete blurring of gender boundaries, which according to Ibn Sīrīn is a prescription for social disaster. Even though we could argue that these different interpretations of gender reversals may signify gain in status and power for the woman, it is power illegitimately gained, and hence its negative portrayal.

How does the man fare if he becomes more like a woman? Here also we have different and sometimes contradictory interpretations. Thus if a man dreams that he has a vulva *(farj),* it signifies freedom from social restraints. According to one interpretation, the dream interpreter is making use of the literal meaning of the Arabic term *farj,* a derivative of the root *faraj,* which carries the multiple meanings of freedom from grief, release from suffering, joy, pleasure, and relaxation. Thus the vulva, metaphor of femininity par excellence, signifies a state of freedom and joy for the male dreamer. Conversely, the same dream may also be interpreted as loss of status and humiliation; thus ″a man with a vagina does not fare well and is humiliated.″[120] The dream text also depicts men as pregnant or delivering children. Pregnancy, symbol of feminine fertility, signifies benefit for both men and women. Thus if a man dreams that he is pregnant, he receives benefit in the world.[121] Less accommodating of the image of the pregnant male, Ibn Shāhīn offers conflicting interpretations, for while pregnancy may signify wealth for women, it may bring grief for men. But then he quickly adds that pregnancy may also signify wealth and benefit for either man or woman, suggesting gain of status for the male as well.[122] Such textual uncertainties are important to note, for they always reveal moments of conflict in the interpreter′s mind, where both mixed feelings and value judgments color his perceptions. Even though women may sometimes be perceived in a secondary relationship to men, feminine fertility here is viewed as an attribute of immense power in both the dream and social world of our interpreters. Imagery of gender inversions or changeability in the dream text seem to point to areas of tension in which different forms of gender transformation are depicted in conflicting terms, sometimes as experiences of grief, strife, and humiliation, but in other instances as experiences of benefit and gain. More importantly, they seem to point to experiences of social rupture: women or men who experience some

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impudent, loud, and impossible to tame.″ Gouda, *Dreams and Their Meanings,* 431.

119 Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 266.

120 Gouda, *Dreams and Their Meanings,* 431.

121 Ibn Sīrīn,.*Muntakhab,* 262.

sort of gender transformation or reversal are more often than not perceived as transgressors of social boundaries. And since such transgressions often result in non-procreative practices, they often seem to be judged in our texts by the potential social disorder that they may cause.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The simplistic formula of gender hierarchy, which normally portrays man in a dominant relationship to woman, does not receive consistent confirmation in our analysis, for the advantage does not seem to be completely with the male. Conflicting messages can be detected in the dream narratives that have been examined. And whereas gender hierarchy seems to privilege male power in the more structured kingdom of birds, this is not the case in dream narratives relating to marital and sexual acts, or to those relating to men, women, children, and slaves. Textual ambivalences can certainly be revealing, even if they occupy less narrative space or can only be read between the lines. Moments of textual hesitations, backtracking, or silence must be further examined in future studies of the dream text to show the plurality of practices and perceptions that may otherwise be left undetected if such textual ambiguities are ignored.

It seems to me that woman's loss in the kingdom of birds is compensated for by her gain in other dream narratives. Cryptic, almost unnoticeable references in the dream text refer to the generic term "woman" as equivalent to power. Thus in a short but significant reference in his chapter on marital relations, Ibn Sīrīn sets for us the most important principles that constitute the symbol of woman in dreams: "Woman signifies *sulṭān* (power) in accordance with her status, her political importance *(khaṭaruhā),* the meaning of her name, and her beauty."[123] Here woman is not considered in abstract terms; her power is qualified by specific attributes: economic and political status, as well as beauty. Furthermore, the notion of woman as the conquered object or sacrificial object of male power, a predominant trope in the bird text, is paradoxically reversed by Ibn Sīrīn who tells us in the following passage that it is ultimately woman who rules over man who, in turn, emerges as her slave. It is important to note here that while I found no corresponding passages or similar views on woman in Ibn Shāhīn's dream text, I found al-Nābulusī's text on *al-mar'ah* to be more in line with Ibn Sīrīn's. Can it be argued then that in the more militaristic society of the Mamluks, male dream interpretation developed an increasingly more fearful stance of, or hesitation in, recognizing woman's symbolic power and her crucial role in holding together the threads of the social order?

The perfect woman *(al-mar'ah al-kāmilah)* is simultaneously of

[122]Ibn Shāhīn, *Ishārāt,* 133.

> this world, because she is the world *(al-dunyā),* joy and pleasure, and of the hereafter *(al-ākhirah)* because she improves spirituality. She may also signify power *(sulṭān)* because woman rules over man *(ḥākimah ʻalá al-rajul)* through love and passion. And he, in his toil and pursuit after her good, is like a slave.[124]

According to this interpretation, the perfect woman symbolizes both the sensual as well as the spiritual world. She stands for joy and bliss, for spiritual enlightenment, for expansion and release of tension, and also for sexual pleasure; and man is perceived as her slave working to satisfy her needs. In this short but significant narrative attributed to Ibn Sīrīn, the notion of woman as the mistress of man reverses the conventional construct of gender hierarchy in which it is always assumed that man is favored over woman, revealing instead a construct in which woman is placed in a dominant relationship to man. Following Ibn Sīrīn´s rationale, if the man is dependent on the woman for his pleasures in this world and the hereafter, he is inevitably bound to become her slave. In retrospect, this male perspective of the feminine may help us understand the background of man´s fear of woman, and hence his strong desire to possess and control her in both his social and dream worlds. She happens to be at the source of both his pleasures and his pains. Though we can argue that women´s desires and fears may also be inextricably linked to those of men, we have less to say about them here, for we have only been able to examine man´s constructed dreams about woman.

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[123]Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 262.
[124]Al-Nābulusī, *Taʻṭīr,* 254; Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab,* 258–59.

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Notes on the Contemporary Sources of the Year 793

I will leave to others the responsibility of speaking about Donald P. Little's career and the pivotal place he occupies in the field of Mamluk studies. As for me, perhaps the most appropriate way to pay tribute to him is to provide readers with the results of a study[1] which uses the method that he pioneered and which has ever since been identified with him.

In Little's words,

> The nature of the method is disarmingly simple; it is nothing more than comparison, close word-by-word comparison of individual accounts of topics within annals and biographies,[2] with a threefold aim. One, given the fact that historians followed in most cases the conventions of the annalistic and biographical genres almost slavishly, what variations can be found in the treatment of individual authors? It is obvious that the variations constitute the author's originality, whether they consist of stylistic innovations, departures from the conventions of the genres, or the introduction of original subject matter. . . . A second, related, purpose is to characterize Mamlūk historiography in general . . . ; in other words, having pointed out variations, I would attempt to establish the similarities in approach, technique and subject matter. Included under this purpose is the desire to indicate the type of data which can be gleaned from Mamlūk sources, both as to the quantity and quality, so that the beginner in Mamlūk studies can readily discover what variety of subjects the historians both discuss and omit, as well as the difficulties which he can expect to encounter as a result of the mode of presentation. Third and most importantly, I am trying to

[1]The study presented here is culled from my on-going Ph.D. research, which deals with the historiography of the early Circassian period, and particularly from Chapter Two, the topic of which is the year 793. Chapter One deals with the year 778 and is still unpublished, but I will be making systematic reference to it throughout this article.

[2]In this article, I will be dealing only with *ḥawādith*.

> establish what Claude Cahen calls a ″repertorium″[3] of the sources of the period, by which I mean an analytical survey of the sources which aims at classifying them in terms of their value to modern historians. All the goals can be achieved by comparison, which, in the last analysis, aims at disentangling the inter-relatedness and inter-dependence of the sources so as to discover the original contribution of each historian. . . .[4]

Little chose to compare annals, by means of textual collation, in order to identify similarities and variations that would explain the complex of borrowings and indebtedness amongst the historians he studied and their works. One advantage of such a ″micro″ approach to historiography is the detailed knowledge it gives researchers into the events of a given year. Such intimate knowledge will help in exploring, when possible and relevant, the scope and impact of some given events, and their interrelations; in other words, what do the sources tell us about important historical occurrences and how do they impact on our knowledge and understanding of them? This endeavor overlaps with the third objective highlighted above by Little, namely the relative merit of a given source not only on historiographical, but also on historical grounds.

The choice of the year 793/1390–91 as the focus of my research is not accidental. Chronologically, this year falls almost in the middle of the early Circassian period, which ran roughly from the late 770s/1370s until the early ninth/fifteenth century.[5] From the standpoint of historiographical production, this span of time is truly crucial as it witnessed the withering away of an entire generation of historians, those who had lived through and beyond the reigns of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (d. 741/1341). Thus, Ibn Kathīr′s (d. 774/1373) *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* does not extend beyond 768/1367,[6] and the two works

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[3]Claude Cahen, ″Editing Arabic Chronicles: A Few Suggestions,″ *Islamic Studies* 1, no. 3 (September 1962): 4.

[4]Donald P. Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography: An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn* (Wiesbaden, 1970), 2–3 (hereafter cited as *An Introduction*).

[5]This would correspond roughly to the reign of Barqūq as *amīr kabīr* (779–84/1378–82) then sultan (784–91, 792–801/1382–89, 1390–99).

[6]The last entry of the book is the report about the murder of Yalbughā al-'Umarī; *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* ed. Aḥmad Abū Milḥim (Beirut, 1987), 14:338–39. On the later parts of Ibn Kathīr′s chronicle see Ashtor′s contention, originally advanced by Laoust, that the last part of *Al-Bidāyah* was written not by Ibn Kathīr himself but by one of his students, probably Ibn Ḥijjī: ″Études sur quelques chroniques mamloukes,″ *Israel Oriental Society* 1 (1971): 284. Al-'Umarī had led a revolt in 762 against his *ustādh* and sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (d. 762/1361), which resulted

of another Syrian historian who was not connected to the Syrian school,[7] Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī′s (710–79/1310–77) *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh*[8] and *Durrat al-Aslāk fī Mulk Dawlat al-Atrāk*[9] end respectively in 770 and 777. As for Egypt, the other major pole of the Mamluk Sultanate, the *Naṭr al-Jumān fī Tarājim al-A'yān,* the chronicle of al-Muqrī (who was still alive in 766/1364–65), the last of the Egyptian historians to have been a contemporary of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, ends in 745/1345.[10] It is true that a new generation of historians like Ibn Khaldūn[11] (732–808/1332–1406), Ibn al-Furāt[12] (735–807/1335–1404-5), Ṣārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn Duqmāq[13]

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in the latter′s assassination. See al-Maqrīzī′s *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,* ed. Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr (Cairo, 1970), 3:1:155 (hereafter cited as *Al-Sulūk*) for a brief summary of Barqūq′s travels and activities following the murder of Yalbughā al-'Umarī in 768/1366; see also Walter J. Fischel, ″*Ascensus Barcoch* (I) and (II): A Latin Biography of the Mamlūk Sultan Barqūq of Egypt (d. 1399) Written by B. de Mignanelli in 1416,″ *Arabica* 6 (1959): 64 ff.

7On the debate concerning the appropriateness of differentiating between Syrian and Egyptian ″schools″ of historical writing, see Little, *An Introduction,* 46, 95, 98; Li Guo, ″Mamluk Historiographic Studies: The State of the Art,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 29–33, 37–39; and David Reisman, ″A Holograph MS of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s *Dhayl*,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 24–25, 27–28 and the references therein. See also below.

8Edited by Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn with an introduction by Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr, (Cairo, 1976–86) (hereafter cited as *Tadhkirah*). This work covers the years 687 to 770.

9Of the three manuscripts available of this work, two, MSS Bodleian Marsh 591 and Bodleian Marsh 223, start at the year 648, and the third, Bodleian Marsh 319, at the year 762. The three manuscripts end respectively in 777, 714, and 801. It is MS Bodleian Marsh 319 which will be used throughout this research since it is the only one to include the annals 778 to 801 (fols. 134a ff) ostensibly written by Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir (after 740– 808/1340–1406), Ibn Ḥabīb′s son. Contrary to what 'Āshūr claims in his introduction to the *Tadhkirah,* this *dhayl* (hereafter cited as *Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk*), at least MS Bodleian Marsh 319, ends in 801 and not 802; see his introduction to the *Tadhkirah,* 1:20. More on Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir below. The *Durrat al-Aslāk* and its *dhayl* were apparently edited and translated by A. Meursinge and H. F. Veijers in the middle of the nineteenth century, but I have not been able to get hold of their work; see *Orient* 2 (1840–46): 195–491.

10On this author and his work, see Little, *An Introduction*, 40.

11*Kitāb al-'Ibar wa-al-Mubtada' wa-al-Khabar* (Beirut, 1971) (hereafter cited as *Al-'Ibar*); *Al-Ta'rīf bi-Ibn Khaldūn wa-Riḥlatihi Gharban wa-Sharqan,* ed. Muḥammad ibn Tāwīt al-Ṭanjī (Cairo, 1951).

12*Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,* ed. Qusṭanṭīn Zurayq and Najlā' 'Izz al-Dīn (Beirut, 1936–38) (hereafter cited as *Tārīkh al-Duwal*); ″Al-Muntaqá min Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt,″ MS Chester Beatty 4125, fols. 2b–178b (hereafter cited as ″Al-Muntaqá min Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt″).

13Three editions of *Al-Jawhar al-Thamīn fī Siyar al-Khulafā' wa-al-Mulūk,* the lesser of the two extant histories written by Ibn Duqmāq, are available: Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr′s edition (Mecca, 1983) (hereafter cited as *Al-Jawhar* 'Āshūr); Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī′s edition in two volumes (Beirut, 1985) (hereafter cited as *Al-Jawhar* 'Alī); and 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī′s edition entitled *Al-Nafḥah al-Miskīyah fī al-Dawlah al-Turkīyah* (Sidon and

(745–809/1349–1407), Ibn Ḥijjī (751–816/1350–1413),[14] Badr al-Dīn al-ʻAynī[15] (762–855/1361–1451), al-Maqrīzī[16] (766–845/1364–1441), Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī[17] (773–852/1372–1449), Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,[18] and others would insure a solid transition in historical writing from the Turkish to the Circassian period. But globally, whereas Bahri Mamluk historiography has been subjected to rigorous and comprehensive source analysis,[19] with the exception of a certain number of studies of a limited scope,[20] nothing of the sort has been undertaken with regard to the early Circassian period.[21] Consequently, beyond general historiographical surveys, we still have not established the value of Burji[22] historical works in their

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Beirut, 1999) (hereafter cited as *Al-Nafḥah*), which corresponds to volume two of ʻIzz al-Dīn ʻAlī′s edition, namely the Mamluk period. The appellation of *Al-Nafḥah al-Miskīyah* was given by Tadmurī to the MS of *Al-Jawhar* that he edited and which extended, contrary to the other two, to the year 805. Throughout this article, it is this latter version of *Al-Jawhar* which will be used since its edition is more recent and since also the overlapping sections do not differ significantly from one edition to the other (ibid., 18–19). Also by Ibn Duqmāq is the more substantial *Nuzhat al-Anām fī Tārikh al-Islām,* ed. Samīr Ṭabbārah (Beirut, 1999) (hereafter cited as *Nuzhah* Ṭabbārah) and MS Gotha Orient. A 1572, fols. 1b–137a. More on Ibn Duqmāq below.

[14]″Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī,″ MSS Köprülü 1027, Chester Beatty 4125, Chester Beatty 5527, and Berlin Ahlwardt 9458; see below for relevant folio numbers.

[15]″ʻIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān″ (hereafter cited as ″ʻIqd″), MSS Ahmet III 2911/B2, Ahmet III 2911/19, and Dār al-Kutub 1584 *Tārīkh*, fols. 160–476.

[16]*Al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Beirut, n.d.); *Al-Sulūk*, vol. 3.

[17]*Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʻyān al-Miʼah al-Thāminah* (Beirut, 1993) (hereafter cited as *Al-Durar*); *Inbāʼ al-Ghumr fī Abnāʼ al-ʻUmr* (Beirut, 1986) (hereafter cited as *Inbāʼ*).

[18]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* ed. ʻAdnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1977–97) (hereafter cited as *TIQS*).

[19]Notably Little, *An Introduction*; Ulrich Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit,* Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 1 (Freiburg, 1969).

[20]To my knowledge, there are studies that do just that, but they are very much limited in scope: Amalia Levanoni, ″Al-Maqrīzī′s account of the Transition from Turkish to Circassian Mamluk Sultanate: History in the Service of Faith,″ in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800),* ed. Hugh Kennedy (Leiden, 2001), 93–105; Reisman, ″A Holograph MS,″ 19–49; Donald P. Little, ″A Comparison of al-Maqrīzī and al-ʻAynī as Historians of Contemporary Events,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, no. 2 (2003): 205–15; Sami G. Massoud, ″Al-Maqrīzī as a Historian of the Reign of Barqūq,″ ibid., 119–35. In his ″Circassian Mamluk Historians and their Quantitative Economic Data,″ *Journal of the American Research Center in Cairo* 11–12 (1974–75): 75–87, Jere L. Bacharach does survey and compare Circassian sources but his focus is entirely on economic data.

[21]Donald P. Little, ″Historiography of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Epochs,″ in *The Cambridge History of Egypt 640–1517,* ed. Carl Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 433.

[22]Notwithstanding David Ayalon′s argument in favor of not using the term Burji to describe the Circassian period, I will use this word interchangeably with that of Circassian to describe the

own right and in relation to one another. But even at this level, the key period which witnessed the end of Qalāwūnid rule and the rise of Barqūq and the Circassians is particularly understudied: with the exception of a few words scattered here and there in scholarly articles and monographs, and in the introductory notices of editions of primary sources, nothing compares with the surveys authored by Linda S. Northrup[23] on the early Bahri period, and by Carl S. Petry on the late Circassian era.[24]

Beyond these historiographical considerations, other factors also weighed into the selection of the year 793 for analysis. On the political level, it is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable years of the reign of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (784–91, 792–801/1382–89, 1390–99).[25] It represents the culmination of a series of events that started with the rebellions of Minṭāsh[26] and Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī,[27] respectively at the end of 789 and in Ṣafar 791,[28] his eviction from power by the latter pair in

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Mamluk polity which came into existence with the advent of Barqūq and ended in 922/1517 with its defeat at the hands of the Ottomans; Ayalon, "Baḥrī Mamlūks, Burjī Mamlūks—Inadequate Names for the Two Reigns of the Mamluk Sultanate," *Tārīkh* 1 (1990): 3–53.

[23]Linda S. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689A.H./1279–1290A.D.),* Freiburger Islamstudien 18 (Stuttgart, 1998), 25–61.

[24]Carl S. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1981), 8–14; idem, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of Mamluk Sultans Al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qanṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (Seattle, 1993), 5–14; idem, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994), 5–12.

[25]On Barqūq, see Gaston Wiet, "Barḳūḳ, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Sayf al-Dīn," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 1:1082; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá ba'd al-Wāfī,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn et al. (Cairo, 1986), 3:285–342 (hereafter cited as *Al-Manhal*). See also references in The Chicago Online Bibliography of Mamluk Studies:
http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/su/mideast/mamluk.

[26]Tamurbughā al-Ashrafī, also known as Minṭāsh, was a mamluk of al-Ashraf Sha'bān who succeeded in finding himself a place in the sun in the first part of Barqūq's reign, a period whose political history still needs to be written. It was his rebellion at the end of 789 in the city of Malaṭya where he was viceroy, and the subsequent rallying of Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī to his cause, which eventually led to the downfall of Barqūq in 791. On Minṭāsh, see *Al-Manhal,* 4:94–99, no. 782.

[27]Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī was a member of Yalbughā al-'Umarī's inner circle *(khāṣṣakīyah)* but was superseded in the quest for power by al-'Umarī's younger mamluks, chief among them Barqūq. He joined the rebellion against the sultan in 791 when he was the viceroy of Aleppo, the very city where he would meet his maker in 793. On him, see "Al-Manhal," Dār al-Kutub MS 13475 *Tārīkh,* fols. 842a–845a (hereafter cited as "Al-Manhal").

[28]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 1992), 11:206ff, 210ff. Within the framework of this article, I will make use of *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah* when making casual references to political events that took place

Jumādá II 791,[29] his exile to al-Karak and his escape therefrom in Ramaḍān,[30] his military feats and defeats in Syria in late 791 and early 792,[31] and his return to the throne in the middle of Ṣafar 792.[32] After 793, Barqūq was not to suffer from any *major* threat until his death in 801/1399.

What also stands out in the year 793 is the Syrian dimension of a large proportion of the events that were the object of reports. What took place in Syria in 793 ran the gamut of problems often encountered by Mamluk rulers in that part of their empire: intrigue on the part of former and present foes and friends, the involvement of Arab and Turcoman nomadic formations in the political and military affairs of the region, the power relations between the Mamluk polity and its vassal states, etc.[33] To this one ought to add Barqūq's own visit to Syria from Ramaḍān until Dhū al-Ḥijjah, because of the inability of Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī[34] to score a decisive victory against Minṭāsh, let alone capture him. Last but not least is the particular state of war brought about by the quasi-"siege" of Damascus by Minṭāsh and his allies, from the beginning of Rajab until the middle of Sha'bān. During this period, the Minṭāshīs, who were entrenched outside the western wall of Damascus, fought against the loyalists under the command of Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī, while the links of both groups to the Syrian hinterland remained uninterrupted.[35]

A few words concerning the sources are in order here. First, we are clearly dealing with two different sets of sources which will be studied as such: one group comprises the Egyptian Ibn Duqmāq, Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir,[36] Ibn Khaldūn,

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during the period at hand. Three editions of *Al-Nujūm* will be used here: Shams al-Dīn's edition mentioned above (hereafter cited as *Al-Nujūm*); *The History of Egypt, 1382–1467 A.D.,* part 1, *1382–1399 A.D.,* trans. William Popper, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology 13 (Berkeley, 1954); and *Abû'l-Mahâsin Ibn Taghrî Birdî's Annals,* ed. idem, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology 5, pts. 1–3 (746–800 A.H.) (Berkeley, 1932–35).

[29] *Al-Nujūm,* 11:234ff.

[30] Ibid., 268ff, 287ff.

[31] Ibid., 294ff.

[32] Ibid., 12:3ff.

[33] On all this, see below.

[34] After they had taken power in Cairo following their successful rebellion against Barqūq, Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī and Minṭāsh ended up fighting it out as a result of the coup undertaken by the latter against the former. Upon the return of Barqūq to power, Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī was released from prison and later nominated viceroy of Damascus, a position that entailed, among other things, the prosecution of the war against Minṭāsh. More on this below.

[35] See especially Ibn Ṣaṣrá, *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah fī al-Dawlah al-Ẓāhirīyah,* ed. and trans. William M. Brinner as *A Chronicle of Damascus, 1389–1397* (Berkeley, 1963), 76–91 (hereafter cited as *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah* and as *A Chronicle of Damascus* for the English text); and "Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī," MS Köprülü 1027, fols. 94b–99b (hereafter cited as "Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī").

[36] More on the nature of Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir's *Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk* below.

and Ibn al-Furāt, and the other, the Syrian Ibn Ḥijjī and Ibn Ṣaṣrá. As will become apparent below, the distinction established between the two groups has more to do with the geographical home-base of these writers than with the existence of Syrian and Egyptian ″schools″ of historical writing. Second, all the above-mentioned historians were contemporaries of the events of 793 and included in their works original data.[37] While al-ʻAynī at thirty-one years of age, al-Maqrīzī at twenty-seven, and al-ʻAsqalānī at twenty were young men, they were old enough to have heard of, followed, or been impressed by the events of that year. Two of them, al-ʻAynī and al-ʻAsqalānī, actually intervened directly in the main body of their respective works as self-conscious narrators: the former in signaling his return from Aleppo to Cairo[38] and the latter in mentioning his trip to Qūs in the Ṣaʻīd.[39] But despite the importance of these ″newcomers″ and the fact that their works merit systematic analysis in their own respect,[40] they and later historians like Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, Ibn Taghrībirdī (812–74/1409–70), al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī[41] (819–900/1416–94), Ibn Iyās[42] (852–930/1427–97), ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ Ibn Khalīl al-Malāṭī[43] (844–920/1440–1515), and others were yet to make their mark in terms of producing primary historical data *for this particular year:* globally, with the notable exception of al-ʻAynī, who presented in his *ʻIqd* reports about Syria that are not found elsewhere,[44] all these historians owe the overwhelming majority of their *akhbār* either to Ibn al-Furāt and, possibly, to Ibn Duqmāq,[45] or to al-Maqrīzī, whose *Al-Sulūk,* though written differently, is nothing but a shorter yet almost identical copy of *Tārīkh al-Duwal.* It is for this reason that the works of these newcomers will not be studied here, even though reference to them will be made when needed.

[37]Even though some of them did rely on other histories in the elaboration of their own work.

[38]″ʻIqd,″ MS Ahmet III 2911/B2, fol. 99a.

[39]*Inbāʼ*, 3:77.

[40]This is indeed what I have embarked upon in Chapter Two of my dissertation.

[41]*Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān*, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970).

[42]*Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʼiʻ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden, 1974–75).

[43]*Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal,* ed. ʻUmar Tadmurī (Beirut, 2002) (hereafter cited as *Nayl al-Amal*).

[44]See for example the details he gave about the execution of Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī at the hands of Barqūq in the citadel of Aleppo at the end of Dhū al-Qaʻdah: ″ʻIqd,″ MS Ahmet III 2911/B2, fol. 98a, ″ʻIqd,″ MS Dār al-Kutub 1584 *Tārīkh,* fols. 433–34. Al-ʻAynī's account is similar, though not identical, to Mignanelli′s for the same event; see Fischel, ″*Ascensus Barcoch* (II),″ 161.

[45]See below.

Ibn Duqmāq is undoubtedly one of the most original historians of the early Circassian period. Already in the opening pages of his *Inbā'*, Ibn Ḥajar readily stated that "most of what I have copied [in the *Inbā'*] is from [Ibn Duqmāq] or from what Ibn al-Furāt had copied from him."[46] On the same page, Ibn Ḥajar also noted that al-'Aynī had so extensively borrowed from Ibn Duqmāq that he copied entire pages from his work, spelling mistakes and all.[47] Ibn al-Furāt and al-'Aynī's indebtedness to Ibn Duqmāq, alluded to by Ibn Ḥajar, has been confirmed by my own study: at least for the year 778, the *Tārīkh al-Duwal*[48] is more copious in terms of sheer data than Ibn Duqmāq's major work *Nuzhat al-Anām fī Tārīkh al-Islām,*[49] but the accounts of the latter form the backbone of the former to which Ibn al-Furāt added his own original material; as for al-'Aynī, the annal of the year 778 in his *'Iqd al-Jumān* is basically an identical copy of Ibn Duqmāq's *Nuzhah.*[50]

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[46]1:3.

[47]Ibid. Ibn Ḥajar wrote that al-'Aynī "mentions in his description of some events what indicates that he actually witnessed them . . . [but] the event would have taken place in Egypt while he was still in 'Ayntāb. . . ." (ibid.). The maliciousness displayed here by Ibn Ḥajar towards al-'Aynī can be attributed to the academic clash between them concerning diverging ways of interpreting al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ;* on this, see Anne F. Broadbridge, "Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: Al-'Aynī, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 98–101; and Aftāb Aḥmad Raḥmānī, "The Life and Works of Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Islamic Culture* 47 (1973): 59–61, 172–74.

[48]The *Tārīkh al-Duwal* annal of the year 778 is found in MS Chester Beatty 4125, fols. 28a–45b; on the "survival" of parts of Ibn al-Furāt's work in excerpts made by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, see Reisman, "A Holograph MS," 26–27, 31–32.

[49]See previous note.

[50]The value of Ibn Duqmāq as a major historian of the period at hand is corroborated by a host of other factors. For example, the secondary sources that deal with his works (Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī, *Arba'at Mu'arrikhīn wa-Arba'at Mu'allafāt min Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah* [Cairo, 1992], 122–23; Tadmurī's introduction to *Al-Nafḥah,* 16–17; Eliyahu Ashtor, "Some Unpublished Sources for the Baḫrî Period," in *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization,* ed. U. Heyd [Jerusalem, 1961], 28–29) mention a host of people whose historical writings he used as sources, but none of these save three, namely Badr al-Dīn Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī, his son Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir, and al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarī (still alive in 775/1372), the author of a history of Alexandria (*Kitāb al-Ilmām bi-al-I'lām fīmā Jarat bi-hi al-Aḥkām wa-al-Umūr al-Maqḍīyah fī Wāqi'at al-Iskandarīyah*, ed. 'Azīz Suryāl 'Aṭīyah [Hyderabad, 1968–76]), lived during this period nor wrote about it. One then might assume that Ibn Duqmāq relied on oral information or eyewitness accounts, his and other people's, to write "the history of events of his own time" (Ashtor, "Études," 28). This might actually explain the absence, in his historical narrative, of references to sources which are nevertheless to be found in the text of his obituaries, where Badr al-Dīn Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī, his son Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir, and the poet al-'Aṭṭār are very frequently copied and, more often than not, acknowledged; on al-'Aṭṭār, see *Al-Manhal,* 2:177–79.

If one were to place the Egyptian historians of the year 793 in descending order of importance, circumstantial factors would however place Ibn Duqmāq at the bottom of the list. The only extant work by Ibn Duqmāq that deals with this year is his *Al-Jawhar al-Thamīn fī Siyar al-Khulafā' wa-al-Mulūk,*[51] a dynastic history covering the entirety of the Burji period until 805,[52] which is however poorer in information than his more detailed annalistic history, the *Nuzhat al-Anām fī Tārīkh al-Islām,* upon which it is based.[53] As a matter of fact, there is nothing in the meager, slightly more than two pages[54] of *Al-Nafḥah* dealing with 793. The existence in this work of a cluster of ″meaty″ *akhbār* that deal with Barqūq′s stay in Aleppo at the end of Dhū al-Qa'dah[55] will allow us to formulate tentative conclusions regarding the genealogy of accounts found in Ibn al-Furāt′s *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* but there is hardly anything original in the rest of the text except the mention by the author of the sultan′s stop, unreported by others, at Irbid on his way to Damascus.[56] To be able to reconstruct the major events of the year, especially those taking place in Syria, one has to turn to sources other than *Al-Nafḥah*.

More informative than Ibn Duqmāq′s *Al-Nafḥah* is *Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk.*[57] In his introduction to the edited text of *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* a work written by Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī, Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr advanced the hypothesis that Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir had not only written a continuation of his father′s *Durrat al-Aslāk*, from 778 until 801, *Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk,*[58] but that the whole of the former work as well as its *dhayl* were actually authored by none other than Zayn al-Dīn

[51]See above, n. 13.

[52]Both *Al-Jawhar* 'Āshūr and *Al-Jawhar* 'Alī end in 797, and *Al-Nafḥah* in 805.

[53]According to Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr, two manuscript volumes of the *Nuzhah* that start respectively in 659 and 777 are available at Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah in MS 1740 *Tārīkh* (*Al-Jawhar* 'Āshūr, 13). No indication of the year with which volume two ends is provided. However, in his introductory comments to his edition of the *Nuzhah* covering the years 628–59, Samīr Ṭabbārah wrote that Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah has an eighty-page manuscript of this work which starts with the reign of al-Manṣūr 'Alī in 778 and ends in 804 (*Nuzhah* Ṭabbārah, 15). Whether or not he his referring to the second volume of Dār al-Kutub MS 1740 *Tārīkh* is not clear. Regardless, all attempts to get hold of this *Nuzhah* manuscript, which supposedly contains the annal of the year 793, have led to naught as it was apparently lost! Incomplete sections of the years 804–5/1401–3 from the *Nuzhah* have been preserved in selections made by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah in ″Al-Muntaqá min Tārīkh Ibn Duqmāq,″ MS Chester Beatty 4125, fols. 197a–206a; see Reisman, ″A Holograph MS,″ 27, 31, 39, 40.

[54]*Al-Nafḥah,* 262–64.

[55]Ibid., 263–64.

[56]Ibid., 263.

[57]See above, n. 9.

[58]MS Bodleian Marsh 319, fols. 134a ff.

Ṭāhir himself.[59] Both external[60] and internal[61] evidence seem to indicate a certain consensus which goes against ʻĀshūr′s reasoning, namely that Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī wrote *Durrat al-Aslāk* and that his son continued it as a *dhayl* from 778 onward. But perhaps the strongest evidence against the principal argument advanced by ʻĀshūr in support of his contention, namely the striking similarity between *Durrat al-Aslāk* and its *dhayl* in terms of the heavy and systematic use of *sajʻ*,[62] is to be found in the *Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk* itself. My research on the annal of the year 778 has shown that the narrative of political events was dwarfed by the sheer quantity of biographical data, principally obituaries.[63] But starting with the year

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[59]According to ʻĀshūr, many aspects of the subject matter of both *Tadhkirah* and *Durrat al-Aslāk,* notably the overlapping years from 678 to 770, are so similar that it is more likely than not that the former served as the *muswaddah* for the latter: the text of *Tadhkirah* was subjected to *tasjīʻ,* and the years 648 to 677 and 771 to 777 were added to it in order to produce *Durrat al-Aslāk.* Furthermore, ʻĀshūr commented that the similarity between that section of *Durrat al-Aslāk* attributed to Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī, and *Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk,* which was written by his son Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir, is so evident in terms of style and tone that it is difficult to differentiate between the two (Introduction to the *Tadhkirah,* 28–29).

[60]Ibn Ḥajar commented in his obituary of Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī that one of his literary productions consisted of the adaptation in *sajʻ* of another author′s work, and that he had written *Durrat al-Aslāk* in the same style, something which ″is indicative of great knowledge and proficiency in verse and prose, even though he was not of the highest caliber in either one;″ *Al-Durar,* 2:29, no. 1534. This might indicate that Ibn Ḥabīb was *capable* and *willing* to use *sajʻ* and/or other styles of writing: it is possible then that he wrote the two works, that is *Tadhkirah* and *Durrat al-Aslāk,* for different audiences, and that he wanted in the latter work to show what a *littérateur* he was. ʻĀshūr did fault Ibn Ḥajar for having said in his *Inbāʼ* (1:250) that both works were written in prose, and in his *Al-Durar* (2:30), that Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī used the same method in writing *Tadhkirah* as in *Durrat al-Aslāk*: ″the study [?] proved that what Ibn Ḥajar advanced is far from the truth, as the style of the *Tadhkirah* is far removed from heavy *[mutakallif] sajʻ* and prose, so that such a statement applies only to the *Durrat al-Aslāk*″ (Introduction to *Tadhkirah,* 30). ʻĀshūr did not, however, take into consideration the passage written by Ibn Ḥajar and quoted at the beginning of this footnote that highlighted Ibn Ḥabīb′s editorial prowess and versatility, which could have undermined his own line of argument.

[61]In the obituary he wrote of two of his brothers in the annal of the year 777 of *Durrat al-Aslāk,* Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī specifically referred to them as *″ikhwatī″* (MS Bodleian Marsh 319, fols. 132b–133a); see also *Al-Durar,* 2:65, no. 1607, 4:104, no. 284. In support of ʻĀshūr′s contention, one might have argued that Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir wanted his father to assume the authorship of something he himself had produced. This is possible but very unlikely especially since none of the contemporary sources saw fit to mention such a feat of filial love and loyalty. Last but not least, if Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir were indeed the author of all of *Durrat al-Aslāk,* why would he not have laid claim to the authorship of the entire work instead of simply stating in the margin of the first folio of the 778 annal that he was continuing his father′s history?

[62]MS Bodleian Marsh 319, fols. 134a ff.

[63]The section of *Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk* comprising appointment and political reports covers

788,[64] and especially with 789,[65] one notices a propensity on the part of Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir to use less and less *saj‘* in his reports, save for those with some degree of biographical content,[66] and to make more and more space for political events.[67] This trend is evident in the annal of the year 793: of a total of about twenty-four folios, eleven report political and military events as well as appointments.[68]

These reports do not cover the whole range of events included by, say, Ibn al-Furāt and Ibn Ḥijjī. Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir does not seem to have departed from the fundamental format he adopted from his father′s *Durrat al-Aslāk,* in that he paid little attention to issues which were unimportant to the eyes of the Aleppo-born-and-raised Egyptian *littérateur*[69] and civil servant that he was.[70] Thus, with

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twelve folios (ibid., 133b–139), while obituaries take up nineteen folios (ibid., 139b–148b). However, much of the appointment reports are basically long biographical sketches, and the narrative of what could be construed as ″political events″ *per se* covers only four folios out of a total of thirty-one.

[64]In the annal of the year 788, the account of the completion of Barqūq′s Bayn al-Qaṣrayn madrasah complex contains no discernible signs of *saj‘* (″Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk,″ MS Bodleian Marsh 319, fols. 220b–221a). The same cannot be said of the other non-biographical account, that relating the plague in Alexandria (fols. 222b–223a), which is replete with *saj‘;* maybe its very topic, one that deals with such a great calamity, made it prone to such a stylistic treatment. Regardless, a scientific edition of *Durrat al-Aslāk* and its *dhayl* is needed before any conclusions about the modality of the use of *saj‘* by Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir and his father can be formulated; see above, n. 9.

[65]Ibid., fols. 228a–b, the account of the expedition sent by Barqūq to the northern marches of Syria to deal with Minṭāsh′s rebellion and Tamerlane′s incursions in Anatolia.

[66]Namely those dealing with appointments and obituaries. There are parts of reports concerning events of a political nature where Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir did use *saj‘,* but these are confined to *akhbār* prone to stylistic licence: for example, those dealing with a characteristic ″villain″ such as Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī in the annal of 791 (ibid., 237b–238a; 239a; etc.) or where the author utilized panegyrics to relate something about the sultan, such as his entry into Damascus in Ramaḍān 793 (ibid., 268a–b), etc.

[67]To the extent that important events worthy of reporting did take place during a year, given Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir′s lack of interest in stories which were however faithfully noted by historians such as Ibn al-Furāt and others. Thus, the annal of 790, an admittedly uneventful year, contains nothing but appointments and obituaries; see ibid., fols. 233b–236b.

[68]Appointment reports that contain a core of historical data but which are submerged by the usual stock formulae used by Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir have not been included in the calculation. See for example the *khabar* concerning the appointment of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qayṣarī as chief Hanafi qadi in Cairo: ibid., fols. 264b–265a.

[69]The obituaries written about him are replete with verses he composed on a variety of occasions; see *Al-Manhal,* 6:366–68, no. 1220; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi‘ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi‘* (Beirut, 1992), 4:3–5 (hereafter cited as *Al-Ḍaw'*).

[70]*Al-Manhal,* 6:366–68, no. 1220; *Al-Ḍaw',* 4:3–5.

the exception of religious appointments which took place in both regional poles of the Mamluk empire, there are no reports that deal specifically with Egypt. All three military appointments are to Syrian *niyābāt*[71] and most[72] of the political/military events that are reported by Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir take place in Syria.[73] He also recounted military operations in Syria,[74] details about the itinerary of the sultan from Egypt thereto,[75] his arrival and stay in Damascus at the end of Ramaḍān,[76] his trip to Aleppo and his stay there,[77] and his return to Cairo by way of Damascus at the end of the year.[78]

The Syrian ″dimension″ of much of the reports in *Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk* is likely due to the position of Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir. It is probable that he received his Syrian data, limited as they may be,[79] from an extended network of acquaintances he maintained in his land of origin,[80] an endeavor made easier by the position he occupied in the chancellery, the department of the Mamluk bureaucracy responsible,

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[71]See ″Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk,″ MS Bodleian Marsh 319, fols. 263a–b, 266a–b, and 266b–267a. Interestingly, these appointments and those of religious figures occur haphazardly in the main body of the text and their appearance does not seem to obey any chronological consideration.

[72]Only a handful of events, such as the few details about the preparations for the sultan′s departure to Syria, took place in Egypt; see ibid., 267a–b.

[73]Many of these reports were noted by Syrian sources only, and by Ibn Khaldūn; more on this below.

[74]These would include, among others, the skirmishes between the forces of Syrian *nuwwāb* and those of Minṭāsh (″Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk,″ MS Bodleian Marsh 319, 263a–b); the arrival of Minṭāsh to Damascus at the very beginning of Rajab and the beginning of warfare around the city (264a); the encounter between the loyalists and the rebels at al-Kiswah, a village located south of Damascus, at the end of Sha'bān, following the lifting of the siege of Damascus by Minṭāsh earlier in the middle of the month (268a); the raids ordered by the sultan against the Turcomans following his arrival to Aleppo at the end of Shawwāl (269a–b), etc.

[75]Ibid., 268a.

[76]Ibid., 268a–b.

[77]Ibid., 269a–270a.

[78]Ibid., 270a–271a. The two *akhbār* of the sultan′s arrival to Ḥamāh and Homs (270a) on his way back to Damascus are unique to *Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk*.

[79]His reports are limited in terms of both their quantity and depth when compared to the rich and dense narratives in Ibn Ṣaṣrá′s and Ibn Ḥijjī′s works. There is nothing, for example, in his *Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk* about the siege of Damascus, save for the report about Minṭāsh′s arrival to the city and the mention of the raid his lieutenant Shukr Aḥmad launched inside the city; see above, n. 74.

[80]Such a network could have been established by members of his own family, namely his father and his uncle Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn, whose biographies mention their travels between Syria and Egypt during their lifetime; see *Al-Durar,* 2:29, no. 1534, and 4:104, no. 284, and ″Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk,″ MS Bodleian Marsh 319, fol. 132b.

among other things, for the correspondence of the sultan.[81] It is also possible that he himself was part of Barqūq's expedition to Syria. Even though he made no mention of himself, he did note in his work that most men of the sword and of the pen accompanied the sultan at the end of Sha'bān 793 on his expedition to Syria, and that only a very few functionaries and amirs remained behind in Egypt in the service of Kumushbughā al-Ḥamawī, the *nā'ib al-ghaybah*.[82] That he might have been part of the movement of the court to Syria[83] is a possibility since he was probably still in the employ of the state in 793.[84]

It is unlikely that Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir used for his Syrian reports any of the sources that are available to us. His writing style is unique, and a collation of reports which have a common theme, found in the *Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk* and in contemporary works, shows no convincing evidence of similarity amongst them.[85] Thus, he either had access, as was argued above, to special sources of information about Syria,[86] or he disguised, whether willfully or not, data that he borrowed from contemporary works.

In light of what was said above, what is the historiographical significance of *Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk?* The annal of 793 in this chronicle does give us a certain picture of this year's events, but it is far from complete. The overall paucity of data in Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir's work has two consequences: first, even though he might have relied on written sources, it is less than likely that his work would have preserved important data from an otherwise no-longer-extant history; and second, there are no indications that his non-biographical reports have found

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[81]On those attributes of the *dīwān al-inshā',* where Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir is reported to have worked, which are relevant here, see Petry, *Civilian Elite,* 204–5, and Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration dans l'État militaire mamluk (IXe/XVe siècle)* (Damascus, 1992), 40–1.

[82]"Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk," MS Bodleian Marsh 319, fols. 267a–b.

[83]This would not have been the first visit he made to his homeland after his installation in Egypt at an unknown date: as late as 791, he recorded in his work that he was in the company of Yūnus al-Nawrūzī, Barqūq's *dawādār,* when the latter, on his way to Egypt after his defeat at the hands of Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī, was killed in Syria in Rabī' II 791 by the Arab tribal leader 'Anqā' Ibn Shaṭī; see ibid., fol. 239a, and the obituary of Yūnus in *Al-Nujūm,* 11:320.

[84]Even though it is impossible to ascertain Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir's presence in the chancellery in the year 793, it is probable that he was working in this office, because as late as 795 he is placed there by one of the sources: Ibn al-Furāt cited a written *khabar* from Ibn Duqmāq (an echo of which can be found in *Al-Nafḥah,* 269–70) where the latter reported hearing the information from Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir, who is presented as one of the secretaries of the *dast* and the scribe of an Amir Qulumṭāy al-'Uthmānī (*Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:2:247–48).

[85]With the exception of one report whose wording is close to one found in Ibn al-Furāt's *Tārīkh al-Duwal;* on this see below, and also n. 110.

[86]These might have included written sources not available today; on this see below.

their way into the works of other historians.[87] He did however have an impact on other historians as he is one of the most often-quoted sources in the obituaries section of contemporary and later chronicles.[88] Ultimately, the originality of *Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk* lies in the person of Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir, a man with a foot in both his homeland of Aleppo and his Cairene place of residence, a situation which greatly influenced him and his work. The whole purpose of *Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk* appears to have been to inform the reader in a peculiar literary style, from a Syro-Egyptian perspective, about the civilian *a'yān* of the Mamluk Sultanate, while providing information about the military elite, without however dwelling upon the vicissitudes of political history.

Another émigré, but from the Maghrib this time, was to succeed better than Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir in linking together in an uninterrupted narrative the events taking place in Egypt and Syria. So much has been said about Ibn Khaldūn and his important contributions to many fields of knowledge that it is unnecessary within the framework of this article to embark upon the exploration of ground better covered elsewhere.[89] Suffice it to note that by the year 793, nine years after his arrival to Egypt,[90] he had integrated well into Cairene society: he had befriended a number of important personalities such as Alṭunbughā al-Jūbānī[91] (d. 792/1389)

[87]There is however the possibility that some small sections, words really, from some of his reports might have found their way into the works of others. For example, the expression "*'alá ḥīn ghaflah*" used by Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir ("Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk," MS Bodleian Marsh 319, fol. 263b) to describe the arrival of Minṭāsh to the province of Aleppo before he headed for Damascus and laid siege to the city, is to be found in Ibn Taghrībirdī's *Al-Nujūm* to explain the speed with which al-Nāṣirī left Damascus to confront Minṭāsh when news of his arrival reached him (11:21); see also below, n. 110.

[88]See below. Attested borrowings from *Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk* are too numerous to be mentioned. Suffice it here to say that for the year 778, Ibn Duqmāq quotes Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir numerous times in his obituaries section where he sometimes confuses him with his father, Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī; see for example for the year 778, Ibn Duqmāq's "Nuzhah," MS Gotha Orient. A 1572, fols. 122a–b, and for the year 793, Ibn al-Furāt's *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:2:286–87 (unless the confusion is the copyist's mistake).

[89]There are four hundred seventy-eight entries under Ibn Khaldūn's name in the Chicago Online Bibliography of Mamluk Studies and one hundred ten under al-Maqrīzī's versus seven under al-'Aynī.

[90]He arrived in Cairo during Shawwāl 784/December 1382; Walter J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn in Egypt: His Public Functions and his Historical Research (1382–1406): A Study in Islamic Historiography* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), 15.

[91]Ibid., 20, 36, 38–39, 76, 164. On Alṭunbughā al-Jūbānī, see *Al-Manhal,* 3:57–61, no. 536.

and Barqūq himself,[92] had been appointed chief Maliki qadi in 786–87/1384–85,[93] but had lost favor with al-Ẓāhir after he had signed, in Rajab 791, a Minṭāsh-inspired *fatwá* requiring the execution of the sultan then in exile at al-Karak.[94]

Any mention of Ibn Khaldūn′s contribution to the field of historiography invites the inevitable comparison of the introduction of *Al-ʻIbar,* the seminal *Muqaddimah,* to the rest of the work. With regard to the relationship between these two parts, opinions among scholars are divided: some see in the latter the continuation of the original thinking found in the former,[95] while others have argued that those parts of *Al-ʻIbar* that cover earlier periods have little originality.[96] An analysis of the passages of *Al-ʻIbar* which deal with the year 793 reveals nothing of the powerful thinking behind the writing of the *Muqaddimah:* here as elsewhere,[97] Ibn Khaldūn presented an uninterrupted narrative of political events unencumbered by religious appointments and similar reports.[98]

The reporting of the events of 793 starts with a long passage about the tribulations of the career of Kumushbughā al-Ḥamawī (d. 801/1399), an amir of Yalbughā al-ʻUmarī,[99] and his arrival to Cairo during the month of Ṣafar.[100] This is then followed by a very similar report dealing this time with the summoning from Syria of yet another leading amir, Aytamish al-Bajāsī (d. 802/1399).[101] And whereas in other chronicles the news of the arrival of the emissary of the ruler of Tunis is covered in two to three lines,[102] in *Al-ʻIbar* it occupies half a page and

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[92]Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn in Egypt,* 20–22, 71–81.

[93]Kamal Salibi, *Listes chronologiques des Grands Cadis de l′Égypte sous les Mamlouks* (Paris, 1957), 112–13.

[94]Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn in Egypt,* 34–36; see also *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:1:112.

[95]See for example Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah, who claimed that Ibn Khaldūn was the founder of a school of historical writing that blossomed in Egypt and attracted many thinkers such as al-Maqrīzī: *Al-Mu'arrikhūn fī Miṣr fī al-Qarn al-Khāmis ʻAshar al-Mīlādī/al-Qarn al-Tāsiʻ al-Hijrī* (Cairo, 1954), 6.

[96]Little, in his *An Introduction,* has shown that those parts of *Al-ʻIbar* that deal with the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad had simply been culled from other histories (75–76); see also his ″Historiography,″ 435.

[97]This is certainly the case with the sections of *Al-ʻIbar* dealing with the year 778.

[98]*Al-ʻIbar,* 5:499–503.

[99]See ″Al-Manhal,″ fols. 112b–114a. On Yalbughā al-ʻUmarī, see above, n. 6.

[100]*Al-ʻIbar,* 5:499–500.

[101]Ibid., 500. On Aytamish al-Bajāsī, see *Al-Manhal,* 3:143–151, no. 588. The arrival of Aytamish and Kumushbughā, noted Ibn Khaldūn, reflected Barqūq′s renewed confidence and came as the result of the strengthening of his rule: *Al-ʻIbar,* 5:499, 500.

[102]*Al-ʻIbar,* 5:501; *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:2:248–49; *Al-Sulūk*, 3:2:735; *Nayl al-Amal,* 2:300.

details the long links between the two rulers.[103] The rest of the reports of the year deal with *the* political story of 793, Minṭāsh′s on-going rebellion against the sultan, and contain, with the exception of details about the siege of Damascus, all its key events: the arrival of Minṭāsh to Damascus; the departure of the sultan for Syria; news about the major battles outside of Damascus between Yalbughā and his foes; the sultan′s arrival to Damascus and later to Aleppo;[104] the events taking place in and around Aleppo leading to the arrest and execution of Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī; then the sultan′s return to Egypt.[105] For these, Ibn Khaldūn relied both on *Tārīkh al-Duwal* and on a source or sources depicting in some detail political and military events in Syria. Even though Ibn Khaldūn sometimes summarized and/or reworded Ibn al-Furāt, the influence of the latter on the former[106] can clearly be seen in the following passage:

> Ibn al-Furāt: ″. . . wa-nazala [Minṭāsh] bi-al-Qaṣr al-Ablaq wa-nazala al-umarā' alladhīna ma'ahu fī buyūt alladhī ḥawl al-Qaṣr wa-anzala jamā'ah min aṣḥābihi fī Jāmi' Tankiz wa-jamā'ah fī Jāmi' Yalbughā.″ (*Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:2:255)
> Ibn Khaldūn: ″. . . fa-nazala [Minṭāsh] bi-al-Qaṣr al-Ablaq wa-anzala al-umarā' alladhīna ma'ahu fi al-buyūt ḥawālī al-Qaṣr wa-fī Jāmi' Shakan *[sic]* wa-Jāmi' Baybuqā *[sic]*.″ (*Al-'Ibar,* 5:501)

In other passages,[107] it is less blatant but still discernible in terms of the choice of items and their order of appearance. For example, contrary to Ibn al-Furāt, Ibn Khaldūn did not describe the present sent to the sultan on his way to Aleppo by the Turcoman chief Sūlī Dūlghādir,[108] but he did note, like the author of *Tārīkh*

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[103]Here Ibn Khaldūn showed his interest in things diplomatic and in matters pertaining to his region of origin, the Maghrib.

[104]*Al-'Ibar,* 5:501–2.

[105]Ibid., 502–3.

[106]I am not ruling out the possibility that both used a common source. As I noticed in the case of the year 778, Ibn Khaldūn′s accounts are so close to Ibn al-Furāt's, and the latter's to Ibn Duqmāq′s, that it is difficult to establish with great certainty the indebtedness of *Al-'Ibar* to either *Nuzhah* or *Tārīkh al-Duwal.* In the absence of the *Nuzhah* annal for the year 793, it will be impossible to completely rule out a common source for Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn al-Furāt.

[107]*Al-'Ibar,* 5:500/*Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:2:250–51; 5:501/ 9:2:255; 5:502/9:2:266–67, etc.

[108]Along with Sālim al-Dūkārī, Dūlghādir is frequently mentioned in the events of the year 793. On Sūlī and his family, see J. H. Mordtmann and V. L. Ménage, *Encyclopédie de l′Islam*, 2nd ed., 2:246–47, and *Al-Manhal,* 6:183–86, no. 1164. As to Sālim al-Dūkārī, apart from the obituary of a person, Dimashq Khujā ibn Sālim al-Dūkārī, who appears to be his son (*Al-Manhal,* 5:324–25, no. 1028) and the scattered references throughout contemporary and later histories, I have not as of yet

al-Duwal, the arrival of a delegation from the tribe of ʿĪsá and Muhannā[109] pledging loyalty to Barqūq. The wording is somewhat different, but the contents are the same.

Things become more problematic, however, when dealing with the reports of Syrian origin and/or dealing with Syria. The problem lies in the fact that despite a number of similarities between them and those of other historians, namely Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir, it is nearly impossible to determine their genealogy. For example, contemporary reports about al-Nāṣirī's meeting with the sultan when the latter entered southern Syria on his way to Damascus in the middle of Ramaḍān have a word or words in common, particularly those used to describe Barqūq's behavior towards al-Nāṣirī,[110] but Ibn Khaldūn said that the meeting took place at the fortress of Qāqūn,[111] Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir[112] at al-Lujūn,[113] and Ibn Ṣaṣrá at al-Ghawr![114] Finally, adding to the confusion, there is the problem of chronological inconsistency in a report mentioned only by Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Ṣaṣrá, and Ibn Ḥijjī. According to what can be gleaned from the Syrian sources, on the sixteenth of Shaʿbān Tumāntamur, a pillar of the Minṭāshī camp, deserted and joined al-Nāṣirī. This desertion and the fear that more would take place led Minṭāsh to

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located detailed information about him. On the general topic of the Turcomans during the Mamluk period, see Barabara Kellner-Heinkele, "The Turkomans and *Bilād al-Shām* in the Mamluk Period," in *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in The Middle East,* ed. Tarif Khalidi (Beirut, 1984), 169–80.

[109]The tribal formation of renegade Arab amir Nuʿayr Ibn Ḥayyār; on him see "Al-Manhal," fols. 812a–813a. On the Arab tribes during this period see M. A. Hiyari, "The Origins and Development of the Amīrate of the Arabs During the Seventh/Thirteenth and Eighth/Fourteenth Centuries," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38, no. 3 (1975): 508–24; A. S. Tritton, "The Tribes of Syria in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," ibid. 11 (1943–46): 567–73.

[110]For example, the verb *tarajjala* used by Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir and Ibn Khaldūn.

[111]Qāqūn was located off the coast half way between Gaza and northern Palestine; see *A Chronicle of Damascus,* 245, n. 1481. In *Al-ʿIbar,* the name of this locality is given as Qānūn.

[112]Al-ʿAynī, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Taghrībirdī also placed the meeting at the same location as Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir; see, respectively, "ʿIqd," MS Ahmet III 2911/B2, fol. 97b; "ʿIqd," Dār al-Kutub MS 1584 *Tārīkh,* fols. 431–32; *Al-Sulūk*, 3:2:748; *Al-Nujūm,* 11:26. More importantly, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah in his *TIQS* also referred to al-Lujūn; it might very well be that this report was taken from Ibn Ḥijjī, even though, in the light of what will be argued below, it is impossible to confirm.

[113]Al-Lujūn is located about twenty miles north of Qāqūn; see William Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382–1468 A.D.: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrîbirdî's Chronicles of Egypt* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1955–57), 1:48 and map no. 13.

[114]A region of the Jordan valley located south of Lake Tiberias; see *A Chronicle of Damascus,* 87, n. 511. All the locales mentioned here are part of one of the routes from Gaza to Damascus; see Popper, *Egypt and Syria Under the Circassian Sultans,* 1:48 and map. no. 13. This route includes a stop at Irbid, a city where, according to Ibn Duqmāq, the sultan stopped on his way to Damascus; see above, n. 56.

lift his siege of the Syrian capital; on the following day, al-Nāṣirī´s forces would experience a crushing defeat at the hands of Nuʿayr at Ḍumayr.[115] Curiously, Ibn Khaldūn placed the desertion of Tumāntamur[116] *after* the battle of Ḍumayr, contrary to what the Syrian sources maintain. What is to be made of all this? With regards to the report concerning the arrival of Barqūq to Syria, because of the variety of locales, we might posit the following: either all the authors used a common source[117] but played around with historical truth and thus made al-Nāṣirī welcome the sultan to Syria in three different places[!], or we are in the presence of three different strains of *akhbār,* namely Ibn Khaldūn´s unknown source (Qāqūn), Ibn Ṣaṣrá´s own eyewitness and/or first-hand account (al-Ghawr), and Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir´s (al-Lajjūn).[118] This of course is pure conjecture: beyond establishing the existence of a Furātian and Syrian strain of *akhbār* in *Al-ʿIbar,* there is no way of ascertaining the identity of the latter group of reports.[119]

Ibn al-Furāt´s *Tārīkh al-Duwal* is the most copious and comprehensive of all the surviving historical works produced during this period. For the year 793, it contains the overwhelming majority of all those reports concerning Egypt and the general political/administrative/religious appointments mentioned by all histories. All the historians who wrote about this period[120] are either directly indebted to him or, knowingly or unknowingly, incorporated his *akhbār* by means of a third party:[121] as was noted earlier, al-Maqrīzī´s *Al-Sulūk,* for example, which is nothing but a ″slimmer″ rewritten version of *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* was to become the foundation for the works of historians such as Ibn Taghrībirdī, Ibn Iyās, and others.

However, *Tārīkh al-Duwal* contains none of the wealth of information found in the works of the Syrian authors about the nearly two months[122] of fighting in and around Damascus between the Minṭāshīs and Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī. This aspect of the war in Syria was very well ″covered″ by Ibn Ṣaṣrá and Ibn Ḥijjī, and one has to wait until Barqūq´s departure from Cairo[123] before the appearance in *Tārīkh*

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[115]See below.

[116]In *Al-ʿIbar,* it is Yamāztamur (5:502).

[117]Maybe unknown Syrian source(s) or Ibn Duqmāq´s *Nuzhah?* See below.

[118]We could be dealing with four strains of *akhbār* if we include al-ʿAynī, who alone provided details not found elsewhere, namely the description of the horse on which Barqūq made Yalbughā ride; see n. 110.

[119]See below the discussion about the possible nature and identity of this or these Syrian source(s).

[120]Save for Ibn Ṣaṣrá and possibly Ibn Ḥijjī; see below.

[121]See above.

[122]Rajab and Shaʿbān; see above and below.

[123]*Tārīkh al-Duwal*, 9:2:259ff.

al-Duwal of *akhbār* from or about Bilād al-Shām, sometimes paralleling those of the two Syrian authors, especially his stay in Aleppo and the events surrounding it.[124] Before Barqūq′s arrival in Syria, Ibn al-Furāt′s reports about this region lacked detail and were of a second-hand nature since they were brought to Cairo by post-riders or by representatives of both Syrian and Egyptian military office-holders shuttling between the two regions. The analysis of these reports in *Tārīkh al-Duwal* might help clarify the reasons behind certain inconsistencies between this chronicle on the one hand, and mainly Syrian sources on the other. There is a systematic difference between the way Ibn al-Furāt′s reports from Syria via post-riders and messengers described what was going on in Syria, and the evidence presented by Ibn Ḥijjī and Ibn Ṣaṣrá.

The first report about events in Damascus was that brought on 5 Rajab by Kumushbughā al-Ṣaraytamurī, the *dawādār* of Qarādamurdāsh al-Aḥmadī[125] (d. 794/1392), then viceroy of Aleppo, who informed people in Cairo about the arrival of Minṭāsh to the Syrian capital.[126] The second report[127] arrived on 27 Rajab by means of a post-rider with news that Minṭāsh had been defeated and was besieged at Qaṣr al-Ablaq[128] after the arrival of loyalist soldiers from Gaza and of Arghūn Shāh al-Ibrāhīmī,[129] the amir whom Barqūq had recently nominated *ḥājib al-ḥujjāb* of Damascus.[130] The Syrian sources do not agree with this turn of events. First, if one considers that it takes about four days for a post-rider to ride the Damascus–Cairo route,[131] the only victory the messenger could have been referring to was the retaking on the twenty-third of this month of an important landmark, the building of Bahādur,[132] by al-Nāṣirī and his forces; but no mention is made of a defeat of the rebels significant enough to lead to their flight from the city, which is one of the claims of the messenger.[133] Even more surprising is that

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[124]Ibid., 266–71.

[125]On him see ″Al-Manhal,″ fols. 589b–590b.

[126]*Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:2:256; *Al-Nafḥah,* 262–63.

[127]*Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:2:256–57.

[128]A palace built by al-Ẓāhir Baybars outside of the city′s western wall; see *A Chronicle of Damascus,* 36, n. 216.

[129]On him see *Al-Manhal,* 2:323–34, no. 376, and *Al-Ḍaw'*, 2:367, no. 825.

[130]*Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:2:254.

[131]Popper, *Egypt and Syria Under the Circassian Sultans,* 1:45.

[132]This building was probably located just west of the city′s walls in an area which included Yalbughā′s mosque, al-Maydān, and Qaṣr al-Ablaq, where the Minṭāshīs were conducting their siege of the city.

[133]A similar inconsistency can be found in another report dated 5 Sha'bān brought to Cairo by a mamluk of the viceroy of Ṣafad with news, yet again, of Minṭāsh′s escape from Damascus and his pursuit by Yalbughā. Not only do the Syrian sources *not* mention any flight on the part of Minṭāsh

no mention is made of the defeat[134] at ʿAqabat al-Tīnah[135] on 6 Rajab, at the hands of Minṭāshīs and Yamanī tribesmen,[136] of a Barqūq party from the Biqāʿ comprising Ibn al-Ḥanash,[137] Tankizbughā (the Barqūqī viceroy of Baalbek), and Qaysī tribesmen and others, on its way to help al-Nāṣirī.[138]

Even more at odds with events on the ground in Syria are two reports dated at the beginning of Ramaḍān. On the first of that month, a letter was brought to Cairo by a messenger from the sultan who was on his way to Syria but had not yet reached Qaṭyā, at the gates of the Sinai peninsula, the contents of which were that Minṭāsh had been defeated and had escaped from Damascus.[139] A few days later, on the fourth, an Amir Sūdūn al-Ṭayyār al-Ẓāhirī arrived in Cairo with briefs from the sultan confirming to those in Cairo the veracity of this news, and informing them that Minṭāsh was under siege[140] at the citadel of al-Zurʿah.[141] The most striking aspect of these last two reports is that while it was true that Minṭāsh had finally fled Damascus[142] on 16 Shaʿbān[143] and that Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī had managed to beat a party of Minṭāshīs at al-Kiswah[144] eleven days later on the twenty-seventh,[145] the sultan and the Cairenes had not yet been informed about the crushing defeat suffered by Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī at the hands of Nuʿayr near the village of Ḍumayr on the seventeenth of that month.[146] News concerning this

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and his Turcomans, but they even note that the latter retook from the loyalists the building of Bahādur, thus causing them great loss! See *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:2:257; "Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī," fol. 96b; *Al-Durrah al-Muḍīʾah,* 86; and *TIQS,* 1:374.

[134]*Al-Durrah al-Muḍīʾah,* 80–81; "Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī," fols. 96a–b; and *TIQS,* 1:374.

[135]A spot probably located halfway between Baalbek and Damascus in the Anti-Lebanon range; see *A Chronicle of Damascus,* 112, n. 676.

[136]This party was led by Shukr Aḥmad (a.k.a. Aḥmad Shukr; more on him below) and Ibn Hilāl al-Dawlah, a Yamanī leader from al-Zabadānī region west of Damascus; see ibid., 106, n. 632.

[137]Son of Ibn al-Ḥanash, an important tribal chief from the Biqāʿ who had been viceroy of Baalbek and was executed by Minṭāsh in 792; see ibid., 16, n. 106, and the sources cited therein.

[138]On this battle, see below.

[139]*Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:2:262.

[140]Ibid.

[141]A town in the Hawrān region of Syria; see *A Chronicle of Damascus,* 128, n. 759, and the references therein.

[142]News about Minṭāsh's flight was again brought to Cairo on 6 Shaʿbān and 13 Ramaḍān, respectively: *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:2:262–63 and 264.

[143]Because of the betrayal of one of his right-hand men, Tumāntamur; see above.

[144]A village south of Damascus; see *A Chronicle of Damascus,* 74, n. 453, and the references therein.

[145]*Al-Durrah al-Muḍīʾah,* 93; *Al-ʿIbar,* 5:502; *TIQS,* 1:379.

[146]*Al-Durrah al-Muḍīʾah,* 91–92;¸"Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī," fols. 99a–b; *Al-ʿIbar,* 5:502; *TIQS,* 1:379.

battle, in which one of the sons of Manjak al-Yūsufī[147] was killed,[148] reached Cairo, according to Ibn al-Furāt, only during the first third of Ramaḍān,[149] at a time when Barqūq was in Palestine on his way to Syria.

It is tempting to impute the inconsistencies pointed out above to the vicissitudes of historical writing or to mere coincidence. In other words, Ibn al-Furāt simply included in his work the material that was available to him,[150] and that material brought to Cairo by messengers simply did not mention the defeat at Ḍumayr. But equally plausible is the view that the contents of the messages arriving to Cairo, at least until Barqūq reached Syria, were consciously altered by their senders, either to downplay defeats and to camouflage them as victories for fear of incurring the wrath of the sultan, or as a delaying tactic. Even though Barqūq had strengthened his hand in the cut-throat environment of Mamluk politics, there were still people who resented his return to power, and a number of those were in Syria. In Damascus itself, there were many parties who actually supported Minṭāsh during the disturbances of 791–92, and one ought to keep in mind that back then the city did not fall to the besiegers led by Barqūq because of the steadfastness of its defenders.[151] In 793, yet again, the Syrian sources talk about the sympathy felt by certain sections of the population for Minṭāsh: the *ʿāmmah,* the inhabitants of the neighborhoods of al-Shuwaykah and al-Shāghūr,[152] and most importantly, the members of the household of Baydamur al-Khawārizmī (d. 789/1386). Baydamur had assumed the viceroyalty of Damascus a total of six

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[147]A former viceroy of Syria and a ″mentor″ of Barqūq during his youth; see Fischel, ″*Ascensus Barcoch* (I),″ 65–66. According to Mignanelli, three sons of his, Ibrāhīm, ʿUmar, and Faraj, had supported Barqūq′s bid to return to power in 791 after he came out of al-Karak; ibid., 155.

[148]The sources are not too clear about the casualties of this battle. Ibn Ṣaṣrá claimed that one thousand two hundred sixty people were killed on both sides while Ibn Khaldūn mentioned the figure of fifteen Syrian amirs (*Al-Durrah al-Muḍīʾah,* 93; *Al-ʿIbar,* 5:502). The same confusion exists as to which one of Manjak′s sons died at Ḍumayr: Ibn al-Furāt and Ibn Khaldūn noted that it was Ibrāhīm, while Ibn Ṣaṣrá stated that it was ʿUmar (ibid., and *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:2:263). The only reference in the sources to Faraj is that of Ibn Ḥijjī, who noted that on 12 Shaʿbān his house was looted by the populace during the battle of the Qanawāt, a neighborhood west of the city center (″Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī,″ fols. 98b–99a).

[149]*Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:2:263.

[150]Even if these reports were originally authored by somebody else, say Ibn Duqmāq, the inconsistencies pointed out above would still hold, unless it can be shown that Ibn al-Furāt falsely claimed that post-riders and the like brought these *akhbār* to Cairo when in reality they had a different history.

[151]The defenders were mostly members of the populace, but they included amongst them prominent citizens such as Ibn al-Qurashī, who was going to be executed on the orders of Barqūq; see *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:2:256, and his obituary, 284–85.

[152]Two neighborhoods located just outside the city′s southern walls.

times[153] and had died in custody after Barqūq had ordered him removed from office in 788.[154] Contrary to the sons of Manjak al-Yūsufī, that other viceroy of Damascus, who sided with Barqūq during 791–93, Muḥammad Shāh ibn Baydamur (d. 793/1391) and the supporters of his household fought alongside Minṭāsh even when the latter moved against Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī in Sha'bān 791.[155] He was nominated *atābak* of Damascus by Minṭāsh in Ramaḍān 791[156] and participated in numerous confrontations with the forces loyal to Barqūq, until his capture in 792[157] and his execution in Cairo by Kumushbughā al-Ḥamawī in 793.[158] It was also Shukr Aḥmad, a former Baydamurī amir, who led the raid into Damascus the day of his arrival with Minṭāsh on 1 Rajab 793, and rode to his *ustādh*'s home where he was joined by another one of Baydamur's sons, Aḥmad, whose execution by Barqūq on 21 Dhū al-Ḥijjah was movingly described by Ibn Ṣaṣrá.[159] Last but not least, the viceroy of Damascus Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī stands out as the official with the most reasons and with the capability to mislead the sultan and his court back in Egypt. He had often been at odds with Barqūq when the latter was an "'Umarī" mamluk,[160] then *atābak,*[161] and when he became sultan.[162] It would not be surprising then that Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī would have used his powers as the head of the Syrian political apparatus to propagate false news in Egypt. In the sources rumors about his treachery abound.[163] Eventually, when he reached Aleppo, Barqūq became assured about his suspicions when Sālim al-Dūkārī, who allegedly had captured Minṭāsh and had promised to release him into the custody of the sultan,

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[153]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām al-Wará bi-man Wuliya Nā'iban min al-Atrāk bi-Dimashq al-Shām al-Kubrá,* ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān (Damascus, 1984), 53 (hereafter cited as *I'lām*); *Al-Manhal,* 3:498–99.

[154]Ibid; and *Al-Nujūm,* 11:201. This was not the first time Baydamur had been removed from this office by Barqūq; see *Al-Nujūm,* 11:135 [780] and 147 [782].

[155]See *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:2:292; *Al-Nujūm,* 11:274 ff.

[156]*A Chronicle of Damascus,* 39–40.

[157]Ibid., 91.

[158]On Muḥammad Shāh ibn Baydamur's tribulations in 793, see *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* 74; *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:2:252, 268.

[159]*Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* 103–9.

[160]Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī was one of the few amirs not to rebel against al-Ashraf Sha'bān in 'Aqabah during the events of the year 778, whereas Barqūq was, as a former mamluk of Yalbughā al-'Umarī, very much involved in the coup; see Fischel, "*Ascensus Barcoch* (I)," 67–68.

[161]*Al-Nujūm,* 11:129–30.

[162]See above, n. 27.

[163]*Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* 76; "Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī," fol. 95b; *Al-'Ibar,* 5:501–2; "Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk," MS Bodleian Marsh 319, fols. 264a–b.

sent him a letter detailing the extent of the relations between al-Nāṣirī and Minṭāsh.[164] This led to the execution of Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī on 27 Dhū al-Ḥijjah.[165] The best summary of the situation described here can be found in the words of Mignanelli, who, we are told by Fischel, knew Barqūq personally. Of the events in Syria, he remarked that

> [The sultan] was told that Nāṣirī was concealing much and so he was inwardly worried. Nāṣirī was said to be doing this to avoid being himself slain by Barqūq or becoming of little value when once Minṭāsh was destroyed or slain. Of this Nāṣirī was very much afraid. Barqūq sent many letters to Nāṣirī, but they availed little. Nāṣirī excused himself for his weakness against Minṭāsh and Nuʿayr. Wherefore, the sultan girded himself for a journey to Syria. [Upon Barqūq's arrival there] Nāṣirī excused himself, claiming he could not do more. Barqūq accepted his excuses [but inside] he thought that Nāṣirī was in collusion with Minṭāsh so that they might be able together to usurp control of Syria.[166]

Here, as elsewhere, in light of the available sources, we are dealing with sheer conjecture. As a matter of fact, one of the reports brought to Cairo on 5 Shaʿbān by the mamluk of the viceroy of Ṣafad, announcing the escape of Minṭāsh from Damascus,[167] might very well weaken the hypothesis advanced above. The viceroy of Ṣafad, Iyās al-Jirjāwī (d. 799/1396),[168] was a supporter of Barqūq throughout the period of 791–93,[169] and it would be curious that he would have "fed" the court in Cairo information that did not correspond to the reality on the ground. Of course, there are ways with which one can circumscribe this issue: maybe al-Jirjāwī, who entered Damascus on 8 Rajab and participated in the fighting alongside al-Nāṣirī,[170] felt he could not afford to inform Barqūq about the inability of his forces to break the stalemate; maybe he considered the loss of the building of Bahādur on the part the Minṭāshīs as a major setback for the rebels, and a troop movement on their part as a retreat; maybe he was in on the conspiracy;

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[164]*Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:2:270–71; *Al-ʿIbar,* 5:503; "Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk," MS Bodleian Marsh 319, fol. 296b.

[165]See the references in the preceding note, and *Al-Durrah al-Muḍīʾah,* 101. Also see above, n. 44.

[166]"Fischel, "*Ascensus Barcoch* (II)," 160.

[167]See above, n. 133.

[168]See *Al-Manhal,* 3:124–25.

[169]See for example *A Chronicle of Damascus,* 13, 20, 62, etc.

[170]*Al-Durrah al-Muḍīʾah,* 81; "Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī," fol. 96b.

or maybe, even at the risk of pushing the conspiracy theory to its limits, the mamluk who brought the news to Cairo was ″briefed″ by Yalbughā′s men, etc. However, the fact remains that many of the *akhbār* reported in *Tārīkh al-Duwal* as having arrived between 27 Rajab and the first ten days of Ramaḍān, some through the sultan, who, while on his way to Damascus, was probably still getting his information from post-riders from Syria, simply do not correspond to what was going on according to sources ″on the ground.″ Generally, the nature of the reports used by historians depends on such factors as the format of their work, their own intellectual aptitudes and interests, their geographical location, their sources, etc. In light of the discussion above, attention ought also to be paid to the channels through which information transited before it reached the historian, and more importantly to the agenda of those military figures, bureaucrats, and others who controlled its flow and content: a tall order indeed in view of the paucity of data that would allow for such an investigation.

Apart from the issue raised above, structurally and from the point of view of the nature of their contents, Ibn al-Furāt stuck to an annalistic format with reports following one another in a strict chronological order and the obituaries placed at the very end. But as for the potential sources of *Tārīkh al-Duwal*, the absence of Ibn Duqmāq′s *Nuzhah* will not permit us to ascertain the genealogy of Ibn al-Furāt′s reports. This problem is somewhat alleviated by the fact that *Tārīkh al-Duwal* does contain references to other authors. Ibn Duqmāq is quoted five times by Ibn al-Furāt, twice in the main text of *Tārīkh al-Duwal,*[171] and three times in the obituaries.[172] Although, unfortunately, neither of the first two reports are mentioned in *Al-Nafḥah,* there is still the possibility of comparing those ″meaty″ passages[173] in the latter work with the corresponding ones in *Tārīkh al-Duwal*. The following report describes Minṭāsh′s descent from the north towards Damascus:[174]

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[171]*Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:2:254–55, 261.

[172]Ibid., 275, 282, 285.

[173]These were probably reduced in size by Ibn Duqmāq to fit *Al-Nafḥah,* which is a summary of *Nuzhah.*

[174]Words and sentences that are not italicized indicate similarities between the two texts. Punctuation mine.

Ibn Duqmāq: ″Minṭāsh *haḍara* min Mar'ash 'alá al-'Imq 'alá Sarmīn ilá qarīb Ḥamāh; *fa-haraba* nāyib Ḥamāh, fa-dakhala *Minṭāsh* fa-lam yushawwish 'alayhim;	Ibn al-Fūrāt: ″*Tawajjaha al-amīr* Minṭāsh min Mar'ash 'alá al-'Imq *'alá A'zāz* 'alá Sarmīn ilá qarīb Ḥamāh; *fa-sami'a* nāyib Ḥamāh *bi-ḥuḍūrihi, fa-akhadha harīmahu wa-tawajjaha ilá Tarāblus, fa-lammā waṣala Minṭāsh ilá Ḥamāh, lam yajid bi-hā aḥadan yudāfi'ahu* fa-dakhalahā *bi-al-amān wa-al-iṭmān fa-tazaghratū lahu al-nisā' fa-nādá la-hum bi-al-amān* wa-lam yushawwish 'alayhim;
thumma kharaja minhā ilá Ḥimṣ fa-dakhalahā wa-lam yushawwish 'alayhim;	thumma kharaja minhā *wa tawajjaha* ilá Ḥimṣ *fa-lam yajid bi-hā man yudāfi'ahu, wa-kāna nāyibuhā qad sami'a bi-qudūmihi, fa-tawajjaha ilá Dimashq* fa-dakhala *Minṭāsh ilayhā* wa-lam yushawwish 'alá aḥad min ahlihā;
thumma tawajjaha ilá Ba'albak wa-kāna nāyibuhā qad sami'a bi-qudūmihi ayḍan, fa-tawajjaha ilá Dimashq;	thumma tawajjaha *minhā* ilá Ba'albak wa-kāna nāyibuhā qad sami'a bi-qudūmihi ayḍan, fa-tawajjaha ilá Dimashq*, fa-dakhala Minṭāsh ilá Ba'albak, thumma kharaja minhā wa-qaṣada Dimashq;*
fa-lammā sami'a al-Nāṣirī huḍūrahu kharaja ilayhi min al-Zabadānī.″ (*Al-Nafḥah*, 263)	fa-lammā sami'a al-Nāṣirī bi-ḥuḍūrihi kharaja ilayhi min *ṭarīq* al-Zabadānī.″ (*Tārīkh al-Duwal*, 9:2:255)

The similarities between the two texts is self-evident, and one might safely assume that it was Ibn al-Furāt who borrowed from Ibn Duqmāq rather than the other way around,[175] since *Nuzhah* would have probably provided a larger account than that of *Al-Nafḥah*.

Another possible source for *Tārīkh al-Duwal* is Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir and his *Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk,* which is frequently quoted by Ibn al-Furāt. Zayn al-Dīn noted in his narrative of the events leading to the siege of Damascus that as Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī left the city to confront the rebels who were reported in Baalbek, Minṭāsh headed to the Syrian capital so that they unknowingly crossed each other′s path.[176] The words he used for that last bit of information, *fa-takhālafū fī al-ṭarīq wa-sabaqahu Minṭāsh,* are almost identical to those of Ibn al-Furāt, *fa-khālafahu fī al-ṭarīq wa-atá ilá Dimashq.*[177] Even though the narratives of Ibn al-Furāt and Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir are clearly not identical, they do appear at more or less the same point in the narration in both *Tārīkh al-Duwal* and *Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk.* If one discounts the randomness of the appearance of this cluster of words, the issue of the direction of the borrowing, small as it may be, still has to be addressed, but it is more likely than not that it was Ibn al-Furāt who borrowed from Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir. Up until the arrival of the sultan in Damascus, the reports concerning Syria reported in *Tārīkh al-Duwal* arrived, as we noted above, with post-riders or with representatives of military office-holders. A notable exception is the *khabar* which appears under the heading ″News about Minṭāsh′s

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[175]In his obituary of the qadi al-Qurashī, where Ibn al-Furāt quotes Ibn Duqmāq directly (9:2:275), the contents of the citation appear, edited, in two different reports in the main body of *Tārīkh al-Duwal* (253, 254). In another obituary (281–82), Ibn al-Furāt quotes Ibn Duqmāq jointly with Walī al-Dīn Abū Zar‘ah ibn al-‘Irāqī (762–826/1360–1422), but since the latter is not known to have written a history that extended that late in the century, we are probably dealing here with material culled from a work of a biographical nature. Ibn al-‘Irāqī′s *Al-Dhayl ‘alá al-‘Ibar fī Khabar Man ‘Abar* was edited by Ṣāliḥ Mahdī ‘Abbās in three volumes (Beirut, 1989). On Ibn al-‘Irāqī′s life and works, see this edition, 1:7–32; *Al-Ḍaw'*, 1:336–44; Moḥammad ben Cheneb and J. de Somogyi, ″Al-Dhahabī,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 2:214–16; and Caesar E. Farah, *The* Dhayl *in Medieval Arabic Historiography* (New Haven, 1967), 20–21.

[176]″Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk,″ MS Bodleian Marsh 319, fol. 264a.

[177]*Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:2:255. Similar wordings can be found in the works of other historians such as Ibn Khaldūn (″*fa-khālafahu Minṭāsh ilá Dimashq*,″ *Al-‘Ibar,* 5:501), Ibn Ḥajar (″*fa-khālafahu Minṭāsh ilá Dimashq,*″ *Inbā'*, 3:55), and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (″*fa-tafāwatū fī al-ṭarīq wa-jā'a Minṭāsh bi-‘askarihi*,″ *TIQS,* 1:373). The reliance of these three authors on Ibn al-Furāt has already been established above; see also Reisman, ″A Holograph MS.″ As to the sense of the verb *khālafa* in this particular context, which can be read as ″preceded,″ the meaning that was imparted to it here, namely the crossing of paths, is probably the right one since Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah used a synonym, the verb *fāwata*.

heading toward Bilād al-Shām,"[178] in which Ibn al-Furāt took a break from presenting dated reports one after the other, and offered the reader a long, unencumbered narrative dealing with the itinerary of Minṭāsh from northern Syria until his arrival in Damascus on 1 Rajab. Perhaps he used parts of Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir's account along with that of Ibn Duqmāq to construct this particular paragraph. After all, as I have noticed in the case of the year 778, Ibn al-Furāt copied almost word for word a great deal of the reports in *Nuzhah* and used them as the foundation of his annal without ever citing Ibn Duqmāq. It is thus not impossible that he placed Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir's sentence construction and other information in his text and added to it the data he gleaned from *Nuzhah*. Last but not least, no mention is made of Ibn al-Furāt in *Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk,* whereas between 791 and 796 Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir is mentioned in the edited text of *Tārīkh al-Duwal* eleven times, including nine direct quotations in the obituaries section.[179]

Tārīkh al-Duwal remains indispensable reading for those interested in the events of the year 793, but one cannot get a sense of all that happened in the Mamluk realm, and certainly of the events of the siege of Damascus, by relying solely on it. The Syrian sources are therefore essential to any attempt at reconstructing the events of the year.

Very little if anything is known about Ibn Ṣaṣrá, one of two Syrian historians who were contemporaries to the events of the year 793, since there is no mention of him or of his works in the available primary sources. All that can be ascertained about him is that he was part of a scholarly Damascene family with long academic and religious credentials, that he lived at the end of the eighth/fourteenth century and at the beginning of ninth/fifteenth century, and that he finished his *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah fī al-Dawlah al-Ẓāhirīyah* sometime between Sha'bān 799 and Shawwāl 801.[180] It is thus not the details of his biography that make him and, more precisely, his work so important: their significance lies elsewhere.

Even though Ibn Ṣaṣrá claimed in the opening pages of his work that he had abridged the biography of Barqūq in order to produce *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* this work nonetheless provides detailed first-hand eyewitness descriptions of years (791–99/1389–97)[181] pivotal in the life and career of the sultan, notably the period running from 791 through 793, and it does so from a purely Syrian, and particularly Damascene, perspective. This Damascene perspective is reflected at a very basic

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[178]*Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:2:255.

[179]See references in the index prepared by Zurayq and 'Izz al-Dīn, 9:2:527.

[180]All of the data contained in this and the following paragraphs was taken from Brinner's comments in his Preface to *A Chronicle of Damascus,* mainly x–xix.

[181]According to Brinner, *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah* might have actually begun earlier with the accession of Barqūq, but the only extant manuscript deals with the years mentioned here; ibid., xv.

level in the myriad references to the topography of Damascus, whether buildings, mosques, neighborhoods, etc., a mass of information about landmarks, some gone, others still extant, that does not appear to have been subjected to any analysis beyond the rich commentaries and information provided by Brinner in the footnotes of the English translation. This, when combined with the highly unconventional style and format of this work, makes it all the more important for our purposes here.

Even though its basic division is the year and its narrative is arranged according to the chronological unfolding of days and months, *Al-Durrah al-Muḍīʾah* owes little else to the annalistic format used by most major historians. In Brinner's words, the author's "major concern was not, obviously, the bare recounting of the events of a year, but the dramatization and highlighting of some of these events, using them as the points of departure for moralizing sermons comparing this transient world with the Hereafter, on the duties of rulers and their subjects, and on the evil of the times."[182] This moralizing dimension of the text of *Al-Durrah al-Muḍīʾah* can be seen in a large number of its passages where Ibn Ṣaṣrá reflects upon the ephemeral nature of worldly events in the overall scheme of things;[183] more than one third of the work is made up of non-historical material, stories, anecdotes, etc. Moreover, *Al-Durrah al-Muḍīʾah* contains no biographical and appointment reports of any type,[184] save for information about people and leaders

[182]Ibid.

[183]The following passage in which Ibn Ṣaṣrá decries the regime set up by Minṭāsh upon his arrival to Damascus on 1 Rajab, is typical: "Aḥmad Shukr [the leader of the Minṭāshī raid into Damascus] summoned Iyās, the mamluk of Ibn al-Ghāwī, and made him governor of the city. Ibn al-Zuʿayfirīnī rode with them, desiring to become chief cadi of Damascus; for Minṭāsh had promised that to him and that Aḥmad Shukr would be viceroy of Damascus. Aḥmad Shukr made a circuit of the city and left Bāb al-Farādīs for the Maydān. The Minṭāshīs followed and had a great feast [celebrating] their entry into the city. God the Exalted erased their hearts, and they did not remember the consequences of deeds, because all of this [happened] so that he might execute [His] judgment and decree. In the *Ḥadīth* it is [written] that when God the Exalted desires to execute His judgment and decree, he deprives wise men of their intelligence. Praise be to Him, there no god but He. Their rule over the city lasted less than a day, for affairs came into the hands of people not suited to them, and for this reason their term was brief. . . . [Those appointed by Minṭāsh] wrote out many paper-patents for amirs and chief officials, for people are covetous, and the love of this world destroys them." (*A Chronicle of Damascus,* 107–8).

[184]Very little of the religious life of Damascus is reflected in *Al-Durrah al-Muḍīʾah,* as opposed to "Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī," which contains a fair number of biographies and reports about the learned class of the city; see below. Reference to religious figures or religious life was made by Ibn Ṣaṣrá only when it was part of his general narrative on political events (see below, the references to the role played by men of religion during the struggle for Damascus) or when it allowed him to sermonize; see, for example, ibid., 87–88. The only exception to this rule is when he reported a few appointments made by Barqūq upon his return to Damascus, notably that of al-Bāʿūnī (d. 816/1413) as chief

presented *in* and as an *integral* part of a basically uninterrupted narrative. In many ways, this work reads like a historical novel whose reports have a ″hot off the press″ feel to them.[185] But it is the details about the military engagements between Minṭāsh and Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī, their locale and what they tell us about Syrian society at the end of the eighth/fourteenth century, that make *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah* essential reading. Here one ought to mention the dramatic descriptions[186] Ibn Ṣaṣrá gives of the battles which took place in and around Damascus and their consequences: trench[187] and siege[188] warfare, artillery exchanges,[189] the strategic placing of artillery pieces,[190] street fighting,[191] the state of mind of the fighters and its impact on the prosecution of the war,[192] etc.

Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah also contains more specific information about the configuration of the groups involved in the unrest and in fighting one another, details that are conspicuously absent from most of the Egyptian sources. For example, in depicting Minṭāsh′s flight from the city after the defection of Tumāntamur,[193] Ibn Ṣaṣrá mentions in detail the names of the different groups

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Shafiʻi qadi, a man obviously liked by Ibn Ṣaṣrá despite (or because of!) what he said about him concerning his mistreatment of his fellow jurists; ibid., 103.

[185]This can be seen in the recounting of the events concerning Minṭāsh′s dash from the Anatolian marches southward. Ibn Ṣaṣrá provides glimpses of his descent from the northern districts to Damascus interspersed with commentaries: the fleeing viceroy of Ḥamāh is mentioned by name; Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī is made to swear when news about Minṭāsh′s arrival there reached him, and his alleged verbal recommendation to the *nā'ib al-qalʻah* to fortify the citadel was noted, and so was his request that lantern-men call upon the soldiers to prepare for war; as the viceroy left the city, people reacted with fear and moved *intra-muros,* while news about Minṭāsh and his allies, whose names and whereabouts are dutifully noted, located him nearer and nearer to the provincial capital; and with the arrival of the bulk of the rebel troops to al-Mizzah in the evening of the last day of Jumādá II, the fear and sense of insecurity of the population increased, worked as it was by rumors and memories of the siege at the hands of Barqūq; *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* 75–76.

[186]See Ayalon′s comment that these were ″perhaps the most vivid picture of artillery in action throughout Mamluk history,″ in *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom: A Challenge to a Mediaeval Society* (London, 1956), 27. Also quoted in *A Chronicle of Damascus,* xix.

[187]*Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* 78.

[188]Ibid., 81.

[189]Ibid., 79.

[190]Ibid., 79–80.

[191]Ibid., 78, 84, 86.

[192]In his long account of the battle of Ḍumayr alluded to on a number of occasions above, one can clearly see the attention to detail shown by Ibn Ṣaṣrá as he attributed the crushing defeat of al-Nāṣirī to the utter state of fatigue of his troops of which Nuʻayr, his foe and victor, was well aware; ibid., 91–92.

[193]See above.

(the populace, Turcomans from Tripoli, tribesmen from Jubbat ʻAsāl,[194] Turks and soldiers from Ṣafad, and others) who were involved in the looting that took place in al-Maydān and al-Ṣāliḥīyah. More important still are the data concerning the various military forces on the ground during this period. Ibn Ṣaṣrá talks, for example, about the defeat of ʻAlāʼ al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḥanash,[195] the leader of the Qaysīs, at the hands of Shukr Aḥmad and a party of Yamanī tribesmen,[196] on 6 Rajab, at ʻAqabat al-Tīnah;[197] he notes that one thousand of the *fallāḥūn* who accompanied ʻAlāʼ al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḥanash were killed, two hundred Qaysīs and eight soldiers (ostensibly Mamluks from the garrison of Baalbek)[198] were captured, while the Yamanī *ʻushrān* prevailed upon the Qaysī *ʻushrān.*[199] Are we dealing here with four (peasants, Qaysīs, Mamluks, and Qaysī *ʻushrān*), three (peasants, Qaysīs=Qaysī *ʻushrān,* and Mamluks) or two (Qaysīs=Qaysī *ʻushrān*=peasants and Mamluks) categories of fighters in the loyalist camp? Any one of the three classifications can be read into the text. Any attempt at clearing the confusion would require pondering the term *ʻushrān,* which has been rendered in English in a variety of ways: tribesmen, by Brinner;[200] Druze tribesmen and/or clansmen living in the highlands of southern Lebanon and northern Palestine who sometimes divided along Qays and Yaman lines, by Popper; great agricultural tribes of Syria, by Poliak;[201] etc. Generally, argues Irwin, the term ″seem[s] to have been used to describe semi-nomadic or sedentarized tribal groups, in contradistinction

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[194]A district in the Anti-Lebanon range; see *A Chronicle of Damascus,* 124, n. 735.

[195]Son of Ibn al-Ḥanash, an important tribal chief from the Biqāʻ who supported Barqūq during the disturbances of 791–93 and was executed by Minṭāsh in Rabīʻ II 792; see ibid., 16, n. 106 and the sources cited therein, and 83. ʻAlāʼ al-Dīn would in his turn meet his maker on 16 Shaʻbān at the battle of Ḍumayr; ibid., 80–81, 91–93. On the al-Ḥanash family, see Francis Hours and Kamal Salibi, ″Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanash, muqaddam de la Biqāʻ, 1499–1518, un épisode peu connu de l′histoire libanaise,″ *Mélanges de l′Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth* 43 (1968): 3–23, esp. 3–5 for the period studied here.

[196]For a concise overview of the Qays and Yaman tribal mythology as it impinged on Syrian politics during the years 791 to 793, see Robert Irwin, ″Tribal Feuding and Mamluk Factions in Medieval Syria,″ in *Texts, Documents and Artefacts: Islamic Studies in Honour of D. S. Richards,* ed. Chase Robinson (Leiden, 2003), 253–54.

[197]See above.

[198]The viceroy of this city, Tankizbughā (in the text of *Al-Durrah al-Muḍīʼah,* Dankizbughā) was accompanying Ibn al-Ḥanash with his men; see *A Chronicle of Damascus,* 112 and n. 675.

[199]*Al-Durrah al-Muḍīʼah,* 80–81.

[200]*A Chronicle of Damascus,* 11, n. 71.

[201]This sentence, with the exception of the reference to Brinner, is a paraphrase of Irwin, ″Tribal Feuding,″ 255–56; see references in nn. 11–16 therein.

to more purely nomadic tribes, such as the Banū Faḍl."[202] With this in mind, and with the help of Ibn Ḥijjī's *Tārīkh*[203] and Ṣāliḥ Ibn Yaḥyá's[204] *Tārīkh Bayrūt,* we can argue the following: one group consisted of Ibn al-Ḥanash and his Qaysī followers who were either mounted or on foot,[205] a distinction which would *probably* correspond to a division between, respectively, more sedentarized (peasants) and less sedentarized nomadic (tribal chieftains) components within this group;[206] according to Ṣāliḥ Ibn Yaḥyá's history, the Druze feudal chiefs of the Lebanese mountains, his ancestors at least, were also involved in battles around Damascus including that of Ḍumayr[207] and presumably that of ʻAqabat al-Tīnah, and they could correspond to the Qaysīs mentioned by Ibn Ṣaṣrá in the text;[208] finally, one finds the mamluks of the viceroy of Baalbek. Evidently, to echo Irwin's comments, much still needs to be done before a clearer picture of what constituted the Syrian army at the end of the eighth/fourteenth century can

[202]Ibid., 256.

[203]"Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī," fols. 96a–b. On Ibn Ḥijjī, more below.

[204]An early fifteenth-century historian from the mountains of Lebanon, his work is *Akhbār al-Salaf min Dhurrīyat Buḥtur ibn ʻAlī Amīr al-Gharb bi-Bayrūt,* a.k.a. *Tārīkh Bayrūt,* ed. Kamal Salibi et al. (Beirut, 1969) (hereafter cited as *Tārīkh Bayrūt*), a history of his Druze feudal family based in the vicinity of Beirut.

[205]This distinction was made by Ibn Ḥijjī; "Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī," fol. 96a.

[206]This *could* correspond to the *fallāḥūn* and to the Qaysī *ʻushrān* of the first classification of fighters. Hours and Salibi note, with reference, it is true, to Muḥammad, an early tenth/sixteenth-century member of the Ibn al-Ḥanash family, that his leadership smacked more of that of a bedouin chief than that of a Lebanese mountain feudal (read sedentary) lord, because of the little concern he showed for building enduring symbols of attachment to the land, such as roads, bridges, and the like ("Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥanash, muqaddam de la Biqāʻ," 23). It is probable that in addition to his immediate mounted entourage of retainers, ʻAlā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḥanash had armed peasant clients.

[207]*Tārīkh Bayrūt,* 209–12, 215–16. A member of his family died during this encounter; see 209–10.

[208]The Qaysī Druze chieftains of Lebanon and ʻAlā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḥanash might have commandeered the same pool of armed peasants of the southern Lebanese highlands, even though I have not come across any evidence for that.

be seen; *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah* would be a strong starting point for such an endeavor.[209]

Reading *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah* is not however without its problems. From a historical perspective, the dating of its events is dismal in many parts of the text at hand. Whether it is Ibn Ṣaṣrá's fault or that of the copier of the manuscript, it is impossible to tell, but one still has to rely on both *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah* and *Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī* in order to set straight the chronological unfolding of events.[210]

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[209]Ibn Ṣaṣrá also provides historians with detailed insight into an interesting aspect of warfare in a densely populated urban environment, namely the way various groups fared under extraordinary circumstances. Beyond the description of the fear and suffering experienced by the civilian population (see, for example, *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* 78–79) and the sometimes forced mobilization of popular groups in the battles that were fought (ibid., 79, 81–82, 83, 88), Ibn Ṣaṣrá's chronicle deals as well with the everyday details of life in a city at war. For example, there is a story from the beginning of the siege (ibid., 78–79) which relates that in the Minṭāshī-held areas, located mostly outside the western walls of the city, it was, literally, business as usual as trade in foodstuffs went on unhindered, so much so that, in a figure of speech, "anyone could eat as much meat as he desired" (*A Chronicle of Damascus,* 110). In the same vein, he describes how the necessity of some inhabitants to go back and forth between the areas held by the "other side" and their place of residence had repercussions on the very psychology of the fighters in terms of their fear of spies and fifth columns heading into the areas they controlled, and consequently, on the problems the people who shuttled faced in terms of abuses, unwarranted suspicions, mistaken identities, and tragedies. All of these elements can be seen in a story (*Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* 86–87) about a boy placed by al-Nāṣirī on guard duty at Bāb al-Naṣr, a gate located near the citadel in the western wall, in order for him to squeal on those he could identify as pro-Minṭāshīs from amongst the people who went back and forth between the areas held by Minṭāsh and those held by the loyalists. The words of Ibn Ṣaṣrá are worth quoting: "When he said of anyone, 'seize him!' they [the Barqūqī police] would seize him immediately and take everything on him and with him. If they had any concern for him, they imprisoned him, otherwise they killed him. Fear overcame the people because of the lad, [both] the one who had gone out and the one who had not, [the latter] fearing that he would identify him as someone else, be burned immediately and perish in the fire. . . . He aroused dread in the hearts of the people who feared him more than they did the viceroy of Syria." (*A Chronicle of Damascus,* 119–20).

[210]For example, the last complete date that appears in the narrative before dating becomes erratic for a few pages is 12 Rajab (*Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* 80). The following date to appear in the narrative is the Monday that follows Friday 12 Rajab, which would be the fifteenth of the month (ibid., 81). The report that comes after, the one about the great fires that ravaged numerous neighborhoods and buildings west of the city, is simply introduced with the mention "*wa-rakiba* thānī yawm *Iyās wa-al-Nāṣirī* . . .," which would have to correspond to 16 Rajab (ibid.). After the mention of an event taking place on "*thālith yawm*" (ibid., 81–82), the next two dated reports are from Thursday 15 Rajab (ibid., 83), yet another impossibility, and from the eighteenth of the same month (ibid.); only then did Ibn Ṣaṣrá date a *khabar* on Saturday 20 Rajab (ibid.), which does correspond to the actual calendar of the year 793. An even more blatant dating error is the story relating the alleged departure of Barqūq from Cairo to Syria in Rajab, while in fact he did not leave Cairo until 22 Sha'bān (ibid., 84).

This shortcoming of *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah*, as well as those associated with the very style of the text,[211] does not temper in any way its undeniable value for modern historians interested in the history of Damascus during this troubled period. But did his fundamental concern with his home-town influence the way Ibn Ṣaṣrá recounted some important events? The question is relevant on at least two levels. The first has to do with historical consistency. In a *khabar*[212] dated from the first third of Rabī' II, Ibn Ṣaṣrá described the departure to Cairo of a party of amirs and other personalities who had been imprisoned in Damascus as a result of their involvement in anti-Barqūq politics in Damascus during the siege of the city in 792. The leader of this party was one Alābughā al-'Uthmānī[213] (d. 793/1391) who, according to *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* accompanied the group to Gaza. Other contemporary historians claim, contrary to Ibn Ṣaṣrá, that Alābughā al-'Uthmānī went all the way to Cairo with his prisoners; they also made much of the arrival, along with this group, of Aytamish al-Bajāsī, whose return to Cairo and more-than-warm reception on the part of Barqūq was dutifully highlighted.[214] Does this mean that the ″coverage″ available to Ibn Ṣaṣrá in terms of his sources did not extend beyond Gaza? It is highly unlikely, since his work does contain reports, though few in number, of things Egyptian,[215] but even then, one still cannot account for the absence of Aytamish from his report.[216] The second level has to do with the sources Ibn Ṣaṣrá used for extra-Damascene events. Following the departure of the sultan from Damascus to northern Syria around 8 Shawwāl, only five *akhbār* dealing with Aleppo are reported: the news about the sultan′s arrival there, which reached Damascus via one of al-Nāṣirī′s mamluks;[217] another about a military expedition to al-Bīrah[218] which Barqūq had

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[211]See *A Chronicle of Damascus,* xix–xxv.

[212]*Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* 74.

[213]See his obituary in *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:2:278.

[214]Ibid., 250–51; *Al-'Ibar,* 5:500.

[215]See, for example, the news about the execution in Cairo of a number of amirs: *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* 74.

[216]The same overall ignorance of events which occurred far from Damascus was noted by Popper with regards to other Syrian locales (*A Chronicle of Damascus,* xv). Maybe most revealing of Ibn Ṣaṣrá′s ″world view″ is a report in which he relates the appointments made by Barqūq while in Aleppo: of all the detailed information concerning the appointments made by the sultan to Syrian viceroyalties (Damascus, Aleppo, Ḥamāh, Tripoli, and Ṣafad) after the execution of Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī, only the appointee to that of Damascus, Buṭā al-Ṭūlūtamurī, is mentioned by name; on Buṭā (d. 794/1391) see *Al-Manhal,* 3:375–80, no. 671.

[217]*Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* 99.

[218]A town located slightly northeast of Aleppo; see *A Chronicle of Damascus,* 135, n. 797.

ordered early on in his stay;[219] a report about the execution of Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī as it was communicated to him by "one of the prominent people;"[220] and another about his arrest, brought to Damascus by a post messenger.[221] All of these reports can be accounted for, save for the one relating the expedition to al-Bīrah which is of unknown origin, but which can be found, written differently, in Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir's *Dhayl Durrat al-Aslāk*. Did the two historians use a common source or two different sources concerning the same event? So far, it is impossible to ascertain.[222]

The other Syrian contemporary source for the year 793 is Ibn Ḥijjī, the author of an annalistic chronicle identified throughout this research as *Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī.* In the introduction[223] to his *Tārīkh,* Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah states that his teacher Ibn Ḥijjī wrote a history which covered the years 741–47 and 769–815 minus the year 775. Ibn Ḥijjī, before his death, asked him ["*awṣānī*"] to fill in the chronological gap from 748 to 768, but when he embarked upon this endeavor, he noticed that his master had failed to include in his work a large number of obituaries and events mostly from outside of Syria. This led Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah to write a long *dhayl* in which he expanded his master's text while following his methodology, namely the monthly presentation of the events and obituaries. The end result was a *dhayl* to Ibn Ḥijjī's history identified in this research as *Al-Dhayl al-Muṭawwal,*[224] which came into existence as a result of a two-stage process. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah started with an initial recension of his teacher's history by copying it and often[225] annotating it with marginalia, and then later incorporated these annotations as

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[219]*Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* 99–100. Ibn Ṣaṣrá notes that the amirs sent to al-Bīrah were Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī, Aytamish al-Bajāsī, one Kumushbughā, and Buṭā al-Ṭūlūtamurī. In n. 795 of his *Chronicle of Damascus,* Brinner refers the reader to another footnote, n. 220, which indicates that the Kumushbughā in question here is none other than Kumushbughā al-Ḥamawī. The problem is that, according to all other sources, al-Ḥamawī was in Egypt as *nā'ib al-ghaybah.* Ibn Ṣaṣrá might have been referring to Kumushbughā al-Ṣaghīr, whom sources say had been part of the expeditionary force which accompanied the sultan to Syria; see *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:2:260.

[220]*A Chronicle of Damascus,* 136; *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* 101.

[221]*Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* 100.

[222]See below.

[223]All the information in this paragraph is based on Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's introduction to his work, 2:111–12, and on Darwīsh's French translation of it on pages 29–30 of the French introduction.

[224]In doing this, I only follow Adnān Darwīsh's characterization of this work; see *TIQS,* 2:27.

[225]These annotations are sometimes absent from large numbers of folios. In the case of the annal of the year 804 which I have examined, out of a total of sixteen and a half folios, about a third are more or less systematically annotated; see Chester Beatty 4125, fols. 252b–261a. In the annal of the year 793, six folios out of fifteen are for all intents and purposes devoid of marginalia; "Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī," fols. 93b–100b.

well as passages taken from *Al-Muntaqá min Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt*[226] and other sources[227] into a second recension, i.e., *Al-Dhayl al-Muṭawwal*.[228] This latter work was then summarized into a smaller one; it is this shorter work, about one third of the original, which was edited in four volumes by ʻAdnān Darwīsh as *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah*.[229]

Since the sections of *Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī* that are still extant in MS Berlin Ahlwardt 9458 do not include the year 793,[230] one has no choice but to turn to the two recensions of Ibn Ḥijjī's work made by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah. The problem in this endeavor has to do with the existence of a plethora of texts, all written in Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's distinctive and highly unreadable handwriting, scattered in a var-

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[226]This can be ascertained from the results of Reisman's article and my own research on the year 778; see "A Holograph MS," 32–37. "Al-Muntaqá min Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt" (MS Chester Beatty 4125, fols. 2b–178b) is ostensibly composed of selections from *Tārīkh al-Duwal* made by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah covering the years 773–93/1371–90. However, at least for the year 793 (ibid., 166a–178b), we are dealing here with much more than mere selections: all save a few of the reports of the edited version of Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle can be found in Chester Beatty MS 4125. The main difference between the two is that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah did "manipulate" Ibn al-Furāt's text by placing the obituaries at the end of the events of each month, very much like his mentor Ibn al-Ḥijjī had done in his "Tārīkh." One still needs to determine how much of Ibn al-Furāt's obituaries Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah kept in "Al-Muntaqá min Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt."

[227]See Reisman, "A Holograph MS," 39–42.

[228]Ibid., 32; 47, fig. no. 2. For example, the annal of the year 804 in MS Chester Beatty 5527 (fols. 235a–253b) is based on the recension made by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (MS Chester Beatty 4125, fols. 252b–261a) of "Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī" (MS Berlin Ahlwardt 9458, fols. 129a–140a), to which were added passages from "Al-Muntaqá min Tārīkh Ibn Duqmāq" (MS Chester Beatty 4125, fols. 197a–203a). This pattern for the elaboration of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's second recension has already been established by Reisman; see above, the many references to his "A Holograph MS."

[229]However, as Reisman noted in his review of Darwīsh's edition, since *TIQS* is actually an abridgement of *Al-Dhayl al-Muṭawwal,* it could more aptly be titled *Al-Mukhtaṣar*. See Reisman, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5 (2001): 175; idem, "A Holograph MS," 29.

[230]MS Berlin Ahlwardt 9458 covers the years 796 to 815, minus 805 and 808.

iety of manuscripts, notably Chester Beatty 4125 and 5527, and Köprülü 1027.[231] Reisman′s research and my own cursory examination of the MS Chester Beatty 5527 indicate that it does contain a certain number of years from the second recension, but not the annal of 793. Köprülü 1027 on the other hand does contain an annal of the year 793.[232]

This annal[233] is peculiar in a number of respects. First, it does not cover the whole year, as there is a hiatus, with no change in the numbering of the folios, from the final third of Sha'bān[234] to the last of the obituaries of Dhū al-Ḥijjah.[235] Second, there is no heading for the months of Ṣafar, Rabī' II, and Jumādá I, and no reports are to be found under the months of Muḥarram and Rabī' I, except for obituaries.[236] Third, the text is marred not only by the difficult handwriting of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, but also by the very bad state of the manuscript itself which often makes it impossible to decipher, especially, but not exclusively, the marginal annotations. Despite these difficulties, there are many factors which indicate that we are most probably dealing with a text originally authored by Ibn Ḥijjī. First, there is the available textual evidence. Compared to that of *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah*, the annal of 793 in Köprülü 1027 includes none of the passages easily

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[231]MSS Chester Beatty 4125, Chester Beatty 5527, and Köprülü 1027 were kindly lent to me by David C. Reisman.

[232]Based on my own *cursory* exploration of this manuscript and on Reisman′s research, Köprülü 1027 appears to contain the following, in this order: 787–88 (fols. 2a–22b); notes on 789–91 (fols. 47b–51a); 791–97 (fols. 50b–187a); notes on 797–99, 801, 803–11, 799–801, 803, 808, 811 (fols. 187b–193a); 791 (fols. 193b–230b; these correspond to the text of ″Al-Muntaqá min Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt″ until the month Ramaḍān). I have been able to determine that at least annals 792 and 793 are *not* part of the second recension. The emphasis on the uncertainty concerning the contents of this manuscript is warranted because it includes numerous pages of text and notes whose identity cannot be ascertained; this and other manuscripts from the hand of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah await thorough investigation.

[233]″Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī,″ fols. 93b–100b.

[234]The last report is dated 22 Sha'bān and is to be found at the bottom of fol. 99b.

[235]Ibid., fols. 100a–b.

[236]With regard to the last characteristic, one might assume one of two things: that Ibn Ḥijjī saw nothing in the first three months of 793 that needed to be recounted, or that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah purposely decided, when doing his recension of this year, to bypass some of the data in ″Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī.″ Either one of these possibilities might then explain the fact that for the months of Muḥarram, Ṣafar, and Rabī' I *all* the reports in *TIQS* were culled from Ibn al-Furāt′s *Tārīkh al-Duwal* (*TIQS,* 1:368–69). There is also the possibility that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah in the admittedly smaller *TIQS* wanted to emphasize the reports dealing with or originating in Egypt by relying on Ibn al-Furāt, but the presence of a very large number of Syrian reports in the rest of the annal goes against such a view.

traceable to Ibn al-Furāt′s *Tārīkh al-Duwal,*[237] but contains either longer versions of Syrian reports found in *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah*[238] or, again, Syrian *akhbār* totally absent from the latter.[239] This, plus the presence of a number of *ḥawāshī*[240] in the margins, lead me to conclude that the folios at hand are part of the first recension made by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah of his teacher′s history, and thus a fairly exact, although incomplete,[241] reproduction of Ibn Ḥijjī′s work.[242]

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[237]In both its edited and ″Al-Muntaqá min Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt″ forms.

[238]See, for example, the longer description made by Ibn Ḥijjī of the aftermath of the battle of Ḍumayr; ″Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī,″ fols. 99a–b; *TIQS,* 1:377.

[239]See, for example, the story of the capture by the Qaysīs of a Yamanī grandee inside the city of Damascus during the struggle for the city; ″Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī,″ fol. 96b. On this report, see below.

[240]The question of the nature and origin of the marginal annotations, most of them unreadable, is of great importance. To follow Reisman′s reasoning (″A Holograph MS,″ 31–32), we might assume that those that end with *ḥ* for *ḥāshiyah* and are embedded in *TIQS* were those reports added by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah to the text of ″Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī″ in order to produce the second recension. In the case of the annotations which end with *ṣ* for *ṣaḥḥ,* two hypotheses can be advanced: either Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah was correcting Ibn Ḥijjī′s reports or he was adding to the text information he simply omitted by mistake from the latter′s work. In the absence of the original ″Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī″ annal for 793 and of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s second recension for that same year, and in view of the sorry state of the folios being studied, it is not possible to establish with certainty the nature of these annotations. For the purposes of this study, only those marginal annotations that are readable, are long enough to constitute full-fledged *akhbār,* are clearly identified with a *ṣ* for *ṣaḥḥ,* and do *not* appear in an obituaries section of the text will be taken into account in the analysis that follows. This amounts to only one report found in the margin of fol. 96b, which deals with the battle that allowed the loyalists to remove the Minṭāshīs from the house of Bahādur; on the battle(s) for the house of Bahādur, see above.

[241]It is more than probable that most of the non-Furātian material in *TIQS* from the end of Sha‘bān to the obituaries of Dhū al-Ḥijjah originated in ″Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī,″ so well established is Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s indebtedness to his teacher, but to be on the safe side, they will not be used since there is uncertainty regarding them. Moreover, even though fols. 93b–100b in MS Köprülü 1027 do contain marginalia whose genealogy one cannot ascertain, these are not overwhelming in number and many of them are located in the obituaries sections of the annals. The extant folios for the year 793 in MS Köprülü 1027 will suffice for our purposes here since they cover most of the important events of the siege of Damascus.

[242]It is thus likely that the text at hand is from the first recension. However, in light of its peculiarities noted above and as a result of the collation I have undertaken of the text of the first recension and that of the original ″Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī″ for the year 804, it is more than possible that we are dealing with yet a different stage of the process of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s writing of his *Al-Dhayl al-Muṭawwal.*

Even though its first ″real″[243] reports deal with the execution of a number of amirs in Egypt,[244] *Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī* is a chronicle whose entire focus is on Syria, more precisely Damascus, very much like Ibn Ṣaṣrá′s *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah* with which it shares many characteristics. The concern for things Syrian can be seen at many levels. All the appointments, religious and political, mentioned in it deal specifically with Syria, and more particularly with Damascus. Ibn Ḥijjī for example notes in four different reports the whereabouts of Arghūn Shāh al-Ibrāhīmī (d. 801/1398),[245] an amir whose claim to fame, during the early parts of the year 793, was his appointment to the *ḥujūbīyah* of Damascus at the end of Jumādá II.[246] In the same vein, the only two religious appointments noted in this work are those of Syrian qadis, one to Tripoli and the other to Damascus.[247] Interestingly, the attention paid to things religious by Ibn Ḥijjī, a member of the learned class of Damascus, intersects with the very large body of reports that deal with the battles that took place in his city throughout Rajab and Sha'bān. On numerous occasions, he noted the role played by the qadis in the fighting,[248] their role as moral authorities in the city,[249] the use of *zakāt* money in the war effort,[250] etc. But the war for Damascus was not only an occasion for Ibn Ḥijjī to talk about his peers: it occupies in its own right a pivotal position in his work.

In this respect, *Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī* provides very rich data, some of it unique, concerning, for example, the positions of the Minṭāshīs at the very beginning of

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[243]This is if one disregards the first report, which is basically a list of military, administrative and religious officials in Egypt and Syria; ″Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī,″ fol. 93b.

[244]Ibid., fol. 94a. Many of the Egyptian *akhbār* are of a political nature and deal with the execution of amirs and personalities who were identified with or worked for the Minṭāshī regime in both Syria and Egypt; see ibid., fols. 96b, 97a.

[245]On him, see *Al-Manhal,* 2:223–24.

[246]See ″Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī,″ fols. 94b, 96a, 96b–97a, 99a. The only other nomination of a member of the military class in this annal is that of a Qarābughā al-'Alā'ī as *shādd al-awqāf* (ibid., fol. 94b).

[247]Ibid., fols. 94a–b.

[248]For example, as guardians of those gates located in the western wall of the city which were exposed to Minṭāshī attacks (ibid., fol. 95b; see also fol. 98b).

[249]On two occasions during the siege of the city, the qadis listened to letters sent to them from Cairo, one from the caliph and the other from the sultan, respectively urging the people to fight on in favor of Barqūq and thanking them for their steadfastness (ibid., fols. 96b, 97b). In two other *akhbār,* Ibn Ḥijjī reports the involvement of two religious figures in anti-Barqūq activities, one as purveyor of fodder to the Minṭāshīs, and the other for having corresponded with the sultan′s enemies (ibid., fols. 97b–98a).

[250]This, notes Ibn Ḥijjī, weakened the four *madhāhib* financially, especially since they had incurred many losses as a result of the destruction of *awqāf* which occurred as a result of the fighting; see ibid., fols. 97a–b.

the siege,[251] troop movements[252] and actual encounters between the protagonists,[253] etc. However, in most of its reports concerning the war, this chronicle provides data that either complements or parallels that found in *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* even though generally the latter is richer in details:[254] all the important military engagements[255] are recorded in both works and some even elicited similar responses on the part of the two authors. The crushing defeat of the loyalists at Ḍumayr[256] prompted both Ibn Ṣaṣrá and Ibn Ḥijjī to muse, in admittedly different styles,[257] about the humiliation, disarray, and physical destruction of Barqūq's troops following this battle. Last but not least, *Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī,* here again like *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* also presents glimpses of a social environment in the grips of a brutal war. Among other things, it sheds light on the crystallization of the population's loyalties around one of the two warring camps,[258] and especially on the deep-rooted antagonisms between Qays and Yaman displayed during the conflict.[259] The description of the degree of violence, often wholesale slaughter, that accompanied the encounter between the two camps is certainly not peculiar to Ibn Ḥijjī. Ibn Ṣaṣrá gives a much more vivid and dramatic description than Ibn

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[251]Ibid., fol. 96a.

[252]For example, ibid., fol. 97a.

[253]For example, ibid., fols. 98a, 98b, 99a.

[254]For example, as was noted above, Ibn Ṣaṣrá gives a detailed description of the various groups involved in the looting of al-Maydān, following Minṭāsh's precipitous departure from his encampment, whereas Ibn Ḥijjī simply says it was the populace who were responsible for this deed (ibid., fol. 99a; *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* 90–91).

[255]See "Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī," fols. 95b, 96a–b, 98b–99b; *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* 78, 79, 80–81, 83, 89–93.

[256]"Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī," fols. 99a–b; *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* 91–92. In this particular report, Ibn Ḥijjī includes a small, albeit interesting piece of information concerning warfare: the fact that the bedouins initiated combat by literally encircling the forces of Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī ("*fa-dāra ʻalayhim al-ʻarab ḥalqah*").

[257]Ibn Ṣaṣrá uses a measure of derision ("the troops returned and entered the city after having recovered somewhat from their condition, each two riding one donkey . . ." [*A Chronicle of Damascus,* 125]) but lets ʻAlā' al-Dīn Aybak (d. 803/1400) speak through his verse; on this poet see references in ibid., 34, n. 207 and "Al-Manhal," fols. 496a–497a. Ibn Ḥijjī, on the other hand, devotes half a folio to describing the sorry state of the troops as they returned to the city in groups, through mountains, streams, and valleys, some "wounded or missing some limb . . .," etc.; "Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī," fols. 99a–b.

[258]Ibn Ḥijjī refers specifically to the *ʻaṣabīyah* that overtook the population of Damascus: the populace (the people of al-Shuwaykah and al-Shāghūr, and a few of the inhabitants of Maydān al-Ḥaṣā) supported Minṭāsh ["*fa-ṣāra fī al-ʻawām ʻaṣabīyah maʻa Minṭāsh*"], while the elite ["*jumhūruhum*"] supported al-Nāṣirī ("Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī," fol. 95b).

[259]See Irwin, "Tribal Feuding."

Ḥijjī of the killing of Qaysīs from the Biqā' valley at the hands of Ibn Hilāl al-Dawlah and his Yamanīs at al-Maydān following the encounter at 'Aqabat al-Tīnah,[260] but Ibn Ḥijjī provides for the same incident a more tragic dimension: two of the Qaysīs who had managed to flee and sought refuge in a mosque were caught and killed inside the religious edifice. In another report,[261] Ibn Ḥijjī reports that when Qaysīs arrested a well-respected Yamanī dignitary at Sūq al-Muṭarrizīn,[262] the population, presumably of that neighborhood, released him from custody. Ibn Ḥijjī not only mentions this man's name, Ibn 'Abd al-Dā'im, but also notes that he lived within the city and that he was one of the grandees of Jubbat 'Asāl, a rural area west of Damascus.[263] What is of interest in this last account is that even though the distribution of groups, sects, and communities in the urban setting of Damascus is broadly known,[264] this "living" geo-topographical detail and others found in this chronicle and *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah* might provide us with further sociological data on the interaction of Damascus and its hinterland in terms of population movement and urban settlement. In the same vein, this report echoes, if only obliquely, a story by Ibn Ṣaṣrá[265] that tribesmen from Jubbat 'Asāl participated in the sack of al-Ṣāliḥīyah and al-Maydān following Minṭāsh's hasty withdrawal therefrom.[266]

What is one to make of the presence, in both *Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī* and *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* of such a large body of common reports? In other words, what is the likelihood of mutual borrowings or interdependence? Beyond the existence of certain minute common elements found in the narration of a number of these reports, we cannot establish a pattern of borrowing between the two. One might then postulate the existence of a common source, either oral or written, which possibly recounted events that neither of them had witnessed and whose *akhbār* they then reported differently. The similarity might ultimately be no more than circumstantial, and thus the end product of the sheer "Syrianness" of the events of the year and that of the two authors themselves: Ibn Ḥijjī and Ibn Ṣaṣrá lived

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[260]See "Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī," fols. 96a–b; *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* 80–81.

[261]See "Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī," fol. 96b.

[262]There is one reference to this market in H. Sauvaire, "Description de Damas: La conclusion," *Journal Asiatique* (November-December 1895): 433. Its location is probably somewhere in the northeastern quarter of the city; see Émilie E. Ouéchek, *Index Général de la "Description de Damas" de Sauvaire* (Damascus, 1954), 97.

[263]See above, n. 194.

[264]See, for example, Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1967), 85–88, 90–91, 93–94.

[265]"Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī," fol. 99a; *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* 90–91.

[266]In this case, we are probably dealing with Qaysīs hailing from the same region.

through difficult times and wrote, as eyewitnesses, about the ordeal of their city, each in his own style and according to his personal concerns.

To be sure, the two works are dissimilar in many respects. As was noted by Brinner,[267] *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah* appears to owe nothing to other sources in terms of overall format and style, and it is perhaps this ″insularity″ of Ibn Ṣaṣrá′s work that most distinguishes it from Ibn Ḥijjī′s. *Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī*, despite its basic Syrianness, is a typical example of Mamluk historiography, an annalistic chronicle which includes socio-political and religious reports, along with obituaries. Ibn Ḥijjī himself, unlike Ibn Ṣaṣrá, whose conspicuous absence in the sources of the period amounts to sheer ″invisibility,″ was very much part of the Mamluk Syro-Egyptian socio-intellectual scene. According to al-Sakhāwī, he visited Cairo on numerous occasions and apparently interacted with people such as Ibn Ḥajar and al-Maqrīzī.[268] Maybe this exposure to Egyptian scholarly circles can account for the possibility that he might have relied on Egyptian sources directly for some of his few Egyptian reports. Thus, we can observe similarities between both Ibn Ḥijjī′s and Ibn al-Furāt′s accounts of the nomination of a new chief Hanafi qadi in Cairo:

> Ibn al-Furāt: ″. . . wa-nazala qarīb al-maghrib wa-kāna yawman mashhūdan. . . .″ (*Tārīkh al-Duwal*, 9:2:258–59)
> Ibn Ḥijjī: ″. . . wa-nazala qarīb al-maghrib fī haybah ʻaẓīmah.″ (″Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī,″ MS Köprülü 1027, fol. 99a)

Undoubtedly, the most important characteristic of the year 793 is the Syrianness of most of its events and the way these impinged on historiographical production. All the contemporary authors included in varying degrees reports dealing with Syria and/or originating there. But as was demonstrated above, despite the fact that some of these common reports contain similar elements, one cannot establish definite patterns of filiation amongst the sources: the historians either had access to each other′s works, say for example, Ibn Khaldūn using either Ibn Ḥijjī′s or Zayn al-Dīn Ṭāhir′s chronicle, and then reworded whatever they took; or they drew upon another source or sources which are no longer extant.

With regard to this or these ″other″ Syrian source(s) assumed to be lurking in the background, even though we lack the evidence to make a decisive identification, there are some clues as to what the environment in which they were produced might have been. In his introduction to the English translation of *Al-Durrah*

[267]See *A Chronicle of Damascus,* xv–xvi.
[268]*Al-Ḍaw'*, 1:270–71.

al-Muḍī'ah, Brinner notes that the list of the *nuwwāb* of Damascus presented by Ibn Ṣaṣrá within the framework of the annal of 799[269] is similar to that of Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546) in his *I'lām al-Wará bi-man Wuliya Nā'iban min al-Atrāk bi-Dimashq al-Shām al-Kubrá.*[270] The section of the *I'lām* which dealt with the period between 658–863/1260–1458 is basically the recension of a work on the same topic, namely the viceroys of Damascus, written by a Shams al-Dīn al-Zamalkānī,[271] to which Ibn Ṭūlūn added comments and corrections.[272] Brinner hypothesizes that al-Zamalkānī's "work, which has not otherwise been preserved, seems to have been based on the same source as that used by Ibn Ṣaṣrá considerably earlier."[273] The point here is that there appears to have been in Syria a number of authors who were not particularly famous but whose historical works or oral reports were nevertheless used either by their contemporaries or by later historians.

One last question needs to be tackled. Beyond a Syrianness born out of circumstance, to what extent, if any, do the works of Ibn Ḥijjī and Ibn Ṣaṣrá belong to such a thing as a Syrian school?[274] For the sake of clarification, I shall quote David Reisman, who has managed to effectively and concisely summarize the whole question of the dichotomy between "Egyptian" and "Syrian" schools of historical writing:

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[269]*A Chronicle of Damascus,* 235–52.

[270]See above, n. 153; see also *Les Gouverneurs de Damas sous les Mamlouks et les premiers Ottomans,* ed. and trans. Henri Laoust (Damascus, 1952) (hereafter cited as *Gouverneurs*).

[271]The only thing known about al-Zamalkānī is that he died in or after 863/1458.

[272]*I'lām,* 30.

[273]*A Chronicle of Damascus,* xviii. Another historian is mentioned by Ibn Ṭūlūn in the first pages of *I'lām,* one 'Alī al-Yaldānī (d. 814/1412), yet another Damascene who also wrote about the same topic. Ibn Ṭūlūn notes that he had not used that source even though the historian Taqī al-Dīn al-Asadī [Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah?] notes its existence in his *Tārīkh;* see *I'lām,* 29–30; *Gouverneurs,* xvii. This al-Asadī was quoted four times in *I'lām:* in one instance it was his *Dhayl* (*I'lām,* 66, year 836), and in the rest his *Tārīkh* (ibid., 29, year 814; 60, lines 1 and 14, year 817). Is the historian Taqī al-Dīn no other than Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, one of whose *nisab* is al-Asadī? In light of what we know about him (see Darwīsh's French introduction, 2:19–27), we might assume so, since Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah did write histories covering the years noted above. One comment concerning the introduction to the French translation of the *I'lām:* Laoust was wrong in assuming that the Sayyid al-Ḥusaynī whose *Dhayl 'alá 'Ibar al-Dhahabī* Ibn Ṭūlūn used to complement the data presented by al-Zamalkānī, was Ḥamzah Ibn Aḥmad al-Dimashqī al-Ḥusaynī (d. 874/1469) (see *Al-Ḍaw'*, 3:163–64), since the Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Ḥamzah al-Ḥusaynī who actually wrote the *Dhayl 'alá 'Ibar al-Dhahabī* died in 765/1364; see Duhmān's introduction to the *I'lām,* 13, and Darwīsh, 2:36.

[274]See above, n. 7.

> Broadly speaking, [Egyptian histories] are chiefly political histories while [Syrian histories] are intellectual histories. Such intellectual histories are by no mean concerned with the history of ideas (which is a distinctly modern concept); rather the primary intention of intellectual histories of the Mamluk period is to produce a record of events and people connected to the institutions and fields of religion, law and education. Moreover, the ″Syrian school″ of historians, as distinct from its Egyptian counterpart, produced works which, in terms of their structure, devote much more attention to biographies and specifically to biographies of people from the intellectual class. While the division of historical writing into *ḥawādith* (report of events) and *tarājim* (biographies) is common to both genres, the differences that allow us to speak of the ″Egyptian school″ and the ″Syrian school″ are really those of emphasis.[275]

Notwithstanding its fundamental Syrianness, the factors noted in the above quotation lead one to safely disregard *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah* as belonging to the ″Syrian histories″ category. Things are more problematic with regard to *Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī.* The nagging uncertainty that obscures the true nature of this work[276] prevents one from making too many sweeping statements regarding the respective importance in it of *ḥawādith* and *tarājim*. However, if the contents of the existing text are any indication, out of its thirteen folios, only a little more than three consist of obituaries,[277] compared to the thirty-one pages devoted by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah in his *Tārīkh* to obituaries out of a total of fifty-three. In terms of the parameters set out by modern-day scholars, the relatively smaller space Ibn Ḥijjī devotes to obituaries places his work outside of the so-called ″Syrian school.″

Perhaps the whole distinction between the two schools no longer holds with regard to the period at hand. After all, it was formulated with regard to histories written during more or less the first half of the fourteenth century by two important groups of scholars, one Egyptian and the other Syrian, with different career paths, ethnic, ideological, intellectual backgrounds, and working relationships.[278] While it is true that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s *Tārīkh,* and, consequently, *Al-Dhayl al-Muṭawwal,* belong, from the point of view of Reisman′s citation, to the Syrian school, the categorization of the works of Ibn Ḥijjī, Ibn Ṣaṣrá, and even Zayn

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[275]″A Holograph MS,″ 24.

[276]See above.

[277]A cursory look at the ″Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī″ annal for the year 804 in MS Chester Beatty 5527 reveals similar proportions.

[278]Guo, ″Mamluk Historiographic Studies,″ 29–32.

al-Dīn Ṭāhir will probably have to follow different considerations which will take into account the entirety of Ibn Ḥijjī´s œuvre, notably the original extant annals of his *Tārīkh,* sources not yet published such as Ibn Khaṭīb al-Nāṣirīyah´s (d. 843/1440) *Durr al-Muntakhab fī Takmilat Tārīkh Ḥalab,*[279] and, most importantly, the clear decline of Syrian historical writing in later parts of the Burji period.

[279]See Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden, 1968), 170.

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The al-Nashw Episode: A Case Study of "Moral Economy"

Contemporary Mamluk sources contain reports of the Mamluk sultans being forced to dismiss office-holders from their posts in order to placate the rioting masses. Such protests against *muḥtasib*s (market inspectors) were quickly ended by their removal from office. In the event of a protest against a vizier, which is the subject of the present article, the sources depict him as the person inciting the sultan to injustice and thus his mere removal from office would not satisfy the public. Rather, the public demanded he be punished. Later, public festivities marked the meting out of punishment and the return of justice. The case of the protest against Shams al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh, known as al-Nashw, the *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* (inspector of the sultan's private treasury) of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad between 733/1333 and 740/1339, is fully described in the sources.[1] Al-Nashw's image as villain is executed carefully and in great detail: he is accused of using *muṣādarah* (confiscation) against office-holders to extract money from them, forcing compulsory purchases *(ṭarḥ, rimāyah)* on merchants in a way that harmed the entire public, and plotting against amirs and extorting money from charities, thereby inflicting harm on the weaker sectors of the population. Therefore, his eventual removal from office and execution by torture was publicly celebrated with music and song for a whole week. Lollipops bearing the likenesses of al-Nashw and his family in humiliating scenes were sold in the markets in vast quantities.[2]

The characteristics of hate ritual that contemporary historians accorded the al-Nashw episode show that beyond depicting the actual event they also sought to convey a didactic message on a proper and binding sociopolitical order that must not be infringed. Indeed, the social historians Louise Tilly[3] and Edward P. Thompson,[4] who studied the food riots in eighteenth-century France and England,

[1]For this case see: Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History* (Leiden, 1995), 73–78, 149–55.

[2]Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Abū al-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963), 9:139; Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʻrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Saʻīd ʻAbd al-Fattāḥ ʻĀshūr (Cairo, 1942), 2:479; Boaz Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo* (Cambridge, 1993), 57.

[3]Louise Tilly, "The Food Riots as a Form of Political Conflict in France," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 (1971): 23–57.

[4]Edward P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century,"

followed by Boaz Shoshan,[5] who studied the food riots in Muslim society under Mamluk rule, have drawn our attention to the fact that food riots are not an impulsive act by a mob motivated only by an actual shortage of food, but rather ″coherent political actions″ expressing criticism of the government for its failure to fulfill social norms and traditional economic functions. These norms were perceived as the mob′s inherent collective right and infringing that right justified violent protest in order to motivate the government to restore order. Political sociologists and anthropologists who investigate the need to uphold sociopolitical frameworks and their *modus operandi* have termed these inherent rights ″moral economy″ and ascribed an important pseudo-constitutional role to them in creating equilibrium among interest groups working together within the same sociopolitical system.[6] Winslow W. Clifford identifies moral economy as the basis for regulating relations within the Mamluk elite, which by its very nature is ″conflict-oriented.″ Upholding the inherent rights *(ḥuqūq)* of the Mamluks to universal and equal access to rank and economic resources ensured a ″positive-sum exchange relationship″ between the ruler and the amirs. This exchange policy obviated the fissionist tendencies inherent in unbridled competition among the Mamluks and set the rules for a dynamic reshuffle in government without damaging the state′s sociopolitical macrostructure and coherence.[7]

The story of al-Nashw′s rise and fall is a rather unique case of a conflict in which there was a coordinated demand from almost every sector of the Mamluk state, if not all of them, for the ruler to cancel his reform plan and restore the traditional and normative economic order. The fact that the public protest happened during the reign of a charismatic and authoritarian ruler like al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who could have imposed his authority by military power, but rather chose to give up his reform plan, and the tactics the protest groups used to solve the conflict without the actual use of violence, proves that the sociopolitical macrostructure of moral economy preserved the Mamluk state from disintegration by unregulated violent conflict. Therefore, the al-Nashw incident can serve as an effective case

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Past & Present 50 (1971): 73–136.

[5]Boaz Shoshan, ″Grain Riots and the ′Moral Economy′: Cairo, 1350–1517,″ *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 10 (1980): 459–78. See also: Ira Marvin Lapidus, ″The Grain Economy of Mamluk Egypt,″ *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 12 (1969): 1–15.

[6]William Barth and Robert Hefner, ″Approaches to the Study of Social Conflict,″ *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 1 (1957): 105–10; Seymour Martin Lipset, *Consensus and Conflict: Essays in Political Sociology* (New Brunsick and London, 1985); Ralph W. Nicholas, ″Rule, Resources, and Political Activity,″ in *Local Level Politics,* ed. Marc J. Swartz (Chicago, 1968), 295–321.

[7]Winslow W. Clifford, ″State Formation and the Structure of Politics in Mamluk Syro-Egypt, 648–741 A.H./1250–1350 C.E.,″ Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1995. This dissertation provides a very intriguing and useful survey of research in political sociology and anthropology.

study to show the moral economy, the sociopolitical macrostructure of the Mamluk state, in action.

Despite the growth in the Egyptian economy during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reign, signs of a deep crisis were felt as early as 729/1328 when expenditure greatly exceeded revenues and threatened to spin out of control. This economic crisis was not accidental; it resulted from al-Nāṣir's ambitious construction policy and his prodigal generosity towards his amirs, mamluks, and other important figures inside and outside his state.[8] As a result of low revenues *(min qillat al-wāṣil)* that year, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was forced to personally oversee government expenditure on a day-to-day basis.[9] Under his personal supervision, the state's financial situation was ameliorated to the extent that all revenues derived from the sultan's private *iqṭā'* of the Jīzah province (a province on the west bank of the Nile) were saved that year. Sources tell us that office-holders became stressed. Indeed, a few months later, al-Nāṣir reviewed the clerks who administered tax collection in the amirs' *iqṭā'*s, probably for the purpose of selecting new officials to replace those he intended to dismiss from his own administration. The two inspectors of the sultanic *dīwān*s, al-Majd Ibn Lafītah and Ibn Qarwīnah, were dismissed and fined; al-Makīn Ibn Qarwīnah, the *mustawfī al-ṣuḥbah,* who controlled the accounts of the sultanic financial revenues, and Amīn al-Dīn Qarmūṭ, the *mustawfī al-khizānah* (in charge of the sultan's treasury accountancy), Uldamur, the *wālī* (prefect) of Jīzah, Ibn Saqrūr, the *mustawfī* of Jīzah, who controlled the district's revenue account, and the *mushidd*s (concerned with the collection of revenues), were all dismissed from their posts and imprisoned, and were only released after paying the fines imposed on them. Al-Nāṣir's mistrust of office-holders went as far as his carrying out new registration of the Jīzah lands, relying on local chiefs rather than his own officials. These details leave no doubt that the mistrust between the sultan and the state office-holders reached a point far beyond the normal. Al-Maqrīzī, the fifteenth-century historian, mentions that this practice "had never been heard of in the past" *(wa-lam yusma' bi-hādhā fīmā salafa),*[10] emphasizing al-Nāṣir's innovative approach of giving the peasants *(fallāḥūn)* a stand in tax administration through a direct connection between himself, as sultan, and their chiefs *(mashāyikh).* Al-Maqrīzī's comment reveals, in fact, that al-Nāṣir changed the rules of the game in relations between the sultan and the state officials. It was well known that office-holders informally augmented their incomes from state resources, taking a calculated risk that their embezzlement might be discovered

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[8]On this policy, see in detail: Levanoni, *Turning Point,* 53–59. For gift exchange policy see: Marcel Mauss, *The Gift* (Glencoe, 1954).

[9]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:312; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 9:77–78.

[10]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:312–13.

and their fortunes confiscated. Furthermore, most cases of confiscation involved huge sums of money, which meant that officials accumulated fortunes during their service.[11] It should be noted that rivalries among the clerks over positions and their non-Muslim origin (many of them were Copts or converted Copts) facilitated the regulation of the confiscation policy.[12] The clerks′ traditional professional status had never before been challenged as it was in al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s purges of that year.

While al-Nashw was still in the service of Ānūk, one of the sultan′s sons, he had already raised the issue of the fiscal situation with the sultan and suggested various ways of increasing revenues, calling attention to those known habitually to disappear into office-holders′ pockets. When al-Nāṣir Muḥammad appointed al-Nashw as his *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* in 732/1331, it was with the express aim that ″he would obtain much money for him″ *(annahu yuḥaṣṣilu lahu māl kathīr).*[13] Upon assuming office, al-Nashw implemented a full-scale confiscation policy on such an intensive and non-selective basis that both senior administrative office-holders in Cairo and all district officials responsible for tax collection in Upper and Lower Egypt suffered equally. After al-Nashw′s brother, al-Mukhliṣ, returned from his inspection tour of the sultanic irrigation wheels and sown fields in Upper Egypt, al-Nashw incited al-Nāṣir against his officials for neglecting their duty and wasting part of his wealth. Consequently, all office-holders from the highest to the lowest—the prefects *(wulāt),* inspectors *(shāddūn*, sing. *shādd),* keepers of revenue accounts *('ummāl*, sing. *'āmil),* keepers of daily revenue lists *(shuhūd*, sing. *shāhid),* and others—were interrogated and fined or lost all their property.[14] The huge sums of money that flowed into the sultan′s treasury from confiscations attest that some of them were very wealthy while others were simply well off.[15]

These arrests, interrogations, fines, dismissals, and the large-scale confiscations of officials in the tax collection system, which stretched continuously and in descending order from the highest-ranking officials in the center, through senior district office-holders, to the low-ranking office-holders who actually implemented registration of land and yields in the villages and who were, as we have seen, in direct contact with the village headmen, the *mashāyikh,*[16] reveal a ramified system

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[11]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:347–49, 361, 381, 384, 486.

[12]See for example: ibid., 347.

[13]Ibid., 348.

[14]Ibid., 358, 360, 361, 370, 469.

[15]Ibid., 360, 381.

[16]On the bribe relationships between officials and villagers *(nās min al-aryāf),* most probably religious scholars, see: Shams al-Dīn al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī wa-Awlādihi,* ed. Barbara Schäfer (Wiesbaden, 1977), 59.

of patronage that encompassed both urban and rural sectors, far beyond the urban social system that researchers of Mamluk history have exposed thus far. Hierarchical patronage is recognizable in the practice of interrogation and punishment; when a senior Cairo office-holder was imprisoned, interrogated, and underwent confiscation, all those who had connections with him suffered a similar fate. Thus, for example, when Ibn Hilāl al-Dawlah, who was al-Nashw's predecessor and rival, was imprisoned, all his clients *(alzāmuh)* were incarcerated with him.[17] Purges of this kind did not bring officials' careers to an end; rather they were given new positions in the system when the patronage connections changed in their favor. While this practice symbolizes the individual vulnerability of officials in the fiscal system vis-à-vis the government, at the same time it displays the durability of the patron-client structure that survived the reshuffle. The stability of the patronage system in the administration derived from the fact that it was part of a wider system of patronage that was the backbone of the Mamluk state's sociopolitical structure. It was connected to the dominant Mamluk amirs in several ways: many of the senior officials in the Mamluk administration had previously served in the Mamluk amirs' *dīwān*s. These officials attained their senior posts through the amirs' mediation, and so long as the latter's patronage was in place, they continued in these posts.[18] In return for patronage, the officials safeguarded the amirs' economic interests, which put another big slice of the state's resources into their pockets, above and beyond the part to which they were legally entitled. The rules of the game entailed, therefore, informal and covert patron-client exchange relationships between the officials and the amirs, which drew their stability from the assurance of mutual material benefits, and their being a long-term and widespread practice.

In a complaint he brought before the sultan (734/1334) about the amirs' evasion of taxes on trade and land, al-Nashw claimed that "they [the amirs Qawṣūn and Bashtāk] and their like had become accustomed to bribes from the sultan's officials amounting to half of the treasury's income. . . . If he [al-Nashw] was free [of their pressure] he would fill the sultan's treasury and grain stores, but he feared that they would change the sultan's attitude towards him."[19] The contemporary historian Mūsá ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Yūsufī (d. 759/1358) includes in al-Nashw's complaint details that show that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was well aware of the situation in the administration of the fiscal system but chose to ignore it, for it would not function otherwise. In the past, the amirs had exerted pressure on the sultan to dismiss any

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[17] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:370, 381, 383, 385.

[18] See for example: ibid., 244, 383.

[19] Al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 46; Mūsá ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyá al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir,* ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ (Beirut, 1987), 179, 187; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:369.

official who intended to lay hands on their property or meddle in their business interests. Karīm al-Dīn, who had been appointed *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* in 709/1310, was dismissed ″because of the jealousy of the amirs and others at his increased control over the sultan. . . .″ They simply informed al-Nāṣir that he had been using the sultan′s resources for his own interests.[20] Al-Akuz, *shādd al-dawāwīn,* was dismissed when he investigated Qawṣūn′s grain stores. Aydakīn, the prefect of Cairo, was dismissed when he tried to harm a merchant in Qawṣūn′s service. When Qawṣūn complained to al-Nāṣir about his open conflict with Aydakīn and how he had conspired with al-Nashw to entrap wine-drinking nighttime revelers among the amirs and mamluks and had then used the damning evidence to extort money for the treasury,[21] al-Nāṣir Muḥammad berated Qawṣūn in terms that revealed his weak position in his relationship with the amirs: ″Whenever I appoint someone useful to me, you want him removed. But if he had been on your side *[min jihatikum]* you would be singing his praises to me.″[22] Several months later (Jumādá I 735/April 1335), Aydakīn was dismissed from his post and sent to Syria ″because of Amir Qawṣūn′s changed attitude toward him″ *(li-taghayyur al-amīr Qawṣūn ʻalayh).*[23]

The amirs tried not to challenge al-Nāṣir′s authority directly when al-Nashw submitted his plans to levy land and trade taxes, but tried old and accepted tactics to ameliorate al-Nashw′s damage to their interests. Tankiz, the governor of Syria, for instance, advised the sultan to nominate Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Turkmānī, a trusted clerk in Tripoli, as inspector of the flow of income to the treasury alongside al-Nashw.[24] Tankiz′s purpose was to install his own trusted man in al-Nāṣir′s administration in much the same way as al-Nāṣir installed his trusted persons in the amirs′ *dawāwīn.* But when Ibn al-Turkmānī arrived in Cairo, he did not receive the post due to al-Nashw′s opposition.[25] On the other hand, al-Nashw introduced his two brothers, Mukhliṣ and Rizq Allāh, into Alnaq′s and Maliktamur al-Ḥijāzī′s *dīwān*s.[26] When al-Nashw levied taxes on all raw sugar produced in 732/1332, despite the tax exemption al-Nāṣir had granted the amirs on sugar production, Qawṣūn, one of the biggest sugar producers in Egypt, protested. Al-Nāṣir did not relent and resorted to solving the conflict on an individual

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[20] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:244, 247, 249.

[21] Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 306; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:398–99.

[22] Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 198; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:372.

[23] Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 231; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:377.

[24] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:381.

[25] Ibid., 383–84.

[26] Ibid., 369–70.

basis by compensating Qawṣūn personally.[27] This solution increased al-Nāṣir′s authority in his relations with the amirs; sources reveal that henceforth they stopped appealing to the sultan on tax issues and al-Nashw′s prestige rose.[28]

Relations between the sultan and the amirs reflected by this stage of the al-Nashw episode expose details on how clientage relationships worked and their problematic nature. Luigi Graziano has addressed the problematic nature of such relations, indicating that this is a structure whose very nature undermines the foundations of true authority.[29] Therefore, both parties need to generate power from a relationship of this kind, not through their formal positioning but through indirect means, such as manipulation and intimidation. In the patron-client balance between al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and his amirs, these elements can be identified in the pendulum movement that changes the advantage that each of the parties achieves through the informal means of waiving rights, individual compensation, and indirect and mutual supervision by the parties. On the other hand, the abrogation of the sultanic decree releasing the amirs from payment of taxes on agricultural produce and income from trade, together with real tax collection, constitutes a significant change in the patron-client relationship between the sultan and the amirs, for these actions destabilize the balance that existed in their relations by reducing the conjunctive elements and expanding the institutional basis that reinforces the sultan′s authority.

The relationship between the sultan and the amirs was further aggravated when al-Nashw started applying different rules by collecting damning evidence against the amirs themselves rather than their followers among the merchants and state clerks. The amirs′ objections subsequently swelled into a direct protest against al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, to the extent that they set aside their internal rivalries and confronted him as a united body. Aqbughā ʻAbd al-Wāḥid was accused of forging a seal bearing his and the sultan′s names in order to increase his profits from glass production, over and above the quota allowed by the sultanic decree. He feared for his life for ″he could not present a reasonable defense″ against the charge of administrative misdemeanors in his *iqṭāʻ*.[30] The *khāṣṣakīyah* (the sultan′s elite bodyguard), angered by the sultan′s attitude towards their colleague, sided with Aqbughā, and it was Bashtāk, one of al-Nāṣir′s most prominent amirs, who pleaded Aqbughā′s case and even paid the sum Aqbughā owed the treasury. One of Aqbughā′s officials responsible for public buildings admitted under interrogation that his

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[27]Ibid., 360–61.

[28]Ibid., 361; al-Shujāʼī, *Tārīkh,* 58–59.

[29]Luigi Graziano, ″A Conceptual Framework for the Study of Clientelistic Behavior,″ *European Journal of Political Research* 4 (1970): 341–54; Clifford, ″State Formation,″ 58.

[30]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:402; al-Shujāʼī, *Tārīkh,* 61; al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 316, 317.

master had constructed all his private buildings using the sultan′s money—he could not deny acts committed in the public eye.[31] Moreover, al-Nashw drew the sultan′s attention to five thousand head of sheep belonging to Aqbughā that had been brought from Upper Egypt to graze on sown lands. The sultan reprimanded him, and but for Bashtāk′s intervention would have had him punished.[32] Bashtāk himself was accused of letting a merchant use his name each year to avoid paying taxes on merchandise. The merchant was punished by having his goods confiscated by al-Nashw, despite Bashtāk′s defence.[33] In 737/1336, one of Qawṣūn′s officials was arrested and charged with stealing sugar and honey valued at 100,000 dirhams. Qawṣūn came to his aid and would not yield until he was released, arguing vigorously with the sultan that he would not give up to the treasury a property that was his own but had by chance been found in the possession of one of his officials. Al-Nāṣir relented and gave Qawṣūn the stolen property. Clearly, Qawṣūn intended to sound a warning that the amirs would not tolerate interference in their personal affairs, which the sultan seems to have heeded. When al-Nashw tried to incite him against another of Qawṣūn′s office-holders, al-Ṣafī, al-Nāṣir accepted the fact that al-Ṣafī owed the treasury taxes but allowed Qawṣūn to levy and keep them.[34] The sultan′s inspection of the *dīwān* of Qawṣūn, in spite of the fact that he did not confiscate the embezzled money, meant that these inspections were no longer confined to his *dīwān*s alone, but in principle to all hierarchies of the administration (see below on his attempt to interfere in the administration of a*wqāf,* pious endowments). It signaled a further one-sided change in the balance of the relationship between the sultan and the amirs.[35]

An attempt was made on al-Nashw′s life in Ramaḍān 737/April 1337. Although the assailant, ʻAbd al-Munʻim ibn ʻAbd al-Wahhāb al-Sulāmī, was not a mamluk, the sultan linked the amirs to the attempt and his fury abated only when he was assured that the injury had not put al-Nashw′s life in danger. To prevent further attempts on his life al-Nāṣir assigned him an around-the-clock bodyguard. The assassination attempt was an open challenge to al-Nāṣir′s authority and signaled an acceleration in the amirs′ tactics from private complaints and mediation to the use of violence, but not against the sultan.

In 738/1337–38, Egypt was stricken by a series of natural disasters. A severe hailstorm that hit the Gharbīyah district caused extensive damage to crops. In Manfalūṭ, a plague of mice destroyed both field crops and produce in storage. In

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[31]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:446, 455–56, 475. For another example see: 391.

[32]Ibid., 466.

[33]Ibid., 439.

[34]Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 370; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:419–20, 435.

[35]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:422.

Upper Egypt, in the Qūṣ, Aswān, and Uqṣur (Luxor) areas, storms caused the destruction of homes and severe damage to date plantations. That year the Nile flood was late, but when it finally came, it was sudden and intense, and inundated grain stores.[36] These disasters were additional blows to the population at large, especially to the commercial sector and those effected by al-Nāṣir′s fiscal policy and its tactics of confiscation and compulsory purchase. The merchants were the primary victims of this policy simply because their goods were easily accessible to the authorities in the customs stations along the roads and through the supervision of functionaries over market brokers. A more significant reason for the merchants′ vulnerability was that they did not form a united front with similar interests, but rather acted on an individual basis under the patronage of strong local leaders, like Mamluk amirs, as noted above. Thus, in 733/1332, al-Nashw forced wealthy merchants to purchase quantities of cloth from the government at a price three times higher than its actual value.[37] In 737/1336, bean brokers were forced to sell only to the sultan, which caused financial losses to waterwheel owners on the Nile, who fed their animals beans.[38] By 739/1338 al-Nashw had refined the compulsory purchase system further. First he levied a real tax on a large shipment of cloth from Ba'albek, then obliged the merchants to sell the cloth to the government at a price of his own choosing, and coerced Cairene cloth merchants to re-purchase the cloth at a price three times higher than its true value.[39] In other instances, al-Nashw forced merchants, often by violent means, to purchase wood, iron, beans, clover, and even obsolete military uniforms and second-hand shoes from the government.[40] The rank-and-file mamluks suffered from delays in payment of their salaries and distribution of clothes, soap, and fodder.[41] Al-Nāṣir could disregard complaints brought to him from the public by single mediators and even collective protests of market merchants and rank-and-file mamluks as long as they were not backed by the united action of a powerful group such as the amirs. Indeed, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad used the resources accumulated by al-Nashw to buy his amirs′ loyalty by showering special grants and presents on them and granting them huge *iqṭā'āt*. Al-Maqrīzī summarized this policy in retrospect as follows: ″Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad reached new heights with his munificence, generosity, benevolence, and open-handedness that exceeded all bounds″ *(ghāya takhruju 'an*

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[36]Ibid., 454, 455, 456.

[37]Ibid., 361; for other examples see: 369, 390.

[38]Ibid., 408.

[39]Ibid., 439.

[40]Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 128, 177, 350–53, 356–59, 372; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:360, 412, 413–14, 420, 435, 444, 469; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 9:116, 131.

[41]Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 356–57; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 52–53; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:414.

al-ḥadd).[42] This exchange policy could not satisfy the amirs, however, because it was unpredictable, relying on the patron′s monopoly on authority.

When al-Nashw submitted a plan[43] to the sultan in 740/1339 that would channel a million dinars to the treasury by means that threatened the sociopolitical structure of the state, the amirs organized an open and all-encompassing rebellion coordinated with the ulama. The first part of al-Nashw′s plan dealt with abrogation of the practice of government distribution of seed allotments *(taqāwī)* among the *fallāḥūn* in the *iqṭa‘* for the next year′s cultivation, prevalent in Egypt since the Ayyubid period. The collection of the seed allotments, permanently held *(mukhalladah)* in the *iqṭā‘āt* since the days of Baybars and Qalāwūn, was to bring to the sultan′s granaries one hundred and sixty thousand *irdabb*s[44] of grain in addition to that coming from the sultan′s lands.[45] Had this part of al-Nashw′s plan been implemented, in addition to al-Nashw′s activist tax-collecting policy, it would have created in one fell swoop the sultan′s uncontested monopoly over the grain supply in the country and destroyed the great grain brokers, the amirs among them.

It is worthy of note that in the *rawk* (land survey) conducted in Egypt by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 715/1315, he increased the sultan′s portion from tax revenue from four twenty-fourths to ten twenty-fourths of the Egyptian lands. He also revoked the *iqṭā‘āt* granted in the past to four hundred mamluks on the grain stores at al-Maqs port in Būlāq, and transferred the taxation rights on it to the sultan. This was an extremely large source of revenue. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad also converted the emerald mines *(al-zumurrud)* into a state monopoly.[46] Such monopolies might, in turn, create an unbalanced exchange relationship not only between the sultan and the amirs, but also between all sectors of the population.

In the second part of the plan, al-Nashw proposed a new distribution of the *al-rizaq al-aḥbasīyah* (revenues from pious endowments, *awqāf*). He claimed that part of the *awqāf* lands that had amounted to 130,000 feddans (a land measure of approximately one acre) was a fraud because the pious institutions for which they had been established (such as mosques, Sufi orders, and others) had ceased to exist, and their revenues were actually used for bribing amirs, governors (or

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[42]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:535; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 9:174, 211.

[43]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:475–76; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 59–60; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 9:131–32.

[44]A measure of capacity used during the Middle Ages for weighing grain which varied by time and place from ca. 70 kg. See E. Ashtor, ″Levantine Weights and Standard Parcels: A Contribution to the Metrology of the Later Middle Ages,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 45 (1982): 479–80.

[45]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 473, al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 59.

[46]Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt A.H. 564–741/A.D. 1169–1341* (London, 1972), 87–88; Shoshan, *Popular Culture,* 59.

judges), and rural clerics. Hence, *awqāf* lands of this kind should be transferred to the sultan's ownership. With regard to existing institutions, the revenues should be divided—half to the *waqf* and half to the sultan at a rate of 100 dirhams per feddan.

Al-Nashw's plan attests to the vast economic power that had accumulated in the hands of the ulama through the *waqf* in Egypt alone. There can be no doubt that, in addition to the significant increase in the sultan's ownership of land in the aftermath of the land survey of 715/1315, this plan was intended to make the sultan the largest landowner in the country by dispossessing the ulama of *awqāf* lands—the traditional source of their economic power by which they supported their clients and followers. In this context, it is worth noting that when the Coptic Church lost its economic assets to the government in 217/832 and again in 755/1354, it brought about mass conversion to Islam, because the Church also lost its status as a source of economic support for its faithful.[47] It is therefore no wonder that in the protest against al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, as we shall see, the two important sectors of the amirs and the religious scholars would join forces.

The third part of al-Nashw's plan touches upon the recipients of charity from the *waqf*s' money. Al-Nashw claimed that the majority of the lists of charity recipients were fabricated, and only a few people were entitled to be on them. He demanded scrutiny of the lists and their verification by the personal attendance of the recipient with his entitlement document in order to prevent office-holders from registering their wives, slaves, and servants as recipients. These bogus recipients clearly could not have been listed without the cooperation of the ulama who managed the *awqāf*.

The fourth part relates to the lands of the Nile island of Rawḍah. In the past, it had belonged to the sultans and had been divided between their sons. Over the years, the land was leased or sold to office-holders in Cairo for prices far below its real value. Now al-Nashw intended to restore the land to the sultan and collect a retroactive and appropriate rent for the years that had elapsed since it had passed into private hands.

Al-Nāṣir was adamant to implement the plan. When the plan went into force, "Upper and Lower Egypt erupted."[48] Acting in concert with the ulama, the amirs decided to exert pressure on al-Nāṣir and use all available tactics to bring about al-Nashw's dismissal and elimination. They united and sent the amirs Yalbughā al-Yaḥyawī and Maliktamur al-Ḥijāzī, who were al-Nāṣir's close associates, to

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[47]Ira M. Lapidus, "The Conversion of Egypt to Islam," *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972): 248–62. Donald P. Little, "Coptic Conversion to Islam under the Bahri Mamluks," in idem, *History and Historiography of the Mamlūks* (London, 1986), 552–69.

[48]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:475.

ask that al-Nashw stop harming the people and leave the amirs alone.[49] Anonymous letters warning al-Nāṣir of al-Nashw's extortion were found in the palace, implying that the sultan's security could be easily breached. Al-Nāṣir did not react immediately, but sent a message to Tankiz asking for his advice.[50] Prayers offered in the mosques included a curse on al-Nashw. It was no coincidence that office-holders, orphans, widows, and cripples—a cross-section of those who depended on charity stipends—gathered at the Citadel crying and demonstrating their misery on the very day Tankiz's reply arrived from Syria (26 Muḥarram 740/3 August 1339). Clearly, these protest actions were organized and coordinated by the amirs and the ulama. The amirs sent Yalbughā al-Yaḥyawī once again, not with an implicit threat but rather a warning of impending rebellion: "The best thing is to imprison al-Nashw, for if you do not imprison him an unbidden guest will come and visit you *[dakhala 'alayka al-dākhil],* for there is not a single mamluk who is not waiting for a moment's inattention on your part *[yataraqqabu ghaflah minka]*."[51] Because al-Nāṣir greatly trusted Yalbughā, he bowed to the amirs, and had al-Nashw imprisoned. But imprisonment was not enough to placate the amirs; they wanted his execution, for they feared that as long as he was still alive, the sultan would continue to avail himself of his advice. When the sultan refused to give in, the amirs began to alienate themselves from him and he from them.[52] The amirs organized the closure of the markets in Cairo and Fusṭāṭ, and demonstrations of the masses at the foot of the Citadel, carrying candles and Qurans and rejoicing at the imprisonment of al-Nashw and his relatives.[53] The turmoil surrounding al-Nashw was further kindled by an anonymous letter found in the sultan's bed accusing Bashtāk and Aqbughā 'Abd al-Wāḥid of wanting to murder him. When the person who had actually written the letter was found, one Ibn al-Azraq, he admitted that the accusation was a fabrication. That he was released unpunished indicates that he was sent by the amirs to unsettle the sultan. The pressure reached a point where "the sultan's fears increased and he became so agitated that he could not remain seated in one place."[54] In his extreme wariness of the amirs, al-Nāṣir ordered the closure of the professional archery equipment shops and had their target ranges dismantled. He forbade the amirs and their mamluks to carry weapons.[55]

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[49]Al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 60; Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, "Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab," Leiden University Library Ms. Or. 19B, fol. 8a.

[50]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:475–76, 479, 480; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 9:134, 135.

[51]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:477; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 9:133; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 60.

[52]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:483; al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 353; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 62.

[53]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:479.

[54]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:484–85.

[55]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 9:140–41; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 62.

Matters came to a head on 24 Rabīʿ I/19 September when at the council of the sultan and the amirs, *al-mashūrah,* al-Nāṣir accused the amirs of ingratitude towards him: ″O amirs! These are my mamluks whom I have nurtured and upon whom I have bestowed great gifts *[al-ʿaṭāʾ al-jazīl],* and yet I hear improper things about them.″[56] It is worthy of mention that al-Nāṣir′s reproach to his prominent amirs on this tense occasion reveals the model he perceived as the proper one for the relationship between a sultan and his amirs. Indeed, throughout his rule, he was generous with gifts as a means to gain support. The amirs could not build their status on such an unequally-balanced relationship. It is hardly surprising that they were not impressed by his reproach, and in a polite but nevertheless threatening way, the amirs expressed their unequivocal demand that al-Nashw be executed, even if it meant that the sultan would lose his throne: ″But our master the sultan knows that the caliphate was brought down by bureaucrats and that most of the sultans met their deaths because of the viziers″ *(wa-ghalib al-salāṭīn mā dakhala ʿalayhim al-dākhil illā min jihat al-wuzarāʾ).*[57] Here the amirs invoked the Mamluk tradition since its inception during Abbasid rule as a moral basis for their demands from the sultan.

Al-Nashw′s brother killed himself the same night while in detention and his mother died shortly afterwards under torture. That al-Nāṣir Muḥammad acted under pressure from the amirs is clear from the way Barsbughā, who was in charge of administering the torture, ensured that despite being tortured al-Nashw stayed alive. Al-Nāṣir secretly ordered Barsbughā to show al-Nashw mercy, ″for this situation was not of the sultan′s making but rather his desire to appease his mamluk amirs″ *(li-ajl khawāṭir mamālīkihi al-umarāʾ)*.[58] When this came to light, the amirs ″were agitated *[tashawwasha khawāṭiruhum]* and their relations with the sultan became greatly unsettled *[khabṭ kathīr]* because al-Nashw was kept alive.″ Only on 2 Rabīʿ II/27 September, when Bashtāk threatened Barsbughā and demanded that he change his methods, were al-Nashw and his relatives allowed to die. During al-Nashw′s interrogation and after his death, the amirs outdid themselves to show al-Nāṣir the vast property confiscated from al-Nashw and his relatives, in proof of their contention that he had been embezzling a fortune from the sultan′s treasury. Proving their point was a sort of a triumph over the sultan, implying that informal relationships and resources were part and parcel of the state sociopolitical structure.

The al-Nashw episode clearly illustrates what was previously known to us on the role of non-formal patronage relationships in organizing sociopolitical activities

[56] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:485; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 9:141.

[57] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:485; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 9:141–42; al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh,* 61.

[58] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:485–86; al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh,* 62–63.

in the urban community in the medieval Middle East. However, despite its failure, al-Nāṣir's ambitious attempt to employ the authority of formal institutions as a primary means for universally organizing sociopolitical relations clearly brings into relief the formal institutions of the Mamluk state, with the non-formal structures that existed within them and motivated their activities in practice. The scope of the reforms that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad intended to enforce in the state's economy raised to the surface details about all sectors of society and the mechanisms of interaction between them. We learn from these details that the non-formal patronage relationships that functioned under the auspices of formal institutions existed on a broad state-wide scale and not only in the urban centers of the Mamluk state, linking cities and villages into one sociopolitical system. This non-formal relationship crossed borders between sectors horizontally and vertically—between the ulama and the amirs and their subordinates—and created a covert cooperation to obtain state resources far beyond those allocated to them in the formal state distribution of resources.[59] Al-Nāṣir's plan of administrating his state "by the book" signified his wish to create a real and unlimited authority for the sultan and a monopoly over the sources of power in the state. Such a change in the macrostructure of the state could not have been inaugurated without an overt conflict with the functional groups in Egyptian society. However, the conflict surrounding al-Nashw, albeit critical, shows that all parties used mediation tactics,[60] such as personal intimidation and public protests, and avoided the use of violent force. Despite his large number of rank-and-file mamluks, al-Nāṣir did not mobilize his army, nor did he punish any of his prominent amirs for their embezzlements. The voice of the ulama was heard only indirectly through public prayers and celebration. The amirs were the most active in the mediation process; actually they were the coordinators of the event and when they used violence (against al-Nashw), it was not directed at changing the ruler but rather to resume the old order. The non-violent solution of such a large-scale crisis proves that in the Mamluk polity there were codes of crisis-management and a macrostructure of moral economy (based on both formal and informal principles) that guaranteed the state's survival against changes generated by social and political actions.

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[59]For this issue see Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (New York, 1994), 131–89; Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1984), 130–42.

[60]F. G. Baily, "Parapolitical Systems," in *Local Level Politics,* 281–94; Clifford, "State Formation," 33–35.

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The Politics of the Mamluk Sultanate: A Review Essay

In the simplest terms, politics is the struggle for power, and in that sense the Mamluk Sultanate was a truly Hobbesian world, in which the price of defeat was a loss not merely of status, influence, and wealth, but very often of life itself. However, we can think of politics more broadly, as the competition for resources (symbolic as well as material) within a society. On the most general level, politics may be defined as the whole body of practices and institutions (whether these are formally constituted or merely implicit and unspoken) through which a society distributes costs and benefits among its members. From that perspective Mamluk politics may seem altogether more rational and serious if hardly less bloody-minded. It is still a matter of power, but power exercised for a purpose. All this is a distinctly old-school way of defining politics, one grounded in the grand theory and model-building which characterized the social sciences in the 1960s and 1970s. Even so, there is ample room here for more current ways of thinking about the problem: symbolic action, cultural representation, the encoding of ideology in myth and ritual, linguistic analysis, not to mention post-colonialist self-reflexivity. We need only remember that symbols, myths, and rituals are not autonomous entities operating inside some separate universe; they reflect or embody real acts which have grave material consequences for real people.

Both in Western and Islamic literary traditions, politics forms the oldest and most highly developed subject of the historian´s craft. Moreover, the resources available to us for the study of Mamluk political history are unmatched for any other period of Islamic history down to the heyday of the Ottoman Empire. It is thus frustrating to have to admit that our knowledge of this field is at best a patchwork. We possess several outstanding works of scholarship, to be sure, and the massive bibliography on Mamluk studies produced by the University of Chicago´s Middle East Documentation Center continues to grow faster than anyone can read it. But what we do *not* have is even more striking.

First of all, there is no modern full-length account in a Western language of the whole Mamluk period, which I would argue stretches from 1238 (the death of the Ayyubid sultan al-Kāmil Muḥammad) down to 1524 (the definitive consolidation of Ottoman rule in Syria and Egypt). The nineteenth-century syntheses of Gustav Weil and (on a distinctly lesser and more derivative level) William Muir hardly rival the achievements of Mommsen, Ranke, Macauley, or Bury, which, however

antiquated, still have much to teach us.[1] In Arabic, there are of course a number of general histories, pitched at various levels of readership. Almost all of these have been produced by Egyptian scholars, and consequently have a very Egyptian (one might say Cairo-centric) view of things.[2]

In general, the large volume of Egyptian scholarship on the Mamluks suggests that this period constitutes a persistent and fundamental problem for Egyptian thinkers. Are the Mamluks an integral part of Egypt's historical identity and sense of nationhood, or are they rather (to borrow a phrase from H. A. R. Gibb) a "kernel of derangement"? The Mamluks were foreigners in language and geographical origin, but also the last great independent regime in Egypt before the nineteenth century. They defended Egypt from foreign threats, but they were tyrannical rulers. They were lavish patrons of religion, literature, architecture, and the fine arts, but they were themselves often semi-literate barbarians. Moreover, it is a much-debated question whether all this activity represents cultural efflorescence or stagnation. In modern Egyptian thought, in short, the Mamluks symbolize both power and decline. In view of this profound ambivalence, I would argue that twentieth-century Egyptian historiography on the Mamluk Sultanate merits a study in its own right, in the manner of Werner Ende's *Arabische Nation und islamische Geschichte*.[3]

Hardly less grave than the lack of a general synthesis is a shortage of monographs on the reigns of individual sultans—the kinds of political biographies that are still produced in droves, even in our post-modernist age, for every European monarch and U.S. president. There are in fact some very good studies in this category, but they cover only a few sultans—seven out of the sixty-one men (and one woman) who held that office. Not all of these people were on the throne long enough to merit a separate study, to be sure, but the disparity in numbers is nonetheless remarkable. The first four decades of Mamluk domination have in fact been studied fairly well, at least by the feeble standards of Islamic historical studies,

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[1]There are of course several solid and up-to-date chapters by various authors in *The Cambridge History of Egypt,* vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517,* ed. Carl Petry (Cambridge, 1998). We also have a good concise history of the first Mamluk century by Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: the Early Mamluk Sultanate, 1250–1382* (London, 1986). But the gap remains even so.

[2]Among many authors, the oeuvre of Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr might be the best place to start, both because of his own training under some of the best Egyptian scholars of the 1930s (e.g., Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Aḥmad Amīn), and because he himself had many students at the University of Cairo who went on to become leading historians in their own right.

[3]Werner Ende, *Arabische Nation und islamische Geschichte: Die Umayyaden im Urteil arabischer Autoren des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Beirut and Wiesbaden, 1979).

with solid monographs on Shajar al-Durr, al-Ẓāhir Baybars, and al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn.[4] On the other hand, it is hard to explain to colleagues in other fields that we have only one political biography for a figure so formidable as Baybars. For the fourteenth century, Amalia Levanoni has given us an extended interpretive essay on al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.[5] Finally, three key figures of the Circassian period have drawn serious attention: Barsbāy, Qāytbāy, and Qanṣūh al-Ghūrī.[6] Everyone would have a favorite candidate for the next such study; mine would be two periods of intense crisis. First, the virtual interregnum—or more precisely, the puppet sultanate—from the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (1341) to the seizure of power by Barqūq (1382), an era which comprises both a breakdown of the established political system and the onset of the Black Death. Second, the disastrous reign of al-Nāṣir Faraj (1399–1412), marked by pestilence, currency collapse, constant internecine conflict, and the invasion of Syria by Timur, calls out for sustained attention. Taken together, these two periods represent the hollowing out of the Mamluk monarchy under the later Qalāwūnids and then a bitter struggle (finally successful under al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh) to re-establish royal autocracy. Edward Gibbon famously remarked that history is largely a record of the crimes and follies of mankind; between 1341 and 1412 there is a lot of history.

A research agenda of this sort raises an important general question: does the reign of an individual sultan constitute a meaningful and useful unit of political analysis? Undoubtedly it is a decidedly old-fashioned way of approaching the subject, but that fact does not invalidate political biography. First, the Mamluk Sultanate was in principle, and often in fact, an autocracy; the whole political system was focused on the person of the sultan. If he was as often the captive of his amirs and mamluks as their master, so it is with all autocrats. The way in which a sultan could manipulate, or was manipulated by, the other players in the game tells us a great deal about the internal workings of the Mamluk political system. Second, every sultan had to struggle to secure his throne, whether or not he had a hereditary claim to it. For this reason, a sultan's reign does not represent

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[4]Götz Schregle, *Die Sultanin von Ägypten: Šağarat al-Durr in der arabischen Geschichtsschreibung und Literatur* (Wiesbaden, 1961). Peter Thorau, *Sultan Baibars I. Von Ägypten: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Vorderen Orients im 13. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1987); trans. P. M. Holt, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century* (London and New York, 1987). Linda Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689 A.H./1279–1290 A.D.)* (Stuttgart, 1998).

[5]Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning-Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, 1310–1341* (Leiden, 1995).

[6]Ahmad Darrag, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay, 825–841/1422–1438* (Damascus, 1961). Carl F. Petry, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamluk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qanṣūh al-Ghūrī in Egypt* (Seattle, 1993).

an arbitrary chunk of time cut out of a continuum of stable successions to the throne. On the contrary, a reign embodies a real political moment, in that it faithfully mirrors the stress lines and balance of forces at that moment. The exception might be a period already mentioned: the Qalāwūnids after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, 1341–82, where only two sultans, al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (1347–51, 1354–61) and al-Ashraf Sha'bān (1363–77), clung to the throne for any length of time, and neither was able to assert control over the political system.

After a dreary account of opportunities missed and obvious subjects ignored, it is a relief to turn to the formal institutions which provided the enduring framework of Mamluk rule—the army, the *iqṭā',* the civil bureaucracy, and the religious establishment, along with the fiscal and charitable *(waqf)* resources which made the whole thing possible. In this arena we have a great deal. Here I need not refer to work published before 1990, some of it of genuinely classic stature, since I have reviewed it in *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry*.[7] But even with all that has been done there are major gaps, along with a curious lack of integration. We are pretty well off if we want to know the names of specific taxes, how they were assessed and allocated, the distribution of *iqṭā'*s in fourteenth-century Egypt, the general organization of the royal mamluk corps in the army, who the bureaucrats were in fifteenth-century Egypt and how they were recruited.[8] It is true that of the administrative structures and personnel of Syria we know far less, indeed almost nothing. (This will be an oft-repeated *Leitmotif* in this article.) In spite of this generally positive assessment, if we want to pick up a single book that will tell us how the Mamluk state worked and how it imposed its will on its subjects, then we will have a hard time of it. Even on the core institution of the regime, there is no single study entitled ″The Mamluk Army″ that brings together the whole thing—the several mamluk corps, the *ḥalqah,* auxiliary forces, the command structure, etc.—or tells how this complex military system changed over the 267 years of Mamluk history.[9]

Apart from a lack of integrated syntheses on the state, the army, and the fiscal

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[7]R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry,* rev. ed. (Princeton, 1991), Ch. 7, ″The Fiscal Administration of the Mamluk Empire.″

[8]To the studies reviewed in *Islamic History,* Ch. 7, at least two major titles should be added: Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqṭa's and Fallāḥūn* (Leiden, 1997); and Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l′administration dans l′état militaire mamluk (IXe/XVe siècle)* (Damascus, 1991).

[9]The great student of the Mamluk army was of course the late David Ayalon, whose voluminous writings continue to demand close study. On the other hand, Ayalon was such a dominating figure that few other scholars ventured into this critically important field. For the current state of the field during the last decades of Mamluk rule, see Carl F. Petry, ″The Military Institution and Innovation in the Late Mamluk Period,″ in *Cambridge History of Egypt,* 1:462–89.

administration, there are vast gaps in the literature. Most critically, far more has been written about Egypt than about Syria, even though Syria was an integral and very distinctive part of the empire, and even though Mamluk Syria is exceptionally well documented by the standards of medieval Islamic history. (We will return to this point further on.) A second gap is, to put it baldly, the fourteenth century. The fifteenth century has received far more lavish attention, even though we might suppose that this latter period would make little sense without a real understanding of the earlier one. For Mamluk institutions, in short, we have a vast jigsaw puzzle, where a few scattered sections have been assembled and thousands of pieces (though many are missing) are strewn on the worktable. The sort of work needed to put all this together is far from what the current Zeitgeist regards as cutting-edge, but until it is done any effort to pursue more innovative ways of decoding the Mamluk state will only be word games with (at most) a certain heuristic value.

If the study of political actors and administrative institutions reflects a nineteenth-century frame of mind, then social history as now practiced has its roots in the social sciences of the 1950s to 1970s. Certainly that is true for the field of Mamluk studies, where Ira Lapidus′ *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* still provides the dominant paradigm.[10] By now Lapidus′ work has been subjected to a fair amount of criticism—not least of all by Lapidus himself—for its overly rigid adherence to the functionalist sociology of Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils. It must be said, however, that his work was an astonishingly effective synthesis for its time, and it continues to provide a useful point of departure for analyzing the interactions between local and imperial power.

Garcin′s great study of Qūṣ might point us in a different direction—viz., a narrowly focused study of a single locality that takes our eyes off Cairo, and allows us to ask just what made this place different from that one.[11] It perhaps reflects the realities of our field that Garcin′s *magnum opus* is now almost thirty years old and has had only one real successor, Anne-Marie Eddé, *La principauté ayyoubide d′Alep.*[12] The chronological scopes of the two works are very different, of course, since Garcin covers the whole medieval period down to the end of Mamluk rule, while Eddé′s equally monumental tome deals only with eight decades. Moreover, Eddé exploits a far richer fund of resources (including the city of Aleppo itself) than Garcin had at his disposal for the remote reaches of Upper Egypt. Finally, they reflect quite distinct concepts of historical method and presentation, with Garcin generating broad conceptual structures in order to make sense of his sparse materials, and Eddé sticking close to her carefully sifted and

[10]Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1967; reprinted without notes, Cambridge and New York, 1984).

[11]Jean-Claude Garcin, *Un centre musulman de la Haute-Égypte médiévale: Qūṣ* (Cairo, 1976).

[12]Anne-Marie Eddé, *La principauté ayyoubide d′Alep (579/1183–658/1260)* (Stuttgart, 1999).

meticulously presented evidence. Still, both suggest how much can be learned from a detailed regional study, where the grid is sufficiently fine to allow us to capture the detail and specificity of local realities. Obviously other places demand attention of this kind: certainly Damascus and the other major towns in the interior of Syria, but also Egypt's Mediterranean ports, Damietta and Alexandria, and perhaps, if the sources permit, Asyūṭ or Minya in Middle Egypt.

Certainly the most traditional area of historical study, yet even now one of the most revealing, is that of the relations between the Mamluk Sultanate and the outside world. The Mamluk Sultanate sought out and found many allies—the Golden Horde, the Kingdom of Aragon, even Byzantium; even so, it regarded itself—quite correctly—as perpetually threatened by the enemies that surrounded it. The Mamluks, with their powerful albeit unruly army, their famously durable and stable borders, and their self-consciously conservative ideology, became the very model of a fortress state.[13] As such they were also the antithesis of their expansion-minded Mongol and post-Mongol neighbors to the east and (after the consolidation of Ottoman power under Mehmet II) north.

Research on this subject area has benefited from the survival of a good deal of direct documentary evidence, for the most part in European archives (Barcelona, Florence, Venice, and even the Vatican), in Arabic as well as in European languages. Though there is a vast amount still to do, this material has attracted the attention of estimable scholars since the nineteenth century. Among recent publications, those of Peter M. Holt on Mamluk-Crusader relations stand out.[14] As things now stand, we have a number of solid studies on the late thirteenth century, as well as for the last decades of Mamluk rule—both periods of sustained conflict and crisis for the Mamluk regime.[15] Even for these two periods, of course, no one could say that all the key issues have been settled. But for the intervening two centuries the

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[13]These points are more fully explored in my "Ayyubids, Mamluks, and the Latin East in the Thirteenth Century," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 1–17.

[14]E.g., Peter M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalawun with Christian Rulers* (Leiden, 1995).

[15]It is impossible to review the enormous literature on the late thirteenth-century Crusades here. On the struggle against the Mongols down to 1281, see Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260–1281* (Cambridge, 1995), and of course Thorau, *Lion of Egypt*. (The three decades down to the last Mongol incursion in 1309 still await detailed study.) On the late fifteenth century—a period in which three very different threats (Shah Ismā'īl and the Safavids, the Ottomans, and the Portuguese in the Red Sea) suddenly burst onto the scene—see Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, NY, 1994). The later chapters of John E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire* (first ed., Minneapolis, 1976; revised ed., Salt Lake City, 1999) are highly important for this subject. On the first Ottoman-Mamluk confrontation, see Shai Har-El, *Struggle for Domination in the Middle East: The Ottoman-Mamluk War, 1485–1491* (Leiden, 1995).

publications are extremely spotty and tend to be oriented toward particular crises (e.g., the sacking of Alexandria in 1365, the Cyprus expeditions of al-Ashraf Barsbāy, and the invasion of Timur), with little effort to place these crises within a framework of long-term problems and policies. Perhaps Setton′s astonishingly old-fashioned and yet deeply impressive *Papacy and the Levant* gives us the nearest thing we have to a general interpretation—though of course Setton knew no Arabic and made no serious effort to include Mamluk views and understandings.[16]

With this brief review of existing categories of research on the Mamluk Empire, I would like to turn to some possible new directions. Here I have four particularly in mind.

First, I mention yet again an old enthusiasm of my own, Mamluk Syria. For this period, Syria is typically treated either as *une Égypte manquée* or as merely a turbulent frontier zone, important chiefly for the battles against invaders or revolts against the sultans which occurred there. But it is clear enough that Syria has its own social traditions and structures (a point made quite clearly by Lapidus in *Muslim Cities in Later Middle Ages,* where he posits Damascus and Aleppo as the normative cases of urban society, while Cairo is described as socially amorphous due to domination by the palace and military elite). It is likewise apparent, though no one has ever tried to explore the issue systematically, that the Mamluk armies in Syria were not mirror images of the Egyptian army. On the contrary, apart from a few royal Mamluk contingents sent out from Cairo for garrison duty in the major towns, Syrian forces seem to exhibit distinctive recruitment patterns and systems of pay, as well as an officer corps whose origins and career paths were not at all like those of their Egyptian counterparts. The Syrian fiscal system was unquestionably a world of its own—a point which should be intuitively obvious given the stark absence of the Nile. Finally, we can witness a continuing vitality of religious and intellectual life in Damascus down to the late fourteenth century. Though many Syrian scholars, as Carl Petry has demonstrated,[17] moved to Cairo to make their careers there, names like Ibn Taymīyah, al-Jazarī, al-Dhahabī, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, al-Ṣafadī, and Ibn Kathīr are enough to demonstrate the international stature that Damascus retained throughout the first century of Mamluk rule.

As a second priority, I would argue that we need to develop studies that focus on specific and carefully delimited groups, locales, etc., rather than broad and often quite general categories. For example, everyone talks about the crucial role of the Mamluk household. True enough, but who has tried to reconstruct such a household? (Actually, Jane Hathaway has done precisely this for the Qazdaghli

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[16]Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant,* 5 vols. (Philadelphia, 1976–84). (Only vols. 1–2 are directly relevant to this article.)

[17]Carl. F. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1981).

faction in eighteenth-century Egypt. For the ″classic″ Mamluk period, however, there is nothing of the kind.)[18] For a few amirs, at least, we should be able to extract enough material from the biographical compilations of al-Ṣafadī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, al-Sakhāwī, and many others to develop at least a detailed sketch of the households and factions that they recruited and maintained. For the Mamluk period above all others, we should expect prosopography to be one of our most widely utilized approaches. It is not merely a matter of lending individuality and nuance to dry abstractions; well-designed microstudies of this sort commonly lead to new understandings even of broad social and political processes in very fundamental ways.

A third area of emphasis would aim at identifying the structures and long-term continuities that underlie the ebb and flow of events. In particular, far more needs to be done on what we might call the Mamluk-Ottoman continuum. The bulk of scholarship on the transition from Mamluk to Ottoman rule has tended to focus on the changes brought about by the Ottoman conquest. This frame of mind is nicely captured in Peter M. Holt′s pioneering synthesis on Ottoman rule in Arab lands, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, 1516–1922,* and it continues in more narrowly focused monographs like Doris Behrens-Abouseif′s *Egypt′s Adjustment to Ottoman Rule.*[19] It is undeniable that the violent shock of 1516–17 and the years immediately following brought massive and abrupt changes in many sectors of Egyptian and (so we suppose) Syrian life, and Egypt′s abrupt fall from imperial metropolis to subject province had a profound impact on that country on many levels. Even so, much could be gained by a simple exercise in reperiodization: instead of working within the traditional Cairo-centered parameters of 1382–1516, 1517–1700, and 1700–98, we might try defining two broader periods, the first beginning around 1450 and going down to roughly 1600, the second bracketing the two centuries from 1600 to 1800. At first glance, this revised periodization seems to privilege the Ottoman Empire, since it marks the ″classical″ era from the ascension of Mehmet II to the political and fiscal crisis after the death of Kanuni Suleyman,

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[18]Jane Hathaway, *The Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt: The Rise of the Qazdaghlis* (Cambridge, 1996).

[19]P. M. Holt, *Egypt and the Fertile Crescent, 1516–1922: A Political History* (Ithaca, NY, 1967). In Arabic, see Abdul Karim Rafeq, *Bilād al-Shām wa-Miṣr min al-Fatḥ al-ʻUthmānī ilá Ḥamlat Nābūliyūn Būnabart,* 2nd ed. (Damascus, 1968). Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt′s Adjustment to Ottoman Rule: Institutions, Waqf, and Architecture in Cairo, 16th and 17th Centuries* (Leiden, 1994). There is not a great deal on early Ottoman Egypt or Syria; the eighteenth century has attracted far more attention. For Syria, see Muhammad Adnan Bakhit, *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the Sixteenth Century* (Beirut, 1982); and (very tightly focused) Amnon Cohen and Bernard Lewis, *Population and Revenue in the Towns of Palestine in the Sixteenth Century* (Princeton, 1978), and A. Cohen, *Economic Life in Ottoman Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1989).

and then the era of ″decline″ down to the deposition of Selim III in 1807. But in fact it represents a far more inclusive and comparative approach. The first segment (1450–1600) covers several broad trends within the political order of the Mediterranean Basin and the Middle East: (1) the expansion and consolidation of the Ottoman state; (2) the last efflorescence and rapid dissolution both of the Mamluk Sultanate and of a post-Mongol political order in Iran and Mesopotamia that reached back to the mid-fourteenth century; (3) the transformation of the Safavids from a chiliastic movement based on the Turkoman tribes of eastern Anatolia and Azerbaijan to a relatively centralized Iranian empire; (4) in a remarkable synchrony with the Ottomans, the rise of a worldwide Spanish (one might better say Castilian) empire. This redefining of the historical process within which the later Mamluk Sultanate endured and then succumbed should encourage scholars to trace as precisely as possible the continuities and changes in every aspect of life in Egypt and Syria—military and administrative institutions, the recruitment of elites, the character and role of local leadership, agriculture and pastoralism, commerce and manufacturing, etc. The point, in a nutshell, is that Ottomanists must become Mamlukists. Any scholar who wants to take the sixteenth century seriously must also take the fifteenth century seriously. The earthquake of 1516–17 did not leave a *tabula rasa* for the new masters of the old Mamluk realm.

The second segment (1600–1800) takes us beyond the chronological limits of this paper. However, we ought to note that it too is a highly useful way of grouping together long-term trends across a broad area: (1) the ″restructuring″ (to choose a neutral term) of the Spanish and Ottoman Empires; (2) the apogee of Safavid power in Iran (down to 1666) and then that country′s descent into a time of troubles; (3) the emergence of the Dutch, French, and English as the major European actors in the Mediterranean and Indian Ocean. For Mamluk specialists, of course, these two centuries have a particular interest because they witnessed the emergence, and ultimately the political domination, of a neo-Mamluk order in Egypt. The neo-Mamluk system of Ottoman Egypt is certainly not a simple revival of the classical (though ever-changing) Mamluk order of 1250–1517, but it is quite unintelligible without it.

This leads us to the fourth area in which I hope to encourage research: the place of the Mamluk Sultanate within the whole *dār al-islām:* Africa, the western Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean basin, Iraq-Iran and the Turco-Mongol world generally (which in this period of course includes much of North India). As much as the Mamluk elite itself might have wished it, their empire was not walled off from the outside world, and indeed every aspect of Mamluk life and politics was inextricably tied to that world. At first glance, at least, the lack of studies aimed at situating the Mamluks within their broader environment is not only regrettable but rather puzzling. That is all the more so because we now have many of the elements

of a general framework for such comparative and trans-regional research. The Mediterranean world has of course been very widely studied for more than a century by a cohort of outstanding scholars, and though the Mamluks are ordinarily marginalized in this work (usually being portrayed merely as the conduit for the spices of Asia), we nevertheless know a great deal about their interactions with that region. There is also a good deal of work on the Indian Ocean, though most of this refers to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, a richly documented and remarkably detailed general synthesis is now available in the three volumes of André Wink, *Al-Hind: the Making of the Indo-Islamic World,* which take us to the end of the fifteenth century. (Two further volumes are projected, which will reach the mid-eighteenth century.)[20] It is true that the Mamluks never attempted to project power beyond the Red Sea, but of course their international commerce, which was a critical part of their revenues, was generated from within this world, and Mamluk merchants were an integral part of it.

When we turn to Africa, we find markedly less to work with. Even North Africa is mostly neglected by Mamluk specialists, in spite of the important commercial and religious connections stretching from al-Andalus to Cairo and beyond, and in spite of the considerable number of North African expatriates (Ibn Khaldūn was not alone) who took up residence in Egypt. Of Saharan and Sub-Saharan Africa—an important zone of Islamic commercial, religious, and cultural expansion—we know far less than we should; there has been good work on Nubia and the western Sahel, but apart from the exceptional case of Musa Mansa there has been little effort to connect it with Egypt. On the east, we still find a sort of Chinese wall between the Mamluk and Turco-Iranian worlds, running southward from the middle Euphrates through the Syrian Desert. The failure of Mamluk specialists to include Iraq and Iran within their purview is partly a matter of language, since that requires a thorough command not only of Mamluk Arabic with all its oddities, but also of the formidable rhetoric of Timurid Persian, and various sorts of Turkish. For the most part, however, it is a matter of *taqlīd,* of just sticking to the topics and approaches laid down by our academic ancestors.

I would be the first to admit that the areas I have suggested for research do not include some important current approaches to historical analysis—e.g., those that focus on issues like gender, discourse analysis, or the construction of communal identity. I certainly do not decry the value of such work or doubt the possibilities of doing it successfully. Women, to give an obvious example, are far more visible in Mamluk-period sources than in those from earlier periods, and gender historians should therefore find much with which to work. But lacking as we do a well-

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[20]André Wink, *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World,* 3 vols. (in progress) (Leiden, 1991–2004).

developed scholarly literature in so many traditional core subjects—those that constitute the who, what, where, when, and how of Mamluk history—the discussion of these innovative topics and approaches will inevitably rest on frail foundations. In any case, I hope that theory-driven investigation will add to our perspectives on Mamluk history, and not displace the sort of work-still-undone that I have discussed above. I say this knowing that historians are anarchists at heart and prefer not to work according to the agendas and dictates that anyone else may lay down.

I have so far spoken as if scholarship on the Mamluk Sultanate were a world unto itself, as if we could pursue it without reference to the larger structures of contemporary academic life within which we must work. But of course that is the opposite of reality. Like our colleagues in every other field of historical research, we face very serious constraints on our capacity to conduct research, and far more importantly, on our capacity to publish it in appropriate and accessible forms. In the United States, at least, the day of the specialist-audience research monograph is rapidly coming to an end. University presses have lost their subsidies, and university libraries, also facing sharply reduced acquisitions budgets and escalating prices, can no longer afford to purchase the books that the presses publish. No acquisitions editor can contemplate (if she means to keep her job) the prospects of a monograph, however brilliant, that will sell only 500 copies. Given the size of the Mamluk studies field (and even of Islamic history more generally), 500 copies might well seem quite an ambitious target.

Especially for our more intricate scholarly projects, therefore, we need to explore actively the possibilities presented by emerging technologies such as on-line publication. Technically this is perfectly possible, as it offers many advantages for revision and updating, and on-line materials can easily be converted into CD-ROMs or (my preference) the more stable and flexible printed volume. The real issues are the same as those that bedevil the presses: gatekeeping and quality control, editorial oversight, copyright, and distribution. Whatever research we conduct, however probing our analyses, it will all come to nothing until we have decided how to share what we have learned.

Book Reviews

Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī, *Rasā'il al-Maqrīzī*, edited by Ramaḍān al-Badrī and Aḥmad Muṣṭafá Qāsim (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1998). Pp. 365.

Reviewed by Li Guo, University of Notre Dame

This collection contains eleven of al-Maqrīzī's treatises that cover a wide range of subjects, reflecting the author's encyclopedic scope. The texts can be roughly categorized as follows:

1. History: Two famous polemical treatises, one on the Ummayads, the Hashimites, and the early Islamic caliphate ("Al-Tanāzu' wa-al-Takhāṣum fīmā bayna Banī Umayyah wa-Banī Hāshim"), and another on the legitimacy of the Fatimids ("Ma'rifat Mā Yajibu li-Āl al-Bayt al-Nabawī min al-Ḥaqq 'alá Man 'Adāhum");
2. Theology: Several treatises on the principle of the unity of God ("Tajrīd al-Tawḥīd al-Mufīd"), the *dhikr* ("Ḥirṣ al-Nufūs al-Fāḍilah 'alá Baqā' al-Dhikr"), and the *tafsīr* of the Quranic phrase *tawaffanī musliman* ("Ḥuṣūl al-In'ām wa-al-Mayr fī Su'āl Khātimat al-Khayr");
3. Numismatics: One treatise ("Al-Nuqūd al-Qadīmah al-Islāmīyah");
4. Geography and ethnography: Two treatises, on the bedouin tribes in Egypt ("Al-Bayān wa-al-I'rāb 'an Man fī Arḍ Miṣr min Qabā'il al-A'rāb"), and the Muslim dynasties in Abyssinia ("Al-Ilmām bi-Akhbār Man bi-Arḍ al-Ḥabashah min Mulūk al-Islām");

(5) Mineralogy: One treatise ("Al-Maqāṣid al-Sanīyah fī Ma'rifat al-Ajsām al-Ma'dinīyah");
(6) Miscellanies:These include a short treatise on the metaphorical use of references to water ("Al-Ishārah wa-al-Īmā' ilá Ḥall Lughz al-Mā'"), and a lengthy encyclopedic piece on the merits of bees from lexicographical, historical, and cultural perspectives ("Naḥl 'Ibar al-Naḥl").

The edition is based on a microfilm reproduction of the Paris manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale, arabe 4657. In the introduction, the editors provide a short sketch of al-Maqrīzī's life and work and a brief description of the manuscript as well as the contents of the eleven treatises edited here. Indexes include the Quranic verses, hadith, personal and tribal names, place names, weights and measures, and names of coins.

For the reader of this journal, particularly interesting might be the introduction,

where one finds a confused, and confusing, assessment of al-Maqrīzī′s work by the editors. Factual errors aside (the collection, the editors claim, contains fourteen treatises, while eleven is the correct number), one is baffled by the apparent discrepancy in that al-Maqrīzī is criticized in one place, but receives raves in another. Al-Maqrīzī, according to the information given on page 5, ″knew very little″ *(qalīl al-ma'rifah)* about pre-Islamic history, and was equally ″incompetent″ *(ghayr māhir fī)* in dealing with the early Islamic era. He might know a thing or two *(la-hu ma'rifah qalīlah)* about jurisprudence *(al-fiqh),* hadith, and grammar, but nothing truly outstanding. Far worse, his handling of sources suffered from serious flaws ranging from ″distortion″ *(al-taḥrīf)* to ″deliberate omission″ *(al-saqṭ)*. Even with all the good qualities al-Maqrīzī might have as a person, such as being ″virtuous″ *(ḥasan al-khulq),* ″ambitious″ *('ālī al-himmah),* and, most importantly, ″fond of history″ *(mūla' bi-al-tārīkh),* this lukewarm praise, coming from the editors, is still quite curious since the editors are the ones who carry the burden of justifying the effort put into editing these works. If al-Maqrīzī was indeed so bad, why bother? As if having sensed this line of questioning, a 180-degree turn occurs on page 7, where al-Maqrīzī is spoken of in glowing terms: the lousy, amateurish ″history buff″ turns, at the end of the day, to be nothing less than a ″great scholar″ *('ālim jalīl),* a ″fine historian,″ and so forth. Now one is confused. Which image should one trust? The problem here, to be honest, is not whether al-Maqrīzī should be scrutinized critically (he should, just like anyone else), but rather whether this discourse should be taken seriously. The apparent illogical and odd dichotomy discussed above causes one to suspect that the editors may have simply quoted verbatim, on page 5, from one medieval author, who happened to be al-Maqrīzī′s rival (perhaps al-'Aynī or Ibn Taghrībirdī?), and, on page 7, from another, who was perhaps an admirer. Not a good way to go.

ISMĀ'ĪL MUḤAMMAD ḤUSĀM AL-DĪN, *Al-Uṣūl al-Mamlūkīyah lil-'Amā'ir al-'Uthmānīyah* (Alexandria: Dār al-Wafā' li-Dunyā al-Ṭibā'ah wa-al-Nashr, [2002]). Pp. 238.

REVIEWED BY HOWAYDA AL-HARITHY, American University of Beirut

This book is a collection of essays that have been published in different venues between 1987 and 1999. The author organized the eight articles in the following manner: ″Some Remarks on the Relationship between the Processions and the Location of Monumental Buildings on the Streets of Cairo,″ ″The Naming of Places during the Mamluk Period,″ ″The Administration of the *Awqāf* during the

Mamluk Period," "The Ottoman Use of Residential and Commercial Mamluk Buildings based on the *Waqf* Documents," "Four Mamluk Houses from Ottoman Documents," "The *Wakālah* of al-Sulṭān al-Mu'ayyad Known as the *Wakālah* of 'Awdah Pāshā," "The Buildings of Sulṭān Qāytbāy in Sūq al-Ghanam based on Ottoman Documents," and "The *Sabīl* of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Katkhūdā in the Nahhāsīn: A New Study Based on Some Mamluk Documents." The author states that the articles address two issues: the distribution of important edifices in the city of Cairo, and the origins of some Ottoman buildings traced through Mamluk documents.

While there is no single thread that runs through the articles presented, they share a methodological link. The link that ties the whole work together is the use of *waqf* documents, cross-referencing these with historical accounts, such as those of al-Maqrīzī, and illustrating urban transformation in the Fatimid city during the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. Accordingly, the articles can be divided into two groups. The first four articles address urban issues by extracting evidence from the *waqf* documents available from the Mamluk period. The second group of four articles publishes extracts from the *waqf* documents that pertain to a single building or a group of buildings.

The focus of the first group of four articles is as follows: the first article discusses the different processions that took place in the city of Cairo, identifies their routes, and concludes by demonstrating the close relationship between the processions and the location of major edifices along the processional routes during the Mamluk era.

The second article looks into the names assigned to various places in Cairo. It addresses first the terminology used by Mamluk historians, primarily al-Maqrīzī, and in the *waqf* documents, and makes the distinction between terms such as *khaṭṭ, ḥārah, 'aṭfah,* and *zuqāq*. The author then identifies and traces the names of eight *khaṭṭ*s in Mamluk Cairo.

The third article addresses two questions: the process of transferring property in Cairo into the hands of the Mamluks for the purposes of rebuilding or endowing, and the management of *waqf*s by Mamluk sultans and amirs. The study focuses its investigation on the area of Khān al-Khalīlī and demonstrates by examples extracted from *waqf* documents how the Mamluks confiscated *waqf* properties on the basis of alleged legal violations, which they then legalized as their own.

The fourth article traces through the *waqf* documents the appropriation of Mamluk buildings and the transformation of their use during the Ottoman period, with special attention to private and commercial residential buildings.

The second group of four articles relies less on analysis and more on quotation of excerpts from the *waqf* documents that pertain to a single building or a group of buildings. The first sheds light on four Mamluk residences in the area of

al-Ḍarb al-Aḥmar through excerpts from Ottoman *waqf* documents. The second focuses on a single building, the *wakālah* of al-Sulṭān al-Mu'ayyad, and traces its development through four Mamluk and Ottoman *waqf* documents. The third relies on one Ottoman *waqf* document to extract information pertaining to a group of buildings of Sultan Qāytbāy in the area of Sūq al-Ghanam. The last traces through Mamluk *waqf* documents the history of the *sabīl* of ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhūdā to the Qaysarīyah of Sultan Qalāwūn from the seventh/thirteenth century, which was rebuilt by Sultan Barsbāy in the ninth/fifteenth century before its rebuilding in the twelfth/eighteenth century by ʻAbd al-Raḥman Katkhūdā.

Collectively the articles demonstrate the author′s knowledge of the historic city of Cairo, of the primary sources, and of the *waqf* documents, both Mamluk and Ottoman. With such extensive knowledge, he is able to trace buildings′ development and transformations through time from Fatimid origins to Mamluk and Ottoman times. There is no doubt that the material provided by the book is a valuable source for further work by researchers in the field.

NUʻMĀN MAḤMŪD JUBRĀN AND MUḤAMMAD ḤASAN AL-ʻIMĀDĪ, *Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh al-Ayyūbīyīn wa-al-Mamālīk* (Irbid, Jordan: Mu'assasat Ḥamādah lil-Khadamāt wa-al-Dirāsāt al-Jāmiʻīyah, 2000). Pp. 399.

REVIEWED BY LI GUO, University of Notre Dame

Despite its rather vague title, *Studies in the History of the Ayyubids and Mamluks,* the book under review weaves its narrative around one focal point: the Muslim holy war against the Crusades and the Mongols under the leadership of the Ayyubid and early Mamluk sultanates and its political, historical, and social impact on the Islamic Near East, especially Bilād al-Shām and Egypt, in the eleventh–thirteenth centuries. The authors′ thesis is a simple and elegant one: it is true that the ″foreign aggressions″ against the Islamic realm were motivated by religious, political, military, ideological, and economic factors, but they were also aggravated by internal conflicts within the Muslim front, as a result of the decay of the weakened and decentralized Abbasid caliphate and endless civil wars among various domestic factors. Still worse is what the authors call ″the dissolution of the Muslim front″ *(al-tashattut al-islāmī)* (p. 7), in that some of the Muslim rulers would, for their own gain, make peace, or even forge alliances, with the ″infidel″ enemies at the cost of Muslim lands and lives. The unity of the Muslim world *(al-waḥdah al-islāmīyah),* or the lack thereof, thus constitutes a pivotal test in passing historical

judgment on the political leaders of the Muslim communities at the time. The book thus sets out to explore the way in which some of these leaders succeeded in their efforts to mobilize the Muslim forces and unify the Muslim front through shrewd political strategizing and military maneuvering, while others, and there were many, failed. The result is a chronicle of the political and military events of the era, with special focus on the careers and reigns of three heroic figures, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (Saladin), Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars, and Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn.

The core of the book consists of four chapters that follow a straightforward chronological order: Chapter One, ″The Ayyubid State until the Death of Saladin″ (pp. 39–129); Chapter Two, ″The Ayyubid State after Saladin: 589–648 A.H./1193–1250 A.D.″ (pp. 131–245); Chapter Three, ″The Mamluk State until the End of the Reign of Sultan Baybars″ (pp. 247–306); and Chapter Four, ″The Reign of the Qalāwūn Family and the End of the Early Mamluk Period″ (pp. 307–63).

Overall, the book is neatly organized and adequately written. The major theme, of the success of the united Muslim front in fighting off the ″foreign aggressions,″ as well as the lessons learned from the Muslim defeats, runs recurrently throughout. The authors are perhaps reasonable in focusing on political and military events, while leaving economic, social, and intellectual aspects largely untouched, for the book′s focus is on the major heroic figures and their searching for, and achieving, Muslim unity. A noticeable feature of the book that distinguishes it from other studies on the same subject is perhaps its unmistakably political undertone. Its goal in dealing with issues of modern relevance from a historical perspective is clearly seen in a narrative that not only makes frequent references, and analogies, to modern events (e.g., on the changing status of Jerusalem from Saladin′s time up to this day, pp. 194–95), but also is studded with contemporary vocabulary such as the awareness, or lack thereof, of the ″unified Islamic front″ *(tawḥīd al-jabhah al-islāmīyah),* in fighting ″foreign occupation″ *(al-iḥtilāl al-ajnabī),* ″liberating″ *(al-taḥrīr)* the occupied territories, and so forth. But in due course, the authors manage to walk a fine line between the *sīrah*-like panegyric (of which Baybars was a legend in popular culture) and modern historical-political inquiry. In this regard, despite the authors′ polemical position in defending the ″heroes″ in question, especially Saladin and Baybars, it is evident (e.g., pp. 106–7, 138–39, 154–55, responding to modern historians′ criticism of Saladin′s perceived ″failures″; pp. 278 ff., on Baybars′ controversial legacy), that they, for the most part, allow the sources, including some documents, to take over and let the historical events speak for themselves. In this connection, one of the book′s strengths is, in my opinion, the authors′ control of the Arabic primary sources, published and unpublished, which are consulted with judiciousness and cited generously in the

narrative. Unfortunately, the same may not be said about the use of the Western sources, especially in dealing with the Crusades. Curiously lacking, too, are modern studies in non-Arabic languages. (This comes as a surprise since one of the coauthors, Dr. Nuʿmān Jubrān, who wrote his Freiburg dissertation on the chronicle of al-Jazarī under the late Professor Ulrich Haarmann, is surely not unfamiliar with Western scholarship.)

The reader of this journal might also be disappointed by the fact that this book is long on the Ayyubids (nearly two-thirds of the book is devoted to Saladin, which, given the overall goal of the book, is understandable), and short on the Mamluks. And with regard to its coverage of the Mamluks, if one has read Peter Thorau′s Baybars,[1] Linda Northrup′s Qalāwūn,[2] Amalia Levanoni′s al-Nāṣir,[3] and Reuven Amitai′s Mongols[4] (none of which are mentioned in the book), then nothing new can be learned here. The book, nevertheless, does manage to present well-researched accounts, in a relatively balanced manner, of an important historic era of the Islamic Near East, and offers some fresh insights, from the authors′ viewpoint, into the events it covers. It might therefore be used as a textbook for Arab high schools. Speaking of textbooks, the book in its current form could have benefited from more careful editing: typos aside, it contains some minor grammatical errors. The overall production of the book is otherwise quite serviceable.

Money, Land and Trade: An Economic History of the Muslim Mediterranean. Edited by Nelly Hanna. The Islamic Mediterranean Series (London: I. B. Taurus, 2002). Pp. 295.

REVIEWED BY WARREN C. SCHULTZ, DePaul University

This volume contains several informative and useful contributions concerned with different aspects of the economic history of the Islamic lands bordering the Mediterranean Sea. All were originally delivered in seminars at the American

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[1]*Sultan Baibars I. von Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1987); English translation, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century,* by P. M. Holt (London, 1992).

[2]*From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Mansūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689 A.H./1279–1290 A.D.)* (Stuttgart, 1998).

[3]*A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341)* (Leiden, 1995).

[4]*Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhānid War, 1260–1281* (Cambridge, 1995).

University of Cairo over the course of 1997–98. Unfortunately, this collected studies volume is mistitled. It falls far short of delivering what one would expect from a work with the sweeping subtitle ″An Economic History of the Muslim Mediterranean,″ as the following list of contents reveals.

After a brief introduction by Nelly Hanna, the book is divided into three sections: ″Land″ (contributions 1–5); ″Crafts and Trades″ (6–9); and Money″ (10–13). The contributions are: 1. ″The Individual and the Collectivity in the Agricultural Economy of Pre-Colonial Morocco″ by Nicolas Michel; 2. ″Why Study Ownership? An Approach to the Study of the Social History of Egypt″ by Ra'uf 'Abbas Hamid; 3. ″A Multiplicity of Rights: Rural-Urban Contradictions in Early Nineteenth-century Egyptian Land Ownership″ by Muhammad Hakim; 4. ″The Worst of Times: Crisis Management and *Al-Shidda Al-'Uzma*″ by Amina Elbendary; 5. ″′Passive Revolution′ as a Possible Model for Nineteenth-century Egyptian History″ by Peter Gran; 6. ″Making a Living or Making a Fortune in Ottoman Syria″ by Abdul-Karim Rafeq; 7. ″Manufacturing Myths: Al-Khurunfish, A Case Study″ by Pascale Ghazaleh; 8. ″The Private Papers of an Armenian Merchant Family in the Ottoman Empire, 1912–1914″ by Armin Kredian; 9. ″The *Rasa'il Ikhwan al-Safa'* and the Controversy about the Origin of Craft Guilds in Early Medieval Islam″ by Abbas Hamdani; 10. ″Interaction Between the Monetary Regimes of Istanbul, Cairo, and Tunis, 1799–1875″ by Şevket Pamuk; 11. ″Monetary Causes of the Financial Crisis and Bankruptcy of Egypt, 1875–8″ by Ghislaine Alleaume; 12. ″The Financial Resources of Coptic Priests in Nineteenth-century Egypt″ by Magdi Girgis; and 13. ″Perceptions of the Greek Money-lender in Egyptian Collective Memory at the Turn of the Twentieth Century″ by Sayyid 'Ashmawi.

In terms of geographical location, then, the reader is presented with eight studies concentrated exclusively on Egypt (2–5, 7, 11–13), with one about Morocco (1), one for Syria (6), one on Anatolia (8), and one without geographic focus (9). Only the study by Pamuk (10) addresses more than one location in the Mediterranean basin. In terms of chronology, eight contributions are focused on the nineteenth and/or early twentieth century (1, 3, 5, 7–8, 11–13), with one on the ninth–tenth centuries (9), one on the eleventh century (4), one that addresses the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries (6), another concerned with the seventeenth–nineteenth centuries (10), and one general theoretical survey (2) with no specific chronological focus. Given these contents, a more accurate subtitle would be ″Collected Studies Concerned with the Economic History of Primarily Egypt and Its Neighbors in the Eastern Mediterranean, and for the Most Part Addressing the Nineteenth Century with Scattered Coverage of Earlier Periods.″ This subtitle, however, would clash with the claim found on the dust jacket that

the book is ″the first major study of the economic history of the Islamic Mediterranean.″

Qāsim ʻAbduh Qāsim, *Fī Tārīkh al-Ayyūbīyīn wa-al-Mamālīk* (Al-Haram [Giza]: ʻAyn lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Buḥūth al-Insānīyah wa-al-Ijtimāʻīyah, 2001). Pp. 296.

Reviewed by Konrad Hirschler, School of Oriental and African Studies (London)

Qāsim ʻAbduh Qāsim, professor of medieval history at Zaqaziq University (Egypt), has published widely in his fields of specialization, namely the Crusades, the Ayyubids, and the Mamluks. Works of his have previously been reviewed in this journal (*ʻAṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk* by Thomas Herzog and *Al-Sulṭān al-Muẓaffar Sayf al-Dīn Quṭuz* by Amalia Levanoni, both in volume 6). The monograph reviewed here focuses primarily on the role of the Crusades, despite the title′s wider implications. The ten chapters narrate in chronological order the grand political and military events in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, starting with the rise of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and ending with the Ottoman conquest of the Arab lands. However, due to the author′s focus on the Crusades, most of the Mamluk dynasty is dealt with rather briefly: a mere 32 of the total 282 pages cover the more than two centuries after the fall of the last considerable Crusader town in the Middle East (Acre) in 690/1291.

Qāsim′s main thesis is that the Ayyubids and Mamluks were both ″military dynasties headed by a warring ruler″ who responded to the external threats to which the Islamic world was exposed, mainly the Crusades (for example, pp. 77–79). It was these dynasties′ ″historical role . . . to realize the grand Islamic project, i.e., to expel the Crusaders from the lands of the Muslims″ (p. 222). For Qāsim, the rise of the Ayyubids constituted a crucial change, as the ″military dynasties″ started to replace the more shariʻah-based Abbasid and Fatimid Caliphates who had failed to confront the newly-arisen dangers. The disappearance of these external threats after the conquest of Acre ″took away the basic historical function of the Mamluk sultans″ (p. 259), which was one of the crucial factors leading to the subsequent decline of this military dynasty. Consequently, the Mamluks handed over their ″historical role″ some two centuries later to the Ottoman Empire, the new military dynasty, which ″protected the Arab lands against Western colonialism for a long period stretching until the late nineteenth century″ (p. 282).

In keeping with modern-day perceptions of the Crusades in the Middle East, Qāsim bases his narrative on two assumptions. First, the Crusades are represented

as the most important factor, dominating the course of Middle Eastern history during the sixth/twelfth and the seventh/thirteenth centuries. Even ″the Mongol threat to the Islamic world did not equal the scale of the Crusader threat to it″ (p. 193) since the latter was still in the mid-seventh/thirteenth century the ″greatest danger for the Arabic Islamic world″ (p. 228). In this vein the Crusades were also responsible for the long-term decline of the Arab lands as the available resources were drained during the fight against them (p. 6).

This importance attributed to the Crusades is crucial for the text′s second main assumption. The period of the Crusades is continuously represented as a confrontation of two monolithic blocks, where the ″Islamic front″ or the ″Islamic-Arab front″ was juxtaposed to the ″European West.″ The Crusades appear here as a conflict between ″the Arab Islamic civilization—owner of the soil and the truth—and the Catholic European civilization″ (193). This image evidently sidelines the scholarship of the last decades, in which it has been shown that cooperation and coexistence were as much a characteristic of the Crusader period as conflict.[1]

However, a serious consideration of secondary literature is not an issue at stake in the reviewed book. The confrontational image and the importance ascribed to the Crusades aims not at scholarly discourse, but at a wider audience. The subtext underlying the book is the argument that the Crusades were a precursor of the current situation in the Middle East. This perception is already expressed by the book′s cover: the modern-day statue of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in Damascus is placed in front of al-Aqsa Mosque with the Dome of the Rock—currently one of the most potent symbols in the Middle East—looming from behind. In combination with the book′s dedication to the martyrs of the al-Aqsa intifada the framework for the following narrative is clearly set. Here, the Crusades appear as an ″expansionist settler project,″ which set the precedence for ″European colonialism″ and ″imperialist Zionism″ (p. 5). While such explicit comments are rare, the subtext emerges repeatedly, for instance in the continuous use of the term *istīṭān* when referring to the Crusading movement or the exceptional stress on the term ″Palestine″ in contrast to the more contemporary *Bilād al-Shām.* Such an ahistorical tendency towards the sources is also visible when the medieval authors′ disinterest in the Muslim reconquest of Jerusalem in 637/1240 is encountered with incomprehension (p. 126). Qāsim does not try to understand their different perspectives on this event, but prefers his own image of the Crusades as an early expression of a millennial conflict between two blocs.

In the course of this general picture, the text also restates on a smaller scale arguments which would have merited a more subtle analysis. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn′s career

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[1]See for example Michael Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient* (Berlin/New York, 1991).

is seen as a teleological development, where every step led to the inevitable battle at Hattin (pp. 33–34, 60); the Mamluks remained throughout their rule foreigners to Egyptian society (p. 267); and—as referred to above—their dynasty declined over a period of some two hundred years. At the same time, central rule is generally seen as the positive norm, implying stability and strength, while regionalized rule is equated with chaos and failure. Consequently, the author criticizes the Ayyubid successors of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn who did not stand united and, due to this neglect of their ″historic role,″ had to step back for the benefit of the Mamluks (pp. 137–38).

The sources employed in the course of the text are somewhat problematic. The main medieval author referred to throughout the text is, similar to the source-basis in Qāsim′s earlier works, al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), who is described as a ″contemporary historian″ (e.g., p. 150). Authors who were closer to the respective events described, such as Ibn Shaddād (d. 632/1234) and Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1232) for the early Ayyubid period, are used only as additional material. The issue of primary sources is further complicated by the difficulty in pursuing the author′s references. Often it is not clear which edition has been used. Some notes are incomplete and the bibliography omits the work in question altogether.[2] For other works different editions are given in the bibliography and in a footnote, so that it remains unclear for the following passages which edition is referred to.[3]

Secondary literature is merely discussed in order to disprove the arguments of ″historians of the West″ who have either tried to belittle the military genius of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (p. 58) or have delighted in speculations concerning possible courses of mutual Mongol-Christian affections (p. 192–93). The secondary literature referred to, both Arabic and English, is largely limited to monographs to the exclusion of journal articles. The English literature stops in the early 1970s, the Arabic literature, with the exception of the author′s own works, was largely published in the 1980s and earlier.

In sum, it is regrettable that this work by one of the specialists in Ayyubid and Mamluk history does not offer a more original outlook on this period′s events. As it stands, it is a rather interesting source for the study of modern-day perceptions of the Crusades.

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[2]For example Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Tārīkh al-Bāhir fī al-Dawlah al-Atābakīyah,* which is mentioned p. 55, n. 36. The note cannot refer to the work′s standard edition by ʻAbd al-Qādir Aḥmad Ṭulaymat (Cairo, 1963).

[3]For example Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭānīyah wa-al-Maḥāsin al-Yūsufīyah.* The bibliography cites the edition by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1964), while note 10, page 19 cites an anonymous edition (Cairo, 1317).

SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD IBN AḤMAD AL-DHAHABĪ, *Al-Mu'īn fī Ṭabaqāt al-Muḥaddithīn*. Edited by Muḥammad al-Sa'īd ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmīyah, 1998). Pp. 430.

REVIEWED BY LI GUO, University of Notre Dame

This volume contains an edition of al-Dhahabī's biographical dictionary of the hadith transmitters, from the early *ṣaḥābah,* or the Prophet's "companions," to those who were active in the twenties of the seventh/fourteenth century. During his extraordinarily prolific career, al-Dhahabī wrote, besides his major works such as *Tārīkh al-Islām,* an amazing number of short manuals and pamphlets of the *rijāl*/*ṭabaqāt* genre, in which he registered the names, and sometimes biographical sketches, of the hadith transmitters and other categories of Muslim learned men. A few of these manuals have recently been made public, and they all read like a check list that contains not much more than mere names. The volume under review is one of these. It contains 2,443 names of hadith transmitters. Each is described in footnotes by the editor with some bibliographical references as well as a short indication the person's "degree" of qualification regarding his/her authenticity, or reliability, or perhaps liability, in the hadith material transmitted on his/her authority or through him/her. The various "degrees" range from *thiqah* (trustworthy), *ṣadūq* (reliable), *lā ba's bihi* (so-so), to *ḍa'īf* (weak). And each of these is further classified with more degrees of quality. The later the person's date, the more details are given.

The editor's labor is mainly seen in the extensive indexes (pp. 233–427). The reader can, for example, search according to proper names, or *kunyah*-nicknames, or *nisbah*-surnames. Women's names are listed in separate indexes. To the disappointment of the readers of this journal, the persons who lived in the Mamluk era, that is, the *ṭabaqah*s, in al-Dhahabī's classification, "from the fifties up to the seventies of six hundred" A.H. and onwards occupy only a slim ten pages (pp. 221–32). It is also disappointing that this is hardly a critical edition by any measure. One knows nothing about the basic information regarding the manuscript(s) and the method of editing. The editor did not even bother to provide a bibliography; so all the cryptic signs and abbreviations one finds in the footnotes are nothing but puzzles and riddles. One cannot help but wonder, besides perhaps some commercial gain, what else there is to explain why the volume should have been put together in the first place. Have we not already seen enough of the scissors-and-paste method of mass producing, or abusing, medieval Arabic texts?

List of Recent Publications

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī. *Itḥāf al-Maharah bi-al-Fawāʼid al-Mubtakarah min Aṭrāf al-ʻAshrah.* Edited by Zuhayr ibn Nāṣir al-Nāṣir. Medina: Wizārat al-Shuʼūn al-Islāmīyah wa-al-Awqāf wa-al-Dawʻah wa-al-Irshād bi-al-Taʻāwun maʻa al-Jāmiʻah al-Islāmīyah, 1994. 16 vols. in 17.

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī. *Vies des cadis de Misr, 237–851, 366–976: Extrait du Rafʻ al-isr ʻan qudat Misr d'Ibn Hagar al-Asqalani.* Edited and translated by Mathieu Tillier. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2002. Pp. 212.

Ibn Taymīyah, Aḥmad ibn ʻAbd al-Ḥalīm. *Jawāb Ahl al-ʻIlm wa-al-Īmān;bi-Taḥqīq Mā Akhbara bi-hi Rasūl al-Raḥmān min anna (Qul huwa Allāhu Aḥad) Taʻdil Thulth al-Qurʼān.* Edited by ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz ibn Fatḥī ibn al-Sayyid Nadā. Riyadh: Dār al-Qāsim lil-Nashr, 1421. Pp. 256.

Ibn Taymīyah, Aḥmad ibn ʻAbd al-Ḥalīm. *Mustadrak ʻalá Majmūʻ Fatāwá Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad Ibn Taymīyah.* Edited by Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Qāsim. Riyadh: Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Qāsim, 1997. 5 vols.

ʻIshqī, Anwar Mājid. *Khilāfat Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq fī Fikr Ibn Taymīyah al-Siyāsī:Dirāsah Taḥlīlīyah.* Riyadh: Maktabat al-Tawbah, 1998. Pp. 262.

Maqrīzī, Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī. *Durar al-ʻUqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-Aʻyān al-Mufīdah.* Edited by Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī. Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2002. 4 vols.

Qūnawī, Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd Allāh. *Sūfīyah al-Qalandarīyah, Tārīkhuhā wa-Fatwá Shaykh al-Islām ibn Taymīyah Fīhā.* Medina: Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd Allāh Qūnawī, 2002. Pp. 319.

Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. *Al-ʻArf al-Wardī fī Akhbār al-Imām al-Mahdī.* Edited by Muṣṭafá Ṣubḥī al-Khiḍr. Damascus: Dār al-Kawthar, 2001. Pp. 135.

Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. *Al-Ashbāh wa-al-Naẓāʼir fī al-Naḥw.* Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʻIlmīyah, [1991?]. 4 vols. in 2.

Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. *ʻIlm al-Munāsabāt fī al-Suwar wa-al-Āyāt, wa-Yalīhi Marāṣid al-Maṭāliʻ fī Tanāsub al-Maqāṭiʻ wa-al-Maṭāliʻ.* Edited by Muḥammad ibn ʻUmar ibn Sālim Bāzmūl. Mecca: Al-Maktabah al-Makkīyah, 2002. Pp. 208.

Arabic Transliteration System

Romanized Arabic in *Mamlūk Studies Review* follows the Library of Congress conventions, briefly outlined below. A more thorough discussion may be found in *American Library Association-Library of Congress Romanization Tables* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1991).

ء	’	خ	kh	ش	sh	غ	gh	م	m
ب	b	د	d	ص	ṣ	ف	f	ن	n
ت	t	ذ	dh	ض	ḍ	ق	q	ه	h
ث	th	ر	r	ط	ṭ	ك	k	و	w
ج	j	ز	z	ظ	ẓ	ل	l	ي	y
ح	ḥ	س	s	ع	‘				
		ة	h, t (in construct)			ال	al-		

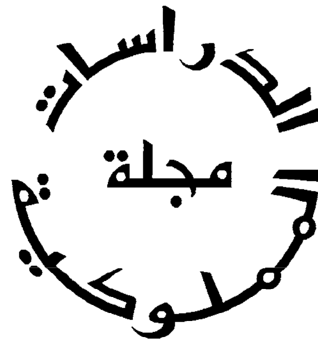
ـَ	a	ـُ	u	ـِ	i
ـً	an	ـٌ	un	ـٍ	in
آ	ā	ُو	ū	ِي	ī
اَ	ā	ُوّ	ūw	ـِيّـ	īy (medial), ī (final)
ى	á	َو	aw	َي	ay
				َيّ	ayy

Capitalization in romanized Arabic follows the conventions of American English; the definite article is always lower case, except when it is the first word in an English sentence. The *hamzah* is not represented when beginning a word, following a prefixed preposition or conjunction, or following the definite article. Assimilation of the *lām* of the definite article before ″sun″ letters is disregarded. Final inflections of verbs are retained, except in pausal form; final inflections of nouns and adjectives are not represented, except preceding suffixes and except when verse is romanized. Vocalic endings of pronouns, demonstratives, prepositions, and conjunctions are represented. The hyphen is used with the definite article, conjunctions, inseparable prepositions, and other prefixes. Note the exceptional treatment of the preposition *li-* followed by the article, as in *lil-sulṭān*. Note also the following exceptional spellings: Allāh, billāh, lillāh, bismillāh, mi’ah, ibn (for both initial and medial forms). Words not requiring diacritical marks, though following the conventions outlined above, include all Islamic dynasties, as well as the following terms: Quran, sultan, amir, imam, shaykh, Sunni, Shi‘i, Sufi. Common place-names should take the common spelling in American English. Names of archaeological sites should follow the convention of the excavator.

MAMLŪK STUDIES
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Mamlūk Studies Review is a biannual refereed journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648–922/1250–1517). It appears in January and July. The goals of *Mamlūk Studies Review* are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, nurture communication within the field, and promote further research by encouraging the critical discussion of all aspects of this important medieval Islamic polity. The journal includes both articles and reviews of recent books. Submissions of original work on any aspect of the field are welcome, although the editorial board will periodically issue volumes devoted to specific topics and themes. *Mamlūk Studies Review* also solicits edited texts and translations of shorter Arabic source materials (*waqf* deeds, letters, *fatāwá* and the like), and encourages discussions of Mamluk era artifacts (pottery, coins, etc.) that place these resources in wider contexts. Transliterated Middle Eastern languages should conform to the system utilized by the Library of Congress. All questions regarding style should be resolved through reference to *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th edition. All submissions should be typed double-spaced. Submissions must be made on labeled computer disk or online, together with a printed copy. The print copy should have full and proper diacritics, but the disk or online copy should have no diacritics of any kind.

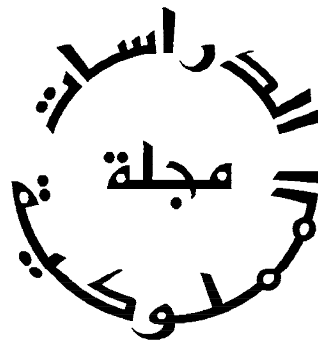
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MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW



The Bruce D. Craig
Prize for Mamluk Studies

The Prize Committee is pleased to announce that Tamar el-Leithy (Ph.D., Princeton University) has been named the inaugural recipient of the Bruce D. Craig Prize for Mamluk Studies for his dissertation:

"Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo: 1293–1524"

The Committee based its decision on el-Leithy's insightful and original interpretations of the topic, based upon his close and careful use of previously neglected sources from the medieval Coptic community of Egypt. His critical approach to previous scholars' work on conversion results in important questions regarding their conclusions. The Committee commends el-Leithy for his valuable contribution to the field of Mamluk Studies. An abstract of the dissertation is appended to this announcement.

The Bruce D. Craig Prize, carrying a cash award of $1,000, is given annually by *Mamlūk Studies Review* for the best dissertation on a topic related to the Mamluk Sultanate submitted to an American or Canadian university during the preceding calendar year. In the event no dissertations are submitted, or none is deemed to merit the prize, no prize will be awarded. To be considered for the 2005 Prize, dissertations must be defended by December 31, 2005, and submitted to the Prize Committee by January 31, 2006. Submissions should be sent to:

Chair, Prize Committee
Mamlūk Studies Review
Pick Hall 201
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The Prize Committee for 2005 consisted of Donald P. Little (McGill University); Marlis Saleh (University of Chicago); and Warren C. Schultz (DePaul University).

Abstract: "Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo, 1293–1524"

When Islam was half as old as it is today, Egypt was swept by mass conversions that irrevocably altered its religious history and demographic composition. In the early 8th/14th century, various pressures on the Coptic Christian community triggered a pivotal wave of conversion to Islam. While conversion protected lives and jobs, it did not guarantee immunity: converts often fell prey to the suspicions of their new co-religionists, provoking further regulation and Muslim anxieties of influence. Conversion rendered Copts socially marginal, but concomitantly culturally central.

Supplementing traditional Muslim accounts with unpublished legal documents and Coptic sources, this dissertation investigates how conversion was experienced, negotiated, and represented. The first section discusses hitherto unknown responses to the conversion wave, including the legal ruse of single-generation conversion, by which converts maintained their progeny as non-Muslims; a wave of Coptic martyrs in the late 8th/14th century; and a Coptic rite of quasi-rebaptism through which converts reverted to Christianity. The second part examines representations of converts in Muslim biographical dictionaries, including the epithets applied to converts and the tropes of religious suspicion. The third section investigates everyday social practices of converts like residence and patronage patterns and compares these to the suspicious charges of Muslim authors. The final section uses an unpublished collection of the correspondence of Patriarch Yuhanna XIII (1484–1524 A.D.) as a prism onto the long-term effects of the conversion wave on Coptic Christianity and culture.

Contents

Articles

BOOK REVIEWS

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The Study of Islam within Mamluk Domains

Religion was ubiquitous in the ancient and medieval worlds. It touched nearly everything; some things it saturated. Religion was powerful in China and India, Africa and South America, and certainly in Europe and the Middle East, where people consciously defined themselves in terms of the domains of faith: Christendom and the Abode of Islam. In such a context, nearly everything could have a religious dimension. As a result, scholarship on the Mamluk period (648–923/1250–1517) often touches on religion, and the University of Chicago's *Chicago On-Line Bibliography of Mamluk Studies* lists nearly five hundred entries under religion alone. That number easily doubles when we add articles on just two important religious figures of the period, Ibn al-ʻArabī and Ibn Taymīyah; relevant articles on art and architecture, economics, literature, and scholarship could double the number of entries yet again. What is required at the outset, then, is a definition of religion to serve as a guiding and limiting principle for this review:

> Religion is "an institution consisting of culturally patterned interaction with culturally postulated superhuman beings."[1]

As with other human institutions, religion consists of systems of belief, action, and values, where beliefs are generally normative, rituals collective, and values prescriptive. However, religion differs from other cultural systems in that it makes direct reference to interactions with superhuman beings, or "counter-intuitive agents."[2] In the following review, then, I will focus primarily on recent studies of religion in the Mamluk age that I believe represent some of the prevalent trends, topics, and problems in this area. Further, it should be noted that in Mamluk domains, religion had three major instantiations: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Since I am not a specialist in either Judaism or Christianity, I have narrowed my scope to the study of Islam, though some references will be made to other faiths when occasions warrant.

Strangely, while the *Cambridge History of Egypt* contains separate chapters on Christian and Jewish communities in medieval Egypt, it does not include a

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[1]Melford E. Spiro, "Religion: Problems of Definition and Explanation," in *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, ed. Michael Banton (London, 1966), 85–126.

[2]Ibid., and see Ilkka Pyysiainen, *How Religion Works* (Leiden, 2001), 9–23.

chapter on Islam in the same period.[3] Naturally, there are competent references to Islam throughout the *History's* various articles on the Mamluk period,[4] but there is no comparable study of Muslim communities in terms of their religious beliefs and practices. This is a telling statement about the field of Mamluk studies in general. For, as we shall see, there are a number of fine articles and books on particular facets of Islam in the Mamluk period, but I know of no book-length survey in any language on Islam there. Indeed, the source most often cited on this subject is an article written nearly forty years ago by Annemarie Schimmel.

The late Dr. Schimmel is justly renowned for her many erudite works on Islamic mysticism, but one of her early and enduring interests was the Mamluks. In 1943, Schimmel published "Kalif und Ḳāḍī im spätmittelarterlichen Ägypten"[5] and this would serve as an important source for her broad survey modestly entitled "Some Glimpses of the Religious Life in Egypt during the Later Mamluk Period."[6] Schimmel began by describing the largely ceremonial position of the caliphs and their subordination to the Mamluk sultans, who, nevertheless, viewed themselves as protectors of the faith. She then reviewed important religious events, including the Friday prayers at the Citadel, the fast of Ramaḍān and the ʻĪd al-Fiṭr, the annual Hajj and the ʻĪd al-Aḍḥá, and the celebration of the Prophet's birthday and lesser *mawlid*s of various saints. This leads to her account of Sufism in this period and to brief mention of several institutions, including the *khānqāh* and the *zāwiyah,* and the more prominent Sufi orders. Schimmel noted that Sufi doctrines and practices were at times controversial, as was the case in protracted disputes over the works of Ibn al-ʻArabī (d. 637/1240) and Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235). She then concluded with a few brief remarks on astrology, fortune-telling, unlawful taxes, and corrupt judges.

In many respects, Schimmel staked out the areas for later research, and several

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[3]Terry G. Wilfong, "The Non-Muslim Communities: Christian Communities," in *Cambridge History of Egypt,* ed. Carl Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 175–97, and Norman A. Stillman, "The Non-Muslim Communities: Jewish Communities," in *CHE,* 198–210.

[4]E.g., Michael Chamberlain, "The Crusader Era and the Ayyūbid Dynasty," in *CHE,* esp. 231–34; Linda S. Northrup, "The Baḥrī Mamlūk Sultanate, 1250–1390," in *CHE,* esp. 265–71; Jean-Claude Garcin, "The Regime of the Circassian Mamlūks," in *CHE,* esp. 311–13; Jonathan Berkey, "Culture and Society during the Middle Ages," in *CHE,* esp. 401–11.

[5]Annemarie Schimmel, "Kalif und Ḳāḍī im spätmittelarterlichen Ägypten," *Die Welt des Islam* 24 (1942): 1–128.

[6]Annemarie Schimmel, "Some Glimpses of the Religious Life in Egypt during the Later Mamluk Period," *Islamic Studies* 4 (1965): 353–92. For a later German version see her "Sufismus und Heiligenverehrung im spätmittelalternlichen Ägypten," *Festscrift für W. Caskel,* ed. Erich Graf (Leiden, 1968), 274–89. In 1995, Dr. Schimmel mentioned to me that she still hoped to write more on the Mamluks.

of her opinions were standard in Mamluk studies until recent years. This is particularly the case for her characterization of the religious life of the Mamluk military elite:

> The impression that we get from the later sources is that neither the Mamluk Sultans themselves nor the *amirs* who rose from among them had any interest in spiritual things. Only a comparatively small number of them had sufficient knowledge of literary, or at least grammatically correct, Arabic.[7]

However, Schimmel tempered this sweeping judgment, as she went on to relate accounts of pious behavior by Mamluks, their sincere defense of Islam, and their financial support of religious officials and saintly individuals.[8]

That many Mamluks were, in fact, believing Muslims was conclusively shown about twenty years later by Donald P. Little in his influential article ″Religion Under the Mamluks.″[9] Little draws attention to Ibn Khaldūn′s view of the Mamluks as sent by God to save Islam from the infidel Mongols, for, as Ibn Khaldūn noted, the Mamluks ″embrace Islam with the determination of true believers, while retaining their nomadic virtues.″[10] Little argues persuasively that a strong Muslim faith and identity underlie many Mamluk military actions against the Mongols, Crusaders, and Shiʻis, as well as the Mamluks′ lavish patronage of mosques, madrasahs, *khānqāh*s, and *zāwiyah*s, and the many religious personnel employed in them. Of special importance to the Mamluks were the holy cities of Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem, which they funded generously. Of course, economic and political motives were involved in Mamluk support of Islam and its institutions; *waqf*s supported Mamluks and their families as well as men of religion, and the sultans were not about to cede power to their puppet caliphs. In the vital area of religious law, too, the sultans sought to adjust the system in ways always favorable to their policies and desires.[11] Still, the Mamluks supported the religious establishment as well as wandering mendicants and Sufi shaykhs, but they took care to suppress individuals or groups who posed a threat to civil authority. Such was the case of the Aḥmadīyah-Rifāʻīyah dervishes with their outlandish dress and strange behaviors, not to mention their close relationship with the Mongols, archenemies of the Mamluks. Similarly, the Mamluks sought to limit non-Muslim religious practices, especially Christian

[7]Schimmel, ″Glimpses,″ 356.

[8]Ibid., 356–65, 376–79, 381.

[9]Donald P. Little, ″Religion Under the Mamluks,″ *Muslim World* 73 (1983): 165–81.

[10]Ibid., 165–66.

[11]Ibid., 168–75.

festivals and celebrations that were accompanied by wine, prostitutes, and brawling, while Christian officials in the civil administration were forced to convert to Islam on occasion, though this was by no means a Mamluk policy.[12] By contrast, respected Muslim scholars might also find themselves opposed by the Mamluk ruling elite if their beliefs and/or interests clashed, as happened with Ibn Taymīyah (d. 728/1328), whose vociferous condemnation of other scholars and popular Muslim practices landed him in jail several times.[13] In his assessment of religion under the Mamluks, Little concludes:

> Out of religious conviction and personal piety in some instances but also with an acute sense of their own welfare, the Mamluks strove to keep diverse religious forces in Egypt and Syria in a state of equilibrium. In such circumstances, Islam undeniably flourished.[14]

Whatever their personal proclivities toward Islam, it has long been asserted that politically the Mamluks relied on Islam for their legitimacy to rule. This crucial relationship has been most recently analyzed by Anne Broadbridge in her article ″Mamluk Legitimacy and the Mongols: The Reigns of Baybars and Qalāwūn.″[15] In relation to their subjects, the Mamluks swore to protect and promote Sunni Islam, particularly against their external political rivals, the Ilkhan Mongols. To counter the Chinggis Khanid dynasty and its prestige in terms of lineage and military success, the Mamluk slave dynasty laid claim to defending the faith, enforcing the shari‘ah and, especially, to their priority and, hence, superiority in embracing Islam.[16] The issue of legitimacy, however, is but one, albeit major,

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[12]Ibid., 175–80. Also see idem, ″Coptic Conversion to Islam under the Baḥrī Mamlūks, 692–755/1293–1354,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 39 (1976): 552–69; idem, ″Coptic Converts to Islam During the Baḥrī Mamlūk Period,″ in *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries,* ed. Michael Gervers and Ramzi Bikhazi (Toronto, 1990), 263–88; and Linda S. Northrup, ″Muslim-Christian Relations During the Reign of the Mamluk Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, A.D. 1278–1290,″ in ibid., 253–61.

[13]Little, ″Religion,″ 180–81. Also see idem, ″The Historical and Historiographical Significance of the Detention of Ibn Taymiyya,″ *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 4 (1973): 311–27, and idem, ″Did Ibn Taymiyya Have a Screw Loose?″ *Studia Islamica* 41 (1975): 93–111. For more on Ibn Taymīyah see below.

[14]Little, ″Religion,″ 181.

[15]Anne Broadbridge, ″Mamluk Legitimacy and the Mongols: The Reigns of Baybars and Qalāwūn,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5 (2001): 91–118. Also see Northrup, ″Baḥrī Mamlūk Sultanate,″ 255–56, 269.

[16]Broadbridge, ″Legitimacy,″ 117–18.

strand in the web of relations binding the Mamluks within Islam. In a thoughtful essay, ″The Mamluks as Muslims,″ Jonathan Berkey suggests that we view the Mamluks ″as any social group . . . participating in the dynamic process of constructing and reconstructing Islam.″[17] Far from a static and monolithic tradition, Islam in the Mamluk domains was a complex and malleable faith, whose particular beliefs and rituals were often shaped by Mamluk influence. The Mamluks endowed religious institutions and patronized religious scholars, and they also participated in religious debates and in the transmission of religious knowledge. Though many Mamluks had little interest in religion, and often led lives criticized by the ulama, other Mamluks took an active interest in their adopted faith.

The range, diversity, and complexity of Islam in the early Mamluk period are admirably described and analyzed by Louis Pouzet in his study *Damas au VII^e/XIII^e siècle: vie et structures religieuses d′une métrople islamique.*[18] Pouzet begins his study of religious institutions by examining the four Sunni law schools and some of the scholars and scholarly families that controlled them in thirteenth-century Damascus. While the Shafiʻis were dominant under the Ayyubids, Hanafis gained influence under the early Mamluks, who began to appoint a chief judge for each of the four law schools. Despite their importance, the chief judges of Damascus were now subordinate to those of Cairo, and the Mamluk capital that would dominate their domains. Nevertheless, these and other judges were actively involved in both the religious and political life, and some of them served as official Friday preachers *(khaṭīb),* who swore allegiance first to Ayyubid, then to Mamluk sovereigns. In contrast to such religious officials were the more popular preachers *(wāʻiẓ)* who spread their religious teachings among the masses. Pouzet carefully surveys religious scholarship and teaching in Damascus, with a focus on the madrasah and *zāwiyah*. He describes various teachers and officials who worked in them, with some remarks on the *waqf*s, or religious endowments, that supported them, and he provides a detailed account of their curriculum, which included Quranic studies and recitation, the study of hadith, law, jurisprudence, and theology.[19]

Muslims in Damascus also cultivated the ascetic and mystical life, both individually and collectively. Pouzet refers to several families prominent in Sufism and its orders in the region, members of which held the prestigious office of *mashyakhat al-shuyūkh.* Despite occasional controversies, usually between supporters of Ibn al-ʻArabī and his detractors, such as Ibn Taymīyah, Sufism

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[17]Jonathan Berkey, ″The Mamluks as Muslims: the Military Elite and the Construction of Islam in Medieval Egypt,″ in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 163–73, esp. 173.

[18]Louis Pouzet, *Damas au VII^e/XIII^e siècle* (Beirut, 1988).

[19]Ibid., 11–205.

remained an important element in spiritual lives of many Muslims of the period. Pouzet notes the presence of religious minorities in the area including various Shiʻi groups, Christians, and Jews, and he then turns to issues of religion and political power. For both the Ayyubids and Mamluks, unity and the defense of Islam against the Mongols in the east and Christians in the west was paramount. Invasions and threats of invasion were eminent features of politics, religion, and life in general, and these hostilities sometimes made life hard for Christians and Jews living as protected people among the Muslims of Damascus.[20]

In his final chapter, Pouzet broadens his perspective of religious institutions to include religion's roles in the everyday life of Muslims. He reviews the importance of liturgy and prayer, the hajj pilgrimage to Mecca, and pilgrimage to shrines, celebrating the Prophet's birthday, and participating in war and jihad. Also essential to daily life were rules and laws regulating personal and public conduct, which were meant to keep Muslims on the straight and narrow and away from temptations to drink and carouse. The interpretations of premonitions and dreams were another essential feature of the faith, as were death and burial, and the collective religious rites and prayers to ameliorate or ward off disasters. In all, Muslim religious life in the thirteenth century continued largely unaffected by the political change that marked the end of the Ayyubids and the rise of the Mamluks. Islam continued to mark the times of day and the seasons, and set the moral and ethical standards of slave and sultan alike.[21]

Pouzet's *Damas au VII^e/XIII^e siècle* is ground-breaking in many respects, as other scholars over the last fifteen years have picked up and developed various subjects and concerns referred to in this insightful work. Among them is Islam's importance to the Mamluk sultans. In his book and elsewhere, Pouzet noted the dealings between Baybars I (d. 676/1277) and the controversial Sufi shaykh Khaḍir al-Mihrānī (d. 676/1277), and this relationship was studied further by P. M. Holt and Peter Thorau.[22] Several studies of other individual sultans and their reigns have also drawn attention to religion in their personal and public lives. Linda Northrup assessed Qalāwūn's (d. 689/1290) building projects, religious opposition to some of them, and the sultan's attempt to influence men of religion via appointments and patronage.[23] In addition, Carl Petry has contrasted Qāytbāy's (d.

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[20]Ibid., 207–338.

[21]Ibid., 339–408.

[22]Ibid., 272, and idem, "Ḫaḍir Ibn Abī Bakr al-Mihrānī, šayḫ du sultan mamelouk al-Malik aẓ-Ẓāhir Baïbars," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 30 (1978): 173–83. Also see P. M. Holt, "An Early Source on Shaykh Khadir al-Mihrani," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 46 (1983): 33–49, and Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt,* trans. P. M. Holt (London, 1992), 225–29.

[23]Linda Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan* (Stuttgart, 1998), 118–25, 230–39.

901/1496) concern for Sunni propriety with al-Ghawrī's (d. 922/1516) less successful attempts to "portray himself as the 'Guardian of Sunna.'"[24] One notable way that al-Ghawrī and other Mamluks could publicly proclaimed their piety was in their generous financial support of the annual hajj caravan, particularly those carrying royal wives, though this appears to have backfired for al-Ghawrī's wife who was as cheap as her husband.[25]

Such royal patronage of religion exerted great influence on the shape and practice of Islam in the Mamluk period, especially in the form of *waqf,* an endowment for ostensibly pious goals. There are numerous studies of the *waqf* documents of this period and of their economic, social, and political importance, including Muḥammad Amīn's groundbreaking book *Al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimāʿīyah fī Miṣr: 648–923/1250–1517.*[26] Amīn dedicated an entire chapter to the religious dimensions of these endowments, especially in their capacity to support religious infrastructure. The *waqf* was essential for financing the construction and maintenance of mosques, madrasahs, *khānqāh*s, and other institutions, for promoting the hajj and jihad, and for supporting the various types of religious personnel necessary for the spread and practice of Sunni Islam.[27] More recently, Adam Sabra has considered the religious importance of *waqf* in the context of his study *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam.*[28]

Sabra begins with a discussion of the ideals and realities of poverty in Mamluk domains, an important issue to jurists particularly regarding who should give alms and who should receive them. In this light, he reviews various social classes among the elite and the common people, who were not always poor. Certain groups, including the chivalrous *futūwah* orders, pledged to aid the poor, while others, such as the morally suspect *ḥarāfīsh,* were actively involved in begging for such aid.[29] Sabra next outlines the religious ideals of asceticism and poverty with a few references to Sufis of the Mamluk period, but relying largely on the work of Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111) and earlier authorities, who distinguish between material and spiritual poverty, and their effects. For most of these Sufi authors, wealth was a distraction, which could be dispelled by giving alms. By

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[24]Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?* (Albany, 1994), 154–58.

[25]Ibid., 158–62. Also see Kathryn Johnson, "Royal Pilgrims: Mamluk Accounts of the Pilgrimages to Mecca of the Khawand al-Kubrā (Senior Wife of the Sultan)," *Studia Islamica* 91 (2000): 107–29.

[26]Muḥammad M. Amīn, *Al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimāʿīyah fī Miṣr: 648–923/1250–1517* (Cairo: 1980).

[27]Ibid., 178–231. Also see Gary Leiser, "The *Madrasa* and the Islamization of the Middle East: The Case of Egypt," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 22 (1985): 29–47.

[28]Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam* (Cambridge, 2000).

[29]Ibid., 1–17.

contrast, Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200), Ibn Taymīyah, and other jurists would not equate poverty with piety, claiming that the accumulation of wealth for lawful and pious purposes was a legitimate undertaking. Similarly, the noted Sufi Abū Ḥafṣ al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234) held that while spiritual and, at times, material poverty were essential to the mystic path, a Sufi need not be a pauper, and a number of Sufis accepted the support of Mamluk amirs and sultans.[30]

Throughout his study, Sabra seeks to maintain ″the essential distinction between poverty as a form of piety and poverty as a social disability.″[31] It was persons in the latter category who were qualified to receive charity. As for those who gave alms and blessings to the poor, they legitimized their roles as benefactors, who were to receive, in turn, the blessings *(du‘ā’)* of the recipient and, presumably, heavenly reward. Sabra reviews the opinions of the early Sufis, and al-Ghazzālī in particular, on the etiquette of giving and receiving *zakāh* which, like other forms of charity in the Mamluk period, remained a private affair with little state control.[32] While anyone could give alms, it was the Mamluks who were most often remembered for their substantial almsgiving. They fed the poor during Ramaḍān and on special holidays, and gave charity, freed prisoners, and relieved debtors in hopes of securing God′s favor against personal misfortunes, as well as against plague, war, famine, and other disasters.[33]

Of course, the Mamluks′ most extensive and enduring form of charity was the *waqf,* which the Shafi‘i scholar al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277) defined in economic and religious terms as ″the alienation of revenue-generating property with the principal remaining inalienable, while its revenues are disbursed for a pious purpose, in order to seek God′s favor.″[34] These endowments served the larger Muslim community by providing a range of essential services, including hospitals and medical care, education, some housing for students, employees, and destitute women, food and water for the poor, and the burial of their dead. Further, at funerals, the Mamluks and other Muslims distributed *kaffārah,* alms for the expiation of sins committed by the deceased.[35] This connection to the dead is essential for understanding the religious significance of the *waqf* and other forms of almsgiving in the Mamluk period. For, while most of these endowments provided revenues to their founders and their direct descendents, they were also believed to yield a spiritual profit. As Sabra notes, many endowment deeds refer to securing reward for the afterlife

[30]Ibid., 18–31.
[31]Ibid., 35.
[32]Ibid., 35–50.
[33]Ibid., 50–68.
[34]Ibid., 70–71.
[35]Ibid., 73–95.

based on the exchange between the benefactor and the poor, of alms for prayers. Moreover, Mamluk building complexes supported by *waqf*s often contained the graves of the founder and some of his immediate relatives. There, they were to benefit from prayers said on their behalf at the site, which was frequently located near a saint's tomb or similarly sacred ground.[36]

This spiritual return on alms has been detailed further in my article "Saving Muslim Souls: the *Khānqāh* and the Sufi Duty in Mamluk Lands."[37] Based on a study of *waqf* deeds, religious tracts on death and afterlife, and other sources, I discovered that the Mamluk *khānqāh* served primarily as a chantry, where Sufis prayed for their founder's earthly and heavenly benefit. *Khānqāh* endowment deeds explicitly mandate that the Sufis employed there were to perform a daily communal ritual called *ḥuḍūr*. This ritual included reciting specific prayers and Quranic passages, considered by al-Qurṭubī (d. 681/1273), al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), and other scholars of the period to be the most efficacious for attaining divine favor in this world and the next, and especially helpful for reducing the severity and length of the deceased's purgatorial punishment in the grave.[38]

This religious dimension of almsgiving underscores the centrality of death within medieval Islam, which has been described by Jane I. Smith and Yvonne Haddad in *The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection*.[39] Their very useful study, however, is confined largely to matters of theology and doctrine, and so they did not consider the more personal matters of grief and mourning, and religious responses to them. The work of mourning is generally a difficult process through which the living confront the death of a loved one and gradually resolve their grief. The bereaved come to accept their loss as they find consoling substitutes in the memories and idealized images of the dead. Crucial to this process are funerary and mourning rituals, and religious beliefs that assert the continued life of the deceased, albeit in another form and/or realm.[40] The death of a child often

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[36]Ibid., 95–100. Also see Linda S. Northrup, "Qalāwūn's Patronage of the Medical Sciences in Thirteenth-Century Egypt," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5 (2001): 119–40.

[37]Th. Emil Homerin, "Saving Muslim Souls: the *Khānqāh* and the Sufi Duty in Mamluk Lands," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 59–83.

[38]Ibid., 74–83. Also see the study by Ragnar Eklund, *Life Between Death and Resurrection According to Islam* (Uppsala, 1941).

[39]Jane I. Smith and Yvonne Haddad, *The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection* (Albany, 1981), esp. 1–98, 147–91.

[40]Robert Jay Lifton, *The Broken Connection* (New York, 1983), 3–112. For views of death in classical Islam see Thomas Bauer, "Todesdiskurse im Islam," *Asiatische Studien* 53 (1999): 5–16, and idem, "Islamische Totenbucher: Entwicklung einer Textgattung im Schatten al-Ġazālīs," in *Studies in Arabic and Islam: Proceedings of the 19th Congress: Halle 1998/Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants,* ed. S. Leder et al. (Sterling, VA, 2002).

evokes strong emotions, and this is the subject of ″Child Mortality and Adult Reactions,″ the final section of Avner Gil′adi′s book *Children of Islam*.[41] Based largely on sources from the Mamluk period, Gil′adi observes that Muslim parents regarded their children as a divine gift due, in part, to high rates of child mortality. Not surprisingly, there was a great need for consolation for the many children who died. Juridical and theological works provided hope to bereaved kin by affirming that these children died in innocence, and so dwell in Paradise where they will one day be reunited with their believing parents. Parental grief was also addressed by consolation treatises composed of Quranic citations, hadith, anecdotes, and stories designed to assure the bereaved that they were not alone in their sorrow. As important, the consolation treatises attempt to channel the tumultuous emotions provoked by the death of a loved one into theologically and socially appropriate modes of behavior. Hence, they counsel patience and trust in God, and discourage excessive outbursts of emotion, which might be construed as ingratitude, if not skepticism, regarding the divine promise of immortal life in heaven.[42]

Similarly, elegies from the Mamluk period reveal some of the Muslim doctrines and beliefs invoked to account for the death of loved ones, while affording us the opportunity to witness individual and communal responses to death. This has been my focus in ″A Bird Ascends the Night: Elegy and Immortality in Islam,″ and several other articles written on the elegies composed by the Cairene scholar Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (d. 745/1344) for his daughter Nuḍār (d. 730/1329), who died at the age of twenty-seven.[43] Throughout his elegies, Abū Ḥayyān lauds his daughter′s erudition and scholarly accomplishments, her impeccable reputation and saintly life. Making allusions to the Quran and hadith, Abū Ḥayyān envisioned his lost Nuḍār as a martyr to illness who must surely have earned a place in Paradise. In this way Abū Ḥayyān sought consolation in a creative and religious response to his personal tragedy.[44] Such was also the case for the outstanding Mamluk poet Ibn Nubātah (d. 768/1366), who wrote a series of elegies after the death of his young son(s). Thomas Bauer has examined this verse in an insightful article, ″Communication and Emotion: The Case of Ibn Nubātah′s *Kindertotenlieder,*″ where he probes the complex interrelationship between poetic speech and

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[41]Avner Gil′adi, *Children of Islam* (Oxford, 1992), 67–119.

[42]Ibid., 69–100.

[43]Th. Emil Homerin, ″A Bird Ascends the Night: Elegy and Immortality in Islam,″ *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 59, no. 4 (1991): 247–79, esp. 255–74.

[44]Ibid., and also see Th. Emil Homerin, ″′I′ve Stayed by the Grave′: an Elegy/Nasīb for Nuḍār,″ in *Literary Heritage of Classical Islam,* ed. M. Mir (Princeton, 1993), 107–18, and idem, ″Reflections on Arabic Poetry in the Mamluk Age,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 63–85, esp. 80–85.

overwhelming emotions.[45] Through a close reading of one of Ibn Nubātah′s elegies, Bauer reveals how such poems assist the work of mourning for both the poet and his audience. Specifically, while his son is in heaven above, the poet claims to be in hell below, where he must strive for a dignified patience until they are united again in Paradise. Building on a number of timeless metaphors, including ″life and death are a journey,″ and ″people are plants that must wither and die,″ Ibn Nubātah attempted to make sense of his personal sorrow by viewing death as part of a larger fated cycle. In this way, the poem may offer solace and produce a catharsis, which allow the bereaved to return to public life while reasserting social stability in the face of inevitable death.[46]

Though the problems raised by death are central to all religious traditions, they are by no means religions′ only focus. Regulating life, individually and socially, is also a major task, and within Islam, this was normally undertaken by the ulama. In his foundational study, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages,* Carl Petry concluded that status among the ulama was determined largely by an individual′s competence in Islamic law and literary skills. A qualified scholar might then serve in the Mamluk bureaucracy, the legal system, or in a number of other religious occupations. In terms of religion, the jurists and legal scholars claimed to be guardians of the shariʿah and *sunnah,* and so came to hold moral authority and influence.[47] Beyond the legal system, members of the ulama might work as readers of religious texts, prayer leaders, preachers, spiritual advisors, and professors and teachers of various religious subjects ranging from the Quran and hadith to law and ritual, theology and mysticism.[48] Generally viewed by medieval Muslim society as the custodians of religious knowledge, the exemplars of normative behavior, and, at times, repositories of spiritual power *(barakah),* the ulama were in a position both to guide the life of the community as well as legitimize the Mamluk dynasty.[49]

Though they were dependent on the Mamluk regime for financial aid and political support, the ulama nevertheless retained considerable independence through their religious and academic networks, and especially through their control of higher education, as noted in separate studies by Michael Chamberlain and

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[45]Thomas Bauer, ″Communication and Emotion: The Case of Ibn Nubātah′s *Kindertotenlieder*,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7 (2003): 49–95.

[46]Ibid., esp. 66–73, 88–95. For some of the many metaphors for death, see George Lakoff and Mark Turner, *More Than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor* (Chicago, 1989), 1–56.

[47]Carl F. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1981), esp. 220–41, 312–25.

[48]Ibid., 246–72.

[49]Ibid., 312–25. Also see Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1967), esp. 107–15, 130–41.

Jonathan Berkey. In *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350,* Chamberlain examines the interactions of the learned elite with the Mamluks. He asserts that the transmission of religious knowledge followed distinctive lines of transmission between teachers and students bound by loyalty and service. Further, in Damascus, the madrasahs, *khānqāh*s, and similar foundations sponsored by the ruling class were not institutions of higher education so much as forms of patronage. "They were useful to the ruling elite in providing a means of supporting the civilian elites upon whom they depended as a channel of influence into the city, as agents of social control and legitimation, and as religious specialists."[50]

In *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education,* Jonathan Berkey provides a detailed description of religious education involving Islamic jurisprudence, normally the preserve of the scholarly elite and their students. Like Chamberlain, Berkey notes that a close personal relationship between master and student was at the heart of this system of normative education. Berkey claims that the flexibility within the education system "resulted from the complete absence of any overarching state or ecclesiastical authority responsible for shaping Islamic education, or indeed any aspect of Islamic religious culture. Norms might be established, in practice as in belief, by consensus within the Muslim community."[51] Berkey underscores this diversity by noting the difficulties in even defining the term madrasah, the most common historical marker for a school of Islamic jurisprudence. In fact, some madrasahs were not educational institutions at all, while mosques and *khānqāh*s could also sponsor educational endeavors, including the study of law. Moreover, the ulama were generally not bound exclusively to a single institution for their support; some scholars held multiple posts at once and moved from institution to institution. Likewise, scholars participated in teaching circles held outside of their respective institutions, and these gatherings served to extend religious education beyond the realm of jurisprudence and higher education, to a larger body of interested non-academics, including women and Mamluk amirs.[52] As important, most classes and nearly all education, for that matter, took place in a religious setting. Many of the most important educational institutions were part of a madrasah-mosque complex with

[50]Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (Cambridge, 1994), 90; 69–90, 176–78.

[51]Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton, 1992), 1–43, 60. Parts of this section are based on my earlier review of this book in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 137–39.

[52]Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge,* 44–94. Also see Donald P. Little, "Notes on Mamluk Madrasahs," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 9–20.

classes and study periods organized around the times for formal daily prayers, and surrounded by other pious and devotional activities such as the public recitation of the Quran or hadith. As Berkey insightfully observes, the transmission of religious texts ″took place alongside, and sometimes as part of Sufi activities, public sermonizing, and popular religious celebration, and those who devoted themselves to education did not necessarily see their efforts as something fundamentally distinct from public worship.″[53]

In his recent book, *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East,* Berkey again addresses the transmission of religious knowledge, but by those who were generally outside the small circle of religious professionals. In particular, he studies the many popular preachers and storytellers, and how their activities raised issues of the interrelationship between high and popular cultures, on one hand, and questions of religious authority, on the other.[54] Berkey begins with a discussion of some of the key players involved: the *khaṭīb* was generally a state-appointed religious scholar who delivered the official Friday sermon, while the *wāʿiẓ* (″preacher,″ ″admonisher″) and the *qāṣṣ* (″storyteller″) were often independent and less educated though they, too, called the common people to lead a pious life. As such, this latter group, like the ulama, actively transmitted religious knowledge, but this became a major source of tension. For as Berkey notes, ″the controversy that their activities engendered was in the final analysis about how the common people were to understand Islam.″[55] That much was at stake is clear from the many critiques of the popular preachers written throughout the medieval period by members of the religious establishment, including Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn al-Ḥajj (d. 737/1336), Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī (d. 806/1404), and ʿAlī ibn Maymūn al-Idrīsī (d. 917/1511). Though these and other members of the ulama held a variety of theological and legal views, they were united in their stand against unlawful innovation in religion, which they sought to define and articulate in a system of proper Sunni belief and ritual.

Yet this was a daunting task, for the popular preachers and religious storytellers were pervasive in medieval Muslim society, and the common people often adored

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[53]Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge,* 50, 128–81. For more on women and education in the Mamluk period, see Huda Lutfi, ″Al-Sakhāwī′s *Kitāb al-Nisā*ʾ as a Source For the Social and Economic History of Muslim Women During the Fifteenth Century A.D.,″ *Muslim World* 71(1981): 104–24, esp. 121, and Jonathan P. Berkey, ″Women and Islamic Education in the Mamluk Period,″ in *Women in Middle Eastern History,* ed. Nikki R. Keddie and Beth Baron (New Haven, 1991), 143–57.

[54]Jonathan Berkey, *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East* (Seattle, 2001). Portions of this section previously appeared in my review of this work in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7 (2003): 246–49.

[55]Berkey, *Popular Preaching*, 21.

them as sources of religious edification and entertainment. Their critics, however, warned of charlatans and fools, who might cheat the people out of their money, while leading them astray. Such imposters and ignoramuses lacked proper education and certification, and so they spread lies, weak hadith, and heresies, while their preaching sessions were thought to encourage the mixing of the sexes and other illicit activities. This was a crucial issue, for popular preaching and storytelling were acceptable, even honorable, activities provided that their practitioners were trained and regulated by the ulama. Indeed, many critics of the popular preachers and storytellers were, themselves, preachers as well as religious scholars. Their sermons were punctuated by Quranic quotations and allusions, traditions of the prophet Muḥammad, and stories of the earlier prophets. Further, two themes central to all preaching were the renunciation of worldly goods and preparation for the Day of Judgment. Berkey reviews these and other themes found in the sermons of popular preachers, and their emotional impact on their audiences. He observes that underlying much of this preaching was Sufism, which was a prominent feature of Islam in the Mamluk period. Poverty and death were major topics of medieval mysticism, which sought to foster the love between God and His servants. But some critics feared that public expressions of pious love would be misconstrued by common folk as blatant eroticism, while the public presentation of mystical teachings could be even more dangerous. In response to such criticism, others defended popular preachers and storytellers as serving a religious service essential to the Muslim community.[56]

Berkey concludes that this debate over popular preachers and storytellers underscores the fact that while the ulama had emerged as the religious authorities of medieval Islam, precisely who qualified for membership in this elite group and on what basis remained somewhat ambiguous.[57] Here, Berkey touches on one of the most vexing problems in the study of Islam in the Mamluk period, namely what constitutes correct religious belief and practice. In a thoughtful article, "'Orthodoxy' and 'Heresy' in Medieval Islam: An Essay in Reassessment," Alexander Knysh reviews the use and general misuse of these terms in scholarship on Islam. He pointedly concludes that:

> Eurocentric interpretive categories, when uncritically superimposed on Islamic realities, may produce serious distortions. Thus such distinctly Christian concepts as "orthodoxy" and "heresy" foster a tendency to disregard the intrinsic pluralism and complexity characteristic of the religious life of the Muslim community, leaving

[56]Ibid., 36–52.
[57]Ibid., 88–96.

> aside significant and sometimes critical ″nuances.″ In order to escape these shortcomings, one should try to let Islamic tradition speak on its own terms, to let it communicate its own concerns, its own ways of articulation and interpretation of religious phenomena.[58]

This observation is particularly relevant for the Mamluk period when, as Chamberlain notes, arguments over correct religious belief were ″one of the premier forms of social combat.″[59] Chamberlain′s evaluation of the situation in Mamluk Damascus is apt for the entire Mamluk period:

> In Damascus, as in many pre-Ottoman Islamic societies, heresy and orthodoxy were problematic categories: there were no state or corporate bodies that promulgated correct doctrine. In Damascus there were partisans of several systems of belief, including shīʿīs, philosophers, ṣūfīs of various kinds, Ḥanbalīs, practitioners of kalām, and even at least one partisan of Ibn al-Rawandī.[60]

Members of the ulama, then, inevitably clashed on matters of doctrine and practice as they sought the right to assert and enforce their truth, with violence, if necessary.[61] Such was the unfortunate case of a Shiʿi legal scholar in Damascus. As Stefan Winter explains in his article ″Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Makkī ′al-Shahīd al-Awwal′ (d. 1384) and the Shiʿah of Syria,″ Ibn Makkī was declared an extremist and executed in Damascus in 786/1384.[62] Based on this and other cases, Winter determines that while accused heretics could be brought before religious authorities, there were no formal inquisitions organized to root out heresy. In fact, the Mamluk regime did not have a universal policy on the Shiʿah or Muslim heterodoxy, in general. As Winter notes:

> The Mamluk Sultanate, the Damascene *qāḍī*s, or simply an agitated crowd, *al-ʿāmmah,* were liable to declare certain Shiʿis to be intolerable heretics (*rāfiḍī*s). Yet none of them truly followed a consistent policy with regards to Shiʿism. The Sultanate′s campaigns

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[58]Alexander Knysh, ″′Orthodoxy′ and ′Heresy′ in Medieval Islam: An Essay in Reassessment,″ *Muslim World* 83 (1993): 48–67, esp. 62–63.

[59]Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice,* 167.

[60]Ibid., 167–68.

[61]Ibid., 162–75.

[62]Stefan H. Winter, ″Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Makkī ′al-Shahīd al-Awwal′ (d. 1384) and the Shiʿah of Syria,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 149–82.

> and edicts were directed against certain Shi‘i communities of the province of Tripoli only, not against the Shi‘i faith *per se*.[63]

In addition to the sectarian differences of Sunni and Shi‘i, the ulama were also divided on issues of theology and, especially, law, with the four Sunni *madhhab*s serving as key markers of scholarly identity and organization. Indeed, it was conflicts among these law schools that led the sultan Baybars (d. 676/1277) to establish a chief judgeship for each of them.[64] This range and diversity of Muslim religious belief in the Mamluk period is readily apparent in Alexander Knysh's recent book *Ibn ‘Arabi in the Later Islamic Tradition*.[65] Knysh maps controversies involving Ibn al-‘Arabī and his thought throughout the medieval Islamic world, and several chapters focus on events in Mamluk domains. He notes at the outset that while the ulama have been studied extensively in terms of their social power and status, there has been less attention to "their intellectual concerns, doctrinal disagreements and factional differences."[66] Following a survey of Ibn al-‘Arabī's life and thought, and early biographical accounts of him, Knysh proceeds to analyze carefully the polemical tradition that formed against him.

Particularly authoritative for later generations have been numerous writings by the Hanbali jurist and theologian Ibn Taymīyah, who stressed the primacy of the shari‘ah over any sort of metaphysical speculation. Ibn Taymīyah zealously opposed anything that he perceived as religious innovation, and he preached jihad against Christians, Shi‘is, and Mongols. But Ibn Taymīyah also felt that Muslim society was under attack from within, especially by beliefs in divine incarnation, mystical union with the divine, and monism. Ibn Taymīyah asserted that such beliefs and doctrines undermine the essential distinction between God and His creation upon which true monotheistic religion was based. Thus he stridently condemned any mystical writings and their authors, whom he believed to be infected by the unity of being, as their teachings blatantly encouraged deviation from God's truth, which could only be found in the Quran, the *sunnah* of Muḥammad, and codified in the divine law.[67]

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[63]Ibid., 172. Also see Devin J. Stewart, "Popular Shī‘ism in Medieval Egypt: Vestiges of Islamic Sectarian Polemics in Egyptian Arabic," *Studia Islamica* 84 (1996): 35–66.

[64]See Joseph H. Escovitz, *The Office of Qâḍî al-Quḍât in Cairo Under the Baḥrî Mamlûks* (Berlin, 1984), 20–28, and Sherman A. Jackson, *Islamic Law and the State* (Leiden, 1996), esp. 49–112. Also see Michael Cook, *Commanding the Right and Forbidding the Wrong in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge, 2000), esp. 145–64, 348–56, 365–79.

[65]Alexander D. Knysh, *Ibn ‘Arabi in the Later Islamic Tradition* (Albany, 1999).

[66]Ibid., 3.

[67]Ibid., 87–111.

In his attacks, Ibn Taymīyah often reduced abstract and sophisticated mystical doctrines to the grossest pantheism for polemical and rhetorical purposes, yet he made careful distinctions among the monists, revealing a good understanding of their ideas. For instance, Ibn Taymīyah ruled that Ibn al-ʻArabī was not as insistent as some regarding absolute monism, perhaps out of respect for the law and careful attention to the Sufi path. Nevertheless, Ibn Taymīyah denounced Ibn al-ʻArabī's teachings, especially those found in the latter's *Fuṣuṣ al-Ḥikam,* which appeared to pervert God's literal message. Such allegorical exegesis by Ibn al-ʻArabī and others posed a grave danger to religion and society.[68] Further, their malignant doctrines had been spread in elegant forms such as Ibn al-Fāriḍ's verse, and so their debilitating effects upon the Muslim community were devastating.[69] Any claims to sainthood on behalf of such heretics, Ibn Taymīyah condemned as an absurd mockery of the religious law that was so necessary for proper communal life. As a result, compromise or accommodation was impossible, and Ibn Taymīyah declared that refutation of the monists was comparable to holy war against the Mongols.[70]

Ibn Taymīyah's refutations became the foundation for later polemics and public controversies that periodically arose in Mamluk domains. However, Ibn al-ʻArabī had many supporters among the ulama and the ruling class. As Knysh observes, acceptance or rejection of Ibn al-ʻArabī's ideas was often decided by temporal, not religious authorities. Moreover moderate scholars, including al-Suyūṭī, argued that statements made by Ibn al-ʻArabī and other saints of God could be reconciled with the Quran and shariʻah via allegorical interpretations. Therefore, Muslims should venerate them, not declare them infidels, though their difficult and obscure writings should be restricted to qualified scholars of religion.[71] What emerges from a study of the Ibn al-ʻArabī controversy is the fact that people on both sides of the dispute cut across the various classes and divisions of the ulama. Therefore, the debates and participants involved should not be reduced to static polarities like orthodoxy vs. heterodoxy or legists vs. mystics, which mask the ambiguity and ambivalence at the heart of the matter. Further, such controversies conclusively

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[68]Regarding Ibn Taymīyah's position on Quranic exegesis in general see Norman Calder, "Tafsīr from Ṭabarī to Ibn Kathīr," in *Approaches to the Qur'ān*, ed. G. R. Hawting and Abdul-Kader A. Shareef (London, 1993), 101–40, esp. 125, 130–33.

[69]Also see Muhammad Umar Memon, *Ibn Taymīyah's Struggle Against Popular Religion* (The Hague, 1976), esp. 24–46, and Abdul Haq Ansari, "Ibn Taymīyah's Criticism of Sufism," *Islam and the Modern Age* (August 1984): 147–56.

[70]Knysh, *Ibn ʻArabi,* 50, 62, 96–99. Also see Th. Emil Homerin, "Sufis & Their Detractors in Mamluk Egypt: A Survey of Protagonists and Institutional Settings," in *Islamic Mysticism Contested,* ed. F. De Jong and B. Radtke (Leiden, 1999), 225–47, esp. 231–35.

[71]Knysh, *Ibn ʻArabi,* 113–40; 201–23.

show that for Islam in the Mamluk domains, beliefs and doctrine mattered. As Knysh concludes:

> Like other contested theological issues, Ibn al-ʻArabī′s legacy served as a convenient rallying point for various religio-political factions vying for power and supremacy. While no universal *ijmāʻ* has ever been reached on the problem of Ibn al-ʻArabī′s belief/unbelief, local campaigns to either vindicate or condemn him show that a relatively effective machinery was created by the ʻ*ulamāʻ* for defining and formulating an authoritative position on a given doctrinal issue.[72]

Finally, it should be stressed that nearly all of the antagonists and protagonists in the Ibn al-ʻArabī debate accepted and practiced Sufism in various degrees and forms. In ″Sufis & Their Detractors in Mamluk Egypt: A Survey of Protagonists and Institutional Settings,″ I attempt to gauge the place of mystical beliefs and practice in the Mamluk period. As was the case with Ibn al-ʻArabī, particular Sufis and their beliefs might be the target of censure, but many other aspects of Sufism were acceptable to most Muslims. The ulama were not polarized between mystics and non-mystics so much as they exhibited a range of opinion regarding mystical experiences and practice, their content and value, relative to other types of authoritative sources. Even Ibn Taymīyah accepted Sufism provided it was grounded in the literal message of the Quran and the prophetic *sunnah*.[73] Perhaps more telling was the fact that the conservative Maliki scholar Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) enumerated Sufism as one of ″the legitimate sciences that originated in Islam″ *(min al-ʻulūm al-sharʻīyah al-ḥadīthah fī al-millah)*. Elites and commoners alike sought the blessings of saintly shaykhs, and Sufi ceremonies were regularly attended by Muslims of all social classes. In fact, *ṣūfī* was a legitimate occupational category in *waqf* deeds. Not surprisingly, jurists and others criticized those who used the Sufi profession as a means to accrue large sums of money. Yet such behavior was inappropriate to any religious office, and this was not a critique of Sufis in particular, but of the ″ulama″ class, in general.[74]

Clearly, mysticism was a vital part of Islam in the Mamluk age, and this has been the focus of fruitful study for several decades. French scholars, including

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[72]Ibid., 273–74.

[73]Also see Th. Emil Homerin, ″Ibn Taymīyah′s *al-Ṣūfīyah w-al-fuqarāʼ*,″ *Arabica* 32 (1985): 219–44.

[74]Homerin, ″Sufis & Their Detractors,″ 225–47.

Paul Nwyia,[75] Jean-Claude Garcin,[76] and Denis Gril,[77] have been quite active in the field, producing a number of fine articles and monographs, while Victor Danner[78] and Elmer Douglas[79] have contributed translations and studies of important Sufi texts from the period. Many of these and other specialized studies inform the best current introduction to the topic, *Le Soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie* by Éric Geoffroy. Though Geoffroy's ostensible focus is the later Mamluk and early Ottoman periods, this encyclopedic work covers much of the Mamluk centuries. He begins by situating Sufism within its larger social, political, and religious contexts, and he pays particular attention to the importance of the prophetic model and notions of saintliness in shaping Sufi traditions.[80] Geoffroy examines the important roles played by scholar-Sufis, charlatan Sufis, and the shaykhs and Sufis of the *zāwiyah*s and *khānqāh*s. He finds the *zāwiyah* to have been especially important for the teaching and training of Sufis, while he regards the *khānqāh* as a more impersonal semi-political institution.[81] I have touched on the *khānqāh*'s particular religious function above, and as Geoffroy notes, these institutions have received considerable scholarly attention. Leonor Fernandes and Doris Behrens-Abouseif have published a number of insightful studies on these institutions in terms of their architecture and social, economic, and religious roles, and to their work should be added more recent publications by Donald Little and ʻĀṣim Muḥammad Rizq.[82]

Geoffroy next reviews forms of affiliation among various Sufi paths and their major representatives in Syria and Egypt, with a comparison to those of other regions, and their mutual influences.[83] This is followed by an analysis of several prominent Sufi types including the ascetic, the practicing scholar, the inspired

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[75]E.g., Paul Nwyia, *Ibn ʻAṭā' Allāh et la naissance de la confrérie sadilite* (Beirut, 1972).

[76]E.g., Jean-Claude Garcin, *Un centre musulman de Haute Égypte médiévale, Qūṣ* (Cairo, 1976), and a collection of his essays, *Espaces, pouvoirs, et idéologies de l'Égypte médiévale* (London, 1987).

[77]E.g., Denis Gril, "Une source inedite pour l'histoire du *tasawwuf* en Égypte au VIIe/XIIe siècle," in *Livre du Centenaire de l'IFAO* (Cairo, 1980), 441–58, and idem, *La Risāla de Ṣafī al-Dīn Ibn Abī al-Manṣūr Ibn Ẓāfir* (Cairo, 1986).

[78]Victor Danner, tr., *Ibn ʻAta'llah's Spiritual Aphorisms* (Leiden, 1973); idem, *Ibn ʻAta'llah: The Book of Wisdom* (New York, 1978).

[79]Elmer H. Douglas, tr., *The Mystical Teachings of al-Shadhili* (Albany, 1993).

[80]Éric Geoffroy, *Le Soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie* (Damascus, 1995), 1–144. A more recent introduction to the subject, *Al-Taṣawwuf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Dīnīyah fī Miṣr al-Mamlūkīyah* (Cairo, 2002) by Aḥmad Manṣūr, is an anti-Sufi polemic of no scholarly value.

[81]Geoffroy, *Le Soufisme*, 145–87.

[82]See Homerin, "Souls," for an extensive bibliography on this topic, and ʻĀṣim Muḥammad Rizq, *Khānqāwāt al-Ṣūfīyah fī Miṣr* (Cairo, 1997).

[83]Geoffroy, *Le Soufisme,* 189–281.

illiterate shaykh, the accomplished master, the mad mystic, and finally, the *malāmatī* or blame-seeker.[84] Unfortunately, on this latter topic, Geoffroy did not have access to the fine study by Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period, 1200–1500*.[85] Karamustafa argues that the radical renunciation and social deviance that characterize these individuals resulted largely from their belief that Muslim society was an obstacle to salvation in the world to come. These antinomian mendicants similarly rebelled against the more established Sufi orders and institutions, which they regarded as unacceptable compromises with worldly life.[86]

Geoffroy goes on to survey some of the doctrinal debates of the period, including those on permissible forms of *dhikr* and *samāʻ,* the belief/disbelief issues regarding Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Ibn al-ʻArabī and monism, and the value of mystical inspiration.[87] As Geoffroy makes clear, in the face of such controversies, the various lines of Sufi initiation among the ulama were crucial to harmonizing mystical inspiration and practice with social propriety and law. Further, due to the support of Qāytbāy and, subsequently, the Ottoman sultan Selim I, Ibn al-ʻArabī and his doctrine gained wider acceptance. Geoffroy argues convincingly that during the Mamluk period, Sufism's success stemmed, in part, from its flexibility in adapting to a plurality of conditions and needs, from those of the religious elite to those of illiterate peasants. As such, Sufism proved to be a fundamental and dynamic part of medieval Muslim life, socially, culturally, and, above all, religiously.[88]

In his concluding remarks, Geoffroy draws attention to the work of Boaz Shoshan regarding the place and popularity of Sufism in medieval Egypt. Shoshan takes up this and other themes in his book *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo*.[89] He highlights the importance of the Sufi orders to congregational life and calls attention to the sermons of popular Sufi shaykhs. Shoshan examines in some detail the sermons of Ibn ʻAṭāʼ Allāh (d. 709/1309), the celebrated Shādhilī Sufi master, who preached that faith and repentance were the foundation of religious life. Ibn ʻAṭāʼ Allāh warned his audiences against Satan and sins, and urged them to perform regularly their prayers and other required religious duties, and to visit the tombs of the saints. Shoshan then draws attention to the close relationship

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[84]Ibid., 283–360.

[85]Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period, 1200–1500* (Salt Lake City, 1994), esp. 25–56.

[86]Ibid., 17–23, 97–102.

[87]Geoffroy, *Le Soufisme,* 361–503.

[88]Ibid., 505–10.

[89]Boaz Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo* (Cambridge, 1993).

between religion and magic, and he cites several cases of con-men and charlatans, followed by Ibn Taymīyah's condemnation of these frauds and their supporters.[90]

The popularity of magic at this time is further suggested by the work of Ibn Taymīyah's student, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah (d. 751/1349). Ibn Qayyim wrote an extensive refutation of beliefs in astrology, augury, and alchemy, which John W. Livingston has reviewed in his article "Science and the Occult in the Thinking of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya." Livingston suggests that the occult was a refuge for many Muslims in the Mamluk period as they faced war, plague, famine, earthquakes, and other disasters that appeared to harbinger the Judgment Day. However, Ibn Qayyim and other members of the ulama denounced occult practices as sinful for they reduced God's undivided omnipotence to the flight of birds and moving stars. Significantly, Ibn Qayyim marshaled evidence that such practices were not only morally wrong, but scientifically implausible, and so they should be avoided.[91]

If the occult might relieve stress regarding the future, religious festivals could temporarily ease the burdens of the present, as Shoshan notes in his study of the Nawrūz celebration in Cairo. A popular spring festival, Nawrūz originated in pre-Islamic Iran, but it became associated with the prophet Abraham and spread to Egypt, where it was celebrated for centuries, including in the Mamluk period. Analyzing this holiday in terms of medieval European carnival, Shoshan notes that Nawrūz encouraged uninhibited, even wanton celebration, along with the reversal of social status. In this way Nawrūz may have eased social tensions among the populace, particularly among Cairo's lower classes.[92] More popular still than Nawrūz was the *Mawlid al-Nabī,* the birthday of the prophet Muḥammad, which has been studied by N. J. G. Kaptein in *Muḥammad's Birthday Festival*. While the main focus of this book is the *Mawlid al-Nabī* in North Africa, Kaptein provides a translation of a *fatwá* by al-Suyūṭī regarding the permissibility of celebrating the event. In his legal opinion, al-Suyūṭī examined the celebration in the context of religious innovation in general, and while conceding that the celebration was an innovation, he declared it to be a praiseworthy one, which brings heavenly reward to its participants. Significantly, Kaptein notes that al-Suyūṭī attributed the origins of the celebration to the thirteenth-century Ayyubid ruler Muẓaffar al-Dīn Kökbürü, thereby ignoring earlier Fatimid celebrations of the Prophet's birthday, perhaps in an attempt to provide Sunni respectability to the *Mawlid.*[93]

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[90]Ibid., 9–22.

[91]John W. Livingston, "Science and the Occult in the Thinking of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 112 (1992): 598–610.

[92]Shoshan, *Popular Culture,* 40–51.

[93]N. J. G. Kaptein, *Muḥammad's Birthday Festival: Early History in the Central Muslim Lands*

Although al-Suyūṭī gave few details about actual celebrations, he did note that it was common for stories of the Prophet's life and miracles to be recited on this occasion. This aspect of the Mamluk *Mawlid* has been discussed recently by Fāris Aḥmad al-ʻAlāwī in his book *ʻĀ'ishah al-Bāʻūnīyah al-Dimashqīyah*. ʻĀ'ishah al-Bāʻūnīyah (d. 922/1516) was a noted scholar and poet who composed a number of works praising Muḥammad, including her *Al-Mawrid al-Ahná fī al-Mawlid al-Asná*, and her *badīʻīyah* poem, popularly known as *Al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn fī Madḥ al-Amīn.* As an introduction to his new editions of both poems, al-ʻAlāwī provides a useful survey of the history of celebrating the Prophet's birthday, and an overview of the *mawlid al-nabī* genre of prose and poetry.[94] Among this poetry, Muḥammad al-Būṣīrī's (d. ca. 694/1294) *Burdah,* recently studied and translated by Stefan Sperl,[95] has a special place as the most celebrated poem ever composed in Arabic. Al-Būṣīrī's *Burdah* and other poems praising the Prophet draw attention to the devotional spirit that was pronounced in the Mamluk period, and here, again, poetry helps to gauge Muslim religious concerns. Arabic religious poetry from the Mamluk period ranges from the refined verse of professional poets to the vernacular prayers of pilgrims. At times this verse reveals an ascetic spirit reflecting life's vicissitudes and the human condition, as noted earlier in elegiac poetry. In such circumstances, some poems counsel pious circumspection and an acute awareness of one's shortcomings, while others are urgent prayers seeking God's intercession in troubled times, such as during an outbreak of plague, which evoked these verses from the Cairene judge Ibn al-Tansī (d. 853/1449):

O God of creation, how great are my sins.
Have mercy, for You alone can forgive.
O my Lord, help a wretched servant
who kneels before the door of Your high home.[96]

Further, much of this religious verse has a homiletic character and often revolves around the mystical themes of love and union with God and, of course, devotion to the prophet Muḥammad.

As God's final prophet, Muḥammad is universally regarded by Muslims as

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and Development in the Muslim West until the 10th/16th Century (Leiden, 1993), 44–75.

[94]Fāris Aḥmad al-ʻAlāwī, *ʻĀ'ishah al-Bāʻūnīyah al-Dimashqīyah* (Damascus, 1994), 63–94. Also see Th. Emil Homerin, "Living Love: The Mystical Writings of ʻĀ'ishah al-Bāʻūnīyah," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7 (2003): 211–34, and my review of al-ʻAlāwī in *MSR* 6 (2002): 191–93.

[95]Stefan Sperl, "Qasida 50," in *Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa,* ed. S. Sperl and C. Shackle (Leiden, 1996), 2:388–411, 470–76.

[96]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah* (Cairo, 1963), 15:539, quoted in Th. Emil Homerin, "Arabic Religious Poetry: 1200–1800," in *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: The Post-*

″the best of creation,″ and his tomb in Medina attained a sanctity at times rivaling that of Mecca, as Shaun Marmon describes in her study *Eunuchs and Sacred Boundaries in Islamic Society*. Baybars, the first Mamluk sultan, rebuilt the sanctuary surrounding the tomb after it had been destroyed in a fire, and thereby set a precedent for later sultans, who would continue to support the holy site. Guarding this sacred space were ″the eunuchs of the Prophet″ praised for their piety and their ability to control the powerful forces present there. These liminal figures protected the sanctity of the shrine, guarding its boundaries from violations by visitors.[97] Akin to the holy Prophet were his spiritual heirs, the pious saints, and pilgrimage to their shrines was another marked feature of religion in the Mamluk period.

Over the last twenty years, the study of saints and sainthood in Islam has been an area of active interest, reflecting a prominent trend in the study of religion in general. Two works on Christian saints have been particularly influential in the field. In *Saints and Society,* Donald Weinstein and Rudolph Bell examined saints′ lives for what they may reveal about notions of individual growth and change, the importance of the family to the practice of religion, and the changing configurations of piety and sanctity in the late Middle Ages.[98] Peter Brown, in his *Cult of the Saints,* demonstrated that far from a ″superstition,″ Christian saint veneration was practiced by all social classes for it:

> . . . enabled the Christian communities, by projecting a structure of clearly defined relationships onto the unseen world, to ask questions about the quality of relationships in their own society . . . It was a form of piety exquisitely adapted to enable late-antique men to articulate and render manageable urgent, muffled debates on the nature and power of their own world, and to examine in the searching light of ideal relationships with ideal figures, the relation between power, mercy, and justice as practiced around them.[99]

In addition, several works in the 1980s undertook the comparative study of sainthood with contributions on Muslim saints, as scholars of Islam approached the subject with new interest.[100]

Classical Period, ed. R. Allen and D. Richards (Cambridge, forthcoming).

[97]Shaun Marmon, *Eunuchs and Sacred Boundaries in Islamic Society* (Cambridge, 1995), esp. 51–92.

[98]Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society* (Chicago, 1982).

[99]Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints* (Chicago, 1981), 63.

[100]William Brinner, ″Prophet and Saint: The Two Exemplars,″ in *Saints and Virtues,* ed. John

As for saints in the Mamluk period, groundbreaking work was done by Jean-Claude Garcin, who studied relations between popular saints and Mamluk amirs, as well as the various types of Sufi saints and their miracles, particularly in the context of the needs of the rural masses.[101] Also of importance has been the pioneering work on saints, shrines, and pilgrimage by Ernest Bannerth, Su'ād Māhir, and Yūsuf Rāghib.[102] Their efforts have served as foundations for more recent contributions to the study of saints and sainthood in Mamluk domains. For instance, *Saints orientaux,* edited by Denise Aigle, features articles by Éric Geoffroy on the hagiography *(adab al-manāqib)* and typology of saints from the Mamluk period, by Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen on a group of rural Sufi saints associated with al-Sayyid al-Badawī (d. 675/1276), and by Denis Gril on the importance of miracles *(karāmāt)* as evidence for Sufism's prophetic heritage.[103] Miracles are the subject of a second volume edited by Aigle, *Miracle et karāma,* which contains further engaging articles, which occasionally touch on the Mamluk period. Geoffroy reviews the ambiguous position of some Sufis regarding evident and hidden miracles. While a saint might reveal a miracle to help others or defend against her/his detractors, s/he should take care to conceal them on other occasions so as not to become an object of excessive veneration by others.[104] Mayeur-Jaouen also provides a lively discussion of the relationships between animals, miracles, and Muslim

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Stratton Hawley (Berkeley, 1987), 36–51; Lamin Sanneh, "Saints and Virtues in African Islam," in ibid., 144–67; Frederick M. Denny, "God's Friends: the Sanctity of Persons in Islam," in *Sainthood,* ed. Richard Kieckhefer and George D. Bond (Berkeley, 1988), 69–97; and more recently, Josef W. Meri, "The Etiquette of Devotion in the Islamic Cult of the Saints," in *The Cult of the Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages,* ed. J. Howard-Johnson and P. A. Howard (Oxford, 1999), 263–86. Also see Richard Gramlich, *Die Wunder der Freunde Gottes* (Wiesbaden, 1987); Michael Chodkiewicz, *Le Sceau des Saints* ([Paris], 1986); *Manifestations of Sainthood in Islam,* ed. Grace Martin Smith and Carl W. Ernst (Istanbul, 1993); and Vincent Cornell, *Realm of the Saint* (Austin, 1998).

[101]Jean-Claude Garcin, "Deux Saints populaires du Caire au debut XVIe siècle," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 29 (1977): 131–43, and idem, "Historie et hagiographie de l'Égypte musulmane à la fin de l'epoque mamelouke et au debut de l'epoque ottomane," *Hommages à la mémorie de Serge Sauneron* (Cairo, 1979), 287–316.

[102]Ernest Bannerth, *Islamische Wallfahrtsstätten Kairos* (Wiesbaden, 1973); Su'ād Māhir, *Masājid Miṣr wa-Awliyā' uhā al-Ṣāliḥūn* (Cairo, 1976); Yūsuf Rāghib, "Essai d'inventaire chronologiques des guides à l'usage des pèlerins du Caire," *Review des études islamiques* 41 (1973): 259–80; and idem, "Al-Sayyida Nafīsa, sa légende, son culte et son cimetière," *Studia Islamica* 44 (1976): 61–86.

[103]Éric Geoffroy, "Hagiograpie et typologie spirituelle," in *Saints orientaux,* ed. Denise Aigle (Paris, 1995), 83–98; Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen, "Les Compagnons de la Terrasse, un groupe de soufis ruraux dans l'Égypte mamelouke," in ibid., 169–80; and Denis Gril, "Le miracle en islam, critière de la sainteté?" in ibid., 69–81.

[104]Éric Geoffroy, "Les Mystiques musulmans face au miracle," in *Miracle et karama,* ed. Denise

saints with several examples from the Mamluk period.[105]

Concern with hagiography, miracles, and intercession is also apparent in *Le Saint et son milieu,* edited by Rachida Chih and Denis Gril. This volume contains important articles by Éric Geoffroy and Richard McGregor on sainthood among the Shādhilī Sufis.[106] As McGregor notes, some Shādhilīs believed in multiple levels of sainthood *(walāyah),* ranging from that found in every believer to the higher levels of accomplished Sufi saints whose mystical inspiration continued Muḥammad′s prophetic legacy.[107] Denis Gril compares the lives of two saints, ʻAbd Allāh al-Minūfī (d. 749/1348), a scholar in Cairo, and Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Farghal (ninth/fifteenth c.), an illiterate peasant from a village in Upper Egypt. Gril notes that both are portrayed as possessing the same interior gnosis, proven by their ability to perform miracles, though al-Minūfī, unlike al-Farghal, attempted to hide his miracles. Again, like the prophet Muḥammad, both saints served their fellow human beings. Moreover, the two saints, and the different accounts written on them, present two prominent and contrasting models of sainthood in medieval Egypt: the saintly scholar and the illiterate saint. The latter was particularly important for those in the rural areas in need of a patron saint and a place for pilgrimage in order to share in the prophetic legacy embodied in all saints.[108] Finally, Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen examines saintly ideals in light of practical realities, in her study of shaykhs in the lineage of Ibrāhīm al-Matbūlī (d. 880/1475) at the end of the Mamluk and beginning of the Ottoman eras. She finds that there was always a need to strike a balance between the concrete realities involved with supporting a *zāwiyah,* and the requirements of maintaining religious comportment *(wara‘)*. This need was especially acute when shaykhs interacted with their Mamluk and Ottoman benefactors, whether at banquets and similar occasions, when receiving their gifts, or when seeking favors on behalf of the

Aigle (Turnhout, 2000), 301–16.

[105]Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen, ″Miracles des saints musulmans et regne animal,″ in *Miracle et karāma,* 577–606.

[106]Éric Geoffroy, ″L′Élection divine de Muḥammad et ʻAlī Wafā' (VIIIe/XIVe s.) ou comment la branche wafā'ī s′est détachée de l′arbre *šāḏilī,*″ in *Le Saint et son milieu,* ed. Rachida Chih and Denis Gril (Cairo, 2000), 51–60.

[107]Richard J. A. McGregor, ″The Concept of Sainthood According to Ibn Bāḫila: A Šāḏilī Shaykh of the 8th/14th Century,″ in *Le Saint et son milieu,* 33–50. Also see idem, ″New Sources for the Study of Sufism in Mamlūk Egypt,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 65 (2002): 300–22, and his ″Being and Knowing According to an 8th/14th Century Cairene Mystic,″ *Annales islamologiques* 36 (2002): 177–96.

[108]Denis Gril, ″Saint des villes et saint des champs: étude comparée de deux vies de saints d′époque mamelouke,″ in *Le Saint et son milieu,* 61–82.

peasants, who depended on the shaykhs for intercession with both God and the ruling elite.[109]

Mayeur-Jaouen has also carried out extensive research on Egypt's greatest saint, Aḥmad al-Badawī. In her book *Al-Sayyid al-Badawī, un grand saint de l'islam égyptien,* Mayeur-Jaouen describes the saint's fortunes over the centuries until today. Of relevance to the Mamluk period is her study of al-Badawī's life and miracles, and the evolving construction of his saintly reputation and shrine in Ṭanṭā. Significantly, she finds that much of the saint's life and legend has been patterned on Muḥammad's life story, demonstrating, once again, the centrality of the prophetic paradigm in Muslim thought and culture. Mayeur-Jaouen offers further proof that the miracles associated with al-Badawī, including defending the oppressed and helping the poor, reflect the concerns and tensions of Egyptian rural society in the Mamluk period. Similar miracles are attributed to al-Badawī's successors whose village origins are underscored by the fact that many of them were not religious scholars or, in some cases, even literate. Mayeur-Jaouen also surveys some of the major doctrines and practices of the Aḥmadīyah order representing al-Badawī's saintly lineage.[110]

Another famous rural saint of Egypt, Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī (d. 696/1296), has been studied by Helena Hallenberg. She contrasts al-Dasūqī with his contemporary al-Badawī, suggesting that al-Dasūqī's cult was less developed. She goes on to discuss possible economic motives for al-Dasūqī's cult, and examines the early shrine and its endowment by the sultan Qāytbāy.[111] Hallenberg presents an extensive examination of the cult and mystical teachings ascribed to al-Dasūqī, and speculates on possible pre-Islamic elements within al-Dasūqī's legend and cult. Hallenberg notes that the ancient Egyptian deity previously worshiped in the area was Horus, known as "He of the two eyes," and there is an obvious resonance here with al-Dasūqī's title "He of the two eyes." She also notes that the light imagery and notions of the god-man as an axis mundi involved with al-Dasūqī also had earlier manifestations in ancient Egypt, as did al-Dasūqī's miracle involving a crocodile, and too, the date for al-Dasūqī's *mawlid.*[112]

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[109]Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen, "Le Cheikh scrupuleux et l'émir généreux à travers les *Akhlāq matbūliyya* de Ša'rānī," in *Le Saint et son milieu,* 83–115. For a discussion of various opinions on intercession *(al-shafā'ah)* in general, see Shaun E. Marmon, "The Quality of Mercy: Intercession in Mamluk Society," *Studia Islamica* 87 (1998): 125–39.

[110]Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen, *Al-Sayyid al-Badawī, un grand saint de l'islam égyptien* (Cairo, 1994), esp. 161–506.

[111]Helena Hallenberg, "The Sultan Who Loved Sufis: How Qāytbāy Endowed a Shrine Complex in Dasūq," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 4 (2000): 147–66.

[112]Helena Hallenberg, "Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī (1255–96): A Saint Invented," Ph.D. diss., University of Helsinki, 1997.

In contrast to these rural traditions is my study of an important saint of medieval Cairo. In *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, His Verse, and His Shrine,* I offer a case study of saint and shrine formation, most of which occurred in the Mamluk period. This renowned Arab poet was regarded as a saint soon after his death, due in large part to what many believed to be the inspired nature of his religious verse. A reverential grandson then composed a hagiography on the poet, which became the basis for much of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's saintly reputation. However, as we have seen, Ibn al-Fāriḍ and his verse were part of the Ibn al-ʿArabī/monism controversies that divided the ulama on several occasions, underscoring the fact that Ibn al-Fāriḍ and his verse were enmeshed in a complex web of competing modes of authority and interpretation. Yet due in large part to the beauty of his verse, and to Mamluk patronage, Ibn al-Fāriḍ and his poetry remained an accepted part of Muslim religion and society in the Mamluk era.[113]

While such studies chart a single saint's fortunes in the Mamluk period, several recent works take a broader view of the subject. Richard J. A. McGregor, in his *Sanctity and Mysticism in Medieval Egypt,* focuses on Sufi conceptions of sanctity within Islamic mystical theology, primarily through a careful study of the writings of Muḥammad Wafāʾ (d. 765/1363) and his son ʿAlī (d. 807/1405), founders of Cairo's Wafāʾīyah Sufi order. In general, many Muslims of the Mamluk period believed that Muslim ascetics and mystics had attained sanctity. These saints had been annihilated mystically into God yet, due to His grace, they were allowed to abide in this world below as guides to others. These holy men and women, then, form a bridge *(barzakh)* between humanity and God. As spiritual heirs to the prophet Muḥammad, each saint shares in the Muḥammadan Reality, reflecting a portion of Muḥammad's primordial light. Further, Muḥammad al-Wafāʾ and ʿAlī al-Wafāʾ, following al-Tirmidhī and Ibn al-ʿArabī, formulated a doctrine of a seal of the saints who would culminate the cycles of sainthood and presage the end of time and the coming of the Judgment Day.[114]

McGregor's study gives us a fascinating view of some of the religious beliefs and doctrines circulating during the Mamluk period, particularly regarding the seal of the saints and the apocalypse. By contrast Christopher Taylor's book *In the Vicinity of the Righteous* maps the sacred geography of Cairo, arguably the center of the Islamic world at that time. He demonstrates a firm grasp of the archeological and textual evidence, and pays particular attention to the often neglected pilgrimage

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[113]Th. Emil Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint* (Columbia, 1994, rev. 2nd ed., Cairo, 2001), esp. 1–75. Also see idem, *ʿUmar Ibn al-Fāriḍ: Sufi Verse, Saintly Life* (New York, 2001), esp. 295–335.

[114]Richard J. A. McGregor, *Sanctity and Mysticism in Medieval Egypt: The Wafāʾ Sufi Order and the Legacy of Ibn ʿArabī* (Albany, 2004). Also see my review of this book in this issue of *Mamlūk Studies Review.*

guides. Using these guides and their hagiographic content, Taylor discusses the sacred geography of Cairo, the divine blessings emanating from the tombs of holy persons, and the etiquette of pilgrimage *(ziyārah)* to their shrines.[115] Taylor then probes models of exemplary religious life, which include controlling one′s desire, poverty and the absence of material need, generosity, honesty, and similar exemplary traits that might help others lead better lives and attain heavenly reward.[116] He also reviews several types of miracles and other forms of saintly mediation, and their dynamic functions.[117] Taylor then examines the long-standing debate between Muslims, including Ibn Taymīyah and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, who have held saint cults to be a pernicious form of idolatry, and the larger Muslim majority who have believed that the saints are God′s special friends whose prayers are answered on behalf of believers.[118] Taylor concludes that the saints and their cults played vital roles within medieval Islam in general, and in Mamluk Cairo in particular, as they combined ″unifying elements of universal significance with considerable diversity in local expression.″[119]

In many respects, Taylor′s study is complemented by Josef Meri′s recent book, *The Cult of the Saints Among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria*. Meri has drawn on many of the sources mentioned above for this fine book, which can serve as both an introduction to medieval Muslim (and Jewish) veneration of holy persons, appropriate to a general audience, and a scholarly study of the subject in Mamluk Syria. Meri begins by describing the spiritual topography of the region and the importance of scripture and religious writings for identifying sacred sites. Unlike Cairo, Syria was the burial place for a number of biblical prophets, as well as saints, while Damascus has often been associated with eschatological events. Meri stresses that devotees did not invent sacred space so much as they ″re-discovered″ it by association with these and other traditions.[120] He then proceeds to definitions of saints and their definitive traits, which include miracles, asceticism, and fasting. Meri, too, identifies various types of venerated people, from prophets, their families, and companions, to mystics, theologians, judges, and other men and women of exemplary learning and piety, to antinomian individuals and the

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[115]Christopher S. Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous* (Leiden, 1999), 1–79.
[116]Ibid., 80–126.
[117]Ibid., 127–67.
[118]Ibid., 168–218. Also see Niels Henrik Olesen, *Culte des saints et pèlerinages chez Ibn Taymiyya* (Paris, 1991).
[119]Ibid., 226.
[120]Josef Meri, *The Cult of the Saints Among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford, 2002), 1–58.

insane.[121] Of particular importance was *barakah,* the sacred blessing or charisma possessed by holy people, places, and relics, which Meri observes ″was spiritual, perceptual, and emotive, rather than conceptual.″[122]

Meri next turns to the practice of *ziyārah,* which he defines broadly as ″not only pilgrimage, but also the culture of devotion of which pilgrimage and saint veneration were an integral part.″[123] He reviews both Sunni and Shiʻi *ziyārah* practices and the debates on their legality. Like Taylor, Meri pays close attention to pilgrimage guides and related literature for probing pilgrimage rituals and etiquette, and as a source for a number of insightful sections on women devotees, individual saints, types of talismans, and such practices as seeking cures, rain, and repentance. He suggests that pilgrimage to local shrines had social and economic, as well as religious, motives, and that it may have offered the poor and elderly a way to participate vicariously in the more expensive and difficult hajj.[124] Following a chapter on Jewish pilgrimage, Meri considers various types of shrines and other sacred sites, and their proliferation in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Meri ascribes this growth, in part, to the decline of Abbasid central authority and the need by their various successors for religious legitimation as protectors and patrons of Islam and its holy places. The spread of Sufism and its orders also nurtured the growth of shrines and the cult of the saints, while sacred sites were steadily incorporated into larger mosque-madrasah complexes.[125] Meri concludes that the veneration of holy persons was a central part of popular religious life among Muslims, Christians, and Jews of the medieval Near East. But by popular he does not mean ″low″ or ″heterodox″ but normative as ″devotees from all walks of life… sought to reaffirm their faith, chart their sacred pasts, and derive relief from illness and adversity.″[126]

Meri′s recent study reaffirms a general conclusion reached by many of the scholars considered in this essay. Namely, a two-tier model of religion with a high faith of a literate elite above the vulgar superstitions of the masses is an inaccurate and misleading description of religion in the Mamluk period. We should recall that while the Quran and *sunnah* provide the foundation for Islamic belief and practice, they still allow for a wide array of regional and cultural interpretation and expression. Further, as Sunni Islam lacks an official earthly religious authority after the Prophet Muḥammad, local custom may not oppose normative Islam so

[121]Ibid., 59–102.

[122]Ibid., 103, 104–19.

[123]Ibid., 10, 120–63.

[124]Ibid., 163–213.

[125]Ibid., 249–74.

[126]Ibid., 281–87.

much as determine it. The consensus of a community, its tradition, certifies correct belief and practice to a great extent, and this appears to have been the case in Mamluk domains. I would venture to say that this is the growing consensus of Mamluk scholars today.

Finally, I would like to offer a few concluding observations. First, recent study of religion in the Mamluk period has not been Egyptocentric. Works by scholars, including Little, Knysh, and Geoffroy, cover all Mamluk domains, including Palestine and the Hijaz, while important studies on the ulama, saints, and Sufis in Cairo have their able Damascene counterparts. A similar effect is found if we view this research, at least that on saints and Sufis, in terms of urban-rural relations, with studies of religion in Cairo, Damascus, and Jerusalem finding their village complements. Another positive trend in recent research is a familiarity among Mamluk scholars with related scholarship involving other regions and religions, especially Christianity and Judaism, which allows for a comparative perspective in terms of both subject matter and methodology. I am also encouraged by the fact that a number of scholars have used manuscripts for their research. There are hundreds, if not thousands, of unpublished manuscripts composed during the Mamluk period on religious topics, and careful study of them will, I believe, significantly enhance and, perhaps, dramatically change how we view medieval Islam. Concomitantly, there are still many published works from the period in need of further study involving theology, law, and mysticism, and covering a range of religious topics from death, purgatory, and the afterlife, to prayers and devotions, to the interpretation of the Quran, and dreams. Though we may lack a detailed and comprehensive introduction to religion in the Mamluk period, this should not be an obstacle to continued fruitful research in the future.

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Mediators Between East and West: Christians Under Mamluk Rule

In this article, I do not intend to provide a comprehensive overview of the situation of Latin and Greek Orthodox Christians in Mamluk Egypt and Syria, be they pilgrims, clerics, monks or traders, natives or immigrants. Rather, the focus will be on describing the position of these Christians between Orient and Occident, between Islam and Christianity, from concrete case studies. This intermediate position shows the wide variety of connections and dependencies that existed between the different peoples, religious communities, and state organizations, but at the same time provides a key to understanding the unity of the eastern Mediterranean region. In this sense this article may be seen as a contribution to the writing of ″a human history of the Mediterranean Sea expressed through the commercial, cultural and religious interaction that took place across its surface″ that David Abulafia has called for to supplement the *longue durée,* ecological approach of Fernand Braudel and more recently of Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell.[1]

Christians in Palestine within the Framework of International Relations

Latin and Greek Orthodox Christians in the Mamluk Empire did not form a coherent group by any means. While Greek, Georgian, Russian, or Serbian monks and priests, Franciscans, Melkites (i.e., Arabic-speaking Orthodox), or Latin merchants on the one hand lived permanently or at least for long periods in the region, on the other hand many Latin and Orthodox pilgrims and travellers visited

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[1]David Abulafia, ″What is the Mediterranean?″ in *The Mediterranean in History,* ed. idem (Los Angeles, 2003), 26; cf. also idem, ″The Impact of the Orient: Economic Interactions between East and West in the Medieval Mediterranean,″ in *Across the Mediterranean Frontiers: Trade, Politics and Religion, 650–1450: Selected Proceedings of the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 10-13 July 1995, 8–11 July 1996,* ed. Dionisius A. Agius and Ian Richard Netton (Turnhout, Belgium, 1997), 1–40; Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et la Monde Méditerranéen à l′époque de Philippe II,* 2nd rev. ed. (Paris, 1966); Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford, 2000). For the Early Middle Ages cf. Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300–900* (Cambridge, 2001).

the Mamluk empire only temporarily. However, the relationships of the Christians in Syria and Egypt to the Mamluks cannot be seen in the isolation of a purely internal perspective. The Christian protecting powers such as Byzantium and the papacy, or various powers such as France, the kingdom of Aragon, the kingdom of Cyprus, or the Italian trading cities, looked after their own interests in the eastern Mediterranean.[2] Between all these different groups a complex network emerged, and these relationships have always to be kept in mind when one tries to determine the respective political environment and the motives of the protagonists involved.

Using the example of the Georgian community in Jerusalem it can be demonstrated how domestic and foreign policy are frequently interlinked so that it is sometimes hard to tell what formed the basis for Mamluk policy with respect to their Christian subjects. Did the Mamluks show consideration towards the Muslim religious establishment, which took generally a more anti-Christian position and from time to time stirred up the animosity of the Muslim population against the Christians,[3] or were foreign policy interests their primary concern? When and for what reason did the respective protecting powers intervene with the Mamluk court?

After Georgia had acknowledged the supreme rule of the Mongol Great Khan in 1243 it was directly involved in the continual conflicts of the Mamluks and the Ilkhanids, the Mongol rulers of Persia. In this conflict both parties were always on the lookout for allies and tried to create a second front in order to gain a tactical advantage over their opponent. Georgia also formed a part of this system of alliances.[4] In the beginning of 1268, after intensive diplomatic activities, the kings

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[2]The study of Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Ilkhanid War, 1260–1281,* Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge, 1995) gives a good impression of the complex foreign relations of the Mamluks. Cf. also Werner Krebs, ″Innen- und Aussenpolitik Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter, 741–784/1341–1382″ (Ph.D. diss., University of Hamburg, 1980); and Albrecht Fuess, *Verbranntes Ufer: Auswirkungen mamlukischer Seepolitik auf Beirut und die syro-palästinensische Küste (1250–1517),* Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts, vol. 39 (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne, 2001).

[3]Cf. the examples given by Donald P. Little, ″Communal Strife in Late Mamluk Jerusalem,″ *Islamic Law and Society* 6 (1999): 69–96.

[4]Christian Müller and Johannes Pahlitzsch, ″Sultan Baybars I and the Georgians—In the Light of New Documents Related to the Monastery of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem,″ *Arabica* 51 (2004): 276–80. For the early history of the Georgians in Jerusalem cf. Johannes Pahlitzsch, ″Die Bedeutung Jerusalems für Königtum und Kirche in Georgien zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge im Vergleich zu Armenien,″ in *L′idea di Gerusalemme nella spiritualità cristiana del medioevo: atti del Convegno internazionale in collaborazione con l′Istituto della Görres-Gesellschaft di Gerusalemme, Gerusalemme, Notre Dame of Jerusalem Center, 31 agosto–6 settembre 1999,* Pontificio Comitato di Scienze Storiche, Atti e Documenti, vol. 12 (Vatican City, 2003), 104–31.

of the then-divided Georgia sent letters to the Mamluk sultan Baybars in which they declared that they had seceded from the Mongols because of the Mamluk sultan.[5] Subsequently, however, Mamluk-Georgian relations underwent a drastic change, since very shortly afterwards, probably in the summer of 1268 or 1269, Baybars gave in to the pleading of the Shaykh Khaḍir ibn Abī Bakr al-Mihrānī, his spiritual guide, and handed the Georgian Monastery of the Holy Cross near Jerusalem over to him—who turned it into a *zāwiyah,* a Sufi convent.[6]

The Monastery of the Holy Cross could be regarded as a royal foundation and was one of the most prominent Georgian monasteries outside of Georgia. Thus, the relationship of the Mamluks to Georgia had certainly reached its low point by this time. The reasons for the sudden and somewhat unexpected expropriation of the Monastery of the Holy Cross are quite obscure. Evidently, it was very difficult for Baybars to refuse to grant the wishes of his increasingly influential adviser and spiritual guide, Shaykh Khaḍir, who had built up a network of Sufi settlements under his control by confiscating churches and synagogues. When, for a period of time, the tension in foreign affairs eased during 1268, it seems that Baybars thought he was no longer in need of the alliance with the Georgians and eventually yielded to his adviser′s pressure and allowed the Monastery of the Holy Cross to be taken over. So both domestic and foreign policy as well as personal reasons obviously influenced Baybars′ decision.[7]

The significance of the Monastery of the Holy Cross for Mamluk-Georgian relations is particularly evident in the fact that the monastery was returned to the Georgians when relations between the two sides were resumed at the start of the fourteenth century.[8] However, the purpose this time was not to forge a military alliance, since the Ilkhans of Persia had dropped their aggressive policy of expansion directed at Syria, at least for the time being. Rather, the issue at hand was that the Mamluks had begun to import more and more Circassian military slaves, causing

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[5]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Ẓāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* ed. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1976), 299. It is not known if a true alliance came into being.

[6]Müller and Pahlitzsch, ″Sultan Baybars I and the Georgians,″ 271–75.

[7]However, Shaykh Khaḍir had some very powerful enemies among the Mamluk amirs, who regarded his influence on the sultan′s political affairs as being harmful. His anti-Christian attacks, with their damaging effect on foreign policy, most likely were a considerable factor in this. For this reason, it is perhaps no coincidence that the same amir who was later responsible for the overthrow and arrest of the shaykh had earlier supported the indigenous Christians; Müller and Pahlitzsch, ″Sultan Baybars I and the Georgians,″ 281.

[8]For a detailed analysis of the Mamluk chronicles that report these events cf. Johannes Pahlitzsch, ″Georgians and Greeks in Jerusalem (1099–1310),″ in *East and West in the Crusader States: Context, Contacts, Confrontations III*, ed. Krijnie N. Ciggaar and Herman Teule, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, vol. 125 (Leuven and Dudley, MA, 2003), 42–46.

increasing concern about the safety of the trading routes in the Caucasus.[9] The restitution of the Monastery of the Holy Cross was effected with the participation of the Byzantine Empire. Byzantium obviously wanted to use this opportunity to again assume the role of protector of the Orthodox Christians in Syria and Egypt which it had lost as a consequence of the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204.[10]

In the fifteenth century as well, the status of the Georgian community in Jerusalem played an important role in the relations between the Mamluks and Georgians, which still were influenced by trading interests. In 844/1440, the sultan Jaqmaq (842–54/1438–53) complained to the Georgian king that a levy of 1000 dinars had been imposed by the Georgian authorities on one of his traders charged with the purchase of military slaves. If the Georgian king would not reimburse the amount, the monks ″in charge of Georgian churches and the Golgotha in Jerusalem″ would have to raise the money and the sultan would ″issue instructions to use the sword of justice and equity to take vengeance upon the Christians and Georgians in the Muslim countries according to what they deserve.″[11] In his response, the Georgian king complained about the destruction of a church in Damascus and added that, in his country, the Muslims were treated well and could freely practice their religion.[12] Interpreting this as a hidden threat certainly does not seem farfetched. In the end, however, the two seem to have come to an amicable agreement. Because the Mamluks were aware that an undisrupted supply of military slaves from the Caucasus depended on their good behavior in their dealings with the Georgian residents of Palestine, the Georgians were even able to further expand their position in Jerusalem in the course of the fifteenth century.[13]

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[9]Andrew Ehrenkreutz, ″Strategic Implications of the Slave Trade between Genoa and Mamluk Egypt in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century,″ in *The Islamic Middle East, 700–1900: Studies in Economic and Social History,* ed. Abraham L. Udovitch (Princeton, 1981), 335–45; Butrus Abu-Manneh, ″The Georgians in Jerusalem in the Mamluk Period,″ in *Egypt and Palestine: A Millennium of Association (868–1948)*, ed. Amos Cohen and Gabriel Baer (Jerusalem, 1984), 108.

[10]Pahlitzsch, ″Georgians and Greeks in Jerusalem (1099–1310),″ 49. For another instance where Byzantium acted as advocate of the Oriental Christians in the fourteenth century cf. below, note 22; and Peter Schreiner, ″Byzanz und die Mamluken in der 2. Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts,″ *Der Islam* 56 (1979): 302.

[11]Abu-Manneh, ″The Georgians in Jerusalem in the Mamluk Period,″ 111, where a translation of Jaqmaq′s still unpublished letter can be found.

[12]Ibid., 108–9.

[13]For the further history of the Georgians in Jerusalem cf. Richard Janin, ″Les Géorgiens à Jérusalem,″ *Echos d′Orient* 16 (1913): 32–38, 211–19; Gregory Peradze, ″An Account of the Georgian Monks and Monasteries in Palestine as Revealed in the Writings of non-Georgian Pilgrims,″ *Georgica* 1, no. 4/5 (1937): 181–246; Elene Metreveli, *Masalebi Ierusalimis K‘art‘uli*

Looking at the development of Georgian-Mamluk relations from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century one comes to the conclusion that not only was the situation of the Georgians in Jerusalem influenced by mutual political and economic relations but that the way the Mamluks behaved vis-à-vis the Georgians in the Holy Land also had an influence on the relationship. Indeed, one could even say that the condition of the Georgian community was a kind of gauge for the state of these relations.

More or less the same holds true for the significance the Franciscan Custodia di Terra Santa had for the relationship of the Mamluks to the Latin West. Various diplomatic efforts of the kings of Aragon and Naples eventually led to the foundation of a Franciscan settlement in Jerusalem in 1335. Political and economic interests played a role here as well. Thus, one important aspect of the continuous rivalry between the kings of Aragon and Naples over domination in the Mediterranean region was the competition for the role of protector of the holy sites and of the Christians living in the Holy Land. Furthermore, the Angevins claimed the title of King of Jerusalem for themselves, while the Catalonians and the Mamluks pursued tangible trade interests.[14] The Venetians, who were conducting trade with Alexandria and the Levantine coast, were another party committed to championing the concerns of the Christians in the Orient. Providing the Western pilgrims with transportation was a very profitable business, thus they were natural partners for the Franciscans

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Koloniis Istoriisat'vis (Materials for the History of the Georgian Colony in Jerusalem) (Tbilisi, 1962); Donald S. Richards, "Arabic Documents from the Monastery of St. James in Jerusalem Including a Mamluk Report on the Ownership of Calvary," *Revue des études arméniens* 21 (1988–89): 455–69.

[14]Girolamo Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francescano* (Florence, 1923), 4:1–73; Leonhard Lemmens, *Die Franziskaner im Heiligen Land I: Die Franziskaner auf dem Sion (1335–1552)*, Franziskanische Studien, Beiheft 4 (Münster, 1925); Kaspar Elm, "La Custodia di Terra Santa: Franziskanisches Ordensleben in der Tradition der lateinischen Kirche Palästinas," in *I Francescani nel trecento: Atti del XIV Convegno Internazionale della Società Internazionale di Studi Francescani, Assisi 16–17–18 ottobre 1986,* Società Internazionale di Studi Francescani, Convegni, vol. 14 (Assisi, 1988), 130–66; repr. in idem, *Vitasfratrum: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eremiten- und Mendikantenorden des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts: Festgabe zum 65. Geburtstag,* ed. Dieter Berg, Saxonia Franciscana, vol. 5 (Werl, 1994), 241–62. For the unsuccessful efforts of James II of Aragon (1291–1327) to establish a Franciscan settlement in Jerusalem cf. Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francescano* (Florence, 1919), 3:309–18; Aziz Suryal Atiya, *Egypt and Aragon: Embassies and Diplomatic Correspondence between 1300 and 1330 A.D.*, Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. 23, no. 7 (Leipzig, 1938). For the relations of the Franciscans in Palestine with the Latin West cf. *La custodia di Terra Santa e l'Europa: I rapporti politici e l'attività culturale dei Francescani in Medio Oriente,* ed. Michele Piccirillo (Rome, 1983); David Abulafia, *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms 1200–1500: The Struggle for Dominion* (London, 1997), 53–56, 118–19.

in the Holy Land, who were responsible for the Western pilgrims during their stay in Palestine.[15] So here as well the Christians in Jerusalem, in this case the Latins, served as a point of reference for international relations.[16]

POLITICAL MEDIATION BY REGIONAL CHURCH INSTITUTIONS AND LAYMEN

The Greek Orthodox patriarchs of Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Antioch functioned as the primary links between the Mamluks and the Orthodox world. The career of the patriarch Lazaros of Jerusalem serves as an example for the intermediary position and the dependence of the patriarchs on the sultan and on the Byzantine emperor. Lazaros was elected to the office of patriarch sometime before 1341 in Palestine.[17] As had long been the custom, it was incumbent upon the sultan to express his approbation by issuing a document *(tawqīʻ)*. The fixed language of these documents of approbation obliged the new patriarch not only to conscientiously serve the believers entrusted to him, and to do so in accordance with their own laws, but also forbade him to establish contact with foreigners, and more specifically with foreign rulers, without the knowledge of the sultan. Every letter and all emissaries were to be promptly disclosed to the sultan.[18] Thus, in the eyes of the

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[15]Eliyahu Ashtor, ″Venezia e il pellegrinaggio in Terra Santa nel basso Medioevo,″ *Archivio storico italiano* 153 (1985): 197–223; David Jacoby, ″Pèlegrinage médiéval et sanctuaires de Terre Sainte: La perspective Vénitienne,″ *Ateneo veneto* 24 (1986): 27–58; repr. in idem, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion,* Collected Studies Series, vol. 301 (Northampton, 1989); Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, ″The German Empire and Palestine: German Pilgrimages to Jerusalem between the 12th and 16th Century,″ *Journal of Medieval History* 21 (1995): 321–41, here 327–31.

[16]Donald P. Little, ″Christians in Mamluk Jerusalem,″ in *Christian-Muslim Encounters,* ed. Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad and Wadi Zaidan Haddad (Gainesville, 1995), 213, states that the Franciscans′ ″repeated petitions for concessions and favored treatment became factors in the Mamluks′ relations with foreign Christian powers.″ Nevertheless Little, ″Communal Strife in Late Mamluk Jerusalem,″ 87–94, does not refer to the state of Mamluk relations with the West in his dealing with the conflict of the local Muslim establishment with the Franciscans over the Tomb of David on Mt. Zion in 894–95/1489–90, during which both sides appealed to the sultan. Mamluk documents from the archive of the Custodia di Terra Santa are published in Norberto Risciani, *Documenti e firmani* (Jerusalem, 1930).

[17]Marius Canard, ″Une lettre du sultan Malik Nāṣir Ḥasan à Jean VI Cantacuzène (750/1349),″ *Annales de l′Institut d′Etudes Orientales* 3 (1947): 29; repr. in idem, *Byzance et les musulmans du Proche Orient,* Collected Studies Series, vol. 18 (London, 1973).

[18]Al-Qalqashandī (756–821/1355–1418), *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá fī Ṣināʻat al-Inshā*' (Cairo, 1917; repr. Cairo, ca. 1970), 11:392–95; Clifford Edmund Bosworth, ″Christian and Jewish Religious Dignitaries in Mamlûk Egypt and Syria: Qalqa͟shandî′s Information on their Hierarchy, Titulature, and Appointment,″ *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 3 (1972): 199–203. Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá,* 4:194, mentions the Melkite patriarchs as office bearers of the *niyābah* of Damascus. This probably refers only to the patriarchs of Antioch, who had resided in Damascus since the

Mamluks, the patriarch was fully dependent on the sultan, even in his contacts with the Church of Constantinople and the Byzantine emperor.

When a monk from Jerusalem by the name of Gerasimos objected to the election of Lazaros, it would thus have been the sultan's obligation to resolve the dispute. But since Lazaros was at that moment in Constantinople—be it as a Mamluk emissary or in order to be confirmed as patriarch by the Byzantine emperor[19]—Emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos (1328–41) was involved in this conflict. Having sent an embassy to Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (d. 741/1341) to obtain additional information, he died before the issue could be resolved. In the following civil war between the supporters of the underage heir to the throne Joannes V Palaiologos, and Joannes VI Kantakouzenos, the patriarch Lazaros—still being in Constantinople—had pledged his support to the latter early on. Consequently, the supporters of Joannes V Palaiologos declared Lazaros discharged from his office. Gerasimos was elected patriarch of Jerusalem and approved by the sultan, probably in 1342.[20] Joannes VI Kantakouzenos for his part overturned

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election of Michael I Bishārah in about 1366: Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah fī al-Tārīkh* (Cairo, 1932), 14:319; cf. below, note 29. Thus the patriarch Mikhā'īl whose *tawqī'* is given in al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá,* 12:424–26, confirming him as Melkite patriarch *"bi-al-Shām wa-a'mālihi"* is either Michael I or Michael II (1395–1404), in contrast to Bosworth, "Christian and Jewish Religious Dignitaries," 203, n. 1, who identifies him with a Melkite archbishop of Damascus from the thirteenth century. Obviously, the *nā'ib al-salṭanah* of Syria was responsible for issuing the document of approbation for the leaders of the Syrian non-Muslim communities, although according to al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá,* 4:194, the sultan sometimes confirmed the designations by the *nā'ib* and sometimes even issued a *tawqī'* before the *nā'ib*. Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes: Description géographique, économique et administration gouvernementale,* Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, vol. 3 (Paris, 1923), 168–69, sees in this the attempt of the sultan to exert direct control over the *dhimmī*s. For the role of the Greek Orthodox patriarchate of Alexandria in the relations between Constantinople and Cairo, especially with regard to the translation of their diplomatic correspondence, cf. Dimitri A. Korobeinikov, "Diplomatic Correspondence between Byzantium and the Mamlūk Sultanate in the Fourteenth Century," *Al-Masāq* 16 (2004): 66–67; cf. also his work on the lists of the metropolitan sees, the *notitiae episcopatuum:* idem, "Orthodox Communities in Eastern Anatolia in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: Part 1: The Two Patriarchates: Constantinople and Antioch," *Al-Masāq* 15 (2003): 199–200.

[19]Against the statement of Joannes Kantakouzenos, *Eximperatoris Historiarum Libri IV,* ed. Ludwig Schopen, Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae, vol. 13 (Bonn, 1832), 3:91, Canard, "Une lettre du sultan Malik Nāṣir Ḥasan à Jean VI Cantacuzène (750/1349)," 40–41, holds the opinion that it is unlikely that a patriarch would have gotten the sultan's permission to travel to Constantinople only for his confirmation.

[20]In the letter of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan to Joannes VI from 750/1349 it is stated that a certain Malik Nāṣir (Μελὴκ Νάσαρ) has deposed Lazaros: Joannes Kantakouzenos, *Eximperatoris Historiarum Libri IV,* 3:97; French translation in Canard, "Une lettre du sultan Malik Nāṣir Ḥasan à Jean VI Cantacuzène (750/1349)," 50. This is obviously al-Nāṣir Aḥmad, who reigned for only about three

this decision and after having seized power in 1347 saw to it that Lazaros was confirmed by the patriarch of Constantinople.[21] It was, however, the sultan's decision who was to officiate as patriarch in Jerusalem. It took two more years before Joannes VI sent Lazaros, together with an emissary, to Cairo to ask for his reinstatement. The answer of the new sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan to this plea has come down to us in the chronicle written by Joannes Kantakouzenos himself. After Kantakouzenos' victory, the Mamluks showed little interest in supporting the candidate of the defeated party and the sultan consented to reinstate Lazaros in office. Al-Nāṣir Ḥasan also granted the request to rebuild a church in Cairo and promised that all pilgrims, priests, and monks at the holy sites in Jerusalem, as well as all Byzantine merchants in the Mamluk empire, would be under his protection.[22] The deposed Gerasimos decided to appeal to the sultan but died on his way to Cairo.[23] The course of events shows paradigmatically how, in the case of the Greek Orthodox churches in the Near East, Byzantine and Mamluk interests were intertwined. What was initially a regional and essentially internal Mamluk conflict over the patriarchate of Jerusalem became part of the Byzantine civil war.

Despite assurances of protection, Lazaros found himself exposed to Muslim assaults shortly afterwards in 1357. Assaults against Christians often occurred in the fourteenth century on the initiative of individual influential amirs or ulama, who were able incite the populace to violence. The rulers were thus forced to tolerate these assaults, against their will and in opposition to the interests of the state.[24] In this case, the anti-Christian excesses were immediately stopped after the

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months in 742–43/1342 (Canard, ibid., 50, n. 3). It might be no coincidence that al-Nāṣir Aḥmad tried to govern the Mamluk empire from Kerak and ordered the caliph to be sent from Cairo to Jerusalem; Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages* (London and Sidney, 1986), 129.

[21]For the date of this confirmation cf. Peter Wirth, "Der Patriarchat des Gerasimos und der zweite Patriarchat des Lazaros von Jerusalem," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 54 (1961): 319–20.

[22]Joannes Kantakouzenos, *Eximperatoris Historiarum Libri IV,* 3:95–98; Canard, "Une lettre du sultan Malik Nāṣir Ḥasan à Jean VI Cantacuzène (750/1349)," 49–51. The letter is dated Sha'bān 15, 750/October 30, 1349.

[23]The story of the conflict between Lazaros and Gerasimos is told by Joannes Kantakouzenos, *Eximperatoris Historiarum Libri IV,* 3:90–99. Canard, "Une lettre du sultan Malik Nāṣir Ḥasan à Jean VI Cantacuzène (750/1349)," 29–31, 39–42; Wirth, "Der Patriarchat des Gerasimos und der zweite Patriarchat des Lazaros von Jerusalem," 320–23; Krebs, *Innen- und Aussenpolitik Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter,* 260–62; Klaus-Peter Todt, *Kaiser Johannes VI. Kantakuzenos und der Islam: Politische Realität und theologische Polemik im palaiologenzeitlichen Byzanz,* Würzburger Forschungen zur Missions- und Religionswissenschaft Abteilung 2, Religionswissenschaftliche Studien, vol. 16 (Würzburg and Altenberge, 1991), 69–70. For Joannes VI cf. in general Donald M. Nicol, *The Reluctant Emperor: A Biography of John Cantacuzene, Byzantine Emperor and Monk, c. 1295–1383* (Cambridge, 1996).

[24]Already Etienne Quatremère, "Mémoire historique sur l'état du Christianisme sous les deux

death of the amir responsible, and Lazaros was sent to Constantinople as an emissary of the sultan only a few months later.[25] This sudden transition, from a persecuted individual to an emissary traveling on official governmental matters, is surprising and poses the question whether Lazaros would have been able to refuse this assignment. What this event clearly illustrates, however, is how patriarchs had to fill a double function. They were not only the representatives of the emperor and the Orthodox Church in the Orient, but also served as intermediaries of the Mamluks vis-à-vis Byzantium, whether they wanted to or not.

The further fate of Lazaros illustrates once again the extent to which the Christians in the Levant were integrated into supra-regional relations and their development. When Peter I, the king of Cyprus, conquered and destroyed Alexandria in 1365, the resulting war with the Mamluks, lasting until 1370, had devastating consequences for the Christians in the Mamluk Empire. Copts, Syrian Orthodox Christians, Franciscans, Venetians, and Genoese, as well as Greek Orthodox clerics, were arrested and maltreated, and some of them were even executed.[26] This time,

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dynasties des princes Mamlouks," in *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Egypte et sur quelque contrées voisines* (Paris, 1811), 2:220–66, gives a list of persecutions of Christians under the Mamluks according to al-Maqrīzī and the *Historia Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum*; Canard, "Une lettre du sultan Malik Nāṣir Ḥasan à Jean VI Cantacuzène (750/1349)," 34–38; Donald P. Little, "Coptic Conversion to Islam under the Baḥrī Mamluks, 692–755/1293–1354," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 39 (1976): 552–69; Urbain Vermeulen, "The Rescript of al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ against the Ḏimmīs (755 A.H./1354 A.D.)," *Lovanensia Periodica* 9 (1978): 182-84; Clifford Edmund Bosworth, "The 'Protected Peoples' (Christians and Jews) in Medieval Egypt and Syria," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 62 (1979–80): 11–36, especially 27–36; repr. in idem, *The Arabs, Byzantium and Islam: Studies in Early Islamic History and Culture,* Collected Studies Series, vol. 529 (London, 1996). Cf. also for the Ayyubid period Emmanuel Sivan, "Notes sur la situation des chrétiens à l'époque ayyubide," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 86 (1967): 117–30.

[25]Joannes Kantakouzenos, *Eximperatoris Historiarum Libri IV,* 3:99–104. Canard, "Une lettre du sultan Malik Nāṣir Ḥasan à Jean VI Cantacuzène (750/1349)," 31–32, 42–45; Timothy S. Miller, "A New Chronology of Patriarch Lazarus' Persecution by the Mamluks (1349–1367)," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 41 (1975): 474–78; Peter Schreiner, "Bemerkungen zu vier melkitischen Patriarchen des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 45 (1979): 392–95, who corrects Miller's chronology of Lazaros' persecution.

[26]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah fī al-Tārīkh,* 14:320, speaks of "the disgrace, exemplary punishment and offense *(al-khazá wa-al-nakāl wa-al-jināyah)*" that befell the Melkites because of Peter's assault on Alexandria; for a Russian report of the persecution of the Christians cf. Schreiner, "Byzanz und die Mamluken in der 2. Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts," 296–304; for persecutions of Franciscans cf. Girolamo Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francescano* (Florence, 1927), 5:113–16, 143–44; Lemmens, *Die Franziskaner im Heiligen Land I,* 61–63.

Lazaros was not prepared to tolerate the persecution and fled to Constantinople.[27]

This war disrupted the *modus vivendi* that Christians and Muslims, Orthodox and Latins, Arabs, Greeks, and western Europeans had found in the Levant, and various parties made attempts to end the war and thus put a stop to the persecution of the Christians. The Italian mercantile cities in particular, which saw their economic interests endangered, endeavored to pressure the Cypriot king, and the pope also called for an end to this war. The Mamluks, for their part, conducted direct negotiations with the Cypriot king, which, however, failed to yield results.[28] According to the historian Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), the governor of Syria in 767/1366 appointed the Orthodox patriarch of Antioch, Michael I Bishārah, as mediator, he having been spared from persecution for this reason. In return he was obliged to write not only to Peter, but also to the Byzantine emperor *(malik Isṭanbūl),* in order to impress upon them the suffering that the attack on Alexandria had brought upon the Christians.[29]

Apparently the Mamluks hoped that the Byzantine emperor would be able to use his influence on the Greek population of Cyprus to influence its king to make peace, which is interesting because no political relationships are known to have

[27]The Confession of Paulos Tagaris, ed. Herbert Hunger, ″Die Generalbeichte eines byzantinischen Mönches im 14. Jahrhundert,″ in *Studien zum Patriarchatsregister von Konstantinopel II,* ed. Herbert Hunger and Otto Kresten, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, vol. 647 (Vienna, 1997), 195 (German translation, 200).

[28]Peter Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991), 166–71; Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274–1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford, 1992), 39–42; Peter Edbury, ″The Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus and its Muslim Neighbours,″ in *Kypros apo tin proistoria stous neoterous chronous* (Nikosia, 1995), 235–39; idem, ″Christians and Muslims in the Eastern Mediterranean,″ in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 6, c. 1300–c. 1415, ed. Michael Jones (Cambridge, 2000), 880–81; Fuess, *Verbranntes Ufer,* 24–30, 384–86. For the good relations between Cyprus and the Mamluks before Peter's attack on Alexandria cf. Jean Richard, ″L'etat de guerre avec l'Égypte et le royaume de Chypre," in *Cyprus and the Crusades: Papers Given at the International Conference ′Cyprus and the Crusades,' Nicosia, 6–9 September, 1994*, ed. Nicholas Coureas and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Nicosia, 1995), 90–92; for the events after the capture of Alexandria and the diplomatic efforts to come to a peace agreement cf. Krebs, *Innen- und Aussenpolitik Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter,* 285–334.

[29]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah fī al-Tārīkh,* 14:320; Schreiner, ″Bemerkungen zu vier melkitischen Patriarchen des 14. Jahrhunderts,″ 391–92. For the very confused chronology of the patriarchate of Antioch in the 1360s and ′70s cf. Otto Kresten, *Die Beziehungen zwischen den Patriarchaten von Konstantinopel und Antiocheia unter Kallistos I. und Philotheos Kokkinos im Spiegel des Patriarchatsregisters von Konstantinopel,* Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse Jahrgang 2000, no. 6 (Mainz and Stuttgart, 2000), 51, n. 172, 59, n. 197, 66–67, 73, who corrects Joseph Nasrallah, ″Chronologie des patriaches melchites d′Antioche de 1250 à 1500,″ *Proche-Orient Chrétien* 17 (1967): 210–12. Cf. also above, n. 18.

existed at this time between Cyprus and the rest of the Byzantine empire. Indeed, it would be mistaken to view Cyprus only in terms of its orientation to the West since diverse cultural, social, and economic connections linked the Cyprus of the Lusignans to the Levant. It was certainly no coincidence that the Mamluks availed themselves of the Orthodox patriarch of Antioch; close relationships between Cyprus and the Syrian mainland still existed in the fourteenth century. The *Surien*s, the Arabic-speaking Christians of Cyprus who belonged partially to the Greek Orthodox faith and partially to the Syrian Orthodox faith, comprised a large group on the island. In Famagusta, they may have even constituted the majority. After Greek, Arabic was the language spoken most on the island.[30] There was even an exchange going back and forth between Cyprus and the mainland of disputations between Christian and Muslim scholars published as pamphlets.[31]

Beside high ranking clerics, laymen served as intermediaries as well. Emmanuel Piloti (ca. 1371–after 1441), a Venetian merchant of Cretan origin, had lived at the beginning of the fifteenth century for 22 years in Egypt, in addition to visiting Damascus and ports in Syria and Asia Minor.[32] On the basis of this long experience he wrote a treatise on how to reconquer the Holy Land. Piloti argued, not very originally, that the Crusaders—under the leadership of Venice—should first occupy Alexandria and Cairo. Having achieved this the conquest of the Holy Land would follow without difficulty. But Piloti´s treatise is confused, and includes besides his

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[30]Jean Richard, ″Le peuplement latin et syrien en Chypre au XIIIe siècle,″ *Byzantinische Forschungen* 7 (1979): 157–73; Laura Balletto, ″Ethnic Groups, Cross-Social and Cross-Cultural Contacts on Fifteenth-Century Cyprus," in *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of David Jacoby,* ed. Benjamin Arbel [= *Mediterranean Historical Review* 10 (1995)], 34-48. For the relations of the Greek Orthodox population of Cyprus and Palestine in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries cf. Johannes Pahlitzsch, *Graeci und Suriani im Palästina der Kreuzfahrerzeit: Beiträge und Quellen zur Geschichte des griechisch-orthodoxen Patriarchats von Jerusalem,* Berliner Historische Studien, vol. 33, Ordensstudien, vol. 15 (Berlin, 2001), 165, 229–30.

[31]Cf. Thomas F. Michel, *A Muslim Theologian´s Response to Christianity: Ibn Taimiyya´s Al-Jawāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (New York, 1984), and *Muslim-Christian Polemic during the Crusades: The Letter from the People of Cyprus and Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī´s Response,* ed. Rifaat Y. Ebied and David Thomas, The History of Christian-Muslim Relations, vol. 2 (Leiden and Boston, 2004). These two treatises are answers to an apology composed by the Melkite Paul of Antioch, bishop of Sidon, that was later circulated by Christians of Cyprus in an expanded version. For the possibility of dating Paul of Antioch to the early thirteenth century cf. Johannes Pahlitzsch and Dorothea Weltecke, ″Konflikte zwischen den nicht-lateinischen Kirchen im Königreich Jerusalem,″ in *Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter: Konflikte und Konfliktbewältigung—Vorstellungen und Vergegenwärtigungen,* ed. Dieter Bauer, Klaus Herbers, and Nikolas Jaspert, Campus Historische Studien, vol. 29 (Frankfurt and New York, 2001), 133–35.

[32]Emmanuel Piloti, *Traité d´Emmanuel Piloti sur le passage en Terre Sainte (1420),* ed. Pierre-Herman Dopp, Publications de l´Université Lovanium de Léopoldville, vol. 4 (Louvain, 1958), 63. For his life cf. the introduction of Pierre-Herman Dopp, ibid., XVIII–XXVI.

ideas for a new crusade *inter alia* information on commerce in Alexandria, extremely interesting episodes of his life under Mamluk rule, and a comparison between the sultan′s court in Cairo and the papal curia—to the disadvantage of the latter.[33]

During his long stay in Egypt Piloti had established very good relations with his Muslim neighbors and colleagues.[34] Thus, it is no surprise to see him on several occasions acting as a mediator between Western Latin Christians and Muslims. In 1403, at the news that a Genoese fleet threatened to attack Alexandria, he withdrew like many of the Muslim inhabitants to Cairo while most of the Latin merchants preferred to leave Alexandria by sea. In response to this threat by the Genoese the Mamluk sultan Faraj decided to send a Muslim spice merchant who was experienced in doing business with Christian merchants to offer them the enormous amount of 500,000 ducats for their peaceful retreat. Since this merchant was very fond of Emmanuel Piloti (*″ledit marchant me portoit grant armour″*) he asked him if would accompany him in this task, to which Piloti agreed. However, as the two friends arrived in Alexandria the Genoese fleet had already left the Egyptian coast due to the outbreak of the plague.[35] The journey of these two merchants from the court of the sultan to the camp of the Genoese could well be viewed as a paradigm for the life of merchants in the eastern Mediterranean.[36]

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[33]Aziz Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1938), 208–12; Antony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2000), 198–200. For manuals of merchants that contributed to the knowledge of the Muslim world in Western Europe as well cf. John E. Dotson, ″Perceptions of the East in Fourteenth-Century Italian Merchants′ Manuals,″ in *Across the Mediterranean Frontiers: Trade, Politics and Religion, 650–1450: Selected Proceedings of the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 10–13 July 1995, 8–11 July 1996,* ed. Dionisius A. Agius and Ian Richard Netton, International Medieval Research, no. 1 (Turnhout, Belgium, 1997), 173–86.

[34]Emmanuel Piloti, *Traité,* 187, admonishes the Crusaders to treat the Muslims well during the projected conquest of Alexandria to win their minds and hearts (*″. . . ne soit fait alcune guaste ne desplaisir, mais honneur et courtoisie. Et cest la voye de consoler et confermer tous lez paysams et endoulchiera la leur mente et lez leurs cuers, et si prendront, amour et charité à l′estat de la crestienté.″*). He also stresses the fidelity of the Muslims to their belief (*″ilz observent la leur foy bestielle, que jamais ne la faillent″*) as well as their justice and philanthropy (*″ilz aront prestement justice et charité du proximo″*), ibid., 188. According to Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages,* 211, the Crusade was not regarded by him as a war of revenge but as a means towards the assimilation of the Muslims into the following of Christ. For the situation of Western merchants in Egypt cf. also in general Mohamed Tahar Mansouri, ″Les communautés marchandes occidentales dans l′espace mamlouk (XIIIe–XVe siècle),″ in *Coloniser au Moyen Âge: Méthodes d′expansion et techniques de domination en Méditerranée du XIe au XVIe siècle,* ed. Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier (Paris, 1995), 89–101, 107–11.

[35]Piloti, *Traité,* 196.

[36]John Pryor, ″At Sea on the Maritime Frontiers of the Mediterranean in the High Middle Ages: the Human Perspective,″ in *Oriente e Occidente tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna, studi in onore di*

In 1408, Piloti again was chosen to mediate between the Latins and the Mamluks. A pirate had seized a Muslim ship and sold the crew of 150 men to the duke of Naxos, Jacopo Crispo I (1397–1418). Since the sultan considered Naxos to be subordinate to Venice he confiscated the cargoes of four Venetian galleys, consisting of spices, and demanded that the Venetian merchants in Alexandria ask Jacopo Crispo to free these Muslim captives. Thereupon, the council of the Venetians chose Piloti to negotiate with the duke of Naxos and the sultan, since he was on good terms with the Muslims and especially with the Greeks, being himself of Greek origin. Although the Crispo family was of Venetian origin, the council obviously considered it useful to send somebody who had good relations with the Greeks to Naxos. And indeed Piloti succeeded in his mission and returned with the captives to Alexandria, where the Muslim population celebrated the liberation of their brothers in faith. As a reward the sultan allowed Piloti to import each month five barrels of Malvasia wine from his native island of Crete.[37]

By writing a treatise on the recovery of the Holy Land Emmanuel Piloti tried in another way to mediate between West and East. All his detailed descriptions of life in Alexandria and Cairo aimed at giving Western rulers, and especially the pope, an idea of the Mamluk state,[38] and indeed Ulrich Haarmann has demonstrated the value of Piloti's texts as a source for the social structure and the ruling system of the Mamluk state.[39] However, in his attempt to influence the Latin rulers Piloti was unsuccessful. His work fell into oblivion and was rediscovered only in the nineteenth century.[40] But it belongs to a broad tradition of works written in the

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Geo Pistarino, ed. Laura Balletto, Collana di Fonti e Studi, vol. 2 (Geneva, 1997), 1033, has described the situation for merchants and travellers in the Levant adequately: "The Mediterranean Sea was open to all with few restrictions. Beyond demands that taxes and customs duties be paid, states did not impose restrictions on the movement of their subjects. As a consequence, Byzantines, Muslims, and Latins moved freely upon the seas. This openness produced integrated relationships at both private and governmental levels. It is remarkable how frequently political or religious differences proved to be no obstacle at all to international or interfaith relationships." The major obstacles to movement were not political or religious but rather geographical and technical with the exception of times of war or political tensions.

[37]Piloti, *Traité,* 201–9. Piloti was not the only merchant with good relations with the Mamluks. For a Genoese slave-trader who even entered the service of the Mamluks cf. Benjamin Kedar, "Segurano-Sakrān Salvaygo: un mercante genovese al servizio dei sultani mamalucchi, c. 1302–1322," in *Fatti e idee di storia economica nei secoli XII–XX: Studi dedicati a Franco Borlandi* (Bologna, 1976), 75–97.

[38]So explicitly in Piloti, *Traité,* 118.

[39]Ulrich Haarmann, "The Mamluk System of Rule in the Eyes of Western Travelers," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5 (2001): 11, states that Piloti "as an expert in long-distance trade, . . . was better informed than any of the other European reporters of the late middle ages."

[40]Dopp, Introduction to Piloti, *Traité,* V–XII, XLV–XLVIII.

fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries which dealt with the Orient. Treatises on the recovery of the Holy Land and pilgrim′s reports were often copied together and circulated round the courts of western Europe.[41] These works testify to continued European interest in the East in the later fourteenth century and beyond, even if the recovery of Jerusalem was little more than a dream of enthusiastic nobles who tried to live up to their knightly ideals.[42]

Individuals Crossing Boundaries

In this section how individuals moved between various political, social, and cultural groups will be illustrated. The previously mentioned patriarch Lazaros had always remained loyal to the emperor and his politics with respect to the Church—despite the Mamluks′ view that patriarchs were subject to the sultan′s authority. However, this was hardly a stance shared by all Orthodox dignitaries in the Orient. Because the Christians in the Levant were ruled by various authorities existing within a complex network of relationships, this also resulted in what could be called an ″open-space situation″ for them, in which several options for taking action existed. In the following, two examples of how the diversity of the eastern Mediterranean created niches, thus facilitating the pursuit of politically deviant or even entirely individual goals, will be presented.

The patriarchate of Antioch experienced a disagreement with the Church of Constantinople in the middle of the fourteenth century, on the subject of the

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[41]Without a doubt, the Latin pilgrims to Syria and Egypt on their return decisively influenced the Western image of the Orient. Especially the later, more detailed, pilgrim′s reports like the one of Bernhard of Breidenbach contributed to the creation of the image of an exotic Orient; Michael Herkenhoff, *Die Darstellung aussereuropäischer Welten in Drucken deutscher Offizinen des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1996), 145–212. Since most of the pilgrims, in contrast to Emmanuel Piloti, stayed only for a short time in the Near East and did not speak Arabic their descriptions of the Muslims were quite often marked by old prejudices. At length, they dealt with the treachery of the Muslims and how they were maltreated by the Mamluk authorities. Thus they did not promote tolerance but kept the religious and cultural conflict alive. And they did so not only in their native countries but also in the Near East where they were viewed as representatives of Latin Christianity; Folker Reichert, ″Pilger und Muslime im Heiligen Land: Formen des Kulturkonflikts im späten Mittelalter,″ in *Kritik und Geschichte der Intoleranz,* ed. Rolf Kloepfer and Burckhard Dücker (Heidelberg, 2000), 3–21. Cf. also Andrew Jotischky, ″Mendicants as Missionaries and Travellers in the Near East in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers in the Medieval Mediterranean, 1050–1500*, ed. Rosamund Allen (Manchester and New York, 2004), 88–106, who describes the view that Dominican and Fransciscan travellers to the East had of Oriental Christians. According to Jotischky (ibid., 100), it was a prominent feature of the travel reports of these friars to categorize peoples by their deviant religious practices.

[42]The manuscript of Piloti′s treatise was acquired by the Duke of Burgundy Philippe Le Bon (1419–67); Dopp, Introduction to Piloti, *Traité,* VIII–X; Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land,* 193–202.

mystical teachings of Gregorios Palamas. Despite the fact that these had been sanctioned officially at the synod of Blachernae in 1351 under the emperor Joannes VI Kantakouzenous, a good number of theologians continued to oppose them. One of the anti-Palamites was Arsenios, the metropolite of Tyre, which was the highest-ranking bishopric in the patriarchate of Antioch. After having agitated against the Palamites, he was forced to flee the city and came to Cyprus before Peter's Crusade. At the time, the Latin-ruled island was a stronghold for anti-Palamism and a place of refuge for dissidents.[43] Several times, letters from Constantinople addressed to the autonomous Orthodox Church of Cyprus warned the clergy of the doings of Arsenios and others. Furthermore, Arsenios may have contacted the papal legate resident there at the time. It was not least thanks to these political controversies within the church that when an election for the office of patriarch was held in Antioch around 1364, Arsenios was one of three candidates simultaneously elected. Arsenios left Cyprus after the election to resurface, at the end of the Cypriot-Mamluk war, in Turkish-controlled Asia Minor, using the powers of the office to which he laid claim to consecrate bishops, ordain priests, and collect funds from the parishes.[44]

Arsenios was something of a wanderer between worlds. He had no reservations about associating with Latins and Muslims, taking advantage of the religious and political diversity in the Levant in order to pursue his own ends in church policy. The Byzantine emperor's inability to maintain church discipline in the Mamluk Empire or the Turkish amirates gave him the opportunity to do so. Arsenios is not an isolated case. In fact, he himself consecrated one of the most colorful personalities of his time as bishop, a man who was to surpass him by far where flexibility and mobility were concerned. The bishop in question is the swindler and confidence man Paulos Tagaris, who presented his unusual path in life in a general confession to the patriarch and the synod of Constantinople in 1394.

After an unhappy marriage, Paulos had become a monk. As small-time swindles, in which he used an icon that supposedly worked wonders, were discovered, he had to leave Constantinople for Jerusalem, where he was safe from the grasp of the Byzantine authorities. There, the patriarch Lazaros took him under his wing and supported him until 1365, when persecution by the Mamluks forced Lazaros to flee to Constantinople. Without backing from Lazaros, Paulos could no longer

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[43]Jean Darrouzès, "Lettre inédite de Jean Cantacuzène relative à la controverse palamite," *Revue des études byzantines* 17 (1959): 9; Kresten, *Die Beziehungen zwischen den Patriarchaten von Konstantinopel und Antiocheia,* 14, n. 30; cf. also Nicol, *The Reluctant Emperor,* 145, 154–55.

[44]Ioannis D. Polemis, "Arsenius of Tyrus and his Tome against the Palamites," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 43 (1993): 242–45; Hunger, "Die Generalbeichte eines byzantinischen Mönches," 215–17; Kresten, *Die Beziehungen zwischen den Patriarchaten von Konstantinopel und Antiocheia,* 75–82.

remain in Jerusalem. However, he was able to befriend Michael I of Antioch, who brought him to Damascus. He was ordained a priest and took on a decisive role in the administration of the patriarchate. In this position, he was able to give free rein to his greed, ensuring that only those candidates who paid him sufficiently became bishops. When he came upon the vestments of a metropolite who had recently died, however, he donned them and declared himself patriarch of Jerusalem. From that point on, he traveled throughout Asia Minor, performing consecrations of metropolites and bishops in exchange for payment. Whenever a bishop refused payment, Paulos denounced him to the local amir and thus forced him to pay. In his efforts to set Paulos on the right track, the above-mentioned Arsenios of Tyre sought him out and consecrated him bishop in order to, at least retroactively, legalize the consecrations he had performed in clear breach of canonical rules. Paulos resolved to give up his godless conduct—but not for long. Upon learning that the Church in Constantinople was intent on arresting him and Arsenios, he made a daring decision. He traveled to Rome via Hungary and converted to Catholicism. Pope Urban VI was so taken with this move that he honored Paulos by appointing him as the Latin patriarch of Constantinople, whose seat was in Negroponte.[45] But there too he exploited his congregation to such an extent that he soon became unpopular and had to flee to Cyprus, where he received 30,000 ducats for his services in crowning the Cypriot King Jacob I. Finally, he returned to Rome. Since, however, it had in the meantime become common knowledge in the curia that Paulos was a swindler, he was forced to defect to the rival pope in Avignon, who gladly took in the victim of his political adversary, later referring him to the court of the French king Charles VI. The king rewarded him richly for his promise to send relics of Saint Dionysios Areopagites from Greece to France. Paulos promptly left—and was never heard from again at the French court.[46] At the end of his life, however, he was overcome by the desire for salvation and asked the synod in Constantinople for absolution, making a comprehensive confession of his misdeeds. The synod′s decision, however, has not been preserved.[47]

With Paulos, we have left the Mamluk Empire and the eastern Mediterranean far behind us. Self-assuredly he transcended all political and cultural boundaries while traversing the entire Christian world, from Georgia to Paris. What Paulos

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[45]Herewith ends the confession of Paulos Tagaris, who obviously told the synod only what concerned the Orthodox Church; Hunger, ″Die Generalbeichte eines byzantinischen Mönches,″ 193–99 (German translation, 199–204).

[46]Ibid., 211–14.

[47]Ibid., 197–99 (203–4). For the life of Paulos cf. also Donald M. Nicol, ″The Confessions of a Bogus Patriarch: Paul Tagaris Palaiologos, Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem and Catholic Patriarch of Constantinople in the Fourteenth Century,″ *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 21 (1970): 289–99.

and Arsenios share is that they both demonstrate the possibilities for individual agency in the world of the eastern Mediterranean. They were moving between the cultures as though this were a matter of course and they could do so because of the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional character of the individual states in the eastern Mediterranean. The close interconnection between these numerous ethnic and confessional groups created a certain unity of space regardless of political boundaries.[48]

The case studies presented in this article demonstrate the complex network of relationships in which Christians operated in the Levant, showing how supra-regional external factors and developments determined their actions, while also demonstrating how their actions could in turn influence those supra-regional developments. In doing so, the focus has not been only on political relationships. It was rather the closer examination of the conditions within the Orthodox Church in Syria and Palestine in the middle of the fourteenth century that provided an opportunity to illustrate the complexity of the social reality in the Levant and the opportunities resulting for the individual. The model of reciprocal compartmentalization, of antagonism between cultures, be they Islam, Latin Christianity, or the Eastern Church, does not stand up to closer examination. Only a micro-historical, interdisciplinary approach makes it possible to show differences as well as connections.[49] The example of the Christians in the Levant is especially suited to show this kind of unity in diversity. Thus, a historical, and above all cultural and social historical, treatment of the *Oriens Christianus* should be an essential part of any research done on the eastern Mediterranean region in the Middle Ages.

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[48]Norman Housley, ″Frontier Societies and Crusading in the Late Middle Ages,″ in *Intercultural Contacts,* ed. Arbel, 107–8, points out that because of these intensive cross-cultural contacts the Latin states of the eastern Mediterranean could not be called frontier societies in the strict sense of the term. Charles J. Halperin, ″The Ideology of Silence: Prejudice and Pragmatism on the Medieval Religious Frontier,″ *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 26 (1984): 465, however, demonstrates that in medieval frontier zones between Christianity and Islam a pragmatic attitude prevailed only as long ″neither side in the struggle had the ability to eliminate the other. The transience of the frontier derived from its intrinsic instability.″

[49]Cf. the similar results of Molly Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean,* Modern Greek studies series (Princeton, 2000), 6, who states that ″a focus on Crete in the seventeenth century renders visible the common world that Latins, Eastern Christians, and Muslims shared for many centuries, despite wars and considerable cultural hostility.″

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The Sale of Office and Its Economic Consequences during the Rule of the Last Circassians (872–922/1468–1516)

The story told by various chronicles of the last fifty years of the Mamluk state (872–922/1468–1516) confirms how the long-established sale of office served as a source of license for holders of military, religious, and administrative office.[1] The period under discussion was of course a difficult one for the Mamluk state, the last actually in which issues of foreign aggression and attendant, recurring economic crises were to be addressed.[2] Did the sale of office, always a valuable source of revenue for the state, expand during this period? If so, into what areas? Also, depending upon whether the required sums were indexed to the office, to the location, or to the date of appointment, they could have had an impact on economic life.

This article considers the following chronicles: *Inbāʼ al-Haṣr fī Abnāʼ al-ʻAṣr* of al-Ṣayrafī, *Wajīz al-Kalām fī Dhayl ʻalá Duwal al-Islām* of al-Sakhāwī, *Tārīkh* of al-Buṣrawī, *Taʻlīq* of Ibn Ṭawq, *Dhayl Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal* of ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʼiʻ al-Duhūr* of Ibn Iyās, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Wafayāt al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān* of Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, and *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān* of Ibn Ṭūlūn.[3] We have often noted that these works, which cover the period at some length, contain gaps—months, if not

This article has been translated from the French by W. W. Clifford and Vanessa De Gifis.

[1]Cf. Aḥmad ʻAbd al-Rāziq, *Al-Badhl wa-al-Barṭalah* (Cairo, 1979), and in particular the first chapter which treats problems of venality before the accession of the Mamluks to power, 25–39.

[2]Cf. Gaston Wiet, *L'Egypte arabe,* vol. 4 of *Histoire de la nation égyptienne,* ed. G. Hanotaux (Paris, 1937), 589–636; Jean-Claude Garcin, *Etats, sociétés et cultures du monde musulman médiéval, Xe–XVe siècle* (Paris, 1992), 1:343–69; Carl Petry, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (Seattle, 1993); and idem, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994).

[3]ʻAlī ibn Dāwūd al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʼ al-Haṣr fī Abnāʼ al-ʻAṣr* (Cairo, 1980); Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-Kalām fī Dhayl ʻalá Duwal al-Islām* (Beirut, 1995); ʻAlī ibn Yūsuf al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh* (Beirut, 1988); Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʻlīq* (Damascus, 2000); ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl, "Dhayl Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal," Bodleian MS Huntington 610; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʼiʻ al-Duhūr* (Cairo-Wiesbaden, 1960–63); Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Wafayāt al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān* (Beirut-Sidon, 1999); Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān* (Cairo, 1964).

years—though of course the most extensive writings are not always the most instructive on a given issue.[4] A perusal of the table below will confirm this. Take the example of the first two chronicles, the *Inbā'* and the *Wajīz*. Al-Ṣayrafī and al-Sakhāwī each record nine cases of venality but in the *Inbā'* the period under consideration is only four years while that in the *Wajīz* is twenty-six, a ratio six times greater. This leads us once more to question not only the sources of information of these authors but their perspective with regard to the given results. How objective or subjective could they be?

CHRONICLES STUDIED AND CASES OF VENALITY REPORTED

Author	**Chronicle (years covered)**	**Cases of Venality**
al-Ṣayrafī (d. 900/1495)	*Inbā'* (872–76/1468–72)	9
al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497)	*Wajīz* (872–98/1468–93)	9 (of which 1 is reported in *Dhayl,* 2 in *Badā'i',* 1 in *Ḥawādith,* and 1 in *Mufākahah*)
al-Buṣrawī (d. 905/1499–1500)	*Tārīkh* (871–904/1467–99)	11 (of which 3 are reported in *Mufākahah*)
Ibn Ṭawq (d. 915/1509)	*Ta'līq* (885–90/1480–85)	14 (of which 7 are reported in *Mufākahah*)
'Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl (d. 920/1514)	*Dhayl* (872–96/1468–91)	12 (of which 1 is reported in *Wajīz* and 7 in *Badā'i'*)
Ibn Iyās (d. 930/1524)	*Badā'i'* (872–922/1468–1516)	37 (of which 2 are reported in *Wajīz,* 7 in *Dhayl,* 2 in *Ḥawādith,* and 1 in *Mufākahah*)
Ibn al-Ḥimṣī (d. 934/1528)	*Ḥawādith* (872–922/1468–1516)	6 (of which 1 is reported in *Wajīz,* 1 in *Tārīkh,* 11 in *Badā'i',* and 12 in *Mufākahah*)
Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546)	*Mufākahah* (884–922/1479–1516)	26 (of which 1 is reported in *Wajīz,* 3 in *Tārīkh,* 9 in *Ta'līq,* 1 in *Badā'i',* and 2 in *Ḥawādith*)

[4]Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, "Muḥibb ad-Dīn Salāma b. Yūsuf al-Aslamī, un secrétaire à Damas sous les derniers sultans Mamlouks," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras,* ed. U. Vermeulen and D. de Smet, vol. 3 (Leuven, 2001), 219–69.

This chart reveals yet another issue of no less importance. Many cases are mentioned by two or more authors. This is no accident but reflects for the most part the geographical origins of these historians. It is hardly surprising, then, that Ibn Iyās records a great number of things borrowed from his master, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl, who like him resided in Cairo. One can perceive an identical phenomenon among Damascene authors such as al-Buṣrawī, Ibn Ṭawq, and Ibn Ṭūlūn. Only Ibn al-Ḥimṣī seems to have broken this pattern since his informants are also represented by the works of Ibn Iyās and Ibn Ṭūlūn. This bipolarization around the two great cities of the Mamluk state forms another impediment to our understanding of the profusion of venality. But the scholar who ventures beyond the confines of these two great metropolises will gain access to equally useful though little-cited regional sources of information—from cities like Aleppo and Jerusalem, for example—untapped by the chroniclers for whom the reproduction, either in part or in whole, of the writings of their predecessors seems to have been the norm.

As mentioned earlier, all offices that were by their nature military, religious, or administrative could be made the object of gift *(badhl)* or bribe *(barṭalah/birṭīl)*,[5] something to which we will return later. Study of the table below will elucidate this.

DISTRIBUTION OF CASES OF VENALITY BY AUTHOR AND BY TYPE OF OFFICE[6]

Author	Source	Military Offices	Religious Offices	Administrative Offices
al-Ṣayrafī	*Inbāʾ*	2	3	4
al-Sakhāwī	*Wajīz*	3	7	2
al-Buṣrawī	*Tārīkh*	2	6	3
Ibn Ṭawq	*Taʿlīq*	1	13	1
ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl	*Dhayl*	2	7	4
Ibn Iyās	*Badāʾiʿ*	7	23	8
Ibn al-Ḥimṣī	*Ḥawādith*	1	4	1
Ibn Ṭūlūn	*Mufākahah*	4	20	5

[5]According to Kazimirski, the term *barṭala/birṭīl* signifies a "gift for bribing a judge." *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français* (repr. Beirut, n.d.), 1:112.

[6]These figures take into account the plurality of offices held by an individual.

Religious posts were the object of great monetary activity. Three authors stand out clearly in this regard. The Damascenes Ibn Ṭawq and Ibn Ṭūlūn mention, respectively, thirteen cases in the *Taʻlīq* and twenty in the *Mufākahah*. The Cairene Ibn Iyās records twenty-three in his *Badā'iʻ*. However, these three figures require some comment. Actually, the duration taken into account in the *Taʻlīq* and in the *Mufākahah* is less than that in the *Badā'iʻ*, by several years for the *Mufākahah* and thirty for the *Taʻlīq*. If one were to create a prospective for the same number of years, one would be right in thinking that the number of cases of sale of office recounted in the *Badā'iʻ* would be surpassed.

It is equally interesting to note that the figures mentioned by Ibn Iyās for military and administrative office holders, seven and eight respectively, are half as many. This information is repeated more or less equally among the different authors, except al-Ṣayrafī. The supremacy of religious office is problematic. One must understand that when the sultan granted military and administrative posts in exchange for hard cash of full weight or accepted money offered by job hunters it was hardly surprising. Actually, title holders had to be of exemplary morality and probity; this at any rate is how they are extolled by the jurists in their works.[7]

To clarify and advance our thesis we append two lists. The first enumerates cases of venality chronologically; the second, which is subdivided into three small lists (I, II, III), follows a thematic classification with regard to which we have followed the order in the chancellery manuals (military, religious, and administrative office). We have, moreover, to bear in mind the plurality of offices held by a single person, which explains how the same individual could figure on both lists II and III. The chronological list allows us to establish that seventy-eight people paid to obtain the post or posts they desired to occupy during the period covered. Certain people paid for two renewals, some three or more. One must differentiate at this point between candidates and positions occupied, by virtue of the common practice in the Mamluk age of plurality of offices. If one were to make a general calculation of the number of positions, one would arrive at the number one hundred twenty-six. Again, this is not an accurate reflection since in two cases the offices obtained are followed by the vague expression ″and other offices″ (II/7, 16). If one divides by categories, one sees that nineteen military offices, seventy-five religious posts and thirty-two administrative positions were acquired in exchange for financial contributions.

These facts are of course not only relative with respect to the elements specified before but also because certain years appear altogether devoid of venality, or at least the authors are mute on the subject. But is this to say that no post was farmed

[7]Cf. Emile Tyan, *Histoire de l′Organisation Judiciaire en Pays d′Islam* (Paris, 1938), 1:425–31; Franz Rosenthal, ″Rashwa,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 8:466–67.

out in 877–78, 880, 882, 884, 899, 901, 903, 907, 909–10, or 913–14? It is difficult to establish this when one knows that for a given year, the authors do not record the same facts. One might equally suppose that they could not know about every transaction, or that the popularization of this phenomenon led them only to consider the cases which appear interesting to them, such as that of Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb, *qāḍī al-quḍāh* of Cairo, who had six renewals (II/41, 43, 45, 47, 52, 56). He paid once to obtain this office, then renewed it five times.[8] One must not forget that in the great majority of cases it is the main posts that are mentioned, particularly in this sphere. This last point allows one to think that every gift or bribe connected to a minor post often avoided the scrutiny of the authors. It is also possible that they were not judged sufficiently useful to be recorded.

Consequently, the different parameters used do not allow us to establish an effective picture of those posts that were sold. We have mentioned above that the body of information which serves as the basis of this study does not reflect the whole of the reality, only part. The two following examples provide a good demonstration of this. In *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi',* al-Sakhāwī mentions in the notice he dedicated to Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr that he obtained in 890/1485 the posts of *nāẓir al-jaysh* and *kātib al-sirr* in Aleppo in exchange for 2,000 dinars.[9] In the *Wajīz* the same author noted in the obituary of Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Awwāḍ, who died in Jumādá II 892/May 1487, that he paid 3,000 dinars for the post of qadi of Alexandria.[10] Yet we have found no mention of these nominations. How many people escaped the attention of the chroniclers? Be that as it may, during a fifty-year period we have counted 126 cases, which is on average 2.5 cases a year. If we exclude those years for which no case of venality is seen, we obtain the figure of 3.4 cases per year. In the face of such results one many ask oneself if it is expedient to launch into a study of venality and its economic consequences if the numbers neither constitute nor reveal convincing indicators.

Clearly, to understand and judge venality in its entirety still seems an impossibility. Of course, the study of the thematic tables allows us to establish for the first time the phenomenon in its temporal and geographic dimensions. From these figures we will try to extrapolate the ultimate economic implications.

The table below allows us to maintain that venality was not just an economic phenomenon, but a political one as well. All sovereigns farmed out offices, even

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[8]This concerns the conferment of the post of the grand Maliki qadi but also the granting of certain teaching positions; read the pages Ibn Khaldūn dedicated to this subject in *Le voyage d'Occident et d'Orient*, ed. and trans. Abdesselam Cheddadi (Paris, 1980), 148–204, 212–15, and 248–49. See also Morimoto Kosei, "What Ibn Khaldūn Saw: The Judiciary of Mamluk Egypt," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7 (2002): 109–31.

[9]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmī' fī Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Cairo, 1934), 9:164–65, no. 413.

[10]Al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz,* 3:1022–23, no. 2213.

those who enjoyed only brief reigns. In the latter case the record is laughable since altogether there were but six posts for four rulers. This is certainly far from the totals racked up by Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī, who elevated, respectively, sixty-eight and twenty-nine offices, little enough when one recalls how many years both exercised power. Be that as it may, Mamluk sultans employed this practice until the end, the last instance occurring in Rabīʻ II 922/May 1516 (II/63).

Distribution of Cases of Venality by Sultan and by Type of Office

Sultan	Military Offices	Religious Offices	Administrative Offices
Qāytbāy (872–901/1468–95)	13	39	16
Muḥammad ibn Qāytbāy (901–4/1495–98)	—	—	1
Qānṣūh (904–5/1498–1500)	—	1	1
Jānbalāṭ (905–6/1500–1)	—	1	—
Tūmānbāy (906/1501)	—	2	—
Qānṣūh al–Ghawrī (906–22/1501–16)	6	20	3

If one were to consider things from a geographic perspective, one would observe the clear predominance of Damascus with respect to offices of the pen. Actually, thirty-nine religious posts were farmed out there as against thirty-three for Cairo, two for Aleppo and two for Jerusalem. We find the same situation for administrative posts: eighteen for Damascus, ten for Cairo, three for Aleppo, and one for Jidda. Military offices constituted a case apart with regard to the fixed number of amirs eligible to be governors of provinces. We will return a little later to the significance that one may attribute to these different figures.

It would hardly be surprising to learn that the most elevated posts were frequently the object of financial transaction. But these were not the only ones, for the range of posts proves to be quite large. In the case of the military, gubernatorial posts—always a question of the locale of the city and its importance—were studied in eight cases. While the post of *nā'ib* of Damascus was leased only once (I/6), and again the information appears only in the obituary notice of its holder, the amir Qijmās, one will note that the governor of Ṣafad renewed three times (II/10, 15, and 17). Coming thereafter are various offices, among which we find those of

ḥājib al-ḥujjāb (I/18) and *dawādār* (I/5), which would not be but for their position in the palatine hierarchy.

Concerning religious offices, we will see that judicial posts occupied the first place and that among them were thirty renewals for the post of *qāḍī al-quḍāh*. Yet one big difference appears among the four judicial schools: the Shafiʻi *madhhab* comes first with eighteen leased offices (seven in Damascus and eleven in Cairo); this is followed by the Hanafi *madhhab* with ten posts (six in Damascus, one in Aleppo, and three in Cairo). The Hanbali and Maliki schools seem to have been little affected by venality since there exists but one case per school in Cairo.

When one reads Ibn Iyās′s reflections on venality it would seem that the practice was anchored in current morality. Ironically, the author expresses his own astonishment in Dhū al-Qaʻdah 919/December 1513 when Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī invested four grand qadis on the same day without any of the grantees having had to make the slightest payment.[11] This observation leads one to think that venality of office became so commonplace, indeed, insignificant a practice that it attracted only occasional attention from historians. There is a possible explanation for this small number of cases. One can of course measure the importance of venality in the testimony of the *Tārīkh* of al-Buṣrawī, who was opposed to this practice. In Muḥarram 902/September 1496 he produced a list of Shafiʻis paired with their privileges and showed that the majority took gifts overtly *(baʻḍuhum ya'khudhu al-rashwah jahran)*—in short, a bribe.[12] Damascus was not the only city affected by this scourge. The same author on 7 Jumādá II 902/February 1497 recalled this problem at the same time as a reunion with Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn, brother of the *shaykh al-islām* Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Sharīf. The discussion turned on the issue of the corruption which reigned in Jerusalem and which was the work of the Shafiʻi qadi. This person ″plunged into debt and bribes *(al-rashwah)* in an indescribable manner.″ [13] In such a context one understands better that the chroniclers had at heart to bring to the attention of their readers honest men such as the Shafiʻi qadi ʻAlā' al-Dīn al-Akhmīmī, who never accepted a single bribe *(ʻafīfan ʻan al-rashwah)* during his tenure.[14] If the post of Shafiʻi grand qadi was the object of financial transaction, the same applied to his deputy *(nā'ib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī)* of which we have uncovered nine cases for Damascus.

Venality did not strike the judiciary alone; teaching posts were affected identically: five *mudarrisūn* (three in Damascus and two in Cairo) obtained their

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[11] Ibn Iyās, *Badā'iʻ,* 4:350–52.

[12] Al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh,* 190.

[13] Ibid., 203.

[14] Ibn Iyās, *Badā'iʻ,* 4:352–53.

offices through purchase.[15] We should note at this point that instructors were not obliged to disburse money to obtain a lecture post. According to ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ this was a recent phenomenon. Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣayrafī, who obtained the post of *mudarris* at the Shaykhūnīyah (Cairo) in Dhū al-Qaʿdah 895/September 1490, had been the first to be hired in a cashless deal (II/36). It is nevertheless difficult to say if the remark is applicable to all institutions or just the Shaykhūnīyah. In any case, in Damascus in Muḥarram 883/April 1478 ʿImād al-Dīn al-Nāṣirī obtained a teaching post, though the establishment concerned is not mentioned (II/7). Other religious posts underwent the same process: those of *muḥtasib* (two cases in Cairo),[16] *shaykh* (five cases, of which four were in Cairo and one in Jerusalem), and *wakīl al-sulṭān* (four cases, three of which were in Damascus and one in Cairo), as well as the different offices of controller *(nāẓir al-bīmāristān, nāẓir al-ashrāf* and *nāẓir al-asrāʾ)* (of eleven cases, six were in Damascus, two in Aleppo, and three in Cairo).

With regard to administrative office, the two most important posts in the civil administration of the ninth/fifteenth century to be farmed out were those of *kātib al-sirr* (seven cases) and *nāẓir al-jaysh* (six cases). Again, Damascus accounts for five cases for the post of *kātib al-sirr* and six for that of *nāẓir al-jaysh*. We must remember that these two posts were often conjoined but also that the post of *kātib al-sirr* was sometimes bundled with that of *qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī* (III/2, 9). That the vizier figures only in two renewals in our list is undoubtedly a reflection of the decline of the post in Cairo, which no longer existed in Damascus after 839/1435.[17] One notes also the frequency of the post of controller of the citadel *(nāẓir al-qalʿah)* (three cases in Damascus and one in Aleppo) but also the mention of the office of secretary of the mamluks *(kātib al-mamālīk)*, a less elevated post in the hierarchy, that had two renewals much later (in 912/1506).

Before going into greater detail on the question of disbursement, some remarks are in order. From the outset amounts were not mentioned systematically by the authors, who were no doubt informed about them, even though for the military and administrative offices we possess figures for more than three-quarters of them. Thus, for nineteen military posts the sum total was noted in twelve cases; for sixty-three religious posts there were thirty-nine cases, and for twenty-one administrative posts there were fourteen cases. In addition, if the Mamluks paid a sum of money to obtain or be reconfirmed in an office (I/2 and 5) they could only

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[15]Cf. Jonathan P. Berkey, "Tadrīs," *EI*^{2}, 10:83–84. This term usually designates the teaching of religious law, that is to say *fiqh*.

[16]Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Rāziq, "La Ḥisba et le muḥtasib en Egypte," *AnIsl* 13 (1977): 115–78.

[17]Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Rāziq, "Le vizirat et les vizirs d'Egypte au temps des mamluks," *Annales islamologiques* 16 (1980): 183–239.

retain one office. In religious and civil cases, the business was much more complex since one is faced with the plurality of offices (II/2 and III/4; II/4 and III/5; II/12 and III/6; II/3 and III/7; II/14 and III/8; II/30 and III/11; II/34 and III/16) or several posts of the same category (II/6, 7, 16, 39, 40, 46, 48, 49; III/15, 17, 20, 21). No information is ever given that reveals whether the sum demanded or paid was a lump sum; perhaps it was a forfeiture. We have only one detailed example. According to Ibn Ṭūlūn, in Sha'bān 916/November 1510, the *qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī* Walī al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr granted to 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Ramlī the *niyābah shāfi'īyah* for one hundred *ashrafī*s and, according to rumor, on the same day also accorded to him the post of *mutakallim* for the affairs of the Ḥaramayn for 150 *ashrafī*s (II/49).

The offices that we have cited were conferred in exchange for financial contributions, although in certain cases the authors were reticent about them. Indeed, one encounters in their writing the expression *"wa-qīl"* signifying that they were only reporting rumor, perhaps without any foundation (I/16; II/11, 41, 62; III/21, 50, 60). It is in this vein that Ibn Ṭawq recorded in Sha'bān 886/September 1481 the nomination of 'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'īl al-Nāṣirī to the post of *qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī:* "I have heard it said that he had obtained this post through an exchange of a sizeable cash gift, all to retain the offices that he already possessed" (II/16). The same author, speaking somewhat fatalistically of a similar case, that of Ibn al-Ghazzī, adds: "God alone knows the truth of it" (II/11). Paying to obtain a post had become an official act, at any rate a well-known practice, as when in Dhū al-Qa'dah 897/August 1492 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Sunbāṭī spent 1,000 dinars to land a teaching post in al-Manṣūrīyah; we have this from al-Sakhāwī (II/38). In the case of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-'Adawī, one of his relatives, named 'Abd al-Qādir, told al-Buṣrawī that new amounts were required for the renewal of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in the office of *wakīl al-sulṭān* and for obtaining the office of *nāẓir al-dhakhīrah*. We are ignorant of the details of this operation, but the trip to Cairo, for the individual lived and worked in Damascus, cost him 28,000 dinars, which he had to borrow.

The language employed to invoke these monetary transactions is ambiguous to say the least. The question is one of *badhl* (gift) (I/7,8, 11; II/15, 17, 26).[18] The candidate proposed a sum to the ruler who had the right to accept it but also to refuse it in order to obtain more. It is perhaps better to speak not of a gift but a bribe. If sometimes the amount of this gift is noted, as in the case of Shāhīn al-Jamālī, who offered 20,000 dinars for the post of *shādd* in Jidda to Sultan Qāytbāy in Rajab 876/December 1471 (I/2), this information is not systematic. In the case of Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Muzalliq one learns only that he gave an important

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[18]Franz Rosenthal, "Gifts and Bribes: The Muslim View," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 108 (1964): 135–44.

gift (to the same ruler) to obtain the office of *qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī* in Damascus in Shaʿbān 889/August 1484 (II/24). It is in no way easier to figure values described simply as ″much″ *(kathīr).* One might suppose that he paid the sum habitually demanded of the candidate for the highest judicial office, whatever his affiliation, namely 3,000 dinars (II/10, 35, 44, 45, 46, 52, 57, 59). That was at any rate the amount ordinarily required in Cairo, according to the authors. The situation seems slightly different for the provinces since Ibn al-Muzalliq paid in the previous month the tidy sum of 10,000 dinars for the same post (II/22). How much did he spend the second time? The sultan undoubtedly exploited his desire to be reinstated in the post of grand qadi. Our confusion is increased when Ibn al-Ḥimṣī says that Sharaf al-Dīn ibn ʿĪd confided to him that he was relieved of his obligation to satisfy Sultan Qāytbāy, who conferred the post of *qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī* upon him (II/8).

One sees then the total ambiguity of the gift, indeed, its total ambivalence. Trapped between the voluntary and forced gift, candidates who ardently desired to obtain a post, which make up the majority of cases in this study, or extend their occupation (I/3), were ready to pay any amount to insure access.[19] The result was a veritable rush for office by whomever, whatever his abilities, was able to fulfill the object of his dreams, if only he could entice the ruler financially. Shocked, Ibn Iyās tells how in Ṣafar 887/March 1482 Sultan Qāytbāy conferred on Muḥammad ibn al-ʿAẓamah the office of controller of *waqf*s under the pretext that he had promised him an important monthly deduction on the revenues derived from properties in mortmain. While this individual, intent on lining his own pocket, did not possess the capacity required to administer this office properly, the ruler took it (II/19). We have already had occasion to refer to the fickleness of rulers who had little scruples in distributing religious and administrative offices to incompetents for money.[20] Military offices do not seem to have entirely escaped this fate. Ibn Iyās, for one, was shocked to discover that one of the *julbān* obtained the lucrative post of *nāʾib* of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād for the modest sum of 1,000 dinars (I/13). For the author, who cannot explain Qāytbāy′s action, this was very unusual *(wa-hādhā min al-nawādir).*

If the authors use the word *badhl,* whatever its meaning, they never use the word *barṭalah/birṭīl* and seem to prefer to it *rashwah* (gift), what one bestows on

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[19]The following anecdote is evocative of the spirit that prevailed then. In Ṣafar 908/August 1502, when the pilgrimage amir Aṣṭamur arrived in Baṭn al-Marr, before the Mecca station, he was received by al-Jāzānī, who came to meet him. Aṣṭamur offered him a robe of honor saying: ″If you desire to be invested with the lordship of Mecca, you must pay the sultan 50,000 dinars.″ This was understood by al-Jāzānī: ″I will pay this sum.″ Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:36–37.

[20]Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l′administration dans l′etat militaire mamlouk: (IXe/XVe siècle)* (Damascus, 1992), 78–121.

a judge or an officer for gain. Is this a question of bashfulness or was the word simply not in current usage? Thus, we have already mentioned that the authors are not always in a position to furnish us with the sum total paid out by the candidates. Monetary transactions are referred to as *bi-mablagh* (for an amount) (II/40, 63, 60, 61; III/9) and *bi-māl* (for cash) (II/6, 56; III/16, 46); some could be accorded the epithet *kathīr* (much) (*bi-māl kathīr,* II/31) or *kabīr* (large, considerable) (*bi-mablagh kabīr,* III/51). One observes a linguistic variant that signifies when the candidate is successful—*wa-qad saʻá fī dhālika bi-mablagh lahu ṣūrah*—meaning that the person has been able to pay because of great wealth (I/14, 15, 17; II/31, 32, 42; III/13, 18).[21] These different expressions underscore that the sums paid were sizeable, but of what magnitude? It is difficult to give an estimate or determine the range of unspecified gifts. We are unable to say if these sums were really large or just perceived as such by the authors. Moreover, amounts were assessed every fifty years, which complicates our effective understanding of them because during the same period economic progress undoubtedly occurred. To conduct a precise study, it would be necessary to take into account the various price indices, such as monetary variations.

Fortunately, we possess figures for fifty-six posts, that is, slightly less than half. The totals are always quoted in dinars ranging from 100 (*nā'ib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī,* II/49) to 100,000 (*nā'ib* of Damascus, I/6). We have noted above that the price takes into account the office and unquestionably the plurality. The sums paid by the amirs are always greater or at least equivalent to those paid by individuals who accumulated religious and administrative offices. This demonstrates conclusively that the military disposed of greater resources or were otherwise able to make stronger bids. Certain details here are worthy of attention. Certain authors such al-Ṣayrafī (I/1; III/1, 2, 3) but occasionally also Ibn Ṭawq and Ibn Ṭūlūn (I/5) and even Ibn al-Ḥimṣī (I/4) mention that the dinars furnished were weighed coins composed of good alloy.[22] In taking this precaution, Sultan Qāytbāy, to whom the sums ultimately reverted, was assured that the volume of money corresponded to the sums demanded. However, it is difficult to confirm that this practice was in fashion during the entire length of Qāytbāy′s reign or during the reigns of his successors; the last mention is in 886/1481. One can hope that Qāytbāy had confidence in the coins he ordered into circulation, as at the same time the chroniclers claimed a halt to counterfeiters. Ibn Ṭūlūn mentions two payments in *ashrafī* dinars (II/49, 51) and like Ibn Ṭawq uses the term *dhahab* (III/10, 11). Indeed, Ibn Iyās proved that in great detail in the case of Fakhr al-Dīn

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[21]According to Kazimirski, the expression *māl lahu ṣūrah* signifies that an individual had considerable wealth (*Dictionnaire Arabe-Français,* 1:1384).

[22]The term *wazana* means to give money to someone after it has been weighed (ibid., 2:1530).

ibn al-ʻAfīf when he noted that he paid for the post of *kātib al-mamālīk* with 2,000 dinars and change (*wa-kusūr,* III/19).[23]

Of course certain candidates made payments both in specie and in kind, things such as grain and livestock. Thus, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṣughayr paid 8,000 dinars and 5,000 *ardabb*s of barley, about 45,000 liters (III/21).[24] Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥimṣī disbursed an unknown sum of cash to which he added livestock (II/27). Similarly, Badr al-Dīn ibn al-Muʻtamid paid in kind, offering forty sacks of barley (II/50) for the post of *qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī* in Damascus. According to Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn Yūsuf, he gave a thousand horses (III/17). Ibn Iyās noted that Badr al-Dīn ibn Muzhir paid a cash sum but also a portion of his inheritance to obtain the post of *kātib al-sirr* held previously by his father (III/14). Unfortunately, we do not possess any details about this transaction. How much was the sum paid and what was the nature of the portion of the inheritance (house, property, livestock) demanded from the applicant by Qāytbāy? In the ledger of this arrangement it is difficult to calculate the proportion of each kind of payment but it is interesting to note that the sultan accepted all forms.

Of course, not everyone could furnish the required sum all at once. The government, if it did not have a candidate likely to pay an equivalent sum, would accept graduated payments. The amir Aydakī and the cleric Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, who undoubtedly lacked ready funds to take their offices, were permitted to pay half on the day of their installation and the balance on a date fixed by the authorities (I/12; II/11). Though the amir Ulmās had agreed to pay 41,000 dinars for the post of *walī al-shurṭah,* he offered 20,000 down and the rest in installments (I/19). Yet it happened that a candidate could not finally pay what he had offered to the sultan, or what the latter had charged. The sultan, pressed no doubt by necessity, took a sum less than that fixed at the outset. ʻImād al-Dīn Ismāʻīl al-Nāṣirī, who promised 8,000 dinars to Qāytbāy, could only pay 7,000 dinars in the end (II/7).

Nevertheless, the sultan was not always so accommodating. In Rabīʻ II 879/August 1474, on Wednesday the 15th, the new *nāẓir al-ashrāf* of Damascus, al-Sayyid al-Sharīf, did not receive his robe of investiture because he did not fulfill his promise to pay. According to al-Ṣayrafī, he was finally installed in his new office on Friday the 23rd after having paid 1,000 dinars (II/3). These compromises do not seem to have been systematically applied and the affair could always take another turn when the sultan's need for money proved urgent. The Shafiʻi grand qadi Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb underwent such an experience in

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[23]*Kusūr* signifies change, making up of a sum with fractional coinage; cf. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (repr., Beirut, 1981), 2:474.

[24]According to Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta's and Fallahun* (Leiden, 1997), 241.

Jumādá I 916/August 1510 when Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī revoked his office after he had been in it for only two months and sixteen days. The qadi had not finished paying the agreed amount at the time of his nomination, on which he still owed 1,000 dinars. Though destitute he had to pay, and the sultan, to ensure payment, ordered him locked up in the home of the *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*.

We have, to this point, noted transactions made face-to-face between the sultan and anyone seeking a post. But venality was not uniquely the purview of the sultan, for other high-ranking persons also took advantage of their positions for profit. This situation seems to have been so common in Damascus for religious offices that one cannot detect any exception. The following three cases refer to the same person, the Shafi'i grand qadi Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr. In Jumādá II 886/July 1481 he conferred the *niyābah shāfi'īyah* on Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyá ibn Ghāzī for a cash amount that was less than what was rumored (II/15). In Rajab 889/August 1481 it was Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Azāzī to whom he gave the same post for eighty *ashrafī* dinars, according to Ibn Ṭūlūn, and for 400, according to Ibn Ṭawq (II/23). In Jumādá II 889/June 1484 Taqī al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī Zura' became *nā'ib al-ḥukm* after he paid a considerable amount of cash (II/21). A member of the Farfūr clan again figures years later. In Sha'bān 921/September 1515 *qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī* Walī al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr requested of Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ramlī 1,000 dinars. The latter was then imam of the Umayyad mosque but was unable to pay more than half the balance. The post then went to Taqī al-Dīn al-Qarā for an enormous sum (II/58)! We have related four scenarios involving high Damascene religious dignitaries, though this practice was not limited to them. In Muḥarram 892/December 1486 the governor of Damascus named as *nā'ib* of Ṣafad the *ḥājib al-ḥujjāb* Īlbāy for 20,000 dinars (I/10). Then in Shawwāl 895/August 1490 Sultan Qāytbāy enjoined the *ḥājib kabīr* Yūnis al-Sharīfī to choose the Hanafi grand qadi; his choice was Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn al-Qusayf, who agreed to pay 3,000 dinars (II/35).

Often when money proved scarce it became necessary to solicit the support of influential people. It is unclear if such services were systematically compensated since we possess examples in which cash is not mentioned, only the names of intermediaries. A case in Ramaḍān 887/October 1482 is notable since Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Azāzī obtained the *niyābah shāfi'īyah* thanks to the intervention of Shaykh Sirāj al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣayrafī and for 200 dinars (II/20). In Ṣafar 898/November 1492 the amir Qānībāy Qarā al-Rammāḥ obtained the post of *nā'ib* of Ṣahyūn in exchange for a bribe and the intervention of the amir Azbak al-Khāzindār (I/14).

It would seem, moreover, that candidates were obligated financially to their intercessors. In Dhū al-Qa'dah 897/August 1492 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Sunbāṭī spent 1,000 dinars to obtain a teaching post in al-Manṣūrīyah. This amount consisted of a bribe but also gifts made to people who had supported him, including an anonymous

amir, who received one hundred dinars (II/38). The case of Muḥyī al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Qādir ibn al-Naqīb is particularly interesting. As we have already noted, this person occupied the post of Shafiʻi grand qadi in Cairo six times, paying each time with bribes. He also had recourse to the offices of certain individuals. Ibn Iyās mentioned that in Dhū al-Qaʻdah 911/March 1506 he obtained on three occasions the post of grand qadi for 5,000 dinars but also that he had distributed 2,000 more to those amirs who had supported his candidacy, to principal members of the sultan´s retinue *(khawāṣṣ),* notably the *dawādār* Azdamur. On the occasion of his sixth and last nomination, in Jumādá II 921/July 1515, he paid out the usual 3,000 dinars to which he added the amounts distributed to the *dawādār,* to his adjutant *(dawādār thānī)* and to the *kātib al-sirr*. One can easily imagine all the resources expended by this individual to obtain the office of his dreams and then to maintain himself in it. According to rumor, he spent a total of some 36,000 dinars. One can easily believe, too, Ibn Iyās´ claim that in acting in such a fashion, he ruined his fortune (II/41, 43, 45, 47, 52, 56).

Venality caused money to change hands at such a rate that if they were not systematically important at the start, these sums could become so if the candidate solicited the same office frequently enough and put himself in debt to his intermediaries. One must not forget that the case of Ibn al-Naqīb noted before, as it constitutes a case of affiliation, is not really an exception. Thus in Dhū al-Qaʻdah 918/January 1513 Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl occupied for the third time the office of Shafiʻi grand qadi, achieving his ends by spending in excess of 10,000 dinars (II/48, 53, 57). Other individuals occupied the same posts two or three times by utilizing bribes rather than their abilities, which created discontent with their nominations. Such is the reminder of Ibn Iyās concerning the affection that Ḥusām al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn al-Shiḥnah possessed for the post of Hanafi grand qadi in Ramaḍān 921/October 1515 (II/59): ″Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī interested himself in all things having to do with the procuring of money.″[25] The author deplored his youth, and consequently his lack of experience as judge, which paralleled his lack of learning, perhaps because he had not completed his education. The judgment of Ibn Iyās is severe: ″He was undoubtedly the most incompetent of the Hanafi qadis,″[26] while other candidates who had been omitted possessed the requisite qualifications to administer the office.

Even so, it would not be right to place all responsibility for the sale of office and its convolutions solely on the rulers. It was after all the candidates themselves who sought backers to support their applications by means of gifts of varying value. It was in essence a contractual relationship: both parties were free to accept

[25]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ,* 4:477.
[26]Ibid.

or reject the proposed deal. Clearly, the sultans exploited the system to their advantage, but the candidates were certainly not inclined to invest, and invest substantially, to no purpose. They of course hoped their new position would allow them not only to recoup their investment but also exploit the system in turn.

Ibn Ṭūlūn relates that the *nāẓir al-jaysh* Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr and the *qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī* Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-'Adawī ″disgraced themselves″ in Damascus. In Ṣafar 886/April 1481 al-'Adawī lost the post of *qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfi'ī* while retaining those of *nāẓir al-qal'ah* and *wakīl al-sulṭān*. Desirous of managing them, Ibn al-Farfūr agreed to pay 32,000 dinars and had his prayers answered. Al-'Adawī, who had bid only 10,000 dinars to the *dawādār,* was dismissed, but only for a brief time because in the same month he regained two of his former offices *(nāẓir al-qal'ah* and *wakīl al-sulṭān)* in exchange for 26,000 dinars. He did not succeed in retaining them, though, as Ibn al-Farfūr offered in Rabī' I/May the sum of 30,000 dinars and obtained as well the post of *wakīl bayt al-māl* (II/12, 13, 14).[27] One wonders if any part of the money found its way into the sultan′s coffers. Regardless, the attitude of those two office holders gives us an idea of the amount of competition induced by the system. We note that the sum ″pocketed″ by the *dawādār* in the space of a month was close to 88,000 dinars! It is interesting to note, however, that the Ibn al-Farfūr reported here is the same Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr we have mentioned above in the three affairs of attribution of posts between 886 and 889. Shihāb al-Dīn did not wait long to swap the status of solicitor for that of purveyor of offices, this providing the means of reimbursing himself quickly. This attitude was by no means exceptional. Ibn Iyās, in the notice he dedicated to the amir Qānībāy Qarā al-Rammāḥ in Rabī' I 921/April 1513, recalled that he had obtained the post of *nā'ib* of Ṣahyūn through a bribe and the intervention of the amir Azbak al-Khāzindār, but also that his attitude towards his administrators leads one to believe that he was recouping his outlay by pressuring them (I/14). Undoubtedly, it was for the same purpose that the qadi Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-'Adawī came to Cairo in Dhū al-Qa'dah 891/October 1496. He knew in advance that, good year or bad, he would recoup the 28,000 dinars that he had borrowed for the trip (II/30).

Even so, it is not necessary to see in these practices the emergence of an entirely new phenomenon. When 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Kātib al-Manākh was nominated vizier in Shawwāl 826/September 1423 in exchange for 20,000 dinars, his father said to him: ″I have occupied the office of vizier and I have left there the 60,000 dinars that I would possess without ever being able to repair the breach in my fortune. How shall you manage it?″ 'Abd al-Karīm made this Sibylline comment:″I would fill this void by taking from the Muslims′ portion.″ With these

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[27]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 1:36, 37 et 39

profound observations the new vizier revealed to his father a pyramid scheme. One would be right in thinking that the top was not systematically composed of these ″Muslims″ but that, according to circumstance, other intermediaries would give money thinking that they would recoup in requisite time. Only the poor devil at the bottom of the pyramid would legitimately feel himself injured. In the chronicles it is only the apex of the edifice that is uncovered, while the rest remains hidden, appearing only rarely.

Though significant amounts were either paid or recouped by candidates, they pale in comparison with those disbursed during the first half of the ninth/fifteenth century. The three examples adduced here are, in this regard, significant. Of course, the question is the conferment of the post of *kātib al-sirr,* the most elevated position in the administrative hierarchy and the most coveted. As one can see from the figures that follow, one is far from the kind of sums paid during the period which presently interests us. Thus, in Rabīʻ I 808/August 1405, Saʻd al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Ghurāb paid 60,000 dinars; in Shawwāl 826/October 1421 Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Bārizī gave 40,000 dinars; in Rajab 832/April 1429, Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muzhir paid 100,000 dinars.[28] The rapacity and cupidity of the sultans in place—Faraj, al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, and Barsbāy—had nothing on Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī. What is more, sums were paid entirely at the time of the purchase of office. If it is true that these three rulers exercised power during periods which were filled with political and economic crises, contrary to their successors, they were capable of sizing up issues, even bringing solutions to bear, though they proved to be temporary.

Be that as it may, these findings lead us to question the wealth of different office holders since even amirs seem to have had difficulty in paying. Are we faced with the onset of a general impoverishment, at least concerning certain notables? Is the situation the same in Cairo as in the provincial capitals? How does one explain this phenomenon? For the last fifty years of the Mamluk Sultanate′s existence, rulers confronting foreign dangers and diverse economic crises were focused less and less on devising a new fiscal regime to keep state coffers filled. Arbitrary exactions from notables, merchants, or non-Muslim communities, as well as new levies on various branches of commerce and the property of mortmain, allowed Qāytbāy to replenish his often empty treasury. His successor Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī used similar methods; he had recourse to simple extraordinary levies, to confiscation of the goods of office holders fallen into disgrace, and to seizing the inheritances of the wealthy deceased.

In these circumstances, one sees how the government agreed on a price for certain offices, as in the case of the grand qadi: all candidates hoping to occupy

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[28]Cf. the lists in the appendices of ʻAbd al-Rāziq, *Al-Badhl wa-al-Barṭalah*.

the position had to furnish 3,000 dinars to the sultan. The practice became virtual law. The procedure, without any legal sanction, became so implicit, on the one hand, by princely fiat and, on the other, by the voluntary acquiescence of the candidates. The relatively low asking price is easily explained: administrators, already subject to so many different financial drains, were no doubt unable to extend themselves any further. Of course, there were always exceptions, but the sultan could leave these offices without title holders. Thus, to confer such an office for such a relatively small sum was insurance for always having on hand a potential applicant. Thus, in Rabīʻ I 919/May 1513 Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī spoke to ʻIzz al-Dīn al-Shīshīnī of his desire to award the post of *qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanbalī:* ″Give me 1,000 dinars and I will confer on you the offices of your father″ (II/54). If the ruler wanted to obtain more, since all appointments and removals depended on his good will, he had only to dismiss summarily the office holder and replace him. This was his most used gambit! The case of Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb is instructive: in Dhū al-Qaʻdah 918/January 1513 he had already been Shafiʻi grand qadi five times though the total length of his mandate had been less than a year, in fact, only nine months and eight days.

Did venality exacerbate the major political crises that crisscrossed the sultanate, particularly when it was time to mobilize against external enemies? During these critical periods demands for money but especially its collection proved vital for the raising and equipping of troops. In fact, only five years stand out distinctly: 886/1481 and 922/1516, with nine cases of venality each; 889/1484 and 921/1515, seven cases; and finally, 893/1488, six cases. The last two years of the Mamluk sultanate were marked by greater activity: sixteen offices were farmed out, bringing in some 60,000 dinars, although for three posts the amount is not precise. This sum seems modest ultimately and we may be right in thinking that it was only a balance, though not a negligible one, and nothing more. Moreover, the story in the chronicles is that when the sultan mobilized his forces he raised a new tax, justifying it by invoking the necessity of defending his territory.

Sultans preferred to bleed the population as a whole, with the help of the procedures enumerated above, rather than demand what appeared to be prohibitive fees from various grantees. They were being pragmatic since the sums collected in this way could not be compared with revenues induced through venality. If so, it is a question of yielding to a bad habit embedded in current mores, of assimilation into a quasi-levy, a tax on office. While we have been unable to illuminate fully this phenomenon in our study, it seems to us that during the last fifty years of the sultanate venality of office lost its financial importance. Revenues generated through venality are not attested in reports about other taxes. But did they contribute to the enrichment of all those who practiced it? It is difficult to answer affirmatively because a certain number of individuals undoubtedly had time to recoup their

losses. Still, we cannot be absolutely sure. For those who had the opportunity, the government soon confiscated money won from the ″Muslims′ portion.″ May morality be saved!

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Date	**Name**	**Office/Location**	**Amounts/Methods of Payment**	**Source**
Jumādá I 874/ Nov. 1469	Tāj al-Dīn ibn al-Hayṣam	*mustawfī al-khāṣṣ,* Cairo	1,000 weighed dinars	*Inbā',* 152
Jumādá I 875/ Oct. 1470	Qāsim ibn al-Qarāfī	vizier, Cairo	20,000 weighed dinars	Ibid., 226
Jumādá II 876/ Nov. 1471	Taghrībirdī	*kāshif al-jusūr wa-al-damm,* al-Sharqīyah	1,000 weighed dinars	Ibid., 365
Rajab 876/ Dec. 1471	Shāhīn al-Jamālī	*shādd,* Jidda	20,000 dinars	Ibid., 383
Rajab 876/ Dec. 1471	Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān	*ṣayrafī,* Jidda	10,000 weighed dinars	Ibid., 383
Rajab 876/ Dec. 1471	Ibn al-ʻAjlūnī	*qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī,* Damascus	10,000 dinars	Ibid., 390
Ramaḍān 876/ Feb. 1472	Quṭb al-Dīn al-Khayḍarī	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī, kātib al-sirr,* Damascus	about 30,000 dinars	Ibid., 406, 423
Rabīʻ II 879/ Aug. 1474	al-Sayyid al-Sharīf[29]	*nāẓir al-ashrāf,* Damascus	1,000 dinars	Ibid., 498, 504
Ṣafar 881/ May 1476	Quṭb al-Dīn al-Khayḍarī	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī, kātib al-sirr,* Damascus	not specified	*Dhayl,* fol. 271v; *Badā'iʻ,* 3:119
Rabīʻ I 881/ June 1476	Taqī al-Dīn ibn al-Naḥḥās	*muḥtasib,* Cairo	800 dinars	*Tārīkh,* 76
Rajab 881/ Oct. 1476	Taqī al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī ʻAjlūn	*nāẓir al-asrā', nāẓir waqf* al-Ruknīyah, Damascus	not specified	Ibid., 78
Rajab 881/ Oct. 1476	Jānibak	*ḥājib thānī,* Damascus	4,000 dinars	Ibid.
Muḥarram 883/ Apr. 1478	ʻImād al-Dīn Ismāʻīl al-Nāṣirī	*nāẓir, mudarris,* and other Hanafi functions, Damascus	asking price: 8,000; payment: 7,000 dinars	*Ḥawādith,* 1:221
Shawwāl 883/ Dec. 1478	Ibrāhīm ibn Shādī Bak al-Julubbānī	*kāshif,* al-Ḥawrān	10,000 weighed dinars	Ibid., 226

[29]This person is likewise designated by the expression Ibn al-Khawājā bi-khān al-nashshārīn.

Date	**Name**	**Office/Location**	**Amounts/Methods of Payment**	**Source**
Shawwāl 885/ Dec. 1480	Sharaf al-Dīn ibn ʻĪd	*qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī,* Cairo	not specified	*Wajīz,* 3:907; *Badā'i',* 3:170; *Ḥawādith,* 2:252–53; *Mufākahah,* 1:28
Dhū al-Qaʻdah 885/ Jan. 1481	Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-ʻAdawī	*mudarris* al-Shāmīyah al-Barrānīyah, Damascus	350 dinars	*Mufākahah,* 1:30
Dhū al-Qaʻdah 885/ Jan. 1481	Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn al-Qusayf	*qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī,* Damascus	3,000 dinars	*Taʻlīq,* 1:28; *Mufākahah,* 1:30
Dhū al-Ḥijjah 885/ Feb. 1481	Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ghazzī	*nā'ib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī,* Damascus	900 dinars, payment in two parts	*Taʻlīq,* 1:33; *Mufākahah,* 1:31
Ṣafar 886/ Mar. 1481	Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī, nāẓir al-jaysh, wakīl al-sulṭān, nāẓir al-qalʻah,* Damascus	32,000 dinars	*Taʻlīq,* 1:49; *Mufākahah,* 1:36-37
Ṣafar 886/ Mar. 1481	Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-ʻAdawī	*nāẓir al-qalʻah, wakīl al-sulṭān,* Damascus	26,000 dinars	*Taʻlīq,* 1:51; *Mufākahah,* 1:37
Rabīʻ I 886/ Apr. 1481	Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr	*qāḍī al-quḍāh al-shāfiʻī, nāẓir al-jaysh, nāẓir al-qalʻah, wakīl al-sulṭān,* Damascus	30,000 dinars	*Mufākahah,* 1:39
Jumādá I 886/ June 1481	Īlbāy	*dawādār,* Damascus	10,000 weighed dinars	*Taʻlīq,* 1:64; *Mufākahah,* 1:42
Jumādá I 886/ July 1481	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn Ghāzī	*nā'ib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī,* Damascus	not specified	*Mufākahah,* 1:46
Shaʻbān 886/ Sept. 1481	ʻImād al-Dīn Ismāʻīl al-Nāṣirī	*qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī* and other offices, Damascus	not specified	*Taʻlīq,* 1:82

Date	**Name**	**Office/Location**	**Amounts/Methods of Payment**	**Source**
Shaʿbān 886/ Sept. 1481	Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī	*nāʾib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Damascus	not specified	*Taʿlīq*, 1:83; *Mufākahah,* 1:50
Dhū al-Qaʿdah 886/Dec. 1481	Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ramlī	*nāʾib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Damascus	not specified	*Taʿlīq,* 1:110
Dhū al-Ḥijjah 886/Jan. 1482	Qijmās	*nāʾib,* Damascus	100,000 dinars	*Wajīz,* 3:1014–15
Ṣafar 887/ Mar. 1482	Muḥammad al-ʿAẓamah	*nāẓir al-awqāf,* Cairo	not specified	*Dhayl*, fol. 319; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:192
Ramaḍān 887/ Oct. 1482	Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿAzāzī (al-ʿAdhāwī?)[30]	*nāʾib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Damascus	200 dinars	*Taʿlīq,* 1:195
Jumādá II 889/ June 1484	Qāsim Shughaytah	vizier, Cairo	not specified	*Dhayl*, fol. 336v
Jumādá II 889/ June 1484	Taqī al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī Zuraʿ	*nāʾib al-ḥukm,* Damascus	not specified	*Taʿlīq,* 1:370; *Mufākahah,* 1:63
Rajab 889/ July 1484	Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿAzāzī	*nāʾib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Damascus	80 or 400 dinars	*Taʿlīq,* 1:380; *Mufākahah,* 1:63
Rajab 889/ July 1484	Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Muzalliq	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Damascus	10,000 dinars	*Taʿlīq,* 1:380; *Mufākahah,* 1:64
Shaʿbān 889/ Aug. 1484	Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Muzalliq	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Damascus	not specified	*Wajīz,* 3:950
Shaʿbān 889/ Aug. 1484	Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Baqarī	*nāẓir al-awqāf,* Cairo	not specified	*Dhayl,* fol. 337
Dhū al-Qaʿdah 889/Nov. 1484	Mūsá ibn Shāhīn ibn al-Turjumān	*naqīb al-jaysh,* Cairo	not specified	*Wajīz,* 3:951
Shaʿbān 890/ Aug. 1485	Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿAzāzī	*nāʾib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Damascus	not specified	*Taʿlīq,* 1:508
Shaʿbān 890/ Aug. 1485	Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥimṣī	*nāʾib al-ḥukm,* Damascus	cash + livestock	Ibid., 511
Shaʿbān 890/ Aug. 1485	Badr al-Dīn ibn Ajā	*qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī,* Aleppo	not specified	*Dhayl,* fols. 346v–347

[30]Appears as al-ʿAzāzī in the *Taʿlīq* and as al-ʿAdhāwī in the *Mufākahah.*

Date	**Name**	**Office/Location**	**Amounts/Methods of Payment**	**Source**
Dhū al-Ḥijjah 890/Dec. 1485	Amīr al-Ḥājj ibn Abī al-Faraj	*naqīb al-jaysh,* Cairo	not specified	*Wajīz,* 3:960
Rabīʿ I 891/ Mar. 1486	Muḥammad ibn Shāhīn	*nāʾib al-qalʿah,* Damascus	10,000 dinars	*Mufākahah,* 1:72
Dhū al-Qaʿdah 891/Nov. 1486	Amīn al-Dīn al-Ḥasbānī	*kātib al-sirr,* Damascus	4,000 dinars	*Tārīkh,* 115–16
Dhū al-Qaʿdah 891/Nov. 1486	Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥasbānī	*qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī,* Damascus	14,000 dinars	Ibid., 116
Dhū al-Qaʿdah 891/ Nov. 1486	Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-ʿAdawī	*wakīl al-sulṭān, nāẓir al-dhakhīrah,* Damascus	not specified	Ibid.
Muḥarram 892/ Dec. 1486	Īlbāy	*nāʾib*, Ṣafad	20,000 dinars	*Mufākahah,* 1:73
Ramaḍān 892/ Aug. 1487	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Dahānah	*shaykh al-jāmiʿ,* al-Muʾayyadī, Cairo	not specified	*Dhayl,* fol. 366v; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:243
Ramaḍān 892/ Aug. 1487	Badr al-Dīn al-Makīnī	*shaykh,* al-Khashshābīyah, Cairo	about 2,000 dinars	*Wajīz,* 3:1009; *Dhayl,* fols. 366v–367; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:243
Ṣafar 893/ Jan. 1488	Duqmāq al-Sayfī Īnāl al-Ashqar	*nāʾib,* Jerusalem	not specified	*Dhayl,* fol. 372; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:247
Rabīʿ I 893/ Feb. 1488	Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī	*nāẓir al-jaysh,* Damascus	not specified	*Dhayl,* fols. 372v–373; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:248
Rabīʿ I 893/ Feb. 1488	ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Ḥamawī	*kātib al-sirr,* Damascus	not specified	*Dhayl,* fols. 372v–373; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:248
Rabīʿ II 893/ Mar. 1488	Aydakī	*nāʾib al-qalʿah,* Damascus	10,000 dinars, payment in two parts	*Tārīkh,* 126; *Mufākahah,* 1:87
Ramaḍān 893/ Aug. 1488	Badr al-Dīn ibn Muzhir	*kātib al-sirr,* Cairo	cash + part of inheritance	*Badāʾiʿ,* 3:255

Date	**Name**	**Office/Location**	**Amounts/Methods of Payment**	**Source**
Shawwāl 893/ Sept. 1488	Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn Yūsuf	*nāẓir al-jaysh, nāẓir al-jawālī,* Damascus	10,000 or 20,000 dinars	*Tārīkh,* 130; *Ḥawādith,* 1:321–22; *Mufākahah,* 1:99
Ṣafar 895/ Dec. 1489	Sirāj al-Dīn al-Ṣayrafī	*mudarris,* al-Shāmīyah al-Barrānīyah, Damascus	600 dinars	*Tārīkh,* 140; *Ḥawādith,* 1:321–22; *Mufākahah,* 1:115
Rajab 895/ May 1490	Yūsuf ibn al-Minqār	*kātib al-sirr, nāẓir al-jaysh, nāẓir al-qal'ah, nāẓir al-bīmāristān,* Aleppo	not specified	*Wajīz,* 3:1139
Shawwāl 895/ Aug. 1490	Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn al-Qusayf	*qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī,* Damascus	3,000 dinars	*Mufākahah,* 1:130
Dhū al-Qa'dah 895/ Sept. 1490	Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣayrafī	*mudarris shāfi'ī,* al-Shaykhūnīyah, Cairo	not specified	*Dhayl,* fol. 398
Rajab 896/ May 1491	Burhān al-Dīn ibn al-Quṭb	*qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī,* Damascus	2,000 dinars	*Tārīkh,* 147; *Mufākahah,* 1:140
Sha'bān 896/ June 1491	a *julbān*	*nā'ib,* Ḥiṣn al-Akrād	1,000 dinars	*Dhayl,* fol. 403
Dhū al-Qa'dah 897/Aug. 1492	'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Sunbāṭī	*mudarris,* al-Manṣūrīyah, Cairo	1,000 dinars	*Wajīz,* 3:1261
Dhū al-Qa'dah 897/ Aug. 1492	Zayn al-Dīn ibn al-Jamā'ah	*khaṭīb, shaykh al-shuyūkh khānqāh,* Jerusalem	not specified	Ibid., 1262
Ṣafar 898/ Nov. 1492	Qānībāy Qarā al-Rammāḥ	*nā'ib,* Ṣahyūn	not specified	*Badā'i',* 3:294
Jumādá II 902/ Feb. 1497	Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn Yūsuf	*kātib al-sirr, nāẓir al-jaysh, nāẓir al-jawālī, nāẓir al-qal'ah,* Damascus	1,000 horses	*Tārīkh,* 202
Rabī' I 904/ Nov. 1498	Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī	*nāẓir al-bīmāristān,* al-Manṣūrī, *wakīl al-sulṭān,* Cairo	not specified	*Ḥawādith,* 2:61
Jumādá I 905/ Dec. 1499	Zayn al-Dīn ibn al-Nayrabī	*nāẓir al-jaysh,* Damascus	not specified	*Badā'i',* 3:428

Date	**Name**	**Office/Location**	**Amounts/Methods of Payment**	**Source**
Ṣafar 906/ Aug. 1500	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī,* Cairo	7,000 dinars	Ibid., 448
Rajab 906/ Jan. 1501	Burhān al-Dīn ibn al-Karakī	*qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī,* Cairo	not specified	Ibid., 471
Dhū al-Ḥijjah 906/ June 1501	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī,* Cairo	not specified	*Badāʼiʻ,* 4:12; *Ḥawādith,* 2:127
Jumādá I 911/ Sept. 1505	Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qalqashandī	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī,* Cairo	3,000 dinars	*Badāʼiʻ,* 4:91
Dhū al-Qaʻdah 911/Mar. 1506	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī,* Cairo	5,000 dinars	Ibid.
Jumādá I 912/ Sept. 1506	Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-ʻAfīf	*kātib al-mamālīk,* Cairo	2,000 dinars	Ibid., 99
Dhū al-Ḥijjah 915/ Mar. 1510	Badr al-Dīn al-Makīnī	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī, shaykh* al-Khashshābīyah and al-Sharīfīyah, Cairo	3,000 dinars	Ibid., 171
Rabīʻ I 916/ June 1510	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī,* Cairo	not specified	Ibid., 183
Jumādá I 916/ Aug. 1510	Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī, shaykh* al-Khashshābīyah, al-Sharīfīyah and al-Baybarsīyah, Cairo	5,000 dinars	Ibid., 189
Shaʻbān 916/ Nov. 1510	ʻAlāʼ al-Dīn al-Ramlī	*nāʼib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī,* Damascus; *mutakallim,* al-Ḥaramayn	100 *ashrafī*s; 150 *ashrafī*s	*Mufākahah,* 1:347
Ṣafar 917/ Apr. 1511	Badr al-Dīn ibn al-Muʻtamid	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī,* Damascus	40 sacks of barley	Ibid., 354
Ṣafar 917/ Apr. 1511	Jamāl al-Dīn al-Dūbānī al-Ruḥaybī	*nāʼib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī,* Damascus	200 *ashrafī*s	Ibid.
Muḥarram 918/ Mar. 1512	Sharaf al-Dīn ibn Rawq	*nāẓir al-khazāʼin al-sharīfah, mustawfī,* Cairo	5,000 dinars	*Badāʼiʻ,* 4:257
Rabīʻ II 918/ June 1512	Ṭarābāy	*nāʼib,* Ṣafad	not specified	Ibid., 267

Date	**Name**	**Office/Location**	**Amounts/Methods of Payment**	**Source**
Rajab 918/ Sept. 1512	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Cairo	3,000 dinars	Ibid., 280–81
Dhū al-Qaʿdah 918/Jan. 1513	Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Cairo	not specified	Ibid., 290
Rabīʿ I 919/ May 1513	Shihāb al-Dīn al-Shīshīnī	*qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanbalī,* Cairo	1,000 dinars	Ibid., 305
Rajab 919/ Sept. 1513	Jānim min Walī al-Dīn	*nāʾib,* Tripoli	60,000 dinars	Ibid., 330
Dhū al-Qaʿdah 919/Dec. 1513	Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn Yūsuf	*nāẓir al-awqāf al-ḥanafīyah,* Damascus	3,000 dinars	*Mufākahah,* 1:378
Rabīʿ I 920/ Apr. 1514	Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṣughayr	*nāẓir al-dawlah, kātib al-mamālīk, mutakallim fī thulth al-wizārah,* Cairo	8,000 dinars + 5,000 *ardabb*s of barley	*Badāʾ*iʿ, 4:370–71
Jumādá II 921/ July 1515	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Cairo	3,000 dinars	Ibid., 460–61
Jumādá II 921/ July 1515	Yūsuf min Sībāy	*nāʾib,* Ṣafad	not specified	Ibid., 461–62
Jumādá II 921/ July 1515	Ṭarābāy min Yashbak	*ḥājib al-ḥujjāb,* Damascus	not specified	Ibid., 463
Rajab 921/ Aug. 1515	Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Cairo	3,000 dinars	Ibid., 469
Shaʿbān 921/ Sept. 1515	Taqī al-Dīn al-Qarā	*imām,* al-Umawī, Damascus	not specified	*Mufākahah,* 1:386
Ramaḍān 921/ Oct. 1515	Ḥusām al-Dīn ibn al-Shiḥnah	*qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī,* Cairo	3,000 dinars	*Badāʾiʿ,* 4:477
Ramaḍān 921/ Oct. 1515	Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Damīrī	*qāḍī al-quḍāh mālikī,* Cairo	2,000 dinars	Ibid.
Muḥarram 922/Feb. 1516	Shams al-Dīn al-Sikandarī	*imām,* Cairo	1,200 dinars	Ibid., 5:13
Ṣafar 922/ Mar. 1516	Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Rūmī	*imām al-sulṭān,* Cairo	1,000 dinars	Ibid., 15
Rabīʿ I 922/ Apr. 1516	Ulmās	*walī al-shurṭah,* Cairo	41,000 dinars, 20,000 dinars and the balance in staggered payments	Ibid., 26–27
Rabīʿ II 922/ May 1516	Māmāy al-Ṣughayr	*muḥtasib,* Cairo	15,000 dinars	Ibid., 27

DISTRIBUTION OF CASES OF VENALITY BY TYPE OF OFFICE[31]

I. MILITARY FUNCTIONS

No.	Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
1	Jumādá II 876/ Nov. 1471	Taghrībirdī	*kāshif al-jusūr wa-al-damm,* al-Sharqīyah	1,000 weighed dinars	*Inbā',* 365
2	Rajab 876/ Dec. 1471	Shāhīn al-Jamālī	*shādd,* Jidda	20,000 dinars	Ibid., 383
3	Rajab 881/ Oct. 1476	Jānibak	*ḥājib thānī,* Damascus	4,000 dinars	*Tārīkh,* 78
4	Shawwāl 883/ Dec. 1478	Ibrāhīm ibn Shādī Bak al-Julubbānī	*kāshif,* al-Ḥawrān	10,000 weighed dinars	*Ḥawādith,* 1:226
5	Jumādá I 886/ June 1481	Īlbāy	*dawādār,* Damascus	10,000 weighed dinars	*Ta'līq,* 1:64; *Mufākahah,* 1:42
6	Dhū al-Ḥijjah 886/ Jan. 1482	Qijmās	*nā'ib,* Damascus	100,000 dinars	*Wajīz,* 3:1014–15
7	Dhū al-Qa'dah 889/ Nov. 1484	Mūsá ibn Shāhīn ibn al-Turjumān	*naqīb al-jaysh,* Cairo	not specified	Ibid., 951
8	Dhū al-Ḥijjah 890/ Dec. 1485	Amīr al-Ḥājj ibn Abī al-Faraj	*naqīb al-jaysh,* Cairo	not specified	Ibid., 960
9	Rabī' I 891/ Mar. 1486	Muḥammad ibn Shāhīn	*nā'ib al-qal'ah,* Damascus	10,000 dinars	*Mufākahah,* 1:72
10	Muḥarram 892/ Dec. 1486	Īlbāy	*nā'ib,* Ṣafad	20,000 dinars	Ibid., 73
11	Ṣafar 893/ Jan. 1488	Duqmāq al-Sayfī Īnāl al-Ashqar	*nā'ib,* Jerusalem	not specified	*Dhayl,* fol. 372; *Badā'i',* 3:247
12	Rabī' II 893/ Mar. 1488	Aydakī	*nā'ib al-qal'ah,* Damascus	10,000 dinars, payment in two parts	*Tārīkh,* 126; *Mufākahah,* 1:87

[31]For all these offices, see Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks* (Paris, 1923), and William Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382-1468* (New York, 1977), 1:90–110.

13	Sha'bān 896/ June 1491	a *julbān*	*nā'ib,* Ḥiṣn al-Akrād	1,000 dinars	*Dhayl,* fol. 403
14	Ṣafar 898/ Nov. 1492	Qānībāy Qarā al-Rammāḥ	*nā'ib,* Ṣahyūn	not specified	*Badā'i',* 3:294
15	Rabī' II 918/ June 1512	Ṭarābāy	*nā'ib,* Ṣafad	not specified	Ibid., 4:267
16	Rajab 919/ Sept. 1513	Jānim min Walī al-Dīn	*nā'ib,* Tripoli	60,000 dinars	Ibid., 330
17	Jumādá II 921/ July 1515	Yūsuf min Sībāy	*nā'ib,* Ṣafad	not specified	Ibid., 461–62
18	Jumādá II 921/ July 1515	Ṭarābāy min Yashbak	*ḥājib al-ḥujjāb,* Damascus	not specified	Ibid., 463
19	Rabī' I 922/ Feb. 1516	Ulmās	*walī al-shurṭah,* Cairo	41,000 dinars, 20,000 dinars and the balance in staggered payments	Ibid., 5:26–27

II. Religious Functions

No.	Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
1	Rajab 876/ Dec. 1471	Ibn al-ʻAjlūnī	*qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī,* Damascus	10,000 dinars	*Inbāʼ*, 390
2	Ramaḍān 876/ Feb. 1472	Quṭb al-Dīn al-Khayḍarī	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī*, *kātib al-sirr,* Damascus	about 30,000 dinars	Ibid., 406, 423
3	Rabīʻ II 879/ Aug. 1474	al-Sayyid al-Sharīf	*nāẓir al-ashrāf,* Damascus	1,000 dinars	Ibid., 498, 504
4	Ṣafar 881/ May 1476	Quṭb al-Dīn al-Khayḍarī	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī*, *kātib al-sirr,* Damascus	not specified	*Dhayl,* fol. 271v; *Badāʼiʻ*, 3:119
5	Rabīʻ I 881/ June 1476	Taqī al-Dīn ibn al-Naḥḥās	*muḥtasib,* Cairo	800 dinars	*Tārīkh,* 76
6	Rajab 881/ Oct. 1476	Taqī al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī ʻAjlūn	*nāẓir al-asrāʼ*, *nāẓir waqf* al-Ruknīyah	not specified	Ibid., 78
7	Muḥarram 883/ Apr. 1478	ʻImād al-Dīn Ismāʻīl al-Nāṣirī	*nāẓir*, *mudarris,* and other Hanafi offices, Damascus	asking price: 8,000 payment: 7,000 dinars	*Ḥawādith,* 1:221
8	Shawwāl 885/ Dec. 1480	Sharaf al-Dīn ibn ʻĪd	*qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī,* Cairo	not specified	*Wajīz,* 3:907; *Badāʼiʻ*, 3:170; *Ḥawādith,* 1:252–53; *Mufākahah,* 1:28
9	Dhū al-Qaʻdah 885/ Jan. 1481	Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-ʻAdawī	*mudarris* al-Shāmīyah al-Barrānīyah, Damascus	350 dinars	*Mufākahah,* 1:30

No.	Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
10	Dhū al-Qaʿdah 885/ Jan. 1481	Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn al-Qusayf	*qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī,* Damascus	3,000 dinars	*Taʿlīq,* 1:28; *Mufākahah,* 1:30
11	Dhū al-Ḥijjah 885/ Feb. 1481	Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ghazzī	*nāʾib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Damascus	900 dinars, payment in two parts	*Taʿlīq,* 1:33; *Mufākahah,* 1:31
12	Ṣafar 886/ Mar. 1481	Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī*, *nāẓir al-jaysh*, *wakīl al-sulṭān*, *nāẓir al-qalʿah,* Damascus	32,000 dinars	*Taʿlīq,* 1:49; *Mufākahah,* 1:36–37
13	Ṣafar 886/ Mar. 1481	Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-ʿAdawī	*nāẓir al-qalʿah*, *wakīl al-sulṭān,* Damascus	26,000 dinars	*Taʿlīq,* 1:51; *Mufākahah,* 1:37
14	Rabīʿ I 886/ Apr. 1481	Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī*, *nāẓir al-jaysh*, *nāẓir al-qalʿah*, *wakīl al-sulṭān,* Damascus	30,000 dinars	*Mufākahah,* 1:39
15	Jumādá II 886/ July 1481	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn Ghāzī	*nāʾib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Damascus	not specified	Ibid., 46
16	Shaʿbān 886/ Sept. 1481	ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl al-Nāṣirī	*qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī* and other offices, Damascus	not specified	*Taʿlīq,* 1:82
17	Shaʿbān 886/ Sept. 1481	Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī	*nāʾib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Damascus	not specified	*Taʿlīq,* 1:83; *Mufākahah,* 1:50

No.	Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
18	Dhū al-Qaʿdah 886/ Dec. 1481	Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ramlī	*nāʾib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Damascus	not specified	*Taʿlīq,* 1:110
19	Ṣafar 887/ Mar. 1482	Muḥammad al-ʿAẓamah	*nāẓir al-awqāf,* Cairo	not specified	*Dhayl,* fol. 319; *Badāʾiʿ*, 3:192
20	Ramaḍān 887/ Oct. 1482	Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿAzāzī (al-ʿAdhāwī?)	*nāʾib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Damascus	200 dinars	*Taʿlīq,* 1:195
21	Jumādá II 889/ June 1484	Taqī al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī Zuraʿ	*nāʾib al-ḥukm,* Damascus	not specified	*Taʿlīq,* 1:370; *Mufākahah,* 1:63
22	Rajab 889/ July 1484	Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿAzāzī	*nāʾib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Damascus	80 or 400 dinars	*Taʿlīq,* 1:380; *Mufākahah,* 1:63
23	Rajab 889/ July 1484	Shams al-Dīn al-Muzalliq	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Damascus	10,000 dinars	*Taʿlīq,* 1:380; *Mufākahah,* 1:64
24	Shaʿbān 889/ Aug. 1484	Shams al-Dīn al-Muzalliq	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Damascus	not specified	*Wajīz,* 3:950
25	Shaʿbān 889/ Aug. 1484	Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Baqarī	*nāẓir al-awqāf,* Cairo	not specified	*Dhayl,* fol. 337
26	Shaʿbān 890/ Aug. 1485	Shihāb al-Dīn al-ʿAzāzī	*nāʾib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Damascus	not specified	*Taʿlīq,* 1:508
27	Shaʿbān 890/ Aug. 1485	Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥimṣī	*nāʾib al-ḥukm,* Damascus	cash + livestock	Ibid., 511
28	Shaʿbān 890/ Aug. 1485	Badr al-Dīn ibn Ajā	*qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī,* Aleppo	not specified	*Dhayl,* fols. 346v–347

No.	Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
29	Dhū al-Qaʻdah 891/ Nov. 1486	Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥasbānī	*qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī,* Damascus	14,000 dinars	*Tārīkh,* 116
30	Dhū al-Qaʻdah 891/ Nov. 1486	Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-ʻAdawī	*wakīl al-sulṭān*, *nāẓir al-dhakhīrah,* Damascus	not specified	Ibid.
31	Ramaḍān 892/ Aug. 1487	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Dahānah	*shaykh al-jāmiʻ* al-Mu'ayyadī, Cairo	not specified	*Dhayl,* fol. 366v; *Badā'iʻ,* 3:243
32	Ramaḍān 892/ Aug. 1487	Badr al-Dīn al-Makīnī	*shaykh* al-Khashshābīyah, Cairo	about 2,000 dinars	*Wajīz,* 3:1009; *Dhayl,* fols. 366v–367; *Badā'iʻ*, 3:243
33	Ṣafar 895/ Dec. 1489	Sirāj al-Dīn al-Ṣayrafī	*mudarris* al-Shāmīyah al-Barrānīyah, Damascus	600 dinars	*Tārīkh,* 140; *Ḥawādith,* 1:321–22; *Mufākahah,* 1:115
34	Rajab 895/ May 1490	Yūsuf ibn al-Minqār	*kātib al-sirr*, *nāẓir al-jaysh*, *nāẓir al-qalʻah*, *nāẓir al-bīmāristān,* Aleppo	not specified	*Wajīz,* 3:1139
35	Shawwāl 895/ Aug. 1490	Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn al-Qusayf	*qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī,* Damascus	3,000 dinars	*Mufākahah,* 1:130
36	Dhū al-Qaʻdah 895/ Sept. 1490	Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣayrafī	*mudarris shāfiʻī* al-Shaykhūnīyah, Cairo	not specified	*Dhayl,* fol. 398

No.	Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
37	Rajab 896/ May 1491	Burhān al-Dīn ibn al-Quṭb	*qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī,* Damascus	2,000 dinars	*Tārīkh,* 147; *Mufākahah,* 1:140
38	Dhū al-Qaʿdah 897/ Aug. 1492	ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Sunbāṭī	*mudarris* al-Manṣūrīyah, Cairo	1,000 dinars	*Wajīz,* 3:1261
39	Dhū al Qaʿdah 897/ Aug. 1492	Zayn al-Dīn ibn al-Jamāʿah	*khaṭīb*, *shaykh al-shuyūkh khānqāh,* Jerusalem	not specified	Ibid., 1262
40	Rabīʿ I 904/ Nov. 1498	Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī	*nāẓir al-bīmāristān* al-Manṣūrī, *wakīl al-sulṭān,* Cairo	not specified	*Ḥawādith,* 2:61
41	Ṣafar 906/ Aug. 1500	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Cairo	7,000 dinars	*Badāʾiʿ,* 3:448
42	Rajab 906/ Jan. 1501	Burhān al-Dīn ibn al-Karakī	*qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī,* Cairo	not specified	Ibid., 471
43	Dhū al-Ḥijjah 906/ June 1501	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Cairo	not specified	*Badāʾiʿ,* 4:12; *Ḥawādith,* 2:127
44	Jumādá I 911/ Sept. 1505	Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qalqashandī	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Cairo	3,000 dinars	*Badāʾiʿ,* 4:91
45	Dhū al-Qaʿdah 911/Mar. 1506	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Cairo	5,000 dinars	Ibid.

No.	Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
46	Dhū al-Ḥijjah 915/ Mar. 1510	Badr al-Dīn al-Makīnī	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī*, *shaykh* al-Khashshābīyah and al-Sharīfīyah, Cairo	3,000 dinars	Ibid., 171
47	Rabīʻ I 916/ June 1510	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī,* Cairo	not specified	Ibid., 183
48	Jumādá I 916/ Aug. 1510	Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī, shaykh* al-Khashshābīyah, al-Sharīfīyah, and al-Baybarsīyah, Cairo	5,000 dinars	Ibid., 189
49	Shaʻbān 916/ Nov. 1510	ʻAlāʼ al-Dīn al-Ramlī	*nāʼib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī,* Damascus; *mutakallim,* al-Ḥaramayn	100 *ashrafī*s 150 *ashrafī*s	*Mufākahah,* 1:347
50	Ṣafar 917/ Apr. 1511	Badr al-Dīn ibn al-Muʻtamid	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī,* Damascus	40 sacks of barley	Ibid., 354
51	Ṣafar 917/ Apr. 1511	Jamāl al-Dīn al-Dūbānī al-Ruḥaybī	*nāʼib qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī,* Damascus	200 *ashrafī*s	Ibid.
52	Rajab 918/ Sept. 1512	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī,* Cairo	3,000 dinars	*Badāʼiʻ*, 4:280–81
53	Dhū al-Qaʻdah 918/ Jan. 1513	Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī,* Cairo	not specified	Ibid., 290

No.	Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
54	Rabīʿ I 919/ May 1513	Shihāb al-Dīn al-Shīshīnī	*qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanbalī,* Cairo	1,000 dinars	Ibid., 305
55	Dhū al-Qaʿdah 919/ Dec. 1513	Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn Yūsuf	*nāẓir al-awqāf al-ḥanafīyah,* Damascus	3,000 dinars	*Mufākahah,* 1:378
56	Jumādá II 921/ July 1515	Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Naqīb	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Cairo	3,000 dinars	*Badāʾiʿ,* 4:460–61
57	Rajab 921/ Aug. 1515	Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ṭawīl	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʿī,* Cairo	3,000 dinars	Ibid., 469
58	Shaʿbān 921/ Sept. 1515	Taqī al-Dīn al-Qarā	*imām* al-Umawī, Damascus	not specified	*Mufākahah,* 1:386
59	Ramaḍān 921/ Oct. 1515	Ḥusām al-Dīn ibn al-Shiḥnah	*qāḍī al-quḍāh ḥanafī,* Cairo	3,000 dinars	*Badāʾiʿ,* 4:477
60	Ramaḍān 921/ Oct. 1515	Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Damīrī	*qāḍī al-quḍāh mālikī,* Cairo	2,000 dinars	Ibid.
61	Muḥarram 922/ Feb. 1516	Shams al-Dīn al-Sikandarī	*imām,* Cairo	1,200 dinars	Ibid., 5:13
62	Ṣafar 922/ Mar. 1516	Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Rūmī	*imām al-sulṭān,* Cairo	1,000 dinars	Ibid., 15
63	Rabīʿ II 922/ May 1516	Māmāy al-Ṣughayr	*muḥtasib,* Cairo	15,000 dinars	Ibid., 27

III. Administrative Functions

No.	Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
1	Jumādá I 874/ Nov. 1469	Tāj al-Dīn ibn al-Hayṣam	*mustawfī al-khāṣṣ,* Cairo	1,000 weighed dinars	*Inbā',* 152
2	Jumādá I 875/ Oct. 1470	Qāsim ibn al-Qarāfī	vizier, Cairo	20,000 weighed dinars	Ibid., 226
3	Rajab 876/ Dec. 1471	Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān	*ṣayrafī,* Jidda	10,000 weighed dinars	Ibid., 383
4	Ramaḍān 876/ Feb. 1472	Quṭb al-Dīn al-Khayḍarī	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī, kātib al-sirr,* Damascus	about 30,000 dinars	Ibid., 406, 423
5	Ṣafar 881/ May 1476	Quṭb al-Dīn al-Khayḍarī	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī, kātib al-sirr,* Damascus	not specified	*Dhayl,* fol. 271v; *Badā'iʻ,* 3:119
6	Ṣafar 886/ Mar. 1481	Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī, nāẓir al-jaysh, wakīl al-sulṭān, nāẓir al-qalʻah,* Damascus	32,000 dinars	*Taʻlīq,* 1:49; *Mufākahah,* 1:36–37
7	Ṣafar 886/ Mar. 1481	Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-ʻAdawī	*nāẓir al-qalʻah, wakīl al-sulṭān,* Damascus	26,000 dinars	*Taʻlīq,* 1:51; *Mufākahah,* 1:37
8	Rabīʻ I 886/ Apr. 1481	Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Farfūr	*qāḍī al-quḍāh shāfiʻī, nāẓir al-jaysh, nāẓir al-qalʻah, wakīl al-sulṭān,* Damascus	30,000 dinars	*Mufākahah,* 1:39
9	Jumādá II 889/ June 1484	Qāsim Shughaytah	vizier, Cairo	not specified	*Dhayl,* fol. 336v
10	Dhū al-Qaʻdah 891/ Nov. 1486	Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥasbānī	*kātib al-sirr,* Damascus	4,000 dinars	*Tārīkh,* 115–16
11	Dhū al-Qaʻdah 891/ Nov. 1486	Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-ʻAdawī	*wakīl al-sulṭān, nāẓir al-dhakhīrah,* Damascus	not specified	Ibid., 116
12	Rabīʻ I 893/ Feb. 1488	Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī	*nāẓir al-jaysh,* Damascus	not specified	*Dhayl,* fols. 372v–373; *Badā'iʻ,* 3:248

No.	Date	Name	Office/Location	Amounts/Methods of Payment	Source
13	Rabīʿ I 893/ Feb. 1488	ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Ḥamawī	*kātib al-sirr,* Damascus	not specified	*Dhayl,* fols. 372v–373; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:248
14	Ramaḍān 893/ Aug. 1488	Badr al-Dīn ibn Muzhir	*kātib al-sirr,* Cairo	cash + part of inheritance	*Badāʾiʿ,* 3:255
15	Shawwāl 893/ Sept. 1488	Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn Yūsuf	*nāẓir al-jaysh, nāẓir al-jawālī,* Damascus	10,000 or 20,000 dinars	*Tārīkh,* 140; *Ḥawādith,* 1:321–22; *Mufākahah,* 1:99
16	Rajab 895/ May 1490	Yūsuf ibn al-Minqār	*kātib al-sirr, nāẓir al-jaysh, nāẓir al-qalʿah, nāẓir al-bīmāristān,* Aleppo	not specified	*Wajīz,* 3:1139
17	Jumādá II 902/ Feb. 1497	Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn Yūsuf	*kātib al-sirr, nāẓir al-jaysh, nāẓir al-jawālī, nāẓir al-qalʿah,* Damascus	1,000 horses	*Tārīkh,* 202
18	Jumādá I 905/ Dec. 1499	Zayn al-Dīn ibn al-Nayrabī	*nāẓir al-jaysh,* Damascus	not specified	*Badāʾiʿ,* 3:428
19	Jumādá I 912/ Sept. 1506	Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-ʿAfīf	*kātib al-mamālīk,* Cairo	2,000 dinars	Ibid., 4:99
20	Muḥarram 918/ Mar. 1512	Sharaf al-Dīn ibn Rawq	*nāẓir al-khazāʾin al-sharīfah, mustawfī,* Cairo	5,000 dinars	Ibid., 257
21	Rabīʿ I 920/ Apr. 1514	Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṣughayr	*nāẓir al-dawlah, kātib al-mamālīk, mutakallim fī thulth al-wizārah,* Cairo	8,000 dinars + 5,000 *ardabb*s of barley	Ibid., 370–71

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Economic Intervention and the Political Economy of the Mamluk State under al-Ashraf Barsbāy

The economic interventions of the sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy (r. 825–41/1422–38) have become emblematic of his reign, whether used as evidence for the impact of his character on his administration or as a means to contend with the deterioration of the Egyptian economy.[1] Barsbāy's involvement in the spice trade is often cited as the most destructive of his policies, instigating "the ruin of the upper stratum of the Levantine bourgeoisie."[2] Taking a different approach to this issue, Jean-Claude Garcin has argued that the sultan's spice trade policy enabled him to consolidate his political position.[3] This policy involved a two-pronged strategy of securing the Hijaz to control the passage of the trade through Jedda and of invading Cyprus to control European interference in eastern Mediterranean shipping.

Barsbāy's political consolidation, however, had a paradoxical quality. In the Mediterranean, within one year of its conquest by the Mamluks in 829/1426, Barsbāy came to rely on indirect rule in Cyprus through his reinstatement of the King of Cyprus.[4] In the Red Sea, less than two years after the installation of a Mamluk officer as co-ruler of Mecca in 827/1424, the sultan reinstated the deposed sharif as ruler of the Holy City.[5] In the latter case, the financial gains from restrictions imposed on spice merchants were offset by fiscal concessions—although

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[1] Ahmed Darrag, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay, 825–841/1422–1438* (Damascus, 1961); Harry Miskimin, Robert Lopez, and Abraham Udovitch, "England to Egypt, 1350–1500: Long-Term Trends and Long-Distance Trade," in *Studies in the Economic and Social History of the Middle East,* ed. Michael A. Cook (London, 1972), 93–128.

[2] Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983), 280.

[3] Jean-Claude Garcin, "The Regime of the Circassian Mamluks," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt,* vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517,* ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 290–317, esp. 293–94.

[4] In Jumādá II 830 (March–April 1427); Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1956–73), 4:741, 743, 878.

[5] In Dhū al-Ḥijjah 828 (October–November 1425), Sharif Ḥasan ibn ʿAjlān resumed his position in Mecca; Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Fāsī, *Al-ʿIqd al-Thamīn fī Tārīkh al-Balad al-Amīn,* ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī (Cairo, 1959–69), 4:151; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:700.

the precise figures are not known—to the Meccan sharifs, who had successfully resisted Mamluk domination. The Mamluks′ failure to overcome this opposition led to Barsbāy′s reliance on the sharif of Mecca as his political broker in the region, to whom he was eventually compelled to relinquish part of the fiscal benefits of the trade as it passed through Jedda.[6] The sultan′s relations with Cyprus and the Hijaz are paralleled by the situation in Upper Egypt, where the amirs of the Hawwārah Bedouin won considerable autonomy from Cairo.[7] So while Barsbāy attempted to consolidate his political position by dominating the commercial resources of the Mamluk economy, an action no doubt induced by the constrained economic circumstances described by Udovitch, the sultan ultimately had to lighten his grip on local powers. The inability of the Sultanate to impose direct control on these outlying areas and the means by which it incorporated the Meccan sharif, the Cypriot king, and the Hawwārah amir into the state apparatus are remarkable indications of both the weakness and the resilience of the Mamluk state.

In light of this paradoxical aspect of the Mamluk state′s ″foreign″ relations, it is also worth considering Barsbāy′s interventions in the domestic economy of Egypt. Just as the spice trade policy had a political dimension, in which the Sultanate′s spice monopoly had to comply with the exigencies of Hijazi politics, the regime′s attempts to control the domestic economy had an impact on the internal politics of the Mamluks. The contemporary chronicle sources for the reign of Barsbāy indicate that the state both imposed and attempted to impose a number of measures to control the sale and production of a variety of products. Although historians of this reign have obliquely acknowledged the tensions between Barsbāy and the political elite, the economic interventions of the sultan have generally been portrayed within a political vacuum. In general this view may be a consequence of the apparent robustness of Barsbāy′s rule: he pushed the boundaries of state power during a period of protracted economic decline. More often than not, however, accounts of Barsbāy′s actions fail to mention the resistance he encountered or their failure altogether. A particularly vivid example may be cited from an otherwise very illuminating article by Eliyahu Ashtor. In the case of the sugar interventions, while noting the opposition of the amirs, Ashtor concludes that Barsbāy ″had recourse to other methods of extortion,″ and the reader infers that the sultan was driven by his ″cruelty″ and ″greed,″ to use Ashtor′s words, to

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[6]John L. Meloy, ″Imperial Strategy and Political Exigency: The Red Sea Spice Trade and the Mamluk Sultanate in the Fifteenth Century,″ *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123, no. 1 (2003): 1–19.

[7]Jean-Claude Garcin, *Un centre musulman de la Haute-Égypte médiévale, Qūṣ* (Cairo, 1976), 477.

dominate the sugar market.[8] To be fair, Ashtor was first of all interested in economic issues and thus did not pursue the political implications of resistance to the sultan. In addition, he quite naturally was building on the conclusions of other scholars. However, even if Barsbāy was indeed an extraordinarily unsavory character, such cursory assessments have perhaps inhibited the investigation of the political dimensions of his reign.

The most comprehensive treatment of Barsbāy′s reign is, of course, that of Ahmad Darrag, although in the wealth of detail he betrays some uncertainty in determining the basis of the sultan′s policy. Was it built on responses to prevailing economic problems or was it determined by his character? Both readings have been taken from Darrag′s work.[9] But when we consider these two factors, one may yet wonder where politics were in the determination of policy. Darrag′s and other historians′ treatment of the sultan′s character cannot be examined fully here; such a study would be lengthy since this characterization is rooted in those of earlier modern historians and of the Mamluk biographers. But regarding Darrag′s use of the internal monopolies in support of his view of Barsbāy′s character, it is important to note that a comparison of his discussion of these interventions with the entire set of information provided by the chronicles concerning the commodities of wheat and sugar, for which we have a relatively substantial amount of data, reveals the sultan to have been less of a threat to the domestic economy than members of the military and civilian elite were. From the perspective of these chronicle reports rather than biographical assessments, we can examine the Sultanate′s economic interventions in the context of competition in the political economy of Egypt.[10] Examination of the entire set of evidence clarifies the nature and extent of these interventions; moreover, the evidence shows that in 832/1429 there was a shift in the regime′s policy concerning these commodities, allowing an interpretation that places these actions within the broader context of the sultan′s political consolidation. The resulting view casts the relations between Barsbāy and the economic elite who had vested interests in these commodities in a more nuanced light, so that his interventions are a useful opportunity to examine the disposition of state power and wealth in fifteenth-century Egypt.

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[8]Eliyahu Ashtor, ″Levantine Sugar Industry in the Later Middle Ages,″ *Israel Oriental Studies* 7 (1977): 242, 243. Ashtor also speculated on the extent of corruption in the Mamluk sugar industry, citing examples from the thirteenth and fourteenth centures (p. 244); he did not mention Barsbāy in this context. He later noted the ″opposition″ to interventions in sugar: *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages,* 278.

[9]R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry* (Princeton, 1991), 184–85; Garcin, ″The Regime of the Circassian Mamluks,″ 293.

[10]An approach adopted by Garcin, for example, in his ″Jean-Léon l′Africain et ʻAydhab,″ *Annales islamologiques* 11 (1972): 189–209.

Before proceeding, however, there are two weaknesses of the sources that must be acknowledged. One is that most information on this topic comes from Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī′s chronicle *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk.* Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-'Aynī, in his chronicle *'Iqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,* has little or nothing to say about economic matters.[11] The reliability of al-Maqrīzī′s information is to some extent affirmed by another important chronicle of these years, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥajar′s *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Abnā' al-'Umr,* which provides corroborating evidence for some of al-Maqrīzī′s reports.[12] The chronicle of 'Alī ibn Dāwūd al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān,* and those of Ibn Taghrībirdī, particularly *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* have little in the way of details to add to al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Ḥajar for the years in question; neither do later historians like al-Sakhāwī and Ibn Iyās.[13] While we should, of course, judge al-Maqrīzī′s conclusions and assessments with circumspection, particularly his pointed views on the sultan′s comportment and personality, his economic data may be considered as a useful starting point for a general understanding of particular aspects of the Mamluk political economy.

The second weakness concerns the range of commodities that we can examine. Along with spices, commodities as diverse as firewood, textiles, and foodstuffs, as well as ″strategic″ resources such as natron and alum, were all subject to the control of the sultan′s commercial bureau *(al-matjar al-sulṭānī).*[14] The state monopolies on the production of natron and alum are well established in administrative sources and go back to the Fatimid period. The extraction of these two minerals in particular was perhaps confined largely to certain localities such as the Wadi Natrun so that a state monopoly would have been sustained rather easily. As for restrictions on other, more widely available commodities during the Mamluk period, our information is unfortunately rather fleeting, so it is difficult to understand the nature of these interventions in a detailed way. However, we can reach some conclusions about a number of products that were significant enough to be mentioned fairly frequently. Of course, spices are mentioned often in the sources because of their value and, as has long been recognized, because

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[11]Al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān,* ed. 'Abd al-Rāziq al-Ṭanṭāwī Qarmūṭ (Cairo, 1985, 1989), covering the years 815–50/1412–47.

[12]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1969–72).

[13]Al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970–73); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah* (Cairo, 1963–72).

[14]On the *matjar,* see: Subhi Y. Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter, 1171–1517* (Wiesbaden, 1965), 164–65; Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1967), 127; and Subhi Labib, ″Al-Iskandariyyah,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 4:132. On special resources, see: Aḥmad al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'* (Cairo, 1913–20), 3:459–61.

they constituted an important resource available to the Mamluk authorities. As for domestic commodities, the commodities of sugar and wheat, which have also received some attention by historians investigating other aspects of the Mamluk economy,[15] are sufficient to offer some idea of the nature of the regime′s interventions, the relationship between the sultan and Egypt′s military and civilian elite, many of whom were large stakeholders in the economy, and the consequences of these restrictions on Egypt′s political economy.[16]

WHEAT

Wheat was a major crop in the Nile Valley. The elite of Mamluk society, amirs and high-ranking officials in the administration, accumulated and stored their wealth in the form of grain.[17] Egypt ordinarily exported wheat to surrounding regions—the Hijaz is often cited as a destination since it imported a considerable quantity of its food, but also places more fertile and further afield in the eastern Mediterranean received Egyptian grain. In times of dearth, which could occur for a variety of reasons, such as an inadequate Nile inundation, Egypt imported grain. While Popper′s study shows that the failure of the Nile to reach plenitude was relatively rare during the Circassian period, that possibility nevertheless generated considerable anxiety every year.[18] Even in the short term, the price of wheat was very volatile, as one can see from Popper′s compilations of prices for the years

[15]On wheat: Ashtor, ″The Wheat Supply of the Mamluk Kingdom,″ *Asian and African Studies* 18 (1984): 283–95; Ira M. Lapidus, ″The Grain Economy of Mamluk Egypt,″ *The Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 12 (1969): 1–15; Boaz Shoshan, ″Grain Riots and the ′Moral Economy′: Cairo, 1350–1517,″ *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 10/3 (1980): 459–78; idem, ″Money Supply and Grain Prices in Fifteenth-Century Egypt,″ *The Economic History Review* (new ser.) 36/1 (1983): 47–67.

On sugar: Ashtor, ″Levantine Sugar Industry″; Sato Tsugitaka, ″Sugar in the Economic Life of Mamluk Egypt,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (2004): 87–108; Mauritz Sobernheim, ″Das Zuckermonopol unter Sultan Barsbai,″ *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete* 27 (1912): 75–84.

On agriculture in general: Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam* (Leiden, 1997); Heinz Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern* (Wiesbaden, 1979–92); Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt, A.H. 564–741/A.D. 1169–1341* (London, 1972); and Gladys Frantz-Murphy, *The Agrarian Administration of Egypt from the Arabs to the Ottomans* (Cairo, 1986).

[16]Lapidus, ″Grain Economy,″ 9–10; Gaston Wiet, *L′Égypte arabe*, vol. 4 of *Histoire de la Nation égyptienne*, ed. Gabriel Hanotaux (Paris, 1931–40), 451.

[17]Ashtor, ″Wheat Supply,″ 293; Lapidus, ″Grain Supply,″ 10; idem, *Muslim Cities,* 51–52; A. N. Poliak, ″Les révoltes populaires en Égypte à l′époque des Mamelouks et leurs causes économiques,″ *Revue des études islamiques* (1934): 261.

[18]William Popper, *The Cairo Nilometer: Studies in Ibn Taghrî Birdî′s Chronicles of Egypt: I* (Berkeley, 1951), 209–10; Adel Allouche, *Mamluk Economics* (Salt Lake City, 1994), 11–12.

1394–96 and 1448–57.[19] Under these general circumstances, with the political elite holding large grain stocks, it comes as no surprise to find in the chronicles reports of speculation in the grain market.

Al-Maqrīzī made relatively numerous and substantive comments on the wheat market, reflecting his long-standing interest in economic issues and his *muḥtasib*-like preoccupation with the well being of the *ummah*. Of course, grain speculation could pose a serious problem that caused the populace extreme hardship at times, virtually eliminating wheat from the marketplace and interrupting the production of bread. To some extent, one might have been able to anticipate the occurrence of speculation since it often took place at particular times in the agricultural calendar, which of course hinged on the flooding of the Nile. The river usually started to rise from its annual low in June and peaked at Cairo in late August. In accordance with the natural cycle, wheat was sown from October to December and harvested from April to May, just before the onset of the inundation. In Upper Egypt the planting and harvesting seasons were a few weeks earlier.[20] To return to al-Maqrīzī, in Dhū al-Qaʿdah 836 (19 June–18 July 1433), just before the rise in the Nile's level, wheat prices climbed 30 percent (from 100 to 130 *dirham fulūs* per *irdabb*). Al-Maqrīzī observed that the reason for this rise in price was that a group of people of means *(al-nās)* had made it a practice to try to set off a rise in prices by spreading rumors during the season of the increase of the Nile that it would not reach plenitude. The disinformation would then prompt the grain producers to withhold sales and the merchants to buy up what they could in order to store it, waiting for the opportunity to make a substantial profit. The ensuing rise in prices would allow dealers to sell at an artificially high price to nervous buyers.[21] In this particular incident, other commodity prices rose as well.

A similar incident occurred in the summer of 831/1428. At the beginning of Dhū al-Qaʿdah (12 August–10 September 1428), prices, having been "low," started to rise to the extent that wheat surpassed the price of 300 *dirham fulūs* per *irdabb*. Prices of other commodities rose as well. Fodder became so scarce that the amirs sent their men to the villages surrounding the city to gather it, often by force. The situation caused the sultan to take the measure of controlling the supply of fodder, monopolizing its sale at a fixed price in the square below the Citadel. It is noteworthy that al-Maqrīzī does not remark that this was unjust in any way. The following month there was still a dearth of wheat on the market even though, according to

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[19]William Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382–1468 A.D.: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrî Birdî's Chronicles of Egypt (Continued)* (Berkeley, 1957), 95–100.

[20]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 198, 254; W. Willcocks and J. I. Craig, *Egyptian Irrigation* (London, 1913), 163, Table 263.

[21]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:893–94; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 3:261–62.

al-Maqrīzī, it was plentiful in traders′ silos and storehouses since they were interested in gaining maximum profit from their transactions. Consequently, the price rose above 400 *dirham fulūs,* when finally ″God looked gladly upon his faithful,″ and the price fell. Ibn Ḥajar′s take on this incident was that the price had reached 400 before it fell, after which the silos of the sultan and others were opened so that the market′s supply became sufficient.[22] The rise in prices may have stopped when the Nile reached plenitude so that the speculators would have been unable to continue playing on people′s fears about the viability of the crop of the following year.[23]

Ordinarily, during the growing season prices would remain relatively stable. However, a rise in prices could be triggered by shortages induced by hoarding, which is what happened in Rabīʻ I 832 (9 December 1428–7 January 1429). From the condition of low prices at the end of 831, noted above, the price of wheat rose to 450 *dirham fulūs* per *irdabb,* and then to 500, along with an equally alarming rise in prices of other commodities. Al-Maqrīzī and al-Ṣayrafī noted that speculation caused the price of wheat to rise to 280 *dirham fulūs* per *irdabb* in Jumādá II (8 March–5 April 1429),[24] until it began to decline to 220 in Rajab (6 April–5 May 1429).[25] The sources do not implicate the sultan in this episode of speculation. At this point, however, the sultan forced the sale of his stocks of grain on people of means *(al-nās),* raising the price from 220 to 300 *dirham fulūs* per *irdabb*.[26]

Not all incidents of speculation occurred in association with the flooding of the Nile. Prices took a sharp turn upwards in early 829 (started 13 November 1425). In the middle of Ṣafar (13 December 1425–10 January 1426) of that year, the price of wheat rose again until it eventually surpassed 300 dirhams per *irdabb.* Wheat flour and bread were scarce in the markets, and by the last day of the month the crisis had reached the point where people were fighting for wheat. Al-Maqrīzī attributed this rise in price to a number of factors. First, the supply of foodstuffs to Cairo was blocked by strong winds that prevented boats from sailing on the Nile so that the quays became empty of goods. News of severe inflation came from Bilād al-Shām, where the price of an *irdabb* of wheat had reached 1000 *dirham fulūs,* and in Upper Egypt also wheat was scarce, setting off a rise in prices in Cairo. To make matters worse, an outbreak of disease among livestock caused losses to farmers to the extent that a man who owned 150 water buffaloes

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[22]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:782–83; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʼ al-Ghumr,* 3:405.

[23]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:784; on determining plenitude, see Popper, *Cairo Nilometer,* 69–70.

[24]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:794; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 3:148, who dates this to the following month, Rabīʻ II 832.

[25]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:796, 799, 800.

[26]Ibid., 801.

lost all but four of them.[27] The situation may have been exacerbated by poor administration: al-Maqrīzī stated that the *muḥtasib* of Cairo, Amir Īnāl al-Shishmānī, was especially severe in dealing with the grain traders so that many were inclined to abandon their occupations.[28]

Whatever the real causes, under these extreme circumstances of dearth, al-Maqrīzī commented that the notables became ″avaricious.″ When the price of wheat in Egypt reached 250 *dirham fulūs* per *irdabb,* a number of amirs of a thousand refused to sell their stocks of wheat, reputedly saying that they would only sell when the price reached 300 dirhams. The sultan himself made no attempt to sell from his stocks, fearing that his small supply would be unable to ameliorate the problem, which of course led people of means *(al-nās)* to suspect his complicity in the matter. The result was that it came to be said of the market inspector *(mutawallī al-ḥisbah),* even though all of this was beyond his capacity to rectify, that ″the calamities were heaped on one individual.″[29] A day later, the first day of Rabīʿ I (11 January–9 February), it would seem that the hoarders could hold out no longer since speculation stopped and bread was again available in the bakeries. In addition, the sultan began to distribute it to the poor on a daily basis, perhaps an indication of a stable market.[30]

Barsbāy′s administration undertook some effort to stop speculation in the wheat market. In Dhū al-Qaʿdah 830 (24 August–22 September 1427), the price of wheat rose to more than 200 *dirham fulūs* per *irdabb,* after it had reached a low of 80 dirhams in Rajab (28 April–27 May),[31] which accompanied an increase in the price of other commodities. Anticipating an opportunity to make a killing, traders began to buy quantities of the grain. In order to prevent speculation, the sultan forbade purchases of more than ten *irdabb*s of wheat at a price of 150 *dirham fulūs* per *irdabb*.[32] Al-Maqrīzī does not mention how the incident ended, but the Nile reached plenitude just weeks later and the market probably stabilized.[33]

The regime also tried to interdict hoarding in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 829 (4 October–1 November 1426) and again the following month in Muḥarram 830.[34] In these

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[27]This outbreak is not documented by Michael Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977), 310, Appendix 1; on plague epizootics, see 156–60.

[28]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:710–11; on Īnāl al-Shishmānī, see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʿda al-Wāfī,* ed. Nabīl Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (Cairo, 1985), 3:207–8.

[29]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:711.

[30]Ibid., 712.

[31]Ibid., 744.

[32]Ibid., 750-51.

[33]Ibid., 752.

[34]Ibid., 729, 735.

decrees the sultan ordered the amirs and the notables to suspend the practice of protection *(al-ḥimāyah)* by removing their personal insignias *(runūk)* from their mills, shops, and presses. This order was probably designed to prevent hoarding and speculation through the practice of privatized protection, in which powerful members of the military and civilian elite *(al-ḥumāt)* would protect individuals from taxation and forced sales, for which the protectors would receive a payment.[35] This practice, which Ibn Taghrībirdī described as being "the greatest of the causes of the ruin of Egypt and its villages,"[36] in effect reduced not only the state's access to economic resources but also the state's ability to control the marketplace. The effect of these measures may have had an immediate effect, but it is unlikely that it had any long-term preventative value since speculation continued to occur unabated, as mentioned above, in the following years.

While the sultan's efforts to stop hoarding and speculation may have been for naught, starting in mid-832 (mid-1429) his interventions became very aggressive. He used his power to halt the conduct of commerce while forcing wholesalers to buy from his stocks—in effect cornering the market for a short period of time—and at the same time he tried to prohibit the use of privatized protection, which would otherwise diminish the resources available in the economy. In Rajab of that year (6 April–5 May 1429), in an incident cited above, the sultan's commercial bureau forced the sale of a number of commodities so that the price of grain rose from 220 *dirham fulūs* per *irdabb* to 300.[37] Since the preceding month, the price had fallen from a high of 500 *dirham fulūs,*[38] an unusually high price that al-Maqrīzī attributed to speculators.[39]

In Rabīʻ I 833 (28 November–27 December 1429), the sultan was able to force the sale of wheat at a price of 360 *dirham fulūs* because the *muḥtasib* of Cairo (Īnāl al-Shishmānī, mentioned above) prevented the grain ships from docking at the quays of Miṣr and Būlāq, in order that the bureau could empty its stocks at the expense of the millers. It is not known what the price was prior to this intervention, but in Shawwāl of the previous year (4 July–1 August 1429), the price had risen to 250 *dirham fulūs.*[40] Shoshan interprets this episode as a failed

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[35]Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khalīl al-Asadī, *Al-Taysīr wa-al-Iʻtibār wa-al-Taḥrīr wa-al-Ikhtibār fīmā Yajibu min Ḥusn al-Tadbīr wa-al-Taṣarruf wa-al-Ikhtiyār,* ed. ʻAbd al-Qādir Aḥmad Ṭulaymāt ([Cairo], 1968), 134-46, esp. 144; on the practice of *ḥimāyah,* see John L. Meloy, "The Privatization of Protection: Extortion and the State in the Circassian Mamluk Period," *The Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 47, no. 2 (2004): 195-212.

[36]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 16:160.

[37]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:801; cf. Darrag, *Barsbay,* 152.

[38]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:796, 799.

[39]Ibid., 783.

[40]Ibid., 804.

attempt at monopolization. However, the evidence does not indicate the imposition of permanent restrictions on sales but rather that it was a successful attempt to corner the market.[41] While the sultan, of course, gained in the short term, it is noteworthy that Ibn Ḥajar and al-Maqrīzī did not express their disapproval of this action, noting instead the benefits that ensued since it ultimately resulted in the lowering of the price of grain; al-Maqrīzī commented: ″Praise to God, perhaps the body will recuperate after the malady.″[42]

In Shawwāl 835 (1–29 June 1432), the sultan′s bureau bought rather than sold grain. Wheat was cheap and the sultan ordered his agents to purchase while imposing a moratorium on all other transactions until the bureau′s stocks were full. No doubt this meant a loss for the grain dealers, but al-Maqrīzī noted that the effect was salutary since the market had been stagnant and this generated sales.[43] Another report indicates that the sultan′s participation could have unintended consequences. In Jumādá II 840 (11 December 1436–8 January 1437), the sultan ordered his *matjar* to purchase 30,000 *irdabb*s to store in the royal granaries. People feared a rise in prices and began to buy up wheat, barley, and broad beans.[44]

While the sultan′s *matjar* no doubt intended to make a profit, and from 832 clearly used the sultan′s coercive power to dominate the market, the prevailing impression one gets from these reports is that a major threat to the economy was the predatory behavior of the economic elite. The sultan was successful in cornering the market in wheat at particular moments but he was much less successful in curtailing the manipulation of the market by the amirs and notables who traded in wheat. In an incident involving broad beans rather than wheat, in Ṣafar 838 (6 September–4 October 1434), the sultan forced the sale of 10,000 *irdabb*s of it at the unit price of 175 *dirham fulūs*. Al-Maqrīzī observed that the sultan ordered that anyone who enjoyed high rank *(jāh)* would not be protected from this decree. He also remarked that this order was not realized since those who held high rank or benefited from the protection of those with high rank were nevertheless able to escape the decree while those who did not were subject to it. Consequently, he stated, people of means *(al-nās)* had to bear losses, not from the rise in price, but

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[41]Shoshan, ″Grain Riots,″ 468.

[42]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:820; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 3:436; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 3:180–81.

[43]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:872; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 3:239; cf. Darrag, *Barsbay,* 152.

[44]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:1004; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 3:378. Darrag (*Barsbay,* 152–53) also notes that the price rose from 100 to 140 *dirham fulūs* per *irdabb,* and that the sultan made the purchase with the intention to profit; when people panicked, the price rose. He cites here al-Maqrīzī, whose information is very brief, and Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* whose report I have not been able to check.

rather from the fees *(kulaf),* referring to the protection fees that they had to pay to avoid the sultan′s interventions.[45]

The reports of these aggressive interventions are, however, relatively few, although Darrag cited them without fail in his discussion of the interior monopolies. In fact, Darrag′s concluding remarks are a bit ambiguous on the issue of a monopoly, but it is clear that he regarded the sultan′s actions as consistently predatory. The sum of the evidence on wheat, however, indicates that the interventions of the Mamluk elite in general were a serious or perhaps even greater problem for the populace than those of the sultan; certainly the elite were the greatest impediment to the state′s ability to regulate, much less monopolize, the market. Speculators were, as one would expect, individuals of means who were members of the upper echelons of the military, amirs of a thousand for example, or members of the civilian elite, denoted only as ″notables″ *(aʿyān).* The sultan, for his part, could ultimately do little to establish the administration′s fiscal control of the wheat market, except use his political power to enforce his priority in the trade, which he started to do after 832. Even in this regard, Barsbāy had to exert special efforts to prevent grain dealers from taking refuge within their own status or in the protection of their patrons. However, these efforts were apparently not successful. The evidence also suggests that his participation in the market was little more than occasional. After all, the profits from the wheat marker were not as lucrative as those from other commodities, like sugar.

SUGAR

Barsbāy′s administration undertook a series of interventions in the sugar market. The nature and extent of these interventions has remained ambiguous. These took the form of decrees prohibiting the sale and the cultivation of sugar and then immediately the abolition of those orders leaving, as both Darrag and Ashtor have noted, an uncertainty about the situation.[46] Nevertheless, Darrag concluded that Barsbāy continued the sugar monopoly throughout his reign. Ashtor maintained that the last attempt at monopolization occurred in 836/1433, and that forced purchases were conducted as late as 839/1435.[47] Lapidus also argued for 836/1433 as the last monopolization. Lapidus called Barsbāy′s interventions ″a system of forced purchases in the form of a *gabelle,*″ referring to a practice used in eighteenth-

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[45]Note the typographical error in Darrag′s rendition of this incident—he states that it was 100,000 *irdabb*s (*Barsbay,* 152); al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:933; Asadī used the expression *kulfah* (pl. *kulaf*) to refer to protection payments (*Al-Taysīr wa-al-Iʿtibār*, 136).

[46]Darrag, *Barsbay,* 150–51; Ashtor, ″Levantine Sugar Industry,″ 242–43; idem, *Levant Trade,* 278.

[47]Ashtor, ″Levantine Sugar Industry,″ 243.

century France where the General Farm would force a community to purchase its salt at a higher than market price.[48] While this assessment goes some way in helping us understand the sultan′s actions, it is important to acknowledge that the nobility, clergy, and other privileged members of *ancien régime* society were exempt from the *gabelle*. In the case of Barsbāy′s interventions, communities of commoners were not the only targets of his interventions. He eventually had to abandon intervention in the sugar market since it struck too close to the interests of the military and civilian elite who were his competitors in the market.

It is helpful to understand this series of decrees in the context of the agricultural calendar. Since sugar cane cultivation exhausted the soil, in Mamluk Egypt it was planted for two consecutive years before the land was left fallow.[49] There were minor differences in the growing seasons of the two crops (respectively, *al-ra's* and *al-khilfah*) but in general, the cane was planted in February and March and was harvested in November and December, possibly continuing into the first months of the following year.[50] Sato Tsugitaka has observed that the cultivation of cane required not only relatively new farming technology, such as a heavy plow, but also the equipment and labor used in turning sugar cane into sugar—processing plants, where the cane is prepared, pressing factories to produce the juice, and refineries where the juice is repeatedly boiled and filtered, finally producing different grades of sugar and molasses.[51] All of this involved capital investment that only the political and economic elite could provide.

The first decree, dating to Dhū al-Qa‘dah 826 (6 October–4 November 1423), ordered the closure of all sugar refineries *(maṭābikh),* just before the harvest would take place. In addition, the decree forbade the sale of all sugar and sugar products except from the sultan′s stocks, managed by an office *(dīwān),* presumably within the sultan′s commercial bureau.[52] According to Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, the sultan imposed this restriction on the advice of an influential merchant named Nūr al-Dīn al-Ṭanbadī, and they made a great deal of money. The embargo was lifted three months later, in Ṣafar 827 (4 January–1 February 1424), when the inspector of the army *(nāẓir al-jaysh),* who one would surmise had his own interests to

[48]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 56–57.

[49]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 216–20, 254.

[50]Ibid., 190, 199; Marius Canard, ″Ḳaṣab al-Sukkar,″ *EI*[2]*,* 4:683; Willcocks and Craig, *Egyptian Irrigation,* 375.

[51]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 215 ff.; idem., ″Sugar in the Economic Life of Mamluk Egypt,″ 91ff.

[52]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:647, 654; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 3:309; cf. Sobernheim, ″Das Zuckermonopol,″ 81.

protect in the sugar refining industry, returned from the pilgrimage and thwarted al-Ṭanbadī's plans.[53]

During almost every year from 828 though 832, decrees similar to that of 826 were issued and revoked. The only one not issued during the cane harvesting season was that of Shaʿbān 828 (18 June–16 July 1425), when the sultan prohibited all but his own agents' transactions on sugar.[54] There is no mention of this embargo being lifted but it is likely that it was not effective since in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 829 (4 October–1 November 1426) and again in Ṣafar 830 (2–30 December 1426), in reports cited in the previous section, the sultan subsequently ordered members of the elite to remove their personal insignias from their sugar presses, among other facilities—again just prior to or at the start of the harvest.[55] This decree was probably not intended to appropriate sugar stocks, as I have interpreted it before, but rather intended to stop hoarding and speculation through the practice of *ḥimāyah*.[56]

Barsbāy took more drastic measures in Ṣafar 831 (21 November–19 December 1427), at about the time of the harvest and also just before the planting season. Not only did he prohibit the production of molasses and sugar, but he also prohibited the cultivation of sugar cane. Again, the same report states it was immediately abolished.[57] The following year, in Rabīʿ II 832 (8 January–5 February 1429), both al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Ḥajar reported another decree announcing an embargo on sugar transactions, but not stating anything about cultivation. Again, this decree was abolished.[58]

Concerning this report, Ibn Ḥajar supplies additional information, stating that Nūr al-Dīn al-Ṭanbadī took 60,000 dinars from the sultan to engage in commerce. Al-Ṭanbadī invested it in sugar and the sultan prohibited all others from trading in

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[53]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 3:309; note that Ibn Ḥajar mentions this in his account of Dhū al-Qaʿdah 827, when the plan was implemented. Al-Maqrīzī, and not Ibn Ḥajar, mentioned the annulment of the decree the following Ṣafar, just after the pilgrims usually returned from the pilgrimage (*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:657; cf. Sobernheim, "Das Zuckermonopol," 82); cf. Darrag, *Barsbay,* 147.

[54]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:691; cf. Sobernheim, "Das Zuckermonopol," 82.

[55]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:729.

[56]Asadī, *Al-Taysīr wa-al-Iʿtibār,* 144; Meloy, "On Sugar and Spice: Mamluk Intervention in the Economy" (paper presented at the 36th Annual Meeting of the Middle East Studies Association, Washington, D.C., November 2000).

[57]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:766; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 3:398; cf. Sobernheim, "Das Zuckermonopol," 82–83.

[58]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:795; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 3:423; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 3:149; cf. Sobernheim, "Das Zuckermonopol," 83; cf. Ashtor, "Levantine Sugar Industry," 243, who neglects to mention that this decree was abolished.

it without his permission. Ibn Ḥajar further remarked that ″he engaged in disgraceful affairs so that the imprecations against him increased. Many officials *(ahl al-dawlah)* remonstrated against him about this state of affairs, which continued to the end of the year.″ Thus the restriction evidently continued through until the end of September. However, it is noteworthy that Ḥasan Ḥabashī, the editor of *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* states that his manuscript *hāʾ* negates the last verb: ″which did not continue.″[59] This alternative reading may support the brief statements of al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Ḥajar, the latter of whom makes a statement at the end of his account of the year′s events that a decree was issued and then rescinded. While the sultan may have been able to monopolize sugar through the remaining eight months of the year, the sultan′s restriction on the sugar market was not sustained the following year. It would seem that the opposition of the amirs and the *aʿyān* was not negligible.

While there is no detailed evidence for speculation in the sugar market on the part of the economic elite as there was with wheat, there is evidence for their intervention. A case occurred in Jumādá I 833 (26 January–24 February 1430), when the majordomo Āqbughā al-Jamālī attempted to force the purchase of sugar on merchants. This was well timed since a severe outbreak of the plague had occurred the previous month—what Ibn Taghrībirdī later called ″The Great Extinction.″[60] Since sugar was used for medicinal purposes, the price had just risen; indeed, the majordomo had only been appointed to the office a month before as well, and probably thought he could use the weight of his new position to take advantage of the market.[61] However, his attempt failed when merchants refused to open their shops.[62] By the end of the year, he was removed from his post and imprisoned for a few days until he handed over the funds he owed to the sultan *(al-kulaf al-sulṭānīyah),* after which he was released and appointed inspector of bridges.[63]

A decree in the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus dated Dhū al-Ḥijjah 836 (19 July–17 August 1433) announced the abolition of interventions in sugar.[64] Lapidus

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[59]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 3:419, n. 1.

[60]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 14:338.

[61]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 3:436; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 14:337, 346.

[62]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:824; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 3:185; cf. Sobernheim, ″Das Zuckermonopol,″ 83; cf. Ashtor, ″Levantine Sugar Industry,″ 243, who states that action was carried out for the government and neglects to mention that it was opposed.

[63]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 3:436.

[64]Sobernheim, ″Inschriftliche Wirtschafts- und Verwaltungs-Verordnungen der Mamluken-Sultane aus der Omajjaden-Moschee von Damaskus,″ in *Aus fünf Jahrtausenden morgenländischer Kultur: Festschrift fur Max Freiherrn von Oppenheim,* Archiv für Orientforschung, Beiheft 1 (Osnabruck, 1967 [reprint]), note inscription no. 9, 122; idem, ″Das Zuckermonopol,″ 78–79, 80–81; Gaston Wiet, ″Notes d′épigraphie syro-musulmane,″ *Syrie* (1925): 165, 171; (1926): 154.

interprets this decree as the end of the sultan's monopoly on sugar cultivation, refining, and sales.[65] It is more likely, I would suggest, that this was an ordinance directed against amirs and notables who tried to take advantage of their own power for temporary advantage in the market—similar to the decrees mentioned above requiring the effacement of insignia and names from storehouses (in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 829 and Muḥarram 830). The Damascus inscription was probably an attempt by the sultan to try to prohibit strong-arm tactics carried out by Mamluk officials like Āqbughā.

After Jumādá I 833/1430, there are no other reports of interventions in the sugar industry. However, Sobernheim cited an intervention that was supposed to have occurred later that year in Shaʻbān (25 April–23 May 1430), and which Ashtor observed is in fact not included in the account of that month in the manuscript Sobernheim used for his article on the sugar monopoly.[66] Ashtor noted that the information, while missing in al-Maqrīzī's chronicle, was contained in that of Ibn Ḥajar. However, it is still not certain that a decree occurred at this time. Ashtor seems to be referring to information given by Ibn Ḥajar that is presented in the context of a statement made by the Shafiʻi chief judge that the embargo on sugar cultivation, except on the lands of the sultan, was one of three injustices committed by the sultan that year. Although there are a couple of differences in details, this report in fact parallels one given by al-Maqrīzī at the beginning of his account of the year 832 and the prohibition of cultivation fits the decree of 831.[67]

In spite of his expressions of uncertainty, Aḥmad Darrag concluded in his study of Barsbāy's reign that the Mamluk state was able to sustain a monopoly on sugar. After a review of the more aggressive of the reports noted above, Darrag concluded that "It is probable that Barsbāy did not modify his plan [to restrict the industry], not easing his severe hold, since al-Maqrīzī relates that in Rabīʻ I 837/October–November 1433, the press of a mamluk was set on fire by royal order."[68] Darrag's interpretation of the episode seems unwarranted. There is no mention that this Mamluk had contravened a commercial restriction of the sultan. But more to the point, the conclusion that a monopoly was sustained seems improbable, given the string of rescinded decrees and the opposition of state officials and merchants to these interventions. In arguing his case, Darrag also cites the report that in Muḥarram 839 (27 July–25 August 1435) the sugar sellers in Damascus were moved into one area "to facilitate control."[69] Ashtor agrees with

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[65]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 127.

[66]Ashtor, "Levantine Sugar Industry," 243, n. 91; Sobernheim, "Das Zuckermonopol," 75–84.

[67]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:791; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʼ al-Ghumr,* 3:439.

[68]Darrag, *Barsbay,* 149.

[69]Ibid., 150.

this assessment and quotes the anonymous author of *Ḥawlīyat Dimashqīyah* about this report, explaining that it was carried out ″to make the ṭarḥ of sugar easier, as all of them would be in one place.″[70] The facilitation of forced purchases, however, need not be the only reason markets were consolidated. Lapidus offers a different explanation of this type of physical control: ″true markets were created in which a fair and competitive price could be determined.″[71] During the later years of Barsbāy′s reign, there is no evidence for his attempts to monopolize the sugar industry as he had tried to do earlier on. However, the sultan still resorted to forced sales. The re-organization of the Damascus sugar market indicates the state′s attempt at fiscal control, but not monopolistic control.

The consistent timing of Barsbāy′s interventions between 828 and 832, and possibly as late as 833, suggests that his intention was to establish his priority in sugar transactions; in other words, he repeatedly attempted to corner the sugar market. The wording of these reports is not clear enough, however, to indicate how soon after the decree was issued it was revoked, and thus whether or not he was successful. However, given the interests of individuals like Āqbughā and the anonymous *ahl al-dawlah* mentioned above, it is certain that Mamluk amirs and notables played a role in blocking the sultan′s interference, as the *nāẓir al-jaysh* did in 827/1424. It may well be that the sultan successfully decreed his priority in trade when cane was harvested, his bureau completed the necessary transactions, and then the market was opened up again. Whichever was the case, the role of the amirs and *a'yān* in the market is clear and it was their collective power that renders untenable the assumption that the sultan himself had no reason to change his approach to the sugar industry. The evidence of sugar interventions indicates that a change was affected when this information is placed in the context of the regime′s other interventions in wheat and spices. Eliyahu Ashtor insightfully noted that the ″resistance the spice traders could offer was much weaker,″ implying that the state then shifted its attention from this sector of the economy to the spice trade.[72] Indeed the state did abandon sugar for spice, but Barsbāy′s regime had directed itself toward spices from the beginning of his reign only to find that there were others besides spice merchants who had a stake in the trade.

Conclusions

Historians have often depicted Barsbāy as if he had an entirely free hand in intervening in the economy of Egypt. Notwithstanding the occasional nod to the

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[70]Ashtor, ″Levantine Sugar Industry,″ 243, citing p. 142 of the chronicle; I have not been able to consult this source.

[71]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 100.

[72]Ashtor, *Levant Trade,* 278.

opposition of the amirs, historians have portrayed Barsbāy's interventions as monopolies established in spite of this opposition. Of course, it is impossible to discount the financial benefit of these actions to the sultan, whether or not they constituted true monopolies. But examination of these actions should be placed in the context of the predatory economic behavior of the elite, who were just as willing as the sultan to manipulate the market.

Boaz Shoshan argues that the economy of Egypt was fundamentally paternalistic—that is, based on a system in which one of the responsibilities of the ruler was "to protect consumers and prevent hoarding and speculation."[73] He also claims that there were occasional breakdowns in paternalism, one of which he argues occurred under Barsbāy.[74] Shoshan's verdict on Barsbāy, however, is stretched. He cites the incident of 833/1429 and claims that Barsbāy did so "*probably* not because of his concern about a just distribution but rather in an attempt to increase his profits." He asserts that "Barsbāy *had to discard* his plan shortly afterwards," which assumes that we know his plan was a permanent monopoly. He disregards Ibn Ḥajar's and al-Maqrīzī's approving comments on this event as well as on an incident that occurred in 835/1432, strong support of the sultan's paternalism.[75] The sultan's purchase of 30,000 *irdabb*s of grain in 840/1427 provoked the populace to fear inflation, but we simply do not know if his intention was to replenish the royal granaries for paternalistic purposes or for pure profit.

Shoshan's argument for the breakdown of paternalism is stronger when he refers, however only briefly, to the role of other "interest groups."[76] As E. P. Thompson noted, paternalism, as an ideal, was quite separate from its "fragmentary real existence," when the regime employed it for "symbolic effect."[77] Thus a more effective test for the occurrence of paternalism is in the expectations of the masses and the compliance of other economic actors in society. This is not the place to examine the motivations of the Cairene crowd; however, concerning the latter, the evidence on wheat and sugar presented above shows that dealers in these commodities successfully competed against Barsbāy. In particular, the incident of 838/1434 mentioned earlier, in which the sultan forced the sale of beans and attempted to impose this measure on all ranks of society, indicates the ease with

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[73]Shoshan, "Grain Riots," 459. Shoshan relies here on E. P. Thompson, "Moral Economy of the English Crowd," *Past and Present* 50 (1971): 73-136; and Louise Tilly, "The Food Riot as a Form of Political Conflict," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 (1971): 23-57.

[74]Shoshan, "Grain Riots," 467–68.

[75]Ibid., 468, my emphasis. A minor point: one of these two incidents, citing al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk* , 4:801, occurred in 832.

[76]Shoshan, "Grain Riots," 468.

[77]Thompson, "Moral Economy," 88.

which influential individuals could escape the control of the state, defying the paternalistic order. Any breakdown in paternalism was thus more likely due to the sultan's failure to suppress competing patrons, rather than the sultan's own transgressions. When viewed in terms of this more complex political dynamic, the interventions of Barsbāy take on a political rather than simply material significance. Actions interpreted as the sultan′s attempts to fill his treasury are more likely efforts taken to establish the fiscal control of the economy that any state would want to achieve.

When Barsbāy determined that he could not achieve control of the domestic economy, he concentrated on other assets that fell within the state′s territory. By 832, sanctions against speculation in the wheat market were abandoned and the state adopted a more aggressive role in controlling the wheat market. The evidence, however, indicates that the sultan intended not to monopolize it but rather to ensure that the amirs and notables did not control it. In contrast to the situation with wheat, the regime did want to monopolize the production of sugar to varying degrees and attempted to do so up until 832. After this time, the state gave up. Why? The evidence points most clearly to the successful opposition of influential officers and notables.

Since these sectors of the domestic economy were in effect out of the sultan′s reach, Barsbāy was compelled to concentrate on the commodity that the amirs and notables of Egypt did not have a secure grip on—the spice trade. Barsbāy′s intervention in the spice trade was based on two modes of control in the Red Sea.[78] The first mode of control was on merchants in the spice trade with the east. The regime imposed measures in a series of four phases, which became progressively more severe and more focused on the merchants of Yemen. First, in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 828 (14 October–12 November 1425), protectionist actions were implemented that favored merchants from Cairo over those of other lands in that all merchants passing northward along the Red Sea route had to first go to Cairo where their goods would be taxed. Second, in Muḥarram 830 (2 November–1 December 1426), the sultan decreed his priority in conducting spice transactions, an order that was issued again in Muḥarram 832 (11 October–9 November 1428). The effectiveness of the sultan′s engagement in the spice commerce was enhanced when, in Jumādá I 833 (26 January–24 February 1430), the sultan established a group to deal in spices on behalf of the *matjar*. This was the administration′s attempt to compete more effectively against independent spice merchants.[79] Third, in Rajab 835 (4 March–2 April 1432), the sultan prohibited all transactions in spices except those undertaken on his behalf; this measure was not clearly

[78]The following is discussed in detail in Meloy, ″Imperial Strategy.″

[79]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:823–24.

sustainable, another instance of the sultan′s inability to maintain control of the economy.[80] Finally, in Ṣafar 838 (September–October 1434), the sultan implemented a direct economic assault on Yemen, declaring that the goods of Yemeni merchants coming from Yemen would be seized.

These measures were imposed in concert with the second means of control: the extension the state′s direct control in the Hijaz. However, this attempt by the state to control the political affairs of Mecca ended in failure and, in 832, after three years of political turmoil in the Hijaz, the Mamluk sultan conceded one-third of the revenues collected on the transit trade to the Meccan sharif. Almost immediately, the turmoil subsided. In short, the sultan recognized that he had to concede power to local authorities in Mecca in order to achieve stability in the region. Further concessions were made to the Sharifate in 840 (at the end of 1436).[81] Mamluk actions in the Hijaz should be seen in the context of the regime′s attempt to control its economy.

In the first half of Barsbāy′s administration the state attempted to extend control through direct measures—domestically as well as abroad—by displacing amirs and notables who were local producers of sugar or Meccan authorities who controlled the flow of the eastern trade. These measures were political as much as they were economic. While the Mamluk state′s freedom of action was more generally hampered by a stagnant economy that prevailed across the broader region, competing political forces blocked Barsbāy′s attempts to exploit economic resources. The state abandoned its strategy of direct control in about 832. In both commodities of sugar and spice, the state had to compromise with ″local″ authorities, conceding to them the wealth that they previously had access to. Consequently, to some extent, the merchants became the sole victims of the state. After all, the traders did not hold power critical to the support of the state—the amirs could threaten coups and the sharifs were instrumental in the state′s secure hold on Mecca and the pilgrimage. The regime under Barsbāy transformed its state-building strategy from one of direct control of these valuable resources, whether in the Egyptian countryside or the Hijaz, to one founded on an empire of exotic commodities.

[80]Meloy, ″Imperial Strategy,″ 8.

[81]Ibid., 17.

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Mamluk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches

We live in hard times for pioneers and discoverers. There are no more blank spots on the map of our globe, there are no undiscovered continents, no unexplored jungles, and no unknown tribes to be found. But still there is Mamluk literature. Despite several remarkable efforts in recent years—especially volume 7 [no. 1] of *Mamlūk Studies Review,* which was devoted entirely to Mamluk literature—the state of the art of Mamluk literature is, in a word, deplorable. There is no comprehensive and reliable overview of the literature as a whole, many crucial texts still remain unedited, and monographs on Mamluk poets or the most important genres of Mamluk literature are lacking almost altogether, and so it is not easy even today to determine who were the most important literati or even which books were the most characteristic, influential, and important. What we see is an enormous contrast between a flourishing literary culture on the one hand and a remarkable dearth of scholarly enterprises dealing with that culture on the other. In fact, it seems as if no other field in the realm of Arabic studies has been neglected as much as that of Arabic literature of the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. Not even the increasing interest in the Mamluk period witnessed in the last decades has been enough to ensure a lasting effect on the study of Mamluk literature so far. This state of affairs requires an explanation, since thinking today about the reasons for the actual plight of the study of Mamluk literature will be helpful, I hope, in determining what has to be done in the future. I want to start with a couple of rather general and theoretical considerations before I then examine recent achievements in the various fields of literature.

Searching for the reasons for this sorry state of affairs, we inevitably end up in the second half of the nineteenth century, a period in which perceptions of Arabic culture and literature were shaped that to a certain degree prevail up to the present day. Many of the prejudices and misconceptions that for a long time prevented scholars in the Arab and Western world alike from appropriately assessing Mamluk and Ottoman literature can easily be discerned as originating in Western ideologies of this era. Therefore, I dare to say that the study of Mamluk literature should start with an enquiry into Western prejudices that originated in the colonial climate of the nineteenth century.[1]

[1]Elsewhere I have examined contemporary and earlier Western attitudes towards the work of Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī, one of the most prominent representatives of late Ottoman Arabic literature, and

In several European countries, the middle of the nineteenth century signalled a turning point in the perception of non-Western literatures. In previous decades, the attitudes mainly displayed towards ″oriental″ poetry were those of curiosity and fascination. Several decades later, a colonial point of view began to dominate. Western intellectuals and scholars began to look at what they called ″the Orient″ with the conviction of unquestionable superiority, which included the notion of the superiority of Western culture and literature. From that point on, differences between Arabic literature and contemporary Western literature were no longer seen primarily as interesting, stimulating, and inspiring, but rather as a deficiency on the side of Arabic literature. These negative perceptions of the differences between Arabic and Western literature, and the subsequent disdain for post-Saljuq Arabic literature, were crucial for the colonial enterprise, given that this enterprise was justified by the mission to bring civilization to the rest of the globe. However, nobody could deny that the Islamic world had once been one of the most impressive civilizations of the world. The trick now was to impute a notion of decadence and stagnation to the history of the Islamic world, which allowed at one and the same time acknowledgment of its former greatness, as well as the need to restore its former glory through colonialism and Westernization. This perception was fostered by contemporary philosophic ideas about history, such as those of Hegel and of Darwinism. According to these ideas, each culture was destined to fulfill a certain historical mission to contribute to the overall progress of the human race. Having fulfilled its mission, a culture becomes obsolete and a new form of culture emerges which in turn serves as a basis for further progress. In our case, this new culture was, of course, contemporary Western culture. From this perspective, it was deemed that the mission of Islamic culture was to bridge the ″dark ages″ of the European Middle Ages and to stimulate Western development by conveying the knowledge and philosophy of antiquity to the West.[2] After having accomplished this mission, there seemed to be no further justification for continuing with a distinct Arabo-Islamic culture, because now an allegedly superior culture had come into existence. Therefore, any pure continuation of Islamic culture was seen as an embarrassment, and any differences in relation to Western culture were a deficit that needed to be nullified, even for the Arabs′ own sake.

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one of the first Arabic poets who was directly confronted with Western writers and intellectuals (Lamartine, Elie Smith); see Thomas Bauer, ″Die *badīʿiyya* Nāṣīf al-Yāziǧīs und das Problem der spätosmanischen arabischen Literatur″ (to appear in *Festschrift Renate Jacobi* [forthcoming]). Despite a rapidly growing literature on ″orientalism,″ the phenomenon of the colonialization of Arabic literature (still mainly described in outright positive terms such as ″liberation″ or ″modernization″) remains largely unstudied.

[2]This is one of several reasons why I oppose the application of the notion of ″Middle Ages″ to the Islamic world; see also my note in *MSR* 7, [no. 1] (2003): 74–75.

This colonial perception is mirrored, both then and now, by the state of research on Arabic literature.[3] The whole of the post-Saljuq period was neglected and stigmatized as being imitative, worthless, and irrelevant. But whereas Western and Arab scholars alike merely neglected Mamluk literature, the period of late Ottoman Arabic literature often aroused contempt and even deep repugnance. On closer examination we find, however, that there is no case in which these attitudes were engendered by any single specific text. Whenever texts from this period were analyzed (rarely enough), scholars found them interesting, to say the least. Rather, it was the singular existence instead of any form of traditional non-Western literature which displayed aesthetic norms and ideological content different from modern Western literature that provoked the discomfiture of adherents to ″modernization,″ which inevitably means Westernization.[4] We must therefore conclude that the perception of post-Saljuq literature has been shaped thus far by ideology rather than by accepted scholarly standards of cultural, aesthetic, and literary history.

In our own day, only a few still subscribe to these ideas, but prejudices often prove to be lasting. To recognize this history and to question well-established perceptions is therefore the first and foremost task in approaching Mamluk literature. A better understanding of post-Saljuq Arabic literature is best achieved via a dialectic process. One part of this process is to appreciate the relativity of our own values, standards, and prejudices, and to locate them in their respective historical and social contexts. The other part is to examine the social, aesthetic, and ideological circumstances of any period of Arabic literature and thus to establish the values and standards that the members of the specific literary communities themselves applied to their own literature. This can only be done through a close reading of literary, theoretical, biographical, and historical texts, against which we constantly have to check and correct our assumptions about the literary system of any given period. Therefore, dealing with pre-modern Arabic literature must mean primarily the execution of an ongoing process of learning, in which the object of study is not only an object, but also an agent that helps to establish and formulate the objects and methods of study themselves.

This cultural studies background now brings me to the first of five issues which I consider to be the five major obstacles in the way of a proper understanding of Mamluk literature and society.

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[3]This is also true for many other fields of Islamic culture. So, e.g., scholars only very recently started to take into account the development of Islamic law after al-Shāfiʿī.

[4]Bauer, ″Die *badīʿiyya* Nāṣīf al-Yāziǧīs;″ idem, ″Vom Sinn der Zeit: Aus der Geschichte des arabischen Chronogramms,″ *Arabica* 50 (2003): 501–31.

(1) Importance

We should always be aware of the fact that in modern Western societies, literature is by and large a marginalized field, and that poetry above all has comparatively little social relevance today beyond advertising jingoism. This attitude towards the relative unimportance of poetry is tacitly transferred to other societies and thus may account for the backward state of the art in the field of Arabic literature in general. Many periods of Arabic literature—not only the Mamluk period—are still by and large unstudied; students avoid courses dealing with poetry (which is considered both extremely difficult and unimportant), and the number of Western scholars dealing with classical Arabic literature is steadily decreasing; projects involving literature have worse chances for support than those dealing with other fields; and, of course, scholars dealing with historical and religious texts may feel free to skip poetry that occurs in these texts on the grounds that nothing important will be missed. Instead, and by contrast to our own attitudes, poetry especially was a foremost means of communication in Arabic societies throughout the ages, used on both trivial occasions as well as in those of major social and political importance. The role literature played in these societies was in general more important than in modern Western societies, but it also differed in various periods and regions in Arabic history. Therefore, my next point addresses:

(2) The Social Role of Literature and of the Poet

During the Abbasid era, literary culture was mainly shaped by the values and attitudes of the *kuttāb* whereas religious scholars took part in belles-lettres only marginally. During the Saljuq period, however, we can see the gradual merger between the *adab*-oriented culture of the *kuttāb* and the *sunnah*-oriented culture of the ulama. From then on, the *kuttāb* gradually ceased to form a distinct social group with its own cultural values. Instead, the duties of the *kātib* came to be fulfilled by people who had received the training of a religious scholar. The result was a rather homogeneous group of ulama who became the bearers of Islamic religious as well as of secular culture. Remarkably, this development did not prove detrimental to literary culture. Instead, the process of "ulamaization of *adab*" was counterbalanced by a process of "*adab*ization of the ulama," who in the meantime had made the *adab* discourse of the *kuttāb* their own.[5] Poetry became a pre-eminent medium of communication between ulama, and this medium also included panegyric poetry, which now was addressed by one alim to another,

[5]Examples of ulama composing poetry in the beginning of this period are given in Th. Emil Homerin, "Preaching Poetry," *Arabica* 38 (1991): 87–101; Thomas Bauer, "Raffinement und Frömmigkeit: Säkulare Poesie islamischer Religionsgelehrter der späten Abbasidenzeit," *Asiatische Studien* 5 (1996): 275–95.

rather than to rulers and military leaders. For the ulama, it would become more and more important to be able to take part in this form of poetic communication. Some of the main consequences of this development are the following:

(a) A general *increase in the number of ulama taking part in literary communication*. In al-Ṣafadī's *A'yān al-'Aṣr,* which is not a work of literature but a collection of the biographies of two thousand of al-Ṣafadī's most eminent contemporaries, about a quarter of the entries contain or mention poetry composed by the person portrayed. If we consider the high number of Mamluks who hardly ever composed poetry in Arabic and the fact that al-Ṣafadī quoted only poetry of quality, it would not be an exaggeration to say that virtually every member of the ulama took part in poetic communication in one form or another.

(b) The *rise of genres serving the immediate communication among ulama*. Mamluk ulama communicated in the form of poetry. They addressed panegyric poetry to each other, congratulated each other for the *a'yād,* the safe return from the hajj, or the birth of a child, or offered their condolences on the death of a teacher or relative in the form of often-lengthy poems. They accompanied presents with epigrams and sent each other poetic enigmas for entertainment, and they always expected an answer, of course also in the form of poetry. *Dīwān*s, anthologies, and biographical works are full of this sort of poetry, but none of these genres has been studied so far. This leads us to the next point:

(c) The *blurring of the boundaries between everyday and literary communication*. The post-enlightenment Western conception of the poet as a genius who reveals eternal truths has led to a general disapproval of all forms of occasional poetry which came to be considered as trivial and of no literary value. This conception does not do justice to Mamluk literature. Here we find poems of purely literary value side by side with poems or documents that primarily fulfill practical purposes but were nevertheless considered of literary value. Consequently, modern concepts about what is literature and what is not have to be adapted to this situation.

(d) An *increase in poetic production of any quality*. All this led to an enormous increase in poetic and other forms of literary production which inevitably results in countless poems that are well-made but at best of only minor literary interest. This observation ought not to be used to depreciate Mamluk literature. Instead, it should help to heighten the admiration of a culture that achieved a great deal of poetization of everyday life and made the reaffirmation of cultural values and the training of linguistic consciousness a permanent trait of daily routine.

(e) A *growing interest in matters of private life*. Most Abbasid poetry mirrored asymmetrical social relations (poet/patron; poet/beloved) and poets were not supposed to talk about their private lives. The ulama-poets of the Mamluk period instead communicated on more or less equal terms, had a similar personal history

and a similar life style. Now they could talk about their personal circumstances and take it for granted that their fellow ulama would be interested in this on the basis of shared experiences.[6] Consequently, we find love poems addressed to one′s own wife (Ibn Ḥajar), and a more intimate tone in poems on the death of one′s own son, daughter, or mother (Ibn Nubātah; Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī; Ibn Sūdūn).

(f) Poetry as a means of distinction. Despite a common outlook on life and similar habits and experiences, the group of the ulama was far from uniform and their members had a strong appreciation and feeling for prestige and hierarchy. The large number of madrasahs and the high prestige attributed to learning contributed to the rise of a broadened layer of people with a more or less superficial scholarly training.[7] These people may have memorized a textbook on grammar and another one on law and may have heard a reasonable amount of hadith, but they could not be accepted by the professional ulama as equals. But since there were no guild rules, no entrance examinations, and no membership cards for the group of the ulama, there had to be other means of delimitation. Instead of such formal criteria for membership, the group of the ulama defined itself as consisting of those who participated in their leading discourses in a qualified way. Poetry was one of these discourses, and linguistic proficiency, especially a flawless mastering of Arabic grammar, became one of the main criteria that the high-brow ulama used to distinguish themselves from lesser-educated aspirants. This is the reason why scholars like al-Ṣafadī and Ibn Ḥajar used to express their reserve whenever they quoted texts displaying interference of the spoken language. They never denied that they enjoyed these texts, but were simply afraid of violating professional ulama standards by quoting (or even composing) them, without making clear that they knew better. Just the opposite. As far as popular literature is concerned, we can even speak of

(g) The *blurring of the boundaries between popular and educated literature,* a fact that has already been noted repeatedly.[8] This is again a consequence of the

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[6]Thomas Bauer, ″Communication and Emotion: The Case of Ibn Nubātah′s *Kindertotenlieder*,″ *MSR* 7, [no. 1] (2003): 49–95, here 63–64.

[7]See Jonathan P. Berkey, ″Culture and Society during the Late Middle Ages,″ in *The Cambridge History of Egypt,* vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517,* ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 375–411, here 403–4, 409; Stefan Leder, ″Postklassisch und vormodern: Beobachtungen zum Kulturwandel in der Mamlūkenzeit,″ in *Die Mamluken: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur: Zum Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann (1942–1999)*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Anja Pistor-Hatam (Hamburg, 2003), 289–312.

[8]Leder, ″Postklassisch und vormodern,″ 290–304; Robert Irwin, ″Mamluk Literature,″ *MSR* 7, [no. 1] (2003): 1–29, here 18. For the shadow-play see Amila Buturovic, ″The Shadow Play in Mamluk Egypt: The Genre and Its Cultural Implications,″ *MSR* 7, [no. 1] (2003): 149–76, here

″bourgeois″ tendency of Mamluk literature and society. The ulama were as much at home in the *sūq*s as the craftsmen were in a madrasah. And as long as no concerns about scholarly prestige were involved, little prevented the ulama from displaying their interest in everyday affairs and in popular literature. Though the popular epics seem to have remained rather outside their horizon, popular poetry in dialect as well as in standard language (sometimes deficient) by poets like Ibrāhīm al-Miʿmār and Ibn Sūdūn were held in great esteem by the leading ulama as well as by the ″people of the street.″ ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Mawṣilī [27][9] even bothered to adorn the *dīwān* of al-Miʿmār with a colorful example of his *inshā'*.[10] The poems and *maqāmah*s of these popular poets, as well as other texts like the shadow plays of Ibn Dānyāl, provide insight into the life of the crafts and the lower classes incomparable to what we know from earlier periods. Even in the *dīwān*s of ulama-poets, scenes of everyday life turn up from time to time.

(3) THE ROLE OF RHETORICAL DEVICES

In considering the social functions of poetry mentioned above, we must not forget the immediate function of poetry for the individual, that is, to provide for her/his emotional needs, to bring about entertainment and fun, and to provoke amazement and surprise. The use of rhetorical devices should be seen in this context. The Mamluk poet was not supposed to express his very individual feelings, but to help his audience to cope with their own. Linguistic foregrounding, such as the use of figures of speech and rhetorical devices, arouses emotions in the recipient and thereby stimulates a process of recontextualization of his/her own previous emotions. In this respect, the usage of rhetorical devices cannot be considered a sign of lack of veracity, but as a means to initiate a process of catharsis in the hearer/reader of the text.[11] In addition to this emotional aspect, there is an intellectual side of rhetoric. Similar to the conceit in European literature, rhetorical devices may serve ″to surprise and delight by wit and ingenuity. The pleasure we get from many conceits is intellectual rather than sensuous.″[12] This is certainly also true for many of the *tawriyah*-pointed epigrams that were so popular in all levels of Mamluk society. And this is small wonder, since there has hardly been a culture with a comparable linguistic consciousness as the culture of Islam, a religion that

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158–60.

[9]Numbers in square brackets refer to the list of some major poets and *udabā'* of the Mamluk empire at the end of this article.

[10]″Dīwān Ibrāhīm al-Miʿmār,″ Dār al-Kutub MS 673 Shiʿr Taymūr, fols. 2–3.

[11]Bauer, ″Communication and Emotion,″ 86–88; idem, review of *Ibn Nubātah: Shāʿir al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī,* by Maḥmūd Sālim Muḥammad, *MSR* 6 (2002): 219–24.

[12]J. A. Cuddon, *A Dictionary of Literary Terms* (London, 1979), 144.

is entirely based on texts and their interpretation and linguistic exegesis.

(4) ORIGINALITY

One of the main points of criticism directed against Mamluk literature is its alleged conservatism, or, as it is often put in a more deprecatory way, its lack of originality, its stagnation. Some of these statements even give the impression that the poets were positively prohibited from treating new themes in their poetry.[13] This, of course, is nonsense, since no person or institution ever existed that could force poets to adhere to established conventions. Therefore, the reason for the perception of Mamluk literature as stagnant and unoriginal must lie somewhere else, and since I do not believe that it lies in the literature itself, we have to examine again the background of our own expectations. This expectation is doubtlessly shaped by European literary history, with its rapid succession of consecutive literary epochs, each of which seems to have lasted but a single century. And since Western literary historians are accustomed to think in clearly separated epochs, they are trained to figure out discontinuities rather than stressing the phenomena of continuity.

This is not the place to try to explain the rapid pace of modern European literature, but it should be observed here that, taken in a global context, it is a singular case. Other great literary traditions—especially China and other East Asian literature, but also classical literatures of antiquity—display a pattern of development very similar to that of Arabic literature (and other Islamic literatures). Consequently, this form of change can be called ″organic″ in contrast to the ″catastrophic″ form found in several post-medieval European literatures. In any case, neither type of development necessarily implies superiority to the other. The notion of backwardness and lack of innovative power can only be applied to single poets in relation to their contemporary literary system, but not to literatures as a whole.

In any case, no literary period springs up from out of nowhere, but inevitably has points of reference in the past. Therefore, a much more promising approach is to look for the points of reference for Mamluk authors and the specific relationship between poets and culture, instead of complaining about the supposed conservatism of this era. But what were these points of reference for Mamluk authors, what constituted their literary horizon? The few studies that pay attention to this question

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[13]See, for example, Shmuel Moreh, ″Traditionelle und neue Formen der Dichtung in der Gegenwart,″ in *Grundriß der arabischen Philologie,* vol. 2, *Literaturwissenschaft,* ed. Helmut Gätje (Wiesbaden, 1987): 89–95, here 89: ″Diese Arten von Poesie waren in ihre eigenen strengen Konventionen von Motiv und Stil gebunden und ließen somit dem Dichter keinen Spielraum, seine Gefühle oder Lebensumstände auszudrücken.″

suggest that the situation was complex and further studies are needed to develop a clearer picture. Inevitably, then, the following remarks must be seen as quite preliminary.

My first observation is that Mamluk readers were unusually keen on reading contemporary literature. As is evidenced by many anthologies (most explicitly by Ibn Nubātah's *Maṭla‘ al-Fawā'id*),[14] pre-Abbasid poetry was considered primarily a part of the cultural heritage of mainly philological interest. For the Mamluk public, the first to compose palatable poetry were the *muḥdath* poets from Abbasid times, especially their late representative Ibn al-Mu‘tazz (d. 296/908), the only pre-Mutanabbian poet whose verses are encountered often and regularly in Mamluk anthologies. But still these forms of Abbasid literature must have had a strongly antiquarian flavor for the Mamluk public. Nevertheless, there are several cases of referring back to Abbasid literature, but their relevance has been perhaps somewhat overestimated by Robert Irwin.[15] And, after all, it was not lack of originality that led Mamluk authors to refer back to such early traditions. Rather, the authors had something new to say about the matters treated by their predecessors. To mention some of the most prominent cases: in his preface to his anthology entitled *Al-Ghayth al-Musajjam fī Sharḥ Lāmīyat al-‘Ajam,* al-Ṣafadī refers to al-Jāḥiẓ's ideal of *adab* in deliberately mixing different topics in order to prevent boredom. This Jāḥiẓian ideal, however, is not revived in any antiquarian or restorative way, but put in the form of a definitively Mamluk invention, i.e., the anthology in form of a commentary. Al-Ṣafadī's book has the outward form of a commentary on a famous poem by the Saljuq poet al-Ṭughrā'ī (d. 514/1120-1) known as *Lāmīyat al-‘Ajam.* But the form of commentary is mainly a pretext for compiling an anthology of texts of both old and recent origin, both earnest and humorous, in order to give a colorful picture of subjects relevant to any educated person of "modern" (i.e., Mamluk) times. Therefore, this book is an experiment in how to embody the Jāḥiẓian ideal of *adab,* and it is definitely not a case of falling back on tradition out of cultural impotence. The same holds true for al-Ṣafadī's and Ibn Nubātah's commentaries (or rather: anthologies in the form of commentaries) on two *risālah*s by Ibn Zaydūn,[16] and for Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī's early-Abbasid-style anthology *Thamarāt al-Awrāq.*[17] Obviously it is the purpose of these texts to reinterpret and

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[14]Thomas Bauer, "Literarische Anthologien der Mamlukenzeit," in *Die Mamluken,* ed. Conermann and Pistor-Hatam, 71–122.

[15]"Mamluk Literature," 9 ("antiquarian feel"), 29.

[16]See Everett Rowson, "An Alexandrian Age in Fourteenth-Century Damascus: Twin Commentaries on Two Celebrated Arabic Epistles," *MSR* 7, [no. 1] (2003): 97–110; for al-Ṣafadī's *Ghayth* see also Nabīl Muḥammad Rashād, *Al-Ṣafadī wa-Sharḥuhu ‘alá Lāmīyat al-‘Ajam* (Cairo, 1423/2002) and its review by Everett Rowson in *MSR* 8, no. 1 (2004): 315–23.

[17]It is one of the few anthologies that deliberately imitates the pattern of the unstructured *adab*

remodel Abbasid ideals and to put them into a contemporary context. By remodelling works of the past, Mamluk authors did not try to create pieces of literature that resembled their models as closely as possible or that could be taken for Abbasid creations, nor did they aspire to revive a ″golden age.″ Classical attitudes seem to have played no noteworthy role. Instead, these and other forms of intertextual references, such as allusion, *muʻāraḍah*, *takhmīs*, *tashṭīr,* etc., may fulfill a range of different purposes. They may serve as a means to determine one′s relation with the past, to enter into a dialogue with its central texts, to introduce their message into contemporary discourse and to adapt it to the then-prevailing tastes. In other cases, it may be mainly a demonstration of virtuosity in reshaping an older text, but this procedure also inevitably contributes to the forming of the cultural memory of the times. It may well be the case that different sorts of texts were approached by different forms of intertextuality. So it may turn out that texts from the more ancient periods were rather made the object of a creative play such as the *takhmīs* and *tashṭīr,*[18] whereas texts reflecting a more recent aesthetic, such as those from the late Buyid, Saljuq, and Ayyubid periods, may have been reshaped in more individual ways, such as a *muʻāraḍah,* but this is only one of several possibilities considering the present state of knowledge. Further studies of Mamluk manifestations of intertextuality and a comparison with forms of intertextuality in other periods of Arabic literature will certainly yield interesting results. After all, it should not be forgotten that a heightened degree of synchronic as well as diachronic intertextuality is characteristic for all periods of Arabic poetry, from the *jāhilīyah* right up to the present day.[19] The Mamluk period is in no way out of the ordinary in this respect.

What is true for single texts, is also true for whole genres. Even the most conservative genres did not owe their conservatism to a lack of creativity or to nostalgic yearning. Instead, they retained many inherited features because it turned out that in this way they could most effectively serve the emotional and communicative requirements of society. A good example is furnished by the genre of *ghazal,* which was perhaps the most widespread genre in the Mamluk period and which more than others is characterized by a thematic and formal

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anthology of the Abbasid period, and indeed it also consists largely of Abbasid material, mixed up, however, with specimens of Mamluk *inshā*ʼ. I suspect that the proper *raison d′être* of this book has not yet been established.

[18]See P. F. Kennedy, ″*Takhmīs*,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 10:123–25.

[19]For the *jāhilīyah* see Thomas Bauer, ″Formel und Zitat: Zwei Spielarten von Intertextualität in der altarabischen Dichtung,″ *Journal of Arabic Literature* 24 (1993): 117–38; for the modern period see Birgit Embaló, ″Intertextuelle Bezüge zeitgenössischer arabischer Poesie zur arabischen Dichtungstradition,″ in *Understanding Near Eastern Literatures,* ed. Verena Klemm and Beatrice Gruendler (Wiesbaden, 2000), 37–57.

continuity (which lasted well into the nineteenth century). But this continuity can easily be explained by the fact that *ghazal* poetry was the primary medium by which a collective knowledge about love was preserved and thereby through which the feelings and experiences of the people were influenced, whereas these feelings and experiences in turn influenced the shape of the *ghazal*. Therefore we come to understand that on one hand the Mamluk *ghazal* follows models that were created by and large during the early and middle Abbasid period. On the other hand, many Mamluk *ghazal* poems display a distinct Mamluk flavor and are clearly recognizable as pertaining to the Mamluk, and not to the Abbasid, period—for example Ibn Ḥajar's "Red Sea *ghazal*," in which the author interweaves a number of different strains of Arabic love poetry in order to transform them into a definitely contemporary expression of his experiences.[20] Therefore, elements that at first sight appear as purely conventional and traditional may well also have had the function of adding an additional dimension of complexity to the poem by virtue of introducing a reference to the collective experience preserved in literary tradition. This function of poetry as contributing to the preservation of the collective memory of society and of adapting it to contemporary needs has been given little attention in Arabic studies so far, probably because poetry does not play such a great role in these same contexts today in modern societies. For the Arabo-Islamic world, however, I can hardly see how studies in the history of social knowledge, culture, attitudes, and mentalities can be carried out without resorting to the study of literature and especially poetry.

These remarks on phenomena of intertextuality should not detract from the fact that the Mamluk period was indeed a particularly innovative and creative period. Whenever Mamluk works of literature have been studied without prejudice and in greater detail, they have been found to be interesting and original (as in the contributions to *MSR* 7 [no. 1]), and there is no lack of genre origination during the Mamluk period or of definitive stages of development during that time. As examples I could mention the *badīʿīyah,* the shadow-plays of Ibn Dānyāl, the nonsense-poetry by Ibn Sūdūn, popular poetry dealing with the crafts, the popular festivals, and with hashish. I could also mention the erotic *maqāmah,*[21] travelogues in the form of *inshāʾ,* or, in the fields of stylistics, the practical and theoretical

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[20]Thomas Bauer, "Ibn Ḥajar and the Arabic Ghazal of the Mamluk Age," in *Ghazal as World Literature: Transformations of a Literary Genre,* ed. Thomas Bauer and Angelika Neuwirth (Beirut, 2004): 35–55.

[21]Everett K. Rowson, "Two Homoerotic Narratives from Mamlūk Literature: al-Ṣafadī's *Lawʿat al-shākī* and Ibn Dānyāl's *al-Mutayyam*," in *Homoeroticism in Classical Arabic Literature,* ed. J. W. Wright, Jr., and Everett K. Rowson (New York, 1997): 158–91. A collection of heteroerotic *maqāmāt* based on the stylistic device of the *tawjīh* is Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Rashf al-Zulāl min al-Siḥr al-Ḥalāl* (Beirut, 1997).

preoccupation with the *tawriyah.* Whether these genres are appreciated or not, we can hardly deny that they were innovative.

Therefore, we may conclude, that Mamluk Arabic literature is not characterized by stagnation and a lack of innovation, but rather by a steady and gradual development, which, however, did not evolve towards the same endpoint as Western literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. According to a colonial point of view, the modern West is the only legitimately-existing culture, and every other development that went in a different direction must be seen as an historical error. What is described as ″stagnation″ is therefore not the lack of development per se, but the lack of developments that mimicked and confirmed Western models. Such divergences should, of course, serve as a paradigm for a critical scholarly analysis—but only for recognizing and appreciating differences and not for a rejection of those differences.

(5) Morality

Still today, we repeatedly come across complaints about the moral decadence of the Mamluk period. Since the notion of ″decadence″ is linked so inseparably to that of the erotic, it seems not out of place to make some remarks on this subject here. Two genres in particular touch on the subject of morality, namely *ghazal* (love poetry), and *mujūn* (satire). The *ghazal* was one of the most popular genres of Mamluk poetry, and it was widely cultivated because of its overall emotive potential.[22] The majority of *ghazal* poetry is homoerotic, i.e., the beloved is of male gender. The first Arabic poet to popularize the homoerotic *ghazal* was Abū Nuwās (d. ca. 198/813), and for the next thousand years to come Arabic love poetry remained primarily homoerotic (yet not to the same degree as the Persian and Turkish *ghazal*). The situation changed only in the middle of the nineteenth century, when the massive and deep-reaching influence of colonialism brought about the enforcement of Western conceptions of gender and sexuality. Western influence deeply modified, at least officially, previous indigenous concepts. From then on, Arab poets stopped composing homoerotic poems and began to deal with their own poetic traditions in imitation of Western scholars, i.e., by suppressing parts of it and by denying the homoerotic character of the rest. Victorian moral standards inherited in colonial times are still deeply rooted in the Islamic world today and have started to enter into an alliance with modern Islamist ideologies. Meanwhile Western attitudes about homosexuality have changed, and there is an equally great danger now of Western scholars falling into another trap, which is to

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[22]A convincing study of the Mamluk *ghazal* is still lacking; the book by Majd al-Afandī, *Al-Ghazal fī al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī al-Awwal* (Damascus, 1994), displays all the prejudices and misconceptions discussed above; see the review in *MSR* 3 (1999): 214–19.

presume the existence of a coherent and identifiable ″gay community″ in the pre-modern Arab world as well. This would be a grave anachronism. In reality, neither approach to the phenomenon does justice to the real background of homoerotic Arabic poetry. As a matter of fact, not only are nineteenth-century moral standards inapplicable to the pre-modern Islamic world, but the whole concept of love and sexuality turns out to have been so different that even our notions of hetero- and homosexuality prove not to be universal. But if it is now difficult to free oneself from deeply-rooted conceptions of aesthetics, how difficult it must be to realize the relativity of one′s feelings in so personal a realm as love and sexuality!

Despite this difficulty, a couple of recent studies have been able to show with sufficient evidence that love and sexuality in the pre-modern Arabic world were not regulated according to parameters of sex, but according to parameters of gender. All forms of love in which persons of a male gender fell in love with persons of non-male gender identity were socially acceptable. Here, persons of male gender means those of the male sex who have reached adulthood. And persons of non-male gender identity can be females; or males who have not yet grown a dense beard; eunuchs; or ″effeminates″—*mukhannathūn*. Religious norms prohibited certain sexual practices and encouraged marriage,[23] but in general religious institutions were indifferent towards men falling in love with beautiful youths.[24] Therefore it is not too surprising to find homoerotic poems composed by pious religious scholars such as Ibn Ḥajar (who at the same time erected a memorial to marital love in two of his *ghazal* poems).

The genre of *mujūn* was less important and less respected than the *ghazal*. It was cultivated widely but not very intensively. Nevertheless, not only popular poets like al-Miʻmār, Ibn Dānyāl, and Ibn Sūdūn were given to composing *mujūn,* but also representatives of the established ulama culture, such as Ibn Nubātah, participated in this genre as well.[25] Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī [18] dedicated a whole

[23]A number of publications have appeared on this subject during the last decade. Here it may suffice to mention *Homoeroticism in Classical Arabic Literature*, ed. J. W. Wright, Jr., and Everett K. Rowson (New York, 1997); Thomas Bauer, *Liebe und Liebesdichtung in der arabischen Welt des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts: Eine literatur- und mentalitätsgeschichtliche Studie des arabischen Ġazal* (Wiesbaden, 1998), 150–84; idem and Angelika Neuwirth, ″Introduction,″ in *Ghazal as World Literature,* 9–31; Arno Schmitt, ″*Liwāṭ* im *Fiqh*: Männliche Homosexualität?″ *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 4 (2001–2): 49–110.

[24]Discussions about the permissibility of getting religiously stimulated by gazing at beardless youths are centered either around theological conceptions of the nature of man′s relation to the divine or the fear that this practice might instigate unlawful acts (a problem also discussed in the context of love poetry).

[25]Ibn Nubātah also brought together a selection of the *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Ḥajjāj (d. 391/1000), the

chapter of his *Dīwān* to the subject of *mujūn,* which was included in the Damascus edition of the years 1297–1300 (1879–83). This edition appeared at a time in which Victorian morals obviously had not yet been as strongly internalized in the Arab world as today. In the recent edition of al-Ḥillī′s *Dīwān* the *mujūn* chapter is purposely omitted.[26] Similarly, the *mujūn* chapter has also been removed from the edition of al-Ḥillī′s anthology of his own two-line epigrams.[27] Equally unfortunate is the fact that the only existing edition of the poetry of Ibn Dānyāl [9] is heavily bowdlerized.[28] The *Dīwān* of Ibrāhīm al-Mi‘mār [19] was so popular in the Mamluk period that Ibn Taghrībirdī did not dare to quote very much of it, since it was known to everybody anyway.[29] This *Dīwān* is preserved in a number of manuscripts but remains unedited, even though it is one of the most original *dīwān*s of that period. The reason for this neglect is, I am convinced, the fact that many of al-Mi‘mār′s poems are frivolous, and some of them might even be considered obscene. This shows very clearly the damage that is done to a proper appreciation of Mamluk literature and cultural history by the adoption of false Western conceptions which, in this case, proved to be quite short-lived. While modern Western technology nowadays floods the whole world with pornography, in the Arab world Western moral standards of yesterday still fight a monstrous battle against six-hundred-year-old penis-epigrams. Those who fight staunchly against ″pornography″ do not realize that there is good reason to be proud of a culture that managed to integrate a conversation about ″the sexual″ into an established, sophisticated literary discourse, thus showing that there is a way to cultivate the obscene without having to take recourse either to psychopathic suppression nor to pornographic consumption. Again it seems to me that none of the solutions offered by modern culture (both Western and Islamic) are conspicuously superior to those of pre-modern Islamic culture and that modern solutions can in no way provide the yardstick by which other cultures can or should be measured.

These five points certainly do not exhaust the list of possible misunderstandings about Mamluk literature or their origins, but it may suffice to show the principal

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most famous *mujūn* poet of the Abbasid period. The collection has been edited now in Tunisia: *Talṭīf al-Mizāj min Shi‘r Ibn al-Ḥajjāj: Ikhtiyār Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Nubātah,* ed. Najm ‘Abd Allāh Muṣṭafá (Sūsah, 2001): see the review by S. Moreh in *Journal of Semitic Studies* 48 (2003): 212–14.

[26]See the discussion of the issue in *Dīwān Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī,* ed. Muḥammad Ḥawwar (Beirut, 2000), 1:14–15.

[27]Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, *Dīwān al-Mathālith wa-al-Mathānī fī al-Ma‘ālī wa-al-Ma‘ānī,* ed. Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Ḥimṣī (Damascus, 1419/1998).

[28]*Al-Mukhtār min Shi‘r Ibn Dānyāl,* ed. Muḥammad Nā’if al-Dulaymī (Mosul, 1399/1979).

[29]Abū al-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá ba‘d al-Wāfī,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1984), 1:192.

direction of reorientation that is necessary in the study of the literature and culture of the Mamluk era.

I would now like to present a short overview of the most important achievements and the most pressing desiderata in the field of Mamluk literature.[30] Looking for a Mamluk text that would help us to follow indigenous concepts of literature, one may resort to Ibn Nubātah's anthology *Maṭla' al-Fawā'id,* a prescriptive text in which the author tries to define the social role of the *adīb.*[31] According to him, the task of the *adīb* is threefold. First, he has to be a linguistic exegete of the principal texts of Islamo-Arabic culture (such as the Quran, hadith, and pre- and early Islamic poetry). Second, he must be a poet as well as an expert and connoisseur in the field of poetry, and third, he has to fulfill the same role in the field of *inshā',* thus inheriting the tasks of the *kātib* of the Abbasid era. Ibn Nubātah does not explicitly mention the *maqāmah,* but it goes without saying that the composition of *maqāmāt* was a major activity of Mamluk literati. As far as poetry is concerned, we have to take into account *dīwān*s as well as anthologies, as is already shown in Ibn Nubātah's own production (not least in his *Maṭla',* which is an anthology itself). In sum, it becomes quite clear that the major fields of activity of the Mamluk *adīb* must be seen in the following five realms: (1) poetry, (2) anthologies, (3) *maqāmah*s, (4) *inshā',* and (5) theory (literary theory and rhetoric).

(1) To start with *Poetry*: Recent years have granted us editions of the *dīwān*s of al-Talla'farī, Ibn Ghānim al-Maqdisī, al-Jazzār, Ibn Tamīm, al-Maḥḥār, al-Ḥillī, and Ibn Ḥajar. The early Mamluk poet and compulsive gambler al-Talla'farī [2] is known to all readers of Rosenthal's *Gambling in Islam*. Unfortunately, Rosenthal did not live to see the long-awaited appearance of an edition of al-Talla'farī's complete *Dīwān*.[32] Ibn Ghānim al-Maqdisī [3] is a major Sufi author of the period

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[30]This overview is to be understood as a continuation of the "state of the art" articles that appeared previously in this journal: Th. Emil Homerin, "Reflections on Poetry in the Mamluk Age," *MSR* 1 (1997): 63–85, and Robert Irwin, "Mamluk Literature," *MSR* 7, [no. 1] (2003): 1–29. In general, I will concentrate on texts and studies not yet treated in these contributions. I will not consider the popular epics, the Arabian Nights, nor Mamluk literature in Turkish. These groups of texts have been dealt with amply by Irwin, to whose knowledgeable explanations I have little to add. Recent contributions are Stefan Leder, "Postklassisch und vormodern," 290–93, and Thomas Herzog, "Legitimität durch Erzählung: Ayyūbidische und kalifale Legitimation mamlūkischer Herrschaft in der populären *Sīrat Baybars*" in *Die Mamluken,* ed. Conermann and Pistor-Hatam, 251–68. Ten contributions on *Sīrat Baybars* are assembled in *Arabica* 51 (2004): 1–221. Recent contributions on Mamluk literature in Turkish are reviewed by Robert Dankoff in *MSR* 8, no. 1 (2004): 303-7.

[31]See Bauer, "Literarische Anthologien," 85–94.

[32]*Dīwān al-Talla'farī,* ed. Riḍá Rajab (Damascus, 2004); and see Franz Rosenthal, *Gambling in Islam* (Leiden, 1975).

whose *Dīwān* is an important supplement to his more famous *maqāmah*-style *Kashf al-Asrār fī / ʻan Ḥikam al-Ṭuyūr wa-al-Azhār,* one of most interesting Sufi texts of the period, edited and translated several times.[33] Yaḥyá al-Jazzār [4] is one of the first of the many craftsmen poets of the period. Growing up in his parents′ butcher shop in al-Fusṭāṭ, he discovered his literary talent and joined the companionship of the leading poets of his time who held him in great esteem. This encouraged him to try to earn his livelihood by composing panegyric poetry, only to realize the difficulty of making a living as a professional poet in this time. Thus he returned to his original job, saying that as a butcher, the dogs would run after him, whereas as a poet, he had to run after the dogs. A selection of his poetry has been preserved and edited in an unsatisfying way.[34] Ibn Tamīm′s [5] small *Dīwān*[35] furnishes us with formidable specimens of the Ayyubid and Mamluk art of the epigram, a form that was extremely popular in the Mamluk period. The Syrian poet al-Maḥḥār [10] is important for the history of *muwashshaḥ* and *zajal* in the East.[36] In the field of the *zajal,* al-Maḥḥār styled himself as a new Ibn Quzmān and purposely imitated the Andalusian style and dialect. But the Syrian and Egyptian public came to prefer *azjāl* in their local dialects. This may have been a reason why his *zajal* seems to have been less popular than the *zajal* of other authors.[37] In any case, a study of the Eastern *zajal,* its language, style, and content, is a major desideratum. An important event was the publication of Muḥammad Ḥawwar′s critical edition of the *Dīwān* of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī [18], which is clearly superior to several older uncritical editions, but which does not contain the chapter on *mujūn*. For that, the Damascus edition still remains the only source.[38] Finally, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī [35] met with interest because he was the most ingenious hadith scholar of his time. In a way not atypical for the Mamluk period, he started as a poet by eulogizing princes from the Rasulid dynasty, before he turned to hadith studies. The published recension of his *Dīwān*—one of three recensions compiled by the author himself—is in fact an

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[33]*Dīwān al-ʻIzz ʻAbd al-Salām ibn Ghānim al-Maqdisī,* ed. Māhir Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Qādir (Damascus, 2001); ʻAbd al-Salām ibn Ghānim al-Maqdisī, *Kashf al-Asrār ʻan Ḥikam al-Ṭuyūr wa-al-Azhār*, ed. idem (Jiddah, 1416/1996).

[34]*Dīwān al-Jazzār,* ed. Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām (Alexandria, 2001); see my review in this issue of *MSR*.

[35]*Dīwān Mujīr al-Dīn Ibn Tamīm,* ed. Hilāl Nājī and Nāẓim Rashīd (Beirut, 1420/1999).

[36]Sīrāj al-Dīn al-Maḥḥār, *Dīwān,* ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad ʻAṭā (Cairo, 1422/2001).

[37]In his collection of *muwashshaḥāt* and *azjāl* entitled *ʻUqūd al-La'āl fī al-Muwashshaḥāt wa-al-Azjāl* by al-Nawājī, ed. ʻAbd al-Laṭīf al-Shihābī (Baghdad, 1982), the author included two *muwashshaḥs* by al-Maḥḥār, but none of his *zajal*s.

[38]*Dīwān Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥawwar (Beirut, 2000). For earlier editions see Wolfhart Heinrichs, ″Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī,″ *EI*^{2}, 8:801b–805b.

anthology comprising those poems that were considered best by Ibn Ḥajar himself.[39]

The number of major poets whose *dīwān*s are still unedited is, however, larger. I will mention here only eight examples: (1) Ibn Qurnāṣ [1], whose epigrams of nature poetry are often quoted; (2) Ibn Dānyāl [9], whose poetry is preserved in a selection by al-Ṣafadī edited only in bowdlerized form; Li Guo's studies on two of his poems have demonstrated sufficiently that not only his shadow plays but also his *Dīwān* contains precious gems;[40] (3) Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī [16], the famous grammarian, was also a prolific poet and attracted the attention of Th. Emil Homerin, who dedicated several studies to him;[41] (4) Ibrāhīm al-Mi'mār [19], a popular poet who was in several ways a forerunner of Ibn Sūdūn and whose satirical portrayal of middle-class life in Cairo is of enormous importance for literary and cultural history alike;[42] (5) and (6) al-Qīrāṭī [26] and Ibn Makānis [28] belong to the most often-quoted poets of their time: their *dīwān*s have been preserved in several manuscripts and their edition will be a considerable help to gain a more precise idea about Mamluk poetry in the second half of the eighth century.[43] The same holds true for (7) al-Shihāb al-Manṣūrī [39], one of the "seven shooting stars" of the ninth century. And finally (8) the poetess 'Ā'ishah al-Bā'ūnīyah [43] must not be forgotten, author of exquisite Sufi poetry and of a remarkable *badī'īyah,* the last protagonist of Mamluk poetry, who died even as the Ottoman army was approaching Cairo. She has become the object of several studies, but promises to edit her *Dīwān* have not yet been fulfilled, as far as I know.[44]

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[39]See my review in *MSR* 4 (2000): 267–69.

[40]Li Guo, "Paradise Lost: Ibn Dānyāl's Response to Baybars' Campaign against Vice in Cairo," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 121 (2001): 219–35; idem, "The Devil's Advocate: Ibn Dānyāl's Art of Parody in His *Qaṣīdah* No. 71," *MSR* 7, [no. 1] (2003): 177–209.

[41]Th. Emil Homerin, "A Bird Ascends the Night. Elegy and Immortality in Islam," revised ed., *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 59 (1991): 247–79, and idem, "'I've stayed by the Grave': An elegy/*nasīb* for Nuḍār," in *Literary Heritage of Classical Islam: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honour of James A. Bellamy,* ed. Mustansir Mir (Princeton, 1993): 107–18.

[42]Cf. Thomas Bauer, "Ibrāhīm al-Mi'mār: Ein dichtender Handwerker aus Ägyptens Mamlukenzeit," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 152 (2002): 63–93; idem, "Die Leiden eines ägyptischen Müllers: Die Mühlen-Maqāme des Ibrāhīm al-Mi'mār (st. 749/1348)," in *Ägypten–Münster: Kulturwissenschaftliche Studien zu Ägypten, dem Vorderen Orient und verwandten Gebieten (Festschrift Erhart Graefe),* ed. Anke Ilona Blöbaum et al. (Wiesbaden, 2003), 1–16; and idem, "Das Nilzağal des Ibrāhīm al-Mi'mār: Ein Lied zur Feier des Nilschwellenfestes," in *Alltagsleben und materielle Kultur in der arabischen Sprache und Literatur (Festschrift Heinz Grotzfeld),* ed. U. Stehli-Werbeck and Th. Bauer (Wiesbaden, 2004): 69–88.

[43]Some verses of Ibn Makānis' *urjūzah* on good behavior, satirizing the manners of the parvenus of his times, are translated in Geert Jan van Gelder, "Arabic Didactic Verse," in *Centres of Learning,* ed. J. W. Drijvers and A. A. MacDonald (Leiden, 1995): 103–17.

[44]Th. Emil Homerin, "Living Love: The Mystical Writings of 'Ā'ishah al-Bā'ūnīyah (d. 922/1516),"

(2) *Anthologies:* With the *Dīwān*s of al-Jazzār and Ibn Ḥajar we have already entered the domain of anthologies, a vast and largely unexplored field which, however, is of crucial importance to the understanding of the whole of Mamluk culture.[45] Undoubtedly the Mamluk period was the golden age of the anthology. In no other period did the literati compose as many anthologies and so wide a range of different types of anthologies. This again is no sign of lack of originality,[46] but the result of the dynamic literary culture of the period. Anthologies functioned more and more as the visiting cards of the *adīb*. By composing an anthology, an *adīb* could prove his literary taste, as well as his knowledge and mastery of texts and traditions, and could prove himself worthy of joining the ranks of its masters. Thus anthologies functioned somewhat like offprints today in modern academic life. This is corroborated by the significant amount of intertextuality between anthologies in this period. Furthermore, in a society in which everybody tried to take part in poetic communication, anthologies provided their readers with material to learn from or to be quoted in conversations. Popular anthologies such as the *Kanz al-Madfūn* by Yūnus al-Mālikī served to entertain and instruct less-educated layers of society. In anthologies, the material could be trimmed to match special occasions, purposes, and circumstances, and this flexibility was certainly among the reasons that this form of text was able to flourish in the Mamluk period. It is also one of the reasons why most anthologies focus on ″new″ (i.e., Ayyubid and Mamluk) material, because the readers wanted to be ″up to date.″ More often than not, even poets themselves did not strive to leave a sum of their work in the form of a *dīwān* but rather published their creations in the form of anthologies. The most important Mamluk poet besides al-Ḥillī, Ibn Nubātah [22], did not compile a definitive version of his *Dīwān*. The collection known today as *Dīwān Ibn Nubātah* is a compilation of his pupil al-Bashtakī, who drew on several anthologies compiled by Ibn Nubātah himself (a collection of his poems on Abū al-Fidā', a collection of *ghazal* epigrams, a book containing seven liners, etc.).[47] Unfortunately, none of these anthologies has been published (though several of them are preserved in manuscript form) so that we cannot identify the sources of many poems of the *Dīwān*. A critical edition of the *dīwān* of as important a poet as Ibn Nubātah

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MSR 7, [no. 1] (2003): 211–34; idem, review of *'Ā'ishah al-Bā'ūnīyah*, by Ḥasan Rabābi'ah, ibid., 237–39.

[45]A comprehensive but necessarily preliminary survey is given in my article ″Literarische Anthologien.″

[46]Brockelmann saw the only value of these books in their preservation of older texts that have been lost (*Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* [Leiden, 1949], 2:7–8).

[47]A survey of Ibn Nubātah′s works is given in 'Umar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī: Amīr Shu'arā' al-Mashriq* (Cairo, 1963).

would be a desideratum anyway, and I would strongly favor a critical edition of Ibn Nubātah′s poetic anthologies first.

Perhaps the most important edition of a literary anthology compiled by the poet himself is the edition of the *Nuzhat al-Nufūs* of Ibn Sūdūn [37][48] which opened a window into a hitherto little-known area of ″popular″ poetry of the Mamluk period. Ibn Ḥajar′s and Ibn Sūdūn′s contemporary, al-Nawājī [36], has found a competent and engaged advocate in Ḥasan ʻAbd al-Hādī. So far, ʻAbd al-Hādī has edited two of al-Nawājī′s anthologies and a bio-bibliographical text.[49] Al-Nawājī, an outstanding *homme de lettre* of the first half of the ninth century, is known primarily for his anthology of wine poetry (and related subjects) entitled *Ḥalbat al-Kumayt*,[50] which, due to its importance, deserves at least a reprint or better yet a critical edition. But I would encourage even more an edition of al-Nawājī′s comprehensive *ghazal* anthology *Marātiʻ al-Ghizlān* (a model for two anthologies by al-Shihāb al-Ḥijāzī [38] already published)[51] and his anthology of beard-epigrams (*Khalʻ al-ʻIdhār fī Waṣf al-ʻIdhār*) preserved in many manuscripts and widely know in his own time. I am afraid that again pseudo-moral scruples will get in the way in the case of these titles. Therefore it was a wise decision by ʻAbd al-Hādī to start his Nawājī project with the poet′s collection of his poems in praise of the Prophet. Though this genre is doubtlessly morally unquestionable, it remains virtually unstudied.[52] The Mamluk period witnessed a great blossoming of this genre, but Western scholars were reluctant to book this fact on the positive side of the balance of Mamluk literature because this form of religious poetry led the Arabs even further away from the direction of secular modernity. It is high time now for an unprejudiced pioneering study on the genre of *madḥ al-nabī,* which is not even treated in the standard dictionaries. In this context, it should be noted that we still lack an edition of Ibn Sayyid al-Nās′ [15] collection of his own

[48]Arnoud Vrolijk, *Bringing a Laugh to a Scowling Face: A Study and Critical Edition of the ″Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-Muḍḥik al-ʻAbūs″ by ʻAlī Ibn Sūdūn al-Bašbuġāwī* (Leiden, 1998). See my review of this and another edition in *MSR* 7, [no. 1] (2003): 267–72.

[49]*Al-Maṭāliʻ al-Shamsīyah fī al-Madāʼiḥ al-Nabawīyah* (Amman, 1999); *Ṣaḥāʼif al-Ḥasanāt fī Waṣf al-Khāl* (Amman, 2000); *Muʼallafāt Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Nawājī al-Shāfiʻī* (Amman, 2001).

[50]See G. J. van Gelder, ″A Muslim Encomium on Wine: *The Racecourse of the Bay (Ḥalbat al-Kumayt)* by al-Nawāǧī (d. 859/1455) as a Post-Classical Arabic Work,″ *Arabica* 42 (1995): 222–34.

[51]Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ḥijāzī, *Al-Kunnas al-Jawārī fī al-Ḥisān min al-Jawārī* and *Jannat al-Wildān min al-Ghilmān,* ed. Raḥāb ʻAkkāwī (Beirut, 1418/1998).

[52]Of some relevance is Nāẓim Rashīd, *Al-Madāʼiḥ al-Nabawīyah fī Adab al-Qarnayn al-Sādis wa-al-Sābiʻ lil-Hijrah* (Baghdad, 2002).

poems in praise of the Prophet.[53]

As far as anthologies comprising material from different authors are concerned, we can record a few very welcome editions of texts hitherto accessible only in poor prints, such as al-Ibshīhī's [34] *Mustaṭraf*.[54] The *tadhkirah*-style anthology *Al-Muḥāḍarāt wa-al-Muḥāwarāt* by al-Suyūṭī has been edited in an exemplary way.[55] Its diligent philological method of editing, its detailed indices, clear print, and solid binding stand in marked contrast to the faulty and negligent way Mamluk literary texts are usually presented, which only reflects the general disdain in which these texts are held. But the great majority of existing texts still remain in manuscript form. In a survey of Mamluk anthologies, I mentioned ninety anthologies by fifty different authors.[56] This list can easily be augmented, but it may provide a first orientation for future efforts. What we need most urgently given the present state of our knowledge are preliminary studies of as many of these anthologies as possible. They should determine the contents of the book, the plan of the author, its main sources, and give a first judgement of the supposed target group of the author. To exploit the enormous wealth of Mamluk anthologies, dozens of studies are needed to determine the character of all of these books, in order to give a comprehensive idea of the literary market in Mamluk times, to establish the literary canon of the Mamluk period, and to find out which of these books deserve to be edited.

In this context, I would like especially to point to anthologies by unknown authors or to altogether anonymous works designed for those with less education and which may yield valuable insights into the values and the world view of the lower middle class. They are perhaps an abundant, still untapped source for the study of the culture and the mentalities of the people below the class of the highbrow ulama.[57]

(3) *Maqāmāt*: One of the most famous legends so typical of the "orientalist" approach to post-Saljuq literature is the often-told story that Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī (1214–87/1800–71) was drawn to the genre of *maqāmah* by de Sacy's edition of

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[53] *Bushrá al-Labīb bi-Dhikrá al-Ḥabīb;* his anthology of early Islamic poems of this genre entitled *Minaḥ al-Midaḥ* has been edited by 'Iffat Wiṣāl Ḥamzah (Damascus, 1407/1987).

[54] *Al-Mustaṭraf fī Kull Fann Mustaẓraf,* ed. Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ (Beirut, 1999).

[55] Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍarāt wa-al-Muḥāwarāt,* ed. Yaḥyá al-Jubūrī (Beirut, 1424/2003).

[56] Bauer, "Literarische Anthologien," 41–52 (no. 30k should be deleted from the list).

[57] See, with special reference to Yūsuf al-Mālikī's *Kanz al-Madfūn,* ibid., 28–36, and see also G. Canova, "Una pagina di *al-Kanz al-Madfūn* sugli uomini più illustri," in *Ultra mare: mélanges de langue arabe et d'islamologie offerts à Aubert Martin,* ed. Frédéric Bauden (Louvain, 2004), 93–107.

the *maqāmah*s of al-Ḥarīrī.[58] According to this legend, al-Yāzijī ″revived″ a classical Arabic genre, thus becoming a protagonist of the *nahḍah,* the ″revival″ of Arabic literature. In reality, however, there was nothing to revive, because there had been no death. Instead, al-Yāzijī must have been familiar with the *maqāmah* genre, because quite simply, there was a living and uninterrupted tradition of *maqāmah* literature from al-Hamadhānī right down to al-Yāzijī. In the colonialist view, however, the *maqāmah* tradition had to be hushed up (with the exceptions of al-Hamadhānī and al-Ḥarīrī) in order to present a picture of death and decadence. Ultimately, however, this view is no longer tenable, because in the interim the first (!) comprehensive presentation of *maqāmah* literature has appeared.[59] Its author Hämeen-Anttila has recorded 175 authors of *maqāmāt* between al-Ḥarīrī and al-Yāzijī.[60] Sixty of them belong to the Mamluk period,[61] but only a small portion of these *maqāmāt* is accessible in print,[62] and studies are lacking almost altogether. But we see that it is sometimes enough just to compile a simple list in order to refute prejudiced claims about Mamluk literature. This list also provides the necessary data for future research, which hopefully will not fail to materialize before too long. I am confident in this respect, since the *maqāmah* genre seems to be more attractive for modern scholars than poetry. At the present stage of research, an overview of the different types of the Mamluk *maqāmah* and their respective literary and social functions would be especially welcome. Still, a great number of relevant texts have not yet been edited, and so editions remain a major agenda in this field also.[63]

(4) *Inshā':* The next point on the list is *inshā',* the drawing up of official and private correspondence, official documents, notes, and related texts (such as prefaces to books) in elaborated and rhymed prose. And here again we have to cope with established Western assumptions. According to these standards, texts of an outright pragmatic nature, such as letters of appointment, are not considered to be proper literature. But Mamluk texts speak a different language. Texts in rhymed prose

[58]Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, ″1000 Years of Maqāmas: A List of Maqāma Authors,″ *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften* 13 (1999–2000): 244–315, here 244.

[59]Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqāma: A History of a Genre* (Wiesbaden, 2002).

[60]Ibid., 372–405; the number will increase if additional sources are considered (e.g., al-Muḥibbī, *Nafḥat al-Rayḥānah*).

[61]Ibid., nos. 66–123 (some of them do not belong to Mamluk literature in the sense of being the literature that was created within the borders of the Mamluk empire).

[62]Ibid., nos. 69, 75, 85, 89, 94, 97, 97bis, 98, 103, 112, 115, 116, 119.

[63]A recent edition is Ibrahim Kh. Geries, *A Literary and Gastronomical Conceit: Mufākharat al-Ruzz wa ´l-Ḥabb Rummān: The Boasting Debate Between Rice And Pomegranate Seeds Or al-Makāma al-Simāṭiyya (The Tablecloth Makāma)* (Wiesbaden, 2002).

are included in literary anthologies. Ibn Nubātah devotes a whole section of his *Maṭla' al-Fawā'id* to *inshā'*. His and Ibn Ḥijjah's travelogues are presented in the previously mentioned *Thamarāt al-Awrāq*. Furthermore, al-Ṣafadī's congratulatory note on the occasion of the Nile flood is even included in the popular anthology *Kanz al-Madfūn*. In several Mamluk *dīwān*s, such as the *Dīwān* of al-Qīrāṭī [26], poetry and *inshā'* are presented side by side without any real difference in status. Therefore, to understand Mamluk and Ottoman perceptions of *inshā',* new approaches to the aesthetics of literature must inevitably be developed, ones that will surmount the still current "Diskreditierung der Okkasionalität durch die Erlebnisästhetik."[64] But before this can be accomplished, philologists will have to do their job and provide us with an edition of the most important *inshā'* collections above and beyond al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ,* especially *Alḥān al-Sawāji' bayn al-Bādi' wa-al-Marāji'* by al-Ṣafadī [21], *Al-Saj' al-Muṭawwaq, Zahr al-Manthūr,* and *Ta'līq al-Dīwān* by Ibn Nubātah [22], and *Qahwat al-Inshā'* by Ibn Ḥijjah [33].[65]

(5) *Theory:* When we talk about *adab* of the Mamluk period, it is not out of place to discuss several texts that themselves claim to be about history or have to do with religion, whether in the form of, as Irwin aptly puts it, "literature of piety and rigorism," or in the form of Sufi literature.[66] There should be no objection to that because the boundaries of *adab* are fluid, anyway. But there is another vast field which indeed is part of *adab,* although it is usually omitted when talking about Mamluk literature. This is the field of *'Ulūm al-adab*. In the Mamluk period, the term *adab* was no longer primarily associated with the entertainment and education of *belles lettres,* but rather more closely with those scholarly disciplines that deal with the Arabic language. Many professional *udabā'* must have recognized that their most powerful justification for taking their rank among the ulama and their presence in the madrasahs lay in their theoretical preoccupation with philology and linguistics.

At a time in which everyone composed poetry, it is difficult to distinguish oneself by poetry alone. Of course, poets could distinguish themselves by composing better poetry than their contemporaries, but poets may have sought a more scholarly field to become on a par with the hadith and *fiqh* specialists. We should probably

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[64]H.-G. Gadamer; see W. Segebrecht, *Das Gelegenheitsgedicht: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Poetik der deutschen Lyrik* (Stuttgart, 1977), 56.

[65]A profound study on *inshā'* with special reference to *tashrīf* is Werner Diem, *Ehrendes Kleid und ehrendes Wort: Studien zu* Tašrīf *in mamlūkischer und vormamlūkischer Zeit* (Würzburg, 2002); an edition of the *Qahwat al-Inshā'* is in preparation by Rudulf Veselý: see Veselý, "Das *Taqrīẓ* in der arabischen Literatur," in *Die Mamluken,* ed. Conermann and Pistor-Hatam, 379–85.

[66]See, e.g., Irwin, "Mamluk Literature," 16–77 (history); 18 (magic); 23–25 ("literature of piety and rigorism"); 25–26 (Sufi literature).

locate the many complaints of Ibn Nubātah about his poverty and the low esteem in which poetry is held within this context. Of course, such complaints are a topos and are plainly contradicted by the overall presence and overwhelming social importance of poetry, and also by the fame and respect that Ibn Nubātah acquired during his lifetime. But it seems as if Ibn Nubātah had a different sort of appreciation in mind when he composed his aforementioned anthology *Maṭla‘ al-Fawā'id,* which, on a closer look, turns out to be a manifesto for the importance of the professional *adīb*. It shows that the *adīb* had his place in the madrasah as a scholar in the field of the propaedeutic linguistic disciplines; in the chancellery as specialist in *inshā',* and in a way also in everybody's home as an advisor in literary matters and as a supplier of poetic stuff. Therefore, the picture of *adab* is not complete if we do not regard the achievements of Mamluk *udabā'* in the fields of philology, linguistics, and rhetoric. Again, this is a vast field, and again, the Mamluk contribution to it is only superficially known. Thus all I can do here is to limit myself to a kind of name dropping. In the discipline of grammar, besides the great and well-known names such as Ibn Mālik, Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī [16], Ibn Hishām, and al-Suyūṭī [42], lesser-known figures ought not to be overlooked, such as Ibn Kaykaldī, the author of a recently-printed work on linguistic generalization and specification *(ṣiyagh al-‘umūm),* which is equally relevant for linguistics and *uṣūl al-fiqh.*[67] In the field of lexicography, we have the famous dictionaries by Ibn Manẓūr, al-Fayyūmī, and al-Fīrūzābādī with their respective merits, and we should not forget al-Suyūṭī's *Al-Muzhir fī ‘Ulūm al-Lughah wa-Anwā‘ihā* with its unconventional theoretical approach towards lexicography.

Much to our chagrin, the Arabs still displayed only minor interest in the Arabic lexicon of later periods and of substandard Arabic.[68] Therefore, the reader often encounters more lexical difficulties with Mamluk *zajal*s than with pre-Islamic odes. Those texts in which different registers of speech are mixed, such as the shadow-play and the *zajal,* especially still give Arabists a lot to do. Besides Dozy's indispensable *Supplément,* several studies on special terminological subjects (to mention only Ayalon's studies on administrative and military terminology) have been carried out, and many studies in cultural history treat lexicographical problems. However, a comprehensive dictionary that would give convenient access to our present knowledge is still lacking. I would like to call attention to the genres of dialect poetry such as the *zajal*. There are more of them than is commonly

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[67]Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Kaykaldī, *Talqīḥ al-Fuhūm fī Tanqīḥ Ṣiyagh al-‘Umūm,* and Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Aḥkām "Kull" wa-Mā ‘alayhi Tadull,* ed. ‘Alī Mu‘awwaḍ and ‘Ādil ‘Abd al-Mawjūd (Beirut, 1418/1997).

[68]I could find no further details about al-Bishbīshī's (d. 820/1417) *Al-Tadhyīl wa-al-Takmīl li-Mā Ustu‘mila min al-Lafẓ al-Dakhīl,* mentioned in *GAL,* 2:26, and possibly a forerunner of al-Khafājī's (d. 1069/1659) famous *Shifa' al-Ghalīl fīmā fī Kalām al-‘Arab min al-Dakhīl*.

assumed, and most of them are not written in imitation of Andalusian Arabic, but rather neatly reflect the dialects of Cairo and Damascus. A critical edition of these texts will also contribute to our knowledge of the Arabic language of the Mamluk period.

But let me return to Arab linguistics. The Mamluk era is a post-Sakkākian era. In the beginning of the seventh/thirteenth century, al-Sakkākī systematized the ingenious ideas of ʻAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī and thus revolutionized the Arab perception of language. His achievements have been superficially studied, and there is a German translation of the *ʻIlm al-Maʻānī* section of al-Sakkākī′s *Miftāḥ*[69] that also contains a useful terminological glossary. Still, however, the real importance of al-Sakkākī′s and his successors′ teachings has not yet been realized. Even a superficial glance in Ḥājjī Khalīfah′s *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* demonstrates that al-Sakkākī′s *Miftāḥ,* together with its revision and abbreviation by al-Qazwīnī, is one of the most influential and most studied books of the post-Saljuq Arabic world.[70] The three fields of *ʻilm al-bayān*, *ʻilm al-maʻānī,* and *ʻilm al-badīʻ* comprise subjects that are studied today under headings such as stylistics, rhetoric, semantics, and pragmatics. As far as the Mamluk production in these three fields is concerned, besides al-Khaṭīb al-Qazwīnī (d. 739/1338), the names of Ibn al-Zamlakānī (651/1253), Ibn Abī al-Iṣbaʻ (654/1256), and Badr al-Dīn ibn Mālik (686/1287) come to mind, none of them yet the subject of thorough study. In this regard, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṭībī (743/1343) should also be mentioned. He wrote an important book on *al-maʻānī wa-al-bayān,* but also tried to apply his results in the study of rhetoric to his commentary on hadith.[71]

One of the most comprehensive commentaries on al-Qazwīnī′s *Talkhīṣ* is the ″Bride of Happiness″ by Bahā' al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 773/1372).[72] In a book of this scale, the text of al-Qazwīnī′s précis provides for little more than the structure and the chapter headings. As a matter of fact, a book like that of Bahā' al-Dīn is an independent and critical work of rhetoric that contains many insights which can still enrich contemporary linguistics and communication theory.

Works dedicated in a more practical way to literary theory and criticism, as well as of rhetoric, often take the form of anthologies, to mention only the treatises

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[69]Udo G. Simon, *Mittelalterliche arabische Sprachbetrachtung zwischen Grammatik und Rhetorik: ʻilm al-maʻānī bei as-Sakkākī* (Heidelberg, 1993).

[70]See the statistics in my review of Simon, in *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 35 (1998): 86–90.

[71]*Sharḥ al-Ṭībī ʻalá Mishkāt al-Maṣābīḥ al-Musammá bi-al-Kāshif ʻan Ḥaqā'iq al-Sunan,* ed. ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd Hindāwī (Beirut, 1417/1997).

[72]Bahā' al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Subkī, *ʻArūs al-Afrāḥ fī Sharḥ Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ,* ed. Khalīl Ibrāhīm Khalīl (Beirut, 1422/2001).

on the stylistic devices of *jinās, tashbīh,* and *tawriyah* composed by al-Ṣafadī, Ibn Ḥijjah, and al-Suyūṭī. Several of them have been edited recently, among them al-Ṣafadī's book on comparison, containing interesting remarks on the neuropsychological background of literature.[73]

In addition to this monographic treatment of rhetoric, a new form of dealing with rhetoric appeared, the *badīʿīyah*, a poem, composed as a *muʿāraḍah* to al-Būṣīrī's *Burdah* in praise of the Prophet, in which each line exemplifies one or more stylistic devices. This curious mixture between poetry, theory, and piety (invented by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī [18]) has been utterly misunderstood by its modern critics, who complain that *badīʿīyāt* are neither profound theoretical texts nor emotionally overwhelming literary works of art, nor even deeply felt expressions of religious feelings. But they fail to understand that the fascination of the *badīʿīyah* is exactly the fact that it represents so much all at once! Thus far, twenty-five authors of *badīʿīyāt* from the Mamluk period are known, with each of their texts displaying its own characteristics. Studies are almost totally lacking.[74] From a literary point of view, the most beautiful *badīʿīyah* is probably the poem composed by ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah [43]. More interesting from a theoretical point of view are those *badīʿīyāt* that were accompanied by a commentary plus an anthology. The only Mamluk representative of this sort of text is Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī's [33] *Khizānat al-Adab,* which is one of our most important sources for thinking about literature and rhetoric from the Mamluk period.[75] There are two mediocre editions of this book, but a critical and indexed edition of this key text is a strong desideratum. Equally important would be studies on the actual usage of rhetorical devices in the texts of Mamluk authors in order to establish the relation between theory and practice in this vast field.[76]

To sum up, the Mamluk period is one of the apogees of Arabic literature, displaying an extremely broad, lively, and vital literary culture—as every unprejudiced observer

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[73]See the review by Everett Rowson in *MSR* 8, no. 1 (2004): 315–23.

[74]ʿAlī Abū Zayd, *Al-Badīʿīyāt fī al-Adab al-ʿArabī: Nashʾatuhā, Taṭawwuruhā, Atharuhā* (Beirut, 1403/1983); Pierre Cachia, "From Sound to Echo in Late *badīʿ* Literature," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 108 (1988): 219–25; idem, *The Arch Rhetorician or The Schemer's Skimmer: A Handbook of Late Arabic* badīʿ *drawn from ʿAbd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī's* Nafaḥāt al-Azhār ʿalā Nasamāt al-Asḥār (Wiesbaden, 1998); Bauer, "Die *badīʿiyya* Nāṣīf al-Yāziǧīs."

[75]The book was so popular that even an edition based exclusively on manuscripts preserved in Syria can be considered a major step towards making accessible one of the most important sources for Mamluk literary culture: Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī, *Khizānat al-Adab wa-Ghāyat al-Arab* (Beirut, 1421/2001; 2nd ed. 1425/2005).

[76]Geert Jan van Gelder, "Poetry for Easy Listening: *Insijām* and Related Concepts in Ibn Ḥijjah's *Khizānat al-Adab*," *MSR* 7, [no. 1] (2003): 31–48.

surely will concede. During the two and a half centuries of the Mamluk period, its literati composed some veritable masterpieces of Arabic literature, many interesting and original works of literature, literary theory, and rhetoric, as well as countless less remarkable works of everyday poetry, which, despite its lack of originality, reflects an interest in literature and a linguistic consciousness. And Mamluk literature is fascinating because it transcends boundaries: the boundaries between everyday and literary communication; between popular and high literature; between poetry and prose; between the private and the public; between theory and praxis. Colonial delusions have thus far prevented a proper appreciation of this culture. It is high time now to critically investigate and question these prejudices and erroneous assumptions and to open up new ways to a better understanding of the fascinating world of Mamluk literature.

Some Major Poets and *Udabā'* of the Mamluk Empire

			poetry	*anthol.*	*maqāmah*	*inshā'*	*theory*
1	Ibn Qurnāṣ	671/1272	■		■		
2	al-Talla'farī	675/1277	■				
3	Ibn Ghānim al-Maqdisī	678/1279	■		■		
4	al-Jazzār	679/1281	■				
5	Mujīr al-Dīn Ibn Tamīm	684/1285	■				
6	al-Shābb al-Ẓarīf	688/1289	■		■		
7	Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir	692/1292	■			■	
8	al-Būṣīrī	c. 694/1294	■				
9	Ibn Dānyāl	710/1310	■		■		
10	al-Maḥḥār	711/1311	■				
11	al-Wadā'ī	716/1316	■	■		■	■
12	Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Ṣā'igh	725/1325	■		■		■
13	al-Shihāb Maḥmūd (Ibn Fahd)	725/1325	■	■	■	■	
14	al-Nuwayrī	733/1332		■		■	■
15	Ibn Sayyid al-Nās	734/1334	■	■	■		
16	Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī	745/1344	■				■
17	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī	749/1349	■	■		■	
18	Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī	749/1348	■	■	■		■
19	Ibrāhīm al-Mi'mār	749/1348	■		■		
20	Ibn al-Wardī	749/1349	■		■		
21	al-Ṣafadī	764/1363	■	■	■	■	■
22	Ibn Nubātah	768/1366	■	■	■	■	■
23	Ibn Abī Ḥajalah	776/1375	■	■	■		
24	Ibn Ḥabīb	779/1377	■	■	■		
25	Ibn Jābir al-Andalusī al-A'má	780/1378	■				■
26	al-Qīrāṭī	781/1379	■	■		■	
27	'Izz al-Dīn al-Mawṣilī	789/1387	■				■
28	Ibn Makānis	794/1392	■				
29	al-Ghuzūlī	815/1412	■	■			
30	al-Qalqashandī	821/1418	■	■	■	■	■
31	(Ibn) al-Damāmīnī	827/1424	■	■	■	■	■

Some Major Poets and *Udabā’* of the Mamluk Empire

			poetry	*anthol.*	*maqāmah*	*inshā’*	*theory*
32	al-Āthārī	828/1425					
33	Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī	837/1434					
34	al-Ibshīhī	c. 850/1446					
35	Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī	852/1449					
36	al-Nawājī	859/1455					
37	Ibn Sūdūn al-Bashbughāwī	868/1464					
38	Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥijāzī	875/1470					
39	Ibn al-Hā’im al-Shihāb al-Manṣūrī	887/1482					
40	al-Badrī	894/1489					
41	Tāj al-Dīn Ibn ‘Arabshāh	901/1495					
42	al-Suyūṭī	911/1505					
43	‘Ā’ishah al-Bā’ū‘nīyah	922/1516					

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Popular Culture under the Mamluks: A Historiographical Survey

There is something apparently appealing about the topic of popular culture. Perhaps the appeal lies in the riotous nature of the festivals in which popular culture was frequently expressed. The medieval ulama critics who chose to address popular religious and cultic practices of which they disapproved described them in almost rapturous detail, dwelling at sometimes astounding length on transvestitism, games of sexual inversion, bacchanalia—of all of which, of course, they disapproved. Their disapproval may or may not be shared by contemporary historians, but we do seem to love to dwell on it. This is not, perhaps, surprising. What early twenty-first-century historian, having just plowed his or her way through one of those endless passages in the chronicles about the price of bread, or about the relative value of one copper coin or another, or about which deputy qadi resigned his office and was replaced by another—what twenty-first century-historian could fail to be intrigued by the violent expostulation of Ibn al-Ḥājj against the muleteers who helped guide female visitors to the Qarāfah around the tombs, furtively leading them to abandoned cells and dark corners on moonlit nights, chatting them up in a place which should inspire feelings of religious awe and thoughts of eternal damnation, and sliding their mischievous hands over the thighs of the unsuspecting—or perhaps the all-too-suspecting—women?[1]

Whatever the reason, popular culture has, directly or indirectly, been the subject of much research in recent years.[2] It should be acknowledged at the outset that cultural historians of the Mamluk period owe a great deal to those social historians who have described the social structures of medieval Egypt and Syria over the last four decades. The publication of Ira Lapidus′ study of *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* was a turning point for everyone working in the field of medieval Islamic social and cultural history, but it has been supplemented by important works such as Louis Pouzet′s book on religious life in Damascus, Jean-Claude Garcin′s important study of a provincial Egyptian town, and Carl Petry′s analysis of the *Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*.[3] These works provide the

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[1]Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal al-Shar‘ al-Sharīf* (Cairo, 1929), 1:267–68.

[2]One of the first significant works was that of Barbara Langner, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Volkskunde Ägyptens nach mamlukischen Quellen* (Berlin, 1983).

[3]Ira Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1967); Louis Pouzet, *Damas au VIIe/XIIIe siècle: vie et structures religieuses d′une métropole islamique* (Beirut, 1988);

necessary foundation for any analytical investigation of popular culture in the period. In particular, they have provided us with a clear understanding of the character of the ulama and their authority. This is especially important, both because the ulama will figure prominently as arbiters of cultural practices, and also because their peculiar function in Islamic societies is one of the most important features distinguishing those societies from, say, those of medieval Europe. Special mention should also be made of what appears to be a distinctive sub-topic of the field of Mamluk social history: namely, the character and function of crowds in Mamluk society. Again, Ira Lapidus initiated this line of research, but it has been continued in more focused studies by others.[4] What emerges from these studies is a view of crowds consisting of ad hoc assemblages of common people articulating specific grievances against ruling authorities, very often the market inspector. Significantly, however, these crowds seem to have lacked any propensity to embrace a political vision completely dismissive of the existing order—on the contrary, they occasionally expressed a rather conservative support for the legitimacy of the status quo. That nuanced relationship between the common people and the Mamluk authorities, with crowds willing to express frustration on particular issues but reluctant to pose a structural challenge to existing patterns of authority, may foreshadow a similar complexity in the character of popular culture.

Despite the attention the topic has received in recent years, the historian must first consider the question: ″Does popular culture exist?″ The question is not an idle one, particularly if the historian of the Near East hopes to participate in the broader historiographical discourse that until now has taken place largely among European historians. The issue, of course, is not whether the ″people,″ that is, social groups beyond a social or cultural elite, had ″culture.″ Rather, the central issue might be phrased this way: is there a stratum of cultural activity and production that is self-consciously distinct from that of the elite, and which is produced independently from, or even in opposition to, elite culture?[5]

For all that historians of the Near East, to overcome our deeply-rooted sense of methodological inferiority, might wish to meet the challenge of European historians on their own rarefied turf, it is important to recognize the distinctiveness

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Jean-Claude Garcin, *Un centre musulman de la Haute-Égypte médiévale, Qūṣ* (Cairo, 1976); Carl Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1981).

[4]Boaz Shoshan, ″Grain Riots and the ′Moral Economy′: Cairo, 1350–1517,″ *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 10 (1979–80): 459–78; James Grehan, ″Street Violence and Social Imagination in Late-Mamluk and Ottoman Damascus (ca. 1500–1800),″ *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35 (2003): 215–36.

[5]For a review of the literature in European history, see Natalie Zemon Davis, ″From ′Popular Religion′ to Religious Culture,″ in *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research,* ed. Steven Ozment (St. Louis, 1982), 321–41.

of Islamic societies. They are structured differently than, say, European societies, and consequently questions about cultural transmission and the social frameworks that make that transmission possible will necessarily be different, as will the character of the sources available to the historian. A festival such as that of Nawrūz, celebrated by medieval Egyptians apparently with some abandon despite the disapproval of various religious and secular authorities, displays plenty of parallels to the saturnalia and carnivals of misrule that colored the late medieval and early modern European scene; but noting the parallels takes us only part of the way down the road of understanding the specific historical significance of the festival.[6] This is a point which, in a slightly different context, Michael Chamberlain made convincingly in his excellent book on *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus* in the late Ayyubid and early Mamluk period.[7] It would be delightful to find an Islamic Montaillou, a French village whose inhabitants′ controversial religious beliefs and practices Emmanuel Leroy Ladurie famously brought to light, or a medieval Muslim artisan whose unconventional cosmological convictions could be elucidated like those of the Italian miller studied by Carlo Ginzburg.[8] It would be silly, however, to wait for studies which, given the nature of the source material, probably will never emerge. Better, as Chamberlain demonstrated, simply to work with the sources we are given. From them, in fact, much can be said, if we pose questions that are appropriate and relevant to a medieval Islamic society.

So: Was there such a thing as ″popular culture″ in Egypt and Syria during the Mamluk period? There have been at least two distinct answers to this question in recent literature on the subject. One is that of Boaz Shoshan, who tackled the issue directly in his study of *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo.* Shoshan was sympathetic to the arguments of European historians that it is misleading to think of ″popular culture″ as something distinct from the culture of elites. In the Islamic Middle East, of course, that distinction may be even harder to draw, since the lines separating one social group from another were, in general, more porous than they were in medieval Europe. Nonetheless, Shoshan considered the concept of ″popular culture″ analytically useful, in so far as it pointed to ″genres of ′texts′, both written and non-written . . . , which, despite their unavoidably uncertain

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[6]See Boaz Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo* (Cambridge, 1993), 40–51, and my review in *American Historical Review* 100 (1995): 1637.

[7]Cambridge, 1994.

[8]*Montaillou: Cathars and Catholics in a French Village, 1294–1324*, trans. Barbara Bray (London, 1978); *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*, trans. John and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore, 1980). Boaz Shoshan actually found such an Islamic miller, but the sources were far too limited in nature to allow a study similar to Ginzburg′s; ″On Popular Literature in Medieval Cairo,″ *Poetics Today* 14 (1993): 349–65.

boundaries, provide safe bases for analysis as primarily popular″—that is, which are in some way the preserve of social groups ″inferior to the bourgeoisie.″ (Shoshan actually went further and suggested that these social groups were ″supposedly also illiterate, at least by and large.″ That is probably a slightly more problematic assertion, since illiteracy can take different forms and can be found in different degrees, particularly in an Islamic society where some familiarity with the Quran and other religious texts was so highly valued, and since the task of measuring illiteracy in a pre-modern Islamic society is daunting.)[9]

A second answer to the underlying question is considerably more skeptical that the designation ″popular culture″ has any serviceable meaning. Some scholars, following perhaps the dominant trend in European historiography, have been deeply suspicious of conventional ″two-tiered″ models of culture, setting, for example, ″high″ or ″elite″ culture against ″low″ or ″popular″ culture. If E. H. Carr was right, that all history is in the final analysis contemporary history, then it is likely that this line of analysis stems at least in part from the suspicion of hierarchies which is endemic in our contemporary *zeitgeist,* or at least in the *zeitgeist* dominant within academic circles. It also perhaps reflects the extraordinary influence of the work of Peter Brown, the pre-eminent historian of religious culture in late antiquity, an influence that derives both from its sheer intellectual force and also from the particular academic ″genealogies″ of many historians in our field. Whatever its origins, this suspicion of a ″high-low″ model of medieval Islamic culture has been enthusiastically embraced by several historians in important recent works. Ahmet Karamustafa, for example, argued strongly against seeing the practices of the Qalandarīyah and other odd or antinomian Sufi groups as in any sense a manifestation of a ″popular religion,″ and insisted instead that they should be viewed as normal and natural outgrowths of mainstream Sufi values and principles.[10] Christopher Taylor′s study of the *ziyārat al-qubūr* in medieval Cairo makes similar points. He argues in the first place that the visitation of tombs was a ″liminal″ practice and the cemeteries a liminal space, in which conventional social distinctions and hierarchies broke down. Secondly, he points out that those religious scholars who opposed the practice did not by any stretch of the imagination represent a consistent ulama voice, and so it is difficult if not impossible to identify what would constitute the ″high″ end of a two-tiered cultural model. Ibn Taymīyah, for instance, famously opposed the cult of saints and visitation of tombs, or at least certain aspects of them; but his arguments grew more out of specific theological concerns than any

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[9]Shoshan, *Popular Culture,* 7.

[10]Ahmet Karamustafa, *God′s Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period, 1200–1550* (Salt Lake City, 1994).

generalized suspicion of ″popular culture.″[11] (And to complete the confusion, of course, Ibn Taymīyah′s tomb became an object of pilgrimage after his death.)

These two historiographical positions are not perhaps mutually exclusive. It may be possible to accept that there is a cultural stratum which can meaningfully be called ″popular,″ while at the same time agreeing with Karamustafa, Taylor, and others that the two-tiered model is inadequate and misleading, especially in a medieval Islamic context.[12] Without trying to resolve the question in any definitive way, I will attempt in this article to outline the parameters of the issue and how the topic of ″popular culture″ has been and could yet be productively approached. Much of the following discussion will necessarily focus specifically on religious culture.

Some evidence for a distinctive ″popular culture″ can be found in the character of the surviving historical sources themselves. While the historian of Mamluk society mostly lacks certain types of sources that have been the bread and butter of European medievalists—archives, for example, or documentary sources—in broader terms the period is extremely rich in terms of the material available for its reconstruction. Some of these materials—chronicles, biographical dictionaries—are of course widely familiar. For all of their familiarity, they still can, when approached creatively, yield new insights, as demonstrated so clearly by Chamberlain′s book. But the literary foundation on which Mamluk history has largely been constructed has been described as ″deceptively firm.″[13] That is, there exist in the libraries of the Near East, Europe, and North America vast quantities of texts still in manuscript form, many of them of apparently quite a different character than the more polished and familiar works of al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, and others. These sources need to be surveyed more thoroughly—especially in terms of their authorship, and in terms of their role in the cultural life of medieval Egyptians and Syrians—before any adequate reckoning can be made of the character and scope of ″popular culture.″

These new or underutilized historical sources vary widely in character. Among them, of course, are the by now famous *waqfīyah*s of Cairo. Their value to the cultural historian is, strictly speaking, somewhat indirect, but nonetheless important. They have proven valuable for reconstructing the history of certain areas of economic

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[11]Christopher S. Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous: Ziyāra and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt* (Leiden, 1999). Cf. Muhammad Umar Memon, *Ibn Taimīya′s Struggle Against Popular Religion* (The Hague, 1976), 46–57. See also Boaz Shoshan′s critique of this viewpoint in his review of Taylor′s book, *IJMES* 32 (2000): 543–46.

[12]Certainly that is what I tried to suggest in my own recent study of ″popular″ preachers and storytellers. Jonathan P. Berkey, *Popular Preaching and the Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East* (Seattle, 2001).

[13]Ibid., 10.

life, as in the works of Carl Petry and Adam Sabra. In his recent book on poverty and charity in Mamluk Cairo, for example, Sabra used the *waqfīyah*s to begin to elucidate certain aspects of the economic and social life of those who—if popular culture exists—produced and consumed it.[14] But in the end the *waqfīyah*s are a limited source. A richer vein for the historian of popular culture lies in the vast array of unpublished, even uncataloged manuscripts of a religious nature in the major libraries in Egypt and Europe. On this score it is worth drawing special attention to the most recent, and mostly still unpublished work of Christopher Taylor, who has begun a more systematic survey of prayer manuals, *fatwá* collections, and various other religious texts, all of them outside the well-traveled mainstream of Mamluk-era literature, from the collection in Dār al-Kutub in Cairo.

It was not perhaps exactly the literature that he had in mind, but some evidence for Shoshan′s position can perhaps be gleaned from the literature of popular entertainment. The Mamluk period was an exceptionally fruitful period for the production of literary works such as the *Thousand and One Nights*, the *Sīrat ʻAntar,* and the *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars*. These texts pose very difficult questions of origin—the question of ″authorship″ is really not even relevant—but there are plenty of indications that the Islamic Middle Period was a critical one for the crystallization of identifiable (if not definitive) versions of them. The *Sīrat ʻAntar,* for instance, concerns the exploits of a pre-Islamic hero, and there are references to ʻAntar in very early Islamic sources. But the versions in which the romance is now known contain numerous references to much later events and persons, including European Crusaders. Moreover, the earliest known more-or-less complete narrative of ʻAntar′s life is found in a manuscript dating from 1466.[15] If dating these entertainments is difficult, so is assigning them to a particular literary genre, since they must at all times have circulated (especially in oral form) in widely different circumstances. Since E. W. Lane′s popular nineteenth-century *Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians,* however, it has been common to see them as the preserve of popular storytellers, reading or reciting the romances to largely illiterate audiences in coffeehouses and on street corners.[16] By itself, that view may perhaps place unfair or unnecessary limits on our understanding of these complex texts, but it certainly reflects one aspect of their manifestation in

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[14]Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Cairo, 1250–1517* (Cambridge, 2000).

[15]B. Heller, ″ʻAntar, Sīrat,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 1:518–21; Peter Heath, *The Thirsty Sword: Sīrat ʻAntar and the Arabic Popular Epic* (Salt Lake City, 1996), esp. 27–30.

[16]See E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 5th ed. (London, 1860), 414–15.

medieval society. Complaints by figures representing the cultural elite about how these texts circulated among the *ʿāmmah*, about how popular storytellers fabricated false and distracting tales to the delight of their ignorant audiences, provide a sort of backhanded confirmation of the independence of this popular voice.[17] Students of storytellers and reciters of epics in contemporary Egypt have also stressed the agency of the storytellers themselves: that is, that they are not simply transmitters to common people of texts originally produced for or among elite groups, but actively shape the stories they tell in response to their own experiences and those of their audience. Of course we cannot assume that contemporary practice necessarily reflects that of the Mamluk period, but it does at least support the case for a distinctive cultural stratum which, as Shoshan put it, ″provide[s] safe bases for analysis as primarily popular.″[18]

If there is such a thing as popular culture, then it must be predicated upon some sort of hierarchy: that which is popular is that which is common, and its opposite is the preserve of some elite or elites. At least in general terms, the underlying social distinction is perhaps that which medieval Muslim writers themselves made in separating the *ʿāmmah* from the *khāṣṣah*. Those terms are not terribly precise—it may, for example, be slightly more difficult to identify who was an *ʿāmmī* than who was, say, a serf in a medieval European village. And more generally, the hierarchies that characterized medieval Islamic societies—at least those distinguishing indigenous social groups, as opposed to that separating the Mamluks from the locals—were more flexible and porous than those of medieval Europe. But the fact that the hierarchies were more flexible, or the underlying social categories more porous, does not mean that they were less important. On the contrary, their very flexibility may have made the matter of preserving them more important to those who benefited from them.

This was certainly the case with the religious elite, the ulama. Lacking precise institutional mechanisms for consolidating their authority, they relied instead upon a variety of social and ideological tools. Among the latter was the important distinction between that which was *sunnah,* accepted normative tradition, and that which was *bidʿah,* unacceptable innovation. Of course, the Islamic discourse over innovations was very old and very complex, and not all jurists felt that all innovations were to be eschewed. But hostility to *bidʿah* was a common discursive theme amongst Mamluk-period scholars. Of them, Ibn al-Ḥājj is the most colorful, and consequently he is perhaps the most cited Mamluk-period author on the subject of popular culture—indeed, so pervasive is his presence in the historiography of the field that the study of popular culture in the Mamluk period might more accurately

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[17] Shoshan, ″On Popular Literature,″ esp. 353.

[18] See Bridget Connelly, *Arab Folk Epic and Identity* (Berkeley, 1986).

be called the study of Ibn al-Ḥājj. But in fact he was hardly alone or unusual in warning his readers against the perils of unlawful innovations; his concerns were shared by many writers from amongst the ulama. Their discursive attack on innovations served as one means of affirming their authority in the face of practices, many of them associated with suspect festivals such as the Prophet′s birthday and the new year celebrations of Nawrūz, which were popular among those the ulama writers dismissed as the *ʿāmmah.*[19]

The attack on innovations was part of a broader effort on the part of the ulama elite to defend their authority in the face of challenges to it which, from the viewpoint of the leading scholars themselves, might be said to have ″bubbled up from below.″ These challenges took different forms. On one end of the spectrum was the group known as the *muwallahūn,* who might be described generously as marginal holy men, who lampooned the rituals and pretensions of the ulama, by living in rubbish heaps, or wearing dirty clothes, or urinating in their robes, and generally indulging in behavior which was, at least superficially, both anti-social and contemptuous of *sharʿī* norms. Such individuals, however, were so far beyond the pale that, as has been argued, their transgression of the ″normal order″ served paradoxically to reaffirm it, and to affirm the dominant role of the leading ulama in the production of knowledge and in putting it to social use.[20] A less dramatic but more serious threat was posed by those preachers and storytellers who, operating independently, sometimes in mosques and sometimes on street corners, and catering to a primarily non-elite audience, transmitted to their listeners a body of religious knowledge that, from the standpoint of the ulama, was of dubious legitimacy: unsubstantiated hadith, for example, or popular but suspect stories of the pre-Islamic prophets. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, in his attack on these miscreant storytellers, understood their authority to derive directly from their relationship with the common people. He was moved to write his treatise, he says, after being humiliated by a storyteller whose authority and learning he had challenged. When Suyūṭī had suggested to the man that he should check the authenticity of the hadith he recited with recognized scholars in the field, the storyteller had reacted with rage. ″You expect me to verify my hadith with the scholars? Rather,″ he said, ″I will verify them with the people [*al-nās*].″[21] What these storytellers represented was a challenge to the authority of the ulama, not simply or even primarily because of the *content*

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[19]For a survey of this literature, see Jonathan Berkey, ″Tradition, Innovation and the Social Construction of Knowledge in the Medieval Islamic Near East,″ *Past and Present* 146 (1995): 38–65, and Maribel Fierro, ″The Treatises Against Innovations (*kutub al-bidʿa*),″ *Der Islam* 69 (1992): 204–46.

[20]Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice,* 130f.

[21]Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥdhīr al-Khawāṣṣ min Akādhīb al-Quṣṣāṣ* (Beirut, 1972), 4.

of what they transmitted to the common people, but because the texts and stories they transmitted they had acquired outside the channels—such as personal training with a reputable teacher, attested by an *ijāzah*—which defined the ulama′s authority.[22]

In the challenge posed to the ulama by purveyors of knowledge and culture such as the storytellers and popular preachers, we can locate a cultural stratum which is in some meaningful sense ″popular.″ While they did not use the term popular culture, many medieval ulama at least *thought* that they were conducting a rear-guard action against threats to the integrity of Islam posed by cultural attitudes and practices associated with the common people, the *ʿāmmah*—that is, *they* perceived a distinct popular culture and the threat it posed. At the same time, it is important to remember that, when we survey the cultural scene through a lens broader than the narrow ideological one of scholars such as Ibn al-Ḥājj, what we perceive is less a bipolar cultural world than a rich and complex one, in which various cultural attitudes and practices cannot be assigned unambiguously to one end of the spectrum or another. This has been the dominant theme embraced by cultural historians of the Mamluk period over the last decade or two. At one end of the spectrum, we encounter men and women from diverse social backgrounds—not just scholars or scholars in training, but common folk, men and women, and Mamluks— participating actively and meaningfully in the transmission of Islamic religious knowledge, of the texts in which that knowledge is embedded.[23] At the other, we meet perfectly reputable and elite jurists such as Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī who, as Christopher Taylor has amply demonstrated, mounted a vigorous defense of popular practices such as the visitation of tombs from *within* the mainstream Islamic tradition. Even Ibn al-Ḥājj morosely admitted that ulama could be found indulging in various popular religious practices of which he disapproved, such as participating in festivals associated with non-Muslims.[24]

One forum in which the various strands of culture, elite and popular, came together and mingled fruitfully was, of course, Sufism, a topic in Mamluk cultural history which has probably been addressed more thoroughly than any other. In addition to an enormous and comprehensive survey of late Mamluk Sufism in all of its organizational, institutional, and theological forms,[25] we have now a plethora of more focused studies on particular saints, orders, and institutions. It sometimes

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[22]Berkey, *Popular Preaching,* passim.

[23]Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton, 1992).

[24]See, for example, Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 2:4–7 and 141–43.

[25]Éric Geoffroy, *Le soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie sous les derniers Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans: Orientations spirituelles et enjeux culturels* (Damascus, 1995).

seems as though the category of ideas and practices labeled ″Sufi″ has become so broad as to be almost meaningless; but until a more precise vocabulary of scholarship is formed, we must continue to use it.

Sufism was an unmistakably ″popular″ cultural phenomenon. Developments within Sufism during and around the Mamluk period contributed to the increase in the number of those Muslims who would identify themselves in some way as ″Sufis″: the proliferation of *khānqāh*s and other Sufi institutions, for example, and the crystallization of the ″orders″ *(ṭuruq,* sing. *ṭarīqah)* as objects of Sufi affiliation. Michael Winter has suggested that, in a way, by the later Middle Period Sufism had for many supplanted the study of hadith as a cherished pious activity open to virtually any Muslim. Not, of course, that the transmission of hadith had died out—on the contrary, large public recitations of some of the principal collections of prophetic traditions remained a prominent feature in the religious landscape. But as Winter put it, the recitation of hadith ″lost its place to Sufism as the sphere in Islam where a ruler, an *ʿālim,* or a commoner could request a personal, or least a partially creative and active participation in religion.″[26]

But here again, we perceive an ambiguity in what, culturally speaking, popular Sufism involved and implied. Part of the appeal of Sufism lay in the fact that, as Winter suggested, it provided a forum in which non-elite voices could be heard addressing and contributing to religious life. Hence, for example, those occasional women identified as *shaykhah*s, serving in leadership roles within various Sufi groups, and about whom we would like to know much more. Hence, too, the figure of the *shaykh ummī,* the ″illiterate″ or more precisely (since not all of them were really *illiterate*) the ″unlettered″ Sufi master, who typically came from a humble background, who lacked much if anything in the way of a systematic education, but who nonetheless claimed an authority based on his access to religious knowledge via dreams or visions, or more vaguely through his ″heart.″[27] More generally, religious practices which may or may not have been technically ″Sufi″ but which nonetheless shared Sufism′s emphasis upon a cult of personality focusing on holy men and women, such as the practice of visiting the tombs of the dead, provided scope for the articulation of the religious concerns of the common people. One cannot, for example, read the stories told about the miraculous intercession of ″saints″ buried in the cemeteries of Cairo to relieve the hunger, or illness, or fear of those who visited them in their tombs, without recognizing in them an expression of the religious concerns, priorities, and world-view of the ″common people.″[28]

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[26]Michael Winter, *Society and Religion in Early Ottoman Egypt: Studies in the Writings of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1982).

[27]See Winter, *Society and Religion,* 192–95, and Geoffroy, *Le soufisme,* 299–307.

[28]Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous,* 130–54.

More pointedly, there is evidence that Sufism became a channel for embracing magic and the occult, and for a recasting of popular thaumaturgical expectations in Muslim garb, aspects of the mystical life which certainly made Sufism, or at least some Sufis, the target of the ulama's wrath.[29]

But Sufism did not speak with a single voice, and if it allowed the common people to articulate their religious vision and concerns, it could also serve to reinforce the authority among them of the ulama. In the first place, of course, Sufism was not simply popular with the common people. Sufi affiliations became common among the leading ulama, even among those most inclined to criticize certain aspects of Sufi ritual and behavior, such as Ibn Taymīyah and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah. Even more telling are those rural Sufis studied by Jean-Claude Garcin, who constitute a reminder that "popular culture" need not always oppose itself to elite culture. These figures were held in considerable esteem by their neighbors, very often, however, not because they represented in the eyes of their beholders any sort of popular resistance to dominant Islamic authorities, but precisely because they were taken as models of the pious Muslim living in accordance with *shar'ī* norms. *Popular* Sufis may thus have been quite "normal"—that is, Muslim in a very conventional, shari'ah-oriented way, providing a level of basic education to the common folk who followed them, even undertaking the Quranic injunction to "command the good and forbid the evil."[30] By contrast, the outlandish, antinomian behavior of groups like the Qalandarīyah was not limited in either origin or appeal to lower social strata, despite efforts by some medieval writers to make precisely that connection as a way of discrediting them; on the contrary, there is evidence that many of those most drawn to such movements were young dissenters from within the various social elites.[31]

There are several other important themes connected with the study of popular culture in the Mamluk period which are worth mentioning, in part because they may yet contain considerable scope for further investigation. The first is that of intercession. Intercession, of course, is at first glance more a topic of social or

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[29]See, for example, J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford, 1971), 27–28 and 199–200; Winter, *Society and Religion,* 172–76; Shoshan, *Popular Culture,* 18–22. Michael Winter in particular has insisted on a persistent tension between Sufis and juristically-oriented scholars, the *fuqahā'*. See *Society and Religion,* esp. 230–36.

[30]Jean-Claude Garcin, "Histoire et hagiographie de l'Égypte musulmane à la fin de l'époque mamelouke et au début de l'époque ottomane," in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron*, vol. 2, *Égypte post-pharaonique* (Cairo, 1979), 287–316, esp. 293–96 [reprinted in *Espaces, pouvoirs, et idéologies de l'Egypte médiévale* (Variorum, 1987)]; Leonor Fernandes, "Some Aspects of the *Zāwiya* in Egypt at the Eve of the Ottoman Conquest," *Annales islamologiques* 19 (1983): 9–17.

[31]Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends,* 5–10 and 93.

even political history, but it may offer some chance at investigating the complex place of popular culture in Mamluk society. The importance of intercession in this society is of course well known. The intercession to be sought from the Prophet or respected holy men and women was the foundation of the cult of the saints and the visitation of the tombs, and provided a cultural forum in which Muslims of very different social strata might meet and participate in a common activity. More practically, Sufis became prominent over the course of the Mamluk period as intercessors, both with God and with secular powers. Theirs was not so much a comprehensive political threat, since there is little evidence they held any grand political ambitions; but they did seek in various ways to ameliorate the lives of the common people. Their power was very real, if Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī is to be believed—he ascribed the defeat of Sultan al-Ghūrī to the ruler's quarrel with a popular shaykh—and judging by the Mamluks' own frequenting of these shaykhs, the perception of their power was widely shared. Al-Ghūrī himself is a case in point, since his respect for Sufi shaykhs led him (to no avail, apparently) to take the shaykh of the Badawīyah order with him to Syria on his last campaign. (By contrast, he had earlier offered his police a reward for every drunken *faqīh* they could find.)[32] What intercession offers is a way of measuring the precise social and political consequences of cultural ideas, practices, and the individuals engaged in them *in the specific context of Mamluk society*—that is, a way of studying popular culture in a framework that makes specific sense for the medieval Islamic world, and that does not rely on categories or insights drawn from European history.

A second promising theme is that of religious syncretism—the degree, that is, to which Jewish, Christian, and Muslim ideas, texts, attitudes and practices may have influenced one another. This constituted a consuming worry of people such as Ibn al-Ḥājj and Ibn Taymīyah—the concern, that is, that Islam might be corrupted by its adherents adopting and participating in practices associated with the infidels in their midst. The need to draw sharp boundaries between the faith communities was an old concern in Muslim discourse. Given the conditions of medieval life, with reduced but still significant populations of Jews and especially Christians living alongside Muslims, the opportunities for the sharing of religious ideas and practices were legion. This made it all the more necessary to draw firm cultural and psychological lines between them, especially with regard to the seductive appeal of religious festivals. "Participation with [the *dhimmī*s] in their festivals

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[32]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr,* 3rd ed. (Cairo, 1984), 5:85–86; Winter, *Society and Religion,* 19, 100. On Sufi shaykh*s* and the ruling elites more generally, see Fernandes, "Some Aspects of the *Zāwiya*;" Jean-Claude Garcin, "Deux saints populaires du Caire au début du xvi[e] siècle," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 29 (1977): 131–43; Geoffroy, *Le soufisme*, 120–28.

wholly or partly is synonymous with participation with them in unbelief wholly or partly," Ibn Taymīyah said. Indeed, "festivals are that which most particularly serves to differentiate one religious law from another and constitute their most prominent symbols."[33] One can understand, perhaps, Ibn al-Ḥājj's horror at the behavior of Muslims who participated in the sort-of Coptic, but decidedly non-Muslim festival of Nawrūz, when they would (among other things) drink wine, or indulge in a sort of wet tee-shirt contest. If a professor in a school had the temerity to try to hold a lesson on that day, his students might pounce upon him, and throw him into the institution's fountain.[34] Less dramatic, perhaps, but more remarkable are the details given by Ibn al-Ḥājj and others of Muslim participation in specifically Christian festivals, including Christmas and Easter. Given the shrill character of the ulama's expressed fears, it is surprising that the question of syncretism, which would seem to be so potentially rich a topical area, has not received more explicit attention from contemporary historians. Taylor's study of the *ziyārat al-qubūr* took note of the importance of the question, especially with regard to the cult of the saints, but left it for later and fuller investigation.[35] Joseph Meri's recent book on the cult of the saints in medieval Syria does include a study of the Jewish as well the Muslim cult, and takes note of a number of pilgrimage sites which were common to adherents of the two faiths, such as the shrine of Ezekiel in Iraq. Jews and Muslims, he observes, shared a "common language of ritual communication," and, more grandly, "shared sacred places and undertook sacred journeys together," but the book leaves for the future a systematic confrontation with the specific question of syncretism.[36]

Finally, there is the question of gender. Popular culture, and popular religion in particular, provided unusually fertile territory for the active participation and creative contribution of women. There are, in the first place, those women identified in the sources as Sufi *shaykhah*s; the ranks of the storytellers and popular preachers, too, included a number of women. More generally, Ibn al-Ḥājj's account leaves the reader with the impression that it was *women* who were in many cases the driving force behind the popular religious practices of which he disapproved—the unregulated visiting of tombs, the active and gleeful participation in *dhimmī* festivals, etc. Ibn al-Ḥājj's concerns may well have been exaggerated, but at the very least they seem to provide an opportunity for an analysis—perhaps even a Freudian one—of the *gendered* character of the ulama's authority. Natalie Zemon Davis

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[33]Memon, *Ibn Taimīya's Struggle,* 206, 213 et passim.

[34]Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 2:49–52 et passim.

[35]Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous,* 4.

[36]Joseph Meri, *The Cult of Saints Among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (New York, 2002), 286–87; on the shrine of Ezekiel, ibid., 229–38.

gave her famous study of popular festivals in early modern Europe the provocative title of ″Women on Top.″ Something similar might one day emerge from the pen of a historian in our field.[37]

[37]Natalie Zemon Davis, ″Women on Top,″ in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, CA, 1975), 124–51.

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Veneto-Saracenic Metalware, a Mamluk Art*

The provenance of the so-called Veneto-Saracenic metalware has been a subject of controversy ever since it attracted scholarly attention in the last century.[1] The bronze vessels known by this label include several stylistic sub-groups, which have in common the frequent use of European shapes combined with a new style of linear silver inlay displaying an unconventional style of arabesque. Their workmanship is characterized by extreme fineness. An important number of Veneto-Saracenic vessels bear craftsmen′s signatures, most of which include the title *mu'allim* or master. The most frequently signed names are Zayn al-Dīn, Muḥammad, and Maḥmūd al-Kurdī, who signed his name with or without the *nisbah* al-Kurdī. The appellation Veneto-Saracenic has been coined to categorize this particular group of vessels because they were first thought to be the product of a Muslim workshop in Venice during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. On the basis of socio-historical grounds, however, Hans Huth in an article published in 1972 discarded the possibility of a Muslim workshop operating in Venice at that time.[2] This argument has not been challenged ever since.

A number of authors, among them A. S. Melikian-Chirvani and James Allan, have related the Veneto-Saracenic vessels to late Mamluk metalwork, which is also the common attribution adopted in most art catalogues. Although there are

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[1]James W. Allan, ″Venetian-Saracenic Metalwork: The Problem of Provenance,″ in *Venezia e l′oriente vicino: atti del Primo simposio internazionale sull′arte veneziana e l′arte islamica* (Venice, 1986), 167–83; idem, *Metalwork of the Islamic World in the Aron Collection* (London, 1986), Ch. 5; A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, ″Venise, entre l′Orient et l′Occident,″ *Bulletin d′études orientales* 27 (1974): 1–18; L. A. Mayer, *Islamic Metalworkers and their Works* (Geneva, 1959), 56–58. For the history and bibliography of the debate see Melikian-Chirvani, ″Venise,″ 1–2; Allan, ″Venetian,″ 67–68.

[2]Hans Huth, ″′Sarazenen′ in Venedig?″ in *Festschrift für Heinz Landendorf* (Cologne/Vienna, 1972), 58–68.

still some diverging opinions on that matter, it is widely agreed that one of the sub-groups of the Veneto-Saracenic family can definitely be attributed to a late Mamluk production. Syria is believed to be the provenance of the objects characterized by a dense knot-work that is also found on vessels of uncontested Mamluk origin (fig. 1).

The Mamluk provenance of the mainstream of the Veneto-Saracenic metalware, however, which includes objects signed by Maḥmūd, Zayn al-Dīn, and Muḥammad, has been contested. Rachel Ward attributed the Maḥmūd al-Kurdī vessels to Western Iran and in a more recent monograph Sylvia Auld argued in favor of an attribution of the Maḥmūd al-Kurdī group to Aq Qoyunlu lands in southeast Anatolia or western Iran. She moreover places Zayn al-Dīn's work in an Ottoman context.[3] Neither author, however, has provided any visual evidence for a connection between the Veneto-Saracenic and Iranian or Aq Qoyunlu homologues. This article presents new evidence to confirm the Mamluk attribution, and more particularly James Allan's arguments, which established a stylistic connection between the Maḥmūd al-Kurdī group and the decorative arts of the reign of the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf Qāytbāy (872–901/1468–96).

Among the multiple features which connect the Veneto-Saracenic style with late Mamluk metalware are some shapes. A variety of shapes have been decorated in this style, many of which are European while others are Mamluk. The rounded, lidded bowl, which is not of European origin, has been used across all stylistic sub-groups, with some variations, and can be considered as the most characteristic form of Veneto-Saracenic vessels. The profile of these bowls is common in late Mamluk vessels, which are not associated with a lid, however (figs. 2, 3). Likewise, the spherical hand-warmer or incense-burner (see fig. 1), another characteristic utensil produced in the Veneto-Saracenic style, is common in the mainstream style of metalware of the entire Mamluk period. Also the shallow basin, of which there is a remarkable Veneto-Saracenic specimen in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Inv. 741-1898), is a shape adopted in a number of luxury vessels, sometimes in a faceted version, attributed to the reign of Sultan Qāytbāy. Among these is the basin in the Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi (TIEM) in Istanbul bearing the sultan's name.

There are, moreover, a number of objects of evidently late Mamluk provenance on grounds of their shape, inscriptions, and blazons which are decorated in a style

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[3]Rachel Ward, *Islamic Metalwork* (London, 1993), 102; idem et al., "Veneto-Saracenic Metalworks: An Analysis of the Bowls and Incense Burners in the British Museum," in *Trade and Discovery: The Scientific Study of Artefacts from Post-Medieval Europe and Beyond* (London, 1995), 235–57; Sheila Canby, *The Golden Age of Persian Art (1501–1722)* (London, 1999), 21; Sylvia Auld, *Renaissance Venice, Islam and Mahmud the Kurd: A Metalworking Enigma* (London, 2004), 11–35.

akin to the decoration of conventional Veneto-Saracenic vessels, including those with European shape. Two basins with Mamluk inscriptions, one in the Poldi Pezzoli Museum in Milan (1657) (fig. 4)[4] and the other in the Musée des Beaux Arts in Lyon (E 538), could have been manufactured by the same hand that produced the uninscribed Veneto-Saracenic jug with a European body in the Poldi Pezzoli collection (1656) (fig. 5).[5] They share the same engraved patterns displaying a sequence of curved cartouches of alternating format with flowers in the background.

Two late Mamluk caskets, one in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York[6] and the other in the Victoria and Albert Museum, both inscribed with their patron's name, are decorated with curved interlocking cartouches of linear inlaid silver on a background of scrolls, which recall the work of Maḥmūd al-Kurdī on the lid of his bowl in the Victoria and Albert Museum (2290-1855) (figs. 6, 7). Although these caskets have not been considered Veneto-Saracenic because of their inscriptions and shape, the design of their decoration is hybrid, combining conventional late Mamluk with Veneto-Saracenic features.

Although inscriptions are rare on published Veneto-Saracenic vessels, the few inscribed pieces we know bear texts which belong to the late Mamluk epigraphic repertoire. Melikian-Chirvani has identified one benedictory poem, which starts with the words "*balaghta min al-ʻulyā*" on a Veneto-Saracenic footed bowl and a salver in the Victoria and Albert Museum.[7] Another poem, inscribed on the cartouches of a Veneto-Saracenic bucket in the Islamic Museum in Berlin (Inv. B72), which Auld wrongly interprets as a pseudo-inscription,[8] can be read on many mainstream late Mamluk vessels (fig. 8). This poem starts with the phrase "*man tamaʻnā fī jamālī*" meaning "who examines my beauty."[9] It is inscribed on a

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[4]Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani, "Cuivres inédits de l'époque de Qāytbāy," *Kunst des Orients* 6, no. 2 (1969): 99–133; J. M. Rogers, catalogue entry no. 95, in *Circa 1492,* ed. Jay A. Levenson (London, 1991), 203; Esin Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks* (Washington, DC, 1981), 102, cat. no. 35; Allan, "Venetian," fig. 1.

[5]Melikian-Chirvani, "Cuivres inédits," fig. 8; Paola Torre, "Metalli Islamici," in *Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Tessuti-Sculture, Metalli Islamici* (Milan, 1987), cat. nos. 5 and 9; Melikian-Chirvani, "Cuivres inédits," fig. 1.

[6]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 105, cat. no. 36.

[7]Melikian-Chirvani, "Venise," 112; see also J. W. Allan, "Later Mamluk Metalwork" (I and II), *Oriental Art* 15, no. 1 (1969): 38–43, and 17, no. 2 (1971): 156–64, showing the use of this text on late Mamluk vessels.

[8]Auld, *Renaissance Venice,* 284, cat. no. 7.22; *Islamische Kunst, verborgene Schätze* (exhibition catalogue) (Berlin, 1986), 114, cat. no. 195.

[9]The word "*tamaʻnā*," from *maʻnā,* has an unusual form, comparable to *tafalsafa*. I am copying and transliterating the inscribed texts according to their spelling as it is, not as it should be.

lunch box in the British Museum[10] and a covered tray in the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Munich in the name of Taghrībirmish, the great *dawādār* and vizier of Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (see Appendix).

Both poems, the one starting with *"balaghta min al-ʻulyā"* and the other starting with *"man tamaʻnā,"* appear among the multiple texts inscribed on a lidded box in the Khalili collection and on a spouted bowl in the Benaki Museum in Athens, both of which are common late Mamluk ware (figs. 9, 10). These two vessels are interesting reference pieces because they display a whole set of inscriptions, which appear individually on various other late Mamluk objects.

In addition to shape, decoration, and inscriptions, which associate them with late Mamluk metalwork, a decisive argument, so far disregarded, for attributing the Veneto-Saracenic vessels to late Mamluk craftsmanship is the use of the title *muʻallim* in the majority of their signatures. The title *muʻallim* is a characteristic feature of Mamluk craftsmen's signatures. It is also regularly used in literary sources from Egypt and Syria from the Mamluk and Ottoman periods in association with craftsmen and in fact down to the present. It was not used in the Iranian world and it was not common on craftsmen's signatures elsewhere. Considering its close association with Mamluk culture it is unlikely that contemporary craftsmen from other lands would have used this title unless they would have liked to be mistaken for Mamluk.

Some signatures by Maḥmūd and Zayn al-Dīn include the phrase *yarjū al-maghfirah* following the name. This phrase appears on other late Mamluk metal vessels following either the name of a craftsman or the patron. All vessels mentioned in Gaston Wiet's catalogue in connection with this particular phrase are late Mamluk.[11]

Moreover, the tripartite disc used by Maḥmūd al-Kurdī as a frame for his signature on a tray in the British Museum (1895 5-21) is clearly reminiscent of Mamluk royal blazons, thus signaling a Mamluk context at the same time as it is a demonstration of the craftsman's pride.[12] The title *ra'īs* is used on another Veneto-Saracenic lidded bowl in the Victoria and Albert Museum before the name of the craftsman Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥājj ʻAlī Ibn *al-muʻallim* Khaḍr *al-naqqāsh*.[13] The title *ra'īs* was commonly used in Mamluk chronicles to qualify the head of a guild. It is not exclusively Mamluk, however.[14] This *ra'īs* Muḥammad could be

[10]Ward, *Islamic Metalwork,* 119.

[11]Gaston Wiet, *Catalogue Général du Musée Arabe du Caire: Objets en Cuivre* (Cairo, 1932; repr. 1984), 128, 145, 146, appendix nos. 416, 430, 480.

[12]Auld, *Renaissance Venice,* 13, pl. 5 a–d.

[13]Auld misread the signature; ibid., 156, cat. no. 2.12.

[14]Mayer, *Islamic Metalworkers,* 14.

the same who signed as *mu'allim* Muḥammad on a ewer published by Christie's.[15]

Another most interesting signature occurs on an unpublished Veneto-Saracenic bowl in the Khalili collection. It has in its interior two unframed signature cartouches, inscribed in Mamluk *naskhī* script. The first includes the words *"'amal Zayn al-Dīn."* This name appears elsewhere sometimes in conjunction with *"ibn 'Umar"* or *"ibn al-mu'allim 'Umar al-naḥḥās."*[16] The second inscription, separated from the first, includes only the patronym "Ibn Zanbū'ah," (fig. 11), which sounds rather like a nickname. I assume that Ibn Zanbū'ah refers to Zayn al-Dīn and not to a second craftsman. The style of the bowl suggests that he is most likely the same Zayn al-Dīn known from other signed vessels. In any event,the name *zanbū'ah* with the letter *'ayn* can obviously not be Persian or Turkish. In the Mamluk dictionary of Fīrūzābādī the word *zunbā'ah* means the tip of a shoe.[17] *Zanbū'ah* might be a colloquial transformation of *zunbā'ah,* but this is speculation. This signature, however, suggests that the cultural environment of Ibn Zanbū'ah is a traditionally Arabic-speaking one**.** This type of four-radical word sounds rather colloquial Egyptian.

James Allan has rightly compared the style of the Maḥmūd al-Kurdī objects with the architectural decoration of the Qāytbāy period in Cairo; in his arguments he includes the remarkable marble inlaid spandrels of the mosque of Qijmas al-Isḥāqī built in 1479. The spandrels of the windows and, notably, the mihrab are decorated in the same novel style and they are signed by the craftsman 'Abd al-Qādir *al-naqqāsh,* who also signed similar work in the mosque of Abū Bakr ibn Muzhir built in 1489–90.[18] The mihrab of Qijmas' mosque is of particular interest here because it displays in the space beneath the conch a central rosette radiating in a complex deployment of arabesque towards the edges (fig. 12). The central rosette bears a striking resemblance to the patterns used on the lids and bottoms of Veneto-Saracenic bowls (fig. 13). This type of marble inlay was a novelty, which might explain the craftsman's multiple signatures in the mosque. Most interestingly, the signature of the mihrab is placed in the very center of the rosette and consequently of the mihrab itself, which is an unprecedented, almost blasphemous place for a craftsman's signature. Maḥmūd al-Kurdī is known to have placed his signature in such a central position on several pieces, including the lid of his bowl in the Victoria and Albert Museum, another one published in Sotheby's catalogue, a tray

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[15] Christie's catalogue *Islamic Art and Manuscripts* October 2001, 173, cat. no. 320.

[16] Auld, *Renaissance Venice,* 32.

[17] Al-Fīrūzābādī, *Al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* (Beirut, 1952), 3:34.

[18] Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo, an Introduction* (New York and Leiden, 1982), 148.

in the Louvre, and another tray in the Hermitage Museum.[19] One of Auld′s arguments against a Mamluk origin of Maḥmūd al-Kurdī is this very central position of this signature. She argues that ″It would be tantamount to an insult to the Mamluk hierarchy,″ and that there is no other instance where a craftsman puts his name so prominently in the place normally reserved for the name of the sultan.[20] The signature of ʻAbd al-Qādir *al-naqqāsh* in the center of a mihrab contradicts this view and reveals at the same time the pronounced craftsman′s pride during the reign of Sultan Qāytbāy.

A key-piece for my attribution of the Veneto-Saracenic metalware to the late Mamluk period is an unpublished bowl in the Khalili collection (MTW 1542), signed by *al-muʻallim* Maḥmūd (fig. 14). It has a Mamluk shape and is entirely silvered. An inscription on the rim, which compares the whiteness of the bowl to that of the full moon, confirms that although the present silver is of a later date, its white appearance is original. Many Veneto-Saracenic vessels have a gilded or silvered interior, which might well be original.

The decoration of this bowl is of remarkable delicacy, hardly visible to the naked eye, displaying a variety of juxtaposed patterns that surpasses the common practice on Veneto-Saracenic objects, where the interlace network is often set against a rather uniform background of scrolls. This juxtaposition of several alternating patterns is one of the characteristic features of luxury vessels of the reign of Sultan Qāytbāy.[21] In spite of its monochrome appearance, which distinguishes it from the characteristic inlaid work of this group, the design of this bowl is in the Veneto-Saracenic style. Its background scrolls are similar to those of the lidded bowl at the Courtauld Institute Art Gallery signed by Maḥmūd with the *nisbah* al-Kurdī.[22] The general layout of the design with interlacing curved lines, which divide the surface in cartouches, is basically a derivation of the traditional interlocking bands with cartouches and medallions, which are common on some late Mamluk basins and bowls (fig. 17).

Most interestingly, the bowl bears two epigraphic cartouches on the body and four on the rim, all of which contain poetry (see Appendix). One of the cartouches of the rim bears the *muʻallim*′s signature at the end of the poem. The first cartouche starts with the words *anā ṭāsah* meaning ″I am a bowl,″ a common phrase in the epigraphy of late Mamluk metalwork (figs. 15 a, b, c, d). Inscriptions on the rim are one of the characteristic features of late Mamluk tinned copper bowls. The

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[19]Allan, ″Venetian,″ fig. 3; Sotheby′s catalogue 30.4.1992, no. 49; Auld, *Renaissance Venice,* 18, pl. 9.

[20]Auld, *Renaissance Venice,* 26.

[21]Melikian-Chirvani, ″Cuivres inédits,″ figs 16, 17, 23, 24.

[22]Auld, *Renaissance Venice,* 146f., cat. no. 2.1.

two inscriptions on the body of the Maḥmūd bowl are repeated on another late Mamluk bowl of a more ordinary type in the Khalili collection (see fig. 3).

As on many vessels of the later Mamluk period, the inscriptions on both bowls do not follow the calligraphic esthetics nor the epigraphic conventions established in the Bahri period. Rather the text meanders up and down, which makes it difficult to read. Each of the two bowls has spelling mistakes, as often happens on late Mamluk vessels. Fortunately, the mistakes on the two bowls are not identical so that I was able to read most of the text (see Appendix). The text, which belongs to what can be called vernacular craftsman′s poetry of poor quality, praises the beauty and the craftsmanship of the bowl and includes good wishes to the owner. It also indicates that the bowl was made for drinking.

The design of the decoration conforms with that of other vessels signed by Maḥmūd, who is likely to have himself composed the poem on the rim, which ends with his name. The shape of the bowl is typically and exclusively Mamluk. Both the shape of the bowl and the inscriptions identify Maḥmūd′s work with Mamluk art.

Maḥmūd′s Mamluk provenance does not define his ethnic origin, however. The *nisbah* al-Kurdī, which he included in his signature elsewhere, can be misleading and does not justify an association of Maḥmūd′s work with the Aq Qoyunlu kingdom. There is a Mamluk madrasah in Cairo known by the name of an amir called Maḥmūd al-Kurdī, who cannot be our craftsman and who was not even a Kurd.[23] A *nisbah* might refer to the place where someone originated, or migrated to or spent a period of time, as it could also refer to an affiliation with a patron or even with a Sufi order. Mamluk biographical literature mentions scholars with multiple *nisbah*s because they studied in several cities. Maḥmūd might have been a Kurd from Mamluk territory, which, it should be recalled, included southeast Anatolia and Cilicia. The Mamluk army included Kurds, who, together with the Turcomans, dominated the region of Aleppo in the fifteenth century.[24] On a salver in the British Museum (1878 12-30 711) Maḥmūd signed his name as ″*Maḥmūd ibn al-Kurdī ibn al-mu‘allim li-amr mawlāh,*″ the last two words meaning ″on the order of his lord.″ This signature suggests that his father might have been the one who migrated and was therefore known as al-Kurdī.

The Mamluk attribution of the work of Maḥmūd or other craftsmen working in the Veneto-Saracenic style is not challenged by the presence of Iranian elements

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[23]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā‘iẓ wa-al-I‘tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1270/1853–54), 2:395 f.; K. A. C. Creswell, ″A Brief Chronology of the Muḥammadan Monuments of Egypt to A.D. 1517,″ *Bulletin de l′Institut Français d′Archéologie Orientale* 16 (1919): 39–164, here 117.

[24]David Ayalon, ″ The Auxiliary Forces in the Mamluk Sultanate,″ *Der Islam* 65, no. 1 (1988): 13–37.

in this style noted by several authors including Melikian-Chirvani and Allan. It is well known that the Mamluk decorative arts of the fourteenth as well as the fifteenth centuries show many features in common with their Iranian homologues; this is true also for other stylistic groups of late Mamluk metalwork. The number of Iranian refugees escaping the Timurids was so high in fifteenth-century Cairo that orders were repeatedly issued to evict them (without success, however).[25]

Another sub-group of Veneto-Saracenic vessels shows parallels with our Maḥmūd bowl as well as with some mainstream late Mamluk copper vessels. A copper bowl in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (1982.6), inscribed and adorned with a Mamluk blazon (figs. 16, 17), has the same shape as the Maḥmūd bowl of the Khalili collection. Its engraved decoration, however, is of a different style, and very similar to that of a bowl in the Bargello Museum in Florence (Bg. B 839), which has been identified by G. Curatola as of Veneto-Saracenic style, but of Italian craftsmanship.[26] The decorative composition of this bowl is simpler than that of the Ashmolean piece, without inscriptions or blazon, consisting of continuous patterns filling three horizontal registers. Like the bowl of the Ashmolean Museum, the engraved decoration of fine scroll patterns is raised against a cross-hatched ground. This engraving style characterizes a group of late Mamluk vessels, most of which, however, are of rather coarse work. An exceptionally fine specimen in the Benaki Museum (13068) shows parallels with these two bowls (figs. 18, 19).[27] Its cartouches are inscribed with the Mamluk votive inscription mentioned earlier, which starts with *″balaghta min al-ʻulyā″* alternating with a pattern of knot-work, which can also be seen on the bowl of the Ashmolean Museum.

The body of this bowl, which bears traces of gilding, has two main inscribed cartouches in the middle and four smaller ones in the upper and lower registers that divide its external surface. The rim is entirely inscribed with a benedictory inscription common on late Mamluk bowls, referring to drinking. The cartouches of the body also include multiple references to drinking. One of the phrases can also be found among the set of texts inscribed on the spouted bowl in the Benaki Museum mentioned earlier. This includes the words *″asāka tustaqā bi-kās mizājuhā kaf . . .″* referring to the Quran verse 76:5.

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[25]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʻrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Saʻīd ʻAbd al-Fattāḥ ʻĀshūr (Cairo, 1970–73), 3:962, 1058, 4:436, 1206.

[26]*From the Medicis to the Savoias, Ottoman Splendour in Florentine Collections* (exhibition catalogue) (Istanbul, 2004), 177; *Islam Specchio d′Oriente* (Florence, 2002), 133, cat. no. 109; M. Spallanzani, ″Metalli Islamici nelle raccolte medicee da Cosimo 1 a Fernando 1,″ in *Le Arte del Principato Mediceo* (Florence, 1980), 95–115.

[27]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 107, cat. no. 38; Allan in ″Later Mamluk Metalwork″ publishes lunch boxes and trays of similar style and inscriptions; Wiet, *Objets en Cuivre,* Pls. LXVI, LXVIII, LXIX. See fig. 12 here.

The poetical inscriptions on the main cartouches start with the phrase *"anā ṭāsah"* like the inscription on the rim of our Maḥmūd bowl; however, this one is followed by a different text. The composite blazon with a cup and powder horns has an unconventional quatrefoil profile and the minuteness of the engraving is of Veneto-Saracenic quality. Whereas traditional Mamluk blazons are circular, the blazon with a lobed profile has also been used on the basin in the Musée des Beaux Arts in Lyon discussed by Melikian-Chirvani and on the basin of the Poldi Pezzoli Museum of Figure 4. In spite of its inscriptions and the patterns of its engraving connecting it with Mamluk art, this bowl is unusual and represents another variation in the spectrum of late Mamluk metalwork.

Another point connecting the Maḥmūd bowl in the Khalili collection with the Ashmolean bowl as well as with late Mamluk metalware is an engraved medallion in the center of their respective inner bottoms. It consists of concentric circles around the spin mark including a circle of smaller circles (figs. 20, 21). The circles in the Ashmolean and the Khalili bowls are similar with the difference that the first is centered by a whirling rosette. Many late Mamluk bowls of the more crude type have such circles, which replace the circle of fishes common in Bahri vessels. The late Mamluk bowl of Figure 3, which shares the same inscription as our Maḥmūd bowl, has also an inner circle with a whirling rosette (fig. 22). These similar circles attribute the vessels in question to a common late Mamluk workshop. Considering its strong similarity with the bowl of the Ashmolean Museum, the Bargello bowl should also be attributed to Mamluk craftsmanship. It is possible, however, that the bowls were produced in one workshop and decorated in another.

The genre of inscriptions engraved on the Maḥmūd bowl of the Khalili collection and the bowl of the Ashmolean Museum is a characteristic feature of late Mamluk tinned copper bowls. These inscriptions display a variety of texts, which begin with *"anā ṭāsah"* and continue with words spoken in the first person praising the beauty and the craftsmanship of the vessel.[28] The term *ṭāsah* is the Arabic colloquial form of *ṭās,* which is used in classical Arabic and is a word of Persian origin. Mamluk anthologies refer to a poetical genre which praises the *ṭāsah* in connection with wine drinking. The Mamluk poets Burhān al-Dīn al-Qīraṭī, Ṭaqī al-Dīn ibn Ḥujjah al-Ḥamawī, and al-ʻAfīf al-Tilimsānī are reported to have composed verses in praise of the *ṭāsah* alongside other drinking vessels, such as the ewer and the cup or *kās*.[29] Their poetry must have inspired the vernacular and often awkward poems inscribed on late Mamluk vessels, including the two bowls discussed here.

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[28]I am currently working on a study of these inscriptions.

[29]Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Nawājī, *Ḥulbat al-Kumayt fī al-Adab wa-al-Nawādir al-Mutaʻalliqah bi-al-Khamrīyāt* (Cairo, 1299/1981–82), 171ff.; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 2003), 10:73.

These poems, which do not belong to classical literature, are unlikely to have circulated outside the cultural environment where they were composed, or to have been inscribed on Iranian or Anatolian objects, unless as part of a premeditated scheme to imitate Mamluk work.

It is interesting to note that, according to their inscriptions, these metal bowls were dedicated to drinking. Some of them refer to water and others to water and flowers, whereas others mention wine and love. The use of these bowls for drinking seems to be confirmed by two eyewitnesses in Cairo. Leo Africanus, who visited Egypt during the Ottoman campaign in 1517, writes about shops in Cairo selling drinks made of water flavored with various flower essences in artfully made metal bowls.[30] Also Evliya Çelebi in the seventeenth century mentions shops serving clear water to prominent clients in beautifully decorated bowls and cups *(kâseler ve taslar)* which looked like pure gold. He also mentions various fruit drinks sold by peddlers in tinned bowls.[31]

The fact that most recorded Veneto-Saracenic vessels, unlike the mainstream of Mamluk ware, are not inscribed and that they were found in European collections suggests that they were produced for a European clientele. However, the bowls of the Khalili and the Ashmolean collections, with their traditional Mamluk shapes and inscriptions referring to their use for drinking, are likely to have been made for a local market.

On the basis of chemical analysis of the metal, which shows that the Maḥmūd al-Kurdī group includes less nickel than the rest of the Veneto-Saracenic and the common Mamluk metalware, Ward has argued that this production should be attributed to west Iran. The analysis she refers to is based on a comparison with three western Iranian specimens.[32] Considering the recycling possibilities of metalware in the past as in the present, as can still be seen in the practices of metalworkers in the bazaars of the Middle East today, the variation of the metal composition is not a compelling argument. The metal composition which, according to Ward, differs even between a bowl and its lid, is one of many divergences between the sub-groups of the Veneto-Saracenic family. Late Mamluk metalwork altogether displays quite disparate features that might well have included the use of different materials or even imported vessels to be locally decorated. Differences in style appear not only between Veneto-Saracenic sub-groups signed by different craftsmen, but also within a group signed by the same craftsman. This is apparent even in the craftsmen′s signatures themselves, in their wording as well as in the style of their engraving. Maḥmūd′s signature is occasionally but not always set

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[30]*Waṣf Ifrīqiyā*, trans. Muḥammad Ḥājjī and Muḥammad al-Akhḍar (Beirut, 1983), 2:204.

[31]Evliya Çelebi, *Siyahatnamesi X, Misir, Sudan Habeş* (Istanbul, 1938), 360.

[32]Ward et al., ″Veneto-Saracenic Metalworks.″

against a cross-hatched ground, sometimes including the word ʿ*amal* and sometimes *naqsh,* and even his name was presented in different manners. With his inscribed silvered bowl Maḥmūd demonstrates yet another variation within his own production. These inconsistencies suggest that the names might not refer to the artisan who engraved the bowl, but perhaps to workshops, which produced various styles, or to designers responsible only for the patterns. The *ra'īs* Muḥammad, who signed a lidded bowl in the Victoria and Albert Museum, was the grandson of a *naqqāsh,* who is not to be understood necessarily as metalworker since the decorator of the mihrab of Qijmas al-Isḥāqī was also a *naqqāsh.* He could be merely a designer. Al-Maqrīzī mentions in the early fifteenth century two markets for designers *(rassāmīn),* who produced patterns, in the central bazaar of Cairo.[33]

In spite of their variety of styles the Veneto-Saracenic vessels have a common origin, i.e., they were produced in the same artistic environment, which as a matter of fact earned them their label.[34] They all share a significant feature, which is a conceptual one: They represent a new esthetical approach to forms and to arabesque decoration without entirely departing from tradition and they display a taste for extremely minute engraved design, which is among the finest Islamic metalwork ever produced. Whether the European style bodies were imported or produced locally is a question that still needs to be answered. As I demonstrated elsewhere, there is some evidence that European expertise permeated Mamluk craftsmanship during the reign of Qāytbāy.[35] The new esthetics displayed in the Veneto-Saracenic metalwork conforms to the renaissance of the decorative arts during this period, which produced a remarkable and fascinating variety of styles and techniques in Mamluk metalwork with some surprising specimens, such as the gold inlaid basin in the Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi with the sultan′s name or the ewer in the Victoria and Albert in his wife′s name.[36] Other crafts, like ceramics and glass also attest to innovative initiatives. An underglaze-painted blazon with Qāytbāy′s name shows a high quality unprecedented in Mamluk ceramics.[37] A singular lamp in the Islamic Museum in Cairo also inscribed with this sultan′s name reveals the attempt during this period to revive the lost art of enameled glass, perhaps with the help of European craftsmen working in Cairo.

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[33]Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:101,105.

[34]Some vessels, however, have been identified as Venetian imitations of the Veneto-Saracenic. Most of these attributions seem justified.

[35]Doris Behrens-Abouseif, ″European Arts and Crafts at the Mamluk Court,″ *Muqarnas* 21 (2004): 45–54; Gaston Wiet, *Catalogue Général du Musée Arabe du Caire: Lampes et bouteilles en verre émaillé* (Cairo, 1929: repr. 1982), 100, cat. no. 333.

[36]Wiet, *Objets en Cuivre,* 116; Ward, *Islamic Metalwork,* 118; Tim Stanley, *Palace and Mosque: Islamic Art from the Middle East* (London, 2004), 90.

[37]Marilyn Jenkins, *Islamic Art in the Kuwait National Museum* (London, 1983), 85.

The Mamluk carpets known from European collections are also likely to have been produced on Qāytbāy's initiative.[38] Likewise, architectural decoration during the reign of Qāytbāy produced new combinations of designs and techniques in marble, stone, and stucco. The creation of the so-called Veneto-Saracenic metalware in this innovative environment could well have continued in the following decades and perhaps further after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt and Syria.

While multiple and compelling arguments associate Veneto-Saracenic metalwork with Mamluk art, so far no comparable metalwork from the Islamic world has provided parallels to contend the Mamluk attribution. As to the question of a more exact provenance of the Veneto-Saracenic metalwork, i.e., Egypt or Syria, this still needs further investigation.

[38] A large Mamluk carpet found in the Alhambra and recently exhibited in the Alhambra Museum is attributed to the reign of Qāytbāy. This has been communicated to me by Dr. Purificación Marinetto Sanchez, who is currently preparing a publication on this subject.

APPENDIX

I. INSCRIPTION ON THE BERLIN VENETO-SARACENIC BUCKET[39]

Four cartouches on this bucket include a poem common on late Mamluk vessels, written in *naskhī* script and alternating with cartouches of good wishes written in Kufic. I am including here the text of this poem. A fifth cartouche in *naskhī* includes the sentence *"al-ṣabr ʿibādah."* The text is not distributed in the cartouches according to the sentences, but haphazardly.

من تمعنا في جمالي نزهة العين يراني
لي طرز من الخير قد حوى كل المعاني
كيف لا يسمو جمالي و النفوس تهوى وصالي

> Who contemplates my beauty will find me a delight to the eye
> I have a form which includes all the essence of good
> How would my beauty not be outstanding when the souls long for
> my love?

II. INSCRIPTIONS OF THE BOWL SIGNED BY MAḤMŪD IN THE KHALILI COLLECTION

Because of the vernacular character of the text and the unconventional writing, the reading of these inscriptions remains problematic and to some extent conjectural. The text on the rim is clear; the inscriptions of the body, however, which occupy four lines, pose a problem as to the sequence of their words. The same inscription on the late Mamluk bowl in the Khalili collection (MTW 1349) ends with an additional phrase: *"al-ṣabr ʿibādah,"* probably to fill a space at the edge of the cartouche that would have been otherwise empty. The inscriptions of the rim of the Maḥmūd bowl, however, are according to my knowledge so far unparalleled.

A. The Rim (Numbered by Cartouche):

١. انا طاسه كماله البدر شكلي وبياضي يحكى القمر في السمو و كزهى (كزهر؟)
٢. الرياض صنعة نقشي و على الكف اتجلى كالعروس الفناعه
٣. تواضع تكبرا كالنجم لاح لباصر (؟) على سفحات الما و هو رفيع ولا
٤. تكو كالدخان يعلو بنفسه الى طبقات الجو و هو ضيع عمل المعلم محمود

[39]See note 7.

1. I am a bowl which looks like the full moon, my whiteness resembles the moon in the sky like the flourishing (like the flowers?)
2. In gardens is the art of my decoration, I appear in the palm like a perfumed bride
3. Be humble to be great pride like a star shining to the viewer on the surface of the water while it is high and
4. Do not be like smoke which raises itself in the air and then is lost. Work of master Maḥmūd.

B. Cartouche 1 on the Body:

فكر اللبيب تحير في اوصافي و بديع نقشي مدعش [كذا][40] للنواظر منهل عذب و ورد صافي و باخر ضبط في (؟)[41] لعينك خافي

> The mind of the thoughtful wonders about my looks, my decoration is magnificent and stunning to the viewer, (like) a sweet stream and clear water, in finest (?) work hidden to your eye.

C. Cartouche 2 on the Body:

يكاد ظاهري ينظر من باطني لصفائه والحسن ليس بخافي فانظر الى حسني ومحكم صنعتي و اشرب هنيا صحه وعوافي

> My exterior almost looks through my interior for its clearness, beauty is not hidden, look at my beauty and the excellence of my craftsmanship and drink in happiness, health, and strength.

[40]The correct form *"mudhish"* is used on the Khalili bowl with the same inscription.

[41]The placement of *"fī"* ("in" or "in me") is not clear.



Fig. 1. Spherical hand-warmer or incense burner, Khalili Collection (MTW 1520)



Fig. 2. Lidded box, Veneto-Saracenic style, signed by Zayn al-Dīn Ibn Zanbū‘ah, Khalili Collection (MTW 527)



Fig. 3. Late Mamluk bowl in the Khalili Collection (MTW 1349)



Fig. 4. Basin in Veneto-Saracenic style with Mamluk inscriptions and blazon, Poldi Pezzoli Museum, Milan (Inv. 1657)



Fig. 5. Jug of Veneto-Saracenic style, Poldi Pezzoli in Milan (Inv. 1656)



Fig. 6. Detail of a late Mamluk casket, Victoria and Albert Museum (Inv. 377-1897)



Fig. 7. Detail of the lid signed by *al-mu'allim* Maḥmūd in the Victoria and Albert Museum (2290-1855)



Fig. 8. Inscribed cartouche of the Veneto-Saracenic bucket in the Islamic Museum in Berlin (B72)



Fig. 9. Late Mamluk lidded box, Khalili Collection (MTW 527)



Fig. 10. Late Mamluk spouted bowl, Benaki Museum in Athens (33701).



Fig. 11. Signature of Ibn Zanbūʿah on the lidded bowl (fig. 2), Khalili Collection (MTW 527)

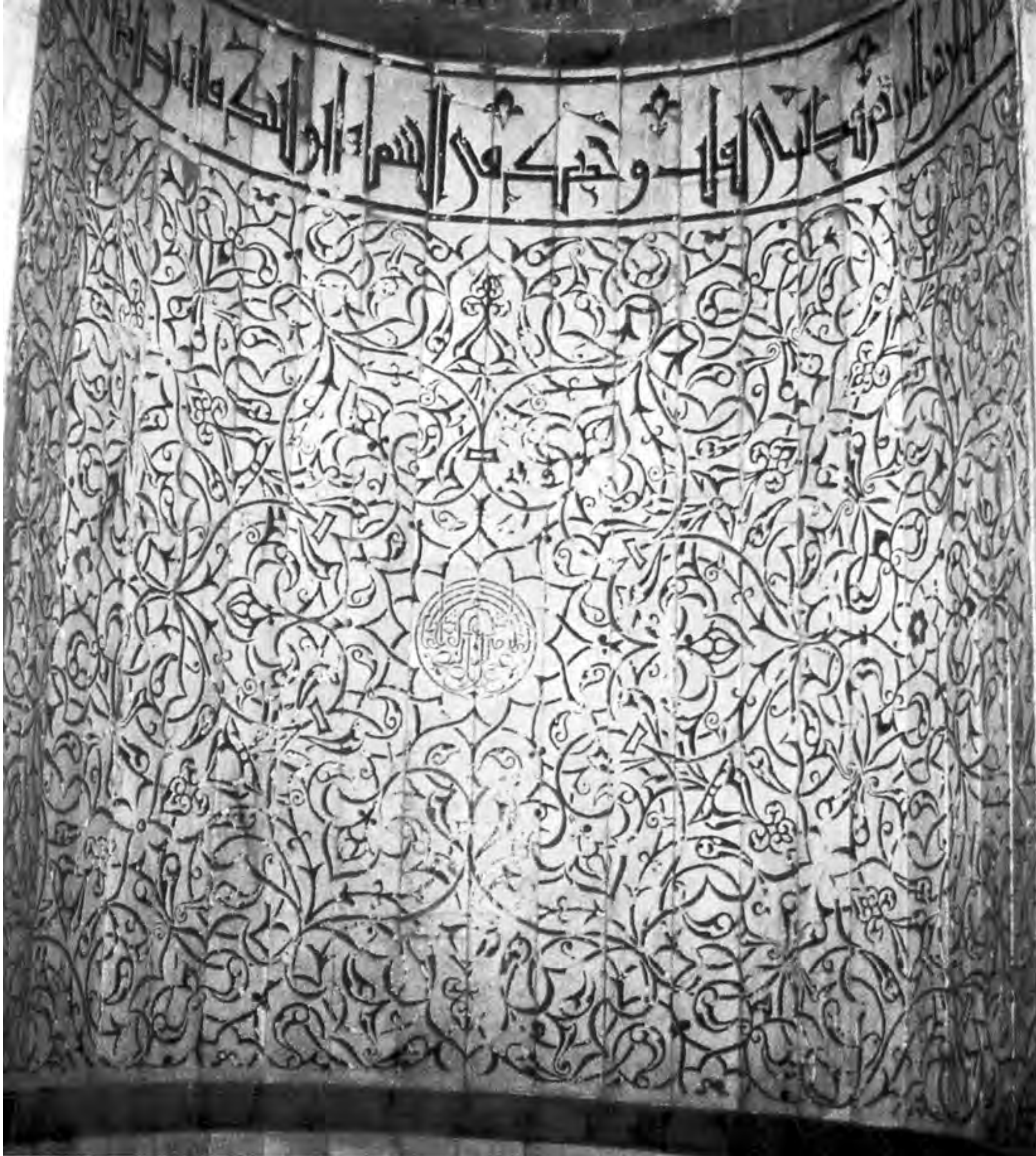


Fig.12. Inlaid marble decoration with the signature of ʿAbd al-Qādir *al-naqqāsh* in the mihrab of the mosque of Qijmas al-Isḥāqī in Cairo



Fig. 13. Bottom of the bowl of Zayn al-Dīn Ibn Zanbūʻah, Khalili Collection (MTW 527)



Fig. 14. Bowl signed by *al-muʻallim* Maḥmūd, Khalili Collection (MTW 1542)



Fig. 15. Inscriptions on the rim of the bowl signed by *al-mu'allim* Maḥmūd in the Khalili collection (MTW 1542)



Fig. 16. Copper bowl in the Ashmolean Museum (1982.6)



Fig. 17. Detail of copper bowl in the Ashmolean Musem



Fig. 18. Late Mamluk basin in the Benaki Museum (13068)

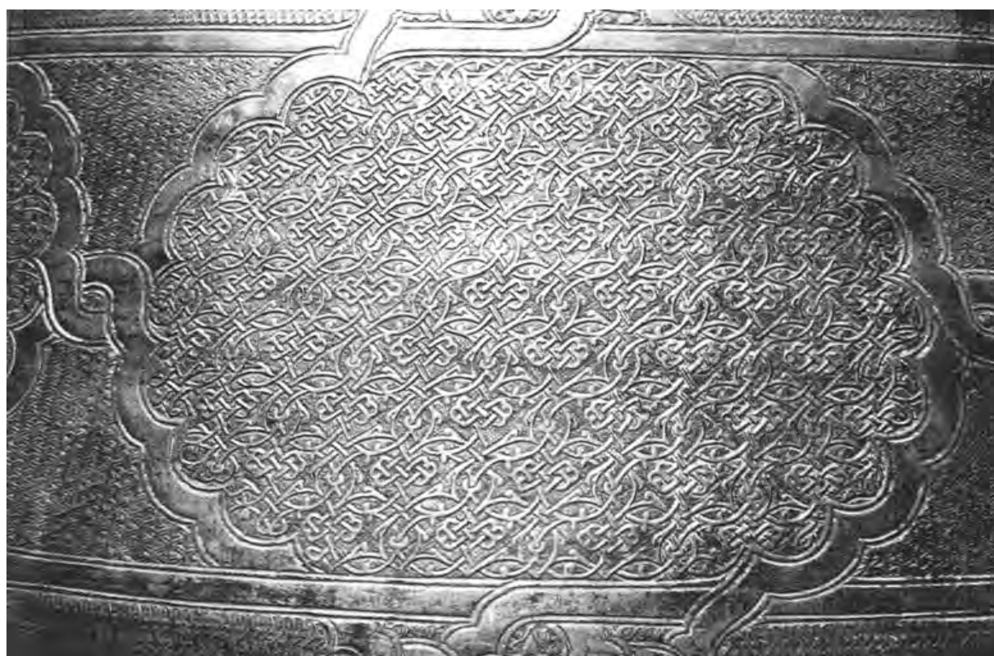


Fig. 19. Detail of the late Mamluk basin in the Benaki Museum



Fig. 20. Engraved circle in the bottom of the Maḥmūd bowl in the Khalili Collection.



Fig. 21. Engraved circle in the bottom of the bowl in the Ashmolean Museum



Fig. 22. Engraved circle in the bottom of the late Mamluk bowl of fig. 3.

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Mamluk Elite on the Eve of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad´s Death (1341): A Look behind the Scenes of Mamluk Politics

> When God made the morning rise and the muezzin announced the hour of prayer, the amir Sayf al-Dīn Qawṣūn left his house with a large retinue of his followers and sat down at his gate, thinking about the loss of his king and *ustādh* which had befallen him. After an hour, the amir Sayf al-Dīn Bashtak left [his house] with some of his companions. The amir Qawṣūn stood up, quickly walked over to him, and met him on the road. He embraced him, wept, and consoled him over his sultan, the like of which time will never ever allow again. After an hour, the sultan´s mamluks came out [of their barracks] and the amir Sayf al-Dīn Qawṣūn consoled them over their master, whereupon they sat down for a moment. Then, the gate of the Citadel was opened and out came the *khāṣṣakīyah* amirs, like Yalbughā, al-Ḥijāzī, al-Māridānī, Aqsunqur, and another, while they were weeping and mourning, and the amirs Qawṣūn and Bashtak consoled them. Then they [all] asked for the veteran amirs, so these entered [the Citadel, came] to them and were informed of the death of the sultan. Then, they [all] wept and they asked [the veterans´] advice on whom to appoint over them. But al-Aḥmadī said: ″You, you haven´t buried the sultan yet and you are already arguing. Have you forgotten what has been decreed to you and [have you forgotten] the oaths you have sworn? By God, you are not to appoint anyone but his son Abū Bakr; if not, [I swear that I will fight until] my white hair will be colored by my blood and my head will fly from my body.″ But the amir Sayf al-Dīn Qawṣūn told him: ″O lord Rukn al-Dīn, don´t be angry; [I swear] we will decapitate anyone who disagrees.″ And Bashtak said to them: ″Whoever disagrees with me will have to make the effort to join us in our agreement to the rule of the son of our *ustādh* [or he will be eliminated].″ So the *khāṣṣakīyah,* the mamluks of the sultan, and the *muqaddam*s *alf* all left to fetch the amir Abū Bakr. They brought him, made him sit on the royal throne in the *īwān* and the army

> came by, kissing the ground before him. Then he was given the royal epithet ″al-Malik al-Manṣūr.″ Everyone′s mind was set at rest and, thank God, contrary to what the people had been thinking, nothing [bad] happened and the issue ended well.[1]

This very visual and dramatic picture of the first reactions to the demise of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (r. 1293–94; 1299–1309; 1310–41) reveals the names of some members of his socio-political elite of the highest-ranking amirs of one hundred at the end of his reign. As highly unlikely as the actual scene may be, it hints not just at the identity of these individuals, but also at the nature of their relationship with the sultan and with each other (some are inside the Citadel, others not; some take counsel on the succession, others give counsel; some take the lead through these events, others follow, etc.). As such, this story, to a certain degree, reflects the approach that will be taken in this article to establish the nature and identity of this Mamluk elite in its most consolidated form, i.e., at the very end of one of the Mamluk empire′s longest, most prosperous, and most successful sultanic reigns.

Indeed, this article′s central purpose is to identify and define this elite of highest-ranking amirs at al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s court. And as it happens, we are very fortunate to have a list of all the amirs that held the highest military rank—that of amir of one hundred—at the time of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s death in June, 1341, left to us by the obscure historian Shams al-Dīn al-Shujāʻī (d. ca. 1354):

> There were twenty-five *muqaddam*s *alf* in Egypt on the day of his death: Badr al-Dīn Jankalī ibn al-Bābā, *al-ḥājj* Almalik, Baybars al-Aḥmadī, ʻAlam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Jāwulī, Sayf al-Dīn Kūkāy, Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd Wazīr Baghdād—these are the senior outsiders *(barrānīyah kibār);* the rest are his mamluks and intimates: his son Abū Bakr, Qawṣūn, Bashtak, Ṭuquzdamur, Aqbughā ʻAbd al-Wāḥid, Aydughmish, the *amīr ākhūr,* Quṭlūbughā al-Fakhrī, Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī, Maliktamur al-Ḥijāzī, Alṭūnbughā al-Māridānī, Bahādur al-Nāṣirī, Aqsunqur al-Nāṣirī, Qumārī al-Kabīr, Qumārī, the *amīr shikār,* Ṭurghāy, Aranbughā, the *amīr jāndār,* Barsbughā, the *ḥājib,* Bulrughā ibn al-ʻAjūz, the *amīr silāḥ,* and Baygharā.″[2]

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[1]Shams al-Dīn al-Shujāʻī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī wa-Awlādihi,* ed. B. Schäfer as *Die Chronik Aš-Šuǧaʻīs,* Quellen zur Geschichte des Islamischen Ägyptens, vol. 2a (Wiesbaden, 1977), 1:107.

[2]Ibid., 111–12. For the individual identification of each of these amirs, see the appendix to this

His son and successor Abū Bakr excepted, these twenty-four individuals were indeed the political and military elite at the end of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's regime, many of whom were to play significant roles in socio-political life in years to come. Rather than dealing with each one of them individually, the approach chosen to engage the issue of their identity and socio-political role (Who were they? What did they do?) in this article is their interaction with their "king," "ustādh," "master," or "sultan." This study will also attempt to establish whether such an analysis of this elite might allow for a behind-the-scenes look at Mamluk political culture at al-Nāṣir's court[3] and hence, narrow the wide spectrum of characterizations so far given to al-Nāṣir's rule, from ruthlessly enforced

article. For references to this list, see also Winslow W. Clifford, "State Formation and the Structure of Politics in Mamluk Syro-Egypt, 648–741 A.H./1250–1340 C.E.," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1995, 262; Mounira Chapoutot-Remadi, "Liens et Relations au sein de l'Élite Mamluke sous les Premiers Sultans Bahrides, 648/1250–741/1341," Ph.D. diss., Aix-en-Provence, 1993, 604–5.

[3]On the correlation between such interaction, politics, and authority in the Mamluk state, also defined as patronage, household politics, or even factionalism, see also Reuven Amitai-Preiss, "The Mamluk Officer Class during the Reign of Sultan Baybars," in *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th–15th Centuries,* ed. Yaacov Lev, The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, vol. 9 (Leiden, 1997), 275; Chapoutot-Remadi, "Liens et Relations," 65; idem, "Liens propres et identités séparées chez les Mamelouks Bahrides," in *Valeur et distance: Identités et sociétés en Egypte,* ed. Chr. Décobert, Collection de l'atelier méditerranéen (Paris, 2000), 179–180; Clifford, "State Formation," 5–6, 47, 65, 244–45, 272; Robert Irwin, "Factions in Medieval Islam," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1986): 228; Amalia Levanoni, "The Consolidation of Aybak's Rule: An Example of Factionalism in the Mamluk State," *Der Islam* 71 (1994): 252; idem, "The Mamluk Conception of the Sultanate," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 26 (1994): 374–75. A number of studies have already noted the existence of one or more such relationships, never however exhaustively with respect to this specific episode and the elite of amirs involved (see Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, 1310–1341*, Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts, vol. 10 [Leiden-New York-Cologne, 1995], esp. 28–60; Chapoutot-Remadi, "Liens et Relations," esp. 67, 604–6; idem, "Liens propres et identités séparées," 175–88; Peter M. Holt, "Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn [684–741/1285–1341]: His Ancestry, Kindred and Affinity," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, ed. U. Vermeulen and D. De Smet, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, vol. 73 [Leuven, 1995], esp. 319–23; D. S. Richards, "Mamluk Amirs and Their Families and Households," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Th. Philipp and U. Haarmann [Cambridge, 1988], 32–40).

authoritarianism[4] to spendthrift monarchism[5] to well-balanced oligarchism.[6]

It will be argued that it actually was a combination of this elite′s ″mamluk,″ family, and exchange relationships with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad that largely defined its composition, identity, and socio-political function at the end of his reign; furthermore, it will be suggested that these precise relationships not only characterize this elite, but also shed some light on the actual nature of al-Nāṣir′s authority.

″Mamluk″ Relationships

A first aspect of this elite′s identity and composition concerns their origin and subsequent status as mamluks or manumitted slaves. For when analyzing this elite′s composition in terms of the allegedly basic feature of Mamluk political culture—the relationship between a mamluk, his manumitting *ustādh,* and his peers[7]—a remarkably varied patchwork of mamluk origins and status is revealed. Though an *ustādh′*s basis of power was supposed to be the loyalty and cohesion of his corps of personal mamluks, all acquired, trained, and manumitted in his service and all identifiable by a *nisbah* that was derived from his name,[8] this group of senior amirs encompassed such a variety of mamluk ″categories″ in and outside his Nāṣirīyah corps of personal mamluks, that there remain surprisingly few grounds for assuming that such a bond supporting his authority really existed.

Barrānīyah, Nāṣirīyah, Khāṣṣakīyah

A first clear mamluk ″category″ of amirs of one hundred were those six that did not have the *nisbah* al-Nāṣirī at all.[9] Actually, in his list al-Shujāʻī already identified these six as a separate group, labeling them ″senior outsiders″ *(barrānīyah kibār).* And this clearly reflects the fact that, as suggested by their *nisbah*s, they had

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[4]Most importantly in H. N. al-Ḥajjī, *The Internal Affairs in Egypt during the Third Reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad* (Kuwait, 1978, 2000), 96–163, esp. 159–63; Peter M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517,* History of the Near East (London, 1986), 114; Reuven Amitai-Preiss, ″The Remaking of the Military Elite of Mamluk Egypt,″ *Studia Islamica* 72 (1990): 145–60.

[5]See Levanoni, *Turning Point,* esp. 28–80.

[6]Clifford, ″State Formation,″ esp. 235–40.

[7]On the ″mamluk″ concept, see the classic study by David Ayalon, *L′Esclavage du Mamlouk,* Oriental Notes and Studies, vol. 1 (Jerusalem, 1951).

[8]Ibid.

[9]They are the amirs Jankalī, Almalik, Baybars, Sanjar, Kūkāy, and Maḥmūd.

never been members of al-Nāṣir′s corps of personal mamluks.[10] In fact, what most of these outsiders in the Nāṣirīyah-dominated ranks of senior amirs actually had in common was that they had entered the Mamluk empire as young mamluks long before al-Nāṣir′s third ascendancy to power in 1310, i.e., they definitely were senior amirs ″who had priority in immigration″[11] and they were therefore also occasionally referred to in the sources as ″the veterans″ *(al-mashāyikh)*.[12] Almalik, Baybars al-Aḥmadī, Sanjar al-Jāwulī, and allegedly also Kūkāy were all members of the Manṣūrīyah, the corps of mamluks trained and manumitted by al-Nāṣir′s father al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (d. 1290) more than fifty years earlier.[13] And the remaining two, Jankalī ibn al-Bābā and Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd, actually were not even mamluks and therefore complete outsiders, yet with a remarkable record of service: both of them had been high ranking officials in the Ilkhanid empire before they had fled

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[10]According to al-Qalqashandī, the term *barrānīyah* was used for mamluks and amirs who did not belong to the *khāṣṣakīyah;* they were also called *al-kharajīyah* (al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A‘shá fī Ṣinā‘at al-Inshā’* [Cairo, n.d.], 3:386; 4:56). According to Rabbat, the term should also be taken literally, as the amirs who lived outside the sultan′s quarters in the Citadel′s southern enclosure (Nasser O. Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture,* Islamic History and Civilisation, Studies and Texts, vol. 14 [Leiden, 1995], 289); this may also be derived from the following quote from al-Maqrīzī: ″In it, the sultan reviewed the mamluks of the barracks and the outsiders *(al-barrānīyah)*″ (al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma‘rifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad M. Ziyādah [Cairo, 1956–58], 2:313). Combined with the information in this article′s opening story from al-Shujā‘ī, these outsiders indeed seem to have lived outside the sultan′s quarters, unlike their colleagues.

[11]On the specific terminology of a ″senior amir″ *(amīr kabīr),* probably also referred to when al-Shujā‘ī called them *″kibār,″* see Peter M. Holt, ″The Structure of Government in the Mamluk Sultanate,″ in *Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades,* ed. Peter M. Holt (Warminster, 1977), 55; Abū al-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Kitāb al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963–72), 10:303.

[12]Cf. al-Shujā‘ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:107; Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān al-‘Aṣr wa-A‘wān al-Naṣr,* ed. ‘Alī Abū Zayd et al. (Beirut-Damascus, 1998), 1:618, 4:162; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá ba‘da al-Wāfī,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1984–2003), 3:85; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* ed. ‘Adnān Darwīsh as *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Šhuhba par Abū Bakr ibn Qāḍī Šhuhba al-Asadī al-Dimashqī (779/1377–851/1448), Tome Second, Premier Partie du Manuscrit, 741/1340–750/1350*, Publications de l′Institut Français de Damas, vol. 145 (Damascus, 1994), 487.

[13]Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:81–83, 467–70, 618–20, 4:162–63; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā’iẓ wa-al-I‘tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Cairo, 1996), 3:83, 4:108, 247–48; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī A‘yān al-Mī’ah al-Thāminah,* ed. H. al-Nadawī (Beirut, 1993), 1:411, 502, 2:170–72, 3:270; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:768; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 3:85–88, 479–81, 6:74–76. See also Clifford, ″State Formation,″ 262. Kūkāy′s claims are rather more dubious, as there exists only one reference linking him to the Manṣūrīyah (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:768). On the Manṣūrīyah corps, see Linda S. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689 AH/1279–1290 AD),* Freiburger Islamstudien, vol. 18

to Mamluk Syro-Egypt, in 1304 and in 1337 respectively.[14]

Mamluk society generally seems to have shown these amirs respect for their long experience, veteran status, and continued loyalty to the sultan. Hence when Damurdāsh, the former ruler of Anatolian Bilād al-Rūm, fled to Cairo in 1329 and was given an official position inferior to one of those veterans, al-Maqrīzī recorded the following telling story:

> [Damurdāsh] was so upset about it that the sultan had to send the amir Badr al-Dīn Jankalī to him to apologize and [explain] that he did not want to disrespect his [royal] status, but that . . . the sultan's father had senior mamluks who had brought up the sultan, so that he wanted to honor their status. "Therefore I make you sit next to them."[15]

The other eighteen amirs of one hundred are all mentioned in the sources with the *nisbah* al-Nāṣirī, i.e., they actually were members of al-Nāṣir's personal corps of mamluks; yet two different "categories" in terms of mamluk status may be discerned within this group of Nāṣirīyah amirs of one hundred.

There were seven Nāṣirīyah amirs whose relationship with the sultan actually went far beyond the mere formalities of *ustādh*-mamluk loyalty. For all seven—Qawṣūn, Bashtak, Aqsunqur, Maliktamur, Qumārī, Alṭunbughā, and Yalbughā—are specifically identified in one or more of the era's sources as members of the sultan's special private retinue of forty favorite mamluks and amirs, the *khāṣṣakīyah*.[16] These were the real "insiders" among the amirs of one hundred. Very often, they had been picked for their good looks and, as such, they were all attached to the sultan by a more personal bond of sultanic favor and affection—often

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(Stuttgart, 1998), 189–96.

[14]Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 2:163–66, 5:399; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:539–4,; 4:331–32; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 5:22–25; Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* (London, 1986), 108; Levanoni, *Turning Point,* 41; Holt, "An-Nāṣir Muḥammad," 321. Maḥmūd's "priority in immigration" indeed is nonexistent—in his case, *kabīr* probably refers to his long-standing previous career with his Ilkhanid overlords.

[15]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:295.

[16]Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir,* ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ (Beirut, 1986), 130; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:107; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:605, 4:131, 132, 5:585; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:475; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:515, 537, 538. For this definition of the *khāṣṣakīyah*, see M. Q. al-Baqlī, *Al-Ta'rīf bi-Muṣṭalaḥāt Ṣubḥ al-A'shá* (Cairo, 1983), 114; Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik wa-Bayān al-Ṭuruq wa-al-Masālik,* ed. P. Ravaisse as *Zoubdat Kachf el-Mamalik* (Paris, 1894), 115–16. Al-Maqrīzī gives even more specific information, as he states that the number of *khāṣṣakīyah* amirs of one hundred at the time of the Nāṣirī *rawk* (1315) was eight (al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:353). For a very explicit reference to this group of amirs, as the "*khāṣṣakīyah*

even referred to as sultanic "infatuation."[17] Thus, al-Malik al-Nāṣir was said to have been "extremely infatuated and in love with" Qawṣūn,[18] with Bashtak,[19] with Alṭunbughā,[20] with Maliktamur,[21] and with Yalbughā,[22] apparently to the extent that when the latter became ill, al-Ṣafadī says the sultan himself looked after his protegee, meanwhile not administering justice for twenty days and even neglecting his own dying son Ibrāhīm.[23] And al-Ṣafadī has the following telling story about the amir Maliktamur:

> I've seen him when he was in Cairo. . . . Because of the sultan's love for him he would not let him go to the square to play polo on Saturday, rather he allowed him to go down on Tuesday [only] . . . and he used to say to him: "O Maliktamur, cover your head when you play so that the sun cannot harm your face." And he would only allow him to attend the public service very occasionally, so that no one [ever] saw him.[24]

Finally, as regards the remaining eleven Nāṣirīyah amirs of one hundred, the sources do not identify them as having a specific in- or outsider status at the time of the sultan's demise and we may assume they were merely Nāṣirīyah, linked to the sultan by the usual *ustādh*-mamluk relationship.[25]

In terms of their mamluk origins and status, clearly this elite was made up of three groups: the latter majority of common sultanic mamluks and two smaller groups of out- and insiders with a more defined status and more personal bonds with the sultan. Yet, as is often the case with such categories, they do not necessarily reflect historical realities. On the one hand, none of these groups are ever mentioned

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of the mamluks of the sultan [that are] *muqaddams alf,*" see al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh,* 1:107.

[17] See al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:477; al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh,* 1:60, 222, 266; al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhah,* 149, 153, 205; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 1:691, 4:131, 137, 445, 5:591–92; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 4:104; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:409, 477, 4:358, 437; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:184; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:378, 538; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 3:68.

[18] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 4:104.

[19] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:477; al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhah,* 154

[20] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 3:68; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:385; al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhah,* 265

[21] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 5:446; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 4:358

[22] Al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh,* 1:60; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:477.

[23] On Ibrāhīm, see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 5:591–92; also Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 4:437. On justice, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:492.

[24] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 5:446; see also Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 4:358.

[25] These eleven remaining amirs were: Aqbughā ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, Aydughmish, Bahādur, Qumārī al-Kabīr, Quṭlūbughā, Ṭuquzdamur, Ṭurghāy, Urumbughā, Barsbughā, Burunlī, and Baygharā.

as having acted as a self-consciously solidary group during the entire length of al-Nāṣir′s third reign; on the other, lines between the *khāṣṣakīyah* and non-*khāṣṣakīyah* are sometimes not as clear-cut as might be expected. Both of the so-called common Nāṣirīyah amirs Aydughmish and Quṭlūbughā can be identified fairly early in al-Nāṣir′s reign as members of the *khāṣṣakīyah*; it is, however, uncertain whether they retained that status in al-Nāṣir′s final years, since there is no explicit reference to it.[26] Bahādur′s status remains quite undefined as well, because though he was not explicitly identified as a *khāṣṣakī* in any of the sources, he is said to have enjoyed some of the *khāṣṣakīyah* privileges that come with sultanic favor. Thus, all relevant sources agree with Ibn Ḥajar that

> [The sultan] favored him so [much] that he came to stay with him to spend the night, as the fourth out of four: Qawṣūn, Bashtak, Ṭughāy Tamur, and Bahādur.[27]

″Veterans″ and ″Strangers″

Moreover, aside from these three very ″mamluk″ categories, there clearly were some additional distinctive features of mamluk origin and status, which were also known, or at least to some degree noticed, as they did find their way explicitly into the era′s sources. They mainly seem to have resulted from the success and length of al-Nāṣir′s rule and to some extent from his afore-mentioned personal predilection for certain types of mamluks.

Firstly, since al-Nāṣir reigned for so long, the continuous influx of new sultanic mamluks for thirty odd years resulted in serious generational differences in his final years between freshly appointed amirs and those who had managed to stay at the top for one or more decades. And though there is no clear reference to any sort of tension between those generations during al-Nāṣir′s reign,[28] the existence of different generations *(ṭabaqāt)* in the ranks of amirs did not go unnoticed. Quṭlūbughā was said to be ″from the generation of Arghūn al-Dawādār,″[29] and al-Ṣafadī made the following statement, revealing to some extent the contemporary awareness of this aspect of court life:

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[26]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 3:165; al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 4:113; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 3:205.

[27]Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:498; also al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:62; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 3:431; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:322.

[28]There is a reference to generational tension between Bahādur and the younger Alṭunbughā as the former is said to have born the latter a grudge for his quick promotion; in 1342 this tension is said to have caused Alṭunbughā′s removal from Cairo (al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 4:105; also to some extent confirmed in Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:323).

[29]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 10:82; instead of using the noun *ṭabaqah,* al-Ṣafadī talks about ″the high rank *(raf‘ah)* of the amir Sayf al-Dīn Arghūn al-Dawādār″ (al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 4:113).

> [Ṭuquzdamur] continued to be [the most] senior and revered, from the generation of Arghūn and from those after him, until the very end; he saw three or four generations come and go, while he remained as he had been and the sultan never turned against him.[30]

Thus, looking at these amirs of one hundred in generational terms, a clear distinction may be found between seniors or even ″veterans″ and rather freshly promoted juniors. Apart from the afore-mentioned revered ″veterans″ of the *barrānīyah,* the ranks of the common Nāṣirīyah count some amirs who, like Ṭuquzdamur and to some extent Quṭlūbughā, had considerable years of service as amirs of one hundred. Aydughmish had been promoted about thirty years earlier, shortly after the very start of al-Nāṣir′s third reign;[31] and both Aqbughā and Bahādur are said to have been amirs of one hundred since the late 1320s.[32] And though both Quṭlūbughā and Ṭurghāy were only promoted shortly before al-Nāṣir′s demise, neither of them should be considered a newcomer in these ranks either: Quṭlūbughā had been a privileged member of al-Nāṣir′s elite until he had been sent off to Damascus in 1327 and Turghāy had been a long-standing amir of one hundred when he was appointed governor of Aleppo in 1338.[33] On the other hand, the amirs Barsbughā, Burunlī, and Baygharā had only been appointed in 1338 or even later[34] and this certainly did not go unnoticed by contemporaries like al-Shujā‘ī, for he referred to Baygharā as ″the last of the later [amirs of one hundred and] commanders of one thousand.″[35]

Parallel to these common Nāṣirīyah ranks of amirs of one hundred, there clearly are two generations present among their *khāṣṣakīyah* peers. There is explicit reference to the promotions, often at a very young age, of five of these *khāṣṣakīyah* amirs to the rank of amir of one hundred fairly late in al-Nāṣir′s reign,[36] while the

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[30]Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:611.

[31]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 3:165; al-Shujā‘ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:251.

[32]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 2:480, 3:431; al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:62; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:498, 3:250; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:322–23; al-Shujā‘ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:86, 94 (quote), 249–50, 253; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:508, 514; K. V. Zettersteen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlūkensultane in den Jahren 690–741 der Higra nach arabischen Handschriften* (Leiden, 1919), 213.

[33]Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:578; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:216; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 6:380; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:383.

[34]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:262, 264; al-Shujā‘ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:43, 94, 221, 223.

[35]Al-Shujā‘ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:94.

[36]Alṭunbughā and Yalbughā apparently were born only in the early 1320s (Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:379; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 4:436–37); Aqsunqur was said to have been given a rank of amir of one hundred in 1336 (Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:515); Qumārī was promoted amir of one

promotion of the amirs Bashtak and Qawṣūn conspicuously predated them by as much as ten years.[37]

A final distinctive feature related to the mamluk relationship between this elite and their sultan specifically has to do with the mamluk status of a number of the Nāṣirīyah amirs of one hundred. For like the *barrānīyah* that were explicitly referred to as "outsiders," there were also some "strangers" among the Nāṣirīyah due to certain doubts about the soundness of their claims to Nāṣirīyah status. Thus, for instance, according to al-Ṣafadī the amir Ṭuquzdamur

> only considered himself to be a stranger within the sultan's household, because he had no peer to affiliate with.[38]

This was due to the fact that this Ṭuquzdamur, and also Aydughmish, Ṭurghāy, and Bahādur, had actually entered the ranks of the Nāṣirīyah not directly from the slave markets, but rather from other *ustādh*s' corps: Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Abū al-Fidā' of Ḥamāh, an amir called al-Ṭabbākhī, and the afore-mentioned king Damurdāsh respectively.[39] Furthermore, Qumārī al-Kabīr allegedly had been an adult shepherd of small cattle in "the land of the Turks" before being brought to Egypt by his brother, the amir Baktamur al-Sāqī (d. 1332), which again is hardly the customary way to enter the sultanic mamluks' ranks.[40] In the case of two of the *khāṣṣakīyah*, this "stranger" status definitely had everything to do with the reason for their being brought into the *khāṣṣakīyah*, i.e., the appeal of their good looks to the sultan. Thus, there is the well-known story about Qawṣūn, who had been a young merchant from the Black Sea region, "a beautiful and tall boy, about eighteen years old," whose appearance impressed the sultan so much that he made a considerable effort to acquire him as one of his personal mamluks;[41] and secondly, there was Maliktamur, originally a companion of the Baghdadi scholar al-Suhrawardī, but apparently so famous throughout the region for his beauty that

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hundred on 10 December 1337 (al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:29); and Maliktamur "was promoted at the end of al-Malik al-Nāṣir's reign" (Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 4:358).

[37]Qawṣūn was promoted in 1326 (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:272), Bashtak apparently in 1327 (ibid., 291).

[38]Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 2:611; also in Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 6:420–21.

[39]Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmi' al-Ghurar,* vol. 9, *Al-Durr al-Fākhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir,* ed. Hans R. Roemer (Cairo, 1960), 365; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:252; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:653, 2:62, 578, 611; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:426, 498, 2:216, 225; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 3:165, 431, 6:380, 420; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:322, 383, 465.

[40]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:497; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:723.

[41]Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 4:138; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 3:257; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:222; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 4:104 (quote).

al-Nāṣir again was determined to acquire him as a mamluk.[42] There are also the cases of the *khāṣṣakī* amirs Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī, who allegedly had first been a mamluk of the Artuqid ruler of Mārdīn, sent to al-Nāṣir as a gift,[43] and Yalbughā, about whom Ibn Ḥajar says that he had been born in Egypt ″while his father was in the service of al-Nāṣir, and he grew up with such an extremely beautiful face and fine figure that he got promoted.″[44] While the latter two especially are more contested stories,[45] in the case of Qawṣūn the actual fact of a perception of his being a ″stranger″ among the Nāṣirīyah may be seen from the reports on the political conflicts following al-Nāṣir′s death, where that specific feature was said to have been used to discredit his political appeal and to destabilize his alliances.[46]

This analysis of mamluk relationships, in terms of these amirs′ mamluk origins and status, provides a revealing look at the nature and identity of these elite amirs of one hundred at the end of al-Nāṣir′s reign. At the very least it gives us some insight, both into the background of the individuals, and into the nature of some of the ties that bound them to the sultan. What is striking is the small role traditional mamluk-*ustādh* bonds played in these relationships. Indeed, the general picture that emerges is of a varied elite composed of both intimates and outsiders, veterans and juniors, mamluks and non-mamluks, and real and outsider Nāṣirīyah, every one of them having a different relationship with the sultan due to their different personal histories.

EXCHANGE RELATIONSHIPS

A second relationship which was inherent in this elite of amirs of one hundred at the end of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s reign was of a far more material character, and consisted of the exchange of benefits between the sultan and his amirs.[47] As the

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[42]Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 4:358; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:184.

[43]Al-Shujāʻī, *Tārīkh,* 1:266; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:378.

[44]Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 4:36–437.

[45]According to Ibn Ḥajar, al-Nāṣir ″had bought [Alṭunbughā] as a child″ (Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:409); the story about Yalbughā especially seems very doubtful, since it is related regarding Yalbughā′s father Ṭābuṭā—even by Ibn Ḥajar, who claimed the opposite—that ″he had come [to Egypt] when he heard about his son′s favored position with al-Nāṣir″ (Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:213; also al-Ṣafadī, *Aʻyān*, 2:563; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 6:358).

[46]See al-Shujāʻī, *Tārīkh,* 1:164.

[47]On the concept of exchange as a major lever of socio-political interaction in the Mamluk state, cf. Clifford, ″State Formation,″ esp. 6, 46–47, 58; Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 48–50, 187–88; Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350,* Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge, 1995), 38–40; W. W. Clifford, ″*Ubi Sumus?* Mamluk History and Social Theory,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 60, 62.

head of a highly-centralized state bureaucracy, the sultan was the sole authority that controlled access to the military hierarchy (and its financial resources) and to the military administration, while at the same time the wealth of his treasury allowed him to bestow generous rewards on those he favored. Hence exchange relations not only defined the military, socio-political, and economic status of this Mamluk elite, but were also imperative in the absolute subordination of this elite to the sultan.

Promotion

The number of positions for the highest military rank in Egypt was fixed at twenty-four by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in the course of his 1315 cadastral reform, the *rawk al-Nāṣirī,* when financial resources were allocated for precisely that number of amirs of one hundred.[48] At the end of 1326, al-Maqrīzī mentions an increase of one extra position and *iqṭā',* to twenty-five, as a result of the split of the *iqṭā'* of the arrested amir Arghūn al-Nā'ib.[49] As can be seen from al-Shujā'ī's list, there remained twenty-five amirs up till the very end of al-Nāṣir's reign, though by then this number included one of his own sons, Abū Bakr.

One conspicuous previously-mentioned feature of this elite of amirs of one hundred is that no less than eight amirs, or one third of this elite, had been promoted to this rank within the four final years of al-Nāṣir's reign. Only six amirs of the Nāṣirīyah—Aydughmish, Ṭuquzdamur, Qawṣūn, Bashtak, Bahādur and Aqbughā—had managed to maintain stability in their careers and retain their rank for more than ten years. Actually, when compared with parallel but less complete lists that are known for the years 1312 and 1332, only three (actually even just two) and twelve names respectively still remained in 1341.[50]

The only political authority that was responsible for these bestowments and deprivations of military rank was al-Nāṣir Muḥammad himself. In his position as the sultan, he was the sole official who was empowered to elevate one into the

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[48]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 4:14; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:221, 3:353; al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdah,* 113.

[49]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:280.

[50]From the 1312 list in a work by al-Ḥasan ibn Faḍl Allāh al-Ṣafadī, studied in detail by Reuven Amitai, only the names of the amirs Almalik and Baybars remained, while Amitai himself added another one that returned in 1341, Jankalī (Amitai, "Remaking," 161–62; also Chapoutot-Remadi, "Liens et Relations," 605); from the 1332 list of amirs that accompanied al-Nāṣir on his third hajj, the names of the amirs Jankalī ibn al-Bābā, Almalik, Baybars, Sanjar al-Jāwulī, Ṭuquzdamur, Aydughmish, Qawṣūn, Bashtak, Bahādur al-Nāṣirī, Urumbughā, Aqbughā 'Abd al-Wāḥid, and Ṭurghāy remained (Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 9:366, al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:351–52). On al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's active involvement in the composition of his elite, see also Amitai, "Remaking," 145–46, 151–55; Levanoni, *Turning Point,* 28–30; and Chapoutot-Remadi, "Liens propres et identitées séparées," 180.

ranks of amirs of one hundred and whose signature was required to legitimize the *manshūr,* the document conferring an *iqṭā‘* upon a new appointee.[51] Therefore promotion to the highest rank was not only a matter of timing and circumstance, it was a result of, first and foremost, this elite's relationship with the sultan, inevitably one of gratitude, loyalty, and subordination.

When circumstances and timing are subjected to closer scrutiny, another feature becomes apparent: the absence of any reference to strong competition for this limited number of highly desirable positions. For in those nine cases for which such information exists, three times an amir was promoted to a position left by the demise of his predecessor,[52] while six times promotion took place after the sultan had sent the previous amir to occupy an office in Syria.[53] Only once did this provoke any minor protest, which was resolved peacefully but firmly by al-Nāṣir:

> When the sultan sent [the amir of one hundred Tashtamur al-Nāṣirī] to Ṣafad in the year 738, he requested exemption, implored him and demanded to be excused. . . . On Thursday, [the sultan] made him sit before him after the public service, and said to him: "I'm only sending you to Syria to perform a job for me." He made him bow his head, kissed it, and bid him goodbye.[54]

Generally, in the few cases where an actual reason for such promotion is referred to by the sources, it either concerns exchange of promotion for loyalty and services offered to the sultan,[55] or the sultan's afore-mentioned infatuation with and favoritism towards some of his *khāṣṣakīyah*.[56] Though the sample is admittedly limited and absence of further data renders the conclusion rather conjectural, overall these elements do seem to confirm the picture of a sultan who was all-powerful and

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[51]Holt, "Structure," 47–48; idem, "The Position and Power of the Mamluk Sultan," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38, no. 2 (1975): 246–47.

[52]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:177, 437; al-Shujā‘ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:28, 29.

[53]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:272; al-Shujā‘ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:43, 94, 253; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:383, 538.

[54]Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 2:588.

[55]See al-Shujā‘ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:93 (Quṭlūbughā is re-promoted in 1340 after his active involvement in the arrest of the Syrian governor Tankiz); al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 1:619; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:411; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 3:85 (Almalik is taken up in al-Nāṣir's entourage in 710 after his services rendered as a trustworthy and efficient messenger between the deposed al-Nāṣir in al-Karak and the new sultan Baybars al-Jāshinkīr in Cairo).

[56]See al-Shujā‘ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:253; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:391, 409, 477–78; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 2:497; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:385.

individual amirs who, though high-ranking, had few options but to obey his orders.[57]

The same picture emerges from another example, in which case al-Nāṣir allowed himself to bend the rules of the mamluk military curriculum on a whim, promoting the highly-favored rank-and-file mamluk Bahādur directly from rank-and-file status to the rank of amir of one hundred.[58] Again, this act is said to have provoked unsuccessful protest, in particular from the senior *khāṣṣakī* amir of one hundred, Baktamur al-Sāqī (d. 1332).[59] When the latter was murdered by the order of al-Nāṣir, he is said to have felt himself obliged to promote Baktamur′s little brother Qumārī to the highest rank.[60] Even a sultan′s whims had their limits.

Appointment

Appointment to high offices in the administration was also the sultan′s prerogative. This administration was designed to assist the sultan in governing his empire, and its military branch was mainly comprised of positions representing the sultan in the execution of his prerogatives.[61]

Again, it is actually very revealing that among those military offices that had executive power in the government, that of viceroy *(nā'ib),* financial minister *(wazīr),* and chamberlain *(ḥājib)* are explicitly stated to have been abolished or stripped of their authority by the sultan by the end of his reign:

> When [al-Nāṣir] died, he did not have a *nā'ib,* a *wazīr,* or a *ḥājib* with executive authority, except for Barsbughā al-Ḥājib, who rendered justice without having been given the [ceremonial] staff of the office of *ḥājib*.[62]

The sultan had simply refused to appoint a new amir in these offices when they had become vacant earlier in his reign. Actually, apart from the office occupied by this Barsbughā, the only offices awarded to high-ranking amirs toward the end of his reign were ceremonial offices of the court that managed certain aspects of

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[57]This is absolutely contrary to how Clifford depicted al-Nāṣir, i.e., as a sultan who continuously had to work to balance the wishes and aspirations of the different mamluk units that served him, and whose success stemmed from his great ability to achieve this (Clifford, ″State Formation,″ 235–74, esp. 272–74).

[58]Al-Shujāʻī, *Tārīkh,* 1:253.

[59]Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʻyān*, 2:62.

[60]Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhah,* 157; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʻyān*, 4:132–33; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:497.

[61]See, e.g., al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 4:16–28; Walther Bjorkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten* (Hamburg, 1928), 151–53; David Ayalon, ″Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army,″ *BSOAS* 16 (1954): 57–64.

[62]Al-Shujāʻī, *Tārīkh,* 1:111; also ibid., 94.

life in the Citadel, like oversight of the stables and the aviary, access to the public sessions, and management of the barracks and kitchens.[63] According to al-Maqrīzī, there was a very specific reason not to invest his most senior amirs with any executive power:

> He wanted to be independent in the affairs of his realm and to apply the rules single-handedly; therefore, he even abolished the office of *nā'ib al-salṭanah* so that he alone would carry the burdens of the state.[64]

Though this view is al-Maqrīzī's interpretation rather than an objective observation, in this specific case it supports the information so far adduced: though they were amirs of the highest rank and status, they were explicitly excluded from the formal channels of government, and this again confirmed their absolute subordination to a sultan who was the realm's sole executive authority.

Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad seems to have been wise enough, though, not to isolate himself entirely from his elite in the government of his realm. On more than one occasion, advice was sought from the *mashūrah,* the quite informal court council that was to advise the sultan in state affairs.[65] Its membership seems to have been limited, though, to those who indeed had enough experience to offer useful advice. A valuable observation in this respect was made by al-Maqrīzī:

> In [1318] the sultan made a group of the veteran commanders of the *ḥalqah* sit [with him] during the times of the council with the amirs, and he listened to what they had to say.[66]

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[63]Cf. al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:548, 554, 686, 2:81; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:391, 394, 502; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 2:480, 497, 3:282, 479; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:202, 341, 342, 377, 508, 754; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:101, 178; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 9:298, 374, 380; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:111, 223, 251; Zettersteen, *Beiträge,* 127, 128, 158, 184, 189, 195; al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhah,* 230; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:262, 319.

[64]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:534.

[65]E.g., in 1311, two "masters of the council" were among the amirs who attended a military review (Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 9:238–39); in 1312 there is reference to a council when Mongols threatened to attack Syria (ibid., 246); in 1336, rumors of war at the northeast border necessitated the organization of a council (al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhah,* 365–66); in 1339 the amirs of the council persuaded the sultan to arrest his financial supervisor, al-Nashw (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:485); in the same year, there was a council on actions to be taken after the arrest of the Syrian governor Tankiz (Zettersteen, *Beiträge,* 210).

[66]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:182.

This quote implies that there was some connection between seniority of service, including experience in state and military affairs, and membership in the *mashūrah*. Indeed, at the end of his reign four of the *barrānīyah* veterans—Almalik, Baybars, Sanjar and Jankalī—were said to have been members of this *mashūrah;* and in fact, they may well have been the only members.[67]

Secondly, the evidence from al-Maqrīzī also implies that there was some vague regularity in these council meetings, probably linked to the timing of the weekly public sessions in the *īwān* of the Citadel. For when al-Maqrīzī, in his *Khiṭaṭ,* depicts this regular public session in the Citadel (*khidmat al-īwān*) he makes a very specific reference, both to this council and its veteran members:

> . . . and at a distance of about fifteen cubits there sat right and left of him [=the sultan] the men of age and standing, belonging to the most senior amirs of one hundred—they are called the amirs of the council. . . .[68]

Grants, Gifts, and Benefits

Apart from promotions in the military hierarchy and appointments in the military administration, there was yet another level of exchange between the sultan and his senior amirs. This indeed was an exchange of a more material, direct, and tangible character, consisting of all sorts of benefits that the sultan dispensed from his apparently abundant wealth to his most senior amirs. And again, this mainly seems to have been one-way traffic. From the abundant income he had allocated to himself after the 1315 *rawk,* exceeding by far any individual amir′s share in the empire′s resources and collected by very efficient financial supervisors, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad spent enormous amounts on many different things, including some of his amirs.[69] In terms of defining the elite amirs at the end of al-Nāṣir′s reign and their relationship with the sultan, there are a number of remarkable features that appear when one scrutinizes this kind of exchange.

First of all, there was one type of payment every sultan had to make to his amirs because it was part of state ceremonial. Among several other payments in kind, it consisted of the payment of certain sums of money *(nafaqah)* and the

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[67]Al-Shujāʻī, *Tārīkh,* 1:104; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:485, 523; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʻyān*, 1:618, 2:467, 469; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 3:85, 6:74; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:411, 2:171. Moreover, if Ibn Taghrībirdī is to be believed, other senior amirs were explicitly excluded from this council (″He [=al-Nāṣir] did not incorporate them [=the amirs] in the advisory council, not even Baktamur al-Sāqī, Qawṣūn, Bashtak, nor anyone else; rather, he would only be guided by the elderly among the amirs″ [Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 9:174]).

[68]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:339.

[69]See, e.g., Levanoni, *Turning Point,* 53–60.

bestowal of robes of honor and the like, the value and elaborate decoration of which were related to the rank of each amir.[70] They were bestowed by the sultan on his amirs on specific occasions or in return for specific services, like the finishing of a polo ground in 1330, when "robes of honor and golden sashes were granted to the amirs and the commanders, and a robe of honor was bestowed upon the amir Sayf al-Dīn Aqbughā ʻAbd al-Wāḥid . . . and the amir Sayf al-Dīn Almalik al-Jūkandār . . .";[71] the promotion of his son Aḥmad to the rank of amir in the same year;[72] the marriage of another son in 1331, when "a robe of honor was bestowed upon . . . the amir Baybars al-Aḥmadī, upon Aydughmish, Amir Ākhūr, and also upon the remaining state officials . . .";[73] or in 1339, when he had the oath of allegiance to his rule renewed by the amirs, and "handed to every *muqaddam alf* the amount of 1,000 dinars."[74] These grants clearly were a ceremonial expression and confirmation of an amir's rank, status, and office, as well as a consideration for his loyalty and service to the throne, and their value was therefore quite formally weighed and determined.

There was another area of sultanic largess, however, of a completely informal and personal character and quite unrelated to any specific occasion or service. It was clearly directed to one specific group of amirs within the elite, those who, as mentioned earlier, for very personal reasons, had managed to attract the sultan's attention and had come to enjoy the sultan's favor: the *khāṣṣakīyah* amirs of one hundred. This personal expenditure by the sultan upon his *khāṣṣakīyah* amirs was already quite notorious in its time; in his own engaging style, al-Maqrīzī vividly describes it as "exceeding all bounds."[75] Those *khāṣṣakīyah* amirs that are explicitly mentioned in the sources are Qawṣūn, Bashtak, Maliktamur, Alṭunbughā, and Yalbughā, and they were involved in four different sorts of material exchange with their sultan, all of which made them extremely wealthy.

A *khāṣṣakī* amir might be granted an enlargement of his amiral *iqṭāʻ* by the income from additional villages. Thus, for example, in 1332 Bashtak was given the *iqṭāʻ* (and personal properties) of the murdered senior amir Baktamur al-Sāqī;[76]

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[70]Cf. David Ayalon, "The System of Payment in Mamluk Military Society," *JESHO* 1 (1958): 37–65, 257–96.

[71]Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 9:357.

[72]Ibid.

[73]Ibid., 360; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:343.

[74]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:499; for other examples of this kind of official expenditure, on the occasion of the marriages of his sons, his return from the Hijaz in 1332, the completion of large construction works, and a state visit by the "daughter of the sultan of Fez," see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:345–46, 357, 432, 435, 447–48, 453.

[75]Ibid., 535.

[76]Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhah,* 157; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʻyān,* 1:690. On the evolution of his colleague Qawṣūn's

when Maliktamur was promoted in 1338, to the *iqṭā‘* he inherited from his predecessor was added the village of ″al-Naḥrāwīyah, with an estimated monthly tax revenue of 70,000 dirhams″;[77] and to the amir Yalbughā′s *iqṭā‘* were added the village of al-Manzilah in 1338, and ″the village of Sūhāy, in the Ṣa‘īd, with an estimated tax revenue of 15,000 dinars″ the next year.[78] Eventually, the *iqṭā‘*s of the most senior *khāṣṣakīyah* colleagues, Qawṣūn and Bashtak, were said to have exceeded 200,000 dinars in value.[79]

Some *khāṣṣakīyah* amirs are also reported to have been fortunate recipients of al-Nāṣir′s extravagance, much to the despair of his financial managers. Thus al-Maqrīzī relates how Bashtak one day got 1,000,000 dirhams in return for a lost tax district[80] and how in the year 1337 he, Qawṣūn, Alṭunbughā, and Maliktamur were given 200,000 dinars each on the same day.[81] Another well-known story of al-Nāṣir′s generosity is the following:

> The *ḥājj* Ḥusayn, his *ustādār,* said: ″One day, [an amount] of 20,000 dinars was mentioned before the sultan, and Yalbughā said: ′By God, O lord, [I swear that] I have never seen 20,000 dinars.′ So when he left from [the sultan], he [the sultan] summoned . . . the financial inspector and said: ′Bring me at once 25,000 dinars and five honorary presents.′ . . . When he brought that, [the sultan] said: ′Carry the honorary presents to Yalbughā and tell him to bestow them upon the *jamdārīyah* when they come with the gold.′ He summoned five from the *jamdārīyah* and made each one of them carry 5,000 dinars, saying: ′Take this gold to Yalbughā.′ So they took it, and he bestowed those robes of honor upon them.″[82]

Even in the financial disputes between the sultan and his financial inspector al-Nashw on the one hand and these amirs on the other, from time to time sultanic

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iqṭā‘, see Shihāb al-Dīn al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1931–98), 33:202, 292; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:314.

[77] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:467; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 4:358.

[78] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:463, 493.

[79] Ibid., 525; also al-Kutubī, ″‘Uyūn al-Tawārīkh,″ Cambridge University Library MS Add. 2923, fol. 59. Amirs of one hundred were said to have been granted *iqṭā‘*s with annual incomes that ranged from 80,000 to 200,000 dinars (Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār,* ed. Ayman Fu’ād Sayyid, Textes arabes et études islamiques, vol. 23 [Cairo, 1985], 29; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 3:453–54; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:350–51).

[80] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:535.

[81] Ibid., 432.

[82] Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 5:585–86; also in Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 4:437; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:535.

decisions tended to favor the latter. For instance, in the year 1336 a private sugar factory that was connected to Qawṣūn was targeted by al-Nashw′s new fiscal policies to enhance the sultan′s ever-insufficient income. In the end, however, after the confiscation of its proceeds, these were immediately forwarded by al-Nāṣir to Qawṣūn, leaving the latter perhaps even better off than he otherwise might have been.[83] In all, the high *iqṭā‘* incomes these amirs already had been awarded occasionally seem to have been augmented by such huge sultanic cash gifts and benefits.

Even more than cash benefits, all sorts of valuable presents like horses, mamluks, robes of honor (and in the case of Bashtak even the wife of a murdered colleague) were quite regularly directed by the sultan to amirs like Qawṣūn, Bashtak, Maliktamur, and Yalbughā.[84] In the case of the latter, al-Ṣafadī said that:

> No one was delighted like him by the bestowals that came to him. Horses were offered to him with saddles, equipment, and accoutrements: fifteen saddles decorated with brocade and gold and inlaid with precious jewels for fifteen horses, and two hundred [trappings] for two hundred cart horses; and there were sent to him honorary presents: satin, golden sashes, brocaded embroidery, etc., which he had to give to those who brought those [presents] to him. . . . In all, [the sultan′s] grants and bestowals upon him were beyond [normal] bounds.[85]

And finally, an extravagant example of his unbounded generosity is the huge buildings he had constructed for some of these amirs. Though these were very limited in number, the amount of money spent, the efforts made, and the ground-breaking splendor that resulted again highlight the often outlandish behavior the sultan displayed towards the handful of amirs with whom he was really infatuated. There is passing reference to some sultanic involvement in the construction of Qawṣūn′s mosque and of Bashtak′s palace,[86] but actually, it was the amirs Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī and Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī who were the focus of this sultanic extravagance.[87] He had a mosque built for Alṭunbughā in 1334 (even before he

[83]Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhah,* 369–70.

[84]Cf., e.g., al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān,* 1:690, 4:138, 5:445; al-Shujā‘ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:222; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:451–52, 471–72, 491, 535; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 4:358, 478; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 3:367.

[85]Al-Ṣafadī, *A‘yān*, 5:585, 586; also Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:438; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 4:437.

[86]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:320, 501.

[87]On the sultan′s architectural patronage, see Howayda al-Harithy, ″The Patronage of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, 1310–1341,″ *MSR* 4 (2000): 219–44.

became an amir), as well as a luxurious palace for each of Alṭunbughā and Yalbughā in 1337.[88] And according to al-Shujāʿī, for the palace of Yalbughā alone an incredibly huge sum of money—he mentions the highly unlikely amount of 40 million dirhams—was set aside.[89]

To sum up, five of the seven *khāṣṣakīyah* amirs of one hundred identified before are mentioned by the sources as recipients of occasional additional benefits in cash and kind from the sultan, who awarded them unprecedented wealth. Nowhere is it recorded that they had to return anything to their generous patron, and no mention is made of any specific reason why such lavish patronage was bestowed upon these amirs, apart from the fact that in the case of the construction of buildings, there are some faint hints of a link between sultanic infatuation and these building projects. However faint these references, it does seem very plausible to assume that in this extravagant patronage and favoritism of his *khāṣṣakīyah* amirs of one hundred, al-Nāṣir′s infatuation with them again had an important role to play.

Family Relationships

Apart from ″mamluk″ and exchange relationships, there remains one small but fundamental issue that also conspicuously characterized a great number of the amirs of one hundred at the end of al-Nāṣir′s reign—their familial relationship with the dying sultan. By an active marriage policy al-Nāṣir had managed to establish links between himself and a great number of his amirs that incorporated an important part of the empire′s socio-political elite into his own family.[90]

Eight of the amirs of one hundred at the end of al-Nāṣir′s reign are mentioned at least once in the sources as married to one of al-Nāṣir′s daughters. Six of these sultanic sons-in-law were again his favorites from the *khāṣṣakīyah:* Qawṣūn, Bashtak, Maliktamur, Aqsunqur, Qumārī, and Alṭunbughā,[91] and number seven

[88]Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhah,* 265–68; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 5:586; al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh,* 1:25; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:385, 438–39, 453; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 4:437; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:538; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:185; idem, *Al-Manhal,* 3:68–69.

[89]Al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh,* 1:25.

[90]The issue of al-Nāṣir′s family and marriage policy has been noted and dealt with in great detail by Peter Holt (Holt, ″An-Nasir Muhammad,″ 313–24, esp. 319–23).

[91]Qawṣūn was married in 1326 (al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhah,* 436; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:272, 283; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:137; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 3:257; al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh,* 1:222; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 4:104); on Maliktamur, see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 5:444; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 4:358; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:184; on Aqsunqur, see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 1:554; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:394; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 2:497; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:754; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:178; on Qumārī, see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:131; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 3:256; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:431; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:101; on Alṭunbughā, see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 1:604; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:409; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,*

was the afore-mentioned probable *khāṣṣakīyah*-nominee Bahādur.[92] Number eight, Urumbughā, actually is a rather more doubtful case, as it was only the later historian Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah who stated that he had been married to one of his *ustādh*'s daughters.[93] Apart from these eight, there also was the amir Aqbughā 'Abd al-Wāḥid, whose sister Ṭughāy was married to the sultan,[94] and there are two more senior or even veteran amirs, in terms of years of service—Jankalī ibn al-Bābā and Ṭuquzdamur—that came to be father-in-law of one or more of al-Nāṣir's sons.[95] So in all, ten or even eleven members of this elite were related to the sultan by ties that went beyond "mamluk" or exchange relations and actually linked them to his family, hence—as the history of the years between 1341 and 1382 shows—firmly connecting his family's future to his military and socio-political elite's fate.

Direct reasons, however, for this marriage policy again remain largely unmentioned (or unnoticed). Only in the case of his brother-in-law Aqbughā 'Abd al-Wāḥid is there unambiguous information that al-Nāṣir's marriage to Ṭughāy actually predated Aqbughā's military career and was "the cause of his promotion by al-Nāṣir. . . ."[96] Gaining political experience and guidance may well have been a key element in linking some of his sons to the dyed-in-the-wool amirs Jankalī and Ṭuquzdamur, though there exists no evidence for such an assumption, and more personal or even other as yet unknown reasons may equally have been involved. The same goes for his *khāṣṣakīyah* sons-in-law, for it remains unclear whether he tried to enhance the loyalty to his reign and family of those men he himself had chosen to be at the very top of Mamluk society, or whether his grounds were less intentionally political, perhaps even more personal or emotional. In any event, at this point information remains too indefinite to allow any conclusive statement on al-Nāṣir's marriage policy, except that there is a conspicuous uniformity

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3:68; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 4:105; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:378; in general, also al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 111; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:536. So from the seven *khāṣṣakīyah* amirs of one hundred, only Yalbughā was not a son-in-law of al-Nāṣir (there was a—rather distant—link though, as he was married to a sister of one of the sultan's wives [al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 5:591; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:473]).

[92]See al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 111, 253; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 2:62; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:498; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 3:431; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:323.

[93]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:319.

[94]Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:548; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:391; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 2:480.

[95]Zettersteen, *Beiträge,* 195, 199, 210, 218; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:3, 18, 29; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 2:165, 611; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:540, 2:225; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 5:24, 6:422; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:407, 417, 432, 436. Jankalī's daughter actually already died in 1339 and the sultan had her son—his grandson—sent to Jankalī to be brought up in his household.

[96]Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:391; also in al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān*, 1:548; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 2:480.

between the list of *khāṣṣakīyah* amirs of one hundred and that of the sultan′s sons-in-law.[97]

Conclusion

If we look back on this reconstruction of the Mamluk elite on the eve of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s death, it becomes clear that variety rather than any sort of uniformity is the keyword: there is an enormous variety in this elite′s histories, in their mamluk status, and in their years of service. Though all were promoted to the highest rank, reasons for this were dissimilar, and their involvement in state administration—if any—was not uniform; even in terms of financial benefit from al-Nāṣir′s renowned expenditures, it was only the *khāṣṣakīyah* who benefited so handsomely, while at the same time, their ranks alone were additionally characterized by close and inclusive family connections with their benefactor, the sultan.

We have been able to show that just as this variety characterized the nature and composition of this Mamluk elite on the eve of al-Nāṣir′s death, it equally defined their relationships with the sultan. He showed some of them respect and others personal affection; he employed some to render him specific services and asked others for their advice; he bestowed regular formal benefits upon most of them, and elected others on whom to lavish occasional grants and gifts; and finally, two were chosen to be his sons′ fathers-in-law, while others were chosen to consider the sultan himself as their father-in-law.

Clearly, in dealing both with the nature of this elite and with the nature of al-Nāṣir′s socio-political relationships, these features warn us not to generalize and consider groups of people where we actually should be considering individuals. Even with a small group like the *khāṣṣakīyah,* differences are noted when we take into account concepts like generations and ″strangers.″ The individual amir and his personal history define the socio-political context far better than any other conceptual device.

Is it then at all possible to derive from this very specific cross section of the Mamluk elite a better understanding of al-Nāṣir′s successful rule? Apart from the retrospective observation of their success, there seems to be no conclusive evidence at all on the largely invisible policies and political behavior that contributed to al-Nāṣir′s long, stable, and prosperous reign. This article rather suggests circumstantial evidence. First of all, it is clear from the varied nature of this elite that the basis of al-Nāṣir′s authority over them could not have been any cohesion resulting from his mamluks′ loyalty to their *ustādh*. For membership in his Nāṣirīyah was hardly a compelling argument for promotion, and certainly not for sultanic

[97]There is only one son-in-law of the sultan mentioned who was not an amir of one hundred at all: Abū Bakr ibn Arghūn al-Nā'ib (al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:111; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:536).

favor. Moreover it was not exchange of financial benefit for loyalty either that bound this elite to their sultan, as this exchange has been shown to affect the *khāṣṣakīyah* only. Rather, as already suggested, many of this elite's features imply that it was his solid, engaged, and independent position at the very top of the military hierarchy and of the government's administration that account for the continuous subordination of this elite, which was left with no real alternative but to accept and gratefully return his patronage. There exist occasional references to plans to create an alternative order, but in an almost paranoid way the sultan always managed to have them firmly nipped in the bud.[98] Clearly it was this "pro-active" policy of al-Nāṣir that was referred to when al-Ṣafadī stated that—as mentioned earlier—the amir Ṭuquzdamur "saw three or four generations come and go, while he remained as he had been and the sultan never turned against him."[99] Moreover, observations regarding the sultan's often harsh treatment of his amirs are recorded by al-Yūsufī and al-Shujāʻī,[100] and according to the latter, seconded by al-Maqrīzī, on many an occasion awe or even fear determined the amirs' attitudes towards their sultan.[101] All in all, these elements taken together make a very strong case—at least as far as his elite is concerned—for considering al-Nāṣir Muḥammad a sultan whose firm hold on his office, combined with his political experience (and even paranoia), allowed him to dominate Mamluk society's elite. For this elite of individual amirs, with their various backgrounds, lacked any strong sense of solidarity and could pursue their self-preservation only within the parameters their sovereign set for them.

One final question needs to be asked: what was the nature of al-Nāṣir's involvement in creating this quite successful varied composition of his elite? In a previous study on the amir Qawṣūn,[102] I agreed with Reuven Amitai that indeed al-Nāṣir Muḥammad seemed to have "created a system of balances and counter

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[98]Among many such references, there is the sudden eviction of the *khāṣṣakī* amir Quṭlūbughā in 1327 (esp. Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 3:250) and of the *nā'ib* Arghūn in 1326 (e.g., al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:279), the murder of the *khāṣṣakī* amir Baktamur al-Sāqī in 1332 (e.g., al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhah,* 135) and of the long-standing governor of Syria Tankiz in 1339 (e.g., Zettersteen, *Beiträge,* 210), and there are a number of allegedly false rumors that, regardless of their high positions, time and again endangered the amirs Bashtak, Aqbughā, and Qawṣūn in the period 1339–40 (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:483–84).

[99]Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʻyān*, 2:611. For a similar, though more general, remark, see al-Shujāʻī, *Tārīkh,* 1:113.

[100]See al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhah,* 153; al-Shujāʻī, *Tārīkh,* 1:113.

[101]Al-Shujāʻī, *Tārīkh,* 1:61, 112; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:447, 449, 478, 483, 532.

[102]J. Van Steenbergen, "The Amir Qawṣūn, Statesman or Courtier? (720–741 AH/1320–1341 AD)," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras III,* ed. U. Vermeulen and J. Van Steenbergen, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 103 (Leuven, 2001), 451–68.

balances that prevented and disabled the rise of any powerful faction against his rule."[103] On the basis of many features mentioned above, such a foregone conclusion may be perhaps a bit audacious. Clearly, the process of selecting his "lieutenants" and favoring some of his mamluks had as much to do with al-Nāṣir's personal and emotional predilections as with his political insights. Actually, a combination of both may well have been responsible for the (accidental?) origin of this elite's divergent composition and interaction with him, though again, due to its private nature this is an argument that remains conjectural.

Even though the origin of such policies remains obscure, their result is undeniable: al-Nāṣir's success for more than thirty years is aptly epitomized in the subordination of his elite at the very end of his reign and confirmed by the succession of his son Abū Bakr. And this situation was actually very convincingly depicted at the beginning of this article in al-Shujāʻī's highly dramatical story: one by one the elite's many different categories of mourners enter the scene; tension rises between the lead characters; the late sultan's will is executed; and in an overwhelming final chord of unanimity the new sultan is enthroned as al-Manṣūr Abū Bakr. Al-Nāṣir had been "victorious" one last time.

[103]Ibid., 466, referring to Amitai, "Remaking," 162.

APPENDIX: LIST OF AMIRS OF ONE HUNDRED AT THE END OF AL-NĀṢIR MUḤAMMAD´S REIGN

Abū Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (1322–41)
al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 1:720–23; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:462–64; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:254–55; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:17–18

Almalik al-Jūkandār, al-Ḥājj, Sayf al-Dīn (ca. 1277–1346)
al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 1:618–20; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:411; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 3:85–88; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 4:108; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:175–76; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:487–89

Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī al-Sāqī al-Nāṣirī, 'Alā' al-Dīn (ca. 1320–43)
al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 1:604–7; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:409; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 3:67–70; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:266; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 4:104; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:105; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:378

Aqbughā 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Nāṣirī, Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1344)
al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 1:548–49; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:391; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 2:480–82; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:267; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 4:225; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:107; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:377–78

Aqsunqur al-Nāṣirī, Shams al-Dīn (d. 1347)
al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 1:554–56; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:394; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 2:496–99; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:178–80; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:515

Aydughmish al-Nāṣirī al-Ṭabbākhī, 'Alā' al-Dīn (d. 1342)
al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 1:652–53; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:426–28; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 3:165–68; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:251; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:99–100; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:320–22

Bahādur al-Damurdāshī al-Nāṣirī, Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1343)
al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 2:62–63; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:498; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 3:431–32; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:252; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:104; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:322–23

Barsbughā al-Nāṣirī, al-Ḥājib, Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1342)
al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 1:686–88; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:474; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 3:282–83; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:223; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:316; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:262

Bashtak al-Nāṣirī, Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1341)
al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 1:690–94; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:477–79; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 3:367–72; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:54–56; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:18–20; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:264–65

Baybars al-Aḥmadī al-Jarkasī, Amīr Jāndār, Rukn al-Dīn (ca. 1262–1345)
al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 2:81–83; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:502; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,*

3:479–81; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:83; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:143; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:459–60

Bayghарā al-Nāṣirī al-Manṣūrī, Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1353)

al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 2:100; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:514–15; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:294

Burunlī (Bulurghā) al-Nāṣirī, Ibn al-'Ajūz, Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1342)

al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:175, 221; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:263–64

Jankalī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Bābā ibn Jankalī ibn Khalīl ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Ijlī, Badr al-Dīn (1276–1346)

al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 2:163–66; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:539–40; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 5:22–25; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:218–19; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:143–44; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:460–61

Kūkāy al-Silāḥdār al-Manṣūrī, Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1348)

al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 4:162–63; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 3:270; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:241; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:625

Maḥmūd ibn 'Alī ibn Sharwīn al-Baghdādī, Wazīr Baghdād, Najm al-Dīn (d. 1347)

al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 5:399; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 4:331–32; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:80; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:183; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:536–37

Maliktamur al-Ḥijāzī al-Nāṣirī, Sayf al-Dīn (ca. 1310–47)

al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 5:444–46; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 4:358–59; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:184; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:537–38

Qawṣūn al-Nāṣirī, al-Sāqī, Sayf al-Dīn (ca. 1300–42)

al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 4:136–41; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 3:257–58; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 4:104; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:278–81

Qumārī al-Ṭatarī al-Nāṣirī al-Ḥasanī, Amīr Shikār, Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1342)

al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 4:131–32; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 3:256; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:250; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:101; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:341

Qumārī al-Nāṣirī al-Kabīr, Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1346)

al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 4:132–33; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:238; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:177; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:497

Quṭlūbughā al-Fakhrī al-Ashrafī al-Nāṣirī, al-Silāḥdār al-Sāqī al-Ṭawīl, Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1342)

al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 4:112–20; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 3:250–52; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:249–50; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:77; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:103; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:275–78

Sanjar al-Jāwulī, 'Alam al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd (1255–1345)

al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 2:467–70; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:170–72; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 6:74–76; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 4:247–48; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:276; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:109; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:426–29

Ṭuquzdamur al-Ḥamawī al-Nāṣirī, Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1345)
al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 2:610–13; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:225; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 6:420–22; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:142; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:463–65

Ṭurghāy al-Nāṣirī al-Ṭabbākhī, al-Jāshinkīr, Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1344)
al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 2:578–79; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:216; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 6:379–80; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 9:366; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:107; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:383

Urumbughā al-Nāṣirī, Amir Jāndār, Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1342)
al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 1:480–81; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 2:335; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 1:251; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:99; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:319–20

Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī al-Sāqī al-Nāṣirī, Sayf al-Dīn (1319–47)
al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 5:584–92; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 4:436–37; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:185; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:538–40

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Food and Cooking during the Mamluk Era: Social and Political Implications*

Food has been a long-standing object of attention in ethnographic and sociological research. Anthropologists of the nineteenth century focused on the ritual supernatural aspects of food consumption. Their twentieth-century successors, especially field anthropologists, studied rituals surrounding food and then food in the wider context of social systems. Among historians, too, leading historians of the *Annales* School[1] pioneered attempts to develop a ″total history″ emphasizing the macro-historical analysis of societies over long periods and the study of all aspects of human experience, especially material culture. A salient example is Fernand Braudel′s major works, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* and *Capitalism and Material Life 1400–1800,*[2] in which the author underscored the influence of long-term changes in material culture, including food, on the social systems in Europe. Braudel′s monumental works provided an incentive for the study of social history. Norbert Elias′ *The Civilizing Process,*[3] one of the most important studies written in the last decades in this field, traces the origins of the norms of conduct in today′s western Europe in late medieval royal courts. The western European way of conduct, including table manners, was modeled by cultural factors in royal courts in a long-term political process related to the formation of states and power monopolization in them.

In the last decades, scholars studying the history of Islam have also begun to focus on the study of material culture, including food. The collection *Culinary Cultures of the Middle East,* edited by Sami Zubaida and Richard Tapper,[4] examines

*This article is part of a book on food in the medieval Middle East which is in the advanced stages of preparation.

[1]An influential school of French historians formed around the journal *Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilisations,* which was founded by Lucian Febvre and Marc Bloch at the University of Strasbourg in 1929. Traian Stoianovich, *French Historical Method: The Annales Paradigm* (Ithaca and London, 1976).

[2]Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean* (London, 1976); idem, *Capitalism and Material Life 1400–1800* (London, 1973).

[3]Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process* (Oxford and Cambridge,1994).

[4]*Culinary Cultures of the Middle East,* ed. Sami Zubaida and Richard Tapper (London, 1994).

Middle Eastern cuisine mainly in the modern era, while studies by David Waines[5] and Manuela Marín[6] focus on the medieval period. In David Waines′ *In a Caliph′s Kitchen* and A. J. Arberry′s ″A Baghdad Cookery-Book″ an attempt was made to learn about the culinary culture of medieval Baghdad from recipe books.[7] Eliyahu Ashtor′s ″Essai sur l′alimentation des diverses classes social dans l′Orient médiéval″[8] looks at social stratification in medieval Near Eastern populations by way of their patterns of food consumption. In his *Al-Maṭbakh al-Sulṭānī,* Nabīl Muḥammad ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz examines the royal kitchen during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods.[9] Geert Jan Van Gelder explored food manifestations in Arabic literature[10] and G. S. Reynolds studied the Sufi approach to food in *adab* literature.[11] Late medieval humoristic and allegorical ″debates″ between foods were studied and edited by Manuela Marín and Ibrahim Kh. Geries.[12] Two articles are especially interesting for the research of food and cooking in medieval Islam: Maxime Rodinson′s ″Recherches sur documents arabes relatifs a la cuisine″[13] is a valuable bibliography of the Arabic sources on cuisine, and David Waines′ ″Prolegomena to the Study of Cooking in Abbasid Times: A Circuitous Bibliographical Essay″[14] is an excellent

[5]See for example: David Waines, ″The Culinary Culture of al-Andalus,″ in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden, 1992), 725–38; idem, ″Food and Drink,″ in *The Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān,* ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe (Leiden and Boston, 2002), 2:216–23; idem, ″Maṭbakh,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 6:807–9; David Waines and Manuela Marín,″Muzawwar: Counterfeit Fare for Fasts and Fevers,″ *Der Islam* 59 (1992): 289–301.

[6]Manuela Marín, ″Beyond Taste: The Complements of Colour and Smell in the Medieval Arab Culinary Tradition,″ in *Culinary Cultures of the Middle East.*

[7]David Waines, *In a Caliph′s Kitchen* (London, 1989); A. J. Arberry, ″A Baghdad Cookery Book,″ *Islamic Culture* 13 (1939): 21–47, 189–214.

[8]Eliyahu Ashtor, ″Essai sur l′alimentation des diverses classes social dans l′Orient médiéval,″ *Annales* 23 (1968): 1017–53.

[9]Nabīl Muḥammad ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz, *Al-Maṭbakh al-Sulṭānī Zamān al-Ayyūbīyīn wa-al-Mamālīk* (Cairo, 1989).

[10]Geert Jan Van Gelder, *God′s Banquet: Food in Classical Arabic Literature* (New York, 2000); idem, *Of Dishes and Discourse: Classical Arabic Literary Representations of Food* (Richmond and Surrey, 2000).

[11]G. S. Reynolds, ″The Sufi Approach to Food: A Case Study of Adab,″ *The Muslim World* 90 (2000): 198–217.

[12]Manuela Marín, ″Sobre alimentación y sociedad (el texto árabe de la ʾ La guerra deleitosa),″ *Al-Qanṭara* 13 (1992): 83–121; Ibrahim Kh. Geries, *A Literary and Gastronomical Conceit* (Wiesbaden, 2002).

[13]Maxime Rodinson, ″Recherches sur documents arabes relatifs a la cuisine,″ *Revue des études islamiques* 17 (1949): 95–158.

[14]David Waines, ″Prolegomena to the Study of Cooking in Abbasid Times: A Circuitous Bibliographical Essay,″ *Occasional Papers of the School of Abbasid Studies/University of St.*

survey of the modern study of cooking and methodological issues connected with this field of research.

Similar to their western European counterparts, royal courts in medieval Islam were centers of cultural repertoire formation. Courtly models had special prestige value that contributed to their dissemination among the population at large.[15] However, the success of courtly models dissemination in the lower classes was not a forgone conclusion. It depended, to a great extent, on the court′s position within a given society as a whole and the dynamics of the interaction among its functional groups. Generally it was the courtiers who represented important functional groups in the community and were influential in the formation of cultural standards because they had access to cultural capital and held positions in the royal court that enabled them to impose their models of conduct and shunt those of their opponents.[16]

The position of high ecclesiastics in the European courts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, especially those of the House of Otto, had an impact on European courtly culture. Other agents of culture in the royal courts were intellectuals, such as poets.[17] Similarly, with the rise to power of the Abbasids (133/750), the position of religious scholars, ulama, increasingly grew in the Muslim royal courts too. With the decline of the Abbasid Caliphate in the middle of the ninth century, which entailed a gradual erosion of the caliph′s authority, military elites dominated the royal court with the assistance of orthodox religious circles. Religious scholars brought their cultural repertoire with them; hence, the courtly code of conduct was based on Muslim tradition. Muslim religious law portrays a common way of life, material as well as intellectual. A special section clarifying the Prophet′s attitude to food and eating is included in the hadith, the Muslim tradition. As one of many aspects that constitute the Muslim model of ideal leadership, and as an indispensable factor in everyday life, food was quite naturally converted into a code of social and cultural symbols in the Muslim court. By the middle of the thirteenth century, when the Mamluks rose to power in Egypt, courtly models of conduct had already been a standard of Muslim culture for some time. Therefore, the Mamluk ruling elite were not free to act as they wished; Muslim standards of conduct and models of leadership dictated their behavior.

Mary Douglas, one of the leading scholars of the structural-cultural approach in sociology, has defined food as a code of symbols of social relationship by

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Andrews 1 (1986): 30–39.

[15]Elias, *The Civilizing Process,* 390–401.

[16]Gadi Algazi, ″Bodily Rites and Social Organization:Norbert Elias′ ′Process of Civilization′″ (in Hebrew), *Zmanīm* 18, no. 70 (2000): 77–78.

[17]Ibid., 77.

which the social structure of society might be deciphered.[18] Messages delivered through the symbolic language of food and cuisine, as much as other fields of material culture, encode social hierarchy, class boundaries, and transactions across these boundaries. Her observations are based on the notion that there is a correspondence between a given social structure and the structure of symbols by which it is expressed.

The present article will endeavor to show that aspects of food preparation and consumption identified especially with the Mamluk ruling elite were used in their dialogue with the general population to cultivate their image as agents of Muslim tradition and reinforce the social structure that defined and buttressed their position as rulers. It is important to mention that ideas and practices related to food constituted a significant part of Islamic tradition and public knowledge. Therefore, beside foods and culinary traditions that were specific to particular locales, there were common features to food in medieval Muslim communities.

THE KITCHEN

In medieval western Europe ″only the great lords and the rich bourgeois had proper kitchens and the necessary personnel.″[19] The preparation of food during the Mamluk era was similarly affected by social stratification, within both the ruling Mamluk elite and the general population. Only people of means could maintain kitchens in their homes, not only because of the great expense involved but also because of the danger entailed in keeping fire indoors since no effective means were available to extinguish it. In 751/1350 the Cairene quarter Khaṭṭ al-Bunduqīyīn, the quarter in which the market of cross-bows *(bunduq)* previously existed, was burnt to ashes by a fire that burned uncontrolled for two days and nights. The prefect *(wālī)* of Cairo together with the high-ranking amirs and their mamluks struggled for another three days to extinguish it. In the wake of this fire, ″some people abandoned cooking at home″ *(wa-taraka jamāʻah min al-nās al-ṭabkh fī al-dūr)*.[20] The owning classes had the resources to invest in the necessary precautions against fire risks. Thus, for example, Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (709–41/1310–41) ordered that the vaults *(ʻuqūd)* of the new kitchen in the Citadel of Cairo—the seat of the Mamluk Sultanate—be built of stone ″for fear of conflagration″ *(khawfan*

[18]Mary Douglas, ″Deciphering a Meal,″ in *Implicit Meanings* (London and New York, 1999), 231.

[19]Alfred Gottschalk, quoted in Stephen Mennell, *All Manners of Food* (Oxford and New York, 1985), 47.

[20]Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Cairo, 1987), 2:31–32. For another example see: Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Abū al-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Mawrid al-Laṭāfah fī Man Waliya al-Salṭanah wa-al-Khilāfah,* ed. Nabīl Muḥammad ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz Aḥmad (Cairo, 1997), 201.

min al-ḥarīq).[21] The government palaces in the Citadel of Cairo, the adjacent palaces and homes of the Mamluk amirs, and those of the civilian elite all had running water, which allowed them to supply the needs of a kitchen and also served for purposes of hygiene and extinguishing fires.[22] Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī, the fifteenth-century historian, attests that ″the fire never goes out″ in the sultan′s kitchen.[23] The *khānqāh* (a hospice for Muslim ascetics) Sultan al-Muẓaffar Baybars al-Jāshinkīr established in 706/1306 functioned continuously for fifty years. It was closed down in 776/1374 due to lack of water caused by the Nile receding.[24]

Another difficulty in maintaining a kitchen was the high cost of cooking utensils. The ownership of pots and their quality were symbols of social status. While the elite had kitchens equipped with ″astounding utensils″ *(al-alāt al-ʿajībah),* the lower classes sometimes had to rent utensils in the market.[25] Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1362), who compiled the biographical dictionary *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt* during the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, highlighted the miserliness of one of the prominent amirs, Baktamur al-Ḥājib (d. 738/1337), by noting that despite the latter′s great wealth, he used to rent pots in the market.[26] During al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s long stays at the home of Baktamur al-Sāqī (d. 732/1332), another of his prominent amirs, ″he used to eat nothing but what the mother of Aḥmad ibn Baktamur cooked for him in silver pots″ *(wa-lā yaʾkul . . . illā mimmā taṭbukhuhu lahu Umm Aḥmad ibn Baktamur fī qudūr fiḍḍah).*[27] When al-Nāṣir Muḥammad himself prepared for the hajj in 721/1321, the utensils taken along in his provisional kitchen included copper, silver, and gold pots.[28] Sultan al-Ashraf

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[21]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:230.

[22]Ibid., 210; *waqf* documents contain details about water supply to Mamluk palaces and their kitchens and baths. See for example the *waqfīyāt* of the edifices of Amirs Qurqmās, al-Razzāz, Alnāq, and Manjak in Muḥammad Ḥusām al-Dīn Ismāʿīl ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ, ″Arbaʿ Buyūt Mamlūkīyah min al-Wathāʾiq al-ʿUthmānīyah,″ *Annales islamologiques* 24 (1988): 54, 55, 56, 58, 61, 65, 72, 76, 78, 83, 86, 92, 93, 96, 98.

[23]Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik wa-Bayān al-Ṭuruq wa-al-Masālik,* ed. Paul Ravaisse (Paris, 1894), 125.

[24]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:416–17.

[25]Al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik,* 125; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1930–73), 2:125, 98; see also ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ, ″Arbaʿ Buyūt Mamlūkīyah min al-Wathāʾiq al-ʿUthmānīyah,″ 56.

[26]Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* ed. ʿAlī ʿAmārah and Jacqueline Sublet (Wiesbaden, 1980), 10:192.

[27]Ibid., 193. See, for another example, the dowry of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s daughter: al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:249.

[28]Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Abū al-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963–72), 9:58; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:196.

Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (907–22/1501–16) used to drink water from golden cups.[29] Sultans′ meals were routinely served on Chinese porcelain and so were meals in the amirs′ households.[30]

The proportion of copper and silver utensils in the dowries of brides from the civilian and Mamluk elites indicates that running a kitchen was integral to their lifestyle. Describing the market for utensils inlaid with silver in Cairo, Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1441) relates: ″The brides who were daughters of amirs, viziers, high clerks, and leading merchants used to include in their dowry . . . seven *dikak:* one of silver, one of silver-inlaid copper, one of white copper, one of painted wood, one of Chinese porcelain, one of crystal, and one of Chinese painted paper.″[31] A *dikkah* was a sort of painted wooden bedstead, often inset with ivory or ebony, on which the bride′s dowry was exhibited *(shuwrat al-ʻarūs).* The trousseaus of upper class brides included several *dikak,* with each *dikkah* loaded with different kind of utensils, while that of middle class brides included only one *dikkah* of brass utensils inlaid with silver. The dowry of Baktamur al-Sāqī′s daughter was transferred by porters from her father′s to her husband′s residence. It included, among many other prestigious items, twenty-nine porter′s loads of silver utensils and at least sixty-five loads of copper.[32] The old silver utensils of Bint al-ʻAmā'im, daughter of a Cairo merchant, were inlaid with gold at a cost of 100,000 pure silver dirhams.[33]

In contrast with the elite, most of the lower social strata did not have their food prepared at home. At least in the first decades of the Mamluk Sultanate, rank-and-file mamluks in the service of the sultan were provided with daily meals in the Citadel, while those in the service of the amirs took their meals at their masters′ tables. Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (678–90/1279–90) made frequent inspections of the food distributed to his mamluks in order to ensure its excellence and nutritional quality.[34] With the general weakness which beset the Mamluk Sultanate in the fifteenth century, when the mamluks only received money for their lodging and for the rest had to look for themselves—their food was mainly based on cooked broad beans.[35]

Members of the civilian middle class, those who earned a respectable living

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[29]Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās, *Badā'iʻ al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'iʻ al-Duhūr* (Cairo, 1982–84), 5:88; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:508, 591; idem, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:105.

[30]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 14:230; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'iʻ,* 4:151; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:591.

[31]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:105.

[32]Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* 10:197.

[33]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:105.

[34]Ibid., 213, 214.

[35]Ibid., 214.

but were not well off, prepared their food at home in "kitchenettes." These were most likely without fire and running water, as borne out by evidence that the water was supplied by water vendors and the food sent to the market to be cooked, at the shop of the butcher *(sharā'iḥī),* the cook *(ṭabbākh),* or the baker *(khabbāz),* who also baked bread that had been prepared at home. Muslim scholars gave special attention to the issue of who was to bring the flour back from the miller or the bread and food to and from the market, indicating that in middle-class families it was the women who prepared the food at home. *Ḥisbah* manuals explicitly instruct millers, bakers, cooks, and water carriers to employ professional women for this purpose or, when this was impossible, pious and trustworthy boys or chaste men *(mastūr al-ḥāl).*[36]

*Muḥtasib*s also instructed that when only women were at home, the food or water carrier should lower his eyes when dealing with them. Moreover, it was totally forbidden *(muḥarram)* for him to enter the house when a woman was alone at home. In such a case, he should put the food near the door, conceal himself from her sight and make a sign to her to come and take it. He should leave only when he had made sure that the food had been collected.[37] At least in Ibn al-Ḥājj's (d. 737/1336) lifetime, people ignored these recommendations, and "unchaste," "impious" lads or even Jews and Christians were employed to take food from Muslim homes to the market and back. Ibn al-Ḥājj complains that this situation "generally led to seduction or its anticipation."[38]

Sources indicate that those who belonged to the lower socioeconomic strata could not prepare food at home or found much difficulty when they tried to do so. Therefore they bought food prepared by cooks and butchers at the market: "and generally the butcher cooks for those whose earnings are not sufficient" *(wa-al-ghālib anna al-sharā'iḥī yaṭbukhu li-man lā yurdá hāluhu fī kasbihi).*[39] This "take-away" food was sold in clay containers, while in the cooks' shops food was served in inexpensive clay utensils which often were not washed after use.[40] The pots used for cooking in the market were not always cleaned after use. Stone pots were often repaired, when cracked *(mash'ūbah),* with congealed blood, although Muslim

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[36]Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Al-Madkhal* (Beirut, 1981), 4:164–65, 179–80; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Qurashī Ibn al-Ukhūwah, *Ma'ālim al-Qurbah fī Aḥkām al-Ḥisbah,* ed. Reuben Levy (Cambridge, 1938), 90; Ibn Bassām al-Muḥtasib, *Nihāyat al-Rutbah fī Ṭalab al-Ḥisbah,* ed. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Sāmarrā'ī (Baghdad, 1968), 62.

[37] Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 4:170–71, 180.

[38]Ibid., 165, 179.

[39]Ibid., 187, 190.

[40]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:95, 105; Ibn al-Ukhūwah, *Ma'ālim al-Qurbah,* 109; Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 2:76–77; 4:193–94, 205; Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-Rutbah,* 26.

tradition considered it unclean and therefore forbidden.[41] On the bottom rung of the social ladder were the urban indigents, who depended on the mercy and charity of the property-owning classes.[42]

Kitchens, then, were a symbol of social status and a testament to resources. As such, they were often attached to religious institutions which were created by the ruling groups and run by charitable endowments, *awqāf* (sing. *waqf*) as a part of their policy of state support of religion.[43] Typical of Mamluk patronage policy was the construction of monumental projects that included the founder's mausoleum side by side with a mosque, *khānqāh,* or madrasah. Such monumental buildings clearly propagated the link between the benefactors and the Islamic institution. Naming these religious institutions after their founders perpetuated their memory. The architectural and religious symbols of these monumental projects are beyond the scope of this study. Of interest to our purpose here is that the Mamluk ruling groups provided considerable material support within the precincts of these complexes, such as providing food and other commodities to both Muslim scholars and ascetics and the needy urban populace.

The monumental complex Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn built in 682–83/1283–84 in the center of Fatimid Cairo[44] included his mausoleum *(qubbah),* a madrasah, and a hospital *(bīmāristān)*—furnished with a kitchen—that was the centerpiece of the complex.[45] The hospital's maintenance was financed by a generous *waqf*. The stipulations laid down in the *waqf* deed show that this kitchen was provided with running water, on-going fire, and the necessary utensils. The hospital's patients came from all social strata of Cairo and its environs.[46] Until the end of the Mamluk Sultanate, Mamluk sultans supported this prestigious project of charity.

The inclusion of a kitchen was obviously necessary for the running of the hospital. Furnishing a madrasah or a *khānqāh* with a kitchen, however, was not obvious. Therefore a special social meaning was attached to this kind of charity. The *waqf* Sultan al-Muẓaffar Baybars al-Jāshinkīr allocated in 709/1309 for the operation of the aforementioned *khānqāh* within the monumental complex of his mausoleum includes stipulations concerning the food supplied to the ascetics

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[41]Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 4:191.

[42]Ibid., 190.

[43]Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1967), 356–58.

[44]For details see: Nasser Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden, 1995), 136–36.

[45]Linda S. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689 A.H./1279–1290 A.D.)* (Stuttgart, 1998), 120–21.

[46]Al-Ḥasan ibn ʿUmar Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh* (Cairo, 1976), 1:360–61; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 1:1:353. See also Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan,* 120.

residing there. Each Sufi was provided daily with food prepared and cooked in the *khānqāh*'s kitchen.[47] It included three *raṭl*s[48] of bread, three *raṭl*s of mutton and sweets, while the *khānqāh*'s head received a double share.[49] Al-Maqrīzī relates that when the kitchen stopped functioning in 776/1374, the Sufis were only provided with commercially-made bread and seven dirhams[50] per person to finance the rest of their needs.[51] Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, the founder of Khānqāh Siryāqūs, stipulated in his *waqf* deed that each Sufi would get daily one *raṭl* of mutton "cooked in an appetizing manner" *(qad ṭubikha fī ta'm shahī)* and four *raṭl*s of "pure" bread (white bread) and other commodities.[52] It is worthy of note that meat, sweets, rice, and white bread were considered symbols of social status and were valued as elite food items.

The college-mosque al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, built 758–61/1356–59, had a kitchen attached to it which, according to the donor's deed, was to supply daily meals to the college's staff and the children residing in its orphanage. Every Thursday evening, the poor living in the vicinity were served a meal that included small, round loaves of bread, mutton, rice, and honey.[53] Amir Yashbak min Mahdī (d. 885/1480) established a *waqf* to support the operation of a kitchen for needy people living near the al-Azhar mosque, providing each diner with bread and a bowl of *qamḥīyah,* a porridge made of milk, wheat, and meat.[54] These cases of feeding the needy people living in areas surrounding mosques might indicate the ways in which the Mamluk rulers or prominent amirs constructed the body of their clientele, *atbā',* from among the lower classes of the civilian population.

Since a great number of the masses could not afford to buy food and others could not prepare it properly at home, it was used by the Mamluk elite as an instrument to enhance their image as devoted Muslim rulers. Providing the destitute with food, often identified with quality food of the elite and cooked in kitchens maintained by the elite, fostered the Mamluks' image as public-spirited and devout Muslims, and their prestige as holders of power and resources.

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[47] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:417.

[48] *Raṭl* or *riṭl* was a weight equivalent to five lbs. in Syria and 15.75 oz. in Egypt.

[49] Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimā'īyah fī Miṣr, 648–923/1250–1517* (Cairo, 1980), 218–19.

[50] Dirham (pl. *darāhim*): a silver coin weighing an eighth of an ounce.

[51] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:417.

[52] Ibid., 420. For other examples see: Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 1:2:533; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:382, 423, 425.

[53] Amīn, *Awqāf,* 137.

[54] Ibid., 136.

The Preparation of Food

The preparation of food was of interest mainly to the top echelon of the Mamluk ruling elite, to members of the civilian upper class who were able to cook food at home, and to the professional cooks who kept shops catering to the vast urban lower classes. The latter′s attitude toward food preparation was simple, pragmatic, and aimed at the maximization of profit. The cooks used countless tricks to adulterate the food, while *muḥtasib*s used counter-methods to expose their deceit. As a result, the quality of food prepared in the market, though it varied, was generally poor.[55] *Muḍīrah,* a sour milk soup sold by weight, was deviously made heavier by the addition of ground rice flour.[56] Ways of adulterating meat dishes included the incorporation of much fat and little meat; the replacement of mutton with goat meat or with the meat of impure animals like dogs, and the use of spoiled, cooked meat or carrion masked by the liberal use of spices.[57] Ibn Bassām al-Muḥtasib relates that cooks used to improve the taste of meat dishes with *al-laymūn al-maliḥ,* most probably citric acid.[58] Another common agent in flavoring food was salt *(maliḥ)*.[59]

Bread was often made of spoiled flour or adulterated by replacing the grain flour with ground peas, broad beans, or chick peas. Moreover, despite the strictures of the *muḥtasib*s, bakery workers often kneaded the dough with dirty hands and feet or failed to wear garments with narrow sleeves and don head-bands and mufflers to stop their spittle from falling into the dough when they spoke or sneezed. Nor were instructions to prevent insects from creeping onto the bread always carried out.[60] Ibn al-Ḥājj testifies that it was largely because of the bakers′ lack of compliance with *ḥisbah* instructions that filth such as flies, straw, or hair was often found in commercially-made bread.[61] Therefore people preferred, if they could afford it, homemade bread *(al-khubz al-baytūtī)* which was prepared at

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[55]Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-Rutbah,* 21.

[56]Ibn al-Ukhūwah, *Ma'ālim al-Qurbah,* 89, 107; Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-Rutbah,* 45.

[57]Ibn al-Ukhūwah, *Ma'ālim al-Qurbah,* 107, 109; Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-Rutbah,* 36, 37, 38, 40, 44–45, 47–48; Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 4:102–202. For further examples of adulterating foods see: Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-Rutbah,* 29–33, 39–40, 41, 43, 44, 47, 48, 50, 51–52, 55, 57, 58; Ibn al-Ukhūwah, *Ma'ālim al-Qurbah,* 106, 107–10; Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 4:185, 187,190–91.

[58]Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-Rutbah,* 37; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 5:122.

[59]Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Medicine of the Prophet,* trans. Penelope Johnstone (Cambridge, 1998), 277. See also: Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-Rutbah,* 31; Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 4:173. On the issue of the ″spice spectrum″ in low and high cuisine see: Waines, ″Study of Cooking,″ 38.

[60]Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-Rutbah,* 21; Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 4:172–74; Ibn al-Ukhūwah, *Ma'ālim al-Qurbah,* 91.

[61]Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 4:173.

home and then baked at the commercial bakery.[62]

Beyond the concern shown by the *muḥtasib*s, especially the moralists among them such as Ibn al-Ḥājj, regarding the quality and purity of the food prepared in the market, a particular fear is clearly evident in their complaints about the fitness of the food in relation to the requirements of Muslim religious law. Muslim food taboos prohibit carrion *(maytah),* blood *(damm),* flesh of swine *(laḥm khanzīr)* and dog *(kalb),* and wine *(khamr),* as they cause a state of major impurity *(najāsah).*[63] Excretions from the body such as sweat, urine, sperm, etc., when they soil the person or his clothes cause a state of minor impurity *(ḥadath)* that can be dispelled by ablution *(wuḍū')*.[64] Obviously, when workers in the shops of bakers, cooks, and butchers in the market worked with dirty hands and legs and failed to wear the appropriate garments, they defiled the food they prepared. Knowing that cooks and bakers in the market were not observing Muslim requirements for food preparation only heightened the aspiration to have food prepared at home.[65] As we have seen, the ruling and civilian elites possessed kitchens in their palaces where dietary rules could be meticulously observed. A large number of ulama and Sufis resided in religious institutions built for them by the ruling elite, and received their food from kitchens built specially within those institutions. The bourgeoisie, which included numerous religious scholars and officials, took a great deal of trouble over the preparation of food in their homes and incurred the cost of sending it for cooking and baking in the market. In contrast, the masses depended on the grace and favor of those who provided food in the market for its quantity, quality, and ritual fitness. Therefore, the ability to maintain a diet in accordance with Muslim dietary rules was a privilege reserved for the elite groups who held a monopoly on knowledge and wealth.

For members of the Mamluk and the learned elites, food and its consumption were features of social and cultural expression. The banquet was a social event emphasizing the shared status and cultural background of the participants. This was especially true when intellectuals were invited to keep company with the ruling elite. They were expected to display their adroitness at light, enjoyable conversation on various subjects, a practice defined in medieval Arabic literature as *adab*. Food was a theme in Mamluk *adab* literature too. Famous poets of the period dedicated some of their verses to favorite dishes and the pleasures of consuming them. Thus, for example, the famous fourteenth-century poet Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Nubātah (d. 768/1367) composed verses in praise of *qaṭā'if,* a popular

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[62]Ibn al-Ukhūwah, *Ma'ālim al-Qurbah,* 92.

[63]Waines, "Food and Drink," 220.

[64]G. H. Bousquet, "Ḥadath," *EI*[2]*,* 3:19.

[65]Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 4:167–68, 174, 185, 187, 191, 193–94.

pastry.[66] Well-known ulama did not refrain from writing on the mundane subject of dining, as illustrated by the anthology *Manhal al-Laṭā'if fī al-Kināfah wa-al-Qaṭā'if* (The spring of witticism concerning the *kināfah* and *qaṭā'if*),[67] composed by the famous scholar and historian ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). Since the ulama frequently took part in shared repasts within and outside their social circles, literature dealing with food purity and table manners was of special interest to them. For example, the historian Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546) wrote a treatise entitled *Dalālat al-Shakl ʻalá Kammīyat al-Akl* (A guide on how to determine food quantity for consumption).[68]

Appreciation of fine food was a trait associated with the owning class, and therefore they dabbled in culinary adventures. To some of the elite, cooking was a hobby. The vizier Majīd Ibn Khaṣīb owned seven hundred slave girls, two of whom were experts at preparing fried dishes. To illustrate the vast wealth he accumulated during his period of service, al-Maqrīzī relates that large quantities of food were cooked ″in his kitchen at home.″[69] Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ (752–55/1351–54) was an amateur cook. He himself laid the table at a banquet he held in honor of his mother, Qutlūbak, and he served her and other close associates dishes he had cooked ″with his own hands″ *(wa-ṭabakha al-ṭaʻām bi-yadihi)*.[70] Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī enumerates at least forty-four dishes on the menu of the sultan′s kitchen, some of which came in varying flavors.[71] It is worthy of mention that dishes included in the royal menu such as colocasia, *sambūsak* (a small meat pie), and *harīsah* (cooked meat and wheat pounded together) were also consumed in the market in cooks′ shops.[72] This might well indicate that cooking traditions, mainly Arab and Persian, were standard in the urban centers of the Middle East.[73] The elite′s quality dishes that could not be had in the market, however, had their particular prestige value. The masses were aware of these differences because, on occasion, with the elite′s permission, they were exposed to this refined food. Thus, for example, at the end of the banquet Sultan al-Ẓāhir

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[66]Jalāl al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī, *Manhal al-Laṭā'if fī al-Kināfah wa-al-Qaṭā'if,* ed. Maḥmūd Naṣṣār (Cairo, 1994), 15–17, 18, 21, 23.

[67]*Kināfah* is a pastry made of sweet vermicelli. *Qaṭā'if* (s. *qaṭīfah*) is sweetmeats.

[68]Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Dalālat al-Shakl ʻalá Kammīyat al-Akl,* ed. Muḥammad Khayr Ramaḍān Yūsuf (Beirut, 1998).

[69]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* , 3:59.

[70]Ibid., 2:929; For further examples see: al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* 10:193; ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz, *Al-Maṭbakh al-Sulṭānī,* 41, 43.

[71]Al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik,* 125; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* , 2:535; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* 4:37; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'iʻ*, 5:88.

[72]Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-Rutbah,* 44, 45; Ibn al-Ukhūwah, *Maʻālim al-Qurbah,* 10.

[73]Waines, ″Study of Cooking,″ 37.

Barqūq (784–801/1382–99) held for his amirs and mamluks to mark a victory of his, probably in a polo game, huge quantities of food, especially meat and drinks were left to the common people.[74] Considering medieval social immobility, gestures of this kind provided the elite with the opportunity not only to exhibit their social rank and power but also to nurture in the masses′ minds the social structure that secured their position at the top of the social ladder. Status symbols clearly defined the social boundaries between the masses and the elite. All those who were invited to the banquet enjoyed the same status and only when they left the scene were the masses permitted to cross the boundaries and devour the remaining food. Terms of social inclusion and exclusion denoted the holders of power and authority.

DIET

Sociologists who have studied the diet of medieval western Europeans have shown that the higher their rank, the larger was the quantity of food they consumed and the greater the proportion of meat in their diet. Members of the lower strata, though they performed hard manual labor, consumed smaller quantities of food and much less meat.[75] Sources from the Mamluk period reveal a similar picture. The nutrition of the Egyptian rural masses in the Mamluk period was based mainly on locally-available crops. Upper Egypt was abundant in sugar cane and dates, so its inhabitants lived mainly on sweet foodstuffs *(ḥalawah)*.[76] In Lower Egypt, taro (colocasia, *qulqās*) and peas *(jūlabān)* were staples of nutrition. The diet of the peasantry was based mainly on bread: ″And their *fallāḥīn* have a kind of bread called *ka‘k* made of wheat flour, and it is dried and constitutes the main part of their diet all year round.″[77] Fish was also readily available, especially in the autumn, when the Nile tide brought this form of sustenance in large quantities. Fishing in this season was so easy that children could help provide food.[78] Al-Maqrīzī testifies that milk and milk products were also important ingredients in the diet of the masses *(wa-kathīr yukthirūna akl al-albān wa-mā yu‘mal minhā)*.[79] In western Europe in the same period dairy products were always considered a typical peasant food.[80]

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[74] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:902; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 12:80–81. For another example see: al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:403.

[75] Mennell, *All Manners of Food,* 44, 304.

[76] Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad Ibn Duqmāq, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār li-Wasiṭat ‘Aqd al-Amṣār* (Beirut, 1983), 41–46.

[77] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:45.

[78] Ibid., 46, 64, 108. See also: Ashtor, ″Essai sur l′alimentation,″ 1029–30.

[79] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:45.

[80] Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, 28.

Scarcity meant that the lower classes consumed small quantities of meat. In medieval Europe cattle rearing for meat was done for the privileged.[81] Even today in France and the United States a symbolic connotation of wealth is attached to steak.[82] Offal was the principal meat generally associated with the food of the poor, probably because it could not be kept for long.[83] Furthermore, for dietary reasons, the Muslim tradition has restrictions about offal. Slaughtering instructions demand the setting aside of the animal′s blood because it is considered unclean.[84] While it is much easier to separate the blood from the animal′s flesh, offal, on the other hand, has to go through a special process in order to clean from it the blood it contains. There was always a doubt about the cleanness of offal, especially that which was prepared in the market, and therefore it was considered an inferior food.[85] Offal and the heads of large and small cattle were disdained by the upper classes in Mamluk Egypt and treated as waste. The cook of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, al-Ḥājj ʻAlī amassed great wealth from selling such waste products accumulated in the sultan′s kitchen and catering at the homes of great amirs and officials during festive events. Al-Maqrīzī reports that al-Ḥājj ʻAlī frowned in response to the sultan′s request that he cook an additional mutton dish at the end of the feast held when Amir Baktamur al-Sāqī′s son married the daughter of Amir Tankiz. When the sultan asked him why, al-Ḥājj ʻAlī told him that his request would deprive him of the 20,000 dirhams he could have made from selling the unused cattle, chicken, and goose parts that he had accumulated during the celebration, which had to be sold immediately, before they spoiled. The sultan insisted he prepare the dish, promising to reward him with an equal sum of money. On the sultan′s order, butchers and cooks from Cairo were brought to the Citadel, where they bought the waste products for 23,000 dirhams.[86]

In contrast to the common people′s diet, meat and sweets, which were prestigious items in the Middle East throughout the Middle Ages, were the mainstay of the upper classes. There were other prestigious comestibles but we will confine our discussion to these two. The annals of the Mamluk period are replete with information about the quantities of food consumed by the military elite. In the first decades of the Mamluk sultanate, it was considered necessary to provide rank-and-file mamluks with a daily portion of meat: ″and they had plenty of meat dishes, sweets, and

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[81]Elias, *The Civilizing Process,* 96; Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, 45.

[82]Ronald Barthes, *Mythologies* (Paris, 195)7, 62–64; Marshall Sahlins, *Culture and Practical Reason* (Chicago, 1976), 172; Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, 311.

[83]Mennell, *All Manners of Food*,, 312–13.

[84]Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 4:183–84

[85]Ibid., 185.

[86]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:231 and 315; idem, *Sulūk,* 2:686.

fruits . . ." *(wa-kānat lahum al-idārāt al-kathīrah min al-luḥūm wa-al-aṭʿimah wa-al-ḥalawāt wa-al-fawākih).*[87] During the reign of Sultan al-ʿĀdil Kitbughā (694–96/1294–96) the quantity of meat consumed daily in the sultan's household alone reached 25,000 *raṭl*s, while that served at the *simāṭ*s, the daily banquets al-Nāṣir Muḥammad held for his amir*s*, reached 35,000 *raṭl*s, apart from poultry, lamb, kid, venison, and so on. At al-Ẓāhir Barqūq's *simāṭ,* 5,000 *raṭl*s of beef were served, in addition to poultry.[88] Considering the decrease in the royal expenditure during the Circassian Sultanate (784–923/1382–1517), relatively large quantities of meat were served also in the *simāṭ*s of Sultans al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (815–24/1412–21) and al-Ashraf Barsbāy (825–41/1422–38).[89] It was told of the above-mentioned vizier Majīd Ibn Khaṣīb that "he used to cook daily in his kitchen, at home, one thousand *raṭl*s of meat, apart from geese and other poultry." The quantity of sweets consumed in his household was so large that he had to invent containers for sweetmeats that were later called after him *al-khaṣbīyah*.[90]

The prestige of meat and sweets was so enhanced by their association with the upper classes that they were identified with the food of kings. According to al-Maqrīzī, the provisions packed for the hajj of Sultan al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (778/1376) included "varieties of royal foods" *(anwāʿ al-ma'ākil al-mulūkīyah),* such as the 30,000 boxes containing five *raṭl*s each of sweets made from refined sugar for the sultan's personal consumption. The endless quantities of sweets taken by the amirs and mamluks on the hajj elicited the following comment from al-Maqrīzī: "Consider the greatness of a country in which three hundred and sixty thousand *raṭl*s of sugar can be produced in one month for the sultan and his amirs, apart from [that produced] for others, which probably was of a similar volume." [91]

The special attention paid by the chroniclers of the Mamluk period to the varieties and quantities of meat and sweets consumed at the ruling elite's social events also attests to the role of these foodstuffs as signifiers of class status. Such occasions provided the upper classes with the opportunity to enhance their social position. It is no coincidence that they made extensive use of status symbols in these contested arenas to convey their control of resources and power not only to the public, but also to fellow members of their class. In 692/1293, Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl held a banquet to celebrate the dedication of the Ashrafīyah palace, the circumcision of his brother Muḥammad (the future sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad), and that of his nephew, Mūsá ibn al-Ṣāliḥ. For this banquet 3,000 sheep, 600 head

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[87]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:213.

[88]Ibid., 2:210 and 213.

[89]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:210–11.

[90]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:59.

[91]Ibid., 273.

of cattle, and 500 horses were slaughtered to prepare the meat dishes, while 1,800 *qinṭār*s of sugar were used for the beverages and another 160 for the sweets.[92] At the banquet held on the occasion of the marriage of Amir Qawṣūn to one of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s daughters, the refreshments included the meat of 5,000 sheep, 1,000 head of cattle, 50 horses, and great numbers of fowl and geese, together with sweets and beverages made from 11,000 *ablījah,* cones, of sugar.[93] In the inauguration of the great palace al-Nāṣir Muḥammad built for Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī, one of his favorite amirs, 300 *qinṭār*s of sugar were used for preparing only the drinks.[94] The inclusion of horseflesh in the food served in these banquets is of interest to our discussion for it signified the Mamluk menu. The Mamluks retained the practice of consuming horseflesh prevalent in the Eurasian steppes,[95] although Muslim tradition rejected it. The Prophet avoided horseflesh and Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 150/767), the founder of the Hanafi school of law, declared horseflesh unlawful.[96] The Mamluks belonged to a minority school of Hanafis that regarded the eating of horses as acceptable.[97] Furthermore, the number of horses is much smaller than that of other animals slaughtered for the Mamluk banquets. This indicates their high value and scarcity. Therefore it was identified as a distinctive Mamluk taste and symbol of their wealth and status.

The dedication of monumental religious edifices,under the patronage of Mamluk sultans and grand amirs, and the ceremonies held in those edifices to celebrate the Prophet′s and saints′ birthdays *(mawlid,* pl. *mawālid)* or religious festivals, were also occasions for dialogue between members of the ruling elite and their subjects that consolidated and sanctioned the existing social order. It was customary on the festivals of ʻĪd al-Fiṭr and ʻĪd al-Aḍḥá and the Prophet′s birthday to serve sweet dishes and beverages. Thus, for example, the inauguration ceremony of the madrasah founded by Amir Sirghitmish in Cairo (757/1356) included a magnificent meal *(simāṭ jalīl)* in which the mosque basin was filled with sugar-sweetened water.[98]

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[92]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:112, 211. A *qinṭār* equaled 100 *raṭls*, that is, about 100 lbs (378.5 kg) in Cairo.

[93]Ibid.; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:288. For further examples see: ibid., 346, 685–86; 4:1221; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ*, 4:151; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 9:102; 10:155; 14:38–39; 15:345.

[94]Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī aʻyān al-Miʼah al-Thāminah,* ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Jādd al-Ḥaqq (Cairo, n.d.), 5:212.

[95]Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá fī Sināʻat al-Inshāʼ* (Beirut, 1987), 4:455; Ibn Baṭūṭah, *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭūṭah: Tuḥfat al-Nuẓẓār fī Gharāʼib al-Amṣār,* ed. Ṭalāl Ḥarb (Beirut, 1987), 339.

[96]Frederick J. Simoons, *Eat Not This Flesh*: *Food Avoidances from Prehistory to the Present* (Madison, 1994), 179. See Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 4:167.

[97]My thanks are due to Robert Irwin for this information.

[98]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:28.

The sumptuous meal served at the inauguration of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Barqūq′s madrasah (788/1386) included ″. . . varieties of the best foods and roast meat of horses, mutton, geese, poultry and gazelles″ *(anwā‘ al-aṭ‘imah al-fākhirah, wa-al-mashwīyah min al-khayl wa-al-khirāf wa-al-iwazz wa-al-dajāj wa-al-ghizlān).*[99] A sweet beverage that filled the madrasah basin, sweetmeats, and fruits concluded the meal. The sweet refreshments served on such occasions had a double meaning: they combined a traditional religious symbol with the Mamluk elite′s status symbol. According to the hadith, the Prophet liked sweetmeats *(ḥalawah)* and honey. He especially blessed the palm tree and was of the opinion that whoever starts the day with seven dates would not be harmed that day by poison or witchcraft.[100] He himself used to drink a cup of water mixed with honey every day, and used to break the fast during Ramaḍān with a date or raisins.[101]

There is a debate among the religious scholars, the commentators on Muslim tradition through the ages, on the issue of what kind and quantity of sweetmeats the believer is permitted to consume. Ascetics during the Mamluk period interpreted *ḥalawah* as comestibles that were naturally sweet, such as dates, honey, and fruits, on the grounds that it was truer to the way of the Prophet and the period in which he lived, because the early Muslims were only exposed to processed sweetmeats after the great conquests. As processed sweetmeats were considered luxury foods throughout the Middle Ages, ascetics designated them solely for the next world.[102] In contrast, the more permissive of the commentators on sweetmeats, like Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (d. 852/1449) and Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-‘Aynī (d. 855/1451), were of the opinion that *ḥalawah* was a comestible that had undergone processing which turned it into a sweetmeat *(mā dakhalathu al-ṣan‘ah).* As this liberal interpretation appeared to cast aspersions on the image of the Prophet, depicting him as a person who used to consume luxury foods every day, these commentators added a restriction on the quantity that could be consumed and this became the religious precept according to which sweetmeats could be eaten. This broad interpretation of the tradition enabled the Mamluks to introduce, with the consent of the clerics who played an active role in the religious ceremonies, their own interpretation as an accepted way of implementing the traditional Islamic models, particularly that of the Prophet. Thus the Mamluks replaced the Prophet′s dates or raisins with refined sweetmeats or beverages. The inclusion of the status

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[99]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:547.

[100]Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Faḍl Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī bi-Sharḥ al-Bukhārī* (Cairo, 1959), 11:489; Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-‘Aynī, *‘Umdat al-Qāri’ Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* (Beirut, 2001), 21:91.

[101]Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Medicine of the Prophet,* 211; Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī,* 11:502; al-‘Aynī, *‘Umdat al-Qāri’*, 21:105.

[102]Ibn Ḥajar, *Fatḥ al-Bārī,* 11:489; al-‘Aynī, *‘Umdat al-Qāri’*, 21:91–92.

symbols characteristic of the Mamluk lifestyle, of a quality and measure that only they as rulers could permit themselves, for ceremonies of a religious character and particularly of the Islamic festivals, lent credence to their status within the Muslim establishment. This was one of many other public activities by which the Mamluks wished to cultivate their image as part of the glorious pantheon of earlier rulers, who were perceived in Muslim tradition as the Prophet´s successors and faithful followers of Islam.[103]

It was at these festive ceremonies, which were conducted according to a strict order, that the hierarchy within the functional groups of the society of the Mamluk Sultanate was clearly manifested. Thus, for example, the Prophet´s birthday festivities during the rule of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq were regularly attended by the elite of the religious establishment that included senior orthodox scholars and Sufis, and the Mamluk elite that included amirs and soldiers.[104] The order of entrance to the ceremony and the seating arrangements had a set pattern that indicated the hierarchy between the two elite groups and within each of them. Thus, the jurists entered first and sat on the sultan´s right by their rank *(ʻalá marātibihim),* followed by the Sufis whose place was on the sultan´s left, i.e., they were formally of lower status. Then came the amirs and sat at some distance from the sultan. The soldiers, who were last to enter, were seated at both sides of the amirs, to their right and left. Only those who were members of these two important groups in society, the clerics and the Mamluks, were invited to these ceremonies. The order of seating determined, theoretically at least, the superiority of the religious over the military elite and symbolized the superiority of its cultural repertoire, i.e., the Muslim tradition, over the military-Turkish repertoire of the Mamluks. The common people were not invited to take part in these ceremonies. In the event that they were allowed entry, it was only after the dignitaries had departed after the festive repast and their participation was relegated to the role of cleaning up the leftovers.

A similar role was allotted to the common people at the ceremonies held for ʻĪd al-Fiṭr by al-Ẓāhir Barqūq. He used to hold a special *simāṭ* every day of this holiday. When the ceremonies were over and the dignitaries had left, the servants and common people were allowed in to devour the remaining food.[105] The masses could cross social boundaries and fleetingly observe the lifestyle of the upper class only after the latter had left the scene, and only with their permission, thus

[103]On the issue of inventing tradition for political purposes see: David Cannadine, ″The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: the British Monarchy and the ′Invention of Tradition,′ *c.* 1820–1977,″ in *Invention Of Tradition,* ed. Erica Hobsbaum and Terence Ranger (Cambridge, 1984), 101–64.

[104]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 12:73–74.

[105]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:210. For further examples see: al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:807; 3:403, 547; idem, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:330; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 11:243; 14:38–39.

reasserting their status as those wielding power and authority. This pattern, repeatedly manifested in the religious ceremonies and sanctioned by them, enhanced the hierarchical social structure that guaranteed the religious authority of the ulama, and the ruling elite′s political and social preeminence.

TABLE MANNERS

Traditional Muslim table manners involved partaking food in common meals from one central dish, as was the standard among the upper class of western Europe at the time.[106] As there was no recommendation in Muslim tradition to use personal utensils like plates or spoons, the diner was required to take a small morsel with three fingers and deposit it in his mouth without making contact with his saliva. This also held true for drinking: the drinker was required to drink without touching the vessel with his lips. Licking one′s fingers and then putting them into the common dish was considered abhorrent. Licking the fingers at the end of the meal, on the other hand, was allowed as this was equal to wiping one′s hand with a napkin.[107]

Norbert Elias has shown that the etiquette of the medieval western European aristocracy at the table was not designed to maintain personal or common hygiene, otherwise more utensils that the aristocracy could easily afford would have been introduced. What is more, luxury utensils were already abundant at the tables of the upper class, but for different reasons.[108] Therefore, Elias concludes, refined manners were adopted not only for aesthetic reasons, but were also part of conditioned behavior, the self-checking standards, of the upper class molded into a particular form of conduct that constituted one of many other symbols of their social distinction.[109] Islamic sources, too, do not mention hygiene or disgust as an explanation for the rules and regulations that made up proper conduct at the common meal. They do mention, on the other hand, prescriptions and recommendations from the *sunnah,* the authoritative model of the Prophet.[110] Courtly experience in Islam, especially of famous rulers of earlier periods, was also considered worthy of being included in normative Muslim conduct.[111] As manners of partaking food together were part of traditional etiquette, the learned from

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[106]Elias, *The Civilizing Process,* 96; Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, 45.

[107]Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī al-ʻĀmirī al-Dimashqī, *Ādāb al-Mu'ākalah,* ed. Mūsá Bāshā (Damascus and Beirut, 1987), 23, 27–28.

[108]Elias, *The Civilizing Process,* 103–4.

[109]Ibid.; Mennell, *All Manners of Food*, 44.

[110]Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 1:216, 217, 222.

[111]See for example: al-Ghazzī, *Ādāb al-Mu'ākalah,* 17, 18–19, 20, 37; Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 1:209, 211, 215–20; 4:23, 209, 216.

religious circles were deeply committed to follow them. A strict adherence to the *sunnah* was doubtless a prominent distinction of their religio-social status. The restrictions that the religious circles imposed on themselves were used against both the lower classes and the Mamluk ruling elite, especially when the latter deviated from normative Muslim conduct.

In public, members of the Mamluk ruling elite could not avoid table manners and food taboos that were *sunnah* as they felt responsible for maintaining normative Muslim order as much as the ulama. In private, however, the Mamluks often indulged in a different cultural repertoire. The sources reveal that prominent amirs not only consumed wine, but also manufactured it in large quantities.[112] Sultan al-Manṣūr Abū Bakr (d. 742/1341) used to associate with his father′s amirs, such as Maliktamur al-Ḥijāzī and Ṭajār and *khāssakīyah* Mamluks, enjoying wine, women, and singers′ performances. These drunken parties were the main cause of Abū Bakr′s downfall.[113] Maliktamur al-Ḥijāzī, who escaped Abū Bakr′s downfall without a scratch, had no reason to suppress his strong passion for wine *(mūla'an bi-al-khamr)* and wine was carried on camels to his house in the Citadel.[114] During his governorship in Damascus, Amir Sudūn min ʻAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 841/1437) made a fortune from his ownership of taverns.[115]

As mentioned earlier, dishes of horseflesh were included in meals served at their banquets. After the Oirat, the Mongol warriors who had fled the Mongol Ilkhanate of Persia (695/1295), found refuge in the Mamluk Sultanate, they were allowed into the Mamluk army and their children into the majority of the amirs′ households. Since they kept their homeland tradition without intervention, they consumed horseflesh as was the custom in the Eurasian steppes. This was abhorrent to the Muslims because they used to tether the beast and beat it to death.[116] The Muslim tradition, however, forbids the flesh of animals beaten to death *(mawqūdhah)*.[117] Furthermore, it provides detailed prescriptions of how to slaughter the animal with minimum suffering and purify it for consumption by setting aside its blood.[118] Such blatant deviations from Muslim codes of behavior by the ruling elite made it easier for the ulama to level sharp criticism against the Mamluks′ cultural repertoire and bar its dissemination to the general population.

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[112]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:400–2.

[113]Ibid., 567–68. For more examples see: ibid., 646–47; 710.

[114]Ibid., 667.

[115]Ibid., 1067.

[116]Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,* ed. Qusṭanṭīn Zurayq (Beirut, 1942), 8:204; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:812; idem, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:22–23.

[117]Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 4:183–84.

[118]Waines, ″Food and Drink,″ 220

CONCLUSION

The social relationship between the Mamluk ruling class, the civilian elite, and their subordinates was conducted through an intricate network of communication. The most influential sphere whereby the ruling elite could buttress its legitimacy for rule was the patronage of Islam. The Mamluks invested special efforts and attention to tie their status symbols with Muslim rituals and festivals in order to foster the right social structure and sanction their position in it. The impact of the implicit language of communication, the messages encoded in symbols, had a strong effect in forming the social structure that enabled the long rule of the Mamluks despite its shortcomings. The messages delivered from the Mamluk elite to the civilians through the semiotic language of food, together with other fields of material culture, established a common structured conception of the normative social order which accorded them social and political authority—the status of rulers over the masses.

The present article discussed the Islamic cultural repertoire in the Mamluk court whose agents were the religious scholars. The Mamluk rulers conducted themselves in the public sphere in accordance with Muslim models of behavior. In another study, which is nearing completion, the author of this article addresses the relationship between the ulama and the Mamluks in the context of an alternative cultural repertoire whose roots were not grounded in Islam. In their everyday lives, the Mamluks clung to another cultural repertoire in addition to the Islamic one, which included the Turkish heritage they brought with them from their homeland in the Eurasian steppes. In accordance with Norbert Elias′ socio-cultural theory, the cultural characteristics of the Mamluk court could have been expected to ″leak″ from the court to the general population. This process did not occur, however, and despite the 270 years of Mamluk rule in Egypt and Syria, their cultural repertoire included the general populace only occasionally and superficially. It may be assumed that the reason for this stems from socio-historic processes that typify the side-by-side existence of two cultures that are unequal in development, in which case the simple culture seeks to adopt the more sophisticated one. Hence, it is only natural that the Mamluk elite with its nomadic culture would adopt, both intellectually and materially, the urban culture of Islam. Not only did the Mamluks preserve their cultural heritage throughout the entire period of their rule alongside that of Islam, but they also used it as a marker to distinguish their status as rulers over the remaining groups within the population. It would appear that preservation of their culture stems from the unique social structure of the Mamluk elite. The reign of the Mamluks was founded on continual recruitment of fresh human resources from the Eurasian steppes and therefore the Mamluk elite, despite long years of rule, was permanently composed of first-generation immigrants within a society with a deep-rooted Arab-Muslim culture. Moreover, the Mamluks, both

during the Turkish and the Circassian periods, did not cut off their connection with their homeland. They brought their relatives from the old country and at times Mamluks′ offspring born in Egypt were sent to the homeland to be raised traditionally.[119] The ulama, in contrast, had been the normative representatives of Muslim culture for generations and their interest, whether stemming from genuine ideological motives or concern for preserving their status, lay in fostering Muslim culture as the sole superculture in Muslim society. This concept led them to consider any alternative cultural repertoire to be inferior. It would appear that the social weakness of the Mamluks as new immigrants, despite their belonging to the ruling elite, was effectively exploited by the religious scholars to direct criticism against the everyday lifestyle of the Mamluks, at times implicitly and at times explicitly, with the aim of heightening awareness that their cultural repertoire, despite being the repertoire of a royal court, was unfit to serve as an alternative to the traditional Islamic repertoire which they represented.

[119]Amjad Jaimoukha, *The Circassians: A Handbook* (Richmond, England, 2001), 175–77.

Book Reviews

Die Mamlūken: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur: Zum Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann, 1942–1999. Edited by Stephan Conermann and Anja Pistor-Hatam. Asien und Afrika: Beiträge des Zentrums für Asiatische und Afrikanische Studien (ZAAS) der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, vol. 7 (Hamburg: EB-Verlag, 2003). Pp. 416.

REVIEWED BY DONALD P. LITTLE, McGill University

The extraordinary collegial respect and friendship felt for Ulrich Haarmann are evident from no less than three volumes of articles that have so far been dedicated to his memory: *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800),* ed. Hugh Kennedy (Leiden: Brill, 2001); vol. 6 (2002) of *Mamlūk Studies Review;* and the present work. Of these, *Die Mamlūken* is distinctive as a tribute from German (with one exception) Mamlukists. Appropriately, twelve of the fourteen articles are written in German; two, in English. Some of them were originally presented in remembrance of Haarmann at a special session of the 28th Deutschen Orientalistentag held in Bamberg in March 2001. While the predominant use of German in this festschrift will certainly restrict the number of its readers (a fact which Haarmann himself would readily acknowledge since he studied at Princeton and published extensively in English), cultural considerations evidently held sway—another fact which he would have appreciated. Be that as it may, this volume contains many substantial contributions to our field and, accordingly, should serve as a salient reminder of the need to read German in practically all fields of Islamic studies. Here I shall only allude briefly to the contents of each article, hoping that my linguistic inadequacies have not led me astray.

The articles can be roughly grouped in several categories: bibliographical, historiographical, diplomatic, political/military, and general. Coeditor Conermann gives a rousing introduction to the volume in the form of a survey of the recent state of the art: "Es boomt! Die Mamlūkenforschung (1992–2002)," as a sequel to similar efforts by Peter Thoreau, "Zur Geschichte der Mamluken und ihrer Erforschung," *Die Welt des Orients* 20–21 (1989–1990): 227–40; Ulrich Haarmann, "Mamluk Studies: A Western Perspective," *Arab Journal for the Humanities* 51 (1995): 329–47; and Robert Irwin's "etwas uninspirierten Überblick" (p. 1) "Under Western Eyes: A History of Mamluk Studies," *MSR* 4 (2000): 27–51. Commendably, Conermann lists twenty-two books on the Mamluks published in Arabic since 1992, with the caveat, however, that "the modest quality of Arabic secondary

literature is a noteworthy problem of Mamlūk research . . .″ (p. 2). In this survey Conermann introduces his colleagues′ articles by inserting resume-excerpts abstracting their contents. Here, it seems to me, would have been the perfect opportunity to broaden the usefulness of the volume by casting the abstracts in a language other than German. Conversely, the English abstracts of the two English articles could well have been written in German. Also in the bibliographical category is Thomas Bauer′s ″Literarische Anthologien der Mamlūkenzeit.″ In an appendix Bauer gives an annotated list of some ninety anthologies of various types of Arabic literature compiled during the Mamluk period. In the body of his article Bauer argues, contrary to the received wisdom, that this era ″must be considered as one of the most interesting periods of Arabic literary history″ (p. 71), though it has received very little scholarly attention. Characteristically, Rudolf Veselý tackles a technical question in his ″Das *Taqrīẓ* in der arabischen Literatur,″ showing that previously unnoticed ″blurbs″ dating from the fifteenth century ″give a glimpse of a little slice of the sociocultural life of Egypt in the last century of the Mamluk epoch″ (p. 385).

Closely related to the bibliographical studies are two of a historiographical orientation, both focusing on the nature of biography in Mamluk literature. As indicated by the title, in ″Ibn Aǧās (st. 881/1476) ′Ta'rīḫ al-Amīr Yašbak aẓ-Ẓāhirī′—Biographie, Autobiographie, Tagebuch oder Chronik?″ Conermann attempts to define by genre Ibn Aghā′s history *(tārīkh)* of the amir Yashbak, who flourished under Qāytbāy. Predictably, perhaps, Conermann concludes that the work combines autobiographical, biographical, annalistic, and, even, journalistic elements. This article also contains a German translation of Ibn Aghā′s long report on his mission for Qāytbāy to Uzun Ḥasan, of Aq Qoyunlu fame. In one of the two contributions written in English Otfried Weintritt goes beyond the Mamluks to discuss a work by a chief of the Qādirīyah order in Damascus under the Ottomans during the seventeenth century: ″*Ta'rīḫ* ʻAbd al-Qādir: Autobiography as Historiography in an Early 17th Century Chronicle from Syria.″ Justification for including this article in a volume devoted to the Mamluks is not provided. In any case, Weintritt provides a useful introduction to an eclectic work still in manuscript that he characterizes as a ″′Personal Historiography,′ which is notably lacking in a certain kind of historiographical professionalism,″ whatever that may mean (p. 387). The nature/theory of historiography is addressed in Anja Pistor-Hatam′s ″Ursachenforschung und Sinngebung: Die mongolische Eroberung Bagdads in Ibn Ḫaldūns zyklischem Geschichtsmodell.″ Here she, the coeditor, examines Ibn Khaldūn′s account of the 1258 Mongol conquest of Baghdad in terms of his cyclic model of history. In addition she situates the model in the context of traditional Muslim universal histories and compares their interpretations of the catastrophe with those of Ibn Khaldūn. Not surprisingly, Ibn Khaldūn′s philosophy of history

accommodates it as a part of his cyclical historical process in contrast to the conventional apocalyptic version of other historians. Also in a historiographical vein is a contribution to Mamluk diplomatic by Conermann and Lucian Reinfandt: ″Anmerkungen zu einer mamlūkischen *waqf*-Urkunde aus dem 9./15. Jahrhundert.″ This is a translation of, and diplomatic commentary on, a family *waqfīyah* for the benefit of one of the *awlād al-nās,* a document which was first studied by Haarmann in ″Joseph′s Law: The Careers and Activities of Mamluk Descendants before the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt,″ in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* edited by Thomas Phillip and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 174–87, and subsequently edited and published by Conermann and Suad Saghbini, ″*Awlād al-Nās* as Founders of Pious Endowments: The *Waqfīyah* of Yaḥyá ibn Tūghān al-Ḥasanī of the Year 870/1465,″ *MSR* 6 (2002): 21–52. While the German translation and commentary are expert and certainly helpful, it is awkward to separate them from the textual edition both by venue and language. Surely at this juncture we need not erect such obstacles for ourselves and our students.

Seven articles focus on substantive, as opposed to formal, topics. Two of these treat aspects of Mamluk military activity, or the lack of it. In ″Dreikampf um die Macht zwischen Osmanen, Mamlūken und Safawiden (1500–1517): Warum blieben die Mamlūken auf der Strecke?″ Albrecht Feuss works from the observation that the Mamluks abandoned a policy of military expansion after defeating the Mongols and Crusaders and correlates this lassitude with the decline of the Mamluks′ military power on both land and sea as an explanation of their inability to compete successfully with the Ottomans and Safavids as masters of the Middle East. Internal combat is the subject of Henning Sievert′s ″Der Kampf um die Macht in Mamlūkenreich des 15. Jahrhunderts,″ a struggle which resulted from ″practically no hereditary succession to the throne and no method of selection fixed in writing″ during the Circassian period (p. 335). From his review of the standard sources Sievert recommends using the tool of ″network analysis″ to illuminate sociological factors, especially the role of faction in Mamluk government and society. Loosely related to Sievert′s article is Thomas Herzog′s ″Legitimität durch Erzählung: Ayyūbidische und kalifale Legitimation mamlūkischer Herrschaft in der populären *Sīrat Baibars.*″ Both discuss the issue of succession to the sultanate, the main differences being Herzog′s reliance on a fictional source rather the conventional histories and his highlighting of pre-Mamluk—Ayyubid—practice and caliphal sanction in legitimizing the Mamluk sultanate in the eyes (ears) of the popular audience for the *Sīrah.* Gerhard Hoffmann goes back to the roots of the use of mamluks in Muslim armies in ″Die Einnahme von Amorium/‘Ammūrīya im Jahre 838—ein Katalysator frühmamlūkischer Tendenzen im ‘abbāsidischen Militär?″ He judiciously concludes that ″It remains therefore problematic to seek the

underlying structure of the later, developed, Mamluk system in early Abbasid times, especially in the caliphate of al-Muʻtaṣim″ (p. 40). Judicial history is also represented in ″Some Remarks on Mālikī Judges in Mamlūk Egypt and Syria,″ wherein Lutz Wiederhold uses specific cases involving Maliki judges to shed light on the specific role of Malikis in a profession dominated by Shafiʻis and Hanafis under the Mamluks. Finally, there are two think-pieces which examine certain general aspects of Mamluk culture and society. In ″Post-klassisch und prä-modern: Beobachtungen zur Kulturwandel in der Mamlūkenzeit,″ Stefan Leder discusses the cultural and social changes effected and reflected during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries by the spread of madrasahs and the popularization of literature, using the writings and careers of scholars such as Abū Ḥayyān, Ibn al-Ḥajj, Tāj al-Dīn, and Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, among others, as examples. In ″Einige kritische Bemerkungen zum sogenannten ′mamlūk phenomenon,′″ Peter Thoreau takes up one of the themes touched upon by Leder, namely decline, but political (as opposed to cultural) decline, which set in during the Circassian period. Re-examining the reigns of Baybars and Qalāwūn in this paradigm, Thoreau concludes that the years 1260–93 should not be regarded as the classic years of Mamluk rule but as a deviation from the norms of two hundred years of Mamluk history.

Taken as a whole, the book clearly offers much food for thought, not least as a compendium of the extensive work on the Mamluks being conducted by German scholars, inspired by Haarmann. As might be expected, the scientific rigor and command of the sources associated with German scholarship are much in evidence and, to labor the point, demonstrate the necessity for those of us born without a German tongue to cultivate one.

ẒAMYĀʼ MUḤAMMAD ʻABBĀS AL-SĀMARRĀʼĪ, *Al-Manhaj al-Tārīkhī ʻinda al-Qalqashandī: Dirāsah Taḥlīlīyah* (Riyadh: Markaz al-Malik Fayṣal lil-Buḥūth wa-al-Dirāsāt al-Islāmīyah, 2001). Pp. 254.

REVIEWED BY LI GUO, University of Notre Dame

This book sets out to ″investigate the methodology of al-Qalqashandī′s historical writings through analytical studies aimed at identifying the patterns *(al-masūghāt)* and factors *(ṭabīʻat dawāfiʻihi)* determining his choice of topics—civilization *(al-ḥaḍārah),* genealogy and Arab tribes, the succession of dynasties *(al-khilāfah)*—that go beyond the [usual] subjects his contemporaries were preoccupied with, namely

political history and biography of learned men″ (p. 10). The project therefore is ″to focus on the methodological principles upon which al-Qalqashandī based [his] historical research; among these are historical criticism *(al-naqd al-tārīkhī)* and extensive use of documents″ (p. 11), for which al-Qalqashandī is well known to the readers of this journal and, for that matter, to all students of medieval Islamic history. It is noteworthy here that the scope of inquiry is beyond the *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá,* arguably the best known and the most important work of al-Qalqashandī, and extends to other lesser known and rarely studied titles, such as the *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Ma'rifat Ansāb al-'Arab,* the *Qalā'id al-Jumān fī al-Ta'rīf bi-Qabā'il 'Arab al-Zamān,* and the *Ma'āthir al-Anāfah fī Ma'ālim al-Khilāfah,* which, unlike the encyclopedic manual-like *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá,* deal with the history of Arab tribes and dynasties.

The book consists of four chapters, with Preface, Introduction, and Conclusion. The introduction provides a sketch of al-Qalqashandī′s life and work. Chapter One, ″The Form and Content of al-Qalqashandī′s Historical Writings,″ begins with an outline of the organizational principles that guided al-Qalqashandī′s presentation and choice of materials. The author suggests that al-Qalqashandī′s method in treating his primary sources is one of cautious liberty, in that he might have edited, or ″polished″ *(taṣarrafa fī),* these sources for the sake of consistency in style; but the author assures us that this was usually carefully executed without bowdlerizing the essential information contained in these sources.

For me, more interesting is Chapter Two, which is on al-Qalqashandī′s sources. This is a particularly thorny issue insofar as several hundred works, many of which are lost today, were used by al-Qalqashandī, who in turn had a tendency to shorthand, and at times to shortchange them in his citations. The authors are, more often than not, mentioned by nicknames and pen names, whereas the titles are not always given in full. Therefore, the painstaking effort to delineate and sort out the details of these sources in this chapter is to be commended. Particularly helpful is the chart of the hitherto unpublished and lost sources cited by al-Qalqashandī (pp. 122–23).

Titled ″The Foundations *(usus)* of al-Qalqashandī′s Historical Research,″ Chapter Three situates al-Qalqashandī′s writings within the context of medieval Muslim historiography. The author is of the opinion that while al-Qalqashandī distinguished himself by his ″characteristic method″ *(manhajuhu al-khāṣṣ)* and ″unique perspectives″ *(ru'yatuhu al-khāṣṣah),* he is essentially a product of the historical thought and historical philosophy in Egypt during the ninth/fifteenth century. His intensive use of the documents *(al-wathā'iq)* is a hallmark of his tremendous success and significant legacy. A lengthy discussion of al-Qalqashandī′s use of documents (pp. 136–47) concludes with yet another useful chart of the documentary sources utilized in al-Qalqashandī′s major writings (704 for the

Ṣubḥ al-A'shá, ten for the *Qalā'id,* four for the *Nihāyah* and the *Ma'āthir,* respectively). Al-Qalqashandī's achievement is also seen in his role in systematically preserving and standardizing technical terms *(al-muṣṭalaḥ)* for Arabic historical writing and documentation as a whole in the later Middle Ages. A third chart, of the terms used and standardized by al-Qalqashandī (pp. 154–55), constitutes a handy tool for students, although the list itself is far from being exhaustive. The chapter concludes with a layout of al-Qalqashandī's system of abbreviations and cross-referencing (pp. 156–69), which is also very helpful, especially for those navigating al-Qalqashandī's monumental *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá.*

The last chapter deals with "Al-Qalqashandī's Historical Criticism" *(al-naqd al-tārīkhī).* It discusses his critique of primary sources *(al-maṣādir), khabar*-material and historical narratives, and documents. The author points out that al-Qalqashandī's critical use of documents extends from simply quoting the contents of a given document to commenting on the form and formulaic features of the text, an aspect usually ignored by many of al-Qalqashandī's fellow historians (pp. 202–7). By and large, al-Qalqashandī's historical criticism, according to the author, stemmed from his deep belief in employing the principle of *ijtihād,* or "individual reasoning," in the study of Islamic jurisprudence, for historical research. In historiographic terms, this method of *ijtihād* has to do with tracing, and describing, new patterns and trends in history, based on independently verified proofs. In this connection, al-Qalqashandī's understanding of "history" was essentially an exercise of *taḥqīq al-khabar,* that is, critically investigating and vigorously verifying the raw data. This getting-to-the-bottom-of-the-truth approach to history is, according to the author, a further step on the part of al-Qalqashandī that goes beyond the historians prior to him. Furthermore, al-Qalqashandī's critical method also has to do with his "flexibility" *(murūnah)* in accepting, and respecting, various explanations and narratives of a given historical event; and this, according to the author, is in accordance with the general cultural atmosphere in al-Qalqashandī's time when the four Sunni legal schools came to share the landscape of intellectual discourse and the ulama and *mu'arrikhūn,* many of whom wore both hats, worked together in fostering a milieu of competition and free exchange of data, and ideas, among themselves. In the final analysis, al-Qalqashandī's era saw the maturity of medieval Muslim historiography, thanks to him, and to the collective efforts of his fellow historians.

The book is descriptive in nature and at times lacks rigorous in-depth analysis. For example, in describing the devices used by al-Qalqashandī in citing his sources, the author singles out, among others, the use of *qāla* and *qultu* to mark the end of a quote and the beginning of al-Qalqashandī's own comment (pp. 51–52). This technique, however, is by no means al-Qalqashandī's innovation at all, but rather a device frequently seen in Ayyubid and early Mamluk sources. And with regard

to al-Qalqashandī's treatment of sources, he is, according to the author, characterized for his "careful collection and verification of raw data," "his reliance on more than one source for the same story, and his educated guessing *(al-iḥtimāl wa-al-tarjīḥ)*" (pp. 122–35); but weren't such things done by any respected historian? What is so special about al-Qalqashandī? This remains unclear.

That said, the book is overall a work of diligent research. It is encouraging to see a young Iraqi woman historian joining the small, but ever-growing, club of scholars working on Mamluk historiography today. She is well versed in primary sources and current scholarship in the Arab world, and is reasonably familiar with Western literature, albeit mostly through Arabic translations. With valuable observations regarding al-Qalqashandī's source criticism and methodology, and, more importantly, with detailed analysis of his lesser-known works, the book under review is a welcome contribution to our understanding and assessment of this great Mamluk historian.

MAḤMŪD SĀLIM MUḤAMMAD, *Ibn al-Wardī: Adīb Bilād al-Shām* (Damascus: Dār Sa'd al-Dīn, 2002). Pp. 289.

REVIEWED BY KONRAD HIRSCHLER, University of Kiel

The fact that a monograph on the Syrian man of letters Zayn al-Dīn 'Umar Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1349) has now been published is to be welcomed, especially as he is usually assigned a minor role in the surveys of Mamluk literature, such as Mūsá Bāshā's *Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī, al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1989). The author, professor of Mamluk literature at the University of Damascus, has previously published on the subject of Mamluk poetry, for example his strongly-criticized monograph on Ibn Nubātah (see review by Thomas Bauer, in *MSR* 6 [2002]: 219–26). The present work is structured in the same way as that previous work: the standard summary of medieval dictionaries relevant to his biography (pp. 7–20) is followed by sections on the "Content of the Poetry" (pp. 21–149), "The Poetical Style" (pp. 151–202), and "Prose" (pp. 207–76).

This monograph certainly reflects the author's work on Ibn al-Wardī's *Dīwān,* an anthology of poems, discourses, treatises, epistles, and *maqāmāt*. However, the implication of the title, which suggests a study of the scholar's contributions in general, is misleading, as the author rarely discusses Ibn al-Wardī's other writings.

Jamāl Fawzī Muḥammad ʻAmmār, *Al-Tārīkh wa-al-Mu'arrikhūn fī Bilād al-Shām fī ʻAṣr al-Ḥurūb al-Ṣalībīyah (521–660 A.H.)* (Cairo: Dār al-Qāhirah, 2001). Pp. 340, tables, (missing) maps.

Reviewed by Niall Christie, University of British Columbia

This book presents an examination of historical writing in the Bilād al-Shām region during part of the Crusading period, from 521/1127 to 660/1261–62. Through the consideration of a number of historical sources for the period, the author explores the relationship between historians and their texts and the historiographical movements of which these writers were members.

ʻAmmār opens his study with a brief survey of previous literature in Arabic on these topics. He then lays out the historical and cultural background to his study, discussing the various dynasties that dominated the area, the external enemies that attacked it, the various ethnic and religious groups that occupied it, and the mercantile and cultural activity that took place in it. He also carefully defines the limitations of his study; he is examining historical writing from the Shām region, from the period beginning with ʻImād al-Dīn Zangī's takeover of Mosul in 521/1127 and ending with the establishment of Mamluk supremacy in Shām in about 660/1261–62, and is examining a limited number of sources, none of which are in any language other than Arabic. In defining his limits in this way, ʻAmmār wisely acknowledges that his study is intended to be selective rather than comprehensive; a full study of historical writing in this region in the Crusading period would certainly require considerably more space than the author has at his disposal! Unfortunately, the temporal limits do mean that ʻAmmār's book will be of limited use for the majority of the readership of this journal, but this should not be regarded as a criticism of the inherent value of the work itself.

Having established his limits, ʻAmmār then proceeds to the meat of his work: the examination of the texts themselves. He divides his sources into three major genres and devotes a section of his study to each genre. He opens the first section, on universal histories, with a definition of what is meant by "universal history," along with a history of the genre and a discussion of its positive and negative features. He then proceeds to the texts themselves, the first of which is the *Miḍmār al-Ḥaqā'iq wa-Sirr al-Khalā'iq* of the Ayyubid amir of Ḥamāh, Muḥammad ibn ʻUmar (d. 617/1221). He presents a short biography of the author, followed by a consideration of the work's content, the types of sources the author uses, the way in which the work is written, the author's style, and how the work compares with those of contemporaries. These are, broadly speaking, the same topics he addresses with regard to the other works considered in his study, although when discussing longer or more significant works he examines other topics as well; thus, when

considering his next text, the *Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* of Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), ʻAmmār also addresses Ibn al-Athīr′s treatment of his sources, significant features of his text, his critical and philosophical approaches to history, flaws in his chronicle, and its importance and impact. The remaining texts discussed in this section are the *Tārīkh al-Manṣūrī* of Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī al-Ḥamawī (d. after 633/1235), the *Tārīkh al-Islāmī* (or *Tārīkh al-Muẓaffarī*) of Ibn Abī al-Dam (d. 642/1244), and the *Mir'āt al-Zamān fī Tārīkh al-Aʻyān* of Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī (d. 654/1256).

In the second section, ʻAmmār turns to histories of regions, states, families, and cities, again defining the genre and discussing its origins and history before proceeding to the texts themselves. In this section he examines the *Tārīkh Dawlat Āl Saljūq* of ʻImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (d. 597/1201), the *Tārīkh al-Bāhir fī al-Dawlah al-Atābikīyah* of Ibn al-Athīr, the *Dhayl Tārīkh Dimashq* of Ibn al-Qalānisī (d. 555/1160), and the *Zubdat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab* of Ibn al-ʻAdīm (d. 660/1262).

The third section of ʻAmmār′s work addresses biographies and memoirs, again discussing the origins and development of the genre before proceeding to discuss two texts, the *Kitāb al-Iʻtibār* of Usāmah ibn Munqidh (d. 584/1188) and the *Nawādir al-Sulṭānīyah wa-al-Maḥāsin al-Yūsufīyah* of Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Shaddād (d. 632/1234).

ʻAmmār finishes his work with a fourth section, in which he makes a number of general comments on historians and the production of histories in the region during the period. This section is followed by three pages with space and headings for maps (the maps themselves appear to have been accidentally omitted). A bibliography and list of contents follow.

In addition to the omitted maps, there are other problems with ʻAmmār′s work. His use of *hijrī* and *mīlādī* dating is inconsistent; at times he will use one, or the other, or both, but is not systematic in this regard. More serious, however, is the fact that he makes use of only seven works of Western scholarship, none of which were published after 1981. This is unfortunate, as more recent work has been carried out on a number of the texts he discusses; for example, Robert Irwin′s article on Usāmah ibn Munqidh[1] would have been helpful when discussing the *Kitāb al-Iʻtibār*. That said, ʻAmmār′s study still provides a useful survey of a number of sources from the Crusading period and will be of interest to scholars working with the texts discussed in its pages.

[1]″Usāmah ibn Munqidh: An Arab-Syrian Gentleman at the Time of the Crusades Reconsidered,″ in *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton,* ed. John France and W. G. Zajac (Aldershot, 1998), 71–87.

Ṭāhā Thaljī Ṭarāwinah, *The Province of Damascus during the Second Mamlūk Period (784/1382–922/1516)* (Kerak: Mu'tah University, 1994). Pp. 200.

Reviewed by Bethany J. Walker, Grand Valley State University

Specialists of the Middle Islamic period will benefit from recent publications by Jordanian historians, who are increasingly turning to provincial and local studies. One of the first Jordanian monographs in English on a specifically Mamluk topic is Ṭāhā Ṭarāwinah's *The Province of Damascus during the Second Mamlūk Period (784/1382–922/1516),* published by Mu'tah University in southern Jordan. The author chose Damascus province as a model for all of Greater Syria (p. 13) and intends the work to be an introduction to provincial history. As such, the monograph appears to have been influenced by Muḥammad 'Adnān Bakhīt's *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the Sixteenth Century,* a work that has guided Jordanian scholarship on the Ottoman period since its publication in 1982. Ṭarāwinah's book is based on his largely unedited doctoral dissertation, written in 1987. It follows the organization and scope of inquiry of most graduate theses written in Jordan today and reflects the state of Mamluk studies in that country in the 1980s.

The monograph opens with a layman's introduction to the Mamluk dynasty and an explanation for the provincial focus of the book. It is divided into six chapters, each of which highlights a theme that is found in most modern Jordanian scholarship on the Middle (Ayyubid-Mamluk) and Late (Ottoman) Islamic periods: administrative and military structures, the educated and tribal elite, social classes and their economic power, Mamluk decline, and education. Very few manuscripts were consulted for this study. The majority of Ṭarāwinah's sources consist of contemporary Syrian chronicles, biographical dictionaries, administrative manuals, local histories, and a few travelogues, all published and edited, and an assortment of related secondary sources in Arabic and English. He makes little use of early Ottoman sources, which is unfortunate given the fact that the Ottoman administration of Syria was largely modeled on late Mamluk practices.

Chapter I ("The Mamluk Administration of the Province") is a summary of earlier scholarship on the structure of Mamluk government. For the physical structure and administrative divisions of the Syrian provinces, the author relies primarily on al-'Umarī, al-Dimashqī, al-Qalqashandī, and al-Ẓāhirī, in the end restating many of the arguments made in Nicola Ziadeh's 1953 study on the same topic: *Urban Life in Syria under the Early Mamluks.* In his description of military and civilian offices, Ṭarāwinah relies on both Egyptian (al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Taghrībirdī) and Syrian (Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, Ibn Ṭūlūn) sources. The only new contribution in this chapter is Ṭarāwinah's concern for the instability and unevenness of provincial administration, particularly in terms of regularly shifting borders, short terms of

office, and shortsighted financial practices. While he explores financial concerns in Chapter V, the author merely mentions, and does not account for, the possible factors behind such fluid administrative structures.

The second chapter, "The Military Force and its Role," acknowledges the seminal work of David Ayalon on the structure of the Mamluk army, while highlighting those amiral rebellions against the sultan that punctuated the Burji Mamluk period in Syria. The role of Jordanian tribesmen in the rebellions against (and in support of) Sultans Barqūq and Faraj, in particular, have captured the attention of this author, as well of many other Jordanian historians of his generation.

Civilian society is the focus of the following chapter, entitled "The Population and Local Power Groups." Here Ṭarāwinah is concerned primarily with the political role of the Shiʻi and Druze minorities in today's Lebanon and various clans and tribal confederations in the Golan, Ḥawrān, and Balqā'. Once again, the focus on Jordanian tribal history is apparent in this chapter and should be of interest to anthropologists. However, the author's almost complete reliance on biographical dictionaries and chronicles, to the exclusion of travelers' accounts and modern ethnographic and archaeological reports, strips the narrative of methodological depth and vigor.

In perhaps the most interesting and thought-provoking chapter of the book (Chapter IV: "The Socio-Economic Structure") Ṭarāwinah documents the class conflicts of urban Damascene society and explains, in very modern and politically relevant terms, the organization, leadership, platform, and methods of what might today be called terrorist groups. These "criminal gangs" include the *zuʻr* ("scoundrels"), *ḥarāfīsh* ("hoboes"), *ballāṣīyah* ("confidence men"), and *ḥarāmīyah* ("robber bands") (p. 13). Ṭarāwinah extends his analysis to the state's inconsistent policies towards these gangs, which varied from suppression to co-option. That the modernist political critique subtly used in this chapter was intentional may be indicated in the book's introduction. Here the author rightly describes the late Mamluk period as a transitional one that "contained the legacy of the past and the root causes of a number of modern Syrian problems" (p. 13).

Many readers will be disappointed with Chapter V, "The Mamluk Financial Policy and its Effects on the Province." The main arguments of this chapter concerning the *dirham-fulūs,* provincial mints, arbitrary taxes and monopolies, and the general process of Mamluk decline during the fifteenth century are today out-of-date and contribute nothing new to our understanding of the roots of this process in Syria. The author, however, does document in detail how state officials, merchants, and a pre-modern urban "mafia" colluded in confiscation of property, embezzling, and the sale of offices and how these practices directly impacted the Syrian economy. The effect of Mamluk financial policies on Syrian industries could be a promising new focus of research for provincial specialists.

In his final chapter, ″The State of Learning and the Intellectual Life,″ Ṭarāwinah predictably scours biographical dictionaries and specialized sources on education (namely Nuʻaymī′s *Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris*) to trace the careers of Damascus′ academic elite. His descriptions of the top hadith scholars, Quranic reciters, and legal minds of the day are arguably the most useful and colorful social commentaries in his study. The book then concludes with a sobering assessment of the government corruption and educational stagnation of late Mamluk Syria, a point of view primarily informed by his interest in financial policy and structure of education in the province.

The present work presents some significant shortcomings. This first edition, which came out in 1994, was not edited and updated to reflect important scholarship by Jordanian historians in the 1980s and 1990s. Numerous books and articles published by Yūsuf Ghawānimah, Jordan′s leading Mamlukist, and four volumes of early Ottoman tax registers translated into Arabic by Muḥammad Bakhīt, the country′s most prolific Ottomanist, are not consulted in this study. Furthermore, Ṭarāwinah does not make use of the extensive microfilm archives of Mamluk and early Ottoman manuscripts housed at the University of Jordan (available since the 1980s) and Ahl al-Bayt University (since the 1990s), sources rich in data on provincial administration. Similarly, the author makes no reference to the extensive scholarship on Syrian Mamluk art and architecture, archaeological reports for Greater Syria, extensive secondary literature on Syria′s sugar industry in this period, and many late medieval travelers′ accounts that would have given depth to his description of Syrian trade, industry, and culture. As a result, the monograph, while strong in elements of political and social history, is weak on general culture and does not touch those topics of growing interest today to students of Mamluk provincial history, such as environmental and agricultural history, demographic transformations, and local exchange networks.

The editing and publication quality of the copy available to this reader was unfortunately poor, with numerous misspellings in English and faulty pagination. Several pages in Chapter III were missing (pp. 81, 84, 85, 88, 89, 92, 93, and 96) and replaced with duplicate pages from Chapter I. These are the responsibility of the publisher/printer, however, and not the author. Future printing of the text will need to address this and should, in addition, include an index.

Nonetheless, Ṭarāwinah′s monograph is a very readable and most welcome contribution to Mamluk provincial studies, an area of inquiry that has received little attention to date. While it is far from a comprehensive work on the subject, readers will find its broad coverage of political and social history a good general introduction to the Mamluk′s Damascus province, highlighting Syrian-based sources that are often neglected in Cairo-based studies. Its focus on the ″Burji″ Mamluk period, furthermore, fills in a chronological void in Mamluk historiography and in

this sense could supplement Carl Petry's *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* as a textbook or seminar reader.

OLIVIA REMIE CONSTABLE, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). Pp. 427.

REVIEWED BY STUART BORSCH, Assumption College

This book strikes one, from the very start, as an astounding endeavor in the scope and scale of the topic. In this age of globalization, when huge food and hotel conglomerates dominate the marketplace, Remie Constable has taken up the task of exploring their predecessors in the medieval world. Drawing on a wide variety of sources, philological, archaeological, and documentary, she explores the various manifestations of the *funduq,* that space for storage, commerce, lodging and boarding that dominated most areas in the Mediterranean at one time or another. For any scholar interested in travel, trade, or the socioeconomic structure of Mediterranean life, this book is a must read.

The parable of the Good Samaritan is a brilliant starting point; the *pandocheion* mentioned is the etymological root for *funduq,* as she establishes in an exploration of sources from late antiquity. The *pandocheion* serves as a Christian metaphor for the life of a pilgrim and the transit of body and soul through this world to the next. Tracing the evolution of the *pandocheion,* she goes on to analyze the purpose and function of *funduq*s as they matured in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. She describes the economic and social functions of *funduq*s and their relationship to other institutions, particularly *sūq*s.

She illustrates how *funduq*s served as loci for government taxation of imports and exports. The nature of taxation served in many cases to raise the price of goods sold in *funduq*s, an item of complaint for some contemporary observers. Constable details the interconnection of high-quality long-distance trade items, such as silk, and the role that *funduq*s played in providing merchants with an opportunity to fetch premium prices for the sale of these goods to wealthy households and local merchants who purchased them for resale. Concerning the sale of staple goods, such as grain, fruit, salt, and other bulk items, she describes how governments in the Mediterranean often sought to regulate prices and used *funduq*s as a means to do so. Interestingly, the market inspector, the *muḥtasib,* seems to have had little

to do with *funduq*s, a fact that further distinguishes *funduq*s from *sūq*s. It seems that the owners, or renters, of the *funduq*s were responsible for many of the functions that would be carried out by the *muḥtasib* in a *sūq*.

Of particular interest to scholars of the medieval Islamic world is the way in which *funduq*s were commonly used to generate incomes for pious endowments. Some *funduq*s served directly as charitable institutions, providing lodging, food, and medicine for poor travelers, in addition to money that would allow them to return home. Others generated funds that were then used to support other charitable institutions. In any case, it would seem that the *funduq*s were often not unlike *waqf*s in the role they played in Muslim societies.

Not surprisingly, *funduq*s were focal points for government taxation and regulation of trade. The government use of *funduq*s for this purpose seems to have grown over time, in Egypt from the Fatimid through Ayyubid to Mamluk eras. However, it seems that the taxes and tariffs were not so onerous as to disrupt trade, and merchants were willing to put up with the taxes in exchange for an orderly institution that they could rely upon for a reliable center of their activities.

Constable describes the architecture of the *funduq*s in detail, using both illustrations and descriptions provided by travelers and endowment deeds. The security provided by *funduq*s was clearly paramount in their economic function, and the practice of using a single gate which was locked at night is noted, along with the surprising role that *funduq*s sometimes played in sequestering suspected criminals for a short period. The basic layout of *funduq*s is well known to most scholars of the medieval Islamic world, but Constable's section on architecture provides a vivid exploration of the various structural elements of the *funduq* and *khān*s that offers a stunningly clear illustration of the ways in which the *funduq* served the medieval traveler.

The overall architectural description provided by Constable goes a long way to reveal the impressive scale and scope of the *funduq,* where there were sometimes as many as ninety-nine rooms provided for travelers' quarters in the upper story of the structure. She goes into great detail in describing the functions of the lower story of the *funduq,* which was used to store goods, sell wares, and stable pack animals. She provides accounts of travelers' sleeping arrangements on the upper stories, including unroofed rooms that allowed for relief from the summer heat at night, as well as areas on the flat roof to which travelers could retire in the heat of the summer night, and describes the use of latrines and the provision of fresh water by underground conduits serving the *funduq*s.

Provision for access to, or the inclusion of, mosques at the *funduq* is also explored. Facilities for prayer were not confined to Muslim travelers solely, but were also provided for Christian and Jewish *funduq*s, in which a chapel or synagogue was often located within the *funduq*. One of the interesting features of this book is

that it illustrates the divergence between accommodations provided by the Dār al-Islām for foreigners and the utter lack thereof for any Muslim who wanted to live as a merchant in the Latin West. Facilities such as churches and communal living were provided for by Muslim rulers in the Dār al-Islām while there was almost no parallel to be found for such accommodations in the European world.

She describes the way in which *funduq*s acquired their own judicial status, independent of laws for Muslims and local religious minorities. They were allowed to settle legal disputes within their own *funduq,* with the exception of capital crimes. She also traces the process by which *funduq*s (Italian = *″fondacos″*) were designated by ″nationalities″ as Italian city-states began to assert their own independence and identity. At the same time, she demonstrates how states in the Muslim world limited the scope in which *fondacos* could operate, restricting their activities to focal points of international trade (e.g., Alexandria) while prohibiting them from operating in key domestic markets (e.g., Cairo).

She also outlines how the growth of Italian city-states paralleled the development of commercial concessions in Muslim cities, where, by the thirteenth century, consuls were chosen to represent the interests of and administer justice in the *fondaco.* Churches were another concession to the merchants in the *fondacos.* The pattern of consul representation and church activities became standard features of the *fondacos* over time. She details the advance of concessions by which *fondacos* were owned by Italian city-states, adumbrating the later development of *fondacos* in the early modern period.

She also explores the development of *fondacos* in Christian Spain and Sicily, demonstrating the similarities and differences with *fondacos* and *funduq*s in the Islamic world. The adaptation of a Muslim institution can be seen in this period in Mediterranean history. She explains how the *fondacos* came to concentrate more on the shipment and taxation of goods, rather than on housing merchants, as they did in the Islamic world.

She explains how the *fondacos* and *funduq*s changed over time, as Christian states became the dominant power in the Mediterranean. Christian *fondacos* dominated the loci of maritime international trade while Muslim *funduq*s continued to dominate overland trade. She details the rise and fall of the institution known as the *khān,* an institution which served rural areas rather than urban ones.

More strikingly, she describes the replacement of the *funduq* and the *khān* by the *wakālah*s, which served the commercial needs of traveling merchants, but did not serve as housing facilities for merchants. The emergence of the *wakālah* was also associated with the rise of more centralized government intent on profiting from regional and international trade. This was particularly true in Mamluk Egypt.

She goes on to explore the different characteristics of *fondacos* in countries north of the Mediterranean. She observes that *fondacos* there, although derived

from the Arabic *funduq,* did not usually house traveling merchants, only their cargo. The impulse for segregating the merchant population was not very strong within a society in which both merchants and their hosts were Christian. In exploring the difference between *fondacos* on the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean, she focuses on one particular example, the Fondaco dei Tedeschi, in which the *fondaco* of the southern Islamic sphere of influence was replicated by a *fondaco* of the north. She shows how the particular socioeconomic structure of Venice put it in a position to mimic the centralized trading foci of the Islamic south. However, most of the Christian *fondacos* went their own way, drawing away from the function of *fondacos* on the other side of the Mediterranean.

This is a fantastic survey of the cultural and economic terrain of travelers in the middle Ages. Every detail of this institution is explored. This text will serve as a valuable resource for scholars, as well as a text for graduate and undergraduate surveys of the medieval economic world.

RICHARD J. A. MCGREGOR, *Sanctity and Mysticism in Medieval Egypt: The Wafāʾ Sufi Order and the Legacy of Ibn ʿArabī* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004). Pp. 246.

REVIEWED BY TH. EMIL HOMERIN, University of Rochester

Richard J. A. McGregor significantly advances his earlier studies of the Wafāʾīyah Sufi order with extensive new research on the order's two most important figures, its founder Muḥammad Wafāʾ (d. 765/1363), and his son ʿAlī (d. 807/1405). Together they authored nearly thirty works, most of them still only in manuscript, and McGregor is to be commended for the diligence required for his pioneering study. He focuses, in particular, on notions of sanctity that were central to the thought of Muḥammad Wafāʾ and ʿAlī, and on the possible influences on them of Ibn al-ʿArabī and his school. As such, McGregor's study is concerned primarily with mystical philosophy in the Mamluk period.

McGregor reviews Muslim conceptions of sanctity *(walāyah)* from al-Ḥākim al-Tirmidhī (d. ca. 300/910) to Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240). He notes that al-Tirmidhī distinguished between prophetic revelation *(wahy)* and saintly inspiration *(ilhām),* both clearly in contact with the divine. The superior revelation of the prophet brings God's message and law to humanity, while mystical inspiration may reveal spiritual realities, and insights into the law. Al-Tirmidhī and later Sufis constructed various hierarchies of saints, whose assemblies insured the proper functioning of

the cosmos and life on earth. Just as Muḥammad culminated the era of prophecy, so too the seal of the saints will come at the end of saintly rule, along with the Judgment Day. A similar doctrine circulated in Shiʻi circles, though the saints and their seal were replaced by the imams. Al-Tirmidhī's ideas were also taken up and elaborated by Ibn al-ʻArabī, who detailed numerous classes and classifications of saints according to their prophetic inheritance and spiritual function. In Ibn al-ʻArabī's complex system, *walāyah* "is the hyle in which all else operates" (p. 24). Ultimately, all prophets, messengers, and saints are manifestations of the Muḥammadan Reality whose prophetic seal was the historical Muḥammad. As to the saints, the Seal of Universal Sainthood is Jesus, while the Muḥammadan Seal of Sainthood was, hardly a surprise, Ibn al-ʻArabī himself.

Not all Muslims embraced Ibn al-ʻArabī's doctrines and elaborate saintly hierarchy, as McGregor notes in a chapter on the Shādhilīyah order, where Muḥammad al-Wafā' began his religious career. McGregor sketches the origins and development of this order in North Africa and Egypt, especially Alexandria. The Shādhilīyah order was widespread and quite influential in Mamluk domains, producing important mystics, scholars, and preachers such as Ibn ʻAṭá Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309) and Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355). Lesser known was Dā'ūd Ibn Bākhilá (d. eighth/fourteenth c.), Muḥammad al-Wafā''s spiritual master and teacher. For Ibn Bākhilá and other early Shādhilī Sufis, sanctity results from proximity *(qurbah)* to the divine. Muslims who undertake spiritual disciplines may acquire a share of sanctity, though only a rare few attain spiritual vision. These saints have been annihilated mystically into God yet abide in creation to guide others, thus serving as a bridge *(barzakh)* between humanity and God. Sainthood, then, is the remnant of prophecy, which was sealed by Muḥammad. The saints are his spiritual heirs, each with a share of the Muḥammadan Reality, like moons reflecting the light of the sun.

Notably absent from this early Shādhilī system is a doctrine of a seal of the saints as found in al-Tirmidhī and Ibn al-ʻArabī, though this would be addressed by Muḥammad Wafā' and ʻAlī. McGregor discusses the hagiographic traditions surrounding Muḥammad Wafā', which declare him to be the seal of the saints and superior to al-Shādhilī and other great Sufis and saints. Recorded here are accounts of Muḥammad Wafā''s visions of the prophet Muḥammad, who commanded him to recite the Quran much as Gabriel had commanded him. These and similar accounts establish Muḥammad Wafā''s privileged place and that of ʻAlī. However, a different view of ʻAlī is given by his younger contemporary Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī (d. 852/1449). He remarked that ʻAlī was quite intelligent, cultured, and a talented preacher, though Ibn Ḥajar disapproved of the excessive veneration shown to ʻAlī by his followers. Further, according to Ibn Ḥajar, ʻAlī spent most of his time with his followers at the Wafā' family home in Roda, where he had a minbar constructed

for the Friday prayers to be said there. Sometime after ʻAlī′s death, the Wafāʼīyah order left Roda for a large *zāwiyah* containing the graves of Muḥammad and ʻAlī in the al-Qarāfah cemetery. Still, despite ʻAlī′s great popularity, and that of his father, their Wafāʼī order does not seemed to have spread beyond Cairo. There, however, direct descendents of Muḥammad and ʻAlī maintained the family′s saintly prestige well into the nineteenth century. McGregor also mentions in passing that ʻAlī′s grandson was a teacher and companion of the Sultan Jaqmaq (d. 857/1453). Though outside the scope of this book, I would encourage McGregor to pursue further research on Wafāʼī relations with other members of the ulama as well as their social and economic relations with Mamluk sultans and amirs.

Next, McGregor surveys many writings by Muḥammad Wafāʼ and ʻAlī. Both were said to have composed poetry ″in the style of Ibn al-Fāriḍ,″ which generally means poetry on mystical union and oneness. McGregor cites a few verses of Muḥammad′s poetry, which resemble the enigmatic verse of al-Niffarī (d. 354/965) and Ibn al-ʻArabī as well as sections of Ibn al-Fāriḍ′s *Naẓm al-Sulūk*. Muḥammad also composed prayers and a work on jurisprudence, while ʻAlī wrote a treatise in defense of popular preachers, recently discussed by Jonathan Berkey in his *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East* (Seattle, 2001). Their most important works, however, are a series of mystical treatises on a number of topics including the underlying oneness of being, the perfect human *(al-insān al-kāmil),* God′s self-disclosure *(tajallī)* to creation, and, of course, *walāyah* or sanctification. McGregor carefully details the nuanced positions of both mystics on this topic. In short, Muḥammad Wafāʼ developed the Shādhilī doctrine of sainthood as an extension of prophecy by adding to it notions of cyclical renewal. He declares that there will be seven one-hundred-year cycles, each with a saint who will renew the religion of Islam. These seven cycles will be completed by the eighth, whose renewer will be the final seal of sainthood who is, no surprise, Muḥammad al-Wafāʼ himself. ʻAlī builds upon his father′s teachings, maintaining that the shaykh, or spiritual guide, reflects God′s self-disclosure and so serves as the student′s door into mystical experience and divine life. Further, in discussing the relationship of sanctity to prophecy, ʻAlī posits a ″spirit of saintly inspiration.″ Whereas Gabriel comes to each prophet in some form, a spirit of saintly inspiration likewise comes to them, and to the saints. This spirit is a manifestation of God′s self-disclosure, and ʻAlī cites as examples the figure Khaḍir (Khiḍr), who spoke with Moses, and the handsome man who breathed God′s spirit into Mary, the mother of Jesus. Finally, ʻAlī picks up the idea of cyclical renewal, to which he adds a final ninth cycle signaling the apocalypse. By his calculations, this final seal is, to no surprise, ʻAlī himself.

McGregor′s study gives us a fascinating view of some of the religious beliefs and doctrines circulating during the Mamluk period, and he has presented the

teachings of Muḥammad Wafā' and 'Alī in some detail. Less convincing, however, is his claim that Muḥammad and 'Alī ″relied heavily on [Ibn al-'Arabī′s] philosophy″ (p. 75). As McGregor himself notes, neither Muḥammad nor 'Alī ever mention Ibn al-'Arabī or his works, and many of their ideas and terms involving sanctity differ substantially from Ibn al-'Arabī′s on the subject. Given Ibn al-'Arabī′s importance and influence on Islamic mysticism at the time, it is difficult to believe that Muḥammad and 'Alī knew nothing of his ideas. Further, as McGregor points out, passages from the works of Muḥammad Wafā' and, especially, 'Alī resonate at times with Ibn al-'Arabī′s writings or those of his students, including al-Qūnawī (d. 672/1273), al-Qāshānī (d. 735/1334), and, I would add, al-Qayṣrī (d. ca. 748/1347). However, a number of Muḥammad′s and 'Alī′s ideas can also be found in the verse of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, and the writings of al-Tirmidhī and other earlier mystics. Therefore, McGregor must undertake a more extensive and exacting comparison if he wants to assess the scope and strength of Ibn al-'Arabī′s influence on Muḥammad and 'Alī.

Finally, readers owe Richard McGregor thanks for providing in his notes Arabic passages to his translations. Unfortunately, there are many typos in these passages, though the Arabic reader will have little problem correcting them.

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Arabic Transliteration System

Romanized Arabic in *Mamlūk Studies Review* follows the Library of Congress conventions, briefly outlined below. A more thorough discussion may be found in *American Library Association-Library of Congress Romanization Tables* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1991).

ء	’	خ	kh	ش	sh	غ	gh	م	m
ب	b	د	d	ص	ṣ	ف	f	ن	n
ت	t	ذ	dh	ض	ḍ	ق	q	ه	h
ث	th	ر	r	ط	ṭ	ك	k	و	w
ج	j	ز	z	ظ	ẓ	ل	l	ي	y
ح	ḥ	س	s	ع	‘				
		ة	h, t (in construct)			ال	al-		

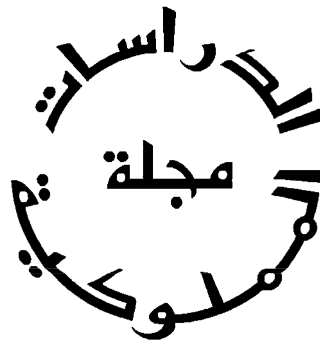
ـَ	a	ـُ	u	ـِ	i
ـً	an	ـٌ	un	ـٍ	in
آ	ā	وُ	ū	ـِي	ī
اَ	ā	وُّ	ūw	ـِيّـ	īy (medial), ī (final)
ى	á	وَ	aw	ـَي	ay
				ـَيّ	ayy

Capitalization in romanized Arabic follows the conventions of American English; the definite article is always lower case, except when it is the first word in an English sentence. The *hamzah* is not represented when beginning a word, following a prefixed preposition or conjunction, or following the definite article. Assimilation of the *lām* of the definite article before ″sun″ letters is disregarded. Final inflections of verbs are retained, except in pausal form; final inflections of nouns and adjectives are not represented, except preceding suffixes and except when verse is romanized. Vocalic endings of pronouns, demonstratives, prepositions, and conjunctions are represented. The hyphen is used with the definite article, conjunctions, inseparable prepositions, and other prefixes. Note the exceptional treatment of the preposition *li-* followed by the article, as in *lil-sulṭān*. Note also the following exceptional spellings: Allāh, billāh, lillāh, bismillāh, mi’ah, ibn (for both initial and medial forms). Words not requiring diacritical marks, though following the conventions outlined above, include all Islamic dynasties, as well as the following terms: Quran, sultan, amir, imam, shaykh, Sunni, Shi‘i, Sufi. Common place-names should take the common spelling in American English. Names of archaeological sites should follow the convention of the excavator.

MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW

I

1997



MIDDLE EAST DOCUMENTATION CENTER (MEDOC)
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Mamlūk Studies Review is an annual journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648-922/1250-1517). The goals of *Mamlūk Studies Review* are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, nurture communication within the field, and promote further research by encouraging the critical discussion of all aspects of this important medieval Islamic polity. The journal will include both articles and reviews of recent books. Submissions of original work on any aspect of the field are welcome, although the editorial board will periodically issue volumes devoted to specific topics and themes. *Mamlūk Studies Review* also solicits edited texts and translations of shorter Arabic source materials (*waqf* deeds, letters, *fatāwá* and the like), and encourages discussions of Mamluk era artifacts (pottery, coins, etc.) that place these resources in wider contexts. Transliterated Middle Eastern languages should conform to the system utilized by the Library of Congress. All questions regarding style should be resolved through reference to *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th edition. All submissions should be typed double-spaced. Submissions must be made on labeled computer disk together with a printed copy. Microsoft Word for Mac is the preferred format, but other major software is acceptable (MacWrite, Word for DOS, Word for Windows, WordPerfect).

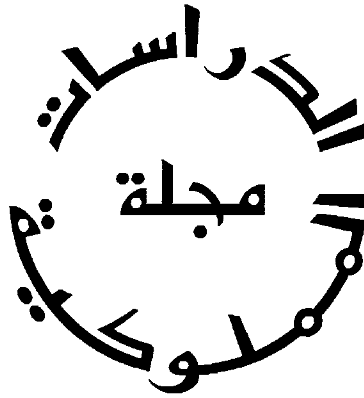
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Donald P. Little
McGill University

The Use of Documents for the Study of Mamluk History*

I would like to thank Bruce Craig and the staff of the *Mamluk Studies Review*, the Mamluk Studies Workshop, and the Center for Middle Eastern Studies of the University of Chicago for inviting me to give the First Annual *Mamluk Studies Review* Lecture. Being first is always, of course, an honor which I embrace with gratitude but not without wondering, I must confess, why it has been conferred on me, and this puzzlement has led me to a bit of autobiographical retrospection and speculation which I am afraid will mark much of this lecture. In justification I can only say that when Bruce Craig first invited me he stressed the informality of the occasion; in a later conversation, however, he mentioned in passing that the talk would be published in the *Mamluk Studies Review*, and still later he asked, quite casually, whether I could deliver a final draft upon arrival in Chicago. This query led me to believe that the occasion would not be so informal after all. In any case, my remarks are going to be what might be characterized as semi-formal, partly autobiographical and, I hope, mildly amusing (as an anonymous student once damned me with faint praise in a course evaluation), and partly scientific. In this respect I should warn you that an English reviewer of my catalogue of the Ḥaram documents has characterized some of my work as ″nonsensical,″ while another, more charitable, has stated that my articles on the Ḥaram papers ″demonstrate, rather convincingly, that documentary studies need not necessarily be dull.″[1] These two criticisms need not necessarily be regarded as incompatible, of course, but while I shall certainly strive to be not necessarily dull, I shall also try to avoid the nonsensical. And if the editors of the *Review* insist on publishing my talk, I will trust fully their discretion to delete any comments they deem to be insufficiently serious for publication in a maiden scholarly journal.

Let me spend a few minutes, then, in discussing why and how I became first what might be called, to coin a term, a Mamlukist or a Mamlukologist, if you prefer, and later a Mamluk papyrologist. Not because this story is of any great significance, not enough at any rate to be included in either of the two recent books devoted to the careers of leading contemporary historians of the Middle East,[2] but because it may interest an audience largely composed of graduate students in Middle Eastern and Islamic history, who, if they are typical of my own generation of what used to be called Orientalists before that term was

*Delivered as the First Annual *Mamluk Studies Review* Lecture at the University of Chicago, January 19, 1996.

[1]D. S. Richards, review of *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from al-Ḥaram aš-Šarīf in Jerusalem*, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 50 (1987): 362-364; D. O. Morgan, review of *History and Historiography of the Mamluks*, *BSOAS* 51 (1988): 403.

[2]Thomas Naff, ed., *Paths to the Middle East: Ten Scholars Look Back* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993); Nancy Elizabeth Gallagher, ed., *Approaches to the History of the Middle East: Interviews with Leading Middle East Historians* (Reading: Ithaca Press, 1994).

degraded and fell out of fashion, are both curious about the strange and wonderful professional and personal lives of their professors but also at times discouraged, disgruntled, and disillusioned by the occasionally dreary and relentless grind of the academic mills which produce Ph.D.´s in Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies. To you I bring from my own experience a message of hope.

Reminiscing about my own career has jolted me with the electrifying realization that I am probably the oldest surviving continuing practitioner of Mamluk studies in North America today. Older, certainly, than Stephen Humphreys, who will be next year´s lecturer, and his peers, Carl Petry and Jere Bacharach. Although I am younger than William Brinner, one of my early teachers, Brinner, after an auspicious start as editor and translator of a Mamluk historical manuscript,[3] apparently decided, as he announced in an unpublished paper given at the 1977 conference of the American Oriental Society in Toronto, that the Mamluks were gangsters, a veritable medieval Muslim Mafia, and presumably unworthy, therefore, of further attention. Ira Lapidus, somewhat younger than I, after a spectacular debut as a Mamlukist, also abandoned the field some years ago.[4] In any event, I suspect that my longevity as a North American Mamlukist accounts to a great extent for my being invited as inaugural lecturer today. But there is another reason to invoke Professor Brinner´s name in the context of my own career. After I left Berkeley, at Brinner´s suggestion, after a single year of study there, and moved to UCLA because it had a much larger staff in Middle Eastern Studies than Berkeley did, and a much broader range of seminars and courses, I had the good fortune of studying Arabic for a year with the late Professor Wilhelm Hoenerbach, to whom I once confided, on a social occasion, that I had not the remotest idea about a feasible topic for a doctoral dissertation. Given my academic background in English literature, with an M.A. thesis on Colley Cibber(!), it is not surprising that two years at Berkeley and UCLA were not sufficient to immerse me in the arcane field of Islamic Studies as presided over by the late Professor G. E. von Grunebaum in the early sixties. In fact, the only solid preparation I had had for this discipline was an intensive course in Arabic at the Army Language School in Monterey, California, where for a year, five days a week, six hours a day, I made endless small talk in Iraqi Arabic with six other GIs, one of whom was a WAC, which made it possible for us to practice using the second-person feminine verb forms. The only reason I studied Arabic rather than Chinese or Korean, two other options offered to me, was that in the aftermath of the Korean War I had no desire to make myself eligible for military service in the Far Eastern sector. Believe it or not, Iraq seemed to be a haven of peace and calm in those days, relatively speaking. Two more years in the military which I spent in the Washington area reading Arabic backwards in transliteration gave me a reasonable facility for coping with what is today called Modern Standard Arabic. All this, typically, was irrelevant to the advice that Hoenerbach gave me about selecting a dissertation topic. Since I was a Californian, he mused (actually I was a Tennessean, but never mind), why not join what he characterized as a California tradition in scholarship on Middle Eastern history, namely Mamluk studies? At this point he mentioned the names and work of William Popper, editor and translator of the chronicles of the famous fifteenth century Mamluk historian Ibn

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[3]*A Chronicle of Damascus, 1389-1397, by Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṣaṣrā*, 2 vols. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963).

[4]Author of *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967; student edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

Taghrībirdī;[5] Walter J. Fischel, also at Berkeley, author of several works on Ibn Khaldūn;[6] and Brinner, editor and translator of a fragmentary history of Mamluk Damascus.[7] Being ignorant, as I said, and desperate, I adopted Hoenerbach´s suggestion with alacrity, though it is clear in retrospect that neither he nor I really knew what this decision would entail. But before we leave him, it should be mentioned that although his primary field of interest, besides a secret passion for Arabic erotica, was the Arabic literature of al-Andalus, he was also an expert on Spanish-Islamic documents, and his *Spanisch-Islamische Urkunden aus der Zeit der Naṣriden und Moriscos*[8] (contemporaries of the Mamluks) is one of the great books on medieval Islamic documents. Unfortunately, Hoenerbach was not interested in imparting his knowledge of this exotic subject to his students, so that I had no instruction in Arabic diplomatic from him or from anyone else for that matter. Having chosen the Mamluks as my field of specialization, I was now forced to learn something about them through reading secondary scholarship in order to define a dissertation topic that would satisfy the exacting, but also tolerant, expectations of von Grunebaum and also the criteria for fellowships awarded by the American Research Center in Egypt, for I was determined to study and live in Cairo, the heart of both the Mamluk Sultanate and the contemporary Arab world. For reasons which I cannot recall, after falling under the spell of David Ayalon´s exquisite studies on Mamluk history and institutions,[9] I drafted a proposal on Mamluk relations with the Mongols which satisfied both von Grunebaum and ARCE, so that in October, 1962, I found myself in Cairo with a topic about which I had done very little preliminary research and with a command of Iraqi Arabic that Egyptians found hilarious but which unfortunately did not enable me to understand much of what they were saying to and about me. At this juncture I was helped by still another scholar, an old Cairo hand (in the sense that he had spent a few years in Cairo)—Professor George Scanlon. Scanlon helped me by lending me his copy of Hans Robert Roemer´s edition of volume 9 of Ibn al-Dawādārī´s universal chronicle, recently published by the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo, which was devoted to the reign of the great Mamluk sultan, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad,[10] in whose reign Mamluk confrontations with the Mongols loomed large. But soon I realized that what really engaged my attention was not so much the topic itself (fascinating though it was and is—in fact, Reuven Amitai-Preiss recently published his dissertation on aspects of this topic)[11] as the historical sources in light of Roemer´s brief allusions to the relationship of Ibn al-Dawādārī´s work to other histories of al-Nāṣir´s reign. Here began a three-year comparative study of these sources, many of which existed only in manuscripts found in Cairo and European libraries. This fact, along with the

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[5]*Al-Nujūm al-Zāhira by Ibn Taghrī Birdī,* 5 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1909-36); *History of Egypt, 1382-1469, Translated from the Arabic Annals of Ibn Taghrī Birdī*, 5 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954-60).

[6]E.g., *Ibn Khaldūn and Tamerlane: Their Historic Meeting in Damascus, 1401 A.D. (803 A.H.): A Study Based on Arabic Manuscripts of Ibn Khaldūn´s "Autobiography"* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952).

[7]See note 3 above.

[8](Bonn: Selbtsverlag des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Bonn, 1965).

[9]*L´esclavage du Mamelouk* (Jerusalem: The Israel Oriental Society, 1951*); Studies on the Mamluks of Egypt (1250-1517)* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977).

[10]*Die Chronik des Ibn ad-Dawādārī*, vol. 9 (Cairo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1960).

[11]*Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Īlkhānid War, 1260-1281* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

benevolence of the Center, enabled me to spend not just one year but three years in Cairo, broken only by a honeymoon in London, Paris, Berlin, and Istanbul, cities chosen not only for their romantic associations but as the repositories of Mamluk manuscripts.

To make this long story somewhat shorter, the result of my research was not a history of Mamluk-Mongol relations but a dissertation entitled ″An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn,″[12] in which I tried to straighten out the relationships among two dozen Mamluk histories one to the other and to determine the originality, if any, of each. Much to my surprise and delight, my nominal but benign supervisor von Grunebaum offered to recommend it for publication by the University of California Press. The Press, of course, submitted it to an external anonymous reader; this person, after a year of not reading it, finally did and delivered himself of the devastating verdict that my dissertation was utterly and completely worthless and that I should never have been encouraged or allowed to embark upon it. Needless to say, as a recent recipient of a Ph.D., I found this contemptuous judgment somewhat daunting, even though von Grunebaum hinted that it had been given by a political scientist at the University of Chicago who neither knew nor cared anything about the Mamluks. But the story grows curiouser and curiouser. By chance our Islamics librarian at McGill, Professor Michel Mazzaoui, happened soon thereafter to visit Professor Roemer at his Orientalisches Seminar in Freiburg, Germany, and told him about my work. As the editor of Ibn al-Dawādārī, Roemer was interested, especially, he declared, since he just happened to have a graduate student of his own, Ulrich Haarmann by name, who was writing a dissertation on virtually the same topic—the sources for the reign of al-Nāṣir—that I had recently completed. As all graduate students know, one of their worst nightmares besides comprehensive exams is that their supervisor will move or pass away before they complete their dissertations; another is that another graduate student, somewhere out there, is working on the same topic and will finish it first. I must confess that this latter *cauchemar* never haunted me, because I was serenely confident that no one else would ever embark on such an obscure scholarly quest. Whether Ulrich Haarmann lost any sleep I don′t know, but I do know that he, and Roemer, acted with utmost courtesy and generosity, for not only did Haarmann revise and adapt his research and dissertation in light of mine, but Roemer accepted it for publication in his ″Freiburger Islamstudien″ series. In this format, along with Haarmann′s published dissertation,[13] it was used extensively in several dissertations by students in Freiburg.[14] I am also proud, perversely, perhaps, that my book, or the first part of it, was translated and published, errors and all, into Arabic, without any acknowledgment to me, by an Egyptian scholar. This was not the only time this happened to me. But as the oldest surviving

[12]Submitted to the University of California at Los Angeles, 1966.

[13]Mine was published as *An Introduction to Mamluk Historiography* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag; Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1970); Haarmann's as *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit* (Freiburg: D. Robischon, 1969).

[14]E.g., Samira Kortantamer, *Ägypten und Syrien zwischen 1317 und 1341 in der Chronik des Mufaḍḍal b. Abī l-Faḍā'il* (Freiburg: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1973); Antranig Melkonian, *Die Jahre 1287-1291 in der Chronik al-Yūnīnīs* (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag Becksmann, 1975); Shah Morad Elham, *Kitbugā und Lāǧīn* (Freiburg: Klaus Schwarz Verlag 1977). For more recent work along the same lines, see Li Guo, ″The Middle Baḥrī Mamluks in Medieval Syrian Historiography: The Years 1297-1302 in the *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān* Attributed to Quṭb al-Dīn Mūsā al-Yūnīnī: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Annotated Translation, and Source Criticism″ (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1994).

continuing practitioner of Mamluk studies in North America today, I can afford to be forbearing and admit that I am somewhat flattered by the close attention that two Arab scholars have given to my work.

In this autobiographical section of my lecture, it remains for me to explain how I was converted from a specialist in Mamluk chronicles and biographical dictionaries into a papyrologist, a term I use in the sense defined by Gladys Frantz-Murphy, known to some of you, I am sure, as a former associate at the University of Chicago. ″In its larger sense,″ she has written, ″papyrology is the use of documentary sources for the study of civilization. To limit the definition of Arabic papyrology by the medium on which documents are written would be to ignore the possibility of millennia-long historical investigation.″[15] In our context a papyrologist, then, is a student of documentary sources, or, more simply, documents, for the study of Mamluk history. As I have already intimated, Islamic documents were not expected to be in the province of graduate students′ knowledge at the universities of California in the early sixties. The one professor that knew anything about documents, Hoenerbach, kept his knowledge to himself while he was in California. Although S. D. Goitein′s monumental work based on the documents of the Cairo Geniza was published by the University of California Press, it did not begin to appear until 1967,[16] long after I had taken my Ph.D. comprehensive examinations. If I read the first volume of the venerable Nabia Abbott′s *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*,[17] I do not recall it. But I am sure that I considered Adolf Grohmann′s work on the Egyptian papyri as too abstruse and technical for my comprehensives reading list.[18] While it is true that the seminal articles of Bernard Lewis and Stanford Shaw on the Ottoman archives had begun to appear in the fifties, Ottoman studies were not within my purview.[19] The point is that as far as the training of Middle East historians is concerned in the sixties, and still to a great extent today, unless a student is an aspiring Ottomanist with a special interest in archival research, not much training is offered in how to use documents as historical sources.

So I became a papyrologist through happenstance. In 1976 a Ph.D. student of mine at McGill traveled from Cairo to Jerusalem in search of materials for a dissertation on the Mamluk sultan Qalāwūn. In Jerusalem she, Linda Northrup, became a friend of a young Palestinian woman who had been appointed director of the Islamic Museum within the walls of al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf, the sacred enclosure of al-Aqṣá Mosque and the Dome of the Rock; the director, Amal Abul-Hajj, had recently discovered hundreds of obviously old documents stuffed into a locked cabinet in the museum. By a cursory examination of the dates and names it was realized that these were documents from the period of Mamluk rule in Jerusalem, mainly from the late fourteenth century. Overwhelmed by the magnitude of the discovery, her lack of professional training in the preservation and restoration of

[15]″Arabic Papyrology and Middle Eastern Studies,″ *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 19 (July 1985): 34.

[16]*A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, vol. 1: *Economic Foundations* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967).

[17]Vol. 1: *Historical Texts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

[18]E.g., *Einführung und Chrestomathie zur arabischen Papyruskunde*, vol. 1 (Prague: Czechoslovak Oriental Institute, 1955).

[19]E.g., Lewis, ″The Ottoman Archives as a Source for the History of the Arab Lands,″ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1951): 139-155; Shaw, ″Cairo's Archives and the History of Ottoman Egypt,″ *Report on Current Research, Spring 1956* (Washington, D.C.: Middle East Institute, 1956), 59-72.

documents, and the need to classify and catalog them without recourse to Israeli scholars, Abul-Hajj was led to ask for assistance from various Western scholars. With pronounced reluctance I allowed myself to be convinced that it was my duty to lend a hand. With generous financial assistance from McGill University I headed a group of three from McGill to sort out, temporarily restore, and photograph some nine hundred documents. In highly unusual, even risky, perhaps foolhardy, circumstances, photographs were taken and sent to Montreal via New Hampshire. At this point the question arose as to what to do with them, since I was completely unable to decipher the cursive scripts and technical language in which they were written. Here I can offer some advice to those of you who aspire to teaching careers. When in doubt about your qualifications to teach a subject which may be assigned to you, teach it, preferably in the form of a seminar or a workshop with students who by sharing the labor can help to train you and each other. In my case this method worked very well, for at the end of four months, working with a group of four students, I had managed not only to survey the scholarly literature on Islamic diplomatic but to gain some facility in reading the scripts, classifying the documents, and assessing their significance as sources for the history of the Mamluks and their institutions.[20] This was seventeen years ago. I still regard myself to be in training as a papyrologist.

Now I would like to move, as promised, from the personal and anecdotal, to the objective and scientific part of my remarks. Here I would like, one, to bring to your attention the documentary resources which are so far available to students of the Mamluks; I emphasize *so far* because I am confident that more documents will be discovered and that those that have already been discovered and await a buyer will be bought and made available to scholars. Two, I will allude to some of the challenges and opportunities that using these sources poses to scholars. And, three, I shall briefly review the work of a few representative scholars who have used Mamluk documents to illuminate Mamluk history. Since my purpose is to encourage students to use documents in their own research, I shall try to avoid letting these observations degenerate into a list of the names of scholars, libraries, and archives.

First, the places in which documents can be found. These can be divided into two types, namely copies contained in literary sources, and originals that have been preserved and have turned up in various places. As far as literary sources are concerned, again there are two types: histories, be they chronicles or biographical dictionaries, and manuals, prepared either for chancery scribes or notaries. Several Mamluk historians liked to transcribe documents that were at their disposal into their histories. This should come as no surprise in the case of at least two of the biographers of the first great Mamluk sultans, Baybars and Qalāwūn, for Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir was both confidential secretary (*kātib al-sirr*) and chief of chancery (*ṣāḥib dīwān al-inshā'*) under these sultans, and his nephew, Shāfiʻ ibn ʻAlī, was his assistant in the chancery. Both, then, were professional drafters of documents, with ready access to them, especially those they had drafted themselves, and did not hesitate to lend authenticity and color to their biographies by including copies in their texts.[21] Several of these are diplomatic documents, treaties, for example, concluded

[20]This seminar was the basis of my article, ″The Significance of the Ḥaram Documents for the Study of Medieval Islamic History,″ *Der Islam* 57 (1980): 165-181; reprinted in my *History and Historiography of the Mamluks* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1986).

[21]See Little, ″The Fall of ʻAkkā in 690/1291: The Muslim Version,″ in *Studies in Islamic Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon*, ed. M. Sharon (Jerusalem: Cana; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), 162, 165-

with Crusaders; but there are also internal documents, such as *khuṭbah*s recited by the caliph on the occasion of Baybars′s investiture, or, more interesting from a historian′s point of view, memos drawn up by Qalāwūn advising his son, al-Ṣāliḥ, on how to conduct the affairs of state during his, the sultan′s, absence.[22] Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, the author of two voluminous biographical dictionaries, was also employed in Mamluk chanceries, both in Egypt and in Syria, where he drafted or copied many documents that he inserted into biographies. Many of these are diplomas of appointment to offices in the Mamluk state, both administrative and military.[23] Baybars al-Manṣūrī, though not a bureaucrat but a high-ranking military officer, saw fit to enliven his chronicle, *Zubdat al-Fikrah*, with documents, mostly of a diplomatic nature.[24] The already-mentioned Ibn al-Dawādārī was the son of a minor Mamluk and probably did not have easy access to official documents, but this did not deter him from copying the copies contained in the works of his contemporaries, both Egyptians and Syrians, so that his *Kanz al-Durar* contains documents issued during the Mongols′ occupation of Damascus in 699/1299-1300 and a decree condemning those Muslims who espoused the beliefs of the famous Ḥanbalī jurisprudent, Ibn Taymīyah.[25] Later chroniclers, such as Ibn al-Furāt and al-ʿAynī, obviously deemed these documents to be sufficiently important to copy and incorporate into their texts adapted from earlier historians.[26]

Chancery manuals, most notably al-Qalqashandī′s fourteen-volume encyclopedia of essential and trivial knowledge for clerks employed by the vast Mamluk bureaucracy, contain dozens of copies of original documents to serve as models for employees of the chancery and other government offices. These samples of thirty different categories range from royal decrees and diplomas of appointment to peace treaties and safe conducts, official letters, and reports.[27] Although the exemplary documents that al-Qalqashandī transcribes are by no means limited to the Mamluk period, many, if not most, are derived from that era. But the very fact that al-Qalqashandī compares Mamluk chancery practice with that of the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods makes it possible to undertake comparative studies. Notarial manuals—*kutub al-shurūṭ*—constitute a related genre. Designed for the use of clerks associated with Islamic courts, these manuals are similar to the chancery handbooks in that they provide exemplars of many types of documents, legal and judicial in this case. But whereas al-Qalqashandī reproduces transcriptions, sometimes edited, of actual documents, the notarial manuals tend to shun real documents in favor of ideal models, forms, if you

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[22]E.g., Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī, *Ḥusn al-Manāqib al-Sirrīyah al-Muntazaʿah min al-Sīrah al-Ẓāhirīyah*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Khuwayṭir (Riyadh: Maṭābiʿ al-Quwwāt al-Musallaḥah al-Saʿūdīyah, 1976), 51-55; idem, *al-Faḍl al-Maʾthūr min Sīrat al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, Oxford Bodleian MS Marsh 424, fols. 82v.-89r.; Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-Ẓāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Khuwayṭir (Riyadh: n.p., 1976), 143-148.

[23]E.g., *al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt*, ed. Dorothea Krawulsky (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982), 17:91-98.

[24]E.g., *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Taʾrīkh al-Hijrah*, vol. 9, British Museum MS Add. 23325, as transcribed by Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah in his edition of al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Lajnat al-Taʾlīf wa-al-Nashr, 1939), 1:974-977.

[25]*Chronik*, 9:20-29, 139-142.

[26]E.g., Ibn al-Furāt, *Taʾrīkh Ibn al-Furāt*, ed. Q. Zurayq and N. ʿIzz al-Dīn (Beirut: American University Press, 1939), 8:194-195; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Taʾrīkh Ahl al-Zamān*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo: al-Hayʾah al-Miṣrīyah al-ʿĀmmah lil-Kitāb, 1992), 4:39-43.

[27]*Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ*, 14 vols. (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿah al-Amīrīyah, 1913-1919).

like, of an astonishing variety, with names and dates omitted. These models are similar to the standard printed forms of leases and wills that one can buy in Quebec; they are couched in foolproof legal jargon, and one need only fill in the names, dates, and special conditions that apply. By far the most valuable Mamluk manual of this type is the work entitled *Jawāhir al-ʻUqūd wa-Muʻīn al-Quḍāh wa-al-Muwaqqiʻīn wa-al-Shuhūd* (Essential Contracts and Helper to Judges, Notaries, and Legal Witnesses) by Shams al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, a notary who practiced in Egypt and Syria toward the end of the Mamluk period.[28] This work contains hundreds of models, ranging from marriage contracts, bills of divorce and sale to court records, proxies, and oaths.

Finally, just for fun, I should mention that documents show up in unlikely literary sources. In a hagiographical work devoted to the career of Ibn Taymīyah, the author, Ibn ʻAbd al-Hādī, has transcribed a poignant letter written by Ibn Taymīyah from Cairo to his mother in Damascus.[29] As trivial as this may sound—and the letter is mundane, of the ″Dear mom, I miss you and wish I could be at home with you, but important business keeps me here″ type, it is of considerable interest both to students of this intellectual giant of the Mamluk era and to students of medieval Islamic epistolary, few though we may be.

What are some of the challenges posed by these documents found in literary sources? Obviously, because of their random selection by historians and compilers they are no substitute for archives, by which I mean systematic collections of records kept more or less intact, which can be exploited for a consecutive span of time. Instead, the discontinuity and isolation of literary documents restrict the historian either to discrete events or to comparative studies. For example, if one happens to be interested in Mamluk-Mongol relations during the reign of Qalāwūn, one can find the texts of his diplomatic exchange with the Īlkhān Aḥmad Tegüder preserved in the manuscript of Baybars al-Manṣūrī′s *Zubdat al-Fikrah*, as yet unpublished but also in the published work of a later historian, Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, who obviously copied it from the former or an intermediary.[30] It has also been reprinted as an appendix to Ziyādah′s edition of al-Maqrīzī and was translated by Quatremère.[31] Moreover, since there are other specimens of Mamluk-Mongol correspondence preserved, one could make a comparative study of their diplomatic contacts over a given period of time. This would be tricky, of course, because historians would like to have a complete, or nearly complete, set of such documents, but complete records are exceptional for medieval Islamic history. Nevertheless, on a positive note, one of the main virtues of Mamluk literary documents is their accessibility. Many are available in published form and have accordingly been transcribed and sometimes translated, so that scholars need not take the trouble or waste time in obtaining microfilm copies, or traveling to distant libraries to study the original, or in struggling with difficult hand-written scripts. On the other hand, one must stress that in addition to being transcriptions of original documents, these are by definition editions of originals, in the sense that the historians have often

[28]Ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī, 2 vols. (Cairo: Maṭbaʻat al-Sunnah al-Muḥammadīyah, 1955).

[29]Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʻAbd al-Hādī, *al-ʻUqūd al-Durrīyah min Manāqib Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī (Cairo: Maṭbaʻat Ḥijāzī, 1938).

[30]*Zubdah*, 9:131 ff.; Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks*, ed. E. Blochet (Paris: Fermin-Didot et Cie, 1919-1928), 335ff.

[31]*Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 2:977-984; E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte* (Paris: Oriental Translation Fund, 1845), 2:158-166.

deliberately or inadvertently changed the texts. This we know from documents preserved in more than one literary source.

Be that as it may, the potential for the study of Mamluk foreign relations through documents is great, as reference to the section on "Foreign Relations" in your own *Mamluk Studies: A Bibliography* will show you.[32] As examples, I would mention only the recent works of two scholars, one senior and one junior. In his *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260-1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers*,[33] Peter Holt has translated, annotated, and analyzed the texts of eleven Mamluk-Crusader treaties drawn from the literary sources discussed above, both histories and manuals. As Holt declares in the "Preface," these deserve study because

> [t]hey reveal some of the realities of the contacts between the medieval Muslim and Christian communities, particularly on that Syro-Palestinian border where the powerful realm of the early Mamluk sultans confronted the diminished Crusader states in the last decades of their existence. They show in detail how, even in this prolonged crisis, life went on with provision for merchants to go about their business by land and sea, and for local authorities to collaborate in the policing of the frontier. The treaties exemplify the sophisticated efficiency of the sultan's chancery—that was to be expected—but they also indicate a diplomatic procedure with respect for legality and precedent, sometimes, admittedly, practised with a degree of finesse.[34]

The junior, but very accomplished, scholar is Reuven Amitai-Preiss. He, like Holt, has also produced a detailed study of specific documents, in the form of an article entitled "An Exchange of Letters in Arabic between Abaɣa Īlkhān and Sultan Baybars" in which he analyzes correspondence already transcribed and translated by the Saudi scholar ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Khuwayṭir.[35] But this article was probably a by-product of the research for his dissertation and book, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Īlkhānid War, 1260-1281*,[36] where this exchange and others are not studied independently but woven into the fabric of historical narrative based on the literary sources. In contrast to diplomatic documents related to foreign affairs that have received considerable, but by no means exhaustive, study, documents related to the internal workings of the Mamluk state have received little attention. Although certificates of appointment to various offices in the bureaucracies are not as exciting as correspondence between the superpowers of the medieval Muslim world, the former do afford opportunities for richer understanding of the workings of the Mamluk bureaucracy and state.

Original documents or remnants of archives are exceedingly important. These can be divided into two groups: documents preserved by non-Muslim institutions and those found in Muslim venues. Of the former the best known are those found in St. Catherine's

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[32]Ed. John L. Meloy (Chicago: The Middle East Documentation Center, 1995), 75-94.
[33](Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995).
[34]Ibid., vii-viii.
[35]*Central Asiatic Journal* 38 (1994): 11-33.
[36](Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Monastery in Sinai, one of the earliest monasteries in the world. In 1950 much of the priceless manuscript collection of the monastery was photographed by an American-Egyptian team, including approximately 1100 scrolls written in Arabic.[37] Most of these date from the Ottoman period, but about two hundred can be attributed to the Mamluk era. They consist of royal decrees issued by Mamluk sultans to the monks of the monastery but also deeds of conveyance for properties belonging to it at one time or another. A similar collection is held by the Franciscan Monastery of Mt. Zion in Jerusalem. Here I must confess to my ignorance; I hope that one of you may rectify it by further study. There is a catalogue of 2644 Arabic and Turkish decrees and legal documents concerning the sanctuaries, properties, and rights of the *Custodia di Terra Franca* in Jerusalem, but I have not seen it.[38] In extenuation, however, I have seen and own a publication which is one of my favorite books because it has no title page, meaning that the author, title, date, and place of publication are not identified. It contains photographs, transcriptions, Italian translations of and commentaries on twenty-eight Mamluk decrees and court records from the Burjī period. This book is so obscure that it has not even found its way into the Mamluk Studies bibliography, so that if this lecture serves no other purpose it will add another entry to that estimable work. It is usually referred to as *Documenti e Firmani* by Noberto Risciani and Eutimio Castellani and was published in 1936 by the Press of the Franciscan Fathers in Jerusalem.[39] I am well aware that there are other scattered Mamluk documents from other non-Muslim institutions, including the Cairo Geniza, but I will mention only those of various Italian archives. Some of these, a handful, have been made available by none other than John Wansbrough. Now famous for his studies of the sources for early Islamic history, Wansbrough wrote his dissertation on ″Documents for the History of Commercial Relations between Egypt and Venice, 1442-1512.″[40] Obviously the main value of documents dealing with non-Muslims, as studied most notably by Hans Ernst in his 1960 published dissertation *Die mamlukischen Sultansurkunden des Sinaiklosters*,[41] Samuel Stern, and others,[42] is the information they provide on Mamluk policies toward Christian institutions such as the two monasteries in question and the Italian city-states studied by Wansbrough. Many of these documents are accessible either in published form, or, in the case of the St. Catherine′s papers, in microfilms available from the Library of Congress and other institutions. Most of these, it should be emphasized, have not yet been studied.

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[37]See A. S. Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1955); Kenneth W. Clark, *Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1952).

[38]Eutimio Castellani, *Catalogo dei Firmani ed altri Documenti Legali . . . conservati nell' Archivio della stessa Custodia in Gerusalemme* (Jerusalem: Tipografia dei pp. Francescani, 1922).

[39]See Martiniano Pellegrino Roncaglia, *Essai bibliographique de diplomatique islamique (Arabe-Persane-Ottomane)* (Beirut: Université Arabe de Beyrouth, 1979), 1:250.

[40]University of London, 1961. See also his articles, e.g., ″Venice and Florence in the Mamluk Commercial Privileges,″ *BSOAS* 28 (1965): 483-523; ″The Safe Conduct in Muslim Chancery Practice,″ *BSOAS* 34 (1971): 20-35.

[41](Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1960).

[42]Stern, ″Petitions from the Mamluk Period (Notes on the Mamluk Documents from Sinai),″ *BSOAS* 29 (1966): 233-276; reprinted in his *Coins and Documents from the Medieval Middle East* (London: Variorum, 1986); and, e.g., D. S. Richards, ″Documents from Sinai Concerning Mainly Cairene Property,″ *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 28 (1985): 225-293.

Documents emanating from Muslim institutions dealing with Muslim transactions and affairs are of great significance. These are the least accessible because most of them must be consulted either *in situ*, in Cairo or Jerusalem, or on microfilm if these can be obtained. In the case of the Ḥaram documents, copies are now available in Jerusalem at the Ḥaram Library, in Jordan at the University of Amman and the National Archives, in Canada at McGill and Toronto Universities, in Paris at the Bibliothèque Nationale, and, finally, I hope, now at the University of Chicago. I do not know whether complete microfilm copies of the Cairo Mamluk documents kept at the National Archives (Dār al-Wathā'iq al-Qawmīyah) and the Ministry of Pious Endowments (Wizārat al-Awqāf) are available or not. In any case, they consist of 888 documents, including many endowment deeds (*waqfīyāt*), bills of conveyance, and other legal deeds; these have been catalogued, and a few samples published by Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn.[43] This collection has been studied and used by several scholars, both Arabs and Americans. Since many of the endowment deeds were drawn up for public buildings endowed by sultans and amirs, they have naturally been exploited by students of Islamic architecture. Two examples are Leonor Fernandes, whose published dissertation, *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt: The Khanqah*,[44] and several articles rely heavily on *waqfīyah*s, and the Lebanese scholar Saleh Lamei Mostafa, assisted by Felicitas Jaritz, has also used *waqfīyah*s for studies of the buildings of Sultan Barqūq and his son.[45] Carl Petry, in his recent work focusing on the reigns of Sultans Ghawrī and Qāytbāy, has used the same type of documents to supplement material in the narrative histories to reconstruct the fiscal policies of these two sultans and their appropriation of state properties into their personal trust reserves.[46] Jonathan Berkey's book, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education*,[47] also draws on the Cairo papers as primary sources for the development of educational institutions in Mamluk Cairo. But the fullest and most detailed exploitation by a historian of the Cairo records is Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn's *al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimā'īyah fī Miṣr*.[48] Because it is written in Arabic it has been used by only a few Western scholars, but it deserves the attention of every Islamic medievalist as a comprehensive, richly documented study of Mamluk cultural, religious, social, political, and economic life under the Mamluks, based on documents containing endowments established by Mamluk statesmen.

Finally, the Ḥaram documents. About the same in number as the Cairo documents, the Jerusalem papers are very different in character, being, I believe, remnants from the

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[43]*Fihrist Wathā'iq al-Qāhirah ḥattá Nihāyat 'Aṣr al-Mamālīk (239-922 H./853-1516 M.)* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1981). The bibliography in this book contains references to other documents published by Amīn elsewhere.

[44](Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1988). See also her articles, such as "Three Ṣūfī Foundations in a 15th Century Waqfiyya," *Annales islamologiques* 17 (1981): 141-156; "Notes on a New Source for the Study of Religious Architecture during the Mamluk Period: The Waqfīya," *al-Abḥāth* 33 (1985): 3-12.

[45]E.g., *Madrasa, Ḫānqāh und Mausoleum des Barqūq in Kairo*, mit einem Beitrag von Felicitas Jaritz (Glückstadt: Verlag J. J. Augustin, 1982).

[46]*Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamluk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993); *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994).

[47](Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992). Cf. Ulrich Haarmann, "Mamluk Endowment Deeds as a Source for the History of Education in Late Medieval Egypt," *al-Abḥāth* 28 (1980): 31-47.

[48](Cairo: Dār al-Nahḍah al-'Arabīyah, 1980).

archives of a late fourteenth century Shāfiʿī judge. As such, they constitute a variegated sampling of judicial and notarial documents, including court records, marriage contracts, wills, and financial records of various kinds. By far the most numerous type is estate, or probate, inventories. There are lists of the possessions of persons already dead or on the verge of dying in Jerusalem, compiled by representatives of the Shāfiʿī court in order to insure that those entitled to a share of an estate, including the government, would indeed get it. These four hundred-plus inventories have been studied extensively by my student, Huda Lutfi, for her dissertation and book: *al-Quds al-Mamlukiyya: A History of Mamluk Jerusalem Based on the Ḥaram Documents*.[49] In this book, using these very limited sources, Lutfi was able to synthesize a wealth of data relating to the administration and organization of Jerusalem under the Mamluks not available in narrative sources, as well as plentiful detail about the economy of the city and the material and social life of its inhabitants. In my own publications I have treated specific problems that can be illuminated by the documents, specifically domestic slavery, intercommunal relations between Muslims, Christians, and Jews, relations between Jerusalem and Cairo, and, most recently, the highly organized but extremely complex manner in which the courts intervened in the settlement of estates in a provincial town in the Mamluk Empire.[50] But the main focus of my inquiries has been the relationship of these documents to the manuals of Islamic law, the *shurūṭ* models formulated by jurisprudents. Whether *fiqh* is a strictly isolated, theoretical enterprise, divorced from the practice of Islamic law, has been a question which has long exercised Orientalists, and the comparison of real documents with the models, I believe, affords us the opportunity to compare theory and practice on an empirical basis.

But here I will stop, almost, for I do want to conclude by mentioning some of the challenges and opportunities raised by Mamluk documents of both literary and archival provenance. As far as challenges are concerned, one must cultivate something which Professor Roemer told me was indispensable for papyrologists. One need not be very intelligent, he said, as long as one has *Sitzleder*, a term you might not find in dictionaries, because it's slightly rude, meaning a rear end calloused into leather by years of sitting in an attempt to decipher the scrawls in Arabic penned by notaries, to translate the legal jargon imposed by the jurisprudents or chancery officials, and to interpret it in accordance with the historical context in which the documents were written and the legal procedures that prevailed. In other words, documents are extremely difficult to use, especially those that have not yet been edited, and this includes most. The first opportunity that they afford to young scholars is to edit and publish some of them and to analyze them as documents, in order to make the task of interpreting them easier for other scholars. A related task is to compare those of the Mamluk era with those of preceding and succeeding periods. Despite recent advances, the study of Muslim diplomatic is still in a rudimentary stage and needs many scholars in search not so much of material rewards as of an intellectual adventure of finding, understanding, and publishing documents. But if this demanding task lacks appeal for you, the Mamluk documents also constitute a rich and indispensable ancillary source for historians who rely on narrative and biographical materials. Here I will leave the last word

[49](Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1985).

[50]"Documents Related to the Estates of a Merchant and His Wife in Late Fourteenth Century Jerusalem," forthcoming in *Manuscripts of the Middle East*.

to next year′s lecturer, Steve Humphreys, in his exemplary book, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry*:

> In medieval Islamic history we are poor in archives but rich in documents. For the most part we have only begun to identify and study these, let alone integrate them into the main stream of historical research, which still depends overwhelmingly on narrative and literary sources. But documentary materials are quickly moving from the periphery to the center of historical thinking in the Islamic field, and a serious historian can no longer avoid the hard job of learning how to use them effectively.[51]

[51](Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 40.

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Mamluk Historiographic Studies: The State of the Art

The past decade has seen an uneven development in Mamluk historiographic studies. On the one hand, a considerable number of important Mamluk sources—chronicles, biographical dictionaries, geographical and administrative encyclopedias as well as treatises on historical theory—have been edited and thus added to our growing Mamluk library. On the other, we continue to witness a dearth of articles, and even fewer monographs, devoted to Mamluk historians and their writings;[1] not since the pioneering works of Jean Sauvaget, Claude Cahen, Donald Little, and Ulrich Haarmann have we seen any ground-breaking study of the historical thought and writing of this extraordinary era, which is commonly believed to have been one of the most prolific in Islamic history for its output of historical and archival documentation. This review thus offers a welcome opportunity not only for stock-taking, but also for sharing thoughts with interested colleagues. My comments are informed by my research on al-Yūnīnī (d. 1326) and a concomitant process of contemplating what has been achieved and what has not, in my own work and in the field at large. Among the various issues, I find three especially important: the editing of Mamluk sources, the study of the biographies of Mamluk historians, and the study of the development of genres and forms in Mamluk historical texts.

I

In his introduction to *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate, 1250-1382*, Robert Irwin warned us that ″until the publication of all the best sources (among them, al-ʻAyni, the remaining volumes of al-Safadi, al-Dhahabi′s history, al-Nuwayri′s encyclopedia, the rest of al-Yunini, etc.) any history of the period will be premature.″[2] Less than a decade later, remarkable progress has been made in editing and publishing all the above-mentioned primary sources, thanks to the efforts of Mamluk scholars, Western and Middle Eastern alike.

The relevant part of al-ʻAynī′s (d. 1451) massive *ʻIqd al-Jumān fī Taʼrīkh Ahl al-Zamān*, which ranges over the years 648/1250-707/1307 was edited by Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and published in four volumes (Cairo, 1987-89). This portion of the

[1]Of course, this is not to ignore the fact that discussions of the sources and related historiographic issues are to be found in introductory essays, or appendices, of some monographs that deal with the Mamluk period; e.g., Carl Petry, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993), 3-14; Nasser Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 305-309.

[2](Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986), no page number.

text, which contains much original material for the Baḥrī period, is commonly regarded as the most significant segment of the entire work.[3] The facsimile version of al-Ṣafadī's (d. 1363) *A'yān al-'Aṣr wa-A'wān al-Naṣr*, edited by Fuat Sezgin (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), has so far reached its third volume, which touches upon persons who lived in the early Mamluk period. The remainder, hopefully with an index, is eagerly awaited. Also awaited is the rest of al-Ṣafadī's other biographical dictionary *al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt*, volumes 23 and 24 of which have been published during the past decade (Leipzig, 1931-<1993>). Although we do not expect the parts that deal with the Mamluk period from al-Dhahabī's (d. 1348) *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* to come out soon, many of his biographical works on learned persons who flourished during the seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries have been published. Many of these are short works abridged from the relevant parts of the larger *Ta'rīkh al-Islām*.[4] The project of editing al-Nuwayrī's (d. 1333) *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, long in progress, has finally reached the Mamluk era with the publication of volumes 29-31, edited by Muḥammad Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Rīs, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Hādī Shu'ayrah, and al-Bāz al-'Arīnī, respectively (Cairo, 1990-92); these constitute the last part of the fifth *fann*, namely, the "craft" of historiography, of this monumental encyclopedia,[5] covering events of the years from the later Ayyubids through 700/1300, i.e., the middle Baḥrī period. And after a long pause following the publication of the first four volumes of the Hyderabad edition, the later part of al-Yūnīnī's *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*, which contains a wealth of information on Mamluk Syria not found in any other source, has been analyzed and edited in two Ph.D. dissertations, by Antranig Melkonian (Freiburg, 1975), covering the years 687/1287-690/1291, and Li Guo (Yale, 1994), covering the years 697/1297-701/1302. The completion of the remaining ten-year portion (702-711) is being planned by the latter as well.

Of the major sources that deal with the Baḥrī period, Baybars al-Manṣūrī's (d. 1325) *Mukhtār al-Akhbār: Tārīkh al-Dawlah al-Ayyūbīyah wa-Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Baḥrīyah ḥattá Sanat 702 al-Hijrīyah* (Cairo, 1993)[6] and his *Kitāb al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah*

[3]See Donald Little, *An Introduction to Mamluk Historiography* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1970), 80-87. There is also a second "edition" of al-'Aynī's *'Iqd al-Jumān* by 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Qarmūṭ, professor in the Asyut branch of al-Azhar. The two volumes cover the years 815-850/1412-1447 (Cairo: Maṭba'at 'Alā', 1985; al-Zahrā' lil-I'lām al-'Arabī, 1989). This edition is not on the same level of scholarship as Amīn's work.

[4]For example: *al-I'lām bi-Wafayāt al-A'lām*, ed. Riyāḍ Murād et al. (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Mu'āṣir, 1991); *Tahdhīb Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, ed. Shu'ayb al-'Arna'ūṭ (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1991); *al-Kāshif fī Ma'rifat man lahu Riwāyah*, ed. Muḥammad 'Awwāmah et al. (Jiddah: Dār al-Qiblah lil-Thaqāfah al-Islāmīyah, 1992); *Mu'jam Muḥaddithī al-Dhahabī*, ed. Rawḥīyah al-Suyūfī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmīyah, 1993); *Mu'jam Shuyūkh al-Dhahabī*, ed. Rawḥīyah al-Suyūfī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmīyah, 1990); *Mu'jam al-Mukhtaṣṣ bi-al-Muḥaddithīn* (al-Ṭā'if, 1988); *Taqrīb Tarājim Tārīkh Baghdād ma'a Dhaylayhi wa-Istifādāt al-Dimyāṭī*, ed. Sāmī Dallāl (Cairo: Dār al-I'lām al-Duwalī, 1992); *Nuzhat al-Fuḍalā': Tahdhīb Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'*, ed. Muḥammad Mūsá (Jiddah: Dār al-Andalus al-Khaḍrā', 1995); *al-Mu'īn fī Ṭabaqāt al-Muḥaddithīn*, ed. Muḥammad 'Azab (Cairo: Dār al-Ṣaḥwah, 1987); *al-Dīnār min Ḥadīth al-Mashāyikh al-Kibār*, ed. Majdī Ibrāhīm (Cairo: Maktabat al-Qur'ān, 1988); *Dhāt al-Niqāb fī al-Alqāb*, ed. Muḥammad al-Māliḥ (Damascus: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1993).

[5]For an analysis of al-Nuwayrī's five *fann*s and the structure of the work, see 'Abd al-Ḥalīm al-Nadawī, *Manhaj al-Nuwayrī fī Kitābihi Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1987), esp. 92-97; also Mounira Chapoutot-Remadi, "al-Nuwayrī," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 8:156-160.

[6]For the manuscript survey, see the editor's "Un nouveau manuscrit attribué à Baybars al-Manṣūrī: Mukhtār al-Akhbār," *Studia Islamica* 67 (1988): 151-153. For a review of the edition by P. M. Holt, see *Bulletin*

fī al-Dawlah al-Turkīyah: Tārīkh Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Baḥrīyah fī al-Fatrah min 648-711 Hijrīyah (Cairo, 1987), both edited by ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd Ṣāliḥ Ḥamdān, are now available. In his introduction to the latter, the editor, echoing Little′s and Eliyahu Ashtor′s opinions, challenges Cahen′s speculation that the *Tuḥfah* is an abridged version of the same author′s *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Ta'rīkh al-Hijrah* by stating that it is in fact another original work on the reign of the Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, for it contains many details that are not found in the *Zubdah* and also extends three years beyond the *Zubdah*, reaching 711.[7] Another interesting Mamluk text now being published is al-Dhahabī′s epitome of al-Jazarī′s (d. 1338) acclaimed chronicle, edited by Khaḍir al-Munshadāwī.[8] Of al-Jazarī′s original chronicle, the parts that cover the Baḥrī period after 698 are lost today and have only survived in detail in al-Yūnīnī′s *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān* and in al-Dhahabī′s extremely short epitome. The publication of both versions provides a basis for further inquiry into the textual relationship between al-Jazarī, al-Yūnīnī, al-Dhahabī, and other contemporary Syrian historians. In addition, a partial edition and translation of the years 694-696 from al-Jazarī′s chronicle is found in Numan Jubran′s 1987 Freiburg dissertation.[9] A less well-known Syrian chronicle, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh*, by Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī (d. 1377), which, as the title suggests, deals exclusively with the dynasty founded by al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, has also been brought to scholarly attention: volume 1 was published in 1976, followed by volume 2, which covers the years 709/1309-741/1340, namely the reign of the Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (Cairo, 1976-in progress). The thinness of the original text, which has already been noticed by modern scholars,[10] is compensated for to a certain extent by appendices containing the *waqfīyah* documents and other related material on which the editor of the volume, Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, has done substantial research.[11]

A major event in editing early Mamluk sources during the past decade or so is the publication, in several editions, of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʻUmarī′s (d. 1349) historical, geographical, and administrative encyclopedia *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*.[12] Among them the facsimile edition, in twenty-seven volumes, under the general editorship of Fuat Sezgin, is by far the most complete (Frankfurt am Main, 1988). Based on the major manuscripts preserved in libraries all over the world, the edition makes this fascinating, lengthy work handily available. However, since the parts that deal with biographies are now of secondary importance because most of the original sources from which al-ʻUmarī drew his material have been published in recent years,[13] one might

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of the School of Oriental and African Studies 58, no. 1 (1995): 131-132.

[7]See the editor′s introduction to the edition, 13-14.

[8]*al-Mukhtār min Ta'rīkh ibn al-Jazarī al-Musammá Ḥawādith al-Zamān* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʻArabī, 1988).

[9]*Studien zur Geschichte und Sozialgeographie von Damaskus im Ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert mit einer Teiledition der Chronik Šams ad-Dīn Muḥamad* [sic] *al-Ǧazarīs* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, 1988). I thank Dr. Jubran for sending me a copy of his dissertation.

[10]See Little, *Introduction*, 94.

[11]See his *al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimāʻīyah fī Miṣr* (Cairo: Dār al-Nahḍah al-ʻArabīyah, 1980) and *Catalogue des documents d′archives du Caire de 239/853 à 922/1516* (Cairo: Institut français d′archéologie orientale, 1981).

[12]The most recent study of the work is Shemuel Tamari′s *Topological Studies in the Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʻUmarī* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1989).

[13]For the sources of the *Masālik*, see Dorothea Krawulsky′s discussion of the manuscripts of the *Masālik*

question the wisdom of publishing the whole work instead of concentrating on the most valuable portions of it, namely, the volumes that deal with geographical and administrative issues. In addition, given the enormous size and complex structure of the work, I find this edition extremely difficult to use inasmuch as it, like the other facsimile editions in the same Frankfurt series, lacks any kind of textual criticism or indices, except for a brief introduction. One can only hope that an accompanying volume of indices will come along. In this regard, Mamluk scholars might find Dorothea Krawulsky′s partial critical edition of the work a very relevant and useful reference (Beirut, 1986). As the subtitle *Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Ūlá* (by the editor?) indicates, Krawulsky′s edition contains the sixth *bāb* of the work, that is, the portion that deals with geographical and administrative matters in Egypt, Syria, and the Hijaz during the early Mamluk period. This edition has many merits: a detailed introduction, translated from the German into elegant Arabic by Riḍwān al-Sayyid, is followed by a critically edited text, in the real sense of the term, with a meticulously supplied philological apparatus as well as parallel references. There are not only indices of manuscripts, sources, proper names, places, Mamluk administrative and military terms, and other technical terms, but also a much-needed index of Arabic terms for plants, animals, minerals, etc., occurring in the text. Partial editions of special interest are also found in M. Aḥmad′s edition of the eighth through fourteenth *bāb*s, the parts that touch upon North Africa and the Sahara, with annotations and maps (Casablanca, 1988). Worth mentioning also is the much earlier historical-topographical encyclopedia *al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah fī Dhikr Umarā' al-Shām wa-al-Jazīrah*, by Ibn Shaddād (d. 1285). The publication of the first part, edited by Yaḥyá 'Abbārah (Damascus, 1991), in two volumes[14] has not only brought this long overdue project to its completion, but also has finally fulfilled Sauvaget and Zayyāt′s aborted editing plan, adding a fuller version to Dominique Sourdel′s previous partial edition (Damascus, 1953).

The later Mamluk sources, namely those major chronicles and biographical works produced during the Burjī period, the latter being the hallmark of the achievements attained by Mamluk historians,[15] have long been available to modern students. The last decade, however, has seen the continuation of major projects, such as the editing of the rest of Ibn Taghrībirdī′s *al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá ba'da al-Wāfī*, by Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1984-<1993>), which has so far reached the letter *'ayn* (volume 7, 1993). Some less-known works have been edited as well. Among these, al-Maqrīzī′s *Kitāb al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr*, edited by Muḥammad al-Ya'lāwī in eight volumes (Beirut, 1987-91), might warrant special attention inasmuch as it contains entries for religious, political, and military figures in Ifrīqiyā and the Maghrib as well as the Islamic East, ranging from the establishment of the Fatimid dynasty in Ifrīqiyā in the fourth/tenth century to the end of the eighth/fourteenth century; a host of Egyptian Mamluk amirs′ biographies, which are not found in other works of its kind, are particularly valuable. Ibn Taghrībirdī′s

in *Dirāsāt* (Series A: The Humanities, University of Jordan) 17, no. 2 (1990): 169-185.

[14]Part 1 of the work focuses on Aleppo. Part 2 (two volumes, ed. Sāmī al-Dahhān) on Damascus (vol. 1) and Lebanon, Jordan, and Palestine (vol. 2), and part 3 (two volumes) on the al-Jazīrah and Mosul, were published in 1956 and 1978 respectively.

[15]For the most recent treatment of the Mamluk biographical dictionaries, see Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 17, 204-210; Wadād al-Qāḍī, ″Biographical Dictionaries: Inner Structure and Cultural Significance,″ in *The Book in the Islamic World*, ed. George N. Atiyeh (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 93-122.

Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Maḍá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr has also been edited in two ongoing projects, both covering the years 845-860, one by Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ʻIzz al-Dīn (Beirut, 1990-in progress) and another by Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Cairo, 1990-in progress). Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī's *Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāminah*, edited by ʻAdnān Darwīsh (Cairo, 1992), is a continuation of the same author's biographical dictionary *al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʻyān al-Mi'ah al-Thāminah.* The significance of this continuation lies in its coverage of the persons who lived in the first three decades of the ninth/fifteenth century (801-832), a time during which the author himself was at the peak of his intellectual maturity and judgment. The edition is based on a manuscript originally from the Taymūrīyah collection, on the margins of which Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's (d. 1448) autograph notes are found. A prominent historian in his own right, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah is known for his chronicle in which he continued the works of his Syrian predecessors, al-Birzālī (d. 1339), al-Dhahabī, Ibn Kathīr (d. 1373), and others, reaching the early ninth/fifteenth century.[16] After a long delay since the publication of the first volume (covering 781/1379-800/1397), ably edited by ʻAdnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1977), volumes 2 and 3 (covering 741/1340-780/1378) of *Ta'rīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah* were finally published in 1994 in Damascus. The edition is lavishly produced: the introductions, in both Arabic and French, give a detailed description of the manuscripts as well as insightful analysis of the content and form of the work; moreover, each volume is supplied with an analytical summary. The Arabic text is generously vocalized and followed by various helpful indexes.

Apart from the mainstream Mamluk chronicles and biographical works, some minor biographical works, local histories, and works on numismatics have been made available to scholars. Of the former, one is Ibn al-ʻIrāqī's (d. 1423) *al-Dhayl ʻalá al-ʻIbar fī Khabar man Ghabara*, edited by Ṣāliḥ Mahdī ʻAbbās (Beirut, 1989). A supplement to al-Dhahabī's biographical dictionary *al-ʻIbar*, it contains entries for those who lived and died during 762-786, the late Baḥrī era. For those interested in the history of the Druze community under the Ayyubids and Mamluks and its interaction with the rest of Muslim society at large, the two publications of Ibn Asbāṭ's (d. 1520) *Ṣidq al-Akhbār* form a welcome contribution to a field for which there are limited written sources. A partial edition focusing on the later Mamluk era was edited by Nā'ilah Qā'idbayh under the title *Ta'rīkh al-Durūz fī Ākhir ʻAhd al-Mamālīk* (Beirut, 1989). The complete text of the *Ṣidq al-Akhbār* was recently published in two volumes, covering the events of 526-700 and 701-926, by ʻUmar Tadmurī (Tripoli, Lebanon, 1993). Al-Maqrīzī's famous *Shudhūr al-ʻUqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqūd* has been revisited in a new edition by Muḥammad ʻUthmān (Cairo, 1990). It is based on two manuscripts, one having been recently discovered in King Saud University and the other an autograph from Leiden.[17] This new edition was aimed, as the editor states, at correcting some errors made by previous studies, from partial editions and translations by Tychsen (1797), de Sacy (1905), Mayer (1933), and Father al-Karmili (1939), to Ra'fat al-Nabarāwī's 1988 edition.[18] The part that concerns us here is chapter 3 of the treatise, which is devoted to Mamluk Egyptian numismatics.[19]

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[16]David Reisman has recently discovered a holograph manuscript of the work; see "A Holograph MS of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's *Dhayl*," paper presented at the Middle East Studies Association annual meeting, 1996.
[17]For a description of the manuscripts see the editor's introduction, 10-17.
[18]"Kitāb al-Nuqūd al-Qadīmah wa-al-Islāmīyah," *Majallat al-ʻUṣūr* [London] 3, no. 1 (1988): 117-147.
[19]See pp. 132-154 of the edition.

The Mamluk era is also distinguished by having produced a core of literature, so to speak, on historical thought and theory, a genre that set the stage for the later development of Muslim historiography in general.[20] The major representative treatises of this genre have been analyzed in Franz Rosenthal′s *A History of Muslim Historiography*, and it is therefore very intriguing to see a new edition of al-Kāfiyajī′s (d. 1474) *al-Mukhtaṣar fī ʻIlm al-Ta'rīkh*, published recently by Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ʻIzz al-Dīn (Beirut, 1990).[21] To justify the necessity of this new edition, the editor claims that Rosenthal′s edition contains ″numerous errors and omissions (*kathīrat al-taḥrīf wa-al-ḥadhf*)″ (p. 32). Nevertheless, after a careful collation of Rosenthal′s edition with ʻIzz al-Dīn′s corrections, I find *all* the alleged ″omissions″ are in fact right there in Rosenthal′s edition.[22] The bizarre fact is that ʻIzz al-Dīn himself has evidently not even seen Rosenthal′s original work, but only an *Arabic translation* of it.[23] Whether the so-called ″omissions″ are from this translation or simply ʻIzz al-Dīn′s ineptness is beyond me. In any case, my collation reveals that it is this new edition that contains numerous errors, some of which are critical.[24] Although ʻIzz al-Dīn has also argued that there are three cases in which the prose in Rosenthal′s edition might be verse,[25] this assertion is itself questionable for, to my knowledge, it is not an infrequent practice in Mamluk historical writing for rhymed prose to be used in a narrative context.[26] And after all, this alone does not justify the need for a new edition, one that is, oddly enough, based on the same manuscript, namely MS Dār al-Kutub 528 *ta'rīkh*. In addition, the arbitrary and inconsistent punctuation and paragraphing applied in this ″new″ edition has contributed to numerous misreadings.[27] This edition itself might not merit much attention; however, it does raise some questions regarding the general methodologies and

[20]The most exhaustive treatment of the role that Mamluk historians played in shaping the landscape of medieval Arabic-Islamic historiography is still Franz Rosenthal′s *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968); for a recent discussion, see Khalidi, *Historical Thought*, chapter 5, ″History and *siyasa*.″

[21]*Historiography*, 245-262 (translation) and 547-580 (edition).

[22]E.g., the cases cited by ʻIzz al-Dīn in his introduction to the edition, pp. 32, 33 vs. Rosenthal′s edition, pp. 552, 555, 557, 568, respectively.

[23]Quoted in the introduction as a Baghdad, 1963 edition, but in the bibliography as a Beirut, 1983 second edition.

[24]E.g., the reading of *sittah* (i.e., *six* eras; Rosenthal edition, 553) as *sanah* (ʻIzz al-Dīn edition, 65); *al-tazawwuj* (i.e., Iblīs′s offspring were conceived through his *intercourse* with his own eggs; Rosenthal, 565) as *al-burūj* (ʻIzz al-Dīn, 90); the phrase *mā alladhī* (Rosenthal, 565) as *maladhī* (ʻIzz al-Dīn, 90), just to name a few.

[25]The introduction, pp. 33-34.

[26]For example, al-Yūnīnī wrote the entire preface of his *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān* in rhymed couplets, but this does not mean that they ought to be read as verses; see *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*, vol. 1 (Hyderabad, 1954), 2.

[27]For instance, in the above-mentioned example (Rosenthal, 553, line 4 vs. ʻIzz al-Dīn, 65, line 2), the original text of: *iʻlam anna al-tawārīkh al-mashhūrah fī zamāninā sittah ta'rīkh al-Hijrah wa-al-Rūm wa-al-Furs wa-al-Mālikī wa-al-Yahūd wa-al-Turk* (there are six eras which are widely used in our time and they are. . . .) is clearly understood from Rosenthal's edition without the need of any punctuation. However, it appears in ʻIzz al-Dīn's version as: *iʻlam anna al-tawārīkh al-mashhūrah fī zamāninā: sanat ta'rīkh al-Hijrah, wa-al-Rūm, wa-al-Furs, wa-al-Mālikī, wa-al-Yahūd, wa-al-Turk. . .* ; that is, all mixed up. One will also find such punctuation absurd: *ka-Ādam—ʻalayhi al-salām mathalan—yaḥṣulu lahu—ḥīna'idhin—ʻindahu* . . . (75), *Ādam—ʻalayhi al-ṣalāh* . . . *—khalaqahu Allāh—taʻālá—min turāb* . . . (82), *ʻasharat qurūn—ʻalá mā qālū—wa-Allāh—taʻālá—arsalahu* . . . (99). In addition, the paragraphing is often questionable.

approaches in our study and editing of Mamluk manuscripts. Two age-old questions are in order here: *what* to publish and *how*?

In concluding this survey of recently-published Mamluk sources, one quickly realizes that despite some exemplary work, the issues raised by Cahen some thirty years ago[28] are still with us. The ″historical method and spirit″ advocated by Cahen in dealing with Arabic manuscripts has still, in Cahen′s words, ″very seldom been followed.″ The Mamluk sources under review are no exception. A case in point is the two editions of Ibn Taghrībirdī′s *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr* mentioned above. Published at approximately the same time, both editions took MS Aya Sofya 3185 as their basis and consulted other available manuscripts, such as MS Taymūrīyah 2404, which is a copy of a Vatican manuscript. However, the most important manuscript of the work, Berlin 9462, copied by al-Sakhāwī (d. 1497), was not used in the preparation of the two separately executed editions. The loss is obvious. The situation is no better in the 1987 Cairo edition of al-ʻAynī′s *ʻIqd al-Jumān*. Of the major extant manuscript sets, only one, MS Cairo Dār al-Kutub 1584 *ta'rīkh*, was consulted. The Cairo manuscript is, as a matter of fact, a copy of an Istanbul manuscript set, although this information is not provided by the editor.[29] Instead of original manuscript research, a common and, of course, much handier practice seems to be to publish any manuscript (or other forms of the text, such as microfilms or photocopies) available in a major library, say, Cairo′s Dār al-Kutub or Maʻhad al-Makhṭūṭāt, without appropriate textual collation and source criticism. For instance, Ibn Iyās′s (d. 1524) geographical and administrative dictionary *Nuzhat al-Umam fī al-ʻAjā'ib wa-al-Ḥikam*, edited by Muḥammad ʻAzab (Cairo, 1995), is, as the editor tells us, based on a single copy of an ″Aya Sofya manuscript″ (namely Aya Sofya 3500;[30] and, again, no other information is given) that happened to come to his attention.[31] The entire edition is virtually devoid of any textual criticism; there are no indexes or aids of any kind, except for a general chronology of Islamic dynasties. And after all, since the work itself does not furnish much original material other than quotations from some well-known sources of the *khiṭaṭ* (historical topography) genre, one might question the desirability of publishing a work of such minor importance, even if it is of some interest,[32] before a thorough source-critical study. The same could be said about Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ʻIzz al-Dīn′s edition of ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl al-Malaṭī′s (d. 1514) *Nuzhat al-Asāṭīn fī-man Waliya Miṣr min al-Salāṭīn* (Cairo, 1987), a short biographical dictionary of the Ayyubid and Mamluk sultans who ruled Egypt. Although the edition is nicely produced, the original work itself is of virtually no importance, consisting of entries that comprise nothing more than the birth and death dates and ruling years of the sultans. One cannot help but wonder why a work of such little importance was published in the first place, while the same author′s very important chronicle, *al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim fī Ḥawādith al-ʻUmr wa-al-Tarājim*, is still unedited.[33]

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[28]″Editing Arabic Chronicles: A Few Suggestions,″ *Islamic Studies* [Karachi] (Sept., 1962): 1-25.
[29]We are only told that these are from the Velieddin collection, Istanbul (the numbers are not provided); see Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1936-42), S1:51 (Welieddin 2390, 2392).
[30]Brockelmann, *GAL*, S2:405.
[31]See the editor′s introduction, 5-6.
[32]A short note about this particular work is found in Petry, *Twilight*, 50 n. 69.
[33]For the importance of this work, see the discussion of the sources in Petry, *Twilight*, 8-9.

This kind of rush to publish is also seen in some work done in the West. One instance is Melkonian's edition of al-Yūnīnī's *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*,[34] which not only lacks a basic survey of the manuscript traditions, but also ignores secondary literature. As a result, it is based on a single manuscript (MS Istanbul Ahmet III, 2907/e), without consulting other extant manuscripts (e.g., MS Yale Landberg 139, which is quite different from the Istanbul version). Given the fact that the first four volumes of the *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*, published in Hyderabad (1954-1962), already constitute a "bad" edition, in Cahen's assessment,[35] it is rather sad to admit that we may, realistically speaking, never have the opportunity to re-do it properly. Once a work has been published, it is, in most cases in the Islamic field, considered as "done," whether it is a good edition or not. Economic constraints and academic trends have already made publishers shy away from publishing works of a "philological" nature. We cannot afford to waste very limited resources, as Cahen lamented thirty years ago, "preparing unsatisfactory editions"[36] before all the best manuscripts have been consulted and thoroughly analyzed!

In addition to the question of analyzing manuscripts, the technical aspects of presentation should also be taken into consideration. Of course, editing practices vary from one scholar to another, and there is no such thing as a standard formula when it comes to editing medieval texts.[37] What concerns us most here is to take a close look at the problems existing in our common practice: the way to present variant readings, the making of a critical apparatus, indices, punctuation, paragraphing, orthography, and so forth. In practice, I find two extremes which compel discussion. One of these might be characterized as "free editing," which is represented by 'Izz al-Dīn's new edition of al-Kāfiyajī's *al-Mukhtaṣar* discussed above, and the other is the traditional Orientalist method applied in Gunhild Graf's edition of Ibn al-Dawādārī's minor chronicle *Durar al-Tījān*.[38] Since the contents as well as the historical and historiographic aspects of Graf's work have been discussed at length by others,[39] I shall limit myself here to the technical aspects of manuscript editing.

One of the features of Graf's edition is her policy of "faithfully" transcribing the Arabic text as it appears in the original manuscript(s): a painstaking attempt was made to maintain in the printed text all the paleographic peculiarities and orthographic irregularities,

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[34]For the originality of this work and its unique position in early Mamluk historiography, see Cahen, "Editing Arabic Chronicles," 3-4, 17.

[35]Cahen, "Editing Arabic Chronicles," 3, 17; Sauvaget, *Introduction to the History of the Muslim East*, recast by Claude Cahen (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982), 177. Further discussion is also found in Li Guo, "The Middle Baḥrī Mamlūks in Medieval Syrian Historiography—The Years 1297-1302 in the Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān Attributed to Quṭb al-Dīn Mūsā al-Yūnīnī: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Annotated Translation, and Source Criticism" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1994), 4-7.

[36]"Editing Arabic Chronicles," 1.

[37]For the most recent general discussion of the methodology of Arabic manuscript editing, see M. G. Carter, "Arabic Literature," in *Scholarly Editing: A Guide to Research*, ed. D. C. Greetham (New York: Modern Language Association, 1995), 546-574.

[38]*Die Epitome der Universalchronik Ibn ad-Dawādārīs im Verhältnis zur Langfassung: Eine quellenkritische Studie zur Geschichte der ägyptischen Mamluken* (Berlin: Schwarz, 1990).

[39]See book reviews in: *BSOAS* 4 (1991): 366-367, by P. M. Holt; *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin* 26 (1992): 109-111, by Reuven Amitai-Preiss; *Bulletin critique des Annales islamologiques* 8 (1992): 95-96, by Jean-Claude Garcin; *Die Welt des Islams* 33 (1993): 158-159, by Donald Little; and *Der Islam* 71 (1994): 388-390, by Bernd Radtke.

including the obvious errors (corrections are given in the apparatus), occurring in the manuscript(s). It is too hazardous here, on a theoretical level, to get into the age-old debate of the merits and shortcomings of this approach, which has been followed in the editorial work done by many European Arabists, among which are the editions of various volumes of Ibn al-Dawādārī's major chronicle *Kanz al-Durar* by a group of German scholars.[40] On a practical level, however, I find Graf's approach and its result questionable. For one thing, Graf's transcription is far from being "faithful": errors and inconsistencies are found on nearly every page. And the apparatus is accordingly very confusing.[41] The idea of providing the reader with the philological as well as paleographic features of the original manuscripts might not sound bad, but it is without merit if typographical errors are frequent. To prove its "originality," Graf's edition contains many of the features of "Middle Arabic."[42] It is, of course, a matter of choice if the editor insists on providing the reader with a text full of Middle Arabic orthographic features instead of the modern standard norm. My view on this issue is as follows: (1) This traditional Orientalist approach was justified in a time when the lack of an easy means of reproduction (photocopying, microfilming, etc.) and the difficulties of international travel made most of the manuscripts inaccessible. It was also justified when our knowledge of classical Arabic orthography was so limited that all the editions of manuscripts were supposed to provide, besides their contents, textual samples for paleographic investigation. But are these practices justified today when these conditions no longer exist? In other words, if the purpose of today's edited text is to study orthography, why bother to transcribe the manuscript? Why not simply use a "faithful" photocopy? (2) Many of the characteristics of Middle Arabic, foremost among them the undotted *tā' marbūṭah* and omitted *hamzah*, are well-known today and therefore do not need to be called to one's attention; on the other hand, the undotted letters themselves are very dubious. It is extremely difficult to know whether the dots were omitted on purpose in the original manuscripts, or were effaced by time and circulation. To transcribe undotted letters in the printed text is, therefore, pointless, if I may be permitted a pun; and the impression it gives is sometimes undoubtedly false. (3) Even if the editor feels strongly about preserving the original orthographic features in his edition, the reader deserves, at least in the apparatus, explanations that are in accordance with modern standard spelling conventions. In Graf's case, it does not seem to make much sense that on, for example, p. 102, lines 10 and 14, the orthography of the Middle Arabic, that is, the undotted *tā' marbūṭah*, would be used in the editor's apparatus for the words *al-malā'ikah* and *al-yaqaẓah*.

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[40]E.g., *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmi' al-Ghurar*, vol. 8, ed. Ulrich Haarmann (Cairo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1971) and vol. 9, ed. Hans Robert Roemer (Cairo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1960). Interestingly enough, Haarmann himself seems to have altered this editing policy, in that all the rules of Modern Standard Arabic orthography have been strictly observed in his recently published edition of Abū Ja'far al-Idrīsī's *Anwār 'Ulwī al-Ajrām fī al-Kashf 'an Asrār al-Ahrām* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991).

[41]E.g., 87, line 10, *ya'dū* (with *alif al-wiqāyah*), cited in the apparatus as "ba'dū: ya'dū" (this time without *alif al-wiqāyah*). We do not know whether it was *ya'dū* or *ba'dū* that appeared in the manuscript in the first place; 93, line 11, *bn al-'Assāl*, in apparatus as "bn 'Assāl;" 103, line 7, *al-amal*, in apparatus as "al-amāl: al-āmāl," etc.

[42]On the question of the classical Arabic norm and the so-called "Middle Arabic," see Wolfdietrich Fischer, "Das Mittelarabische," *Grundriß der Arabischen Philologie*, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1982), 1:89-95; Joshua Blau, "Das frühe Neuarabisch in mittelarabischen Texten," *Grundriß*, 1:96-109 (with bibliography).

With regard to philological details, another long disputed but never fully resolved issue, transliteration, also deserves discussion. A case in point is Michael Chamberlain's *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350* (Cambridge, 1994). It is true that the work itself, as a social history, does not naturally fall within the scope of this review; however, one of the many merits of Chamberlain's excellent study lies in the fact that the author often quotes the sources (many of which still remain in manuscript) in the original Arabic. He thus renders the reader a valuable service in presenting not only the author's interpretation but also a partially "edited" text; it thus becomes relevant to our concern here. Chamberlain's work is without doubt one of the finest treatments of Mamluk social history in years; it is therefore a pity that the author's sensitivity and meticulousness in analyzing and conceptualizing his sources is not equally visible in his presentation of textual materials. As a result, the book's numerous misspellings of Arabic terms and phrases have called into question the reliability of the quotations. Again, we are not arguing here over the merits and shortcomings of various transliteration systems. The point is that any system should conform to the standard grammatical rules and intrinsic structure of the Arabic language, and be applied consistently. Unfortunately, on neither count can Chamberlain's work be viewed as acceptable. The most remarkable problems are the handling of the *tā' marbūṭah* and, more important, the verbs. It is indisputable that the spelling of the *tā' marbūṭah* is mandatory (in any transliteration system) when it occurs in the first term of an *iḍāfah* construction. Thus, Chamberlain's transliteration of nearly all the *iḍāfah*s in the book is flawed.[43] It is also very frustrating to see that in many cases the basic forms of Arabic verbs are violated.[44] One is equally troubled with a number of misspellings, or questionable spellings, of certain technical terms, such as the pervasive *tā'rīkh* (for *ta'rīkh*, or *tārīkh*),[45] among others.[46] If Chamberlain's discourses on the

[43]E.g., *Tadhkira*[*t*] *al-sāmi'* (5 n. 5; 105 n. 78, and the bibliography), *khazāna*[*t*] *'ilmihi* (5 n. 5), *Riḥla*[*t*] *Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* (48 n. 63), *tuḥfa*[*t*] *al-nuẓẓār* (48 n. 63), *Zubda*[*t*] *al-ḥalab* (65 n. 147), *ṭabaqa*[*t*] *al-'alyā'* (79 n. 47), *ḥalqa*[*t*] *al-ḥanābila* (81 n. 59), *sanna*[sic][*t*] *qisma*[*t*] *al-waẓā'if* (96), *maḥabba*[*t*] *aẓ-ẓuhūr* (105; also note the inconsistency in spelling the "sun letter" with the definite article), *ma'rifa*[*t*] *al-qawā'id* (117 n. 66), *'ibāda*[*t*] *al-jawāriḥ* (126), *ṭahāra*[*t*] *anfāsihi* (126), *Rawḍa*[*t*] *al-Muḥibbīn* (128 n. 135), *ṣalā*[*t*] *as-sirr*, *'ibāda*[*t*] *al-qalb*, *qurba*[*t*] *al-bāṭin* (129), *baraka*[*t*] *al-ḥadīth* (129 n. 137), *turba*[*t*] *al-muwallahīn* (132), *sūra*[*t*] *al-Nūḥ* (137 n. 174), *ziyāra*[*t*] *qabrihi* (142), *ṣu'ūba*[*t*] *mā* . . . (146 n. 226), *jumla*[*t*] *durūsihi* (147 n. 233), *murāja'a*[*t*] *kitāb* (148 n. 237), *ma'rifa*[*t*] *al-insān* (150 n. 246), *riyāsa*[*t*] *al-'ulamā'* (154; but on the next page: *imāmatu'd-dunyā* and *riyāsatu'd-dīn*!), *baraka*[*t*] *al-waqt* and *baraka*[*t*] *al-'ilm* (157), *ḥawma*[*t*] *al-baḥth* (165), etc.

[44]The examples include verbs and participles in various forms: *yatajazā'* (for *yatajazza'u*, 43 n. 43), *yā'kul* (for *ya'kulu*, 48 n. 65), *mustaḥiq* (for *mustaḥiqq*, 65, 95 n. 22), *iltajā'a* (for *iltaja'a*, 66 n. 150), *li-yaḥṣul* . . . *wa-yartafiq* (for *li-yaḥṣula* . . . *wa-yartafiqa*, 76), *yastiḥiq* (for *yastaḥiqqu*, 79 n. 47), *yatalamadhu* (for *yatatalmadhu*, 79 n. 49), *jayyadan* (for *jayyidan*, 86 n. 88), *yataradid* (for *yataraddadu*, 113 n. 32), *yuḥibūnahu* (for *yuḥibbūnahu*, 115 n. 46), *muṭahhur* (for *muṭahhar*, 126), *yatawakkul* (for *yatawakkalu*, 128), *ḥadartu* . . . *ḥadathanā* (for *ḥaḍartu* . . . *ḥaddathanā*, 139 n. 183), *tā'khudhu* . . . *yaqrā'u* . . . *qarā'a* (for *ta'khudhu* . . . *yaqra'u* . . . *qara'a*, 145 n. 224), *yarwaya* (for *yarwiya*, 146 n. 226), *yaqrā'* (for *yaqra'u*, 147 n. 236), *jā* (for *jā'a*, 157 n. 36), *mutaṣaḥib* (for *mutaṣāḥib*[?], 160 n. 53), *lā taḥsan* (for *lā taḥsunu*, 174 n. 139), etc.

[45]This is also seen in highly respected publications; e.g., *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114 (1994): 254-255. The misspelling seems to have stemmed from a misconception that there is a *long* vowel, instead of a *short* one, that precedes the unvoweled *hamzah*. Such a misconception and its ramifications seem to be quite common; for instance, Rabbat, *Citadel of Cairo*, a book whose transliteration is otherwise accurate and consistent, persistently spells terms such as *al-mū'tamar* (for *al-mu'tamar*, 17 n. 33; 217 n. 85), *Mā'mūn* (for *Ma'mūn*, 52), *Mū'arikh* (for *mu'arrikh*, also missing the

meanings of these terms[47] are well received by Mamluk scholars, it is unlikely their spellings will be. By and large, the book, which is part of the *Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization* series, seems to lack careful editing and proofreading. As far as the transliteration of Arabic terms is concerned, the errors cited above aside, other inconsistencies[48] as well as misprints[49] are too numerous to count.

These general technical issues aside, we are also faced with some particular challenges in dealing with Mamluk texts. One such challenge, as some Mamluk scholars have already shown, is how to handle the striking textual similarities among some sources. This is partially due to the nature of Mamluk historical writing as a whole in that certain bits of information from one source have been copied nearly verbatim in other sources with or without acknowledgment.[50] This common practice among certain Mamluk historians sometimes leads to a very complex and puzzling circumstance wherein works ascribed to different authors turn out to share one identical textual tradition. Let me cite the case of al-Jazarī and al-Yūnīnī again: a close collation of the parts covering the early and middle Baḥrī period, that is, 690-698 (where al-Jazarī's version ends), from al-Yūnīnī's *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān* and al-Jazarī's *Ḥawādith al-Zamān* reveals that the two works actually are one text, and it is likely that this portion of the text was originally penned by al-Jazarī and quoted and edited by al-Yūnīnī later. The problem here is that, of al-Jazarī's original version, only a fragment is extant in a unique manuscript (MS Paris, BN arabe 6973) and the bulk of the material has survived only in al-Yūnīnī's *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*, in two very well-preserved manuscripts, and in al-Dhahabī's abridged version. Al-Dhahabī's version has now been published, while al-Jazarī's version, except for a selective French translation by Sauvaget, has never been edited. Should we now publish two separate

shaddah on *rā'*, 52 n. 6), *al-mū'minīn* (for *al-mu'minīn*, 69, 71, 72 n. 51), *Lū'lū'* (for *Lu'lu'*, 95, 174), *anshā'* (for *ansha'a*, 144 n. 36), *al-Mū'ayyad* (for *al-Mu'ayyad*, 305); the excessive long vowels are also found in spellings such as *Nūwayrī* (for *Nuwayrī*; *passim*), *qadīmān* (for *qadīman*, 218), etc. There are also some errors concerning case endings, verbs, and participles in Rabbat's work; e.g., *wassa'a* sāḥatuhu *wa nawwara* bāḥatuhu (for *sāḥatahu* and *bāḥatahu*, 191), *taṭṭilu* (for *tuṭillu*, 221), *muta'amimīn* (for *muta'ammimīn*, 269, 301), *yata'ayanūn* (for *yata'ayyanūn*, 290 n. 17).

46E.g., the term *manṣab* (stipendiary post), one of the "buzzwords" of the book (no explanation is given as to why the commonly used *manṣib* is overlooked and its rare form *manṣab* is chosen; all the dictionaries, except Golius, Freytag, Dozy, and Kazirmirski, give the form *manṣib*), *al-muqallad* (for *al-muqallid*[?], "follower of a legal scholar," 152), *dār al-su'ādah* (for *dār al-sa'ādah*, xv, map 2 and 91 n. 1), etc.

47For the *manṣab*, see index, "manṣab"; esp. chapter 3, "Manṣabs and the logic of fitna," 91-107.

48The spelling of case endings, for example, is totally random: one wonders why *khidmatan 'aẓīma* (for *'aẓīmatan*, if the ending is to be given, 117 n. 59), and *lah* (116 n. 52) but *lahu* (118), *qabrihi* (142) but *wajhih* (143), *min ẓahri* but *'alā ẓahr* (147 n. 237), and even when the case ending is given, it is not always correct (e.g., 148 n. 237, *ḥālatu* [for *ḥālata*]). Another major inconsistency is the treatment of the "sun-letters"; it is rather odd to see *'adīm al-nāẓir* while right in the next line *aḥdhaq an-nās* (157); such instances are legion. In addition, we never know why some Arabic terms are in italics while others (even occurring in the same line of the text) are not.

49For instance, the *hamzah*s are frequently mixed with the *'ayn*s; the *shaddah*s as well as other diacritical points are often either missing or added in wrong places.

50The subject has been treated extensively in Little, *Introduction*; the recent discussion by Chamberlain has touched upon the mechanics of book production and reproduction as well as the notion of mutual "benefiting" by quoting from each other held by historians and *ḥadīth* transmitters in Damascus; see Chamberlain, *Medieval Damascus*, 141ff.

versions ascribed to al-Yūnīnī and al-Jazarī respectively; or are we better served by producing a critical edition of *both* versions in one volume?[51]

The next challenge is the frequency of grammatical irregularities in Mamluk historical writing, combined with a tendency, as will be discussed below, to use colloquial language on various occasions. The foremost of these irregularities is the use of the accusative form of the dual and plural even in the nominative case, and the indiscriminate use of the subjunctive mood in plural verbs, among others. The question is: should we publish ″ungrammatical″ texts or, rather, their ″normalized″ versions?[52]

Another technical challenge in editing Mamluk sources is the making of indexes, especially indexes of proper names. Mamluk historical and biographical works are full of names of Turkish, Persian, and Mongolian origin; the matter is complicated by the pervasive use of *al-Dīn* compound titles. A person is likely to be mentioned as Muḥammad, or by a well-known nickname such as Ibn al-Bayyāʻah, or as al-Shaykh Shams al-Dīn, or al-Amīr Sayf al-Dīn, for example. Hans Robert Roemer′s and Ulrich Haarmann′s editions of the *Kanz al-Durar* have set forth a system in which a person′s given name is usually listed as the main entry while cross-references are made by listing his commonly known name and the *al-Dīn* title, or even the variant forms of his given name as well. This method of proper name indexing has been applied in several publications under review, but has largely been ignored in others. One hopes that future publications provide the necessary indexes, thus making the study of Mamluk sources less difficult than it now is.

Thirty years ago, Cahen made no apology for the fact that one of his most significant articles ″was devoted to such elementary matters,″ namely, the very basic methodological issues concerning the editing of medieval Arabic chronicles. Some thirty years later, his call is by no means out of date; and as yet the high standard he urged to provide the reader, not only with ″the textual, linguistic and historical explanations which help him in understanding the narrative, but also give him the references to all other sources,″[53] has yet to be met. It is my belief that despite technical advances in reproduction, which has greatly facilitated access to manuscripts, one of the main tasks for modern Mamluk historians is still to edit critically and publish the sources. In addition to ″literary works,″ i.e., chronicles, biographical dictionaries, and geographical and administrative works that await editing, Mamluk archival documents (official and non-official correspondence, *waqfīyah* archives, legal documents, business transactions, etc.) constitute a field that so far has hardly been explored.[54] The editing and publishing of such materials

[51]In my edition of al-Yūnīnī′s *Dhayl*, his version is presented as the main text while variant readings from al-Jazarī′s version are supplied in the upper apparatus. The purpose here is, first, to present the two nearly identical versions in one volume; and, second, to demonstrate the visible textual similarities between the two and thus help the reader gain a more intimate and sustained look at the actual working relationship between the two authors. However, I am waiting for reactions to this experiment.

[52]Some scholars opt to put the grammatically correct sentences in the narrative, while indicating the original irregular ones in the apparatus. However, the other way around, i.e., to maintain the irregular ones in the main text and supply corrections in the apparatus, also has its merits, in that it will give the reader a sense, or taste, of the language used at the time in scholarly writings. Again, this is a matter of choice.

[53]″Editing Arabic Chronicles,″ 5.

[54]That modern students′ interest in original Mamluk documents has grown rapidly can be seen from S. D. Goitein′s study of the Cairo Geniza documents (1967-1984), Little′s work on the materials from al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf (1984), and Amīn′s study of the *waqfīyah* documents (1980-1981). The most recent discussions

holds great promise for future studies. And besides, Cahen's suggestion to publish lists, with full references, of all the persons listed in those bulky Mamluk biographical dictionaries and chronicles, some of which might never be published,[55] still remains very inviting. Shall we give CD-ROM a try?

II

Paradoxically, despite the Mamluk period's richness in sources, especially biographical literature, we have yet to produce a book-length biography of any of the great Mamluk historians, a study that would, as R. Stephen Humphreys expresses the ideal, analyze "the interplay between the life and career of a historian, the cultural currents in which he was immersed, and the development of his thought and writing;"[56] a study that would frame Mamluk history in not only political, social, military, and institutional but also personal and intellectual terms. It is true that our knowledge of the lives and labors of great Mamluk historians has been expanded enormously during the past decade or so. However, we still lack, except for a few figures of Ibn Khaldūn's (d. 1406) magnitude, biographical and intellectual studies on Mamluk historians[57] that can match, in scale and depth, the work done in our sister fields, e.g., in Ayyubid historiography, David Morray's seminal study of Ibn al-ʻAdīm (d. 1262);[58] and in Ottoman historiography, Cornell Fleischer's biography of Mustafa Ali.[59] With regard to the *ʻulamā'* of the Mamluk era as a whole, attention has long been given to the jurists and theologians such as Ibn Taymīyah (d. 1328), Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 1355), and al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505).[60] The only historians that have received book-length treatments, i.e., Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī and al-Suyūṭī, are, however, presented mainly as *ʻālim*s, not just as historians.[61] Nevertheless, full-length biographical studies of

of the study of Mamluk documents are to be found in Daniel Crecelius's introduction (dealing mainly with general *waqf* documents) to a special issue on *waqf*s and other institutions of religious/philanthropic endowment in comparative perspective, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 38, no. 3 (1995): 247-261, and Chamberlain, *Medieval Damascus*, 2-3, 12-21, although Chamberlain's own work is based largely on conventional "literary" sources. Recent publications on the subject include P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260-1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), and Werner Diem, "Vier arabische Rechtsurkunden aus dem Ägypten des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts," *Der Islam* 72, no. 2 (1995): 193-257.

[55]"Editing Arabic Chronicles," 18-19.

[56]*Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 135.

[57]A number of bio-bibliographical studies of Mamluk historians, written in Arabic, has been published over the past years. Nearly all these publications, however, are of a popular nature: e.g., Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ʻIzz al-Dīn's *Silsilat al-Mu'arrikhīn*, published in Beirut by ʻĀlam al-Kutub, including *al-Maqrīzī Mu'arrikhan* (1990), *Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī Mu'arrikhan* (1987), *Abū al-ʻAbbās al-Qalqashandī Mu'arrikhan* (1990), *ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī Mu'arrikhan* (1990), *al-Badr al-Zarkashī Mu'arrikhan* (1989); and Ḥusayn ʻĀṣī's *al-Maqrīzī Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī ibn ʻAbd al-Qādir al-ʻUbaydī 766-845 H./1366-1441 M. Mu'arrikh al-Duwal al-Islamīyah fī Miṣr* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʻIlmīyah, 1992), and his *Ibn Iyās Mu'arrikh al-Fatḥ al-ʻUthmānī li-Miṣr* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʻIlmīyah, 1993).

[58]*An Ayyubid Notable and His World: Ibn al-ʻAdīm and Aleppo as Portrayed in his Biographical Dictionary of People Associated with the City* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994).

[59]*Bureaucrat and Intellectual in the Ottoman Empire: A Biographical Study of the Historian Mustafa Ali, 1541-1600* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986).

[60]E.g., Elizabeth Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: Biography and Background* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

[61]Sabri Kawash, *Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī (1376-1449 A.D.): A Study of the Background, Education, and*

the great, and less-than-great, Mamluk historians would shed much light not only on their lives and works but also on the social and cultural implications behind the flourishing of historical writing during the Mamluk era. For instance, in an attempt to answer the question posed by Little, "why so many historians of high caliber flourished at a time when all other arts and sciences save those connected with architecture were in decline[?]," [62] previous research has largely focused on the "big picture" issues, i.e., the political, cultural, and psychological factors during a time of crisis (e.g., the Frankish and Mongol invasions), when the concern for Muslim communal identity and the protection of Arabic-Islamic culture was high.[63] This is, in my opinion, just one part of the story. By examining some representative individuals' lives and careers we may have more success in understanding why this period not only saw an overall flowering of historical writing as compared to other traditional Muslim scholarly pursuits, but also why certain genres such as royal biographies, chancery manuals, geographical treatises (*masālik*), and topographical tracts (*khiṭaṭ*) flourished. This all came about under the pressure of a very practical demand for perfecting the "craft of the chancery clerk" (*adab al-kātib*) under the Mamluk *dīwān* system, a constant source of fierce competition and animosity among the intelligentsia striving for status, recognition, and a better standard of living. In addition, this kind of biographical study would also significantly enrich our understanding of the overall intellectual environment of that time and eventually lead to a larger framework for Mamluk intellectual history. A short list of such biographical studies would naturally include such names as al-Dhahabī, al-Maqrīzī,[64] Ibn Taghrībirdī, and al-Sakhāwī. On the other hand, selected case studies of the lives and careers of some lesser-known authors, i.e., those from non-traditional backgrounds such as the "middle class" that emerged for the first time in Islamic history during the early Mamluk period,[65] Mamluk soldiers of lower status, petty chancery clerks, etc., surely holds the promise of fresh and interesting observations.

It is understandable that the traditional bio-bibliographic treatment of a given author may not stir the enthusiasm of today's researcher. In this respect, Morray's study of the Ayyubid historian Ibn al-ʻAdīm and his principal work *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Taʼrīkh Ḥalab* may offer some new insights and directions for research. In Morray's study, three themes, Ibn al-ʻAdīm himself, his world, and the compilation and writing of the *Bughyah*,[66] are treated together organically. In the chapter on Ibn al-ʻAdīm's "network," so to speak, which constitutes the bulk of the study (pp. 20-121), the delineation of Ibn al-ʻAdīm's Aleppine contemporaries, based on information drawn largely from the *Bughyah*, is amazingly reminiscent of the medieval Islamic *mashyakhah* genre,[67] but with a modern

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Career of a ʻĀlim in Egypt (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1969).

[62]*Introduction*, 1.

[63]For a discussion of the political and psychological factors that are considered to have contributed to the flourishing of historical writing in general and biographical literature in particular during the Mamluk period, see Dorothea Krawulsky's introduction to her edition of *Masālik al-Abṣār* (Beirut: al-Markaz al-Islāmī lil-Buḥūth, 1987), 29-37.

[64]Al-Maqrīzī is also listed by Humphreys as one of "the most obvious subjects" of such pursuits; see *Islamic History,* 135.

[65]See Ulrich Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit* (Freiburg im Breisgau: D. Robischon, 1969) 129ff.

[66]Morray, *An Ayyubid Notable*, 20.

[67]The *mashyakhah* genre has commonly been defined as lists of one particular learned person's teachers; it is significant to note here that some *mashyakhah* works also contain lists of the teachers' students, that is,

twist: never before, to my knowledge, has a medieval Islamic historian′s life and milieu been examined in such a way wherein all the people he was associated with, and influenced by, are presented side by side with abundant parallel references for cross-checking.[68] This is followed by detailed discussions of Ibn al-ʻAdīm′s collection of his material, his composition of the *Bughyah*, and his personal reflections on his work (pp. 151-95). We not only learn a great deal about a remarkable historian and his milieu, but also a lot about the workings of his, and to a certain extent his colleagues′, minds, their view of the world, their mentality, ideas, assumptions, and ″tastes″ concerning historical writing, as well as the textual devices employed in conveying such information.

In this connection, it appears that, in addition to the study of individual historians, another area worth investigating would be the study of Mamluk historians as groups—that is, those who were associated with particular settings (e.g., Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, etc.), or who shared ideological and professional bonds (e.g., the Ḥanbalīs in Syria, the *kātibs* in Cairo, etc.), or the same mentalities, values, and assumptions, and thus demonstrated similar approaches to their writing. This naturally raises another question that has intrigued modern scholars for a long time, namely, the question of whether there was a so-called ″Egyptian school″ and a ″Syrian school″ of historical writing in the Mamluk era. Although more will be said when we discuss the development of genres and forms in Mamluk historical writing, it should be emphasized here that the study of the lives and intellectual environments of these ″groups″ may well shed light on the formation of the conceptions and assumptions shared by these historians and the approaches favored by them.

To ask whether there was an Egyptian school or Syrian school is to ask to what extent they are really *different*. The detectable differences in form and content (which will be a topic of discussion below) aside, other areas such as the differences in background and life experience also merit investigation. To clarify this point, I will survey two groups of chroniclers, Egyptian and Syrian respectively, who lived and wrote around the same time, shortly before al-Dhahabī,[69] that is, during the late seventh/thirteenth and early eighth/fourteenth centuries, and look at the areas of *difference* that might suggest additional topics for investigation.

First is the difference in *career paths*. Previous scholarship has confirmed that since the late Ayyubid period, there were three types of historians: statesmen, court historians, and the *ʻulamā*ʼ.[70] Nevertheless, nearly all the Syrian chroniclers, except for Abū al-Fidā', an Ayyubid prince of Ḥamāh, belong to this last category, i.e., they were

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the fellow students of the person in question.

[68]Previous studies of Mamluk ʻ*ulamā*ʼ and intellectual life such as those by Carl Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981) and Louis Pouzet, *Damas au VIIe/XIIIe siècle: Vie et structures religieuses d′une métropole islamique* (Beirut: Dar el-Machreq, 1988) were aimed at drawing a larger and more comprehensive landscape, rather than focusing on a particular person and his surrounding.

[69]This is taking into consideration that al-Dhahabī, a Damascene, is believed to have been the one who finally set the stage for the later development of Islamic historiography, not only in Syria, but also in Egypt and elsewhere; and as such, the differences, if there were any, would be much more clearly seen in the pre-Dhahabī chroniclers and their writings.

[70]See Haarmann, *Quellenstudien*, 131-132. Haarmann′s point here is not contradicted by Humphreys′s assertion that prior to this time there were isolated individuals representative of some of these groups; *Islamic History*, 131.

local religious scholars:[71] Al-Birzālī spent most of his life as a *ḥadīth* professor;[72] al-Jazarī was a renowned *ḥadīth* scholar;[73] al-Yūnīnī had taught *ḥadīth* and was, at some point in his life, the Ḥanbalī grand master in Baʻlabakk;[74] and al-Dhahabī was well-known as ″the *ḥadīth* transmitter of the time″ (*muḥaddith al-ʻaṣr*) atop all his other titles. The career background of their Egyptian counterparts is much more complex. On the one hand, all the Egyptian chroniclers in question were members of the Mamluk military elite: Baybars al-Manṣūrī, once the governor of the fortress of al-Karak, held the highest feudal rank: amir of a hundred and commander of a thousand.[75] Ibn al-Dawādārī, though himself a low-ranking officer, had the opportunity to accompany his father, a grand amir who was in the service of al-Malik al-Nāṣir, on numerous occasions and thus witnessed many events.[76] The anonymous author (fl. 14th century) of the chronicle edited by Zetterstéen[77] was himself a soldier who fought in various Mamluk campaigns during al-Malik al-Nāṣir′s reign. A lesser-known figure, Ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥīm (fl. 1295), who wrote a continuation of Ibn Wāṣil′s (d. 1298) *Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb* up to the year 695/1295 or 96, was a Mamluk official who accompanied Sultan Baybars′s expedition to al-Rūm in 675/1277.[78] It is thus noteworthy that none of the major Egyptian chronicles of the Baḥrī period were, according to the current state of our knowledge, written by the Cairene *ʻulamā*', or so-called ″men of the pen″ (*rijāl al-qalam*), whose interests seemed to be elsewhere, such as the pursuit of a career in the Mamluk bureaucratic establishment. Examples include al-Nuwayrī, the author of *Nihāyat al-Arab*, whose civil service record includes various posts such as *nāẓir al-juyūsh*, *ṣāḥib al-dīwān*, and *nāẓir al-dīwān*, and al-ʻUmarī, the author of *Masālik al-Abṣār*, who occupied high posts in the Mamluk chancellery, as did his father and brother. It is by no means an accident that the three major Mamluk geographical and administrative encyclopedias (the third being al-Qalqashandī′s *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá*) were all compiled by this group of Cairene *kātibs*, i.e., civil bureaucrats. As for the ″court historians,″ their primary concern was definitely writing royal biographies and treatises devoted to praise of the sultan.[79]

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71 See also Little, *Introduction*, 46.

72 Franz Rosenthal, ″al-Birzālī,″ *EI*², 1:1238-1239.

73 Haarmann, *Quellenstudien*, 13-22.

74 Guo, ″al-Yūnīnī,″ 11-27.

75 The recent studies of Baybars al-Manṣūrī′s career, especially his participation in Mamluk campaigns, include: Haarmann, ″Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage: Mamluks and Their Sons in the Intellectual Life of Fourteenth-Century Egypt and Syria,″ *Journal of Semitic Studies* 33 (1988): 95, 101f; Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (1310-1341)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 15ff; and Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Īlkhānid War, 1260-1281* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 13, 45, 63-64, 84-85, 188-191, 197-199.

76 Haarmann, *Quellenstudien*, 61-84; Little, *Introduction*, 10-18.

77 Karl Wilhelm Zetterstéen, ed., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensultane in den Jahren 690-741 der Higra nach arabischen Handschriften* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1919); Little, *Introduction*, 18-24.

78 This information about this person is only found in Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, 4, 136, 169f, 219; he is also briefly mentioned in Haarmann, *Quellenstudien*, 102 n. 4.

79 The most recent discussions on the subject are Wilferd Madelung, ″A Treatise on the Imamate Dedicated to Sultan Baybars I,″ *Proceedings of the 14th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, Part 1, ed. A. Fodor, *The Arabist: Budapest Studies in Arabic* 13-14 (1988): 91-102, and Remke Kruk, ″History and Apocalypse: Ibn al-Nafīs′ Justification of Mamluk Rule,″ *Der Islam* 72, no. 2 (1995): 324-337.

Second is the difference in *ethnic*, *ideological*, *and intellectual background*. Although known to have been "fond of theological studies,"[80] Baybars al-Manṣūrī had no formal training in the traditional Arabic-Islamic curriculum, and it has been suggested that he wrote his chronicle with the help of a Christian secretary.[81] There is no evidence to suggest that Ibn al-Dawādārī or Ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥīm received any formal education either.[82] Nor did Zetterstéen's anonymous chronicler, clearly a Mamluk soldier, have much formal education in these subjects. There is, therefore, very little possibility for us to speculate on the intellectual pursuits and ideological affiliations of these Mamluks of Turkish or Mongolian stock.[83] Writing chronicles seems to have been a means by which they fulfilled either a personal interest or a sense of duty in recording the *events* they either experienced, witnessed, or learned about from others. The concentration on political and military affairs and the tendency to use colloquial vernacular, instead of classical Arabic, in their writings seems to suggest this. On the contrary, all the Syrian historians in question had not only gone through the full traditional Islamic curriculum, but nearly all of them were, as mentioned above, professors.[84] Among various scholarly pursuits, the transmission of *ḥadīth* was for them the highest calling, while writing chronicles was considered an ancillary discipline, a way to preserve information about the lives and achievements of the *ḥadīth* transmitters of each period within the framework of an annalistic chronicle. It is no wonder that in these authors' works, a great deal of attention is given to the *rijāl* material, i.e., the lives and works of *ḥadīth* transmitters. The incorporation of the *rijāl* genre into an annalistic form, which is conventionally attributed to the Baghdad Ḥanbalī Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 1198),[85] was brought to completion by this group of Syrian authors, and the presentation of obituaries-biographies (*wafayāt*) next to each year's events (*ḥawādith*), the chronicle proper, became the norm for medieval Islamic historiography. It should also be noted that the tools of *ḥadīth* criticism evidently had a certain influence on these Syrian *ḥadīth* scholar-historians' methodology.[86] One notes also that their sensitivity about the competition among the local *ʻulamā'*, both in Cairo and Damascus,[87] is clearly reflected in their tireless effort to record promotions and dismissals within the learned circles of the two cities as well as numerous juicy anecdotes about such events, the kind of materials rarely seen in the Egyptian chronicles. On the other hand, the Egyptian learned persons, i.e., al-

[80]Eliyahu Ashtor, "Baybars al-Manṣūrī," *EI*[2], 1:1127-1128; Little, *Introduction*, 4.

[81]Eliyahu Ashtor, "Baybars al-Manṣūrī," *EI*[2], 1:1127-1128; for Baybars al-Manṣūrī's religious learning, see Levanoni, *Turning Point,* 14-19, 23ff.

[82]See Bernard Lewis, "Ibn al-Dawādārī," *EI*[2], 3:744; also see Haarmann, *Quellenstudien*, 70-79.

[83]The intellectual pursuits of the Mamluks have been discussed in recent scholarship; see: Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage," 81-114; and most recently, Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 143ff., especially 146-160.

[84]For the indigenous scholarly tradition in Syria in Mamluk times, which is believed to have been "more vigorous than in Egypt (in Haarmann's words)," see Henri Laoust, "Le hanbalisme sous les Mamlouks Bahrides (658-784/1260-1382)," *Revue des études islamiques* 28 (1960): 1-71; Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage," 85f.

[85]Humphreys, *Islamic History*, 240.

[86]The most current discussion of the significance of *ḥadīth* transmission in Damascus at the time and the methodology involved is seen in Chamberlain, *Medieval Damascus*, 138f. Berkey is also of the opinion that the focus in many Cairene *madrasah*s was on *fiqh*, while *ḥadīth* took priority in *madrasah*s in Damascus, see *Transmission of Knowledge*, 82f.

[87]A fascinating examination of the subject is Chamberlain, *Medieval Damascus,* esp. 91-107.

Nuwayrī and al-ʻUmarī, though themselves of the *ʻulamā'* class, were from quite a different educational and intellectual background as compared to their Syrian counterparts: well-versed in the so-called *adab al-kātib*, "the craft of the clerk," al-Nuwayrī and al-ʻUmarī were mainly concerned with the functional aspects of history, and their writings are, not surprisingly, manuals of the bureaucratic system and the formulae to be utilized in its daily executive exercises, occasionally with an idealistic and perhaps ahistorical tone.

Third is the difference of *working relationship*. The Egyptian authors were basically independent individuals.[88] There is little evidence to suggest that they held shared values, or that they regarded their writing as a common enterprise. Conversely, the Syrian authors seemed to enjoy a kind of network: al-Jazarī and al-Yūnīnī's affiliation with Ibn Taymīyah and the Ḥanbalī institutions in Baʻlabakk and Damascus is well documented. Al-Birzālī had been al-Yūnīnī's student and later became his and al-Jazarī's editor (the first volume of al-Yūnīnī's *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*, we are told, was dictated by the author to al-Birzālī in person). He not only had close contacts with Ibn Taymīyah but also passed on a great deal of information acquired from him to al-Yūnīnī and al-Jazarī. Both al-Birzālī and al-Yūnīnī had taught *ḥadīth* in Damascus and Baʻlabakk, and among their students was al-Dhahabī, who also had studied *ḥadīth* with al-Yūnīnī's brother ʻAlī.[89] This extended network no doubt had a direct impact on the assumptions, thinking, and writing of these Syrian historians: Abū Shāmah (d. 1268), for instance, followed Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī closely and the latter's *Mir'āt al-Zamān* was also the model for al-Yūnīnī's continuation, which in its turn influenced al-Dhahabī's writing greatly; al-Yūnīnī, al-Birzālī, and al-Jazarī's writings were, as Humphreys puts it, "closely linked to one another in ways that are still not wholly clear";[90] al-Kutubī (d. 1362) and Ibn Kathīr, a disciple of Ibn Taymīyah, both relied on al-Yūnīnī, al-Birzālī, and al-Jazarī for information on the early Mamluk period in their universal histories. It goes without saying that the study of, in Chamberlain's words, "the bonds created by interactions with their *shaykhs* and others in the ritualized environment of the production of knowledge" in Damascus[91] will shed significant light on our understanding of the textual milieu of their writings.

To sum up, it may be misleading at this stage to talk about a "court culture" in early Mamluk Cairo as opposed to an indigenous intellectual milieu in Damascus,[92] and thus the notion of the Egyptian "court chroniclers" vs. Damascene *ʻulamā'* historians is perhaps an oversimplification. However, it is reasonable that the differences discussed above would have had an influence on these historians' writings. For instance, the examination of their different career paths would illuminate what kinds of events they had experienced and what kinds of sources they had been exposed to. A probe into their diverse intellectual backgrounds would help us gain insight into their different views of the world and their diverse approaches to recording history, as well as their distinct styles and formats.

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[88]See Little, *Introduction*, 19f.

[89]For a discussion of the relationship between al-Yūnīnī, al-Jazarī, al-Birzālī, and al-Dhahabī, see Guo, "al-Yūnīnī," 106-113, 120f.

[90]*Islamic History*, 240-241.

[91]*Medieval Damascus*, 139; on the notion of mutual "benefit" among the Damascene *ʻulamā'*, see 112ff., 118f.; on the copying of books and sharing information among the Damascene *ʻulamā'*, see 141f.

[92]Haarmann has suggested that a Mamluk "court culture" did not exist until the late fourteenth century, that is, the end of the Baḥrī period, and that it blossomed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; see "Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage," 82, 86ff.

Moreover, the investigation of their varied ″networks″ would shed much light on the textual relationship between them, a subject that has long puzzled students of Mamluk source-critical studies.

The recent studies of the *‘ulamā’* elite in Mamluk times by Louis Pouzet, Michael Chamberlain, and Jonathan Berkey hold great promise for this field by setting the stage for such inquiries on a *macro*-historical landscape. Another area into which we should seek to advance, in my opinion, is case studies on a *micro*-historical level, studies that would present and analyze the lives and careers of an individual, or a group of historians, within the context of their social, intellectual, and cultural milieus. Some recently-published sources, among them the *ṭabaqāt* and *mashyakhah* works,[93] and new methodological avenues and research tools such as the macroscopical analytical approach, the use of *waqfīyah* documents (Berkey), and new ways of reading conventional biographical dictionaries (Morray, Chamberlain), will surely provide the impetus for more valuable research to come.

III

As already noted above, biographical studies would help us to appreciate the assumptions and methodology of the historians of the Mamluk era. This would also benefit our study of the development of genres and forms in Mamluk historiography, a subject that has received much less attention than it deserves. It is really a pity that, since the works of Rosenthal,[94] Little,[95] and Haarmann[96] in the sixties and seventies, we have seen very few studies devoted to this very important subject. Although no one would disagree that the amount of Arabic historical writing reached an unprecedented level during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, that many fundamental changes and developments in pre-modern Arabic-Islamic historiography occurred during this era, or that many of the genres of medieval Arabic-Islamic historical writing were begun, reformulated, or perfected during Mamluk times, we must admit that the state of our current knowledge of these developments, particularly the textual ones, is far from being exhaustive.

Among the various issues concerning the forms and genres of Mamluk historical writing, some stand out as having long captured the attention of scholars but never having been thoroughly investigated. In what follows I hope to illuminate some of these issues by reviewing current work on them and posing questions that might invite further exploration.

Question One: Was there a ″breakdown″ (*Auflösung*) (in Haarmann′s words) or a trend deviating from the classic medieval Islamic standard in Mamluk historical writing? Previous attempts to answer the question, first posed by Haarmann in his *Quellenstudien*

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[93]For example, al-Birzālī′s version of Ibn Jamā‘ah′s *Mashyakhah*, ed. Muwaffaq ibn ‘Abd Allāh (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1988), 2 vols., and Ibn Kathīr′s Shāfi‘ī *ṭabaqāt* and its *dhayl* by al-‘Ibādī, ed. Aḥmad ‘Umar Hāshim et al., 3 vols. (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfah al-Dīnīyah, 1993), are among the newly edited and published biographic sources.

[94]*Historiography*, esp. 71-86 (on annalistic form), 100-105 (on biography), 146-50 (on world history), 179-86 (on the use of verse in historical writing).

[95]*Introduction*, passim.

[96]*Quellenstudien*, esp. 119-198; idem, ″Auflösung und Bewahrung der klassischen Formen arabischer Geschichtsschreibung in der Zeit der Mamlūken,″ *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* 121 (1971): 46-60.

(1970) and elaborated by him in several subsequent articles, might be summarized as follows: (1) With regard to content, although Mamluk chronicles still followed the traditional ″Ṭabarī″ mode, i.e., they were arranged within an annalistic framework, the content of the entries in Mamluk texts is often of a personal nature rather than the tales of kings and saints that were the core of the classic *ta'rīkh* genre. (2) With regard to form, the late Ayyubid and early Mamluk periods witnessed the emergence of such new genres as the *dhayl* (supplement),[97] as well as new formats such as biographies, as an integral part of the annals.[98] (3) With regard to style, ″*some* . . . Mamluk chroniclers . . . cultivated a new, ′literarized′ mode of historical writing by granting disproportionately high importance to elements of the wondrous and exotic, to popular motifs, to the vernacular language, etc.″[99] A number of factors, Haarmann argues, triggered such developments, or ″breaking down″ of the old norm: the diversity of authorship stimulated the introduction of new elements ranging from high *adab* culture (poetry in classic form, rhymed prose [*al-saj'*], witty sayings [*al-ajwibah al-muskitah*], etc.) to mass entertainment (folk romances, anecdotes, marvels and miracles [*'ajā'ib wa-gharā'ib*], the use of colloquial vernacular, etc.). Also, the changing mechanics in the process of composing and circulating historical writings, which is characterized by Haarmann as a kind of ″public participation,″[100] made it easy for later editors, scribes, or even owners, to add to the texts some personal, local, or partisan flavor.

These ″deviations″ have also been observed by Bernd Radtke, a veteran student of medieval Muslim historiography, but he has come to quite different conclusions. Radtke′s *Weltgeschichte und Weltbeschreibung im mittelalterlichen Islam* (1992) is a collection of his studies on the subject of world history and cosmography in Islam. The bulk (pp. 206-447) of this dense, but unevenly presented, collection focuses on two particular historians: the Ayyubid Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī and the Mamluk Ibn al-Dawādārī as a case study for the author′s theory of ″Islamic cosmology.″ For Radtke, many of the elements in Mamluk historical writing regarded by modern scholars as ″innovations″ can be, by and large, found also in early Islamic historiography and thus must not in themselves be construed as ″deviations″ from the traditional norm, but rather, reflect the continuation of an Islamic ″salvation history.″

Radtke′s studies are based on a wide theoretical framework aimed at establishing and comparing ″parallel developments concerning the *forms* of historical writings in both Islamic and Christian world-chronicles,″ because ″in both, the history of the world is written within the framework of an *imago mundi*, a conceptual picture of the world.″ According to Radtke, within Islam there were two world views:

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[97]″Auflösung,″ 51-52; for more on the subject, see also Caesar Farah, *The Dhayl in Medieval Arabic Historiography* (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1967).

[98]″Auflösung,″ 52f.

[99]Haarmann′s emphasis; idem, review of *Weltgeschichte und Weltbeschreibung im Mittelalterlichen Islam,* by Bernd Radtke, *JAOS* 115, no. 1 (1995): 134; also see idem, ″Auflösung,″ 49 (″Literarisierung der inneren Form″).

[100]According to Haarmann, first drafts and ″work-in progress″ notes were no longer the authors′ private property, but rather, a great number of them were put at the public′s mercy immediately after their having been written down, only to be revised and verified in the course of public circulation. Many works were therefore handed down in their abridged (*mukhtaṣar*), or draft (*muswaddah*), form, not their final version; see *Quellenstudien*, 126ff.

> Both have their own way of presenting time, subjects and of using various literary devices. Salvationist world-history admonishes and educates the soul by teaching the truth. It makes use of the annalistic form, and its cosmological model is the so-called ′Islamic cosmology′. . . . The other kind of world-chronicle may be called cultural history. . . . Its intention is not only to admonish the soul, but also to entertain and to convey practical knowledge. The literary devices have their parallels in Classical rhetoric. The cosmological model and the geographical schemes come from Antiquity. As well as the annalistic form, it uses history of dynasties and caliphates.

As different as these models may be, Radtke admits that ″[f]rom the thirteenth century onwards a mixture of salvationist, cultural, and world history as entertainment became the norm.″[101] In other words, all the Mamluk historical writings, including Ibn al-Dawādārī′s much discussed world history, *Kanz al-Durar*, examined in detail, sometimes tediously, by Radtke, fall into the category of this ″mixture.″ Radtke′s discussion of the *taṣdīq* vs. *ta'ajjub/ta'jīb* in Islamic historiography, namely, the double character of history as both revealed and true (*taṣdīq*) as well as astounding and amazing (*ta'jīb*), a distinction largely ignored by previous students in the field, is thought-provoking. This vigorous discourse not only expounds the old Aristotelian skepticism against history as a mere craft (*technē)* but gives this notion an Islamic interpretation, which will help us to reach a better understanding of the dynamic nature of medieval Islamic historiography in general, and to justify the changes and alterations, or even deviations from the classical norm by historians of the Mamluk era. Ironically, however, many of Radtke′s own conclusions seem to suggest contradictions. For instance, Ibn al-Dawādārī was, as Radtke tries to demonstrate, merely a disciple of Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, who followed the latter′s cosmography so faithfully that his own universal history *Kanz al-Durar,* or at least the first volume, is nothing more than a revised, shortened version of its model. No significant distinction can thus be made between the two under the rubric of Islamic ″salvation history.″[102]

Radtke′s overall framework is challenged by Haarmann who, with full acknowledgment of its ″rich scholarly yield,″ criticizes it as largely derived from a ″strangely static world view, as far as the potential of medieval Islamic culture for change is concerned.″[103] Opposed to Radtke′s ″Islamic salvation history,″ Haarmann warns modern students to be more careful and sensitive in tracing down the ″tiniest developments and processes, even abortive ones, as necessarily more significant than the centuries-long apparent immutability of pre-modern mentalities, societies and institutions.″ Here Haarmann advocates that we lift the study of Mamluk historiography to a whole new level, that is, as part of the inquiry into the ″static vs. dynamic″ nature of pre-modern Islamic intellectual life. Thus the ideological controversy, outlined by Haarmann as taking place ″between the historian looking for development and alteration and the sociologist of culture captivated by the phenomena of continuity,″ may be illustrated in the cultivation of a new, ″literarized″ mode of historical writing that has been singled out by Haarmann as the most

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[101]*Weltgeschichte*, 543-544.
[102]Ibid., 102-103, 206-208.
[103]*JAOS* 115, no. 1 (1995): 134.

remarkable measure in evaluating such changes and developments. The key issue here, Haarmann argues, is not whether some of the ″novel″ elements, e.g., the notion of *ta‘ajjub*, already existed in early Islamic historiography, but rather ″the *quantitative* change, the sharp increase of literary insertions in the writing of those few historians who, as a corollary, met the criticism of their more traditionally minded peers.″ However, more questions may be posed: Is the ″literarized″ mode in historical writing the only demonstrable feature of the ″dynamic nature″ of Islamic culture during Mamluk times? To what extent is the quantity of *adab* insertions ″decisive″ enough in measuring such changes? As for the ″few historians″ listed by Haarmann as representing this ″trend,″ i.e., Ibn al-Dawādārī, al-Jazarī, al-Nuwayrī, and Ibn Iyās (who lived much later), what are the similarities and dissimilarities among their writings; and were they the only ones who headed in this direction?

This particular area has been further explored by Otfried Weintritt in his *Formen spätmittelalterlicher islamischer Geschichtsdarstellung* (1992). A revised version of the author′s 1988 Freiburg dissertation, this handsomely produced monograph, volume 45 of the *Beiruter Texte und Studien* series, presents a literary analysis of al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī′s (d. after 1374) *Kitāb al-Ilmām*, a chronicle describing the attack on, and brief occupation of, Alexandria by the Christian king of Cyprus Peter I in 767/1365. It also examines and compares the work in question with two other related sources: Badr al-Dīn al-‘Aynī′s (d. 1451) royal biography of al-Mu’ayyad[104] Shaykh (r. 1412-21) and Ṭaṭar (r. 1421), and Ibn Abī Ḥajalah′s (d. 1375) *Kitāb Sukkardān al-Sulṭān*, a biography of Sultan Ḥasan (r. 1347-51; 1354-60). Weintritt′s work is of special interest for several reasons. First, it introduces a number of Mamluk historical sources that have hitherto never been studied by modern scholarship. Second, it stands out as perhaps the only monograph in years that tackles problems of topoi, motifs, textual devices, and literary styles of medieval Arabic historiography in general, and Mamluk historiography in particular.

After two introductory essays (chapters A and B) on methodological issues and a presentation of the *Kitāb al-Ilmām* and its author, chapter C, which constitutes the core of Weintritt′s work (pp. 37-179), is a detailed literary analysis of a wide range of issues concerning the perception, reflection and presentation of history by the author from a Muslim viewpoint. Under the rubric of the ″medieval Islamic concept of salvation history,″ that is, as defined by Weintritt, he examines the experience of the defeat of Islam that led to a reinterpretation of the historical event by these Muslim historians resulting in the conclusion by them that Christian superiority was not real, and that Muslims were ″intrinsically superior to the unbelievers.″[105] Here Weintritt has meticulously examined a host of literary techniques utilized by al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī to convey such a message. Among these are *istiṭrād* (conceptualized digression, which, as Weintritt explains, ″employs individual historical information as a thematic basis for the systematic insertion of material derived from historiographical and non-historiographical literature,″ pp. 87-100, 223), fictionalization (e.g., the failure of Peter I, pp. 101-117), the *ajwibah muskitah* topos (″witty reply that would silence [the opponent],″ pp. 118-121), and various compositional techniques such as fabricative syntax (pp. 122-125), typology and magic of figures (*jafr*), proverbial prophesying (pp. 126-134), etc. As a whole, Weintritt argues, the work under

[104]Wrongly spelled as ″al-Mu‘aiyad,″ 222.
[105]*Formen*, 222.

study deliberately contains very little factual historical information, while including other genres such as *ḥikāyāt* (tales, anecdotes, pp. 142-168, with selective German translation), elegies (pp. 169-182, with German translation and Arabic transliteration of the verses), among others. Echoing Haarmann and Radtke, Weintritt names this trend ″a new kind of comprehensive representation of history,″ that not only employs non-historiographic *adab* genres, but also ″involves a literary organization″ within the *istiṭrād* framework. These characteristics, suggests Weintritt, are also shared by the two royal biographies examined (pp. 183-200) that were contemporary with the *Kitāb al-Ilmām*. In these three texts, Weintritt emphasizes, we witness an array of deliberately produced literary systems of historical writing, be it chronicle or royal biography, that have generated their own text-forms in representing the ideal concept of the so-called ″Islamic salvation history.″

Weintritt′s work, which has unfortunately not yet received much attention, has brought new authors and titles to the discussion that has long focused on a handful of names such as Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, al-Jazarī (mainly by Haarmann), and Ibn al-Dawādārī (whose researchers are legion: Köprülü, Roemer, al-Munajjid, Boratav, Little, Langner, Graf, Krawulsky, Badeen, among others). Indeed, Ibn al-Dawādārī must be considered to be one of the major ″innovators″ of this trend of *Auflösung*, or ″deviation.″[106] However, there is a wide range of opinion regarding the relationship between these historians. For Radtke, as discussed above, Ibn al-Dawādārī was merely a faithful disciple of Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, a Ḥanbalī who emigrated from Baghdad to Damascus, and his work was thus no more than a link in the long chain of continuity in the ″salvation history″ tradition. And in the meantime, Haarmann sees another Syrian *ḥadīth* scholar and historian, al-Jazarī, as *the model* for Ibn al-Dawādārī. Even though the interpretations differ, no one argues that there was indeed a Syrian root to Ibn al-Dawādārī′s ″innovations.″ This naturally leads us to another long-debated but never fully resolved question:

Question Two: Was there a ″Syrian school″ of historical writing as well as an Egyptian counterpart? Previous scholarship has been ambiguous on the issue. Notes about a ″long-lived ′school′ of Damascus historians″ were brought together by R. Stephen Humphreys as follows: (1) the starting point of this ″school″ was Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī and his *Mir'āt al-Zamān*, a universal chronicle; (2) the core of this Damascene group include: Abū Shāmah, al-Jazarī, al-Birzālī, al-Yūnīnī, al-Dhahabī, al-Kutubī, and Ibn Kathīr; and, (3) the ninth/fifteenth century saw some attenuation of historical writing in Damascus, but was still able to produce major chronicles by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah and Shams al-Dīn Ibn Ṭūlūn.[107] As for the textual aspects of this ″school,″ Humphreys, basing his remarks on previous studies by M. H. M. Ahmad, Sāmī al-Dahhān, and Haarmann, emphasizes the continuity of the tradition established by Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, that is, ″for each year the most notable events were recorded, and then concise obituaries were given for the important persons who had died during that year.″ Humphreys, as well as previous scholars, seems to suggest that this structural technique in combining *ḥawādith* (events) and *wafayāt* (obituaries) within an annalistic framework is the trade mark of this Syrian ″school.″ However, he has been careful to keep the term within quotation marks. Meanwhile,

[106]For an overview of the Ibn al-Dawādārī scholarship, see Haarmann, *JAOS* 115, no. 1 (1995): 134.
[107]*Islamic History*, 240-241.

Reuven Amitai-Preiss appears more at ease calling it ″the Syrian school of fourteenth-century historians″ which began with al-Yūnīnī, among others.[108]

Some recent studies have kept this discourse alive. My 1994 dissertation on al-Yūnīnī and his chronicle *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān* not only confirms what previous scholars have already suggested about the inter-relatedness of these three Damascene historians, but takes a step forward, through a word-by-word collation of al-Jazarī′s *Ḥawādith al-Zamān* and al-Yūnīnī′s *Dhayl* (the part that covers the years from 691 to 699) and an edition (697-701) that presents both authors′ versions (al-Jazarī′s ends at 699). In the dissertation I develop two key points: (1) the later part of al-Yūnīnī′s famous *Dhayl*, the only surviving contemporary Syrian source for the years in question (i.e., 699 onward), was in fact al-Jazarī′s work either slightly edited by, or wrongly attributed to, al-Yūnīnī; and (2) al-Birzālī was perhaps actively involved in this enterprise, as an editor, a primary source, and the dictator of at least one of its early redactions. Al-Jazarī, al-Yūnīnī, and al-Birzālī′s contribution to medieval Islamic historiography was that they perfected and reformulated the *mode* started by Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, a mode wherein the two basic sections of each year′s record, namely the *ḥawādith* (events) and *wafayāt* (obituaries), were evenly presented, and in which the latter was also effectively enhanced by adding to it the *ḥadīth*s transmitted on the authority of, and *adab* output by, the *a'yān* of the era, namely the *'ulamā'*, and, less frequently, some Mamluk statesmen. History as recorded by these Syrian historians is not only a record of events, but a register of Muslim religious learning, as well as a selective anthology of the cultural and literary heritage of the time.

With regard to this Syrian ″school,″ many issues still await further investigation. For instance, Humphreys seems more explicit in listing the features of this Syrian mode from Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī to the Damascene trio than in outlining the later phase of development of this Syrian ″school,″ i.e., from al-Dhahabī onward, which is even more significant in influencing the later development of medieval Islamic historiography. Given the paucity of scholarship on this subject, this silence is quite understandable. It is rather a surprise that we still have not seen any substantial studies of al-Dhahabī, unarguably one of the most important figures not only in this ″school″ but in medieval Islamic historiography as a whole. Other significant figures of this Syria connection, such as Ibn Kathīr and al-Kutubī are also far from having been thoroughly studied, except for the editions of their indispensable works. Of course, given the scope and intellectual vitality of al-Dhahabī′s and Ibn Kathīr′s writings, which touch upon such a wide range of Islamic learning, the task is formidable. And in regard to the puzzle of the relatedness of certain authors, it appears that there may be more facets besides the emergence of a common mode of presentation and the public nature of manuscript circulation at the time that may have led to later confusion and corruption of texts. We may need to tackle the problem from a wider perspective, say, social and cultural history, or even Western textual criticism which has been employed recently by Islamicists in source-critical studies of the Quran and *ḥadīth* literature. For instance, in terms of social and cultural history, modern scholars, such as Laoust, Haarmann, Pouzet, Berkey, and Chamberlain, have all noted the fact that in Mamluk times the indigenous Syrian scholarly tradition remained more vigorous than in Egypt,[109] that the Egyptian Mamluks and their sons (*awlād al-nās*) retained closer ties to

[108]*Mongols and Mamluks*, 4-5.
[109]″Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage,″ 85.

the Mamluk sphere than those who went through their formative period in Syria, the domain of traditional scholarly excellence and ʿ*ulamā*ʾ power,[110] that the science of *fiqh* (jurisprudence) remained ″the jewel in the crown″ of the *madrasah*s in Cairo[111] while *ḥadīth* transmission and study, a discipline very close to historical writing, enjoyed higher esteem in Damascus and other Syrian centers of learning such as Baʿlabakk.

A more limited question thus is susceptible to analysis, namely, what impact these differences might have had on Egyptian and Syrian historians′ assumptions and objectives in writing history. And in terms of textual aspects, while the quantitative change, that is, the amount of *adab* material inserted into historical works, has been singled out by Haarmann as the decisive criterion in determining the fundamental breakthrough made by some Mamluk historians, he is not specific about ″how much is too much?″ Nor has a distinction been made between Syrian authors and Egyptians authors with regard to this quantitative measure. A statistical survey of the textual witnesses of the ″Yūnīnī-Jazarī tradition″ has not only confirmed Haarmann′s hypothesis, but has also revealed that it was quite the opposite, namely, it was al-Jazarī, viewed by Haarmann as ″less″ extreme in this ″deviation,″ and al-Yūnīnī, who showed more distinguishable features of this particular deviation than Ibn al-Dawādārī.[112] For instance, both al-Jazarī′s *Ḥawādith al-Zamān* and al-Yūnīnī′s *Dhayl* are replete with quotations from every level of traditional classical Arabic *adab*, including a total of more than 2,200 poems found in al-Yūnīnī′s version alone, an anthology the scope of which finds no match in any of the contemporary Egyptian chronicles, which are characterized by much shorter biographical-obituary sections and contain much less classical *adab* material. But Ibn al-Dawādārī′s role as an important ″innovator″ is justified by his introduction of popular motifs and themes, anecdotes, folklore, etc., another kind of *adab*, maybe in its ″lower″ form,[113] as opposed to the Syrian penchant for classical flavor and more mainstream ″high″ culture. The same can be said about other contemporary Egyptian chroniclers, such as Baybars al-Manṣūrī and al-Nuwayrī in whose work *adab* and *taʾrīkh* are categorized as belonging to different ″arts.″ The anonymous chronicle edited by Zetterstéen is nearly devoid of biographies, to say nothing of a separate *wafayāt* section.

In this connection, the question of an ″Egyptian school″ of historical writing is even more problematic. To begin with, it is too broad a focus. Unlike the relative homogeneity of the Syrian *ḥadīth*-trained ʿ*ulamā*ʾ historians who seem to have worked around a clearly traceable ″mode″ of historical writing, Egyptian historians came from all parts of society: statesmen, semi-official court historians, ʿ*ulamā*ʾ, ″middle class″ clerks, Mamluk soldiers, etc. Moreover, they seem to have written various genres of history, most of which either started or flourished during the period: royal biographies, chronicles, topographies, geographical and administrative encyclopedias, biographic dictionaries, and so forth. Fatḥīyah al-Nabarāwī, an Azhari historian, has devoted a whole chapter to what she terms the ″Egyptian school of historical writing (*al-madrasah al-taʾrīkhīyah al-miṣrīyah*)″ in her

110Ibid., 110.

111Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, 82ff.

112This statistical survey is part of a revised version of my dissertation, yet to be published.

113Much previous scholarly emphasis has been placed on the folkloric materials found in Ibn al-Dawādārī′s chronicles; e.g., Haarmann, *Quellenstudien*, 162-175; Barbara Langner, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Volkskunde Ägyptens nach mamlukischen Quellen* (Berlin: Schwarz, 1983), passim.

newly published book on medieval Islamic historiography.[114] Her ambitious description of this ″Egyptian school″ begins with the third/ninth century when ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʻAbd Allāh Ibn ʻAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 871) wrote the *Kitāb Futūḥ Miṣr*, the earliest history of Islamic Egypt, and ends with Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī. According to al-Nabarāwī, this Egyptian school has gone through three major phases in its evolution.

First was the early period in which the emergence and growth of historical writing developed side by side with other Islamic ″sciences,″ especially *ḥadīth* transmission and *fiqh* discourse. Starting from Ibn ʻAbd al-Ḥakam, this period features authors like Abū ʻUmar al-Tujībī al-Kindī (b. 897), and al-Ḥasan ibn Zūlāq, among others.

The second phase spans the period from the fourth/tenth to the eighth/fourteenth century, which featured Muḥammad ibn ʻUbayd Allāh al-Musabbiḥī (d. 1029) and his acclaimed history of Fatimid Egypt,[115] and Abū ʻAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Salāmah ibn Jaʻfār al-Quḍāʻī (d. 1065). Al-Nabarāwī gives credit to the two Fatimid historians for establishing a ″historiographic method″ or ″mode,″ (*al-manhaj al-tārīkhī*) that was to be followed by all later Egyptian historians; nevertheless, she never speaks, in concrete terms, of what the fundamental features of this ″method″ were, much less of its historiographic significance. The only early Mamluk historian singled out in this period is al-Nuwayrī, who is presented here as the representative of new genres such as the encyclopedia and biographical dictionary. Al-Nabarāwī simply attributes the efflorescence of these new genres to the influence of ″other schools of historical writing, especially the Iraqi school,″ namely al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Ibn Khallikān, Ibn al-Jawzī, and finally, Ibn al-Athīr (pp. 217ff.). The third phase was the so-called time of ″brilliance″ (*ta'alluq*) of the Egyptian school in the ninth/fifteenth century. The representatives of this ″school″ include al-Qalqashandī, Ibn Khaldūn, al-Maqrīzī, al-Sakhāwī, and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī.

It is clear that al-Nabarāwī is unfamiliar with the current scholarly debate on the subject, and her discussion therefore sheds no light on the ongoing discussions concerning Mamluk historical writing in particular and the recent debate over the theory of ″schools″ in Arabic-Islamic historical writing in general. Furthermore, her analytical framework is based on geographical, rather than historical and intellectual, backgrounds. Accordingly, all those who lived and wrote in Iraq, from al-Ṭabarī to Ibn al-Athīr, belong to an ″Iraqi school″ of historical writing (pp. 143-78), and those of a Syrian background, Ibn ʻAsākir, al-Iṣfahānī, Ibn al-ʻAdīm, up to Abū Shāmah, belong to a ″Syrian school″ (pp. 123-142), and so forth. This kind of grouping neither helps us gain insight into the characteristics of the so-called ″school,″ nor is it in accordance with historical facts. One might easily ask: What about a historian who lived and wrote in different cities? For instance, Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī is listed by al-Nabarāwī as falling into the category of the ″Iraqi school,″ because of his association with the Ḥanbalī establishment in Baghdad. By emphasizing his Baghdad background, however, she ignores the fact that his career flourished in Damascus, where he not only lived and wrote, but where his method of writing essentially established the basis for the long-lived *Syrian* tradition, as discussed above. Again, if we do not have a clear definition of what a ″school″ really means, if we do not have substantial historical and,

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[114] *ʻIlm al-Ta'rīkh: Dirāsah fī Manāhij al-Baḥth* (Alexandria: al-Maktab al-Jāmiʻī al-Ḥadīth, 1993), 179-239.

[115] *Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid et al. (Cairo: Institut français d′archéologie orientale, 1978-1984).

more importantly, textual evidence to describe and conceptualize the features that distinguish one ″school″ from another, the mere labeling of ″schools″ is pointless.

The ongoing debate on the subject has proven that applying ambiguous labels to a given group of historians or works can be dangerous and misleading.[116] The purpose in defining and studying a ″school,″ in my opinion, has to do with common forms, genres, methods and traits shared by a group of authors from the same intellectual and ideological, and perhaps also geographical, background. This inquiry into the differences and similarities among the ″schools″ would tell us more about the mechanism of change and development in the world views of pre-modern Muslim historians and their different approaches to recording history. Based on what we know, it is hard to see an ″Egyptian school″ at work, at least in the early Mamluk period, as opposed to a more clearly defined Syrian one.

However, it is undeniable that there are certain traits that ought to be seen as characterizing Mamluk Egyptian authors. For instance, modern scholars have long posited a so-called ″Cairo narrative style,″ which may be characterized, in Carl Petry′s words, as ″a blending of colloquial and formal language unique to the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century,″ and represented by Ibn Iyās.[117] Ibn al-Dawādārī′s unique style, which has attracted the attention of western scholars, is just another example of this phenomenon. Yet another question may be raised. If it is too risky at this stage of our knowledge to talk about an ″Egyptian school″ of historical writing during the Mamluk period, Is it safe to talk about a ″Cairo style″? So we are faced with:

Question Three: What can we say concerning language and style in Mamluk historical writing? In contrast to the relative silence in the West on this subject, Middle Eastern researchers have long shown an interest in examining the art, including language and style, of historical writing by their predecessors, among them the Mamluk authors. Recent publications of this kind include ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm al-Nadawī′s study of the methodology utilized by al-Nuwayrī in the composition of his *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*,[118] and Aḥmad Māhir al-Baqarī′s linguistic study of Ibn Iyās′s *Badā’i‘ al-Zuhūr*, a universal history distinguished mainly for its coverage of the later Middle Ages in Egypt.[119] Since al-Baqarī′s work picks up the theme of the ″Cairo narrative style″ mentioned above, some comments here seem not to be redundant.

Al-Baqarī′s study opens with an introductory essay on Ibn Iyās′s intellectual background, especially his literary talent (*al-mawhibah al-adabīyah*) that would later have a profound impact on his style of historical writing. We learn from this detailed analysis that Ibn Iyās, a prominent historian and prolific poet, was an erudite stylist who not only mastered the intricacies of classical Arabic syntax, prosody, and rhetoric, but also often used plain language that did not hesitate to employ the earthy epithet or the slang of Egyptian vernacular, in an effort to make his writings accessible to a large audience. Western students may find al-Baqarī′s discussion of the samples extracted from Ibn Iyās′s

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[116]One such instance is the debate over the ″Syrian school″ in early Islamic historiography; for details see Albrecht Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition: A Source-Critical Study*, 2nd ed. in collaboration with Lawrence Conrad, trans. Michael Bonner (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1994), 4-5, especially note 10.
[117]Cited from Ḥasan Ḥabashī′s introduction to his edition of al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī′s *Inbā’*; see *Twilight*, 7.
[118]See note 5 above.
[119]*Ibn Iyās wa-al-Lughah: Min Kitābihi Badā’i‘ al-Zuhūr fī Waqā’i‘ al-Duhūr* (Alexandria: al-Maktab al-Jāmi‘ī al-Ḥadīth, 1989).

work informative and interesting (pp. 17-42, on his poetry; pp. 43-55, on his employment of classical Arabic rhetorical devices as well as his use of rare words and colloquial expressions; pp. 56-61, on his citation of classical Arabic poetry and proverbs with which his history is replete). This is followed by chapters 2 and 3, which constitute the core of the study. Chapter 2 (pp. 63-113) deals with grammatical issues related to Ibn Iyās′s work. The detailed and meticulous analysis asks a wide range of questions about both morphology (*al-ṣarf*) and syntax (*al-naḥw*). A very interesting segment of the chapter (pp. 106-113) touches upon Ibn Iyās′s creative, sometimes deviate, use of classical standard verb forms for the purpose of conveying new meanings with these verbs, or delivering a certain special effect. Chapter 3 is a lexicographic analysis of the ″official language,″ namely, Mamluk technical terms and the classical written Arabic norm, as seen in Ibn Iyās′s work. These include ranks and professions (pp. 119-129), monetary transactions (pp. 130-135), and so forth. Of special interest is a discussion of the terms of crime and its punishment (*lughat al-jarā'im wa-al-'uqūbāt*, pp. 135-142), Mamluk disciplinary procedure (pp. 143-144), and Cairene police jargon (*lughat al-shurṭah*, pp. 145-147). The chapter concludes with a segment on various special usages (inflection, verbal nouns, propositions, etc.) in Ibn Iyās′s work.

Despite the wealth of textual evidence, one may note, minor shortcomings aside,[120] that there is a major methodological flaw reflected in the work′s static treatment of the materials without placing them in historical perspective. No attempt was made to trace the historical development of the language in Mamluk historical writing; besides listing quotations in each of the ″categories,″ the author does not say much about whether the examples examined were Ibn Iyās′s own, or simply his quotations from other sources. For instance, the use of the rare word ″*taqanṭara*″ (p. 47) was in fact not Ibn Iyās′s at all; it is found in a number of previous chronicles that describe the event that took place in 697 in which Sultan Lājīn′s horse *bucked* [*and threw him down*].[121] All of these chronicles derived the story from a common source, i.e., Muḥammad Ibn al-Bayyā'ah′s chronicle (*ta'rīkh*) which is lost today. That is to say, the word that occurs in Ibn Iyās′s *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr* is no more than a quotation, not his own usage. Another example is the colloquial expression ″*īsh*″ (″what′s this?,″ p. 50) which was already pervasive in early Mamluk sources.

Given the fact that the historians often quoted from one another without acknowledgment and this is one of the characteristics of historical writing produced in the period, this static approach will not yield much insight into the subject, and may be totally misleading. Moreover, the author is aware of the complex and nuanced situation regarding the ″duality″ of the Arabic language at a time when foreign elements e.g., Persian, Mongolian, and Turkish, were so widely used, and therefore is careful to assure us that even though two ″languages″ co-existed in Cairo, he concludes that ″the gap was not such that it would totally separate the public′s vernacular (*lughat al-jamharah*) from the official language (*lughat al-ḥukūmah*).″ The extent of the interplay between this blending of

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[120]E.g., the loose organization (e.g., morphological issues scattered in chapters two and three), the careless editing (e.g., p. 3, the author claims that chapter 2 is on ″official language″ and chapter 3 on grammar, while the opposite seems to be the case), the lack of a bibliography, not to mention necessary indexes and glossary, etc.
[121]E.g., Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 8:371; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge*, 44; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl* and al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān* (both in Guo, ″al-Yūnīnī,″ edition, p. 3, and translation, p. 224).

classical, "official," and vernacular language is left unexplained. This "Mamluk split identity," as Haarmann called it, namely to be a Turk and an Egyptian Muslim at the same time,[122] and the mentality resulting from such linguistic and ethnic differences between the Mamluks and the locals must have had some influence on the language and style of Egyptian historians, particularly those from non-Arab Mamluk stock. Given the fact that this trend of "linguistic duality" had already begun, as previous studies have shown, as early as the writings of Ibn al-Dawādārī, a second generation Mamluk (*awlād al-nās*), the enterprise of Ibn Iyās, himself a member of this "sons of Mamluks" elite, may better be placed within this long list of non-Arab Mamluk intelligentsia whose cultural and intellectual achievements are too important to ignore now. It follows that further investigation of the issue of continuity and change in historical writing, including questions of language and style, is needed as an integral part of this comprehensive inquiry.

Among many issues relating to language and style, another rarely touched upon is the use of rhymed prose, the so-called *al-saj‘*, in Mamluk historical writing. William Brinner noted that rhymed prose was taken very seriously in the drafting of Mamluk documents in that a bad piece of writing by bureaucrats would be criticized as "consisting of weak expression, mostly unrhymed."[123] Aside from some isolated observations,[124] we are not sure to what extent this classical rhetorical device had found its way into historical writing in the Mamluk period. Clearly, more needs to be done on this subject as well.

In conclusion, let me briefly recapitulate the main points I have tried to make in this rather long article. First of all, I have examined a substantial number of Mamluk historical texts edited and published since the late 1980s, evaluated them as to their historiographic significance as well as the quality of the editions themselves, and expressed concern that the old problem of unscientifically prepared editions is still a problem in our field. I have called attention to the lack of adequate biographical studies of the major Mamluk historians and suggested that such studies of select Mamluk historians, as individuals and groups, would help frame Mamluk history not only in political, social, military, and institutional, but also personal and intellectual terms. It would also shed some light on the formation of the conceptions and assumptions shared by Mamluk historians and the approaches favored by them. I have addressed the related question of whether there were "schools" of historical writing in the Mamluk period. I have suggested three areas of difference between two groups of early Mamluk Egyptian and Syrian historians for further study: career paths, ethnic, ideological, and intellectual backgrounds, and working relationships among these practitioners of the historian's craft. Finally, I have dealt with the development of genres and forms in Mamluk historiography focusing on three questions: (1) the so-called "breakdown" of the classical medieval Islamic standard in Mamluk historiography; (2) the question of a "Syrian school" vs. an "Egyptian school" in terms of their textual features and composition strategy; and (3) language and style in Mamluk historical writing.

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[122] "Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage," 111.

[123] "Some Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Documents from Non-Archival Sources," *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972): 122-123.

[124] E.g., al-Yūnīnī's preface to his *Dhayl* was actually written in rhymed prose; see *Dhayl*, 1:2. Ibn Iyās's occasional inclination toward the *saj‘* style has also been observed by al-Baqarī, *Ibn Iyās wa-al-Lughah*, 49.

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Ubi Sumus? Mamluk History and Social Theory

I

The critical mass of scholarly attention now gravitating around late medieval Syro-Egypt has begun to necessitate for the first time an evaluation of the current state of knowledge within the field of Mamluk history, that is, the interpretive significance of the questions historians have so far posed of their documentary and artifactual evidence. There is bound to be dissatisfaction with the way in which many scholars have so far used their empirical research to address fundamental questions of structure and change in Mamluk society. Yet, this problem is perhaps only typical of the general shortfall in critical thinking within Middle East history as a whole. Even in such a relatively modern field as Ottoman history, for instance, scholars have only recently begun to call for a ″critical revaluation″ of historical methodology, especially with regard to modeling rather than merely assuming the structures of early modern social formation.[1] As the Ottomanist Suraiya Faroqhi has observed candidly: ″The intellectual framework within which Ottoman history is practised is as yet poorly developed and this state of affairs has made us susceptible to the ′occupational disease′ of being overwhelmed by our documents.″[2] Indeed, Faroqhi′s colleague, Halil Berktay, has reified this problem in Ottoman history as ″document-fetishism.″ Obsession with the practices of traditional historical methodology, Berktay charges, has diverted scholars from the ″intellectual sources which could inform them about the proper questions to ask of their documents.″[3]

This emerging reorientation in Ottoman history has stimulated some scholars to conceive of social formation as a dialectic between the state and peasant. The historian John Haldon, for instance, has theorized about a tributary mode of surplus appropriation from peasants as the principal dynamic in the rise of ″feudalist″ states like the Ottoman Empire. Rejecting the class reductionism and economism of traditional Marxism, Haldon has tried to draw attention to the anthropological content of Marx′s early writings and the extent to which macroeconomic production may have been affected by microsocial processes of abstraction, self-reflection and intentionality. Haldon′s view is, of course, speculative since Marx never produced a social psychology able to demonstrate how individual consciousness might have achieved such autonomy from collective order.

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[1]Rifa‘at ‘Ali Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State: The Ottoman Empire Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), ix, 2.

[2]Suraiya Faroqhi, ″In Search of Ottoman History,″ in *New Approaches to State and Peasant in Ottoman History*, ed. Halil Berktay and Suraiya Faroqhi (London: Frank Cass, 1992), 235.

[3]Halil Berktay, ″The Search for the Peasant in Western and Turkish History/Historiography,″ in *New Approaches to State and Peasant in Ottoman History*, ed. Halil Berktay and Suraiya Faroqhi (London: Frank Cass, 1992), 109, 157.

Nevertheless, Haldon has sought, as he himself has said, to advance a macrotheory with "the possibility of nesting a multiplicity of meso- and micro-structural analytical approaches within the overall [neo-Marxist] paradigm."[4] Clearly, Ottoman history, at least, has become fertile ground for an appreciation of how "change is structured, and structures change" over time.[5]

By comparison, medieval Islamicists have seemed less conscious of the need for developing intellectual frameworks within which their empirical research might be embedded in larger issues of social process. Indeed, more than a quarter of a century ago the Mamlukist Ira Lapidus warned that "studies of Muslim social structure are few and incomplete."[6] He extolled the need to "expose social relationships," to examine their "total configuration" and "the forces which shaped their interaction." Lapidus later reiterated and expanded his position, urging scholars to begin "to explore not only social action but the concepts and values that bear on the ordering of social relationships, the . . . symbols of social order, and the mentality of peoples."[7] Yet, as R. Stephen Humphreys, another Mamlukist, has been obliged to remind us recently, little interim progress has been made in demonstrating how action may have been linked to order in medieval Middle East society. Indeed, in his omniscient critique of medieval Islamic history, Humphreys has specifically criticized this analytical shortfall in the secondary literature and has gone so far as to call for new "lines of inquiry" and even entire "research strategies" to trim this interpretive deficit. Humphreys has focused particularly on the failure of Islamicists, including Mamlukists, to explicate the "patterns of behavior through which people structure their relations with one another, define common goals, and allocate resources."[8]

What Humphreys has described in so many words is the need for middle range theories of social interaction, culture, ideology, and economic relations for medieval Islamic civilization, in which the Classical Mamluk state was perhaps the premier social formation. However, the gravitational pull of traditional research methods based on philology, chronology, and historiography has tended to inhibit scholars from making the necessary intellectual transition from description to analysis. Only in rare instances has Mamluk scholarship managed to model the "patterns" and "structure" of society to which Humphreys has alluded—most notably in the work of Lapidus himself, as well as his student, Michael Chamberlain. Indeed, the work of these two scholars, separated by nearly three decades, reflects to an interesting degree the development of social theory itself from a synchronic, normative, systems perspective to one with a more diachronic, materialist, and post-structural outlook.

Yet, if most Mamlukists have not been able to interpret social process, that is, demonstrate ways in which social action and order were linked, they have at least shown an

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[4]John Haldon, *The State and the Tributary Mode of Production* (London: Verso, 1993), 3.
[5]Peter Burke, *History and Social Theory* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), 2; see also, Gordon Leff, *History and Social Theory* (University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1969); William A. Green, *History, Historians, and the Dynamics of Change* (Westport: Praeger, 1993).
[6]Ira M. Lapidus, "Muslim Cities and Islamic Societies," in *Middle Eastern Cities*, ed. Ira M. Lapidus (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), 49.
[7]Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1967; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), xiv-xv, 3.
[8]R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), ix.

interest in social actors. Scholars, indeed, have taken an essentially positivist view of Mamluk history in their Weberian focus on political and cultural elites as sources of social formation and reproduction. In this they have no doubt been influenced by Lapidus′s own social anthropology of late medieval Syro-Egypt. Yet, if scholars have sometimes acknowledged Lapidus′s ideas they have generally been unable either to develop or engage them dialectically. This may be due in part to the failure of Lapidus himself to explicate the *isnād* of his own social thought. Lapidus has acknowledged the influence of at least two luminaries—Max Weber and Talcott Parsons—but only in passing.[9] And even this admission has not been entirely helpful given the problematic relation between the works of Weber and Parsons, particularly Parsons′s evolutionary and deterministic reading of Weber′s more developmental and contingent concept of social action. Ultimately, though, Lapidus has been indebted to Parsons′s adaptation of Weberian social action. For Parsons′s functional analysis of the evolution of Western society from traditionalism to modernism has provided Lapidus with an important framework for understanding the process through which late medieval Syro-Egyptian society achieved integration.[10]

Certainly, Lapidus′s interpretation of the nature of action and order in Mamluk society bears many of the hallmarks of the kind of systems analysis typical of the normative functionalism practiced especially by Parsons. He has incorporated into his own analysis many of the same functional concepts employed by Parsons—″system,″ ″function,″ ″values,″ ″equilibrium,″ ″adaptation,″ ″atomization,″ ″differentiation,″ etc. Indeed, Lapidus has identified the ″substance″ of his work as a description of the process by which a ″system″ of social relations was structured to achieve social ″equilibrium″—an essentially Parsonsian perspective. For Lapidus, like Parsons, was trying to address ultimately the long-standing Hobbesian problem of social order by advancing a model of society based on consensual rather than coercive social practices. Both sought to describe a social system which legitimated the hierarchical stratification of status groups on the basis of value consensus. Parsons′s focus on values was embedded ultimately in Weber′s emphasis on the cultural context of social action. Weber maintained that social action had to be explained in terms of its cultural meaning for social actors. Action and structure were mediated, Weber believed, through the individual′s subjective interpretation of his own social environment. Social actors were therefore inspired by cultural values to engage in contingent practices which reproduced but sometimes transformed society. Indeed, Weber′s legendary study of the rise of capitalism was essentially an inquiry into why rational social practices emerged in tenth/sixteenth century Europe from irrational religious

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[9]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, viii.

[10]Functional thought was foundational even in the conventional Orientalist scholarship upon which Lapidus drew; see especially, G. E. von Grunebaum, ″The Structure of the Muslim Town,″ *Islam: Essays in the Nature and Growth of a Cultural Tradition*, Memoir no. 81 (n.p.: American Anthropological Association, 1955), 141-158, who observed, among other things, that ″. . . the unity of the [Muslim] town is functional, not civic.″ Grunebaum in turn seems to have been influenced by the writings of French urbanists attempting to evaluate the social solidarity of the Muslim town in terms of Durkheim′s distinction between the ″mechanical″ solidarity of the traditional/archaic city and the more ″organic″ solidarity of the modern/classical type. That is, they sought to distinguish between an holistic society based on a religious and socially ritualized collective consciousness with undifferentiated forms of social solidarity and a rational society in which social interaction was sufficiently differentiated and diverse to individuate a self-conscious political discourse.

beliefs, that is, how the traditional world developed into the modern through the transformation of social meaning.

To demonstrate this ″contingent acceptance″ of such ″societal values″ Parsons suggested a mechanism—″internalization.″ Drawing on development psychology, Parsons argued that individuals were socialized from an early age through natural interactions with family and peers to assimilate (internalize) symbolic codes of social morality, to accept normative constraints on social action in ways conducive to the reproduction of social order. The concept of internalization allowed Parsons to link social action to the structure of social order in a way that seemed more autonomous and purposeful than, for instance, Durkheim′s concept of mechanical solidarity. Individuals reproduced society because they were socialized to do so. Yet, internalization also allowed Parsons to reinterpret Weber′s concept of social action in a way more conducive to his own belief about the integrative nature of social evolution. For Weber believed that contingent action was historical not teleological; it was meant to analyze changes from patriarchal and patrimonial forms of social organization, not to reify the process of modernization itself. Indeed, Weber felt that modern social action did not lead ultimately to greater social integration, as Parsons believed, but, as Marx believed, to the increased isolation and alienation of the individual from society. In the end structural controls imposed especially by modern bureaucratic structures vitiated individual autonomy and intentionality. Social order depended in the end, Weber believed, on hierarchical coercion not socialization after all.

Parsons attempted to counter Weber′s pessimism by narrowing, though not entirely closing, the gap between social process and social actors themselves. Action was determined ultimately by larger structural issues which tended toward equilibrium in modern society. Indeed, Parsons suggested that there was an evolutionary trajectory from traditionalism to modernism—a ″convergence″ of modern industrial societies toward a common form of internal organization. The functional requirements for that convergence determined historical process. Parsons suggested, in fact, a predictable sequence of social systems each more complex and functional than the last, a process which could not in the end be affected by human agency. This sequencing of social systems was an ″adaptive upgrading″ of society from traditional to modern organization. In this ″directional″ development social relations were determined functionally by the adaptive needs of the social system. Values provided the legitimating control which facilitated the ″adaptive upgrading″ of societies toward modernism. Parsons′s search, therefore, was for the ″core″ of a society, that is, its integrated social subsystems where those values were formed and practiced. Although these subsystems were drawn together through the sharing of common values, a ″consensus of values″ needed to be reflected only among social elites, who then used their power to ″persuade″ other social groups to conform to those values. The power to persuade was based on what Parsons euphemistically called ″confidence″ in the social system, that is, the expectation that force could be used to impose conformity should value orientation prove insufficient.

Clearly Parsons′s inquiry into the boundary between social action and order provided Lapidus with a comprehensive if deterministic model of social process. Lapidus suggested a Weberian condominium between socialized political and cultural elites, following Parsons, as a rationalizing factor in the integration of late medieval Syro-Egyptian society. Lapidus accepted Weber′s focus on cultural values as the source of social action but in his own functional analysis subsumed Weber′s emphasis on autonomy and

contingency just as Parsons had. The teleology of ″convergence″ made value orientation and adaptation functional requirements in the integrative evolution of late medieval Islamic society. Indeed, Lapidus proclaimed that his study of the ″system of [social] relations″ would demonstrate exactly how Muslim urban society adapted itself to ″Mamluk domination″ in order to create ″one political and social whole.″[11] Lapidus thought this sort of collective order was possible precisely because Muslim society ″tended to be relatively undifferentiated,″ and so various social strata ″rarely reflected the autonomous interests of their members.″[12] Clearly Lapidus shared with functionalist anthropology the belief that, the further down the social hierarchy, the more readily individuals were prepared to adopt the values of social elites.

By calling attention in this way to the lack of autonomy enjoyed by urban social groups, Lapidus was challenging traditional beliefs about the autonomy and dynamism of the medieval Islamic city itself. From Marx, who saw history as the ″urbanization of the countryside,″ to Anthony Giddens, who views cities as ″power containers″ engaged in the ″elimination of the countryside,″ social theorists have long attempted to privilege the city as an autonomous engine of social transformation.[13] Indeed, Weber had argued that the origins of Western capitalist society lay precisely in the struggle waged by urban communes to ″usurp″ political and juridical autonomy from patrimonial elites. Naturally enough, Weber saw the failure of capitalism in Oriental societies as the failure of local urban autonomy in the face of patrimonial control, much as Marx had explained the failure of the Asian countryside to resist its ″princely camp″—the Asian city. Yet, Lapidus did not want to privilege the issue of urban autonomy, arguing: ″We must look more deeply into the urban constitution, behind . . . the struggle for local autonomy. . . .″[14] In fact, Lapidus wanted to use his analysis of urban social groups to break down the entire conceptual urban/rural dichotomy upon which traditional Orientalist social history had been based: ″. . . we should eschew the urban-rural dichotomy and avoid using ″city″ and ″village″ as absolute categories . . . we should think in terms of *pays*, districts, and regions, including both urban and rural units, as a natural form of settlement organization in the medieval Muslim world.″[15]

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[11]Ibid., viii, 191.
[12]Ibid., 185.
[13]Karl Marx, *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations* (New York: International Publishers, 1965), 78; Anthony Giddens, *The Nation-State and Violence: Volume Two of a Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 22.
[14]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 3.
[15]Lapidus, ″Muslim Cities,″ 67, 68. Lapidus was, of course, rejecting the use made by Orientalists of the Western urban communal model in interpreting medieval Islamic cities as ″chaotic, formless, collections of villages,″ a series of self-regulating cells based on corporate institutions unique to urban life (quarters, guilds, militias, etc.), p. viii. See, for instance, Louis Massignon, ″Les corps de métiers et la cité islamique,″ *Revue internationale de sociologie* (1920): 473-489; idem, ″La ′futuwwa′, ou ′pacte d′honneur artisanal′ entre les travailleurs musulmans au Moyen Âge,″ *La nouvelle Clio* 4 (1952): 171-198; Jean Sauvaget, ″Esquisse d′une histoire de la ville de Damas,″ *Revue des études islamiques* 8 (1934): 421-480; idem, *Alep* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1941); Bernard Lewis, ″The Islamic Guilds,″ *Economic History Review* 8, no. 1 (1937): 20-37; Georges Marçais, ″La conception des villes dans l′Islam,″ *Revue de la Méditerranée* [Algiers] 2 (1945): 517-533; Robert Brunschvig, ″Urbanisme médiéval et droit musulman,″ *REI* (1947): 127-155; Nicola A. Ziadeh, *Urban Life in Syria under the Mamlūks* (Beirut: American University in Beirut, 1953; Westport: Greenwood Press, 1970); Franz Taeschner, ″Futuwwa, eine Gemeinschaftsbildende Idee im Mittelalterlicher Orient und ihre Verschiedene Erscheinungsforme,″ *Schweizerisches Archiv für*

American social theory by Lapidus′s day had of course been subjected already to many conceptual antinomies: status/contract, mechanical/organic, *Gemeinschaft*/*Gesellschaft*, industrial/folk. The foundation of American urban sociology at the University of Chicago helped to establish one more—urban/rural. To Chicago sociologists, the modern city was an unparalleled source of both liberation and challenge to the individual. On the one hand, the spatial segregation created by urbanization emancipated the individual from the social control of traditional intimate groups. However, this weakening of bonds of kinship and folk tradition left the individual isolated, living in a Durkheimian social void. As Louis Wirth observed in his legendary comments about urbanization: ″Nowhere has mankind been further removed from organic nature than under the conditions of life characteristic of great cities.″ The city both initiated and controlled the economic, political and cultural life ″of the most remote parts of the world″ weaving ″diverse areas, peoples, and activities into a cosmos.″ The fact of urban concentration, Wirth believed, naturally invited ″the study of the differences between the rural and the urban mode of living.″ City and country were ″two poles″ around which ″all human settlements tend to arrange themselves.″ For these reasons Wirth saw the ″urban-industrial and rural-folk society as ideal-types of communities . . . for the analysis of the basic models of human association. . . .″[16]

Lapidus, like many sociologists and social anthropologists of his generation, questioned whether Wirthian ″ideal-type constructs″ of the urban and the rural corresponded to actual differences in socioeconomic structures, functions or values.[17] Urban organization seemed too diverse to be typed meaningfully. Possibly there was a condominium, even a continuum between urban and rural forms of social organization; even Wirth finally qualified his own idealized urban/rural dichotomy, admitting before his death that ″cities represent a vast continuum shading into non-urban settlements.″[18] In any case Lapidus did not view urban society as integrated only through what Wirth had called the ″pecuniary nexus . . . [leading] to predatory relationships.″ Man was not freed from moral order by the biotic competition of urban human ecology. Urban life provided the same sort of ″primary″ contacts which traditional socialization had, not just the ″secondary″ kind Wirth had described as ″impersonal, superficial, transitory, and segmental.″ Lapidus believed that informal social networks like families, fraternities, factions, neighborhoods,

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Volkskunde [Basel] 52 (1956): 122-158; Eliyahu Ashtor, ″L′administration urbaine en Syrie médiévale,″ *Rivista degli studi orientali* 31 (1956): 73-128; idem, ″L′urbanisme syrien à la basse-époque,″ *RSO* 33 (1958): 181-209.

[16]Louis Wirth, ″Urbanism as a Way of Life,″ *American Journal of Sociology* 44, no. 1 (1938): 1-24.

[17]See for instance, Oscar Lewis, ″Urbanization without Breakdown: A Case Study,″ *Scientific Monthly* 75, no. 1 (1952): 31-41; Gideon Sjoberg, ″Folk and ′Feudal′ Societies,″ *AJS* 58 (1952): 231-239; William L. Kolb, ″The Social Structure and Function of Cities,″ *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 3, no. 1 (1954): 30-46; O. D. Duncan and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., *Social Characteristics of Urban and Rural Communities, 1950* (New York: Wiley, 1956); Charles T. Stewart, Jr., ″The Urban-Rural Dichotomy: Concepts and Uses,″ *AJS* 64 (1958): 152-158; Joseph A. Kahl, ″Some Social Concomitants of Industrialization and Urbanization: A Research Review,″ *Human Organization* 18, no. 3 (1959): 53-74; Philip M. Hauser, ″Observations on the Urban-Folk and Urban-Rural Dichotomies as Forms of Western Ethnocentrism,″ in *The Study of Urbanization*, ed. P. M. Hauser and L. F. Schnore (New York: Wiley, 1965): 503-517.

[18]Louis Wirth, ″Rural-Urban Differences,″ in *Community Life and Social Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956): 172-176.

tribes, schools of law, and religious communities transcended both the segmentation and spatiality of the classic urban/rural dichotomy; they provided regional ″social solidarities″ which urban communal institutions like guilds could not. Indeed, Lapidus believed ″religious-communal bonds″ rather than ″urban-rural divisions″ were the ″rule″ throughout all Islamic social organization.[19]

Rather than the autonomous city with its formal coordinating agencies Lapidus, like Parsons, saw the real source of social formation residing in the family-based household. Parsons had associated the rise of industrialism with the emergence of a dynamic ″family firm,″ a result of the separation of property rights from feudal control and their association with intimate or ″sib″ groups. The family firm, not the city, was the early engine of industrial capitalism. The family ″emancipated″ itself from the political structure, it did not try to take it over from patrimonial elites as Weber′s urban agents were expected to do. Lapidus saw the Mamluk ″military household″ similarly as the dynamic center of social power in Syro-Egyptian society, primarily because of its informal domination of the regional economy.[20] Private households rather than statist bureaucracies controlled the economic ″surplus″ of Mamluk society. This control over the economic base of society gave the Mamluk *umarā'* control over the superstructure of ″communal and religious life of the towns″ as well. Yet, because the Mamluk household was not an ″alien military establishment,″ that is, it was a functional subsystem of ″regional″ integration, there was no overt struggle over surplus. ″Regime and society did not confront each other . . . ,″ therefore, social equilibrium was maintained.[21]

The informal network of patronal relationships which the Mamluks established with other social groups did not create the sort of anomic predatory relationships suggested in Wirth′s ideal-typification. Through such patronage networks the Mamluk political elite functionally exchanged economic benefits for social validation from the cultural elite. Lapidus interpreted this Mamluk ″self-interest″ as functional, not, in contradistinction to Parsons, as a source of ″atomism,″ which concerned Parsons about all utilitarian behavior. Indeed, Lapidus saw such self-interest as a form of social control by which the Mamluks actually ″atomized the common people.″[22] Mamluk military households were functionally inhibited from using their power in ways which threatened social reproduction; even their paramilitary squabbles did not, until the final decades, vitiate their ″vital″ function in the socioeconomic integration of ″regional″ Syro-Egyptian society.[23] Other social groups undifferentiated by horizontal class interests, indeed unified through vertical clientelistic structures, merely internalized the reality of Mamluk domination, ″. . . bending, accommodating, assimilating . . . Mamluk powers and actions in ways which created an over-all political and social pattern [of equilibrium].″[24] Only when Mamluk extraction of economic surplus exceeded social norms did ″confidence″ in Mamluk authority fail. The

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[19]Lapidus, ″Muslim Cities,″ 57.

[20]Household is different from family, though the two are often used interchangeably. Lapidus′s use of the term ″military household″ seems meant to convey the fact that the Mamluk family was surrounded by a constellation of ″personal dependents and clients of the emirs,″ not to imply that the military household was only a unit of co-residence without the capacity to generate normative relationships.

[21]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 48-78.

[22]Ibid., 190.

[23]Ibid., 35-43, 51.

[24]Ibid., 78.

Ottoman conquest of Syro-Egypt in the early tenth/sixteenth century was merely the pushing over of a social system in classic disequilibrium.

II

Lapidus did not see the Syro-Egyptian city as an autonomous force in late medieval society, separated from and transforming the countryside. Certainly there were no emergent Weberian middle class agents attempting to ″usurp″ power from the traditional Mamluk elite; in fact, ″the development of a unified and independent middle class was impossible.″[25] Yet, neither did Lapidus view the city as a social void. Indeed, it seems to have been his principal goal in *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* to demonstrate that social integration depended on the reduction of isolation and tensions among social groups, not only between urban and rural groups, but also among different social subsystems within cities themselves. Mamluk cities, therefore, were complex units held together more by the functional socioeconomic interdependence of status groups than traditional coercive controls. And a society moving away from traditional beliefs and customs was, definitionally in the early 1960s, a society moving toward modernity. Certainly from a functionalist perspective the likelihood of an ″adaptive upgrading″ of Egyptian society from traditionalism to modernism would be easier to envision if late medieval society was already, as Lapidus seemed to suggest, a coherently organized social system whose subsystems were closely interdependent and relatively stable.

Lapidus′s reconstruction of the social system of late medieval Syro-Egypt clearly ought to have been groundbreaking. Yet, this expectation has gone almost entirely unfulfilled. For one thing, the slow collapse of expectations about modernization over the course of the 1960s made Lapidus′s functionalist macrosociological approach seem problematic. Lapidus′s work had been essentially synchronic, a study of the structure of the functional linkages of Mamluk urban society rather than the mechanisms which affected various social subsystems. Yet, in the developing world of thirty years ago these subsystems did not seem especially stable or interdependent, and there seemed to be little real socio-economic integration in light of the failures of industrial capitalism and pluralistic democracy. In the aftermath of modernization theory, American social scientists began to turn away from the study of functionalism to embrace that of dysfunctionalism. They began to study in earnest the microsociology of conflict, inequality and oppression—a trend which has been accelerated by postmodernist obsession with social pessimism and cultural implosion.

In this degraded theoretical environment, Lapidus gradually changed his own functionalist approach to late medieval Syro-Egyptian society. He recognized that his focus on collective order, regulation, and stability left little room finally for microprocesses of individual socialization and even autonomy. In *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* social action had been dictated by a socialized environment rather than individual intentionality. Autonomy from collective control suggested the sort of fundamental social change which classic functionalism feared as destabilizing to the entire social system. Lapidus may have been reluctant to model microprocesses of social change because they suggested the sort of internal conflict upon which Marxist social theory thrived and for

[25]Ibid., 190.

which functionalism had long been a preferred alternative among mainstream American social scientists. For such theorists, the pathway to modernity was better through internal value-orientation than internal conflict, through developmental prosperity rather than class struggle.

Although Lapidus continued to identify Muslim urban society as the set of ″informal relations among individuals, classes and groups,″ he no longer felt that those relations ought to be functionally assumed by scholars. He has called instead for works which can actually model ″social action,″ that is, ″the social processes underlying the functioning of urban societies″ as well as the ″concepts and values that bear on the ordering of social relationships. . . .″ Accordingly, Lapidus has suggested microsociologies of ″loyalty, discipleship, patronage, friendship, clientage, politics, and religious education to reveal the patterns of human behavior that make . . . societies.″ Lapidus′s appeal has been essentially for middle range theories which, one suspects, can be retrofitted to support his original functionalist insights. The results have been mixed. In the first place, though Lapidus′s appeal has struck a chord among various Mamluk scholars, their work has reflected generally only low-level theorization, that is, empirical research with generalizations based on repeated observation. On the whole, these social historians have tended to avoid unifying their results into middle range theories where such empirical generalizations could be used to differentiate between material and cultural explanations of human behavior.

Lapidus′s early focus on informal social networks rather than communal institutions as the source of social formation has remained, however, the basic thrust line of Mamluk history. Most of that attention, though, has been focused on isolated descriptions of the social origin, organization, and function of social elites. Thus, we possess a variety of informational studies about religious dignitaries, chancery scribes, judges, *wazīr*s, market inspectors, civil administrators, and law court and police officials.[26] A few scholars have

[26]See, for instance, Kamāl Sulaymān al-Ṣalībī, ″The Banu Jamā‘a: A Dynasty of Shāfi‘ite Jurists in the Mamluk Period,″ *Studia Islamica* 9 (1958): 97-109; Clifford E. Bosworth, ″Christian and Jewish Religious Dignitaries in Mamluk Egypt and Syria: Information on Their Hierarchy, Titulature and Appointment,″ *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 3 (1962): 59-74; Jon Elliott Mandaville, ″The Muslim Judiciary of Damascus in the Late Mamluk Period″ (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1969); Donald S. Richards, ″The Coptic Bureaucracy under the Mamluks,″ *Colloque international sur l′histoire du Caire* (1969) (Cairo: Ministry of Culture, n.d.), 373-381; Joseph H. Escovitz, ″Vocational Patterns of the Scribes of the Mamluk Chancery,″ *Arabica* 23 (1976): 42-62; idem, ″Patterns of Appointment to the Chief Judgeship of Cairo during the Bahri Mamluk Period,″ *Arabica* 30 (1983): 147-168; idem, *The Office of* Qâḍî al-Quḍât *in Cairo under the Baḥrî Mamlûks* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1984); Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Rāziq, ″Le *ḥisba* et le *muḥtasib* en Égypte au temps des Mamlūks,″ *Annales islamologiques* 13 (1977): 115-178; idem, ″Les muḥtasibs de Fosṭāṭ au temps des Mamlūks,″ *AI* 14 (1978): 127-146; idem, ″Le vizirat et les vizirs d′Égypte au temps des Mamlūks,″ *AI* 16 (1980): 183-239; Joan E. Gilbert, ″Institutionalization of Muslim Scholarship and Professionalization of the ′Ulamā′ in Medieval Damascus,″ *Studia Islamica* 52 (1980): 105-135; Jørgen S. Nielsen, *Secular Justice in an Islamic State: Maẓālim under the Baḥrī Mamlūks, 662/1264-789/1387* (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1985); Peter M. Holt, ″A Chancery Clerk in Medieval Egypt,″ *English Historical Review* 101 (1986): 671-679; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Amīn Ṣādiq Abū Rās, *Shaykh al-Shuyūkh bi-al-Diyār al-Miṣrīyah fī al-Dawlatayn al-Ayyūbīyah wa-al-Mamlūkīyah* (Cairo: Maktabat ‘Ālam al-Fikr, 1987); Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Salām Nāṣif, *al-Shurṭah fī Miṣr al-Islāmīyah* (Cairo: al-Zuhrā’ lil-I‘lām al-‘Arabī, 1987); Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Ṭāsān, ″al-Qaḍā’ fī Makkah fī al-‘Ahd al-Mamlūkī,″ *al-‘Uṣūr* 6, no. 2 (1991): 299-318; Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l′administration dans l′État militaire Mamlūk (IXe/XVe siècle)* (Damascus: Institut

attempted to introduce some interpretive content, focusing especially on the mediatory role of these elites in urban social structure. Carl F. Petry, for instance, has observed that while civil elites generally failed to mediate proactively on behalf of other social groups, they at least helped to symbolize ″communal cohesion″ in the non-institutionalized social environment of late Circassian Mamluk society.[27] Jonathan Berkey has drawn attention to the role of educators, working through an ″informal system of instruction and . . . personal relationships,″ in helping to level social divisions within Mamluk society.[28] Ulrich Haarmann, for his part, has argued that Mamluk offspring (*awlād al-nās*) were a critical social, political, and even cultural link between the Mamluk ruling elite and other social subsystems.[29]

Unfortunately neither these subsystems nor, indeed, the ruling elite itself have received meaningful analysis. Though urban gangs, rural notables, merchants, peasants, tribal peoples, and even amirs have all been described in some way, they remain little understood as components of social formation.[30] Some scholars, again, have attempted to

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français de Damas, 1992). See more generally on social life, Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr, *al-Mujtama' al-Miṣrī fī 'Aṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk* (Cairo: Dār al-Nahḍah al-'Arabīyah, 1962; revised edition, 1993); Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimā'īyah fī Miṣr, 648-923 H./1250-1517 M.* (Cairo: Dār al-Nahḍah al-'Arabīyah, 1980); Ḥayāt Nāṣir al-Ḥajjī, *Aḥwāl al-'Āmmah fī Ḥukm al-Mamālīk, 678-784 H./1279-1382 M.* (Kuwait: Sharikat Kāẓimah lil-Nashr wa-al-Tarjamah wa-al-Tawzī', 1984).

[27]Carl F. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 325.

[28]Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 20, 217.

[29]Ulrich W. Haarmann, ″Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage: Mamluks and Their Sons in the Intellectual Life of Fourteenth-Century Egypt and Syria,″ *Journal of Semitic Studies* 33, no. 1 (1988): 81-114; idem, ″The Sons of Mamluks as Fief-holders in Late Medieval Egypt,″ in *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*, ed. Tarif Khalidi (Beirut: American University in Beirut, 1984), 141-168.

[30]See, for instance, Eliyahu Ashtor, ″The Karimi Merchants,″ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1956): 45-56; S. D. Goitein, ″New Light on the Beginnings of the Kārim Merchants,″ *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 1 (1958): 175-184; Walter J. Fischel, ″The Spice Trade in Mamluk Egypt: A Contribution to the Economic History of Medieval Islam,″ *JESHO* 1 (1958):157-174; Jacqueline Sublet, ″'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Takrītī et la famille des Banū Kuwayk, marchands Kārimī,″ Arabica 9 (1962): 193-196; William M. Brinner, ″The Significance of the *Ḥarāfīsh* and their ′Sultan′,″ *JESHO* 6 (1963): 190-215; David Ayalon, ″The Muslim City and the Mamluk Military Aristocracy,″ *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 2 (1968): 311-329; idem, ″Mamlūk Military Aristocracy during the First Years of the Ottoman Occupation of Egypt,″ in *The Islamic World: From Classical to Modern Times*, ed. C. E. Bosworth et al. (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1989): 413-431; idem, ″The Auxiliary Forces of the Mamluk Sultanate,″ *Der Islam* 65 (1988): 13-37; Ibrāhīm Aḥmad Rizqānah, ″al-Qabā'il al-'Arabīyah fī Miṣr 'inda al-Maqrīzī,″ in *Dirāsāt 'an al-Maqrīzī: Majmū'at Abḥāth*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah et al. (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Ta'līf wa-al-Nashr, 1971), 81-94; M. A. Hiyari, ″The Origins and Development of the Amīrate of the Arabs during the Seventh/Thirteenth and Eighth/Fourteenth Centuries, ″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38 (1975): 509-524; Abdel Hamid Saleh, ″Les relations entre les Mamluks et les bédouins d′Égypte,″ *Annali instituto orientale di Napoli* 30 (1980): 365-393; Amīn al-Nafūrī, ″Ajnād al-Qabā'il al-'Arabīyah fī Bilād al-Shām fī 'Ahd al-Mamlūkī,″ *Dirāsāt Tārīkhīyah* 5 (1981): 99-116; Charles Verlinden, ″Marchands chrétiens et juifs dans l′État mamelouke au début du XVe siècle d′après un notaire vénetien,″ *Bulletin de l′Institut historique belge de Rome* 51 (1981): 19-86; Muḥammad 'Adnān al-Bakhīt, ″The Role of the Ḥanash Family and the Tasks Assigned to It in the Countryside of Dimashq al-Shām,″ in *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*, ed. Tarif Khalidi (Beirut: American University in Beirut, 1984), 257-289; Barbara

be more interpretive. Petry and Robert Irwin, for instance, have called attention to the social dynamic of clientelistic structures in the shaping of Mamluk political action;[31] focus on such dyadic non-corporate and goal-oriented relationships may serve as a corrective to the more rigid and institutionalized politics of *khushdāshīyah* currently favored by traditional scholarship.[32] Toru Miura has argued that the numerous sub-quarters (*ḥārāt*) of the larger Ṣāliḥīyah quarter in Damascus were integrated into a larger ″political unit″ through the social networks of urban gangs;[33] this suggests that the function of social mediation between rulers and ruled may not have been a monopoly of the *'ulamā'*. In a more rural vein, William Tucker has noted that natural disasters may have had a significant social psychological effect on religious practices among late medieval Egyptian peasants.[34] Jean-Claude Garcin, following Lapidus′s thematic rejection of an urban/rural dichotomy in late medieval Egypt, has interpreted the rise of the urban center of Qūṣ in terms of the larger regional dynamic of Upper Egypt itself. Garcin′s observation that ″the city can not be separated from the countryside around it″ clearly recalls Lapidus′s injunction to ″think in terms of *pays* . . . as a natural form of settlement organization.″ As a crucial part of that regional dynamic, Garcin has emphasized especially the social role of the bedouin in influencing ″the structure of the establishment of human groups in a region.″[35]

On the whole, scholars have conformed to Lapidus′s functionalist identification of social integration with stasis.[36] Yet, what about change in Mamluk society? Jonathan

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Kellner-Heinkele, ″The Turkomans and *Bilād aš-Šām* in the Mamluk Period,″ in ibid., 169-180; Dorothea Krawulsky, ″al-Badw fī Miṣr wa-al-Shām fī al-Qarnayn al-Sābi' wa-al-Thāmin al-Hijrīayn 'inda al-'Umarī fī Masālik al-Abṣār,″ *al-Ijtihād* 4, no. 17 (1992): 35-72; Richard T. Mortel, ″The Ḥusaynid Amirate of Madīna during the Mamlūk Period,″ *Studia Islamica* 80 (1994): 97-119; idem, ″The Mercantile Community of Mecca during the Late Mamluk Period,″ *JRAS* (1994): 15-35.

[31]Robert Irwin, ″Factions in Medieval Egypt,″ *JRAS* (1986): 228-246; Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt′s Waning as a Great Power* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 131-151.

[32]See also Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (1310-1341)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), who has remarked on the collapse of corporate solidarity in the Mamluk system during the first decades of the eighth/fourteenth century.

[33]Toru Miura, ″The Structure of the Quarter and the Role of the Outlaws—the Ṣāliḥīya Quarter and the Zu′r in the Mamlūk Period,″ in *Urbanism in Islam: Proceedings of the International Conference on Urbanism in Islam* (Tokyo: Middle Eastern Culture Center, 1989), 3:402-437. See also, Nawāl al-Messiri Nadim, ″The Concept of the *Ḥāra*: A Historical and Sociological Study of al-Sukkariya,″ *AI* 15 (1979): 313-348; Michael Meinecke, ″The Old Quarter of as-Salihiya/Damascus: Development and Recent Changes,″ *al-Ḥawlīyāt al-Atharīyah al-'Arabīyah al-Sūrīyah* 35 (1985): 31-47.

[34]William F. Tucker, ″Natural Disasters and the Peasantry in Mamlūk Egypt,″ *JESHO* 24, no. 2 (1981): 215-224. See also, Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr, ″al-Fallāḥ wa-al-Iqṭā' fī Aṣr al-Ayyūbiyīn wa-al-Mamālīk,″ in *Buḥūth wa-Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh al-'Uṣūr al-Wusṭá* (Beirut: Jāmi'at Bayrūt al-'Arabīyah, 1977), 141-152; Yūsuf Darwīsh Ghawānmah, ″al-Ṭā'ūn wa-al-Jafāf wa-Atharuhumā 'alá al-Bī'ah fī Junūb al-Shām (al-Urdunn wa-al-Filasṭīn) fī al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī,″ in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, ed. 'Adnān Ḥadīdī (Amman: Department of Antiquities, 1985), 2:315-322.

[35]Jean-Claude Garcin, *Un centre musulman de la haute-Égypte médiévale: Qūṣ* (Cairo: Institut français d′archéologie orientale, 1976), xvi, 574; idem, ″Note sur les rapports entre bédouins et fellahs à l′époque mamluke,″ *AI* 14 (1978): 147-163; idem, ″Le système militaire mamluk et le blocage de la société musulmane médiéval,″ *AI* 24 (1988): 93-110; Lapidus, ″Muslim Cities,″ 68.

[36]Petry has recently characterized Mamluk society even down to its last days as a ″quagmire of stasis,″ *Protectors*, 225. Problems of social inversion as well have received little attention; see, however, David Ayalon, ″The Eunuchs in the Mamlūk Sultanate,″ in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. Myriam

Berkey, who is perhaps better known for arguing that social integration was advanced through the transmission of social knowledge, has suggested recently that social change did emerge from the fundamental tension between tradition and innovation in Mamluk socio-culture. The late medieval period was, according to Berkey, a period of ″vulnerability and decay″ as well as the introduction of ″new peoples, ideas and models of behavior to the Muslim Near East.″[37] Berkey′s historical dialectic suggests that Mamluk society, like all social organizations, possessed both progressive and conservative tendencies whose contradictions inevitably generated energy for social change. Boaz Shoshan, too, has maintained that confrontation between traditional high culture and innovative popular culture affected the structure of social life in medieval Cairo. The cultic veneration of *shuyūkh* particularly created over time ″a common cultural domain consisting of shared practices and meanings.″[38] Concerning the Mamluk army, Levanoni has argued that it experienced in the early eighth/fourteenth century a radical transformation from disciplined fighting force to military proletariat.[39] Moreover, several architectural studies have also intimated social change through physical changes in both sacred and profane urban spaces.[40] This combination of architectural and documentary evidence serves as a kind of settlement archaeology, not in the sense of theorizing the relationship between social groups and their ecology but rather changes in social and cultural behavior over time as reflected in changing patterns of spatial organization. This includes especially the process of

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Rosen-Ayalon (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1977), 267-295; Fedwa Malti-Douglas, ″*Mentalités* and Marginality: Blindness and Mamlūk Civilization,″ in *The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times: Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, ed. C. E. Bosworth et al. (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1989), 211-238; Huda Lutfi, ″Manners and Customs of Fourteenth-Century Cairene Women: Female Anarchy versus Male Shar'i Order in Muslim Prescriptive Treatises,″ in *Women in Middle Eastern History*, ed. Nikki R. Keddie and Beth Baron (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 99-121; Shaun Marmon, *Eunuchs and Sacred Boundaries in Islamic Society* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

37Jonathan P. Berkey, ″Tradition, Innovation and the Social Construction of Knowledge in the Medieval Islamic Near East,″ *Past and Present* 146 (1995): 46.

38Boaz Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 78.

39Levanoni, *Turning Point*.

40See, for instance, André Raymond, ″Essai de géographie des quartiers de résidence aristocratique au Caire au XVIIIe siècle,″ *JESHO* 6 (1963): 58-103; idem, ″La localisation des bains publics au Caire au quinzième siècles d′après les Ḫiṭaṭ de Maqrīzī,″ *Bulletin d′études orientales* 30 (1978): 347-60; Layla 'Alī Ibrāhīm, ″Middle-Class Living Units in Mamluk Cairo: Architecture and Terminology,″ *Art and Archaeology Research Papers* 14 (1978): 24-30; idem, ″Up-to-date Concepts of the Traditional Cairene Living Units,″ *Ekistics* 48, no. 287 (1981): 96-100; idem, ″Residential Architecture in Mamluk Cairo,″ *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 49-57; Jean-Claude Garcin, ″Habitat médiéval et histoire urbaine à Fusṭāṭ et au Caire, ″ *Palais et maisons du Caire, I: Époque mamelouke (XIIIe-XVIe siècles),* ed. Jean-Claude Garcin et al. (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1982), 145-216; Jacques Revault, ″L′architecture domestique du Caire à l′époque mamelouke (XIIIe-XVIe siècles),″ *Palais et maisons du Caire, I: Époque mamelouke (XIIIe-XVIe siècles),* ed. Jean-Claude Garcin et al. (Paris: CNRS, 1982), 19-142; Leonor Fernandes, ″Two Variations on the Same Theme: The *Zāwiya* of Ḥasan al-Rūmī, the *Takiyya* of Ibrāhīm al-Ğulšānī, *AI* 21 (1985): 95-111; idem, ″Three Ṣūfī Foundations in a 15th Century *Waqfiyya*,″ *AI* 17 (1981): 141-156; idem, ″Mamluk Politics and Education: The Evidence from Two Fourteenth Century Waqfiyya,″ *AI* 23 (1987): 87-98; idem, *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt: The Khanqah* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1988); Doris Behrens-Abouseif, ″Locations of Non-Muslim Quarters in Medieval Cairo,″ *AI* 22 (1986): 117-132; idem, ″The Citadel of Cairo: Stage for Mamluk Ceremonial,″ *AI* 24 (1988): 75-79; idem, ″Change in Function and Form of Mamluk Religious Institutions,″ *AI* 21 (1985): 73-93; idem, ″Gardens in Islamic Egypt,″ *Der Islam* 69 (1992): 302-312.

privatization of public space, a key development which many historical anthropologists have recognized about social transition from the traditional to the modern.

III

Nevertheless, Lapidus's view of late medieval Syro-Egypt as a society in equilibrium, functionally integrated through normative behavior, has not been fundamentally challenged. That is, until recently by Lapidus's own student, Michael Chamberlain. Like many before, Chamberlain has adopted Lapidus's position on "institutional" history, that an undifferentiated social formation can be better explained in terms of informal social networks than formal communal institutions. Like Lapidus, too, Chamberlain has located that social dynamic among political/cultural elites. Chamberlain's elites, however, are engaged in a social process which completely transforms Lapidus's integrated social subsystems into autonomous social units operating in "arenas of a never-ending struggle for social power and status."[41] Social action is no longer based on internalized values but on the materialist logic of utilitarian strategy and practices. Power now defines culture; value consensus gives way to value manipulation. The perceptions people have of social life are no longer necessarily stable or shared in such a way that social action can be coordinated. Social knowledge, in short, is no longer functionally supportive of social order. Indeed, the reproduction of social order is no longer based on accepting constraints on social action but in exceeding them. Chamberlain's methodological rejection of Lapidus's normative functional analysis—"metaphors derived from functioning bodies"—appears to be derived largely from his readings in the social psychology of the late German sociologist, Norbert Elias, as well as the cultural anthropology of the French post-structuralist, Pierre Bourdieu.[42]

Like Parsons, Elias had studied at Heidelberg University not long after the death there of Weber. Like Parsons, too, Elias was fascinated by psychoanalysis and admired Parsons's ability to psychologize the macrosocial process. However, Elias disagreed with Parsons's Weberian focus on action, particularly his view that social systems could only be comprehended as abstractions in which there existed a logical necessity that action always be integrated. Elias charged that this made society seem too much like a "medley of disembodied actions" rather than "networks of human beings in the round." Elias and, after him, Bourdieu sought to close the interpretive gap between the individual and society, suggesting that social action possessed its own dynamic, one unpredictable even to social actors themselves. In place of Parsons's immutable, functionally integrated society, Elias and Bourdieu suggested a collation of interdependent human networks forming autonomous spheres of action structured by their own immediate histories and internal logic. Importantly, these spheres were subject to processes not only of integration but disintegration as well. For Elias these spheres or "figurations" were the result of the "interweaving of countless individual interests and intentions" into autonomous outcomes. These "relational dynamics" were created by constantly changing power balances among these human networks, although there was ultimately an historical trajectory from violent

[41]Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 175.
[42]Ibid., 21-22.

figurations to more pacific ones. For Bourdieu such spheres or ″fields″ are spaces for competition and conflict rather than socialization and cooperation. The structure of the field in turn is determined by the state of the relations of force between various social actors or ″players.″

Elias′s figuration theory and Bourdieu′s field theory share with Parsons′s functionalist systems theory, however, a common focus on differentiation and autonomy in social organization, though as a source of change rather than equilibrium, as process rather than stasis. There are no deterministic relationships among the subsystems, no organic cohesion or self-regulation as in a functionally interdependent social system; coherence is achieved only accidentally and temporarily. Even the imagery is quite different. Whereas Parsons sought a ″boundary″ between action and order in the social system, Bourdieu has conceived of the social field as a ″fluid″ process.

These theories, moreover, are all tied to linear models of social evolution which depend heavily on distinguishing dialectically between pre-industrial and industrial types of social organization. Parsons had described the process of modernization as a series of structural differentiations facilitating the ″directional″ development of early modern rational socioeconomic organization into modern bureaucratic industrialism. Elias attempted similarly to tie his process of *Zivilisation* to the evolutionary expansion and internalization of social control as a form of rational behavior. As webs of interdependent social networks expanded and became more dense, social action became correspondingly more controlled and society more differentiated. The constant division and subdivision of social functions transformed social control from external compulsion to internal self-discipline, part of the emergence of rational behavior.

Bourdieu, unlike Parsons and Elias, has been interested not in Weberian rational action but practical logic—what it makes sense to do—which may in fact be irrational; he has tried, however, to draw the same distinction between ″material″ and ″symbolic″ power in society that Weber once drew between ″economic order″ (wealth) and ″social order″ (honors). In his search for what is essentially the cultural process underlying (intra)class conflict Bourdieu has distinguished pre-industrial (pre-capitalist/doxic) from industrial (capitalist/discursive) social formations in terms of their autonomization of symbolic power. Pre-capitalist societies, being insufficiently developed economically to differentiate the material from the symbolic, were unable to produce an explicit symbolic system capable of generating the sort of competitive discourse leading necessarily to class struggle. The rise of capitalist societies, however, autonomized a discursive symbolic sphere capable of providing the dominated with ″symbolic means of rejecting the definition of the real″ hitherto imposed by the dominant material class. The producers of symbols (artists, writers and other intellectuals) are seen to struggle on a ″field of opinion″ with the dominant material class ″for the power to impose the legitimate mode of thought and expression″ in modern class societies; the dominant class eventually turns to symbolic power as well in order to continue its dominance. In this intellectual field of struggle for position, capital is no longer just accumulated but differentiated into economic and cultural types, each mutually convertible. The dominant class in capitalist society must, for a variety of reasons, convert some of its economic capital into cultural capital. The center of this conversion is the educational system, which is tied to the need to provide a market for cultural capital. Here class struggle is replicated and legitimated through the conversion of social position

into educational merit; the cultural capital produced was then later reconverted into economic power by the dominant class to preserve its position.[43]

Bourdieu figures significantly in Chamberlain′s explanation of the effect of such unconstrained competition on social order in a medieval Muslim city. Part of Bourdieu′s appeal may be that his theory of social strategies is extrapolated from his own anthropological observations about modern Muslim village life among the Algerian Kabyle. For Bourdieu, the Kabyle village was a center of eternal competition for status fought out by kinship groups using symbolic taxonomies. In such pre-capitalist societies, where a ″system of mechanisms . . . ensuring the reproduction of the established order by its own motion″ has not yet emerged, these strategies of ″symbolic violence″ were often more important and ″economical″ than ″overt (physical or economic) violence″ as *″elementary forms of domination.″*[44]

To some degree, then, Chamberlain′s Damascus is Bourdieu′s Kabyle village writ large. Damascene social life was similarly consumed by the constant and largely symbolic struggle for control of knowledge (*ʻilm*) as a way of achieving power and status, ultimately of ensuring ″social survival.″ Sixth/twelfth through eighth/fourteenth century Damascus was a suitably ″precarious″ and ″turbulent period″ in which elite social competition (*fitnah*) ″imposed its own logic″ on the strategies and practices by which medieval Damascenes acquired economic and cultural capital.[45] Chamberlain′s vision of a turbulent *high* medieval period is of course consistent with the belief common to both Elias and Bourdieu that the medieval period antedated the civilizing/modernizing process. Whereas Weber had envisaged the movement toward rational action beginning in the tenth/sixteenth century, Elias had seen already in the ninth/fifteenth century standards of control being imposed on society by political elites who were themselves making the transition from warrior violence to courtly manners. The high medieval period by contrast was a sinkhole of personality development. In language reminiscent of Johan Huizinga′s ″violent tenor of life,″ Elias suggested that social relations in the medieval period were violent, impulsive, aggressive, cruel, and without conscience.

The ninth/fifteenth century was also an important benchmark in Bourdieu′s analysis of the cultural process of modern class struggle. It was the beginning of the historical autonomization of a symbolic system in which the intellectual/artist freed himself culturally from the political and religious agencies of pre-capitalist legitimation in order to produce a competitive ethical/aesthetic discourse. In arguing that this process of autonomization was already underway in Damascus well before the ninth/fifteenth century, however, Chamberlain has modified Bourdieu′s model of historical development. Chamberlain′s focus on the social competition to control knowledge (*ʻilm*) presupposes already in the high medieval period a social elite (*aʻyān*) as a specialized group of symbolic producers, attempting to monopolize the objectified instruments of symbolic struggle (i.e., reading, writing, certification). This further supposes, following Bourdieu, that that struggle was part of a larger social competition with the dominant economic class (*umarā*ʼ) for control of the ″hierarchization of the principles of hierarchization.″ Chamberlain argues, in effect, that medieval Damascus was already sufficiently developed in terms of exchange relations to

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[43]Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 159-197.

[44]Ibid., 190-197.

[45]Chamberlain, *Knowledge*, 4-9.

generate an explicit symbolic system autonomous enough to engender class struggle. Yet, it is difficult to see how that struggle might have occurred since Chamberlain does not believe that there was a ″division of social and political labor″ between the *a'yān* and *umarā'* of Damascus.[46] Moreover, while Chamberlain speaks of the medieval Middle East generally as possessing a ″relatively high monetization of its economies,″ it is unclear if this could have constituted the sort of capitalistic development that Bourdieu has in mind.[47] Finally, according to Chamberlain, medieval Damascus had ″no educational system to reproduce existing social divisions,″ another limitation on Bourdieu′s thinking.[48]

Despite these qualifications, Chamberlain remains fundamentally indebted to Bourdieu′s basic understanding of social structure as a product of radically contingent action by self-reflective individuals rather than an ″institutionalized call to order,″ though even Bourdieu has admitted that rules can facilitate the generation of such action.[49] This has allowed Chamberlain to interpret the ″continuous reshuffling of power and resources″ by practical, self-indicating elite households (*buyūt*; sg., *bayt*) as the ″fundamental dynamic of political and social life″ in medieval Damascus.[50] Damascus, in effect, is no longer a society—the locus of social cooperation—merely a social space dedicated to unlimited ″struggle for social power and status.″ [51] And yet, Chamberlain′s observation that elite social competition (*fitnah*) was responsive to mediation seems to recognize ultimately a limitation to the radical contingency of social practice and strategy. Members of the Damascene elite negotiated among themselves for complementary shares of social and economic capital. Rulers (*salāṭīn*, *nuwwāb*) especially, able only ″to frustrate other social bodies′ independent possession of power or wealth,″ were obliged to negotiate both with the *a'yān* for ″use of the sacred″ and with the *umarā'* for political power.[52] One might infer that the aggregation of such bargaining created in effect a ″negotiated order″ in which differences could be neutralized, if not resolved, in such a way that necessary connective social operations might occur. Individuals could bond at least temporarily, adopting complementary or even similar values, which could become the basis of an occasionally unified social system.

Indeed, rhetoric about practice and strategy aside, the *a'yān* and *umarā'* still appear as functionally interdependent in Chamberlain′s analysis as in that of Lapidus. In what Chamberlain describes as an ″exchange among surplus-consuming groups″ of status for benefit, amirs engaged in a deterministic exchange of their economic capital for the cultural capital of urban notables. Chamberlain′s conclusion that ″the *a'yān* of the city accommodated themselves to the military patronage state″ seems little different ultimately from Lapidus′s earlier observations about the functional ″adapting [of] urban Muslim society to Mamluk domination,″ or its ″. . . accommodating . . . Mamluk power and

[46]Ibid., 8.
[47]Ibid., 1, 40.
[48]Ibid., 154.
[49]Bourdieu, *Outline*, 17.
[50]Chamberlain, *Knowledge*, 8, 46.
[51]Ibid., 9, 175; Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc J. D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1992), 16: ″. . . Bourdieu explodes the vacuous notion of ′society′ and replaces its with those of field and social space.″
[52]Chamberlain, *Knowledge*, 41, 49.

actions.″[53] In both cases the *a'yān* appear to have successfully internalized Mamluk domination. Moreover, it was not just the *a'yān* and *umarā'* that were functionally related. According to Chamberlain the *salāṭīn* and *nuwwāb* also had a ″functional dependence on their subjects.″ Rulers, unable to ″penetrate the cities they dominated through intrusive state agencies,″ fit themselves ″into existing social and cultural practices . . . turning them to political use.″[54]

Precisely because such ″social and cultural practices″ were products of urbanization in Damascus, Chamberlain′s analysis, unlike that of Lapidus, reflects ultimately an urban rather than a regional perspective on social formation in medieval Syro-Egypt.[55] Urbanization, moreover, had a more anomic consequence on Chamberlain′s Damascenes than on those of Lapidus. Chamberlain′s Damascus was, in effect, a social void of secondary contacts possessed of the same ″segmented character and utilitarian accent″ that Wirth originally described. Bourdieu, though, is the real source of Chamberlain′s view of urbanization. Like Durkheim before him, Bourdieu believes that urbanization was crucial to the erosion of traditional social solidarity. For Durkheim urbanization led eventually to increased crime and suicide; for Bourdieu it leads to the emergence of a zone of struggle over the symbolic manipulation of the conduct of social reality—the field. It was only in the city that people with sufficiently diverse cultural traditions were sufficiently concentrated to be able to recognize their own formerly misrecognized social domination; it was in the city that their own cultural traditions were exposed, revealing ″their arbitrariness *practically*, through first-hand experience.″[56] Damascus, according to Chamberlain, experienced a similar process of urbanization at the end of the fifth/eleventh century, when ″pastoralists, professional and slave troops, and urban elites″ found themselves thrown together into an ″empire-building process″ stimulated by external threats to Syro-Egypt.[57] In that dynamic historic moment, however, socialization gave way to survival. Damascus became a social space without a Parsonsian ″core.″

IV

The integration of social theory and Mamluk history over the last thirty years has achieved only limited results. Much of that achievement, moreover, resides in the work of just two scholars, Lapidus and Chamberlain. Only in their writings do we possess meaningful interpretation of social formation and reproduction in Mamluk Syro-Egypt. Social life is generally understood to be composed of such things as beliefs, norms, laws, knowledge, and ideas. Lapidus′s interpretation has been, correspondingly, that of a functional, norm-based, regional society; Chamberlain′s view has reflected a utilitarian, knowledge-based, urban space. Yet, both have underscored recent thinking about the necessity of studying informal urban/regional social groups in terms of attitudes based on

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[53]Ibid., 17, 61; Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 78, 191.
[54]Chamberlain, *Knowledge*, 17.
[55]Lapidus, ″Muslim Cities,″ 56: ″However superior the functions of the towns may have been, Muslim communities were often regional rather than urban bodies.″
[56]Bourdieu, *Outline*, 233.
[57]Chamberlain, *Knowledge*, 37-38; this dating is probably derived from Lapidus, see, for instance, Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, xiii-xiv; idem, ″Muslim Cities,″ 52-53, 72; idem, ″The Evolution of Muslim Urban Society,″ *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 15 (1973), 38-50.

locality, ethnicity, religion, kinship, etc., rather than categorized class-based attributes.[58] In Mamluk Syro-Egypt household, not class, was the basis of social formation—though not apparently of social change. For Lapidus's elite households were socialized, their action functionally integrated; even when their behavior became dysfunctional owing to environmental pressures, Mamluk society did not experience structural change or innovation in the relations of power, only collapse. Even Chamberlain's elite agents of social conflict (*fitnah*) could only manipulate and exploit structure, never consciously question or alter it. Ultimately, Damascus was not a center of macrosocial change, only constant microsocial transformations.

Yet, change is difficult to detect in social processes which appear deterministic or subconscious rather than cognitive. The human capacity for change resides after all in consciousness—the ability to perceive and synthesize many perspectives into one unitary apprehension of reality. Consciousness is formed within the structures of linguistically or symbolically mediated interaction. Society, in effect, is constituted intersubjectively through gestural communication, including language. Gestures are transformed into symbols with meaning understood by both parties. George Herbert Mead's theory of gestures shows how contingent action by individuals is actually enmeshed within symbolic structures. These gestures are in effect a social institution, what Mead called "an organization of attitudes," which condition social interaction. Individuals behave in terms of potential response by partners in these interactions, internalizing the expectations they have of each other. In this way social norms—by extension social order—become susceptible to change through modifications in communication. Cognition, in short, can have an adaptive affect on action and order through linguistic and symbolic expression.

Social order is, of course, hierarchical, and hierarchy has figured importantly in the discussions of both Lapidus and Chamberlain. The structure of such hierarchization can be seen to depend on superiors, equals, and inferiors developing an intersubjective understanding of one another at the cognitive level—"taking the role of the other" as Mead once observed. Individual behavior is integrated collectively by means of reciprocal expectations about behavior. Effective communication about these expectations can be seen, therefore, as supportive of social order; understanding a symbolic action after all means understanding about rules. It seems unlikely that social process can ever be demonstrated as either strictly normative or utilitarian, functional or self-indicating as Lapidus and Chamberlain have suggested. It may be possible, however, to fulfill Lapidus's original mandate about exploring concepts, values, and symbols of social order by demonstrating how action and structure were mediated through the establishment of a communicative order within Mamluk society, and how social order depended ultimately on keeping those lines of communication open.

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[58]See, for instance, R. E. Pahl, "Is the Emperor Naked? Some Questions on the Adequacy of Sociological Theory in Urban and Regional Research," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 13, no. 4 (1989): 709-720.

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Reflections on Arabic Poetry in the Mamluk Age

I

Arabic poetry composed during the Mamluk Empire (1250-1517) is a vast and rich resource for the study of Arabic and Islamic cultures. Yet it is a resource that is seldom tapped due largely, I suspect, to its raw state, for the majority of this verse is to be found only in manuscript form. Brockelmann, for example, lists approximately twenty *dīwān*s from this period, most of which are still in manuscript today, and this number grows substantially when one includes additional holdings at Cairo's Dār al-Kutub and the Arab League Manuscript Institute; other collections, such as those in Damascus and Istanbul, will undoubtedly add to the total.[1]

From among these many manuscripts, about a dozen have been edited and published over the last century. In addition, a substantial number of edited Arabic poems from the Mamluk period may be found in a wide variety of published sources including chronicles, such as Ibn Taghrībirdī's *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, biographical works, such as al-Ṣafadī's *al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt*, and several poetic works and anthologies, including Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī's *Khizānat al-Adab wa-Ghāyat al-Arab*. Some poems from these and other published works have been collected by ʻUmar Fārūq in volume three of his *Ta'rīkh al-Adab al-ʻArabī*. Fārūq's encyclopedic work is arranged chronologically and includes brief biographies, bibliographical information, and samples of verse by over seventy-five poets of the Mamluk era.[2]

Yet even these many published poems have received scant attention from Western scholars. This continued neglect may reflect the lingering influence of older surveys of Arabic literature which, if they discuss Mamluk Arabic poetry at all, usually dismiss it in a few pages.[3] For instance, at the turn of the century R. A. Nicholson noted that while Mamluk Arabic poetry had yet to receive extensive study, its best poets were "merely elegant and accomplished artists, playing brilliantly with words and phrases, but doing little else."[4]

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[1]Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1943), 2:3-24; S2:1-13.

[2]ʻUmar Fārūq, *Ta'rīkh al-Adab al-ʻArabī* (Beirut: Dār al-ʻIlm lil-Malāyīn, 1975), 3:602-977.

[3]See Clément Huart, *A History of Arabic Literature* (New York: Appleton and Co., 1903), 323-333; Ignaz Goldziher, *History of Classical Arabic Literature* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966), 153-154. A. J. Arberry ignores the Mamluks in his *Arabic Poetry: A Primer for Students* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965).

[4]R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (1907; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 448-450.

Fifty years after Nicholson, the situation remained much the same in terms of both the lack of Western research on Mamluk Arabic poetry, and the entrenched scholarly views of Arabic literary history. In the second edition of his survey *Arabic Literature*, H. A. R. Gibb divides this heritage into periods mirroring their respective political developments: the ″Heroic Age″ of pre-Islamic Arabia led to the Umayyad ″Age of Expansion,″ while the early Abbasid ″Golden Age″ inevitably declined in the ″Silver Age″ of the Saljuqs until the Fall of Baghdad. What then follows until 1800, Gibb simply labels the ″Age of the Mamluks″ whose literary output, he says, ″was enormous throughout, but the qualities of originality, virility, and imagination, weak from the first, die away completely by the sixteenth century.″[5]

It should come as no surprise, then, that the last thirty years have seen only a handful of articles in Western languages involving Mamluk Arabic poetry.[6] This lack of Western scholarly concern may also account for an anomaly in the *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*; having surveyed Arabic prose and poetry from their pre-Islamic roots through their flowering in the Abbasid Age, this series has recently passed over the Mamluk and Ottoman periods to publish a volume on contemporary Arabic Literature.[7]

II

Fortunately, modern studies of Mamluk poetry in Arabic have been more extensive and promising. As early as the 1940s several studies appeared touching upon Arabic literature in the Mamluk era,[8] but it was in the late sixties and early seventies, that the subject drew the attention of a considerable number of Arab scholars. This has resulted in the editing and publication of some additional *dīwān*s, a few new surveys, and a small

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[5]H. A. R. Gibb, *Arabic Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 142. Gibb does not cite any Arabic poetry from the Mamluk period, and he mentions only one Mamluk poet by name, al-Būṣīrī.

[6]Ahmad al-Ghawaby, ″Al-Maqrizi as a Poet,″ *Minbar al-Islam* 2, no. 4 (1962): 28-30; Barbara Flemming, ″Literary Activities in Mamluk Halls and Barracks,″ in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon (Jerusalem: Institute of Asian and African Studies, 1977), 249-260; Victor Danner, ″Al-Būṣīrī: His Times and His Prophetology,″ in *Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies: A Festschrift in Honor of Professor Wadie Jwaideh*, ed. Robert Olsen (Brattleboro, Vermont: Amana Books, 1987), 41-61; Th. Emil Homerin, ″A Bird Ascends the Night: Elegy and Immortality in Islam,″ *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 59, no. 2 (1991): 247-279; idem, ″′I′ve Stayed by the Grave′: A *Nasīb*/Elegy for Nuḍār,″ in *Literary Heritage of Classical Islam: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of James A. Bellamy*, ed. Mustansir Mir (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1993), 107-118. Also see the earlier article by Mohammad Awad, ″Sultan al-Ghawri: His Place in Literature and Learning (Three Books Written under His Patronage),″ in *Actes du XX. congrès international des orientalistes*, Brussels, 5-10 September 1938 (Louvain, 1940), 321-322.

[7]The Cambridge series is planning a volume to cover Arabic literature during the period 1150-1850; tentatively entitled *The Post-Classical Period*, this volume is to be edited by D. S. Richards and Roger Allen. As for *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, the second edition contains brief entries on a number of Arabic poets of the Mamluk period, including al-Būṣīrī, Ibn Abī Ḥajalah, Ibn ʻAfīf al-Tilimsānī, Ibn Ḥijjah, Ibn Isrāʼīl, and Ibn Nubātah.

[8]See ʻAbd al-Laṭīf Ḥamzah′s brief remarks in his *al-Ḥarakah al-Fikrīyah fī Miṣr fī al-ʻAṣrayn al-Ayyūbī wa-al-Mamlūkī al-Awwal* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʻArabī, [1945]), 262-287; al-Ṣibāʻī al-Bayyūmī, *Taʼrīkh al-Adab al-ʻArabī bi-Miṣr wa-al-Shām ʻalá ʻAhday al-Mamālīk wa-al-ʻUthmānīyīn* (Cairo: Maṭbaʻat al-ʻUlūm, 1947-48), 78-156. Al-Bayyūmī′s treatment of poetry is very general and lacking analysis and source citations.

number of monographs that target specific poets. As to be expected, several of the surveys are very basic introductions to Mamluk Arabic prose and poetry, based largely on a very limited number of published sources. For example, Muḥammad Kāmil al-Fiqī's *al-Adab fī al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* briefly reviews Mamluk poetry together with prose works in context of the politics and culture of the period. Al-Fiqī notes the "conservative character" of this poetry in both form and content, decries the prominence of ornamentation and literary devices in both prose and poetry, and mentions the spread of new popular poetic forms and folk verse.[9]

A more recent and expanded introduction is that of Shawqī Ḍayf, forming volume six of his *Ta'rīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī*. Ḍayf divides this work into two major sections, one on the literature of Egypt, the other on that of Syria. In his chapters on poetry, Ḍayf draws attention to the long history of Arabic poetry in the region pre-dating the Mamluks, and then briefly discusses popular poetic forms, including *rubā'ī* and *muwashshaḥ*, which became popular in the late Abbasid and early Mamluk periods. He then turns to more traditional genres, including *madīḥ*, *rithā'*, *fakhr*, *hijā'*, and *ghazal*, citing examples of each from poets spanning the entire Ayyubid and Mamluk periods. Ḍayf also treats this poetry thematically, including sections on Shī'ī, Sufi, and philosophical verse, and poems in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad, as well as providing sections on humorous verse and folk poetry. Again, Ḍayf cites numerous verses to illustrate his themes and briefly examines the work of representative poets. Often he provides useful paraphrases of their verse, but offers little other interpretation or analysis; this survey also lacks a bibliography.[10]

Several earlier works may be used to substantially supplement Ḍayf's introduction, and they may have inspired his division of poetry between that of Egypt and Syria. 'Umar Mūsá Bāshā in *Adab al-Duwal al-Mutatābi'ah* concentrates on the prose and poetry of Syria from the Zangids through the Ayyubids and to the Mamluks, ending with the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn. Bāshā gives an overview of major political events, as well as of the social, religious, and moral life of this period with its use of wine and hashish, both of which were accompanied by other illicit activities. Bāshā notes that in spite of such wayward tendencies, this age, particularly under the Ayyubids, witnessed an intellectual and cultural florescence, which was carried on by the early Mamluks who likewise patronized the various arts and sciences.[11]

Bāshā organizes his long subsequent section on poetry around eleven Syrian poets representing many of the genres and poetic trends of the times; he gives a biography of each poet, noting their literary work, and citing examples of their favored genres, themes, and styles. Included from the Mamluk period are al-Ashraf al-Anṣārī (d. 662/1264) with his elegant poetic style, al-Shāb al-Ẓarīf (d. 688/1289) with his enchanting verse on wine and love, and al-Talla'farī (d. 675/1277) with his simple poetry on life and experience.[12]

Drawing on his substantial studies of these eleven poets, Bāshā next appraises the overall state of poetry during this period, largely in terms of styles and themes. He finds

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[9]Muḥammad Kāmil al-Fiqī, *al-Adab fī al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1976), 126-182. For a similar introduction, see Muḥammad Khafājī, *al-Ḥayāh al-Adabīyah fī Miṣr: al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī wa-al-'Uthmānī* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Kullīyah al-Azharīyah, 1984).
[10]Shawqī Ḍayf, *Ta'rīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1984), 6:161-399, 604-778.
[11]'Umar Mūsá Bāshā, *Adab al-Duwal al-Mutatābi'ah* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Ḥadīth, 1967), 3-173.
[12]Ibid., 177-445.

several major literary trends in this verse: (1) *al-madrasah al-taqlīdīyah*, the traditional or imitative school, composing poetry for the most part in accord with the classical canon; (2) *madhhab al-tawriyah wa-al-insijām*, also called the school of "licit magic," an innovative movement using allusion and symbols with an elegant style to express abstract thoughts and feelings, often of a religious nature. This movement produced a third one tending toward ornamentation, (3) a *badīʿ* or highly rhetorical style characterized by *jinās* (paronomasia) and *ṭibāq* (antithesis), and finally there is (4) *madhhab al-funūn al-shiʿrīyah al-mustaḥdathah* representing recent folk and colloquial poetic concerns and forms.[13]

Turning to major themes and genres, Bāshā suggests that poems in praise of Muḥammad—one of the featured genres of the time—arose out of the chaos of the Crusades and the Mongol threat. Following Ayyubid practice, the Mamluks fostered a conscious sense of Muslim identity by encouraging devotion to Muḥammad, clearly manifest in panegyrics of him. Poetry was also used to incite the troops to battle against the Crusaders who were usually portrayed by poets as the evil other. Bāshā also notes Mamluk influence on the archetypal beloved who increasingly appears as a Turkish maiden or young boy. Still, some poets, such as al-Shāb al-Ẓarīf, resisted this innovation, and Bāshā suggests that the continued use of an Arab beloved and the nostalgia for the days of the Arab Prophet may underscore a deep dissatisfaction on the part of many Arab subjects with their Turkish masters and their military rule.[14]

Bāshā further observes that there was a proliferation of poetry among all social classes accompanied by new poetry (*al-funūn al-shiʿrīyah al-mustaḥdathah*) with its folk and musical elements. Bāshā describes and gives examples of many of these newer forms including *muwashshaḥ*, *zajal*, *rubāʿī*, *mawwāl*, and *musammaṭ*. Though popular with the masses for expressing their work-a-day life and humor, these folk genres, Bāshā claims, also afforded accomplished poets an occasional opportunity to escape the burden of the classical Arabic tradition.[15]

In contrast to this often simple, colloquial verse were the traditional or imitative genres (*al-aghrāḍ al-taqlīdīyah*) of intellectuals and more serious poets. But here, too, Bāshā finds an uneasiness with tradition as many poets opened their *nasīb*s with the Nuwāsian rejection of the ruins and beloveds of Arab legend. Further, under the inspiration of Abū Tammām (d. ca. 232/846) and al-Buḥtarī (d. ca. 284/897), poets increasingly used ornamentation and rhetorical devices to embellish their verse, going to great lengths to distinguish themselves from their poetic forefathers.[16] Bāshā surveys, with illustrations, various figures of speech and rhetorical devices including personification (*tashkhīṣ*), simile and metaphor (*tashbīh*, *istiʿārah*), antithesis (*ṭibāq*), and paronomasia (*jinās*), and cites as a typical example of excess Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī's (d. 749/1349) *al-Badīʿīyah al-Nabawīyah*; this panegyric on Muḥammad is composed of approximately 140 verses, each featuring a different rhetorical device. Bāshā is disturbed by such *badīʿ* poets, whom he criticizes as mind-slaves to style, wasting their time on verse games, and he quotes several denunciations of their poetry by critics of the period. Nevertheless, Bāshā

[13]Ibid., 446-456.
[14]Ibid., 456-530, esp. 416, 462.
[15]Ibid., 581-635.
[16]Ibid., 531-580.

notes that *badī‘* verse was only one of multiple poetic tendencies of this eclectic period, which also produced less affected, more elegant and sincere verse.[17]

For this study of Syrian poets, Bāshā draws many of his examples from both published works and manuscripts, which he lists separately in a very useful bibliography. However, Bāshā is far more dependent on published and secondary sources for his subsequent study *Ta'rīkh al-Adab al-‘Arabī: al-‘Aṣr al-Mamlūkī*. Again, Bāshā organizes his study chronologically around individual authors whom he finds representative of important literary trends. In matters of verse, he devotes separate chapters to the lives and works of eight poets, including al-Anṣārī, al-Talla‘farī, and al-Shāb al-Ẓarīf, whose chapters are taken verbatim from Bāshā's earlier work, with several useful additions such as a section on al-Anṣārī's ascetic verse, and one on al-Shāb al-Ẓarīf's *Maqāmāt al-‘Ushshāq*.[18]

Bāshā's new studies focus on al-Būṣīrī (d. 694/1295) and his panegyrics to the Prophet Muḥammad; the Sufi verse of al-Shāb al-Ẓarīf's father, ‘Afīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī (d. 690/1291); Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī's playful and licentious verse in various poetic forms; Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī (d. 768/1366) and his elegant poetry replete with symbolism and double entendre; the traditional panegyrist Ibn Mālik al-Ḥamawī (d. 917/1516), and finally, a short chapter on ‘Ā'ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah (d. 922/1516), her Sufi verse, panegyrics for the Prophet, and poetic exchanges with her literary contemporaries.[19] Unfortunately, Bāshā does not focus on a practitioner of the very popular *badī‘* verse, which he personally dislikes, nor does he examine the new poetic forms in any detail, as he did in his earlier study of the Syrian poets. Further, his studies of individual poets of the Mamluk period are largely descriptive with little analysis or commentary. Nevertheless, Bāshā's history is a very readable introduction, providing a number of poems for further study.[20]

Undoubtedly another fruitful source for Ḍayf and more recent scholars of literature in Mamluk Egypt has been the concise study of life and literature in Mamluk times, *al-Adab fī al-‘Aṣr al-Mamlūkī*, by Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām.[21] In volume one of this two-volume work, Sallām draws on a number of primary sources to present a plausible and detailed account of Mamluk politics, cultural and intellectual life, and religion. He pays particular attention to the military nature of the foreign Mamluk regime, which was supported at times by the largely Arab populace due to their fear of invasion by infidels, whether Christian Crusaders or pagan Mongols. But the Mamluk protectors were also predators as they vied with one another for wealth and power, and the endemic Mamluk disputes led to political and economic instability and social unrest. Further, Sallām suggests that the rigid stratification among the Mamluk ranks reinforced efforts to clearly distinguish and rank individuals and groups among the larger populace, whether in terms of occupation or religious affiliation.

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[17]Ibid., 636-706.
[18]‘Umar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ta'rīkh al-Adab al-‘Arabī: al-‘Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr al-Mu‘āṣir, 1989), esp. 126-131, 249-253.
[19]Ibid., 97-451.
[20]Bāshā also adds an appendix on reading and analyzing texts, using as examples al-Būṣīrī's *Burdah* and an elegy by Ibn Nubātah. In both cases, Bāshā makes several relevant observations regarding matters of form and influence, but his primary aim is the daunting task of evaluating the "sincerity" of the poets' intentions and emotions; *Ta'rīkh*, 623-702.
[21]Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, *al-Adab fī al-‘Aṣr al-Mamlūkī*, 2 vols. (Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1971).

Sallām briefly touches upon aspects of the lower classes and popular culture with several critical observations on the place of women within Mamluk society. He notes that while a few women became scholars many more staffed the marginal professions as singers, dancers, and prostitutes. He also cites several edicts that aimed to keep women segregated and subordinate in a man′s world by proclaiming guidelines for their behavior and dress, which included prohibitions against their wearing turbans and men′s clothes.[22] Turning to cultural and intellectual life, Sallām, too, points to its conservative, preservative character as a response to the destruction of Baghdad in the East, and the Christian *reconquista* in the West. Cairo and, to a lesser extent, Damascus became bastions of Arab Muslim culture which, for a variety of political and economic factors, was generously supported by the Mamluk elite. Study of the various religious sciences flourished, and a strong Sunnī interpretation of Islam became ascendant.

Sallām reviews Mamluk achievements in the study of history, language, and the natural sciences, and then turns to religious life. He points out differences and tensions among the Sunnī ‘*ulamā*’, a distinct if diminishing Shī‘ī presence in the empire, especially in the Hijaz, and the varying fortunes of non-Muslims. Sallām claims that the Mamluks consciously played on religious difference to divide and control their subjects.[23] Sallām then focuses on Sufism in the Mamluk era, its doctrines, orders, and major institutions, such as the *khānqāh*. He discusses poetry in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad, and reviews Sufi poetry′s major themes and practitioners, but categorizes them generally in terms of the Sufi doctrines of monism (*waḥdat al-wujūd*), incarnationism (*al-ḥulūlīyah*), and love of absolute beauty, rather than in terms of poetic form and style.[24]

Sallām briefly surveys some of the arts and crafts patronized by the Mamluks, including architecture, textiles, and music, and the possible influence of the latter on the poetry of the period, particularly the newer poetic forms such as the *rubā‘ī*, *mawwāl*, *muwashshaḥ*, *zajal*, and *balīq*. Sallām cites examples of these ″folk″ forms which, he maintains, largely reflect the colloquial speech and everyday experiences of the masses. But Sallām asserts, as did Bāshā, that these popular forms also stimulated poets among the literary elite to experiment in matters of rhyme, meter, style, and modes of expression.[25]

Having set this background, Sallām turns in his second volume first to prose and then to poetry proper. He claims that the non-Arab Mamluks were often ignorant of proper Arabic which, Sallām asserts, led to a slippage in poetic standards, as serious poets lacked an educated and appreciative audience. As a result patronage of verse was sporadic, and only rarely could an individual support himself solely by poetry. Nevertheless, the penchant for composing poetry spread throughout Mamluk society, especially among the scribal class and the ‘*ulamā*’, as well as among the poorer masses, and by the fourteenth century, colloquial Arabic and folk forms were widespread in Arabic poetry. Sallām suggests that such developments may have alienated many serious poets from the elite and commoners alike, and that this alienation may have inspired poems in praise of Muḥammad and Sufi verse, as did the threats of infidel invasion. Still, while most Mamluks had little taste for classical Arabic poems, Sallām notes that they certainly savored sad lamentations

[22]Ibid., 1:13-104.
[23]Ibid., 1:105-192.
[24]Ibid., 1:193-274.
[25]Ibid., 1:275-336.

for captured cities urging them on to action, and the subsequent rousing poetic accounts of their valiant military exploits, and stunning victories over Godless foes.

Turning from *madīḥ* and *ḥamāsah* verse to the *ghazal*, Sallām also draws attention to the Turkish Mamluks and the changing standards of beauty reflected in many *ghazal*s of the period, as the beloved's form shifts from a dark, wide-eyed Arab, to a Turk, soft and white with slanting eyes. As for *hijā'*, or invective verse, Sallām notes its function as a vital form of social satire and criticism, often aimed at judges and other religious officials.[26] Then, leaving traditional poetry (*taqlīdī*), Sallām once again takes up folk forms and themes (*sha'bī*), the influence on them of music and Andalusian elements, and then briefly examines his third class of Mamluk poetry, *badī'*. Sallām catalogs various literary devices that came to dominate much of Mamluk poetry, particularly among the scribal class, once again with ample examples.[27]

Following this overview of Mamluk Arabic poetry, Sallām gives entries for twenty-one poets spanning the Mamluk period. He arranges these entries chronologically according to death dates, determining, where possible, a poet's residence in either Egypt or Syria. Sallām draws his materials from previously published Mamluk sources, carefully cited for each entry, which vary in length from a paragraph to fifteen pages. Further, these entries follow the traditional Arab biographical form, recording, where possible, the poet's full name, place of birth and death, profession, teachers, students, patrons, and opinions on the poet and his verse by his contemporaries. Sallām also notes the types and genres preferred by each poet, often citing examples. Likewise, he pays careful attention to possible literary influences on individual poets, and to a poet's literary companions, including samples of poetic exchanges among them. While Sallām offers little literary analysis of particular poems or of Mamluk Arabic verse in general, his patient descriptive work is among the best introductions to literary life in the Mamluk era, and his bibliography cites many of the published primary sources available for further research on Mamluk Arabic poetry and poets.[28]

A final survey worth noting is Bakrī Shaykh Amīn's *Muṭāla'āt fī al-Shi'r al-Mamlūkī wa-al-'Uthmānī.* Amīn aims to address Arabic verse more in aesthetic than historical terms, and his introduction immediately sets the tone of the work; he deplores the fact that many modern scholars have categorically dismissed the Arabic literature of the Mamluk and Ottoman periods as decadent, particularly due to the prominence of ornamentation and rhetorical devices in much of its poetry and prose. He castigates Arab scholars for turning away from this portion of their heritage due largely to its emphasis on formal qualities while, at the same time, embracing modern artists, like Picasso, who have similar formal concerns. Amīn feels that underlying this reorientation is a rejection of what is Arabic and Islamic in favor of what is Western and, hence, of Judaeo-Christian taste. He therefore proposes to give this Arabic literature its due.[29]

Amīn begins his work with two chapters of general introduction to Arab history and culture from the late Saljuq through the Ottoman periods. Then he divides his study of Mamluk and Ottoman Arabic poetry based on the standard groupings of verse as either

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[26]Ibid., 2:105-120.
[27]Ibid., 2:121-132.
[28]Ibid., 2:133-250.
[29]Bakrī Shaykh Amīn, *Muṭāla'āt fī al-Shi'r al-Mamlūkī wa-al-'Uthmānī,* 4th ed. (Beirut: Dār al-'Ilm lil-Malāyīn, 1986; 1st ed. 1972), 5-10.

traditional/imitative (*taqlīdī*) or new/innovative (*mustaḥdath*). He notes at the outset the sheer number of poets composing in Arabic from the Saljuq through the Ottoman periods, despite declining patronage under non-Arab rule; most of these individuals supported themselves by occupations other than their poetry which, nevertheless, served as a badge of cultural distinction. He further acknowledges the fact that much of their verse has been either lost or remains in manuscript.

But undeterred by this fact when addressing the major genres of classical Arabic poetry, including *madīḥ*, *rithā'*, *ghazal*, *fakhr*, *ḥamāsah*, *hijā'*, and *waṣf*, Amīn concludes that Mamluk and Ottoman poets were bound by tradition, aiming to conserve it rather than to interact creatively with it. To support his case, Amīn compares panegyric verses by al-Nābighah (d. 604) with those of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī; whereas the former pre-Islamic poet makes a concise comparison between his courageous patrons and a flock of predatory birds sweeping down on their prey, the Mamluk poet cobbles together a disparate host of traditional adjectives and images to praise his patron's courage.[30]

Amīn acknowledges that some Mamluk poets occasionally broke with tradition, as when a few of them make a woman speak to express her feelings in love poetry, or when a poet describes markets, business transactions, or the effects of natural disasters.[31] But in general, due to lack of patronage and a cynicism about the times, many poets turned away from expressing their true feelings only to submerge themselves in intricate word-play. Amīn claims that this tendency is quite evident in invective poetry which, he asserts, no longer critiqued a tribe or society, but rather attacked an individual, personal enemy. Amīn believes that this reflects the dissolution of tribal bonds as a result of urbanization and economic independence, and a refusal to criticize the ruling Mamluks for fear of reprisal. He ignores, however, Sallām's examples of verse critical of both the ruling elite and the religious establishment, perhaps regarding them as exceptions.[32]

However, if poets were hesitant to compose invectives against their Mamluk masters, they were quick to praise them and their efforts on behalf of Islam. Amīn notes that images of the Mamluks as defenders of the faith and counter-Crusaders were essential to their legitimation, as were references to their ascetic almost saintly qualities. Further, these religious and doctrinal elements so central to the legitimacy of the Ayyubid and Mamluk regimes were extended in *ḥamāsah* poetry from praise for an individual amir to lauds for entire armies.[33]

In spite of a few pertinent observations, Amīn's discussion of more traditional Arabic verse in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods adds little that is new. However, his second section on innovative verse is much more detailed, as he contrasts the conservatism in the classical genres to the free and playful spirit he finds in the new and innovative poetic forms and themes. Amīn devotes separate sections to a startling variety of Arabic verse including verses revealing important dates, verse riddles and puzzles, poetic "trees" where individual verses branch off from a central verse to create a poem, poems forming geometrical shapes, verses reading forward and backward, and poems, that if the end word is omitted from each verse, yield new poems with different rhymes and meters. Next, Amīn gives brief examples of various rhetorical devices to be found in this poetry and then,

[30]Ibid., 81-98.
[31]Ibid., 99-125.
[32]Ibid., 137-148.
[33]Ibid., 126-136.

after his detailed account of the many complex and fantastic poetic forms, Amīn pronounces them all to be the trivialities and waste products of the ″killing emptiness″ of the age.[34]

Amīn, however, finds some redeeming qualities in several of the thematic innovations of the period, particularly in the flourishing of Sufi themes and panegyrics of the Prophet. He ascribes the prominence of this religious verse to the tumultuous effects of the Crusades and the Mongol threat, and to a general dissatisfaction with Turkish rule, Mamluk or Ottoman. Amīn gives a sampling of Sufi verse by Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235), Ibn al-ʻArabī (d. 637/1240), and ʻAfīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī and a glance at their poetic sources in early poetry praising Muḥammad, and love and wine poetry, which they adapted as a mode of expression appropriate to their efforts and experiences in the mystic way. Amīn then reviews panegyrics of Muḥammad in the context of Sufism and the dominant influence of al-Būṣīrī′s *Burdah* on this religious genre, which often prays for the Prophet′s intercession on behalf of the poet and his sad state.[35] Amīn rounds out this section on thematic innovation with a few brief references to poems on hashish and their possible connection to homosexuality, sarcastic and humorous verse serving as an outlet for personal and social frustrations, poems about one′s own wretchedness, and *ikhwānīyāt*, poems exchanged among friends and colleagues as expressions of admiration and affection.[36]

In his final observations, Amīn stresses the fact that literary history is not identical to political dynasties and geographical borders. Nevertheless, he sees a decline in poetic quality resulting from a loss of state patronage now in the hands of a foreign, largely Turkish elite. This was accompanied by a changing Arabic language with more colloquial elements and less nuance, and a widening gap between popular parlance and a literary language losing vitality and emotive power as it severed its links to life. Fleeing the brutality of their world, poets retreated to their literary ivory towers; they became learned to the point of being esoteric, but while they could be clever, they were not committed to a larger life and its poetic expression.[37]

III

Despite his initial defense of Arabic poetry from the Mamluk and Ottoman periods, Bakrī Amīn, in the end, sides with a majority of Arab literary scholars in holding a dim view of this poetry, which they have labeled variously as decadent, pallid, worn out, and lacking authenticity. While similar Western appraisals seem to stem, in part, from idealized views of Arab culture and Islamic history, most Arab negative opinions appear to be the product of a pervasive reading of this poetry in terms of romantic notions of creativity that embrace the simple and emotional as indicative of personal experience, sincerity, and truth.

Therefore, condemnation of Mamluk Arabic verse as decadent and superficial says more about modern tastes than it does about this poetry and its roles within Mamluk society. A useful corrective to this state of affairs is *al-Naqd al-Adabī fī-al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī* by ʻAbduh ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz Qulqaylah. Inspired by the work of earlier scholars,

[34]Ibid., 161-229.
[35]Ibid., 233-275.
[36]Ibid., 276-294.
[37]Ibid., 298-320.

among them Maḥmūd Rizq Salīm and Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, Qulqaylah presents an extensive survey of twenty-six litterateurs and scholars of the Mamluk period and their views on Arabic literature.[38] He compiles their opinions on a number of specific critical issues, including what factors make a good writer, effects of the environment on a writer, and the appropriateness of artistic elements in writing, and then turns to matters of form, content, and literary borrowing or theft (*sariqāt*).[39]

Specifically in matters of poetry, Qulqaylah shows that Mamluk critics followed earlier tradition in their preference for a largely paratactic poetic structure, and in their appraisals of classical genres: invective poetry may be seen as a negative panegyric; the function of the *nasīb* is to attract the listener′s attention by mentioning the beloved, while a proper *ghazal* relates the words and acts occurring between lovers; elegy should never contain erotic or pleasurable themes but should, instead, focus on the deceased′s good qualities and lasting legacy.[40] As for *badī‘*, it is quite clear that many of the critics surveyed by Qulqaylah appreciated its creative potential and the erudition that it displayed, particularly in high quality verse involving allusion or double entendre (*tawriyah*). Yet a number of critics denounced the burgeoning of rhetorical devices, which threatened to choke poetic spontaneity, and they sought to stem its excesses, though not its creative uses per se.[41]

In addition to Qulqaylah′s study, recent Western research on pre-Islamic and classical Arabic poetry has also challenged persistent romantic misreading of pre-modern Arabic verse.[42] Among this work is Stefan Sperl′s insightful book on mannerism in Arabic poetry of the fifth/eleventh century. Sperl argues that mannerism is defined by the way in which a particular poem relates to previous literary convention and subjects. Specifically, mannerism′s primary subject is the poetic tradition itself, as the poet aims to invoke wonder in his audience through various rhetorical strategies. The poet′s playful and intricate weave of antitheses and metaphorical inversions creates discord between signifier and signified, calling into question normal perception while, at the same time, suggesting a seamless reality where the ordinary may suddenly be transformed into the miraculous.[43]

Such work by Sperl and others holds promise for a better grasp and understanding of Mamluk poetry, particularly in its *badī‘* and mystical varieties.[44] Yet considerable

[38]‘Abduh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Qulqaylah, *al-Naqd al-Adabī fī al-‘Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Anjlū-Miṣrīyah, 1972), 49-207.
[39]Ibid., 211-278, 281-389.
[40]Ibid., 365-369, 393-417.
[41]Ibid., 419-432.
[42]In particular see the work of Jaroslav Stetkevych, ″Some Observations on Arabic Poetry,″ *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 26 (1967): 1-12; idem, ″Arabism and Arabic Literature: Self-view of a Profession,″ *JNES* 28 (1969): 145-156; idem, ″The Arabic Lyrical Phenomena in Context,″ *Journal of Arabic Literature* 6 (1975): 55-77; idem, ″The Arabic *Qasīdah*: From Form and Content to Mood and Meaning,″ *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 3-4 (1979-80): 774-785; idem, ″Arabic Poetry and Assorted Poetics,″ in *Islamic Studies: A Tradition and Its Problems*, ed. Malcolm H. Kerr (Malibu, California: Undena Publications, 1980), 103-123. Also see Michael Sells, ″The *Qasîda* and the West: Self-Reflective Stereotype and Critical Encounter,″ *Al-‘Arabiyya* 20 (1987): 307-357; Suzanne P. Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1993).
[43]Stefan Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic Poetry: A Structural Analysis of Selected Texts (3rd Century AH/9th Century AD—5th Century AH/11th Century AD)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), esp. 1-7, 155-180.
[44]Also see Suzanne P. Stetkevych, *Abū Tammām and the Poetics of the ‘Abbāsid Age* (Leiden: E. J. Brill,

groundwork remains to be done in the forms of additional edited *dīwān*s and other primary sources, and more focused research on themes, genres, and poets. Presently, there are very few studies on individual poets. Jawād Aḥmad ʻAllūsh, Maḥmūd Rizq Salīm, and Yāsīn Ayyūbī have surveyed the writings of the poet and critic Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī;[45] ʻUmar Mūsá Bāshā has examined the work Ibn Nubātah, Maḥmūd Rabdāwī has studied the work of Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī, while Ibrāhīm Jād al-Rabb recently completed a study of the writings of Ibn Makānis (d. 794/1392).[46]

Among the many poets requiring further focused attention are al-Shāb al-Ẓarīf, al-Būṣīrī, Ibn Abī Ḥajalah (d. 776/1375), and ʻĀ'ishah al-Bāʻūnīyah, a celebrated woman scholar and litterateur. Her work raises an issue seldom addressed in the study of the Mamluk period, namely verse by women poets. Careful study of their verse and a comparison of it to that of their male contemporaries might reveal differing concerns and experiences based in part on gender. Although extant Arabic poetry by women of the pre-modern eras is scarce, I have found some verse by women in Mamluk biographical dictionaries, and recently I managed to obtain copies of several manuscripts of ʻĀ'ishah's *Dīwān*.

In addition to these poets, many other individuals composed Arabic poetry during the Mamluk period, and we should attempt to distinguish serious poets from interested amateurs. By studying the number and transmission of manuscripts of specific poets we may better appreciate the literary tastes and preferences of the time and so discover which poets were read most often and served as the focus for study and commentary;[47] this was clearly the case with al-Būṣīrī, for instance, whose *Burdah* became a part of the Arabic poetic canon. Also worthy of study are the possible effects of ethnicity, class, education, and occupation on the Arabic verse of individual poets. As discussed by Li Guo elsewhere in this volume, education and occupation were important factors in the approach and style of Mamluk histories distinguishing, to a degree, historians from Damascus from those in Cairo; we should be alert to a similar situation among poets.

A related issue demanding further attention is that of the colloquial and folk-inspired poetic forms, which were also utilized by many accomplished poets. As we have seen, this verse has been described and discussed in a number of surveys, and to these discussions should be added Paul Kahle's recently published edition of three shadow plays by Ibn Dāniyāl,[48] as well as Aḥmad Ṣādiq al-Jammāl's pioneering study *al-Adab al-ʻĀmmī fī Miṣr fī al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī*. Al-Jammāl draws distinctions between official literary Arabic (*fuṣḥá*), ungrammatical variations on this literary language deriving in part from the common parlance of the masses (*ʻāmmīyah*), and the related, though largely oral folk traditions with their anonymous cycles of myth and legend (*shaʻbī*). Al-Jammāl

1991); Jaroslav Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

[45]Jawād Aḥmad ʻAllūsh, *Shiʻr Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī* (Baghdad: Maṭbaʻat Maʻārif, ca. 1959); Maḥmūd Rizq Salīm, *Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī* (reprint, Cairo: Dār al-Maʻārif, 1980); Yāsīn Ayyūbī, *Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnānī, 1971).

[46]ʻUmar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī* (Cairo: Dār al-Maʻārif, 1963); Maḥmūd Rabdāwī, *Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī, Shāʻir wa-Nāqid* (Damascus: Dār Qutaybah, 1982); Ibrāhīm Jād al-Rabb, *Ibn Makānis wa-al-Shiʻr fī ʻAṣr al-Mamālīk* (Cairo: Markaz al-Nashr li-Jāmiʻat al-Qāhirah, 1990).

[47]Suggested by Dr. Frank Lewis in response to my presentation of this paper at the Mamluk Studies Workshop, University of Chicago, April 26, 1996.

[48]Paul Kahle, ed., *Three Shadow Plays by Muḥammad Ibn Dāniyāl*, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, n.s. no. 32 (Cambridge: Trustees of the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial, 1992).

concentrates on the colloquial literature in terms of the political, social, and intellectual life of Mamluk Egypt.[49] He then discusses major colloquial forms, including the *muwashshaḥ*, *zajal*, and *balīq*, their meters, diction, and themes, and major practitioners of several of these popular verse forms.[50]

Al-Jammāl stresses that while colloquial verse is light and musical in style, it may still bear substantive meaning, often of a socio-political nature. Less restricted in both form and theme than the classical tradition, colloquial Arabic became a pliant language for expressing both public and private sentiments, either directly or by insinuation through various forms of word-play. Thus, this delightful verse could momentarily relieve the stress of life′s vicissitudes, while giving vent to the frustrations of the poet and larger populace.[51] Al-Jammāl, too, seems to hold romantic assumptions regarding poetry when he accepts colloquial verse as a sincere and accurate reflection of the poet′s life and personal experience. Nevertheless, he is quite sensitive to this poetry′s functions and value, especially when compared to the majority of scholars who have dismissed this and other playful verse as a waste of time and of little aesthetic worth.

Dealing with a similar situation involving fifteenth century Timurid Persian riddles, Paul Losensky has called attention to the overly serious approach taken by modern scholars to such verse. Drawing on the work of Johan Huizinga and Jan Mukarovsky,[52] Losensky points out that in many periods types of poetry and versification have served as a social ritual or game where play, not profundity, was the aim. In the Timurid case, riddles often play on personal names, promoting an accepted mode of social exchange—a kind of greeting card—created for immediate consumption by a host and his guest.[53]

Losensky′s insightful observations should be extended to riddles, colloquial verse, and other occasional Mamluk Arabic poems, which were probably never intended to meet the highest aesthetic standards, nor to stand the test of time as literary masterpieces. Following Losensky′s lead, we may make a useful distinction between poetry of conscious aesthetic aspirations and sensibilities, and more disposable verse intended for a limited audience and immediate use. Thus poems like those reviewed by Bakrī Amīn—reading forward and backward, or in botanical and geometric shapes, or poems in which the omission of the end words produces new poems—should be seen as a kind of ″verse-search,″ indicative more of playful erudition and cultural sophistication than of artistic decline and decadence.

Similarly serving everyday social needs are the hundreds of occasional poems, including verses exchanged between friends (*ikhwānīyāt*) to express affection and get-well wishes, poems celebrating special occasions, and elegies offering condolences. Again, a modern analogy is our own Hallmark cards containing verses to commemorate particular types of occasions. Few scholars of English would consider this verse to be original

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[49]Aḥmad Ṣādiq al-Jammāl, *al-Adab al-ʿĀmmī fī Miṣr fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Cairo: Dār al-Qawmīyah, 1966), 3-65.
[50]Ibid., 69-216.
[51]Ibid., 217-219.
[52]See Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), 119-135; Jan Mukarovsky, *Aesthetic Function, Norm, and Value as Social Facts*, trans. M. E. Suino, Michigan Slavic Contributions, no. 3 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1979), esp. 60-64.
[53]Paul Losensky, ″′Welcoming Fighânî′: Imitation, Influence, and Literary Change in the Persian *Ghazal*, 1480-1680.″ 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1993), 1:160-72.

poetry of high caliber, yet it is precisely its standardized form and restricted number of easily recognizable cultural ideals and traditional motifs that render such verse so very useful.

Careful study of Arabic occasional poetry from the Mamluk period could thus sharpen our perceptions of social etiquette and proper conduct, as well as of the cultural ideals and sentiments encoded in this poetry. While it is true that identifiable authors composed this Arabic verse—in contrast to the largely anonymous verse of our own occasion cards—we should not be obsessed with questions regarding the ″sincerity″ of a poet′s sentiments. Rather, we should probe the criteria that culturally identify these sentiments and their appropriateness on a given occasion. In other words, the emphasis here should not be on the truth or actual existence of these feelings in a poet, but of their proper identification, as such; it is not a question of these sentiments *being* so, but of their being *so*.[54]

Clearly, poetry has been fundamental over the centuries to Islamic culture for expressing feelings and beliefs, and for articulating views on life, society, and politics. Though poetry′s importance to Muslim societies has long been noted, there are few studies of this poetry′s place and function within broader historical and religious contexts. Yet poetry and the other arts can be invaluable instruments for sensing the undercurrents of submerged history, what Fernand Braudel has also called the ″unconscious history″ holding the basic values and foundational structures of a civilization.[55] Just as Medieval European painting before and after the Black Death vividly portrays changing notions of life, death, and dying,[56] so too may Arabic poetry reflect and reveal shifting views and patterns of belief fundamental to Mamluk society and its larger Islamic civilization.

In fact, this poetry, too, registered changes wrought by the plague,[57] and some of the many other topics and areas for further research have been touched upon in surveys, especially those by Maḥmūd Rizq Salīm and Fawzī Amīn. Maḥmūd Rizq Salīm filled a large volume of his *'Aṣr al-Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk* with verse regarding Egyptian life during the Mamluk era. Drawing material from published sources and some manuscripts, Salīm cites verse toward the end of volume seven to illustrate various features of Egypt, including the Nile and the Nilometer, the island of Rawḍah, various lakes, and other natural phenomena.[58] Then in volume eight, Salīm cites poetry first to enliven his account of political events, and then to illustrate aspects of the cultural and social life of the period.[59]

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[54]David Schalkwyk, ″Fiction as ′Grammatical′ Investigation: A Wittgensteinian Account,″ *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 53, no. 3 (Summer, 1995): 290 and citing Stanley Cavall, *The Claim of Reason* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 45.

[55]Fernand Braudel, *On History*, trans. Sarah Matthews (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 38-40; idem, *A History of Civilizations*, trans. Richard Mayne (New York: The Penguin Press, 1994), 27-33.

[56]For a concise overview of these changes see William Fleming, *Arts and Ideas*, 8th ed. (Fort Worth: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1992), 219-226; for a more detailed analysis involving the Black Death and sacred art in Italy, see Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1992), 244-261. I wish to thank Michael Holly, Professor of Art History, University of Rochester for initially drawing my attention to this effect of the Black Death in Europe.

[57]Michael W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East*, second printing with corrections (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), 236-237, 325-326.

[58]Maḥmūd Rizq Salīm, *'Aṣr al-Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk*, 8 vols. ([Cairo]: Maktabat al-Adab, 1965), 7:342-424.

[59]Ibid., 8:3-130, 131-279.

Working from the assumption that ″poetry is the interpreter of the milieu,″[60] Salīm has amassed literally hundreds of verses to describe and, occasionally, probe a wide range of subjects, from relations between specific poets and Mamluk sultans, to examples of social criticism and religious movements. He claims that although the foreign-born Mamluk elite were not as inclined as their Arab predecessors to patronize professional poets, poetry continued to flourish, particularly among the *'ulamā'* and scribal classes, where composing verse was a sign of accomplishment.

In the final two hundred and fifty pages of volume eight, Salīm groups the poets of Egypt into seven generations and devotes sections to major poetic genres of the time, including panegyrics for the Prophet Muḥammad, love poetry, descriptive poetry, wine poetry, and Sufi and ascetic verse. In each case, after a few brief general remarks, Salīm cites major representatives and verses of each poetic type. He then concludes his volume with examples of various rhetorical devices found in Mamluk Arabic verse, and a few of the developing popular forms including the *zajal*.[61] Though Salīm′s anthology-like sections offer useful examples, poetic analysis and literary history and criticism are not among this work′s strong points, and his bibliography is too brief and lacking essential information. Yet Salīm was a pioneer in understanding the larger ramifications of the study of Mamluk Arabic poetry, as he clearly grasped the importance of Arabic verse as an essential element for distilling a more precise image of the society and culture of the Mamluk Age.

Salīm′s historical and sociological reading of Mamluk Arabic literature is also apparent in *al-Mujtama' al-Miṣrī fī Adab al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī al-Awwal, 648-784*, by Fawzī Muḥammad Amīn, a former student of Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām. Fawzī Amīn believes that poetry from the Mamluk period can lend a sense of living reality to the historical accounts of events and society, while contributing a more personal, human element as well. In addition, he hopes that the study of this poetry in its social context will also yield important clues regarding the era′s tastes and standards of beauty.[62]

With these goals in mind Fawzī Amīn organizes his study around eight major topics: (1) government and administration, (2) *jihād*, (3) wealth and corruption, (4) religious currents, Sufi and Shī'ī, (5) sectarian trends, particularly those involving conflicts between Muslims and the Christians and Jews under their protection, (6) characteristics of the Egyptian personality and general life, including the subject of women; (7) amusements, including hunting, chess, riddles, singing and dancing, and legally deviant behavior including the consumption of wine and hashish, as well as homosexual tendencies, and finally, (8) literary tastes among the elite, and among the masses.

Citing numerous verses and poems, Fawzī Amīn renders, at times, a lively account of Mamluk society in Egypt. Nevertheless, this work, like Salīm′s, is largely a survey of the period, with most of Fawzī Amīn′s observations and conclusions echoing those of his teacher Sallām, and other earlier scholars regarding the political, religious, and cultural life of the period. As for his final chapter, promisingly entitled ″Literary Taste,″ it is a general summary of poetic trends. Fawzī Amīn characterizes elite taste by what is referred to usually as traditional or imitative (*taqlīdī*), as well as by the dominance of *badī'*.

[60]Ibid., 8:215.
[61]Ibid., 8:269-525.
[62]Fawzī Muḥammad Amīn, *al-Mujtama' al-Miṣrī fī Adab al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī al-Awwal: 648-784* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1982), 1-6.

Interestingly, Fawzī Amīn ascribes the popularity of *badī‘* to a tendency in Islamic art toward two-dimensional abstraction, with space filled to capacity; as in the arabesque, various elements move together in harmony, creating a symmetry amid repetition and variation, and leaving no place for Satan to rest his evil eye.[63] Not surprisingly, Fawzī Amīn finds popular literary taste embodied in the newer poetic forms which, he too, views as a revolt against literary tradition. The lighter style and colloquial diction of this verse readily expressed the everyday realities of common folk and the poet′s more personal feelings, especially of a humorous or sarcastic nature.[64] Fawzī Amīn completes his study with an extensive bibliography of over 150 relevant primary and secondary sources, both published and in manuscript.

Fawzī Amīn, Salīm, and several others noted above have drawn attention to an area of particular prominence and research potential, namely, religious life, since it was during the Mamluk period that what is often regarded today as Sunnī Islam was extensively codified and spread, linking Abbasid universal religious aspirations to their later Ottoman formulations. While some valuable scholarship has focused on general religious trends, and the theological ideas of a few outstanding thinkers,[65] the broader concerns of Mamluk religious life could be delineated in greater detail through the study of this period′s poetry, which voiced not only theological and political issues, but also more personal spiritual feelings and aspirations.

Islamic mysticism was a distinctive characteristic of Mamluk religion,[66] and several books by ‘Alī Ṣafā Ḥusayn feature Sufi verse from Fatimid and Ayyubid Egypt. Ḥusayn gives special attention to the mystical verse of the Fatimid Sunnī poet Ibn al-Kīzānī (d. 560/1166), as well as to the Sufi writings of Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh (d. 612/1214) during the Ayyubid period. Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh′s work and other Sufi literature from the seventh/thirteenth century are also the main focus of Ḥusayn′s more general survey and anthology *al-Adab al-Ṣūfī fī Miṣr fī al-Qarn al-Sābi‘ al-Hijrī*.[67]

What is clear from these and other works is the singular importance of ‘Umar Ibn al-Fāriḍ to the Arabic religious poetry of the Mamluk era.[68] The most celebrated Arab poet

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[63]Ibid., 406-407.

[64]Ibid., 377-477.

[65]E.g., the studies on Ibn Taymīyah beginning with Henri Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taqî-l-Dîn Aḥmad b. Taimiya* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l′Institut français d′archéologie, 1939); and, more recently, Muhammad Umar Memon, *Ibn Taymîyah′s Struggle against Popular Religion* (The Hague: Mouton, 1976). Also see Annemarie Schimmel, ″Some Glimpses of Religious Life during the Later Mamluk Period,″ *Islamic Studies* 4 (1965): 353-392; idem, ″Sufismus und Heiligenverehrung im spätmittelalterlichen Ägypten,″ in *Festschrift für W. Caskel*, ed. Erich Gräf (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), 274-289; Donald P. Little, ″Religion under the Mamluks,″ *Muslim World* 73 (1983): 165-181; Alexander Knysh, ″′Orthodoxy′ and ′Heresy′ in Medieval Islam: An Essay in Reassessment,″ *Muslim World* 83 (1993): 48-67.

[66]See Th. Emil Homerin, ″Thieves and Asses: Sufism and Its Detractors in Mamluk Egypt,″ forthcoming in *Sufism and Its Opponents*, ed. Frederick De Jong and Bernd Radtke.

[67]‘Alī Ṣafā Ḥusayn, *al-Adab al-Ṣūfī fī Miṣr fī al-Qarn al-Sābi‘ al-Hijrī* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1964); idem, *Ibn al-Kīzānī al-Shā‘ir al-Ṣūfī* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1966); idem, *al-Adab al-Ṣūfī fī Miṣr: Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh al-Qūṣī* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma‘ārif, 1971).

[68]Th. Emil Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, His Verse, and His Shrine* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1994). Also see Annemarie Schimmel, *As Through a Veil: Mystical Poetry in Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), esp. 41-45; R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* (1921; reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

in Islamic mysticism, Ibn al-Fāriḍ was regarded as a fine poet during his lifetime, and his poetry continued to be read, studied, and imitated by Muslims for generations. His strong influence is evident in the verse of a number of noted poets throughout the entire Mamluk period, including his student Ibn al-Khiyāmī (d. 685/1286), Ibn Isrā'īl (d. 677/1278), Muḥammad ibn Wafā' (d. 765/1363), his son 'Alī (d. 807/1405), Aḥmad al-Manṣūrī (d. 887/1482), and 'Ā'ishah al-Bā'ūnīyah. These and other poets imitated Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *badī'* poetic style with its potential for intimating a largely Neo-Platonic mystical view of life. This, in turn, suggests an "Ibn al-Fāriḍ school" of poets who attempted to reveal the spiritual significance permeating all life, while urging their audience to undertake the quest for self-illumination.

The mystical beliefs and world views voiced by these poets received theological interpretation and elaboration from Sufi theorists, including al-Tilimsānī and al-Dasūqī (d. 677/1278), who used poetry and its commentary to spread their own religious doctrines, particularly the controversial monistic one of *waḥdat al-wujūd*, or "the unity of being." In stark contrast, other Mamluk poets composed verse critical of such doctrines as they sought to promote less speculative interpretations of Islam. Frequently judges and legal scholars, individuals including al-Quṭb al-Qastallānī (d. 686/1287), Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1349), and Ibn Abī Ḥajalah, replaced mystical themes with those offering more traditional moral advice and religious instruction, though their poems, too, often formally imitated those by Ibn al-Fāriḍ.[69]

Thus, Mamluk Arabic poetry presents often conflicting perspectives on religious life, exposing some of the complexity and centrality of competing religious views and their underlying roots in Mamluk society. But despite their different emphases, many mystical and non-mystical religious poems from this period reveal a devotional quality, which is particularly pronounced in poems praising the Prophet Muḥammad and his family. Though some such panegyrics were composed prior to the thirteenth century, it was under the Mamluks that a distinct poetic genre to praise the Prophet—*al-madīḥ al-nabawī*—was extensively developed and codified by al-Būṣīrī and his many imitators.[70] Yet, here, too, we find Ibn al-Fāriḍ's lasting influence, since al-Būṣīrī consciously modeled his *Burdah* on an ode by this master-poet.[71]

Similar to Sufi poetry, which came to express a collective view of reality, these panegyrics present an evolving mystical and devotional image of the Prophet Muḥammad. While we must evaluate this poetry in literary terms, we should also focus on this poetry's place in Mamluk religion and society, and the extent to which these panegyrics, as well as mystical verse, assumed liturgical roles at mosques, shrines, and elsewhere particularly

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1978), 162-266; A. J. Arberry, *The Mystical Poems of Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, 2 vols. (London: Emery Walker, 1952-56).

[69]Homerin, *Arab Poet*, 22-31, 57-60.

[70] See Zakī Mubārak, *al-Madā'iḥ al-Nabawīyah fī al-Adab al-'Arabī* (1935; reprint, Cairo: Dār al-Sha'b, n.d.); Ḥusayn, *al-Adab al-Ṣūfī,* esp. 216-220, 230-233; Schimmel, *As Through a Veil*, esp. 171-211; idem, *And Muḥammad is His Messenger* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), esp. 176-194; Victor Danner, "Al-Buṣīrī: His Times and His Prophetology," in *Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies: A Festschrift in Honor of Professor Wadie Jwaideh*, ed. Robert Olsen (Brattleboro, Vermont: Amana Books, 1987), 41-61.

[71]Mubārak, *al-Madā'iḥ*, 201-203.

during threatening times, and on social and religious gatherings, including holidays and state occasions.

Further, as Bāshā and Sallām have suggested, panegyrics for the Prophet may express a discontent with non-Arab rule and, in light of the Crusades and the Mongol invasion, a deep nostalgia for an idyllic time of peace, religious purity, and moral order. Still, poets also consciously forged positive links between the Prophet Muḥammad and the counter-crusading Mamluk sultans, and this raises important related issues regarding the types and extent of patronage, and the use of religion and poetry by the ruling elite. Previous studies of political panegyric poetry have examined this relationship in the verse of earlier classical Arab poets, concluding that religious elements were crucial for a regime′s self-definition and for projecting an evolving image of the just Muslim ruler requisite for ideological legitimation.[72]

That this was a primary task of many poems from the Mamluk period, including religious ones, seems evident from verse by al-Būṣīrī, al-Ḥillī, Qānṣūh min Ṣādiq (fl. early tenth/sixteenth century), and many others.[73] Similar to Mamluk architecture and painting, panegyrics of sultans and amirs served to proclaim the Mamluks′ dedication to Islam, and their patronage and defense of Muslim society, while at the same time asserting and justifying their God-given right to imperial rule.[74] Further study of Arab panegyrics should continue to probe models of rule and legitimation, alert to possible Iranian and Turkish elements, especially in light of the destruction of Baghdad and the political domination by the foreign Mamluk sultans.

That the Mamluks were in need of legitimation and public support seems clear, for many of the same poets who composed panegyrics, likewise circulated verse critical of government officials, the religious establishment, and society in general. These poets thus became social critics, frequently using invective poetry (*hijā'*) to drive home their points. Many invective verses were cited by Mamluk historians and chroniclers and, far from being anecdotal, these quotations often appear to hint at the writers′ own sympathies, offering a kind of cipher for reading between the lines of seemingly neutral accounts.[75] In addition to targeting individuals, Mamluk poets often assail entire groups, such as Coptic Christians, and so thoughtful study of invective poetry building on the groundwork laid by Salīm, Fawzī Amīn, Ayyūbī, and Van Gelder[76] could also yield valuable insights into some of the tensions and fault lines lying within various communities of Mamluk society.

These, then, are a few suggestions for further research involving Arabic poetry composed during the Mamluk Age. As is the case with many arts of this era, we know too little at present to meaningfully generalize, let alone precisely formulate standards regarding

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[72]See Stefan Sperl, ″Islamic Kingship and Arabic Panegyric Poetry in the Early 9th Century,″ *Journal of Arabic Literature* 8 (1977): 20-35; idem, *Mannerism*, 9-70; Suzanne P. Stetkevych, ″The Abbasid Poet Interprets History: Three *Qasīdahs* by Abū Tammām,″ *JAL* 10 (1979): 49-64.

[73]Yāsīn Ayyūbī, ″al-Shi‘r wa-al-Sulṭān fī al-‘Aṣr al-Mamlūkī,″ *al-Turāth al-‘Arabī* 6, no. 22 (1979): 211-331; reprinted as ″Jadalīyat al-‘Alāqah bayna al-Shi‘r wa-al-Sulṭah fī al-‘Aṣr al-Mamlūkī,″ *al-Fikr al-‘Arabī* 53 (1988): 190-206.

[74]R. Stephen Humphreys, ″The Expressive Intent of Mamluk Architecture in Cairo,″ *Studia Islamica* 35 (1972): 69-119; Oleg Grabar, ″Reflections on Mamluk Art,″ *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 1-12; Esin Atil, ″Mamluk Painting in the Late Fifteenth Century,″ *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 159-171.

[75]E.g., Homerin, *Arab Poet*, 66-71.

[76]Jan Van Gelder, *The Bad and the Ugly: Attitudes Toward Invective Poetry (Hijâ′) in Classical Arabic Literature* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988).

the quality of this Arabic verse or the range of its artistic and social meanings. Though reference to poetry was conspicuously absent from the *Muqarnas* volume dedicated to the Art of the Mamluks, Ira Lapidus′s concluding remarks ring true for Mamluk verse as well: ″In the artistic legacy of Mamluk Egypt we have clues to the political culture, the religious goals, and even the mentality or sensibility of the civilization.″[77]

IV

We should continue, then, to probe poetry′s place and functions within Mamluk society through the contextual study of poets and their verse. This research promises to break new and fertile ground in the fields of Mamluk, Arabic, and Islamic studies, and so lead to significant discoveries involving the complex relationships between society, religion, and political authority, and their multiple forms of expression. But we must proceed carefully and with humility, for the sheer quantity of the poetry is daunting, and our findings may lead us in unexpected and exciting directions, as I found during my study of poems by the noted Mamluk scholar Abū Ḥayyān.

Athīr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf, known as Abū Ḥayyān, typifies the non-Egyptian origin of many scholars of the Mamluk period. Born in Granada in 654/1256, he studied in Andalusia, North Africa, and finally settled in Cairo where he died in 745/1344. He was a noted Quran scholar, a distinguished grammarian, and litterateur composing more than fifty works, including a considerable amount of verse. His *Dīwān* covers nearly 200 pages arranged according to end rhyme and containing an assortment of poems including a panegyric for a teacher, an elegy for a friend, some religious poems, occasional verses on an elephant, the gift of a horse, a wedding, as well as a number of poems exchanged with his contemporaries.[78]

Yet what led me to Abū Ḥayyān′s *Dīwān* was not his poetry, but that of his daughter Nuḍār. By any standards of the time, she had received an exceptional education in the Islamic religious sciences, and while still a young woman, Nuḍār was regarded as an accomplished scholar by her male peers. The noted Mamluk scholar al-Suyūṭī listed Nuḍār among the women poets of Mamluk Egypt, though he did not cite any of her poetry. Not finding any works by her, I turned to her father′s *Dīwān*, hoping to find samples of her verse that she had exchanged with him.[79]

I found none, but what I found instead were nine elegies on her by a grieving father. I discovered that at about the age of twenty-eight, Nuḍār had fallen gravely ill and died after considerable suffering. According to the Mamluk biographer al-Ṣafadī, a family friend, Abū Ḥayyān took his daughter′s death very hard and went into a year of mourning, composing a consolation manual and his elegies for her. These elegies are extraordinary

[77]Ira Lapidus, ″Mamluk Patronage and the Arts in Egypt: Concluding Remarks,″ *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 181.

[78]Concerning Abū Ḥayyān and his work, see Th. Emil Homerin, ″A Bird Ascends the Night: Elegy and Immortality in Islam,″ *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 59, no. 2 (1991): 247-279; idem, ″′I′ve Stayed by the Grave′: A *Nasīb*/Elegy for Nuḍār,″ in *Literary Heritage of Classical Islam: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of James A. Bellamy*, ed. Mustansir Mir (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1993), 107-118.

[79]Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Nuzhat al-Julasā' fī Ash'ār al-Nisā'*, ed. 'Abd al-Laṭīf 'Āshūr (Cairo: Maktabat al-Qur'ān, n.d.), 83. For more on Nuḍār, see Homerin, ″Bird,″ 255-256; idem, ″Atāki Himāmuki: Marāthī Abī Ḥayyān al-Tisa' li-Nuḍār,″ forthcoming in *Fulbright Occasional Papers* (Cairo), vol. 4.

since even a single elegy for a daughter is rare in Arabic poetry.[80] But in addition to their value to Arabic literary history, these multiple elegies permit us to observe Abū Ḥayyān's grief and his process of mourning as he confronted his daughter's death:[81]

1. Now that Nuḍār
 has settled in the grave,
 my life would be sweet again
 could my soul only taste it.

2. A brave young woman
 seized for six months
 by a strange sickness
 of varied nature:

3. Swelling stomach and fever,
 then consumption, coughing, and heaving—
 who could withstand
 five assaults?

4. She would see
 visions sometimes,
 or leave this world
 for the Realm Divine,

5. And inwardly,
 she was calm, content
 with what she saw of paradise,
 but of life, despairing.

6. Yet she was never angry for a day,
 never complaining of her grief,
 never mentioning the misery
 she suffered.

7. She left her life on Monday
 after the sun's disk
 appeared to us
 as a deep yellow flower.

8. The people prayed
 and praised her,
 and placed her in the tomb—

[80]Homerin, "Bird," 248-255; idem, "'I've Stayed by the Grave'," 107-108. The Ayyubid literary critic Ibn Athīr once noted that the most difficult elegy for a poet to compose is one on women or children due to the paucity of poetic motifs for either group; Qulqaylah, 369.
[81]See Homerin, "Bird," 269-271. The Arabic text of these verses is forthcoming in Homerin, "Atāki."

dark, desolate, oppressive.

These opening verses directly challenge the pervasive view of Mamluk Arabic poetry as slavish imitation, pallid, artificial, and unauthentic. In a restrained and sober language free of hyperbole, Abū Ḥayyān graphically recounts his daughter′s debilitating illness, her eventual death, and funeral. Abū Ḥayyān calls upon the elegiac qualities of the classical *nasīb* to articulate and express his grief and loss; his world is slowly effaced as he stands overwhelmed by his daughter′s final departure.[82]

At this point, however, Nuḍār is not some rarefied classical beloved, but a very real and all too mortal woman. Further, in this and other poems, Abū Ḥayyān declares his daughter a martyr due to her deadly disease. This judgment may, in fact, represent a view of illness and death widespread in Mamluk Muslim society, and similar scholarly opinion would soon prevail regarding Muslim victims of the plague, who were believed to have been struck down and so martyred by the jinn.[83]

Though Nuḍār has been carried to her grave and lost to him, Abū Ḥayyān does not seek consolation in some heroic act, but in signs that her new abode is heaven. In vv. 4-8 Abū Ḥayyān alludes to four separate prophetic traditions intimating immortality: a Muslim, beholding paradise while dying (v. 4), patient as death ensues (v. 5), dying, like the Prophet, on a Monday (v. 7), and praised after death by the community (v. 8), will dwell in paradise.[84] That this is Nuḍār′s God-given blessing becomes clear as later in this and the following poem, Abū Ḥayyān praises his daughter′s scholarly and religious achievements and her bravery in the face of death. Clearly, the beloved of these elegies is not the enticing beauty of the classical Arabic tradition, but a virtuous Muslim lady and martyr. Though Abū Ḥayyān may gain some solace from his daughter′s heroic life, he can not let go, and in his elegies, he strives to hold fast to Nuḍār, if no longer physically here below, then at least in memory and spirit:[85]

1. My body is bound
 to the grave;
  my heart
 stands on affliction.

2. When I remember Nuḍār,
 my eye
  swells with blood
 from a wounded heart.

[82]For more on Abū Ḥayyān′s use of *qasīdah* elements in his elegies, see Homerin, ″Bird,″ 268-273; idem, ″′I′ve Stayed by the Grave′,″ 107-113.
[83]See Michael W. Dols, ″Al-Manbijī′s ′Report of the Plague′: A Treatise on the Plague of 764-65/1362-64 in the Middle East,″ in *The Black Death: Impact of the Fourteenth Century Plague*, ed. Daniel Williman (Binghamton, New York: Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1982), 65-75; idem, *Black Death*, 116-118.
[84]Homerin, ″Bird,″ 270-272.
[85]Ibid., 273-274; Homerin ″′I′ve Stayed by the Grave′;″ Arabic text forthcoming in ″Atāki.″

3. The festival passed,
then the greater one,
while Nuḍār was under
earth and stone;

4. I couldn´t see
Nuḍār´s fine face,
Oh, how I crave
that sweet face!

5. Nuḍār was my intimate,
my love;
Nuḍār was my life,
my spirit.

6. Nuḍār left behind
in my heart sorrow;
it will go
when I reach my grave.

7. Never did Nuḍār
have an equal
to her brilliance
and weighty reason,

8. To her poise
and good company,
her priceless hand
and eloquence.

9. She reflected on her studies:
grammar and jurisprudence,
and the apostle´s
sound traditions,

10. And she revealed to you
the people´s histories
and won
the sage´s wisdom.

11. Nuḍār passed her life
then left,
her reputation
undefiled.

12. She was recorded
among the transmitters
from mankind′s master;
how fair her reports and praise!

13. She′s gone on ahead now,
while we stay
for a moment
in our passing time.

14. Then we′ll follow behind
hoping for
a kind Lord′s forgiveness
for our sins.

The beloved′s ruined campsite featured at the beginning of innumerable Arabic odes has been transformed in this elegy to a grave. There, Abū Ḥayyān stands tied like the *balīyah*, the riding-camel left to die at the grave of a great warrior so as to serve as his ghost mare in the netherworld (v. 1).[86] With broken heart and no reason to live, Abū Ḥayyān is oblivious to even the high religious holidays suggesting, perhaps, a skepticism regarding a divine plan which would demand his daughter′s suffering and premature death. Whatever the case, Nuḍār has gone taking with her the very essence of her father′s love and life (vv. 2-5).

In six consecutive verses, Abū Ḥayyān invokes Nuḍār′s name, if not to call her from the dead, then at least to conjure her image, as he moves from lamentation for his loss toward a consoling vision of his pure and pious daughter (vv. 1-6). Among Nuḍār′s fine qualities was her study and transmission of Muḥammad′s words and deeds, and perhaps her father finds solace in the Prophet′s promised intercession on behalf of believing Muslims (vv. 6-11). But for the present, like the *balīyah* camel, Abū Ḥayyān lingers at the grave slowly wasting away. He can only pray that death will end his suffering, and that God will forgive his sins and so grant him a final reunion with his beloved Nuḍār (vv. 12-13).

This elegy and others by Abū Ḥayyān make complex emotions and experiences palpable by intensifying and channeling their emotive energy through time-tested cultural forms. Such elegies have been central to the work of mourning, which has played a vital part in the lives of Muslim men and women, yet rarely have their loss and sorrow been mentioned by scholars of Islam. Generally, the subjects of death and dying are glossed with abstract and doctrinal presentations of Islamic notions of resurrection, punishment, and paradise.[87] But the study of elegies, like those of Abū Ḥayyān, can help us follow changing Islamic beliefs and doctrines on death and the afterlife while, at the same time, informing us of personal grief and individual and communal responses to the death of loved ones.

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[86]For more on the *balīyah* camel, see Maḥmūd Shukrī al-Alūsī, *Bulūgh al-Arab fī Maʿrifat Aḥwāl al-ʿArab* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, n.d.), 2:307-308.

[87] See, for example, Jane I. Smith and Yvonne Y. Haddad, *The Islamic Understanding of Death and Resurrection* (Albany: State University of New York, 1981).

Abū Ḥayyān's elegies attest to Arabic poetry's potential to reveal crucial aspects of Muslim life and practice during the Mamluk period, substantially enhancing the chronicles, histories, and other relevant sources. Yet, we must remember, too, that much of this poetry aims to evoke feelings and the intensity of experience, and so in contrast to historical documents and more traditional religious texts, this poetry not only tells us about life and existence, but it moves us to participate imaginatively in the experience of them both. These two poetic examples tap a vast and deep source for the study and teaching of the Mamluk period and of Islam, in general. For reading poetry by Muslims in the Mamluk Age can heighten our perceptions of their lives by helping us to feel more sharply and with more understanding some of what they may have felt and believed in their own day, which for a moment, then, may not seem so far away.

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The *Maḥmal* Legend and the Pilgrimage of the Ladies of the Mamluk Court

During the Ottoman period in Egypt a legend was created which attributed the origin of the *maḥmal* tradition to Shajarat al-Durr. As women's topics are receiving increasing attention in scholarly research these days, the persona of Shajarat al-Durr ought to be revisited. More particularly, the circumstances that led to the association of the Egyptian pilgrimage with a female royal person deserve our interest. For this purpose, references to the earlier pilgrimage of the Abbasid queen Zubaydah and to the pilgrimage performed by the elite women of the Mamluk court will be examined and compared in the following pages in order to decode the legend about Shajarat al-Durr.

Mamluk history begins with an extraordinary episode—the rule of a female sultan, Shajarat al-Durr, a Turk, who began her career as a slave. She carried the title of *sulṭānah* and was elected by men to fulfill this function. In her name the *khuṭbah* was delivered and coins were minted.[1] One tends sometimes to disregard this fact because of its exceptional character. In her status as *sulṭānah* in the medieval Muslim world, Shajarat al-Durr was of course an almost unique case.[2] Her accession to the throne of Egypt was largely related to the complex and unstable political situation of that time, the end of the Ayyubid dynasty during Louis IX's Crusade against Damietta and the absence of an adequate successor to Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb.[3] Although her reign as *sulṭānah* lasted only three months, or more precisely eighty days, Shajarat al-Durr's involvement in politics covered a much longer period, namely, the seventeen years during which, as the favorite concubine, then as the wife of two consecutive sultans, she was far from being a passive spectator of political events, using all available means to play an active role in decision-making at the sultan's court. This role began during al-Ṣāliḥ's fight for the throne of Egypt, when she accompanied him to prison along with his closest followers. It ended with her decision to murder her second husband Aybak.

Al-Maqrīzī, who seems to have been familiar with Shajarat al-Durr's *waqf* documents, attributes to her important buildings in Cairo. These included her husband's mausoleum as well as a garden, a *ḥammām*, and a palace near the cemetery of Sayyidah Nafīsah where she also founded a *madrasah* with her own mausoleum.[4] Shajarat al-

[1]The main source on Shajarat al-Durr is still Götz Schregle's monograph, *Die Sultanin von Ägypten. Šajarat ad-Durr in der arabischen Geschichtsschreibung und Literatur* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1961).

[2]Only another Turk of the slave dynasty of Delhi, Raḍīyah Begum, at almost the same time (1236-1240), achieved such a career, but she was a sultan's daughter.

[3]Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. P. M. Holt (London: Longman, 1992), chapters 4 and 5.

[4]al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*, 2 vols. (Būlāq: Dār al-Ṭibāʻah al-Miṣrīyah, 1270/1853-54), 2:20, 134, 374; Nūr al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb wa-Bughyat al-Ṭullāb*

Durr′s buildings and pious foundations were substantial; a look at their architecture reveals, moreover, a political mind and a great sense of innovation behind their design.[5] The *miḥrāb* of her mausoleum, for example, includes a kind of rebus; its conch is adorned with glass mosaics representing a tree whose branches carry mother-of-pearl, instead of flowers or fruits. This motif refers to her name, ″Tree of Pearls.″ The mausoleum she erected for al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb adjoins the *madrasah* he had founded in the city center for the four schools of Sunnī Islamic law.[6] It was the first royal mausoleum in Cairo, and as Christel Kessler observed, the first funerary building meant to assume a role in the life of the city.[7] Placed in the central part of the main avenue, it projects boldly on three sides with large windows on each facade. No doubt, Shajarat al-Durr attached great importance to the commemoration of her husband through whom she derived the legitimacy of her status and authority. She gave him a solemn funerary ceremony, attended by his *mamlūk*s, including her husband and successor al-Mu‘izz Aybak; at that time she had already abdicated in his favor. Quran reciters were hired for the service of the tomb, as stipulated in Shajarat al-Durr′s *waqf* deed. Shajarat al-Durr erected, moreover, a *madrasah* with her own mausoleum in the cemetery. This was a further innovation, as it was the first time in Cairo that a ruler built a personal mausoleum as part of his own religious foundation. This became a tradition throughout the entire Mamluk period. Whereas al-Ṣāliḥ′s *madrasah* was in the heart of al-Qāhirah, her own complex, which included a *ḥammām* and a palace, was in the cemetery of Sayyidah Nafīsah. The choice of the cemetery of Sayyidah Nafīsah as the place for her burial was also an innovation of Shajarat al-Durr; earlier members of the Ayyubid dynasty had been buried at the mausoleum of Imam al-Shāfi‘ī. While she sought likewise the neighborhood of a holy person, she preferred a cemetery connected to a female saint, that of Sayyidah Nafīsah where a number of other holy women and relatives of the Prophet such as Ruqayyah, ‘Ātikah, and Sukaynah were also buried or commemorated in funerary monuments.[8] This choice proved to be shrewd, for despite the scandalous end she suffered—being thrown half-naked from the Citadel—Shajarat al-Durr′s image in historiography as well as in popular tradition became increasingly exalted, as Schregle demonstrates, so that she acquired an almost holy character. The presence of her mausoleum amidst a number of mausoleums of holy women contributed to her sanctification.

Shajarat al-Durr′s buildings are, therefore, among the most political monuments of medieval Cairo. Her religious funerary complex had an impact on the female funerary architecture of the Baḥrī Mamluks. The *madrasah*-mausoleum, built two decades later for Fāṭimah Khātūn, a wife of Sultan Qalāwūn, is similarly located in the neighborhood of Sayyidah Nafīsah.[9] Moreover, several women of the Qalāwūn family built mausoleums

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fī al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Mazārāt wa-al-Tarājim wa-al-Biqā‘ al-Mubārakāt (Cairo: Maktabat al-Azhar, 1356/1937), 118.

[5]K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt* [hereafter *MAE*], 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952-59; reprint, New York, 1978), 2:135f.; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, ″The Lost Minaret of Shajarat ad-Durr at Her Complex in the Cemetery of Sayyidah Nafīsah,″ *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 39 (1983): 1-16.

[6]Creswell, *MAE*, 2:94ff.

[7]Christel Kessler, ″Funerary Architecture within the City,″ *Colloque international sur l′histoire du Caire* (1969) (Cairo: Ministry of Culture, n.d.), 257-268.

[8]Nūr al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb*, 114f.; Behrens-Abouseif, ″Minaret″, 6.

[9]Aḥmad ‘Abd al-Rāziq, *La femme au temps des Mamlouks en Égypte* (Cairo: Institut français d′archéologie

for themselves attached to religious foundations, such as the *khānqāh*-mausoleum of Ṭughāy, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s wife (ca. 749/1348, *Index*, no. 247),[10] the *madrasah* of Tatar al-Ḥijāzīyah, al-Nāṣir′s daughter, (761/1360, *Index*, no. 36), the *madrasah* of Sultan Sha'bān′s mother, (770/1368-69, *Index*, no. 125), and the mausoleum of Ṭulbāy, Sultan Ḥasan′s wife (ca. 765/1364, *Index*, no. 80).

THE *MAḤMAL*

In his monograph on Shajarat al-Durr, Schregle refers to the epic known as *Sīrat Baybars*, which is a popular romance based on historical facts, and investigates the *sulṭānah*′s image in it. In this epic, which acquired its final shape in the Ottoman period, the origin of the *maḥmal* is attributed to Shajarat al-Durr.[11] The *maḥmal* was the ceremonial palanquin that accompanied the pilgrim caravan from the reign of al-Ẓāhir Baybars until the reign of King Fu'ād in the 1920s. The earliest association of the *maḥmal* with the Egyptian pilgrimage caravan occurs in connection with Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars al-Bunduqdārī in 659/1266.[12] Al-Qalqashandī describes the *maḥmal* as a tent made of embroidered yellow silk and topped by a spherical finial made of gilded silver; it was paraded twice a year in the streets of Cairo.[13] The use of yellow, the official color of the Mamluks, for the *maḥmal* during the Mamluk period indicates its emblematic and political character. The *maḥmal* tradition is distinct from that of the *kiswah*, or veil of the Ka'bah, which was also carried by the pilgrim caravan. The yearly dispatch of the *kiswah* was a prerogative of the caliphate since the early history of Islam, although some Saljuq sultans donated their own. Since the establishment of the Fatimid caliphate of Egypt, a *kiswah* was sent also from Cairo, this one being white, instead of the Abbasid black.[14] The *kiswah* was not carried within the *maḥmal*, which remained an empty and symbolic palanquin. Al-Qalqashandī, in his history and description of the *kiswah*, writes that both were simultaneously prepared and dispatched in Cairo.[15] A well-known miniature of the Baghdad school dated 1237 documents the existence of an Abbasid *maḥmal* at the time of the caliphate.[16] Its shape corresponds very much to the description given by al-Qalqashandī of the Egyptian *maḥmal* and to the much later Egyptian *maḥmal*s, including the one of King Fu'ād, now on display in the Ethnographic Museum in Cairo. In the seventeenth century it was covered with black silk embroidered with inscriptions in gold threads on the four sides.[17] In the Baghdad miniature it has a gold color. The Egyptian

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orientale, 1973), 20.

[10]The numbers of the monuments are those listed in *The Index of the Islamic Monuments of Cairo*, Department of Egyptian Antiquities.

[11]Schregle, 104f.

[12]al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr (Cairo: Lajnat al-Ta'līf wa-al-Tarjamah wa-al-Nashr, 1970-73), 1:544.

[13]al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'*, 14 vols. (Cairo: al-Mu'assasah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Ta'līf wa-al-Tarjamah wa-al-Ṭibā'ah wa-al-Nashr, 1964), 4:57; Jacques Jomier, *Le Maḥmal et la caravane égyptienne des pèlerins de la Mecque* (Cairo: Institut français d′archéologie orientale, 1953), 39f.

[14]Yūsuf Aḥmad, *al-Maḥmal wa-al-Ḥajj* (Cairo: Maṭba'at Ḥijāzī, 1937), 241f.

[15]al-Qalqashandī, 4:276-284.

[16]Richard Ettinghausen, *al-Taṣwīr 'inda al-'Arab* (*Arab Painting*), trans. Salman and Takrītī (Baghdad, 1973), 119.

[17]Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 10 (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1938), 432.

maḥmal was not the only one, however, to appear in Mecca; there were also *maḥmal*s from Yemen and Iraq, the Egyptian one having the most prominent position.[18]

After the fall of the Abbasid caliphate of Baghdad in 1258 and the establishment in 659/1261 of a symbolic caliphate by Sultan Baybars in Cairo, an event celebrated with great ceremony,[19] it was natural that Baybars would also take over the Abbasid privilege of dispatching the *maḥmal* and the *kiswah* from his capital, Cairo. But to achieve this, he had first to eliminate the Rasulid presence from the Hijaz and bring it under Mamluk control. The Rasulid ruler of Yemen, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf ibn al-Manṣūr, had taken advantage of the fall of Baghdad to bring the Hijaz, with the Holy Cities, under his control and have the *khuṭbah* spoken in his name. After having performed the pilgrimage in 659/1261, he provided the *kiswah* for several years, as successor of the Abbasid caliphs.[20] A competition resulted between Yūsuf and Baybars for the privilege of providing the *kiswah*,[21] until 667/1269 when Baybars made his pilgrimage and established the dispatch of the *kiswah* as the acknowledged prerogative of the Mamluks of Egypt in whose name the *khuṭbah* of the Hijaz was now performed.[22] As a palanquin, the *maḥmal* has obvious female connotations, although men sometimes also traveled in a *miḥaffah*, which is the term used in Mamluk sources for the common palanquin. In his study of the Muslim pilgrimage, Gaudefroy-Demombynes has presented three possible interpretations for the *maḥmal*. The first is that it followed the ancient Arab tradition of having a litter with a high-ranking lady accompany military campaigns to incite the soldiers to fight. ‘Ā’ishah, the Prophet's wife, played such a role in the Battle of the Camel.[23] The second interpretation views the litter as a royal symbol, whereas the third identifies it with a parasol. The third interpretation can be discarded; the two others should be considered and even combined.

Although Shajarat al-Durr herself is not mentioned in any source as having ever been to Mecca, and although Mamluk chronicles agree that it was al-Ẓāhir Baybars who introduced the *maḥmal* tradition to Egypt and who also performed the pilgrimage, it was Shajarat al-Durr with whom popular culture preferred to associate the pilgrimage and the palanquin, giving her a kind of patron role. This legend has been repeated by Lane and ‘Alī Mubārak;[24] the Turkish historian and traveler Evliya Çelebi similarly connects Shajarat

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[18]Jomier, 48f.

[19]Annemarie Schimmel, "Kalif und Kadi im spätmittelalterlichen Ägypten," *Die Welt des Islams*, 24 (1942): 5-127.

[20]al-Rashīdī, *Ḥusn al-Ṣafā wa-al-Ibtihāj bi-Dhikr man Walá Imārat al-Ḥājj*, ed. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Aḥmad (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khanjī, 1980), 122f.

[21]Jomier, 30f.

[22]Ibn ‘Abd al-Ẓāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir*, ed. al-Khuwayṭir (Riyadh: n.p., 1976), 354ff.

[23]Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1923), 161. Cf. Heinz Halm who alludes to the possibility that the origin of the *maḥmal* might be related to the *shamsah*, a kind of suspended oversize crown which Abbasid and Fatimid caliphs sent with the pilgrimage caravan to adorn the Ka‘bah; "Al-Shamsa. Hängekronen als Herrschaftszeichen der Abbasiden und Fatimiden," *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, ed. U. Vermeulen and D. De Smet (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 1995), 126-138.

[24]Schregle, 104ff.; Rudi Paret, "Sīrat Baybars," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 1:1126-1127; Edward Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London: Dent, n.d.; reprint, New York: E. P. Dutton, 1954), 444f.; ‘Alī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīqīyah al-Jadīdah*, 20 vols. (Būlāq, 1306/1888-89), 9:22.

al-Durr with the pilgrimage, however not with the *maḥmal*, but with the *kiswah*. Evliya Çelebi, who worked for the Ottoman government for several years in Egypt (1672-1680), reports that at that time the *waqf* of Shajarat al-Durr was quite substantial and included a number of villages which were endowed to provide the *kiswah* for the Ka'bah.[25] The information he gives on *waqf* is usually trustworthy, as he was himself involved in the supervision of *awqāf* in Egypt. His association of the *kiswah* with Shajarat al-Durr, which is the earliest reference on this subject I could find, should not be entirely discarded, at least as long as the *waqf*s of the Ḥaramayn have not been consulted on this subject. What the exact origins of these *waqf*s are, or if they belonged to a namesake of the *sulṭānah*, is not possible to tell at the moment, as the Ḥaramayn archives are presently inaccessible. While he attributes the *kiswah* endowment to Shajarat al-Durr, Evliya Çelebi, who was quite familiar with Mamluk chronicles, confirms the fact that the *maḥmal* tradition went back to Baybars.

It is interesting to note that the *wakālah* of Dhū al-Faqār in the quarter of Jamālīyah in Cairo is known popularly as Wakālat Shajarat al-Durr; it was there that in the late Ottoman period final work on the *kiswah* was performed before its departure.[26] Yūsuf Aḥmad, however, in his detailed documentation of the *kiswah* and its endowment, does not seem to have come across any reference to Shajarat al-Durr.

ZUBAYDAH

Shajarat al-Durr was not the first queen to be associated with the pilgrimage. There are multiple references in early and later medieval sources associating Zubaydah, Hārūn al-Rashīd's wife, with the pilgrimage in most exuberant terms.[27] Zubaydah not only performed the pilgrimage, but she is moreover credited with spending an enormous fortune on infrastructural works to conduct water to Mecca after years of drought. According to Ibn Khallikān she spent as much as 50 million *dirham*s, and according to al-Mas'ūdī 1,700,000 *dīnār*s for infrastructural works on the pilgrimage road.[28] She built hospices and cisterns, and dug wells and canals to conduct water from a distance of twelve miles to Mecca across mountains and valleys in the desert. When her intendant tried to warn her about the expenses, she answered "we shall do it, even if every stroke would cost a *dīnār*." Today the "Darb Zubaydah" in the Hijaz still shows vestiges of the medieval infrastructure.[29] Zubaydah, whose wealth was fabulous, was also famous for her elegance and her creative fashion and life-style, which everybody imitated.[30] Among her innovations, she is reported to have been the first to use a palanquin of silver, ebony, and sandalwood adorned with clasps of gold and silver and draped with sable and silk of blue, green, yellow, and red colors. It is very likely that she used such a palanquin for her pilgrimage, which could be related to the origin of the *maḥmal* of Baghdad.

[25]Evliya Çelebi, 10:155, 420, 422, 566.
[26]'Alī Mubārak, 9:22.
[27]Nabia Abbott, *Two Queens of Baghdad* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946).
[28]Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān*, 2 vols. (Cairo: n.p., 1310/1892-3), 1:189; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1962), 14:176f., no. 242; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1861-1871), 8:289ff.
[29]Sa'd ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Rashīd, *Darb Zubaydah: The Pilgrim Road from Kufa to Mecca* (Riyadh: Riyadh University Libraries, 1980).
[30]al-Mas'ūdī, 8:304f.

Coming back to *Sīrat Baybars*, Shajarat al-Durr is identified there as an Abbasid princess, daughter of the caliph al-Muqtadir,[31] who came to Egypt on her way to Mecca. There she met Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb who married her. In the epic, furthermore, Shajarat al-Durr adopts Baybars to replace her dead son Khalīl, who died as a child. She is thus represented as the daughter of a caliph and the adoptive mother of a sultan. This establishes another parallel between Shajarat al-Durr and Zubaydah, who was the only Abbasid queen to have been both a daughter and a mother of caliphs. The superposition of Shajarat al-Durr and the Abbasid queen Zubaydah could have been supported furthermore by another factor, which is the location of the complex of Shajarat al-Durr in the cemetery of Sayyidah Nafīsah. The palace she had built there was later used as the residence of the Abbasid caliphs of Cairo.[32] In the same neighborhood, moreover, close to the Sayyidah Nafīsah shrine, is the undated mausoleum where most of the Abbasid caliphs of Cairo were buried and which was erected in the mid-thirteenth century.[33] In Shajarat al-Durr′s own mausoleum one of the Abbasid caliphs was also buried, probably the last one.[34] The neighborhood connection with the Abbasid caliphs may have contributed to the association of Shajarat al-Durr with Abbasid tradition and Zubaydah.

MAMLUK LADIES

The legend attributing the *maḥmal* to Shajarat al-Durr took shape in the Ottoman period, i.e., three or four centuries after the *sulṭānah*′s death. There must have been in the meantime an additional factor which contributed to keeping her image alive in such a way as to justify the creation of a legend which presented her as patron of the pilgrimage caravan, who visited the Holy Cities a dozen times and, moreover, provided the *kiswah* to the Kaʿbah. This additional factor is to be sought in Mamluk historical accounts about the pilgrimages of women of the aristocracy. Mamluk historians show great interest, even enthusiasm, when referring to the pilgrimages of sultan′s wives or concubines. They describe the pilgrimage of a *khawand*, or princess, as a spectacular event. It was the only occasion during which the Cairene population had an opportunity for contact with ladies of the Mamluk court. Otherwise, the sultans′ wives made no public appearances; the celebrations they attended, such as marriages or circumcisions, took place within the Citadel. There were, of course, exceptions to this rule, which the historians found worth mentioning, like the occasion when Ṭughāy, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s favorite wife, joined her husband on an excursion to Giza. But even then, the princess was not supposed to be seen, and an order was given that on her way across Cairo, all shops should be closed and people kept off the streets.[35] When Sultan Khushqadam′s eldest daughter died, her mother, Surbāy, was so grieved that she came down from the Citadel to visit her grave. This visit seems to have been such an exceptional event that it was mentioned in the short biography which al-Sakhāwī dedicated to Surbāy.[36] When Khushqadam′s next wife, Shakarbāy,

[31]Schregle, 100f.
[32]Nūr al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb*, 118; Ibn Duqmāq, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat ʿIqd al-Amṣār* (Būlāq, 1314/1896-97), 4:125.
[33]Creswell, *MAE*, 2:93.
[34]Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum: Égypte* (Cairo: Institut français d′archéologie orientale, 1894-1903), 1:110f.
[35]al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:240.
[36]Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ*, 12 vols. (Cairo, 1896),

traveled to Ṭanṭā to visit the shrine of Aḥmad al-Badawī, this excursion too was mentioned as something unusual. Ibn Taghrībirdī writes explicitly that it was uncommon for Mamluk ladies, *khawandāt*, to go out without their husbands, except for pilgrimage.[37] The departure on pilgrimage was the exceptional event which gave the population the opportunity of seeing the palanquin of a *khawand*; it added an exciting touch to a major religious celebration. Mamluk biographies of the elite ladies refer consistently to their pilgrimages, which some of them performed more than once. Just as the biographies or obituaries of amirs and sultans have to include a mention of their buildings and foundations, for the Mamluk ladies it was the pilgrimage that was recorded as a token of their piety. The reference to the pilgrimage was part of the aristocratic lady′s image.

Historical accounts concerning the pilgrimages of the Mamluk ladies form a kind of topos. They never fail to include statements about the luxury and beauty of the female convoy. The earliest of these accounts is that referring to Ṭughāy who traveled for the first time in 721/1321 with unparalleled comfort and luxury; her pilgrimage is the feature which characterizes her in all biographical references. She traveled in state, accompanied by a ceremonial orchestra and sultanic banners, with an escort of high dignitaries and eminent amirs. Her caravan included cows to provide her with fresh milk all along the journey, so that she could have her customary hot toasted cheese twice a day, and also camels carrying pots planted with vegetables so that she could maintain a healthy diet. Ṭughāy was praised for her charitable deeds and donations during the journey. The sultan spent more than 80,000 *dīnār*s on her pilgrimage and, moreover, exempted the city of Mecca from taxes that year.[38] When referring to Ṭughāy, Ibn al-Dawādārī recalls another lady who had traveled centuries earlier, in a similarly lavish style; this was Jamīlah, the daughter of the Buyid prince Nāṣir al-Dawlah, who was the first princess to make her pilgrimage with camels carrying pots planted with vegetables. She made generous donations and bestowed many robes of honor.[39]

Ever since Princess Ṭughāy went to Mecca, Mamluk historians have emphasized the elegance and luxury of the Mamluk ladies′ outfits and entourage in their pilgrimage, the number of dignitaries who accompanied them, and most of all the charity and benevolence they demonstrated. Sultan al-Ghawrī′s wife was exceptional in that she was criticized for her stinginess, especially when compared with her predecessor, Qāytbāy′s wife.[40] If the display of elegance and pomp were exaggerated, however, it could be severely criticized, as in the case of some amirs′ wives who went on pilgrimage in 746/1346 with extravagant accoutrement, competing with each other in lavishness, and bestowing robes of honor on their servants and bodyguards. This provoked the *qāḍī al-quḍāh*, in his sermon of the *‘īd*, to denounce the ladies′ extravagant behavior as a bad example for others.[41] The episode

12:66.

37Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr*, ed. William Popper (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930-1942), 8:593.

38al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī,* 16:447f., no. 481; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmi‘ al-Ghurar*, ed. Hans Robert Roemer (Cairo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1960), 9:305; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāminah fī A‘yān al-Mi’ah al-Thāminah* (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Ḥadīthah, 1966), 2:322, no. 2025; ‘Abd al-Rāziq, 298.

39Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 9:305f.

40Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i‘ al-Zuhūr fī Waqā’i‘ al-Duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1961-75), 4:441.

41al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:693.

demonstrates the public significance of the pilgrimage of Mamluk ladies. Barakah, Sultan Sha'bān's mother, traveled in state with ceremonial orchestra and sultanic banners escorted by high dignitaries. She also had camels carrying pots planted with vegetables.[42] Her liberality and benevolence along the way were so great that the year of her pilgrimage came to be named "the year of the Sultan's mother."[43]

When a sultan's wife made the pilgrimage in the company of her children, her notoriety was increased, as in the case of Sultan Īnāl's wife, who traveled in 861/1457,[44] with two sons, one of whom was the *amīr al-ḥājj*, and two daughters, one married to the Grand Dawādār and the other to the second Dawādār. They traveled with three palanquins followed by a large convoy of dignitaries and courtiers. Khushqadam's wife was accompanied in 868/1464 by her grandson who was the *amīr al-ḥājj* of that year. Ibn Taghrībirdī testifies that this caravan was even more impressive than that of Īnāl's wife.[45] The fact that the *amīr al-ḥājj* belonged to the royal family was, of course, convenient. Qāytbāy's wife, Fāṭimah (d. 879/1475), had an impressive caravan and sat in a palanquin which Ibn Iyās describes at length, as made of silk embroidered with ruby, turquoise, and pearl.[46] Her escort included an orchestra for religious music. When al-Ghawrī's wife went on pilgrimage with her ten-year old son, the sultan himself went to the departure station to ensure the tents were placed in accordance with the proper protocol.[47] It was observed that the sultan's wife traveled in the palanquin once used by Qāytbāy's wife. Among the signs of luxury was a portable bath, made of copper, as well as utensils for heating water.[48]

An unusual episode this year was that the camel with the *khawand*'s palanquin, on its way out, crossed the city in a procession. Usually the sultanic ladies would leave the Citadel on the desert road across the cemetery, without passing through the city, which was a prerogative of the Mamluk dignitaries. But that palanquin was empty and just for display. The *khawand* herself waited at the Citadel for its return so that she could ride, as was the tradition, through the cemetery. In Mecca the *sharīf* gave her a special reception having his courtiers carry her in her palanquin in a procession across the city. As for the *maḥmal* litter, it preceded the convoy of al-Ghawrī's son. Although al-Ghawrī's son was not *amīr al-ḥājj*, as in the cases of Īnāl's and Khushqadam's sons, he crossed the city in a particularly grand procession on his way to Birkat al-Ḥājj, the first caravan station on the pilgrimage road. The special pomp displayed on this occasion was probably due to the presence of an Ottoman ambassador in Cairo at that time, whom the Sultan wanted to impress, as he was inclined to do in such circumstances.

Unlike women of the Cairene bourgeoisie, the ladies of the Mamluk aristocracy are not described as scholars or poets; neither is their contribution in religious patronage of particular significance. 'Abd al-Rāziq lists eleven buildings attributed to female patrons in Mamluk Cairo, and although this number is not high, a closer look reveals that not all of

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[42]Ibid., 2:177.
[43]Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-Kāminah*, 2:7.
[44]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith*, 2:303f.
[45]Ibid., 2:476; idem, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah*, 16 vols. (Cairo: n.p., 1963-72), 16:111, 115.
[46]Ibn Iyās, 3:104.
[47]Ibid., 4:409f.
[48]Ibid., 4:433, 441.

them can even be definitely attributed to the ladies to whom they are ascribed.[49] The number of monuments which can safely be assigned to women of the aristocracy remains low, particularly if one considers their financial potential. Carl Petry estimates that the women′s share in the benefits of *waqf*s of Mamluk sultans and amirs was substantial, amounting to about 28 percent, which makes them appear as active partners in the economy of the Mamluk elite.[50] The estates of females, moreover, were less likely to revert to the state or to be confiscated, as happened with the estates of sultans and amirs. Seen in comparison with the magnitude of religious and philanthropic institutions sponsored by the Mamluk sultans and amirs, the contribution of their female partners is not considerable. The fact that they did not act as founders of institutions does not exclude the possibility, however, that women could have sponsored existing foundations or made donations wherever they were needed. Historians often refer to such philanthropic deeds without specifying what they consisted of.

When a princess built a religious foundation, she did not supervise the construction herself, as the Mamluk amirs and sultans did, but assigned someone else to do it. As previously mentioned, Shaʻbān built the *madrasah* for his mother. Whereas the inscriptions name Asalbāy, al-Nāṣir′s mother, as the founder of the mosque of al-Fayyūm, Ibn Iyās writes that Sultan al-Nāṣir, the son of Qāytbāy, ordered its construction and that Shaykh al-Dashṭūṭī supervised it.[51] In the Mamluk period women did not perform their prayers in mosques, although they did visit shrines and saints′ tombs, especially those in the cemetery. Mamluk mosques, unlike the Ottoman, have no accommodation for female worshipers. It is not even mentioned if the women of the sultan′s harem ever visited the mosque in the Citadel which was located in the non-public section.

The pilgrimage remains therefore the foremost expression of piety for a female member of the Mamluk court. If we recall that more sultans′ wives performed this religious duty than sultans themselves, of whom only four are recorded to have been to Mecca during their reign,[52] the ladies′ pilgrimage added to the sultanate′s religious aura. The opulence displayed by a lady′s caravan reflected the sultan′s own magnificent image. It was part of the court ceremonial, which most Mamluk sultans eagerly cultivated. The pilgrimage of the aristocratic Mamluk ladies was thus a matter of great interest, its notoriety increasing over time. The procession of the empty palanquin of al-Ghawrī′s wife at the end of the Mamluk period reflects the fascination associated with the image of a royal lady as pilgrim, which was not only a product of Ibn Iyās′s fantasy. This episode may have been an intermediary stage in the formation of the *maḥmal* legend around Shajarat al-Durr, the empty palanquin becoming the symbol of an absent queen. How far Zubaydah′s image contributed to the topos of the female aristocratic pilgrim is difficult to ascertain; she was the first Muslim queen to act as patron and sponsor of the pilgrimage and thus could have set an example and an ideal for later Muslim princesses.

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[49]The inscription on the mausoleum of Fāṭimah Khātūn is in the name of Qalāwūn. The mausoleum known popularly by the name of Umm al-Ashraf is not definitely identified and could have been erected by Sultan Barsbāy himself. In the case of the *madrasah* of Umm al-Sulṭān Shaʻbān, the sources attribute the foundation to the sultan′s mother, the inscription states that it was built by the sultan for his mother, perhaps with her funds. ʻAbd al-Rāziq, 20-24.

[50]Carl Petry, ″A Paradox of Patronage in the Later Mamluk Period,″ *Muslim World* 73 (1983): 199.

[51]van Berchem, 4:556f.; Ibn Iyās, 3:392.

[52]al-Ẓāhir Baybars, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, al-Ashraf Shaʻbān, al-Ashraf Qāytbāy.

Shajarat al-Durr´s image in later Mamluk historiography, especially in Ibn Iyās´s chronicle, became increasingly colorful and impressive.[53] Ibn Iyās is also the author who describes in the most detail the departure of the *khawand*s on pilgrimage which suggests a certain acceptance for a female role in religious life. This acceptance is evidenced by al-Sakhāwī´s last volume in his biographical encyclopedia which is dedicated to fifteenth century women, mainly from the scholarly milieu, the only one of its kind in the Mamluk period. It should be recalled here that there is no restriction in Islam on women´s contribution to religious patronage, just as there were no restrictions for admitting women among the saints. In the Ottoman period several mausoleums of sultans and amirs were visited as saints´ tombs, including that of Shajarat al-Durr; during this period also the cult of Sayyidah Zaynab acquired its prominence in Egypt´s popular religious life. Her religious-funerary complex, the importance of her pious endowments and the use of her palace as caliphal residence in the Mamluk period contributed to enhance Shajarat al-Durr´s memory and bestow it with religious radiance. Popular imagination, which needed a female symbol to associate with the empty *maḥmal*, found no better candidate than Shajarat al-Durr.

[53] Schregle, 25f., 46.

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Mamluk Archaeological Studies: A Review

This review seeks to address the relationship between archaeology and the field of Mamluk studies. To paraphrase a recent discussion by Marcus L. Rautman, Mamluk artifacts are more than mere historical illustration; their evidence may be considered necessary to overcome the intrinsic limitations of the written evidence.[1] Yet, historians of the Mamluk period do not seem to be aware of this potential or able to assess the relevance of fieldwork to their research. Much of the fault for this separation in disciplinary comprehension lies with the archaeologist, and with what is currently practiced as archaeology.[2]

The role of archaeological evidence in historical research is often misunderstood due to the nature of its evidential base. While study of material culture deals, at least in part, with physical objects, their contribution to historical studies is no more ″real″ or direct than the historian′s more traditional documents; archaeological evidence is cumulative and not specific. In other words, one should not expect new information about specific individuals or historic events. Though new documents may be discovered, archaeological research is more concerned with patterns, repeating contexts, and associations. Thus, one may seek patterns of land use (historical geography) and social organization (settlement systems), that is, broad questions of social and economic history. The following is a general exploration of some examples of excavations, artifacts, and the complexities of historical interpretation.[3]

QŪṢ, A FORGOTTEN CAPITAL

The archaeology of Qūṣ might qualify under the rubric of the re-discovery of a lost (or at least forgotten) provincial capital of Egypt. A history of life in this (provincial) city during Fatimid through Mamluk times was undertaken by Jean-Claude Garcin.[4] This city may be taken as a symbol of the fate of Islamic sites which disappear (from the historic record) when their economic functions change. To paraphrase Garcin: Qūṣ might have

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[1]Marcus L. Rautman, ″Archaeology and Byzantine Studies,″ *Byzantinische Forschungen* 15 (1990): 137-165. Throughout this article ″Islamic″ may be substituted for ″Byzantine″ to produce an insightful picture of the history and state of this parallel discipline.

[2]This has been the subject of a dialogue in Donald S. Whitcomb, ″Toward a ′Common Denominator′: An Archaeological Response to M. Morony on Pottery and Urban Identities″ (Los Angeles: Von Grunebaum Center for Near Eastern Studies, 1995).

[3]This paper makes no claim to a comprehensive listing of sites, excavations, and surveys. The casual mentions of Ayyubid-Mamluk evidence on archaeological sites in Palestine would be difficult to enumerate, let alone evaluate.

[4]Jean-Claude Garcin, *Un centre musulman de la haute-Égypte médiévale: Qūṣ* (Cairo: Institut français d′archéologie orientale, 1976). It is instructive to compare J. H. Kramer′s article published in 1927, ″Ḳūṣ,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islām*, 1st ed., 2:1156-1157, with that of Garcin published in 1982, ″Ḳūṣ,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 5:514-515.

returned to the desert had it not been situated in a rich agricultural region. This is a new research problem for the historian; one is confronted not only by problems of archaeological remains resisting the erosion of water and sand but also by the continuing rural milieu surviving the urban organization imposed upon it.[5]

Garcin began his history by assembling the historical sources, including local accounts and biographies, travelers′ descriptions of the city and its regional context, and documentation such as the Geniza records. He considered the inscriptions and architecture within the town, especially the mosque. He initiated a detailed topographic plan, rather in the manner of Sauvaget, mapping the ″traces of the medieval past still extant beneath the surface of the soil.″[6] Reading the early reports of Aly Bahgat and others, he observed that, ″One after another the extant koms have been attacked; and each time that a kom disappeared, without doubt some new objects went to enrich private collections, saved perhaps but also losing much of their significance, being separated from their context.″[7] He concluded that ″archaeological investigation would furnish us with the most useful assistance.″ Then in 1966, ″during the destruction of some new buildings at the kom″ (next to the tomb of Sheikh Yousef), a hoard of *dīnār*s and a metal basin filled with twenty-six objects, mainly highly decorated metalwork, were discovered.[8] Garcin attempted to begin excavations in 1967 and again in 1973, both years being unfortunate timing for fieldwork.

Subsequent excavations were conducted by the Egyptian Department of Antiquities in the 1980s. In anticipation of a published report, one may generally observe architectural remains of two periods: Fatimid residences exactly like those of al-Fusṭāṭ; and, above that, Mamluk buildings like those found at Quseir al-Qadim. The excavations at Qūṣ hold a potential key to the Islamic archaeology of Egypt, tracing the development of one of many Coptic towns through the Fatimid period and its distinctive Islamic history with the prosperity of the Mamluk period.

QUSEIR, THE PORT OF QŪṢ

The more recent architectural remains uncovered at Qūṣ were strongly reminiscent of the excavations at Quseir al-Qadim. This site is complementary to the research situation of Qūṣ; the port has minimal historical documentation but has remained completely abandoned since the fifteenth century and has thus provided a detailed view of life in a Red Sea port and the commerce which sustained it.[9] The resettlement of this port is indicated by numismatic and other artifactual evidence to have occurred in the beginning of the twelfth century (Fatimid occupation is unlikely). The period of great prosperity was the Baḥrī

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[5] Garcin, *Qūṣ*, viii-ix.

[6] This methodology is seen to its best effect in Jean Sauvaget, *Alep: Essai sur le développement d′une grande ville syrienne, des origines au milieu du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1941). The method may be easier when there is a Seleucid/Roman base plan, see his ″Le plan de Laodicée-sur-Mer,″ *Bulletin d′études orientales* 4 (1934): 81-114; idem, ″Note complémentaire,″ *BEO* 6 (1936): 51-52.

[7] Garcin, *Qūṣ*, xii-xiv. Investigated by Aly Bahgat in 1918 and reported in the *Bulletin du Comité du conservation des monuments de l′art arabe* 32 (1922): 271-274, 610-611; see Garcin, *Qūṣ*, xiii.

[8] This hoard of objets d′art would seem to date from the late thirteenth century; it is described in detail by A. A. el-Emary, ″Studies in Some Islamic Objects Newly Discovered at Qūṣ,″ *Annales islamologiques* 7 (1967): 121-138. He cites a preliminary report on *Excavations at Ḳūṣ* by A. M. Abdel Tawab.

[9] See Donald S. Whitcomb, ″Quseir al-Qadim: Text and Context in the Indian Ocean Spice Trade,″ *al-ʻUsur al-Wusta* 7 (1995): 25-27. This article is critical of Garcin′s presentation of the history of Quseir in *EI*^{2}, 5:519.

Mamluk period, with traded artifacts from India, China, Syria, and even Takrūr (West Africa).

The thirteenth century occupation formed a crescent of residences around the silted-up Roman harbor. While totally lacking architectural embellishments, these well-constructed residences obviously refer to urban architecture of the Nile Valley. In the center was a natural prominence called ″the Sheikh′s house″ during the excavations. The Eastern Area revealed a very different settlement, a complex of foundations (possibly multiple reconstructions) not unlike village constructions along the Red Sea littoral in recent times. Faunal analysis indicates a strong reliance on marine resources (fish, turtle, conch) and a marked preference for goat over sheep. There was a greater reliance on imported foodstuffs (e.g., sheep) in the thirteenth century occupation around the Sheikh′s house.

The settlements of both periods present a paradox of ″rich″ artifactual contents in a ″poor″ architectural setting. The material culture inventory reveals Mamluk ceramics and glass from the Nile Valley, perhaps even from the capital. More importantly, there is a surprising range of imported luxury items; these include celadons and porcelains (blue and white wares) from the Far East, resist-dyed cloth associated with the India trade, majolica from North Africa, pilgrim flasks and enameled glass from Syria, and iron money from West Africa. These artifacts indicate that this small port functioned as a conduit for contacts over most of the known world of the fourteenth century.

The marvelous preservation of artifacts in Quseir al-Qadim includes potential for detailed internal documentation. The excavations have produced a corpus of documents written on paper similar to the Cairo Geniza. Like the Geniza, this is a random preservation rather than an archive; the Quseir letters were not gathered together for storage but found as a part of normal trash accumulation. These letters, about 200 of which are fairly complete, detail the daily life of the community, ranging from discussion of crops and trade to love letters. While several prominent specialists have taken these documents to hand, very little analysis has resulted.[10] One expectable result of such analysis will be more detailed information on the commercial relations of the thirteenth and fourteenth century, and Quseir′s participation in the spice trade.

While on the shores of the Red Sea, one may move north to the port of al-Ṭūr, near the southern tip of the Sinai peninsula. The historical note that the customs station for the northern Red Sea was changed from Quseir to al-Ṭūr in 1380 is fully borne out by the archaeological evidence. Almost no evidence exists in Quseir of the fifteenth century and, conversely, the Japanese excavations have virtually no artifacts from the thirteenth and early fourteenth century.[11] At the old harbor, which had once supported two villages according to Niebuhr′s account, late Mamluk and Ottoman artifacts including numerous Ming porcelains were found. The Mamluk occupation has extensive public structures possibly illustrating the change from *sāḥil* to *bandar* in the late fourteenth century, mentioned in historical documentation.

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[10]The author is happy to report that Dr. Li Guo has undertaken the study of the letters from the Sheikh′s house and has discovered many interesting details, including the owner′s name, al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm Abū Mufriḥ.

[11]See Mutsuo Kawatoko, *A Port City Site on the Sinai Peninsula, al-Ṭūr* (Tokyo: The Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan, 1995).

AL-FUSṬĀṬ, IN THE SHADOW OF AL-QĀHIRAH

The lower architectural phase at Qūṣ is strikingly similar to the houses at al-Fusṭāṭ, best exemplified in the early excavations of Bahgat and Gabriel in the 1920s. Al-Fusṭāṭ has received much more intensive and recent archaeological research at the hands of George Scanlon. It is not the intention here to critique these excavations but briefly to describe the nature of the Mamluk occupation and its relevance to Cairo in the Mamluk period. Al-Fusṭāṭ continued from the early Islamic period into the Ayyubid period, when it had become the habitat of "an easygoing middle class."[12]

One reason for discussion of al-Fusṭāṭ is the important corpus of documentation generically known as the Cairo Geniza documents. While most of the dated documents belong to the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods, some indications of the social history in the Mamluk period should be reflected and relations to archaeological evidence should be invaluable. Goitein states a desire to coordinate these sources of information, yet his first consideration, that of topographic elements, explicitly leaves aside archaeological evidence. A separate study of Cairo by Staffa comes to the same conclusion, that social history does not need careful consideration of archaeological evidence. Both Goitein and Staffa were particularly impressed with the discovery and description of the sophisticated water supply and sewage networks revealed by the excavations.[13]

On the other hand, domestic architecture should have been a natural subject of archaeological research, yet Goitein states that "the results of the Fustat excavations are not as helpful for the interpretation and testing of the Geniza documents as one might expect."[14] He goes on to explicate contributory factors of archaeological deposition which account for this situation. This does not dissuade him from observing the "blatant discrepancy between the findings of excavators and competent [medieval] observers" concerning multi-story dwellings. These are related to pre-Islamic Arabian tower structures as evidenced in Yemen and brought to al-Fusṭāṭ by Arab settlers; he later suggests these might have functioned as apartment buildings analogous to Classical *insulae*.[15]

Goitein's volume on daily life contains extensive, detailed consideration of virtually every artifact used by these people. This wide-ranging scholarship contains virtually no reference to actual objects unearthed in the great piles of well-preserved trash in al-Fusṭāṭ. This is not to criticize Goitein, the excavators have a responsibility to take the lead in interpreting the artifacts recovered. Yet the fragments of textiles, which would be of great value in explicating household furnishings and clothing, were not systematically collected until 1982 and the archaeological report appears innocent of acquaintance with the Geniza descriptions.[16] The accomplishment of Goitein was to construct a picture of medieval social

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[12]See S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 4: *Daily Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 11.

[13]Ibid., 4:36; the reference is to George T. Scanlon, "Housing and Sanitation, Some Aspects of Medieval Islamic Public Service," *The Islamic City: A Colloquium*, ed. Albert H. Hourani and S. M. Stern (Oxford: Cassirer, 1970), 179-194. S. J. Staffa, *Conquest and Fusion: The Social Evolution of Cairo, A.D. 642-1850* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977).

[14]Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 4:53.

[15]Ibid., 4:53-59. One might also suggest a relationship to the *uṭum* (pl. *āṭām*) of Yathrib/Medina. One may note that only a small portion of the early Islamic city has in fact been excavated and that portion excavated is mostly suburbs developed in the late eighth and ninth centuries.

[16]Louise W. Mackie, "Textiles," in *Fusṭāṭ Expedition Final Report,* vol. 2: *Fusṭāṭ-C*, by Władysław Kubiak and George T. Scanlon, ARCE Reports 11 (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns for the American

history from difficult fragments of written evidence; the archaeologist also has his multitude of fragments (sherds of many different materials) available for analysis and interpretation.

BILĀD AL-SHĀM, THE MIDDLE ISLAMIC LEVANT

Turning to Syro-Palestine, one may begin to understand the problems confronting Mamluk archaeology by noting the origins of archaeology in Biblical (and Classical) studies. Thus, Kenyon's popular account of excavating Jerusalem has about 200 pages, of which three deal with the Crusaders, and half a page with the Mamluks. Such Eurocentrism has lessened; still, a recent issue of *'Atiqot*, devoted to Islamic archaeology, contains nine articles on early Islamic (read Umayyad), one on Fatimid, and two on Crusader subjects.[17]

Study of the Middle Islamic period in the Levant thus turns around appreciation of the Crusader occupation. In her summary of the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods in Palestine, Rosen-Ayalon could make no more reliable reference than the excavations at Abu Ġôsh.[18] This site centers on the Crusader church of St. Jeremias, which incorporated part of an Abbasid caravanserai. The archaeologists found the structures reverted to a *khān* in the Mamluk period, dated 1250-1500. The nearby site of al-Qubeibah produced the same two Islamic periods of occupation, this time framing Crusader occupation of a castle.[19] The same pattern is found in Pringle's more recent excavations at al-Burj al-Aḥmar (the Red Tower).[20] Beginning with a survey of the Sharon Plain (between Caesarea and Apollonia), the discussion turns around its structure (settlements and roads) in the Crusader period. The contribution of archaeological evidence is seen to be a refinement of dating and thus any assessment of the settlement system for this and later medieval periods.

Description of the excavations naturally focuses on principal occupation of the castle (al-Burj al-Aḥmar, phases B, C). Subsequent phases are labeled Destruction (D, D1) and Later and post-Medieval (E, E1). Pringle cautions that "strata were too confused . . . to allow any more precise definition of the exact phases of occupation."[21] When he turns to the ceramic evidence, these phases become more interesting. The evidence describes the characteristics of "an agricultural village settlement, to which for a period of 150 years . . . were added Frankish residents of the castle."[22]

The Crusader castle was in fact one of many rural *burgi*, part of a process called "incastellamento" in the contemporary Mediterranean world. Such *maisons fortes* were analogous to manor houses as the core of agricultural reorganization. Ronnie Ellenblum has analyzed the locations of such "castles" and suggests extensive integration in settlement

Research Center in Egypt, 1989), 81-97.

[17]Kathleen Kenyon, *Jerusalem: Excavating 3000 Years of History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967); *'Atiqot* 26 (1995).

[18]Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, "Between Cairo and Damascus: Rural Life and Urban Economics in the Holy Land during the Ayyubid, Mamluk and Ottoman Periods," *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, ed. Thomas E. Levy (London: Leicester University; New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1995), 512-523.

[19]R. de Vaux and A.-M. Steve, *Fouilles à Qaryet el-'Enab, Abu Ġôsh, Palestine* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1950); and Bellarmino Bagatti, *I monumenti di Emmaus al-Qubeibeh e dei dinatorni*, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, 4 (Jerusalem: Franciscan Press, 1947).

[20]Denys Pringle, *The Red Tower (al-Burj al-Aḥmar): Settlement in the Plain of Sharon at the Time of the Crusaders and Mamluks, A.D. 1099-1516* (London: British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1986).

[21]Ibid., 129-130.

[22]Ibid., 136.

during the latter century of Crusader occupation (1187-1291).[23] This would indicate both change within the Crusader period and continuity into the succeeding Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, at least as far as archaeological indicators are concerned (one of the reasons the periodization of Middle Islamic 1 begins ca. 1200; see chart following text).

Other excavations in Islamic sites have focused on standing architectural monuments of the Umayyad period. In the process most of these sites have revealed Ayyubid/Mamluk occupation. One of the most prominent was the palatial complex outside of Jericho, Khirbat al-Mafjar, in which the latest phase (Phase 4) is Mamluk.[24] The extensive burnt material suggests that the building was still carrying a wooden roof at the end of occupation. The ceramics have the very distinctive geometric painted juglets and slip painted glazed wares, that is, a balance between hand-made and glazed wares, culminating in a limited number of finely decorated frit wares, typical of Mamluk occupation. A rather similar early Islamic complex with an Ayyubid/Mamluk reoccupation was Qasr al-Hayr East (Period II). Around the standing monuments, the large and small enclosures, was the mounding of an extensive mud-brick settlement; walls within and between the earlier structures also belong to this resettlement. Grabar described the site as a small bidonville-like settlement, the "rather primitive small town" of ʻUrd, beginning with Nūr al-Dīn's redevelopment of Raqqa.[25] In a shift from this focus on standing monuments, the excavations at Khirbat al-Fāris in southern Jordan have mapped and excavated a medieval and Ottoman village. Likewise, the excavations at Tell Tiʻinnik have advocated a "reverse chronology," working back from the Ottoman to Mamluk and earlier (see below).[26]

ARTIFACTS AND SOCIAL HISTORY

The phenomenon of the twelfth through fourteenth centuries in northern Bilād al-Shām continues to be treated by archaeologists as a monolithic entity with fuzzy edges, usually labeled Ayyubid/Mamluk. The pattern was set with the publication of the Hama excavations by the Danish team in the 1930s. While the actual stratigraphic data has never appeared, the pottery was presented in great and influential detail.[27] Among the many types

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[23]Ronnie Ellenblum, "Settlement and Society Formation in Crusader Palestine," in *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, ed. Thomas E. Levy (London: Leicester University; New York: Facts on File, 1995), 502-511.

[24]See Donald S. Whitcomb, "Khirbat al-Mafjar Reconsidered: The Ceramic Evidence," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* no. 271 (1988): 51-67. The dichotomy of identifications into Umayyad/Abbasid and Ayyubid/Mamluk is a problem in classification yet to be systematically addressed by Islamic archaeologists.

[25]See Oleg Grabar et al., *City in the Desert: Qasr al-Hayr East*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 160-161. Grabar states that this upper phase was excavated in "arbitrary levels of 50 to 100 cm." One section claimed more careful attention by Robert Adams, see p. 81. The evidence of Ayyubid/Mamluk occupations in the Euphrates region deserves separate consideration. One may note the potential of the Bālis excavations, for which the historical setting has recently appeared: A. Raymond and J.-L. Paillet, *Bālis II: Histoire de Bālis et des îlots I et II* (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1995).

[26]Jeremy Johns and Alison McQuitty, "The Fāris Project: Preliminary Report upon the 1986 and 1988 Seasons," *Levant* 21 (1989): 63-95; idem, "The Fāris Project: Preliminary Report on the 1989, 1990, and 1991 Seasons," *Levant* 25 (1993): 37-61. Ghada Ziadeh, "Ottoman Ceramics from Tiʻinnik, Palestine," *Levant* 27 (1995): 209-245.

[27]The main information on these excavations is in Harald Ingholt, *Rapport préliminaire sur sept campagnes des fouilles à Hama en Syrie (1932-1938)* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1940). See also Poul Jørgen Riis and Vagn Poulsen, *Hama, fouilles et recherches 1931-1938*, vol. 4, pt. 2: *Les verreries et*

of ceramics in this site, one may examine two types as holding possible relevance as reflections of social organization: geometric painted pottery and slip-painted glazed ware.

Geometric painted pottery is also known as pseudo-prehistoric ware and, more formally and recently, as hand-made geometric painted ware (HMGPW). This ceramic features an often elaborate decorative scheme, sometimes with multiple colors, on a crude, ill-fired ceramic. The ware has often been associated with domestic production by women (as opposed to industrial wheel-made wares by men in urban settings). Following these assumptions, the ware is usually considered a devolution of an important Islamic craft, indicative of decline in the late Mamluk and Ottoman periods.[28]

In Syria, the existence and dating was signaled at Hama, where the collection includes extremely rare vessels with animal and human figures.[29] An intensity and variety of production is revealed in its occurrence in surveys and rural sites suggesting a popular craft with an important meaning and/or function. When one plots temporal and regional distribution, one sees a surprising fit with the Crusader occupation in Bilād al-Shām. This is not Crusader ware but possibly a reaction to this occupation, a reaction which continued as a popular symbol through the Mamluk period.

The Hama excavation report also describes slip-painted glazed ware as a Syrian product.[30] Rogers, in a brief discussion of its occurrence at Apamea, calls it ″gamma″ ware and suggests a distribution in Syria.[31] This ceramic is usually a red ware upon which a design in white slip is painted; the designs and distribution are strongly reminiscent of the geometric wares, a sort of up-scale domestic ware. The vessel is then covered with a yellowish clear lead glaze turning the decoration yellow and the remainder a glossy red-brown. The technique and elements of its style continue into the Ottoman period and extend into Spain and the New World, where descendants of slip-painted glazed ware were most popular in the Spanish and English colonies. Slip-painted glazed ware is a prominent product of Mamluk Egypt where it occurs as a specialized goblet form.[32] The village of al-

poteries médiévales (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 1957). A final presentation of the archaeology of the Islamic levels has been announced by P. Pentz.

[28]There is a roughly contemporary phenomenon in North Africa, Nubia, and Iran/Persian Gulf; such a wide-spread style would be labeled an archaeological ″horizon,″ had it occurred in a prehistoric or early historic period. A similar type of ceramic has been linked with medieval transhumance in southern Iran; see Donald Whitcomb, ″Pseudo-Prehistoric Ceramics from Southern Iran,″ *Golf-Archäologie: Mesopotamien, Iran, Bahrain, Vereinigte Arabische Emirate und Oman*, ed. K. Schippmann et al. (Buch am Erbach: Marie L. Leidorf, 1991), 95-112.

[29]The type was labeled simply Geometric ceramic, type D XX, figs. 1000-1046, in Riis and Poulsen, *Hama*, vol. 4, pt. 2.

[30]Ibid., type C XVI, figs. 821-832.

[31]The origin of this name remains a mystery; the presentation of the Apamaea ceramics remains an unstratified puzzle; see J. M. Rogers, ″Apamaea, the Mediaeval Pottery: Preliminary Report,″ *Apamée de Syrie: Bilan des recherches archéologiques, 1969-1971*, ed. Janine and Jean C. Balty (Brussels: Centre belge de recherches archéologiques à Apamée de Syrie, 1972), 253-270; and idem, ″Mediaeval Pottery at Apamaea in the 1976 and 1977 Seasons,″ *Apamée de Syrie, Bilan des recherches archéologiques, 1973-1979*, ed. Janine Balty (Brussels: Centre belge de recherches archéologiques à Apamée de Syrie, 1984), 261-285.

[32]See George T. Scanlon, ″Some Mamluk Ceramic Shapes from Fustat: ′Sgraff′ and ′Slip′,″ *Islamic Archaeological Studies* [Cairo] 2 (1980): 59-145; idem, ″Mamluk Pottery: More Evidence from Fustat,″ *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 115-126. Also, Donald S. Whitcomb, ″Islamic Ceramics,″ *Quseir al-Qadim 1980*, ed. Donald S. Whitcomb and Janet H. Johnson (Malibu: American Research Center in Egypt 1982), 132-

Burj al-Aḥmar used quantities of both hand-made painted pottery and glazed slip-painted ware during the first century of Mamluk rule (1265-1390). Both the household ceramic and the finer glazed ware are described as local Palestinian products.[33]

SPECIALIZED CERAMIC ARTIFACTS: GRENADES AND PIPES

There are two classes of ceramic artifacts which bear special consideration for Mamluk studies. The first are grenades, a specialized vessel firmly established in Mamluk and contemporary assemblages for which no persuasive utilization is known. The other is the ceramic pipe bowl, for which use is apparently agreed but association with Mamluk archaeology sadly misplaced.

The so-called grenade, or better, sphero-conical vessel, is a hard well-made ceramic (usually approaching a stoneware) with a very small opening at the rounded end. The surface usually has a glaze (often a firing by-product) and impressed or stamped decorative elements.[34] Traditional identifications of these sphero-conical vessels has been as fire-throwers, based on the superficial similarity to modern grenades. Other popular identifications are perfume or mercury containers, to which may be added postulated uses as hanging lamps, water pipes, or aeliopiles. Most recently, some currency has been granted the idea of beer or alcohol bottles; this last identification relies on unique and undocumented examples from Iran and the evidence solely poetic in form.[35] What is certain is a wide distribution from Khorasan to Egypt during the Mamluk period; one may suggest that a search of Turkic or even Mongol paraphernalia might yield a cultural usage.

By way of contrast, there is little doubt of the use of clay pipe bowls, moulded, decorated, and burnished. This is a common element of paraphernalia in depictions of the Ottoman period and indeed maintains a formal similarity with original (stone) pipe bowls of native American usage. Excavated examples from Tell Ti'innik in Palestine have been used to shift the hand-made geometric painted ware to the Ottoman period, a radical revision in dating.[36] When Pringle found pipes at al-Burj al-Aḥmar, he considered the testimony of Hama and Tell Qaimun (Tel Yoqne'am)[37] where pipes were dated to the Mamluk period; in the end he followed his own stratification to post-Mamluk occupation (phase E, 17-19th

192, pl. 36; and Kawatoko, *al-Ṭūr*, pl. 21.7.

[33]Pringle, *The Red Tower*, 135-36, 149-150.

[34]There is an extensive literature treating grenades, beginning with Hama; Riis and Poulsen, *Hama*, vol. 4, pt. 2, type DXXI, figs. 1047-1058. Recently Peter Pentz has offered new archaeological evidence from Hama, claiming to strengthen the traditional identification as "grenades," in "A Medieval Workshop for Producing 'Greek Fire' Grenades," *Antiquity* 62 (1988): 89-93.

[35]A. Ghouchani and C. Adle, "A Sphero-Conical Vessel as *fuqqāʻah*, or a Gourd for 'Beer'," *Muqarnas* 9 (1992): 72-92.

[36]Ziadeh, "Ottoman Ceramics."

[37]Pringle, *The Red Tower*, 142. The Tell Qaimun evidence is often cited but the extant reports do not offer details necessary for independent stratigraphic contribution. See Amnon Ben-Tor and Renate Rosenthal, "The First Season of Excavations at Tel Yoqne'am, 1977: Preliminary Report," *Israel Exploration Journal* 28 (1978): 57-82; and Amnon Ben-Tor, Yuval Portugali, and Miriam Avissar, "The Second Season of Excavations at Tel Yoqne'am, 1978: Preliminary Report," *IEJ* 29 (1979): 67-83. Another nearby site, this time with a Crusader castle, is 'Afula, with no better contexts or reportage; see M. Dothan, "The Excavations at 'Afula," *'Atiqot* 1 (1955): 19-74; and more recently, Benjamin Z. Kedar and Denys Pringle, "La Fève: A Crusader Castle in the Jezreel Valley," *IEJ* 35 (1985): 164-179. Yet another site with published potential is Buṣrá (Bostra), see Sophie Berthier, "Sondage dans le secteur des thermes sud à Buṣrā (Syrie) 1985," *Berytus* 33 (1985): 5-45.

centuries).[38] Ever since Hama, pipes have been suggested to have fourteenth century associations, but St. John Simpson has carefully refuted this association as, in a large number of cases, the result of faulty stratigraphy.[39] This should raise a red flag for readers of archaeological reports: isolated artifacts (or special types) should fit with the remainder of the assemblage or, put another way, archaeological evidence comes in repeating patterns.[40]

CONCLUSIONS

The preceding discussion of Mamluk archaeology has not touched on many places and monuments which are usually considered important for an understanding of Mamluk history; the architecture of Cairo or Jerusalem are two obvious beginning points.[41] Study of such monuments falls into the realm of art history, which runs on parallel tracks but employs a very different methodology from archaeology. Archaeology is suited for inquiry into long-term change. One may seek in archaeological research patterns of land use (historical geography) and social organization (settlement systems), or rather ecology and economy in human development. Archaeology also provides information about the characteristics/functioning of particular places and periods, e.g., the dramatic change observed in the beginning of the Middle Islamic period induced by a new mix in the Middle East, the long-term affects of Crusaders and Mongols on early Islamic civilization.

Since an understanding of Mamluk culture must take into account the changed nature of social organization in its rural and urban settings, the primary evidence from the archaeological record must be integrated with that from the documents. One might well return to a description of the Egyptian scene:

> Besides being a highly centralized country with an administration organized to maximize royal revenues, Egypt was and remained a traditional peasant society in which primary social relations, those of family and friend, of patron and client, remained of supreme importance. The focus of loyalty was the village. . . .[42]

This description, actually applied to Ptolemaic, not Mamluk, Egypt, is advanced here not for some vague romantic sense of continuities, but to draw a parallel between two societies in multi-cultural transitions, in which ethnic origin became less important than

[38]*The Red Tower,* 142.

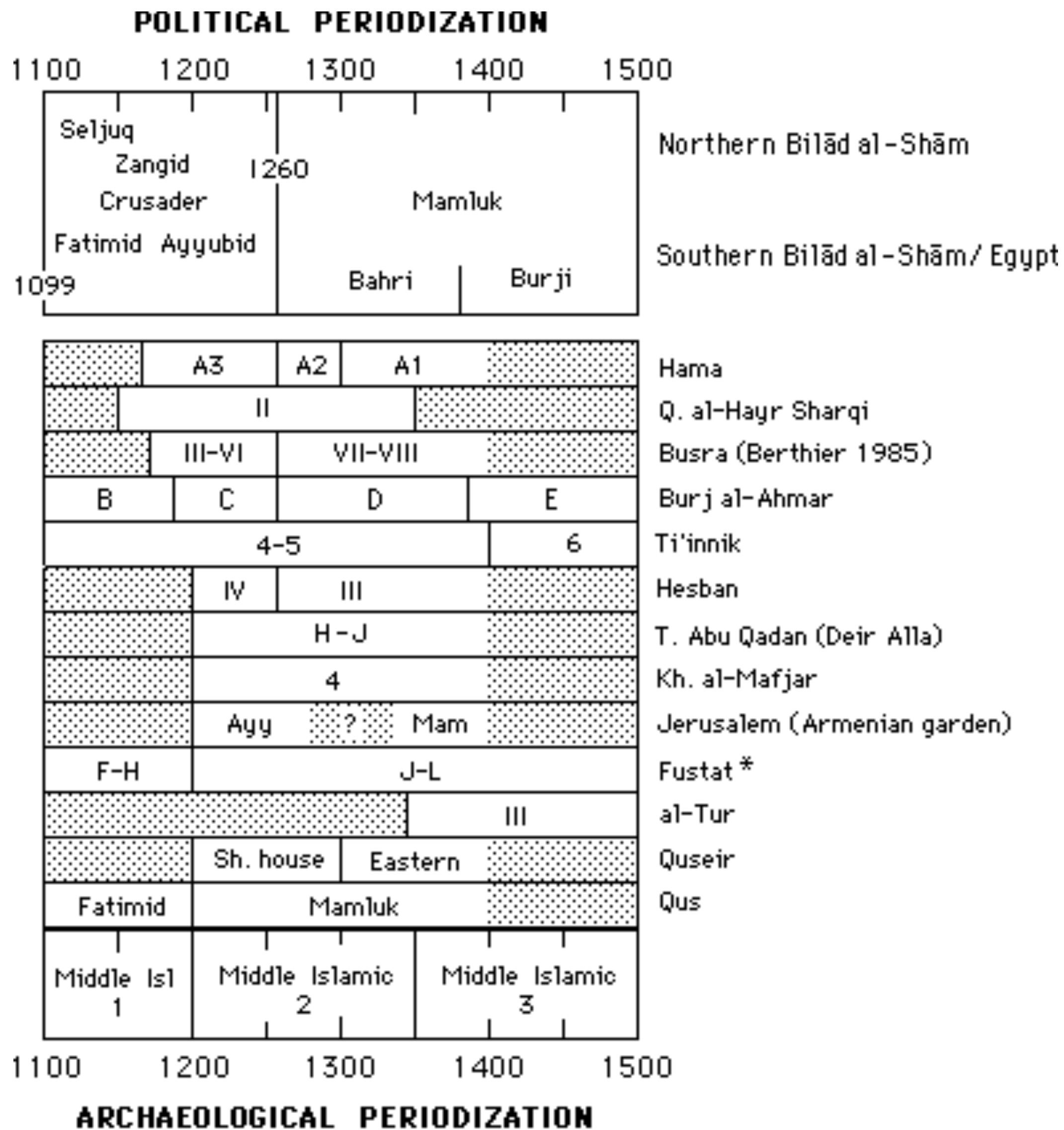
[39]The Hama references are: Riis and Poulsen, *Hama*, vol. 4, pt. 2, type D XXII, figs. 1069-1082. The refutation is found in St. John Simpson, "Ottoman Clay Pipes from Jerusalem and the Levant: A Critical Review of the Published Evidence," *Society for Clay Pipe Research, Newsletter* 27 (October, 1990): 6-16. An example of such stratigraphy with pipes is in G. J. Wightman, *The Damascus Gate, Jerusalem*, BAR 519 (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports International, 1989), pl. 63.

[40]Likewise, the evidence of coin finds must be treated as only one element of a large pattern; like C14 samples, there is an unavoidable sampling error which requires rejection *unless* the interpretation fits all other lines of evidence.

[41]See Michael Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien*, 2 vols. (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1992), and Michael H. Burgoyne and D. S. Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem, an Architectural Study, with Additional Historical Research* (Jerusalem: British School of Archaeology, 1987).

[42]Dorothy J. Crawford, "The Good Official of Ptolemaic Egypt," *Das Ptolemäische Ägypten*, ed. Herwig Maehler and Volker Michael Strocka (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1978), 199-201.

contemporary cultural sphere. Definition of such cultural spheres is more diffuse in the archaeological record than in some documentary evidence, but it is more readily discernible in the material record of daily lives as they gradually unfolded over time.



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Mamluk Architecture and the Question of Patronage

The study of patronage of the arts and architecture during the Mamluk period helps us sharpen the picture that we have of this alien ruling class. At the same time, it illuminates the relationships which existed between the Mamluks, the religious elite, and the rest of the population. In examining the patronage of architecture in the Mamluk period, historians and art historians face a number of complex problems. Some derive from the nature of the buildings themselves or their inscriptions, while others result from the conflicting accounts provided by the various literary sources and, sometimes, by the *waqf* documents. Scholars also have to be aware of external factors—economic, social, political—which had an impact on the decisions of patrons to construct one type of building rather than another.

The present article is an attempt to reflect on the patronage practices and to raise some questions about the architectural achievements of the Mamluk period. It also tries to sort out the patterns followed by both the military and civilian elite when commissioning their buildings. A survey of the extant monuments from the period between 1250-1517, as well as those no longer extant but recorded in the literary sources, allows us to identify four broad categories of buildings of either a religious or a secular nature. The classification of the buildings under a given category is based on the function of the buildings as defined in their inscriptions, literary sources, or *waqf* documents.[1] Accordingly, buildings may be grouped under four categories: (1) religious, which includes the *jāmiʻ*, *masjid*, *madrasah*, *khānqāh*;[2] (2) social, which includes the *zāwiyah*,[3] *ribāṭ*, *bīmāristān*, *sabīl*, *sabīl-kuttāb*, *ḥammām*; (3) domestic, which consists of the palace, *dār*, and house (*qāʻah*, *riwāq*, *ṭabaqah*, *rabʻ*); (4) commercial/industrial, which includes the *qaysārīyah*, *wakālah*, *khān*, *funduq*, *sūq*, *miʻṣarah*, *ṭāḥūn*, *furn*, *maṭbakh sukkar*, *sirjah*.

The ratio of religious to secular buildings constructed at a certain time is difficult to assess. At the present time our understanding of the economic, political, and social factors which had an impact on the choice of buildings constructed by patrons allows us to draw only broad conclusions as to how this choice was made. We can sometimes speculate that

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[1]The reader is asked to keep in mind the fact that, in some cases, buildings—especially large complexes—had multiple functions. In such cases the predominant function of the building will determine the category into which it falls. Civil and military architecture have been deliberately left out of this discussion since both categories included buildings which were generally part of large projects placed under the aegis of the state.

[2]Although *madrasah*s and *khānqāh*s had functions which were not directly related to religious rituals, their primary concern was the teaching of the religious sciences and/or Sufism; therefore, their inclusion under this category is justifiable.

[3]*Zāwiyah*s have been deliberately excluded from the category of religious buildings since their function—at least as far as Mamluk Egypt is concerned—was not directly associated with "orthodox" religious practice. See Fernandes, "The *Zāwiya* in Cairo," *Annales islamologiques* 18 (1982): 116-121.

the need to control or create ties with religious scholars often motivated patrons to establish foundations providing positions for the civilian elite.[4] We can further point out the relationship which existed between the growing interest of patrons in constructing commercial buildings such as *wakālah*s or *qaysārīyah*s and *funduq*s around the end of the fourteenth century and onwards, and the growth of Mediterranean trade. One can also speculate on the lack of interest shown by the Mamluks in the construction of mosques per se on the basis of the religious developments of the period.

However, before turning our attention to the pattern of patronage arising from the varying motives of patrons, let us pause for a moment to ask the question, Who were the patrons? We could use—although with reservation—the answer provided by L. A. Mayer, who writes:

> . . . although the bulk of public buildings in Islam were either devoted to religious use (like mosques, madrasas, kuttâbs, zâwiyas, cemeteries) or founded out of a religious impulse (like hospitals or sabîls), with very few exceptions they were constructed by order of laymen. Economically they were entirely the work of the governing classes, military or civilian, and independent of any ecclesiastical authority. . . . And just as there is no ecclesiastical architecture of any consequence except that ordered by laymen, so there is no bourgeois architecture worthy of the name.[5]

The preceding statement calls for two comments. Firstly, it uses a terminology which totally ignores the nature of Islam when it refers to an ″ecclesiastical authority″ and ″ecclesiastical architecture.″ Secondly, the statement mentions the absence of ″bourgeois architecture″ without taking into consideration the structure of the Muslim society under study. Despite its defects, we have to agree with Mayer′s statement that the patrons were those who could afford to pay for the construction of a building, whether from the military or civilian elite. It would also be appropriate to include explicitly two groups who were actively involved in the establishment of both religious and secular foundations: women and merchants.

The best documented of the various groups of patrons are the rulers and their military elite. The sources provide us with enough information to allow us to reconstruct the pattern of patronage of this group during the Mamluk period. It is evident that religious foundations, which helped the ruler legitimate his rule, were the primary focus of patronage by the sultan and his amirs. For the Mamluks, perhaps even more than for any other group, political power was acquired and maintained by force and legitimized by an ideology at the center of which was Islam. According to the medieval scholars, a good ruler was the one striving to impose and uphold the *sharī'ah* and thus hold high the banner of Islam.

With this ideal of rulership in mind, the Mamluk rulers arranged and rearranged their public buildings so as to project and maintain an image of themselves in harmony with the expectations of their subjects, both the religious elite and the masses. The patronage of religious buildings such as the *jāmi'*, for instance, was regarded as part of the ruler′s

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[4]See Fernandes, ″Mamluk Politics and Education: The Evidence from Two Fourteenth Century *Waqfiyya*,″ *AI* 23 (1987): 87-98.

[5]L. A. Mayer, *Islamic Architects and Their Works* (Geneva: Albert Kundig, 1956), 22-23.

duties.[6] Thus, it is not surprising to note that every effort was made by the Mamluks to associate their names with the greatest possible number of religious buildings, whether newly constructed or rebuilt. Among the most important foundations were *jum'ah* mosques, which provided a place for the community to perform their daily rituals, attend the Friday prayer, and listen to the *khuṭbah*. Sultan Baybars encouraged the introduction of the *khuṭbah* in a number of mosques in the same urban agglomeration.[7] He also ordered the building of his *jāmi'*, which was constructed between 665-67/1266-69. Many important mosques date from the time of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad who, along with his amirs, embarked on a large program of building and rebuilding mosques as mentioned by al-Maqrīzī.[8] However, after a period of about twenty-five years of intense activity involving the construction of mosques, one notes that fewer mosques were built after the death of this sultan.

Talking about a fifteenth century *madrasah*, van Berchem pointed to the fact that the Friday rituals were now celebrated in such foundations: ″À cette époque, on ne bâtissait presque plus de Mosquées, et l′office du vendredi ce célébrait dans la plupart des madrasahs.″[9] By the mid-fourteenth century, a number of *madrasah*s also had the function of *jāmi'*s. Despite the strong opposition of the Shāfi'ī school of law to the deliverance of more than one *khuṭbah* in an urban center, this practice was introduced in a number of foundations.[10] However, we should point out that permission to build a *jāmi'* or to introduce a *khuṭbah* in a *madrasah* had to be obtained from the sultan and approved by the religious scholars. It is clear that this privilege was enjoyed primarily by members of the military elite. With time, however, the same privilege came to be shared by members of the civilian elite, women related to the sultans, and rich merchants. Al-Sakhāwī mentions a number of cases in which construction of, or introduction of the *khuṭbah* in, a foundation were authorized. Thus, we read that the *khuṭbah* was delivered in the *madrasah* built by al-Zaynī ibn al-Jī'ān next to his house, with the permission of the sultan and sanction of the religious scholars.[11] Elsewhere, we read that the *khuṭbah* was delivered in the mosque built by al-Zaynī al-Ustādār in Būlāq with the permission of the sultan (*bi-idhn al-sulṭān*) and the agreement of the jurists.[12]

Because the *khuṭbah* was delivered in so many *madrasah* foundations, some jurists felt the need to point out that a *madrasah* was not a mosque. Indeed, we read: ″*madrasah*s are not to be considered mosques but only the *miḥrāb* itself or some say the *īwān al-miḥrāb* exclusively [is to be considered as a *jāmi'*]; the rest of it is not to be treated as a *jāmi'* since it is permissible [for people] to gather in it, to eat and to work in it, and so

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[6]Ibn Taymīyah, in a number of his *fatwá*s, goes so far as to consider a ruler′s neglect in building or restoring mosques as deviant behavior; *Majmū' Fatāwī Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad Ibn Taymīyah* (Riyadh: Maṭābi' al-Riyāḍ, 1381).

[7]al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Būlāq; reprint, 1977), 2:297-298.

[8]Ibid., 304-325.

[9]Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum: Égypte* (Cairo: Institut français d′archéologie orientale, 1894-1903), 3:344.

[10]al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:331.

[11]al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk* (Būlāq: n.p., 1897; reprint, Cairo: Maktabat al-Kullīyah al-Azharīyah, 1972), 176.

[12]Ibid., 217, see also, 185; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Abnā' al-'Umr* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmīyah, 1968), 9:156-157; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá, 5 vols. (Cairo: In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1960-84), 3:117.

on."[13] The practice of delivering the *khuṭbah* in *madrasah*s was still frowned upon by the Shāfiʻī jurists as late as the middle of the fifteenth century. Al-Sakhāwī mentions an incident which took place between Shāfiʻī and Ḥanafī jurists regarding the introduction of the *khuṭbah* in the *madrasah* of Qāḍī Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Suwayd, built in Miṣr in 845/1441-1442.[14] The author clearly states that Ḥanafī jurists allowed more than one *khuṭbah* in one *miṣr* while the Shāfiʻīs opposed it. He then provides his own opinion on the matter saying: "non-authorization of multiplicity [of *khuṭbah*s] is more appropriate and God provides guidance" (*ʻadam al-taʻaddud awlá wallāh al-hādī*). The opposition of the Shāfiʻī jurists was so strong that when the introduction of the *khuṭbah* in the *madrasah* of Qalāwūn was proposed in 774/1372-73, a great debate took place between the Ḥanafīs and the Shāfiʻīs. *Fatwá*s were issued on the subject, explaining their respective positions. Al-Suyūṭī[15] adds that al-Bulqīnī wrote to support the practice while al-ʻIrāqī opposed it. Could this strong opposition to the deliverance of more than one *khuṭbah* in an urban center have influenced the decision of patrons regarding the type of building to be commissioned, especially in centers like Bayn al-Qaṣrayn? Baybars, Qalāwūn, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Barqūq, and Barsbāy, each of whom erected one of their foundations in this location, declined to build a *jāmiʻ*. They all chose to build religious foundations, the functions of which were associated with teaching and Sufism. Furthermore, the *khuṭbah* was not given originally at some of the early foundations.[16]

The former site of the Fatimid palaces, which had been transformed by the Ayyubids into a center of religious and commercial activities, Bayn al-Qaṣrayn became a prime locus for the construction of large foundations during the Mamluk period. Indeed, early patrons, in imitation of their former master al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, elected to build at least one of their foundations here whenever possible. The fact that Bayn al-Qaṣrayn was deemed an important site highly appreciated by religious scholars is reflected in a comment that al-ʻAynī made when talking of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh. According to this author, when the sultan discussed his intention to build a *madrasah*/*jāmiʻ* in al-Qāhirah with his advisors, they all recommended the location opposite the *madrasah* of Sultan Barqūq in Bayn al-Qaṣrayn so that al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, too, would have a foundation standing among those of other sultans.[17]

It is also worth mentioning that by the Mamluk period Bayn al-Qaṣrayn had become, as al-Maqrīzī says, the site of an important *sūq*.[18] This probably would also have influenced the type of foundation erected there, and would perhaps have caused reluctance to build a *jāmiʻ* in this location. Indeed, the objection to the building of a *jāmiʻ* in a *sūq* is well documented. Al-Sakhāwī and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī both mention a heated debate which took place apropos the *jāmiʻ* of al-Ghamrī (d. 849). Many religious scholars, we are told, admonished him and some tried to dissuade him from building the *jāmiʻ*. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī mentions that he was among the people who advised the shaykh to forego

[13]al-Shaykh al-Tūnisī, *al-Masā'il al-Malqūṭah*, MS Dār al-Kutub, Fiqh Mālikī, no. 61.
[14]al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, 9-11.
[15]al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah fī Akhbār Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah*, (Cairo: ʻĪsá al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1968), 2:304.
[16]See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:379-380.
[17]al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd al-Jumān fī Ta'rīkh Ahl al-Zamān*, ed. ʻAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Qarmūṭ (Cairo: n.p., 1985), 1:224-226.
[18]al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:27-29.

introducing a *khuṭbah* in the foundation (i.e., keep it a *masjid*) but that he was faced with the patron's total refusal of his advice.[19] Al-Sakhāwī, who reports the same event, writes: "The scholars censured him for that" (*fa-ʿāba ʿalayhi ahl al-ʿilm dhālika*).[20]

Both the opposition of the Shāfiʿīs to more than one *khuṭbah* in a *miṣr* as well as the jurists' stand regarding the construction of a *jumʿah* mosque in a *sūq* must have inevitably influenced the choice of the foundations to be built on the site of Bayn al-Qaṣrayn. It is therefore not surprising that a sultan like Baybars al-Bunduqdārī, who commissioned a very large mosque in 665-67/1266-69, chose for its location a *maydān* outside al-Qāhirah proper. The same sultan had already built a *madrasah* in Bayn al-Qaṣrayn a few years earlier and had requested explicitly that no changes be made to this building. We read in al-Maqrīzī[21] that Baybars went to his *madrasah* in al-Qāhirah and, "He entered it and so did the *fuqahā'* and the *qurrā'* . . . and he said, 'this is a place I have dedicated to God. . . . When I die do not bury me here and do not alter the plan of this place'."[22] There was always an attempt to keep burial grounds away from urban centers. Al-Suyūṭī confirms that Baybars was firmly opposed to any urban development around burial grounds.[23] Interestingly, when the custom of adding a *qubbah* to religious foundations in urban centers was adopted by the early Mamluk sultans, their legal function as specified by the *waqf* documents was that of a *masjid* and/or teaching place. Only the *fisqīyah* (burial chamber) underneath them was to be considered a burial ground.[24]

Talking about the complex of Qalāwūn, al-Nuwayrī writes that when the sultan saw al-Turbah al-Ṣāliḥīyah, he ordered the construction of a *turbah* for himself, containing a *madrasah*, a *bīmāristān*, and a *maktab sabīl*. He established as *waqf* a number of his properties including *qaysārīyah*s and *ribāʿ*, and most of the income from these was endowed on the *bīmāristān* and then on the *turbah bi-al-qubbah*. The use of the two terms juxtaposed clearly indicates that the two words were not synonymous. Often the functions of the *qubbah* went beyond what was specified in the *waqfīyah*. Indeed, many sultans made it a place for holding important *majālis* and paid regular visits to their mausoleums. For instance, Mamluk chronicles report a number of *majālis* taking place in the *qubbah* of Qalāwūn and attended by his sons and grandsons.[25] Furthermore, this *qubbah* became the locus of an important ceremonial: the swearing of the oath, which took place at the manumission of a *mamlūk* and his promotion.[26] In an article entitled "Reflections on Mamluk Art" Oleg Grabar writes:

> The problem with all these Mamluk foundations is that there are so many of them, located so close to each other—as in the Shariʿ Bayn al-Qaṣrayn in

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[19]Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 9:244-245.
[20]al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, 137.
[21]al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:300.
[22]The reference here probably points to what had happened to the *madrasah* of his previous master al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb when his wife, Shajar al-Durr, added a *qubbah* to it.
[23]al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah* 2:139-141.
[24]Ḥujjat Waqf al-Sulṭān Qalāwūn, Dār al-Wathāʾiq 15; Ḥujjat Waqf al-Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Dār al-Wathāʾiq 25; Ḥujjat Waqf al-Sulṭān Ḥasan, Dār al-Wathāʾiq 40.
[25]Baybars al-Manṣūri, *al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah fī al-Dawlah al-Turkīyah* (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣrīyah al-Lubnānīyah, 1987), 170; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:381; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, ed. al-Bāz al-ʿArīnī (Cairo: al-Hayʾah al-Miṣrīyah al-ʿĀmmah lil-Kitāb, 1964), 31:197, 220-222, 225.
[26]al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:380-381.

> Cairo . . . and in Cairo's eastern cemeteries—that one begins to doubt their actual social, religious, or intellectual uses and usefulness.[27]

One has to wonder why it is that we are still left in doubt as to the "usefulness" of a number of monuments whose function is clearly indicated in their inscriptions and explicitly described in great detail in their *waqfīyah*s and by the chroniclers. Referring back to the descriptions of buildings provided by the literary sources and the *waqfīyah*s of the buildings erected along Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, one can not help but notice their importance in the eyes of the people who witnessed their construction. There can be no doubt whatsoever as to the purpose and usefulness of a complex such as the one erected by Qalāwūn in which a *bīmāristān* was joined to a *madrasah* and a *qubbah*. Al-Maqrīzī describes the building, explaining the patron's choice of foundations and deals briefly with some of the services provided by the *bīmāristān*.[28] Details of the services provided by this hospital are found in its endowment deed.[29]

It is equally interesting to read the texts of two chancery documents issued in the name of Qalāwūn, both dated 684/1285, appointing the *ra'īs al-aṭibbā'*. In the first document we read:

> Since *'ilm* (science), as we are told, consists of two types, *'ilm al-adyān* (religious sciences) and *'ilm al-abdān* (sciences of the body, anatomy), it was incumbent upon us to focus on both and create for them, during our days, whatever will ensure their existence in perpetuity. . . . Thus we have constructed for the two a monument rooted in piety.[30]

In another document of appointment issued by the same ruler to designate Qāḍī Muhadhdhab al-Dīn as teacher in the *bīmāristān* one reads:

> We have seen former rulers adopt sound policies towards their subjects. They showed great care for the sciences of religion but neglected the sciences of the body. Each constructed a *madrasah* and yet neglected to build a *bīmāristān* ignoring thus [the Prophet's] saying: Science is of two types (*al-'ilm 'ilmān*). . . . We have built a *bīmāristān* that fills the eyes with admiration and which surpasses other buildings and preserves the health and well being of people.[31]

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[27]Oleg Grabar, "Reflections on Mamluk Art," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 8.
[28]al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:406-408.
[29]Ḥujjat Waqf al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, al-Awqāf 1010; also see Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1976-86), 1:359.
[30]The text of the document is preserved in Ibn al-Furāt, *Ta'rīkh*, 8:22-25, as indicated in Muḥammad Māhir Ḥamādah, ed., *al-Wathā'iq al-Siyāsīyah wa-al-Idārīyah lil-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Cairo: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1980), 324-327.
[31]al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'* (Cairo: al-Mu'assasah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Ta'līf wa-al-Tarjamah wa-al-Ṭibā'ah wa-al-Nashr, 1964), 11:253-256.

Baybars al-Manṣūri writes about the complex of Qalāwūn which poets described in a number of *qaṣīdah*s, from which he quotes a few verses:

> A minaret shining like a star in the darkness providing guidance to the world / A *madrasah* standing as testimony to its high civilization, a lofty achievement / The light of which eclipses the Ẓāhirīyah. . . . / Knowledge by it remains soundly rooted and disseminated thus suppressing atheism and debauchery.[32]

Waqf documents and other sources also mention some of the reasons motivating patrons to endow pious foundations. Among the principal reasons for constructing *jāmi*'s or *masjid*s is the desire to follow the sayings of the Prophet, who is reported to have encouraged their building in a number of *ḥadīth*s. In the statement of purpose contained in the *waqfīyah*s one reads that the Prophet said, "After the death of an individual three of his deeds will survive. Among the three, the most important is the construction of a house for God." One also reads that the Prophet said, "He who builds a house for God, no matter how small its size, God will build a place for him in heaven." In addition to the sayings of the Prophet, the idea of reward in the afterlife is always stressed in the statement of purpose found at the beginning of the *waqfīyah*s.[33] It is also interesting to note that the buildings themselves often carry at the beginning of the foundation inscription the Sūrat al-Tawbah (S. 18).

The decision of a patron to build a religious building was not, however, always dictated by personal considerations such as self-aggrandizement or reward in the afterlife. Indeed, sometimes the decision to build a *jāmi*' was a direct response to the needs expressed by the people or by religious scholars. Discussing the Jāmi' al-Jadīd al-Nāṣirī, Baybars al-Manṣūri writes that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad gave the order to construct this *jāmi*' on the Nile opposite the Isle of Rawḍah because the inhabitants of this *maḥallah* (urban center) had no *jāmi*'. They kept expressing the wish to have a *jāmi*', which would save them the trouble of walking to other mosques on Fridays. Baybars al-Manṣūri writes that al-Nāṣir, "being aware of their needs, ordered the construction of this mosque and took a personal interest in its planning." We are told that it was constructed in the best way "displaying beauty, perfection and grandeur. . . . Trees lined its sides surrounding it with the perfume of their flowers and the shade of their branches."[34]

Discussing the same mosque, al-Maqrīzī writes that Qāḍī Fakhr al-Dīn ibn Faḍl Allāh, the *wazīr al-jaysh*, built this mosque "in the name of" (*bi-ism*) the sultan.[35] Although the statement of al-Maqrīzī leaves no doubt as to who the real patron was, or that the Qāḍī must have been the supervisor of the construction, there are other cases where the question of patronage poses a problem. Indeed, how should we define patronage? On what basis do we attribute a building to a patron, especially when we are dealing with royal constructions? Is the person giving the order to construct a monument and whose name figures in the inscription on the building preceded by "has ordered construction" (*amara bi-*

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[32]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah*, 111-112.
[33]Ḥujjat Waqf al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, al-Awqāf 1010; Ḥujjat Waqf al-Sulṭān Ḥasan, al-Awqāf 881, fols. 4-9; Ḥujjat Waqf al-Sulṭān Abū al-Naṣr Qāytbāy, al-Awqāf 886, fols. 4-6, to name but a few.
[34]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah*, 226.
[35]al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:304.

inshā') to be considered the patron or is the one who undertakes the construction at his own expense the real one? Furthermore, in cases of the reconstruction of a building in ruins, are we entitled to credit the new monument to the patron whose name is on the new inscription or the previous patron?

The presence of phrases like ″from his personal funds″ (*min mālihi al-khāṣṣ*) or ″has constructed [it] for″ (*ansha'a li*) found in some inscriptions on buildings, as well as a number of other oddities which exist in the inscriptions of some monuments, and discrepancies between the reports of chroniclers and *waqf* documents dictate great caution when deciding the question of patronage. For example, in the case of the *madrasah* of Khawand Barakah (Umm al-Sulṭān Sha'bān) constructed in 770/1368-69, the inscriptions clearly state that Sultan Sha'bān ″has ordered the construction of this blessed *madrasah* for his mother″ (*Amara bi-inshā' hādhihi al-madrasah al-mubārakah li-wālidatihi Mawlānā al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'bān*).[36] Yet the *waqfīyah* and the sources explicitly state that she is the one who commissioned (*ansha'at*, *banat*) it and paid for its construction.[37]

Another interesting case is presented by the complex of Faraj ibn Barqūq (803-813/1400-1411) in the desert, where all the inscriptions, except for one, mention that this sultan ordered its construction.[38] The only inscription which does not associate the construction of the *turbah* with the name of Faraj is that found in the interior of the northern mausoleum at the base of the dome. It reads: Sultan Barqūq ″has ordered the construction of this blessed *turbah* . . . in the reign of his son Mawlānā al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Abū al-Sa'ādāt Faraj. . . .″ (*Amara bi-inshā' hādhi*[*hi*] *al-turbah al-mubārakah Mawlānā al-Sulṭān al-Shahīd al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Abū Sa'īd Barqūq . . . fī ayyām walidihi Mawlānā al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Abū al-Sa'ādāt Faraj. . . .*).[39] The information provided by the sources indicates that Barqūq was the one who had selected the location for the construction of a *turbah* and had left a large sum for its erection. Al-Maqrīzī mentions that in his will (*waṣīyah*) Barqūq set aside 80,000 *dīnār*s for the construction of the *turbah* outside Bāb al-Naṣr and that he indicated that the surplus money was to be used for the acquisition of properties to be made *waqf* on the foundation.[40] There seemed to be no doubt in people′s minds at the time as to who was the real patron since Ibn Taghrībirdī thought it important to correct their beliefs when he wrote:

> People think that this *turbah* was built (*ansha'ahā*) by al-Ẓāhir Barqūq before his death and they call it Ẓāhirīyah but this is not so, for none other than al-Malik al-Nāṣir Faraj built it after his father′s death.[41]

It is clear that Barqūq did not witness the construction of the *turbah* and that Faraj probably was the one who gave the order to build it. However, since Barqūq expressed the wish to

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[36]van Berchem, *CIA, Égypte*, 1:279.
[37]Ḥujjat Waqf Umm al-Sulṭān Sha'ban, Dār al-Wathā'iq 47; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:399; 'Alī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīqīyah al-Jadīdah* (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1980), 4:126.
[38]van Berchem, *CIA, Égypte*, 3:316, nos. 205, 206, 207.
[39]van Berchem, *CIA, Égypte*, 3:320, no. 212.
[40]al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, 3/2:936-937.
[41]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Ta'līf wa-al-Nashr, 1963), 13:102.

build it, selected the location, and left the money to erect it, should we not consider him, as his contemporaries did, the real patron?

Another odd case is reported by Ibn Iyās who discusses a *madrasah* built in 859/1455 by the *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* al-Jamālī Yūsuf. He writes that "al-Jamālī began to construct a *madrasah* in the *ṣaḥrā'* for the sultan . . . and the expenditures for the work were paid out of his own money, not that of the sultan (*wa-kāna maṣrūf dhālika min māl nāẓir al-khāṣṣ Yūsuf dūna māl al-sulṭān*). . . . He built a *zāwiyah* opposite this *madrasah* and a *ḥawsh* for the burial of the family of the sultan."[42]. Elsewhere, we read that the same amir restored (*jaddada*) a *madrasah*—the Madrasah Fakhrīyah—and placed on it an inscription in the name of the sultan.[43] Ibn Iyās's reports lead us to assume that we are faced here with a gift offered to Sultan Īnāl and his family.

Occasionally we find references to sultans' names in inscriptions on buildings built by amirs. For instance, we find an inscription on a wooden door in the mosque of Azbak al-Yūsufī (900/1494-95) which mentions the name of Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Abū al-Naṣr Qāytbāy and praises him.[44] Could the references to the name of a ruling sultan possibly indicate that the latter contributed to the construction of the building, donating money or building materials, and that as a gesture of gratitude his name would be mentioned in one of the inscriptions? The most interesting example is the one offered by the inscription on the mosque of Qānībāy built in 845/1441-42, which mentions the name of Sultan Jaqmaq.[45] Indeed, in that particular instance we know that when the sultan died in 857/1453 he was buried in the *qubbah* attached to the mosque. We also know that when the sultan's son died he too was buried in this mausoleum.[46] The questions raised here are, Why was the sultan buried in this mausoleum and why does his name appear in the inscription? Did Jaqmaq build this mosque and donate it as a gift or did Qānībāy build it?

The largest group of patrons was undoubtedly the military elite who would have had no trouble securing for themselves a permit to build a public building. However, one should not ignore the contributions of other groups such as members of the civilian elite, women, and rich merchants. Some women of the households of Mamluk sultans became actively involved in the construction of religious buildings, especially from the time of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's rule. Some of them, such as Sitt Hadaq (740/1339-40), built mosques; others built *madrasah*s like the *madrasah* of Umm al-Sulṭān Sha'bān (770/1368-69). A number of them patronized Sufi foundations or other charitable ones. Hence, Umm Anūk[47] built the *khānqāh* known under her name, the *khānqāh* of Ṭughāy in 749/1348; Khawand Ṭulbāy built hers in 765/1363-64. The daughter of Baybars al-Jāshankīr built the Ribāṭ al-Baghdādīyah in 684/1285-86.

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[42]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 2:330-331, 367. The amount spent on the construction as reported by the author was 12,000 *dīnār*s.

[43]Ibid., 291; see also al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, 346.

[44]van Berchem, *CIA, Égypte* 3:531, no. 356; 'Alī Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīqīyah*, 4:115.

[45]van Berchem, *CIA, Égypte,* 3:381, no. 260.

[46]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 2:300-303, 306; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 9:216-217.

[47]Khawand Ṭughāy, also known as al-Khawand al-Kubrá, was a concubine of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad who later became his favorite wife. Ṭughāy, who was known for her beauty, had acquired great power and influence and, according to al-Maqrīzī, some *qāḍī*s and amirs would go so far as to kiss the floor in front of her as they would do for the sultan. Ṭughāy gave birth to a son Anūk, hence the title of Umm Anūk that al-Maqrīzī uses to refer to her foundation. Ṭughāy died in 749 leaving behind a great fortune. See al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:425-426.

A number of important religious foundations were built by civilians, patrons whose influential position and/or wealth earned them the privilege of erecting public buildings. Some were built by viziers, for instance, the *jāmi'* at Dayr al-Ṭīn rebuilt by Tāj al-Dīn ibn Ḥannā in 672/1273. Ibn Ḥannā, we are told, had moved to a new residence in the Bustān al-Ma'shūq. Realizing that the old *jāmi'* was too small for the inhabitants of the quarter, and for his own convenience (so as not to have to walk too far for the Friday prayer) he decided to tear down and rebuild the mosque in 672/1273.[48] Likewise, the vizier Sa'd al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Bashīrī rebuilt the Jāmi' Birkat al-Raṭlī when he decided to move to a new house nearby.[49]

Members of the religious elite, especially *qāḍī*s, also rebuilt, restored, or built religious foundations. Qāḍī Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Umar al-Suyūṭī, *nāẓir bayt al-māl*, built the Jāmi' al-Suyūṭī in 671/1272. This mosque was restored and enlarged by Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Bārizī, the *kātib al-sirr*, in 822/1419.[50] Qāḍī 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, one of the most famous patrons, is said to have commissioned a number of public buildings, among which was a *madrasah* dated 823/1420 at which he had the *khuṭbah* read, and behind which he added a *ribāṭ* for women, and a mosque in Būlāq built in 817/1414.[51] Al-'Aynī and al-Bulqīnī both built *madrasah*s, while the Jāmi' al-Ḥanafī was built by Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī in 817/1414.[52]

It is interesting to note that a number of mosques and *madrasah*s were built by influential officials who were converted Copts or of Coptic descent and/or rich merchants. Al-Maqrīzī mentions the Madrasat al-Baqrī built by Ra'īs Shams al-Dīn Shākir, one of the converted Copts who held the position of *nāẓir al-dhakhīrah* during al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's rule.[53] Al-Ṣāḥib 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Shākir ibn al-Ghannām al-Qibṭī, who was a vizier, built and rebuilt the *madrasah* near al-Azhar.[54] Qāḍī Badr al-Dīn ibn Suwayd al-Miṣrī al-Mālikī (d. 829) built al-Madrasah al-Suwaydīyah. This individual was originally a Coptic merchant whose father was a poultry seller in Sūq Shanūdah.[55] Vizier Fakhr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ghanī ibn Niqūlā al-Armanī (of Armenian descent) built a *jāmi'* and a mausoleum in Bayn al-Sūrayn,[56] and 'Abd al-Bāqī ibn Ya'qūb, a *kātib* known as Abū Ghālib, built a *madrasah* near Qanṭarat al-Mūskī.[57]

By the end of the fourteenth century, many of the religious officials who supervised *waqf*s were increasingly involved in the restoration of religious foundations. The work was often undertaken with the revenues derived from the *waqf*s but sometimes with the restorer's own money. We also note the growing interest of other civilians such as merchants or physicians in the construction or restoration of educational foundations. Thus

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[48]al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:298-299; Ibn Duqmāq, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat 'Iqd al-Amṣār* (Cairo: n.p., 1893), 78.

[49]al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:326-327.

[50]Ibid., 315-316.

[51]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 2:59; see also al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:327.

[52]al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, 378, 389; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:327; for other examples, see ibid., 2:327-329.

[53]Ibid., 391.

[54]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 2:57.

[55]Ibid., 104; see also Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 8:111.

[56]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 14:152.

[57]al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, 153.

we learn that the Ra'īs al-Aṭibbā' Ibn al-Maghribī built a *jāmi'* and next to it a *qubbah*.[58] Al-Maḥallī, a well-known merchant, built a *madrasah* on the Nile and restored the Jāmi' 'Amr.[59] Al-Maqrīzī mentions the Madrasah Musallamīyah built in the *khuṭṭ* of Bayn al-Sūrayn by Kabīr al-Tujjār Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Musallam (d. 776).[60]

The close ties which existed between the merchant class and the religious class as well as the support of the former for the latter is well documented in the chronicles and biographical dictionaries. From these sources we learn that many rich merchants encouraged their children to get an education and often boasted of having sons who were members of the *'ulamā'*. Furthermore, many religious scholars seem to have been involved in some type of trade at an early stage of their lives and sometimes even after they had been appointed to prominent positions.[61] Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī himself worked as a merchant before he dedicated his life to scholarship.[62]

The case of Qāḍī Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Suwayd al-Miṣrī, mentioned above, is relevant here since he had accumulated great wealth by investing in the Kārim trade in Yemen.[63] Qāḍī Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Makhzūmī, known as Badr al-Dīn al-Damāmīnī, who held the position of *nā'ib al-ḥukm*, was also involved in trade. In fact this *qāḍī* died in 828/1424 while he was in India on business.[64] The direct involvement of the *'ulamā'* in trade during the rule of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad may be inferred from Ibn Khaldūn's statement mentioning the emigration of the dealers from among the *'ulamā'* and the merchants to Miṣr during the sultan's rule (*wa-raḥala arbāb al-baḍā'i' min al-'ulamā' wa-al-tujjār*.[65]

Whatever the intent of the patrons when ordering the construction of a religious foundation, in order for it to provide its intended services, it needed fixed revenues. Such revenues were produced by *waqf*s which consisted mostly of buildings falling under categories three (domestic) and four (commercial/industrial) mentioned above. Although land represented an important part of the endowments, it seems that greater attention was given to investments in commercial properties such as the *wakālah*, *qaysārīyah*, *funduq*, *maṭbakh sukkar*, and *mi'ṣarah*, together with the construction/restoration of rental properties such as the *rab'*, *qā'ah*, *riwāq*, *ṭabaqah*, or *ḥawsh*. These foundations provide us with insights into investment practices as well as the transformation of the urban environment during Mamluk rule.

While the religious buildings remained as fixed landmarks, it was the secular buildings falling under categories three and four which defined the urban transformation of the quarters. The acquisition of large plots within the urban centers allowed patrons to restructure them in ways which suited their interests. The texts of *waqfīyah*s often allow us to follow what happened to a certain quarter when its land was acquired by the founder.[66]

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[58]al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:328.
[59]Ibid., 368.
[60]Ibid., 401.
[61]Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 8:321; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 2:356; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, 191.
[62]Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 2:196; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 2:90, 269.
[63]Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 8:111; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 2:104.
[64]Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 8:92; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 2:98.
[65]Ibn Khaldūn, *Ta'rīf* (Beirut: Dār al-Kātib al-Lubnānī, 1979), 351.
[66]Ḥujjat Waqf al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, al-Awqāf 1010; Ḥujjat Waqf al-Sulṭān Ḥasan, al-Awqāf 881; Ḥujjat Waqf al-Ashraf Barsbāy, Dār al-Wathā'iq 173; Ḥujjat Waqf al-Sulṭān al-Ghawrī, al-Awqāf 882.

The sources also note the transformation of quarters due to the acquisition of their properties by rich owners. For instance, when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad decided to rebuild the Jāmiʻ al-Jadīd, he acquired a number of houses and appropriated part of the road. When the *jāmiʻ* was constructed the area around it became a prime location.[67]

The pattern followed by patrons when planning their investments was to try to integrate the life of their quarters by building or reconstructing commercial and rental properties around their religious foundations. The advantages of having buildings clustered in one quarter were twofold. First, it allowed the *nāẓir* of the *waqf* to keep an eye on the foundations and control them. Second, from the economic point of view, it made sense especially if one takes into consideration the fact that water could be shared by more than one foundation (one *sāqiyah* or *biʼr* could serve two or three buildings). Transportation of drinking water would also cost less and the collection of rents would be faster. In addition to these advantages, by constructing his secular buildings next to each other, a patron could avoid some of the building restrictions which the *sharīʻah* imposed on the proximity of buildings to each other, their architecture, their heights, and so on.[68] Rich and powerful patrons would invest in the construction of a number of such clusters throughout the city and thus be able to control the development of those quarters. Although such quarters usually developed around religious foundations,[69] sometimes patrons planned their religious foundations as part of a much larger project, as was the case with the foundation of Azbakīyah where the presence of the *birkah* (pond), rather than the mosque, was responsible for its development.[70]

The booming trade of the fifteenth century gave impetus to the construction of a number of new commercial foundations such as *wakālah*s, and resulted in the growth of a new quarter, Būlāq, west of al-Qāhirah.[71] According to the information provided by our sources, there was an increasing interest on the part of merchants and religious officials in the construction of either *wakālah*s or *qaysārīyah*s. Hence, Qāḍī Tāj al-Dīn al-Manawī built a *qaysārīyah* in 750/1349 and Qāḍī Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī built another one in the same quarter (*khuṭṭ*) in 811/1408.[72] Small industries based on imported agricultural produce, such as olives, were also increasing. Indeed, the *waqfīyah*s of sultans Barsbāy, Qāytbāy, and al-Ghawrī bear witness to the increase in the number of *maṭābikh sukkar* or *maʻāṣir*.[73] One notes that regardless of the class to which the patrons belonged, there was

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[67]al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:304-305; for other examples, see Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Inbāʼ al-Ghumr*, 208; al-ʻAynī, *al-Sayf al-Muhannad fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Muʼayyad*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Cairo: Dār al-Kātib al-ʻArabī lil-Ṭibāʻah wa-al-Nashr, 1967), 272. See also Doris Behrens-Abouseif, ″The North-Eastern Extension of Cairo under the Mamluks,″ *AI* 17 (1981): 157-189.

[68]For more information on this, see Fernandes, ″Habitat et prescriptions légales″ in *Habitat traditionnel dans les pays musulmans autour de la Mediterranée,* vol. 2: *L′histoire et le milieu*, Rencontre d′Aix-en-Provence, 6-8 juin 1984 (Cairo: Institut français d′archéologie orientale, 1990), 419-426.

[69]For example, the case of al-Ẓāhir, which developed around the Sultan′s mosque, or the case of al-Muʼayyad Shaykh or Sultan al-Ghawrī. See also *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:298-299.

[70]For an interesting study on the development of Azbakīyah, see Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Azbakiyya and Its Environs, from Azbak to Ismaʻil, 1476-1879* (Cairo: Institut français d′archéologie orientale, 1985).

[71]For further information on the growth of Būlāq, see Nelly Hanna, *An Urban History of Būlāq in the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods* (Cairo: Institut français d′archéologie orientale, 1983).

[72]al-Maqrīzī, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 2:91.

[73]Ḥujjat Waqf al-Sulṭān Barsbāy, al-Awqāf 880; Ḥujjat Waqf al-Sulṭān Qāytbāy, al-Awqāf 888; Ḥujjat Waqf al-Sulṭān al-Ghawrī, al-Awqāf 882.

a growing tendency for them to invest in the construction of buildings which would produce greater revenues: *sūq*s, *qaysārīyah*s, and *maʿṣarah*s. These investments served no other purpose than to increase the patron's wealth.[74]

As for real estate investment, patrons showed great interest in diversification. In areas around their foundations they built or rebuilt *rabʿ*s, *ribāṭ*s, *qāʿah*s, *riwāq*s, *ṭibāq* and *ḥawānīt* and endowed them as *waqf*s. Rich *wāqif*s would sometimes invest in the acquisition of whole quarters, as in the case of amir Mughultāy al-Jamālī, who acquired a large *ḥikr* land on which twenty-four properties were constructed.[75] Since the *ḥikr* was made *waqf*, the money collected from the lease of the land to the property owners was left under the control of the amir who was the *nāẓir al-waqf*.[76]

The restoration and rebuilding of urban properties as well as the creation of new urban centers never ceased to attract the interest of the Mamluks and other elite elements of society, who through their *waqf*s were transforming and restructuring the city of Cairo.[77] This paper has attempted to focus on some of the problems of the patronage of architecture in the Mamluk period. The discrepancies between some sources—chronicles and *waqf*s—and the inscriptions of the buildings themselves indicate that it is still difficult to know who the real patron of a building was. Identifying the patron or group of patrons still leaves us with the task of determining what factors influenced the choice of monuments to be built and the selection of their location. In this endeavor we benefit greatly by looking at

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[74]Even though revenue-producing foundations were placed under the umbrella of *waqf*s, the money collected exceeded, by far, the needs of the religious foundation on which they were made *waqf*.

[75]*Ḥikr* (pl. *aḥkār*); a simplified definition of the term would be "long-term lease." In his discussion of the term, Claude Cahen wrote: "il s'agit d'une forme de louage à long terme et trés souple, qui à la fois sauvegarde l'éminente propriété du propriétaire—ici l'État—, de l'autre donne au locataire une liberté d'usage plus grande que dans une ordinaire location. Les *aḥkār* dont il est question ici sont connus d'Ibn Mammāṭī, qui les dit tantôt bâtis, tantôt exploités en jardins"; "Contribution à l'étude des impôts dans l'Égypte médiévale," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 5 (1962): 270. The *ḥikr* as a long-term lease of land—built upon or used as orchards—was regulated by the *sharīʿah*. A freehold property could equally be held as *ḥikr* which the lessee could enjoy for a certain period of time. The lease of a *ḥikr* covered a period of time agreed upon between the two parties. The period could be ten to thirty years, but occasionally up to ninety years. A *ḥikr* was not always the property of the "state" since it could be bought from the *bayt al-māl* (public treasury), in which case it became private property of the individual. Usually, the lessee of the *ḥikr* agreed to pay the owner a lump sum, in addition to the monthly or yearly amount fixed by the lease. The money paid in advance granted the lessee the privilege of disposing of the land or the freehold property the way he wanted with the proviso that at the end of the lease, the land or property be returned to its owner in its original condition. During the Mamluk period the lease of *ḥikr* had become widespread, even though the practice was frowned upon by conservative jurists. Many of them opposed it since it often resulted in disputes between parties and/or claims of ownership by the lessees or their descendants. For information on the *ḥikr* during the medieval period, see Ibn Mammātī, *Kitāb Qawānīn al-Dawāwīn*, (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Miṣr, 1943), 342. For interesting information on the practice and its developments during the Ottoman period, see Nelly Hanna, *Habiter au Caire: La maison moyenne et ses habitants aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1991), 168.

[76]Ḥujjat Waqf Mughultāy al-Jamālī, al-Awqāf 1666; the passage dealing with the *ḥikr* is soon to be published by the present writer.

[77]Ḥujjat Waqf al-Sulṭān Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī, Awqāf 883, fols. 33-37, 128-157, provides a good example of how the urban center around the mosque of al-Azhar was restructured by al-Ghawrī who left his permanent imprint on the quarter. See also Ḥujjat Waqf Tatarkhān, daughter of Ṭashtumur, Awqāf 913, fols. 27-29, 34; Ḥujjat Waqf al-Sulṭān al-Ashraf Barsbāy, Awqāf 880, fols. 246-249, 249-261, to name but a few.

the information provided by sources such as legal opinions or epistles in addition to the accounts of the chroniclers. Indeed, these sources provide us with insight into the discourse taking place between scholars of the different schools of thought. Since many of the debates often dealt with issues concerned with the application of the law to daily life, for instance, the legality of some practices or innovations touching on religious matters, they may have had an impact on the planning of some types of religious buildings and their locations. The buildings in Bayn al-Qaṣrayn may represent a case in point as the patrons′ choice of building type and architecture may have been influenced by the debates between Ḥanafīs and Shāfiʻīs over the validity of the multiplicity of *khuṭbah*s in one urban center. Finally, thanks to the details they provide on the patterns of investment and the descriptions of the income-generating properties, *waqf* documents allow us to form a better picture of the relationship between power, wealth, and urban policies in the Mamluk period.

Book Reviews

SYLVIE DENOIX, *Décrire le Caire: Fusṭāṭ-Miṣr d'après Ibn Duqmāq et Maqrīzī: L'histoire d'une partie de la ville du Caire d'après deux historiens égyptiens des XIVe-XVe siècles*. (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1995). Pp. 159.

REVIEWED BY AMY W. NEWHALL, University of Arizona

In many parts of the city, the study of the urban history of Cairo is very rewarding. A profusion of standing monuments and rich remains complements textual evidence in the form of legal documents and, most importantly, late medieval descriptions. In contrast, the area of al-Fusṭāṭ, the site first occupied by the Muslim conquerors, is available to us almost only through the historical descriptions of two historians, Ibn Duqmāq (d. 809/1406) and al-Maqrīzī, who, although close contemporaries, wrote entirely independently of each other. The purpose of Sylvie Denoix's book is to reexamine their descriptions of al-Fusṭāṭ in order to reconstruct its form in the Mamluk period, an era which scholars have until recently largely ignored. Her particular method of textual analysis also throws light on events that are the great clichés in accounts of al-Fusṭāṭ's history: the chaotic reign of the late Fatimid ruler al-Mustanṣir billāh in 446/1060, the burning of al-Fusṭāṭ in 1168, and the great time of troubles that occurred in the reign of Faraj ibn Barqūq in 1403. She attempts to determine the true effects of these events: How far east did the early city extend? What was the true nature of the contraction after these events? Where did revival or new development occur? The crisis of 1403 is of special interest to Denoix because, chronologically, her two accounts bracket it. It provides a kind of high-tide mark by which she can measure the flow and ebb of Mamluk urban prosperity.

The chronicles of Ibn Duqmāq (*Kitāb al-Intiṣār li-Wāṣitat ʻIqd al-Amṣār*) and al-Maqrīzī (*al-Mawāʼiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*) are well-known: they combine the authors' observations with information they have gathered from earlier sources now lost to us. Ibn Duqmāq's chronicle is of critical importance for al-Fusṭāṭ, and Denoix concentrates on it. Because Ibn Duqmāq frequently does not distinguish between historical and observed reality, the picture of the city he presents is timeless and highly subjective. Denoix, by making a very close reading of the text and examining its choice of language and phrasing, attempts to unfreeze and reorder the sequence of his "stills" and reanimate our picture of the evolution of al-Fusṭāṭ. In the course of this examination she comes to some conclusions about the attitudes of her chroniclers and how they reflect the times in which they wrote.

From the results of this analysis, Denoix develops a schematic map of Mamluk al-Fusṭāṭ. Both in order to test her textual reading and to see if Ibn Duqmāq has neglected to tell us of certain areas, she then superimposes her diagram on the street network generated by two archaeologists at the beginning of the century, Ali Bahgat and Albert Gabriel (and

redated by George Scanlon). While the two do not overlap, they do meet, thus suggesting the limits of the Mamluk revival of the city.

Denoix proceeds to fill in her diagrammatic schema with the street and building information of Ibn Duqmāq and al-Maqrīzī. She is frustrated by their failure to give any sense of quarters, so she works at identifying various agglomerations. Appropriately enough for an important agricultural and commercial entrepôt, warehouses figure largely in the urban inventories, as do such water-reliant enterprises as mills, sugar refineries, paper mills, and potteries. She notes that the concept of nuisance industries did not exist at this time for they were fully integrated in the normal urban fabric. (Under the Ottomans they were regulated and moved.) As in the northern districts of Cairo, buildings frequently had multiple purposes; commercial and residential functions were combined. As for the differing religious groups, there seems to have been no strict partitioning in practice. There were natural concentrations, but no exclusive areas. Nor does there seem to be much clustering by class, although the presence of twenty-four *madrasah*s founded in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods suggests a vogue for living in the area among the military elite.

Denoix´s study is one more piece in a long term effort (mostly French) to study and reconstruct medieval Cairo. This effort started in the nineteenth century with Paul Casanova, Paul Ravaisse, and G. T. Salmon and, as she points out, was begun in an arbitrary (and typically colonial) manner by dividing up the areas to be studied before knowing anything about the sources available for them. Nevertheless, these early works remain of fundamental importance; they have paved the way for a crop of scholarship in the last twenty-five years by André Raymond, Władysław Kubiak, Nelly Hanna, Doris Behrens-Abouseif, and Nasser Rabbat, among others. Denoix´s study follows upon the pioneering work of Paul Casanova, *Essai de reconstitution topographique de la ville d´al-Fusṭāṭ ou Miṣr* (1919), but, whereas Casanova´s work was primarily concerned with topography, Denoix´s is concerned with historical context and the evolution of the region of al-Fusṭāṭ-Miṣr. Her multifarious analytical methods (close textual reading, schematic mapping, archaeological findings, and comparison of her two main sources) succeed in developing new understanding from familiar texts and lead us to a better sense of the fortunes and misfortunes of the oldest section of Cairo, al-Fusṭāṭ-Miṣr. She also makes an interesting but speculative attempt to characterize the mentality of the two historians.

The text contains numerous maps illustrating the results of the textual analysis, and the appendices provide a useful selection of translations from Ibn Duqmāq, a list of the region´s *madrasah*s, a glossary, and an index of toponyms for both Ibn Duqmāq and al-Maqrīzī.

MICHAEL MEINECKE, *Die Mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien*. (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin GmbH, 1992). Vol. I: Pp. 243, Vol. II: Pp. 576.

REVIEWED BY DORIS BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF, University of Munich

Michael Meinecke´s study of Mamluk architecture in Egypt and Syria consists of two volumes. The first includes the analysis, plates, and bibliography. The second is a

detailed catalogue of references in Mamluk literary sources concerning buildings erected in this period; it is followed by a detailed, one hundred page long index (pp. 496-596).

The first volume has eight chapters which follow a chronological sequence. Chapter 1 describes the Cairene school of architecture in the mid-thirteenth century. The second deals with the revival of early Islamic architecture under al-Ẓāhir Baybars. Chapter 3 deals with the early Qalāwūnid dynasty, chapter 4 with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s reign, and chapter 5 with the internationalization of Mamluk architecture in the later phase of the Qalāwūnid dynasty. Chapter 6 presents the period of Barqūq. Seven deals with Syria in the aftermath of Tīmūr′s invasion. The last chapter discusses the continuity of Mamluk architectural traditions under Ottoman rule.

This is the first work to survey Mamluk architecture as a whole, dealing with Egypt and Syria together. Meinecke′s study is concerned with the whole of Syria (Jerusalem, Hebron, Damascus, Hama, Aleppo, and Tripoli) and Cairo, but not with all of Egypt, as it does not tackle the subject of provincial architecture within Egypt. This is partly justified by the scarcity of extant medieval buildings in the Egyptian provinces. There are, however, extant medieval monuments in the Delta (Damietta, al-Maḥallah al-Kubrá, and Fuwā) and Upper Egypt dating from the Mamluk period or built under the Ottomans in the Mamluk tradition, which one would have expected to see in this survey. Since this study discusses Mamluk influence on Anatolia and Turkestan, it should not have omitted entirely the question of how far the style of the capital was adopted in Egypt itself. The relationship between the imperial style of the capital and the provincial style is an interesting question, as has been shown in connection with Ilkhanid and Ottoman architecture by Renata Holod and Aptullah Kuran.[1]

Meinecke′s analysis of Mamluk architecture is marked by the great emphasis it puts on foreign influences and transfers of patterns between the Mamluk and other Muslim schools of architecture, as well as between the various regional schools within the Mamluk empire. This idea, which he explains with a busy migration of ″workshops″ or ″lodges,″ is a kind of *leitmotif* in the book. The following comments will focus, therefore, on this aspect of the study.

In his discussion of the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan the author attributes the stucco inscription frieze in the prayer hall to Iranian craftsmen (pp. 121f.). One of the author′s arguments is based on the fact that at that time some Iranian dignitaries built mausoleums in Jerusalem (p. 120). These mausoleums, however, were erected in the local Mamluk style, without apparent Iranian influence. J. M. Rogers has given a much more plausible interpretation of this frieze when he compared it with Mamluk Quran illuminations of the same period, with which it has a striking similarity, much more than with the remote eastern Iranian examples that Meinecke presents.[2] As for the chinoiseries on the portal of Sultan Ḥasan′s mosque, they have been common on Mamluk portable objects of metal, pottery, and textile and in Quran illuminations since the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. As again convincingly demonstrated by J. M. Rogers,[3] they were transferred by the trade with China

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[1]Renata Holod, ″Text, Plan, and Building: On the Transmission of Architectural Knowledge,″ in *Theories and Principles of Design in the Architecture of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1988), 1-12; Aptullah Kuran, ″Ottoman Classical Mosques in Istanbul and in the Provinces,″ in ibid., 13-22.

[2]Janine Sourdel-Thomine and Bertold Spuler, *Die Kunst des Islam* (Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, 1973), 326.

[3]J. M. Rogers, ″Evidence for Mamluk-Mongol Relations 1260-1360,″ in *Colloque international sur*

following the Mamluk-Mongol entente during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s reign, through portable objects, such as porcelain or textiles, rather than through migration of ″Iranian specialists,″ who would have come from eastern Iran just to carve this one frieze and leave the country again.

Coming to Mamluk influence on Anatolia, the author ascribes it to craftsmen who participated in the building of Sultan Ḥasan′s mosque, and migrated in large numbers afterwards, exercising a tremendous influence on the architectural development of the Muslim world (p. 131). Meinecke attributes to these craftsmen the plan of the Ulu Cami (1366-67) in Manisa (p. 136), whose prayer hall consists of four naves cut by a large central dome over the *miḥrāb*. He argues that this plan, having no precedent in Asia Minor, must have been built under Mamluk influence, as it recalls some mosques of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s reign which have a large dome over the *miḥrāb*. Would craftsmen of Sultan Ḥasan have migrated in the 1360s to Manisa to build there a mosque that recalls the buildings of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad? Why so complicated? There are two mosques in Mosul erected in the late twelfth century, the Jāmi‘ Nūrī and the mosque of Mujāhid al-Dīn, which show far more similarity with the Manisa plan than the mosques of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and which probably belong to the architectural tradition which produced the Manisa mosque plan. This type of prayer hall was also used in Mardin in eastern Anatolia (1172-76), in Dunaysir in Upper Mesopotamia (1201) and, with some variation, in Aleppo (1223), and is more likely to have pertained to Saljuq Upper Mesopotamian or eastern Anatolian architecture. From there it went under Ayyubid influence to Yemen where we find it at the Ashrafīyah mosque in Ta‘izz, whose prayer hall was built in the years 694-97/1294-97. Lewcock has rightly connected the Ashrafīyah plan with that of Dunaysir and, further back, to the plan of the Great Mosque of Lashkari Bazar (ca. 1020).[4] The mosques of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, which Meinecke declares to be the prototype for Manisa follow the model of Baybars′s mosque in Cairo, which Creswell rightly ascribed to the influence of Mardin! An attribution of the Manisa mosque plan to the craftsmen of Sultan Ḥasan, who were building four-*īwān* mosques in Cairo, seems therefore far-fetched indeed.

When discussing the dome built by Amir Yashbak al-Dawādār in 1481 and known as Qubbat al-Fadāwīyah (p. 168), Meinecke attributes its architecture to Ottoman influence, basing his argument on the fact that it is a single-dome prayer hall, and comparing its ground plan with that of the mosque of Dāwūd Pasha in Istanbul. A ground plan is not sufficient for such an attribution; the Mamluks were familiar with domed chambers which they used as mausoleums. Neither the elevation, nor the dome profile, nor the transitional zone, nor any other feature in Cairene architecture at that time, or in this monument in particular, betrays any Ottoman influence. Meinecke′s analyses are based on ground plans alone, disregarding elevations. The author overlooked, moreover, that this dome had predecessors in Cairo, the earliest being the dome of the Rifā‘ī *zāwiyah* built in the 1430s by Sultan Barsbāy near his mausoleum in the cemetery, which is mentioned in his *waqf* deed and is still extant. Another one was erected by Jānībak, *nā'ib* of Jiddah, in 1463, also as a *zāwiyah*, which later was used by the Baktāshī order in Cairo and of which a nineteenth-century photograph has been published in *Annales islamologiques*, vol. 19,

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l′histoire du Caire (1969) (Cairo: Ministry of Culture, n.d.), 385-403.

[4]Ronald B. Lewcock and G. R. Smith, ″Three Medieval Mosques in the Yemen: A Preliminary Report,″ parts 1 and 2, *Oriental Art* 20, no. 1 (Spring 1974): 75-86; no. 2 (Summer 1974): 192-203.

1983. There is thus a whole group of domed buildings, all of which were *zāwiyah*s, whose tradition seems to be rooted in Baḥrī Mamluk architecture. Qubbat al-Naṣr is mentioned by al-Maqrīzī as a *zāwiyah* built during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Although it did not survive, we know at least that it was a domed *zāwiyah*, which leads the tradition back to a period prior to the articulation of Ottoman architecture.

By focusing on the ″migration of workshops,″ the author neglected other possibilities for the transmission of architectural knowledge. The question of how far drawings, elevations, models, or even oral communications might have been used to transfer architectural ideas from one place to another is not considered. The use of the octagonal shaft in Syrian minarets might well have occurred under Cairene influence (p. 189, pl. 133) without necessarily implying that craftsmen from Cairo moved to Damascus to erect such shafts. This kind of influence, which did not involve much more than just an idea and did not include equivalence of proportions and elevations, could have been transmitted by simple drawings or by oral communication. Most of the examples of foreign influences, whether Iranian patterns in Cairo or Mamluk patterns in Turkestan refer to details, often minor details, rather than to entire projects, thus contradicting the idea of migrating lodges. This does not exclude, however, the mobility of individual craftsmen, just as that of scholars or physicians.

The rich material of the survey itself demonstrates, more implicitly than explicitly, that Mamluk architecture on the whole was regionally oriented, and furthermore that Cairo, as imperial capital, enjoyed the lion′s share both in quantity and refinement of the work produced. Notwithstanding similarities here and there, it should be recognized that the Cairene style of Mamluk architecture is not much represented outside the capital. Except for Qāytbāy′s *sabīl* in Jerusalem, there is not one single dome or minaret profile in Syria that could be attributed to the Cairene style. Qāytbāy′s buildings in Jerusalem are an exception because the sultan was unsatisfied with the first building after he visited it. He eventually ordered it rebuilt by craftsmen he sent from Cairo; the minaret, however, was built in the local style. Also, when the same sultan sent craftsmen to rebuild the Prophet′s mosque in Medina, the minaret was erected in a style that had ceased to exist in Cairo more than a century earlier, the latest similar shaft being that of Qūṣūn (736/1335-36). Interestingly, however, this style continued to be used in the Egyptian provinces, namely in the city of al-Maḥallah al-Kubrá.

Meinecke seems to have been under the influence of European art history, especially when he uses the terms ″Bauhütte″ and ″Architektengilde,″ or guilds of architects (pp. 193f.), basing himself on the term *mi'mārīyah* mentioned in the late Mamluk chronicle of Damascus by Ibn Ṭūlūn.[5] A careful reading of Ibn Ṭūlūn, however, shows that the term *mi'mārīyah* here refers to masons and other building craftsmen rather than designer-architects as understood by Meinecke, who uses the terms ″Architekt″ and ″Künstler″ (p. 194) in this context. In Mamluk *waqf* documents of Egypt and Syria, the *mi'mār* is a craftsman, hired on a monthly basis with a relatively low income to take care of a building′s maintenance, along with the plumber.

[5]Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá ([Cairo]: al-Mu'assasah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Ta'līf wa-al-Tarjamah wa-al-Ṭibā'ah wa-al-Nashr, 1962), 1:143, 148, 197.

As for Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn al-ʻAṭṭār, mentioned here as artist and head of a guild, he was the sultan′s contractor in Damascus. He is designated as the sultan′s *muʻallim* or *miʻmār*, and the context identifies him as contractor: he had to evaluate costs and was in charge of demolition and excavation works. When, following the Ottoman conquest, he was involved in the building of the shrine of Ibn al-ʻArabī in Damascus, he was part of a team of clerks and bureaucrats, as the text explicitly states, all of whom designed the building together.[6] In the Mamluk period the buildings were designed by a consortium of founder, contractor, clerks, land-surveyors, and master-masons.

Neither the lists of urban trades included in the Mamluk *ḥisbah* literature nor the lists of guilds during the Ottoman period ever refer to ″guilds of architects″; only craftsmen such as masons, decorators, carpenters, etc., are considered practitioners of trades. The building activity of the Mamluk sultans and amirs was organized by a *dīwān*, or office, at the court under the control of an amir of ten, who was called *shādd al-ʻamā'ir al-sulṭānīyah*, and later *muʻallim*, who was also the supervisor of the building craftsmen (al-Qalqashandī, vol. 4, p. 22). In the Ottoman period these crafts were under the supervision of the *miʻmār bāshī.* In the later Mamluk period the *muʻallim* of the sultan could also be a bureaucrat. In any case, he was a member of the Mamluk establishment, equivalent to the modern minister of public works. Moreover, each royal building had its own *shādd*, who often recruited the craftsmen on an ad hoc basis. Aḥmad al-Ṭūlūnī, the *muʻallim* of Barqūq, who was a contractor of non-Mamluk origin, was made amir of ten and his descendants belonged socially to the *awlād al-nās*, i.e., the sons of mamluks; he was, moreover, the sultan′s father-in-law.[7] The *muʻallim al-ʻamā'ir*, Ḥasan al-Tanamī, who was appointed in 869/1465, had been governor of Jerusalem and Hebron.[8] The *muʻallim*s, as supervisors of the building craft and members of the Mamluk administration, did not migrate, as free-lance professionals, from one region to another in search of jobs, as they could be transferred from one to another. The idea of lodges (*Bauhütten*), which implies an inner organization or even autonomy, migrating from one region to another according to the market′s requirements thus does not conform with our knowledge of Islamic social history. The building craft was largely in the rulers′ hands rather than a free trade.[9]

Meinecke should have been more careful while using the term ″Gilde,″ or guild, in connection with the Mamluk period. While according to Subhi Labib there were no guilds under the Mamluks in the medieval European sense of autonomous corporations, Ira Lapidus even states they were ″nonexistent″ in Mamluk cities.[10]

As for the identification of Mamluk monuments, the author calls a four-*īwān* building a *madrasah*, and identifies a hypostyle building as a mosque; the building of Barsbāy in the Coppersmiths′ quarter is designated a *madrasah* whereas that of al-

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[6]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *al-Qalā'id al-Jawharīyah fī Ta'rīkh al-Ṣāliḥīyah*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān ([Damascus]: Maktab al-Dirāsāt al-Islāmīyah, 1949-56), 1:64; idem, *Mufākahat al-Khillān*, 1:150; 2:37, 68, 124.

[7]See my article, ″Muhandis, Shād, Mu'allim—Note on the Building Craft in the Mamlūk Period,″ *Der Islam* 72, no. 2 (1995): 293-309.

[8]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr*, ed. William Popper, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, vol. 8 (Berkeley: University of California, 1930-42), 490.

[9]Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 65.

[10]Subhi Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter (1171-1517)* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1965), 222f.; Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 96.

Mu'ayyad Shaykh is called a mosque (pp. 154f.). This distinction between *madrasah* and mosque, which is based on the building′s plan, is not exact. According to recent works based on Mamluk *waqf* documents, both foundations had the same functions as a combined *madrasah-khānqāh*-Friday mosque. It has already been demonstrated that a hypostyle mosque could be as much a *madrasah* as a cruciform one; in the late Mamluk period various plans were used to fulfill the same functions. In this matter, epigraphy, which is often arbitrary, can be misleading; *waqf* data are more reliable.

The analysis of the first volume concentrates on religious architecture. The discussion of plans deals exclusively with prayer halls and their adjoined mausoleums, without referring much to the presence, or absence, of living quarters in the complexes of *madrasah*s and *khānqāh*s. An important share of Mamluk monuments included *madrasah*s or *khānqāh*s or both, i.e., they were also boarding institutions. The originality of Sultan Ḥasan′s mosque is not only its monumentality, as stated by the author; it is the first *madrasah* to have the living units away from the courtyard and fully integrated along the facade. Since it is also the first *madrasah* with the status of a Friday mosque, this change is not accidental, but related to the new, more public, functions of the institution. The location of the living quarters in relationship to the prayer hall is therefore significant. The evolution of the multiple complex *madrasah-khānqāh-jāmi'* in the late Mamluk period had a decisive impact on the organization of space in religious architecture, leading ultimately to the living units being detached from the main building and taking the form of an independent *rab'*.

In the bibliography the author confuses Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, the author of *al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'*, with his namesake, Abū al-Ḥasan Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī al-Sakhāwī, who wrote *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb*, identifying them as the same author.

The reader will be grateful for the unique collection of ground plans included in the first volume; some elevations would have been useful to facilitate comparisons.

The second volume is divided into forty-nine entries, chronologically ordered and named by the sultans who ruled in the Mamluk period. The buildings are recorded under the name of the city or location. They are documented with the founders′ names and dates and a bibliography of primary and secondary literature. The primary sources used are published historiographical literature. This volume, which according to the introduction was done by Viktoria Meinecke-Berg, comprises very important documentation, no less valuable than the first volume; it is of great use to all scholars of Mamluk architecture and history as well. The detailed three-register index gives easy access to the survey.

The reader should not expect to find in Michael Meinecke′s survey of Mamluk architecture a discussion of social, urban, or iconographic aspects of architecture. The study does not refer to *waqf* documents nor does it deal with epigraphy, except to date the building and identify the founder. Unlike Golombek and Wilber′s study of Timurid architecture and Goodwin′s books on Ottoman architecture, which are agreeable and appealing as readings, this is essentially a reliable survey and reference book. The taxonomic aspect of this gigantic work places it in the Creswell tradition, as an important document for historians of Mamluk architecture.

ʿALĪ AL-SAYYID ʿALĪ MAḤMŪD, *al-Ḥayāh al-Iqtiṣādīyah fī Jiddah fī ʿAṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk, 648-925 H./1250-1517 M*. (Cairo: al-Maṭbaʿah al-Tijārīyah al-Ḥadīthah, 1991). Pp. 147.

REVIEWED BY CARL F. PETRY, Northwestern University

The appearance of a monograph addressing the economy of an important commercial entrepôt within the Mamluk state, other than the capital Cairo itself, is a welcome event. And since so much contemporary scholarship in Arabic is neglected by Western readers for obvious linguistic reasons, the inclusion of recent works in this language by the editorial staff of *Mamluk Studies Review* for assessment is to be commended. The author has produced a straightforward, if somewhat verbose, description of economic activity in Jiddah as mentioned by Arabic narrative sources that were compiled from the thirteenth through the fifteenth centuries. Without exception, these texts are available in print; most belong to the roster of well-known chronicles consulted by virtually everyone who has delved into the Mamluk era (There are exceptions, for example: p. 100, note 394; p. 140, entry 7: the Maghribī traveler al-Tujībī's *Mustafād al-Riḥlah wa-al-Ightirāb*, although published in Tunis, is not a frequently cited work. It nonetheless contains noteworthy details on shipbuilding in Jiddah).

This monograph's value derives exclusively from its factual information. It contributes no fresh methodological insights, nor does it significantly alter existing perceptions of the commercial economy of prominent Red Sea ports throughout the Middle Ages. Indeed, the author himself frequently asserts that details on commercial or manufacturing activity in the port of Jiddah occur rarely in the chronicle literature, thereby enabling only glimpses into the town's economic history rather than a thorough reconstruction of its foundations. The author seems also minimally acquainted with the profound conceptual transformation in approaches to the economic history of the eastern Mediterranean and Southwest Asia that has occurred over the past three decades. While numerous monographs published in Arabic are listed in the bibliography, these fall into the same particularistic category as the book under review. Few works of broader scope, either in Arabic or other languages, are noted. The absence of any reference to such a comprehensive survey as Subhi Labib's *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter* (Wiesbaden, 1965), which frequently alludes to the prominence of Jiddah in the commerce of the Red Sea throughout the Mamluk era, is disconcerting.

The author's depiction of Jiddah's economy proceeds as follows: the port's florescence as a trading center in the Mamluk period, its gradual supplanting of Aden as the primary docking facility for ships arriving from south and east Asia, its markets and their influence on daily life, economic crises and their consequences for market activities, measures and weights (with interesting facts on the reckoning of quantities), monetary transactions (also providing significant data on currencies used in transactions), Jiddah's relations with international centers of trade, land and maritime trade routes, customs and collection enforcement, agrarian and pastoral activities (the latter section mentioning tribal groups rather than analyzing economies of husbandry), and craft industries: shipbuilding (the most intriguing commodity discussion in the monograph, with interesting details on timber scarcity and hulls designed for navigation through coral reefs), tanning of hides,

preparation of confections, braiding of mats, manufacture of rosaries (*masābiḥ*), minerals and metallurgy, pottery and ceramics, marble and plaster work.

Readers seeking to place the commercial history of Jiddah within the wider context of the Hijaz economy as a whole under the Mamluks are advised to consult the recent articles by Richard Mortel, with special emphasis on his ″Prices in Mecca during the Mamlūk Period,″ *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 32, no. 3 (October, 1989), pp. 279-334; and ″The Mercantile Community of Mecca during the Late Mamlūk Period,″ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (third series) 4 (1994), pp. 15-35.

WAEL B. HALLAQ, *Ibn Taymiyya against the Greek Logicians*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993). Pp. 204.

REVIEWED BY DAVID C. REISMAN, Yale University

This work, Professor Hallaq′s most recent, is almost unique to modern studies of Ibn Taymīyah and for this reason deserves our attention. Hallaq has proved an enormously capable writer in his field, the study of logic, specifically of that variety of logic employed in medieval Muslim legal theory. He has written a number of articles on the historical development of legal logic as well as on some of the technical terms peculiar to that field. *Ibn Taymiyya against the Greek Logicians* is his first major work; it is something of a mixed blessing. His profound grasp of the discussions in medieval Arabic works on logic is evident here and in that regard it is an important book. As a work on Ibn Taymīyah′s thought in general, however, it is frustratingly incomplete.

The work is made up of three parts. The most substantive of these parts is the translation of an abridgment of Ibn Taymīyah′s *Naṣīḥat Ahl al-Imām fī al-Radd ʻalá Manṭiq al-Yunān* (otherwise known as *al-Radd ʻalá al-Manṭiqīyīn*) by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) entitled *Jahd al-Qarīḥah fī Tajrīd al-Naṣīḥah*. Why Hallaq chose to translate al-Suyūṭī′s and not Ibn Taymīyah′s work will be discussed shortly. The translation is prefaced by an introduction, the strongest aspect of which is the discussion in part 1 of the terms of the argument against logic as Ibn Taymīyah saw them (one of the clearest explanations to date of Ibn Sīnā′s theory of essence and existence is that provided in pp. xiv-xvii), and the weakest aspect of which, in light of its stated aim, is the discussion in part 2, ″Sources of the Critique.″ The reader perhaps would have benefited more from solid research into lines of transmission of anti-logic writings than the speculation he is given; the notes on later medieval Latin and early modern European anti-logic writings and the striking similarity between Ibn Taymīyah′s conclusions and those of these writings are no more than a curiosity.[1] The section does have a certain value, however, in that it places Ibn Taymīyah′s thought within a broader context while stressing the distinctive and original nature of Ibn Taymīyah′s contribution. The annotated commentary to the translation is extensive and superb. It evinces Hallaq′s wide and discriminating reading of Arabic works

[1]The similarity between Ibn Taymīyah′s views and those of the British empiricists was noted by S. S. Nadvi as early as 1927; an extract of his article, originally appearing in *Islamic Culture*, was quoted in the introduction (p. 14) to al-Kutubī′s 1949 edition of *al-Radd ʻalá al-Manṭiqīyīn*.

on logic and Greek and Arabic philosophy in general. He has taken great pains to trace Ibn Taymīyah's uncited references to opinions of other thinkers; where this has proved difficult, he has delineated the general field of enquiry. Specific issues, the articulation of which in the text might initially strike the reader as abstruse, are precisely explained, often with original examples from Hallaq who, it would seem, is as much a logician as he is an historian of logic—a fortunate state of affairs.

Before turning to the translation, a major criticism regarding Hallaq's choice of work to translate must be raised. Much of the secondary literature on Ibn Taymīyah is either out of date or labors under the misapprehension that the defining characteristic of Ibn Taymīyah's thought is reactionary diatribe. This may or may not be the result of an overemphasis on his role as a social reformer, or even of current social and political climates. The topic is certainly too large to be tackled here. Hallaq's study is the first (recently) to present us with Ibn Taymīyah as a thinker, one who, in the case of logic, has a profound grasp of his topic, is capable of formulating precise and well-founded responses to his opponents, one who has the "extraordinary ability to define and isolate the crucial and fundamental principles upon which the most complex systems of thought are erected" (p. xiv). Why, then, has Hallaq chosen to translate al-Suyūṭī's abridgment and not the *Radd ʻalá al-Manṭiqīyīn* itself? Ibn Taymīyah's express purpose in refuting Greek logic and its proponents among Arab philosophers, theologians, and Sufis was the discrediting of the systems of metaphysics in vogue among those groups, systems which were based on that logic. Hallaq is aware of Ibn Taymīyah's larger goal (pp. xi-xii) but argues that al-Suyūṭī's abridgment, stripped of the corollary arguments against the metaphysics of these groups (and against its implications for the doctrinal theology of Islam as Ibn Taymīyah conceived of it), "is a more effective critique of logic than that originally formulated by Ibn Taymiyya" (p. liv).[2] Certainly what was advantageous to al-Suyūṭī's goal (on which, see p. liii) does little service to a proper understanding of the larger context of Ibn Taymīyah's program of thought. In part 3 of his introduction, Hallaq further argues that Ibn Taymīyah's work is characterized by digression, repetition, and a certain imbalance between criticism advanced and solutions proposed, this because the aim of Ibn Taymīyah's mission was "persuasion, if not outright dissuasion" (p. l). With particular regard to the issue of digression, Hallaq notes that this mode of discourse "leaves the modern reader with a sense of frustration" (p. li). Two immediate responses come to mind. First, since when is the modern reader's ease of understanding a criterion for the assessment of the intellectual worth of a medieval treatise? Second, a much more profound examination of Ibn Taymīyah's style and methodology needs to be undertaken before we can place a negative value on a given characteristic of that style. From one perspective, Hallaq has produced an important work on the development of opinions about logic among medieval Arabic thinkers, from another, he has largely dismissed the historical and intellectual context of that development.

Translation is a notoriously difficult business. A judicious balance between, on the one hand, an unreadable literal translation and, on the other, a readable but overly paraphrastic translation is the desired end. It is worth arguing that Hallaq's translation of technical terms should become standard for future studies of logic in Arabic. However, the

[2]Hallaq also says that scholars like Brunschvig and van Ess expressed similar opinions (p. liv, n. 185). Brunschvig characterized the abridgement as "assez fourni" and van Ess noted that al-Suyūṭī had "carefully abridged" Ibn Taymīyah's work; these statements in no way buttress Hallaq's opinion.

reader who is interested in Hallaq′s topic and who can read Arabic would be advised to make a careful comparison of the Arabic text with Hallaq′s translation as a whole. There are numerous errors, the result of excessive paraphrase, inconsistency in the translation of basic terms, lack of attention to tense, and an outright disregard for certain Arabic particles. Thus, the particle *innamā* would seem anathema to Hallaq as he only rarely translates it. A few examples only: for ″the concept of a quiddity is obtained by real definition″, p. 8 (85, l. 16),[3] read ″the concept of a quiddity is obtained only by real definition″; for ″he cannot be said to have formed a concept of the meaning upon hearing that definition″, p. 10 (86, ll. 14-15), read ″he cannot be said to have formed a concept of the meaning only by hearing that definition″; for ″The claim that definitions lead to forming a concept of things is that of the Greek logicians . . .″, p. 12 (88, l. 4), read ″Only the Greek logicians . . . claim [that definitions lead to forming a concept of things]″, etc. The particle *qad* with the imperfect is often left unnoticed; thus, for ″. . . because the one who forms a concept does so without words. The hearer [of this definition] can also form a concept without being told anything at all″, p. 10 (87, ll. 1-3), read ″. . . for the speaker might (*or*: will sometimes) form a concept of the meaning of what he says without articulating [it] and that is [equally] possible for the hearer, without being told anything at all.″

Disregard for tense is often evident, particularly in conditional sentences. Hallaq translates, p. 10 (85, ll. 12-15): ″If the concepts of things were dependent upon definitions, and if until this day people have not yet formed [*sic*] a concept for any of these matters, and if a judgment is contingent upon conception, so that when a concept is not formed, a judgment is not formed either, then men would have no knowledge of the great majority of their sciences.″ Read: ″If the concept of things had been dependent upon definition and if to this day people had not formed a concept for any of these matters, and if a judgment had been contingent upon a concept—so whenever a concept is not formed, a judgment is not formed—man would have no knowledge of the great majority of his sciences.″ Further, Hallaq translates, pp. 8-9 (85, l. 16 to 86, l. 2), ″Such a definition is either impossible or difficult to come by, as they themselves admit. Hence, it is not always or often possible to form a concept of a particular reality. But since concepts of realities are actually formed, it is known that concepts are not in need of definition.″ Read: ″This definition being either impossible or difficult [to come by], as they themselves have admitted, it would not have been always or often possible to form a concept of a particular reality, but concepts of particular realities have been formed, so it is known that concepts do not stand in need of definitions.″

One example of inconsistency in the translation of basic terms will suffice here. Hallaq translates both *dhihn*, p. 6, and ʻ*aql*, p. 9, as ″intellect.″ *Dhihn*, of course, is better rendered ″mind,″ reserving the philosophical term ″intellect″ for ʻ*aql*. The temptation to paraphrase is often considerable, but equally often it does damage to a precise point an author wants to convey. Hallaq translates, p. 5 (83, ll. 6-7), ″. . . although refuting them would require (*yaḥtamil*) much more than what I have said″. Ibn Taymīyah is *not* confessing an insufficiency in his treatise; in fact, he is noting the opposite. ″Would require″ should read ″admits of″ or ″allows for,″ the implication being that his treatise comprises the bulk of a compelling refutation. Hallaq, p. 6 (84, ll. 6-8), translates: ″Since this statement is not based on knowledge, and [*sic*] it is the first that they have established,

[3]The reference in parentheses is to the Arabic text.

how can it be the basis of the criterion of knowledge and of their claim that logic [*sic*] is a canonical instrument the correct use of which safeguards the intellect from error." Read: "Since this is a statement not based on knowledge, being the first that they have established, how can it be the basis of the criterion of knowledge and of what they claim is a canonical instrument regard for which safeguards the mind against stumbling in (lit.: slipping from) its examination."[4] Hallaq's translation, as it stands, serves as a good but rough guide to reading Ibn Taymīyah's treatise; it could have stood a few more revisions.

Finally, Ibn Taymīyah wrote another treatise against logic (unnoticed by Hallaq), with specific reference to its use in dialectic argumentation (*jadal*). The work is entitled *Tanbīh al-Rajul al-Ghāfil ʻalá Tamwīh al-Jadal al-Bāṭil* and would seem to be a comprehensive refutation of the *Muqaddimah fī al-Jadal* by Burhān al-Dīn al-Nasafī (d. 684/1285). Future research into some of the problems involved in Ibn Taymīyah's views on logic (e.g., that discussed by Hallaq, pp. xxviii-xxxii) might benefit from an edition and translation of this work.[5]

Despite some significant problems, Hallaq's work should be viewed as an important contribution to Ibn Taymīyah studies, one that *largely* appreciates and critically evaluates the thought of this important intellectual of the Mamluk period.

REUVEN AMITAI-PREISS, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Īlkhānid War, 1260-1281*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Pp. 272.

REVIEWED BY JOHN E. WOODS, University of Chicago

Until relatively recently, those interested in tracing the broad outlines of the history of the Mamluk state of Egypt and Syria (1250-1517), one of the longest-lived political entities in Islamic annals, were confronted with an astounding dearth of scholarly articles and monographs. This is certainly true of the study of Mamluk foreign relations, especially those with powers in the East—the Mongols and their successors down to the rise of the Safavid dynasty in Iran. Nevertheless, aspects of the Mamluk "Eastern Question" have been delineated in several pioneering works such as Ahmad Darrag's survey of the Mamluk state under one of the most important sultans of the first half of the fifteenth century, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay, 825-841/1422-1438* (Damascus, 1961); S. Zakirov's study of the "alliance" between the Mamluks and the Mongols of Russia, *Diplomaticheskie otnosheniya Zolotoi Ordy s Egiptom, XIII-XIV vv.* (Moscow, 1966), and Fāyid Ḥammād ʻĀshūr's monograph on relations between the Baḥrī Mamluks and the

[4]What Hallaq translates "logic" is, in the text, an attached pronoun the immediate antecedent of which is *mā*; *innahā* (p. 84, l. 7) is incorrect and should be read *innahu*. I would argue that the conjunctive *mā* does not replace "logic" (*manṭiq*), as Hallaq has it, but rather "definition" (*ḥadd*).
[5]George Makdisi discussed the MS in "The Tanbīh of Ibn Taimīya on Dialectic: The Pseudo-ʻAqīlian Kitāb al-Farq," in *Medieval and Middle Eastern Studies in Honor of Aziz Suryal Atiya* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), 285-294. At least some of the introduction to this work, missing in the MS, can be found in ʻAbd al-Hādī's *al-ʻUqūd al-Durrīyah min Manāqib Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʻIlmīyah, 1938), 29-35.

Mongols of Iran, *al-ʻAlāqāt al-Siyāsīyah bayna al-Mamālīk wa-al-Mughūl fī al-Dawlah al-Mamlūkīyah al-Ūlá* (Cairo, 1976).

A consideration of these and other works reveals a number of persistent geo-political, economic, demographic, ideological, and cultural themes in the dealings of the Mamluks with their eastern neighbors extending throughout the two and a half centuries of Mamluk independence. The principal areas of direct conflict—the cities of inland Syria and southeastern Anatolia—were frequently the local counterparts of larger patterns of competition for the control of land and sea commercial routes. Among the most important demographic aspects of the period was the influx into the Mamluk state and along its frontiers of large numbers of refugees, renegades, and political enemies from states in the East in the second half of the thirteenth century. After the collapse of the Chingizids in Iran following the death of Abū Saʻīd Bahādur Khān in 1335, moreover, there was a reflux of Mongol and Turkish tribes from Anatolia and Syria westward onto the Iranian plateau. In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, Tīmūr's policy of peopling Transoxiana by the forced migrations of artisans, craftsmen, and nomads from the territories he conquered also contributed to the dynamic nature of the population history of the period. Finally, the establishment of Shīʻism as the state religion in Safavid Iran in 1501 caused many individuals and groups to seek asylum in India, the Ottoman Empire, and the Arab world. In terms of political and religious ideology, from the Mongol conquests to the rise of the Ottomans, the Mamluks were preoccupied with the threat to Syria and Egypt posed by an infidel, apostate, or heterodox potentate in the East, be it "the king of the Tatars," Tīmūr the Lame, or the Sufi Shah Ismāʻīl Ṣafavī.

Most of the literature on Mamluk-Eastern relations focuses on legal and military issues. (A notable exception is the provocative essay by Michael Rogers, "Evidence for Mamluk-Mongol Relations," in *Colloque internationale sur l'histoire du Caire*, Cairo, 1974, pp. 385-403.) Much ink continues to be spilled, for example, on the subject of the alleged "law code" (*yasa*) of Chingiz Khan and its influence or lack of influence on the Mamluks. The second topic that unfailingly occupies the interest of researchers and amateurs alike is the Battle of ʻAyn Jālūt, the defeat inflicted by the Mamluk army in 1260 upon the forces of Hulagu, Chingiz Khan's grandson and the conqueror of Baghdad. The present study falls into this category.

Beginning in 1260 and ending with the peace treaty of 1323, hostilities between the Mamluks and the Mongols went on for more than sixty years. During this period, the Ilkhanid Mongols launched six offensives against their Mamluk enemies, invading Syria in 1260, 1281, 1299, 1300, 1303, and 1312. They also carried out a defensive campaign against them in Anatolia in 1277. Amitai-Preiss has provided us a detailed account of the first two invasions of Syria as well as Baybars's "intervention" in Anatolia, or one-third of the period of the Mamluk-Ilkhanid wars.

His scheme of presentation is informed by two major factors. The first is heuristic and lies in the relative abundance of Mamluk historical materials and the consequent paucity of Mongol sources. He acknowledges this state of affairs somewhat tautologically: ". . . most of the information at our disposal on the Mamluk-Ilkhanid conflict is derived from the pro-Mamluk Arabic sources. It is true that the corpus of Mamluk historical works is much larger than its pro-Mongol counterpart, and this might be one reason for this phenomenon . . ." (p. 7). This results in far more space and detail accorded the Mamluk component of the narrative, although Persian, Syriac, and Armenian sources are listed in the bibliography.

The second factor determining the shape of his presentation is the centrality given the personality of the second Mamluk sultan Baybars, who ruled for almost seventeen years from 1260 to 1277. Amitai-Priess even designates the second battle of Homs in 1281 ″Baybars′s posthumous victory.″ A more appropriate title for the book thus might be *Baybars Fights the Ilkhanids*.

His method of presentation, moreover, is essentially chronological, focusing on political history. The three battles—ʻAyn Jālūt (1260), Elbistan (1277), and Homs (1281)—are the pegs on which the narrative is suspended and, when the Mamluks and Mongols are not fighting each other, they are engaged in waging a ″Cold War,″ maneuvering diplomatically, and conducting espionage. Economy, demography, and ideology receive only passing mention. The last two chapters of the work, however, do deal in some detail with several thematic aspects—mainly military and strategic—of the conflict.

The text is illustrated by three plates—photographs of the Jezreel Valley, Birecik, and the plain of Elbistan—which are unfortunately not very well reproduced in the book. Eight maps, four dynastic and genealogical tables, and a glossary are appended to the text. Especially useful are the maps of the areas of the major battle sites and those of the Fertile Crescent and northern Syria-southeastern Anatolia. In connection with the latter, Amitai-Preiss gives the Arabic forms of locales in modern Turkey (e.g., Abulustayn for Elbistan) and these maps facilitate their location. There is a problem, however, with the toponym Dokat, identified as ″the family castle″ of the Anatolian Saljuq sultan (pp. 166, 174, index). This is certainly the town and fortress of Tokat, usually spelled Tūqāt in Arabic.

The philology of the work is fundamentally sound, but the following points should be noted. The term *bahādur* is identified as a Mongol word (p. 108) although it may in fact be earlier, traced by Sir Gerard Clauson in his *Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish* to a Hunnish (Hsiung-nu) proper name. The expression *yāsāh* on page 121 is probably a transliteration mistake for *yasākh* ← *yasāq*. Finally, on the meaning of *parvāna*, an element in the name of Anatolian Saljuq strongman Muʻīn al-Dīn Sulaymān, Amitai-Preiss quotes the derivation of Claude Cahen in *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* and cites the Persian-English dictionary of Steingass as an authority. Here, he should have consulted works such as Muḥammad Muʻīn′s edition of *Burhān-i Qāṭiʻ* or the *Lughat-nāma* of Dikhudā—he would hardly have used Hans Wehr for the meaning of a Mamluk technical term.

There are some technical problems in the dating of several sections. Between pages 169 and 176, for example, the chronology of Baybars′s campaign to Anatolia in 1277 is increasingly bungled.

Page	Amitai-Preiss Date	Correct Date
169	Monday, 6 Dhū al-Qaʻdah/12 April	Sunday, 6 Dhū al-Qaʻdah/11 April
172	Friday, 10 Dhū al-Qaʻdah/15 April	Thursday, 10 Dhū al-Qaʻdah/14 April
175	Tuesday, 20 Dhū al-Qaʻdah/25 April	Sunday, 20 Dhū al-Qaʻdah/25 April
176	6 Dhū al-Ḥijjah/16 May	6 Dhū al-Ḥijjah/11 May
176	10 Dhū al-Ḥijjah/20 May	10 Dhū al-Ḥijjah/15 May

There is another error on page 185 where 29 Jumādá II 679 is identified with 2 November 1280 whereas the correct conversion is 26 October. Here, Amitai-Preiss has given the Gregorian rather than the Julian date.

In conclusion, these are minor flaws in an otherwise competent and workman-like piece of research. We need more detailed monographs of the sort Amitai-Preiss has produced in order to undertake the broader issues discussed at the beginning of this review.

ʻALĪ AL-SAYYID ʻALĪ, *al-Ḥayāh al-Thaqāfīyah fī al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah: ʻAsr al-Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk 642-923 H.* (Cairo: ʻAyn lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Buḥūth al-Insānīyah wa-al-Ijtimāʻīyah, 1414/1994). Pp. 304.

REVIEWED BY RICHARD T. MORTEL, King Saud University

One of the major difficulties facing the historian of the Arabian Peninsula in pre-modern times—with the possible exception of the Yemen—is the paucity of primary source material. This is particularly true of Medina, for which we have no contemporary annals comparable to those produced by several generations of native historians of Mecca beginning in the ninth/fifteenth century with al-Fāsī.

Having myself experienced the problems involved in seeking to reconstruct the political history of Medina during the medieval period, I welcomed the invitation to review a work which promised to discuss cultural life in the second holiest city of Islam during the Mamluk era, in anticipation that the author had discovered hitherto unknown contemporary source materials—a rather unlikely prospect, I am forced to concede—or else had dealt with his chosen subject using a methodology based on a thorough review of all relevant Mamluk-era historical and biographical literature, in order to extract the data pertinent to a study of cultural life in Medina, which would then be subjected to rigorous analysis.

After a careful reading of the work I must, however, confess to a serious disappointment. ʻAlī al-Sayyid′s book, instead of describing Medinese cultural life during Mamluk times, appears to this reviewer as a verbose and quite undisguised apology for the Mamluks, lacking in sophistication or the application of any identifiable modern historical methodology, written with the aim of fostering an exaggerated and oftentimes simplistic perception of the extent of Mamluk political, economic, and cultural penetration in the Hijaz, without any awareness of historical progression. The underlying assumption of the work, repeated *ad nauseam*, is that the Mamluks of Egypt had vanquished both the Crusaders and the Mongols, and had thereby assumed primacy in the Islamic world, and must—of necessity—have controlled the Hijaz in general, and Medina in particular, from the middle of the seventh/thirteenth century (see pp. 5ff., 59, 79, 235-236). The author′s thesis is that the existence of ″cultural life″ in Medina was due—almost *in toto*—to Mamluk political suzerainty, economic superiority, and, naturally, largesse. Whatever cultural life existed in Medina, he seems to be telling the reader, must be the product of Mamluk influence.

Without, however, denying the significance of Mamluk influence in the Hijaz, I do call ʻAlī al-Sayyid′s point of view into question. Although the Mamluks repeatedly attempted to extend their sovereignty over the Hijaz from the reign of Sultan Baybars, the

Hijaz in general cannot be said to have fallen completely into the Mamluk orbit until the early ninth/fifteenth century. What we do certainly observe, during the seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries, is a pattern of gradually increasing Mamluk involvement in the political life of both Mecca and Medina. Moreover, I have been unable to discern in ʻAlī al-Sayyid's book any awareness or understanding of the modalities of the evolution of Mamluk control over Medina, and its ramifications on Medinese cultural life. Specifically, to what extent is the author justified in referring to Medina as a "Mamluk city"? (p. 162)

Earlier, I have alluded to the scarcity of data for the history of Medina during the Mamluk period, whether political, economic or cultural history is intended. ʻAlī al-Sayyid is himself also acutely aware of the parameters of this dilemma, and frequently complains of the scarcity of information specific to Medina (pp. 90, 102, 249, 279), a situation which unfortunately leads him to vapid generalizing from non-Hijazi sources, including *ḥisbah* manuals, Egyptian *waqf* documents, Mamluk histories, etc., under the assumption that the same or similar circumstances must have prevailed in Medina (e.g., pp. 81ff.). Thus, when he discusses the *madrasah* (in Medina), he finds himself forced to describe that institution as it developed in Mamluk Cairo (pp. 99-109). There is no doubt in the mind of this reviewer that, if the author had restricted himself to a consideration of the data pertaining exclusively to Medina, the size of the resultant work would have been greatly diminished, but its potential importance would have been similarly increased.

A number of serious flaws mar the book. The author—although he makes frequent mention of Ibn Farḥūn as a historian of Medina—is unaware of the existence of at least one manuscript copy of his *Naṣīḥat al-Mushāwir wa-Tasliyat al-Mujāwir*, an indispensable mine of information on political and cultural affairs in Medina during the seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries.

Equally serious is the absence of any background concerning the precise religious affiliation of the sharifs of Medina or political developments in the amirate. Although ʻAlī al-Sayyid is aware of the Shīʻism of the Husaynid sharifs of Medina, he makes no mention of their specific sectarian allegiance within Shīʻism as a whole, i.e. Imāmī, or Twelver, Shīʻism, as opposed to the Zaydism of their Ḥasanid cousins in Mecca. Indeed, ʻAlī al-Sayyid appears to be completely unaware of political developments in the two amirates of Mecca and Medina, as opposed to external influences, to the extent that he claims that Jammāz ibn Shīḥah (d. 704/1304) was the last of the line of Husaynid amirs of Medina! The reality of the matter is that the Husaynids retained control of the amirate for several centuries thereafter. Elsewhere (p. 35), he asserts that the history of the Husaynid sharifs of Medina was distinguished—compared with the history of their cousins the Ḥasanid sharifs of Mecca—by the notable absence of factional strife and struggle for control of the reins of power; once again, the facts simply do not support this statement.

Finally, the author's discussion of the factors which he believes promoted the development of cultural life in Medina lacks credibility, in that he gives primacy of place to economic factors, particularly the India trade. A careful examination of both the primary and secondary literature on economic life in the medieval Hijaz will, I believe, clearly demonstrate that Mecca—with its Red Sea port of Jiddah—and not Medina, was the principal beneficiary of the dramatic increase in the volume of this trade which begins to be observed in the eighth/fourteenth century. In comparison, Medina and its port of al-Jār, are relegated to a position of total insignificance. Furthermore, ʻAlī al-Sayyid's contention that the expansion of the India trade in the Red Sea-Hijaz region was a result of Mamluk policy

(pp. 13 ff.) is simply not substantiated by the facts. On the contrary, it was the disastrous economic policies of the Mamluk administration in Cairo, beginning with the reign of Sultan Barsbāy when *de facto* Mamluk suzerainty came to be imposed on the Hijaz, that led to the decline and eventual disappearance of the India trade in the Red Sea-Hijaz region.

In summation, ʻAlī al-Sayyid's work should be seen, not as a consideration of indigenous manifestations of cultural life in Medina during Mamluk times, but rather a discussion of cultural contacts between Mamluk Egypt and Medina, or, perhaps, Mamluk contributions to cultural life in Medina. Even with this caveat in mind, a potential reader must also be prepared for sweeping generalizations, and a historical methodology based upon an uncritical repetition of material found in the primary sources, with little or no attempt at comparison and analysis.

JONATHAN BERKEY, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992). Pp. 238.

REVIEWED BY TH. EMIL HOMERIN, University of Rochester
AND DEBORAH DERYLAK, University of Chicago

In this work based on dissertation research, Jonathan Berkey provides a detailed description of religious education in Mamluk Cairo (1250-1517). Berkey's main focus is on higher education, primarily Islamic jurisprudence—the study of one or more of the four major schools of Sunnī law—which, not surprisingly, was the preserve of the scholarly elite (*ʻulamāʼ*) and their students. Berkey, however, moves beyond this select group to discuss other aspects of the education system including the place in it of women and the ruling Mamluk military elite, as well as the educational institutions themselves and their place in the urban setting of medieval Cairo. Throughout, the author contends that the transmission of religious knowledge in Mamluk Egypt was vital to easing certain social boundaries as it brought together individuals from groups that otherwise might not have mingled so easily.

When first examining the *ʻulamāʼ*, Berkey focuses on the personal. He draws much of his data from medieval biographical dictionaries, which encourage such an approach because their biographies tell us more about their subjects' teachers than about the places where any given individual studied. Concomitantly, while texts were obviously central to instruction, these texts were not only read, but were, ideally, orally passed from teachers to students. As Berkey notes, "the belief that only oral transmission is truly legitimate, lies deeply embedded in the Islamic educational system" (p. 24). Thus it was largely the *ijāzah*—the "license" to teach a given work with its chain of transmission from shaykh to student—which afforded one scholarly authority. A close personal relationship between master and student, then, was at the heart of this system of normative education with its rather elastic institutional structure.

Personal contact was likewise essential to patronage, for as Berkey observes:

> Urban society in the Mamluk period was characterized by a web of patronage that bound the ulama as a group to the military elite. In exchange for protection from external enemies and income from bureaucratic and legal appointments, the educated elite legitimized the Mamluk regime by enjoining obedience on the local population, mediating the government's needs for tax revenues, and performing a host of tangible and intangible services to the state (p. 101).

In several instances, Berkey reveals some of the ties between specific individual benefactors of schools and certain instructors there, and here, too, we see the informality of the system and the fluid way in which schools were administered. Wealthy endowers of institutions often appointed instructors, while ruling sultans who might not be directly affiliated with a school could make appointments. Scholars, too, took similar liberties by reserving and endowing posts for their sons and favored students.

Berkey provides his strongest evidence for the flexibility of the system of religious education in his discussion of the institutions themselves. This chapter is based primarily on a careful study of *waqf* documents, deeds of charitable endowment which, in this case, provided for the erection and maintenance of schools, specific classes to be taught, the staff and, usually the faculty. Berkey makes several cogent observations, noting in particular that the diverse structure of higher education "resulted from the complete absence of any overarching state or ecclesiastical authority responsible for shaping Islamic education, or indeed any aspect of Islamic religious culture. Norms might be established, in practice as in belief, by consensus within the Muslim community" (p. 60).

Berkey underscores this diversity by noting the difficulties historians have had in even defining the term *madrasah*, the most common historical marker for a school of Islamic jurisprudence. He states that, "[n]ot all madrasas were exclusively or even principally educational institutions, and, as in earlier periods, much serious legal and religious instruction took place outside of madrasas" (p. 47). Mosques and Sufi convents, for example, also frequently supported and maintained similar educational endeavors.

Just as higher education was not solely the property of any single type of institution, the '*ulamā*' themselves were rarely bound exclusively to a single institution for their support. Some scholars often held several posts at once and even moved from institution to institution in what might be regarded as a medieval version of "double-dipping." Further, scholars also participated in teaching circles held outside of their respective institutions, and these gatherings served to extend religious education beyond the realm of jurisprudence and higher education, to a larger body of interested non-academics.

Clearly the schools were by no means limited to instruction in jurisprudence. Other subjects taught included Quranic exegesis, *ḥadīth*, the linguistic sciences, and occasionally, medicine, and many classes were open to a larger public. In particular, women and Mamluk amirs—although rarely numbered among the scholarly elite—often excelled in the popular study of *ḥadīth*, even to the point of receiving *ijāzah*s from their instructors which they in turn passed on to their students.

Just as important, most classes and nearly all education, for that matter, took place in a religious setting. Many of the most important educational institutions were part of a

madrasah-mosque complex with classes and study periods organized around the times for formal daily prayers, and surrounded by other pious and devotional activities such as the public recitation of the Quran or *ḥadīth*. As Berkey insightfully observes, the transmission of religious texts ″took place alongside, and sometimes as part of Sufi activities, public sermonizing, and popular religious celebration, and those who devoted themselves to education did not necessarily see their efforts as something fundamentally distinct from public worship″ (p. 50).

Throughout his study, Berkey explicitly moves from the personal to the societal, highlighting the major roles that Islamic education and its institutions played in Mamluk Cairo. Thus, Berkey reserves most of his conclusions regarding education′s important social dimension for his final chapter. Perhaps this discussion would have been more nuanced had it woven together and extended certain strands mentioned in earlier chapters. For instance, Berkey might have addressed the question of why certain schools attracted a large number of foreign students. Given that students were drawn more to individual teachers than to institutions, how did the presence of a large foreign contingent affect an institution′s place within Cairene society? Again, given the prominent functions of educational institutions as centers for worship and education for the public as well as for the scholarly elite, Berkey might have offered further analysis of the factors involved in an individual′s decision to endow an institution besides political interests and the accrual of social and symbolic capital.

Finally, Berkey′s passing comparisons to western medieval education might have been expanded somewhat to enhance his arguments. He pointedly concludes:

> For centuries in the medieval West, higher education, often literacy itself, was the almost exclusive prerogative of a clerical elite consecrated to the service of an established Church. Islam, of course, has neither a church nor a clergy, and therefore lacks two fundamental impediments to broad social interest and participation in education. . . . In particular, the emphasis on the personal as opposed to institutional contacts and relationships, and the unquestioned superiority of the spoken as opposed to the written word guaranteed the persistent openness and informality of the system of education (p. 216).

Nevertheless, while the earliest medieval ″universities″ in Europe were mobile guilds or corporations of students and scholars sanctioned by papal or imperial authority, they were not bound to any particular location. By contrast, higher education in Mamluk Cairo was in some sense often linked to, though not defined by, its endowed institutions. Further, though these early European guilds were degree-awarding institutions, the license to teach conferred by them might have been usefully compared to the Muslim *ijāzah* and the authoritative masters who controlled its granting.

These few observations aside, Jonathan Berkey′s *The Transmission of Knowledge* is a patiently researched and well-written study of a fundamental aspect of medieval Muslim religion and society. Berkey′s work is insightful and stimulating, and it lays fertile ground for further research.

ḌAYF ALLĀH IBN YAḤYÁ AL-ZAHRĀNĪ, *Zayf al-Nuqūd al-Islāmīyah: Min Ṣadr al-Islām ḥattá Nihāyat al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī*. (Mecca: [s.n.], 1413/1993). Pp. 149.

RAʼFAT MUḤAMMAD AL-NABARĀWĪ, *al-Sikkah al-Islāmīyah fī Miṣr: ʻAṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah*. (Cairo: Markaz al-Ḥaḍārah al-ʻArabīyah lil-Iʻlām wa-al-Nashr, 1993). Pp. 371.

ADEL ALLOUCHE, *Mamluk Economics: A Study and Translation of al-Maqrīzī's* Ighāthah. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994). Pp. 162.

REVIEWED BY WARREN C. SCHULTZ, DePaul University

Scholarship on Mamluk economic and monetary history has come a long way over the past fifty years. The numerous studies by Ashtor, Bacharach, Balog, Ehrenkreutz, the Fahmīs (father and son), Labib, Popper, Rabie, Shoshan, and Udovitch are well known and have provided a strong foundation for the field. Still, as seen by the three works reviewed here, there is work to be done and scholarship continues, albeit with varying levels of usefulness. And, as is often the case, that level of usefulness is often related to the facility with which the author handles both the literary and numismatic sources.

The subject matter of *Zayf al-Nuqūd al-Islāmīyah* is both more and less than that which its title claims. More in that this short book goes beyond an English definition of the word counterfeiting to include such matters as governmental issues of lightweight or debased coinages, and less in that it provides an overview only of the Arabic-speaking lands (from North Africa to Iraq), ignoring the Islamic lands to the East. The author makes no claim to thoroughness for such a wide ranging topic over such a long time frame, promising only to give an overview of the problem and terminology of counterfeiting and to provide well known examples of it from Islamic history. The work is organized around lists (thus we have the eighteen ways of counterfeiting, the eight reasons for counterfeiting, and the four ways to detect it, etc.) followed by notable examples drawn from the Arabic chronicles. By far the largest number of these anecdotes are drawn from the Mamluk period (pp. 33-37).

Despite the convenience of having so many Mamluk era citations gathered between two soft covers, Mamlukists will find little of benefit in this work. The reasons are numerous. First of all, there is nothing new. All of the events cited are known and have been discussed in previous work on Mamluk money. Secondly, there is little analysis or interpretation of the anecdotes cited, and what little there is often cannot be trusted. Examples of this last problem are best illustrated by the following three categories: an uncritical and sometimes careless use of the sources, a concern only with the normative, and a lack of awareness of the numismatic record.

Al-Zahrānī's careless use of sources is illustrated by the following examples. In the discussion of the events of the end of the eighth/fourteenth century (p. 51), we read that the Ustādār Maḥmūd ibn ʻAlī "opened" a mint in Alexandria during the second reign of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq. A careful reading of what al-Maqrīzī and other Mamluk authors had to say about this event reveals that Maḥmūd ibn ʻAlī only reopened a previously closed mint. This

is an apparent minor point when taken out of context, but it is important when considering the total picture of the actions of Barqūq and his *ustādār*. Similarly, al-Zahrānī claims (p. 36) that the many different types of coins mentioned by the sources as circulating in the early to mid-ninth/fifteenth century are proof of the monetary chaos of the period, yet he ignores that those same sources often include exchange rate information revealing how merchants and money changers did business in such a marketplace. Al-Zahrānī's uncritical approach to the literary sources is seen most vividly in his dubious assertion (p. 33) that the Mamluk period saw more counterfeiting than any other period in Islamic history. While it is likely that we have more accounts of counterfeiting from the Mamluk era than any previous period of Islamic history, it must be asked whether this is only a reflection of the fact that we have more sources about the Mamluks to draw upon. This is especially crucial to consider given the numerous counterfeit coins from many Islamic dynasties that can be examined in major collections around the world.

It must also be stressed that this is a normative work based on normative attitudes. Despite the number of stories drawn from the chronicles, the book is concerned with how money ought to be, and not how it actually was. Al-Zahrānī begins his overview of Islamic money and counterfeiting with a brief survey of relevant Quranic, *ḥadīth*, and legal material as well as a brief discussion of the first truly Islamic coinage, that of the Umayyad Caliph ʻAbd al-Malik. His subsequent discussion of numerous citations from the next eight centuries is then based on the unstated assumption that the money of ʻAbd al-Malik is the only true Islamic coinage, and any deviation from its standards must represent a form of counterfeiting. Given the tremendous diversity of coinages issued by the many subsequent Islamic dynasties—similar in some ways but varying widely in others—this is essentialism in the worst way. It even ignores that Islamic jurists reconciled themselves to the existence of different coinages, and concentrated their legal rulings on the basic requirements needed for the money used by Muslims. This essentialism leads to several anachronistic assumptions. Al-Zahrānī cites authors as far apart temporally as al-Jāḥiẓ and al-Qalqashandī in his description of the characteristics of "Islamic coinage" ignoring the reality that over the seven plus centuries between these two men not only did the money change but even the definitions of basic terms had varied. Thus al-Qalqashandī is quoted in the discussion of early Islamic silver *dirham*s, resulting in the assertion that early Islamic *dirham*s were only two-thirds silver, when it is known that they are over 90 percent pure. Furthermore, this example hinges on al-Qalqashandī's use of the term *nuqrah* to indicate an alloy of two-thirds silver and one-third copper, yet Ayyubid and some Mamluk sources assert that *nuqrah* indicated fine silver. Let the reader beware.

Finally, nowhere is this normative concern more evident than in al-Zahrānī's lack of awareness of the numismatic evidence. While coins that were clipped, broken, of varying weights and alloys, and of foreign origin do not fit in his definition of a proper Islamic coinage, it is known that coins such as these circulated in Mamluk markets. This shortcoming extends beyond the borders of Egypt, as when the author asserts (wrongly) that the Ashrafī *dīnār* of al-Ashraf Barsbāy was the first Muslim gold coin to be issued to a non-*mithqāl* weight standard. There are numerous lighter-weight gold coins from earlier Muslim states as any perusal of coin dealers' lists would reveal. There is also no acknowledgment that numismatic evidence indicates that even the weight value of the *mithqāl* unit changed over time and place. In conclusion, Mamlukists interested in the matter of counterfeiting in the sultanate would be best served by skimming this work and

devoting their time and their attention to studies such as Bacharach′s ″Foreign Coins, Forgers, and Forgeries in 15th Century Egypt″ in *Actes du 8ème Congrès international de numismatique* (Paris, 1976), pp. 501-511.

Unlike the first book reviewed, Ra'fat al-Nabarāwī′s *al-Sikkah al-Islāmīyah fī Miṣr: 'Aṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah* is based on a thorough familiarity with both the literary and numismatic sources. As Ḥasan al-Bāshā notes in his forward, this book addresses an important period in the monetary history of Egypt, that of the reign of the Circassian Mamluk sultans, 784-922/1382-1517. Al-Nabarāwī examines this topic first by analyzing the surviving numismatic evidence, classified by stylistic analysis (section one), and then surveying the exchange rate information found in the contemporary literary sources (section two). These extensive discussions are sandwiched between a brief introduction and a short conclusion.

As anyone who has worked on Mamluk money can testify, the chief obstacle to its study is access to the coins. Collections are scarce, sometimes limited in scope, or even closed to examination. Thus, the chief value of this work lies not in any new interpretation of the Mamluk monetary system, but in the wealth of data packed into it. This is especially true of the numismatic section, in which the author states that he has published 636 new coin types (p. 348). There the reader will find not only information about previously published Mamluk coins but also the results of the author′s personal and in-depth examination of four major collections: those of the American Numismatic Society, the Egyptian Library, the Islamic Art Museum in Cairo, and the personal holdings of the noted collector Dr. Henry Awad. The last two are unpublished and especially welcome additions. Thus the book is a very useful and much more detailed supplement to the relevant sections of the long out of print *The Coinage of the Mamlūk Sultans of Egypt and Syria* by Paul Balog (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1964). Indeed, for those who cannot locate a copy of Balog′s corpus, al-Nabarāwī′s book along with Sāmiḥ 'Abd al-Raḥmān Fahmī′s *al-Waḥdāt al-Naqdīyah al-Mamlūkīyah: 'Aṣr al-Mamālīk al-Baḥrīyah* (Jiddah, 1403/1983) will make an adequate substitute.

Some minor comments are in order. First, it is worth asking why the rather artificial distinction of Circassian period (vis-à-vis the Baḥrī or Turkish period) has been followed. The many shortcomings of following this division have been pointed out by scholars interested in other aspects of the Mamluk Sultanate, and similar shortcomings are found in the field of monetary history. A wider perspective reveals that the money issued by al-Ẓāhir Barqūq and subsequent Circassian sultans can only be understood in the context of the money issued by the earlier sultans. If any major break in monetary practice is to be emphasized, it is better to look at events in the reigns of al-Nāṣir Faraj, al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, and/or al-Ashraf Barsbāy and not the reign of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq.

Second, while the claim of 636 new coin types is technically true, it must be noted that quantity does not always equal importance. In classical numismatic terminology, any variation in coin legend, design, style or other factors can constitute a new type. While changes of these types may be extremely significant and of major importance to the economic historian, it may also happen that such differences are insignificant and of interest only to the collector. Many of the changes noted here fall into the latter category. For example, a large number of the new types cited occur in the copper coinage from the reigns of Barqūq. Almost all are the result of minor changes in legend placement, and, in the

opinion of this reviewer, have about as much economic significance as changes in date on the American quarter dollar.

Third, the book´s stylistic analysis of Circassian Mamluk coins would have benefited from a change in format. Long term trends in coinages are illustrated much better when the coins are arranged in mint series rather than by reign of individual sultan. Fourth, it should be noted that al-Nabarāwī´s exchange rate data—while useful—has been superseded by that found in Ḥamūd al-Najīdī´s *al-Niẓām al-Naqdī al-Mamlūkī*, (Alexandria, n.d.). On the other hand, the book also contains a helpful glossary of Mamluk monetary terminology (pp. 339-345). While this is a welcome aid in keeping track of all those adjectival labels the Mamluks applied to their money, it also contains an oft-repeated error: al-Nabarāwī repeats Balog´s assertion that the *dirham* (*min al-*) *fulūs* was a copper coin weighing one *dirham* (2.97 grams), a conclusion not borne out by the numismatic or chronicle evidence.

Finally, there are sixteen plates featuring 134 coins. These photographic reproductions are of much better quality than is normally encountered in Middle Eastern publications (cf. the poor illustrations found in *Zayf al-Nuqūd al-Islāmīyah*). Unfortunately, however, the coins are reproduced at larger than actual size and not according to any consistent scale. Ashrafī *dīnār*s, for example, are nowhere near an inch in diameter. Anyone unfamiliar with the coinage should use the plates with caution.

Last to be reviewed is *Mamluk Economics: A Study and Translation of al-Maqrīzī´s* Ighāthah, Adel Allouche´s masterful translation of a Mamluk historian and civil servant´s strident criticism of the ruling Mamluk elite and their monetary policies. Many reviewers have already commented upon why this book is a welcome replacement for Gaston Wiet´s 1962 French translation, and those reasons need only be endorsed and not repeated here. This reviewer has also written a long discussion of Allouche´s book for the *American Journal of Numismatics*, and what follows is a synopsis of the comments found there. Briefly stated, they are as follows: if this translation does nothing more than eliminate the common misunderstanding that *Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah* is about famines, then Allouche will have achieved a great deal. Allouche´s study goes beyond that, however, by providing an elegant and highly readable translation of this important economic treatise. That said, Allouche´s only passing familiarity with the numismatic evidence necessitates treating with caution the monetary analysis found in the translation´s introduction and supporting material.

Allouche´s translation is based upon the Cairo 1940 Arabic edition. The *Ighāthah* itself is a short work; in this volume the translation fills but sixty-three pages. Following the lead of the text itself, Allouche has divided the *Ighāthah* into nine sections. The translation is supplemented by a twenty-page introduction and nine useful appendices. The first of these appendices is in effect a glossary, while the remaining eight are tabular presentations of exchange rates and commodities prices. These appendices and the accompanying notes to the text bear witness to Allouche´s thorough familiarity with the relevant contemporary literary sources.

Allouche argues persuasively that it is in the context of al-Maqrīzī as critic that the *Ighāthah* should be understood, calling it a polemical treatise (p. 13). In it al-Maqrīzī blames the Mamluks for Egypt´s economic problems. Unlike earlier crises, which he states were caused by natural phenomena, al-Maqrīzī believes the difficulties of the first decade

of the ninth/fifteenth century were caused by the ″malfeasance and negligence of the public good″ exhibited by Egypt′s rulers (p. 24). While also condemning Mamluk practices such as the selling of offices and high taxation, al-Maqrīzī devotes the bulk of his critique to the Mamluks′ monetary policies, specifically their excessive issuance of copper coinage. If the government were to abandon copper coins and return to silver and gold, argues al-Maqrīzī, the troubles would cease (pp. 80-81). Regardless of whether al-Maqrīzī′s antidote was correct or not, Allouche rightly emphasizes that al-Maqrīzī′s concern about economic and monetary matters was rare for the time, and it is those issues and not famines which are the true subject of the work (pp. 5, 13).

In Allouche′s introduction to the translation he promises both a ″presentation and [an] explanation of a number of relevant issues″ (p. x). After a short historical overview, the introduction is broken up into five sections addressing five issues: Contemporary Views of the Early Circassians; The Date of al-Maqrīzī′s *Ighāthah*; The Notion of *Ghalā*'; The Scope of the *Ighāthah*; and A Discussion of al-Maqrīzī′s Views. Woven throughout the introduction are several conclusions drawn about Mamluk money. It is clear that Allouche has based his conclusions primarily upon the evidence found in the chronicles. While the author does make frequent reference to Balog′s corpus of Mamluk coins (mentioned above), it is evident from his discussion that he is not intimately familiar with the coins themselves. As a result, his brief analysis of Mamluk money, while better than many which have preceded it, should still be treated with caution.

I will limit my discussion to two examples. First of all, it is no longer universally accepted that the Mamluk monetary system was ever ″based″ on any particular metal as al-Maqrīzī claims and Allouche (and others) have repeated. The numismatic record is quite clear that coins in all three metals—gold, silver, and copper—were in existence throughout the entire Mamluk period, albeit subject to temporary shortages and frequent changes in supply and demand. Thus when al-Maqrīzī alleges that (a) silver coins were not minted in the reign of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, and (b) silver was no longer minted by ″about″ 1403 (p. 15), the numismatic evidence indicates that these scenarios were (a) not true, and (b) only a temporary interruption in minting. Furthermore, because one particular coin was more commonly cited in price quotations or exchange rates does not mean that it was the ″basis″ of the system, merely that it was a common currency at that time. Exchange rates, by definition, require the presence of two types of money. Thus, Allouche′s frequent assertions that the Mamluk monetary system was based first on gold, then silver, and later on a ″copper dirham of account″ (pp. 15-20) should be discounted.

My second comment concerns this ″copper *dirham* of account.″ In his preface, Allouche rightly acknowledges the tremendous difficulties encountered in understanding Mamluk monetary terms (p. x). These terms are used inconsistently in the sources and frequently have multiple meanings. Nowhere are these problems more evident than in the phrase *dirham/darāhim min al-fulūs* found in the Mamluk era texts. Separately, the term *dirham* may refer to either a silver coin or a weight unit, while *fulūs* (sg., *fals*) always refers to copper coins. But as Allouche points out, when these words are linked together, the resulting phrase has caused much confusion among modern scholars. It has been interpreted (and translated) many ways, ranging from the assumption that it was still a silver coin to the definition that it was a copper coin weighing a *dirham* (as seen above in al-Nabarāwī′s book). Neither of these is correct. The phrase refers to a unit of account, and it means the amount of copper coins (*fulūs*) necessary to achieve the value of one silver

coin (*dirham*). Allouche rightly recognizes this term as a unit of account, and his translation is the better for it.

Throughout the book, however, Allouche renders *darāhim min al-fulūs* as "dirham of account." While this usage is better than William Popper's "trade-dirham," it is still problematic. Contrary to Allouche's belief, this "dirham of account" was not the only unit of account in use in the Mamluk domains (pp. 9, 17). Given the extremely irregular weights of Mamluk gold and silver coins struck before the reform issues of the 1420s, it is probable that these coins were weighed for all transactions. The value of the weighed amount of coins was then determined by comparison to their respective unit of account. Thus Mamluk money was no different from other contemporary monies in that it consisted of two parts: the coin itself and the unit of account by which its value was determined. The inherent problem of Allouche's use of "dirham of account" for *darāhim min al-fulūs* is that his phrase could easily be confused with the unit of account specific to the silver *dirham*. A more accurate and less misleading (albeit inelegant) rendering of the Arabic phrase would be "a silver *dirham*'s worth of copper coins." Better yet, why not use the transliterated Arabic phrase itself?

A final word on the *Ighāthah* itself is needed. The powerful indictment by al-Maqrīzī notwithstanding, it should not be forgotten that many modern scholars have reached a different conclusion regarding the economic troubles that beset the Mamluk sultanate, arguing that the monetary policies followed were a reaction to economic difficulty, not a cause of it. That should be kept in mind lest the reader be swept aside by Allouche's flowing translation of al-Maqrīzī's polemic.

MUḤAMMAD ḤAMZAH ISMĀʻĪL AL-ḤADDĀD, *al-Sulṭān al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn: Tārīkh Aḥwāl Miṣr fī ʻAhdihi, Munshaʼatuhu al-Miʻmārīyah* (Cairo: Maktabat Madbūlī, 1993). Pp. 245.

REVIEWED BY LINDA S. NORTHRUP, University of Toronto

Al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, whose reign (1279-1290) was of considerable importance, both with respect to the establishment of the Mamluk sultanate in Egypt and Syria and within the broader context of world history, has recently been the subject not only of a monograph but also of numerous articles treating various aspects of his rule. His reign is also covered in some recent general histories of the Mamluk period. Yet, despite the relatively intense scrutiny to which this sultan and his reign have been subjected, Qalāwūn remains a rather enigmatic, even somewhat colorless, personality.

Until recent studies brought attention to the political and military importance of his reign, Qalāwūn was perhaps best known for his monumental complex in Cairo, comprising a *bīmāristān* (hospital), *qubbah* (dome), and *madrasah* (school), whose remains, with the exception of the hospital, still stand today. The hospital in particular, as one of the most advanced medical institutions of its day and well-documented, has attracted scholars interested in social, cultural, and medical history.[1] The complex as a whole—the first multi-

[1]For example, Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimāʻīyah fī Miṣr 648-*

purpose institution of its kind in Egypt—has been a focus for architectural historians with respect to both plan and decoration.[2]

Notwithstanding the apparent scope of the monograph as indicated by the title, one would expect that, as an archaeologist by training and a lecturer (*mudarris musāʻid*) in the College of Archaeology (Kullīyat al-Āthār) of Cairo University, al-Ḥaddād's real focus would be this complex. Integrating the findings of his archaeological survey within the wider historical and socio-cultural framework of the period might enable him to cast new light on this sultan and his reign. Expectations are raised by the fact that this book was submitted to, and won first prize in, a competition sponsored by the Historical and Archaeological Committee of the High Council for Culture in Egypt. It is also recommended by two of Egypt's most eminent medieval historians, Saʻīd ʻAbd al-Fattāḥ ʻĀshūr and Suʻād Māhir Muḥammad (inside back cover).

Al-Ḥaddād divides his monograph into two parts: historical narrative and description of the monuments. Part 1, entitled "Sultan Qalāwūn and the Condition of Egypt during His Reign," is subdivided into three chapters: (1) "Qalāwūn and the Sultanate"; (2) "The Internal Condition of Egypt during the Reign of Qalāwūn"; and (3) "External Relations." Part 2, "The Extant Monuments of Sultan Qalāwūn in the City of Cairo: The Architectural Complex in Mu'izz al-Dīn lillāh Street," comprises an introduction and four chapters. Each of the first three chapters is devoted to one component of Qalāwūn's complex (*bīmāristān*, *qubbah*, *madrasah*), while the fourth is intended as an analytical study of the entire complex. The text is embellished with notes, as well as with plans and photographs (unfortunately not well reproduced). The work includes a bibliography of primary and secondary sources used, but lacks an index.

There are, in my opinion, two problems with this study, the first of which is methodological. There is no apparent thesis. Further, the author fails to define the relation between the historical and descriptive sections of the work. The length of the two parts suggests that they have equal importance; the historical narrative occupies ninety-two pages, while the study of the monuments consumes eighty-six pages. The function of part 1, the historical narrative, however, is puzzling. The basic outline of Qalāwūn's reign has been traced elsewhere by Surūr, ʻĀshūr, Ḥasan, Rabie, and myself,[3] and the most insightful accounts of Qalāwūn's sultanate published to date are found in Robert Irwin's *The Middle East in the Middle Ages* and Ulrich Haarmann's contribution in *The*

923/1250-1517 (Cairo: Dār al-Nahḍah al-ʻArabīyah, 1980), especially 156-172; also Ahmad Issa Bey, *Histoire des bimaristans (hôpitaux) à l'époque islamique* (Cairo: Imprimerie Paul Barbey, 1928), passim; published in Arabic as *Ta'rīkh al-Bīmāristānāt fī al-Islām* (Damascus: Maṭbūʻāt Jamʻīyat al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī, 1939).

[2]For example, Max Herz, *Die Baugruppe des Sultans Qalāūn in Kairo*, Abhandlungen des Hamburgischen Kolonialinstituts, 42 (Hamburg: L. Friederichsen, 1919); K. A. C. Creswell, "The Māristān, Mausoleum, and Madrasa of Sultan Qalā'ūn," *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), 190-212.

[3]Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn Surūr, *Dawlat Banī Qalāwūn fī Miṣr* (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr al-ʻArabī, 1948); Saʻīd ʻAbd al-Fattāḥ ʻĀshūr, *Miṣr fī Aṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Baḥrīyah* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍah al-Miṣrīyah, 1959), among other works; ʻAlī Ibrāhīm Ḥasan, *Ta'rīkh al-Mamālīk al-Baḥrīyah* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍah al-Miṣrīyah, 1967); Hassanein Rabie, "Ḳalāwūn," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 4:484-486. Linda S. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678-689 A.H./1279-1290 A.D.)*, under review for publication.

Encyclopaedia of Islam article ″Miṣr.″[4] Al-Ḥaddād brings neither new information nor a new perspective to his narrative. Nor does he use his synthesis as a framework within which to interpret the findings of his survey of the monuments.

The archaeological (i.e., descriptive) survey of Qalāwūn′s complex which constitutes part 2 is, perhaps, somewhat more useful. In addition to providing a physical history of the complex and the various modifications to it as well as detailed descriptions of its plan, architectural components and decoration, the author on occasion usefully compares and contrasts textual descriptions with the actual remains of the structure (e.g., p. 123). But when he delves, for example, into social history, repeating what the endowment deeds and historical accounts say about health care, the clientele of the hospital and its employees, al-Ḥaddād contributes little that has not been said elsewhere.[5] His most interesting, and perhaps most important, observation, based on a comment of Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, is that the sultan does not seem to have intended the *qubbah* as his burial place, for the tomb itself was not part of the original structure; it was built only after Qalāwūn′s death (pp. 140-141). Rather, the *qubbah* served an architectural function, to draw attention to the complex; it was also the site of religious activities: Quran recitation, discussions of *ḥadīth*, teaching of Quran commentary and *fiqh* (p. 141). Rather than serving as a conclusion in which the results of the archaeological survey are analyzed within the historical and historiographical context, the final chapter provides a discussion of the scholarly literature regarding the main features of the three principal components of the complex. Several questions remain unanswered. What does this descriptive archaeological survey add to what we learn from documents and texts? Are there considerations other than those mentioned in the sources which might have stimulated Qalāwūn to build such a complex, incorporating a hospital? If inspired by Nūr al-Dīn′s hospital, as some sources relate, is it possible to detect the influence of Nūr al-Dīn′s hospital on Qalāwūn′s, either physically or in terms of functions? To what degree was the sultan himself involved in the plan? Do the archaeological remains shed any further light on his reign, character or personality?

A second criticism concerns the historiographical basis of al-Ḥaddād′s monograph. Although Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir and Baybars al-Manṣūrī (*Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Taʼrīkh al-Hijrah*) have been used, several other important contemporary sources (e.g., Baybars al-Manṣūrī′s *al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah fī al-Dawlah al-Turkīyah* and Shāfiʻ ibn ʻAli′s *al-Faḍl al-Maʼthūr min Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, among others) in which the complex has been discussed have not been consulted. Noticeably, the sources most frequently cited date to the later Mamluk period: al-Maqrīzī, al-ʻAynī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, and Ibn Iyās. Although these sources often contribute new information, in at least one instance their uncritical use results in an anachronistic use of terminology.[6] An account of Qalāwūn′s reign, based on a much wider range of contemporary and later Mamluk literary sources, first analyzed historiographically, will be found in my own study on Qalāwūn.[7]

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[4](Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1986); and Section 5: ″The Mamluk Period 1250-1517,″ 2nd ed., 7:165-177, respectively. See also Northrup, *Slave to Sultan*.

[5]E.g., al-Ḥaddād, 55-57, 128-139. Cf. Amīn, *al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimāʻīyah*, 156-172; idem, in the appendix to his edition of Ibn Ḥabīb′s *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh* (Cairo: al-Hayʼah al-Miṣrīyah al-ʻĀmmah lil-Kitāb, 1976), 295-396.

[6]The terms *mushtarawāt*, *ajlāb* and *julbān* (al-Ḥaddād, 42) to describe categories of *mamlūk*s are not, to my knowledge, found in the sources for Qalāwūn′s reign.

[7]*From Slave to Sultan*.

Similarly, on several occasions al-Ḥaddād cites the endowment deed for Qalāwūn′s complex, drawn up by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā, leader of the Qāzdughlīyah janissary unit in Egypt during the second half of the eighteenth century and *nāẓir* at that time of Qalāwūn′s hospital, rather than Qalāwūn′s original deeds, without telling us why. Though the existence of Katkhudā′s deed has been known for some time, this document has not been widely available to scholars until recently,[8] and it would have been appropriate to note the importance of this source, which, (though not having seen it myself) I suspect, includes the endowment deed for the *madrasah,* which is not found among the extant documents dating to the thirteenth century.

Although al-Ḥaddād has used current secondary literature in Arabic, his failure to supplement older, and still valuable, foreign scholarship with more recent research—whether with regard to the historical narrative or description of the complex—is unfortunate. Important recent foreign studies treating aspects of Qalāwūn′s reign are not cited in the historical narrative.[9] Of more importance, no study of Qalāwūn′s monuments in a Western language later than Creswell′s foundational study, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, vol. 2 (1959) is cited. He accuses ″Orientalists″ of neglecting the role of local tradition as an influence on the elements of the *madrasah*, but makes no reference to Michael Meinecke′s important, detailed analysis of the decorative system employed in the complex in which local influences *are* traced.[10] He might also have mentioned the plans of the World of Islam Festival Trust to restore this monument.[11] For whom is this work intended? If meant for a lay public, with a general interest in Egypt′s history and monuments, al-Ḥaddād′s work presents a clearly written and generally accurate synthesis of Egyptian and, albeit, older foreign scholarship. The specialist, however, will likely be disappointed. Having failed to interpret the findings of the archaeological survey in the light of the historical conditions of Qalāwūn′s reign or to make use of important documentation and research, whether original sources or the most recent foreign scholarship, an opportunity has been lost to illumine further Qalāwūn′s life and reign.

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[8]For excerpts from this document (Ministry of Awqāf, Cairo, no. 1012) regarding the hospital, see Issa Bey, *Histoire des bimaristans*, 69-72. Al-Ḥaddād also cites Muḥammad Sayf al-Naṣr Abū al-Futūḥ′s ″Madrasat Sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn bi-al-Naḥḥāsīn bi-al-Qāhirah: Dirāsat Atharīyah fī Ḍaw' Wathīqah Jadīdah,″ *Majallat Kullīyat al-Ādāb,* Jāmiʿat Ṣanʿā' (1984), which I have not yet seen.

[9]For example, Adel Allouche and P. M. Holt, among others, on diplomacy; Robert Irwin and Donald P. Little on the conquest of Tripoli and Acre, respectively.

[10]″Das Mausoleum des Qalā'ūn in Kairo: Untersuchungen zu Genese mamlukischen Architekturdekoration,″ *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 27, no. 1 (1971): 47-80.

[11]Alistair Duncan, ″Proposed Restoration and Rehabilitation of the Madrasa, Mausoleum, and Maristan of Sultan Qala'un,″ in *Islamic Cairo: Architectural Conservation and Urban Development of the Historic Centre*, ed. Michael Meinecke, Art and Archaeology Research Papers (London: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Kairo, 1980), 74-76.

ḤAYĀT NĀṢIR AL-HAJJĪ, *Ṣuwar min al-Ḥaḍārah al-ʻArabīyah al-Islāmīyah fī Salṭanat al-Mamālīk* (Kuwait: Dār al-Qalam lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʻ, 1992/1412). Pp. 249.

REVIEWED BY JOHN L. MELOY, University of Chicago

This book consists of four studies in the administrative and social history of the Mamluk period, with an emphasis on the Baḥrī period and the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn in particular. The author′s preface is unnecessarily apologetic for the book′s limited purview in light of the fact that a complete study of the period′s civilization would be a vast undertaking. In fact, the range of topics, like those covered in the author′s many other published works, is quite broad: the papers collected here deal with the fields of administration, law, education, and medicine. The preface also unnecessarily justifies the exploration of the articles′ topics on the basis of the unique achievements of Islamic civilization during this period. This claim comes across as more than a bit overstated and is based in part on a number of unsubstantiated assertions, for example, that the Mamluks′ unbounded enthusiasm for Islam was the foundation of the civilization and that half of Upper Egypt′s population converted to Islam during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.

The first article, entitled "al-Taqsīm al-Idārī fī Miṣr Zaman al-Mamālīk al-Baḥrīyah" (The Administrative Division of Egypt at the Time of the Baḥrī Mamluks), discusses the *iqṭāʻ* system in Egypt by way of a description of the cadastral surveys and land distributions ordered by Sultan Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn and Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (*al-rawk al-ḥusāmī* and *al-rawk al-nāṣirī*, respectively). The author presents information on both surveys as well as the economic importance of the latter; unfortunately, the conclusion offers little synthetic analysis beyond the assertion that *al-rawk al-nāṣiri* was long-lived because it was an administrative organization that conformed to Egypt′s political, economic, and social conditions. The third paper, "Min Mazāhir Niẓām al-Taʻlīm fī Miṣr Zaman al-Mamālīk" (On Features of the Educational System in Egypt at the Time of the Mamluks) consists of a series of discussions on the various institutions—mosques, *madrasah*s, *khānqāh*s, *ribāṭ*s, and *zāwiyah*s—that offered instruction, as well as sections on faculty, students, certification, libraries, and *maktab*-*sabīl*s. This article, too, is descriptive, and offers no argument about the nature of education in Mamluk Egypt. Both papers appear to have been published previously; I have partial references to articles of the same titles by the author in *Majallat Dirāsāt al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ* and *Majallat al-Jāmiʻah al-Mustanṣirīyah*, although I have not been able to identify the issues.

The second and fourth articles are slightly revised versions of articles that appeared earlier, although there is no reference to this fact. The first of these, "al-Qaḍā' wa-al-Quḍāh fī Miṣr fī ʻAhd al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (709-741 H./1309-1341 M.)" (The Judiciary and Judges of Egypt in the Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn) appeared in *Dirāsāt: al-ʻUlūm al-Insānīyah*, vol. 13, no. 12 (1986): 65-95. The version in this book includes a number of new paragraphs and a conclusion. The article begins with a very brief discussion of the institution of chief judgeships for each of the four Sunnī legal *madhhab*s during the reign of Baybars and developments during the reign of Qalāwūn. The body of the article covers various aspects of the judiciary during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The conclusion, like the introduction, poses broader questions about aspects of the judiciary. The uniqueness of the Mamluk judiciary with respect to the chief judgeships is

substantially diminished when one considers that the Fatimids sponsored chief judges in both Shīʻī and Sunnī *madhhab*s, and that Nūr al-Dīn Zangī appointed chief judges in a number of *madhhab*s as well. The article entitled "al-Bīmāristān al-Manṣūrī mundhu Ta'sīsihi wa-ḥattá Nihāyat al-Qarn al-Thāmin" (The Manṣūrī Hospital from Its Foundation to the End of the Eighth Century) consists of discussions on the *waqfīyah* of the hospital, apparently (there is no explicit reference) as published by Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn in his edition of Ḥasan ibn Ḥabīb's *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh*. It also contains discussions of the hospital's equipment, its medical, financial, and administrative organization, and the study of medicine in the hospital, and it concludes with a discussion of the hospital in the following century. This article, the book's fourth and last piece, first appeared in *al-Majallah al-ʻArabīyah lil-ʻUlūm al-Insānīyah*, vol. 8, no. 29 (1988): 6-35. The version under review includes only a few changes.

These four articles use a wide range of chronicle and encyclopedic sources, both published and unpublished. In each of the papers, the author presents a great deal of information; the papers, however, are informed by only the briefest references to secondary literature in any language, and the conclusions offer little in the way of synthetic analysis. Since the book does not approach the sources with any particular methodological strategy, these articles serve only as introductory surveys and do not offer substantial insights into their respective topics.

P. M. HOLT, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260-1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers*. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995). Pp. 161.

REVIEWED BY ANNE F. BROADBRIDGE, University of Chicago

P. M. Holt's latest work, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, combines two of his main research interests: the political and military history of the Levant during the epoch of the Crusades and the critical translation of Arabic sources into English. These interests have already emerged in such works as his *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades* (Warminster, 1977), *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517* (London, 1986), and *The Memoirs of a Syrian Prince* (Wiesbaden, 1983), a translation of Abū al-Fidā' Ismāʻīl ibn ʻAlī's *al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar*.

The work under review is the twelfth volume in the series entitled *Islamic History and Civilization: Studies and Texts*, edited by Ulrich Haarmann. In it Holt presents translations of eleven truces and treaties negotiated by the Mamluk sultans Baybars and Qalāwūn with various Christian states of both the Middle East and Europe. Previously, Holt published a number of these texts in assorted scholarly journals; the remaining material was hitherto unavailable in English. All of the texts are pertinent to the history of the thirty-year period between 1260 and 1290, which witnessed both the consolidation of the Mamluk Sultanate as a significant power in the eastern Mediterranean, and the obliteration of the Frankish Crusader states in the Levant, which was assured by the 1291 Mamluk conquest of Acre.

Although the main body of the book consists of the translations, Holt does include a concise analytical introduction. This accounts for the bulk of the critical analysis found in the book; despite its brevity, it is clear and thoughtful. In it he discusses the sources in which he found the various truces and treaties, details the status of the truce in its various forms as it was known and used in Mamluk diplomatic practice, and provides a concise description of Mamluk relations with such powers as the European Christian kingdoms, the Levantine Crusader and Armenian states, and the Byzantine Empire. He briefly addresses several overarching regional strategic and economic issues, and highlights the specific strategic policies undertaken by Baybars and Qalāwūn in their dealings with the Christian states. Finally, he situates each truce historically and explains how it reflects the changing military and political situation in the region.

Two maps of the northern and southern Fertile Crescent follow the introduction. While these maps are pertinent to those truces negotiated by the Mamluk sultans with the Frankish Crusader or Armenian states, they do not cover regions mentioned in other treaties. Therefore another map, perhaps of the entire Mediterranean basin, would have been welcome, especially for those texts concerned with Genoa, Aragon, and the Byzantine empire.

Holt introduces each annotated translation by clarifying the immediate circumstances of the truce, pinpointing its location in the sources, and referring to existing medieval or modern translations. Where necessary, he also translates variant copies of the text in the form of appendices. The book concludes with two indices, one of persons and one of places.

This work is a useful compilation of important primary sources, which so far have not been presented in a unified collection. Holt provides a skilled translation of the texts, thereby making them more accessible to Middle East historians and historians of the Crusades. Although the translations account for the bulk of the book, he furnishes a coherent historical context for each truce and establishes its relevance to the overall events of the time. *Early Mamluk Diplomacy* is a useful handbook for scholars investigating the political and diplomatic issues of the time period, and can also be used to introduce original sources to students.

MOHAMED TAHAR MANSOURI, *Recherches sur les relations entre Byzance et l'Égypte (1259-1453) (d'après les sources arabes)*. (Tunis: Université de Tunis 1. Faculté des Lettres de la Manouba, 1992). Pp. 309.

REVIEWED BY WALTER E. KAEGI, University of Chicago

This is a useful but nevertheless disappointing and rather superficial first attempt to write a comprehensive history of Byzantine-Mamluk relations. A comprehensive examination of Byzantine-Mamluk relations is an important desideratum of late Byzantine history. Unfortunately, this effort cannot fill that need. The author rightly stresses his use of Arabic and not Greek sources, and it is this fact that does indeed provide the principal value of the book, especially for Byzantinists and historians of Mediterranean trade who are not Arabists.

The author writes in general, sometimes excessively broad terms. Pages 1 to 90 are merely derivative background, without any original evidence or new interpretations. He describes how the Mamluks attempted to bar more Crusades through diplomacy with Byzantium (pp. 97-98), the continuation of Italian commerce with the Mamluks, and the Mongol menace. However, in examining Mamluk-Mongol relations (pp. 104-111), he fails to use the 1984 Indiana University dissertation of Bruce Lippard on ″The Mongols and Byzantium, 1243-1341.″ He rightfully emphasizes the Mamluk need for slaves and horses and therefore the mutuality of interests of Byzantium and the Mamluks in keeping navigation open in the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. He briefly refers to Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus′s need to turn toward the Mongols, his detention of a Mamluk envoy to the Kipchaks for two years to avoid Mongol displeasure (p. 111). His real discussion of Byzantine-Mamluk relations begins on page 113. He notes that Mamluk sources do not give details about the reception of Byzantine envoys (p. 119). He notes that both parties used Melkite Christians as envoys (p. 118). He concludes that there is little evidence about the backgrounds of Mamluk ambassadors to Constantinople. His references to these embassies from Arabic sources, however, are valuable for Byzantinists.

The author′s delineation of Arabic sources′ descriptions of Byzantine qualities on page 137 are similar to some that Nadia Maria El-Cheikh Salibi has found in Arabic sources for earlier medieval periods in her 1992 Harvard University dissertation ″Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs.″

Mansouri assesses how the fifteenth century Emperor John V established Byzantine consular representation at Alexandria. He reviews commercial relations on pages 147-149, including the Mamluk need to import slaves. However, he provides no statistics, probably because none exist, on the number of slaves who passed through Byzantine-controlled navigational routes to Mamluk Egypt. Mansouri notes that there is little information on Byzantine merchants in Egyptian ports in the Muslim sources. He speculates that some horses may have come to Mamluk Egypt via Byzantium (pp. 164-165). There is nothing new in the author′s description of relations between Emperor Manuel II (r. 1391-1425) and the Mamluks. He gives a useful description of growing relations between the early Ottomans and the Mamluks, on pages 203-205.

While the Byzantinist will learn something from this book about Arabic sources on the Mamluks and some of the problems that pushed the Mamluks to seek relations with the Byzantines, he will find nothing new here about Byzantium and the Byzantines. In short, it is the author′s collection and citation of Muslim, that is, Arabic, sources on Mamluk-Byzantine relations that is the greatest contribution of this book. Even more desirable would have been the translation and analysis of these references for the use of non-Arabists, whether Byzantinists or medievalists, as A. A. Vasiliev did in his *Byzance et les arabes* for an earlier period of Byzantine-Muslim relations.

Mansouri does not show an up-to-date knowledge of the latest scholarship on Byzantium in this period. He omits reference, for example, to Kenneth Setton′s magisterial *Papacy and the Levant*, to books and articles on Byzantine economic history by Michael Hendy, other work on Palaeologan history by Alice-Mary Talbot and Speros Vryonis, studies on relevant aspects of Byzantine Jewish history by Zvi Ankori (on the Karaite Jews), and Steven Bowman generally on Jews in the Palaeologan Byzantine Empire. His familiarity with more specialized modern scholarship in article form seems to disappear early in the 1980s. He does not cite the latest editions of some important Byzantine sources

such as Niketas Choniates and George Pachymeres. Although Mansouri could not have known it when he finished the manuscript of his book, the 1995 doctoral dissertation (History, University of Chicago) of John B. Williams on the Genoese slave trade, ″From the Commercial Revolution to the Slave Revolution: The Development of Slavery in Medieval Genoa,″ provides valuable comparative material on the contemporary slave trade in the central and western Mediterranean, even though Genoa′s slave trade in the central and western Mediterranean was not a direct source for Mamluk slaves. This book is useful, but a more thorough and rigorous study is still desirable, together with a fuller exploration of the sources and their ambiguities. Mamluk historians should use this book with great caution as a guide or introduction to Byzantine topics, because the author is simply unfamiliar with some of the most important recent work and interpretations of the relevant Byzantine historical context.

STEFAN HEIDEMANN, *Das Aleppiner Kalifat (AD 1261): Vom Ende des Kalifates in Bagdad über Aleppo zu den Restaurationen in Kairo*. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994). Pp. 424.

REVIEWED BY LUTZ WIEDERHOLD, Martin-Luther-University Halle-Wittenberg

Students of Mamluk history are often envied by their colleagues who work on other periods and areas of Islamic civilization for the abundance of historiographical and prosopographical sources at their disposal. It is true that certain phases of Mamluk rule over Egypt and Syria are documented in a much greater number of narrative sources than the preceding and subsequent periods of the history of Egypt and Syria—not to speak of other areas of the Islamic world. However, it must be kept in mind that, in these sources, certain periods and aspects of Mamluk history are hardly documented at all. Furthermore, over the past decades, students of Mamluk history have become more and more aware of the fact that the historiographical accounts cannot be taken at face value but must be examined from various perspectives.

The incompleteness and the potential tendentiousness of information in narrative sources has been a general problem of modern western historiography since its emancipation as an autonomous scholarly discipline, that is, since the beginning of the eighteenth century. It was at that time that western historians started to utilize systematically the results of smaller specialized scholarly disciplines—described as auxiliary sciences—in their attempts to reconstruct historical reality. In the book that is reviewed here, one of these auxiliary sciences, numismatics, serves as a critical tool in the examination of an important political and ideological aspect of the early history of Mamluk rule. According to the author, Stefan Heidemann, it was a number of coins struck in Aleppo in the name of the Caliph al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (659/1261) that aroused his interest in the particulars of the transfer of the Abbasid Caliphate from Baghdad to Cairo (pp. XI, 134). Generally, Heidemann′s focus is on the events between the murder of the last Abbasid of Baghdad, al-Mustaʻṣim, by Hülägü′s soldiers in 656/1258 and the demise of al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh, the second Abbasid Caliph after the fall of Baghdad (d. 701/1302).

The contents of the book are organized in eleven chapters. In the first ten chapters, Heidemann provides a description of events that is mainly based on narrative sources (Mongol and Mamluk) and is occasionally compared with numismatic evidence. He presents a painstaking analysis of the relationship between the main protagonists of the fall and the restoration of the Caliphate. He devotes particular attention to the conflict between the two pretenders to the Abbasid Caliphate after the fall of Baghdad, al-Mustanṣir billāh and al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh, and to the role of the military elite as represented by Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars (r. 658/1260-667/1269) and the Amir Aqqūsh al-Burlī. Chapter 11 contains a description of 161 coins and a discussion of their historical relevance. At the end of the book, 137 of these 161 coins are reproduced in plates.

CRITIQUE OF PREVIOUS STUDIES, GENERAL FRAMEWORK, AND THESES

Heidemann premises his study with some critical remarks on the current state of research on the Mamluk-Abbasid Caliphates of Aleppo and Cairo and on the role of Sultan Baybars (pp. 3-9). He describes the view prevalent among contemporary Western and Arab historians as oscillating between two different positions. According to one, Baybars restored the Caliphate in order to legitimate his regime ("Herrschaftslegitimation"); according to the other he did so in order to realize his own political aims ("Machtpolitik," p. 8).

Heidemann's approach, as he states, differs from previous studies in the following respects: (1) He views the overthrow of the Baghdad Caliphate not merely as the necessary result of the Mongol occupation but as the consequence of the differing ideological positions of the various groups involved. (2) Furthermore, he promises an explanation of the Mamluk-Abbasid Caliphates that is not exclusively based on ideological patterns like the justification of political power ("Herrschaftslegitimation"), but mainly on the reconstruction of the sequence of political events ("die Abfolge tagespolitischer Ereignisse," p. 9).

In his introduction, Heidemann refers to a great number of earlier studies on his subject. However, some of his general remarks on the present state of research and his project appear to be based on an artificial polarization of phenomena and approaches that might equally be viewed as interdependent. This, for example, is the case when he makes a distinction between an approach based on ideological patterns like "Herrschafts-legitimation," and one that focuses predominantly on the politics of the day when he explains the emergence of the Caliphates of Aleppo and Cairo (pp. 9, 11, 12). Also, his usage of the term "Caliphate" does not always indicate whether he means the abstract concept of caliphal rule, or the Caliphate as a political institution in interrelation with other institutions of legislative and executive power (pp. 9, 24, 27, 28 n. 2).

SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY, RESULTS

Heidemann's book is, among other things, an essay on the dialectics of event and description. He points to the fact that different historiographers—according to their confessional affiliation—put the overthrow of the Baghdad Caliphate into different perspectives (pp. 12-16). It is one of the strengths of the book that the author keeps in view these differences in the evaluation of historical information. In cases where his sources contradict each other or do not provide a full picture of events, he does not fill the gaps with presumptions. (One may find a few exceptions to this observation, as, for

example, the remark on rivalries between the tribes of the Āl ʻAlī and the Āl Muhannā, p. 131. But, even in cases like this, a hypothesis is clearly identifiable to the attentive reader.) One should also mention the fact that Heidemann largely refrains from obscuring the borderline between information and interpretation. Verbatim quotations of the Arabic text (in transliteration) on several occasions (pp. 26, 41, 62, etc.) enable the reader to form his own opinion.

The incorporation of numismatic evidence into his argumentation is of particular interest. He points to the importance of the *sikkah* (the mentioning of rulers on coins) for the chronology of political events (pp. 209-211). According to him, the *sikkah*—often neglected besides the *khuṭbah* as another expression of the submission to a superior power—is in some cases the only material source for the reconstruction of historical events. This is illustrated by a number of concrete examples. To mention one of them, the only non-literary proof for the existence of the Caliphate of Aleppo are several *dirham*s struck in the name of al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh in 659/1261 (p. 134; on the mentioning of the Caliphate of Aleppo in narrative sources, see p. 133).

On the other hand, Heidemann emphasizes that, for the time examined, coins must not be regarded as a substitute for missing historiographical evidence. For example, the subjugation of local rulers of northern Mesopotamia like Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' by the Mongols is not confirmed by numismatic evidence since the Mongols did not consider this form of recognizing their supremacy as important (p. 36).

In his conclusions, Heidemann makes reference to his methodological approach. He describes various historical developments as the result of political events (pp. 107, 197) as well as of diametrically opposed ideological positions among the Mongols and the Muslims concerning the notion of legitimate power (pp. 36, 44, 55, 56-57, 61, 102, 195).

Philologically, the book is sound. Only occasionally one finds cases of inconsistency in the transliteration of Arabic (for example *"ilā an-nabī"* against *"ʻalā d-darāhimi,"* pp. 72, 134 n. 9). One clear mistake is the transliteration of the Arabic term for civil strife as *"fiṭna"* instead of *"fitna"* (pp. 61, 62, 65).

To conclude, Heidemann has produced a valuable study on a subject which called for a comprehensive analysis. In view of the deficiencies of narrative sources his endeavors to incorporate numismatic evidence into his argumentation are useful. In principle, his methodological approach is identical with that of Reiske and other early representatives of Islamic numismatics. However, the wide range of sources and the critical discussion of the secondary literature lead him to original conclusions which offer a basis for further studies on Islamic coinage and on the early Mamluk period.

M. L. BENHASSINE, *Deux études sur la pensée économique d'Abderrahmane Ibn Khaldoun dans "Al Muqaddima"* (Algiers: Editions El-Adib, 1991). Pp. 54.

REVIEWED BY GILLES HENNEQUIN, Centre national de la recherche scientifique

From reading the preface (pp. 7-9), one might think that the author intended to rework his two articles dating from the 1970s into a single text. Ultimately he seems to have been content with a pure and simple reproduction of the originals in apparent

expectation of an Arabic translation to be made by one of his colleagues. The second article (pp. 25-46) is actually the older of the two (written in 1974, though released only in 1980), the other text (pp. 11-24) dating from 1977. In either case, M. L. Benhassine implicitly confesses to his having knowledge of the *Muqaddimah*[1] only from the first edition of the French translation by Vincent Manṣūr Monteil.[2]

The article from 1974 is entitled, with great precision, ″La pensée économique d′Ibn Khaldoun dans le chapitre V, tome II.″ Benhassine insists that it is indeed in that very chapter entitled ″Comment gagner sa vie?″ (″How to make a living″) that Ibn Khaldūn has collected ″l′essentiel de ses réflexions économiques″ (p. 25). The article from 1977 purports to complement the former by exploiting the wealth of the rest of the *Muqaddimah* (ibid.: ″. . . digressions, . . . remarques passagères sur la vie économique et ses imbrications avec le corps social de la société maghrébine des quatorzième et du quinzième siècles . . .″ -*sic*-scattered ″dans d′autres parties de l′oeuvre″), and proclaims its ambition for synthesis through the title ″La pensées économiques d′Abderrahmane Ibn Khaldoun (1332-1406)″ (p. 11).[3]

One need not stand on the authority (?) of Friedrich Engels to observe that ″les penseurs des formations sociales précapitalistes ont développé une réflexion économique et sociale″ preceding largely ″l′économie politique du capitalisme″ which did not become a science until the seventeenth century. Concerning the very purpose of the *Muqaddimah*, namely, how to understand ″les causes de la naissance, de l′évolution et de la décadence ou de la disparition de la civilisation,″ Benhassine apparently takes exception to Ibn Khaldūn′s alleged failure to resort in a more systematic fashion to the explication ″par l′activité économique.″ This Marxist infatuation, still common in the 1970s, seems ridiculous in the wake of the ideological collapse of the self-proclaimed ″socialisme scientifique″ (p. 8). The developments assigned to the principal concepts of Ibn Khaldūn are hardly original.[4] One can readily admit that on certain points—labor-value, intervention of the state in economic life, etc.—Ibn Khaldūn did make an appreciable advance over his contemporaries, but it is unlikely that one can speak meaningfully of ″identité conceptuelle entre les éléments de pensée économique d′Ibn Khaldoun et les fondateurs de l′économie politique classique anglaise″ (p. 44). His observations about money are largely illusory: one fears that a large part of what Benhassine believes he has discerned in the corresponding passages of Ibn Khaldūn are but a figment of his own imagination. The numerous and sometimes lengthy allusions of Ibn Khaldūn to gold and silver, to the *sikkah*, etc., (see index, p. 47) unfortunately contain nothing, as far as perception and comprehension of economic phenomena are concerned, that marks any substantial advance over, say, the period of the

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[1]″Prolégomènes″ consisting of introduction (comprising invocation, foreword, and introduction *stricto sensu*) and book 1 (comprising preface and chapters 1-6) of *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, or ″Reflections on the History of the Arabs, Persians, and Berbers.″

[2]Ibn Khaldūn, *Discours sur l′histoire universelle (al-Muqaddima)* new translation, preface, and notes, 3 vols. (Beirut, 1967, 1968). Second edition, revised (3 vols.) (Paris, 1978); the only significant addition to the first edition is to be found in vol. 1, pp. xli-xlviii: ″À la recherche d′Ibn Khaldûn.″

[3]Ibn Khaldûn, *Économie politique*, trans. Vincent Monteil, Classiques arabes, 6 (Paris, 1981) conveniently gathers together the most significant ″economic″ passages of the *Muqaddimah* drawn from the Beirut-Paris publication: chaps. 5, pp. 1-22; 3, pp. 36-41, 45, 48; 4, pp. 11-20.

[4]See Monteil, préface, vol. 1 (Beirut, 1967), xxv-xxxiv; M. Talbi, ″Ibn Khaldūn,″ *Encyclopédie de l′Islam*, 2nd ed., 3:849-855.

Geniza.[5] One is led to believe that the author of the *Muqaddimah*, like the author of the ″Traité des monnaies″[6] and of *al-Ighāthah*,[7] who happened to be his student at al-Azhar,[8] would continue to maintain with money the same kind of relationship that Monsieur Jourdain had with prose.[9]

The only change made in the new edition is the ″Index abrégé des terms économiques utilisés dans Al-Muqaddima″ (pp. 47-53) that Benhassine, ″pour permettre un suivi ou un approfondissement de l′étude des problémes économiques″ and according to highly subjective and therefore largely arbitrary standards, has compiled from the second edition[10] of the translation of Monteil and which is little more than a useless repetition of the ″Index des notions et des institutions″ figuring in the former (vol. 3, Paris, 1978, pp. 1365-1372).

Even if Benhassine′s arguments are not always persuasive to the reader, one would not want to mince matters with an author who, on the theme—as real today as six centuries ago—of the decline of the Maghrib, visibly and understandably shares the anguish previously experienced by Ibn Khaldūn. French speakers will add their unreserved admiration for the mastery demonstrated by Benhassine in his handling of their language.

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[5]S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1: *Economic Foundations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 230: ″. . . strange as it may appear, that highly monetized society of the Geniza period had no proper word for the abstract concept of money.″

[6]See the author′s views in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron*, 2 vols. (Cairo: Institut français d′archéologie orientale, 1979), 2:317-328.

[7]Adel Allouche, *Mamluk Economics: A Study and Translation of al-Maqrīzī′s* Ighāthah (Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1994), with observations of Michael Bates in *Newsletter, Oriental Numismatic Society*, no. 141 (Summer, 1994), 4.

[8]Monteil, préface, viii.

[9]See the author′s views in his review of *La pensée socio-économique d′El Makrizi*, by Fathallah Oualalou, *Annales islamologiques* 15 (1979): 474-478, and more recently, in his ″*Waqf* et monnaie dans l′Égypte mamluke,″ *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 38, no. 3 (1995): 305-312.

[10]See above, note 2.

ALEXANDER SCHEIDT, *Das Königheit von al-Karak in der mamlūkischen Zeit: Aus dem arabischen Geschichtswerk von Muḥammad ʻAdnān al-Bakhīt übersetz und ausführlich erläutert*. (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1992). Pp. 288.

REVIEWED BY DONALD P. LITTLE, McGill University

As all students of Mamluk history know, Karak was the seat of one of the seven provinces into which Mamluk Syria was divided, each being ruled by a governor appointed by the sultan in Cairo. More than any of these provinces, Karak was focused on a fortress, which bore its name. Constructed on a high spur by Crusaders in 1142, it commanded pilgrimage and caravan routes. This strategic prize was captured for Islam by the Ayyubids in 1188 and eventually fell to the Mamluks in 1263 during the reign of Baybars. Thereafter, while retaining its military and administrative importance in Transjordan, it figured frequently as a place of banishment and retreat for Mamluk dignitaries, most prominently for al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who used it as his headquarters before returning to power in Cairo for the third time and later sent four of his sons there for training, away from the various vices of the big city.[1] As one of the most imposing and celebrated fortresses of the Mamluk Empire, with numerous references in the sources to it and the province it controlled, it is not surprising that it should be chosen as a subject for separate research.

This was first done by no less a scholar than Muḥammad ʻAdnān al-Bakhīt, known in the West primarily as the convener of the Bilād al-Shām conferences held in Amman but also as author of several works relating to the history of Muslim Syria. As a young scholar at the American University of Beirut he submitted an M.A. thesis in 1965, later revised and published in 1976 as *Mamlakat al-Karak fī al-ʻAhd al-Mamlūkī*. In order to make this somewhat inaccessible work better known to Western scholars Alexander Scheidt translated, corrected, and amplified it, which he, in turn, submitted to Heidelberg University. If only as a curious specimen of an M.A. twice removed, the present work is a noteworthy piece of scholarship.

The book is divided into nine chapters plus an appendix, covering the following topics: (1) A sketch of the history of Karak under the Crusaders and Ayyubids. (2) The boundaries of the province of Karak and a description of its towns and villages under the Mamluks. (3) Pilgrimage sites located in the principality. (4) Its inhabitants, sedentary and Bedouin, Muslim and Christian. (5) Economic aspects. (6) Administrative officials, military and civilian. (7) History of Mamluk Karak. (8) Sketches of notables. (9) Notes, bibliography, indices. The appendix contains Scheidt's own brief survey of the history of Karak under the Crusaders, Ayyubids, and Mamluks.

Since almost all the chapters consist mainly of annotated lists of people and places, and since the notes, bibliography, and indices constitute half the book, it is obviously designed for reference rather than sustained reading. As such, it should be useful to scholars who might be interested in taking a more conceptual approach to the role of this province in the Mamluk state.

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[1]See David Ayalon, "The Eunuchs in the Mamluk Sultanate," *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. Myriam Rosen-Ayalon (Jerusalem: Institute of Asian and African Studies, 1977), 292.

CARL F. PETRY, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reign of the Mamluk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1993). Pp. 236.

CARL F. PETRY, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt′s Waning as a Great Power*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994). Pp. 226.

REVIEWED BY MICHAEL WINTER, Tel-Aviv University

As the readers of *Mamluk Studies Review* are well aware, the Mamluk Sultanate has been the subject of numerous important studies, in part owing to the unusual wealth of the source material for that period (1250-1517). There are excellent studies about the army, bureaucracy, economy and finance, cities, religious life, higher education, minorities, art and architecture, and historiography of the Mamluk era. There are suprisingly few monographs about Mamluk sultans, and not enough orderly, detailed, and authoritative narrative history.[1] Carl F. Petry′s two books about the reigns and personalities of the Mamluk sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy (872-901/1468-1496) and Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī (906-922/1501-1616)[2] are a much needed addition to the list of sultans′ monographs and a coherent narrative history of the last half-century of Mamluk history. The two sultans were by far the most important rulers in the late Mamluk period. Their reigns were long and both were clever, experienced and powerful sultans, whose very different personalities dominated Egypt′s domestic and foreign policies.

Professor Petry has an unparalleled knowledge of the last half-century of the history of that sultanate, and his earlier contributions, particularly his *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1981), have established his reputation as one of the leading historians in the field. The first book, *Twilight of Majesty*, presents a lucid and authoritative political history of the two sultans′ reigns. The book is a highly readable account of dramatic events, internal politics and international diplomacy, and wars. The focus is on the personalities and strategies of both sultans, but also gives fascinating profiles of their top military and civilian assistants and officers. Petry has based his narrative on the excellent Arabic sources, primarily the chronicles of Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Ṣayrafī, al-Malāṭī, and Ibn Iyās. The writing is done with sensitivity, insight and empathy, yet with a scholar′s critical caution. Moreover, Petry demonstrates real literary talent. The style is rich and idiomatic, yet the second volume, *Protectors or Praetorians?* in particular,

[1]There are exceptions, some quite recent: Peter Thorau′s study of Sultan Baybars I (1987), Amalia Levanoni′s book about al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn (1995) and Ahmad Darrag′s study of Sultan Barsbāy (1961). As for political history, one should mention Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate*, *1250-1382* (London: Croom Helm, 1986) and P. M. Holt, *The Age of Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517* (London: Longman, 1986), a useful introductory survey.

[2]Petry has decided to use the variant Qānṣūh rather than the more common Qānṣawh. In the list of the Mamluk sultans on page ix of *Twilight of Majesty*, there is an error concerning al-Ghawrī′s reign which was 1501-1516 (not 1517), and Ṭūmānbāy′s reign which was from 922 to the first days of 923 (1516 to the first days of 1517) and not 922/1517. This is obviously a technicality; the dates in the relevant chapters are correct.

has compelled the present reviewer, who is not a native speaker of English, to consult his dictionary more frequently than usual, to find many of the text′s words and phrases defined as ″formal,″ ″literary,″ or even ″old use.″

The second book, *Protectors or Praetorians?*, is more thematic than chronological and is an analysis of the Mamluk regime′s characteristics and the strategies employed by the two sultans to survive against internal and external threats. Petry examines the ways the rulers exercised power and ponders over the historical, societal, cultural, and even ethical meanings of the mechanics of Mamluk government in that period.

The main theme that runs through both books is the comparison between the two sultans. This approach is natural, and was done by their contemporaries, most notably Ibn Iyās, the last and one of the greatest representatives of Mamluk historiography. Qāytbāy was regarded by his contemporaries and by the following generations as a model sultan: a just ruler, a pious Muslim, a brave warrior, a wise and benevolent monarch. Qāytbāy was also successful in his foreign policy. He was victorious over Shāh Suwār, the Turcoman chief who challenged Cairo′s suzerainty in Anatolia, handled skillfully the aggression of Uzun Ḥasan on the sultanate′s northern borders, and even forced the mighty Ottomans to respect the *status quo* in the buffer zones separating the two empires in Anatolia after a series of fierce battles from 1484 to 1491. In his obituary of Qāytbāy, Ibn Iyās eulogizes him in superlatives: ″His career developed in glory and majesty. . . . He was serene and dignified, correct in decorum, invariably respected, projecting an aura of majesty to official ceremonies. . . . Although tainted by greed, he was the noblest of Circassian rulers, their finest.″[3]

Inevitably, Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī was compared to Qāytbāy and was found wanting. Here is what Ibn Iyās has to say in his obituary of the last effective Mamluk sultan: ″Al-Ghawrī′s sultanate lasted fifteen years, nine months, twenty-five days, each of which weighed down on the people like a thousand years. . . . Truly the list of al-Ghawrī′s misdeeds was endless.″[4] Ibn Iyās acknowledges al-Ghawrī′s strong personality and talents, but presents him as a selfish and cruel *bon vivant*, and a grasping tyrant.

Petry is careful to look at the chronicler′s judgment critically. He calls Qāytbāy ″Revered Conservator,″ and defines his main goal and achievement as the maintenance of the *status quo*: ″That Qāytbāy had not a single new idea about governing his realm not one of his biographers found blameworthy.″[5] It is worth noting that Qāytbāy′s image as almost the ideal ruler was adopted not only by Ṭūmānbāy, al-Ghawrī′s nephew and successor, who demonstratively followed Qāytbāy′s (and not al-Ghawrī′s) style of rulership, but even the Ottomans, who fought him in Anatolia and finally destroyed the Mamluk Sultanate. The *Qānūn-nāme-i Miṣir*, of 1525, the code regulating the administration of Ottoman Egypt, expressly calls for adherence to ″Qāytbāy′s laws″ in administrative or fiscal matters.

While recognizing the unsavory sides of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī′s character, Petry correctly notes that we are almost wholly dependent for the description of al-Ghawrī on one source—the chronicle of Ibn Iyās, who makes no secret of his intense dislike for him, especially when compared to Qāytbāy. Petry finds al-Ghawrī far more original and interesting than his revered predecessor, and calls him ″Vilified Innovator.″ Indeed, Petry

[3]Translated by Carl Petry, *Twilight of Majesty*, 15-16. Petry notes that Ibn Taghrībirdī′s opinion of Qāytbāy, whom he served personally, was more reserved and critical.
[4]Ibid., 119, 121.
[5]*Twilight of Majesty*, 234; *Protectors or Praetorians?*, 224.

emphasizes the contrast between the deeply conservative Qāytbāy, who left things as they were, and al-Ghawrī, who ″experimented with artillery, recruited new military units from outside the Mamluk caste[6] or manipulated *waqf*s to pay them.″ Predictably, these innovations raised apprehensions and opposition. Petry even speculates what could have happened, had the Ottomans not put an end to the Mamluk state and with it to al-Ghawrī′s military and financial experiments before they had the opportunity to mature into substantive reform.[7] I am not sure that these speculations do not go too far; after all, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Qāytbāy′s incompetent son and successor (1496-1498), also tried to create a corps of arquebusiers, and Qāytbāy too converted income from his *waqf* funds into a private reserve, the sultan′s personal fisc, as Petry himself shows.[8] My own feeling is that precisely since Ibn Iyās′s evidence is almost all we have about al-Ghawrī′s personality, Petry′s judgment of him is too lenient. As Petry′s own account demonstrates in many instances, the sultan was justly ″vilified″; it is his achievements as innovator which I doubt. Yet these slightly different evaluations are admittedly subjective, and impossible to prove conclusively in a scholarly argument.

The personal contrasts between the two sultans are well documented, and convincingly pointed out by Petry. For example, both sultans faced a similar predicament when they had to decide how to host an Ottoman prince who sought shelter in their court from the sultan in Istanbul, Cem in Qāytbāy′s case, Qurqud in al-Ghawrī′s. The Mamluk sultan had to weigh the obligation of royal hospitality (and possible political benefits in the future) against the need to refrain from antagonizing the Ottoman sultan. Petry concludes: ″Restraint marked Qāytbāy′s approach, excess al-Ghawrī′s.″[9] Or consider the two sultans′ entirely different approach to religion: for Qāytbāy piety influenced his actions, while for the other, display compensated for his oppression. Piety versus pomp: most of Qāytbāy′s lavish expenditures promoted rituals or structures devoted to religious service; al-Ghawrī preferred festivals or edifices that advertised the regime′s beneficence in more secular ways.[10]

The second of Petry′s books surveys the central issue of Mamluk foreign policy, including the position of Syria in the sultanate,[11] but its most original contribution is the writer′s discussion of Mamluk government and economy, again relying on the chronicles and other literary sources, as well as on his pioneering study of the *waqf* documents. Petry examines the conditions of the exploited subjects of the sultanate, who suffered from the rulers′ growing demand for funds. During Qāytbāy′s reign extra money was needed in the first place to finance his sixteen northern campaigns; al-Ghawrī needed the money mainly to withstand the pressure of his troops. Assessing Egypt′s agriculture, Petry writes: ″The evidence, such as it is, depicts an inordinate heightening of demand rather than a decline in output.″[12] Egypt′s craft industries in the late Middle Ages were as accomplished and sophisticated as ever, but there were few changes in methods of production. Part of the

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[6]The arquebusiers, who were armed with hand guns which the Mamluk horsemen could not and would not use.
[7]*Protectors or Praetorians?*, 225.
[8]Ibid., 199-200.
[9]*Twilight of Majesty*, 182.
[10]*Protectors or Praetorians?*, 158-159.
[11]Ibid., chap. 3.
[12]Ibid., 107-108.

explanation is that craftsmen had little incentive to increase their output if they faced the certainty of its expropriation.[13] Likewise, commerce exhibited signs of languor—local stagnation and foreign rivalry. The late Mamluk period witnessed stasis instead of growth.[14]

Chapter 6 examines methods, norms and practices of the people′s exploitation by the sultans. Petry rightly focuses his attention not on bureaucratic structures but on clientage, rewards, and risks of the sultans′ men. The stakes were high, but as Petry writes ″al-Ghawrī′s agents, excepting Zaynī Barakāt, came to violent ends at his hands. When their usefulness no longer matched the antipathy they provoked from his soldiers, al-Ghawrī turned on them and they suffered a scapegoat′s fate.″[15] Al-Zaynī Barakāt ibn Mūsá is indeed the most colorful figure among al-Ghawrī′s assistants—a man who rose from obscure origins to unprecedented power, owing to his resourcefulness in expropriating funds from the rich through extortion and torture and serving at the same time as a popular *muḥtasib* (market inspector), who alone succeeded in maintaining price stability. It should be mentioned also that the Ottoman authorities later found him indispensable. Another fascinating example of an opportunist in the sultan′s service presented by Petry is Sarī al-Dīn ibn al-Shiḥnah, a Syrian jurisconsult who betrayed his professional and religious conscience in al-Ghawrī′s service. The book describes and discusses the uses and limits of loyalty, confiscation, and torture in a thoughtful and vivid way which has not been done before in Mamluk studies.

Clearly, the author of *Protectors or Praetorians?* believes that by the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century the Mamluks merited the epithet of Praetorians due to their venality and lawlessness. He shows that the Mamluk regime became responsible for economic lethargy: ″A regime dedicated to upholding the status quo rarely encourages entrepreneurship.″[16]

In concluding this review of two truly remarkable additions to the growing research library on the Mamluk period, I would make two suggestions: (a) *Twilight of Majesty* could have benefited from a chapter bridging the reigns of the book′s two protagonists. The intervening five years, 1496-1501, during which four lesser sultans reigned, should have been covered, even if the study rightly focuses on the two great sultans. Students would benefit from a complete chronological coverage of the period. (b) The account of military and diplomatic relations between the Mamluk Sultanate and its neighbors, particularly the Ottoman Empire, is entirely based on the Arabic chronicles. The study could benefit from a view from Istanbul about the development of the Mamluk-Ottoman rivalry. There are important primary and secondary sources in Turkish whose findings could be integrated into Petry′s book (this applies especially to *Twilight of Majesty*).

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[13]Ibid., 113, 117.
[14]Ibid., 117-120.
[15]Ibid., 173.
[16]Ibid., 222.

NASSER O. RABBAT, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture*. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995). Pp. 339.

REVIEWED BY DORIS BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF, University of Munich

Nasser Rabbat′s study of Cairo′s Citadel consists of eight chapters that describe the genesis and evolution of the Citadel until its apogee in the last phase of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s reign. Chapter 1 relates the history of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn′s foundation of Cairo′s Citadel as the seat for Egypt′s government following the fall of the Fatimid Caliphate, and shows that it was conceived as a defensive structure reflecting the founder′s military upbringing and the Syro-Mesopotamian and east Anatolian tradition of that period, to which the founder belonged. Chapter 2 describes the Citadel in its present configuration. Here not only primary and secondary sources and various plans are used for the topography, but also recent excavations of the 1980s. In his capacity as architect the author is moreover able to provide his own plans of certain areas made especially for this study. Someone who is not already familiar with Cairo′s Citadel may find it difficult, however, to follow certain passages, the descriptions not always being lucid. Perhaps some architectural details, such as the measurements, should have been left out of the topographical text, and either dealt with separately or simply indicated in the scales of the figures.

Chapter 3 is a reconstruction of the Citadel in its Ayyubid form, discussing Casanova′s and Creswell′s previous interpretations and placing it in the historical context of the period. Rabbat gives Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn′s foundation inscription special attention. In the course of this discussion, he makes a comparison between the use of Sūrat al-Fatḥ in the inscription and the citation of this Quranic text at the Mashhad al-Juyūshī built by Badr al-Jamālī in 1085, concluding that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn′s inscription, which commemorated his ascendancy and celebrated his victory by citing this same Quranic text, was emulating at the same time Badr al-Jamālī′s military victories. A few pages later the author states that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn′s inscription has extraordinary features such as a ″break with established epigraphic tradition″ in order to express the great significance the Citadel had for its builders (p. 73). There is a contradiction here with the former comparison, but the latter interpretation is more convincing. It is difficult to believe that the colossal Citadel would need any reference to Badr al-Jamālī′s tiny construction erected one hundred years earlier. Sūrat al-Fatḥ is universal and appropriate to be used for any victory commemoration. When he compares the inscription′s style with that of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn′s famous secretary, suggesting that it might have come from al-Qāḍī′s own pen, Rabbat makes a very interesting statement.

The statement that ″a citadel in an Islamic city would have had a congregation mosque, so Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn′s plan must have provided for one, although no source credits him with building it″ (p. 65) needs rectification. Friday mosques were not common in citadels at that time in Egypt or elsewhere; al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn′s citadel at Rawḍah, for example, did not have a *jāmi‘*. The Ayyubids, who adhered to the Shāfi‘ī rite, were cautious not to have more than one Friday mosque within an urban agglomeration, a dogma shared also by the Mālikī rite. Therefore Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn canceled Friday prayer at al-Azhar, leaving only al-Ḥākim′s mosque as the *jāmi‘* of al-Qāhirah and ‘Amr′s mosque as that of al-Fusṭāṭ. In spite of its significance, the Citadel in the Ayyubid period was not conceived from the

outset as a city in its own right. It was al-Ẓāhir Baybars who allowed more Friday mosques to exist in Cairo; Friday prayer at the Citadel was probably due to al-Ẓāhir′s, and not to an Ayyubid, initiative. A pre-existing *masjid*, however, could have been transformed into a *jāmi'*.

Chapters 4 through 7 go on with the reconstruction of the Citadel in the respective periods of the early Baḥrī Mamluks, the early Qalāwūnid dynasty, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s early reign (1310-25) and, finally, his third period (1333-41). Here the author exploits thoroughly the copious descriptions of Mamluk literary sources and tries to extract an image as exact as possible from the texts. Whereas the Citadel′s walls survive in very good condition, the Mamluk residential structures, where most of the architectural iconography was concentrated, have almost entirely disappeared.

Chapter 5 includes a comment on the fragment of a mosaic panel from an *īwān* that Rabbat identifies as the Īwān Ashrafī, recently excavated at the Citadel. The panel represents an architectural structure, which the author interprets as a celebration of conquests and territorial expansion. There are, however, Mamluk art objects with similar architectural representations: An anonymous bowl at the Museo Nazionale of Florence, published by D. S. Rice,[1] shows three houses with pergola amongst trees, very reminiscent of the one published in this book (p. 163, fig. 23). Architectural settings can also be seen on early Mamluk glass beakers at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, published by Esin Atıl.[2] Whereas the bowl is uninscribed, the beakers bear votive inscriptions for an anonymous sultan together with Christian themes. The architectural structures on the beakers belong to the pleasance type as do those on the bowl and at the Īwān Ashrafī, where they are set amidst trees and birds and with pergolas including figures. It is possible, therefore, that architectural representation was a decorative topos in early Baḥrī Mamluk art, referring to royal pastimes, as do musical scenes, thus bearing auspicious meanings.

In his lexicographic discussion of architectural terms, the author is looking for an ″exact meaning″ (p. 217), which, as he shows, proves to be impossible. This is not surprising; there is a large number of similar examples that rather indicate the ambivalent character of architectural terms used in historiography as well as in *waqf* documents, and that cannot be pinned down to a specific architectural form. The word *masṭabah* in the Mamluk period refers to a bench, to a stage, and to a hippodrome; *qā'ah* refers simultaneously to a reception hall, to an entire palace, and also to a factory or workshop; *rīwāq* means a gallery in a mosque, an apartment, and a hall in a palace; *isṭabl* designates a stable and it refers to an important palace, Isṭabl Qūṣūn. Epigraphy refers to some mosques and palaces alike with the vague term *makān*.

Coming to the origin of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s Īwān Kabīr, which is a basilical plan combined with a dome, the author rightly refers to the Umayyad tradition of basilical audience halls (p. 256). In fact, the combination of the tripartite ground plan with a dome already exists at al-Aqṣá Mosque in Jerusalem and it is taken over, in a less oblong shape, in Fatimid shrines. Rabbat rejects, however, the continuity of this pattern in Fatimid shrines, which I demonstrated earlier, with the argument that the shrine plan derives from

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1″Studies in Islamic Metal Work—IV,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15, no. 3 (1953): 502-503.

2*Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981), 125, 126, 144.

the *majlis*.[3] He overlooks here a fundamental difference between the shrine and the *majlis*, which is the absence of the dome in the latter. The Fatimid shrine plan is not only a combination of a tripartite plan with a dome, but it shares with the Īwān Kabīr, furthermore, the square instead of the oblong configuration and moreover, as at Sayyidah Ruqayyah and Yaḥyá al-Shabīh, the ambulatory passage around the dome, which in both cases fulfills ceremonial functions. Being chronologically, geographically, and formally closer to the Īwān than the Umayyad Syrian tradition, the late Fatimid shrine plan must represent an intermediary stage.

Rabbat identifies the Dīwān al-Ghūrī mentioned by Evliya Çelebi as the Īwān Kabīr, arguing that it was misnamed Dīwān al-Ghūrī before its name changed again to Dīwān Yūsuf (p. 245). There is confusion here. Evliya makes a clear distinction between what he calls ″Divanhane-i Sultan Gauri″ and the Īwān Kabīr or Divanhane of Qalāwūn [*sic*] and also the *qaṣr* which he calls Yusuf Köşkü. The Īwān Kabīr is described as Old Divanhane, having forty-four columns (*'amūd*) made of stone known only from Aswan (i.e., granite). He attributes it, wrongly however, together with the mosque, to Qalāwūn instead of to his son.[4] What Evliya calls the ″Yusuf Köşkü″ is the *qaṣr*, known in the Ottoman period as Qaṣr Yūsuf and used at that time as a factory for the *kiswah* of the Ka'bah (p. 566). When referring to the Dīwān al-Ghūrī, Evliya mentions it as having a flat roof resting on wooden poles (*direk*), without dome, and being used as audience hall of the Ottoman pashas (p. 179). The pashas never dwelt at the Īwān or that part of the Citadel, but only in the Ḥawsh section, which had been rebuilt almost entirely by al-Ghūrī.[5] Not only these clear descriptions but also his placement of al-Ghūrī′s hall as connected to administrative buildings and next to Qāytbāy′s ″Divanhane,″ itself overlooking the mausoleum of Imam al-Shāfi'ī, leave no doubt that it was part of the Ḥawsh and could not have been mistaken for the Īwān. Evliya Çelebi dwelt many years at the Citadel and knew its history and read its inscriptions. We should trust him in this matter.

To complete the picture of the Īwān, Rabbat reconstructs as well the Dār al-'Adl ceremonial that took place therein, and connects it with the spatial organization, illustrating this with drawings. The last chapter, ″The Citadel and the Mamluk System,″ offers an interesting and convincing interpretation of the Citadel′s topography, which Rabbat links with the structure of the Mamluk army, distinguishing between the private or inner (*juwānīyah*, *khāṣṣakīyah*) troops of the sultan, and the rest of his *mamlūk*s, showing the correspondence between the function and status of the various contingents and their settlement in relation to the Sultan′s palace. By linking the apogee of the Citadel with Cairo′s expansion, the author fills out the context of the royal residence to show its impact on the neighboring areas, al-Qāhirah′s southern quarters, and to demonstrate al-Nāṣir′s ambitious schemes for his capital.

Nasser Rabbat′s book demonstrates a sound knowledge of Mamluk history and society together with good bibliographical work and informative architectural surveying. The author also consulted *waqf* documents when dealing with lexicographic analysis, admitting that they were not of great help, however, for his research on the Citadel. His investigative methods are very thorough; occasionally the author tends toward

[3]″The Citadel of Cairo: Stage for Mamluk Ceremonial,″ *Annales islamologiques* 24 (1988): 77f.
[4]Evliya Çelebi, *Seyahatnamesi*, vol. 10 (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1938), 171-172.
[5]Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá, 5 vols. (Cairo: In Kommission bei Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1960-84), 5:94.

overinterpretation, which makes the reading sometimes tedious. The great merit of this book is its approach, which always connects the architecture with its social and historical setting, seeking the function it was created to fulfill and the circumstances that accompanied its evolution, making it intelligible and interesting. The book succeeds in revealing the greatness of a monument, unique in many respects, not only in Islam but probably in the whole medieval world.

MARTINA MÜLLER-WIENER, *Eine Stadtgeschichte Alexandrias von 564/1169 bis in die Mitte des 9./15. Jahrhunderts: Verwaltung und Innerstädtische Organisationsformen*. (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1992). Pp. 331.

REVIEWED BY CARL F. PETRY, Northwestern University

The revision in approaches to the social history of the Muslim Middle Ages that began with the publication of Ira Lapidus's *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1967) almost three decades ago has transformed our thinking about many aspects of urban life in the central Islamic lands. Yet an overwhelming focus on a few prominent cities, those that inspired a diverse group of writers to pen a range of sources sufficiently broad and textured to enable a meaningful qualification of assertions appearing in narrative chronicles, remains a methodological problematic, if not a defect, of this revision.

The author's attempt to write a coherent analysis of Alexandria during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods therefore represents a laudable initiative. Anyone familiar with the secondary literature, in both Arabic and Western languages, generated over the preceding thirty years is well aware that Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo have been worked over to a degree verging on excess. This writer's own concentration on the Egyptian capital is a case in point. Yet, as Müller-Wiener's monograph abundantly substantiates, such a concentration did not occur because of happenstance infatuation on the part of modern historians with the "grande métropole," at the expense of important provincial towns. The sources available have themselves oriented even revisionist scholars toward the capital cities. Even so vital a center of commerce and manufacture as Alexandria did not induce contemporary writers to compile a series of works showcasing the medieval city. The author confronts this situation in her opening chapter addressing the coverage provided by surviving texts. She notes that the late medieval prosopographer al-Sakhāwī mentions four so-called histories of Alexandria in his treatise on historiography: *I'lān bi-al-Tawbīkh*. One of these was misclassified, since it is in fact a biography of Alexander the Great. The three others do not provide significant data on the city's administration or economy. Müller-Wiener has thus turned to the published sources that focus primarily on the capital Cairo, and mention events or persons prominent in Alexandria's history as asides. This monograph was conceived as a library exercise, with no on-site consultation of either archival documents (charitable trusts [*awqāf*] for the most part) or unedited manuscripts. Whether such an inquiry would have significantly altered the author's findings about the political economy of medieval Alexandria is open to question.

The monograph begins with an outline of Alexandria's political history to the extent that it may be gleaned from the sources examined. This survey essentially presents a list of events or crises that attracted the attention of writers based in Cairo or the Syrian capitals, along with a discussion of individuals salient in these developments. The author observes that the status of Alexandria, traceable from the Fatimid era onward, evolved from a semi-autonomous border entrepôt to a district within the west Delta province of al-Buḥayrah, and finally, after 767/1365, reverted to an autonomous province. The year 1365 was important since the author regards an event in that year as the pivotal event in the city's decline. Peter I of Lusignan, King of Cyprus, launched a maritime invasion against Alexandria that left much of the town in ruins and implanted an abiding paranoia over Frankish aggression in the Mediterranean within the Mamluk regime. The authorities in Cairo augmented the military rank and defensive capability of the city's governor. They replaced the *wālī,* a junior amir of forty subordinate to superiors in both Damanhūr and Cairo, with a *nā'ib* who was a senior amir of one hundred empowered to act independently on the sultan's behalf for the city's protection.

The author's subsequent discussions: of Alexandria's administrative patterning, and the roles of its senior jurists, financial supervisors, market inspectors, religious scholastics and Sufi mystics, rely heavily on generic descriptions of these figures in Arabic texts and secondary literature. Much of this material covers ground thoroughly trodden by specialists in the field, who will be the monograph's primary audience. Although the author has persuasively demonstrated the paucity of data illuminating classes of society below the military, mercantile, and scholastic elites that predictably dominated the city's ruling hierarchy, one does ponder the lack of attention paid to the contexts of commercial organization or urban unrest as these were manifested in this particular setting.

Many of the author's explanatory discourses deal with urban conditions that prevailed widely throughout the central Islamic lands, with little specific relevance to Alexandria. It is possible that the Arabic sources are not conducive to the production of a study similar to Jean-Claude Garcin's masterful analysis of Qūṣ in Upper Egypt.[1] The latter work also recognizes lacunae in primary sources, but it delves further than the book under review into the distinctive consciousness of the regional entity it reconstructs. One could hardly argue that Alexandria loomed less vividly in the imagination of contemporary writers than did Qūṣ, a smaller and more isolated garrison base defending the overland spice route between the Nile and the Red Sea. Garcin himself readily acknowledged the fortuitous survival of al-Udfuwī's biographical compendium[2] that preserved many intimate details on individuals active in that town. Nonetheless, one comes away from Garcin's nuanced analysis with a heightened respect for the insights an extended encounter *in situ* with the sources can promote.

The author also states that an objective of her monograph is to assess Alexandria's decline from an affluent commercial metropolis to a depressed regional port. This is indeed a significant issue, but one minimally elucidated since the monograph terminates rather abruptly with the mid-fourteenth century when the Levant trade with Europe was still important. The extensive commentary by the late fifteenth-century chronicler Ibn Iyās, who

[1]*Un centre musulman de la haute-Égypte médiévale: Qūṣ* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1976).

[2]*al-Ṭāli' al-Sa'īd al-Jāmi' Asmā' Nujabā' al-Ṣa'īd* (Cairo: al-Dār al-Miṣrīyah lil-Ta'līf wa-al-Tarjamah, 1966).

attributed the deterioration of Alexandria to the rapacity of the Circassian sultanate, is largely omitted (with the exception of his lament over the city's woeful condition in 1515, p. 89).

The preceding remarks should not be construed as a dismissal. The author's claim about the state of the sources should indeed give pause to those seeking a detailed understanding of Islamic urban history outside the heavily documented centers. She has thoroughly sifted through the texts available in published editions to produce a study that plausibly traces the evolution of Alexandria's position within the administrative structures of medieval Egypt—no small feat. I do believe that a study of this kind would benefit from on-site research and reflection. Such questions as the relevance of surviving *waqf* documents to the elite sponsorship of charitable foundations in the city could be explored.

The monograph, despite careful preparation, is dotted with a few errors, due more to typographical misprints than to author oversight. The example of Shaykh Abū al-'Abbās, which should read Abū al-Ḥasan, in reference to the founder of the Shādhilī order (p. 269, line 19) may be attributed to a mistake by the typist or word processor. These are minor and do not detract from the monograph's value.

BERNADETTE MARTEL-THOUMIAN, *Les civils et l'administration dans l'État militaire Mamlūk (IXe/XVe siècle)*. (Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1991). Pp. 516.

REVIEWED BY W. W. CLIFFORD, University of Chicago

Since Weber's famous designation of the bureaucracy of the New Kingdom of Egypt as the historical model of all later bureaucracies, any study of Egyptian administration is necessarily welcome. Looking into the late Mamluk period, Martel-Thoumian has chosen to study not so much bureaucracy as bureaucrats themselves. Certainly there is some justification for this. Weber after all had little to say about such administrators except that they represented an "Oriental-Egyptian type." That is, they were organically stratified, tradition-bound, and irrationally oriented empiricists shaped by the eternal dynamic of Egypt's *Naturalwirtschaft*. Whatever the structural relationship between ancient and medieval Egypt, Martel-Thoumian has wisely moved beyond Weber's idealization of a functional bureaucratic personality to study actual civilian administrators in the round. Indeed, her attempted reconstruction of their social milieu has led Jean-Claude Garcin, who wrote the preface to her book, to embrace Martel-Thoumian's work as an example of the new "Histoire 'totale'."

Still, Martel-Thoumian's study does allow one to see something of the extent to which the administrative environment reflected a Weberian division between bureaucratic and patrimonial/prebendal societies. Did administrators, for instance, enforce a guild-like closure of their elite? Martel-Thoumian claims they maintained "an open milieu" (pp. 84, 433), preserving especially their provincial ties (p. 85). Did administrators enjoy tenure of office? Martel-Thoumian makes clear that they served entirely at the pleasure of the ruler, with whom they enjoyed at best a relationship "always full of ambiguity" (p. 161). Were public and private resources segregated? Since, as she suggests, the guiding vision of civil administrators was to acquire as much wealth and property as possible during their

uncertain tenures, that separation seems unlikely. Was pecuniary compensation regulated? She finds little evidence of salaries, only monthly rations (p. 348), which may have encouraged at least some functionaries to supplement their earnings through parallel commercial careers (p. 350). To what extent were careers based on seniority? She argues that they were established and regulated almost entirely on the bases of heredity, clientelism, and venality. Without any apparent collegial organization to engender group solidarity, there were no collective norms in which seniority might have prevailed, ultimately, to protect civil administrators from sultanic whim. Clearly Martel-Thoumian means us to see ninth/fifteenth century Egypt not as a *Beamtenstaat* but a mere *Bureaukratie*—a civil officialdom full of arbitrary, grasping, and politically dependent families serving their own parochial interests.

Indeed, the family looms large in her study. Like the earlier efforts of Joan Gilbert and Carl Petry, her work affirms the value of prosopography as a tool for reconstructing historical elites through their personal lives, in this case, lives dedicated to the transformation of bureaucratic families into administrative dynasties. This is best reflected in perhaps the most original feature of her analysis—the social uses of matrimony. Martel-Thoumian theorizes in fact two types of marriage strategies: the ″political strategy″ and ″economic strategy.″ The former, based on exogamy, was meant to reinforce the prominent but often uncertain social status experienced by civil administrative families. The latter, based on endogamy—particularly with the daughter of the paternal uncle (*bint al-ʿamm*)—was intended to help preserve family resources. Unfortunately, she can shed no light on the impact of polygamy in the ″economic strategy.″

The ″political strategy″ centered around concluding marriage alliances principally with the *umarā*ʾ as well as with other prominent administrative families. Martel-Thoumian is not really on any new ground in her assertion that the civil administrators of Circassian Egypt identified closely with the *umarā*ʾ, whose *dīwān*s formed a ″nursery″ (*pépinière*) for state bureaucracies (p. 131). Indeed, she largely reiterates conclusions reached by Petry a decade ago about the close clientelistic relationship between the *umarā*ʾ and administrators, especially those of Syrian or Coptic origins. She argues more provocatively, however, that civil administrative families held other social elites—clerical, judicial, and mercantile—in considerably less matrimonial esteem. She believes marriage relationships with clerical and judicial groups were infrequent because often such people were clients of prominent administrators, who exercised their ″discretionary powers″ to obtain posts on their behalf. With commercial groups, there were no matrimonial affiliations whatever. She, at any rate, can find no trace of them (p. 369), despite the likelihood that some civil administrators must have come themselves from commercial backgrounds (p. 130). The mystery deepens since a majority of the administrative families studied lived in two of the most important centers of economic activity in Cairo—al-Qāhirah and Būlāq. Moreover, she believes that in al-Qāhirah at least some of the lesser functionaries living around the *sūq*s may have owned shops; she further speculates that other civil administrators engaged in parallel commercial careers.

The lack of intimate ties between administrative and especially mercantile elites does not seem readily explicable, certainly when compared with other societies such as China, where merchants and bureaucrats were often closely intertwined historically. Ultimately, Martel-Thoumian has been unable to develop our understanding about the place of merchants in the Circassian civil elite much beyond where Petry left it more than a decade

ago. The problem is deserving of greater discussion since any relationship between governmental and entrepreneurial elites bears on the larger issue of capital formation in traditional societies. One possible answer to this social distance lies in her suggestion that prominent civil administrative families, through their acquisition of landed property largely for conversion into *awqāf*, may have developed an attitude ″latifundiaire″ (pp. 384, 430). This cultural identification, reinforced no doubt by their social climbing among the Mamluk *Landadel*, may have inhibited administrative families from greater social intercourse with other groups, including those who derived their incomes chiefly from commerce rather than land.

Martel-Thoumian provides little cultural context for evaluating such things as social attitudes. She has described in great detail the origins, functions, and careers as well as marital connections of civil administrators. Yet, the sum total of these empirical observations does not seem to account entirely for their social role in the Circassian period. Indeed, this underscores the central paradox of Martel-Thoumian′s study: although these administrators possessed a social milieu they did not ultimately constitute a ″coherent social group.″ This is all the more curious since she maintains that, while perhaps geographically and confessionally diverse, these functionaries issued generally from the same social (secretarial/judicial) environment.

This paradox is an issue of no small importance for Circassian history. Scholars have long viewed the ninth/fifteenth century as a period of systemic decline of Mamluk society driven largely by a financial collapse in which Mamluk bureaucrats were highly complicit. Martel-Thoumian has not perhaps explored this issue as fully as it deserves. She does suggest that civil-administrative families were too socially fragmented by competition for status and resources to develop the same sort of social solidarity which, she believes, allowed the ʻ*ulamā*ʼ to act autonomously of Mamluk rapacity. Though this is a largely materialist view, she also indicates a more cultural explanation for this lack of ″esprit de corps.″ Though pious and educated, civil administrators, she believes, failed to extend their role as ″cultural guardians.″ One infers that, unlike the earlier Confucian *chün-tzu* or the later Prussian *Berufsmensch*, ninth/fifteenth century Egyptian civil administrators did not constitute an intelligentsia. Though educated, they were not it seems an intellectually unitary group whose actions reflected a social knowledge of the relationship between structure and belief in their society. They exercised no mediatory function between social groups and cultural ideas; they were content apparently to remain passive transmitters of ruling class interests. Certainly they did not act as spokesmen for social groups unable to speak for themselves. Martel-Thoumian does not share Petry′s view about the constructive, if symbolic, social role played by the Circassian civil administrative elite in society; in any case, she does not see these administrators intervening meaningfully on behalf of the communities that they oversaw.

Though certain administrators enjoyed access to rulers, the administrative elite did not seek to play a role equivalent to the ʻ*ulamā*ʼ in influencing the direction of state policy; weak matrimonial links between administrators and clerics perhaps underscore this disparity in social consciousness. Certainly, civil administrators made no intellectual claim to a ″Mandate of Heaven″ by which they might have converted personal influence over rulers into direct power. As Martel-Thoumian puts it, they were hardly a ″noblesse de robe″ (p. 435). No Mamluk sultan need have feared a *Beamtenrevolution* conducted by radicals ″in dressing gown and slippers.″ Still, Petry has suggested recently that late

Mamluk government experienced ″tokens of propensity for change at the final hour.″ Was a cultural rift emerging between ″traditionalists″ and ″modernists″ within the late Mamluk bureaucracy, such as affected the late Ottoman administrative elite a half millennium later? Might this rift have been reflected in a split between secular and *adab* education? In light of the recent works of Jonathan Berkey and Michael Chamberlain, one regrets Martel-Thoumian′s failure to discuss more fully the role which education may have played in shaping the social identity of the civil administrative elite, particularly how it may have reoriented them culturally in the final, crucial years of the Classical Mamluk state.

As valuable as Martel-Thoumian′s empirical generalizations about the civilian administrative elite are, one regrets her decision not to raise more substantive issues about structure and process in Mamluk administration itself. She might easily have broadened her description of the lives of bureaucrats to engage, for instance, the long-standing functionalist-interactionist debate about the sociology of the bureaucratic profession. Were the actions of civil administrators in late medieval Egypt totally structured by their competitive social environment or was there a functional pattern of institutional behavior which created some collective orientation among them? Did civil administrators operate among themselves entirely on the basis of intimidation and autonomy, or were their actions in some way shaped by such things as trust and collegiality? Only by raising new types of questions about Mamluk society are scholars ever likely to realize Garcin′s ultimate hope, expressed about Martel-Thoumian′s otherwise admirable book, that we be able ″to modify our vision of the Mamluk military state.″

MICHAEL CHAMBERLAIN, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). Pp. 199.

REVIEWED BY JOHN L. MELOY, University of Chicago

Scholars have long investigated the place of elite culture, and in particular the role of learning, in the medieval Middle East, and in recent years researchers have started to explore the popular manners and customs of this time and place. At its core, *Knowledge and Social Practice* investigates one feature of the manners and customs of the learned elite of Damascus: ″the practices by which power and status were acquired, exerted, and asserted″ (p. 2). Michael Chamberlain argues that ″it was the elite household (*bayt*; pl., *buyūt*), and not the state, the agency, or the autonomous corporate or religious body, that held power, and that exercised it in most of its social, political, cultural, and economic aspects″ (p. 2). The subjects of this study are the *a‘yān* of Damascus during the years 1190-1350, when ″Syria and Egypt maintained a strong and fairly stable position within Mediterranean and Indian Ocean patterns of trade,″ and which saw the arrival of people from a variety of ethnic groups. The end of this period is marked by ″the beginning of the end,″ when the Black Death swept the Middle East starting in 748/1347 (pp. 25-26). However, the author has a much broader aim: he poses the fundamental problem in such a way that the entire exercise serves as a critique of the study of the medieval Middle East, examining a variety of issues and themes in Islamic history. In so doing, Chamberlain has taken on various methodological and historical objectives, perhaps too many, to the extent

that the impact of this book is somewhat diminished in its attempt to solve fundamental issues in the study of the medieval Middle East.

Chamberlain′s introduction presents a necessarily wide-ranging discussion of the historical and methodological issues germane to the book′s elaborately constructed problem. The author′s thesis, that ″[t]he a‘yān of Damascus advanced their strategies of social survival through cultural practices associated with knowledge,″ enables an understanding of ″how elite households constructed their fundamental social bonds, competed among themselves and with others, and passed on their status in time″ (p. 23). The argument is built on three concepts: ″maladroit patrimonialism,″ *manṣab*, and *fitnah*. What made the social position of the civilian elite so intriguing during this period, the author writes, was that with the rise of the military patronage state from the time of the Zangids, the civilian elite′s hold on property weakened. Chamberlain asserts that the civilian elite were never fully incorporated into the state apparatus and the bureaucracy was never established as a strong and permanent force in society. The result of this social and political configuration was that the military rulers ″never had the knowledge, the agencies, and the independent coercive power to coordinate and control the subordinate elites upon whom they depended to rule. Rather, power was diffused among the households of powerful amīrs and a‘yān″ (p. 8). The political order of ″maladroit patrimonialism″ compelled the elite to use *manṣab*s, ″stipendiary posts″ (p. 24), as a means to maintain status and power, just as the military elite struggled over *iqṭā*‘s. Chamberlain argues that elite practices, such as lecturing, reading, writing, reproducing texts, debating, and scholarly discipleship, have been misinterpreted as educational endeavors; instead, these should be treated as forms of social and political competition. This leads the author to ″show how both amīrs and a‘yān had similar relations to rulers, similar forms of social and political competition, and imagined the social and political universes in similar ways″ (p. 8). Thus it is *fitnah* that embodies the distinctively political character of the city′s social relations:

> By studying the competitive practices of fitna as exercised by both amīrs and a‘yān, we come to understand on a more general level what historians have formalized as the distinct spheres of ″society,″ ″culture,″ and the ″state.″ We can also undermine the anachronistic notion of the existence of ″state″ and ″society″ as distinct entities, and of political and social competition as the separate domains of amīrs and a‘yān respectively. Fitna . . . was not the temporary breakdown of a preexisting legitimate order, but in concert with maladroit patrimonialism formed the central dynamic of all elite social and political life. It imposed its logic on most of their political and social relationships. (p. 9)

Five chapters follow the introduction. Chapter 1 reviews the changes in power relations that occurred with the establishment of the military patronage states, elaborating also the concepts of ″maladroit patrimonialism″ and *fitnah*. The discussion provides comparative material from the Latin West and Sung China. Chapter 2 reviews the *madrasah*, the *dār al-ḥadīth*, and the *waqf*, mainly in terms of previous scholarship, and discusses how these issues have been misunderstood, all of which sets up arguments laid out in the following chapters. Chapter 3 argues that the foundation of *waqf*s, which offered *manṣab*s, changed social life by offering objects of social struggle, rather than the objects

of higher education. Chapter 4 discusses the means by which the civilian elite gained social distinction and passed it on within households. The chief proposition here is that these practices cannot be reduced to a matter of higher education; in medieval Damascus, these practices ″are better studied as a single group of ritual, mimetic, and performative practices″ (p. 108). Chapter 5 describes the civilian elite′s control over the production of knowledge in social struggles, relying on a description of ″how the a‘yān imagined the social world and the nature of social competition″ (p. 153). Thus ″law,″ ″education,″ and ″the suppression of heresy″ were fields of social contest between members of the *‘ulamā’*, rather than scholarly endeavors.

Chamberlain′s methodological premise is that by asking how the elite used writing, we can make more effective use of the surviving literary sources, chiefly the biographical dictionaries. By means of this methodological framework, the author claims to solve a variety of related problems—principally Eurocentrism and the inappropriate and ineffective use of sources—that have plagued studies of the medieval Middle East. Western scholars, in looking for their native social categories in the medieval Middle Eastern situation, have found only ″a nightmarish reversal of the European social order″ (p. 4). The result has been that Islamic ″institutions″ have been measured against those of Europe and interpreted as ″corrupt,″ or at best as ″informal.″ A reconsideration of the available sources, biographical dictionaries in particular, entails also a critique of those who have lamented the paucity of documentary sources from the medieval Middle East and who have failed to see the value of the sources that we do possess. Chamberlain′s approach consists of three elements: (1) A critical use of the sources (p. 3), founded on the recognition that biographical dictionaries are sources for the cultural practices of the learned elite mentioned above (p. 7); (2) A comparative ″Eurasian″ perspective, in an effort ″to see more clearly the distinctiveness of the social and cultural history of Damascus, and of the Middle East more broadly″ (p. 28). The author believes this is necessary because ″it enables us to criticize the mistaken imposition of European notions of order on the high medieval Middle East″ (p. 24); and (3) A more precise understanding of ″informality″ in medieval Islamic societies (p. 4), which, when used as a category is drained of its ″particularity and complexity″ (p. 7). This aspect of the investigation is built upon the notion of the reproduction of social practice, as elaborated by Pierre Bourdieu.[1] The quest here is for the ″deeper structures″ of medieval Middle Eastern social life, particularly, the use of ″symbolic capital″ as a means of competing for and perpetuating relationships of power (p. 23).

Chamberlain′s approach to the notion of informality is probably the most innovative aspect of the book. The interpretation of these cultural practices as performative and mimetic is an illuminating approach, although I am not convinced that this interpretation is sufficient to explain why some individuals succeeded and others failed in obtaining *manṣab*s, or why others refused them. To what extent might intellectual convictions have affected any of these actions? Can the substance of their scholarly endeavors be divorced from their cultural practices? It seems to me that this approach would be that much more illuminating if it acknowledged the educational aspects of these practices. As for the thesis that the *bayt* was the principal repository of social power, the role of households of civilian elite remains disappointingly unclear. The author′s portrayal of social competition between

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[1]See, for example, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) and *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).

scholars is plausible, but how this competition occurred between households, a number of which are mentioned on occasion, is not described at all. Some of these households were wealthy, by the author′s own account, and it is difficult to imagine that material resources played no role in the consolidation of their positions, even among the scholarly community. Had the author described the social interaction of even one typical household synchronically or diachronically, the book′s argument in this regard would perhaps have been more convincing.

The other two aspects are not tackled so successfully. Quite frankly, the Eurasian perspective reveals little about the Middle Eastern situation. As for a critical use of the sources, Chamberlain is quite right to investigate the sources for evidence concerning cultural practices and to see in prosaic educational activities a more telling cultural function. However, a critical use of the biographical dictionaries should entail a discussion of camps within the scholarly community and the differential treatment of entries; not to do so is simply to regard them as documentary information, a problem all too often encountered in the historiography of medieval Islam. This feature of his approach is based on a subsidiary argument that medieval Middle Eastern archives are not preserved because ″the document collections that existed appear not to have had the critical role in political and social competition characteristic of state, corporate, or household archives elsewhere″ (p. 17) and that ″[t]he scarcity of original documents thus represents a fundamental difference in the social uses of writing″ (p. 18). This argument is flawed. Chamberlain assumes divergent cultural attitudes based on the differential preservation of evidence; subsequent attitudes toward cultural heritage must be considered first. Indeed, chronicle authors frequently mention anecdotes suggesting that medieval Middle Easterners did ″brandish″ documents, and both chancery and notarial manuals testify to a demand for documentation. What is clear is that the individuals, families, and institutions that had any reason to store documents simply did not survive for centuries.

Two stylistic points, though minor, are frequent and obvious enough to deserve attention here as well. First, transliteration systems, obnoxious to read as they are, must be tolerated, and effective ones conform consistently to Arabic orthography. Chamberlain uses a version of the transliteration system used by the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, modified with respect to several features, of which the treatment of some is troubling: ″without assimilation of the definite article or elision of the hamza al-waṣl.″ These, we are told, are how ″titles and proper nouns are spelled in data bases and research resources″ (p. 26). The first feature is not followed consistently while the second is by no means standard practice in libraries with romanized catalogs. His treatment of the *tā’ marbūṭah* in construct is inconsistent as well. ″Tā’rīkh,″ used throughout the book, is plain wrong. In general, the transliterated text needs a thorough editing. Second, the prescriptive nature of the prose, while enthusiastic, nonetheless betrays a certain blindness to the historiographic perspectives that, for better or worse, have shaped our field: ″if we learn to read the sources more carefully . . .″ (p. 21), and ″[i]n all cases we have to read these sources critically, and we must be especially concerned to take into account the motives of their authors in writing them.″ (p. 20). Unfortunately, this study does not include a thorough discussion of the motivations and attitudes that may have guided the compilers of biographical dictionaries, and the possibility of differential treatment of scholars from competing households, so that there is a tendency to treat the information in these sources as documentary. This is by no means a problem unique to this study, since our field′s

sources require all historians, perhaps more than other fields of history, to be historiographers.

In spite of these criticisms, there is no doubt that Chamberlain′s investigation of how knowledge was used by the *a‘yān* of Damascus is a significant and incisive methodological contribution to medieval Islamic history, illuminating new aspects of research in daily culture and education in the medieval Levant. As can be seen from the summary above, the author has set for himself a problem with many ramifications, and it may well be the author′s attempt to deal with all of them that lends the book a rather unfocused quality, notwithstanding the attempts to sharpen conceptual aspects of the argument. Social historians of medieval Islam will nevertheless find it stimulating reading.

BOAZ SHOSHAN, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). Pp. 148.

REVIEWED BY TH. EMIL HOMERIN, University of Rochester

Inspired by Peter Burke′s *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (1978), Boaz Shoshan has undertaken the study of popular culture in Cairo during the period corresponding approximately to the Mamluk era (1250-1517). Readers should be warned, however, that the product of Shoshan′s research thus far is not a comprehensive treatment of the subject—as his book′s title might suggest—but rather a small collection of disparate essays whose subjects touch upon particular aspects of what Shoshan has designated as popular culture. In the introduction, Shoshan raises several pertinent points regarding the specter of death looming over the masses, and the question of how people spent their leisure time. This leads to the thorny problem of the definition of ″popular culture,″ which Shoshan tends to equate with ″those socially inferior to the bourgeoisie; hence, supposedly also illiterate, at least by and large″ (p. 7).

Leaving aside further discussion of definition, Shoshan turns in his first essay to Sufism and its importance to the religious life of Mamluk Cairo. Shoshan notes the contributions made by the Sufi orders to congregational life, and the vital role of the Sufi shaykhs and their sermons for disseminating Islamic doctrines and religious obligations. Shoshan pays particular attention to the sermons of the famous Shādhilī Sufi master Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh (d. 1309), which stress the importance of faith, repentance, and avoiding the wiles of Satan and sin, as well as the performance of prayer, religious duties, and *dhikr*. Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh also extols visiting the tombs of the pious saints, who have the ability to perform miracles and acts of grace.

Shoshan then briefly considers the *mawlids,* or ″saints′ days,″ and some of their rituals and licentious behaviors that were rumored to have occurred during these times of popular revelry. He then concludes this chapter by probing Sufism′s ″reintroduction into Islam of the old association of religion and magic″ (p. 18). He reports several lively cases of charlatans and con-men to be found in Mamluk sources, together with Ibn Taymīyah′s legal opinion condemning many Sufi tenets regarding the saints and their miracles. Shoshan also cites a number of miracles ascribed to various Sufis and saints, and the

mediation by some of these figures between the Mamluk regime and the larger Cairene populace.

The various reports of saints and sinners recounted by Shoshan are quite engaging, and he is also to be commended for selecting the often ignored popular sermons as a source and instrument to probe religious life in medieval Islam. However, Shoshan falls victim to the still pervasive misreading of Islam as having an ″orthodoxy.″ Shoshan consistently contrasts Sufis to ″orthodox scholars *(ʻulamāʼ)*″ (p. 21; also see pp. 11, 13) when many Sufi shaykhs were, in fact, respected members of the *ʻulamāʼ* having a special expertise in the study and practice of mysticism. Shoshan appears to regard conservative legal scholars, such as Ibn Taymīyah, as the ″orthodox″ men of religion, though most of them, too, (including Ibn Taymīyah) regarded mystical dimensions of Islam to be a vital and nourishing part of their faith. Further, the doctrines and practices reviewed by Shoshan including the belief in saints and miracles, the visitation of their shrines, and celebration of their *mawlids*, clearly were not held by the illiterate alone, but as Mamluk sources explicitly report, they were embraced by elite and commoner alike and so were quite ″popular,″ though not in Shoshan′s restricted sense of the word.

Without transition or logical connection, Shoshan proceeds to his second chapter on a biography of Muḥammad ascribed to the story-teller Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bakrī (fl. 13th century?). Shoshan details the arrangement and contents of the work, which was quite popular in its own day, and is still influential today. Shoshan maintains that al-Bakrī′s account of the Prophet does not differ substantially from similar works composed by medieval Muslim scholars, yet many of the latter group denounced al-Bakrī as a liar and teller of tall tales. Shoshan seems at a loss to explain this discrepancy, attributing it to ″the personalities involved much more than the nature of the material itself″ (p. 38).

A more logical explanation than Shoshan′s undocumented assertion of conflicting personalities is class or career conflict. Many story-tellers and popular preachers were not the product of the educated elite, though they often dealt with the same religious subjects, albeit in a more entertaining fashion. This fact, together with the story-tellers′ popularity, posed a threat to the religious establishment and its control of the sacred canon. Thus in order to preserve true religion and to protect the common herd from going astray, unauthorized teachers of religion, such as al-Bakrī, had to be vigorously opposed, even if a particular work or teaching by them was in general agreement with scholarly consensus.

Turning to chapter 3, Shoshan examines the Cairene celebration of Nawrūz, a spring festival that was popular for some time and ″celebrated by both the elite and the ordinary people″ (p. 42). Shoshan discusses the early Iranian origins of the festival, possible influence on it from ancient Egyptian, Roman, and Coptic sources, and the incorporation of the holiday into the Muslim calendar. Then he comparatively analyzes the festival and its rituals in terms of the medieval European carnival with its reversal of status and its uninhibited, wanton celebration. Shoshan concludes that Nawrūz may have served to ease social tensions between Cairo′s elite minority and the struggling lower classes, while at the same time conveying the poor′s frustration, anxiety, and dissatisfaction to the authorities.

Similar matters involving public protest are the subject of chapter 4 as Shoshan examines the issue of ″moral economy.″ He begins the chapter with an insightful account of the Cairene public′s demand for a ruler who was a born Muslim, and hence the mass demonstrations in support of the young sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad against his foreign-

born, convert rival. Shoshan builds on this example to postulate the presence in Cairo of what E. P. Thompson has labeled a ″moral economy,″ ″a consistent traditional view of social norms and obligations, of the proper economic functions of several parties within the community″ (p. 65). Shoshan supports his assertion by a careful and detailed analysis of the Mamluk grain trade, and the grain riots and protests resulting from abuses which frustrated the masses′ expectations and/or violated accepted government policies.

Chapter 5 serves as a kind of conclusion to this book which Shoshan describes as being ″about the culture of ordinary people in medieval Cairo″ (p. 67). However, the acceptance and active participation of Mamluks and members of the scholarly class in many of the matters involving Sufis, Nawrūz, and public protests would suggest otherwise. Though the regime and some religious scholars might call for the banning of certain popular celebrations or practices (particularly if public morality or sexual promiscuity were an issue), Shoshan′s assertion that ″the learned and the rulers″ exhibited a ″general hostility . . . toward the culture of the commoners″ (p. 70) appears extreme, if not plain wrong. In fact, in this final chapter, Shoshan cites additional accounts of royal and scholarly participation in popular events and festivals (e.g. the Hajj caravan, and the ″Plenitude of the Nile″), and the veneration of Sufis. In the end, Shoshan, too, seems to sense the limitations and inadequacy of viewing Islam through the distorting lens of high vs. low cultures or its religious equivalent—and, perhaps origin—in orthodoxy vs. heterodoxy when he says (pp. 77-78):

> [W]e come to the argument that, in the final analysis, a refined approach to the history of culture should transcend the ″-chotomous″ view, the tendency to emphasize the dichotomy between ″high″ and ″low″. . . . The Cairene case was no exception: in medieval Cairo the cult of saints created a common ground for the people and the elite.

Shoshan′s approximately eighty pages of essays are followed by an appendix listing chronologically forty-two Sufi shaykhs of the Mamluk period and some of the sources which mention them. Why Shoshan included this appendix is not at all clear, though scholars of Sufism may find it of some use. After this appendix are forty-two pages of copious endnotes and a select bibliography, which underscores Shoshan′s laudable comparative approach to popular culture. Nevertheless, while he cites important studies on Europe, he ignores relevant studies on Islam. For example, concerning Islamic preaching, preachers and story-tellers Shoshan neglects the pioneering work of Johannes Pederson (1948, 1953) as well as Merlin Swartz′s edition and translation of Ibn al-Jawzī′s *Kitāb al-Quṣṣāṣ* (1971). Regarding the Muslim cult of the saints, Shoshan mentions that he knew of but did not consult Christopher Taylor′s 1989 dissertation on the important pilgrimage guide by Ibn al-Zayyāt; I am curious to know why, since Taylor′s dissertation is easily obtained through dissertation reprint services, or why Shoshan did not consult Ibn al-Zayyāt directly. Further, Shoshan incorrectly ascribes ʻAlī al-Sakhāwī′s *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb* to the famous Mamluk biographer Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī.

Such shortcomings aside, Boaz Shoshan′s *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo* does contribute to the nascent research field of medieval Muslim popular culture while, at the same time, underscoring the need for the further sustained study of medieval Muslim societies.

MOHAMED-MOAIN SADEK, *Die Mamlukische Architektur der Stadt Gaza*. (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1991). Pp. 700.

REVIEWED BY JONATHAN M. BLOOM, Richmond, New Hampshire

This book is the text of a doctoral dissertation submitted to the Freie Universität, Berlin in 1990 concerning architecture in the Palestinian city of Gaza during the Mamluk period. German doctoral dissertations, which must be published, normally represent work at a level between an American M.A. and a Ph.D., and this book is no exception. The first of its eight sections is an introduction to the city of Gaza, including discussion of topography, history, meaning (i.e., historical role), and population. The second through sixth sections present the surviving buildings of the Mamluk city, including nine mosques, two *madrasah*s, one *zāwiyah*, the governor′s palace, and a *qaysārīyah*. The seventh section discusses additional buildings that are known to have existed but are now destroyed: these include twenty-six mosques, seven *madrasah*s, a *zāwiyah*, a *ribāṭ*, the birthplace of the Imam al-Shāfiʻī, four tombs, a *masṭabah*, a palace, a *maydān*, a bath, a hospital, two caravanserais and three water-dispensaries. The book concludes with an assessment of the style of Mamluk architecture in the city, in which the author considers such features as plans, architectural elements—including courts, minarets, entrances, arches, and domes—and finally decoration—including *muqarnas*, *ablaq*, and vegetal, geometric, and epigraphic ornament. The book is illustrated with over two hundred pages of plans, sections, and rather gray, small and sometimes amateurish (e.g., nos. 36, 39, etc.) photographs. The plan of the city in the pocket was originally published in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* in 1888.

This is a straightforward book which presents the material in a methodical and logical, if not particularly exciting, fashion. The typical presentation of a building comprises several parts, including discussion of its location, dating and history, a general description, discussion of restorations, analysis of the exterior, description of special ornament, a review of the documentary sources, and a presentation of the inscriptions. The author is not especially interpretive or critical of his sources, but, considering the alternatives, this can be seen as a blessing. The book′s value lies in documenting largely unfamiliar material before it disappears and making it accessible for further study. Considering that the field of Islamic art and architecture is now over a century old, the author′s potted recapitulations of the early history of such features as the mosque, *miḥrāb*, and minaret are of little interest, particularly since the Gaza material offers little, if anything, new on the subject. The decision to present the material in a typological, rather than chronological, framework means that the monumental evidence is hardly used to help explain why and illustrate how Gaza developed as a regional center during the Mamluk period.

This study invites comparison with several other recent works on Mamluk and Syrian architecture. The most important is, of course, the late Michael Meinecke′s masterpiece, *Die Mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien* (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe, 5-6. Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1992), which represents the culmination of over two decades of the author′s work on the subject. Despite the earlier publication date of Dr. Sadek′s book, he was able to consult Meinecke′s work in proof, and Meinecke was able to incorporate Sadek′s

findings in his far more integrative and detailed study, which will remain the book of first reference for Mamluk architecture for many decades. It might be fairer to compare Dr. Sadek′s book with recent studies about architecture in provincial Mamluk cities, in which case it stands between Michael Hamilton Burgoyne′s magisterial *Mamluk Jerusalem, an Architectural Study, with additional historical research by D. S. Richards* ([London]: World of Islam Festival Trust, 1987) and Hayat Salam-Leiblich′s *The Architecture of the Mamluk City of Tripoli* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Aga Khan Program for Islamic Architecture, 1983). Nasser O. Rabbat′s imaginative work, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), successfully integrates architectural and archaeological information with historical sources for the Mamluk period. Perhaps the most innovative of recent studies is Terry Allen′s work on Ayyubid and early Mamluk architecture based on an extraordinarily close reading of texts and examination of masonries. The evidence of the stones themselves reveals how individual masons worked and demonstrates how they moved from one project to another. Not only is Dr. Allen′s methodology innovative, but so is the electronic form in which he is publishing his new book. It can be found on the World Wide Web at:
http://www.wco.com/~books/readmeaa.html.

AMALIA LEVANONI, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310-1341)*. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995). Pp. 221.

REVIEWED BY W. W. CLIFFORD, University of Chicago

Readers may gain the impression from Levanoni′s title that her monograph is exclusively about the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. In fact, she ranges widely over the whole of the Baḥrī period and even well into that of the Circassian. Indeed, Levanoni′s ultimate concern is with the Mamluk army of the Circassian period, and her task is to demonstrate precisely how ″the spreading of professional and moral laxity in the Mamluk army″ of the ninth/fifteenth century ″set in during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s [third] rule″ (pp. 98-99). In doing so, Levanoni has broken significantly with the ahistorical model of the Mamluk system often associated with David Ayalon. Levanoni′s focus on the problems of change within the early eighth/fourteenth century Mamluk army recalls similar efforts made twenty years ago by R. Stephen Humphreys to question the stasis of the Syro-Egyptian military structure during the mid-seventh/thirteenth century. Humphreys′s controversial admonition at the time that the early Mamluk army ″should not be understood teleologically,″ as he believed Ayalon understood it, ″but as a series of responses to . . . a changing sociopolitical context″ has clearly struck a responsive chord in Levanoni.[1]

The ″dynamic″ nature of the Mamluk system was manifest, Levanoni believes, in its sudden transition from normative to anomic social behavior in the early eighth/fourteenth century. In short, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s third reign generated regressive changes in traditional practices of ″training, advancement and remuneration″ within the Mamluk military—changes which led later in the century to a proletarianization of the army and a

[1] R. Stephen Humphreys, ″The Emergence of the Mamluk Army,″ *Studia Islamica* 45 (1977): 69.

collapse of internal social discipline. In the half century before al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, she argues, social solidarity among the Mamluks had been much more cohesive, based on ″norms,″ that is, one infers, idealized cultural constraints on action. These were represented by the ″principle of loyalty″ and ″a specific code of conduct which included modesty, order, and strictness,″ and which tended ″to foster a sense of respect for authority″ as well as ″underpin master-mamluk relations″ (pp. 14-19, 34). Levanoni seems to be arguing that the early Mamluks, owing to a high degree of both primary and secondary socialization, were actually able to internalize such norms, though she readily concedes we know little of the system by which *mamālīk* were raised and advanced (p. 3).

Yet, how reflective were such ″norms″ of a common value system among the early Mamluks? Levanoni suggests elsewhere that the motivation behind their social behavior may have been more material than normative, secured ultimately by Baybars′s linkage of ″rank″ and ″economic power″ through ″military hierarchy″ (p. 10). Perhaps the social stability Levanoni perceives in the early period reflects not so much internalized cultural definitions of behavior as individual responses to a common material stimulus. In any case, Levanoni′s functional assumptions about the effectiveness of early Mamluk socialization largely ignore the role of coercion in maintaining early consensus; she appears to hold to the Durkheimian view that conformity to social norms is better achieved through socialization than external sanctions. Yet, early sultans, including Baybars, relied heavily on a system of external rewards and penalties to regulate already highly dynamic social relationships among the Mamluks. Levanoni has obligated herself to argue, somewhat naively, that the same sociopolitical tensions extant in the early eighth/fourteenth century were not already present just fifty years earlier at the formation of the Mamluk state.

If Levanoni indeed accepts that there was a consistency of belief, values, and norms among the early Mamluks, how then did this cultural system collapse so soon and so completely? Conformity to norm is of course a matter of degree; actors always bring something with them to their social encounters. Norms can and do change, therefore, and any concept of social process has to explain how this occurs. Levanoni′s explanation is rather *deus ex machina*. She believes largely that al-Nāṣir′s ″general laxity″ and ″permissiveness″ were the root cause of ″decline″ of the Mamluk system. Indeed, one detects a certain Khaldunian censure of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad—a ruler like the Umayyad Hishām or the Abbasid al-Muʻtaṣim whose reign marked the end of true *siyāsat al-mulk wa-al-sulṭān*. Levanoni argues ultimately that al-Nāṣir consciously intended to destroy the social fabric of the Mamluk system through his dissociative behavior, though she relies somewhat incautiously on Circassian sources for this controversial observation (pp. 30-31, n. 13). While heeding Humphreys′s advice elsewhere, she seems to have ignored his admonition against conflating the authority of non-contemporary Circassian with contemporary Baḥrī chroniclers.[2]

Like many before her, then, Levanoni cannot finally resist reducing Mamluk history to the personal idiosyncrasies of Mamluk rulers. Yet, political cultures rarely change so dramatically for such simplistic reasons. And even an unstructured and conflictive environment such as Levanoni has described eventually creates pressure for the

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[2] R. Stephen Humphreys, ″The Emergence of the Mamluk Army (Conclusion),″ *Studia Islamica* 46 (1977): 179; ″. . . we must abandon our traditional reliance on al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī, for both men . . . tend to reinterpret their sources (while ostensibly reproducing them) in light of the conditions and issues of their own time.″

development of new norms through a new process of mediation, negotiation, and compromise. What, then, were the new cultural definitions that emerged after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad? Levanoni can seem to suggest only normlessness as a new norm. This sort of argumentation, which plays neatly into the Orientalist myth of Mamluk anarchy, may still resonate among traditional scholars, but modern social historians, historical sociologists and political anthropologists of the Middle East, who arguably could have been Levanoni's most appreciative audience, are not likely to find this sort of reductionism particularly persuasive.

It is equally unlikely, though for different reasons, that the doyen of Mamluk studies, David Ayalon, will find Levanoni's arguments any more compelling. She has after all fundamentally rejected his basic assumptions about the ideal nature of the *mamlūk*'s relationship with his patron (*ustādh*) and comrades-in-bondage (*khushdāshīyah*). Indeed, Ayalon made what might be considered a pre-emptive criticism of Levanoni when, in 1990, he suggested that any future attempt to undercut his *idée fixe* about the Mamluk system would be "a very erroneous and most unwelcome tendency."[3] Ayalon has, of course, admitted that discipline and training declined later, during the Circassian period, and with it the loss of the "feeling of solidarity" within the Mamluk system as a whole, but he is unlikely to concede its origins scarcely a half century after the rise of Baybars. Ayalon's ready admission that the auxiliary military arm, the *ḥalqah*, began its disintegration in al-Nāṣir's day is of course tied precisely to his belief that the *ajnād al-ḥalqah* lacked in any case the very "feeling of solidarity linking companions in slavery and freedom (*al-khushdāshīyah*)."[4]

Levanoni's own evaluation of the Mamluk army's poor relation, the *ḥalqah*, conforms to Ayalon's general view that it experienced an administrative "down-grade" over the course of the eighth/fourteenth century (pp. 106-109). Levanoni, however, suggests a further interesting ramification. The *ḥalqah* may have emerged after al-Nāṣir's death as an open recruiting ground for the *umarā'* in their political squabbles. One wonders if the *ajnād al-ḥalqah*, as they endured official *déclassement*, might also have made their experience and services available to the *'āmmah*, improving perhaps the paramilitary competence of proto-militia like the *ḥarāfīsh*. Unlike Ayalon, Levanoni has not attempted to distinguish between the conditions of the *ḥalqah* of Egypt and that of Syria. Did the Syrian *ḥalqah* suffer ultimately a fate similar to its Egyptian counterpart? It is, of course, tempting to see a degraded *ḥalqah* as a paramilitary link in Syrian urban history between the high medieval *aḥdāth* and the late medieval *zu'ar*. Certainly, the image of disaffected *ajnād al-ḥalqah* buttresses Levanoni's larger argument about the proletarianization of the Mamluk army by rowdy "rank-and-file mamluks" (pp. 61-72).

In trying to differentiate her belief in the radical social transformation affected during al-Nāṣir's third reign from earlier interpretations, Levanoni has perhaps inevitably overstated her case at points. Her contention, for instance, that until the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad "the common people, *al-'āmmah*, lacked all influence on matters of rule and government" (p. 109) overlooks the impact the Cairene populace already had on the politics of al-Nāṣir's second reign. Or, Levanoni believes that "the formative years of the Mamluk

[3] David Ayalon, "Baḥrī Mamlūks, Burjī Mamlūks—Inadequate Names for the Two Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultanate," *Tārīḫ* 1 (1990): 46.
[4] David Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army—II," *Studies on the Mamlūks of Egypt (1250-1517)* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977), 456.

state″ witnessed an almost perfect solidarity between master and man. Her argument that it was only after al-Nāṣir′s reign that amirs and sultans ″could no longer count on the loyalty of their own mamluks″ (pp. 86, 115) ignores the humiliation, mistreatment, and betrayal suffered, for instance, by early sultans such as al-Malik al-Saʻīd Barakah, Baybars′s son, or al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s predecessor, at the hands of their own *mamālīk*.

Levanoni′s provocative break with the traditional interpretation of the Mamluk system seems, ultimately, more instinctual than conceptual. She has broached important issues of historical sociology and even anthropology but, without the benefit of even the most basic social scientific texts, has been unable to develop them analytically. Without such a discursive framework she has not perhaps gotten the most out of her own discussion; certainly, she has missed a valuable opportunity to provide the sort of modern insight into problems of medieval Middle Eastern social structure and process which, for instance, Michael Chamberlain has recently done. Nevertheless, Levanoni′s work stands as both a credible alternative to the ahistorical view of David Ayalon, as well as the most detailed current study of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, somewhat better overall than the only other modern monograph, that of Hayat Nasser al-Hajji, which curiously she fails to cite.[5]

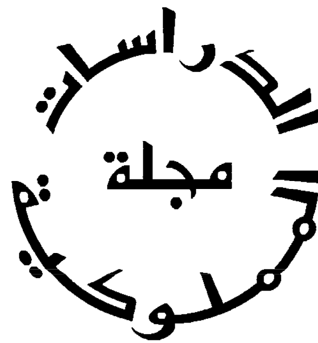
Levanoni has effectively circumnavigated the unremarkable if well-established modern tradition of political biography of Mamluk rulers by focusing on some of the linkages between the problems of one reign and those of others. In doing so, she has perhaps unintentionally delineated one of the principal shortcomings of Mamluk studies: the inability to envision the Mamluk polity as a holistic sociopolitical system—a state—whose operation possessed an internal logic capable of transcending the temporal limitations of individual reigns and personalities. This myopia has long been abetted by unrealistic historiographic perceptions of the Mamluk as an atavistic and regressive superimposition on indigenous Syro-Egyptian civilization. Fortunately, recent scholarship has begun to draw attention to certain socialized aspects of Mamluk behavior—desire for political consensus, leisure, education and manners, progressive agricultural management, and affiliation with local religious custom; no doubt the evolving study of women and family structure will help to portray the Mamluks in an even more socializing environment.

In sum, Levanoni has painted a rather grim picture of the Mamluk system scarcely a half century after its foundation. Yet, despite her rigorous claims of ″decline″ in the early eighth/fourteenth century, the Classical Mamluk state remained intact for another two centuries, and even afterward Mamluk political culture continued to thrive almost into the modern period. Perhaps we should be assessing the Mamluk achievement not in terms of its putative early failure but, rather, its obvious viability as a sociocultural phenomenon. The ultimate value of Levanoni′s book, ironically, may be to awaken in scholars the need to rethink more incisively what we mean by Mamluk ″decline.″

[5] Hayat Nasser al-Hajji, *The Internal Affairs in Egypt during the Third Reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn 709-741/1309-1341* (Kuwait: Kuwait University Press, 1978).

MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW

VII



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MAMLŪK STUDIES
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Mamlūk Studies Review is an annual refereed journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648-922/1250-1517). The goals of *Mamlūk Studies Review* are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, nurture communication within the field, and promote further research by encouraging the critical discussion of all aspects of this important medieval Islamic polity. The journal will include both articles and reviews of recent books. Submissions of original work on any aspect of the field are welcome, although the editorial board will periodically issue volumes devoted to specific topics and themes. *Mamlūk Studies Review* also solicits edited texts and translations of shorter Arabic source materials (*waqf* deeds, letters, *fatāwá* and the like), and encourages discussions of Mamluk era artifacts (pottery, coins, etc.) that place these resources in wider contexts. Transliterated Middle Eastern languages should conform to the system utilized by the Library of Congress. All questions regarding style should be resolved through reference to *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th edition. All submissions should be typed double-spaced. Submissions must be made on labeled computer disk together with a printed copy. The print copy should have full and proper diacritics, but the disk copy should have no diacritics of any kind.

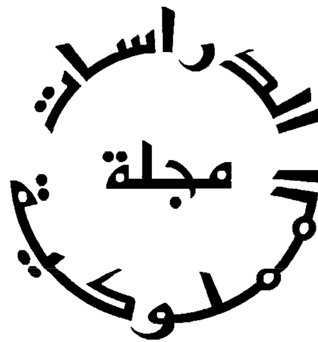
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MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW



Editor´s Note

In the front matter of every volume of *Mamluk Studies Review* you will find a statement that ″. . .the editorial board will periodically issue volumes devoted to specific topics and themes.″ With the partial exception of the first volume, with its heavy emphasis on ″state of the art″ essays, this is the first such volume. The topic addressed is the ″literary culture″ of the Mamluk era, and the hope of the editors is that these essays may serve to inspire a fresh and unbiased look at a topic that has too frequently been relegated to a sort of scholarly oblivion.

It has been my good fortune to have had the assistance of Professor Th. Emil Homerin, of the University of Rochester, as my collaborator in the planning and execution of this volume. I want to take this opportunity to acknowledge his contribution as guest editor, and to thank him for his patience, energy, and insight. It should also be noted that Professor Donald P. Little lent a hand with the editing of several articles, and that his efforts have improved the volume substantially. Marlis Saleh has, as always, contributed significantly to the final product. Finally, thanks are due the individual contributors, who responded with enthusiasm to the opportunity to produce a volume on Mamluk literature.

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ROBERT IRWIN
LONDON, ENGLAND

Mamluk Literature

When the Mamluks took power first in Egypt and then in Syria, there must have been many who viewed their ascendancy with dread. During the 650s/1250s the Ṣāliḥī Bahri mamluks had acquired a reputation as rapacious thugs. The Mamluk Sultan Baybars (r. 658–76/1260–77), who was feared by his subjects rather than loved, had no literary culture and was, indeed, illiterate. Nevertheless, he did listen to readings of history. Specifically, he listened to the chronicle of his own exploits, the *Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* read to him by its author, the historian and senior chancery official Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir. The sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn showed little or no interest in literature and his Arabic was notably poor. However, as we shall see, even in that first generation of the Mamluk regime there were some amirs who took a serious interest in literature. More literate and literary mamluks emerged from the second and third generation of the military elite, for the Mamluk regime in Egypt and Syria relied on an unusually literate military elite. This was because the training of a young mamluk in the Cairo Citadel did not just include exercises with sword, lance, and bow. Twice every week, Arab scholars from the city came in to instruct the young mamluks how to speak and read Arabic, as well as the tenets of Islam. There was a *faqīh* assigned to each barrack *(ṭabaqah)* whose job it was to teach the young mamluks the Quran, the Arabic script, and elements of the shariʻah.[1] Evidence survives from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that the sultans′ young mamluks in the Citadel were put to work copying manuscripts in the royal library.[2]

The Ayyubid library in the Citadel, the *khizānat al-kutub,* had been destroyed by a fire in 1292, and it is not clear what steps were taken to replace the lost volumes. Subsequently, the wealthy amir and friend of Ibn Khaldūn, Jamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn ʻAlī al-Ustādār, provided his Jamālī madrasah with a large collection of books purchased from the royal citadel. The sultans al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh and al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq were fanatical book collectors, but it is not clear whether the books they collected ended up in the royal library of the Citadel. The chief concentration of institutional libraries was in the mosques and madrasahs of the

[1]Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1853–54), 2:213–14.

[2]Barbara Flemming, ″Literary Activities in Mamluk Halls and Barracks,″ in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet*, ed. Myriam Rosen-Ayalon (Jerusalem, 1977), 249–60.

Bayn al-Qaṣrayn.[3] To mark the restoration of the mosque of al-Ḥākim after the earthquake of 702/1302–3, Baybars II presented the mosque with a library of 500 volumes on the religious sciences, literature, and history.[4] There were also private libraries amassed by some of the great amirs. The Cairo palace of Badr al-Dīn Baysarī al-Shamsī (d. 1298) had a grand collection of Arab books, as well as a certain ″Turkish book″ that so fascinated the historian Ibn al-Dawādārī.[5] The wealthy vizier Amir Badr al-Dīn Baydarā similarly amassed a great library. According to Ibn al-Ṣuqā'ī, Baydarā liked *adab* and singing.[6]

Al-Maqrīzī once composed some verses in which he claimed that people who loitered about in markets were up to no good. The only exceptions he allowed were loitering in the weapons market or the book market. The main book market used to be in Fustat, east of the Mosque of 'Amr. This market declined steeply in the fourteenth century, but al-Maqrīzī could still remember buying books there as a boy. In 700/1301, however, a new book market, the Sūq al-Kutubīyīn, had been founded, close to the goldsmiths′ market. This market was part of the *waqf* of the Manṣūrī Bīmāristān. Another, smaller cluster of bookstalls was to be found close to the Azhar Mosque (and close also to the candle market, where the prostitutes used to hang out). In the fifteenth century, the Sūq al-Warrāqīn, or market of copyists, was close to Barsbāy′s madrasah. Bookshops were, of course, also copying shops and some of them also doubled as circulating libraries.

Barracks, libraries, and bookshops apart, prisons also sometimes served as a somewhat unexpected learning environment for members of the Mamluk elite. Baybars al-Jashinkīr studied Arabic in prison before becoming sultan. The sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad already had Arabic when he was imprisoned, and he used it to study al-Bayhaqī′s eleventh-century writings on hadith. The theologian and jurist Ibn Taymīyah wrote copiously in prison. Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Umarī got much of his (rather inaccurate) information about Europe from a fellow-prisoner who was Genoese. Ibn 'Arabshāh was presumably in prison when he wrote his unfinished eulogistic chronicle of the achievements of Jaqmaq.

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[3]On libraries of the Mamluk period, see Carl Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1981), index, s.v. ″libraries.″ On medieval Muslim libraries more generally, see Youssef Eche, *Les Bibliothèqes arabes publiques en Mésopotamie, en Syrie et en Egypte au moyen age* (Damascus, 1967); Mohammed Makki Sibai, *Mosque Libraries: an Historical Study* (London, 1987).
[4]Donald Little, ″Religion under the Mamluks,″ *Muslim World* 73 (1983): 170.
[5]Ulrich Haarmann, ″Turkish Legends in the Popular Historiography of Medieval Egypt,″ in *Proceedings of the VIth Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies,* ed. Frithiof Rundgren (Leiden, 1975), 99, 102.
[6]Faḍl Allāh ibn Abī al-Fakhr al-Suqā'ī, *Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-A'yān,* ed. Jacqueline Sublet (Damascus, 1974), 75.

Some amirs seem to have identified strongly with Arabic culture. Sanjar al-Dawādār wrote poetry. Baybars al-Manṣūrī wrote history. Ṭaybughā al-Ashrafī wrote a treatise on archery. The brutal amir Uzdamur al-Kāshif had memorized al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqamāt,* as well as much Arabic poetry. Quite a few amirs and mamluks interested themselves in Hanafi or Shafi'i jurisprudence or in collecting and transmitting hadiths. However, although it is not uncommon to come across references to sultans, amirs, and mamluks who spoke and wrote in Arabic, there seems to be more evidence of this level of culture in the fifteenth century than in earlier periods.[7]

The literary culture of the Mamluk period was Turkish as well as Arabic, though the production of literary works in Turkish mostly seems to have been a late development that reached its peak in the Circassian period. Turkish works composed within the frontiers of the Mamluk Sultanate were written in Kipchak, Oghuz, or a mixture of the two. It is one of the curious features of the Circassian period that, on the evidence of what has survived, more works were then translated from Arabic or Persian into Kipchak or one of the other Turkish dialects than in the preceding Kipchak Turkish Mamluk period. It seems probable that, despite the increased numbers of Circassians imported into Egypt and Syria in the later Mamluk period, some form of Turkish remained the military lingua franca. It is difficult to consider the Turkish literature of Mamluk Egypt in isolation from that of the Golden Horde, Khwarizm, Anatolia, and Azerbaijan. The legacy of Khwarizmian Kipchak literary culture and its continuation in the lands of the Golden Horde was at first particularly important. Later on, translations into Oghuz Turkish, the dialect of the Anatolian and, more specifically, of the Ottoman Turks became more common. However, even towards the end of the Mamluk period, in the reign of Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī, a mamluk called Asanbāy min Sūdūn copied a Hanbali religious treatise by Abū al-Layth in the Kipchak dialect for the royal library. Much of what was translated into Turkish was instructional in nature, dealing with jurisprudence, hippology, or *furūsīyah* and hence of no interest to the student of literature in the narrow sense.

It seems that the earliest text on Turkish grammar to circulate in the Arab lands was produced by an Andalusian immigrant. Athīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū

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[7]On the Arabic culture of the mamluks, see Ulrich Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage: Mamluks and Their Sons in the Intellectual Life of Fourteenth-Century Egypt and Syria," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 33 (1988): 81–114; Jonathan Berkey, "'Silver Threads Among the Coal': A Well-Educated Mamluk of the Ninth/Fifteenth Century," *Studia Islamica* 73 (1991): 109–25; idem, "Mamluks as Muslims: The Military Elite and the Construction of Islam in Medieval Egypt," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 163–75; Robert Irwin, "The Privatization of 'Justice' Under the Circassian Mamluks," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 69–70.

Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (654–745/1256–1344) was born in Granada, but like so many of his literary contemporaries, he ended up in Cairo, where he enjoyed the patronage of Sayf al-Dīn Arghūn, the *nā'ib al-salṭanah* in Egypt. Although Abū Ḥayyān was primarily a grammarian and linguist, he also enjoyed a considerable reputation as an elegant, stylish poet, who produced verses on a wide range of themes. In particular he made use of poetry to expound grammar. An expert linguist, he wrote in Turkish and Persian. His *Al-Idrāk li-Lisān al-Atrāk* is an exposition of the Turkish language as it was spoken in Cairo. Bärkä Faqīh's translation of part of *Khusraw and Shirin* from Persian into Kipchak Turkish in 1386 was the first work of high literature to be produced in Turkish in the Mamluk lands. A few years later Sayf-ı Sarāyī arrived in Egypt. Sayf-ı Sarāyī, as his name suggests, came to Egypt from the capital of the Golden Horde and was the most prominent writer of Turkish verse to reside in the Mamluk lands. He translated Sa'dī's *Gulistan* into Kipchak Turkish, and added an appendix of poems, most of which were his own.[8] More generally, Turkish scholars and littérateurs were likely to receive a favorable reception from the Mamluk elite. Sayf al-Dīn Sarghitmish al-Nāṣirī, one of the most powerful amirs in the decades that followed the death of the sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and a fanatical partisan for the Hanafi *madhhab,* founded a Hanafi madrasah that became a magnet for *fuqahā'* from all over the Turkish-speaking world.[9] Ibn 'Arabshāh's and al-'Aynī's knowledge of Turkish almost certainly helped bring them to the favor of the Mamluks.[10]

The sultan al-Ẓāhir Tātār (r. 824/1421), besides studying Hanafi jurisprudence and the shari'ah in Turkish, was fond of listening to poetry, especially Turkish poetry, which he memorized, and he was said to understand the principles of its composition. He also collected books in Turkish. According to Ibn Taghrībirdī, he was the second Mamluk sultan, after al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, to have had a taste for the sciences *('ulūm),*

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[8]On Turkish literature in the Mamluk lands, see András Bodrogligeti, "A Collection of Poems from the 14th Century," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 16 (1963): 245–311; idem, *A Fourteenth Century Turkic Translation of Sa'di's Gulistān* (Bloomington, Ind., 1970); idem, "A Grammar of Mamluke-Kipchak," in *Studia Turcica*, ed. L. Ligeti (Budapest, 1971), 89–102; idem "Notes on the Turkish Literature at the Mamluke Court," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 14 (1962): 273–82; János Eckmann, "The Mamluk-Kipchak Literature," *Central Asiatic Journal* 7 (1962): 304–19; Barbara Flemming, "Zum Stand der Mamluk-Türkischen Forschung," in *XIX. Deutscher Orientalistentag 1975 in Freiburg im Breisgau: Vorträge,* Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Supplement 3, 2 (Wiesbaden, 1977), 1156–64. On Athīr al-Dīn Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī, see Th. Emil Homerin, "Reflections on Poetry in the Mamluk Age," *MSR* 1 (1997): 80–85.

[9]Leonora Fernandes, "Mamluk Politics and Education: The Evidence from Two Fourteenth Century Waqfiyya," *Annales Islamologiques* 23 (1987): 87–98; Petry, *Civilian Elite*, 338–39.

[10]Annemarie Schimmel, "Some Glimpses of the Religious Life During the Later Mamluk Period," *Islamic Studies* 7 (1965): 356–57.

arts, and literature.[11] Ibn Taghrībirdī's obituary of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh states that that sultan was fond of poetry, though what kind is not stated.[12] Those military men who did interest themselves in literary culture were likely to write in both Arabic and Turkish—and, in a few cases, in Persian as well. Sayf al-Dīn Taghrībirmish al-Jalālī (d. 1448), an expert in *fiqh,* composed in both Arabic and Turkish.[13]

The brutal Amir Yashbak min Mahdī (d. 1480), the terror of the Arabs of Upper Egypt and a notorious sadist, was also a key figure in the literary culture of the late fifteenth century. Besides bringing peace of a desolate sort to Upper Egypt, he presided over the defeat of Shāh Sūwār in Anatolia and opened hostilities against Uzun Ḥasan in Iran. One can describe him as the power behind Qāytbāy's throne, though in fact he was such a prominent statesman and soldier that he could better be described as the power in front of the throne. Judged as a whole, Yashbak's personality and career are strongly reminiscent of his near-contemporary, John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester (ca. 1427–70), for Tiptoft was notorious as England's chief torturer and impaler and famed, also, as a pious and cultured humanist.[14] Yashbak wrote a genealogy of the Prophet, as well as soulful religious poems in Turkish. He was also a passionate collector of books and an important cultural patron. He was especially fond of Persian scholars. He was the patron of the Persians Ya'qūb Shāh and Pīr Ḥajjī. Yashbak commissioned the production of beautiful books, for example the copy of al-Būṣīrī's poem of praise of the Prophet, *Al-Kawākib al-Durrīyah,* which is preserved in the Chester Beatty Library.[15] This and other acts of religious patronage may raise doubts about Ibn Taghrībirdī's claim that Yashbak hated religion. Much of what we know about Yashbak comes from his client, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd ibn Khalīl Ibn Ajā al-Ḥalabī (d. 881/1476). Ibn Ajā, a former student of Ibn Ḥajar's, also wrote poetry in Turkish. Ibn Ajā served Yashbak as military qadi and envoy and he produced a fascinating chronicle of Yashbak's campaigning against the Dhu al-Qadrid prince Shāh Sūwār. He also translated al-Wāqidī's *Futūḥ al-Shām* into Turkish for Yashbak.[16] Al-Sakhāwī, who praised Yashbak's generosity to *fuqarā',* hajjis, and

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[11] Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Berkeley, 1909–36), 6:517; Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Cairo, 1934), 4:8.
[12] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 6:428.
[13] Berkey, "Silver Threads."
[14] Rosamond J. Mitchell, *John Tiptoft, 1427–70* (London, 1938).
[15] Chester Beatty MS 4169; c.f. Esin Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks* (Washington, 1981), 47 and note.
[16] On Yashbak's political and literary career, see Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd ibn Khalīl Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh al-Amīr Yashbak al-Ẓāhirī,* ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad al-Ṭulaymāt (Cairo, 1974); Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Weimar and Leiden, 1898–1902, 1943–49), S2:78; Haarmann, "Turkish Legends," 98; Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, "Les dernières batailles

plague victims, wrote the chronicle *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk* at his request, and al-Sakhāwī added that Yashbak later carried the book about with him and showed it to other people. However, having celebrated Yashbak's discrimination and enthusiasm, al-Sakhāwī gloomily and typically added that all that "is a thing of the past. Nothing now remains but stupidity, boorishness, and an interest in worldly trifles."[17] Yashbak's master, the sultan al-Ashraf Qāytbāy (r. 872–901/1468–96), shared his henchman's literary interests. He composed Turkish *ghazal*s, as well as Arabic religious poetry and *muwashshaḥ*s, and he composed Sufi *awrād* and *adhkār* in Arabic. Muḥammad ibn Qāytbāy followed in his father's literary footsteps. As we shall see, the penultimate Mamluk sultan, al-Ashraf Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī, was at least as cultured as his former owner, Qāytbāy.[18]

The literacy in Arabic of many amirs and mamluks may explain the number of manuscripts produced in this period devoted to *furūsīyah,* hunting, hippology, and perhaps also chess (a game that was considered as a training in strategic thinking). Treatises on *furūsīyah* that aimed at the mamluk market were mostly of a practical nature and thus quite unlike the devotional treatises in what was nominally the same genre produced by such pious Arabs as Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah. Even so, literary and antiquarian elements might creep in and, for example, al-Aqsarā'ī's *Nihāyat al-Su'āl wa-al-Umniyah fī Ta'līm A'māl al-Furūsīyah* recycled parts of Aelian's *Tactica*, a second-century A.D. Greek treatise on strategy that must have been of negligible use for fourteenth-century Mamluk cavalry.[19]

Evidently, the bookish tastes of the Mamluk elite had some part in shaping the literature of medieval Egypt and Syria. However, the role of the *awlād al-nās* was

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du grand emir Yasbak min Mahdi," in *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th–15th Centuries,* ed. Yaacov Lev (Leiden, 1997), 301–42, esp. 314–15; Flemming, "Literary Activities," 252, 255; idem, "Šerīf, Sultan Ġavrī und die 'Perser,'" *Der Islam* 45 (1969): 87–89; Toufic Fahd, *La Divination arabe* (Paris, 1987) 202 n.

[17]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-I'lān bi-al-Tawbīkh li-Man Dhamma al-Tārīkh,* translated in Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1968), 329.

[18]On al-Ghūrī's literary culture, see Mohammad Awad, "Sultan al-Ghawri: His Place in Literature and Learning (Three Books Written under His Patronage)," in *Actes du XXe Congrès international des orientalistes* (Louvain, 1940), 321–22; Flemming, "Šerīf," 81–93; idem, "Aus den Nachtgesprächen Sultan Gauris," in *Folia Rara: Wolfgang Voigt LXV. Diem Natalem Celebranti ab Amicis et Catalogorum Codicum Orientalium Conscribendorum Collegis Dedicata* (Wiesbaden, 1976), 22–28. On Turkish literature of the Mamluk period more generally, see János Eckmann, "Die Mamluk-kiptchakische Literatur," in *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, ed. Jean Deny et. al. (Wiesbaden, 1959–), 2:296–304; Omeljan Pritsak, "Das Kiptschakische," in ibid., 1:74–87; Ananiasz Zajaczkowski, *Vocabulaire Arabe-Kiptchak de l'époque de l'État Mamelouk: Bulġat al-Muštaq fī Luġat at-Turk wa-l-Qifžaq* (Warsaw, 1958); Bodrogligeti, "Collection of Turkish Poems"; Flemming, "Zum Stand der Mamluk-Türkischen Forschung."

[19]Geoffrey Tantum, "Muslim Warfare: A Study of a Medieval Muslim Treatise on the Art of War," in *Islamic Arms and Armour,* ed. Robert Elgood (London, 1979), 194–96.

perhaps even more crucial. The *awlād al-nās,* sons of mamluks, many of whom had married into Arab elite households, acted as cultural intermediaries between the Mamluk elite and their Turkish subjects, and many of them also wrote books. The subject has been the subject of an excellent study by Ulrich Haarmann.[20] The ranks of the *awlād al-nās* included such writers as Ibn al-Dawādārī, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Jankalī al-Bābā, al-Ṣafadī, Ibn al-Turkumānī, Ibn Manglī, Ibn Sūdūn, Ibn Taghrībirdī, and Ibn Iyās. In most cases, the identification of the *awlād al-nās* with Arabic culture was total. However, the historian Ibn al-Dawādārī took an interest in Turkish legends and folklore and Ibn Taghrībirdī was famous for his expertise in Turkish matters, though some of his critics doubted that expertise.

A remarkably large part of the literature of the Mamluk age was produced by Arab officials working in the employment of the state, either in the *inshā'* (chancery) or in one of the *dīwān*s. The income from state employment may have cushioned their writing activities. On the other hand, in many cases the bureaucrats seem to have been producing literature in the expectation of advancing their careers. Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, ʻIzz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, Shāfīʻ ibn ʻAlī, Ibn al-Mukarram, and Ibn Abī Ḥajalah were among the chancery men who wrote chronicles celebrating the achievements of ruling sultans.[21] In the case of Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, his chronicles, especially the one devoted to the deeds of Qalāwūn, seem to have largely served as a framing device for Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir's own drafts of diplomatic pieces and occasional displays of fine prose.[22] (The elaborate official drafts produced earlier in the Ayyubid period by such figures as al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil and ʻImād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī furnished the model for this sort of thing, and Ibn Nubātah, who worked in the Syrian and Egyptian chanceries, was to produce a collection of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil's letters, as an act of literary piety.) That chancery prose was esteemed and enjoyed as a form of belles-lettres is indicated by the inclusion of a chapter on the subject in al-Ghuzūlī's *Maṭāliʻ al-Budūr* (on which see below).

Besides histories, officials in the *inshā'* also produced extensive manuals on the running of the chancery and the *adab,* or culture, that the scribes who worked in it might be expected to have. Saladin's officials ʻImād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī and al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil served as prose models for writers in the service of the Mamluk *inshā'*.

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[20]Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech."

[21]P. M. Holt, "Literary Offerings: A Genre of Courtly Literature," in *Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* 3–16; Otfried Weintritt, *Formen spätmittelalterlicher islamischer Geschichtsdarstellung: Untersuchungen zu an-Nuwairī al-Iskandarānīs* Kitāb al-Ilmām *und verwandten zeitgenössischen Texten* (Beirut, 1992), 185–200. See also Robert Irwin, "Mamluk History and Historians," in the forthcoming volume of the *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature* edited by Roger Allan and Donald Richards and devoted to late medieval literature.

[22]P. M. Holt, "Three Biographies of al-Ẓāhir Baybars," in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, ed. D. O. Morgan (London, 1982), 19–29.

The chancery official Muḥammad ibn Manẓūr′s chancery treatise, *Tadhkirat al-Labīb wa-Nuzhat al-Adīb,* has not survived (though it was one of Ibn al-Furāt′s and al-Qalqashandī′s sources). However, Muḥammad ibn Manẓūr, also known as Ibn Mukarram (630–711/1233–1311), was also well known as a philologist and lexicographer, whose chief claim to fame was his compilation of one of the great dictionaries of the medieval period, the *Lisān al-ʿArab.* The *Lisān* was no mere glossary of words and their meanings. Because of its numerous citations of illustrative fragments of poetry and other material, it was in effect a literary chrestomathy.[23]

Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī (667–732/1279–1332) worked in government service as a scribe and financial official. However, he only wrote his encyclopedia, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,* after leaving government service. Successive volumes dealt with the universe, poetry, female singers and administration, fauna, flora, and history. (The historical section provided disproportionately a large tail to this learned dog.) The *Nihāyah,* like some of its successors, was more of a copious display of knowledge than a seriously useful office manual. Similarly, the *Masālik al-Abṣar fī Mamālik al-Amṣār,* by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (700–49/1301–47), was pre-eminently a work of *adab,* rather than a serious work of reference for the scribe in office. (The same author′s *Al-Taʿrīf bi-al-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf* would have been more useful in the latter respect.) Like so many authors in this period, al-ʿUmarī was a polygraph, and he wrote a history of his family of distinguished jurists, as well as various other shorter works, including poems.[24] Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Qalqashandī (756–821/1335–1418) compiled the *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Sināʿat al-Inshā',* which contains an unusually large number of official documents in it, so that the work comes close to constituting an archive of templates for drafts of official documents. Al-Qalqashandī also wrote a *maqāmah* on secretaryship, as well as a treatise on Arab tribes.[25] Almost all the officials briefly discussed wrote on a disconcertingly wide range of matters. It was a feature of the age. Poets doubled as biographers and authors of religious treatises. Pornographers wrote poems in praise of the Prophet and treatises on dream interpretation. The disinclination of writers to tie

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[23]Walther Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten* (Hamburg, 1928), 67; John A. Haywood, *Arabic Lexicography: Its History and Its Place in the General History of Lexicography*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1965), 77–82; Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l′époque des croisades et la principauté franque d′Antioche* (Paris, 1940), 76–77; Ulrich Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1970), 77.

[24]Etienne Quatremère, ″Notices de l′ouvrage entitulé Masâlek-el-absâr,″ *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du roi* 13 (1838): 151–384.

[25]Björkmann, *Beiträge;* Clifford Edmund Bosworth, ″Al-Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 4:509–11.

themselves down to any particular genre makes it more or less impossible to present an orderly picture of Mamluk literature.

After the golden age of the Hamdanids in Northern Syria in the tenth century, there was little in the way of a sustained culture of poetry and belles-lettres in Syria or Egypt until the late twelfth century. There was, however, a literary renaissance in the Ayyubid and early Mamluk period. Like all true renaissances, it had a backward-looking flavor and it harked back to the manners and literary productions of eighth– and ninth-century Abbasid Iraq, so that al-Mas'ūdī and al-Jāḥiẓ served as models for Mamluk prose stylists. The poets of Cairo and Damascus studied the old Baghdadi prescriptions on how to court beautiful slave girls, cultivate male friendships, dress elegantly, and perfume themselves. There was then an antiquarian feel to much of Mamluk belles-lettres and poetry, as its authors looked back on the cult of the *nadīm* (cup-companion) and the *ẓarīf* (dandy). Around the mid-thirteenth century, the poets Bahā' al-Dīn Zuhayr and Taqī al-Dīn ibn Daqīq al-'Īd (who wrote poetry but was better known as a qadi and an alchemist) embraced fairly self-conscious roles as *ẓurafā'*. In the following generation, Ibn 'Afīf al-Tilimsānī, the composer of elegant poetry about wine and love, was also known as al-Shābb al-Ẓarīf (the Young Dandy). Al-Ghuzūlī's fifteenth-century belles-lettres compilation included a chapter on the *nadīm,* and another on the repertoire of stories of the *nadīm*, both of which drew largely on Abbasid material. Al-Suyūṭī's later treatise on women, *Al-Mustaẓraf,* dealt mostly with slave girls of the Abbasid period and the passions they aroused, and this too was essentially part of the old culture of the *ẓarīf*. The code of the *ẓarīf* was not confined to the written page and, for example, the fifteenth-century Amir Jānibak al-Ashrafī dressed and behaved like a *ẓarīf*.[26] The personnel and manners of the *ẓurafā'* overlapped somewhat with those of the gay community. Al-Tīfāshī remarked how it had become fashionable in literary circles to affect homosexual mannerisms. Besides the cages of singing birds, the chessboard, and bottles of wine, the typical gay man's apartment contained books of poetry, love romances, and magical treatises.[27]

Apart from the example of old Baghdad, the court culture of al-Andalus and the Maghrib also provided models for the would-be courtier and writer. Sharaf al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Tīfāshī (580–651/1184–1253) was an immigrant from Tunisia whose *Mut'at al-Asmā'* was a treatise dedicated to the pleasures of music, dance, shadow theatre, and wine drinking. His account of the etiquette of court concerts, in which music, song, and wine came together, drew

[26]On the persistence (or was it a revival?) of the culture of the *ẓarīf,* see Mhammaed Ferid Ghazi, "Un group sociale: 'Les Raffinés' (*ẓurafā'*)," *Studia Islamica* 1 (1959): 59.
[27]Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Tīfāshī, *Nuzhat al-Albāb fīmā la Yūjadu fī Kitāb,* ch. 5. René Khawam's translation of this work, as *Les Délices des coeurs* (Paris, 1981), should be treated with caution.

sharp contrasts between eastern and western ways of holding these entertainments. Al-Tīfāshī was also author of a literary encyclopedia, *Faṣl al-Khitāb fī Madārik al-Ḥawāss al-Khams,* and a well-known treatise on precious stones, *Azhār al-Afkār fī Jawāhir al-Aḥjār,* as well as various works of erotica.[28] He was one of several well-known North African immigrants who found a patron in the amir Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Yaghmūr (d. 663/1265). Abū al-Ḥasan ʻAlī Ibn Saʻīd al-Maghribī (d. 673/1274), the poet, anthologist, and geographer, was another. Indeed Ibn Yaghmūr′s salon, where poets used to compete with one another at capping lines, was known as *kāhf al-maghāribah* (or Cave of the Maghribis).[29] Ibn Yaghmūr was a friend of the father of the historian al-Yūnīnī. (Other writers and scholars from North Africa who found patronage in Egypt or Syria later on in the Mamluk period included such distinguished figures as Ibn Manẓūr, Ibn Abī Ḥajalah, and Ibn Khaldūn.) The strong interest of Egyptian and Syrian poets in the *muwashshaḥ* form is yet another indication of the literary influence of Andalusia.

Since the poetry of the Mamluk period is still only partially explored, it is difficult to offer generalizations about its development or confidently to single out the important poets of the period.[30] At first at least, little panegyric poetry was written in praise of Mamluk sultans (presumably because those sultans were not really interested in poetry). Instead poetic praise *(madīḥ)* tended to be addressed to the Prophet and to ulama and holy men. Bahā' al-Dīn Zuhayr (581–656/1186–1258) wrote panegyrics in the hope of securing patronage, but with only modest and intermittent success, and in the end he died in poverty. His less grandiose lighter pieces, hedonistic, satirical, and urbane, are more pleasing to a modern sensibility. Above all his verses commemorated fleeting passions and regrets for wasted youth.[31]

The hedonistic celebration of love and wine gardens was continued by Bahā' al-Dīn′s successors. Only a few representative figures will be singled out here. Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (657–ca. 750/1278–ca. 1349) was born and died in Iraq. He also spent time in Egypt and Syria. He frequented the court of the Ayyubids of

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[28]For al-Tīfāshī on concerts and related matters, see M. B. al-Ṭanjī, ″Al-Ṭarā'iq wa-al-Alḥān al-Mūsīqīyah fī Ifrīqīyā wa-al-Andalus,″ *Al-Abḥāth* 21 (1968): 93–116. On al-Tīfāshī′s oeuvre more generally see Iḥsān ʻAbbās′s preface to al-Tīfāshī (as abridged by Ibn Manẓūr), *Surūr al-Nafs bi-Madārik al-Ḥawās al-Khams* (Beirut, 1980).

[29]Jean-Claude Garcin, *Un Centre musulman de la Haute-Égypte médiévale, Qūṣ* (Cairo, 1976), 242 n.

[30]On that poetry, see in particular Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, *Al-Adab fī al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1971); Homerin, ″Reflections on Poetry,″ 63–85.

[31]Edward Henry Palmer, *Poetical Works of Behá-ed-Dīn Zoheir, of Egypt* (Cambridge, 1877); D. M. Dunlop, *Arab Civlization to A. D. 1500* (London, 1971), 68–69; R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193–1260* (Albany, 1977), 250–51.

Ḥamāh, and al-Ṣafadī introduced him to the sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in Egypt. Ṣafī al-Dīn wrote playful and licentious verse (addressed to both sexes). Unlike Bahā' al-Dīn, he was a master of word play and of the elaborate *badī'* style, and more generally he seems to have delighted in displaying his versatility in all the forms of poetry in favor at the time. He wrote *qaṣīdah*s and *muwashshaḥ*s. He also produced a treatise on popular Arabic poetry of his time, entitled *Al-'Āṭil al-Ḥālī.* However, by far and away his most interesting work is his *Qaṣīdah al-Sāsānīyah,* in which he made use of a wide range of rather esoteric underworld jargon in order to describe the modus operandi of the Banū Sāsān (that is to say the beggars, charlatans, and low life entertainers).[32] (On the Mamluk preservation of the old literary cult of rogues, beggars, and freeloaders see below).

Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī also produced a panegyric *qaṣīdah* in honor of the Prophet, *Al-Badī'īyah al-Nabawīyah.* This was modeled on an earlier *qaṣīdah,* the *Burdah* of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Būṣīrī (608–ca. 694/1212–ca. 1294). Al-Būṣīrī was a minor figure in the Mamluk administration, who wrote *khamrīyah,* as well as poetry on a variety of other themes, including attacks on Copts and corrupt officials. The *Burdah,* though famous and still widely esteemed today for its wonder-working therapeutic properties, is of little literary interest.[33] Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī's version, however, was a much more elaborate and artful affair, which made use of a different rhetorical figure in each of its lines. The latter's way of emulating and outstripping the *Burdah* was to be widely imitated by poets who came after him, including Ibn Ḥijjah (whose version was so obscure that its author felt impelled to produce a commentary on it) and 'Ā'ishah al-Bā'ūnīyah (a learned Sufi who died in 922/1516).[34]

Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Nubātah (686–768/1287–1366) was, like Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, a poet who found patronage at the puppet court of the Ayyubids of Ḥamāh. His edition of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil's letters has already been mentioned. The historian prince al-Mu'ayyad Abū al-Fidā' was one of his patrons and the panegyrics Ibn Nubātah wrote for him were collected and entitled *Al-Mu'ayyadāt*. After the deposition and death of Abū al-Fidā''s son and successor al-Afḍal, Ibn Nubātah wrote a lament for the end of the Ayyubid dynasty. Though he later briefly found employment in the service of the Mamluk sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, it is hard not to feel that Ibn Nubātah's growing interest in Sufism and his production of *zuhdīyāt*

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[32]See, above all, Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld: The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature* (Leiden, 1976), 1:132–49; also R.A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (1907; reprint, Cambridge, 1966) 449–50.

[33]Nicholson, *Literary History*, 326–7; Clifford Edmund Bosworth, "Al-Būṣīrī," *EI*[2] *Supplement*, 158–59.

[34]See in this issue Th. Emil Homerin, "Living Love: The Mystical Writings of 'Ā'ishah al-Bā'ūnīyah (d. 922/1516)."

(poetry of asceticism) indirectly at least reflected his straitened circumstances. He died in poverty.[35]

The impulse to demonstrate literary diversity is exemplified by the oeuvre of Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Abī Ḥajalah (725–76/1325–1375). Born in Tlemcen, Ibn Abī Ḥajalah was a poet, anthologist, and jack-of-all-literary-trades. He produced a much-admired anthology on profane love, the *Dīwān al-Ṣabābah* (Divan of ardent love), which covered roughly the same ground as the eleventh-century Andalusian Ibn Ḥazm′s famous work on the *adab* of love, *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah,* and which mostly drew on older materials. However, his literary production was quite diverse and also included *qaṣīdah*s in praise of the Prophet, a *qaṣīdah* on Peter of Cyprus′s attack on Alexandria, a compilation designed to console those who mourn over the death of a child entitled *Sulwat al-Ḥazīn fī Mawt al-Banīn,* a chess *maqāmah* entitled *Unmudhaj al-Qitāl fī Li'b al-Shatranj*, several treatises on the plague, and a chronicle of the reign of the sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, as well as an account of the revolt of the *julbān* (newly imported mamluks) against that sultan. The *Sukkardān al-Sulṭān* (Sugar-bowl of the sultan), dedicated to al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, is one of his most curious works, as it harps on the importance of the number seven to the history of Egypt.[36]

Abū Bakr Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī (767–837/1366–1434) was another who spread himself widely in his literary productions. He started out as a button-maker, but later became a minor chancery official in Syria and, like so many of his colleagues, he produced his chancery treatise (entitled *Qahwat al-inshā',* or Intoxication of the chancery). His major work, however, was his anthology of poetry and prose, the *Thamarāt al-Awrāq* (Fruits of the leaves). This wonderfully miscellaneous compilation included an account of a journey that the author made from Cairo to Damascus and another trip through Anatolia, the history of Hūlāgū in Baghdad, as well as all sorts of curious anecdotes about Umayyad, Abbasid, and Mamluk personalities. Another of his anthologies, the *Khizānat al-Adab* (The Ornate treasury), assembled the best-known poetry of his time. He wrote a treatise on *badī'*, which besides setting out the principles of this elaborately rhetorical form of poetry was also an anthology of contemporary *badī'* poetry. He wrote

[35]Umar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī: Amīr Shu'arā' al-Mashriq* (Cairo, 1963). See in this issue Thomas Bauer, ″Communication and Emotion: The Case of Ibn Nubātah′s *Kindertotenlieder,*″ and Everett Rowson, ″An Alexandrian Age in Fourteenth-Century Damascus: Twin Commentaries on Two Celebrated Arabic Epistles.″

[36]Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyá Ibn Abī Ḥajalah, *Kitāb Sukkardān al-Sulṭān* (Beirut, n.d.); Lois Anita Giffen, *Theory of Profane Love Among the Arabs* (New York, 1971), 38–41; Umberto Rizzitano, ″Il diwan as-sababa dello scrittore magrebino Ibn Abī Ḥajalah,″ *Rivista degli studi orientali* 28 (1953): 35–70; Michael Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977), 326–27; Weintritt, *Formen*, 192–200.

badī‘ poetry himself. He also collected jokes, and his decidedly miscellaneous writings include a *risālah* on the burning of Cairo by Barqūq in 791/1389, as well as poetry in praise of chess and horses.[37] Ibn Ḥijjah's friend, al-Nawājī, was unkind enough to write a study of his plagiarisms.

Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan Shams al-Dīn al-Nawājī (788–859/1386–1455) studied under al-Damīrī (on whom see below), taught hadith at a couple of madrasahs and had Sufi links, but he is best known for his anthology devoted to wine, *Ḥalbat al-Kumayt* (The Racecourse of the bay). *Kumayt* refers both to a dark bay horse and to a reddish brown wine, cups of which, in al-Nawājī's metaphor, circulated round the convivial table like race horses. Besides celebrating the joys of wine, al-Nawājī's anthology also devoted a lot of space to the ambient pleasures, such as gardens, furniture, flowers, candles, and lamps that went best with an amiable drinking session. Al-Nawājī's *Kitāb al-Ṣabūḥ* was devoted to the more specialized pleasure of drinking in the morning. Both works followed the conventions of an extensive earlier literature of *khamrīyah* (works devoted to wine), and it is unclear whether al-Nawājī's work reflected a genuine enthusiasm for alcohol or whether it was just another example of the literary antiquarianism that was so pervasive in the Mamluk period. The same question applies to his anthology devoted to beautiful boys, *Marāti‘ al-Ghazlān* (The Prairie of gazelles), which also included some of his own poems on the subject. Al-Nawājī also compiled the *‘Uqūd al-La'āl,* strings of pearls, a *muwashshaḥ* anthology, that drew heavily on Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk and al-Ṣafadī.[38]

Much of Mamluk poetry consists either of light-hearted verses d'occasion or of experiments with riddles, chronograms, and similarly artful and taxing devices. These sorts of productions have not survived well compared to the work of older poets—to, say, the more directly hedonistic poetry of an Abū Nuwās or to the warrior's rhetoric of an Abū Firās. It is hard to point to much that was distinctively original. Nevertheless, despite the general conservatism of Mamluk poetry (and the *badi‘,* or "original" poetry, was at least as conservative as anything else) there were some developments, including a growing readiness to experiment with folk genres, including the *muwashshaḥ,* the *zajal,* and the *mawwāl*. Andalusian influence was a factor here. Panegyrics were generally to the Prophet and to the ulama rather than to the Mamluk elite. Panegyrics to members of the Mamluk elite, while not unknown, were not so very common. However, Mamluk taste may lie

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[37]Clément Huart, *A History of Arabic Literature* (London, 1903), 324–25. See also Geert Jan van Gelder, "Poetry for Easy Listening: *Insijām* and Related Concepts in Ibn Ḥijjah's *Khizānat al-Adab*" in this issue.

[38]Geert Jan van Gelder, "A Muslim Encomium on Wine: *The Racecourse of the Bay (Ḥalbat al-Kumayt)* by al-Nawāǧī (d. 859/1455) as a Post-Classical Arabic Work," *Arabica* 42 (1995): 222–34.

behind the common choice of a Turkish boy rather than an Arab girl as the object of affection in the *ghazal,* or love poem.

Though the Mamluk era was an age of compilations and anthologies, it was hardly more so than the centuries that preceded it. It seems to have been a point of pride to write upon any and every topic. Short treatises were written on all manner of subjects; al-Ṣafadī wrote on tears, al-Maqrīzī wrote about bees, and al-Suyūṭī wrote on the legality of wearing the furs of squirrels that had been strangled, on jokes about Saladin´s governor Qarāqūsh, and much else besides. However, the most popular topics for longer compilations of prose and poetry continued to be love and wine-drinking, and the most pious figures had no hesitation in writing about profane love and partying. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, the Islamic rigorist and Sufi (on whom see below) compiled a treatise on love. So did ʻAlā' al-Dīn Abū ʻAbd Allāh Mughulṭāy ibn Qilīj al-Ḥanafī (ca. 690–762/ca. 1291–1361), who was a Hanafi professor and specialist in hadith, *nasab* (genealogy), and biography. His *Al-Wāḍiḥ al-Mubīn fī Dhikr Man Ustushhida min Muḥibbīn* (The Clear and eloquent in speaking of those lovers who became martyrs), as its title suggests, argued for the reliability of a hadith to the effect that those who die of love are martyrs on the path of God.[39] Al-Tīfāshī´s and al-Nawājī´s compilations which dealt with wine-drinking and its attendant pleasures have already been mentioned.

Much of that kind of material was also brought together by ʻAlā' al-Dīn ibn ʻAlī al-Ghuzūlī (d. 815/1412), a citizen of Damascus, in his *Maṭāliʻ al-Budūr fī Manāzil al-Surūr* (Risings of full moons regarding the pleasures of households). The *Maṭāliʻ* is a literary anthology on the pleasures of life. These pleasures including sex, candles, speaking birds, slave girls, chess, animals, cooling breezes, wine, and visits to Birkat al-Raṭlī (one of Cairo´s pleasure lakes). One chapter, ″Fī al-Ṣāḥib wa-al-Nadīm,″ dealt with what was expected of a friend in the way of elegant behavior and conversation. Such a friend was a latter-day *ẓarīf,* whose uniform included the *qalansuwah* (a pointed hat), *mandīl* (handkerchief), expensive green silken belt, and so on. The next chapter consists of a collection of tales suitable to be told by *nudamā'* in the evenings. The stories date from Abbasid times or even earlier.[40]

A number of important story-collections were put together in this period, of which the best known (after *Alf Laylah wa-Laylah,* that is) was *Al-Mustaṭraf fī Kull Fann Mustaẓraf,* compiled by the Egyptian Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ibshīhī (790–ca. 850/1388–ca. 1446). This was a vast anthology of prose and classical and folk poetry. The prose material included stories of the

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[39] *GAL,* 2:48; ibid., S2:47–48; Sallām, *Al-Adab,* 1:127; Giffen, *Theory of Profane Love,* 33–34, 80.
[40] ʻAlā' al-Dīn ibn ʻAlī al-Ghuzūlī, *Maṭāliʻ al-Budūr fī Manāzil al-Surūr,* 2 vols. (Cairo, 1882–83); *GAL,* 2:55; *GAL,* S2:55; Sallām, *Al-Adab,* 2:32–34.

Prophet and of Sufi saints, proverbs, animal fables, and entertaining stories. Many of the stories were of an improving nature and most of it fairly unsophisticated. Stories about simple saints and poor artisans carried a message that the reader should be patient with his lot and content with what God had decreed. However, some tales seem to have been included simply for the comic or erotic pleasure they afforded.[41]

By contrast with al-Ibshīhī's well-known collection, the *Fakihāt al-Khulafā' wa-Mafakihāt al-Ẓurafā'* of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʻArabshāh (791–854/1392–1450) has had little attention paid to it in recent centuries. The *Fakihāt,* in which animals tell entertaining and improving tales, was modeled on the Persian *Marzubān-nāmah* of al-Warāwīnī, and, like its prototype, it aimed at an exalted audience, for it was a work in the mirror-for-princes genre. It considerably expanded on its Persian original and included quite a lot of material concerning recent Mongol and Timurid history. Ibn ʻArabshāh modeled his style as well his content upon Persian exemplars and wrote in a torturous and metaphor-laden rhymed prose. Having spent his youth in Samarkand, he had travelled widely since then, and he wrote copiously in both Arabic and Turkish (but it is dispiriting to find how little attention has been paid to his literary oeuvre). Ibn ʻArabshāh's *Al-Ta'līf al-Ṭāhir* was both a royal biography and a mirror-for-princes, with the Sultan Jaqmaq as the model ruler that other princes should follow. Though it seems to have been written in the hope that the exemplary prince would release Ibn ʻArabshāh from prison in Cairo, in fact its author was released only a few days before his death. His better-known *ʻAjā'ib al-Maqdūr fī Nawā'ib Tīmūr,* a history of the career of the villainous Tīmūr, or Tamerlane, was written in Arabic, but again in the Persianate manner. Although it was a popular subject of study for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Orientalists, it seems to have had little or no influence on chroniclers of the Mamluk period, perhaps because of its rebarbative, ornate style, so different from the workaday prose of al-Maqrīzī or Ibn Taghrībirdī. Even so, it should be noted that Ibn Taghrībirdī was a fan of Ibn ʻArabshāh and got an *ijāzah* to teach his writings.[42]

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[41]Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ibshīhī, *Al-Mustaṭraf fī Kull Fann Mustaẓraf*, trans. Gustave Rat, 2 vols. (Paris and Toulon, 1899–1902); idem, *Les Poètes amoureux*, trans. René Khawam (Paris, 1999); Octave Houdas, "Al-Mostatraf," *Journal asiatique*, 9th ser., 15 (1900): 388–90; Timo Paajanen, *Scribal Treatment of the Literary and Vernacular Proverbs of al-Mustaṭraf in 15th–17th Century Manuscripts* (Helsinki, 1995).

[42]Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn ʻArabshāh, *ʻAjā'ib al-Maqdūr fī Nawā'ib Tīmūr,* ed. Aḥmad Fā'iz al-Ḥimṣī (Beirut, 1986); idem, *Fructus Imperatorum et Iocatio Ingeniosorum (Fākihat al-Khulafā' wa-Mufākihat al-Ẓurafā'),* ed. G. W. Freytag (Bonn, 1832); idem, *Tamerlane; or Timur the Great Amir,* trans. J. H. Sanders (London, 1936); Antoine Isaac Sylvestre de Sacy, "Liber Arabicus," *Journal des Savants* (1835): 602–12, 652–67; J. Pedersen, "Ibn ʻArabshah," *EI²,* 3:711–12; Robert Irwin, "What the Partridge Told the Eagle: A Neglected Source on Chinggis Khan and the Early

Ibn ʻArabshāh has suffered from being treated by modern scholars as merely a historian. But the same is true of Badr al-Dīn al-ʻAynī (762–855/1361–1451) and his collection of entertaining stories about various classes of people, the *Majmūʻ Mushtamil ʻalá Ḥikāyāt wa-Ghayrihā,* has received even less attention than the *Fakihāt.*[43] His current reputation is based primarily on his authorship of the chronicle *ʻIqd al-Jumān* (Necklace of pearls), which he used to read in Arabic to the sultan Barsbāy, and then explain in Turkish. Of more purely literary interest are his presentation chronicles, *Al-Sayf al-Muhannad fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad* and *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* addressed to the sultans al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh and al-Ẓāhir Tātār respectively, which have a belles-lettres quality, as they are not so much chronicles of the sultans′ achievements as panegyrics to the qualities of an ideal ruler. The two texts include disquisitions on cosmology, numerology, genealogy, and pre-Mamluk history, as well as advice of the mirror-for-princes type.[44] Much of al-ʻAynī′s prestige among his contemporaries rested neither upon his historical nor on his more literary productions, but on his commentary on al-Bukhārī′s hadith collection, *ʻUmdat al-Qārī.* The work of Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī (fl. 670s/1370s) has similarly hitherto only attracted the attention of historians. His *Kitāb al-Ilmām fīmā Jarat bihi al-Aḥkām al-Maqḍīyah fī Waqiʻat al-Iskandarīyah,* which has as its pretext an account of Peter of Cyprus′s attack on Alexandria in 767/1365, is nevertheless better considered as *adab,* since documentary reporting is crowded out by information about early Arab shipping, stories about Alexander and Aristotle, and other dubiously relevant material.[45]

Although al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī′s work may be cited as an instance of what may be called the ″literarization of history,″ it is questionable whether there was a single trend. Sayf al-Dīn Abū Bakr Ibn al-Dawādārī (d. 713/1313) inserted snippets of Turkish and Mongol folklore into his chronicles.[46] Ibn Iyās similarly

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History of the Mongols,″ in *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy,* ed. Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (Leiden, 1999), 5–11.

[43]Hellmut Ritter, ″Arabische Handschriften,″ *Oriens* 2 (1949): 285–87. On al-ʻAynī in general, see William Marcais, ″Al-ʻAynī,″ *EI*^{2}, 1: 790–91; Petry, *Civilian Elite,* 69–71; Anne F. Broadbridge, ″Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: al-ʻAynī, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī,″ *MSR* 3 (1999): 85–107.

[44]Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad Al-ʻAynī, *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Tātār*, ed. Hans Ernst (Cairo, 1962); idem, *Al-Sayf al-Muhannad fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad*, ed. Muḥammad Shaltūt (Cairo, 1967); Holt, ″Literary Offerings,″ 8–12; Weintritt, *Formen,* 185–92.

[45]Aziz Suriyal Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1938), 349–75; Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography,* 155, 458–59; Weintritt, *Formen*.

[46]Haarmann, *Quellenstudien,* esp. 159–98; idem, ″Auflösung und Bewahrung der klassischen Formen arabischer Geschichtsschreibung in der Zeit der Mamluken,″ *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 121 (1971): 46–60; Barbara Langner, *Untersuchungen zur*

enlivened his chronicle of sixteenth-century Egyptian affairs with stories of a folkloric nature. As has already been noted, some chroniclers used their histories as display books for examples of fine chancery prose. The Baʿalabakkī chronicler Qutb al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī (640–726/1242–1326) included a striking amount of poetry in what was formally an annals of Syrian history. In doing so, he was perhaps following the earlier example of Abū Shāmah, the Syrian chronicler of Ayyubid times. (But al-Yūnīnī's readiness to include satirical poetry and poetry which celebrated love and wine-drinking is curious given the chronicler's ascetic tendencies, his devotion to hadith studies and his admiration for the austere Ibn Taymīyah.[47]) Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṣaṣrā's late fourteenth-century chronicle of Damascus was peppered with fables, proverbs, and moralizing advice.[48] Nevertheless, there were limits to the literarization of history writing, and most chronicles of the Mamluk period were rather uninterpretative, pedestrian chronicles of public affairs whose authors do not seem to have dreamt of emulating such earlier stylish writers of history as al-Masʿūdī or Miskawayh.

Like the chronicle, the bestiary could also serve as a pretext for the kind of erudition befitting an *adīb*. For example the *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* (Lives of beasts) by Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Mūsá al-Damīrī (745–808/1344–1405) more closely resembles al-Jāḥiẓ's classic *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* than it does a work of scientific zoology, as al-Damīrī repeatedly digressed into literature and folklore and, for some reason, he chose to add the caliphs to his collection of beasts. However, he was more systematic than al-Jāḥiẓ in that he dealt with his creatures in alphabetical order. Al-Damīrī, who ended up as a *faqīh* in Cairo, had started off as a tailor and his career, like that of al-Nawājī, who also started as a tailor, indicates that the life of an alim was a career open to all the talents.[49] The earlier bestiary *Kitāb Manāfiʿ al-Ḥayawān* (Usefulness of beasts) of Tāj al-Dīn ʿAlī Ibn Durrayhim (712–62/1312–66) is not so very scientific either, but in Ibn Durrayhim's

historischen Volkskunde Ägyptens nach mamlukischen Quellen (Berlin, 1983), esp. 9–12, 127–30; Weintritt, *Formen;* Bernd Radtke, *Weltgeschichte und Weltbeschreibung im mittelalterlichen Islam* (Stuttgart, 1992); idem "Zur 'Literarisierten Volkschronik' der Mamlukenzeit," *Saeculum: Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte* 41 (1990): 44–52; Li Guo, "Mamluk Historiographic Studies: The State of the Art," *MSR* 1 (1997): 33–37.

[47]Li Guo, *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography: Al-Yūnīnī's Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān,* 2 vols. (Leiden, 1998), 1, esp. 87–94.

[48]Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *A Chronicle of Damascus, 1389–1397,* ed. William M. Brinner, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1963).

[49]József Somogyi, "Ad-Damīrī Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawānja," in *Semitic Studies in Memory of Immanuel Löw*, ed. Alexander Scheiber (Budapest, 1947), 123–30; Manfred Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam* (Leiden/Cologne, 1972), 39–40.

case, discussion of the flora and fauna was skewed by the author′s interest in the occult and healing properties of things. Ibn Durrayhim, an immigrant from Mosul who became a professor at the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, wrote on a range of occult and related subjects, including code-breaking, dream interpretation, magic mirrors, and physiognomy.[50]

Al-Ṣafadī took an interest in various occult subjects. The Egyptian chroniclers al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Iyās had a strong interest in the legendary history of ancient Egypt with its tales of talismans, treasures, and lost esoteric knowledge. But, in general, this was not a great age for occultism. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah and Ibn al-Ḥājj (on both of whom, see below) denounced the pursuit of such studies. Al-Suyūṭī declared that all of the *ʻulūm al-awāʼil*, or ancient sciences, were forbidden by God. (These included not just the occult arts, but also logic.) From the thirteenth century onwards, learned magic, which drew on Greek and other non-Arab traditions, was giving way to a pietist Sufi magic that depended on invocations of the names of God, magic squares, manipulations of the mysterious letters at the heads of certain surahs of the Quran and similar procedures. In the early thirteenth century Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Būnī had been the leading proponent of this kind of magic. Thereafter, Shādhilī Sufis disseminated it.[51] It is true that there were still some interesting representatives of the older tradition of Islamic occultism, including Abū al-Qāsim al-ʻIrāqī, the author of the thirteenth-century magical compendium *ʻUyūn al-Ḥaqāʼiq* (Wellsprings of truth), and ʻIzz al-Dīn Aydamur ibn ʻAlī al-Jildakī (d. ca.743/1342), the author of several alchemical treatises. However, though they were impressively learned, this knowledge was marginal to the concerns of the scholarly and literary elite, and such figures were rarely, if ever, accorded the dignity of an entry in a biographical dictionary.[52]

The boundaries between high and low culture were fluid—so much so that it hardly makes sense to speak of boundaries at all. Many writers took pride in demonstrating their command of both *fuṣḥá* and colloquial Arabic. Piety and pornography were not mutually exclusive, and members of the elite in the Mamluk period imitated their Abbasid and Buyid predecessors in taking a curious interest

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[50]Clifford Edmund Bosworth, ″The Section on Codes and Their Decipherment in Qalqashandī′s *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshā*,″ *Journal of Semitic Studies* 8 (1963): 17–33; Ullmann, *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften,* 38–39.

[51]Armand Abel, ″La Place des sciences occultes dans la decadence,″ in *Classicisme et déclin culturel dans l′histoire de l′Islam,* ed. Gustav von Grunebaum and Robert Brunschvig (Paris, 1957), 291–311.

[52]On Abū al-Qāsim al-ʻIrāqī, see Eric Holmyard, ″Abū'l-Qāsim al-ʻIrāqī,″ *Isis* 8 (1926): 403–26; Ullmann, *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften,* 125, 237, 391, 412. On Jildakī, see Eric Holmyard, ″Aidamur al-Jildakī,″ *Iran* 4 (1937): 47–53; Ullmann, *Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften,* 237–42, 413–14; Henri Corbin, *L′Alchimie comme art hiératique* (Paris, 1986).

in the manners, customs, and argot of the Banū Sāsān and other disreputable types. In these respects, the career and writings of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Dāniyāl (ca. 646–709/1248–1310) are instructive. Ibn Dāniyāl, who came from Mosul and who made a living as an oculist, with a shop just inside Cairo′s Bāb al-Futūḥ, had distinguished friends. They included the historian Ibn al-Dawādārī, Muḥammad ibn Jankalī al-Bābā (the cultured son of a *wafidī* amir, who was an expert on medicine, hadith, music, and grammar), and, above all, Qalāwūn′s son, Khalīl (later to rule as al-Ashrāf Khalīl). Ibn Dāniyāl wrote a long medical poem, several verse panegyrics on Mamluk amirs, *qaṣīdah*s and *muwashshaḥ*s, and a perfectly respectable and respected verse history of the judges of Egypt. But he also produced scripts for three shadow plays that deal with characters who live in or on the edges of the social underworld. *Ṭayf al-Khayāl* (Shadow of the imagination) is about the quest for marriage of a disreputable old soldier. *'Ajīb wa-Gharīb* presents a parade of members of the Banū Sāsān and similar folk, each of whom in turn describes their precarious and disreputable modes of making a living. *Al-Mutayyam wa-al-Ḍā'ī' al-Yutayyim* (The Love-stricken one and the lost orphan) is about a homosexual passion, pursued while watching a series of fights between beasts. The plays celebrate most of the vices of the age, and their concluding scenes of repentance are perfunctory. The plays all have a strong pornographic content and make extensive use of low-life slang. (Ibn Dāniyāl also wrote several poems with a similar content, dealing with wine, hashish, and acting.) Even so, Ibn Dāniyāl′s audience did not necessarily consist entirely or even primarily of the low-lifers who frequented taverns in the more disreputable parts of Cairo. The plays, though perfunctorily plotted, show considerable sophistication in the use of language and literary allusion and it is clear that Ibn Dāniyāl considered himself to be writing in the tradition of the *maqāmah*s. There are several explicit references in the plays to al-Ḥarīrī′s work. Certainly Ibn Dāniyāl was read and cited by al-Ṣafadī, Ibn Ḥajar, al-Suyūṭī, and Ibn Iyās, among others. Al-Ṣafadī was probably his greatest fan.[53]

Ibn Dāniyāl′s plays were composed at the request of 'Alī ibn Mawlāhum al-Khayālī, a presenter of shadow plays in Cairo who was possibly the brother of

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[53]Muḥammad Ibn Dāniyāl, *Three Shadow Plays*, ed. Paul Kahle, Derek Hopwood, and Muṣṭafá Badawī (Cambridge, 1992); Haarmann, ″Arabic in Speech,″ 109–110; Shmuel Moreh, *Live Theatre and Dramatic Literature in the Medieval Arab World* (Edinburgh, 1992); Everett Rowson, ″Two Homoerotic Narratives from Mamluk Literature: al-Safadi′s *Law'at al-shaki* and Ibn Daniyal′s *al-Mutayyam,*″ in *Homoeroticism in Classical Arabic Literature*, ed. J. W. Wright, Jr., and Everett K. Rowson (New York, 1997), 172–84; Li Guo, ″Paradise Lost: Ibn Dāniyāl′s Response to Baybars′s Campaign against Vice in Cairo,″ *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 121 (2001): 219–35. See also the articles by Li Guo and Amila Buturović in this issue of *MSR*.

Muḥammad ibn Mawlāhum al-Khayālī, the author of two *maqāmah*s on tradesmen.[54] An Ibn Mawlāhum, as well as Ibn Dāniyāl and the disreputable twelfth-century Spanish poet Ibn Quzmān, is saluted as an esteemed predecessor by ʿAlī al-Baghdādī in the preface to his *Kitāb al-Zahr al-Anīq fī Lubūs wa-al-Taʿnīq* (The Book of delicate flowers regarding the kiss and the embrace). ʿAlī al-Baghdādī's collection of bawdy tales about wily women was written perhaps in the 1350s. Although the tales are mostly of considerable antiquity (and some have their analogues in *The Thousand and One Nights*), they are presented as having happened to real, named and often identifiable figures in the early Mamluk period.[55]

Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), a member of the *awlād al-nās* who worked as a government official, wrote in broadly the same tradition as Ibn Dāniyāl. Among much else, al-Ṣafadī wrote *Lawʿat al-Shākī* (Plaint of the lovelorn), a languorous and elaborate commemoration in rhymed prose and poetry of the narrator's love for a Turkish horse-archer. Al-Ṣafadī also compiled a homoerotic anthology on beautiful boys, a treatise on the *khāl,* or beauty spot, and a *maqāmah* on wine. However, he spread himself even more widely than his admired predecessor, Ibn Dāniyāl. He also produced a series of eminently respectable biographical dictionaries. *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt* (The Abundant book on dates of death) is a comprehensive biographical dictionary of Muslim personalities, whereas *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr* (Leading figures of the age) was restricted to contemporaries. Al-Ṣafadī's fame and usefulness as a biographer has tended to eclipse awareness of his writings in other areas. Apart from composing and compiling works of belles-lettres and erotica, he also wrote about alchemy and *malāḥim* (apocalyptic prophecies).[56]

Although it is not possible to cover in this short survey all those writers who devoted themselves to writing bawdy and entertaining pieces, nevertheless no survey of Mamluk literature would be complete without reference to ʿAlī ibn Sūdūn al-Bashbughāwī (ca. 810–68/ca. 1407–64). The son of a Circassian mamluk, Ibn Sūdūn was educated at the Shaykhūnīyah madrasah, but failed to establish himself as a successful alim and after serving as a poorly-paid imam at several mosques, he set about pursuing an alternative career as a satirical poet and buffoon. He acquired notoriety as a hashish addict and after he was expelled from Cairo, he moved to Damascus where he worked as a copyist, but supplemented that income by occasional poems and other literary exercises, including poetry readings and quasi-dramatic performances beneath the Damascus citadel. His collected work

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[54]Moreh, *Live Theatre,* 109.

[55]Robert Irwin, "ʿAlī al-Baghdādī and the Joy of Mamluk Sex," in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800),* ed. Hugh Kennedy (Leiden, 2001), 45–57.

[56]Franz Rosenthal, "Al-Ṣafadī," *EI²,* 8:759–60; Donald P. Little, "Al-Ṣafadī as Biographer of his Contemporaries," in *Essays on Islamic Civilization: Presented to Niyazi Berkes,* ed. Donald P. Little (Leiden, 1976), 190–211; Rowson, "Two Homoerotic Narratives," 161–72.

the *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-Muḍḥik al-ʿAbūs* (The Diversion of souls and the gloomy person′s jester) is in two parts. The first part contains serious panegyrics and love poetry, followed by some humorous material. The second part includes comic *qaṣīdah*s, trumped-up stories, some (silly) *muwashshaḥ*s, other popular verse forms, and brief accounts of wondrous curiosities and strange novelties. According to al-Sakhāwī, Ibn Sūdūn′s poetry was popular with the *ẓurafā'*, who fought to get hold of copies of it.[57]

A great deal of literature of a broadly popular nature was produced in the Mamluk period that was devoted to such matters as heterosexual and homosexual love, jokes, the wiles of women, hashish-taking, and the jargon of (legal and illegal) crafts and trades. So far this vast body of literature by Muḥammad al-Bilbaysī, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Ḥawrānī, Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Badrī, and others has hardly been explored.[58] Whatever the literary merits of such materials, they are certainly of historical interest. Besides literary entertainments by named authors, the Mamluk age was pre-eminently a period in which anonymous epics and story collections were compiled, elaborated, and expanded. The oldest substantially surviving manuscript of *Alf Laylah wa-Laylah* (The Thousand and one nights) dates from the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and some of the stories contained in it reflect, in however fanciful a manner, the social and economic realities of life under the Mamluk sultans. The lengthy pseudo-historical epics, however, seem to have been more popular. Of these the most famous was the *Sīrat ʿAntar,* which was put together sometime between 1080 and 1400. It was the favorite stock-in-trade of street-corner story-tellers. Despite this epic′s notional setting in pre-Islamic Arabia, some of its episodes are based on the Muslims′ encounters with the Byzantines and Crusaders. Similarly the *Sīrat Sayf ibn Dhī Yazan,* though set in the Yemen in a fanciful version of the sixth century A.D., shows clear signs of having been composed in Egypt much later. This saga, like so many of its rivals, has an episodic plot, or rather a straggling series of plots. Its chief merit lies in its wild and colorfully inventive deployment of vivid imagery of a magical realist sort—including Snatcher the Jinn who has smoke instead of blood in his veins, the glass bed, and the woman who has been jointly impregnated by a wolf, smoke, and her husband.[59] The *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir,* devoted to the legendary exploits of the

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[57]Moreh, *Live Theatre,* index, s.v. ″Ibn Sudun″; Arnoud Vrolijk, *Bringing a Laugh to a Scowling Face: A Study and Critical Edition of ″Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-Muḍḥik al-ʿAbūs″ by ʿAlī ibn Sūdūn al-Bašbuġāwī* (Leiden, 1998).

[58]See, however, Bosworth, *Mediaeval Islamic Underworld;* Franz Rosenthal, *The Herb: Hashish versus Medieval Muslim Society* (Leiden, 1971); idem, *Gambling in Islam* (Leiden, 1975); Robert Irwin, *The Arabian Nights: A Companion* (Harmondsworth, 1994).

[59]*The Adventures of ʿAntar*, trans. H. T. Norris (Warminster, 1980); *The Adventures of Sayf Ben Dhi Yazan: An Arab Folk Epic*, trans. Lena Jayussi (Bloomington, Ind., 1995); Rudi Paret, *Sīrat*

Mamluk sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars, has a similar lack of narrative sophistication that is only partially compensated for by its madly inventive energy. It is not clear how much of this epic was in existence in the Mamluk period.[60] (The oldest surviving manuscript is sixteenth century and the existing versions are full of Ottoman terminology, as well as mockery of the stupidity and thuggishness of Ottoman Turks.) One of the curious features of the story is the hostility shown to the amir (later sultan) Qalāwūn. Equally curious is the co-option of the Ismaili Assassins to be Baybars′ allies in his struggle against Franks, Mongols, sorcerers, and corrupt amirs. The relationship of the story of this epic to real historical events was very slight.[61] Nevertheless, as Franz Rosenthal has observed, it ″was through these novels that history filtered deep down into the hearts of the people.″[62]

The fantasies purveyed in these popular anonymous *sīrah*s was not so very different from the romances dealing with the origins of Islam, the exploits of ʻAlī, and the early Islamic conquests that were attributed to a certain Abū Ḥasan Aḥmad al-Bakrī al-Wāʻiẓ. It seems likely, however, that attribution to ″al-Bakrī″ denoted a literary genre, rather than the real authorship of an actual individual.[63] Whatever the truth of the matter, al-Dhahabī and al-Qalqashandī denounced the lies found in this sort of material. The popular romances suffered the opprobrium of the intelligentsia. Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, writing on the various offices and trades in the Mamluk lands, advised the *nāsikh* (copyist) not to copy ″those deceptive books . . . by which God does not offer any useful thing, such as *Sīrat ʻAntar* and the books by the *ahl al-mujūn* (the pornographers).″[64] Similarly Ibn al-Ḥājj, in his treatise against unacceptable innovations, inveighed against booksellers who traded in the stories of romantic heroes and most notably in the story of ʻAntar.[65] To those who thought like Ibn al-Ḥājj, it was reprehensible to trade in any books that sought merely to amuse. In this period, the literature of vulgar entertainment and

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Saif Ibn Dhī Jazan (Hannover, 1924); Peter Heath, ″A Critical Review of Modern Scholarship on *Sīrat ʻAntar ibn Shaddād* and the popular *sīra*,″ *Journal of Arabic Literature* 15 (1984): 19–44; M. C. Lyons, *The Arabian Epic,* 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1995).

[60]See in this issue Thomas Herzog, ″The First Layer of the Sīrat Baybars: Popular Romance and Political Propaganda.″

[61]M. C. Lyons, ″The Sirat of Baybars″, in *Orientalia Hispanica: Sive Studia F. M. Pareja Octogenario dictata* (Leiden, 1974), 1: 490–503; idem, *Arabian Epic.*

[62]Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography,* 186.

[63]Rudi Paret, *Die Legendäre Maghāzi-Literatur* (Tübingen, 1930), 155–58; Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography,* 169–70.

[64]Tāj al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Wahhāb ibn ʻAlī al-Subkī, *Kitāb Muʻīd al-Niʻam wa-Mubīd al-Niqam,* ed. David Myhrman (London, 1908), 51/186.

[65]Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥājj al-ʻAbdarī, *Kitāb al-Madkhal ilá Tanmiyat al-Aʻmāl bi-Taḥsīn al-Niyāt* (Cairo, 1320/ 1902–3), 3:131.

delight competed with its opposite, a literature of piety and rigorism (and there were even a few authors who tried their hands at writing both types of literature).

Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Taymīyah (661–728/1263–1328) was the leading figure in the religious campaign against unacceptable innovations in religious and social practices. He issued fatwas and wrote to denounce a wide range of deviations from pure Islam, many of them of folkloric or Sufi origin. His attacks on Sufi deviations into heterodoxy (for example his assault on what he perceived to be the thirteenth-century Andalusian Sufi Ibn ʻArabī′s monism) were particularly controversial, and many of the Mamluk elite supported Ibn Taymīyah′s pro-Sufi opponents. However, Ibn Taymīyah was not a root-and-branch enemy of Sufism. Like his chief disciple, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, he was a Qādirī Sufi himself. Moreover, in engaging in polemical controversy with the other members of the religious elite and their Mamluk patrons, he offered at least one hostage to fortune, as his extreme version of Hanbalism allowed his enemies to accuse him of the heresy of anthropomorphism regarding the attributes of God. Despite occasional clashes with the Mamluk regime, he was in general a political quietist. ″To demand ideal qualifications in a ruler is a sin against God″ was one of his observations. He enjoyed a great following not just among the masses (who were ready to riot on his behalf), but also among prominent members of the Mamluk elite, including Kitbughā al-Manṣūrī and Arghūn al-Nāṣirī. Even al-Ṣafadī seems to have been an admirer of Ibn Taymīyah.[66]

Ibn Taymīyah′s disciple Shams al-Dīn Abū ʻAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah (691–751/1292–1350) was a prolific writer on the Quran, the shariʻah, and other spiritual matters. In particular, he wrote verse and prose to popularize Hanbali mysticism, and he denounced the occult sciences at length. His *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn* (Garden of the lovers) is a fairly conventional treatise on profane love, only with a more spiritual slant than is common in the genre. His treatise on *furūsīyah,* though it assembles a number of religious precepts on the subject, would have been of no practical use whatsoever to a mamluk horseman.[67] Ibn

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[66]The literature on Ibn Taymīyah is vast. See especially Henri Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines socials et politiques de Takī-d-Din Ahmad b. Taimīya* (Cairo, 1930); Muhammad Umar Memon, *Ibn Taimīya′s Struggle Against Popular Religion: with an Annotated Translation of His Kitāb Iqtiḍā' aṣ-Ṣirāṭ al-Mustaquīm* (The Hague, 1976); Donald P. Little, ″Did Ibn Taymiyya Have a Screw Loose?″ *Studia Islamica* 41 (1975): 93–111; idem, ″The Historical and Historiographical Significance of the Detention of Ibn Taymiyya,″ *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 4 (1973): 311–27; Alexander D. Knysh, *Ibn ʻArabī in the Later Islamic Tradition: The Making of a Polemical Image in Medieval Islam* (Albany, 1999), 87–111.

[67]Henri Laoust, ″Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya,″ *EI*[2], 3:821–22; Joseph N. Bell, *Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam* (Albany, 1979); Giffen, *Theory of Profane Love,* 34–38; John W. Livingston, ″Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya: A Fourteenth Century Defence against Astrological Divination and Alchemical Transmutation,″ *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 91 (1971): 96–103; Hilary

Qayyim al-Jawzīyah was based in Egypt, but Ibn Taymīyah was also quite widely admired and supported by what has been called the "codex-swapping crowd" in Syria. Most fourteenth-century historians and compilers of biographical dictionaries in Syria, including al-Jazarī, al-Birzālī, al-Yūnīnī, and al-Dhahabī seem to have supported Ibn Taymīyah in his struggles with the authorities, even though by no means all of them were Hanbalis. Ibn Kathīr, who died in 774/1373, was the last important representative of this tradition. Generalizing rather broadly, this group of scholars conceived of history as the handmaiden of hadith studies.[68]

Egyptian chronicles tended to be somewhat more secular and court-centered in their orientation. However, plenty of treatises calling for a stricter observance of Islam were produced in Mamluk Cairo. The best known of such works was the *Madkhal,* a treatise on *bida‘* by the Maliki jurist Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥājj al-‘Abdarī (d. 737/1336). The *Madkhal*'s detailed evocation of hedonistic pursuits, albeit couched in the negative (silk carpets not to be displayed, pleasure gardens not to be visited, picnics not go to on and so forth), makes it an invaluable source on social history. Ibn al-Ḥājj denounced the corrupt practices of the Cairenes with all the vigor of an immigrant from the freshly purified Maghrib. However, his main target seems to have been the pleasures of the lower classes; the mamluks on the whole escaped criticism.[69] Idrīs ibn Baydakīn al-Turkumānī also produced a treatise, the *Kitāb al-Luma‘ fī al-Ḥawādith wa-al-Bida‘,* sometime in the fourteenth century, which took a similarly dour view of popular pleasures and local superstitions. Some of al-Turkumānī's targets were conventional, but others were unusual, even eccentric, such as his diatribes against crossbowmen.[70] In the *Madkhal*, Ibn al-Ḥājj had stressed on the importance of *nīyah,* or good intention, and this theme was taken up by Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (728–77/1327–69 or 70) in his *Kitāb Mu‘īd al-Ni‘am wa-Mubīd al-Niqam* (The Restorer of favors and the restrainer of chastisements), which is devoted to good intention in the various

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Kilpatrick, "Some Late Abbasid and Mamluk Books about Women: A Literary Historical Approach," *Arabica* 42 (1995): 56–78.

[68]On Syrian historiography, see Little "The Historical and Historiographical Significance"; Guo, *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography,* esp. 1:60–96; idem, "Mamluk Historiographic Studies," 37–39.

[69]Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal;* Langner, *Untersuchungen,* Verfasserindex, s.v. "Ibn al-Ḥaǧǧ"; Huda Lutfi, "Manners and Customs of Fourteenth-Century Cairene Women: Female Anarchy versus Male Shar‘i Order in Muslim Prescriptive Treatises," in *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender*, ed. Nikki R. Keddie and Beth Baron (New Haven and London, 1991), 99–121. Since, in the *Madkhal*, Ibn al-Ḥājj denounced alchemy as a Sufi *bid‘ah,* the attribution of such occult works as the *Shumūs al-Anwār* to him must surely be incorrect.

[70]Idrīs ibn Baydakīn al-Turkumānī, *Kitāb al-Luma‘ fī al-Ḥawādīth wa-al-Bida‘,* ed. Ṣubḥī Labīb (Cairo, 1986); Ṣubḥī Labīb, "The Problem of *Bida‘* in the Light of an Arabic Manuscript of the 14th Century," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 7 (1964): 191–96. (But Labīb misidentifies crossbowmen as musketeers.)

ranks, offices, and crafts in Mamluk Egypt. "Be as the corpse in the hands of the washer" was the book's quietist, Sufi burden.

A considerable quantity of edifying uncontroversial Sufi literature was produced in this period, mostly in the form of poems, sermons, or short biographies of Sufi holy men. Ibn Abī Ḥajalah wrote Sufi poetry. ʻAbd Allāh ibn Asad al-Yāfiʻī (ca. 700–ca. 768/1299–1367) compiled *Rawḍ al-Riyāḥīn fī Ḥikāyāt al-Ṣāliḥīn,* which contained the biographies of over five hundred Sufis. His collection was later drawn upon by al-Ibshīhī and by the anonymous continuators of the *Arabian Nights.* The Shādhilī Sufi Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn ʻAṭā Allāh (d. 709/1309) produced collections of spiritual aphorisms and sermons. Both al-Yāfiʻī and Ibn ʻAṭā Allāh were implacable opponents of Ibn Taymīyah.[71] However, the most heated debates throughout the whole Mamluk period concerned the disputed orthodoxy of two Sufis of the pre-Mamluk period, Sharaf a-Dīn ʻUmar Ibn al-Fāriḍ (576–632/1181–1235) and Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʻArabī (560–638/1165–1240). Fierce debates raged about the meaning of their poetic output and about whether it was legitimate to use apparently blasphemous metaphors in order to express holy things. Ibn al-ʻArabī and Ibn al-Fāriḍ avoided official condemnation, and Ibn al-Fāriḍ's verses in the *badī*ʻ manner were widely imitated by poets of the Mamluk age.[72] Even so, al-Dhahabī declared that Ibn al-Fāriḍ's writings were "pastry laced with venom." Other distinguished hostile critics included Ibn Abī Ḥajalah, Ibn Khaldūn, and Ibn Ḥajar.

A student of Ibn Ḥajar's, Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Biqāʻī ibn ʻUmar (ca. 809–85/ca. 1407–80) was perhaps the most interesting and certainly the most venomous of the critics of the two famous Sufi poets. Al-Biqāʻī can be considered as a writer as man of action, since he participated in Mamluk raids against Cyprus and Rhodes. He was a stylish and embittered author who wrote on a great range of subjects, including hadith, history, biography, famous lovers, and mathematics. Given the Mamluk court's tendency to look kindly on Sufism, his onslaught on monism and other alleged Sufi excesses was doomed, and he died in disgrace in Damascus. Since no one else was likely to, he had written his own eulogy.[73]

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[71]On Sufism in the Mamluk period, see Annemarie Schimmel, "Sufismus and Heiligeverehrung im spätmittelalterlichen Ägypten," in *Festschrift Werner Caskel zum siebzigsten Geburtstag 5. März 1966 gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern,* ed. Erwin Graf (Leiden, 1968), 274–89; Donald P. Little, "Religion under the Mamluks," *The Muslim World* 73 (1983): 165–81; Leonor E. Fernandes, *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt: The Khanqah* (Berlin, 1988).

[72]Th. Emil Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, His Verse, and His Shrine* (Columbia, S.C., 1994), 55–75; Knysh, *Ibn ʻArabī,* 49–140, 201–23; Michael Winter, *Society and Religion in Early Ottoman Egypt* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1982), 160–65.

[73]Giffen, *Theory of Profane Love,* 41–42; Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint,* 62–75; Knysh, *Ibn ʻArabī*, 209–23; Li Guo, "Al-Biqāʻī's Chronicle: A Fifteenth Century Learned Man's Reflection on His Time and World," in Kennedy, *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt,* 121–48.

Although al-Biqāʻī was unusual in the range and quality of the enemies he accumulated, the ninth/fifteenth century was a great age for *odium theologicum* and scholarly rancor. Ibn Ḥajar and al-Maqrīzī hated al-ʻAynī, a sentiment that was reciprocated. Al-Maqrīzī and al-Sakhāwī attacked Ibn Taghrībirdī. Al-Suyūṭī and al-Sakhāwī feuded.[74] The intensity of these and other feuds reflected the intensity of the competition for patronage. Writers of ability, or, if not actual ability, at least ambition, flooded into Cairo from Syria, Upper Egypt, Iraq, Anatolia, and North Africa. Many of the leading (and feuding) intellectuals of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century are esteemed today as compilers of useful chronicles and biographical dictionaries. It is certainly true that history writing had a more central role in the literary culture of this period than it had, say, under the Abbasids or the Ayyubids. Even so, few of those who compiled the useful chronologies and obituaries were merely chroniclers of their times and, in some cases, their main interest lay elsewhere. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī (773–852/1372–1449) was the leading intellectual figure of the fifteenth century. He had started out on his literary career as an *adīb* and poet. His *Dīwān* starts with panegyrics of the Prophet, then of rulers and other members of the elite, followed by love poems, followed by verses on miscellaneous themes, and finally *muwashshaḥ*s. Horribly industrious, he wrote some 250 books. He is known today chiefly for his biographical dictionary of fifteenth-century people, the *Durar al-Kāminah,* and his much-read chronicle *Inbāʼ al-Ghumr* (Informing the uninstructed). But in his own time, the reputation of Ibn Ḥajar rested on his expertise in hadith studies and on the many distinguished students he had taught in this field, including al-Sakhāwī, al-Biqāʻī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Qalqashandī, and al-Nawājī.[75]

Ibn Ḥajar, while a political quietist, was anti-Turkish and hostile to those who, like al-ʻAynī, identified themselves too closely with the interests of the Mamluk regime. The same was true of Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Maqrīzī (766–845/1364–1442). It is clear that al-Maqrīzī's main interest was history, though he wrote more widely than that, including works on various occult and cosmological matters, Arab tribes, the Sudan, lives of the artists, and, of course, like almost every writer of the Mamluk period, he fancied himself as a poet. His masterpiece, the *Kitāb al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (The Book of warning and taking example from places and ruins) is a survey of Cairo and Egypt more generally, in which topography serves as the pretext for literary nostalgia and lamentations about the corruption of the age the author lived in.[76] Al-Maqrīzī's

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[74]On some of these feuds, see Broadbridge, "Academic Rivalry."

[75]Franz Rosenthal, "Ibn Ḥadjar," *EI*², 3:776–78; Aḥmad Āftāb Raḥmānī, "The Life and Works of Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī," *Islamic Culture* 45 (1971): 203–12.

[76]The literature on al-Maqrīzī is vast, but see, for a general orientation, Franz Rosenthal, "Al-Maḳrīzī," *EI*², 6:193–94 and, on one aspect of al-Maqrīzī's literary output, Aḥmad al-Ghawaby,

rival Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī (ca. 812–74/ca. 1409 or 1410–69) was similarly primarily a historian, but he also wrote a treatise on the errors that Arabs and Persians make with Turkish names, a collection of proverbs, a treatise on music, and, of course, poetry.[77] Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās (852–ca. 930/1448–ca. 1524), besides writing a well-known chronicle, the *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr,* was a prolific poet.

Ibn Iyās had studied with al-Suyūṭī, but, true to the rancorous age he lived in, he did not think much of him. The latter has already been referred to several times above. This is hardly surprising, for Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (849–911/1445–1505) was one of the last Muslim scholars who aimed to cover everything. His autobiography *Al-Taḥadduth bi-Ni'mat Allāh* (Speaking of God's bounty), despite its moralistic exordium, which offered the work as thanks to God and the life as an example for others to emulate, was a sustained piece of boasting riding on an academic's *curriculum vitae*. In the *Taḥadduth*, al-Suyūṭī listed 283 of his works. Al-Sakhāwī accused him of being too bookish. Certainly al-Suyūṭī's scholarship was of a backward-looking nature, and most of the books he boasted of having read were written at the beginning of the Mamluk period or even earlier. If modern scholars have regarded the Mamluk age as one of intellectual and literary decline, it is worth bearing in mind that this view was widely shared in the Mamluk age itself. Al-Suyūṭī deplored what he perceived to be an unprecedented dearth of scholarship and concomitant spread of ignorance throughout the Mamluk lands. Despite his faith in himself as a *mujaddid,* or renewer of the religious sciences, al-Suyūṭī shared al-Maqrīzī's gloom about the future. Fires and earthquakes were omens of further troubles to come and, although he loved Egypt, he predicted the land's ruin.[78]

In the Indian summer of the Mamluk sultanate, a number of literary salons flourished under the presidency of members of the Mamluk court. One such was established by Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Jaqmaq (847/1444), the son of the Sultan al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq and the heir apparent to the Mamluk sultanate. According to Ibn Taghrībirdī, the main source here, the prince was learned in history, rare anecdotes, and Turkish and Arab poetry. He was also fond of the Sufi practice of *samā'* (and this passion for music and song may have been part of a youthful revolt against his learned but austere father, who certainly disapproved of that sort

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"Al-Maqrīzī as a Poet," *Minbar al-Islām* 2 (1962): 28–30.

[77]Gaston Wiet, "L'Historien Abul Maḥāsin," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 12 (1930): 89–105; Aḥmad Darrāj, "La vie d'Abū'l-Maḥāsin et son oeuvre," *Annales Islamologiques* 11 (1972): 163–81; William Popper, "Abū al-Maḥāsin Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Yūsuf ibn Taghrībirdī," *EI^2,* 1:138.

[78]There is an extensive literature on al-Suyūṭī. See in particular Elizabeth Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī,* 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1975); Jean-Claude Garcin, "Histoire, opposition politique et piétisme traditionaliste dans le Ḥusn al Muḥādarat de Suyûti," *Annales Islamologiques* 7 (1967): 33–91.

of thing). The prince seems to have held soirees almost every evening, for Ibn Ḥajar attended regularly two evenings a week, while one of his enemies also attended two nights a week, but on different nights. The prince was the patron of both Ibn Ḥajar's *Inbā' al-Ghumr* and Ibn Taghrībirdī's *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah.* According to Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad "almost flew for joy" when he heard that Ibn Taghrībirdī had commenced work on his chronicle.[79] Alas for Ibn Taghrībirdī's hopes, the prince died of a diet that involved drinking vinegar on an empty stomach.

Although we have no detailed account of the way in which Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad's salon conducted its affairs, at the very end of the Mamluk period the sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī presided over one of the grandest and best-recorded salons. The sultan has already been mentioned as a poet in Turkish and Arabic. He also boasted of fluency in several other languages, and he commissioned the translation by Sharīf Ḥusayn ibn Ḥasan of Firdawsī's *Shāhnāmah* into Ottoman Turkish.[80] According to Sharīf's preface to the *Shāhnāmah,* al-Ghūrī knew Persian well, but he wanted to make the great work accessible to his amirs. He also presided over regular soirees, of which records were kept and placed in the royal library. The subjects that came up in the sultan's soirees ranged over history, geography, mythology, current affairs, and jest, but most commonly the topics bore upon religion. How can Ramadan be observed in the Arctic Circle? When and in what circumstances has the hajj ever been suspended? Is there anything in the hadith to license the playing of chess? The soirees were recorded in two sources: the *Nafā'is al-Majālis al-Sulṭānīyah* by Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad called Sharīf, covering a few months in 910/1505, and the *Kawkab al-Durrī fī Masā'il al-Ghūrī,* set in 915/1513–14, of which the first half is missing. Despite the participation of leading Egyptian Arab ulama in these sessions, one thing that emerges is the Turco-Persianate formation of court culture, and there are many references to Maḥmūd of Ghaznah, the *Shāhnāmah,* and the ideal ruler, Alexander (as featured in the *Shāhnāmah*). Al-Ghūrī's salon does not seem to have been particularly interested in the famous poets and prose writers of traditional Arab literary culture.[81] Like al-Ghūrī's enthusiasm for gardening on a grand scale in the Ottoman Turkish manner, the soirees provide evidence of the openness of the sixteenth-century Mamluk court to foreign exemplars and, more broadly, of the spread of an international court culture throughout the eastern Islamic lands.

The debt in all the above to the still scanty and patchy secondary literature

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[79]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 8:211.

[80]Flemming, "Šerīf"; Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 264–65; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Sultan al-Ghawrī and the Arts," *MSR* 6 (2002): 77.

[81]Awad, "Sultan al-Ghawrī," 321–22; Flemming, "Aus den Nachtgesprächen Sultan Gauris," 22–28; Berkey, "Mamluks as Muslims," 170–73; Behrens-Abouseif, "Al-Ghawrī and the Arts," 76–78.

must be evident and it is certain that many important and exciting discoveries remain to be made in the *terra incognita* of Mamluk literature. Although the backward-looking nature of so much Mamluk poetry and prose has been stressed here, this feature should not necessarily be identified with decadence.[82] For if Mamluk authors imitated and sought to surpass their Abbasid predecessors, it was also true that Abbasid authors had looked back on and imitated their pre-Islamic and Umayyad precursors. In both periods originality was only valued within quite close constraints. In his *Literary History of the Arabs*, R. A. Nicholson, while confessing to "a desultory and imperfect acquaintance with their work," ventured that even the best of the poets of the Mamluk period were "merely elegant and brilliantly accomplished artists, playing brilliantly with words and phrases, but doing little else."[83] In *Arabic Literature,* Sir Hamilton Gibb characterised the literary production of the Mamluk age as follows: "the output was enormous throughout, but the qualities of originality, virility, and imagination, weak from the first, die away completely by the sixteenth century."[84] While it is hard to dissent from these timeworn verdicts, it is nevertheless the case that modern western literary theory accords originality and "virility" a status that writers and critics of the Mamluk period would have found excessive. On the other hand the versatility, erudition, and literary stamina of most of the writers mentioned above is quite astonishing.

[82]See in this issue Bauer, "Communication and Emotion."
[83]Nicholson, *A Literary History,* 448.
[84]Hamilton Gibb, *Arabic Literature: An Introduction,* 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1962), 142.

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Poetry for Easy Listening: *Insijām* and Related Concepts in Ibn Ḥijjah´s *Khizānat al-Adab*

If one considers the history of the indigenous Arabic tradition of poetics and rhetoric one cannot help being impressed by the ever-growing terminological sophistication in the study of figures of speech, the schemes and tropes of *ʿilm al-badīʿ*. In the late third/ninth century the poet and prince Ibn al-Muʿtazz set the trend in his modest but seminal treatise with a mere handful of terms: five principal ″novel″ kinds called *badīʿ* and some thirteen further ″embellishments″ *(maḥāsin)*. Ibn Abī al-Iṣbaʿ, who died early in the Mamluk period, in 654/1256, discusses 125 kinds,[1] claiming to have discovered thirty of them himself. From then on, the rate of growth decreases. Nearly two centuries later, Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434) lists 142 kinds,[2] and another three hundred years on ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī distinguishes 150 kinds.[3]

A study of these works, which also serve as anthologies of prose and above all poetry, might give an impression of the increasing sophistication and artfulness of the poetry itself, or even its growing artificiality and obscurity. To some extent there is truth in this, although the poetry in these works is carefully selected in order to illustrate the schemes and tropes, the puns and ornaments, and is therefore not truly representative of poetic practice as a whole. It is well known that general works on Arabic literary history often speak of ″decadence″ after the Abbasid period. This decadence is seen, on the one hand, in the alleged ornateness and flowery rhetoric of elite style, and on the other hand in the alleged influence of so-called Middle Arabic and the colloquial language, resulting in simplification and the infringement of ″pure″ syntax and style by ″vulgarisms.″ In short, according to this view one either finds what is obscure and difficult but vapid and trivial, or what is simple but stylistically marred and, as often as not, equally empty, trivial,

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[1]He himself says 121; see *Taḥrīr al-Taḥbīr* (Cairo, 1383), 621.

[2]I have used the edition Būlāq 1291 [1874] of the *Khizānat al-Adab* along with a modern (but uncritical) one by ʿIṣām Shaʿaytū, 2 vols. (Beirut, 1987). The references are given to both, separated by a slash.

[3]ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Nafaḥāt al-Azhār* (Būlāq, 1299); Pierre Cachia, *The Arch Rhetorician or The Schemer´s Skimmer. A Handbook of Late Arabic badīʿ drawn from ʿAbd al-Ghānī an-Nābulusī´s* Nafaḥāt al-Azhār ʿalā Nasamāt al-Asḥār (Wiesbaden, 1998).

and banal. ″The best of them,″ said Nicholson in his *Literary History of the Arabs,* speaking of poets in the Mamluk era, ″are merely elegant and accomplished artists, playing brilliantly with words and phrases, but doing little else.″[4] These words are quoted by Homerin, reviewing the neglect of poetry from the Mamluk period;[5] in fairness to Nicholson, one should add that he admits that ″until they have been studied with due attention, it would be premature to assert that none of them rises above mediocrity.″

It is extremely unlikely that the reigning view on the superiority of the older poets will ever change, but the generally negative and disparaging remarks on post-Abbasid poetry may well be replaced by more balanced judgements as post-Abbasid poetry is slowly beginning to be investigated in more detail. Here I shall concentrate on the concept of stylistic and poetic ″easiness″ as we find it in Ibn Ḥijjah′s work on *badīʿ*. Ibn Ḥijjah, poet and *kātib,* wrote his *Khizānat al-Adab* on the model of *Sharḥ al-Kāfiyah al-Badīʿīyah* by the well-known poet Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 749/1349): both works are commentaries on *badīʿīyah* poems composed by the authors themselves, in *basīṭ* meter and rhyming in *-mī,* in praise of the Prophet (like, before them, al-Būṣīrī′s celebrated ode), each verse of which exemplifies a particular figure of speech or stylistic embellishment. *Khizānat al-Adab* contains a large quantity of poetry from all ages, much of it from post-Abbasid or Mamluk times. Since normally a figure of speech or trope does not exceed the compass of one or two lines, most of the quotations are short, but one also finds longer fragments and poems, including *muzdawijah*s of 133 and 158 couplets.

Most of the ″embellishments″ are thought of as features that are somehow changed from or added to an underlying basic utterance: a metaphor instead of the literal word, a pun, antithesis, syntactical or semantic parallelism that can be superimposed on plain expressions. Instead of adding, one could presuppose other mutations: suppression in the case of ellipsis and conciseness, permutation in the case of some syntactic rearrangements. There are also ″figures″ that cannot so easily be described, for instance the more impressionistic concepts of *nazāhah,* ″chaste diction,″ particularly when in biting lampoons one manages to avoid obscenities,[6] or *salāmat al-ikhtirāʿ,* ″originality.″[7] The same is valid for a few chapters that deal with easy diction and smooth style, which form the subject of this article.

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[4]R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs* (1907; reprint, Cambridge, 1966), 448.

[5]Th. Emil Homerin, ″Reflections on Arabic Poetry in the Mamluk Age,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 63–85.

[6]*Khizānah,* 95–96/1:172–74.

[7]Ibid., 493–98/2:362–69.

The most important of these is the section on *insijām,* "fluency."[8] It is obviously a concept that is dear to Ibn Ḥijjah, for the section is the longest of all by a wide margin, apart from the only section that surpasses it, the very extensive chapter on *tawriyah.*[9] A later author, Ibn Maʿṣūm, who completed his large-scale *badīʿīyah* commentary *Anwār al-Rabīʿ* in 1093/1682, goes even further, making *insijām* by far his longest chapter.[10] The term *insijām* is derived from a root denoting flowing, streaming, and pouring forth of water. In the metalanguage of *badīʿ,* the dominant semantic fields are those of jewelry, embroidery, and other sartorial imagery;[11] it is appropriate that the limpidity of streaming water is used for what comes down to the *absence* of ornament. For, paradoxically, *insijām* is a kind of *badīʿ* that is defined by being devoid of *badīʿ*.[12] "Water" implies not only smoothness and fluency, but sparkle and lustre: in Arabic, as in English, one speaks of the "water" of a sword. It is unique among drinks and food in that its tastelessness is praised and called sweetness. Ibn Ḥijjah's description of *insijām,* given at the beginning of the chapter, is as follows:

> By *insijām* is meant that [the text] flows like water when it runs down *(inḥidār),* because it is free from complexity *(ʿaqādah),* so that it would almost stream forth *(yasīl)* in its elegance *(riqqah),* because of the smoothness of its construction *(suhūlat tarkībih)* and the sweetness of its diction *(ʿudhūbat alfāẓih)*. . . . The scholars of *badīʿ* are unanimous in defining this kind of *badīʿ* as being remote from artificiality and free from kinds of *badīʿ* *(an yakūna*

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[8]Ibid., 236–74/1:417–76. See also Usāmah ibn Munqidh, *Al-Badīʿ fī Naqd al-Shiʿr* (Cairo, 1960), 131–32; Ibn Abī al-Iṣbaʿ, *Taḥrīr*, 429–32; idem, *Badīʿ al-Qurʾān* (Cairo, 1957), 166–67; Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Ismāʿīl Ibn al-Athīr, *Jawhar al-Kanz* (Alexandria, 1983), 297–77; Ṣāfī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, *Sharḥ al-Kāfiyah al-Badīʿīyah* (Damascus, 1982), 264–65; al-Suyūṭī, *Sharḥ ʿUqūd al-Jumān* (Cairo, n.d.), 153 (wrongly claiming the introduction of *insijām* into *ʿilm al-badīʿ* for himself); ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Nafaḥāt al-Azhār*, 295–303 (cf. Cachia, *The Arch Rhetorician*, 118–19, no. 162).

[9]*Khizānah,* 295–435/2:39–251.

[10]ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad Ibn Maʿṣūm, *Anwār al-Rabīʿ fī Anwāʿ al-Badīʿ,* ed. Shākir Hādī Shukr (Karbalāʾ, 1968–69), 4:5–194.

[11]Among the few who have dealt with this topic is Abdelfattah Kilito, "Sur le métalangage métaphorique des poéticiens arabes," *Poétique* 38 (1979): 162–74.

[12]*Khizānah,* 236/1:417; cf. Ibn Abī al-Iṣbaʿ, *Taḥrīr*, 429; idem, *Badīʿ al-Qurʾān,* 166; al-Ḥillī, *Sharḥ,* 264; al-Nābulusī, *Nafaḥāt,* 295.

> *ba‘īd min al-taṣannu‘ khālī min al-anwā‘ al-badī‘īyah),* except when this happens easily and unintentionally.

He adds that *insijām* in rhymed prose means that the rhymes appear to be unintentional and spontaneous. In the Quran it is seen in the occasional short passages that scan as poetic meters; Ibn Ḥijjah gives examples at some length.[13] Another paradox seems to be lurking here: *insijām* in metrical speech implies that it sounds almost like prose, and conversely, when prose chances to come out according to one of the recognized poetic meters, it is *insijām* too. As far as we can judge, *insijām*, as a separate section in lists of *badī‘*, started its life precisely as the last-mentioned kind: prose that fortuitously turns out to be metrical, for this is how Usāmah Ibn Munqidh, the first to do so, defines and illustrates the term in his work on *badī‘*.[14] *Insijām* in its broader sense is first found in Ibn Abī al-Iṣba‘.

Immediately after defining *insijām* Ibn Ḥijjah says that ″most of the poetry of al-Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Anṣārī, *shaykh al-shuyūkh* of Ḥamāh… corresponds to this definition.″ This poet, also known as Ibn al-Raffā‘, died early in the Mamluk period, in 662/1264;[15] later in the chapter, Ibn Ḥijjah quotes six fragments or short poems by him, with a total of 57 lines, which illustrate his ″amatory fluency″ *(insijāmātuh al-gharāmīyah)*.[16] It appears that *insijām* and love poetry are closely connected, for Ibn Ḥijjah says at the outset that the masters of this style are *ahl al-ṭarīq al-gharāmīyah,* ″the people of the amatory path,″[17] or *aṣḥāb al-madhhab al-gharāmī.*[18] This love may be profane or mystical, or even both at the same time; it is not always possible to distinguish between the two categories. Before we look at the poetry in more detail, consider the following short text, a lover′s complaint:

> Khabbirūhū tafṣīla ḥālī jumlatan; fa-‘asāhū yariqqu lī wa-la‘allah!
> Kam tanaḥnaḥtu idh tabaddá, ḥidhāran min raqībī, wa-kam takallaftu

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[13]*Khizānah,* 236–38/1:417–21.

[14]Usāmah, *Badī‘*, 131–32; he discusses prose that is unintentionally metrical but does not mention the Quran. Ibn Abī al-Iṣba‘, *Taḥrīr*, 429 discusses the Quranic phenomenon and refers to a book of his, *Al-Mīzān,* on this topic. See also Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Al-Fawā'id* (Cairo, 1327), 219–20; al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Itqān fī ‘Ulūm al-Qur'ān* (Cairo, 1975), 3:296–97 (ch. 58).

[15]Ibn al-Raffā‘, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Muḥsin, was born 586/1190; see Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* 18:546–56, where he is highly praised for his beautiful and artful poetry, full of wit *(nukat),* punning (*tawriyāt),* easy rhymes, ″sweet syntax″ *(al-tarkīb al-‘adhb),* correct diction, and eloquent ideas.

[16]*Khizānah,* 249–51/1:436–39.

[17]Ibid., 236/1:417.

[18]Ibid., 238/1:421.

su'lah! Laysa lī 'an hudá hawāhu ḍalālun, akthara al-lawma 'ādhilī aw aqallah. Rukkibat fī jibillatī nashwatu al-'ishqi; wa-ṣa'bun taghyīru mā fī al-jibillah.

Sādatī, 'āwidū riḍākum wa-'ūdū 'an jafākum, fa-mā baqiya fīya faḍlah! Dhubtu shawqan, fa-'ālijūnī bi-qurbin; muttu 'ishqan, fa-ḥanniṭūnī bi-qublah! Wa-ishghulūnī 'an lā'imin mā atānī bi-rashādin atat'hu āfatu ghaflah: Qultu, "Billāhi, khallinī!", fa-tamādá. Wa-qalīlun man yatruku al-sharra lillah.

[Tell him the details of my state, and all of it; perhaps he will have pity on me, maybe . . . ! How often did I say "Ahem" when he appeared, being wary of my watchful guard; how often did I feign a cough! I do not stray from the right path of loving him, however much or little critics may reproach me. Intoxication by love's passion is a part of me by nature: and it is hard to change what's in one's nature.

My masters, let me have your favor once again, after your harshness, for I cannot bear it any longer! I've pined away with passion; cure me now with nearness! I've died of love; embalm me with a kiss! Distract me from a censurer—as soon as he tells me how to behave, he's plagued by inattentiveness: I say, "For God's sake, leave me!" But he perseveres. Few people will abandon evil "for God's sake."]

A pleasant piece of literary prose? Perhaps the recurrent rhyme in *-lah* has given the game away: it is in fact poetry, by the above-mentioned Ibn al-Raffā', as the following layout makes clear.[19]

Khabbirūhū tafṣīla ḥāliya jumlah
    fa-'asāhū yariqqu lī wa-la'allah
Kam tanaḥnaḥtu idh tabaddá ḥidhāran
    min raqībī wa-kam takallaftu su'lah
Laysa lī 'an hudá hawāhu ḍalālun
    akthara al-lawma 'ādhilī aw aqallah
Rukkibat fī jibillatī nashwatu al-'ish-
    qi wa-ṣa'bun taghyīru mā fī al-jibillah
Sādatī 'āwidū riḍākum wa-'ūdū

[19]Ibid., 249–50/1:438. In the "prose" version I have cheated a bit in giving prose forms instead of "poetic" deviations and rhymes (thus *ḥālī*, *jumlatan, 'ishq, baqiya*, whereas the poem has *ḥāliya, jumlah, 'ishqi, baqī*).

'an jafākum fa-mā baqī fīya faḍlah
Dhubtu shawqan fa-'ālijūnī bi-qurbin
muttu 'ishqan fa-ḥanniṭūnī bi-qublah
Wa-ishghulūnī 'an lā'imin mā atānī
bi-rashādin atat´hu āfatu ghaflah
Qultu billāhi khallinī fa-tamādá
Wa-qalīlun man yatruku al-sharra lillah

[Tell him the details of my state, and all of it;
perhaps he will have pity on me, maybe . . . !
How often did I say ″Ahem″ when he appeared, being wary of
my watchful guard; how often did I feign a cough!
I do not stray from the right path of loving him,
however much or little critics may reproach me.
Intoxication by love´s passion is a part of me by nature:
and it is hard to change what´s in one´s nature.
My masters, let me have your favor once again,
after your harshness, for I cannot bear it any longer!
I´ve pined away with passion; cure me now with nearness!
I´ve died of love; embalm me with a kiss!
Distract me from a censurer—as soon as he
tells me how to behave, he´s plagued by inattentiveness:
I say, ″For God´s sake, leave me!″ But he perseveres.
Few people will abandon evil ″for God´s sake.″]

This gives an idea of what Ibn Ḥijjah calls ″fluency″: no intricate word-play, the few antitheses are simple (line 3: *hudá/ḍalāl, akthara/aqalla;* line 5: *riḍākum/jafākum*), as is the syntactic, semantic, and phonetic parallelism in line 6. Both halves of the poem (lines 4b and 8b) end with a maxim-like sentence, the latter being a little joke in that it gives a twist to the imprecation *billāh* in 8a, and using the colloquial *lillah* with short *a* in the last rhyme. If, as the earliest known treatment of *insijām,* by Usāmah Ibn Munqidh, suggests, the ″figure″ was originally conceived as prose unintentionally coming out metrically, as poetry, then an important criterion is apparent artlessness. A test for poetry would consist in writing it out as prose, as I have done above, and see how long it takes for a new reader to discover that it is in fact poetry.

Ibn Ḥijjah quotes some 112 different poets in the chapter (including himself, with a piece of 19 lines).[20] Many are well-known, others are obscure or wholly

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[20]Ibid., 274/1:475.

unknown. The majority are late, but there are some lines by early poets: Imru' al-Qays, with a line from his *Mu'allaqah* ("A-gharraki minnī anna ḥubbaki qātilī . . .") and the line that ends with the well-known words ". . . wa-kullu gharībin lil-gharībi nasībū" [a stranger is related to every other stranger].[21] Many other early poets are also represented by a few lines. Poets from the Abbasid era are better represented, some by longer quotations, such as al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (30 lines) and Mihyār al-Daylamī (26 lines). High scores among pre-Mamluk poets are for Bahā' al-Dīn Zuhayr (d. 656/1258), with 48 lines, and especially Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235), with 130 lines (half of them from what looks like a conflation of his two *Tā'īyah*s), which is remarkable in view of the profusion of figures of speech in his verse. Among the Mamluk poets are al-Shābb al-Ẓarīf and his father 'Afīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī, Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Nubātah, Ibn al-Wardī, and Burhān al-Dīn al-Qīrāṭī. I shall quote and translate short poems or fragments by all five of these.

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-'Afīf al-Tilimsānī, nicknamed al-Shābb al-Ẓarīf, "the Decent Young Man" (*ẓarīf* also means "elegant, witty, charming") was born in Cairo in 661/1263 and died at Damascus at the very young age of 26, in 688/1289, two years before his father.[22] Ibn Ḥijjah quotes seven pieces or fragments by him, with a total of 51 lines, all of them love lyrics. His verse is indeed smooth and fluent, though not without obvious rhetorical craftsmanship. An example:

Lā takhfi mā fa'alat bi-ka al-ashwāqū
    wa-ishraḥ hawāka fa-kullunā 'ushshāqū
Fa-'asá yu'īnuka man shakawta la-hu al-hawá
    fī ḥamlihī fa-al-'āshiqūna rifāqū
Lā tajza'anna fa-lasta awwala mughramin
    fatakat bi-hi al-wajanātu wa-l-aḥdāqū
Wa-iṣbir 'alá hajri al-ḥabībi fa-rubbamā
    'āda al-wisālu wa-lil-hawá akhlāqū
Kam laylatin as'hartu aḥdāqī bi-hā
    wajdan wa-lil-afkāri bī iḥdāqū
Yā rabbu qad ba'uda al-ladhīna uḥibbuhum

[21] *Dīwān,* ed. Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1969), 357; it does not sound very authentic.

[22] Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden, 1949), 1:258, S1:458; J. Rikabi, "Ibn al-'Afīf al-Tilimsānī," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 3:697; F. Krenkow-[M. Yalaoui], "Tilimsānī," *EI*^{2}, 10:499-500; D. J. Wasserstein, "Ibn al-'Afīf al-Tilimsānī," *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature,* ed. Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (London and New York, 1998), 1:308; Shawqī Ḍayf, *'Aṣr al-Duwal wa-al-Imārāt: Miṣr wa-al-Shām,* Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī, no. 6 (Cairo, 1984), 695–97; Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt* (Beirut, 1973–74), 3: 372–82; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* 3:129–36. *Dīwān al-Shābb al-Ẓarīf,* ed. Shākir Hādī Shukr [thus in preface; on title page and cover: Shakr] (Beirut, 1405/1985), with some 2500 lines.

‘annī wa-qad alifa al-rifāqa firāqū
Wa-iswadda ḥaẓẓī ‘indahum lammā sará
fīhī bi-nāri ṣabābatī iḥrāqū
‘Urbun ra’aytu aṣaḥḥa mīthāqin lahum
an lā yaṣiḥḥa ladayhimū mīthāqū[23]

[Don′t hide what love has done to you:
display your passion; we are lovers all.
If you complain of love to someone, he
may help you bear it: lovers are all friends.
You must not grieve, you′re not the first who loves
and has been killed by murderous cheeks and eyes.
Be steadfast when your love deserts you, for
you may be reunited. Passion has its ways.
So many nights I kept my eyes awake,
love-sick, besieged by thoughts all round.
Lord! Those I love are far from me;
parting from friends is part of normal life.
My luck with them has blackened, with
the scorching fire of passion burnt.
They′re Bedouin nomads, most reliable, I find,
in that one never can rely on them.]

The ″fluency″ consists in the absence of difficult words and intricate syntax. The few instances of word-play are simple: *aḥdāq* and *iḥdāq* (line 5), *rifāq* and *firāq* (line 6). A sprinkling of antitheses adds clarity to the ideas expressed (hiding/displaying, grief/steadfastness, parting/union). As in the poem quoted above, several lines end with a general statement resembling a maxim (lines 1, 2, 4) and the poem is rounded off (at least in the curtailed version given in the *Khizānah*) with a neat paradox, a line that stands out in being the only one that does not contain a reference to love or lovers.[24] There is a contrast or even a conflict, not resolved, between on the one hand the optimistic and consoling first four lines, addressed to the lover (or perhaps spoken by the lover to himself), and on the

[23]*Khizānah,* 252/1:441; cf. *Dīwān*, 161, which adds one line after vs. 1 and three more at the end. In line 6, *Khizānah* has *al-firāqa firāqū*, which does not make sense; the version of the *Dīwān* has been followed instead. In the last line one might read *yaṣiḥḥu,* instead of the subjunctive, since no wish or effect is involved.

[24]Vs. 1 has *ashwāq, hawá* and *‘ushshāq*, vs. 2 *hawá* and *‘āshiqūn,* vs. 3 *mughram,* vs. 4 *ḥabīb* and *hawá,* vs. 5 *wajd,* vs. 6 *uḥibbuhum,* vs. 7 *ṣabābatī.*

other hand the unredeemed misery described in the second half of the poem, where the second person singular (comfortingly included in ″all of us″) is replaced by the first person singular throughout, apparently isolated from ″them.″ It could be argued, of course, that such sudden changes of mood are normal in the love-stricken.

Ibn Ḥijjah also quotes the following four lines by him:

Bi-tathannī qawāmika al-mamshūqī
    wa-bi-anwāri wajhika al-maʿshūqī
Wa-bi-maʿnan lil-ḥusni mubtakarun fī-
    ka wa-qalbin ka-qalbiya al-maḥrūqī
Jud bi-waṣlin aw zawratin aw bi-waʿdin
    aw kalāmin aw waqfatin fī al-ṭarīqī
Aw bi-irsālika al-salāma maʿa al-rī-
    ḥi wa-illā fa-bi-al-khayāli al-ṭarūqī[25]

[By the swaying of your slender body,
    and the lights of your beloved face,
By a rare and novel beauty in you,
    and a heart burnt black like my own heart:
Come live with me, or visit me, or promise me,
    or say something, stop briefly on the street,
Or send a greeting with the wind; if not,
    then visit me at least at night in dreams!]

This little poem is more unified than the previous one; it consists of only one sentence that is long but transparent, neatly divided into two equal halves. The lines are devoid of any puns, and employ none but the simplest metaphors; the only art lies in the artless diction and the pleasing anticlimactic series in the last two lines, in which the requests become, on the whole, progressively longer and emptier.

More intricate word-play and greater frequency of it are not incompatible with *insijām.* Here is a piece by the father of al-Shābb al-Ẓarīf, ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Tilimsānī (610–690/1213–1291).[26] By calling him one of the *ʿārifūn,* Ibn Ḥijjah indicates that the verses should be given a mystical interpretation:

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[25] *Khizānah,* 252/1:441. In the *Dīwān* (167–68) the poem has 13 lines, of which Ibn Ḥijjah offers 1, 2, 4, and 5. Instead of *wa-qalbin ka-qalbiya al-maḥrūqī* the *Dīwān* has *wa-khaṣrin ka-qalbiya al-masrūqī.*

[26] Krenkow-[Yalaoui], ″Tilimsānī″; Brockelmann, *GAL,* 1:258, S1:458.

Ludh bi-al-gharāmi wa-ladhdhati al-ashwāqī
　　wa-ikhtar fanā'aka fī al-jamāli al-bāqī
Wa-ikhla' sulūwaka fa-huwa thawbun mukhlaqun
　　wa-ilbas jadīda makārimi al-akhlāqī
Wa-tawaqqa min nāri al-ṣudūdi bi-shurbatin
　　min mā'i dam'ika fa-huwa ni'ma al-wāqī
Wa-idhā da'āka ilá al-ṣibā nafasu al-ṣabā
　　fa-ajib rasūla nasīmihi al-khaffāqī
Wa-idhā sharibta al-ṣirfa min khamri al-hawá
　　iyyāka taghfalu 'an jamāli al-sāqī
Wa-ilqa al-aḥibbata in aradta wisālahum
　　mutaladhdhidhan bi-al-dhulli wa-al-imlāqī
A-wa-laysa min aḥlá al-maṭāmi'i fī al-hawá
　　'izzu al-ḥabībi wa-dhillatu al-'ushshāqī[27]

[Take refuge in love and the pleasure of passion
　　and seek your extinction in beauty that lasts.
Take off the old cloak, now worn out, of your solace;
　　and get yourself dressed in a new set of virtues.
Seek protection ´gainst fire of rejection by drinking
　　the water of tears: they´re the safest protection.
When the zephyr invites you to amorous folly,
　　obey then the messenger sent in its fluttering breeze.
And when you have drunk the unmixed wine of passion,
　　be careful to notice the cupbearer´s beauty.
And meet those you love, if you wish to be one with them,
　　while you relish in being submissive and poor.
For isn´t this one of the sweetest ambitions in love:
　　the beloved exalted, and humbled the lovers?]

The poem is based on an often-expressed paradox: a lover´s true happiness exists in being miserable, and it ought to be his highest ambition to be lowly and submissive. This is expressed through various instances of paronomasia: *ludh*/*ladhdha*, *mukhlaq*/*akhlāq*, *tawaqqa*/*wāqī, ṣabā*/*ṣibā, mutaladhdhidh*/*dhull,* and of antithesis: *fanā'*/*bāqī, ikhla'*/*ilbas*, *mukhlaq*/*jadīd*, *nār*/*mā'*, *'izz*/*dhillah*. Combined, these two figures suggest a punning antithesis of *ladhdhah* ″pleasure″ and *dhillah*/*dhull* ″submission″ that here, exceptionally, goes beyond the confines

[27]*Khizānah,* 260/1:453.

of a single line (see lines 1, 6 and 7) and is reinforced by the fact that the very first word, *ludh* (from a different root), is a palindrome of *dhull*. Yet, in spite of all this apparent artifice, one can understand that Ibn Ḥijjah cites it as an example of *insijām* ″that stirs the passions and ardent emotions.″

Not all poems quoted are on love secular or mystical. The longest poem, by Ibn Nubātah (686–768/1287–1366), is a *muzdawijah* of 158 *rajaz* couplets in praise of the ruler of Ḥamāh, al-Malik al-Afḍal. After a brief description of nature, it turns into a hunting poem, with a brief panegyric at the end.[28] The poem reads smoothly indeed, and approaches prose not only in being relatively free of obscure diction and far-fetched imagery, but also because it is basically a narrative, from the beginning of the hunt (line 23: ″When the time for the shoot[29] approached, we set out . . .″) until the returning, with a heavy bag (lines 137–39: ″God, what a fine and blessed sight, the manner we returned from the mountain′s summit, our hands filled with the spoils, thankful for the bounty bestowed upon us, thronging round the Victorious King, al-Malik al-Manṣūr[30] like comets round the luminous moon″). Within a framework of verbs in perfect tense at intervals (*sirnā . . . ḥattá nazalnā . . . wa-ibtadara al-qawm . . . wa-aqbalat mawākibu al-ṭuyūr . . . sirnā . .* ., etc.), the action and scenes are depicted in the intervals by means of circumstantial clauses, extended attributive clauses, similes (*ka-annahā* . . .), exclamative sentences (*fa-yā la-hā . . ., fa-ḥabbadhā . . ., kam . . ., wāhan la-hā . . .*) and other constructions. Shooting turns to hawking and to hunting with hounds and cheetahs, and all of it underlines both the bounty and the bloodshed that is customarily ascribed to rulers in panegyric poetry. Ibn Ḥijjah, praising the poem, says that ″If the Sharīf could have seen it, he would have sponged off of *(taṭaffala)* the breeze of its verses [i.e., plagiarized them], and he would have acknowledged that *The Chanter and the Groaner* does not chant and warble as sweetly.″ He refers to Ibn al-Habbārīyah (d. ca. 509/1115) and his collection of poems in *rajaz* meter with mostly animal fables, even though Ibn Nubātah′s poem is more akin to the model set by Ibn al-Mu‘tazz and Abū Firās.[31]

Ibn Ḥijjah is enthusiastic, too, about a poem by Ibn al-Wardī (691–749/1292–1349) which is a versified deed of purchase, improvised when challenged on 14 Ramaḍān of the year 715/1316.[32] It begins as follows:

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[28]Ibid., 267–72/1:466–72. The edition of the poem by Muḥammad As‘ad Ṭalas in *Majallat al-Majma‘ al-‘Ilmī al-‘Irāqī* 2 (1952): 302–10 has 177 couplets.

[29]With pellets, *ramy al-bunduq,* for shooting birds.

[30]Ibn Ḥijjah explains that al-Malik al-Afḍal′s earlier name was al-Malik al-Manṣūr.

[31]See, e.g., James E. Montgomery, ″Abū Firās′s Veneric *Urjūzah Muzdawijah*,″ *Arabic and Middle Eastern Literatures* 2 (1999): 61–74, esp. 69.

[32]*Khizānah,* 272–73/1:473–74. The date, as can be expected here, is given in the poem itself.

Bi-ismi ilāhi al-khalqi hādhā mā ishtará
Muḥammadu ibnu Yūnusa ibni Sunqurā
Min Māliki ibni Aḥmada ibni al-Azraqī
Kilāhumā qad ʻurifā min Jilliqī

[In the name of the God of all creatures: this is what has been bought
By Muḥammad Ibn Yūnus Ibn Sunqur
From Mālik Ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-Azraq,
Both known persons from Damascus.]

Truly fluent like prose, it is versification, *naẓm,* but not everyone would call it poetry, *shiʻr*. It is perhaps not strange that the poem is not found in Ibn al-Wardī's *Dīwān*.[33] Ibn Ḥijjah could have used the second and third hemistichs of this fragment as illustrations of another "figure" of *badīʻ*, called *iṭṭirād* (lit. "uninterrupted sequence"), which consists in using personal names in poetry in a seemingly artless manner.[34]

The Egyptian poet Burhān al-Dīn al-Qīrāṭī (726–81/1326–79),[35] a friend of Ibn Nubātah, is represented with three fragments taken from one poem, the first two being the following:

Akhadhat Bābilu ʻanhū / baʻda tilka al-nafathātī
Fa-huwa ghuṣnun fī inʻitāfin / wa-ghazālun fī iltifātī
Ḥasanātu al-khaddi minhū / qad aṭālat ḥasarātī
Kullamā sā'a faʻālan / qultu «Inna al-ḥasanāti . . .»
Wa-li-sū'i al-ḥaẓẓi ṣārat / ḥasanāti sayyi'ātī
Aʻshaqu al-shāmāti minhū / wa-hiya asbābu mamātī
. . . .
Bi-abī laḥẓu ghazālin / qā'ilin fī al-khalawāti:
"Inna lil-mawti bi-aqdā- / ḥi jufūnī sakarātī"
Qultu "Qad mittu gharāman" / Qāla lī "Mut bi-ḥayātī"[36]

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[33]*Dīwān Ibn al-Wardī*, ed. Aḥmad Fawzī al-Hayb (Kuwait, 1986).

[34]*Khizānah,* 199–201/1:351–53; cf. Ḥasan Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī, *al-ʻUmdah fī Maḥāsin al-Shiʻr wa-Ādābihi wa-Naqdih*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd (Beirut, repr. 1972), 2:82–84; Ibn Abī al-Iṣbaʻ, *Taḥrīr,* 352–54, Cachia, *The Arch Rhetorician,* 43 (no. 64), where it is rendered "flowing identification."

[35]Ḍayf, *ʻAṣr al-Duwal,* 292–95; Brockelmann, *GAL,* 2:14, S2:7.

[36]*Khizānah,* 273/1:474.

[Babylon took from him
some of these magic spells:[37]
He is a twig the way he bends,
a gazelle the way he turns.
The beauties of his cheek
have prolonged my miseries.
Whenever he behaves badly
I say, «Surely the good deeds . . .»[38]
But to my misfortune my good deeds
have turned into evil deeds.
I am in love with his moles
though they be the causes of my death.
. . . .
O, how dear to me is the glance of a gazelle
saying in the desert,[39]
″Death′s throes[40] are in
the cups of my eyelids″
I said, ″I am dying of passion!″
He replied to me, ″Die, by my life!″]

The usual motifs—the twig, the gazelle, magic charms, cheeks, moles or beauty spots, and finally death by love—make for easy listening, together with the smooth syntax, short lines, and easy diction. There is hardly anything deep in such a poem, although one notices little touches that lift it above the wholly trite. By saying that the ″prehistoric″ Babylonians derived their magic from the beloved, it is suggested that he[41] is a timeless, primeval being, perhaps an angel fallen from heaven like Hārūt and Mārūt. The lover, in turn, pretends to have fallen: in love and into sin. His beloved′s bad deeds have literally been ″taken away″ by the incompleteness of the Quranic quotation as well as by his beauty; conversely, the lover′s goodness has turned into badness as stated in the next line and implied by

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[37]Babylon is associated with the fallen angels Hārūt and Mārūt and with magic.

[38]« . . will take away the evil deeds» (Quran 11:114).

[39]Ḍayf, who quotes these lines (*ʿAṣr al-Duwal,* 293, omitting vss. 4–5), places this line at the beginning. He interprets *qāʾil* as from the root *qyl* (″taking a midday nap″), which is possible. In the version quoted by Ibn Ḥijjah ″saying″ is more appropriate, since the following line must be spoken by the ″gazelle.″

[40]Literally, ″intoxications,″ hence the ″cups.″

[41]Ḍayf, child of his time, assumes that the beloved is female.

the mention of drunkenness further on. There is an obvious play on the two meanings of *ḥasanāt,* aesthetic and moral ″beauties.″ The last word is a linguistic joke, playing on two meanings of the preposition *bi-* in ″by my life″: either an implied oath: ″(I swear) upon my life,″ or literally ″by means of my being alive.″

There are two other sections in *badīʿ* lists, including Ibn Ḥijjah′s *Khizānah,* that are not wholly unlike *insijām.* Ibn Ḥijjah deals with them in two much shorter consecutive sections. The first is *suhūlah,*[42] which means, of course, ″easiness, smoothness, facility″; as we have seen, Ibn Ḥijjah uses the word when describing *insijām.* He is aware that the concepts are related, as appears from the following:

> *Suhūlah* is mentioned by al-Tīfāshī in connection with the figure of *ẓarāfah* (″elegance″);[43] some people associate it with *insijām.* It is mentioned by Ibn Sinān al-Khafājī in his book *Sirr al-Faṣāḥah (The Secret of Eloquence),* where he says that it consists of the words being free from artificiality, complexity, and tortuousness in the expression *(khulūṣ al-lafẓ min al-takalluf wa-al-taʿqīd wa-al-taʿassuf fī al-sabk).*[44] Al-Tīfāshī defines *suhūlah* as ″easy expressions, that are distinguished from others even to those literate people who have the least taste, and which bespeak of a sensitive feeling, a fine nature, and a sound reflective mind.″[45]

Almost all the illustrations are from Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr, ″who holds the reins of this kind.″ No attempt is made to distinguish between *insijām* and *suhūlah* and it is doubtful that Ibn Ḥijjah would insist on a distinction; he is bound to follow his

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[42]*Khizānah,* 554–7/1:478–81; cf. al-Ḥillī, *Sharḥ*, 311–13; Ibn Maʿṣūm, *Anwār,* 6:270–78 (calling it *tas′hīl*); al-Nābulusī, *Nafaḥāt,* 311–16; Cachia, *The Arch Rhetorician,* 119 (no. 163), where it is translated as ″smoothness.″

[43]Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Tīfāshī (d. 651/1253), author of works on precious stones and sex, also wrote a work on *badīʿ* which has not been preserved. See al-Ḥillī, *Sharḥ*, 72; Ibn Abī al-Iṣbaʿ, *Taḥrīr*, 91; Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafá Tāshkubrī′zādah, *Miftāḥ al-Saʿādah wa-Miṣbāh al-Siyādah* (Hyderabad, 1977–1980), 1:182 (spelled as al-T.ghāshī); Bahāʾ al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Subkī, *ʿArūs al-Afrāḥ fī Sharḥ Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ,* in Masʿūd ibn ʿUmar al-Taftāzānī et al., *Shurūḥ al-Talkhīṣ* (Cairo, 1937) 4:467 (here spelled as al-Shāshī). Before al-Tīfāshī, Usāmah Ibn Munqidh *(Badīʿ*, 134–39) offered a chapter on *al-ẓarāfah wa-al-suhūlah.*

[44]Not found in the consulted editions of Ibn Sinān al-Khafājī (d. 477/1074), *Sirr al-Faṣāḥah* (Cairo, 1932 and Beirut, 1982). Until this point, Ibn Ḥijjah is quoting, or near-quoting, al-Ḥillī′s commentary (*Sharḥ al-Kāfiyah*, 311), which has *ṭarāfah* instead of *ẓarāfah*).

[45]*Khizānah,* 554/1:478.

model, al-Ḥillī, who, in turn, merely collected those terms of *badī‘* that were current. Judging by the examples, *suhūlah* seems to be applied even more than *insijām* to poetry that is ″easy,″ in that it avoids difficult words, difficult syntax, and difficult thoughts. One example, by al-Bahā’ Zuhayr, is on the old conceit of offering to return a kiss as if it were a present that could be given back:[46]

Man lī bi-qalbin ashtarī- / hi min al-qulūbi al-qāsiyah
Wa-ilayka yā malika al-milā- / ḥi waqaftu ashkū ḥāliyah
Innī la-aṭlubu ḥājatan / laysat ‘alayka bi-khāfiyah
An‘im ‘alayya bi-qublatin / hibatan wa-illā ‘āriyah
Wa-u‘īduhā la-ka lā ‘adim- /ta bi-‘aynihā wa-kamā hiyah
Wa-idhā aradta ziyādatan / khudhhā wa-nafsī rāḍiyah[47]

[Who has a heart for me that I could buy, a hard one!
To you, O king of pretty ones, I′ve come with my complaint.
I want one thing; it will not be unknown to you:
Please make me happy with a kiss: a gift, or else a loan;
You′ll have it back precisely as it was, my dear!
But if you′d like some more, please take them, it′s my pleasure.]

The other, following section is entitled *ḥusn al-bayān,*[48] a term that should be taken in a vague and general sense, such as ″beautiful exposition, or clarity of expression.″ Ibn Ḥijjah describes it as follows:

> They say that it means the clear expression *(ibānah)* of what is in the soul in eloquent words that are remote from intricacy *(lubs)*, since the intention of it is to utter the sense by means of a lucid picture *(ikhrāj al-ma‘ná ilá al-ṣūrah al-wāḍiḥah)* and to convey it to the understanding of the recipient in the easiest manner.

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[46]Cf. the joke told in Ibn Qutaybah, *‘Uyūn al-Akhbār* (Cairo, 1925–30), 2:55 and other sources; see Ulrich Marzolph, *Arabia Ridens* (Frankfurt am Main, 1992), 2:47 (no. 175).

[47]*Khizānah,* 556/2:480–81; Bahā’ al-Dīn Zuhayr ibn Muḥammad, *Dīwān,* ed. and transl. Edward Henry Palmer (Cambridge, 1876–77), 1:297–98 (text), 2:331 (rhymed translation, changing the gender of the addressee). The *Dīwān*′s version has ten lines (Ibn Ḥijjah quotes 2–3, 5–8). Some lines are quoted in *The Thousand and One Nights* (*Alf Laylah wa-Laylah* [Cairo, n.d.], 2:42–43).

[48]*Khizānah,* 557–58/2:482–83; see al-Ḥillī, *Sharḥ*, 309–10; Ibn Ma‘ṣūm, *Anwār,* 6:290–95; al-Nābulusī, *Nafaḥāt,* 321–22; Cachia, *The Arch Rhetorician*, 112–13 (no. 153, translated as ″articulateness″); Ibn Abī al-Iṣba‘, *Taḥrīr*, 489–93; idem, *Badī‘ al-Qur’ān*, 203–6; Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik, *Al-Miṣbāḥ* (Cairo, 1341), 92–93, al-Suyūṭī, *‘Uqūd,* 140.

In view of the more precise sense of ″imagery″ that the term *bayān* carried in Ibn Ḥijjah′s time, according to the more formal and scholastic study of eloquence and style, one might believe that here, too, he refers above all to imagery, seeing moreover that he speaks of a ″picture/image.″ Yet in the rest of the chapter and its illustrations this is not borne out.

Although *insijām* and related terms were introduced in studies on *badīʻ* at a relatively late stage, this does not mean that the concepts of fluency and seeming ease were absent from earlier phases. Both terms for eloquence, *bayān* and *balāghah,* near-synonyms before they acquired more specialized technical meanings, stress the clarity and communicativeness of eloquence that seem to favor easiness over obscurity. Jaʻfar Ibn Yaḥyá al-Barmakī is reported to have described true *bayān* as ″what is far from artifice *(ṣanʻah),* free of complexity *(taʻaqqud),* and not in need of interpretation *(ta'wīl)*″; this view was endorsed by al-Jāḥiẓ and many others.[49] *Suhūlah* is mentioned often, usually favorably. It is the first of forty-six stylistic traits of the poetry of ʻUmar Ibn Abī Rabīʻah listed in *Al-Aghānī* and attributed to Muṣʻab Ibn ʻAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī (uncle of al-Zubayr Ibn Bakkār, d. 256/870).[50] Particularly common is the concept of the ″seemingly easy,″ often expressed as *al-sahl al-mumtaniʻ,* or *al-muṭmiʻ al-mumtaniʻ* but found in other expressions. Ibn al-Muqaffaʻ is reported to have defined eloquence as ″what an ignorant person hears and thinks (mistakenly) he can do equally well.″[51] Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī (d. 235/850) called the poetry of Manṣūr al-Namarī ″easy of diction, difficult to aspire to″ *(sahl kalāmuh, ṣaʻb marāmuh).*[52] Ismā'īl, son of ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd Ibn Yaḥyá *al-kātib* (d. 132/749), defined a good prose writer as ″he who writes a letter so that people reading it imagine they can do as well, but when they try they cannot.″[53] Al-Aṣmāʻī is credited with a definition of poetry as ″what is concise, easy, delicate, and subtle of meaning; if you hear it you think you can reach that level, but if you try it, you find it far from your grasp. All the rest is mere versification.″[54] Ibrāhīm, son of al-ʻAbbās Ibn al-Aḥnaf, describing his father′s

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[49]Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Al-Bayān wa-al-Tabyīn* (Cairo, 1968), 1:106; Ibn Qutaybah, *ʻUyūn al-Akhbār,* 2:173.

[50]Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo, 1927–74), 1:120–21.

[51]ʻAlam al-Hudá ʻAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍá, *Amālī al-Murtaḍá: Ghurar al-Fawā'id wa-Durar al-Qalā'id* (Cairo, 1954), 1:137.

[52]Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, ed. Ewald Wagner (Wiesbaden, 1958–), 1:17.

[53]From ʻAbd Allāh al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Kuttāb,* ed. by Dominique Sourdel as ″Le «Livre des secrétaires» de ʻAbdallāh al-Baġdādī,″ *Bulletin d′Etudes Orientales* 14 (1952–54): 149.

[54]Al-Muẓaffar ibn al-Faḍl al-Ḥusaynī, *Naḍrat al-Ighrīd fī Nuṣrat al-Qarīḍ* (Damascus, 1976), 10.

poetry, said he had never found anything by a modern poet that was ″more difficult while being easy″ *(aṣʻab fī suhūlah).*[55] Similar sayings abound.

This preference for easy comprehension in poetry seems to contrast with the opinion that the basic difference between poetry and prose is that the former tends to obscurity and the latter to limpidity. In his epistle on the difference between prose and poetry, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Hilāl al-Ṣābī (d. 384/994) wrote that as a consequence of its prosodic restrictions ″the most splendid *(afkhar)* poetry is what is obscure *(mā ghamuḍa)* and only gives up its purport after some delay,″ whereas ″the most splendid epistolary prose *(tarassul)* is what has a clear meaning and gives up its purport as soon as one hears it.″[56] Al-Ṣābī, himself a prose writer, exaggerates: certainly in his day, the prestigious epistolary style tended to rival or surpass poetry in obscurity and ornateness. The issue of obscurity in Arabic literary criticism, from the scattered remarks by al-Jāḥiẓ to the important contribution on the topic by the sixth/thirteenth-century theorist Ḥāzim al-Qarṭājannī, has been studied by Albert Arazi in his article on this epistle.

Although critics and theorists, ancient and modern, often pay lip-service to the ideals of clarity and easiness in general terms, these are not very rewarding concepts to them since, like happy families to novelists, they offer few opportunities to show one′s critical and analytical skills. Easy poetry offers not enough of a challenge, nor does the concept of easiness itself. We must be grateful to Ibn Ḥijjah and other writers of *badīʻīyah* commentaries that they did not disdain to deal at length with easy poetry, stooping from being critics to being ″merely″ consumers of pleasant verse. To them, *insijām* and related ″figures″ are an excuse for quoting good or occasionally excellent poetry which does not depend primarily on artifice. The chapters serve to redress the balance to some extent between the artful and the seemingly artless. It is not strange that the *insijām* chapter is so extremely lengthy in Ibn Ḥijjah′s *Khizānah* and Ibn Maʻṣūm′s *Anwār al-Rabīʻ*: it helped them to give their works more of the character of a representative anthology. ″Fluency″ is neither absent from the poetry of the Mamluk period, nor particularly common in it: it is found in all periods. The phrase ″easy listening″ in the title of

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[55]Abū al-Faraj, *Aghānī,* 8:365; cf. Abū Hilāl al-ʻAskarī, *Kitāb al-Ṣināʻatayn* (Cairo, 1971), 67; Ibrāhīm ibn ʻAlī al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-Ādāb* (Beirut, 1972), 685.

[56]Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Al-Tadhkirah al-Ḥamdūnīyah,* ed. Iḥsān ʻAbbās and Bakr ʻAbbās (Beirut, 1996), 6:357; Albert Arazi, ″Une épître d′Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābī sur les genres littéraires,″ in M. Sharon, ed., *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honor of Professor David Ayalon* (Jerusalem, 1986), 473–505 (see 498); Ziyād al-Zuʻbī, ″Risālat Abī Isḥāq al-Ṣābī fī al-Farq bayna al-Mutarassil wa-al-Shāʻir: Dirāsah Tawthīqīyah Naqdīyah,″ *Abḥāth al-Yarmūk* 11 (1993): 129–65 (see 156).

this paper suggests pleasant rather than great poetry, and it is true that many of the poems that show *insijām* do not seem to tax the listener, just as some muzak, meant to be relaxing and reassuring, has been purged of dissonants or ″difficult″ features. Nevertheless, there are many other poems that, though easy to listen to, hide deeper layers of meaning and thought for those listeners who make an effort.

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Communication and Emotion: The Case of Ibn Nubātah´s *Kindertotenlieder*

THE SPEECHLESSNESS OF DEATH

> Ibn Nubātah said, bewailing the death of his son:
> Qālū ″fulānun qad jafat afkāruhū / naẓma al-qarīḍi fa-lā yakādu yujībuhū″
> Hayhāta naẓma al-shiʿri minhū baʿdamā / sakana al-turāba walīduhu wa-ḥabībuhū
> [″This man,″ they say, ″has turned away his thoughts from verse, he′ll barely give an answer.″
> Composing poetry? Impossible for him whose child / *Walīd*, whose dear beloved / *Ḥabīb* has settled in the earth![1]]

Speechlessness is a natural reaction to the death of one′s own child, and it seems as if it was the normal reaction for most Arabic poets, too. Only a small number of elegies on the death of a poet′s child has come down to us. Most, however, are remarkable indeed. The Hudhaylian poet Abū Dhu'ayb (d. ca. 28/649) composed an elegy on the death of his sons (*A-min al-manūni wa-raybihā tatawajjaʿū,* meter *kāmil),* which is not only Abū Dhu'ayb′s unquestioned masterpiece, but also one of the finest and most famous poems of the early Islamic period in general.[2] In the Abbasid period, Ibn al-Rūmī′s (d. 283/896) elegies on his relatives stand out, especially his exceedingly long dirge commemorating the death of his mother. But he also composed several shorter poems on the death of two of his sons.[3] Even more famous, however, are two of several cases in which poets were induced by the loss of their children to compose a whole series of dirges. The first case is

[1]Ibn Nubātah, *Dīwān* (Cairo, 1333/1905), 51 (meter *kāmil*). *Tawriyah*s are noted in my translations in the following way: The primarily intended meaning is underlined, the secondarily suggested meaning written in italics. In reading aloud, the words in italics should be omitted.

[2]Another early poem ascribed to a certain Bint al-Ḥārith is discussed in Gert Borg, *Mit Poesie vertreibe ich den Kummer meines Herzens: Eine Studie zur altarabischen Trauerklage der Frau* (Istanbul-Leiden, 1997), 199–204. Borg considers this poem as ″one of the peaks of Arabic literature″ (203).

[3]Pieter Smoor, ″Elegies and Other Poems on Death by Ibn al-Rūmī,″ *Journal of Arabic Literature* 27 (1996): 49–85.

Abū al-Ḥasan al-Tihāmī (d. 416/1025), whose three poems on the death of his son Abū al-Faḍl became the pillar of his fame, especially the ode rhyming in *–ārī* (meter *kāmil*) to which we will return later. The second case is Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī (d. 768/1366), who doubtlessly was, after Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, the greatest Arabic poet of the eighth/fourteenth century. His *dīwān,* which was compiled by his pupil al-Bashtakī from several smaller collections published previously by Ibn Nubātah himself, contains seven poems on the death of a child. At least three of these poems commemorate the death of a son named ʻAbd al-Raḥīm, but the others are so similar in tone and content that one may well assume that most of them were composed on the same occasion. Three of them are epigrams comprising two lines (one of them was quoted above), one is a seven liner, probably from Ibn Nubātah′s collection *al-Sabʻah al-Sayyārah*,[4] and the remaining three poems are long, sophisticated odes comprising 34 *(askanta qalbiya laḥdak*, meter *mujtathth),* 38 *(abkīka li-al-ḥasanayni al-khalqi wa-al-khuluqī*, meter *basīṭ),* and 57 *(Allāhu jāruka inna damiʻya jārī*, meter *kāmil)* lines respectively. Here I will focus on the last one.

Al-Tihāmī and Ibn Nubātah are not the only cases in which a poet composed a series of poems on the death of a child. One can name at least three other Arabic poets,[5] but there are also two such collections in German literature. Nearly simultaneously (without knowing of each other′s enterprises) Joseph von Eichendorff wrote a cycle of ten poems *(Auf meines Kindes Tod)* after the death of his daughter in 1832,[6] and Friedrich Rückert reacted to the death of two of his children in 1833–34 with the composition of an ensemble of more than five hundred (!) so-called *″Kindertotenlieder,″*[7] a term that seems suitable to me also for the (albeit much smaller) collections of al-Tihāmī and Ibn Nubātah. Obviously, the death of one or more children may have caused a similar reaction in completely different epochs and cultures. Instead of losing their speech, poets may seek recourse to speech itself, or rather, an artistic transformation of speech. Composing poetry could have complied with the emotional needs after the tremendous experience of losing a child; in other words, it could have had a cathartic effect on the poet.

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[4]ʻUmar Mūsá Bāshā assumes that all seven lines in al-Bashtakī′s recension stem from Ibn Nubātah′s collection *Al-Sabʻah al-Sayyārah;* see ʻUmar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī: Amīr Shuʻarāʼ al-Mashriq* (3rd ed., Cairo, 1992), 250–51.

[5]Other poets who composed similar sets were Ibn ʻAbd Rabbih (d. 328/940), ʻUmārah al-Yamanī (d. 569/1174), and Usāmah ibn Munqidh (d. 584/1188), but since there is nothing to suggest that Ibn Nubātah′s poems presuppose knowledge of these poems, we will not dwell upon them.

[6]Joseph von Eichendorff, *Werke*, ed. Jost Perfahl (3rd ed., Düsseldorf-Zürich, 1996), 1:243–48.

[7]Friedrich Rückert, *Kindertodtenlieder,* ed. Hans Wollschläger (Nördlingen, 1988); cf. also Eda Sagarra, ″Friedrich Rückert′s *Kindertotenlieder*,″ in *Representations of Childhood Death,* ed. Gilian Avery and Kimberley Reynolds (New York, 2000), 154–68.

At first sight, this process seems easy to understand. A poet is shaken by overwhelming emotions, whereupon he sets about to express them in a poem. The resulting poem would thus reflect the poet's emotions. But things are not so simple. Yet it is this simplification that made Ibn Nubātah's *Kindertotenlieder* attractive to some literary historians who are accustomed to criticizing Mamluk poetry for its allegedly mannered and unnatural style and are glad to find in Ibn Nubātah's elegies on the death of his son(s) poetry that conveys the immediate, unaffected expression of "genuine feelings."[8] Close inspection will reveal, however, that neither assumption is tenable: Mamluk poetry is not extraordinarily mannered, and Ibn Nubātah's dirges are highly rhetorical. Of course, nobody can seriously doubt the sincerity of Ibn Nubātah's feelings. But to transform emotions into literature means not only to transform them into speech, but also to transform them into an act of communication that conforms both to the rules of everyday communication and, furthermore, to the rules of a far more complex communication system of literature.

This can be shown clearly by the epigram initially quoted. Its two lines follow exactly the pattern of an ideal apologetic epigram. In line one, the problem is identified: in this case, the poet is reproached for his speechlessness. In line two, a justification for the criticized behavior must be given, usually in the form of a point which is often based on linguistic or literary ambiguity. In our sample, the poet justifies his silence by the death of his child. This justification is given a pointed form by the use of a *tawriyah* (double entendre). The words which designate the child, *walīd* "child" and *ḥabīb* "beloved," have a double meaning. They are also the names of the two classical poets al-Walīd al-Buḥturī and Abū Tammām (whose name was Ḥabīb ibn Aws). Together with the child, so we can understand the line, the poet lost his Buḥturī and his Abū Tammām. One can hardly imagine a better expression of the fact that a very individual, personal grief is not easy to communicate by means of a culturally prefigured and historically shaped set of rules. Ibn Nubātah's epigram is an accurate and intelligent (as well as intelligently ambiguous) formulation of this experience. The epigram is remarkable in another respect. Its point is achieved by a *tawriyah*, a form of witty wordplay, which in modern eyes would hardly be considered appropriate to the somber occasion. But, as this poem shows, one has to be very careful about generalizing our own prejudices and applying them to other times and cultures. As is shown by the *Kindertotenlieder* of the Arab poets as well as by those of Rückert and Eichendorff, poetry—including its artistic and playful element—can be helpful in coping with the grief of the loss of one's own beloved, for poets as well as for their public. It

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[8]See my review of *Al-Ghazal fī al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī al-Awwal*, by Majd al-Afandī, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 214–19.

may help the poet to prove his own abilities to create a work of art, and by way of the act of active creativity he may cope with the experience of loss. He may find relief from the experience of helplessness and passive suffering and prove to himself that he still has a share in life. Even more important may be the fact that a poem (or any other work of art) is a means to break the speechlessness of death, to resume communication and thereby to reassume a social role without having to interrupt the process of mourning.[9] Several such attempts to communicate about the death of one´s own child proved to be successful, as the collections of dirges on childhood death in Arabic and German literature show. Obviously, the public was willing to lend these poets an attentive ear.

COMMUNICATION WITH THE PAST: IBN NUBĀTAH AND AL-TIHĀMĪ

Arabic poetry is not only a communication with contemporary (and future) audiences, it is always also a communication with the past. From pre-Islamic times onwards, Arabic poetry displays an extraordinary intertextual density. Every line and every concept refers back to many other lines and concepts in a more complex but often direct way than is the case in most Western literatures. Scholars at first had difficulty understanding that a seeming similarity between individual poems and lines was not due to impotence or a lack of originality or the inflexibility of an all-pervading convention, but was rather the result of a closely woven net of intertextual strands that was deliberately cultivated and consciously achieved by the poets. Arabic poems were expected, at all periods, to be original. But the notion of originality was different from that of early modern and modern Europe. After all, there was no hereditary nobility in the Islamic world against which a bourgeoisie had to revolt by setting its own norms of individualism in opposition to the class consciousness of nobility, as was the case in Europe. And since this factor did not exist, there was no need to abolish a poetic tradition that was considered satisfactory and perfectly fulfilled the needs of its participants.

Instead, in premodern Islamic societies an extraordinary importance was given to poetry that can only occasionally be found in European societies. Since the degree of institutionalization was rather low in Islamic societies and social groups were only loosely organized, the most important strategy for the formation of social groups, the integration of their members, and their separation from other groups or social layers, was communication, that is, qualified participation in the group´s dominant discourses. The rank of the individual member was established by his excellence in mastering the respective discourses rather than by the posts

[9]Since the psychological aspects of poetry as a reaction to one´s relative´s death have been dealt with extensively by Th. Emil Homerin, I will touch on this subject only peripherally, see Th. Emil Homerin, ″A Bird Ascends the Night: Elegy and Immortality in Islam,″ revised ed., *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 59 (1991): 247–79.

and positions he (often all too shortly) held. Now even a brief glance into any collection of biographies of the *a'yān* in the Arab world from the later Abbasid period onwards shows that obviously poetry was one of these discourses, and this is small wonder, since communication was the basic mechanism of the constitution of social groups, and poetry was the most privileged and prestigious form of communication. Therefore, the group of the ulama was equally characterized by their mastering the principles of Islamic law as well as by their participation in permanent poetic communication between its members, as the countless *ikhwānīyāt*, *muṭāraḥāt*, *tahānī'*, and *ta'āzī* [10] show with sufficient clarity—genres that have been deliberately avoided by the scholars of our days (since for experts in the field of literary studies these genres are not ″poetic″ enough, whereas experts in the field of social studies customarily skip poetry anyway). And since this mechanism persisted well into the nineteenth—if not even right into the twentieth—century, there was no reason to abolish the communicative potential that arose from the intertextual nature of Arabic poetry for about one and a half millennia. On the contrary, any fundamental break in tradition would have meant the loss of one of the most important social communication systems and therefore would have led to a social disintegration to nobody′s benefit—a consequence hardly believable in a society for which literature is at best a useless pastime, as it has become in our own times.

Therefore, it is no wonder that the Arabic-speaking—and rhyming—world tried at one and the same time to maintain a common poetic system as a communicative basis for a broad layer of society, as well as to demand originality as one of the most important qualities of a poem. To be original meant to be able to display a creative handling of tradition that surprised the educated public by its novelty and at the same time confirmed the value of tradition. This system functioned perfectly well until the forced introduction of Western literary norms in the second half of the nineteenth century. The fact that in the Mamluk and even in the Ottoman period many of the norms of early Arabic poetry were still considered valid, so that we find lots of poems that are not terribly different from those written by al-Mutanabbī, was ammunition for the European colonial enterprise in the nineteenth century to disparage contemporary Arabic literature and to construct the idea of a period of cultural stagnation and decadence lasting for many centuries in order to justify colonialist intervention (which could not have been sufficiently justified by economic and technological superiority alone). Western nineteenth-

[10]Because of the neglect of the Mamluk period and prejudices towards occasional poetry, these genres are so little studied that they even lack entries in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* and the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature.*

century standards of originality are still prevalent among contemporary Arabic scholars and lead to many misinterpretations.[11]

A characteristic misunderstanding is M. Muḥammad′s treatment of Ibn Nubātah′s *rā'īyah*, the intertextual component of which he simply overlooked, though he did note some pre-Islamic lines, the alleged transformation of which by Ibn Nubātah he considered unsuccessful.[12] In general, however, he regarded the poem as sufficiently original, but criticized its seemingly rather unorganized structure (a point which will be discussed extensively later). He could discern neither a well-formed introduction nor several clearly separated text paragraphs. But in this case he was prepared to excuse the poet for these shortcomings (which they doubtlessly are in his eyes), since they gave testimony to the spontaneity, immediacy, and veracity of the poem: ″He did not allow himself to contemplate the structure of his poem. . . .″[13] ″When Ibn Nubātah started to elegize his son, he did not reflect upon the way in which he would carry out his elegy and relied on his natural disposition that would bring about the elegy in a form inscribed in his imagination. . . .″[14] All these speculations turn out to be futile when we discover that Ibn Nubātah′s poem was not a spontaneous, unpremeditated reaction, but a consciously and very carefully elaborated work of art that was the artistic transformation of another poem.

Ibn Nubātah′s choice was not spontaneous at all. He took as his model the only poem on the death of a child that had really gained fame, and, at the same time, dealt more extensively with the subject of childhood death itself.[15] It is a poem by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Tihāmī, a poet who was born in the Yemen, but spent most of his life in Iraq, Syria, and Palestine, before he died as a prisoner in Fatimid Egypt.[16] During his stay at Ramlah, where he held the office of a preacher, his son Abū al-Faḍl died as a child. Al-Tihāmī reacted by composing three elegies on Abū al-Faḍl′s death, a short one of 13 lines *(kāmil,* rhyme *–3qī*[17]*)* that need not

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[11]In the case of elegies, the focus on immediacy and originality ″ignores the importance of standardized themes and their repetition, which are crucial to successful elegies as poets attempt to place their personal sorrow within more universal contexts.″ (Th. Emil Homerin, review of *Āfāq al-Shi'r al-'Arabī fī al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī,* by Yāsīn al-Ayyūbī, *MSR* 3 [1999]: 238).

[12]Maḥmūd Sālim Muḥammad, *Ibn Nubātah, Shā'ir al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Beirut, 1420/1999), 225.

[13]Ibid., 221.

[14]Ibid., 222.

[15]In contrast to Abū Dhu'ayb′s *'aynīyah,* which had gained fame enough, but only very superficially deals with the fact that the deceased were children.

[16]On al-Tihāmī see Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden, 1967–), 2:478–79; Wolfhart P. Heinrichs, ″Al-Tihāmī,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 10:482; G. J. H. van Gelder, ″Al-Tihāmī, 'Alī ibn Muḥammad,″ *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature,* ed. Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (London and New York, 1998), 2:772–73.

[17]*-3qī* means that the poem rhymes in *-qī* where *-qī* is preceded by one of the three short vowels,

concern us here, and two lengthy sister poems,[18] one of 81 lines *(ṭawīl,* rhyme *–xrī)* that was obviously an intertextual reaction to a poem by Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUtbī (d. 228/842–3) with the same rhyme and meter,[19] and a poem of 90 lines (*kāmil*, rhyme *-ārī*), which was to become al-Tihāmī's most famous poem, in fact, the pillar of his fame.[20]

The lifetime of al-Tihāmī, the later Buyid period, featuring such poets as al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015), his brother al-Murtaḍá (d. 436/1044), and Mihyār al-Daylamī (d. 428/1036–37), is the first period that was considered by Western scholars as a period of decadence and stagnation, and were it not for al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1058), its literature would have remained more or less unstudied. For Ibn Nubātah, however, who lived almost three and a half centuries later, al-Tihāmī was a classical author. In Ibn Nubātah's programmatic anthology *Maṭlaʿ al-Fawāʾid*, this period is represented by three authors (of fifteen altogether): al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, al-Tihāmī, and al-Maʿarrī (who, contrary to a common prejudice, was never neglected or even suppressed).[21] Al-Tihāmī's fame rested, as already mentioned, on his elegies for his son, especially on his *kāmil rāʾīyah*. His poems in this field were well known to Ibn Nubātah, who quotes four lines from al-Tihāmī's *kāmil rāʾīyah* and six lines from al-Tihāmī's *ṭawīl rāʾīyah* in the chapter on *rithāʾ* in his *Maṭlaʿ al-Fawāʾid*.[22] He may have quoted these lines without envisaging that one day he would come back to them after having experienced the same loss as their author.

Al-Tihāmī's elegy in *–ārī* is quoted in a great number of sources, to mention only al-Ṣafadī's *Wāfī* and al-Bākharzī's *Dumyah*.[23] One can assume, therefore,

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a, u, or *i*, while *-xrī,* the next rhyme scheme mentioned, means that *-rī* is preceded by any consonant.

[18]So called in Yāqūt al-Rūmī, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–70), 2:819 (article ″Al-Ramlah″).

[19]The poem is quoted (probably fragmentarily) in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Madīnat al-Salām,* ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf (Beirut, 1422/2001), 3:564, and in other sources.

[20]Its text is quoted according to the following edition: *Dīwān Abī al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Tihāmī*, ed. Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rabīʿ (Riyadh, 1982). The *ṭawīl* poem is found on pp. 338–43, the *kāmil* poem on pp. 308–22. In this poem, line 86 is a combination of two originally separate lines. The text has to be corrected according to al-Bākharzī, *Dumyat al-Qaṣr wa-ʿUṣrat Ahl al-ʿAṣr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Tūnijī (Beirut, 1414/1993), 1:140–49. Note that in my quotations of this poem, from line 86 onwards the number of the line in al-Rabīʿ's edition has to be augmented by one.

[21]Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Nubātah, *Maṭlaʿ al-Fawāʾid wa-Majmaʿ al-Farāʾid,* ed. ʿUmar Mūsá Bāshā (Damascus, 1392/1972). My study on the Mamluk literary anthology with special reference to Ibn Nubātah's *Maṭlaʿ al-Fawāʾid* is in press: ″Literarische Anthologien der Mamlukenzeit,″ in *Die Mamluken: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur im Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann (1942–1999),* ed. S. Conermann and A. Pistor-Hatam (Hamburg, 2002).

[22]Ibn Nubātah, *Maṭlaʿ al-Fawāʾid,* 342–43.

[23]Further quotations are listed in al-Tihāmī, *Dīwān,* 320–22.

that the contemporary audience of Ibn Nubātah´s poem realized that this poem is a *mu'āraḍah* to al-Tihāmī´s famous ode, even upon hearing only its first line. Al-Tihāmī´s dirge starts with the following words:

> Ḥukmu al-manīyati fī al-barīyati jārī / mā hādhihī al-dunyā bi-dāri qarārī
> [Death´s judgment makes its rounds among the creatures. This world is not a permanent home.]

Ibn Nubātah´s introductory line refers to his model with the word *jār(ī)*, the most prominent word in al-Tihāmī´s text, because it is its first rhyme word. He does not simply quote it, however, but makes it the object of the hearer´s reflection, since Ibn Nubātah´s *jārī* is a *tawriyah* (the first *tawriyah* in the poem). It can mean "my helper" or "running," and at the same time the less probable meaning "helper" is suggested by the preceding word *jārukā*, which yields a *jinās tāmm* with the rhyme word. One may perhaps also mention the *jinās muḍāri'* between *manīyah* and *barīyah* in al-Tihāmī´s verse, which is echoed by another *jinās muḍāri'* in Ibn Nubātah´s poem (*awṭān*/*awṭār*), to which again more prominence is given in this poem, since it includes the second rhyme word:

> Allāhu jārukā inna dam'iya jārī / yā mūḥisha al-awṭāni wa-al-awṭārī
> [God be your helper as my tears are flowing / *my helpers*, oh you who have forsaken both my home and hope!]

As we can see, Ibn Nubātah uses rhetorical devices here to direct the hearer´s attention to the transformation of his model. But this is not their only function. Al-Tihāmī´s line is a very clear, straightforward, even proverbial statement that brings about sadness and comfort at the same time, for it reaffirms that whatever happens is part of an eternal and stable world order.[24] With Ibn Nubātah´s line, we enter into a troubled world. The first pronoun (in *jāruka*) does not refer to the hearer, as one might first think, but to the deceased child, but this only becomes clear at the end of the line. As unclear as the pronominal reference is the meaning of the first rhyme word, and the prominent similarity between *awṭān* and *awṭār* adds to the impression of uncertainty and ambiguity that is evoked in the hearer´s mind. But this is exactly the main difference between the two dirges. A grave and stately, well-constructed ode by al-Tihāmī is contrasted with a poem that presents a mind that cannot find a way out of a world of despair, uncertainty, and ambiguity. Ibn Nubātah manages to convey this message with his very first line, in which rhetorical devices are obviously far more than embellishments, for they serve not

[24]The most common motif of comfort in Arabic elegies is the statement that everybody must die; cf. Thomas Bauer, "Todesdiskurse im Islam," *Asiatische Studien* 53 (1999): 5–16.

only to refer to the poet´s model, but also to transform it into the poet´s own perspective.

References to al-Tihāmī´s poem permeate the whole of Ibn Nubātah´s *rā'īyah*, but it may suffice here to mention only two. The word *miḍmār* ″race course,″ the rhyme word of line 5, sticks out. The comparison of life to a race course may be more familiar to the reader of German baroque poetry[25] than to the reader of Arabic poetry, where it is—if my memory does not fail—not very common. It occurs, however, in al-Tihāmī´s poem, again with *miḍmār* as rhyme word (al-Tihāmī, line 27):

> La-qad jarayta kamā jaraytu li-ghāyatin / fa-balaghtahā wa-abūka fī al-miḍmārī
> [Towards a goal you ran like me and reached it, while your father is still on the race course.]

Al-Tihāmī´s striking and concise image of the experience of premature death of a beloved person is too good a line to be neglected by Ibn Nubātah. And at first sight his line (line 5) even seems strikingly similar to that of al-Tihāmī:

> Layta al-radá idh lam yada'ka ahāba bī / ḥattá nadūma ma'an 'alá miḍmārī
> [Would that destruction had summoned me as well, when it did not refrain from you, so that we could have pursued the same race course!]

Again al-Tihāmī supplies an interpretation of what happened. Life is a race course that inevitably leads to the same goal. The fact that some runners arrive first even if they had started later is nothing extraordinary; the child´s death is therefore again embedded in the cosmic order. In Ibn Nubātah´s line, the poet and the child are no more on the same race course. Instead, *radan* ″destruction″ (a word common in pre-Islamic poetry but not occurring in the Quran), which is personified here, has summoned only the child and left the father on a road of his own. Only destruction, appearing here as a vague promise, could have united them, but even this hope proved to be futile. Hopeless despair has taken the place of al-Tihāmī´s trust in the cosmic order.

The experience that the body of the deceased is still present in the grave but cannot communicate anymore is cast into the following words by al-Tihāmī (line 24):

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[25]″Abend″ in Andreas Gryphius, *Gedichte*, ed. Adalbert Elschenbroich (Stuttgart, 1968), 11: ″Diß Leben koemmt mir vor als eine Renne-Bahn.″

> Ashkū bi‘ādaka lī wa-anta bi-mawḍi‘in / law-lā al-radá la-sami‘ta fīhi sirārī
> [How much I complain that you are so far, though you lie in a place in which you could hear my most secret talks were it not for destruction´s work!]

The situation of the father at the grave is transformed into a paradox: although the child is near, it cannot hear nor answer. Ibn Nubātah liked the line and quoted it in his *Maṭla‘ al-Fawā’id.*[26] But when he reverted to the *ma‘ná* in his own poem, it sounds rather different (line 12):

> Nā’ī al-liqā wa-ḥimāhu aqrabu maṭraḥan / yā bu‘da mujtami‘in wa-qurba mazārī

Though the rhyme word is different in this case, al-Tihāmī´s model is clearly visible. But whereas al-Tihāmī explains the paradox (˝if there were not destruction . . .˝), it remains unresolved in Ibn Nubātah´s line. Further, it is condensed to the first *miṣrā‘* of the verse: ˝A long way ´tis to meet him, though his shelter is the nearest spot.˝ There remains a second *miṣrā‘*, but again Ibn Nubātah gives no explanations. Instead, he simply repeats the *ma‘ná* in different words in the intensified form of an exclamation: ˝How far is union, yet how close the place to visit him!˝ This repetitiveness, this persistence in one and the same thought without suggesting to the hearer that there is a way out which is exemplified in this single line, is one of the main characteristics of the poem as a whole, as we shall see. The two *ṭibāq*s in this line *(nā’in/qarīb; bu‘d/qurb)* are again not embellishments, but appear as a logical consequence of the sense the poet wants to convey, just as is the case with his *tawriyāt* and *jināsāt,* as we have already seen.

Several other lines in Ibn Nubātah´s poem turn out to be transformations of a line by al-Tihāmī,[27] but these three examples may suffice for the moment to show that Ibn Nubātah´s *rā’īyah* was in no way a spontaneous creation, but a well-planned and deliberately-composed intertextual response to another poem. And since the author spared no effort in directing attention to exactly this fact, the poem presupposes a reader/hearer who is equally prepared and willing to invest considerable effort to decipher not only the complex poetic language of the poem itself, but also its many intertextual relations. For many readers, however, these efforts must have been rather satisfying, as the fame of this poem proves.

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[26]P. 342.

[27]Cf. the chart below, p. 78.

THE TOPICS OF COMMUNICATION: PRIVATE SPHERE AND HEROIC AFFAIRS

As the single lines of the poem are most carefully elaborated, it is hard to believe that the structure of the poem—or rather, the obvious lack of an easily discernible structure—came about by accident. Again a glance at al-Tihāmī's poem may be helpful.

If Ibn Nubātah's *rā'īyah* leaves the impression of being more or less unstructured, one can hardly imagine a more clearly structured poem than al-Tihāmī's *rā'īyah*. The poem starts with an introduction contemplating the transitoriness of human life in general, culminating in a line that is the versification of a famous hadith (line 6):

> Fa-al-'ayshu nawmun wa-al-manīyatu yaqẓatun / wa-al-mar'u baynahumā khayālun sārī
> [Life is sleep, death is awakening, and man between them is a fleeting vision.]

Following this introduction (lines 1–11), al-Tihāmī turns to the *rithā'* proper (lines 12–39), in which he laments the death of Abū al-Faḍl, of which part we have already quoted lines 24 and 27. The third part, however, which stretches from line 40 to 63 and is the central part of the poem, comes somewhat as a surprise, for it is a formidable example of the *fakhr* genre, 33 lines in praise of the poet's "tribe" (whatever this may have been), introduced by the following lines (40–41):

> Law kunta tumna'u khāḍa dūnaka fityatun / minnā biḥāra 'awāmilin wa-shifārī
> Wa-daḥaw fuwayqa al-arḍi arḍan min damin / thumma inthanaw fa-banaw samā'a ghubārī
> [If a chance were given to defend you, young heroes from us had waded into a sea of spear-heads and sword-blades,
> unfolding above the earth a second earth of blood, erecting then, when they return, a sky of dust.]

This collective *fakhr* is followed by a fourth part, a sort of personal *fakhr,* that starts with a complaint about old age (64–75), leading into a passage (76–90) devoted to general wisdom *(ḥikmah),* self-glorification, and a complaint about the vileness of the poet's time and his contemporaries *(dhamm al-zamān)*.

Whereas proverbial expressions of the transitoriness of human glory or the complaint about old age seem to be absolutely appropriate themes for elegies, self-glorification and a praise of military prowess can hardly be reconciled with

our image of mourning. We must, however, take into account two basic premises of premodern Arabic poetry, first, its basically and consciously communicative nature, and second, the conception of the *rithā'* genre.

For Arabic literary theory, *rithā'* was considered a subcategory of *madīḥ,* since the essence of an elegy was praise. The only difference from panegyric poetry was that the object of praise is a dead person.[28] If, however, elegies are nothing but eulogies, it is inevitably difficult to compose elegies for people who could not have been the subject of an eulogy. Still in al-Tihāmī′s time, a poet who wanted to write panegyric poems on persons other than princes, rulers, governors, or generals had a difficult task. Basically, the *mamdūḥ* should be praised for two qualities: generosity and military prowess. Still al-Mutanabbī, forced in his youth to compose poetry on several *aṣḥāb al-qalam,* rarely and briefly mentions their professional proficiency, but instead tries to find some link to the theme of bravery, even if he has to go back to some real or imagined ancestors of the *mamdūḥ,* who may never have had a sword in their hands. If *quḍāh* and *kuttāb* are difficult to praise, it is easy to understand Ibn Rashīq when he stresses that ″one of the most difficult tasks for a poet is to elegize children and women, for he cannot say much about them, since their distinguishing qualities are but few″ *(li-ḍīq al-kalām 'alayhi fīhimā wa-qillat al-ṣifāt),*[29] which is not so much a misogynistic statement as a sober observation that the common poetic themes of *madḥ* are hardly reconcilable with the reality of the life of women and children. Therefore, it is no wonder that earlier poems on childhood death confine themselves mainly to the subjects of death, transitoriness, and mourning, and do not talk much about childhood. Often such poems are more similar to *zuhd* poetry than to *rithā'*. There are basically two ways to bring in the subject of childhood. First, the poet may say that the feelings of a father towards his child are especially intense. This is done by Ibn 'Abd Rabbih and al-Tihāmī several times, but it is a topic that can hardly be extended over more than one or two lines. The second, more important, strategy is the following: since the poetic tradition did not provide a stock of subjects and concepts to talk about what children were, poets instead talked about what the child did not become. If children did not achieve anything worth mentioning in poetry, the poet could nevertheless imagine what the child (in this case, of course, only sons come into question) would have achieved were he not deprived of his opportunities by premature death. By proceeding in this manner the poet was able to bring in all the conventional and indispensable themes of a eulogy and elegy proper and to compose a poem on a subject that was not given a recognized place in literary tradition.

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[28]Gregor Schoeler: ″Die Einteilung der Dichtung bei den Arabern,″ *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 123 (1973): 9–55.

[29]Ibn Rashīq, *Al-'Umdah fī Ṣinā'at al-Shi'r wa-Naqdihī,* ed. al-Nabawī 'Abd al-Wāḥid Sha'lān (Cairo, 1420/2000), 2:843.

Al-Tihāmī makes use of this device in the most extensive way. In his *ṭawīl rā'īyah* the central part, beginning with line 39, starts with a complaint that the father's grief is doubled by the realization that his son could not take part in heroic military actions. To quote but one example (line 43), he could not prove his prowess:

> Bi-ḍarbin yuṭīru al-bīḍu min ḥarri waq'ihī / shu'ā'an ka-mā ṭāra al-sharāru min al-jamrī
> [With sword strokes so hot that beams are made to radiate like sparks that fly from live coal]

After mentioning other heroic actions that the child could not carry out because of his premature death, al-Tihāmī leads predictably from the subject of military prowess to that of generosity, until he concludes this section in line 54. The only other subject besides military virtues is, in line 51, al-Tihāmī's regret that his son never had the opportunity to bring forth the beauties of prose and poetry, a motif that was taken up by Ibn Nubātah in his lines 17–18. This long, central passage from lines 39–54 in al-Tihāmī's *ṭawīl* poem is the counterpart to the *fakhr* section in the sister poem in *kāmil*. Obviously we will only be able to understand the innovative quality of Ibn Nubātah's poem if we understand the function of these *fakhr* sections in al-Tihāmī's poems and the complete absence of the subject of heroism in Ibn Nubātah's poems.

First of all, we must not fall into the trap of reading these poems as primarily autobiographical. Al-Tihāmī is said to have originated from a family of low birth,[30] for which reason alone one should be admonished not to take the praise of the heroic deeds of his "tribe" too literally. And one would certainly miss the point if the heroic passage in his *ṭawīl* poem were interpreted as reflecting al-Tihāmī's dream that his son would have pursued a military career. In all probability al-Tihāmī did not dream of a son as soldier. Instead, one can conceive of two reasons for the inclusion of the heroic passages.

First, heroism is a good counterweight to the paralysis following the experience of a tremendous loss. Already in pre-Islamic poetry, heroic themes serve to counterbalance the loss of self confidence depicted in the *nasīb*, and the reassurance of one's own value in a social undertaking such as war is again a reasonable way to overcome the isolation, which is a consequence of the bereaved's retreat into his pain and his memories of past bliss.

The second and, I think, more important reason is the fact that a premodern Arabic poem, even if it deals with such an intimate subject as the death of one's own child, still remains primarily an act of communication directed by its author

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[30]Heinrichs, "Al-Tihāmī," 482a.

to a specific public. From a communicative point of view, however, poems on childhood death are an extremely problematic genre. First, they have no immediate addressee. The child is already dead, the bereaved person is the poet himself (who is most affected, but cannot address a poem to himself), and since the child did not yet play a public social role, there is nobody other than the father/poet himself who can be consoled for having undergone a loss. In this respect, an elegy on children is different from genres like panegyric poetry or love poetry, in which there is an addressee (ruler, beloved) to whom the poem is (at least nominally) directed. In other genres in which there is no direct addressee, like wine, garden, or hunting poetry, still the recitation of the poems formed a part of special social occasions, whereas there was no special social situation for the performance of a poem on childhood death. Islamic funeral rites leave no room for the recitation of elegies. As a small poem, focussing on the subject of transitoriness, it may be used in the same way as any other *zuhd* poem and recited on occasions in which people used to exchange *zuhdīyāt*. But to make a great affair out of the death of a small child was more difficult. Al-Tihāmī wanted to make a monumental poem to match his monumental grief. Therefore he had to have recourse to the accepted ″monumental″ subjects like heroism and magnanimity, and he succeeded in composing a really impressive poem that gained wide circulation and indeed impressed its readers for centuries.

Three and a half centuries later many things had changed. Gradually the *kuttāb* had ceased to form a distinct social group with specific skills and knowledge and its own canon of literature. By the Mamluk period, their functions had been taken over completely by the ulama, a group of scholars who had undergone a more or less identical basic training and socialization. Ibn Nubātah and, a century later, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, to mention only two examples, had more or less the same sort of academic training. Both felt especially attracted to the fields of hadith and poetry, and it was by no means inevitable that the first should become a great poet and the other a great *muḥaddith.* And still Ibn Nubātah was the primary transmitter of Ibn Isḥāq′s *Sīrah* in Egypt, and Ibn Ḥajar left a small but fine *dīwān* of excellent poetry. As poets, both of them seized the opportunity to get in contact with the last remaining Arabic-speaking dynasties. Ibn Nubātah found a patron in al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad, the Ayyubid ruler of Ḥamāh, whereas Ibn Ḥajar entered the court of the Rasulids in the Yemen. These patrons gave them plenty of occasions to compose panegyric poems with traditional structure and thematic content, but in the end even for them the poetic relations to their fellow ulama proved to be more important than the favor of princes. Though Ibn Nubātah may have considered his *Mu'ayyadīyāt* as his primary achievement, his *dīwān* contains more poems addressed to the Subkīyūn, the Abnā' Faḍl Allāh and other ulama, and the same is, *mutatis mutandis,* also true for Ibn Ḥajar. Therefore,

in the literary system, the ulama had not only taken over the functions of the *kuttāb,* but also the functions of the princes as patrons, addressees of panegyric poetry, and as models of an ideal personality. Of course, Mamluk poets had no difficulty in praising a qadi, a *muḥaddith,* or a *naḥwī* for his scholarly abilities, and had no need to resort to the subject of military prowess, which had largely lost its former importance in Mamluk literature anyway, since the Mamluks themselves were only peripherally part of the literary system, whereas the civilian elite had (and was supposed to have) little to do with warfare.

The decreasing importance of the military elite in the system of literature did not lead, however, to a decreasing social importance of poetry in general or of the panegyric poem in particular. Just the opposite was the case. The former asymmetric poetic communication between a prince and patron as addressee on the one side and the poet as supplicant on the other had given way to a symmetric communication between ulama who were not only able to judge the literary merits of a poem addressed to them, but also to answer it with a poem of their own. And since the ulama had more or less monopolized poetic discourse, poetry became a means of integration with and delimitation from other social groups.[31] In addition, poetic skill could also serve as a means to distinguish oneself and to acquire social status. Therefore, in the Mamluk period we witness at one and the same time the disappearance of the professional poet as well as an increase in the social importance of poetry.

This new social role of poetry had, of course, consequences for poetry itself. The most obvious consequence is the increasing importance of genres which immediately serve the poetic communication between the ulama, such as congratulation poems *(tahāni'),* poems of condolence *(ta'āzī),* or poetic exchanges *(muṭāraḥāt),* not to mention the countless exchanges of riddles, epigrams (hence the unprecedented popularity of these forms in the Mamluk period), or rhymed *fatwá*s and other, even more occasional, forms of poetry. Poetry in praise of the Prophet is another genre that was particularly successful in Mamluk times since it could satisfy the emotional and religious requirements of the ulama as well as present their values and concerns.

Another consequence of the fact that poetry became more and more a means of communication among the members of a rather closely defined social group is its increasing intimacy. Obviously, ulama started to become interested in each others′ family life. While we know virtually nothing about the wife/wives and children of the most outstanding poets and scholars from the early and middle Abbasid period, al-Sakhāwī (to mention only one) provides the readers of his

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[31]Cf. Thomas Bauer, ″Ibrāhīm al-Mi'mār: Ein dichtender Handwerker aus Ägyptens Mamlukenzeit,″ *ZDMG* 152 (2002): 63–93.

Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' with plenty of gossip about the family life of his contemporaries, and gives a very detailed account of the marital crisis of his venerated teacher Ibn Ḥajar in his biography.[32] Unfavorable as his description might appear at first, it was certainly not malicious, since al-Sakhāwī honored his teacher almost as a saint. Instead, he might have considered the exposition of private details rather as a ″human touch″ that would add common interest to his biography and understanding for its subject. Ibn Ḥajar, in turn, was not devoid of this new interest in intimate matters. In one of the longest *ghazal* poems ever written, he made love of his wife and yearning for his child during his pilgrimage its main theme.[33] It is inconceivable that al-Buḥturī or even al-Mutanabbī could have composed a love poem about his own wife! A very striking example of this new tendency is also the fact that Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī (d. 745/1344), the greatest grammarian of the Mamluk age, composed a series of nine poems on the death of his daughter Nuḍār, whereas elegies on daughters are hardly found before.[34] One may also mention the poet Ibrāhīm al-Mi'mār (d. 749/1348), a craftsman who was not really accepted as an equal among the ulama, but whose poetry was nonetheless highly esteemed for its striking, witty, and satirical portrayal of the pangs and pleasures of everyday life in Mamluk Cairo.[35] Perhaps the most striking and moving example of this tendency is Ibn Sūdūn′s (d. 868/1464) poem on the death of his mother, ″a very personal and intimate picture of the tender loving mother figure who spoils her little boy and cannot let him go, not even when he is married. . . . There is a certain bitter-sweetness in this poem, a melancholy sense of humor, and certainly a very personal touch.″[36] So unprecedented was this poem that Ibn Sūdūn could not help but include it in the section of *hazalīyāt,* because he could not find a ″serious″ traditional genre that would allow for such intimacy.

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[32]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar fī Tarjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar,* ed. Ibrāhīm Bājis 'Abd al-Majīd (Beirut, 1419/1999), 3:1207–27.

[33]Thomas Bauer, ″Ibn Ḥajar and the Arabic Ghazal of the Mamluk Age,″ in *Migration of a Literary Genre: Studies in Ghazal Literature,* ed. Thomas Bauer and Angelika Neuwirth (Beirut, forthcoming).

[34]Th. Emil Homerin, ″A Bird Ascends the Night″; idem, ″′I′ve Stayed by the Grave′: An Elegy/*nasīb* for Nuḍār,″ in *Literary Heritage of Classical Islam: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of James A. Bellamy*, ed. Mustansir Mir (Princeton, 1993): 107–18; idem, ″Reflections on Poetry in the Mamluk Age,″ *MSR* 1 (1997): 63–85, esp. 80–85. These elegies display also a very private and intimate tone. Since Nuḍār, a very educated woman, was already 28 years old when she died, these poems do not fall into the category of childhood death. Nevertheless it is remarkable that Abū Ḥayyān composed a whole series of poems to commemorate her death, just as the poets who had lost their infant sons did.

[35]Bauer, ″Ibrāhīm al-Mi'mār.″

[36]Arnoud Vrolijk, *Bringing a Laugh to a Scowling Face: A Study and Critical Edition of the ″Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-Muḍḥik al-'Abūs″ by 'Alī Ibn Sūdūn al-Bašbuġāwī* (Leiden, 1998), 45.

As these examples show, people started not only to become interested in the private life of their fellows, but also came to think that other people′s personal fate was relevant for their own life and could provide a model, an encouragement, or a comfort in individual situations. And, as a last step, they considered these topics worthy of being treated in the prestigious medium of poetry. As a consequence, poems on childhood death also acquired a new importance. For now it was no longer more or less unimportant what a person had to say about the death of his child, and one no longer had to have recourse to a topic such as heroism that was publicly accepted as important in order to draw attention to a poem on the death of one′s own child. It seems as if this development had taken place even before recurrent epidemics of the plague made the death of children an everyday experience.

If we consider the social, literary, and public-health circumstances of his time, it is little wonder that Ibn Nubātah′s poems on the death of his children have a conspicuously different starting point from those of al-Tihāmī. Ibn Nubātah could take public interest in his poems for granted, even if he limited himself to the subject of the death of his own child. Therefore, his poems were never a soliloquy, nor can they be interpreted as the poet′s most intimate expression of his own feelings, especially because such feelings met with general appreciation. Instead, these poems were part of a dialogue between the afflicted poet and the literary public of his time; there is no reason to doubt that Ibn Nubātah was aware of this, and one may well assume that for Ibn Nubātah this form of literary conversation added a lot to the comforting effect of the composition of his poems. Of course, these poems were intended for publication. Unfortunately Ibn Nubātah′s own collections of his poetry are not yet published and we only have an anthology of Ibn Nubātah′s pupil al-Bashtakī at our disposal. Nevertheless, we may assume that more than one of the books Ibn Nubātah published himself contained *Kindertotenlieder*. The response given to his work corroborates our assumption. Already al-Bashtakī had enough material to include seven *Kindertotenlieder* in his recension of Ibn Nubātah′s *dīwān*. Ibn Nubātah′s elegies were copied out and exist in manuscripts independent of Ibn Nubātah′s *dīwān*.[37] Indeed, the most important and exhaustive consolation manual for parents who had lost their children was written by Ibn Abī Ḥajalah (725–76/1325–75), a near contemporary of Ibn Nubātah. In this book, entitled *Salwat al-Ḥazīn fī Mawt al-Banīn,* Ibn Abī Ḥajalah quotes first al-Tihāmī′s *kāmil rā'īyah*, followed by 26 lines from Ibn Nubātah′s *munāẓarah* on this poem.[38] And if Mamluk and Ottoman Arabic literature were better known, one would certainly be able to adduce many more examples of the

[37]To mention only Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin: Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften* (Berlin, 1887–99), 7:77, 277.
[38]Ibn Abī Ḥajalah, *Salwat al-Ḥazīn fī Mawt al-Banīn*, ed. Mukhaymar Ṣāliḥ (Amman, 1994):143–49.

reception of Ibn Nubātah´s poems. But the examples mentioned may suffice to show that Ibn Nubātah´s poems can only be properly understood when their function in the system of communication of the ulama is taken into account.

Talking about Children

Mamluk society lacked the high degree of institutionalization of comparable Western societies. What was achieved here by institutions had to be achieved there by discourse, that is to say, by communication. This was true not only for scholars, but also for military rulers. As Al-Harithy has shown in a recent article, even the Mamluks themselves gave great weight to communication and tried by means of architecture, the most important form of art for them, ˝to enforce the dialogue between ruler and ruled˝ and developed the façades of their buildings ˝into a sophisticated means for addressing the urban environment and its dwellers.˝[39] It is amazing to see that this increasing importance of communication instead of representation had an effect on architecture that appears strikingly similar to the effect it had on certain forms of literature. Al-Harithy states that ˝the static symmetrical façades of the Fatimid period were replaced by dynamic façades in the Mamluk city . . ., and the emphasis on axial symmetry gave way to an emphasis on continuity.˝[40] This comparison with architecture does not, of course, imply that there was a general tendency towards less strictly structured poems in the Mamluk period. Rather, the bipartite *qaṣīdah* was still the prevalent model, which was applied even to the popular genre of praise of the Prophet. But it should demonstrate that it is not only in architecture that the message of works of art ˝is not literal or direct, but implied as part of the general Mamluk social discourse and practice.˝[41] In literature, this may mean a less ceremonial and representative attitude (one is even tempted to use the word ˝bourgeois,˝ would it not imply too many false connotations); a great flexibility to meet the immediate communication purposes; an increasingly feeble delimitation between the official and the unofficial, the high and the low, the public and the private, the serious and the humorous; and a very high density of messages and signals the reader has to decode.

In the case of Ibn Nubātah´s *rā'īyah*, the consequences are rather the same as noted by Al-Harithy for architecture. Al-Tihāmī´s representative structure—symmetrical, with heroism at its center—gives way to a supple structure that consists of small paragraphs of mostly three lines with a smooth transition between them. There is no clear thematic or structural break in the whole poem.

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[39]Howayda Al-Harithy, ˝The Concept of Space in Mamluk Architecture,˝ *Muqarnas* 18 (2001): 87.
[40]Ibid., 90.
[41]Ibid.

The theme of heroism is no longer present (lines 49–52 will be dealt with later). Instead, I know of no other poem in which the theme of childhood is treated so extensively as here.[42] First, it is present linguistically through the repetition of the address *yā* / *a-bunayya* ″my little son!″ (lines 4, 20, 24, 25, 33, cf. also *banīya* line 36, *ṭifl* line 30, *al-aṣāghir* line 53) that is scattered over the greater part of the poem. The prevailing notion in dealing with childhood death is its prematureness. In this respect, Ibn Nubātah does not differ from al-Tihāmī. But of course the Mamluk scholar did not complain about heroism manqué. Instead, he focused on a general treatment of premature death. The first line in this series is line 6, which is the transformation of one of the heroic concepts of al-Tihāmī. In his self-praise we learn (line 81):

> Wa-al-nāsu mushtabihūna fī īrādihim / wa-tafāḍulu al-aqwāmi fī al-iṣdārī
> [When they are driven to the water-place, all people are alike. Their different ranks are only visible when they are driven back.]

In this line, coming into life is compared to the cattle′s coming to a watering place, and death, consequently, is the coming back from it. When Ibn Nubātah transformed this famous line, he compared life to a sojourn at a watering place and left out everything heroic. The son should not have proved his rank; he should have simply been given the opportunity to experience the whole cycle of life. Nevertheless, al-Tihāmī′s model remains visible, and I doubt that Ibn Nubātah′s line can be fully understood if one doesn′t know al-Tihāmī′s. Ibn Nubātah says (line 6):

> Layta al-qaḍá al-jārī tamahhala wirdahū / ḥattá ḥasibta ʻawāqiba al-iṣdārī
> [Would that destiny had delayed in its permanent course till you could have imagined the end of the route!]

The theme of premature death is carried on with similar images in line 7 (lightning that did not bring rain) and line 13 (a twig that did not bring forth fruit).

[42]I will not discuss here the importance of Ibn Nubātah′s poems for the study of the history of mentalities. There is, of course, no doubt that these poems reflect a far more intimate relation between fathers and their children than is posited by Philippe Ariès for pre-eighteenth-century Europe. But I suppose that this was already the case in the Abbasid period, even if a poet like al-Tihāmī still had difficulties in communicating it without recourse to motifs of heroism. A discernible change in mentalities between the time of al-Tihāmī and the Mamluk period cannot be established on the basis of the present material. On children in Islam see also Avner Giladi, *Children of Islam: Concepts of Childhood in Medieval Muslim Society* (London, 1992).

Several lines later, Ibn Nubātah for once expresses more concrete ideas. Again he seems to have followed al-Tihāmī´s example. In line 51 of his *ṭawīl* poem, al-Tihāmī mentions a single non-military deed that his son was prevented from performing by his early death. It is the only concession to the fact that he himself is a poet, not a warrior:

> Wa-lam tukhjil al-rawḍa al-anīqa bi-rawḍatin / mufawwafati al-arjā'i bi-al-naẓmi wa-al-nathrī
> [Nor could you shame the graceful garden by a garden, the sides of which are variegated by poetry and prose.]

In al-Tihāmī´s line, prose and poetry fit very well in the enumeration of heroic deeds of which they form a part, for they are seen as achievements the child failed to perform, and the child´s achievements are obviously something of which to be proud.

In Ibn Nubātah´s poem, the father does not complain about his son´s unachieved accomplishments, but about the fact that the father never had the pleasure of hearing his son talk to him (line 17), and when Ibn Nubātah states that his son´s ″feet of intelligence did not wade into the seas/meters of poetry″ (line 18), it is again not the disappointment of a father´s hopes, but rather the son´s missed opportunities that are regretted.[43] There is no connection between the child and the public. The only counterpart to the son is his own father. In this way the more intimate and private nature of Ibn Nubātah´s poem as compared to that of al-Tihāmī becomes visible even in the transformation of a single motif.

The motif of premature death undergoes several developments in the course of the poem. In lines 40 and 41 it is connected with the theme of grey hair that had its exposition in line 26. In lines 20 and 33, it is softened by stating that the son´s fate is everybody´s fate and the disparity between the lifespan of the son and that of the father became but small. In lines 21–22, finally, the motif is inverted altogether. The son´s death was not premature at all, since he did not miss anything in this world, and his death came just in time. Al-Tihāmī´s versification of the hadith saying that man´s life is ″but a fleeting vision″ (Ibn Nubātah clearly alludes to this line by means of the words *al-khayāli al-sārī*) is here pursued to its final consequence and applied to the son´s short life.

Premature death not only means missed opportunities but also avoided guilt. The child´s innocence, which is expressed in line 11, is a theme unknown to me from al-Tihāmī or any other author before Ibn Nubātah. As we see, the consequences

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[43] Abū Ḥayyān´s daughter Nuḍār lived long enough to develop a good command of literary language. Her father does not fail to mention this in a line with extraordinary rhetorical sophistication; see Homerin, ″´I´ve Stayed by the Grave,´″ 112.

of an early death are illuminated from all angles in this poem, and the respective lines are scattered all over the poem and run through it like a thread. But premature death is not Ibn Nubātah's only way to mention childhood. He could hardly have done without the old motif saying that the death of a small child must not mean small sorrows. Ibn Nubātah presents this well-known motif, which was common already long before al-Tihāmī, skilfully in the form of a dialogue using very simple expressions (line 10). When the son is mentioned for the first time, it is said that he was a light burden when alive, whereas the grief for his death is heavy to bear (line 4). This is one of the few lines in which bodily features of the child play a role, as well as the father's way of dealing with his child. Paternal care is also mentioned in line 31.

It is striking that religion hardly plays a role in this poem. There are several unspecific references to "fate" that could just as well be pre-Islamic, but only two references to Islamic concepts. The first is the statement of line 3 that the child is in paradise (which is also mentioned in lines 22 and 34). This line is, by the way, another transformation of a line of al-Tihāmī, and I cannot help but imagine that whoever grasped this relation must have found it rather funny, despite the earnest subject of the poem. In the final section of al-Tihāmī's *kāmil* poem, the poet boasts of his insuperable virtues and tells us that he feels pity for those who envy him "for the heat of rancor gathered in their breast" (line 76), and he continues (line 77):

> Naẓarū ṣanīʿa Allāhi bī fa-ʿuyūnuhum / fī jannatin wa-qulūbuhum fī nārī
> [When they perceive how God acted towards me, their eyes dwell in heaven, their hearts in hell.]

In Ibn Nubātah's poem, it is the child who is in heaven, and the poet who is in hell. Children, of course, have no difficulties in entering heaven, since there is no concept of an original sin in Islam. As far as parents are concerned, there are several hadiths according to which those who lost several (or even only one) of their children will enter paradise or will at least be granted considerable advantages on the Day of Judgment.[44] These traditions have to be seen in the light of the tendency to grant martyrdom for causes of death that were considered especially cruel (pestilence, disease of the belly, death in childbed, etc.). Parents who lost their child are still alive. Nevertheless their fate was considered sufficiently cruel

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[44]These hadiths are the main content of treatises for the comfort of parents who have lost a child to premature death. A bibliographical list is given in Thomas Bauer, "Islamische Totenbücher: Entwicklung einer Textgattung im Schatten al-Ġazālīs," to appear in *Akten des 19. Kongresses der Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants, Halle 1998.*

to grant them conditions that factually come rather close to martyrdom. This concept is alluded to in line 24, in which the son is asked to serve his father on the Day of Judgment as a recompense for the father´s ″entreasuring″ his son´s body in the earth. Since this prerequisite is purely metaphorical, the line acquires a taste of bitterness and cannot be regarded as a straightforward expression of religious feelings. Obviously still in Mamluk times, in which religious poetry became increasingly popular, religious and poetic discourse remained as clearly distinguishable as they were in previous periods,[45] and not necessarily the same answers to a problem were given in poetry as in hadith or law.

These are the main representations of childhood in Ibn Nubātah´s poem. Unlike al-Tihāmī´s *rā'īyah*s, there is no section devoted to childhood death, but the theme of childhood is present throughout the poem. Due to the ubiquity of the theme in this poem, even motifs that only accidentally have to do with childhood are given a new context in the mind of the audience. So it is conventional to compare the weeping of the bereaved with the cry of the pigeon, but in this poem one is again made aware of the fact that the pigeon weeps over its nestling (line 8). And in countless elegies the clouds are asked to pour rain on the grave of the deceased with a lot of different images. In this poem, however, it cannot be incidental that the image of breastfeeding is chosen in line 56, the penultimate line of the poem.

Taken together, the image of childhood and childhood death is present in this poem in more than forty per cent of its 57 lines, compared to about ten lines out of 90 in al-Tihāmī´s *kāmil rā'īyah.*[46] Since the subject of childhood death permeates the whole poem, the audience/reader will connect all other themes and images to this subject as well, and this is what gives this poem an unprecedented intensity, which is enforced by the constant repetition of a small stock of themes and images and the use of rhetorical devices, as we will see in the following.

Theme and Development

Just as is the case with the theme of childhood, other themes and images recur over and over again. Instead of building separate blocks dedicated to different subjects, the poem is a constant play with a limited stock of themes and images. One is reminded of the musical technique of exposition and development. In fact, most of the concepts are presented in the first six lines of the poem, and developed in the following sections. The main themes besides childhood are: (1) tears, (2)

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[45]Bauer, ″Todesdiskurse,″ and idem, ″Raffinement und Frömmigkeit,″ *Asiatische Studien* 50 (1996): 275–95.

[46]His *ṭawīl rā'īyah* contains more lines on childhood death, but since the whole passage on heroism is formally constructed as a complaint on premature death (″he did not march under the banner . . .″), it is hardly comparable.

journey (and its counterpart: place of sojourn), (3) earth/grave, (4) light/stars (and its opposite: darkness), (5) water/garden. The following examples may show how these themes are developed.

(1) Tears, an indispensable subject of every elegy, are already mentioned in line 1. In line 2 they are equated with theme (5) ″river″ and contrasted with theme (3) ″dust.″ In line 7, ″rain″ (again theme 5) is provided by the eyes in the form of tears, but remains an unfulfilled promise of ″lightning″ (theme 4), to which the short life of the child is compared. Lines 8 and 9 provide explicit elaborations of the theme of ″weeping.″ In line 14, the child is compared to a pearl that is covered (theme 4: light and darkness) by the ″sea″ (theme 5) of tears (but the *biḥār* of poetry in line 18 have nothing to do with weeping), whereas the tears are pearls themselves in line 19. If the dead son in paradise (theme 5) could know about his father′s fate, he would himself weep (line 22). A perfect synthesis is given finally in line 34: the child in paradise will give his father a drink from the stream of paradise (theme 5) as a compensation for the father′s watering the son′s grave (theme 3) with his tears before. This line is not unproblematic from a religious point of view, since excessive weeping is interdicted in Islam and is by no means a reason for heavenly reward as it might seem from this line. But more important is the literary effect of bringing together the theme of weeping with the son′s stay in paradise, thereby concluding a thematic circle that began in lines 2 and 3. Consequently, there is no further mention of weeping in the poem.

(2) The theme of travel is initiated by the unmetaphorical mentioning of night journeys in line 4 and carried on with the image of the race course in line 5 and the comparison of life to a stop at a watering place in line 6. It therefore dominates the whole section from line 4 to 6. Subsequently, it is again modified and confronted with other themes such as ″stars″ (theme 4) in line 15, ″seas″ (theme 5) in line 18, and, as a final climax, with the theme of ″grave″ (theme 3) in line 38. In between, we find it in lines 12 and 21, direct echoes of al-Tihāmī, and in line 33, a direct echo of line 12. Its counterpart, the place of sojourn, is mentioned by words derived from the root *sakan* in lines 2 and 16 (cf. also *awṭān* in the very first line). In line 2, it is the grave where the child sojourns, whereas in the final line of this circle, line 38, the grave is only the mount that shows that the journey has not come to an end. Again we see that a cycle, which had started in line 2, is brought to an end more than thirty lines later. There is no further mention of travelling in the poem after line 38.

(3) In contrast to themes (1) and (2), the theme of earth and grave, which starts in line 2, is carried on right to the end of the poem. In very different contexts it appears in lines 2, 12, 13, 16, 20, 24, 36, 37, 42, 46, 49, 50, 51, and 57. Since elegies conventionally end with the wish for copious rain to moisten the grave, it is not surprising that Ibn Nubātah too ends his poem with this motif.

(4) Stars have already been a recurrent theme in al-Tihāmī′s poems. In Ibn Nubātah′s poem, the theme of stars/light and darkness starts in line 7 with the image of lightning, is continued in lines 14 and 15, but assumes major importance in the second half (lines 28–30, 36, 41, 44, 45, 51, 52, 56). Since we have already seen how Ibn Nubātah develops his themes by confronting them with different situations and with each other, we need not go into detail here. The same is true with theme (5) ″water, garden, plants,″ which occurs in lines 2, 3, 6, 7, 13, 14, 18, 22, 34, 53, and 57.

Even themes of lesser importance are dealt with in the same way. In line 26, the theme of grey hair is introduced in the form of an antithesis. In this place, it has little more to say than that the pleasures of life are gone. Only in the paragraph comprising lines 41 to 43 do we realize the potential of the theme, since here it is confronted with the theme of premature death, and it turns out that with the help of a *tawriyah* this confrontation results in a quite interesting image. This is Ibn Nubātah′s method for the greater part of his *rā'īyah*. He takes a limited stock of themes and tries out what happens if these themes are confronted with each other or with different situations. So the same themes and motifs appear under constantly changing perspectives. On the other hand, the persistence of the same themes reflects a mind whose thoughts constantly dwell on the same matters, thus reflecting despair and hopelessness.

This method is pursued until the beginning of the last passage in about line 40. Until then we have heard about the death of the boy and the father′s despair. But an elegy has to address the subject of comfort and self-control. After all, *ṣabr* is one of the main virtues and one of the most important subjects of the Arabic elegy in general, and it is also the main subject of the final part of Ibn Nubātah′s *rā'īyah.* It starts with the statement that everybody must die (line 40), which is elaborated in the ″grey hair″ passage already mentioned (lines 41–43). The fact that everybody must die was obviously considered the most convincing argument for consolation, much more so than the prospect of paradise, which is only rarely mentioned in poetry.[47] In a group of again three lines, Ibn Nubātah continues the elaboration of this theme in lines 44 to 46, leading from the celestial sphere to earthly tombstones. Two lines (47–48) admonish the hearer—and probably the father himself—to think about this fact and consequently to show *ṣabr*. The most common motif to express the fact of the inevitability of death is the *ubi sunt qui ante nos* motif, to which the following six lines are devoted. In an amazing climax, the poet adduces three groups of people, each of them presented in two lines. First, the former kings, the most commonly mentioned group in the *ubi sunt* passages, are all dead (lines 49–50). The second group are the war heroes, and

[47] Bauer, ″Todesdiskurse,″ 12.

these lines are of course Ibn Nubātah´s explicit answer to the heroic passages in al-Tihāmī´s poems. Even the sparks they let fly in the heat of battle are a reflection of a formulation of al-Tihāmī (cf. line 43 of his *ṭawīl rā'īyah,* quoted above). All that is left from al-Tihāmī´s heroism are two lines that state that even heroes are doomed to death. But the most surprising passage is constituted by the following lines, in which a third group joins the princes and heroes: children. ˝Where have all the babies gone?˝ is a most extraordinary turn of the *ubi sunt* motif, and it is most remarkable that childhood death could be seen in one and the same line with the death of society´s most prominent members.

In the concluding passage of the last three lines, Ibn Nubātah reverts to the notion of *ṣabr* from line 48. But something must have happened in between. Whereas the mood of line 48 is still rather optimistic as far as the achievement of *ṣabr* is concerned, this confidence must have been lost in the course of the following lines. Though it was exactly their aim to strengthen *ṣabr,* something must have gone wrong. Obviously the reference to the children has shattered the hopes of attaining equanimity. If *ṣabr* is shown, it is only pretence or constraint. The poem ends in hopelessness.

Unorganized as the poem might seem at first glance, it turns out to match its emotional development perfectly. Two thirds of the poem are devoted to the father´s grief about the loss of his beloved son. Its enormous density is achieved by a technique that may remind the audience of a composition technique utilized often by such composers as Brahms or Reger, who used to base long movements on short and at first inconspicuous motifs, which only gained their significance by the way they were treated and developed in the further course of the movement. In the same way, Ibn Nubātah introduces five themes, which are neither especially conspicuous nor original, in the first six lines of his poem. But in the following thirty-three lines, this material is varied, modified, adapted, arranged in ever-new combinations, brought to reveal unexpected relations and shown to permeate every conceivable aspect. Presenting always new constellations of these themes, but hardly transgressing them, the poet may at the same time convey the impression of the inexhaustibility of paternal pain as well as that of its inescapability. The final part, the poem´s last third, should display the harmonization of the conflicts, should present equanimity *(ṣabr)* regained, should bring comfort through the realization that everybody and everything is doomed to end. In order to achieve this, the tightly knotted, condensed structure of the first two thirds gives way to a more linear structure. But *ṣabr* cannot be gained. The sonata has no recapitulation but an open end. This is, to stick to the musical image, the melody. The harmony, which, as we will see, corresponds exactly to this structure and reinforces its emotional effectiveness, is provided by the rhetorical devices, which we will examine in the following.

RHETORIC AND EMOTION

Poetry is communication, and a poem is only meaningful if its communicative function is taken into regard. This has already been stated, but it must inevitably be repeated in a chapter dealing with emotions. Many contemporary Arabic scholars assume that it is the main function of a poem to ″express feelings,″ and that the quality of a poem can be determined more or less according to the degree of directness by which a poet ″expresses his true feelings.″ If a poet uses more than only a very limited number of rhetorical devices in his poem, it is considered an indication that the poet´s feelings are not sincere and the poem is ″a mere play on words″ and of no further poetic relevance.[48] This attitude is sometimes considered to be a reflection of European romanticism, but I suppose that two other roots are more important. The importance given to the ″sincerity″ of emotions, the fact that emotions themselves are the focus of interest rather than their poetic transformation, and the postulate that these emotions should be spoken out in a direct and immediate way point to a Protestant origin of this attitude.[49] One of the entrance gates of such ideas may have been the Protestant mission of the Americans in Beirut, which during the *nahḍah* period played a major role in forming modern Arab attitudes towards literature.

The other root of the enmity towards rhetorics in the modern Arab world is the European, especially French, enlightenment. One of the ideals of this movement was purity of language and clarity of expression, which resulted in a general devaluation of the literature of previous periods, especially of the era of the baroque, but proved rather disadvantageous for the production of poetry (romanticism was a major attempt to overcome the sterility and dullness of enlightenment poetry). When the French set out to colonialize the Arab world, they were faced with the problem that, contrary to sub-Saharan Africa, the Arab world already possessed what was considered civilization by European standards of that time. In this situation, the French made literature and language one of their main weapons. It was acknowledged that the Arab world had developed a great civilization in the ″Middle Ages,″[50] but afterwards this civilization was subject to a

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[48]Bauer, Review of al-Afandī.

[49]On the Protestant origin of this attitude see Hans-Georg Soeffner, ″ Luther: Der Weg von der Kollektivität des Glaubens zu einem lutherisch-protestantischen Individualitätstyp,″ in *Vom Ende des Individuums zur Individualität ohne Ende,* ed. Hanns-Georg Brose and Bruno Hildebrand (Opladen, 1988), 107–49.

[50]The still current application of the term ″Middle Ages″ and ″medieval″ to Islamic history is a remnant of the colonialist degradation of Arabic and Islamic culture in that its whole premodern history is limited to the role of a transition period between the two really ″valuable″ periods, antiquity and modernity. At least, this was the reason for the coinage of this term in Europe. To use this designation for great parts of Arab history means to deprive the Arab world of the right of

process of steady decline and decadence, and this decadence was considered to be especially visible in the case of literature with its ″baroque″ and over-ornate style.[51] In fact, it was literature which gave the French one of the arguments for the justification of a *mission civilisatrice* in the Arab world. This went hand-in-hand with the propagation of the French language, which was considered an unsurpassable model on account of its *clarté*,[52] and it is small wonder that it set the norm for literary style in Arabic as well. And just as former (and, as we see it now, formidable) periods of European literature had been disparaged for the benefit of the bourgeois taste of enlightenment, now with the same arguments the overwhelming portion of Arabic literature was disparaged for the benefit of colonialism.

Still, more than a century afterwards, a colonialized mind is clearly visible in contemporary Arab attitudes towards premodern Arabic poetry. But it is high time now to stop applying criteria to this literature that it can never match. In fact, no premodern Arab poet ever tried to ″express true feelings″; he would not even have understood the words ʻ*abbara ʻan shuʻūr ṣādiqah,* let alone applied them to judge literary texts. Instead, he might have used a formulation like that used by Ibn Rashīq, who, after having stated that it is particularly difficult to compose elegies on women and children, continues: ″One of the best and most saddening *(ashjá)* elegies on women, one of those that have the deepest effect on the heart *(ashaddihī ta'thīran fī al-qalb)* and in arousing grief *(wa-ithāratan li-al-ḥuzni)* is the poem by Ibn ʻAbd al-Malik on his *umm walad. . . .*″[53] Here, as in countless other statements, the poet is not judged according to the feelings he *expresses,* but according to the feelings he *arouses* in the audience/reader.

This result should motivate us to ask what is meant by the formulation ″to express one′s feelings.″ To ″express a thought″ means to put it into words that match it as exactly as possible and therefore allow it to be communicated to others without causing misunderstanding. To ″express a feeling,″ however, can hardly mean in a poetic context to put a feeling into words in order to inform the hearer as precisely as possible about the physical and psychic effects of it. This would be appropriate in a confession, an examination of one′s conscience (I already mentioned the Protestant roots of this concept), or in a psychoanalysis, but not in a poem. Ibn Nubātah very obviously did not want to inform his contemporaries of the fact that

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having a history of its own that is meaningful even if it is not constantly related to European history. Remarkably enough, historians do not speak of medieval Japan or China.

[51]Thomas Bauer, ″Die *badīʻiyya* des Nāṣīf al-Yāziği und das Problem der spätosmanischen arabischen Literatur,″ in preparation.

[52]Ulrike Freitag, *Geschichtsschreibung in Syrien 1920–1990: Zwischen Wissenschaft und Ideologie* (Hamburg, 1991), 83–89.

[53]Ibn Rashīq, ʻ*Umdah,* 2:846.

he suffers insomnia and is forced to weep on account of the death of his son. Had he aspired to do so, he could have set out his emotional state of mind in plain prose and written a letter to the few people who might have been interested in his personal concerns. Instead, he composed a poem that was meant to be published and to be of relevance to many other people who were not the least interested in the ″sincere feelings″ of a certain Ibn Nubātah. They were, however, interested in their own feelings (and the reflection of their own feelings in somebody else), and therefore it again seems that the old critics who regarded the effect of a poem rather than the sincerity of the poet′s feelings were nearer to the reality of the literary communication system than the proponents of the notion of emotional expression.

Nevertheless, the feelings of the poet himself are not completely irrelevant. Even Arabic literary theorists established that to be really in love or really filled with wrath does help a lot in composing good *ghazal* or *hijā'* poetry.[54] But they never use the notion of ″expressing″ these emotions, and therefore we may well ask where exactly the feelings and emotions are in a poem. The only possible answer is to state that, again, the emotions are nowhere else than in the audience/reader of the poem, and that the poem′s function is to evoke these emotions in the recipient. Inevitably, the poet himself is not only the poem′s producer, but also its first audience, and his emotional reaction to the poem is at least similar to that of the intended public. Therefore, the poet will test—consciously or not—whether the poem has more or less the same emotional effect on himself which it is supposed to have on its later hearers and readers. The notion of ″expressing″ a feeling is therefore hardly anything other than a metaphorical expression for arousing a feeling in the hearer that is similar to the feeling in the mind (or wherever feelings may be) of the poet himself. The emotions, therefore, are not somewhere in the poem, which is supposed to express them, but they are induced more or less successfully by the poem in the audience (the poet himself included). This is corroborated by the fact that the means to induce feelings by literary texts can be analyzed fairly well, whereas the question of whether a poem expresses the sincere feelings of its author must always remain pure speculation. In the case of Ibn Nubātah′s *Kindertotenlieder*, we have, of course, no reason to doubt the depth and sincerity of their author′s feelings. It is beyond any doubt that these feelings helped a lot to create the masterly poem that we have before us. However, this does not help much to understand the poem, but rather leads in a wrong direction, as we have already seen. The poem is not a spontaneous outburst of uncontrolled emotion, but a carefully planned and executed text, as is shown by its structure, which may seem chaotic at first glance but turns out on closer

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[54]Ibid., 1:194, 198, but compare ibid., 1:329–45.

analysis to be structured in exactly such a way as to be able to induce an effect of helpless emotional tangle.

If Ibn Nubātah′s elegy were a spontaneous creation, as M. Muḥammad thinks (but which it is not), and if it is a reflection of sincere feelings, as all previous interpreters think (and which it certainly is),[55] and if spontaneity and veracity are opposed to the use of rhetorical devices, as the adherents of the aforementioned school of ″expression-of-sincere-feelings″ believe, this poem should contain few rhetorical devices. However, the contrary is true. For those who think that rhetorical sophistication and deep feelings are irreconcilable and like Ibn Nubātah′s text, the chart on the following page may come as a surprise. It lists the more conspicuous figures of speech and rhetorical devices of the poem for every line:[56]

[55]Therefore, Ibn Nubātah′s *rā'īyah* is said to ″abound with images full of passion and poetic presentations full of heat,″ as is stated by Yāsīn al-Ayyūbī, *Āfāq al-Shi'r al-'Arabī fī al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Tripoli, Lebanon, 1995), 174. An accurate review of this book is given by Th. Emil Homerin in *MSR* 3 (1999): 237–40.

[56]With the exception of anaphora I limited myself to the traditionally established rhetorical figures, which are at the same time clearly recognizable. Stylistic features like *insijām* (cf. the contribution of G. J. van Gelder in this volume), which would not be considered as foregrounding devices, are not represented in the chart. As a convenient reference and for an English translation of the names of rhetorical figures I use Pierre Cachia, *The Arch Rhetorician or The Schemer′s Skimmer: A Handbook of Late Arabic badī' drawn from 'Abd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī′s* Nafaḥāt al-Azhār 'alā Nasamāt al-Asḥār (Wiesbaden, 1998) and Wolfhart P. Heinrichs, ″Rhetorical Figures,″ *EAL* 2:656–62. In the last column of the chart I noted the number of the line of al-Tihāmīs *kāmil* poem (in italics) and of his *ṭawīl* poem (in parentheses) which was the model for the respective line of Ibn Nubātah. I completely disregarded hyperbole, which plays only a minor role in the poem. One may add the rhetorical figure of *qasam* ″oath″ (Cachia, *Rhetorician*, no. 139) for line 39; *iqtibās* (ibid., no. 169) for line 40 (it may be considered a vague allusion to Quran 38:3, but is rather a common formula); and *al-madhhab al-kalāmī* ″logical argumentation″ (Cachia, *Rhetorician*, no. 127; W.P. Heinrichs, ″*al-madhhab al-kalāmī*,″ *EAL* 2:482) for line 47.

line	anaphora	*isti'ārah, tashbīh*	*murā'āt al-naẓīr*	*ṭibāq*	*jinās*	*tawriyah*	other	cf. al-Tihāmī
1								*1*
2								
3								*23*
4								
5								*27*
6								*80*
7		*sh*						
8								
9								
10								*20*
11								
12								*24*
13								
14		*sh*						
15								
16		*sh*						*18*
17								
18								(53)
19		*sh*						
20								
21		*sh*						*6*
22								*2*
23								
24								
25								
26								
27								
28		*sh*						
29								
30								*14*
31					?			
32								
33								
34								
35								
36		*sh*						
37								
38								
39					?			
40					?			
41								
42		*sh*						
43								
44								
45								
46								
47								*18*
48								
49					?			
50								
51								(43)
52								
53		*sh*						
54								
55								
56								
57								

If we include the four lines marked with a question mark in column ″*jinās*,″ but regardless of whether we regard the column ″anaphora″ or not (since anaphora was not a well established figure in indigenous Arabic rhetorical theory), we can conclude that every line with the sole exception of the very last contains one or more rhetorical figures. These figures are not distributed evenly in the text; rather their distribution reflects the structure explained above. While the first part is dominated by simile and metaphor, which are often used to form a *murāʻāt al-naẓīr,* and the emotional intensity of this part is reinforced by several anaphoras, the final part is dominated by *ṭibāq*. Let us briefly consider the most important figures of speech and rhetorical devices:

(a) Anaphora (like alliteration or the epigram) is one of those devices that were well known and consciously used by Arabic poets, but had no specific technical term and were not considered by literary theory.[57] To start several consecutive lines with the same word(s) is indeed one of the oldest and most characteristic devices of the elegy and can be traced back to the primitive forms of the pre-Islamic *niyāḥah*.[58] This kind of anaphora, reflecting perhaps the repeated desperate cry of the wailer, is the most atavistic device of the *marthiyah* and maybe the most immediate expression of despair. In a highly sophisticated poem like that of Ibn Nubātah it is, of course, no longer immediate to that degree, but in all probability the hearer will still associate it with overwhelming emotionality. This is most probably also its main function in Ibn Nubātah′s poem, where it seems to have been used very consciously. Starting with two relatively inconspicuous anaphoras in lines 5–6 and 8–9, which do not have any structuring function, there follows a *lahfī* passage (lines 13–15) featuring three images of premature death, and, interrupted by a line mentioning the grave and the place of the deceased boy in the father′s memory, an *aʻziz ʻalayya* passage, again mainly about premature death. The more complicated anaphoric words correspond to the more complicated images of premature death in this passage. The other lines marked as anaphoric are those beginning with *a-bunayya*.[59] They are scattered over the first part of the poem to remind the hearer constantly of the fact that the object of the poem is a child. One should mention that Ibn Nubātah makes less use of the anaphora in his other elegies on his son, and in al-Tihāmī′s *kāmil rāʼīyah* it is completely absent.

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[57]One may subsume it under the rubric *takrār* (cf. Cachia, *Rhetorician*, no. 53), but rhetoricians do not specify the unit within which the repetition has to take place. In most examples of *takrār,* a word or phrase is repeated within a single line.

[58]See already Ignaz Goldziher, ″Bemerkungen zur arabischen Trauerpoesie,″ *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlands* 16 (1902): 307–39.

[59]I did not mark the isolated lines starting with *a-bunayya* (lines 20 and 33) in the above chart. I am not sure if the anaphora was felt as such in these cases.

(b) Simile *(tashbīh)* and metaphor *(isti'ārah)* are the all-prevailing means of foregrounding in this poem. The first half especially is dominated by them. Three quarters of lines 1–39 contain one or more of these figures, whereas less than a third of the remaining lines do so. The following chart gives a list of the *prima* and *secunda comparationis,* arranged alphabetically according to the *primum comparationis*:[60]

babies	blossoms	53
babies	pearls	54
boy	flash of lightning	7
boy	eye	9
boy	twig	13
boy	pearl	14
boy	star	15
boy	apparition	21
boy	treasure	24
boy	intestines	35
child	stars	30
child	moon	36
darkness	trail	28
dawn	curtain	29
dust	clouds	36
earth	clothes	20
face	dinar	32
father	pigeon	8
fortune	ruins	25
grave	garden	2
grave	shelter	12
grave	mount	38

grey hair	dust	42
intestines	earth	16
kings	mountains	50
life	race course	5
life	rest at water place	6
moon	bow	45
pain	fire	3
pain	load	4
pleasures	whiteness	26
poetry	sea	18
stars	nails	28
sun	stars	29
tears	helpers	1
tears	rivers	2
tears	rain	7
tears	gold	9
tears	seas	14
tears	pearls	19
tears	drink	34
tongue	host	17
words	guest	17

[60]I omitted the *isti'ārah* "feet of intelligence" of line 18.

The main function of comparison in this poem is obviously to create and connect the five themes that form the basis of the major part of the poem. The experience of the boy's death is transformed into a world consisting of the elements tears, journeys, earth, stars, and gardens, which permanently interact. Many items occur more than once in one of the columns or in both of them. This world is based largely on comparison, but to attract the audience's attention to the act of comparing would have disturbed the impression. Therefore, the similes and metaphors are less interesting in themselves than in what is achieved by them. It is not surprising thus that the most original simile, the comparison of babies in their cradles with blossoms (line 53), is not found in the five-themes part of the poem but in its final section, in which there are only a few similes and metaphors anyway. Finally, one may note that apparently Ibn Nubātah was keen to avoid monotony and to further conceal the extensive use of comparison by varying the formal means of comparison. Several types and constructions of metaphors and similes alternate, and there are never two consecutive lines that contain a particle of comparison (lines that contain such an *ālat al-tashbīh* are marked with *sh* in the chart above).

(c) The same tendency is reflected in the remarkably high number of lines that form what is called *murā'āt al-naẓīr*, that is, consist of images and/or ideas that pertain to the same semantic sphere.[61] In most cases, the figure is brought about by two (or more) comparisons that lead into the same semantic realm. In this way Ibn Nubātah produces lines that are entirely devoted to images like garden, thunderstorm, twigs, doves, pearls, night and stars (this image is even carried on over the three lines 28–30), etc. All these topics are part of the five themes that form the skeleton of the poem's first part. In these lines, the respective theme appears alone and undisturbed. But it is fascinating to see how Ibn Nubātah repeatedly interrupted the sequences of *murā'āt al-naẓīr* by lines featuring a *ṭibāq* "antithesis." Neither the lines containing *ṭibāq* nor those containing *murā'āt al-naẓīr* exceed thematically the frame of the five themes mentioned previously. The poet thus dwells on the same subjects, but treats them with different stylistic devices. This conveys an image of density and insistence. Consequently, in the latter third of the poem no single instance of *murā'āt al-naẓīr* occurs.

(d) *Ṭibāq (or muṭābaqah)* "antithesis,"[62] is another extremely important figure in this poem. Of course, the contrast between life and death lends itself easily to

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[61]Heinrichs, "Rhetorical Figures," 658–59; Cachia, *Rhetorician*, no. 73 (to include cases of phonetic resemblance seems to be a purely theoretical phenomenon in latter *badī'* treatises and can be ignored here).

[62]Heinrichs, "Rhetorical Figures," 659; Cachia, *Rhetorician*, no. 79. Though Cachia is right to note that *ṭibāq* is wider in reach than antithesis, I cannot persuade myself to translate it as "parallelism." I wonder if "contrast" would be an adequate translation.

the construction of antithetic contrasts, but Ibn Nubātah′s *ṭibāqāt* go far beyond that scope. Ambivalence and contrast dominate the father, the son, their destiny (on earth as well as in heaven), their mutual relation, and finally the whole of life and the whole of mankind, as the following chart (in the compilation of which the term *ṭibāq* was used in its most restricted way) shows:

paradise	hell	3	white	black	41
light	heavy	4	shoot	be hit	45
warada	*ṣadara*	6	rejection	confirmation	46
small	big	10	revelation	secret	47
far	near	12	mountain	dust	50
distant	close	12	darkness	sparks	51
clothed	naked	20	intactness	destruction	52
sleep	sleeplessness	27	bones	flesh	54
highland	lowland	35	pearls	stones	54
souls	bodies	37	patience	grief	55

And again, the rhetorical figure not only corresponds with the structure of the poem but is, in fact, one of the main devices to structure it. While in the first part a few instances of *ṭibāq* are used to contrast a far greater number of *murāʻāt al-naẓīr,* the second part of the poem with its more general reflections about life and death is largely dominated by *ṭibāq*. Starting with line 35, we can observe an antithetic *accelerando* culminating in the *ubi sunt* passage (lines 49–54) with its surprising climax kings/heroes/babies. The last *ṭibāq* in the poem is the contrast between *ṣabr* ″patience″ and *jazaʻ* ″grief,″ a contrast that is shown in the end as insuperable.

(e) The extensive use of *jinās,* the phonetic or graphic resemblance (or even identity) of two semantically different elements (words or word pairs), is not specific to any special period of Arabic literature. Even the pre- and early-Islamic poet al-Aʻshá was extremely fond of it (not to speak of al-Ṭirimmāḥ and the Umayyad *rajaz* poets), and Abū Tammām was notorious for his *jinās* excesses. Enthusiasm for *jinās* is neither a sign of decadence nor something particularly characteristic of the Mamluk period. In this time, however, it became the subject of a somewhat tragic dispute. I call it tragic because it seems as if this controversy destroyed the friendship of the two most important *hommes de lettres* of the eighth/fourteenth century, Ibn Nubātah and al-Ṣafadī. The latter had composed a collection of poetry of his own, in which he carried the potential of *jinās* to its

extreme.[63] ʻUmar Mūsá Bāshā may be right to assume that the reason he composed the book was his determination to counter Ibn Nubātah′s sophisticated and innovative treatment of the *tawriyah* with the propagation of another rhetorical figure. Al-Ṣafadī was enormously proud of his achievement, sent his booklet to many fellow ulama, and proudly collected the accolades *(taqrīẓāt)* he received.[64] Ibn Nubātah, however, proved himself not to be amused by al-Ṣafadī′s amassing of *jināsāt,* and ″things too long to explain occurred between both on this account.″[65] In the end, it seems as if al-Ṣafadī fell in with Ibn Nubātah′s stylistic trend in favor of the *tawriyah* and composed a treatise on this subject[66]—only to be accused by Ibn Nubātah of plagiarism (an accusation that was only too justified, if we accept Ibn Ḥijjah′s judgement).[67] What a time, in which friendships broke apart not out of avarice, but out of a quarrel about rhetorical figures!

Ibn Ḥijjah′s position in this respect is quite clear, and it seems by and large to reflect Ibn Nubātah′s attitude.[68] *Jinās* is, he concludes, one of the more primitive rhetorical figures, and too much of it can spoil any poem. In right measure, however, it can add to a poem′s value. According to Ibn Ḥijjah, it is especially effective in the first line of a poem, if the poet fails to produce a *tawriyah*, which would be the more elegant (and more modern) way to start.[69] Needless to say, in our poem Ibn Nubātah succeeds in combining a *jinās* with a *tawriyah,* and at the same time alludes to his model, al-Tihāmī, in his first line. Aside from the introductory line, *jinās* in fact plays a minor role. It marks the climax of the *lahfī* series in line 15, where it is again combined with a *tawriyah,* thus again lending enormous prominence to the verse. Then we find it in a very marked way in line 37, the emotional climax before the concluding part, and again combined with a *tawriyah* in the rather complicated line 43. As a result, we may note, in this poem Ibn Nubātah uses *jinās* only very sparingly and consciously to emphasize lines of special importance for the content and/or the structure of the poem.

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[63] Al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb Jinān al-Jinās fī ʻIlm al-Badīʻ* (Constantinople, A.H. 1299, reprint Beirut, n.d.). The edition by Sāmir Ḥusayn Ḥalabī (Beirut, 1407/1987) adds a lot of misprints in consequence of which the text acquires a certain dadaistic flavor. See also Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah,* 445–47.
[64] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʻyān al-ʻAṣr wa-Aʻwān al-Naṣr,* ed. ʻAlī Abū Zayd et al. (Damascus, 1987–88), 1:397–98, 3:291, 374–76, 501–2, 5:361–63.
[65] Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī, *Khizānat al-Adab wa-Ghāyat al-Arab* (2nd ed., Beirut, 1991), 1: 56.
[66] Al-Ṣafadī, *Faḍḍ al-Khitām ʻan al-Tawriyah wa-al-Istikhdām*, ed. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Ḥinnāwī (Cairo, 1399/1979). See also Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah*, 456–59.
[67] Ibn Ḥijjah, *Khizānah*, 2:121–29. This is only one of several possible reconstructions of the story between Ibn Nubātah and al-Ṣafadī. Further research is required. It should include a study of the relation between Ibn Nubātah′s *Al-Sajʻ al-Mutawwaq* and al-Ṣafadī′s *Alḥān al-Sawājiʻ* (both still unedited).
[68] Ibn Ḥijjah, *Khizānah*, 1:54–55.
[69] Ibid., 55.

This is the case as far as real *jinās* is concerned. It is appropriate, however, to address here the problem of the four lines labelled with a question mark in the column *jinās* in the chart. In fact, when I drew up this chart, in the end five lines remained without entry. Apart from the final line, these were lines 31, 39, 40, and 49. But when I compared these lines, I realized that all of them contained the same sort of paronomasia in a very similar way: *ḥudhirtu . . . ḥidhārī* (line 31), *khaṭarin min al-akhṭāri* (line 39), *ayna al-firāru . . . ḥīna al-firāri* (line 40), and *ʻatharū . . . ayya al-ʻithāri* (line 49). Each of them contains a *jinās al-ishtiqāq* with the second word being the rhyme word. But a *jinās al-ishtiqāq* was not considered a *jinās* proper by the rhetoricians, since there is no semantic difference between its two elements. A poem, however, is not a work of theory, and one can hardly doubt that there is some sort of foregrounding in the four *jināsāt al-ishtiqāq* in Ibn Nubātah´s poem as well. Therefore, it seems appropriate to label these lines as indeed containing a rhetorical figure with, however, a rather low degree of rhetorical markedness. It seems as if the poet shunned the contrast between rhetorically marked and completely unmarked lines, and as if he wanted to reserve the effect of this contrast to the very last line. Therefore he provided the lines mentioned with at least an etymological *jinās* rather than letting them stick out by having no rhetorical prominence at all.

(f) The *tawriyah* ˝double entendre˝ was the rhetorical figure *par excellence* for the Mamluk period, and Ibn Nubātah was indisputably its greatest master.[70] It is hardly accidental that the career of the *tawriyah* coincided with the increasing participation of ulama in the system of literature, because in the *tawriyah* the ulama could create consciously the ambiguity they were used to detecting in the sacred texts during their exegetical activities. Therefore the *tawriyah* is far more than word play. It is—at its best—the reflection of the ambiguity of man´s perception of the divine world order and a playful plumbing of the borders of human language—epistemology in the form of a poetical device. Unfortunately, the well-known prejudices have prevented scholars so far from studying the usage of *tawriyāt* in the texts of the Mamluk period. Many such studies would be necessary, however, to ascertain the proper place of this rhetorical figure, its achievements, and the specific usage made of it by different poets in different poems. So far, I can only judge impressionistically that in our sample poem Ibn Nubātah uses the *tawriyah* in a comparatively modest way. In lines 1, 15, and 43 it is used together with a *jinās* to highlight three particularly important lines of the poem. Several times a *tawriyah* is used to connect themes. So in line 15, it connects the themes of travel and star, in line 56 clouds and stars. In line 33 it enables an antithesis.

[70]Ibid., 2:39–251; Seeger A. Bonebakker, *Some Early Definitions of the Tawriya and Ṣafadī´s Faḍḍ al-Xitām ʻan at-Tawriya wa-´l-Istixdām* (The Hague-Paris, 1966); Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah,* 448–64; Thomas Bauer, review of *Ibn Nubātah,* by M. Muḥammad, *MSR* 6 (2002): 219–24.

The theme of grey hair is treated in lines 41–43, where the term *ashhab* is used in several meanings, connecting this subject with the notion of horses in line 41 (alluding to the notion of life as a ″race course″ of line 5) and connecting it again with the theme of stars in line 43. More independent is the use of the *tawriyah* in lines 32 and 45. A dinar and a moon are ordinary, harmless things, but the *tawriyah*s make the reader suddenly aware that transitoriness lurks behind them. In general, one may say that the great master of the *tawriyah* restrained himself considerably in this poem and assigned a purely subordinate function to this rhetorical figure.[71]

(g) To mention briefly the other more conspicuous rhetorical figures: in line 1 both hemistichs rhyme *(taṣrīʿ)*. This is not surprising, but nevertheless adds to the rhetorical fireworks of this introductory line. The small paragraph stretching from line 10 to 12 shows a beautiful variety of rhetorical figures. It starts with an antithesis that is cast in the form of a question and answer, a figure that is called *murājaʿah*.[72] The next line enumerates in logical order all organs with which men are wont to do evil. This is called *tartīb*.[73] Further, I wonder if *lam yusi*ʾ in this line suggests a non-actualized meaning of ″sword″ for *māḍin,* in which case we would have another *tawriyah* before us. Finally, the passage concludes with a double *ṭibāq* in line 12. With two rather uncommon figures (together with *ṭibāq*), Ibn Nubātah interrupts two blocks of verses featuring anaphora and *murāʿāt al-naẓīr* and thus saves the poem from monotony. A similar case is lines 22–23, in which a *radd al-ʿajuz ʿalá al-ṣadr* (repeating the rhyme word in the first hemistich)[74] and a *mumāthalah* (metrical isocolon without rhyme)[75] conclude a paragraph of four lines in which the father complains to his son about his miserable life. In line 26, a ″fanciful cause″ *(ḥusn al-taʿlīl)*[76] is given for the white hair of the father, which is introduced in this line. ″Feigned ignorance″ *(tajāhul al-ʿārif)*[77] is the way to present the subject of sleeplessness in lines 29–30. Rather prominent is the figure of *istikhdām*[78] in line 44, in which the terms ″scorpion″ and ″lion″ must be interpreted as signs of the zodiac, if the genitives *al-falak* and *al-burūj* are considered, but as animals, if the adjectives *lasūb* and *ḍārin* are considered. Finally, the subject of

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[71]One may perhaps add line 17, where *qārin* ″host″ may also be interpreted as *qāri*ʾ ″reader,″ and line 11, where *māḍin* may be conceived as ″sword.″

[72]Cachia, *Rhetorician,* no. 146.

[73]Ibid., no. 68.

[74]Heinrichs, ″Rhetorical Figures,″ 660–61; Cachia, *Rhetorician,* no. 56.

[75]Heinrichs, ″Rhetorical Figures,″ 660; Cachia, *Rhetorician,* no. 7.

[76]Heinrichs, ″Rhetorical Figures,″ 657; Cachia, *Rhetorician,* no. 132 (his translation).

[77]Heinrichs, ″Rhetorical Figures,″ 659 (his translation); Cachia, *Rhetorician,* no. 135.

[78]Heinrichs, ″Rhetorical Figures,″ 657, Cachia, *Rhetorician*, no. 107, Bonebakker, *Some Early Definitions*, 18–20.

ṣabr, with which the poem shall conclude, is introduced in line 48 by means of another *radd al-ʻajuz ʻalá al-ṣadr*, in which way it can be expressed very directly and clearly without abstaining entirely from rhetorical figures.

Altogether, a great variety of rhetorical figures is applied in this poem, but none of them gains prominence. Nevertheless, the high number of rhetorical figures, the uninterrupted foregrounding, plays an important role in the communicative potential of the poem. At the end of the first section we asked why and how the composition of elegies could be of use for the poet himself. Part of the answer was that poetry enables communication. But this communication only works if there is a recipient. Therefore we have to ask what the use of hearing or reading an elegy on the death of somebody else′s child may be.

Of course, a natural group of potential readers of such poems are other people who have lost their children. This is corroborated by the fact that part of Ibn Nubātah′s *rā'īyah* is included in Ibn Abī Ḥajalah′s manual for the consolation of parents bereft of a child. In times of the Black Death, this group must not have been inconsequential. For them, the consoling effect of the poem is quite obvious; a trouble shared is a trouble halved. But this is only part of the story. After all, Ibn Nubātah′s dirges were included in his *dīwān*, and this *dīwān* was also read by people who had not lost a child. Further, the *dīwān* contains other elegies, especially a famous elegy on the death of Ibn Nubātah′s patron al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad, and the number of people who grieved the loss of a prince was probably not too great. Nevertheless, they were moved by the poem. This is not difficult to understand if we consider the popularity of modern forms of art with which we are more familiar, for example, the opera. Though most people have never had problems and experiences like those of Rigoletto or Tosca, many are moved to tears by being confronted with them. Film enthusiasts will not have problems adducing similar examples from this medium. In general, it is again one of the prejudices of the school of ″immediate expression of true feelings″ that the experience of the artist is the most central point of a work of art, which requires that the ideal recipient must have undergone a rather similar experience in order to understand him and to judge the veracity of his expression.

But it is not primarily interest in the experiences of the poet that makes the normal recipient turn to his works. A more important reason for confronting oneself with works about death and suffering is the aspiration of a therapeutic effect through catharsis, as Aristotle has noted. Nowadays a neuropsychological approach can help us understand this effect better. It can be shown that the effect of catharsis does not so much aim to make negative emotions disappear, but rather to put them into a new context, allowing one′s emotions to be seen in the context of other emotions and experiences and thereby gaining more consciousness of them. For ″the reader of a literary text is able to engage in abstraction, comparison,

and analogy: in particular, the reader can be prompted by the internal logic of the text to place the literal meaning of a given negative feeling within a wider context provided both by other feelings encountered in the text as well as by her sense of prior and anticipated meanings. In this way, negative feelings, and the concerns of the self that may be implicated with them, can be relocated in a wider perspective. . . . In the literary response, negative feelings are contextualized or transformed rather than avoided: in comparison with the usual notions of purging or balance, this is perhaps a more appropriate way of understanding how a cathartic process might operate while reading."[79]

In order to make a text work in this way, i.e., in order to enable communication with an audience interested in the emotional potential of a text and desire a cathartic effect, the text has to arouse emotions. Its capacity to arouse emotions is therefore much more important than the question of whether or not the author himself experienced the emotions he talks about, helpful (and biographically interesting) as his own experience may be. It is consequently irrelevant and useless and even contradicts the nature of the literary communication process to ask if the usage of rhetorical devices in a poem corroborates or contradicts the veracity of the poet's utterances. Rather, one should ask if the rhetorical devices are effective in intensifying in the audience emotions that enable them to recontextualize their own experiences.

As a matter of fact, foregrounding, i.e., the usage of parameters like meter and rhyme, poetic language, figures of speech, and rhetorical devices, does arouse emotions in itself.[80] The way this is achieved and the exact effect of the different factors is dependent on the past experiences and the expectations of the respective public. Since we can no longer conduct neuropsychological experiments on the literary public of the Mamluk period, we can only try to reconstruct their expectations and anticipations by carefully analyzing as many texts as possible and by scrutinizing the abundant theoretical and critical utterance of this time. Such studies have not yet been done. However, it is certainly no daring speculation to assume that the permanency of foregrounding by means of manifold rhetorical devices in Ibn Nubātah's poem had the power to intensify energetically its emotional effect in the audience. This effect seems to be strengthened further by the fact that, despite its closely-woven carpet of foregrounding, no single device stands out to attract special attention. This permanent but rather subdued fuelling of emotions, together with the emotive structure discussed above, may have yielded an extremely emotional text. Its production will not have failed to produce a cathartic effect on

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[79]David S. Miall, "Anticipation and Feeling in Literary Response: A Neuropsychological Perspective," *Poetics* 23 (1995): 293–94.

[80]David S. Miall and Don Kuiken, "Foregrounding, Defamiliarization, and Affect: Response to Literary Stories," *Poetics* 22 (1994): 389–407.

the poet himself. To indulge in it may have contributed to emotional relief for many of its audience, whatever their personal sufferings may have been, and the whole group of participants in the Mamluk literary system may have experienced a feeling of solidarity resulting from shared emotions.

Concluding Remarks

Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī´s *rā'īyah* is one of at least seven poems he composed on the death of his son(s). We can discern several functions of the poem on multiple levels: (1) It contributes to the process of mourning of the poet himself. (2) It may serve as consolation for other people who have experienced a similar loss. (3) It allows the poet to overcome his absorption in grief and to resume his public role as *homme de lettres*. (4) As a work of art with its interpretative openness, it is the basis of communication between the poet and his audience in a more general sense. (5) As a highly emotional text it allows its recipients to experience a cathartic process of recontextualization of their own emotions. (6) For the participants in the Mamluk literary system (more or less identical with the ulama) it is considered a text of emotional and artistic relevance to them and in this way helps to stabilize the social group that is defined, in addition to other ways, by participation in the literary discourse. (7) For the members of this social group, who ascribe personal relevance to the text, it helps shape and communicate their attitudes and emotions about childhood death and gives them a language with which to speak about it. (8) All these functions are provided with an additional historical dimension by Ibn Nubātah´s transformation of a famous dirge by al-Tihāmī, who had lived three and a half centuries earlier.

We know that two of Ibn Nubātah´s three long dirges were written on the death of his son ʻAbd al-Raḥīm. His name is mentioned in line 3 of the *qāfīyah* and in the headline of the *dālīyah* (rhyming in *-dak*). I have hardly any doubt that the *rā'īyah* was composed on the same occasion. In all probability, Ibn Nubātah, who greatly admired the poems of al-Tihāmī, wanted to respond to al-Tihāmī´s series of three long poems (two *rā'īyah*s and a *qāfīyah*) with a series of his own, comprising three long poems as well. One may try to order Ibn Nubātah´s three odes chronologically according to their position in the mourning process of the poet (in which case probably the poem rhyming in *–dak* would come first), but must at the same time avoid overlooking the literary enterprise these poems represent. As a matter of fact, Ibn Nubātah presented three long and ambitious poems, each of them of very different character, to give his time a new corpus of poems on childhood death as an answer to the, by then, classical poems of al-Tihāmī. Thereby, Ibn Nubātah gave a new voice to the experience of childhood death for his own contemporaries, thus confirming the value of the old classics and at the same time remodelling and supplementing (if not superseding) them. Of course, a

further assessment of Ibn Nubātah′s *Kindertotenlieder* would have to take into account the whole set of poems.

Literary ambition was probably also a reason why Ibn Nubātah surrounded his three long dirges with several smaller ones. Again, only one of them mentions the name of ʻAbd al-Raḥīm in the text, but others may also have been by-products of his composition of the long odes. By means of these small poems, Ibn Nubātah could further transform the tradition to Mamluk conventions, since the epigram was extremely popular in his time. Again, he proved that he could adapt a multitude of literary forms and techniques to his theme, even the *tawriyah*-pointed epigram.

In the preceding, we could ascertain several characteristics of the poem that can be considered typical for the Mamluk period. The fact that the rather homogenous group of the ulama became the bearer of the literary system contributed to a more private nature of literature; the exegetical preoccupations of the ulama favored the use of rhetorical devices of ambiguity such as the *tawriyah;* and their encyclopedic training might have fostered a tendency to combine many aspects in a small space, as a polydisciplinary, kaleidoscopic text like Ibn Muqri'′s *ʻUnwān al-Sharaf al-Wāfī,* the multifold art of the *badīʻīyah,* or the richness of allusions in many Mamluk poems may show. In our example, the extreme density of the poem in several respects may be a reflection of this tendency. However, our knowledge of Mamluk literature is extremely poor, and we are still far from comprehending its peculiarities or even the special characteristics of even its most important poets.[81] Even the way a rhetorical device like the *tawriyah* functions in its poetic context and the kind of intellectual and emotional reactions it provoked are still difficult to state. I may simply conclude therefore by quoting another *tawriyah*-pointed epigram of Ibn Nubātah. What for the modern reader might appear to be humorous, and therefore irreconcilable with mourning, is applied by Ibn Nubātah to speak about his grief. The *tawriyah,* which forms the point of the epigram, is based on the double meaning of the word *kānūn,* which is the name of two months of winter, in one of which ʻAbd al-Raḥīm had died, but also a word designating an oven, a brazier, or a coal pan:[82]

> Yā lahfa qalbī ʻalá ʻAbdi al-Raḥīmī wa-yā / shawqī ilayhi wa-yā shajwī wa-yā dā'ī
> Fī shahri kānūna wāfāhu al-ḥimāmu la-qad / aḥraqta bi-al-nāri yā kānūnu aḥshā'ī
> [Oh sorrow in my heart for ʻAbd al-Raḥīm, oh yearning for him, oh

[81]Homerin, ″Reflections on Arabic Poetry.″

[82]Ibn Nubātah, *Dīwān*, 18 (meter *basīṭ*); I translate *kānūn* as December, but it could also be January (*kānūn al-thānī*).

my grief and malady!
Death overtook him in December, but you, December / *oven,* burnt my intestines with fire!]

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

١ اللّه جارك إنّ دمعيَ جاري   يا موحشَ الأوطان والأوطار
٢ لما سكنتَ من التراب حديقة   فاضت عليك العينُ بالأنهار
٣ شتّان ما حالي وحالك أنت في   غرفِ الجنان ومهجتي في النار
٤ خفّ النجا بك يا بنيّ الى السُرى   فسبقتني و ثقلتُ بالأوزار
٥ ليت الردى إذ لم يدعْك أهاب بي   حتى ندوم معاً على مضمار
٦ ليت القضا الجاري تمهَّل وِرده   حتى حسبت عواقب الإصدار
٧ ما كنت إلاّ مثل لحمة بارقٍ   ولَّى وأغرَى الجفن بالإمطار
٨ أبكيك ما بكت الحمامُ هديلها   وأحنّ ما حنَّت إلى الأوكار
٩ أبكي بمحمرّ الدموع وإنما   تبكي العيون نظيرها بنُضار
١٠ قالوا صغيراً قلتُ إنّ وربما   كانت به الحسرات غير صغار
١١ وأحقّ بالأحزان ماضٍ لم يسئْ   بيدٍ ولا لسنٍ ولا إضمار
١٢ نائي اللقا وحِماه أقرب مطرحاً   يا بعد مجتمع وقرب مزار
١٣ لهفي لغصن راقني بنباته   لو أمهلته التربُ للإثمار
١٤ لهفي لجوهرةٍ خفتْ فكأنني   حجّبتها من أدمعي ببحار
١٥ لهفي لسارٍ حارَ فيه تجلّدي   وا حيرتي بالكوكب السيّار
١٦ سَكَنَ الثرى فكأنه سكن الحشا   من فرط ما شغلتْ به أفكاري
١٧ أعززْ عليّ بأنّ ضيف مسامعي   لم يحظَ من ذاك اللسان بقاري
١٨ أعزز عليّ بأنْ رحلتَ ولم تخض   أقدام فكرك أبحر الأشعار
١٩ أعزز عليّ بأن رفقت على الردى   وعليك من دمعي كدرّ نثار
٢٠ أبنيّ إن تكسَ التراب فإنه   غايات أجمعنا وليس بعار
٢١ ما في زمانك ما يسرّ مؤمّلاً   فاذهبْ كما ذهب الخيال الساري
٢٢ لو أن أخباري إليك توصّلت   لبكيتَ في الجنّات من أخباري
٢٣ أحزان مدّكرٍ ووحشةُ مفردٍ   ومقام مَضْيَعة و ذلّ جوار
٢٤ أبنيّ إنّي قد كنَزتُك في الثرى   فانفع أباك بساعة الإقتار
٢٥ أبنيّ قد وقفتْ عليّ حوادثُ   فوقفنَ من طلل على آثار

٢٦ و مضى البياض من الحياة و طيبها   لكنها أبقته فوق عذاري
٢٧ نمْ وادعاً فلقد تقرَّح ناظري   سهراً ونامت أعينُ السُمَّار
٢٨ أرعى الدّجى و كأنّ ذيل ظلامه   متشبّثُ بالنجم في مسمار
٢٩ خلع الصباح على المجرّة سجفه   أم قسّمت شمس النهار دراري
٣٠ أم غاب معْ طفل أخيرُ دجنّتي   لا كوكبي فيها ولا أسحاري
٣١ تبًا لعاديةِ الزمان على الفتى   فلقد حذرت وما أفاد حذاري
٣٢ وحويت ديناراً لوجهك فانتحى   صرف الزمان فراح بالدينار
٣٣ أبنيّ إن تبعدْ فإنّ مدى اللقا   بيني وبينك مسرعُ التيّار
٣٤ إن تسقني في الحشر شربة كوثرٍ   فلقد سقتك مدامعي بغزار
٣٥ كيف الحياة وقد دفنت جوانحي   ما بين أنجادٍ إلى أغوار
٣٦ وحوى بنيّ تراب مصر وجلّق   كالغيم مرتكناً على أقمار
٣٧ طرقتْ على تلك النفوس طوارق   وطرت على تلك الجسوم طواري
٣٨ وبدت لدى البيدا مطيّ قبورهم   علماً بأنّهمُ على أسفار
٣٩ قسماً بمن جعل الفناء مسافة   إنّا على خطرٍ من الأخطار
٤٠ قل للذين تقدّمت أمثالهم   أين الفرار ولات حين فرار
٤١ ما بين أشهبَ للظلام معاود   ركضاً وأدهم للدُجى كرّار
٤٢ يطأ الصغير ومن يعمر يلتحقْ   وعليه من شيبٍ كنقع غبار
٤٣ مالي وعتب الشهب في تقديرها   ولقد تصاب الشهب بالاقدار
٤٤ لا عقرب الفلك اللسوب من الردى   ينجو ولا أسد البروج الضاري
٤٥ يرمي الهلال بقوسه أرواحنا   ولقد يصاب القوس بالاوتار
٤٦ كتب الفَناء على الشواهد حجّة   غَنيَتْ عن الإقرار والإنكار
٤٧ فلتظهر الفطن الثواقب عجزها   فظهوره سرّ من الأسرار
٤٨ وليصطبر متفجّع فلربّما   فقد المنى ومثوبة الصبّار
٤٩ أين الملوك الرافلون إلى العلى   عثروا إلى الأجداث أيّ عثار
٥٠ كانوا جبالاً لا تُرام فأصبحوا   بيد الردى حفنات تربٍ هار
٥١ أين الكماة إذ العجاجة أظلمت   قدَحوا القسيّ وناضلوا بشرار
٥٢ سلموا على عطب الوغى ودجى بِهم   داجي المنون إلى محلّ بَوار
٥٣ أين الأصاغر في المهود كأنما   ضمّت كمائمها على أزهار
٥٤ خلط الحِمام عظامهم ولحومهم   حتى تساوى الدرّ بالاحجار

٥٥ فلئن صبرتُ ففي الأولى متصبّرٌ   ولئن بدا جزعي فعن أعذار
٥٦ درّت عليك من الغمام مراضعٌ   وتكنّفتك من النجوم جوار
٥٧ تسقي ثراك و ليس ذاك بنافعي   لكن أغالط مهجتي وأداري

1. God be your helper as my tears are flowing / *my helpers,*
   oh you who have forsaken both my home and hope!
2. When you settled in a garden of dust,
   my eyes poured forth rivers over thee.
3. Amazingly different is your condition and mine: While you dwell
   in the lofty chambers of paradise, my heart is in the fire of hell.
4. When we set off on a night journey, you were a light burden, my little son,
   but you outstripped me, and I was burdened with a heavy load!
5. Would that destruction had summoned me as well, when it did not refrain from you,
   so that we could have pursued the same race course!
6. Would that destiny had delayed in its permanent course
   till you could have imagined the end of the route!
7. You were only a flash of lightning from a cloud
   that rainless turned away but made the eyelids shed a copious rain.
8. I´ll weep over you as long as the doves weep over their nestling,
   and I´ll yearn for you as long as they yearn for their nests.
9. No wonder that with reddened tears I weep,
   for eyes only weep with gold over their own kind.
10. ´Twas but a child so small, they said. True, I replied,
    but many times my grief for him was anything but small.
11. And is not he who did no wrong with hand or tongue
    nor hid an evil in his heart the worthiest of grief?
12. A long way ´tis to meet him, though his shelter is the nearest spot.
    How far is union, yet how close the place to visit him!
13. O sorrow for a twig the growth of which delighted me—
    if only earth had given it the time to bring forth fruit!

14. O sorrow for a pearl once shining.
    It seems as if I´d veiled it now with seas of tears.
15. O sorrow for a nightly traveller whose departure had caused my endurance to wane!
    How lost am I with the departed star / *planet!*
16. He settled in the earth but occupies my thoughts so in excess
    as if he´d settled in my heart.
17. How it distresses me that my ears´ guest
    never enjoyed the hospitality of that tongue!
18. How it distresses me that you departed ere the feet of your intelligence
    did wade into the seas / *meters* of poetry!
19. How it distresses me that you behaved so gently with destruction
    while my tears are poured on you like scattered pearls.
20. My little son, that you were clad in earth,
    well, ´tis the end of all of us and tis no shame / *no one will remain naked.*
21. In times like these not much remains to make a man of great expectations happy,
    thence vanish like a fleeting apparition!
22. If news about my state would reach you there, you´d weep in paradise
    over the news you hear:
23. Sadness of memories, gloom of loneliness,
    an abode of perdition, contemptible protection.
24. My little son, I buried you, my treasure, in the soil.
    Help then your father in the hour of indigence!
25. My little son, misfortune after misfortune has afflicted me,
    and donated a fortune of rubble to ruins,
26. And gone is the whiteness of life and its sweetness,
    though life left its whiteness on my beard.
27. Sleep in peace, while my eyes are wounded by sleeplessness
    when the eyes of the night companions have long been closed in sleep,
28. Staring at a night that seems as if the train of its darkness
    was nailed down by the stars.[83]

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[83]Probably by *najm* the Pleiades are meant. Cf. a line by Ṣurr Durr quoted in Paul Kunitzsch and Manfred Ullmann, *Die Plejaden in den Vergleichen der arabischen Dichtung* (Munich, 1992), 83, in which the Pleiades are compared to the nails of a coat of mail. These nails are compared in al-Tihāmī´s *kāmil rā'īyah* with water bubbles. This line (49), rhyming in *al-mismārī*, is certainly

29. Has morning yet veiled the Milky Way,
    or the light of day put the stars to flight?[84]
30. Or has an endless darkness, without stars or dawn for me,
    yet left me along with the child?
31. May then perish the vicissitudes of time that befall noble men!
    Indeed, I made provisions, but all provisions are in vain,
32. And I embraced in your face a dinar,
    but time′s misfortune / *money changing* approached and took the dinar away.
33. My dear son, though you are far from me / *may you not perish*, the time of our meeting
    draws quickly near.[85]
34. You will give me a draught of Kawthar′s water on the Day of Judgment,
    for my tears will have given you to drink abundantly before.
35. How can life be
    after I have buried my intestines between highland and lowland,
36. And the dust of Cairo and Damascus encloses my sons
    like clouds heaped up around moons?
37. Calamities have come upon these souls,
    unexpected misfortunes have befallen these bodies.
38. The mounts of their graves appear in the wilderness
    as a sign that they are on a journey.
39. I swear by him who postponed our end:
    We are always at some brink of destruction!
40. Say to those the like of whom approached us asking ″ Where is escape?″ :
    ″Time is none to escape!″
41. What is the difference between a white horse / *grey-haired* galloping with determination
    into darkness, and a black horse / *black-haired* jumping into gloom?
42. The small child is trod under foot, whereas he who is granted long life will catch up

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alluded to by Ibn Nubātah. His magnificent image was completely misunderstood by M. Muḥammad, *Ibn Nubātah,* 225, who wrongly assumes a connection with a line by Imru' al-Qays.

[84]Thus, if one reads *qussimat;* otherwise: ″or had the sun of day distributed glistening stars.″

[85]On the original meaning of the formula *lā tab'ad* see Gert Borg, ″*Ammā ba'du:* The Meaning of *′lā tab'ad,′″ Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 37 (1999): 13–24.

with grey hair as if he had whirled up a cloud of dust in his race.

43. Why do I blame the stars / *grey-haired* and their assignments?
The stars / *grey-haired* are struck by fate themselves!
44. Neither the stinging celestial scorpion will escape destruction
nor the rapacious zodiac lion.
45. With his bow the crescent moon shoots at our souls,
but the bow is struck by revenge / *the strings* in turn.
46. Perdition inscribed a document on tombstones that is valid
regardless whether it be rejected or confirmed.
47. Let penetrating minds reveal their ignorance—
its revelation is a secret great indeed!
48. Let the afflicted bear the pain with calm—
how often were a dearly loved and endurance´s reward all lost at once!
49. Where are the kings that strutted towards loftiness?
They stumbled over their trails right into their graves!
50. Mountains they were, unthinkable to ascend.
Destruction´s hand has turned them into a handful of wavering dust.
51. Where are the well-armed heroes who, when the clouds of dusk darkened the battle field,
ignited fire with their bows and shot with flashing sparks?
52. Unharmed they survived disasters of battle
until dark fate led them to a place of destruction to darken their light.
53. Where are the babies who in the cradles lied
like blossoms enclosed by their calyces?
54. Death has permeated their bones and flesh until the pearls they were
became transformed into mere stones.
55. If I be patient, it is because I force myself to patience in all this;
and if I show my grief, how manifold are my excuses!
56. May nursing clouds bestow their copious stream upon you!
May servant / *moving* stars from all sides be around you!
57. They all will moisten the earth of your grave, but be of no avail for me.
Instead, I´ll try to cheat my heart and to deceive it.

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An Alexandrian Age in Fourteenth-Century Damascus: Twin Commentaries on Two Celebrated Arabic Epistles

Superficially, at least, the traditional Western view of Arabic literature in the Mamluk period conforms rather closely to the hoary cliches about the Alexandrian Age of Greek literature, a millennium and a half earlier. Authors worked under the burden of a rich canon of classical texts, which they revered, and which they diligently collected, classified, commented, criticized, and epitomized. By comparison, their own literary efforts, while certainly copious, have been seen as derivative, lifeless, and smelling altogether too much of the lamp.

Evidence for the first half of this picture—if not the second—is easy to come by, as can be seen from even a cursory look at some of the literary production of two of the more celebrated figures of the age, Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī (d. 768/1366) and his younger colleague Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363). Ibn Nubātah, known principally as a poet, published selections of the verse of a number of his predecessors, including Ibn al-Rūmī (d. 283/896) and the notorious Ibn al-Ḥajjāj (d. 391/1001), as well as a collection of the epistles of the famous Ayyubid minister and stylist al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200).[1] Al-Ṣafadī, mainly a prose writer, composed commentaries on the famous poem *Lāmīyat al-'Ajam* by al-Ṭughrā'ī (d. 515/1121) and the work of literary criticism entitled *Al-Mathal al-Sā'ir* by Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 637/1239), a series of monographs on individual literary tropes, and a number of biographical dictionaries, including one on the blind and one on the one-eyed.[2]

Particularly interesting as a manifestation of these two writers' "Alexandrian" qualities—as well as a curious link between them—is the fact that each wrote an elaborate work of commentary on a prose epistle (a different epistle in each case) by the fifth/eleventh-century Andalusian poet and littérateur Ibn Zaydūn (d. 463/1070). These commentaries are far more than philological glosses; in each

[1]On Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī, see *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s.v.; Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden, 1949), 2:10–12, S2:149–50; 'Umar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī* (Cairo, 1963); Maḥmūd Sālim Muḥammad, *Ibn Nubātah: Shā'ir al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Damascus and Beirut, 1999). The most useful list of Ibn Nubātah's works is in Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm's edition of his *Sarḥ al-'Uyūn fī Sharḥ Risālat Ibn Zaydūn* (Cairo, 1964), 18–24.

[2]On al-Ṣafadī, see *EI*^{2}, s.v.; *GAL*, 2:31–33, S2:27–29; Josef van Ess, "Ṣafadī-Splitter," *Der Islam* 53 (1976): 242–66, and 54 (1977): 77–108.

case the original epistle takes up less than ten pages, while the commentary extends to more than four hundred. Both works are thus highly digressive, and they manage to incorporate in their compass vast swathes of traditional Arabic literary culture and thereby offer the reader a far richer plate than the occasion of a single epistle would seem to promise.

A first question to pose about these two texts, then, concerns their status as commentaries. If they are not just offering a simple *explication du texte,* what are they doing, and why? Where do they fit in the larger context of commentary writing in the Mamluk age? In particular, what was the impetus for commenting literary works in prose, as opposed to the long-established tradition of commenting poetry? Another obvious question, given the wealth of information these works contain on the Arabic literary heritage as a whole, is what they can tell us about the canon in their own day. What was ″classical,″ and what was not? Are they working to define that canon, to reinforce it, or perhaps to expand it? And who was their intended audience? Were they intended for students, for a general educated (or semi-educated) public, or perhaps for other scholars, who would be dazzled by their erudition? More generally, what do they tell us about the role of intertextuality in Mamluk literature, the supposed attendant ″anxiety of influence,″ and its general ″Alexandrian″ qualities altogether?

The author of the two epistles around whom Ibn Nubātah and al-Ṣafadī chose to build their works is, of course, very well known. Ibn Zaydūn was a Cordoban aristocrat whose life reflects the turbulence of eleventh-century Andalusia under the ″Party Kings.″ In his youth he served as vizier to the governor of Cordoba, Ibn Jahwar, but then fell foul of him and was thrown into prison, where he languished for some time before escaping, returning to the city only after Ibn Jahwar′s death. Later he again fell from favor and left Cordoba for Seville, where he spent many years at the Abbadid court of al-Muʻtaḍid and his son al-Muʻtamid, returning to Cordoba only with the Abbadid conquest of the city. Probably the most famous poet of his time, he composed verses in many genres; among the most famous are his love poems on Wallādah, daughter of the erstwhile caliph al-Mustakfī, with whom he had a stormy affair in his youth, as well as his poetic pleas *(istiʻṭāf)* to Ibn Jahwar to release him from prison during his first confinement in Cordoba.[3]

But Ibn Zaydūn was also known as a prose stylist, and his two most famous epistles are concerned with these same wrenching youthful experiences. The first, later christened the ″humorous epistle″ *(al-risālah al-hazlīyah),* was occasioned by an attempt by his enemy and rival Ibn ʻAbdūs to supplant him in the affections of

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[3]On Ibn Zaydūn, see *EI*[2], s.v.; Devin Stewart, ″Ibn Zaydūn,″ in *The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: The Literature of Al-Andalus*, ed. María Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin and Michael Sells (Cambridge, 2000), 306–17.

Wallādah (an attempt which, by the way, later proved successful); speaking in Wallādah's voice *('an lisānihā),* he has her peremptorily reject Ibn 'Abdūs's advances and pour scorn on him for his presumption. The second, the "serious epistle" *(al-risālah al-jiddīyah),* is a prose companion to his *isti'ṭāf* poems, attempting to move Ibn Jahwar to pity and persuade him to let him out of jail.

These are the two epistles commented by, respectively, Ibn Nubātah and al-Ṣafadī, and their choice of them is perhaps a bit surprising. Commentary as a general enterprise was, of course, a growth industry in this period, especially in religious scholarship; indeed, in jurisprudence *(fiqh)* it had become perhaps the most dominant form of writing altogether. Commentaries on works of grammar, lexicography, and literary criticism also abounded. Within the realm of pure literature, the commenting of poetry—both *dīwān*s of individual poets and anthologies such as Abū Tammām's *Ḥamāsah*—was a long-established and still thriving tradition. But for commentators to apply their skills to works of *prose* literature was far less common.

Three prominent examples of such commentaries may, however, be cited from the pens of our authors' predecessors. The *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* by Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (d. 656/1258), commenting the collection of the purported sermons, speeches, and other dicta of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib put together by al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015), parallels their works not only in being a commentary on prose, but also in its outsize dimensions and highly digressive character; on the other hand, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd's base text is essentially a religious one, and his objectives correspondingly diverge significantly from those of Ibn Nubātah and al-Ṣafadī.[4] Perhaps more apposite, and certainly more obvious, is the tradition of commenting the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī; at least nine such commentaries were produced in the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth centuries, including those of Ibn Ẓafar (d. 565/1169), Ṣadr al-Afāḍil (d. 617/1220), al-Sharīshī (d. 619/1222), and al-Bayḍāwī (d. 680/1281), and of these the one best known today, that of al-Sharīshī, again displays the qualities of disproportionate length and intentional digressiveness evinced by the two later authors.[5] It is striking to what degree al-Ḥarīrī's fame eclipsed that of Badī' al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1008), the inventor of the *maqāmah* genre, whose own *Maqāmāt* were, so far as is known, never commented at all. On the other hand, al-Hamadhānī's contemporary, al-'Utbī (d. ca. 412/1022), who applied the euphuistic prose style developed in the chanceries *(inshā')* to the writing of history rather than fiction, produced in his laudatory biography of Maḥmūd of Ghaznah, the *Kitāb al-Yamīnī,* a work that seems to have cried out for

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[4]Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah,* ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 2nd ed., 21 vols. (Cairo, 1965–67); on Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, see *EI²*, s.v.

[5]For the commentaries on al-Ḥarīrī, see *GAL,* 1:276 f., S1:486–88. On al-Sharīshī, see *EI²*, s.v., and his *Sharḥ Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī,* ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 5 vols. (Cairo, 1970).

commentaries, of which at least four are known from the following three centuries, including one by Ṣadr al-Afāḍil, who also commented al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*. All of these are, however, soberly philological, sticking quite close to al-'Utbī's original text rather than using it as a pretext for striking out in unexpected (and entertaining) directions.[6]

None of these earlier commentaries were directed at epistles *(rasā'il)* in the narrow sense of a relatively brief letter addressed from one individual to another, despite the fact that such letter-writing had been recognized as an art form since the third/ninth century, when the "collected letters" of recognized prose stylists began to be published. The earliest such collections are now lost to us, but preserved collections from the second half of the fourth/tenth century enable us to track a real efflorescence in the art of correspondence *(tarassul),* as part of, and a major contributor to, a general enhancement of the status of prose vis-à-vis its rival, poetry, at that time. Writers of both official letters, such as Abū Isḥāq al-Ṣābi' (d. 384/994) and the Ṣāḥib Ibn 'Abbād (d. 385/995), and private individuals, such as Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī (d. 384/994) and al-Hamadhānī himself, cultivated a new, intricate style, characterized by the constant employment of rhetorical tropes, careful attention to phrasal rhythm, and above all patterns of prose rhyme *(saj'),* which was to determine the direction of fine letter-writing for centuries to come, as well as to spawn such new genres as the *maqāmāt.* While this trend was at first particularly associated with the eastern Islamic world, it rapidly spread west, as can be seen in the correspondence of Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī (d. 449/1058) in Syria and—albeit to a less extravagant extent—of Ibn Zaydūn in Andalusia.[7]

This now-established euphuistic *tarassul* style enjoyed further development at the hands of two outstanding representatives in the Ayyubid and then Mamluk realms. The first was Saladin's right-hand man, al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200), whose voluminous correspondence is preserved in collections made by a number of later authors. Two of these have been published, one of them compiled by the second major epistolographer of the age, the Mamluk chancery head Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir (d. 692/1292), who is best known today for his biographies of the sultans Baybars, Qalāwūn, and al-Ashraf Khalīl, and whose own correspondence is available only through (extensive) quotations in later authors.[8] Both men were certainly

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[6]On al-'Utbī, see *EI*², s.v., and *GAL,* 1:314, S1:547f. The one published commentary on the *Kitāb al-Yamīnī* is the eleventh/seventeeth-century one by al-Manīnī (d. 1172/1759), *Al-Fatḥ al-Wahbī 'alá Tārīkh Abī Naṣr al-'Utbī,* 2 vols. (Cairo, 1869). On the rather neglected Ṣadr al-Afāḍil (al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Khwārazmī), see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Udabā'*, ed. Aḥmad Farīd Rifā'ī (Beirut, 1979), 16:238–53.

[7]For basic orientation on these developments, see Zaki Mubarak, *La prose arabe au IVe siècle de l-Hégire (Xe siècle)* (Paris, 1931).

[8]On al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, see *EI*², s.v., and *GAL,* 1:316, S1:549. The published collections are Ibn

models for Ibn Nubātah and al-Ṣafadī; while the latter appended a letter by Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir to his own commentary, Ibn Nubātah manifested his admiration for al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil by preparing his own collection of his letters, entitled *Al-Fāḍil min Inshā' al-Fāḍil.*[9]

Ibn Nubātah was born in Cairo in 686/1287, five years before the death of Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir. As a young man he emigrated to Syria, where he spent most of his life, returning to Egypt only when in his seventies and dying in Cairo in 768/1366. In Syria, he was especially patronized by the Ayyubid ruler of Ḥamāh, Abū al-Fidā', and his son; later, resident in Damascus, he was appointed supervisor *(nāẓir)* of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, making an annual trip there at Easter. While he was known primarily as a poet, his prose was also much appreciated, and he served for a time as head of the chancery in Damascus. In a sense, he had a birthright to his eloquence, priding himself on, and taking his name from, his ancestor Ibn Nubātah al-Fāriqī (d. 374/984), a famous preacher at the court of Sayf al-Dawlah in Aleppo, whose sermons—yet another exemplar of the efflorescence of euphuistic prose in the late fourth/tenth century—had been not only collected but also commented on, at least twice, in the seventh/thirteenth century.[10]

Many of Ibn Nubātah′s works survive in manuscript, but only a few of them have been published, including, besides his poetic *Dīwān,*[11] his collection of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil′s epistles, an *adab* collection entitled *Maṭlaʻ al-Fawā'id wa-Majmaʻ al-Farā'id,*[12] and his commentary on Ibn Zaydūn′s ″humorous″ epistle, all three composed at the behest of his patron Abū al-Fidā'. Certainly it is the latter, entitled *Sarḥ al-ʻUyūn fī Sharḥ Risālat Ibn Zaydūn* (The Pasture for eyes in explanation of the epistle of Ibn Zaydūn), that has always been his most popular prose work, first printed as early as 1861 in Beirut and many times since.[13]

In his preface to the *Sarḥ al-ʻUyūn* Ibn Nubātah indicates that the work was commissioned by Abū al-Fidā', but supplies no details elucidating the reason for the amir′s choice of the text to be commented. He does recount, somewhat

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ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Durr al-Naẓīm min Tarassul ʻAbd al-Raḥīm,* ed. Aḥmad Aḥmad Badawī (Cairo, 1959); and Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn al-Dībājī, *Rasā'il al-Ḥarb wa-al-Salām,* ed. Muḥammad Naghash (Cairo, 1978). On Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, see *EI²,* s.v., and *GAL,* 1:318f., S1:551. The biography of Baybars has been edited by ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Khuwayṭir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Ẓāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir* (Riyadh, 1976); most recently, Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir′s topographic work on Cairo has been edited by Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *Al-Rawḍah al-Bahīyah al-Zāhirīyah fī Khiṭaṭ al-Muʻizzīyah al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1996).

9 Extant in manuscript but unpublished.

10 On the earlier Ibn Nubātah, see *EI²,* s.v.; *GAL,* 1:92f., S1:149f.

11 Most recently edited by ʻAbd al-Amīr Mahdī Ḥabīb al-Ṭā'ī (Baghdad, 1977).

12 Ed. ʻUmar Mūsá Bāshā (Damascus, 1972).

13 I have relied on the 1964 edition by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm; see note 1 above.

disingenuously, how he protested that he was ″only″ a poet, unqualified to deal with the rich material presented by Ibn Zaydūn′s epistle, but was overruled by the amir, who remarked that ″stories″ *(qiṣaṣ)* are not far removed, in any case, from the poet′s bailiwick. He goes on to say that there were copious resources for this undertaking available in a *waqf* library in Damascus—which, alas, proved inaccessible to him, so he was forced to rely on materials at hand. He also insists on how short he has kept his commentary (although it runs to 476 pages in the most recent printed edition).

After his prefatory remarks, and before launching into his *sharḥ* proper, Ibn Nubātah supplies a brief biography of Ibn Zaydūn and a short selection of his verses. Such capsule biographies-cum-verses were of course standard in his day in a variety of contexts, most notably in biographical dictionaries, and they loom large in the body of this commentary itself. Ibn Nubātah then explains who Wallādah was, adding some of her verses as well, and delineates the precise curcumstances that occasioned the letter, namely, Ibn ʻAbdūs′s attempt to horn in on Ibn Zaydūn by sending a slave girl to Wallādah to sing his praises and sound out his chances. Ibn Nubātah is fairly explicit about his sources, saying that he has taken his information from Ibn Bassām, Ibn Ḥayyān, and other standard Andalusian writers.

The commentary itself constitutes the rest of the work. The original epistle is not presented integrally, but taken phrase by phrase. Odd words are glossed, less than obvious syntactical constructions elucidated, and other expected philological work performed. That is, however, only a minor part of the commentary. What Ibn Nubātah is really interested in doing is using the epistle—which happens to be exceptionally replete with historical and literary allusions—to open a window on the entire literary-historical tradition.

The tone is set from the beginning. The ″*ammā baʻd*″—the traditional phrase of transition from the invocation to the body of the message—is discussed in terms of who first employed it in Arabic epistolography, and the following phrase, ″O you whose intellect is impaired [because you think you can win me over],″ leads to a full discussion of the intellect *(ʻaql)* in Islamic theology and other contexts, including its etymology, al-Jāḥiẓ′s thoughts on it, verses by ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, two prophetic hadith, considerations of foods that strengthen it, and a conventional sideswipe at schoolmasters, who are thought to lack intellect altogether because they spend all their time with children.

The real backbone of the work, however, is its more extended excursus, most of them biographical and introduced with the rubric ″*tarjamah*.″ The first of these concerns the famous pre-Islamic sage Aktham ibn Sayfī, whom Ibn Nubātah identifies as the source of a proverb cited in Ibn Zaydūn′s letter; two pages follow, providing general information on Aktham and reviewing the long past controversies

about his possible adoption of Islam. The second such *tarjamah* is much longer: a verse quoted anonymously by Ibn Zaydūn is identified as being by al-Mutanabbī, and Ibn Nubātah adds, ″Since the discussion has led to our mentioning al-Mutanabbī, it cannot hurt *(lā ba's)* to mention some basic information about him *(nubadh min akhbārihi).*″ Seven pages follow, offering a brief biographical sketch as well as extensive selections, with running commentary, from the *qaṣīdah* from which comes the line quoted by Ibn Zaydūn.

But Ibn Nubātah′s real opportunity for this kind of lore- and verse-mongering in the guise of ″biography″ comes a few lines later in the letter, where Ibn Zaydūn has Wallādah say to Ibn ʻAbdūs that his slave girl messenger had praised him to the skies, ″to the point that she would have me imagine that Joseph (peace be upon him) vied with you in beauty and you put him in his place[14]; that the wife of al-ʻAzīz[15] saw you and forgot about Joseph; that Qārūn[16] amassed only a fraction of the fortune you have stored away, and that al-Naṭif[17] only stumbled on the stray bits of the money you have buried; that Chosroes carried your train, Caesar shepherded your flocks, and Alexander killed Darius only on your orders. . . .″ and so forth, mentioning altogether fifty-two different historical figures, for each of whom Ibn Nubātah supplies a *tarjamah* or sketch.

These biographies fall into distinct groups. Pre-Islamic personages, both Arab and non-Arab, are followed by a group specifically of pre-Islamic and early Islamic poets, with some variation offered by accounts of famous pre-Islamic Arab battles. Then come Umayyad governors and generals (al-Ḥajjāj gets a full eleven pages); then ancient Greek thinkers (including Plato, Aristotle, Ptolemy, Hippocrates, and Galen); a few Islamic scientists, philosophers, and theologians (al-Kindī, al-Naẓẓām); literary figures such as ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd and Jāḥiẓ; and finally the legal scholar Mālik ibn Anas. The choice of names is of course determined by Ibn Zaydūn, not Ibn Nubātah; but Ibn Nubātah exercises considerable ingenuity in keeping up the pace of *tarjamah*s in the second half of the epistle as well, partly by identifying the authors of quoted lines of verse (including, for example, Abū Nuwās and Abū Tammām), partly by paralleling proverbs with other lines of verse by other poets—and partly on the basis of sheer thematics, as when Ibn Zaydūn makes a passing reference to shorthand *(muʻammá),* which Ibn Nubātah tells us was invented by al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad, adding, ″It cannot hurt *(lā ba's)* to mention some basic information about him . . . and I will maintain this procedure throughout the rest of this commentary.″ In fact this results in another thirty-six

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[14]On Joseph as the paradigm of male beauty in Islam, see *EI²*, s.v. ″Yūsuf.″

[15]That is, the equivalent of the Biblical Potiphar′s wife; see *EI²*, s.v. ″ʻAzīz Miṣr.″

[16]The Biblical Korah (Numbers 16), famed for his wealth; see *EI²*, s.v. ″Ḳārūn.″

[17]A pre-Islamic Arab fabled for his wealth; see the explanation by Ibn Nubātah himself, *Sarḥ al-ʻUyūn,* 54 f.

*tarjamah*s altogether, somewhat more randomly assorted, including more poets, notorious heretics, and persons famous for their stupidity and inarticulateness, interspersed with discussions of proverbs, technical terms in hadith, grammar, and theology, disquisitions on the world's religions and the seven seas, and various other miscellaneous material.

In many ways—except for its length—this commentary would make an ideal text for a contemporary graduate seminar in Arabic literature, or Islamic studies, since so much basic ground regarding Islamic political, cultural, and literary history gets covered; in short, this text can serve as an introduction to the basic lore, and poetry, with which an *adīb* or littérateur—*not* a disciplinary specialist—was expected to be equipped. Not that it is by any means comprehensive (for one thing, there is little offered later than the third/ninth century), but Ibn Nubātah certainly does cover a lot of basic ground. Such thoughts lead to some obvious questions: what is Ibn Nubātah doing here, and what kind of audience is he positing (beyond the royal addressee who "commissioned" the work)? Clearly, he is not just making the text comprehensible to the average educated reader. Ibn Zaydūn had assumed an audience that would catch his allusions without need for an interpreter; and while Ibn Nubātah may well in some cases be intending to clue in the clueless where Ibn Zaydūn is particularly allusive, he is certainly also using the epistle simply as an occasion for presenting vast quantities of information that can simultaneously teach the neophyte, entertain the more sophisticated reader, and manifest his own wide reading and erudition. In all these ways, presumably, he is offering what he calls *fawā'id,* literally, "benefits," that justify the incorporation of what it "can't hurt" to add to the exposition. But before posing more questions (or answers) of this general nature, it will help to look at this commentary's "twin," al-Ṣafadī's *Tamām al-Mutūn fī Sharḥ Risālat Ibn Zaydūn* (The Complete texts in explanation of the epistle of Ibn Zaydūn), commenting the poet's "serious" epistle, in which he pleads with his erstwhile patron, now jailer, Ibn Jahwar, to set him free.[18]

Al-Ṣafadī was ten years younger than Ibn Nubātah. The son of a Mamluk, he was born in Ṣafad in 696/1296, but spent most of his life shuttling back and forth between Cairo and Damascus. He was a prolific writer on a broad variety of topics, but most fundamentally an *adīb,* although he is undoubtedly best known today for his massive and wide-ranging biographical dictionary, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt.* Rather surprisingly, the latter includes a fairly extensive entry on Ibn Nubātah,[19] despite the fact that the work's very title indicates that it was restricted to personages no longer living and we know in fact that Ibn Nubātah (d. 768/1366)

[18]I rely on the edition by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1969).
[19]Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* vol. 1, ed. Helmut Ritter (Wiesbaden, 1962), 311–31.

outlived al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) by three years. One can only assume that this biography (which mentions no specific dates later than 743/1343) was inserted at a time when one of the two was in Cairo and the other in Damascus and al-Ṣafadī was assuming that the older man was either dead or soon to be so; but the situation is unclear. In any case, aside from basic biographical facts (about the first half of Ibn Nubātah's life) and general praise (including the statement that in his prose he followed the model of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil and "snuffed out the light" of Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir), al-Ṣafadī's entry on him is primarily devoted to sketching out the relations between the two men.

From what he has to say, these seem to have been very cordial indeed. Pride of place is given to an epistle al-Ṣafadī, then thirty-two and living in Cairo, addressed to Ibn Nubātah in Damascus, requesting from him permission (in formal terms, an *ijāzah*) to transmit his works—both past and future; this request is preceded by a long passage of fulsome praise, explaining how Ibn Nubātah has outdone, or put to shame, the classical masters in various fields, such as al-ʻAbbās ibn al-Aḥnaf in love poetry, al-Mutanabbī in panegyric, and al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil himself in epistolography, and followed by a further request for a brief curriculum vitae *(dhikr nasabihi wa-mawlidihi wa-makānihi)*. Ibn Nubātah begins his equally fulsome, and lengthier, reply with praise for his correspondent, dropping even more famous names along the way than had al-Ṣafadī, rather archly describes what he calls his quandary (he is unworthy of this honor, but does not want to be impolite), but then proceeds to offer his young admirer a general *ijāzah,* to which he appends an autobiographical sketch, naming his early teachers (and models, including both al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil and Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir), citing his precocious exchanges of verse with some of them, and giving us a valuable list of his works to date (including both the *Sarḥ al-ʻUyūn* and *al-Fāḍil min Inshāʼ al-Fāḍil*).

The two men must have met personally very shortly thereafter, since we know that al-Ṣafadī travelled to Damascus later the same year, and he mentions two of Ibn Nubātah's works that he "heard" directly from him. The rest of his biography is then devoted to his later correspondence with Ibn Nubātah, in both prose and verse, the latter including a series of riddle-poems posed by each to the other (with the solutions also offered in verse) as well as Ibn Nubātah's request to borrow a book from al-Ṣafadī with a promise to return it within three days and al-Ṣafadī's (mild) poetic reproach when he failed to do so. Al-Ṣafadī gives no indication of any serious difficulties in this relationship, but one must wonder whether he is being entirely straightforward, since our only information from the other side looks quite different. According to the littérateur Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434), Ibn Nubātah complained that every time he came up with an original image or idea *(maʻná)* in his poetry al-Ṣafadī would "emulate" or "imitate" it *(muʻāraḍah)* in a verse of his own, with the same meter and rhyme, in effect

stealing it *(sariqah)*. (Both *mu'āraḍah,* generally evaluated positively as an act of hommage, if also rivalry, and *sariqah,* generally evaluated negatively as an act of larceny, were well-established and much-discussed phenomena in the literary tradition by this time.[20]) Finally Ibn Nubātah became so exasperated with this situation that he compiled an anthology specifically of those poems of his which al-Ṣafadī had stolen and entitled it "Barley-Bread" (*Khubz al-Sha'īr*), referring to the well-known proverb "Barley is eaten and despised," applied to someone from whom one profits and then does an ill turn. Ibn Ḥijjah was so taken with this little work that he incorporated in its entirety into his *Khizānat al-Adab*.[21]

Although we have no explicit testimony to confirm it, there would seem to be every reason to believe that al-Ṣafadī's commentary on Ibn Zaydūn's "serious" epistle, the *Tamām al-Mutūn*, was itself an "emulation" of Ibn Nubātah's *Sarḥ al-'Uyūn*, carried out on a rather larger scale. Rather suspiciously, Ibn Nubātah's name does not appear anywhere in al-Ṣafadī's work; on the other hand—and one can only assume a fairly heavy dose of deliberate irony here—"emulation" in general is virtually a leitmotif throughout its introductory sections. Al-Ṣafadī begins by describing the splendor of Ibn Zaydūn's letter to Ibn Jahwar, noting in one phrase that its beauties are an inexhaustible resource for potential emulators *(wa-al-faḍā'il allatī lā tazāl maḥāsinuhā 'alá man ḥāwala mu'āraḍatahā mannāna),* and declares his humble intention to ride on its coattails with a modest commentary. This is followed, as in Ibn Nubātah's work, by a brief biography of Ibn Zaydūn and a selection from his verses; the two biographies are very similar, including some verbatim parallels, but that is probably due to the authors' use of the same sources. Al-Ṣafadī mentions the "humorous" letter, but only in passing, adding that "All his epistles are stuffed full of all sorts of *adab,* scintillating historical anecdotes, and striking proverbs, in both prose and poetry." He offers rather more information on Wallādah than does Ibn Nubātah, and more of both her verses and Ibn Zaydūn's to and about her.

Regarding the most famous of the latter, Ibn Zaydūn's celebrated *Nūnīyah,* al-Ṣafadī has some supplementary remarks to add, reverting to the topic of emulation: "People emulated it *('āraḍahā)* both in his lifetime and after his death, but could not come close to it (in quality). I believe that Ibn Zaydūn in this poem was himself emulating verses by al-Buḥturī. . . . The shaykh Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī [d. ca. 750/1349] composed a *takhmīs*[22] on this *qaṣīdah* of Ibn Zaydūn's, making it an elegy *(marthiyah)* for al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad 'Imād al-Dīn [Abū al-Fidā'], the

[20]See *EI*², s.vv. "mu'āraḍa" and "sariḳa."
[21]Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī, *Khizānat al-Adab wa-Ghāyat al-Arab* (Būlāq, 1291 [1874]), 285–89.
[22]That is, an expansion of the original poem made by adding three half-verses to each original two for each line, thereby totalling five; see *EI*², s.v. "takhmīs."

ruler of Ḥamāh, and succeeded admirably. . . . And I myself, in my youth, composed an elegy on one of my dear friends in Ṣafad, using the meter and rhyme of this *qaṣīdah* by Ibn Zaydūn. . . ." Al-Ṣafadī proceeds to quote his own poem in its entirety (twenty-seven lines); clearly the process of shifting in a *muʿāraḍah* from one genre to another (here, in the cases of both al-Ḥillī and al-Ṣafadī, from love to death) was intended as an additional indication of the poet's dexterity. He then concludes his introduction by offering a rather large selection of Ibn Zaydūn's other verses, in several different genres—altogether more than twice as many as those provided by Ibn Nubātah. He also, unlike Ibn Nubātah but conveniently, presents the integral text of the epistle to be commented on before launching into his phrase-by-phrase treatment of it.

Whether or not al-Ṣafadī was being deliberately coy by referring so extensively to *muʿāraḍah* in what was in fact an unacknowledged *muʿāraḍah* of Ibn Nubātah's book (and given Ibn Nubātah's fame it seems likely the intended audience would have got the point), the idea of commenting Ibn Zaydūn's *other* famous epistle was certainly a happy one. Despite its very different (serious) tone, this letter offered al-Ṣafadī much the same scope for displaying his wit and erudition as did the "humorous" epistle to Ibn Nubātah. More specifically, it even included a *stretto* passage, with a string of famous names and historical incidents, not dissimilar to "Wallādah's" litany in the "humorous" epistle referring to Joseph, the wife of al-ʿAzīz, and so forth. Here, protesting his innocence to Ibn Jahwar, Ibn Zaydūn says, "Have mercy! The floodwaters have reached their crest, and I have suffered all I can endure! All I can say about my situation is that if I had been commanded to bow down to Adam, but pridefully refused,[23] or if Noah had said to me 'Board (the ark) with us!' and I had said 'I will take refuge on a mountain that will protect me from the water'[24] . . . there might be justification for calling what has happened to me an exemplary punishment *(nakāl)* and dubbing it, if only figuratively, an (appropriate) requital (*ʿiqāb)*." The hypothetical situations envisaged by Ibn Zaydūn in the prodosis of this sentence (beginning with Adam and Noah) total altogether twenty-three, and march in a fairly organized fashion through episodes in prophetic, then pre-Islamic Arab, then Islamic history, concluding with al-Ḥajjāj's bombardment of the Kaʿbah in 73/692, and thus providing al-Ṣafadī with an ideal opportunity for extensive digression.

And digress he does, not only on this passage but throughout the *risālah*, to an extent that significantly outdoes Ibn Nubātah. As opposed to the latter's reliance on "*tarjamah*s," al-Ṣafadī casts his nets much wider, devoting sections not only to famous people, and events, but also to (for instance) various rhetorical tropes

[23]As did Iblīs (Satan), according to Quran 2:34; cf. 7:12.
[24]Quoting Quran 11:42–43.

(such as *taḥsīn al-qabīḥ,* ″making the bad seem good″), character and behavioral traits (including loyalty, slander, and Schadenfreude *[shamātah]*), points of theological and legal controversy (for example, Mutazilite views on the superiority of angels to prophets, and an excursus on judicial conservatism *[taqlīd]*), and such unclassifiable topics as the behavior of hungry cats and the perception that ″It′s a wide world!″. He also has a much broader field of vision chronologically than Ibn Nubātah: while the latter included in his book virtually nothing later than the fourth/tenth century, al-Ṣafadī seems to be making an effort to give early and recent writers ″equal time″—he very frequently cites al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, for example, and also a whole range of Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk poets, while by no means neglecting the older heritage, from pre-Islamic through Abbasid times. Also unlike Ibn Nubātah, al-Ṣafadī is generally inclined to name his direct sources, which range very widely over the tradition and testify to his extraordinary learning.

This is not the only time al-Ṣafadī engaged in such an exercise in wholesale ″browsing″ through the entire Arabic literary tradition from the beginning to his own times. Perhaps even more striking an example is his massive commentary on al-Ṭughrā'ī′s *Lāmīyat al-'Ajam* entitled *Al-Ghayth al-Musajjam*.[25] In that work, which uses each line of the commented poem to launch into a ten- to thirty-page digression on the most varied topics imaginable, al-Ṣafadī actually felt compelled in his introduction to include a long defense of his use of such digression *(istiṭrād),* appealing to al-Jāḥiẓ (one must never bore the reader) and al-Buḥturī (as espousing the generalist ideal of the *adīb,* as opposed to the specialist ideal of the scholar), among others. He does not drift quite as far from his primary topic in his commentary on Ibn Zaydūn′s letter as he does in that work; but it is still abundantly clear that the letter commented is serving primarily as a vehicle, to a degree that one would hesitate to attribute to Ibn Nubātah.

Not that al-Ṣafadī neglects the requisite philological, and to some extent thematic and aesthetic, analysis of Ibn Zaydūn′s words themselves. This task is performed conscientiously throughout the commentary, and at its conclusion al-Ṣafadī actually goes so far as to add an appendix listing fifteen weak points in the *risālah*′s language and style—together with suggestions for improvement. A second appendix, seemingly more gratuitous and introduced by the phrase ″*lā ba's*″ (″it cannot hurt [to add it]″), which al-Ṣafadī otherwise avoids, reproduces a rather long epistle by Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir to the poet Ibn al-Naqīb (d. 687/1288), defending himself against criticism from an unnamed Shi'ite for having shown himself excessively humble in a scholarly gathering. Playing extensively with Shi'i themes, Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir includes in this letter a number of ″*stretto*″ passages that bring it into

[25]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Ghayth al-Musajjam fī Sharḥ Lāmīyat al-'Ajam*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Beirut, 1990). On al-Ṭughrā'ī, see *EI*[2]*,* s.v.

parallel with Ibn Zaydūn's efforts, including a name-dropping section to the effect of "Do you think I agreed with Ibn Muljam (when he assassinated 'Alī) . . .?" and so forth. The more general effect of al-Ṣafadī's adding this text to the end of his commentary is to stress the continuity of the tradition of rhetorical epistolography, from Ibn Zaydūn and his likes, through al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil and Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, and perhaps by implication on to (the unmentioned) Ibn Nubātah and al-Ṣafadī himself.

The heightened status of epistolography and of artistic prose generally in the Mamluk era, and its suitability for commentary, is the first of four points on which this quick survey of these two texts may offer food for thought, if not more specific conclusions. The relative merit of prose and poetry had been itself a standard topos in *adab* literature since the fourth/tenth century, when the former first attained a level of rhetorical development that made real competition with the latter plausible. Yet the level of complexity, and ambiguity, involved in artistic prose rarely attained that of poetry, and that most specific form of homage, the commentary, was relatively rarely applied to prose—the primary exception being the *maqāmāt*. On the other hand, commenting prose offered a unique way of presenting miscellaneous information, true to the Jāḥiẓian formula for entertaining digression, that began to be exploited in the seventh/thirteenth centuries, as represented by Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd's *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* and al-Sharīsī's *Sharḥ Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*. Ibn Nubātah saw such an opportunity in Ibn Zaydūn's *risālah hazlīyah,* and grabbed it; and the young, brash, and competitive al-Ṣafadī proceeded to outdo him with his commentary on the *risālah jiddīyah.* Ultimately, nevertheless, al-Ṣafadī's own commentary on the *Lāmīyat al-'Ajam* demonstrated that the same technique could be applied at least as effectively to poetry, and the commenting of artistic prose never developed into a full-fledged major genre of Arabic *adab*.

Second, both Ibn Nubātah and al-Ṣafadī are clearly concerned with the canon of Arabic literature. Ibn Zaydūn, in both his epistles, had relied on, rehearsed, and indeed to some extent pinned down, the canon in his own day (a canon that was for him, significantly, entirely Eastern—there is nothing specifically Andalusian in either *risālah*). Ibn Nubātah emphatically reinforced this canon with his *tarjamah*s, inducting students into, and reminding peers of, a significant cross-section of what every respectable littérateur should know. Al-Ṣafadī went further, giving full credit to "modern classics" alongside their hoary predecessors, and demonstrating the continuing vitality of the literary tradition by citing recent and indeed contemporary poets and *udabā'* in the context of a three hundred year old epistle.

Third, it seems safe to say that both Ibn Nubātah and al-Ṣafadī were addressing several audiences, and accomplishing several intentions, at once. Their commentaries offered students a panorama of the world of literary learning, and a potted lesson in the basics of their heritage. At the same time, peers had this

lesson reinforced, or, perhaps more plausibly, were expected to congratulate themselves on recognizing, and even anticipating, the information and allusions as they were presented, while being impressed by the elegance with which this was done. A broader audience was offered a smorgasbord of "*fawā'id*," "useful bits," which they could savor and incorporate into their dinner conversation. And of course—perhaps particularly in al-Ṣafadī's case—the authors were establishing their own impressive credentials as experts for everyone to admire.

Fourth and finally, to come back to the "Alexandrian" character of the literary culture reflected in these works, there can be no question of the centrality of *erudition* to these authors and their audiences. All were conscious of a weighty tradition behind contemporary literary efforts, which acknowledged it at every turn. There is, however, little or no evidence for this fact being perceived as any kind of burden—the "anxiety of influence" becomes acute only when originality is prized in a way that would be completely foreign to our authors. What we seem to find instead is a real *delight* in influence. For Mamluk writers, one is tempted to say, intertextuality was what literature is all about; and the more of a past one has to deal with, the more one can glory in reproducing, ringing changes on, and playing with that past, to the ongoing enrichment of the Arabic literary tradition. That, I think, is how we should understand the achievements of Arabic literature in the Mamluk period, and perhaps if we assess it on that basis it will look less jejune and "derivative" (in an assumed negative sense) than the consensus of past scholarship would insist was the case.

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Vindicating a Profession or a Personal Career? Al-Qalqashandī's *Maqāmah* in Context

Al-Qalqashandī's *maqāmah* in praise of his patron Badr al-Dīn ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī and the epistolary art was written as a manual on secretaryship.[1] The *maqāmah* is a summation of the art that predated the voluminous compendium *Ṣubḥ* and draws attention to its author as an epistolographer of great literary caliber.[2] While introducing his *Ṣubḥ* with a specific mention of this *maqāmah,*[3] al-Qalqashandī is unequivocal in glorifying this piece, terming it an art of "allusion and suggestion," attuned to "brevity" that renders it beyond the reach of the common reader and the less erudite in the art of literary composition. He specifically intimates that it was due to the precision and conciseness of this *maqāmah* that many missed its focused argument, and hence a certain person of sound judgment and indisputable advice, perhaps his patron, "directs me to follow it up with a thorough compilation covering essentials and rules."[4] The *maqāmah*, therefore, complements the compilation of the *Ṣubḥ* as it drew attention to al-Qalqashandī and his mastery of literary composition. It was the achievement and proof of his proficiency in the art, and the marker of his merits as prose writer.

This introductory note in *Ṣubḥ* is of great significance, not only because it sets the date of composition for the *maqāmah*, in 791/1389, "when I settled at the chancery . . . ,"[5] but also because it was written with a focused purpose to bring the *maqāmah* genre once and for all within the orbit of literary composition in which the author aimed to demonstrate his mastery. His *maqāmah,* then, may be read as an autobiographical piece as the self-made epistolographer is keen on drawing a

[1]On this *maqāmah,* see C. E. Bosworth, "A *Maqāma* on Secretaryship: Al-Qalqashandī's Al-Kawākib al-Durrīyah fi'l-Manāqib Al-Badriyya," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 27 (1964): 291–98, reprinted in the author's *Medieval Arabic Culture and Administration* (London, 1982), 292–98.

[2]See *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā',* ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 1988), 1:34–35.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid., 34.

[5]Ibid. Bosworth notes that the author "entered the *dīwān* in 791/1389, the date when he composed his *maqāma* in praise of *inshā'* and of his master Badr al-Dīn." See *Medieval Arabic Culture,* 293.

sustained parallel between the *'isāmī* (the self-made person or survivalist) and *'izāmī* (″of honorable ancestry″).[6] But the comparison, between nepotism and merited chancery emplacements and appointments, is carried out within a *maqāmah* convention, which is also intentionally underlined to highlight the speaker′s position as *al-Nāthir ibn al-Naẓẓām*, ″the prose writer son of the versifier,″[7] according to a systematic prioritization of genres.

In the following pages, I will argue for the significance of al-Qalqashandī′s *maqāmah* in relation to both epistolography and *maqāmāt* conventions and professional and cultural engagements.

In his *maqāmah,* al-Qalqashandī′s protagonist-narrator establishes his identity as a prose writer with poetic grounding, whose credentials and talent secure him a chancery position despite rampant nepotism and mediocre competitors. While striving for recognition through his panegyrics, his growth as a learned prose writer entitles him to debate forebears in an ″anxiety of influence″ pattern. This recognition is justified by the voluminous *Ṣubḥ,* completed in 814/1412, and his earlier *maqāmah* of 791/1389, which secured him a textual lineage among learned prose writers and epistolographers. Although his *maqāmah,Al-Kawākib al-Durrīyah fī al-Manāqib al-Badrīyah*, was the prototype for the larger compendium, its place in the last volume among other *maqāmāt* may have been assigned by design to hold the *Ṣubḥ* together. The *maqāmah* acts like an autobiographical postscript, which concludes a voluminous work in order to draw attention to the author after a long and laborious journey among impersonal accounts, epistles, biographies, and achievements of others. Although Bosworth thinks that the author sounds boastful[8] in saying that *maqāmah* ″includes an exposition of all the material points which the *kātib al-inshā'* needs to know and all the well-trodden paths which he must follow,″[9] al-Qalqashandī offers more than one reason to justify this position, as will be shown.

Al-Qāḍī Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qalqashandī (756–821/1355–1420) served as *kātib darj,* ″scribe of the scroll,″[10] in the chancery or *dīwān al-inshā'* during the reign of the first Circassian sultan, al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (784–90/1382–88). At that time, al-Qāḍī Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn Faḍl Allāh and his brother al-Qāḍī 'Alā' al-Dīn, from Banū Faḍl Allāh

[6]See *Ṣubḥ,* 14:145.

[7]Ibid., 127.

[8]Bosworth, *Medieval Arabic Culture,* 295.

[9]*Ṣubḥ,* 14:147.

[10]The ″scribes of the scroll or the roll″ refers to the pieces of paper or parchment joined together to become a *darj* or scroll for writing. See J. H. Escovitz, ″Vocational Patterns of the Scribes of the Mamluk Chancery,″ *Arabica* 23 (1976): 55. Also, *Ṣubḥ*,1:138.

al-ʻUmarī, were in charge of the *dīwān.* Al-Qalqashandī′s *maqāmah, Al-Kawākib al-Durrīyah,* dates his formal entry into the chancery in 791/1389. Badr al-Dīn was in charge of the *dīwān al-inshā*ʼ on three occasions: 784/1382, 786–92/1385–90, and 796–801/1394–99.[11] It was during his patron′s life that al-Qalqashandī also compiled his voluminous *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá fī Ṣināʻat al-Inshā*ʼ*,* though it was finalized in 814/1412.

Al-Qalqashandī was very proud of the *Kawākib,* as he noted in a number of places.[12] It has an autobiographical aspect, which is quite valuable in view of socio-political mobility. On the other hand, it is structured in a specific way to cater to the *maqāmah* convention while engaging issues of topical interest. It is perhaps worthwhile to discuss its form and textual engagements, so as to assess the author′s claims to both thoroughness and precision. It is structured as follows: (1) the concept and meaning of *maqāmah*; (2) history of composition; (3) the prologue; (4) the *hātif,* or voice; (5) the dialogue between the speaker and his companion; (6) the discussion of prioritization between scribes in the finance department and the literary division in the *dīwān*; (7) elaboration on the priority of literary composition and epistolography at large; (8) the qualifications of the epistolographer; (9) the *dīwān* and its present secretary; (10) panegyrics; (11) self-glorification.

It is worth mentioning that the author devotes a paragraph to explain the meaning of the genre. The explanation is significantly drawn in spatial and cultural terms to relate the *maqāmah* as assembly to the *dīwān* as place for literary and educational activity. *Maqāmāt,* he notes, ″is the plural for *maqāmah,* which etymologically denotes the name for an assembly or a group of people. A narrative unit is called as such, if it occurs in one assembly where a group gathers to listen to it. This is different from *muqāmah*, which means sojourn or settlement.″[13] This explanation leads to the history of the genre with a laudatory mention of al-Hamadhānī, followed by al-Ḥarīrī, whose *maqāmāt* ″were so well-received and met with so much luck, that they relegated to oblivion those of al-Badīʻ [al-Hamadhānī] as if they were obsolete.″[14] The subsequent argument on al-Ḥarīrī relates to prioritization of genres and will be discussed in order. But the *Kawākib* is intentionally and vigorously launched as a *maqāmah*, and it deserves to be considered as such, especially for its attention to language and rhetorical embellishments. Other reasons are as follows:

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[11] Bosworth, *Medieval Arabic Culture,* 292.
[12] *Ṣubḥ,* 14:124–27.
[13] Ibid., 124.
[14] Ibid., 125.

1. The protagonist is a *maqāmah* figure, who is keen on using his skill, talent, and knowledge against uncongenial circumstances of nepotism, political opportunism, and competitiveness. Even after being appointed as *kātib darj,* it took him time to adjust and receive due recognition.[15]
2. There is a narrator and a narratee (a double) or a *hātif* (″voice″) whose role complements the narrator′s own. On the other hand, there is an addressee, too, in this case the Qāḍī Badr al-Dīn, who is meant to hear and enjoy the eloquence of his scribe. This narrative grows in a *maqāmah* fashion with great emphasis on dialogue. Speech is the means and the reward here, as in every other *maqāmah.*
3. The narrator, as protagonist, uses the encounter with the narratee mainly to offer justifications for his endeavor to be at the chancery. The narratee, the voice, is a *deus ex machina,*[16] for he shares with the narrator an agenda and a register to describe the Mamluk chancery and its glory and requirements. But the narratee is more than a double, however, as he grows in textual space as a competing protagonist, the one who mediates for the narrator, arranges his entry, and provides him with enough intelligence and information to enable him to secure a position.
4. The narrator-protagonist, *al-Nāthir ibn al-Naẓẓām*, ″the prose writer son of the versifier,″ is designated so by design, not only to echo al-Ḥarīrī′s al-Ḥārith ibn al-Hammām, but also to offer another genetic trajectory whereby the article ″*al*″ adds influence and prestige to the name, the prose writer, in comparison to the versifier who suffers in this prioritization. The act is closely related to the ongoing controversy regarding the significance of each genre, as we shall see.

In another sense, the structure of al-Qalqashandī′s *Maqāmah* is also similar to the *Bildungsroman* as a novel of education, especially as its history of composition culminates a life of apprenticeship and challenge, viewed and assessed retrospectively. The aspiring young protagonist, with divided aims and great anxieties, must pass through some test and prove efficiency. In a moment of hesitation and great perplexity, he must choose between the search for knowledge for its own sake and the profession that enables him to make a living, and he

[15]Ibid., 145.

[16]Bosworth, *Medieval Arabic Culture,* 296, n. 16.

intimates in a manner fashionable in confessional autobiographies: ″I was so distressed and stunned as to act aimlessly. Perplexity kept me suspended between the two courses. If I pursue knowledge for its material benefits, then I commit a reprehensible act, and if I commit myself to study regardless of livelihood, then I should perish in destitution and die of hunger.″[17] Yet, his education in a hierarchical society should be geared towards a post which pays well while preserving his integrity as a writer. Devoid of family connections and in need of money, there must be a patron, or godfather, to offer support and guidance. The hero must search and make connections before coming upon the ideal patron. Also, the internal conflict should conclude in a way that suits the hero′s aspirations in order to offer us a narrative of some edification and educational value.

Yet the *Kawākib* is not wholly fictional, as we gather from the introductory note in the first volume,[18] for it is al-Qalqashandī′s life story, presented to the patron and the reader, to be read and enjoyed. The author is so proud of his career that he wrote it down together with shows of allegiance that act as rites of passage to the chancery proper. Glorifying the vocation and highlighting his own career against mediocrity and conflictual attitudes, he feels empowered enough to submit his *maqāmah* to the public. Although the author′s transition stage of perplexity and hesitation in this *Bildungsroman* has a ″romanticized autobiographical element″ that Bosworth notes,[19] the account in general fits into narratives of education that communicate a moral and educational message to the reader. Such details may prove helpful in reading the *Kawākib* as autobiographical in the first place.

Knowing full well the role of power relations, especially among close-knit relatives with *simāt irthīyah* (″hereditary attributes″),[20] al-Qalqashandī recognizes the need to demonstrate efficiency and competence in performance, along with self-possession and restraint, in order to gain his patron′s support:

> And as I became assured that I am established in his *dīwān,* and listed as one of his pages, I refrained from further search for gain; and neither need nor affluence became of consequence to me, for to catch sight of him suffices to substitute for food and drink, and I am assured that a look from him could promote me to the clouds. . . .[21]

With an eye on his patron, al-Qalqashandī divides his narrative between the narrator and the narratee, engaging the latter in a dialogue concerning the patron. This

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[17] *Ṣubḥ,* 14:128.
[18] Ibid., 1:34–35.
[19] Bosworth, *Medieval Arabic Culture,* 295.
[20] *Ṣubḥ,* 14:141.
[21] Ibid., 145.

division of labor enables the author to collect and cite information about the ruling caste, while providing him with enough space to justify allegiance and map out a career. The narratee´s answers amount to a full account of chancery dealings and responsibilities, as the patron assumes his importance in chancery context. But drawn to the patron´s character, the speaker is overwhelmed by the awe-inspiring presence of Qāḍī Badr al-Dīn, which is hereditary, for the patron descends from the caliph ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 23/644), the great ″grandfather.″[22] These ″hereditary attributes,″ along with his patron´s munificence, emphasize nepotism as positively rewarding, as it ensures cultural continuity and professional expertise. Indeed, Badr al-Dīn is of ″great lineage, and unsurpassed family,″ inheriting the position with merit, ″though it is his by lineage.″[23] The emphasis on nepotism and merit makes up the last part of the *maqāmah*. It corresponds to the panegyric of the ode, to be sure,[24] but it is also a culmination of a long narrative journey of discontent, training, and search. Working out his way in poetry and prose, the author attempts to show his resourcefulness in launching this panegyric while glorifying himself to be worthy of the patron´s station. In the panegyric section and its rite of passage, there is more autobiography than a cursory reading may indicate, for every glorification of the patron and patronage is imbued with self-glorification.[25]

The panegyric as a rite of passage comes in response to the narratee´s explanations of chancery dealings. In his discourse on Banū Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, the narrator, as al-Qalqashandī´s alter ego, thus avoids clear-cut discussions of nepotism. But there is an underlying belief that familial connections and nepotism kept chancery posts within the family, in a *de facto* manner, which is summed up in the phrase ″*bi-al-aṣālah*,″ or familial succession.[26] Filiatory ties are a defensive strategy, however, a preemptive procedure to evade penetration, rivalry, and competition. But, on the positive side, this nepotism ensured some continuity in chancellery correspondence, which, paradoxically, led to its subsequent imitativeness, verbosity, and artificiality. The Banū Wahb, Banū ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (especially Muḥyī al-Dīn, 620–92/1223–92) and Banū Faḍl Allāh (especially Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, d. 749/1349) were among the most prominent dynastic epistolographers. But al-Qalqashandī also refers to chanceries as schools for apprenticeship, for to have epistolographers like Badr al-Dīn manifests ″God´s favors.″[27]

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[22]Ibid., 143.

[23]Ibid., 141.

[24]See Bosworth, *Medieval Arabic Culture,* 297.

[25]On the rite of passage, see Suzanne P. Stetkevych, *The Mute Immortals Speak: Pre-Islamic Poetry and the Poetics of Ritual* (Ithaca, 1993), 5–8.

[26]*Ṣubḥ,* 14:141.

[27]Ibid., 142.

It is at this point that al-Qalqashandī's narrator asserts homage and allegiance to his patron and to the family at large. The panegyric ensues as an answer to the narrator's rhetorical question whether there is "a necklace" or a string to hold this prestigious office together.[28] His companion is ready with an elaborate answer to glorify the patron and his family. He goes so far as placing the patron ahead of all chancery writers, including the ones he is known for emulating in his literary composition, such as al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil ʻAbd al-Raḥīm al-Bīsānī ("the honorable magistrate," 529–96/1135–1200).[29] In response, the narrator "recited in public with sincerity" a verse from the Quran: "Say it is because of God's favor *[faḍl Allāh]* and His mercy, let them rejoice for this, for he is better than whomever they choose." Set against al-Qalqashandī's discursive corpus, this piety sounds too contrived to be taken seriously. It is calculated, however, to impress Badr al-Dīn himself, and to draw his attention to al-Qalqashandī's readiness of mind, his wit, insight, and mastery of Quranic verse. Thus, al-Qalqashandī helps to consolidate the position of the learned who enlisted religious discourse to give legitimacy and authority to their present occupations.[30]

The *maqāmah* sections on the patron are carefully placed within a chancery context to show the merits of both the patron and the scribe. In terms of discussion and analysis of the chancery occupation, al-Qalqashandī subtly penetrates into the fabric of the familiar to represent it anew, drawing attention to his resourcefulness. In a number of places, for example, al-Qalqashandī proves epistolary competence in coming upon the exact Quranic verse, which fits the very name of Badr al-Dīn ibn Faḍl Allāh. Both the recurrence of Faḍl Allāh (God's favors) in the specific Quranic verse and its prosification in discourse are meant to demonstrate eloquence and mastery of epistolography usually associated with al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil and his Fatimid master Ibn al-Khallāl. While embedded within meticulous prosifications that are bound to impress Badr al-Dīn, the overall design of the panegyric is to establish a career, which may be secured by the less merited by mere allegiance or nepotism. Indeed, al-Qāḍī al-Ṣayrafī, who wrote in praise of Badr al-Dīn ibn Faḍl Allāh, said of him "he was biased towards some and they gained; and he was against others who made no headway."[31]

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[28]Ibid., 141.

[29]Ibid.

[30]On the dynasties and their role in the Mamluk period, see Donald P. Little, "Historiography of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Epochs," in *Cambridge History of Egypt*, ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 1:412–44. On the role of the elite, Jonathan P. Berkey, "Tradition, Innovation and the Social Construction of Knowledge in the Medieval Islamic Near East," *Past and Present* 146 (February 1995); and Carl Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1981), esp. 17–18.

[31]See the editor's note, *Ṣubḥ*, 14:126, n. 1.

Especially when considered in this context, al-Qalqashandī´s panegyric makes use of a poetic tradition in a changing milieu of great mobility and precariousness. His tools should be as good as a great poet´s to complete his rites of passage. The rites of passage to the chancery include many things, to be sure, as the *maqāmah* itself explains, beginning with training in the art and the acquisition of knowledge. But the aspirant must prove that his talent exceeds average requirements. Along with wit and mastery of prosification, he must be a poet too. Thus, upon being appointed, he plays on his patron´s name and its meaning again, implying throughout that both name, designation, and meaning fit each other in natural, irrevocable order.[32] After the ceremonial ˝honor of kissing his [the patron´s] hand,˝ the narrator specifies that he ˝devoted˝ his utmost praise and benedictions to him.[33] A survivalist, a self-made professional scribe, he must demonstrate talent in the absence of lineage. ˝I was self-made in this profession *(ʻiṣāmīyan)* not born to it *(ʻiẓāmīyan),*˝ he says.[34] Thus his first encounter with the *dīwān* professionals was not easy or smooth, for ˝I took my seat as a stranger, with a desolate demeanor.˝[35] Yet, he nevertheless strove hard to hold onto the position, for ˝I clung to it by every means, and I ignited its fire from the least spark,˝ so as to be welcomed accordingly with ˝charity and fairness.˝[36]

But patronage is still required in the first place to establish oneself and tackle the work at hand, if the marginalized intellectual is to show competence and talent in a chancery of professionals and functionaries. Hence, the narrator´s question to his companion: ˝Has he [Badr al-Dīn] followers, retinue, from among the scribes whom one should ask for aid and moral support in speech and action, so as to be marked as a scribe and among Badr al-Dīn´s pages?˝[37] The question is rhetorical, for ˝Badr al-Dīn´s brother is the head of the *dast.*˝ The chancery is a close-knit foundation then, and nepotism runs deeply into its making, performance, and achievement. The chancery is divided between the ˝*kuttāb al-dast,* [who] are of a higher station, and the *kuttāb al-darj,* [who] are the more suitable for writing and eloquence.˝[38] The prioritization here is political and bureaucratic, which, in the narrator´s oblique reading, carries no intellectual or cultural weight.

We are told the ˝second division˝ is the right place for the narrator despite its subordination to the first. The prose writer, *al-Nāthir,* who narrates and interrogates

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[32]*Ṣubḥ,* 14:144.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Ibid., 145.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Ibid., 144.

[38]Ibid.

the whole scene, needs not only to justify a choice, but also to place it in context. Now, he is allied with *kuttāb* of literary writing—as his account of them demonstrates,[39] a post that had a prestigious, though hazardous, history. Moreover, it has contemporary luster whenever related to the learned as different from functionaries, a point which he discusses in detail when analyzing and describing the typology of chancery writers.[40]

To lead the reader into the profession of the *kātib* within the Mamluk chancery of state, al-Qalqashandī surveys writers and scribes[41] who are meant to substantiate the panegyric, but this also highlights the speaker's affiliation with such prestigious names. Badr al-Dīn is the *kātib sirr,* the confidential secretary in charge of the *dīwān,* including the *kuttāb al-darj.* There is reason to compare him to predecessors dating back to the Umayyads (40–132/661–750), for the latter used to have a *kātib* as secretary of state, instead of the vizier, a designation which the Abbasids (132–333/750–945) favored. In the Fatimid period in Egypt (358–566/969–1171), this was the *kātib al-dast* (secretary of the bench). In the Mamluk period, there was the *dīwān al- inshā',* with its two divisions: the *dast* (bench) and *darj* (scroll). It was only in the times of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (678–91/1279–92) that the magistrate Fatḥ al-Dīn ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir was appointed as confidential secretary, *kātib al-sirr,* or "recorder of the sultan's secrets," a word which people corrupted into *kātim* or "keeper" of secrets.[42] The office of vizier was then abolished by al-Nāṣir ibn Qalāwūn (r. 693–741/1294–1340), who divided the office in 710/1310 among four officers, including the "recorder of the secrets."

In respect to the specific mention of the post he desires, the narrator says: "The second division is the more suitable to my status, and the closer to my inclinations."[43] Reaching the targeted post, he can dispense with his companion. The double is no longer needed, and "I bade him farewell, thanking him for his help and appreciating his courtesy, and I left him and embarked on my way. That was the last I heard of him."[44] To dispense with the *deus ex machina* is to assert identity and independence. The speaker or narrator is on his own now, and must proceed in a formal manner to attain this post. Having learned the nature of the chancery and its network, "I returned to him [Badr al-Dīn], and raised my petition,

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[39]Ibid., 141.

[40]Ibid., 1:31. See Petry, *Civilian Elite,* 204–5, but also *Ṣubḥ*, 1:80–81, on the confusion between the learned and the functionary and the ignorant. In relation to the learned, see Jonathan P. Berkey, "Culture and Society during the Late Middle Ages," in *Cambridge History of Egypt*, 1:375–411.

[41]*Ṣubḥ,* 14:141.

[42]Ibid., 1:138.

[43]Ibid., 14:144.

[44]Ibid.

and requested his approval of my application, which he accepted. What a munificent master he is, and he assigned me to the honorable *kitābat al-darj*."[45] Although al-Qalqashandī speaks of credentials and suitability, insofar as his choice is concerned, the chancery builds on *hierarchy*. His very language regarding his patron betrays as much, for he "delves into his domains, and swerves to his abode to have a glimpse of him, who appears glowing and glittering as light, and his moons shine with glory, brimming with dignity, submerged in quietude, imbued with authority, and endowed with happiness."[46] Even the design of place and seats was meant to assert this gradation. *Kuttāb al-dast,* or scribes of the bench, sat on a raised platform or bench so as to present or respond to petitions offered to the sovereign in the House of Justice. Sometimes they were called *muwaqqi'*s, for they used to append or inscribe the royal signature on petitions. By contrast, *kuttāb al-darj* were primarily concerned with letters of fief grants, appointments, explanations, salutations, and their likes, which might not demand the immediate involvement of the chief scribe.

Hierarchy, gradation, and hegemony manifest themselves in the nature of discourse, then, whenever the narrator is on his own. He accepts subordination, but, ostensibly, because he thinks of the *kātib al-darj* post as the most fitting for his credentials. But while the *darj* post is not the highest in the *dīwān,* al-Qalqashandī attempts cleverly to add to it its lost prestige.[47] Indeed, the narrator's effort in this direction strives to combine a personal sense of importance and the patron's reputation as *kātib* with the aspiration to regain the glorious past of the profession. It is part of the biographical design, after all, to glorify oneself within loyalty to the profession in its epistolary dimension and historical context.

When 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib (d. 132/750) is mentioned,[48] for instance, there is along with him some allusion to the Umayyads. The same applies to eleven scribes whom al-Qalqashandī mentions in this respect. The office and practice of *al-kātib* gained power and prestige in the Umayyad period not only due to interaction with the culture of other civilizations, but also for the needs of legitimacy in the context of the rivalry with the Prophet's descendents, known as among the most eloquent Arabs. Their discourse posed serious problems to the Umayyads, who spent enormous amounts of money and energy to compete with them. Falsification of records and pretensions to wit were widespread in order to impose legitimacy in a period of great political dissent. In the footsteps of their ostensible precursors, the descendents of the Prophet, the Fatimids elevated their *kātib* to a vizierate, a

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[45]Ibid.

[46]Ibid.

[47]See ibid., 1:63–81.

[48]Ibid., 14:141.

position belonging ″to the men of sword and sometimes to the men of the pen,″ with ″full delegated powers.″[49] Some of their scribes, like al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (529–96/1135–1200), were to rise to the highest positions. So was their vizier Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. The Ayyubid period (589–658/1193–1260) brought along with it, through this combination of the sword and the pen, a great deal of the Fatimid preoccupation with culture and faith. Although a Kurdish warrior-chief, with little concern for the Fatimid protocol and hierarchical structures, Ṣalāh al-Dīn inherited their keen interest in culture. But instead of looking for a chief missionary to propagate a faith, he came upon al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (″The Excellent Magistrate″) ʻAbd al-Raḥīm al-Bīsānī, to join him in his endeavor to regain conquered lands from the Crusaders. The testimony to the power of the word was more eloquent coming from a warrior. Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī reports that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn cautioned his ruling elite not to assume that he conquered his enemies by their swords but by the pen of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil.[50] This reference is not out of place here, especially as al-Qalqashandī specifically chooses al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil to head the list of writers and scribes cited for comparison with his patron: ″Had the Excellent ʻAbd al-Raḥīm seen him, he would never have claimed for himself excellent traits and would never have had recourse to writing.″[51] Every other scribe or writer is of secondary significance in comparison, and every other glory fades in the presence of the overwhelming magnitude of Badr al-Dīn.

Such comparisons and discursive attempts at balanced discussions are part of the autobiographical structure of the *maqāmah,* and should be seen in their subtle ramifications. Every *muwāzanah* (″balanced assessment and debate″) is a strategy of evasion or assertion, for al-Qalqashandī lauds the art of writing in each of these to glorify the patron and himself. The comparison of the patron to his precursors, for example,[52] is functional in more than one sense. It is attuned to the panegyric, and to the personal need to demonstrate allegiance and affiliation to be sure. By implication, it sets the patron and the writer in a genealogy of writers which derives its power from expertise, value, and connection to the sovereign.[53] But it is also an attempt to set the record straight in terms of a response to challenges, professional and political. Aside from the encroaching presence of the *dīwān al-jaysh,* i.e., the military department, there is also the challenge of *kuttāb al-māl,* i.e., of the financial or treasury department.[54] Therefore, enumerating the merits of

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[49]From al-Qalqashandī, tr. Bernard Lewis in *Islam* (Oxford, 1987), 1:203.

[50]Yūsuf ibn Qizughlī Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʼāt al-Zamān* (Mecca, 1987), 8:472.

[51]*Ṣubḥ,* 14:141.

[52]Ibid.

[53]Ibid., 131–32.

[54]See also his view on the urgent need for such a discussion, ibid., 1:83.

the art of literary composition, the narrator recapitulates: ″These are the traits of kings, and kingly traits, of the best merits, and the highly merited, for I never thought that writing as art had such a magnificent role and station.″[55]

Al-Qalqashandī´s deliberate discourse on the art of prose writing clearly intends to underscore the role of epistolographers among the learned, for there was a tendency to look upon the functionary side of the profession as less qualified for refined knowledge and elitist presence.[56] Thus, he argues that the chancery *kātib* is a learned person, ʻ*ālim*.[57] He cites the philologist al-Mubārak ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Athīr (d. 606/1209) to explain the Prophet´s use of the term ″scribe″ as a learned person, a point which al-Qalqashandī has already made in the *maqāmah,* when citing Quranic verses and the Prophet´s sayings, in order to place epistolography and literary writing ahead of every other vocation.[58] The amount of emphasis laid on the significance of this writing as profession makes it not only the most prestigious, but also the most needed for statecraft and culture. Indeed, his vindication of *kitābah* as a vocation is so carefully and meticulously argued that it almost convinces the reader that the speaker is not that desperate for the post, and that the post is offered to him because of a dire chancery need for his services.[59] Yet the *maqāmah* is careful in pointing out that this craft is adequate to preserve one´s integrity. As Bosworth notices, the thesis lies in the contention that there must be a profession or a vocation for a living.[60] As for ″the student of science,″ i.e., learning, this vocation is ″writing,″ or epistolography, and the scribe should never veer away from it.[61]

As the phrase *kitābah* includes chancellery correspondence in general, al-Qalqashandī unequivocally sides with ″*kitābat al-inshā*ʼ,″ or literary prose.[62] The art itself, *kitābah,* is a ″conceptual″ or ″spiritual″ craft, meaning in al-Qalqashandī´s terms ″utterances imagined by the writer whereby he images through combinations an inner picture that exists deep in the recesses of the mind.″[63] This *rūḥānīyah* (″conceptualization″) materializes into *juthmānīyah,* or bodily form, via inscription. He adds, ″the pen turns it from a conceptualized notion into a concrete [i.e.,

[55]Ibid., 14:129.

[56]See Petry, *Civilian Elite,* 204–5.

[57]*Ṣubḥ,* 1:82.

[58]Ibid., 14:129–30.

[59]Ibid., 129.

[60]Bosworth, *Medieval Arabic Culture,* 292–93.

[61]*Ṣubḥ,* 14:126.

[62]Ibid.

[63]Ibid., 1:82, also 64.

substantial] one.″ To al-Qalqashandī and other authorities, inscription is *inshā'*, inclusive of every artistic composition.[64]

As a result, al-Qalqashandī takes great care to draw a line between *kitābat al-inshā'* and *kitābat al-daywanah,* or the department of finance. In the *Ṣubḥ*, he pointedly argues that ″in Egypt the word scribe came to refer solely to the scribes of the treasury. When it is used, nothing else is meant. As for the craft of composition, it began to have two meanings, a private one used by the people of the *dīwān,* denoting *kitābat al-inshā',* and a public one for the people, which is *tawqī'*. As for naming it *kitābat al-inshā',* it is . . . *inshā,'* or literary composition, [which] is at the root of its subject.″[65]

Aside from the known arguments in support of literary or artistic prose, al-Qalqashandī′s references to the patron and his family, as well as the whole inventory of support for prose as such are deliberately couched in a register of royalty and war to cover and account for nepotism, affiliation, and rivalry among professions in times of mercurial politics. Badr al-Dīn is ″the close advisor of the king and his companion.″ He is ″his keeper of secrets″ and the one in charge. ″He is the closest to him when others are away, and the one endowed with the highest post when others are thrown out.″ He is the king′s secretary who speaks for him. ″He is the one who comes forth with the decisive saying when others are mute, and he is the warrior who fights gallantly with the sword of his tongue and the spear of his pen.″ Hence, he ″is the defender of kingdoms with the battalions and armies of the line of his inscription and the soldiers of his language. He is the one who scatters the enemy with the originality of his utterance and delicacy of maxims. . . . ″[66]

This panegyric derives its effectiveness from *al-ḥamāsah* poetry, with its emphasis on glorious wars, and battles where the human element derives significance and volume from both courage and weapons. It is not surprising that al-Qalqashandī enlists a verse from Abū Tammām (d. 231/846), renowned for his chivalric poetics:

> A stroke from a writer′s hand is deeper and more cutting than a smooth sword. They are a tribe who, when provoked by the hostility of the jealous, shed blood with the blades of pens.

The text as a whole sets this *kitābah* as the ″canon for politics.″ In Bosworth′s version of this passage, this ″encomium of secretaries″ runs as follows: ″they are the far-seeing eyes of kings, their all-hearing ears, their eloquent tongues, and their all-embracing intelligences . . . indeed, kings have more need of secretaries

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[64]Ibid., 82.

[65]Ibid., 83.

[66]Ibid., 14:142.

than secretaries have need of kings."[67] Al-Qalqashandī's *maqāmah*, then, aims at making a case for the learned among writers. Its urgency of tone and immediacy of purpose could have something to do with the Circassian period, and its failure to recognize the critical role of the learned since the times of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (783–801/1382–99).[68] The emphasis on reciprocal benefits is not hard to follow, for, as W. W. Clifford notices, "Through such patronage networks the Mamluk political elite functionally exchanged economic benefits for social validation from the cultural elite."[69]

But emphasis on the use of epistolographers and the learned at large is only one side of the coin. In more than one sense, they were the intermediaries between Mamluk oligarchies and the people. "Seeking legitimacy through the support of intellectuals," argues Donald P. Little, the Mamluk sultans "spent enormous sums on their salaries and patronage, sometimes in return for their specific services to the court but often for their function as devotional and educational intermediaries with the public."[70] Quoting 'Alī ibn Khalaf (d. 455/1063) in *Mawādd al-Bayān,* al-Qalqashandī asserted such a role. Writers are "the medium between kings and subjects," as they are "the only class which shares with kings grandeur and great significance while they are like the rest of the people in modesty and restrained expenditure."[71] For this reason, they are indispensable "to protect the interests of people while securing the rights of sultans and maintaining the adequate connection between the two."[72] Al-Qalqashandī never tires of quoting authorities that endorse the view that epistolographers are "the ornament of the kingdom and its beauty." It is the epistolographer's discourse which "uplifts its [the kingdom's] value and raises its reputation, magnifies its power, and indicates its merits." He contends further that, "On the sultan's behalf, he warns and persuades, praises or chastises. He articulates words to ensure the subordination and obedience of supporters, and drives away the intentions of foes to disobey or to continue hostility."[73] While relying on Ibn Khalaf in theory, al-Qalqashandī also enlists the views of kings and sultans on his side, as these are more acceptable among their equals. Abū al-Fidā', al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad of Ḥamāh (d. 732/1331) describes the role of epistolographers and writers as "the most noble profession after the caliphate, as it is the best of

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[67]Bosworth, *Medieval Arabic Culture,* 296.

[68]Petry, *Civilian Elite,* 20.

[69]W. W. Clifford, "*Ubi Sumus?* Social Theory and Mamluk Studies," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 51.

[70]Little, "Historiography," 413.

[71]*Ṣubḥ,* 1:73.

[72]Ibid., 73–74.

[73]Ibid., 86.

favors and the most ultimate desire."[74] As for the Abbasid caliph al-Mustarshid Abū Ja'far (caliph in 512/1118), he was reported to have described writing as the "root" and the "pillar" of the kingdom, "separate branches of one tree."[75] These and similar opinions are also found in the *maqāmah*.[76]

But there is a third side in this delicate intersection between epistolographers, prose writers, and intellectuals in general. In gratuitous comments, writers are never short of anecdotes and reports which address sultans and kings as liking to "own something of eloquence and good writing," as the Fatimid 'Alī Ibn Khalaf stipulates. Al-Qalqashandī uses this notion to forward his contention that epistolography is the "best of crafts,"[77] or, as he puts in the *maqāmah,* it is "the canon of politics."[78] Obviously, statesmen and sultans needed a powerful bureaucracy in the early pre-modern periods, and this materialized in the growth of a "class of secretaries," which Bosworth is right in describing as "numerous and powerful."[79] But, as J. H. Escovitz notes, this class was rather professional, with no absolute loyalty to the chancery.[80] Loyalty is ambiguous as a term, however, and we need to set the whole issue in terms of competitiveness, interests, and patterns of independence and subordination. In the *maqāmah,* then, al-Qalqashandī has an eye, too, on his present times, their precariousness and confusion. In assessing the situation, there is a need to maintain a divide between functionaries as part of bureaucratic and financial apparatus, usually inherited and developed by the Ayyubids and Mamluks, and the learned who were simultaneously needed, feared, and challenged by circumstance and division.[81] The period itself had a mixture of authoritarianism, eclecticism, and sentimentalism towards knowledge. Sultans like Baybars could well intervene, for instance, in the judicial system, altering the judiciary by appointing four qadis for every Sunni school. The intervention was not whimsical, for the very structural change in centers of power in the Islamic world impelled him to meet this diversity in predilections, loyalties, and outlooks. The attitude itself should be seen as signifying a centralizing tendency, which involved a drive towards homogeneity and sameness through a wider accommodation of schools and sects in a Cairo which was growing as the center for Dār al-Islām. What Berkey signaled in architectural monuments as "statements

[74]Ibid., 65–66.

[75]Ibid., 66.

[76]Ibid., 14:129–30.

[77]Ibid., 1:67.

[78]Ibid., 14:130.

[79]*Medieval Arabic Culture,* 292.

[80]Escovitz, "Vocational Patterns," 62.

[81]Berkey, "Culture and Society," 398.

of integration into an urban society which valued knowledge and piety, and which relied upon the private exercise of power and wealth to generate its cultural tradition and to protect its social order″[82] should be seen as a manifestation of a centralizing outlook. Nelly Hanna is surely right in suggesting that ″the [Mamluk] sultans and their ruling amirs for over two centuries created the models and set the fashions, in the arts and in architecture.[83]

Similarly, rulers′ interest in writing, epistolography, and eloquence should not be seen as the whim of dilettantes, but as a drive for power and control through appropriation. Upon noticing his chancery potential as manifested in the *maqāmah,* al-Qalqashandī´s patron, or some other authority, directed him to write a manual, more elaborate and extensive than the existing ones, including those by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad and Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh, which, for all their merits, ″could not compensate for others,″ nor could they be comprehensive enough to ″go beyond the science of rhetoric″ which is the staple of other manuals.[84] The increasing production of compendiums, manuals, and teaching material in the art of epistolography was meant to meet a demand, which was also impelled and perpetuated by the sovereign whose power was to be sustained through a sophisticated bureaucracy and financial apparatus.

″Al-kitābah qānūn al-siyāsah″ (literary composition is the canon of politics), says the *maqāmah,* and we need to assess the interrelatedness of the two in contextual terms. While alienating other departments of the army and treasury, for instance, al-Qalqashandī valorized the art of chancellery correspondence in its literary dimension. Although we have no information regarding specific royal orders for manuals or compendiums, these could be seen as ultimate markers of professional grounding and knowledge, which could have secured their authors a good, and, perhaps, lasting position in the chancery. In these manuals on procedural matters, formats, varieties of address, samples of polished correspondence, and stylistic needs and applications, the emphasis is laid on conformity, not deviation. Although knowledge admittedly varies between one person and another, the whole idea of a guide and a manual is to ensure symmetry and uniformity. Patronage by Mamluk sultans and ruling groups involved elite culture in some sameness, for, as Bakhtin argues, ″The ruling class strives to impart a supraclass, eternal character to the ideological sign,″ in order to render it ″unaccentual″.[85]

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[82]Ibid., 397.

[83]Nelly Hanna, ″Culture in Ottoman Egypt,″ *Cambridge History of Egypt*, ed. M. W. Daly (Cambridge, 1998), 2:87.

[84]*Ṣubḥ,* 1:31–35.

[85]M. M. Bakhtin, ″On Dialogic Discourse,″ in *The Bakhtin Reader,* ed. Pam Morris (London, 1997), 55.

Using these manuals and theoretic readings of the profession, al-Qalqashandī certainly catered to this centralizing drive while participating intellectually in defining culture and its magnanimous interest in and use of prose. Linking himself to such illustrious names and authorities as Qudāmah ibn Jaʻfar (d. 326/938), Ibn Qutaybah (d. 275/889), ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib, Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 775/1374), al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, al-Ṣābī (d. 383/994), Ibn Nubātah, Ibn al-Athīr, along with Ibn Khalaf, Ibn Mamātī, and the dynasties of Banū Faḍl Allāh, Banū ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, and many others,[86] al-Qalqashandī as a self-made scholar established for himself a professional lineage in the absence of reputed familial and blood connections. On the other hand, this subtext of belonging also highlights his patron's achievement, for he surpassed all in competence and grandeur. But by so doing, al-Qalqashandī also glorifies his own role and achievement for he, after all, claims to have improved even on al-Qāḍī Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʻUmarī.[87] Saying as much, al-Qalqashandī proves that, based on his hard work and skill, he deserves great acknowledgment and merit.

Yet to emphasize value and use for the state is not enough, especially among the literati. Poetic leanings and achievements were still in vogue, and the *maqāmah* never loses sight of this. The *kātib* is addressed as a flowering and ultimate maturation from poetry, and al-Qalqashandī could find no better lineage to allegorize his career than *al-Nāthir ibn al-Naẓẓām* (The Prose Writer Son of the Versifier). Sealing a tradition, he pointedly elevated prose to the highest position, and he is at pains to enlist every authoritative view on this subject, particularly ʻAlī ibn Khalaf (d. 455/1063) and his *Mawādd al-Bayān*. ʻAlī ibn Khalaf is one of the illustrious figures in *Ṣubḥ* for the simple reason that he divides the "art of composition" in three: *kitābah,* oratory, and poetry, emphasizing superiority in sequence, a point which al-Qalqashandī endorses, especially in his *maqāmah*.[88] Moreover, in his third chapter, al-Qalqashandī entitles his discussion unwaveringly "Prioritization of Prose to Poetry." This prioritization takes for granted that powerful prose should make intensive use of other styles and genres so as to reach large audiences, while keeping to the Quranic tradition of restrained and balanced use of assonance and figurative language.

It is within this prioritization of genres and the valorization of epistolary art that al-Qalqashandī targeted poetic license as an invitation to laxity, and openness to all including the "rabble" and the "reprobates."[89] But he is for the positive sides of poetry, too, especially its poetics of style. Indeed, *"ḥall,"* poetic prosification,

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[86]*Ṣubḥ,* 14:141, 1:35, 135–45, etc.

[87]Ibid., 1:35.

[88]Ibid., 14:130.

[89]Ibid., 1:92.

was repeatedly emphasized as a prerequisite to epistolography. Abū 'Uthmān ibn Ibrāhīm al-Nābulusī (d. 685/1286) was strongly drawn to the practice in his *Luma*'. The scribe or clerk in *dīwān al-inshā*' should be "well acquainted with sciences, especially literature, to reach the highest station in verse and prose, even to reach that stage of rhetoric to be able to put poetry into prose, or vice versa. . . ."[90]

'Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad al-Tha'ālibī (d. 429/1038) explains in detail his practice of *nathr al-naẓm,* or the turning of poetry into prose. But Ḍiyā' al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr (d. 636/1239) goes even further, for his book *Al-Washy al-Marqūm fī Ḥall al-Manẓūm* is meant as a manual for prosification. This tendency was never incidental, for even the application of the method itself to the Quranic verse was meant to manipulate classical poetics into epistolography. Further in *Al-Mathal al-Sā'ir fī Adab al-Kātib wa-al-Shā'ir,* Ibn al-Athīr is unequivocal in prioritizing prose in keeping with the spirit of the age. Insofar as Arabic poetics is concerned, the attempt falls within a larger drive to account for change and intercultural inroads which also imply leaving Abbasid poetics behind, alienating classical poetry, its centripetal power and unifying tradition. Al-Qalqashandī's focused appropriation of Ibn al-Athīr, along with other authorities in epistolography, is carefully done in order to underscore the notion of change in state machinery and the corresponding priority of prose.

In his *maqāmah* as well as in his elaborate discussion of the qualifications of the epistolographer,[91] al-Qalqashandī again enlists authoritative writers on the prerequisites and attributes of the *kātib*.[92] He must be a male, a free person, who is just and decent, knowledgeable in the Quran and hadith. He must be a rhetor, for he is the "sultan's tongue and hand, and an effective scribe may well replace battalions, and his pen could substitute for the most sharp and cutting swords."[93] He is to be sensible, mindful, insightful, and reasonable. He should be well acquainted with the Islamic judiciary and law in general. His knowledge of the sciences is to be wide and extensive, including relevant branches and disciplines. He is to be of solid caliber, respectable and daring to be effective in address. Efficiency and resolution are required, too, to ensure high morale among Muslims. But these are among the basic requirements which he terms '*ulūm,* or the requisites that cover the following: the Quran and its sciences; principles of statecraft; the heritage of

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[90]*Luma' al-Qawānīn,* ed. C. Becker and C. Cahen (Port Said, n.d.), 24–25. Also see in this issue Geert Jan van Gelder, "Poetry for Easy Listening."

[91]*Ṣubḥ,* 1:95–98.

[92]Along with Abū al-Faḍl al-Sūrī, al-Madanī (d. 849), al-'Askarī (d. 1009), Ibn Mamātī (d. 1209), Ibn Khalaf and Ibn al-Athīr, documentation is drawn from the Quran and the Prophet's tradition, and the sayings of his companions and other notables.

[93]*Ṣubḥ,* 1:98.

the Arabs; their orations and epistles; history of their dynasties and chivalry; their rhetoric and grammar and chancery skills.[94] As for the *rusūm*, as delineated in the *Kawākib,*[95] they are no less varied and diversified, covering calligraphy, knowledge of chancellery correspondence, geography and cultures of other nations. The list is ambitious and demanding, and, perhaps, smacks of self-glorification.

Al-Qalqashandī further implies in the listing of the qualifications and their complementary procedures and acquisitions that he is not only endowed with these, but also qualified enough to assess and set guidelines for others in the field. In a word, he shines as one of the most illustrious epistolographers in this *maqāmah.* But this should not be surprising. Since the middle of the twelfth century many epistolographers had been called upon to write down ″the official histories of the dynasties in whose chanceries they held important positions″ as Makdisi argues,[96] and on many occasions they were unable to remain as ghostwriters. In keeping up with their sovereigns and their feats and conquests, they found themselves too closely involved and intimately entangled to sustain a low profile. Those epistolographers who began an early career as *kātib*s in the chancery of state were, as al-Nābulusī argues, asked to be ″of distinctive merits to be ahead of the rest, of wonderful *naẓm* [poetry] and wonderful prose that shines in the vast domain of writing, bringing about a light of unfamiliar literature whose secret is somewhere like the heart of a wise, reasonable and intelligent person.″ As for the rest, they are ″copyists or embellishers, job holders of some talent in literary or colloquial utterance.″[97]

In such a context, the *Kawākib* speaks then for epistolographers of some renown against reputed poets and *maqāmah* writers, and a post at the chancery was the desire of no less talented poets than Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk (d. 607/1211) and Ibn Nubātah (d. 766/1365). Prose writers were to vie with poets. Thus, in the manner of exemplary *maqāmah,* the *Kawākib* engages issues of immediate interest to the literati, and particularly scribes, epistolographers, and poets. The naming of the protagonist "the prose-writer son of versifier" is meant to carry on the argument that prose grows out of poetry and outgrows it. His contention is that prose maturates out of verse in order to cope with expanding undertakings, issues, domains of interest, and extensive knowledge. Indeed, the *'ulūm* and the *rusūm* which al-Qalqashandī enumerates make epistolography comprehend every other genre and field of knowledge and technique. Further, drawing on antecedent authority, including Ibn Qutaybah, Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd, and al-'Askarī, al-

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[94]Ibid., 14:133–37. See also Bosworth, *Medieval Arabic Culture,* 296.

[95]*Ṣubḥ,* 14:137–40.

[96]*The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West* (Edinburgh, 1990), 166.

[97]*Luma' al-Qawānīn,* 25.

Qalqashandī is keen on establishing a genealogy of ancestors, among whom the narrator aspires for a distinguished presence despite his post as *kātib darj*. We should remember that he resolves to put aside personal inhibitions and expectations and settle for a place where Badr al-Dīn and his brother were in charge.[98] But the outcome, in terms of literary writing, demonstrates also that he is so well-qualified that he can uplift the whole *darj* profession to the station of the ulama and the learned.[99]

On the other hand, this *maqāmah*'s literary value also lies in its subtle attempt to undermine ancestry. Indeed, if we accept the earlier contention that the effort to prioritize prose implies a decentralization of a classical tradition of poetic supremacy, it is even more tenable to see al-Qalqashandī fighting back against his literary father, al-Ḥarīrī. Indeed, no matter how eloquent al-Qalqashandī is in relying on antecedent authority, he is no exception in betraying a great anxiety of influence. But he sets a theory for that, for, like poetry, epistolography is a negotiatory textual space. Writing as craft is a ″growth,″ and ″construction should have a base, and branch should have a root,″ he says[100] upon improving on his immediate epistolary precursors, al-Qāḍī Shihāb al-Dīn and Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh. As a growth, the craft of writing is bound to outgrow the precursor, namely the former epistolographers. By the same token, he, in the present *maqāmah,* has to outgrow al-Ḥarīrī. Since the literati had been very receptive to al-Ḥarīrī and his art, al-Qalqashandī should have experienced some anxiety of influence. His argument for prose is applied also against the *maqāmah* of al-Ḥarīrī. Relying on Ibn al-Athīr´s derogatory remarks against al-Ḥarīrī,[101] al-Qalqashandī sided with the former´s conclusion that al-Ḥarīrī was not an adept in epistolography, a conclusion that is rife with implications, for Ibn al-Athīr was no less anxious to prove his literary prestige at a time when al-Ḥarīrī´s reputation was so overwhelmingly present as to allow little space for the rest. Ibn al-Athīr used the disputed anecdote of Ibn al-Khashshāb (d. 567/1172) to imply that al-Ḥarīrī was good only as a *maqāmah* writer, but not as epistolographer.[102]

Al-Qalqashandī argues that Ibn al-Athīr ″had not given him [al-Ḥarīrī] his due and had not treated him fairly.″[103] Yet al-Qalqashandī mentions, nevertheless, the whole story of al-Ḥarīrī´s failure to write epistles, along with the vindictive poetry against him. He goes so far as to quote Ibn al-Athīr´s suggestion that to write a

[98] *Ṣubḥ,* 14:145.
[99] Ibid., 147.
[100] Ibid., 1:34.
[101] Ibid., 86, 14:125.
[102] Ibid., 14:125.
[103] Ibid.

maqāmah does not entail good style and acumen, for ″all *maqāmāt* have only one orbit revolving around a tale with a conclusion, unlike epistolography which is a sea with no borders, for its themes are endless and are renewed in pace with time and events.″[104] Still, in his attempt to outgrow his ancestor, al-Qalqashandī comes to internalize him, and on occasion, to recollect his style and highlight al-Ḥarīrī′s stylized diction. In such a game there is, in Bakhtin′s words, ″intensification of others′ intonations in a certain discourse or a certain section,″ delivered in such a manner ″so that his own present writer′s direct or refracted word might ring out all the more energetically.″ The tendency throughout is to keep al-Ḥarīrī in subordination, ″a passive tool in the hands of the author wielding it,″ to use Bakhtin on parody again.[105]

Yet, while al-Ḥarīrī′s own profession and career drew sharp criticism from professional *kuttāb* of literary prose, his elegant prose put many of them to shame. Ibn al-Athīr repeats the story that his own output in writing equals thousands of *maqāmāt.* Yet al-Ḥarīrī (445–515/1054–1122) and his *maqāmah* signify a turning point in the history of *belles lettres.* His contemporaries and immediate followers were so impressed by his stylistic virtuosity and use of narrative that they, like Ibn Ḥamdūn (d. 495/1102), collapsed *maqāmah* and *risālah,* using them interchangeably. More importantly, al-Ḥarīrī leaves al-Hamadhānī′s ingenious and eloquent beggars behind to be replaced by scholars and marginalized intellectuals with extensive knowledge in mystical, geographical, medical, and other professional engagements. Thus, his protagonists speak for epistolographers of the self-made kind. The shrewd forebear anticipates his grandsons who will try to keep his ghost in the background. No wonder he is so much present in al-Qalqashandī′s *maqāmah,* despite the counter presence of Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn al-Khashshāb.

In particular, al-Qalqashandī calls upon al-Ḥarīrī′s *Al-Furātīyah,* which recalls a mission up the Euphrates when scribes were engaged in debates identical with those of al-Qalqashandī. As al-Ḥarīrī′s *maqāmah* goes, Abu Zayd al-Sarūjī is in the boat in the company of secretaries who are busy arguing for or against chancery vocations. His intervention is not welcome at first. But, upon listening to him, they find it worth attention. Insofar as the chancellery correspondence is concerned, he argues: ″The *munshi*' is the confidant of the mighty and an important figure amongst the boon-companions. His pen is the tongue of sovereignty and the knight of the skirmish, the Luqmān of wisdom and the interpreter of resolution. It bears good tidings and warnings alike, it intercedes and acts as an envoy. By it impregnable fortresses are won and key-points conquered.″ On the other hand, he

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[104]Ibid., 126.

[105]″Dialogic Discourse,″ 109.

defends the treasury scribe with equal force, for the financial secretary has a pen which is ″always firm.″ He adds, ″accountants are the guardians of wealth, the bearers of burdens, the reporters of attested statements, the trustworthy envoys, the ones prominent in meting out justice and securing it for others, the legal witnesses whose testimony is adequate in disputes.″[106] Although seemingly attracted to this balanced argument, al-Qalqashandī follows a stylization process which is subtly placed in a context of other competing views and reviews. In the process, al-Ḥarīrī´s views on the benefit of each profession enjoy some activation in order to prepare for the postmaturation of al-Qalqashandī´s ultimate triumphal note in respect to epistolography, which Ibn al-Athīr thought of as too wide-ranging for al-Ḥarīrī. The concluding note of triumph only supports Bakhtin´s discussion of parody at large: ″Every struggle between two voices within a single discourse for possession or dominance in that discourse is decided in advance.″[107]

While there is self-glorification, al-Qalqashandī´s *maqāmah* ultimately is a testimonial epistle whose comprehensive overview and literariness stand for an outgrowth, a maturation that surpasses and supersedes earlier practices. Indeed, by citing Badr al-Dīn as unprecedented, whose *merits* supersede al-Qāḍī´s *faḍā'il* (merits),[108] al-Qalqashandī the epistolographer glorifies his own achievement, too. Playing on the meaning of *faḍl* (favor and merit) in Badr al-Dīn´s *nisbah* or lineage, and the somehow identical connotation in al-Qāḍī al-Faḍil´s attribute (the excellent or the erudite magistrate), al-Qalqashandī asserts both his own stylistic skill in coining the right comparison, his mastery of puns and metaphors, and his faith in the growth of chancellery correspondence, whose theory and practice is attested to by the summation and the compendium at hand.

Yet the mere use of the *maqāmah* genre betrays resignation to al-Ḥarīrī´s powerful presence. Further, al-Qalqashandī concludes that what his *maqāmah* ″includes in respect to the tributes of *kitābah* and the honor of writers [scribes] excludes the need for any other.″[109] But the conclusive remark is belied by his text full of citations to *maqāmāt* and epistles, and so alludes to a cultural climate rife with controversy and difference. His *maqāmah* is meant to sum up a profession and map out a career, which it aptly does. However, success on a personal level is set within other accounts and significations of achievement and failure, like the epistles and *maqāmāt,* which he cites and includes before and after his own *maqāmah*.

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[106]Cited in Bosworth, *Medieval Arabic Culture,* 293–94, from T. Chenery´s translation of the *Assemblies.*

[107]″Dialogic Discourse,″ 112.

[108]*Ṣubḥ,* 14:141.

[109]Ibid., 145.

While al-Qalqashandī´s compendium is the largest and most extensive encyclopedic effort in epistolography, his *maqāmāt* are of great cultural relevance, too. Further, al-Qalqashandī´s highly spirited account of chancery posts and scribal vocations should not blind us to his intentional design to set his own *maqāmah* among others that reveal a great deal about the history of epistolography, its achievements and failures. Against his seemingly balanced argument to promote the profession, there stands Yaḥyá ibn Salāmah al-Ḥaṣkafī´s (d. 551/1156) epistle.[110] This ″supreme orator″ and ″crown of the learned″ wrote an epistle, in a *maqāmah* fashion, entitled *ʻItāb al-Kuttāb wa-ʻIqāb al-Alqāb,* to chastise those who ″settled for lowliness instead of striving for requisite knowledge.″[111] Al-Ḥaṣkafī holds the chief chancery clerk and his staff responsible for the deterioration of prose, and he castigates the vizier and secretaries of the bench and their deputies, along with secretaries of finance and keepers of secrets, for unwarranted arrogance and failure in performance. By so doing, al-Ḥaṣkafī provides a counter treatise and devastating account that reveals a chancellery of reprobates headed by ″our master the minister who is lapsing into vice.″[112]

Of no less significance is Abū al-Qāsim al-Khawārizmī´s (d. 387/997) *maqāmah,* which al-Qalqashandī contrasts with his own panegyric *maqāmah.*[113] Al-Khawārzmī´s *maqāmah,* which is originally cited in full by Ibn Ḥamdūn, is written in lofty prose with an ornate style and elevated rhetoric to attack the pretensions of a certain pedant named al-Hītī, who undeservedly gained the reputation as one of the learned and the ulama among his community. The argumentation is carried out smoothly, with great serenity and vigor, to explode the myth which al-Hītī had perpetrated about himself. Incorporating it in full, al-Qalqashandī balances his own positive appraisals of the profession.

Moreover, al-Qalqashandī´s citations of such criticism make up a body of texts with a historical and political referentiality that endow his *maqāmah* with some discursive strategies of oblique criticism, indirection, parody, and stylization. Indeed, al-Khawārizmī´s *maqāmah* is not alone in its biting sarcastic tone and pointed exposure, for Ibn Nubātah held similar views of his critics among chancery clerks who, ″except for the turban, had nothing in their heads.″ They ″were ignorant of *tarassul* (epistolography) and unqualified in rhetoric.″[114] These remarks came in a letter of gratitude addressed to Ibn Fahd, Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Ḥalabī, who was in charge of the *dīwān* in Damascus, after he made an eloquent defense of Ibn

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[110]Ibid., 230–36.
[111]Ibid., 231.
[112]Ibid., 233.
[113]Ibid., 146–56.
[114]Ibid., 279.

Nubātah against his critics. Al-Qalqashandī himself was critical of the style and language of a number of letters[115] which he criticizes for ″coarse utterance″ and structural lapses despite the fact that they were drawn up in the reign of both al-Ẓāhir Baybars and al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn who ″were among the most magnificent of kings.″[116]

These epistles and *maqāmāt* cited by al-Qalqashandī act as paratexts for his *Kawākib al-Durrīyah.* They recapitulate the common view of the degeneration of epistolary practice, for which al-Qalqashandī offers two explanations. First, following Ibn Ḥājib al-Nuʿmān (d. 951/1031), al-Qalqashandī argues that ″scribes used to compete in earning the right merit, aloof from any vice of ignorance, striving to gain whatever improves utterance, and beautifies their performance, in order to reach the highest station and to win the best of favors.″[117] Presently, things took the opposite direction, for the ignorant and the greedy received advancement. Thus, ″arts were shunned as taboos and sciences were discarded as if the greatest sins.″[118] Second, while leveling blame on generations of scribes with little grounding in arts and sciences,[119] al-Qalqashandī believes that the domination of non-Arabs *(aʿjam)* led to this confusion between the ″dumb″ and ″unversed″ in Arabic and the learned. Nevertheless, the *maqāmah* is keen on forwarding epistolography as the best of arts, that subsumes every genre without loss of its own richness. It befits a growing empire in its official discourse, for Egypt ″still grows in stature and reputation until it has become the abode of the Abbasid caliphate, and the base for the Islamic kingdom. Its kingdom takes pride in serving the two holy shrines, and the rest of kings and nations served it for this reason.″[120]

Finally, then, al-Qalqashandī′s defense of the profession and the craft should not be taken at face value. Employment in the chancery had its many ups and downs, and competition among other secretarial occupations was intense at times. If earlier records testified to gain and loss, the later periods were no less rife with competitiveness, malice, and cruelty.[121] A pertinent illustration is the allegorical

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[115]Ibid., 83.

[116]Ibid., 70.

[117]Ibid., 1:80.

[118]Ibid.

[119]Ibid., 78.

[120]Ibid., 31.

[121]Zamrak′s (d. 1393) hatred led to Ibn al-Khaṭīb′s death. Indeed, many writers of prose, like Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (d. 656/1257) and ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī al-Kātib (d. 597/1201) blamed, for instance, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr (d. 637/1239) for his negative influence on Ṣalāh al-Dīn′s son, Al-Afḍal. In his book on the latter, Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd traced in Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn′s *Al-Mathal* negative and positive sides. On the negative side, he found Ibn Al-Athīr ″highly proud of himself,″ to the extent of ″raising objections against the honorable.″ See *Al-Falak al-Dāʾir ʿalá al-Mathal al-Sāʾir*,

tale reported by ʿUthmān ibn Ibrāhīm al-Nābulusī.[122] There was a merchant who was so learned that a certain sultan was advised to choose him as vizier, for the kingdom had lost so many. According to tradition, each minister was deported to an empty and deserted island upon terminating a year in that position. The merchant asked to see the island, and in a very discreet manner moved his family and servants there along with manufacturers and laborers so as to make it habitable in preparation for such an end.[123] The anecdote speaks of the other side in the life of *kātib*s and viziers.

In all, al-Qalqashandī's vindication of the profession, his autobiographical review of his own career, and his expressions of homage and allegiance set his *maqāmah* in a ramified engagement of great socio-political, cultural, and textual richness. Brief like any other *maqāmah,* its referentiality extends in time and space, while its textual registers go beyond the compendium, at times, to involve the whole controversy on genres and their prioritizations. It offers a literary history in a nutshell and draws attention to chancery rivalry in its professional dimension, too. Its markers of argumentation, debate, and engagement, and its register of figures and issues testify to its complexity and richness beyond the mere shows of homage or expressions of need and choice. On the other hand, this very extensive referentiality grants al-Qalqashandī another cultural lineage, an intertext of wide-ranging contributions, "embellished" inscriptions with figures who still argue and debate issues and attitudes. The self-made scribe who ironically bewails his lack of lineage survives the ordeal and emerges with another ancestry which is still alive among readers and scholars of Mamluk history and culture.

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ed. Aḥmad Al-Ḥūfī and Badawī Ṭabānah (Cairo, n.d.), 32.

[122] *Lumaʿ al-Qawānīn.*

[123] Ibid., 24–25.

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The First Layer of the *Sīrat Baybars:* Popular Romance and Political Propaganda

We know quite a lot about the setting of the *Sīrat Baybars* and of other popular *siyar,*[1] the Arabic popular romances. European travellers and scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, among others Carsten Niebuhr,[2] Edward William Lane,[3] and the authors of the *Description de l'Egypte,*[4] reported that storytellers recited in the coffeehouses of the big cities. In Damascus and Cairo, for a "trifling sum of money,"[5] they related different sorts of entertaining stories, especially the popular *siyar, Sīrat ʻAntarah ibn Shaddād, Sīrat Banī Hilāl, Sīrat Sayf ibn Dhī Yazan,* and the *Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars*. This last text is the subject of this essay.

We know next to nothing about the genesis and the development of these texts. Most of the complete *sīrah* manuscripts at our disposal are relatively late versions of these texts. Of the older layers of the *siyar shaʻbīyah* only fragmentary remnants have survived. The nature of the *siyar* texts poses further problems: the *siyar shaʻbīyah* are clearly anonymous stories, created by several authors who regularly revised and recreated their texts, thus adapting them to the expectations and taste of their audience. In this sense, the popular romances are the structural opposites of texts representing classical Arabic literature, which were created by single authors and which show the influence of their socio-political milieu.

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[1]Plural of *sīrah*, meaning in this context account of life history, biography. The most famous example of a learned *sīrah* is the *Sīrat al-Nabī,* the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad. See Marco Schoeller, *Exegetisches Denken und Prophetenbiographie* (Wiesbaden, 1998), 37–49. The term *siyar shaʻbīyah* (popular *siyar*) was "coined by Arab folklorists in the 1950s for a genre of lengthy Arabic heroic narratives that in Western languages are called either 'popular epics' or 'popular romances.'" See Peter Heath, "Sīra Sh͟aʻbiyya," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 9:664.

[2]Carsten Niebuhr, *Beschreibung von Arabien aus eigenen Beobachtungen und im Lande selbst gesammelten Nachrichten abgefasst* (Copenhagen, 1772), 106–7.

[3]Edward William Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London, 1846), 2:103–44. See also Alfred von Kremer, *Ägypten: Forschungen über Land und Volk während eines zehnjährigen Aufenthalts* (Leipzig, 1863), 2:305–6.

[4]Charles Louis Fleury Panckoucke, ed., *Description de l'Egypte ou recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Egypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française,* vol. 18, *Etat Moderne* (Paris, 1821–30), 161–62.

[5]Lane, *Modern Egyptians,* 2:103.

In order to establish the time, place and social context of the genesis of a text such as the *Sīrat Baybars,* we have to rely on the indirect evidence provided by the text itself, such as specific references to the social or political points of view of its creators. Such an analysis gives us insight into the different functions that the *sīrah* acquired in the course of its development.

Evidence shows that the *Sīrat Baybars* is a composite text in which three layers of text development can be distinguished; those layers originated in three different eras and social environments that merged in a process we can no longer reconstruct. For this article, we will not concentrate on the ″adventure-romance″ from the fifteenth century, which forms most of the *sīrah.* Nor will we talk about Baybars′ youth and ascent in the *sīrah,* a part of the text in which Baybars is built up as a counter-image to the despotic sultans of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and in which the *ummah′*s anger found its expression regarding corruption and abuse of power at the time of the great crisis of the Mamluk Empire (at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century).[6] Instead, we shall concentrate on the oldest layer of the legendary biography of the great Mamluk sultan Baybars I. Although initially assumed to be a product of the second half of the fourteenth and of the fifteenth century, we established in the course of our investigation that—judging by the representation of Sultan Baybars and of several other historical figures—the *sīrah* seems to have been inspired by the spirit of the second half of the thirteenth century, thus the early period of the Mamluk Empire. Our line of argument is based essentially on two elements: first on the representation of Sultan Baybars as the virtuous guardian of Ayyubid legitimacy, and second on the representation of a series of historical rivals to Baybars and the Ẓāhirīyah Mamluks.

One of the greatest problems facing the Mamluks at the beginning of their rule was that of legitimacy. If the Ayyubid house, which had ruled before them, had been legitimized by its descent and by investiture by the caliph of Baghdad, the military slaves that finally came to power with Baybars could not legitimize themselves either by descent—having been born in non-Islamic lands—or, for a transitional period after the Mongol seizure of Baghdad, by the religious authority of the caliph. In this context, if we examine the representation of Baybars in the *sīrah,* his origins, his rise, and how he finally took over power, details that at first seem merely to glorify the hero of an adventure story suddenly form a coherent unity.

Indeed, from his introduction in the romance, the representation of Baybars seems entirely motivated by the idea of the legitimation of Mamluk rule. Although

[6]For this, see my Ph.D. thesis to be published in 2002 (″Genese, Überlieferung und Bedeutung der Sīrat Baibars in ihrem sozio-politischen Kontext″).

he is shown as a military slave—it would have been unconvincing to try to disguise it—Baybars is in the *sīrah* Muslim by birth, bears the name of Maḥmūd, and is the son of the king of Khurasan, who became a slave after he had been betrayed by his brothers.[7] Baybars does not stay a slave for long: in Damascus, where he is first brought after having been enslaved and where he is serving as a house slave, a rich widow ″adopts″[8] him because he resembles her deceased son. She names him after her son Baybars and makes him the master of her fortune.[9] It is in Damascus that the four *aqṭāb,* in Sufi belief the mystical poles of the universe[10] (in the *sīrah* Aḥmad al-Badawī, al-Dasūqī, al-Jīlānī, and the *ṣāḥib al-waqt*[11]), appear to Baybars and pray for him. It is also in Damascus that during the *Laylat al-Qadr,* the Night of Destiny in which people believe that God determines the fate of men for the following year, the gates of heaven open to Baybars. He is told that he will become sultan of Egypt and Syria.[12] Having come to Cairo, Baybars quickly rises in rank, becomes commander of a Mamluk regiment, *wālī, muḥtasib,* and governor of several provinces. Finally, Baybars is ″adopted″ by the Ayyubid sultan al-Ṣāliḥ and his spouse in the *sīrah,* Shajarat al-Durr,[13] thus recovering a

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[7]*Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars,* ed. Jamāl al-Ghīṭānī (Cairo, 1996), 469. This is a re-edition in five volumes with new pagination of the first edition by al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Amīn Dirbāl (Cairo, 1326–27/1908–9) and the second edition by Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Laṭīf al-Ḥijāzī (Cairo, 1341–44/1923–26). Whereas the betrayal of Baybars′ brothers shows obvious borrowings from the story of Joseph in the Bible and the Quran (Genesis 37:4 and Quran 12:5), Baybars′ fictitious origins go back to the origins of his predecessor Quṭuz al-Muẓaffar as related by some Arab historians. Ibn Iyās reports, citing Ibn al-Jawzī, that Quṭuz had once been beaten by his master Ibn al-Zaʻīm, over which he bitterly wept. Being asked why he wept so bitterly because of a single blow he answered: ″′I only weep because he cursed my father and my grandfather, whilst they are more deserving than he is.′ He was asked: ′But who are your father and grandfather, aren′t they Christians?′ He said: ′No, on the contrary, I am a Muslim son of a Muslim and my name is Maḥmūd, son of Mamdūd, nephew of the Khwarizm Shah, from the progeniture of the kings of the east. The Mongols took me as a boy, after they had defeated them.′ This is why Quṭuz was not a slave.″ (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʼiʻ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá as *Die Chronik des Ibn Ijās* [Cairo/Wiesbaden, 1960–84], 1:1:303). See also: Donald P. Little, ″Ḳuṭuz,″ *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 5:571.

[8]We put the word ″adopts″ in quotation marks, because in Islamic law full adoption does not exist.

[9]Fāṭimah al-Aqwasīyah was a widow and without a male descendant following the death of her son. There is a certain resemblance to the *sīrah* of the Prophet, although it differs from it in that Baybars does not marry Fāṭimah, which would not have suited the *sīrah*′s story.

[10]See F. de Jong, ″Al-Ḳuṭb: 2. In Mysticism,″ *EI* [2] 5:543.

[11]″*Ṣāḥib al-waqt*″ or ″*Ṣāḥib al-zamān,*″ the temporary *qutb* (pole, axis; the head in the hierarchy of the ″saints″). See de Jong, ″Al-Ḳuṭb,″ 543. It is also one of the names of the *mahdī*. See Heinz Halm, *Shiism* (Edinburgh, 1991), 77.

[12]*Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* 159 ff.

[13]Ibid., 462.

double royal descent, that of his father, king of Khurasan, and that of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, the last great Ayyubid on the throne of Egypt.

It is interesting to observe how the *sīrah*'s authors relate the upheaval during the transition from Ayyubid rule to that of the first great Mamluk sultan, al-Ẓāhir Baybars: as al-Ṣāliḥ dies, it is Baybars to whom he limits his succession, asking God to have all those who were due to become sultan before Baybars die by an unnatural death.[14] By this strategy, the *sīrah* takes into account the historical succession of rulers and simultaneously confirms Baybars as the true heir and undoubted guardian of the Ayyubid dynasty's legitimacy. In fact, Baybars refuses the sultanate each time a successor to al-Ṣāliḥ is nominated—ʿĪsá al-Muʿaẓẓam Tūrānshāh, al-Ashraf, al-Ṣāliḥ al-Ṣaghīr ibn al-Ashraf (a fictive sultan), Aybak al-Turkumānī, and al-Muẓaffar Quṭuz, who are all shown as Ayyubids in the *sīrah*—with the vehement words: "God forbid that I take the dignity of a sultan under the eyes of the Ayyubid princes! Who am I to divest them of their right to the throne, I who once used to be their slave?"[15]

It is equally interesting to observe how the *sīrah* diverts historical responsibility from Baybars for the murder of two of al-Ṣāliḥ's successors, ʿĪsá al-Muʿaẓẓam Tūrānshāh and Quṭuz. The case of the first of al-Ṣāliḥ's successors is that of ʿĪsá al-Muʿaẓẓam Tūrānshāh, al-Ṣāliḥ's son and immediate successor. He was apparently more interested in the fine arts and wine than in government or the army, and he was murdered by the Baḥrīyah Mamluks under the leadership of Baybars following the battle of al-Manṣūrah against the Crusader army of Louis IX. According to a number of historians it was a group probably headed by Baybars himself which carried out the assassination of the young sultan.[16] The authors of the *sīrah,*

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[14]Ibid., 965–66, and the manuscript versions: Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha MS 2628, fol. 18a (catalogue listing: Wilhelm Pertsch, *Die orientalischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha,* pt. 3, *Die arabischen Handschriften,* vol. 4 [Gotha, 1883], no. 2628); British Library London MS Or 4649, fol. 13a (catalogue listing: Charles Rieu, *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts of the British Museum* [London, 1894], no. 1191); Staatsbibliothek Berlin MS We 572, fol. 76b (catalogue listing: Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin,* vol. 20, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften,* vol. 8 [Berlin, 1896], no. 9155 [We 561–586]); Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha MS 2600, fol. 79a (catalogue listing: Pertsch, *Die orientalischen Handschriften,* no. 2600); *Le roman de Baïbars*, translated by Georges Bohas and Jean-Patrick Guillaume from a nineteenth-century Aleppo manuscript (Paris, 1985–), 6:76 f.

[15]Bohas/Guillaume, *Roman,* 6:83 f.

[16]The following historians state that Baybars was the leader of the group that murdered Tūrānshāh or, alternatively, that he assassinated him personally: Muḥammad ibn Sālim Ibn Wāṣil, "Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb," Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS Ar 1702, fol. 371a–b; Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* ed. ʿAbd al-Azīz Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1396/1976), 50; Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAlī Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar*

however, do not make ʿĪsá al-Muʿaẓẓam Tūrānshāh die directly by Baybars′ hand but rather show his death as God′s punishment for a sinful way of life. In the *sīrah,* ʿĪsá becomes completely drunk while sitting on an elevated seat he had built in order to be able to watch the battle of al-Manṣūrah against the Frankish troops and falls, breaking his neck.[17]

The case of the second successor of al-Ṣāliḥ for whose death Baybars is responsible is that of al-Muẓaffar Quṭuz, the hero of the battle of ʿAyn Jālūt against the Mongols, a Mamluk just like Baybars. While the historical Quṭuz was trapped by Baybars in an ambush and killed in cold blood,[18] the *sīrah*′s Quṭuz is murdered by Frankish spies.

Obviously the *sīrah* had to convince its audience of Baybars′ innocence; it could not entirely suppress his historical role in these events, but it skilfully integrated the allegations against Baybars and invalidated them. So ʿĪsá does not die at the hands of the future sultan, but gets caught in the ladder of his elevated seat, stumbles and falls while fearing the anger of Baybars, who furiously approaches him in the middle of the battle, having seen him drinking while watching the battle. In the case of Quṭuz, Baybars′ historical responsibility for the murder finds expression in the account that the Frankish spies who murder Quṭuz leave by the side of the corpse a slip of paper on which Baybars declares his responsibility for the crime.[19]

Further, the account of al-Ṣāliḥ′s different Ayyubid successors in the *sīrah* not only depicts Baybars as the altruistic guardian of Ayyubid legitimacy, it also shows that after al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb the Ayyubids could no longer provide a sovereign able to rule the empire and thus rightly lost their power to the Mamluks. All the

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(Constantinople, 1286/1870; repr., Cairo 1325/1907–8), 190–91; Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar fī Jāmiʿ al-Ghurar* (Cairo and Freiburg, 1972), 7:382–83; Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah fī al-Tārīkh* (Cairo, 1993–94), 13:202; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar wa-Dīwān al-Mubtada*ʾ *wa-al-Khabar fī Ayyām al-ʿArab wa-al-ʿAjam wa-al-Barbar* (Būlāq, 1284/1867), 360–61; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1934–), 1:2:359–61.

[17]See: *Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* 984; British Library MS, fol. 28a–b; Staatsbibliothek Berlin MS We 562, fol. 78a (catalogue listing: Ahlwardt, *Handschriften-Verzeichnisse,* no. 9155 [We 561–586]); Gotha MS 2628, fol. 19a–b.

[18]Ibn Wāṣil, ″Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb,″ Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS Ar 1703, fol. 163b; Mūsá ibn Muḥammad al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān fī Tārīkh al-Aʿyān* (Hyderabad, 1374–80/1954–61), 1:370–371; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:2:435. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir stresses the point that Baybars murdered Quṭuz himself without any help: *Rawḍ*, 68: ″The sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir did what he did on his own and reached his aim alone, in the midst of a powerful army and massive protection. And nobody was able to speak and nobody could resist him.″

[19]*Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* 1079: ″It was no one else but the amir Baybars who accomplished these deeds and attained this destiny, [my] writing and seal testify to this.″ Nota bene the proximity to the account of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ*, 68, cited above.

successors of al-Ṣāliḥ that the *sīrah* calls Ayyubids are shown to be either unworthy of the sultanate (ʻĪsá Tūrānshāh, Aybak), or unsuitable for it due to their youth (al-Ṣāliḥ al-Ṣaghīr), gender (Shajarat al-Durr[20]), or finally to be entranced saints *(awliyā')* (al-Ashraf Khalīl, Quṭuz) who were equally unsuited for the office of sultan of the Ayyubid Empire. So the *sīrah* depicts the transition from the Ayyubids to the Mamluks not only as legitimate, but also as consistent.

In my opinion, the important place that Ayyubid legitimacy occupies in those parts of the *sīrah* dealing with the transition to the Mamluks points to the beginning of the Mamluk period. Whereas the *vita* of Baybars composed by the court biographer Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir shows him as the spiritual heir of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb,[21] the picture of the great sultan that Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir′s nephew Shāfiʻ ibn ʻAlī draws some thirty years after his uncle[22] already shows the consolidation of Mamluk power. As P. M. Holt put it, ″The Baybars of *Ḥusn al-manāqib* is still an impressive, even an heroic figure, whose military achievements secured the future of Islam in Syria against the threats from the Mongols and the Franks. He appears, further, as an autocratic but just ruler, who was (to use a cliché) the true founder of the Mamluk sultanate. What he has lost is the aura of legitimacy as the true heir of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, by which Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir sought to disguise his twofold usurpation. But when Shāfiʻ wrote, Ayyubid legitimacy had long ceased to be a political issue, and Baybars could stand justified by his deeds.″[23]

It is not only the picture of Baybars drawn by the *sīrah* that makes us presume that a first layer of the *Sīrat Baybars* dates from early Mamluk times. If we look at the representation of several historical characters of the *sīrah,* we note that they are shown in a certain number of purely fictitious episodes of the romance in an extremely negative light. This evidence gains further importance since these characters were all historical rivals or opponents of Baybars and his Ẓāhirīyah Mamluks. Their negative representation thus faithfully reflects the conflicts of interest and power of the time of Baybars′ rule or of those of his immediate successors and that from a ″Baybarsian″ point of view.

The most prominent examples of this representation are those of al-Muʻizz Aybak and of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn. Al-Muʻizz Aybak, who was, like Baybars, a Mamluk and before him—from 648/1250 to 655/1257—sultan, is shown in the

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[20]Although she is not of Ayyubid descent, the *sīrah* represents her nearly as such.
[21]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ*, 46.
[22]Shāfiʻ ibn ʻAlī finished his *Kitāb Ḥusn al-Manāqib al-Sirrīyah al-Muntazaʻah min al-Sīrah al-Ẓāhirīyah* (ed. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz Khuwayṭir [Riyadh, 1396/1976]) in 1316.
[23]P. M. Holt, ″The Sultan as Ideal Ruler: Ayyubid and Mamluk Prototypes,″ in *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age: the Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World,* ed. Metin Kunt and Christine Woodhead (London and New York, 1995), 136–37.

sīrah as a crypto-Christian and ally of the Franks, who nourishes in his heart hatred towards Muslims. He is introduced into the romance as king of Mosul, who wants to attack al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's empire, but finally enters into the sultan's service and conspires against the Muslims from the heart of their state.[24] After the death of al-Ṣāliḥ he wants to seize power and pretends that Baybars had murdered his master, but his words turn out to be lies.[25] Nevertheless, Aybak threatens to "make the blood cool in floods" if Baybars should become sultan.[26] After the death of ʻĪsá Tūrānshāh, Khalīl ibn ʻĪsá as al-Ashraf and al-Ṣāliḥ al-Ṣaghīr ibn al-Ashraf successively become sultan, and Aybak poisons both of them and seizes power.[27] He finally tries to assassinate Baybars as well.[28] Baybars leaves for Syria where he installs a counter rule.[29] It quickly comes to a conflict between Baybars and Aybak as the coins minted by Baybars in Damascus have a higher value and render those minted by Aybak worthless in the market.[30] People mock Aybak, who falls in love with a Bedouin girl and no longer shows any interest either in state affairs or in his spouse Shajarat al-Durr, who finally murders him out of jealousy.[31]

This extremely negative and, except for his death, totally unhistorical representation[32] of Aybak in the *Sīrat Baybars* goes back, in my mind, to the historical struggle for power, to the time between the death of the last great Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ and the first great Mamluk sultan Baybars. Al-Malik al-Muʻizz Aybak, the first Mamluk on the throne of Egypt, recognized the Baḥrīyah Mamluks, one of whose leaders was Baybars, correctly as a permanent threat. It is true that the Baḥrīyah did not dare to seize power immediately after the assassination of ʻĪsá Tūrānshāh and preferred to accept temporary and unstable

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[24]*Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* 71–75, 87–92. During Baybars' rise to power in Cairo, Aybak acts regularly on the side of the qadi Jawān, a crypto-Christian and the main evil character of the romance, trying to get Baybars executed (e.g., ibid., 270ff., 744 ff.). The corrupt *wālī* Ḥasan Āghā and his nephew the *muḥtasib* (market-superintendent) Qarājūdah are also crypto-Christians from Aybak's entourage (ibid., 506 ff., 586 ff.) who try to harm Baybars. According to his status as crypto-Christian, Aybak deserts the Muslims during the battle against the Mongols and tries to collaborate with the latter (ibid., 773 ff.).

[25]As Aybak pretends after al-Ṣāliḥ's death to become the future sultan, the vizier Shāhīn reprimands him, saying that someone like him could never merit the sultanate: "And the vizier said: 'Please preserve a sense of decency in this matter. Somebody like you will never deserve the sultanate.'" (ibid., 966ff.).

[26]British Library MS, fol. 14a.

[27]*Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* 985ff., 992ff.

[28]Ibid., 1007 ff.

[29]Ibid., 1034 ff.

[30]Ibid., 1061 ff.

[31]Ibid., 1069–74.

[32]Aybak's rule over Egypt, his marriage with Shajarat al-Durr, and his neglect of her for another woman are the only historical elements in the *sīrah*'s account of Aybak.

solutions such as the rule of the female Shajarat al-Durr with Aybak as *atabeg*.[33] But this circumstance did not hinder them enough to cause them to deny soon afterwards the legitimacy of Aybak's sultanate and to act more and more in a self-assured and arrogant way.[34] Fāris Aqṭay, the leader of the Baḥrīyah-Jamdārīyah Mamluks, began to act as the true ruler of Egypt and finally asked Aybak and his spouse to leave the citadel, in order to permit him to accommodate his own spouse, the daughter of the ruler of Ḥamāh, in keeping with her station.[35] Aybak then decided to eliminate Fāris and his Mamluks. On 1 January 1254 (10 Dhū al-Qa'dah 651), he ordered Fāris Aqṭay to visit him at the citadel. As soon as Fāris entered, he was captured and murdered by a troop of Aybak's personal Mamluks. In spite of Aybak's immediate attempt to capture the remaining Baḥrīyah-Jamdārīyah Mamluks, the majority managed to flee.[36]

Al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn is the second historical figure whose extremely negative representation in the *sīrah* makes me believe that parts of the *Sīrat Baybars* go back to the struggle for power in the early Mamluk period. Qalāwūn, who historically was one of Baybars' comrades, is depicted in a number of manuscript and printed versions of the *sīrah* as a Mamluk who hates Baybars from their first encounter.[37] On their way with a slave caravan from Bursa to Damascus, Baybars and Qalāwūn share the same mount. Baybars, who is severely ill, suffers from diarrhea[38] and asks Qalāwūn to help him to dismount. Qalāwūn is disgusted by Baybars and pushes him at dawn from the animal and so Baybars nearly dies in the desert.[39] Later, when Baybars has already become sultan, Qalāwūn becomes one of his

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[33]A Turkish term used from Saljuq to Mamluk times designating a military leader mostly of slave origin who was acting as a tutor for a young prince. He typically married the mother of the minor prince and thereby acquired great power. The tutorate of Aybak for Shajarat al-Durr as regent-spouse of the heir and widow of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb is a special case. See Cahen, "Atabak," *EI²* 1:731.

[34]Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt,* trans. P. M. Holt (London, 1992), 47.

[35]Amalia Levanoni ("The Mamluks' Ascent to Power in Egypt," *Studia Islamica* 72 (1990): 143–44) writes: "Being the accepted candidate of the Baḥriyya-Jamdāriyya Emirs, Aqṭay began behaving like a pretender to the throne. Riding through Cairo, he acted like a sovereign. His Mamluk comrades already called him al-Malik al-Jawād among themselves and addressed their requests of Iqtā' to him. The climax of this process came when Aqṭay asked Aybak al-Turkmānī, Atābak al-'Asākir, and his wife Shajar al-Durr to leave the palace of Qal'at al-Jabal in order to house his bride, daughter of the ruler of Hamah, in a residence befitting a princess."

[36]See Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt*, 47.

[37]See, for instance, Staatsbibliothek Berlin MS We 561, fol. 39b (catalogue listing: Ahlwardt, *Handschriften-Verzeichnisse,* no. 9155 [We 561–586]).

[38]"*Baṭnatuhu māshiyah,*" ibid.

[39]See also Vatican Library MS Barberiniani Orientali 15, fol. 4a (catalogue listing: Giorgio Levi Della Vida, *Elenco dei manoscritti arabi islamici della biblioteca vaticana: Vaticani, Barberiniani, Borgiani, Rossiani* [Vatican City, 1935]); Gotha MS 2628, fol. 5b; and Bohas/Guillaume, *Roman,* 1:80–81.

permanent opponents. He tries to seize power by any means, even murder. So he poisons Baybars[40] and then his two sons al-Saʿīd[41] and Aḥmad Salāmish.[42] When, after the murder of al-Salāmish, the people of Cairo hear that Qalāwūn has become the new sultan, they decide to kill him on his triumphant entry into the city.[43] They throw stones at Qalāwūn even before he enters Cairo, so the vizier Shāhīn advises him to enter the city by night from behind the citadel. After having entered the city secretly, Qalāwūn sends the army, which slaughters one third of Cairo′s population. The vizier advises Qalāwūn to declare peace, but the latter does not listen to him. The vizier responds: ″This man is a traitor. He cannot hope for anything else than the sword from us. [Indeed] he must be put to death!″[44] Following the printed version of the *sīrah,* the people of Cairo make fun of Qalāwūn at his entry into the city: ″Who for heaven′s sake has put this one on the throne?″ Furious, Qalāwūn orders the ulama to draw up a *fatwá* declaring that such behavior is to be punished by the sword, and he lets his soldiers loose on the people of Cairo for three days. Qalāwūn himself tries to rape Tāj Bakht, Baybars′ spouse, but she flees to a poor woman who gives shelter to her and her children.[45] The famous hospital Qalāwūn constructed in Cairo is also shown as a diabolic invention: having realized his sinful way of living,[46] Qalāwūn builds a hospital. In spite of healing sick people, Qalāwūn forces the doctors to concoct a poison, which he gives to a man who tries to approach one of his concubines. The man dies in a spectacular way and the sultan′s concubine is driven crazy. There is little doubt that this story excited the erotic imagination of the storytellers′ audiences. Qalāwūn then builds a hospital for lunatics where the patients are healed by music.[47]

According to the *sīrah*, the son of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, al-Ashraf Khalīl, who reigned after his father′s death from 689/1290 to 693/1293, did not inherit his

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[40]*Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* 3078–80.
[41]Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS no. 4997, pt. 24 (catalogue listing: Edgar Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes des nouvelles acquisitions* [Paris 1925], nos. 4981–97); Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha MS 2609, fol. 67b (catalogue listing: Pertsch, *Die orientalischen Handschriften,* no. 2609); *Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* 3071.
[42]*Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* 3109–10.
[43]Gotha MS 2609, fol. 70a–b: ″We′ll kill him, if he enters [the city].″
[44]Ibid., fol. 70b: ″This man is a traitor. The only thing he can await from us is the sword. He must be killed.″
[45]*Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* 3111–14.
[46]Ibid., 3112: One of the ulama who interpreted his dream for him said: ″You did wrong and you used unlawful violence against your Muslim subjects.″
[47]Ibid.

father′s wickedness, but was inclined to the *dawlat al-Ẓāhir*[48] and is therefore placed by his father in the relatively remote post of governor of Damascus.

In searching for the reasons for this extremely negative representation of Qalāwūn in the *sīrah,* we can first ascertain that it neither corresponds to the historical record nor does it go back to an actual enmity between Baybars and Qalāwūn. On the contrary, Qalāwūn enjoyed Baybars′ full confidence.[49] According to Shāfi‘ ibn ‘Alī, Baybars made a great effort to consolidate Qalāwūn′s position. Therefore, he had raised the number of soldiers under his command, given a better *iqṭā‘* to him, and increased his salary. Baybars had made Qalāwūn his chief counsellor *(ra's al-mashūrah)* and had ″depended on him as no king had ever depended on an amir and as no sultan had ever depended on a counselor.″[50]

Matters become clearer only if one establishes a link between Qalāwūn′s relations to al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars′ Mamluks. Qalāwūn had indeed deposed the young sultan al-Sa‘īd with the backing of the Ṣāliḥīyah Mamluks and had therefore kept the younger Ẓāhirīyah Mamluks away from state power.[51] During the next sultanate of Baybars′ underaged son al-Salāmish, Qalāwūn *de facto* already ruled the empire[52] and made use of the time to place his men from among the Ṣāliḥīyah Mamluks—his comrades in having served al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb—in a series of key positions.[53] Having thus consolidated his power, Qalāwūn finally put himself on the throne through the Ṣāliḥīyah amirs, who definitely invited the enmity of the Ẓāhirīyah Mamluks. Indeed, he suffered during most of

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[48]Ibid., 3115: Khalīl asks the Ismailian Ibrāhīm al-Ḥawrānī what he should do against his father′s behavior: ″O my commander, my father used violence and did wrong against the dynasty of al-Ẓāhir; he is anxious to turn me away from the dynasty of al-Ẓāhir. [So] he banished me to Damascus and made me [his] governor there. Indeed I hate injustice and immoderateness! Al-Malik al-Ẓāhir did not harm us in any way; he even let my father kill his sons.″ See also *Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* 3118: ″The deeds of King Khalīl after his father [′s death] and how he was inclined to the dynasty of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir.″

[49]Several anecdotes from the year 661/1262–63 prove this. Ibn ‘Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ*, 148, 166–69, 181; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:2:480–81, 501. (Cited from Linda S. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan* [Stuttgart, 1998], 72).

[50]Shāfi‘ ibn ‘Alī, ″Al-Faḍl al-Ma'thūr min Sīrat al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr,″ Oxford Bodleian MS Marsh HS 424, fol. 4a; Ibn ‘Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ*, 166–69, 181; David Ayalon, ″Studies on the Structure of the Mamlūk Army, part III,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 16 (1954), 69. (Cited from Northrup, *From Slave*, 73).

[51]See Northrup, *From Slave,* 78–80.

[52]Ibid, 78–83.

[53]As *atabeg*, Qalāwūn had many of the rights of a sultan. His name was included along with Salāmish in the *khuṭbah* and was minted on one side of the coins. See: al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl,* 4:5; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah,* 13:322; Muḥammad ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, ″‘Uyūn al-Tawārīkh,″ Dār al-Kutub MS 949 *tārīkh,* vol. 21, pt. 1, fol. 191; Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt,* ed. Qusṭanṭīn Zurayq (Beirut, 1936–42), 8:148. (Cited from Northrup, *From Slave*, 81).

his regency from their opposition.[54] It is for this reason that Ibn Taghrī Birdī reports that the Mamluks despised Qalāwūn, for they believed that Qalāwūn had poisoned al-Sa'īd.[55] In fact, Qalāwūn did not assassinate al-Sa'īd after his deposition, but banished him to al-Karak, where the latter died in March of the following year (1280) under unclear circumstances. The following year Qalāwūn authorized al-Sa'īd's mother to bury her son in Baybars' mausoleum in Damascus, a ceremony that took place during Qalāwūn's stay in the city. It is highly probable that this public *mise en scène* of his attachment to the deceased and his family was supposed to stop rumors of Qalāwūn's responsibility for al-Sa'īd's death.[56]

Not only the Ẓāhirīyah Mamluks, but also a certain number of elderly Ṣāliḥīyah amirs had reason to feel themselves ignored. It is true that they had been rewarded by Qalāwūn for their backing, but in principal they had the same rights to the throne as he had. It is not astonishing then that al-Maqrīzī reports that Qalāwūn, having become sultan, did not dare to ride out in public because of his fear of the Ṣāliḥīyah and the Ẓāhirīyah Mamluks' jealousy. According to al-Maqrīzī, the people heard about it and began insulting him at night, shouting in the dark under the citadel. They defiled his coat-of-arms and insulted his amirs, so that he finally avoided contact with the people.[57]

As we can see, the authors of the episodes focussing on al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn have adopted quite faithfully the critique of the Ẓāhirīyah Mamluks, who felt betrayed by Baybars' successors. It seems as if these authors belonged to the milieu of the Ẓāhirīyah or the Ṣāliḥīyah Mamluks who were mourning their old sultan.

It is of course possible that the negative image of Qalāwūn did not focus on Qalāwūn as the rival of the Ẓāhirīyah Mamluks but was rather created only at the end of the thirteenth century and aimed at Qalāwūn as the ancestor of the Qalawunid "dynasty." This view is expressed by Ibn Iyās at the beginning of the sixteenth century in his commentary on the seizure of power by the first Circassian sultan, al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, in 1382. He notes that the last sultan of the Qalawunids, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥajjī, took the regnal name of al-Manṣūr as did his ancestor Qalāwūn and that Barqūq had snatched power from the descendents of Qalāwūn just as Qalāwūn had snatched it from Baybars' sons with the words: "Just as one takes, it is taken from him."[58]

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[54]Northrup, *From Slave*, 87.
[55]Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1929–72), 7:272. (Cited from Northrup, *From Slave*, 88).
[56]Northrup, *From Slave*, 89.
[57]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* I:3:672; see also the French translation by Etienne Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Egypte* (Paris, 1837–45), 2:14–15. (Cited from Northrup, *From Slave*, 88).
[58]See Ibn Iyās, *Kitāb Tārīkh Miṣr al-Mashhūr bi-Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr* (Būlāq,

The thesis that parts of the *Sīrat Baybars* initially go back to a propaganda text of early Mamluk times, and the view that they aimed at legitimizing Barqūq´s seizure of power by shedding a negative light on Qalāwūn, are not mutually exclusive. Texts like the *Sīrat Baybars* are complex structures in constant development. They integrate new elements, conserve or eliminate old evidence, and interpret such elements in new contexts and in a new manner.

In my view, the evidence indicates that the first layer of the *Sīrat Baybars* was created in the last decades of the thirteenth century by persons or their descendants whose accounts obviously still testify to the conflicts of the time of Baybars and his immediate successors, and who therefore clearly take a political stand in them.

1311/1893/94), 1:290, lines 5–8. I thank Jean-Claude Garcin for identifying this passage.

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The Shadow Play in Mamluk Egypt: The Genre and Its Cultural Implications

The growing, albeit still meager, scholarship on Ibn Dāniyāl brings him into focus as one of the wittiest men of letters in medieval Arabo-Islamic culture, and hails his work as a pioneering expression of Arabic drama. Such complimentary proclamations of Ibn Dāniyāl's artistic stature counteract a long-standing textual and contextual marginalization of Ibn Dāniyāl: "textual," due to a habitual scholarly neglect of non-canonical genres, including the shadow play; and "contextual," thanks to an enduring notion that the Mamluks had a rather unimpressive cultural and literary record that does not merit comprehensive analysis.[1] As both areas are now being reassessed and Ibn Dāniyāl has started to attract interest, he emerges as one of the most challenging and exotic authors of medieval times. Even so, the conceptual ambiguity related to the development of dramatic art in medieval Arabo-Islamic culture, the semantic difficulties of his idiom, and a critical apparatus inadequate to tackle the peculiarities of the genre have resulted in the ongoing neglect of Ibn Dāniyāl as a playwright. Instead, when studied, his work is usually compared or related to the mainstream literary heritage of the medieval Arabs at the expense of a more complex assessment of his dramaturgy. Although the merits of such an approach need not be belittled, the main feature of Ibn Dāniyāl's work—namely, its dramaturgy—has been seriously overshadowed by concerns about its textuality.

To be fair, such scholarly tendencies are not surprising. Ibn Dāniyāl's plays come to us as texts, not as performances, and as such, they raise a series of textual questions. For example, the syntactical and lexical intricacies resulting from Ibn Dāniyāl's hopscotch between colloquial and standard Arabic, numerous orthographic and phonetic alterations for the sake of rhythm and rhyme, his parodic references to great men of letters, and his masterful leaps between prose and

[1]For example, Ibn Dāniyāl is only briefly referred to in studies such as Aḥmad ʻAbd al-Rāziq, *La femme au temps des Mamlouks en Égypte* (Cairo, 1973); Boaz Shoshan, "High Culture and Popular Culture in Medieval Islam," *Studia Islamica* 73 (1991): 67–107; Ulrich Haarmann, "Regional Sentiment in Medieval Islamic Egypt," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 43 (1980): 55–66; idem, "Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage: Mamluks and Their Sons in the Intellectual Life of Fourteenth Century Egypt and Syria," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 33 (1988): 81–114; Barbara Flemming, "Literary Activities in Mamlūk Halls and Barracks," in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet,* ed. M. R. Ayalon (Jerusalem, 1977), 16; whereas in Reynold A. Nicholson's *Literary History of the Arabs* (London, 1907) there is no mention of Ibn Dāniyāl at all.

poetry, all make textual analysis a quite formidable task. Moreover, the manuscripts themselves—the Istanbul, the Madrid, and the two Cairo ones—reveal an array of incongruities arising from the copyists′ errors in transcribing Ibn Dāniyāl′s colloquialisms, puns, and occasional gibberish. In this sense, the literary challenge is profound and the overall findings still incomplete. In short, nobody has managed so far either to edit or translate the texts of Ibn Dāniyāl′s plays with full confidence and total satisfaction.

This article, however, aims to transcend strict textual concerns in order to highlight the performative quality of Ibn Dāniyāl′s *khayāl al-ẓill,* the shadow play. The article proposes a joint assessment of content and form while both acknowledging the difficulty, and highlighting the necessity, of understanding the shadow play′s triangular mode of dramaturgic communication that involves the puppets, the puppeteer, and the audience. Moreover, since Ibn Dāniyāl′s trilogy *Ṭayf al-Khayāl* is discussed first and foremost as performance art, its relational qualities are enhanced. This enables us to look at the shadow play as an interactive genre and to shift its analysis from textual to a performative production of meaning. It is my contention, therefore, that a more appropriate understanding of Ibn Dāniyāl′s shadow plays must lie in the discussion of the *khayāl al-ẓill* as performance art situated in the larger context of Mamluk society and culture. This, in fact, is the will of the author Ibn Dāniyāl himself. In the prologue to his trilogy, he makes a plea to the commissioner of the plays to suspend any critical judgment of his work until the performance is carried out in full:

> You wrote to me, ingenious master, wanton buffoon, may your position still be lofty and your veil inaccessible, mentioning that *khayāl al-ẓill* lost its popularity as its quality slackened due to repetitiveness. You therefore asked me to produce something in this genre with fine and original characters. Modesty overcame me because of the subject of your request—which you would later introduce as mine—but then I realized that my refusal would lead you to assume that either I was not interested or that I lacked ideas and talent, regardless of my ample inspiration and natural gift. So I indulged in the domain of their unruly dominion and decided to comply with your request. I thus composed witty *bābāt* of high, not low, literary quality. *When you sketch the characters, cut out their parts, put them together, and then project them before the audience through a candle-lit screen, you will see that they are an innovative example, surpassing other such plays in truth.*[2]

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[2]Ibn Dāniyāl al-Mawṣilī, ″Kitāb Ṭayf al-Khayāl,″ Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi MS 648

KHAYĀL AL-ẒILL AS PERFORMANCE ART: THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

Standing above the analysis of Ibn Dāniyāl's *khayāl al-ẓill* is the question of whether the Arabs ever knew drama. Traditionally answered in the negative, this question is probably as old as the criticism of the Arab intellectual heritage itself.[3] Based on Aristotelian models, scholarly negations are quick in pointing out the medieval Arab lack of both cultural and analytical frameworks to understand Aristotle's terminology associated with this mimetic genre. But sticking to the Aristotelian definition of drama as a representation of life excludes rather sweepingly a whole range of performative genres of the non-Hellenic kind in which form and content are more fluidly, or just differently, engaged than they are in the Greek drama. In fact, a variety of such fluid possibilities exists in the Arab heritage, from the *maqāmah* to the *ḥikāyah,* and even, as Michael Sells suggests, to the *qaṣīdah* improvisations that can be likened to jazz performances where individual renderings dictate the tenor of any given tune.[4] More than these, however, the *khayāl* and its derivatives are the most widespread performative phenomena that speak to the presence and relative ubiquity of dramatic art. To that end, in his study on medieval Arab live theater, Moreh argues that

> The term *khayāl*/*khiyāl* is well established in the sense of "live play" from at least the ninth century; in the tenth century it is employed as a synonym for *ḥikāya*, which it eventually supersedes. The shadow play, on the other hand, receives its first mention only in the eleventh century, in Ibn al-Haytham, and then, specifically as *khayāl al-ẓill,* in Ibn Ḥazm. The qualification of *khayāl* by *al-ẓill, al-izār, al-sitāra,* etc., is reasonably clear evidence for the reference of the simple term to a type of performance from which it was necessary to differentiate this new import from the Far East.[5]

Moreh draws attention to several issues of immediate relevance: first, there is a historical continuity within the dramatic heritage in medieval Islam, in which the shadow theater plays a prominent role; second, Ibn Dāniyāl greatly benefited from

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Ali Paşa Hekimoğlu Collection (henceforth MS[1]); Madrid, El Escorial MS 469 Derenburg Collection (henceforth MS[2]); Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 16 Aḥmad Taymūr (henceforth MS[3]).

[3]Shmuel Moreh, *Live Theatre and Dramatic Literature in the Medieval Arab World* (New York, 1992), Preface.

[4]Michael Sells, *Desert Tracings: Six Classic Arabian Odes* (Middletown, CT, 1989); also, for example, Régis Blachère and Pierre Masnou, *Maqāmāt (séances)/al-Hamadāni (Hamadhâni): choisies et traduites de l'arabe avec une étude sur le genre* (Paris, 1957).

[5]Shmuel Moreh, "Live Theatre in Medieval Islam," in *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization: in Honour of Professor David Ayalon,* ed. M. Sharon (Jerusalem, 1986), 60–61.

the continuity of performative genres by deploying the term *khayāl* ″in all its shades of meaning for puns and paronomasia″[6]; third, medieval Muslim writers distinguished well among different types of performance arts, which exposes the misconception that their usage of the terms was random because of a general lack of popularity of these genres; and fourth, that there exists a whole series of literary sources indicating the diversity of themes employed by performative artists.

Arguing that *khayāl al-ẓill* is best understood as a performative genre, this article takes the approach that shadow theater can be assessed from the perspective of theatrical semiotics, which defines dramatic art through the specification of four indispensable elements: (1) the presentation of human relationships (2) organized into a story (3) to an audience (4) by conscious and present agents.[7] The presence of all these necessary elements in the shadow play, though not always in an obvious and linear way, points to its integrity as dramatic art and highlights relational modes in the enactment of text and the assignment of meaning.

This proposition lends itself to the question about the ways in which theatrical interaction takes place, especially in the shadow play. Here, the theory of Possible Worlds may give a useful insight. As Darko Suvin explains, ″in theatre, dramaturgic story and spacetime induce, by the interaction between the existents, events, and relationships being ostended and the audience for which they are ostended, a specific Possible World.″[8] In other words, the audience, positioning itself within the existing system of values, interacts with the dramatized state of affairs by inducing a world in which such relations are possible, not actual. The emphasis on the interaction between the stage and the audience is therefore significant not only to make sense of the text but of its visual representations through the prism of a shared cultural repertoire. While differences among individual spectators will generate a certain level of divergence in this interpretive process, the attempt is to highlight the aspects of the performance that could possibly relate to the actual world. To that end, common cultural denominators are required for the recognition, de-semantization, and re-semantization of all theatrical signs. Here a cue can be taken from Umberto Eco′s argument that ″in the *mise-en-scène* an object, first recognized as a real object, is then assumed as a sign in order to refer back to another object (or to a class of objects) whose constitutive stuff is the same as that of the representing object.″[9]

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[6]Ibid., 46.

[7]Darko Suvin, ″Approaches to Topoanalysis and to the Paradigmatics of Dramaturgic Space,″ *Poetics Today* 8 (1987): 312.

[8]Darko Suvin, ″The Performance Text as Audience-Stage Dialog Inducing a Possible World,″ *Versus* 42 (1987): 15.

[9]Umberto Eco, ″Semiotics of Theatrical Performance,″ *The Drama Review* 21 (1977): 111.

By analogy, the shadow plays of Ibn Dāniyāl also offer an alternative vision of the actual world through the creation of an imaginary state of affairs represented by shadow figures. Of course, the specificity of the shadow theater calls for further elucidation of the nature of theatrical signification. The most recognizable feature of this genre, from which the name itself derives, is the casting of shadows of flat, leather figures (usually *ashkhāṣ* in Arabic) onto a white screen (usually *sitārah, sitr,* or *izārah* in Arabic) by means of a lamp *(fānūs),* candle *(sham‘)* or other source of light. The settings used for this purpose are usually of two kinds: portable and permanent. The portable consists of a box into which the puppeteer (usually *khayālī, muqaddim,* or *muḥarrik* in Arabic) enters and maneuvers the source of light and the figures so as to create a shadow-play effect without being seen himself. In contrast, the permanent (and the more complex) setting involves a large screen as the stage that divides the audience and the puppeteer. A curious deviation from these common methods of casting shadows is a technique described by Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), involving a rapidly revolving wheel onto which the figures are fastened in the order of appearance in the play.[10] As the wheel, interposed between the source of light and the screen, spins, the figures consecutively cast their shadows and thus carry out the performance. Although the human factor cannot be excluded in the realization of the action, it is plausible that such a show was silent and the role of the puppeteer confined to a mere *taḥrīk* function. This mode of performance, however, seems to have been rather uncommon.

The absence of human beings as visible dramaturgic agents and their replacement with one-dimensional shadows certainly carries some drawbacks that have to be compensated for at another level of theatrical communication. Here, action happens as the puppeteer animates the figures through a range of audio-visual effects. Because the function of the stage is assumed by a white screen onto which the shadows are projected, the screen determines the boundaries of ″a spatio-temporal *elsewhere* represented as though actually present for the audience.″[11] The set of relations on that stage is threefold: the puppeteer, the figures, and the shadows. Their synchronization is not only semiotic but mimetic, since it is the puppeteer′s conscious ″acting,″ along with the figures′ signification, that ultimately achieves an ″elsewhere″ which resembles as well as points to the actual world. The usage of props is considerably reduced, and their presence only vaguely marks the space of action (e.g., indoors/outdoors; sea/land; city/countryside, etc.). A more complex communication, because of such limited usage of props, is therefore achieved through the deployment of additional narrative markers.

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[10]‘Alī ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm, *Kitāb al-Akhlāq wa-al-Siyar* (Beirut, 1985), 30.

[11]Keir Elam, *The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama* (London, 1980), 99.

Furthermore, as I have argued elsewhere,[12] the verisimilitude of stage signs, or what semioticians refer to as ″iconic identity,″[13] can hardly be achieved in the shadow play, whereas theater proper allows it often in a rather convincing fashion. Similarly, the subtlety of human relations or psychological processes that can evolve on the stage in theater proper are hardly possible in the shadow play where only clumsy and rudimentary representations of human interaction can take place. Furthermore, the figures representing human beings in the shadow theater often assume grotesque representations or stereotypes based on culturally assumed attributes. The Turkish *Karagöz* is an excellent example of ethnic, gender, or social typifications of various Ottoman subjects. The shortcomings of the shadow play are thus manipulated as modes of strengthening, if problematically, the embedded societal relations. It is therefore very difficult, even impossible, to be experimental or innovative in the shadow theater. The innovation cannot come through spontaneity but through careful rearrangement of the long-term and familiar modes of representation. Thus, the deployment of leather figures as dramaturgic agents evokes playful yet often immediate associations between the shadows and the objects they iconically designate. In the majority of shadow plays, then, it is collectivities or types of people that are represented, not individual characters. The collectivity is given a primordial quality singled out and objectified in the shadow figure′s physical trait, the accent, or the costume. The audience is thus placed in servitude to its own beliefs and experiences. This degree of condensation of collective traits into shadow representations takes to an exceptional degree one of the basic principles of theatrical interaction, which Umberto Eco defines as the transposition of stage signs from the rhetorical to the ideological level.[14]

As the one-dimensionality of its bearers of action limits the figures′ mobility, gestural communication is often successfully compensated by the puppeteer′s persuasive rhetorical and acting skills. In his study of the medieval Arabic shadow play, Ibrāhīm Ḥamādah observed that ″the puppeteer has to have good narrative skills; must know the basic principles of verse composition and be able to sing; must feel a special affection towards popular story-telling, riddles, and *zajal*s. All in all, he must know what the audience enjoys and loves.″[15] With the puppeteer′s help, the spectators are reminded that they are already familiar with the possible world of the play, be it through its system of values (as in the *wayang kulit,* or

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[12]Amila Buturović, ″′Truly, This Land is Triumphant and Its Accomplishments Apparent!′: Baybars′s Cairo in Ibn Dāniyāl′s *′Ṭayf al-Khayāl,′*″ in *Writers and Rulers: Perspectives from Abbasid to Safavid Times,* ed. Beatrice Gruendler and Louise Marlow (Wiesbaden, forthcoming).

[13]Elam, *The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama*, 23.

[14]Eco, ″Semiotics of Theatrical Performance,″ 116.

[15]Ibrāhīm Ḥamādah, *Khayāl al-Ẓill wa-Tamthīlīyāt Ibn Dāniyāl* (Cairo, 1963), 18.

Indonesian shadow play, for example) or through recognizable contours of animate and inanimate objects. Thus, it is mainly the puppeteer who activates the modes of recognition as he animates the figures, allowing the audience to look at the stage not as an unknown reality but something possibly familiar. For all its limitations and one-dimensionality, then, the shadow theater possesses the capacity of intimating, if not recreating, any number of possible relations. In that process, the puppeteer′s role is pivotal.

While at one level, the theatrical frame is meant to be easily recognized, the two worlds—the actual and the possible—are sharply delineated. The audience is thus pulled into the production of meaning first by virtue of visual recognition of the contents in the theatrical frame and, secondarily, by drawing analogies and commentaries between the theatrical frame and the outside world. A full awareness of the theatrical frame and the action that happens within it ascertains the flow of the stage-audience dialogue, even in the case of the portable type where the stage would come to the audience rather than in the fixed theater setting. In fact, other props and markers that inaugurate and assist the production of the play—the lantern, the rhetorical interventions, or the music—help to confirm that ″the frame of an activity″ is established and the audience′s engagement is initiated. As Erving Goffman argues in his study on framing devices in social life, ″Given their understanding of what it is that is going on, individuals fit their actions to this understanding and ordinarily find that the ongoing world supports this fitting.″[16]

Therefore, despite the seeming drawbacks and a limited scope of performance of action, ″we are,″ as Suvin puts it in reference to theater at large, ″in final analysis always dealing with human relationships.″[17] In fact, the condensation of human qualities in shadow representations often accelerates rather than hampers this process. Eco′s argument that every sign, ″after being a mere presence, a figure of speech, becomes an ideological abstraction,″[18] can be demonstrated quite well in the shadow play where only the contours of the figures are visually functional whereby their completeness calls for instantaneous group identifications, or evocation of ″types.″ In the case of Ibn Dāniyāl′s types, the process of association is most readily conducted on ethnic, professional, and gender lines. The assumed power relations in Mamluk society—about which a word will be said shortly—when transferred onto the white screen demand the bracketing off of those group traits that the

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[16]Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience* (New York, 1974), 247. However, in certain extraordinary mental experiences even this conspicuous framing may not be sufficient. Goffman thus mentions an instance of a drunken spectator who shot a puppet portraying the devil, 363.

[17]Suvin, ″The Performance Text,″ 4.

[18]Eco, ″Semiotics of Theatrical Performance,″ 16.

society treats as stereotypical and therefore constant. This gives a more sociological orientation to an argument made already by the Prague School of semiotics, which says that stage semiotization occurs the moment any object is put on the stage, and from then on the audience′s assumption is a signifying function of all that they see therein.[19] The significance of such ″bracketing″ of human form and action within the dramaturgic space, when perceived through the context of the Mamluk audience for which Ibn Dāniyāl wrote, raises an important concern: since we cannot determine the character of the audience for lack of historiographical sources, the best we can do is project the target audience on the basis of the plays and the milieu.

In that sense, while the semiotic definition discloses an internal integrity of the shadow theater, a broader-based, sociocultural perspective demands that the shadow play be treated as a dynamic and rich social phenomenon that creates a sense of collectivity by engaging the audience in decoding the dramaturgic message. As the formal structure of the art demands, any successful shadow performance must evoke a set of associations that are both accessible and shared by the target audience. Unlike our current efforts to address the textual challenges of Ibn Dāniyāl′s plays, the actual audience was faced with a task of quite different proportions, namely, of engaging actively and collectively in the production of the three plays. A cue here can be taken from Ward Keeler who in his study on the *wayang kulit*—the Indonesian shadow play—argues the following:

> To understand a performance as a relationship does not simply permit investigation to challenge commentary with observed reactions, however. It permits them, much more significantly, to integrate the art form with other kinds of relationships that obtain among the members of that culture. It is here that aesthetics, sociology, and ideology meet: in recurrent patterns in the mediation of self and other.[20]

Keeler′s integrative approach suggests that we should not look for a cause-and-effect paradigm in the development of the shadow play as art performance in any given culture; rather, our task is primarily to discern the mechanisms that sustain the relationship between this art form and social life. In a similar vein, the aim here is not to create a causal link between Mamluk culture and the shadow-play tradition but to probe the relations through which Ibn Dāniyāl′s text comes to life. To be sure, the challenge of this task is rather daunting: after all, unlike the Indonesian

[19]For elaborate discussion on the theatrical principles set up by this school see Ladislav Matejka and Irwin R. Titunik, *Semiotics of Art: Prague School Contributions* (Cambridge, MA, 1976).
[20]Ward Keeler, *Javanese Shadow Plays, Javanese Selves* (Princeton, 1987), 17.

shadow play, which continues to thrive as performance art—thus remaining accessible to researchers—the Mamluk shadow play is a dead form, surviving only descriptively, through scant historical and literary references, and prescriptively, through the text by Ibn Dāniyāl. Although in the absence of sufficient data about the staging and attending of such performances we can never imagine these events with full confidence, we can nevertheless take up the challenge of ″dramatizing″ the possible modes of interaction and interpretations of the text. Ultimately, then, the intention is to analytically envision the larger picture of societal relations that are animated as the leather figures communicate, through the agency of the puppeteer, the text of Ibn Dāniyāl′s plays to the Arabic-speaking audience of Mamluk Egypt.

Khayāl al-Ẓill in History: the Mamluks and Beyond

A historical question comes to mind: is the medieval Arabic shadow play necessarily tied to any particular aesthetic, ideological, or cultural framework? What is its historical function? What are its themes? Unlike the Chinese shadow play, which has a liturgical place in popular Chinese religion,[21] the Indonesian *wayang kulit,* which enacts the stories of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabarata,* or the Ottoman *Karagöz,* which focuses on themes from everyday life through slapstick humor, the medieval Arabic shadow play had a more diverse, yet probably less ubiquitous presence in cultural history. On the one hand, it appears quite difficult to trace chronological and textual connections among different styles of shadow-play performances—and we know that there were several—in the medieval Islamic world. On the other hand, the extant historical evidence demonstrates the flexibility of this genre and its ability to adjust to the specificity of its different sociohistorical contexts.

While not indigenous to Islamic cultures, the shadow play found in *Dār al-Islām* a rather receptive ground. That the Fatimids already knew this theater is inadvertently documented by the ophthalmologist Ibn al-Haytham.[22] It was also known in another corner of the Arab world, as is attested by the Andalusian Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), who also alludes to a type of shadow play that appears to be unknown in the Mashriq. Commonly, the argument is made that the shadow play was a low and popular form of entertainment. For example, Jacob Landau states:

> For generations the ″Shadow-Play″ was nearly the only amusement which even the humblest could enjoy. The Shadow-Theatre, the artistic level of which is not high, could flourish even in a country

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[21]Fan Pen Chen, ″The Chinese Shadow Theatre: Popular Religion, and Women Warriors,″ an unpublished monograph, 10–15.

[22]Ibn al-Haytham, *Kitāb al-Manāẓir,* ed. A. I. Sabra (Kuwait, 1983), 3:6, 408.

> torn by internecine wars and strifes, which delayed its cultural development and impoverished its inhabitants. Hence the popular character of the Shadow Theatre in the Arab countries, especially in Egypt and Syria.[23]

However, the themes of the shadow play, as well as extant historical evidence, point to a different situation. The historian Ibrāhīm Ḥamādah is inclined to believe that, at least in Fatimid times, this theater penetrated into both popular and courtly milieux because it explored themes that appealed to both types of audience.[24] This view can certainly find theoretical justification: as Stuart Hall remarks, ″popular forms become enhanced in cultural value, go up the cultural escalator—and find themselves on the opposite side. Other things cease to have high cultural value, and are appropriated into the popular, becoming transformed in the process.″[25] Indeed, labeling the medieval shadow play as either popular or courtly, rather than both, obscures a whole range of historical evidence that points to the criss-crossings of its social and cultural frameworks. Thus, we know that in Ayyubid Egypt court functionaries had access to the shadow play just as common people did, as is attested by the ambivalence shown towards the shadow play by Saladin and al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil in 567/1171.[26]

In Egypt under the Mamluks, local historiographers treat the shadow play as one of the common forms of entertainment. Ibn al-Dawādārī speaks of Ibn Dāniyāl as one of his friends from literary circles,[27] while Ibn Taghrībirdī speaks offhandedly of the staging of various shadow plays before and in his lifetime.[28] In his chronicle

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[23]Jacob Landau, ″Shadow Plays in the Near East,″ *Edoth (″Communities″)* 3 (1947–48): 23. This view is also shared by ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd Yūnus, *Muʻjam al-Fulklūr* (Beirut, 1983), 11–12, 24–25.

[24]Ḥamādah, *Khayāl al-ẓill*, 34.

[25]Stuart Hall, ″Notes on Deconstructing ′the Popular,′″ in *People′s History and Socialist Theory,* ed. Raphael Samuel (London, 1981), 234.

[26]Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī, *Thamarāt al-Awrāq* (Beirut,1983), 1:47, writes: ″This resembles what al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil said when the sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn brought to his castle a performer of *khayāl,* I mean, *khayāl al-ẓill,* for the qadi to be entertained. But al-Fāḍil stood up to leave when the performer began. Al-Nāṣir said to him: ′If it was forbidden, we would not attend it.′ Since he had been in al-Nāṣir′s service even before the latter took over the sultanate, the qadi did not want to create trouble so he sat until the end. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir asked him what he thought of the performance and the qadi answered: ′I thought it was a great lesson. I saw dynasties come and go. And when the curtain went up there was but one mover.′ And so, with the help of his eloquence, he produced something serious out of something so trivial.″

[27]Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Durar al-Tījān wa-Ghurar Tawārīkh al-Zamān,* ed. and trans. Gunhild Graf (Berlin, 1990), 57–58.

[28]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* as quoted by Moreh, *Live Theatre,* 139.

Badā'i' al-Zuhūr, Ibn Iyās writes that in the year 779/1375 Sultan Sha'bān took a shadow-play performer as an entertainer during his pilgrimage to Mecca.[29] As we learn from the composition of the pilgrimage caravans, various functionaries used to accompany the Mamluk sultans on their way to Mecca. Among them were judges, but also entertainers *(ṭubūlkhānah)* and professional poets.[30] Manifestly, nothing in the themes of these shadow performances was offensive to the sultan and the religious elite as they made their way to Mecca.

We also learn that the shadow play at least once fell out of grace with the authorities. In the year 855/1451, Sultan Jaqmaq had all figures collected in a pile and incinerated. Per his decree, no performer was to stage either live or shadow-play performances any longer.[31] Although the extent of the damage to the props and possibly written texts is impossible to estimate, it is evident from later accounts that the shadow play outlived Jaqmaq's assault. As we are informed by Ibn Iyās, its popularity continued even on the courtly level: in the year 904/1489, Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir "sent someone to fetch Abū al-Khayr with his props for a shadow play, the group of Arab singers, and the chief buffoon, Burraywah."[32] Even as the Mamluks were about to fall, the shadow play emerges as a form of cultural activism. In 923/1517, as Sultan Selim was taking over Egypt, his victory was marked by a shadow-play performance. According to Ibn Iyās:

> On several evenings [the sultan Selim] attended the shadow performances. When he sat for the entertainment he was told that the performer was going to produce for him the figure of Bāb Zuwaylah and the figure of Ṭūmān Bāy as he was hanged and as the rope was cut twice in this process. This delighted Ibn 'Uthmān. That evening he rewarded the performer with 200 dinars, presented him with a velvet robe embroidered in gold, and said to him: "Travel with us to Istanbul and stay with us to entertain my son with this."[33]

Reflecting on this account, is it possible to argue that the Mamluk shadow play ceased in Egypt in its existing form and became reincarnated as, or at least absorbed into, the Ottoman *Karagöz?* While it is hard to speculate on the historical

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[29]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 1982), 1:174.
[30]'Abd Allāh 'Ankawī, "The Pilgrimage to Mecca in Mamlūk Times," *Arabian Studies* 1 (1974): 163–66.
[31]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 2:33.
[32]Ibid., 3:401.
[33]Ibid., 5:192.

journey of the performance art, the above references make it important to acknowledge the shadow play´s integration into the cultural fabric of Mamluk Egypt at both popular and courtly levels. Ibn Dāniyāl´s plays may be the only surviving testimony to the relative popularity of this genre, but its historical association with different spheres of Mamluk public life requires us to acknowledge its accessibility to both illiterate masses and educated elite both before and during Mamluk times. While the contents of Ibn Dāniyāl´s play certainly reveal a rich referential value for reconstructing popular life in Cairo, the awareness of the shadow play by dignitaries and intellectuals—including, somewhat earlier, the great Sufi poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ who mentions in some detail different shadow plays[34]—testifies to its thematic and social diversity.

Many Stories, One Space-Time: Ibn Dāniyāl´s Trilogy *Ṭayf al-Khayāl*

Kitāb Ṭayf al-Khayāl is composed of three plays reconstructing the exuberant popular culture of Mamluk Cairo. In all available manuscripts, the plays appear in the following order: (1) *Ṭayf al-Khayāl;* (2) *'Ajīb wa-Gharīb;* and (3) *Al-Mutayyam wa-al-Dā'ī al-Yutayyim.* The three plays share several common features; one is the spatial and temporal coordinates of the plays´ possible world: Cairo under the rule of Baybars (1260–77). As this space-time coincides with Ibn Dāniyāl´s empirical world, it is the plays´ theatrical frame that transforms the historical here-and-now into a fictional one. Another common feature relates to the plays´ themes: all three revolve around the everyday life of Baybars´ Cairo, depicting people and relations that constitute the social and cultural reality of the Mamluk polity. Finally, the three plays are textually linked through the same prologue and executed by the same presenter *(rayyis),* the puppeteer 'Alī, which suggests that they must have been jointly staged. In that respect, it is important to establish a sense of continuity not just in the inner composition of the plays but in their production as well, since they prove to complement each other in matters of agential relations, dramaturgic style, and the target audience.

At the same time, however, the plays are configured independently in that they are marked by their own beginning and end and focused on unrelated stories and situations. The first play, *Ṭayf al-Khayāl,* bears the name of the entire trilogy. It is the most complex and mature piece with a well-conceived plot, action, and dialogue. It takes its name from a character, a narrator of sorts, Ṭayf al-Khayāl. The character blurs the otherwise clear line between the plays. In fact, he introduces them all by virtue of epitomizing, or embodying, in his shadowy presence, the potency of the genre in framing the reality that surrounds the audience. The

[34]See Ibn al-Fāriḍ´s *Nazm al-Sulūk,* vv. 679–714, translated by Th. Emil Homerin in *'Umar ibn al-Fāriḍ: Sufi Verse, Saintly Life* (New York, 2001), 269–79.

paronomastic associations are unmistakable: on the one hand, the world of *khayāl al-ẓill* is animated as the character of Ṭayf al-Khayāl appears on the scene, showing and telling the framework of the play. On the other, different associations of ″*khayāl*″ as an immaterial and deceptive motif in Arab poetic and philosophical tradition are evoked, teasing the imagination of the audience. Yet, although presented as an elusive shadow image—like all other characters in the play—Ṭayf al-Khayāl tells a story of a very visible world: Baybars′ Cairo. All around the audience, the reality of Baybars′ Cairo is made daunting. The ambiguity and tangibility of everyday life are thus both foregrounded as Ṭayf al-Khayāl, the shadow figure, exclaims: ″Inna hādhihi dawlah qāhirah wa āthāruhā ẓāhirah.″ Make no mistake, in other words: what you see may or may not be what it is, for it is both concrete and elusive, both visible and invisible. The contrasts established by the framing of the palpable and immediate reality of Mamluk Cairo through the white cloth of the shadow theater are not just an optical challenge but a test in epistemology. As it turns out, the actual and the possible are not oppositional in any ideological or political sense. Rather, they are complementary, coexisting through clear visual boundaries yet blurred through the mimetic depictions of potentially real people as shadow figures. This allows the audience to participate in the critique and commentary about the actual through the mediation of the plays′ possible worlds. In that sense, the appearance of Ṭayf al-Khayāl at the beginning of the first play inaugurates the tone of the relationships that Ibn Dāniyāl wishes to establish with his audience: in all three plays, the audience is asked to draw analogies, make comparisons, and create contrasts. In fact, in all three plays this is achieved by positing main characters as pairs that can either evolve into irreconcilable polarities or supplements. I will return to this pairing after a brief story line of each play has been laid out.

In the first play, as the setting is established and connections to the outside world drawn, a humorous story evolves around a friend of Ṭayf al-Khayāl, a *jundī* by the name of Amīr Wiṣāl. It is through his story that the first play develops as an independent and well-rounded unit. Threatened by Baybars′ moral standards that clash deeply with his own, Wiṣāl informs the dismayed Ṭayf al-Khayāl that he has decided to abandon his wanton lifestyle—something the two friends have always shared—and settle down. Umm Rashīd, a go-between, is summoned to find Wiṣāl a bride. After much slapstick humor and comic speeches by the clerk in charge of Wiṣāl′s finances,[35] Tāj Bābūj, and a court poet Ṣurrah Baʿr, a bride is brought in with her entourage, including a boy—her grandson. Wiṣāl lifts the veil and discovers the ugliest woman staring at him, a nemesis contrived by Umm

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[35]The mention of poor finances, according to Muṣṭafá Badawī, must have been the moment in the performance that signaled to the audience to reward the performers with money. See his ″Medieval Arabic Drama: Ibn Dāniyāl,″ *Journal of Arabic Literature* 13 (1982): 97.

Rashīd for her long grudge against male behavior of which Wiṣāl is the worst example. Wiṣāl is furious and, appealing to his military power and authority, demands the punishment of Umm Rashīd and her husband ʿAflaq. Only the aging and pitiful ʿAflaq appears, oblivious to the reality around him and suffused in the memories of his youth and sexual vitality. He remarks, rather casually, that Umm Rashīd had just passed away at the inept hands of the local doctor Yaqṭīnūs. Yaqṭīnūs is summoned to confirm the news, which he does by adding a sexually suggestive remark that Umm Rashīd has just been buried with full honors, ″in the drain of the bath, behind the exit and near the entrance.″ Umm Rashīd′s demise inspires Wiṣāl and Ṭayf al-Khayāl to repent and to make the pilgrimage to Mecca.

In contrast, the second play, *ʿAjīb wa-Gharīb,* has no discernible story line. Rather, it is structured as a funfair comprising an episodic succession of different *personae* representing various trades and professions in Mamluk Egypt. Within such a scheme of representation, the audience acts as a crowd gathered to observe the skillful demonstrations of the fair exhibitors.

The title of the play derives from the names of two dramaturgic personalities—one Gharīb and the other one ʿAjīb—who stand for two disparate societal groups and thus define the play′s social boundaries. A brief authorial note introduces the play as ″giving an account of the ways of quaint and fraudulent people . . . who use the language of Banū Sāsān.″[36] A character appears on the stage, identifying himself as Gharīb. His name is a pun, foregrounding thus not only his belonging to the underground classes, but also the stereotypical visions of his kinfolk.[37] In many respects, Gharīb is the mainstay of the actual structure of the play, central to any analysis.

After a brief self-introduction, Gharīb withdraws and his partner, the preacher ʿAjīb al-Dīn, appears. Opening his sermon with the *basmalah,* he compliments the show by praising God for creating humor, and choosing the Prophet ″who knew how to joke yet spoke only the truth.″[38] Though ʿAjīb stands as the ideological antipode of Gharīb, the two are not in an antagonistic but complementary relationship. In fact, their juxtaposition reconciles social polarities in a way that makes it possible for the audience to see the necessity for social and cultural diversity that is so vibrantly captured in the play.

Following the introduction, the parade of figures starts as a parade of different professions. The name of each *persona* is a salient pun on her/his trade, referring thus to a whole system of values culturally associated with any given profession.

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[36]MS[1], fol. 86a; MS[2], fol. 30; MS[3], fol. 67.

[37]For a thorough discussion on the Banū Sāsān, see Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Medieval Islamic Underworld* (Leiden, 1976).

[38]MS[1], fol. 95; MS[2], fol. 32a; MS[3], fol. 74.

From the dramaturgic perspective, we are here clearly dealing not with characters, but types. We are thus introduced to a snake charmer, a quack doctor, an herbalist, a surgeon, an artist, a magician, an astrologer, a fortuneteller, an animal tamer, and many other entertainers and professionals who disclose secrets of their skill and trade and tell us about their successes and failures. The atmosphere is fully carnivalesque, bringing to the fore what Mikhail Bakhtin describes as ″an ancient connection between the forms of medicine and folk art which explains the combination in one person of actor and druggist, [whereby] medicine and theater are displayed side by side in the marketplace.″[39] Given the lack of narrative progression, the ending of the play is neither a resolution nor otherwise. The play simply ceases as the last exhibitor withdraws and Gharīb reappears, announcing in verses composed in *mutaqārib* that ″Gharīb is strange and ʻAjīb is odd.″[40]

Finally, the third play of the trilogy, *″Al-Mutayyam wa-al-Dāʻī al-Yutayyim,″* like the first one, has an organized story-line. The third play, in fact, is a burlesque portrayal of amorous conventions in Arabic literary discourse, yet with overwhelming sociological value related to popular practices in Mamluk Egypt. In the words of Ibn Dāniyāl himself: ″This is a play entitled ′The Enthralled One and the Enthralling Wretch.′ It speaks partly of the condition of lovers, partly of dalliance that is a certain kind of bewitchment, partly of playing games, and partly of wondrous and odd buffoonery that is not disgraceful.″[41]

The play begins with the appearance of ″a *shakhṣ* visibly distressed by ardent love,″ whose name—Mutayyam—betrays his pathos. Similar to the names of many other characters in Ibn Dāniyāl′s plays, the name Mutayyam is associated with a whole set of values that both belong to and transcend the immediate context. As in earlier plays where binaries are created as a framing device, Mutayyam′s role is related to Yutayyim, who, as his name implies, is the reason of Mutayyam′s distress.

Mutayyam opens his speech with a poem lamenting the condition of *ahl al-gharām*—love-stricken people—which mocks the amatory themes in classical Arabic poetry. He then turns to the audience and, having introduced himself, reveals the sorrowful story of his unrequited love towards a beautiful young man—Yutayyim—whom he had seen in a public bath in all his seductive nakedness.

Mutayyam then composes a *muwashshaḥah* exalting the young man′s beautiful features that supersede any woman′s and cause all men to fall in love with him.

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[39]Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World,* trans. Hélène Iswolsky (Bloomington, IN, 1984), 159.

[40]MS[1], fol. 138; MS[3], fol. 109. Here, the word *gharīb* is repeated 4 times, while in MS[2], fol. 47a, the first two are *gharīb* and the last two, *ʻajīb*.

[41]MS[1], fol. 138a; MS[2], fol. 48; MS[3], fol. 110.

As he completes his eulogy, a deformed person comes in, introducing himself as Mutayyam's former lover. He is devastated that Mutayyam has dumped him for a younger and taller man, having thus "replaced with jasmine the thorns of tragacanth." From their conversation, we learn that Mutayyam had spotted Yutayyim in a public bath, where he managed to steal a kiss. He also confesses that he is now busy trying to seduce Yutayyim through the latter's servant Bayram, who seems to exercise a great control over his master. Indeed, Bayram appears, explaining that he has taken matters into his own hands. A typical story of unrequited love and quest for the beloved unfolds, with Bayram assuming the role of the go-between, in a way similar to Umm Rashīd in the first play. Here too, "little people" are given prominence as agents of action and change.

Bayram organizes a fight between Yutayyim and Mutayyam's pet animals. Three matches follow, arbitrated by one and the same judge, Zayhūn, and attended by many. The build-up of tension carries strong comic and erotic effects: as the tension increases, so does the size of the animals in the fight: first roosters, then rams, and, finally, bulls. Mutayyam's ascension to victory is toned down by a desire to appease his lover whose animals do not perform well. The game is about class as much as it is about erotic gain.

Each match is preceded by a formulaic speech by the judge Zayhūn, starting with a pious eulogy and ending with an explanation of the importance of such noble sports.[42] Finally, Yutayyim's bull wins, which temporarily throws Mutayyam into despair but gives him a chance to sacrifice the bull and throw a feast. As the feast goes on, unknown people pour in, introducing themselves to the host Mutayyam through peculiar stories of their lives, satisfying their hunger—both physiological and erotic—and eventually falling asleep. As in the second play, the succession of people is the succession of particular trends, and in this case, these trends relate to clandestine erotic interests and sexual practices. At the end of the play, amidst the pile of drunken and unconscious bodies, Mutayyam is visited by another, the Angel of Death. In a tragicomic confrontation with his departure from this world, Mutayyam rushes to repent, uttering all necessary formulaic expressions of piety and submission to God and the Prophet.

INDUCING A POSSIBLE WORLD: RECOGNITION AND CRITIQUE

As indicated by the contents of the plays, it is the heterogeneity of the Mamluk milieu that comes to life in Ibn Dāniyāl's work. Individual plays, then, are not cast as singular events that stand apart from the real world. Rather, teasing out the audience's common perception and attitudes, Ibn Dāniyāl expropriates common

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[42]Curious is his remark before their beginnings that the fights are carried out "as the custom of the play requires" *(ʻalá ʻādat al-khayāl).*

knowledge to explore some of the possible relations in the surrounding world. In that sense, Ibn Dāniyāl appeals to issues and relations that already belong to the audience but assigns to them unconventional values and humorous overtones.

Among the most prominent and recurrent issues in all three plays of *Ṭayf al-Khayāl,* for example, are the ambiguous relationship between the military and religious elite, the ethnic composition of Mamluk Cairo, and the criss-crossings between high and low cultures. As suggested earlier, these issues are problematized rather humorously through repetitive pairings of characters that belong to different walks of life. Political rivalries are presented as correlative rivalries. In real life, the Arabs and the Turkic-speaking Mamluks kept a distance and each nurtured a sense of superiority over the other. The local ulama looked down on Mamluks as soldiers with no skill in matters of culture and often blamed them for the decline of Arabic literature and arts.[43] In turn, Mamluks resented the ulama's sense of superiority for it seemed unrealistic in the face of their lack of political power. The Mamluks thus nurtured their own sense of cultural authenticity by insisting on using Turkish in oral communication and often requiring it from all state employees.[44] In the early period of their rule in particular, the local religious elite was biased against the pagan origins of the Mamluks, which almost automatically dismissed them as unsuitable for the traditional Arabo-Islamic cultural circles: "'*Ulamā*' continued to write about '*ulamā*' and for '*ulamā*' paying little or no attention in their works to all those who stood outside their own circles."[45] Despite this attitude of entrenched cultural stereotyping, the ties of the religious elite with the Mamluk aristocracy increased. Gradually, a partial integration of the ulama into the political apparatus occurred through the appointments of the chief qadi, army judges, market inspectors, official preachers, administrators of schools and hospitals, and so on.[46] In the domain of culture, however, the Mamluks' interest and contributions were perceived as motivated purely by political gain.[47]

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[43]Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage," 82.

[44]Flemming, "Literary Activities," 250, 259.

[45]Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage," 84. This attitude was not shared by the masses, who saw the Mamluks as their protectors. Ulrich Haarmann, "Ideology and History, Identity and Alterity: The Arab Image of the Turk from the 'Abbasids to Modern Egypt," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 20 (1988): 183–84.

[46]Ira Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1984), 130–41.

[47]Ibid., 191; Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage," 83. This prejudice, however, seems to have been a two-way street. Ibn al-Dawādārī, for example, who cultivated both Turkish and Islamic sentiments, contemptuously speaks about how superstitious the Arabs were. See Ulrich Haarmann, "Turkish Legends in the Popular Historiography of Medieval Egypt," in *Proceedings of the VIth Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies,* ed. Frithiof Rundgren (Leiden, 1975), 105. Also, the Mamluks were often criticized for not caring about the names of the Prophet

The ongoing tension between the Mamluk military aristocracy and the Arab religious notables was complicated by the presence of other minorities that were disadvantaged by such precarious internal relations, so it is generally argued that this period witnessed a significant decrease in the Coptic population.[48] While on the one hand the Mamluks established important political and economic relations with a number of non-Muslim countries extending from the Kingdoms of Aragon and Castile in the west to South India in the east, they carefully monitored potential ties between their own non-Muslim communities and external ones.[49] However, both Jews and Christians frequently occupied important positions in the Mamluk bureaucratic apparatus, mainly as scribes and tax collectors. In spite of that practice, the *dhimmī*s were obliged to observe certain rules of conduct that clearly defined them as second-class citizens. Thus, they had to bow their heads when passing Muslims, were not allowed to crowd Muslims in public places, were allowed to use their temples for quiet religious services only, had to display emblems on their turbans in a clear manner, and had to preserve the color of their garments by regular dyeing.[50] We also know of occasional public outbursts: during the reign of al-Ashraf al-Khalīl, for example, Muslim dissatisfaction with Coptic influence on public affairs resulted in a series of assaults on Coptic houses and churches. When the sultan eventually yielded to public demand and ordered the hanging of a number of Christian scribes, he was cautioned by an amir that these scribes were indispensable, as they ran all financial affairs.[51]

This strained yet functional state of affairs was contingent on the sense of political stability, though many rules and habits were often bent in the name of that stability. Principles often gave in under the pressures of practical concerns. For example, common folk negotiated such tensions with much more fluidity and openness to compromise. As Haarmann points out: ″The people in the street did not share this feeling of suffocation and threat of selfishness and dishonesty. They declared, ′Rather the injustice (or tyranny) of the Turks than the righteousness (or

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and his Companions, and maintaining their Turkish names as first names. See David Ayalon, ″The Muslim City and the Mamluk Military Aristocracy,″ *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 2 (1968): 322.

[48]Clifford Bosworth, ″Christian and Jewish Religious Dignitaries in Mamlūk Egypt and Syria,″ *IJMES* 3 (1972): 59–74 and 199–216; Donald P. Little, ″Coptic Conversion to Islam under the Baḥrī Mamlūks, 629–755/1293–1354,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 39 (1976): 552–54.

[49]Bosworth, ″Christian and Jewish Religious Dignitaries,″ 64.

[50]Ibid., 215.

[51]Little, ″Conversion to Islam,″ 554.

self-righteousness) of the Arabs *(ẓulm al-turk wa-lā ʻadl al-ʻarab).*″[52] For Ibn Dāniyāl, Arab but not Egyptian born, black-and-white choices and unbending allegiances were never a serious option, and his biographical data reveal an unfettered freedom of action and movement through different circles.[53] Accordingly, in the possible worlds of his plays, the social and cultural boundaries are not fixed but porous, despite the squad of distinct and seemingly incompatible shadow figures that perpetually mock and trick each other, undermine each other′s authority, and explicitly care only for their own self-interest. The representation of their mutual dissociation is tackled in a dramaturgic process which in carnivalesque festivities correspond to travesty, defined by Michael Bristol, in a different context, as ″code switching″ and ″grotesque exaggerations″ whereby ″identity is made questionable by mixing attributes.″[54] For Ibn Dāniyāl, visual stereotypes remain as the figures cast their shadows with recognizable traits—attire, physical features, demeanor, and so on. The world of seemingly polar oppositions is turned into a world of complementary attributes—the mutable is at once immutable, the sacred is profane, the moral is immoral. Code switching happens in the matters of language as well, as the characters move randomly and with ease from prose to poetry, from eschatology to scatology, from grammatical sophistication to colloquial simplification, even gibberish. The overall effect becomes intentionally humorous, and it is through laughter that the audience participates in a critique of its own perceptions and representations of group identities.

To enhance this process, dramaturgic agents are constructed around paronomasia. It has been pointed out that in the second play almost all agential names appear as metaphoric constructs built directly around the types of represented trades: Ḥunaysh al-Ḥuwāh (Little Snake Charmer), Maymūn al-Qarrād (Monkey the Ape Trainer), Hilāl al-Munajjim (Astrologer′s Crescent), and so on. Similarly, when removed from the dramatic frame and placed back into the frame of actual historic circumstances, most of the names of other of Ibn Dāniyāl′s *personae* reveal a number of cultural allusions: in the first play, these are, for example, the names of Amīr Wiṣāl (The Prince of Sexual Union), Ṭayf al-Khayāl (the Spirit of Imagination—the leitmotif of early Arabic poetry), Ḍabbah bint Miftāḥ (Latch Daughter of Key), Tāj Bābūj (Crown of Slippers), Ṣurrah Baʻr (Pile of Dung, also an allusion to the poet Sarrah Ḍurrah). In the third play, the names of the

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[52]Ulrich Haarmann, ″Ideology and History,″ 183.

[53]See, for example, Khalīl Ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* ed. Sven Dedering (Wiesbaden, 1981), 3:51–52; Muḥammad ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, ed. Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo, 1951), 2:384–85; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Durar al-Tījān*, 57–58.

[54]Michael Bristol, *Carnival and Theater: Plebeian Culture and the Structure of Authority in Renaissance England* (New York, 1985), 65.

protagonists—Mutayyam and al-Dāʻī Yutayyim—stand in opposition vis-à-vis each other. The other appearing *personae,* such as Abū Sahl (Father of the Easy One), Baddāl (Substitute), Dāʼūd al-Qabbāḍ (Dāʼūd the Gripper), and Jallād ʻUmayrah (lit., the one who skins his member, i.e., Masturbator), are all associated with specific sexual practices and lifestyles.

Groupings of characters are also done on ethno-professional lines: Amīr Wiṣāl is a Mamluk prince; Nātū is a Sudanese slave boy; al-Tāj Bābūj is a Coptic secretary; Ṣurrah Baʻr is an Arab court poet; Yaqṭīnūs is a Greek doctor; Ṣāniʻah is a Gypsy tattooing woman; Bayram is a Turkish servant. There are also vocational groupings, such as the trade exhibitors in the second play, ʻAjīb the preacher, or Umm Rashīd as a go-between; the lines of social lifestyle, such as Gharīb, ʻAjīb, ʻAflaq, and different *personae* appearing as sybaritic guests at Mutayyam′s party; or gender lines, such as Umm Rashīd as a cunning marriage broker, Ḍabbah bint Miftāḥ as a victim of imbalance in sexual politics, ʻAflaq as a bamboozled husband, Yutayyim as an accessible aesthetic ideal. These groupings are not rigidly separated and their complicated interaction reinforces the overall effect of such puns. Given that all three plays explicitly share the historical frame with Ibn Dāniyāl′s own life, it appears worthwhile to reflect on Ibn Dāniyāl′s articulation of that frame through such paronomastic appellation.

As proposed above, the main carriers of action in all three plays come in pairs, complementing each other in a dialectic interplay.[55] Although the function of other agents should by no means be underestimated, it seems that the skeletal function of the leading pair supports Ibn Dāniyāl′s interpretive axis. These pairs do not necessarily function in the protagonist/antagonist constructs, but they do tend to articulate their concerns through conceptually different frames, allowing the viewers to observe polarities through the grey area of mutual dependence rather than as fixed and isolated entities. In the first play, the pair is Amīr Wiṣāl and Umm Rashīd; in the second, as the title itself indicates, Gharīb and ʻAjīb; and in the third, again as the title suggests, Mutayyam and Yutayyim. Let us consider them all on their own terms.

Amīr Wiṣāl and Umm Rashīd reflect the most visible polarities: Wiṣāl is a Mamluk soldier, that is, a man of the sword. He wears a *sharbūsh,* the headgear reflecting his status with Mamluk chivalry; here he displays an impressive knowledge of different breeds of horses.[56] He carries a mace *(dabbūs)* and wears a bristling mustache. The physical features of a Mamluk soldier are condensed on a leather

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[55]This is also the case with the Ottoman *gölge oyunu,* which is built around the characters of Karagöz and Hacivat.

[56]MS[1], fols. 48a–51; MS[2], fols. 18–21; MS[3], fols. 38–41.

figure, bringing Wiṣāl to the forefront of social stereotyping. As a personality, he embodies power and has no pardon for anything or anyone:

> I am a boxer and a slanderer, a thug and a caviler, a rebuker and a sneaker, a quarreler and a menacer, a believer and a murderer. I've been rubbed and stroked. I am a pimp and a shoveler.[57] I dress well and socialize, I turn into a gentleman, I juggle, I dye my hair, I limp, I dance, I report, and I tell stories. So don't disregard my value, now that I've disclosed my secrets to you.[58]

His mainstream Mamluk upbringing is reflected in the social circles of his childhood: he has grown up "among Dākūsh and Diqlāsh, and Qāmūz and Zamlaksh."[59] The juxtaposition of the opposites—power on the one hand and its total mismanagement on the other—creates a fierce yet comic character in Wiṣāl. His secretary ridicules his courtly and financial affairs.[60] The courtly poet praises Wiṣāl for turning "waste land into an earthly paradise governed by justice."[61] Wiṣāl takes his power for granted, expecting it to help him reach a quick marriage settlement in order to avoid political repercussions and demonstrate his common sense. Taking a shortcut to morality is his privilege as a fearsome *jundī.* Although mocked by his servants and inferiors, Wiṣāl is never challenged by them: after all, they are part of the same system, and they do not step out of their designated roles. The challenge can only come from outside that sociological space, and who better to offer it than Umm Rashīd?

Umm Rashīd belongs to a world that Wiṣāl tries to infiltrate without any respect for its internal workings. The trade that Umm Rashīd personifies —that of go-betweens—is an anathema to Wiṣāl's lifestyle. Her description in the play is in fact a subtle description of that underground world that functions through strict codes of behavior that are inaccessible to and spurned by Wiṣāl:

> Summon Umm Rashīd, the marriage agent, even though she is one who goes out by night into the bush. But she knows every honorable woman and every adulteress and every beauty in Miṣr and al-Qāhirah. For she lets them go out from the baths, disguised in servant's clothes, and guarantees the prostitutes for whom the police are looking in secret places, providing them with clothes and jewelry

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[57] *Karuk,* probably from Turkish *körek,* shovel.

[58] MS[1], fols. 12a–14; MS[2], fols. 5–5a; MS[3], fols. 10–11.

[59] MS[1], fol. 13; MS[2], fol. 5a; MS[3], fol. 11.

[60] MS[1], fols. 22–26; MS[2], fols. 8–10; MS[3], fols. 18–21.

[61] MS[1], fol. 26; MS[2], fol. 10a; MS[3], fol. 24.

> without fee. . . . She also knows how to deal in a friendly way with the hearts of lovers, and she sells the enjoyment of love only on the condition of trial. She does not break her promise, she does not haggle over a price. She does not visit a drinking bout in order to appropriate what drips down from the candles, nor does she ransack the clothes of the guests for money. And she does not take the fragrant flowers around the bottles, pretending it is to decorate the clothes of the sinning women. And she does not filch the pieces of meat from the plates, nor does she pour together what has cleared from the dregs of the wine. She does not exchange old slippers for new ones, and she does not criticize the clothes of customers, as a housewife would do. Mostly she goes round to the houses of the women of rank and sells balls of material, raw and unbleached, and all kinds of spices and incense. She sells on credit and makes appointments for Thursdays and Mondays. And she does not haggle over price. And she keeps her appointments even if it is the Night of Fate *(laylat al-qadr)*. So it is, and her pocket is never empty of chewing-gum and mirrors and rouge and powder and Maghribine nutmeg and powder for coloring the eyebrows and a lime preparation for the armpits and perfumed wool, and skin cream and ″Beauty of Joseph″ and pomade and Barmakide scent and hair-dyes and violet scent. The devil kisses the ground before her daily, and he alone wakes from her slumbers.[62]

Gradually, we learn that the two have a long history: Umm Rashīd remembers little Wiṣāl as a stubborn and dirty boy, and bitterly adds that he managed to get seduced even by her own husband. In fact, Wiṣāl seems to be a true menace, intruding into her affairs for a long time. She takes revenge by offering him in marriage a very ugly and aged bride. Outraged, he tries to gain the upper hand by responding with force—the only weapon he truly knows. However, she dies before he sets his *dabbūs* on her and her husband. Her death, ironically, is not her punishment but his. Her trade is reborn—and so is she—as her mantle is passed on to her disciple just before Umm Rashīd passes away. Finally, her death is a cause for repentance—Amīr Wiṣāl submits his powers to God by virtue of having lost his military vanity to Umm Rashīd. But neither Umm Rashīd′s triumph and

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[62]Based on the translation by Paul Kahle in ″The Arabic Shadow Play in Egypt,″ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* n.s., 4 (1940): 32–33. For an interesting study on the character of Umm Rashīd, see Maria Kotzamanidou, ″The Spanish and Arabic Characterization of the Go-Between in the Light of Popular Performance,″ *Hispanic Review* 48 (1980): 91–109.

death nor Wiṣāl′s repentance belong to them as individuals. On the contrary, both roles are developed as part of the same death and rebirth cycle through which two collective bodies are reconciled after mutual endangerment: the underworld that Umm Rashīd jealously guards, and the political authority of Amīr Wiṣāl.

A similar binary structure exists in the second play as well, here even more explicitly: Gharīb, who personifies the underworld, and ʻAjīb al-Dīn, who represents the religious discourse. The common people′s allegiances stay in between, revolving around both layers, much in the same way as the common people congregate around the stalls of exhibitors throughout the play. Though linear, the arrangement of the play is such that its beginning and end eventually join, enclosing the folk spirit in a jovial, if tension-filled, way.

Gharīb′s name reveals his social alienation. Literally meaning ″strange, quaint, foreign, etc.,″ this name draws attention to the undefined social status of its bearer and his kinfolk. Gharīb is one of the Banū Sāsān, which is a collective reference to the various groups of people who made up the medieval Islamic underworld:

> The underworld classes of which we have information include the fully criminal ones, like skilful thieves and burglars, footpads and brigands, and also those in the no-man′s land between criminality and conventional behaviour, like entertainers and mountebanks of diverse types, beggars of differing degrees of ingenuity, quack doctors, dentists and herbalists, and so forth.[63]

Gharīb′s alienation is rooted in a somewhat accommodating yet hostile political milieu which created out of the Banū Sāsān perpetual wanderers who claim all lands, disregarding the political and social boundaries: ″The whole world is ours, and whatever is in it, the lands of Islam and unbelief alike.″[64] Gharīb reveals the secrets of a conniving and trouble-making lifestyle on his numerous journeys through Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. We learn what it means to be one of the Banū Sāsān: sleeping outdoors by the fire with one′s head laid on the *kashkūl* instead of a pillow; visiting prostitutes; indulging in various sexual practices; making a living by faking knowledge of religion, philosophy, chemistry, medicine, and herbalism; training animals for fights; and undertaking many other cryptic practices ″during numerous travels around the revolving heavens so as to find a homeland and fulfill wishes.″[65] Ideologically, as Gharīb himself confesses, his attitude has been prompted by loss of faith in people:

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[63]Bosworth, *The Medieval Islamic Underworld,* ix.

[64]Abū Dulāf, as quoted in ibid.

[65]MS[1], fol. 90; MS[2], fol. 31; MS[3], fols. 69–70.

> When there was nobody left whose generosity could be desired and no one whose gain would be hoped for, we started to trick you having no need for you, we surrendered ourselves to leisure and idleness, became unique in manipulation and dispersed in many bands. No danger and no institution could divert us. . . .[66]

Gharīb thus openly declares war on political and religious institutions and seeks refuge in trickery, admitting that his success in effect depends on these institutions. The Banū Sāsān are thus part of the cycle in which political power and moral values meet in the institutions that both impose rules and accentuate social problems. The articulation of this standpoint comes not from Gharīb but as a roundabout communique in the speech of his partner, ʻAjīb al-Dīn the preacher, and is then exemplified through episodic models. Gharīb thus posits himself as both the vehicle and the tenor of the narrative.

In contrast to Gharīb, the preacher ʻAjīb al-Dīn—the wonder of religion—represents the very same institutions Gharīb rejects. Though a popular preacher, ʻAjīb is a sociopolitical antipode to Gharīb. Yet, like Gharīb who admits the necessity for religious institutions for the Banū Sāsān to exist, ʻAjīb too reveals tolerance for the values he tries to uproot through his preaching. As a bearer of official religious values, he explores venues for the accommodation of the Banū Sāsān's underworld without endangering the dignity of the authorities in whose service he is employed. A theological justification of the Banū Sāsān's practices follows, and so does the need to bring closer together the official and unofficial systems of values:

> May God have mercy on the one who seeks to heal his sorrows with the beauty of the character that embellishes him, and transforms his grief with something that amuses him. Wherever there is amusement, melancholy is driven away. . . . Gaiety is beautiful if it is not excessive, so give yourselves to hope and be engaged in this matter. You are the troops of strangers and others among the Banū Sāsān. Be kind in asking and beg for generosity. Take advantage of union because separation will happen, and get united with humankind before what must happen happens. . . . Travel through the countryside and con people, for strangers evoke pity, and man moves about while his livelihood is determined for him. You should know, may God be with you, that small coins attract gold coins. . . . Pretend to

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[66]MS[1], fols. 90a–91; MS[2], fols. 31–31a; MS[3], fol. 71.

> be blind while seeing, and deaf while hearing. Pretend to be lame because a lame person wins favors. Wear your worn-out leather gowns and drink some fig juice so that your faces may turn yellow and your stomachs inflate. Find your rows in the mosques and harass the dumb by begging in the streets. Let rags be your most precious garment and the collection of goods your greatest worry. Go around with both of them and feel safe from bankruptcy and debt. The health of the eye is in the human being, and the health of the human being is in the eye.[67]

A full awareness of their trickery yet a surprising justification, even outright encouragement, of it makes ʿAjīb al-Dīn an odd preacher—yet nevertheless a preacher. In many respects, the complementary functions of the two members of society are projected in their being *ʿajīb* and *gharīb*. In blending the metaphoric themes of societal outcasts and religious guardians, the happy ending is imminent, allowing all exhibitors to rally around the mutual approval of the two seeming antagonists.

In the third set of binary relations, the thematic focus revolves around the concept of profane love. Al-Mutayyam, the enthralled one, and his counterpart Yutayyim, the enthralling one, personify the common poetic amatory trends and translate them into sociological concerns of Baybars′ Egypt. The play evolves against two discourses: one poetic and the other religious. Each of Ibn Dāniyāl′s heroes carefully reflects both of these trends. Mutayyam, the enthralled party, introduces himself through typical *ʿudhrī* imagery, occasionally infusing it with pre-Islamic *ghazal* style:

> O people of passion, gather, beseech, and implore.
> Knock at the door for response with prayers, and listen,
> Die and live in longing, burst open, get torn apart,
> Consider Mutayyam′s story about his captor, or discard it.
> Lover is the one whose sky of tears never dries up.
> Nothing is left of him but bones clattering from affliction.
> From a gorge under his eyelids tears gush forth.
> O you who blame me, there is no place in my heart for blame.
> I have no consolation, and no expectation to unite with my love.
> Mutayyam is the one who, even if he appeases his thirst, will not sleep peacefully.[68]

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[67]MS[1], fols. 95a–97; MS[2], fols. 32a–33a; MS[3], fols. 74–76.
[68]MS[1], fols. 110–111; MS[2], fol. 48; MS[3], fols. 139–139a.

The progression of the play, however, brings about change. As Mutayyam grows impatient with his ″poetic″ self, he plots a breakaway from it. The emotional surrender to unrequited passion that makes him feel as if he were ″slain with no knife″ gradually gravitates towards a carefully choreographed sensual fulfillment. The movement from *agape* to *eros* is comically developed through an erotic dance with Yutayyim.

Yutayyim, the object of Mutayyam′s passion, stands at the opposite pole. His formidable physical beauty, exposed in all its distinctiveness during ″the bathroom scene,″ evokes an emotional reaction, bringing Mutayyam into existence. In other words, Mutayyam is a consequence. If there were no Yutayyim, Mutayyam would not be. This causal relationship becomes significantly polarized as their meanings begin to expand. Mutayyam appears as a metaphor for excessive sentimentality. He is governed by desire. Yutayyim, on the other hand, signifies cool reason. His presence in the first part of the play is more distant than palpable. We know of him indirectly, after Mutayyam′s appearance on the stage. Gradually, the knowledge of him, though still second-hand (mainly via Mutayyam but also via Bayram), becomes vaguely personalized, as his looks, his style, his tastes and his strengths and weaknesses are told. As the knowledge of Yutayyim becomes more particular, Mutayyam′s passion grows more carnal. It solicits recognition and reciprocation, breaking away from the debilitating causal dependence on Yutayyim. Mutayyam takes his life into his own hands, develops independence, rejects submission that keeps him apart and unable to act. This shift in the relation between the two men is masterfully achieved in a poetic dialogue which, on the one hand, questions the polarity between love and passion, ideals and reality, sacred and profane, and reason and emotion.

With each party articulating quite opposite views of love, we are left to think that they are not engaged in dialogue but unrelated sermons that reflect abstract concepts rather than thoughts, principles rather than feelings. The burlesque reflection on poetic amatory trends is replied to in a detailed yet dispassionate pontification on sexual mores. The final stanza, however, brings comic relief. The whole imagery is uncrowned through a literal and metaphoric demystification when Mutayyam, in a suggestive description, gives an account of the pathetic condition of his pet cock. In a grotesque inversion, formulaic speech and concepts give in to the object of shared passion: cock fights. On the one hand, this inversion spirals the abstraction of love into its carnal fulfillment; on the other, it returns emotions to human kind in all its manifestations and practices. When, upon the celebration of the union between the two protagonists a feast is thrown and many lecherous guests welcomed, a new space is opened to integrate many different understandings and practices of love. As in the previous plays, the meaningfulness

of the play lies primarily in allowing the different relations to be established, rather than in the verity of the relations themselves.

Conclusion

Because of a lack of relevant historical evidence, questions have been raised as to whether the trilogy was in fact ever staged, or whether indeed it was intended for performance.[69] It seems, however, that nothing in the dramaturgic organization of the trilogy Ṭayf al-Khayāl suggests the contrary, namely, that the plays were only intended to be read as texts. Besides, as Ibn Dāniyāl′s own statement makes clear, the plays′ value was to be assessed first and foremost in relation to their performance. Their eclectic style and linguistic vitality, as well as some pointers to the interaction between the stage and audience, all suggest that the plays′ meaning was to evolve *in the course* of their performance. Part of that process, as this article has tried to argue, has to do with the fact that Ibn Dāniyāl′s protagonists embody some of the common stereotypes about different collectives—ethnic, religious, professional—that are readily recognized by the audience. As such, they are often paronomastically defined, emphasizing collective social expectations rather than individualistic traits. While their representation as leather figures betrays both the shortcomings and advantages of the genre, Ibn Dāniyāl skillfully singles out the physical traits associated with certain types of people, then shuffles them through grotesque representations of cultural and social interactions at large. The goal of such dramaturgic strategy is a narrative and visual immediacy that allows different relations and situations to be realized through the audience′s interactive response: laughter, tipping, and/or cheering in approval or disapproval. This leads to the collectivization of the aesthetic experience of the plays. The assignment of meaning is unmediated in that it is constructed as a stage-audience dialogue, rather than as an individual endeavor.[70] Individual reflection is relevant insofar as the shadow performances strike a chord regarding one′s own attitudes toward the relations in the actual world.

To that end, it is important to acknowledge that the depth of any representation resides not in its inner but its outer value. Psychological dramas are not Ibn Dāniyāl′s cup of tea: on the contrary, all experiences are exteriorized and all situations presented as belonging to a collective domain. This is a typical carnivalesque mode, which, as Bakhtin suggests, centers around the body and its

[69]See Everett K. Rowson, ″Two Homoerotic Narratives from Mamlūk Literature: al-Ṣafadī′s Lawāt al-Shākī and Ibn Dāniyāl′s al-Mutayyam,″ in *Homoeroticism in Classical Arabic Literature,* ed. J. W. Wright and Everett K. Rowson (New York, 1997), 173–74.

[70]In a similar vein, Keeler argues that meaning in the *wayang kulit* performances need not develop out of or after the event, because a performance of *wayang* need not be mulled over in exegetical rumination to yield up its significance, *Javanese Shadow Plays, Javanese Selves,* 266.

liberation ″from the oppression of such gloomy categories as ′eternal,′ ′immovable,′ ′absolute,′ ′unchangeable,′″ emphasizing instead ″the gay and free laughing aspect of the world, with its unfinished and open character, with the joy of change and renewal.″[71] Laughter, as Bakhtin further explains, creates an atmosphere in which nothing is taboo or static but everything is fluid and changeable. Laughter ″purifies from dogmatism, from the intolerant and the petrified; it liberates from fanaticism and pedantry, from fear and intimidation, from didacticism, naivete and illusion, from the single meaning, the single level, from sentimentality. . . . It restores this ambivalent wholeness.″[72]

The body in the shadow plays, of course, is reduced to shadow silhouettes that reflect a whole array of common attitudes, and laughter is embedded in the very process of audio-visual associations. As people and places are represented by one-dimensional leather figures, the puppeteer translates the written text into a live performance with incomplete clues, forcing the audience to make its own associations between the projected shadows and real life. Since all three plays by Ibn Dāniyāl are set in Baybars′ Cairo, the challenge of relating the shadow images to actual people and events has satirical implications. Within such a scheme of relations, the aesthetic and interpretive contribution of the plays′ possible worlds is an attempt to ″play with″ the contradictions and polarities generated by political culture yet without attempting to offer either explanations or resolutions. The line between individual authority and collective participation is again erased, both in form and in content. Ibn Dāniyāl thus subversively displaces the authorial ″I″ in the production of meaning in favor of a more interactive and clamorous link between the stage and the audience.

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[71]Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World,* 123.

[72]Ibid.

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The Devil´s Advocate: Ibn Dāniyāl´s Art of Parody in His *Qaṣīdah* No. 71

Mujūn, or ″licentious verse,″ as a genre of Arabic poetry has always gotten a bad rap and thus tended to be overlooked. Not only have the *mujūn* verses been ″cleaned up″ from major anthologies, but scholars seem to have shied away as well. This self-imposed ban on the part of the literati elite poses serious obstacles when it comes to dealing with poets like Ibn Dāniyāl (1248–1311), for whom ″getting dirty″ is an integral, and inseparable, part of their artistry as a whole. As a matter of fact, Ibn Dāniyāl, the flamboyant Cairene eye doctor-turned-entertainer, made a name for himself as a larger-than-life ″libertine poet,″ famous, or infamous, for his profuse output of *mujūn* verses. Paradoxically, it is perhaps for the same reason that he should remain an enigma of sorts; while anecdotal tales about this Marquis de Sade of Mamluk Cairo abound, his works have remained virtually unknown outside a small circle of admirers. Recent research, however, has taken a significant and encouraging turn in examining and reassessing his legacy: not only have his shadow plays been given extensive treatments,[1] but his poetry has begun to receive attention as well.[2] But when it comes to his *mujūn* verse, the

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[1]*Three Shadow Plays by Muḥammad Ibn Dāniyāl,* ed. by Paul Kahle with a critical apparatus by Derek Hopwood (Cambridge, 1992); it contains a bibliography of earlier scholarship on Ibn Dāniyāl as well. For recent studies, see Rosella Dorigo Ceccato, ″Un diverso approccio al *Ḫayâl al-ẓill* nella letteratura Araba tra ottocento e novecento,″ *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 5–6 (1987–88): 208–25; Peter D. Molan, ″*Charivari* in a Medieval Egyptian Shadow Play,″ *Al-Masāq* 1 (1988): 5–24; Amila Buturovic, ″Sociology of Popular Drama in Medieval Egypt: Ibn Dāniyāl and his Shadow Plays,″ Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 1994; Francesca M. Corrao, ″La fantasmagoria delle ombre di Ibn Dāniyāl,″ Ph.D. diss., Università degli studi di Roma, 1990; idem, ″Laughter Festival and Rebirth: Ibn Dāniyāl´s Shadow Plays, an Example of Cultural Tolerance in the Early Mamluk Ages,″ *The Arabist* (Budapest) 18 (1996): 13–28; Everett K. Rowson, ″Two Homoerotic Narratives from Mamlūk Literature: al-Ṣafadī´s *Law'at al-shākī* and Ibn Dāniyāl´s *al-Mutayyam,*″ in *Homoeroticism in Classical Arabic Literature*, eds. J. W. Wright and Everett K. Rowson (New York, 1997); Jacqueline Sublet, ″Nom écrit, nom dit: Les Personnages du théâtre d´ombres d´Ibn Dāniyāl,″ *Arabica* 44 (1997): 545–52.

[2]Ibn Dāniyāl´s *dīwān* is apparently lost. Nearly three hundred poems, or parts of them, have

taboo is still very much intact. Many questions remain: Just how ″dirty″ can the poet get? What is the relation of the *mujūnīyāt* to his overall lyricism, and on a larger scale, what can one say about *mujūn* as a literary genre and its place in the medieval Arabic poetic tradition? It goes without saying that an examination of his *mujūn* verses will help to pave the way for a better understanding, and appreciation, of the legacy of Ibn Dāniyāl, arguably one of the finest, and most exciting, poets in the history of medieval Arabic literature.

In this article I take one step in this direction, in an attempt to sample and examine Ibn Dāniyāl′s *mujūn* verse. The poem to be analyzed was composed by the poet in response to the Mamluk sultan Lājīn′s (r. 1296–99) campaign against vice in Cairo.[3] Several factors underscore the choice of this particular poem. First, among a number of poems by the poet on the Mamluk prohibition in Cairo,[4] the poem in question, listed as *Qaṣīdah* No. 71 in the *Mukhtār* anthology,[5] is perhaps the ″dirtiest″ and thus provides an ideal case study for the present purpose. Secondly, in an earlier study I have studied his mock *madīḥ*-panegyric,[6] while the poem in question, with its unique structure, offers a different angle from which to view the poet′s mock *nasīb*, or the elegiac section in a *qaṣīdah*. Finally, the choice is also highlighted by the fate of this poem that illustrates the kind of dilemma that any serious attempt at studying Ibn Dāniyāl′s work is to face: replete with bawdy language and overt sexual references, scatological to the point of pornography, the poem is so troublesome that it is doomed to be left outside the bounds of serious scholarship. Preserved in a single manuscript,[7] the full text was published

survived in his shadow plays and in al-Ṣafadī*′s Al-Tadhkirah al-Ṣafadīyah,* vol. 14, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub microfilm 1762. *Al-Mukhtār min Shi'r Ibn Dāniyāl,* ed. Muḥammad Nā'if al-Dulaymī (Mosul, 1979), contains two hundred eighteen poems from *Al-Tadhkirah al-Ṣafadīyah,* and sixty-four more supplemented from other sources. His *Qaṣīdah* No. 69 is the subject of Li Guo, ″Paradise Lost: Ibn Dāniyāl′s Response to Baybars′ Campaign against Vice in Cairo,″ *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 121 (2001): 219–35.

[3]Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, in his *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī A'yān al-Mi'ah al-Thāminah* (Cairo, 1966), 4:55, cites the opening line of the poem. This is the only mention of the poem, to my knowledge, in a major Mamluk chronicle/anthology. For modern studies of the poem, see Shmuel Moreh, ″The Shadow Play *(Khayāl al-ẓill)* in the Light of Arabic Literature,″ *Journal of Arabic Literature* 18 (1987): 56; al-Dulaymī, Introduction to the *Mukhtār,* 13–14.

[4]Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, for example, discusses ″the two lengthy *qaṣīdah*-odes on two important events,″ namely *Qaṣīdah* No. 69, on Baybars′ prohibition, and *Qaṣīdah* No. 72, on that of Lājīn. Sallām also mentions in passing *Qaṣīdah* No. 71, with a citation from Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī; see Sallām, *Al-Adab fī al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Cairo, 1971), 2:168–70.

[5]*Mukhtār,* 119–21.

[6]Guo, ″Paradise Lost.″

[7]See Appendix below.

once, but only after one fifth, that is, thirteen lines out of a total of fifty, was omitted on the grounds that the verses were too ″obscene and lecherous″ *(alfāẓuhā badhī'ah).*[8]

Despite such controversy, the poem nevertheless merits serious treatment. Social and historical significance aside, it represents, in my opinion, a high point in the art of satire and parody in the post-classical, or post-Abū Nuwāsian, era. Based on a preliminary reading of the text, which is translated here in its entirety, I will discuss two related issues. First is the overall theme, or ″purpose″ *(gharaḍ),* of the poem, which I consider to be more parody than social satire. I argue that the outburst of ″trash talk″ as witnessed in the poem has less to do with the poet′s conscientious effort to criticize the Mamluk regime than with his compulsive desire to relive suppressed memories. In literary terms, it represents a mock version of the elegiac *nasīb,* with the eternal theme of the departed beloved and happiness lost. But this time the ″beloved″ is none other than Iblīs, the Devil, while the yearning is for the forbidden fruits left in the lost garden. The second issue has to do with artistic features, or textual aspects, of the *mujūn* elements in the poem. Through an analysis of selected samples and a comparison with parallels from the poet′s predecessors, especially Abū Nuwās (d. ca. 814), the dean of the genre, I propose that Ibn Dāniyāl′s, and for that matter Abū Nuwās′, *mujūn* verses are perhaps better understood, and appreciated, as parodies of the antecedent idioms and topoi of the *ghazal* genre in the *nasīb* convention. I further suggest that these parodies are operating around a jesting interplay between the language of purification and its antithesis, that of deliberate pollution.

THE POEM

1. Suddenly, in a dream, I saw Iblīs
   sad and broken hearted,
2. Blind in one eye, the other red and sore,
   tears falling, drop by drop,
3. Screaming, ″Woe is me, what a pity,
   such pain, like no other!″
4. Around him is a gang of his cronies;
   though few, they are plenty.
5. Among them is every queer lad, priceless,
   like the full moon in darkest night.
6. He makes his glance victorious over those who love him,
   but behind his eyes is sorrow.

[8] *Mukhtār,* 119, note *.

7. The noon-day sun, a pliant branch, his stature;
its shadow, the pubic hair at its base.
8. Caressing him is sweet fruit to those who embrace him
and screw the fig with the date.
9. What's money to union with him
whose lucky horoscopes are Libra and Venus?
10. Among them is every seductress, with enchanting eyes,
a soft girl, prettier than the sun.
11. She tells her lovers, "Stroll
amidst streams and green meadows!"
12. If a lover saw her cunt,
he would love to suck her pussy.
13. Every pimp is farting at the mouth,
and following up with a snort.
14. He [i.e., the pimp] would break into the lover's house by force
in his search for the snatch,
15. Saying—farting from his rear,
his breath filled with fennel—:
16. "Weigh out a thousand dinars, if you want her,
though you won't want her shit!
17. "Praise be to the One who created in her pure cheeks,
white with red on top.
18. "Come on, enjoy, take your fill,
let no reveler stay hard!"
19. Every bugger craves
the beefcake in the tablecloth/anus.
20. When a fart is wafted his way,
he would say, "O, fragrant incense!"
21. Every adulterer sees in whore's piss
a charm guaranteeing his health.
22.Every virgin has no excuse for (keeping) her virginity,
though her passion might be of the ʻUdhrī type.
23. She is a dyke with a calloused clit
and little pubic hair, thanks to rubbing,
24. While every tavern-keeper holds a cup in hand,
and a jar on his shoulder,
25. Every stoned hashish eater is high,
green sprouts had grown on his mustache.
26. Some Sudanese is having a barley beer,
poured with care by his friend.

27. Every ″bottom boy″ has a stud,
who could also screw like a needle,
28. Everyone who jerks off alone
was aroused by a headscarf.
29. And many shadow play performers, singers,
and flutists have come in droves.
30. So I said, ″O Iblīs,
what has caused your tears?
31. ″What has upset your dim disciples,
those wicked ones full of mischief?″
32. And Iblīs replied, ″Idiot! You are trapped
in your sister′s cunt – how awful!
33. ″My troops have diminished, my position sapped.
I am no longer in command!
34. ″The tavern-keeper no longer finds
cups and jars in his place.
35. ″The beer maker′s house is leveled,
upon its roof the yellow sign of disgrace.
36. ″The boot-legger is depressed,
his heart a blazing coal.
37. ″The hashish addict is near crazy,
ready to assault with dagger and knife.
38. ″And all the girls working for us
would rather stay home today.
39. ″They would rather have husbands,
not a whore among them, as if they were free!
40. ″And every gambler, who had her often,
now pays the dowry!
41. ″How hard I′ve worked to seduce and mislead.
How many times I′ve combed somebody′s hair.
42. ″How many times I′ve seen eyes colored with kohl,
for those who cast bewitching glances.
43. ″How many, O how many times have I stayed up at night,
to serve lovers from dusk to dawn.
44. ″But the market of rebellion is stagnant:
no wine, no revelry, no sex.
45. ″Yet I′m inclined to keep pimping,
and free of charge, no less!″
46. Then I said, ″O Iblīs, take us away
on a long journey, far, far from here.

47. ″But do take care, don′t live in Egypt!
Don′t even come near, though you know it well,
48. ″For there in that country is a just grand vizier,
blessed with good looks and a blaze on his forehead.
49. ″His advice helped the sultan
in his ruling, now famous far and wide,
50. ″And he who breaks this decree
is disgraced in public and beaten with a whip!″

Remembrance of Things Prohibited: Poetry as Memory

The poem is built around a narrative of the poet′s dream encounter with Iblīs, the Devil. At first glimpse, the overall structure is a little odd, in that the typical tripartite *qaṣīdah* is proportionally out of balance: the *nasīb,* wherein Iblīs and his ″gang″ *(ʿiṣbah)* are described as a departing ″beloved,″ occupies most of the space (lines 1–45), while the *raḥīl* (line 46) and *madīḥ* (lines 47–50) make up a few meager verses. On the other hand, one may break the poem down to three thematic units: first is a description, through the poet′s and Iblīs′ voices, of the state of affairs before the prohibition (lines 1–29). Then it is Iblīs doing more talking, in a conversation with the poet, about the situation after the prohibition (lines 30–45). After a hurried *raḥīl* transition, the narrative voice switches back to the poet, who, in a quasi-*madīḥ,* lashes out at the ill-advised sultan and his unnamed prime minister (lines 46–50).

The *nasīb* begins with an unconventional tone. Instead of the usual recitative prelude, it cuts to the narrative from line 1. The dramatic tension is immediately felt as the phrase *fī marrah,* ″all of a sudden,″ serves not only as the rhetorical device of partial *jinās* between *marrah* and *murrah,* in *abū murrah,* ″Father of Bitterness,″ the epithet of Iblīs,[9] but also underscores the unexpected cruelty of the event. This sense of sudden catastrophe is also found in Ibn Dāniyāl′s *Qaṣīdah* No. 69, on Sultan Baybars′ campaign, which opens with a famous line, ″O people! suddenly *(fujʾatan)* Iblīs is dead, / his familiar abode now empty.″[10]

The dramatic moment is further captured by the repetitions, with a typical *nasīb* flavor, in line 2, of tears dropping from the eyes of the departing ″beloved″ *(qaṭratan qaṭrah),* and, in line 3, of Iblīs′ self-inflicted pain and despair (a *jinās* between *ḥasratī* and *ḥasrah*). The odd image of Iblīs being ″blind in one eye″ is not only a vivid depiction of his pitiful appearance, but also, and more important,

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[9]It may have its origin in a hadith wherein the Prophet proclaims that *Murrah* is among ″the most hateful″ names to God *(abghaḍuhā ilayhi);* see Ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-Musnad* (Cairo, n.d.), 4:178, 345; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī,* ed. and trans. Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān (Beirut, n.d.), 8:134, 144.
[10]Guo, ″Paradise Lost,″ 220.

a warning for his followers of the grim future that lies ahead. Bodily mutilation as a result of catastrophe and divine punishment is a recurrent motif in medieval Arabic literature. One famous example is the three "one-eyed" dervishes and the forty "one-eyed" ghostly wandering figures who paid an uninvited night visit in the tale of "The Porter and the Three Ladies of Baghdad" in the *Arabian Nights,* a corpus of tales that took its final shape during Ibn Dāniyāl's own time.[11] The eerie appearances not only underline the unpredictable vicissitudes in the fate of those who lost their sight but also evoke fear and uneasiness on the part of those who observe them.[12] As for Ibn Dāniyāl's night visitor, Iblīs, and his followers, the punishment cannot be crueler and the horror cannot be more grave: the ability to see is essential to Iblīs' enterprise; it is his "enchanting gaze" that provides the ultimate protection for his followers.[13] The fact that Iblīs is "blind in one eye," while the other eye is covered with tears and unable to see well, suggests that all the good things under his "gaze/protection" must pass away.

In the medieval Arabo-Islamic tradition, dreams are "signs" to the dreamer, and dreams depicted in literary texts can be, therefore, the focal point for the interaction of various codes and different meanings, in our case of punishment and redemption. The poet's dream rendezvous with Iblīs also works on yet another level of the *adab* tradition, and that is the night visit by the phantom of the beloved *(ṭayf al-khayāl)* to the poet. In the classical *nasīb*, the phantom usually appears in the guise of a she-demon *(ghūl),* and the poet is often wide awake, suffering acute anxiety.[14] His evoked memory is more of a conscious effort under

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[11]*The Arabian Nights,* trans. Husain Haddawy (New York, 1990), 66–150. The motif of body mutilation, especially the loss of one eye, and metamorphoses as punishment in the *Arabian Nights* is discussed in Andras Hamori, *On the Art of Medieval Arabic Literature* (Princeton, 1974), 164–80, esp. 174–79.

[12]On the motif of losing sight, in dreams, as punishment in Arabo-Islamic literature, see Fadwa Malti-Douglas, "Dreams, the Blind, and the Semiotics of the Biographical Notice," *Studia Islamica* 51 (1980): 137–62, esp. 154–61. Malti-Douglas has also noted the interaction between losing sight, as punishment, and its recovery, as a mercy, "surrounding an apparent purification with water," in what she calls "the "blindness dreams." For the theme of "water of purification," see below.

[13]For "the gaze of Iblīs," see Guo, "Paradise Lost," 220f, 230–31.

[14]Michael Sells, "Guises of the *Ghūl:* Dissembling Simile and Semantic Overflow in the Classical Arabic *Nasīb,*" in *Reorientations/Arabic and Persian Poetry,* ed. Suzanne P. Stetkevych (Bloomington, 1994), 130–64; John Seybold, "The Earliest Demon Lover: The *Ṭayf al-Khayāl* in *al-Mufaḍḍalīyāt,*" in ibid., 180–89, esp. 184. Seybold's claim that "the *ṭayf al-khayāl* is no dream-image or dream-vision" and that "the poet is not sleeping" is perhaps too broad a generalization, for there is an abundance of textual evidence indicating that the *ṭayf al-khayāl* indeed appears in the poet's sleep, or dream; see, for example, Renate Jacobi, "*Al-Khayālānī:* A Variation of the *Khayāl* Motif," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 27 (1996): 2–12, esp. 5–7, 10–11.

control. In our poem, however, the poet is not only in a real dream, as is clearly indicated by the stock phrase *ra'aytu fī al-nawm* (line 1),[15] but also in a ″wet″ dream, one that is erotically charged. The dream provides a venue for the poet´s self-indulgence: it is the dream that triggers his elegy of Iblīs and the latter´s outburst of grievance in blatant trash talk. Only in a dream is the poet able to meet the ″dead,″ and more importantly, able to relive the experience passé, and retrieve the memory suppressed. It is this memory, or perhaps fantasies of memory, that stands out as the poem´s real theme, or ″purpose″ *(gharaḍ)*.

From a narrative viewpoint, it is also a double dream, and thus double memory: one for the poet, and one for Iblīs, whose dream is within the poet´s dream, and whose memory is intertwined with the poet´s own. Iblīs´ raucous dream-vision memory constitutes the building blocks of the entire poem whereas the role of the poet, the ″lyric I,″ is reduced to that of a side-kick, whose main job is to give some feedback, stimulating more from his ″lord.″ From line 5 to line 29, the poet, through Iblīs´ ″memories,″ sets out a wild roller-coaster ride, with an outburst of descriptions of the hedonistic underworld in Cairo prior to and during the campaign against vice. Compared with *Qaṣīdah* No. 69, where the lamentations of the victims of the prohibition are limited to a select few,[16] the juxtaposition of the various groups in *Qaṣīdah* No. 71 does not seem to follow any particular order. Here Iblīs´ first ″list of vices″ is on display at random: delectable young buyable boy (lines 5–9); female seductress (lines 10–12); pimp (lines 13–15); female prostitutes (lines 16–18); gay men (lines 19–20); adulterer (line 21); lesbian (lines 22–23); tavern-keeper (line 24); hashish eater (line 25); Sudanese wine-bibber (line 26); male ″active″ and ″passive″ prostitutes (line 27); masturbation addict (line 28). Topping the list are, curiously, entertainers (line 29), among them shadow play performers, singers, and flutists (the ″flute″ seems to have some sexual connotation as well).[17] The mosaic-like collage is effective in depicting the chaotic atmosphere, and conveying a sense of lax morality, which were perhaps the order of the day.

To incorporate bawdy material in a ″high″ *adab* context is one of Ibn Dāniyāl´s trademarks. This is seen in the use of the *muqābalah,* or opposition, between the contrasting images of Iblīs´ followers who are ″few″ in number but ″plenty″ in spirit and enthusiasm (*qillah*/*kathrah*, line 4); between ″white″ (makeup powder?

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[15]The use of these phrases is discussed in Malti-Douglas, ″Dreams,″ 144; also Jacobi,″*Al-Khayālānī,*″ 5–7, 11.

[16]In *Qaṣīdah* No. 69, the lamentations are confined to four subjects: wine, beer, hashish, and prostitution; see Guo, ″Paradise Lost,″ 220–24.

[17]Cf. Abū Nuwās, ″Wanna have some fun? / I´ll bring you my ´flute´″ [Fa-in aḥbabtum lahwan / ataynākum bi-mizmār], *Al-Fukāhah wa-al-I'tinās fī Mujūn Abī Nuwās* (Cairo, 1316/1898), 8. The poet is boasting that he has the ″tool″ to entertain, be it musical instrument or penis.

sperm? pure cheeks?) and ″red″ (lipstick? makeup? blood? tongue?) on the lover′s cheeks (*bayāḍ/ḥumrah*, line 17). It can also be seen in the intricacy of the *jinās,* or paronomasia, such as the sexually-accessible boy being portrayed as a ″full moon″ and a ″priceless treasure″ (*badr/badrah*, line 5); in his company, money has lost ″weight″ (i.e., value), while his zodiac sign Libra is rising (*wazn/al-mīzān*, line 9). At times, the *jinās* is no more than a recycled cliché, such as the contrast of the *'udhrī* and *'udhrah,* in line 22. But more often one is struck by Ibn Dāniyāl′s brilliant imaginative innovation and rhetorical prowess. This is best illustrated in verses 26–29, which mark the end of the poet′s nostalgic laments. Herein every line is endowed with one pair of the *jinās*. The mouthful, tongue-twister kind of juxtaposition of the cognate words with different, sometimes contrasting, meanings helps bring about an intensity that pushes the tempo to a climax. To be sure, there is a lot of word play here, where deliberate ambiguity and intentional sabotage of balance seem to be the rule. In line 26, the joy of beer *(mizrah)* is now reduced to very undesirable soaked millet *(mizrah)*. In line 27, the contrast is between *baghghā',* a male prostitute who plays the ″passive″ role in sex, and the cognate superlative/comparative *abghá,* whose exact meaning, derived either from *baghī* (″whore″) or from *bāghin* (″desiring, striving, oppressive, tyrant″), remains ambiguous until it is compared with ″needle″ *(al-ibrah),* perhaps a reference to the penis and its size, a universal butt for locker room jokes, or perhaps alluding to the penetrating power of a needle. This interplay is a recycled idiom that was used by al-Jurjānī (d. 1089) in his famous ″vice list.″[18] An even more outlandish word play is seen in the ensuing line 28, where the contrast is between one′s daily habit of masturbation *('umayrah)* and the annual ″lesser pilgrimage″ *('umrah),* during which any sexual act is strictly forbidden. The word *'umrah* also means, according to Edward Lane, ″a visit in which is the cultivation *('imārah)* of love or affection.″ Moreover, this may well be a triple pun in that the reading of the word can also be *'amrah,* ″turban.″ So in the final analysis, the fellow would be aroused and seek to relieve himself, be it during the pilgrimage, or at the thought of a rendezvous with a lover, or simply seeing somebody′s headwear.

The poet then proceeds to a conversation with Iblīs. His presumptuous ″moral″ point of view would surely further infuriate the bitter Old Man: ″What has upset your dim disciples, / those wicked ones full of mischief?″ To this Iblīs angrily replies: ″Idiot! You are trapped / in your sister′s cunt—how awful!″ The rhetorical

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[18]Al-Qāḍī Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Jurjānī, *Al-Muntakhab min Kināyāt al-Udabā' wa-Ishārāt al-Bulaghā'* (Hyderabad, 1983). A detailed discussion of the vice list in al-Jurjānī′s book is found in Everett Rowson, ″The Categorization of Gender and Sexual Irregularity in Medieval Arabic Vice Lists,″ in *Body Guards: The Cultural Politics of Gender Ambiguity,* eds. Julia Epstein and Kristina Straub (New York, 1991), 64. Rowson rendered the phrase *abghá min al-ibrah* as ″He is more devoted to *bighā'* than a needle,″ i.e., which is threaded (64, 78, n. 41).

question raised by the fictionalized ″lyric I,″ the poet, is designed for multiple purposes. With regard to the poem′s overall structure, it serves as a transit point to sum up the first round of lamentation and move on to the next, which is more or less a revisiting of the same theme, with more twists, thus giving the supposedly polythematic *qaṣīdah* a tangible rhythm. This transition is also aimed at the changing of mood and tone, from one of lamenting to one of provoking, from one of pity to one of confrontation, from one of narrative to one of recitation. Further, from a narrative viewpoint, by posing seemingly ″stupid″ questions, the poet is providing ammunition for Iblīs.

And shoot he does. The reference to ″Manichaean,″ as Iblīs so labels the poet in line 32, denotes a ridiculed sense of ″heresy,″ ″pagan,″ or ″Satanic cult,″ and it was used by earlier poets such as Abū Nuwās.[19] In both Ibn Dāniyāl′s and Abū Nuwās′ uses, the expression occurs in the *qultu-wa-qāla,* or question-and-response, discourse as a rebuttal to someone who is obviously pathetic or simply stupid as is often seen in the *hijā*ʼ-invective verses. Obviously, it is Abū Nuwās′ and Ibn Dāniyāl′s way of saying ″O you moron!″ or ″O you idiot!″

For Iblīs, it is not an option to admit to self-loathing or express a desire for purification and deliverance, a topic to be discussed below. The poet′s question simply gives him another opportunity to cry and whine. The strategy here is the old tried-and-true one: a random display of the suffering endured by Iblīs′ ″troops″ (line 33), the victims of the prohibition. The reader and audience watch spectral figures jerk into place, expose themselves one more time, and disappear. The cumulative picture of idleness, frustration, and nostalgia is etched in acid. Thus the reader is invited, again, to peruse the painful experiences of Iblīs′ ″vice list″: tavern-keeper (line 34), beer maker (line 35), bootlegger (line 36), hashish addict (line 37), call girls (lines 38–39), and gambler (line 40). The reader is well aware that the list here is more than a mechanical juxtaposition: the ″categories″ actually interact, and, occasionally, overlap with each other. The gambler, for example, was also a John, and his effort to ″free″ one call girl, by paying her ″dowry,″ is itself a re-working of the existing topos,[20] which adds more cynicism: that a gambler should be relied upon for, of all things, money!

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[19]See, for example: ″I said: ′Praise be to my Lord!′ / And he replied: ′Praise be to my Manes!′ I said: ′Jesus is a prophet!′ / And he replied: ′[But] sent by Satan!′″ [Fa-qultu subḥāna rabbī / fa-qāla subḥāna mānī; fa-qultu ʻīsá rasūlun / fa-qāla min shayṭāni], *Dīwān des Abū Nuwās,* ed. Ewald Wagner (Stuttgart, 1958–), 2:79; ″If the joke is to be reversed, then you would be [considered] the moral one, / a secret believer in the religion of Manes, the last drop of cream″ [Idhā quliba al-hijāʼu fa-anta khulqī / wa-muḍmiru dīna mānī zubdu baqqi], ibid., 2:145.

[20]Al-Bādhānī al-Iṣbahānī: ″My bride is a slave girl set free; / I got her without paying a penny for dowry″ [Lī ʻirsun ḥurrah mamlūkah / ḥuztuhā min ghayri mahrin wa-thaman], *Al-Fukāhah,* 17.

In addition, the two ″vice lists″ provide vivid descriptions of various people and their outrageous acts and scurrilous behavior, and so amount to mimics of the conventional practice in medieval Arabic literature of composing verses for the purpose of conveying specific information or knowledge. In a wicked sense, these ″lists″ could thus be read as a how-to manual of sorts, another attempt on the poet′s part to poke fun at traditions.

The second round of lamentation, and the second ″vice list,″ end with a string of *ubi sunt,* from line 41 to line 43, each led by a rhetorical question (How hard I′ve worked . . . ! How many times I′ve . . . !), through which Iblīs cries out forcefully, reflecting on his ″hard work″ at the service of the revelers. Iblīs′ praise to himself ends on a high note, more self-congratulatory than self-pitying. The reality is painful, and the Old Man is cranky, but he is not ready to give up and he never will. Indeed, his sense of dark humor is intact and his defiance more evident than ever: ″But the market of rebellion is stagnant; / no wine, no revelry, no sex. / Yet I′m inclined to keep pimping, / and free of charge, no less!″ (lines 44–45). The blunt declaration of being ″rebellious and reckless″ *(al-ma'āṣī)* may be a commonplace Abū Nuwāsian cliché,[21] but the brilliant imagery of ″the market of rebellion is stagnant″ is definitely Ibn Dāniyāl′s own.

Iblīs′ bitter and wry outcry prompts a visceral response from the poet: ″Then I said, ′O Iblīs, take us away / on a long journey, far, far from here′″ (line 46). Here one may note the attempt at a *raḥīl* transition toward the *madīḥ* panegyric proper in the classic *qaṣīdah* tradition,[22] but it is too little, too late. The sense of exhaustion and frustration is clearly felt here as far as the overall structure of the poem is concerned: the poet seems to have lost interest and energy to go on. Instead of a full-blown *madīḥ,* a mere four lines (lines 47–50) were rushed into place, bringing the poem to an end. The panegyric itself employs the same strategy utilized repeatedly by the poet, namely, the rhetorical game of *ta'kīd al-dhamm bi-mā yushbihu al-madḥ* (blame through what looks like praise).[23] Nevertheless, it is not without its own values and novelty. From a historical perspective, the quasi-panegyric contains references, some vague and some explicit, that may shed light on the historicity of the poem and other related issues.[24] One also learns some

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[21]For example, ibid., 106; *Dīwān Abī Nuwās* (Cairo, 1322/1904–5), 324.

[22]Compare *Qaṣīdah* No. 69, where the ″going-away″ call is raised much earlier, in line 22, and then reiterated in line 30; see Guo, ″Paradise Lost,″ 223.

[23]Ibid., 230.

[24]A curious discrepancy is observed in that the poem, which is on Lājīn′s (r. 1296–98) prohibition, also appears in a slightly different version in the shadow play *Ṭayf al-Khayāl,* which is believed to describe street life under Baybars′ reign (1260–77), thus raising the issue of who was the exact target of the *madīḥ.* I plan to address this issue in a separate study, with special references to historical reality vs. poetic truth in Ibn Dāniyāl′s writings, his relationship with the Mamluk

details concerning the events that led to the prohibition, as well as what may have actually happened during the prohibition. The sultan, we are told, listened to the vizier′s ″advice″ and issued a ″decree″ *(marsūm)* to launch the prohibition. Any offender caught would be paraded on the back of a horse, wine jars hanging from his neck, and would be beaten by ″huge sticks.″ A sad finale to a dark, chaotic, and scabrous episode in Cairo′s never-ending saga. But the poet would not let the audience leave without a last laugh. For the general audience, the fact that the revered vizier in fact resembled a horse, ″that is blessed with good looks and a blaze on his forehead″ (line 48), is funny enough, but for Ibn Dāniyāl′s pals, there is more: riding on horseback has long been, in Arabic poetry, associated with sexual, especially homosexual, intercourse. The punch line is, therefore, in the final analysis, a ″fuck you″ note to the authoritarian establishment, Ibn Dāniyāl-style. And the vizier is the sultan′s queer!

Satire or Parody? The Art of *Mujūn*

Although some problems still remain regarding the interpretation of certain rare words and vague expressions, the above reading still allows a general appreciation of the poem. It is obvious that the quasi-*madīḥ* panegyric targeting the sultan, or the vizier, or whoever was responsible for the prohibition, is reduced to a minimum of four lines and is never fully developed; the focus is exclusively on the quasi-*nasīb*, that is, on Iblīs′, and the poet′s, memory. In other words, it is less a political allegory, or social satire, than a parody where the game is wordplay and rhetoric.

Some recent studies of pre-modern Arabic literature and popular culture have challenged, and moved away from, the traditional approach of treating certain texts of the so-called ″*adab* of transgression″[25] as mainly social satire. These texts range from al-Ḥarīrī′s (d. 1122) and al-Ḥamadhānī′s (d. 1008) *Maqāmāt,* Ibn Dāniyāl′s shadow plays and poetry, and al-Nafzāwī′s (d. 1422) erotica, to Ibn Sūdūn′s (d. 1464) and al-Shirbīnī′s (fl. seventeenth century) colloquial poetry and prose. Armed with the Freudian notion of ″repetition compulsion″ and Mikhail Bakhtin′s conception of parody, these studies propose new readings of the aforementioned texts as psychic drama in the form of parody, ″whose purpose,″ in Daniel Beaumont′s definition, ″is the consumption and reshaping of antecedent texts,″ and whose ″key concepts will be repetition and rhetoric.″[26] In providing a theoretical conceptual focal point for this new approach, Mohamed-Salah Omri

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patrons, and his working method in recycling existing texts.

[25]The term was coined by Mohamed-Salah Omri, defined as ″literature that goes beyond the normal conventions and codes by representing them in a parodic manner″; see ″*Adab* in the Seventeenth Century: Narrative and Parody in al-Shirbīnī′s *Hazz al-Quḥūf*,″ *Edebiyāt* 11 (2000): 182, 193 (note 27).

[26]Daniel Beaumont, ″The Trickster and Rhetoric in the *Maqāmāt,*″ *Edebiyāt* 5 (1994): 1–14.

begins by making the distinction between satire and parody, in that, according to *The Princeton Encyclopaedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ″[W]hile satire has as a purpose to make the object of the attack abhorrent or ridiculous,″ parody ″usually makes its point by employing a serious style to express an incongruous subject thus disturbing the balance between form and matter.″[27]

Inspired by this theoretical framework and dealing with one of the banner-carriers of this ″*adab* of aggression,″ I intend to look at Ibn Dāniyāl′s socially-conscious poetry from *both* sides, that is, from historical *and* literary readings of the text. My premise is that these poems, unlike the more fictional shadow plays, undeniably bear specific historical elements, as they were prompted by certain actual events and were therefore meant to comment on certain issues, or send certain messages in the first place. At that level, to treat them as expressions of public sentiment in the form of social satire is indeed a helpful concept to work with. However, close reading of these poems has revealed that besides the poet′s social consciousness, there is something more pressing and more urgent for him to react to and speak out against. Instead of being obsessed with a sultan, or a vizier, or the Mamluk regime, the poet is more concerned about *himself,* about his memories of the now-prohibited sensual pleasures in his lost paradise, his lost garden. If the universal theme of ″sensual pleasure vs. repression″–-and in the Islamic context, the mantra of ″commanding right and forbidding wrong *(al-amr bi-al-ma'rūf wa-al-nahy 'an al-munkar)*—is at play here, then the poem in question is more about celebrating the forbidden pleasures, the *munkar*s, than condemning the ″righteous″ repression, the *ma'rūf*s. True to Ibn Dāniyāl′s poetic persona, it is more about joy than about anger, about having a good time than about staging a protest. In literary terms, this hardly fits in a conventional *hijā',* where the target is always the enemy. Here in the *mujūn*, the joke is on everybody.

The fact that the poet was, as the above reading of the poem has amply demonstrated, indeed working within the high *adab* domain further allows us to compare him with his predecessors in the same domain. An attempt will be made to show how by means of reprocessing and reshaping the antecedent themes, idioms, and topoi in the Abū Nuwāsian *mujūn* tradition,[28] Ibn Dāniyāl was able to

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[27]Omri, ″*Adab*,″ 193, n. 28.

[28]Editions of Abū Nuwās′ *dīwān* usually omit the *mujūnīyāt* altogether. The few exceptions I have come across are (1) *Dīwān Abī Nuwās bi-Riwāyat al-Ṣūlī,* ed. Bahjat 'Abd al-Ghafūr al-Ḥudaythī (Baghdad, 1980). It contains a sanitized *mujūnīyāt* section (899–937) wherein all the ″dirty″ words were omitted; (2) *Al-Fukāhah,* a slim volume printed privately by one Manṣūr 'Abd al-Muta'āl and one Ḥusayn Afendi Sharaf; (3) *Dīwān Abī Nuwās* (Cairo, 1322/1904–5), published by Muṣṭafá al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī; less than ten pages (339–47) contain a section entitled ″verses blending *[jā'a bayna] khamrīyāt* and *mujūn,*″ which turns out to be largely of the *khamrīyāt* genre. As for the editorial efforts in the West, the long-awaited fifth volume, the *mujūnīyāt,* of *Der Diwān des Abū*

stay ahead in this rhetorical game. It is further argued that many of the *mujūn* elements had their roots in *ghazal* conventions.

Abū Nuwās′[29] influence, and, more accurately, the tradition he represents, is unmistakably traceable in Ibn Dāniyāl′s poetry. In addition to the examples cited above, such as the curse of ″Manichaean″ (line 32), the analogy of ″dowry/fee″ paid to ″bride/whore″ (line 40), and the simile of ″flute/penis″ (line 29), there are many more. Some items on his ″vice lists,″ for example, such as tribadism (lesbian sex act), were attributed to Abū Nuwās as well.[30] Ibn Dāniyāl′s parodies of the Quranic verses were directly inspired by, or simply borrowed from, Abū Nuwās. One example is his *Qaṣīdah* No. 69, line 7: ″Many a rake declares: ′This is a day that is, / as they say, ′Dismal and calamitous!′″ *(yawm qamṭarīr ʿabūs).*[31] A paraphrase of Quran, 76:10, it is found, verbatim, in Abū Nuwās′ *dīwān.*[32] In the present poem, a mimicking of the Quranic phraseology is seen in line 17, ″Praise be to the One who created . . . ″ *(subḥāna man wallada . . .),* the like of which occurs frequently in Abū Nuwās′ vocabulary.[33] The parody of the Quranic verses is particularly significant for the present discussion in that the intrinsic link between it and the *mujūn* is underlined by the fact that such attempts by Abū Nuwās are considered as of the *mujūn* type and are therefore classified, by medieval Arab anthologists, in the category of the *mujūnīyāt*.[34]

In what follows, samples of Ibn Dāniyāl′s *mujūn* verses will be compared with the parallels from Abū Nuwās. After the thematic and linguistic linkage between the two is established, the discussion will proceed on two levels: first, the *ghazal* conventions, such as ″the enchanting/enchanted gaze″ and ″the amorous union,″ used by Abū Nuwās and Ibn Dāniyāl as they are *supposed to be,* that is, as descriptions of the beloved,[35] although, as we are already aware, in this anything-goes

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Nuwās, edited by Ewald Wagner, is to this day still in manuscript form. For further information, see Amidu Sanni, *The Arabic Theory of Prosification and Versification: On* Ḥall *and* Naẓm *in Arabic Theoretical Discourse* (Beirut, 1998), 167; Gregor Schoeler, ″Iblīs in the Poems of Abū Nuwās,″ *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 151 (2001): 43–44, n. 1.

[29]Here Abū Nuwās is treated as a name under which a reservoir of texts was formed; thus the issue of the authenticity of some poems attributed to him is not important. For more on this issue, see Schoeler, ″Iblīs,″ 43, n. 1.

[30]Some medieval critics believed that Abū Nuwās was the first Arab poet to deal with the topic; see *Al-Fukāhah,* 17.

[31]Guo, ″Paradise Lost,″ 221.

[32]″Wa-law fī yawmi hurmuza zurta mūsá / la-ṣayyarahū ʿabūsan qamṭarīran,″ *Diwān des Abū Nuwās,* 2:89.

[33]See, for example, text cited in note 22 above.

[34]Amidu Sanni, *Arabic Theory,* 163–67.

[35]Some scholars, especially those of the ″Chicago school of Arabic literature,″ have long challenged

territory, the ″beloved″ may be a girl or a boy for Abū Nuwās, a phantom or a devil in Ibn Dāniyāl′s case. But overall the parody remains metaphorical, that is, it does not go beyond the language boundary, in that a kiss really is a kiss, and a gaze a gaze. Second, Abū Nuwās′ and Ibn Dāniyāl′s re-working of the *ghazal* elements, in that farting, urinating, and excrement replace the typical *ghazal* topoi such as the lover′s ″fragrant smell″ and ″sweet saliva,″ and so forth. Here everything is turned upside down, and the parody is operating on both metaphoric and linguistic levels.

Mocking the *Ghazal* Convention: The ″Enchanting/Enchanted Gaze″

In a quasi-*nasīb* style, with the conventions of the *ghazal*, the ″departing beloved″ is first introduced to the audience as, among other things, a ″full moon,″ a ″noon-day sun,″ and a ″pliant branch,″ whose ″enchanting gaze″ is all over the place, to be witnessed through the lovers′ ″enchanted gaze.″ Not only do the motifs remain the same, but the wordings are in accordance with the stock repertoire as well: the *badr al-dujá* (line 5), the *shams ḍuḥá* (line 7), the *ghuṣn naqan* (line 7), the *laḥẓ* (line 6), the *suḥūr al-ʿayn fattānah* (line 10), the *ʿayn wa-al-naẓr* (line 42), and the list goes on and on.

Abū Nuwās uses the same stock similes of ″full moon,″ ″shining sun,″ ″enchanting gaze,″ and so forth, in describing his beloved:

His figure is like the full moon, his joyful face a shining sun;
  he has a gazelle′s eyes and chest.
Charm is his gaze, fine wine his saliva;
  his forelock is dark night and his skin is gold.
[Al-badru ṣūratuhū wa-al-shamsu bahjatuhū
  wa-lil-ghazālati minhu al-ʿaynu wa-al-lubab
Wa-al-siḥru laḥẓatuhū wa-al-khamru rīqatuhū
  wa-al-laylu ṭurratuhū wa-lawnuhū dhahab[36]]

How come? O you with enchanting
  gaze and charming bright eyes!

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the traditional interpretation of the descriptive function of the *nasīb;* see, for example, Jaroslav Stetkevych, ″Toward an Arabic Elegiac Lexicon: The seven words of the *nasīb,*″ in *Reorientations,* 58–129; Sells, ″Guises of the *Ghūl.*″ But this is beyond the scope of this study, for Ibn Dāniyāl′s *nasīb* here is already in the form of parody; it nevertheless does reaffirm the point in that what is presented in these *ghazal* similes ″is not in fact the beloved as an object of description,″ but rather ″the mythopoetic world of the lost garden or meadow,″ to quote from Sells (″Guises of the *Ghūl,*″ 130).

[36]*Al-Fukāhah,* 85.

[Wa-kayfa yā fātira al-laḥẓi sāḥira al-ʻayni aḥwar[37]]

O [you] the heart-throb whose charm
  radiates from his enchanting gaze!
. . . .
Don′t let me suffer
  from your enchanting gaze!
[Yā sāliba al-adhhāni
  bi-ṭarfihi al-fattān
. . . .
lā tatruknī muʻnan
  bi-ṭarfiki al-fattān[38]]

Mocking the *Ghazal* Convention: The ″Amorous Union″

The influence of Abū Nuwās on Ibn Dāniyāl′s poetic imagination and lyric expression can also be observed in descriptions of the acts of love-making. In the classical *ghazal* tradition, the notion of *al-waṣl* (or *al-wiṣāl*), ″amorous union,″ is usually associated with the lover′s tender touch, in the formulaic contrast with the painful experience of *al-hijrān,* ″departure.″ Although the term does imply sexual intercourse, this function is not overtly emphasized (we will come back to this point later). However, in Abū Nuwās′ vocabulary, not only is the term *al-waṣl* used explicitly for sexual intercourse, but it is also frequently paired with *al-tajmīsh,* a vague term that denotes a wide range of sex acts, from flirtation to rough foreplay and violent fondling. The juxtaposition of *al-tajmīsh* with *al-waṣl* and, occasionally, *naql* (″sweet″ [kiss, hug, etc.]), became a fixation in Abū Nuwās′ love-theme verses; and this is seen in Ibn Dāniyāl′s poem as well.

8. Caressing him *(tajmīshuhu)* is sweet fruit *(naql)* to those who embrace him
  and screw the fig with the date.
9. What′s money to union with him *(fī waṣlihi)*
  whose lucky horoscopes are Libra and Venus?

Abū Nuwās:

For ordinary folks ever since the Creation, it′s foreplay before fuck.
  But in Moses′ household, they fuck first, then fondle!

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[37]Ibid., 51.

[38]Ibid., 55.

[Al-jamshu fī al-nāsi qabla al-nayki mudh khuliqū
wa-al-nayku fī bayti mūsá qabla tajmīsh[39]]

Whenever you were aroused by an urge,
or desired an intimate union . . .
[Kullamā jammashaka al-ilḥāḥ
aw an rumta waṣlaka[40]]

And he said, ″Fuck me! Blow me down!
Keep quiet to your servant, and don′t reveal the secret!″
So I began to mess around with him,
joking and flirting.
[Fa-qāla ṣilnī wa-aqilla ʿathratī
wa-iktum ʿalá ʿabdika lā tufshī
Fa-qumtu bi-al-liʿbi fa-māzaḥtuhū
ʿalá ṭarīqi al-mazḥ wa-al-jamsh[41]]

Sweet as fruit is his kiss:
ripe, to be harvested from his cheek;
Waiting for watering,
inviting a fuck!
[Wa-al-naqlu min taqbīli mā
yaqṭifu min wajnatihī
Saqyan lahā min daʿwati
tudʿá ilá naykihī[42]]

From the seemingly compulsory way of paring and juxtaposing a fixed set of terms, it is evident that the classical notion of *al-waṣl,* the Platonic ″amorous union,″ is transformed, in Abū Nuwās′ use, to a synonymy for *al-nayk* (fuck). It is about sex, plain and simple. The same usage is also seen in Ibn Dāniyāl′s work; in the shadow play version of the present poem, the two words *waṣl* and *nayk* are used in a virtually interchangeable manner (see Appendix below, line 18).

To make erotic suggestions within the classical *nasīb*/*ghazal* tradition, the poet often appeals to the senses, and this becomes paramount in the overall texture of the poem.[43] For Abū Nuwās, for example, the joy of love, or love-making,

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[39]*Diwān des Abū Nuwās,* 2:90.

[40]*Al-Fukāhah,* 57.

[41]Ibid., 58.

[42]Ibid., 28.

[43]For recent studies of the depictions of the five senses in the *qaṣīdah* tradition, see Michael Sells,

is summed up in a formula that one may call the "smell, taste, and gaze" combination:

> In love one enjoys the lover's affection and tenderness,
> As well as that [pleasant] smell, [sweet] taste, and [enchanting] gaze.
> [Fa-fīhi mu'ātātu al-ḥabībi wa-'aṭfuhū
> 'alayka wa-fīhi al-shammu wa-al-dhawqu wa-al-naẓar[44]]

Abū Nuwās makes it clear that these are the fundamental elements for a love affair, and a love poem. Among these, "sight" (seeing the lover's beautiful physique, "enchanting gaze") and "touch" (tender or otherwise) are discussed above. As for "smell," the lover's pleasant smell is usually associated with various fragrant perfumes he/she is wearing, but also the intoxicating smell of alcohol on his/her breath. "Taste" alludes to the sweet taste of the lover's rosy cheek, lips, and saliva, which the poet enjoys through deep kisses. Add "sound," that is, listening to love songs as well as the lover's sweet talk, and the poetic atmosphere is saturated with all five senses, and all aspects of human sensuality. A love affair, in the *ghazal* tradition, even within the Abū Nuwāsian deviation, is such a whole package through which one is sure to get an eyeful, earful, noseful, mouthful, and handful. And in the *mujūn*, this is even more the case, as the glorification of flesh and sensual pleasure in a coarse manner is the *raison d'être* of the genre. Bearing this context in mind, we now turn to the poem in question, which showcases the way Ibn Dāniyāl mimicked and subverted the *ghazal* topoi, turning them into *mujūn* scatological farces.

Parody of the *Ghazal* Topos: Farting vs. Fragrant Smell

This seems to be a favorite trick of Ibn Dāniyāl. Two verses in the poem depict breaking wind while having sex, a far cry from the lover's "pleasant smell" in the *ghazal*.

> 13. Every pimp is farting at the mouth *(lahū ḍarṭatun / min shidqihī),*
> and following up with a snort.
> . . . .
> 20. When a fart *(faswah)* is wafted his way,
> he would say, "O, fragrant incense!"

Equally coarse and amusing is Abū Nuwās:

"Guises of the *Ghūl*," 139–44, 156–57; Akiko Motoyoshi, "Sensibility and Synaesthesia: Ibn al-Rūmī's Singing Slave-Girl," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 32 (2001): 1–29, esp. 15.

[44] *Dīwān des Abū Nuwās,* ed. Gregor Schoeler (Stuttgart, 1958–), 4:390.

Her breath stinks like farting,
    or rather as a bundle of garlic.
. . . .
Out of my love for her, I broke wind,
    scaring away even the Byzantine king!
[Ka-annamā nak′hatuhā faswatun
    aw ḥuzmatun min ḥuzami al-thūmi
. . . .
Ḍaraṭtu min ḥubbī lahā ḍarṭatan
    afza'tu minhā malika al-rūmi[45]]

I surely am getting the smell of that fuck.
    Screw that thing before you! It′s the aroma of stew.
[Innī ashummu li-hādhā al-nayki rā'iḥatan
    fa-irhiz qudāmaka hādhā rīḥa sakbāji[46]]

It [i.e., his penis] cuts through the wind of asshole like the edge of a razor,
    screwing the balls, like the head of a spear.
[Ashaqqa li-rīḥi al-ust min ḥaddi shafratin
    wa-anfadha fī al-khaṣyayni min ra'si mizrāqi[47]]

The imageries are quite similar: to liken breaking wind to having bad breath, farting while having sex, etc. Also similar is the use of words such as *faswah, ḍarṭah, rīḥ,* etc. Ibn Dāniyāl, however, adds some new, perhaps more outrageous, twists: the farting described in line 20, for example, involves oral and anal sex performed on men, which is not seen in Abū Nuwās′ quotes. Further, in this regard, one may admit that while Ibn Dāniyāl′s ″farting″ scenes are plainly coarse and scabrous, Abū Nuwās′ descriptions are more subtle, with a nice touch of dry humor and literary elaboration; the smell of ″garlic,″ the ″Byzantine king,″ and ″stew,″ are just a few examples.

Parody of the *Ghazal* Topos: Excrement vs. Sweet Saliva

The combination of excremental and the sexual themes has a long, if not quite respectable, tradition in medieval Arabic literature. Examples of the use of the oral-anal-phallus analogy abound in both the *hijā'* and *mujūn* genres. In the mock

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[45]Ibid., 2:87.

[46]*Al-Fukāhah,* 23.

[47]Ibid., 39.

ghazal context, it ought to be viewed as an antithesis of the lover′s ″sweet taste.″ Furthermore, the excremental elements, urine and dung, were also closely associated with food consumption in literature.[48] More often, they, and urine in particular (for its ″water″ imagery), have to do with sexual intercourse as well. When Ibn Dāniyāl veers into this verbal orgy, he surely would not miss the chance to give it a shot:

15. Saying—farting *(al-kīfākh)* from his rear,
    his breath filled with fennel—:
16. ″Weigh out a thousand dinars, if you want her,
    though you won′t want her shit *(ba'rah)*!″

. . . .

21. Every adulterer sees in whore′s piss *(bawlat / al-quḥbah)*
    a charm guaranteeing his health.

Abū Nuwās:

If [your] pussy stretches wider, so will the territory of [my] sovereignty.
    In it, my piss should certainly go a long way!
[Fa-in yaku ṭūlu al-baẓr su'dud
    fa-bawlī 'alayhī annahū sa-yaṭūlu[49]]

They end up witnessing wind coming out their assholes,
    whose hair is braided with dried dung beetles.
[Natajū yarawna al-rīḥah min astāhihim
    wa-bi-hā min al-ji'ri al-yabīsi 'iqāṣ[50]]

The originality lies in the two poets′ respective attempts to link excremental movements with many other things. In Abū Nuwās′ case, the oral-anal-phallus analogy is translated into one of piss-sperm-shit. The last couplet cited above also sets out a combination of the two topoi, that is, farting and excrement, that involves both ″smell″ and ″taste.″ Ibn Dāniyāl, on the other hand, has his own idea for pushing the envelope: in line 15, the description of excrement goes beyond the usual sex association, in that he reverses the function of oral and anal in his portrait of a pimp: this time the ″shit″ is coming from the man′s mouth, as he talks

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[48]The most recent discussion of the topic of food and sex in Arabic literature is found in Geert Jan van Gelder, *God′s Banquet*: *Food in Classical Arabic Literature* (New York, 2000), 3–4, 78–79, 110–11.
[49]*Al-Fukāhah,* 22.
[50]Ibid., 21.

trash, while ″bubbles *(? al-kīfākh),″* supposedly foaming saliva, come from his ass. In a reversed kind of excremental movement, things come from wrong places. The idea of the wrong kind of stuff coming from the wrong place is also entertained in line 21, where a mother′s milk is replaced by a prostitute′s urine.

On account of their direct link to physical acts and bodily discharges, these two topoi have a broader implication for the general cultural concern with ritual purity and purification. In his elegant study of the art of simile in the classical *nasīb,* Michael Sells has noted what he calls ″a dynamic polarity of sexual union and ablution or purification,″[51] and ″the interplay between nature and culture, sense fulfillment and purification,″[52] in the poet′s memory of the beloved gone and happiness lost:

> Not only do the description-of-the-beloved passages present elements that depict, through metonymic association, the lost garden, but they present a series of sense experiences as well. Not all *five senses* are actualized within each depiction of the beloved, but several of them usually are. Mention of the beloved generates a movement from sense to sense of excited rapidity. When this sense of excitement is taken into account, many of the same elements that make up the lost garden can be viewed as part of a performative reenactment of sexual union. Sexual union with the beloved is seldom mentioned and *never described directly;* rather it is intimated by the rapid movement through the sensorium that occurs with mention of her. Key to this series of associations and sensual evocations is the depiction of water that appears at the center of so many of the more erotically charged passages, especially the *dynamic polarity of water as sexual and ablutionary* [italics mine].[53]

What occurs in the description passages of the *nasīb,* as Sells sees it, is a ″four-part movement, from the sense image, through images of purification, of atmospheric ablutions, to a garden scene, to the *ṣaḥw* or awakening from the *dhikr.″*[54] The ″water″ metaphor is thus central in this interaction: it is water that runs from the mouth of the beloved (saliva), and the eyes of the lover (tears), to the lost garden (dew, rains), to purification (water for ablution). The sexual suggestions in the *ghazal*/*nasīb* are, according to Sells, therefore always balanced by the ″language of purification.″ Coming back to the present poem, the imagery

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[51]″Guises of the *Ghūl,″* 131.
[52]Ibid., 144.
[53]Ibid., 156–57.
[54]Ibid., 140.

of water, too, is central in that *mā'* ″water,″ and lush greenery, in the lost garden, first occur in line 11 (and twice in the shadow play version, lines 10, 11; see Appendix), together with Iblīs′ tears (line 2). The ″water,″ nevertheless, turns bad rapidly as the poem progresses.

The interplay between purity and pollution is also working at another, and more serious, level, for the idea of purity and purification has its deeply-rooted ramifications in the Islamic context: the notion of *ṭahārah,* or ritual purity, is of paramount significance for one′s physical and spiritual well being. ″Purity is half the faith,″ as the Prophet Muḥammad declared. *Ḥadath,* that is, ritual impurity caused by, among other things, sexual intercourse, breaking wind, evacuating urine or feces, or intoxication, is thus to be avoided and cursed.[55] As far as the notion of *ṭahārah* vs. *ḥadath* is concerned, it can be argued that the *ghazal* as a system of lyric expression manages to stay ″clean.″ Activities that frequent the *ghazal* poetry, such as kissing, tender touch, and embracing are not considered of the *ḥadath* type, and bodily discharges, some of which are part of the stock vocabulary, such as the lover′s tears, sweat, saliva, mother′s milk, etc. should be seen as clean as well.

Needless to say, the boundary is violently, and deliberately, crossed in Ibn Dāniyāl′s and Abū Nuwās′ verses cited above. Whereas sexual union (*waṣl, wiṣāl)* is merely alluded to, but never described directly, in the classical *ghazal*, as Sells has convincingly pointed out, an abundance of violations is to be found in its antithesis, the *mujūn*. Here the *ḥadath* acts, such as fornication, intoxication, farting, urinating, etc., are being accompanied by the *najāsāt,* the unclean wet discharges such as urine, sperm, pus, feces, and blood. Iblīs, and the poet, never met a dirty thing they did not like. With these bad behaviors, bad smells, and bad leaks, all hell breaks loose. It is the domain of Iblīs, the lost garden of the Devil. Here sexual suggestions are not balanced by the language of purification, as in the *ghazal* convention, but are further materialized and enhanced by the language of abuse and pollution. Furthermore, ″the water of purification″ is a leitmotif in Arabo-Islamic culture; it also carries an apocalyptic message of redemption, with the miraculous power of curing wounded sinners, including those who lost their sight as punishment.[56] However, this last chance of redemption, by means of ″water of purification,″ is flatly rejected by the wounded sinner, Iblīs, whose escalated swing towards the opposite constitutes a declaration of independence in the face of the religious establishment and authoritarian power. This point was

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[55]There is a substantial literature on the subject. For more details and bibliography, see ″Ḥadath,″ ″Nadjāsa,″ and ″Ṭahārah,″ in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition. My summary here is based on Frederick M. Denny′s synthesis in *An Introduction to Islam* (New York, 1994), 113–18.

[56]See the discussion above, esp. note 12.

surely not lost on Ibn Dāniyāl. This religious context is significant because the motivation of Baybars and Lājīn, and for that matter all other Mamluk sultans, to prohibit vice was largely a political one, in the guise of religion. Their efforts, at least the appearance of them, in enforcing the sharīʻah law would help to establish their puritanical image as warriors for the holy cause and thus the legitimate leaders of the Muslim community.

In general literary terms, if scatology is, by nature, meant to break the rules and codes of ritual purity and purification, then Abū Nuwās′ and Ibn Dāniyāl′s *mujūn*-topoi of farting and excrement have their share in this universal human farce. All together, here the reader runs into a fantasy land ruled by Iblīs, the Devil, where all the sensual extremes are being tested, moving from one sense to another, but in parodic twist: sight (blindness vs. enchanting gaze), smell (farting vs. fragrance), taste (excrement vs. sweetness), touch (rough sex vs. tenderness), and sound (″shriek″ and crying vs. love song and sweet talk). By relentlessly challenging the sense and sensibility of the audiences as they navigate the treacherous path of interplay between *ghazal* and *mujūn,* beauty and ugliness, purity and pollution, the poets′ comic assault on tradition and existing norms is completed.

The assault is also seen on a socio-linguistic level, in that the frequent occurrence of dung, urine, and excrement in poetry is arguably an indication of the poets′ testing of a new poetic vocabulary that would blend the ″high″ and ″low.″ ″These gross vulgarities,″ Jacques Berque writes, ″constitute a poor excuse for an approach to what a ′people′s′ language might be. That they are resorted to indicates *much less a lusty realism than a systematic search for incongruity,* and still more a reaction against the *language′s increasing banality* [italics mine].″[57] Although Berque′s main concern here is the trend of ″new language″ in modern Arabic poetry, it does resonate to echoes in the past, in Abū Nuwās′ and Ibn Dāniyāl′s search for the ″new″ poetic language. But that, of course, is the subject of another study.

CONCLUSION

Ibn Dāniyāl′s *Qaṣīdah* No. 71 combines the force of a manifesto, that deals with the universal theme of sensual freedom versus repression, with the comic relief of a farce, that glorifies all things prohibited through memory. By creating a series of excessively repellent poetic images that amount to parodies of classical and post-classical codes and idioms, the poet triumphed in elevating the art of *mujūn* to a new level. Following his predecessors, especially Abū Nuwās, his central strategy is a constant interplay between the language of purification after erotic suggestions,

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[57] *Cultural Expression in Arab Society Today (Langages arabes du présent),* trans. Robert W. Stookey (Austin, 1978), 299.

in the Platonic *ghazal* tradition, and between that of deliberate impurity and pollution, in scatological *mujūn* parodies. The result is a tour de force that is alternately disturbing and entertaining. The present study is by no means a comprehensive treatment of the development of the *mujūn* genre as a whole, but rather sets out to provide some textual evidence, and observations, for further investigation. In this regard, the poem in question shows not only a continuous development of the *mujūn* genre in the post-classical era, but also the new ways to do it. In that sense, to say that Ibn Dāniyāl was working within the Abū Nuwāsian tradition is perhaps an understatement. He is the one to relentlessly extend the limits, and take the genre to extremes. In many ways, Ibn Dāniyāl might lack Abū Nuwās′ elegance and subtlety, and many of his ideas—such as the ″wet dream,″ the night visit by the phantom (a. k. a. Iblīs), the ″vice lists,″ and parodies of the Quranic idioms and the *ghazal* topoi—were obviously inherited from the earlier tradition, including that of Abū Nuwās. Yet his unique style, characterized not only by its excessive aggression and intensity but also its adding new elements—such as Iblīs as ″the one-eyed beloved″—to the formula, sets him apart from many others writing in the genre. In this regard, and as is true in the general history of literature, the ideas might not always be original, but it is the presentation that matters.

APPENDIX: EDITION AND TEXTUAL NOTES

The edition is based on the sole manuscript of al-Ṣafadī´s (d. 1362) *Al-Tadhkirah al-Ṣafadīyah,* vol. 14 (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, microfilm 1762, ff. 64 recto–65 verso). A slightly different version is to be found in the shadow play *Ṭayf al-Khayāl*.[58] The Arabic letter *dāl,* in the lower apparatus, stands for the *Mukhtār* edited by al-Dulaymī; and *mīm* for the manuscript.

The abbreviations used in the textual notes are:

Dozy = Reinhart Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (Leiden, 1927).

Hans Wehr = Hans Wehr, *Arabic-English Dictionary* (Ithaca, 1976).

Hava = J. G. Hava, *Al-Farā'id al-Durrīyah fī al-Lughtayn al-'Arabīyah wa-al-Injlīzīyah* (Beirut, 1915).

K = *Three Shadow Plays by Muḥammad Ibn Dāniyāl,* ed. Paul Kahle (Cambridge, 1992).

Kazimirski = Biberstein Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe-français* (Beirut, 197-).

Lane = Edward W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (Cambridge, England, c1984).

Lisān al-'Arab = Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, 15 vols. (Beirut, 1955).

[58] *Three Shadow Plays* (Arabic text), 9–13.

Edition

وقال وقد أبطلوا المسكرات في أيام حسام الدين لاجين

(من السريع)

(٦٤ أ)

١. رأيتُ في النومِ أبا مُرَّه   وهو حزينُ القلبِ في مَرَّه
٢. وعينُه العوراءُ مقروحة   تقطُرُ دمعاً قطرةً قطره
٣. يصيح واويلاهُ من حسرتي   تلك التي ما مثلُها حسره

(٦٤ ب)

٤. وحَولَه من رهْطِه عُصبة   فيهمْ على قِلّتهم كثْرَه
٥. من كل علْقٍ مثلَ بدر الدجى[59]   قيمتُهُ في واحد بَدْرَه
٦. مُظَفّرُ اللحظِ بعشّاقه   وإنما في جفنه كَسْرَه
٧. شمسُ ضحىً غصنَ نقاً قدّهُ   وظلُّه من خلفه الشِّعره
٨. تجميشُهُ نَقْلٌ لمن ضمّهُ   وجَوّنَ التينه بالتّمْرَه
٩. يهونُ وزنُ المالِ في وصله   طالعُهُ الميزانُ والزُّهرَه
١٠. ومِن سحور العين فتَّانه   خودَ لها شمس الضحى ضَرَّه
١١. تقول للعُشاقِ من معصمي   تنزّهُوا في الماءِ والخضَره[60]
١٢. اذا رأى عاشقَها كسّها   يودُّ لو تُرضَعُه بظره
١٣. وكلّ قوادٍ له ضرطهُ   من شدقه يُتبعُهاَ شَخرَه
١٤. يسطو على العاشق في سَومِه   مغالباً لَما اقتضَى جذره
١٥. يقول والكيفاخ من خلفه   وعندَهُ في قولِه شمرَه
١٦. زن ألف دينار اذا رمتُها   إن كنتَ ما ترضىَ بَها بعْرَه
١٧. سبحان من وَلّدَ في خدّها   النقي بياضاً فوقه حُمره
١٨. هَيّا تمتعَ ذي سحق الوفا   لا تترك القصفَ على نَشرَه
١٩. وكل لوطيّ له نهمهُ   على سميط اللحم في السُفره
٢٠. إن وشوَشت في وجههِ فسوَةٌ   يقُل لها يا طيبَها بَخرَه

(٦٥ أ)

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[59] م الدجا

[60] ثلاثة عشر بيتا (١١–٢٣) ساقطة في د.

٢١. وكــل زنــاءٍ يــرى بَــولَـــة — القحبة في صحبتـه ‹عـ›شره[٦١]
٢٢. وكـل بـنــت مـا لـهـا عــُذرةٌ — لــكن هـواها مــن بـني عُذره
٢٣. سحـاقةٌ قد كلكلت بظرها — وما لـها مــن دلكهــا شعره
٢٤. وكــل خـمّـــارٍ وفـــي كـفـهِ — كــأسٌ عـلـى عـاتقه جـــرَّه
٢٥. ومِن حشيشيٍ سطيلٍ علىَ — شـاربه قد بَقلَتْ خُضَـــره
٢٦. ومـــن بـنـي حـامٍ لــه مـزرةٌ — صفـّى لـه صاحبُـه المــزرَه
٢٧. وكـــــلٍّ بـغّـا ء بـه ابـنـةٌ — مُـبـادلٍ أبـغـى مــن الابـرَه
٢٨. وكـلّ جَــلادٍ عـلـى خـلـوةٍ — عـميـرةً هـاجـتْ بـــه عُـمـره
٢٩. ومــن خيـالـيٍّ ومـن مـطـربٍ — وزامرٍ قـد جـا ء فـي الزُّمره
٣٠. فقلتُ يا إبـليـسُ ماذا الذي — أسالَ من مُقـلـتكَ العـبـرَه
٣١. وما الذي أزعج أشياعك النو — كى وإن كـانــوا ذوي شـــرّه
٣٢. فـقـال يا بـأبي[٦٢] أنـــت قد[٦٣] — وقعت في كس[٦٤] أخت ما أكره
٣٣. قلّتْ جيـوشي وَوَهى منصبي — وعـــدتُ لا أمــرَ ولا إمــرَه
٣٤. وأصبح الخمـارُ لا يلـتـقـي[٦٥] — فــي بيـتــه كـوزاً ولا جــرَّه
٣٥. ومـنـزلُ المــزّارِ صـفـرٌ وقد — عـلَـتْـهُ مــن ذُلّـتــه صُفــرَه
٣٦. وبات قَلبي الفارِ في حسرة — وقـلبهُ يُـقـلـى علـى جَـمْـرَه
٣٧. وكاد أن يسطو الحشيشي وأن — يـجـرح[٦٦] بالخـنـجر والشفْره

(٦٥ ب)

٣٨. وســائرُ الستـات مـن قحبنـا[٦٧] — أكثرهـنّ اليـوم فـي الحُجـْرَه
٣٩. يــطـلـبنَ أزواجـاً فـلا قحبـةٌ[٦٨] — مـنـهــنّ إلا أصبـحــتْ حـُرّه
٤٠. وكـل ساكـوس قـــمـــارِ وقد — أجـادَ بالـعـفـقِ بـهـا مـهـره

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[٦١] ‹عـ›شره الحرف غير واضحة في م.
[٦٢] د ماني
[٦٣] د الذي
[٦٤] ساقطة في د
[٦٥] د يكتفي
[٦٦] د يخرج
[٦٧] ساقطة في د
[٦٨] ساقطة في د

٤١. كم جهد ما أغوي[٦٩] وأعوي وكم — أصَفّفُ المقصوصَ والطُّرَه
٤٢. وكم أرى العينين مكحولة — لمن رَمَى بالعين والنظره
٤٣. وكم وكم أسهر في خدمة الـ — ـعشّاق في الليلِ الى بُكره
٤٤. قد كسدتْ سوقُ المعاصي فلا — شربَ ولا قصْفَ ولا عشره
٤٥. هذا على أني من غيّتي — أقودُ لا أجرَ ولا أُجْرَه
٤٦.فقلتُ يا إبليس سافرْ بنا — وطوّل الغيبةَ والسفرَه
٤٧. إياك أن تسكنَ مصراً وأن — تقربَها إنْ كنتَ ذا خبرَه
٤٨. فإنّ فيها صاحباً عادلاً — مباركَ الطلعة والغُرّه
٤٩. قد علمَ السلطانُ من نُصحه — لملكه ما شاع بالشهرَه
٥٠. جزاءُ مَن خالفَ مرسومَهُ — تجريسُه والضربُ بالدره

[٦٩] د اعوي

TEXTUAL NOTES

2. *Maqrūḥah,* lit., ″covered with ulcers″; one MS in K has *maftūḥah*, ″open.″
3. *Yaṣīḥu*, one MS in K has *yaqūlu*, ″he said.″
4. This line perhaps implies that although Iblīs′ followers are few, they represent a large section of the Cairene underworld. Or perhaps it implies that they are so bad that a few are enough.
5. *ʻIlq:* a slang word for ″a sexually accessible boy″; the term is still used in Egypt. See Clifford Bosworth, *The Medieval Islamic Underworld: The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature* (Leiden, 1976), 138, 361. I thank Everett Rowson for the reference.

6–7. The order of the two lines is reversed in K.

6. *Kasrah,* lit., ″his eyelid is contracted,″ i.e., ″languid.″ See Lane, *kasara*.
7. For *al-shiʻrah* as ″the hair of the pubes,″ or ″the pubes″ itself, see Lane.
8. *Al-tajmīsh: jammasha* is given in the *Lisān al-ʻArab* as a synonym of *ghāzala,* ″flirt, dally with some one″ (A. F. L. Beeston, *The Epistle on Singing-Girls by Jāḥiẓ,* [Warminster, England, 1980], 59, 65), whereas Hans Wehr has ″to make love, caress, pet.″ From Abū Nuwās′ use it is obvious that *al-tajmīsh* denotes some sex acts but not necessarily intercourse. Beeston thus translates Jāḥiẓ′s phrase *wa-jammashat′hu bi-ʻuḍūḍ tuffāḥihā* as ″[she] teases him with bites of her apples″; see *Epistle*, 33 (translation), 19 (Arabic text). *Naql:* ″sweet fruit,″ specifically the ″munchies″ that were a standard part of a drinking party. I thank Everett Rowson for the reference. *Ḍammahu*: K has *dhāqahu,* ″tasted it,″ with variant of *ḥāzahu,* ″got hold of him.″ *Jawwana,* a standardized version of the Egyptian *gawwin,* ″to cause to go deep or far″ (El-Said Badawi and M. Hinds, *Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic* [Beirut, 1986]), derived from the basic meaning of the word *gaww,* ″inside.″ K has *jawwaza,* that is, sodomy. The metaphor of ″fig″ for ″anus″ is quite common in medieval Arabic literature; see Rowson: ″Two Homoerotic Narratives,″ 176, 189 (note 60).
9. In K, one MS has *ḥubbihi,* ″his love,″ ″his compassion,″ while all the three other have the same *waṣlihi*. This line is perhaps saying that one′s association with Iblīs is priceless for the fun and pleasures that money cannot buy. The significance of the two zodiac signs, Libra *(al-mīzān)* and Venus *(al-zuhrah),* is not clear; for *al-mīzān*, see Paul Kunitzsch, *Untersuchungen zur Sternnomenklatur der araber* (Wiesbaden, 1961), 81; for *al-zuhrah*, see Paul Kunitzsch and Manfred Ullmann, *Die Plejaden in den Vergleichen der arabischen Dichtung* (München, 1992), 109–10. The verse perhaps

means it is appropriate to have Venus (love) and the Balance (weighing out money) in the ascendant with this delectable buyable boy.

10. *Khawd la-hā;* K has *li-ḥusnihā,* "for its beauty," that is, the beauty of the seductress, who, lit., is "a soft girl who has the noonday sun as a co-wife *(ḍarrah),*" that is, she is the principal wife, while the sun has a lower rank in beauty, as merely a co-wife.

10–11. One line is inserted between the two lines in K; it reads: Yaḥmilu (variant: taḥmilu) dhāka al-naqsha min jismihā / mā'u na'īmin qāma bi-al-qudrah. [Cleaning up that tattoo (?) off her body is water of pleasure, overflowing with vigor.]

11. *Mi'ṣamī,* lit., "my wrist," that is, the lovers were released from the seductress, wandering in the fantasy garden of "water and green"; for the implications of "water" and "green" see the discussion in the article. "Green" also hints at hashish; see Guo, "Paradise Lost," 221 (note 9).

12. *Turḍi'uhu baẓrah,* lit., "so [her] clitoris would give him suck."

13. *Shidqihi,* lit., "[through] the corner of his mouth"; K has *famihi,* "his mouth."

14. I read the phrase *mughāliban* as a *ḥāl* clause, modifying the main verb *yasṭū.* The phrase *li-mā* is to be understood here as related to the verbal noun *sawm,* "the going away for or after a thing" (Lane; compare the usage cited by Lane: *khallāhu wa-sawmahu li-mā yurīdu*, "he left him to do as he pleased"). *Jadhr,* the "snatch"; the word also can be understood as "what is to be uprooted," that is, hashish. This line is not in K. This is a difficult line, the reading of which is undertain.

15–16. The two lines are condensed into one in K: Yaqūlu lil-kīfākhi min khalfihi / an (in?) kāna mā yarḍá bi-hā ba'rah [He speaks to the tall woman (?), dragging behind him, although he doesn't care about her dung].

15. All the manuscripts used in *Mukhtār* and K have *al-kīfākh,* except one, which has *al-afqāḥ,* an alternate for the uncertain *kīfākh*. *Afqāḥ* appears to be a plural form for perhaps *fuqqāḥ,* "blossom of plants, tall, handsome woman" (Hava), or *fiqāḥ,* "a wide anus" (Lane, Kazimirski). As for *kīfākh,* according to the *Lisān al-'Arab* the root *k-f-kh* has the basic meaning of *ḍaraba,* "to strike, to squeeze (?)"; thus *kafkhah* means *al-zubdah al-mujatama'ah al-bayḍā',* "the foam, or cream, on top of the butter," which is considered its best part *(Lisān al-'Arab),* or "Écume abondante" (Kazimirski). There is also the possibility of a corrupt spelling of *q-f-ḥ,* thus *qafīḥah,* "cream upon which milk is added" (Hava), or *q-f-kh,* thus *qufākh,* which is similar to *k-f-kh*. I read the rest of the line, after *wa-al-kīfākh* . . . , as a *ḥāl* clause, describing the circumstances under which the pimp was speaking. *Shamrah,* "fennel," perhaps alludes to hashish.

16. *Zin*, lit., "weigh out!"

17. *Fawqahu*: one MS in K has *dabba fī,* ″(worms) crawl in,″ perhaps as in ″*white* sperms, like worms, crawling around the *red* makeup (or blood?) on her cheeks,″ or the other way around, as in ″red tongue, like a worm, crawling around white cheeks.″
18. K has a totally different line: Yā ayyuhā al-nāsu (variant: yā ma'shara al-nās) ighnamū waṣlahā / lā tatrukū al-nayka 'alá fashrah [O men, seize the opportunity to screw her! Don′t trade a real fuck for cheap talk!] *Dhī saḥq al-wafā'*, lit., ″those who wear the old garments of chivalrous loyalty (?)″; for *saḥq,* ″an old and worn-out garment,″ see Lane. Note the similar imagery of worn-out cloth *(nashrah)* in the next hemistich. *Al-qaṣf:* the fuller version of the expression is *dhū al-qaṣf,* ″folks of carousal, revelry,″ which also appears in Ibn Dāniyāl′s *Qaṣīdah* No. 69 (line 6); see Guo, ″Paradise Lost,″ 221, 232. The rendering of this verse is uncertain.
19. *Samīṭ al-laḥm,* lit., ″a meat dish.″ *Sufrah,* ″tablecloth,″ also means ″anus″ in modern Egyptian (Badawi and Hinds). I thank Everett Rowson for the reference.
20. *In washwashat fī wajhihi faswatun*; K has *in nasamat fī wajhihi ḍarṭatun.*
21. The first letter of the last word is erased in the manuscript, I read the word as *'ishrah;* K has *nushrah,* which does not make sense to me.
22. *'Udhrah*; an ancient Arabian tribe famous for its folks′ platonic love.
23. *Saḥḥāqah*: K has *saḥḥātah,* the meaning of which is unclear.
24. K has slightly different wording: Wa-kullu khammārin 'alá 'unqihi / ziqqun wa-fī 'ātiqihi zukrah.
26. K has slightly different wording: Wa-min banī ḥāmin akhū mizrah / qad 'akkarahu al-waqtu lahū mizrah (variant: ṣafā lahū *s-n-d [sh-d-d]* wa-lahū mizrah). *Al-mizrah,* according to al-Dulaymī, means *manqū' al-dhurah* (*Mukhtār,* 120 [note 356]); since *naqī'* is a kind of ″juice obtained from dried fruits soaked in water″ (Hans Wehr), *manqū' al-dhurah* could probably be some kind of juice obtained from millet soaked in water.
27. *Baghghā'*, an energetic form of *bighā'*, ″passive prostitution,″ that is, a male prostitute who is penetrated; see Rowson, ″Medieval Arabic Vice Lists,″ 54, 64–65. Both *bighā'* and *ubnah* are listed by al-Jurjānī in the category of ″passive male homosexuality.″ *Mubādil*, derived from *bidāl,* namely, ″taking turns at the active role in homosexual intercourse″; see Rowson, ″Medieval Arabic Vice Lists,″ 66–67. *Abghá* is a superlative perhaps punning on *bāghin,* ″striving, oppressive,″ and *baghī*, ″whore.″
28. *Mukhtār* has *'umrah*, but the word may be read *'amrah*, ″turban,″ as well.

28–29. In K, two more lines are inserted between these two:
Wa-kullu shālūṣi qimārin wa-qad / ajāda bi-al-'ufqi la-hū qamrah
Wa-kullu liṣṣin wa-'ayyārin / wa-baṭṭāṭin wa-fī tubbānihi ṣurrah

[Every gambler who is good at breaking wind (while having sex) has his target to shoot at (?).
Every thief, bum, and (wine?) bottle maker, a money bag hangs in his pants.]
The first line is somewhat similar to line 40 in the *Mukhtār* version. The meaning of *qamrah,* so vocalized in K, is unclear; Dozy has "coup de flèche qui atteint presque le but." *Al-'ufq*, vocalized so in K, is also unclear; for *al-'afq*, see note to line 40 below.

31. *Mā*, K has *man,* "who caused . . . "; and *man turá*, "who do you think . . ." *Dhawī shirrah,* K has *dhawī khibrah,* "savvy, seasoned."
32. *Mānī,* "a Manichaean" (the common spelling is *mānawī*); this reading is given in *Mukhtār;* the word appears in the manuscript, without dots, as either *bānī* (?), or *bābī* (?), likely *bi-abī,* that is, "O you for whom I would ransom my father . . ."; one MS in K has *ṣāḥibī,* "my friend," while the other three have *bābī*. *Kuss* (*u*)*kht*, lit., "sister's cunt," as in, "fuck your sister!"
33. *Qallat*: K has *fullat* (variant: *qallat*). The second hemistich, lit., "I no longer have commanding power *(amr)* nor authority *(imrah)*."
34. *Yaltaqī* in the manuscript; but the *Mukhtār* gives *yaktafī,* "is satisfied with . . ."; K has *yaltaqī* as well.
35. *Ṣufr,* "yellow": under Mamluk ruling, Jews were forced to wear yellow turbans in public, and their shops were supposed to hang a yellow sign to distinguish themselves from the businesses run by Muslims. It could also be a pun on *ṣifr* (empty, has been stripped bare) and *ṣufr* (he is so humiliated that his face has turned yellow).
36. *Qalī* (K has *qallā,* a verb) *al-fār*, lit., " he who fries rat," or "fried rat"; for the possible meaning of *al-fār* as the name of some hard liquor, see Guo, "Paradise Lost," 234 (line 14, *ṭājinat al-fār,* "Hot Pot of Rat"). *Fī ḥasrah*: K has *fī fāqatin,* "in poverty."
37. *Yujriḥa* in the manuscript; *Mukhtār* and K have *yakhruja,* "is about to go out . . ."
38. K has a different first hemistich: Fa-lā tasalnī 'an banāti al-khaṭā [Don't even bother to ask me about the misguided girls . . .].
40. This line is likely misplaced. The K version is closer to the right context; it has a different line: Wa-kullu qiṣṣīfin yará sakrata / al-mawti wa-lā talqāhu fī sakrah [Every reveler would see the agony of death, which you may not find in drunkenness]. *Sākūs qimār*: al-Dulaymī suggests the meaning of the word *sākūs* to be *al-mudmin,* "addict" (*Mukhtār,* 120 [note 359]). I suspect it was perhaps a misspelling of *sālūs;* for *sālūs,* see Bosworth, *The Medieval Islamic Underworld,* 311 *(sālūs, shālūsah)*. K has *shālūṣ. Al-'afq*

bi-hā: the reading is uncertain; the basic meaning of the verb root *ʻ-f-q* is ″to come and go often,″ hence the current translation; however, according to the *Lisān al-ʻArab*, the verb *ʻafaqa* means *ḍaraṭa*, ″fart,″ or *al-ḍarṭah al-khafīyah*, ″breaking soundless wind″; cf. the use cited in the *Lisān: ʻafaqa bi-hā wa-khabaja bi-hā idhā ḍaraṭa*, ″sodomize her while breaking wind.″ If that is the case, then we have one more example of the ″farting vs. fragrant smell″ topos.

41. Both *Mukhtār* and K have *aghwī wa-aʻwī* (″howl,″ but it can also mean something like ″lead into *fitnah*.″) ″To comb love-lock and forelock″ perhaps strikes an image of Iblīs constantly grabbing his hair, or his followers theirs, in desperation and despair, somehow an equivalent of ″lending a shoulder for someone to cry on.″ It may also simply mean that Iblīs helps his ″clients″ to get well-groomed and ready to go.

45. *Lā ajrah,* lit., ″without fee, or charge.″

47. *Taskuna:* K has *tadhkura,* ″[don′t] even mention . . . .″ ″*Miṣr,* ″a country,″ a pun on ″Egypt″ or ″Cairo″ *(miṣr)* and a ″country″ *(miṣr)*.

48–50. K has a different ending:

Iyyāka an tadhkura miṣra wa-an / taqrubahā in kunta dhā khibrah
Fa-inna fīhā malika qāsiṭin / lā bariḥat ayyāmuhū naṣrah
Bāta al-qarīru al-ṭarfi fī baladatin / amnuhū aʻlá min al-nashrah
[Don′t you dare mention a place called Egypt, let alone come close to it, even if you know it well.
In that country, there is a just ruler, whose reign continues to gain support.
A gratified man will rest assured that in such a place, his safety is loftier (in status) than a royal decree!]

48. *Mubārak al-ṭalʻah*, that is, a handsome horse.

50. For the torture of *al-tajrīs,* see Guo, ″Paradise Lost,″ 221. *Al-durrah*, ″big-headed whip,″ *Mukhtār*, 121 (note 360).

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Living Love: The Mystical Writings of ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah (d. 922/1516)

The summer of 922/1516 was a difficult time for Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī. The Mamluk sultan was in tense negotiations with Sultan Selim, his Ottoman rival, and fearing war, al-Ghawrī mustered an army at Aleppo. There, in the months of Jumādá II and Rajab/July and August, al-Ghawrī prepared his troops and ordered prayers recited on their behalf day and night. The sultan was reclusive and rarely appeared in public save for urgent military matters.[1] Yet, Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī took time to meet with an elderly woman. Accompanied by al-Badr al-Suyūfī (ca. 850–925/1446–1519), an accomplished religious scholar, his student al-Shams al-Safīrī (877–956/1472–1549), and several others, ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah was granted an audience with the sultan. Shortly thereafter, ʿĀʾishah returned home to Damascus, while al-Ghawrī left Aleppo for his fateful day at Marj Dābiq.[2]

I

ʿĀʾishah's meeting with the Mamluk sultan was an extraordinary event befitting her exceptional life. She was born in Damascus near the middle of the ninth/fifteenth century into a family of respected religious scholars and litterateurs. Originating in the village of al-Bāʿūn in southern Syria, the Bāʿūnī family served the Mamluks for several generations, holding a number of important religious and legal positions throughout the empire.[3] ʿĀʾishah's grandfather, Aḥmad ibn Nāṣir (751–816/1350–1413), was at various times the Friday preacher at the al-Aqṣá Mosque in Jerusalem, the Friday preacher at the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, the Shafiʿi judge of Damascus and, for two months, of Egypt, as well. During the reign of Sultan Barqūq (r. 784–801/1382–99), Aḥmad was granted the eminent rank of *shaykh al-shuyūkh,* but he fell from royal grace for refusing to lend the sultan funds from religious endowments. Aḥmad wrote a commentary on the Quran and a poem on proper religious belief, and was considered an excellent preacher. Likewise, his son Ibrāhīm (ca. 777–870/1375–1464) served as the Friday

[1]Carl F. Petry, *Twilight of Majesty* (Seattle, 1993), 221–28.

[2]Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-Ḥalabī, *Durr al-Ḥabab fī Tārīkh Aʿyān Ḥalab,* ed. Maḥmūd al-Fākhūrī and Yaḥyá ʿAbbārah (Damascus, 1973), 1:2:1061; 1:2:506–22, and 2:2:258–62.

[3]Concerning al-Bāʿūn, see Ḥasan Rabābiʿah, *ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah: Shāʿirah* (Irbid, 1997), 13–31.

preacher at the Umayyad Mosque, the Friday preacher of the al-Aqṣá Mosque, and supervisor of the Muslim holy places of Jerusalem and Hebron *(nāẓir al-ḥaramayn).* His fine literary abilities won him the title "Master of Literature in the Land of Syria." Aḥmad's second son, Muḥammad (780–871/1378–1466), was also the Friday preacher at the Umayyad Mosque, as well as a minor poet and historian.[4]

Aḥmad's third son Yūsuf (805–80/1402–75) was ʿĀʾishah's father. He received a religious and legal education similar to that of his brothers, and was appointed Shafiʿi judge in Ṣafad, Tripoli, Aleppo, and, finally, in Damascus, where he also oversaw the reorganization and expansion of the hospital of Nūr al-Dīn. Yūsuf wrote both prose and poetry, and was regarded as an honest and pious man, and among the best judges to have served in Damascus. Shortly before his death in 880/1475, he completed the pilgrimage to Mecca with his children and other family members, ʿĀʾishah presumably among them.[5] In addition to his daughter ʿĀʾishah, Yūsuf had at least five sons, the most prominent of whom was probably Muḥammad (857–916/1453–1510), a poet, historian, and legal scholar who served for a time as the Shafiʿi judge of Aleppo.[6]

Nevertheless, surpassing them all in talent, erudition, and fame was their sister ʿĀʾishah. Several contemporaries left accounts of her, including the Damascene historian Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn (884–935/1479–1529), and the necrologist of Aleppo, Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-Ḥalabī (908–71/1502–63). Drawing extensively from both sources are later notices by Muḥammad al-Ghazzī (977–1061/1570–1651), and ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ibn al-ʿImād (1032–89/1623–79).[7]

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[4]For information and sources on members of the Bāʿūnī family, see W. A. S. Khalidi, "Al-Bāʿūnī," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 1:1109–10; Fāris Aḥmad al-ʿAlāwī, *ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah al-Dimashqīyah* (Damascus, 1994), 20–31, and Rabābiʿah, *ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah: Shāʿirah,* 33–42. ʿAlāwī should be used with caution; see my review of al-ʿAlāwī in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 191-193.

[5]See the sources listed in the preceding note, as well as Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Cairo, 1934), 10:298–99; Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Qalāʾid al-Jawharīyah fī Tārīkh al-Ṣāliḥīyah,* ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān (Damascus, 1980), 1:488–89; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Mullā al-Ḥaṣkafī, *Mutʿat al-Adhhān min al-Tamattuʿ bi-al-Iqrān,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl al-Shaybānī al-Mawṣilī (Beirut, 1999), 2:832–33, and Mūsá ibn Yūsuf al-Anṣārī, *Nuzhat al-Khāṭir wa-Bahjat al-Nāẓir,* ed. ʿAdnān Muḥammad Ibrāhīm and ʿAdnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1991), 2:13–40.

[6]Ibn al-Mullā al-Ḥaṣkafī, *Mutʿat al-Adhhān,* 1:416, 464–65, 472, 2:792; Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib al-Sāʾirah bi-Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-ʿĀshirah,* ed. Jibrāʾīl Sulaymān Jabbūr (Beirut, 1945), 1:72–73, 147; and Khalidi, "Al-Bāʿūnī," *EI*^{2}, 1:1110.

[7]Ibn al-Mullā al-Ḥaṣkafī, *Mutʿat al-Adhhān,* 2:878–79; Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-Ḥalabī, *Durr al-Ḥabab,* 1:2:1060–69; al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib,* 1:287–92; and ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Cairo, 1931), 8:111–13.

Unfortunately, none of them mentions when ʻĀʼishah was born, though Ibn Ṭūlūn, who knew her, quoted verses that ʻĀʼishah recited to her uncle Ibrāhīm, who died in 870/1464. Perhaps ʻĀʼishah was ten at that time, and so born around 860/1455.[8] For she was a precocious child, and in one of her writings, ʻĀʼishah stated that she had memorized the entire Quran by the age of eight.[9] ʻĀʼishah went on to study poetry, hadith, and jurisprudence, probably with her father and her uncle Ibrāhīm, among others.[10]

ʻĀʼishah also specialized in the study and practice of Islamic mysticism, which was important to the entire family. Her great uncle Ismāʻīl had been a Sufi ascetic; her uncle Muḥammad composed a devotional poem of over a thousand verses on the prophet Muḥammad, while her uncle Ibrāhīm had been the first director of the al-Bāsiṭīyah *khānqāh* in Damascus. Moreover, many members of the Bāʻūnī family, including ʻĀʼishah′s father, were buried in a family plot adjacent to the *zāwiyah* of the Sufi master Abū Bakr ibn Dāwūd (d. 806/1403). This strongly suggests their attachment to this Sufi and his descendents, who were affiliated with the Urmawī branch of the Qādirīyah order.[11]

ʻĀʼishah′s own affection for the Qādirīyah is evident in many of her writings, which include praise for the order′s progenitor ʻAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (470–561/1078–1166).[12] She was also influenced by ʻAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī (396–481/1005–89), composing a verse rendition of his popular Sufi guide, the *Manāzil al-Sāʼirīn.*[13] In addition, ʻĀʼishah read and made copies of Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī′s (631–76/1233–77) book on prayer, the *Kitāb al-Adhkār,*[14] and ʻAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Jurjānī′s (740–816/1339–1413) Sufi lexicon, the *Kitāb al-Taʻrīfāt*.[15] Further, she frequently praised her two spiritual masters, Jamāl al-Dīn Ismāʻīl al-Ḥawwārī (fl. late ninth/fifteenth century), and his *khalīfah,* or successor,

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[8]Ibn al-Mullā al-Ḥaṣkafī, *Mutʻat al-Adhhān,* 2:878, and al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib,* 1:292.

[9]Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-Ḥalabī, *Durr al-Ḥabab,* 1:2:1060–61, and al-ʻAlāwī, *ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah,* 18–20.

[10]See the sources listed in the preceding note, as well as al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib,* 1:287–98, and Rabābiʻah, *ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah: Shāʻirah,* 44.

[11]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʼ,* 2:232, 308, 7:114; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Qalāʼid,* 1: 274–78, 299–301, 489, 2:593; ʻAbd al-Qādir al-Nuʻaymī, *Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris,* ed. Jaʻfar al-Ḥasanī (reprint, Cairo, 1988), 2:196, 202–3; and Eric Geoffroy, *Le Soufisme en Egypte et en Syrie* (Damascus, 1995), 225–28.

[12]See W. Braune, ″ʻAbd al-Qādir al-Djīlānī,″ *EI*[2], 1:69–70, and D. S. Margoliouth, ″Ḳādiriyya,″ *EI*[2], 4:380–83.

[13]See S. De Beaurecueil, ″Al-Anṣārī al-Harawī,″ *EI*[2], 1:515–16.

[14]C. Brockelmann, ″ʻĀʼishah Bint Yūsuf,″ *Encyclopaedia of Islām,* 1st ed., 1:217, and W. Heffening, ″Al-Nawawī,″ *EI*[2], 7:1041.

[15]Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-Ḥalabī, *Durr al-Ḥabab,* 1:2:1062, and al-ʻAlāwī, *ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah,* 35. Also see A. S. Tritton, ″Al-Djurdjānī,″ *EI*[2], 2:602–3, and Geoffroy, *Soufisme,* 90–91.

Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyá al-Urmawī (fl. ninth-tenth/fifteenth-sixteenth centuries). ʻĀʼishah states:

> My education and development, my spiritual effacement and purification, occurred by the helping hand of the sultan of the saints of his time, the crown of the pure friends of his age, the beauty of truth and religion, the venerable master, father of the spiritual axes, the axis of existence, Ismāʻīl al-Ḥawwārī—may God sanctify his heart's secret and be satisfied with him—and, then, by the helping hand of his successor in spiritual states and stations, and in spiritual proximity and union, Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyá al-Urmawī—may God continue to spread his ever-growing spiritual blessings throughout his lifetime, and join us every moment to his blessings and succor.[16]

The relationship between ʻĀʼishah and Ismāʻīl al-Ḥawwārī appears to have been particularly close, for in several of her works ʻĀʼishah described herself as "related to Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad al-Bāʻūnī on earth, and in truth to the axis, the unique and universal helper, Jamāl al-Dīn Ismāʻīl al-Ḥawwārī."[17]

As a Qādirī Sufi and a woman, ʻĀʼishah was expected to marry and have children. The Bāʻūnīs were a prominent family of the al-Ṣāliḥīyah district of Damascus, and several Bāʻūnī daughters, including ʻĀʼishah, married members of another distinguished family from the area. Known as Ibn Naqīb al-Ashrāf, they were descendents of the prophet Muḥammad through his grandson al-Ḥusayn. ʻĀʼishah married Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Naqīb al-Ashrāf (d. 909/1503), about whom we know little, while his more famous brother, the religious scholar and teacher ʻAlāʼ al-Dīn ʻAlī (852–910/1448–1504), married one of ʻĀʼishah's

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[16]Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-Ḥalabī, *Durr al-Ḥabab,* 1:2:1063–64; also see Ibn al-Mullā al-Ḥaṣkafī, *Mutʻat al-Adhhān,* 2:878; al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib,* 1:287–92; al-ʻAlāwī, *ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah,* 18–19, 124–25; and Rabābiʻah, *ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah: Shāʻirah,* 162–67.

[17]ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah, "Dīwān ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah (=Fayḍ al-Faḍl)," Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah, Cairo, microfilm 29322 of MS 431 (Shiʻr Taymūr), 4; her "Durar al-Ghāʼiṣ fī Baḥr al-Muʻjizāt wa-al-Khaṣāʼiṣ," Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah, Cairo, microfilm 34329 of MS 558 (ḥadīth), fol. 2a; and her "Al-Mawrid al-Ahná," ed. al-ʻAlāwī, *ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah,* 124–25. Sources differ over Jamāl al-Dīn Ismāʻīl's place of origin. Ibn Ṭūlūn called him "al-Ḥawrānī" from a village in the districts of Damascus, while Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-Ḥalabī, al-Ghazzī, and Ibn al-ʻImād called him "al-Khwārazmī;" Ibn al-Mullā al-Ḥaṣkafī, *Mutʻat al-Adhhān,* 2:878; Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-Ḥalabī, *Durr al-Ḥabab,* 1:2:1063; al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib,* 1:288, and Ibn al-ʻImād, *Shadharāt,* 8:111. However, surviving manuscripts of ʻĀʼishah's works clearly state that Jamāl al-Dīn Ismāʻīl was "from Ḥawwār," a village near Aleppo. Also see Mājid al-Dhahabī and Ṣalāḥ al-Khiyamī, "Dīwān ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah," *Turāth al-ʻArabī* (Damascus) 4 (1981): 110–21, esp. 112, and Yāqūt ibn ʻAbd Allāh al-Ḥamawī, *Muʻjam al-Buldān* (Beirut, 1979), 2:315, 317.

older nieces.[18] ʻĀ'ishah had at least two children, including a daughter, Barakah (b. 899/1491), and a son, ʻAbd al-Wahhāb (b. 897/1489).[19]

Together with ʻAbd al-Wahhāb, ʻĀ'ishah set out for Cairo in 919/1513. By this time ʻĀ'ishah's husband and brothers were dead, and so she apparently took it upon herself to travel to Cairo in order to secure a job for her son in the Mamluk administration.[20] Unfortunately, during their journey they were robbed near the Egyptian city of Bilbīs, and ʻĀ'ishah lost all of her writings. When they finally arrived in Cairo, ʻĀ'ishah requested the assistance of Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad ibn Ajā (854–925/1450–1519), the confidential secretary and foreign minister of the sultan al-Ghawrī. Ibn Ajā treated ʻĀ'ishah like an old friend to the extent of lodging her in his own harem and eventually employing her son in the chancery.[21] Why Ibn Ajā was so generous to ʻĀ'ishah and her son is open to speculation, though Ibn Ajā had previous close relations with at least one member of the Ibn Naqīb al-Ashrāf family. In addition, Ibn Ajā, who was originally from Aleppo, may have known ʻĀ'ishah's brother Muḥammad, who had been a Shafiʻi judge there, or her Sufi shaykh, Jamāl al-Dīn Ismāʻīl, who was also from the region. It may be, too, that ʻĀ'ishah's poetic reputation had preceded her to Cairo, attracting the attention of Ibn Ajā, to whom she would dedicate several glowing panegyrics.[22]

Whatever the case, Ibn Ajā gave ʻĀ'ishah an apartment next to his wife, Sitt al-Ḥalab (d. 933/1526). Sitt al-Ḥalab was the daughter of an important Mamluk amir and official of Aleppo, and after her father's death, she became the overseer of the substantial religious endowments that he had created during his lifetime.[23] Sitt al-Ḥalab then appears to have conspired with Ibn Ajā to divorce her first

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[18]Ibn al-Mullā al-Ḥaṣkafī, *Mutʻat al-Adhhān,* 1:157, 483–84, 518; 2:716–17, 878.

[19]In comments at the end of one of her works, ʻĀ'ishah names her husband, her two children, the dates of her children's births, and makes a few comments on the difficulty of receiving the stipend owed to her son as a descendent of the Prophet Muḥammad; see her "Al-Mawrid al-Ahná fī al-Mawlid al-Asná," Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah, Cairo, MS 639 (Shiʻr Taymūr), 355–56, quoted in Rabābiʻah, *ʻĀ'ishah al-Bāʻūnīyah: Shāʻirah,* 46–47; and also see ʻAbd Allāh Mukhliṣ, "ʻĀ'ishah al-Bāʻūnīyah," *Majallat al-Majmaʻ al-ʻIlmī* (Damascus) 16 no. 2 (1941): 66–72, esp. 69. Ibn al-ʻImād (*Shadharāt,* 8:132) following al-Ghazzī (*Al-Kawākib,* 1:257) referred to ʻAbd al-Wahhāb's mother as "Zaynab bint al-Bāʻūnī." But I believe, as does Rabābiʻah, that ʻĀ'ishah is meant, due to the time and circumstances of ʻAbd al-Wahhāb's stay in Cairo as discussed below.

[20]ʻĀ'ishah may also have been attempting to secure her son's stipend; see n. 19; Rabābiʻah, *ʻĀ'ishah al-Bāʻūnīyah: Shāʻirah,* 47–52, and ʻUmar Farrūkh, *Tārīkh al-Adab al-ʻArabī* , 5th ed. (Beirut, 1984), 3:926–27.

[21]Ibn al-Mullā al-Ḥaṣkafī, *Mutʻat al-Adhhān,* 1:483; 2:878; al-Dhahabī and al-Khiyamī, "Dīwān ʻĀ'ishah al-Bāʻūnīyah," 112; and Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-Ḥalabī, *Durr al-Ḥabab,* 1:2:1064.

[22]Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-Ḥalabī, *Durr al-Ḥabab,* 1:1:1064; 2:2:456–60; also see Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 1962), 1:315; al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib,* 1:101; and Rabābiʻah, *ʻĀ'ishah al-Bāʻūnīyah: Shāʻirah,* 50–52, 250–51.

[23]Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-Ḥalabī, *Durr al-Ḥabab,* 1:2:575–78, 884–85, and al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw',* 5:125.

husband, after which she married Ibn Ajā. No doubt aided by Sitt al-Ḥalab's vast wealth, Ibn Ajā became the Hanafi judge of Aleppo in 890/1485 and continued his rise to power until Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī appointed him confidential secretary and foreign minister in 906/1500.[24] Though frequently in poor health, Ibn Ajā held these important positions until the end of the Mamluk dynasty, as he enjoyed the high esteem and friendship of al-Ghawrī. Ibn Ajā threw lavish banquets for his sultan, who reciprocated with expensive gifts, and Sitt al-Ḥalab, too, had elaborate meals prepared for al-Ghawrī and his entourage when the sultan came to Ibn Ajā's residence to visit his ailing minister. Not surprisingly, Sitt al-Ḥalab was on friendly terms with al-Ghawrī's wife, the Circassian princess Jān-i Sukkar, whom she met at monthly soirees.[25]

Perhaps ‘Ā’ishah attended some of these sessions and met the princess, for she certainly circulated among Cairo's elite. ‘Ā’ishah studied and shared views with a number of the finest scholars of the time, who authorized her to teach, and give legal opinions of her own. Ibn Ajā also introduced her to the noted litterateur and religious scholar ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Abbāsī (867–963/1463–1557), with whom she exchanged a number of friendly and witty poems.[26] ‘Ā’ishah stayed in Cairo for several years enjoying Ibn Ajā's patronage, and she may not have left Cairo until 922/1516, when her son ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, then an assistant secretary, accompanied Ibn Ajā to Aleppo, where ‘Ā’ishah met the sultan.[27] Perhaps Ibn Ajā suggested the royal audience to al-Ghawrī, whose love of poetry is well known.[28] But the sultan may have met with ‘Ā’ishah to seek her blessings, as well. For in this time of crisis, al-Ghawrī was also gathering his spiritual forces for the days and battle ahead, and it is quite apparent from biographies of ‘Ā’ishah and from her own comments in her writings that she was highly regarded as a pious woman and Sufi master.[29]

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[24]Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-Ḥalabī, *Durr al-Ḥabab,* 2:2:452–54, and Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī‘ al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'ī‘ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá, 3rd ed. (Cairo, 1984), 3:219, 258, 318, 426, 474.

[25]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī‘,* 4:276, 394, 473–74, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-Ḥalabī, *Durr al-Ḥabab*, 1:2:575–78.

[26]Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-Ḥalabī, *Durr al-Ḥabab,* 1:2:1064–65; Ibn al-Mullā al-Ḥaṣkafī, *Mut‘at al-Adhhān,* 2:878; al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib,* 1:288–90; al-‘Alāwī, *‘Ā'ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah,* 37–42; and Rabābi‘ah, *‘Ā'ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah: Shā‘irah,* 167–72.

[27]Ibn al-Mullā al-Ḥaṣkafī, *Mut‘at al-Adhhān,* 1:483.

[28]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī‘,* 5:89, and see Petry, *Twilight,* 119–22.

[29]‘Ā'ishah's biographers refer to her variously as "the intelligent, knowledgeable, and pious shaykhah, poet, litterateur and Sufi, one of the unique people of all time, and a rarity of the ages." Also see Rabābi‘ah, *‘Ā'ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah: Shā‘irah,* 220–22; Th. Emil Homerin, "Saving Muslim Souls: The *Khānqāh* and the Sufi Duty in Mamluk Lands," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 59–83, esp. 62–63; and Petry, *Twilight,* 224–25, who describes al-Ghawrī's invocations for divine aid on the battlefield of Marj Dābiq.

II

Indeed, by any standard, ʻĀʼishah′s religious writings were extensive, but for a premodern woman, they were simply extraordinary. While a number of women were respected scholars and teachers in Mamluk domains, they rarely composed works of their own.[30] ʻĀʼishah, however, was a prolific author of both religious prose and poetry, and she probably wrote more Arabic works than any other woman prior to the twentieth century. In addition to copying earlier religious works, including al-Nawawī′s *Kitāb al-Adhkār,* and al-Jurjānī′s *Kitāb al-Taʻrīfāt,* ʻĀʼishah composed verse abridgements of Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī′s (d. 902/1497) *Al-Qawl al-Badīʻ fī Ṣalāt ʻalá al-Ḥabīb al-Shafīʻ,*[31] and *Al-Muʻjizāt wa-al-Khaṣāʼiṣ al-Nabawīyah* by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505).[32] Both were devotional works in praise of the prophet Muḥammad, and she also composed a panegyric on Muḥammad entitled *Fayḍ al-Wafāʼ fī Asmāʼ al-Muṣṭafá,* and several similar works combining prose and poetry, including the *Madad al-Wudūd fī Mawlid al-Maḥmūd, Al-Fatḥ al-Qarīb fī Miʻrāj al-Ḥabīb,* and *Al-Mawrid al-Ahná fī al-Mawlid al-Asná*.[33] ʻĀʼishah also wrote a number of works on Sufism, including her verse abridgement of al-Anṣārī′s *Manāzil al-Sāʼirīn,*[34] a spiritual guide entitled *Al-Muntakhab fī Uṣūl al-Rutab,*[35] a work entitled *Malāmiḥ al-Sharīfah min Āthār al-Laṭīfah,* an ode on mystical recitation and prayer called *Tashrīf al-Fikr fī Naẓm Fawāʼid al-Dhikr,* and two volumes of mystical and devotional poetry, *Al-Fatḥ al-Ḥaqqī min Fayḥ al-Talaqqī,* and her *Fayḍ al-Faḍl wa-Jamʻ al-Shaml*.[36]

Among ʻĀʼishah′s favorite poets was Muḥammad al-Buṣīrī (d. 694/1295), and she incorporated his famous panegyric to Muḥammad, *Al-Burdah,* into a *takhmīs,* which was among the dozen works stolen from her in 919/1513 on the road to

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[30]See al-ʻAlāwī, *ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah,* 36–37; Huda Lutfī, ″Al-Sakhāwī′s *Kitāb al-Nisāʼ* as a Source For the Social and Economic History of Muslim Women During the Fifteenth Century A.D.,″ *Muslim World* 71 (1981): 104–24, esp. 121; and Jonathan P. Berkey, ″Women and Islamic Education in the Mamluk Period,″ *Women in Middle Eastern History,* ed. Nikki R. Keddie and Beth Baron (New Haven, 1991), 143–57.

[31]Kātib Çelebi, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* (Istanbul, 1941–43), 2:1081, 1362.

[32]ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah, ″Durar al-Ghāʼiṣ fī Baḥr al-Muʻjizāt wa-al-Khaṣāʼiṣ″; she completed this work in 902/1497 (fol. 1b.).

[33]For a list of ʻĀʼishah′s writings prior to 919/1513, see her ″Fayḍ al-Faḍl,″ 218–20; also see Rabābiʻah, *ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah: Shāʻirah,* 59–65 and the partial list in al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib,* 1:288. For her *Al-Mawrid al-Ahná,* completed in 901/1495, see the recent edition in al-ʻAlāwī, *ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah,* 44–47, 103–79.

[34]ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah, ″Fayḍ al-Faḍl,″ 219, and Kātib Çelebi, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn,* 1:96.

[35]Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah, Cairo, microfilm 13123 of MS 318 (Taṣawwuf Taymūr), 1074/1663.

[36]ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah, ″Fayḍ al-Faḍl,″ 219, 297, and Kātib Çelebi, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn,* 2:1232, 1813.

Cairo. Though devastated by this loss, ‘Ā’ishah set to work composing a second *takhmīs* on *Al-Burdah,* and she collected it in a volume together with five additional odes in praise of the Prophet which she completed during her stay in Cairo.[37] This collection includes her most famous poem, the *Fatḥ al-Mubīn fī Madḥ al-Amīn* (The clear inspiration in praise of the trusted prophet), which consists of 130 verses, each containing an elegant example of a rhetorical device (*badī‘;* e.g., paronomasia, antithesis, etc.), while lauding an attribute or action of Muḥammad. This work and ‘Ā’ishah′s commentary on it reveal her refined poetic skills and extensive knowledge of Arabic language and literature, and she referred to many of her literary predecessors including al-Buḥtarī (d. 284/897), al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965), al-Ma‘arrī (d. 449/1057), and Ibn Abī Iṣba‘ (d. 654/1256). Further, ‘Ā’ishah consciously patterned her *Fatḥ al-Mubīn* on earlier *badī‘īyah* poems praising the Prophet by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 749/1349) and Abū Bakr Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī (d. 838/1434); the poetic influences of al-Buṣīrī and his literary forefather, ‘Umar Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235), are evident as well.[38]

But ‘Ā’ishah′s praise of the prophet Muḥammad was more than a rhetorical undertaking, as she noted in her introduction to her second *takhmīs* on *Al-Burdah,* entitled *Al-Qawl al-Ṣaḥīḥ fī Takhmīs Burdat al-Madīḥ:*

> Praising the noble Prophet is a distinguishing feature of the pious and a sign of those who are successful. Those who desire the best, desire to praise him, while the pure of heart praise him without end, for this is among the best ways to achieve success and a means for doubling rewards![39]

Further, in many poems, ‘Ā’ishah extolled the spiritual and physical benefits of such pious praise:

> Praise of God′s Prophet moves the soul;
> it drives away doubt, worries, and grief.

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[37]‘Ā’ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah, ″Fayḍ al-Faḍl,″ 219, and al-Dhahabī and al-Khiyamī, ″Dīwān ‘Ā’ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah,″ 112–13, which also contains a description of this collection. A *takhmīs* is the expansion of an earlier poem by adding three stanzas in elaboration and/or commentary to each verse (two stanzas) of the original poem (= 5 stanzas = *takhmīs*); see W. P. Heinrichs, ″Allusion and Intertextuality,″ in Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey, *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature* (London, 1998), 1:82–83, and Rabābi‘ah, *‘Ā’ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah: Shā‘irah,* 123–38.

[38]Al-Dhahabī and al-Khiyamī, ″Dīwān ‘Ā’ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah,″ 113–15; al-‘Alāwī, *‘Ā’ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah,* 44–47, 185–91; and Rabābi‘ah, *‘Ā’ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah: Shā‘irah,* 56, who notes that ‘Ā’ishah cites at least fifty authors and poets in her commentary. Also see in this issue, G. van Gelder, ″Poetry for Easy Listening: *Insijām* and Related Concepts in Ibn Ḥijjah′s *Khizānat al-Adab*.

[39]Al-Dhahabī and al-Khiyamī, ″Dīwān ‘Ā’ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah,″ 112, and al-‘Alāwī, *‘Ā’ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah,* 44–47.

Spirits find rest, eyes cry in delight,
and bodies dance—you can′t hold them back![40]

In fact, ʻĀ'ishah′s own devotion to the Prophet was probably strengthened by her vision of him during her stay in Mecca. Though she does not relate the date of the event, it probably occurred around 880/1475 when ʻĀ'ishah went on pilgrimage with her father.

> God, may He be praised, granted me a vision of the Messenger when I was residing in holy Mecca. An anxiety had overcome me by the will of God most high, and so I wanted to go to the holy sanctuary. It was Friday night, and I reclined on a couch on an enclosed veranda overlooking the holy Kaʻbah and the sacred precinct. It so happened that one of the men there was reading a *mawlid* of God′s Messenger, and voices arose with blessings upon the Prophet. Then, I could not believe my eyes, for it was as if I was standing among a group of women. Someone said: ″Kiss the Prophet!″ and a dread came over me that made me swoon until the Prophet passed before me. Then I sought his intercession and, with a stammering tongue, I said to God′s Messenger, ″O my master, I ask you for intercession!″ Then I heard him say calmly and deliberately, ″I am the intercessor on the Judgment Day!″[41]

For ʻĀ'ishah, then, praising the Prophet was akin to a religious vocation, and her devotion to this task is seen clearly in her popular prose work *Al-Mawrid al-Ahná fī al-Mawlid al-Asná* (The most wholesome source on the birth of the most brilliant prophet). In this reverential account of Muḥammad′s birth and call to prophecy, ʻĀ'ishah′s mystical tendencies are clear from the outset as she begins with a discussion of *al-Nūr al-Muḥammadī,* or Muhammadan Light, a type of Muslim logos principle. God was a hidden treasure who loved to be known, and so the Light came forth from His knowledge as the first emanation. With the Light, God produced the Pen and Tablet as instruments to bring about creation, and He then made the Light shine in Adam and the other prophets, culminating in Muḥammad, the most beloved of God and humanity′s intercessor on the Judgment Day.[42] After

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[40]ʻĀ'ishah al-Bāʻūnīyah, ″Fayḍ al-Faḍl,″ 26.
[41]ʻĀ'ishah al-Bāʻūnīyah, ″Al-Mawrid al-Ahná,″ 104–5, and quoted in Rabābiʻah, *ʻĀ'ishah al-Bāʻūnīyah: Shāʻirah,* 53.
[42]ʻĀ'ishah al-Bāʻūnīyah, ″Al-Mawrid al-Ahná,″ ed. al-ʻAlāwī, *ʻĀ'ishah al-Bāʻūnīyah,* 117–37; also see Rabābiʻah, *ʻĀ'ishah al-Bāʻūnīyah: Shāʻirah,* 141–57. Concerning *al-Nūr al-Muḥammadī,* or the Muḥammadan Light, see Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1985), 123–43.

this introduction, ʻĀʼishah recounts the noble lineage of the earthly Muḥammad from his ancestor Muḍar, the miracles surrounding his birth and early childhood, his travels and extraordinary encounters in Syria, and his marriage to the faithful Khadījah. ʻĀʼishah then celebrates more of the Prophet's miracles, praises his fine moral and physical attributes, and concludes with a brief account of his death.[43] *Al-Mawrid al-Ahná* closely follows the Arabic *mawlid* genre in that ʻĀʼishah selected and summarized events detailed in the *sīrah,* or hagiographical literature on Muḥammad. Further, her condensed references to many events, hadith, and Quranic verses suggest that her audience was quite familiar with the material. Obviously, ʻĀʼishah did not intend her *al-Mawrid al-Ahná* to be a study of Muḥammad's life. Rather, it is a joyous hymn of praise for God's greatest Prophet to be recited publicly on the anniversary of his birth, and this performative aspect is underscored by ʻĀʼishah's many poems placed within the rhymed prose of the text:[44]

Pray for him,
  blessed and saved by God,
    his creator in pre-eternity!
Bless this cosmic splendor,
  more praised than heaven,
    named before Tablet and Pen.
Pray for him,
  and God will bless you ten times more
    and hold you in favor and grace!
Pray, for God's blessings
  are His mercy from which
    all benefits flow.
Bless him, for one who prays for him
  wins a share of favor
    and safety from misfortune.
Pray for my master, bless my support,
  pray for my intercessor
    who grants my desire!
Pray for the lord from Muḍar's line,
  bless the chosen one,

[43]ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah, "Al-Mawrid al-Ahná," 137–79; also see al-ʻAlāwī, *ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah,* 103–11.

[44]In terms of Christian literature, this and similar works are comparable to Christmas hymns, more akin to Handel's *Messiah* than to the Gospels. For more of ʻĀʼishah's poetry on Muḥammad see Rabābiʻah, *ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah: Shāʻirah,* 141–62; for the Prophet's *mawlid* in general see Schimmel, *Muhammad,* 144–58.

messenger to nations!
Pray for him
praising and praised from eternity;
bless the best to walk the earth!
God bless him always and forever,
and his family and companions,
knowing and wise,
As long as the hawk′s call at noon
moves the riders with joy
toward the House and Sacred Precinct,
As long as the breeze blows at night
from Kāẓimah, lightning flashing
on the slopes of Dhū Salam.[45]

In the final verse, ‘Ā’ishah recalls Kāẓimah and Dhū Salam, two sites on the pilgrim routes to Mecca. Here, she pays homage to *Al-Burdah,* which begins by invoking both places, and, perhaps, to a poem by Ibn al-Fāriḍ that served as the model for al-Buṣīrī′s famous ode.[46] The strong influence of both poets is evident throughout ‘Ā’ishah′s verse, whether in poems praising the prophet Muḥammad, or in her many poems on mystical themes. Though much of ‘Ā’ishah′s Sufi verse is lost, several manuscripts of her *Fayḍ al-Faḍl wa-Jam‘ al-Shaml* (The emanation of grace and the gathering of union) have survived.[47] This collection contains over three hundred ″inspired poems on divine, intimate conversations, mystical meanings and states of grace, spiritual efforts, matters of desire, and passionate ways.″[48] The poems in the volume appear to span much of ‘Ā’ishah′s life, from her ″days as a novice and student to her mastery of the branches of mystical annihilation and the arts of effacement.″[49]

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[45]‘Ā’ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah, ″Al-Mawrid al-Ahná,″ 176.
[46]See Stefan Sperl′s recent translation and insightful comments on *Al-Burdah,* ″Qasida 50,″ in *Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa,* 2 vols., ed. S. Sperl and C. Shackle (Leiden, 1996), 2:388–411, 470–76. For Ibn al-Fāriḍ′s poem see my translation and analysis in Th. Emil Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, His Verse and His Shrine,* 2nd rev. ed. (Cairo, 2001), 4–9. Also see Farrūkh, *Tārīkh,* 3:927.
[47]Three manuscripts of her ″Fayḍ al-Faḍl″ may be found in Cairo′s Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah, and are listed as ″Dīwān ‘Ā’ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah,″ MS 431 (Shi‘r Taymūr), dated 1031/1622; MS 581 (Shi‘r Taymūr), dated 1031/1622; and MS 4384 (Adab), dated 1341/1922. All references in this article are to MS 431, unless otherwise noted. Rabābi‘ah (*‘Ā’ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah: Shā‘irah,* 60) found a fourth manuscript in Cairo′s Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah, presumably under its correct title. This is MS 112 (Shi‘r Taymūr), also dated 1031/1622 and by the same scribe as MS 431.
[48]‘Ā’ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah, ″Fayḍ al-Faḍl,″ 4.
[49]Ibid., 218–19.

An odd feature of the *Fayḍ al-Faḍl* is that the collection seems to end at several places:

> ‘Ā’ishah—related to Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad al-Bā‘ūnī on earth, and in truth to the axis, the unique and universal helper, Jamāl al-Dīn Ismā‘īl al-Ḥawwārī, known as the axis of existence, may God bless his heart secret—when she finished with this conclusion—and she never concludes without a new beginning—the Real inspired her with an awesome book which she received from Him, may He be praised, the Real. He entitled it *Al-Fatḥ al-Ḥaqqī min Fayḥ al-Talaqqī,* and it has sublime, inspired verse not contained in this present volume, so be aware of that. God is the protector and my success, and He is the most wonderful companion![50]

Yet, after this apparent ending, the *Fayḍ al-Faḍl* begins anew with a number of additional poems. One of them names, for the first time, ‘Ā’ishah′s second spiritual master and Ismā‘īl al-Ḥawwārī′s successor, Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyá al-Urmawī, further suggesting that the *Fayḍ al-Faḍl* was an on-going compilation.[51] This may also explain why none of the manuscripts cite a completion date for the original work. Nevertheless, ‘Ā’ishah may not have added poems to this collection after her arrival in Egypt in 919/1513, since the poems that she composed in Cairo are not cited in the *Fayḍ al-Faḍl,* as are her other works.[52]

Whatever the case, the *Fayḍ al-Faḍl* begins with a series of *munājāt* or intimate monologues with God. This particular literary form had been popularized by the Persian Sufi ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī, whose work ‘Ā’ishah knew well. Each of ‘Ā’ishah′s *munājāt* usually consists of two or three verses, in which she assumes the position of the submissive believer before God. In one such poem from ″her days as a novitiate,″ ‘Ā’ishah says:[53]

> Whenever the fates make your servant recall
> someone besides you, by God, it does no good.
> For memory of you is hidden deep in the heart,
> and you know what I reveal and conceal.

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[50]Ibid., 296–97, and 218–20.
[51]Ibid., 314.
[52]Ibid., 218–20, 296–97.
[53]Ibid., 5. For the *munājāt* of ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī see *Khwaja Abdullah Ansari: Intimate Conversations,* translated by Wheeler M. Thackston (New York, 1978), 163–233.

In a similar spirit of pious resignation, ʻĀ'ishah wrote:[54]

I am content with what God wants for me;
    I commit my whole affair to Him.
I turn to Him, seek refuge in Him, cling to Him
    for I can trust no one save Him!

Preceding these verses and most of the other poems in the *Fayḍ al-Faḍl* is the phrase *wa min fatḥi Allāh ʻalayhā* or, more often, *wa min fatḥihi ʻalayhā*: ″From God′s/His inspiration upon her,″ declaring the deeply spiritual source and character of ʻĀ'ishah′s poetry. Further, in a number of instances, poems are introduced by a few additional words citing their occasion, theme, or ʻĀ'ishah′s mystical state when composing them, as in the following poem inspired when ″rapture was intense:″[55]

With noble invocation of the One, Creator,
    refresh a heart melted by longing.
Singer, lift up His praise and repeat it;
    Saqi, pass round His love′s ancient wine.
For life has passed in desire to drink it,
    though I never won a taste, no, not a taste.
See how it revived impassioned souls
    brought to ruin and destruction.
See how it made them disappear
    from all the world since they fell for it.
See how it drove them love-mad and crazy,
    shattered by rapture and craving.
See how it melted hearts now flowing down
    from tear ducts of large round eyes.
See how it brought a dead lover back to life;
    O, how many strong lovers have died!
It is a wine ever appearing
    to man as the rising sun,
And when its bouquet spreads forth,
    it covers all the world and existence.
When will I win its quenching draught
    passing me away in that abiding beauty?

[54] ʻĀ'ishah al-Bāʻūnīyah, ″Fayḍ al-Faḍl,″ 5.
[55] Ibid., 5–6

Similar to Ibn al-Fāriḍ and his famous wine ode, *Al-Khamrīyah,* ‘Ā’ishah here links the memory and recollection *(dhikr)* of God to His love, which is likened to an ancient, intoxicating wine (vv. 1–3). The quest for it has destroyed many true lovers, yet a taste of this wine could resurrect the dead. Again like Ibn al-Fāriḍ, ‘Ā’ishah draws attention syntactically to the wine's miraculous effects, in this case by beginning five consecutive verses with the phrase *wa-lakum bi-hā* ("Consider how it . . ." vv. 4–8). She further suggests the spiritual properties of this splendid, fragrant vintage in her final verses (vv. 9–11). There, in verse 11, ‘Ā’ishah plays on the well-known Sufi terms for mystical union, *fanā'* ("annihilation," "passing away") and *baqā'* ("abiding"), while, at the same time, alluding to the Quranic declaration (55:26–27): "All things on the earth are passing away, while the majestic and beneficent countenance of your Lord abides."[56]

This poem is representative of many others in the *Fayḍ al-Faḍl* with their devotional tone and uncomplicated diction and style. In these poems, ‘Ā’ishah explored a full range of Arabic rhymes, meters, and poetic forms, whether to praise the Prophet and seek God's forgiveness, to instruct the Sufi novice, or to speak of longing and mystical union.[57] Further, inspired by earlier Sufi poets, ‘Ā’ishah composed a *takhmīs* on an ode ascribed to ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī proclaiming his high saintly status,[58] and, in one of her longest poems, she dedicated over 250 verses to a variety of mystical themes, using as her model Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Sufi classic the *Naẓm al-Sulūk* (The poem of the Sufi way), also known as *Al-Tā'īyah al-Kubrá* (Ode in T - major).[59] Toward the end of her own *tā'īyah,* c‘Ā’ishah begins forty-three verses with the phrase *a-lā yā rasūla Allāh* ("O messenger of God"), establishing a reverent rhythm and mood as she prays to and praises the Prophet. Such syntactical and phonemic patterning is common in many of her poems, suggesting that she may have intended them to be recited or chanted in Sufi gatherings and *samā‘* sessions. This is particularly the case with ‘Ā’ishah's many *muwashshaḥah,* or strophic poems, which often feature refrains:[60]

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[56]For Ibn al-Fāriḍ's wine ode, see my translation and analysis in Th. Emil Homerin, *Ibn al-Fāriḍ: Sufi Verse, Saintly Life* (New York, 2001), 41–51. For other examples of wine and its motifs in ‘Ā’ishah's poetry see Rabābi‘ah, *‘Ā'ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah: Shā‘irah,* 207–20, 287, 306–14; unfortunately Rabābi‘ah nearly always misses her many references to Ibn al-Fāriḍ's verse here and elsewhere.

[57]E.g. ‘Ā’ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah, "Fayḍ al-Faḍl," 29–30, 34–35, 84–85, 126–27, 205–8. For a good introduction to ‘Ā’ishah's poetry, with examples drawn largely from the "Fayḍ al-Faḍl," see Rabābi‘ah, *‘Ā'ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah: Shā‘irah.*

[58]‘Ā’ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah, "Fayḍ al-Faḍl," 290–92, and see Braune, "‘Abd al-Qādir al-Djīlānī," 70.

[59]‘Ā’ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah, "Fayḍ al-Faḍl," 139–51; also see Homerin, *Ibn al-Fāriḍ: Sufi Verse, Saintly Life,* 67–291, and Rabābi‘ah, *‘Ā'ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah: Shā‘irah,* 287–88.

[60]‘Ā’ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah, "Fayḍ al-Faḍl," 253–54; also see 172–78, 208–10, 294–96, 306–8, 327–28. For a survey and stylistic analysis of ‘Ā’ishah's *muwashshaḥah* and musical elements in her verse,

I see no one but my love
when I′m here or when I′m gone.
I see him always with me,
for he′s my destiny.
O my joy and happiness
faithful love has graced me
With passing away in abiding
and abiding in passing away,
For I have met my fate,
and fate is my reunion.
So my heart savor
union with my love.
I see him always with me,
for he′s my destiny.
He′s my attributes, my essence;
I see him and nothing else;
He′s my effacement, my endurance
when I pass and then return.
He′s my union and dissolution
in my aim and way of life;
He′s my substance and my meaning
far away or near.
I see him always with me,
for he′s my destiny.
Here, by God, and in my heart
God made my bliss complete.
I loved my lover and my lord,
spring of my soul and being.
So life was good, I was always near,
and God made my vision last.
So his brilliant flash, no other,
appeared to me unbroken.
I see him always with me,
for he′s my destiny.
My life was all delight, my separation sweet
in love with beauty′s lord.
My union came, division left,
my wide expansion stayed.

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see Rabābi'ah, *'Ā'ishah al-Bā'ūnīyah: Shā'irah,* 71–104, 335–400.

My illusions gone, my truth proved true
and unadorned appeared.
A handsome moon beguiled me;
he held all wondrous things.
I see him always with me,
for he′s my destiny.
By my life,
he is my highest goal!
My art is passing away in him,
passion, my food and drink.
He′s my reason, my religion,
my doctrine and devotion.
Wherever I turn my face,
I see him alone with no one watching.
I see him always with me,
for he′s my destiny!

Ostensibly, this poem tells of a lover′s consuming passion for her beloved. Destiny has fated that she love him, and so, faithfully, she gives up all thought or care for herself. Yet this does not cause her ruin but, rather, her happiness and joy, as she finds blissful union with her handsome love. Enhancing this love theme are the underlying devotional and mystical elements of the poem, which contains several possible allusions to the prophet Muḥammad. ʻĀʼishah refers to her beloved as *ḥabīb* (v. 1), a lover who is like the full moon (*badr*, v. 41), and both terms are standard poetic references to Muḥammad, the ″beloved of God.″ Strengthening this reading is the first portion of ʻĀʼishah′s refrain: *kayfa lā ashhaduhu* (″How can I not see him,″ v. 3ff.), which may also be translated as ″How can I not bear witness to him,″ echoing the Muslim profession of faith: *ashhadu an lā ilāha illā Allāha wa ashhadu anna Muḥammada rasūlu Allāh,* ″I bear witness that there is no deity but God and that Muḥammad is the messenger of God.″[61] However, this could equally imply that God is ʻĀʼishah′s love, a reading supported by her use of the term *rabb* for her beloved, and her direct references to God (vv. 25–30).

In addition, the poem contains over a dozen well-known Sufi technical terms regarding mystical states and stations. Central to this poem is union, and ʻĀʼishah frequently underscores the dialectic relation between passing away and abiding in union (*fanāʼ-baqāʼ*, vv. 7–8, 18, 47; *maḥw-thibāt,* v. 17; *jamʻ-shitāt,* v. 19; *jamʻ-farq,*

[61]Concerning the *shahādah,* or Muslim profession of faith, see Cyril Glasse, *The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1989), 359–60; also see Homerin, *Ibn al-Fāriḍ: Sufi Verse, Saintly Life,* 57–58, and Schimmel, *Muhammad,* 124, 176–215.

vv. 35, 37). Likewise, she makes distinctions between substance and meaning, and illusion and truth (*ma'ná-'ayn,* v. 21; *wahm-ḥaqq,* vv. 39–40) as spiritual contemplation and vision (*shuhūd,* v. 30) produce an expansive state of exhilaration (*basṭ,* v. 38).[62] Graced with illumination, the lover rests at ease with her beloved, whom she encounters within herself and everywhere she turns:

Wherever I turn my face,
I see him alone with no one watching.
I see him always with me,
for he's my destiny!

'Ā'ishah drew from both Arabic love poetry and the Quran for this final, climactic verse. In the classical poetic tradition, the *raqīb,* or "spy," stands guard to protect the beloved against the lover's advances. However, the spy may be avoided in a secret rendezvous or, of course, in the bridal chamber, where lovers meet alone. The sacred all-embracing nature of this union, as well as the divine identity of the beloved, is further suggested by 'Ā'ishah's phrase *kayfa mā wajahtu wajhī arāhu* ("Wherever I turn my face, I see him"), a clear reference to the Quranic declaration, often quoted by Sufis (2:115): "Wherever you turn, there is the face *(wajh)* of God."[63] Here again, 'Ā'ishah, unlike Ibn al-Fāriḍ, is explicit regarding the divine status of the beloved. This may be the result of her overtly devotional aims. Yet, as one of a very few medieval women publicly composing Arabic love poetry, 'Ā'ishah may have wanted to avoid any ambiguity regarding the spiritual character of her love, so as to avoid controversy or scandal.

III

This poem and many others by 'Ā'ishah al-Bā'ūnīyah show clearly that her mystical quest revolved around love for God and his prophet Muḥammad. Her verses are replete with Sufi technical terms, and she often expresses her veneration for 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī and her Sufi masters.[64] Following their Qādirīyah way, 'Ā'ishah strove to keep God's commandments and accept His decrees, while seeking God's forgiveness and the Prophet's intercession on the Day of Judgment. Moreover, her spiritual discipline and mystical practice appear to have illumined her faith with moments of mystical union, ecstasy, and joy. Significantly, she alludes to these

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[62]Regarding many of these Sufi terms see 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Jurjānī, *Kitāb al-Ta'rīfāt* (Beirut, 1983), 77, 89, 129, 169, 171, 255. For further examples of their frequent use in other poems by 'Ā'ishah, see Rabābi'ah, *'Ā'ishah al-Bā'ūnīyah: Shā'irah,* 284–86.
[63]See Homerin, *Ibn al-Fāriḍ: Sufi Verse, Saintly Life,* 19; for Ibn al-Fāriḍ's use of the "spy," 74–75, v. 6.
[64]For further examples, see Rabābi'ah, *'Ā'ishah al-Bā'ūnīyah: Shā'irah,* 187–202.

powerful experiences in her comments preceding individual poems, and these autobiographical remarks, together with those found elsewhere in her writings, suggest ʿĀʾishah′s sense of confidence and accomplishment in both her life and work.

ʿĀʾishah is also exceptional in that she attempted to articulate and clarify some of her mystical beliefs and practices in a separate Sufi compendium, *Al-Muntakhab fī Uṣūl al-Rutab* (Selections on the fundamentals of stations). ʿĀʾishah notes at the outset that the stages of the mystical folk are innumerable, yet all of them are based on four fundamental principles: *tawbah* (repentance), *ikhlāṣ* (sincerity), *dhikr* (recollection), and *muḥabbah* (love). She then addresses these principles in four separate sections.[65] ʿĀʾishah begins each section with relevant quotations from the Quran, and she usually cites Arabic synonyms for each term, along with their extrinsic *(ẓāhir)* and intrinsic *(bāṭin)* meanings. ʿĀʾishah quotes relevant traditions of Muḥammad and sayings from the early Muslim forefathers *(ṣalaf),* followed by extensive quotations from Sufi masters. To conclude, she sometimes adds an illustrative story or two, together with a few of her own observations and inspired verses on the subject.

Thus, *tawbah,* or ″repentance,″ explicitly means turning away from sinful acts toward praiseworthy ones, and away from evil speech toward good words. Inwardly for the Sufis, repentance also signifies turning away from all things save God.[66] Repentance is effective on three conditions: (1) remorse for past misdeeds, (2) desisting immediately from current offenses, and (3) never returning to sin. ʿĀʾishah further notes that each member of the body has a share in repentance. The heart must resolve to leave sin and be remorseful, while the eyes should be down cast; the hands should cease to grasp; the feet should stop hurrying, and the ears should stop trying to listen in. This is repentance for the common people. The repentance of the elect goes further by opposing the lust of concupiscence *(nafs),* and by averting the gaze of the heart away from pleasure and prosperity, while abstaining from all transient things. Such repentance is required for the love for God, who said (2:222): ″Verily, God loves those who turn in repentance. . . .″ Higher still is

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[65]ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah, ″Al-Muntakhab fī Uṣūl al-Rutab,″ Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah, Cairo, microfilm 13123 of MS 318 (Taṣawwuf Taymūr), 1074/1663, 1–5. Rabābiʿah did not consult this work, believing it to be lost, though he had access to a short work entitled ″Majmūʿ fī Kalām ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah fī Taṣawwuf,″ Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah, Cairo, microfilm 4059 of MS 319 (Taṣawwuf Taymūr); *ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah: Shāʿirah*, 62, 64. Based on Rabābiʿah′s citations of this work, I believe this ″Majmūʿ″ consists of selections from ʿĀʾishah′s ″Al-Muntakhab.″ Unfortunately, because he did not know this, Rabābiʿah ascribes to ʿĀʾishah statements made by earlier Sufis; see Rabābiʿah, *ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah: Shāʿirah*, 211, 257; ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah, ″Al-Muntakhab,″ 151–57; and Ibn ʿAṭā Allāh al-Iskandarī, *Laṭāʾif al-Minan* (Cairo, 1979), 52–55.

[66]ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah, ″Al-Muntakhab,″ 5–7.

the repentance of the elect of the elect. They turn away from considering anything but God, including spiritual states and blessings, until God reveals His beauty to them, eradicating everything but Himself.[67]

In her discussion of repentance, ʻĀ'ishah relies heavily on the opinions of the respected Sufi master and scholar Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (465/1072), and this is also the case regarding her second fundamental principle, *ikhlāṣ,* or ″sincerity″ in word and deed. ʻĀ'ishah quotes al-Qushayrī to the effect that sincere obedience to God should be motivated only by the desire to draw closer to Him. The believer should have no thought of attaining praise or glory among people, for sincerity requires the utmost humility. Therefore, concupiscence *(nafs)* is to be disciplined, while the heart must be blind to the opinions of others, as the spirit guards against pride.[68] To underscore the importance of sincerity, ʻĀ'ishah cites numerous prophetic traditions, and stories regarding proper intentions and the grievous sin of hypocrisy. Sincerity, she says, is like water helping the tiny seeds of good works to grow, while hypocrisy is a cyclone that will sweep away the fields of one′s labor.[69]

Essential to both repentance and sincerity is the third principle, *dhikr,* or ″recollection″ of God. ʻĀ'ishah begins her section on this pivotal topic with God′s promise in the Quran (2:152): ″Remember Me, and I will remember you,″ and al-Qushayrī′s commentary on it. He notes that, for those who understand the Quran literally, this verse means: ″Remember Me at the appropriate times, and I will remember you with acts of grace.″ However, those with insight also grasp the mystical import of this divine message: ″Remember Me by leaving behind all thought of reward or punishment, and I will remember you by establishing you in My truth after your passing away from yourselves.″[70] Following al-Qushayrī, ʻĀ'ishah elaborates on this reciprocal relationship of recollection between God and His faithful worshippers in a series of mystical interpretations: ″Remember Me with sincerity, and I will remember you among the spiritual elect; remember Me in your striving, and I will remember You with witnessing; . . . remember Me in your passing away, and I will remember you in your abiding; . . . remember Me in your hearts, and I will remember you in nearness to Me; remember Me in your spirits, and I will remember you in moments of enlightenment; remember Me in your heart secrets, and I will remember you in illuminations!″[71]

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[67]Ibid., 22–25; 45–46.
[68]Ibid., 82–83. Also see Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī, *Al-Risālah al-Qushayrīyah,* ed. ʻAbd al-Ḥalīm Maḥmūd and Maḥmūd Ibn al-Sharīf (Cairo, 1972–74), 1:443–47, and 1:275–88; and H. Halm, ″Al-Ḳushayrī,″ *EI²,* 5:526.
[69]ʻĀ'ishah al-Bāʻūnīyah, ″Al-Muntakhab,″ 89–90.
[70]Ibid., 96–97. Also see Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī, *Laṭā'if al-Ishārāt fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān,* ed. Ibrāhīm Basyūnī (Cairo, 1981), 1:137–38.
[71]ʻĀ'ishah al-Bāʻūnīyah, ″Al-Muntakhab,″ 98–99.

In context of the classical Sufi tradition, ʻĀʼishah regards *dhikr* as both a process and a mystical state. As a process, recollection of God is the means to purify oneself of selfishness and hypocrisy, and to ward off Satan. Though one will never be able to remember God constantly with one′s lips, the sincere believer should strive always to recall God within the heart. As with repentance, recollection may differ in its effects depending on the believer′s spiritual level; common people are soothed and receive blessings by praising God; religious scholars gain insight into God′s names and attributes, while the spiritual elect who recollect God are purified and rest in Him. The ultimate goal of recollection, then, is a paradoxical state of forgetting everything while remembering God.[72] This results in absorption in Him, and ʻĀʼishah states that the most effective means to achieve this mystical state is to recollect the phrase: ″There is no deity but God.″ Finally, Muḥammad is reported to have said: ″One who loves something, remembers it often,″ and, so, ʻĀʼishah includes recollection among the signs of love.[73]

This leads naturally to *maḥabbah,* or ″love,″ the subject of the final and longest section of *Al-Muntakhab.* As in the preceding section on *dhikr,* ʻĀʼishah opens with verses from the Quran followed by al-Qushayrī′s commentary. God commands Muḥammad (3:31): ″Say: ′If you love God, then follow me and God will love you.′″ True love of God, al-Qushayrī observes, requires lovers to efface themselves completely as their beloved wears them out. This love relationship is possible because God created human beings in the best of forms and, so, He has a special affection for them. Further, God has said (5:54): ″O you who believe, any of you who turns away from his religion, God will replace with a people whom He will love as they love Him.″ For al-Qushayrī and ʻĀʼishah, this verse declares to believers the wonderful news that if they keep the faith and love God, He most certainly will love them.[74] ʻĀʼishah then reinforces this point with several divine sayings *(al-ḥadīth al-qudsī)* on love, particularly the famous ″Tradition of Willing Devotions,″ a standard Sufi text in support of mystical union: ″God said: ′Whoever treats a friend of mine as an enemy, on him I declare war! My servant draws near to Me by nothing more loved by Me than the religious obligations that I have imposed upon him, and My servant continues to draw near to Me by acts of willing devotion such that I love him. Then, when I love him, I become his ear, his eye, and his tongue, his heart and reason, his hand and support.′″[75]

ʻĀʼishah next cites a number of statements on love by Sufi masters, including: ″love is the hearts′ delight in the beloved′s being,″ and ″love is intoxication without

[72]Ibid., 102–29.
[73]Ibid., 130–40.
[74]Ibid., 141–44. Also see al-Qushayrī, *Laṭāʼif,* 1:235–36, and his *Al-Risālah,* 2:610–25.
[75]ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah,, ″Al-Muntakhab,″ 148.

sobriety, an indescribable astonishment in meeting the beloved." Like a spell, God's love overwhelms the hearts of His loving worshippers, and reveals to them the light of His beauty and the sacred power of His majesty. Love's effects, however, will vary depending on the believers' spiritual capacities, and ʿĀʾishah quotes the North African Sufi Ibn al-ʿArīf (d. 536/1141) on the levels of love. For the common believer, the seeds of love are planted by reading the Quran and following the custom of Muḥammad, and then nourished by complying with divine law. This love will thwart the temptations of Satan, provide solace in times of adversity, and make service to God delightful. By contrast, love among the spiritual elite strikes like a bolt of lightning, leaving the lovers dumbfounded and confused. This overwhelming love causes the spiritual elite to pass away in God's love for them, which is beyond any description or allusion.[76]

ʿĀʾishah then turns to the signs of love, which include intimacy with God and estrangement from the world, awe before God and contentment with His will, performing pious deeds, loving others who love God, and passing away in the beloved from all things.[77] ʿĀʾishah adds that these are only a few of the many signs, as she moves on to traditions and stories about love. She observes that many people and religious communities have been touched by the irresistible love of God in the past, but that Muslims can bear more of it thanks to the enduring legacy of the most perfect and noble prophet Muḥammad. Still, God's love is all-consuming, as even Hell discovered. The great Sufi al-Junayd (d. 298/911) once said: "Hell fire asked, 'O Lord, if I don't obey You, will You punish me with something stronger than me?' God said, 'Yes, I will inflict on you My greater fire.' Hell asked, 'What fire is more intense and awesome than me?' God answered, 'The fire of My love that I have placed in the hearts of My friends *(awliyāʾ)*!'"[78]

Perhaps on a more personal note, ʿĀʾishah ends her section on love with two stories of pious women whose unwavering devotion and love for God are rewarded by His blessings.[79] She then concludes *Al-Muntakhab* with her own mystical truths *(ḥaqāʾiq ladunīyah)* on love inspired by God. Love is the greatest secret of God; it is an endless sea. Those blessed with God's love are His saintly friends *(awliyāʾ)* whose existence is eradicated in a state beyond description. They pass away and abide in Him, so that their hearts become a place of vision where the truth of the divine essence *(dhāt)* is revealed. God then assumes His worshippers' senses as attested in the "Tradition of Willing Devotions." Though the worshippers' love draws them ever closer to the divine beloved, God bestows His love as an act of unearned grace. Ultimately, the lovers lose all sense of self *(anānīyah)* when the

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[76]Ibid., 148–58. Also see A. Faure, "Ibn al-ʿArīf," *EI*², 3:712–13.
[77]ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah, "Al-Muntakhab," 158–64.
[78]Ibid., 180.
[79]Ibid., 185–90.

truth of oneness *(al-ḥaqīqah al-aḥadīyah)* appears, but their mystical death leads them to eternal life, as ʻĀʼishah declares in verses from her closing poem:[80]

God looked with favor on a folk,
and they stayed away
from worldly fortunes.
In love and devotion, they worshipped Him;
they surrendered themselves,
their aim was true.
In love with Him, they gave themselves up
and passed away from existence,
nothing left behind.
So He took pity
and revealed to them
His He-ness,
And they lived again
gazing at that living face
when His eternal life appeared.
They saw Him alone
in the garden of union
and drank from contemplation's cups,
Filled lovingly with pure wine
from the vision
of true oneness.

Throughout *Al-Muntakhab,* ʻĀʼishah consistently cites the Quran and carefully notes the sources of her hadith. Further, she relies on several major Sufi works, which she cites and accurately quotes. These works include Muḥammad al-Kalābādhī's (d. 385/995) *Al-Taʻarruf li-Madhhab Ahl al-Taṣawwuf,*[81] al-Qushayrī's *Al-Risālah* and his Quranic commentary *Laṭāʼif al-Ishārāt fī Tafsīr al-Qurʼān,* and writings by Muḥammad al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), author of the *Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣūfīyah.*[82] In addition to these classical sources, ʻĀʼishah occasionally draws selections from a few later works, in particular the *ʻAwārif al-Maʻārif* by ʻUmar

[80]Ibid., 190–211.
[81]E.g. ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah, "Al-Muntakhab," 16–18, 124–25, and Muḥammad al-Kalābādhī, *Al-Taʻarruf li-Madhhab Ahl al-Taṣawwuf* (Beirut, 1980), 92–93, 103–104. Also see P. Nwiya, "Al-Kalābādhī," *EI²*, 4:467.
[82]E.g., ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah, "Al-Muntakhab," 89, 100, 145, and G. Bowering, "Al-Sulamī," *EI²*, 9:811.

al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234),[83] and the *Laṭā'if al-Minan* by Ibn ʻAṭā Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309),[84] and she quotes a poem by Ibn al-ʻArīf, and one by Muḥammad Ibn Abī al-Wafā' (d. 891/1486).[85] Among these Sufi authorities, however, al-Qushayrī is clearly the most cited and easily the most influential.

As indicated in its title, *Al-Muntakhab fī Uṣūl al-Rutab* is a ″selection″ ʻĀ'ishah made from earlier works on Sufism. As such, it testifies to ʻĀ'ishah′s extensive reading on the subject, and records some of the mystical writings circulating in Sufi circles of her day. Notable by its absence is any reference to the popular works of Ibn al-ʻArabī (d. 637/1240) or those of his students.[86] Perhaps ʻĀ'ishah consciously avoided these controversial authors, as well as difficult matters of mystical theology, which are rarely discussed in *Al-Muntakhab*. Further, ʻĀ'ishah does not refer explicitly to her own teachers, nor does she mention the Light of Muḥammad, which figures prominently in her other works. These omissions, however, may reflect her particular focus in *Al-Muntakhab* on classical sources that are not primarily concerned with mystical prophetology. While ʻĀ'ishah intended her *Al-Muntakhab* to be useful for fellow travelers on the mystic path,[87] this work appears to be less of a formal guide-book than a collection of insightful and inspirational passages organized around the four basic principles of repentance, sincerity, recollection, and love.[88] As in her poetry, ʻĀ'ishah′s tone throughout the work is consistently positive and often up-lifting. She stresses repeatedly that divine mercy and grace are limited only by human heedlessness and recalcitrance, but that God will love and help all believers who sincerely try to reach Him:

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[83]ʻĀ'ishah al-Bāʻūnīyah, ″Al-Muntakhab,″ 164–67, and ʻUmar al-Suhrawardī, *ʻAwārif al-Maʻārif* (Cairo, 1973), 461.

[84]ʻĀ'ishah al-Bāʻūnīyah, ″Al-Muntakhab,″ 151–57, and Ibn ʻAṭā Allāh al-Iskandarī, *Laṭā'if al-Minan,* 52–55. Also see G. Makdisi, ″Ibn ʻAṭā Allāh,″ *EI*^{2}*,* 3:722–23.

[85]ʻĀ'ishah al-Bāʻūnīyah, ″Al-Muntakhab,″ 181–82, 206. For Muḥammad Ibn Abī al-Wafā' see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʻ,* 7:197, and ʻUmar Kaḥḥālah, *Muʻjam al-Mu'allifīn* (Damascus, 1957), 9:117. In her section on ″sincerity,″ ʻĀ'ishah also cites (pg. 96) an animal fable from Muḥammad al-Damīrī′s (d. 808/1405) famous animal encyclopedia *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān* (Cairo, 1978), 2:10; see L. Kopf, ″Al-Damīrī,″ *EI*^{2}*,* 2:107–8.

[86]Concerning Ibn al-ʻArabī and his influence in the Mamluk period, see Homerin, *From Arab Poet,* 26–32, 55–75; Geoffroy, *Soufisme,* 437–503; and especially Alexander D. Knysh, *Ibn al-ʻArabī in the Later Islamic Tradition* (New York, 1998).

[87]ʻĀ'ishah al-Bāʻūnīyah, ″Al-Muntakhab,″ 3–4.

[88]Cf. Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī, *Kitāb Ādāb al-Murīdīn* (*A Sufi Rule for Novices*)*,* edited with an abridged translation by Menahem Milson (Cambridge, MA, 1975).

I see love,
    an ocean without a shore.
If you are love′s chosen ones,
    plunge in![89]

IV

During the difficult summer of 922/1516, Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī met with ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah. Later, the Mamluk sultan rode out with his army to meet the Ottoman sultan Selim at Marj Dābiq. There, surrounded by his religious officials and spiritual advisors, al-Ghawrī suffered a stroke and died in the heat of battle.[90] His decimated forces fled the field, and some survivors eventually returned to Cairo, Ibn Ajā among them. Ibn Ajā was then retained as confidential secretary and foreign minister by the new Mamluk sultan Tūmānbāy, who was defeated and killed a few months later when Selim took Cairo. Selim, however, treated the elderly Ibn Ajā with respect and permitted him and his family to return to their native Aleppo, where Ibn Ajā died in 925/1519.[91] Ibn Ajā′s widow, Sitt al-Ḥalab (d. 933/1525), mourned her husband for a year and then remarried, taking delight in a considerably younger man.[92]

After Marj Dābiq, ʻĀʼishah′s son, ʻAbd al-Wahhāb, did not follow his employer Ibn Ajā to Cairo. Instead, ʻAbd al-Wahhāb returned to the al-Ṣāliḥīyah district of Damascus, where he studied jurisprudence and Sufism until his death, around the age of thirty, in 925/1519.[93] As for ʻĀʼishah, she too died in Damascus, on the sixteenth of Dhū al-Qaʻdah, 923/December, 1517, the same year that the Mamluk dynasty passed away.[94] However, her prose and poetry lived on to be admired and copied for centuries, thereby preserving her extraordinary legacy. ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah remains of one of the greatest woman poets and writers in Islamic history, and she serves as a fitting testimony to the vibrant literary and religious culture of the Mamluk period.

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[89]ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah, ″Al-Muntakhab,″ 198.
[90]Petry, *Twilight of Majesty,* 224–31.
[91]Ibn al-Mullā al-Ḥaṣkafī, *Mutʻat al-Adhhān,* 2:799; al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib,* 1:303; and Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-Ḥalabī, *Durr al-Ḥabab,* 2:2:455–56.
[92]Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-Ḥalabī, *Durr al-Ḥabab,* 1:2:577–78.
[93]Ibn al-Mullā al-Ḥaṣkafī, *Mutʻat al-Adhhān,* 1:484, and al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib,* 1:257.
[94]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-Khillān,* 2:74. Most other sources list her year of death as 922/1516, however, Ibn Ṭūlūn personally knew ʻĀʼishah and her son; see Rabābiʻah, *ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʻūnīyah: Shāʻirah,* 57–59.

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Laila 'Ali Ibrahim, 1917–2002

Laila 'Ali Ibrahim passed away July 14. She was 85. Many students of Mamluk art and architecture have come to identify Laila with Cairo: she was the "Godmother" of the city and the guardian of its monuments.

Laila learned her metier informally through exposure to the best minds concerned with the fate of historic Cairo in the 1940s and 1950s. These included her father, Dr. 'Ali Ibrahim, a major Islamic art collector whom she adored, and K. A. C. Creswell, the eccentric Briton who spent most of his working life studying the Islamic architecture of Cairo. But she had one thing that most scholars of Cairo of her time did not have: total devotion to her subject. This showed not only in her publications, public lectures, and participation in countless organizations promoting the safeguarding of the monuments of Cairo, but also in her tireless efforts to gain new converts to the study and appreciation of Cairo. To that end, she taught the history of Cairo at the American University of Cairo (AUC) and made herself available to any researcher, Egyptian or foreign, interested in studying Mamluk Cairo.

Laila's articles and one published book are solid, carefully researched, and clearly written pieces. She seemed to have focused mostly on little-studied aspects of Cairene architecture that lesser scholars avoided. She took special interest, for instance, in Mamluk residential architecture, about which she published a number of erudite articles. She also delved into writing on little-known or ruined monuments, such as the *khānqāh*s of Amir Qawsūn and of Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf or the madrasah of Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī. Her book on Mamluk building terminology, published in 1990 and coauthored with the late Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, is an indispensable source for all students of Cairo. It is the distillation of the expertise of these two irreplaceable scholars: Laila with her intimate and extensive knowledge of the historic buildings and Amīn with his profound familiarity with the legal documents related to them.

Laila spent more than half a century studying, teaching, and speaking for and on behalf of the architecture of Cairo. But she shunned all ceremonial social events and was interested only in constructive ones. Her admirers, however, managed to put together a collection of essays in her honor, *The Cairo Heritage,* which was edited by Dr. Doris Behrens-Abouseif and published by AUC Press in

2001, although Laila unfortunately was unable to read it. Laila left a small but extremely valuable library that I hope will find an institutional home where it could be open to all researchers from all over the world. This is how Laila herself would have liked it to be.

Ḥasan Rabābi‘ah, *‘Ā’ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah: Shā‘irah* (Irbid: Dār al-Hilāl lil-Tarjamah, 1997). Pp. 441.

Reviewed by Th. Emil Homerin, University of Rochester.

‘Ā’ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah (d. 922/1517) left behind a rich legacy as one of the greatest woman authors in Islamic history. ‘Ā’ishah's writings were extensive even by men's standards, and they are unparalleled for a pre-modern Muslim woman. Though women were respected scholars and teachers in medieval Islam, they generally did not compile their own independent works. However, ‘Ā’ishah was very prolific. She dedicated a number of panegyrics to the prophet Muḥammad and composed several *mawlid*s combining prose and poetry. ‘Ā’ishah also wrote works on Islamic mysticism, including a spiritual guide and several volumes of mystical and devotional poetry.

Despite ‘Ā’ishah's extensive body of work and celebrated career among her peers and later generations, she has attracted only sporadic attention over the last century. More recently, Fāris Aḥmad al-‘Alāwī issued a new edition of her *Al-Mawrid al-Ahná* (1994; see my review in *MSR* 6), while I have published a study of her life and work (*MSR* 7). It was while completing this latter article that I came across Ḥasan Rabābi‘ah's very useful book, *‘Ā’ishah al-Bā‘ūnīyah: Shā‘irah,* published in Jordan in 1997. As an introduction, he begins with a chapter on ‘Ā’ishah's family origins in the town of al-Bā‘ūn in the Mamluk province of ‘Ajlūn in what is now southern Syria and the Jordanian province of Irbid (pp. 13–31). Then, in chapter two, Rabābi‘ah gives a brief biography of ‘Ā’ishah, who was born in Damascus, around 864/1459. Using ‘Ā’ishah's own comments on her life found in several manuscripts, Rabābi‘ah notes her pilgrimage to Mecca, where she had a vision of the Prophet, her study of Sufism, her marriage to Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Naqīb al-Ashrāf (d. 909/1503) and the names of their children. He also touches on her trip to Cairo in 919/1513, her meeting with the Mamluk sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in 922/1516, and her death the next year (pp. 33–59). Unfortunately, this biographical section is, at times, disorganized and incomplete, and Rabābi‘ah could have added significant information had he utilized his sources more thoroughly. Rabābi‘ah does a much better job when compiling a list of ‘Ā’ishah's writings and the location of her surviving works (pp. 59–65), with the exception of her *Al-Muntakhab fī Uṣūl al-Rutab,* which he believes to be lost, though a copy may be found in Cairo's Dār al-Kutub.

Rabābi‘ah's main concern, however, is not ‘Ā’ishah's life or religious beliefs, but her refined poetic skills and extensive knowledge of Arabic language and literature. This is evident in his third chapter, on ‘Ā’ishah's versification in the popular forms of *muwashshahah, zajal, dū bayt,* and *mawālīyā* (pp. 67–121). Here

as elsewhere, Rabābi'ah quotes from a number of 'Ā'ishah's works, though he usually draws his examples from her *Fayḍ al-Faḍl wa-Jam' al-Shaml* (The Emanation of grace and the gathering of union), which contains over three hundred poems in various styles and forms. Rabābi'ah pays particular attention to formal matters of rhyme and meter, compiling a series of tables summarizing these and other stylistic and structural elements as found in 'Ā'ishah's poems. In passing, he notes that the content of these poems revolves around the prophet Muḥammad, and the mystical themes of love and wine. Rabābi'ah makes several brief but useful comparisons between 'Ā'ishah's *muwashshahah* and those of her Sufi predecessors Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 637/1240) and al-Shustarī (d. 668/1268)(pp. 99–103). Rabābi'ah follows this same pattern in chapter four on 'Ā'ishah's poems involving *tasmīṭ* and *takhmīs* (pp. 125–37).

In chapter five, Rabābi'ah provides an overview of 'Ā'ishah's main poetic themes, including: praise of the prophet Muḥammad and accounts of his life and miracles, praise of his companions and Sufi masters, verse exchanged with some of her learned contemporaries *(ikhwanīyāt),* Sufi themes and states, love, longing, and beauty (pp. 139–224). Rabābi'ah cites a few verses to illustrate each theme, which help to convey the range and depth of 'Ā'ishah's religious and poetic concerns, though Rabābi'ah's commentary is very general. Further, he repeatedly fails to note the obvious influence on 'Ā'ishah of the great Sufi poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235), while mistakenly ascribing to her statements by the Sufi master Ibn 'Aṭā Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309) (p. 212, again on 252).

In chapters six, seven, and eight, Rabābi'ah turns to 'Ā'ishah's *qaṣīdah*s, again, following a structuralist approach. Central to chapter six is Rabābi'ah's analysis of an ode by 'Ā'ishah (pp. 262–68). Rabābi'ah notes that the encampments of this poem and others by 'Ā'ishah are not ruined or abandoned, as is the case in earlier classical odes, since she longs for the holy cities of Mecca and Medina and her beloved prophet. Strangely, Rabābi'ah cites only 37 of the poem's 50 verses. Chapters seven and eight touch on 'Ā'ishah's use of Sufi technical terminology (pp. 269–300), the mystical themes of love and wine, and her devotion to the prophet Muḥammad (pp. 301–34). Rabābi'ah underscores the thematic unity and harmony of 'Ā'ishah's poems and some of her sophisticated rhetorical strategies. Here, too, at last, he finally mentions her debt to Ibn al-Fāriḍ though, unfortunately, Rabābi'ah does not pursue this important aspect of 'Ā'ishah's thought and work. In his final chapter, Rabābi'ah speculates on the musical qualities of 'Ā'ishah's verse. Taking several poems as examples, he examines in some detail their poetic structures and various formal elements including rhyme and meter, sound and rhythm, and 'Ā'ishah's creative use of antithesis, repetition, and phonemic patterning (pp. 335–400).

ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah: Shāʿirah is a good general introduction to the verse of a fine poet. A major strength of the book is Rabābiʿah's knowledge and extensive use of relevant manuscript resources, despite a few lapses, as noted above. Further, unlike many scholars of Arabic literature, Rabābiʿah does not stereotype or denigrate Arabic poetry of the Mamluk period as pallid or unoriginal. On the contrary, Ḥasan Rabābiʿah is to be commended for his enthusiasm for and appreciation of the poetry of ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah, and I hope he continues to pursue this line of research in the future.

MOSHE HARTAL, *The al-Ṣubayba (Nimrod) Fortress: Towers 11 and 9: With Contributions by Reuven Amitai and Adrian Boas* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2001). Pp. 130.

REVIEWED BY LORENZ KORN, University of Tübingen

Mamluk fortifications have attracted the interest of Near Eastern architectural historians only after a certain delay. Crusader castles and city walls had become objects of scholarly research and detailed documentation already before World War I. Exploration of their Saljuq/Zengid and Ayyubid counterparts started a few decades ago, and thanks to studies like the one by Paul Chevedden on the citadel of Damascus, we are able to assess the implications of the revolution in siege technique and military architecture which took place in the late sixth/twelfth century. Against this background, Mamluk military architecture received only perfunctory attention. The important fortresses of Gaziantep and Birecik, to cite only two major examples, are practically unexplored, and the same is true for most fortifications built between 1250 and 1517 in the Near East. Again, it has been the citadel of Damascus that exemplifies the possibilities of a detailed architectural study in the minute analysis of its Mamluk constructions by Hanspeter Hanisch.

The fortress of Qalʿat al-Ṣubaybah (today often called Nimrod Castle), on the western margin of the Golan Heights, is one of those Mamluk military constructions that were built as a reinforcement to older Crusader or Ayyubid structures, and is similar in size and importance to the castles of al-Karak and al-Shawbak (of which the post-Crusader parts remain to be studied as well, despite valuable archeological soundings undertaken by Robin M. Brown). After the Mamluk takeover, al-Ṣubaybah was substantially rebuilt under Baybars, as earlier studies of the building inscriptions and architectural remains have already shown.

The present study is the result of work carried out on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority and the Israel National Parks Authority. It covers two large towers and some other sections of the western front of the fortress. Since the spur on which the castle is built continues westward, this side was heavily fortified. The two towers are built on rectangular plans. Each of them consists of an Ayyubid core, which was encased by the Mamluk constructions. Heavy destruction, probably by an earthquake in the eighteenth century, left only the lower parts of the towers standing while the top storeys have almost totally disappeared.

The remaining substance of the towers, the adjacent galleries, and the water reservoir in the southwest corner of the lower bailey of the fortress, is presented in great detail. Every room is described, detailing the masonry of its floors, walls, and ceilings, and including all openings, stairs, and installations, and is richly documented in photographs as well as architectural drawings. Highly interesting are the water installations, such as the latrines and the water lifting shaft in tower 11, or the fountain in the outer wall of the reservoir. The presentation allows a comprehensive insight into the evidence, enabling the reader to test the conclusions of the author. These are mostly reasonable, but in a few points debatable.

In general, Mamluk fortification technique appears as a direct continuation of Ayyubid military architecture. The layout of rectangular towers with vaulted halls and passages, firing chambers, and arrow-slits follows the same principles as in the fortresses of Tabor, ʿAjlūn, Bosra, and Baalbek, to quote the nearest important examples; these elements were changed and improved in details.

Tower 11 used an Ayyubid gate tower as a core around which a vaulted passage with firing chambers was laid. The gate function was given up. In the basement, a postern gate with a narrow passage was built into the new walls. The upper parts of the tower are difficult to reconstruct, but it is clear that a large building inscription was part of its eastern façade. For all these constructions, huge ashlars were used for which parallels in Mamluk fortifications are rare. This is all the more remarkable since the contemporary enlargement of tower 9 shows much smaller blocks. Hartal explains this feature partly with technical reasons, partly with a special function of tower 11. Considering the size of the tower and its position on the slope, he terms the Mamluk constructions ″retaining walls″ and suggests that they were necessary to ″hold back quantities of earth″ (p. 63). This might have been true, had there not been the earlier, Ayyubid tower. Its outer walls must actually have prevented any substantial horizontal pressure on the adjacent Mamluk constructions, and made a particular reinforcement less urgent. Similarly, it seems far-fetched to assume that the Mamluk builders of al-Ṣubaybah turned to the Temple Mount in Jerusalem as an example for the handling of huge blocks. The Ayyubid fortresses mentioned above, or perhaps the Herodian remnants in the citadel of Jerusalem, were probably more important in this respect.

Hartal′s assumption that the top floor of tower 11 served as a residence for the lord of the castle is convincing and gives a better explanation for the use of the large-scale masonry as a means to enhance the imposing appearance of the building. For the uppermost parts of the tower, one might discuss whether there might have been two-storeyed fighting galleries, with a row of vaulted fighting chambers surrounding the open platform, and a walk behind the crenellated parapet on top. Also, the question of machicouli galleries arises, since these appear prominently in Baybars′ rebuilding of the Krak des Chevaliers. Under these circumstances, the reconstruction drawing Fig. 35 seems a little too assertive.

The article by Reuven Amitai deals with the large building inscription from tower 11 and (fragments of) some other inscriptions which were found in the course of the work. Amitai not only gives a detailed examination of the protocol of the inscriptions, with appropriate comparisons, but also a historical commentary which is important for the understanding of the structural history of al-Ṣubaybah, with Bīlīk al-Khāzindār as the actual owner of Bāniyās and the northern Golan. The enlargement of the two towers was certainly due to his patronage.

The reading of the one-line inscription band found near tower 16 (pp. 118 ff.) has to be corrected in one place (Fig. 194): Amitai′s reading ″nāṣir (?) amīr al-mu'[minīn]″ must be rejected. The letter in the center of the block cannot be a *ṣād,* and the adjacent letters do not match either. Instead, I would suggest ″al-muthāghir,″ which is sometimes found in combination with the more common epithets ″al-mujāhid al-murābiṭ,″ missing in the present fragment. In this case, the following ″al-mu'-″ would then belong to the likewise more frequent ″al-mu'ayyad.″ This sequence of titles is well attested for Ayyubid building inscriptions (cf. *Répertoire chronologique d′épigraphie arabe,* Publications de l′Institut français d′archéologie orientale du Caire [Cairo, 1931–], vol. 10, no. 3664, vol. 11, nos. 4057, 4246, 4417); an example in one of Baybars′ inscriptions comes from Ramlah (cf. Max van Berchem, *Inscriptions arabes de Syrie,* Mémoires présentés à l′Institut égyptien 3 [Cairo, 1897], 473f.).

A contribution by Adrian Boas deals with the ceramics found during the removal of the fallen debris. Brief descriptions of the wares are supplemented by comparative material and thus add to a more complete picture of Mamluk ceramics in southern Bilād al-Shām. At the same time, it becomes clear that the rough excavation technique used has limited the evidence in this case, since no stringent stratigraphy could be achieved.

On the whole, this book is a highly valuable contribution to the recording and discussion of Mamluk military architecture. Difficulties in readability which might arise from the lengthy descriptions will not deter the reader to whom the book is addressed. They are far outweighed by the merits of the accurate documentation. This implies the wish that work on al-Ṣubaybah (also and especially the inner

castle) be continued in the same manner. In this context, it should be remarked that the excavations of the western front were undertaken in the course of preparing a new visitor's exit out of the castle. In this way, the work presented here might constitute a precedence for future investigations into Mamluk fortifications, or the combination of site management with archaeological research. At least, the touristic appeal of Mamluk fortresses should not be underrated.

SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD IBN ṬŪLŪN, *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* edited by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl al-Shaybānī al-Mawṣilī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1998). Pp. 421.

AḤMAD IBN MUNLĀ/IBN ṬŪLŪN, *Muṭʿat al-Adhhān min al-Tamattuʿ bi-al-Iqrān bayna Tarājim al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān,* 2 vols., edited by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl al-Shaybānī al-Mawṣilī (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1999). Pp. 1116.

REVIEWED BY STEPHAN CONERMANN, University of Kiel

I was pleased to learn that two new works by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 955/1548), the scholar and prolific writer from Damascus, are now available in print for the first time. But appearances are deceptive, because in the case of *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān* this surely is a bogus claim, at least from my point of view. All that the editor, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl al-Shaybānī al-Mawṣilī, did was simply to reproduce the exemplary two-volume edition of the unique Tübingen copy (MS MA VI,7) published by Muḥammed Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 1962–64). The less than meager annotations are the only items actually penned by the editor himself.

The other publication that I will review here deserves more attention. Even though it does not represent an original piece of writing by Ibn Ṭūlūn, the edition does contain extracts from *Al-Tamattuʿ bi-al-Iqrān bayna Tarājim al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān,* a collection of biographies that has not been preserved in its entirety. This part of the work survived because Ibn Ṭūlūn's student Aḥmad ibn Munlā al-Ḥaskafī al-Ḥalabī (937–1003/1530–94) intended to write such a collection of short biographies himself and therefore made ample use of his teacher's works.

Compiling these unique Who's Who handbooks was very much *en vogue* in the Mamluk period.[1] Scholars wished to portray the merits of famous men in order

[1]Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 2nd revised ed. (Leiden, 1968), 100–6. See also H. A. R. Gibb, "Islamic Biographical Literature," in *Historians of the Middle East,* ed.

to present them as shining examples to their contemporaries. Moreover, general consensus among Muslims had always been that history and thus the renewal of religion was primarily shaped by individuals. The power elite—both rulers and religious scholars—for their part used these biographical accounts to assure themselves that their actions were legitimate. The genre thus satisfied the needs of the authors and the readership for which it was intended at one and the same time. It is therefore hardly surprising that biographical collections became one of the main forms of contemporary historical writing.

Even though all of the biographical abstracts usually contain information about the date of the person's death, his ancestry, his teachers, his writings, and other important events in his life, the works differ regarding the particular common denominator shared by the people included in the anthology. Law schools were one such common denominator, as were the vizierate**,** blindness, poetry, Sufi congregations, cities, or cemeteries. During the last third of the eighth/fourteenth century, for example, a certain al-Faqīh ʻUthmān wrote a biographical guide entitled *Murshid al-Zūwār ilá Qubūr al-Abrār* in which he described all the people interred at Mount al-Muqaṭṭam in Cairo,[2] while al-Dāwūdī (d. 945/1538) focused on every known exegete of the Quran.[3] But the century in which the famous people had died constituted the most popular selection criterion for these biographical collections.

When compiling a dictionary, the biographical writer made full use of the work done by his predecessors. Of course, one needs to be aware of the fact that plagiarism[4] in those days did not have the negative implications it does today, but rather was regarded as a completely legitimate narrative method at which nobody took umbrage. Previous historians were considered incontestable authorities,

Bernard Lewis and Peter M. Holt (London, 1962), 54–58; Fedwa Malti-Douglas, "Controversy and Its Effects in the Biographical Tradition of al-Khatib al-Baghdadi," *Studia Islamica* 46 (1977): 115–31; Tarif Khalidi, "Islamic Biographical Dictionaries: A Preliminary Assessment," *The Muslim World* 63 (1973): 53–65; Malak Abiad, "Origine et développement des dictionnaires biographique arabes," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 31 (1979): 7–15; and Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, "Le dictionnaire biographique: un outil historique: Etude réalisée à partir de l'ouvrage de Sakhāwī: *aḍ-Ḍaw' al-lāmiʻ fī aʻyān al-qarn at-tāsiʻ," Cahiers d'onomastique arabe* (1988–1992): 9–38.

[2]Cf. Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden, 1949), 2:42 and S2:30.

[3]Cf. ibid., 2:373 and S2:401.

[4]The early attempts of Muslim writers at describing the concept of plagiarism were summed up by the Egyptian chief judge al-Qazwīnī (d. 739/1338) in his work *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ* (ed. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Barqūqī as *Al-Talkhīs fī ʻUlūm al-Balāghah* [Beirut, 1982]). Cf. Gustav von Grunebaum, "Der Begriff des Plagiats in der arabischen Kritik," in *Kritik und Dichtkunst: Studien zur arabischen Literaturgeschichte* (Wiesbaden, 1955), 101–29; A. F. Mehren, *Die Rhetorik der Araber* (Copenhagen and Vienna, 1853); and Aḥmad Maṭlūb, *Al-Qazwīnī wa-Shurūḥ al-Talkhīṣ* (Baghdad, 1967).

especially regarding historical events that one had not witnessed personally. This was particularly so since one did not want to correct one´s predecessors by presenting new insights or new interpretations of past events. It was not customary to mention the names of the true authors of the reports and hence this practice was not considered negligent. Some authors occasionally did cite the sources they had used in the preface to their work, but it was not considered absolutely necessary.

The source material for Aḥmad ibn Munlā´s life provides some indication of the extent to which different biographical accounts depended on each other. Most of the information about our author can be found in the works of his teacher Ibn al-Ḥanbalī (d. 971/1563),[5] yet al-Būrīnī (d. 1024/1615)[6] is the first one to present a complete biographical sketch in his *Tarājim al-A'yān min Abnā' al-Zamān.*[7] These two short biographies then served as the prototypes for all the following accounts, with the portrayals by Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (d. 1061/1651),[8] Ibn al-'Imād (d. 1089/1679),[9] and Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Muḥibbī (d. 1111/1699)[10] differing only in style.

All in all, the biographical descriptions give the following picture: Aḥmad ibn Munlā, whose ancestors came from Diyār Bakr, was born in Aleppo. Some of his family were notable members of the community: his grandfathers, Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn Mūsá al-Sindī (d. 894/1488–89), who was known by the name of Munlā Ḥājj,[11] and Yaḥyá ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 935/1528–29),[12] both belonged

[5]Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-Ḥabab fī Tārīkh A'yān Ḥalab,* ed. Maḥmūd Aḥmad al-Fākhūrī (Damascus, 1972–74), 1:239–68. Ibn al-Ḥanbalī wrote his *Durr* on famous individuals who had some kind of relationship with Aleppo, as a continuation of Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Dārī Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī´s (d. 844/1479) *Kunūz al-Dhahab fī Tārīkh al-Ḥalab.* Incidentally, it was Ibn al-Ḥanbalī´s pupil Aḥmad ibn al-Munlā who collected his *dīwān* after his death. On Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, see *GAL,* 2:368 and S2:495, and 'Abd al-Ḥayy ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Cairo, 1930–31), 8:364–65.

[6]See *GAL,* 2:290 and S2:401 on al-Būrīnī.

[7]Al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Būrīnī, *Tarājim al-A'yān min Abnā' al-Zamān,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Damascus, 1959–63) 1:180–85.

[8]Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib al-Sā'irah fī A'yān al-Mi'ah al-'Āshirah,* ed. Jibrā'īl Sulaymān Jabbūr (Beirut, 1945), 3:109–11 and idem, *Luṭf al-Samar wa-Qaṭf al-Thamar min Tarājim A'yān al-Ṭabaqah al-Ūlá min al-Qarn al-Ḥādī 'Ashar,* ed. Maḥmūd al-Khayr (Damascus, 1981), 1:289–92. On al-Ghazzī, see *GAL,* 2:292 and S2:402.

[9]Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab,* 8:440–42. On him, see *GAL,* S2:403.

[10]Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣat al-Athar fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Ḥādī 'Ashar* (Cairo, 1284), 1:277–80 and idem, *Nafaḥat al-Rayḥānah wa-Rashḥat Ṭilā' al-Ḥānah,* ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw (Cairo, 1967–71), 2:255–61. On this historian, see Carl Brockelmann, ″Al-Muḥibbī″, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 7:469–70; *GAL,* 2:293 and S2:403.

[11]Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Durr al-Ḥabab,* no. 61.

[12]Ibid., no. 611.

to the intellectual circles of Aleppo, as did his father, Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Munlā al-Ḥaṣkafī (d. 935/1528–29).[13]

His father evidently took care of Aḥmad ibn Munlā's education in its early stages. Later on he was sent to study with the local ulama. They instructed him in the subjects that were customary in those days—hadith, grammar, exegesis of the Quran, theology, jurisprudence.[14] Aḥmad ibn Munlā took two extensive study trips to Damascus during his youth; he was accompanied by his father on one of them. In 958/1551, he went to the Ottoman court in Istanbul to take lessons with a number of well-known scholars. Aḥmad ibn Munlā described his experiences in a book *(Al-Rawḍah al-Wardīyah fī al-Riḥlah al-Rūmīyah)* that unfortunately has not survived. The scholar from Aleppo returned to his hometown later on and held various teaching positions. Aḥmad ibn Munlā was particularly interested in linguistics. He wrote a number of treatises over the years. In addition to a number of studies on Arabic syntax and a historical narrative *(Tārīkh al-Islām wa-Ṭabaqāt al-Mashāhīr min al-Aʿlām),* one should also mention his commentary on Ibn Hishām's (d. 761/1360) famous *Mughnī al-Labīb ʿan Kutub al-Aʿārīb* and a comprehensive commentary on al-Bayḍāwī's (d. after 685/1216) *Anwār al-Tanzīl wa-Asrār al-Taʾwīl* in this context. Neither of the books has apparently been preserved.

In his day, Aḥmad ibn Munlā was evidently recognized not only as a scholar but also as a poet. Ibn al-Ḥanbalī offers us a selection of his poetry. His life ended in a manner hardly befitting his social standing: farmers beat him to death near Aleppo. Aḥmad ibn Munlā was buried in his grandfather's *turbah* at al-Jubayl Cemetery in Aleppo. He was survived by two sons, Ibrāhīm (d. 1032/1622–23) and Muḥammad (d. 1010/1601–2).[15]

At the beginning of his *Mutʿat al-Adhhān,* Aḥmad ibn Munlā tells us that he took extensive excerpts from Ibn Ṭūlūn's *Al-Tamattuʿ bi-al-Iqrān bayna Tarājim al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān* when preparing his manuscript. In doing so, he had selected every item that helped him compose his own handbook.[16] The book prepared by the alim from Aleppo contains 1,030 biographical sketches, with the month of Dhū al-Qaʿdah 993/1585 being the last date mentioned. It is very difficult to tell from the content which parts were actually written by Ibn Ṭūlūn and which

[13]Ibid., no. 529.

[14]Ibn al-Ḥanbalī provides a long list of his teachers.

[15]On Aḥmad ibn Munlā's sons, see al-Muḥibbī, *Khulāṣah,* 1:11–12 (Ibrāhīm) and 3:348–50 (Muḥammad); and Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Khafājī (d. 1068/1659), *Rayḥānat al-Alibbā wa-Zahrat al-Ḥayāh al-Dunyā,* ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw (Cairo, 1967), 1:97–98. Al-Khafājī's *Rayḥānat al-Alibbā* is an expansion of his own work *Khabāyā al-Zawāyā fīmā fī al-Rijāl min al-Baqāyā;* see *GAL,* 2:286 and S2:396.

[16]Aḥmad ibn Munlā, *Mutʿat al-Adhhān,* 39.

parts were added by Aḥmad ibn Munlā. To answer this question it would be helpful to do a detailed study comparing the styles of his *Mut'at al-Adhhān* with Ibn Ṭūlūn's "Dhakhā'ir al-Qaṣr fī Tarājim Nubalā' al-'Aṣr" (Gotha MS 1779), which is an appendix to his *Al-Tamattu'* written in his own hand and containing 136 biographies of well-known Damascene citizens in alphabetical order. The original models upon which the two authors based their work also merit close analysis. Ibn Ṭūlūn primarily used Yūsuf ibn 'Abd al-Hādī's (d. 909/1503)[17] *Al-Riyāḍ al-Yāni'ah fī A'yān al-Mi'ah al-Tāsi'ah*[18] and al-Buṣrawī's (d. 905/1500)[19] *Tārīkh*[20] as his models, while Aḥmad ibn Munlā apparently referred not only to Ibn Ṭūlūn's writings but also to the biographies compiled by al-Sakhāwī and al-Būrīnī.

The Berlin manuscript (Berlin MS 9888) is the only available copy of Aḥmad ibn Munlā's *Mut'at al-Adhhān min al-Tamattu' bi-al-Iqrān bayna Tarājim al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān.* The manuscript is quite difficult to read, yet my cursory comparison of the original text and the present edition revealed hardly any mistakes. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl al-Shaybānī al-Mawṣilī has evidently done a very good job. The detailed annotations and the comprehensive indexes are extremely useful, while the introduction could be a bit more detailed.

JONATHAN P. BERKEY, *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001). Pp. 143.

REVIEWED BY TH. EMIL HOMERIN, University of Rochester.

In his *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo* (Princeton, 1994), Jonathan Berkey offered a detailed study of religious education in Mamluk Cairo. His main concerns were higher education, primarily Islamic jurisprudence, the scholarly elite (ulama) and their students, though he also discussed the place of women and the ruling Mamluk military elite in this educational system. Among his insightful conclusions, Berkey found that the transmission of religious knowledge in Mamluk Egypt was vital to easing certain social boundaries as it brought together individuals from groups that otherwise might not have mingled so easily. Now in his most

[17]On this scholar see *GAL,* 2:107–8 and S2:130–31; Stefan Leder, "Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Hādī," *EI*[2], 9:354; and Aḥmad ibn Munlā, *Mut'at al-Adhhān,* 838–40 (no. 968).

[18]Yūsuf ibn 'Abd al-Hādī, *Al-Riyāḍ al-Yāni'ah fī A'yān al-Mi'ah al-Tāsi'ah,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl al-Shaybānī al-Mawṣilī (Damascus, 1986).

[19]On him, see Aḥmad ibn Munlā, *Mut'at al-Adhhān,* 540–41 (no. 591).

[20]'Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh,* ed. Akram Ḥasan al-'Ulabī (Damascus, 1987).

recent book, *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East,* Berkey again addresses the transmission of religious knowledge, but by those who were generally outside the small circle of religious professionals. In particular, he studies the many popular preachers and storytellers, and how their activities raised issues of the interrelationship between high and popular cultures, on one hand, and questions of religious authority, on the other.

To start, Berkey discusses some of the key players involved. The *khaṭīb* was generally a state-appointed religious scholar who delivered the official Friday sermon, while the *wāʿiẓ* (″preacher,″ ″admonisher″) and the *qāṣṣ* (″storyteller″) were often independent and less educated though they, too, called the common people to lead a pious life. As such, this latter group, like the ulama, actively transmitted religious knowledge, but this became a major source of tension. For as Berkey notes, ″the controversy that their activities engendered was in the final analysis about how the common people were to understand Islam.″ (p. 21) That much was at stake is clear from the many critiques of the popular preachers written throughout the medieval period by members of the religious establishment, including those by Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200), Ibn al-Ḥājj (d. 737/1336), Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī (d. 806/1404), al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), and ʿAlī ibn Maymūn al-Idrīsī (d. 917/1511). Though these and other members of the ulama held a variety of theological and legal views, they were united in their stand against unlawful innovation in religion, which they sought to define and articulate in a system of proper Sunni belief and ritual.

Yet this was a daunting task, for the popular preachers and religious storytellers were pervasive in medieval Muslim society, and they were often adored by the common people as sources of religious edification as well as entertainment. Their critics, however, warned of charlatans and fools, who might cheat the people out of their money, while leading them astray. Such imposters and ignoramuses lacked proper education and certification, and so they spread lies, weak hadith, and heresies, while their preaching sessions were thought to encourage the mixing of the sexes and other illicit activities. This was a crucial issue, for popular preaching and storytelling were acceptable, even honorable, activities provided that their practitioners were trained and regulated by the ulama. Indeed, many critics of the popular preachers and storytellers were, themselves, preachers as well as religious scholars. Their sermons were punctuated by quotations and allusions, traditions of the prophet Muḥammad, and stories of the earlier prophets *(Isrāʾīlīyāt)*.

Further, two themes central to all preaching were the renunciation of worldly goods and preparation for the Day of Judgment. Berkey reviews these and other themes found in the sermons of popular preachers, and their emotional impact on their audiences. He further observes that underlying much of this preaching was Sufism, which was a prominent feature of Islam in the Mamluk period. Poverty

and death were major topics of medieval mysticism, which sought to foster the love between God and His servants. But some critics feared that public expressions of pious love would be misconstrued by common folk as blatant eroticism, while the public presentation of mystical teachings, such as those by Ibn al-ʻArabī (d. 637/1240) could be even more dangerous.

In response to such criticism, others defended popular preachers and storytellers as serving an essential religious service to the Muslim community. Here, Berkey focuses on an anonymous manuscript entitled *Al-Bāʻith ʻalá al-Khalāṣ fī Aḥwāl al-Khawāṣṣ* ("The Enticer to Liberation from the Concerns of the Elites"). Through a good piece of scholarly detective work, Berkey discovered that the author of this work is almost certainly ʻAlī Ibn Wafā' (d. 807/1404), an important member of the Wafā'īyah Shādhalīyah Sufi order, and a popular preacher. He wrote this treatise in response to Zayn al-Dīn al-ʻIrāqī's polemic against popular preachers and their Sufi values. The two men squared off over "the fundamental issue surrounding the preachers and storytellers . . . control: who was to control their activities, their words, and their messages, and how was such control to be exercised" (p. 55). Al-ʻIrāqī, fearing sedition and heresy, wanted to control and regulate what he believed to be illegal activity on the part of ignorant and unrestrained preachers. Ibn Wafā' agreed that preachers who preached against the law would surely face divine retribution. But he noted that many preachers and storytellers had, in fact, been authorized to transmit legitimate religious knowledge. Further, for Ibn Wafā', what truly mattered was the quality and sincerity of a sermon's *ʻibrah*, or spiritual message. As Berkey points out on this and similar matters, Ibn Wafā' and al-ʻIrāqī held differing views regarding what constituted proper religious knowledge. While the conservative al-ʻIrāqī attempted to circumscribe this knowledge and its transmission, Ibn Wafā' pressed for openness, "for the possibility that humanity's understanding of the will of God was incomplete and susceptible to further refinement, even in the hands of individuals such as those preaching and telling stories to the Muslim masses" (p. 85). Berkey concludes that this debate over popular preachers and storytellers underscores the fact that while the ulama had emerged as the religious authorities of medieval Islam, precisely who qualified for membership in this elite group and on what basis remained somewhat ambiguous.

Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East is a concise, well-argued, and well-written book. My only real criticism is that in a book about preaching, we never read an actual sermon. Either as part of his second chapter "Storytelling and Preaching in the Late Middle Period," or as a separate succeeding chapter, Berkey might have translated and analyzed several representative sermons. For example, reading a sermon by the conservative *khaṭīb* Ibn al-Jawzī, together with one by the respected Sufi preacher Ibn ʻAṭā Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309), and another by one of the popular preachers, such as

Shaykh Shuʿayb al-Ḥurayfīsh (d. 801/1389–99), would have made for an interesting contrast, and provided a fuller picture of the types of material involved. Finally, to Berkey's extensive bibliography should be added Īliyā Ḥāwī's anthology *Fann al-Khaṭābah* (Beirut, n.d.). These minor points aside, with *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East*, Jonathan Berkey has presented a detailed and insightful discussion of the vibrant and dynamic activity of Muslim preaching and storytelling and so has made another important contribution to the study of medieval Islam.

Grandes villes méditerranéennes du monde musulman médieval. Edited by Jean-Claude Garcin (Rome: Collection de l'École française de Rome, 2000). Pp. 323.

REVIEWED BY PAULINA B. LEWICKA, University of Warsaw

This ambitious volume brings together a number of papers prepared by fourteen distinguished scholars who acted upon the request of Claude Nicolet, then the director of the École française de Rome and the organizer of a conference on the "megapoles" of the Mediterranean (Rome, May 1996). The contributors decided to examine nine cities—not all of them of the Mediterranean basin, despite the book's title. The list, which includes Damascus, Qayrawan, Cordoba, al-Fusṭāṭ, Aleppo, Cairo, Fez, and Tunis, is complemented by Baghdad, a center separated from the Mediterranean's eastern shore by over 800 km of desert routes. Baghdad, however, a great early medieval megapolis of the Arab-Muslim world, "could not be ignored," to use the editor's own words. Therefore it was included—on an equal basis—"for scholarly comparison." The magnitude of tenth-century Baghdad cannot be denied. To include it, however, among Mediterranean urban centers is somewhat confusing. Similarly, the need to compare the characteristics of Oriental cities with those of Mediterranean urban centers is indisputable. However, to claim regularity based on the comparison of those centers with the single model of Baghdad is somewhat misleading.

The book presents nine Islamic cities. Thierry Bianquis examines post-Umayyad Damascus, while Mondher Sakly looks at Qayrawan, the capital of the province of Ifrīqīyā until the mid-eleventh century. The flourishing Abbasid Baghdad is discussed by Françoise Micheau; this presentation, the only one in this volume that contains comprehensive footnotes, is followed by a plan of the city, prepared by Abdallah Cheikh-Moussa. The plan includes the toponyms recorded in the

period between the foundation of Baghdad and the beginning of the tenth century. M. Acién Almansa and A. Vallejo Triano deal with tenth-century caliphal Cordoba. Ayman Fu'ad Sayyid and Roland-Pierre Gayraud, director of the archeological mission in al-Fusṭāṭ, examine the characteristics of this city in the Fatimid period. Anne-Marie Eddé′s study presents Aleppo of the twelfth–thirteenth centuries. Two of the contributions deal specifically with the capital of the Mamluk state: the presentation by Doris Behrens-Abouseif, Sylvie Denoix, and Jean-Claude Garcin is followed by Garcin′s evaluation of possible Cairo population figures in 1517. Halima Ferhat looks at fourteenth-century Merinid Fez. Finally, Mounira Chapoutot-Remadi examines fifteenth-century Tunis of the Hafsides.

To make sure that the results of their work remain (to quote the editors′ expression) at least in ″minimum harmony,″ the contributors agreed that a set of twelve topics be addressed for each of the cities under study. The topics, inspired by those drawn up by scholars working in Claude Nicolet′s project on the metropolitan areas of the northern Mediterranean, are: documentation and studies; quantitative evaluations; the forming of the population; distribution of the population; urban morphology; infrastructure and services; city authorities and administration; the city in its territory; the city and its long-distance links; religious and cultural topography; identity of the city.

The presentations are preceded by Thierry Bianquis′ and Jean-Claude Garcin′s thoughts on the notion of ″megapolis″ and its meaning. In fact this interesting chapter, while shedding much light on the question of the proper understanding of the ancient Greek term, is also somewhat confusing to the reader, who expects that being a ″megapolis″ is an element connecting the cities under study and probably constituting one of the main threads of the whole volume. In reality the essay offers an otherwise absorbing presentation in which Jean-Claude Garcin argues that Cairo of the thirteenth–fifteenth centuries can be considered a ″megapolis″ (which in his view is also the case for Baghdad of the ninth–tenth centuries), but that cities like al-Fusṭāṭ, Aleppo, Qayrawan, and Cordoba should not be included in this category. Garcin′s reasoning, apparently inspired by Claude Nicolet′s project, is very convincing, if not too closely in line with the chapters that follow.

Twelve topics, nine cities, an enormous abundance of secondary literature to study and sources to rediscover—and just one volume to contain it all. The title, the impressive format, and the preface appear promising, as do the table of contents and the names of the contributors, many of whom are internationally recognized experts on medieval Muslim cities. However, as soon as one reaches the bibliography (which precedes the presentations), confusion returns. In her bibliography for the essay on Baghdad, Françoise Micheau states that the list contains the most important works only and as for the sources, one should refer to the article itself (its footnotes

are indeed detailed and exhaustive) or to the appropriate entry in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam [sic!]*. To compensate for this deficiency, the author includes in the list of secondary literature that follows one- or two-sentence descriptions of each work. A number of works also seem to be missing from the list of sources for the chapter on al-Fusṭāṭ (compare it with the bibliographies included by Ayman Fu'ad Sayyid in any of his numerous editions of Arabic sources for the history of Cairo).

For anybody acquainted with the enormous richness of sources for the history and topography of Mamluk Cairo (including the European travellers′ accounts that are frequently quoted in Jean-Claude Garcin′s presentation), the five items that constitute the list of sources seem at least odd; defining them as ″sources essentielles″ to some degree explains the brevity, but does not quite help to understand the number of works selected. The list of modern literature that follows omits a number of important works, a deficiency that becomes particularly manifest in the presentation itself, as the reader is rarely given a chance to see more details on literature or additional explanations that are usually placed in footnotes. The case of Mamluk Cairo, however, is not an extraordinary example: chapters on Cordoba, al-Fusṭāṭ, Qayrawan, Damascus, and Fez are hardly annotated at all.

As for the articles themselves, their content is formed according to the pattern mentioned above and presented in an almost encyclopedically concise manner. For example, the chapter on Mamluk Cairo contains a very brief description of basic sources for topography of the city and mention of a few names of scholars who have studied its urban history (section ″documentation and studies″), followed by ″quantitative evaluations″ by Jean-Claude Garcin in which the author discusses all known estimations concerning the population of Cairo and suggests 270,000 as the most probable number (this fails to correspond with what André Raymond and others have calculated, which Garcin explains in a separate chapter). In the same section the author, using the works by al-Maqrīzī, Leo Africanus, and the map of Cairo by Matheo Pagano, provides some more figures concerning the city′s area and the density of population in certain parts of it.

Doris Behrens-Abouseif presents the composition of the population and, pointing out the cosmopolitan character of Mamluk Cairo, explains that the emergence of the multinational mosaics that the city dwellers formed was a result of many factors, such as the original multi-religious character of the city, frequent immigration of conquering troops, and waves of refugees that followed various conquests and wars. The Mamluk system of recruitment, the widespread use of slaves, and the international character of shrines and religious academies of Cairo added new nationalities and new groups to the already differentiated society.

In the following section the same author examines the distribution of the city population and notes that in Mamluk Cairo the separation of the Muslim and non-Muslim quarters was not very strict; a certain flexibility was permitted here.

She also points out that despite the professional specialization of Copts and Jews, there did not exist a strict religious segregation as far as the workplaces or crafts were concerned. She also stresses that because of the lack of sources similar to the Geniza archives for the time of the Fatimids or to court registers for the Ottoman epoch, we know relatively little on the distribution by profession of the population of Mamluk Cairo.

In the section dealing with infrastructures and services, Doris Behrens-Abouseif and Jean-Claude Garcin very briefly present the system of water provision and transportation of merchandise; they devote more space to Cairo bazaars. They examine the nature of commercial installations in the center of al-Qāhirah, explain the changing topography of the Cairene commerce that evolved according to the sultans′ and amirs′ orders, to economic crises, or to changing fashion. They also discuss the history of the founding of the bazaars along al-Qaṣabah, or the main axis of the Fatimid city, and explain the reasons for this development.

In her presentation on the authorities and administration of the city, Sylvie Denoix first points to the fact that, contrary to its European counterpart, the medieval Islamic city did not have municipal institutions of any kind and that the absence of urban administration is one of the characteristic features of the ″Islamic city.″ The author does not examine this interesting phenomenon further (which, considering the form of the volume, is quite understandable), but she also fails to mention fundamental studies on the subject, such as S. M. Stern′s ″The Constitution of the Islamic City″ (in A. H. Hourani and S. M. Stern, eds., *The Islamic City: A Colloquium* [Oxford, 1970]) or I. M. Lapidus′s ″Muslim Cities and Islamic Societes″ (in I. M. Lapidus, ed., *Middle Eastern Cities* [Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969]).

Sylvie Denoix goes on to say that the Islamic cities were governed by other institutions instead: by *ḥisbah,* by judicature of the qadis, by various types of police and by *waqf*—the system of ″social solidarity,″ and she briefly presents each of them. Again, the omission of basic sources (the works of al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Duqmāq do not constitute the fullest compendium on the Cairene *ḥisbah* system) and of at least a few important items from the long list of secondary literature on the subject (the literature on the institution of *waqf* in Egypt is fairly rich) is an element that can hardly be applauded.

The author concludes the essay by stating that what in fact made Mamluk Cairo different from other Islamic cities was the duality of forces in power: there were local civilian elites responsible for religious and certain administrative issues on the one hand, and the army with the military and political power on the other; but as this duality was apparently the case with all Egyptian and Syrian cities where Mamluk troops were posted, this is not a distinguishing feature of the Cairo urban administration. This city was unique in being the seat of the Mamluk sultan, an officer who was not only the ruler of the kingdom, but also the one who often

took a personal interest in, and gave dispositions as to, the order in the city, the safety of its gates and streets, control over its various legal and illegal businesses, as well as its urban development. It was he, finally, who presided over the *maẓālim* court sessions, so that the four Sunni judges were not the only institution that dispensed justice in the city.

Perhaps the most thought-provoking part of the chapter on Mamluk Cairo, if not of the entire book, is Jean-Claude Garcin's "Note sur la population du Caire en 1517." In his article the author, referring to various sources that indicate the number of dwellers in late medieval Cairo, comments on the results of contemporary studies on the subject (particularly those by André Raymond), draws his own conclusions, and attempts to establish his own figures. Garcin apparently does not agree with the methods of calculation applied by Raymond nor with his application of these methods to the pre-Ottoman epoch.

Thus, trying to avoid the methodological confusion that an "Ottomanist" approach to medieval Cairo may cause, the author decides in the first place to redefine the term "Cairo" by incorporating al-Fusṭāṭ within Cairo's medieval limits at the end of the fifteenth century—contrary to the "Ottomanists," for whom al-Fusṭāṭ is just a ruined suburb. However logical this move may appear, the soundness of it is open to discussion, and not just on whether al-Fusṭāṭ was already ruined or not. In the late fifteenth century, as before, the chief of police of al-Qāhirah was not responsible for order in al-Fusṭāṭ, and *vice versa;* the two officers did not have any common beat or share a common commander, which suggests that from the administrative point of view (whatever this may mean in the case of a city with no municipal authorities) the two urban entities were separate. Al-Qalqashandī, who in his encyclopedia devotes a section to describe *madīnat* al-Fusṭāṭ, and another to describe *madīnat* al-Qāhirah, apparently confirms the late medieval situation.

At the same time, another proposition by the author, to include Būlāq and other *extra-muros* quarters within the city limits, seems to be rational. This said, one remark should be added, viz., that the poor of Cairo (if we consider them its inhabitants) seem not to fit the methods of counting valid for other inhabitants. Some of them lived in exceedingly overcrowded houses, where a "feu fiscal" could by no means be limited to five persons; some of them—usually homeless immigrant scholars and personnel of various and numerous religious institutions of Cairo—dwelled in the institutions' buildings or slept in front of them. Still others lived outside the walled city, on the ground or in some kind of temporary housing. How large a part of Cairo's population did they form? An absorbing study by Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam* (Cambridge, 2000), does not provide the answer either, but leaves this question tantalizingly open.

The glossary of Arabic urban terms and a set of carefully prepared colored maps of the nine cities complete the book. There is no index.

The approach the contributors have adopted in their study resulted in creating a reference volume, a kind of encyclopedia-style handbook consisting of nine large entries on nine medieval Mediterranean cities, including Baghdad. Indeed, much of this material covers—to use Carl F. Petry′s words—ground thoroughly trodden by specialists in the field, especially in the case of Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo, which over the preceding thirty years have been ″worked over to a degree verging on excess.″ This, however, does not negate the value of the volume. As the editor states, the aim was to contribute to the work on the general history of Islamic urbanism. And the book, no doubt, satisfies all conditions to serve this purpose. It indeed paves the way for further work in this direction; what we need now is to rediscover, reread, reanalyze the sources, and interpret the data on Islamic urban and social history that the medieval works and documents contain. One can only praise the efforts of this group of distinguished scholars for placing their research on medieval Muslim cities in a framework that enables further comparative studies on a scale even larger than Mediterranean Muslim urbanism.

ʻImād Badr al-Dīn Abū Ghāzī, *Taṭawwur al-Ḥiyāzah al-Zirāʻīyah fī Miṣr Zaman al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah* (Cairo: ʻAyn lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Buḥūth al-Insānīyah wa-al-Ijtimā'īyah, 2000). Pp. 155.

Reviewed by Igarashi Daisuke, Chuo University

It is generally agreed that the *iqṭāʻ* system was a fundamental military and economic system of the Mamluk state providing the basic framework for the Mamluk regime and its society. However, even though this is a most important matter directly linked to the social and political power structures, only a few attempts have so far been made to understand the actual transformation process of the *iqṭāʻ* system—that is, the land tenure system under the Circassian Mamluks that has been regarded as being in ″a period of decline″—with the exception of C. F. Petry′s recent studies using Mamluk *waqf* documents concerning the expansion of the sultans′ *waqf* lands.

The present book is a remarkable study that considers the land tenure system in Circassian Mamluk Egypt based on Mamluk documents in the Ministry of *Waqf*s and National Archives in Cairo, which have heretofore been used almost exclusively for *waqf* studies, and Ottoman land registers of *rizaq (dafātir al-rizaq al-jayshīyah, dafātir al-rizaq al-aḥbāsīyah)* that have never been used as historical sources for Mamluk studies. The author notices that there were many cases of

state land sales from the state treasury *(bayt al-māl)* to individuals during the Circassian Mamluk period. The data he examines is based on 570 cases of state land sales appearing in the documentation. The aim of the book, as the author describes it in the Introduction, is to consider the process of development, causes, and effects of the sale of state lands, which he regards as an important phenomenon influencing the traditional land tenure system in medieval Egypt. It argues against the common opinion that most agricultural land belonged to the state, and that private ownership had not developed in medieval Egypt, as attested by al-Qalqashandī and al-Maqrīzī, historians of the Circassian Mamluk period. They state in their works that there was neither much privately owned nor *waqf* land in Egypt in the early fifteenth century, the beginning of the Circassian period.

Chapter 1 deals with the development of state land sales during the Circassian Mamluk period, in which most of the cases were found, although the practice had existed since the Fatimid period. Some 570 cases are arranged chronologically and according to sultanic reigns. In a table, the author shows that most state land sales were carried out during specific reigns, like those of Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī and al-Ashraf Īnāl, but, in contrast, only few cases can be found under others, like al-Ẓāhir Barqūq and al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, despite their long terms. Similarly, land sales are concentrated in particular periods, that is, the mid-fifteenth century and the last twenty years of Mamluk rule. Judging from this data, it is obvious that the state land sales did not occur equally throughout the Circassian Mamluk period.

Chapter 2 focuses on the reasons for state land sales. In Mamluk documents, they were ordinarily legitimated ″for expenditures on military expeditions and payments to soldiers,″ attempting to overcome the fact that the *fuqahā'* had not agreed on the legality of selling land originally belonging to the state treasury. Therefore, the following three questions are considered by the author: did state land sales coincide with military expeditions or with other military activities? Were there fiscal circumstances that actually required selling land? Did land payments actually enter the state treasury′s coffers? As a result of this investigation, no apparent relationships can be found between fiscal or military circumstances and the frequency of state land sales. Moreover, the documents frequently tell us that land payments from the state treasury were ″awarded″ to buyers. Consequently, the author concludes that the reasons for selling state land described in the documentation were not legitimate.

In Chapter 3, entitled ″Effects of state land sales under the Circassian Mamluks,″ the author assumes that state land sales influenced various aspects of society in medieval Egypt for the reason that agricultural land was the basis of state revenues as well as the *iqṭā'* system, and therefore he examines the buyers of state lands and the subsequent transfer of that land after purchase. From this analysis, he

reveals that a vast amount of agricultural land was turned into *waqf* through the sale of state lands, thus in effect transferring land ownership from the state to private hands. He points out that three important changes in the land tenure system and Egyptian society resulted from this. First, it may have caused a decline in the *iqṭā‘* system owing to a reduction of state land that could be awarded to mamluks and amirs as *iqṭā‘*. He expects that the traditional loyalty between sultans and mamluks and amirs depended on the *iqṭā‘* system and may have collapsed as a result of the change in their land tenure status from *muqṭa‘*s to private land owners, making them independent of the state to some extent. Secondly, a new landlord group consisting of *awlād al-nās* and Egyptians who had been excluded from the ruling class appeared, now that the state was no longer the exclusive source of land due to the free transfer of land as a result of the spread of sales from the state treasury. However, their social influence on their own land was reduced because it was necessary to turn it into *waqf* to avoid confiscation, in addition to the fact that they had been absentee landlords. Thirdly, nevertheless, the documentation makes clear that most of the land sold from the state treasury eventually fell into the hands of the sultans. That is, they became the greatest beneficiaries of state land sales. Consequently, the author concludes that the real reason for the state land sales was to benefit the sultans themselves, who used it to reward their followers and to conciliate their enemies, all of this due to the political corruption of the period.

The most valuable features of this book are its numerous tables and graphs, which organize the data in archival sources statistically and quantitatively. In addition, the author compares these tools with narrative sources, examining the phenomenon of state-land sale from various aspects. His opinion that this unfortunately overlooked phenomenon was significant in causing great social transformation at the time is very interesting. However, his hypothesis in Chapter 3 about the transformation of the land tenure system remains uncertain because it mostly depends on statistical analysis of the documents, and cannot be proven by the narrative sources. Furthermore, the sultans′ intentions regarding state land sales and the contemporary political situation caused by it, or requiring it, are not examined satisfactorily, but only summed up as political corruption, despite possible effects on the political and power structure of the traditional Mamluk regime. We may recall that many state land sales occurred under particular sultanic reigns, despite the absence of pressing military and economic circumstances, as seen in Chapter 2. Therefore, we must look more carefully into the political circumstances of those reigns, including reconsideration of whether state land sales were transacted under similar situations and for the same purposes throughout the Circassian period, or were merely a part of some intentional policy by particular sultans for some special purpose.

Even though the author's opinion leaves room for further investigation, especially from the aspect of political history, the importance of this book cannot be overemphasized. Most of all, it shows that Ottoman documents are applicable to Mamluk studies, which have usually been based on narrative sources due to an assumed lack of administrative documents, thus enabling scholars to explore further the land tenure system during the Mamluk period. Land systems are crucial elements of society, having close relationships to political, economic, and social conditions. The conclusions reached in this book will have an impact on other fields of Mamluk history, and will change the previously held historical image of the Circassian Mamluks.

IBN ḤAJAR AL-ʻASQALĀNĪ, *Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʻyān al-Miʼah al-Thāminah,* edited by Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʻIlmīyah, 1419/1998). Pp. 376.

IBN ḤAJAR AL-ʻASQALĀNĪ, *Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʻyān al-Miʼah al-Thāminah,* edited by ʻAdnān Darwīsh (Cairo: Maʻhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʻArabīyah, 1412/1992). Pp. 452.

IBN DUQMĀQ, *Nuzhat al-Anām fī Tārīkh al-Islām, 628/1230–659/1261,* edited by Samīr Ṭabbārah (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-ʻAṣrīyah, 1420/1999). Pp. 320.

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Historiographical works are not only important for the facts they contain. Each of these works is also a document for the world view of the time of its composition and can tell a lot about the interests and predilections of its readers, about the scholarly life of that time, and the perception of history in it. Therefore, one should not be disappointed if the recently published works under review do not add many historical facts previously unknown. They are interesting nevertheless, each one in its own way.

Ibn Ḥajar (773–852/1372–1449) hardly needs to be introduced in these pages. His *Durar al-Kāminah,* a collection of biographies of the important persons who died during the eighth century (701–800), is a basic tool for everyone interested in the Mamluk period. It is the first of a long series of works containing the biographies of important people who died within a certain century. But if we consider the date of Ibn Ḥajar's birth and death, he seems not to have been particularly predisposed

to writing the biographies of the prominent people of the eighth century, because a book like this did not allow him to treat the biographies of all those who died after the author was only twenty-seven years old. It is therefore only too understandable that he planned a continuation to this book, a *Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāminah.* In the year 832 he noticed, as he writes himself, that already a third of the ninth century had elapsed. This inspired him to put together a volume containing short presentations of those who had died during the years 801 to 832 in chronological order (different from the *Durar*). The volume contains the obituaries of 639 persons, ranging between a single line and two pages. Ibn Ḥajar finished a draft *(musawwadah)* only, which circulated among several ulama, among them Ibn al-Labūdī, in whose possession al-Sakhāwī had seen the book,[1] and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, who left notes in the manuscript. This *musawwadah* in Ibn Ḥajar′s own hand has survived and is probably the only manuscript of the text that ever existed. Ibn Ḥajar himself obviously never cared for the preparation of a fair copy *(mubayyaḍah).* Probably he felt that his *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* a history of the *ḥawādith*/*wafayāt* type, which he carried on until his death, made a further continuation of the *Dhayl* superfluous.[2] In any case, the whole material of the *Dhayl* can also be found in the *Inbā'* (and, additionally, in al-Sakhāwī′s *Ḍaw'*), so that the edition of the *Dhayl* yields only a very small number of hitherto unknown facts. However, the texts are not identical, and it is never devoid of interest to have the *ipsissima verba* of as great a scholar as Ibn Ḥajar in front of oneself. The edition is, therefore, to be welcomed.

But which edition? The edition by Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī is meant to complete the two-volume set (four volumes in two) of Ibn Ḥajar′s *Al-Durar al-Kāminah* issued by the Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmīyah (henceforth: DKI). The DKI does not mention an editor of the *Durar,* but presents the book as being ″corrected″ by a certain 'Abd al-Wārith Muḥammad 'Alī (Beirut, 1418/1997). It has become common practice with the DKI to publish ″remakes″ of books published previously by other publishing houses. In these cases, the original edition (which is hardly ever specified) is simply retyped without consulting any manuscript. The new text (which is usually presented in a clumsy layout with small margins standing in marked contrast to a pompous cover) can, of course, never be better than the text from which it is copied, because it copies its mistakes and inevitably adds new ones. To give but one example, in the biography of al-Ṣafadī in the new DKI edition of the *Durar* the reader comes across al-Ṣafadī′s statement that he wrote ″two hundred *(mi'atayn)* volumes″ and may find it inconsistent with a later notice

[1]Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar fī Tarjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar,* ed. Ibrāhīm Bājis 'Abd al-Majīd (Beirut, 1419/1999), 3:688.

[2]Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Abnā' al-'Umr,* ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Khān et al., 9 vols. (Hyderabad, 1387–96/1967–76).

that he wrote more than five hundred. Even more surprising is the enigmatic information that al-Ṣafadī suffered from "a hardness of hearing in the hereafter *(fī al-ākhirah)*". If this text is compared with the much superior Hyderabad edition, the reader will find out that al-Ṣafadī claimed to have written "hundreds *(mi'īn)* of volumes," and that the problems with his hearing occurred "towards the end of his life *(fī al-ākhar)*." This example proves the practice of the DKI not only to be ethically dubious but also detrimental to scholarly standards. It is only to be hoped that the easily available print of the DKI will not supersede the excellent Hyderabad edition.

This practice arouses suspicion also for the edition of the *Dhayl,* a suspicion that turns out to be only too justified. Though al-Mazīdī certainly had a copy of Ibn Ḥajar's autograph in hand (as the plates on pp. 23–24 prove), everything points to the conclusion that this was not the main source for his edition. Six years before, another edition of the *Dhayl* had appeared in Cairo. Its editor, ʻAdnān Darwīsh, had done an impressive job. By comparing Ibn Ḥajar's *musawwadah,* which is written almost without diacritical dots, with the text of the *Inbā',* the *Ḍaw',* and other sources, he manages to decipher Ibn Ḥajar's text nearly completely. He even succeeds in reading most of the marginal notes by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah. Further, he gives a comprehensive commentary in the footnotes identifying nearly every person and book title mentioned in the text. It may well be the case that Darwīsh's commentary proves to be more helpful than Ibn Ḥajar's own words. All these notes are lacking in al-Mazīdī's edition, a fact that alone lends superiority to Darwīsh's edition. But really striking is the fact that al-Mazīdī's version of Ibn Ḥajar's text is completely identical with Darwīsh's. By not mentioning Darwīsh's edition, al-Mazīdī implies that he did not know it. But it is hard to imagine that his reading of Ibn Ḥajar's sketchy text, which is extremely difficult to decipher (as the sample plates show), is always the same as that of Darwīsh and that he always had the same idea as to how to divide the text into paragraphs. Whenever Darwīsh could not read a word and therefore omits it, al-Mazīdī also could not read it. In many cases Darwīsh notes that a passage was extremely difficult to read, that he could only guess the right word, or that he had to put forward a conjecture. In all these cases, al-Mazīdī's text is absolutely identical, but without admitting any textual problems. Even where there is a lacuna in the text of the *Dhayl* that Darwīsh tried to fill by adding the corresponding passage of the *Inbā'* in square brackets, al-Mazīdī's text is identical —with the exception of the brackets. He thus presents passages which are definitely missing in Ibn Ḥajar's autograph as part of the original text. Therefore we can conclude with almost complete certainty that al-Mazīdī did plagiarize the edition of Darwīsh. It is a matter of course that only Darwīsh's erudite edition should be bought, used, and quoted.

The author of the next book under review is Ṣārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, known as Ibn Duqmāq, an elder contemporary of Ibn Ḥajar. He was born between 740 and 750, and died in 809/1496. He was an important source for the historical works of Ibn Ḥajar and is the subject of an entry in Ibn Ḥajar's *Dhayl* (no. 274) and in his *Inbā'* (6:16–17). As his name shows, he belonged to the *awlād al-nās,* and as such had the usual problems of being accepted by the great ulama, because he could not comply with their linguistic standards, which required a flawless mastery of Classical Arabic. Though Ibn Ḥajar had a liking for him and drew heavily on his writings, he cannot help stating that Ibn Duqmāq, "despite his passion for literature *(adabīyāt)* and history, was bare of the clothes of the Arabic language, and his speech was vulgar *('āmmī al-'ibārah)*" (*Dhayl,* p. 182). Several works of Ibn Duqmāq have been preserved at least partially, among them a collection of the biographies of Hanafi scholars, which caused him a lot of trouble, since he was accused of slandering al-Shāfi'ī in it, and a description of Cairo and Alexandria edited by Vollers in 1893 *(Kitāb al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat 'Iqd al-Amṣār).* A fine edition of a précis of Mamluk history up to the year 805 has appeared recently.[3] In this work, he refers to his *Al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr* (p. 26), by which he certainly meant his history entitled *Nuzhat al-Anām fī Tārīkh al-Islām,* a history in annalistic form following the *ḥawādith*/*wafayāt* pattern. It seems as if at least more than half of it has been preserved.[4] Ibn Ḥajar states that this work was the most important source for Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī for the period not covered by Ibn Kathīr. Al-'Aynī, he says, copied Ibn Duqmāq, including his linguistic mistakes and without mentioning his source in passages in which Ibn Duqmāq presents himself as an eyewitness, thus pretending falsely to have been an eyewitness himself (*Inbā,'* 1:2–3).

Samīr Ṭabbārah now has undertaken the task of editing the portion covering the years 628–59/1230–61, the end of the Ayyubid and the beginning of the Mamluk period. Obviously Ibn Duqmāq used a great variety of sources, and though many of them are well known, his text provides different formulations, unknown details, and even some biographical entries which the erudite editor could not trace in any other source. But of course only a careful source-critical study will determine the *Nuzhah*'s importance as a historical source for this period. Whatever the results will be, the part edited by Ṭabbārah is interesting in any case, because it is based on Ibn Duqmāq's autograph. Fortunately the editor did not obliterate the grammatical peculiarities of the manuscript, but only corrected

[3]Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Nafḥah al-Miskīyah fī al-Dawlah al-Turkīyah,* ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 1420/1999).

[4]The most comprehensive survey of the surviving manuscripts is given in ibid., p. 26, where Tadmurī however fails to mention the Gotha manuscripts. Taken together and provided that all given dates are correct, we posses the parts dealing with the years 176–422, 436–552, 628–59, 701–42, and 768–804.

obvious errors, in which case he gives the original wording in the notes. In cases of grammatical and syntactic influences of the spoken language, he preserves Ibn Duqmāq's text and gives the form complying with the rules of Standard Arabic in the notes. In some cases, for no obvious reason, he proceeds the other way around. However, the reader is always able to reconstruct the features of the autograph and is at the same time provided with a readable text. If only the editor had been more attentive and the considerable number of misprints been smaller, this edition could serve as a model for similar cases.

Ṭabbārah's edition allows us to assess Ibn Ḥajar's criticism, and we must admit that he was not entirely wrong when he questioned Ibn Duqmāq's grammatical competence. Ibn Duqmāq's mistakes, however, were by and large predictable. He starts sentences having a plural subject with a verb in the plural form, disregards accusative endings and mixes up the endings –*ūn* and –*īn*. These completely unspectacular peculiarities are the main features of dialectal influence in Ibn Duqmāq's text. Instead of mentioning these features, the editor in his introduction discusses the problem of *hamzah* orthography at some length (pp. 17–18). I would prefer that the subject of *hamzah* orthography disappear entirely from discussions of dialect influence in classical manuscripts or of the features of so-called Middle Arabic. Of course these people did not pronounce the *hamz,* but this fact cannot be derived from the manuscripts, because *hamzah* was also unnoted in manuscripts of purely classical texts written by educated writers. The standard orthography was always to write *mas'ūl* with one *wāw* and no *hamzah* sign, and to write *sā'ir* with dotted *yā'* and no *hamzah* sign either. This being so, nothing speaks against replacing this tradition with the modern standard orthography for *hamzah* in editions. This was also Ṭabbārah's idea. Therefore his haphazard (and often simply wrong) way of writing *hamzah* comes as somewhat of a surprise.

It is remarkable further, as Ibn Ḥajar had already noted, that Ibn Duqmāq's unaccomplished grammatical training was no obstacle to his predilection for literature. It becomes very clear that Ibn Duqmāq is occupied mainly with two fields, history and *adab,* to which one may add a certain interest in Sufism. For this reason, Ibn Duqmāq treats the eventful year 648 in eleven pages and a half, but devotes nineteen pages to the year 632, in which nothing especially interesting seems to have happened, since the *ḥawādith* of it are treated in only three lines. But 632 was the year in which the poets al-Ḥājirī and—above all—Ibn al-Fāriḍ died. Ibn Duqmāq gives a long biography of Ibn al-Fāriḍ and quotes extensively from his and al-Ḥājirī's poetic productions. Ibn Duqmāq's history clearly is no instance of *siyāsah*-oriented historiography, but rather a combination of political and cultural history with a conspicuous focus on *adab*. Ibn Duqmāq obviously liked poetry. Repeatedly he gives his own judgments about the lines he quotes, thereby presenting himself as an *adab* expert. The poetry quoted pertains exclusively

to high literature. There are no vernacular verses, and *mirabilia* play hardly any role. Therefore I think that the extraordinary role of poetry cannot be explained sufficiently by considering it part of a process of popularization, as Ulrich Haarmann suggested.[5] Taking into account the high prestige of *adab* in the Mamluk period and the overall process, which I call the "*'ulamā'*ization of *adab*" and the "*adab*ization of the *'ulamā'*,"[6] one of the motives for adducing such a great amount of poetry may also be the desire of the author to prove his professionality and, in the special case of Ibn Duqmāq, to make up for his incomplete linguistic training. In any case, Ibn Duqmāq's book provides rich material for a new assessment of this and many other questions about the nature of Mamluk historiography. Therefore, though the edition is far from being faultless, one can only give the advice to buy it as long as the DKI has not plagiarized it and added even more mistakes.

'AZĪZ AL-'AẒMAH, *Ibn Taymīyah* (Beirut: Riyād al-Rayyis lil-Kutub wa-al-Nashr, 2000). Pp.499.

REVIEWED BY JON HOOVER, Dar Comboni Arabic Study Centre, Cairo

'Azīz al-Aẓmah has published extensively in both English and Arabic, including the recent *Muslim Kingship: Power and the Sacred in Muslim, Christian, and Pagan Politics* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1997). In the Arabic book under review al-Aẓmah offers an anthology of texts drawn from Ibn Taymīyah's (d. 728/1328) vast corpus of writings. Many domains of the Hanbali jurist's thought are represented, although there is little from his spiritual writings. The first and shortest of three major parts is allotted to passages on "the true religion." The second part presents *fatwá*s and other texts dealing broadly with legal matters, including the caliphate and popular religious innovations. Among these are excerpts from the jurist's rulings on the obligation to fight the Islam-confessing Mongols. These have been picked up by modern day radicals to justify violent opposition to governments in the Islamic world. The third part of the anthology includes discussions of religious epistemology and doctrine, as well as Ibn Taymīyah's *Wāsiṭīyah* creed, which

[5]Ulrich Haarmann, "Auflösung und Bewahrung der klassischen Formen arabischer Geschichtsschreibung in der Zeit der Mamluken," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 121 (1971): 46–60.

[6]Thomas Bauer, "Literarische Anthologien der Mamlukenzeit," in *Die Mamluken: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur im Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann (1942–1999)*, ed. S. Conermann and A. Pistor-Hatam (Hamburg, 2002), in press.

remains in use to the present. While the texts chosen are interesting, they are not always taken from the best available printed editions, and they do not necessarily grant perspicuous access to the jurist´s ideas. Moreover, al-Aẓmah provides no explanatory notation because, as he informs us in the introduction, this would have made the volume too unwieldy. Al-Aẓmah closes the book with an appendix containing six historical extracts dealing with Ibn Taymīyah´s life and works and an index of names.

In the appendix al-Aẓmah performs a sleight of hand that is inexcusable for a modern scholar of any repute. The first and only full account of Ibn Taymīyah´s life presented is the late biography of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī (d. 852/1449), in which, contrary to several earlier sources, Ibn Taymīyah confesses Ashʻarism under duress and thereby admits that his view of God´s attributes is heterodox. After this comes an abridgement of Ibn Rajab´s (d. 795/1392) biography that has been divested of nearly everything that counters Ibn Ḥajar´s account and a great deal more of substantial historical interest. The third selection, the biography of Kutubī (d. 764/1362), provides an extensive list of Ibn Taymīyah´s works but little else, and the fourth is the late biography of Ibn ʻImād (d. 1089/1678), which also does not deal with Ibn Taymīyah´s trials concerning God´s attributes. The fifth excerpt in the appendix is a condemnation of Ibn Taymīyah´s views on God´s attributes by the Ashʻari apologist Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1370), and the final piece is Ibn Kathīr´s account of the jurist´s funeral. In short, al-Aẓmah has selected and edited texts so as to portray Ibn Taymīyah as heterodox on God´s attributes while ostensibly providing important and informative historical sources.

Despite its sophistication and occasional insight, the introduction confirms that one of al-Aẓmah´s purposes in presenting this volume is polemical distortion. He does make the valid point that it is important to read what Ibn Taymīyah says in historical context instead of selectively quoting him for tendentious purposes, and he accuses radical Islamists who use the jurist´s anti-Mongol *fatwá*s to justify armed resistance of historical anachronism. However, al-Aẓmah demonstrates to excess that Ibn Taymīyah was out of step with the Sunni legal and doctrinal consensus of the day. He also makes no attempt to help the reader understand that Ibn Taymīyah´s view of God´s attributes is more sophisticated than Ashʻari polemists have wished to acknowledge, a point that has been made by Henri Laoust and that an extended reading of Ibn Taymīyah´s texts bears out.

Al-Aẓmah closes his introduction by explaining that research on Ibn Taymīyah is still in its infancy. True as that may be, al-Aẓmah has taken little effort to avail himself of what research there is, and this and the book´s polemical agenda render it misleading and nearly useless for those interested in Mamluk studies or the

history of medieval Islamic thought. This anthology is regrettably little more than testimony to modern intra-confessional controversy, and the excerpted passages are better read in context in the original printed editions.

SULAYMĀN AL-MADANĪ, *Tīmūrlank fī Dimashq* (Damascus and Beirut: Al-Manārah, 2000). Pp. 192.

REVIEWED BY ZAYDE G. ANTRIM, Harvard University

It is surprising that Tamerlane′s invasion of Syria at the turn of the ninth/fifteenth century and its devastating social, cultural, economic, and political repercussions have received so little attention from historians of the Mamluk period or of Bilād al-Shām more generally. Indeed, I have not found a single monograph-length study in a European language dealing with the topic of Tamerlane′s campaign in Mamluk Syria. Although in the broad context of Timurid history the Syrian invasion may be interpreted as a strategic side-note, an unresolved interlude, or a denouement, it undoubtedly plays a key role in the context of the history of Syria under Mamluk rule. A lone published monograph in Arabic, Akram Ḥasan al-ʻUlabī′s *Taymūrlank wa-Ḥikāyatuhu maʻa Dimashq* (Damascus and Beirut, 1987), has filled this historiographical gap in the Arabic-speaking world until quite recently. A thorough survey of the contemporary Arabic source material, including a helpful annotated bibliography, al-ʻUlabī′s book offers, if not original analytical insight, then at least a solidly documented narrative account of the protagonists and major events that dominate this historical episode. The publication of Sulaymān al-Madanī′s *Tīmūrlank fī Dimashq* raises hopes that a new contribution to this neglected area of study might update, complement, or expand upon al-ʻUlabī′s synthetic work. Unfortunately, it falls short of these expectations.

The greatest weakness of al-Madanī′s work is its sloppy scholarly apparatus. Initially, a glance at the bibliography left me concerned. A brief list of ten works consisting of no more than author and title, this ″bibliography″ does not even cover all the major Arabic chronicles describing the historical events, much less include Persian chronicles or significant secondary works on the Mongols, Tamerlane, or Mamluk Syria published in the last few decades. The only secondary work listed is al-Sayyid al-Bāz al-ʻArīnī′s 1967 monograph on the Mongols, and the only work originally published in a language other than Arabic that appears in the bibliography is Walter Fischel′s *Ibn Khaldūn and Tamerlane* (1952). Although al-Madanī includes accurate, albeit abbreviated, entries for the important chronicles

by al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, and Ibn Iyās, he erroneously records the title of Ibn al-Athīr's earlier chronicle as *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* and identifies the author of *ʻAjā'ib al-Maqdūr fī Nawā'ib Ibn Tīmūr* by the obscure sobriquet Ibn Dimashqī, rather than by the well-known appellation Ibn ʻArabshāh (and his inconsistent use of both names throughout the rest of the text contributes to this point of confusion). The other three works al-Madanī chooses to list are Muḥammad Kurd ʻAlī's *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām,* to which I found only one reference in the book as a whole, Ibn Ṭūlūn's *Mufākahat al-Khillān,* to which I found no reference at all, and the mysterious *Al-Mawsūʻah al-ʻAskarīyah,* which I could neither identify nor find mentioned elsewhere in the book.

As I began to read the text of *Tīmūrlank fī Dimashq*, however, it quickly became clear that al-Madanī employs many sources not listed in the bibliography, including those by some of the more conspicuously absent chroniclers, such as Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah and others. Although this is good news on one level, al-Madanī's idiosyncratic annotation style makes it frustratingly difficult to establish which source corresponds to which passage, where a quotation begins and ends, whether a marked passage represents a direct quotation or a paraphrase, to which edition the volume and page numbers in the notes refer, and, in the case of obscure secondary sources, what work is being referenced in the first place. For instance, he relies heavily on a source listed in the footnotes simply as "Shihāb," sometimes followed by a number. Only by referring back to al-ʻUlabī's annotated bibliography did I discover that al-Madanī is most likely citing an (apparently) unpublished thesis entitled *Tīmūrlank* submitted by Maẓhar Shihāb for a doctorate from the Université Libanaise in 1981. Finally, *Tīmūrlank fī Dimashq* is peppered with passages clearly quoted or paraphrased without citation as well as passages introduced by a phrase within the body of the text, such as "according to al-Maqrīzī," without further annotation.

The content of the book does not manage to redeem the weaknesses in its form. The first half of the work is characterized by a disjointed sequence of synthetic overviews of the life of Ghengis Khān, the Mongol expansion, the Crusades, and the rise of Tamerlane. After a completely unannotated ten-page chapter on Tamerlane's early career and before a long discursion on Ayyubid history, al-Madanī inserts a brief chapter entitled "Tamerlane's Warning to the Sultan of the Mamluks" (pp. 37–40). This chapter consists almost entirely of a reproduction of the text of a communication between Tamerlane and "the Sultan of the Mamluks" without further identification, interpretation, or analysis. Although the full text of this missive may be found in al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb al-Sulūk* and Ibn Taghrībirdī's *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* as well as in several of the other major chronicles, the only annotation al-Madanī provides for the extended quotation is the location of verses from the Quran appearing therein. Furthermore, he indicates

that the ″Sultan of the Mamluks″ received this correspondence after Tamerlane′s ravaging of Aleppo, which occurred during the reign of Sultan Faraj in 803/1400, despite the fact that it was Sultan Barqūq who received the message in 796/1394, years before Tamerlane invaded northern Syria. Al-Madanī returns to this letter in the proper historical context in a short statement fifty pages later (p. 89), without reference to or explanation of its earlier misleading, if not completely mistaken, presentation.

The rest of the book proceeds more or less chronologically after this interruption, starting with an indictment of Ayyubid disunity, dissolution, and disregard for the Arab subject population. Next to be condemned are the barbarous and foreign military slaves whose coup in Cairo in 648/1250 led to the formation of the Mamluk Sultanate. Mongol and Crusader villains also play parts in this sweeping historical narrative of the victimization of the Arab inhabitants of Bilād al-Shām at the hands of tyrants and armies leading up to their climactic manipulation, betrayal, and near annihilation at the hands of Tamerlane and his minions. The final half of the book, dedicated to a detailed account of Tamerlane′s campaign in Syria, unfolds as a string of excerpts from the major contemporary chronicles without rigorous documentation or original analysis. The extent to which al-Madanī engages in source criticism may be illustrated by the handful of statements contrasting subject matter covered by Tamerlane′s Persian court biographer, Sharaf al-Dīn ʻAlī al-Yazdī, with that covered in the Arabic histories of Ibn ʻArabshāh, al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, Ibn Iyās, and others. The book ends abruptly with Tamerlane′s departure from Bilād al-Shām, Syrian captives in tow, leaving behind a devastated human and infrastructural landscape. Al-Madanī does not provide his readers with a glimpse of the efforts at social, political, and economic reconstruction over the next decade or any insight into the repercussions of Tamerlane′s invasion for the last century of Mamluk rule.

One of the more provocative aspects of *Tīmūrlank fī Dimashq* is the short preface in which al-Madanī sets out his ideological agenda (pp. 5–9). He blames Tamerlane′s successful victimization of Syria on Arab disunity and Islamic sectarianism within the Arab population. He portrays the Ayyubids, Mamluks, Crusaders, and Mongols as ethnic strangers whose natural inclination was to prioritize their own aggrandizement at the cost of the well-being of the indigenous Arab inhabitants of Bilād al-Shām. If the Arabs could only have united against these foreign rulers and armies, he implies, they would not have suffered as much during this period. Al-Madanī argues that this is a lesson that modern Arabs need to learn as they are still successfully manipulated, betrayed, divided, and conquered by outsiders, most notably Israel, today. Although al-Madanī does not apply this parallelism explicitly in the rest of the book, overtones of the ethnic determinism suggested by this preface resonate throughout. Politics aside, such a presentist

attitude towards historiography combined with an uncritical approach to the sources and a sloppy scholarly apparatus make Sulaymān al-Madanī's *Tīmūrlank fī Dimashq* a disappointing contribution to the field of Mamluk studies.

ARNOUD VROLIJK, *Bringing a Laugh to a Scowling Face. A Study and Critical Edition of the "Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-Muḍḥik al-ʿAbūs" by ʿAlī Ibn Sūdūn al-Bašbuġāwī (Cairo 801/1407–Damascus 868/1464)* (Leiden: Research School CNWS, 1998). Pp. xiv, 203 (Engl.) + iv, 178 (Arab.).

ʿALĪ IBN SŪDŪN AL-YASHBAGHĀWĪ, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-Muḍḥik al-ʿAbūs,* edited by Maḥmūd Sālim (Damascus: Dār Saʿd al-Dīn, 1421/2001). Pp. 352.

REVIEWED BY THOMAS BAUER, Universität Münster

The edition of Ibn Sūdūn's *Nuzhah* will change our understanding of Mamluk literature more deeply than would the edition of many other literary texts of this period. This work provides insight into a type of literature that was until now only peripherally known, but must have been rather omnipresent in the salons, gatherings, and streets of Mamluk and Ottoman Egypt and Syria. Besides representing a poorly-known current of Arabic literature, Ibn Sūdūn's poetry and prose display a very distinct personal character and prove again that in the Mamluk empire men of letters produced a lot of original and innovative works.

Due to its relevance to many fields, Ibn Sūdūn's work has already attracted the interest of Arabists more than once,[1] though they had to rely on manuscripts or a Cairo lithograph from 1280/1863. Now within just three years, two editions of Ibn Sūdūn's *Nuzhah* have appeared. The Beirut edition is a serious attempt by an obviously able and diligent editor. But, unfortunately, he neither knew of Vrolijk's enterprise, nor did he use any manuscript that was not available in Syrian libraries, limiting himself to three manuscripts in Damascus and the lithograph. Whereas three manuscripts may be a reasonable basis for some other texts, this is not the case with Ibn Sūdūn's *Nuzhah,* which was obviously an extremely popular text right up to the eighteenth century. Vrolijk has traced 38 manuscripts, 33 of which he was able to study either on the spot or in a microfilm copy. The most important

[1] Vrolijk's edition provides a good bibliography. Not included is van Gelder's chapter on Ibn Sūdūn and food, cf. Geert Jan van Gelder, *Of Dishes and Discourse: Classical Arabic Literary Representations of Food* (Richmond, 2000), 90–96. A detailed review of Vrolijk's edition by Everett K. Rowson was published in *Edebiyât* 12 (2001): 128–38.

result was that he detected two autograph copies written by Ibn Sūdūn himself, which he made, of course, the basis of his edition. In addition he used two other manuscripts close to the autograph tradition to help in cases in which the autographs proved defective. Since many of Ibn Sūdūn's texts are in colloquial Arabic for which no standard orthography existed, the author's own orthography (including his usage of vowel signs) is of primary importance, especially since the text provides interesting material for dialectologists. Therefore, the autograph tradition is even more important in the case of Ibn Sūdūn than in the case of texts in pure classical Arabic. Due to this textual basis of Vrolijk's edition, Maḥmūd Sālim's edition is deprived of much practical significance. At least, it presents a textual tradition slightly different from the autograph tradition which is not completely devoid of interest, and Sālim also adds several notes which may help in understanding Ibn Sūdūn's often rather difficult text. Its main value, however, lies in the fact that a text like the *Nuzhah* has been published in the Arab world at all. For too long modern Arab intellectuals have been rather embarrassed by the existence of a humorous literary tradition instead of appreciating it. Now Maḥmūd Sālim's edition will certainly help make Ibn Sūdūn's texts more widely known in the Arab world. It is predictable that Vrolijk's edition will not fulfill this task, because it will probably not appear in bookshops in Arab countries, and because Vrolijk uses Latin abbreviations in his apparatus which might deter Arabic readers. I can see no reason for sticking to this antiquated tradition and would favor a purely Arabic apparatus. In any case, Vrolijk's diligent and impeccable edition remains the authoritative one. His edition is also accompanied by a thorough, profound, and well-written study of Ibn Sūdūn, which provides a solid starting point for further studies.

As far as the content of the *Nuzhah* is concerned, I will limit myself here to a few words and refer to Vrolijk's introduction, Rowson's review, and van Gelder's study mentioned in note 1. Ibn Sūdūn's book is divided into two sections, a smaller one on "serious topics" *(jidd),* comprising mainly poems in praise of the prophet and *ghazal,* and a second one, more than three times as long, on "humorous topics" *(hazl).* This second section is subdivided into five subsections, mainly on formal criteria. It contains texts both in the classical language as well as in colloquial. Both speech forms are utilized in *qaṣīd* poetry, in strophic poetry *(muwashshaḥ* and *zajal),* and in rhymed and unrhymed prose (*maqāmāt* and other prose texts). Vrolijk is certainly right to consider some of the prose texts as dramatic sketches (pp. 36–38). Food and hashish are recurrent themes, but a wide range of other topics is also covered and makes Ibn Sūdūn's text an extraordinarily important source for the study of material culture in late Mamluk Egypt. Ibn Sūdūn's usage of the Egyptian dialect (studied by Vrolijk, pp. 137–59) and his interest in foreign languages (some poems contain Turkish and Persian elements)

and strange dialects (a man from Baghdad makes his appearance, who speaks a dialect that can be clearly identified as *qeltu* Arabic of an Anatolian type) are also not devoid of interest. For comparative literature it will be especially interesting to analyze the specific kind of humor displayed by Ibn Sūdūn. Maḥmūd Sālim feels himself reminded of surrealism (p. 5), while I, myself, rather think of the absurd theatre of Ionesco, and Vrolijk draws a parallel to Monty Python (p. 37).

The author of this fascinating text is ʻAlī ibn Sūdūn al-Bashbughāwī (this, not al-Yashbaghāwī as is stated in al-Sakhāwī's *Ḍaw'*, seems to be the right *nisbah;* it is discussed in Vrolijk, p. 3). He was born in Cairo (810/1407) and died in Damascus (868/1464). It is probable that his father, Sūdūn, was a mamluk of Circassian origin. ʻAlī therefore belonged to the group of the *awlād al-nās* which played an important role in the intellectual life of the Mamluk empire, though few of them completed the requisite scholarly training that would have allowed them to become fully accepted members of the established ulama. The same seems to hold true for Ibn Sūdūn. Vrolijk, who painstakingly traces Ibn Sūdūn's biography, overestimates Ibn Sūdūn's scholarly training. The memorizing of a Hanafi textbook and of a bit of hadith,[2] mathematics, and metrics is not really a "first class education," and if Vrolijk's assumption is right that Ibn Sūdūn took part in military campaigns as a member of the *halqah,* one may doubt even more that a "promising career" (p. 9) as a scholar lay ahead of him, which was only thwarted by the economic conditions of the time. Instead, I would suggest that Ibn Sūdūn was one of the hundreds or even thousands of urban people who had acquired some sort of academic training without ever achieving a scholarly proficiency sufficient to enter the ranks of the great ulama.[3] If these people did not earn their livings as craftsmen or traders, they could only hope for unprestigious and poorly paid *mansib*s such as the post of muezzin or of imam in one of the smaller madrasahs. And this is exactly the position to which Ibn Sūdūn did rise. That he could ever have aspired to a more brilliant scholarly career remains very doubtful.

Altogether, it seems that Ibn Sūdūn belonged to a layer of Mamluk society which was of enormous importance for its culture. It is the partially educated, urban middle class, consisting of people such as craftsmen, traders, and minor

[2]The phrase "samiʻa ʻalá al-Wāsiṭī al-musalsal wa-baqīyat masmūʻih" (al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʻ* [Cairo, n.d.], 5:229) does not refer to a philological textbook, as Vrolijk assumes (p. 8), but means that al-Wāsiṭī passed on to Ibn Sūdūn the traditions that were transmitted to him in the *musalsal* way as well as his other orally transmitted traditions. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Wāsiṭī (745–836) was "discovered" in the year 826 as a mine for hadith traditions from people long dead, thus providing hadiths with comparatively short *isnād*s (al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 2:106–7).

[3]Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton, 1992), 193–216. Berkey mentions "minor scholars" explicitly on pp. 198 and 204.

ulama. The last group especially seems to have had a considerable proportion of *awlād al-nās* among its ranks. This group left behind more documents than is generally recognized, and these documents are of particular interest, since they allow us to see more deeply into the experiences, values, and attitudes of the people underneath the ″turbaned elite,″ though we must always be aware of the fact that even through them we have not arrived at the ″ordinary people,″ the urban lower classes and the peasants. Quite a lot of poetry from members of this social group has come down to us. Among scattered poems by craftsmen like ʻAyn Baṣal al-Ḥā'ik and al-Ḥammāmī (who was the manager of a bath), the entire *dīwān* of the architect Ibrāhīm al-Miʻmār is preserved in several manuscripts.[4] As far as I can see, al-Miʻmār is the figure most closely resembling Ibn Sūdūn, though he lacks the ″dramatic″ side of Ibn Sūdūn, his love of the absurd, and his keenness for honey, sugar, and *kunāfah*. Instead, he is more satirical, more critical of social conditions, less pious, and more interested in erotica than in bananas. Al-Miʻmār is far more traditional in form, but less proficient in *fuṣḥá*. With Ibn Sūdūn he shares a skill in dialect poetry, an addiction to the topic of hashish (not necessarily to hashish itself, since al-Miʻmār seems to have preferred wine), and the fact that both look at the world from a middle- or lower-class perspective. A comparison of these authors would be of great interest.

Anthologies are another important source for the middle class, its interests and intellectual horizons. The Mamluk period was, in fact, the golden age of the anthology. More than a hundred of them are preserved in the libraries, but this source for Mamluk culture and society still remains untapped. An anthology such as the *Kanz al-Madfūn,* by a certain Yūnus al-Mālikī, collects material destined for the education, edification, and entertainment of this group of people.[5] As Vrolijk shows (pp. 49–57), Ibn Sūdūn was also the author of such an anthology (besides the fact that the *Nuzhah* is an anthology itself, comprising a selection of Ibn Sūdūn′s own works), in which—small wonder—Ibrāhīm al-Miʻmār figures prominently (p. 52). Further studies are needed to determine to which type of anthology this book belongs. I would like, however, to note that it is absolutely

[4]Thomas Bauer, ″Ibrāhīm al-Miʻmār: Ein dichtender Handwerker aus Ägyptens Mamlukenzeit,″ *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 152 (2002): 63–93 (cf. p. 67, note 14, on ʻAyn Baṣal al-Ḥā'ik); idem, ″Die Leiden eines ägyptischen Müllers: Die Mühlen-Maqāme des Ibrāhīm al-Miʻmār (st. 749/1348),″ in A. Blöbaum et al., eds., *Ägypten Münster: Kulturwissenschaftliche Studien zu Ägypten, den Vorderen Orient und verwandten Gebieten (Festschrift Erhart Graefe)* (Wiesbaden, 2003), 1–16. A poem on his bath by al-Ḥammāmī and a *zajal* on the Nile festival by al-Miʻmār will be presented by Otfried Weintritt and myself in the Festschrift Heinz Grotzfeld (to appear 2003).

[5]Thomas Bauer, ″Literarische Anthologien der Mamlukenzeit,″ in S. Conermann and A. Pistor-Hatam, eds., *Die Mamluken: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur im Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann (1942–1999)* (Hamburg, 2002). The *Kanz* was composed probably around 770–90.

unremarkable that, as Vrolijk states (p. 52), ″classical″ authors are not represented in it. In fact, the vast majority of Mamluk anthologies focus on material from Ayyubid and Mamluk times. The reason for this is not that they reflect a ″secondary tradition″ (p. 54). Ibn Nubātah, the author most often quoted in Ibn Sūdūn′s anthology, must have been a ″classical″ author already for Ibn Sūdūn, and he remained a ″classical″ author until the end of pre-modern Arabic literature in the middle of the nineteenth century. Instead, literary anthologies in the Mamluk period are less monuments that preserve the heritage of the past than the reflection of an intense and vivid literary culture. In the Mamluk period, literature was not the domain of a small section of society, but an omnipresent means of communication. Poetry was an everyday commodity for the ulama as well as for the common people (perhaps with the sole exception of the Mamluks themselves). This fostered a great need for poetry that was up to date and *en vogue* and could be imitated or at least quoted whenever necessary. This need was met by the many anthologies of this period. Even the great ulama-poets like Ibn Nubātah and al-Ṣafadī published their work rather in the form of anthologies than in the form of a *dīwān*. Therefore it is not surprising that so many anthologies of this period focus on material that was new and directed at contemporary taste rather than regurgitating a sanctified tradition.[6]

A second characteristic of Mamluk literature is of importance in this context. In the Mamluk era there existed a broad layer of people who were neither fully-fledged ulama nor illiterate yokels but something in between. In other words, social layers were not neatly separated, but there was a continuum ranging between the totally uneducated (who nevertheless may have been acquainted with rather sophisticated oral folk poetry) on the one end and the Ṣafadīs and Ibn Ḥajars on the other end. This in turn led to the fact that what we call ″popular literature″ and ″high literature″ ceased to be two completely different phenomena separated by a broad gap. Instead, there was again a continuum stretching between the *zajal*s sung by the peasants, which never transcended their purely oral existence, and the sophisticated odes by poets like Ibn Nubātah with their many intertextual references to the poetic tradition of past centuries. Ibn Nubātah was popular, as Ibn Sūdūn′s anthology and the *Kanz al-Madfūn* show, also among the urban middle classes, and vernacular poetry by al-Miʿmār (and certainly also that by Ibn Sūdūn) was highly esteemed among the great ulama. They only seemingly were embarrassed by its ungrammatical features and considered its contents in conflict with their scholarly dignity—but they liked it and read it.[7] Ibn Sūdūn′s work must be seen in this context. It is not popular literature in the sense that it is the pure voice of the

[6]Anthologies of this kind existed nevertheless. I mention only Ibn Nubātah′s *Maṭlāʿ al-Fawāʾid* and Ibn Ḥijjah′s *Thamarāt al-Awrāq,* cf. ibid.

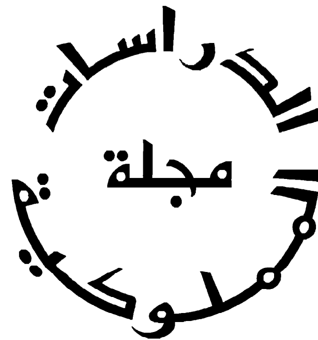
[7]Bauer, ″Ibrāhīm al-Miʿmār,″ 69–72.

common people, nor is it ″high″ literature. Instead, it reflects the literary taste of the urban (especially Cairene), semi-educated middle classes among which Ibn Sūdūn might have found his main public. There is little doubt, however, that his poems and *maqāmāh*s were esteemed by the high-brow ulama as well as by members of the lower classes. This explains the fact that at least 38 manuscripts of the *Nuzhah* have survived until the present day.

Regardless of the work that has been done in the fields of history and economics, I suggest that the study of literature, especially of texts produced by and/or addressed to members of its middle classes, will help considerably in enhancing our knowledge of the Mamluk period. The edition of Ibn Sūdūn´s *Nuzhah* is a great step in this direction. And, by the way, did I already mention that Ibn Sūdūn´s book provides for extremely entertaining and amusing reading?

MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW

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Mamlūk Studies Review is a biannual refereed journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648–922/1250–1517). It appears in January and July. The goals of *Mamlūk Studies Review* are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, nurture communication within the field, and promote further research by encouraging the critical discussion of all aspects of this important medieval Islamic polity. The journal includes both articles and reviews of recent books. Submissions of original work on any aspect of the field are welcome, although the editorial board will periodically issue volumes devoted to specific topics and themes. *Mamlūk Studies Review* also solicits edited texts and translations of shorter Arabic source materials (*waqf* deeds, letters, *fatāwá* and the like), and encourages discussions of Mamluk era artifacts (pottery, coins, etc.) that place these resources in wider contexts. Transliterated Middle Eastern languages should conform to the system utilized by the Library of Congress. All questions regarding style should be resolved through reference to *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th edition. All submissions should be typed double-spaced. Submissions must be made on labeled computer disk together with a printed copy. The print copy should have full and proper diacritics, but the disk copy should have no diacritics of any kind.

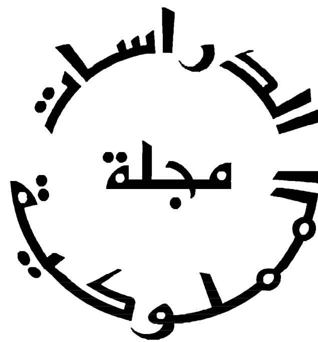
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MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW



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BOOK REVIEWS

Acknowledgments

The papers collected in this issue of the *Mamlūk Studies Review* were originally presented at the symposium ″Medieval Arabic Historiography: The Legacy of al-Maqrīzī (1364–1442),″ which was held at the University of Notre Dame, September 28–29, 2001, under the auspices of the Program of Arabic Studies, University of Notre Dame. I would like to thank the Henkels Lecture Series Grant, the Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts, the Medieval Institute, the Graduate School, and the Department of Classics, all at the University of Notre Dame, for their financial support. For their encouragement and support in the difficult and unsettling time shortly after the tragic events of September 11, 2001, I would like to thank all the friends and colleagues who participated in the symposium. All those present were keenly aware of the regretful absence of prospective participants whose travel, from the Middle East or elsewhere, was canceled due to the circumstances. My thanks also to Bruce Craig and Marlis Saleh for their diligent work in the preparation of this volume.

Li Guo, January 17, 2003

Nasser Rabbat
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Who Was al-Maqrīzī? A Biographical Sketch

Today, it is all too common to view any text in light of its author's psychological, emotional, and intellectual proclivities. Background, character, upbringing, education, successes and failures, and all other experiences are seen as fundamental factors in shaping the scope and orientation of one's literary and artistic output. So established has this mode of inquiry become that it has spread from its original application in creative writing to permeate the study of all literary forms, even those that have traditionally claimed to be governed by rules of objectivity, methodology, and scholarly detachment. This development is a direct outcome of modern culture's mania for memory and the memorial, which translates into society's effort to preserve every shred of memory of those deemed worthy of remembrance, if not of everybody.[1]

Medieval culture had different and less pronounced attitudes toward individuality, authorship, and remembrance, all concerns that underwent a phenomenal shift in significance in modern times.[2] This observation pertains both

[1]The outburst of biographies in our times is proof enough of our culture's belief in the individual and the individual psyche as historical agents. A recent development, obituaries collections from newspapers, shows how far this fascination has gone; see Marvin Siegel, ed., *The Last Word: The New York Times Book of Obituaries and Farewells: A Celebration of Unusual Lives* (New York, 1997, reprt. 1999), or the ongoing series of *The Daily Telegraph* obituaries books, collected and edited by Hugh Massingberd: *A Celebration of Eccentric Lives* (London, 1995); *Heroes and Adventurers* (London, 1996); *Entertainers* (London, 1997). In the same vein, genealogical research is fast becoming a major pursuit in the US with specialized magazines, companies, websites, and web search engines all serving the large number of Americans engaged in family history research (see the genealogytoday site, http://www.genealogytoday.com/topics/obits.htm). An editorial in *Ancestry* magazine (July–August 2001) cites a recent poll that put their number at 60 percent of the population. This mostly web-based occupation gained the scholarly cachet of approval in 2001 through the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH)'s production of "My History Is America's History" guidebook and its sponsorship of many related scholarly conferences and meetings. For references to NEH activities in this domain, see NEH's family history website (http://www.myhistory.org).

[2]On the slow process of change from a muffled to a clear voice of the individual in Western literature, cf. Danielle Régnier-Bohler, "Imagining the Self: Exploring Literature," and Philippe Braunstein, "Toward Intimacy: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in *A History of Private Life: Revelations of the Medieval World*, ed. Philippe Ariés and Georges Duby, tr. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass, 1988), 373–82, 536–56, respectively.

to the Western and the Islamic worlds. Medieval Muslim scholars, like their Western peers, maintained a relatively inconspicuous presence in their writings. They followed established scholarly and literary conventions that tended to conceal personal touches behind ready-made narrative structures and elaborate prose techniques. Their authorial persona, however, came with distinct sensibilities since they functioned in an environment different from their Western counterparts and had their own textual strategies and restrictive religious and sociocultural values.[3]

This is not to say that medieval Muslim scholars did not see any relationship between an author′s intellectual and emotional disposition and his oeuvre. Quite the opposite: but they saw that relationship less in terms of the author′s character, feelings, and choices, and more in terms of his family background, religious and scholarly affiliations, teachers, and professional positions and patrons. In other words, the work of an author was believed to be influenced more by his social and intellectual circle than by his personality, preferences, or eccentricities. His good reputation, and therefore subsequent commemoration in *kutub al-tarājim* (biographical dictionaries)—the most extensive source we have on distinguished individuals in pre-modern Islamic societies—depended fundamentally on how closely he adhered to, and rose within, the established norms of his social class or professional group.

A typical biographical entry presents a more or less consistent set of facts depending on the category of the biographee—his (or, very rarely, her) full name, titles, and lineage, dates of death and birth (if known), family connections, education and teachers/masters *(shuyūkh)* from whom he acquired *ijāzah*s (licenses to transmit their texts), books read and memorized, employment history, quotations from poetry if he had composed any, reputation among peers, and, in conclusion, a doxology. With few exceptions, medieval biographers tended to leave out personal or anecdotal details about the biographee, not because they were uninteresting, but because they did not help define the individual within his scholarly, military, or social milieu, which is what the biographical genre was intended to do in the first place.[4] The few biographers who routinely included anecdotes, both real and

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[3]See the analysis of a number of these literary devices and cultural tendencies in the Arabic autobiographical tradition in Dwight Reynolds et al., *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition* (Berkeley, 2001), 72–99.

[4]Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (New York, 1994), argues that prosopographies should be seen more as registers of the practices by which the influential social classes manipulated power. Fedwa Malti-Douglas, ″*Mentalités* and Marginality: Blindness and Mamluk Civilization,″ in C. E. Bosworth et al., *Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis: The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times* (Princeton, 1989), 211–37, makes an interesting and innovative use of a subset of the medieval biographical dictionaries, but stresses nonetheless their usefulness to understanding the mentality of an entire category rather

invented, seem to have used them as encoded messages about the moral standards of their subject—another defining aspect of the individual scholar in medieval Islamic etiquette.[5] Anecdotes, it appears, provided a free space within the codified structure of the genre for praise and criticism, which allow us to know more not only about the subject but also about the biographer himself.

THE BACKGROUND OF A SINGULAR HISTORIAN

Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī lived at a time when history writing flourished in an unprecedented way in Egypt.[6] More annals, biographical compendia, manuals for the chancery, geographical treatises *(masālik),* and topographical tracts *(khiṭaṭ)* were written in Cairo in the first half of the fifteenth century than in any other half-century period until the onset of modernity in the late nineteenth century. But, unlike an earlier Mamluk generation of universal historians—such as al-ʻUmarī and al-Nuwayrī in Cairo and Ibn Kathīr and al-Dhahabī in Damascus—who covered the entire Islamic world, al-Maqrīzī and his contemporaries tended to focus on local events in the present or recent past. Most of them composed cosmocentric and regional histories and prosopographies. They busied themselves with minutely chronicling the events of Mamluk Egypt during the fifteenth century, and to a lesser extent Syria, sometimes beginning with a cursory run-down of Islamic history from the Prophet to their own time, and sometimes adding the biographies of their contemporaries or immediate predecessors. This resulted in the formation of an endogenous and insular school of historiography, in which every member was linked in more than one way to the others, and every member′s work was inevitably and immediately measured against the works of others, who essentially covered the same terrain.[7] This situation encouraged intense scholarly and social

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than individuals.

[5]See Nimrud Hurvitz, ″Biographies and Mild Asceticism: A Study of Islamic Moral Imagination,″ *Studia Islamica* 85 (Feb 1997): 41–65, for a discussion of these issues in the context of an analysis of the biography of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.

[6]On Mamluk historiography, see Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden, 2nd ed., 1968), passim; Shākir Muṣṭafá, *Al-Tārīkh al-ʻArabī wa-al-Muʼarrikhūn: Dirāsah fī Taṭawwur ʻIlm al-Tārīkh wa-Rijāluhu fī al-Islām* (Beirut, 1978–93), 2:139–304, all of vol. 3, 4:7–227; Ulrich Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit* (Freiburg, 1969); Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period* (New York, 1994), 182–231; Li Guo, ″Mamluk Historiographic Studies: The State of the Art,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 15–43.

[7]Donald Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography: an Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāʼūn* (Wiesbaden, 1970), is a pioneering comparative examination of the annals of six of these historians which shows their complicated patterns of interdependence. See also the two detailed studies of the sources of two lesser-known Mamluk historians, al-Yūnīnī and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah: Li Guo, *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography: Al-Yūnīnī′s Dhayl Mirʼāt al-Zamān* (Leiden, 1998); David Reisman,

competition, especially among the most prominent such as al-ʿAynī and al-Maqrīzī or al-Sakhāwī and al-Suyūṭī. These rivalries at times escalated into bitter factionalism among supporters and disciples which found its way into the biographies they penned of each other and each others′ masters.[8]

Thus, many of al-Maqrīzī′s biographers not only knew him personally, but held an opinion about him that depended on which side they belonged to in the historians′ ″club.″[9] Some, like Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, regarded themselves as his friends and colleagues. Others, like Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Sakhāwī, al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, were his students or disciples of his students, but

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″A Holograph MS of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s Dhayl,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 19–49. As for al-Maqrīzī himself, see the article by Frederic Baudin in this issue of *MSR*.

[8]Anne F. Broadbridge, ″Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: al-ʿAynī, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 85–107, analyzes the triangular relationship between these three paragons of history writing.

[9]A partial list of his Mamluk biographers includes Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1930–56), 15:490–91; idem, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʿda al-Wāfī,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn et al. (Cairo, 1956), 1:394–99; idem, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Kamāl ʿIzz al-Dīn (Beirut, 1990), 1:63–68; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis lil-Muʿjam al-Mufahris,* ed. Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Marʿashlī (Beirut, 1994), 3:58–60; idem, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr* (Hyderabad, 1967), 9:170–72, which al-Maqrīzī seems to have read before his death; Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī, ʿ*Iqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān: Ḥawādith wa-Tarājim,* selections by ʿAbd al-Rāziq al-Ṭanṭāwī Qarmūṭ (Cairo, 1989), 574; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Cairo, 1935), 2:21–25; idem, *Kitāb al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk* (Būlāq, Cairo, 1896), 21–24, same as *Ḍawʾ;* Najm al-Dīn ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad Ibn Fahd, *Muʿjam al-Shuyūkh,* ed. Muḥammad al-Zāhī and Ḥamad al-Jāsir (Riyadh, 1982), 63; al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī-Tawārīkh al-Zamān,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970–89), 4:242–44; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden, 1960–75), 2: 231–32; Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Shawkānī, *Al-Badr al-Ṭāliʿ bi-Maḥāsin Man baʿda al-Qarn al-Sābiʿ* (Cairo, 1930), 1:79–81, adapts most of his information from al-Sakhāwī and Ibn Ḥajar, but questions the motivation of the former to attack al-Maqrīzī. See also article ″al-Maḳrīzī,″ by Franz Rosenthal, *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 3:177–78; Fuat Sezgin et al., *Studies on Taqiyaddin al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442): Collected and Reprinted* (Frankfurt am Main, 1992). Modern Arabic biographical studies include: Muṣṭafá Ziyādah, ″Tārīkh Ḥayāt al-Maqrīzī,″ in Muḥammad Ziyādah, ed., *Dirāsāt ʿan al-Maqrīzī* (Cairo, 1971), 13–22; Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr, ″Aḍwāʾ Jadīdah ʿalá al-Muʾarrikh Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī wa-Kitābātihi,″ *ʿAlam al-Fikr* 14 (1983): 453–98; Shākir Muṣṭafá, *Tārīkh,* 2:140–51; Zuhayr Ḥumaydān, ″Introduction,″ *Min Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār lil-Maqrīzī* (Damascus, 1987), 1:5–47; Ḥusayn ʿĀṣī, *Al-Maqrīzī, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Qādir al-ʿUbaydī, 766–845 H/1366–1441 M: Muʾarrikh al-Duwal al-Islāmīyah fī Miṣr* (Beirut, 1992); Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ʿIzz al-Dīn, *Al-Maqrīzī: Muʾarrikhan* (Beirut, 1990); idem, *Al-Maqrīzī wa-Kitābuhu ″Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-Aʿyan al-Mufīdah″* (Beirut, 1992); Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, ″Introduction,″ in *Musawwadat Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (London, 1995), 6–22.

they were also the students of his competitors and opponents. Still others were his rivals and even enemies, because al-Maqrīzī—besides being a solitary, proud, and competitive man—was arguably the most famous historian of them all.[10] These qualities induced deference, envy, disdain, and perhaps misunderstanding.

Al-Maqrīzī's admirers particularly emphasized his scholarly qualities. They differed, however, when it came to judging his prominence as a historian, with Ibn Taghrībirdī repeatedly asserting that he was "hands down the dean of all historians."[11] They also stressed his religious virtues and *zuhd* (mild asceticism),[12] which formed the solid moral and intellectual framework that defined the conception and orientation of his whole historical oeuvre.

Hostile biographers, notably the formidable al-Sakhāwī and al-ʻAynī, questioned his accuracy and rigor as a historian, with al-ʻAynī derogatorily claiming that he was a man given to divination and numerology.[13] Al-Sakhāwī, furthermore, raised a number of skeptical questions about al-Maqrīzī's lineage, education, clientage, and authorial integrity.[14] The gravest of his allegations is that al-Maqrīzī stole a draft of a book on *khiṭaṭ* after the death of its author, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Awḥadī, who was his neighbor and friend, and incorporated it into his own *Khiṭaṭ* without mentioning Awḥadī. Less fanatical biographers kept their criticism at the level of insinuation.[15] These accusations and innuendoes, inconclusive in themselves for lack of evidence, still allow us to add nuance to the otherwise drab portrait of the

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[10]This is demonstrated, for example, by the envoy of the Timurid Shāh Rūkh who asked for a copy of al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk* in 833/1430. Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk li-Maʻrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah et al. (Cairo, 1934–72), 4:2:818, shows commendable restraint in reporting that request in three words with no comment. See also Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 14:336; al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat,* 3:178.

[11]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 14:150, 15:189; idem, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr,* 1:25–26, where the author tells us that he intended to continue al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk* in his book because it was the best chronicle of its time.

[12]For a discussion of the meaning and implications of mild asceticism, see Hurvitz, "Biographies and Mild Asceticism," *passim.* For an intimation of al-Maqrīzī's spirited views on *zuhd,* cf. al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:2:757–58, for the obituary for *zāhid al-waqt* Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm, known as Ibn ʻArab, which contains all the elements of *zuhd* enumerated by Hurvitz.

[13]Examples abound in his reports on his relations with many of his biographees. He reveals his deep belief in divination in *Al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Būlāq, Cairo, 1853), 1:49, where he offers an environmental explanation for its prevalence in Egypt, and in a riddle he wrote in 823/1420, entitled "Al-Ishārah wa-al-Imā' ilá Ḥall Lughz al-Mā'," which is still in manuscript; see ʻIzz al-Dīn, *Al-Maqrīzī: Mu'arrikhan,* 52–54.

[14]Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 2:22–24.

[15]This is especially true of Ibn Taghrībirdī, who was al-Maqrīzī's pupil and who displays mixed feelings towards his teacher. Besides the remarks in his biographies see *Nujūm,* 13:151–53; 14:109–10, 200–1, 236–37, 310–11; 15:189.

common biography with the information they divulge about some of the more ambiguous aspects of al-Maqrīzī's character, scholarship, and career.

Al-Maqrīzī himself—whether inadvertently or deliberately—provides some tantalizing hints about himself every now and then in his historical narrative by giving his reaction to the event he is reporting or his whereabouts when it occurred. He adopts a more revelatory tone in the concise biographical dictionary *Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-A'yān al-Mufīdah,* in which he collected the biographies of people who died after his own birth, most of whom were family members, teachers, colleagues, competitors, or simply friends and acquaintances. In these entries, he reports on his interactions with them, including casual conversations he had with them, didactic anecdotes and poetry they recited to him, and meditations about the misfortunes that befell some of them.[16] Through these recollections, al-Maqrīzī displays the quintessential autobiographical qualities of first-person narrative—intimacy, immediacy, and the inevitable hint of vanity—without having to incur the reputation for vainglory that sometimes attached to serious scholars who wrote autobiographies.[17] For us, he actually provides glimpses of his experiences, feelings, and reflections which are invaluable for assessing who he was and how his life affected his scholarly output.

In this article, I will confine my discussion to four aspects of al-Maqrīzī's biography: his lineage, education, *madhhab,* and *zuhd,* for I believe them to be crucial in understanding al-Maqrīzī's choice of topics, the development of his method of inquiry, and the unusually strong critical voice that transpires in all of his historical writing, especially the *Khiṭaṭ, Itti'āẓ,* and the *Sulūk*. A fuller biography will appear in my forthcoming book on al-Maqrīzī and his *Khiṭaṭ.*

LINEAGE: Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maqrīzī was born around 766/1364 in his family home in the Ḥārat al-Barjawān at the heart of Fatimid Cairo. His lineage is a bit obscure, ostensibly at his own hand. In the preface of most of his books, he in fact stops short at the tenth forefather when he introduces himself as was the custom at the time,[18] although he could have extended

[16]A single, incomplete manuscript of the book (Gotha MS 270 Arab) was inexplicably published twice within five years. It contains around 330 entries of the reported 556. See 'Izz al-Dīn, *Al-Maqrīzī wa-Kitābuhu "Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah";* al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-A'yān al-Mufīdah,* ed. Aḥmad Darwīsh and Muḥammad al-Maṣrī (Damascus, 1995).

[17]For a discussion of medieval autobiographers' uneasiness in speaking of themselves, cf. my "My Life with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn: The Memoirs of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī," *Edebiyât* 7 (Fall 1996): 61–81.

[18]For al-Maqrīzī's own presentation of his genealogy in the preface of his books see *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:4, where he stops at his great grandfather; *Sulūk,* 1:1:22; and *Durar,* 1:47, with the ten names stopping at the name of Tamīm, the father of 'Abd al-Ṣamad, who is in fact the grandson of the Caliph al-Mu'izz according to al-Sakhāwī's longer chain. The same line appears in al-Maqrīzī's

it to a very glorious ancestor, al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh (r. 953–75), the first Fatimid caliph in Egypt and the founder of al-Qāhirah, or to an even more illustrious forebear, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib.[19]

Yet al-Maqrīzī seems to have admitted his Fatimid ancestry to at least some of his close friends.[20] He was apparently very proud of his caliphal Fatimid pedigree. He even approvingly volunteers a number of panegyric stanzas written by his neighbor, colleague, and posthumously-turned competitor, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Awḥadī, in which Awḥadī candidly and unapologetically calls al-Maqrīzī *"ibn al-khalāʾif"* [scion of the caliphs] and a descendant of al-Muʿizz and al-Ḥākim.[21] In one stanza, Awḥadī bluntly proclaims, "Be proud, Taqī al-Dīn, among the people of your noble Fatimid lineage. And if you cited a report on their generosity and you encountered a contestant, then trace your ancestry back to the Ḥākimī [al-Ḥākim]." These laudatory lines appear nowhere else in either Awḥadī's or al-Maqrīzī's various biographies.[22] In fact, al-Maqrīzī is the only one who speaks of a *dīwān* of poetry by Awḥadī that he claims to have read and critiqued, and he lists many examples from it in his *Durar,* including those laudatory verses. Their citing can only be explained as an implicit admission of al-Maqrīzī's purported Fatimid pedigree, even though it is couched in someone else's words.

A public assertion of his Fatimid, i. e., Ismaʿili ancestry, could have ruined his carefully constructed career as a Shafiʿi *ʿālim,* and even as a private citizen. Even without any solid confirmation of al-Maqrīzī's Fatimid pedigree, al-Sakhāwī, in his maliciously and underhandedly disparaging biography, uses the derogatory patronymic al-ʿUbaydī, i.e., descendant of ʿUbayd Allāh, the first in the Fatimid line to claim descent from the Prophet's daughter Fāṭimah in 906.[23] Al-ʿUbaydīyūn was indeed the spiteful title adopted by all Sunni commentators in Mamluk Egypt

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obituary of his grandfather ʿAbd al-Qādir in *Sulūk,* 2:2:365, and of his father ʿAlī in ibid., 3:1:326.

[19]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 15:490 and Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* 3:59, enumerate the forefathers of al-Maqrīzī back to the eighth ancestor, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, and say that they have copied it from al-Maqrīzī himself. Ibn Taghrībirdī then adds that al-Maqrīzī's nephew, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, dictated his uncle's genealogy after his death and brought it up to ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib through the Fatimid caliphs. The same report appears in al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat,* 4:244.

[20]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ,* 9:172, idem, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī-Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah* (Hyderabad, 1929–32), 3:5; copied with an indignant remark in al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 2:23.

[21]Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar,* 1:249–50; ʿIzz al-Dīn, *Al-Maqrīzī wa-Kitābuhu "Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,"* 1:234.

[22]See Awḥadī's biographies in Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ,* 6:112–13; idem, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* 3:38–39; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 1:358–59; Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab,* (Cairo, 1931–33), 7:89–90

[23]Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 2:21, idem, *Dhayl al-Sulūk,* 21, where he lists all the ancestors up to Caliph al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh.

who rejected the Fatimids′ claim of Prophetic lineage, and ascribed them instead to Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ ibn Daysān, the Manichean.″[24]

It is thus very plausible that al-Maqrīzī′s flattering portrayal of the Fatimids and their achievements in his *Khiṭaṭ* and his *Itti‘āẓ al-Ḥunafā’* was partly animated by his belief of being their scion.[25] He even mounts a fervent defense of the authenticity of their lineage back to Fāṭimah in the introduction of his *Itti‘āẓ al-Ḥunafā’*.[26] He approvingly records Ibn Khaldūn′s long discussion defending the authenticity of the Fatimids′ genealogy, an opinion that has earned Ibn Khaldūn many curses from his contemporary biographers.[27] Finally, al-Maqrīzī asks his readers to ″examine the facts fairly and not be deceived by the fabrications of the Fatimids′ detractors,″ at a time when the learned consensus in Sunni Egypt was that the Fatimids were impostors with a suspect lineage.

Al-Maqrīzī′s plea to his reader to accept the Fatimids′ genealogy did not go unnoticed. On the margin of the page in which he reports Imami traditions on the rise of the Fatimids, a remark states that ″al-Maqrīzī—God′s forgiveness be upon him—is not to blame for mounting this defense of the Fatimids because his lineage goes back to them.″[28] This comment must have been added by either the copyist or the owner of the manuscript, both of whom were fifteenth-century scholars who might have known al-Maqrīzī personally.[29] Ibn Ḥajar too almost confirms al-Maqrīzī′s Fatimid ancestry, by calling him al-Tamīmī (the descendant

[24]Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti‘āẓ al-Ḥunafā’ bi-Akhbār al-A’immah al-Fāṭimīyīn al-Khulafā’*, ed. Jamāl al-Dīn Shayyāl (Cairo, 1967), 1:52–54. The Maymunid genealogy is discussed in the same section.

[25]Shākir Muṣṭafá, *Tārīkh,* 2:148, raises this possibility as well, but Sayyid, *Musawwadat,* ″Introduction,″ 45, does not seem to think that it was the case.

[26]Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti‘āẓ,* 1:15–54, where he logically argues the truth of their lineage and lists prominent scholars, such as Ibn Khaldūn, who accepted it. Idem, *Khiṭaṭ*, 1:348–49, is a summary of the *Itti‘āẓ*′s discussion. Another Mamluk historian who accepts their claim is Ibn ‘Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍah al-Bahīyah fī Khiṭaṭ al-Qāhirah al-Mu‘izzīyah,* ed. Ayman Fu’ād Sayyid (Cairo, 1996), 6–7. Other Mamluk historians who deny their lineage: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 4:69–112; Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī, *Kitāb Duwal al-Islām al-Sharīfah al-Bahīyah: wa-Dhikr Mā Ẓaḥara lī min Ḥikam Allāh al-Khafīyah fī Jalb Ṭā’ifat al-Atrāk ilá al-Diyār al-Miṣrīyah,* ed. Ulrich Haarmann and Ṣubḥī Labīb (Beirut, 1997), 12–15.

[27]Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti‘āẓ,* 1:44–52. On the cursing of Ibn Khaldūn, see Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā’,* 5:331, though not in his entry in *Al-Majma‘ al-Mu’assis,* 3:157–60; similar reports in al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw’,* 4:147–48.

[28]Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti‘āẓ,* 1:54, no. 2.

[29]Ibid., 1:31. The copyist, who copied his text from an autograph version in 884/1479, is an Azharite, as his *nisbah* indicates: Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Gīzī al-Shāfi‘ī al-Azharī. The owner seems to have been Yūsuf ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī, a famous Damascene scholar of the fifteenth century (840/1437–909/1504); on his bio, see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw’,* 10:308; Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib al-Sā’irah fī A‘yān al-Mi’ah al-‘Āshirah,* ed. Khalīl Manṣūr (Beirut, 1997), 1:317; Ibn ‘Abd al-Hādī, *Rasā’il Dimashqīyah,* ed. Ṣalāḥ Muḥammad al-Khiyamī (Damascus, 1988), 13–17.

of Tamīm, either the son of al-Mu'izz, i.e., al-'Azīz, or his great grandson), perhaps another way to ascribe him to the Fatimids without having to state it openly.[30] Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Fahd, the Meccan scholar who accompanied al-Maqrīzī during his *mujāwarāt* in Mecca, traces his teacher's ancestry to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib via al-Ḥusayn, through the Fatimid line.[31]

Moreover, al-Maqrīzī's choice of wording for the title of his *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā' bi-Akhbār al-A'immah al-Fāṭimīyīn al-Khulafā'* itself amounts to another bold public declaration of his belief in their genuineness. He invites his readers, whom he calls *ḥunafā'* (sing. *ḥanīf)*, to draw lessons *(mawā'iẓ,* same as the title of the *Khiṭaṭ)* from the history of the Fatimids. His use of the term *ḥunafā'* is due to more than the necessity of rhyme. A *ḥanīf* in the sense accepted in the medieval period is the true Muslim, the believer in the original and true religion, i.e., someone who transcends the sectarian division that prompted the Sunnis to vehemently denigrate both the Isma'ili doctrine and the genealogical claim of the Fatimids.[32] In the second clause, al-Maqrīzī strongly emphasizes the Fatimids' privilege as both *khulafā'* (caliphs) and *a'immah* (imams) of the Islamic community, that is, the supreme leaders of the community in both the theological/judicial and institutional senses.[33]

This is not the same as saying that al-Maqrīzī believed in the Isma'ili doctrine of the Fatimids, for he most certainly did not. He was by all accounts a solid Sunni Shafi'i. The remark that he tacks onto his exposé of the Fatimids' dogma in his *Musawaddah* of the *Khiṭaṭ* is critical in understanding the difference between believing in the Fatimids' glorious pedigree and accepting their dogma. In it, al-Maqrīzī distances himself *(yatabarra',* takes *barā'ah)* from the Isma'ili doctrine he is about to explain, as he did in reporting the accounts denigrating the Fatimids' genealogy in the *Itti'āẓ*.[34] It is curious that the same remark does not appear in the published copy of the *Khiṭaṭ,* although the *da'wah* section is copied in its entirety from the text of the *Musawaddah*.[35] This is probably due to the transformation that al-Maqrīzī underwent in the period between the draft and the final redaction of the *Khiṭaṭ*. By the latter date, which was toward the end of his life, al-Maqrīzī did

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[30]Ibn Ḥajar, *Raf' al-Iṣr 'an Quḍāt Miṣr,* ed. Ḥāmid 'Abd al-Majīd and Muḥammad Abū Sunnah (Cairo, 1957), 1:2, in a complimentary remark on his friend al-Maqrīzī in his introduction.

[31]Ibn Fahd, *Mu'jam al-Shuyūkh,* 63.

[32]On the meaning and development of the term, see article "Ḥanīf," by W. Montgomery Watt, *EI*², 3:165–66.

[33]On the meaning and development of the imamate, see article "Imāma," by W. Madelung, *EI*², 3:1163–69; on the caliphate, see article "Khilāfa, the History of the Institution" and "Khilāfa, In Political Theory," by D. Sourdel and A. K. S. Lambton respectively, *EI*², 4:937–50.

[34]Sayyid, *Musawwadat,* "Introduction," 45, and p. 94 of the text.

[35]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:348–49, 393–95, in which the same exposé is presented.

not feel the need to assert the solidity of his Shafi'i Sunni creed since he no longer was interested in competing for public positions or patronage. The defense of the Fatimid genealogy, however, appears in both *Musawaddah* and *Khiṭaṭ* as well as in the *Itti'āẓ,* underscoring al-Maqrīzī's strong conviction in its truthfulness throughout his life.

EDUCATION: Al-Maqrīzī grew up in the house of his maternal grandfather Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Ibn al-Ṣā'igh al-Ḥanafī (ca. 710/1310–11 Sha'bān 776/15 January 1375), who was one of the most famous Hanafi *faqīh*s in Cairo, having held a series of prestigious judicial posts and composed a number of philological, grammatical, and exegetical books.[36] Almost everybody in his family was involved in some form of *'ilm,* despite the difference in *madhhab* between his paternal and maternal sides. His father 'Alī was a Hanbali *kātib* who worked and lived in Damascus before moving to Cairo, where he occupied a few minor positions in the judiciary and the viceregency. He died on 25 Ramaḍān 779/25 January 1378 when he was fifty-years old and al-Maqrīzī was less than fourteen years old.[37] His paternal grandfather 'Abd al-Qādir, who died before his birth (732/1331), was born in Ba'labek, in today's Lebanon. He settled down in Damascus, where he became a rather well-known Hanbali scholar and *muḥaddith,* heading a premier Damascene institution, Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Bahā'īyah (of al-Bahā' Ibn 'Asākir).[38]

But the most influential figure in al-Maqrīzī's early education, and his first tutor, was his maternal grandfather. Under his tutelage, al-Maqrīzī received the traditional education available to boys of his background with its focus on Quranic studies, hadith, Arabic grammar, literature, and *fiqh.*

Al-Maqrīzī claimed to have studied with or received *ijāzah*s (licenses) from more than six hundred shaykhs (tutors) in Cairo, Damascus, and Mecca, a number that evidently includes all those he had heard lecturing, even if only once, or those from whom he received an *ijāzah* without ever meeting them.[39] The extant roll of

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[36]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 1:95–96; idem, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:499–500; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:1:92, 198, 245, and 4:1107, chronicles the last stages of the career of his grandfather; 'Izz al-Dīn, *Al-Maqrīzī: Mu'arrikhan,* 27–32.

[37]On the father, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:1:326; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 1:166; 'Izz al-Dīn, *Al-Maqrīzī wa-Kitābuhu "Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah,"* 1:18. Al-Maqrīzī's brothers are Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (772/1371–822/1419) (see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:1:514) and Ḥasan. Broadbridge, "Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt," 86, mistakenly puts the father's death in 1384 and makes him a Shafi'i.

[38]On the grandfather, see Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* ed. Riḍwān al-Sayyid (Leipzig, 1993), 19:42–43; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:391; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:1:365; 'Izz al-Dīn, *Al-Maqrīzī: Mu'arrikhan,* 25–27; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 7:324.

[39]Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 2:23, questions some of al-Maqrīzī's teachers.

his shaykhs is an impressive collection of thirty-nine names of scholars, some of whom, like the ascetic and *muḥaddith* al-ʻImād al-Ḥanbalī, or al-Sirāj ibn al-Mulaqqin, or the chief judges al-Sirāj al-Balqīnī and al-Burhān ibn Jamāʻah, or the towering Ibn Khaldūn, were the leading figures of their profession.[40] Al-Maqrīzī became a regular at the circle of Ibn Khaldūn, who taught in Cairo after 1382. The passages directly copied from the master's dictation and the discussions he had with him or with others in his circle, dispersed throughout his oeuvre and bearing dates spanning more than ten years, show that he accompanied him for a long time and benefited from his knowledge on many topics.[41] His high esteem for his teacher and admiration for his ideas, especially those expounded in the *Muqaddimah,* come across very clearly in the extensive biography he wrote of Ibn Khaldūn in the still-unpublished section of his biographical dictionary *Durar*.[42]

The influence of Ibn Khaldūn's interpretive framework is evident in a number of short thematic books by al-Maqrīzī, such as his treatise on the calamity of the early fifteenth century, *Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah,* and his analysis of the rivalry between the Umayyads and the Abbasids, *Al-Nizāʻ wa-al-Takhāṣum fimā bayna Banī Umayyah wa-Banī Hāshim.* But it is most clearly apparent in the structure and aim of the *Khiṭaṭ*. The overarching cycle of the rise and fall of dynasties that formed the basis of Ibn Khaldūn's hermeneutical framework in explaining historical process seems to have informed al-Maqrīzī's thinking and structuring of his *Khiṭaṭ,* albeit in a roundabout way.[43] He seems to have subsumed the Khaldunian structure as a way of classifying and understanding the vast amount of historical, topographic, and architectural material he collected over the years.[44]

A QUESTION OF MADHHAB? Several years after his father's death, al-Maqrīzī decided in 786/1384 to switch to the Shafiʻi *madhhab* and to abandon the Hanbali *madhhab* of his forefathers or the Hanafi one of his maternal grandfather in which

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[40]For the full roster see ʻIzz al-Dīn, *Al-Maqrīzī wa-Kitābuhu "Durar al-ʻUqūd al-Farīdah,"* 1:20–28; idem, *Al-Maqrīzī: Mu'arrikhan,* 34–42.

[41]Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar,* 1:143, 152, 2:63, 193; idem, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:50, 2:76.

[42]The biography, which is not included in the recently published portion of the book, was published by Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī, "Tarjamat Ibn Khaldūn lil-Maqrīzī," *Majallat al-Majmaʻ al-ʻIlmī al-ʻIrāqī* 13 (1965): 215–42.

[43]See Ziyādah, "Tārīkh Ḥayāt al-Maqrīzī," 13–22. See also Adel Allouche, *Mamluk Economics: A Study and Translation of al-Maqrīzī's Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah* (Salt Lake City, 1994), 4–7.

[44]I have found only one explicit reference to Ibn Khaldūn's historical theory in al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* (2:190), which actually suggests that he was thoroughly familiar with the *Muqaddimah.* Another mention in al-Maqrīzī's biography of Ibn Khaldūn straightforwardly states that the *Muqaddimah* "unveils the cause of events and informs on the essence of things," al-Jalīlī, "Tarjamat Ibn Khaldūn," 235.

he had been instructed. This decision, though not unusual in itself, could not have been casual either. It may be interpreted in two ways, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive. It may be a sign of a self-righteous and individualistic personality in the making, perhaps even a bit rebellious against authority figures (father and/or grandfather), albeit meekly and after their passing. Changing his *madhhab* may have represented to al-Maqrīzī a rejection of his forebears′ teaching and authority, and therefore a liberating act on the way to self-fulfillment as an independently minded scholar. This is indeed the meaning that one can read from Ibn Ḥajar′s comment on al-Maqrīzī′s change of *madhhab*, that ″when he became aware and competent *(tayaqqaẓa wa-nabuha),* he switched to Shafi'ism.″[45] But the change could also be seen as a calculated move of a young and pragmatic scholar in his early twenties trying to establish a career in the Shafi'i-dominated scholarly milieu of Cairo.[46]

An intriguing detail mentioned by many of his biographers, however, favors the former interpretation: al-Maqrīzī was known later in life for his bias against, even antipathy toward, the Hanafis, ostensibly because of his unconfirmed leaning toward the by-then uncommon Zahiri *madhhab*.[47] The Zahiri *madhhab,* named after its founder′s insistence on admitting only the apparent *(ẓāhir)* meaning of the Quran and hadith, upheld a strict, literalist approach to interpretation and to legal speculation and opposed all other *madhāhib,* but especially the Malikis and Hanafis, on basic interpretive issues.[48] The *madhhab,* codified by the Andalusian polymath Ibn Ḥazm (994–1064), never attained the same kind of theological synthesis achieved by other Sunni *madhāhib.* Furthermore, it never took root in Egypt and Syria, although the enmity displayed by Mamluk ulama toward its adherents shows that the fundamentalist challenges it posed were still felt by the established theological and jurisprudential *madhāhib.*

Al-Maqrīzī himself does not mention his knowledge of or adherence to the Zahiri *madhhab,* although he seems to have been close to many Zahiris, or at least individuals who are identified in the Mamluk sources as Zahiris because of their bias toward the writing of Ibn Ḥazm.[49] Moreover, he is full of praise for them as

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[45]Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Majma' al-Mu'assis,* 59.

[46]Sayyid, *Musawwadat,* ″Introduction,″ 39, favors this interpretation.

[47]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 1:396, where he says that there is nothing wrong in admiring the writing of Ibn Ḥazm; also ibid., 2:88, where he accuses his revered teacher al-Maqrīzī of favoring al-Burhān simply because he was a Zahiri.

[48]On Zahirism see ″al-Ẓāhiriyya,″ by R. Strothmann in *EI*[1], 8:1192–93; ″Dāwūd b. 'Alī b. Khālaf,″ by P. Voorhoeve in *EI*[2], 2:182–83; and ″Ibn Ḥazm,″ by R. Arnaldez in *EI*[2], 3:790–99.

[49]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 2:113, reports that al-Maqrīzī said of a Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ashmūnī al-Naḥawī (749/1348–809/1407), ″that he was a Zahiri then turned against them,″ and then al-Maqrīzī said ″I accompanied him for some years,″ implying that that was when al-Ashmūnī was still a

righteous individuals. He admires their fervent struggle for justice and truth, equanimity, self-restraint, and chastity, as is apparent from their biographical entries in his *Durar* and *Sulūk*.[50] These same qualities will be attached to al-Maqrīzī later in life after his withdrawal from the competition for public posts.

But what seems to have truly attracted him to Zahirism was not only the moral rectitude of its founders and followers, nor was it its theological puritanism, an intellectual stance that had lost most of its potency by the end of the fourteenth century.[51] It was probably what can nowadays be termed the "militant" spirit that some of its last organized groups deployed in the face of the religiously corrupt Mamluk regime. This spirit rose to the surface in the so-called "Zahiri Revolt" of 788/1386, an event that greatly impressed al-Maqrīzī, at least if we judge from the glowing image he paints in his *Durar* of its leader, the rather obscure Zahiri shaykh al-Burhān Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismāʻīl (754/1353–808/1406).[52] Al-Burhān foolishly and tenaciously organized this doomed uprising against Sultan Barqūq and the Mamluks because they did not satisfy the strict Islamic prerequisites to rule: they were not descendants of Quraysh, the tribe of the Prophet, and they instituted some un-Islamic practices, chief among them the levying of tariffs *(mukūs)*. Al-Burhān seems to have had supporters among the Mamluk ruling class and the Arab Bedouins of Syria as well. But the uprising failed nonetheless; many of its organizers were caught, tortured, imprisoned, and their lives ruined as a consequence. Al-Burhān, impoverished and emotionally broken in al-Maqrīzī's words, maintained his integrity throughout his imprisonment and questioning by the sultan and after his release to a life of obscurity until his death.

Zahiri; see al-Maqrīzī, *Durar*, 2:174; ʻIzz al-Dīn, *Al-Maqrīzī wa-Kitābuhu "Durar al-ʻUqūd al-Farīdah,"* 2:431.

[50]Cf. al-Maqrīzī, *Durar*, 1:191, 203; ʻIzz al-Dīn, *Al-Maqrīzī wa-Kitābuhu "Durar al-ʻUqūd al-Farīdah,"* 1:204–205 for the biographies of his teacher al-ʻImād al-Ḥanbalī, and the *sharīf* and *muḥaddith* Abū Bakr al-Hāshimī; idem, *Sulūk,* 4:2:761, in the biographical notice on Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Bashtākī (d. 830/1427), who was a follower of Ibn Ḥazm's *madhhab,* al-Maqrīzī says, "I have been chagrined by his loss, he has left no one like him." Al-Maqrīzī admired moral rectitude wherever he encountered it; see for instance his report in *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:279–80, where he praises the steadfastness of the Shafiʻi judge al-Mināwwī, who betrays Zahiri leanings in his discourse, in upholding what he considers right.

[51]See the discussion on the confusion about Zahirism in Mamluk sources in Lutz Wiederhold, "Legal-Religious Elite, Temporal Authority, and the Caliphate in Mamluk Society: Conclusions Drawn from the Examination of a Zahiri Revolt in Damascus," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31 (May 1999): 203–35, esp. 204–6.

[52]Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar,* 2:44–55; ʻIzz al-Dīn, *Al-Maqrīzī wa-Kitābuhu "Durar al-ʻUqūd al-Farīdah,"* 2:342–47. Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:2:554, offers a compact report on the revolt and in *Sulūk,* 4:1:23, produces a brief obituary of al-Burhān which carries the same positive assessment.

Al-Maqrīzī′s impassioned and detailed description of the ″Zahiri″ revolt substantially differs from other Mamluk historians′ reports.[53] His is the only one that goes deep into the theological roots of the revolt to justify it rather than just passing them over to speak of the intrigues that led to its failure as does Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, the other main source for the revolt. Al-Maqrīzī seems to have heard the full story from al-Burhān himself, for he speaks of a very intimate relationship with the man and his family and of many sessions spent studying with him. In a cryptic sentence at the end of his entry, al-Maqrīzī calls al-Burhān one of three men by whom God has benefited him, and states that he hoped to gain *barakah (*grace) from that benefit. This sentence may be pointing toward a disciple/master relationship in a sufi sense, that is, al-Burhān leading al-Maqrīzī on the way of true knowledge. But it is probably more an admission that al-Burhān, along with two unnamed individuals, offered al-Maqrīzī a model which he consciously was trying to follow in his own life. His reported leaning towards the Zahiris, and al-Burhān in particular, may thus have been motivated by his respect for their fortitude as committed individuals and his approval of their firm opposition to the Mamluks on religious ground rather than his adherence to their religious interpretations.

Another possible explanation for al-Maqrīzī′s passionate support of the ″Zahiri″ revolt may be found in his complex set of religious beliefs, which, though not uncommon at the time, may appear a bit paradoxical to our modern eyes accustomed to a visible Sunni-Shiʻi sectarian division. As illustrated by his acceptance of the imamate of the Fatimids because they were the progeny of the Prophet, al-Maqrīzī, the pious and strict Sunni alim, seems nonetheless to have harbored ʻAlid sympathies throughout his life. What his defense of the Fatimids hints at comes across more clearly in other tractates focusing on the *Āl al-Bayt* (the family of the Prophet), especially his *Al-Nizāʻ wa-al-Takhāṣum fīmā bayna Banī Umayyah wa-Banī Hāshim* (Book of contention and strife concerning the relations between the Umayyads and the Hashimites).[54] In this undated short work, which seems to belong to his

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[53]For other historians′ reports see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal, 2*:87–89, who says that al-Maqrīzī exaggerated in his praise of al-Burhān because he was a Zahiri; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā'*, 2:232–34; idem, *Al-Majmaʻ al-Mu'assis,* 3:73–75; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, 2:96–98; a reconstruction of the revolt based mostly on Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* ed. ʻAdnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1977), 1:89–91, 186–89, 269, is Wiederhold, ″Zahiri Revolt,″ 209–16. It is revealing that al-Maqrīzī, unlike Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, never uses the word *fitnah* (sedition) in his description.

[54]First edited and translated in 1888 as al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Nizā' wa-al-Takhāṣum fīmā bayna Banī Umayyah wa-Banī Hāshim: Kampfe und Streitigkeiten zwischen den Banu Umajja und den Banu Hasim; eine Abhandlung von Takijj ad-Din al-Makrizijj,* ed. Geerhardus Vos (Vienna and Strasbourg, 1888). Several Arabic re-editions followed but they did not add much. For an English translation and commentary, see *Al-Maqrīzī′s ′Book of Contention and Strife Concerning the*

early career, al-Maqrīzī was trying to make metahistorical sense of the apparent failure of the ʿAlids, the Banī Ḥāshim of his title, to keep what was their divinely-ordained birthright, namely the caliphate. After analyzing the circumstances of the conflict between the Umayyads and the Hashimites (both Abbasids and ʿAlids), he comes down squarely on the side of the ʿAlids. He assumes the same stance in other similar treatises where the ʿAlids are unambiguously identified as the God-appointed rulers and guides of the Islamic community.[55]

But it is quite revealing that neither his explicit ʿAlid leanings nor his excited verbal empathy with the Zahiri revolt prevented al-Maqrīzī from pursuing his career in the religious and administrative branches of the Mamluk regime. This has never been picked up on by his biographers, simply because his collaboration with and seeking patronage within the Mamluk system, though only up to his middle age, were very ordinary at the time. Almost every other scholar eagerly pursued Mamluk patronage, despite the collectively-held intellectual and religious resentment of the mamluks themselves.[56] What distinguishes al-Maqrīzī from the average Sunni alim of his ilk is his anxious and manifest sympathy for militant movements, such as the ʿAlid cause and the Zahiri revolt, aimed at redressing the wrong they perceived at the top of the ruling system in the Islamic world. Never mind that both causes were ultimately doomed to failure. What matters is that al-Maqrīzī, in his reporting and his analysis, displayed an honest sense of justice and objection to deviation from the proper Islamic way as he saw it.

WITHDRAWAL: Al-Maqrīzī did not withdraw from the treacherous milieu of sultans and courtiers until midway in the reign of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (1412–21), although he manifested the first signs of weariness during the reign of Faraj ibn

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Relations between the Banū Umayya and the Banū Hāshim," ed. and trans. Clifford Edmund Bosworth (Manchester, 1983).

[55]On al-Maqrīzī's pro-ʿAlid sympathy, see C. E. Bosworth, "Al-Maqrīzī's Epistle 'Concerning What Has Come Down to Us About the Banu Umayya and the Banu l-ʿAbbas,'" in *Studia Arabica and Islamica: Festschrift for Ihsan ʿAbbas*, ed. Wadad Kadi (Beirut, 1981), 39–45; idem, "Al-Maqrīzī's Exposition of the Formative Period in Islamic History and its Cosmic Significance: The *Kitāb al-Nizāʿ wa-al-Takhāṣum*," in *Islam: Past Influence and Present Challenge: In Honour of William Montgomery Watt,* ed. A. T. Welsh and P. Cachia (Edinburgh, 1979), 93–104. Reprinted in idem, *Medieval Arabic Culture and Administration* (London, 1982) as no. IX and XI respectively.

[56]On the subject of the ulama's relationship with the mamluks see the two pioneering articles by Ulrich Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage: Mamluks and their Sons in the Intellectual Life of Fourteenth-Century Egypt and Syria," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 33 (1988): 81–114; idem, "Rather the Injustice of the Turks than the Righteousness of the Arabs—Changing 'Ulama' Attitudes Towards Mamluk Rule in the Late Fifteenth Century," *Studia Islamica* 68 (1989): 61–79. Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus*, 37–54, 57–113, discusses the development of these practices among the ulama as a class in thirteenth to fourteenth-century Damascus.

Barqūq when he turned down the coveted *manṣib* of the Shafiʿi chief judge of Damascus which was offered to him more than once around the year 1410.[57] His refusal must be ascribed to the traditional pious alim′s fear of inadvertently committing injustice while holding the position of judge, a fear that al-Maqrīzī explicitly exhibits when he singles out accepting the judgeship of the Hanbalis as the only sin of his friend and patron al-Muḥibb ibn Naṣr Allāh.[58] But this was not the only sign of the shift in his thinking. A passage in his *Durar* reveals his leaning toward *zuhd,* the ″mild asceticism″ professed by a number of ulama in the medieval period.[59] Al-Maqrīzī says that he tried to convince a judge and colleague in Damascus to ″quit seeking favors of the amirs if he is really sincere about his renunciation of worldly gains.″[60] The passage carries a tone of self-reflection that may indicate that al-Maqrīzī himself was going through that transformation at the time.

Al-Maqrīzī was gradually withdrawing from public life when he was suddenly jolted by the dismissal and then brutal killing of his last confirmed patron, Fatḥ Allāh the *kātib al-sirr,* which took place after a painful six-month imprisonment (Shawwāl 815–Rabīʿ al-Awwal 816/January–June 1413), in the first year of al-Muʿayyad Shaykh′s reign. This cold-blooded crime was not so unusual for the time, but it must have been especially painful for al-Maqrīzī because Fatḥ Allāh was both a dependable and resourceful patron and a faithful friend for more than twenty years.[61] It also deepened his disgust and despair.

This feeling of despondency is amply displayed in the introduction to the history of the Ayyubids and Mamluks, *Al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* which suggests that al-Maqrīzī started this book around that desperate moment in his life when he was still wavering between self-imposed isolation and another attempt at court life. On the first page of the autograph manuscript of the *Sulūk*, al-Maqrīzī unambiguously in two inscriptions poured out his heart to his reader. The first passage, which is written below the title, seems to be directed to himself as an incantation. It says:

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[57] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 1:396; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, 2:22.

[58] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:3:1232.

[59] Hurvitz, ″Biographies and Mild Asceticism,″ 48–52; L. Kinberg, ″What is Meant by Zuhd?″ *Studia Islamica* 61 (1985): 27.

[60] Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar,* 2:60. This may be contrasted with what Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 15:189, says about his master′s forced withdrawal from court. The truth is probably a combination of both impulses.

[61] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:1:242, 248, 252, 256, 259, records in detail the ordeal of his patron, and 4:2:1012, recalls his great achievements thirty years after his killing. Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā'*, 7:104, 137–39.

> May God save you from requesting the reimbursement for a good deed you have rendered and a payment for a favor you have offered, and may He not abase your hand below that for whom it was above, and may He protect you from a passing glory and an exigent living. May God keep you alive as long as life is beautiful by your presence and may He take you if death was better for you, after a long life and high eminence. May he close your deeds with kindness and allow you to reach in this life your hopes and guide your unsteady way, and may He rectify your predicament in the hereafter. He is the All-hearing, the Magnanimous, and the Granter [of wishes].[62]

This invocation is key to deciphering al-Maqrīzī´s psychological state at that late, and probably low, point in his life. It conveys contradictory feelings: hope and despair, pride and dejection, love of life and an admission of the inevitability of death. These feelings reflect the situation in which al-Maqrīzī found himself during and immediately after the reign of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh: banished from court, lonely after the death of Sūl, his beloved concubine, in 1421 and Fāṭimah, the last of his children, in 1423, yet still full of self-esteem and the will to contribute to public life.

At the bottom of the same cover page, there is another passage in al-Maqrīzī´s hand written longitudinally in the middle of the page between two other unrelated informational passages. This short passage must have been added at a later date, not only because of its odd position on the page, but also because of the strong feeling of resignation it bespeaks. In it, al-Maqrīzī declares

> I have been afflicted with such bad fortune, that whenever it goes up, it immediately comes down, and whenever it stands up, it inevitably falls down, and whenever it goes straight, it surely bows down again, and whenever it runs smoothly, it at once encounters obstacles, and whenever it becomes alert, it soon sleeps again. . . .
> [Then follows two verses]
> By your life, I do not lack a banner of glory
> Nor did the horse tire of competing
> Instead, I am afflicted with bad fortune
> Just like a beautiful woman is inflicted with divorce

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[62]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:1:3 and facing page for a photographic reproduction of the autograph manuscript´s cover page (Istanbul, Yeni Cami, # 887).

Here we find the extreme expression of melancholy that must have overtaken al-Maqrīzī after he realized the futility of his repeated attempts to gain the sultan′s favor. He thus reverts to his belief in the supernatural to explain his failure. The insertion of the *dūbayt* at the end, however, attests that the man did not lose his self-esteem: he still thinks of himself as able and worthy. He only resigns himself to his fate to concentrate fully on his scholarly and ascetic pursuits. To that point in time should be dated his final retreat to his family home in Ḥārat al-Barjawān. He was to spend the rest of his life studying, writing, and teaching in almost total seclusion, except for rare visits with his fellow ulama and students and for an unknown number of pilgrimages and *mujāwarāt* in Mecca between 1430 and 1435.[63] He wrote his *Khiṭaṭ* book and completed most of his long historical treatises during these thirty-plus years, but we have no fixed dates for any of them. The *Khiṭaṭ,* however, was the first book he tackled. As such, it was closely connected with this defining period in his life with its intense and painful soul-searching and reckoning. It marked his transformation from a client to one or the other among the Mamluk grandees, to an independent, even aloof, scholar and historian and a pessimistic observer recognizing the corrupt structure of power and chiding its perpetrators. These strong yet ultimately desperate feelings of disillusionment inevitably seeped into the structure and tone of the *Khiṭaṭ* and the *Sulūk*.

Death: Al-Maqrīzī died in Ramaḍān 845/January–February 1442 after a protracted but unnamed illness. His biographers dispute the exact date of his death, and none of them managed to record the correct day of the week on which he died.[64] This is further evidence of his relative isolation from his scholarly milieu at the end of his life. His biographers might not have learned of his death until some time after it occurred, or they might not have bothered to check the correct date, as Ibn Taghrībirdī pungently suggests al-ʻAynī did not. Al-Maqrīzī was buried without any elaborate funeral in the Sufi Baybarsīyah cemetery outside the Bāb al-Naṣr north of Cairo, which was the final resting place of many ulama

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[63]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 1:397, al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 2:24, mention only a *mujāwarah;* al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat,* 3:219, 367, quotes al-Maqrīzī in the years 834/1431 and 840/1437 respectively as having been in the hajj; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 14:355, quotes him in 835/1432, which may mean that he stayed in Mecca for a whole year.

[64]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 9:172, places it on Thursday 26 of Ramaḍān (correct day is Wednesday); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 15:490, and *Manhal,* 1:399; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 2:25, put it on Thursday 16 Ramaḍān (correct day is Sunday), whereas al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd,* 547, carelessly—as noted by Ibn Taghrībirdī—put it on Thursday 29 Shaʻbān, although he was at least correct in the day of the week. Al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat,* 4:343–44, reports Ibn Ḥajar′s and al-Aynī′s dates, but favors Ibn Ḥajar′s in accordance with his master, Ibn Taghrībirdī, whom he later on will denigrate, although Ibn Taghrībirdī′s date is different from Ibn Ḥajar′s.

of the period, including Ibn Khaldūn.[65] The anonymity of al-Maqrīzī´s burial place is an indication of his *zuhd* (asceticism), since he does not seem to have provided a specific place for his interment as was the habit of distinguished ulama in medieval Egypt. The simplicity of his entombment becomes even more poignant when it is contrasted with the pomp of that of his old competitor al-ʻAynī, who had built himself a sumptuous funerary *qubbah* in his madrasah adjacent to al-Azhar. The *qubbah* was embellished by a gilded dome ordered specially by Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh as a sign of favoritism, when the same sultan seems to have shunned al-Maqrīzī throughout his reign.[66]

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[65]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:336, no. 1; al-Jalīlī, ″Tarjamat Ibn Khaldūn,″ 230; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 10:146.

[66]Laila Ibrahim and Bernard O´Kane, ″The Madrasa of Badr al-Dīn al-ʻAynī and its Tiled Mihrab,″ *Annales Islamologiques* 24 (1988): 253–68, esp. 267; ʻAlī Bāshā Mubārak, *Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīqīyah al-Jadīdah* (Būlāq, 1888–89)*,* 6:10. Al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh seems to have provided some endowment in his *waqf* for the madrasah of al-ʻAynī; see al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd,* 110 (*Awqāf* 938q: *Waqf* of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, dated 12 Rajab 823/1420, lines 331–41).

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Maqriziana I: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method Description: Section 1

INTRODUCTION

This article aims at presenting an important manuscript discovered recently in the holdings of the library at the University of Liège, in Belgium. It has been authenticated as a holograph manuscript of Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Maqrīzī, and identified as a specimen of his notebooks. As I will try to demonstrate, the notebook was conceived by al-Maqrīzī as a working tool to which he returned, utilizing the greatest part of it in his later writings. Its study, together with al-Maqrīzī's other preserved autograph manuscripts and drafts, clearly provides answers to numerous questions about the working methods of medieval Muslim scholars, making possible reflection on an archaeology of scholarship. The preliminary results are revealed here for the first time, and are based on the current stage of my research. It is possible some weakness of these arguments may emerge later, although I hope that future research will corroborate most of them.

In this study, to be published in two sections, I decided first to scrutinize the manuscript itself, in codicological terms, i.e., to describe it and reconstruct its history, and finally to give a detailed overview of its contents.[1] The second part

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This article is a revised version of a paper presented on the 13th of May 1998 at the 7th Colloquium on Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven), under the title: ″À propos du MS 2232 de l'Université de Liège: découverte d'un nouvel autographe de Maqrīzī?″ It was read once more, with major modifications, during a seminar on al-Maqrīzī organized by the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale in Cairo in May 2000, under the title: ″Le carnet de notes d'al-Maqrīzī et son importance pour l'historiographie musulmane.″ That version will appear in two sections for reasons of space. Another text was read at the Notre Dame colloquium; that will be published as the second part of this article in a forthcoming issue of this journal, under the title: ″Maqriziana II: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of his Working Method: Analysis.″ I have decided to publish this first part prior to the second as the demonstrations elaborated in the latter are too complex to follow without a clear exposition of the nature and contents of the manuscript.

[1]A full critical edition of the notebook is in preparation. It will be published by the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale in Cairo, in two volumes together with a facsimile of the entire manuscript on CD-ROM.

will be devoted to an analysis of al-Maqrīzī′s working method.

HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY

In an article published in 1962, Claude Cahen wondered rhetorically whether unearthing a fundamental text was cheering or discouraging, as his discovery diverted him from his other scholarly commitments. He was speaking of a manuscript which has revealed, since its discovery, new data on the economic history of Egypt in the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods, i.e., al-Makhzūmī's treatise ″Al-Minhāj fī ʻIlm al-Kharāj.″[2] Reading his words, I asked myself if he really thought that this was ill-fortune, but I soon realized, when I myself came across an important manuscript, what he meant. Indeed, I also had to leave aside all my current research to dedicate my entire attention to the text I had found, almost accidentally. But this did not happen all at once. In 1989, I was asked by the University of Liège to catalog the Islamic manuscripts held there. It had received in 1986 a gift of about 450 Arabic manuscripts and wished to know exactly what it contained. I carried out this task, beginning with these manuscripts most recently bequeathed. The other Islamic manuscripts already among the holdings of the library had previously been described in a handlist, so I put them aside until I finished my catalogue.[3] After having perused hundreds of manuscripts, I decided to look at the older collection. When my eyes fell on MS 2232, I had seen so many *majmūʻāt* from the Maghrib that I at first imagined that this was nothing more than another example of this particular kind of manuscript, although eastern in origin as indicated by the script. It appeared that it was not a composite *majmūʻah,* composed of various texts by several hands at different dates, collected at a specific moment and bound together, but rather a uniform text in which entries were written by the same hand. No author was named anywhere in the manuscript, although the greatest part consisted of epitomes of books. To me, it appeared to be nothing more than an ordinary manuscript. At the time I was able to date it to the fifteenth century, thanks to its codicological characteristics, a fact which was confirmed afterwards.[4]

The manuscript was then returned to a dusty shelf for several years until one day in 1997, when I received a copy of a recent edition of one of al-Maqrīzī's

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[2]See Claude Cahen, ″Un traité financier inédit d'époque fatimide-ayyubide,″ *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 5 (1962): 140; reprinted in his *Makhzūmiyyāt: Études sur l'histoire économique et financière de l'Égypte médiévale* (Leiden, 1977), 1.

[3]The first volume of the catalogue is finished and will appear under the title *Inventaire des manuscrits arabes, persans et turcs des bibliothèques publiques de Belgique* (Liège, forthcoming).

[4]The manuscript had already been described in 1970 as ″manuscrit arabe, XVIIIe siècle?″ See J. Hoyoux, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l′Université de Liège: Manuscrits acquis de 1886 à 1960*, vol. 1 (Liège, 1970), no. 1070.

minor works, the *Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Kāmil fī al-Ḍu'afā'* of Ibn 'Adī.[5] This book consists of a resumé made by al-Maqrīzī of a work dealing with "weak" transmitters of tradition. It has been preserved in a unicum which is, moreover, an autograph copy (Istanbul, MS Murād Mollā 569), dated 795/1393. The editor had the excellent idea of including some plates of the manuscript. At first glance, the script looked familiar, and I soon remembered MS 2232. I was able to compare it with the facsimile and was overjoyed to discover that the *codex leodiensis* was an autograph copy in the hand of one of the most important historians of the Islamic world, known as the *shaykh al-mu'arrikhīn* of Egypt.

I proceeded further in my investigation and found that numerous autograph manuscripts of al-Maqrīzī are still extant in various libraries all over the world.[6] I soon discovered that the attention of scholars had already been drawn to this matter as early as 1847–51, when the Dutch Orientalist R. P. A. Dozy published a notice of his identification of three volumes of al-Maqrīzī's *Al-Muqaffá*.[7] Facing page 28, a plate containing a facsimile of al-Maqrīzī's handwriting was printed so as to facilitate the identification of other autograph manuscripts, of which, Dozy believed, there must have been other specimens in European and Arab libraries. Indeed, al-Maqrīzī's handwriting is distinctive, not easily forgotten, and this has been my experience. Later, I learned of an additional publication including another autograph manuscript of the historian: a draft of a volume of *Al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār,*[8] which made me realize that both manuscripts were written on the same kind of paper, a discovery which indicated to me another possibility for the study of al-Maqrīzī's autograph manuscripts.[9]

At this point, there remained no doubt that the Liège codex was to be identified as an unpublished holograph in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting, but I still had to establish what kind of work this was. I turned back to my description of it, made some years earlier, and improved it by adding every useful detail contained in the manuscript. I carried out a thorough scrutiny of the contents and soon realized that it was a notebook, and that these sheets of paper had been used by al-Maqrīzī to record historical details, facts, and events that he was interested in for the composition of his works. It is full of resumés, epitomes, extracts, excerpts, notes, cards, etc., the subjects of which vary as much as their number (history, numismatics, metrology,

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[5]*Mukhtaṣar Kitāb al-Kāmil fī al-Ḍu'afā' wa-'Ilal al-Ḥadīth li-Ibn 'Adī,* ed. Ayman ibn 'Ārif al-Dimashqī (Cairo, 1415/1994).

[6]See my "Maqriziana II," where a complete list will be given.

[7]See R. P. A. Dozy, "Découverte de trois volumes du Mokaffá d'Al-Makrízí," in idem, *Notices sur quelques manuscrits arabes* (Leiden, 1847–51), 8–16.

[8]Edited by Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (London, 1995).

[9]On this point, see below, under the description of the manuscript.

genealogy, medicine, exegesis, etc.). As far as I know, this is the first time that such a notebook has been discovered,[10] a unique document that opens myriad research prospects in many fields. Of course, the most salient aspect is the working method of al-Maqrīzī, since we can now study precisely how he conceived his works, not only by looking at the various drafts he left us, but more precisely by examining the way he summarized the works of his predecessors and how he inserted the data later in his own writings. But it should also be considered a manuscript of incomparable importance because it contains resumés of works which were previously considered lost. The resumés prove that al-Maqrīzī had access to such works as Ismaili texts, and in some cases the parts preserved in the notebook are the sole remaining evidence of their existence. Moreover, comparison of the material in al-Maqrīzī's published writings, where passages have been borrowed, with those in the notebook, will permit us to improve the readings in the editions where they are found, even in the most recent ones. The present study is thus only the first of a series in which the various aspects of the notebook will be scrutinized.

HISTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Prior to his death in 1913, Victor Chauvin, one of the leading Orientalists of the nineteenth century[11] and holder of the chair of Arabic studies at the University of Liège, had decided to bequeath his entire library to his alma mater. This collection contained several thousands of books dealing with Islamic studies in general, with a particular interest in literature, printed between the seventeenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, together with some Arabic manuscripts. The whole library was received shortly after his death and it took years before the cataloging was completed. As for the manuscripts, they were only inventoried in 1928, and it was not until 1968 that they were brought to the knowledge of scholars.[12] The manuscript under discussion (2232) was catalogued at that time as ″Arabic MS″ and dated approximately to the eighteenth century. This laconic description was in fact based on the information provided by a small piece of paper which had been glued by Chauvin himself on fol. A, where one can read: ″450 Manuscrit arabe

[10]Manuscripts containing notes *(ta'līqāt)* have, of course, been discovered, but they are not comparable to this kind of book.

[11]His masterwork remains the famous, but now unfortunately not often used, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1888,* 12 vols. (Liège, 1892–1919).

[12]They were published in the general catalogue, mixed with the Occidental manuscripts. See J. Hoyoux, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l′Université de Liège. Manuscrits acquis de 1886 à 1960,* 3 vols. (Liège, 1968–70).

(ancien) du XVIIIe siècle, cart. (curieux), 5–,″ which means ″450 Arabic manuscript (old) from the eighteenth century, hardbound (odd), 5–.″ Undoubtedly this is the kind of description often found in sale catalogues, where here 450 represents the serial number and 5 the proposed price, the currency being probably the franc. Upon receipt of his acquisition, Chauvin wrote on the same folio the following note: ″Victor Chauvin le 13 9bre 1904, 5ff 45;″ in other words, the book was bought on the 13th of November 1904 for the price of 5.45 francs (the sale price plus the taxes, which amounted to 9%). Apparently, Chauvin did not attach any importance to the manuscript.

It is not possible to trace back the whole history of the manuscript from the death of al-Maqrīzī up to its acquisition by Chauvin. Nevertheless, some clues permit us to imagine broadly how it travelled and through what hands. It has been recently established that in the preserved autograph manuscripts of *al-Muqaffá*[13] full biographies have been added by another, anonymous, hand on folios left blank by al-Maqrīzī, this hand being attributed to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī.[14] Ibn Ḥajar is one of the few historians whose holograph manuscripts have been preserved, and thus a comparison with them can easily be made, which confirms the attribution. On the other hand, the greatest part of one of the Leiden copies (MS or. 14533) served as the original for a copy made in the seventeenth century which is found in Istanbul (Süleymaniye MS Pertev 496), but the copyist was not deceived and identified Ibn Ḥajar's hand, indicating in his copy that this particular biography was Ibn Ḥajar′s work.[15] Coming back to the *codex leodiensis,* I observed a note on fol. 155r in a hand difficult to read, which shows great similarity to that found in the manuscripts of *al-Muqaffá.* Since it has been corroborated that these had been in Ibn Ḥajar′s possession, it would not therefore be surprising that most of al-Maqrīzī's books, his *tarikah,* passed to his contemporary after his death. I may accordingly conclude that until 852/1449, the date of Ibn Ḥajar's death, the manuscript was still in Egypt. There is then a huge gap during which we do not know who owned the manuscript.

On fol. 4r, in the upper margin, two notations of ownership are visible. The first reads as follows:

ملك الفقير إلى الله تعالى محمد مرتضى الحسيني غفر عنه في سنة ١١٧٧

This owner can be identified as Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn

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[13] Leiden MSS or. 1366a, 1366b, 3075, 14533, and Paris MS arabe 2144.

[14] See. J. J. Witkam, ″Les autographes d'al-Maqrīzī,″ in *Le manuscrit arabe et la codicologie*, ed. Ahmed-Chouqui Binebine (Rabat, 1994), 95.

[15] See ibid., 96.

'Abd al-Razzāq Murtaḍá al-Ḥusaynī al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790), the famous author of the *Tāj al-'Arūs,*[16] which means that at that date (1177/1763–64) the manuscript was still in Egypt. I had already noticed, when I was consulting catalogues for my own cataloguing work, that his name appeared several times as an owner, a fact indicating that he was a collector of rare books in his time.[17] The notebook was surely not the only autograph manuscript of al-Maqrīzī in his library, since, in a reference to the Ṭabarī family of Mecca in his *Tāj al-'Arūs* (Benghazi, n. d., 3:355), he cited al-Maqrīzī as follows: ″kadhā dhakarahu al-Maqrīzī fī ba'ḍ mu'allafātihi.″ But the data supplied by al-Zabīdī about this important family of the Holy City[18] do not appear in any of al-Maqrīzī's extant works. This raises a problem: where did al-Zabīdī find these details? Two answers may be given: either in an unknown work of al-Maqrīzī, a fact highly improbable as we are well informed, by himself and by his biographers, of all the books he composed, or maybe in another of his notebooks? Whatever the case, al-Zabīdī owned, or at least had access to, this manuscript.

Al-Zabīdī died in 1790 and the second notation of ownership provides us with a possible subsequent owner, either after his death or during his lifetime, which would mean that al-Zabīdī must have sold or donated the manuscript. This uncertainty is increased by the fact that no date has been appended to the name of the new owner. The inscription, almost illegible today, reads:

الحمد لله صار هذا الكتاب في نوبة الفقير إلى الله محمد بن عبد الكريم الفكون غفر له

The *nisbah* of this person (al-Fakkūn, read al-Faggūn) is mentioned in biographical dictionaries as belonging to an important family of *a'yān* from Constantine, currently situated in Algeria: the Banū Lafgūn.[19] One of its most important representatives

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[16]On him see Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden, 1949), S2:620 and 696 (Brockelmann mistakenly mentioned him under two entries); 'Umar Riḍá Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn* (Beirut, n. d.), 12:12 (where the same confusion is evident).

[17]Here are some of the manuscripts where a possession notation in al-Zabīdī's handwriting can be found: al-Fāsī, ″Dhayl al-Taqyīd (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub MS 198 *muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth*); Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, ″Taqrīb al-Tahdhīb″ (Dār al-Kutub MS 533 *tārīkh*); Ibn Abī Shaybah, ″Al-Muṣannaf fī al-Ḥadīth″ (Tunis, Dār al-Kutub al-Waṭanīyah MS 3483, vols. 1, 3–7). There is no doubt that other manuscripts that had been part of al-Zabīdī's library are to be found in other libraries.

[18]About them, see F. Bauden, ″Les Ṭabariyya: histoire d′une importante famille de la Mecque (fin XIIe–fin XVe siècle),″ in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras: Proceedings of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd International Colloquium Organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 1992, 1993 and 1994,* Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 73, ed. U. Vermeulen and D. De Smet (Leuven, 1995), 253–66 + 5 pl.

[19]On them, see H. Touati, *Entre Dieu et les hommes: Lettrés, saints et sorciers au Maghreb (17e*

was ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Faggūn (d. 1073/1663), who had been appointed to the coveted post of chief of the caravan of Maliki pilgrims to Mecca, a position which would be transmitted within the family for some time. Al-Ziriklī[20] speaks about him and specifies that he had a son named Muḥammad. At first, it is tempting to identify him with the Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm who put his owner's mark in the notebook, but according to the sources he died in 1114/1702.[21] This would mean that he owned the manuscript prior to al-Zabīdī, and that the notebook made a journey between Cairo, Constantine, and then Cairo again, which is highly improbable, even if we consider that manuscripts have always travelled widely in the Muslim world. I prefer to believe that this person is another member of the family who died after al-Zabīdī. My hypothesis is supported by the fact that one of the manuscripts owned by al-Zabīdī, besides the Liège manuscript, also bears the ownership mark of Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Faggūn.[22] This clue is insufficient in itself to prove my conviction unconditionally. What seems to me an unassailable argument lies in the Paris MS arabe 1535, a copy of Ibn Khaldūn's *Al-ʿIbar* (vol. 7). This copy was completed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Badr al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Faggūn on 3 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1179/13 May 1766 (fol. 160r). The name of the copyist is not important, except that he was from the same family, but the fact that on fol. 1r there is an ownership notation of Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Faggūn is decisive. Fortunately, the date of the copy (1766) allows us to fix a *terminus post quem* for this owner's mark and to establish that this person lived after that date, thus confirming that the manuscript was first in the possession of al-Zabīdī before it went to Constantine. The circumstances in which it passed from al-Zabīdī to this member of the Banū Lafgūn are not clear, although we have seen that the Banū Lafgūn were in charge of the pilgrimage caravan to Mecca each year. During his stay in Egypt, al-Faggūn could have bought al-Maqrīzī's notebook, as well as the Tunis manuscript, directly from al-Zabīdī, or from an heir after his death, unless he received them as a gift. In any event, the manuscript was in Algeria at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Constantine was conquered by the French in 1837, and the Paris manuscript of *al-ʿIbar* entered the collection of the then Bibliothèque Royale in 1838, through J. J. Caussin de Perceval. Did the

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siècle) (Paris, 1994), chapter 3, 71–110. I wish to express my gratitude to the author for providing me with this reference during one of our many stimulating conversations during a stay in Cairo in April 2000. The Library of the University of Liège holds a manuscript entitled ″Rasm Taqtaḍī Ithbāt Nasab al-Sayyid Abī Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Faggūn″ (MS 5439, fols. 43v–55r).

[20]Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *Al-Aʿlām* (Beirut, 1989), 4:56.

[21]See Touati, *Entre Dieu,* 72.

[22]The manuscript of Ibn Abī Shaybah′s ″Al-Muṣannaf fī al-Ḥadīth″ already mentioned (see above). See Ibrāhīm Shabbūḥ, *Al-Makhṭūṭ* (Tunis, 1989), 14–15.

Liège codex follow the same path? In 1904, Chauvin bought it from a sale catalogue written in French. I will refrain from jumping to conclusions about this last part of the history of the manuscript, but this element is disturbing.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript is composed of 209 folios, plus one fol. A at the beginning and one fol. B at the end. It was foliated at the time it was catalogued, but 4 folios were overlooked and have been numbered by me, with the number of the preceding folio accompanied by the word *bis* (47bis, 82bis, 124bis, 195bis). When I discovered the manuscript, it was in a terrible mess, as several folios, which were now loose leaves, and even a quire, had gotten out of order over time. Careful study allowed me to reorder the notebook completely, which gives the following rearrangement: fols. 4–86, 122, 121, 97–120, 205, 2, 196–204, 123, 87–96, 124–126, 3, 127–195bis, 1. The average size of a folio is 137 by 185 mm. Al-Maqrīzī used two colors of ink: black for the text and red for some titles and words within the texts. For some resumés, he also took the time to write the catchword in the lesser margin of the verso of the folios, and one notices particularly the marginal headlines that appear in one of the resumés. The manuscript has been trimmed, probably after al-Maqrīzī's death: the note inscribed by Ibn Ḥajar on fol. 155r has lost part of its text. This is confirmed by the fact that the autograph volumes of *Al-Muqaffá* were described by a reader during the last year of al-Maqrīzī's life (844/1440) as a ream *(rizmah)*.[23] There is no reason to believe that the notebook was worth a binding if one of his personal works was not. The binding which was provided for the notebook was produced in the east, but is of the kind called Occidental, which means without the traditional flap. The boards are decorated with marbled paper, while the spine is covered with brown leather.

The paper is of two different kinds. The first one is a good quality paper, of the Oriental type, glossy and creamy. The other is thicker and darker, and its surface is slightly rough. The most interesting feature is that the paper (of both types) had already been used: this can be deduced from inscriptions written in larger characters throughout the pages. I was able to identify them as being Mamluk chancery documents which had been cut into pieces by paper merchants, who sold them in the form of quires. These quires were in fact composed of scrap paper. I managed to reconstruct from the Liège manuscript five of these chancery documents and could date them precisely and link them to a particular event.[24]

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[23] See Witkam, "Les autographes d'al-Maqrīzī," 93–94.

[24] See the preliminary report on this aspect of my research on the notebook entitled "The Recovery of Mamlūk Chancery Documents in an Unsuspected Place," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*, ed. A. Levanoni and M. Winter (Leiden, in press). This is the prelude

Other samples had already been mentioned in the other autograph manuscripts of al-Maqrīzī,[25] but they had always been described merely as pieces of reused paper and were never paid close attention.

Description of the Content

The following description is divided into two sections: the first, which appears here, studies the epitomes, while the second, which will appear in a subsequent issue of this journal, will present the scattered notes. As I have tried to demonstrate elsewhere,[26] the notebook was composed progressively, year by year. At first, al-Maqrīzī wrote resumés for which he sometimes used several quires, sometimes not even one. The quires were put together at a time which cannot be fixed precisely, and the spaces that al-Maqrīzī had left blank were filled with notes. This did not necessarily take place after the quires were gathered, but probably both before and after. For this reason, the manuscript gives an impression of chaos at first glance, but this is not the case. In order to make the arrangement understandable, I have decided to follow the aforementioned division. In both sections, I have followed the physical order in which the resumés and the notes respectively appear. A serial number has been attributed to each item, running from I to XXII for the epitomes, and from XXIII to LXXI for the notes.

A. The Epitomes[27]

I. (quires I–III, fols. 4r–31v[28])

Title on fol. 4r, line 2: *[Mukhtār/Intiqā' min] Kitāb 'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*/Aḥmad ibn Abī al-Qāsim ibn Khalīfah al-Khazrajī al-Mutaṭabbib.

[مختار\انتقاء من] كتاب عيون الأنباء في طبقات الأطباء، جمع أحمد بن أبي القاسم بن خليفة الخزرجي المتطبب.

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to my forthcoming study which will be entitled *Maqriziana III: Scraps of Paper to the Rescue of History: The Reconstruction of Mamlūk Chancery Documents from the Reign of Sultan 'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'īl (743/1342–746/1345).*

[25]See the list of the manuscripts in Bauden, "The Recovery."

[26]See my "Maqriziana IV: Le carnet de notes d'al-Maqrīzī: l'apport de la codicologie à une meilleure compréhension de sa constitution," to appear in the proceedings of the Third International Conference on the Palaeography and Codicology of Islamic Manuscripts, which was held in Bologna in October 2000 (St. Petersburg, in press).

[27]I follow the form of the title and the name of the author given by al-Maqrīzī in the first part of each number. Proper identification is provided in the commentary. For reasons of space, bibliographical references for the identification of the authors have been restricted to the minimum. Full references will be found in the critical edition of the text, which is in preparation.

[28]On fol. 28, a narrow strip of paper has been cut vertically prior to the scribbling.


الحمد لله وحده وصلواته وسلامه على نبينا محمد واله واصحابه
هذا شيء اختصرته وكله انتقيته من كتاب عيون الانباء في طبقات
الاطباء جمع احمد بن ابي القسم بن خليفة الخزرجي المتطبب رحمه الله
وجود صناعة الطب فمنهم فقوم يقولون بقدمه وقوم بحدثه
وذلك مبني على القول بقدم الاجسام المنفعلة للطب او حدوثها
فالقايلون بحدثه قسمان منهم من يقول انه خلق مع خلق الانسان
ومنهم من يقول بل استخرج بعد وهم الجمهور وهولاء منهم من يقول
هو الهام من الله للناس وهم ابقراط وجميع اصحاب القياس مثل
اليونانيين ومنهم من يقول ان الناس استخرجوه ثم اختلف
هولاء فقال بعضهم استخرجه اهل مصر وقال اخرون هرمس
استخرج ساير الصنايع والفلسفة والطب وقال اخرون ان اهل
قولوس استخرجوها من الادوية التي الفتها القابلة لامراة الملك وكان
بها سوء ... وقال قوم ان اهل كوس شيئا وافر وجيا استخرجوها
وان هولاء اول من استخرج الزمر وكانوا يشفون بتلك الالحان
والايقاعات الام النفس وتشفى الام النفس ما تشفى به البدن
وقيل ان المستخرج لها الحكما من اهل قو وهي الجزيرة التي كان بها
ابقراط واباوه وذكر كشيوش لقدما ان الطب ظهر في ثلاث
جزاير في وسط الاقليم الرابع وهي رودس وقنيدس وقو
وقيل استخرجها الكلدانيون وقيل سحرة اليمن وقيل سحرة بابل او
سحرة فارس وقيل الهند وقيل الصقالبة وقيل اهل اقريطش ...

Folio 4r. Courtesy Bibliothèque de l´Université de Liège, ms. 2232.

Incipit (fol. 4r, lines 1–3):

الحمد لله وحده وصلوته وسلامه على نبينا محمد وآله وأصحابه
هذا شيء اخترته وكلام انتقيته من كتاب عيون الأنباء في طبقات الأطباء جمع أحمد بن أبي القاسم بن خليفة الخزرجي المتطبب رحمه الله.

وجود صناعة الطب قسمين فقوم يقولون بقدمه وقوم بحدثه [...] (عيون ١، ص ٤، سطر ١٦)

Fol. 6v	أسقلنبيوس (عيون ١، ص ١٥)
Fol. 8v	أفلاطن (عيون ١، ص ٢٣)
Fol. 9r	أبقراط (عيون ١، ص ٢٤)
Fol. 12v	دياسقوريدس (عيون ١، ص ٣٥
	بندقليس (عيون ١، ص ٣٦)
Fol. 13r	فيثغورس (عيون ١، ص ٣٧)
Fol. 16r	سقراط (عيون ١، ص ٤٣)
Fol. 20r	أفلاطون (عيون ١، ص ٤٩)
Fol. 22v	أرسطوطاليس (عيون ١، ص ٥٤)
Fol. 26v	جالينوس (عيون ١، ص ٧١)
Fol. 29r	محمد بن زكرياء أبو بكر الرازي (عيون ١، ص ٣٠٩)
Fol. 30r	أبو سليمن محمد بن طاهر بن بهرام السجستاني المنطقي (عيون ١، ص ٣٢١)
	محمد بن عمر بن الحسين فخر الدين الرازي (عيون ٢، ص ٢٣)

Explicit (fol. 31v, line 12):

انتهى الغرض المطلوب من تأريخ الأطباء والله الموفق

Commentary:
The source is Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū al-ʻAbbās Aḥmad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Khalīfah ibn Yūnus al-Saʻdī al-Khazrajī **Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʻah** (d. 668/1270), *Kitāb ʻUyūn al-Anbāʼ fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbāʼ*. We refer to the edition prepared by August Müller (Königsberg, 1884; reprint Farnborough, 1972). The work is quoted once in the *Khiṭaṭ* (1:229),[29] where it appears to be a citation regarding Pythagoras, which

[29]References are to the Būlāq edition. It is not mentioned in A. R. Guest, "A List of Writers, Books, and other Authorities mentioned by El Maqrīzi in his *Khiṭaṭ,*" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1902): 103–25, but it is in A. ʻAbd al-Majīd Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr* (Cairo, 1983), 2:91.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم رب زدني علما واعطني
برحمتك معارف وفهما وارزقني الفهم عنك والاصغا اليك ووفقني
للالتزام طاعتك والاقبال عليك حتى لا تبتغي خيرة في سوى ارادتك بلغ
ولا يحتجب عني عبادتك اللهم وصل على عبدك ونبيك وامين وحيك
ورسولك محمد الذي ختمت به الانبيا والمرسلين وفضلته على الكافه
اجمعين وعلى اله واصحابه والتابعين صلوة باقية الى يوم الدين
وبعد فاني قاصد تلخيص كتاب فتوح مصر واخبارها من تاليف
عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن عبد الحكم رحمه الله مع الاجتهاد في سرد ما
حواه من الاخبار التي تدعو الحاجة اليها وترك ما لا يحتاج اليه الان
من ذلك كنحو ذكر الدور والمساجد التي درست وكذكر الاسانيد
في الاخبار غير النبوية وشبه هذا والله اسال تيسير ذلك بمنه وكرمه
عن عبد الله بن عمرو بن العاص قال خلقت الدنيا على صورة الطير موقع البلاد من الارض
براسه وصدره وجناحيه وذنبه فالراس مكة والمدينة واليمن
والصدر الشام ومصر والجناح الايمن العراق وخلف العراق
امة يقال لها واق وخلف واق امة يقال لها واق واق وخلف
ذلك من الامم ما لا يعلمه الا الله والجناح الايسر السند والهند
وخلف الهند امة يقال لها ناسك وخلف ناسك امة يقال لها منسك
وخلف ذلك من الامم ما لا يعلمه الا الله والذنب من ذات الحمام
الى مغرب الشمس وشر ما في الطير الذنب ذكر وصية رسول
الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بالقبط قال اشهب بن عبد العزيز وعبد عبد الرحمن
الله بن مسلمة عن مالك عن ابن شهاب عن ابن كعب بن مالك ان
رسول

Folio 37v. Courtesy Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège, ms. 2232.

means that it is part of the epitome under discussion. It is highly probable that more passages have been used by al-Maqrīzī in the *Khiṭaṭ,* but this remains to be investigated.

II. (quires IV–VIII, fols. 37v–81v[30])

Title on fol. 37v, lines 7–8: *Talkhīṣ Kitāb Futūḥ Miṣr wa-Akhbārihā*/ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʻAbd Allāh ibn ʻAbd al-Ḥakam.

تلخيص كتاب فتوح مصر وأخبارها من تأليف عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن عبد الحكم.

Incipit (fol. 37v, lines 1–11):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم رب زدني علما وأعطني برحمتك معارف وفهما وارزقني الفهم عنك والاصغاء اليك [...] وبعد فإني قاصد تلخيص كتاب فتوح مصر وأخبارها من تأليف عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن عبد الحكم رحمه الله مع الاجتهاد في سرد ما حواه من الأخبار التي تدعو الحاجة إليها وترك ما لا يحتاج إليه الآن من ذلك كنحو ذكر الدور والمساجد التي دثرت وكذكر الأسانيد في الأخبار غير النبوية وشبه هذا والله أسأل تيسير ذلك بمنه وكرمه.

First quotation (fol. 37v, lines 12–13):

عن عبد الله بن عمر بن العاص قال خلقت الدنيا على خمس صور على صورة الطير برأسه [...]
(فتوح، ص ١)

List of the chapters *(dhikr):*

Fol. 37v	ذكر وصية رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بالقبط (فتوح، ص ٢)
Fol. 40r	ذكر سبب نزول القبط بمصر وسكناها بها (فتوح، ص ٧)
Fol. 42v	ذكر استنباط الفيوم (فتوح، ص ١٤)
Fol. 47bis v	عمل البرابي (فتوح، ص ٢٧)
Fol. 49r	ذكر دخول بخت نصر (فتوح، ص ٣١)
Fol. 52r	ذكر بناء الإسكندرية (فتوح، ص ٣٧)
Fol. 57r	ذكر كتاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم إلى المقوقس (فتوح، ص ٤٥)
Fol. 59r	ذكر سبب دخول عمرو بن العاص مصر (فتوح، ص ٥٣)
Fol. 60v	ذكر فتح مصر (فتوح، ص ٥٥)
Fol. 71v	ذكر من قال إن مصر فتحت بصلح (فتوح، ص ٨٤)
Fol. 73r	ذكر من قال فتحت مصر عنوة (فتوح، ص ٨٨)

[30]On fol. 55r, al-Maqrīzī wrote only 3 lines of text, leaving the rest and the verso blank. He repeated this on fol. 56, where he wrote only 9 lines on the recto and the verso was left blank. Later on, he used these spaces to write down notes quoted from other sources. For their description, see numbers XXXI–XXXIV.

Fol. 74r	ذكر فتح الفيوم (فتوح ص ١٦٩)
Fol. 74v	كتاب الخطط (فتوح، ص ٩١)
Fol. 78r	ذكر المقطم (فتوح، ص ١٥٦)
Fol. 79v	ذكر أمر عمرو الناس بالخروج إلى الريف (فتوح، ص ١٣٩)
Fol. 81r	ذكر النيل (فتوح، ص ١٤٩)

Explicit (fol. 81v, line 21):
[...] فلما قدم الكتاب على عمرو فتح البطاقة فإذا فيها من عبد الله (فتوح، ص ١٥٠، سطر ١٨) [ends abruptly]

Commentary:
The source is Abū al-Qāsim ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʻAbd Allāh **Ibn ʻAbd al-Ḥakam** (d. 257/871), *Kitāb Futūḥ Miṣr wa-Akhbārihā*.
We rely on the edition published by Charles C. Torrey under the title *The History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain known as the Futūḥ Miṣr of Ibn ʻAbd al-Ḥakam, Edited from the Manuscripts in London, Paris and Leyden* (New Haven, 1922; Leiden, 1920). It was already well known that this source was used extensively by al-Maqrīzī for the *Khiṭaṭ,* where the name of the author as well as the title of the book is mentioned several times.[31] Indeed, the major part of this epitome is found in the *Khiṭaṭ* verbatim, without modifications in the wording. Comparison with the original source shows, however, some discrepancies, sometimes indicated by Torrey in his *apparatus criticus,* sometimes not.[32] The resumé ends, as it seems, abruptly within the story of the virgin who was sacrificed by the Copts in the Nile to induce its flood. This impression is strengthened by the fact that another hand added at a later date the word *kharm* (lacuna) in the lower margin. Another feature supports this idea: a clear examination of the resumé indicates that al-Maqrīzī wrote the catchword in the lesser margin of the verso of each folio, a custom which is generally observed in Islamic codicology, but this is not the case with the last folio of the resumé. Moreover, the last part of the resumé has been written on the fourth bi-folio of the quire, which means that, in this case, three folios remained blank at the end of the quire. These blank folios were filled with various notes at a later stage.[33] All this leads us to believe that al-Maqrīzī really ended his epitome of the *Futūḥ Miṣr* at this point, perhaps because the last

[31]See Guest, ″A List of Writers,″ 111; Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 2:82, 92.
[32]A detailed study of this epitome with the quotations found in the *Khiṭaṭ* is in preparation and will be published under the title ″Maqriziana V: Ibn ʻAbd al-Ḥakam and al-Maqrīzī.″
[33]See nos. XXXV–XXXVII, XXXIX–XL.

story had already been quoted previously,[34] though the source differs.[35] Nevertheless, one fact contradicts this impression : the whole story of the sacrifice of the virgin is to be read in the *Khiṭaṭ* (1:58)! At this point, several hypotheses may be conjectured: *(a)* the manuscript of the *Futūḥ* used by al-Maqrīzī ended abruptly at the point where he ended the resumé; *(b)* like *(a),* but he found a more complete copy later; *(c)* al-Maqrīzī decided to terminate the resumé at this point because nothing more interested him in the last parts of the book. The present state of my research makes me think that a complete version of the epitome did not exist, thus favoring the third hypothesis.

III. (quire X, fols. 121r–121v, 97r–98v)
No title. Fourteen *faṣl*s dealing with various subjects of the Egyptian economy.
List of the *faṣl*s:

Fol. 121r	١) فصل: كان مروان بن الحكم يكتب لعثمان بن عفان [...] (قوانين، ص ٦٤)
Fol. 121r	٢) فصل الذي كان يؤخذ بمصر من الجوالي (قوانين، ص ٣١٨)
Fol. 121r	٣) فصل الذي جرت العادة بشرائه للمتجر السلطاني (قوانين، ص ٣٢٧)
Fol. 121r	٤) فصل الشب (قوانين، ص ٣٢٨)
Fols. 121r–121v	٥) فصل النطرون (قوانين، ص ٣٣٤)
Fol. 121v	٦) فصل دار الضرب بالقاهرة والاسكندرية (قوانين، ص ٣٣١)
Fol. 121v	٧) فصل دار العيار (قوانين، ص ٣٣٣)
Fol. 97r	٨) فصل: كان بمصر الحبس الجيوشي بالبرين الشرقي والغربي [...] (قوانين، ص ٣٣٦)
Fol. 97r	٩) فصل الأسطول (قوانين، ص ٣٣٩)
Fol. 97v	١٠) فصل مقرر الجسور (قوانين، ص ٣٤٢)
Fol. 97v	١١) فصل موظف الأتبان بالديار المصرية (قوانين، ص ٣٤٤)
Fols. 97v–98r	١٢) فصل الخراج بالوجه القبلي من الديار المصرية (قوانين، ص ٣٤٤)
Fol. 98r	١٣) فصل القرظ (قوانين، ص ٣٤٧)
Fol. 98r	١٤) فصل: كانت قطيعة خراج الفدان القمح [...] (قوانين، ص ٢٥٨)

Commentary:
Most of this resumé was used by al-Maqrīzī in one place (*Khiṭaṭ* 1:109–11)

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[34]See no. XXVI.

[35]I still must establish whether or not there are quotations of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's *Futūḥ Miṣr* in the *Khiṭaṭ* that correspond to the last parts of the book which are missing in al-Maqrīzī's resumé. This matter will be dealt with in ″Maqriziana V.″

without indicating the source. I was able to identify the source as Abū al-Makārim al-As'ad ibn Muhadhdhab al-Khaṭīr **Ibn Mammātī** (d. 606/1209), *Qawānīn al-Dawāwīn*. References are made to the edition of 'Azīz Suryāl 'Aṭīyah (Cairo, 1943). This work is cited twice in the *Khiṭaṭ*, but only for other passages.[36] These *faṣl*s, like the entire notebook, were transcribed on the spot, while al-Maqrīzī read the source, and the fact that most of them appear at almost the same place in the *Khiṭaṭ* indicates that al-Maqrīzī was at a preliminary stage of writing.

IV. (quire X, fols. 98v–100r)

No title. Eight *faṣl*s concerning the geographical location of Egypt and its wonders, the marvels of the cities of Manf [Memphis] and al-Faramā [Pelusium], the *kharāj* and the Nile.

List of the *faṣl*s and incipit:

Fol. 98v

١) فصل: مصر جعلها الله متوسطة الدنيا وهي في الإقليم الثالث والرابع سلمت من حر الإقليم الأول والثاني ومن برد الإقليم السادس والسابع [...]

Fols. 98v–99r

٢) فصل: مصر ثمانون كورة ليس فيها كورة إلا وفيها طرائف وعجائب من أنواع البر والأبنية والطعام والشراب والفاكهة [...]

Fol. 99r

٣) فصل: مدينة منف ذات العجائب بها الأبنية والآثار والدفائن وكنوزها لا تحصى [...]

Fol. 99r

٤) فصل: الفرما هي أكثر عجائب وأقدم آثارا كان منها طريق إلى جزيرة قبرص في البر فغلب عليه البحر [...]

Fols. 99r–100r

٥) فصل في خراج مصر: جباها عمرو بن العاص عشرة آلاف ألف دينار فكتب اليه عمر بن الخطاب [...]

Fols. 100r–100v

٦) فصل النيل: انبعاثه من جبل القمر وراء خط الاستواء من عين تجري منها عشرة أنهار [...]

Fol. 100v

٧) فصل: وجعل الله مصر حاجزا بين بحر الروم وبحر الصين والحاجز بينهما مسيرة ليلة واحدة [...]

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[36]Not mentioned in Guest, "A List of Writers," but mentioned in Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 2:93.

Fols. 100v–101r

٨) فصل: نقل من خط القاضي الفاضل ما صورته وجد في كتاب قبطي باللغة الصعيدية مما نقل إلى اللغة العربية أن مبلغ ما كان يستخرج لفرعون مصر [...]

Commentary:

All these *faṣl*s, except no. 3, appear extensively in *Khiṭaṭ* as follows: 1 and 2 in *Khiṭaṭ* 1:26, in this order; 4 in *Khiṭaṭ* 1:211, in this order too; 5 in *Khiṭaṭ* 1:98; 6 in *Khiṭaṭ* 1:53; 7 in *Khiṭaṭ* 1:212; and finally 8 in *Khiṭaṭ* 1:75. For no. 3, cf. *Khiṭaṭ* 1:134 sqq. In the notebook, it is possible to imagine that he wrote them at one sitting, as if they came from the same source. However, sometimes in the *Khiṭaṭ*, he identified, carelessly as usual, the original sources. It turns out that numbers 4 and 7 were taken from a work by Ibn al-Kindī,[37] and it may be presumed that number 3 came from the same source.[38] Although six *faṣl*s have the same origin, it would be untenable to attribute the two remaining to the same source and would constitute an anachronism, as number 8 is quoted from a work by al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200, on him see number XXVIII), the *Taʿlīq al-Mutajaddidāt,* also titled as such with some variations by al-Maqrīzī.[39] But in the *Khiṭaṭ*, the work is attributed to al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī al-Asadī![40] Finally, for number 6, al-Maqrīzī indicates that it is to be found in Qudāmah ibn Jaʿfar's *Kitāb al-Kharāj,*[41] but it is not to be found there word for word. A careful examination of the text appearing in the

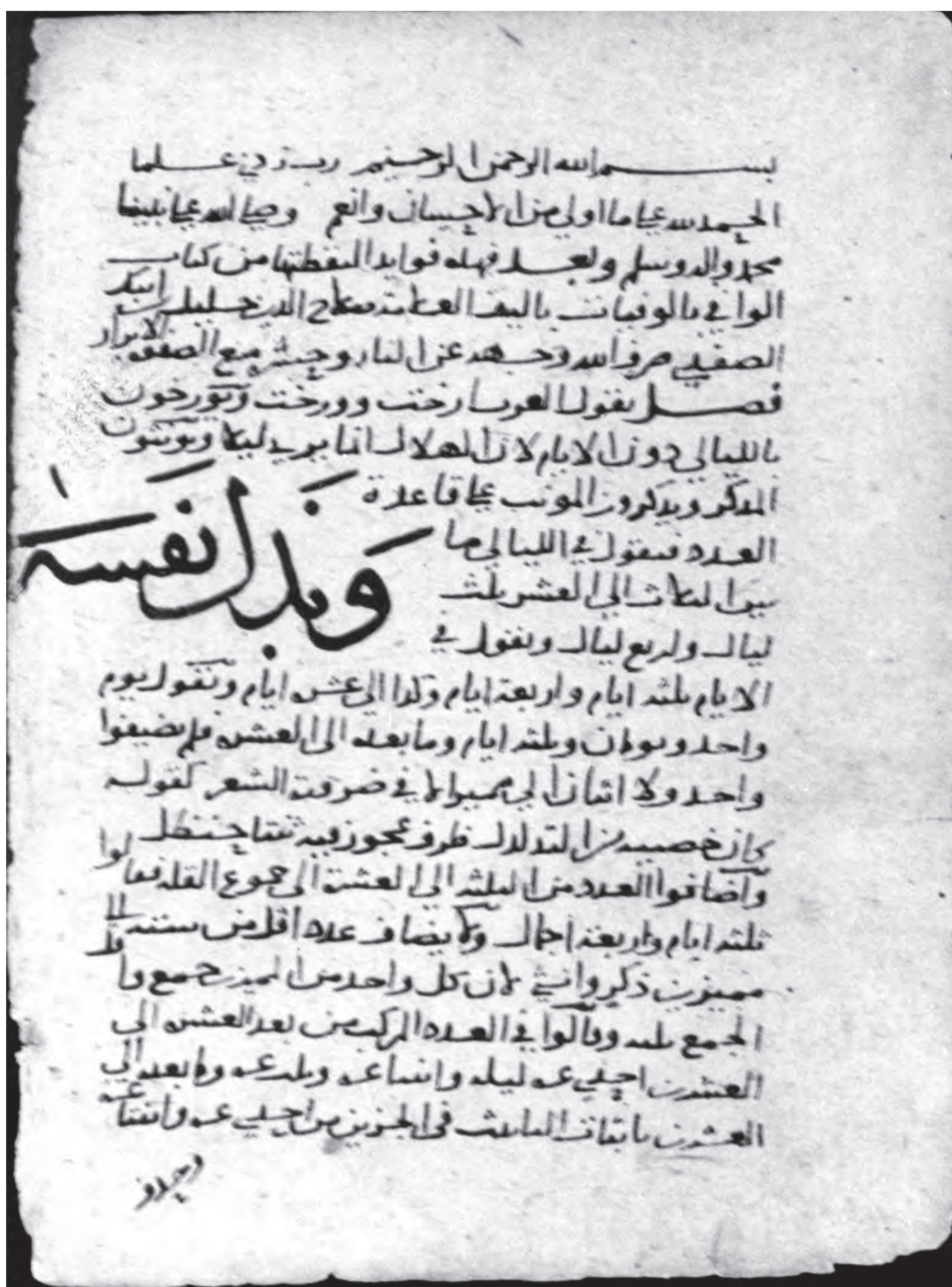
[37]ʿUmar ibn Abī ʿUmar Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf Ibn al-Kindī (date of death unknown), the son of al-Kindī (d. after 350/961). He is the author of a *Faḍāʾil Miṣr,* published by Oestrup under the title *Beskrivelse af Ägypten* (Copenhagen, 1896). G. Wiet, in his edition of the *Khiṭaṭ* (4:29–30), quoted the book and insisted that he found what corresponds to our *faṣl* 4 in the notebook in Oestrup's edition (on pp. 232–33). The *Faḍāʾil Miṣr* is cited on several occasions by al-Maqrīzī. See Guest, "A List of Writers," 114; Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 2:92.

[38]Indeed, we find texts 3 and 4, with the same wording, in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān* (Beirut, 1968), 4:256 (s.v. al-Faramā) and vol. 5:214 (s.v. Manf). Yāqūt could not be al-Maqrīzī's source for these passages, because al-Maqrīzī is more complete in his quotations than Yāqūt. It thus seems that Yāqūt took these data from Ibn al-Kindī's text as well. After having consulted recently a newer edition of the *Faḍāʾil Miṣr* (ed. Ibrāhīm Aḥmad al-ʿAdawī and ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar, Cairo-Beirut, 1971), I have been able to identify clearly numbers 1–5 and 7 as coming directly from this source (respectively on pp. 45, 47, 51, 52, 54, 67 and in this same order).

[39]*Al-Mutajaddidāt*, *Mutajaddidāt al-Ḥawādith*, *al-Muyāwamāt*. See Guest, "A List of Writers," 110; Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 2:121.

[40]This source is mentioned neither by Guest, "A List of Writers," nor by Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr.*

[41]Abū al-Faraj Qudāmah ibn Jaʿfar ibn Qudāmah al-Baghdādī (d. 320/932), *Kitāb al-Kharāj wa-Ṣināʿat al-Kitābah,* ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Zabīdī (Baghdad, 1981), 151. This source is quoted twice by al-Maqrīzī in the *Khiṭaṭ*. See Guest, "A List of Writers," 117; Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 2:82.



Folio 101v. Courtesy Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège, ms. 2232.

Khiṭaṭ demonstrates that it comes from an indirect source that is probably al-Nuwayrī's (d. 733/1333) *Nihāyat al-Arab,*[42] 1:262–64. However, the text present in the resumé, although containing the same data and almost the same phrasing, contains some discrepancies from the final version found in the *Khiṭaṭ*. This could mean that the source was not al-Nuwayrī, even if ultimately it is from this source that al-Maqrīzī made the citation.[43] I cannot help but think that this section was written at a preliminary stage in the redaction of the *Khiṭaṭ,* and the order of the *faṣl*s has changed in the final version.

V. (quires XI–XIII, IX, fols. 101v–120v, 205, 2,[44] 196r–204v, 87r–96v[45])

Title on fol. 101v, lines 3–5: *Fawā'id [Multaqaṭah[46]] min Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt*/Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī.

فوائد [ملتقطة] من كتاب الوافي بالوفيات، تأليف العلامة صلاح الدين خليل بن أيبك الصفدي

Incipit (fol. 101v, lines 1–5):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، رب زدني علما. الحمد لله على ما أولى من الإحسان وأنعم وصلى الله على نبينا محمد وآله وسلم.

وبعد فهذه فوائد التقطتها من كتاب الوافي بالوفيات تأليف العلامة صلاح الدين خليل بن أيبك الصفدي صرف الله وجهه عن النار وحشره مع الصفوة الأبرار [...]

List of the *faṣl*s and the biographies:

Fols. 101v–102v

فصل: تقول العرب أرخت وورخت ويؤرخون بالليالي دون الأيام لأن الهلال إنما يرى ليلا (الوافي ١، ص ١٦)

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[42]Cairo, 1923.

[43]The same passage found in al-Nuwayrī and the *Khiṭaṭ* appears in al-Suyūṭī's *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah,* ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1968), 2:347–49, 355–56, where al-Suyūṭī declares that the passages were taken from the *Mabāhij al-Fikar* by Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyá al-Waṭwāṭ al-Kutubī (d. 718/1318). See the facsimile of MS Fātiḥ 4116 published by F. Sezgin under the title *Encyclopædia of Four Natural Sciences,* 2 vols. (Frankfurt, 1990). It is highly probable that the *Mabāhij al-Fikar* was indeed the source used by al-Maqrīzī for the resumé (see no. LXX).

[44]A large vertical strip of paper was removed from fol. 2, prior to al-Maqrīzī's scribbling.

[45]This quire was placed between quires VIII and X; it was bound there and cannot be moved physically, until the manuscript has been restored. It is clear, however, that its orginal position was after quire XIII, which ends with biographies of those whose *ism* is Aḥmad. This quire begins with biographies of those whose *ism* is Ismā'īl.

[46]Al-Maqrīzī speaks in the first person: *fawā'id iltaqaṭtuhā*.

Fols. 102v–103r

فصل تقول للعشرة وما دونها خلون ولما فوق العشرة خلت ومضت ومن بعد العشرين لتسع أن بقين بلفظ الشك (الوافي ١، ص ٢٠)

Fols. 103r–104r

١) محمد بن محمد بن علي بن محمد بن سليم المصري الصاحب تاج الدين أبو عبد الله بن الصاحب فخر الدين بن الوزير بهاء الدين بن حنا (ت ٧٠٧، الوافي ١\١٤٦ و ص ٢١٧)

Fols. 104r–104v

٢) محمد بن محمد بن عبد الرحمن بن يوسف التونسي ركن الدين أبو عبد الله الجعفري التونسي المعروف بان القويع (ت ٧٣٨، الوافي ١\١٥٩، ص ٢٣٨)

Fols. 104v–105v

٣) محمد بن محمد بن محمد بن أحمد بن سيد الناس فتح الدين أبو الفتح اليعمري الربعي (ت ٧٣٤، الوافي ٢\١٩٨، ص ٢٨٩)

Fols. 105v–106v

٤) محمد بن محمد بن محمد بن الحسن بن أبي الحسن بن صالح بن علي بن يحيى بن طاهر بن محمد بن الخطيب أبي يحيى عبد الرحيم بن نباتة الفارقي الأصل المصري المولد الحذاقي الشافعي جمال الدين أبو بكر الأديب الناظم (ت ٧٦٨، الوافي ١\١٩٩، ص ٣١١)

Fols. 106v–107r

٥) محمد بن إبرهيم بن سعد الله بن جماعة بن علي بن جماعة بن حازم بن صخر بدر الدين أبو عبد الله الكناني الحموي (ت ٧٣٣، الوافي ٢\٢٦٨، ص ١٨)

Fols. 107r–107v

٦) محمد بن إبرهيم بن ساعد شمس الدين أبو عبد الله الأنصاري المعروف بابن الأكفاني السنجاري المولد والأصل المصري الدار (ت ٧٤٩، الوافي ٢\٢٧٥، ص ٢٥)

Fols. 107v–108v

٧) محمد بن أحمد بن عثمن بن قايماز شمس الدين أبو عبد الله الذهبي (ت ٧٤٨، الوافي ٢\٥٢٣، ص ١٦٣)

Fols. 108v–109r

٨) محمد بن الحسين بن رزين بن موسى بن عيسى بن موسى بن نصر الله تقي الدين أبو عبد الله الحموي العامري (ت ٦٨٠، الوافي ٣\٨٧٩، ص ١٨)

Fol. 109r

٩) محمد بن دانيال بن يوسف الخزاعي الموصلي شمس الدين (ت ٧١٠، الوافي ٣\٩٥١، ص ٥١)

Fols. 109r–109v

١٠) محمد بن سعيد بن حماد بن محسن بن عبد الله بن حياني بن صنهاج بن ملال الصنهاجي شرف الدين أبو عبد الله (ت ٦٩٦–٦٩٧، الوافي ٣\١٠٤٥، ص ١٠٥)

Fol. 109v

١١) محمد بن عبد البر بن يحيى بن علي بن تمام بهاء الدين أبو البقاء بن القاضي سديد الدين السبكي الأنصاري الشافعي (ت ؟، الوافي ٣\١١٩٩، ص ٢١٠)

Fols. 110r–110v

١٢) محمد بن عبد الرحمن بن عمر جلال الدين أبو عبد الله القزويني (ت ٧٣٩، الوافي ٣\١٢٥٥، ص ٢٤٢)

Fol. 110v

١٣) محمد بن عبد الرحيم بن عمر الباجربقي الخزرجي (ت ٧٢٤، الوافي ٣\١٢٦٩، ص ٢٤٩)

Fol. 111r

١٤) محمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن علي أبو المكارم شرف الدين الصفراوي الإسكندري المصري الشافعي المعروف بابن عين الدولة (ت ٦٣٩، الوافي ٣\١٤٣٣، ص ٣٥٢)

Fols. 111r–111v

١٥) محمد بن عبد الله بن عبد الظاهر بن نشوان بن عبد الظاهر فتح الدين ابن محيي الدين الجذامي المصري (ت ٦٩١، الوافي ٣\١٤٤٣، ص، ٣٦٦)

Fols. 111v–112r

١٦) محمد بن عبد الله بن إبرهيم الشهير بالمرشدي (ت ٧٣٧، الوافي ٣\١٤٤٩، ص ٣٧٢)

Fols. 112r–113r

١٧) محمد بن عثمن بن أبي الرجاء شمس الدين التنوخي ابن السلعوس (ت ٦٩٣، الوافي ٤\١٥٥٥، ص ٨٦)

Fol. 113r

١٨) محمد بن عثمن بن أبي الحسن شمس الدين بن صفي الدين الأنصاري الحنفي ابن الحريري الدمشقي (ت ٧٢٨، الوافي ٤\١٥٥٩، ص ٩٠)

Fols. 113r–114r

١٩) محمد بن علي بن محمد بن أحمد بن عبد الله محيي الدين الطائي الحاتمي الأندلسي ابن العربي (ت ٦٣٨، الوافي ٤\١٧١٣، ص ١٧٣)

Fols. 114r–115v

٢٠) محمد بن علي بن وهب بن مطيع تقي الدين أبو الفتح بن دقيق العيد القشيري المنفلوطي المصري (ت ٧٠٢، الوافي ٤\١٧٤١، ص ١٩٣)

Fols. 115v–116v

٢١) محمد بن عمر بن مكي بن عبد الصمد صدر الدين ابن المرحل ويعرف في الشام بابن وكيل بيت المال المصري الأصل العثماني الشافعي (ت ٧١٦، الوافي ٤\١٨٠٢، ص ٢٦٤)

Fol. 116v

٢٢) محمد بن عيسى بن حسن بن كر من ولد مروان الحمار شمس الدين أبو عبد الله الحنبلي (ت ٧٦٣، الوافي ٤\١٨٤٦، ص ٣٠٥)

Fols. 116v–117v

٢٣) محمد بن فضل الله القاضي فخر الدين (ت ٧٣٢، الوافي ٤\١٨٩٠، ص ٣٣٥)

Fols. 117v–120, 205, 2, 196v

٢٤) محمد بن قلاوون ناصر الدين أبو الفتح بن المنصور الملك الناصر (ت ٧٤١، الوافي ٤\١٩١٧، ص ٣٥٣)

Fols. 196v–197r

٢٥) محمد بن مكرم بن علي بن أحمد الأنصاري الرويفعي الإفريقي المصري جمال الدين أبو الفضل (ت ٧١١، الوافي ٥\٢٠٤٤، ص ٥٤)

Fol. 197r

٢٦) محمد بن ناماور بن عبد الملك أفضل الدين الخونجي (ت ٦٤٦، الوافي ٥\٢١٢١، ص ١٠٨)

Fols. 197v–198v

٢٧) محمد بن يوسف بن علي بن يوسف بن حيان أثير الدين أبو حيان الغرناطي (ت ٧٤٥، الوافي ٥\٢٣٤٥، ص ٢٦٧)

Fol. 198v

٢٨) محمد بن يوسف بن أحمد بن عبد الدائم محب الدين أبو عبد الله بن نجم الدين التيمي (ت ؟، الوافي ٥\٢٣٤٨، ص ٢٩٠)

Fol. 199r

٢٩) محمد جمال الدين الساوجي (ت بعد ٦٣٠، الوافي ٥\٢٣٥١، ص ٢٩٢)

Fols. 199r–200v

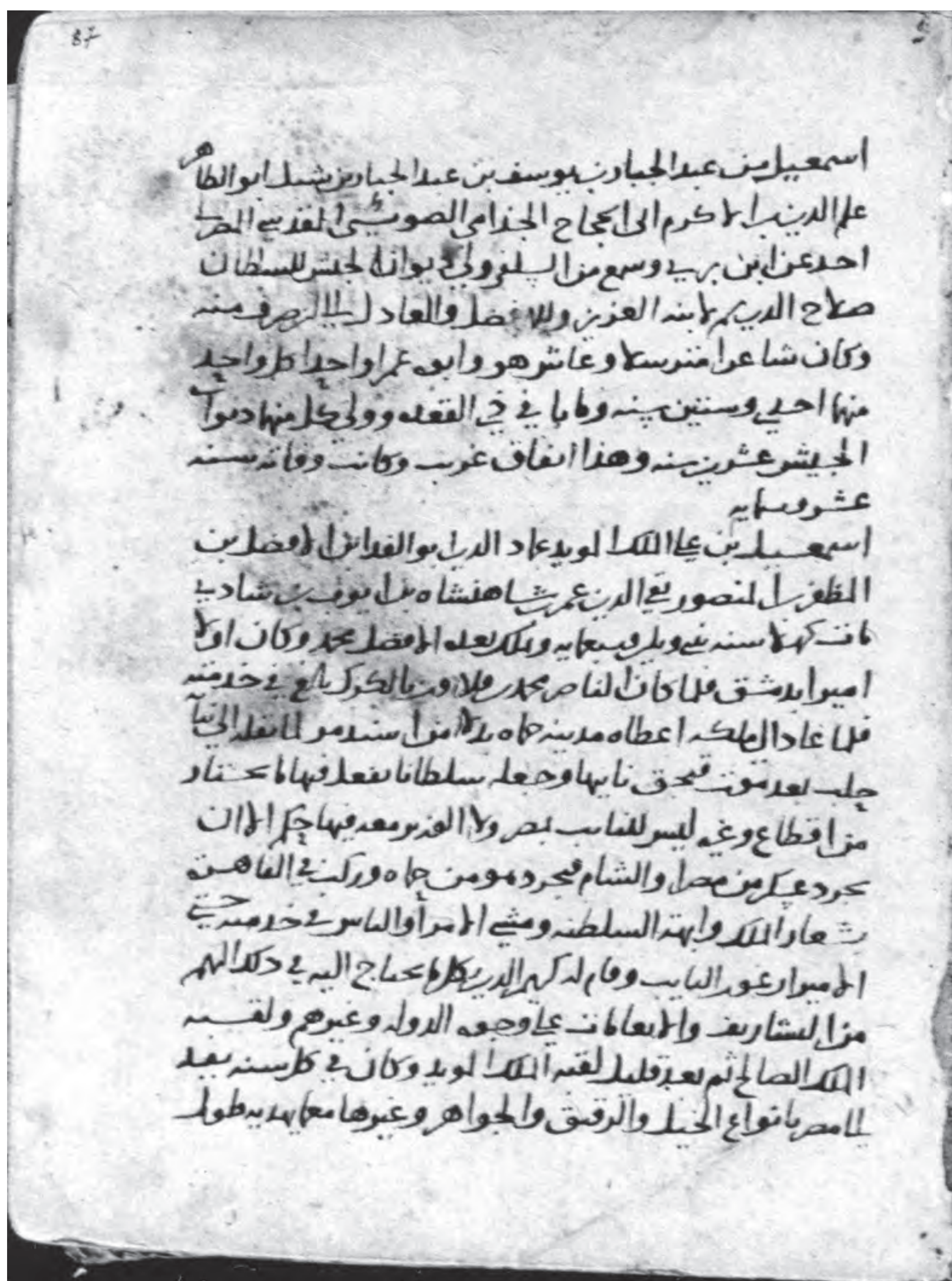
٣٠) إبرهيم بن أحمد جمال الدين أبو إسحق بن المغربي (ت ٧٥٦، الوافي ٥\٢٣٨٨، ص ٣١٤)

Fol. 200v

٣١) إبرهيم بن عبد الله بن هبة الله بن مرزوق صفي الدين العسقلاني (ت ٦٥٩، الوافي ٦\٢٤٧٣، ص ٣٩)

Fol. 201r

٣٢) إبرهيم بن عرفات بن صالح زين الدين بن أبي المنى القبابي (ت ٧٤٤، الوافي ٦\٢٤٩٥، ص ٥٥)



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اسمعيل بن عبد الجبار بن يوسف بن عبد الجبار بن شبل ابو الطاهر
علم الدين ابن ابي الكرم ابي النجاح الجذامي الصوفي المقدسي المصري
احد عن ابن بري وسمع من السلفي وولي ديوان الجيش للسلطان
صلاح الدين ثم لابنه العزيز ثم للافضل والعادل الى ان صرف منه
وكان شاعرا متوسطا وعاش هو وابوه عمرا واحدا كل واحد
منهما احدى وستين سنة ومات في القعدة وولي كل منهما ديوان
الجيش عشرين سنة وهذا اتفاق غريب وكانت وفاته سنة
عشرين وستماية
اسمعيل بن علي الملك المويد عماد الدين ابو الفدا بن الافضل بن
المظفر بن المنصور تقي الدين عمر بن شاهنشاه بن ايوب بن شادي
مات كهلا سنة ... وملك بعده الافضل محمد وكان اولا
اميرا بدمشق فلما كان الناصر محمد بن قلاون بالكرك بالغ في خدمته
فلما عاد الى ملكه اعطاه مدينة حماه بعد امرا سنة من انتقالها الى بيت
حلب بعد موت ... فحقق نيابتها وجعله سلطانا يفعل فيها ما يختار
من اقطاع وغيره ليس للنايب بمصر ولا الغير معه فيها حكم الا ان
تجرد عسكر من مصر والشام فيجرد معهم من حماه وركب في القاهرة
بشعار الملك وابهة السلطنة ومشي الامرا والناس في خدمته حتى
الامير ارغون النايب وقام له كريم الدين بكلما يحتاج اليه في ذلك كله
من التشاريف والانعامات على وجوه الدولة وغيرهم ولقبه
الملك الصالح ثم بعد قليل لقبه الملك المويد وكان في كل سنة يبعث
الى مصر بانواع الخيل والرقيق والجواهر وغيرها مما يهديه طول

Folio 87r. Courtesy Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège, ms. 2232.

Fols. 201r–201v

٣٣) إبرهيم بن لقمان بن أحمد بن محمد بن فضلان أبو إسحق فخر الدين الشيباني الإسعردي (ت ٦٩٣، الوافي ٦\٢٥٢٧، ص ٩٧)

Fol. 201v

٣٤) إبرهيم بن معضاد بن شداد برهان الدين الجعبري (ت ٦٨٧، الوافي ٦\٢٥٩٢، ص ١٤٧)

Fol. 201v

٣٥) إبرهيم بن لاجين بن عبد الله برهان الدين الرشيدي (ت ٧٤٩، الوافي ٦\٢٦١٤، ص ١٦٤)

Fols. 201v–202r

٣٦) إبرهيم الحائك ويقال الحجار والمعمار غلام النوري المصري (ت ؟، الوافي ٦\٢٦٣٣، ص ١٧٣)

Fols. 202r–202v

٣٧) إبرهيم جمال الدين جمال الكفاة وابن خالة النشو (ت ٧٤٥، الوافي ٦\٢٦٣٦، ص ١٨٠)

Fol. 202v

٣٨) أحمد بن إدريس شهاب الدين الصنهاجي القرافي (ت ٦٨٢، الوافي ٦\٢٧٠٨، ص ٢٣٣)

Fol. 203r

٣٩) أحمد بن أبي بكر بن عزام بهاء الدين الأسواني المحتد الإسكندراني المولد (ت ٧٢٠، الوافي ٦\٢٧٦٥، ص ٢٧٠)

Fols. 203r–204v

٤٠) أحمد بن الحسن الامام الحاكم بأمر الله أمير المؤمنين أبو العباس بن الأمير أبي علي الحسن القبي بن أبي بكر بن علي بن المسترشد بن المستظهر العباسي (ت ؟، الوافي ٦\٢٨١٩، ص ٣١٧)

Fol. 204v

٤١) أحمد بن سعيد بن محمد تاج الدين بن شرف الدين بن شمس الدين بن الأثير الحلبي (ت ٦٧١، الوافي ٦\٢٩٠٦، ص ٣٩٢)

Fol. 87r

٤٢) إسمعيل بن عبد الجبار بن يوسف بن عبد الجبار بن شبل أبو الطاهر علم الدين الأكرم أبي الحجاج الجذامي الصويسي المقدسي المصري (ت ٦١٠، الوافي ٩\٤٠٤٣، ص ١٤١)

Fols. 87r–87v

٤٣) إسمعيل بن علي الملك المؤيد عماد الدين أبو الفداء بن الأفضل بن المظفر بن المنصور تقي الدين عمر بن شاهنشاه بن أيوب بن شادي (ت ٧٣٢، الوافي ٩\٤٠٨٥، ص ١٧٣)

Fol. 88r

٤٤) إسمعيل بن محمد بن قلاوون السلطان الملك الصالح بن الناصر بن المنصور عماد الدين أبو الفداء (ت ٧٤٦، الوافي ٩\٤١٢٣، ص ٢١٩)

Fols. 88r–88v

٤٥) إسمعيل بن محمد بن ياقوت الخواجا مجد الدين السلامي (ت ٧٤٣، الوافي ٩\٤١٢٤، ص ٢٢٠)

Fol. 88v

٤٦) أصلم الأمير بهاء الدين (ت ٧٤٦، الوافي ٩\٤٢١١، ص ٢٨٥)

Fols. 88v–89r

٤٧) أغرلو الأمير شجاع الدين (ت ٧٤٨، الوافي ٩\٤٢٢٥، ص ٢٩٤)

Fols. 89r–89v

٤٨) آقسنقر الفارقاني (ت ٦٧٦، الوافي ٩\٤٢٤٥، ص ٣١٠)

Fol. 89v

٤٩) آقسنقر السلاري (ت ٧٤٥، الوافي ٩\٤٢٤٧، ص ٣١٣)

Fols. 89v–90v

٥٠) آقوش الأفرم جمال الدين (ت بعد ٧٢٠، الوافي ٩\٤٢٦٥، ص ٣٢٦)

Fols. 91r–91v

٥١) آقوش الأشرفي الأمير جمال الدين (ت ٧٣٦، الوافي ٩\٤٢٦٧، ص ٣٣٦)

Fols. 91v–92r

٥٢) أكرم كريم الدين الصغير (ت ٧٢٦، الوافي ٩\٤٢٧٥، ص ٣٤٥)

Fols. 92r–92v

٥٣) الأكوز الناصري (ت ٧٣٨، الوافي ٩\٤٢٧٦، ص ٣٤٨)

Fol. 92v

٥٤) ألطنبغا المارداني الساقي الناصري (ت ٧٤٤، الوافي ٩\٤٢٩٢، ص ٣٦٥٤)

Fol. 92v

٥٥) ألطنبغا الجاولي (ت ٧٤٤، الوافي ٩\٤٢٩٣، ص ٣٦٦)

Fol. 93r

٥٦) ألماس (ت ٤-٧٣٣، الوافي ٩\٤٢٩٦، ٣٧٠)

Fols. 93r–93v

٥٧) ألملك الأمير سيف الدين (ت ٧٤٦، الوافي ٩\٤٢٩٧، ص ٣٧٢)

Fols. 93v–94r

٥٨) آنوك بن الناصر محمد بن قلاوون (ت ٧٤٠، الوافي ٩\٤٣٦٥، ص ٤٣١)

Fols. 94r–96v

٥٩) أيبك بن عبد الله الصالحي الملك المعز عز الدين التركماني (ت ٦٥٥، الوافي ٩\٤٤٣٠، ص ٤٦٩)

Fol. 96v

٦٠) أيدمر الخطيري (ت ٧٣٨، الوافي ١٠\٤٤٦١، ص ١٧)

Commentary:
The source is Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak **al-Ṣafadī** (d. 764/1363), *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafāyāt.* References are to the edition published beginning in 1949,[47] with mention of the date of death (preceded by *tā'*), the volume and the number of the biography in it, and finally the page on which the biography begins.

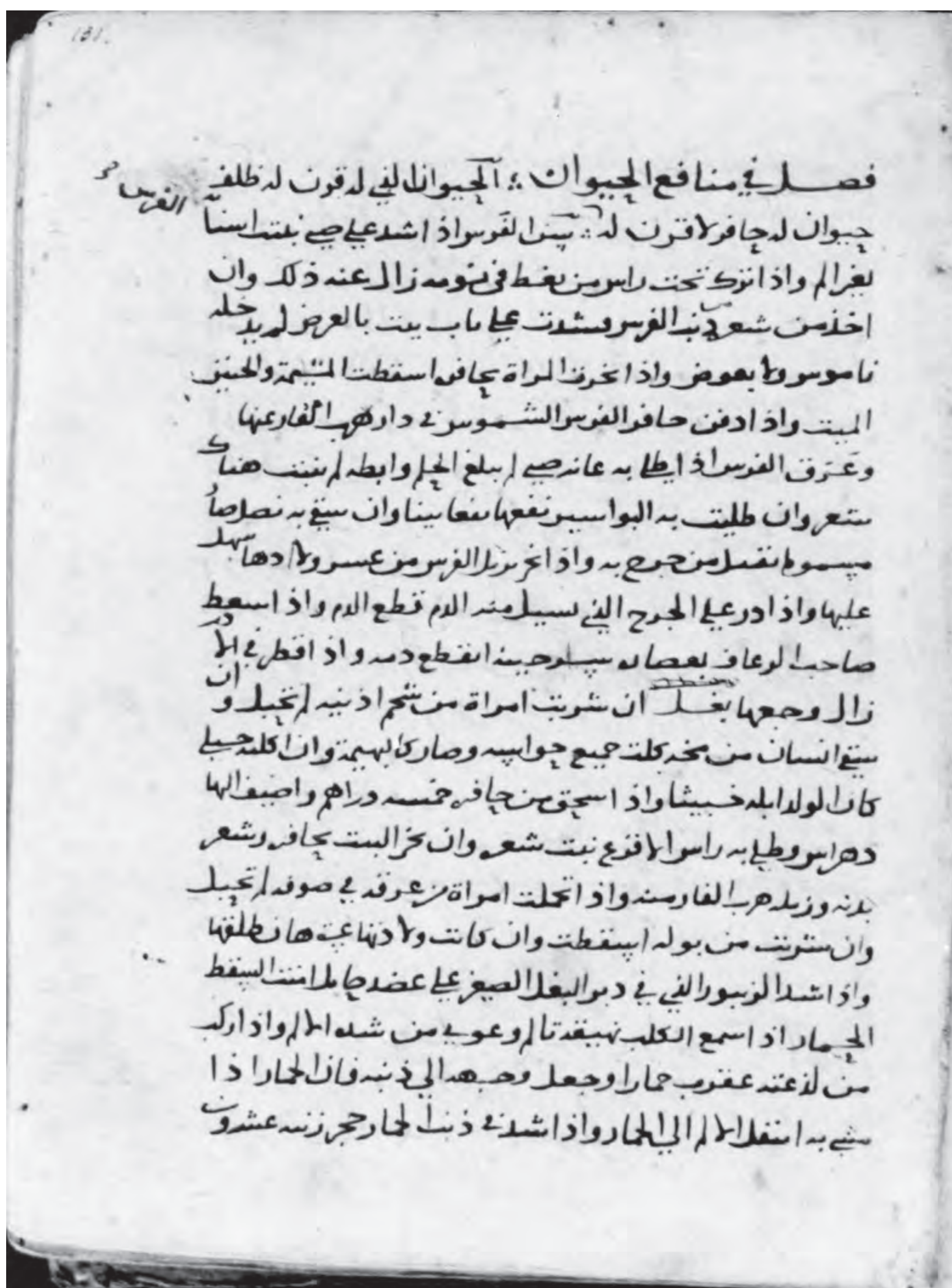
Al-Ṣafadī is quoted only thrice in the *Khiṭaṭ,*[48] but most of the persons whose biographies are found in this resumé are mentioned in this work. When al-Maqrīzī speaks of a particular building erected by a celebrity, he adds details about his biography. For the Mamlūk period, most of the information can be traced back to this resumé, but it would be too reductive to believe that the resumé was used solely in the *Khiṭaṭ*. I have noticed that al-Maqrīzī also used this kind of biography in *Al-Muqaffá.* Further study will be required in order to verify whether this material also appears in *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā'* and *Al-Sulūk.* The epitome resumes with what seems to be the end of the letter *hamzah,* and it is tempting to think that al-Maqrīzī did not go further. This is far from being the case: *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:35 contains a biography of Bashtāk, where al-Maqrīzī reveals that most of it was borrowed from al-Ṣafadī (i.e., *Al-Wāfī*). This citation shows that he made a resumé of *Al-Wāfī* which went far beyond what is found in the notebook.

VI. (quire XIV, fols. 124r–125v)
No title. Two *faṣl*s dealing with juridical matters, one regarding the law of inheritance when the deceased leaves three or more daughters and no son, the other the conditions according to the various schools of law in which the security for a debt *(rahn al-dayn)* vanishes.
List of the *faṣl*s and incipit:
Fols. 124r–124v
فصل في ميراث البنات: لا خلاف أن من مات وترك ثلاث بنات فاكثر من غير ابن ذكر إن لهن ثلثا ما ترك [...]
Fols. 124v–125v
فصل في تلاف الرهن من غير فعل الراهن ولا المرتهن: هذه مسألة اختلف أهل العلم فيها على خمسة أقوال [...]

---

[47] *Das biographische Lexikon des Ṣalāḥaddīn Ḫalīl ibn Aibak aṣ-Ṣafadī*, Bibliotheca Islamica 6, ed. H. Ritter (vol. 1), S. Dedering (vol. 2–6), I. 'Abbās (vol. 7), M. Y. Najm (vol. 8), J. Van Ess (vol. 9), A. Amara and J. Sublet (vol. 10) (Wiesbaden-Istanbul-Damascus-Beirut, 1949–80).

[48] See Guest, "A List of Writers," 118; Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 2:69 *(A'yān al-'Aṣr),* 75, and 96. Note that Harīdī gives two titles on pp. 75 and 96: *Tārīkh* and *Kitāb,* but neither of them appears in the *Khiṭaṭ*. In fact, both of them are passages coming from the *Kitāb al-Wāfī* (number 1 of the resumé appears in *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:429).



Folio 131r. Courtesy Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège, ms. 2232.

Commentary:
So far I have not been able to identify the source of these *faṣl*s, nor to see if something equivalent appears in al-Maqrīzī's extant works. Still I want to point out that he dwells on the problem of inheritance in the Fatimid period in the *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:111, which demonstrates that he was interested in this matter.

VII. (quires XV–XVI, fols. 131r–142r)
Title on fol. 131r, line 1: *Faṣl fī Manāfiʿ al-Ḥayawān.*

فصل في منافع الحيوان

Incipit (fol. 131r, lines 1–2):

الحيوان الذي له قرن له ظلف، حيوان له حافر لا قرن له [...]

List of the animals:

Fol. 131r	الفرس
	البغل
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Fol. 131v	الجمل
	البقر
Fols. 131v–132r	الجاموس
Fol. 132r	الضأن
	المعز
	الأيل
	ابن آوى
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	الببر
	الثعلب
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Fol. 133r	الدب
Fols. 133r–133v	الذئب
Fol. 133v	السنور
	الضبع

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القرد	Fols. 133v–134r
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الفيل	
الكركدن	Fols. 134v–135r
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فصل في منافع الطير	**Fols. 135r–139r**
الإوز	Fol. 135r
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البوم	Fols. 135r–135v
الحبارى	Fol. 135v
الحجل	
الحدأة	
الحمام	
الخطاف	Fols. 135v–136r
الوطواط	Fol. 136r
الدجاج	
الرخم	Fols. 136r–136v
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العصفور	Fols. 136v–137r
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Fol. 137v	الفاختة
	القبج
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	مالك الحزين
Fols. 137v–138r	النسر
Fol. 138r	النعام
Fols. 138r–138v	الهدهد
Fol. 138v	الوطواط
	اليراعة
	اليمام
	البازي
	التنوط
	التدرج
Fols. 138v–139r	القوقنس
Fol. 139r	الكركي
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Fols. 139r–141v	**فصل في الحشرات والهوام**
Fol. 139r	الأرضة
Fols. 139r–139v	الأفعى
Fol. 139v	البرغوث
	الثعبان
	الحرقوص
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Fol. 140r	الخراطين
	الخنفساء
	دود القز
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Fol. 140v	سام أبرص
	السلحفاة
	الضب
	العقرب
Fols. 140v–141r	العنكبوت
Fol. 141r	الفأر
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	الفسافس
Fols. 141r–141v	القمل
Fol. 141v	الصناجة
Fols. 141v–142r	**فصل في حيوان الماء**
Fol. 141v	التمساح
	سميكة صيدا
Fols. 141v–142r	العلق
Fol. 142r	الرعادة

Commentary:
This *faṣl* deals only with animals, more precisely the medical usefulness of some parts of their bodies. Evidently, the animals are classified according to species, although al-Maqrīzī did not indicate in each case the precise species.[49] Within each species, the classification adopted is alphabetical, although one can see that some animals have been added at the end of each species, as if al-Maqrīzī was going backwards in the text he was reading. It is hard to conceive that this kind of information could have been of any use to al-Maqrīzī for any of his writings, but this impression is misleading. I was able to trace at least two quotations from this resumé in the *Khiṭaṭ*. Both of them deal with animals of the last classification: the crocodile (*Khiṭaṭ,* 1:67) and the *ra‘‘ādah* (the electric ray) (*Khiṭaṭ,* 1:65). In the first of these, two lines before the beginning of the passage, al-Maqrīzī cites the name of Ibn Zuhr,[50] which is preceded a few lines before by the name of Ibn

[49]It is only the case at the beginning of the resumé, where one perceives that we have first the *dawābb* (riding animals), followed by the *na‘am* (grazing livestock), then the *sibā‘* (beasts of prey).
[50]This is Abū al-‘Alā’ Zuhr ibn ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad ibn Marwān ibn Zuhr al-Ishbīlī al-Iyādī (d. 525/1131). See on him *GAL* 1:486, no. 13 and S1:889, no. 13. He is the author of a

al-Bayṭār. It would, of course, be tempting to attribute the material to be found in the resumé to Ibn Zuhr, but this would be acting too quickly. The text that appears immediately after the name of Ibn Zuhr is not to be found in the resumé, which proves that the direct source is different. A comparison of the resumé with a manuscript of Ibn Zuhr's *Khawāṣṣ al-Ḥayawān* (Berlin, Ahlwardt 6166) reveals that the data contained in both texts are very similar. However, in Ibn al-Zuhr's text, the material is presented differently: all the animals are considered as a group, organized alphabetically, without taking into account a statement of species. It is highly improbable that al-Maqrīzī would have written the resumé reordering all the data according to the division in species. This is completely incompatible with his working method, as we will establish in "Maqriziana II." The fact that al-Maqrīzī's resumé bears resemblance to Ibn Zuhr's text indicates that he must have used an intermediate source which relied mainly on Ibn Zuhr. This is the case with Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 646/1248) in his *Al-Jāmiʿ li-Mufradāt al-Adwiyah wa-al-Aghdhiyah*,[51] where Ibn Zuhr is quoted for the medical benefits of the crocodile. This proves that the material found in the *Khiṭaṭ* comes directly from Ibn al-Bayṭār, but it is impossible to identify the resumé as being an epitome of Ibn al-Bayṭār's book, which is comparable to Ibn Zuhr's work in its arrangement of the data (i.e., no distribution by species). We thus have to look for another author who would have relied on Ibn Zuhr, but would have rearranged the data according to species. This is the case with al-Qazwīnī's *ʿAjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt*.[52] Here again, a comparison of the resumé with the data included in this text reveals that there is an important relationship between the two, and one could believe that this is actually the original source of al-Maqrīzī in the Liège manuscript. Problems remain: al-Qazwīnī did not consider the aquatic animals, meaning that the crocodile and the *raʿʿādah* do not appear in his book, and data found in the resumé are lacking in the *ʿAjāʾib*. Al-Qazwīnī's book must thus be set aside, leaving the mystery of the source of the resumé in the Liège codex unresolved for the time being.[53]

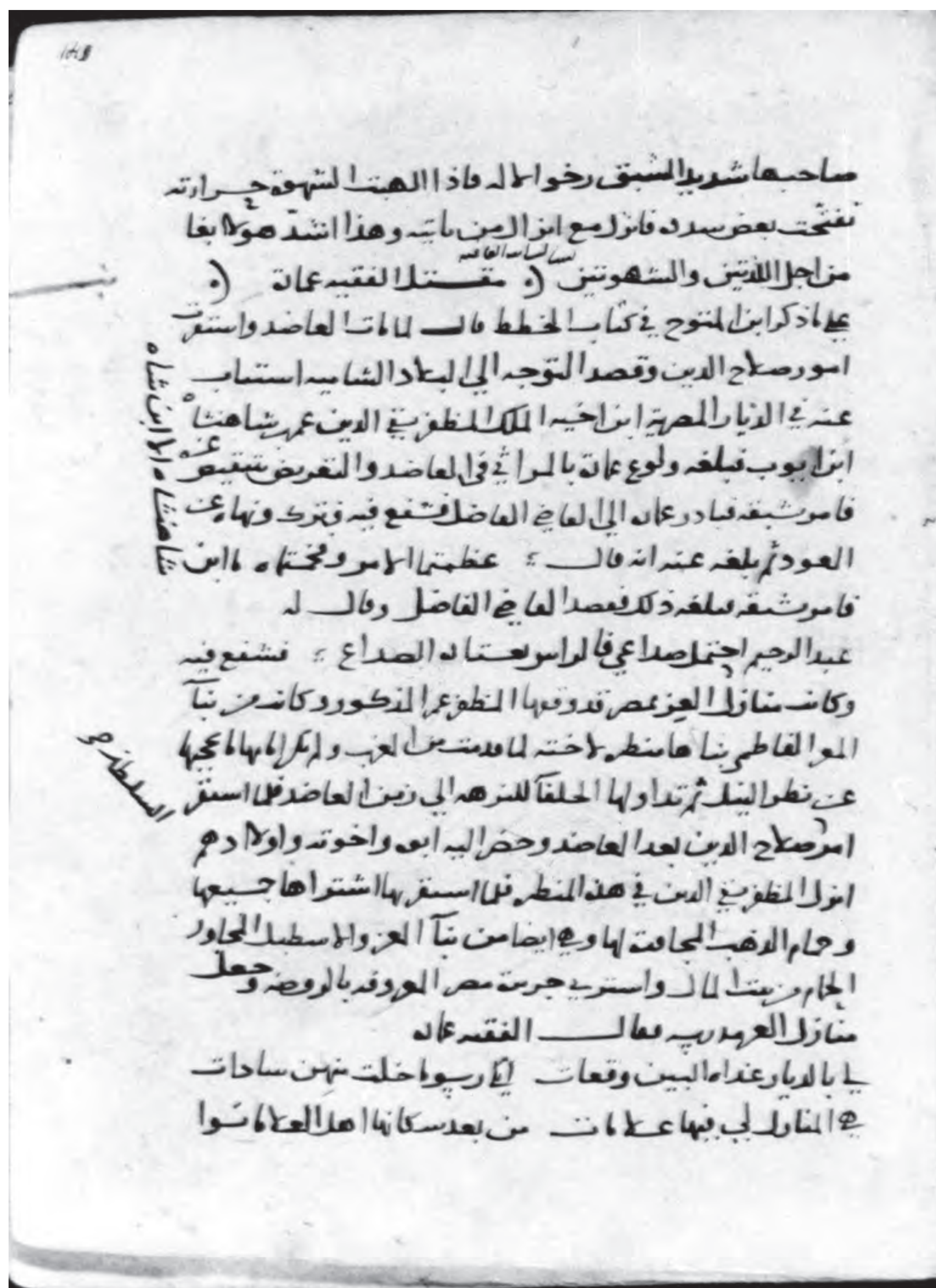
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book entitled *Khawāṣṣ al-Ḥayawān,* where *khawāṣṣ* is a synonym of *manāfiʿ*.

[51]Cairo-Būlāq, 1291/1874, 4 vols.

[52]Ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1849) under the title *Zakarija Ben Muhammed Ben Mahmud el-Cazwini's Kosmographie: Erster Theil: Kitāb ʿAjāʾib al-Makhlūqāt.* Al-Qazwīnī died in 682/1283.

[53]M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften* (Leiden/Cologne, 1972), 5–42, speaks of other works related to this kind of literature, where the material was classified according to species and then by alphabetical order of the animals, but I must still investigate this matter. One of these works, the *Mabāhij al-Fikar* of al-Waṭwāt, must be disregarded, as it does not deal with the medical uses of the various parts of animals *(khawāṣṣ).* See R. Kruk, "Some Late Mediæval Zoological Texts and Their Sources," in *Actas del XII Congreso de la U.E.A.I. (Malaga, 1984)* (Madrid, 1986), 424.



Folio 149r. Courtesy Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège, ms. 2232.

In summary, Ibn Zuhr's *Khawāṣṣ al-Ḥayawān* is probably the basis of the resumé, but by way of another source which relied on it while reordering the material according to species.

VIII. (quire XVII, fols. 146r–149r)

No title. Text dealing with love and its various aspects.

List of the sections and incipit:

Fol. 146r	١) في القبلة: قال أبقراط الجماع بغير مؤانسة جفاء [...]
	٢) آداب المحادثة ثلاثة وعشرون [...]
Fol. 146v	٣) آداب المضاجعة: ١٤ أدبا [...]
Fol. 147r	٤) سبب العشق: التجانس وقوته وضعفه على قدر التشاكل [...]
Fol. 148r	٥) الكلام له أربع مراتب
Fol. 148v	٦) سبب اللياطة: تفحل الشهوة وغلبتها [...]

Commentary:

The main theme of the section is love. The various sections discuss how to kiss, to converse, to sleep with somebody, the reasons for passion, the different kinds of intercourse, and finally the reasons that could explain a leaning toward sodomy. It is very difficult to identify the original source from which al-Maqrīzī made this resumé and to determine whether he used it for any of his books, preserved or lost. While consulting the *Nihāyat al-Arab* of al-Nuwayrī, I realized that this encyclopedist spoke about human passion, and argues about the reasons for this facet of love . It appears that the material found there (*Nihāyat al-Arab,* 2:135–38) is similar to no. 4 in al-Maqrīzī's resumé. In spite of similarities, al-Nuwayrī cannot be considered to be al-Maqrīzī's direct source, because there are details in the resumé absent from the *Nihāyat al-Arab*. Both of them must have utilized the same source once more.

IX. (quire XVII, fols. 149r–149v)

Title on fol. 149r, lines 3–4: *Maqtal al-Faqīh ʿUmārah* from *Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ*/Ibn al-Mutawwaj.

مقتل الفقيه عمارة على ما ذكر ابن المتوج في كتاب الخطط

Incipit (fol. 149r, lines 4–5):

قال لما مات العاضد واستقرت أمور صلاح الدين وقصد التوجه إلى البلاد الشامية [...]

Explicit (fol. 149v, lines 9–10):

[...] وعجل لك الاجتماع بإحبابك فقال إنما قتلني إحسانهم وإساؤكم.

Commentary:
The source of this epitome is clearly indicated by al-Maqrīzī as being the *Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ* written by Ibn al-Mutawwaj. He is to be identified with Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Wahhāb **Ibn al-Mutawwaj** (d. 730/1329), who is the author of a book dealing with *khiṭaṭ* entitled *`qāẓ al-Mutaghaffil wa-Ittiʻāẓ al-Muta'ammil,* which is considered lost. This work is one of the few that al-Maqrīzī cites in his introduction to the *Khiṭaṭ* (1:5) among the sources he relied upon.[54] It has previously been stated that all the references to this work in the *Khiṭaṭ* concern old Cairo (prior to the Fatimids) and refer only to archeological matters. The resumé preserved here brings up material which goes against this mistaken idea, and establishes the importance of the historical data presented here.[55]

X. (quire XVII, fols. 149v–150r)
Title on fol. 149v, line 10:

الأهرام

Incipit (fol. 149v, lines 10–11):

عددها ثمانية عشر هرما في مقابلة الفسطاط [...]

Explicit (fol. 150r, lines 6–7):

[...] وعند مدينة فرعون موسى أعظم مما قبلها وهرم ميدوم آخرها.

Commentary:
Some passages of this resumé on the pyramids can be identified in the *Khiṭaṭ* (1:116, 119). For the first occurrence, al-Maqrīzī identifies the source as *Kitāb Tuḥfat al-Albāb* of Abū ʻAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥīm al-Qaysī [al-Gharnāṭī] (d. 565/1170). The data are almost identical and a date (501) which is mentioned in the resumé appears again in the *Khiṭaṭ,* on the same page. Moreover, the quotation in the *Khiṭaṭ* can be traced in the published version of the *Tuḥfat al-Albāb,*[56] which prompts me to regard this work as definitely the source of the resumé.

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[54]For the quotations noticed in the *Khiṭaṭ,* see Guest, ″A List of Writers,″ 116 and Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 2:72, 74, 82, 94. The title given by al-Maqrīzī varies greatly from one reference to another: *`qāẓ al-Mutaghaffil, al-Khiṭaṭ, al-Tārīkh, al-Kitāb.*

[55]I have not traced exactly the data preserved here in al-Maqrīzī's books. But compare with *Al-Muqaffá* (ed. M. al-Yaʻlāwī, Beirut, 1991), 8:740 sqq. and *Ittiʻāẓ al-Ḥunafā'* (ed. Ḥilmī M. Aḥmad, Cairo, 1973), 3:332–34.

[56]See Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid's edition (London, 2002), 1:313–14.

XI. (quire XVII, fol. 150r)
Title on fol. 150r, line 7: *Khabar fīhi Mu'tabar*.

خبر فيه معتبر

Incipit (lines 7–8):

توفي الصاحب الوزير زين الدين يعقوب بن الزبير في ثالث عشر شهر ربيع الآخر سنة ٦٦٨ بالسجن [...]

Commentary:
The source of this very short excerpt (14 lines) remains to be identified. Part of the data is to be found in *Al-Sulūk,*[57] 1:447.

XII. (quire XVII, fols. 150r–150v)
Title on fol. 150r, lines 20–21: *Mukhtār min Akhbār Banī Ayyūb*/Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī al-Kātib.

مختار من أخبار بني أيوب، تأليف محمد بن علي بن عبد العزيز بن نظيف الحموي الكاتب

Incipit (fol. 150r, lines 21–22):

سنة ٥٧٩ فيها ظهر بقرية بوصير من الجيزة بيت هرمس الثاني فتحه القاضي بن الشهرزوري [...]

Explicit (fol. 150v, lines 13–15):

[...] سنة ٦٢٤ في شوال منها أمر الكامل بن العادل الأيوبي بهدم مدينة تنيس وكانت من المدن الجليلة.

Commentary:
The stated source of this resumé is the *Akhbār Banī Ayyūb* by Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz **Ibn Naẓīf** al-Ḥamawī (d. in the second part of the seventh/thirteenth century). Ibn Naẓīf is the author of three books, of which only one has been preserved: *Al-Tārīkh al-Manṣūrī, Talkhīṣ al-Kashf wa-al-Bayān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān.*[58] As its title indicates, the book is a shorter version of a universal history *(Al-Kashf wa-al-Bayān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān)*. The *Al-Tārīkh al-Manṣūrī* ends with the year 624 and is considered to be the most important source for the Ayyubid period.[59] A close examination of the text reveals that

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[57]Ed. M. Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1967).

[58]See the critical edition of this work by Abū al-'Īd Dūdū (Damascus, 1981). The editor decided to publish only the part beginning with the year 589. Prior to this edition, a facsimile of the *unicum* preserved at St. Petersburg in Russia had been published by P. Griaznevich (Moscow, 1960).

[59]See Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des croisades et de la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), 57–58; idem, "Editing Arabic Chronicles: a Few Suggestions," *Islamic*

material on early Islamic history and successive periods is by far more concise than the parts beginning with the year 580. It is thus not surprising to notice that al-Maqrīzī began his resumé with the year 579 and continued with the following years: 597, 601, 611, 622, 624, taking notes for events related to Egypt. The data correspond exactly to what is found in the original source, consequently confirming that what al-Maqrīzī entitles *Akhbār Banī Ayyūb* is equivalent to *Al-Tārīkh al-Manṣūrī,* and it has been reutilized for the *Khiṭaṭ* and other of his works, although neither the author′s name nor the title of the work appears in any of them.

XIII. (quire XVII, fols. 150v–151r)
Title on fol. 150v, in the margin: *Mukhtār min Tārīkh Ibn Naẓīf al-Kabīr*/Ibn Naẓīf.

مختار من تأريخ ابن نظيف الكبير

Incipit (fol. 150v, lines 15–16):

سنة ٧٦ من الهجرة نقش عبد الملك بن مروان على الدنانير والدراهم سكة الإسلام [...]

Explicit (fol. 151r, line 23):

[...] عن الشمس في نصف برج الحوت طول ذؤابته مائة وخمسون ذراعا.

Commentary:
Just below the resumé *(mukhtār)* of *Al-Tārīkh al-Manṣūrī,* al-Maqrīzī added other notes starting with the year 76, then proceeding with the following years: 91, 99, 133, 180, 199, 216, 234, 235, 237, 253, 258, 268, 274, 286, 310, 375, 398, 435, 487, 496, in which all events are more general and do not deal exclusively with Egypt. In the margin, he added a title: *Mukhtār min Tārīkh Ibn Naẓīf al-Kabīr*. We should understand from this title that al-Maqrīzī intended to summarize the longest text written by Ibn Naẓīf, i.e., *Al-Kashf wa-al-Bayān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* a work which has not been preserved, except in a shorter version (i.e., *Al-Tārīkh al-Manṣūrī,* see the preceding entry). A comparison of the material found in the resumé and the beginning of *Al-Tārīkh al-Manṣūrī* shows that the wording of the latter is different and more complete. This proves that what al-Maqrīzī included in this resumé was not taken from *Al-Tārīkh al-Manṣūrī,* assuming that this was a part of the longest work, but from *Al-Kashf wa-al-Bayān* itself.

XIV. (quire XVII, fols. 151r–151v)
No title. Excerpt regarding the kings of Ḥimyar.

Studies 1 (1962): 11.

Incipit (fol. 151r, lines 24–25):

جميع ملوك حمير على اختلاف القول فيهم ستة وعشرون ملكا وامرأة أعني بلقيس [...]

Explicit (fol. 151v, line 8):

[...] قد طال ما أكلوا يوما وما شربوا فأصبحوا بعد ذاك الأكل قد أكلوا.

Commentary:

No source is indicated by al-Maqrīzī for this very short excerpt dealing with the kings of Ḥimyar. The main part consists in the quotation of six verses attributed to Sayf ibn Dhī Yazan. The purpose of this excerpt is quite clear: al-Maqrīzī evokes the kings of Ḥimyar several times in his *Khiṭaṭ,*[60] where the *Kitāb al-Tījān fī Mulūk Ḥimyar* by Wahb ibn Munabbih, in the transmission of Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Hishām (d. 218/833), is quoted more than once as a source.[61] He even devoted a biography to Ḥimyar in his *Al-Muqaffá* (3:691–97). However, the material found in this excerpt was not used by him in either work. It must be considered a preliminary step for his books or an unused note.

XV. (quire XVII, fols. 151v–155r)

Title on fol. 155r, lines 19–20: [*Talkhīṣ*] *Mukhtār min Kitāb al-Danānīr wa-al-Darāhim*/Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Khalaf ibn Ḥayyān al-maʿrūf bi-Wakīʿ.

لخصت ما قيل في الدرهم والدينار من مختار من كتاب الدنانير والدراهم، تأليف أبي بكر محمد بن خلف بن حيان المعروف بوكيع.

Incipit (fol. 151v, lines 13–14):

القول في الدينار والدرهم: قال كعب الأحبار أول من ضرب الدنانير والدرهم آدم [...]

Explicit (fol. 155r, lines 17–18):

[...] وكان على بيت المال رجل من طيء يقال له سمير فأمره فأعطى الناس فجعل الناس يقولون دراهم سميرية فبذلك سميت سميرية.

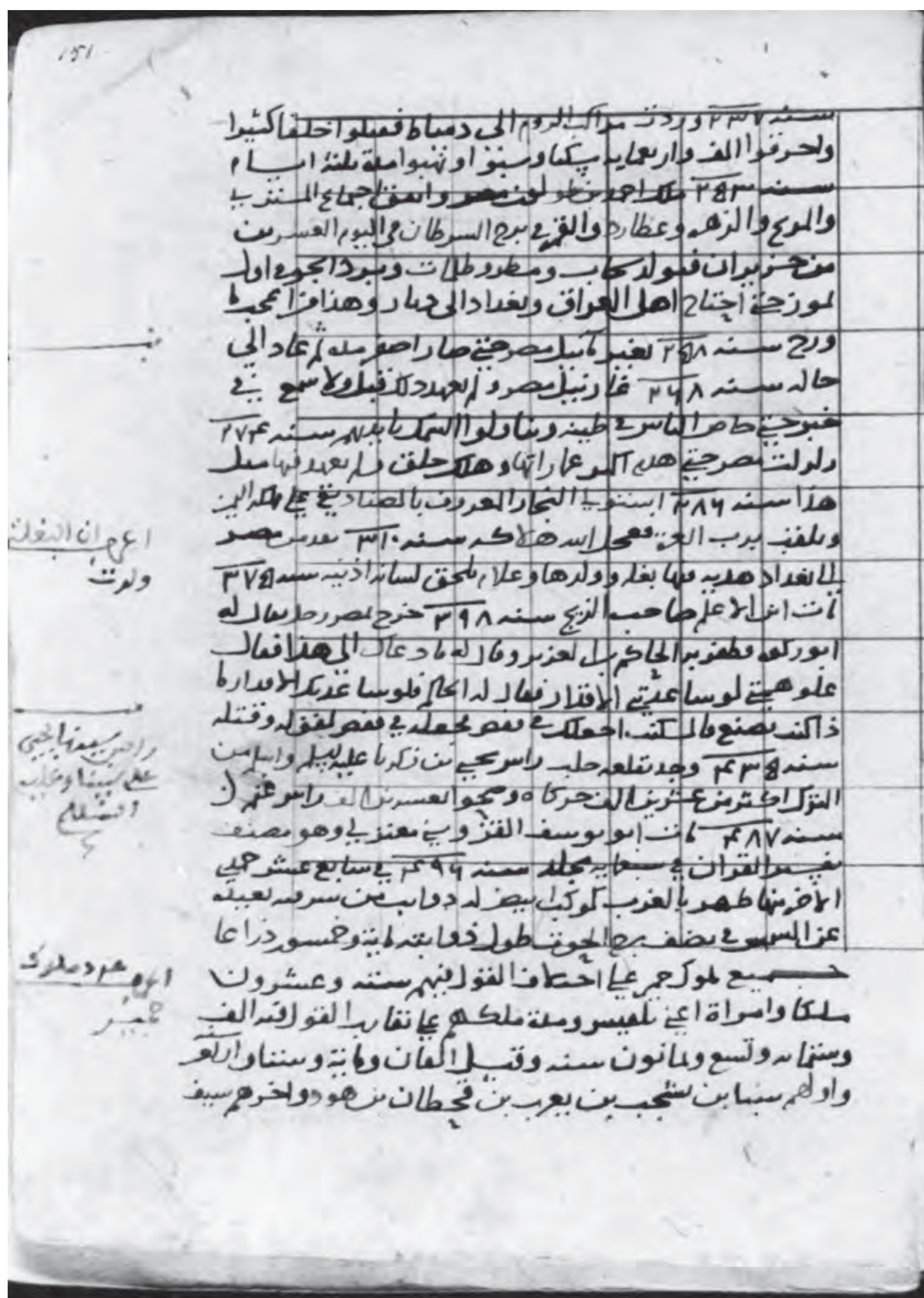
Commentary:

Fortunately the title of the source is indicated by al-Maqrīzī at the end of the text, where with rare meticulousness he specifies that he had not seen the original work in its complete form (fol. 155r, line 20: *lam aqif ʿalá al-aṣl*), but rather a resumé *(mukhtār)* from which he made an epitome *(talkhīṣ)*. Undoubtedly this resumé had been prepared by another scholar and al-Maqrīzī decided to condense it. The original work was produced by Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Khalaf ibn Ḥayyān,

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[60]See Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 1, s.v. Ḥimyar and Sayf ibn Dhī Yazan.

[61]See ibid., 2:80.



Folio 151r. Courtesy Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège, ms. 2232.

known by his *shuhrah* as **Wakīʻ**. His *Akhbār al-Quḍāh* made his fame, but he was also renowned as the author of a book on numismatics. Here it is entitled *Kitāb al-Danānīr wa-al-Darāhim,* although according to the sources it was *Kitāb al-Ṣarf wa-al-Naqd wa-al-Sikkah*.[62] This text is now known to be one of the most ancient on this subject, thus making it a major discovery. Numerous parts of it were used by al-Maqrīzī for his treatise on numismatics, *Shudhūr al-ʻUqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqūd*. In this case as in numerous others, neither the name of the author nor the title of his book has been cited.[63]

XVI. (quire XVII, fol. 155v)
No title. *Faṣl* on philosophical matters regarding the soul.
Incipit (fol. 155v, lines 1–2):
فصل [بياض]: كل مطلوب مدرك وإن كان شاهقا في السماء ومن رجع عن حاجته فهو غير طالب.
النفس الحية هي التي [...]

Commentary:
This passage consists of just a few lines, but al-Maqrīzī deemed it so valuable that he labelled it a *faṣl*. It contains remarks on the soul and aphorisms of philosophical or moral character. At this point, I have not been able to identify the source nor to determine whether al-Maqrīzī used this material.

XVII. (quire XVIII, fols. 155v–156v)
No title. Excerpts on numismatics and metrology.
List of the sections and incipit:

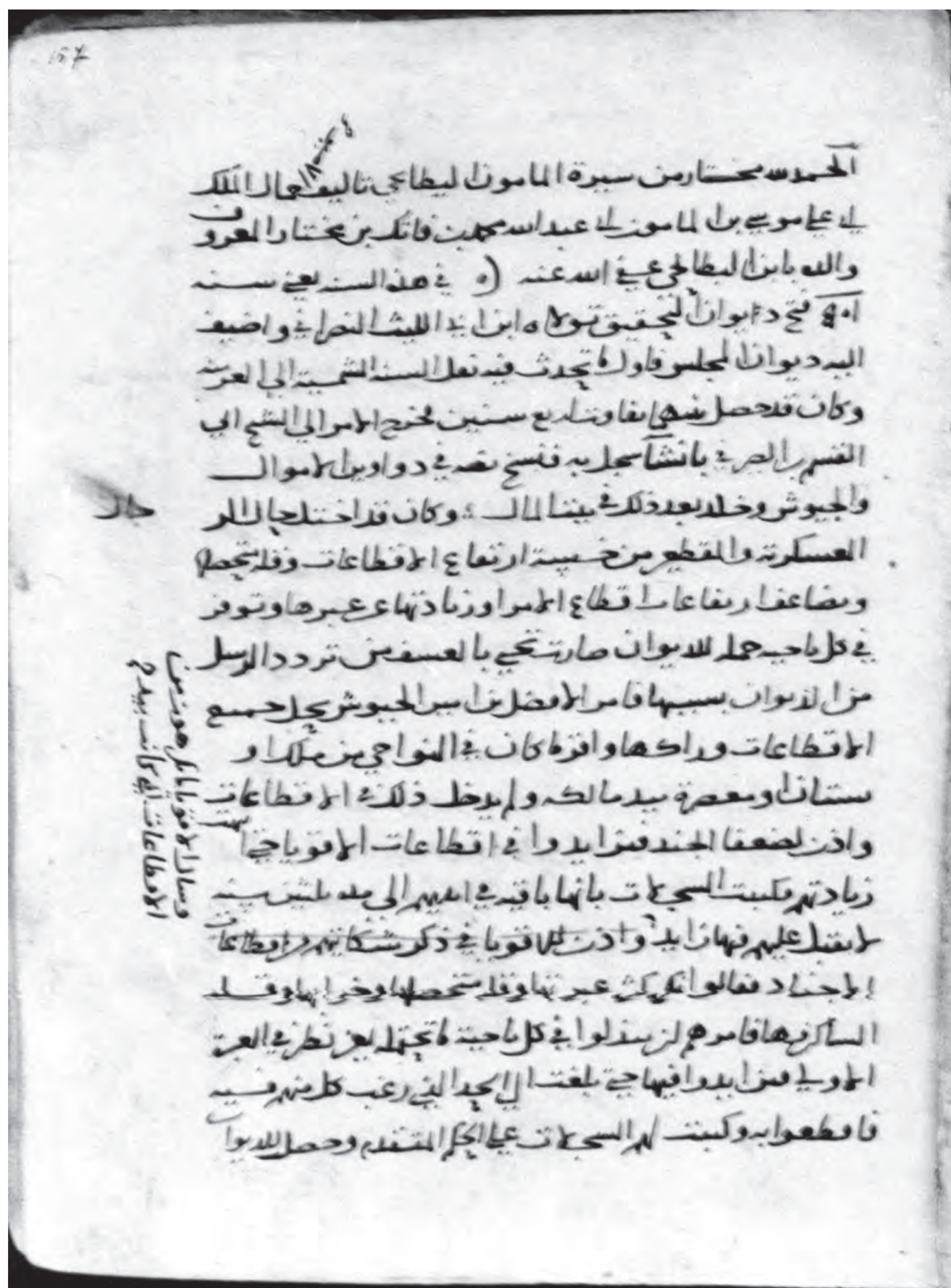
Fol. 155v	نقود الهند التي يتعاملون بها: اللك الأحمر مائة ألف تنكة ذهبا [...]
Fol. 156r	خان بالق من بلاد الخطا: ملكها اجل ملوك توران [...]
	ومعاملة أهل خوارزم والقفجاق ومعظم ممالك إيران بالدينار [...]
	ومعاملة بغداد ديناران أحدهما العوال عنه اثنا عشر درهما [...]

Commentary:
After no. XV, this is another text dealing with numismatics, but not exclusively.

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[62]See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist,* ed. G. Flügel (Leipzig, 1871–72), 114 *(Kitāb al-Taṣarruf . . .);* al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 3:43–44; *GAL* S1:225 *(Kitāb al-Taṣarruf . . .);* not mentioned in Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden, 1967–2000).

[63]This material, as well as the other parts of the notebook related to numismatics (see below, numbers XVII and XX), will be the subject of my ″Maqriziana VI,″ which will appear in a forthcoming issue of *MSR*.



Folio 157r. Courtesy Bibliothèque de l´Université de Liège, ms. 2232.

The most interesting point here is probably his discussion of China and the currency used there: al-Maqrīzī describes, of course, the paper currency, stating that it is printed on pieces of mulberry bark. No source is indicated in this excerpt and no trace of it has been identified in his numismatic treatises: *Shudhūr al-ʻUqūd* or *Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah.* In the last part, however, where the currency of Baghdad is studied, information is also given about weights. This material has been reused for his treatise on this matter, which is entitled *Al-Awzān wa-al-Akyāl al-Sharʻīyah.*

XVIII. (quire XVIII, fols. 157r–160v)

Title on fol. 157r, lines 1–3: *Mukhtār min Sīrat al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī*/Jamāl al-Mulk Abū ʻAlī Mūsá ibn al-Ma'mūn Abī ʻAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Fātik ibn Mukhtār Ibn al-Baṭā'iḥī.

مختار من سيرة المأمون البطائحي، تأليف الأمير جمال الملك أبي علي موسى بن المأمون أبي عبد الله محمد بن فاتك بن مختار المعروف والده بابن البطائحي.

Incipit (fol. 157r, lines 3–4):

في هذه السنة يعني سنة ٥٠١ فتح ديوان التحقيق تولاه ابن أبي الليث النصراني واضيف إليه ديوان المجلس

List of the dates and events dealt with:

Fol. 158r	سنة ٥١٢
Fol. 158v	سنة ٥١٣
Fol. 159r	خبر قتل الأفضل

Commentary:

The source is clearly indicated as being the *Sīrat al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī,* a work attributed to Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī. His full name was Jamāl al-Dīn Abū ʻAlī Mūsá **Ibn al-Ma'mūn** Muḥammad ibn Fātik ibn Mukhtār al-Baṭā'iḥī (d. 588/1192), son of the vizier al-Baṭā'iḥī, and his book, known as *Tārīkh Ibn al-Ma'mūn* or *Al-Sīrah al-Ma'mūnīyah,*[64] is considered one of the best sources for the Fatimid caliphate in Egypt, even though it is lost. Our knowledge of this source and its contents is based only on the passages found, whether attributed or not, in the works of Ibn Muyassar *(Akhbār Miṣr),* Ibn Saʻīd *(Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib),* al-Nuwayrī *(Nihāyat al-Arab),* Ibn Duqmāq *(Al-Intiṣār),* and al-Maqrīzī (*Al-Khiṭaṭ*, *Ittiʻāẓ al-Ḥunafā'*, and *al-Muqaffá*).[65] The excerpt preserved in the Liège codex is

[64]See Guest, "A List of Writers," 115; and Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 2:114.

[65]See Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, "Lumières nouvelles sur quelques sources de l'histoire fatimide en

thus the first proof that al-Maqrīzī had access to the original source. Furthermore, we now know that he took notes from it to prepare a resumé which would serve him as a memorandum. The material has been identified in the three works of al-Maqrīzī where the Fatimid period is dealt with (see above). Another interesting feature of the notebook is that it contains a specimen of al-Maqrīzī's notecards (see no. LXIV), where part of the data from this resumé was transcribed later. This rare sample gives us an opportunity to better understand al-Maqrīzī's working method.[66]

XIX. (quire XVIII, fols. 161r–163v)
Title on fol. 161r, line 1: *Al-Khabar 'an Jinkiz Khān.*

الخبر عن جنكز خان.

Incipit (fol. 161r, lines 1–2):

قيل إن جنكز خان ينتهي نسبه إلى امرأة تسمى ألان قوا كانت تحت رجل أولدها و الدين [...]

Explicit (fol. 163v, line 16):

[...] وكان ولده تولى متصلا به فكان موضعه نقطة.

Commentary:
In a series of articles published between 1971 and 1973,[67] David Ayalon studied the problem of al-Maqrīzī's hypothetical source for the data about the *yāsa* in the *Khiṭaṭ* (2:219–22). After a close examination of the sources, Ayalon was inclined to identify it as Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*. He identified it as such without reservation, even though the two texts were not quite the same, and without irrefutable proof. The resumé present in the notebook is anonymous in the sense that no source is indicated. Nonetheless, a comparison with what is found in the *Masālik al-Abṣār*[68] unequivocally demonstrates that it is the original source. Another element strengthens this attribution, an element of which Ayalon was not aware at the time he wrote his study: on the first folio of eight volumes among the twenty-seven of the *Masālik al-Abṣār* preserved, one

Égypte," *Annales Islamologiques* 13 (1977): 20–21. The passages that appear in the works of al-Nuwayrī and al-Maqrīzī have been edited by Sayyid, *Nuṣūṣ min Akhbār Miṣr li-Ibn al-Ma'mūn* = Passages de la Chronique d'Égypte d'Ibn al-Ma'mūn (Cairo, 1983).

[66]This argument will be treated extensively in "Maqriziana II."

[67]David Ayalon, "The Great Yāsa of Chingiz Khān: A Reexamination," *Studia Islamica* 33–38 (1971–73).

[68]I compared it with the facsimile of MS Ahmet III 2797/2 produced by Fuat Sezgin (Frankfort, 1988), 4:40–55. This part has been edited by K. Lech, *Das mongolische Weltreich: Al-'Umarī's Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk* Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār (Wiesbaden, 1968).

can read an inscription in al-Maqrīzī's hand, which is ″intaqāhu dā'iyan li-mu'īrihi Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī sanat 831.″[69] This is not the only example of this kind of note. Other samples can be found in various other manuscripts of sources used by al-Maqrīzī.[70] In all these cases, he chose the verb ″*intaqá*″ which in this context means ″to take notes, to digest.″[71] Thanks to the date, we now have a *terminus post quem* for this part of the notebook, and this is perhaps more important for the history of the composition of the *Khiṭaṭ*, given its inclusion in this book. This resumé proves definitely that al-Maqrīzī prepared a notandum of the part regarding Chingiz Khān and the *yāsa*.[72] But there is more to come: Ayalon stressed that the data found in the *Masālik al-Abṣār* had been deliberately distorted by al-Maqrīzī with the aim of discrediting the *yāsa* among his contemporaries. It will now be possible to compare the original version (Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī) with the resumé, where some modifications are already visible, and finally with the version in the *Khiṭaṭ*. Once more, we will come closer to the working technique of this historian.[73]

XX. (quire XIX, fols. 166r–174v)
No title. Six *faṣl*s dealing with juridical matters.
List of the *faṣl*s and incipit:

Fol. 166r	فصل في بيان الذرع والكيل والوزن
Fol. 169r	فصل في حد المدعي الذي يحتاج إلى البينة والمدعى عليه الذي لا يحتاج إليها
Fol. 169v	فصل في حكم اليهود والنصارى الذين بمصر الآن
	فصل في ذكر اللعن وما جاء فيه
Fol. 172r	فصل في زيارة القبور والنذر لها والعكوف عندها والقراءة عليها
Fol. 172v	فصل في النذر
Fol. 174v	معنى تعذيب الميت بالبكاء عليه

[69]Moreover, marginal notes in al-Maqrīzī's own handwriting have been identified by the present writer in volumes 4, 5, 6, 14, 15, 17, and 19.

[70]For a complete list, see ″Maqriziana II.″

[71]I will come back to this particular point in ″Maqriziana II.″

[72]At least, it is the part that has been preserved. Scholars had already noticed that al-Maqrīzī took almost complete chapters from the *Masālik al-Abṣār* without acknowledgment, which confirms that he made several resumés of this book. See Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid's edition of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār (Mamālik Miṣr wa-al-Shām wa-al-Ḥijāz wa-al-Yaman)* (Cairo, 1985), 28 (from the introduction in Arabic). This is confirmed by the note found on the first folio of several volumes of this text.

[73]This matter will be the subject of our ″Maqriziana VII.″

Commentary:
All these *faṣl*s seem to have been transcribed in sequence, as if they came from the same source. Indeed they all treat subjects that may be defined as juridical. It is difficult to recognize the source/sources from which al-Maqrīzī borrowed this material. Considering the first *faṣl* only, I noticed that it contains data about numismatics and metrology which can be found in *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd, Al-Ighāthah,* and *Al-Awzān wa-al-Akyāl al-Shar'īyah,* where no source is indicated. However, in the resumé, the name of a certain Ibn al-Rif'ah appears twice. He is anonymously quoted again, about an event where he speaks in the first person about the *dār al-ḥisbah,* to which, he says, he had been appointed. This person is to be identified as Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Rif'ah (d. 710/1310).[74] The sources consulted say that he was in charge of the *ḥisbah* in Cairo. Al-Maqrīzī mentions that he was the author of a commentary on al-Shīrāzī's *Al-Tanbīh* entitled *Kifāyat al-Nabīh fī Sharḥ al-Tanbīh* in fifteen volumes, and also of a work on measures and weights *(al-makāyīl wa-al-mawāzīn),* which was entitled, according to Ibn Ḥajar, *Ḥukm al-Mikyāl wa-al-Mīzān*.[75] It is, of course, very tempting and credible to see in this text the source of the resumé found in the notebook, at least for the first *faṣl.* It remains to be determined whether the other *faṣl*s come from the same author, and in this case maybe from his *Sharḥ al-Tanbīh.* Unfortunately, only the book on metrology has been preserved.[76]

XXI. (quire XX, fols. 176r–184r[77])
No title. Epitome of a Quranic commentary.
Incipit (fol. 176r, lines 1–2):

قوله تعالى في قلوبهم فزادهم الله مرضا ولهم عذاب أليم بما كانوا يكذبون المرض في القلب يجوز ان يكون حقيقة ومجازا [...]

Explicit (fol. 184r, line 8):

[...] وعن الأوزاعي لا يجوز تبرعها ما لم تلد أو تقم في بيت زوجها سنة.

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[74]On him, see *GAL,* S2:164; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 7:395 (no. 3392); al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 1:623–24; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah* (Hyderabad, 1348/1929–30,) 1:284–87.

[75]Or rather, *Al-`ḍāḥ wa-al-Tibyān fī Ma'rifat al-Mikyāl,* according to al-Ziriklī, *Al-A'lām,* 1:222.

[76]*Al-Īḍāḥ wa-al-Tibyān* has been edited by M. Aḥmad Ismā'īl al-Khārūf (Mecca, 1980), but I was unable to consult a copy of it. My hypothesis, which consists in identifying the source of the first *faṣl* in the notebook with Ibn al-Rif'ah's *Al-Īḍāḥ wa-al-Tibyān,* seems to be corroborated as Muḥammad 'Abd al-Sattār 'Uthmān, in his edition of al-Maqrīzī's *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqūd* (Cairo, 1990), 52, after having compared the two texts, asserts that *Al-Īḍāḥ* served as a basic source for al-Maqrīzī in writing his *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd.*

[77]Fol. 177 is in fact a tiny piece of paper, oblong in form, which was pasted in the margin of fol. 178.

Commentary:
A glance at this resumé shows immediately that it consists of an epitome of a Quranic commentary, beginning with Quran 2:10 and ending with Quran 4:4. No source is indicated by al-Maqrīzī, but I found the name of al-Zamakhsharī quoted once on fol. 177r. Comparison with al-Zamakhsharī's *Al-Kashshāf ʻan Ḥaqā'iq al-Tanzīl* reveals that it was the original source of the resumé. Al-Zamakhsharī is cited only once in the *Khiṭaṭ*[78] (1:161), for Quran 89:5–7. This could mean that al-Maqrīzī went on with the resumé, presumably until the end of the commentary. Here, once more, we have only a quire that has been preserved, and it would be too conjectural to conclude that an entire resumé of the book exists for the sole reason that a quotation related to the end of it appears in one of his books. The aim of a Quranic resumé is clear when one looks at the *Khiṭaṭ,* but other quotations must have been used by al-Maqrīzī for his other works, extant or not.

XXII. (quire XXI, fols. 187r–191v)
No title. Long biography of a Mamluk who died in 812.
Incipit (fol. 187r, lines 1–2):

يوسف بن أحمد بن محمد بن أحمد بن جعفر بن قاسم البيري جمال الدين البجاسي [...]

Explicit (fol. 191v, lines 1–3):

[...] واشتملت تركته على سبعمائة ألف دينار من الذهب وثمان [...] على ذكر [...] على ألفي ألف دينار ذهبا

Commentary:
This very long biography is written in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting, of course, but it differs from the other resumés. Diacritical dots are scarcer and the letters were written quickly. The person dealt with here was an important Mamluk who accumulated an immense fortune during his lifetime. The date of his death clearly indicates that this biography did not find its place in *Al-Muqaffá*, a biographical dictionary of Egyptian residents, from pre-Islamic times to the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century. As this Mamluk was a contemporary of al-Maqrīzī, his biography must have been written for another of his works: *Durar al-ʻUqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-Aʻyān al-Mufīdah*. Unfortunately, this important source has

[78]See Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 2:99.

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يوسف بن احمد بن محمد بن احمد بن جعفر بن قاسم البيري جمال الدين مشير
المملكة الاسلامية واستادار السلطان الملك الناصر فرج بن برقوق
ولد بالبيرة ونشا بمدينة حلب في كنف خاله الوزير
بحلب ثم قدم الى مصر يخدم عند الامرا حتى اتصل بالامير بجاس
احد امرا الظاهر برقوق فترقى في خدمته حتى اقامه استادارا له
واشتهر بطول ايامه وكثر ثراه وتردد اليه الناس فلما مات الظاهر
ترامت احواله وكثرت حواشيه وانبسطت يده في مباشرة الامرا فباشر
استادارية بضعة عشر من اكابر الامرا وصار مقصد الناس وملجا
لارباب الحاجات يرد الى بابه الامرا والوزرا والقضاه بحوائجهم
فيقوم باعبا الامور ~~وتقضي ما ربعث~~ وينهض بما يعجز عنه غيره فلما كا
ثورة الامير شيخ على الناصر فرج في جمادى سنة سبع وثمانماية
ولحق بدمشق ومعه الامير سعد الدين ابرهيم بن غراب الاستادار
وكان جمال الدين حينئذ اثيرا عنده فطلبه السلطان والزمه بمباشره
الوزارة فامتنع امتناعا اشد الامتناع وابا غاية الابا فقبض عليه
وعوقب مدة ايام ثم افرج عنه وامر به فاحضر الى مجلس السلطنة
والبس تشريفا الاستادارية عوضا عن سعد الدين بن غراب فباشر ذلك
مباشرة مشكورة ~~فلما كان من عود الامير شيخ~~ فلما كان في شهر
رمضان سنة سبع وثمانماية احضر الامير يلبغا السالمي من سجن الاسكندرية

Folio 187r. Courtesy Bibliothèque de l'Université de Liège, ms. 2232.

not yet been fully published. It is preserved in an incomplete autograph manuscript in Gotha (A 1771),[79] and there exists a complete copy made from the autograph which is held in a private collection in Mosul, where it remains inaccessible to scholars.[80] Fortunately, my eyes fell by mere chance on the *Durar al-Fawā'id al-Munaẓẓamah fī Akhbār al-Ḥajj wa-Ṭarīq Makkah al-Mu'aẓẓamah,* a book written by 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Qādir al-Anṣārī al-Jazīrī (d. after 976/1568),[81] where I found an interesting passage (92–94) dealing with the same Mamluk. There, the author gives a detailed biography which, he says, he cites from the *Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah* of al-Maqrīzī! In the absence of an edition of the complete manuscript, this information is, of course, vital. In this way, I have been able to compare the biography in the notebook with the one in al-Jazīrī's work, concluding that the texts are very similar, the information given in the notebook being more complete. This leads us to infer that the text found in the notebook is in fact a preliminary stage of redaction for the *Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah,* or it may alternatively be the definitive one, conjecturing in this case that al-Jazīrī changed the wording of al-Maqrīzī, which would not be surprising. The fact that the script is abnormal (impression of rapid writing) reinforces this interpretation.

To be continued

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[79]Published by M. Kamāl al-Dīn 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī (Beirut, 1992). The manuscript on which this edition is based contains biographies beginning with the letter *alif,* part with the letter *bā'* (Abū Bakr), then some with the letter *'ayn* and one with the letter *dāl* (Dā'ūd). As M. al-Ya'lāwī has shown (*Al-Muqaffá,* 8:699–700), the biographies beginning with *'ayn* are related to persons who died prior to the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century. It is thus ruled out that they were part of the *Durar,* and it is more probable that we are dealing with part of *Al-Muqaffá* that was misplaced after the death of al-Maqrīzī.

[80]See Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī, ″Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-A'yān al-Mufīdah lil-Maqrīzī,″ *Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Irāqī* 13 (1966): 201–14; idem, ″Tarjamat Ibn Khaldūn lil-Maqrīzī,″ ibid., 215–42.

[81]On him, see *GAL,* 2:325 (no. 1); S2:447 (no. 1) and 517 (no. 10c) (Brockelmann confused him twice; the information given in the last reference is an error). The book was published in Cairo in 1384/1964–65.

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Al-Maqrīzī, Hashimism, and the Early Caliphates*

Introduction

Like his contemporaries in the field of history such as al-ʻAynī and Ibn Ḥajar, al-Maqrīzī was an heir to a classical Arabic historiographical tradition stretching far into the past. Al-Maqrīzī inherited from this tradition not merely a corpus of ancient sources, but also the very form that his history-writing took. It was also from this tradition that al-Maqrīzī inherited many of the subjects that were considered to be the standard fare of any good medieval Muslim historian. Foremost among these subjects was an issue that formed *the* central debate of the formative era of Islam: the caliphate, a topic that enervated Muslim historians from the very beginning of Islamic history until today. At the crux of the issue was the concept of the *ahl al-bayt,* "The People of the Household," that is, of course, the household of the Prophet Muḥammad. Those who belonged to the *ahl al-bayt* could be said to have a legitimate claim to the Prophet's patrimony, that is, the office of the caliphate. Who, then, were classed as within the *ahl al-bayt,* and who without? Did it include only the Prophet's immediate ʻAlid descendants through his daughter Fāṭimah and her husband ʻAlī, did it include his whole clan, the Banū Hāshim, or did it stretch to include the broader tribe of Quraysh, to which the Banū Hāshim belonged alongside other clans such as the Banū Umayyah? Insofar as the question is usually seen as central to the distinction between Sunnis and Shiʻites, and between different historical visions within each of these two sects, it would be an understatement to say that the question has received more than a few contentious responses over the centuries.

Given the fact that al-Maqrīzī had eight centuries of writings about the caliphate in place before him, and given the fact that he was himself an established Sunni scholar of the Shafiʻi *madhhab,* one might expect al-Maqrīzī to follow his Sunni

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predecessors on this subject and simply favor one of two visions of the past favored by most Sunni writers before his time. That is, he might: (1) favor a generic conciliatory pro-Quraysh reading of Sunni history in which the Umayyad dynasty, wicked as they were, *and* the Abbasid dynasty (from the Banū Hāshim clan) that followed them were to be recognized as the legitimate successors of the Prophet, even if we do not always find in them models of proper Muslim conduct. Such a stance is easy to find, as, for example in the chronicle of al-Ṭabarī, a source on the early caliphates much used by later Arab historians.[1] Alternately, al-Maqrīzī might (2) exhibit a simple pro-Abbasid bias on the question of the caliphate, in which the Abbasid family, and neither their wicked predecessors the Umayyads nor the descendants of ʻAlī, had exclusive claims to be the legitimate successors of the Prophet. The anonymous *Akhbār al-Dawlah al-ʻAbbāsīyah* is the most famous example of this trend.[2] Then again, if we were willing to be broad-minded, we might even be willing to add a third stance for al-Maqrīzī to inherit, namely a pro-Umayyad stance, or at least a vision of the early caliphate that was less critical of the Umayyads as were so many of his predecessors. Such a vision of the early caliphates no longer survives intact, but telling fragments of it do exist.[3]

In fact, what one does find when one reads the several works of his that address the issue of the caliphate directly is a much more complicated picture. Al-Maqrīzī is certainly not pro-Umayyad; that is clear from all his writings. Nor is he any kind of crypto-Shiʻite. Yet, at the same time, he is not a blind partisan of the Abbasids either, and he is as free to criticize the Abbasids as he is the Umayyads, particularly in his work on Umayyad-Abbasid rivalry called the *Kitāb al-Nizāʻ wa-al-Takhāṣum,* aptly translated by Bosworth as ″The Book of contention and strife.″ Why does al-Maqrīzī have such a pessimistic opinion of the two caliphates?

After reading several of al-Maqrīzī′s shorter works, I am more willing than ever to entertain the answer that ″that′s just the way it is″: al-Maqrīzī was a very complex man, much more so than we usually think. However, I suggest that two factors shaped al-Maqrīzī′s attitude toward the early caliphates. First, we must be willing to recognize the realities of al-Maqrīzī′s historical context: al-Maqrīzī

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[1]Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-al-Mulūk,* ed. M. J. de Goeje et al. (Leiden, 1879–1901).

[2]*Akhbār al-Dawlah al-ʻAbbāsīyah,* ed. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Dūrī et al. (Beirut, 1971).

[3]On this, see Moshe Sharon, ″The Umayyads as *Ahl al-Bayt*,″ *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 14 (1992): 115–52. See also the description of a *Kitāb al-Barahīn fī Imāmat al-Umawīyīn* (The Book of proofs of the imamate of the Umayyads) in al-Masʻūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh wa-al-Ishrāf,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1894), 336–37. On the survival of Umayyad sympathies, see Paul M. Cobb, *White Banners: Contention in ʻAbbasid Syria, 750–880* (Albany, 2001), 51–55.

wrote his different works about the early caliphate at different times and places, for different patrons, and this probably affected the substance of what he wrote. Second, I would also argue that one can make sense of al-Maqrīzī's complex assessment of the early caliphates by recognizing what I shall call his "Hashimism," his belief that any member of the Banū Hāshim clan is worthy of honor; this includes both Abbasids *and*—significantly—'Alids. But it cannot be stressed enough that al-Maqrīzī's Hashimism is *not* Shi'ism. For example, he does not recognize any line of Shi'ite imams, nor does he feel that 'Alī should have succeeded after the Prophet's death instead of Abū Bakr. However, al-Maqrīzī's Hashimism did lead him to condemn those regimes (Umayyads or even Abbasids) that persecuted other members of the Banū Hāshim and to sympathize with their victims, many of whom have, historically, been 'Alids. The result is an attitude toward the early caliphates that is best appreciated from a broad survey of al-Maqrīzī's works, rather than a study of one specific text.

AL-MAQRĪZĪ'S WORKS ON THE CALIPHATE

Al-Maqrīzī composed four principal works that address the issue of the caliphate directly. The first work is al-Maqrīzī's massive biography of the Prophet, the *Imtā' al-Asmā' bi-Mā lil-Rasūl min al-Anbā' wa-al-Amwāl wa-al-Ḥafadah wa-al-Matā'* (The Delectation of ears concerning stories about the Messenger, his possessions, his offspring and helpers and things of which he made use) written sometime during al-Maqrīzī's stay in Mecca prior to 1433, since it is cited in his short work of that year, the *Kitāb fī Dhikr Mā Warada fī Banī Umayyah wa-Banī al-'Abbās,* described below. The *Imtā'* is best known in Shākir's 1941 Cairo edition, but this is in fact only a partial edition, representing merely the first part of the work devoted to the more or less familiar narrative of the *sīrah* of the Prophet.[4] A complete edition is now available in fifteen volumes, and it shows that the work is very much more than a mere biography of the Prophet.[5] Just to give one small example, al-Maqrīzī's long excursus on Judaism and Christianity reflects his quite detailed knowledge of the People of the Book, and there is much more to be found besides.[6] Many traditions cited in the *Imtā'* address the vexed question of who could be counted as *ahl al-bayt*, and so bear directly on the issue of the caliphate.

The second work is al-Maqrīzī's best-known work about the caliphates, *Kitāb al-Nizā' wa-al-Takhāṣum fīmā bayna Banī Umayyah wa-Banī Hāshim* (Book of

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[4]Taqī al-Dīn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Imtā' al-Asmā' bi-mā lil-Rasūl min al-Anbā' wa-al-Amwāl wa-al-Ḥafadah wa-al-Matā',* ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir (Cairo, 1941).

[5]Edited by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Nuwaysī (Beirut, 1999). Hereafter referred to as "*IA*."

[6]*IA,* 4:151 ff.

contention and strife concerning the relations between the Banū Umayyah and the Banū Hāshim). Its date of composition is also unknown, but it too is cited in the *Kitāb fī Dhikr Mā Warada* and so must have been composed before 1433. The work was edited by Geert Vos in the nineteenth century and by many others since then.[7] It has even been translated into English with detailed annotations by Bosworth.[8] In this work, al-Maqrīzī sought to account for the speedy rise of the Umayyad house to the caliphate after the death of the Prophet and the much-delayed victory of the Abbasids, despite the fact that the Umayyads were among the Prophet's most inveterate enemies and the Abbasids were among his closest allies.

The third work is al-Maqrīzī's short epistle entitled *Kitāb fī Dhikr Mā Warada fī Banī Umayyah wa-Banī al-'Abbās,* or "Concerning what has come down to us about the Banū Umayyah and the Banū al-'Abbās," which has not yet been edited, and so survives only in a unique manuscript now housed at the Austrian National Library in Vienna.[9] Al-Maqrīzī composed this epistle in 1433, when he was living in Mecca toward the end of his life. He said he composed the work in response to a *mufāḍilah,* a discussion of the various merits of the Umayyads and Abbasids, that took place in the *majlis* of the epistle's unnamed patron. His intent was to sift through "the welter [of accounts] that have come down to us about the two groups."[10] Like some of the other short works al-Maqrīzī wrote on the subject, the *Kitāb fī Dhikr Mā Warada* is divided into two sections, one on accounts about the Umayyads, one on the Abbasids. The work appears to be stridently pro-Abbasid and so Bosworth speculated that the unnamed patron of the work was in fact a member of the Abbasid house, a point to which we will return.[11]

The fourth and final work is al-Maqrīzī's short epistle *Kitāb Ma'rifat Mā*

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[7]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Nizā' wa-al-Takhaṣum fīmā bayna Banī Umayyah wa-Banī Hāshim,* ed. G. Vos as *Die Kämpfe und Streitigkeiten zwischen den Banū Umajja und den Banū Hāšim* (Leiden, 1888). For this paper, I have consulted the edition by Ḥusayn Mu'nis (Cairo, 1988), hereafter referred to as "*NT*."

[8]C. E. Bosworth, trans., *Al-Maqrīzī's "Book of Contention and Strife Concerning The Relations between the Banū Umayyah and the Banū Hāshim,"* Journal of Semitic Studies, Monograph no. 3 (Manchester, 1980).

[9]Codex Vindobonensis Palatinus, Alter Fond, 342b of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (Flügel 887). The work itself (342b) is the second part of a four-part anthology (MS Alter Fond 342) of some of al-Maqrīzī's shorter works. Hereafter referred to as "*DMW*."

[10]*DMW,* fol. 159a: "fa-qayyadtu mā tayassaru mimmā warada fī al-farīqayn."

[11]C. E. Bosworth, "Al-Maqrīzī's Epistle 'Concerning What Has Come Down To Us About the Banū Umayyah and the Banū l-'Abbās,'" in *Studia Arabica et Islamica: Festschrift for Iḥsān 'Abbās on His Sixtieth Birthday,* ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī (Beirut, 1981), 39–45. The article provides a more thorough description of the work than that attempted here. On the possible identity of the patron, see p. 45.

Yajibu li-Āl al-Bayt al-Nabawī min al-Ḥaqq ʻalá Man ʻAdāhum (Book of knowledge about what should be recognized as the righteousness of the cause of the prophetic household against those who oppose it), written in 1438, when al-Maqrīzī was seventy-four and had returned from Mecca to take up residence again in Cairo.[12] It is a detailed examination of five Quranic passages that al-Maqrīzī held to be of relevance for the issue of the caliphate and of the status of the Banū Hāshim more generally. Incidentally, it also contains an interesting final chapter consisting of five anecdotes from al-Maqrīzī's own time demonstrating among other things the noble deeds of some of the *sharīfs* of Mecca, and, surprisingly, the alleged Hashimi lineage of Tīmūr Lenk.

AL-MAQRĪZĪ'S HASHIMISM

What do these four works have to say about al-Maqrīzī's Hashimism? I will begin with the *Imtāʻ*. Evidence for al-Maqrīzī's attitude toward the Banū Hāshim does not readily spring from this text, but it is there in great quantity mixed and scattered about with the various accounts about the details of the life of the Prophet, as, for example, in traditions in which the Prophet swears off shedding the blood of any Hashimi, or the accounts of the merits of specific Hashimis like Jaʻfar ibn Abī Ṭālib, slain in battle at Mu'tah in 629.[13] Other accounts are more subtle, as in a famous account about a campaign of the Prophet against some Meccan opponents. Before leaving, he put Abū Bakr in charge of the army, another companion in charge of Medina, and ʻAlī in charge of his household *(ʻalá ahlihi)*. The Prophet's opponents then began to suggest that he had done so merely to be rid of ʻAlī. When ʻAlī left Medina to join the Prophet and tell him this, Muḥammad replied: "They lie! I have truly only appointed you over what lies behind me. Now get back there and act as my deputy over my household and your household. Are you not satisfied to be in a relationship to me as Aaron was to Moses . . .?"[14] In another account the Banū Hāshim are said to have been the ones who prayed first over Muḥammad's dead body, and so on.[15]

While these sorts of accounts are scattered throughout the work, the clearest evidence for al-Maqrīzī's attitude about the Banū Hāshim and the caliphate comes in the sections of the work devoted to the Prophet's family and household. Here, al-Maqrīzī is careful to enumerate the various definitions of *ahl al-bayt* that Muslim scholars have propounded. He lists four definitions: (1) that the *ahl al-bayt*

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[12]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb Maʻrifat Mā Yajibu li-Āl al-Bayt al-Nabawī min al-Ḥaqq ʻalá Man ʻAdāhum,* ed. ʻAbd al-Muḥsin ʻAbd Allāh al-Sirāwī (Damascus, 1998), hereafter referred to as "*MMY*."

[13]*IA,* 1:108, 337–44.

[14]Ibid., 2:50.

[15]Ibid., 136.

are those to whom *ṣadaqah* is forbidden as a source of income; of this definition, there are three sub-sets, *(a)* those who identify this group as the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib combined, *(b)* those who identify this group as the Banū Hāshim exclusively, and *(c)* those who identify this group as Quraysh more broadly, including the Banū Hāshim, the Banū al-Muṭṭalib, the Banū Umayyah, etc.; (2) that the *ahl al-bayt* are the children and wives of the Prophet exclusively; (3) that the *ahl al-bayt* are all the followers of the Prophet from now until Judgement Day; (4) that the *ahl al-bayt* are the truly God-fearing members of the *ummah*. Of these four options, al-Maqrīzī very explicitly chooses the first. For him, the *ahl al-bayt* are those to whom *ṣadaqah* is forbidden as a source of income; this group is identifiable with the Banū Hāshim and the Banū al-Muṭṭalib combined. Moreover, as al-Maqrīzī explictly states in his own words: ″this excludes the Banū ʻAbd Shams, the Banū Nawfal of ʻAbd Manāf, and all the rest of Quraysh.″ Not surprisingly, this is the stance on the issue taken by the Shafiʻi law-school to which al-Maqrīzī belonged.[16]

However, it is worth pointing out that in this discussion, al-Maqrīzī makes a point of mentioning Shiʻite claims about the *ahl al-bayt,* in particular their understanding of the famous *ahl al-kisā'* tradition, which defines the *ahl al-bayt* as ʻAlī, Fāṭimah, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn exclusively. This exegetical tradition seeks to provide a context for Quran 33:33: ″God only desires to put away filthiness from you as his household, and with cleansing to cleanse you.″ According to this tradition, after this verse was revealed, the Prophet wrapped ʻAlī, Fāṭimah, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn in a garment of his *(kisā'),* signifying that they alone belonged to his household. But even in discussing these traditions, al-Maqrīzī does so merely to refute them.[17] Indeed, the *Imtāʻ* includes a rousing plea for venerating the Quraysh and Companions in general, albeit not all of them as *ahl al-bayt*:[18]

> Know that the household of the Messenger of God and his beloved ones are of two kinds, those whom God took from us [during the Prophet′s life] . . ., and those whom God kept to serve as a consolation for the Prophet′s eyes, such as ʻĀ'ishah, Zaynab, and all the Mothers of the Faithful, and Fāṭimah and al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, and ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and al-ʻAbbās ibn ʻAbd al-Muṭṭalib . . . and Abū Sufyān and all the Companions [of the Prophet] and those whom

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[16]Ibid., 5:372–405. See p. 382: ″Wa-hādhā al-qawl min an āl al-rasūl hum alladhīna tuḥrima ʻalayhim al-ṣadaqah huwa aṣaḥḥ al-aqwāl al-arbaʻah . . . wa-kharaja Banū ʻAbd Shams wa-Banū Nawfal ibnay ʻAbd Manāf wa-sā'ir Quraysh ʻan hadhayn al-baṭnayn.″

[17]Ibid., 383–88.

[18]Ibid., 6:20–21.

> he loved. [We should] love and honor every person in these two groups, accept their reports, glorify their cause, and invoke God's pleasure upon them, for he [the Prophet] has done so.

I cannot think of a clearer statement of Sunni conciliation inflected with Hashimism.

In the *Kitāb Maʿrifat Mā Yajibu*, al-Maqrīzī is the most explicit about his feelings for the Banū Hāshim. Indeed, he explains his motives behind the composition of the work as follows:[19]

> When I observed that most people were remiss in acknowledging the legitimacy of the Family of the Prophet, that they opposed what legitimacy they possessed, that they tarnished their glory, and were ignorant of their station relative to God Most High, I desired to produce a tract about this matter that demonstrates the greatness of their glory and that guides the God-fearing to the mightiness of their powers. [In this way, the God-fearing reader] might remain within the bounds of propriety and fulfill what God has promised them and bestowed upon them.

As indicated earlier, this work is organized into five chapters, each dealing with a separate Quranic verse that al-Maqrīzī feels pertains to the issue of the *ahl al-bayt*. In the first chapter, he returns to the issue of the *ahl al-kisāʾ* tradition that he broached in the *Imtāʿ*. He does not add much that is new, save that he includes a long extract from an anti-Shiʿite tract by an earlier Iraqi scholar, Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī (d. 657/1258), a disciple of Ibn Taymīyah.[20] Although Shiʿite arguments about the *ahl al-bayt* are reproduced in this tract, they are nevertheless refuted, and doubly so as they are buried by a long excerpt from Ibn ʿArabī's *Al-Futūḥāt al-Makkīyah* which argues for an *ʿiṣmah*-like quality of grace for the *ahl al-bayt*.[21] At no time does al-Maqrīzī explicitly reveal to us here who *he* thinks the *ahl al-bayt* are, but the chapter ends significantly with a statement by ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (an Umayyad) speaking of ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī (a Hashimi ʿAlid) that "There is not one member of the Banū Hāshim but that possesses the quality of intercession [for our sins on Judgement Day]." Chapter two (a commentary on Quran 52:21) argues that the descendants (*dhurriyāt*) of the Prophet will be forgiven for their crimes, their disobedience will be overlooked, and their sins

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[19] *MMY,* 35.

[20] Ibid., 57–62.

[21] Ibid., 62–69.

absolved that they may enter Paradise without experiencing the pains of Hell.[22] The key question, of course, is whether the term *dhurriyāt* refers merely to the Prophet's sons and daughters, or also to his grandchildren, and, thus, to the 'Alids. Al-Maqrīzī presents both arguments, but never decides the issue here.[23] Instead, he waits for his third chapter (commenting on Quran 18:82) to make that point, arguing that if, as people say, the doves of the Ḥaram in Mecca are descended from two doves who had a nest in the mouth of a cave in which the Prophet sought refuge, then surely God would protect the descendants of his own Prophet, and, even more so, the children of Fāṭimah, and keep them from entering Hell on Judgement Day.[24] Along the same lines, chapter four (a commentary on Quran 13:23) demonstrates that these descendants will enter heaven on account of the Prophet's special regard for them and because of their own innate righteousness.[25] Chapter five, the last chapter (on Quran 42:23) and thus the one the reader/listener "takes home," returns to the issue of terminology and tries to define what is meant by *qurbah* or *qarābah*, "nearness," another crucial concept in the arguments about the caliphate.[26] For it was those with *qurbah* to the Prophet that God first directed Muḥammad to seek out as followers. As with *ahl al-bayt,* al-Maqrīzī lays out the various defnitions of the term for us, but finally settles on one, conciliatory reading. For al-Maqrīzī, *qurbah* is an attribute that every Muslim shares, even if in varying degrees. For the Arabs are the Prophet's kin-group, and even if the Quraysh are closer to him than the Arab tribe of Yaman, they are all descendants of Ismā'īl. However, because of their nearness, the Quraysh possess a special status above all other Arabs. It is incumbent upon us to respect them all.[27]

In the *Kitāb al-Nizā',* al-Maqrīzī returns to the issue of *qurbah,* but not before purveying a complicated tissue of evidence to explain why the impious Umayyads attained the caliphate prior to the Banū Hāshim, by which al-Maqrīzī of course means the Abbasid dynasty. The Umayyads, al-Maqrīzī shows us, were excluded from the Prophet's share of the booty from his raid on Khaybar (and so can be expected to be ineligible for a share in his legacy, i.e., the caliphate), they opposed and indeed fought the Prophet during his lifetime, they ruled as tyrants when they did become caliphs, and were furthermore arrogant in their station, forgetting to whom it was they owed their glory.[28] But, al-Maqrīzī tells us, the Abbasids were

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[22]Ibid., 84–85.

[23]Ibid., 75–85; *IA,* 6:3–13.

[24]*MMY,* 88.

[25]Ibid., 95.

[26]On these concepts, see Afsaruddin, *Excellence and Precedence,* 146 ff.

[27]*MMY,* 107–8.

[28]*NT,* 67–69.

no angels, either. For this Hashimi dynasty, when it finally did attain power, did so only by seizing power when Islam was weak. To make matters worse, they transformed the caliphate into a despotism, murdered other Muslims, and, like their Umayyad predecessors, came to rule as tyrants, with a greater preference for *adab* than for the *sunnah* of the Prophet.[29] As al-Maqrīzī puts it:[30]

> Now what connection is there between this tyranny and evil-doing, and the justice of the divine law revealed to Muḥammad and the exemplary lives of the Rightly-Guided Imams? Or between this frightful barbarity shown towards near kinsmen and the compassion evinced by the Prophet? By God, this conduct has nothing whatever to do with true religion; on the contrary, it is the sort of thing which God . . . has described in His words (Quran 47:22-23), ″If you turned away, would you perhaps then wreak evil in the land and sever all bonds of kinship?″

And it is here, finally, that one can see al-Maqrīzī′s feelings of reverence for the Banū Hāshim, as reflected in his understanding of that key term, ″nearness″ *(qurbah, qarābah).* In his discussion of the blockade upon the Prophet imposed by Quraysh, al-Maqrīzī notes that the Prophet′s ancestor ʻAbd Manāf produced two lineages of potential help to him. The first, the Banū Umayyah of ʻAbd Manāf, he excluded, since they had been godless and bitter opponents of him even in the Jāhilīyah. The second, the Banū al-Muṭṭalib of ʻAbd Manāf, however, had been early converts and supporters, and so he took them with him, even the members of the clan who did not convert to Islam. In al-Maqrīzī′s words:[31]

> They went into the ravine with him, both the believers and the unbelievers of the clan—the believers out of solidarity in faith, the unbelievers out of solidarity in kinship. So, if you consider all these points, two valuable conclusions will become plain to you. Firstly, the deciding factor is nearness of faith, not of the flesh *(al-ʻibrah bi-qarābat al-dīn, lā bi-qarābat al-ṭīn).* Secondly, mere blood relationship means nothing.

This then, allows us to make sense of some the more notable characteristics of al-Maqrīzī′s attitude toward the early caliphates. If Quraysh are all to be accorded

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[29]Ibid., 88–97.

[30]Ibid., 97.

[31]Ibid., 67.

respect, and the Banū Hāshim especially so, because of their identity as *ahl al-bayt*, nevertheless, in the final analysis, it is their piety, not their genealogical status that determines our respect for them. And so, impious Hashimis get censured just as hotly as do wicked Umayyads. Even the Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil, whom many Sunni historians saw as the restorer of the faith after the unfortunate interlude of the Abbasid ″Inquisition″ or *miḥnah,* even he is not immune to al-Maqrīzī´s high standards, for he, in enforcing a restored *sunnah,* murdered other Muslims and other Hashimis.[32] And similarly, he makes an analogy between the Muslim community and the Israelites, bemoaning the scattered and fallen state of the Quraysh in his day by comparing it to the Diaspora of the Jewish people, and the impotence of the once so promising Abbasid caliphs under the Mamluks to the status of the Israelites under Greek rule after their return from Exile.[33]

In many ways, the last of al-Maqrīzī´s works to be considered here, the *Kitāb fī Dhikr Mā Warada*, is a summary of the *Nizā'*. That is, it too is a roughly historical work, dominated by two sections, one on the perfidy of the Umayyads, followed by one on the Abbasids. However, it is quite unlike the *Nizā'* in that it allows no room for the faults of the Abbasids, and instead concentrates solely on their merits. Thus, as in the *Nizā',* the work begins with a condemnation of the Umayyads as the ultimate opponents of the Prophet, excluded from his legacy at Khaybar.[34] It was the Umayyads, after all, who burned the Ka'bah during the Second Fitnah,[35] who murdered al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī and coldly gloated over that fact,[36] and who were responsible for any number of innovations against the *sunnah,* such as the delaying of canonical prayer-times.[37] The Abbasids, however, were pillars of righteousness, best represented by their pious forebears such as al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and the very embodiment of Prophetic *'ilm,* 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās.[38] Indeed, the reign of the Banū al-'Abbās would issue in the eschaton, in which Evil would perish and Good emerge victorious for all time.[39] If one had to provide only one example of their merits, al-Maqrīzī says to look no further than their decision to stop the ritual cursing of 'Alī from the pulpits, a practice begun by the Umayyads.[40] Here, again, al-Maqrīzī´s conciliatory Hashimism emerges:

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[32]Ibid., 102.
[33]Ibid., 107.
[34]*DMW,* fols. 159a–160b.
[35]Ibid., fols. 162b–163a.
[36]Ibid., fol. 163b ff.
[37]Ibid., fols. 166a–166b.
[38]Ibid., fols. 167a–169b.
[39]Ibid., fols. 170a–172b.
[40]Ibid., fol. 172b.

what better symbol of it than the Hashimi Abbasids, so strongly associated with Sunnism to al-Maqrīzī, putting an end to the cursing of their fellow Hashimi ʻAlī, the first Shiʻite imam?

Yet the *Kitāb fī Dhikr Mā Warada* also contains at least one statement that might suggest something more than mere conciliation. In introducing the Umayyads, al-Maqrīzī takes a moment to place them chronologically, revealing both his vision of early Islamic history, and of the caliphate: "The reign of the Banū Umayyah came after the reign of the beloved Rightly-Guided Caliphs, who are Abū Bakr, ʻUmar, ʻUthmān, ʻAlī, and al-Ḥasan, may God be pleased with them."[41] The startling addition here of al-Ḥasan to what is otherwise the standard Sunni list of Rightly-Guided Caliphs might suggest that al-Maqrīzī has crossed the line into recognizing ʻAlid legitimacy and—who knows?—perhaps even doctrinal Shīʻism.

But it would be unfortunate if that conclusion were drawn, and it is here that one must return to the two factors shaping al-Maqrīzī's attitudes about the caliphate mentioned above. On the one hand, al-Maqrīzī is demonstrably "soft" on *all* members of the Banū Hāshim, Abbasid or ʻAlid, a point which should now be clear. On the other, al-Maqrīzī was not writing in a vacuum, and was himself writing for a patron. The work was written in 1433 in Mecca for a specific purpose: to summarize the faults of the Umayyads and the merits of the Abbasids in the wake of a debate about the subject in the *majlis* of al-Maqrīzī's unnamed patron. The overtly pro-Abbasid nature of the text, avoiding any of the condemnations of the Abbasids that al-Maqrīzī adduces in the *Nizāʻ,* for example, led Bosworth to suggest that the patron of the work was a member of the Abbasid family, a plausible suggestion given the Meccan context.[42] However, in light of al-Maqrīzī's list of Rightly-Guided Caliphs, I suggest that the patron might equally be a descendant of al-Ḥasan. After all, Mamluk-era Mecca was governed at the time by a local dynasty of *sharīfs.* In fact, when al-Maqrīzī composed the *Kitāb fī Dhikr Mā Warada,* it was governed by the Hasanid *sharīf* Barakāt ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ʻAjlān.[43] There is no proof positive, of course, but given al-Maqrīzī's nod to the ʻAlids and to al-Ḥasan in particular in this work,[44] it is certainly more than possible that the host of the Meccan *majlis* in 1433 and the patron of one of

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[41]Ibid., fol. 159a: "wa-kānat dawlat Banī Umayyah baʻda dawlat al-khulafāʼ al-rāshidīn al-ʻazīz hum Abū Bakr wa-ʻUmar wa-ʻUthmān wa-ʻAlī wa-al-Ḥasan raḍiya Allāh taʻālá ʻanhum."

[42]Bosworth, "Al-Maqrīzī's Epistle," 45.

[43]On Meccan politics, economy, and society at this time, see John Lash Meloy, "Mamluk Authority, Meccan Autonomy, and Red Sea Trade, 797–859/1395–1455," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1998.

[44]Pace Bosworth, who claims that the work is "so silent in respect of the ʻAlids." See "Al-Maqrīzī's Epistle," 45.

al-Maqrīzī's last works was a Hasanid member of the sharifian family, if not the *sharīf* Barakāt himself.

CONCLUSION

All of al-Maqrīzī's four works described here comment on the course of early Islamic history, especially the *Nizāʻ* and the *Kitāb fī Dhikr Mā Warada.* Yet, significantly, despite the fact that in the *Nizāʻ* he traces the deeds of the Abbasids from their Jahili beginnings to their Mamluk-era *fainéantise,* he never once takes the opportunity in this tract about the Banū Hāshim, or indeed in any other of the works I mentioned, to discuss the Fatimids. This is especially frustrating as the hidden question behind any discussion of al-Maqrīzī's views of the caliphate is the question of his Shiʻite sympathies. Was al-Maqrīzī, with his fascination for Egypt's Fatimid past, a closeted Shiʻite himself? Simply: no. As I have shown, and as al-Maqrīzī explicitly states, his position vis-à-vis the *ahl al-bayt* was one solidly within the tradition of Shafiʻi thinking on the issue, and so al-Maqrīzī was in great degree merely toeing the party line. He even adduced refutations of Shiʻite arguments in doing so. Al-Maqrīzī's attitude *is* notably accented or nuanced with a clear veneration for the Banū Hāshim as *ahl al-bayt* and as a subset of Quraysh, but this hardly disqualifies him as a Sunni. Reverence for the Banū Hāshim and indeed the descendants of ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib was a common feature of Sunni piety from an early date,[45] and we should certainly not be surprised to see it in a man of broad interests and deep learning like al-Maqrīzī, who was himself a product of the religious-cultural synthesis of the Middle Periods that Lapidus has aptly called "a broad synthetic middle ground—the Sunni-Shariʻa-Sufi position."[46]

Nevertheless, such a position does raise some questions. Even if one accepts al-Maqrīzī as an unobjectionable Sunni, one has to admit that he had a thing about the Banū Hāshim and the progeny of ʻAlī in particular, what contemporaries would have seen as forgivable Shiʻite inclinations *(tashayyuʻ ḥasan)*.[47] The man wrote three separate treatises about the subject, and the issue is a sub-theme of other of his works, too. He had, to use a felicitous idiom for the author of a treatise on apiculture,[48] a bee in his bonnet. Clearly, al-Maqrīzī is arguing a point here, and it may be that he is arguing against an identifiable trend among his fellow Sunni Muslims of the fifteenth century, in which the Banū Hāshim were

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[45]Demonstrated most clearly in Afsaruddin, *Excellence and Precedence,* 12–13 and 283–86.

[46]Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge, 1988), 233.

[47]Afsaruddin, *Excellence and Precedence,* 13, citing Alessandro Bausani, "Religion under the Mongols," in *The Cambridge History of Iran,* ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge, 1968), 5: 538–49.

[48]Al-Maqrīzī, *Naḥl ʻabr al-Naḥl,* ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 2000).

not being given due respect and in which the descendants of ʿAlī *were* being reviled. But what that position is, and whether there is more evidence for it, I do not know. Certainly, al-Maqrīzī′s writings are at least evidence of one man′s conviction that Sunnis of his day were in need of a little schooling.

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Al-Maqrīzī and the Fatimids

The role of al-Maqrīzī in the historiography of the Fatimids is immense; he looms so large in fact that what he wrote often seems to overwhelm all other sources of information about them. Regardless of how one assesses his strengths and weaknesses as a historian in other respects, his contributions in this one area remain critical in any reconstruction or assessment of Fatimid history. Moreover, if he offered nothing other than the preservation of older sources, that would be enough. He provides a mass of material where little else exists.[1]

And several sources not by him nevertheless depend on him. For the study of the Fatimids, where so few works survive, especially for Egypt, those that we know because of his efforts stand out. One prime example is what remains of the Egyptian historian Tāj al-Dīn Ibn Muyassar′s *History of Egypt (Tārīkh Miṣr)*. Ibn Muyassar′s dates are 628–77 and thus he precedes al-Maqrīzī by over a century and a half. Thought by many to have been the most important work on the Fatimid period before al-Maqrīzī, it has long been known that this chronicle was al-Maqrīzī′s main source for the reconstruction of a major period—a fact easily demonstrated by comparing the surviving text of Ibn Muyassar with al-Maqrīzī′s Fatimid history, the *Itti'āẓ*. But in fact, what we possess of Ibn Muyassar is merely a set of detailed notes taken from the original by al-Maqrīzī himself in the year 814. It is not in all likelihood a verbatim transcription. The surviving manuscript is, moreover, only a copy of those same notes.

There are other less dramatic examples. Only a small section of the massive history by al-Musabbiḥī (d. 420/1029)[2] has been recovered and it is now in the Escorial. On the title page of that manuscript is the signature of al-Maqrīzī, indicating apparently that he once possessed and/or used it.[3] Similarly, al-Maqrīzī′s name and seal are visible on the title page of the Vienna manuscript of Ibn

[1]On the historiography of the Fatimids see in general my *Exploring an Islamic Empire: Fatimid History and Its Sources* (London, 2002).

[2]The amir al-Mukhtār 'Izz al-Mulk Muḥammad al-Musabbiḥī′s *History,* said to have comprised 13,000 folios in all, has for the most part all but disappeared. His life spanned the period 366–420 and his history the years 368–415.

[3]The same title page has the signature as well of al-Awḥadī. See the photograph of it reproduced in the edition by Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid and Thierry Bianquis, *Al-Juz' al-Arba'ūn min Akhbār Miṣr,* pt. 1 (historical section) (Cairo, 1978), plate 1 (transcribed on p. 1).

al-Furāt.[4] In two other cases, those of Ibn al-Ma'mūn and Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, much of what remains of their works are the sections that appear in the writings of al-Maqrīzī.

Several of al-Maqrīzī's own works concern the Fatimids in one way or another. The major ones are, first, the *Khiṭaṭ,* which is itself, at least in inspiration, a work on Fatimid Cairo and Fatimid institutions. A *khiṭṭah* (plural *khiṭaṭ*) is both a location or a building and as well an institution, such as a department of government. For al-Maqrīzī the office of chief *dāʻī,* the *dāʻī al-duʻāh,* is such an institution, a *khiṭṭah.*[5] Begun out of a sense of nostalgia for the city of his birth and boyhood and its antiquities, much of the *Khiṭaṭ* centers on the Fatimids, even though the final version came to encompass most of Egypt. Al-Maqrīzī's great biographical dictionary, *Al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr,* aspired to include all prominent individuals in the Islamic period who had lived in or visited Egypt. It is less obviously dedicated to the Fatimids. However, of the parts that survive, which contain some 3600 individual entries, I count over 500 related more or less to Fatimid history. Many are quite brief: Andalusians, for example, who passed through Egypt on the hajj; but a fair number of the entries are extensive. Several concern persons one might not expect: there is a biography of a Berber rebel who harried the Zirid rulers of North Africa in the period when they still recognized the suzerainty of the Fatimids in Egypt. After at last defeating and capturing this man, the Zirid ruler executed him and sent his head off to Cairo. And thus, comments al-Maqrīzī, this man merits inclusion in this book—at least his head came to Egypt. Among the longer and more noteworthy biographies are those of the first three Fatimid caliphs: al-Mahdī, al-Qā'im, and most peculiarly al-Manṣūr. Both al-Mahdī and al-Qā'im had lived in Egypt; al-Qā'im also twice led a Fatimid army into Egypt trying to capture it. But al-Manṣūr was born in the Maghrib and died there. His corpse, however, came with al-Muʻizz (along with the bodies of his grandfather and great grandfather) when the Fatimids moved their capital to Egypt. Thus he, too, fit al-Maqrīzī's requirement for the *Muqaffá.*

But, important as these two works are, al-Maqrīzī's major contribution was his *Ittiʻāẓ al-Ḥunafā' bi-Akhbār al-A'immah al-Fāṭimīyīn al-Khulafā'* (Lessons for the true believers in the history of the Fatimid imams and caliphs), a single, large work devoted exclusively to the Fatimids. It was, it is true, only one of a series of three works on the history of Egypt from the Arab conquest until the

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[4]As noted by Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid in the introduction to his edition of Abū Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Salām Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, *Nuzhat al-Muqlatayn fī Akhbār al-Dawlatayn* (Beirut, 1992), 14*.

[5]See the *musawwadah*, ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (London, 1995), 94: "This institution *(al-khiṭṭah),* that is the office *(waẓīfah)* of the chief *dāʻī* I have not observed in any state other than that of the Fatimid caliphs, especially in Egypt. The institution is based on an appeal to the masses to accept what of the Ismaili *madhhab* they used to believe in." The Bulaq text ([1853], 391) is not the same.

year of al-Maqrīzī's own death. The first, his *'Iqd Jawāhir al-Asqāṭ min Akhbār Madīnat al-Fusṭāṭ,* went to the year 358.[6] Next is the *Itti'āẓ,* his history of the Fatimids, and finally his *Al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* which covered the Ayyubids and Mamluks. The pattern of these histories thus suggests that the Fatimids were not accorded as much attention as might be supposed from the one work in isolation. Still, even if it is one of a series, it stands out. Excluding those that are merely a part of a broader history and a few that deal with limited portions of the Fatimid experience as a whole, the *Itti'āẓ* is the only medieval history of them we have.[7]

Al-Maqrīzī's lavish attentions to the Fatimids, his evident sympathy for them, and his well-known acceptance of their genealogical claim of descent from 'Alī and Fāṭimah—despite its rejection by most Sunni authorities—gained him special notice among his contemporaries, both those friendly to him and those who were not. But a typical reaction is that of an unknown writer who added a comment in the margin of the Gotha ms. (the autograph) of the *Itti'āẓ* immediately after al-Maqrīzī's section on Fatimid genealogy.[8]

> The concern of the author with refuting what was said by the specialists in genealogy about the validity [of the claim of descent] of the Fatimids, and his attempt to vindicate them, his constant praise for them, and defense of their *madhhab* . . . is excused because he traced his own ancestry to them. He used to state, particularly in the beginning of a book and in his own hand, that his line went back to Tamīm [ibn al-Mu'izz].

As a descendant of the Fatimid caliphs he might well be expected both to support their position and to write a laudatory account of their reign. The view expressed in this comment was apparently shared by many others, as at least supplying a reason to explain al-Maqrīzī's interest in the Fatimids. Nearly all of his biographers mention it, for example. Some even, perhaps hoping to discredit him, hint at the possibility that he was personally attracted by Ismaili doctrine, that he was a

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[6]This work is now lost.

[7]Remarkably, there is as yet no history of the Fatimids in a European language. The only modern example is Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan's *Tārīkh al-Dawlah al-Fāṭimīyah fī al-Maghrib wa-Miṣr wa-Suriyā wa-Bilād al-'Arab* (2nd ed., Cairo, 1958; 3rd ed., Cairo, 1964). But the most important book on the Fatimids in Arabic is Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid's *Al-Dawlah al-Fāṭimīyah fī Miṣr: Tafsīr Jadīd* (Cairo, 1992; 2nd ed., Cairo, 2000) which by its very nature does not cover the North African phase.

[8]Given in Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl's note in his edition of the text, *Iṭṭi'āẓ al-Ḥunafā' bi-Akhbār al-A'immah al-Fāṭimīyīn al-Khulafā'* (Cairo, 1967–73), 1:54 n. 2.

crypto-Ismaili. These are, however, two separate problems: Was al-Maqrīzī, or did he think he was, a descendant of the Fatimids? And did he accept in any way Ismaili doctrines?

The question of his ancestry is immediately complicated by al-Maqrīzī´s refusal in all his works, despite the evidence of the statement above, to admit his Fatimid descent or provide a full genealogy going back to the Fatimids—a fact already noted by contemporaries such as Ibn Ḥajar. In other words, al-Maqrīzī himself did not make such a claim in his written work, but extended his line back no more than ten generations. From where, then, does this widely cited fact come and on what sort of evidence is it based?

Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Maqrīzī´s own student, remarks in the *Nujūm al-Zāhirah* that al-Maqrīzī´s ancestry could be extended back to ʻAlī via the Fatimid caliphs, a fact he learned from al-Maqrīzī´s nephew al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad, the son of his brother.[9]

Ibn Ḥajar, in the *Inbāʼ al-Ghumr,* offers two bits of evidence.[10] A) The story of a Meccan scholar who read a work of al-Maqrīzī´s with him on the front of which he had written a list of al-Maqrīzī´s ancestors running back to Tamīm the son of al-Muʻizz, the Fatimid caliph who founded Cairo. But then al-Maqrīzī himself erased that same list and in his works he never (again?) extended the line that far back. B) Another story comes from al-Maqrīzī´s brother who was curious to learn how they were related to the Fatimids. Al-Maqrīzī supposedly told him that he and his father entered the Mosque of al-Ḥākim one day and the father told the son, ″My son, this is the mosque of your ancestor.″

In the same author´s *Al-Durar al-Kāminah*[11] he comments that al-Maqrīzī used to say that his father mentioned to him that he was a descendant of Tamīm ibn al-Muʻizz, the builder of Cairo, but that he should not reveal this fact to anyone he could not trust.

Al-Maqrīzī´s neighbor, friend, and fellow historian, al-Awḥadī, composed lines of verse in which he states rather directly, ″Boast among the people, Taqī al-Dīn, with full pride in a noble Fatimid ancestry; when you related something good about them and face opposition, trace it back to the Ḥākimī [al-Ḥākim].″[12]

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[9]See, under the year 845, his obituary for al-Maqrīzī: Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1929–49; 1963–71), 15:490. There is, however, no detail given of such a genealogy. In Ibn Taghrībirdī´s *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʻda al-Wāfī,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1984) there is a biography of al-Maqrīzī (1:415–20) but again no genealogy (nor any claim for it).

[10]*Inbāʼ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʼ al-ʻUmr* (Hyderabad, 1976) under the year 845, 9:172.

[11]*Al-Durar al-Kāminah* (Cairo, 1966), 3:5.

[12]As far as I know Nasser Rabbat was the first to notice these lines, which appear in al-Maqrīzī´s biography of al-Awḥadī in the *Durar al-ʻUqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-Aʻyān al-Mufīdah,* ed.

There is in all this still no specific genealogy. Al-Sakhāwī in his *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi'* also gives none, although he does repeat disparagingly what Ibn Ḥajar had said, adding a nasty comment about al-Maqrīzī's reliance on an untrustworthy genealogist.[13] Nevertheless in his *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk* he provides a complete genealogy going back, not merely to al-Mu'izz, but from him to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.[14] This is the only complete genealogy for al-Maqrīzī that I know of.[15]

What can we make of all this? Obviously someone wanted to be descended from the founder of Cairo. Tamīm, al-Mu'izz's oldest son, was the link. But Tamīm, born in 337, although the oldest, was passed over in the succession in the mid-350s when it was learned that he would never produce offspring *(lammā ra'á an lā yu'qib)*. We don't know exactly why: impotence or another physical defect. A Shi'i imam, however, must produce an heir, otherwise he cannot be the imam. But the point here is that Tamīm also cannot have been al-Maqrīzī's ancestor; or to put it another way, al-Maqrīzī was not his descendant. Whoever was originally responsible for this claim had made the wrong choice of a Fatimid.[16] Most importantly al-Maqrīzī knew about the impotence of Tamīm, or at least, he came to know of it. But in his *Itti'āẓ* he does not mention this fact, although it might be expected there. Nevertheless, in his biographical entry for Tamīm in the *Muqaffá,* he is quite clear about it.

Another fact worth repeating here also comes from al-Maqrīzī. When Saladin put an end to the caliphate he rounded up all the Fatimids and detained them where they could not procreate and thus produce more Fatimids. Thirty years later in 608, sixty were still held; in 623, forty remained. We have their names thanks to al-Maqrīzī. If sixty-three were still in custody after 30 years, there must have been many, many more in 558: possibly as many as 200? 300? Saladin was quite

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'Adnān Darwīsh and Muḥammad al-Miṣrī (Damascus, 1995), 2:239. He quite rightly saw their significance as well. For this reference and some others I benefited from an unpublished earlier version of his paper in this volume which he kindly provided to me.

[13]Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Cairo, 1934–36), 2:21–26.

[14]Did al-Sakhāwī possibly accept as genuine the genealogy he gives for the line from al-Mahdī to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq: "al-Mahdī. . .ibn Majīd ibn Ja'far, ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ja'far. . ."?

[15]As printed: Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk* (Bulaq, 1896), 21–24; however, there are problems: the key segment runs: ". . . Tamīm ibn 'Alī ibn 'Ubayd ibn Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Mu'izz . . ." which cannot be correct. Al-Mu'izz had four sons: Tamīm, 'Abd Allāh, Nizār (al-'Azīz), and 'Aqīl. See my "Succession to Rule in the Shiite Caliphate" (*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 32 [1995]: 239–64), 246.

[16]Admittedly there is some confusion in the data presented to us. Tamīm ibn al-Mu'izz was the uncle of al-Ḥākim and therefore, even if he had produced offspring, he and al-Ḥākim belong to different lines.

thorough; there were to be no descendants at all![17]

At this point it is obvious that the evidence is hardly unambiguous and it is therefore difficult to explain all these claims with a simple solution. However, it appears that the basic assertion of Fatimid descent in the case of al-Maqrīzī is a family myth or legend. Note in particular the role of the father and the brother. The neighbor al-Awḥadī may have learned what he knew from the same source. At any rate al-Awḥadī died in 811, thirty-four years before al-Maqrīzī. His lines of verse therefore belong to the first half of al-Maqrīzī's life, quite possibly before he discovered how unlikely the family legend was. When he did, he simply stopped making the claim on his own behalf; but he could not—and perhaps saw no harm in not—prevent others (such as his own brother) from repeating it.

But what about those who saw him as a sympathizer, a Shiite, or even a crypto-Ismaili? His acceptance of the Fatimid claim of a valid descent from ʻAlī, despite its rejection by most Sunnis, his generally soft-hearted attitude to the Hashimids and the Alids (the Ashrāf, i.e., descendants of either Ḥasan ibn ʻAlī or Ḥusayn ibn ʻAlī), and his obvious tolerance for Shiite doctrines were well known. But do they indicate something deeper and more profound?

Here there are three separate questions to consider. The first involves his support of the Fatimid genealogy. The second is his attitude toward the public doctrines of the Ismailis as applied by the Fatimids. The third concerns his reaction to the secret esoteric doctrines of the Ismaili *daʻwah*. But did he even know about the last and if he did, in what manner and based on what sources? Sunni denunciation of Ismaili doctrine occurred regularly but rarely was it directed at authentic pronouncements by the Ismailis themselves.

The problem of Fatimid genealogy is interesting. Al-Maqrīzī was one of only a handful of the later Sunni writers to accept it. But his argument is curious.[18] According to him, it is plausible, which means that he could find specialists in the genealogy of the Alids who assured him that descent from Jaʻfar through Ismāʻīl and his son Muḥammad might well continue to al-Mahdī, the founder of the caliphate. Moreover, the main detractors, namely Akhū Muḥsin and Ibn al-Rizām, were obviously out-of-line and clearly consumed by bias. As were the Abbasids, who did not denounce it until they had lost a huge share of territory and were threatened directly and immediately, and even then they had to resort to force in

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[17]It should be recognized that these facts by themselves do not exclude all lines of descent. Several sons of al-Mustanṣir fled Egypt during the dispute over the succession of al-Mustaʻlī and they are not all accounted for, nor their offspring. On this see "Succession to Rule in the Shiite Caliphate," 248–56.

[18]His comments occur in at least three places: *Ittiʻāẓ*, 1:15–54 (esp. 52–54); *Khiṭaṭ* (Bulaq), 1:348–51; *Kitāb al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr,* ed. M. al-Yaʻlāwī (Beirut, 1991), 4:523–70 (bio. of al-Mahdī, no. 1528).

order to convince the Ashrāf to sign on to their proclamation of the denunciation.[19] Had the Fatimids been liars, al-Maqrīzī continues, God would never have allowed them the tremendous successes they in fact achieved. (This latter argument is admittedly extremely weak, as al-Maqrīzī's contemporaries obviously realized.) But finally, and much more importantly, he observes that the major Egyptian historians accepted its validity, among them Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir,[20] Ibn al-Ṭuwayr,[21] and Ibn Khaldūn.[22] Those who rejected it were most often non-Egyptians, for example, the Syrians or the Baghdadis.

Al-Maqrīzī's accounts of public doctrines for the better part also down-play the differences between Shiite practice and that of the Sunnis. The Fatimids, in his view, simply followed the practice of ʿAlī and of the Ahl al-Bayt; it was their *madhhab*. To cite but one example, when al-Muʿizz's uncle died, the caliph allowed seven repetitions of the *takbīr* instead of the expected five. ʿAlī himself had approved, al-Maqrīzī notes, an adjustment of the number in accord with the rank of the deceased.[23] Al-Maqrīzī sees in this aspect of Fatimid doctrine, as with other examples of the kind, nothing denoting unacceptable heresy. Mild preference for ʿAlī *(tafḍīl ʿAlī)* apparently did not threaten him.

What about theology and the secret doctrines of the *daʿwah*? Did al-Maqrīzī really understand the true nature of Ismailism? This is an important question. He certainly had read anti-Ismaili tracts and refutations, many quite scurrilous and hostile. He knew therefore of the standard accusation leveled against them of antinomianism, that is, of having rejected the outward observance of legal rites and rituals in favor of esoteric knowledge. But did he actually know about the content of genuine Ismaili writings and of their actual doctrines?

Here it is useful to quote at length his assessment of the problem as reflected in the concluding pages of the *Ittiʿāẓ*. There he says the following:[24]

> What They May Be Faulted For (Or Not)
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> There is no disputing the fact that this group was Shiʿi and that they maintained the superiority of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib over the rest

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[19]The date of this famous proclamation issued in Baghdad by the Abbasids is 402.

[20]*Al-Rawḍah al-Bahīyah al-Zāhirah fī Khiṭaṭ al-Muʿizzīyah al-Qāhirah,* ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (Cairo, 1996), 6–7.

[21]Ibn al-Ṭuwayr's acceptance is reported by Ibn al-Zayyāt (*Al-Kawākib al-Sayyārah fī Tartīb al-Ziyārah,* 176) as noted by Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid in his introduction to Ibn al-Ṭuwayr's *Nuzhat al-Muqlatayn,* 14*.

[22]Whether or not Ibn Khaldūn counts as an Egyptian, when al-Maqrīzī knew him, he did live in Cairo.

[23]*Ittiʿāẓ*, 1:146.

[24]Ibid., 3:345–46.

of the Companions and that, out of the various *madhhab*s of the Shiʿah, they adhered to that of the Ismāʿīlīyah, who affirm the imamate of Ismāʿīl ibn Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq and trace the continuation of it in offspring of his among imams that were hidden up to ʿUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī, the first of those who ruled in the Maghrib. The remainder of the Shiʿah do not recognize the imamate of Ismāʿīl and, in direct opposition to them, deny it vehemently.

Along with their deviation from the general *madhhab* of Shiism they were excessive in terms of *rafḍ* [i.e., refusal to accept the authority of others, ʿUmar and other Companions], although those who came earlier were more concerned to safeguard themselves from the kind of perversions engaged in by the later ones. Then al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh went even further in meddling with doctrine. But he was hardly consistent in this and was quick to change his mind. When he leaned to one doctrine, he proclaimed it and imposed it on the people. But soon thereafter he reverted to something else and expected the populace to abandon what he had imposed on them and turn to what he had now come up with. A man known as al-Labbād al-Zawzanī [Ḥamzah][25] joined him and this man now professed openly the *madhhab* of the Bāṭinīyah.[26] There had been some of this among the earliest of them. However, the people rejected this *madhhab* in so far as it comprised things not known among the earlier imams and their successors, and also what in it contradicted the shariʿah.

Next, in the time of al-Mustanṣir, al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ṣabbāḥ[27] came to see him. He spread this *madhhab* in various regions, summoning the masses to it. He also permitted the killing of those who opposed him. Accordingly, disapproval [of them] intensified and the outcry against them increased in every direction up to the point that they were excluded from Islam and the community of believers.

When the Abbasids were overcome with hatred for them

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[25]This Ḥamzah, who was originally a *dāʿī* in Egypt under al-Ḥākim, became the founder of the Druze.

[26]Al-Maqrīzī apparently means by this term those who subscribe to the inner *bāṭinī* understanding of the law and scripture to the exclusion of its outward *ẓāhirī* aspects. In other words they deny the physical reality of the law itself and no longer observe its strictures.

[27]Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ created and led the Nizārī Ismailis who became legendary, if not notorious, for use of assassination to control their enemies, hence the common name for his followers, the Assassins.

[the Fatimids] and were reeling from the hurt of their having captured from them the territories of Qayrawan, the regions of Egypt, Syria, the Hijaz, the Yemen, and ultimately even Baghdad, the Abbasids found a special way to denigrate them. They repudiated any genealogical link of theirs to ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib and insisted instead that they were the descendants of a Jew. The Abbasids procured spokesmen who would say this and the latter filled the books of history with it.

Later the Ghuzz arrived and from their number Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh and his nephew Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn were appointed viziers of the Fatimids. These men were creatures of the Abbasid regime. They had been raised on its doorstep, nurtured by its favors; they were steeped in the doctrine of its supporters and in hostility toward its enemies. Their closeness to the Fatimid regime only increased their aversion to it and its favor to them filled them with nothing but ill-will and animosity, until having benefited from it, they attained enough power to bring about its end and do away with it completely.

However, the foundations of Fatimid rule were firmly grounded within proper limits; their eminence ascended higher than the stars; their followers and loyalists were too numerous to count; their supporters and backers had filled every region and territory. Wanting to obliterate their light, to replace their very lighthouses, the Abbasids attempted to smear them with charges of depravity and abomination. This is how an enemy acts, and is obviously in accord with the condition of his being an enemy.

But ponder, may God have mercy on you, the secrets of existence and distinguish among historical reports as you would distinguish between good and bad coins. Discover, by avoiding passions, the real truth. What you will discern in the great numbers of attacks on them is that those accounts of repulsive acts, especially those leading to their expulsion from the community of Islam, are found almost exclusively in the books by easterners, that is, among the Baghdadis and Syrians, as for example in the *Muntaẓam* of Ibn al-Jawzī, the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr,[28] the *History of Aleppo* of Ibn Abī Ṭayy, the *Tārīkh al-ʻImād* of Ibn Kathīr, the books by Ibn Wāṣil al-Ḥamawī, Ibn Shaddād, and al-ʻImād al-Iṣfahānī, and others

[28]For his judgment of Ibn al-Athīr, see also *Ittiʻāẓ*, 1:232. Ibn al-Athīr, he says, relied on Iraqi and Syrian historians who did not know Egypt well. Al-Maqrīzī prefers the Egyptian Ibn Zūlāq, for example.

> like these. Books by Egyptians, who took great care in recording what they report, contain almost nothing of the kind at all. So judge according to reason and vanquish the forces of prejudice, give everything its proper due, and be rightly-guided.

In the preceding passage al-Maqrīzī appears to minimize the heretical nature of Ismaili doctrine, except in the two cases of extremists, Ḥamzah and the Druze, and the Assassins after Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ. The former group rejected Islamic law and the latter advocated the killing of those who opposed them. Both are clearly unacceptable and are intolerable in his mind. But al-Maqrīzī seems to be separating carefully these obviously heretical transgressions from what are, in his view, otherwise doctrines that remain within the bounds of Islam. It is more than likely that he personally did not subscribe to the Shiism of the Fatimids but he refused nonetheless to condemn it. He also will have nothing to do with what he sees as the flagrantly inaccurate and trumped-up charges against them put in circulation by the Abbasids and their hired guns. Moreover, he tends to reject the authority of any non-Egyptian, as the list he has just given well illustrates.[29]

But surely he knew more that he is not saying. Or, possibly, there are issues involved—subjects pertaining to the work of the Ismaili *da'wah*—that al-Maqrīzī had either ignored or had not yet discovered. As to this latter category, his remarks in the *Khiṭaṭ* introducing his discussion of the *da'wah* seem particularly to the point (statement from the *musawwadah*[30]):

> Most people of our time are ignorant of their beliefs and thus, as a way of disavowing it, I want to explain their doctrines here based on what I discovered in the books they themselves composed for that purpose (i.e., for the *da'wah*).

What did he ″discover″ in their books and when? What books?

Prior to dealing with these questions it is useful to return to some historiographical issues about what he wrote, when, and in what order.

MAIN WORKS RECONSIDERED FOR HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ORDER

The *Khiṭaṭ,* which was the first to enter modern scholarship, is well known and widely used despite the faulty Bulaq edition of 1853. Having now two versions of

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[29]For a similar rejection of Ibn Abī Ṭayy whose bias he claims is not shared by any of the Egyptian historians, see *Itti'āẓ*, 2:119. Note also *Itti'āẓ*, 1:232 (and the comments of the editor al-Shayyāl, 1:30).

[30]P. 94.

it, a *musawwadah* and a final draft, allows the study of its development. The *Itti'āẓ* (also badly edited) by contrast is known only from a partial *musawwadah* and a copy of the whole that has been taken from what is likely the same original *musawwadah.* In other words, no final draft exists. And, in all probability, none was ever made.

Thanks to the recent investigations of Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid[31] and Frédéric Bauden[32] on al-Maqrīzī's methods, we are fairly sure that he employed his first drafts as a kind of working file to which he either added marginal additions or inserted bits of paper with new material between the pages. Apparently he planned to return to produce a final version at some future time.

As with the *Itti'āẓ,* the portions of the *Muqaffá* that survive represent an unfinished draft, a *musawwadah.* The *Itti'āẓ* was published in its entirety only in 1973; the latter in 1991. Neither one is as well known or as thoroughly studied as the *Khiṭaṭ*. In fact the *Muqaffá* is even now often ignored although it contains a great deal of information not in the other two.[33]

Given that two of these major works exist only as a first draft, it is quite reasonable to assume that al-Maqrīzī kept all three projects active simultaneously, adding from one to the others as he came upon new material. It is certainly essential for modern scholars to consult all three. Al-Maqrīzī often identifies his source in one but not in the others; presumably, therefore, the former is more likely to contain a verbatim quotation of the source and the others merely paraphrases or some other reworking of the same material. However, as Bauden's discoveries have shown, what might look like a quotation may already represent a paraphrase and thus not the original text. Accordingly, for example, the work now attributed to Ibn Muyassar and which is in reality a set of al-Maqrīzī's notes from it, may owe as much to al-Maqrīzī as to Ibn Muyassar.

It remains to be seen whether we can find a basis for arranging these three works of al-Maqrīzī in some chronological order. Here the differences among them in the presentation of facts or, more significantly, what is missing from one as opposed to another may help. Also there is a suggestive passage at the end of

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[31]Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid's contribution to the study of al-Maqrīzī is extensive. See, for example, his introduction to his edition of the *Khiṭaṭ Musawwadah* as well as the following "Early Methods of Book Composition: al-Maqrīzī's Draft of the Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ," in *The Codicology of Islamic Manuscripts, Proceedings of the Second Conference of Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation*, *1993* (London, 1995), 93–101, and "Remarques sur la compostion des Ḫiṭaṭ de Maqrīzī d'après un manuscrit autographe," in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron,* vol. 2, *Egypte Post-Pharaonique* (Cairo, 1979), 231–58 + plates.

[32]See his article in this volume.

[33]As but one example, note that it has a long biography of al-Yāzūrī which is not cited at all in the recent *Encyclopaedia of Islam* article on him.

the *Itti'āẓ* in which al-Maqrīzī comments:[34]

> In an account of the *khiṭaṭ* of Cairo, *in shā' Allāh,* I will describe the relics of their rule and review the management of their state so that, in regard to matters of this world, you will come to understand the extent of their achievement and the insignificance of those who came after them.

It appears therefore that when he finished this draft of the *Itti'āz*—which is the only one known to have existed—he had not yet written the *Khiṭaṭ;* the latter was then only a project in his mind (but perhaps one he was just about to begin). If so, all subsequent revisions of it also come after the *Itti'āẓ*. What he learned while gathering material for the *Khiṭaṭ* thus may or may not have found its way back also to the *Itti'āẓ*. And the *Muqaffá* is quite likely later still. We are quite sure in this latter case that he never completed it.[35]

Vis-à-vis the *Itti'āẓ,* the *Muqaffá* contains significant new information that ought to have been included in the former but is not to be found there. The *Itti'āẓ*, for example, contains four pages on the reign of al-Manṣūr (plus at most four additional pages on the pursuit of Abū Yazīd included at the end of the section on al-Qā'im). By contrast the *Muqaffá* has fifty-two pages on al-Manṣūr with quite valuable new information. It provides, for example, the details of how and why, with a fairly precise date for when, al-Manṣūr brought Qāḍī al-Nu'mān from his post in Tripoli to al-Manṣūrīyah—a date nearer the end of his reign and later than most scholars have supposed.[36] In the biography of Tamīm ibn al-Mu'izz we are given the reason, cited earlier, for his having been passed over. In a biography of the chief qadi Ibn Abī al-'Awwām, who was appointed by al-Ḥākim in 405, al-Maqrīzī makes clear he was a Hanafi (a fact that is surely correct). Ibn Ḥajar had claimed he was a Hanbali.[37] There is a biography of Ḥamzah ibn 'Alī, the founder of the Druze, which gives the date and details of his death.[38] For the later

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[34]3:344.

[35]According to information supplied by al-Sakhāwī. See his *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, 23 and *Al-Ḍaw'*, 2:22.

[36]*Muqaffá,* bio. no. 780.

[37]Ibid., bio. no. 584. On the Hanafi affiliation of this qadi see Gary Leiser, ″Ḥanbalism in Egypt before the Mamlûks″ (*Studia Islamica* 54 [1981]: 155–81), 159–60.

[38]On this information and its meaning see Heinz Halm, ″Der Tod Ḥamzas, des Begründers der drusischen Religion,″ in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, ed. U. Vermeulen and D. De Smet (Leuven, 1995–2001), 2:105–13.

vizier al-Ma'mūn, new information reveals that he was Imami Shi'i.[39] And, in one more case, the biography of al-Musta'lī explains a simple conspiracy of al-Afḍal with a sister of al-Mustanṣir to throw the succession to this caliph (rather than, say, Nizār) with a tacit understanding that they, the sister and the vizier, would thereafter share power: he in public and she within the palace.[40] The point is that this is not what is reported in the *Itti'āẓ*.

All this suggests that al-Maqrīzī wrote the *Muqaffá* well after the *Itti'āẓ* and that he included in it a great deal of information that he had come upon in the meantime. Moreover, he did not bother to add it to the older *Itti'āẓ*. It seems likely as well that the *Khiṭaṭ* did not benefit from much of this material, it also being earlier, even in its final draft.[41]

Returning to the question of al-Maqrīzī's knowledge of authentic Ismaili works, we may now be in a position to see a chronological progression in his knowledge of the secret works of the *da'wah*. What he says in the *musawwadah* of the *Khiṭaṭ* in one place (as quoted above), and repeated in the Bulaq edition in different places, establishes that, according to his own account, he found genuine Ismaili books and treatises and learned from them. He speaks repeatedly in the latter of their books: ". . . matters stipulated in their books,"[42] "what is accepted in their books an account of which this book cannot include because of its length,"[43] ". . . and things of this sort are found in their books; the source of it is the writings of the Philosophers . . . they go on at great length with other expressions . . . this book cannot contain the full extent of the statements of this kind."[44] "They uphold the doctrine that God is neither eternal nor temporally created but rather what is eternal is His command *(amr)* and word *(kalimah)* and what is temporally produced is His creation as explained at length in their books."[45] Near the end of this section on the Ismaili *da'wah* he says: "It is dealt with in extenso in their books and all this constitutes the knowledge of the *dā'ī*. They have many books composed for that purpose from which I have taken the summary just given."[46]

His summary of esoteric Ismaili doctrine, i.e., the *da'wah,* is, moreover, despite some relatively unimportant problems, reasonably accurate and accords well with

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[39]*Muqaffá,* bio. no. 2999.

[40]Ibid., bio. no. 638.

[41]I have not compared enough of the specific Fatimid material in these two for a sound judgment about how it relates precisely from one to the other.

[42]Bulaq ed., 1:393.

[43]Ibid.

[44]Ibid., 395.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Ibid.

what we know from the writings of Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī[47] and Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī,[48] to cite but two of the main Fatimid-era Ismaili authorities. Here is a key point: at the final stage of the initiation of an Ismaili, the candidate is taught that the prophet's miracle is the law, which is expressed on the one hand by "symbols a person of intellect will comprehend and on the other by an open declaration recognizable by everyone."[49] "Revelation is the delivering of God's word [to the prophet], following upon which the prophet embodies it [i.e., makes it incarnate, *yujassiduhu*] and then presents it to the people."[50]

But what "books" exactly? We have no way of knowing precisely except in one case. Bauden has now discovered in one of al-Maqrīzī's notebooks a passage from al-Kirmānī's *Rāḥat al-'Aql*. Clearly then al-Maqrīzī was able to find a copy of this one work and to use it.[51] Most probably he located more and thus when he says he derives his understanding of Ismaili doctrine from their books, that is in fact true.[52]

Is it possible to say when this happened, even relatively? If the chronology suggested above reflects reality, then it appears likely that al-Maqrīzī's work on the *Itti'āẓ,* which is his most sympathetic portrayal of the Fatimids and is a defense of them, and which closely follows in the appropriate sections what he gleaned from Ibn Muyassar, must belong to a period not long after 814, when he took his notes from this source. Why would he excerpt Ibn Muyassar after he had written the *Itti'āẓ*? It must be the other way around: the *Itti'āẓ* came later. Subsequently—i.e., after 814—he composed a first draft of the *Khiṭaṭ* and then reworked it at least once. And it contains an account of the secret doctrines of the Ismaili *da'wah* that is not in the *Itti'āẓ,* nor even alluded to there.

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[47]On this fourth century *dā'ī* see the following studies of mine: *Early Philosophical Shiism: The Ismaili Neoplatonism of Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī* (Cambridge, 1993); *The Wellsprings of Wisdom: A Study of Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī's* Kitāb al-Yanābī' (Salt Lake City, 1994); and *Abu Ya'qub al-Sijistani: Intellectual Missionary* (London, 1996).

[48]On al-Kirmānī, see Daniel De Smet, *La Quiétude de l'Intellect: Néoplatonisme et gnose ismaélienne dans l'oeuvre de Ḥamīd ad-Dīn al-Kirmānī (Xe/XIe s.)* (Leuven, 1995), and Walker, *Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī: Ismaili Thought in the Age of al-Ḥākim* (London, 1999).

[49]Bulaq ed., 1:395. This doctrine implies a double *bāṭinī/ẓāhirī* form of the truth (in the manner, for example, advocated by the philosopher Ibn Rushd).

[50]*Musawwadah,* 105. Note that, according to this doctrine, the Prophet is the author of the written form of the revelation. He is the lawgiver, the *shāri'*. On this in the thought of al-Sijistānī, see my *Early Philosophical Shiism*, ch. 11 (pp. 114–23), *Intellectual Missionary,* 49–50, and *Wellsprings,* 8–10.

[51]Personal communication.

[52]Knowledge of and/or the citation of genuine Ismaili works by non-Ismailis was extremely rare.

Conclusion: Just as al-Maqrīzī eventually discovered that he could not have descended from the Fatimid caliphs, he also learned more and more about their secret doctrine, not from malicious detractors like Ibn al-Jawzī or Ibn al-Nadīm or the others he mentioned in the statement taken earlier from the *Itti'āẓ,* nor as revealed by the renegade Druze, the erratic and unstable al-Ḥākim, or the Assassins after Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, but from their own writings, the authentic works of true Ismaili *dā'ī*s. He then realized that the Ismaili *da'wah* was far more sophisticated yet also therefore dangerously alien to his own religious outlook than if it had been merely a *madhhab* of the Ahl al-Bayt. Subsequently, his former enthusiasm for the Fatimids abated.[53] He never went back to finish the *Itti'āẓ* and he expanded the *Khiṭaṭ* far beyond its original narrow focus on the Fatimid capital and governing institutions, until ultimately it encompassed all of Egypt and its history.

[53]That he lost his enthusiasm for the Fatimids does not mean also that he lost interest in the details of the history of their period since he obviously continued to collect such material. And I think, for example, it is quite obvious from his biography of al-Manṣūr that on a personal basis he deeply admired this one caliph (if not others).

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Al-Maqrīzī as a Historian of the Early Mamluk Sultanate (or: Is al-Maqrīzī an Unrecognized Historiographical Villain?)

It can be argued that al-Maqrīzī´s chronicle *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk* is the best known historical work from the Mamluk period, contributing in no small way to its author´s reputation as the most famous historian writing in the Mamluk Sultanate. The pride of place of this work can easily be understood. Al-Maqrīzī´s treatment of the early sultanate in the *Sulūk* was the first Mamluk chronicle to be translated into a European language.[1] I am referring, of course, to the fine translation by Quatremère, published in Paris in the years 1837–45.[2] The extensive notes and appendices, still valuable today, greatly increased the value of this translation, and it indeed served as a bedrock for the study of the early sultanate, as well as the waning years for the Frankish entity in the East. A second reason for al-Maqrīzī´s ubiquity and prominence in most studies on the period under discussion is the exemplary edition initiated by Ziyādah in 1934 and finally completed in 1973.[3] When publishing began in the 1930s, this was one of the first Mamluk chronicles to see the light of day in a competent scholarly edition, and thus it is not a surprise that the *Sulūk* continued to serve as a major source for the study of the period, even after the publication of various editions (some better than others) of chronicles and other sources which covered this period. In the present discussion, my focus will be only on the first volume (published in three parts), which deals with the sultanate up to the beginning of the eighth/fourteenth century.

I will suggest in this article that for the first decades of the Mamluk Sultanate, al-Maqrīzī was a summarizer of primarily one work, and not always an accurate one at that. I will propose, therefore, that for this early period of the sultanate´s history, he should be seen as an auxiliary source of only secondary importance. A

[1]Parts of the chronicles by Abū al-Fidā' and Ibn al-ʿAmīd were published and translated long before this, but these were sections related to the early history of Islam, and therefore are not relevant to the discussion here.

[2]M. E. Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l´Égypte* (Paris, 1837–45), 2 volumes in 4 parts.

[3]Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1934–73), 4 volumes in 12 parts.

few modern scholars have already mentioned al-Maqrīzī's derivative and summary character in his account of the early sultanate, as well as his overall refusal to cite the names of his sources.[4] But al-Maqrīzī's carelessness in rendering his material has not, as far as I am aware, been explicitly noted. At the same time, some historians of the early sultanate and the late Frankish East have continued citing the *Sulūk* as if it was an independent source, in spite of the plethora of recently-published contemporary and near contemporary sources, as well as the much greater source-critical sophistication of Mamluk historiography.[5]

As I hope to demonstrate, for the first decades of the Mamluk Sultanate (up to 696/1296–97), al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk* should be read in conjunction with his main, and at times exclusive (particularly for 658–80/1260–81), source. I am referring to the chronicle of the Egyptian historian Nāṣir al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1405), *Kitāb al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,* parts of which have been published, and others are available still only in manuscript form.[6] I will show that the use of al-Maqrīzī as an independent source without

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[4]Donald P. Little, "Historiography of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Epochs," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, ed. Carl F. Petry, vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt (640–1517)* (Cambridge, 1998), 436–37; idem, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography: An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn* (Wiesbaden, 1970), 77–78; Linda S. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689 A.H./1279–1290 A.D.)* (Stuttgart, 1998), 51. Peter Thorau, "The Battle of ʻAyn Jālūt: A Re-examination," in *Crusade and Settlement,* ed. Peter W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), 237, writes that "[al-Maqrīzī's] account of earlier centuries cannot always serve as a primary source," but proceeds to use him as an independent source for the reconstruction of the battle.

Scholars from an earlier generation held al-Maqrīzī in high regard. For the views of Hitti, Ziyādah, etc., see the citations and references found in: Little, *Introduction*, 77; idem, "Historiography," 436. Little, *Introduction*, 76, writes: "The grand scope of that work [i.e., *Sulūk*], its accessibility both in Arabic and translated versions, the praise it has received, have combined to secure al-Maqrīzī the hackneyed but apt title of dean of Egyptian historians." Little himself challenges that view by showing that at least one of al-Maqrīzī's contemporaries, Badr al-Dīn al-ʻAynī, wrote a chronicle whose scope (let alone accuracy) is no less comprehensive than the former's. See F. Rosenthal, "Maḳrīzī," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 4:193–94, for some discussion of criticism from al-Maqrīzī's contemporaries.

[5]The following recent studies, for example, use al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk* for their discussion of the early sultanate as if it was an independent source: ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Khuwayṭir, *Baibars the First: His Endeavours and Achievements* (London, 1978); Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, tr. P. M. Holt (London and New York, 1992); Stefan Heidemann, *Das Aleppiner Kalifat (AD 1261): vom Ende des Kalifates in Bagdad uber Aleppo zu den Restaurationen in Kairo* (Leiden, 1994). My historiographical reservations do not detract from the overall value of these studies.

[6]The annals of these years are found in the following volumes: (a) Vatican MS AR. 726 (years

recourse to Ibn al-Furāt can be misleading, since at best the former gives only a succinct rendering of his source, and as will be seen, a not always accurate one at that. Whereas al-Maqrīzī never names his source, Ibn al-Furāt is generally scrupulous in naming those historians whose works he cites. At this point, it might be noted that for Baybars's reign, Ibn al-Furāt relies heavily on the royal biography by Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, who is often cited by name.[7] To this central source, Ibn al-Furāt adds material from other writers, some of whose works are now lost. Some modern scholars have discussed in general al-Maqrīzī's reliance on Ibn al-Furāt for the annals describing the early decades of the sultanate,[8] but to the best of my knowledge, no one has yet explicitly noted that the former's almost complete dependence on the latter, and the frequent sloppy and inaccurate way in which this was done.

As I hope to show in the following discussion, Ibn al-Furāt reveals himself to be a master historian of tremendous significance for the study of the early Mamluk Sultanate,[9] while it will be suggested that al-Maqrīzī's role is merely that of a writer who has provided us with a convenient precis of events, which should be

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639–59); (b) Vienna MS Staatsbibliothek 814 (years 660–71); (c) *Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt,* vol. 7, ed. Qustantīn Zurayk (Beirut, 1942) (years 672–82); (d) *Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt,* vol. 8, ed. Zurayk and Nejla M. Abu Izzeddin (Beirut, 1939) (years 683–96). Some of the material of these years, relevant to the Franks, has been published in *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders: Selections from the Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk of Ibn al-Furāt*, tr. U. and M. C. Lyons, intro. and notes J. S. C. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 1971), 2 volumes.

[7]Published as Muḥyī al-Dīn ʻAbd Allāh ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Ẓāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* ed. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1396/1976).

[8]See the general comments in Claude Cahen, "Ibn al-Furāt," *EI²*, 3:769. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan,* 51–52, notes that al-Maqrīzī's annals are generally a summary of Ibn al-Furāt's for the period that she discusses, but does not mention the former's sloppiness. Little, *An Introduction to Mamluk Historiography,* 77–78, notes the dependence of al-Maqrīzī on Ibn al-Furāt (along with additional sources) for the annal of 694/1294–95. He is unable to make such a comparison for the other two annals which he checked (699/1299–1300 and 705/1305–6, on pp. 78–80), since that part of Ibn al-Furāt's work is not extant. In his important article on Mamluk historiography in general ("Historiography of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Epochs," 436–37), Little does not note any dependence between the two historians, writing only: "As far as Baḥrī Mamlūk history is concerned, al-Maqrīzī had to rely completely, of course, on earlier sources, and these he adapted freely, and sometimes indiscriminately without identifying them."

[9]For an earlier appreciation of Ibn al-Furāt's importance for the study of early Mamluk history, see Eliyahu Ashtor, "Some Unpublished Sources for the Baḥrī Period," in *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization,* ed. Uriel Heyd (published as *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, vol. 9) (Jerusalem, 1961), 13–24. There is no discussion, however, of al-Maqrīzī's use of his work. Cf. Claude Cahen, *La Syrie du nord à l'époque des Croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), 88: "Autant dire que pour le viie/xiiie siécle l'intérêt d'Ibn al-Fourât est pour nous des plus réduits."

consulted with care. I will first attempt to demonstrate al-Maqrīzī´s almost complete dependence on Ibn al-Furāt for these years, and then will give several examples of the former´s shoddy summary of his earlier contemporary. I must add, however, that here and there, al-Maqrīzī does provide a snippet of information—sources usually unnamed—not given by Ibn al-Furāt, showing that he had at his disposal other sources, and indicating that he was capable of writing a synthetic work when he chose.

My first task will be to demonstrate that al-Maqrīzī indeed based his chronicle for the early sultanate on that of Ibn al-Furāt. I will employ the method used by Donald Little in his introductory study on Mamluk historiography, i.e., a comparison of subjects covered by both historians in a particular annal; later on, I will compare the language of selective short passages. Where Ibn al–Furāt mentions the name of *his* source, this will be noted also. I will provide two examples, both being significant chunks from two annals. The first will be that of 658 (1259–60), i.e., the year of the battle of ʻAyn Jālūt, while the second will be from 663 (1264–65), describing Baybars´s conquest of Caesarea and Arsūf. In the following comparison **IF** stands for Ibn al-Furāt, and **Maq** for al-Maqrīzī. If the latter author provides only a parallel text, even if somewhat shortened, then generally only the page number is given.

I. YEAR 658 (1259–60)

EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE BATTLE OF ʻAYN JĀLŪT

1. **IF:** Hülegü takes Aleppo (MS Vat., fols. 226v–227r).
   Maq: 1:422.

2. **IF:** Cites Qirṭāy al-Khaznadārī quoting Ṣārim al-Dīn Özbeg al-Ḥimṣī on his experiences and the fate of Aleppo (227r–231v = Levi della Vida,[10] 358–64).
   Maq: Not in *Sulūk*.

3. **IF:** More on the fate of Aleppo; capture of seven members of the Baḥrīyah (231v).
   Maq: 1:422–23.

[10]G. Levi della Vida, ″L´Invasione dei Tartari in Siria nel 1260 nei ricordi di un testimone oculare,″ *Orientalia* 4 (1935): 253–76.

4. **IF:** Actions of al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, ruler of Aleppo and Damascus; his fleeing from Damascus, and end of his rule (231v–233r).
   Maq: 1:423.

5. **IF:** Mongols occupy Damascus (233r–234v).
   Maq: Hülegü comes to Damascus [wrong, and not in Ibn al-Furāt]; Mongols gain possession of city (1:423).

6. **IF:** Arrival of Mongol governors in Damascus (234r).
   Maq: 1:423–24 [governors together with Kitbughā; see below].

7. **IF:** Mongols raid Palestine (234r–v).
   Maq: 1:425.

8. **IF:** Christian ″outrages″ against Muslims in Damascus (234v).
   Maq: 1:425.

9. **IF:** Arrival of Kitbughā and Baydarā; rebellion of citadel in Damascus; communications with the Franks on the coast; Ayyubid ruler of Homs arrives at Damascus after having submitted to Hülegü (234v–235v).
   Maq: 1:425.

10. **IF:** Battle in Nablus between Mongol advance force and Ayyubid rear guard; latter defeated (235v–236r).
    Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

11. **IF:** Citadel in Damascus subdued; Baalbek taken, as is al-Ṣubaybah (236r–v).
    Maq: 1:426.

12. **IF:** Mongols keep eye on Franks on coast and send advance force to Gaza to watch Egypt; destroy fortresses in southern Syria (236v).
    Maq: No mention of Franks at this point in *Sulūk.* Short mention of force that goes to Gaza and destruction of fortresses (1:426).

13. **IF:** Baybars returns to Syria on Rabīʿ I (236v).
    Maq: 1:426.

14. **IF:** Mongol siege of Mārdīn (236v–237r).
Maq: Very short mention (1:426).

15. **IF:** Fate of al-Nāṣir Yūsuf (237r–v).
Maq: 1:426.

16. **IF:** Quṭuz strengthens his position in Egypt (237v–238r).
Maq: 1:426–27.

17. **IF:** Al-Nāṣir Yūsuf's capture by Mongols (238r).
Maq: 1:427.

18. **IF:** Cites Sibṭ Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir (=Shāfiʻ ibn ʻAlī), author of *Naẓm al-Sulūk fī Tārīkh al-Khulafā' wa-al-Mulūk* (now lost), with more details about al-Nāṣir Yūsuf's capture (238r–v).
Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

19. **IF:** Yet another version of this story (238v).
Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

20. **IF:** Hülegü communicates with al-Mughīth ʻUmar, ruler of Karak, to get him to submit. Al-Malik al-Qāhir ibn al-Muʻaẓẓam ʻĪsá flees to Cairo (238v).
Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

21. **IF:** Al-Qāhir goes with Baybars to Quṭuz to strengthen his resolve to fight the Mongols (238v).
Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

22. **IF:** Cites Ibn Duqmāq's *Nuzhat al-Anām fī Tārīkh al-Islām* about al-Nāṣir Yūsuf telling Hülegü not to take the Mamluks seriously. Hülegü plans to go east, since he heard about conflict between brothers (238v–239r).
Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

23. **IF:** Discussion of Mongol religious beliefs (239v–240v).
Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

24. **IF:** Hülegü decides to return to east, but not before ordering Kitbughā and Baydarā to move south and invade Egypt (240r–241v).
Maq: 1:427.

25. **IF:** Again, cites Qirṭāy al-Khaznadārī citing Ṣārim al-Dīn Özbeg al-Ḥimṣī, who describes his adventures with the Mongols, and reports that the Mongol commanders Kitbughā and Baydarā were sent south (241v–242v = Levi della Vida, 364–65).
Maq: Cites line from this section (without mentioning source): ″wa-ja‘ala Kitbughā nuyan nā’iban bi-Ḥalab wa-Baydarā nā’iban bi-Dimashq″ (1:428).[11]

26. **IF:** Resistance of Ayyubid ruler of Mayyafāriqīn, and its eventual conquest by the Mongols (242v–243r).
Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

27. **IF:** Quṭuz kills Mongol envoys and sets off for Syria, in spite of opposition among amirs; battle of ‘Ayn Jālūt (243r ff.).
Maq: 1:427ff.

This comparison shows that there is a great probability that Ibn al-Furāt′s *Tārīkh* served as the model for al-Maqrīzī′s *Sulūk* in this annal at least. The former writer built a narrative drawn from various sources, three of which he names here. The sequence of events (with a not-insignificant number of omissions) in the *Tārīkh* is found in the parallel text in *Sulūk.* The only explanation can be that al-Maqrīzī used Ibn al-Furāt′s text as a model. The former′s (unattributed) citation of the line given in item 25 (derived from Qirṭāy al-Khaznadārī, quoting Ṣārim al-Dīn Özbeg) in exactly this place as found in Ibn al-Furāt is a further indication of the connection between the two works. This correlation between the two texts can also be seen in the second example:

II. Year 663 (1264–65)
Events leading up to the Mamluk conquest of Caesarea and Arsūf

1. **IF:** At the beginning of the year, Baybars leaves Cairo to hunt (MS Vienna, fol. 62r).
Maq: 1:523.

[11]This information is actually incorrect. See the discussion in Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Īlkhānid War, 1260–1281* (Cambridge, 1995), 30–35.

2. **IF:** News received that Mongols besieging al-Bīrah (62r).
   Maq: 1:523.

3. **IF:** Order sent to Cairo for lightly-equipped contingent to be sent off from Egypt to Syria immediately (62r).
   Maq: 1:523.

4. **IF:** Sultan returns to Cairo from hunting (62r).
   Maq: 1:523.

5. **IF:** Mamluk horses at pasturage, causing a delay; this information conveyed by unspecified Franks to Mongols (62r).
   Maq: 1:523, but no information about Franks sending intelligence to Mongols.

6. **IF:** More Mamluk contingents sent to Syria (62r–v).
   Maq: 1:523–24.

7. **IF:** Sultan sets off from Cairo (5 Rabīʿ II); hadith quoted; reaches Gaza (20 Rabīʿ II) (62v).
   Maq: 1:524, but hadith not quoted.

8. **IF:** News from al-Bīrah; Baybars writes to commander of expeditionary force to hurry (62v).
   Maq: 1:524.

9. **IF:** Baybars reaches Qaratayyah,[12] goes hunting (″wa-lammā nazala al-sulṭān fī Qaratayyah rakiba lil-ṣayd″) and gets hurt. Castallan of Jaffa arrives with gifts (62v–63r).
   Maq: 1:524, but the text is corrupt: ″fa-nazala qarīban min Ṣaydā'″ [!]. Whether this is in the manuscript or a mistake of the editor is unclear.

10. **IF:** Sultan arrives at Yubnā; report comes that Mongols have withdrawn from al-Bīrah; Mamluk force arrived at al-Bīrah; orders sent out by sultan to repair that fort (63r–64v).
    Maq: 1:524–25 [very terse description].

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[12]This was a village in the region of Jerusalem, in the vicinity of Bayt Jubrīn; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Kitāb Muʿjam al-Buldān (=Jacut's geographisches Wörterbuch)* (Leipzig, 1866–70), 4:35.

11. **IF:** Money is collected for the repair project of al-Bīrah; details of work and arrangements there (64v–65r).
Maq: 1:525.

12. **IF:** Sultan meets commoners on bridge over al-ʻAwjā' and treats them well (ed. Lyons, 84).
Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

13. **IF:** Sultan leaves al-ʻAwjā', after battalions hunt in forest of Arsūf; Sultan scouts out Arsūf and Caesarea (ed. Lyons, 84–85).
Maq: 1:526.

14. **IF:** Mangonels and ladders built (details of types of mangonels) (ed. Lyons, 85).
Maq: 1:526 [without details of the mangonels].

15. **IF:** Sultan goes to ʻUyūn al-Asāwir (ed. Lyons, 85).
Maq: 1:526 [adds detail about location of ʻUyūn al-Asāwir].

16. **IF:** Army receives order to don equipment and marches to Caesarea (ed. Lyons, 85).
Maq: 1:526–27.

17. **IF:** History of Caesarea up to battle (ed. Lyons, 86–87=MS Vienna, 66r–67v; not all of the text is in the edition).
Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

18. **IF:** Caesarea attacked on the morning of 9 Jumādá I. City taken by assault; citadel put under siege. Raids sent out against Baysān and Acre (ed. Lyons, 87).
Maq: 1:527.

19. **IF:** Role of sultan during siege of Caesarea (ed. Lyons, 87).
Maq: 1:527.

20. **IF:** Mamluks take citadel and destroy the city (ed. Lyons, 87–88).
Maq: 1:527.

21. **IF:** Hadith cited (ed. Lyons, 88).
    Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

22. **IF:** Mamluk raid against ʻAthlīth and Haifa; Sultan visits ʻAthlīth (ed. Lyons, 89).
    Maq: 1:527–28.

23. **IF:** Long panegyric to sultan (ed. Lyons, 89).
    Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

24. **IF:** Sultan goes back to Caesarea; arrival of mangonels from al-Ṣubaybah; refugees from the Franks arrive; breakout of disease among the troops (ed. Lyons, 90).
    Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

25. **IF:** History of Arsūf, derived from Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī′s *Al-Aʻlāq al-Khaṭīrah,* which is mentioned by name (ed. Lyons, 91).
    Maq: Not in *Sulūk.*

26. **IF:** Sultan arrives at Arsūf on 1 Jumādá I; siege commences; role of sultan in fighting is lauded. Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir mentioned twice as source. Initial tunnels to citadel walls are constructed; Franks counterattack. Mamluks dig trench parallel to outside moat of city (ed. Lyons, 91–94).
    Maq: 1:528–29.

27. **IF:** Presence in Mamluk camp of *al-ʻubbād wa-al-zuhhād wa-al-fuqahā' wa-al-fuqarā'*. Sultan′s largess to certain shaykhs is described (ed. Lyons, 94–95).
    Maq: 1:529 [but only *al-ʻubbād wa-al-zuhhād wa-al-fuqahā'* are mentioned].

28. **IF:** Continued bombardment of Arsūf by mangonels; final attack on city (taken 8 Rajab); hadith cited. Sultan visits tomb of local shaykh. Attack on citadel on 11 Rajab. First barbican taken; citadel surrenders (ed. Lyons, 95–96).
    Maq: 1:529 [confused account: see below].

Note: The text of Ibn al-Furāt in items 1–16 is derived almost completely from Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 221–30. For items 17–28, the parallel text is in *Rawḍ,* 230–43.

From the above, we can note that apparently the model of al-Maqrīzī was also the parallel passage in Ibn al-Furāt's *Tārīkh*. Although it is theoretically possible that al-Maqrīzī had Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's *Rawḍ* (Ibn al-Furāt's main source here) as a direct model, the fact that al-Maqrīzī had based himself on Ibn al-Furāt for the year 658 leads to the conclusion that he was working from Ibn al-Furāt's text also for 663.

The above observations have been strengthened by a systematic comparison of 22 years of annals, described above. Of course, in the framework of a short article, it is impossible to demonstrate a 100% correlation between the two texts, but I hope that the examples adduced will be convincing. It is now my wish to give several examples of al-Maqrīzī's carelessness in rendering a summary of his source.

My first example will be from the above-mentioned annal of 658, to wit, the events of ʿAyn Jālūt. If nothing else, I hope to strengthen my assertion that al-Maqrīzī's description of the battle is taken directly from that of Ibn al-Furāt. The latter author writes about the opening stages of the battle (citing Ṣārim al-Dīn Özbeg al-Ḥimṣī, whose words were first conveyed by Qirṭāy al-Khaznadārī, who in turn is cited by name by Ibn al-Furāt). This is Ibn al-Furāt's text:

> . . . wa-hum munḥadirūn min al-jabal . . . thumma taṭābaʿat al-aṭlāb awwalan fa-awwal wa-inḥadarū min safḥ al-jabal wa-duqqat al-kūsāt wa-al-ṭablk[ān]āt. . . . thumma inna al-tatār inḥāzū ilá al-jabal. . . . [. . . They (the Mamluks) descended from the hill . . . then the squadrons followed each other one by one, and descended from the foot of the hill. The drums and orchestras were played . . . Then Mongols headed for the hill.][13]

Now compare the parallel, but much shorter, passage from al-Maqrīzī:

> Wa-taṭābaʿa ḍarb kūsāt al-sulṭān wa-al-umarāʾ fa-taḥayyaza al-tatar *[sic]* ilá al-jabal [The beating of the sultan's and amirs' drums was continuous, and the Mongols headed for the hill.][14]

A number of points can be noted: First, something which may not be obvious from my shortened rendition of Ibn al-Furāt's passage is that his text is about four times as long as al-Maqrīzī's. Secondly, also not apparent from the passage that I

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[13]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* MS Vatican, fol. 247r (= ed. Levi della Vida, "L'invasione dei Tatari," 366).
[14]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:430.

have cited, is that Ibn al-Furāt names his source. Thirdly, al-Maqrīzī has conflated two matters, slightly changing the wording in the process: Ibn al-Furāt writes that the ″squadrons followed *(taṭāba'at)* one another,″ and then ″the drums and orchestras were played (or beaten),″ while al-Maqrīzī has ″the beating of the sultan′s and amirs′ drums was continuous *(Wa-taṭāba'a ḍarb kūsāt al-sulṭān wa-al-umarā')*. This ″editing″ is innocuous enough, though al-Maqrīzī′s use of *taṭāba'a* is a useful telltale sign of the origins of this passage. More seriously, al-Maqrīzī completely omits the twice-told information of the Mamluks coming off a hill or height of some type; his final remark, that ″the Mongols headed for the hill″[15] is perhaps inexplicable without the information which his source provides, i.e., that the Mamluks were advancing down the slope of the unnamed hill.[16]

Al-Maqrīzī′s version so far is thus somewhat confusing, but even without recourse to Ibn al-Furāt (or his source), it does not present an insurmountable problem in reconstructing the battle. A much more significant problem is found in the continuation of the passage by al-Maqrīzī, where he writes:

> Wa-marra al-'askar fī athar al-tatar ilá qurb Baysān fa-raja'a al-tatar wa-ṣāffū maṣāffan thāniyan a'ẓam min al-awwal [The (Mamluk) army moved to the vicinity of Baysān on the heels of the Mongols. They came back (or regrouped), and they fought a second battle greater than the first.][17]

This statement has given rise in several modern renditions of the battle to the suggestion that a second battle took place near Baysān (Beit Shan), after the defeated Mongols regrouped, only to be routed yet again.[18] Yet an examination of Ibn al-Furāt′s passage, derived he says from Ibn Duqmāq′s *Nuzhat al-Anām* (in a now non-extant section), shows that this was not the case:

> Wa-kasara [Quṭuz] al-'adūw al-makhdhūl kasratan qawīyan ilá qarīb madīnat Baysān thumma 'ādū wa-iltaqaw ma'a al-muslimīn wa-kānat al-thāniyah a'ẓam min al-ūlá [(Quṭuz) dealt the (God-)forsaken

[15]This particular sentence was misread by Quatremère, *Histoire,* 1:2:104: ″Les Tatars monterent alor à cheval,″ evidently reading *al-khayl* for *al-jabal;* Thorau, ″The Battle of 'Ayn Jālūt,″ 238, cites this mistaken translation without comment.

[16]For the possible location of this ″hill″ and a detailed reconstruction and analysis of the battle, see R. Amitai-Preiss, ″'Ayn Jālūt Revisited,″ *Tārīḫ* 2 (1991): 119–50.

[17]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:431.

[18]See, e.g., Joshua Prawer, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem,* tr. G. Nahon (Paris, 1970), 2:435.

> enemy a great defeat near the city of Baysān, then they came back, and encountered the Muslims (again). The second (defeat) was greater than the first.][19]

What Ibn al-Furāt is saying is that the battle which we know as ʻAyn Jālūt was fought *near* Baysān, which is certainly true, Baysān being the largest town in the vicinity of the battlefield. At this battle there were two rounds of fighting. After an initial Mamluk success, the Mongols regrouped *at the same spot;* in the second round, the Mongols were again, and finally, defeated.[20]

Al-Maqrīzī´s account of this battle contains other careless renderings of Ibn al-Furāt´s detailed and careful narrative, which misleads the historian if consulted without reference to his source. I will note here only a couple of illustrations of al-Maqrīzī´s haphazard method in rendering the details given by Ibn al-Furāt, from the account of the events which led up to the fighting itself. For example, Ibn al-Furāt has only that commissioners of some type (called here *nuwwāb*) of Hülegü entered Damascus on 16 Rabīʻ I 658 (1 March 1260),[21] while al-Maqrīzī writes that it was the commissioners *and Kitbughā,* then commander of the Mongol advanced forces in central and southern Syria, who entered Damascus on this date.[22] One might comment that perhaps al-Maqrīzī knew something that his source did not, and added it accordingly. While this is theoretically a possibility, it can be discounted here. No other Mamluk (or pro-Mongol) writer mentions Kitbughā entering the city at this time, and contemporary Damascene writer Abū Shāmah explicitly says that the *nuwwāb* arrived alone (albeit on 17 Rabīʻ I/2 March).[23] In addition, Ibn Kathīr writes that Kitbughā had arrived in the city as early as the last day of Ṣafar 658 (14 February 1260), and he left the city a few days later for points south, evidently not returning to Damascus until late April.[24] This is of course a small detail, but indicative of al-Maqrīzī´s working method of summarizing Ibn al-Furāt, conflating here, skipping there, and occasionally adding a little extrapolation from his imagination.

With this growing skepticism, we may now look at another example of al-

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[19]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* MS Vatican, fol. 248r.

[20]Actually, the course of the battle was even more complicated; see the article cited above in note 16.

[21]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* MS Vatican, fols. 233r, 234r–v.

[22]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:424.

[23]Shihāb al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ismāʻīl Abū Shāmah, *Tarājim Rijāl al-Qarnayn al-Sādis wa-al-Sābiʻ al-Maʻarūf bi-al-Dhayl ʻalá al-Rawḍatayn,* ed. M. al-Kawtharī (Cairo, 1947), 203.

[24]Abū al-Fidāʼ ʻAbd Allāh Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah fī al-Tārīkh* (rpt., Beirut, 1977), 13:219. For details of Kitbughā´s itinerary during this period, see Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks,* 30–33.

Maqrīzī´s additions to his source, again from the events leading up to the battle of ʻAyn Jālūt: he writes that after the final conquest of Aleppo and north Syria in February 1260, Hülegü himself is reported to have advanced to Damascus.[25] Not only is this not found in the parallel passage in Ibn al-Furāt,[26] but all the other Mamluk and Persian sources state that Hülegü remained in the north of the country. Again, we have caught al-Maqrīzī trying to improve upon his source whilst attempting to summarize it.

So much for the Mongols in Syria; what about Mamluk reactions to events there? Ibn al-Furāt reports that the Egyptian army was swelled by Turcomans, bedouins *(al-ʻurbān),* and Shahrazurīyah Kurds.[27] This information is given by al-Maqrīzī, but without the Kurds,[28] a minor but telling omission. Once the Mamluk army has set out from Cairo and has established camp at Ṣāliḥīyah, Quṭuz encounters opposition from many of the amirs who were less than enthused about continuing on to Syria and confronting the Mongols. Ibn al-Furāt, citing the now lost *Naẓm al-Sulūk* by Shāfiʻ ibn ʻAlī, provides several anecdotes showing how the sultan was eventually able to convince these recalcitrant commanders to follow him to Syria.[29] Al-Maqrīzī conflates these stories in a disjointed way: he stops one anecdote in the middle and begins the next also in the middle, leading to confusion on the part of the unwary reader.[30]

To summarize so far, the best policy for the would-be historian of this crucial year in the history of the Mamluk Sultanate, and arguably the Middle East as a whole, would be to lay the *Sulūk* aside and concentrate on other works, starting with the Vatican manuscript of Ibn al-Furāt´s *Tārīkh*. I have found the relevant pages of *Sulūk* useful only as a rough guide of events and a serviceable precis for my students.

I have concentrated so far on the events of 658/1260, since during my research on the battle of ʻAyn Jālūt, I have devoted much attention to a detailed comparison of all of the sources, most of which are in Arabic. Yet, I have found additional examples of al-Maqrīzī´s imprecise summations of Ibn al-Furāt´s chronicle. For example, Ibn al-Furāt gives a detailed break-down of the Mongol army which invaded Syria in 680/1281, based on intelligence reports which Sultan Qalāwūn received. He gives the total figure of 80,000 ″pure″ Mongols (referred to here as *al-mughul*); the rest was composed of ″Georgians, [Saljuq troops from] Anatolia,

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[25]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:423.

[26]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* MS Vatican, fol. 233r.

[27]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* MS Vatican, fol. 244v.

[28]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:423.

[29]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* MS Vatican, fol. 244r–245r.

[30]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:429–30.

Armenians, Franks, and renegades";[31] the last mentioned term is *murtaddah,* literally "apostates," but in the Mamluk Sultanate this expression was applied to Muslim troops in the service of the Mongols. Al-Maqrīzī condenses this report, leaving out in the process the *murtaddah,*[32] an interesting and important tidbit of information.

Al-Maqrīzī's imprecision in rendering Ibn al-Furāt's text is not limited to the realm of Mamluk-Mongol relations. Thus, in 659/1261, the latter writes—deriving his information from Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir—that Baybars met with unnamed bedouin chiefs *(umarā' al-ʻurbān)* and gave them some type of allowance or livelihood *(arzāq).*[33] This is changed by al-Maqrīzī to *iqṭāʻāt,*[34] i.e., revenue granting lands, which for all we know may or may not have been his source's intention.

Another example is taken from the realm of building. Ibn al-Furāt cites (almost exactly, I might add) Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir in the description of Baybars's reconstruction works in various fortresses in Syria, as follows: "Their moats were cleaned out, their curtain walls *(badanāt)* were widened, and they were filled with equipment."[35] Al-Maqrīzī renders this with a difference: instead of *badanāt,* the word *abrāj* (towers) is found.[36] Ibn al-Furāt, however, has made one important change in the text, or rather where he has placed it. Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir had given his information as part of a general description of Baybars's good qualities, just after the report of his accession to the sultanate. Ibn al-Furāt, on the other hand, puts this in the course of events *sub anno* 659. Al-Maqrīzī does the same, thereby showing that he was not working with Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir's biography of the sultan as his direct model, but rather Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle.

I must admit that these examples are really small change: our view of the early Mamluk Sultanate is not going to be radically altered were we just to consult al-Maqrīzī on the above matters. A more egregious error is found in al-Maqrīzī's description of the siege of Arsūf, and particularly the final successful attack on the city and the citadel. He writes:

> Fa-lamma tahayyaʻa dhālika waqaʻa al-zaḥf ʻalá Arsūf fī yawm al-khamīs thāmin Rajab, fa-fataḥahā Allāh fī dhālika al-yawm ʻinda mā waqaʻat al-bāshūrah fa-lam yashʻarū illā bi-al-muslimīn qad tasallaqū wa-ṭalaʻū ilá al-qalʻah [When this (preparation for the

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[31]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 7:215. For the matter of these figures, see Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks,* 189–95.

[32]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:692.

[33]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* MS Vatican, fol. 277v; Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 119.

[34]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:465.

[35]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* MS Vatican, fol. 266r; Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 119.

[36]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:446.

> attack) was organized, the assault took place against Arsūf on Thursday, the eighth of Rajab. Allāh conquered it on this day, when the barbican (of the citadel) fell. Before the Franks knew it, the Muslims had climbed and ascended to the citadel.][37]

It can be noted that al-Maqrīzī has conflated two discrete episodes from Ibn al-Furāt's text, the first reporting that the Mamluks took the city, and the second the taking of the citadel *three days later*. Over a page of text in the printed edition of Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle separates the two pieces of evidence:

> Wa-faragha min al-sarābāt allatī ilá janīb al-khandaq min al-jihatayn wa-futiḥat fīhā abwāb muttasi'ah ḥaṣala al-zaḥf 'alá Arsūf fī nahār al-ithnayn thāmin shahr Rajab al-fard min hādhihi al-sanah wa-futiḥat fī dhālika al-nahār[38] . . . fa-lammā qadara Allāh wuqū' al-bāshūrah fī al-sā'ah al-rābi'ah min nahār al-khamīs ṭala'a al-muslimīn ilayhā taslīqan wa-mā aḥassa al-faranj bi-al-muslimīn ilá wa-qad khālatūhum min kull bāb[39] [The ditches which were to the side of the moat on two sides were completed, and the wide gates were opened. The assault against Arsūf was carried out on Monday, the eighth of the holy month of Rajab in this year. (The city) was conquered this day. . . . When Allāh decreed the falling of the barbican in the fourth hour of Thursday, the Muslims went up (the citadel) by climbing. Before the Franks noticed them, the Muslims were among them from every entrance.][40]

I believe that this comparison speaks for itself: al-Maqrīzī has failed completely to summarize accurately his source and has conveyed a false impression of what happened. If we had only al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk* to go on here, we would have a mutilated and confused picture of the conquest of Arsūf.

On occasion, however, al-Maqrīzī inserts some information that is not found in Ibn al-Furāt, but need not be rejected out of hand. One outstanding example for this is from the battle of 'Ayn Jālūt: in the midst of the fighting, Quṭuz's horse was shot out from under him. The sultan, therefore, was in the dangerous position of walking around in the midst of a cavalry battle, until a spare horse was brought

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[37]Ibid., 529.

[38]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* ed. Lyons, 95; Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 239.

[39]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* ed. Lyons, 96; Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 242.

[40]I am currently preparing a study of the Mamluk conquest of Arsūf, where this passage is analyzed in detail.

up and he remounted. An additional detail is told: the horse was shot by a young Mongol, who had accompanied Mongol envoys several months before to Cairo, and had been pressed into the sultan′s mamluks; he was trying to kill Quṭuz, missed, and was then cut down himself.[41] The whole story is not found in Ibn al-Furāt′s extensive account of the battle. Given al-Maqrīzī′s record, we might be justified in wondering about the credibility of this story. But a somewhat similar version appears in *'Iqd al-Jumān* by al-'Aynī, [42] so whatever its ultimate veracity, al-Maqrīzī cannot be blamed for conjuring it up.

Here and there in the annals for Baybars′s reign we find other snippets of information added by al-Maqrīzī to his summary of Ibn al-Furāt′s chronicle. One interesting example is in the account of events leading up to the campaigns against Caesarea and Arsūf. Ibn al-Furāt writes that Baybars stopped at a location called 'Uyūn al-Asāwir.[43] Al-Maqrīzī adds at this point that these springs were in ″Wādī 'Ārah and 'Ar'arah,″[44] names still used today. This is important information; although it is unclear from whence al-Maqrīzī received it and it would be desirable to have independent confirmation, this detail does point to his wide geographical knowledge.

Of greater interest and significance is information provided in the obituary of Sultan Baybars, *sub anno* 676. Here al-Maqrīzī cites *inter alia* two passages *by name*.[45] As far as I can tell this is a unique occurrence for his annals of the first decades of the sultanate′s existence. In the first of these, the source is Baybars al-Manṣūrī′s *Zubdat al-Fikrah;*[46] the second passage is from Quṭb al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī′s *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān*.[47] It is important to note that the evidence derived from al-Yūnīnī is not from the last-mentioned obituary of Baybars, but rather from that of an Ayyubid scion, al-Malik al-Qāhir 'Abd al-Malik ibn al-Mu'aẓẓam 'Īsá, whose death is reported to have been intertwined with that of the sultan. What this

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[41]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:431.

[42]Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn 'Alī al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,* ed. M. M. Amīn (Cairo, 1407/1987), 1:244–45, who cites al-Nuwayrī. But in the published version (at least) of the latter′s work, the account is less full: it indeed says that Quṭuz′s horse was shot out from under him, and the sultan was in danger until a spare was brought. There is, however, no mention of the role of the Mongol captive. See Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,* vol. 29, ed. M. M. Ziyādah and M. Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Rayyis (Cairo, 1992), 485.

[43]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* ed. Lyons, 85.

[44]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:526.

[45]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:635–36.

[46]Baybars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādār, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah,* ed. D. S. Richards (Beirut, 1998), 160–61.

[47]Quṭb al-Dīn Mūsá ibn Muḥammad al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān fī Tārīkh al-A'yān* (Hyderabad, 1954–61), 3:273–74.

and the previously mentioned examples show is that al-Maqrīzī had other works in front of him besides Ibn al-Furāt's *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk* when he was composing the history of the early sultanate. We see that he was capable of dipping into different sources, even once using a report that was not in the parallel passage in one of them. Why al-Maqrīzī relied almost exclusively on Ibn al-Furāt's work remains an unsolved matter.

With the advent of Qalāwūn's reign (1279–90), matters begin to change, albeit slowly. Linda Northrup has already noted the "great dependence" of al-Maqrīzī on Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle, the former being a summary of the latter, mentioning that in the process many of the important documents which Ibn al-Furāt cited *in extenso* were omitted.[48] She also gives two examples of information that al-Maqrīzī provides which is not found in the earlier chronicle. The first mentions that soon after his accession Qalāwūn refrained from riding out in a traditional sultanic procession for a while because some Ṣāliḥī and Ẓāhirī amirs had turned against him and were corresponding with Sunqur al-Asqar, the rebel governor of Damascus. Qalāwūn was therefore fearful for his life.[49] A second example is that in 1268 Qalāwūn turned to several Sufi shaykhs to pray for his son's recovery from his eventually fatal illness.[50]

Additional evidence indicates that although Ibn al-Furāt remained the model for al-Maqrīzī's chronicle in the post-Baybars era, the latter author shows an increasing tendency to insert additional information, the sources for which are not always clear. Thus, in the events before the battle of Homs in 680/1281, al-Maqrīzī describes the arrival of the splendidly attired Syrian bedouin, seeking to join the Mamluk army.[51] This information is not relayed by Ibn al-Furāt, but may have its origin in the chapters on the bedouin in Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-Abṣār,* where this information is found.[52] This, then, is a further indication of al-Maqrīzī's wide reading in earlier sources, which only occasionally finds expression in the annals of these years.

Of greater significance for the history of the battle of Homs is a unique piece of information found, as far as I can tell, only in al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk.* While several sources provide in great detail the Mamluk order of battle, evidently based on

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[48] Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan,* 51.

[49] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:672.

[50] Ibid., 744–45.

[51] Ibid., 690–91.

[52] Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyá ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār: Qabāʾil al-ʿArab fī al-Qarnayn al-Sābiʿ wa-al-Thāmin al-Hijrīyayn,* ed. Dorothea Krawulsky (Beirut, 1985), 142, who is cited by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshā*ʾ (Cairo, 1913–19), 4:209–10.

Baybars al-Manṣūrī´s *Zubdah,*[53] only al-Maqrīzī gives the following evidence: originally Qalāwūn had near him 800 royal mamluks and 4000 *ḥalqah* troopers. Then the sultan took up position on a nearby hill with 200 of his mamluks. If he saw that a squadron was encountering difficulties, he planned to reinforce it with a force of 200 royal mamluks.[54] This is truly a significant bit of evidence. One wishes for confirmation from another writer, preferably a contemporary one. I would have been satisfied had al-Maqrīzī mentioned his source, but here he has not changed his habit of not providing a reference. There is, however, no *a priori* reason to reject this evidence out of hand.

The comparison of al-Maqrīzī and Ibn al-Furāt´s annals for Qalāwūn´s reign is facilitated by the existence of printed editions for the two volumes in question. Volume 8 concludes with the annal of 696/1296–97, and the manuscript containing the subsequent annals has not been found. We are fortunate, however, to have the analysis of D. P. Little for the annal of 694/1295, which shows the dependence, with some additional information, of al-Maqrīzī on Ibn al-Furāt´s text. Little, of course, was unable to make such a comparison for the other two annals (699/1299–1300 and 705/1305–6), which served as the basis for his research on the methods and interdependence of the Mamluk sources for Bahri history. We can suppose that if indeed al-Maqrīzī had at his disposal parallel manuscripts by Ibn al-Furāt for these years, and these manuscripts would have been extant, that we would probably have seen a continued reliance on this latter writer, but perhaps with increasing references to other sources.

By way of conclusion, a number of points can be made. Al-Maqrīzī has revealed himself in the annals examined to have been an often careless summarizer of the work of Ibn al-Furāt. His chronicle for the early Mamluk Sultanate should not be ignored, but it should always be remembered that generally he is not an independent source, and must be read in conjunction with the parallel parts of Ibn al-Furāt´s *Tārīkh*. On the whole, as I have pointed out above, he should be seen mainly as a general guide to the events of the period, and as an appropriate text for students to cut their teeth on early Mamluk historiography.

Al-Maqrīzī´s sloppiness that has been revealed here should turn on red lights for all students of Mamluk history and in fact anyone who uses his many works. We have seen, through a detailed comparison with Ibn al-Furāt´s chronicle in several places, that he cut corners and was careless in his attempt to be terse for the early history of the sultanate. Might he have been equally slipshod in his other

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[53]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 196–97.

[54]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:693. Mention is also made that Kurdish amirs were present at the battle, but their exact position is not specified.

works for which we do not have a control? It seems to me that all scholars using his works should take this possibility into account.

My focus has been on al-Maqrīzī's carelessness and imprecision when he summarizes earlier work. There does not appear to be an ideology behind this, and there is no indication that he deliberately manipulated material for some unknown end. Even so, it is worthwhile at this juncture to remember that al-Maqrīzī was capable of such historical machinations, as the late David Ayalon showed in his study of the Mongol Yasa. There, it can be remembered, it was demonstrated that al-Maqrīzī had taken information from Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī on the Yasa, and deliberately added to it, in order to achieve the effect he desired, i.e., an attack on the Mamluk *ḥujjāb* (chamberlains) and the system of Mamluk administrative justice.[55] While I am far from accusing al-Maqrīzī of such fabrications in the present context, it may be that his carelessness, on the one hand, and creative additions, on the other, are two facets of the same intellectual personality. In any case, an appraisal of the man's works must take both traits into account.

It is an exaggeration to have called al-Maqrīzī a villain in my subtitle, even in the historiographical sense. Sloppiness in the reporting of history, annoying as it might be, is not normally a crime; no one, as far as I am aware, has died or been injured as a result of al-Maqrīzī's slipshod methods of summarizing. But the use of the term was not just to gain the attention of the reader. I also hoped to emphasize the unwarranted dependence that modern historians of both the early Mamluk Sultanate and the Frankish East have placed on his chronicle. My hope, then, is that henceforth al-Maqrīzī will be reduced to his proper stature for the period in question, and will be seen only as an auxiliary source for the first decades of the sultanate.

But while the expression "unrecognized villain" was overdrawn, it would certainly be appropriate to look for the "unsung hero" of the historiography of the early Mamluk Sultanate. This is, so it seems to me, Ibn al-Furāt, whose careful method of compilation, his many sources, and judicious judgment put him up there with the greatest of Mamluk historians and even Arabic historical writers of all time. Certainly, without him, our knowledge of the early sultanate would be much more meager than it is now. Without a doubt, a complete scholarly edition of the manuscripts of volume 5 and 6, found in the Vatican and the Staatsbibliothek in Vienna respectively, is a desideratum.

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[55]David Ayalon, "The Great Yāsa of Chingiz Khān: A Reexamination," part C2, *Studia Islamica* 38 (1973): 121–23, 140–42 [This article has been reprinted in D. Ayalon, *Outsiders in the Lands of Islam: Mamluks, Mongols and Eunuchs* (London, 1988), art. no. IV]. Ayalon took a more charitable view of al-Maqrīzī in "The Mamluks of the Seljuks: Islam's Military Might at the Crossroads," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3rd series, 6 (1996): 318, note 43.

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Al-Maqrīzī as a Historian of the Reign of Barqūq

When reading the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* of al-Maqrīzī one cannot help but notice the consistently negative assessment the historian made of Barqūq and his rule in the reports on his rise from simple mamluk to *amīr kabīr* (roughly from 768–79/1366–78), and then from *amīr kabīr* (779–84/1378–82) to sultan (784–91, 792–801/1382–89, 1390–9). The criticisms he voiced are simply too pervasive and too peculiar to his work—they are absent from most of his contemporaries′ chronicles—for them to be ignored or to be explained away as mere coincidence. The aim of this article is twofold: first, it will present the arguments marshalled by al-Maqrīzī[1] in his attacks on Barqūq,[2] and then verify whether or not they are present in the works of contemporary and later historians, namely Ibn al-Furāt′s (735–807/1335–1405) *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,* Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī′s (773–852/1372–1449) *Inbāʼ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʼ al-ʻUmr,* Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s (779–851/1377–1448) *Al-Dhayl fī Tārīkh al-Islām,* Ibn Taghrībirdī′s (812–74/1409–70) *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah*, al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī′s (819–900/1416–94) *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān,* and Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās′s (852–930/1448–1524) *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʼiʻ al-Duhūr;*[3] second, it will examine the historiographical

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[1]For the purposes of this paper, three of al-Maqrīzī′s works have been examined: *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* vols. 1–2 (Beirut, n.d.); idem, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma′rifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* vol. 3 (parts 1–2), edited by Saʻīd ʻĀshūr (Cairo, 1970); and idem, *Mamluk Economics: A Study and Translation of al-Maqrīzī′s Ighāthah,* translated by Adel Allouche (Salt Lake City, 1994).

[2]So far, the only attempt to analyze the aversion of al-Maqrīzī towards Barqūq was made by Amalia Levanoni in her ″Al-Maqrīzī′s Account of the Transition from Turkish to Circassian Mamluk Sultanate: History in the Service of Faith,″ in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800),* ed. Hugh Kennedy (Leiden, 2001), 93–105, where she noted what she perceived as inconsistencies and prejudices on the part of al-Maqrīzī: among other things his over-emphasis, unsupported by evidence, on the decline of the Turks and the rise of the Circassians (91–101) and his own personal dislike of Barqūq and his kin, the Circassians (100–2). For Levanoni, his severe attitude vis-à-vis holders of power ″might be found in his deep commitment to the role Islam allotted to religious scholars, the ulama, in the guidance of their community [103].″ In other words, it is because he perceived that the new Mamluk regime ″fell short of the traditional Muslim political theory″ (103) that he took it upon himself to criticize it. Even though the explanations presented by Levanoni are undoubtedly central and essential to our understanding of al-Maqrīzī′s denigration of Barqūq, there are other factors that need to be examined.

[3]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,* vol. 9, pts. 1 and 2, ed. Costi K. Zurayk and Najla

significance of al-Maqrīzī´s comments.

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The criticisms voiced by al-Maqrīzī towards Barqūq are part of a complex of negative opinions that indicate not only that he, alone among the historians of this period, seriously disliked the sultan, but also felt that he was witnessing the end of an era and the dawn of another fraught with a breakdown in the traditional order, social turmoil, danger at the borders, an increasingly predatory regime, etc. The criticisms levied by al-Maqrīzī do not pervade every page of his works. They do however appear consistently in those parts of the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* that cover the rise of Barqūq until the end of his first reign, whenever he described or recounted events that were symptomatic, in his eyes, of the ills of Egypt and Syria and more specifically of the *fin d´époque* he felt he was witnessing.

The most eloquent criticism of Barqūq and his regime is to be found in an often-quoted passage of the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* that is intended as an assessment of Barqūq´s first reign, which ended in 791/1389. After noting the taxes that he abolished, the structures he ordered built, his deference, unique amongst the ˝Turkish kings,˝ towards men of religion, al-Maqrīzī said the following:[4]

Izzeddin (Beirut, 1936–38); Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr,* vols. 1–4 (Beirut, 1986); Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Al-Dhayl fī Tārīkh al-Islām,* vols. 1, 3, 4, ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1977–97); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* vols. 11–13, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 1992); and idem, *History of Egypt 1382–1467*, trans. William Popper, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, vols. 13, 17, 18 (Berkeley, 1954–); al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān,* vol. 1, ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970); Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1974–75). Al-ʿAynī´s *ʿIqd al-Jumān* is the only one of the major chronicles of the period I was unable to consult. As will become apparent below, of all the above-mentioned historians, Ibn Iyās (852–930/1427–97) is the only one to systematically denigrate Barqūq. Interestingly, the overwhelming majority of his criticisms are either taken directly from al-Maqrīzī or are paraphrases of his accounts.

[4]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:2:618–19. The translation is William Popper´s in Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt,* 13:42–43. Ibn Taghrībirdī made up for the dearth of non-political facts in his chronicle by adding to his work the type of information which makes his chronicle extremely useful: the accounts he reports from people who lived through this period, namely his father´s associates and acquaintances, and the first-hand knowledge he had of the sultan and his family, to whom he was related. In the case of the quotation at hand, Ibn Taghrībirdī clearly identifies the passage as al-Maqrīzī´s (something he rarely does in his narrative unless, for example, he wants to challenge his teacher) in order to criticize him. I have added in italics a few sentences that are present in al-Maqrīzī´s *Kitāb al-Sulūk* but were written differently or simply omitted in the *Nujūm al-Zāhirah.* On the other hand, I have removed passages that are not to be found in the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* but are present in the *Nujūm al-Zāhirah.*

> But he was avaricious, and in his days has introduced the practice of the open offering of bribes; indeed he hardly ever appointed anyone to an office or administrative position except for money, *so the lowlifes acceded to prestigious positions and to high stations,* and on this account political corruption was common; he also had an inordinate predilection for advancing men of the lowest classes and debasing those of noble family so that *he changed the social order amongst people,*[5] *and he antagonized the grandees amongst the Turcomans and Arabs in Syria, Egypt, and the Hijaz.* In his days three disgraceful practices became notorious: pederasty, *to such an extent that prostitutes, for their lack of business, had to imitate the* ghulmān *in order to boost the demand for their debauchery,* because of the favor which he openly showed to handsome mamluks *and the accusation levied against him and his amirs that he had intercourse with them;* the frank acceptance of bribes, *in which he was imitated by district governors, until such behavior ceased to be reprehensible;* and the decline in the business of the market and the *paucity of gain,* because of his niggardliness and the rarity with which he made gifts to anyone. So his faults were many times more numerous than his virtues.[6]

The charges levelled here by al-Maqrīzī against Barqūq, namely the accusations of pederasty, the taking of briberies and niggardliness, his overturning of the social order, his antagonizing of internal and outside forces, etc., even though forcefully put,[7] do not cover the whole range of criticisms that are to be found in other parts of the *Kitāb al-Sulūk*.

For one thing, the criticisms elaborated by al-Maqrīzī concerning the character of Barqūq touch upon much more than the shortcomings noted in the quotation above. In those instances where al-Maqrīzī commented on the very persona of

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[5]This is my understanding of ″wa-ghayyara mā kāna lil-nās min-al-tartīb,″ whereas Popper reads it as ″he brought about a change in the orderly conduct of people,″ Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt*, trans. Popper, 13:43.

[6]Following this passage, Ibn Taghrībirdī systematically rebuked his former teacher by noting in the case of pederasty and the taking of bribes that they were old practices, the former going as far back as the Khurasānīs′ entry into Iraq during the Abbasid revolution (ibid.). Ibn Taghrībirdī stated that the accusation of niggardliness might hold if he is compared to his predecessors, ″but he was generous in comparison to those who came after him″ (ibid., 44). The refutation of al-Maqrīzī′s discourse is accompanied by harsh criticisms as for example, ″Shaikh Taqî al-Dîn (God have mercy on him) was guilty of well-known inconsistencies. . . .″ (ibid.).

[7]One of them, that of pederasty, was found nowhere else in the chronicle.

Barqūq, the latter is depicted as a conniving individual who maneuvered through the meanders of politics to secure his power. For example, as early as 23 Rabīʻ al-Thānī 779/ 28 August 1377, following the removal of Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī by Barqūq and Barakah, al-Maqrīzī noted that the civil wars, the mamluk revolts, and the changes in government that had previously taken place were all but a springboard for Barqūq's taking over of the country. Barqūq, continued al-Maqrīzī, quickly settled into office and governed on his own until he was taken to the grave, "[an] honored, invincible, revered, and lofty [man]."[8] The Machiavellian nature of Barqūq was again emphasized by al-Maqrīzī on a number of other instances. For example, when Barqūq used the services of the qadis and the ulama on 19 Ṣafar 782/ 25 May 1380 to ease the tension between himself and his former ally Barakah, al-Maqrīzī saw nothing in the motivation of the *amīr kabīr* but "ruse and cunning."[9] In 793/1391, one year after his return to the throne, the arrest of an amir by Barqūq is yet another opportunity for al-Maqrīzī to dwell upon the sultan's calculating ways; commenting on the arrest of Āqbughā al-Mārdīnī, he said: "This is the habit of the sultan: he is patient with his enemies in that he does not take revenge on them until he has the opportunity to discipline them for a punishable crime so that he does not appear to be seeking revenge, thanks to his self-command and *retenue*. Follow this and you will realize that it is as I said to you."[10]

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[8]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:316. Ibn Taghrībirdī noted, for the same event, that the removal of Yalbughā took place a few days after Barqūq and Barakah had dismissed a number of amirs from office, *Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 11:130. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah made no negative comments and simply mentioned Yalbughā's removal, *Al-Dhayl,* 3:548. Ibn Ḥajar simply commented that Barqūq "held absolute power," *Inbāʼ al-Ghumr,* 1:234. Ibn Iyās was the only one of the chroniclers to echo al-Maqrīzī: he repeated his account almost word for word and then added "and he established the Circassian regime," *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr,*1:2:212.

[9]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:379. Al-Maqrīzī was more discerning in the analysis he later made of the causes behind the conflict between the two former "brothers." He mentioned the negative effects of the 781 rebellion led by Īnāl al-Yūsufī, the then *silāḥdār,* with the alleged collusion of Aytamish al-Bijāsī, Barqūq's close ally, whose purpose was to get rid of Barakah, and then he noted the following: because of the jealousy that appears frequently between associates, it was in the nature of things for the two amirs to try to monopolize power and to seek glory for their own person (ibid., 3:1:380–81). See Levanoni, "Al-Maqrīzī's Account of the Transition," 96–100, for an analysis of the Īnāl rebellion and al-Maqrīzī's alleged *parti pris* in its reporting. All four chroniclers who reported this event—Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʼ al-Ghumr,* 2:2; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 11:141ff; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Al-Dhayl,* 1:22; and Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr,* 1:2:254–55—refrained from making any negative comment about Barqūq.

[10]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:3:734. None of the chroniclers who also reported this event, namely Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʼ al-Ghumr,* 3:73, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 12:8, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Al-Dhayl,* 1:368–69, al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 1:323, and Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:2:247, made any comment that could be construed as being negative.

Thinly veiled references to Barqūq′s alleged cowardice and calculating personality can also be construed from the remark al-Maqrīzī made in his report on the aftermath of the conflict between Barakah and Barqūq in 782: ″It is incredible that during this serious incident, Amir Barqūq did not ride into battle for even an hour of the day, but remained put while the battle between his supporters—chief among them Amir Aytamish—and those of Barakah [was taking place], until God gave him victory effortlessly *(min ghayr ta'ab)*.″[11] On top of Barqūq′s cunning, al-Maqrīzī associated with him character flaws that are of a non-political nature such as indulgence in drinking[12] and pederasty.[13]

Beyond the alleged immorality of Barqūq the man, al-Maqrīzī also often sought to indict the regime that gave rise to him and that he later headed, its genesis and political personnel. And he does this from a particular angle, that of a member of the *khāṣṣah* who was witnessing the rise of ″men of the lowest classes″ and the debasing of those of ″noble family.″ The sentiment of dismay al-Maqrīzī felt towards this situation can be seen expressed in various parts of the *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* whether about the upstart and greedy *julbān* or members of the *'āmmah*. On 8 Dhū al-Qa'dah 779/8 March 1378, upon the nomination of a new roster of amirs, many of whom had been simple soldiers *(mafāridah)* prior to their rebellion, al-Maqrīzī exclaimed: ″The elevation of the lowlifes became the matter of proverbs as the mamluk recruits who yesterday had been unknown quantities, by means of murder, banishment, and various forms of torture, had become kings to whom the bounties of all things are brought and who ruled the kingdoms of the world according to their wants. From then on, the situation of the land changed with the

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[11]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:385. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Al-Dhayl,* 1:26, was the only chronicler to actually narrate this story that is almost identical to al-Maqrīzī′s.

[12]Of the two instances recorded in the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* concerning the drinking habits of Barqūq, the first is reported as a matter of fact without any criticisms (3:2:590). As for the other, in which al-Maqrīzī described a big party held by the sultan at the hippodrome, it is replete with negative comments (3:2:902): he stated that the sultan drank with the mamluks and was warned about doing so, and that later, at the end of the party, the populace was allowed to loot both food and beverages; this, al-Maqrīzī added, was an ugly day during which sacrilegious things occurred, so that it dawned upon *ahl-al-ma'rifah* that this was the end of it all. For the first event, the accounts of both Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 11:210, and al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 1:51, were either modeled upon that of al-Maqrīzī or simply directly quoted from the *Kitāb al-Sulūk.* The second incident elicited more negative reactions. For example, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 12:66–67, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Al-Dhayl,* 1:662, and Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:2:500–1, actually quoted al-Maqrīzī′s account, whereas Ibn Ḥajar stated the facts and then added that a *faqīr* who decried what was going on was beaten and humiliated, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 3:383–85.

[13]See note 7, above.

change of its rulers."[14]

The imbalance in the traditional social order was not only the work of the *julbān* but also that of the *'āmmah.* Al-Maqrīzī might have been more prone than, say, an Ibn Taghrībirdī to report the way events such as famine impinged on the lives of the populace,[15] but his comments on the *'āmmah,* particularly when it was involved in "political action" on the side of Barqūq, reveal a high degree of antagonism. Al-Maqrīzī noted on a number of occasions that the common people liked Barqūq and that he did his utmost to protect them so that they sympathized with and felt strongly for him.[16] Of note are his thoroughly negative characterization of the *'āmmah,* which he alone did among contemporary historians: during his description of the events surrounding Īnāl al-Yūsufī's rebellion in Rajab 781/November 1379, al-Maqrīzī noted Barqūq's appeal to the *'awāmm* and then immediately observed that he was "very cunning and deceitful. They [the plebeians] rose at once and shouted together: 'Walk ahead of us!' So he went, surrounded by them as if they were a swarm of locusts."[17]

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[14]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:289. Only Ibn Iyās narrated this story by copying al-Maqrīzī almost word for word, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:2:191–92. Even though Barqūq had not yet emerged form obscurity and is not mentioned by al-Maqrīzī in reference to this event, namely the aftermath of the murder of al-Ashraf Sha'bān, as a Yalbughāwī mamluk, he was very much involved in the coup; see *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:155 for a brief summary of Barqūq's travels and activities following the murder of Yalbughā al-'Umarī in 768/1366. See also *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:277, 287–88, in which much is made about the lowly status and *arriviste* nature of the new military elite. On the political activities of the *julbān* and those Levanoni calls rank-and-file mamluks during the period at hand, see her "Rank-and-file Mamluks versus Amirs: New Norms in the Mamluk Military Institution," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 25–28.

[15]For a discussion of the way the *'āmmah* were treated by historians during the Circassian period, see Irmeli Perho, "Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī as Historians of Contemporary Events," in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt*, 93–105.

[16]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:352–53. Here again, Ibn Iyās was the only one amongst the chroniclers to echo the relationship between Barqūq and the *'āmmah, Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:2:240.

[17]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:365–66. See also 3:1:382, 386. Only Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:2:257, used the term *jarād al-muntashir* (swarm of locusts). Interestingly, even the description of a rather mundane event such as a new fashion trend amongst women in Cairo provided al-Maqrīzī with the opportunity to criticize the uppitiness of the lower classes: "In this [the wearing of large dresses] the females of the populace overindulged until they imitated in their dress the women of the rulers and the elite *[al-mulūk wa-al-a'yān],"* *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:2:750. The *a'yān/'awāmm* dichotomy can also be seen in al-Maqrīzī's account about a *maẓālim* court held by Barqūq on 28 Ramadān 789/ Saturday 12 October 1387: great fear, said al-Maqrīzī, overtook members of the elite "as the lowlifes became daring in dealing with the grandees," ibid., 3:2:566. Concerning this last event, Ibn Ḥajar said "and whoever amongst the villains wished to disrespect the grandees, did so," *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 2:249, while al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī simply paraphrased al-Maqrīzī, *Nuzhat*

But nothing appears to hurt the class sensibility of al-Maqrīzī more than the perceived decline in standing and power of the civilian elite in general and the ulama class in particular, and the concomitant social ascension of *arbāb al-sayf* and their taking over of domains previously the exclusive preserve of the *arbāb al-qalam.* The importance al-Maqrīzī attached to the social class he belonged to is clearly discernible in his writings.[18] In *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* al-Maqrīzī reported on an event dated 9 Jumādá al-Thānī 781/ 21 September 1379 which witnessed the removal of a Hanafi judge who had harbored a man who, because he was sought by the *ḥājib,* had placed himself under the protection of the *shar'*. After stating that the *ḥājib* had complained to Barqūq who had then acquiesced to his wishes, namely the removal of the qadi, al-Maqrīzī then declared that "this was also one of the events which were unheard of before whereby the station of the *quḍāh* was diminished and the reach of the *hujjāb*'s rulings extended according to their fancy; and their evil flourished without it being checked by either knowledge or faith."[19]

Also of great concern to al-Maqrīzī, and a symptom in his eyes of the overall worsening of the state of the kingdom, was the very denigration and lowering of the standing of the ulama in the eyes of the holders of temporal power. Nowhere is this more obvious, and again peculiar to our historian, than in an incident that took place in 783/1381 during which Barqūq spoke ill of the ulama by declaring that they were not Muslims. "It was one of those ugly novelties," noted al-Maqrīzī,

> that the *amīr kabīr* and his entourage started to show ill respect to the *quḍāh* and the *fuqahā',* and that the amirs and mamluks started

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al-Nufūs, 1:157.

[18]Levanoni, "Al-Maqrīzī's Account of the Transition," 102–5.

[19]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:361. Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 1:303–4, devotes two short paragraphs to this story but makes no comment à la al-Maqrīzī. In his *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:244–45, Ibn Iyās presented an account similar to but shorter than al-Maqrīzī's. Al-Maqrīzī made similar comments concerning the office of the *ustādār* whose holders acted as if they were *quḍāh*, *al-Khiṭaṭ*, 1:222. For another incident of this type, see *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:2:636–37, Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 2:329, and Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal,* 9:1:110–12, who give similar accounts of the same event. In the same vein, see *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:330, on the indignation expressed by al-Maqrīzī when reporting that people of high rank destined for mulcting were delivered to the *wālī* of Cairo instead of to the *shādd al-dawāwīn* or the *muqaddam al-dawlah,* both of whom usually acted upon edicts issued by the vizier: ". . . the rulings of the *wālī* never extended beyond the populace and the criminals *[ahl al-jarā'im]* amongst them. As for the soldiery, the secretaries, and the elite of the merchants, they were beyond the reach of his ruling, as they were the responsibility of *nā'ib al-sulṭān,* and if not his then that of the *ḥājib al-hujjāb,* because each individual has a station peculiar to him he does not exceed. Now barriers collapsed and each person started to exceed his station and to ignore his lot." Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 1:264, and Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:224, both mentioned this event without making any value judgment.

> to debase their immunity. All that after they (the *quḍāh* and the *fuqahā'*) had witnessed the lengths the sultan and the grandees from amongst the amirs used to go to dignify them, and after the realization that it was through them that they had known the religion of Islam, and that it was in the shadow of their sanctity that they lived. The grandest of them considered it a blessing to kiss the hand of the learned. Things changed dramatically *[inqalaba al-amr]* and the opposite situation started to prevail, so the instances of amirs and mamluks demeaning them increased because of what they had learned from the *amīr kabīr*. Things then came to a head, and from the end of the Ẓāhirī Barqūq regime, through that of al-Nāṣir Faraj and beyond, the rulers continued to demean the station of the *quḍāh* and the *fuqahā':* the lowest of the slave boys and the vilest of peddlers spoke ill of them. . . .[20]

Curiously, the outrage felt by al-Maqrīzī with regard to the fate of the class he belonged to did not prevent him from reporting stories about its corrupt practices, notably employment through money payments or the intercession of a powerful patron. Whether he decried his peers in order to uphold his attachment to "the long-held Islamic societal ideal of intellectual success—[that of a] scholar untainted by the corrupting hand of government,"[21] or to settle scores with them,[22] al-Maqrīzī was critical of those among his peers who bought their charges,[23] and of the state for encouraging such a practice.[24]

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[20] *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:2:448. Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 2:47–48, and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Al-Dhayl,* 1:61, reported this incident without any comment while Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1: 291, quoted al-Maqrīzī by name but made changes to his report.

[21] Anne F. Broadbridge, "Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: al-'Aynī, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 85.

[22] One of the most devastating attacks on his peers is to be found in the annal of the year 820 in which he blasted the military personnel of the state as well as its civilian functionaries, especially the *muḥtasib*s and the *quḍāh, Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:1:388, 389.

[23] Government service need not taint an office-holder. For example, at the very beginning of his 785 annal, we see al-Maqrīzī give a glowing and very long description of the character and person of Shams al-Dīn Kātib Arlān, the newly appointed vizier who, in his eyes, constituted the quintessential example of the perfect civil servant, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:2:486–87.

[24] See for example *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:293, 333–34, 3:2:454, 746, 810, 872. As usual, he is alone most of the time among Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, and al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī in making value judgments about, and mentioning the influence of money on, nominations. Only Ibn Iyās usually copied or paraphrased him directly and thus mentioned the negatives without fail.

The role of the state in fostering bribery[25] has already been pointed out in the lengthy citation from the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* quoted above, but bribery is only one of what appears to be a panoply of means, other than the accepted ones, used by the regime to sustain and enrich itself. Certainly, most of the methods used by Barqūq and his collaborators were not new.[26] The sources dealing with the period preceding that of Barqūq all the way to the early Mamluk Sultanate and beyond abound with stories that illustrate various types of money extraction, whether ″shake-downs″ and the arbitrary seizing of property of both civilian and military personnel, looting, or the occasional forced sale or purchase of goods, etc. However, a cursory and admittedly unscientific survey of mostly secondary sources seems to show that the incidence of such stories as well as of reports about new means of money extraction, such as the confiscation of *awqāf,* is more pervasive in Barqūq′s period and later than in the preceding Bahri era.

Even though stories about mulcting are as prevalent in other chronicles as they are in his, in this respect al-Maqrīzī again differed from his contemporaries in going it alone with regard to emphasizing the evil inherent in the corruption of the state, and describing its mechanisms.[27] In his report about 13 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 779/12 April 1378, less than seven months after Barqūq and Barakah had monopolized power following the removal of Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī, al-Maqrīzī depicted the way this duumvirate functioned and presented the earliest evidence of systemic corruption in the state: the two then friends divided all matters between them and while decisions pertaining to nominations to and removals from office were taken in the house of Barakah, the countersigning of all was in the hands of Barqūq in the royal stables.[28] No position, continued al-Maqrīzī, could be obtained by anyone

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[25]In his *Ighāthah* (trans. Allouche, 52–53), al-Maqrīzī indicted bribery as one of the three causes behind the crises of the years 807/1404–5 and 796/1393–94. See also the *Khiṭaṭ*, 1:111, where al-Maqrīzī dated back the practice of bribery to the Ayyubids while noting that Barqūq over-indulged in it.

[26]For a general work on this issue, see Ḥasanayn Muḥammad Rabī‘, *The Financial System of Egypt, A.H. 564–741/A.D. 1169–1341* (London, 1972).

[27]Examples of different types of malversation and administrative expedients on the part of the Ẓāhiri regime, such as mulcting, confiscations of properties, *awqāf,* and orphans′ money, forced sales and purchases, etc., are legion in the *Kitāb al-Sulūk:* 3:1:137, 140, 172, 215, 234, 235, 241, 253, 268, 282, 289, 290, 291, 292, 319, 321, 330, 336, 337, 341, 343, 346, 347, 352, 354, 355, 360, 364, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 377, 386, 389, 390, 391, 409, 410, 411, 412; 3:2:440, 450, 455, 456, 467, 468, 471, 482, 490, 500, 501, 520, 531, 553, 561, 566, 583, 624, 627, 628, 636, 637, 648, 649, 650, 659, 660, 661, 663, 668, 669, 672, 673, 675, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 690, 703, 709, 712, 721, 723, 724, 725, 727, 732, 734, 736, 746, 747, 761, 763, 765, 770, 773, 781, 784, 796, 799, 802, 810, 812, 816, 829, 833, 850, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 861, 862, 871, 872, 880, 895, 896, 922, 924, 925, 928, 933.

[28]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:324.

without payment of money so that ″society′s lowlifes and wretches acceded to what their minds fancied in terms of prestigious positions and high situations, and a great disaster befell people and led necessarily to the destruction of Egypt and Syria. . . .″[29] Elsewhere, as part of the events of 23 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 781/31 March 1380, al-Maqrīzī described in detail the predatory fiscal policies of governors who enriched themselves at the expense of the local population, only to see themselves replaced while they were still in office by people who had paid a larger amount, and also mulcted and deprived of all that they had accumulated in terms of movable and immovable property; and the province of Egypt, concluded al-Maqrīzī, became corrupt because of this practice.[30]

The leitmotiv, encountered above, peculiar to al-Maqrīzī, that Egypt and Syria had declined and were no longer the same as before was used by him while highlighting the shortcomings of the state at yet another level: its antagonizing of both internal and external forces, namely the Arabs in both Egypt and Syria, and the Turcomans in the Anatolian marches, something which caused both political instability and economic hardship to the kingdom. For example, al-Maqrīzī related news that reached Cairo on 25 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 780/13 April 1379 about a Mamluk defeat in Anatolia: after having attacked and looted the encampments of Turcomans who had come to them bearing gifts and asking for peace, the Mamluk forces of Syria fell into a trap set by remaining Turcomans forces and were wiped out, their military equipment, their money, horses and camels, etc., taken away. ″This,″ commented al-Maqrīzī,

> caused a weakness in the state: the Turcomans were the equivalent of fortifications protecting the country, and every year tens of thousands of sheep would be garnered from them along with alms payment in kind called the *'idād.* From them, the people of Aleppo reaped uncountable benefits, and if the sultan delegated them to fight a war they acquiesced to his order and they went ahead in obeisance and prostration. The ill treatment and the oppression they were subjected to transformed them into the enemies of the state who kill its soldiers, loot its moneys, and take over its dependencies. . . .[31]

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[29]Ibid. Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 1:326–27, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 11:133, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Al-Dhayl,* 3:555, noted the changes in the top echelons of the state, but offered no information on the mechanisms of corruption described by al-Maqrīzī. Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:220, offered almost the same account as al-Maqrīzī whom he appeared to have paraphrased.

[30]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:371–2. Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:251, is the only chronicler to give an account of this mechanism of money extraction. His report is almost exactly the same as al-Maqrīzī′s.

[31]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:347–48. Neither of the other chroniclers who reported this event, Ibn Ḥajar

Al-Maqrīzī used the same alarmist tone in his analysis of the relations between the state and the Arabs. For instance, on two occasions he decried the harshness of Mamluk governors in dealing with the nomads of Egypt and Syria, and on both occasions his reports ended with laments about the fact that such behavior was pivotal in the destruction of both regions.[32]

The last category of criticisms to be dealt with here is al-Maqrīzī's apparent dislike of the very ethnic stock of the new ruling elite, the Circassians. Politically, it has been shown that he displayed a marked bias against the Circassians in the very way he presented the events that accompanied the struggle between Barqūq and Barakah which came to a head in Rabī' al-Awwal 782/June 1380.[33] Thus, among other things, al-Maqrīzī generalized to all Circassians the accusation of inveterate plotting he had leveled earlier against Barqūq.[34] Elsewhere in his *Kitāb*

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al-'Asqalānī and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, made similar comments: the latter gave an account of the battle, *Al-Dhayl,* 3:579, while the former, in a couple of sentences, noted the defeat of the army and the fact that from then on, the Turkmān refrained from paying the *'idād, Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 1:273. Ibn Iyās's account, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:237–38, reproduced almost word for word al-Maqrīzī's comments.

[32]In the case of Egypt, the occasion is the reporting of the nailing of Awlād al-Kanz Arabs on 17 Muḥarram 781/5 May 1379: the severity of the governor's oppression caused the rebellion of those Arabs and their depredations, to such an extent that "Aswan escaped the control of the state and was then destroyed," *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 3:1:352. Of the other chroniclers, only Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā' al-Ghumr*, 1:297, reported the fact of the *wālī*'s oppression of the Arabs and their defeat at his hands, but made no value judgment. As for Syria, the event in question, in early Rajab 785/late August 1383, at the very beginning of Barqūq's sultanate, was the attack launched by Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī on Nu'ayr ibn Ḥayyār, who had just been replaced by 'Uthmān ibn Qārah as *amīr al-'arab.* Nu'ayr was defeated, his encampment looted, his womenfolk taken away: "this," said al-Maqrīzī, "was also one of the greatest reasons for the corruption of the state, and one of the most important reasons behind the destruction of Syria," *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 3:2:496. Ibn Taghrībirdī and Ibn Ḥajar did not report the event, while Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Al-Dhayl,* 1:111, presented the bare facts without comment. As for al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 1:72–73, and Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr*, 1:334, both offered accounts very close to al-Maqrīzī's that incorporated his negative characterization of the event: in al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī's story, al-Maqrīzī's name actually appeared directly before the quote describing the evils that befell Syria.

[33]See note 9, above.

[34]"And the Turkish government came to an end completely. They [the Turkish amirs] were pursued, executed, banished, and imprisoned. And the Circassians had already . . . spoken among themselves, saying that there would be a great civil war that would be put down, and after it another one would break out between them and the Turks in which they would vanquish the Turks after a fight, and [then] they would be under their command. And when there was the rebellion led by Īnāl, they spoke of it aloud and so unashamedly and made it public to the degree that the most senior and the most junior of them spoke of it. And thus it indeed happened;" Levanoni's translation, quoted in her "Al-Maqrīzī's Account of the Transition," 95; see also *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1 :385. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Al-Dhayl,* 1:26, and Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:262, both quoted al-Maqrīzī

al-Sulūk, al-Maqrīzī appeared to be shocked at the fate of the mamluks of Uljāy al-Yūsufī (d. 775/1373), a former grandee of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, who on 23 Rabīʿ al-Thānī 779/ 28 August 1377 were accused of plotting against Barqūq and were imprisoned in the Shamāyil treasury, the prison of the common criminals. ″It was unheard of before this incident,″ noted al-Maqrīzī, ″for the Turks, the foundation of the state *(rijāl al-dawlah),* to be humiliated in this fashion.″[35]

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The discourse of al-Maqrīzī on Barqūq′s reign is remarkable on many accounts. Firstly, even though, as will be shown below, his tone did change in his accounts of the sultan′s second reign, the antipathy he felt towards Barqūq is clearly evident. As a matter of fact, no other sultan of the Circassian period attracted the ire of al-Maqrīzī more consistently than Barqūq did. This is not to say that al-Maqrīzī did not have anything negative to say about post-Barqūq Circassian sultans or their regimes. As a matter of fact, in his *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* al-Maqrīzī did savage Faraj,[36] Shaykh,[37] Barsbāy,[38] and their respective regimes, but his criticisms do not

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almost word for word, without identifying him as their source, especially his comments concerning the end of the Turkish state, but refrained from mentioning his litany about a conspiracy. Levanoni, ″Al-Maqrīzī′s Account of the Transition,″ 95, said that Ibn Taghrībirdī was influenced by al-Maqrīzī′s account and indicated a page number in the Cairo edition of the *Nujūm al-Zāhirah*. In the Beirut edition, however, I was not able to find this reference.

[35]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:331. Ibn Taghrībirdī presented no report on the incident, while Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah stated the facts and then noted that ″a great humiliation befell the Turks the like of which they had never experienced before,″ *Al-Dhayl,* 3:571. As for Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 1:265, he simply related that ″they were greatly humiliated.″ Finally, Ibn Iyās stated the facts without referring to any humiliation, but concluded his report by saying ″this was the first assault by the Atābak Barqūq on the Turkish mamluks and the first public manifestation of the Circassian regime,″ *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr,* 1:334.

[36]Faraj′s obituary is particularly telling since al-Maqrīzī does not seem to see anything redeeming about Barqūq′s son, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:1:225–28. Al-Maqrīzī also reported without fail what would later become a distinguishing characteristic of Faraj′s reign, the long list of atrocities he committed against his enemies, for example, ibid., 4:1:113, 114, 148, 180, 187, 188, 192, 196.

[37]Shaykh′s obituary, even though overwhelmingly negative, is not as devastating as Faraj′s, ibid., 4:1:550–1. Also, on one occasion, ibid., 4:1:532, al-Maqrīzī, while talking about the piety displayed by Shaykh, indicted his entourage rather than the sultan himself for the evils of his regime. As for Tatar (d. 824/1421), al-Maqrīzī stated that he did not rule long enough for his actions to be either lauded or denigrated, ibid., 4:2:550–1.

[38]My edition of the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* did not include al-Maqrīzī′s negative obituary of Barsbāy which is quoted by Broadbridge in her ″Academic Rivalry,″ 93–94. What appear to me to be the three major negative characteristics of Barsbāy′s rule, namely the endemic rioting of the *julbān* (4:2:673, 793, 804, 805, 909, 930, 931, 965, 975, 1006, 1025, 1027, 1047), the systematic recourse

come close to the *systematic* and *direct* attacks he made on Barqūq and his rule.[39] Secondly, al-Maqrīzī´s criticisms are all the more surprising since he did benefit from Barqūq´s and later from his son Faraj´s patronage,[40] and also since Sūl, a favorite slave-girl of his, was given to him by no other than the sultan.[41] Thirdly, al-Maqrīzī was the only one amongst the chroniclers[42] of this period to systematically criticize Barqūq, especially during his description of the sultan´s first reign.

In the light of what was said in the above paragraph, what is then, if any, the historiographical significance of al-Maqrīzī´s negative attitude towards Barqūq? An analysis of a passage from Ibn Taghrībirdī´s *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah* is one way to tackle this issue. After rejecting point by point the very serious accusations levelled by his former teacher against Barqūq in his assessment of his first reign, Ibn Taghrībirdī said:

> Shaikh Taqî ad-Dîn was guilty of well-known inconsistency; he said now this and now that. . . . And my statement that the Shaikh Taqî ad-Dîn sometimes praises Barqûq and sometimes blames him rests on the fact that *when the author was friendly with al-Malik aẓ-Ẓâhir during his second sultanate and aẓ-Ẓâhir made him the object of his beneficence, he went to extremes in praising him in several passages of his works, and forgot this earlier statement of*

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to mulcting as a means to enrichment (4:2:619, 610, 621, 623, 631, 632, 633, 636, 644, 648, 662, 663, 673, 685, 688, 693, 709, 729, 735, 754, 747, 751, 754, 755, 767, 768, 791–92, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 817, 819, 820, 821, 823, 824, 833, 860, 867, 868, 872, 887, 905, 906, 912, 913, 914, 919, 928, 929, 931, 933, 934, 936, 938, 950, 962, 965, 968, 1005, 1008, 1020), as well as the establishment of monopolies over the spice trade and other sectors of the economy (647, 824, 869, 905, 929, 1001), are very well documented in the *Kitāb al-Sulūk*. But al-Maqrīzī directly attacks Barsbāy only on one occasion: after the death of his arch-foe Jānbak al-Ṣūfī in 841, al-Maqrīzī stated that because of Barsbāy´s injustice, God made sure he did not savor his victory as the sultan ended up dying shortly after, ibid., 4:2:1024.

[39]Maybe it was the novelty of the new regime and the fact that it heralded new practices that later became commonplace that caused al-Maqrīzī to formulate very precise and scathing criticisms of Barqūq. Also, it may be that, in his eyes, Barqūq not only erected the new system but also came to epitomize it, so that he did not see the need to rehash at later stages of his writing things he had already observed.

[40]See Broadbridge, ″Academic Rivalry,″ 89–90.

[41]See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Beirut, 1992), 12:66–67. This reference as well as the information concerning Sūl was kindly brought to my attention by Nasser Rabbat.

[42]Of the major historians of this period, Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī (762–855/1360–1451) is the only author whose work, *'Iqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,* I have not been able to consult. As was noted throughout this paper, only Ibn Iyās closely followed al-Maqrīzī in his denigration of Barqūq by either copying or paraphrasing his *Kitāb al-Sulūk*.

> *his and others similar to it;* it escaped his notice that he should have changed this earlier account, for, as the proverb runs, ″Who praises and blames is as though he lied twice.″[43]

One can sense that the tone of al-Maqrīzī′s writings with regard to Barqūq changed from one period to another: in the *Kitāb al-Sulūk*[44] the criticisms started[45] in full-swing in 778/1376–77 (the year that witnessed the successful coup led by the *julbān* and upstart mamluks against the sultan al-Ashraf Sha'bān), continued during al-Maqrīzī′s account of Barqūq′s rise to power in 779/1378, and peaked during the early 1380s, only to subside during the second reign of the sultan, from 792/1390 until 801/1399.[46] Strikingly, al-Maqrīzī′s obituary of Barqūq in 801/1399 contained only a handful of comments that could be construed as strictly negative (his greed and his advancement of Circassians over Turks, etc.) drowned as they were in more than four pages of praise (his love of men of religion, the illegal taxes he abolished, the structures he ordered built, his largesse, etc.[47]), a far cry

[43]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *The History of Egypt*, trans. Popper, 13:44–45. [Emphasis mine]

[44]Both *Kitāb al-Ighāthah* and the *Khiṭaṭ* contain a fair number of passages in which al-Maqrīzī condemns Barqūq and aspects of his rule, but it is in the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* that they are the most pervasive and systematic.

[45]The kind of dismay frequently expressed by al-Maqrīzī throughout the rise to power of Barqūq in the late 1370s and beyond can actually be encountered as far back as 768/1366–67 during the events surrounding the *coup* launched by his *ajlāb* against Yalbughā al-'Umarī and his assassination on 10 Rabī' al-Thānī 768/13 December 1366. Clearly discernible in al-Maqrīzī′s description of events are themes that will be recurrent in his criticisms against Barqūq, namely the ascension of lowly mamluks to positions of authority, the shaking up of the social order at the hands of an increasingly riotous populace, etc. See *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:137–38, 143.

[46]The instances where al-Maqrīzī made negative comments about Barqūq or presented accounts that directly reflected badly upon him number 43 for the period between 778 to 791 and 8 for that stretching between 792 and 801: **778**: 3:1:277, 287–89, 293, 295; **779**: 3:1:315–16, 324; **780**: 3:1:327, 330, 331, 333–34, 337, 347–48; **781**: 3:1:352, 352–53, 360–61, 365–66, 371–72, 374; **782**: 3:1:379, 381, 382, 382, 385, 385, 386, 390; **783**: 3:2:447–48, 454, 457; **784**: 3:2:466; **785**: 3:2:490, 496, 499, 503; **784**: 3:2:466; **785**: 3:2:490, 496, 499, 503; **787**: 3:2:538; **789**: 3:2:563–64, 566; **791**: 3:2:618–19; **793**: 3:2:734, 750; **796**: 3:2:810; **797**: 3:2:826; **799**: 3:2:872; **800**: 3:2:902; **801**: 3:2:935, 943.

[47]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:2:937–47. Ibn Taghrībirdī made sure to note in his critique of al-Maqrīzī that the second reign of Barqūq was more deserving of criticism than the first one because the sultan ″was guilty of several abominable acts, such as putting some scholars to death and banishing and degrading others because after he had left al-Karak they had issued a decision legitimizing the war against him,″ *The History of Egypt*, trans. Popper, 13:42–45. Now compare this with what al-Maqrīzī had to say about this issue: ″he felt a great deal of dislike for the *fuqahā'* during his second reign because they had issued a *fatwá* allowing his killing, but he did not cease honoring them despite his anger towards them,″ *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:2:944.

from the savaging he inflicted on the sultan in the report dealing with the end of his first reign.

Was it then, as Ibn Taghrībirdī maintained, the fact that Barqūq had made al-Maqrīzī ″the object of his beneficence″ which led the latter to tone down his criticisms in his reports on al-Ẓāhir′s second reign, and in the process, to suppress those sensibilities which had earlier made him prone to condemn the sultan? Ibn Taghrībirdī′s quotation actually raises more questions, historiographical and biographical in nature, than it provides answers. If it is indeed true that his *Kitāb al-Sulūk* reflected al-Maqrīzī′s changing relationship with Barqūq, and if, as Ibn Taghrībirdī argued, this transformation took place during the sultan′s second reign, this means that a substantial portion of the *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, that which contains the most virulent criticisms against Barqūq, must have been written before the rapprochement between the two, sometime during the second reign, which started in 792/1390. The dating of parts of the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* to this particular period raises a number of problems. First, if we take at face value the contentions that: one, the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* was the last of a series of historical works, starting with the *Khiṭaṭ*, depicting various periods of the history of Egypt;[48] two, that the *Khiṭaṭ* was written between 819/1417 and 839/1436;[49] and three, that evidence suggests that the first draft of the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* was written sometime around or after 1421–23 but no earlier than al-Maqrīzī′s return from Damascus following the death of Faraj in 815/1412[50]—then al-Maqrīzī′s chronicle could not have been written during Barqūq′s reign, and certainly not at the earliest stage of al-Ẓāhir′s rule because he was simply too young. For Ibn Taghrībirdī′s assertion to be correct, one needs to postulate that al-Maqrīzī had already written down extensive notes, tainted by his prejudices, on the first part of Barquq′s reign *during* this reign, long before he started using these notes to write a full-fledged book. It can then be argued that al-Maqrīzī had no qualms about using the old ″anti-Barqūq″ notes since he was no longer in danger of incurring the wrath of the sultan, who was then long dead.

This perspective makes good of the claim that the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* was written after al-Maqrīzī′s return to Cairo from Damascus in 820/1417,[51] since it is probable that he would have made use of material composed or gathered in the past along

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[48]Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah, ″Tārīkh Ḥayāt al-Maqrīzī,″ in *Dirāsāt ʻan al-Maqrīzī* (Cairo, 1971), 18–19.

[49]Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah, *Al-Muʼarrikhūn fī Miṣr fī al-Qarn al-Khāmis ʻAshar al-Mīlādī, al-Qarn al-Tāsiʻ al-Hijrī* (Cairo, 1954), 10.

[50]This information was kindly made available to me by Nasser Rabbat. See his article in this volume on the life of al-Maqrīzī.

[51]Levanoni, ″Al-Maqrīzī′s Account of the Transition,″ 96. On the uncertainty concerning the date of al-Maqrīzī′s return to Cairo, see below, note 62.

with more recent data. But if, while writing the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* after 820/1417, al-Maqrīzī did more than simply record events but also ″took a moral stance against Barqūq both on personal and factional grounds,″ and thus embarked upon a retrospective revisiting of past events[52] tainted by the prejudices of a bitter man, then we have a problem to solve: we would still have to account for the generally neutral tone of the annals covering the second half of Barqūq′s reign and the dramatic decrease therein of criticisms directed at him by al-Maqrīzī. One way out of this problem would be to advance another albeit potentially weaker postulate: that al-Maqrīzī *did* write all of the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* starting after 820/1417 and that his retrospective assessment of events was influenced by his reliving, through a wide spectrum of moods, of the events he described in his chronicle.

Still, one might reject Ibn Taghrībirdī′s contention about a two-phased elaboration of al-Maqrīzī′s *oeuvre*. Despite the deference Ibn Taghrībirdī showed his former teacher qua historian,[53] his *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah* is replete with criticisms directed at al-Maqrīzī. On top of indicating historical inconsistencies,[54] Ibn Taghrībirdī, on a number of occasions, belittled al-Maqrīzī′s knowledge.[55] It might be that pointing out alleged inconsistencies on the part of al-Maqrīzī was just another means used by Ibn Taghrībirdī to damage the reputation of his teacher and, in the process, to elevate himself. Within the framework of the intensive competition for patronage and for sheer intellectual glory amongst academics and thinkers during this period,[56] this would come as no surprise. The possibility that it was his intention to discredit al-Maqrīzī is further supported by another statement made by Ibn Taghrībirdī. In the account of the year 841/1437–38 of his *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* Ibn Taghrībirdī again attacked his former mentor′s alleged historical inconsistencies, namely his criticisms against Barsbāy, and then said, as an explanation for al-Maqrīzī′s stand, that after the death of Barqūq ″he had no success with the rulers who came after him; they kept him away without showing him any favour, so he on his part took to registering their inequities and infamies.″[57] The fact that al-Maqrīzī was no kinder to later sultans than he was towards

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[52]Ibid., 95–96.

[53]See for example *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 14: 270, 15: 225–26.

[54]See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *The History of Egypt*, trans. Popper, 13:44 and idem, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 11:240, on the way he discredits al-Maqrīzī on historical grounds.

[55]Especially his and other chroniclers′ paucity of knowledge concerning things Turkish, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 11:184–85.

[56]On this issue, see Broadbridge, ″Academic Rivalry.″ Ziyādah makes of the antagonisms, jealousies, and enmities amongst ninth/fifteenth century historians a fundamental characteristic of the historiography of this period, *Al-Mu'arrikhūn,* 84–88.

[57]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *The History of Egypt*, trans. Popper, 18:143 (emphasis mine); idem, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 14:270.

Barqūq during his first reign is supported by evidence.[58] What is interesting about the quotation above is the later statement, casually mentioned by Ibn Taghrībirdī, that al-Maqrīzī was a boon companion of Barqūq.[59] That no other chronicler or biographer, not even the generally caustic al-Sakhāwī, had related such a juicy accusation with high damage potential could indicate that Ibn Taghrībirdī might have been engaged in a low-level work of demolition of al-Maqrīzī's reputation.

Ibn Taghrībirdī could also have simply misunderstood the method used by his teacher in his writing of *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* so that he assumed that it was written during two distinct periods. But even if we reject Ibn Taghrībirdī's original assertion about al-Maqrīzī's writing, we are still not out of the woods: again, what caused al-Maqrīzī to change, in a significant manner, the tone of his comments on Barqūq?

In the light of all that has been said, the easiest way out of the enigma is to posit two scenarios. First, al-Maqrīzī probably started taking notes, from a variety of sources, very early on and this note taking reflected the mood he was in and his relationship with holders of political authority; upon his return to Cairo in 819/1417,[60] he started turning the notes he had assembled into a full-fledged book. This, as has been argued above, weakens the "retrospective presentation of events" postulate. The second scenario, even though not yet supported by research, is that al-Maqrīzī simply relied on another chronicle to write those sections of the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* that dealt with the sultan's first reign.

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Of course, this is all conjecture. As a matter of fact, many matters have to be resolved before the historiographical problem posed above can be dealt with effectively. For one thing, the very biography of al-Maqrīzī and the concomitant issue of the history of his literary production need to be addressed. Even though the general outline of his life is well known, some aspects of it are shrouded in uncertainty and are reported differently by scholars past and present. For example, when did he start working?[61] How long did he stay in Damascus after he went

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[58]See Broadbridge, "Academic Rivalry."

[59]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 14:270.

[60]Or no earlier than his return from Damascus following the death of Faraj in 815/1412.

[61]Broadbridge says it was in the year 788/1386, "Academic Rivalry," 87, and Ziyādah in 1388, "Tārīkh Ḥayāt al-Maqrīzī," 15. Al-Maqrīzī, in his *Khiṭaṭ*, said he started working in the *dīwān al-inshā'* around "al-sab'īn wa-al-sab' mi'ah," 2:225. If he were born in 766, as is generally accepted, then al-Maqrīzī was around 4 years of age when he started his career (!): it is therefore more than probable that a scribe made a mistake while copying the original or that the editor of the text himself erred in this respect. Surprisingly, the same inconsistency can be found in Ziyādah's *Al-Mu'arrikhūn,* 8, in which the date of birth is reported as 1364 and the year he started his career

there with Faraj in 810/1408 and, consequently, when did he return to Cairo?[62] As we have seen above, much of the interpretations of al-Maqrīzī's historiographical output was made on the assumption that he wrote this or that work on given dates, so what would become of these interpretations if the dates are themselves not to be trusted?

The present state of knowledge concerning the issue at hand calls for two comments: first, to the extent allowed by the primary sources themselves, that a definitive biography of al-Maqrīzī be produced, and second, that the "critical analysis of the originality, sources, and possible interdependence"[63] of "Burji" historians be undertaken at the same level of scholarship as that of the "Bahri" historiographical output.[64] Until then, the questions raised above will only be partially addressed.

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as 1368, without any comment! A footnote actually refers the reader to page 225 of the *Khiṭaṭ*.

[62]Broadbridge, who probably based herself on al-Sakhāwī, states that he went back and forth the same year, "Academic Rivalry," 91. Franz Rosenthal in his *Encyclopaedia of Islam* article reported the figure of around ten years: "In Damascus where he spent about 10 years beginning in 810/1408 . . .," 6:194, and so do Levanoni, "Al-Maqrīzī's Account of the Transition," 96, and Ziyādah, *Al-Mu'arrikhūn,* 9.

[63]Donald P. Little, "Historiography of the Ayyubid and Mamluk Epochs," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt 640–1517*, ed. Carl Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 433. To my knowledge, the only studies that do just that are David C. Reisman, "A Holograph MS of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's 'Dhayl,'" in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 19–49 and Donald P. Little's article in this volume.

[64]See Donald P. Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography: An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn.* (Wiesbaden, 1970).

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Al-Maqrīzī´s Discussion of Imprisonment and Description of Jails in the *Khiṭaṭ*

Al-Maqrīzī provides his views about the penalty of incarceration and its status under Islamic law as an extended preface to his survey of jails and prisons as they existed in Miṣr/al-Qāhirah from the founding of these towns to his own day.[1] Several themes and subtexts may be discerned as one reads through al-Maqrīzī´s comments. The most pointed of these is the dubious efficacy of imprisonment itself as a deterrent to criminal activity. Al-Maqrīzī´s ambivalence towards the quality of governance under the Mamluk Sultanate is readily apparent from his depiction of conditions prevalent in Cairo´s institutions of incarceration. As in his other works, al-Maqrīzī rarely misses an opportunity to castigate the Mamluk regime as the culprit behind most ills burdening the civil society of the Mamluk capital. Whether the sordid conditions he vividly portrays would, in fact, have differed appreciably under a regime more to his liking remains a problematic issue.

The entry on prisons is substantial. In the Būlāq edition (volume 2, p. 187), it fills two and one-quarter printed pages, with 39 lines on the full pages, 9 on the third.[2] The average Arabic word count per line is 14. Al-Maqrīzī begins with a statement quoted from Ibn Sīdah about the several terms and grammatical forms that derive from the two roots for incarceration: *sīn-jīm-nūn* and *ḥā'-bā'-sīn* (lines 3–6). He then relates several hadiths that express the Prophet´s concept of imprisonment. Since al-Maqrīzī chose these traditions to reinforce his own views about incarceration, the section merits quoting (with omission of the praise formulas) (lines 6–27):

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[1]This analysis of al-Maqrīzī´s statements about imprisonment and jails in his *Khiṭaṭ* was undertaken in the context of a larger study of crime and criminal prosecution in the major cities of the Mamluk Sultanate: Cairo and Damascus. The study is based on more than 1000 incidents of crime and violence reported by prominent chroniclers of events in these cities. Al-Maqrīzī´s own chronicle, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* was examined as an important source for such incidents.

[2]In addition to the section on prisons, al-Maqrīzī inserted a detailed description of a site he named Sijn Yūsuf (Prison of Joseph) (volume I, p. 207). This proved to be a revered shrine, located in al-Jīzah Province, attributed to the confinement of the Prophet Joseph during his sojourn in Egypt. He allegedly received divine revelation there. The site was the object of veneration and pilgrimage during the medieval period. It had no function as a prison for criminals.

The Imam Aḥmad and Abū Dāwūd transmitted from the hadith of Yahz ibn Ḥakīm from his father, and he from his grandfather . . ., who said that the Prophet held (a person) in custody *(ḥabasa)* under an accusation *(tuhmah)*. And in the *Jāmiʿ al-Jalāl* of al-Suyūṭī, on the authority of Abī Hurayrah . . . who said that the Messenger of God . . . confined *(ḥabasa)* (a person) under an accusation for a day and a night. For the legal incarceration is not the prison *(sijn)* (itself) in a straitened place. Rather, he (who is under an accusation/charge) is (to be) personally restrained and prevented from independent egress unless he be in a house *(bayt)* or a *masjid,* or his agent on his behalf, and sticks close by him *(wa-mulāzimatuhu la-hu)*. In this regard, the Prophet . . . named him a prisoner *(asīran)*.

As Abū Dāwūd and Ibn Mājih related from al-Hurmās ibn Ḥabīb from his father . . ., who said: ″I came before the Prophet with one (who was) indebted to me.″ And he (Prophet) said to me: ″Take custody of him.″ Then, he (Prophet) told me: ″O brother of the Banī Tamīm, what do you want me to do with your prisoner?″ According to the version of Ibn Mājih, the Prophet subsequently passed by me at the end of the day. He said: ″What did your prisoner commit, O brother of the Banī Tamīm?″ For it was this [personal custody] that was incarceration *(ḥabs)* during the time of the Prophet. Abū Bakr . . . did not possess a prison intended for incarceration of the disputants.

But when the populace *(al-raʿīyah)* were dispersed in the time of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb . . ., he [ʿUmar] bought from Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah . . . a house *(dār)* in Mecca for 4000 dirhams, and made it into a prison for incarceration. On this issue the ulama disputed as to whether the imam could establish a jail on the basis of two statements *(qawlayn)*. For one said: ″He who does not set up a prison bases his case on the fact that neither the Messenger of God . . . nor his successor after him established a prison. Rather, he (Prophet) would detain him in a certain place. Or, he would appoint over him a guardian. This [policy] would be called the safeguard or voucher *(al-tarsīm)*. Or, he would order his debtor to stick by him. It was said to him, that he who [does] institute a prison takes his proof from the act of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. Thus was set the practice *(sunnah)* in the time of the Messenger of God . . ., and of Abī Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān and ʿAlī . . ., that one not be jailed for debts, but [rather] that the two contestants [in the suit] remain in close contact *(yatalāzimu)*. The first to incarcerate for debt was

> Shurayh the Judge *(al-Qāḍī).*
>
> As for imprisonment as it is now, it is not sanctioned for any of the Muslims, because it crowds [too] many individuals in a place confining to them, or [a site] making impossible the performance of [either] the ablution or the prayer. [Indeed], some of them [inmates] would see the genitals of others. The summer heat [or] winter cold would afflict them. One might well be jailed for a year without any recourse, since the original cause *(aṣl)* for his incarceration was by a warrant *(ʻalá ḍumān).*

When al-Maqrīzī addresses conditions in jails of his own day, he is vituperative:

> As for the prisons of the prefects *(walātah),* one cannot describe the distress/misfortune *(al-balā')* that afflicts their inmates. For it is widely known that they [prisoners] go out with aides [of the prefects] in irons. They beg for alms while they bewail their hunger in the streets. [But] whatever alms are given them they may not retain—except what enters their bellies. The charitable offerings collected for them from the people the jailer *(sajjān)* and staff of the prefect keep. He who does not please them, they punish excessively. Nonetheless, they [inmates] are employed in digging, construction, or similar hard labor. The [prefect's] aides goad them. When they finish their labors, they are returned to the jail in irons without having eaten anything. There are many similar conditions for which space does not permit relating.

Al-Maqrīzī's selection of traditions, and comments on contemporary circumstances of prison life, unambiguously disclose his own stand on imprisonment. If the Prophet's actions are to be viewed as an exemplary precedent for policy, then personal supervision or recognizance is legally mandated rather than physical confinement to a building. Such confinement is, in fact, attributed to the second of the Prophet's successors, ʻUmar, and as such should be interpreted as an innovation without legal sanction. Second, imprisonment for debt serves no purpose. Indeed, it is counterproductive. Although not explicitly stated, the presumed reason for allowing the debtor to remain unconfined, but under the recognizance of his own plaintiff, is his capacity to continue working for pay, and thus to discharge his debt. Incarceration for debt was widespread in the Mamluk Sultanate, and al-Maqrīzī denounced it as more than personally demeaning. The practice contributed to the fiscal decline of the state, over which al-Maqrīzī obsessed continuously throughout his works. At a time of labor shortages brought on by

plague mortality, the removal of debtors from the work force amounted to gross incompetence on the part of the ruling authorities. Not only would debtors be unable to reimburse their claimants, but the economy would suffer the loss of potential laborers, many of them skilled.

Finally, al-Maqrīzī fulminates over the degradation imposed on prison inmates of his own time, presumably from personal observation. Muslims, no matter the severity of their crimes, should not be treated inhumanely by fellow believers. I find al-Maqrīzī´s denunciations of prevailing conditions puzzling, if not truculent. His position is not intrinsically defensible if one accepts a relationship between severity of offense and punishment inflicted. Al-Maqrīzī´s subsequent discussion of Cairo´s jails and prisons does not ignore the heinous acts of hardened criminals, many of whom were repeat offenders, incarcerated in those prisons with forbidding reputations. But he remains stridently insistent on the fundamental rights of Muslim believers, especially when incarcerated by their co-religionists. (Note that al-Maqrīzī does not mention the confinement of non-Muslims in this passage. In the narrative sources, including his, one encounters imprisonment of Muslims, Christians [mostly Copts, a few Europeans], and Jews frequently. ʻAlawīs, Samaritans and Hindus appear infrequently.)

Al-Maqrīzī´s perspective is clearly apparent when he decries the close confinement of inmates and its hindrance of their religious obligations (ablution and prayer). The exploitation of charitable giving by sympathetic onlookers on the part of prison wardens he denounces outright. One must question whether release of convicted criminals to the recognizance of their victims would warrant any serious consideration by the legal authorities as a viable means of deterrence. Al-Maqrīzī´s exclusive focus on the suffering of inmates implies the primacy of his criticism for the regime that jailed them, to the subordination of realistic concern over reprisal for criminal behavior or of the public´s right to safety.

Al-Maqrīzī´s focus is sustained throughout his description of specific prisons (pp. 187, lines 28–39; 188, lines 7–39; 189, lines 1–8 and left margin). The Būlāq edition lists eight sites in Miṣr and al-Qāhirah designated either as a jail *(ḥabs)* or prison *(sijn)* (lines 28–30). This summary list differs from the following text, since the most prominent—and infamous—prison, al-Maqsharah, is not mentioned. It is, however, discussed in some detail below (p. 188, lines 34–39). By contrast, the jails of al-Daylam and Maydān al-Raḥbah do not appear in the text, as noted in the margin on p. 189. Al-Maqrīzī begins with the two institutions in Miṣr: the Jails of Succor *(Ḥabs al-Maʻūnah)* and of the Salt Fish Seller *(Ḥabs al-Ṣayyār)*. The former was presumably the oldest house of incarceration, its locale dating back to the founding of Miṣr al-Fusṭāṭ. The site was originally owned by Qays ibn Saʻd ibn ʻIbādah al-Anṣārī, who bequeathed it to the Muslim community. Over the centuries, the site was occupied by a warehouse for pepper, a police station

(shurṭah), a monetary exchange or customs house *(dār al-ṣarf),* a mosque residency, and finally a jail—after the year 381/991–92. Ultimately, the founder of the Ayyubid Sultanate, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf, converted the jail into a madrasah, known as al-Ashrafīyah bi-Miṣr. It was functioning during al-Maqrīzī's lifetime. No reference to its inmates or their crimes appears in the text.

The Ḥabs al-Ṣayyār was set up after the Succor Jail was closed. It replaced a shop in an alley *(zuqāq)* where a repository for salted fish *(ṣīr al-mulūḥah)* had been located. The jail remained in use until the destruction of Fusṭāṭ after the end of the Fatimid period. Its inmates were political officials, with no reference to their offenses.

Al-Maqrīzī describes five prisons in al-Qāhirah: the Treasury of Banners [possibly, Troops] *(Khizānat al-Bunūd),* the Succor Jail *(Ḥabs al-Maʻūnah bi-al-Qāhirah);* the Treasury of Shamā'il *(Khizānat Shamā'il);* the Maqsharah Prison; and the Pit of the Citadel *(al-Jubb bi-Qalʻat al-Jabal).* Al-Maqrīzī provided background information about the original purposes of their sites and the careers of their founders. The Khizānat al-Bunūd, for example, was set up in the district *(khuṭṭ)* known as the Treasury of Banners, located near the Festival Gate *(Bāb al-ʻ`d).* Under the Fatimids, weapons were manufactured in it. It burned down in 461/1068–69, and was replaced by the prison. Amirs and civil notables were confined there until the end of the regime. The Ayyubids maintained the Khizānat al-Bunūd as a prison, but under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn it was converted into a residence *(manzil)* for Frankish officers *(al-ʻumarā' al-firanj)* and their families. It was razed in the year 744/1343–44 to make room for private residences.

The Khizānat Shamā'il was founded by an amir of peasant origin who rose to prominence during the reign of al-Malik al-Kāmil ibn al-ʻĀdil. During the French siege of Dumyāṭ in 615/1218, this Shamā'il swam across the blockaded harbor of the port to alert al-Kāmil's staff about weaknesses in the enemy's lines. Al-Kāmil named him "sword of his revenge" *(sayf niqmatihi)* and rewarded him with the prefecture of Cairo, a post he held until the enthronement of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb. The latter arrested and executed him. Shamā'il's prison was, according to al-Maqrīzī, "among the most heinous and ugly in appearance. Incarcerated within were those sentenced to death: habitual thieves and highwaymen, those the sultan intended to destroy among the Mamluks, and those who had committed serious crimes *(aṣḥāb al-jarā'im al-ʻaẓīmah).*" He commented wryly that "its warden *(sajjān)* was assigned to it by the prefect *(wālī)* of Cairo in return for [payment] of a certain sum of money each day. During the days of al-Nāṣir Faraj, this came to a large amount." The Khizānat Shamā'il continued in such vein until it was razed by Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh on Sunday 10 Rabīʻ I 818/18 May 1415 to make room for his madrasah and tomb adjacent to Bāb Zuwaylah.

Al-Maqrīzī dwelled on the wretched conditions prevailing in the last two

prisons he described: the Maqsharah and the Pit. To quote: ˝The Maqsharah is located in the vicinity of Bāb al-Futūḥ, [standing] between it and the Mosque of al-Ḥākim. Wheat was husked *(yuqshiru)* there. Among its several structures was a tower *(burj)* on the wall to its right outside Bāb al-Futūḥ. Houses were rebuilt above it, which stood until the Khizānat Shamā'il was razed. This tower and the Maqsharah were [then] designated as a prison for hardened criminals. The houses standing there were demolished in the month of Rabī' I in the year 823/March–April 1420. It was then [opened] as a prison and the criminals were transferred to it [presumably from the Khizānat Shamā'il]. It was one of the most heinous prisons, and among the most straitening. Within it languished prisoners in the depths of depression and despair—beyond description. May God spare us from its myriad tribulations.˝

The Pit of the Citadel (probably a cistern originally) acquired such a gruesome reputation that it transgressed the accepted limits of the peculiar code of camaraderie among Mamluks known as *al-khushdāshīyah*. To quote:

> Officers were incarcerated in it. It began operating in the year 681/1282–83. The sultan then was al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn. It continued functioning until al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn demolished it on Monday 17 Jumādá I, year 729/19 March 1329. This occurred because arguments for the reform of its use were intensifying. Amirs testified to its horrors of oppression, the multitude of bats, and foul odors emanating from it. Consequently, its [demolition was decided upon. The Amir Baktimur al-Sāqī had in his retinue an individual whom he had mocked and scorned. He consigned him to the Pit where he was left suspended. He then drew him back up after he had passed the night in it. When he was brought before Baktimur, he informed him of the atrocities he had seen with his own eyes in the Pit. He described terrifying acts [occurring there]. The debate became heated during the council, with amirs who had been in the Pit recounting what went on there with regard to afflictions. Baktimur [then] discussed the matter with the sultan. The latter ordered the amirs´ release, and filled it in. Over it [the site] he built a barracks for the Mamluks. Debris from the demolition of the large hall adjacent to the Main Treasury was used to fill in this pit. For God knows what is proper.

Al-Maqrīzī´s description of these jails emphasizes the inherent impropriety of their function, the sordidness of conditions endured by their inmates, regardless of their offenses, and, most interestingly, their transitory nature. All but the Maqsharah

had ceased operating, and had been replaced by other structures that served more positive purposes—such as private residences or places of learning. Only the Maqsharah was in operation at the time al-Maqrīzī stopped writing the *Khiṭaṭ*. My own research confirms that the Maqsharah was statistically the most frequently cited prison in Cairo up to the Ottoman conquest and possibly beyond.

To what extent al-Maqrīzī´s denunciation of wretched conditions in prisons as legally unsound and morally repugnant was representative of juristic opinion remains an open question. Certainly the limited number of jails he described for a metropolis the size of Miṣr/al-Qāhirah during the Mamluk period does not imply sufficient space, even under the inmates´ straitened circumstances, to confine large groups of offenders. Whether the institutions he discussed actually represented the full range of places where criminals or political prisoners were confined is also open to speculation. The motives behind al-Maqrīzī´s fulmination against prisons and conditions of imprisonment therefore remain as intriguing a question as his other controversial perspectives.

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Al-Maqrīzī´s *Khiṭaṭ* and the Urban Structure of Mamluk Cairo

This paper is a continuation of a research project initiated twenty-five years ago on indications *(signes)* of urbanization in the Ottoman cities,[1] later enlarged to include the Mamluk period.[2] My interest in the Mamluk period derived principally from the need I felt to revert to the actual starting point of the Ottoman era, my main preoccupation, and also from a desire to test out some of the principles already applied to urban research on the ″modern″ Ottoman epoch against a ″classical″ period.

The postulate of this inquiry (not always accepted) is that the city´s public monuments constitute a ″production″ from which (by utilizing their dates and geographical location) a study can be built up of the history of urbanization and the evolution of urban demographics, the building of one of these monuments normally constituting a sign of the presence of inhabitants for the religious needs of whom they will provide. One must not forget, of course, that there are many exceptions to a principle which is valid only on a general, statistical level. The choice of which monuments to study is based on their ″urban content″ *(charge urbaine)* and the role they play in the activity of the city and the life of its inhabitants: thus the public fountains *(sabīl)* and baths *(hammām)* would be the most appropriate targets for such research, since their construction is directly linked to fundamental urban needs and implies the existence of a stable community of users. But their mention in texts is random, and details about them (particularly when it comes to dating) are often far from precise. For that reason I have taken mosques as my main focus for tracking urban realities, because they are more frequently mentioned in texts, more precisely dated (often by inscriptions), and better maintained and preserved, so that they form a good basis for study derived from both textual and archaeological evidence.

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[1]André Raymond, ″Signes urbains et étude de la population des grandes villes arabes,″ *Bulletin d´études orientales* 27 (1974).

[2]″La population du Caire de Maqrīzī à la Description de l´Egypte,″ *BEO* 28 (1975); *Les marchés du Caire,* in collaboration with G. Wiet (Cairo, 1979); ″La localisation des bains publics au Caire au XVème siècle,″ *BEO* 30 (1978); ″Cairo´s Area and Population in the Early Fifteenth Century,″ *Muqarnas* 2 (1984); *Le Caire* (Paris, 1993); English trans. by Willard Wood, *Cairo* (Cambridge, 2001).

Sources Used for a Study of Mamluk Cairo

When it comes to the Mamluk era in the urban history of Cairo, our first source is naturally the *Khiṭaṭ*.[3] The second volume provides us with an enumeration of the principal landmarks of Cairo, be they religious (mosques, convents), public (fountains and baths), economic (markets, caravanserais), topographical (quarters, squares, bridges) or domestic (palaces), etc., and generally provides key information on their location and dating. I shall return later to the problem of the comprehensiveness of the author′s coverage and enumeration. Among these abundant lists (which I have already touched on in previous studies: markets and caravanserais, public baths and town quarters) I shall here concentrate on mosques. No distinction will be made between different types of mosques—such as the *jāmi‘* (mosques with *khuṭbah*), the *madrasah* (teaching institutions), the *masjid* (oratories). Even in al-Maqrīzī′s time it seems delineation was somewhat vague, with the same building sometimes being referred to as a *jāmi‘,* and other times as a *madrasah.* Among blatant examples of this confusion I shall mention the mosque of Ibn Maghribī,[4] which is studied twice by the (in this instance) careless al-Maqrīzī—once in the mosque chapter[5] and secondly among the *madrasah*s.[6] It is also the case with the famous Sultan Ḥasan mosque,[7] which is classified as a *jāmi‘*, but which, as al-Maqrīzī states right from the beginning, ″was known as the *madrasah* of Sultan Ḥasan″ *(hadhā al-jāmi‘ yu‘raf bi-madrasat al-sulṭān Ḥasan)*.[8] The difference between *jāmi‘* and *madrasah* became later so dim that the *Description de l′Egypte,* in its list of monuments in Cairo, refers only to *jāmi‘* whatever the original purpose or qualification of the monument.

Turning to the building of mosques as a means to study urbanization, I

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[3]Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā‘iẓ wa-al-I‘tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār,* 2 vols. (Būlāq, 1270/1853).

[4]Before 1374, around G 15 (74).

In this article information about mosques is given so that the first number indicates the date the mosque was built. A letter followed by a number indicates the mosque′s location on one of the two maps appended to the article. The number in parentheses shows its place within our chronological list of the 122 mosques (dated 1260–1441) studied, and located on the plans. A number followed by a letter and another number refers to the ″Description abrégée de la ville du Caire″ *(Description de l′Egypte)* and to the location on the map of the *Description de l′Egypte* whose cartographic squaring I have reproduced on my map. ″No.″ followed by a number indicates the classification number in the list of Cairo′s monuments (*Index to Mohammedan Monuments in Cairo*, Survey of Egypt, 1951).

[5]*Khiṭaṭ,* 2:328.

[6]Ibid., 391.

[7]1362, 1 S 6 (68).

[8]*Khiṭaṭ,* 2:316.

found 92 monuments mentioned in the *Khiṭaṭ:* the *jāmi‘* chapter contains references to 110 monuments of which 53 pertain to the period which interests us (1260–1441). The most recent monument mentioned here is the Muḥammad al-Ghamrī mosque (number 120 in my own list) which dates from 1440.[9] The *madrasah* chapter enumerates 73 buildings, 36 of which fall into our time-frame. The *masjid* section describes 19 monuments, of which 3 are relevant to our study. To that total (92) must be added the *māristān* (hospital) al-Mu'ayyad,[10] transformed into a mosque in 1422.[11]

Although quite lengthy, this list is obviously incomplete. One of the most conspicuous absences is the prestigious *madrasah* of Barqūq, built in 1386[12] with which al-Maqrīzī—who lived in the Barjawān quarter, just 400 meters away[13]—was of course familiar; he moreover mentions the progress of its construction several times in the *Sulūk*. In addition to this exceptional case several other mosques are mentioned in the *Sulūk* but not in the *Khiṭaṭ:* this is the case with the last mosque whose construction al-Maqrīzī records, that of Jawhar al-Tawāshī at Rumaylah,[14] built in January 1441, and marking the *terminus ad quem* of his researches, not long before his death in February 1442. Reference to the *Index to Mohammedan Monuments in Cairo* is enough to illustrate the reality of important gaps in al-Maqrīzī: out of 66 monuments classified for the period 1250–1441, 19 are not mentioned in the *Khiṭaṭ*.

I estimated that, in order to present an outline of Cairo's urban development between 1260 and 1441, it was necessary to extend the research to sources other than the *Khiṭaṭ* to make up in a certain measure the missing information. Furthermore, taking into consideration other sources allows an investigation of al-Maqrīzī's accuracy.

The information provided by the lists of the *Khiṭaṭ* (93 monuments) was thus supplemented by al-Maqrīzī's own *Sulūk* (13 additional monuments), Ibn Taghrībirdī (6 mosques), Aḥmad Darrāj (*Barsbay:*[15] 1 monument) and the *Index to Mohammedan Monuments in Cairo* (19 mosques). This additional list of 29 mosques, which brings the grand total to 122 is, of course, again deficient: a more complete perusal of the sources, and especially of the *waqf* documents, would enlarge this corpus. Imperfect as it is, I intend to use it as a basis for a study of the

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[9]197 F 7.

[10]50 S 4 (108).

[11]*Khiṭaṭ,* 2:408 (108).

[12]*Description* 279 H 6, classification number in the *Index:* 187 (80).

[13]66 F 7.

[14]Around T 6 (122).

[15]*L'Egypte sous le règne de Barsbay, 825–841/1422–1438* (Damascus, 1961).

urbanization of Cairo and for some reflections on al-Maqrīzī´s work.

Let us first remark that if we take into consideration the information provided by the *Khiṭaṭ* and *Sulūk* we notice that al-Maqrīzī mentioned, on the whole, 106 monuments, a figure which (out of a grand total of 122) seems to confirm the reliability of our historian.

A study of the deficiencies of the *Khiṭaṭ* reveals no obvious neglect of any region of Cairo, except for an important deficit for the southern region (17 monuments out of a total of 48).[16] The quarters of Tabbānah,[17] Rumaylah,[18] and Ṣalībah[19] seem particularly affected by this neglect. In al-Qāhirah, where the deficit of the *Khiṭaṭ* is less important (10 monuments out of 43), it is the zone surrounding al-Azhar[20] which is the most ill-treated (mosques 116, 119, 72, 92, 110 missing in the *Khiṭaṭ*). In contrast the deficit of the *Khiṭaṭ* is quite limited in the northern region (one out of 12) and even more so in the western region (one out of 19). I have no explanation for the cause of this geographic disparity, the argument of distance which could be invoked in the case of the southern region being, of course, irrelevant in that of al-Azhar. I may at least remark that it is difficult to reconcile al-Maqrīzī´s omission of a significant number of monuments in the western region with the fact that it is precisely in this zone that his information is otherwise the most complete.

I feel that on the whole the consideration of chronology offers a better explanation of the lacunas in the *Khiṭaṭ*′s information. Contrary to what would seem logical (that al-Maqrīzī´s information would be more complete for the most recent constructions), it is clear that the omissions mainly concern the newest monuments. Between 1260 and 1398 al-Maqrīzī´s *Khiṭaṭ* omitted only 14 monuments out of a total of 86 (one sixth); the figure is 15 monuments out of 34 in the period 1404 to 1441 (one half). It is mainly around 1420 that the historian´s documentary effort obviously slackened. This strong deficiency (11 omissions out of 22 between 1420 and 1441) was only partly compensated for by a kind of last minute effort of the historian to augment his documentations, hastily noting ten

[16]In my description of the geography of Cairo I use ″al-Qāhirah″ to designate the Fatimid city inside its walls, east of the canal (al-Khalīj al-Miṣrī). ″Northern region″ is used for the area which is located to the north of the Fatimid wall (Bāb al-Futūḥ), on both sides of the Khalīj. ″Southern region″ is the area stretching south of the Fatimid wall (Bāb Zuwaylah), east of the Khalīj. The ″western region″ is the area limited by the wall (north), the Khalīj (east), and the Khalīj al-Nāṣirī (west).

[17]Around P 5: mosques 55, 97, 27, 88.

[18]Around S 5: 115, 118, 75, 122.

[19]Around T 7: 93, 121, 21, 77.

[20]K 4–5.

mosques (numbers 100 to 106, 113, 114, 120) built after 1420, on the last page (331) of the *jāmiʻ* chapter, but without giving any details about these monuments. This character of the lacunas is also obvious when one analyzes the mosques mentioned in the *Sulūk* and not in the *Khiṭaṭ:* out of 13 monuments neglected, 6 are from the period after 1420.

Jean-Claude Garcin has insisted upon the fact that al-Maqrīzī's inventories upon which I dwelt are not fully comprehensive: "One can try to grasp the result of this urbanization movement through the work of al-Maqrīzī, even though his historical and literary evocation of Cairo (in the *Khiṭaṭ*) does not have the nature of an inventory which held pretensions of being complete (as it was later on held by the *Description de l'Egypte,* in an already colonial context."[21] Garcin again took up this stance in a recent publication: "The value accorded to the pre-colonial type of census analysis undertaken in the *Description de l'Egypte* seems less applicable to al-Maqrīzī's work, where his city description is less than comprehensive. . . . One cannot hope to find, in his records, every name of every quarter, each monument, each souk, or artisan's workshop which existed in his time."[22]

My point of view is that, whatever their evident imperfections and deficiencies, the lists compiled by al-Maqrīzī constitute an ensemble of such variety, richness, and precision that they can well withstand statistical utilization for a study of the city structure. The research already carried out on the souks and caravanserais[23] is, I think, confirmed by this study of mosques. In any event, while awaiting more exhaustive documentation, there is no richer or more reliable source of information at our disposal than what al-Maqrīzī affords. It is, then, important to try and extract everything we can from it, without losing sight of its "not totally complete" nature.

The Urban Structure of Cairo (1260–1441) According to al-Maqrīzī

The documentation at our disposal allows us to examine the evolution of the structure of the city over nearly two centuries, from 1260, the beginning of the Mamluk era, to 1441 (the end of al-Maqrīzī's investigations), in a geographic framework which I limit to what I propose to define as "traditional Cairo": the area described in the Cairo map of the *Description de l'Egypte,* thus excluding the regions located outside the Khalīj al-Nāṣirī to the west, and Ḥusaynīyah to the

[21] "Toponymie et topographie urbaines médiévales à Fustat et au Caire," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 27 (1984): 133.

[22] "Note sur la population du Caire en 1517," in *Grandes villes méditerranéennes du monde musulman médieval* (Rome, 2000), 206.

[23] Raymond and Wiet, *Les marchés du Caire*.

north, and naturally the ″suburbs″ of Cairo (Būlāq and Old Cairo).

The cartographic problems concerning Mamluk Cairo have been discussed recently by Jean-Claude Garcin in *Grandes villes méditerranéennes,*[24] accompanied by maps 4 (″Le Caire au XIVème siècle″) and 5 (″Le Caire au début du XVIème siècle″) which delineate zones of ″urbanisation dense supposée″ and ″urbanisation peu dense supposée.″ My own conclusions are based on the previously described corpus of 122 religious monuments, mosques *(jāmi‘),* colleges *(madrasah),* and oratories *(masjid),* for which we have presented the necessary information about their dating and location. But this study on urbanization in Mamluk Cairo, of course, takes into account previous research carried out on other components of the urban environment, such as places of economic activity (markets and caravanserais), public baths (*ḥammām*s) and the residential quarters of the city *(ḥārāt).*

The Northern Region

An analysis of the fluctuation in the number of religious buildings constructed over time leads us to the conclusion that there was vigorous urbanization in the northern part of Cairo. The building activity in the Ḥusaynīyah quarter and the Birkat al-Ratlī region[25] was launched from the time of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars (1260–77), starting with the building of the great mosque which bears his name, in 1269.[26] The numerous mosques that were founded afterwards (twelve, of which eight were built in al-Nāṣir′s time) bear witness to a phenomenon of urban growth and demographic development, which al-Maqrīzī recorded. However the effects of this urbanistic move seem to have been temporary: no construction is mentioned there after 1397, and al-Maqrīzī himself, in several often-quoted passages, recognized the decline and fall of this area about the turn of the century. It is also significant that of those monuments recorded by al-Maqrīzī, few have survived: in fact only two (the already-mentioned Ẓāhirīyah mosque and the Maẓharīyah *madrasah*),[27] which would confirm a later slump within the quarter, firstly at the end of the Mamluk, then in the Ottoman era. The construction of some rare religious monuments in the zone to the north of Ḥusaynīyah (at Raydānīyah and Siriyaqūs) would seem to indicate a real interest in developing Cairo in this direction (on the pilgrims′ route and on the road to Syria), but there is no evidence of any durable urban growth in the area outside Ḥusaynīyah. To conclude: an important development took place in the areas of Ḥusaynīyah and Birkat al-Ratlī,

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[24]″Note sur la population du Caire en 1517,″ 205–13.

[25]B 9–10.

[26]No. 1, *Description* 378 A 6–7 (3).

[27]No. 8, 1299, D 7 (14).

but it regressed before the end of the fourteenth century: between 1402 and 1517 only three mosques were built in the area.

AL-QĀHIRAH

The indications provided by a census of the religious edifices built in the al-Qāhirah region would, alternatively, reflect an intense and durable demographic increase. The massive occupation of the ″Fatimid″ city started during the Ayyubid period, when the seat of political and military power was transferred to the Citadel, leaving the old center of the Fatimids available for economic development, and settlement of the Mamluk elite and indigenous population: 43 mosques were founded in this 153-hectare zone between 1260 and 1441, just over a third of all the religious buildings under examination. Nine of these monuments were erected during the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, a number which is just in proportion with the duration of his reign (1293–1340).

The most spectacular of these new developments was the transformation of Bayn al-Qasrayn (the place ″between the palaces″) into a splendid avenue lined by prestigious monuments: the *madrasah*s of al-Ẓāhir Baybars,[28] of Qalāwūn,[29] of al-Nāṣir,[30] and much later of Barqūq,[31] utilized the space existing in the great Fatimid esplanade. Later it expanded southwards with the Ashrāfī mosque[32] and Mu'ayyad mosque.[33]

But during this long period religious monuments were also built throughout the entire region, the religious network expanding in order to adapt to the increase in population. It was the northern part of al-Qāhirah which was first affected by urban expansion, as shown in the number of new mosques in the area. Besides the Qaṣabah, the favorite spot was that of Jamālīyah, between Bāb al-Naṣr[34] and the Ḥusaynī region,[35] where nine mosques were constructed between 1300 and 1430, of which seven still remain and are registered on the inventory of the monuments of Cairo. The southern part of al-Qāhirah was to experience most of its development in the later part of the period: 5 of the 8 mosques built south of al-Azhar are posterior to 1420.

After 1442 the movement of construction went on, particularly in the south

[28]1263, no. 37, 274 H 6 (1).

[29]1285 no. 43, 275 H 6 (8).

[30]1304, no. 44, 278 H 6 (18).

[31]1386, no. 187, 279 H 6 (80).

[32]1424, no. 175, 194 K 6 (109).

[33]1420, no. 190, 255 M 7 (99).

[34]E 5.

[35]I 5.

of al-Qāhirah (8 mosques out of 12 monuments built in al-Qāhirah between 1442 and 1517) (see map 2). The mosque network had reached its completion in a region now fully urbanized. The importance of the development of al-Qāhirah in the Mamluk period is confirmed by a comparison between the number of mosques standing there in the *Description* (67 mosques), and that slightly higher recorded by al-Maqrīzī (69 mosques). This suggests that the residential population of the central zone reached in the Mamluk era a level that would remain largely stable until the end of the eighteenth century when, according to my calculations in "Signes urbains," there were 90,000 inhabitants.

The Population Growth of the Region South of the City, between Bāb Zuwaylah and the Citadel

The occupation of this huge 266-hectare region, outside al-Qāhirah, between the outskirts of the Fatimid city (Bāb Zuwaylah), the Citadel, and the Khalīj was the key event in the urban history of Cairo during the Mamluk period (and until the end of the "Ottoman" seventeenth century). This expansion was the natural consequence of Saladin's construction of the Citadel (started in 1176) which opened up a large area for urban settlement between al-Qāhirah and the new center for the army and government. This region saw a demographic expansion which began in the Ayyubid era and continued until about 1700. Under the Ayyubids the movement was still in its initial phase, but it really took off in Mamluk times, when important changes fundamentally altered the structure of the city. One only needs to compare, in the list of classified monuments, the three Ayyubid mosques with the 35 Mamluk monuments, to understand the scale of the transformation. Construction in the period covered by al-Maqrīzī's work was remarkably prolific: 48 mosques were built between 1260 and 1341 (more than in al-Qāhirah), of which 33 are classified, an indication that it was not only the quantity of construction, but the quality of architectural design which was out of the ordinary. The most notable examples within this list are the al-Nāṣir mosque at the Citadel,[36] and, naturally, the monument which is the very emblem of the Mamluk era, the Sultan Ḥasan mosque.[37]

The study of the chronology of these buildings does not reveal a clear pattern of planning within this expansion. Sultan al-Nāṣir obviously gave his strong backing to the urban development in this region, as he did in the western part of the city, with the use of "concessions" *(ḥikr)* to encourage the setting up of housing settlements and infrastructure to accommodate a growing population,

[36]1335, no. 143, 54 T 3 (36).

[37]1362, no. 133, 1 S 6 (68).

often organized around a religious center.[38] This aid from the sultan encouraged the foundation of mosques by all the main amirs: the mosques of Ylmās,[39] Qawṣūn,[40] Bashtāk,[41] and Altunbughā al-Māridānī[42] are the most remarkable of the fourteen mosques which were erected in this region under the reign of al-Nāṣir, mostly along the main roads leading from Bāb Zuwaylah to the Khalīfah,[43] by way of Ṣalībah[44] and to the Citadel, by way of Darb al-Aḥmar[45] and Tabbānah.[46] These were logical itineraries for expansion to the south, but there was apparently no chronological order in this movement. The two most southerly mosques, for example, were constructed as early as 1298[47] and 1315.[48]

After al-Nāṣir the movement continued, creating a network of religious buildings scattered fairly evenly throughout the region with two high density zones: one near Darb al-Aḥmar, at the southernmost end of Bāb Zuwaylah (six mosques) and the other between Sūq al-Silāḥ and Rumaylah, below the Citadel (nine mosques)—two nerve centers of Cairo, politically and economically. The extreme south of the town (between Ṣalībah and Khalīfah) was also the locus of nine mosques, their construction being strongly linked to the importance of the traffic on the roads towards Old Cairo and the Ṣaʻīd, and to its proximity to the cemetery.

Two regions, situated on the western side of the area, remained little touched by this burst of building. One lies in the large stretch to the southwest of Bāb Zuwaylah, between the Fatimid wall, the Khalīj, the north bank of Birkat al-Fīl, and that part of the great avenue which was later to be named "Qaṣabat Riḍwān."[49] This was where the tanneries were located, which in the sixteenth century would have covered as many as a dozen hectares:[50] we can assume that this was the main reason for the lack of residential settlement and the quasi-absence of mosque-

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[38]Raymond, *Le Caire,* 138.

[39]1330, no. 130, 85 R 7 (30).

[40]1330, no. 202 and 224, 106 P 8 (31).

[41]1336, no. 205, 54 R 10 (37).

[42]1340, no. 120, 180 O 5 (42).

[43]X 7.

[44]T 7.

[45]N 6.

[46]O 5.

[47]The *madrasah* of Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf, no. 172, towards 9 Z 4 (11).

[48]The mosque of the *mashhad* al-Nafīsī, probably 81 Z 7 (23).

[49]N 6.

[50]N–O 7–9.

building in the area. The Qawṣūn mosque[51] and the mosque built at Taḥt al-Rab‘ after 1420[52] are both located outside the area, and it was not until 1429 that the modest Qāḍī Amīn al-Dīn mosque,[53] briefly mentioned by al-Maqrīzī[54] and not even recorded in the *Description,* was built in Suwayqat ‘Aṣfūr.[55] The problem of the presence of the tanneries *(madābigh)* which blocked urban development in this region, so close to the south limit of al-Qāhirah, was only raised in the sixteenth century by the Ottomans, and eventually resolved, in 1600, with their transfer to Bāb al-Lūq:[56] this move made way for the building of two prestigious religious monuments (the mosques of Malikah Ṣafīyah in 1610 and of Burdaynī in 1629).[57]

The region surrounding the vast Birkat al-Fīl pond was another special case. According to al-Maqrīzī´s lists there were no mosques constructed in the immediate neighborhood of the water´s edge, which was at that stage already given over to residences of the wealthier strata of the population.[58] It was not, therefore, an empty zone, but one which was devoted to the residence of the rich rather than to that of the common man. This segregation was reinforced towards the end of Mamluk rule and the beginnings of Ottoman days—until the end of the seventeenth century, when Azbakīyah became the new fashionable location, enticing the elite away from Birkat al-Fīl.

Overall the mosque building activity in the southern region of Cairo in al-Maqrīzī´s days reflects the demographic expansion of the area with telling accuracy. This urban development was something al-Maqrīzī himself noted, in an emphatic manner: people ″one and all″ started building there; buildings followed one another ceaselessly ″from the edges of al-Qāhirah to the Ibn Ṭūlūn mosque.″[59] In actual fact the process was then only in its early stage and would continue until the end of the Mamluk age (26 additional mosques were built there between 1442 and 1517, compared to the 12 in al-Qāhirah) and well into the Ottoman period. The *Description de l´Egypte* mentions no less than 93 mosques in this southern

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[51] 1330, 106 P 8 (31).

[52] Towards 26 M 9 (104).

[53] (114).

[54] *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:331.

[55] 156 O 8–9.

[56] 357 M 16.

[57] 153 08 and 322 0 7.

[58] André Raymond, ″The Residential Districts of Cairo´s Elite,″ in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* ed. T. Philipp and U. Haarmann (Cambridge,1998).

[59] Raymond, *Le Caire,* 139–40.

area, a much larger figure than in al-Maqrīzī's time and even for the entire Mamluk period: the development of urbanization begun during the Mamluk era was far from having reached its apogee.[60] There is no question that in al-Maqrīzī's time, and even in 1517, the population of the southern region was much less than the 100,000 inhabitants I have estimated for 1798.

The Evolution of the Western Region

The problem of the evolution of the region west of Cairo—in other words, the zone beyond the Khalīj al-Miṣrī—is a point for discussion. In his map 4 of *Grandes villes méditerranéennes* (fourteenth century) Garcin suggests that in the fourteenth century the western region (beyond the Khalīj al-Miṣrī: "zone des principaux ahkar") was sparsely populated ("urbanisation peu dense supposée") with a zone of dense occupation along the Khalīj al-Nāṣirī. In map 5 (beginning of the sixteenth century) the western region is considered by him as a zone of dense urbanization ("urbanisation dense supposée"). My view, based on locations of mosques, is quite different.

When discussing the issues of the western region's urbanization during al-Nāṣir's time, historians have relied heavily on al-Maqrīzī's comments about the sultan's policy of expansion through concessions *(ḥikr)* on six- or even twelve-hectare plots. This would have resulted in a boom in population, described by al-Maqrīzī in glowing terms: the two banks of the Khalīj (al-Nāṣirī) were covered with houses with markets, baths, and mosques. In fact the region beyond al-Qāhirah, on the west side, became "a string of cities."[61] However, when one looks at the list that al-Maqrīzī gave of the mosques built in this very area by al-Nāṣir, one comes to more modest conclusions. Between 1300 and 1340 al-Maqrīzī mentions only eight religious buildings in the whole western region in his list of mosques built by al-Nāṣir[62] and in his chapters on the *jāmi', madrasah,* and *masjid* in the *Khiṭaṭ*. The location of these mosques is significant. Four were constructed around 1314, 1337, 1340, and 1341 in the zone between Bāb al-Qanṭarah[63] and Bāb al-Baḥr;[64] one was built in 1320 on the banks of the Khalīj near al-Amīr Ḥusayn bridge;[65]

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[60]Raymond, "Cairo's area and population," maps pp. 28 and 29.

[61]Quoted in Raymond, *Le Caire,* 131–33.

[62]*Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1934–), 2:2:544–45.

[63]287 F 9.

[64]222 E 11.

[65]L 9.

one in 1308 on the road between Bāb al-Kharq[66] and Bāb al-Lūq;[67] and the last two, both built around 1340, were located in the Suwayqat al-Sabbā'īn quarter.[68] The geography of these mosques suggests a densely urbanized zone around the road leading from Bāb al-Qanṭarah[69] to the gate of the city, but in no other areas of the region. This is not the urban boom described by al-Maqrīzī. Similarly hypothetical is the ″high density″ settlements suggested in Garcin´s map along the Khalīj al-Nāṣirī and on the east bank of the Nile, between Būlāq and Old Cairo. If the two satellite cities experienced a development which confirmed the importance of Old Cairo and the burgeoning of Būlāq, one is struck by the small number of constructions along the Nile recorded by al-Maqrīzī. Examples of what appears to be the fragility of these creations reinforce this feeling of scepticism: the al-Ṭaybarṣī mosque, constructed in 1307 at Bustān al-Khashshāb, beside the Nile, fell into ruin after the decline of the area about 806/1403–4;[70] the mosque of Fakhr Nāẓir al-Jaysh at Jazīrat al-Fīl, built before 1332, was ruined at some point after 1388.[71] Such examples lead us to believe that expansion here was not the result of a lasting demographic development, hence the difficulties encountered when times got hard, as they did after 1348 until the end of the century. Even mosques constructed in less problematic conditions led apparently precarious existences: erected around 1340, just outside Bāb al-Baḥr,[72] the Ibn Ghāzī mosque[73] had only slight popularity; al-Maqrīzī states that, although people continued to say the *khuṭbah* there, it was shut the rest of the time since there were not enough local residents to support it *(li-qillat al-sukkān ḥawlahu)*.[74]

A study of what happened after 1340 seems to confirm this overall impression of al-Nāṣir´s reign. The list established for the whole of the period (1260–1441) shows that 19 mosques were erected in the western zone (out of a total of 122, of which 43 were in al-Qāhirah and 48 in the south). The only regions where the locations of mosques indicate dense occupation are the two areas previously mentioned: the zone extending from Bāb al-Qanṭarah[75] to the city gate (9 mosques)

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[66]49 N 10.

[67]M 13.

[68]132 Q 11.

[69]E 8.

[70]*Khiṭaṭ,* 2:303.

[71]Ibid., 311.

[72]E 12.

[73](44).

[74]*Khiṭaṭ,* 2:313.

[75]E 8.

and the zone between the Khalīj and the Birkat al-Saqqā'īn[76] (5 mosques). In the region which was soon to become Azbakīyah, the fate of the mosque/*madrasah* of Ibn al-Maghribī,[77] on the Khalīj al-Nāṣirī, near Birkat Qarmūt,[78] seems quite significant: it is recorded as destroyed in 1411–12.[79] Outside the two aforementioned areas a few mosques were built near the Khalīj al-Miṣrī and Bāb al-Lūq.

This situation did not change substantially in the period 1442–1517, with a meagre total of 5 mosques built in the whole western region (out of 46 for the whole of Cairo, of which 12 were in al-Qāhirah, and 26 in the southern region), in the areas previously mentioned. The only exception was the building of Amir Azbak's mosque along the "Azbakīyah" in 1484.[80] But the problematic character of such an attempt was revealed by the ultimate failure of the enterprise, although hailed by a commentary of Ibn Iyās, every bit as enthusiastic as al-Maqrīzī's in similar circumstances: "Everybody wanted to live in Azbakīyah, which thus became an independent residential district."[81] In fact, Azbakīyah's day was not to come until much later, under the Ottomans, in the seventeenth and, more so, in the eighteenth centuries.

The fact that the western region beyond the Khalīj al-Miṣrī remained largely unoccupied is confirmed by what we learn, thanks to al-Maqrīzī and his *Khiṭaṭ,* from the geographical distribution of the public baths,[82] from that of the market places and caravanserais,[83] and from that of the *ḥārah*. I would like to be allowed here to refer, concerning these various aspects, to the maps published in my "Cairo's Area and Population."

I tried to show earlier that there is no likelihood in the suggestion that the "scarcity" (and even absence) of mosques in the larger part of this region is a consequence of the defects of our source and not the result of the real situation, since it is precisely in this area that al-Maqrīzī's counts are the most complete. Furthermore there is no explanation why, of the mosques thus overlooked by al-Maqrīzī, so few would have withstood the test of time and survived: in effect only four in this vast area (compared with 35 monuments in the southern quarter):

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[76]Q–R 13.

[77]Before 1374, G 15 (74).

[78]G 15.

[79]*Khiṭaṭ,* 2:328, 391.

[80]I 11 (148).

[81]Quoted in Raymond, *Le Caire,* 186.

[82]See Raymond "La localisation des bains publics."

[83]See Raymond and Wiet, *Les marchés du Caire*.

the al-Zāhid mosque,[84] Amir Ḥusayn,[85] Sitt Ḥadaq (Miskah),[86] and the Arghūn Shāh,[87] all of them mentioned by al-Maqrīzī and lying in a location that confirms the conclusions I have been proposing. The enormous changes that this region underwent at the end of the nineteenth century can hardly be held responsible for such a situation: mosques, due to their religious purpose and use, are monuments of remarkable stability, and even if this area of the city was completely transformed by the ″modernization″ which affected Cairo at that time, the mosques would have remained active, continuing to serve the large population of this area.

During the Mamluk period the western region remained nearly unoccupied in its central part (between the Birkat al-Azbakīyah and al-Nāṣirīyah/Saqqā'īn); it was densely populated only on its fringes in the north, and in the south. It seems then difficult to evoke any dense urbanization in 1517. The urbanized area probably developed on less than one hundred hectares, much less than in 1798 (215 hectares). In the absence of architectural evidence it would also seem unjustifiable to assume that there was continuous dense urbanization along the Khalīj al-Nāṣirī and the east bank of the Nile between Būlāq and Fuṣṭaṭ. Again, it is the absence of urbanization, not the imperfection of our main source, which explains the lack of mosques in the area.

Using the available sources, we may arrive at reasonable conclusions as to the surface area that was populated during al-Maqrīzī´s time. I should estimate it to be around 450–500 hectares, and suggest a population figure of much fewer than 200,000 inhabitants (in 1798, 660 hectares, and 263,000 inhabitants). This evaluation might appear, at face value, to be on the low side. But taking into account Fuṣṭaṭ—which was still thriving at that time—and Būlāq, which was then expanding, Cairo still was one of the major cities in the Mediterranean basin.

Although the study of monuments belonging to art history is generally kept separate from political and economic history, I suggest that by considering the mosques as not just religious buildings and ″oeuvres d´art,″ but as ″products″ of human urban enterprise, meant to provide for the needs (here religious) of a population, we may draw from them some information about the urban evolution of the city. It is a principle I have used in studying the architecture of Ottoman Cairo, and it seems to me quite as pertinent for the Mamluk period. If we group the dates of construction

[84] 1415, no. 83, 324 E 10 (96).

[85] 1319, no. 233, 36 L 9 (25).

[86] 1340, no. 252, 131 Q 11 (41).

[87] 1347, no. 253, 192 R 13 (54).

of the mosques by 25-year spans, we arrive at a picture which bears some relation to Cairo′s history:

1276–1300: 11 mosques built
1301–1325: 14
1326–1350: 30
1351–1375: 17
1376–1400: 12
1401–1425: 23
1426–1441: 12 (16 years)

This table confirms the exceptional building activity that took place during the reign of al-Nāṣir. The decline which followed the crisis of 1348 reached its nadir in the last part of the fourteenth century, with a normal time lag before the effects of the political/economic situation were felt in human activities, such as building religious monuments. This crisis was very severe, with a paroxysm between 1376 and 1400. One is also struck by the frequency and length of periods for which our sources mention no building at all: five years each between 1351 and 1356, 1362 and 1367, 1386 and 1391, and 1399 and 1404; and four years between 1377 and 1381. The table shows how the architectural activity bounced back and was particularly important at the very beginning of the fifteenth century (1401–25). In some measure this contradicts al-Maqrīzī′s contemporary pessimistic comments: in this case, the conclusion that we can reach using the factual information ″innocently″ provided by the historian in his *Khiṭaṭ* and *Sulūk* is at variance with his own statements on the evolution of Cairo as developed in his historical discourse.

Chronological List of the Mamluk Mosques in Cairo (1260–1517)

The following list of mosques (1260–1517) is divided into two parts: the period 1260–1441, and the period 1442–1517. Each listing includes successively the date (ca. = circa, if it is approximate), the reference to al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Taghrībidrī, or Ibn Iyās, the number in the *Index to Mohammedan Monuments* (I), and the location (a. = around, if it is conjectural) by reference to the map of the *Description de l'Egypte* (in bold type if the monument is mentioned in the *Description,* and with the name given in the *Description* if it is different).

Abbreviations are as follows:

M: mosque
m: madrasah
Kh: al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāq, 1270/1853)
Sulūk: al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* (Cairo, 1934–)
Quatremère: al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* trans. as *Histoire des sultans mamlouks* (Paris, 1837–45)
ITB, Nujūm: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* ed. William Popper (Berkeley, 1926–29)
ITB, History: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* trans. William Popper as *History of Egypt, 1382–1469 A.D.* (Berkeley, 1954–60)
ITB, Ḥawādith: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr,* ed. William Popper (Berkeley, 1930–42)
IIW: Ibn Iyās, *Histoire des mamlouks circassiens* (872–906), trans. Gaston Wiet (Cairo, 1945)

I. 1260–1441

1. m. al-Ẓāhir Baybars - 1263 - Kh 2:378 - I 37 - **274 H 6**
2. masjid around *mashhad* al-Ḥusaynī - Baybars - 1264 - Kh 2:413 - a. I 5
3. M. al-Ẓāhirīyah - Baybars- 1269 - Kh 2:299 - I 1 - **378 A 6–7**
4. masjid in Tabbālah - Baybars - 1277 - Kh 2:409 - a. 394 A 7
5. m. al-Fāriqānīyah - 1278 - Kh 2:369 - a. L 7–8
6. m. Mahdhabīyah - ca. 1278 - Kh 2:369, 397 - a. 91 Q 8
7. m. Turbat Umm al-Ṣāliḥ - 1284 - Kh 2:394 - I 274 - a. 85 Y 7
8. m. Qalāwūn - 1285 - Kh 2:379 - I 43 - **275 H 6**
9. m. al-Husāmīyah - 1290 - Kh 2:386 - I 590 - **20 L 8** (Abû l-Fadl)
10. M. al-Baqlī - 1297 - I 156 - **49 V 6**
11. m. Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf -1298 - I 172 - **9 Z 4** (Qadiriyya)
12. m. Mankūtumurīyah - 1299 - Kh 2:387 - a. 98 E 6

13. m. Tafjīyah - before 1299 - Kh 2:397 - a. S 7
14. m. Maẓharīyah - 1299 - I 8 - **384 D 7**
15. m. Qarāsunqurīyah - 1301 - Kh 2:388 - I 31 - **293 G 5**
16. M. Karāy al-Manṣūrī - 1302 - Kh 2:325 - a. A 4
17. m. Sālār and Sanjar al-Jawlī - 1304 - Kh 2:398 - I 221 - a. 169 V 10
18. m. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad - 1304 - Kh 2:382 - I 44 - **278 H 6**
19. M. Jamāl al-Dīn Āqūsh - before 1308 - Kh 2:315 - **99 N 13** (Tabbâkh)
20. m. Ṭaybarsīyah - 1310 - Kh 2:383 - I 97 - 150 K 5
21. M. Aḥmad Bey Kuhyah - 1310 - I 521 - a. 110 U 7
22. M. al-Jākī - before 1314 - Kh 2:314 - a. 330 D–E 9 ?
23. M. al-Nāṣir at *mashhad* al-Nafīsī - 1315 - Kh 2:306 - **81 Z 7** ? (al-Sayyida)
24. m. al-Jukandār - 1320 - Kh 2:392 - I 24 - a. 85 I 4
25. M. Amīr Ḥusayn - 1320 - Kh 2:307 - I 233 - **36 L 9**
26. m. al-Sa‘dīyah - Sunqur - 1321 - Kh 2:397 - I 263 - **68 S 7** (A‘gâm)
27. m. Dawādārīyah - before 1325 - Sulūk 2:1:269 - a. 143 P–Q 5–6
28. m. al-Mihmandārīyah - 1325 - Kh 2:399 - I 115 - **185 N 5**
29. M. al-Barqīyah - al-Tūbah - Mughulṭāy - 1329 - Kh 2:326 - a. 8 K 3
30. M. Ylmās - 1330 - Kh 2:307 - I 130 - **85 R 7** (al-Mâż)
31. M. Qawṣūn - 1330 - Kh 2:307 - I 202, 224 - **106 P 8**
32. m. Mughulṭāy al-Jamālī - 1330 - Kh 2:392 - I 26 - **109 H 4**
33. M. al-Tūbah - Ṭaqṭā’ī - after 1330 - a. H 8
34. M. Akhū Sārūjā - after 1330 - Kh 2:315 - a. B 10–11
35. M. al-Malik - 1332 - Kh 2:310 - Ḥusaynīyah
36. M. of the Citadel - al-Nāṣir Muḥammad - 1335 - Kh 2:325 - I 143 - **54 T 3** (Qalāwūn)
37. M. Bashtāk - 1336 - Kh 2:309 - I 205 - **54 R 10**
38. M. Muḥammad al-Turkmānī - before 1337 - Kh 2:313 - **261 E 12**
39. M. Qāḍī Sharaf al-Dīn - 1337 - I 176 - **123 K 7** (zâwiya)
40. M. Aqsunqur - before 1340 - Kh 2:309 - a. 132 Q 11
41. M. Sitt Ḥadaq (Miskah) - 1340 - Kh 2:313, 326 - I 252 - **131 Q 11**
42. M. Māridānī - 1340 - Kh 2:308 - I 120 - **180 O 5**
43. m. Aqbughā - 1340 - Kh 2:383 - I 97 - K 5
44. M. Ibn Ghāzī - 1340 - Kh 2:313 - a. E 12
45. M. Karīm al-Dīn - before 1341 - Kh 2:245 - a. D 9
46. M. Dawlat Shāh - before 1341 - Kh 2:325 - a. 432 C 10
47. M. at Birkat al-Ratlī - before 1341 - Kh 2:326 - a. 437 A 9
48. M. Qīdān al-Rūmī - before 1341 - Kh 2:312 - a. 394 A 7
49. M. Muẓaffar al-Dīn ibn al-Falak - before 1341 - Kh 2:326 - a. 345 B 5
50. M. Jawhar al-Sahratī - Ṭawāshī - before 1341 - Kh 2:325 - **145 D 10**

51. M. Aslam - 1345 - Kh 2:309 - I 112 - **94 N 4** (Aslân)
52. m. Aydumur- Baydar - before 1347 - Kh 2:391 - I 22 - **92 I 4** (zâwiya)
53. M. Aqsunqur - 1347 - Kh 2:309 - I 123 - **82 P–Q 5** (Ibrâhîm Âghâ)
54. M. Arghūn Shāh al-Ismā‘īlī - 1347 - Kh 2:327 - I 253 - **192 R 13** (Isma‘înî)
55. m. Qatlūbughā al-Dhahabī - 1347 - I 242 - a. 39–40 P 5
56. M. Manjak al-Yūsufī - 1349 - Kh 2:320 - I 138 - **36 R 3** (Manshakiyya)
57. M. Shaykhū - 1349 - Kh 2:313 - I 147 - **229 T 7**
58. M. al-Akhḍar - Maliktamur - about 1350 - Kh 2:324 - a. D 14
59. m. al-Ṣaghīrah - 1351 - Kh 2:394 - a. K 6–7
60. m. al-Qaysarānīyah - 1351 -Kh 2:394 - a. 221 K 8
61. m. al-Fārisīyah - 1356 - Kh 2:393 - a. F 5
62. M. Niẓām al-Dīn - 1356 - I 140 - **12 Q–R 3** (Ludâmî)
63. m. Sarghatmish - 1356 - Kh 2:403 - I 218 - **212 U 9** (Qawâm al-Dîn)
64. m. al-Budayrīyah - 1357 - Kh 2:392 - a. 247 I 6
65. m. Bashīr al-Jamdār - 1360 - Kh 2:399 - I 269 - **138 S 8** (Shaykh al-Zalâm)
66. m. Ṭāṭār al-Hijāzīyah - 1360 - Kh 2:382 - I 36 - **261 H 5** (zâwiya)
67. m. Sābiqīyah - Mithqāl - 1362 - Kh 2:393 - I 45 - **283 H 5** (Shaykh al-Islâm)
68. M. Sulṭān Ḥasan - 1362 - Kh 2:316 - I 133 - **1 S 6**
69. m. Iljāy - 1367 - Kh 2:399 - I 131 - **146 R 6** (al-Sâ’îs)
70. m. Umm al-Sulṭān Sha‘bān - 1369 - Kh 2:399 - I 125 - **167 P 5**
71. m. Asanbughā - Būbakrīyah - 1370 - Kh 2:390 - I 185 - **18 L 8**
72. m. Ghannāmīyah - 1373 - Sulūk 4:1:545 - I 96 - **54 K 4** (zâwiyat al-Nanâmiyya)
73. m. al-Baqrīyah - before 1374 - Kh 2:391 - I 18 - **135 F 4**
74. M./m. Ibn al-Maghribī - before 1374 - Kh 2:328, 391 - a. G 15
75. m. Sha‘bān - 1375, demolished in 1411 - Sulūk 3:1:251, 4:1:175 - **50 S 4** (al-maristân al-qadîm)
76. m. Abī Ghālib al-Kalbashāwī - before 1376 - Sulūk 3:1:262 - I 9?
77. M. Khushqadam al-Aḥmadī - 1377 - I 153 - **74 U 6**
78. m. Ibn ‘Arrām - before 1381 - Kh 2:394 - a. L 10?
79. m. Aytmish al-Bajāsī - 1383 - Kh 2:400 - I 250 - **63 R 4** (Bâb al-Wazîr)
80. m. Sulṭān Barqūq - 1386 - Sulūk 3:2:547 - I 187 - **279 H 6**
81. masjid Ibn al-Shīkhī - before 1391 - Kh 2:411 - a. G 7
82. m. Īnāl - 1393 - Kh 2:401 - I 118 - **234 N 6** (Sinân al-Yusufî)
83. m. Zimāmīyah - Muqbil - 1395 - Kh 2:394 - I 177 - a. 121 K 7
84. m. al-Maḥmūdīyah - 1395 - Kh 2:395 - I 117 - **237 N 7**
85. M. Kīmkhatī - Gunaynah - before 1397 - Kh 2:325 - a. 412 C 8?
86. M. Qalamtāy - before 1398 - ITB, History 1:203 - a. 66 U 7
87. M. Barakah - around 1399? - Kh 2:326 - a. U–V 10

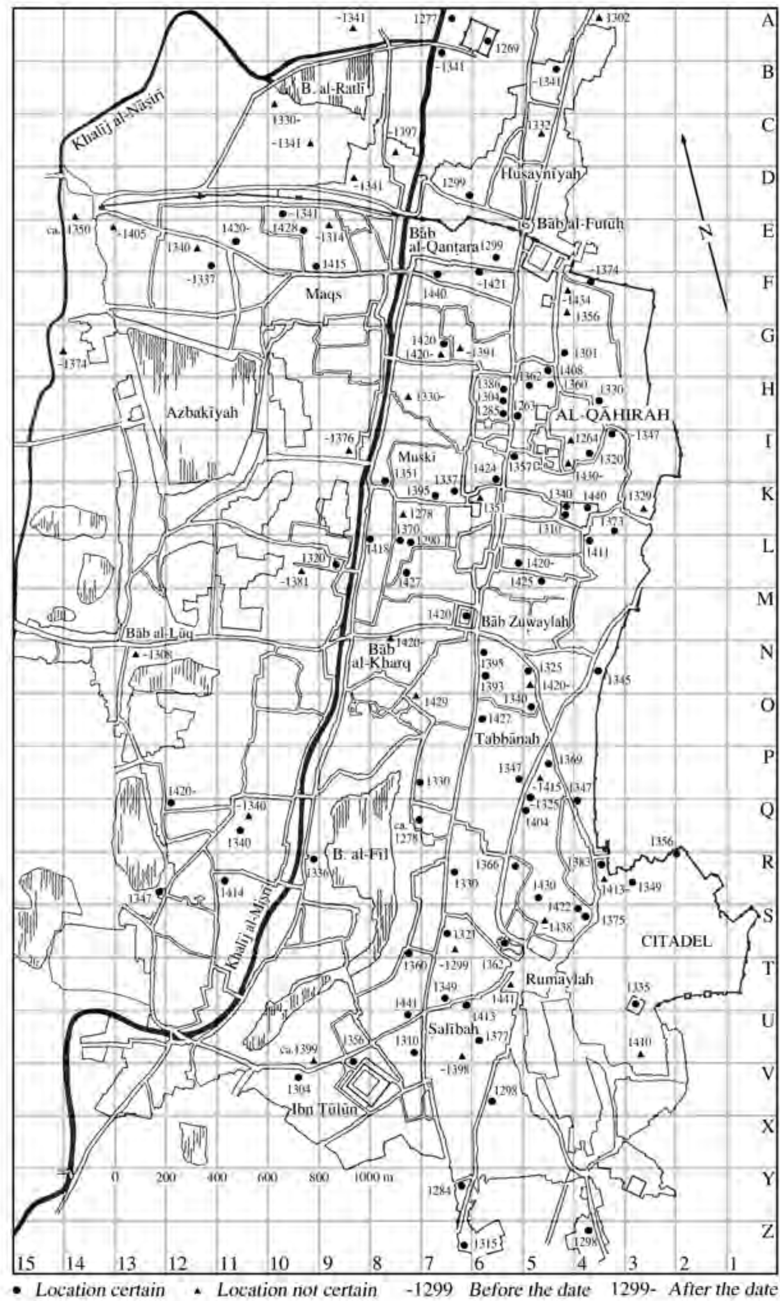
88. M. Sūdūn Min Zādah - 1404 - Sulūk 3:3:1122 - I 127 - **158 Q 6** (Masdâda)
89. M. al-Fākhirī - before 1405 - Kh 2:324 - a. D–E 14
90. m. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ustādār - 1408 - Kh 2:401 - I 35 - **302 G 5** (Mu'allaq)
91. M. al-Hawsh - 1410 - Kh 2:327 - Citadel, a. U 3
92. m. al-'Aynī - 1411 - Quatremère, 2:224 - I 102 - **53 L 4**
93. m. Qānī Bāy al-Muḥammadī - 1413 - ITB, History 3:102 - I 151 - **122 T 7**
94. M. al-Dawā - after 1413 - Kh 2:327 - a. 63 R 4
95. M. al-Ḥanafī - 1415 - Kh 2:327 - **121 R 11**
96. M. al-Zāhid - 1415 - Kh 2:327 - I 83 - **324 E 10**
97. m. Muqbil al-Ishiqtamurī - before 1416 - Sulūk 4:1:377 - a. P 5
98. M. al-Fakhrī - 1418 - Kh 2:328 - I 184 - **16 K–L 9** (al-Banât)
99. M. al-Mu'ayyad - 1420 - Kh 2:328 - I 190 - **255 M 7**
100. M. al-Bāsiṭī - 1420 - Kh 2:331 - I 60 - **170 G 7**
101. M. Ibn Dirham wa-Niṣf - after 1420? - Kh 2:331 - **221 E 11**
102. M. Muḥammad al-Maskīn - after 1420? - Kh 2:331 - a. N 5?
103. M. Muqaddam al-Saqqā'īn - after 1420? - Kh 2:331 - **217 Q 12** (Hârat al-Saqqâ'în)
104. Mosque - after 1420? - Kh 2:331 - a. 26 M 9
105. M. Banū Wafā' - after 1420? - Kh 2:331 - a. 170 G 7
106. m. al-Ṭawāshī - after 1420? - Kh 2:331 - a. 286 L 6
107. m. al-Bulqaynī - before 1421 - Sulūk 4:2:600 - **92 E 6**
108. māristān al-Mu'ayyad converted into a mosque - 1422 - Kh 2:408 - I 257 - **50 S 4** (maristân al-qadîm)
109. M. al-Ashrafī - 1424 - Kh 2:330 - I 175 - **194 K 6**
110. M. Kāfūr al-Zimān - 1425 - Sulūk 4:2:760 - I 107 - **215 L 5** (Khurbatlî)
111. m. Fayrūz - 1427 - ITB, Nujūm 7:1:295 - I 192 - **398 L 8**
112. M. Jānībak - 1427 - Sulūk 4:2:746 - I 119 - **44 O 6**
113. M. Aḥmad al-Qammāḥ - before 1428 - Kh 2:331 - **141 E 10** (zâwiyat al-Shaykh Wahba)
114. M. Qāḍī Amīn al-Dīn - 1429 - Kh 2:331 - a. 156 O 8–9
115. m. Jawhar al-Lālā - 1430 - ITB, History 5:167 - I 134 - **133 R–S 5**
116. m. Shaykh Naṣr Allah - after 1430 - ITB, History 4:187 - I 5
117. M. Barsbāy - before 1434 - Darrāj, Barsbay, 414 - a. F 5
118. m. Jawhar al-Jalbānī - before 1438 - ITB, Nujūm 7:1:254 - a. 129 S 5–6
119. m. Jawhar Qunqubāy - before 1440 - Sulūk 4:3:1234 - I 97 - a. 151 K 5
120. M. Muḥammad al-Ghamrī - 1440 - Kh 2:331 - **197 F 7** (al-Sultan al-Ghamrî)

121. M. Taghrī Bardī - 1441 - Sulūk 4:3:1230 - I 209 - a. 123 U 8
122. M. al-Ṭawāshī Jawhar - 1441 - Sulūk 4:3:1230 - a. T 6

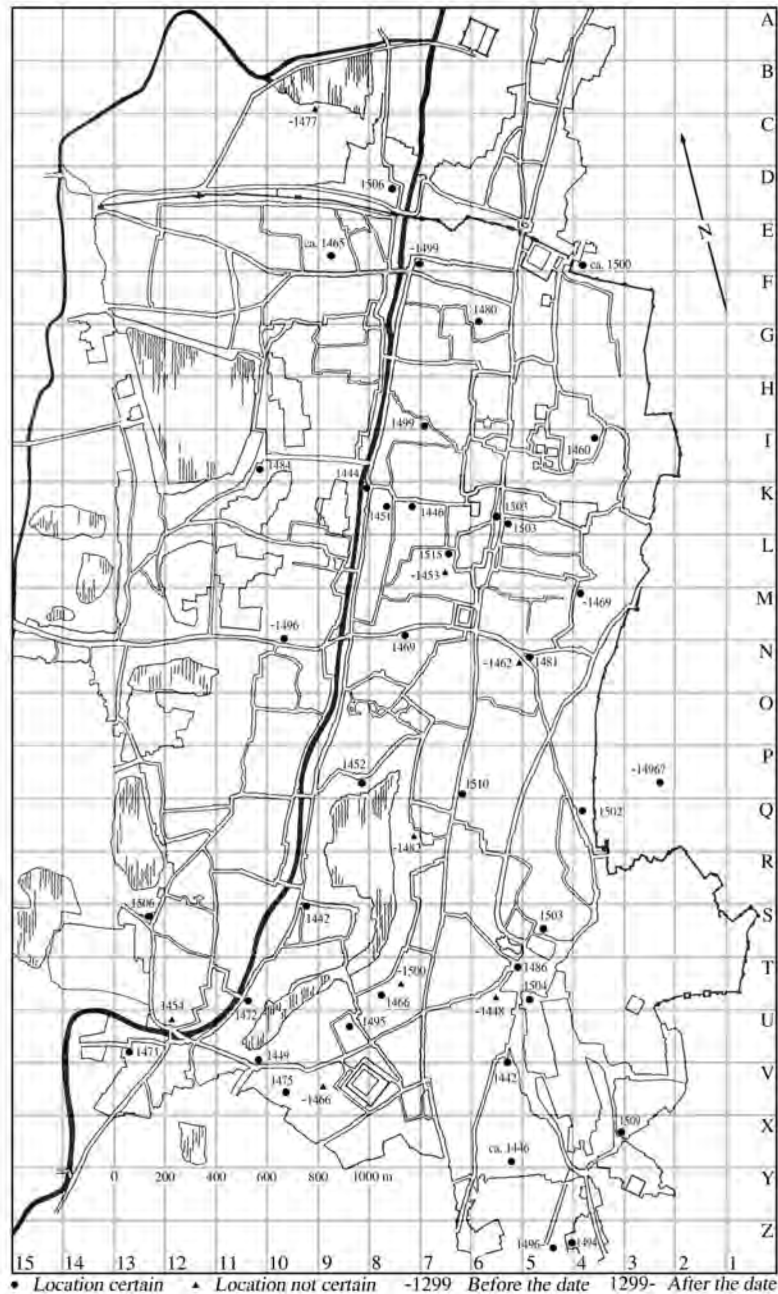
II. 1442–1517

123. m. Qānībāy al-Jarkasī - 1442 - IIW 1:309 - I 154 - **71 U 6** (Sarkasî)
124. m. Qarā Khujā - 1442 - Ibn T. B., Nujūm, 7:1:335- I 206 - **15 R 10**
125. M. Qāḍī Yahyá Zayn al-Dīn - 1444 - I 182 - **225 K 9** (Zayniyya)
126. m. Jamālī Yūsuf - 1446 - ITB, Nujūm 7:1:218 - I 178 - **216 K 8** (al-Khâsiyya)
127. M. Badr al-Dīn al-Wanā'ī - ca. 1446 - I 163 - **57 X 6** (al-Yanâ'î)
128. m. Jawhar al-Manjakī - before 1448 - Ibn T. B., Nujūm, 7:1:315 - a. T 6
129. M. Jaqmaq - 1449 - I 217 - **204 U 11** (al-Musallah)
130. M. Muḥammad Sa'īd Jaqmaq - 1451 - I 180 - **217 K 9** ('Umâr)
131. M. al-Qāḍī Yahyá - 1452 - I 204 - **19 P 9** (al-Sa'îd)
132. m. al-Zaynī Yahyá - before 1453 - ITB, History 6:38 - a. L 8
133. m. Bardbak - 1454 - ITB, Ḥawādith 2:209, 3:577 - a. 162 U 12–13
134. M. Bardbak - 1460 - ITB, Ḥawādith 3:577 - I 25 - **88 I 4** (Dardabakiyya)
135. m. 'Anbar al-Tanbadhī - before 1462 - ITB, Nujūm 7:773 - a. N 6
136. M. al-Shaykh Madyan - ca. 1465 - IIW 1:77- I 82 - **323 E 9**
137. m. Qānim min Safar Khujā al-Tājir- before 1466 - ITB, History 7:119 - a. V 9 - 149 U 8 ? (it may be the zâwiya Kûhiya of the *Description*)
138. M. Mughulbāy Tāz - 1466 - IIW, 1:21 - I 207 - **132 T 8** (al-Mi'mâr)
139. m. Sūdūn al-Qaṣrawī - before 1469 - I 105 - **118 M 5** (Saydûn)
140. M. al-Mar'ah - 1469 - I 195 - **386 M 8** (Mara)
141. M. Tamīm al-Rasafī - before 1471 - I 227 - **249 U 13** (Rusân)
142. M. Timrāz al-Aḥmadī - 1472 - IIW 1:77 - I 216 - **104 T 11** (Bahlûl)
143. M. Qāytbāy - 1475 - IIW 1:368 - I 223 - **199 V 10**
144. M. Qāḍī Aḥmad Ibn Jī'ān - before 1477 - IIW 1:149 - a. B 10
145. m. Abū Bakr Ibn Muẓhir - 1480 - IIW 1:284 - I 49 - **75 F 6** (Muzhiriyya)
146. m. Qijmās al-Isḥāqī - 1481 - IIW 1:272 - I 114 - **196 N 5** (Qismâs al-Barâdi'iyya)
147. m. Khāyrbak Ḥadīd - before 1482 - IIW 1:214 - a. 91 Q 8
148. M. Azbak - 1484 - IIW 1:132 - **177 I 11** (Yazbak)
149. m. Khushqadam - 1486 - IIW 1:253 - a. T 5–6
150. M. Qāytbāy - 1494 - IIW 1:338 - **11 Z 5**
151. m. Azbak al-Yūsufī - 1495 - IIW 1:350 - I 211 - **183 U 9** (Yazbak)
152. M. Qāytbāy? - before 1496 - **44 P 3**
153. M. Sulṭān Shāh - before 1496 - IIW 1:368 - I 239 - **53 N 10**
154. M. Azdumur - after 1496 - I 174 - **31 Z 5** (al-Zumur)

155. M. al-Ghamrī - before 1499 - IIW 1:465 - a. 284 E 8
156. M. Barakāt ibn Quraymīt - 1499 - IIW 1:464 - **145 H 7** (Qurumît)
157. masjid Tānībak Qarā - before 1500 - IIW 1:470 - a. 130 T 8
158. m. Jānbalāt - ca. 1500 - IIW 1:483 - **137 E 4**
159. M. Khayrbak - 1502 - I 248 - **78 Q 4** (Kharbakiyya)
160. M. Ghūrī - 1503 - IIW 2:54 - I 189 - **305 K 6**
161. m. Ghūrī - 1503 - IIW 2:48- I 67 - 303 K 6
162. M. Qānībāy Qarā al-Rammāh Amīr Ākhūr - 1503 - IIW 2:416 - I 136 - **130 S 5** (Amîr Yâkhûr)
163. M. Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī - 1504 - I 148 - a. 129 T 5
164. M. Qānībāy Qarā al-Rammāh - 1506 - IIW 2:416 - I 254 - **263 S 13** (Amîr Khûr)
165. M. Dashtūtī - 1506 - IIW 2:93 - I 12 - **404 D 8** (Tashtûtî)
166. M. al-Ghūrī - 1509 - IIW 2:156 - I 159 - **6 X 4**
167. m. Jānim al-Sayfī al-Bahlawān - 1510 - IIW 2:329 - I 129 - **102 P 7** (Shygânim)
168. m. Baybars - 1515 - IIW 2:441 - I 191 - **373 L 7**



Map 1. Mosques built between 1260 and 1441.



Map 2. Mosques built between 1442 and 1517.

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″It Has No Root Among Any Community That Believes in Revealed Religion, Nor Legal Foundation for Its Implementation″: Placing al-Maqrīzī′s Comments on Money in a Wider Context

I

It is certainly nothing new to state that the works of al-Maqrīzī have been one of the most important sets of resources used by scholars of the economic and monetary history of the medieval Middle East in general, and for the Mamluks in particular. His short treatises *Ighāthah* and *Shudhūr* are well known for their focus on economic matters, and his chronicle the *Sulūk* and topographical work the *Khiṭaṭ,* among others, also reflect the author′s concern with these issues.[1] As a result, one can scarcely pick up an article or chapter about Islamic money without finding the obligatory reference to Sauvaire′s nineteenth-century compilation of monetary and metrological citations, which contains more references to the works of al-Maqrīzī than any other author.[2] When it comes to the history of Mamluk Egypt, the reliance is even greater. This is clear if we examine the nuts and bolts of Mamluk monetary research. Citations to al-Maqrīzī′s many works are common in the ″Currency″ section of William Popper′s *Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrî Birdî′s Chronicles of Egypt*.[3] Paul Balog, the author *Coinage of the Mamlūk Sultans of Egypt and Syria,* relied primarily on French translations of some of al-Maqrīzī′s major texts for much of the historical context which he included in his works

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[1]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1940); *Shudhūr al-ʻUqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqūd,* ed. Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Sattār ʻUthmān (Cairo, 1990), and many other editions; *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʻrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Saʻīd ʻAbd al-Fattāḥ ʻĀshūr (Cairo, 1934–72); *Al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1270).

[2]Henri Sauvaire, ″Matériaux pour servir à l′histoire de la Numismatique et de la Métrologie Musulmanes,″ *Journal Asiatique,* 7 serie, 14 (1879): 455–533; 15 (1880): 228–77, 421–78; 18 (1881): 499–516; 19 (1882): 23–77, 281–327; 8 serie, 3 (1884): 368–445; 7 (1886): 124–77, 394–468; 8 (1886): 113–65, 272–97, 479–536. It is also worth noting that Isaac de Sacy had translated al-Maqrīzī′s *Shudhūr al-ʻUqūd* at the end of the eighteenth century.

[3]William Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382–1468 A.D.: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrî Birdî′s Chronicles of Egypt,* University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, no. 16 (Berkeley, 1957), 41–73.

about Mamluk numismatics.[4] Jere L. Bacharach, the first scholar to combine systematically the exploitation of Mamluk numismatic evidence with information derived from the many chronicles and other written sources, counted more than 850 references to money and prices in the *Sulūk* for the period from 1382 up to the end of the chronicle alone.[5] These citations have been the grist for many other studies.

Yet as any recent text on historical methods would point out, and as many of the papers of this conference have emphasized, using al-Maqrīzī´s oeuvre is not a simple matter of looking up what he says and plugging that into our work. As Cahen wrote, ″the very remarkable merits of this author are incontestable; but . . . it must be kept in mind that for the early periods he is, in the final analysis, in the same position as ourselves, and that his opinion cannot, therefore, bear the validity of formal testimony.″[6] The topic of al-Maqrīzī´s use of earlier sources has been much discussed and does not directly concern us here.[7] There is more to the question of al-Maqrīzī´s reliability and historical approach than chronology, however. What is also relevant are the prisms through which al-Maqrīzī viewed those economic matters both prior to and contemporary with him. As is clear to anyone who has read the *Ighāthah* and the *Shudhūr,* al-Maqrīzī was not an impartial observer of the events he described.

For example, al-Maqrīzī had much to say about the disastrous effects he concluded were the result of the Mamluks having put large numbers of *fulūs* into circulation. The following passage appears in his *Ighāthah* (written in 808/1405):

> Know—may God grant you eternal happiness and felicity—that the currency that has become commonly accepted in Egypt is the *fulūs.* They are used in exchange for all sorts of edibles, all types of drinks, and other common goods. They are accepted for payment of land taxes, the tithe on the profits of merchants, and other imposts

[4]Paul Balog, *Coinage of the Mamlūk Sultans of Egypt and Syria* (New York, 1964). Cf. Balog´s ″History of the Dirham in Egypt From the Fatimid Conquest Until the Collapse of the Mamlūk Empire, 358/969–922/1517,″ *Revue Numismatique,* 6 serie, 3 (1961): 109–46.

[5]Jere Bacharach, ″Circassian Mamlūk Historians and Their Economic Data,″ *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 12 (1975): 75–87.

[6]Claude Cahen, ″Monetary Circulation in Egypt at the Time of the Crusades and the Reform of al-Kāmil,″ in *The Islamic Middle East, 700–1900,* ed. A. L. Udovitch (Princeton, 1981), 331, n. 14.

[7]Cf. Donald Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography,* Freiburger Islam Studien no. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1970). Al-Maqrīzī´s sources for earlier Islamic history and his way of utilizing them are emerging from the studies by Frédéric Bauden. See his ″Maqriziana I: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method″ in this volume.

> due the sultan. They are used to estimate labor costs for all works, whether significant or insignificant. Indeed, the people of Egypt have no currency other than the *fulūs*, with which their wealth is measured. . . . This is an innovation and a calamity of recent origin. *It has no root among any community that believes in revealed religion, nor [does it have] any legal foundation for its implementation* [emphasis added]. Therefore, its innovator cannot claim that he is imitating the practice of any bygone people, nor can he draw upon the utterance of any human being. He can only cite the resultant disappearance of the joy of life and the vanishing of its gaiety; the ruination of wealth and the annihilation of its embellishments; the reduction of the entire population to privation and the prevalence of poverty and humiliation: ″That God might accomplish a matter already enacted″ (Q 8:42).[8]

What are we to do with such a jeremiad? On the one hand, it is clear to us today that there was nothing unique about the minting of copper coins in the Mamluk Sultanate. Not only are there many examples of copper coins issued by earlier Islamic dynasties, but al-Maqrīzī himself wrote about the issuance of copper coins in Egypt by the Ayyubid al-Malik al-Kāmil in the early seventh/thirteenth century (see below) and mentioned numerous other occasions of the minting of *fulūs*.[9] There are also many surviving specimens of Mamluk gold and silver coins minted in the first decade of the ninth/fifteenth century, the period when the *Ighāthah* was written, so other currencies clearly existed, although perhaps they were not in circulation but were hoarded.[10] On the other hand, it needs to be pointed out that what al-Maqrīzī seems to have been the most concerned with in this passage was the tremendous reliance on copper *fulūs* and its ubiquity in all facets of economic life—that it had usurped the roles reserved for gold and silver monies. This development was objectionable to al-Maqrīzī on two interrelated grounds; there was no basis for it in ″revealed religion″ nor any ″legal foundation″ for such a development. These reasons suggest that we need to examine the contemporary legal texts for what they have to say about money and its use if we wish to understand al-Maqrīzī′s point of view.

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[8] *Ighāthah,* 76. The translation is from Adel Allouche, *Mamlūk Economics: A Study and Translation of al-Maqrīzī′s Ighāthah* (Salt Lake City, 1994), 77.

[9] Cf. my ″Maḥmûd b. ʻAlî and the New *Fulûs:* Fourteenth Century Egyptian Copper Coinage,″ *American Journal of Numismatics* 10 (1998): 123–44.

[10] For an overview of monetary developments in Mamluk Egypt, see my ″The Monetary History of Egypt, 642–1517,″ chapter 12 of *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1, ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge, 1998).

This article thus provides a case study of a set of related issues and problems which have not been adequately discussed in the context of Mamluk monetary history. When it comes to al-Maqrīzī´s comments on the money and monetary policy of the Mamluks, I believe we would be well-served to adopt an approach that places al-Maqrīzī in the intellectual milieu of medieval Islamic economic thought. In other words, we need to understand what John Meloy has adroitly termed al-Maqrīzī´s ″economic *sunnah*.″[11] This article contributes to that goal by examining brief segments of al-Maqrīzī´s economic writings and then comparing those segments to similar material found in contemporary and near-contemporary *ḥisbah* and *fiqh* materials. It concludes with a discussion of the repercussions of this approach and the implications for future research.

II

While the office of *muḥtasib* was not everywhere the same across the expanse of the medieval Dār al-Islām, it is clear that a common matter of general concern of this economico-moral officer was the prevention of actions that resulted in usury *(al-ribā')*.[12] Al-Maqrīzī was twice appointed *muḥtasib* of Cairo during the period 801–803/1399–1401.[13] With that experience, and in light of the mentions of the duties of the *muḥtasib* which occur in al-Maqrīzī´s own writings, it is perhaps safe to assume that he was familiar with the *ḥisbah* manuals of the age.[14] One such *muḥtasib* manual was the *Nihāyat al-Rutbah fī Ṭalab al-Ḥisbah* by the Syrian author al-Shayzarī.[15] While al-Shayzarī was a twelfth-century author, his work

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[11]See his ″The Merits of Economic History: Re-reading al-Maqrīzī´s *Ighāthah* and *Shudhūr″* in this volume.

[12]See Claude Cahen and M. Talbi, ″Ḥisba (i). General: Sources, Origins, Duties,″ *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 3:485–88. Cf. Reuben Levy´s edition and abridged translation of Ibn al-Ukhūwah´s *Ma'ālim al-Qurbah fī Aḥkām al-Ḥisbah* (London, 1938). For an overview of the position of *muḥtasib* under the Mamluks, see Jonathan Berkey´s ″The *Muḥtasib* of Cairo under the Mamlūks: Toward an Understanding of an Islamic Institution,″ forthcoming in the proceedings volume of the International Conference on the Mamlūks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society, May 14–17, 2000, ed. Amalia Levanoni and Michael Winter. Kristen Stilt´s forthcoming Harvard dissertation, based upon extensive analysis of the Mamluk *ḥisbah* manuals preserved in al-Azhar, is a welcome development for those interested in the *muḥtasib* in Mamluk times.

[13]For a succinct overview of the conditions surrounding al-Maqrīzī´s short-lived career as *muḥtasib,* see Anne F. Broadbridge, ″Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: al-'Aynī, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 85–107, esp. 89–91.

[14]See *Khiṭaṭ*, 1:110, 463–64 for examples.

[15]'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Naṣr al-Shayzarī, *Nihāyat al-Rutbah fī Ṭalab al-Ḥisbah*, ed. al-Sayyid al-Bāz al-'Arīnī (Beirut, 1981). It has been translated by R. P. Buckley as *The Book of the Islamic Market Inspector: Nihāyat al-Rutba fī Ṭalab al-Ḥisba: The Utmost Authority in the Pursuit of*

was evidently popular among a Mamluk-era audience, as the number of surviving manuscripts known to have been copied during the Mamluk era may indicate. The two fourteenth-century Egyptian authors Ibn al-Ukhūwah and Ibn Bassām, for example, are known to have relied on al-Shayzarī´s work in their own.[16]

The following passage comes from chapter 30 of al-Shayzarī´s manual, devoted to regulation of money-changers:

> It is not permitted for anyone to sell gold coins for gold, nor silver for silver, except in the same quantities and by taking immediate possession. For if the money changer makes a profit when he is exchanging the same metal, or if he and the customer part company before possession is taken, this is unlawful. As for selling gold for silver, profit is permitted here, but credit and concluding the sale before delivery is made are unlawful. It is not permitted to sell pure coinage for that which is adulterated, nor to sell adulterated gold and silver coins for other adulterated ones, such as selling Egyptian dinars for those from Tyre, or those from Tyre for the same, or Ahadi dirhams for those from Qairouan because of ignorance as to their value and the lack of similarity between them.
>
> It is likewise not permitted to sell whole dinars for cut pieces of a dinar because of their difference in value. Nor is it permitted to sell dinars from Qashan for those from Sabur due to the difference in their composition.
>
> *It is also not permitted to sell a dinar and a garment for two dinars* [emphasis added]. Some money changers and cloth merchants occasionally practice this usury in another way. They give the buyer a dinar as a loan and then sell him a garment for two dinars, so that he owes them three dinars for a specified period when they will ask for it all back. This is unlawful and it is not permissible to do it with this condition because it is a loan bringing profit. If they had not loaned him the dinar, he would not have bought the garment for two dinars.[17]

Ḥisba, by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Naṣr al-Shayzarī, Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement 9 (Oxford, 1999). Very little is known about this individual´s life or career. Al-Shayzarī´s *madhhab,* for instance, is as yet undetermined.

[16]See Buckley, *The Book of the Islamic Market Inspector,* 14.

[17]This excerpt from R. P. Buckley´s translation of al-Shayzarī´s *Nihāyat al-Rutbah fī Ṭalab al-Ḥisbah,* 94–95. The passage appears in pp. 74–75 of the Arabic edition. A similar yet briefer passage occurs in Ibn al-Ukhūwah, p. 36 of the abridged translation and pp. 178–79 of the Arabic text.

The passage is concerned with eliminating practices that could lead to usurious and therefore illegal profit by forbidding transactions involving more than one type of coinage made from the same metal. The market manual thus condemns what was likely among the most common features of the contemporary marketplace: in a market where coins of multiple provenance, age, weight, and purity were in use (as both the Geniza and hoard evidence indicates was the case), it is hard to imagine transactions above the most petty day-to-day type always involving coins that were exactly the same type.[18] While neither the common folk nor the ulama may have been fully cognizant of the differences and variables amongst the circulating coinages, it is safe to assume that moneychangers and successful merchants were. It was, after all, a primary job of the *sayrafī* to determine value. While the dichotomy is not absolute, passages such as this one seem to represent an incongruity between the competing ideals of the moral economy of the jurists and the market economy of the moneychangers and merchants.

For my purposes, it is useful to compare the just-cited *ḥisbah* regulations about using multiple coinages in purchase transactions with the following passage from the *Ighāthah.* This story was related by al-Maqrīzī as the reason why the Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad caused copper coinage to be "introduced" into Egypt in 622/1225. In order to understand this passage, it needs to be stated that in 622/1225, silver dirhams of multiple alloyage were present in Ayyubid Egypt. One type was the *dirham wariq* (or *waraq*).[19] Another type was the silver coin issued under al-Kāmil, and therefore known as Kāmilī dirhams. Both the Kāmilī and *wariq* dirhams were low silver coins, of one-third silver content or less.[20] There were also higher quality silver coins still in circulation (from the reign of Saladin in particular).

> The reason behind their mintage for the first time in Egypt during the reign of [Sultan] al-Kāmil was the following: a woman stopped

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[18]S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society,* vol. 1, *Economic Foundations* (Berkeley, 1967), 229–72; and idem, "The Exchange-Rate of Gold and Silver Money in Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid Times: A Preliminary Study of the Geniza Material, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 8 (1965): 1–46. For the evidence derived from Mamluk-era silver hoards, see my "The Circulation of Dirhams in the Bahri Period," forthcoming in the Proceedings of the International Conference on the Mamlūks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society.

[19]For an overview of the monetary uses of the term *"wariq/waraq,"* see Michael L. Bates, "Wariḳ," *EI*[2], 11:147–48.

[20]Al-Maqrīzī's error in stating that the Kāmilī dirham contained two-thirds silver is discussed by Andrew Ehrenkreutz, "Contributions to the Knowledge of the Fiscal Administration of Egypt in the Middle Ages," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 16 (1954): 504. Cahen suggests the reason for al-Maqrīzī's error was his reliance on an incorrect report in al-Nuwayrī. See Cahen, "Monetary Circulation," 330, n. 46.

> the *khaṭīb* [preacher] of the mosque of Old Cairo, who then was Abū'l-Ṭāhir al-Maḥallī, and asked him for a legal opinion: ″Is it legally permitted to drink water?″
>
> He answered: ″O slave of God, what forbids the drinking of water?″
>
> She said: ″The sultan has struck these dirhams [i.e., the Kāmilī dirhams], and I buy a waterskin for half a dirham. I hand the water carrier one dirham and he gives me back half a dirham in *wariq*. Therefore it is as if I bought water and half a dirham from him for a dirham.″
>
> Abū'l-Ṭāhir disapproved of this. He met the sultan and discussed this matter with him. Hence [the sultan] ordered the minting of *fulūs*.[21]

What are we to make of this anecdote? One option would be to take it at face value as an accurate account of what really happened. That is how the account was treated by Hassanein Rabie.

> Al-Maqrīzī stated in *Ighatha* that the main purpose of striking large numbers of copper fulūs was to put a coin in circulation that would facilitate daily shopping for household items worth less than one *dirham* or part of it. He tells the story of a woman who asked Abi Ṭāhir al-Maḥallī, the *Khaṭīb* of the mosque of Miṣr [Fusṭaṭ], if drinking water was legal. When he asked her in turn what prevented her from drinking it, she said that the sultan had coined *dirham*s (she may have had Kāmilī *dirham*s in mind) and she bought a waterskin at 1/2 *dirham,* paid the water-carrier one *dirham,* and received 1/2 *dirham waraq* change. This obviously means that she had obtained from him water and 1/2 *dirham waraq* in exchange for one (Kāmilī) *dirham,* and was plagued by remorse that she had underpaid the water-carrier who was, perhaps, unaware of the difference in the value of the two coins of the same denomination. It is possible that al-Maḥallī knew nothing of transactions of this kind, either because it was wrong to give the water-carrier a Kāmilī *dirham* with its poor silver content instead of a *dirham waraq,* or because he feared that might lead to usury. Thus he consulted Sultan al-Kāmil, who ordered *fulūs* to be issued. This story indicates

[21]This translation found in Allouche′s *Mamlūk Economics,* 68–69.

> that *fulūs* fulfilled a real need, as there were no half or quarter Kāmilī *dirham*s in existence.[22]

Rabie accepted the story as true, and then proceeded to provide a moral explanation for the woman's question—she felt remorseful at the possibility that she had cheated the water carrier. His further explanation of al-Maḥallī's possible reasons for taking the action he did, however, is built upon a misunderstanding of the circulatory value of the *dirham wariq* which was of similar "poor silver content" as the Kāmilī. Moreover, his "obvious" conclusion is built upon a series of speculations (chief among them identifying which specific dirham type was used at each stage of the story) which, while plausible, reads a degree of specificity into the source that just is not there. Finally, his suggestion that the issuance of copper *fulūs* would fulfill the need for small change, while sound, ignores the situation that there was an inexact correlation between the actual silver coin objects (whether *wariq* or Kāmilī) and their unit of account (Rabie uses the term denomination). The surviving coins of both *wariq* and Kāmilī types are very irregular in weight, and it is most probable that both types were valued in direct proportion to their weight.[23]

Another alternative would be to consider the anecdote as apocryphal and to dismiss it as an after-the-fact attempt to provide a single causation explanation for the complex monetary events of al-Kāmil's reign. Admittedly, this was my reaction when I first encountered the passage some years ago. However, that view now strikes me as not particularly useful or insightful for it ignores some interesting features of the account. First of all, the general context of the anecdote—one of many dirhams in circulation—does match the situation described in the Geniza and other non-normative sources—that many different types of silver coins were in circulation, and that all were called dirhams.[24] (The lack of specificity in identifying coin types is also what one typically encounters in the contemporary sources.) Secondly, regardless of whether the conversation between the woman and the *khaṭīb* took place or not, the anecdote allows us to explore how al-Maqrīzī understood what happened. In the account, the woman said "it is as if I bought water and half a dirham from him for one dirham." This is a situation where silver was being exchanged for silver and merchandise, and is analogous—in all but the metal of

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[22]Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt* (London, 1972), 182.

[23]It thus more useful to think of the actual coins as fractional rather than as individually matching up with units of account like the quarter, half, or full *dirham*. For a succinct overview of the wider monetary context in which al-Kāmil's new coin issues took place, see Michael L. Bates, "The Function of Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid Glass Weights," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 24 (1981): 63–92.

[24]See notes 18 and 23.

the coin—to the example cited by al-Shayzarī where two dinars were exchanged for one dinar and a dress. It seems to me that this would have struck al-Shayzarī and al-Maqrīzī, or any other *muḥtasib,* as a forbidden transaction fraught with the possibility of usury.[25] If we still care to read remorse into the woman, it would thus be due to her having participated in a usurious act rather than cheating the water seller. Moreover, from the perspective of a *muḥtasib,* the primary value derived from this issuance of *fulūs* would not be from the convenience of providing small change for small transactions but from their reducing the possibility of wrongful transactions taking place involving different types of dirhams. This is also speculative, but I believe it reflects an aspect of the economic *sunnah* which al-Maqrīzī must have shared.

III

What is missing from this discussion, however, is the fact that the rich *fiqh* tradition produced before al-Maqrīzī's life had taken into account the existence of multiple coin types in the marketplace. Indeed, by the thirteenth century, as Brunschvig demonstrated, *fiqh,* "established in an age of pluralism and monetary fluctuation, commanded that coins not be taken at face value, but according to weight (allowing for alloyage), in order to insure honesty, as one would deal in any other form of merchandise."[26] Al-Maqrīzī did not acknowledge this tradition in the *fiqh* in either of his two monetary treatises. While we know that al-Maqrīzī's maternal grandfather was of the Hanafi *madhhab,* his father was a Shafi'i and al-Maqrīzī "opted for Shāfi'ism in early manhood."[27] Udovitch has detailed that the Hanafi *madhhab* had generated many regulations for commerce that permitted transactions involving types of coins of the same metal.[28] The Shafi'i tradition, meanwhile, tended to be more restrictive of commercial practices than the Hanafi, and al-Maqrīzī may thus have regarded some of those regulations which permitted the use of multiple coin types in one transaction as *ḥiyal,* which were more common within the Hanafi *madhhab* than the other schools.[29] *Ḥiyal* were intended to bridge the gap between legal theory and practice in order to expand the area in which commercial and other practices would be within the realm of shari'ah. In short, Hanafi law tended to recognize the needs of the marketplace.[30] While it is

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[25]The usury explanation was raised by Rabie but not developed.
[26]Cited by Cahen, "Monetary Circulation," 326. Cf. Robert Brunschvig, "Conceptions monétaires chez les jurists musulmans (VIIIe–XIIIe siècles)," *Arabica* 14 (1967): 113–43.
[27]Franz Rosenthal, "Al-Maḳrizi," *EI*[2], 6:193–94.
[28]Abraham L. Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit in Medieval Islam* (Princeton, 1970), especially 40–60.
[29]Joseph Schacht, "Ḥiyal," *EI*[2], 5:510–12.
[30]Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit,* 42–43.

admittedly speculative, al-Maqrīzī´s silence on these matters would seem more fitting of his Shafiʻi leanings.

Al-Maqrīzī´s attitudes toward the reprehensible copper coinage seem to support this. In addition to the passage cited in the first section of this article, al-Maqrīzī included longer rants against *fulūs* at two other points within the *Ighāthah*.[31] As Allouche has pointed out, underlying al-Maqrīzī´s blanket condemnation of *fulūs* is the Shafiʻi corpus condemning copper coinage in general, although again, al-Maqrīzī does not mention these Shafiʻi prohibitions explicitly.[32] It should be pointed out that one stream of thought within the Hanafi *fiqh* tradition was willing to accept currently circulating copper *fulūs* as capital suitable for the forming of partnerships.[33]

The extent to which the legal instruments allowed in commerce by any of the *madhhab*s were utilized in the Mamluk-era marketplace will likely never be known due to the non-survival of archival sources.[34] But while we have no Mamluk court records analogous to those from the late sixteenth century recently exploited by Nelly Hanna, those later records clearly indicate that the institutions and processes set up within the *fiqh* tradition to govern pecuniary affairs in a properly Islamic manner were at work slightly more than a century after al-Maqrīzī´s death.[35] Whether we posit their existence in the earlier Mamluk era is of course subject to our own judgments and methodologies. In any case, it seems safe to assess al-Maqrīzī´s view of the marketplace as being implicitly shaped by normative assumptions about moral economic behavior current at the time.

IV

Such an assessment recognizes that al-Maqrīzī´s discussions of economic events are, to paraphrase Bonner, discourses on history and the economy inextricably bound up with and part of the discourse on the norms of religious law.[36] We know that al-Maqrīzī was partial, but we must also recognize that he was viewing and recording events through a prism shaped by normative concerns as well as a desire to preserve an account of what happened. This prism—one he was unlikely

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[31] *Ighāthah,* 47, 66.
[32] Allouche, *Mamlūk Economics,* 20.
[33] Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit,* 52–55.
[34] To the best of my knowledge, the study of commercial and pecuniary regulations found in the Mamluk-era *fiqh* materials remains an under-developed topic, cf. M. Bernand, ″Muʻāmalāt,″ *EI*[2], 8: 255–57.
[35] Nelly Hanna, *Making Big Money in 1600* (Syracuse, 1998).
[36] Michael Bonner, ″The *Kitāb al-Kasb* attributed to al-Shaybānī: Poverty, Surplus, and the Circulation of Wealth,″ *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 121 (2001): 412.

to acknowledge—had, in the cases discussed above, significant problems meshing what should be (an ideal pure coinage of standard weight in circulation everywhere) with what actually was. But the desire to describe one of the prisms through which al-Maqrīzī viewed his world establishes the necessity of acknowledging the prisms through which we view him and his work.

For example, al-Maqrīzī has been called the "most vocal critic of Circassian monetary policy."[37] And it is true that he frequently placed blame for the economic decline of Egypt at the feet of the Mamluks in general, and specific individuals in particular. There are numerous examples of this in his works. A particularly illustrative case is that of Barqūq's *ustādār* Maḥmūd ibn ʻAlī, whom al-Maqrīzī fingered as the man responsible for the explosion of *fulūs* in circulation at the end of the eighth/fourteenth century. Al-Maqrīzī mentioned this case in the *Ighāthah, Shudhūr,* the *Sulūk,* and the *Khiṭaṭ*.[38] What I find most interesting about al-Maqrīzī in this and other such passages is his assumption of control. He was in effect saying "this individual did these things and bad things resulted." Now many have argued quite effectively that in economic matters, particularly as they relate to sources of precious metals and therefore currency supplies, the Mamluk Sultanate cannot be separated from regional and even hemispheric developments.[39] I am not interested here in dismissing al-Maqrīzī explanations of complex economic conditions by resorting to blaming specific individuals as reflecting the "simplicity of [his] medieval mind," as Ashtor put it,[40] but I am curious as to whether some of us moderns have not fallen prey to such "simple" mindsets as well.

Take, for example, assertions that the Mamluks had official monetary policies, or that they had official metallic standards (whether mono-, bi-, or tri-metallic), which the Mamluks consistently manipulated for their gain, or that they engaged in economic warfare through their coinage. All of these may be found scattered throughout the scholarship. Many scholars now argue that these assertions—and the degree of control they imply—are untenable, as I have discussed elsewhere.[41] All share a common assumption of Mamluk control over monetary matters. This is not surprising, since these assertions spring from economic theories derived and

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[37] Allouche, *Mamlūk Economics,* ix.

[38] See Schultz, "Maḥmûd b. ʻAlî and the New *Fulûs*," 130–31.

[39] Cf. Boaz Shoshan, "From Silver to Copper: Monetary Changes in Fifteenth Century Egypt," *Studia Islamica* 56 (1982): 97–116; Robert Lopez, Harry Miskimin, and Abraham Udovitch, "England to Egypt, 1350–1500: Long-term Trends and Long-distance Trade," in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, ed. M. A. Cook (London, 1970), 115–28.

[40] Eliyahu Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1976), 305.

[41] For an overview of these issues and essential bibliography, see my "Monetary History of Egypt," 319–24.

delineated in an age when states and central banks could control the money circulating within set borders. But did the Mamluks, or any other pre-modern dynasty for that matter, in fact have this control? There was no Mamluk Central Bank, nor was there a Mamluk Greenspan-Dār presiding over a Mamluk Federal Reserve Board, yet like al-Maqrīzī′s attempts to pin problems on officials such as Maḥmūd ibn ʻAlī the *Ustādār* or others, some continue to explain developments as if there were.

I think our assessment of Mamluk monetary history in its entirety, from the issuing of new coin types to attempts at recall of old, from the use of ″foreign coins″ to attempts to manipulate exchange rates, all of it, needs to be looked at from a different starting point. One that views ″official″ Mamluk governmental economic activities as essentially and primarily reactive in nature. One where the initial assumption is that the Mamluks could only react to economic developments; they could not control them in the long run—any more than they could control the wider regional trade and economic developments. They could, of course, perhaps hope to benefit in the short term from their reactions to these developments, but that is the extent of their control. What I am proposing here is analogous to that which Udovitch argued that in the seminal article ″From England to Egypt,″ that while Mamluk policies likely exacerbated Mamluk economic decline, the long-term underlying factors—such as the plague, shifts in regional trade patterns and goods, etc.—were not under their control.[42]

This perspective changes everything. We need to consider, for example, that the Mamluks could not control the bullion (in the form of coins) that circulated in their domains—not because I say so but because there is no evidence that indicates that they could. There were no active gold, silver, or copper mines in Egypt in the Mamluk period, as far as can be determined. All bullion thus had to come in trade, from booty (an obvious example is Armenian silver), or from existing stocks. If instead we accept at face value what the sources also tell us about the Mamluks′ constant need and demand for money, then it should be readily apparent that they had no vast reservoir of specie that they could use to manipulate monetary markets. When the Mamluks accepted and used whatever coin they could find of gold and silver, terms like ″official money″ become meaningless. This is not simply saying that the market is king, although clearly the relative supply and demand of specie at any instance could have a tremendous effect on exchange rates. It is saying that just as we must examine al-Maqrīzī′s operating assumptions, we need to re-examine the assumptions underlying our explanatory theories. Since there is no evidence that the Mamluks could control the money circulating in their domains, all those explanations based on the rules which need that assumption, such as those that

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[42]″From England to Egypt,″ 120–28.

invoke Gresham′s Law, are rendered problematic.[43]

As a final example, we can look at what Allouche has to say about the events of 806/1403-4, which al-Maqrīzī stated was the starting point of the ″current situation″ he described in the *Ighāthah*.[44] Citing from the *Sulūk* account of that year, Allouche places great emphasis on two events said to have taken place.[45] The first was a declaration that copper coins were to pass henceforth by weight, and not by count. The second was a declaration that the *darāhim min al-fulūs* was ordered to be the basis of the monetary system. Two objections to Allouche′s interpretation of these events need be raised. With regards to the first, there was nothing unusual about the declaration to accept *fulūs* by weight rather than count.[46] In fact it was a relatively common occurrence in the first half of the eighth/fourteenth century.[47] Weighing *fulūs* appears to have been a tactic used to control the valuation of copper coinage whenever there were large numbers of *fulūs* in circulation, which there most certainly were in 806. Second, the passage in the *Sulūk* says nothing about a fundamental reordering of the Mamluk monetary system. All it says is that the *Qāḍī al-Quḍāh* ordered that the rates paid for various things be written in *fulūs* and not in dirhams.[48] It makes more sense to me to see this as reflecting the contemporary prevalence of copper in the marketplace and acknowledging its widespread use for payment. If we are to read anything into this development, it is that copper was now accepted for payment of fees owed to the Mamluk regime, not that it was henceforth the ″official money″ of the sultanate.

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[43]For a study describing the limitations of the traditional Gresham′s Law from the perspective of two economists, see Arthur J. Rolnick and Warren E. Weber, ″Gresham′s Law or Gresham′s Fallacy,″ *Journal of Political Economy* 94 (1986): 185–99.

[44]Allouche, *Mamlūk Economics,* 16–19.

[45]*Al-Sulūk,* 3:1111–17.

[46]Ibid., 1112.

[47]See my ″Mamluk Egyptian Copper Coinage Before 759/1357–58: A Preliminary Inquiry,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5 (2001): 25–43.

[48]*Al-Sulūk,* 3:1117. Significantly, the terminology used is *bi-al-fulūs,* and not *bi-al-darāhim min al-fulūs.*

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The Merits of Economic History: Re-Reading al-Maqrīzī's *Ighāthah* and *Shudhūr*

Historians have long recognized the importance of economic issues in al-Maqrīzī's writings and the value of his historical works as sources for economic data. Clearly economic matters figure largely within his legacy. His two short books in particular, *Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah* (Saving the community by examining its distress) and *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqūd* (Pearls of the divine ordinances concerning money), have been used ever since the days of A. I. Silvestre de Sacy at the end of the eighteenth century as key sources for the economic history of Mamluk Egypt. The *Ighāthah* and the *Shudhūr* have traditionally been characterized as histories of economic phenomena or, more recently, as critiques of the economic policy of the Mamluk regime. However, the importance of these two books lies not in their value as economic histories or in their criticism of the sultanate but rather in the insight they give on al-Maqrīzī's approach to economics and his use of knowledge of the past. Clarifying al-Maqrīzī's intentions in writing these works is a necessary first step toward assessing his views on the economy and its role in history.

As Adel Allouche has noted, the *Ighāthah* has been known as an account of famines in Egypt since the early nineteenth century. In the introduction to his translation of al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* Étienne Quatremère summarized the contents of the *Ighāthah* and referred to it as "The Treatise on Famines," although he also admitted that the manuscript he read did not include the title.[1] Decades before Quatremère, Silvestre de Sacy had encountered the title of the *Ighāthah,* which is mentioned in al-Maqrīzī's *Shudhūr,* but had not read the text itself, translating it as "Remède offert au public contre le chagrin." Towards the end of the nineteenth century, H. Sauvaire relied heavily on data in the *Ighāthah* and the *Shudhūr* to produce his extended study of Islamic numismatics and metrology.[2] Sauvaire used manuscript versions of both texts from the Bibliothéque Nationale, but was also familiar with the translations of both texts and retained the translated titles in referring to the works. It was, however, Quatremère's version of the title

[1]Étienne Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte* (Paris, 1845), 1:xv.

[2]For the articles on numismatics, see: H. Sauvaire, "Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes," *Journal asiatique* (7th ser.) 14 (1879): 455–533; 15 (1880): 228–77, 421–78; 18 (1881): 499–516; 19 (1882): 23–77, 97–163, 281–327.

that stuck, no doubt in great measure because in 1940, the editors of the standard edition of the treatise, Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shayyāl, stated categorically in their introduction that the *Ighāthah* "deals with the history of famines which descended on Egypt from most ancient times to the year 808 H."[3] No doubt this view further confirmed in the mind of Gaston Wiet that Quatremère's title had "the advantage of clearly defining its subject," and he went on to express the opinion that the "Treatise on famines is rather more explicit than the translation from Arabic of the actual title."[4]

Adel Allouche was the first scholar to challenge this long-standing interpretation of the work and he duly warned readers of his English translation and study of the text, published under the title *Mamluk Economics,* that Wiet's understanding—expressed in his title and in his French translation—"fails to account for the essence and scope of the work."[5] In contrast to Wiet's reading of the text, Allouche concluded that it was "a critique, if not an outright indictment, of the Circassian administration's economic and monetary policy."[6] Allouche's approach will be discussed further below, but it is important here to note that his contribution effectively transformed the modern conception of the text from a straightforward economic historical narrative to a more abstract argument, based on the term "inflation" as a more accurate reading of the operative concept in the work, *ghalā*'. Allouche's reading thus re-conceptualized the text from a history of famines to an attack on the economic policies of the Mamluk Sultanate.

The reading of *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd* has had a less complicated history although it has followed a similar trajectory. Since the end of the eighteenth century, the text has been regarded as a straightforward treatise on money. Silvestre de Sacy published his French translation under the title *Traité des monnoies musulmanes,* using also the literal translation of the short Arabic title, "Les perles des colliers." His translation was undertaken in part as a corrective to the errors contained in O. G. Tychsen's edition and Latin translation, published in the same year under the title *Historia monetae Arabicae*.[7] Indeed, Silvestre de Sacy expressed his admiration

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[3]Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1940/1359), page *alif.*

[4]Gaston Wiet, "Le traité des famines de Maqrīzī," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 5 (1962): 1; Adel Allouche, *Mamluk Economics: A Translation and Study of al-Maqrīzī's* Ighāthah (Salt Lake City, 1994), 5.

[5]Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 5.

[6]Ibid., 13.

[7]A. I. Silvestre de Sacy, "Traité des monnoies musulmanes," originally published in *Magasin Encyclopédique*, 1796, IIe année, 6:472–507, and IIIe année, 1:38–89. I have used the edition published in *Bibliothéque des Arabisants Français* (1st ser.), vol. 1 (Cairo, 1905). O. G. Tychsen,

for the text, noting that ″al-Maqrīzī′s ideas [were] more true to real monetary principles than many writers of our century.″ He also noted that, although ″[t]his short treatise on Arab money is not as complete as one would have hoped since it contains a number of inaccuracies,″ it is of ″great use″ to the study of Islamic numismatics.[8] Later scholars also treated the text as a treatise on the history of money. As mentioned above, Sauvaire used it in his series of articles on numismatics, referring to it as ″Traité des monnaies,″ and citing the Arabic title of the manuscript as ″Faṣl fī al-Nuqūd al-Qadīmah,″ a title used in some manuscripts of the text to refer to a particular section within it.[9] Anastase-Marie de Saint-Elie published an edition of the text under the title *Al-Nuqūd al-ʻArabīyah wa-ʻIlm al-Nummīyāt*.[10] L. A. Mayer published a facsimile of a Leiden manuscript—an autograph containing also his marginal notes and corrections—of the text, referring to it in a typescript note at the end of the text as ″al-Maqrīzī′s treatise on coins.″ In this brief note, Mayer stated that the second and third installments of his publication would consist of a translation with ″copious notes″ followed by a final recension of the text.[11] Daniel Eustache published his edition and French translation of *Shudhūr al-ʻUqūd* in a two-part article, ″Études de numismatique et de métrologie musulmanes,″ which appeared in *Hespéris-Tamuda* in 1969. The first part discussed money in al-Balādhurī′s ninth-century chronicle, *Futūḥ al-Buldān,* while the second part contained his edition, translation, and notes on the *Shudhūr,* in which he followed Silvestre de Sacy′s title: ″′Les perles des colliers,′ ou Traité des Monnaies.″ Eustache, like his predecessors, read the text as a scholarly treatise on money and weights, ″reproduced, with obvious modifications, from the treatise of al-Maqrīzī on famines.″[12] Muḥammad al-Sayyid ʻAlī Baḥr al-ʻUlūm, in his edition and study of the *Shudhūr,* also read the work as a study of Islamic numismatics and used the text as the principal part of his volume on Islamic money entitled *Al-Nuqūd al-Islāmīyah.*[13] As with the *Ighāthah,* Adel Allouche characterized the *Shudhūr* as an ″indictment of the monetary policy of the Circassians.″[14] The negative reading

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Historia monetae Arabicae (Rostock, 1797).

[8]″Traité des monnoies musulmanes,″ 9; my thanks to Dr. Robert Irwin for bringing to my attention Silvestre de Sacy′s appreciation of this technical aspect of the text.

[9]Sauvaire, ″Matériaux,″ 14 (1879): 486–87, n. 2.

[10]Anastase-Marie de Saint-Elie, *Al-Nuqūd al-ʻArabīyah wa-ʻIlm al-Nummīyāt* (Cairo, 1939), 21–73, based on manuscripts from Baghdad and Cairo.

[11]L. A. Mayer, *Shudhūr al-ʻUqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqūd,* facsimile Leiden MS Or. 560 Warn. (n.d.).

[12]Daniel Eustache, ″Études de numismatique et de métrologie musulmanes (II),″ *Hespéris-Tamuda* 10, fasc. 1–2 (1969): 95–190; the quotation is from p. 144, n. 1.

[13]Muḥammad al-Sayyid ʻAlī Baḥr al-ʻUlūm, *Al-Nuqūd al-Islāmīyah al-Musammá bi-Shudhūr al-ʻUqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqūd* (Najaf, 1387/1967); note his discussion on pp. 37–38.

[14]Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 20.

of the *Shudhūr* and the *Ighāthah* has been further enhanced by Warren Schultz´s brief reference to them as ″screeds.″[15]

The conclusion that the texts are fundamentally critiques seems to have arisen because he wrote them, including their scathing accusations, in response to particular episodes. The conclusion that these texts were written chiefly as histories has of course followed from the dominating presence of their historical information. Modern scholars who have used these texts have largely been interested in economic and monetary history. Consequently, the collective desire of scholars to gather data on Islamic economic history has led them to interpret the essence and scope of these works according to their empirical needs. The result has been that al-Maqrīzī has not been read on his own terms. Of course, the accounts can be used for the information they contain, but it is nevertheless important to appreciate that these data are part of an argument concerning particular economic situations and do not necessarily represent the comprehensive view of the past that Silvestre de Sacy, for one, had hoped to find.

While one cannot deny the historical approach and negative tone of these two texts, emphasis on these characterizations obscures ″the essence and scope″ of both works. To be sure, in these texts al-Maqrīzī excoriates Mamluk officials and sultans and chronicles economic phenomena. However, both texts share a number of features that indicate that his broader aim was to make prescriptions for the management of monetary affairs. First, they both concern specific episodes in Mamluk monetary policy—al-Maqrīzī discussed the episode of 806 (July 1403–July 1404) in the *Ighāthah* and that of 818 (March 1415–March 1416) in the *Shudhūr*. al-Maqrīzī believed these episodes were especially significant because they directly related to issues that struck at the heart of his understanding of the monetary economy.

Furthermore, while large portions of both texts contain accounts of economic and monetary history, these narratives are part of broader arguments about the implementation of economic policy, which al-Maqrīzī believed could be addressed by means of monetary policy. Accordingly, al-Maqrīzī concluded the argument of each text with his recommendations for how the Mamluk regime should conduct Egypt´s monetary affairs. In writing these texts, he was following the Islamic literary tradition of *nasīḥat al-mulūk,* advice for rulers, as much as the tradition of *tārīkh,* history proper. In *Ighāthat al-Ummah,* he offered this advice in an attempt to save the community from a difficult economic situation, while in *Shudhūr*

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[15]Warren Schultz, ″Mamluk Monetary History: A Review Essay,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 193. Schultz gives an earlier assessment in his ″Mahmûd ibn ʻAlî and the ′New Fulûs′: Late Fourteenth Century Mamluk Egyptian Copper Coinage Reconsidered,″ *American Journal of Numismatics* (2nd series) 10 (1998): 130.

al-ʻUqūd he offered the Mamluk sultan religiously sound advice concerning the management of money. *ʻUqūd* is read in the sense of ordinances—obligatory bonds imposed by God, rather than necklaces: Quran 5:1: ″O believers, fulfill the bonds″ *(al-ʻuqūd)*.[16] In either case, al-Maqrīzī presented the collective knowledge in these texts as strings of pearls of divinely inspired wisdom concerning the economy and money. In the *Ighāthah* and the *Shudhūr,* he hoped to bring the conduct of the regime into line with religious teaching.

Like so many of his contemporaries whose writings constitute our access to the Mamluk past, al-Maqrīzī was a scholar trained in the religious sciences. After an upbringing influenced by his Hanafi grandfather, he followed his father as a Shafiʻi, although he later fell under the influence of the Zahiri legal tradition.[17] And like many of the ulama of his time, he also served the state in a variety of offices until his career was cut short and he devoted his life to writing[18]—on a tremendous variety of topics. Given his scholarly training and religious background, he quite naturally based his recommendations on principles presented as religiously prescribed economic practice. Consequently, al-Maqrīzī based his arguments in the *Ighāthah* and the *Shudhūr* on the prescribed practice of the religious tradition, a monetary *sunnah,* or on historically based meritorious behavior, a monetary *faḍā'il*—overlapping categories but both of which rely on a knowledge of received history and law. His primary objective in writing these texts was to ensure that the management of monetary affairs conformed to Islamic precedent and practice as he presented them in his texts. Thus his argument for monetary reform, using the idiom of religious scholarship, was grounded in knowledge of the past—a past expressed in terms of the prescribed practice of the Muslim community. Amalia Levanoni, in discussing the transition to Circassian rule, has described al-Maqrīzī′s historiographical approach as ″history in the service of faith.″[19] Consideration of his *Ighāthah* and *Shudhūr* shows that his economic history was not only in the

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[16]Arberry′s translation; other translations: ″obligations″ (Ahmed Ali), ″indentures″ (Marmaduke Pickthall).

[17]For details on al-Maqrīzī′s background, see Franz Rosenthal, ″al-Maḳrīzī,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 6:193–94. I thank Prof. Nasser Rabbat for clarifying the significance of al-Maqrīzī′s Zahirism during the conference. Al-Maqrīzī′s Zahiri tendencies are briefly mentioned by Rosenthal and by R. Strothmann, ″Ẓāhirīya,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 1st ed., 4:1192.

[18]On his career, see Anne F. Broadbridge, ″Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: al-ʻAynī, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 85–108.

[19]Amalia Levanoni, ″Al-Maqrīzī′s Account of the Transition from Turkish to Circassian Mamluk Sultanate: History in the Service of Faith,″ in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800)*, ed. Hugh Kennedy (Leiden, 2001), 93–105. This book arrived at AUB in the months after the conference and I was pleased to discover that my ideas and those of Professor Levanoni follow similar tracks.

service of the faith and the state, but was also guided by his faith. Examination of these texts in tandem—as expressions of his economic thought over the course of a decade—allows us to understand more fully his approach to and the development of his thought on economic matters, providing a more nuanced picture of an intellectual figure struggling with important affairs of his time.

806 and *Ighāthat al-Ummah:* Economic History as *Sunnah*

Al-Maqrīzī understood the crisis of 806 to be the result of a string of economic problems, culminating with actions undertaken during the administration of Sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj ibn Barqūq (r. 801–8, 808–15/1399–1405, 1405–12). In the *Ighāthah* and his other writings, al-Maqrīzī held Sultan Barqūq responsible for the monetary ruin of Egypt because of his appointment of the Ustādār, Maḥmūd ibn ʻAlī, who allegedly mismanaged the treasury and the minting of copper money in particular. The episode has attracted considerable scholarly attention and the discussion to a great extent has revolved around the plausibility of al-Maqrīzī's explanation—could one man have actually caused that amount of damage or was Egypt's economic crisis the product of larger economic forces?[20] There are still issues to be examined but most recently Warren Schultz has demonstrated, based on careful study of the numismatic and textual evidence, that "modern scholars should not be so quick to dismiss the accounts of Maḥmûd ibn ʻAlî."[21] The concern here is not with the matter of plausibility, and in any case, the story of Maḥmūd and Sultan Faraj is a part of the broader argument that al-Maqrīzī was making about money; rather the concern here is al-Maqrīzī's larger purpose in writing the *Ighāthah*.

Al-Maqrīzī's excoriation of Sultans Barqūq and Faraj and the Ustādār Maḥmūd in the *Ighāthah* may read like an indictment, but it is by no means the central feature of the text. The work as a whole consists of a carefully structured argument made explicit with clearly marked headings for its various sections. After a brief prologue, al-Maqrīzī started with "A Logical Premise."[22] In this section he presented his thesis that conditions in Egypt in 806 were exceptional in the sense that crises in the past were far worse, the evidence for which conclusion he supplied in his

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[20]See Eliyahu Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1976), 305; Jere L. Bacharach, "A Study of the Correlation between Textual Sources and Numismatic Evidence for Mamluk Egypt and Syria, A.H. 784–872/1382–1468," Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1967, 243–45.

[21]Schultz, "Mahmûd ibn ʻAlî," 144.

[22]I have cited both the edition by Ziyādah and al-Shayyāl as well as Allouche's translation. Quotations in English are generally taken from Allouche's translation although in some cases I have provided my own translation; the title here translated in full reads: "A section stating the logical introduction that comprises the whole work" *(qāʻidah kullīyah)*.

section entitled ″The [Years of] *Ghalā'* in Egypt.″[23] The exceptionalism of 806, the discussion of which is contained in a section entitled ″Current Prices and Present Ordeals,″ is also based on the notion that the conditions of the crisis were not an act of God, as were all previous crises, but were caused by human action and thus could be remedied by the adherence to legal practice concerning the management of money—a kind of ″monetary *sunnah*.″ The basis for this monetary practice he provided in a section entitled ″The Causes of Our Ordeals.″ Sound economics then was based fundamentally on religiously prescribed monetary practice; therefore, one can look to legitimate precedent as a guide.

Al-Maqrīzī advocated the return to a monetary system in which gold and silver were used as the basis on which to measure the value of economic transactions, a call for reform that Allouche mentioned but did not emphasize. Al-Maqrīzī′s argument was based on the Shafi'i doctrine that only gold and silver are valid metals for currency and that to use others would be to contravene the law and to cheat people of what they are due.[24] His argument, made all the more urgent by the desperate economic crisis of 806, was directed, as the title implies, at saving the community from the affliction of this crisis, and was based on, as Allouche noted, a thorough understanding of the etiology of the crisis. Al-Maqrīzī′s etiological approach is significant because he thought of the crisis as a disease that afflicted Egypt—the symptoms were known to all; nevertheless the cause was not obvious. Furthermore, the text, a description and analysis of the economic problem, culminated with his prescription—a section entitled ″The Means to Eradicate the Disease.″ For al-Maqrīzī, the etiology was understood by means of a historical understanding of the past. Such an understanding required first an account of the history of *ghalā'*—what Wiet translated as famine and what Allouche translated as inflation—and second an account of the history of money.

Before discussing the substance of al-Maqrīzī′s recommendation, it is important to address the question, who would apply the remedy? While the substance of the text appears to be a fairly dry and impersonal discussion of economic matters, one nevertheless gets the impression that he was not addressing the general readership of a treatise but rather that he was advising the more particular readership of a policy recommendation. Each major section of the work begins with an invocation for the assistance of God to help the reader—who is addressed directly—understand the argument, lending a rather personal quality to the work as a piece of deliberately argued advice: the first begins ″Know—May God support you with His mercy and

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[23]The title translated in full, ″A section setting forth what occurred in Egypt in times of dearth and anecdotes from those years.″

[24]Robert Brunschwig, ″Conceptions monétaires chez les jurists musulmans (VIIIe–XIIIe siècles),″ *Arabica* 14 (1967): 139–40; it is interesting to note Brunschvig′s observation that the Zahiri stance on the issue was not particularly rigid, p. 140.

guide you to comprehend him—that bygone events, however difficult experiencing them was, are engaging when recounted"; the second, "Know—May God guard your prosperity and protect you—that since the day God created mankind dearth has alternated with plenty . . . "; the third, "Know—May God protect and guide you, and not deprive you of His bounty and divine providence—that from reports that have reached us . . ." And so on.[25]

Clearly al-Maqrīzī was addressing someone whom he thought could rectify Egypt's economic condition by means of the reformation of its monetary policy and, in particular, the reformation of innovations introduced under the reign of Sultan Faraj. The colophon of the work dates the text to Muḥarram 808 (June–July 1405) but Allouche convincingly argues, on the basis of internal evidence, that the text could not have been composed before Jumādá I (October–November) of that year.[26] While Allouche notes that a reference in the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* indicates that a final draft may have been produced in Muḥarram 809 (June–July 1406),[27] the hypothesis is nevertheless worth considering that al-Maqrīzī may have taken advantage of the interregnum of al-Malik al-Manṣūr ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz ibn Barqūq, who reigned from Rabīʻ I until Jumādá II (August–December 1405), to submit his recommendations to be put into practice. One can speculate as well that he may have wanted to obtain for himself a position in the administration yet again—by that time he had been out of government service as *muḥtasib* of Cairo since Dhū al-Qaʻdah 807 (May 1405), at least his third term of service in that capacity since 801 (September 1398–September 1399).[28]

A more detailed recap of the recommendation's argument, including al-Maqrīzī's view of the crisis, shows how he used historical information on *ghalā'* and money to convince his reader of the efficacy of the prescription and it provides also the basis for understanding his analysis of the episode of 818. In his discussion, "The Causes of Our Ordeals," he observed that although the Nile failed to reach plenitude

[25]The others: the fourth, "Know—May God grant you toward every good and easy path, and on every grace a sign and a guide—"; the fifth, "Know—May God guard you with His sleepless eye and His fearsome might—"; the sixth, "Know—May God grant you eternal happiness and felicity—"; the seventh, "Know—May God guide you to your own righteousness and inspire you to follow the straight paths of your fellow humans—"; the eighth, "Know—May God embellish you with virtues, and protect you from the disgraces of vices—."

[26]Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 6–7.

[27]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʻrifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. Saʻīd ʻAbd al-Fattāḥ ʻĀshūr (Cairo, 1972), 4:28.

[28]Rosenthal, "Maḳrīzī," 193; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 3, 120, n. 12. On the extraordinary turnover in the position of *muḥtasib* during this period, see Allouche, 4, and Aḥmad ʻAbd al-Rāziq, "Le *ḥisba* et le *muḥtasib* en Egypte au temps des Mamluks," *Annales islamologiques* 13 (1977): 115–78.

in 796 and then excessively flooded the land the following year causing prices to rise, by 798 prices had returned to their pre-796 level. The price increase was a result of a shortage of seed while the supply of grain was especially low since a smaller quantity of land was cultivated in 796. By no means was this unusual: "This is characteristic of Egypt since ancient times," he wrote, "whenever the Nile delays in flooding, prices continue to increase for two years."[29]

In 806, however, when the Nile again failed to reach plenitude, one would have expected the situation to have improved within two years. But the ensuing grain shortage resulted in unusually high prices. This period of exceptional inflation was due, first, to officials intentionally maintaining high prices by withholding foodstuffs. al-Maqrīzī closed this section with the account of the Ustādār Maḥmūd ibn ʿAlī who increased the production of copper currency and stopped the production of silver currency. But it was not until his discussion entitled "Current Prices and Present Ordeals" that he explained that the inflation of 806 also resulted from the proliferation of *fulūs* and the disappearance of dirhams:

> *[Fulūs]* are used in exchange for all sorts of edibles, all types of drinks, and other common goods. They are accepted for payment of land taxes, the tithe on the profits of merchants, and other imposts due the sultan. They are used to estimate labor costs for all works, whether significant or insignificant. Indeed, the people of Egypt have no currency other than the *fulūs,* with which their wealth is measured. . . . This is an innovation *(bidʿah)* and a calamity of recent origin. There is no basis for it among the community of believers and there is no foundation for it in legal practice *(ṭarīqah sharʿīyah).*[30]

Thus al-Maqrīzī presented the uncanonical management of the monetary system as the fundamental cause of the crisis. It comes as no surprise, then, that the rectification of this unlawful innovation was the principal feature of his recommendation.

His argument that the inflation of 806 required special consideration, then, was founded on his history of "*Ghalāʾ* in Egypt," and his history of money in Egypt. The latter history, included in his second major section after the "Logical Premise," entitled "The Causes of Our Ordeals" (but which Allouche broke into a separate section entitled "Currency"), was a chronological compilation of didactic reports prescribing models for proper monetary management. His account may be

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[29]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 42; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 51.

[30]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 76; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 77; the last sentence is my translation.

divided into two parts: currency of the caliphs up until the ninth century followed by an account of currency in Egypt. His discussion on currency starts with his appeal to the reader to "Know . . . that the currency that has been used to determine prices of goods and costs of labor consists only of gold and silver."[31] The rest of the account, what has been construed as a history of money, runs in a similar vein. He constantly reminded the reader that gold and silver alone have always been recognized as the only legal tender. The account then comes across as a chronologically ordered compilation of "monetary hadith," starting with Adam: "In fact, it is said that the first to mint the dinar and the dirham was Adam, who said that life is not enjoyable without these two currencies. This was related by al-Ḥāfiz Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571/1176) in his *Tārīkh Dimashq*."[32] Al-Maqrīzī offered reports, assessed in terms of hadith scholarship, from the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods to argue for the exclusivity of gold and silver: "According to all reports, either valid or invalid (*fi khabar saḥīḥ wa-la-saqīm),* no nation or group of people is ever known to have paid for goods or remunerated for works in ancient or recent times in a currency other than gold and silver."[33]

After stating this thesis about money, al-Maqrīzī explained:

> I shall narrate to you some reports in this regard to illustrate the veracity of what I have pointed out. I say—seeking the help of God my Lord, indeed He is the only Protector—know—may God increase your knowledge and grant you intelligence and comprehension—that the dirham was, and still is, the currency of mankind at all times, so that it is said that the first to mint dinars and dirhams and make jewelry out of gold and silver was Fāligh son of Ghābir son of Shālikh son of Arfakhshad son of Sām son of Noah, since whose time people have [always] used currency.[34]

Of course, it was the lack of dirhams that was precisely the problem in 806 and it was by means of such reports that al-Maqrīzī hoped to convince his reader that he should follow the practice of his illustrious predecessors like the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān by re-issuing dirhams:

> The dirhams struck by 'Abd al-Malik had three merits *(faḍā'il):* first, they [conformed to the rule] that the weight of seven *mithqāl*s

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[31]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 47; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 55.

[32]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 47; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 55–56.

[33]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 47; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 55.

[34]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 48; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 56.

> equaled that of ten dirhams. Second, ʻAbd al-Malik made the weight uniform: the dirham came to weigh six *dānaq*s instead of having large and small dirhams. Third, these [dirhams] were in conformity with the practice of the Messenger of God with regard to the obligation of [paying] *zakāt* without loss or excess. Thus, the Prophet′s tradition was followed and the Islamic community agreed on [the new dirham].[35]

His account of Islamic coinage ends with the ninth century Abbasid caliphs, and the entry of Turkish interlopers into high politics, where he found a convenient opportunity to foreshadow the problem he addressed at the beginning of the fifteenth century: ″Precepts of the divine law and religious prescriptions changed when the Turks innovated and invented ways that God did not allow, among which was the adulteration of dirhams.″[36] Al-Maqrīzī′s account of money in Egypt begins with the statement that gold has traditionally been used in Egypt and to support this he cited Abū Hurayrah, the companion of the Prophet and narrator of his traditions. It was in this section that he finally explained the introduction of copper money—he had to account for it at some point—attributing it to the reign of the Ayyubid sultan al-Kāmil (r. 615–35/1218–38). But he justified the use of copper for the purchase of ″goods of insignificant value,″ and stated that al-Kāmil′s innovation was legally sanctioned with the approval of one Abū al-Ṭāhir al-Maḥallī.[37] His failure to explain its existence prior to that time conformed to the widespread conviction that it was not worthy of discussion. For example, in the *Muqaddimah* Ibn Khaldūn consistently disregarded copper in his discussions of money, as do al-Maqrīzī′s sources in the *Ighāthah* such as Abū Yūsuf′s *Kitāb al-Kharāj*. It would seem that rather than deliberately ignoring the existence of pre-Ayyubid *fulūs,* al-Maqrīzī was not able to state that any legal authority had permitted it until the time of al-Kāmil. After all, its legality was his main concern.

In his account of *ghalāʼ*, al-Maqrīzī traced the history of ″all kinds of catastrophes and ordeals″ in Egypt starting with the ancient king Afraws son of Manāwash and ending with Sultan al-Ashraf Shaʻbān (r. 764–78/1363–76). His point here was that these ordeals have been caused by ″natural catastrophes sent by God″ but that the ordeal of 806 ″differs from the aforementioned disasters″[38] and may be explained by human corruption: the acquisition of positions by means of bribery, the artificially

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[35]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 56; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 61.

[36]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 61; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 65.

[37]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 62–63, 66–67; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 66, 68–69.

[38]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 41; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 50.

imposed high cost of land, and the deliberate overproduction of *fulūs*.[39] The thrust of this argument is sharpened when we consider that al-Maqrīzī was making an argument about the concept of *ghalā',* a notion that is weakened in Allouche's otherwise effective translation since he uses a variety of terms—inflation, rise in prices, dearth, etc.—to denote a central feature of al-Maqrīzī's argument.[40] If we use one of Allouche's terms, "dearth," which connotes a rise in prices as well as a scarcity, the latter of which does not necessarily occur with inflation, we see more clearly that al-Maqrīzī was in fact using all of these episodes as a single phenomenon of analysis to demonstrate that dearth, historically caused by the natural order, could in fact be a disease with an entirely different etiology—similar symptoms, different cause. His point was that the dearth of 806 was fundamentally different from previous episodes, as Allouche himself observed,[41] and that it was theoretically monetarily treatable because it was an inflationary event caused simply by the overproduction of copper money and the resulting replacement of silver as a legal tender with copper—which could never be a legal tender according to religious teaching. Accordingly, the crisis could only be alleviated by human action guided by religiously prescribed economics. The histories of *ghalā*' on the one hand and money on the other, thus, converged in 806 to make the year unique in Egypt's history.

With the influx of copper currency in the Egyptian economy it became standard practice to measure value, not in terms of gold and silver as had previously been practiced, but rather in a money of account known as the *dirham min al-fulūs*—that is to say, a silver dirham's worth of copper money.[42] With the cessation of the minting of silver, dirhams became so rare that they were available, he claimed, only through auction. But people were accustomed to thinking in terms of dirhams and in effect it came to exist only as an abstract quantity of value used to measure copper coins. This practice led to the widespread use of *dirham fulūs* to measure values of goods and labor costs—a legally untenable situation that was unacceptable from al-Maqrīzī's point of view. The dirham of account came to be unreliable in its value—he claimed that in Cairo the *mithqāl* equaled 150 dirhams of account while in Alexandria the *mithqāl* equaled 300 dirhams of account. "This caused a catastrophe that rendered money useless and foodstuffs scarce; at the same time, necessary goods became unavailable because of the variety of currencies. It is

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[39]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 43–46, 47 ff; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 52–54, 55 ff.

[40]Allouche, *Mamluk Economics:* "dearth" (pp. 27, 33, 46, 50); "a period of inflation" (pp. 31, 36); "famine" (pp. 27, 28, 29, 37, 40, 41, 47, 49); "grain shortage" (pp. 29, 40, 48); and "high prices"/"prices increased" (pp. 29, 40, 44, 51).

[41]Ibid., 13.

[42]Schultz, "Mamluk Monetary History," 188.

feared that if this should continue the population of this country will be in an unbearable situation."[43] And this "unbearable situation" leads us to the heart of the problem.

The inflation of 806 was most obviously exceptional because of its differential effect on the populace. Natural disasters affected everyone, but not the inflation of 806. After a lengthy disquisition on prices, al-Maqrīzī concluded, "Anyone who considers these prices in light of the rate of gold and silver will realize that they have increased only slightly, but if he considers them in relation to the abundance of *fulūs* that has afflicted the people, he will find this is a frightening abomination that is too odious to mention."[44] Perhaps he should have said "too odious to mention *again*," since in fact he mentioned the abomination earlier in the text in his "Description of the Population,"[45] in which he argued that the inflation of 806 affected different categories of society in different ways. Those who were in a position to negotiate their income generally did pretty well. Merchants "content themselves only with larger profits, even though a few hours later they will spend the amount they have gained on necessities."[46] Those dependent on fixed incomes, like *waqf* employees—a group, of course, near and dear to al-Maqrīzī's heart—did poorly.[47] If this had been a normal period of *ghalā'*, everyone would have been affected.

Al-Maqrīzī's solution here was simple—to re-introduce a silver currency so that values would be based on gold and silver rather than arbitrary values of copper. As mentioned above, the text culminates with a section entitled "The Means to Eradicate the Disease,"[48] in which al-Maqrīzī outlined his recommendation: "Whenever God guides the person who is entrusted with the destiny of His subjects to the right path, he should respect the gold-silver ratio when striking silver currency. This will lead to an end to this general decay and to a return of prices and costs of labor to the level that existed prior to these ordeals."[49] This view is based on the conviction that:

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[43]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 72; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 72.

[44]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 79; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 79.

[45]The full title translated: "A section stating the division and categories of the population *(al-nās)* and an explanation of all their conditions and characteristics."

[46]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 74; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 75.

[47]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 75; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 75.

[48]The full title translated reads, "A section on eradicating this disease from mankind and setting out a remedy for the disease of the era."

[49]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 81; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 81.

> the currencies that are legally, logically, and customarily acceptable are only those of gold and silver, and that any other [metal] is unsuitable as a currency. By the same token, the situation of the people cannot be sound unless they are obliged to follow the natural and legal course in this regard [i.e., the currency], namely, that they should deal exclusively with gold and silver for pricing goods and estimating labor costs.[50]

The solution was directed at relieving the community of the unfair and difficult conditions produced by the inflation of 806. He concluded his recommendation in "A section explaining the benefits of this plan *(tadbīr),* the gain of which will help the populace":

> If God would guide those whom He has entrusted with the welfare of His servants to reinstate gold as the exclusive basis for transactions as it was previously—to link the value of goods and of all [types of] work either to the dinar or to minted silver that would later be adopted as currency and thereby reinstate the silver dirham as [the unit] for measuring the price of goods and the cost of labor—this would lead to the succor of the community, the amelioration of the [general] situation, and the checking of the decay that heralds destruction.[51]

Not only was this solution simple, but it was also doomed to fail, as al-Maqrīzī later recognized. But the gist of his argument was that the use of copper as a currency, that is, as a primary means of measuring and storing value and as a means of exchange—distinct from a means to facilitate a transaction by simply making change—was anathema not so much because corrupt officials were making money off of it, but rather because it contravened the law and "monetary *sunnah*." In *Ighāthat al-Ummah,* al-Maqrīzī's concluding advice is presented in his guise as a *muḥtasib* of the monetary economy of Egypt, "commanding right and forbidding

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[50]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 80; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 80. This attitude about the exclusivity of gold and silver was by no means unusual. Among his contemporaries, Ibn Khaldūn advocated an exclusive status for gold and silver; *Muqaddimah,* trans. Franz Rosenthal (New York, 1958), 3:277: "It was God's wise plan that gold and silver, being rare, should be the standard of value by which the profits and capital accumulation of human beings are measured"; also see 1:168; 2:313. The reluctance of a central authority to administer base coinage is by no means unusual; for example, Queen Elizabeth I declined to undertake such a project; John Craig, *The Mint: A History of the London Mint from A.D. 287 to 1948* (Cambridge, 1953), 248.

[51]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 82–83; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 83.

wrong˝ *(al-amr bi-al-maʻrūf wa-al-nahy ʻan al-munkar)*. In this regard he was acting in a long Shafiʻi tradition.[52]

Subsequent events, however, afforded al-Maqrīzī the opportunity to test his solution and to modify his views on money—which brings us to 818 and his *Shudhūr al-ʻUqūd fī-Dhikr al-Nuqūd.*

818 AND *SHUDHŪR AL-ʻUQŪD:* MONETARY HISTORY AS *FAḌĀʼIL*

As mentioned above, *Shudhūr al-ʻUqūd* has typically been read as a source on the history of Islamic money, an approach that has largely obscured al-Maqrīzī´s intention in writing it. al-Maqrīzī wrote the *Shudhūr* in response to a directive to write ˝a refined précis on Islamic monetary matters˝ *(nabdhah laṭīfah fī umūr al-nuqūd al-islāmīyah).*[53] Scholars since Silvestre de Sacy have concluded that it was the Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (r. 815–24/1412–21) who made this request, and the substance of the text, as will be discussed below, bears this conclusion out. Thus the *Shudhūr* may be dated to the years 818–24, although al-Maqrīzī corrected an autograph manuscript in 841.[54] The request may have been for a treatise on money, or even a history, but as in the *Ighāthah,* al-Maqrīzī used the monetary situation of a particular point in time, which we may take as 818, to support an appeal for action.

Al-Maqrīzī, however, chose not to present his prescription in terms of rectifying *bidʻah* by means of adherence to economic *sunnah;* after all, his reliance on legitimate monetary practice in the *Ighāthah* failed to remedy the crisis of 806. Clearly, by 818 some adjustment was needed, and adjusting the *sunnah* would, of course, have been inappropriate. However, once again, he relied on history to address an economic issue using an approach that he alluded to in his earlier recommendation. By viewing the past in terms of the merits *(faḍāʼil*; sg. *faḍīlah)* of monetary precedent, he could sufficiently modify his conclusions in the *Ighāthah* from ten years before in order to produce an effective prescription. For al-Maqrīzī, sound economics then was based on the excellences of predecessors, which required a review of previous monetary exempla. By using the notion of such *faḍāʼil* to present his case, al-Maqrīzī in effect composed in the *Shudhūr* a monetary mirror

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[52]Michael Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge, 2000), 354.

[53]Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* ed. Baḥr al-ʻUlūm, 2; ed. Eustache, 97.

[54]Note that some of the manuscripts of the *Shudhūr* include the name of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh: ˝Inspire our master the sultan [al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh] with the . . . ,˝ while others simply state ˝the sultan.˝ But there is an ambiguity to the imperative appeals to ˝Our master the sultan,˝ which suggests that perhaps al-Maqrīzī´s corrections to the text in Ramaḍān 841 (February–March 1438) eliminated these so that the text could be used as an appeal to Barsbāy´s successor. Barsbāy fell ill in Shaʻbān 841 and died by the end of the year.

for princes. As with the other branches of Islamic statecraft, such knowledge required a grounding in the excellent examples of predecessors. History in the *Shudhūr* comes across clearly as a didactic subject and its role here was to provide advice for sound economic policy. The first part of the lesson may be summed up in the hadith he cited of Musaddad ibn Mirhad that "The dinar and the dirham sundered corruption forever."[55] But statecraft required addressing new circumstances, and al-Maqrīzī's recommendation to abolish the *dirham al-fulūs* was an attempt to ensure the continuation of meritorious rule.

It has been noted that the *Shudhūr* is largely taken from the section on money in the *Ighāthah* but al-Maqrīzī re-structured the information to suit his particular needs in this context. After prefatory remarks, he began the body of the text with a straightforward history of money organized into "A Section on Ancient Money," "A Section on Islamic Money," and "A Section on the Money of Egypt." Unlike the version in the *Ighāthah*, he ended the latter section with the episode in economic history that al-Maqrīzī wishes to address. Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh came to power in 815, supported by his allies and a pile of silver. In 817 he began minting, and in 818 officially announced, a silver dirham that became known as the Mu'ayyadīyah,[56] an event that answered al-Maqrīzī's call in the *Ighāthah* for a properly minted silver coinage to accompany the dinar. However, the production of silver did not initially have the effect that al-Maqrīzī had expected in 808, although he recognized later in the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* that the economic situation had indeed improved:

> [Shaykh] struck dirhams known as Mu'ayyadīyahs. People exchanged them by count (i.e., not by weight) during his time and the situation of the people improved so the currencies of Egypt become copper, gold in various forms and Mu'ayyadī silver. However, the currency circulating was *fulūs* and the value of labor and the price of goods were calculated in *[fulūs]* as stated earlier.[57]

Consequently he found it necessary in the *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd* to address more directly the issue of the *dirham min al-fulūs*.

The relationship of precious metal and base metal coinages is a central issue in the administration of money. It was a problem that plagued medieval monetary systems on both sides of the Mediterranean and which was not solved in a practical manner until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The requirements are simple:

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[55]Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* ed. Baḥr al-'Ulūm, 32; ed. Eustache, 133.

[56]Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* ed. Baḥr al-'Ulūm, 32; ed. Eustache, 133.

[57]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:943; this observation was recorded in his account of Sha'bān 838.

These coins should be tokens—the commodity value should be less than the monetary value, which thus requires that the state authorities should monopolize the issue of base metal coinage and guarantee its exchange with precious metal coins. Finally, the quantity of coins in circulation should be limited to the needs of the economy—determining this need was the most difficult problem to solve.[58] That al-Maqrīzī did not resolve the issue is not the concern here; rather, it is his effort to marshal the foundation for an economic prescription that warrants our attention.

Al-Maqrīzī organized the *Shudhūr* in such a way as to bring together two moments in Islamic monetary history for comparison of their respective *faḍā'il*. The bulk of the "monetary hadith" discussed in the *Ighāthah*'s section on money are found also in the *Shudhūr*. However, the central section of the *Shudhūr,* given the heading *Waṣl,* connects his historical account to his last section *(Faṣl)* where he makes his recommendations concerning copper money *(wa-ammā al-fulūs . . .)*.[59] The two moments are the issue of the dirhams issued by the Umayyad Caliph ʻAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān and their three merits, which he had cited in the *Ighāthah,* but where, unlike his discussion in the *Ighāthah,* his history of Islamic coinage begins, and the issue of dirhams by the Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh and their *six* merits, where his account of Egyptian money ends. He managed to present the merits of Shaykh's silver so as to double those of ʻAbd al-Malik by being slightly redundant: first, they conform to the *sunnah* of the Prophet; second, they follow the way of the believers in following the example of the Rāshidūn caliphs; third, they do not follow the way of the corrupt; fourth, they avoid the avarice of this world; fifth, they put an end to cheating; and sixth, they conform to the counsel of God and the Prophet.[60] For al-Maqrīzī, Shaykh's minting of silver coins in 818 was the culmination of his discussion of money in Egypt since they provided a legally prescribed basis for the regime's monetary system. Gold was not an issue; rather the issue was the presence of an illegal tender that was displacing the rightful role of silver.

In the *Ighāthah*, al-Maqrīzī had simply assumed that, given the proper supply of silver, people would naturally measure value according to gold and silver. In the *Shudhūr,* he explained his revised view:

> My astonishment was great that these Mu'ayyadī dirhams, which had the importance and merit that we have previously described,

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[58]Carlo Cipolla, "The Big Problem of the Petty Coins," in *Money, Prices, and Civilization in the Mediterranean World* (Princeton, 1956), 27, 31.

[59]Eustache translates *waṣl* as *transition;* p. 132.

[60]Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* ed. Baḥr al-ʻUlūm, 33–34; ed. Eustache, 133, 135.

> and our master the sultan having the power and the glory well-known to all, nevertheless, [simply] supplemented [the *fulūs*] and were counted according to the *fulūs* which God most high never made legal tender.[61]

He ended this statement by concluding that "The [coinage that] should supplement (i.e., copper) was supplemented [by silver]." In other words, the legally prescribed status of silver was perverted; what should have been a foundation of the monetary system became simply an accessory to the system. Mu'ayyadī dirhams, counted in terms of *fulūs,* were thus relegated to a subsidiary coinage. By expressing his astonishment, al-Maqrīzī acknowledged that the mere re-introduction of a silver coinage into circulation was an inadequate measure in itself to solve the monetary situation.

To remedy this unacceptable state of affairs, he made the plea: "O God! Inspire our master the sultan with the beneficence of the noble mission to scorn that his currency should supplement others and [rather] that his currency should make other currencies supplement it."[62] Al-Maqrīzī had recommended in the *Ighāthah* "to link the value of goods and of all [types of] work either to the dinar or to minted silver."[63] In the *Shudhūr,* al-Maqrīzī made his recommendation to the sultan more explicit: "to issue a whole decree to our masters the chief judges—God strengthen their religion—that they require the notaries to write land registers, building contracts, marriage contracts, and loan documents only in dirhams." He also recommended that the judges be directed to require that the *muḥtasib* enforce market transactions in dirhams and that government finances be counted in terms of silver currency.[64]

What to do about the copper coinage? In his account of the events of 806 in the *Ighāthah,* he associates the importation of copper with Maḥmūd ibn 'Alī's greed for profits. In the *Shudhūr,* aside from his remarks about Maḥmūd ibn 'Alī, he also observed that:

> the Franks undertook the transport of copper wanting to profit from it. The striking of *fulūs* continued for a number of years and the Franks took the dirhams of Egypt to their lands and the people here melted down the copper in demand for profit until it increased in price so that it was on the verge of being a legally valid [money].

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[61]Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* ed. Baḥr al-'Ulūm, 34; ed. Eustache, 135.

[62]Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* ed. Baḥr al-'Ulūm, 35; ed. Eustache, 135.

[63]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 82–83; Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 83.

[64]Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* ed. Baḥr al-'Ulūm, 35–36; ed. Eustache, 135, 137.

> The *fulūs* circulated to the degree that all goods were valued in it. It came to be said that the dinar was worth so many *fulūs*.[65]

In the *Shudhūr* he justified the importation of copper, the matter that had troubled him so much in the *Ighāthah.* His uncertainty betrays some hesitance in the matter but it would seem that, in principle, the importation of copper did not pose a danger: "It is hoped that God would eliminate this [period of] destitution with the beneficence of the noble mission (of minting silver coins) and," he continued,

> I hope—God willing—that the state of affairs would be alleviated [because] if one considers the disks of red copper imported from the land of the Franks, the price of a *qinṭār* of it, and the price of the *qinṭār* is added to the sum of what one spends on it at the mint until it becomes copper money. If that is known, one knows how much one spends for each dinar of copper coinage and if one knows how much each dinar of it is, one knows how much each Mu'ayyadī dirham is. And in this there is an honorable transaction *(shay' sharīf)*[66] . . . if this copper coinage is struck it becomes the currency of the people which is the Mu'ayyadī silver dirham and the Mu'ayyadī copper *fulūs.*"[67]

Al-Maqrīzī seems not to have been aware of the importance of regulating the quantity of copper money in circulation. To be sure, he had observed that the excess production of copper in the 790s led to the crisis of 806 but for him the greater problem was the loss of silver coinage. The implication of his hope, quoted above, was that if the minting was carried out at cost—without taking a profit—then all would be well. That is to say that normal demand would be sufficient to allow the authorities "to control the quantity of petty coins in circulation."[68] Thus the re-institution of silver coinage in 818 was the first part of the solution, what was required then was its use as a measure of value. What he did not fully grasp was the relationship between the two. His assumption that silver would "absorb," or be supplemented by, copper, becoming the primary means of monetary measure, was a view that was not tenable.

Was al-Maqrīzī's advice heeded? This is a difficult problem to address since official wages and prices might not be measured in the same units of value. Wage

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[65]Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* ed. Baḥr al-'Ulūm, 39; ed. Eustache, 141.

[66]Some manuscript versions read *sirr sharīf;* ed. Baḥr al-'Ulūm, 40; ed. Eustache, 141, n. 260.

[67]Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* ed. Baḥr al-'Ulūm, 40; ed. Eustache, 141.

[68]Cipolla, "Big Problem," 33.

data from *waqfīyāt* from the reign of Shaykh are sparse, but indicate that up until 818 values were measured in *dirham fulūs* while those after, and until the succeeding reign (al-Muẓaffar Aḥmad II ibn Shaykh [824/1421]), were measured in half dirhams *(niṣf dirham)*. This aspect of the problem requires further examination.[69]

Conclusion: Al-Maqrīzī's Economic History

To the extent that the *Ighāthah* and the *Shudhūr* were written for particular authorities, the essence of the two works lies in their function as advice literature to ensure the legal conduct of monetary affairs in 808 and a decade or so later. al-Maqrīzī expressed his reasoning and recommendations in terms of the discourse of hadith and *faḍīlah*. Correct economic, and particularly monetary, policy rested on sound religious teaching. However, the scope of these two works, historical in approach but not histories per se, is far wider. The question arises, what was the impact of his economic views—historically grounded as they were—on his ideas about history?

Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid has pointed out the significance of 806 in his introduction to the *musawwadah* of al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*.[70] The crisis of 806 manifested itself in a number of ways—the collapse of markets, religious institutions, and other urban features—all of these, al-Maqrīzī wrote, were due to the economic crisis. Indeed, the *Khiṭaṭ* was to include, according to the Būlāq edition's introduction (which I believe is not precisely datable), a chapter on the causes of the ruin of Egypt, which if it followed the approach taken in other parts of the *Khiṭaṭ,* would have associated signs of economic hard times with the monetary crisis of 806. The finality of the crisis of 806 as depicted in parts of the *Khiṭaṭ* is matched by its depiction in the *Ighāthah.* Sayyid has suggested that the *Ighāthah* may be taken as the fulfillment of the intention he expressed in the introduction to the *Khiṭaṭ*.[71]

However, in the *Shudhūr,* Egypt's problem was not economic ruination. Historians of Cairo, most recently André Raymond in his history of the city, have noted Cairo's re-growth from the teens of the fifteenth century, both in the center as well as in Būlāq—perhaps not to previous levels, but growth nevertheless.[72] Al-Maqrīzī's implicit recognition of these developments, reported in the *Kitāb al-Sulūk* as well as the *Khiṭaṭ,* might suggest why he never completed the *Khiṭaṭ*'s chapter on ruin. It would then seem likely that al-Maqrīzī advocated this explanation

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[69]This data comes from one source. See Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam* (Cambridge, 2000), 131.

[70]Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, "Muqaddimah," in *Musawwadat Kitāb Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār,* ed Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (London, 1995/1416), 65–66.

[71]Ibid.

[72]André Raymond, *Cairo*, trans. Willard Wood (Cambridge, 2000), 171–88.

for Egypt′s ruin in the years between the writing of the *Ighāthah* in 808 and his recognition of a rather more stable economic situation in Egypt after Shaykh′s minting of silver coin in 818. By the end of Shaykh′s rule the economic history of Egypt must have appeared to him to be more complex than it had appeared in 806, involving instead the waning and waxing of economic fortune. In this light, these two texts may be read as an attempt to achieve a conceptual framework—a kind of economic *Muqaddimah*—for the history of Egypt. Of course, although the two books do not achieve the grand vision of Ibn Khaldūn′s masterpiece, they nevertheless represent an attempt to understand the role of the economy in Egypt′s history.

At a broader level, while in these two books al-Maqrīzī has provided us with insight into his views of the economy and of the state′s role in managing the economy, the *Ighāthah* and the *Shudhūr* also provide us with considerably more insight into his views on the practice of history. History was a means to remedy the ills of the age, whether by means of the exhortation of the market inspector to save the community or the pearls of instruction offered by the princely advisor. In either case, by no means was al-Maqrīzī an impartial observer of the economic past; these two books make arguments about issues of immediate concern. What about his other, longer historical works? The *Khiṭaṭ,* it would seem, made an argument that was never completed. But this characteristic—the lack of impartiality—should not be considered so much a personal foible rather than a salient feature of the historiography of the age. Tarif Khalidi has argued that this era was dominated by a historiography of politics. Moreover, history was no longer written as entertainment, but rather ″as a moral sermon.″[73] Even after al-Maqrīzī′s retreat from public service, he continued to act as *muḥtasib,* offering advice by means of his historical work. After all, history properly understood should always provide the lessons for correct action. Consequently, the boundaries between advice and history become blurred. Al-Maqrīzī, like his contemporaries, was at root captivated by political power and saw his role as a historian to engage in the field of power, not with the weapons of war as the Mamluks were trained to do, but rather with the ultimately more durable weapons of religious learning and knowledge of the community′s past.

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[73]Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Age* (Cambridge, 1994), chap. 5, ″History and *Siyasa,″* 216.

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A Comparison of al-Maqrīzī and al-ʻAynī as Historians of Contemporary Events

My paper was written on the assumption that the aim of a conference on the legacy of al-Maqrīzī is to put him in his proper place. Such a goal may well involve demoting him from the lofty heights to which some of our scholarly forebears have raised him, but may well not. There can be no doubt, however, that several eminent scholars of a generation or two ago were lavish in their praise. Philip Hitti, for example, announced that ″beyond doubt the most eminent of the Mamluk historians″ was al-Maqrīzī.″ Of *Al-Khiṭaṭ* A. R. Guest writes that al-Maqrīzī

> has accumulated and reduced to a certain amount of order a large amount of information that would, but for him, have passed into oblivion. He is generally painstaking and accurate, and always resorts to contemporary evidence if it is available . Also he has a pleasant and lucid style, and writes without bias and apparently with distinguished impartiality.[1]

To this latter tribute, the translator, R. J. C. Broadhurst, adds that these words ″can equally be applied to the *Sulūk*.″[2] The views of these Western scholars were shared, and magnified, by Arab academicians, most prominently M. M. Ziyādah, editor of the *Sulūk,* which he declared ″deserves without dispute to occupy the first place among the historical works of his era.″[3] Furthermore, al-Maqrīzī himself, according to Ziyādah, ″was indisputably in the forefront of the Egyptian historians in the first half of the ninth century *hijrī*.″[4] ″Sufficient proof of this,″ Ziyādah goes on, is the fact that Ibn Taghrībirdī and al-Sakhāwī were his students. Two other contemporaries, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī and al-ʻAynī, are disqualified from the first prize, he says,″because they did not devote themselves fully to history as

[1]Both quotes cited by R. J. C. Broadhurst, *A History of the Ayyūbid Sultans of Egypt* (Boston, 1980), xvi–xvii.

[2]Ibid., xvii.

[3]*Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʻrifat Duwal al-Mulūk* (Cairo, 1934), 1:*waw*.

[4]Ibid.

al-Maqrīzī did, but were traditionists more than historians."[5] Recently, in a typically stimulating and nuanced article, Ulrich Haarmann compares al-Maqrīzī, who "has always, rightly or not, been held in highest esteem for his precision, factualness and learnedness," with his "sloppy" and "not very smart" disciple, Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī, who nevertheless may have been a "'truer' witness to his time than the sober, maybe even impeccable, yet in his way inevitably also myopic al-Maqrīzī?"[6]

But in the same volume of conference papers in which Haarmann's paper was published, Amalia Levanoni takes al-Maqrīzī to task for his inaccuracy in the presentation of facts and interpretations, particularly regarding the supremacy of the Circassians under Barqūq and his successors. In this respect she echoes Ibn Taghrībirdī's judgment of al-Maqrīzī's shortcomings as a historian "'with his known nonconformities every now and then.'"[7] Be that as it may, she concedes that Ibn Taghrībirdī stressed "al-Maqrīzī's original contribution to history . . . [saying that he] 'did not stop to be an accurate and careful observer of the events and history until his death. . . .'" Further, Levanoni acknowledges that al-Maqrīzī "gained fame as an historian of considerable authority in the scholarly circles of his own time. . . ."[8] More fully, Ibn Taghrībirdī states, in Popper's translation quoted by Anne F. Broadbridge:

> . . . Shaikh Taqī ad-Dīn (God have mercy on him) had certain aberrations for which he was well known, though he is to be forgiven for this; for he was one of those whom we have met who were perfect in their calling; he was the historian of his time whom no one could come near; I say this despite my knowledge of the learned historians who were his contemporaries. . . .[9]

Ibn Taghrībirdī goes on to say that al-Maqrīzī lost his status when Barqūq died and he failed to receive the patronage of subsequent sultans, "so he on his part took to registering their iniquities and infamies. . . ."[10]

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[5]Ibid.

[6]"Al-Maqrīzī, the Master and Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī, the Disciple—Whose Historical Writing Can Claim More Topicality and Modernity?" in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800),* ed. Hugh Kennedy (Leiden, 2001), 151.

[7]"Al-Maqrīzī's Account of the Transition from Turkish to Circassian Mamluk Sultanate: History in the Service of Faith," in Kennedy, *Historiography,* 101–2.

[8]Ibid., 93–94.

[9]"Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: al-ʻAynī, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 92.

[10]Ibid., 93.

Finally, if you will indulge me in citing myself, in my salad days I proved, to my own satisfaction at least, that for the Bahri period al-Maqrīzī was not as faithful or full a recorder of his sources, which he rarely named, as was his contemporary, al-ʻAynī, who did. More trenchantly, David Ayalon demonstrated that al-Maqrīzī egregiously misrepresented al-ʻUmarī and thereby, in my own paraphrase, ″inflated and distorted the influence of Mongol law on Mamlūk administrative justice.″[11] More judiciously, I concluded that

> [u]nfortunately, until such time as the contemporary annals of *al-Sulūk* have been compared with those of other historians, especially of al-ʻAynī, al-Maqrīzī′s significance as a historian will remain as a compiler and preserver of the work of others.[12]

Which brings me, almost, to the subject of this paper. First, however, let it be noted that such comparative study has already begun with the publication of an article by Irmeli Perho on ″Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī as Historians of Contemporary Events.″[13] Perho argues that the former′s background as a scholar and the latter′s as one of the *awlād al-nās* are evident in their attitudes toward events involving the common people. As the son of a mamluk Ibn Taghrībirdī shows practically no interest in the *ʻāmmah* at all, whereas the scholarly civilian al-Maqrīzī occasionally shared and reported the hardships of the commoners.[14]

This distinction does not obtain in the present case, for both al-Maqrīzī and al-ʻAynī were scholar bureaucrats of substantial though aberrant rank in Mamluk judicial positions, as has been documented recently by Broadbridge.[15] The main differences are, one, that al-Maqrīzī was a native Egyptian while al-ʻAynī, being from ʻAyntāb in northern Syria, was not; two, al-ʻAynī capitalized on his fluent knowledge of Turkish to maintain the patronage of more than one Mamluk sultan (al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, al-Ẓāhir Ṭaṭar, and Barsbāy) as a history teacher, ambassador, unofficial advisor, and biographer (granted, al-Maqrīzī also enjoyed the patronage and friendship of two sultans—Barqūq and Faraj); and, three, al-ʻAynī remained in public service until two years before his death in 855/1451, while al-Maqrīzī took early retirement around 820/1417, as is well known, having ″decided to give

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[11]Little, ″Historiography of the Ayyūbid and Mamluk Epochs,″ in *The Cambridge History of Egypt,* vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517,* ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 437, referring to Ayalon, ″The Great *Yāsā* of Chingiz Khān: A Re-examination: Al-Maqrīzī′s Passage on the *Yāsā* under the Mamlūks,″ *Studia Islamica* 38 (1973): 121–23.

[12]Little, ″Historiography of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Epochs,″ 437.

[13]In Kennedy, *Historiography,* 107–20.

[14]Ibid., 112.

[15]″Academic Rivalry,″ 85–107.

up an unsatisfactory public career and devote himself full-time to historical scholarship (instead of part-time as he had done before).″[16]

That being said, I shall now turn to what our German colleagues refer to as a *Stichprobe,* which means, quite simply, a random sample, in which I shall compare the annals of one year 824/1421 from al-Maqrīzī and al-ʻAynī. True to the spirit of *Stichprobe,* my selection of this particular year has been truly random, if not arbitrary, and I would be the first to concede that comparison of other annals might yield different results. In any case 824 was a pregnant year for historians if only because it gave birth to the reigns of two sultans after the death of al-Malik Mu'ayyad Shaykh at the beginning of the year, which allowed our historians to descant on the merits and defects of their reigns from their different vantage points. As al-ʻAynī himself points out, it was an unusual occurrence that there were four sultans in this year: al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad; al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, his son; al-Malik al-Ẓāhir [Ṭaṭar]; and his son, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ.[17] It should also be pointed out that this is the annal of a partial edition of al-ʻAynī′s contemporary annals, which covers only the years 825–50/1421–47. The author died, out of favor, in 855/1451, nine years after the death of al-Maqrīzī in 845/1442. Limited though my efforts may be, I hope that I am taking a tentative step in the right direction toward characterizing al-Maqrīzī as a historian of the events of his own lifetime by comparing him with his contemporary, al-ʻAynī, and, of course, vice versa. To lend a bit of structure to this undertaking I shall adopt as criteria of comparison the following: format, number and types of events and obituaries recorded, sources, style, and attitudes. If in so doing I betray an old-fashioned approach to historiographical studies, so be it.

Al-Maqrīzī, having left his ten years′ residence in Damascus as teacher and financial administrator around 1417, returned to Cairo as a free-lancer, as far as we know, and stayed there until his sojourn in Mecca in 833/1430. While al-Maqrīzī, according to Ziyādah, was ″without work or position,″[18] al-ʻAynī, also in Cairo, was flourishing. A boon companion to al-Mu'ayyad, this sultan reappointed him as

> *nāẓir al-aḥbās,* a post he was to hold—except for a few brief periods—until 853/1449. Al-ʻAynī′s fluency in Turkish was a distinct asset, which he used to his advantage, for in addition to

[16]Franz Rosenthal, ″Al-Maḳrīzī,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 6:193.

[17]*ʻIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,* ed. ʻAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Qarmūṭ (Cairo, 1989), 166.

[18]Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah, *Al-Mu'arrikhūn fī Miṣr fī al-Qarn al-Khāmis ʻAshar al-Mīlādī, al-Qarn al-Tāsiʻ al-Hijrī* (Cairo, 1954), 9.

> academic and financial appointments, al-Mu'ayyad made the 'Ayntābī native his ambassador to the Qaramanids at Konya in 823/1420.[19]

During the short reign of al-Mu'ayyad's successor, Ṭaṭar, al-'Aynī's career improved "and reached its height during the reign of Barsbāy."[20] How were these discrepancies in material circumstances reflected in the two authors' works, if at all?

Before we try to answer that question of subjective attitudes, let us look first to the external forms of their chronicles. Both are cast in the familiar form of annals followed by obituaries. Though they are of about the same length, *Al-Sulūk* covers substantially more events than does *'Iqd*. Both, to be sure, record with more or less the same details the major political events in Egypt and Syria involved in the machinations occasioned by the death of two sultans and the selection and installation of their successors. But perhaps it was in part al-Maqrīzī's obsession with dates and chronology that led him to include events that al-'Aynī did not. Or maybe al-Maqrīzī's state of unemployment left him with time on his hands, which he killed by writing about as many events as possible, whereas the busy bureaucrat and boon companion al-'Aynī had to focus on essentials in the spare time he could devote to his writing? In any case, 824 in the *Sulūk* is a month-by-month, day-by-day diary of events.[21] Al-Maqrīzī tells us the name of the day on which each month begins and sometimes gives the corresponding date in the Coptic calendar when that is significant—the flood of the Nile, for instance. The demands of chronology are ignored only at the beginning and the end of the annal. The year starts with a list of the principal officers of state both in Egypt and in the provinces and ends with undated happenings such as the wars in al-Andalus which had reached the author's attention during this year. The format of *'Iqd al-Jumān* is similar: its annal also begins with a list of members of the ruling circles, virtually the same and in the same order, in fact, as al-Maqrīzī's, and ends with undated events—in this case a report on the prices of commodities and currencies of the year, plus mention of the annual hajj and the flooding of the Nile, but not the wars in Spain. In the middle, al-'Aynī also follows a chronological path, complete with dates but less ostentatiously, without al-Maqrīzī's meticulous detail. Speaking of dates, I should point out that quite often the two versions are out of kilter by a day or two. Why? Is one historian more accurate in this respect than another? Given al-Maqrīzī's preoccupation with dates, we might expect him to be careful in recording them, but obsessions are no guarantee of precision, I would submit.

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[19]Broadbridge, "Academic Rivalry," 94.

[20]Ibid., 95.

[21]*Al-Sulūk,* ed. Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr (Cairo, 1972), 4: 547–600.

Frankly, I do not know how to set a test for accuracy without recourse to independent contemporary sources if available. The most important question is are these minor discrepancies of any significance. I doubt it.

Chronology is also the key to al-Maqrīzī's organization of his obituaries.[22] Brief notices of the lives of sixteen notables are arranged in strictly chronological order according to the specified date of death. Sultans and amirs are mixed with *muḥtasib*s and qadis. Even a physician of Jewish descent finds his way into the obituaries, between an amir and a *muḥtasib*. Al-ʻAynī covers only eleven individuals,[23] two of whom are not mentioned by al-Maqrīzī. Ignoring dates for the most part, al-ʻAynī follows a hierarchical order, beginning with sultans, followed by amirs and a judge. He does not bother with *muḥtasib*s, the physician, or the ruler of Rūm. It is interesting that both authors make similar comments about some of the deceased. For example, both observe that al-Amīr Faraj was handsome; according to al-Maqrīzī, his good looks account for his favor with al-Mu'ayyad.[24] Al-ʻAynī adds that he was "a succulent youth *(shābb ṭārī)*."[25] Both characterize al-Amīr Badr al-Dīn al-Ṭarābulsī as a tyrant who deserved the punishment and execution he received from al-Mu'ayyad and Ṭaṭar, but both give details not mentioned by the other: al-Maqrīzī, that he was the son of a Muslimānī;[26] al-ʻAynī, that he was "stupid and foolhardy *(aḥmaq ahwaj)*."[27] In any event it would be difficult, but not impossible, to argue on the basis of rare textual similarities that either historian was indebted to the work of the other. Be that as it may, al-ʻAynī's editor, writing from a wider perspective than a single annal, remarks that "al-ʻAynī frequently followed al-Maqrīzī in the *Sulūk* and refutes him without mentioning him by name." In fact, a specific example is cited in which al-ʻAynī brands "a certain historian," i.e., al-Maqrīzī, as a liar on two counts.[28]

As far as sources are concerned, al-Maqrīzī names none, not one, as was indeed his practice for the annals preceding his lifetime. Al-ʻAynī cites only one source—the sultan Mu'ayyad himself—twice for information on which the sultan had first-hand knowledge.[29] On another occasion, moreover, he writes in the first person to say that al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ṭaṭar "had instructed him to cast into the language of the Turks *Kitāb al-Qudūrī fī Fiqh al-Imām Abī al-Ḥanīfah,* may God

[22]Ibid., 4:597–600.
[23]*ʻIqd,* 166–71.
[24]*Al-Sulūk*, 4:597.
[25]*ʻIqd,* 167.
[26]*Al-Sulūk,* 4:598.
[27]*ʻIqd,* 168.
[28]Ibid., 28.
[29]Ibid., 101, 168.

be pleased with him, with no changes in meaning or alteration in its chapters."[30] But al-ʻAynī's intimacy with sultans is well known if only because he wrote biographies of three of them, including al-Mu'ayyad and Ṭaṭar, plus Barsbāy—all three his contemporaries.

Which brings us to the respective attitudes of the two historians toward the events and personalities of 824. Being highly placed in the corridors of power, al-ʻAynī can scarcely be expected to be very critical of the reigns of his patrons. In general, he adopts a formal and correct stance toward the complex and volatile affairs of state. For example, despite the fact that al-Mu'ayyad's successor as sultan, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Aḥmad, was an infant less than two years old, al-ʻAynī persists in pretending that he was in charge of affairs as long as he held the title of sultan, even though Ṭaṭar was acclaimed as Niẓām al-Mulk wa-al-Mutaḥaddith from an early date.[31] Thus when Ṭaṭar decided to put Syrian affairs in order, al-ʻAynī tells us that on the 19th of Rabī' al-Awwal, al-Sulṭān al-Muẓaffar marched out, and with him were Niẓām al-Mulk Ṭaṭar and the troops . . .; "on 19 Jumādá al-Ūlá a group of 500 Syrian troops came to the sultan in Gaza . . .; on 20 Jumādá al-Ākhirah the troops accompanying al-Muẓaffar set out for Aleppo . . .;" on 3 Shaʻbān "the sultan and al-Amīr Ṭaṭar set out with the victorious troops from Aleppo, headed for Damascus." [32] Free from the necessity to observe the niceties of protocol and naming the sultan first, al-Maqrīzī is more likely to reverse the order and refer first to the real holder of power, Ṭaṭar, accompanied by the sultan, or even "Ṭaṭar and those with him."[33]

More substantively, al-ʻAynī's interest in keeping up appearances is also evident from the way he describes the transference of power from one sultan to another, emphasizing that all the legal niceties of installing a new sultan were observed. Thus, before al-Mu'ayyad had even been prepared for burial, al-ʻAynī reports that

> Al-Amīr Ṭaṭar, *amīr majlis,* proceeded to assemble the judges, the caliph, and all other *ahl al-ḥall wa-al-ʻaqd.* They sent for al-Mu'ayyad's son from his mother. He is called Aḥmad, and his age is one year and seven months. They contracted the sultanate for him, giving him the title of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar. The amirs kissed the ground before him.[34]

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[30]Ibid., 157.

[31]Ibid., 121.

[32]Ibid., 136, 138, 142, 144.

[33]*Al-Sulūk,* 4: 576, 577, 579, 580.

[34]ʻ*Iqd*, 117.

Although al-Maqrīzī conveys much the same information, his account is both more precise in some respects but general and, at the same time, almost folksy in others:

> He was installed in the sultanate on the day his father died, at twenty minutes past midday, Monday, 9 Muḥarram 824, his age being one year, eight months, and seven days. He was mounted on a horse from Bāb al-Sitārah, and he cried as he was led all the way to the castle where the amirs, the judges, and the caliph kissed the ground before him. They gave him the title al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Abū al-Saʻādāt.[35]

However poignant the sight of a bawling sultan may be, it does not find its way into al-ʻAynī′s sober account. If, after all, al-ʻAynī was intent on presenting the legitimacy of the new sultanate, why should he call attention to the tearful inadequacies of the baby sultan? If, on the other hand, al-Maqrīzī was not happy with this turn of events, why should he not call attention to its fatuity? A difference is also apparent in the two historians′ versions of the installation of Ṭaṭar as sultan some eight months later. Al-Maqrīzī comments bluntly that after arresting and/or executing his perceived enemies, ″Ṭaṭar decided to depose al-Muẓaffar from the sultanate . . . and sat on the throne of monarchy in the Damascus citadel on Friday, 29 Sha'bān 824, corresponding to Nawrūz of the Copts of Egypt.″[36]

In contrast, al-ʻAynī takes considerable pains to set the action in an ameliorative context, explaining that a severe sickness had overtaken Ṭaṭar on the march from Aleppo to Damascus, and this gave rise to rumors of possible sedition and even an assassination attempt.[37] It was clearly in response to this threat that Ṭaṭar took action against his enemies and assumed the sultanate for himself. Primly, al-ʻAynī makes no mention of the deposition of the infant Aḥmad but gives a (discrepant) date of Ṭaṭar′s accession, complete with an assembly of *ahl al-ḥall wa-al-ʻaqd* and their conferral of a black caliphal robe of honor upon him.[38]

And yet, all is not so clear cut and simple, for al-Maqrīzī goes to some lengths to demonstrate the legitimacy of Ṭaṭar′s status as spokesman for the infant sultan. In the presence of the chief qadis, amirs, functionaries, and Royal Mamluks, Ṭaṭar declared that given the dissatisfaction of the Syrian amirs, ″it is necessary to have a ruler *(ḥākim)* to take charge of the management of the affairs of the people.″

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[35]*Al-Sulūk,* 4:563.

[36]Ibid., 581–82.

[37]*ʻIqd,* 143–46.

[38]Ibid., 147.

Those present proclaimed, ″′We want you!′″ at which point ″the caliph delegated all the affairs of the subjects to al-Amīr al-Kabīr Ṭaṭar . . . except the title of sultan, prayers for him from the pulpit, and striking his name on dinars and dirhams, all three of which were reserved to al-Malik al-Muẓaffar.″ These steps were certified by the four chief justices and the amirs swore allegiance to him. All this, al-Maqrīzī explains, was because a fellow Hanafi jurist had advised Ṭaṭar that ″if a sultan was a minor and the power-elite *(ahl al-shawkah)* agreed that a imam should be installed to act as spokesman until he reached majority. . . .″ [39] Curiously, al-ʻAynī does not mention this episode in extenuation of Ṭaṭar′s action.

Nevertheless, there is clear evidence of al-Maqrīzī′s attempt to spin the official version of events as presented by al-ʻAynī in their biographies of sultans, most blatantly those of al-Mu'ayyad and, in a later annal, Barsbāy.[40] Al-Maqrīzī′s sketch of al-Mu'ayyad is short and very much to the point. It begins in a moderate and judicious vein, conceding full credit to the sultan′s virtues:

> He was more than fifty when he died, having reigned eight years, five months, and eight days. He was brave and bold. Fond of scholars, he used to meet with them, honoring the prophetic law and submitting to it. He did not disapprove if someone who appealed to his jurisdiction went from him to the judges of the *sharʻ;* indeed, he approved of that. But he disapproved of his amirs who opposed judges in their decisions. He was averse to any innovation and sometimes spent the night in devotions.[41]

But then al-Maqrīzī launches into a full-scale diatribe against al-Mu'ayyad, pulling no punches:

> But he was miserly and grasping, stinting even in what he ate; stubborn, cross, envious, with an evil eye, who paraded various reprehensible deeds. Vituperative, dissolute, intimidating, he was mindful of his companions without indulging them. . . . He was the biggest reason for the ruin of Egypt and Syria, thanks to the evils and strife he stirred up while viceroy of Tripoli and Damascus and then by corrupt deeds of injustice and plunder while he was ruler, empowering his followers over the people, forcing them into

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[39] *Al-Sulūk,* 4:569–70.

[40] For the latter, see Broadbridge, ″Academic Rivalry,″ 93–94.

[41] *Al-Sulūk,* 4:550.

> submissiveness, taking what they possessed without impediment of reason or interdiction of religion.[42]

In a spiteful aside, revealing that when al-Mu'ayyad's corpse was being prepared for burial, there was neither towel nor cup to wash and dry the corpse, nor even a sash to hide his genitals, so that the woolen Ṣa'īdī scarf of one of his slave girls had to be used for this purpose, al-Maqrīzī opines that these circumstances constituted "an exhortation containing the direst of warnings," since the sultan had died rich.[43] Perhaps, it has been suggested, these examples of al-Maqrīzī's spleen may stem from his unemployment and lack of patronage.[44] If that is so, then al-'Aynī's conventional, temperate, but by no means fawning, biography may well reflect the favor he enjoyed under al-Mu'ayyad. In any case there is no hint of exhortation or warning to be gained in *'Iqd al-Jumān* from the description of the preparation of his body for burial. Rather, al-'Aynī focuses on a somewhat clinical explanation of his illnesses, which included "arthritis, retention of urine, diarrhea, and headaches, climaxed by the hiccups which did him in."[45] The ministrations of physicians from Ḥamāh and Iran plus a Jew from Damascus were unavailing. Then al-'Aynī embarks on a matter-of-fact account of al-Mu'ayyad's ethnic origins and career pattern until he became sultan, whereupon he delivers an appraisal of his character and deeds which, though similar to al-Maqrīzī's, is much less obstreperous:

> He was a resolute and a brave officer, fond of learning and dervishes and good to them. But he was avid in accumulating the goods of this world: he loved money and was not averse to taking bribes, being inclined to pleasure and entertainments. Though not openhanded with money, he gave many alms, especially to scholars and dervishes. He could be impetuous and volatile. Fearsome, he wrote off the Turks.[46]

Striking is the lack of any suggestion from al-'Aynī that an unscrupulous sultan brought about the ruin of the Mamluk Empire. Even his reservations regarding al-Mu'ayyad's character are offset by a long, detailed list of the public buildings which he had constructed, so that any defects are buried in the details of his

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[42]Ibid., 4:550–51.

[43]Ibid., 555.

[44]Broadbridge, "Academic Rivalry," 93.

[45]*'Iqd,* 97.

[46]Ibid., 108.

distinctions at the beginning and end of al-ʿAynī's biography.

Finally we should look briefly at any evidence that al-Maqrīzī's, and al-ʿAynī's, plebeian origins emerged in concern for the common people in their annals, as suggested, in al-Maqrīzī's case, by Perho, in contrast to Ibn Taghrībirdī's aloofness from the hoi poloi. Well, despite similar backgrounds and again possibly because of their different stations in life in 824 , al-Maqrīzī certainly seems more receptive to the plight of the masses and more inclined to mention them from time to time than al-ʿAynī. Thus, although both record the prices of commodities and coinage, only al-Maqrīzī points to the general turmoil, set against the death of the sultan, to which economic and social conditions had deteriorated.[47] More telling of al-Maqrīzī's interest in common folk—women even—is his observation, absent from *ʿIqd al-Jumān,* that women were prohibited from holding public obsequies at tombs, despite the fact that wide-spread sickness had resulted in many deaths during this year.[48]

In conclusion, it is difficult to answer the question with which we started, namely, is al-Maqrīzī's status and legacy as a historian enhanced or tarnished in comparison to al-ʿAynī as historian of contemporary events. While I have tried to show, on the basis of only one year, that al-ʿAynī was a defender and legitimizer of the status quo and that al-Maqrīzī was more critical of it, outspoken and even scathing at times, neither historian is uniformly predictable or, accordingly, rankable. In general I would say that *Al-Sulūk* is invaluable for, one, the candor, sometimes extreme and maybe embittered candor, of al-Maqrīzī's views, in contrast to the sobriety, perhaps even dull moderation, of al-ʿAynī's. And, two, al-Maqrīzī's attention to many "minor" events that do not attract al-ʿAynī's notice certainly makes his work indispensable. Also, I would suggest that al-Maqrīzī's casual reference to the exhortatory character of a racy anecdote, and the absence of such in al-ʿAynī, might deserve further study. I make the final observation that the fortuitously early publication of *Al-Sulūk* and the neglect of *ʿIqd al-Jumān* until recently may well have caused distortions in our view of Burji Mamluk history, *pace* Ibn Taghrībirdī, which may, perhaps, be balanced with the publication and study of the rest of al-ʿAynī's text.

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[47]*Al-Sulūk,* 4:559; *ʿIqd,* 165.
[48]*Al-Sulūk,* 4:593.

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Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Khaldūn, Historians of the Unseen

According to Sir Lewis Namier, the great historian of Hanoverian England, "historians imagine the past and remember the future."[1] It is evident that Namier intended his paradoxical-seeming dictum to apply to all historians, but there are few, if any, of whom it is more true than of Ibn Khaldūn and his one-time student, al-Maqrīzī. In modern times Ibn Khaldūn has mostly been studied by historians, philosophers, and sociologists. None of those who have picked their way through his *Muqaddimah* seem to have engaged fully with the width and intensity of his interest in divination and the future. A remarkable amount of space in Ibn Khaldūn's philosophical prolegomena to the study of history is devoted to consideration of divination and the occult sciences more broadly. In general, he took a hard-headed, even hostile view of the occult sciences. Alchemy and astrology were, like philosophy *(falsafah),* part of the *'ulūm al-awā'il* and, as such, inimical to true Islam.

Ibn Khaldūn judged alchemy to be a pernicious kind of sorcery, when it was not simply actual fraud.[2] *Maṭālib,* the occult science of treasure-hunting, was, like alchemy, not a natural way of making a living and the treasure-hunters were, like most of the alchemists, confidence-tricksters who used forged documents and other trumped-up pieces of evidence to prey upon the weak-minded. The section on *maṭālib* is entitled "Trying to make money from buried and other treasures is not a natural way of making a living."[3] A great deal of mumbo-jumbo was associated with treasure-hunting and, according to Ibn Khaldūn, this sort of thing was bound to appeal to the Egyptians, as they had a centuries-long attachment to anything to do with sorcery. One only had to look at the confrontation of Moses with the Egyptian sorcerers, as it was related in the Quran, to see that this was so.[4] Again the invocation of the Divine Names for magical purposes was wicked and blasphemous. Ibn Khaldūn was here denouncing the sort of magic set out in

[1]Lewis Namier, *Conflicts: Studies in Contemporary History* (London, 1942), 70.

[2]Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Muqaddimah,* published by E. Quatremère as *Prolégomènes d'Ebn-Khaldoun,* Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale et autres bibliothèques, vols. 16–18 (Paris, 1858), 18:191–219; idem, *The Muqaddimah: an Introduction to History,* trans. Franz Rosenthal, 2nd ed. (New York and London, 1967), 3:227–46.

[3]Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes*, 17:280–87; idem, *Muqaddimah,* 2:319–26.

[4]*Prolégomènes*, 17:283; *Muqaddimah,* 2:322.

treatises like the thirteenth-century *Shams al-Maʿārif,* attributed to al-Būnī (and popular among adherents of the Shadhilī Sufi *ṭarīqah* in Egypt).[5]

But Ibn Khaldūn's main interest was in those occult techniques that seemed to promise knowledge of the future. Here again his approach was hostile and suspicious. What he wanted to affirm was that knowledge of the future was reserved to God alone. However, his hostility to divination was tinged by ambivalence and he was not consistent in his approach to this subject. At times he seems to be saying that knowledge of the future is reserved to divinely guided prophets; at other times he seems to be saying that those who are not divinely guided prophets should not seek to enquire into the future—which is a rather different thing. Moreover, Ibn Khaldūn clearly viewed the subject as of remarkable importance, for he devoted one of the key prefatory discussions of the *Muqaddimah* (the sixth prologue) to an exploration of different ways of knowing the future, including such diverse topics as Prophetic revelation, Sufi meditation, numerology, astrology, and the *zā'irajah*.[6] As a Muslim, Ibn Khaldūn had to accept the authenticity of prophecy and, having done so, he found that the distinction between prophecy and divination was a subtle one. He was particularly interested in the political and historical uses to which divination might be put. Hence his discussion in the sixth prologue of *ḥisāb al-nīm.*[7] *Ḥisāb al-nīm* (it is not known why it was so called) was a kind of *jafr,* or a numerological divination based on the letters in the names of dynasties or rulers, that was used for making political and historical predictions. In medieval times it was widely thought that *ḥisāb al-nīm* had been vouched for by Aristotle in his famous treatise, the *Politics*. However, those who thought this were confusing the *Politics* with the *Sirr al-Asrār,* or *Secreta Secretorum,* an anonymous and immensely popular ragbag of wise maxims, stories, and spells. Ibn Khaldūn, after careful consideration, seems to have rejected the efficacy of *ḥisāb al-nīm,* though his rejection was tinged with ambiguity. The subject had after all attracted the attention of distinguished men. (He also doubted whether it was correct to attribute the *Sirr al-Asrār* to Aristotle.)[8]

When he came to consider such divinatory techniques as catoptromancy,

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[5]*Prolégomènes*, 18:145–46; *Muqaddimah,* 3:180–82.

[6]*Prolégomènes*, 16:165–220; *Muqaddimah,* 1:184–247; cf. Aziz Al-Azmeh, *Ibn Khaldūn, an Essay in Reinterpretation* (London, 1982), 65–68.

[7]*Prolégomènes*, 16:209–13; *Muqaddimah,* 1:234–38.

[8]On the misattribution to Aristotle and Ibn Khaldūn's doubts, see *Muqaddimah,* 1:81–82, note; cf. Dorothee Metlitzki *The Matter of Araby in Medieval England* (New Haven, 1977), 107. On Ibn Khaldūn's ambivalence with regard to the supernatural and miraculous in general, see Armand Abel, "La place des sciences occultes dans la décadence," in *Classicisme et déclin culturel dans l'histoire de l'Islam*, ed. Robert Brunschvig and G. E. von Grunebaum (Paris, 1957), 304–5; Toufic Fahd, *La divination arabe* (Paris, 1987), 45–50.

geomancy, and divination from entrails, he denied that there was any sound, logical basis for making predictions from these techniques. Nevertheless, he did suggest that such practices might permit their practitioners to allow their minds to drift and, if they were spiritually gifted, their souls might ascend into the realm of the spiritual.[9]

In a later section devoted to astrology, Ibn Khaldūn argued that the boasts of the astrologers were not justified by their results.[10] Another reason for disapproving of astrologers was that their predictions often focused on coming crises and in so doing were liable to provoke civil strife.[11] Yet, when he encountered Tīmūr in Damascus in 1401, he told the would-be world-conqueror that Maghribi soothsayers and saints had predicted his coming. More specifically in 766/1365, astrologers in the western Islamic lands, basing themselves on the impending astrological conjunction of the two highest planets, Saturn and Jupiter—an event that occurred only once every 960 years—had deduced the coming of Tīmūr in 784/1382. Prophecies about the political consequences of this planetary conjunction seem to have originated in Isma'ili circles in North Africa and were originally held to foretell the coming of a Fatimid Mahdi (a possibility that Ibn Khaldūn did not rule out). Only subsequently were the prophecies reapplied to fit the coming of Tīmūr.[12]

Moreover, to stick with Ibn Khaldūn's belief that the coming of Tīmūr had been foretold, in a lengthy chapter in the *Muqaddimah,* entitled "Forecasting the future of dynasties and nations, including a discussion of predictions *(malāḥim)* and exposition of the subject called divination *(jafr),*" he reproduced a lengthy, though fragmentary poem attributed to a Qalandar Sufi, al-Bājarbaqī (d. 724/1324).[13] Al-Bājarbaqī's poem (which will remind many Western readers of Nostradamus's *Centuries*) makes obscure prophecies about the future, the obscurity being enhanced by the frequent use of initials or gibberish assemblages of consonants to identify,

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[9]*Prolégomènes,* 16:209; *Muqaddimah,* 1:234.

[10]*Prolégomènes*, 18:220–28; *Muqaddimah,* 3:258–67.

[11]*Prolégomènes*, 18:225; *Muqaddimah,* 3:262–63.

[12]Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Ta'rīf bi-Ibn Khaldūn wa-Riḥlatihi Gharban wa-Sharqan,* ed. Muḥammad ibn Tāwīt al-Ṭanjī (Cairo, 1951), 412–13; idem, *Le voyage d'Occident et d'Orient: autobiographie,* trans. Abdesselam Cheddadi (Paris, 1980), 232–34; cf. Walter J. Fischel, ed. and tr., *Ibn Khaldūn and Tamerlane, Their Historic Meeting in Damascus, 1401 A.D. (803 A.H.): A Study Based on Arabic Manuscripts of Ibn Khaldūn's "Autobiography," with a Translation into English, and a Commentary* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1952), 35–36, 79–81; idem, *Ibn Khaldūn in Egypt: His Public Functions and His Historical Research* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), 55–57; Yves Marquet, "Ibn Ḫaldûn et les conjunctions de Saturne et de Jupiter," *Studia Islamica* 65 (1987): 91–96; cf. Al-Azmeh, *Ibn Khaldūn,* 26.

[13]*Muqaddimah,* 2:.225–27, 229–31; *Prolégomènes,* 17:197–198, 200–1.

or perhaps rather to conceal the identity of people and things. One of the fragments runs as follows:

> This is the lamed Kalbite. Be concerned with him!
> In his time there will be disturbances, and what disturbances!
> From the East, the Turkish army will come . . .

And then the warning tails off into more obscure *jafr*. Presumably, the author of this verse was intending to refer to the limping Turk, Tīmūr, and that was how Ibn Khaldūn read it (though why Tīmūr should be associated with the South Arabian tribal grouping of Kalb is a bit of a mystery). Another of the fragments quoted by Ibn Khaldūn is also of interest:

> His father will come to him after an emigration
> And a long absence and a hard and filthy life.

This Ibn Khaldūn took to refer to the Sultan Barqūq and his summoning his father from Circassia to join him in Egypt.

One can, if one wishes, credit al-Bājarbaqī with remarkable powers of prescience, but, of course, it is more likely that the relevant verses were composed after the rise to power of both Tīmūr and Barqūq and falsely dated earlier, in order to confer more prestige on the prophetic verses as a whole. Ibn Khaldūn surmised that this was the case with the Bājarbaqī oeuvre—yet he remained fascinated by the subject and devoted an inordinate amount of space to it. Now Ibn Khaldūn only encountered al-Bājarbaqī's prophecies after he had arrived in the Mamluk lands in 1382. The bulk of the *Muqaddimah* was written in the late 1370s in Qal'at Ibn Salāmah in the Oranaise. However, it is important to bear in mind that he continued to expand and revise his work after his arrival in Mamluk Egypt and, as late as 1404, he was still revising his masterwork.[14] This raises the possibility that some of the historians who studied with Ibn Khaldūn in Egypt, such as al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Ḥajar, may conceivably had some influence on the final shape of the *Muqaddimah*. However, intriguing though this notion may be, it will not be pursued further here.

Also while in Egypt, Ibn Khaldūn had heard from learned people of the book of predictions attributed to Ibn al-'Arabī al-Ḥātimī (not the famous Andalusian Sufi Ibn al-'Arabī), in which the author "speaks about the horoscope of the foundation of Cairo." If one followed Ibn al-'Arabī's somewhat complex calculations, then it

[14]Franz Rosenthal, "Introduction," in *Muqaddimah,* civ–cvii.

could be deduced that Cairo would be destroyed in 832/1428–29.[15] Ibn Khaldūn relayed the prophecy without comment. However, the fact that this prophecy, like the Bājarbaqī prophecies, as well as another prophecy of Ibn al-ʻArabī′s concerning an eschatological redeemer of Fatimid descent, were circulating in Cairo in the 1390s suggests the doom-laden atmosphere in which Ibn Khaldūn and al-Maqrīzī thought and wrote. *Malḥamāt,* prophecies concerning the last days and final slaughterings, preoccupied Ibn Khaldūn, just as they had an earlier scholar, Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī. (Ṣafadī wrote a treatise on the subject).

In the latter part of the *Muqaddimah*, Ibn Khaldūn included a section on *taʻbīr,* or dream interpretation.[16] Dream interpretation was not part of the dodgy corpus of the *ʻulūm al-awāʼil;* rather it ″belongs to the sciences of the religious law.″[17] It was clearly possible to divine the future in dreams, for Joseph in the Quran did so. Moreover, the Prophet had declared ″A good dream is the forty-sixth part of prophecy.″ The problem for Ibn Khaldūn was how to distinguish a good dream from a false one, but at the end of his discussion, he concluded that ″dream interpretation is a science resplendent with the light of prophecy.″

The divination technique that above all others fascinated Ibn Khaldūn involved the use of a device called the *zāʼirajah*. He discussed this thing at length in two places in the *Muqaddimah*. In the first place he discussed whether it could validly be used for telling the future. In the second place he went into enormous detail on the mechanics of the *zāʼirajah*′s operation, including an operational manual cast in cryptic verse and attributed to al-Sabtī. The *zāʼirajah* was a kind of calculating machine, relying on rotating, concentrating circles, marked with devices that combined *ḥurūf* and *jafr*. It bears a curious similarity to Ramon Lull′s engine for demonstrating the existence of God and answering all questions, the Ars Magna. Ibn Khaldūn described the *zāʼirajah* as ″a remarkable technical procedure″ and remarked that ″Many distinguished people have shown interest in using it for supernatural information. . . .″[18] Despite his fascination with it, he suggested that the machine was incapable of determining the future by supernatural means. Rather the answers it produced were predetermined by the phrasing of the questions that were posed to it. Still Ibn Khaldūn remained fascinated by the device and went into extraordinary detail about its workings. He remonstrated with critics of

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[15]*Prolégomènes*, 17:196; *Muqaddimah,* 2:224.

[16]*Prolégomènes*, 18:80–86; *Muqaddimah,* 3:103–10.

[17]*Prolégomènes*, 18:80; *Muqaddimah,* 3:103.

[18]*Prolégomènes*, 16:213; *Muqaddimah,* 1:239; for the *zāʼirajah* generally, see *Prolégomènes*, 16:213–20, 3:146–79; *Muqaddimah,* 1:238–45, 3:182–214; cf. D. M. Dunlop, *Arab Civilization to A.D. 1500* (London, 1971), 243–46; Fahd, *La divination*, 243–45.

the *zā'irajah* who denounced it as merely hocus-pocus.[19] It also seems, though he expresses himself somewhat obscurely on the topic, he believed that people with mystical training could use the device as a kind of springboard for veridical divination.[20] Through this strange science secrets could indeed be uncovered, though he believed that it would be impious to seek to divine the future through this technique. It also seems that Ibn Khaldūn may have been even more obsessed with the device than he let on in the *Muqaddimah*. Ibn Ḥajar, in his obituary of Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Khaṭīb al-Marrākushī (d. 735), described how this man was obsessed with the *zā'irajah* and how he left his *zā'irajah* to Ibn Khaldūn, who continued to research the topic intensively, though he kept his findings to himself.[21] A North African treatise on the *zā'irajah* quoted an eyewitness to Ibn Khaldūn in 1371 testing the device by asking it how old this particular technique of divination was. The *zā'irajah*′s response was that it was invented by Idrīs (i.e., Hermes) and since then its mystery had ascended to the highest rank. When Ibn Khaldūn got this answer, he was so pleased and excited that he spun and danced on the terrace of his house.[23] It is easy to exaggerate the modernity of Ibn Khaldūn by discounting his flirtations with the supernatural, as well as his intense, though rather conventional piety.

Neither Ibn Khaldūn′s knowledge of the past history of the Maghrib and al-Andalus, nor his study of what was to come inspired him with optimism. Referring to the ravages of the Black Death, he wrote that it ″was as if the voice of existence in the world had called out for oblivion and restriction, and the world responded to its call. God inherits the earth and whomever is upon it.″[23] Ancient ruins testified that a large area of North Africa had once been settled and prosperous, though this was no longer so. Civilization in the region had shrunk: ″This fact is attested by relics of civilization there, such as monuments, architectural sculpture, and the visible remains of villages and hamlets.″[24] The ruins and abandoned cities of Yemen, Iraq, and Syria similarly testified to the decay of the world. One of the main aims of the *Muqaddimah*—arguably its chief aim—was to explain why there

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[19] *Prolégomènes*, 16:217–18; *Muqaddimah,* 1:243–44.

[20] *Prolégomènes*, 16:217; *Muqaddimah,* 1:243.

[21] Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 4 vols. (Hyderabad, 1929–32), 3:376–77. (Note that the man in question is not the famous Andalusian statesman and polygraph, Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb.)

[22] M. Reinaud, ″Divination et Histoire Nord-Africaine au temps d′Ibn Khaldun,″ *Hesperis* 30 (1943): 215.

[23] *Prolégomènes*, 16:52; *Muqaddimah,* 1:64.

[24] *Prolégomènes*, 16:272–73; *Muqaddimah,* 1:304–5.

were more ruins in North Africa and the Islamic world generally than there were settled habitations.

The Arab race had long ago exhausted itself, and with the exhaustion of the Berbers would come the extinction of Maghribi civilization.[25] Ibn Khaldūn believed that power was moving from the Andalusian clime to the north. As Aziz Al-Azmeh has noted, ″Ibn Khaldūn seems . . . to have had a strong sense that momentous developments were taking place in the North [i.e., in Christian Europe], and surmised that the centre of gravity of human habitation was moving northwards—for which there were (according to him) ample stellar causes, as well as mundane ones he could not quite grasp. The passage is difficult to interpret, as the allusion in it might equally have been to the growing power of the Ottomans, to which there are other vague references in the *Muqaddimah.*″[26]

All of the above serves as a rather lengthy introduction to certain aspects of the historical thinking of al-Maqrīzī. Al-Maqrīzī knew Ibn Khaldūn and he appears to have read at least some of the *Muqaddimah,* but how much did al-Maqrīzī learn from this? Although the only subject that we know al-Maqrīzī formally studied with Ibn Khaldūn was *mīqāt,* the science of time measurement (which was used both for religious and for astrological purposes), it is perfectly clear that al-Maqrīzī was familiar with Ibn Khaldūn′s ideas about history. He gave Ibn Khaldūn a fairly lengthy entry in his biographical dictionary, the *Durar al-ʻUqūd,* in which he was unstinting in his praise of Ibn Khaldūn′s mastery of historiography and most specifically enthusiastic about the *Muqaddimah.*[27] Among other praiseworthy features, ″it reveals the truth of things, events, and news; it explains all the state of the universe and reveals the origin of all beings in an admirable plain style.″ Moreover, at several points in the *Durar,* al-Maqrīzī borrowed from Ibn Khaldūn.[28] Ibn Ḥajar and al-Sakhāwī later quoted al-Maqrīzī on the incomparability of the *Muqaddimah,* though they both had doubts whether the

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[25]On this aspect of Ibn Khaldūn′s pessimism, see Abdallah Laroui, *L′histoire du Maghreb: un essai de synthèse* (Paris, 1976), 1:202–3.

[26]Aziz Al-Azmeh, ″Mortal Enemies, Invisible Neighbours: Northerners in Andalusi Eyes,″ in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain,* ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden, 1992), 269. Azmeh is discussing a passage that does not appear in the standard edited text of the *Muqaddimah.* For this text see M'barek Redjala, ″Un texte inédit de la Muqaddima,″ *Arabica* 22 (1975): 321–22; see also *Prolégomènes*, 2:245–46; *Muqaddimah,* 2:281–82 on the greater wealth of Christian merchants and Eastern merchants and how this is attested to by astrology.

[27]Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī, ″Durar al-ʻUqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-Aʻyān al-Mufīdah lil-Maqrīzī,″ *Majallat al-Majmaʻ al-ʻIlmī al–ʻIrāqī* 13 (1966): 235.

[28]Nasser O. Rabbat, ″Maqrīzī′s *Khiṭaṭ*, an Egyptian *Lieu de Mémoire,″* in *The Cairo Heritage: Essays in Honor of Laila Ali Ibrahim,* ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Cairo, 2000), 24.

book really was as good as al-Maqrīzī cracked it up to be.[29] (Incidentally, composition of *Durar al-'Uqūd* seems to have had a melancholy inspiration, for as al-Maqrīzī noted in the introduction, "By the time I was fifty most of my friends and acquaintances had perished. . . .") Ibn Ḥajar sardonically observed that al-Maqrīzī was only so enthusiastic about Ibn Khaldūn because he had not understood him properly. Although al-Maqrīzī was unstinting in his praise of Ibn Khaldūn, the casually arrogant immigrant genius from the Maghrib never troubled to mention the latter at all—neither in the *Muqaddimah,* nor in the *Ta'rīf.*

It is perfectly plausible that al-Maqrīzī learned important lessons from the older historian, but, of course, what modern thinkers, like Arnold Toynbee, Ernest Gellner, and others, have admired in Ibn Khaldūn and taken away from a reading of the *Muqaddimah* may not be the same as what al-Maqrīzī may have learned from his acquaintanceship with the man and the work. Indeed, al-Maqrīzī in the fifteenth century seems to have read a rather different book from the one we read today. But first I would like to draw attention to some obvious contrasts between the two historians. Although the *Muqaddimah* concentrated on broad historical developments and their underlying social and economic causes, when Ibn Khaldūn actually came to write history in the *'Ibar* and, more briefly and scrappily, in the *Ta'rīf,* the results, as many have noted, are disappointing. Ibn Khaldūn mostly wrote a thoroughly conventional narrative history. By contrast, al-Maqrīzī was actually the more theoretical when it came to writing history as opposed to theorizing about it. He did give weight to broad social and economic causes. It is only disappointing that his economic information was so often erroneous and his social analyses skewed by a religious and moralistic perspective.

Secondly, if, as we have seen, Ibn Khaldūn was a rather gloomy historian, al-Maqrīzī was even gloomier. Though Ibn Khaldūn was gloomy about the Maghrib and about the End of the World in general, he actually took a thoroughly upbeat view of life in Cairo, on the peaceful nature of existence in Mamluk Egypt and Syria, and of the dynamic and Islamic virtues of the Mamluks themselves. Ibn Khaldūn presented an essentially false picture of life in Egypt as prosperous and peaceful and free from tribal disputes.[30] In Ibn Khaldūn's eyes, the Mamluks were benign patrons of scholarship and architecture and, above all, they were the saviours of Islam. For al-Maqrīzī, on the other hand, they were "more lustful than monkeys,

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[29]Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1968), 498; cf. M. A. Enan, *Ibn Khaldūn, His Life and Work* (New Delhi, 1979), 98–99.

[30]On Ibn Khaldūn's (unduly rosy) picture of the Mamluk sultanate, see Robert Irwin, "Rural Feuding and Mamluk Faction Fighting in Medieval Egypt and Syria," to be published in *Texts, Documents and Artifacts: Islamic Studies in Honour of D. S. Richards*, ed. Chase F. Robinson (forthcoming 2002). See also Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn in Egypt,* 78–79, on Ibn Khaldūn's neglect of the great famine in Egypt.

more ravenous than rats, more harmful than wolves."[31]

Al-Maqrīzī, by contrast preferred to harp on all the disasters that had recently befallen Egypt—most of which, according to the *Ighāthah,* had been caused by the ruling regime's mismanagement and corruption.[32] Notoriously, al-Maqrīzī was nostalgic about the glory days of the Fatimids. He also painted for himself an unduly positive assessment of the condition of Egypt and Syria under the early Bahri Mamluk sultans. Historical nostalgia mingled with personal nostalgia—nostalgia for the time before he lost his only daughter, for the time when he enjoyed the favor of the sultan Barqūq to such an extent that one of his contemporaries described him as the sultan's *nadīm,* for the time when most of his friends were still alive, for the time when one could still buy the sweets he particularly liked in the Cairo market. The flipside of al-Maqrīzī's pervasive nostalgia was, as we shall see, his apprehension about the future.

Thirdly, if al-Maqrīzī was gloomier than Ibn Khaldūn, he was also much loonier—and he was totally uncritical in his embrace of the occult and the prophetic. Al-ʻAynī in his brief obituary of al-Maqrīzī accused him of being obsessed with history, yes, but also of being obsessed with *darb al-ramal,* or geomancy.[33] According to al-Sakhāwī, al-Maqrīzī cast Ibn Khaldūn's horoscope and, on the basis of this, predicted that the latter would hold high office. Al-Sakhāwī described al-Maqrīzī as an expert on *zā'irajah,* the astrolabe, geomancy, and *mīqāt* (time-keeping).[34] Al-Maqrīzī was also convinced of the predictive power of dreams. Towards the end of the reign of al-Ashraf Shaʻbān an acquaintance of al-Maqrīzī's dreamt of Barqūq as an ape preaching from a *minbar* and unsuccessfully trying to lead the people in prayer. From this he deduced that the dream had predicted the rise of Barqūq, as the Circassian sultan had the qualities of an ape—niggardliness and corruption. Ibn Taghrībirdī thought al-Maqrīzī's interpretation of this quite ridiculous.[35] Incidentally, Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Maqrīzī's student, fan, and historiographical rival, had no time for astrology at all and in the *Nujūm* he repeatedly went out of his way to highlight the failed predictions of the *munajjim.*

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[31]Nasser O. Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden, 1995), 293–94 and note.

[32]Adel Allouche, *Mamluk Economics: A Study and Translation of al-Maqrīzī's* Ighāthah (Salt Lake City, 1994).

[33]Badr al-Dīn al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān*, ed. ʻAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Qarmūṭ (Cairo, 1985), 2:574.

[34]Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʻ,* 12 vols. (Cairo, 1934–36), 2:24.

[35]Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* 12 vols. (Cairo, 1929–56), 5:423–24.

He believed that astrology, like the other *'ulūm al-awā'il,* was doomed to disappear.[36] Moreover, to return to dreams, the narrative of al-Maqrīzī's chronicle, the *Sulūk,* is peppered with accounts of political dreams that came true.[37]

In the *Khiṭaṭ,* al-Maqrīzī wrote that, since the Egyptian people were governed by Gemini, they were especially gifted in predicting the future. He instanced the time when in 791 Barqūq escaped from prison in Kerak in Transjordan and people in the Bayn al-Qasrayn in Cairo knew that very day.[38] It is natural that the *Khiṭaṭ* should have been read primarily as a source on the topography of Cairo and on the history of the Fatimids and Mamluks. However, to do this runs the risk of neglecting entire sections of the *Khiṭaṭ* that offer the modern reader no useful historical information (at least not useful in terms of mainstream historiography). But it is noteworthy that, after some preliminary pious throat-clearing, the *Khiṭaṭ* actually opens with a substantial disquisition on astrology. According to al-Maqrīzī, a grasp of this subject is necessary if the reader is to follow what he is to going to write about later. The familiar great names in Islamic astrology, Abū Ma'shar, al-Bīrūnī, and so on are cited, but al-Maqrīzī's interest was not merely theoretical and, for example, in order to predict the annual rise of the Nile flood, al-Maqrīzī followed a technique set forth by al-Bīrūnī, a method which involved a board and lots of seeds.[39] Most important, al-Maqrīzī believed that the fate of Egypt was foretold in the doom-saying of astrologers—as we shall see.

Al-Maqrīzī's gloomy ponderings on the future of Egypt arose naturally from his imagining of what Egypt's past had been. He knew—or thought he knew—that Egypt had once been a land of fabulous wealth, or rather it had several times been a land of fabulous wealth.[40] First, there had been the wealth of the Pharaohs, both before and after the Flood. Then there was the wealth of Egypt under its Rumi (Greek and Roman) rulers. Then, there was the well-attested wealth of the Fatimid caliphs. It even seemed to al-Maqrīzī that in the early Mamluk period Egypt had been more prosperous than it now was. So the question naturally arose, if, in former times, Egypt had been so very wealthy, where had all that treasure gone? Barqūq's Cairo was after all a dump in al-Maqrīzī's eyes. Ibn Khaldūn, in his

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[36]See for examples ibid., 7:220, and note; 7:789–90.

[37]On the literary uses of dreams in chronicles of the Mamluk era written by al-Maqrīzī and others, see Barbara Langer, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Volkskunde Ägyptens nach mamlukischen Quellen* (Berlin, 1983), 70–85.

[38]Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār (al-Khiṭaṭ),* 2 vols. (Cairo, 1853–54), 1:86–87.

[39]Ibid, 1:8–14.

[40]Though the theme is pervasive throughout the *Khiṭaṭ,* al-Maqrīzī devoted a short section specifically to the destruction of the wealth of Egypt (*Khiṭaṭ,* 1:73–74), which contains some characteristically eccentric speculations about fossilized watermelons, cucumbers, and other fruits.

discussion of treasure-hunting, had asked himself precisely the same question. What had happened to the great wealth of past cultures? The sensible answer, as far as Ibn Khaldūn was concerned, was that those riches had been transferred elsewhere to other more successful cultures. Ancient Egypt′s wealth had been plundered, first by the Persians and then by the Greeks.[41] Al-Maqrīzī, who was never so fond of sensible answers, took a somewhat different view.

In his chapter on the *maṭālib* in the *Khiṭaṭ,* al-Maqrīzī wrote about *The Book of Treasures,* or *'Ilm al-Kunūz:* ″It is said that the Greeks [i.e., Byzantines] in leaving Egypt and Syria hid most of their treasures, but they wrote down in books where they had hidden those treasures and these books were deposited in a church in Constantinople.″[42] Alternatively, according to al-Maqrīzī, the Greeks took older treasure books (presumably dating from Pharaonic times) to the church in Constantinople. Each servant of the church who guarded those valuable texts received one page of where to find treasure as his reward. Ibn Khaldūn took the more sensible view that no one who was hiding treasure would then set about writing out instructions that others could use to find that treasure.[43] However, it was obvious to al-Maqrīzī at least that most of the treasures of antiquity had been hidden here and there all over Egypt. It is worth remembering that he lived in an age of thesaurisation, when viziers and other state functionaries routinely salted away the proceeds of office-holding in hollow columns, hidden cupboards, and holes beneath their courtyards.[44] Al-Maqrīzī actually devoted a whole treatise to hidden treasures, the *Kitāb al-Dhakhā'ir,* which has not survived. However, he also discussed the subject in the *Khiṭaṭ* and he relayed stories that are found in Ibn Waṣīf Shāh, al-Mas'ūdī and al-Murtaḍá, about the treasure-hunting *muṭālibūn,* who ventured into the pyramids and other places.

The pyramids were not merely storehouses of material treasure—of gold, silver, and jewels, but they were also repositories of intellectual treasures. Al-Maqrīzī shared the widely held view that the pyramids were a sort of collection of educational time- capsules that had been built to preserve ancient Egypt′s intellectual heritage from a predicted catastrophe (the theme of ecpyrosis). Egypt had once been home to Hermes, or Idrīs, and he taught all the sciences to the inhabitants of the land before the Flood.

According to Ibn Waṣīf Shāh (fl. ca. 1000), the author of a widely credited but quite fantastic history of ancient Egypt, King Surīd had a dream which his counsellors

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[41]*Prolégomènes*, 17:285–86; *Muqaddimah,* 2:324–25.

[42]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 1:71. The section on *maṭālib:* 70–73.

[43]*Prolégomènes*, 17:285; *Muqaddimah,* 2:324.

[44]A *makhba'* was a place in the house designed for the hiding of treasure. See E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 3rd ed. (London, 1896), 16.

interpreted as a warning of coming catastrophe. Unable to determine whether it would be by fire or by water, they built the pyramids to preserve within them their wisdom in a picture language that people in future centuries would be able to decode and they also drew diagrams on the walls of their temples. Al-Maqrīzī related a series of tales, also found in al-Mas'ūdī, al-Idrīsī, and others, about those who ventured into the pyramids looking for treasure or excitement. Most of these tales had a moralizing burden.[45] One story must have been particularly dear to the author of *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd*. It was related that treasure hunters excavating in the area of the pyramids presented Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn with a jar of ancient pure gold dinars in one of the pyramids and the inscription on the dinars declared in the ancient *barbatī* script ″He who has been able to issue pure currency will be pure in this life and the next.″[46]

The Sphinx was the talismanic guardian that saved Giza from being engulfed by sands. Another factor behind al-Maqrīzī′s engagement with the occult was his fierce patriotism. He wanted to boast about his land and, in order to do so, he invoked it′s *'ajā'ib,* its marvellous temples, talismans, wonder-working pillars, and buried treasures.

Some of the messages that the ancients had transmitted across the centuries were warnings for al-Maqrīzī and his contemporaries. According to al-Maqrīzī, there was once a temple in Ikhmīm, now lost, with pictures and images that recorded the past and future of the world. He was steeped in the writings of the eighth-century Sufi Dhū al-Nūn al-Miṣrī—or at least the writings ascribed to him, for much or all of the occult material is presumably pseudepigrapha. According to al-Maqrīzī, Dhū al-Nūn had succeeded in deciphering a Pharaonic inscription in a temple, presumably in Ikhmīm. The inscription warned its readers, ″Beware of freed slaves, young men, military men become slaves, and Nabataeans who claim that they are Arabs.″[47] (So it would seem that ancient sages had foretold the coming of the Mamluks.)

More conclusively for the pious Muslim, Egypt′s sad fate had been foretold in Prophetic hadiths. Egypt was safe only as long as Iraq was unscathed, according to several hadiths, but according to another hadith, there would come a time when Egypt would be ruined by the overflowing of the Nile and military revolts would break out. According to yet another hadith, Egypt and Basra would become the most desolate of places. Red fighting and dry hunger would ruin Egypt and the

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[45]For al-Maqrīzī on pyramids, see *Khiṭaṭ*, 1:199–216 and cf. 1:53. See also Erich Graefe, ed. and tr., *Das Pyramidenkapitel in al-Makrizi′s ″Hitat″ nach zwei Berliner unde zwei Münchener Handschriften* (Leipzig, 1911).

[46]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:73.

[47]Ibid, 1:69.

Nile would dry up. More puzzlingly it had also been foretold that ″when men with yellow flags shall enter Egypt the Syrians shall dig roads under the ground.″ The ″men with yellow flags″ might well be the armies of the Ayyubids or Mamluks (for yellow was the color of their standards), but what is supposed to be going to happen in Syria? Again Egypt should beware when it should be the target of the fourfold blows of the Andalusians, Abyssinians, Turks, and Rumis.[48] And so on… and al-Maqrīzī proceeded from these and numerous other doom-laden prophecies to a description of the ruined situation of al-Fusṭāṭ in his own time.[49]

In the opening pages of the *Khiṭaṭ*, al-Maqrīzī declared that the purpose of the study of history was to warn people and prepare them for departure from mortal life. Also that history was the most important of the sciences ″for it contains warnings and exhortations reminding man that he must quit this world for the next.″ Also, ″through such study, a person whose blindness of heart and vision was removed by God, will learn about the destruction and final disgrace which fell to the lot of his fellow-men after the handling of wealth and power.″ And in a version of the text of the *Khiṭaṭ,* quoted in al-Sakhāwī′s *I'lān*, al-Maqrīzī continued ″and he will come to abstain from this world and to wish for the other world.″[50] His gloomy animadversions on the decline of Egypt under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn and his descendants and the slide to worse yet under the early Circassian sultans should be seen within the broader framework of his historical vision, which encompassed the pre-Adamite sultans, the antediluvian Pharaohs, the Deluge, and the rule of Rome. The *Khiṭaṭ* considers how many centuries have passed since the world was created and how few years yet it and Islam have to endure, before the coming of the Mahdi.[51] Ever since Silvestre de Sacy and his student, Quatremère, historians have stressed al-Maqrīzī′s importance as a historian and it is certainly true that history was his chief interest. However, this stress has been at the expense of al-Maqrīzī′s wider literary and intellectual interests. For, after all, he wrote poetry, as well as treatises on bees, on precious stones, on music, on dogmatics, on the domestic objects in the household of the Prophet, a life of Tamīm al-Dārī, a polemical attack on the followers of Ibn al-'Arabī in Damascus, a biographical dictionary of artists (*The Light of the Lamp and the Answer of Company in Respect of the Annals of Artists),* as well as a treatise on secret letters and talismans.[52] All in all, he claimed to have written more than 200

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[48]Ibid, 2:124–26.

[49]Ibid, 2:126–34.

[50]Ibid, 1:3–4; Rosenthal, *History,* 315–16.

[51]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 1:440–53.

[52]Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden, 1949), 1:654. On the treatise on artists, see Thomas Arnold, *Painting in Islam* (Oxford, 1928) 22, 138.

works. History was at the core of his oeuvre, but occult and eschatological concerns were at the core of his history. It is difficult to be sure what Ibn Khaldūn and al-Maqrīzī talked about when they met, but it is probable that they talked more about knowledge of the future than the past. If Ibn Khaldūn in Egypt succeeded in anything, it was in passing on his pessimism and his speculative interest in the future to al-Maqrīzī.

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Royal Authority, Justice, and Order in Society: The Influence of Ibn Khaldūn on the Writings of al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī

Modern historians of the Ottoman Empire have long been familiar with the decline paradigm, which was espoused by Ottoman intellectuals in the late tenth/sixteenth, eleventh/seventeenth, and twelfth/eighteenth centuries. These intellectuals felt that the empire had undergone a societal, financial, and administrative transformation for the worse. This transformation, or more accurately, decline, was often evaluated unfavorably in the context of previous periods of Ottoman history, especially but not exclusively the reigns of Mehmed I (r. 855–86/1451–81), Selim I (918–26/1512–20), or Suleyman the Magnificent (r. 926–74/1520–66).[1] Ottoman decline theorists tended both to describe society's ills, and to offer practical advice for curing them. This they did in the *nasihatnamah*s, a new type of advice manual that was peculiar to the Ottoman literary scene.[2] Unlike the older and well-established genre of mirrors-for-princes, which tended to proffer general advice on all aspects of royal behavior, the *nasihatnamah*s were unique in that they presented both descriptions of actual societal decline, and pragmatic programs for the reform of society.

Modern historians writing on the Ottoman Empire took over this model of decline, which resulted in the appearance of scholarly works on Ottoman history arranged according to the notions of rise, apogee, decline, and disintegration. More recently, however, it has been argued that the general hand-wringing about the state of the times and the proliferation of advice manuals written by concerned Ottomans points not, as previously suspected, to an actual state of decline and disarray in matters social, financial, and administrative, but rather to the health and vigor of the Ottoman system. Scholars are still discussing the usefulness of

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[1]Ottoman nostalgia for times past has been described in modern literature as referring to a "Golden Age." For the complexities both of this nostalgia and the Golden Age model, see Cemal Kafedar, "Ottoman Historical Consciousness in the Post-Sülymânic Age: The Myth of the Golden Age," in *Süleymân the Second and His Time,* ed. Halil İnalcık and Cemal Kafadar (Istanbul, 1993), 37–48.

[2]Cornell Fleischer, "From Şeyhzade Korkud to Mustafa Âli: Cultural Origins of the Ottoman *Nasihatname,"* in *Third Congress on the Social and Economic History of Turkey: Princeton University, 24–26 August, 1983,* ed. Heath W. Lowry and Ralph S. Hattox (Istanbul, Washington, and Paris, 1990), 67.

the decline paradigm as a way to understand Ottoman history, but such a discussion is too broad for the scope of this article, and will not be addressed here.[3]

More pertinent to the current venue is the question of the intellectual inspiration for Ottoman decline literature. Many sources played a role in the development of the genre, but only the intellectual contributions of one particular figure will concern us here.[4] The figure in question is the North African scholar Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406), whose work served to inspire the *nasihatnamah*s of several important Ottoman decline theorists.[5] Ibn Khaldūn presented a clear analysis of several crucial ideas: the cyclical theory of history with its assumptions about the rise and fall of dynasties; the related comparison of the state to the body with a life cycle of birth, growth, maturity, old age, and death; and the connections among strong royal authority, justice, and an ordered society, with the consequent assumption that weak royal authority led to the spread of injustice and societal disorder.[6] Ibn Khaldūn was not unique in presenting these notions, especially that of the relationship between royal authority and order; indeed, although central to his arguments in the *Muqaddimah,* this concept is in fact recognizable as the ancient political theory of the Circle of Justice, which had already entered the Ottoman intellectual scene in the writings of such thinkers as Nāṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) and Jalāl al-Dīn Davānī (d. 908/1502–3). Like Ibn Khaldūn himself, they drew on the full array of Persian, Greek, and Indian statecraft, all of which helped contribute to the decline genre.[7] Indeed, Ibn Khaldūn was so popular not because his ideas were unique (although some of them were), but rather because he expressed familiar ideas in a systematic and straightforward way.[8] Thus probably during the tenth/sixteenth century and certainly by the eleventh/seventeenth, Ibn Khaldūn had developed a following of well-educated Ottoman admirers, many of whom

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[3]See Cemal Kafadar's "The Question of Ottoman Decline," *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 4 (1998): 30–75; Cornell Fleischer, "Royal Authority, Dynastic Cyclism and 'Ibn Khaldûnism' in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Letters," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 18 (1983): 198–219. Also see Kafadar, "Golden Age"; Bernard Lewis, "Ottoman Observers of Ottoman Decline," *Islamic Studies* 1 (1962): 71–87; Klaus Röhrborn, *Untersuchen zur osmanischen Verwaltungsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1973), 6–11; Hans Georg Majer, "Die Kritik an dem Ulema in den osmanischen politischen Traktaten des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts," in *Social and Economic History of Turkey (1071–1920)*, ed. Osman Okyar and Halal İnalcık (Ankara, 1980), 147–55; and Halil İnalcık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600–1700," *Archivum Ottomanicum* 6 (1980): 283–84.

[4]See Fleischer, "*Nasihatname*."

[5]For a discussion of the emergence of Ibn Khaldūn as a major figure in Ottoman reform literature see Fleischer, "Ibn Khaldûnism," 199–203.

[6]Ibid., 199–200.

[7]Ibid., 201.

[8]Ibid., 202.

believed both in the reality of Ottoman decline, and in their own power to suggest reform.[9]

A familiarity with the question of Ottoman decline might prompt historians of the Mamluk Sultanate to investigate the Mamluk case in light of the Ottoman model. Certainly Mamluk Egypt and Syria experienced considerable societal and economic disarray during the ninth/fifteenth and early tenth/sixteenth centuries, if not earlier.[10] And certainly at least two major ninth/fifteenth-century Mamluk-era intellectuals, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) and his student Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470), appear to have felt that they were living in a period of societal decline. Furthermore, of these two men, al-Maqrīzī was unquestionably influenced by the work, theories, and person of Ibn Khaldūn, while Ibn Taghrībirdī appears to have absorbed Ibn Khaldūnian notions indirectly through al-Maqrīzī.

The parallels between the Ottoman and Mamluk cases are certainly far from complete, however, for whereas Ottoman intellectuals responded to the challenge of perceived decline by penning pragmatic programs of renewal, Mamluk authors—with only few exceptions—displayed little interest in writing advice literature at all.[11] Furthermore, it has been taken as axiomatic by modern scholars

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[9]Ibid., 199–203.

[10]For a discussion of the problems in society begun during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, see Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn* (Leiden, 1995).

[11]Two exceptions to this rule are the *Kitāb Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām fī Tadbīr Ahl al-Islām* of Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Jamāʻah (d. 833/1333), and the *Āthār al-uwal fī Tartīb al-Duwal* of al-Ḥasan Ibn al-ʻAbbāsī (fl. 708/1308–9). See Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Jamāʻah, *Kitāb Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām fī Tadbīr Ahl al-Islām*, ed. Hans Kofler as ″Handbuch des Islamichen Staats- und Verwaltungsrechtes von Badr al-Dīn Ibn Gamāʻah,″ *Islamica* 6 (1934): 347–414, and Ḥasan Ibn al-ʻAbbāsī, *Āthār al-uwal fī Tartīb al-Duwal,* ed. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ʻUmayrah (Beirut, 1989). However, both works were composed long before the accepted ″decline″ phase of Mamluk history began in the ninth/fifteenth century. Predictably, these two works address the greatest concern of early eighth/fourteenth century Mamluk society, the threat of military, cultural, and religious annihilation at the hands of the Ilkhanids. As a result, both works seek to provide advice and moral support to the ruler in the face of this danger. A later example of advice work is the *Fākihat al-Khulafā' wa-Mufākahat al-Zurafā'* by the ninth/fifteenth-century author Ibn ʻArabshāh (d. 854/1450). This work is a collection of enlightening tales featuring both humans and animals, and also includes snippets of historical narrative. A second advice work attributed to Ibn ʻArabshāh is the Persian *Marzubān-nāmah,* but Ibn ʻArabshāh was merely a translator for this work, not the author. Furthermore, although Ibn ʻArabshāh began and ended his life in the Mamluk Sultanate, his many years spent in Central Asia and Anatolia make him a unique intellect and voice, and not a product of the Mamluk intellectual milieu. Thus he and his advice works should be considered exceptions to the Mamluk norm. For the best short biography of Ibn ʻArabshāh to date, see Robert G. Irwin, ″What the Partridge told the Eagle: a Neglected Arabic Source on Chinggis Khan and the Early

writing in English that Ibn Khaldūn had little effect on intellectuals writing in Arabic. (The opposite point of view has been taken as axiomatic by modern scholars writing in Arabic.) Regardless, Ibn Khaldūn did serve as an important mentor and teacher to al-Maqrīzī, who, like the Ottoman decline theorists, argued powerfully that his own day and time suffered from societal, administrative, and financial disfunction and disarray. Al-Maqrīzī supported his arguments by defaming his contemporaries, particularly members of the military elite and their civilian advisors. In the later stages of his life, al-Maqrīzī displayed a marked interest in the past, whether that of his own family or of Egypt as a whole, which could be interpreted as nostalgia for an earlier (and better) vanished age.

I myself have argued elsewhere that both al-Maqrīzī's disillusionment with contemporary life and his criticism of the ruling elite can be traced in part to his own personal failures in the competitive world of the Mamluk ulama.[12] Certainly the particulars of al-Maqrīzī's own experience cannot be discounted in understanding the grim vision he brought to some of his writings on contemporary society.[13] Nevertheless, in view of the effect that Ibn Khaldūn had on Ottoman theorists of decline, it seems sensible to question his effect on al-Maqrīzī. After all, al-Maqrīzī was extremely impressed by Ibn Khaldūn, whom he described as: ". . . the elite that the Age brings only rarely."[14] And al-Maqrīzī not only read Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah*, but praised it highly: ". . . [It is] unlike any other work . . . the essence of knowledge and science, and the product of sound intellect and understanding."[15]

Thus if Ibn Khaldūn's work was influential enough in the Ottoman Empire to produce a group of admirers who knew him only through his writing, surely the same compelling ideas might have had some effect on a student like al-Maqrīzī, who knew Ibn Khaldūn personally and was favorably impressed by him. Furthermore, since Ibn Khaldūn's intellectual legacy in Ottoman territory was primarily due to his appealing formulations of the notions of royal authority and justice, the cyclical history of dynasties, and the human metaphor for the body

History of the Mongols," in *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy*, ed. Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (Leiden, 1999), 5.

[12]Anne F. Broadbridge, "Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: al-'Aynī, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 85–107.

[13]For a more comprehensive view of al-Maqrīzī's life, personality, and peculiarities, see the work of Nasser Rabbat elsewhere in this volume. For a discussion of social class in this context, see Irmeli Perho, "Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrī Birdī as Historians of Contemporary Events," in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800),* ed. Hugh Kennedy (London, 2001): 107–20.

[14]Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī, "Tarjamat Ibn Khaldūn lil-Maqrīzī," *Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Irāqī* 13 (1966): 220.

[15]Ibid., 235.

politic, might not al-Maqrīzī also display signs of having been influenced by some of those inspiring ideas?

Indeed al-Maqrīzī does demonstrate a marked interest in at least one notion dear to Ibn Khaldūn: that of the connections among royal authority, justice, and the maintenance of order in society. In al-Maqrīzī's hands, however, the concept is most frequently shown in reverse as the weakening of royal authority, the proliferation of injustice and the resultant spread of societal disorder. Evidence for al-Maqrīzī's interest can be found in his little treatise *Ighāthat al-Ummah fī Kashf al-Ghummah,* which was written in 808/1405 in response to an economic crisis in Egypt.[16] The crisis in question had begun in 806/1403–4, and was characterized by rapid and unprecedented inflation, especially in the prices of foodstuffs and clothing. The seriousness of the matter is indicated by the behavior of the Royal Mamluks, who rioted early in 806/1403 to force the sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj (r. 801–8/1399–1405; 808–15/1405–12) to give them their pay, clothing allowances, and fodder for their horses.[17] Indeed, the difficulties of the situation were further mirrored by the behavior of Faraj's viziers, three of whom went into hiding in 806/1403–4 because they could not handle the financial demands of the vizierate and the expenses of the Royal household and Royal Mamluks.[18] This crisis at the highest levels of the financial administration was exacerbated throughout society by a poor Nile flood, a spate of bad weather that led to illness and death, and inflation in the price of medicine.[19]

The economic trouble of 806/1403–4 was surely worsened by diplomatic tribulations, for it was in this year that Faraj was forced to profess his vassalage to the Turkic warlord Timur (d. 807/1405), who had occupied and devastated Damascus in 803/1400–1. Relations between the two sides were tense for months, beginning in Muḥarram 806/July–August 1403 when ambassadors from Timur arrived and paraded through the streets of Damascus and Cairo, waving Timur's banners from the back of an elephant.[20] Worse yet, with this embassy Timur sent an adolescent-

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[16]Adel Allouche, *Mamluk Economics: A Study and Translation of al-Maqrīzī's* Ighāthah (Salt Lake City, 1994).

[17]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Muluk,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Sa'īd 'Āshūr (Cairo, 1956–73), 3:1113.

[18]In the previous year there had only been one disappearance; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:1104. For the disappearances in 806/1403–4, see 3:1113, 1116, and 1119.

[19]For Nile flood problems, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:1115; for bad weather, illness, and death, see 3:1119–20, 1124–25.

[20]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:1111; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah mentions their arrival in Damascus in Dhū al-Qa'dah 805/May–June 1403 on the way to Cairo in *Tārikh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* ed. 'Adnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1977–97), 4:312; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr fī Abnā' al-'Umr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1389/1969), 2:256.

sized robe of honor to the adolescent sultan.[21] The flags, the elephant, the robe: all these served as a proclamation of Timur′s superiority and a humiliating public indication of Mamluk vassalage. When Timur′s ambassadors were finally sent back to Samarqand at the end of the year, they were accompanied by a Mamluk ambassador and an unspecified amount of material goods, which appears to have been meant as tribute.[22] Any loss in money and goods to Samarqand may have struck a further financial blow to an administration already in dire straits. Interestingly, however, al-Maqrīzī does not mention these material goods either in the *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* or in the *Ighāthah.* This suggests either that al-Maqrīzī was unaware of the tribute leaving the sultanate for points east, or (like most other Mamluk chroniclers) was too embarrassed to discuss it.[23]

At any rate, the focus of the *Ighāthah* is on internal matters, which implies that it was intended for some person of authority within the Mamluk administration. Unfortunately the work does not address any particular individual, thus al-Maqrīzī′s specific audience—if he had one—is unknown. The contents of the work indicate that al-Maqrīzī understood Ibn Khaldūn′s maxim about the need for strong royal authority to provide justice to a well-ordered state, for in the treatise al-Maqrīzī goes to some trouble to identify the reasons for current financial decline and explain the singular role played in that decline by the injustice of the ruling class. In the text al-Maqrīzī describes a historical series of dearths and famines in Egypt, but takes care to suggest that they were all caused by natural disasters or insufficient Nile floods. When he reaches the economic crisis of the early ninth/fifteenth century, by contrast, al-Maqrīzī attributes it directly to the incompetence and mismanagement of the ruling class, stating: ″. . . what has befallen the population is caused solely by the malfeasance of the leaders and

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[21]The Mamluk amirs refused to let Faraj put the robe on; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā*ʾ*,* 2:256.

[22]Ibn ʿArabshāh mentions the arrival of a Mamluk ambassador with tribute in Samarqand. See Ibn ʿArabshāh, *ʿAjāʾib al-Maqdūr fī Nawāʾib Tīmūr,* ed. Aḥmad Fāʾiẓ al-Ḥimṣī (Beirut, 1407/1987), 380; J. H. Sanders, *Tamerlane: or, Timur, the Great Amir* (Lahore, 1936), 220. Sanders does not appear to have realized the significance of the Arabic technical terms for tribute, *ḥaml* and *taqādum* (sing. *taqdimah*), which he translates merely as ″various gifts.″ Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo also makes a passing reference to a Mamluk ambassador and a collection of ″gifts″ [tribute?] in *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo to the court of Timour at Samarcand, A.D. 1403–6,* tr. Clements R. Markham, Hakluyt Society Second Series No. 26 (London, 1859), 86–87.

[23]The only contemporary Mamluk historians to discuss Timur′s ambassadors in humiliating detail are Ibn Ḥajar and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā*ʾ*,* 2:256–57, and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārikh,* 4:312. The others, al-Maqrīzī included, mention the embassy but omit the embarrassing parts. I cannot believe, however, that they were unaware of them. After all, who could miss banners waving from an elephant that paraded in public in multiple Mamluk cities?

rulers, and their negligence with regard to the public interest.″[24]

Al-Maqrīzī lists three reasons for the current economic disaster, all of which stem from inappropriate and oppressive behavior (i.e., injustice) among the ruling elite. First is the fact that important positions in the civil administration can only be gained or kept through the payment of bribes. He argues that this practice results in oppression by the appointed official on those beneath him, since he needs to make back the investment that gained him the position in the first place.[25] Al-Maqrīzī specifically mentions market inspection *(ḥisbah)* as an example of one of these corrupt positions, which may reflect his own loss of that post after an unpleasant struggle with his rival, the historian Badr al-Dīn Mahmūd al-ʻAynī, in 801–3/1399–1400.[26]

Al-Maqrīzī identifies the second reason for the economic crisis as the increase of taxes and fees collected from estates (*iqṭā*ʻs) controlled by members of the military elite. He explains that this increase has taken place solely so that the military elite can squeeze these estates of every last drop of profit, to the detriment both of those working the land, and the land itself.[27] Like the changes in the system of civil appointments, this demonstrates not only the greed of the military elite, but the injustice of their behavior as they permit their civilian subordinates to plunder estates and oppress the laborers on them.

The third reason al-Maqrīzī gives for the current economic malaise is the ill-advised and tyrannical decision of the Mamluk administration to circulate copper coins *(fals*, pl. *fulūs)* as currency. This is the main target of al-Maqrīzī′s essay.[28] When elaborating on this theme, al-Maqrīzī identifies the major villain in the economic ruin of Egypt as one Mahmūd ibn ʻAlī, a civilian from Alexandria who rose in the military hierarchy until he reached the position of the high steward *(ustādār)* under Barqūq in 790/1388, shortly before that sultan was thrown from power in the civil war of 791/1388–89.[29] Mahmūd′s exemplary loyalty to the sultan during the unrest of 791/1388–89 earned him a stint in prison in chains; this seems to have inspired Barqūq to reinstate Mahmūd shortly after he himself fought his way back to power in Muḥarram 792/December 1389–January 1390. Mahmūd soon reached glorious heights of responsibility, power, and wealth.[30]

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[24]Allouche, *Ighāthah,* 24.

[25]Ibid., 52.

[26]See Broadbridge, ″Rivalry,″ 89–90. In that article I did not address the question of bribery, but the role that bribery played in the struggle between the two men might also be considered.

[27]Allouche, *Ighāthah,* 53–54.

[28]Allouche, *Ighāthah,* editor′s introduction, 2–4; text, 55–72.

[29]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:579.

[30]See the events of 791/1388–89 in the *Sulūk,* especially 3:621, 624, 627–28, 651, 655, 673, 677;

Indeed, it was only the machinations of his own ambitious protégé, one Ibn Ghurāb, that led to the high steward′s downfall, the confiscation of his enormous wealth, and his ultimate imprisonment, torture and death in Rajab 798/April–May 1396.[31]

Although al-Maqrīzī chronicles Mahmūd′s rise and precipitous disgrace in detail in the *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* his censure of Mahmūd appears to hinge on a solitary event. This took place in 794/1391–92, when at the height of his power Mahmūd ordered copper coins to be struck in the mint at Alexandria. At that time copper was already in use in Cairo; nevertheless, the creation of additional coins caused al-Maqrīzī great concern, for the new Alexandrian coins were of a lower weight and quality than those circulating in Cairo. Furthermore, Mahmūd stopped the minting of silver dirhams at the same time, with the result that silver coins became rare.[32] To make matters worse, al-Maqrīzī claims, the little silver that did remain was melted down into jewelry and thereby removed from circulation.[33] Al-Maqrīzī goes on to outline a program of minting and regulating coins, which would return the currency to a shared gold-silver standard and limit copper coins to a marginal role. In his opinion, such a program would solve the economic difficulties Mamluk society was facing.[34]

In sum, al-Maqrīzī argues that the financial disarray of the early ninth/fifteenth century is solely a result of the injustice of the ruling class, which results in a corrupt appointment system, excessive taxes, and the promotion of a bad currency. This linking of injustice with societal trouble both echoes Ibn Khaldūn and foreshadows the Ottoman concern with weakened royal authority, the spread of injustice, and the resultant appearance of decline. Like the Ottoman *nasihatnamah*s, the *Ighāthah* appears to have been designed not only to draw attention to the reasons for disarray, but to propose a cure for them, in this case through currency reform, which was to restore society to its proper financial order and arrest the otherwise inevitable weakening of the body politic. It is noteworthy that al-Maqrīzī′s criticisms focus on the ruling elite, both its military men and its civilian advisors, since al-Maqrīzī himself aspired to the ranks of the latter. In this way he resembles Ottoman decline authors, who tended to be members of the very ruling apparatus they sought to improve. Interestingly, however, al-Maqrīzī does not offer solutions

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for Mahmūd′s reinstatement see 3:708 and 713.

[31]For the details of Mahmūd′s downfall, as well as Ibn Ghurāb′s role in it, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:839–40; 850, 851, 854, 855, 856–57, 861, 869, 872, 876, 885.

[32]For the lower weight and quality, see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:774; for the cessation of minting silver, see Allouche, *Ighāthah,* 71.

[33]Allouche, *Ighāthah,* 71.

[34]Ibid., 80–85.

to the problems either of bribery within the civil administration, or of extortion from estates. In fact, he does not challenge the existing political system in any way, but merely suggests his limited currency reform as a panacea for greater problems.

In order to implement his program of reform, al-Maqrīzī would have needed to capture the attention of a highly-placed member of the military elite. But as mentioned above, the intended audience for the work is unknown. It appears unlikely that Faraj was a candidate, since Faraj is never mentioned in the text, and since al-Maqrīzī's relations to the sultan do not appear to have been close at the time he wrote the *Ighāthah.* A second likely choice was the amir Yashbak al-Sha'bānī, who was another of al-Maqrīzī's patrons, but Yashbak was busy rebelling against and reconciling with Faraj in 807–8/1405–6.[35] Regardless of the intended audience, al-Maqrīzī's plan of currency reform was never carried out.

After this unpromising beginning, al-Maqrīzī did not immediately compose other advice works. This may have been a result of his own career stagnation, for even as he wrote the *Ighāthah* his distance from those in power was steadily increasing. Later, however, al-Maqrīzī returned to his fledgling reforming notions by taking a chapter of the *Ighāthah* and expanding it into a separate tract, the *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqūd.* Unlike the *Ighāthah,* the *Shudhūr* had an explicit royal audience, the sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (r. 815–24/1412–21).[36] It appears to date from the early years of Shaykh's reign, and was probably written shortly after Shaykh's currency reforms of 817/1414–15 and 818/1415–16, which al-Maqrīzī mentions in the text.[37] Al-Maqrīzī himself states that he received a royal order to write about money for the sultan.[38]

In the *Shudhūr,* al-Maqrīzī returns to his earlier theme of the relationship among weak royal authority, high-level malfeasance, and financial trouble. He also returns to his griping about Barqūq's high steward, Mahmūd ibn 'Alī, and the 794/1391–92 minting of copper in Alexandria. Here al-Maqrīzī refines his argument slightly, dropping his references to the uses of silver as jewelry, and instead focusing on Mahmūd's minting activities as the primary cause of the increase in copper coinage and the eventual near-abandonment of gold and silver for copper. Al-Maqrīzī argues that shortly after Barqūq's death copper became the standard currency: all prices were reckoned and wages paid in *fulūs,* and all other currencies

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[35]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Cairo, n.d.), 10:278–79.

[36]Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqud,* ed. Muḥammad Baḥr al-'Ulūm (Cairo, 1387/1967), [2], n. 1; also see references to Shaykh on 31, 32, 33, 35.

[37]Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* 33. For a discussion of the dating of the *Shudhūr,* see the work of John Meloy elsewhere in this volume.

[38]Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* [2].

were linked to copper.[39] As in the *Ighāthah,* al-Maqrīzī does not merely identify the reason for financial decline, but proposes a program designed to stop it. This time, he recommends that copper simply be removed from the market, so that all transactions would be undertaken in silver coins. The enforcement of this regulation would be the task of the sultan and his officers, especially the market inspector. The reform would bring about financial resurgence and—perhaps most importantly—the reassertion of proper royal authority.[40]

No source records the reception of al-Maqrīzī's little exhortatory tract at Shaykh's court, even though Shaykh himself commanded that the work be done. This may have been one of al-Maqrīzī's two attempts to gain Shaykh's favor, the other being the composition of a panegyric about the sultan based on a poem written by Ibn Nāhiḍ (d. 841/1438), which also appears to have received no recognition.[41] Any meaningful response to al-Maqrīzī's advice-giving impetus has gone unremarked by history, and indeed al-Maqrīzī himself seems to have soon abandoned his reforming zeal in favor of immersing himself in history and the past.

But if al-Maqrīzī was truly imbued with a desire to improve Mamluk society through practical advice, was his merely a reformer's voice crying in the wilderness? Although ninth/fifteenth century Mamluk historians in general do not display much interest in advice literature, an investigation of the writing of al-Maqrīzī's student Ibn Taghrībirdī does lead to the observance of a peculiar phenomenon. It must be stated outright that Ibn Taghrībirdī produced no advice works whatsoever. Nor was he personally inspired by Ibn Khaldūn and his compelling ideas, as was al-Maqrīzī; indeed Ibn Taghrībirdī did not even know the North African scholar since he was born after Ibn Khaldūn's death. Ibn Taghrībirdī's biography for Ibn Khaldūn—copied from al-Maqrīzī—is ordinary in the extreme, omits al-Maqrīzī's lengthy praise of the North African scholar, and makes no mention whatsoever of the *Muqaddimah*.[42]

Nevertheless, through al-Maqrīzī Ibn Taghrībirdī may have gained something of Ibn Khaldūn's ideas, especially his concern with royal authority, justice, and society. He may also have gained al-Maqrīzī's predilection for advising rulers, although Ibn Taghrībirdī presented his advice in a form that al-Maqrīzī himself did not use: historical narrative. In fact, Ibn Taghrībirdī appears to have felt that one purpose of historical writing was to function as a didactic tool for the instruction

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[39]Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* 31; also see *Sulūk,* 3:1131–33.

[40]Al-Maqrīzī, *Shudhūr,* 35–36; 40.

[41]Broadbridge, "Rivalry," 92.

[42]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá ba'da al-Wāfī,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1993), 7:205–9.

of the ruling elite. In an often quoted description of the historian al-ʿAynī, for example, Ibn Taghrībirdī praises al-ʿAynī for his success in transforming Barsbāy into a wise and thoughtful sovereign by reading history aloud to him.[43]

Ibn Taghrībirdī himself wrote two major histories, the *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* and the *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-ʿUṣūr*. The *Ḥawādith* was intended as a continuation of al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* and does not appear to have been written with any particular patron in mind.[44] By contrast, the *Nujūm* was penned at least initially for a specific royal personage: Muḥammad, the son of Sultan Jaqmaq (r. 842–57/1438–53). Muḥammad was not only a candidate for the throne, but was also Ibn Taghrībirdī's friend and the husband of Ibn Taghrībirdī's niece.[45]

A preliminary examination of the *Nujūm* reveals an awareness of decline as a product of weakened royal authority and injustice. Of course, during Ibn Taghrībirdī's lifetime the sultanate was undergoing a period of actual societal and financial difficulty, thus Ibn Taghrībirdī's descriptions of decline must obviously be understood in part as a reflection of existing conditions. Nevertheless, Ibn Taghrībirdī invokes the specter of decline not only to describe actual conditions in the sultanate, but also to make a moral and didactic point about the connection between injustice and decline. In fact, occasionally Ibn Taghrībirdī manipulates his historical narrative in order to draw this connection, and thereby give a moral lesson. Thus if al-Maqrīzī served as a conduit both for Ibn Khaldūn's idea on royal authority and decline, and for the possibility of correcting decline through advice, Ibn Taghrībirdī seems to have transformed the ideas to motifs decorating a historical work designed to be both entertainment and a didactic tool. Muḥammad ibn Jaqmaq served as an ideal candidate for Ibn Taghrībirdī's advice, being both a personal friend and a potential sultan.

To give a few examples:

In the section of the *Nujūm* that corresponds roughly to his own lifetime, Ibn Taghrībirdī mentions a number of declining institutions. These institutions were diverse, and included such areas of society as the silk spinning industry, irrigated agricultural land, the vizierate, and the office of the comptroller, to name a few. In general, Ibn Taghrībirdī posits that the breakdown of these institutions can be

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[43]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt, 1382–1469 A.D.,* tr. William Popper (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1958), 4:158.

[44]Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn, *Ibn Taghrībirdī: Muʾarrikh Miṣr fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Beirut, 1992), 111–12; also see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-ʿUṣūr,* ed. Kamāl al-Dīn ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī ([Cairo], 1410/1990), editor's introduction, 1:32–33 and text, 1:51–52.

[45]Shams al-Dīn, *Ibn Taghrībirdī,* 34.

attributed to trouble among the ruling elite, i.e., to weakened ruling authority and injustice.

For example, Ibn Taghrībirdī asserts that the decline of silk spinning in Egypt is the direct result of the tyranny, injustice, and mismanagement of the rulers since the 790s/1390s.[46] He also describes the glory of the vizierate in "olden days," then bemoans the present degraded situation: ". . . at the end of the eighth[/fourteenth] century *the rulers of Egypt abased themselves* [emphasis added] and in their days the office was filled by the refuse among men and the lowest type of Coptic scribe, while the functions of the office also were changed. *With these appointments there disappeared the splendor of this great offic*e."[47] Elsewhere he argues that the sultans of his own day no longer made wise decisions in other important military appointments, as had been the case in past ages: "The kings of this time of ours have debased themselves."[48] Since Ibn Taghrībirdī actually had good relationships with many of the sultans who were his contemporaries, including Barsbāy (r. 824–41/1422–38) and Jaqmaq, his general comments about misrule and debasement should be understood as fodder for his moral and didactic points about proper rule.[49] Indeed, in his obituary for Barsbāy, Ibn Taghrībirdī gives both positive and negative moral lessons by condemning Barsbāy's avariciousness as an example to avoid, but touting the large amount of money Barsbāy left behind, and praising his reign as one of "extreme security and low prices."[50]

But Ibn Taghrībirdī's concern with the question of royal behavior also appears in those sections of the *Nujūm* that treat historical periods prior to his own lifetime. One striking example is in his discussion of Timur's occupation of Damascus in 803/1400–1, where he presents less a straightforward historical narrative than a cautionary tale of the evils that misgovernment can wreak on society. In this passage, Ibn Taghrībirdī identifies the struggle for power among the Mamluk amirs as an example of weak royal authority, and suggests that it was the ultimate reason for Timur's invasion of Syria and his destruction of the major Syrian cities.

In the passage, Ibn Taghrībirdī focuses on the arrival of ambassadors from the Ottoman Sultan Beyazid (r. 791–804/1389–1402) in Cairo in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 802/July–August 1400, some months before Timur's armies reached Mamluk territory. The Ottoman envoys asked Sultan Faraj for a military alliance against Timur, but the Mamluk amirs rejected the proposal and scorned Beyazid. At this point, Ibn Taghrībirdī departs from his narrative to opine that such an alliance

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[46]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History,* 4:112.

[47]Ibid., 6:48.

[48]Ibid., 41.

[49]Shams al-Dīn, *Ibn Taghrībirdī,* 33.

[50]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History,* 4:156.

would have been a good idea, argues that the Mamluk amirs *should have* arranged one, and criticizes them for quarreling and failing to identify the correct course of action. ″What Beyazid suggested was one of the best possible courses of action *[min akbar al-maṣāliḥ]*.″[51] If only the Mamluk amirs had behaved properly, Ibn Taghrībirdī moans, Timur would not have been able to defend himself against the combined Ottoman-Mamluk forces: ″The common good *[al-maṣlaḥah]* required that a truce be reached with the abovementioned Beyazid ibn ʻUthmān. He would send someone to lead the Egyptian armies, while the Egyptian armies would be sent to Beyazid ibn ʻUthmān to cooperate with his armies. Then Timur would not have been able to withstand them. Indeed, both armies would have been capable of defeating him, if not for what we mentioned [i.e., the amirs′ refusal to ally themselves with the Ottoman sultan].″[52]

To heighten his portrayal of the stupidity of the Mamluk leadership, Ibn Taghrībirdī quotes the dramatic confidence of a Mamluk amir, one Asanbāy, who had been captured by Timur and escaped years later: ″Timur told me that in his lifetime he had met and fought many armies. In all that time he had never seen armies equal to two: the Egyptian army, and the Ottoman army.″[53] The impression given is that Timur′s dreadful treatment of Damascus only came to pass because the Mamluk amirs refused to stop quarreling and focus on seizing the opportunity presented by the Ottoman ambassadors.

Although poignant, Ibn Taghrībirdī′s lament was probably unjustified. In actual fact, Beyazid had already taken over a number of Mamluk forts in Eastern Anatolia by the time this embassy was sent. Beyazid had also annexed the lands of the Mamluks′ Anatolian Turkmen vassals, the Dulqadirids. If military cooperation between the Mamluks and the Ottoman ruler had indeed taken place, it might have been just as disastrous for the Mamluks as their eventual abandonment of Damascus to Timur. Most striking about this passage, however, is the moralistic and didactic effect of Ibn Taghrībirdī′s commentary. Ibn Taghrībirdī′s presentation of the material suggests the dangers of weak royal authority, which is here represented by the shortsighted and bickering amirs, who were filling in for the adolescent sultan. By adding his own critical remarks to the narrative, Ibn Taghrībirdī emphasizes the poor behavior of the Mamluk amirs, connects this behavior to the eventual military disaster, and thereby gives a lesson about proper rule.[54]

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[51]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 1413/1992), 12:174.

[52]Ibid., 174–75.

[53]Ibid., 174.

[54]Ibn Taghrībirdī′s lament over the campaign of Timur is also colored by his desire to glorify his

Nor is Ibn Taghrībirdī´s treatment of the early Mamluk era free of unfavorable comparisons between past and present. A striking example occurs in his obituary for Qalāwūn, where he uses a description of Qalāwūn´s strict control of his mamluks as an opportunity to bewail the fallen standards of his own day. He sighs nostalgically about the discipline, military skills, and masterful participation in jihad demonstrated by Qalāwūn´s mamluks, then launches into criticism of contemporary mamluks for their small number, physical weakness, and cowardice. He regrets that the only opportunity for jihad in his own century was the advent of Timur, in which Mamluk forces were completely disgraced. Perhaps to deepen the contrast between the good old days and the bad new days, here Ibn Taghrībirdī neglects to mention the three successful naval campaigns Barsbāy sent to Cyprus in the 820s/1420s, although elsewhere the historian celebrates them as a shining example of jihad and one of Barsbāy´s greatest achievements.[55]

Ibn Taghrībirdī continues the theme of jihad in Qalāwūn´s obituary by waxing eloquent about the martial virtues of such great warriors as the Ayyubids Saladin (d. 589/1193) and al-Malik al-Kāmil (d. 635/1238). While praising them, he neglects to mention that al-Kāmil actually ceded Jerusalem to Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen in 626/1229, although Ibn Taghrībirdī is perfectly well aware of this event, and in fact mentions it in his entry for that year.[56] In Qalāwūn´s obituary, Ibn Taghrībirdī also discusses the general qualities of rulers of yore, whom he characterizes as well-mannered, decorous, modest with elders, kind to juniors, and endowed with kingly honor *[nāmūs]*.[57] The military elite of Ibn Taghrībirdī´s own day suffers by comparison, for he describes its members as arrogant, unskilled in the martial arts, greedy, unscrupulous, and unmanly. He even includes a comparison of apparel between Qalāwūn´s day and the present, and naturally presents the modest fashions of Qalāwūn´s time as superior.[58] Since elsewhere Ibn Taghrībirdī´s opinion of both the contemporary and historical ruling elites is far more balanced, we must understand this comparison more as a moral lesson for a potential ruler (i.e., Muḥammad ibn Jaqmaq) and less as a reflection of reality.

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own father, the amir Taghrībirdī, who is presented in a glowing and heroic light as the author of a plan that *would have* saved Damascus if only it had been implemented. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 12:185.

[55]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History,* 4:18, 19–21, 24–29, 32–45, especially 33, 38, 40, 43.

[56]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 6:241.

[57]Ibid., 7:278–79.

[58]Ibid., 279–80.

Thus two major and interconnected historians of the Mamluk Sultanate, al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī, were well aware of the problems endemic in their society. Both appear to have understood at least in part the theoretical connections among weakened royal authority, injustice among the ruling elite, and trouble in society, connections espoused and promulgated by none other than Ibn Khaldūn. Of the two, al-Maqrīzī seems to have been directly and strongly influenced by the North African scholar, while Ibn Taghrībirdī´s at best tenuous connection to Ibn Khaldūn must have been made indirectly through al-Maqrīzī. Nevertheless, in the writings of each author, one element foreshadows the full-blown decline paradigm developed under the Ottomans in part as a result of Ibn Khaldūn´s formulation of compelling ideas. For al-Maqrīzī, this element is his composition of works that simultaneously describe the causes of financial decline, and propose a pragmatic solution to them. For Ibn Taghrībirdī, this element appears in his manipulation of history to demonstrate a causal link among weakened royal authority, injustice, and decline, which he then uses to suggest a moral lesson about the way to rule. Thus each author in his own way foreshadows the development of Ottoman decline literature. Why then, did Ottoman intellectuals develop an active movement of reform, but Mamluk intellectuals did not?

Fāyizah al-Wakīl, *Al-Shiwār: Jihāz al-'Arūs fī Miṣr fī 'Aṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk* (Cairo: Dār Nahḍat al-Sharq and Dār al-Wafā', 2001). Pp. 543.

Reviewed by Vanessa De Gifis, University of Chicago.

In this book, al-Wakīl discusses the wedding trousseau in the Mamluk period. She sets out to describe the physical and design components of the trousseau and its surrounding ceremony; she then attempts to imagine the dynamics of the trousseau in its social and economic contexts. Al-Wakīl's sources include contemporary historical accounts, secondary historical and art historical works, and trousseau lists, marriage documents, and artifacts housed in museums such as the Louvre, the Museum of Islamic Art, the Coptic Museum, and the Museum of the School of Archaeology at the University of Cairo. The end of the book contains transcripts of marriage documents and trousseau lists, descriptions of artifacts, and photographs (however, often unclear) of select items. One obvious omission in her bibliography of primary sources is al-Sakhāwī's (831–902/1428–97) *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi',* the last section of which is a collection of biographies of women contemporary to the author.[1]

Al-Wakīl originally conceived a broader scope for her study: initially to cover the Islamic period generally, and then both the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. Her final concentration on the Mamluk period still bears the signs of her broader outlook—particularly in her use of Ottoman material evidence to fill in the blanks of Mamluk artifacts, and in her comparison of Mamluk trousseau lists with those of earlier periods.

The comparative contextualization of the Mamluk situation in Islamic history leads her to conclude that the Mamluk trousseau was generally increasing in luxury over time, being more extravagant than its predecessors in pre-Mamluk times. Within the Mamluk period itself,[2] al-Wakīl identifies the economic peak in Cairo in the first half of the fourteenth century under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (p. 315). This economic peak, she asserts, means a corresponding peak in the quality of trousseaux. In her chapter entitled "The Trousseau in Light of Economic Life," al-Wakīl argues for a direct correspondence between economic prosperity and the elaboration of the trousseau, assuming that both suppliers and consumers, given disposable wealth, will maximize luxury in production and acquisition respectively.

Al-Wakīl's application of economic theory extends to her understanding of

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[1]See Huda Lutfi, "Al-Sakhāwī's *Kitāb al-Nisā'* as a Source for the Social and Economic History of Muslim Women during the Fifteenth Century A.D.," *Muslim World* 71 (1981): 104-24.

[2]Cf. L. A. Mayer, "Costumes of Mamluk Women," *Islamic Culture* 17 (1943): 303, who cites al-Maqrīzī in noting an increase in luxury from the Bahri to Circassian periods.

the varieties in trousseaux among different social classes, which she discusses in her chapter entitled ″The Trousseau in Light of Social Life.″ She categorizes social groups according to their financial (specifically, spending) power. For those groups that rank highest in financial viability, such as the ruling military elite and merchants, she explains that their trousseaux will be more extravagant, while the trousseaux of the peasants will be more modest in proportion to their wealth.[3] In this way, she argues, the trousseau is a means to demonstrate one′s wealth and social status. The idea of associating relative opulence of the trousseau according to social class is not original to al-Wakīl; Aḥmad ʻAbd al-Rāziq says as much in *La Femme au Temps des Mamlouks en Egypte*.[4] Since most of the sources available to al-Wakīl for studying the trousseau pertain to the higher classes, her emphasis on the opulence of trousseaux is amplified. Despite this, she is mindful not to neglect hypothesizing on the characteristics of the more meager trousseaux that are not well documented in the historical or archival records.[5] Moreover, she provides several extraordinary examples of trousseaux, demonstrating her awareness that the matter did not absolutely conform to a simple class-based categorization of trousseaux.[6]

As for her typological study of the components of the trousseaux, al-Wakīl presumes that most household items, including furnishings and cookware, are acquired as part of a trousseau, as are jewelry, clothes, and cosmetics (p. 8).[7] Having accepted this probability, she organizes her typological presentation of these items into functional categories and stylistic subcategories. She includes brief explanations of production processes. Most of her book (over 300 pages) consists of these functional and stylistic descriptions of the components of the trousseaux. The portions of this descriptive section that deal with the origins of materials and designs and the methods of production enhance the economic dimension of al-Wakīl′s thesis, particularly global trade (of both goods and ideas) and Egyptian marketplace activity.

Al-Wakīl′s use of Ottoman material data in her study suggests that she considers the Mamluk period as a nearly indistinguishable part of a greater cultural continuity,

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[3]She mentions also that the surrounding ceremonial aspects of marriage, including the procession of the trousseau, are similarly proportional to the wealth of the participants.

[4]Aḥmad ʻAbd al-Rāziq, *La Femme au Temps des Mamlouks en Egypte* (Cairo, 1973), 140.

[5]Al-Wakīl′s sources for the poorer classes are less often contemporary, consisting of later, sometimes Western, sources. Al-Maqrīzī is occasionally cited, such as in mentioning the overwhelming popularity of amber necklaces (sing. *qilādah*) among all groups of society (p. 435).

[6]For example, she notes several cases of upper-class trousseaux whose values were less than their class would theoretically suggest (p. 420).

[7]The jewelry, clothes, and cosmetics, she notes, would definitely be included when used in the wedding ceremony itself.

a view which may lead to some insensitivity in perceiving distinctive Mamluk qualities in trousseau furnishings. Nonetheless, she recognizes various stylistic variants in many categories of artifacts, which demonstrates her attention to intra-Mamluk diversity. Since the functions of furnishings and personal items do not change drastically from one political period to the next, al-Wakīl's use of Ottoman artifacts to help generally identify the components of the Mamluk trousseau is reasonable; she is aware that the specific decorative elements of these items are not to be as readily appropriated into our vision of the Mamluk character of trousseaux.

A valuable aspect of her study is her inclusion of the prices of some of the components of the trousseaux, as well as the amounts of dowries. In this way, she has gathered helpful data for reconstructing the monetary climate of the period. Although she does not explain matters such as the influences of inflation and devaluation on interpreting monetary rates, she does recognize various foreign and domestic policies involving market regulations and taxation, as well as the influence of other factors like famine and factional disputes on the security of the Mamluk economy.

Another enlightening point in al-Wakīl's book is how material and behavioral reality did not conform to principles of the shari'ah. For example, she notes that despite the legal prohibitions of gold kitchenware and ear and nose piercings, the popularity of these things are found frequently in material and documentary evidence. This reminds us of the importance of interpreting material and documentary evidence without straining to conciliate findings with the ideals presented in legal codes, and of recognizing the inaccuracy and inadequacy of legal codes in reconstructing an image of real life.

Perhaps the most important aspect, from the woman's perspective, pertaining to the value of the trousseau is absent from al-Wakīl's study: how the trousseau facilitated the woman's economic maneuverability, which in turn could have fostered social and intellectual independence. This would have been an intriguing and germane issue for her to have addressed. Other pertinent but neglected issues are marriage among relatives as a means to preserve wealth within the family,[8] and the relative rarity of marriage between different socioeconomic classes.[9]

[8]Although the evidence al-Wakīl presents on the familial sources of trousseau items demonstrates people's interest in circulating wealth within the family unit, she does not discuss marriages in which the bride and groom are actually closely related to each other.

[9]She does address the frequency of marriage between sultans' and amirs' families and the resulting similarity in the values of their trousseaux; however, the closeness in class between these two groups as contrasted with the difference between the princely class and the peasant class makes the frequency of the aforementioned marriages not surprising, whereas a marriage between members of the princely and peasant classes would be more remarkable examples of the use of the trousseau

Al-Wakīl′s penultimate chapter, in which she attempts to analyze the decorative motifs evident in trousseaux, is more descriptive than analytical. She mainly focuses on identifying the stylistic variants of typical motifs, and recalls only general interpretations of the various symbols, which are abstracted from the context of the trousseau. The question of why these symbols are evoked in the particular circumstance of marriage is not answered. While the philosophical details may be better left to the scholars whose works are dedicated specifically to those issues (to whom she does refer in her footnotes), the absence of a substantial discussion speculating on the significance of the presence of these symbols in the trousseaux effectively reduces this penultimate chapter to a selective reorganization of her data, in which she presents some of the material evidence according to decorative criteria, rather than the functional categories that she employs in the preceding chapters.

The comprehensive scope of al-Wakīl′s study of the trousseau and its cultural context is admirably ambitious. *Al-Shiwār* illuminates some of the connections between economic, social, and material patterns of culture and stimulates the reader to consider the material consequences of economic and social trends in light of the wedding ceremony and homemaking. It can be read in conjunction with other works that flesh out the more specific socioeconomic dynamics that comprise the milieu for the Mamluk trousseau. The annoyance of occasional typos and frustrating footnotes, in which she cites works incompletely in reference to earlier citations that are not immediately preceding the incomplete citation, should not distract the reader from appreciating the thoughtful work al-Wakīl presents.

Yasser Tabbaa, *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001).

Reviewed by Nasser Rabbat, MIT

The field of Islamic art and architectural history is among the least theoretically developed areas of both art history and Islamic history. Very few studies exist that move beyond the monographic or taxonomic framework on the one hand, or the religiously or culturally essentialist and generalizing on the other. This polarity of

as an expression of class identification. Lutfi notes some of these rare instances in which a woman marries a man of a lower social class in ″Al-Sakhāwī′s *Kitāb al-Nisā*′ ,″ 113.

approach reflects the two influences that dominated the development of the field in the last century. The first is the authoritative Western historiography of art history, which until recently delimited the possible scope and methods of all subfields, including Islamic art and architecture, and assigned them their proper place in a culturally and even ideologically stratified art historical hierarchy. This is a dignified scholarly tradition to be sure: it finds its roots in the nineteenth-century German and French history of art and archaeology. But it is a tradition in the Hobsbawmian sense nonetheless, that is, it forms the most powerful proclamation by which a project or a specialty can gain legitimization by association with an already established network of conventions that produce and use art historical knowledge.

The second influence comes from the peculiar historiography of the study of Islam in the West, that we came to call Orientalism, and its various peregrinations. The Orientalist tradition produced a fundamentally self-contained discourse, charting the evolution of Islamic art and architecture but not communicating their cultural variety or the interdependence between them and other cultures′ art and architecture. Of particular relevance in this vein is a brand of Islamic esotericism which prospered in the 1970s and 1980s among a certain number of Western and Western-educated Muslim scholars. These scholars saw Islamic art and architecture primarily as symbolic manifestations of a transcendental and rather acultural and ahistorical Islam. This view promoted, and even demanded, comprehensive studies of art and architecture enframed within an essentialist vision that could not admit any form of cultural or historical criticism.

Thus the appearance of a thoroughly and critically historical study on Islamic art and architecture such as Yasser Tabbaa′s *The Transformation of Islamic Art during the Sunni Revival,* is a positively welcome event. Here we have a book that outwardly and almost harshly rejects the approaches delineated above and adopts a historical method which asserts that specific artistic forms acquired and disseminated distinct meanings primarily in relation to and in conjunction with their cultural, social, and ideological contexts. This deeply and strongly contextualizing framework gives the book its verve and underscores its palpable sense of purpose. It also endows it with remarkable coherence despite the otherwise selective character of its content, which focuses on particular artistic and architectural changes in the studied period and leaves some others out, notably the resurgence of figural representation.

With the publication of this book, Tabbaa deliberately chooses to belong to and complete a scholarly genealogy of sorts. He situates his book historically, discursively, and methodologically between two influential treatises: Oleg Grabar′s *The Formation of Islamic Art* (1973, 1987 2d ed.) and Gulru Necipoglu′s *The Topkapi Scroll : Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture* (1995). The

former, which deals with Umayyad and early Abbasid art, was a pioneering study that formed the foundation upon which most historical interpretations in the field have depended until now. The latter, which marked the forceful reintroduction of theory about Islamic ornamental modes abandoned since Ernest Diez′s 1930s stylistic studies, focuses primarily on the Timurid and post-Timurid art since the fourteenth century. Tabbaa′s *Transformation of Islamic Art* fits snugly in the historical space left between Grabar′s and Necipoglu′s timeframes. The book spans the ostensible trajectory of a heterogeneous and historically ambivalent movement, the Sunni Revival, which may have defined the struggle that occupied the central Islamic world during the period between the rise of a traditionalist Ashʿarism in the second half of the tenth century and the demise of the Ismaʿili Fatimids in 1171. Tabbaa particularly centers his investigation of artistic transformations around the reign of Nur al-Din Mahmud ibn Zangi (1146-74), a period that he convincingly projects as the triumphant culmination of the Sunni Revival.

Tabbaa tries to do exactly what the title of his book implies: to catalog, explain, contextualize, and interpret a number of artistic transformations both in writing and in two- and three-dimensional ornamentation, that coincided with the Sunni Revival. After briefly introducing the historical, ideological, and political context of the Sunni Revival, he moves to discuss, in two tightly-knit chapters, the transformation of Arabic writing from the angular (generally known as Kufic) style to the proportioned cursive style first in Qur'anic writing and later in monumental inscriptions on buildings. He then takes on the intricate vegetal and geometric patterns, alternately named Arabesque and *girih* by various scholars working from different vantage points, which he sees as having acquired potent religious meanings in the architectural works of the period. Lastly he tackles in two chapters the most important Islamic architectural innovation of the medieval Islamic world, the *muqarnas,* as well as five other stereotomic devices that appeared in the stone architecture of the various dynasties of Syria, Jazira, and Anatolia in the twelfth and thirteenth century. The brief conclusion sums up the driving forces of these artistic transformations —theology, politics, technology, and patronage— and insists on the symbolic role of the art as mediating between the vision of an idealist, ecumenical Islamic nation and the reality of a politically fragmented, though increasingly orthodox, medieval Islamic world.

Tabbaa argues that the timing of these transformations was not incidental. In fact, he ascribes the very reason of their occurrence to ″the forces of the Sunni Revival.″ This is indeed a tall order. No cohesive body of textual evidence exists to prove it, or to disprove it for that matter. Tabbaa consequently ekes out of a multitude of disparate and incomplete documents —historical, theological, biographical, scientific, and of course the art itself— the contours of a coherent,

theologically and politically driven artistic movement, a movement that is otherwise never hinted at in the chronicles of the period. This is a formidable task, and Tabbaa succeeds brilliantly by sketching the historical circumstances surrounding the emergence and consolidation of a vigorous Sunnism in the central Islamic lands and its influence on the development of Arabic writing and monumental inscriptions as well as on the geometric ″Arabesque″ decoration. He is less convincing in his reading of Sunni and especially Ash‘ari symbolic references in a number of architectural, decorative, and structural innovations —chief among them is the *muqarnas*. In this last case, the present reviewer finds two of Tabbaa′s causative forces, the developing technology and competitive patronage, more fruitful venues for interpretation than either the theological or politics forces. In fact, for a study predicated on the exploration of the tension between political fragmentation and a unifying impulse, Tabbaa′s book is short on examining the roles of the diverse Turkic and other small dynasties in the promotion and exploitation of the new artistic inventions.

Nevertheless, Tabbaa′s main point, the need to historicize and contextualize art making in the medieval period independent of positivist or essentialist views of Islam and Islamic history, is forcefully validated throughout the book. Henceforth, it will be very difficult indeed to see in the *muqarnas* or the monumental inscriptions of the Zangids, Ayyubids, Mamluks, and other medieval Islamic dynasties, expressions of the spirit of Islam *tout court*. Art historians will have to pay more attention to changes, discontinuities, innovations, and other telltale details in the art instead of lumping them all together as additional manifestations of an overarching and unchanging Islamic vision of art, even when the art itself has specific religious or sectarian meanings.

Tabbaa′s book also presents an effective reminder to Medieval Islamic historians to widen their investigative domains to encompass art and architecture. With the dearth of interpretable historic documents that often impede the study of medieval Islamic history, the inclusion of visual clues adds a new dimension of interpretation. Art and architecture complement other cultural expressions such as religious treatises, poetry, and legal texts, which have been explored by a small number of imaginative historians who have begun to sketch the mental structures of several classes of Muslims involved in the upheavals that changed the face of the medieval Islamic world. Visual documents in fact may be even more representative of collective mentalities than textual ones. They are public, more numerous, and their messages may have been more legible to the masses than literary or religious texts. More than any other cultural artifact, they can truly frame the historical and cultural characteristics of an era. Tabbaa′s *Transformation of Islamic Art* is a forceful and creative case in point.

Nabīl Muḥammad ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz, *Riyādat al-Ṣayd fī ʻAṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk* (Cairo: Maktabah al-Anglo al-Miṣrī, 1999). Pp. 256, illustrations.

Reviewed by Niall Christie, University of British Columbia

Hunting was an important pursuit to the Mamluk sultans and their amirs, forming another of the branches of *furūsīyah*.[1] In this two-part work Nabīl Muḥammad ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz gives a portrayal of Mamluk hunting, dealing in turn with a wide variety of topics. He opens the first part, which considers hunting on land, with a discussion of what hunting was, followed by a treatment of the customary practices and manners of Mamluk hunters, both the rulers and the ordinary soldiers. He then describes the clothes worn on hunting expeditions, the officials and servants who accompanied the hunt, and the weapons and equipment used. There then follow chapters on birds and animals, dealing in each case with creatures both used for hunting and hunted, edible and otherwise, along with some consideration of their use as gifts or in trade. The second of these also includes some discussion of animals kept in menageries. The first section of the work ends with a long description of actual hunting expeditions engaged in by both the Mamluk sultans and their amirs.

The second, shorter part of the work discusses hunting in seas and rivers, and fishing in particular. This section, consisting of two chapters, begins with a consideration of the fishing grounds of Egypt and the *shām* region, and closes with a description of the various fish and other animals found in the rivers, lakes and seas of these countries. Several illustrations of hunters and animals follow. The work ends with a detailed bibliography and a contents page.

Nabīl Muḥammad ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz′s selection of sources is wide and thorough, but it is not surprising, given their variable nature, that he has relied on some works more than others. Al-Qalqashandī′s (d. 821/1418) chancery manual, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshā fī Ṣināʻa al-Inshā*', and al-Nuwayrī′s (d. 733/1333) encyclopedia, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, are among the works that feature particularly prominently. His major emphasis is on the evidence of primary sources, both in manuscript and published editions, although he has also made use of a relatively small amount of secondary literature in Arabic, French and English. References to the sources are rigorously footnoted, and occasional explanatory footnotes help to illuminate the text. However, this reviewer would have preferred to have seen more analysis of the sources. Too often the texts were allowed to speak for themselves, but the questions of how far the examples cited represented the normal practices of the period, and how far they had been idealized or otherwise altered by the writers

[1]David Ayalon, ″Furusiyya (In the Mamluk State)," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 2:955.

who recorded them, were not fully addressed.

Nevertheless, despite these shortcomings Nabīl Muḥammad ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz′s work is still an important contribution to the field. It gives a detailed description of Mamluk hunting, as it is depicted in the sources from the period, and will be of great use as a resource for scholars interested in this noble pursuit.

SHAWQĪ ʻABD AL-QAWĪ ʻUTHMĀN, *Al-Tijārah bayna Miṣr wa-Afrīqiyā fī ʻAṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk, 1250–1515 M, 648–922 H.* (Cairo: al-Majlis al-Aʻlá lil-Thaqāfah, 2000). Pp. 161.

REVIEWED BY ADAM SABRA

Although this book has a promising title, it does not live up to that promise. The author, a professor of history at Cairo University, is the author of a previous study on the Indian Ocean trade and several studies on Egyptian folklore. Despite this background, however, the work under review fails to address the topic promised in its title in a scholarly or focused manner. This is doubly unfortunate since the field could use a good study of just this topic. The last overall study of Mamluk trade to cover the subject of Egypt′s foreign trade comprehensively is the well-known study by Ṣubḥī Labīb. More recent scholarship has generally focused on one or another aspect, primarily focusing on the Mediterranean or Indian Ocean. While Terry Walz has done a study of Egypt′s trade with Bilād al-Sūdān in the Ottoman period, we still lack a comprehensive treatment of the subject for the Mamluk period.

The book is divided into four chapters. The first deals with Egypt′s geographical position and the role of Arab and Muslim geographers in writing the history of the continent. The author is influenced by the Egyptian geographer Jamāl Ḥamdān and by Nasserist ideology in stressing Egypt′s three circles: Arab, Islamic, and African. While there is nothing inherently wrong with this view of Egypt′s identity, the author is primarily interested in emphasizing Egypt′s leading role in all three groups, rather than examining the interaction between them in a more open-minded manner. Furthermore, the author cites historical and geographical sources without any real concern for historical period or for the development of geographical literature as a genre. The latter subject has been studied in great detail by André Miquel and ʻAzīz al-ʻAẓmah, among others.

The lack of concern for historical period carries over into the second chapter, which deals with the spread of Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa and its connection

with trade. Again, despite the promising character of the subject, the author does not really go beyond existing accounts. Most of his material comes from an earlier period, and there is nothing new here. Unfortunately, the author's acquaintance with European language studies of African history (or Mamluk history for that matter) is limited. This is unfortunate, since much has been done in recent years, especially on the important, although sensitive, subject of the slave trade. The author's treatment of this all-important topic is confined to delimiting the Islamic legal teachings on the subject without any attempt to examine whether these teachings were actually followed or what effects this trade might have had on the societies of Sudanic Africa. Indeed, the author plays down the importance of this trade, saying that it is insignificant in comparison with the number of slaves taken by "the white man." At the same time, the author clearly subscribes to a view that attributes cultural superiority to Arab Muslims, and sees the conversion to Islam by black Africans as something natural. While Islam was no doubt attractive to many people in Bilād al-Sūdān, one requires a more sophisticated and less patronizing model of explanation to contextualize conversion.

Chapter three deals with different trade routes connecting Egypt with Sub-Saharan Africa. Some of the information here is interesting, but it is taken from a group of primary and secondary sources without any sense of historical period. Material from the tenth century is indiscriminately mixed with material from the nineteenth century. Most of the material is simply paraphrased from travelogues without any real attempt at analysis. Nor is any effort made to reconstruct the West or East African role in most aspects of this commerce.

The fourth and final chapter deals with Egypt's role as a center of trade for African goods and the significance of this role for the Mamluk empire. Here one would expect that there would be considerable material of interest to the Mamluk historian. Unfortunately, however, the author, being unaware of most recent literature on his subject, misses this opportunity. For example, he argues that the rise of the Mongols endangered the land routes of trade from Asia. He is totally unaware of Janet Abu-Lughod's argument that it was the collapse of the Mongol imperium that led to Egypt's increased role in the trade between Asia and the Mediterranean world. Much more could have been said in this chapter about the role of West African gold in allowing the Mamluks to carry on trade with the Italian city states and the Catalans. Much of the remainder of the book deals with the Mamluk interest in the Red Sea trade, insofar as that required Mamluk influence in Upper Egypt and in East Africa. Here, it would have been helpful if the author had seen Jean-Claude Garçin's work on Qūṣ. The author does address the rise of the Portuguese empire, but in insufficient detail.

This book seems to have been intended as a textbook for Egyptian undergraduate students of history. Such a textbook would be a welcome addition, and might

have been used by scholars of the period as well, had it been more carefully thought out, better researched, and less defensively written. Unfortunately, this book will not fill the need for a solid work on its subject.

ANDRÉ RAYMOND, *Cairo: City of History*, tr. Willard Wood (Cairo, The American University in Cairo Press, 2001). Pp. 436

REVIEWED BY BERNARD O´KANE, The American University in Cairo

This is a translation of the author´s *Le Caire*, originally published by Fayard in 1993. André Raymond has also published monographs on the major cities of the Arab world in the Ottoman period, and his early works such as *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle* (Damascus, 1974) and *Les marchés du Caire* (Cairo, 1979) established him as one of the foremost authorities on Ottoman and urban history. Anyone working on urban history should be aware of the pitfalls that Orientalists have dug for themselves, and as it was Raymond himself who has exposed many of their limitations[1] (e.g. straight lines good, crooked lines bad) it is reassuring to find him taking on this task.

It will come as no surprise them to learn that this is a masterful exposition of the topic by one thoroughly in command of the sources. Raymond has been a pioneer in the use, not just of texts, but of all the sources available to historians, including the enormously rich legacy of Cairene monuments and their epigraphy. The generous quotations of these interwoven throughout the text lend much to the flavour of the periods they describe, and are analysed in conjunction with social data that they provide.

For example, al-Ghawri´s restoration of the old aqueduct is familiar to most visitors to Cairo from its monumental intake tower. Naturally one´s first assumption is that it brought drinking water from the Nile to obviate the cost and inconvenience of transporting it in the normal way, by camel or donkey. Raymond shows how most of it instead went to irrigate the sultan´s new garden at the Maydan below the citadel, filled with tress and plants imported, with their soil, from as far away as Syria.

The extensive material available for Mamluk history enables Raymond to provide separate histories of individual districts of the city. Among the topics

[1]″Islamic City, Arab City: Orientalist Myths and Recent Views,″ *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 21 (1994):

considered are the problem of encroachments of houses and shops on the streets, and the flight of the elite from the center to the suburbs — cases of *plus ça change*... Raymond's earlier work on al-Maqrizi's account of markets is put to good use together with his knowledge of *waqfiyya*s to give us a vivid picture of contemporary mercantile life.

As one might expect, the Ottoman city is given substantial coverage, and the emphasis on the expansion of the city is a useful corrective to the widely-held earlier views of decline in this period. "City Administration and Daily Life" is appropriately given a separate chapter, in which the importance of the *waqf* institution is awarded its due. Here too economic activities are considered in detail, as are housing types and the fashionable or unfashionable neighbourhoods in which they were situated.

Within the section nineteenth and twentieth centuries he shows how the development of Cairo was held back by the granting of public utilities to foreign companies as concessions. The corresponding privileges granted to foreigners in the form of the Capitulations, overseen by the Mixed Tribunals, meant that it was only when the court of Mixed Trubunals wer abolished in 1949 that Cairo received a municipal charter. I wonder, however, whether this backwardness might have had an unforeseen positive consequence, a delay in street widening à la Muhammad Ali, with its concomitant destruction of monuments.

Raymond's last chapter is entitled "the Nightmare of Growth." He does not sidestep the problems that growth has occasioned, but notes that the public service infrastructure no longer seems incapable of meeting the challenge. There is now perhaps a small cause for optimism — since the ten years in which the book was written, for the first time the population aged five years or younger is smaller than that aged 6-10.

The illustrations, as in the original French edition, are small and mostly of poor quality, although the line drawings from nineteenth century works such as the *Description* reproduce rather better on the matt paper. More importantly, a whole new series of maps were made for the book (and which have also been redrawn for this English edition) which greatly supplement existing medieval maps and which reproduce well as slides can serve as a useful teaching aid to courses on history and urban development.

The translation is fluent and imaginative, substituting "Preview" and "Retrospective", for instance, for Raymond's "Préambule" and "Conclusion" (although on p. 369 "Saroit" should be rendered as "Sarwat", and elsewhere *"odjaq"* as *"ojaq"*).

The bibliography has not been brought up to date since the appearance of the original in 1993. To it should be added Nasser Rabbat's study of the citadel of

Cairo,[2] *The Cambridge History of Egypt*,[3] and a competitor, Max Rodenbeck's *Cairo: The City Victorious*.[4] In fact, though ostensibly a competitor, Rodenbeck's work is really aimed at a different audience, those who are encountering Cairo for the first time and who do not necessarily have any background knowledge of the region. Rodenbeck's is an engagingly written book that can be confidently recommended for the tourist, but for the audience reading this review, Raymond's book will long remain a classic of its kind.

ADAM SABRA, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1517* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Pp. 192.

REVIEWED BY BOAZ SHOSHAN, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

There are topics, as important as they may be, that for some reason cannot generate books. Adam Sabra's *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam* is a case in point. It is a book in form but hardly in content. This regrettable observation stems from an unavoidable fact that Sabra should have been the first to recognize. That is, one cannot write a book on poverty and charity in medieval Islam, not even in Mamluk Egypt (as the subheading has it), when such sparse information is available. The result is that the book under review is a collection of discussions artificially stitched together, some of which are original, some less so.

Following a brief introduction, Chapter 2 promises to deal with poverty as a social reality and as a religious ideal. As it turns out, Sabra, handicapped by his sources, has much more to tell on the latter than on who and how one was poor in Mamluk Egypt. He gives us a sample of writings by Muslim thinkers—incidentally, none of whom was a medieval Egyptian—on the nexus of poverty and piety, and on the Sufi poor (*faqīr,* in itself an ambiguous term) and pious in particular. Thus, for the renowned al-Ghazzālī, adopting the "virtue" of poverty was a sign of contempt for this world. Yet, the sort of intellectual aloofness that appears in this scholar's views (something not quite obvious to Sabra, it appears) can be detected in al-Ghazzālī's definition that "all beings other than God are poor (or needy,

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[2]Nasser O Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden, 1995).

[3]*The Cambridge History of Egypt. Vol.1: Islamic Egypt, 640-1517.* ed. Carl F. Petry, *Vol. 2: Modern Egypt from 1517 to the End of the Twentieth Century*, ed. M. W. Daly (Cambridge, 1998)

[4]Cairo, 2000.

faqīr), since they all depend on Him for the continuation of their existence" (p. 20). If the so-called ivory tower was ever in need of bad press, al-Ghazzālī provides it. Indeed, it is significant that in his categorization of the states of poverty, only one out of the five groups of the poor consists of "the hungry man who lacks bread or the naked man who lacks clothes." What a flexible definition of poverty does the master of medieval Islamic thought provide; how detached from social reality it is, where there are poor and "poor." Similarly, how ironic sounds the "espousal of poverty" as an attitude that "appealed even to the elites" (p. 30). One wonders how much consolation to the poor man's (and woman's) heart was al-Ghazzālī's quoting the Prophet to the effect that "no one is more virtuous than the pauper, if he is content" (p. 21).

Since Sabra's section on poverty as a religious ideal is basically a synopsis of some Sufi views, it appears quite ironic that al-Ghazzālī's opponent, the Hanbalite Ibn al-Jawzī, attacks the very basis of Sufi advocacy of poverty and stresses the negative side of poverty in that Sufi hallucinations are caused by hunger (p. 23). Some decades later, Ibn Taymīyah, a no less prominent Hanbalite, rejected the Sufi equation of piety with poverty. That an analysis of the sort that Sabra is engaged with here can easily slide from the terra incognita of the poor into the more familiar domain of the "poor" Sufis can be seen in the author's turning to the Sufi institution of the *khānqāh* and Egyptian Sufi orders (pp. 27–29). When, in the conclusion of the second chapter, Sabra anticipates the reader's confusion as to where poverty as a social phenomenon ends and poverty as a religious ideal begins, it seems only too easy to blame it on the "ambivalence inherent in the Mamluk sources." It is no astonishing news that the sources in question were not much concerned with the poor. The task of the social historian is, however, not to accept the smokescreen they put up in their insistent attempts to represent poverty as an intellectual-religious phenomenon. After all, as Sabra tells us, al-Ghazzālī believed that the poor should conceal their shameful status. It is the historian's task to expose the camouflage that was part of the intellectual enterprise.

With the notable exception of famine relief, there was no system of government-sponsored poor relief, and the Mamluk state left most acts of charity to individual initiative. Sabra opens up his third chapter with discussion of the legal aspects of the mandatory alms tax *(zakāh)*. Here again, the synopsis of al-Ghazzālī's view epitomizes the practical marginality, not to say non-existence, of the poor in this context. For al-Ghazzālī's interest is in the conditions that a person paying the *zakāh* must fulfill. Thus the latter has to have the correct intention; or, the tax should be divided among the eight categories of recipients, provided they are present in the place where the tax is paid. The pauper is only in the role of an intermediary between the wealthy and God, a means to express devotion (pp. 37–38). When al-Ghazzālī comes to speak of the recipients, he begins ("interestingly

enough,″ according to Sabra, but ″unsurprisingly″ would seem to fit better) with the ascetics and the Sufis, then goes on to the pious, and only then comes to the conventional poor, so to speak. Here Sabra does not fail to critically observe how al-Ghazzālī identified the ″deserving″ poor and his emphasis on the Sufis in particular (p. 38). The extent to which al-Ghazzālī′s detached discussion of alms was irrelevant to the Mamluk situation we learn from the fact that a state-sponsored alms distribution was abolished by the Mamluk period (p. 40).

When it comes to begging, al-Ghazzālī′s disapproval is illuminating: by begging, one complains that God has not provided for one′s livelihood (p. 42). Sabra notes correctly that al-Ghazzālī′s prohibition of begging when one is able to subsist for a whole year has little connection to reality, since no beggar in Mamluk Cairo can have been so fortunate (p. 44). As with the *zakāh,* al-Ghazzālī′s premium is rather on the benefactor, not the beggar: the former may give alms out of embarrassment, which presumably means not out of sincerity. Alternatively, he may be placed at the level of the Creator. If this indeed be the case, the beggar should refuse (pp. 42–43). The fourteenth-century al-Subkī appears no less cynical than al-Ghazzālī: he sees the street beggars as actually blessed by God, since He could have made then dumb or crippled, and thus unable even to plead for alms. The paupers are an embarrassment to al-Subkī and to the Muslim community as a whole. To the jurists, begging was not a subject of interest, while Sufi authors disapproved of begging and praised concealment of need instead. In Sufi circles, begging was considered as distracting one′s attention from God. The kind of intellectual sport that the phenomenon stood for is reflected in the confession of one Baghdadi Sufi to have started begging as a means to overcome his own ego (p. 41). Here again, it is indicative of the treatment of beggars that to late medieval writers they are a ″professional group,″ or a folkloric phenomenon, such as the *harāfīsh,* who use various tricks to attract almsgivers. Hence al-Subkī recommends their punishment (pp. 45–46). And Sabra himself looks for these ″professionals″ in medieval Arabic *belles lettres,* such as the *Qaṣīdat Banī Sāsān* or the *Maqāmāt* that served as entertainment for the elite (pp. 46–49), obviously unaware that what is at issue is an elitist manipulation of the acute problem of poverty into a sort of burlesque.

On actual begging in Mamluk Cairo we know next to nothing, but we know more on sporadic attempts by the government to regulate the beggars (pp. 60–1). No state program for almsgiving was developed; almsgiving for the paupers or the ill is sparsely recorded, mainly on the occasion of public celebrations, religious holidays, or funerals. Specific sultans, amirs, scholars, and others are mentioned in the sources as providing alms (pp. 50–58, 96–98). Thus the scant data suggest that almsgiving was basically a private affair (p. 68). The Mamluk state was satisfied in exercising supervision over orphans′ property and intervening on behalf of debtors.

Chapter 4 deals with the institution of *waqf* as the most permanent form of charitable giving (pp. 69, 70). However, while we find information on the administration of these pious endowments, to a great extent already known, the role of *waqf* in the context of poverty and charity is marginal in the discussion. Here or there we learn that Sultan Qalāwūn, for example, arranged for sixty orphans to receive lessons in a complex he established (p. 75). The same ruler ordered that in an endowment he had arranged, poor and sick people were allowed to reside and receive treatment without payment (pp. 77–78). A rather revealing bit of information is that at least forty-six *waqf*s were established between 1300 and 1517 in Cairo to provide education to boys whose families could not pay for it, or to orphans (pp. 80–81). However, there is little evidence that the state or private individuals took much interest in housing for the poor and orphans (pp. 84, 85). By and large, until the mid-fifteenth century it was rare to find a *waqf* that takes care of feeding the poor (pp. 86–89). Sabra′s calculation of about a thousand poor receiving food from *waqf*s illustrates the extreme marginality of the phenomenon in a city where the number of the poor was very much higher (p. 92).

Chapter 5, which is devoted to ″standards of living,″ tells more, like its predecessor, about various aspects of late medieval Cairo than about the book′s major theme. A case in point is the section on housing. The short section on clothing concludes with the unstartling statement that the poor people′s clothing was simple and that they owned few items of it (p. 112). Also as regards food, it comes as no surprise that the poor were unable to consume meat (p. 114). The sort of quantitative section and the periodic breakdown of the standard of living that Sabra provides, or his attempt to figure out the effect of the Black Death in wage terms, do not add much to the vague idea that we already have. Were the poor among the wage-earners who benefited from the demographic decline? Was there a shortage of skilled labor, of the type for which the poor were usually not qualified?

Chapter 6 is an analysis of the dynamics of food shortages in Mamluk Egypt. This topic has been variously treated in recent scholarship, yet Sabra adduces further material that adds to our fair knowledge of the grain market mechanism. Here again, what we learn of the poor directly is relatively meager. On some occasions sultans and the military elite distributed food, but, as Sabra speculates, only about 15,000 Cairenes out of many more in need benefited on such occasions. On other occasions the poor were reduced even to cannibalism.

In conclusion, as a result of its informal character, much of Mamluk charity is hidden from the eye of the historian, which practically means that he will face difficulties writing about it. That almsgiving was an important social practice in Mamluk Cairo (p. 174) is a plausible guess, yet quite anti-climatic and too general

at the end of a book that promises to tackle the topic. Charity under the Mamluks was unsystematic and unorganized.

One final comment. Sabra begins his book by stating that the social history of the pre-modern Middle East is in its infancy and ties it to the scholarly lack of interest in it until recently. How recent is Sabra's "recently" is unclear, but such a statement seems now not only inaccurate but also disserviceable to the scholarly field of which Sabra is a member. Some decent social history of the pre-modern Middle East has been written since the late 1960s at the latest. In fact, given the grave problems of historical material of the sort which Sabra's own book demonstrates, the potential for the social history in question may be less than one would certainly wish.

TABĪQ AL-ASHRAFĪ AL-BAKLAMĪSHĪ, *Ghunyat al-Rāmī wa-Ghāyat al-Marāmī fī ʻIlm al-Ramy ʻan al-Qaws*. Edited with notes by ʻAbd al-Qādir al-Ẓāhirī (ʻAmmān: Dār ʻAmmār lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʻ, 1998). Pp. 176, illustrations.

REVIEWED BY NIALL CHRISTIE, University of British Columbia

This book is an edition of a text on archery by a Mamluk named Tabīq al-Ashrafī al-Baklamīshī al-Yunānī. Little is known of the author, apart from that he was a Mamluk of the sultan al-Ashraf Shaʻbān (r. 764/1363-778/1377), and was a distinguished member of a group of Mamluks who completed their education at a military college, and were then sent to work in military workshops. This is the second edition of al-Baklamīshī's work, the first having been made by J. D. Latham and W. F. Paterson in 1970 from a manuscript located in Istanbul. For his edition, ʻAbd al-Qādir al-Ẓāhirī relies primarily on a different manuscript, located in Aleppo.

Dealing as it does with archery, al-Baklamīshī's work falls into the genre of *furūsīyah* (horsemanship) literature. Despite its narrow literal meaning, the term *furūsīyah* covered a wide range of expertise that a Mamluk was expected to gain, including the use of various weapons, the training of horses and battle tactics. David Ayalon has extended the meaning to cover "all that a horseman had to master by systemic training in order to become an accomplished knight."[1] The Mamluk sultanate saw the production of a large number of manuals devoted to the

[1]David Ayalon, "Notes on the Furusiyya Exercises and Games in theMamluk Sultanate," *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 9 (1961), 34.

subject,[2] of which this is one particularly specialized example.

After an introduction in which he discusses the merits of archery, al-Baklamīshī presents his reader with a *qaṣīdah* (poem) in which he discusses the subject. Then in the second part of his work, he gives a line-by-line explanation of most of the poem. He bases his discussion on six *uṣūl al-ramy* (sources of archery), these being positioning the body, loading, gripping the arrow, drawing, aiming and releasing. He then discusses a number of other matters, including shooting from horseback, stringing the bow (a seventh *aṣl*, according to some other mediaeval scholars, but not counted as such by al-Baklamīshī) and the qualities a student of archery should have. He also digresses into consideration of numerous other topics, including stringing the bow on horseback or when submerged up to the neck, illnesses common to archers, the effects of differences in the size and shape of the body on the archer′s technique, and advice on ways to practice archery. As should by now be clear, al-Baklamīshī discusses his subject in painstaking detail. He illuminates his work with quotations from the Quran, legal texts, poetry and other masters of archery. A final digression on strength and courage finishes the original work, after which the name of the scribe (Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥīm al-Tulwānī) and the date of copying (805/1402) are given. There then begins a new section that has been added to the original manuscript, although the authorship is unclear. The new section supplements the original work, adding further discussions of topics related to archery, including shooting from above or below the enemy, the use of crossbows and different types of arrows and the laws of conduct in battle.

The book ends with a glossary of terminology used to refer to various types of arrows, a conversion table of Damascene measurements to French (metric) and English (imperial) ones, a section giving statistical information on bows, twenty-one illustrations and a contents page. The illustrations provided in the book are useful aids to understanding of the text, although it is not made clear when they were added, as they do not seem to be contemporary. The text also refers the reader several times to illustrations that are either clearly not the ones intended or simply non-existent, which is slightly frustrating.

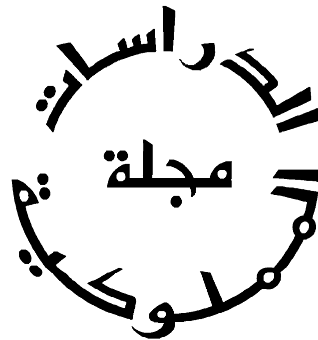
Al-Baklamīshī′s text gives an interesting insight into the mind of a Mamluk who was a true master of his craft. Through his attempt to provide a ″how to″ guide for his peers, he reveals much about his own perceptions and attitudes. Naturally, one can not say how far his work reflects the actual practice of archery; indeed, it is much more likely that his work demonstrates his own view of how it *should* be practiced. However, it remains of interest to scholars of the period, particularly those studying Mamluk military theory and warfare.

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[2]Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh, 1999), 437.

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Mamlūk Studies Review is a biannual refereed journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648–922/1250–1517). It appears in January and July. The goals of *Mamlūk Studies Review* are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, nurture communication within the field, and promote further research by encouraging the critical discussion of all aspects of this important medieval Islamic polity. The journal includes both articles and reviews of recent books. Submissions of original work on any aspect of the field are welcome, although the editorial board will periodically issue volumes devoted to specific topics and themes. *Mamlūk Studies Review* also solicits edited texts and translations of shorter Arabic source materials (*waqf* deeds, letters, *fatāwá* and the like), and encourages discussions of Mamluk era artifacts (pottery, coins, etc.) that place these resources in wider contexts. Transliterated Middle Eastern languages should conform to the system utilized by the Library of Congress. All questions regarding style should be resolved through reference to *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th edition. All submissions should be typed double-spaced. Submissions must be made on labeled computer disk together with a printed copy. The print copy should have full and proper diacritics, but the disk copy should have no diacritics of any kind.

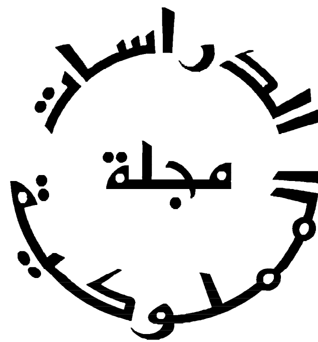
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REVIEW



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Bethany J. Walker
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Ceramic Evidence for Political Transformations in Early Mamluk Egypt*

The third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (610/1310–641/1341) is viewed by most scholars as a watershed in the history of the Mamluk Sultanate.[1] Often described as the ″Golden Age″ of Mamluk art, this period is generally recognized as one of security and affluence.[2] With the victory over the Mongols at ʻAyn Jālūt in 659/1260 and the campaign against Acre in 690/1291, the borders of the Mamluk state were, for the time being, relatively secure. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad benefited from a lull in regular military activity to develop the infrastructure of Mamluk society. The formation of ″classic″ Mamluk institutions (such as the fully-developed hierarchy of amiral rank and offices, the structure of the army and the *iqṭāʻ* system, and official ceremonial and ideology) was one positive contribution of his reign in this regard.[3] His reign, nonetheless, may have had a negative impact on

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*The following article is based on three chapters from the author′s doctoral dissertation, ″The Ceramic Correlates of Decline in the Mamluk Sultanate: An Analysis of Late Medieval Sgraffito Wares,″ University of Toronto, 1998. Research for the original dissertation was conducted in 1995 and 1996 and was funded by a Fulbright predoctoral grant (administered through the Cyprus American Archaeology Research Center), a Kress Predoctoral Fellowship in Egyptian Art and Architecture (facilitated by the American Research Center in Egypt), and the University of Toronto. Research permits to study sherds and complete vessels in museums on Cyprus and in Egypt were provided by the Cypriot Department of Antiquities and the (then) Supreme Council of Antiquities of Egypt. This article reflects the Egyptian portion of the comparative ceramic study. The author would like to thank Bruce Craig for his invitation to submit the manuscript to *Mamlūk Studies Review.*

[1]For a summary of this period, see P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517* (London, 1986), 114–20, and Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* (Carbondale, IL, 1986), 105–24. Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341)* (Leiden, 1995), and Ḥayāt Nāṣir al-Ḥajjī, *The Internal Affairs in Egypt During the Third Reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn* (Kuwait, 1978), offer specialized studies of this reign.

[2]Esin Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks* (Washington, D.C., 1981), and Henri and Anne Stierlin, *Splendours of an Islamic World: Mamluk Art in Cairo 1250–1517* (New York, 1997), survey the artistic achievements of this period.

[3]On the artistic representations of graded offices, see L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry* (Oxford, 1933); on the structure of the Mamluk army: David Ayalon, ″Studies on the Structure of the

Egyptian society and economy in the long run. Amalia Levanoni′s claim that the excesses of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s policies ushered in the political and economic decline of the fifteenth century constitutes an important paradigm for the present study.[4]

The following is an art historical contribution to the debate on Mamluk decline, one that highlights the ways in which the demographic upheavals of the later fourteenth century transformed Egyptian society and the arts. This article specifically explores the relationship between ceramic development in the fourteenth century and government practices that affected social mobility and, thus, structured patronage. Sgraffito ware is an important category of glazed ceramics, in this regard, because it is the most visible archaeologically (it is the hallmark of Mamluk-period sites in Egypt), experienced significant development in form and decoration during this period, and seems to have passed out of fashion (at least in Egypt) by the beginning of the fifteenth century. ″Sgraffito″ refers to a surface design cut through a light-colored slip, laying bare the dark-colored earthenware body of the vessel′s fabric. Ideally suited to the reproduction of lengthy inscriptions, the sgraffito technique was adopted in Egypt for the rapid and large-scale manufacture of monumental, ceremonial vessels with complex, militarized designs. This study attempts to demonstrate that the mass-production of this ware was related to the rise of the amiral class at the turn of the fourteenth century and that its subsequent development was a response to the social effects of particular policies initiated by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad during his third reign and continued by his successors.

Transformations of Mamluk Society under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad

Modern scholars frequently note the ″nostalgic idealization″ of the fourteenth century by fifteenth-century Egyptian historians.[5] Al-Maqrīzī, for instance, regularly bemoans the political corruption of turn-of-the-century Cairo. In contrast with the fiscal and moral bankruptcy of the fifteenth century, the Bahri Mamluk period, was considered a ″Golden Age″ when there were periods of peace between Egypt

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Mamluk Army,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15 no. 2 (1953): 203–28, 15 no. 3 (1953): 448–76, and 16 no. 1 (1954): 57–90; on the *iqṭā'* system in the early Mamluk period: Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta'ʻs and Fallahun* (Leiden, 1997); and on Mamluk ceremonial: Nasser O. Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden, 1995) and Karl Stowasser, ″Manner and Customs at the Mamluk Court,″ *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 13–20.

[4]Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History*. Reuven Amitai-Preiss, ″The Remaking of the Military Elite of Mamluk Egypt by al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qalawun,″ *Studia Islamica* 72 (1990): 145–63, adopts a similar theme.

[5]David Ayalon, ″Some Remarks on the Economic Decline of the Mamluk Sultanate,″ *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 16 (1993): 110.

and her neighbors, the state coffers were full, and the arts and crafts flourished. The third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (710/1310–741/1341) is considered by many to be a watershed in this regard. Scholars have emphasized various ways in which his reign was a turning point in the fortunes of the state: in the realm of the arts,[6] policy-making,[7] and the physical development of the modern city of Cairo,[8] for example. Until recently, his sultanate was considered, by both medieval and modern historians alike, to be one of security, prosperity, and growth.

This view, however, is not embraced by all students of the period. Modern historians are increasingly turning to the "Golden Age" of the fourteenth century in order to explain the origins of Mamluk decline. While acknowledging the economic dilemmas of the fifteenth century, they emphasize social and demographic developments of the late Bahri period that weakened the state early on and contributed to the collapse of the regime in 1517.

A series of plagues (beginning with the Black Death of 748/1347–750/1349) and natural disasters (earthquakes, drought, famine) were certainly factors that, when combined, were demographically devastating.[9] Al-Maqrīzī's estimate that one-third to one-fifth of the combined population of Egypt and Syria was lost to the plague seems to be accurate.[10] Abu-Lughod, citing Michael Dols, suggests that

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6Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam*: 15.

7Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History*.

8Ayalon's negative evaluation of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's "building craze" in Cairo (D. Ayalon, "The Muslim City and the Mamluk Aristocracy," *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 2 [1968]: 311–29) contrasts markedly with Rabbat's assessment of the sultan's contributions to the development of the modern city (Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo*).

9See Z. H. el-Isa, "Earthquake Studies of Some Archaeological Sites in Jordan," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 2 (1985): 229–35; N. Shehadeh, "The Climate of Jordan in the Past and Present," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 2 (1985): 25–37; Willem van Zeist, "Past and Present Environments of the Jordan Valley," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 2 (1985): 199–204; Yousef Ghawanmeh, "The Affects of Plague and Drought on the Environment of the Southern Levant During the Late Mamluk Period," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 2 (1985): 315–22; and idem, "Earthquake Effects on Bilād ash-Shām Settlements," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 4 (1992): 53–59, for data on natural disasters and environmental degradation in Jordan during this period. For a general discussion of the decline of the Mamluk state in geographical Transjordan, see Bethany J. Walker, "Mamluk Administration of Transjordan: Recent Findings from Tall Hisban," *Al-'Uṣūr al-Wusṭá* 13 no. 2 (2001): 30–33; idem, "Mamluk Investment in Southern *Bilad al-Sham* in the Fourteenth Century: The Case of Hisban," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (2003) (forthcoming); and idem, "Mamluk Investment in the Transjordan: a 'Boom and Bust' Economy," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8 no. 2 (2004) (forthcoming). The author's forthcoming monograph, *Life on the Mamluk Frontier: Transjordan, 1260–1516 A.D.,* treats this topic in more detail, drawing on archival, faunal and floral, numismatic, and archaeological data.

10These statistics are also supported by Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkīrat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr*

a death toll of 10,000 daily in Cairo alone would account for a drop in population of 40% when the plague was at its worst.[11] These numbers support the popular claim that the economic depression, political corruption, and artistic decline of the fifteenth century were the result, in part, of the demographic changes that followed the fourteenth-century plague.

For Abu-Lughod, Dols, Ashtor, and Irwin the Black Death (*ṭāʻūn,* or bubonic plague) was the single most important factor in the economic disasters of the following century. According to Abu-Lughod, reduced labor led to a shortfall in surplus. Burji Mamluk sultans, who depended on ″labor-intensive methods of production″ to support their high expenditure, responded with the exploitative practices mentioned above.[12] Government monopolies, whimsical taxation, confiscations of property, and the export of raw materials to Europe contributed to the ″technological stagnation″ of Egyptian industries described by Petry.

Dols′ frequently-cited *The Black Death in the Middle East* examines the phenomenon of Mamluk decline in its cultural totality and stresses that the Black Death and recurrent epidemics had an enormous effect on the Egyptian economy, industries, arts, and social structure. Artistic development and social change are interrelated in Dols′ model of economic decline. Most art historians agree that Mamluk art declined as a result of the plague, but they seldom define what is meant by ″artistic decline″ and generally fail to account for its origins. The traditional notion is that stylistic and technical quality fell because skilled artisans died during the plague and there were fewer customers to buy their products. Furthermore, many crafts, such as ceramics and textiles, were replaced by the higher-quality European and Chinese imports that flooded the markets in the fifteenth century. Dols suggests a more complex process. He argues that some industries (for example, sugar production) flourished for a time because the shortage of labor pushed up salaries. Artisans also benefited by the rise in wages: their social status rose as a result of the demand for skilled labor.[13] However, other industries and crafts (which Dols calls ″unessential manufactured products″) disappeared.[14]

In a similar vein, the economic historian Eliyahu Ashtor writes about the role of the plague in the three-fold crises of the mid-fourteenth century: demographic,

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wa-Banīh, cited in Eliyahu Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (London, 1976), 302.

[11]Janet Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A. D. 1250–1350* (New York, 1989), 237.

[12]Ibid., 239.

[13]Michael W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977), 263 ff.

[14]For the impact of a declining economy on the local metalworking industry, see J. W. Allan, ″Shaʻbān, Barqūq, and the Decline of the Mamluk Metalworking Industry,″ *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 85–94.

economic, and social.[15] For Ashtor, the new elite which emerged after the plague was civilian and was comprised primarily of successful merchants and the ulama (religious scholars). Their rise in status is attributed to the sale of *ḥalqah iqṭāʿāt* in the mid-century and, ironically, government monopolies.[16] The title of *khwājah,* adopted by the sultan's merchants in the fifteenth century, is cited as evidence of social advancement.[17]

The emergence of a new social elite in the second half of the fourteenth century has become a regular theme of recent Mamluk scholarship. Unlike Ashtor, who describes the increasing power of the business and intellectual elite, Levanoni describes the process through which a new Mamluk elite emerged, inverting the "traditional" Mamluk social order. Over the course of his third reign, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad rejected the restrictive recruiting and slow but steady process of advancement maintained by earlier Mamluk sultans. In a passage in his *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* al-Maqrīzī explains his innovations in the areas of recruitment, promotion, and military expenditure as necessary for helping mamluks forget their homeland.[18] Levanoni, on the other hand, interprets these as methods for this sultan of non-mamluk background to buy the support and loyalty of the Mamluk corps.[19] His recruitment of non-mamluks and the promotion of *awlād al-nās* and unseasoned mamluks to amirships, however, gradually dissolved the solidarity between mamluk and master and among mamluks that gave the Mamluk system its cohesion and strength.[20]

According to Levanoni's model, high expenditures combined with counter-productive practices such as these weakened the governing body so that it could not properly respond to the succession crisis after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death. It is primarily through the inversion of the Mamluk social order after 1341, that is, with the rise of previously disenfranchised groups, that the strength of the sultanate began to wane. The new "elites" of this period were not veteran amirs, but second-

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[15]Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History,* 301.

[16]The sale of these *iqṭāʿāt* began as early as 1337, and by 1347 they were taxable, like any other civilian property. According to al-Maqrīzī, Sultan al-Ashraf Shaʿbān's (ruled 746/1345–747/1346) establishment of the *dīwān al-badal,* the administrative department that regulated the sale of *ḥalqah iqṭāʿāt* to civilians, was necessitated by the impoverishment of the *ḥalqah* that followed the *rawk al-Nāṣirī* in 615/1315 (al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* in Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History,* 171).

[17]Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History,* 321; Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Boston, 1967), 128.

[18]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyadah et al. (Cairo, 1934), 2:2:524–25; Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History,* 31–32.

[19]Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History,* 30–33.

[20]Ibid., 118.

generation amirs (sons of amirs) and rank-and-file mamluks.[21] These second-class soldiers, the *ḥalqah,* and common civilians *(ʿāmmah)* participated in the power struggles that took place in Cairo′s streets in this period.[22] The rebellion of the *julbān* in the fifteenth century, therefore, had a precedent. The poor economic state of Egypt in the fifteenth century is attributed, in part, to a divided and dissolute governing body, bullied by new recruits and the masses, which was ill equipped to handle the economic and political challenges of the time.

What Levanoni and others are describing is a social crisis created by the proletarianization of the army and the rise to power of certain sectors of the civilian population. Social transformations such as these certainly impacted the arts: new classes of patrons emerged and artistic sensibilities (tastes) may have changed accordingly. Historians have begun to explore the impact plague and government policies had on artistic production in the fourteenth century. Dols, for example, describes the ambiguous effects of the Black Death on the arts. Because of the labor shortage, skilled artisans were able to demand higher prices for their work, and their social status rose accordingly.[23] One material expression of this process may be the sharp increase in the number of potters′ signatures on underglaze-painted ware in the fifteenth century. Some crafts survived and seemed to thrive because they served a particular purpose. In the case of architecture and architectural revetment, these industries continued to do well because of increased building activity, which Dols argues was one reason for increased endowments of property as *awqāf*.[24] Burji Mamluk architecture, however, pales in comparison to the fresher, more innovative styles of the Bahri period. In this sense, artistic decline in the later Mamluk period can be defined in terms of a stagnation of style, where quantity (or proportions) takes precedence over quality. At the same time other art forms disappeared. While the imitation of Chinese blue-and-white porcelains in underglaze-painted ware was popular in the fifteenth century, Egyptian Mamluk sgraffito seems to have passed out of fashion. The disappearance of sgraffito may be related to either a change in taste or shifting patronage patterns.

The inversion of Mamluk social structure, envisaged by Levanoni, is a useful model for describing the development of sgraffito in the fourteenth century. The empowerment of the amiral class (and particularly the *khāṣṣakīyah*) early on in

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[21]Amitai-Preiss describes Levanoni′s ″social inversion″ as a ″remaking of the [Mamluk] elite.″ With the replacement of veteran (Mansuri) amirs with his own amirs, who were promoted immediately to amirships of 100, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad effected the ″transformation,″ rather than the ″decline,″ of the Mamluk′s social order (Amitai-Preiss, ″The Remaking of the Military Elite″).

[22]See Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History,* 118–32.

[23]Dols, *The Black Death,* 270.

[24]Ibid.

al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s third reign and its replacement by second-class soldiers (*awlād al-nās* and other non-mamluks) and the assumption of mamluk prerogatives by civilians after his death—all are reflected in the decorative development of sgraffito ware in Egypt. These practices, to which Levanoni devotes her book, combined with the plague in mid-century to create a new elite, or, for our purposes, a new class of patrons. It is their adoption of earlier elitist symbols that accounts for the degeneration of sgraffito designs by the end of the century.

THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF MAMLUK SGRAFFITO[25]

DEFINITION OF EGYPTIAN SGRAFFITO (FIG. 1)

The standardization of art forms from capital to province is one frequently noted characteristic of the Mamluk period. However, there is marked regionalism in ceramic styles. Mamluk lusterware, for example, was probably a Syrian specialty, and there is some question whether it was manufactured at all in Egypt.[26] Recently, the differentiation of Syrian underglaze-painted wares from Egyptian products has been a focus of active scholarly debate.[27] Similarly, the mutually exclusive styles of slip painting in Syria and Egypt, an area understudied at present, bespeaks of regionalism in ceramic production. Among other regional specialties are the imitation celadons of Egypt, which are among the most numerous ceramic types from excavations at Fustat.[28]

The production and distribution of sgraffito ware present unique problems for the study of Mamluk art. There seem to have been at least two distinctive regional sgraffito styles produced in the fourteenth century: the ″military style″ of Egypt with blazons and inscriptions (the focus of the following study) and a Levantine variety found in Israel, and perhaps Syria.[29] ″Mamluk sgraffito″ in Israel, for

[25]The following typological study of Egyptian sgraffito is based on fieldwork conducted piecemeal over several years in Egypt (Cairo: the Islamic Museum, ARCE′s Fustat stores in al-Ḥilmīyah, A.U.C.′s Fustat study collection; Alexandria: the Greco-Roman Museum and the Polish Institute′s on-site stores at Kom ed-Dikka), Cyprus (various national and regional museums and private collections throughout the island, south of the Green Line), Canada (Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto), and the United States (Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Brooklyn Museum). Approximately 1300 sherds and 15 whole vessels of the Egyptian ware were analyzed for this study; of comparative material in Cyprus, some 2500 sherds and 150 complete vessels were consulted. The author would like to thank the Departments of Antiquities in Egypt and Cyprus for the permits that made access to the relevant collections possible.

[26]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 147.

[27]R. B. Mason and E. J. Keall, ″Petrography of Islamic Pottery from Fustat,″ *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27 (1990): 181–82; Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 146.

[28]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 190; personal communication, George Scanlon.

[29]I am indebted to Edna Stern, Antiquities Official at Acre, for sharing with me the Mamluk-period



Figure 1. Rim sherds of Fatimid and Ayyubid sgraffito bowls, Fustat

example, is essentially a development of earlier Crusader and Ayyubid sgraffito wares under the influence of Venetian and Egyptian sgraffito designs. There is considerable local variation within this regional ware. A brick-red fabric, yellow glaze, and coarsely-incised designs characterize much of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century sgraffito excavated at Acre; a freer sgraffito pattern under a brown or yellow glaze is more common in Jerusalem.[30]

Levantine Mamluk sgraffito must, then, be differentiated from Egyptian Mamluk sgraffito. While both groups are indebted, to some degree, to earlier Crusader and Byzantine-derivative wares, the Egyptian variety is distinctive. Furthermore, its stylistic and technical development in the fourteenth century is closely related to the social circumstances of contemporary Cairo. The variety of Mamluk sgraffito produced and distributed only within Egypt is a uniquely Egyptian phenomenon, a point that will be demonstrated later in this paper.

Egyptian sgraffito (hereafter called ″Mamluk sgraffito″) has several readily recognizable characteristics. Although there are exceptions, most vessels are coarsely potted and thick-walled.[31] There is a tendency for vessels that imitate metalware shapes to be very heavy, quite possibly the result of trying to reproduce sharp profiles in a less plastic, coarse clay. The clay itself is Nile alluvium; several chemical and petrographic studies have been devoted to separating the constituent elements of the fabric.[32] The body of Mamluk sgraffito vessels is covered by a stonepaste white slip, which contrasts with the clay slip of contemporary slip-painted ware.[33] Because of the porosity of the clay, the slip is either thickly applied or tends to peel off the vessel surface, obliterating the design. In a later stage of sgraffito development, a thick layer of white or brown slip stands in relief and enhances particular areas of the design, such as the letters of an inscription.

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sherds excavated in the Acre area. The major publication dealing with ceramics from Syrian excavations (later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) is P. J. Riis and V. Poulsen, *Hama: fouilles et recherches, 1931–1938,* vol. 4 pt. 2, *Les verreries et poteries médiévales* (Copenhagen, 1957). There seems to be considerable variety in fabric and decoration in the Levantine wares. Publication of these wares by the Departments of Antiquities in Israel, Syria, and Jordan will be eagerly awaited.

[30]Personal communication, Edna Stern.

[31]The best products of the Sharaf al-Abawānī ″workshop″ are of high quality, with thin walls, sharp carinations, and even slipping and potting (see below).

[32]For chemical profiles see M. A. Marzouk, ″Egyptian Sgraffito Ware Excavated at Kom ed-Dikka in Alexandria,″ *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of Alexandria* 13 (1949): 3–23, and A. ʻAbd al-Rāziq, ″Le sgraffito de l′Égypte dans la collection d′al-Sabah,″ *Annales Islamologiques* 24 (1988): 1–23. Recent petrographic analysis can be found in R. B. Mason and E. J. Keall, ″Petrography of Islamic Pottery from Fustat.″

[33]Mason and Keall, ″Petrography of Islamic Pottery from Fustat,″ 180–81.

Color enhancement of designs in the earlier phase (transitional late Ayyubid-early Mamluk) is achieved through green and yellow-brown ″stains.″ These colored glazes are applied to the sgraffito decoration and bleed into the covering glaze.[34] A yellowish lead glaze covers the vessel, appearing a golden yellow or brown over lightly slipped or bare surfaces.

Floral, geometric, inscriptional, and heraldic designs are incised through this slip into the earthenware body.[35] The distribution of these designs over the vessel surface adheres to a more or less standardized decorative program. The bowl well, an area emphasized in thirteenth-century sgraffito wares throughout the Byzantine and Crusader territories, was incised with faces, gouged circles, imitative Kufic inscriptions, or amiral blazons (Fig. 2). Amiral blazons not only occupied this zone but were also utilized in wall registers to break up inscriptions (Fig. 3). The influence of metalwork can be seen in the reliance on registers to organize inscriptional and heraldic designs (Fig. 4). Inscriptional registers are often framed by floral rinceaux and ″drip lines,″ vertical dashes that recall textile fringes.[36] Narrow registers filled with a repeating series of ″Mamluk braids,″ a stylization of the Coptic version of the Byzantine-late antique guilloche, are a familiar sight in sgraffito ware, and can be found at the juncture of stem and bowl, just below the

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[34]Lead-based stains and glazes naturally ″run″ into one another during firing, and indeed, this is often the desired effect.

[35]Figural designs are very rare. See George T. Scanlon, ″Preliminary Report: Excavations at Fustat, 1964,″ *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 4 (1965): 7, ″Frontispiece″ for illustrations of sherds from Fustat, now in the study collection of the American University in Cairo. These were initially identified as Persian (thirteenth-fourteenth c.) and Rhodian or Anatolian (fifteenth c.) imports. It is more likely, however, that ″face bowls,″ angels, and equestrian figures such as these were local imitations of sgraffito designs current in eastern Anatolia and Transcaucasia in the thirteenth century.

[36]Similar arguments have been made by Fouquet, in emphasizing the role of Coptic textiles in determining patterns of decoration of Mamluk sgraffito in the thirteenth century (Daniel Fouquet, ″Contribution à l′étude de la céramique,″ *Mémoires présentés à l′Institut Égyptien publiés en l′honneur de la naissance de S. A. Mohammed ʻAbd-ul-Munaima* 4 [1900]: 71), and much later by Mackie, who discusses the possible decorative influences of wrapping metalware in textiles for transport (Louise W. Mackie, ″Toward an Understanding of Mamluk Silks: National and International Considerations,″ *Muqarnas* 2 [1984]: 143). The interplay of textile and ceramics warrants future investigation. Lisa Golombek has made a significant contribution in this regard in her description of the ″textile mentality″ of medieval Islamic society (Lisa Golombek, ″The Draped Universe of Islam,″ in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World,* ed. P. P. Soucek [University Park, PA, 1988], 25–38). Here she compares Samanid epigraphic pottery to white linens with *ṭirāz* bands (p. 35). See also Yasser Tabbaa, ″Bronze Shapes in Iranian Ceramics of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,″ *Muqarnas* 4 (1987): 98–113, and J. W. Allan, ″The Survival of Precious and Base Metal Objects from the Medieval Islamic World,″ in *Pots and Pans,* ed. M. Vickers (Oxford, 1986), 57–70, on the relationship between the metalworking and ceramics industries.



Figure 2. Cypriot sgraffito bowl with pseudo-heraldic design in well, 13th century, Polis



Figure 3. Early Mamluk sgraffito bowl with inscription and pseudo-heraldic designs, 13th century



Figure 4. Egyptian sgraffito designs inspired by metalwork (top and center) and underglaze-painted ware (bottom), late 13th century, Fustat

vessel′s rim on the exterior face, and framing the tondo inside.[37]

Sgraffito ware, like much of Mamluk art, is stylistically hybrid and borrows extensively from other media. Most of the motifs adopted by Mamluk potters belong to the decorative vocabulary of thirteenth-century sgraffito, fourteenth-century underglaze-painted ware, and metalwork. ″Eastern Mediterranean wares,″ as Seljuk, Crusader, and Byzantine-derivative wares are often called, were most influential for the early development (thirteenth-century) of Mamluk sgraffito. Some motifs with a long history in Byzantine art (the guilloche, rinceaux, and repeating arch friezes, for instance) could have been borrowed directly from much older Coptic painted wares.[38] In the fourteenth century, potters imitated the forms and decoration of Islamic metalwork, an extensively traded commodity both within and outside Mamluk domains . The ″Y-pattern,″ broad interlaces, and animal friezes are among the motifs lifted directly from the repertoire of Mamluk metalworkers by sgraffito artists.[39] The popularity of amiral blazons and Arabic inscriptions in many media in the fourteenth century, the most distinctive characteristic of this phase of sgraffito in Egypt, was probably also due to the influence of metalwork. At the same time, contemporary underglaze-painted styles exercised an influence on sgraffito. For instance, radial designs were achieved through the use of sgraffito lines and differently colored stains.

Mamluk sgraffito vessels conform to two main shapes: a deep, hemispherical cup on a high pedestal foot and an even deeper, carinated bowl (or ″chalice″) with straight, flaring sides on a splayed foot (Fig. 5). The hemispherical cup, often called a ″goblet,″ has parallels in glassware and metalware and was a common form for drinking vessels. The carinated form has no clear parallels in any other media but is strongly suggestive of a prototype in inlaid brass that may have had ceremonial or commemorative significance. The only regular exceptions to these

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[37]This braid has been called by various names: a ″Greek key″ (George T. Scanlon, ″Some Mamluk Ceramic Shapes from Fustat: ′Sgraff′ and ′Slip,′″ *Islamic Archaeological Studies* 2 [1980]: 62), an ″S-shaped motif″ (Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 188), and ″a band of undulating lines″ imitating *ablaq* arches (*The Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art: Catalogue* [Cairo, 1979], 204).

[38]Daniel Fouquet first recognized the similarity of designs in Coptic slip-painted wares of the seventh and eighth centuries and thirteenth- to fourteenth-century sgraffito (Fouquet, ″Contribution à l′étude de la céramique,″ 125, Pl. XV). Coptic and Mamluk bird designs have been compared in C. Décobert and R.-P. Gayraud, ″Une céramique d′époque mamlouke trouvée à Tod,″ *Annales Islamologiques* 18 (1982): 101. A comprehensive study of the designs used in medieval Coptic pottery can be found in William Y. Adams, *Ceramic Industries of Medieval Nubia* (Lexington, KY, 1986). For illustrations of the Byzantine guilloche, see Gawdat Gabra, *Cairo, the Coptic Museums and Old Churches* (Cairo, 1993).

[39]One such animal frieze in sgraffito has been illustrated in Aly Bahgat and Félix Massoul, *La céramique musulmane de l′Égypte* (Cairo, 1930), Pl. XLIX.6.



Figure 5. Most common forms in Egyptian sgraffito: hemispherical (top) and carinated (bottom) bowls, 14th century, probably Fustat, Phase II Egyptian Mamluk sgraffito ware

shapes are those that directly imitate contemporary metalware, such as basins, tray stands, and possibly candlesticks. Regardless of the shape, sgraffito vessels tend to take on largish, if not monumental, proportions.

The goblet form is also shared by two other groups of Mamluk pottery: slip-painted and underglaze-painted wares.[40] Many designs are common to all three wares. Slip-painting and sgraffito are related techniques. The basic application of a slip (clay slip in the first case and quartz-based in the second) and the technique of painting a design in slip (the primary decoration in slip-painting and a secondary one in sgraffito) are grounds for association. Furthermore, sgraffito and underglaze-painted wares were fired together in the same kilns; the proficiency of some workshops in both techniques is discussed below.[41]

In spite of the designs and range of motifs shared by the various categories of Mamluk pottery, the wares differ in their individual histories. Slip-painted wares are stylistically more related to underglaze-painting and the contemporary slip-painted styles of eastern Anatolia and Iran.[42] There is continuity from the Ayyubid period in underglaze-painted and lusterwares. Blue-and-white porcelains and celadons imported from China were imitated locally in Egypt and had a significant impact on the development of local underglaze-painted wares in the fifteenth century.

The history of Mamluk sgraffito is quite different. Although it shares designs with many of the groups listed above, its earliest phase (thirteenth century) was oriented to the Crusader eastern Mediterranean. During its later development in the fourteenth century the ware imitated contemporary Islamic metalwork. The stylistic differences between Mamluk sgraffito and other Egyptian ceramic groups are due to several factors, not the least of which relates to marketing, or patronage. The classification of Mamluk sgraffito ware has, therefore, traditionally focused

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[40]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 169, cat. #78 is an example of the goblet form in underglaze-painting. For slip-painted ware, see the profiles in Scanlon, ″Some Mamluk Ceramic Shapes.″

[41]In modern kilns all ″slip-wares,″ including sgraffitos and slip-painted styles, are fired at the same time. Both require a leather-hardening process before firing, the clays (and the temperatures at which they are fired) are common to both, and they generally take the same glazes. Although there is no historical evidence to support this, one could argue that, like underglaze-painted ware, slip-painted ware was produced alongside sgraffito in Mamluk Cairo.

[42]The history of fourteenth-century slip-painted wares is complex and poorly understood. For assorted attempts at clarifying the relationship of the Mamluk ware with foreign ones see George T. Scanlon, ″The Fustat Mounds: a Shard Count, 1968,″ *Archaeology* 24 (1971): 229 (who emphasizes the influence of ″Eastern Mediterranean relief slip-wares″ and the trailed glaze of ″Athlit wares″) and Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 149 and 192 (pointing to parallels in underglaze-painting and imitation celadons). Lane′s comments concerning the influence of the so-called ″Sultanabad″ wares (Arthur Lane, *Early Islamic Pottery* [London, 1947]) are somewhat outdated.

on its comparatively restricted range of decorative styles and the technical aspects of form and fabric.

Unlike other wares, Mamluk sgraffito can be considered a purely Egyptian product.[43] Evidence of production at Fustat in the form of wasters and kilns and the sheer quantity of the material collected from medieval sites throughout Egypt attest to an intensive, indigenous production.[44] Moreover, there is no convincing evidence that it was ever transported to Syria or any of the other Mamluk provinces, not to mention ever having been manufactured in these places.[45] The extra-Egyptian provinces had their own local styles of sgraffito that were quite different from the Fustat product. To my knowledge there are no published examples of clearly Egyptian-style Mamluk sgraffito from sites in Syria or Israel. Ambiguous references in archaeological reports to scraps of ″Egyptian″ sgraffito found at Syrian sites are never illustrated and do not alter the picture of an Egyptian-only distribution.[46]

If ″military″ sgraffitos are found at administrative sites and garrisons throughout Egypt, why are they not found in Syria? Egyptian amirs were given *iqṭāʻāt* in Syria, were made governors there, lived there, retired there. Yet, there was apparently no export of Egyptian sgraffito to Syria, and if an Egyptian amir had commissioned a vessel in Cairo before his posting in Syria, he apparently did not take it with him. Taking into consideration the indigenous ceramic tradition in Syria one

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[43]Décobert and Gayraud, ″Une céramique de l′époque mamelouke,″ 102.

[44]Aly Bahgat, ″Les fouilles de Foustât: Découverte d′un four de potier arabe datant du XIVe siècle,″ *Bulletin de l′Institut Egyptien* 8 (1914): 245–333 (excavation of a fourteenth-century kiln at Fustat; wasters did not include sgraffito, however); Mason and Keall, ″Petrography of Islamic Pottery,″ 180, Fig. 13 (ROM cat. # 909.43.21 is a waster with an attached tripod from the Fustat excavations. Petrographic thin-sectioning verified local manufacture). Egyptian Mamluk sgraffito has been excavated at the following sites: ″metro″ Cairo (Fouquet, ″Contribution à l′étude de la céramique,″ 121; Bethany J. Walker, ″New Approaches to Working with Old Maps—Computer Cartography for the Archaeologist,″ *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 31 [1994]: 189–200); ″metro″ Alexandria (see references to Kubiak, François, Marzouk, and Lane throughout this paper); Quseir al-Qadim (Donald Whitcomb and Janet Johnson, *Quseir al-Qadim 1980: Preliminary Report* [Malibu, 1982]); Jebel Adda (N. Millet, ″The Jebel Adda Project, Nubia, 1962,″ in *National Geographic Research Reports [1961–1962],* ed. P. H. Oehser [Washington, 1970], 191–200); Tod (Décobert and Gayraud, ″Une céramique de l′époque mamelouke,″ 98); Akhmim (Fouquet, ″Contribution à l′étude de la céramique,″ 121); Dronca (Fouquet, ″Contribution à l′étude de la céramique,″ 121); and Luxor *(Luxor Museum).*

[45]On the issue of transport, evidence from shipwrecks would be particularly illuminating. However, there are precious few excavated wrecks from this time period in the eastern Mediterranean and of those cargoes that have reached the attention of scholars, none seem to have included this kind of pottery (see Rachel Ward, *Islamic Metalwork* [New York, 1993], 113; reference is to a shipwreck of ca. 1400 off the coast of Syria, published in *From the Depths of the Sea,* The Israel Museum [Jerusalem, 1985]).

[46]Décobert and Gayraud, ″Une céramique de l′époque mamelouke,″ 99.

could conclude that:

1. The unattractiveness of Mamluk sgraffito did not find a market in Syria, which had its own respectable, long history of sgraffito manufacture.
2. A high tax on ceramic imports in Syria discouraged Egyptian potters from sending their wares there.[47]
3. The Glazed Relief Ware of Syria served the same purpose as Egyptian sgraffito and was of a generally higher quality. This mass-produced ware was also decorated with dedicatory inscriptions and blazons and distributed to administrative centers and garrisons throughout the region.[48]

It is difficult to assess the Syrian ceramic aesthetic or to find documentary evidence for taxes on a commodity that is very rarely mentioned in either historical or administrative sources. I consider the following as socio-political factors that contributed to the restricted distribution of Mamluk sgraffito.

1. Mamluk ″military″ sgraffito, or the inlaid brasswares it imitates, was the special prerogative of amirs serving in the capital, as were certain styles of

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[47]Pringle cites documentary evidence from commercial treaties for a 25% tax on all pottery sold in Acre in the 1230s (Denys Pringle, ″Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Crusader States,″ in *I comuni italiani del Regno Crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. B. Kedar and G. Airaldi [Geneva, 1986], 469). He argues, unconvincingly, that this was an effort on the part of local officials to preserve ″local stocks of pottery that were needed by the local citizens.″

[48]Glazed Relief Ware is a mold-made ceramic of a fine, white or pinkish clay (5 YR 7/4), decorated in Arabic inscriptions and, for the most part, pseudo-heraldic devices, and covered in a heavy green or yellow lead glaze. Vessel shapes tend to be hemispherical or carinated bowls, with either a simple rounded rim or a characteristic incurving rim, placed on a high pedestal foot. Vessel sizes range from miniature (bowls as small as 8 cm high, 13 cm max dia. at rim) to monumental (bowl rim dia. max. 38 cm wide). Distribution of this ware seems to be concentrated in southern Syria. They have been excavated in large quantities in administrative centers/regional capitals: Jerusalem (M. Avissar, ″The Medieval Pottery,″ in *Yoqne′am I: The Late Periods,* ed. A. Ben-Tor, M. Avissar, and Y. Portugali [Jerusalem, 1996], 102–4); Kerak (M. Milwright, ″Trade and Patronage in Middle Islamic Jordan: The Ceramics from Kerak Castle,″ Ph.D. diss., Oxford University, 1998, 176–79 and 184–91); and Ḥiṣbān (Bethany J. Walker, ″The Islamic Age,″ in *Hesban 11: The Pottery of Hesban*, ed. J. A. Sauer and L. G. Herr [Berrien Springs, MI, 2003], forthcoming; Bethany J. Walker and Ø. S. LaBianca, ″The Islamic *Quṣūr* of Tall Ḥiṣbān: Preliminary Report on the 1998 and 2001 Seasons,″ *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 47 [2003], forthcoming). They were likely manufactured in Jerusalem, and perhaps also Damascus, and sent from there to Mamluk garrisons throughout the region (R. B. Mason and M. Milwright, ″Petrography of Middle Islamic Pottery from Kerak,″ *Levant* 30 [1998]: 188; M. Ben-Dov, *The Dig at the Temple Mount* [Jerusalem, 1982], 365; Avissar, ″Medieval Pottery,″ 102). The inscriptions tend to be generic wishes for prosperity for an unnamed amir (″Glory, good fortune, achievement, and happiness, to the amir″), a statement of commission (″Made [on the order of] the amir . . .″), or poetic verses. Glazed Relief Wares were both made-to-order and mass-produced throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

dress and lifestyle privileges (hunting excursions with the sultan, monopolies on certain commodities).

2. This ceramic style was part of the way the city of Cairo framed its self-view in artistic terms.[49] In other words, it was a specifically Cairene art style, like monumental architectural façades with niches.[50]
3. Mamluk sgraffito was the product of a time and place, a product of the socio-political atmosphere of the time. Most of the characteristics of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reign relevant to the ceramic arts were phenomena of Egypt only.
4. This style of sgraffito was made in imitation of vessels in more expensive materials that played an important role in Mamluk ceremonies carried out in the capital.

TYPOLOGY OF THE WARE

Egyptian sgraffito ware is the hallmark of the Mamluk period in the country. No other kind of pottery is found in such abundance, it was distributed throughout Egypt, and it is readily recognizable to archaeologists and art historians by its characteristic surface decoration. In spite of this, sgraffito has limited archaeological value, because it cannot be dated using traditional techniques; it is often retrieved from secondary (the trash heaps of Fustat and Alexandria) and unstratified (and thus chronologically contextless) deposits during excavation or as isolated surface finds on surveys.[51] Pottery from these contexts is often poorly preserved: the predominance of sherds makes it difficult to ascertain the forms (and range of forms) of the original vessels. The abundance of sherd material in Egyptian museums has encouraged the art historical analysis of surface designs, and this kind of scholarship has a long history in Arabic, French, and English literature. However, the fragmentary nature of the pottery has discouraged any broader analysis, which would enable archaeologists to date it (and, in turn, allow them to use this pottery

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[49]Sgraffito would have been associated with Cairo as the luster technique was with Damascus. The "popularization of forms and the use of techniques . . . may have served to reduce socioeconomic distinctions in urban society and to enhance a common local identity" (Michael Morony, "Material Culture and Urban Identities: The Evidence of Pottery from the Early Islamic Period," in *Identity and Material Culture in the Early Islamic World,* ed. Irene Bierman [Los Angeles,1995], 30).

[50]Michael Meinecke, "Mamluk Architecture, Regional Architectural Traditions: Evolution and Interrelations," *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 2 (1985): 166.

[51]George T. Scanlon, "The Pits of Fustat: Problems of Chronology," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 60 (1971): 60–78; W. B. Kubiak and M. Redlak, "Kom ed-Dikka: Islamic Finds—Storehouses Survey 1995/96," *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 8 (1997): 32–39; Arthur Lane, "Archaeological Excavation at Kom-ed-Dikka: a Preliminary Report on the Medieval Pottery," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, University of Alexandria* 5 (1949): 143–47.

to date sites and their strata with some precision) or explain to historians the unique role it played in fourteenth-century Egyptian society. Until now, there has been no typology of Egyptian sgraffito ware.

The formal art historical study of the ware began a century ago with Daniel Fouquet, whose stylistic analysis of sgraffito sherds has remained influential until today.[52] Although outdated, his monograph, *Céramique orientale*, has been singularly responsible for the current debate on the influence of eastern Mediterranean sgraffito. His work was ground breaking on many accounts. Fouquet was concerned with the historical context of sgraffito ware and dated sherds on the basis of inscriptions and blazon designs. He analyzed artists′ signatures in order to reconstruct workshop structures, examined stylistic parallels in media as far afield as textiles and metalworking, and examined decorative motifs with an eye towards seriation. One legacy of these approaches can be seen in the several generations of signature studies that have followed.[53] He was, most importantly, the first to suggest a connection between Crusader (particularly Cypriot) and Mamluk sgraffito (an idea that has only recently gained some popularity)[54] and to recognize the impact of ″Mosul″-style metalwork on ceramics.[55] These have remained key concepts in the interpretation of sgraffito designs, even though scholars of Mamluk sgraffito seldom cite Fouquet as an authority on the matter. Fouquet′s stylistic analysis was not hampered by the fragmentary remains of sgraffito, and perhaps it is for this reason that archaeologists, consciously or unconsciously, have adopted his approach in working with this material.

With Scanlon′s publication of profiles for sgraffito and slip-painted wares in 1980, discussion about the development of sgraffito forms became possible.[56]

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[52]Fouquet, ″Contribution à l′étude de la céramique.″

[53]M. A. Abel, *Gaibi et les grands faïnciers égyptiens d′époque mamlouke avec un catalogue de leurs oeuvres conserves au Musée d′art arabe du Caire* (Cairo, 1930) and idem, ″Un maître céramiste égyptien du XIVe siècle—Gaiby,″ *Annales de la Société Royale d′Archéologie de Bruxelles* 35 (1930): 141–56; M. A. Marzouk, ″Three Signed Specimens of Mamluk Pottery from Alexandria,″ *Ars Orientalis* 2 (1957): 497–501; A. ʻAbd al-Rāziq, ″Documents sur la poterie d′époque mamelouke—Sharaf al-Abawānī,″ *Annales Islamologiques* 7 (1967): 21–32; B. Peterson, ″Blue and White Imitation Pottery from the Ghaybi and Related Workshops in Mediaeval Cairo,″ *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 52 (1980): 65–88; and M. Jenkins, ″Mamluk Underglazed-painted Pottery: Foundations for Future Study,″ *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 95–114.

[54]Jenkins, ″Mamluk Underglazed-painted Pottery,″ 124; Scanlon, ″Some Mamluk Ceramic Shapes″ (for the Cypriot connection); W. H. Kubiak, ″Crusaders′ Pottery of al-Mina Found at Fustat,″ *Folia Orientalia* 12 (1970): 113–23 (for parallels with al-Mina wares).

[55]Fouquet, ″Contribution à l′étude de la céramique,″ 131; Marzouk, ″Three Signed Specimens,″ 498.

[56]Scanlon, ″Some Mamluk Ceramic Shapes,″ is an extremely useful study in this respect, although many conclusions made about origins and stylistic parallels can be challenged.

Very few complete profiles were available and of those that were published (such as the whole vessels in the gallery of the Islamic Museum in Cairo) emphasis was placed on rare forms, ones slavishly imitative of metalware.[57] One is given an impression in the art historical literature that vessel forms were static. Scanlon′s preliminary study, made possible by a careful piecing together of copious sherd material from Fustat, indicates that a typology of sgraffito based on its constantly changing vessel form is possible. Therefore, while the high-footed hemispherical bowl and carinated ″chalice″ with high, straight walls are the most common forms, there is enough variety within those two groups to consider the possibility of continuity with the Ayyubid period and steady development of form within the Mamluk period.

Modern research on sgraffito has dealt less with typology and chronology, the building blocks of ceramic analysis, and more with the larger issues of trade and provenance. Several recent studies have focused on the roles played by eastern Mediterranean pottery imported through the port of Alexandria, although Fouquet and his contributions in this area are never acknowledged.[58] Another line of inquiry begins with laboratory analyses of fabric and glaze as methods of locating centers of manufacture.[59] In spite of the unquestionable usefulness of such studies, other crucial questions remain unanswered, such as the origins of the Mamluk sgraffito style, its specific dates of manufacture and use, the process and social significance of its development, and the reasons for its restricted distribution.

The typology developed in this paper goes beyond the stylistic analyses of Fouquet and Scanlon in two ways. First, it attempts to overcome the stratigraphic problems associated with Egyptian Mamluk sgraffito by developing a relative chronology for different phases of its development (an archaeological contribution). Second, it relates ceramic development to social, political, and economic challenges to the Mamluk establishment in the fourteenth century (a socio-historical contribution). Egyptian sgraffito underwent two distinct phases of development. I date Phase I sherds by their stratigraphic association with chronologically secure

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[57]Marzouk, ″Egyptian Sgraffito Ware″; A. ʻAbd al-Rāziq, ″Notes on Islamic Graffito Ware of the Near East,″ *Annales Islamologiques* 9 (1970): 179–86, and idem, ″Le sgraffito de l′Égypte.″

[58]W. H. Kubiak, ″Overseas Pottery Trade of Medieval Alexandria as Shown by Recent Archaeological Discoveries,″ *Folia Orientalia* 10 (1969): 5–30, and idem, ″Crusaders′ Pottery″; V. François, ″Contributions à l′étude d′Alexandrie islamique: la céramique médiévale de Kom el-Dikka et Kom el-Nadoura,″ in *Alessandria e il Mondo Ellenistico-Romano* (Rome, 1995), 314–22, Pls. XLVI–XLVII. Scanlon, ″Some Mamluk Ceramic Shapes,″ highlights the influence of foreign sgraffito styles in Fustat.

[59]The methods of analysis are varied: chemical (included in Marzouk, ″Egyptian Sgraffito Ware″ and ʻAbd al-Rāziq, ″Le sgraffito de l′Égypte″) and petrographic (Mason and Keall, ″Petrography of Islamic Pottery″).

imports (where that is possible) and through stylistic comparisons with non-Egyptian sgraffito wares at archaeological sites outside Egypt. For Phase II I rely on datable elements of Mamluk metalwork that are adopted by potters in the fourteenth century. Most important in this regard are the shift from *naskhī* to *thulūth* script in inscriptions (roughly 1320s), the replacement of figural designs with epigraphic ones (1320s on), and the use of blazons (first used in metalwork during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s reign) and names in inscriptions that can be identified from inlaid brasses or historical sources.[60] My reliance on foreign and domestic stylistic criteria is necessitated by the absence of stratigraphic information that the archaeologist normally expects from excavated material.

PHASE I

The influence of the thirteenth-century Mediterranean sgraffitos on the Egyptian ceramic industry has long been recognized, although the emphasis has traditionally been on Byzantine-derivatives and Levantine Crusader (″al-Mina,″ Athlit, etc.) wares.[61] In recent years, the Cypriot connection has been cited as an important element in the emergence of Mamluk sgraffito (Fig. 6).[62] It is difficult to distinguish between the various regional styles of sgraffito in the eastern Mediterranean, thus the confusion in equating all eastern Mediterranean products with either al-Mina or Cyprus. Most archaeologists have focused their efforts on a single region and have acquired an intimate familiarity with one sgraffito group. My own fieldwork has covered three regions (Cyprus, Israel, and Egypt), and it is on the basis of intensive analysis of the Cypriot and Mamluk sgraffitos that I can make the following generalizations.

The great debt Mamluk sgraffito owes to its Cypriot counterpart is indicated by the earliest products of the local Ayyubid and Mamluk Phase I period. I have grouped them into the following categories.

1. Alexandrian Zeuxippus″—a coarsely potted ware in Nile alluvium. The exterior is left plain and rather unfinished, and the slip has a tendency to peel. There is no added color. The tondo designs cut in a wide, shallow sgraffito recall the deeply gouged designs of ″thirteenth-century Aegean wares″ and other Zeuxippus-derivative produced at coastal sites on Cyprus (see below). The most common design is the circle divided into two by double, curved lines in its center (Fig. 7). The complete vessel form is unknown (I have seen only heavy bases). It is found at Kom ed-Dikka in large numbers (some 15% of the Mamluk sgraffitos at the site) and more rarely at Fustat. An analogous

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[60]These developments are conveniently summarized in Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 50–53.

[61]Kubiak, ″Overseas Pottery Trade,″ 12–13, and idem, ″Crusaders′ Pottery.″

[62]Scanlon, ″Some Mamluk Ceramic Shapes.″

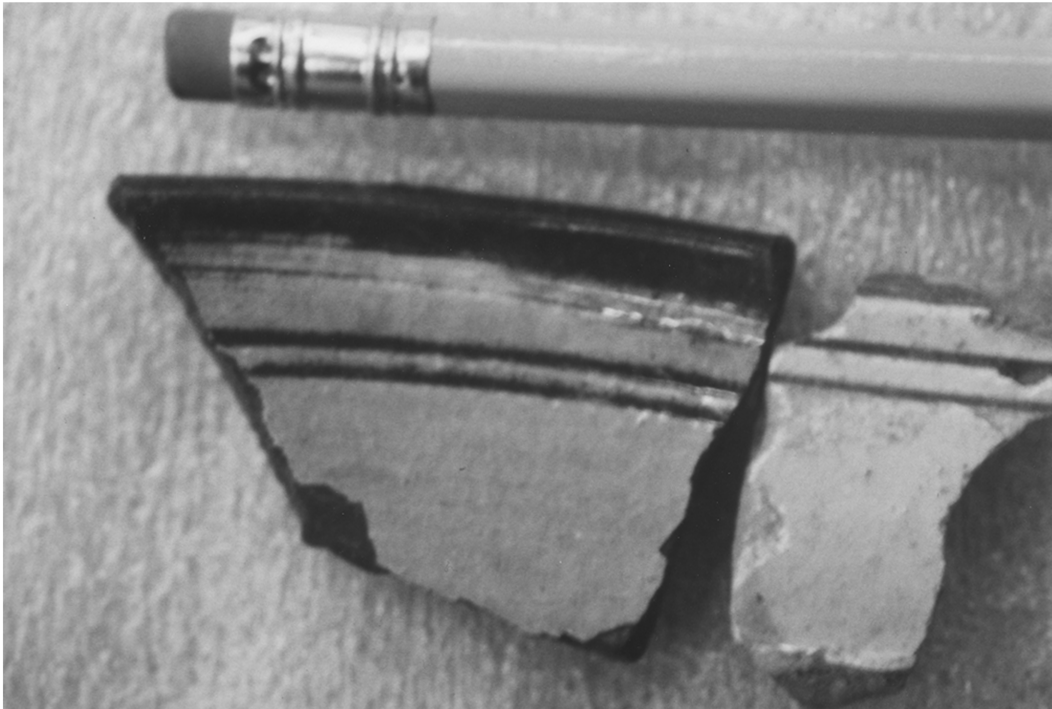


Figure 6. Egyptian (left) and Cypriot (right) sgraffito rim sherds compared



Figure 7. Alexandrian Zeuxippus, 13th century, Kom ed-Dikka, Ayyubid sgraffito ware

product found at Fustat, ″Fustat Zeuxippus,″ was probably derived from the Alexandrian ware. The tondo circle of ″Fustat Zeuxippus″ is bisected by three or more lines.

2. ″Wide Rim Arabesque″—This is a crucial ware typologically, because it bridges the transition between local derivates of eastern Mediterranean sgraffitos and the fully developed Mamluk ware of ″Phase II.″ It is the most finely potted of Egyptian sgraffitos, and its red fabric is well levigated. Most of the sherds are large, straight wall sections, so the original vessel form was probably the straight-walled, carinated chalice. This form is confirmed by a variant with lightly incised, doubly outlined floral designs on a scribbled ground. The fine, double outlines relate it to Zeuxippus-derivative wares. The exteriors of both styles are plain or very lightly glazed, but the interiors are covered with a slip and incised with a floral arabesque or Arabic inscription (both real and imitative) on a scribbled sgraffito background, designs which share both Phase I and Phase II characteristics. Yellow glaze (Fig. 8) is as common as the green glaze (Fig. 9). This group is found in Alexandria and Cairo. It represents approximately 6% of the Mamluk sgraffitos at Kom ed-Dikka (the Greco-Roman Museum collection).

The most prominent surface decoration is a wide inscriptional register, which is executed in a deep and wide incised line, often on a scrolled background. Such scrolling is not uncommon in Cypriot sgraffito, where the uprights of pseudo-Kufic are also repeated as part of a general rim design.[63] In ″Wide Rim Arabesque″ this inscriptional register is widened, occupying much of the vessel′s wall interior down to the carination. The inscriptions are either illegible or pseudo-calligraphic. One Egyptian potter, Sharaf al-Abawānī, has signed several examples of ″Wide Rim Arabesque″ that have parallels with Cypriot and Transcaucasian sgraffitos of the late thirteenth century.[64] In later stages of his work the scribbled ground disappears, but the inscriptional register is retained, including legible and formalized Arabic dedications to military dignitaries along with sultanic emblems and amiral blazons. This later style belongs to Phase II, or the ″military style,″ the one most readily recognized as Mamluk sgraffito by archaeologists working in Egypt.

Phase I products share a common repertoire of designs that have currency throughout the eastern Mediterranean in the thirteenth century: the six-pointed

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[63]J. du Plat Taylor and A. H. S. Megaw, ″Cypriot Medieval Glazed Pottery,″ *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus* (1937–39): Pl. VII (14) and Pl. IX (3.15).

[64]Compare Bahgat and Massoul, *La céramique musulmane,* Pl. 50 (bottom center) with A. I. Dikigoropoulos and A. H. S. Megaw, ″Early Glazed Pottery from Polis,″ *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus* (1940–48): 77–93, Pls. VIII and IX. Also Bahgat and Massoul, *La céramique musulmane,* Pl. 50 (uppermost left) with R. L. Hobson, *A Guide to the Islamic Pottery of the Near East* (London, 1932), Pl. 13, Fig. 37.

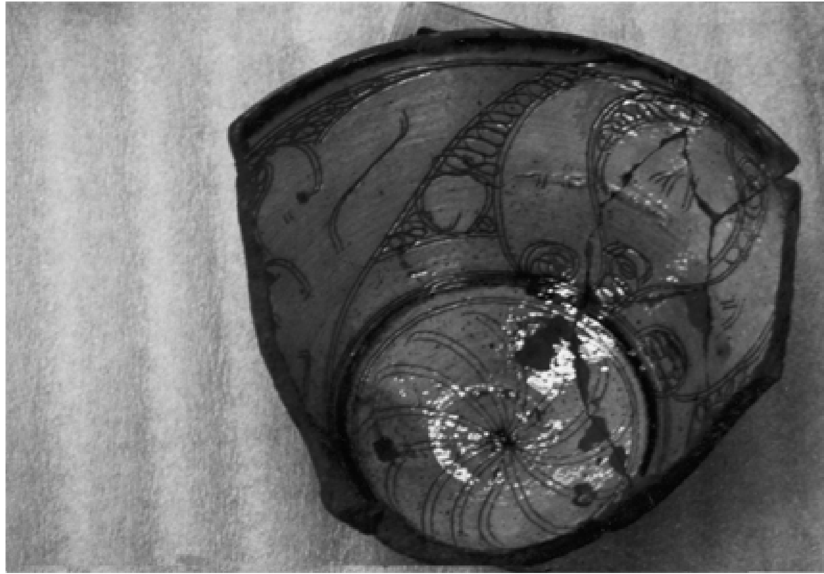


Figure 8. Yellow-glazed Wide Rim Arabesque, late 13th century, Fustat, Phase I Egyptian Mamluk sgraffito ware



Figure 9. Green-glazed Wide Rim Arabesque, late 13th century, Fustat, Phase I Egyptian Mamluk sgraffito ware

star tondo, registers of ″fat″ Kufic, pseudo Kufic inscriptions in the tondo, the scribbled sunburst, the ″Mamluk braid″ (also called a cable or S-motif), champlevé triangles and checkerboards, registers of crescents, textile-imitative fringes framing registers, pseudo-Arabic inscriptions, and proto-blazons (or ″sultanic devices″) and ″Norman shields″ in the tondos. A variety of designs and decorative techniques are adopted from Crusader and Anatolian wares, such as the ″al-Mina leaf″ pattern, the double-incised rim, and champlevé guilloches and sunbursts.

These late Ayyubid and early Mamluk sgraffitos are usually found in stratigraphic association with ceramic imports from throughout the eastern Mediterranean. Although previous scholarship has emphasized the presence of Levantine Crusader imports (al-Mina wares) in Alexandria, Cypriot pottery was, in fact, imported in significantly larger numbers.[65] The majority of all ceramic imports at Kom ed-Dikka, roughly 40-50%, are clearly identifiable as Cypriot; Byzantine, Byzantine-derivative, and Crusader wares are the minority. Several groups of Cypriot imports are represented in Alexandria; Groups III (west and southwest coast products) and IV (produced throughout Cyprus) are dominant (Fig. 10).[66] Of other Byzantine-style wares, Zeuxippus ware dominates, followed by Levantine Crusader and Megaw′s ″thirteenth-century Aegean.″[67] At the salvage

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[65]See Kubiak, ″Overseas Pottery Trade″ and idem, ″Crusaders′ Pottery″ for interpretation of ″al-Mina″ imports at Kom ed-Dikka and Fustat.

[66]The Cypriot typology refers to categories and a relative chronology established by A. H. S. Megaw in the 1930s, based on stylistic analysis (du Plat Taylor and Megaw, ″Cypriot Medieval Glazed Pottery,″ 1–13). His ″groups″ are still valid among archaeologists working on the island today. Excavation of well-stratified sites and church cemeteries, both with coins, have verified many of Megaw′s dates (D. Papanikola-Bakirtzis, ″Ξρονολογημενη Κεραμεικη 14ου Αιωνα απο την Παφο,″ *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus* [1988]: 245–48; J. du Plat Taylor, ″Medieval Graves in Cyprus,″ *Ars Islamica* 5 [1935]: 56–86). Groups III and IV are dated to the late thirteenth and early-mid fourteenth centuries, respectively. The kind of Group III Cypriot sgraffito bowls found in Egypt tend to be typical products of the Lemba and Paphos kilns (verified by petrographic analysis—Walker, ″The Ceramic Correlates of Decline,″ 175–76); Group IV imports are, for the most part, Polis products.

[67]For technical definitions of Zeuxippus and thirteenth-century Aegean ware, se Ch. 3 of Walker, ″The Ceramic Correlates of Decline.″ For Megaw′s intuitive discussion of both wares and their relationship to Cypriot sgraffito, see A. H. S. Megaw, ″Zeuxippus Ware,″ *British School at Athens* 63 (1968): 67–88 and idem, ″An Early Thirteenth-Century Aegean Glazed Ware,″ in *Studies in Memory of David Talbot Rice,* ed. G. Robertson and G. Henderson (Edinburgh, 1975), 34–54. For regional varieties of Zeuxippus ware, see P. Armstrong, ″Zeuxippus Derivative Bowls from Sparta,″ in *Φιλολακων: Lakonian Studies in Honour of Hector Catling,* ed. J. M. Sanders (Athens, 1992), 1–9. For additional studies of Aegean ware and its distribution, consult G. Philotheou and M. Michailidou, ″Plats byzantins provenant d′une épave près de Castellorizo,″ in *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine,* ed. V. Deroche and J.-M. Spieser (Athens, 1989), 173–76, and idem, ″Βυζαντινα Πινακια απο το Φορτιο Ναυαγισμενου Πλοιου Κοντα στο Καστελλοριζο,″



Figure 10. Group III Cypriot sgraffito import from Prastion-Paphos, found at Fustat, 13th century

excavations of Kom al-Nadoura, also in Alexandria, Cypriot ″bird bowls″ and ″wedding bowls″ were rare finds.[68] What is interesting about this distribution of ceramic types is that not only are Levantine imports rare, but so are the highest-quality groups of Cypriot sgraffito. The most common type of sgraffito import at Kom ed-Dikka belongs to Megaw′s Group II and is of very poor quality (roughly incised, often overfired). The picture is similar to Fustat, where 28% of the imports are clearly Cypriot, and of the Cypriot wares an equal number were of the ″Lemba III″ and ″Polis IV″ varieties.[69]

PHASE II (SEE FIG. 5)

War, plague, and a change of economic fortunes took their toll on the city of Alexandria in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The native craft industries, including ceramic production, went into decline. At some early point in the fourteenth century the ″Alexandria school″ of sgraffito was abandoned. The absence at Kom ed-Dikka of vessels with fully developed dedicatory inscriptions, true blazons, or imitations of the *thulūth* script indicates that the ″Fustat school″ took over the Alexandrian market sometime before the 1320s and even as early as 1290.[70]

The supposed ″hiatus″ in ceramic production in Fustat during much of the thirteenth century has often been attributed to the burning of the city by Shāwar in 1168. According to Kubiak, the *kharāb* (ruins) of Fustat were the result of the abandonment of the eastern and southern parts of the city after the famine and plague of 1066–72, but in the thirteenth century Fustat (those areas still occupied) was fully functioning socially and industrially.[71] There does seem to have been a

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Αρχαιολογικο Δελτιο 4 (1991): 271–330; P. Armstrong, ″A Group of Byzantine Bowls from Skopelos,″ *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 10 no. 3 (1991): 335–47; and I. Loucas, ″Les plats Byzantines à glaçure inédits d′une collection privée de Bruxelles,″ in Deroche and Spieser, *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine*, 177–83.

[68]François, ″Contribution à l′étude d′Alexandrie islamique,″ 316, and personal communication.

[69]The attribution of one complete ″Lapithos IV″ bowl in the ROM study collection (inv. # 909.25.46) to Fustat, on the basis of the art dealer′s reports of 1909, can be rejected. The excellent preservation of this vessel is not in keeping with the fragments normally recovered from the Fustat mounds. Moreover, this particular group of Cypriot sgraffito was particularly popular for medieval burials on Cyprus. It is unfortunate that the looting of church cemeteries of their grave goods provided the international antiquities market with vessels of this sort.

[70]In metalwork large inscriptions in *thulūth* and heraldic blazons replaced figural decoration and the *naskhī* script after the 1320s (Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 50–51). The first blazon of office has been located on two candlesticks of Zayn al-Dīn Kitbughā while he was still amir; it was made around 1290 (Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 52 and 64–65, cat. #15–#16).

[71]W. B. Kubiak, ″The Burning of Misr al-Fustat in 1168: A Reconsideration of Historical Evidence,″ *Africana Bulletin* 25 (1976): 51–64.

reduction in the production of luxury ceramics after the Fatimid period,[72] but the kilns themselves were still operative in the thirteenth century. Thirteenth-century sgraffito styles such as "Fustat Zeuxippus" and "Wide Rim Arabesque" are proof of the activity of Fustat's kilns in the period of the "hiatus."

Ceramic production at Fustat came into full swing in the fourteenth century, as is evidenced by the extensive "sherd mounds" excavated by the American Research Center in Egypt.[73] The sgraffito style associated with the Fustat kilns in this period (Phase II—the "military style") is characterized by formulaic Arabic inscriptions dedicating the vessel to a military dignitary (usually an amir) and the extensive use of amiral blazons within these inscriptional wall registers and in the tondos. Occasionally contemporary designs from other Mamluk wares are imitated. The most important influence, though, comes from contemporary metalwork. The shapes (basins, tray stands), designs (woven bands, the "Y-fret," animal friezes), and color scheme (yellow glaze as brass, white slip as silver inlays) of silver-inlaid brasses are reproduced in sgraffito.

"Military style" vessels were commissioned primarily by amirs and mass-produced for the general public, who had developed a taste for the vessels they had seen displayed at official banquets and at amiral palaces. It was an extremely popular style, probably because it was an effective but less costly alternative to inlaid brasses. Vessels were distributed throughout Egypt but not outside her borders.

Phase II should be roughly dated from 1290 to the late fourteenth century. Phase II sgraffito imitates many of the changes in metalwork of the 1290s–1320s in terms of script, inscriptions, and heraldic blazons. The style apparently petered out by the end of the fourteenth century. Atıl cites the absence of the compound blazons of Burji officers as evidence that the "military style" had passed out of fashion by the fifteenth century.[74] The absence from sgraffito inscriptions of the names of Burji officers or Mamluk sultans of the fifteenth century, in addition to the title *khwājah* (for civilian patrons) that appears in this period, further supports the fourteenth-century chronology.[75]

Not only in decoration but also in form does Phase II sgraffito continue the long development begun in the thirteenth century with eastern Mediterranean sgraffitos and Ayyubid lusterwares (Fig. 11). The hemispherical bowl changes little from the thirteenth century to the fourteenth. It is the carinated profile that is

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[72]Kubiak, "Overseas Pottery Trade," 27.

[73]Scanlon, "The Fustat Mounds."

[74]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 149.

[75]For the title *khwājah* and its relationship to state monopolies in the fifteenth century, see Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 128.

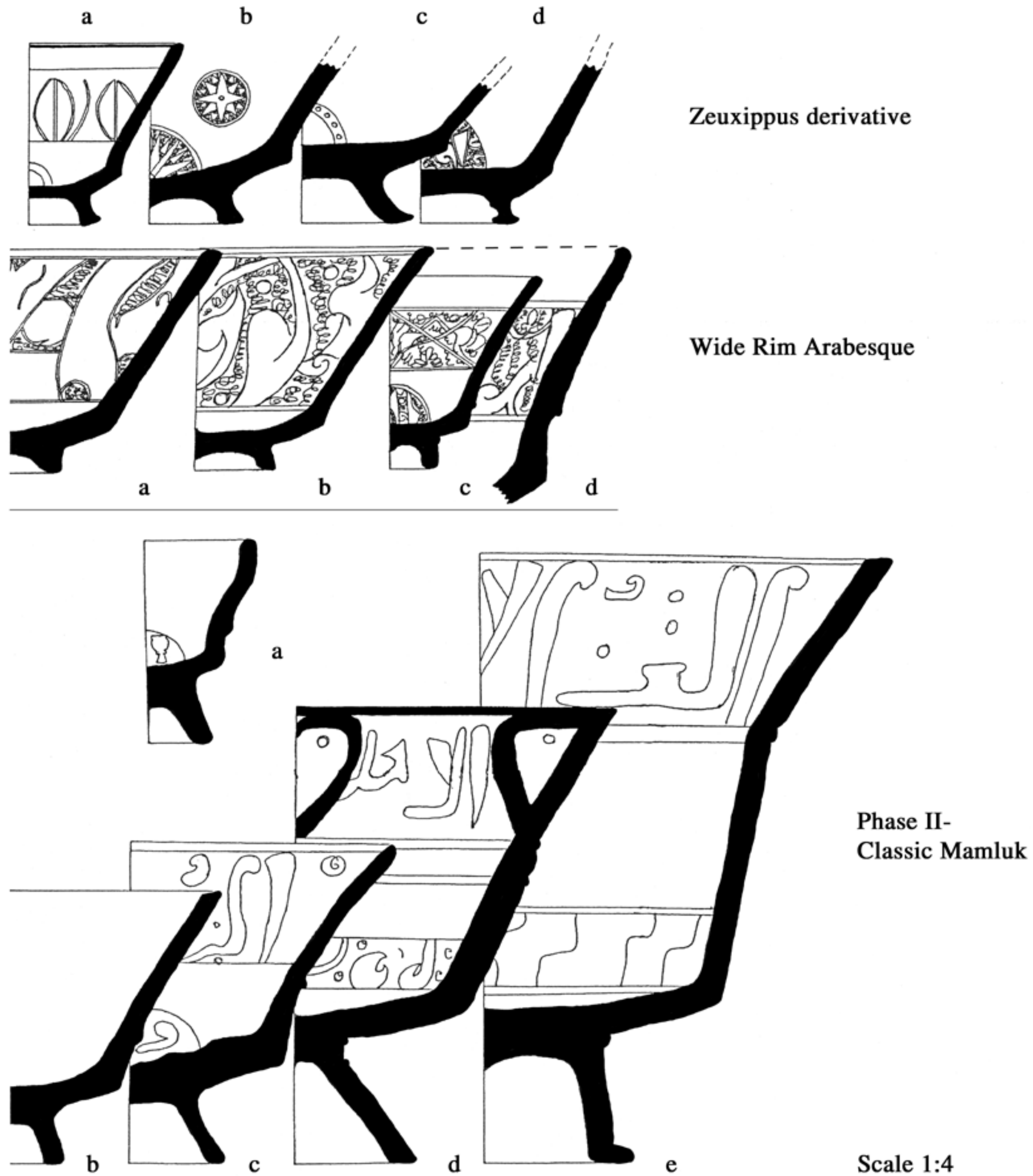


Figure 11. Typological development of late Ayyubid and Mamluk sgraffito

transformed. The ″classic Mamluk chalice″ usually associated with military inscriptions and blazons in Cairo is not a static form but is remarkable for its variety.

Summary of Typology

In summary, Egyptian sgraffito developed in two distinct stages in the Mamluk period, each related to special social and economic circumstances of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The first phase is chronologically earlier because it shares so many traits with Cyprus′ Group III and some Group IV sgraffitos. The second phase is later and recalls Islamic inlaid metalwork covered with military inscriptions. Some decorative designs of Egyptian sgraffito shared with Cypriot sgraffito include wall registers interrupted by generic shield blazons and the placement of heraldic devices in the tondo circle and on the wall.[76] This use of heraldic devices is also found in Anatolian sgraffito of the thirteenth century and may well have had some currency throughout the eastern Mediterranean.[77]

The following summarizes a preliminary relative chronology for the Mamluk sgraffitos that is based on the data available at present.

Ayyubid (1200–1250): influence from Zeuxippus and other Byzantine-derivative wares (like ″Thirteenth-century Aegean″). Groups include ″Alexandrian Zeuxippus,″ ″Fustat Zeuxippus,″ and tondos circles with the radial design.

PHASE I Mamluk: 1250–1300: strong Cypriot influence. Groups include ″Wide Rim Arabesque,″ green-glazed wares, poorly incised inscriptions in *naskhī,* fake or practically illiterate inscriptions for decorative value, green and brown stains, generic symbols of authority used outside of Egypt (like the rosette, the lion, and the double-headed eagle), and pseudo-blazons or ″Norman shields.″

PHASE II Mamluk: fourteenth century: less Mediterranean influence and more emphasis on eastern Islamic art (the ″Mosul″ metalwork style). Characteristics include the mature, classic profile of the Mamluk chalice, formalized military inscriptions and blazons, slip-painted relief inscriptions outlined in sgraffito, the absence (or rarity) of staining, biographically identifiable amirs, and careful

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[76]For published illustrations of shield devices in Cypriot sgraffito see du Plat Taylor and Megaw, ″Cypriot Medieval Glazed Pottery,″ Pl. V.8 and p. 4, Fig. 1, and A. Papageorghios, ″Ερευνα εισ τον ναον του Αγ. Κυπριανου εισ Μενικο,″ *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus* (1964): 236, Fig. 14.

[77]See G. Öney, *Anadolu Selçuklu Mimarisinde Süsleme ve El Sanatlari* (Ankara, 1978), 107, Fig. 90.

imitations of metalware shapes (candlesticks, inlaid basins, stands). Mass-produced vessels carrying generic dedications and decorative blazons can be considered the latest phase.

By the end of the Ayyubid period, eastern Mediterranean imports (most importantly Cypriot sgraffito) exerted a stylistic and technical influence on Egyptian potters, who adapted such elements as scribbled inscriptional registers, shield devices, the beveled rim and upturned ringfoot, and the use of brown and green stains to designs that appealed to the military elite. The steady development in design from ″scribbled sgraffito″ to ″Wide Rim Arabesque″ and then to the Phase II ″military style″ was paralleled by the accentuation of the Zeuxippus carinated profile, resulting in the ″classic Mamluk chalice″ form. Additional evidence for continuity in Mamluk sgraffito is found in the work of Sharaf al-Abawānī, an Egyptian potter usually associated with the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. His signature is found on both Phase I and Phase II products. It is possible to trace the maturation of his style from the thirteenth century, when he continues the practices of Cypriot and other Mediterranean potters, to the fourteenth century, at which time he adopts the militarizing style of other Mamluk arts.[78]

Historical Backdrop of Ceramic Development in Egypt

Why is Cypriot influence so marked in Egypt and why at this period? A comparison with Cypriot exports to the Crusader Levant is informative. At Acre, Cypriot sgraffito and slip-painted wares (Groups I–III) are represented in high numbers (8% at coastal sites and 24% inland), although at coastal locations proto-majolica and Crusader Levantine wares (″al-Mina″) predominate.[79] Coastal distribution of Cypriot ceramic imports (Groups Ic/X, II, and III) is, in fact, characteristic of the Crusader States.[80] The pattern of Cypriot sgraffito imports in Egypt differs, however, from that in the Levant in two important ways. First, while the overall percentages are much lower in comparison to local products (3% of all sgraffito at Kom ed-Dikka and far below 1% at Fustat), Cypriot sgraffito far outnumbers any other ceramic import. This may indicate a difference in consumption patterns: the mercantile communities of the coastal Levant relied on both imported and domestic pottery, while Egyptian residents were largely satisfied by the local market. Second, the Cypriot groups represented in Egypt (Groups III–V) are chronologically later

[78]The development of his style is more fully described below.

[79]E. Stern, ″Exports to the Latin East of Cypriot Manufactured Glazed Pottery in the 12th–13th Century,″ in *Cyprus and the Crusades,* ed. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith (Nicosia, 1995), 335, Fig. 5.

[80]Pringle, ″Pottery as Evidence for Trade,″ Fig. 2.

than those in the Levant (Groups I–III). Mamluk destruction of the Crusader strongholds in the Levant is the obvious factor in the absence of these later Cypriot styles at Acre and other sites.

The high visibility of Cypriot imports at coastal sites is a characteristic shared by both the Levant and Egypt. Thus, one factor that contributes to the location of imports and the period of the importation is the foreign mercantile community. The influence of Cypriot sgraffito imports on the early development of Mamluk sgraffito is intimately connected to the history of the mercantile communities in Alexandria. The imposing presence of Cypriot pottery in thirteenth and fourteenth-century Alexandria is probably not due to the local residence of Cypriot merchants. The large numbers of Lemba III sgraffito (an estimated 44%), one of the poorest products of Cyprus′ kilns in this period, do not necessarily indicate a Cypriot community in the port city. They were, more likely, the tablewares of the international crews manning the ships coming from Cyprus. Many of the Cypriot ″imports,″ which are unexpectedly inconsistent in firing and general appearance, may not have been imported, as such, but belonged to the inhabitants of the foreign *funduq*s in Alexandria or were used as ballast in transport ships.

Cyprus had neither a consul nor a *funduq* in the city. The state of political tension between Cyprus and Egypt during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, the result of corsair activities generally encouraged by the Cypriots, did not make Cypriots welcome in Mamluk territory.[81] However, European merchants coming from Cypriot ports were able to establish residences and businesses in Alexandria. Venice, Genoa, Pisa, Marseilles, and the Catalans had permanent communities in the city.[82] Cypriot merchants who wanted to trade in Egypt generally leased the ships of these European states and hired their crews.[83] The demands of Peter de Lusignan in 1368 for the appointment of a consul, the establishment of a *funduq*, and customs exemptions in Alexandria for Cypriots underline the fact that European middlemen handled the bulk of the Cyprus-Egypt commerce in this period.[84]

The papal bulls prohibiting mercantile activity in Mamluk territories forced

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[81]Egyptian paranoia over rumors of Cypriot spies in Alexandria following the events of 1365 illustrates the extent of the bad relations (A. S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* [London, 1938], 351).

[82]Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History,* 299; M. Müller-Wiener, *Eine Stadtgeschichte Alexandrias von 564/1169 bis in die Mitte des 9./15. Jahrhunderts: Verwaltung und Innerstädtische Organizationsformen* (Berlin, 1992), 251; Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages,* 366.

[83]P. W. Edbury, *The Lusignan Kingdom of Cyprus and its Muslim Neighbors* (Nicosia, 1993), 10.

[84]G. F. Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1940–52), 2:340; Muḥammad ibn Qāsim al-Nuwayrī, *Kitāb al-Ilmām bi-al-I'lām,* ed. A. Atiya (Hyderabad, 1970), 5:371; Müller-Wiener, *Eine Stadtgeschichte,* 59.

clandestine trade through Cypriot ports. So, in spite of the state of ″cold war″ between Cyprus and Egypt, Cypriot pottery reached the shores of Egypt in large numbers. This is a useful lesson: one should not necessarily equate pottery with people. Cypriot pottery in Alexandria represents the local activities of Venetian merchants and other European businessmen, not the presence of Cypriots.

The changing status of Cyprus as the middleman in east-west trade in the second half of the fourteenth century had important consequences, not the least of which was the disappearance of Cypriot sgraffito in Egypt. This was, ironically, a catalyst for the further development of Mamluk sgraffito. A series of events contributed to this state of affairs. Peter I′s invasion of Alexandria in 1365, which left much of the city in ruins, marks the beginning of the city′s decline.[85] A series of plagues in the middle of the century drastically reduced the city′s population, forcing the temporary closure of the *Dār al-ṭirāz*, *Dār al-wikālah,* and the markets and customs houses. By the end of the century the city recovered, as the population recovered and the markets were able to reopen.[86]

The decline of the city of Alexandria did not render her port useless, however, and trade continued in spite of internal problems. The decline of Cyprus was a much more important factor in the transition in Egypt from Crusader-derivatives to the ″military style″ of Mamluk sgraffito. The Genoese wars of the 1370s and changing trade routes weakened the Lusignan dynasty and the Cypriot economy, in general, by the second half of the century. Moreover, relations with the Mamluks were strained until 1370, when a peace treaty was finally signed. A final factor that contributed to the marginalization of Cyprus in east-west trade was the damage done by earthquakes to the island′s major ports. The port at Paphos, from which merchant ships departed directly for Alexandria, was all but abandoned after the earthquake of 1222.[87] Limassol then took over its commercial traffic, but in the first half of the fourteenth century it, too, suffered a series of devastating earthquakes that rendered its port useless. With the Genoese in possession of Famagusta and its port from 1373 on, Cypriot control of dependable ports on the island was disrupted.

At the same time, events coincided to make the European merchants independent of Cypriot ports. The disintegration of the Il Khanid empire and Mamluk operations

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[85]Müller-Wiener, *Eine Stadtgeschichte;* al-Nuwayrī, *Kitāb al-Ilmām*—this Arab historian was an eye-witness of the event.

[86]S. Labib, ″ al-Iskandariyya,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 4:134. Labib has estimated that 200–700 deaths were recorded on a daily basis from 1347 to 1350.

[87]R. Gertwagen, ″Maritime Activity Concerning the Ports and Harbours of Cyprus from the Late 12th to the 16th Centuries (1191–1571),″ in Coureas and Riley-Smith, *Cyprus and the Crusades,* 511–38.

against the southern coast of Anatolia in the mid fourteenth century forced European merchants to look for ports of call further south in the Mediterranean. Venice began its annual, direct service to Alexandria in 1345. The visits were more regular than during the papal prohibitions, and they bypassed Cyprus altogether.[88] Therefore, by mid-century regular traffic between the Cypriot ports and Alexandria was coming to an end.

The implications of the decline of Cypriot ports and Alexandria for the further development of Mamluk sgraffito are two-fold. First, by the middle of the fourteenth century contact between Alexandria and Cyprus was less regular. By avoiding Cypriot ports, Venice, among the other mercantile states, had no occasion to bring Cypriot pottery to Egyptian shores.[89] Second, the concurrent decline of Alexandria negatively affected several crafts, including the city's textile industry. Whether the gradual impoverishment of the city contributed to the decline of the local kilns and the expansion of a ceramic market based in Cairo, the country's political and military center, cannot be substantiated at this point. The notion, however, does explain the shift from a ceramic industry based on the tastes of well-traveled merchants in Alexandria (eastern Mediterranean influence) to one that catered to the military elite of Cairo ("military wares"). A transition in style such as this indicates a shift in patronage, one that could have been facilitated by the waning influence of Alexandria.

The most important development in Mamluk sgraffito, the transition from Phase I to Phase II, can be attributed, in part, to Egypt's political isolation from Cyprus. When Cypriot sgraffito was no longer available locally, Egyptian potters no longer imitated its styles. They began to rely, instead, on indigenous art forms. If Phase I Mamluk sgraffito adopted characteristics of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Cypriot sgraffito, Phase II was imitative of fourteenth-century Islamic metalwork. The transition was a gradual one. The following three sections serve to document the continuity from the Cypriot-influenced style to the mature Mamluk style with formal military inscriptions and amiral blazons.

The Social Significance of Egyptian Sgraffito

Production

I. Cairo's ceramic market

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[88]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 24; Müller-Wiener, *Eine Stadtgeschichte,* 66.

[89]A sharp increase in the numbers of Venetian pottery in Alexandria in the second half of the fourteenth century would verify this hypothesis. The latest deposits at Kom ed-Dikka are slightly earlier than this, so such statistics from this site are unavailable. Full publication of the ceramic finds from Kom el-Nadoura may provide this information (see preliminary study in François, "Contribution à l'étude d'Alexandrie islamique").

Phase II sgraffito ware imitated more expensive vessels of brass or bronze inlaid with gold and silver. The metal prototypes were produced for the military elite, as their dedicatory inscriptions indicate. The decorative inscriptions of the less expensive earthenware, on the other hand, was a convenient avenue for the nouveaux riches to express their newly acquired status. While the objects and inscriptions alone illustrate this pattern of patronage, they reveal little by themselves about production or marketing. Archaeological excavations, potters′ signatures, and a reading of contemporary Arabic sources do provide information, however limited, about the ceramic market in Mamluk Cairo.

What is Cairo today consisted of two cities in the medieval period: al-Qāhirah and Fustat. The economic health of medieval Cairo depended, in part, on the dynamic relationship between the marketplaces of those two cities. Their markets, although distinct and independent, overlapped to some degree. Most (but not all) of the official or semi-official centers of manufacture, trade, and sale in the Mamluk period were located in al-Qāhirah, close to the palaces of the amirs.[90] The Fustat markets, on the other hand, consisted of small, privately-owned businesses, managed with little interference from the state, and organized by an informal ″guild″ system or ″craft group.″[91]

There has been much debate about the character of Islamic guilds and the way they compare or contrast with the sophisticated guild system of medieval Europe.[92] Guilds in Europe were formed voluntarily by the artisans to protect their economic interests. By contrast, the ″guilds″ of medieval Egypt were created by the state to facilitate tax collection and urban policing and to stop fraud.[93] The state delegated these responsibilities to market inspectors (*muḥtasib*s), who were appointed to collect market taxes, ensure quality of merchandise, control prices and coinage,

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[90]The concentration of Mamluk and Ottoman *wakālah*s and *khān*s off of the Qasabah between Bāb al-Futūḥ and Bāb Zuwaylah is illustrated on Map 9 (p. 330) and Map 10 (p. 331) in R. B. Parker, B. Sabin, and C. Williams, *Islamic Monuments: a Practical Guide* (Cairo, 1988).

[91]The art historian Irwin argues that formal guilds in the European sense (called *asnab* in later sources) did not exist in Egypt before the Ottoman period. For an overview of the history of the guild structure in Islam, see R. Irwin, *Islamic Art in Context: Art, Architecture, and the Literary World* (N.Y., 1997), 138.

[92]ʻA. M. Rezq, ″The Craftsmen of Muslim Egypt and Their Social and Military Rank During the Medieval Period,″ *Islamic Archaeological Studies* 3 (1988): 4–5, and Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 97–105. Lapidus′ bibliography on European and Islamic guilds is worth consulting.

[93]The state imposed the guild system on local craftsmen as a way of controlling the economy of the private sector. This arrangement even penetrated the amiral-run establishments. According to al-Maqrīzī, the workshop space in the textile market belonging to one Amīr al-Juyūsh was organized according to guilds (W. ʻIzzi, ″Objects Bearing the Name of an-Nasir Muhammad and His Successors,″ in *Colloque International sur l′Histoire du* Caire, ed. A. Raymond, M. Rogers, and M. Wahba [Cairo, 1972], 235).

and maintain moral standards.[94] The *muḥtasib,* in turn, selected representatives from among the craftsmen (*'ārif*s) to assist him in these tasks. The functional equivalent of the *'ārif* among the merchants was the *shaykh,*[95] a term also applied to the head of a craft workshop, as the potter's signature "*Shaykh al-Ṣinā'ah*" indicates. That Egyptian craftsmen routinely signed their work is, to use Lapidus' words, "a sign of pride and individuality out of keeping with the guild spirit as we know it for the West."[96]

The Arabic sources have little to say about the ceramics industry of Mamluk Cairo in any detail, however some generalizations can be made. Most of the pottery made for both local consumption and export was produced in Fustat. Ceramics, along with glass, metal smelting, and soap making, were mainstays of Fustat's economy.[97] The American and French excavations of Fustat have produced a large quantity of ceramic material, including wasters and kilns, providing archaeological evidence for a vibrant ceramics industry in the city.[98] Mamluk sgraffito, found in abundance during the excavations, was, apparently, a specialty of the Fustat kilns and had a strong popular appeal. However, neither the local production nor import-export of pottery in the Mamluk period was so lucrative a business that it attracted the interest of the state. [99] Thus, there is no evidence for a state monopoly on pottery manufacture or the inclusion of potters within amiral or sultanic *wakālah*s and only sporadic references to the industry in contemporary written sources.

While the majority of the Fustat kilns were small, the large number of signed vessels in this period attests to some degree of industrial-scale production. For example, roughly one hundred underglaze-painted vessels alone can be attributed to the potter who signed his name "Ghaybī."[100] This, compared with the twenty known vessels signed by the earlier Fatimid artist "Muslim"[101] (a prolific potter in

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[94]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 98.

[95]Ibid., 99.

[96]Ibid., 276, n. 47.

[97]'A. Rezq, "Crafts and Industries in Medieval Egypt and Their Role in Building the Social Structure of its Main Urban Centers," *Islamic Archaeological Studies* 4 (1991): 72.

[98]See especially Bahgat, "Les fouilles de Foustât." For a comprehensive list of publications related to modern excavations at Fustat, see B. J. Walker, "New Approaches to Working with Old Maps."

[99]In his recent review of the contemporary Arabic sources touching on this industry, Marcus Milwright concludes that pottery was generally of little interest to historians of the day and not as highly valued by Egyptian and Syrian consumers as other goods (M. Milwright, "Pottery in the Written Sources of the Ayyubid-Mamluk Period [c. 567–923/1171–1517]," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 62 no. 3 [1999]: 504–18).

[100]Abel, "Un maître céramiste," 149.

[101]M. Jenkins, "Muslim, an Early Fatimid Ceramist," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*

his own day), illustrates to what degree ceramic production had grown by the Mamluk period. The most prolific of Mamluk potters, Sharaf al-Abawānī, seems to have specialized in the production of sgraffito wares. It is difficult to make an estimate of the scale of his workshop's output. Much of the material that bears his signature is fragmentary and inaccessible.[102] The few publications of his work are based, for the most part, on the whole vessels on display at the Islamic Museum or random sherds from small excavations in Cairo and Alexandria and do not reflect the impressive extent of his production. [103] Nonetheless, the quantity of excavated sherds from Mamluk sites far surpasses that for any other period of Muslim Egypt's history.

Regardless of the quality of the individual vessel, glazed pottery (such as underglaze-painted, luster, and sgraffito wares) was time-consuming and expensive to produce. The application of the slip, the incision, the glazing, and additional slip-painted designs were stages in the manufacturing process that, in spite of the number of firings, added to the production time.[104] Even the most simple and quickly executed designs were produced in this manner. The sheer volume of sgraffito fragments recovered from Mamluk deposits in Egypt is one indication of the extensive activity of these workshops. It is significant that the long process of manufacture did not prevent mass-production of such wares by the ceramic shops.

No single workshop monopolized sgraffito production either through special order or for the general market. The multiplicity of potter's signatures supports this notion and so do scattered references to ceramic kilns in the Arabic sources. The historian Ibn Duqmāq merely mentions the locations of *fakhkhūrah,* that is groups of ceramic kilns, and their owners.[105] His brief notes are important, because they indicate that individual potters routinely managed multiple kilns and that these kiln groups were scattered throughout the city. Although Ibn Duqmāq names several of the kiln owners, none of the names corresponds to the potters' signatures inscribed on sgraffito ware. The historian does not specify the products of the kilns, but it is probable that they did not specialize in sgraffito and sold, instead,

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26 (1986): 363.

[102]Large cases of the ceramic material from the Fustat mounds are stored in the Islamic Museum in Cairo, where much of it is uncataloged, difficult to access, and largely unstudied. My own work is based on the sherds and complete vessels in the gallery and the museum's small study collection.

[103]Marzouk, "Three Signed Specimens" (3 sherds); ʻAbd al-Rāziq, "Le sgraffito de l'Égypte," 1–23, Pls. 1–8 (2 sherds); idem, "Documents sur la poterie" (3 complete vessels and 7 fragments). Bahgat and Massoul, *La céramique musulmane,* do not estimate the number of sherds carrying this potter's name from their excavations at Fustat.

[104]In some cases, sgraffitos may have been fired twice (Décobert and Gayraud, "Une céramique d'époque mamelouke trouvée à Tod," 98, n. 1).

[105]*Kitāb al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat ʻIqd al-Amṣār* in Bahgat and Massoul, *La céramique musulmane,* 9.

ordinary, unglazed table and kitchenwares.[106]

Allusions to kiln specialization can be found in the Geniza documents, where terms used for particular kinds of potters are defined. For example, the *fakhkhār* (pl. *fakhkhūrī*) made architectural pipes from clay. The *qaddār* specialized in pots for export, the *kūzī* produced narrow-necked and spoutless water jugs, and the *ghadā'irī* made translucent dishes.[107] On the basis of this, Goitein concludes that "each type of vessel was made by a separate group of artisans."[108] Such a rich vocabulary also suggests that the average Cairene consumer was quite knowledgeable about pottery and could distinguish among the many products of an extensive and specialized urban market.[109] However, the kinds of pottery described in the Geniza documents are unglazed and industrial wares, not the glazed and signed vessels excavated at Fustat.

References to pottery in the chronicles and administrative manuals are more problematic. The difficulty with these texts rests in the ambiguous ceramics terms that are used intermittently in the narratives. Various attempts by scholars to define these terms have had some limited success.[110] Many of the terms refer to vessel shapes and fabric composition, which are the most important criteria in determining ceramic typology. In the Arabic chronicles, *aṭbāq* (serving trays), *suḥūn* (dishes), *awānī* (vessels), and *mā'idah* (table or large tray) were inclusive terms that correspond to a variety of vessel types based on broad categories of shape and function.[111] Occasionally, the medieval author offers additional information about the vessel, such as its composition (gold, silver porcelain/earthenware), relative size, and function (for serving meat, for drinking flavored refreshments), especially when he is describing an important affair, like an official banquet *(simāṭ)*. These descriptions, however, are short and inconsistent in the details they provide. The chroniclers were not as interested in the serving vessels or even the food served on these occasions as in the expense of the affair and the guest list.[112] The shape and decoration (if any) of the serving and drinking

[106]For a definition of *fakhkhūrah,* see below.

[107]S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society,* (Los Angeles, 1967–93), 1:110.

[108]Ibid., 111.

[109]The same is true for textiles. The Geniza texts reveal a language replete with terms to describe raw materials, colors, cuts, and technologies of weaving and embroidery.

[110]Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society,* 1:110–11; Bahgat and Massoul, *La céramique musulmane,* 4–7.

[111]The definitions I have provided are based on the way al-Qalqashandī uses the terms in his description of banquet ceremonial (Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Qalqashandī, *Kitāb Ṣubḥ al-A'shá* [Cairo, 1963]).

[112]Al-Qalqashandī's descriptions of court banquets held on the two *'īd*s is more informative than those al-Maqrīzī includes in his *Khiṭaṭ*. See especially *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá,* 3:523–24, as described

vessels used at banquets cannot be reconstructed from these chronicle entries alone.

Vessel shapes are not the only criteria by which we can determine workshop specialization in the medieval sources. *Khazaf* and *ṣīnī*, for example, refer to fabric composition. They are problematic terms. *Ṣīnī* ("in Chinese style") literally refers to porcelain; *khazaf* has until today retained its traditional meaning of ordinary pottery, or earthenware. The differentiation between the two materials may not have been so clear-cut, though, to authors like al-Maqrīzī and al-Nuwayrī. The two terms are used almost interchangeably in the texts.[113] *Zabdīyah* (plates or platters) are usually described as *"ṣīnī"*;[114] expensive grilled lamb and sweet chicken were served in *suḥūn khazafīyah* (clay tableware/dishes).[115] The textual association of earthenware with Chinese porcelain may indicate that a fine, glazed earthenware, rather than true porcelain, was intended.[116] It is likely that these were underglaze-painted earthenwares (the local imitations of Ming blue-and-white porcelains), although the texts are not specific on this point.

A third source of information on the products of medieval ceramic kilns, in addition to the Geniza documents and the Arabic chronicles, are the *ḥisbah* manuals. These were written for the market inspectors (*muḥtasib*s) and provide invaluable information on prices, quality, and market terminology from the twelfth century and throughout the Mamluk period.[117] One Mamluk manual, *Maʿālim al-Qurbah fī Aḥkām al-Ḥisbah,* is of particular importance for its contribution to our knowledge about ceramic specialization. The author, who is known as Ibn al-Ukhūwah (d. 1329), was an Egyptian *muḥtasib* and a contemporary of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.[118] Ibn al-Ukhūwah devotes two chapters (chs. 55 and 56) to the sellers of earthenware and waterpots *(fī al-ḥisbah ʿalá bāʿati qudūri al-khazafī wa-al-kizānī)* and clay merchants and molders *(fī al-ḥisbah ʿalá al-fākhīrānīn wa-al-ghaddārīn),* respectively.[119] In spite of their brevity, these two entries are informative. The author differentiates between two kinds of ceramic products: unglazed cooking pots and small jugs and glazed wares of a finer quality clay. In the first entry (ch. 55) the guidelines are addressed to those who sell common, unglazed wares. The

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[113]Bahgat and Massoul, *La céramique musulmane,* 9.

[114]Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society,* 1:145.

[115]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá,* 3:524, ll. 6–7.

[116]Bahgat and Massoul, *La céramique musulmane,* 5; Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society,* 1:145.

[117]Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society,* 1:82.

[118]Ibn al-Ukhūwah, *Maʿālim al-Qurbah fī Aḥkām al-Ḥisbah* (London, 1938), xvii. His full name is Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Qurashī al-Shāfiʿī.

[119]Ibid., 222–23.

merchants themselves may have been the potters, because they are advised not to sell broken vessels plastered in such a way that they appear whole.[120]

The second entry (ch. 56) is particularly interesting for its data on raw materials. In this section, Ibn al-Ukhūwah specifies the market standards for ceramic kilns and deals with such issues as the proper dung to fire kilns and the composition of clays and colored glazes. He distinguishes between potters *(fākhīrānīn)* and clay merchants *(bāʿatu al-ghaddārī);* it is significant that fine clay could be sold separately from the finished product. The term used for this fine clay *(ghadar)* has been translated by Levy as ″porcelain clay,″ but Goitein′s ″finely glazed earthenware″ seems more suitable.[121] Furthermore, Levy′s ″porcelain vase″ *(zabādī),* described in the text as produced from either crushed pebbles or sand,[122] is likely a local imitation of porcelain made of the friable Egyptian and Syrian stonepastes usually associated with Mamluk underglaze-painted ware.[123] The author refers to the raw materials acceptable in the production of blue, green, and manganese coloring.[124] There is little doubt that underglaze-painted ware is what is being described here, rather than sgraffito. In fact, there are no specific references to sgraffito ware in Ibn al-Ukhūwah′s text.

The potters of medieval Cairo specialized in a variety of earthenware tablewares and accessories. It is difficult to determine, however, exactly how this market specialization operated, because of the ambiguity of the ceramic terms used in the Arabic sources. The sources provide little detailed information on vessel shape and have nothing to say about cost of manufacture or prices paid for special orders. Furthermore, neither the Arab historians nor the authors of the documents in the Ben Ezra geniza specifically address the production, marketing, and use of sgraffito wares. In fact, there seems to be no Arabic term that we can identify with sgraffito.[125]

What may at first appear to be an oversight on the part of the historians may, rather, reflect a significant characteristic of the sgraffito manufacturing process. The patterns of some Phase I Egyptian sgraffito resemble the radial designs of underglaze-painted ware produced in the Bahri Mamluk period and they may

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[120]Ibid., 89 and 222.

[121]Ibid., 89, l. 13.

[122]Ibid., ll. 3–4.

[123]R. B. Mason and E. J. Keall, ″Petrography of Islamic Pottery from Fustat,″ *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27 (1990): 181.

[124]Ibn al-Ukhūwah, *Maʿālim al-Qurbah,* 89 (l. 6) and 223 (ll. 5–6).

[125]There is no standard term in modern Arabic for ″sgraffito.″ *Maḥfūr* (dug or carved) is often used today in Egypt for both sgraffito and champlevé.

have been fired together in the same kilns.[126] According to medieval sources, unglazed wares were made and sold separately from glazed wares. Furthermore, the production of glazed pottery was specialized, and a wide variety of function-specific types were available to the general populace. It is possible that most, if not all, of these glazed wares were produced in the same workshops. That there was no term for ″sgraffito″ (otherwise known as ″incised and slipped pottery″) in Mamluk Egypt may indicate that most workshops did not specialize in sgraffito manufacture. In this scenario, sgraffito would have been produced by the same potters that made underglaze-painted wares and fired them in the same kilns. The range of potters′ signatures and their products supports this argument. The names of Ghaybī, al-Ustādh al-Maṣrī, Ghāzī, and Shaykh al-Ṣināʻah are inscribed on both sgraffito and underglaze-painted wares.[127]

Potters′ workshops were organized by the state-imposed guild structure outlined earlier.[128] The workshops that constituted these proto-guilds were organized internally according to a hierarchy of offices, some of which were by state appointment while others were earned through artisanal proficiency. The shaykh and his assistant in the provinces, the *nāqib,* were selected by the state. They acted on behalf of the workshops in dealings with the state, oversaw their daily activities, and resolved problems among craftsmen. Another supervisory officer, the *ustādh,* assisted the *nāqib*. Among the regular craftsmen, the *muʻallim* (master craftsman) occupied an important position within the workshop. He was responsible for the management of the kiln and training new apprentices.

The word *muʻallim* was inscribed on many objects and buildings in Cairo.[129] It may have been common practice for guild and workshop directors to sign their works. It is this custom which is reflected in the potters′ signatures. Signatures such as *al-Ustādh al-Maṣrī* (the Egyptian ″master,″ or supervisor), *Shaykh al-Ṣināʻah* (workshop director), and *al-Muʻallim* (the master craftsman) are titles that correspond to rank within the workshop or guild and are not names or nicknames in and of themselves.

It is also possible that the apprentices of the master craftsmen signed their works with the titles of their teachers. There is precedence for this practice in the

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[126]When going through boxes of sherds in Cairo, Alexandria, and Toronto, I found many sgraffitos with spots of blue glaze adhering to the exterior, the result of simultaneous firing with blue-stained, underglaze-painted pottery.

[127]ʻAbd al-Rāziq, ″Documents sur la poterie,″ 4; M. A. Abel, *Gaibi et les grands faïenciers égyptiens*, 142–43; and idem, ″Un maître céramiste.″ Of course, the workshop of Sharaf al-Abawānī is an obvious exception. His signature has not been associated with underglaze-painted wares.

[128]Rezq, ″The Craftsmen of Muslim Egypt,″ 6.

[129]Ibid., 5–7.

Fatimid period: the lusterware artist Muslim sometimes countersigned the work of his students.[130] Apprenticeships seem to have been more important in the fourteenth century than in the fifteenth. For instance, the vessels signed by Sharaf al-Abawānī were produced over a long period of time, considering the long development of signature style, decorative program, and vessel shape. There is little doubt that this artist′s name came to be associated with quality sgraffitos, and no other name is as well known in the realm of ceramic objects with ″military″ inscriptions. Not only did his students continue to copy their master′s style(s) after his death,[131] but they may have adopted his signature as a brand name. This would account for the large number of vessels signed by him and the wide range of styles represented.

Potters′ signatures indicating either guild-workshop status or ethnicity are more a phenomenon of late fourteenth and fifteenth century underglaze-painted ware than of sgraffito.[132] Signatures are relatively rare on Bahri Mamluk ceramics; the series ascribed to Sharaf al-Abawānī and other isolated signatures[133] are some notable examples and most are associated with sgraffito. This, compared to the roughly thirty different signatures inscribed in the foot rings of Burji Mamluk underglaze-painted vessels,[134] suggests changes in ceramic production patterns. One impetus for the widespread use of potters′ signatures was porcelain imported from China.[135] The import of Ming blue-and-white porcelains bearing reign marks (painted in blue on the exterior base of the ring foot) may have initiated the practice of marking the foot ring of blue-and-white underglaze-painted bowls with two oval blue dots in fifteenth-century Egypt.[136]

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[130]Jenkins, ″Muslim, an Early Fatimid Ceramist,″ 364.

[131]ʻAbd al-Rāziq, ″Documents sur la poterie,″ 32.

[132]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 150–51; Abel, ″Un maître céramiste.″

[133]For instance, a single bowl in Kuwait signed by one ″Ḥannā,″ (ʻAbd al-Rāziq, ″La sgraffito de l'Ègypte,″ 4). The inscription is broken, however, and the author is unsure of the reading of the artist′s name. There are also references to work in sgraffito (?) by Ghaybī (Abel, ″Un maître céramiste,″ 143) and several signatures mentioned in ʻAbd al-Rāziq, ″Documents sur la poterie,″ 4. Unfortunately, the authors do not clarify whether their work was true sgraffito or a plain glazed earthenware.

[134]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 149.

[135]There have been many studies on the impact of Yuan and Ming imports on the development of Islamic underglaze-painted wares. Some of the more comprehensive ones include Peterson, ″Blue and White Imitation Pottery″; Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 150–51; B. Gyllensvard, ″Recent Finds of Chinese Ceramics at Fustat (Parts 1 and 2),″ *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* 45 (1973): 91–119 and 47 (1975): 93–117; and L. Golombek, R. B. Mason, and G. A. Bailey, *Tamerlane′s Tableware: A New Approach to the Chinoiserie Ceramics of Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Iran* (Toronto, 1996).

[136]Chinese reign marks in porcelains began with the reign of Xuande, ca. 1426. For illustrations of the blue-dot mark in Mamluk pottery see Peterson, ″Blue and White Imitation Pottery,″ 79 (cat.

Whatever the stylistic origins, the need for including a workshop mark (as an inscribed signature or a painted dot) reflected general developments in the organization of production. Guild membership was originally restricted to skilled craftsmen. Only through lengthy apprenticeships could an inexperienced artisan gain a foothold in a respected and established workshop.[137] Whether the preponderance of signatures and marks in the fifteenth-century underglaze-painted wares corresponds to an expansion of the ceramic industry (which is unlikely) or a breakdown of the internal hierarchy of the workshops (and the abrogation or shortening of apprenticeships) cannot be determined. These factors, apparently, did not exist in the first half of the fourteenth century, when potters′ signatures were much less common. That only the signature of Sharaf al-Abawānī appears at all frequently in this period may indicate a smaller or more exclusive ceramics industry.

Lapidus reduces the Mamluk class structure to four components: the ruling elite *(al-khāṣṣah)* comprised of the sultan and his retinue and the highest ranking amirs and civil officials; the notables *(al-aʻyān),* that is the religious leaders (ulama) and low level officials, the rich merchants, distinguished local families, and skilled individuals (physicians, architects); the common people *(al-ʻāmmah);* and the lumpenproletarians.[138] The social status of potters in Mamluk society was nebulous. According to al-Maqrīzī, craftsmen, including potters, belonged to the sixth class of Egyptian society—collectively called *al-ʻāmmah* (commoners) or *al-ʻawāmm* (the masses).[139] To this class also belonged the taxpayers, retailers, and the working class in general.[140] Clearly, they were not among the elite of society. In today′s parlance, we would call them lower middle-class. However, certain trades enjoyed some respectability. Both al-Maqrīzī and Ibn ʻAbd al-Hādī (a market inspector) write about a social hierarchy of trades that reflects relative degrees of religiosity, cleanliness, and prosperity. Tailors, bakers, carpenters, and furriers were the most respectable trades; goldsmiths and silk merchants were moderately respectable; and slaves, singers, prostitutes, and garbagemen were social outcasts.[141]

#22); Abel, *Gaibi et les grands faïenciers,* 112, Pl. 24; Bahgat and Massoul, *La céramique musulmane,* Pl. 45.1 and 3; and du Plat Taylor and Megaw, ″Cypriot Medieval Glazed Pottery,″ 148 (cat. A1 and A2)—exported to Cyprus. Unpublished example in Royal Ontario Museum, Fustat collection—inv. #909.42.1.

[137]Rezq, ″The Craftsmen of Muslim Egypt,″ 6.

[138]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 79–82.

[139]Rezq, ″The Craftsmen of Muslim Egypt,″ 4.

[140]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 82.

[141]Ibid.; Rezq, ″The Craftsmen of Muslim Egypt,″ 4.

Pottery production was a moderately respectable profession and perhaps occupied the lower end of the scale, because the work dirtied the craftsman's hands. To equate an individual with the "potters in Fustat" was an insult.[142] That potters are seldom mentioned specifically in the Arabic sources also illustrates their relatively low status among "respectable" Cairenes. However, as in all the crafts, there was an opportunity for advancement within the workshop and some degree of social mobility. Skilled craftsmen were in demand and were held in some esteem. A master craftsman, for example, could be addressed as shaykh[143] and, with the assistance of an important or wealthy patron, could attain official positions in the government.[144] The career of Sharaf al-Abawānī may reflect this pattern; the work he did for amirs and judges gave him a practical monopoly on inscriptional sgraffito.

What effect the plague of 1348–49 had on the social status of craftsmen is difficult to ascertain. Crafts certainly went into decline, because both craftsmen and patrons perished. Al-Maqrīzī informs us that "most of the crafts ceased and it was difficult to find a water-carrier or any craftsman."[145] The decline and demise of sgraffito production in Egypt could, then, be related to the events of this year. The proliferation of potters' signatures on underglaze-painted wares of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century may indicate that the social position of potters had improved in this period and that production was growing.

II. Potters' signatures—Sharaf al-Abawānī

It was relatively rare for medieval potters in the Islamic world to sign their work. With the exception of Iranian Seljuk[146] and Fatimid lusterware, only Mamluk sgraffito (fourteenth century) and underglaze-painted wares (late fourteenth-fifteenth centuries) were signed on a regular basis. The incorporation of the potter's name into the inscriptional design of Mamluk sgraffito is a complicated phenomenon that requires a reassessment of medieval Cairene "guild" structure and patterns of market and patronage. A precedence for such practice may have been set in the Fatimid period, with the work of the potter Muslim.

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[142]Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society,* 1:91–92.

[143]Ibid.

[144]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 129.

[145]*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* quoted in Rezq, "The Craftsmen of Muslim Egypt," 13.

[146]A. Caiger-Smith, *Lustre Pottery* (New York, 1985), 71, cites the signatures of two potters from Kashan, Abū Ṭāhir ibn Muḥammad and Abū Zayd. There are also isolated examples of signatures from earlier ceramic traditions, such as the "Aḥmad" that appears on one Samanid ware vessel from Nishapur (personal communication, Lisa Golombek). An example of a potters' signature from Anatolian sgraffito is published in Ö. Süslü, *Tasvirlere Göre Anadolu Selçuklu Kiyafetleri* (Ankara, 1989), Photo 149.

Various forms of the signature *'aml Muslim ibn al-Dahhān* ("the work of Muslim, the son of al-Dahhān") appear on some twenty known lusterware vessels of the Fatimid period.[147] Several of these are inscribed with the name of the patron, usually a member of Caliph al-Ḥākim's (r. 996–1021) court. Chronological attributions depend entirely on these dedicatory inscriptions. For example, Marilyn Jenkins has identified Ghaban, named as Commander-in-Chief in the inscription on one plate in the Islamic Museum in Cairo, as a military commander who served al-Ḥākim in 1011–13.[148] It is a very useful piece of information, because it narrows the production of Muslim to at least this two-year period. Likewise, the dedication of another plate in the Benaki Museum in Athens—which reads "[The work of] Muslim, son of al-Dahhān, to please . . . Ḥassān Iqbāl al-Ḥākimī"—can be attributed to the reign of al-Ḥākim on the basis of the *nisbah* "al-Ḥākimī," even if the particular individual is unknown from historical sources. The work of the Mamluk sgraffito artist Sharaf al-Abawānī can be dated in the same manner. The *nisbah* "al-Nāṣirī" in the dedicatory inscription identifies the patron as a mamluk of the sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 1293–94, 1299–1309, and 1310–41) or al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (r. 1347–51, 1354–61).

Many parallels can be drawn between the vessels signed by Muslim and those produced some three and four hundred years later by Mamluk ceramists. Muslim painted his signature in various locations on the vessel: in the foot (the name usually reduced to "Muslim"), on the exterior, within the interior wall registers, and in the bowl's well.[149] Likewise, abbreviated signatures are painted in the vessel foot of fourteenth- to fifteenth-century underglaze-painted ware. Sgraffito signatures of the fourteenth century were more ambitious: Sharaf al-Abawānī initially inscribed his signature upside-down in hidden areas of the decoration and, in a later phase of his work, incised and slip-painted his name in a signature phrase in individual, prominent registers. Furthermore, Muslim's incorporation of his signature into a scrolled register seems to foreshadow the early inscriptional, scribbled registers and later signature registers that distinguished the work of Sharaf al-Abawānī two hundred years later.[150]

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[147]Jenkins, "Muslim, an Early Fatimid Ceramist," 363.

[148]Ibid., 361.

[149]For illustrations of these, see Jenkins, "Muslim, an Early Fatimid Ceramist." Other sources include Bahgat and Massoul, *La céramique musulmane,* and 'A. Yūsuf, "Pottery of the Fatimid Period and its Artistic Style," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University* 20 no. 2 (1958): 173–279 (in Arabic).

[150]Two bowls in the Islamic Museum in Cairo are important in this regard. Muslim has signed the exterior of one bowl, the interior of which is occupied primarily by a wide, scribbled inscriptional register (inv. #15958—Jenkins, "Muslim, an Early Fatimid Ceramist," 368, App. #12). On another his signature appears below the interior rim festoon, apparently taking the place of a dedicatory

Do these similarities constitute continuity or revival of ceramic styles? Inscriptional registers on a scribbled ground continued in Ayyubid luster and sgraffito ware, but artists' signatures apparently did not. It would seem, then, that the singular emphasis by Sharaf al-Abawānī on his own signature at a time when potter's signatures were rare would represent a revival of an earlier practice. If potter's signatures are somehow related to the production process, then one could argue for parallelisms in kiln or "guild" organization, as the signature of sgraffito artist "Shaykh al-Ṣināʻah" indicates. There is another important point of comparison between the work of Muslim and Sharaf al-Abawānī. The dedicatory inscriptions which are so prominently displayed on their vessels emphasize that they worked, at least part of the time, for court patrons. The association of Muslim with al-Ḥākim's court and Sharaf al-Abawānī with the amirs of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and his sons suggests commonalties in patronage practices, ones that will be discussed further in this section.

Sharaf al-Abawānī is not the only Mamluk potter who signed his work. Although his signature is the most well known for local sgraffito, other names of sgraffito artists are known to us. ʻUmar, Mūsá, ʻUmar al-Asyūṭī (from Asyūṭ, Upper Egypt), Aḥmad al-Asyūṭī, al-Ra'īs (the master craftsman),[151] ʻAlī, Ḥannā (or Ḥasan), and al-Kaslān ("the lazy") are names that have appeared only rarely on sgraffito sherds in the Islamic Museum in Cairo and in the Dār al-Āthār al-Islamīyah in Kuwait.[152] Other signatures on sgraffito ware have also been found on sherds of contemporary underglaze-painted ware, which is perhaps our best evidence that the two wares were fired together in the same kilns. Among the artists who manufactured both wares were al-Ustādh al-Maṣrī (or simply al-Maṣrī, "the Egyptian supervisor"), Shaykh al-Ṣināʻah ("the workshop director"), Ghāzī, and al-Faqīr ("the poor").[153]

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register (description in ibid., 369, App. #20; illustrated in Bahgat and Massoul, *La céramique musulmane,* Pl. XXII, 8a and b).

[151]The organization of workshops must have been more or less the same for all crafts, because many terms of "guild" hierarchy can be found in artists' signatures in different media. L. A. Mayer, *Islamic Metalworkers and Their Works* (Geneva, 1959), provides some useful definitions of some of these terms from metalwork. The terms *tilmīdh, ghulām, ra'īs,* and *'ājir* are defined as student, apprentice, master, and journeyman, respectively (p. 14). His point of reference, in this case, is the medieval European professional guild, which probably differed to some degree from the structure of Islamic workshops.

[152]The names can be found in ʻAbd al-Rāziq, "Documents sur la poterie"; idem, "Le sgraffito de l'Égypte"; and Bahgat and Massoul, *La céramique musulmane,* 84.

[153]Bahgat and Massoul, *La céramique musulmane;* Abel, *Gaibi et les grands faïenciers;* idem, "Un maître céramiste," 142; and Bahgat and Massoul, *La céramique musulmane,* Pl. XLIV.1, 2, and 3.

Few of the sherds that bear these signatures are illustrated in publications, but of those that are one is given the impression that the artist made no attempt to hide the signature. The artists′ names can be the primary decoration of the well of the bowl or may be placed in inscriptional registers just below the interior rim or in the larger cavetto along with dedications to patrons or general blessings.[154]

With the exception of Sharaf al-Abawānī, signing sgraffito was not a common practice. While ceramic signatures are rare in the Bahri Mamluk period (1250–1382), in the Burji period (1382–1517) more than thirty names are known.[155] Abel′s analyses of signatures in Mamluk underglaze-painted wares, published sixty years ago in an article and monograph, remain the most comprehensive catalogue and stylistic study of what he considers different workshops.[156] The signatures are usually painted in blue in the underside of the foot and, like the signatures inscribed on sgraffito ware, represent a wide range of personal names, nicknames, *nisbah*s, and professional titles.[157] Many are family names; one imagines father and son working alongside one another or the son receiving his training from his father.[158] Other names indicate professions other than pottery making, such as ″al-Khabbāz″ (the baker). The majority of the signatures are not identifiable as personal names. The potters were, therefore, anonymous to most consumers of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Egypt and Syria, as they are to us today.[159] The purpose in placing what are, for the most part, nicknames on the underside of the foot may be related to the same workshop practices that are described by Cushion and Honey

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[154]For signatures as tondo designs, see Bahgat and Massoul, *La céramique muslmane*, Pl. XLIV. 2 and 3. For more published illustrations of artists′ names in inscriptional registers, see ʻAbd al-Rāziq, ″Le sgraffito de l′Égypte,″ and Bahgat and Massoul, *La céramique muslmane*, Pl. XLIV.1.

[155]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 149.

[156]Abel, *Gaibi et les grands faïenciers,* and idem, ″Un maître céramiste.″

[157]This is by no means an exhaustive list of names, although I have tried to be as thorough as possible: Sār al-Fākhūrī al-Maṣrī (″the chief Egyptian potter″), al-Ustādh al-Maṣrī, Shaykh al-Ṣināʻah, al-Muhandim (″the tidy″), al-Tawrīzī (from Tabrīz), Ghaybī, Dāhin (″painter, glazer″), al-Faqīr, al-Naqqāsh (″inciser″), Darwīsh (Sufi ″dervish″), al-Khabbāz (″the baker″!), al-Buqaylī (″little green-grocer″?), al-Hurmūzī (from Hormūz), ʻAjamī (a Persian), Ghazzāl (″gazelle″?), Ghāzī (″frontier warrior″), al-Shāmī (″the Syrian″), al-Shāʻir (″the poet″), al-Muʻallim (″master craftsman″), al-Ujayl (″Speedy″), al-Razzāz (″the polisher″), Bādir, Abū al-ʻIzz, and al-Barrānī (″potter″) (Abel, ″Un maître céramiste,″ 142, and Jenkins, ″Mamluk Underglazed-painted Pottery,″ 112).

[158]There are, for instance, Sār al-Fākhūrī ″et ses fils,″ Ghāzī and Ibn Ghāzī, and al-Khabbāz and Ibn al-Khabbāz (Abel, ″Un maître céramiste,″ 142) and Ghaybī and Ibn Ghaybī al-Tawrīzī (ibid., 151; idem, *Gaibi et les grands faïnciers*, 17; and Jenkins, ″Mamluk Underglazed-painted Pottery,″ 111–12).

[159]Ghaybī, for one, worked in both Syria (probably Damascus) and Egypt (Cairo) (see Jenkins, ″Mamluk Underglazed-painted Pottery,″ 112, and Abel, ″Un maître céramiste,″ 151–52).

for European porcelains.[160] Abbreviated signatures were all that was needed to separate one artist′s products from another in the kiln.[161] This is particularly significant, given the evidence that underglaze-painted wares and sgraffito (and probably other ceramic types) were produced in the same workshops and fired in the same kilns.

The most prolific of the fifteenth-century potters of underglaze-painted ware is known to us as Ghaybī. His name appears on approximately 100 sherds in the holdings of the Islamic Museum in Cairo and a tile in Damascus.[162] Known alternatively as Ghaybī al-Tawrīzī and Ghaybī al-Shāmī, his signatures indicate that he originally came from Tabrīz (″al-Tawrīzī″) and then worked in Syria (″al-Shāmī″) and Egypt.[163] His nickname, ″Ghaybī,″ literally means ″hidden″ or (in a slightly different form)″ absent″; it is a fitting signature for a migrant or, more likely, Sufi artist (see below).

On the basis of design parallels with Persian manuscripts and Chinese blue-and-whites, signed underglaze-painted wares can be dated from the third quarter of the fourteenth century to the end of the fifteenth.[164] The most conclusive evidence for dating Ghaybī′s work to the mid-fifteenth century is a tile panel from the mausoleum complex of Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl al-Tawrīzī al-Dasarī in Damascus, completed in 1423 and signed by Ghaybī al-Tawrīzī.[165] This is not the only instance of an underglaze-painted tile signed by an artist hailing from Tabrīz. Ghaybī has signed another tile from the shrine of Sayyidah Nafīsah in Cairo.[166]

This relationship between the tile and pottery industries may be the key to understanding the role of potters′ signatures in the fifteenth century. Clearly, artists who worked in the underglaze-painting technique produced both ordinary tablewares and architectural tiles, most likely in the same workshops. Signatures on tilework may have served a purpose similar to masonry marks from Crusader

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[160]J. P. Cushion and W. B. Honey, *Handbook of Pottery and Porcelain Marks* (London, 1956), 115.

[161]The practice is still used today in kilns shared by multiple potters. Students in ceramics classes generally carve their names into the foot of the vessel to identify their work from that of their classmates.

[162]Abel, ″Un maître céramiste,″ 149, and Jenkins, ″Mamluk Underglazed-painted Pottery,″ 104.

[163]Artists in the fourteenth century frequently changed their *nisbah*s when moving within and outside of Iran. See S. Blair, ″Artists and Patronage in Late Fourteenth-Century Iran in the Light of Two Catalogues of Islamic Metalwork,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 48 (1985): 58–59.

[164]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 150. Abel, ″Un maître céramiste,″ 153, suggests a fourteenth-century date for Ghaybī′s work by stylistic comparisons with Chinese elements in Il Khanid manuscripts.

[165]Jenkins, ″Mamluk Underglazed-painted Pottery,″ 104.

[166]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 151.

monuments in the Latin Kingdom, which identified the work of individual artisans or companies of masons to facilitate the division of labor and payment.[167] This practice would then have been extended to tablewares, particularly if several artists shared the same kiln. Thus, the signature is placed in the ringfoot, out of the way of the vessel's decoration and of importance only to the internal operations of the workshop.

The *nisbah* "al-Tawrīzī" indicates a style associated with a place and is comparable, in this sense, to the popularity of the Mawṣilī *nisbah* in late Ayyubid and early Mamluk metalwork.[168] Atıl identifies potters' signatures in the Mamluk period with workshops, regional styles, and types of wares (underglaze-painted and sgraffito, for instance).[169] This would be a logical enough explanation if it were not for the fact that the fifteenth-century signatures are essentially invisible to the public eye and that both fourteenth- and fifteenth-century signatures are more or less anonymous to the consumer. I would argue that underglaze-painted signatures were meaningful primarily within the workshop. Sgraffito signatures, while functioning in the same manner, may have served an additional purpose. The placement of the signatures within the vessels' decoration would have caught the attention of the public. This, indeed, was probably its purpose.

Sharaf al-Abawānī is remarkable for signing his work at a time when sgraffito artists remained essentially anonymous. Much of his work is of rather fine quality, surpassing the indifferent appearance of most Mamluk sgraffito products, which are of coarse fabric, poor finish, and careless manufacture. His name, moreover, stands out for its sheer visibility. Rather than hiding his signature in the footring, like ceramic artists of the following century, in the latest phase of his career al-Abawānī incorporated his name within the main registers of the vessels' exterior decoration, relegating the patrons' names and titles to the less conspicuous interiors. This would seem to be contrary to the consumer practices of Mamluk patrons, who delighted in the grandiose display of their own names and blazons on the vessels they commissioned. For a patron to have purchased a vessel on which the artist's name appeared in a location more prominent than his own speaks of the reputation of this potter and the ambiguity of artistic patronage in Mamluk Egypt.

In spite of his importance, very little is known about Sharaf al-Abawānī. There are no monographs on his career comparable to Abel's *Gaibi et les grands faïenciers égyptiens d'époque mamlouke* and surprisingly few articles devoted to

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[167]D. Pringle, "Some Approaches to the Study of Crusader Masonry Marks in Palestine," *Levant* 31 (1981): 173–99.
[168]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 151.
[169]Ibid.

him.[170] His association with the court of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad is confirmed by the dedicatory inscriptions and amiral blazons that appear on many of the vessels signed by this artist.[171] Al-Abawānī′s best work is dominated by blazons of office, several of which were introduced by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. There is steady technical and stylistic development in al-Abawānī′s pottery; these emblazoned vessels represent the apex of his career. There is little doubt that he was manufacturing sgraffito wares well before the advent of the ″military″ style of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s third reign, but exactly when his career began or how long it lasted is difficult to determine. Furthermore, as no catalogue of his work has been published and many collections in Egypt are difficult to access, one cannot begin to estimate the quantity of his production.

His signature includes the geographical *nisbah* ″al-Abawānī,″ ″from Ab(a)wān.″ Yaqut *(Mu'jam al-Buldān)* lists three places in Egypt by this name. 'Abd al-Rāziq cites the third, a village in the province of Bahnasā in Upper Egypt (well-known for pottery production), as the most likely candidate for the artist′s home.[172] The *nisbah* may have stood for a regional ceramic style, as ″al-Mawṣilī″ did for metalwork and ″al-Tawrīzī″ did for underglaze painting. Whatever his origins, al-Abawānī did not limit his market to Upper Egypt. Vessels and sherds with his signature have been found in Cairo (Fustat), Alexandria (Kom ed-Dikka), and Luxor (Luxor Temple).[173] Wasters signed by him have been recovered from Fustat.[174]

If the origins of this artist are enigmatic, so is his identity. ″Sharaf al-Abawānī,″ like so many other potter′s signatures, is a nickname and not identifiable from historical sources. The name is an abbreviation for ″Sharaf al-Dīn,″ a fairly common title for Mamluk amirs in the fourteenth century.[175] The title was equally popular among the civilian elite of Cairo in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, where it was adopted by the ulama as well as artisans, and frequently used in conjunction

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[170]Among the most commonly cited, and consulted for this study, are 'Abd al-Rāziq, ″Documents sur la poterie″ and Marzouk, ″Three Signed Specimens.″ M. Muṣṭafá, ″Sharaf al-Abawānī Ṣāni' al-Fākhūr al-Maṭlī,″ *Mu'tamar al-Āthār al-'Arabīyah al-Thāmin fī Dimashq* (1947), and Aḥmad 'Abd al-Rāziq, ″La poterie glacée de l′époque mamluke d′après les collections égyptiennes,″ Ph.D. diss., Paris, 1970, were unavailable to me. However the results of both were incorporated into 'Abd al-Rāziq′s 1967 article.

[171]For the use of the *nisbah* ″al-Malikī al-Nāṣirī″ see Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 148, and my discussion below. 'Abd al-Rāziq, ″Documents sur la poterie,″ 31, and Marzouk, ″Three Signed Specimens,″ 501, make a point about the use of the *jāmdār* blazon. See 'Abd al-Rāziq, ″Le sgraffito de l′Égypte,″ 9, for a discussion on the eagle.

[172]'Abd al-Rāziq, ″Documents sur la poterie,″ 28–29; also idem, ″Le sgraffito de l′Égypte.″

[173]*The Luxor Museum,* 204, cat. #325; 202 and 205, figs. 163–65.

[174]'Abd al-Rāziq, ″Documents sur la poterie,″ 29–30.

[175]D. Ayalon, ″Names, Titles, and ′Nisbas′ of the Mamluks,″ *Israel Oriental Society* 4 (1975): 191.

with a geographical *nisbah*.[176] The title was by no means limited to Muslims, as Copts in the administration used it as well.[177] While the historical potter, then, cannot be identified, his signature form fits in comfortably with the titles assumed by many (we may believe successful) artists of the fourteenth century.

ʻAbd al-Rāziq describes five different signature styles used by Sharaf al-Abawānī.[178] They fall into two distinct categories: his name carelessly scratched in small *naskhī* characters, often upside-down and discreetly incorporated into the interior design,[179] and a longer, more complex signature phrase carefully inscribed and often slip-painted in large *thulūth* characters, which usually occupies the main decorative register of the vessel exterior. These groups clearly belong to different stages of the potter′s career. *Naskhī* script, while it continued to be used for Qurans during the Mamluk period, is more characteristic of Ayyubid-period decoration. Similarly, *thulūth,* a script with long and straight uprights, barbed heads, and long and deep flourishes on final letters, was the decorative script *par excellence* of Mamluk art.

The more decorative and technical aspects of his work also indicate that Sharaf al-Abawānī′s career probably spanned the late Ayyubid-early Mamluk period. In stylistic terms, the artist was initially influenced by contemporary eastern Mediterranean sgraffito wares and then, with the enormous popularity of emblazoned and inscriptional damascened vessels, by local inlaid metalwork. What is most likely his earliest work is rather experimental and hybrid in style. There are many sherds from Kom ed-Dikka, signed by him, with exaggerated beveled rims and Cypriot-like shapes. A variety of designs on scribbled ground, familiar to thirteenth-century luster, underglaze-painted, and Byzantine-derivative sgraffito wares, on sherds from Fustat bear his signature in scrawled *naskhī*.[180] Anatolian-style champlevé, some of fine quality, and radial designs adopted from late Ayyubid and early Mamluk underglaze-painted wares were also adopted by al-Abawānī.[181]

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[176]There are many references in contemporary biographical dictionaries to civilians with this title. For a few, see Mūsá ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyá al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Sīrāt al-Malik al-Nāṣir,* ed. A. Huṭayṭ (Beirut, 1986), 122–24, 131, 255 *(quḍāh);* Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,* ed. M. M. Amīn (Cairo, 1988–), 2:326–27 (poets), 340 (carpenter); 3:370 (poet); 4:260, 279 (copyists), and 132 (historian).

[177]ʻAbd al-Rāziq, ″Documents sur la poterie,″ 28—citing passages in al-Maqrīzī′s *Khiṭaṭ* and *Kitāb al-Sulūk.*

[178]ʻAbd al-Rāziq, ″Le sgraffito de l′Égypte,″ 11.

[179]See ʻAbd al-Rāziq, ″Document sur la poterie,″ Pls. I and II.

[180]Bahgat and Massoul, *La céramique musulmane,* Pl. L; ʻAbd al-Rāziq, ″Documents sur la poterie,″ Pls. I and II.

[181]Bahgat and Massoul, *La céramique musulmane,* Pl. L, and ʻAbd al-Rāziq, ″Documents sur la poterie,″ Pl. V.

At the turn of the fourteenth century al-Abawānī′s style underwent a transformation. Like most arts of the period, Mamluk pottery fell under the powerful influence of contemporary metalworking.

Metalwork artists of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries routinely signed their work. Most Mamluk vessels signed in this manner date from 1275–1350.[182] The signature phrase usually associated with Sharaf al-Abawānī, *'aml al-'abd al-faqīr al-miskīn Sharaf al-Abawānī ghulām al-nās kullihim* (″the work of the poor, humble slave, Sharaf al-Abawānī, servant of all the people″), is an elaboration, and an unexpectedly humble one, of the way metal artisans of the mid-thirteenth century signed their work. *'Aml*, and less frequently *ṣāni',* are terms used by the metalworkers to describe their final products.[183] The problematic term is *ghulām*. According to Mayer, *ghulām* was a guild term that corresponded to an apprentice, that is, the artisan who was one step below the master, or *ra'īs*.[184] Rice takes a different view on the matter. He suggests that while *ghulām* took on many shades of meaning over time, by the middle of the thirteenth century, the period the ″Mosul school″ of metalworking was at its height, a *tilmīdh* was the guild master′s student, and a *ghulām* was literally the master′s ″slave″ or at least a hireling.[185] Al-Abawānī, therefore, adapted a signature phrase commonly associated with the contemporary metalworking industry.[186]

In this second phase of his career, al-Abawānī was heavily influenced by expensive metalwork. By imitating silver, gold, and brass work in earthenware through the use of color and forms, the quality of his work improved accordingly. Thinner walls in some cases, monumental but elegant proportions in other instances, and the application of slip-painted designs to highlight blazons and inscriptions created a product that was very different from the Byzantine and Cypriot-derivative sgraffito styles with which he was associated earlier. A change of taste alone would probably not account for such a significant development in ceramic style. It is apparent that al-Abawānī was producing sgraffito for a new market in the

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[182]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 51.

[183]Mayer, *Islamic Metalworkers and Their Works,* 11.

[184]Ibid., 14.

[185]D. S. Rice, *The Baptistére de Saint Louis* (Paris, 1953), 67.

[186]It is likely that al-Abawānī, like many artisans of his day, was a practicing Sufi, as the title ″al-'abd al-faqīr al-miskīn″ and even ″ghulām al-nās″ indicate. The nicknames taken by contemporary potters when signing their work attest to the same affiliation (al-Faqīr, Darwīsh, and Ghaybī). If this is so, the potters′ organization of Fustat would be one of only two known ″craft-based religious fraternities″ in the Mamluk state (on the oft-cited silk-workers fraternity in Damascus, see Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 102–3). For the relationship between the quasi-guilds of the day and Sufi brotherhoods, see ibid., and Carl F. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1981), 271.

fourteenth century.

Al-Abawānī sold his work to a variety of clients. While there is no doubt that his earlier products were mass-produced, everyday tablewares for Cairo′s civilian population, by the fourteenth century Sharaf al-Abawānī was commissioned privately part of the time for amirs. The inscriptions occasionally name particular patrons. The majority, however, include a long list of formal military titles, without specifically naming a particular client. In spite of the standardization of vessel shape, size, and, above all, decorative program, the quality of these inscriptional wares varies considerably. Michael Rogers′ suggestion that Sharaf al-Abawānī ″may have been a high contractor who supervised the issue of standard equipment to an emir upon his appointment to high office″ is a reasonable one.[187]

All of these factors suggest that al-Abawānī began to manufacture sgraffito wares in the early Mamluk period, a transitional one for Egyptian art, and continued to be productive throughout al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s third reign. This is a very long career for an individual potter. However, the name may have referred to the original master of a workshop. Given the quantity of vessels that contain his name, it is more reasonable to consider ″Sharaf al-Abawānī″ the brand of a workshop that specialized, at some point, in outfitting the kitchens or ″mantle pieces″ of amirs. It is significant that the popularity of this kind of inscriptional and emblazoned sgraffito ware probably did not survive into the fifteenth century, in spite of the fact that the hierarchical social system that promoted its production did. In a sense, the name of Sharaf al-Abawānī has come to stand for a passing Mamluk ″fad.″

Market

I. Heraldry

Scholarship on Mamluk heraldry tends to emphasize the sultanate of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad because the elaboration of blazon forms and adoption in all media as surface decoration can be largely dated to his third reign. This was a period of artistic development. Amiral blazons of office were introduced into metalworking at this time and replaced the more universal emblems of royal authority. Contemporary with this innovation is the introduction of the epigraphic blazon, intimately related to the replacement of figures with inscriptions.

In his notes to Ibn Taghrībirdī′s *Tārīkh Miṣr,* William Popper enumerates those objects and privileges he considers the ″emblems of authority″ for sultans and amirs.[188] Among the sultan′s prerogatives were the royal saddle cover *(ghāshiyah),* sunshade *(miẓallah),* tents *(khiyām),* and official inscriptions in

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[187] *The Luxor Museum,* 204.

[188] William Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans* (New York, 1977), 84–87.

embroidery *(ṭirāz)*.[189] The amirs′ symbolic world, on the other hand, consisted of the overcloak *(fawqanīyah)*, robes of honor *(khilā‘)*, horses and swords, and coats-of-arms, or blazons (*rank*). The widespread use of Arabic inscriptions and heraldry in all media of Mamluk art, including ceramics, in the fourteenth century is a phenomenon that requires a somewhat lengthy explanation.[190]

The Arabic sources have little to say about Mamluk blazons. Outside of isolated references to unidentified blazons, the most important information about Mamluk heraldry has been documented by Abū al-Fidā, Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Dhahabī, and al-Qalqashandī. A frequently cited passage from the chronicle of Abū al-Fidā (1273–1331) associates certain emblems *(‘alāmāt)* with particular amiral offices.[191] For instance, the emblem of the *dawādār* was the penbox, the *silāḥdār* was the bow, the *jāmdār* the napkin, and the *jāwīsh* the golden dome. That amirs of a certain rank and office were assigned blazons of that office is supported by Ibn Taghrībirdī, according to whom the last Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ gave his taster *(jāshankīr)* Aybak the table *(khanjah)* as an emblem,[192] and also by al-Dhahabī, who describes the blazon of the amir Kitbughā as a gold cup (the symbol of his office as cupbearer, or *sāqī*) on a *fesse* and red ground.[193] The association of Mamluk blazons with amiral office is, in this way, established by the Arabic sources.

Both Arabic and European sources record the methods by which amiral blazons were awarded. According to Ibn Taghrībirdī, the sultan assigned blazons to his amirs upon their promotion.[194] Al-Qalqashandī, on the other hand, claims that

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[189]To the category of official, sultanic inscriptions belong the sultan′s ″signature″ *(‘alāmah)* that validates documents of appointments to public office (*taqlīd*s) and assignments of *iqṭā’* (*manshūr*s) (Aḥmad ibn Faḍl-Allāh al-‘Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār: L′Égypte, la Syrie, le Higaz et le Yemen*, ed. A. F. Sayyid [Cairo, 1985], 43–46). This point is discussed in detail in the following section.

[190]*Rank* is a Persian term that originally meant ″color″ or ″dye″ (L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry* [Oxford, 1933], 26; Nasser Rabbat, ″Rank,″ *EI²*, 8:431; and Abū al-Mahāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* [Cairo, 1963–72], 15:36, n. 1). The term was used by medieval Arab historians in the general sense of ″emblems.″ It designates, more specifically, the colorful insignia of the amirs and sultans of Egypt, Syria, and al-Jazira in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods (Rabbat, ″Rank″). Mamluk *runūk* (pl.) have been broadly understood as symbols of military office.

[191]*Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar;* passage quoted in Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry,* 4.

[192]*Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* as cited by Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry.*

[193]W. Leaf and S. Purcell, *Heraldic Symbols, Islamic Insignia, and Western Heraldry* (London, 1986), 58. In his *Al-Muntaqá,* al-Dhahabī provides what is probably the only illustration of a Mamluk blazon in a contemporary Arabic source (Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry,* 1, n. 7).

[194]W.-H. Rüdt de Collenberg, ″L′héraldique de Chypre,″ *Cahiers d′héraldique* 3 (1977): 95.

each amir chose his own.[195] European historians also recognized the relationship between late Ayyubid and early Mamluk heraldry and amiral promotions. Describing events following the Battle of Mansura during St. Louis′ First Crusade (1250), the French historian Joinville writes:

> The arms of the sultan were gold, and such arms that the sultan bore, these young lads bore as well; and they were called *baharīz*. . . . When their beards started to grow, the sultan knighted them and they continued to bear his arms except that they were differenced, in that they had crimson charges such as rosettes, red bends or birds or other charges that they placed on their gold arms as they pleased.[196]

There was a general understanding, then, among both Arab and European historians that Mamluk blazons were amiral prerogatives related to promotion to particular offices.

The proliferation of amiral blazons in glasswork, metalworking, ceramics, textiles, architecture, and painting in the early fourteenth century may be related to an intensified purchase of mamluks and an accelerated system of amiral promotion. Our primary sources on army statistics for the period are al-Maqrīzī *(Khiṭaṭ)* and al-Ẓāhirī *(Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik),* who report on the redistribution of *iqṭāʿāt* by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 1314–15 *(al-rawk al-nāṣirī)* and an army census of unidentified date, respectively.[197] It is difficult to ascertain the numbers of mamluks made amirs from one reign to the next, but one does detect a general trend over time towards accelerated promotions and the enlargement of the sultan′s private corps, the *khāṣṣakīyah*. Although al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was said to have bought mamluks on a scale never known before, the size of his army does not seem to have surpassed that of his predecessors.[198] In spite of this, the four hundred twenty-four amirs of different ranks accounted for in the *rawk al-nāṣirī* exceeds the one hundred sixty-four amirs ″of former times″ and eighty to three hundred amirs of

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[195]*Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá*, in Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry,* 3.

[196]From his *Histoire de St. Louis,* translated and cited by Leaf and Purcell, *Heraldic Symbols,* 57–58.

[197]These accounts are reviewed in D. Ayalon, ″Khāṣṣakiyya,″ *EI*^{2}, 4:1100.

[198]Ayalon, ″Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army,″ *BSOAS* 15 (1953): 223–24; Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages,* 108. Al-Maqrīzī repeats 12,000 as the number of Royal Mamluks under three different sultans—Qalāwūn, al-Ashraf Khalīl, and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (Ayalon, ″Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army,″ *BSOAS* 15 [1953]: 224). Rather than take this figure too literally, we may consider this a statement emphasizing the equivalent sizes of the respective armies.

different years of the Circassian period.[199] As the numbers of amirs increases, so does the number of *khāṣṣakīyah,* from whose ranks most of the high amirs were recruited. Statistics taken from a variety of sources indicate that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad invested in the *khāṣṣakīyah*. The numbers vary according to the source: al-Ashraf Khalīl maintained some thirty to fifty *khāṣṣakīyah,* al-Nāṣir Muḥammad increased this number to at least forty and as many as ninety-two, Barsbāy named some one thousand, and al-Ghūrī supported nearly one thousand two hundred.[200]

Although the numbers of *khāṣṣakīyah* fluctuated throughout the Mamluk period, there is a more or less steady trend towards expanding the corps over time, a practice that seems to have begun with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and was further developed by his successors. Al-Nāṣir's practice of accelerated promotion of mamluks to amirships continued after his death. The references to the immediate promotion of common mamluks to an amirship of ten and the office of *sāqī* in mid-fourteenth-, fifteenth-, and sixteenth-century sources are too numerous to mention.[201] This practice, according to Ayalon, began around the end of Qalāwūn's reign. He adds:

> Thus the numbers of amirs who, during the Circassian period, are stated to have passed directly from the rank of private to that of the highest amirs, is extremely great. The common expression used for such elevations is "(promoted) at one stroke" *(daf'atan waḥīdatan)*.[202]

Rapid promotion of amirs in the mid-fourteenth century was, in part, a response to a shortage of manpower following a series of plagues.[203] The practice, however, continued an initiative of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad that aimed at fostering a circle of intimate and trustworthy associates, as Levanoni has demonstrated. This may also have been the rationale behind the build-up of the royal guard, the *khāṣṣakīyah.* Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad actively promoted his *khāṣṣakīyah,* advancing them to

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[199]The sources used here by Ayalon should be treated with caution (Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army," *BSOAS* 15 [1953]: 471).

[200]Figures from the Circassian period may reflect a change in nomenclature, as *"khāṣṣakīyah"* came to mean the Royal Mamluks in general (Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo,* 290). From other numbers take from al-Maqrīzī, al-Ẓāhirī, al-Qalqashandī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, and Ibn Iyās, see Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army," *BSOAS* 15 [1953]: 215.

[201]Rabbat refers to the high incidence of *suqāh* reaching prominent amirships in the mid-Bahri period but does not cite sources (Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo,* 138). A full discussion of the Circassian sources appears below.

[202]Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army," *BSOAS* 15 [1953]: 475.

[203]Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages,* 136.

important administrative and ceremonial offices. [204]

The rise of the *khāṣṣakīyah* and the creation of ceremonial offices for them was a gradual process. Many administrative positions under Baybars were borrowed from the Ayyubids and organized according to a system of amiral rank. However, the first ceremonial offices (the *silāḥdārīyah* or sword-bearers, for example) appeared with Qalāwūn, who also introduced new styles of dress that identified amirs of different ranks.[205] The *suqāh* (cupbearers) and *jāmdārīyah* (wardrobe masters), offices that were later to become extremely influential, gained importance under al-Ashraf Khalīl as his personal bodyguard.[206] It was al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, however, who extended and codified this system of ceremonial offices.[207]

These trends, then, have important implications for the development of the ″military style″ in sgraffito, among the other arts, in early to mid-fourteenth-century Egypt. As larger numbers of mamluks became amirs, and many of these were advanced from the *khāṣṣakīyah* to high-rank amirships, amiral blazons of ceremonial office came to dominate the decorative scheme of Mamluk art. The relationship between the advancement of the *khāṣṣakīyah* and the decorative use put to blazons can be implied from a reference from al-Ẓāhirī, a mid-fifteenth-century source.[208] At the time al-Ẓāhirī was writing, the largest numbers of *khāṣṣakīyah* assigned to the heads of important administrative and ceremonial offices were as follows: ten *dawādārīyah* (pen-box holders), ten *suqāh khāṣṣ* (cup bearers), seven *rā's nawbat jāmdārīyah* (wardrobe masters), four *khāzindārīyah* (treasurers), four *silāḥdārīyah* (armor bearers), and four *bashmaqdārīyah* (shoe bearers). It is no coincidence that the blazons most frequently encountered on objects, including sgraffito bowls and cups, are the chalice of the *sāqī*, the sword of the *silāḥdār*, the napkin of the *jāmdār*, and the pen-box of the *dawādār*.[209] We have every indication of extensive patronage of the arts by the amirs. Not only were financial resources available for

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[204]The increase in *khāṣṣakīyah* numbers and further elaboration of the ceremonial offices occupied primarily by them can be related to his expansion of Mamluk ceremonial in all its manifestations—protocol, architecture, and military office. This subject has been admirably analyzed by Rabbat in his study of the Cairo Citadel, cited above.

[205]Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History,* 12.

[206]Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo,* 289.

[207]Ayalon, ″Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army,″ *BSOAS* 16 (1954): 68–69. The crucial source in this regard is Ibn Taghrībirdī′s *Nujūm al-Zāhirah*. Ayalon′s review of his entries for the sultanates of Qalāwūn and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad is preliminary, and a more detailed study of the source material, a task beyond this article, is needed.

[208]*Kitāb Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik wa-Bayān al-Ṭuruq wa-al-Masālik,* cited in Ayalon, ″Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army,″ *BSOAS* 15 (1953): 214.

[209]Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo,* 138; Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry,* 10; Leaf and Purcell, *Heraldic Symbols,* 73.

artistic sponsorship, but so was the sponsorship: the potential patrons from among the amiral class, and particularly the newly promoted *khāṣṣakīyah,* were numerous. Contemporary developments in sgraffito, along with all art forms, illustrate these trends. The widespread use of amiral blazons, specifically blazons of ceremonial office, in Mamluk art of this period reflects the rise of the favored amirs.

The earliest heraldic devices adopted in Mamluk art, however, were not amiral but sultanic. Such emblems served to legitimize the sultan's rule by visually linking him with earlier Islamic dynasties. The first blazons to appear in the interior of Mamluk sgraffito bowls—eagles, rosettes, lions, and the fleur-de-lys—were borrowed from the artistic repertoire of the Seljuk and Seljuk-successor states. The bicephalic eagle is one of the most common symbols of royal power in Seljuk Rum and appears in glazed tiles, architectural façades, and ceramics.[210] Its long association with royal sovereignty in the arts of the Buyids, Ghaznavids, and Artuqids (from whom the Anatolian Seljuks no doubt borrowed much of their iconography)[211] made for easy transfer to the Egypt-based sultanate just beginning to develop its own royal iconography in the mid-thirteenth century. Rosettes, common to both Seljuk Rum sgraffito and slip-painted wares, were astral symbols suitable for adoption as royal icons.[212]

The origins of the lion *passant,* usually associated with Baybars, is more difficult to determine. Lions used in architectural fixtures in Seljuk Anatolia are, with few exceptions, depicted in frontal view.[213] Gazagnadou's argument that Baybars adopted the lion *passant* from Mongol silver coins is not convincing for its lack of evidence and confusing chronology.[214] The lion *rampant* was introduced to Cypriot coins, architectural façades, and ceramics in the same period. The Lusignan and Mamluk lions are depicted in different stances, true, but they are both profile figures and noteworthy for the heraldic purposes to which these contemporary dynasties put them. Familiarity with Crusader coins may also explain

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[210]G. Oney, "Kubadabad Ceramics," in *The Art of Iran and Anatolia from the 11th to the 13th Century A.D.*, ed. W. Watson (London, 1977), 75–76.

[211]C. Otto-Dorn, "L'Aïas dans le dernier tiers du XIIIe siècle d'après les notaries Génois," *Asian and African* Studies 22 (1978): 124.

[212]Oney, "Kubadabad Ceramics," 74.

[213]The apotropaic effect of the frontal lion has long been valued in Anatolia and was also applied to gateways by the Hittites of the second millennium B.C. The talismanic qualities of figural art in Seljuk Rum architecture are explored in Scott Redford, "Thirteenth-Century Rum Seljuq Palaces and Palace Imagery," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 219–27. One exception to the frontal pose is the lion *passant* that appears in a portal relief at the Çifte Medrese in Kayseri (1205–6) (Otto-Dorn, "L'Aïas dans le dernier tiers," 110, Fig. 8).

[214]See D. Gazagnadou, "Note sur une question d'heraldique mamluke: l'origine du 'lion passant à gauche du Sultan Baybars I al-Bunduqdārī," *Der Islam* 65 (1988): 98–101.

the adoption of the fleur-de-lys by Nūr al-Dīn in the second half of the twelfth century.[215]

The bicephalic eagle, fleur-de-lys, lion *passant,* and rosette can best be described as dynastic symbols. They were hereditary to some extent: the lion *passant* was used by Baybars and his son and the eagle and rosette by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and his sons. Mamluk armorial blazons did not come into their own, however, until the early fourteenth century, when amiral symbols of office began to dominate the decoration of architecture, metalworking, glass, ceramics, and painting. The transition from sultanic symbols of authority to amiral blazons is a crucial one for Mamluk art. It affects all media and is socially significant for two reasons: it illustrates the rise of a new social class and the creation of a new self-image for the Mamluks.

Leaf and Purcell outline three developmental stages of Mamluk blazons.[216] At the beginning of the Mamluk period (the middle of the thirteenth century), amirs adopted the sultans′ emblems as their own.[217] At the end of the century simple amiral blazons of office began to replace the lion, fleur-de-lys, eagle, and rosette and were placed on bipartite shields. The earliest dated examples of an amiral blazon of this sort are the cup blazons of the *sāqī* displayed on two candlesticks made for Kitbughā, the important amir who became sultan in the interlude between al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s first and second reigns.[218] The cup was the most common sign of the twenty some amiral blazons that appeared now, followed in number by the sword of the *silāḥdār* and the napkin of the *jāmdār*—all ceremonial offices. Blazons such as these were not entirely an Egyptian invention. According to Abū al-Fidā *(Kitāb al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar),* the Mamluks may have been influenced by the practice of the Khwarazm-Shahs, whose leader Muḥammad ibn Tekish [r. 1200–20] assigned members of his guard emblems of office (here called ʻ*alāmah*).[219] The full flowering of blazons of office in the fourteenth century,

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[215]J. W. Allan, ″Mamluk Sultanic Heraldry and the Numismatic Evidence: A Reinterpretation,″ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 2 (1970): 104. Some of the earliest instances of an Islamic ″blazon″ can be found on the doorways of Nūr al-Dīn′s foundations in Damascus (his madrasah, 1154–73) and at Ḥimṣ (his Congregational Mosque) (Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry,* 22).

[216]Leaf and Purcell, *Heraldic Symbols,* Ch. 3 (67–76). While the authors too often define developments in Islamic heraldry according to European criteria, the following outline is a reasonable one and is based heavily on the material evidence provided by Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry.*

[217]Leaf and Purcell compare this practice to the European livery (*Heraldic Symbols,* 63). Examples in Egypt include Aydamūr al-Jāmdār, an amir of Baybars, who used the lion *passant* as his own insignia (ibid.), and contemporary amirs who adopted the fleur-de-lys, eagle, and rosette normally associated with the sultan (ibid., 70).

[218]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 52, cat. #15–16.

[219]Rabbat, ″Khāṣṣakiyya,″ 432; for the reign of ʻAlā al-Dīn Muḥammad (ibn Tekish), see C. E.

though, were a uniquely Mamluk contribution.

In the second stage of blazon development, around 1320–30, the sultans had adopted inscribed cartouches as their emblems, and blazons of office were now the exclusive property of the amirs. The introduction of the tripartite shield (or ″composite shield,″ to use Mayer′s nomenclature) defines the third and final stage and is a fifteenth- and sixteenth-century phenomenon. The sword blazon disappears while the cup and penbox (of the *dawādār*) come to prominence. Composite blazons combine the emblems of several offices and probably represent the offices held in sequence by a particular head of state. One blazon of this sort may be adopted by a number of amirs who belong to the same household, that is *khushdāsh* (mamluks of the same master) who wish to affiliate themselves with their former master.

Changes in heraldry such as these reflect changes in the Mamluk social structure, ones that had important consequences for Egypt′s economy in the fourteenth century. At the risk of oversimplifying the processes of cultural change, each of the ″stages″ presented above can be related to the various stages of restructuring of the Mamluk elite and the ways each of these groups chose to identify themselves artistically. Blazons thus became a mode of self-expression for newly empowered social groups.

The Arabic sources are unanimous in acknowledging the strength of the sultanate under Baybars and Qalāwūn. Mamluk heraldry at this point corroborates the picture of an authoritative sultan supported by a disciplined body of mamluk soldiers and commanders. Sultanic emblems of authority (the lion and eagle, for example) are assumed by the amirs as their own, emphasizing the bonds of sponsorship between mamluk and master. There are signs of the breakdown of sultanic authority in the early fourteenth century as the amirs begin to assert themselves. The appearance of the amiral blazons of office illustrates the growing influence of this class and its ability to forge an identity independent of the sultan. The centralizing policies of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad are one reaction to the rise of the amiral class and are reflected in the subsequent adoption of the sultanic inscribed cartouches.

These processes are further accentuated by the use of the penbox blazon (of the *dawādār*) on a large scale and the proliferation of composite shields containing the cup blazon in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The widespread occurrence of the penbox blazon would, as the *sāqī* blazon (cup) in the previous century, signal the growing importance of the *dawādārīyah,* in whose hands much power

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Bosworth, *EI*^{2}, 4:1067–68.

was concentrated towards the end of the Mamluk period.[220] The cup blazon is a familiar element, as well, in composite blazons and illustrates one aspect of the fifteenth and sixteenth-century promotional procedures which the Arabic sources confirm: the preliminary advancement of mamluks to amirships of ten and then to the *suqāh.* Most sultans of the period began their careers as *suqāh,* and this is reflected in the composite blazons adopted by their amirs. Unlike the amiral blazons of office that were characteristic of the fourteenth century, the composite blazons of the following centuries represented not office but membership in a mamluk ″household″ and identification with the sultan as head of this household. In this way composite blazons are equated with a sultan and his entire mamluk establishment.[221]

As in all media, the adoption of amiral blazons in sgraffito decoration in the early fourteenth century is socially, politically, and economically significant. It is the single most important factor behind the development of Mamluk sgraffito and is, I believe, one of the keys to understanding the central role this mass-produced but short-lived ceramic style played in contemporary Egyptian society. Furthermore, the precise dating and seriation of Mamluk sgraffito is guided by the chronological development of not only the amiral blazons themselves, but the historical circumstances behind their growing popularity.

In the late Ayyubid period Egyptian potters adopted the decorative layout of inscriptional registers with roundels. Roundels were transformed into pseudo-heraldic (″Norman″) shield devices and placed in the wall registers and in the tondo area, as was the custom in Crusader sgraffito of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and Lusignan Cyprus. The early Mamluk sultans adopted symbols of authority used by the Seljuks, Byzantines, and Crusaders, such as the lion and eagle, and incorporated them into the decoration of their tablewares at the end of the thirteenth century. Amiral blazons of office began to appear in all art forms and gradually replaced the lion, eagle, rosette, and fleur-de-lys motifs. The development of ceremonial offices and the subsequent rise of the *khāṣṣakīyah* in the early fourteenth century are reflected in the proliferation of complex amiral blazons of office on round shields and accompanied by elaborate dedicatory inscriptions. The composite blazons of the fifteenth century are not found in sgraffito wares. We can infer

[220]For instance, the amir Yashbak was not only *dawādār,* but also *amīr silāḥ, wazīr, ustādār, kashf al-kushshāf, mudabbir al-mamlakah,* and *ra's al-maysarah.* Before he became sultan, Tūmānbay also held these offices (Ayalon, ″Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army,″ *BSOAS* 16 [1954]: 63—citing Ibn Iyās, *Kitāb Tārīkh Miṣr*).

[221]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 54; Michael Meinecke, ″Zur mamlukischen Heraldik,″ *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 27 no. 1 (1972): 47–80, and idem, ″Die Bedeutung der mamlukischen Heraldik für die Kunstgeschichte,″ *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft,* suppl. 2 (1974): 213–40.

from this that sgraffito ware was no longer manufactured at this time.[222] The development of sgraffito decoration, and particularly the transformation of the heraldic devices executed in it, is therefore typical of general developments in Mamluk art in the fourteenth century.

Fully developed sgraffito decoration of Mamluk Egypt consisted primarily of shield devices (of various forms) and inscriptional registers. Other motifs and techniques—such as scrolling, the occasional human figure or cross, and floral rinceaux—were either borrowed from Crusader wares or belonged to the more trans-Mediterranean milieu of Zeuxippus-derivative sgraffitos. Heraldic and inscriptional registers clearly belong to the realm of Mamluk metalworking.

It was in the general layout of design that metalwork most influenced other media. The organizing system of registers and cartouches (or roundels) was adopted and canonized in Egyptian metalwork, glass, ceramics, and textiles, while other characteristics of the northern Mesopotamian style were modified. Inscriptions of blessings on the patron, for example, were adapted to emphasize his military titles. The court scenes and zodiac figures originally placed in cartouches were replaced by amiral blazons in pointed or round shields. Characteristics of sgraffito wares, in particular, illustrate the dependence of Mamluk designs on the effect produced by inlaid brasses. The color play of earthenware ground against a white base slip, yellowish glaze, and yellow, brown, and green slips and stains imitated rather successfully the color contrasts of yellow brass and silver and gold inlays of metalwork. Furthermore, the scrolled ground of late Ayyubid and early Mamluk sgraffito recalls not only Ayyubid luster wares but also Ayyubid-period metalwork, such as the Cleveland Ewer, dated by an inscription on the vessel to 1223 and signed by Aḥmad al-Dhākī al-Mawṣilī (″of Mosul″).[223] Similarly, the familiar ″Y-fret″ roundels encountered on sgraffito sherds from Fustat are unquestionably reproductions of metalwork designs as is the ″T-fret″ pattern associated with metalwork signed by ″Mosul″ artists.[224]

The impact of Mosul and the greater northern Jazira on early Mamluk art lies not in the specifics of metalwork decoration but in the broader category of figural art. Figural decoration in all media—coins, manuscript illumination, metalwork, and architecture—was particularly rich in this region in the twelfth and thirteenth

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[222]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 149.

[223]Line drawings and discussion of this vessel can be found in Rice, ″Inlaid Brasses from the Workshop of Ahmad al-Dhaki al-Mawsili,″ *Ars Orientalis* 2 (1957): 283–326. Scrolling is a common technique in this period and widespread in many media.

[224]The Y-fret is called an ″arrow interlace″ by Scanlon (″Some Mamluk Ceramic Shapes from Fustat,″ 62, Pl. IV.b). For the use of the T-fret in Mosuli metalwork, see G. Fehervari, *Islamic Metalwork of the Eighth to the Fifteenth Century in the Keir Collection* (London, 1976), 96 and J. W. Allan, *Islamic Metalwork: The Nuhad Es-Said Collection* (London, 1982).

centuries. The visual vocabulary of the Artuqid and Zengid northern Jazira and Rum Seljuk central Anatolia was one and the same. Many of the sovereign symbols found in early Mamluk art, including the double-headed eagle and astrological motifs, while originating in Seljuk Iranian art, reached their full development in these areas.[225] Thus, the north Jazira-east Anatolia region was a distribution point for figural art with political connotations.

In a revealing study by Rabbat, the impact that wall paintings of one *qā'ah* (hall) from Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu''s palace in Mosul may have had on the interior decoration of early Mamluk palaces in Cairo, now gone, has been pieced together from little-known historical references.[226] Figures seated in a row and enclosed within circles most likely represent the attendants of Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' and can be compared to so many other similar representations from metalwork, where the ruler is flanked by his attendants or officers and all is arranged in registers and circular cartouches. The Mamluk-period "St. Louis basin" is decorated in this manner, along with amiral blazons.[227] Such parallels extend to Egyptian palaces where, according to Ibn al-Dawādārī, the walls of Sultan Khalīl's *īwān* (palace or reception hall) had "representations of his amirs, each with his own *rank* above his head."[228]

There is a nuanced relationship between the adoption of the Mosul-based figural program and the emergence of heraldry in Mamluk art. In this regard, Whelan's critical analysis of the social significance of Mamluk blazons and their art historical and social historical origins is ground-breaking and has become a catalyst for debate about developments in symbols of authority in Islam.[229] The focus of the study is the "highly developed sovereign imagery" of northern Mesopotamia in the middle of the twelfth century until about 1230. Her arguments are somewhat complicated but can be reduced to the following: 1) Mamluk heraldry (my amiral blazons of office) is a reduction of *khāṣṣakīyah* figural imagery developed from the iconography of the Mesopotamian courts; 2) the codification of Egyptian blazons in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was the direct result of problems of succession inherent in the Mamluk system, where blood ties were at

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[225]The Urtuqid setting of some of these motifs is presented in S. N. Redford, "How Islamic Is It? The Innsbruck Plate and its Setting," *Muqarnas* 7 (1990): 119–35.

[226]Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo,* 174–75.

[227]See D. S. Rice, "The Blazons of the 'Baptistère de Saint Louis,'" *BSOAS* 13 (1950): 367–80.

[228]*Al-Durrah al-Zakīyah;* cited in Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo,* 170.

[229]The study is published in E. Whelan, "Representations of the *Khāṣṣakiyyah* and the Origins of Mamluk Emblems," in *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World,* ed. P. P. Soucek (University Park, PA, 1988), 219–43. For another discussion of image making in northern Mesopotamia see W. F. Spengler and W. G. Szyles, *Turkoman Figural Bronze Coins and Their Iconography*, vol. I (Lodi, Wisconsin, 1992).

odds with the bonds of *khushdāshīyah.* By marking all personal belongings with their emblems of former office, amirs were, initially, expressing legitimate claims to the sultanate by emphasizing relationships with former sultans. The widespread use of blazons in fourteenth-century art illustrates the amirs′ success in establishing their positions vis-à-vis the sultan.

Whelan defines the *khāṣṣakīyah* as ″intimates with ceremonial responsibilities.″[230] The term itself is a product of the Mamluk period, even though related institutions of ceremonial offices probably existed under the Ghaznavids, Seljuks and Zengids.[231] The term *khawāṣṣ* appears in the Ayyubid period to denote the closest personal associates and bodyguards of Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb.[232] The elite corps of Baybars′ mamluks were called *khāṣṣakīyah,* an adjectival derivative of the Turkish colloquial term for the Arabic *khāṣṣah,* or ″special″ (privileged group).[233] With al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who elaborated Mamluk ceremonial and codified amiral ranks, the word was applied to amirs of high rank who usually performed ceremonial duties.[234] By this period, according to Whelan, the *khāṣṣakīyah* had come to be the ″recognized organ of upward social mobility.″[235] Membership in this privileged corps was the first step to amiral advancement. The majority of the *suqāh* (cup-bearers), *jāmdārīyah* (wardrobe master), *silāḥdārīyah* (sword-bearers) and other such ceremonial officers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries came from this select group.

Much of the figural art of northern Mesopotamia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries relates to the court. In addition to the familiar ″courtly pleasures″ (scenes of revelry and the hunt) there are representations of the sovereign and his entourage. The figures include not only servants but high-ranking officials who walk towards the ruler carrying objects associated with ceremonial offices—a sword, an ax, polo sticks, and a bottle and beaker, to name only a few. One of the earliest examples of these scenes appears on an Urtuqid stone bridge at Ḥiṣn Kayfa, dated to the reign of Qara Arslan (r. 1148–67).[236] Single relief sculptures of striding figures in Turkish costume, carrying a spear, bird, and sword are depicted. The procession

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[230]Whelan, ″Representations of the *Khāṣṣakiyyah,*″ 220.

[231]Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo,* 290–91.

[232]Ibid.

[233]Ibid., 135.

[234]Ibid., 288. A central thesis of Rabbat′s book is the relationship between al-Nāṣir′s development of Cairo′s Citadel and the expansion of state pomp-and-circumstance. He suggests that the term *khāṣṣakīyah* meant, in this period, those specially selected mamluk recruits who lived in the Southern Enclosure with the sultan himself.

[235]Whelan, ″Representations of the *Khāṣṣakiyyah*,″ 234.

[236]Ibid., 222.

of ceremonial officers is a popular theme in silver-inlaid brassware of the mid-twelfth century to about 1230. Whelan describes several of these, three of which are signed by artists that use the *nisbah* "al-Mawṣilī."[237] Basins and candlesticks of this style were made in Egypt under the Mamluks.

The most important developments in Mamluk metalwork can be dated between 1275 and 1350, when the figural style was at its best and inscriptional decoration was just beginning to appear.[238] This was a crucial period for Mamluk sgraffito, too, as figural art, in the form of sovereign symbols, was gradually replaced by large inscriptional registers and amiral blazons. The reduction of figural scenes to hieratic, military symbols is symptomatic of the maturation of Mamluk art and the internal development of visual forms more appropriate to Mamluk society. The shift to non-figural decoration was due to a combination of factors. The stabilization of the state under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, in part attributable to the disappearance of foreign threat, demilitarized the state in an active sense. The growth of ceremonial and military art in the fourteenth century only masked the increasing acculturation of the mamluks to the civilian culture of Cairo. The artistic correlates of this development may be seen in the growing emphasis on epigraphy (reflecting perhaps intensified cultivation of the ulama by the state) and the iconoclastic removal of figural art.[239] Artistic factors may also have contributed to the disappearance of figural art: as inscriptional registers got larger, there simply was no room left on the vessel for processional or court scenes.

On the eclecticism of Mamluk architecture, Rabbat states:

> Their use of various imported and revived modes and techniques to decorate their structures indicates that they had no strong and binding cultural tradition of their own, and this allowed them to choose from several that were available.[240]

I believe this statement is aptly true for the minor arts, namely metalwork and ceramics. Mamluk artists borrowed from everyone, adapting all figural and symbolic design to the requirements of their militarized social system.[241] There is some

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[237]Ibid., 222–23.

[238]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 51.

[239]Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo,* 179. For the late Mamluk period, see B. Flemming, "Literary Activities in Mamluk Halls and Barracks," in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet,* ed. M. Rosen-Ayalon (Jerusalem, 1977), 249–60.

[240]Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo,* 179.

[241]Rabbat's argument in this regard is convincing: "the Mosuli style was directly introduced to the Mamluk realm, where it was adapted to the new requirements and incorporated the features specific to the Mamluk heraldic system" (*The Citadel of Cairo,* 177).

indication, though, that the reduction of figural representations of the *khāṣṣakīyah* to amiral blazons of office was not entirely a Mamluk innovation. According to Abū al-Fidā, the Khwarazmshah Muḥammad ibn Tekish (r. 1200–20) was, like al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, interested in the image-making potential of official ceremonies.[242] He maintained a personal group of mamluks, many of whom were later promoted to amirships. Emblems of their ceremonial offices displayed on their banners identified them in processions: a bow for the *silāḥdār,* for instance, or a horseshoe for the *amīr akhūr*.

Historical and cultural associations with the Khwarazmians may in part explain how many motifs of sgraffito, including sovereign emblems (the bicephalous eagle) and amiral blazons (the cup of the *sāqī*) came to Egypt. After the Mongol advance into their territory in the 1220s and 1230s, many Khwarazmian Turks entered the service of the Ayyubids in Egypt as mercenaries. They are mentioned as late as the reign of Quṭuz, who was the reputed descendant of a Khwarazmian prince, and Baybars, who married the daughter of an important Khwarazmian *wāfidī*.[243] An artistic style is not introduced to a country through the migration of military men alone. However, banners used in procession and on the battlefield, basic accouterments of the soldier, do and it is perhaps through martial accessories such as these, brought by foreign mercenaries, that the Mamluks in Egypt became acquainted with amiral blazons and other symbols of military authority. The impact of coins, discussed above, must have been equally important in making familiar certain sovereign emblems—the bicephalous eagle and lion, for instance. Therefore, rather than overemphasize the role of migrating craftsmen,[244] we should consider military equipment brought by mercenaries (weapons and banners), coins in circulation throughout the eastern Mediterranean, and objects imported in large numbers (most importantly inlaid brasses) as the most plausible modes of transferring sovereign imagery to Egypt.

Mamluk amiral blazons can be understood as either the actual objects these former *khāṣṣakīyah* carried in procession or the objects emblazoned on the gear

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[242]*Kitāb al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar,* cited by Whelan, ″Representations of the *Khāṣṣakiyyah*,″ 220–21.

[243]Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages,* 33 and 62, respectively.

[244]Rogers rejects the role of immigrant artists in transmitting Mongol (J. M. Rogers, ″Evidence for Mamluk-Mongol Relations, 1260–1360,″ in Raymond, Rogers, and Wahba, ed., *Colloque International sur l′Histoire du Caire,* 385–403) and Seljuk art styles (J. M. Rogers, ″Seljuk Influences on the Monuments of Cairo,″ *Kunst des Orients* 7 no. 1 [1970–71]: 40–68) to fourteenth-century Egypt. In both articles he argues for the defining role of imports, which both respond to and create a ″taste″ for foreign objects, and Egyptian travelers to Iran and Anatolia, upon whom local monuments would have made an impression.

carried and worn by them during processions.[245] Blazons were meant to be seen; they were public expressions of military rank and authority. In this sense, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad adopted the sovereign images of the former Seljuk world, claiming a stake in the "larger political arena"[246] of the Islamic borderlands of the eastern Mediterranean and legitimizing his rule in the process. The development of amiral blazons during the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad can be related to these attempts to define an appropriate visual image for the Mamluk state.

On the level of the individual, the Mamluk blazon helped to identify the patron for which the object was made. Its role in public propaganda and legitimization within the Mamluk social structure should not be underestimated. It is not entirely clear whether an amiral blazon referred to the present or a former tenure of office, the first stage in amiral advancement, or the position held by the bearer's father or manumitter. In fact, it is probable that the meaning and use of blazons was not static and changed with the progressive codification of rules concerning their use and elaboration of official relationships within Mamluk society. While objects decorated with blazons are usually attributed to amiral patrons, the widespread use of blazons of office in poor-quality sgraffito ware suggests mass-production of the product for other patrons. We should not automatically assume that there was a consistent, one-to-one correspondence between blazon and amir. Other aspects of the decoration of emblazoned sgraffito vessels, for example, indicate that blazons, while generally understood by the larger public as military emblems, had at some point become commonplace status symbols. The popularization of blazons and titles used in inscriptions indicates the dissolution of official control over Mamluk prerogatives and the breakdown of the system that maintained the social hierarchy.

II. Dedicatory Inscriptions

Blazons are not the only method which Mamluk potters employed to identify their patron and his social class. Vessels are often decorated with dedicatory inscriptions that include formulaic production orders (usually *mimmā ʿumila bi-rasm al-dārī*),[247]

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[245] See Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry,* 5.

[246] Whelan, "Representations of the *Khāṣṣakiyyah,*" 232.

[247] This is the standard commissioning formula used with Mamluk sgraffito. The word "dār" probably indicates that the vessel was destined for the amir's own residence and kitchen (see definition of *dār* in M. M. Amīn and L. A. Ibrāhīm, *Architectural Terms in Mamluk Documents (648–923 H/ 1250–1517)* [Cairo, 1990]). *Dār* could also refer to the Mamluk "household." Alternative terms like *tisht-khānah*, *rabāṭ*, and *bayt Allāh al-Ḥaram* in inscriptions on brass, bronze, and glass vessels specify other destinations (illustrations in Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam*). One view, still followed by many scholars, defines *dār* as the wife or daughter of an amir or sultan (M. van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un corpus inscriptionum arabicarum, Égypte I* [Paris, 1903], 188).

standard phrases used to honor military patrons *(al-amīr al-kabīr, al-muḥtaram, al-'ālī),* the patron's personal name (often abbreviated) or office, and well-wishes for prosperity and success (*adāma 'izzuhā*, for instance). The inscriptions are produced through a combination of sgraffito and slip-painting and are displayed in the most prominent zones of the vessel—usually a wide register just below the lip and above the carination (if there is one). The placement of the dedicatory inscription in the interior of the vessel and the artist's signature on the exterior is characteristic of most vessels signed by Sharaf al-Abawānī. Military-styled inscriptions seem to be inspired by the designs of contemporary metalworking and are found on glasswares and textiles.[248] In Egyptian ceramics these formal dedications are limited to sgraffito wares. They do not normally appear on underglaze-painted or lusterwares.

Dedicatory inscriptions on sgraffito wares occasionally include the name or office of the amir. His full title could consist of an honorific *(laqab),* his personal name (in Turkish), a fictitious patronymic (*'Abd Allāh*, for instance), patron affiliation *(nisbah),*[249] and his rank (which would theoretically correspond to the blazon).[250] Official inscriptions containing Mamluk names, titles, or official forms of address represent the status and authority of the patron in much the same fashion as amiral blazons. Mamluk names carried prestige. In spite of the official restrictions, there were attempts by civilians to adopt the Turkish names of the Mamluk aristocracy. The leaders of the *'urbān* (bedouin) took on Mamluk names as a way of expressing their authority locally.[251] Foreigners could enter the upper strata of the Mamluk military apparatus by adopting Turkish names to conceal their ethnic background to slave dealers.[252] Turkish names given to children of private citizens in Mecca honored the dignitaries of the local Mamluk garrison.[253] The adoption of Turkish names by non-Mamluks was rare in Cairo. The few exceptions were individuals among the *awlād al-nās* (sons of Mamluks) who

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[248]S. N. Redford, "Ayyubid Glass from Samsat Turkey," *Journal of Glass Studies* 36 (1994): 81–91, discusses possible levels of meaning in glass inscriptions from the Ayyubid period.

[249]The "īyah" ending reflects the status of a Mamluk to his master—he was formerly his master's slave and belonged to him. The masculine form of this ending is also used as a nickname of ethnicity or geographical origin (*al-Miṣrī*—the Egyptian, *al-Tabrīzī*—the man from Tabrīz). In this sense the individual "belongs" to his homeland.

[250]Ayalon, "Names, Titles, and 'Nisbas,'" 190. Few ceramic inscriptions include all of these elements. The titles, in particular, are abbreviated in comparison to those found on metalworking and in architecture.

[251]Ibid., 208.

[252]Ibid., 195. The elite of Mamluk society were slaves of Turkish stock purchased for the sultan and manumitted by him.

[253]Ibid., 209.

preferred Turkish names to the more traditional Arab-Muslim ones.[254]

While dedicatory inscriptions on inlaid metalwares, glass, and silks may include the full name of the patron, it is very rare on pottery. The incompleteness of inscriptions is one factor behind the scholarly neglect of Mamluk sgraffito. ″Nicknames″ and abbreviated titles do not lend themselves easily to historical study. It is nearly impossible in most cases to identify the patron with any certainty from the *nisbah* or office alone. In those rare instances where an amir is named, misspellings in transliterating his name from Turkish into Arabic, inconsistencies in titulature, and unclear inscriptions render the task of accurate identification equally difficult. Furthermore, most inscriptions refer to the patron only as an ″amir″ and enumerate a list of honorific titles without including the individual′s name. Generic dedications like these may indicate that many of the vessels were mass-produced for a broad clientele within the Mamluk network.

The majority of the legible and specific dedicatory inscriptions in sgraffito include personal names (Kitbughā) and *nisbah*s (al-Malikī al-Nāṣirī) that can, like the amiral blazons, be associated with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.[255] This is equally true for metalworking, textiles, and glass, a fact which indicates the range of patronage of this sultan and his amirs. Incomplete and ambiguous dedicatory inscriptions on all media but ceramics have been studied for their historical content.[256] The following study attempts to do the same for four sgraffito vessels in the Islamic Museum in Cairo that carry partial inscriptions with the aim of identifying the amir and recognizing changing patterns of ceramic patronage. We begin with a review of the primary sources.

The identification of Mamluk officers relies on an accurate reading of the original inscription and interpretation of the patron′s name as it appears in the inscription to determine the personal name or familiar title of the individual. The patron is then identified as a historical figure by relating his name or title to obituary notices in Mamluk chronicles, forms of address explained in administrative manuals, and the personal entries found in contemporary biographical dictionaries. Secondary sources on the spelling and formation of Turkish names used in the Mamluk period and problems of Mamluk titulature have been important resources in this process.[257] Primary sources include al-Maqrīzī′s *Kitāb al-Sulūk* and *Khiṭaṭ,* Ibn al-Dawādārī′s *Kanz al-Durar,* al-Qalqashandī′s *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá,* the biographies

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[254]Ibid., 229.

[255]Most of these remain unpublished; some are discussed below.

[256]Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry;* Rice, ″The Blazons of the ′Baptistère de Saint Louis′″; Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* to name a few.

[257]J. Sauvaget, ″Noms et surnoms de Mamelouks,″ *Journal Asiatique* 238 (1948): 31–58; Ayalon, ″Names, Titles, and ′Nisbas′″; and Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry.*

of al-Yūsufī and al-Shujāʿī, and several biographical dictionaries that cover the fourteenth century.[258]

The first of the four vessels is a heavily-potted chalice with carinated and everted walls and sits on a pedestal foot (the classic Mamluk shape—Fig. 12).[259] Both the interior and exterior are divided into three registers, the top one of which carries a sgraffito and slip-painted inscription in *thulūth* script. A floral design with six pointed petals occupies the tondo circle, and the inscriptions on the wall are interrupted by abstract fleur-de-lys. The lowest exterior register is filled with a guilloche band.

The interior inscription expresses the good wishes of the artist and includes his name.

> al-ʿizz wa-al-iqbāl wa-bulūgh al-aʿmāl wa-saʿādat al-faqīr, al-miskīn
> Sharaf al-Abawānī, ghulām al-nās kullihim
>
> [Glory, good fortune, achievement, and happiness—the poor, miserable
> Sharaf al-Abawānī, servant of all the people]

Some of the best products of Mamluk sgraffito have been signed by this potter, who also inscribed the following dedication that filled the main register on the exterior.

> mimmā ʿumila bi-rasm al-dār al-ʿālīyah, al-mawlawīyah, al-maḥrūsah, al-maʿmūrah
> Kitbughā, mulkuhā al-ʿizz, al-iqbāl, wa-bulūgh

[258]The biographies are incomplete: al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* and Shams al-Dīn al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn,* ed. B. Schäfer (Wiesbaden, 1978), vol. I. The most important of the biographical dictionaries are Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt* (Istanbul, Damascus, and Cairo, 1931–83); Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr wa-Aʿwān al-Naṣr,* ed. ʿA. Abū Zayd (Beirut, 1998); and Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʿd al-Wāfī,* ed. M. M. Amīn (Cairo, 1985–90), also summarized by G. Wiet in "Les biographies du Manhal Ṣāfī, *Mémoires de l'Institut d'Égypte* 19 (1932). Other dictionaries consulted include Muḥammad ibn Shākir ibn Aḥmad al-Kutubī, *Kitāb Fawāt al-Wafayāt,* ed. N. al-Hurīnī (Cairo, 1866) and Faḍl Allāh ibn Abī al-Fakhr Ibn al-Suqāʿī, *Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-Aʿyān,* ed. J. Sublet (Damascus, 1974).
[259]Isl. Mus. #15679, by purchase in 1948. Published in ʿAbd al-Rāziq, "Documents sur la poterie," 26 and Pl. IV. Another very similar sgraffito chalice, also signed by al-Abawānī, is in the Egyptian Embassy in Washington, D.C. and is illustrated in Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 188–89 (cat. #95).



Figure 12. Phase II Egyptian Mamluk sgraffito chalice with historical inscription and signed by Sharaf al-Abawānī, 14th century, probably Fustat

> [Among the things made (on order) for the excellent, sovereign, protected, flourishing house of
> Kitbughā. Glory, prosperity, and achievement to its sovereign]

The Kitbughā addressed in this dedication is probably Zayn al-Dīn Kitbughā, the mamluk acquired by Qalāwūn at the first battle at Ḥimṣ (1260). Kitbughā ruled as sultan in the years after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's first reign (taking the title "al-'Ādil" in 1294–96) and later served as Sultan al-Nāṣir's viceroy. The blazon of the *sāqī,* or cupbearer, appears on an inlaid brass candlestick dedicated to him.[260] The cup blazon is not represented on this sgraffito chalice. However, the designs that take its place are not blazons in themselves and do not contradict the identification of the patron with this amir. The form of address used in the inscription indicates that the vessel was made for Kitbughā while he was still an amir and not yet sultan.

In the same collection in Cairo is a round earthenware basin decorated in sgraffito inscriptions and blazons (Fig. 13).[261] It has a flat bottom[262] and three decorative spouts attached to the rim, probably in imitation of more functional prototypes in brass or bronze. The decoration consists of a single, wide inscriptional register. The dedication in both the interior and exterior registers is addressed to the son of an amir of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Shihāb al-Dīn. The name of the father is somewhat unclear from the inscriptions and has been variously read as "al-Sayfī Qarjī"[263] and "al-Sayfī Farajī."[264] The interior inscription reads:

> mimmā 'umila bi-rasm al-ajall, al-muḥtaram, al-makhdūm, al-a'azz, al-akhāṣṣ
> Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-janabī, al-'ālī, al-malawī al-Sayfī Qarjī/Farajī al-Malikī al-Nāṣirī
>
> [Among the things made (on order) for the most magnificent, the honored, the well-served, the most glorious, the favored Shihāb al-Dīn, the son of His High Excellency, the lord al-Sayfī Qarjī/Farajī, the amir of al-Malik al-Nāṣir]

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[260]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 65 (cat. #16).

[261]Isl. Mus. #3945. It is published in Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry,* 206–7 and Pl. XII.1. A brief discussion of the inscription appears in Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 148.

[262]There may have been a narrow stem or ring foot, which has now broken off.

[263]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 148.

[264]Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry,* 207.



Figure 13. Phase II Egyptian Mamluk sgraffito basin with historical inscription, 14th century, probably Fustat

This is an important dedication for three reasons: the name is more or less complete, a sultan is mentioned, and the patron is a member of the *awlād al-nās*. The title "Shihāb al-Dīn" is a relatively common amiral title for the early Mamluk period.[265] The *awlād al-nās* also took titles of this form, usually in combination with an Arab-Muslim personal name, rather than a Turkish one. For instance, the personal name "Aḥmad" was usually combined with the title "Shihāb al-Dīn" for sons of Mamluks.[266] The patron of this vessel, then, was probably one Aḥmad Shihāb al-Dīn, the son of the amir Qarjī/Farajī.

I have been unable to locate this Aḥmad in the biographical dictionaries or obituary notices; the name is too common to make a proper identification. The identity of his father is extremely important, though, given his relationship with Sultan al-Nāṣir, as indicated in the amir's title. Neither "Qarjī" nor "Farajī" are typical Turkish names of the period. However, "Qirmishī" ("Qurmushī" or "Qurmujī")[267] and "Qarajā"[268] are. On both the interior and exterior inscriptions a faint *mīm* can be discerned above and between the *rā'* and *jīm;* there could be either one or two dots above the first letter. Therefore, the name could read "Qurmujī" instead of "Farajī" or "Qarjī."

There is a contemporary of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad by the name of Qurmujī/Qirmishī who figures rather prominently in Mamluk politics in the early fourteenth century. The amir Qurmujī Sayf al-Dīn was the brother of the *silāḥdār* Aslam Bahā' al-Dīn; the brothers are mentioned in the chronicles on account of their arrest and lengthy imprisonment in Alexandria.[269] Qurmujī was a mamluk of the *nā'ib al-Shām,* Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī, and later became a *ḥājib* in Syria and the *nā'ib* of Ḥimṣ.[270] These events relate him to a Qarajā Sayf al-Dīn who, according to al-Shujā'ī, served as *nā'ib* of Ḥamāh and was arrested with his brother, the

[265]Ayalon, "Names, Titles, and 'Niṣbas,'" 191. It was also popular with the *tājir-khawājah* (high-ranking Karimi merchants) in the Circassian period (Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 214–16).

[266]Ayalon, "Names, Titles, and 'Niṣbas,'" 230; Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry,* 207.

[267]The alternative spellings are due to the inconsistencies of transliterating Turkish names into Arabic in the Mamluk texts. "Sh" and "j" are often alternated (see Sauvaget, "Noms et surnoms"). Sauvaget also lists the name "Qirmish," which means "he broke into pieces" (ibid., 53, #171).

[268]The name appears in Sauvaget's Turkish name list with the meaning "little black" (ibid., 52, #160).

[269]Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 190 (also in al-Ṣafadī's *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt* and al-Maqrīzī's *Al-Bayān wa-al-I'rāb;* K. V. Zettersteen, ed., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensultane* (Leiden, 1919), 178 and 187).

[270]Levanoni, *A Turning Point*, 83; Zettersteen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensultane,* 198.

silāḥdār in Cairo.[271] Qurmujī died in 1346 (747), five years after the Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.[272]

The title "al-Sayfī" that precedes Qurmujī's name in the sgraffito inscriptions is an abbreviation for the more formal "Sayf al-Dīn." This was, according to the Arabic sources, the proper title of the Syrian amir. The inscriptions also state that Qurmujī was the mamluk of a Sultan "al-Nāṣir" (*al-Malikī al-Nāṣirī*).[273] If the amir of the inscriptions can be identified with the Syrian amir of the chronicles, then this *nisbah* would appear to be a misnomer: Qurmujī was the mamluk of an amir, and not a sultan. It is possible, though, that Qurmujī changed his *nisbah*. There are a few examples of mamluks changing their titles in gratitude for favors bestowed on them by amirs or sultans.[274] Al-Shujāʿī reports that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad offered a position to Qurmujī in exchange for Tankiz's assassination.[275] Under these circumstances, it would not be surprising if Qurmujī had changed his title to reflect his new relationship with the sultan.

The meaning of the blazon that appears in the inscriptional registers, the tondo, and the exterior of the base is ambiguous. It is a golden half-dome supported by a triangular stand, decorated with a round, target-like device. This symbol has been variously called a target, canopy, saddle, and Mongol *tamgha* and could represent a range of offices. Mayer has associated the office of the *jāwīsh* (macebearer or guard) with two early Mamluk *ḥājib*s whose blazons were described as "dome-shaped palanquins."[276] There is not enough evidence, yet, to equate either the *jāwīsh* or the *ḥājib* with the blazon that appears on this basin.

The significance of this basin is that it was commissioned for a son of a Mamluk amir. The rise of the *awlād al-nās* began with the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who gave positions to the sons of amirs as a way of rewarding his favorite Mamluks. However, it is with the reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan that the empowerment of this social class is usually associated. The *awlād al-nās,* and

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[271]Al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn,* 177, 235, and 254. The period of imprisonment differs from that mentioned for "Qurmushī" in Zettersteen. Qarajā and Qurmushī/Qurmujī may be the same individual, but this is far from certain.

[272]Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 191, n. 6.

[273]The *nisbah* could just as well refer to Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (r. 1347–51, 1354–61), the son of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, under whom the *awlād al-nās* came to positions of political power, or his brother Sultan al-Nāṣir Aḥmad (r. 1342). That the *nisbah* probably reflects the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad is indicated by the identification of the amir Qurmujī with this sultan.

[274]A list of these for the early Mamluk period appears in Ayalon, "Names, Titles, and 'Nisbas,'" 218–19.

[275]Levanoni, *A Turning Point*, 83.

[276]Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry,* 18. The blazons are not illustrated.

particularly the sons of amirs, emerged as a new class of nobility in the middle of the fourteenth century—they held a number of top amirships and some of the largest *iqṭāʿāt*.[277] Ceramics is one area of artistic patronage of this newly empowered class.

The basin in Cairo is not the only sgraffito vessel commissioned by a Mamluk′s son. One of the highest quality Mamluk earthenwares in the Cairo collection is a round-bottomed, carinated basin, signed by Sharaf al-Abawānī.[278] Both the potter′s signature and the dedicatory inscription appear in two registers on the exterior of the vessel. A variant of the dedication appears in the interior register, which is interrupted along its length by a round shield device carrying three broad bands.[279] The patron named is the ″great amir″ (*al-amīr al-kabīr*) Saʿd al-Dīn ibn al-Musṭī.

The identity of this Saʿd al-Dīn has not been established yet, however the inscriptions indicate that he was the son of someone important. The formal names of the *awlād al-nās* consist of the personal name of the patron followed by the personal name of his father, the father′s office, his *nisbah,* or any combination of them. Occasionally the father′s ″nickname″—a reference to his place of origin, his manumitter, or personal characteristics—is included.[280] This could be the form of the patron′s name that appears on the al-Abawānī basin. If the shield device is a Mamluk blazon, which it appears to be, then either Saʿd al-Dīn or his father was a Mamluk officer. It is highly doubtful that Saʿd al-Dīn was a Mamluk himself, because his father′s name is included in the inscriptions.[281] Moreover, religious titles, such as ″Saʿd al-Dīn,″ were adopted by civilians or the *awlād al-nās* and not foreign-born Mamluks. Whether Saʿd al-Dīn was the son of a Mamluk or a private citizen with no direct connections to the military aristocracy, this basin is another example of the ways ceramics express Mamluk social policies. The promotion of non-Mamluks (*awlād al-nās* or otherwise) under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and his sons is illustrated in the titulature of dedication inscriptions such as these.

The final sgraffito vessel with a complete inscription in the Cairo collection is a large, footed basin of a slightly piriform shape (Fig. 14).[282] There is little doubt

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[277]Levanoni, *A Turning Point*, 46–49.

[278]Isl. Mus. #9089.

[279]It could be a penbox, the blazon of the *dawādār* (secretary) (drawings in Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry,* 12).

[280]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* 6:267 and 10:196; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963–72), 9:286; Ayalon, ″Names, Titles, and ′Nisbas,′″ 229–31.

[281]In the Mamluk system, the father was considered to be the master *(ustādh)* or the manumitter, if it was a different individual. For formality′s sake, a father′s name is sometimes included in Mamluk titles, ʿ*Abd Allāh*—a false name that alludes to the Mamluks′ origins in slavery.

[282]Isl. Mus. #3713. Published in ʿAbd al-Rāziq, ″Documents sur la poterie,″ Pl. VIIA; idem, ″Notes on Islamic Graffito Ware of the Near East,″ *Annales Islamologiques* 9 (1970), Pl. XXB; idem, ″Le

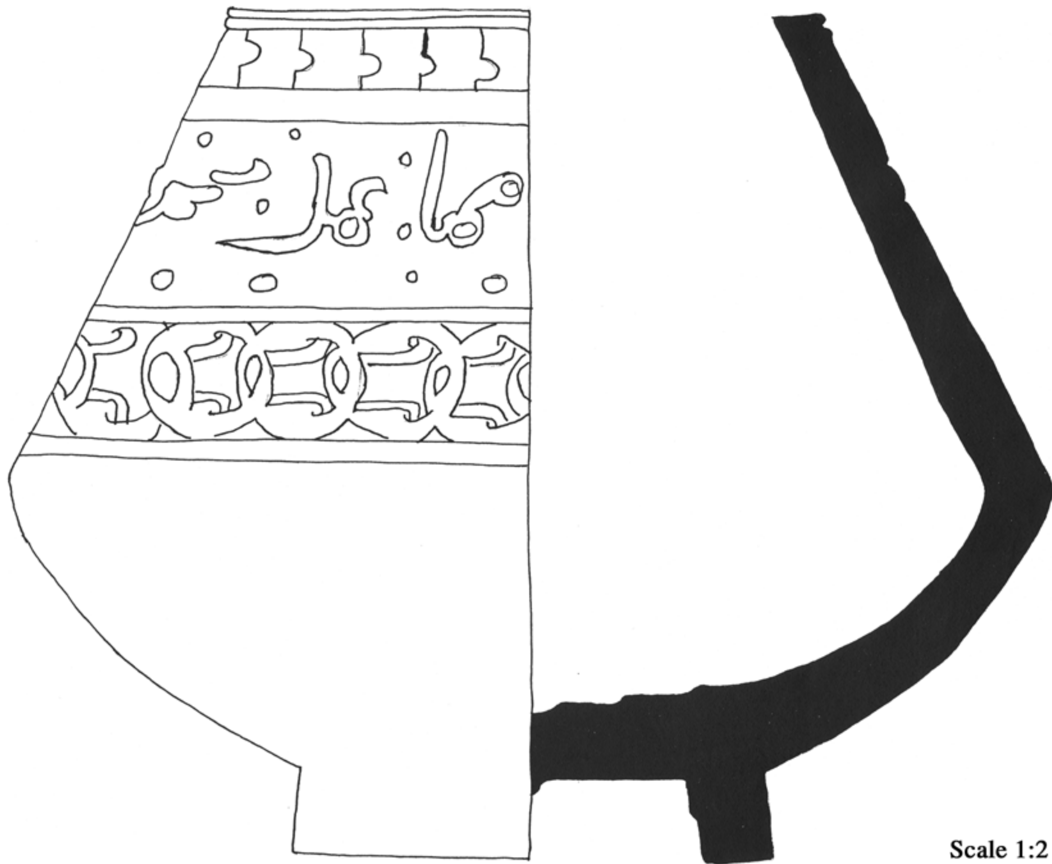


Figure 14. Profile drawing of a Phase II Egyptian Mamluk sgraffito basin—ceramic imitation of a 14th-century Persian brass basin, probably Fustat

that the basin is meant to imitate the form and decoration of cast brass basins with silver and gold inlay from fourteenth-century Persia.[283] The largest of the exterior registers contains the following inscription:

> mimmā ʻumila bi-rasm al-dār al-ʻālīyah, al-mawlawīyah, al-maʻmūrah, al-makhdūmah,
> al-maḥrūsah—al-Azjīyah al-Aydakīyah. ʻadāma ʻizzuhā bi-biqāʼ mulkihā. al-barakah.
>
> [Among those things made (on order) for the excellent, sovereign, prosperous, well-served, protected house of al-Azjīyah al-Aydakīyah. May its glory continue in preserving its sovereignty. Blessings.]

No blazons accompany this inscription.

The quality of potting and the size of the vessel indicate that the patron had some wealth and social stature. His full name, unfortunately, has been reduced to two *nisbah*s, which makes identifying him a difficult task. Consecutive titles in this form often indicate a chronological series of the patron′s masters or the master and the master′s manumitter.[284] Thus, the patron would have been a mamluk of an ″Aydak″ or ″Aybak″ or ″Aydakīn.″ The first *nisbah* makes little sense linguistically in the form above. A scribal error may have produced ″al-Azjīyah″ from ″al-ʻIzzdīyah,″ the abbreviated form of ″ʻIzz al-Dīn.″[285] This would make the patron a Mamluk of one ʻIzz al-Dīn Aybak.[286] Another error could have rendered ″al-Uzkūshī″ as ″al-Azjīyah.″[287] The name would be, then, the mamluk of Aydakīn al-Uzkūshī.

Aydakīn al-Uzkūshī was the mamluk of amir Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Uzkūshī, the governor of Raḥbah. He served as Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s

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sgraffito de l′Égypte,″ Pl. VII.D; and *Islamic Art in Egypt* (Cairo, 1969), 157 (cat. #146). In his 1967 study (″Documents sur la poterie″), ʻAbd al-Rāziq includes the vessel in a study on Sharaf al-Abawānī. The signature of this potter does not appear anywhere on the basin, however.

[283]Compare with Allan, *Islamic Metalwork*, 107, cat. #24, and E. Baer, *Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art* (New York, 1983), 280, Fig. 227a.

[284]Ayalon, ″Names, Titles, and ′Niṣbas,′″ 217.

[285]A *dāl* can easily be made a *jīm* by the extension of the final line of the letter. The *ʻayn* may have simply been left out.

[286]The honorific ″ʻIzz al-Dīn″ was usually associated with the personal name Aybak in the early Mamluk period (Ayalon, ″Names, Titles, and ′Niṣbas,′″ 194).

[287]This is more plausible—the *jīm* in Turkish names was transliterated a variety of ways by Arabic-speaking scribes.

walī of Cairo and worked closely with him on projects of urban development.[288] His collaboration with the *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* ″al-Nashw″ in collecting Mamluk fines led to his dismissal from this post and banishment to Syria.[289] Aydakīn died in 1339–40.[290]

There were other Mamluks by the name of Aydakīn who appear in the Arabic sources in the Circassian period.[291] However, given the parallels with fourteenth-century damascened basins from Iran and the phraseology of the inscription, the vessel and its patron should probably be dated to the fourteenth century. The identification of the patron with a mamluk of Aydakīn al-Uzkūshī is a plausible, however unprovable, suggestion.

The amirs of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad were not the only patrons of large sgraffito vessels. Occasionally a vessel was dedicated to a judge (*qāḍī*) or a judge′s son, according to the inscription (Fig. 15). One large rim fragment in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto carries duplicate inscriptions on its interior and exterior faces:

> ʻumila bi-rasm al-qāḍī al-ajall al-makh[dūm] . . .
>
> [Among the things made (on order) for the qadi, the most magnificent, the (well-served) . . .]

The sherd comes from the excavations at Fustat.[292] Its inscription is a generic dedication to an unnamed judge and honors him with the same military epithets as an amir or amir′s son. Not enough of the sherd remains to determine whether or not a blazon was included.

The same formula appears on a surface find (fragments of a large hemispherical bowl) from an archaeological site at Tod, Upper Egypt. The qadi is unnamed, as on the rim sherd in Toronto. The absence of a higher title, such as *qāḍī al-quḍāh* or *qāḍī al-ʻaskar* indicates the lower status of the judge.[293]

Qadis are mentioned in the dedicatory inscriptions of other media. The grandson of a prominent Egyptian judge is the recipient of one damascened brass basin studied by Mayer. The inscription is similar to the ROM sherd in its application of

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[288]Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir*, 194.

[289]Levanoni, *A Turning Point*, 73–74.

[290]Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 194, n. 2.

[291]Evidence that the ″Aydaki″ of the inscription can be identified with a Mamluk of Qaytbāy is not convincing (*Islamic Art in Egypt*, [Cairo, 1969], 106).

[292]ROM #909.43.16, Fustat study collection. The rim is probably a fragment of a large, carinated bowl.

[293]Découbert and Gayraud, ″Une céramique d′époque mamelouke trouvée à Tod,″ 98.



Figure 15. Rim sherd of a Phase II Egyptian Mamluk sgraffito bowl, inscription refers to a judge, late 14th century, Fustat

military honorifics for a civilian patron.[294] A different set of epithets appears on a penbox dedicated to the qadi Burhānī. In this instance the patron is described in terms more appropriate for a member of the civilian, rather than the military, elite.[295]

Other members of the urban religious establishment are mentioned in sgraffito inscriptions. A hemispherical bowl of unknown provenance in the Kuwait National Museum is dedicated to a *shaykh Yāsīn,* who was apparently the head of a Sufi establishment.[296] Its dimensions (D 22.5 cm, H 11.3 cm) compare with those of the Tod bowl (D 24 cm, H 13 cm) and other similarly inscribed, hemispherical bowls from Fustat[297] and Jebel Adda (Nubia).[298] The layout of the decoration on the bowl conforms to a standard type: a wide internal register just below the rim frames either a long inscription or short, generic, honorific phrases (*al-a'azz, al-ajall,* for example) separated one from the other by ″Norman shields.″ The tondo motifs consist of a single figure (like a common bird or eagle), genuine blazon, or, more rarely, geometric interlace design. Monolithic hemispherical bowls are a distinct subgroup of Mamluk sgraffito and are found throughout Egypt. The widespread use of generic inscriptions (or explicit dedications to a civilian official), ″Norman shields,″ and decorative tondo circle devices reflects the lower social status of the consumers of this group, as compared to those of the carinated bowls (″military chalices″) and earthenware basins.

A complex relationship existed between the military elite (the Mamluks) and the civilian elite (the merchants and the ulama).[299] The daily life of civilians was organized by legal, financial, and educational institutions funded by private patrons

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[294]Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry,* 45. Honorific titles include *al-'ālī al-mawlawī* (His High Excellency), *al-maqarr* (the established), and *al-makhdūmī* (the well-served).

[295]Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry,* 123. The patron is described as ″*al-wāthiq bi-al-malik al-ḥaqq al-mubīn,*″ or ″the one who trusts in the king, the clear truth.″

[296]LNS #7c ('Abd al-Rāziq, ″Le sgraffito de l'Égypte,″ 1–2, cat. #1).

[297]See 'Abd al-Rāziq, ″Le sgraffito de l'Égypte,″ Pl. X (D 23 cm, H?; another D 22 cm, H 10.6 cm)—incomplete inscriptions; Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 185, cat. #93 (by purchase—D 21.6 cm, H 13.1 cm)—to an unnamed amir; Scanlon, ″Some Mamluk Shapes,″ 119, Fig. 1 and 121, Fig. 2 (D range 17–20 cm, H range 6–12 cm)—many without inscriptions, those with inscriptions seem to be short, generic phrases (as below) framed by ″Norman shields.″

[298]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 186, cat. #94 (monumental proportions—D 34.5 cm, H 24.5 cm)—illegible; unpublished: ROM (Nubia) inv. #L973.24.909 (D 29.7 cm, H 12.9 cm)—generic inscription to unknown patron (*al-a'azz, al-ajall*—″the most excellent, the most magnificent″).

[299]A discussion of this complicated subject is beyond the scope of this article. The reader should consult the following sources for detailed analysis of Mamluk-ulama relations: Lapidus, *Muslim Cities;* Petry, *The Civilian Elite;* Ayalon, ″Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army,″ *BSOAS* 16 (1954); and Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1.

and put under the jurisdiction of members of the ulama, many of whom were chosen by the state. These scholars further supported the Mamluks by working in the state administration and acting as the sultan's spokesmen on the local level. There was a degree of social mobility inherent to this system. A civilian with enough education and ambition could, if he gained the favor of an amir or the sultan, rise to a position of wealth and influence in the Mamluk bureaucracy. This sort of mutually-beneficial patronage "reinforce[d] the bonds between the elites."[300]

The qadis, in particular, acquired positions of some power under Mamluk patronage. On a local level, the qadis occupied some of the most prominent positions in education and the courts as teachers and directors, head preachers and shaykhs, *waqf* overseers, and judges. They were often appointed by the sultan to the upper levels of the state bureaucracy as *kātib al-sirr, nāẓir al-khāṣṣ, nāẓir al-jaysh,* and *wazīr*.[301] In Ayalon's list of army-related offices, only one is said to have been held by a member of the religious establishment—the *qāḍī al-ʿaskar*. Four "army judges" were appointed to accompany the army during expeditions and keep court on behalf of the soldiers while they were on campaign.[302]

Some civilian officials were entitled to honorific names.[303] These often take the form of titles (the *laqab*) familiar from dedicatory inscriptions, like "Sharaf al-Dīn" or "ʿIzz al-Dīn." The inscription on the ROM sherd, as well as dedications to qadis on other pieces of art, reflect the high status of the Muslim judge in the Mamluk society and his position within the military bureaucracy. Civilian patronage of the arts may have been more considerable than it appears at first. The adoption of honorific titles in dedicatory inscriptions may not necessarily indicate that the patron was a Mamluk or even a member of the *ḥalqah,* particularly if the dedication is generic, in other words the patron is not specifically named. The patron in this case could be either a military officer or a high-ranking civilian official.

The majority of dedicatory inscriptions in sgraffito make no specific mention of the patron. The formulae below, or variants of them, are among the most common:

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[300]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 138.

[301]Ibid., 136–37. The responsibilities of the *wazīr* changed over time. In the early Mamluk period it was the most important office in the fiscal administration (Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages,* 40). Under Barqūq the office was reduced to management of the army's meat supplies (Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army," 61).

[302]Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army," 67.

[303]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 128 and 266–67, n. 7. Merchants, market inspectors, judges, and a variety of craftsmen held honorific titles and were known by such in the Arabic biographical dictionaries.

> mimmā ʻumila bi-rasm al-aʻazz, al-ajall, al-muḥtaram, al-makhdūm . . .
>
> [Among the things made (on order) for the most excellent, the most magnificent, the honored, the well-served . . ."[304]]
>
> al-amīr al-ajall al-muḥtaram.
>
> [The most excellent and honored amir]
>
> mimmā ʻumila bi-rasm al-dār al-mawlawīyah—adāma ʻizzuhā bi-biqā' mulkihā.
>
> [Among the things made (on order) for the sovereign house. May its glory continue in preserving its sovereignty.[305]]

The title "amir" is often absent from generic inscriptions. In fact, there is otherwise no indication that these vessels were produced for military clientele or dignitaries of any sort. The omission of titles from inscriptions on the part of the potter was certainly deliberate. In the case of vessels decorated with blazons, the combination of a generic dedication with an amiral symbol may indicate that the piece was made ahead of time for amirs promoted to this military office (Isl. Mus. #9277).[306] The "Norman" shield (a round-topped, pointed-bottom emblem with an empty field) often take the place of official amiral blazons, particularly in generic wall inscriptions (Isl. Mus. #4673). In the absence of a true blazon or any reference to an amir in the inscription, one can assume the vessel was sold to the general public in the city bazaars. Products targeting both groups of consumers were mass-produced and sold publicly. The poor quality of potting, incision, transcription, and coloring of many "generic" pieces such as these reinforce these assumptions.[307]

By the end of the fourteenth century many of the common people had the

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[304]The inscription is broken at this point but apparently leads directly into al-Abawānī's signature—Isl. Mus. #14754, published in ʻAbd al-Rāziq, "Le sgraffito de l'Égypte," Pl. VII, C. This is a ceramic imitation of an inlaid metal tray stand. Compare to a fourteenth-century Mamluk silver and gold inlaid cast brass stand in Allan, *Islamic Metalwork,* 97 (cat. #19).

[305]Isl. Mus. #9277. This is the interior inscription. The exterior carries the signature of Sharaf al-Abawānī. Although the inscription is generic, the polo master's blazon occupies the tondo. The rim is strongly beveled inwards, in Cypriot style.

[306]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 149.

[307]For an analysis of "official" inscriptions on Ayyubid glasswork, see Redford, "Ayyubid Glass from Samsat Turkey."

material means to purchase goods previously accessible only to the upper classes.[308] Furthermore, they adopted customs of the elite: their dress, their ways of socializing, and their tastes in art. With the breakdown of Mamluk social structure in the second half of the fourteenth century, there was a broadening in artistic patronage. Sgraffito vessels that carry generic, non-military dedications and are of a poorer quality than ″official″ military chalices and bowls may have been produced sometime after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s death (641/1341). The distribution of poor-quality, inscribed sgraffito in Nubia may also represent imitation of Cairo elite culture by smaller courts in the south.[309]

While sgraffito vessels could be dedicated to either military or civilian dignitaries, it seems that they were never produced specifically for the sultan. Neither sultanic titles nor the personal names of a sultan have appeared on vessels or sherds that I have seen or which have been published.[310] This pattern of patronage probably reflects on the status of glazed earthenware in Mamluk society. Although Arabic inscriptions, and particularly military titles, were prestigious, ceramics decorated in this fashion were of lower commercial value than similarly inscribed damascened brasses and bronzes and enameled glass.[311] The sultan could afford more expensive ways of promoting his name than through inscriptions on common ceramics. Vessels of precious metals, public architecture, and textiles were avenues of self-expression generally closed to patrons of non-elite status. This is especially true of Mamluk silks and robes of honor, the production of which, while not truly a state monopoly, was to some extent controlled by the sultan and the Mamluk elite.[312] A comparison of the ways in which inscriptions were used on Mamluk pottery and textiles is instructive of these different levels of patronage.[313]

The most significant difference between ceramic and textile inscriptions lies

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[308] Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History,* 113.

[309] The ceramic material from the UNESCO salvage excavations at Jebel Adda, Nubia remains unpublished.

[310] The large sgraffito chalice in the Islamic Museum in Cairo with Kitbughā′s name is one exception. However, the piece was probably produced for him when he was still amir. The titles used in the dedication are typical honorifics for amirs (Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 66). The inscriptions found on royal silks, as below, are more common for sultanic commissions.

[311] Copper wares were also preferred to earthenwares. The higher value of copper vessels is reflected in trousseau lists of the Fatimid period (Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 4, App. D). Ceramics are usually not included in the trousseau (p. 106).

[312] Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 60.

[313] For one such analysis of Mamluk textiles and their inscriptions, see B. J. Walker, ″The Social Implications of Textile Development in Fourteenth-Century Egypt,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 4 (2000): 167–217.

in the kind of patrons named.[314] Sgraffito wares were generally produced for a lower class of amirs, while silks were manufactured for and distributed by the sultan. Access to wealth was the determining factor in these consumer patterns. In terms of housewares, the sultan and his top amirs could have afforded silver and gold-inlaid bronze and brass basins and candlesticks and finely enameled glass beakers and chalices. The less affluent amirs and urban dignitaries would have, instead, commissioned earthenware vessels (often oversized), inscribed with their names and titles. The inscriptions ″personalized″ housewares for the patron, serving a purpose similar to the *ṭirāz* borders of textiles.[315]

Comparisons can also be made between the generic court inscriptions of pottery and textiles. Dedications to ″the sultan″ (otherwise unnamed) or ″al-Malik al-Nāṣir″ (a title used by a number of Mamluk sultans[316]) on silks ensured the propriety of the garment for the regimes to follow. Similarly, ceramic inscriptions praising unnamed amirs were appropriate for a broad market and guaranteed greater sales. The expansion of ceremonials necessitating the distribution of robes of honor and the process of easy promotion to amirships under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad may account for the large demand for these kinds of goods.

On the other hand, unofficial inscriptions take a different form in Mamluk sgraffito and textiles. Poetry, proverbs, and congenial wishes for prosperity and happiness have been part of the decorative vocabulary of ceramics, textiles, and metalworking since the early Islamic period. Mamluk textiles continue this tradition; Mamluk sgraffito does not. Generic inscriptions on sgraffito wares duplicate the formal honorific dedications to amirs and high officials common to inlaid metalwork and enameled glass. The placement of these inscriptions in visible areas (like the wide register below the rim on the exterior of a vessel) and their official format are clear indications that the objects were meant to be seen in public places. Therefore, generic inscriptions in sgraffito are a development of official art, rather than popular art. Likewise, sgraffito wares belong to the official and public realm of Mamluk art. The mass-production of these for the general public then reflects, to some degree, on social developments related to the Mamluk elite.

Inscriptions were widely recognized symbols of sovereignty and occupied an

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[314]Inscriptional registers are just one mode of decoration that potters may have borrowed from the design of textiles. The influence of rug fringes on the margin arcades of sgraffito registers has been discussed above. For other studies on the influence of textiles on ceramics see L. W. Mackie, ″Toward an Understanding of Mamluk Silks,″ 143–44, and L. Golombek, ″The Draped Universe of Islam.″

[315]The phrase ″textile mentality″ was coined in L. Golombek and V. Gervers, ″Tiraz Fabrics in the Royal Ontario Museum,″ in *Studies in Textile History in Memory of Harold B. Burnham,* ed. V. Gervers (Toronto, 1977), 82–125.

[316]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 233.

important position in the visual world of medieval Islam. Architectural inscriptions, although incomprehensible to the many illiterate of medieval society, publicly expressed the power and authority of the patron. Objects decorated with inscriptions were held in high esteem because they represented wealth and status. It was not necessary for the inscriptions to be legible, though. Surface decoration consisting of abstract Kufic letters,[317] abbreviated words,[318] and pseudo-epigraphic registers[319] was quite common in medieval ceramics, metalwork, and textiles. The decorative quality and symbolic value of the Arabic script, in this sense, were more important than the meaning of the inscription. Ibn Khaldūn informs us that textiles with the sultan′s name lent prestige to the person of lower rank on whom the garment was bestowed.[320] Inscriptions on objects were socially meaningful. Likewise, the symbolic effect of inscriptions on Mamluk pottery should not be underestimated. The appearance of an inscription (especially if it was accompanied by a blazon) increased the status of both object and owner, regardless of the quality of the vessel it was decorating.

The Mamluk epigraphic style of decoration, established under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, gradually replaced figural decoration in all media.[321] A variety of factors may have contributed to this development: growing religious orthodoxy, a conscious break with Mediterranean styles associated with the Crusaders, the influence of contemporary metalwork,[322] or simply the changing tastes of the Mamluk elite.[323] The most important catalysts in this stylistic development, however,

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[317]Rim registers of repeated pseudo-Kufic letters were quite common in metalwork in ceramics produced in both the Islamic and Byzantine worlds of the twelfth century. See the characteristic beveled uprights of false Kufic letters in Byzantine sgraffito from Corinth (C. H. Morgan, *Corinth: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Vol. XI: The Byzantine Pottery* [Cambridge, MA, 1942], Pls. xliv.e, xlviii.b, and xl.a, b).

[318]*Al-sulṭān* was often abbreviated to one or two letters in Mamluk textiles (Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 236). Single and double-letter characters represent the phrases *li-ṣāḥibihi* and *al-yumn* in Samanid ceramics and continues in the painted pottery of eleventh-century Afghanistan (J. C. Gardin, *Lashkari Bazar: Les trouvailles, Vol. II: Céramique et monnaies de Lashkari Bazar et de Bust* [Paris, 1963], 60, n. 6).

[319]Possibly because of its much shorter production time, pottery is more prone to decoration in rapidly executed (and often illegible) inscriptions than other media. For examples from early thirteenth-century Bamiyan see J. C. Gardin, ″Poteries de Bamiyan,″ *Ars Orientalis* 2 (1957): 231, Fig. 2; for Mamluk Egypt see Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 186–87, cat. #94.

[320]L. W. Mackie, ″Increase the Prestige,″ *Arts of Asia* 26 (1996): 84.

[321]Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 90.

[322]Inlaid brasses produced in fourteenth-century Fars are decorated in large *thulūth* inscriptions dedicated to unnamed dignitaries (Ward, *Islamic Metalwork,* 99–100).

[323]Mamluk blazons and inscriptions containing the titles associated with amiral offices replaced the figural designs popular with Mosul metalworkers (Ward, *Islamic Metalwork,* 111 and 113).

may have been the changes in Mamluk administrative, fiscal, and social policies initiated by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Sgraffito inscriptions are particularly illustrative of Mamluk society during and following his third reign. The upward mobility of the *awlād al-nās* is reflected in inscriptions dedicated to sons of amirs. The rapid promotion of Mamluks to amirships is paralleled in the proliferation of vessels inscribed with dedications to unnamed amirs. The mass-production of poorer quality vessels with blanket dedications may be related to the rise of the ″rank-and-file″ soldiers and non-elite members of the civilian population. These formerly marginalized groups became familiar with the epigraphic art of the elite through official ceremonies. The role of Mamluk ceremonial in popularizing inscribed objects, such as textiles and ceramics, is the focus of the following section.

Function

Of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s ambitious building program on the Cairo Citadel, only his Congregational Mosque remains.[324] Contemporary sources on other constructions, no longer standing—the Qaṣr al-Ablaq (built in 1313–14) and the Great Īwān (final rebuilding by al-Nāṣir in 1333)—emphasize the relationship between al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s monumentalization of the Citadel during his third reign and the complicated rituals which were staged in them.[325] The Great Īwān, the ceremonial hall *par excellence,* served as al-Nāṣir′s *dār al-ʻadl* (court of justice). It was here that public hearings with the sultan took place and the processional route through the lower city ended. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad rebuilt the original structure in 1333 on a much larger scale, presumably to accommodate the increasing elaboration of important public events, such as the investiture and the reception of foreign dignitaries.[326] The ceremonies associated with the monumental Qaṣr al-Ablaq (″Striped Palace″) were semi-private. The morning *asmiṭah* (banquets)

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[324]Tradition claims that Muḥammad ʻAlī (viceroy of Egypt and Pasha, 1805–188) cleared most of the Citadel platform of earlier Mamluk constructions for his own mosque and military barracks. Nevertheless, the remains of a series of vaults flanking an enclosure wall south of Muḥammad ʻAlī′s mosque have been identified as the subterranean supporting structures of the Qaṣr al-Ablaq (Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo,* 34–36). Archaeological work on the Citadel in the 1980s has uncovered the remains of further buildings, the identification of which is still undetermined (M. al-Ḥadīdī and F. ʻAbd al-ʻAlīm, ″Aʻmāl Tarmīm al-Qaṣr al-Ablaq bi-Qalʻat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn,″ *ʻĀlam al-Binā'* 26 (1986): 4–16; archaeological report reviewed in Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo,* 36).

[325]For a reconstruction of the ceremonies held in these two structures consult Doris Behrens-Abouseif, ″The Citadel of Cairo: Stage for Mamluk Ceremonial,″ *Annales Islamologiques* 24 (1988): 35–51; Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo,* Ch. 6; and J. S. Nielsen, *Secular Justice in an Islamic State: Maẓālim Under the Baḥrī Mamlūks 662/1264–789/1387* (Istanbul, 1985).

[326]Rabbat suggests that developments in court ceremonial and processions early in al-Nāṣir′s reign may also have necessitated the first reconstruction in 1311, which replaced al-Ashraf Khalīl′s earlier *īwān* (Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo,* 193).

and *khidmah* (royal audience) held here were restricted to the highest-ranking officials and the *khāṣṣakīyah.*[327]

The effect of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's elaboration of Mamluk ceremonial was the militarization of state functions. This is particularly evident in the area of judicial administration. The *maẓālim* sessions, initiated by Nūr al-Dīn in the twelfth century, were public hearings where civilians could demand redress from wrongs suffered at the hands of government officials. The convergence of these hearings with the ceremonial, twice-weekly *khidmah* and the transfer of both functions to the Īwān Kabīr transformed both events into a public display of the sultanate and government authority.[328] It was a powerful legitimizing tool that the sultan controlled for his own benefit. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, furthermore, regularized the *khidmah,* which convened on Mondays and Thursdays, and ritualized the parades *(mawākib)* and banquets *(asmiṭah)* which preceded and followed the royal audience, respectively.

According to Nielsen, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad completed the process of "militarization" of the *maẓālim* sessions which took place in the *dār al-ʿadl,* now situated in the Citadel's Īwān Kabīr. Al-ʿUmarī *(Masālik al-Abṣār)* describes in detail the seating arrangement of the *maẓālim* sessions: the sultan was flanked by the four *qāḍī al-quḍāh* and his vizier, surrounded from behind by his top military officers, preceded on each side by the most important administrative officers *(wakīl bayt al-māl, nāẓir al-ḥisbah, kātib al-sirr, nāẓir al-jaysh,* and *kuttāb al-dast),* and the amirs of the royal council remained standing beyond this circle. A protocol for seating was maintained for the banquets, as well; likewise, the line-up of officers who took part twice weekly in the military parades (held before the *khidmah*) reflected the current social and professional hierarchy within the Mamluk elite. In fact, Nielsen argues that such seating/standing arrangements were designed to recreate this hierarchy for public view, yet another method of legitimization with highly political overtones.[329]

It was the participation of the Mamluk military elite in the *maẓālim* sessions that "militarized" the ceremonial events that accompanied them. Nielsen explains this phenomenon:

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[327]Ibid., 201.

[328]Nielsen, *Secular Justice,* 53.

[329]Ibid., 56. N. Rabbat, "Mamluk Throne Halls: *Qubba* or *Īwān*?," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 201–18, also addresses the relationship between the ceremonialization of the *dār al-ʿadl* sessions and the architectural history of the Īwān Kabīr. For the general history of the term "īwān" see N. Rabbat, "Al-Īwān: Maʿnāhu al-Farāghī wa-Madlūluhu al-Tadhkarī," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 49 (1997): 249–67.

> The involvement of the Mamluk military officers in the *khidma* inevitably led to their involvement in the *maẓālim* session when the two were combined in Dār al-ʻAdl. . . . [U]nder the Mamluks the amirs [for the first time] had a permanent place [in the Dār al-ʻAdl session]. This change is underlined by the Mamluk predilection towards appointing military officers to government posts, such as the vizierate, which had previously been filled by civilians.[330]

Ironically, it is at this time, the early fourteenth century, which one can, in one sense, speak of a ″demilitarization″ of the Mamluk state. Recruitment and training of mamluks continued, it is true, but after the victories at ʻAyn Jālūt (1261) and Acre (1291), the borders of the Mamluk state were, for the time being, secure against foreign threat. However, the winding down of military activity abroad was accompanied by a ″militarization″ of ceremonial and culture. The arts of the period are characterized by the military quality of their decoration. What initially appears as an anomaly makes sense if one considers the methods, and purpose, of legitimization of power in the Mamluk sultanate. From the inception of the Mamluk state, the sultans presented themselves as the representatives and defenders of Islam in the eastern Mediterranean and the Hijaz. Their initiatives against the Crusader States and the Mongols established them as leaders of jihad, one requirement of legitimate secular rule as defined by the political thought of the day. The Mamluk sultans, moreover, annually provided the embroidered cover for the Ka'bah in Mecca (the *kiswah*), had their names mentioned in the *khuṭbah,* and provided financial and organizational support for the ulama—all of which were traditional methods of legitimizing rule in medieval Islam.

With military threats removed, at least for the time being, the sultans were able to focus their energies and resources into transforming their image at home. They created new visual images, meant to solidify and legitimize their regimes. Among these were the development of ceremonial with military themes and the ″militarized″ objects that went with them. The militarization of Mamluk art can, in part, be related to this phenomenon.[331]

The precise origins of the ceremonies associated with the Īwān Kabīr and the Qaṣr al-Ablaq are obscure. Mamluk sources, as related in al-Maqrīzī, al-Qalqashandī, and Ibn al-ʻAbbās′ manual for kings, credit the Persians for various

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[330]Nielsen, *Secular Justice,* 61.

[331]For a complementary view on the militarization of the early Mamluk state consult N. Rabbat, ″The ′Militarization′ of Architectural Expression in the Medieval Middle East (11th–14th Century): An Outline,″ *Al-ʻUṣūr al-Wusṭá* 6 no. 1 (1994): 4–6.

aspects of not only ceremonial but also architecture.[332] The Il Khanid court represented the ″imperial ideal″ in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, most notably in the areas of ceremonial and state-sponsored art.[333] Two Mongol practices, the ritual drinking of *qumiz* (a fermented and sweetened mare′s milk) and the organization of state-sponsored banquets, were shared by the Mamluk court. Formalized drinking and eating at court were easily translated into a Mamluk context, where they strengthened the bonds of *khushdāshīyah.*[334] Both the protocol and dress adopted for these occasions were incorporated into Egyptian court practice.[335] As for the arts, there are numerous examples of Il Khanid influence in the fourteenth century: the decorative use of faience on minarets (Amir Aytamish′s village mosque, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s Citadel mosque, Amir Qawṣūn′s mosque in Cairo);[336] the layout and iconography of Sultan Ḥasan′s mosque-madrasah complex at the base of the Citadel and the so-called ″Sulṭānīyah″ complex in the Southern Qarafah;[337] the stucco mihrab of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s madrasah on the Bayn al-Qaṣrayn; large Qurans and ″bestiaries″;[338] ceramics (the so-called ″Sultanabad ware″);[339] and large inlaid jugs and ewers with military inscriptions.[340] The aesthetic and overall visual impact of Mongol and Mamluks arts of this

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[332]Behrens-Abouseif, ″The Citadel of Cairo,″ 30.

[333]Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250–1800* (New Haven, 1994), 81; S. Blair, ″The Mongol Capital of Sultaniyya, ′The Imperial′,″ *Iran* 24 (1986): 139–51. The method of transmission of Mongol art to Mamluk territories is some matter of debate. Rogers rejects the role of the *wāfidīyah,* exchange of emissaries, ethnic commonality, and migrant artists from Persia, and emphasizes instead the impact of Persian imports (Rogers, ″Evidence for Mamluk-Mongol Relations″). He identifies two phases of Il Khanid artistic influence in Egypt: isolated points of contact (1260–1320) and the adoption of Mongol chinoiserie (1320s on).

[334]For references to Mongol ceremonies in Mamluk-period sources, see L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume* (Geneva, 1952).

[335]Mayer, *Mamluk Costume* (textiles); Rogers, ″Evidence for Mamluk-Mongol Relations,″ and Rice, ″Inlaid Brasses,″ 283–326 (for the depiction of Mongol-style dress in Mamluk inlaid basins), describe the kinds of Mongol garments adopted by the Mamluks at court.

[336]Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo,* 265–66; Rogers, ″Evidence for Mamluk-Mongol Relations,″ 386–87; and M. Meinecke, ″Die mamlukischen Fayencemosiakdekorationen: eine Werkstätte aus Tabrīz in Kairo (1330–1350),″ *Kunst des Orient* 11 (1976–77): 85–144.

[337]Blair and Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam,* 84; Blair, ″The Mongol Capital of Sultaniyya,″ 148.

[338]R. Hillenbrand, ″Mamluk and Ilkhanid Bestiaries: Convention and Experiment,″ *Ars Orientalis* 20 (1990): 149–87; Rogers, ″Evidence for Mamluk-Mongol Relations.″

[339]Rogers, ″Evidence for Mamluk-Mongol Relations,″ 397. The ware is defined and illustrated in Lane, *Early Islamic Pottery*.

[340]Blair, ″Artists and Patronage.″

period are the same: they are monumental in size, colorful, and meant for ostentatious display.

As regards the role of such ceremonies in Egyptian society, more suggestive comparisons may be made with Fatimid customs, upon which many aspects of both public and semi-private ceremony were based.[341] Cairo's Citadel under al-Nāṣir has been described as a stage for the elaborate ceremonials that he developed.[342] Similarly, in her recent work on Fatimid ceremonies, Paula Sanders has described Fatimid Cairo as a "ritual city" and has emphasized how public processions and banquets played against the backdrop of Cairo's urban landscape contributed to the city's "urbanness." [343] Fatimid ceremonies, such as the biweekly audience, the Opening of the Khalīj, urban processions, and official banquets, were adopted by the Mamluks, modified, and elaborated, and many were moved from the Bayn al-Qaṣrayn (the Fatimid center) to the architectural "stage" built for them on the Citadel. By moving parades and sultanic audiences, for instance, to the Citadel, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was able to claim the Fatimids' symbolic heritage as his own.[344]

"Insignia of sovereignty" associated with the Fatimid court—the throne, parasol, flags and banners—can also be found in Mamluk processions and receptions.[345] The lengthy, detailed descriptions of Fatimid banquets, processions, and formal audiences in which historians like al-Maqrīzī and al-Qalqashandī indulge illustrate their interest in the kinds of ceremonies that were the most important in their own day.[346] In these ways, it can be argued, the Mamluks borrowed from the visual vocabulary of Fatimid sovereignty as a way of legitimizing their rule locally.

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341 For a different view, see R. S. Humphreys, "The Expressive Intent of the Mamluk Architecture of Cairo: A Preliminary Essay," *Studia Islamica* 35 (1972): 86–87, where the "ideology of kingship" symbolized in Mamluk ceremonial is contrasted with the Fatimids' public symbols of universal monarchy.

342 Behrens-Abouseif, "The Citadel of Cairo," 66.

343 Paula Sanders, *Ritual, Politics, and the City in Fatimid Egypt* (New York, 1994). See also Jonathan Katz's review of her book in *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 33 (1996): 212–13.

344 Similarly, Rabbat argues that some architectural developments in the early fourteenth century "dissociat[ed] the Mamluk ceremonial and official image from that of the Fatimids" (Rabbat, "Mamluk Throne Halls," 208).

345 Behrens-Abouseif, "The Citadel of Cairo," 30–31.

346 It is significant, in this respect, that al-Maqrīzī documents the organization of the royal kitchen under the sultans al-Ashraf Khalīl and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* [Bulaq, 1853], 2:230–31) with the same relish for detail on expense as in his descriptions of Fatimid banquets for ʿĪd al-Fiṭr (ibid., 1:387; compare al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá,* 3:523–24).

These symbols and ceremonies were familiar to Egyptians and accepted by them.

Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad developed complex rituals around these Mongol, Ayyubid, and Fatimid customs.[347] The biweekly audience in the *dār al-ʿadl* (practiced by both the Fatimids and Ayyubids) was moved to the monumental Īwān al-Kabīr on the Citadel. The Qaṣr al-Ablaq was the scene of the *khidmah* (royal audience or review of mamluks/service ceremony); audiences were followed by large, formal banquets where either the Mamluk elite (in the mornings) or the army as a whole (for afternoon sessions) attended and where, as always, stringent rules regarding seating, serving, and eating were observed.[348] The biweekly polo games, held initially at the Hippodrome,[349] and formalized hunting excursions were innovations of al-Nāṣir and were accompanied by ceremonial extravagance in gift-giving, processions, and banquets. Over the course of the Mamluk period, processions began to take on an increasing importance and were used to mark occasions as diverse as major holidays (the ʿĪds, plenitude ceremony, the *maḥmal* procession),[350] coronations, military victories, hunting excursions,[351] and the return of the sultan or an important amir from abroad.[352]

Processions and banquets were rare occasions for the Mamluks to come into contact with the local populace and were taken full advantage of by the sultan as a way of popularizing his rule.[353] The development of ceremonial during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad´s third reign was, furthermore, another aspect of his policies geared

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[347]Al-ʿUmarī (*Masālik* and *Al-Taʿrīf*) is the principle source on ceremonial under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad´s reign. As al-Nāṣir´s *kātib al-sirr* in Syria, al-ʿUmarī was personally familiar with the organization of festivals and the daily routines of the court. Both al-Maqrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ* and *Sulūk*) and al-Qalqashandī *(Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá)* rely heavily on al-ʿUmarī for their information on Mamluk customs (Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo,* 308). They do not differentiate between the Bahri and Burji periods, however, and do not account for developments in ceremonial over the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Two secondary studies on Mamluk architecture and the role it played in ceremonial—Behrens-Abouseif, ″The Citadel of Cairo,″ and Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo*—document the most important developments, particularly the ways in which Mamluk ritual was simplified and curtailed by the Circassian sultans. Other sources consulted for the present study include Stowasser, ″Manner and Customs,″ and B. Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo* (Cambridge, 1993).

[348]A description of dining etiquette can be found in Ibn al-ʿAbbās´ manual for kings, *Atar al-Uwwal* (Behrens-Abouseif, ″The Citadel of Cairo,″ 44–45).

[349]The polo games were moved to the *ḥawsh* (animal pens) of the Citadel by the Circassian Mamluks (Behrens-Abouseif, ″The Citadel of Cairo,″ 65).

[350]Shoshan, *Popular Culture,* describes several of these events.

[351]Stowasser, ″Manner and Customs,″ 18.

[352]Shoshan, *Popular Culture,* 74.

[353]Popular support for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad´s regime was exhibited in mob riots during the usurpation of Baybars al-Jāshankīr (609–10/1309–10) (Shoshan, *Popular Culture,* 52–54).

towards consolidating his power vis-à-vis the factious mamluk system which had dethroned him two times previously. The daily repetition of rituals designed to demonstrate the exalted status of the sultan over the other mamluks reinforced the Mamluk class structure while emphasizing his sovereignty in terms derived from Fatimid symbols of authority.

Drinking parties and formal banquets (both public and semi-private) were focuses of Mamluk ceremonial. To what degree vessels, and particularly ceramic vessels, played a visible role in these is suggested in references to banquets found in the Arabic sources and illustrations of the same in metalworking and manuscript painting. These vignettes of Mamluk daily life are few and restricted in detail.[354] However they are suggestive of a specialization in vessel form and decoration that relates to both their ceremonial use and the Mamluk social hierarchy.

The following section serves two purposes. First, references to vessel shape, decoration, and use will be documented and compared to the typology of sgraffito set forth earlier in this paper. Second, the visibility of the *khāṣṣakīyah* in Mamluk banquets and processions is analyzed and related to characteristics of sgraffito decoration in the fourteenth century. It is argued that the development of sgraffito in Egypt is related to general developments in Mamluk ceremonial introduced by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and continued by his successors.

The term most often applied to banquets in the Arabic sources is *asmiṭah* (singular *simāṭ*).[355] Later historians, such as Ibn Iyās (d. ca. 1524), use the term *walīm* (pl. *walā'im*) interchangeably with *simāṭ*. In Ibn Iyās they appear in the common phrase *wa-fīhi walīmat/asmiṭat ḥaflatin, wa-kāna yawman mashhūdan* ("and in that year was a *dinner party*, and it was a notable day").[356] *Khiwān* is less common: a more formal kind of banquet may be intended in this case.[357] The

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[354]Illustrations from al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt* often include scenes from banquets and dinner parties. See D. Haldane, "Scenes of Daily Life from Mamluk Miniatures," in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades,* ed. P. M. Holt (Warminster, 1977), 85, Fig. 3 for a banquet at a merchant's wedding (fourteenth century, Syrian). D. Hill, *The Book of Knowledge of Ingenious Mechanical Devices* (Dordrecht, Holland, 1971), 99, Fig. 82 (fifteenth century) and 219, Pl. 13 (fourteenth century) reproduce drinking sessions from Badī' al-Zamān al-Jazarī's *Kitāb fī Ma'rifat al-Ḥiyal al-Handasīyah.*

[355]In Fatimid usage it refers to the place where food is eaten, often a temporary construction built of wood or a long, varnished wood table (al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:387).

[356]Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās, *Kitāb Tārīkh Miṣr,* ed. M. Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden and Cairo, 1975–84), vol. 3 has many examples. See especially p. 468, ll. 18–19.

[357]Humphreys, "The Expressive Intent," 87. In al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá,* 4:56, ll. 1–7, there seems to be slight distinction between *khiwān* as a banquet held on a special occasion and *simāṭ,* one of the daily meals attended by the mamluks at the Citadel. Sayyid, the editor of the 1985 edition of *Masālik al-Abṣār,* equates al-Qalqashandī's *khiwān* with al-'Umarī's *simāṭ;* in this case, both indicate the sultan's table (al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār,* 40, n. 3).

chronicles and biographies are full of references to banquets of all kinds, but details are often lacking. The occasion for the banquet, however, is usually noted. Banquets could mark a variety of events, such as weddings, national holidays, procession-days, and the completion of a building project or literary work,[358] as well as the five daily group meals that the mamluks attended.[359] The pattern of extravagance established by the sultan was followed by his governors,[360] lesser amirs,[361] and even the civilian elite. The ulama were often invited to sultanic and amiral banquets during special events.[362] They, in turn, held their own banquets, which were attended by other religious scholars, government officials, and members of the court.[363] In this way, civilian Cairo became acquainted with the expensive food, drink, and serving vessels used by the court in the Citadel.

Other information provided by the contemporary historians relates to the expense of the banquet, such as the quantity of chicken consumed, the measure of saffron used in food preparation, and the amount of money spent on food and drink. Al-Maqrīzī is particularly interested in the minutia of pocketbook and kitchen. His descriptions of Fatimid banquets, about which he borrows heavily from earlier

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[358]While amirs marked the completion of a palace in this way in the fourteenth century, this practice becomes more common for sultans, amirs, and the civilian elite in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, according to the numerous references in Ibn Iyās, *Kitāb Tārīkh Miṣr*. See, for example, 1:1:549, ll. 15–20; 2:207, ll. 5–12; 333, ll. 21–24; and 406, ll. 6–10; and 3:218, ll. 14–21.

[359]There were, technically, two sets of banquets given daily for the mamluks. Of the first set, one was in the morning, the second was called *al-khāṣṣ,* and the third was *al-ṭārī* and was attended personally by the sultan (al-ʻUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār,* 40). There were two seatings in the evening (Stowasser, "Manner and Customs," 18; Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo,* 201).

[360]The governors in Alexandria and Syria held biweekly justice hearings followed by meals for those officials attending as well as sponsored banquets for the Īd celebrations, in the manner of the sultan. For instance—al-ʻUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār,* 43, and al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá,* 4:24, l. 7; 197, ll. 7–8; and 225, ll. 16–19.

[361]Amiral banquets usually followed weddings and the inauguration of a new building. See Ibn Iyās, *Kitāb Tārīkh Miṣr,* 3:302, ll. 6–9 (*walīmatu-ʻarsin,* "wedding banquet").

[362]On procession days, the head qadis and civilian administrators attended banquets held at the Īwān al-Kabīr (al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá,* 4:56). According to al-Qalqashandī, it was the custom of the sultan to share a simple morning meal *(simāṭ)* of stew and sweets with the head shaykhs (ibid., 5:205). His reference to banquets held after military drills, to which the ulama and other civilian elite were invited, suggests that this was a somewhat regular practice (ibid., 206). In 906 Quran readers, preachers, and all of the amirs were invited to an amiral banquet in Ezbekīyah (Ibn Iyās, *Kitāb Tārīkh Miṣr,* 3:467).

[363]One example has been dated to 842 by Ibn Iyās. The *qāḍī al-quḍāh* (head judge) sponsored a banquet *(asmiṭah/walīmatu ḥaflatin)* to celebrate his completion of a commentary on al-Bukhārī. In attendance were the sultan's son, the other head qadis, Sufi shaykhs, the *kātib al-sirr,* and the *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* (*Kitāb Tārīkh Miṣr,* 2:207, ll. 5–12).

historians, are long and detailed. The banquet held for ʿĪd al-Fiṭr by the caliph was particularly lavish.[364] Al-Maqrīzī devotes considerable attention to the food and the vessels in which it was served. Silver, gold, and ″porcelain″ *(ṣīnī)* vessels were placed on the table; chicken and bread were stacked ″as high as a man is tall″ on large ceramic *(khazafī)* trays.

For the Mamluk period, the biographer and contemporary critic of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, al-Yūsufī (d. 1358), likewise emphasizes the great expense lavished by the sultan on banquets held in honor of political dignitaries.[365] One is described as an eating frenzy, a festive gorging that lasted as many as four days.[366] Similarly, al-Maqrīzī devotes a lengthy section on the kitchen expenditure of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and includes such details as the number of chickens killed daily for the morning banquets, the amount of sugar purchased annually for Ramaḍān, and the household expenses of al-Nāṣir′s son, al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl.[367] The wealth and extensive personal estates accumulated by the royal cooks are documented by al-Maqrīzī, but the day-to-day management of the kitchen is not a point of interest.[368] Nowhere in any of these Mamluk accounts are the vessels for cooking, serving, or consumption described or, for that matter, even mentioned.

Short references to vessels can be found, however, in the descriptions of Fatimid banquets, food rations in the Mamluk period, a Mamluk drinking ceremony, and the Geniza documents. The large Fatimid serving trays described by al-Maqrīzī were supported by heavy cylindrical stands. These trays and supporting stands were still used in the Mamluk period, as is suggested by historical references to sizable ceramic trays *(khawāfiq ṣīnī)* used to serve large quantities of sweets and meat at the daily mamluk banquets[369] and the fourteenth-century brass and ceramic stands displayed in museum collections.[370] One sgraffito vessel in the gallery of the Islamic Museum in Cairo is a ceramic copy of a brass or bronze stand of this sort (Fig. 16).[371]

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[364]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:387. The same account is found in al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá,* 3:523–24.

[365]Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 364 and 376. Al-Yūsufī was *muqaddam al-ḥalqah* under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. He published his biography of the sultan anonymously because of its critical, even hostile, assessment of al-Nāṣir′s reign (D. Little, ″The Recovery of a Lost Source for Bahri Mamluk History: al-Yūsufī′s *Nuzhat al-nāẓir fī sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir*,″ *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94 [1974]: 42–54).

[366]Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 206.

[367]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:236–37.

[368]Ibid.; Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History,* 185 (citing al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*).

[369]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:236.

[370]Examples include a mid fourteenth-century cast brass stand inlaid with silver and gold (Allan, *Islamic Metalwork*, 97, cat. #19).

[371]Inv. #14754; profile published in ʿAbd al-Rāziq, ″Le sgraffito de l′Égypte,″ 15, second row,



Figure 16. Phase II Egyptian Mamluk sgraffito copy of a local brass tray stand, 14th century, probably Fustat

The term *zabādī* (sing. *zubdīyah*) describes vessels in which rations or measured portions of meat or sweets were distributed.[372] Individual servings of meat purchased from the *sūq* were sold in *zabādī,* which were, in this case, smallish ceramic bowls. References to the *zubdīyah* as a "take-out" dish for meat span the Fatimid to Mamluk periods. According to Ibn Iyās, the vizier's sister sent him daily a *zubdīyah* of meat from the market, presumably to save him the trouble of going himself.[373] In the late fifteenth century (873), during a food shortage, amir Yashbak reduced the meat rations *(zabādī-laḥmī)* of Sufis and all "turbaned men"; he then confiscated all meat sold in the *sūq* for the mamluks.[374]

Individual servings of sweets at banquets and during Ramaḍān were also distributed in *zabādī*.[375] At his wedding (892, turn of the sixteenth century), Sultan al-Ghawrī distributed small bowls of sweets *(zabādī ṣīnī fīhi sukkar)* in the mosque.[376] The term also appears in the much earlier Geniza documents. According to Goitein, the *zubdīyah* was the most common vessel on the average Cairene's table and the regular eating bowl so ubiquitous in museum collections.[377] It came in a variety of sizes and was used for a variety of purposes. In the smallest *zabādī* were served fruits and nuts. They may have been made of wood, at least in the middle-income households of Fatimid and Ayyubid Cairo. Dessert bowls like these were relatively small. The servings distributed to the masses during Ramaḍān would have been meager. Furthermore, references to confiscated *zabādī* from personal treasures in the Fatimid and Mamluk periods number into the tens of thousands; the numbers argue for a small size.[378] The term is current in Egypt today and designates a small yoghurt bowl.

Liquids were also served and consumed in ceremonial vessels called *zabādī*. An important passage in *Kitāb al-Tārīkh* describes the Mamluk custom of drinking

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middle drawing. The Cairo stand has been signed by Sharaf al-Abawānī and carries a generic military inscription of dedication.

[372]The word *khafiqīyah* appears much less regularly. It is also associated with meat ration distribution. Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl was said to have sent his army into the markets while on campaign to get their daily meat. The servings were brought back in *khafiqīyah ṣīnī* (al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:230, l. 36; Bahgat and Massoul, *La céramique musulmane,* 7.

[373]Ibn Iyās, *Kitāb Tārīkh Miṣr,* 1:1:219.

[374]Ibid., 3:22–23.

[375]Al-Nuwayrī, a contemporary of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, describes *zabādī* as vessels for serving sweets (R. P. A. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* [Leiden, 1881], 1:578).

[376]Ibn Iyās, *Kitāb Tārīkh Miṣr,* 3:241.

[377]Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society,* 4:145–46.

[378]Ibn Iyās, *Kitāb Tārīkh Miṣr,* 1:1:193 (confiscation of the vizier Jawhar's treasury, tenth c.); ibid., 454 (contents of an amiral house, fourteenth century).

qumiz (fermented mare's milk or a sour milk sweetened with sugar),[379] a practice the Qipchak Turks brought from their homeland in the southern Russian steppe.[380] According to Ibn Iyās, in 791 (1389) Sultan al-Manṣūr Ḥajjī formalized this practice by obliging the amirs every Sunday and Wednesday to join him in the Maydān below the Citadel for drinks. The ceremony followed the protocol of formal banquets: the amirs were seated according to rank and served *qumiz* by those members of the *khāṣṣakīyah* whose function it was to serve drinks at banquets, the *sāqī*s. The *sāqī*s served the drink in individual ceramic bowls *(zabādī ṣīnī):* "wa-al-suqāh tasqīhim al-qumiz fī al-zabādī al-ṣīnī."[381] Like many other formalities initiated by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and his successors, the formal drinking ceremony came to an end after the reign of Barqūq (r. 1382–89, 1390–99).

In another entry from al-Yūsufī, the drinking of *qumiz* is described in an informal setting.[382] The *khān* Abū Sa'īd (r. 1316–35), a contemporary of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, has confronted the bedouin leader, Mahāh, about his alliance with the Mamluks. In order to fortify himself for the verbal confrontation, the *Īlkhān* drinks *qumiz* from a *hanab,* or beaker. The incident is informative on several accounts. First, the drinking of *qumiz* was a pan-steppe tradition also practiced by the Mongols. Second, it was a custom that could at times be informal and practiced "at home." Finally, one drank *qumiz* from a cup. Unfortunately, neither the size nor shape of the *zubdīyah* or the *hanab* can be established on the basis of these accounts alone.

More detailed information on the custom of drinking *qumiz* is provided by accounts written by European visitors to the Mongol court. The Franciscan William of Rubruck, who spent time in Karakorum from 1253 to 1255, writes frequently about the centrality of *qumiz* drinking parties in the court life of the Mongols. He writes that silver and gold goblets studded with precious stones were kept at the entrance to the Mongols' tent, along with large containers of *comos*.[383] Drunkenness was not only approved of, but was considered honorable, and both men and women were encouraged to drink as much as they could during these parties. Even guests were showered with drink. "When they want to challenge someone to drink, they seize him by the ears, tugging them vigorously to make him open his

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[379]The term has been defined in Dozy, *Supplément,* 2:405.

[380]Ibn Iyās, *Kitāb Tārīkh Miṣr,* 1:1:393; translated into French in Bahgat and Massoul, *La céramique musulmane,* 8.

[381]Ibn Iyās, *Kitāb Tārīkh Miṣr,* 1:1:393, l. 14.

[382]Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 202 (esp. l. 9).

[383]William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William of Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke 1253–1255*, ed. P. Jackson (London, 1990), 132.

gullet, and clap and dance in front of him."[384]

The khān's drinking sessions were important occasions with all the formalities of official banquets. Mengu Khān, for example, held court-wide drinking parties twice a year at Karakorum, during which time he distributed garments and other presents to his nobles and organized parades and feasts.[385] This description resembles Marco Polo's account of the Great Khān's "White Feast" on his birthday, where the cupbearers, tasters, and guards played focal roles and embroidered gold silks with golden belts covered with precious stones and pearls were given to the khān's intimates.[386]

The few details that can be obtained from these accounts indicate that *qumiz,* whether consumed alone at drinking parties or along with food at banquets, was served from large ceremonial vessels. Marco Polo writes:

> The wine, or precious beverage . . . is drawn into large golden vessels, big enough to contain sufficient wine for eight or ten men. Of these vessels, one is placed on the table for every two guests. Each of the two guests has a golden cup with a handle, and with it he draws his drink from the large golden vessel. And so with the ladies, every two of whom have one of the large vessels and two cups, like the men.[387]

The somewhat fanciful drawing by William of Rubruck of a silver fountain with four spouts for each of the four alcoholic "staples" of the Mongol diet—*qumiz,* wine, mead, and rice wine—suggests that a variety of vessels were used to contain and distribute the drink.[388]

In twentieth-century Western culture, we differentiate between eating and drinking and between bowls and cups. This is far from a universal concept, however. In the modern Middle East soup is drunk (not eaten) from a vessel that could be called a bowl or cup. The nomenclature is subjective; in fact, many industrial potters in the modern United States reject the labels and call their vessels of consumption (regardless of shape, size, or form) "bowls." The distinction between "cup" and "bowl" is a fine one that exists only in the mind of the typologist, at least as far as medieval pottery is concerned. The term *zubdīyah,* for example, could refer to either: both food and liquids were served in this vessel-type.

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[384]Ibid., 76.

[385]Ibid., 209.

[386]Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo,* ed. A. Ricci (London, 1950), 133, 137–38.

[387]William of Rubruck, *The Mission of Friar William,* 131.

[388]R. Tannahill, *Food in History* (New York, 1973), 135.

The medieval Egyptian sources do, however, mention vessels that were used only for drinking liquids. A variety of drinking vessels were used in the average Cairene home. The *ṭāsah* and *kūz* are two types of cups mentioned in the Geniza documents, differentiated by function and shape.[389] Goitein has defined the *ṭāsah* as a ″wide, but shallow, drinking vessel.″ He suggests it was a communal cup, passed around the table from person to person, and of monumental size. That this was a vessel used on special occasions is suggested by Dozy, who mentions, for instance, that black eyes could be treated by water held in the *ṭāsat al-tarbah,* or ″concussion cup.″[390] Likewise, one drank lukewarm milk, honey, or water from a ″magic bowl″ *(ṭāsah)* inscribed with incantations or instructions for medical use in order to cure a variety of common maladies.[391] The cup used on a daily basis was called a *″kūz,″* which is an Arabic term used today in Egypt. Like *zubdīyah,* the term *kūz* can refer to a variety of shapes, sizes, and materials. The ceremonial *kūz* was rare: it was made of silver and was large and heavy.[392]

Banquet-ware differed from regular tableware in size, material, and decoration. Some of the most well-known banqueting vessels were recovered from a hoard in northwest Iran and have been dated to the late tenth century.[393] They comprise a set of silver and nielloed jugs, bowls, and a platter—the sorts of vessels used in Fatimid banquets, according to al-Maqrīzī′s account. The three bowls have steeply sloping sides, which are internally inscribed with a frieze showering blessings on the patron, one amir Abū al-ʻAbbās Walkin ibn Hārūn. Ward suggests these were dessert bowls, because their steep walls would render drinking difficult.

The notion that form follows function is useful only if one is clear about what *range* of forms are suitable for a particular task. Steep walls do not necessarily eliminate drinking. For example, the silver and enameled Byzantine chalices used for the Eucharist had high, vertical walls. One cannot eliminate the possibility that, like the communion cup, ceremonial drinking vessels among the Mamluks were larger and of a different shape than regular household cups. The deep and wide spaces afforded by carinated or vertical-sided vessels would also have been ideal for serving fruit.[394] Fruit was consumed in some quantity at banquets, both in the Mamluk and Fatimid periods. However, large bowls with straight sides are

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389Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society,* 4:147.

390Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 16:167.

391Wiet, ″Les biographies,″ 269–72. For a bibliography of sources on ″magic bowls,″ see his n. 189 on 284.

392Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society,* 4:148.

393Ward, *Islamic Metalwork,* 54.

394Although I disagree with his notion that large, carinated ceramic bowls held fruit at Mamluk banquets, I am grateful to Prof. Daniel Crecelius of California State University for the suggestion (personal communication, August 1996, ARCE Fellow′s Luncheon, Cairo).

never mentioned in association with fruit and banquets. We read, instead, of dried sweets served on large platters[395] and fruit in baskets.[396] In the banqueting passages from al-Maqrīzī and al-Qalqashandī mentioned earlier, we get the impression that food in general (whether meat, vegetables, or sweets), if served in large quantities, was carried on large platters. Bowls/cups with carinated or vertical walls, if found at all at banquets, would have functioned in another manner.

Rare illustrations of banqueting vessels in metalwork and illuminated manuscripts are informative about form and function in a way that the historical sources are not.[397] Little is known about the artist who signed his work ″Ibn al-Zayn,″ except that he was a contemporary of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and his work represents some of the best inlay work of the early Mamluk period.[398] At least two pieces can be attributed to him on the basis of his signature: the well-known St. Louis basin and the Vasselot bowl.[399]

The ″St. Louis basin,″ now in the Louvre, is so-named because it was originally identified as a fourteenth-century royal French baptismal basin. This notion was rejected with Rice′s 1953 monograph, in which he identified the patron as Salār and assigned its production to the period of his amiral promotion (1290–1310).[400] The central register pictures an array of armed amirs and members of the royal household, bringing ″gifts″ to single equestrians framed by a roundel. Although Rice did not specify these figures as the *khāṣṣakīyah,* the *silāḥdār, jumāqdār, bunduqdār, jāmdār, jukāndār, bāzdār, sāqī,* and *jāshankīr* clearly carry symbols of their office across the surface of the basin in what seems to be a ceremonial procession. The placement of the *sāqī* (cupbearer) and *jāshankīr* (royal taster) close to the equestrian figures and the detailed execution of the vessels they carry emphasize the ceremonial importance of these two officials. The *sāqī* carries a bulbous carafe and offers a drink from a long-stemmed, vertical-sided goblet. At the other end of the procession stands the *jāshankīr* holding a wide, shallow, hemispherical ″bowl″ on a high pedestal foot—a shape that may correspond to the

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[395]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá,* 3:524 (Fatimid).

[396]Ibn Iyās, *Kitāb Tārīkh Miṣr,* 3:241 (late Mamluk).

[397]See note 356.

[398]Rice, *The Baptistére de Saint Louis,* 12.

[399]For the bibliography of sources on these two works, see Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 75. Rice, *The Baptistère de Saint Louis,* has the best plates (in black and white) of the St. Louis basin. Both vessels are illustrated in color in Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam*. Rogers, ″Evidence for Mamluk-Mongol Relations,″ analyzes in depth their *khāṣṣakīyah* iconography and relates it to Mongol influence on the Mamluk court.

[400]Rice, *The Baptistére de Saint Louis,* 17. Rice recognizes the portrait of Salār in one of the armed amirs.

Geniza *ṭāsah*.[401] The decoration of the vessel is familiar enough from sgraffito: the dark rim is outlined several times in heavy incisions and a wide, central register carries an inscription: *anā makhfīyah li-ḥaml al-ṭa'ām* ("I am a *makhfīyah*, for serving food"). It is a very fortunate inscription, indeed, for determining banqueting vessel shape and function. However, the term may not have been that familiar to fourteenth-century Egyptians, since Ibn al-Zayn felt it necessary to include this commentary.[402] One thirteenth-century source, al-Baghdādī, defines *makhfīyah* as the food which may have been served in this vessel: a sort of meat stew containing kebabs and strips of red meat cooked in a pot with water, chickpeas, onions, and spices.[403] On the basis of more modern usage, Dozy has identified the term as a Maghribi word for a covered container or tureen.[404]

A similar sort of vessel is inscribed on the other of Ibn al-Zayn's signed works, a large brass bowl inlaid with silver and gold, also in the Louvre.[405] The main register of the "Vasselot bowl" makes explicit reference to a royal banquet: a dignitary sits with beaker in hand inside two medallions and musicians and the *khāṣṣakīyah,* all holding the various objects of their offices, are seated to either side of him. One figure with Mongol features sits cross-legged to the right of the dignitary and holds aloft a wide, shallow vessel on a high pedestal foot. It is almost identical to the *makhfīyah* of the St. Louis basin, except for a pronounced carination and some indication of an out-turned rim. The *naskhī* inscription of its wide, central register displays the artist's signature—*'aml Ibn al-Zayn* ("the work of Ibn al-Zayn"). Atıl refers to this figure as the *sāqī,* because of the small beaker laid at his feet. However, the artist has incorporated several beakers and pouring vessels into the background rinceau; the beaker here is entirely decorative. The placement of this officer to the right of the dignitary and the shape of the inscribed vessels he holds are the same in both of Ibn al-Zayn's pieces. It is entirely possible that the St. Louis basin and the Vasselot bowl belong to the same banqueting set and that the scenes were meant to complement one another. If this is so, then the

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[401]Atıl (*Renaissance of Islam,* 76) identifies this official as the *jāshankīr* on the basis of the vessel he is carrying. On another Mamluk inlaid brass, Rogers recognizes the *jāshankīr* by what appears to be a brass "lunchbox" in his hands (Rogers, "Evidence for Mamluk-Mongol Relations," 390). The vessel known as the Mamluk lunchbox was a sort of lockable tureen designed to prevent poisoning. See illustration in Ward, *Islamic Metalwork,* 119, Fig. 95. Ironically, in none of these illustrations does the *jāshankīr* carry the official blazon of his office: the table.

[402]Ibn al-Zayn also identifies penboxes *(dawāt)* on the basin in this manner. Rice reminds us that "explanatory inscriptions" like these were also part of the decorative vocabulary of thirteenth-century metalworking (*The Baptistère de Saint Louis,* 20).

[403]Tannahill, *Food in History,* 174.

[404]Dozy, *Supplément,* 1:387–88.

[405]See illustrations and descriptions in Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 74–75, cat. #20.

Vasselot figure is the *jāshankīr,* and he is holding the taster′s bowl, or *makhfīyah*.

The *makhfīyah* and the *sāqī′s* goblet are specialized banqueting vessels and are related to the ceremonial roles of the *jāshankīr* and the *sāqī*. Ibn al-Zayn takes care to detail certain aspects of form and decoration in order to emphasize the ceremonial importance of these two vessel types. The beaker, on the other hand, is a more familiar and widespread form that figures prominently in banqueting scenes. The truncated cone of its profile and the straight, flaring sides are repeated as a decorative device in the Vasselot bowl and as an icon itself of the royal banquet in Islamic minor art. The frontispiece of the Vienna manuscript of al-Ḥarīrī′s *Maqāmāt* essentially repeats the banqueting scene of the Vasselot bowl by emphasizing the drinking dignitary with his beaker surrounded by household officials and musicians.[406] The cross-legged prince lounging with glass beaker in hand is a visual abbreviation for the ″pleasures of the court″ that fits conveniently into a bowl interior. The beaker motif has a long history in Islamic ceramics, one that begins with Abbasid slip-painted and lusterware and continues into Seljuk, Byzantine, Cypriot, and Mamluk sgraffito.

The goblet held aloft by the *sāqī* of the St. Louis basin differs from ordinary stemmed bowls. The artist has emphasized its vertical, carinated walls, and the interplay of brass and silver inlay within the contours of the goblet is meant to indicate a metal vessel rather than a glass one. Similarly, the metal inlay of Ibn al-Zayn′s *makhfīyah*s represents the original inlay of those vessels. Metalworking was imitated in Islamic ceramics before the Mongol invasions.[407] The products of Mamluk metalworkers became extremely influential in the fourteenth century and were reproduced in many media, including glass and ceramics. The debt fourteenth-century Mamluk sgraffito owes to contemporary Egyptian and the slightly earlier Mosul metalworking tradition has been duly noted by scholars of medieval Egyptian pottery.[408]

The full development of brass-imitative sgraffito within a relatively short period of time (early-mid fourteenth century) may indicate factors at work other than technological development, the scarcity of a raw material, or the adoption of

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[406]Vienna, Nationalbibliothek AF 9, dated 1335. Rogers′ claim that this is the only surviving illustration of Mamluk ceremonial can now be rejected (Rogers, ″Evidence for Mamluk-Mongol Relations,″ 395; illustrated p. 394, Ill. 6).

[407]For a discussion of the impact the bronze-working industry had on twelfth- and thirteenth-century Iranian ceramics, see Y. Tabbaa, ″Bronze Shapes in Iranian Ceramics of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.″

[408]Consult the following for observations on decorative composition and general layout: Fouquet, ″Contribution à l′étude de la céramique,″ 130; Marzouk, ″Three Signed Specimens,″ 498; and Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 148. On specific motifs borrowed from beaten and inlaid brass and developments in form see Scanlon, ″Some Mamluk Ceramic Shapes,″ 62.

the art of the ruling elite by the bourgeoisie.[409] Not all forms of inlaid brass were reproduced in ceramics. In fact, the most popular vessels did not capture the imagination of the Egyptian potter. Lamps, straight-sided basins, trays, penboxes, incense burners, and ewers do not seem to have been produced in sgraffito. On the other hand, rounded basins, tray stands, goblets, large footed bowls, and, arguably, candlesticks do have counterparts in Mamluk sgraffito. It is as if particular vessels associated with banquets and processionals were targeted by Cairene potters. It is significant that these were the largest and most visible brass and bronze accessories. The development of ceremonial in the fourteenth century and the restructuring of the Mamluk elite—both related to the policies of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and his successors—emerge as key factors in the development of Mamluk sgraffito in this period.

The monumental, inscribed sgraffito vessels of fourteenth-century Egypt share many characteristics with the ceremonial drinking vessels described here. Exaggerated dimensions are emphasized in the *makhfīyah*s of St. Louis′ basin and the Vasselot bowl and metalware vessels described in the Geniza documents and contemporary chronicles and administrative manuals. The extended proportions of brass basins, bowls, ewers, and candlesticks are paralleled in fourteenth-century sgraffito bowls. Furthermore, the layout of decoration standardized in Mamluk metalworking is applied to ceramics. The repetition of inscriptional registers interrupted by blazon roundels and the placement and formulae of the artist′s signature is characteristic of Sharaf al-Abawānī′s work, for example. Details such as the ″Y-pattern,″ double register lines, the color combination of yellows and browns (imitative of gold inlay on brass or bronze), and dark outlined rims are also borrowed from metalwork.

Of the two main forms of Mamluk sgraffito, the hemispherical bowl is most easily identifiable as a product of the glass industry.[410] It is impossible to precisely determine, however, what kind of vessel shape from Mamluk metalworking is imitated in the carinated sgraffito forms of the fourteenth century. The carinated shape does not replicate closely enough any form of Egyptian or Mosul metalworking, nor does it reproduce the vessel shapes illustrated in Ibn al-Zayn′s

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[409]The development of figural, inlaid metalwork in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries can be explained in terms of a ″silver crisis″ (J. W. Allan, ″The Survival of Precious and Base Metal Objects″—genesis of Iran′s beaten brass and bronze industry) and the empowerment of the non-royal, urban elite (O. Grabar, ″The Illustrated *Maqāmāt* of the Thirteenth Century: the Bourgeoisie and the Arts,″ in *The Islamic City,* ed. H. H. Hourani and S. M. Stern [Oxford, 1970], 207–22—focuses on painting). While these arguments are useful for the Seljuk and Ayyubid worlds, they do not adequately document artistic and social developments of fourteenth-century Egypt.

[410]For a review of the history of this form in glassware and ceramics and its relationship with metalworking, see Tabbaa, ″Bronze Shapes,″ and Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 118–44.

basin and bowl. One should not read Ibn al-Zayn′s illustrations too literally, however. The vessel profiles and proportions are approximated and only express the impression the *makhfīyah* and *sāqī*′s cup left on an artist who had visited the Mamluk dining halls.[411] The question, then, remains whether carinated forms of Mamluk sgraffito imitate a known ceremonial vessel (such as the *makhfīyah* or *sāqī*′s goblet), reproduce a metalware form that has disappeared, or developed independently. One could imagine the sort of ″large, golden vessel″ described by Marco Polo in reference to alcoholic beverages served at banquets.

The overwhelming decorative influence of contemporary metalwork on all media cannot be ignored. The decoration of fourteenth-century sgraffito, unlike that of the thirteenth century, clearly derives more from contemporary metalworking than ceramics. Likewise, the exaggerated proportions of many fourteenth-century sgraffito vessels can be compared to a developing monumentality in the beaten brass basins, bowls, candlesticks, and trays set aside for banquets and processions.[412] Some vessels resemble goblets; others are remarkably similar to ceremonial candlesticks set upside-down (see Fig. 5, bottom).[413] The base stem, straight flaring sides, and decorative mode of some carinated sgraffito bowls and brass candlesticks are quite similar, although the dimensions are not comparable. Ceremonial metalwork made enough of an impression on contemporary Cairenes to popularize monumentality, untraditional proportions, and inscriptional and heraldic decoration in common tableware.

The ″classic Mamluk chalice,″ however, is neither a true chalice nor a large ceremonial basin or bowl. The dimensions, profiles, organization of decoration, and proportions place it somewhere between the two. Thus, the original typological problem remains: is the ″classic Mamluk chalice″ a cup or a bowl? If its general shape does not seem to correspond to a particular function, neither is the heraldry incorporated into the vessel′s decoration informative about the vessel′s use. While the *sāqī*′s goblet is the most common blazon in Mamluk sgraffito, it is certainly not the only one. Therefore, one cannot assume that every carinated vessel was meant to represent the *sāqī*′s cup, particularly if the blazon is that of the *silāḥdār* or *dawādār*.[414] On the other hand, the blazon of the *jāshankīr* (a circular table) is

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[411]The carination of the *sāqī*′s cup on St. Louis′ basin may represent the curvature of a hemispherical wall.

[412]The unwieldy size of the largest sgraffito bowls presents a functional problem. Because Nile clay is porous, vessels tend to be heavily potted. When they reach these proportions they become extremely difficult to lift. The possibility that large sgraffito vessels were meant only for display is worth some consideration.

[413]I am grateful to Dr. Lisa Golombek, Royal Ontario Museum, for this suggestion.

[414]The stemmed bowl does reproduce the *sāqī*′s cup. Glass cups identical to the hemispherical forms of Mamluk sgraffito often have the ringed stem that is illustrated in the *sāqī*′s blazon (Atıl,

rare in sgraffito, but this does not necessarily eliminate the *makhfīyah* as a source of inspiration for sgraffito shapes. There seems to be no correlation between the blazon and vessel shape or use.

A variety of vessel shapes were executed in the sgraffito technique. While the stemmed, hemispherical bowl imitates the *sāqī*'s goblet used at banquets, the "classic Mamluk chalice" recalls a variety of carinated brass vessels used at formal banquets, while not adopting their forms *per se*. The profiles are unique and seem to be transitional between a cup and a bowl, that is between the *sāqī*'s cup and the *makhfīyah* or *ṭāsah*. It is possible that the carinated forms imitated a brass prototype that has left no trace in the archaeological record, such as that described by Marco Polo in regards to the Great Khān's high feasts. There is, however, a continuous development in profile from Ayyubid luster wares[415] to the Alexandrian products, Wide Rim Arabesque, and fourteenth-century high-footed bowls of monumental proportions. While the profiles are consistently ceramic, specific technical developments such as changes in the color scheme, increasingly large proportions, a decorative program emphasizing inscriptions and blazons, and the elongation of stem and carination point to the realm of metalworking. In short, developments in Mamluk sgraffito from the thirteenth to the fourteenth century can be explained by a consistent and gradual maturation of the Ayyubid ceramic bowl profile along with decorative and technical influence from ceremonial metalwork. It is unfortunate the historical sources have so little to say about tableware. The traditional melting-down of brasses and bronzes has denied us access to what was once a rich repertoire of cups and bowls.

The ceremonial importance of the *sāqī* and *jāshankīr,* more than other *khāṣṣakīyah,* has been emphasized because of their association with expensive tablewares and the central position these figures occupied in Mamluk banquets and processions. The *suqāh* have been described as the overseers of Mamluk banquets. They not only prepared the settings and served drinks to all those in attendance but also cut the meat.[416] The *jāshankīrīyah* played an equally important role. Along with the *ustādār al-ṣuḥbah* (majordomo in attendance), they were in charge of organizing the banquets; both officials remained standing for the duration of the meal. The *jāshankīr* was specifically responsible for tasting both food and

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Renaissance of Islam, 142, cat. #62; compare also cat. #59 and #94). The pronounced carination of the *sāqī*'s cup in St. Louis' basin may be an exaggeration of the vertical bend in the hemispherical wall or may indicate some variety in goblet forms. ROM 909.43.53 (the chalice miniature) clearly has a sharply carinated wall, and the curvature of its wall and rim parallel the *sāqī* blazon that decorates its tondo.

[415]See Marilyn Jenkins, *Islamic Art in the Kuwait National Museum* (London, 1983), cat. #51.

[416]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá,* 5:454.

drink as a precaution against poisoning, a rather common method of removing political rivals.[417]

There is evidence that the ceremonial offices of the *sāqī* and *jāshankīr* offered more opportunity for upward mobility for the *khāṣṣakīyah* than any other office. Al-Qalqashandī informs us that the *jāshankīrīyah* ranked among the top amirs.[418] The power wielded by these officers is underlined by multiple references to important *jāshankīrīyah* under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.[419] Serial promotions to the office of *sāqī* and an amirship of ten are recorded by Ibn Taghrībirdī and shed some light on why the *sāqī* blazon was so common in Mamluk art: there were a lot of *suqāh.*[420] Promotion alone only partially explains how amirs with ceremonial positions acquired power and wealth. The *suqāh* and *jāshankīrīyah* knew all of the *khāṣṣakīyah* and *barrānī* mamluks by fraternizing with them daily at Citadel banquets.[421] Their high visibility facilitated the strengthening of personal alliances and gave them access to important individuals among the civilian elite.[422]

The *jāshankīr* was as familiar a figure in public processions (*mawākib,* singular *mawkib*) as he was at the semi-private banqueting tables of the Citadel. Along with the *ustādārīyah* and the *silāḥdārīyah,* the *jāshankīrīyah* rode at the head of the sultan's party in the ʻĪd processions.[423] Processions were among the few occasions when the Mamluks as a group had contact with the civilian population. There were numerous occasions for parades—the two ʻĪds (ʻĪd al-Fiṭr and ʻĪd al-Aḍḥá), the *maḥmal* procession (to celebrate the transport of the *kiswah* to Mecca), Friday prayer, enthronements, military victories, and festivals associated with the flooding of the Nile, to name only a few.[424] Visually and physically Mamluk processions

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[417]Ibid., 4:21 and 5:460; al-Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār,* 73, n. 2.

[418]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá,* 4:21.

[419]See, for instance, the entries on Altunbughā, Tughay, and Tināl in al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 2:3:614, 654, and 822. The power of Tughay and Tināl posed a threat to the sultan's authority (Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History,* 72).

[420]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* vols. 14 and 15. In the early Bahri period more Mamluks held the offices of *sāqī* and *dawādār* at one time than any other ceremonial position (ten each—Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army," *BSOAS* 15 (1953): 214, citing al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdah*). Although no numbers are given, Rabbat states that most of the highest-ranking amirs in the middle Bahri period were *suqāh* (Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo,* 138).

[421]Rabbat defines the *khāṣṣakīyah* as those mamluks raised in the Southern Enclosure of the Citadel with the sultan's sons and the *barrānī* as the recruits who resided in the barracks "outside" *(barra),* in the Northern Enclosure (see his glossary in Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo*).

[422]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* devotes some attention to the business and marital relationships cemented between amirs and their sons *(awlād al-nās)* and the powerful families of Cairo.

[423]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá,* 4:46.

[424]Stowasser, "Manner and Customs," 19.

integrated civilian Cairo and the royal Citadel through a ceremonial route which began at Bāb al-Nāṣr, followed the Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, and exited Bāb Zuwaylah for the Darb al-Aḥmar, the horse market at the foot of the Citadel, Bāb al-Silsilah (a Citadel gate), and the Īwān al-Kabīr.[425]

The frequency and pomp of these parades increased in the middle Bahri period at a time when other Mamluk ceremonies were being elaborated and codified. A crucial element of these processions, for the purposes of the present study, is the visual display of amiral symbols. It was the responsibility of the sultan's weapons-officers—such as the *silāḥdār* (armor-bearer), *ṭabardār* (ax-bearer), and *jukāndār* (polo master)—to bear his weapons and display them to the public. They marched directly behind the sultan during processions and ahead of the other amirs.[426] The objects in their care—in this case the sword, ax, and polo sticks, respectively—thus became extremely powerful symbols of authority and cultural elitism to the civilian population. The *khāṣṣakīyah* imagery so carefully documented by Whelan is replete with ceremonial officers displaying their objects of office at court.[427] These figures from miniature painting, stone carving, and metalworking belong to a genre of court art that also includes scenes of ceremonial procession, where the *khāṣṣakīyah,* presumably in order of office and rank, carry their respective objects for public view.[428]

In some cases, the objects themselves were replaced by blazons displayed on the amirs' clothing, armor, and horsegear. Therefore, the blazons that occur most frequently in Mamluk sgraffito (the *sāqī*'s cup, *silāḥdār*'s sword, and *jukāndār*'s polo sticks) were visually important components of two of the most important public celebrations staged by the Mamluk elite: formal banquets and processions.[429] Similarly, the *jāmdār*'s blazon, the napkin, is a familiar element of sgraffito

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[425]Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo,* 238 (citing al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*); Behrens-Abouseif, "The Citadel of Cairo," 48 (al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*); Shoshan, *Popular Culture,* 74–75.

[426]Stowasser, "Manner and Customs," 19. For another account of objects of office displayed during processions see al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá,* 4:46.

[427]Whelan, "Representations of the *Khāṣṣakiyyah*." Note especially a miniature from *Kitāb al-Diryāq* in Vienna, the throne niche from Sinjar, and a ewer signed by Aḥmad al-Dhākī al-Mawṣilī now in Cleveland.

[428]To this category belong a candlestick signed by Dāʻūd ibn Salāmah in Paris (Whelan, "Representations of the *Khāṣṣakiyyah,*" 224), St. Louis' basin, and possibly an Artuqid bridge at Ḥiṣn Kayfa (ibid., 222).

[429]The *dawādār*'s penbox is a common heraldic device found on sgraffito that cannot be accounted for in this manner. The bearing of the inkwell was a ceremonial office symbolically associated with the administration and would not, understandably, play a large role in either processions or banquets. It was not an important office under the Bahris (Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army," *BSOAS* 16 (1954): 62).

decoration.[430] The *jāmdārīyah* (wardrobe masters) stood alongside the *silāḥdārīyah* during public processions and *dār al-ʻadl* sessions, visible to the public at all times.[431] This visibility of the *khāṣṣakīyah* in public ceremonial is a key to understanding the process by which ″military art″ was popularized in fourteenth-century Egypt.

There seems to have been a deliberate attempt by many sgraffito artists to reproduce the designs of ceremonial candlesticks used in court and public processions. Monumental brass candlesticks with silver and gold inlay were produced in large quantity for a variety of special occasions. Al-Maqrīzī recounts, for instance, the fantastic spectacle created when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s amirs presented festive candles in celebration of his son Anuk′s marriage; another evening they brought 3030 candles in expensive candlesticks to his palace![432] Magnificent candlelit festivities continued into the fifteenth century. To commemorate the completion of his *qubbah,* the governor of Jedda threw a *walīmah ḥaflah* on the banks of the Nile, the affair luminated by rows of candles set up along the river.[433] Processions and parties, inadvertently, familiarized the local population with amiral art and paved the way for mass-production of ″military″ styles for non-Mamluks.

Mamluk ceremonies captured the imagination of civilian Cairo above all because they were among the rare points of contact between native Cairenes and the ruling elite. Not since the Fatimid period had Cairo witnessed such powerfully symbolic performances by the ruling establishment. While the particulars of Mamluk social hierarchy and self-determination represented in these performances were not comprehended by most Cairenes, their visual symbolism was not lost on them. Brass vessels inlaid with precious metals, military blazons, and bands of inscriptions were consciously associated with the elite of Egyptian society.

Civilian Cairo became familiar with these symbols of the ruling elite, in part, through the production and display of amiral commissions in the public bazaars. One of the most important markets in Cairo in the fourteenth century was the *sūq al-kaftīyīn*, or ″bazaar of inlaid work.″ Al-Maqrīzī describes in some detail the kinds of goods produced there and the clientele that frequented its quarter.[434] The most important service the metalworkers provided for the Mamluk households was the outfitting of expensive bridal trousseaus, which included plates, candles, lamps, basins, small pitchers, and incense burners—many of the same vessel types

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[430]See, for example, Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 185, cat. #93.

[431]Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo,* 142 and 253.

[432]Blair and Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam,* 97–99, and Behrens-Abouseif, ″The Citadel of Cairo,″ 49.

[433]Ibn Iyās, *Kitāb Tārīkh Miṣr,* 2:406.

[434]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:105.

that were imitated in sgraffito.[435]

That these vessels left an impression on the civilian population is clear from al-Maqrīzī's narrative. He explains that hardly a single household could be found that did not have some inlaid brass or bronze-work and that the kind of work done for Mamluk patrons was in demand by most Cairenes. The market practically disappeared, however, by the early fifteenth century because of lowered demand and, one can presume, reduced resources. Al-Maqrīzī notes that there was much less inlaid brass available in his day than in the fourteenth century.[436] Beginning with the accession of Barqūq, metalwork production was significantly reduced.[437] The disappearance of sgraffito from the markets may be related, in part, to the decline of the metalwork industry in this period.

The shapes, sizes, decoration, and color scheme of Mamluk sgraffito in the fourteenth century are distinctive and remarkably different from underglaze-painted ceramics and glassware. The unique development of sgraffito in this period can be related to the powerful influence of contemporary metalworking, a consequence of an enriched ceremonial life that helped to bolster the cohesion and prestige of the Mamluk elite. While the impact of metalworking was felt in all media, pottery decorated in sgraffito, more than any other art form, can be considered truly imitative.

The expansion of Mamluk ceremonial in the fourteenth century served as a catalyst for sgraffito development in the same period. There is significantly more variety in Egyptian sgraffito in the thirteenth century, when multiple international ceramic styles were adopted and combined. The move towards homogeneity and mass-production in the following century reflects not changes in dining habits, but the popularization of amiral art forms in non-mamluk society. Formerly elite symbols of military power (emblems of office and elaborate titles) became commonplace, and eventually meaningless, with their introduction into the civilian market through ordinary tablewares.

[435]This is perhaps the most convincing evidence that some of the sgraffito vessels could have possibly been commissioned for Mamluk women. Basins and candlesticks were not only used on ceremonial occasions, but they comprised the basic accessories of a comfortable household. In some cases, the word *dār* that appears in dedicatory inscriptions may have been intended for the woman of the house, who was an extension, in a sense, of the Mamluk office-holder.

[436]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:105.

[437]Allan, "Shaʿbān, Barqūq," 86.

CONCLUSIONS—CERAMIC DEVELOPMENT AS A BAROMETER OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGE

The development of Egyptian sgraffito ware in the fourteenth century is related to the general militarization of Mamluk art that gained momentum under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The intensive production, limited distribution, and eventual disappearance of this ware cannot be properly understood without appreciating the ways in which this sultan's third reign was a watershed in Mamluk social and economic history.

Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad impacted the arts through his patronage of the amiral class and his manipulation of symbols of authority. The rise of the *khāṣṣakīyah* is directly related to his desire to define and control the state's elite from their early stages of training in the Citadel barracks. The prestige of the amiral class rose accordingly and, with it, were developed official ceremonies and images to bolster their elite status. The reinforcement of Mamluk class-consciousness was achieved in the early fourteenth century through an elaborate series of banquets and processions. Objects (primarily silver-inlaid brass vessels) played a focal role in the ceremonies. It was through the public display of basins, serving vessels, chalices, and candlesticks that the civilian population of Cairo became familiar with the symbols of Mamluk elitism: amiral blazons and formal inscriptions of dedication.

The popularization of elitist symbols was achieved through the reproduction of ceremonial vessels in pottery. Compared to brass and silver, earthenware vessels were more affordable for the average Cairene buyer. Furthermore, the sgraffito technique could effectively imitate chasing and inlaying. The mass-production of the military style of sgraffito ware, the reduction of the amiral blazon to pure decoration, and the bastardization of official formulae of address in dedicatory inscriptions are some ceramic correlates of the political and social turmoil in the decades following al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death.

The oft-repeated characteristics of Mamluk art—monumentality, the use of color, expense, and elitism—are true of sgraffito ware. What makes this ceramic group unique is its relationship to the social circumstances of the time. The Phase II military style was phenomenon-bound, a "fad" of fourteenth-century Cairo. Initially produced for a clientele that was active in creating its own class-mythology and in image building, the mass marketing of Mamluk sgraffito by the end of the century heralded the collapse of the Mamluk social order. With the emergence of a new class of patrons, at the expense of the old, this art form lost its *raison d'être* and fell out of fashion.

GUIDE TO ILLUSTRATIONS*

Photographs and drawings by author, unless otherwise indicated

Figure 1: ROM 988.117.12.43 and 988.117.162

Figure 2: L/Cal 1947/I - 11, 66

Figure 3: published in Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 185, #93

Figure 4: ROM 909.43.10

Figure 5: published in *Ars Orientalis* 37 and Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam,* 188, #95

Figure 6: ROM—no inv. #, Cypriot survey sample

Figure 7: Pol. Inst.—no #

Figure 8: ROM 909.43.4

Figure 9: ROM 909.43.7

Figure 10: ROM 988.117.164

Figure 11: Zeuxippus derivative

a) Pierides 1732—Cyprus
b) ROM 909.43.10—Fustat
c) Gr.-Rom., drawer 13971, #426—Kom al-Dikka
d) Gr.-Rom., drawer 13971, #433—Kom al-Dikka

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*Abbreviations refer to museum collections as follows:
ROM: Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto, Canada)—Fustat and Jebel Adda study collections
L/Cal: Limassol Castle Museum (Cyprus)—main gallery
Isl. Mus.: Museum of Islamic Art (Cairo, Egypt)—main gallery
Pol. Inst.: Polish Institute, Kom ed-Dikka stores (Alexandria, Egypt)
Pierides: Pierides Foundation Museum (Larnaca, Cyprus)—gallery
Gr.-Rom: Museum of Greco-Roman Art (Alexandria, Egypt)—stores of SCA Kom ed-Dikka excavations
ARCE: American Research Center in Egypt´s Fustat study collection (Cairo, Egypt)—housed at the American University of Cairo stores in al-Ḥilmīyah

Wide Rim Arabesque
a) ROM 909.43.4—Fustat   c) Isl. Mus. #5680—no provenience
b) ROM 66:3:46—Jebel Adda   d) ROM 909.43.7—Fustat

Phase II—″classic″
a) ROM 909.43.53—Fustat   d) Isl. Mus. #4673
b) ARCE Fustat study coll., no #   e) Isl. Mus. #15679
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Figure 12: Isl. Mus. #15679

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Figure 16: Isl. Mus. #14754

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Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 955/1548): Life and Works

With this article I wish to take up the suggestion offered by the editor in number 5 of *MSR* (2001) that it would be desirable to publish occasional biographical articles on one of the numerous "polymaths" of the Mamluk period in the journal. While Marlis J. Saleh contributed a portrait of al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) in the above-mentioned issue,[1] my essay will deal with the life and works of the Damascene scholar Ibn Ṭūlūn. In doing so, I do not primarily intend to present a consistent and well-rounded biography, but rather a brief sketch of some possible areas of research. A short overview of the most important stages in the author's life will form the beginning. This account will be somewhat more detailed than the entry in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*[2] by William M. Brinner. We are very fortunate because Ibn Ṭūlūn himself provided some basic information about his life in his autobiography *Al-Fulk al-Mashḥūn fī Aḥwāl Muḥammad ibn Ṭūlūn*.[3] The following information is therefore mainly based on a rereading of the text; most of the facts were already published in Henri Laoust's biography of our Mamluk alim.[4]

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad Ibn Ṭūlūn al-Ṣāliḥī al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanafī lived from 880/1475 to 953/1546. He was a scholar and a very prolific writer whom his contemporaries acclaimed as a traditionist, legal scholar, and teacher —less as a historian. Ibn Ṭūlūn naturally was aware of the fact that he was a subject of the Mamluk rulers, particularly since he could trace his paternal roots back to a Mamluk called Khumārwayh ibn Ṭūlūn[5]. However, Muḥammad first and foremost felt a loyalty to his hometown Damascus and its changing rulers. It was there that he was born in the suburb of al-Ṣāliḥīyah in the Ḥikr al-Hajjāj neighborhood in 880/1475.[6] His birthplace thus was located south of the al-ʿUmarīyah Madrasah at Mount Qāsiyūn.[7] He emphasized in his autobiography

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[1]Marlis J. Saleh, "Al-Suyūṭī and His Works: Their Place in Islamic Scholarship from Mamluk Times to the Present," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5 (2001): 73–89.

[2]William M. Brinner, "Ibn Ṭūlūn," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 3:957–58.

[3]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Fulk al-Mashḥūn fī Aḥwāl Muḥammad ibn Ṭūlūn* (Damascus, 1929).

[4]Henri Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas sous les Mamlouks et les premiers Ottomans (658–1156/1260–1744)* (Damascus, 1952), IX–XXI.

[5]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Fulk,* 6.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibn Ṭūlūn describes this suburb in his *Al-Qalāʾid al-Jawharīyah fī Tārīkh al-Ṣāliḥīyah,* ed.

that he was born into a family with good connections to the scholarly world of Syria,[8] although this only applied to his paternal relatives, as we will see later on. According to his own information his mother Azzdān came from Anatolia *(rūmīyah)*.[9] Ibn Ṭūlūn's statement that she spoke *lisān al-arwām*[10] leaves open whether she was a Turkish or a Greek woman from Anatolia. Usage in those days allows for both interpretations. The boy was half-orphaned at a very early age, because Azzdān fell victim to one of the numerous plague epidemics.[11] In the following years Muḥammad grew up in the bosom of his father's family.[12]

His father together with his brother Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf (d. 937/1530–31), who was *muftī* and qadi at the *dār al-ʿadl* in Damascus at that time,[13] took care of educating young Muḥammad. But his paternal grandfather Shams al-Dīn ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 887/1482–83) apparently also played a significant part in Muḥammad's intellectual training, as did Khwājah Burhān al-Dīn ibn Qindīl, the half-brother of his paternal grandfather, whose life as a merchant ended in Mecca in the year 887/1482–83.[14] Burhān al-Dīn became well known mainly because of a major foundation that he had established in Damascus.[15] His family's ambitions meant that Ibn Ṭūlūn attended elementary school *(maktab)* at the al-Ḥājibīyah Madrasah[16] to learn reading and writing.[17] He studied the Quran at the *maktab* of the al-Kawāfī Mosque at the same time—or after school.[18] The author proudly tells us in his autobiography that he recited from the Quran in public for the first time when he was seven years old, i.e., in 887/1482–83, at a meeting held during the night of the 20th of Ramaḍān.[19]

Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān. (Damascus, 1949–56).

[8]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Fulk,* 6.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Ibid.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ibid, 6–7.

[13]Aḥmad ibn Munlā, *Mutʿat al-Adhhān min al-Tamattuʿ bi-al-Iqrān bayna Tarājim al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān* [= extracts of Ibn Ṭūlūn's *Al-Tamattuʿ bi-al-Iqrān bayna Tarājim al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān*], ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl al-Shaybānī al-Mawṣilī (Beirut, 1999), 843–44 (# 974).

[14]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Fulk,* 7.

[15]Ibid, 28.

[16]ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Nuʿaymī, *Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris,* ed. Jaʿfar al-Ḥasanī (Cairo, 1988), 1:501–2.

[17]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Fulk,* 7.

[18]Ibid.

[19]Ibid.

Ibn Ṭūlūn was fortunate, by the way, to have grown up in times of peace.[20] Law and order generally prevailed in Syria during Qaytbāy′s regency from 872/1468 to 901/1496. Abū al-Baqā' ibn Yaḥyá Ibn al-Ji'ān (d. 902/1496–97) presents quite authentic testimony on the conditions that characterized this epoch.[21] In his capacity as the deputy of Zayn al-Dīn Ibn Muzhir (d. 893/1487–88),[22] who was confidential secretary *(kātib al-sirr)* in those days, he kept a most interesting journal of the sultan′s official visit to Syria and Palestine in 882/1477,[23] describing the living conditions of the people in the countryside and the cities in great detail.[24]

Ibn Ṭūlūn′s intellectual powers were also stimulated in the following years: in 891/1486–87, at age 11, he was awarded a scholarship endowed by the *waqf* of the al-Māridanīyah Madrasah[25] to study jurisprudence *(fiqh)*.[26] He subsequently pursued his studies at the educational institutions of the al-Manjak Mosque[27] and the Masjid al-Jadīd[28] after that.[29] While our protagonist′s uncle Jamāl al-Dīn apparently was his most important teacher at the beginning, other respected scholars in the city, such as Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn Zurayq (d. 891/1486),[30] Sirāj al-Dīn al-Ṣayrafī (d. 917/1511–12),[31] Abū al-Fatḥ al-Mizzī (d. 906/1500–1),[32] and al-Suyūṭī,[33] took

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[20]The historical background is given in Carl F. Petry, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qanṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (Seattle, 1993), and idem, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt′s Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994).

[21]Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden, 1949), 2:38 and S2:26. Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi',* ed. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Qudsī (Cairo, 1934–36), 11:10 (# 21).

[22]Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 11:88–89 (# 233).

[23]For this journey, see Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām al-Wará bi-Man Wulliya Nā'iban min al-Atrāk bi-Dimashq al-Shām al-Kubrá,* ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān (Damascus, 1964), 72–82 = Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas,* 33–38.

[24]Ibn al-Ji'ān, *Al-Qawl al-Mustaẓraf fī Safar Mawlānā al-Malik al-Ashraf,* ed. R. V. Lanzone (Turin, 1878). French translation: R. L. Devonshire, ″Relation d′un voyage du sultan Qaitbay en Palestine et en Syrie,″ *Bulletin d′Institut Français d′Archéologie Orientale du Caire* 20 (1922): 1–42.

[25]Al-Nu'aymī, *Dāris,* 1:592–94.

[26]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Fulk,* 24.

[27]Al-Nu'aymī, *Dāris,* 2:444–45.

[28]Ibid, 361–62

[29]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Fulk,* 24.

[30]Aḥmad ibn Munlā, *Mut'at al-Adhhān,* 48–49 (# 5).

[31]Ibid, 557–58 (# 617).

[32]Ibid, 770–71 (# 881).

[33]Elizabeth M. Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī,* vol. 1, *Biography and Background* (Cambridge, 1975).

over later on. It was an honor to have been instructed by such an eminent personality as al-Suyūṭī, which is why the historian Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (d. 1061/1651)[34] specifically mentions in his short biography that Ibn Ṭūlūn was awarded a teaching licence *(ijāzah)* by the master.[35]

The syllabus covered the usual subjects of those days: Hanafi law, hadith studies, exegesis of the Quran, grammar, theology, but also medicine and astronomy. In his autobiography Ibn Ṭūlūn provides us with a long list of all the ulama with whom he studied; he also recorded every single book that he worked through in the course of his studies.[36] He was particularly interested in history. Two individuals had a formative influence in this context: Yūsuf ibn ʻAbd al-Hādī (d. 909/1503), a Hanbali known by the name of Ibn al-Mibrad, who wrote several works on the history of Damascus,[37] and ʻAbd al-Qādir Nuʻaymī (d. 927/1521), a Shafiʻi, who left a comprehensive topography of Damascus to posterity.[38]

We have only a smattering of information about Ibn Ṭūlūn's life after the completion of his studies. But his autobiography lets us know that he held various teaching positions and religious administrative jobs: in 902/1496–97 he was posted at the al-Khātūnīyah[39] and in 909/1503–4 at the al-Jawharīyah.[40] He earned some additional money by reciting from the Quran in a number of madrasahs: at the al-ʻIlmīyah and al-ʻIzzīyah in 901/1495–96,[41] at the al-Dulāmīyah in 902/1496–97,[42] at the al-ʻUmarīyah in 909/1503–4,[43] and at the Umayyad Mosque in 912/1506–07.[44] Moreover, he served as the imam of various Sufi congregations in Damascus: at the al-Ḥusāmīyah in 901/1495–96[45] and at the al-Yūnusīyah[46] and al-Suyūfīyah in

[34]Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *Luṭf al-Samar wa-Qaṭf al-Thamar min Tarājim Aʻyān al-Ṭabaqah al-Ūlá min al-Qarn al-Ḥādī ʻAshar,* ed. Maḥmūd al-Shaykh (Damascus, 1981), 1:11–211 (introduction).

[35]Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib al-Sā'irah fī Aʻyān al-Mi'ah al-ʻĀshirah,* ed. Jibrā'īl Sulaymān Jabbūr (Beirut, 1945), 2:52.

[36]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Fulk,* 7–18.

[37]*GAL* 2:107–08, S2:130–31; Stefan Leder, "Yūsuf b. ʻAbd al-Hādī," in *EI*[2], 9:354; Aḥmad ibn Munlā, *Mutʻat al-Adhhān,* 838–840 (# 968).

[38]See note 16. *GAL* 2:133, S2:165.

[39]Nuʻaymī, *Dāris,* 1:507–18.

[40]Ibid, 498–501; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Fulk,* 23.

[41]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Fulk,* 23; Nuʻaymī, *Dāris,* 1: 550–55, 558–60.

[42]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Fulk,* 23.

[43]Ibid, 22–23; Nuʻaymī, *Dāris,* 2:100–12; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Qalā'id,* 165–83.

[44]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Fulk,* 22; Nuʻaymī, *Dāris,* 2:371–416.

[45]Nuʻaymī, *Dāris,* 2:143–44.

[46]Ibid, 189–90.

908/1502–3.[47] He became administrator of a small *zāwiyah* in al-Rabwah[48] in 909/1503–4.[49] After Ibn Ṭūlūn had made his pilgrimage in 920/1514[50] he worked as an assistant professor at the al-Muqaddamīyah[51] and at the Umayyad Mosque[52] on the eve of the Ottoman's Syrian conquest.

The occupation of his hometown by the Ottoman Sultan Selīm (r. 918–26/1512–1520) in 922/1516[53] does not seem to have represented a break for our author. In his writings he only mentioned this event in passing and did not attach much importance to it.[54] Nor does the transition in power seem to have been detrimental to his career: in 924/1518 he was appointed imam and reader of the Quran at the Grand Mosque[55] that had been built in al-Ṣāliḥīyah by the new sultan next to the mausoleum of Ibn ʻArabī (d. 638/1240).[56] In the same year, Ibn Ṭūlūn also served as reader of the Quran at the *turbah* of Shāhīn al-Shujāʻī (d. 813/1411–12)[57] at the foot of Gabriel's Cave *(kahf Jibrīl)*.[58] Ibn Ṭūlūn's career reached a kind of pinnacle in 926/1520: this was the year that he taught at the al-ʻAdhrāwīyah Madrasah,[59] held the office of a supervisor at the al-Yūnusīyah Khānqāh,[60] and worked as a librarian in the library that ʻAlā' al-Dīn al-Bukhārī

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[47]Ibid, 202; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Fulk,* 23.

[48]The part of Ibn Ṭūlūn's *Dhakhā'ir al-Qaṣr fī Tarājim Nubalā' al-ʻAṣr* which deals with al-Rabwah has been edited separately by Aḥmad Taymūr as *Waṣf Rabwat Dimashq wa-Muntazahātuhā wa-Mīdān al-Qabaq* [in *Revue de l'Académie Arabe de Damas* 2 (1922): 147–52].

[49]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Fulk,* 25.

[50]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Iʻlām,* 208 = Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas,* 139.

[51]Nuʻaymī, *Dāris,* 1:594–99.

[52]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Fulk,* 24.

[53]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* ed. Muḥammed Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 1962–64), 2:32–36. The historical value of this source was first recognized by theViennese scholar Herbert Jansky. See Herbert Jansky, "Die Chronik des Ibn Ṭūlūn als Geschichtsquelle über den Feldzug Sultan Selim's I. gegen die Mamluken," *Der Islam* 18 (1929): 24–33. When Jansky wrote his study "Die Eroberung Syriens durch Sultan Selīm I." [in *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte* 2 (1923–26): 173–241] he did not know of Ibn Ṭūlūn's chronicle. Ibn Ṭūlūn's *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān* provides a good historian with much interesting information. See, for example, Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, "Voleurs et assassins à Damas et au Caire (fin IX^{e}/ XV^{e}–début X^{e}/ XVI^{e} siècle)," *Annales islamologiques* 35 (2001): 193–240.

[54]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Iʻlām,* 211, 212 = Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas,* 143, 144.

[55]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Fulk,* 23.

[56]Ibid., and Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Iʻlām,* 226–27 = Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas,* 149–50.

[57]Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 3:294; Nuʻaymī, *Dāris,* 1:313–15.

[58]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Fulk,* 23.

[59]Nuʻaymī, *Dāris,* 1:373–82.

[60]Ibid, 2:189–90.

(d. 841/1437–38),[61] a Hanafi, built in the sepulcher of Sharaf al-Dīn ibn ʻUrwah (d. 620/1223) that is known by the name of ″Mashhad ʻUrwah.″[62]

Ibn Ṭūlūn′s favorable attitude towards the new rulers became quite apparent upon the revolt of the governor of Damascus, Jānbirdī al-Ghazālī (d. 927/1521),[63] shortly after Sultan Selīm′s death on the 8th of Shawwāl 926/21st of September 1520 and the accession to the throne of Sultan Sulaymān (r. 926–74/1520–66):[64] the author of the *Fulk al-Mashḥūn* harshly condemned the actions of the governor, regarding the event as a desertion *(fitnah)* that was potentially dangerous to Syrian society.[65]

We know very little about the next ten years of Ibn Ṭūlūn′s life. Sources dating from 931/1524–25 show that he taught Hanafi law at the al-ʻUmarīyah Madrasah, which I already mentioned above—at first he was an assistant and then from 935/1528–29 on a full professor.[66] In 946/1539–40, when Muḥammad Beg al-Isṭanbūlī, the Grand Qadi of Damascus appointed by the Sublime Porte, suggested that Ibn Ṭūlūn succeed the deceased Shafiʻi Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad and take on the office of preacher at the Umayyad Mosque[67] he declined because of his age. Nor did Ibn Ṭūlūn accept the offer made upon the death of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad to become his successor as Hanafi *muftī* of Damascus.[68] To the end of his days Ibn Ṭūlūn held various teaching positions at different educational institutions in Damascus,[69] particularly at the al-Ẓāhirīyah Madrasah.[70] In the end, the committed bachelor died at an age of over 70 years on the 10th of Jumādá II 953/9th of August 1546.[71]

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[61]Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, 9:291–94.

[62]Nuʻaymī, *Dāris,* 1:82–89; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Fulk,* 23–24.

[63]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Iʻlām,* 228–37 = Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas,* 151–59.

[64]Muḥammad A. Bakhīt, *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the Sixteenth Century* (Beirut, 1982), 19–34.

[65]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Iʻlām,* 231–37 = Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas,* 154–59.

[66]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Fulk,* 24.

[67]Ibid, 25.

[68]Ibid.

[69]Ibid.

[70]Nuʻaymī, *Dāris,* 1:543–48.

[71]Al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 2:53; Ibn Ayyūb, ″Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-ʻĀṭir,″ Berlin MS 9886, fol. 237a, has 955/1548.

IBN ṬŪLŪN´S WORKS—PAST EDITIONS AND FUTURE TASKS

Ibn Ṭūlūn provides us with a list of his works in his autobiography. He mentions a remarkable total of 750 titles,[72] even though probably less than 100 have been preserved. Carl Brockelmann discovered some 75 works in the relevant catalogues,[73] but he also found some evidence that yet another 100 manuscripts of our author´s texts are to be found in the private library of Aḥmad Taymūr in Cairo.[74] Unfortunately, I was not in a position to verify this information. If it is true, and I am working on the assumption that it is, because some of the published texts evidently were taken from this source, then the collection should prove to be a goldmine with regard to future research on Ibn Ṭūlūn´s intellectual horizon. In his works Ibn Ṭūlūn deals with almost every known subject area, but his papers vary greatly in length: some of his articles are just a few pages long, whereas others take the form of voluminous monographs. The following works by our Damascene alim are presently available in print:[75]

1. *Al-Arbaʿīn fī Faḍl al-Raḥmah wa-al-Rāḥimīn,* ed. Muḥammad Khayr Ramaḍān Yūsuf (Beirut, 1995).
2. *Basṭ Sāmiʿ al-Musāmir fī Akhbār Majnūn Banī ʿĀmir*, (Cairo, 1964).
3. *Ḍarb al-Ḥūtah ʿalá Jāmiʿ al-Ghūṭah,* ed. Muḥammad Asʿad Ṭalas, in *Majallat al-Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī* 21 (1946): 149–61; 236–47; 338–51.
4. *Faṣṣ al-Khawātim fīmā Qīla fī al-Walāʾim,* ed. Nizār Abāẓah (Damascus, 1983).
5. *Al-Fulk al-Mashḥūn* (Damascus, 1929).
6. *Ḥārāt Dimashq al-Qadīmah,* ed. Ḥabīb Zayyāt, in *Al-Mashriq* 35 (1937): 33–35.
7. *Inbāʾ al-Umarāʾ bi-Abnāʾ al-Wuzarāʾ,* ed. Muhannā Ḥamad al-Muhannā (Beirut, 1998).
8. *Iʿlām al-Sāʾilīn ʿan Kutub Sayyid al-Mursalīn* (Damascus, 1929).
9. *Iʿlām al-Wará bi-man Wulliya Nāʾiban min al-Atrāk bi-Dimashq al-Shām al-Kubrá,* ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān (Damascus, 1964).
10. *Al-Lamʿāt al-Barqīyah fī al-Nukat al-Tārīkhīyah,* (1) (Damascus, 1929); (2) ed. Muḥammad Khayr Ramaḍān Yūsuf (Beirut, 1994).
11. *Al-Manhal al-Rāwī fī al-Ṭibb al-Nabawī,* ed. Z. ʿUthmān al-Jaʿīd (Beirut, 1996).

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[72]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Fulk,* 26–48.

[73]*GAL* 2:481–83 and S2:494–95.

[74]Ibid, 494. Some catalogues are listed in Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden, 1967–2000), 6:325.

[75]This list makes no claim to be exhaustive.

12. *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 1962–64).
13. *Al-Mu'izzah fīmā Qāla fī al-Mizzah*, (1) (Damascus, 1929); (2) ed. Muḥammad 'Umar Ḥammādah (Damascus, 1983).
14. *Naqd al-Ṭālib li-Zaghal al-Manāṣib,* ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān (Beirut, 1992).
15. *Al-Qalā'id al-Jawharīyah fī Tārīkh al-Ṣāliḥīyah*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān (Damascus, 1949–56).
16. *Qayd al-Sharīd min Akhbār Yazīd,* ed. Muḥammad 'Azad (Cairo, 1986).
17. *Quḍāt Dimashq: al-Thaghr al-Bassām fī Dhikr Man Wulliya Qaḍā' al-Shām,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Damascus, 1956).[76]
18. *Qurrāt al-'Uyūn fī Akhbār Bāb Jīrūn,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Damascus, 1964).
19. *Al-Shadharāt al-Dhahabīyah fī Tarājim al-A'immah Ithnā 'Ashar 'inda al-Imāmīyah,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid under the title *Al-A'immah al-Ithnā 'Ashar* (Beirut, 1958).
20. *Al-Shadhrah fī al-Aḥādīth al-Mushtahirah,* ed. Kamāl Zaghlūl (Beirut, 1993).
21. *Al-Sham'ah al-Muḍī'ah fī Akhbār al-Qal'ah al-Dimashqīyah* (Damascus, 1929).
22. *Tabyīḍ al-Ṭirs fī al-Samar al-Layālīyah li-'Irs* (Damascus, 1929/30).
23. *Al-Taḥrīr al-Murassakh fī Aḥwāl al-Barzakh,* ed. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Miṣrī (Tanta, 1991).
24. *Al-Tamattu' bi-al-Iqrān bayna Tarājim al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān.* Extracts are: Aḥmad ibn Munlā, *Mut'at al-Adhhān min at-Tamattu' bi-al-Iqrān bayna Tarājim al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl al-Shaybānī al-Mawṣilī (Beirut, 1999).
25. *Tuḥfat al-Ṭālibīn fī I'rāb Qawlihi Ta'ālá 'Inna Raḥmata Allāh Qarībun min al-Muḥsinīn,'* ed. Jābir al-Sayyid Mubārak (Cairo, 1989).

An in-depth analysis of writings alone would already give us many new insights into the world view of their author. But finding and studying new texts composed by the scholar would inevitably have to be the first step before actually writing a more detailed account of Ibn Ṭūlūn's life. We are very fortunate, after all, that many manuscripts are autographs and that obtaining them on microfilm or as a copy does not pose a serious problem, at least as far as all of the holdings in German libraries are concerned:

[76]Gerhard Conrad, *Die Quḍāt Dimašq und der Maḏhab al-Auzā'ī: Materialien zur syrischen Rechtsgeschichte* (Beirut, 1994), 11–17, 55–61.

MANUSCRIPTS IN GERMANY[77]

1. ″Dhakhā’ir al-Qaṣr fī Tarājim Nubalā’ al-‘Aṣr ″ (Gotha 1779)
2. ″Ghāyat al-Bayān fī Tarjamat al-Shaykh Arslān″ (Berlin 10106)
3. [An essay on the various meanings of some important words] (Berlin 5105)
4. ″Al-Wāḍiḥah fī Waṣf al-Qarīnah al-Ṣāliḥah″ (Berlin 5595, 2)
5. ″Al-Nafḥah al-Zanbaqīyah fī al-As’ilah al-Dimashqīyah″ (Berlin 297)
6. ″Al-Naṭq al-Munabbi’ ‘an Tarjamat al-Shaykh al-Muḥyawī Ibn al-‘Arabī″ (Berlin 10098)
7. ″Al-Ṭāri’ ‘alá Zallat al-Qāri’″ (Berlin 571)
8. [A *qaṣīdah* on different kinds of martyrdom] (Berlin 7936, 3)
9. ″Ramz al-Sālik li-‘Ilm al-Madārik″ (Berlin 134)
10. ″Ta‘līq Wajīz fī Tadwīn ‘Ilm al-Kumūn wa-al-Burūz″ (Berlin 5104)
11. ″Al-Ibtihāj fī Aḥkām al-Ikhtilāj″ (Leipzig 843)

Perusal of Ibn Ṭūlūn′s manuscripts kept at Leiden University Library or elsewhere in the Netherlands should be just as easy.[78]

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE NETHERLANDS

1. ″Al-Arba‘ūnah Ḥadīthan al-Ṭūlūniyah″ (Or. 2519)
2. ″Al-As’ilah al-Mu‘tabarah wa-al-Ajwibah al-Mukhtabarah″ (Or. 2520)
3. ″Fatḥ al-Qadīr fī al-Tanīth wa-al-Tadhkīr″ (Or. 2507)
4. ″Al-Ilmām bi-Sharḥ Ḥaqīqat al-Istifhām″ (Or. 2514)
5. ″Itḥāf al-Nubahā’ bi-Naḥw al-Fuqahā’″ (Or. 2505)
6. ″Majlis al-Mukhāṭabah bayna al-Zajjāj wa-Tha‘lab″ (Or. 2517)
7. ″Al-Masā’il al-Mulaqqabāt fī ‘Ilm al-Naḥw″ (Or. 2503)
8. ″Minḥat al-Afāḍil li-al-Shurūṭ Allatī bi-hā Yataḥaqqaqu Tanāzu’ al-‘Āmilayn aw al-‘Awāmil″ (Or. 2515)
9. ″Qā‘idat al-‘Iqyān fī Ajwibat Mas’alat ′Laysa fī al-Imkān Abda‘ mimmā Kān′″ (Or. 2510)
10. ″Tabyīn al-Munāsabāt bayna al-Asmā’ wa-al-Musammayāt″ (Or. 2508)
11. ″Al-Talwīḥāt fī al-Wujūd al-Dhihnī wa-al-Khārijī″ (Or. 2513)
12. ″Tārīkh Aḥwāl Ifranj Bayrūt″ (Or. 2506)

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[77]Berlin = Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniß der arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1887–99); Gotha = Wilhelm Pertsch, *Die arabischen Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Gotha* (Gotha, 1878–92); Leipzig = Karl Vollers, *Katalog der islamischen, christlich-orientalischen, jüdischen und samaritanischen Hds. der Universitätsbibliothek zu Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1906).

[78]P. Voorhoeve, *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in the Netherlands* (Leiden, 1957).

13. ″Tashnīf al-Sāmi' fī 'Ilm Ḥisāb al-Aṣābi'″ (Or. 2511)
14. ″Tuḥfat al-Ḥabīb bi-Akhbār al-Kathīb″ (Or 2512)
15. ″Al-Ḥāwī 'alá Ṭuraf min al-Tanzīl li-Ẓuraf min al-Ta'wīl (Landb.-Br. 146)[79]
16. ″Laṭā'if al-Minnah fī Muntazahāt al-Jannah″ (Brill-H.^{2} 1011)[80]

Accessing the manuscript sections of non-European libraries may prove to be somewhat more challenging. There seems to be a major collection of Ibn Ṭūlūn′s writings in Alexandria:

Manuscripts in Alexandria[81]

1. ″Laqs al-Ḥanak fīmā Qīla fī al-Samak″ (Alex. Fun. 183, 6)
2. ″Al-Mulḥá fīmā Warada fī al-Subḥah″ (Alex. Fun. 183, 11)
3. ″Al-'Uqūd al-Durrīyah fī al-Umarā' al-Miṣrīyah″ (Alex. Fun. 183, 14)
4. ″Al-Naḥlah fīmā Warada fī al-Nakhlah″ (Alex. Fun. 183, 2)
5. ″Al-Ta'rīf fī Fann al-Taḥrīf″ (Alex. Fun. 183, 13)
6. ″Araj al-Nasamāt fī A'mār al-Makhlūqāt″ (Alex. Fun. 183, 10)
7. ″Ibtisām al-Thughūr fīmā Qīla fī Naf' al-Zuhūr″ (Alex. Fun. 183, 8)
8. ″Ijāzah″ (Alex. Fun. 183, 1)
9. ″'Unwān al-Rasā'il fī Ma'rifat al-Awā'il″ (Alex. Fun. 183, 3)
10. ″Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb fī Manṭiq al-Ṭayr wa-al-Dawāb″ (Alex. Fun. 183, 9)
11. ″Irtiyāḥ al-Khāṭir fī Ma'rifat al-Awākhir″ (Alex. Fun. 183, 4)
12. ″Nafaḥāt al-Zahr fī Dhawq Ahl al-'Aṣr″ (Alex Fun. 183, 12)
13. ″Risālat fī al-Fakhkh wa-al-'Uṣfūr″ (Alex. Fun. 183, 7)
14. ″Risālat fī al-Fīl″ (Alex. Fun. 183, 5)

The remainder of the manuscripts represent individual copies that can be found at various libraries in Europe, America, Egypt, and Syria:

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[79]These data in *GAL* refer to C. Landberg, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes provenant d′une bibliothèque privée à El-Medina et appartenant à la maison E. J. Brill* (Leiden, 1883). I am not sure about the whereabouts of this manuscript.

[80]Brill – H.^{2} = M. Th. Houtsma, *Catalogue d′une collection de mss. Arabes et turcs appartenant à la maison E. J. Brill. à Leide*, 2nd., extended edition (Leiden, 1889). I do not know where this manuscript is kept now.

[81]Alex = A. Abū 'Alī, ed., *Fihrist Makhṭūṭāt al-Maktabah al-Baladīyah fī al-Iskandarīyah* (Alexandria, 1926–29). *GAL* 2:482–83.

OTHER MANUSCRIPTS[82]

1. ″ʻArf al-Zaharāt fī Tafsīr al-Kalimāt al-Ṭayyibāt (Garr. 702)
2. ″Al-Fihrist al-Awṣaṭ min al-Marwīyāt″ (Taymūrīyah, Tārīkh No. 754)[83]
3. ″Al-Ghuraf al-ʻAlīyah fī Tarājim Muta'akhkhirī al-Ḥanafīyah″ (Br. Mus. 645; Şehid Ali Paşa 1924; and Taymūrīyah, Tārīkh No. 631)
4. ″Kamāl al-Murūwah fī Jamāl al-Futūwah″[84]
5. ″Al-Kinās li-Fawā'id al-Nās″ (Esc.² 545)
6. ″Al-Lu'lu' al-Manẓūm fī al-Wuqūf ʻalá Mā Ishtaghaltu bi-hi min al-ʻUlūm″ (Br. Mus. 430, 6)
7. ″Taʻlīqāt fī al-Tarājim″ (Zah. 186)
8. ″Tuḥfat al-Kirām bi-Tarjamat Sayyidī Abī Bakr ibn Qiwām (b. 548)″ (Cairo² V, 415)

SOME PROPOSALS TOWARDS A BIOGRAPHY OF IBN ṬŪLŪN

The above-mentioned biographical data on Ibn Ṭūlūn can be regarded as the building blocks that might lay the factual groundwork for additional, more comprehensive studies. A study of our author′s life within the contemporary context, for example, seems to be a worthwhile initial research project. Viewing Ibn Ṭūlūn′s life in such a context would lend a potential biography depth of focus and significance. However, writing a historical biography is not an easy feat these days.[85] The protagonist of such a biography must be conceived of as a subject

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[82]Esc.² = H. Derenbourg, *Les manuscrits arabes de L′Escurial,* vol. 1 (Paris, 1884); vol. 2/1, *Morale et politique* (Paris, 1903); Br. Mus. = W. Cureton und C. Rieu, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur: Pars secunda, codices arabicos amplectens* (London, 1846–71); Cairo² = *Fihrist al-Kutub al-ʻArabīyah al-Mawjūdah bi-Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah,* vols. 2–6 (Cairo, 1926–34); Garr. = Ph. K. Hitti et al., *Descriptive Catalogue of the Garrett Collection of Arabic Mss. In the Princeton University Library* (Princeton, 1938); Şehid Ali Paşa = this collection is now kept in the Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi—it has a card index; Taymūrīyah = *Fihris al-Khizānah al-Taymūrīyah* (Cairo, 1948–50); Zah. = *Fihrist Makhṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhirīyah: al-Tārīkh wa-Mulḥaqātuh, wa-Daʻahū Yūsuf al-ʻIsh* (Damascus, 1947).

[83]*GAL* S2:495 (# 42) has ″Fihris al-Marwīyāt al-Akbar, al-Awṣaṭ, al-Ṣaghīr.″

[84]Ibid. (# 31). Joseph Schacht mentions this manuscript in his ″Einige Kairiner Handschriften über furusija und futuwa,″ *Islam* 19 (1931): 51.

[85]*La biographie, modes et méthodes,* ed. Robert Kopp (Paris, 2001); *Biographie und Geschichtswissenschaft,* ed. Grete Klingenstein (Vienna, 1979); *Problèmes et méthodes de la biographie: Actes du Colloque (Mai 1985)* (Paris, 1985); Jacques LeGoff, ″Comment écrire une biographie historique aujourd′hui?,″ *Le débat* 54 (1989): 48–53; idem, ″Whys and Ways of Writing a Biography: The Case of Saint Louis,″ *Exemplaria* 1 (1989): 207–25; Ernst Engelberg and Hans Schleier, ″Zu Geschichte und Theorie der historischen Biographie: Theorieverständnis-biographische Totalität-Darstellungstypen-und Formen,″ *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 38 (1990): 195–217; Jean-Claude Passeron, ″Le scénario et le corpus: Biographies, flux, trajectoires,″ in *Le*

enmeshed in a complex web at the center of the entire field of cultural studies.[86] Is there any subject better suited to provide comprehensive information about all of its surroundings and the different aspects that a cultural scientist might select from the pool of historical knowledge than such a personality? In his lifetime, Ibn Ṭūlūn was active in every arena, be it economic, social, political, religious, or cultural. It is the biographer′s responsibility to illustrate these complex links in a vivid and coherent manner. In doing so, the quest for absolute knowledge of the respective individual will necessarily always be an elusive, utopian one. It is particularly in this area of research, and more so than in others, that one needs to respect the gaps and omissions in the reference sources. On no account should one attempt to uncritically restore the elements concealed by silence; reconstructing missing links is always a risky undertaking. When working on the subject it is also important to bear in mind that a biography is no closer to real events than any other topic that the researcher might be dealing with. Often one gets the mistaken impression that there is a contrast between a concrete biography and abstract political history. A biography frequently creates so-called reality effects, which is why one needs to take due care in this context. A historian must always bow to his sources, they dictate the scope and the limitations of his study. That is what distinguishes him from a novelist, although the latter might also try very hard to obtain information about the subject matter he wants to describe. It may appear trivial to point out, but writing a biographical account must invariably be preceded by a highly critical assessment of the sources. Personalities who were not at the forefront of attention fortunately were not idealized to the same extent as saints or exceptional rulers. Jean-Claude Passeron warns of the ″risk of exaggerated interpretation and complete coherence that is inherent in every biographical approach.″[87] A portrayal of a person′s life must always point out that it represents an ″illusion biographique″ (Pierre Bourdieu).[88] After all, a biography cannot be a reconstruction of an authentic life, but only an approximation at best. A biography always runs the risk of combining a well-ordered chronology with a consistent, stable personality, coherent actions, and logical decisions. But according to Giovanni Levi a biography, on the other hand, also represents ″le lieu idéal pour vérifier le caractère interstitiel—et néanmoins important—de la liberté dont disposent les agents, comme pour observer la façon dont fonctionnent concrètement des systèmes

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raisonnement sociologique (Paris, 1991), 185–206.

[86]Jacques LeGoff and Pierre Toubert, ″Une histoire totale du Moyen Age—est-elle possible?,″ in *Actes du 100^{e} congrès national savantes (Paris 1975)* (Paris, 1977), 31–44.

[87]Passeron, *Le scénario,* 187.

[88]Pierre Bourdieu, ″L′illusion biographique,″ in *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 62–63 (1985): 69–72.

normatifs qui ne sont jamais exempts de contradictions."[89] The oft-proclaimed contrast between individual and society is nothing but an ostensible problem in this context. The individual only exists within a network of multiple social relationships and it is precisely this variety that permits him to unfold his lifestory. Sound knowledge of the respective society is a prerequisite for observing how a specific individual establishes himself in this society and how he organizes his life.

This is the backdrop against which one might ask, for example, how a scholar like Ibn Ṭūlūn experienced the transition of power in Syria in 922/1516 and how he dealt with it. At first glance there seems to be every indication that the event might have represented a turn of an era *(Zeitenwende)*,[90] but the people concerned apparently faced it with seeming equanimity, particularly in Syria. It is therefore essential to consider the author's point of view:[91] whereas Ibn Iyās (d. 930/1523)[92] and Ibn Zunbul (d. after 960/1552)[93] wrote from an Egyptian perspective, the authors of the large number of *Selīmnāmah*s regarded matters from the victorious Ottoman point of view.[94] This, of course, also holds true for the Ottoman historians

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[89]Giovanni Levi, "Les usages de la biographie," *Annales, économies, sociétés, civilisations* (1989): 1325–36, esp. 1333–34.

[90]On *Zeitenwenden* see now *Zeitenwenden: Historische Brüche in asiatischen und afrikanischen Gesellschaften*, ed. Sven Sellmer and Horst Brinkhaus (Hamburg, 2002). Within this context, it is interesting to see how Muslim historians have interpreted the fall of Baghdad 656/1258. See Anja Pistor-Hatam, "Ursachenforschung und Sinngebung: Die mongolische Eroberung Bagdads in Ibn Ḫaldūns zyklischem Geschichtsmodell," in *Die Mamluken: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur: Zum Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann (1942–1999)*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Anja Pistor-Hatam (Hamburg, 2003), 313–34.

[91]Still the best introduction is Peter Holt, "Ottoman Egypt (1517–1798): An Account of Arabic Historical Sources," in *Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt*, ed. idem (London, 1968), 3–12. For documentary sources see S. J. Shaw, "Cairo's Archives and the History of Ottoman Egypt," in *Report on Current Research* (Middle East Institute, Washington) (1956): 59–72, and A.-K. Rafeq, "Les registres des tribunaux de Damas comme source pour l'histoire de la Syrie," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 26 (1973): 219–26. Cf. also Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt's Adjustment to Ottoman Rule: Institutions, Waqf and Architecture in Cairo (16th and 17th Centuries)* (Leiden, 1994), 1–19.

[92]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr,* ed. Paul Kahle and Mohammed Mostafa (Wiesbaden, 1961–75).

[93]Ibn Zunbul, *Tārīkh Ghazwat al-Sulṭān Salīm Khān ma'a al-Sulṭān al-Ghawrī*, ed. 'Abd al-Mun'im 'Āmir (Cairo, 1997). See Benjamin Lellouch, "Ibn Zunbul, un égyptien face à l'universalisme ottoman (seizième siècle)," *Studia Islamica* 79 (1994): 143–55.

[94]On this genre, see Shehabeddin Tekindag, "Selimnâmaler," *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 1 (1970): 197–231, and Ahmet Uğur, *The Reign of Sultan Selim I in the Light of the Selimnâme Literature* (Berlin, 1985).

Muḥyī al-Dīn Meḥmed (d. 957/1550)[95] and Luṭfī Pāshā (d. 970/1562–63).[96] ʻAbd al-Ṣamad al-Diyārbakrī (d. after 945/1538–39)[97] is an interesting contemporary witness from Egypt. In his capacity as the Ottoman qadi he had arrived together with Selīm and continued working for the country′s Ottoman administration. As yet there are no in-depth studies of his *Tarjamat al-Nuzhah al-Sanīyah fī Fikr al-Khulafā' wa-al-Mulūk al-Miṣrīyah*[98] nor of his *Nawādir al-Tawārīkh.*[99]

A comparative study of Ibn Ṭūlūn′s *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān* and *Iʻlām al-Wará bi-man Wulliya Nā'iban min al-Atrāk bi-Dimashq al-Shām al-Kubrá* with al-Ishbīlī′s (d. after 923/1517) *Al-Durr al-Muṣān fī Sīrat al-Muẓaffar Salīm Khān*[100] seems to be a worthwhile undertaking to learn more about the attitude of Syrian scholars towards the new rulers. After having spent his youth in North Africa, ʻAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Lahmī al-Ishbīlī al-Maghribī al-Dimashqī[101] moved to Damascus. He was a member of the Maliki community, which was extremely small in the Syrian capital at the beginning of the ninth/sixteenth century.[102] Apparently, he did not rise very far in the Maliki hierarchy, but rather had to make do with a number of humble and thus low-paid positions. When it became clear that Mamluk rule was drawing to a close in Syria, al-Ishbīlī obviously wished to accommodate himself to the changing times by writing a panegyric chronicle of the new ruler. He probably wanted to ingratiate himself with the new establishment and—as a result—climb the social ladder. Al-Ishbīlī therefore had to write such a chronicle as fast as possible in order to give it to the new ruler while he still was in the country. Our author′s behavior was in absolute agreement with a concept of Islamic law according to which any new conqueror was preferable to an old, weak, and corrupt regime if he maintained law and order and thus ensured the performance of religious duties.[103] One also believed that every century

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[95]Muḥyī al-Dīn Meḥmed′s *Tārīkh-i Āl-i ʻOthmān* is still available only in MS. See Franz Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke* [= *GOW*] (Leipzig, 1927), 72–74, and Theodor Menzel, ″Muḥyī l-Dīn Meḥmed,″ *EI*[2], 7:478–79.

[96]Luṭfī Pāshā, *Tevārīkh-i Āl-i ʻOthmān*, ed. ʻAlī Emīrī (Istanbul, 1922–23).

[97]*GOW,* 58–59.

[98]ʻAbd al-Ṣamad al-Diyārbakrī, ″Tarjamat al-Nuzhah al-Saniyah fī Dhikr al-Khulafā' wa-al-Mulūk al-Miṣrīyah,″ British Library MS Add. 7846.

[99]ʻAbd al-Ṣamad al-Diyārbakrī, ″Nawādir al-Tawārīkh,″ Millet Library Istanbul MS 596.

[100]Al-Ishbīlī, *Al-Durr al-Muṣān fī Sīrat al-Muẓaffar Salīm Khān,* ed. Hans Ernst (Cairo, 1962). See Michael Winter, ″A Seventeenth Century Arabic Panegyric of the Ottoman Dynasty,″ *Asian and African Studies* 13 (1979): 130–56.

[101]Al-Ishbīlī, *Durr,* 19.

[102]One finds a survey of this *madhhab* in al-Nuʻaymī, *Dāris,* 2:3–28.

[103]See Ulrich Haarmann, ″′Lieber hundert Jahre Zwangsherrschaft als ein Tag Leiden im Bürgerkrieg′: Ein gemeinsamer Topos im islamischen und frühneuzeitlichen europäischen Staatsdenken,″ in

brought forth an exceptional personality *(mujaddid al-ʿaṣr)* who would renew the faith that had been corrupted over time, restoring Islam to its pure and original form.[104] Of course, scholars hardly ever agreed as to who actually was the respective renewer. Al-Suyūṭī, for example, considered himself to be the *mujaddid* of the tenth century of the Muslim calendar,[105] whereas the Persian scholar Faḍl Allāh ibn Rūzbihān Khunjī (d. 927/1521) initially thought that the Uzbek ruler Shībānī Khān (d. 916/1510) represented the restorer of an ideal Islamic society.[106] Khunjī was a little fickle-minded, however, because he dropped the Uzbek ruler after Shībānī had been defeated by Shāh Ismāʿīl (d. 930/1524) at Chaldirān in August 920/1514 and, without further ado, declared the Ottoman sultan Selīm the true *mujaddid al-ʿaṣr* in two poems.[107] His opinion was shared by Luṭfī Pāshā, the Ottoman historian mentioned above, who described Selīm as the religious reformer of the tenth century in his chronicle *Tevārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān*.[108] Al-Ishbīlī readily agreed with this pronouncement.[109] In his view the Ottoman ruler had not been motivated by power politics when he conquered Egypt and Syria, but rather had followed divine inspiration.[110] He felt that Selīm possessed a ″blessed soul,″[111] and as the ″keeper of the faith″[112] was not merely the successor of the ″righteous

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Gottes ist der Orient, Gottes ist der Okzident: Festschrift für Abdoldjavad Falaturi zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. Udo Tworuschka (Cologne, 1991): 262–69.

[104]For the *mujaddid* conception, see Ella Landau-Tasseron, ″The ′Cyclical Reform′: A Study of the Mujaddid Tradition,″ *Studia Islamica* 70 (1989): 79–113. The idea of a *mujaddid al-ʿaṣr* is based on the following hadith: ″God will send to this community at the turn of every century someone who will restore religion.″ Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (d. 889/1484), *Kitāb al-Sunan,* ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥāmid (Cairo, 1951), 4:156.

[105]Al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb al-Taḥadduth bi-Niʿmat Allāh,* ed. Elizabeth M. Sartain (Cambridge, 1975), 215, 227. See Ignaz Goldziher, ″Zur Charakteristik Jelâl du-dîn us-Suyûtî′s und seiner literarischen Tätigkeit,″ in *Gesammelte Schriften,* ed. Joseph Desomogyi (Hildesheim, 1967), 52–73.

[106]Faḍl Allāh ibn Rūzbihān Khunjī, *Mihmān′nāmah-′i Bukhārā,* ed. Manūchihr Sutūda (Tehran, 1962), 1, and Ursula Ott, *Transoxanien und Turkestan zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts: Das* Mihmān-nama-yi Buḫārā *des Faḍlallah b. Rūzbihān Ḫunğī* (Freiburg, 1974), 52.

[107]For the first poem, see Aḥmed Beg Ferīdūn, *Munshaʿāt al-Salāṭīn* (Istanbul, 1857), 1:416 ff, and Edgar G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (Cambridge, 1956–59), 4:78 ff. Erika Glassen has verified Khunjī′s authorship: idem, ″Krisenbewußtsein und Heilserwartung in der islamischen Welt zu Beginn der Neuzeit,″ in *Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Ulrich Haarmann and Peter Bachmann (Beirut and Wiesbaden, 1979), 166–79, n. 34.

[108]Luṭfī Pāshā, *Tevārīkh-i Āl-i ʿOthmān,* 11.

[109]Al-Ishbīlī, *Durr,* 1, lines 1–3.

[110]Ibid., 6, line 30.

[111]Ibid., 2, line 7.

[112]Ibid., 2, line 13.

caliph″[113] but the caliph himself,[114] as he was also the ″imam,″[115] the ″shadow the Almighty casts on his earth″[116] and the ″sovereign of the faithful.″[117] But despite these divine directions al-Ishbīlī is hard put to justify the Ottoman invasion of the Sunni empire of the Mamluks. Finding reasons for the campaigns against the Shi'i Safavids was easy: after all, they were ″godless people and strayers from the flock of believers,″[118] ″Kharijite hordes,″[119] ″innovators,″[120] and ″the devil′s party″[121] in general. According to al-Ishbīlī, the Shāh and his followers had expelled themselves from the Islamic community by their activities. Being heretics, they had to be destroyed in the Holy War according to religious laws and regulations. Selīm′s campaign against Shāh Ismā'īl was, therefore, perfectly justified by the Sunnah and the Quran. But one could hardly criticize the Mamluks in the same manner, which is why al-Ishbīlī accused them of suppression[122] and tyranny[123] as a result of depraved religious conditions in the country.[124] In order to substantiate his arguments, the author resorted to dreams and number-symbolic interpretations of specific historical events in his *Al-Durr al-Muṣān* to demonstrate divine omens of Selīm′s destiny. From the fact that the battle of al-Raydānīyah had been fought on the 29th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 922 [= 23 January 1517], the last day of the Islamic lunar year, he inferred the following: ″This portends the end of their rule. Because the month had passed and thus the year [9]22.″[125] These allusions are taken up in his dreams: in his first dream two moons rise and meet above Damascus. One tumbles down and the other one shines on the Umayyad Mosque.[126] The Angels Gabriel, Michael, and the four righteous caliphs appear in the following dream. One of them says: ″These [Mamluks] will disappear with the help of Salīm ibn 'Uthmān.″[127] Finally the Prophet Muḥammad appears, explaining that: ″Sulṭān Ibn 'Uthmān is

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[113]Ibid., 3, line 21.

[114]Ibid., 3, line 9.

[115]Ibid., 6, line 11.

[116]Ibid., 6, lines 11–12

[117]Ibid., 6, line 3.

[118]Ibid., 4, lines 13–14.

[119]Ibid., 5, line 9.

[120]Ibid., 4, line 20.

[121]Ibid., 5, lines 18–19.

[122]Ibid., 7, line 12.

[123]Ibid., 15, line 15.

[124]Ibid., 7, line 13.

[125]Ibid., 12, lines 13–14.

[126]Ibid., 10, lines 7–8.

[127]Ibid., 11, lines 10–12.

the ruler of Egypt and Cairo."[128]

Al-Ishbīlī's currying favor with the Ottomans appears to have been the normal behavioral pattern of many Syrian scholars in those days. A new ruler did not mean a new era to them, but simply a shift in the power structure of the whole Sunni community *(ummah)*. One did not owe the Mamluks any particular loyalty, because they represented a foreign elite too.

This may also explain why Ibn Ṭūlūn took little interest in the events in Damascus. A brief discussion of the methods Ibn Ṭūlūn used as a historian may be useful in this context: Richard Hartmann showed[129] that his *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān* mainly consists of diary entries, unlike Ibn Iyās' chronicle *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr,* written at the same time and composed of various diary-like records that were regrouped later on. There is no evidence in Ibn Ṭūlūn's work that he edited or revised the diary-like material any further. In several instances he recorded a rumor spread in Damascus on one day and only added that it was false on another day, when this was found to be the case. He possibly intended to make major revisions. In fact he not only refers to other chroniclers in his text from time to time, but at the end of the year he sometimes also adds an entire appendix taken from other contemporary historians.[130] But the first part of the chronicle must be based on other works, because the text begins in 844/1440–41 and Ibn Ṭūlūn was only born in 880/1475–76. So we need to find out which models the historian used, a matter that has not been completely resolved until now. And when does the real diary actually begin? In reference to this problem Hartmann points to a break in continuity in the entry for the 5th of Ṣafar 921/21st of March 1515.

Ibn Ṭūlūn's *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān* is an extremely important source for the year 922/1516 and the following years because the author, clearly impressed by the unfolding events, kept his diary partly also offering detailed descriptions of the Ottoman camp. His firm neutrality also with respect to the decisive battle is evidenced by the fact that he uses the epithets "hypocrite and Pharisee" to characterize the people who prayed for the victory of the ruling Mamluk sultan together with the qadis before the Battle of Marj Dābiq (15th of Rajab 922/24th of August 1516).[131] One cannot help but suspect that Ibn Ṭūlūn,

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[128]Ibid., 17, lines 1–2. See also A. N. Asrar, "The Myth about the Transfer of the Caliphate to the Ottomans," *Journal of the Regional Cultural Institute* 5 (1972): 111–20.

[129]See Richard Hartmann, *Das Tübinger Fragment der Chronik des Ibn Ṭūlūn,* Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse, year 3, vol. 2 (Berlin 1926), 87–170, esp. 87–104.

[130]Ibid, 96.

[131]Ibid, 101.

driven by opportunistic motives, also revised his observations later on to reflect a more pro-Ottoman stance. Al-Ishbīlī and Ibn Ṭūlūn are not the only ones to demonstrate eloquently that such turnabout loyalties were quite common in ulama circles; the Shafiʿi qadi Walī al-Dīn al-Farfūr (d. 937/1530–31)[132] is another example. After Selīm′s victory he gradually moved over to the Hanafi camp. He thus managed to become chief judge—after the Ottomans had reorganized the tiers of the civil service, replacing the formerly four qadis of the four law schools with one qadi and four deputies for the *madhāhib*. Eventually he had to flee because he was afraid of Governor Jānbirdī, whom he distrusted—and rightly so. For a while, Ibn Ṭūlūn—who of course already had been a Hanafi beforehand—had also aspired to a lucrative sinecure at the mosque at Ibn al-ʿArabī′s tomb, which had been newly constructed by Selīm. Seeing how disparagingly Jānbirdī′s attitude is described in the chronicle one might be a bit suspicious: he is blamed for several murders in a rather thinly veiled manner.[133] On the other hand, the very case of Ibn al-Farfūr seems to prove that Ibn Ṭūlūn′s depiction is probably not far removed from the truth. If any editing was done at all at a later stage, one would have to assume that it merely consisted of emphasizing a specific tenor of the text.

These are just a couple of ideas regarding the point of view from which one might approach a biography of Ibn Ṭūlūn. Placing this scholar in the historical context of his times in such a way that his biography will render an overall picture of the era is a task that needs to be completed in the future.

Autobiographical Writing as a Literary Genre of the Mamluk Period

A more detailed study of Ibn Ṭūlūn′s *Al-Fulk al-Mashḥūn fī Aḥwāl Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn* may also prove to be a worthwhile undertaking. As we know, autobiographical writing already existed in very early times and in every literary culture. When Wilhelm Dilthey′s article entitled *Das Erleben und die Selbstbiographie*[134] was published at the beginning of the twentieth century, it triggered academic research into the manifold literary representations of a person′s own life.[135] Right from the beginning it was very difficult to give a content-based

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[132]Aḥmad ibn Munlā, *Mutʿat al-Adhhān,* 607–9 (# 686), and Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat*, passim.

[133]Hartmann, *Das Tübinger Fragment,* 101.

[134]Wilhelm Dilthey, ″Das Erleben und die Selbstbiographie,″ in *Die Autobiographie: Zu Form und Geschichte einer literarischen Gattung,* ed. Georg Niggl (Darmstadt, 1989), 21–32.

[135]Extensive bibliographies are given in Jürgen Lehmann, *Bekennen, Erzählen, Berichten, Studien zu Theorie und Geschichte der Autobiographie* (Tübingen, 1988), 251–81, and Niggl, *Die Autobiographie,* 539–68. Short research reports can be found in James Olney, ″Autobiography and the Cultural Moment: A Thematic, Historical, and Bibliographical Introduction,″ in *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical*, ed. idem (Princeton, 1980), 3–27, and Georg Niggl, ″Einleitung,″ in idem, *Die Autobiographie,* 1–17.

and formal definition of the genre since the borders between autobiography and memoirs, philosophical self-reflections, autobiographical novels, stories written in the first person, or fictitious autobiographies are rather fluid. Jürgen Lehmann nevertheless managed to present a concise working definition in his post-doctoral thesis *Bekennen-Erzählen-Berichten: Studien zu Theorie und Geschichte der Autobiographie* submitted to Göttingen University:

> Autobiography is a type of text in which an author expresses internal and external events experienced in the past as well as activities carried out by himself in a writing situation, summarizing all of this and articulating himself in such a narrative style that he actively puts himself into a specific relation to the environment.[136]

If one studies this type of autobiographical narrative more closely, however, one encounters some problems inherent in this genre. The fact that historical events have actually taken place and that the author consistently refers to reality merely represent external features of demarcation vis-à-vis imaginary stories. The crucial difference between a fictional account and an autobiography is its intention. The author presents the reciprocal influence of the own self and the extrapersonal environment as if it were a consistent and logical development. Subjective experience is thus judged *ex eventu* and placed in a higher time continuum. Autobiographical writers frequently attempt to present the complex, accidental web woven between the self and the external world as if it were the result of a deliberately controlled process. It will always be difficult for someone interpreting autobiographical accounts to deal with this problem. The fact that the author is both the subject and object of his writing poses another problem. He endeavors to order his previous life beyond all determining of historical and social factors. In view of his auctorial intention he cannot avoid stylizing his own past and inventing some elements either consciously or unconsciously. The mere—or possibly the particular—choice and emphasis of facts and experiences by the autobiographical narrator already is of crucial significance in this process of stylization. He arranges the selected facts in a meaningful manner in order to render a condensed account, presenting the reader with a life that is an integrated whole.

A whole set of spiritual, political, and academic works containing autobiographical material also exist in classical Arabic literature.[137] So nowadays

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[136]Lehmann, *Bekennen, Erzählen, Berichten,* 36.

[137]See Franz Rosenthal, ″Die arabische Autobiographie,″ *Studia Arabica* 1 (1937): 1–40; Carl Brockelmann (Brukilman), ″Mā Ṣanf ʻUlamā' al-ʻArab fī Aḥwāl Anfusihim,″ in *Al-Muntaqá min Dirāsāt al-Mustashriqīn,* pt. 1, *Dirāsāt Mukhtalifah,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Cairo, 1955);

one can no longer make the same sweeping statement as Georg Misch, author of the monumental *Geschichte der Autobiographie,* did when he said that autobiographies were only ″testimony to the development of self-awareness of man in the Occident.″[138]

Until now, research has not focused on biographical accounts from the Mamluk period. The genre was not really established in the academic tradition of those days. This may be due to the fact that a Mamluk scholar occasionally must have shied away from publishing details about his own life in a vain manner. Abū al-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī′s (d. 812/1415) opinion is characteristic of this attitude: although he did dictate his life story to his student Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn al-Turkumānī al-Ḥanafī, known as al-Marjī,[139] he mentioned expressly that this actually ran counter to the conventions of his profession. According to Ibn Taghrībirdī it was by no means customary for scholars to write their own biographies. It was customary, however, to proceed like the learned Damascene Ibn Ayyūb (d. 1000/1592)[140] did in his biographical reference work *Al-Rawḍ al-ʻĀṭir*.[141] He very skillfully supplemented various suitable passages of his work—e.g., the end of the biographical sketches of his grandfather Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Ayyūb and of his cousin Muḥīb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ayyūb—with information about his personal development.[142] Al-Sakhāwī found an equally elegant solution to the problem. He simply wrote his own biography, including it without any additional comments in his monumental biographical dictionary.[143]

Gustav E. von Grunebaum, *Der Islam im Mittelalter* (Zurich and Stuttgart, 1963), 329–75; Sartain, *Biography,* 137–41; S. M. Al-Ghamdi, ″Autobiography in Classical Arabic Literature: An Ignored Literary Genre,″ Ph.D. diss., University of Indiana, 1989; Stephen F. Dale, ″Steppe Humanism: The Autobiographical Writings of Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur, 1483–1530,″ *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 22 (1990): 37–58; and Shawqī Muḥammad Muʻāmilī, *Al-Sīrah al-Dhātīyah fī al-Turāth* (Cairo, 1989).

[138]Georg Misch, *Geschichte der Autobiographie*, (Frankfurt am Main, 1949–69), 1:1:5.

[139]This text is an appendix to the second volume of the Viennese manuscript (Or. 1173) of his ″Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʻd al-Wāfī″ [= Gustav Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Kaiderlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, vol. 2 (Vienna, 1865), 338–39], fol. 430v–432r. Ibn al-ʻImād speaks in his *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Cairo, 1931–32) of an autobiography written by the Mamluk ″polymath″ al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363). Cf. Ibn al-ʻImād, *Shadharāt,* 6:201. The text has not yet been discoverd.

[140]Ibn Taghrībirdī, ″Manhal,″ fol. 430v.

[141]See n. 75.

[142]See Ahmet Halil Güneş, *Das Kitāb ar-rauḍ al-ʻāṭir des Ibn Aiyūb: Damaszener Biographien des 10./16. Jahrhunderts, Beschreibung und Edition* (Berlin, 1981), 2–5.

[143]Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, 8:1–32.

Ibn Ṭūlūn's autobiography is a different matter. The historian al-Nuʿaymī urged him to write the story of his life as an independent account. This was done when our author already was quite advanced in years. At least, he observed that his strength was failing and complained that he was left with only a few friends but many foes.[144] Separate autobiographical accounts from the Mamluk period were also prepared by al-Suyūṭī[145] and Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406).[146] Dating the biographies is not easy because the circumstances surrounding the manuscripts of both works are a little complicated: Elizabeth M. Sartain proceeds on the assumption that al-Suyūṭī began writing down his autobiography *Al-Taḥadduth bi-Niʿmat Allāh* in 889/1484 after the dispute about his announced ability to exercise *ijtihād*.[147] Of course, he may have used some notes that he had taken previously. At any rate, he discontinued working on the project sometime in the 890s, never to resume it. Neither does Ibn Khaldūn seem to have written *Al-Taʿrīf bi-Ibn Khaldūn wa-Riḥlatihi Gharban wa-Sharqan,* the highly selective story of his life that was probably the product of his stay in Egypt, in one go after 784/1382, but rather with long breaks in between.[148] Comparing the content of the works of al-Suyūṭī, Ibn Khaldūn, al-Sakhāwī, and Ibn Ṭūlūn already points to some differences and commonalities of the genre:

Al-Suyūṭī ***(Al-Taḥadduth bi-Niʿmat Allāh)***	**Ibn Khaldūn** ***(Al-Taʿrīf bi-Ibn Khaldūn wa-Riḥlatihi Gharban wa-Sharqan)***
- opening quotations (pp. 1–3) - earlier autobiographies (3–4) - father's genealogy (5) - Humām al-Dīn al-Khūḍayrī (5–6) - view of Sufism (6–7) - other ancestors (7–11) - the name of al-Suyūṭī (12) - on Asyūṭ (12–19) - disagreement with his father (20–31)	- name (pp. 3–6) - Andalusian ancestors (6–10) - ancestors from Ifrīqiyah (10–17) - education, teachers (17–56) - appointment as chief of chancellery in Tunis and travel to the Maghrib (57–67) - appointment as secretary to Sultan Abū ʿInān (67–68)

[144]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Fulk,* 5.

[145]Al-Suyūṭī, *Taḥadduth*.

[146]Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Taʿrīf bi-Ibn Khaldūn wa-Riḥlatihi Gharban wa-Sharqan* (Cairo, 1979).

[147]Sartain, *Biography*, 142–46.

[148]Walter J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn in Egypt, His Public Functions and His Historical Research (1382–1406): A Study in Islamic Historiography* (Berkeley and LosAngeles, 1967), 159–65.

Al-Suyūṭī
(cont.)

- birth (31)
- name (31–38)
- literature studies (31–42)
- hadith studies, teachers (43–78)
- visit to the Ḥijāz (79–82)
- journey to Alexandria and Damietta - (83–84)
- students on his journeys (84–87)
- return and teaching (88)
- students (88–89), beginning of his work as *muftī* (89–90)
- hadith professor at al-Shaykhūnīyah (90–91)
- inaugural lecture (92–104)
- works (105–36)
- eulogies on his books (137–54)
- dissemination of his works outside Egypt (155–59)
- (discussion of other scholars (160–202)
- problems of *ijtihād* (203–14)
- theory of the *mujaddid* (215–27)
- legal decisions (228–34)

Ibn Khaldūn
(cont.)

- withdrawal of the sultan's favor (69–70)
- appointment as secretary to Sultan Abū Salīm (70–83)
- journey to al-Andalus (84–99)
- journey to Bijāyah and appointment as treasurer (99–107)
- support of Abū Hammū, ruler in Tilimsān (107–44)
- support of Sultan ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz, ruler in the Maghrib, in opposing the ʻAbdalwadids (144–66)
- [insertion] eulogy of the vizier Ibn al-Khaṭīb (167–231)
- return to the Maghrib (232–42)
- second journey to Andalusia and Tilimsān; stay with the Awlād ʻArīf (243–46)
- return to Sultan Abū al-ʻAbbās' court in Tunis (246–63)
- eastward journey; qadi in Cairo (263–70)
- pilgrimage to Mecca (270–303)
- teaching positions and work at several *khānqāh*s (304–42)
- supervision of Baybars' *khānqāh* (342–44)
- revolt by al-Nāṣirī (345–70)
- mediation in the exchange of gifts between the rulers in the Maghrib and al-Malik al-Ẓāhir (370–83)
- 2nd term of office as qadi in Egypt (383–87)
- sultan's campaign into Syria to defend the empire against the Tartars (388–405)

Al-Suyūṭī
(cont.)

Ibn Khaldūn
(cont.)

- talk with Tīmūr (406–20)
- return to Egypt (421–28)
- appointed qadi in Egypt for the third, fourth, and fifth times (429–30)

Al-Sakhāwī
(Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi')

- name, genealogy (p. 2)
- first *maktab* (2)
- first teachers (2–3)
- learning the Quran by heart (3)
- hadith studies, his teacher Ibn Ḥajar (3–5)
- further education, books (5–7)
- death of Ibn Ḥajar, studies at Mecca (7)
- journey to al-Shām (8–9)
- debates and discussions (9–13)
- hajj, visit to the Ḥijāz (14)
- back in Cairo (14–15)
- his works (15–20)
- praise of his knowledge (21–28)
- laudatory verses on him (28–32)

Ibn Ṭūlūn
(Al-Fulk al-Mashḥūn fī Aḥwāl Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn

- introduction, earlier autobiographies (pp. 5–6)
- birth, parents, first years (6–7)
- education, books, teachers (7–14)
- sciences and scholars (14–18)
- teaching licences (18–20)
- his reservations about marriage (20–22)
- appointments (22–26)
- his works (26–49)
- laudatory verses on him (49–51)
- two books of Shams al-Dīn 'Ulwān (51–52)
- praise of his poetry (52–53)
- a poem in praise of work and in distrust of a seemingly fixed salary (53–54)

Just like the other authors, Ibn Ṭūlūn was fully aware of the genre's traditions. He mentions famous autobiographies known to him on the first few pages of *Al-Fulk al-Mashḥūn fī Aḥwāl Muḥammad ibn Ṭūlūn.*[149] Although these four works tell us very little about the author's personal life, they do represent excellent source material for studying the author's intellectual development and traditional

[149]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Fulk,* 6.

Islamic education in those days. In addition, the documents contain an almost exemplary portrayal of the background and the careers of legal scholars in the Mamluk period and—in Ibn Ṭūlūn′s case—also the early years of Ottoman rule in Egypt and Syria.

Jürgen Lehmann emphasized that these accounts obviously must be regarded as constructs that were composed in retrospect by individuals looking back on their own lives. This is why a comparison of such a personal interpretation of the narrator′s life with statements made by contemporaries would prove helpful. Obviously, one should give more credence to opinions expressed by independent minds than to those uttered by students. In al-Suyūṭī′s case, for example, his students simply copied their teacher′s autobiography, made some stylistic modifications, and added magnificent eulogies.[150] The spiteful and slanderous comments that al-Sakhāwī made about al-Suyūṭī are much more instructive in this context.[151]

The same applies to Ibn Ṭūlūn. In addition to two brief biographical sketches by Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī and Ibn al-ʻImād,[152] a remarkable portrayal by Ibn Ayyūb has been preserved as well.[153] His estimation of Ibn Ṭūlūn′s personality is ambivalent: he calls him the Sībawayhī (d. approx. 180/776) of his times, praising him with the most favorable epithets on the one hand, and voices some rather harsh criticism of his works and scientific methods on the other. He reproaches Ibn Ṭūlūn for making linguistic mistakes, for using dubious traditions, even for untrue reporting. He also criticizes the fact that Ibn Ṭūlūn mixed verse and prose, and that he included both relevant and irrelevant information, making his works extremely tedious for the reader. This rather harsh critique basically can be traced back to Abū al-Fatḥ al-Mālikī (d. 975/1567),[154] a learned Damascene who originally came from Tunis. In his biography of Ibn Ṭūlūn, Ibn Ayyūb gives a lengthy account of the dogged disputes between the two. Abū al-Fatḥ al-Mālikī belonged

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[150]Sartain, *Biography*, 150–51. ʻAbd al-Qādir al-Shādhilī′s (d. after 945/1538) *Bahjat al-ʻĀbidīn bi-Tarjamat Jalāl al-Dīn* [ed. ʻAbd al-Ilāh Nabhān (Damascus, 1998)] and Shams al-Dīn al-Dāwūdī′s (945/1539) ″Tarjamat al-Suyūṭī″ [Berlin (Tübingen) MS 10134] do not add anything new. On al-Shādhilī, see Sartain, *Biography,* 146–47; *GAL* 2:391 S2:932, and S3:1261; and Ibn al-ʻImād, *Shadharāt,* 8:53. On al-Dāwūdī cf. Sartain, *Biography,* 148–149; *GAL* 2:289, S2:401; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 2:71; and Ibn al-ʻImād, *Shadharāt*, 8:264.

[151]Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 4:65–70. On the clashes between these scholars, see Sartain, *Biography*, 72–76, and William Popper, ″Sakhāwī′s Criticism of Ibn Taghrībirdī,″ in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida* (Rome, 1965), 2:371–89.

[152]Al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 2:52–54; Ibn al-ʻImād, *Shadharāt*, 8:298–99.

[153]Ibn Ayyūb, ″Al-Rawḍ al-ʻĀṭir,″ Berlin MS 9886, fols. 235v–237r.

[154]On Abū al-Fatḥ al-Mālikī, see ibid., fols. 237a–239a [= Güneş, *Das Kitāb ar-rauḍ al-ʻāṭir*, 72–82 (Arabic text)], and Ibn al-ʻImād, *Shadharāt*, 8: 360–81.

to a different circle of scholars than Ibn Ṭūlūn and overwhelmed his opponent with criticism and reproaches. Ibn Ayyūb actually must have had a favorable opinion of Ibn Ṭūlūn, also thinking highly of him as a historian, because he refers not only to al-Sakhāwī, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Hindī (d. 990/1582),[155] al-Nuʿaymī, and Ibn al-Mibrad as role models in his introduction to *Al-Rawḍ al-ʿĀṭir,* but also to Ibn Ṭūlūn.[156] So it is hardly surprising that Ibn Ṭūlūn's *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān* and *Tamattuʿ bi-al-Iqrān bayna Tarājim al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān* represent two of the more prominent sources cited by Ibn Ayyūb.[157]

This goes to show that a rather slim volume such as Ibn Ṭūlūn's *Fulk al-Mashḥūn* does indeed merit due consideration. One would have to undertake a detailed comparison of all known autobiographical accounts by Muslim scholars up to the days of Ibn Ṭūlūn to really accord his own autobiographical writings their proper rank and to define the genre of Arabic autobiography even further. Once that is done, it will also be possible to compile the requisite inventory of topoi, stereotypes, commonalities, and differences of these works.

From the vast number of available options I have selected only two avenues of research that one might explore for a better understanding of the life and works of Ibn Ṭūlūn. Of course, one will have to complete various individual studies to piece together an overall picture. But it may also make sense to tackle the project of a monograph before the task of analyzing the material takes on Sisyphean dimensions. If one did so, one would have to portray the typical features without neglecting the individual ones. Writing a biography will thus always resemble the squaring of the circle. The re-narration of a life will obviously always have to be a construct.

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[155]The Indian-Meccan scholar al-Nahrawālī is meant. On him, see J. R. Blackburn, "al-Nahrawālī," *EI*[2], 7:911–12.

[156]Ibn Ayyūb, "Al-Rawḍ al-ʿĀṭir, fol. 1v [= Güneş, *Das Kitāb ar-rauḍ al-ʿāṭir*, 1–2 (Arabic text)].

[157]Güneş, *Das Kitāb ar-rauḍ al-ʿāṭir*, 28–30.

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Mamluk *Furūsīyah* Literature and Its Antecedents

Furūsīyah literature, the greater part of which is still unpublished,[1] undoubtedly

[1]Manuscripts of all periods cited in this article include: ″Al-ʻAdīm al-Mithl al-Rafīʻ al-Qadr,″ Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Library MS Revan 1933; (pseudo) Najm al-Dīn al-Aḥdab, ″Kitāb al-Furūsīyah″ (added title), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS 2829; Muḥammad ibn ʻĪsá ibn Ismāʻīl al-Ḥanafī al-Aqsarāʼī, ″Nihāyat al-Sūl wa-al-Umnīyah fī Taʻlīm Aʻmāl al-Furūsīyah,″ London, British Library MS Add. 18866; Abū al-Rūḥ ʻĪsá ibn Ḥassān al-Asadī al-Baghdādī, ″Al-Jamharah fī ʻUlūm al-Bayzarah,″ British Library MS Add. 23417, Madrid, Escorial Library MS Ar. 903; Alṭanbughā al-Ḥusāmī al-Nāṣirī, known as Aṭājuq, ″Nuzhat al-Nufūs fī Laʻb al-Dabbūs,″ Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 21 *furūsīyah Taymūr;* Badr al-Dīn Baktūt al-Rammāḥ al-Khāzindārī al-Ẓāhirī, ″Kitāb fī ʻIlm al-Furūsīyah wa-Laʻb al-Rumḥ wa-al-Birjās wa-ʻIlāj al-Khayl,″ Bibliothèque Nationale MS 2830 (fols. 2v.–72r.); Abū Bakr al-Bayṭār ibn Badr al-Dīn al-Nāṣirī (Ibn al-Mundhir), ″Kāshif al-Wayl fī Maʻrifat Amrāḍ al-Khayl″ (or ″Kāmil al-Ṣināʻatayn fī al-Bayṭarah wa-al-Zardaqah″), Bibliothèque Nationale MS 2813; ʻUmar ibn Raslān al-Bulqīnī, ″Qaṭr al-Sayl fī Amr al-Khayl,″ Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library MS Şehid ʻAlī Paşa 1549; Sharaf al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Muʼmin ibn Khalaf al-Dimyāṭī, ″Faḍl al-Khayl,″ Bibliothèque Nationale MS 2816; ″Al-Furūsīyah″ (untitled fragment), British Library MS 9015; hunting treatise (untitled), Alexandria, Egypt, Maktabat al-Baladīyah MS 1201/1; Muḥammad ibn Yaʻqūb ibn Ghālib Ibn Akhī Ḥizām al-Khuttalī, ″Kitāb al-Furūsīyah wa-al-Bayṭarah,″ Bayezit Public Library Veliyüddin Efendi MS 3174; idem, ″Kitāb al-Furūsīyah wa-Shiyāt al-Khayl,″ British Library MS Add. 23416; idem, ″Al-Kamāl fī al-Furūsīyah . . .″ (added title), Istanbul, Fatih Mosque Library MS 3513; Muḥammad Ibn Manglī al-Nāṣirī, ″Al-Adillah al-Rasmīyah fī al-Taʻābī al-Ḥarbīyah,″ Istanbul, Ayasofya Library MS 2857; idem, ″Al-Tadbīrāt al-Sulṭānīyah fī Siyāsat al-Ṣināʻah al-Ḥarbīyah,″ British Library MS Or. 3734; idem, ″Uns al-Malā bi-Waḥsh al-Falā,″ Bibliothèque Nationale MS 2832/1; Abū Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn ʻAbd Allāh Ibn Maymūn, ″Kitāb al-Ifādah wa-al-Tabṣīr li-Kull Rāmin Mubtadiʼ aw Māhir Naḥrīr bi-al-Sahm al-Ṭawīl wa-al-Qaṣīr,″ Istanbul, Köprülü Mehmet Paşa Library MS 1213; ʻAlāʼ al-Dīn ʻAlī ibn Abī al-Qāsim al-Naqīb al-Akhmīmī, ″Ḥall al-Ishkāl fī al-Ramy bi-al-Nibāl,″ Bibliothèque Nationale MS 6259; idem, ″Naqāwat al-Muntaqá fī Nāfiʻāt al-Liqā,″ British Library MS Add. 7513/2; Rukn al-Dīn Jamshīd al-Khwārazmī, untitled, British Library MS Or. 3631/3; ″Kitāb fī Laʻb al-Dabbūs wa-al-Ṣirāʻ ʻalá al-Khayl,″ Bibliothèque Nationale MS Ar. 6604/2; ″Kitāb al-Ḥiyal fī al-Ḥurūb wa-Fatḥ al-Madāʼin wa-Ḥifẓ al-Durūb,″ British Library MS Add. 14055; ″Kitāb al-Makhzūn li-Arbāb al-Funūn,″ Bibliothèque Nationale MS 2826; ″Kitāb al-Makhzūn Jāmiʻ al-Funūn,″ Bibliothèque Nationale MS 2824; Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn ibn ʻAbd Allāh al-Dhahabī al-Ḥusāmī al-Ṭarābulṣī al-Rammāḥ, ″Kitāb ʻUmdat al-Mujāhidīn fī Tartīb al-Mayādīn,″ Bibliothèque Nationale MS Ar. 6604/1; ″Al-Maqāmah al-Ṣalāḥīyah fī al-Khayl wa-al-Bayṭarah wa-al-Furūsīyah ,″ Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 81 *furūsīyah Taymūr;* Marḍī ibn ʻAlī al-Ṭarsūsī, ″Tabṣirat Arbāb al-Albāb fī Kayfīyat al-Najāt fī al-Ḥurūb,″Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Huntington 264; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, ″Al-Qawl al-Tāmm fī (Faḍl)

represents one of the most extensive and diverse fields of knowledge in the medieval Islamic literary tradition. It covers a broad scope of disciplines ranging from hippology and the art of riding *(ʻilm al-khayl wa-fann al-rukūb)* to military technology *(ʻilm al-ālāt al-ḥarbīyah)*. While these disciplines are interrelated and form a unity in *furūsīyah* literature, each one of them constitutes a vast domain of research, an independent science with its own literature and chain of authorities. The treatises dealing with one specific discipline (hereinafter: thematic *furūsīyah* treatises) constitute the core of *furūsīyah* literature. As for the treatises comprising more than one discipline (hereinafter: general *furūsīyah* treatises), they are mostly works of compilation, based on the thematic *furūsīyah* treatises. In modern scholarship, general *furūsīyah* treatises are usually referred to as "*furūsīyah* manuals," and are often thought to be synonymous with *furūsīyah* literature. In fact, general *furūsīyah* treatises represent only a fraction of the surviving literature, and they can be quite misleading to anyone who is not familiar with thematic *furūsīyah* treatises.

Notwithstanding the undisputed importance of *furūsīyah* literature for the study of Islamic history and culture, this field suffers from a lack of scholarly research and, consequently, from deep misconceptions as well as an array of prejudices. One of the most common of these is the assumption that *furūsīyah* literature emerged under the Ayyubids in the late sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth centuries because of the sweeping challenges posed by the Crusades, and that it developed and reached maturity under the Mamluks.[2]

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al-Ramy bi-al-Sihām," Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 2m *funūn ḥarbīyah;* "Sharḥ al-Maqāmah al-Ṣalāḥīyah fī al-Khayl," Bibliothèque Nationale MS Ar. 2817; Library of Istanbul University MS 4689; al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn ʻAysūn al-Ḥanafī al-Sinjārī, "Hidāyat al-Rāmī ilá al-Aghrāḍ wa-al-Marāmī," Topkapı Sarayı Library MS Ahmet III 2305; Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī al-Qāzānī al-Ṣughayyir, "Al-Mukhtaṣar al-Muḥarrar," Topkapı Sarayı Library MS Ahmet III 2620; idem, "Al-Hidāyah fī ʻIlm al-Rimāyah," Bodleian Library MS Huntington 548 (annotated version of the latter); idem, "Sharḥ al-Qaṣīdah al-Lāmīyah lil-Ustādh Ṣāliḥ al-Shaghūrī," Bibliothèque Nationale MS Ar 6604/3; Jalāl al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī, "Ghars al-Anshāb fī al-Ramy bi-al-Nushshāb," British Library MS Or. 12830; Abū Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad al-Ṭabarī, untitled fragment, British Library MS Or. 9265/1; idem, "Kitāb al-Wāḍiḥ (fī ʻIlm al-Ramy)," British Library MS Or. 9454; Ṭaybughā al-Ashrafī al-Baklamīshī al-Yunānī, "Kitāb al-Ramy wa-al-Rukūb" (added title), Bibliothèque Nationale MS 6160; Ḥusayn ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Yūnīnī, "Al-Nihāyah fī ʻIlm al-Rimāyah," Ayasofya Library MS 2952; Abū al-Naṣr al-Qāsim ibn ʻAlī ibn Ḥusayn al-Hāshimī al-Zaynabī, "Al-Qawānīn al-Sulṭānīyah fī al-Ṣayd," Fatih Mosque Library MS 3508.

[2]See Shihab al-Sarraf, "Adab al-Furūsīyah fī al-ʻAṣrayn al-ʻAbbāsī wa-al-Mamlūkī," in *Furūsīyah,* vol. 1, *Funūn al-Furūsīyah fī Tārīkh al-Mashriq wa-al-Maghrib*, ed. Shihab al-Sarraf (Riyadh, 2000), 105, 121; idem, "Furūsiyya Literature of the Mamlūk Period" in *Furusiyya,* vol. 1, *The Horse in the Art of the Near East,* ed. David Alexander (Riyadh, 1996), 131.

Apart from a lack of research, this wrong impression has been caused by the fact that the main corpus of surviving *furūsīyah* manuscripts is, indeed, from the Mamluk period. However, careful examination of such manuscripts shows that original Mamluk treatises constitute only one part of this literature. The other part consists of pre-Mamluk, mainly Abbasid, treatises, copied and reused by the Mamluks as manuals and as basic references. It also shows that the majority of Mamluk *furūsīyah* treatises, which did not always acknowledge their sources, were themselves largely based upon Abbasid *furūsīyah* literature and its sources. Some of the pre-Mamluk treatises were originally anonymous, others were rendered so by Mamluk copyists, and still others were falsely attributed to Mamluk authors. As an additional complication, some Mamluk treatises were imputed to earlier authors. Finally, a considerable number of the extant manuscripts of all periods are either unsigned and/or untitled or copies of one work but under different titles.

These points exemplify the problems peculiar to *furūsīyah* literature. The inability to distinguish pre-Mamluk from Mamluk treatises and to identify pre-Mamluk data within Mamluk treatises, and the failure to sort out its numerous sources (including Classical Greek, Sassanian, and Byzantine), have hindered research into *furūsīyah* literature from its inception. This partly explains why research in this field has not grown much beyond the stage of bibliographical documentation, which, understandably, in its current embryonic state includes many errors. One of these concerns the definition and scope of *furūsīyah* literature, which has been reduced to a fragment of what it should represent in the bibliographical essays.[3] Furthermore, no attempt has ever been made to research the term *furūsīyah,* its origin, and its evolution as a concept and as an institution.

[3]Aloys Sprenger, *Kitāb Fihrist al-Kutub Allatī Narghabu an Nabtā‘ahā . . .* (London, 1840); Joseph Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall, ″Das Pferd bei den Arabern,″ *Mémoires de l′Académie de Vienne* (1855–56): 211–46; Louis Mercier, *La parure des cavaliers et l′insigne des preux* [French translation and commentary of ″Ḥilyat al-Fursān wa-Shi‘ār al-Shuj‘ān,″ by Ibn Hudhayl al-Andalusī] (Paris, 1924), 433–59; Hellmut Ritter, ″ La Parure des Cavaliers und die Literatur über die ritterlichen Kunst,″ *Der Islam* 18 (1929); George T. Scanlon ″Introduction,″ in *A Muslim Manual of War, Being Tafrīj al-Kurūb fī Tadbīr al-Ḥurūb*, ed. and trans. George T. Scanlon (Cairo, 1961), 1–21; Iḥsān Hindī, ″Muḥāwalat Ḥaṣr Bibliyūjrāfī lil-Ta'ālīf al-‘Askarīyah wa-al-Ḥarbīyah ‘inda al-‘Arab al-Qudamā',″ in *Abḥāth al-Mu'tamar al-Sanawī al-Thānī lil-Jam‘īyah al-Sūrīyah li-Tārīkh al-‘Ulūm* (Aleppo, 1978), 117–58; ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Zakī, ″Military Literature of the Arabs,″ in *Cahiers d′histoire égyptienne* 7 (1955): 149–60; idem, ″A Preliminary Bibliography of Medieval Arabic Military Literature,″ *Gladius* 4 (1965): 107–12; Kūrkīs ‘Awwād, ″Al-Jaysh wa-al-Ḥarb wa-al-Silāḥ fī al-Athār al-Makhṭūṭah wa-al-Maṭbū‘ah ‘inda al-‘Arab,″ *Al-Majallah al-‘Askarīyah* (Baghdad) 41 no. 1 (1964): 105–22, 43 no. 4 (1966): 113–26, 44 no. 1 (1976): 86–104, 44 no. 2 (1976): 99–117; idem, *Maṣādir al-Turāth al-‘Askarī ‘inda al-‘Arab,* 3 vols. (Baghdad, 1981–82). The last essay is the most exhaustive, but with many errors and inaccuracies. Ritter′s contribution, although not free from errors and limited to treatises in Istanbul libraries, remains the most noteworthy, since he actually saw and examined the treatises.

This article attempts to elucidate these issues: firstly, through investigating the Abbasid background and origins of Mamluk *furūsīyah* and its literature; secondly, by proposing an altogether new research-based classification of Mamluk *furūsīyah* literature, and finally, by providing a systematic and critical survey of the available basic treatises of Mamluk *furūsīyah* literature and its antecedents.

EMERGENCE OF *FURŪSĪYAH* AND ITS LITERATURE UNDER THE ABBASIDS

The term *furūsīyah* emerged as a concept and an institution under the Abbasid caliphate in Iraq during the later half of the second/eighth century.[4] It attained full currency during the third/ninth century, when its conceptual and technical framework became well established and clearly defined. The activities covered by the term *furūsīyah* included horsemanship, training a horseman in the arts of the lance, close combat techniques and weapons handling, archery on foot and horseback, hunting, and polo. It also included both practical and theoretical knowledge of the basics of veterinary science, of the types and characteristics of weaponry, and of the art of war itself. The scope of *furūsīyah* was, logically, further extended to cover training, exercises, and games performed on foot. *Furūsīyah* was, therefore, subdivided into "upper *furūsīyah*" *(al-furūsīyah al-ʿulwīyah),* which denoted activities performed on horseback, and "lower *furūsīyah*" *(al-furūsīyah al-suflīyah),* which denoted those performed on foot, like wielding arms, archery, boxing, and wrestling. The overall *furūsīyah* activities were generated and shared by two complementary and intermingling concepts and institutions of *furūsīyah*: noble *furūsīyah (al-furūsīyah al-nabīlah)* as represented by the Abbasid court and military *furūsīyah (al-furūsīyah al-ḥarbīyah)* centered on the training of mounted warriors.

AL-FURŪSĪYAH AL-NABĪLAH

Noble *furūsīyah* was initially inspired by the traditions and institutions of the

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[4]There is no evidence on the use of the term *furūsīyah* in the *jāhilīyah* and early Islam. In some *furūsīyah* treatises, however, the caliph ʿUmar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb is quoted as having said in a letter to the inhabitants of Syria "Instruct your children in swimming, archery, and *furūsīyah*." The earliest *furūsīyah* treatise which cited this passage is "Kitāb al-Furūsīyah wa-al-Bayṭarah," by Ibn Akhī Ḥizām, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 5m *funūn ḥarbīyah,* fol. 75r.; see also *Kitāb al-Siyar al-Kabīr* by Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Cairo, 1971–72), 1:113; al-Qarrāb al-Sarakhsī (in his *Kitāb Faḍāʾil al-Ramy fī Sabīl Allāh,* edited and translated into English by Faḍl al-Raḥmān Bāqī in *Islamic Culture* 3 (1960): 195–218) gave two versions of this passage, one of them without the term. In both versions ʿUmar is said to have been paraphrasing a hadith of the Prophet Muḥammad from which the word *furūsīyah* is absent (see A. J. Wensinck, *Concordance et Indices de la Traditions Musulmane* [Leiden, 1936–69], 2 :295, 310). All this casts strong doubt on the authenticity of the wording of the hadith. For more information see al-Sarraf, "Adab al-Furūsīyah," 105.

Sassanian court and by local practices. It consisted of training from childhood the male members of the Abbasid family and the sons of notables in horsemanship and the use of arms, archery, polo, and hunting.[5] The basic rules and conceptual framework of noble *furūsīyah* were expounded in the "books of *ā'īn*" *(kutub al-ā'īn),* such as "Kitāb Ā'īn al-Ramy," "Kitāb Ā'īn al-Ṣawālijah" and "Kitāb Ā'īn al-Ṣayd," which formed part of the greater "Kitāb Ā'īn-nāmah." This work (also called "Kitāb al-Rusūm") was translated from Persian into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffaʻ (d. 139/756–57) during the first years of Abbasid rule. The text is lost, but Ibn Qutaybah quoted extracts in his *'Uyūn al-Akhbār* on the *ā'īn* of archery and polo under the heading *Ādāb al-furūsah*.[6] An important fragment on the *ā'īn* of hunting is included in "Al-Qawānīn al-Sulṭānīyah fī al-Ṣayd" by al-Zaynabī[7] (see below). These lost treatises of *ā'īn*s constituted the nucleus of the noble *furūsīyah* literature in the early Abbasid period.

Noble *furūsīyah* was a state institution almost from its inception after the founding of Baghdad during the caliphate of al-Manṣūr (136–58/754–75). Al-Manṣūr was too old to engage in such activities, but he prepared the ground for his heir, al-Mahdī (158–69/775–85), and their successors.[8] Al-Mahdī was the first crown prince to be brought up according to the principles of noble *furūsīyah.* In 151/768, the first polo field *(maydān)* in Islam was built for him adjacent to his palace at al-Ruṣāfah in Baghdad.[9] He was an archer of repute, skilled with both the simple Arab bow and the composite Persian bow,[10] and it was he who turned hunting into a sophisticated caliphal institution. His successors followed his example, and proficiency in the arts of *furūsīyah* virtually became a prerequisite for the caliphate, as affirmed by al-Jāḥiẓ: "None of the descendants of al-ʻAbbās mounted the throne without having fully mastered the arts of *furūsīyah.*"[11]

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[5]Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Rasā'il al-Jāḥiẓ,* ed. ʻAbd al-Salām Hārūn (Cairo, 1964–79), 3:32; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Umam wa-al-Mulūk* (Cairo, 1323/1905–6) 2:74–75.

[6]Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn al-Akhbār* (Cairo, 1938), 1:133–34.

[7]Al-Zaynabī, "Al-Qawānīn al-Sulṭānīyah fī al-Ṣayd," fols. 22v., 37r.–v.

[8]Ibid.

[9]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh,* 10:281; Bashir Yousif Francis, *Baghdād fī 'Ahd al-Khilāfha al-'Abbāsīyah* [a critical commentary and translation of Guy le Strange's *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate* (Oxford, 1924)] (Baghdad, 1936), 164. Al-Mahdī was the first caliph to play polo, for which he was denigrated by the poet Bashshār Ibn Burd (cf. al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh,* 10:18); the claim (al-Masʻūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Maʻādin al-Jawhar,* ed. and trans. Charles Pellat [Beirut, 1966–74], 5:212) that Hārūn al-Rashīd (170–93/786–809) was the first caliph to play the game is thus incorrect.

[10]Al-Zaynabī, "Al-Qawānīn al-Sulṭānīyah," fols. 39r., 270r.

[11]Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Al-Bayān wa-al-Tabyīn* (Cairo, 1932) 3:11:
لم يقم أحد من ولد العباس بالملك إلا وهو جامع لأسباب †
الفروسية

Al-furūsīyah al-nabīlah was not simply a Sassanian product with an Arab or Islamic tinge; it was a unique and original blending of the interaction of mainly Arab and Sassanian cultures within the framework of Islam and the Abbasid context. Byzantine influences came through the first Islamic dynasty, the Umayyads (41–132/661–750), who also had retained many of the old pre-Islamic tribal values. These include the Arab conception of the horseman *(fāris),* embodying bravery *(shajā'ah),* gallantry *(shahāmah),* manliness *(murūwah),* and generosity *(sakhā'),*[12] qualities often lauded by Umayyad and early Abbasid poets. The notion of *fāris* penetrated the very fiber of Abbasid court *furūsīyah*, and the term *furūsīyah* is still used in Arabic as a synonym for these virtues. Indeed, the chivalric aspect of *al-furūsīyah al-nabīlah* was so powerful that it survived when the institution itself died out.

The same virtues constituted the moral foundation of *futūwah* (from *fatá,* lit., ″young man″), which emerged concurrently with *furūsīyah.* The conceptions *fāris* and *fatá* were closely associated, and the terms were used, since the pre-Islamic period, interchangeably.[13] This association was reflected in *furūsīyah* literature, which came to include treatises on aspects of *futūwah,* for example, *futūwat ramy al-bunduq* (the *futūwah* of hunting birds with the pellet bow).[14] Chapters on *ramy al-bunduq* were usually included in Abbasid hunting treatises; entire works devoted to the subject began to appear in the sixth/twelfth century, especially during the caliphate of al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (575–622/1180–1225), and continued to be written into the Mamluk period (see below).

See also al-Zaynabī, ″Al-Qawānīn al-Sulṭānīyah,″ fol. 45r.

[12]On the the Arab concept of *fāris,* see al-Sarraf, ″Adab al-Furūsīyah,″ 105, and idem, ″Furūsiyya Literature,″ 132, n. 10.

[13]Cf. Muṣṭafá Jawād, ″Introduction,″ in *Kitāb al-Futūwah,* by Ibn al-Mi'mār, ed. Muṣṭafá Jawād et al. (Baghdad, 1958); and al-Sarraf ″Adab al-Furūsīyah,″ 106.

[14]*Ramy al-bunduq,* which flourished in Iraq in the latter half of the second/eighth century, was practiced at the Abbasid court and in high society (as well as among the common people). Its practioners developed a powerful and strongly hierarchical fraternity, or *futūwah,* which the Abbasid caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (475–622/1180–1225) ″co-opted,″ declaring himself supreme head. The Ayyubids joined it, and *ramy al-bunduq* took strong hold in Egypt and Syria. The Mamluks perpetuated this legacy. The pellet bow *(qaws al-bunduq)* is a hand bow. However, unlike that of the arrow bow, the string of the pellet bow is cut in the middle and fastened from each end to a small piece of leather designed to hold the pellet, *bunduqah,* which was made of glazed hardened clay. The pellet bow is drawn in much the same way as an arrow bow but on loosing, the pellet-bowman should rapidly shift his left hand holding the bow to the left (if he is right-handed, or to the right if he is left-handed) so that the *bunduqah* will not strike the grip or hurt the hand. As an additional precaution, the thumb (of the left hand holding the grip) is protected by an iron sleeve called *bārūq*. Simple hand pellet bows are still used today in Sind and Afghanistan. See Shihab al-Sarraf, ″L′archerie mamluke (648–923/1250–1517),″ Ph.D. diss., Université de Paris Sorbonne, 1989, 1:275–99, 314–12.

AL-FURŪSĪYAH AL-ḤARBĪYAH

Military *furūsīyah* originated in the professional army created by the Abbasids when they first came to power. The presence of the traditional tribal army dwindled rapidly in the latter half of the second/eighth century until it was practically extinguished under the Caliph al-Ma'mūn (198–218/813–42) and officially abolished by his brother and successor al-Mu'taṣim (218–27/833–42). Initially, the hard core of al-Ma'mūn's cavalry was mainly composed of Khurasanis, but during the last years of his reign, Abbasid cavalry was also steadily reinforced by sedentary Transoxanian Turks and then by free and unfree Turkish tribal nomads. Al-Mu'taṣim pursued this recruitment policy on a larger scale, favoring Turkish tribal horsemen with a certain preference for servile Turkish elements. The *ghilmān* institution started taking shape in his reign but only reached maturity during the caliphate of al-Mu'taḍid (279–89/892–902) who founded the elite corps of *al-ghilmān al-ḥujarīyah,*[15] the fore-runner of *mamālīk al-ṭibāq* of the Mamluk sultanate. Henceforth the *ghilmān,* or mamluks as they came to be known, became a cornerstone of military *furūsīyah.*

The Abbasid *ghulām* military institution was the end result of a sophisticated training system, which was constantly and painstakingly elaborated by Abbasid *furūsīyah* masters over a period of one hundred years starting from the second half of the second/eighth century. It represented an ingenious synthesis of various military traditions, namely Arab, Persian, Central Asian, and Byzantine. The ultimate aim was to produce an accomplished and almost unique brand of mounted archers who would be superior to and better coordinated than even the Central Asian

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[15]*Ghilmān al-ḥujarīyah,* or *ghilmān al-ḥujar,* were the most distinguished *ghilmān* élite in the second half of the third/ninth century and the first quarter of the fourth/tenth century. They were also referred to as *ghilmān al-dār* or *ghilmān dārīyah,* as they were raised, educated, and trained within the palatial compound *(dār al-khilāfah)* where they were permanently housed in special quarters or chambers, the *ḥujar;* hence their name. During their formation period, *al-ḥujarīyah* were not allowed to go beyond this palatial compound unless accompanied by their supervisors and *furūsīyah* masters. Their number reached twenty thousand during the caliphate of al-Muktafī billāh (289–95/902–8), and they were superbly trained and equipped, also being given the highest salaries among *ghilmān* troops. However, they remained a local force and did not take part in expeditions outside Iraq. Their political role grew with time and culminated in the installation of the caliph al-Rāḍī in 322/934 with the participation of another *ghilmān* élite corps *(al-ṣājīyah).* However, this political role brought about their destruction in 325/936–37. See Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Tuḥfat al-Umarā' fī Tārīkh al-Wuzarā'*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (Beirut, 1904), 12–13; idem, *Rusūm Dār al-Khilāfah,* 2nd ed., ed. Mīkhā'īl 'Awwād (Beirut, 1986), 8; Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-Umam,* ed. H. F. Amedroz (Cairo, 1332–34/1914–16), 1:258; cf. Shihab al-Sarraf, "Close Combat Weapons in the Early Abbasid Period," in *Companion to Medieval Arms and Armours,* ed. David Nicolle (London, 2002), 149–78.

horse archer nomads while being at the same time highly proficient in handling the lance and weapons of close combat. The horseman was likewise trained to fight on foot in case he was unhorsed or ordered to dismount during battle. In addition, he was required to know the basics of veterinary science and be familiar with the types and characteristics of the weapons currently used by the cavalry, the infantry, and in siege warfare. He must also be acquainted with the stratagems of war and have some knowledge of the art of war in general. After the initial training period, which might last for several years, the skills acquired throughout were continuously perfected and sustained by a multitude of games and exercises. Hunting and polo were considered essential in maintaining such skills.

The Khurasani corps was the foremost corps of the Abbasid army to have practiced this training system and unceasingly contributed to its development.[16] Being the first professional multi-ethnic caliphal army in Islam, the Khurasanis, whose first generation brought the Abbasids to power, had a precursor role in promoting Abbasid military *furūsīyah*. Although by the second half of the third/ninth century, this prestigious corps had lost much of its importance as a military force after the massive recruitment of Turkish and other elements, its prominent members and commanders remained the absolute model for Abbasid/Iraqi military *furūsīyah*.

From their ranks emerged the man who definitively marked Muslim *furūsīyah* and its literature. This was Ibn Akhī Ḥizām al-Khuttalī, the greatest *furūsīyah* master of his time and the central figure in Muslim *furūsīyah* as a whole. His masterly work became the basic source of future treatises and to a large extent determined the content of *furūsīyah* literature. Knowledge of the work and its author is essential for the understanding of Mamluk *furūsīyah* literature.

IBN AKHĪ ḤIZĀM, THE FOUNDER OF *FURŪSĪYAH* LITERATURE

Muḥammad ibn Ya‘qūb ibn Ghālib ibn ‘Alī al-Khuttalī,[17] known as Ibn Akhī Ḥizām, was born in Baghdad and died there sometime in the last quarter of the

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[16]Al-Jāḥiẓ, "Risālat Manāqib al-Turk," in *Rasā'il,* 1:20–21.

[17]From Khuttal, a region on the right bank of upper Oxus between the rivers Wakhsh and Panj, famous for its horses. Medieval Khuttal is now part of Tajikistan (C. E. Bosworth, "Khuttal," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 5:75). According to al-Sam‘ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb* (Beirut, 1988), 2:322–23, there was also an Iraqi village named al-Khuttal near Daskarah on the great road between Baghdad and Khurasan, but the existence of such a place, and the association of those bearing the *nisbah* of al-Khuttalī with it, have been rejected (see Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Lubāb fī Tahdhīb al-Ansāb* [Cairo, 1938–49], 1:345; Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld [Leipzig, 1866–73], 2:402; ‘Abd al-Mu'min al-Baghdādī, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilā‘ ‘alá Asmā' al-Amkinah wa-al-Biqā‘* [Cairo, 1954–55], 1:452). Ibn Manglī ("Uns al-Malā bi-Waḥsh al-Falā," Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 12 *ṣinā‘ah,* fol. 7r.), and later Viré ("Isṭabl," *EI*^{2}, 4:216), accepted al-Sam‘ānī's dubious explanation of the *nisbah*.

third/ninth century. He was the descendent of a prominent family of *Abnā'*[18] who served the Abbasid dynasty for several decades. His uncle Ḥizām ibn Ghālib was a well-known commander of the Khurasani corps and stable master to the caliph al-Mu'taṣim[19] *(ṣāḥib khayl al-khalīfah,* the equivalent of the later *amīr akhūr kabīr).* According to al-Ya'qūbī, care of al-Mu'taṣim's stables was not entrusted to Ḥizām alone, but was shared by his brother Ya'qūb, the father of Ibn Akhī Ḥizām.[20] Ya'qūb himself was an unrivaled authority on horses and their medical treatment in his time, and he became the chief veterinary surgeon to the caliph al-Mutawakkil (232–47/847–61). Nevertheless, because of the celebrity of his brother Ḥizām, he was commonly referred to as Akhū Ḥizām "brother of Ḥizām," whence his son's *shuhrah* "Ibn Akhī Ḥizām."

It is difficult to imagine a more propitious milieu for developing skills in *furūsīyah* arts and for gaining an intimate knowledge of horses. Ibn Akhī Ḥizām logically walked in the steps of his uncle and his father. He became a member of the Khurasani corps and ranked amongst its most prominent commanders.[21] There is also evidence that he became the stable master of the caliph al-Mu'taḍid. Ibn Akhī Ḥizām was an experienced soldier, expert on horses, master of *furūsīyah* arts, and unchallenged authority in lance and close combat techniques and weapons—hence the unmatched importance of his work, which represents the oldest surviving *furūsīyah* manual.

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[18]The term *Abnā'* (literally "sons" or "descendents") was originally used to denote the descendents of the first Khurasanis who brought the Abbasid caliphal dynasty to power and who were mostly Arab settlers in Khurasan. But as recruitment from Khurasan continued, the term was used for the descendents of any first generation Khurasani recruits regardless of the time of their arrival in Iraq or their ethnic origin. The *Abnā',* whether of Arab or Persian origin and whether they were descendents of early or later Khurasanis, had a great sense of unity and solidarity. Raised and trained according to the rules of Abbasid *furūsīyah,* they constituted a redoubtable military force, serving both as cavalry and infantry. Their devotion to Iraq, Baghdad, and the Abbasid house was almost fanatical. Distinguished *Abnā'* may always have joined the Khurasani corps and to have assumed positions of command, as was the case with Ibn Akhī Ḥizām.

[19]On the notoriety of Ḥizām ibn Ghālib in this post, see al-Jāḥiẓ, "Risālah fī Ṣinā'at al-Quwwād," in *Rasā'il,* 381 and n. 2.

[20]Al-Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān,* ed. M. J. De Goeje (Leiden, 1892), 381. The stables in Samarra were located behind the quarter of Ḥizām:

. . .وفي هذا الشارع قطائع قواد خرسان منها قطيعة هاشم بن بانيجور وقطيعة عجيف بن عنبسة وقطيعة الحسن بن علي المأموني وقطيعة هارون بن نعيم وقطيعة حزام بن غالب وظهر قطيعة حزام الاصطبلات لدواب الخليفة الخاصية والعامية يتولاها حزام ويعقوب أخوه.

[21]His name figures among the army commanders who in the year 251/856 supported the caliph al-Musta'īn (248–52/862–66) against al-Mu'tazz (252–55/866–69) and the Turks in Samarra. He led (jointly with 'Abd Allāh Ibn Naṣr) the vanguard of the caliphal army under the command of al-Ḥusayn ibn Ismā'īl (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*, 11:120).

His work, written, according to Ibn al-Nadīm, for the caliph al-Mutawakkil,[22] consisted of two complementary treatises intended as manuals for the mounted warrior and for army officers and commanders. The first treatise (hereafter designated as Treatise A, see below, Category I [a]) is a comprehensive work on horses including equitation, hippology, and farriery. The second treatise (hereafter Treatise B, see below, Category II) mainly deals with the principles of riding and horse-mastery, lance and sword techniques, arms, archery, and polo. These two treatises came down to us either separately and bearing different titles, or combined as one work, though in two parts each with its own preface (hereafter Treatise AB) and also bearing different titles. The most recurrent title, however, and probably the nearest to the original, is ″Kitāb al-Furūsīyah wa-al-Bayṭarah.″ The title given by the Mamluk author and *ḥalqah* commander Muḥammad ibn Manglī to the overall work is ″Al-Fawā'id al-Jalīlah fī 'Ulūm al-Furūsīyah wa-al-Rimāyah wa-Amrāḍ al-Khayl wa-Mudāwātihā.″[23]

During the Mamluk period Ibn Akhī Ḥizām′s work became the manual par excellence for *furūsīyah* masters, mamluks, and *ḥalqah* troopers. Indeed, Ibn Manglī warned his fellow *ḥalqah* troopers and mamluks not to consult any other work but that of Ibn Akhī Ḥizām.[24] He insisted elsewhere that he who heeds the teachings of Ibn Akhī Ḥizām while being trained at the hands of a knowledgeable master in the arts of *furūsīyah* shall licitly benefit from his *iqṭā'* and effectively serve the sultan in time of war.[25] Even the opening words that Ibn Akhī Ḥizām used in the preface of his Treatise AB:

أما بعد فإني لم أزل بعد ما وهب اللّه لي من المعرفة بآلات الفروسية ودقة النظر وشدة الفحص عما † وصفه أهل النجدة والبأس من ذوي النيات الخالصة

(which is also the preface of Treatise A) became a cliché in Mamluk *furūsīyah* treatises.[26]

Since Ibn Akhī Ḥizām′s Treatise AB (often referred to as his ″grand book,″ *kitābuhu al-kabīr*) was rather too voluminous to be used as a handy manual, and since it consisted of two distinct and independent manuals representing different disciplines in *furūsīyah* arts and literature, Treatise AB was often split into Treatises

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[22]Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist,* ed. Reza Tajaddod (Tehran, 1967), 377.

[23]Ibn Manglī, ″Uns al-Malā,″ Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 12 *ṣinā'ah,* fol. 7r.

[24]Ibid. ولايجوز للجندي إذا كان يحسن المطالعة أن يعرج على غيره من الكتب وكتابه الكبير جمع علوما شتى.

[25]Ibn Manglī, ″Al-Tadbīrāt al-Sulṭānīyah,″ fols. 38v.
ومن اشتغل بكلامه وتمهر على شيخ عارف بأمور الحرب أكل اقطاعه حلالا ونفع سلطانه وقت الاحتياج لقتال من تعين قتاله شرعا من كافر وباغ.

[26]See for example al-Aqsarā'ī, ″Nihāyat al-Sūl wa-al-Umnīyah fī Ta'līm A'māl al-Furūsīyah,″ fol. 2r.; Baktūt al-Rammāḥ, ″Kitāb fī 'Ilm al-Furūsīyah,″ fol. 5v.

A and B and these were used and copied separately. This accounts for the limited number of the surviving copies of Treatise AB[27] in comparison with the extant copies of Treatises A and B. It also explains why most copies of Treatise A (which had the title page of Treatise AB) bear the signature of Ibn Akhī Ḥizām, while most copies of Treatise B are either unsigned or bear fictitious names. Moreover, the copies of Treatise B are all catalogued under different titles.

This is one reason why Ibn Akhī Ḥizām′s Treatise B, though fundamental for a proper comprehension of Islamic *furūsīyah* literature as a whole and Mamluk in particular (see below), has remained largely unrecognized as a third/ninth century work. Furthermore, like all *furūsīyah* manuals in demand, the overall work of Ibn Akhī Ḥizām suffered at the hands of copyists, booksellers, and compilers; even the name of the author was not spared, especially his *shuhrah* and *nisbah*.[28] These errors have led to a number of recent false identifications of the author and his work[29] thus helping to obscure his immense contribution to *furūsīyah* literature, of

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[27]There are five manuscripts that contain both Treatises A and B: Bayezit Public Library MS Veliyüddin Efendi 3174, entitled ″Kitāb al-Furūsīyah wa-al-Bayṭarah wa-Maʻrifat al-Khayl wa-Riyāḍatihā wa-Ta'dībihā wa-ʻIlājihā wa-Maʻrifat al-ʻAmal bi-al-Sayf wa-al-Rumḥ wa-Ramy al-Nushshāb,″ dated 740/1339 but transcribed from a manuscript dated 428/1036–37—its colophon reads:

تم كتاب محمد بن يعقوب بن أخي خزّام (كذا)الختلي في الفروسية وكان رائض المعتضد باللّه . . .يحيط علم
الواقف على هذا الكتاب أنه كتب من نسخه تاريخها على ما وجد ٤٢٨ سنة وهي نسخه لا يكاد يقرأ منها شيء إلا
بالجهد فسيدنا يعذر المملوك في ما يجده في هذه النسخه من إشكال؛

Ayasofya Library MSS 2898, entitled ″Kitāb al-Furūsīyah wa-al-Bayṭarah min Qibal al-Ṭibb wa-Umūr al-Salṭanah″ (Treatise B incomplete), and 2899, entitled ″Kitāb al-Khayl wa-al-Furūsīyah″; Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 5m *funūn ḥarbīyah*, entitled ″Kitāb fī ʻIlm al-Furūsīyah wa-al-Bayṭarah,″ catalogued as anonymous; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin MS 5555, untitled and catalogued as anonymous.

[28]The *shuhrah* Ibn Akhī Ḥizām was often corrupted to Ibn Abī Ḥizām and Abū Ḥizām; the name was written Ḥaram, Ḥazām, Ḥazzām, Khizzām, and Khazzām. The *nisbah* al-Khuttalī was written al-Khaylī, al-Jilī, al-Ḥilī, and al-Jabalī, which are common corruptions of this *nisbah* (see Ibn Mākūlā, *Al-Ikmāl fī Rafʻ al-Irtiyāb ʻan al-Mu'talif wa-al-Mukhtalif fī al-Asmā' wa-al-Kuná wa-al-Ansāb,* ed. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Yamānī [Hyderabad, 1962–1972], 3:219 ff.). In some copies the personal name Muḥammad is omitted, and only Yaʻqūb Ibn Akhī Ḥizām remains, usually with the *kunyah* Abū Yūsuf, which is common with the name Yaʻqūb, rather than ʻAbd Allāh, which normally accompanies Muḥammad. In one copy of Treatise B the name Muḥammad has been corrupted to Aḥmad. Such errors were so frequent in the Mamluk period that Ibn Manglī, ″Uns al-Malā,″ Bibliothèque Nationale MS 2832/1, fol. 5v., tried to clarify the problem, but he, too, made errors. Ibn Manglī′s work was one of the few sources used by Mercier (*La Parure des cavaliers,* xii–xiii), in efforts to establish Ibn Akhī Ḥizām′s name and to identify his work; on the basis of the variations Mercier suggested that there might have been three authors: Yaʻqūb and his two sons Muḥammad and Aḥmad. François Viré (″Isṭabl,″ 222–26) took Mercier′s hypothesis as established and even added another imaginary person, Akhī Ḥizām, ostensibly Yaʻqūb′s father!

[29]See for example the preceding note.

which he was, undoubtedly, the founder.

FROM THE ABBASIDS TO THE MAMLUKS

Since *furūsīyah* was and remained a state institution, its rise and decline was intimately connected with the sovereignty and independence of the caliphate. Two great periods of Abbasid *furūsīyah* literature can be isolated; the first flourished from the second half of the second/eighth century until the Buwayhid domination (334/945), and the second from the mid-sixth/twelfth century onward until the Mongol invasion in the mid-seventh/thirteenth century. The destruction of Baghdad and the abolition of the caliphate (656/1258) made Cairo and Damascus the uncontested centers of the Islamic world. The Mamluks inherited and built upon Abbasid traditions, including *furūsīyah* literature, enlarging and emphasizing military exercises and training due to their particular military institution and to the Mongol threat.

CLASSIFICATION OF MAMLUK *FURŪSĪYAH* LITERATURE

Careful examination and extensive research into *furūsīyah* literature and its historical background can only lead to the classification proposed below. This stands in direct opposition to the tentative classifications previously proposed by Mercier and Ritter.[30]

Furūsīyah treatises fall into one of two categories. The first, henceforth Category I, includes thematic treatises dealing with a particular subject or branch of *furūsīyah*. These are:

a) treatises on horses and farriery;
b) treatises on archery;
c) treatises on the arts of the lance;
d) treatises on the arts of the mace;

[30]Mercier, *La Parure des cavaliers,* 384–85, artificially divided the treatises into four categories: treatises on the description of horses and the mysterious virtues attributed to them; treatises on wielding arms on horseback; treatises on farriery; and treatises on falconry. Ritter combined Mercier′s first three categories into one and added two more: archery and organization of the army. He discarded falconry. In both attempts the term *furūsīyah* was used in a restrictive way. Scanlon, ″Introduction,″ in *A Muslim Manual of War,* 6–7, adopted Ritter′s classification, but saw this only as military literature, thus limiting the scope of *furūsīyah* treatises to those covering the training of the horse, the training of the rider to wield certain weapons consummately, the concerted action of the cavalryman on the field, the technique and variety of single combat, tournaments, and the basics of veterinary medicine. Thus treatises on archery, hunting, polo, tactics, and organization of the army ,which constitute an integral part of *furūsīyah* literature, were arbitrarily regarded as distinct from it. See also Ananiasz Zajaczkowski*,* ″Introduction,″ in *Ādāb al-Ḥarb wa-al-Shajā'ah* (Warsaw, 1969), 7–13, who, although skeptical about such classifications, and the restrictive use of the term *furūsīyah,* did not propose any alternative.

e) treatises on the art of war;
f) treatises on arms and war engines;
g) treatises on hunting;
h) treatises on polo.

Thematic *furūsīyah* works, with the exception of those on polo, may be subdivided into two types of treatises: comprehensive and specific thematic *furūsīyah* treatises. The former gives an overall treatment of the subject, while the latter deals only with a specific aspect of the subject matter.

The second category, Category II, includes general *furūsīyah* treatises. They deal with some or most of the above-mentioned subjects, either in an abridged form or by including portions from Category I treatises or entire small treatises. This applies mainly to lance play and mace play. It also covers the training of the Mamluk *fāris* and all that concerns lower (foot) *furūsīyah*.

ASSESSMENT AND GRADING OF MAMLUK *FURŪSĪYAH* LITERATURE

The Mamluk *furūsīyah* treatises of either category may be divided into three groups. The first group is made up of treatises that can be described as basic because of their originality or essential contribution. This group, however, constitutes only a small proportion of the total number of works produced in this period. They were usually written by professionals who belonged to the military institution or worked closely with it. Two authors in this group belonged to the *ḥalqah* corps. Not many treatises are signed by pure Mamluks, probably because of an insufficient knowledge of Arabic. Otherwise, this group would have been greatly enriched with original works based on first-hand observation and experience. This group includes only one original Mamluk-Kipchak treatise (see Category I [d] below).

The second group consists of compilation treatises based on the first group and on pre-Mamluk works. The best examples were composed by men of learning (ulama) like Sharaf al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭī (d. 705/1305–6), Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamā'ah (d. 733/1333), Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah (d. 751/1350), 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn Jamā'ah (d. 819/1416), Walī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-'Irāqī (d. 826/1422), Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497), Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), and many others.[31] They quoted clearly and exactly from treatises now lost, and usually acknowledged their sources, which the authors of the treatises in the first group did not necessarily do, and those in the third group almost never did. Moreover, they sometimes defined important technical terms and, finally, their language is of the highest caliber ever used in *furūsīyah* literature, thus aiding in

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[31]The marked interest and participation of ulama in *furūsīyah* literature started in the sixth/tenth century under the Abbasids, and assumed important proportions in the Mamluk period. See al-Sarraf, "Adab al-Furūsīyah," 109–10.

the verification and correction of copyists′ errors in treatises in the other groups. Many of these authors were quite familiar with the arts of *furūsīyah.* For example*,* Muḥammad al-Aqsarā'ī al-Ḥanafī (d. 749/1348), the author of ″Nihāyat al-Sūl″ (see below), was an experienced lancer and well versed in archery. Many members of the ulama practiced the latter art and even excelled in it.[32] 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Akhmīmī al-Naqīb, chief Shafi'i magistrate under Sultan al-Ghūrī (906–22/1501–16), was considered by his contemporaries a great master of archery and an undisputed expert.[33] For this reason and because he spoke Turkish perfectly, he was very popular among the Turks, a matter that contributed significantly to his selection for the post of *aqḍá al-quḍāh*.[34] There is strong evidence that he was the author of two deliberately unsigned treatises. The first is on archery, entitled ″Ḥall al-Ishkāl fī al-Ramy bi-al-Nibāl″ (see Cat. I [b] below), and belongs to the first group, and the other is a general *furūsīyah* treatise entitled ″Naqāwat al-Muntaqá fī Nāfi'āt al-Liqā',″ an abridged version of a lost treatise by Taqī al-Dīn Yaḥyá ibn al-Kirmānī (d. 833/1430) which belongs to the second (see Cat. II below).

The third group encompasses popular and often apocryphal literature produced to meet the great demand for *furūsīyah* works at the end of the Bahri period and throughout the Circassian period. Much of it consists of truncated and sometimes amalgamated portions of pre-Mamluk and Mamluk treatises from the previous two groups. The copyists and booksellers, who played a great role in propagating these works, either deliberately left them anonymous or attributed them to well-known authors from Category II.

An illustrative example of this group is the luxurious manuscript now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS 2824, entitled ″Al-Makhzūn Jāmi' al-Funūn″ and fraudulently attributed to Ibn Akhī Ḥizām. It begins with the preface and the first section on training the rider and horse from his Treatise B, followed by the lance *bunūd* of al-Aḥdab (see below), then a section on incendiary weapons taken from pre-Mamluk and early Bahri sources, ending with a corrupted vernacular version of an anonymous work on the training of the Mamluk *fāris.* Because of its very nature, this group has led scholars astray and should only be studied and exploited after a full understanding of groups one and two. Although random examples will be given below, this article focuses on the first two groups.

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[32]The reasons are discussed in al-Sarraf, ″L′archerie mamluke,″ 1:51–56.

[33]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Cairo, 1353–55/1934–36), 5:275; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden-Cairo, 1961–75), 4:348:

وكان الشيخ علاء الدين له شهرة طائلة عند الاتراك وكان علامة في الرمي بالنشاب عارفا به وكان له اليد الطولى في ذلك.

Cf. al-Sarraf, ″L′archerie mamluke,″ 1:52–53.

[34]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 4:848.

MAMLUK *FURŪSĪYAH* TREATISES AND THEIR SOURCES

CATEGORY I: THEMATIC *FURŪSĪYAH* TREATISES

CAT. I (A): TREATISES ON HORSES AND FARRIERY

Abbasid treatises on horses were the objects of two kinds of contributions; the first was made by Arab philologists and the other was made by professionals and *furūsīyah* masters. The main body of Arab philological works on horses was written in Iraq during the period from the latter half of the second/eighth century to the end of the first half of the fourth/tenth century.[35] These works included both comprehensive and specific treatises. Of the former type, commonly titled *Kitāb al-Khayl,* more than twenty treatises were written,[36] all deemed lost except four. These are *Kitāb al-Khayl* by Abū ʻUbaydah Maʻmar ibn al-Muthanná (d. 209/824),[37] *Kitāb al-Khayl* by al-Aṣmaʻī (d. 216/831),[38] ″Kitāb al-Khayl″ by Abū ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad al-ʻUṭbī (d. 228/842), and ″Kitāb al-Khayl″ by Aḥmad ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893). The last two treatises are still in manuscript and the fate of their extant copies, presumably kept in a private collection, is uncertain.[39] In any case, the basic and unmatched contributions in this domain remain the above first two treatises by the celebrated Basran philologists whose competence and rivalry in the knowledge of horses were particularly well-known. However, notwithstanding the importance of al-Aṣmaʻī′s contribution, Abū ʻUbaydah′s *Kitāb al-Khayl* undoubtedly represents the most complete and learned philological work on horses, and was the source par excellence for subsequent treatises whether written by philologists, *furūsīyah* masters like Ibn Akhī Ḥizām, or compilers. Similarly, very few, of an otherwise considerable number, of specific philological and historical works on horses have survived. The most notable of these are *Nasab al-Khayl fī al-Jāhilīyah wa-al-Islām* by Ibn al-Kalbī[40] (d. 204/819); *Asmā' Khayl al-ʻArab wa-Fursānihā* by Ibn al-Aʻrābī[41] (d. 231/846), and *Al-Sarj wa-al-*

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[35]Cf. al-Sarraf, ″Adab al-Furūsīyah,″ 110–111.

[36]On this work see ibid., 111.

[37]Published in Hyderabad, 1358/1939.

[38]Published by Nūrī Ḥammūdī al-Qaysī, in *Majallat Kullīyat al-Ādāb* (Baghdad University) 12 (1969): 337–88, then published separately (Baghdad, 1970).

[39]See ʻAwwād, *Maṣādir al-Turāth al-ʻAskarī,* 1:294–96.

[40]Published by Giorgio Levi Della Vida (Leiden, 1928); another edition by Aḥmad Zakī Pasha (Cairo, 1946; 2nd ed., 1995); and republished by Nūrī Ḥammūdī al-Qaysī and Ḥātim Ṣāliḥ al-Ḍāmin (Beirut, 1987). A copy written by Abū Manṣūr al-Jawālīqī (d. 540/1145) is preserved in the Escorial, MS 1705.

[41]Published by Levi Della Vida together with *Nasab al-Khayl* by al-Kalbī in one volume (Leiden,

Lijām by Ibn Durayd[42] (d. 321/933).

In all, Abbasid philological works on horses were essential for preparing the ground for the emergence of the *furūsīyah* masters′ contributions in this field. These were primarily concerned with subjects that are not dealt with in philological works such as dressage, riding, ailments of horses and their cures, suitable horse equipment in war and peace, etc., while integrating at the same time the essentials of the philologist′s contributions, especially concerning hippology.

Ibn Akhī Ḥizām was the first *furūsīyah* master to make this synthesis in his Treatise A, commonly titled ″Kitāb al-Furūsīyah wa-al-Bayṭarah.″ It is not only the oldest preserved text in Arabic on horses and their medical treatment, but also the earliest contribution, probably in any language, in which hippology, riding, training, and veterinary medicine, together with many other related topics, are integrated in one work. Thus the genre was established and Treatise A became the prototype of subsequent treatises. The work was a seminal contribution because it was based on the deep knowledge and practical experience of the author. In a number of subjects, it even reached the limits of perfection, as can be seen in the method of training the rider and the horse in the ring.[43] In the part devoted to farriery, the main reference besides the author′s own experience was his father Ya'qūb, who is referred to by his *kunyah* Abū Yūsuf. Ibn Akhī Ḥizām also gives some medical prescriptions in order to discredit them; he urges veterinary surgeons to be more prompt in their work and demands that they should be cross-examined before being allowed to practice. In the chapters on colors, markings, and whorls, a certain Indian named Junna was mentioned and quoted, though only for reasons of completeness, as the author did not agree with what Junna wrote[44]. Ibn Akhī Ḥizām also elaborated on the borrowings he made from *Kitāb al-Khayl* by Abū 'Ubaydah.

More than fifteen copies of Ibn Akhī Ḥizām′s Treatise A have been traced so

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1928), and reedited by Nūrī Ḥammūdī al-Qaysī and Ḥātim Ṣāliḥ al-Ḍāmin (Beirut, 1987).

[42]Published by William Wright in *Majmū'at Jurzat al-Ḥāṭib wa-Tuḥfat al-Ṭālib* (Leiden, 1859). The text of Wright was republished by Ibrāhīm al-Sāmarrā'ī (in the seventies, but no date is given); a third edition by Munāf Mahdī Aḥmad appeared in 1992 (Cairo). However, this treatise, which is unique in its genre in *furūsīyah* literature, deserves to be studied more appropriately. Two copies are extant, one in the Library of the University of Leiden, MS 53, the other in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah, MS 459/5 *lughah Taymūr*.

[43]Translated by Beate Sierwert-Mayer in ″Riding in the Early Abbasid Period,″ in *Furusiyya,* ed. Alexander, 1:110–17. For the Arabic text of this chapter, see idem, ″Rukūb al-Khayl fī Bidāyat al-'Ahd al-'Abbāsī,″ in *Furūsīyah,* ed. al-Sarraf, 1:98–103.

[44]See, Ibn Akhī Ḥizām, ″Kitāb al-Furūsīyah wa-al-Bayṭarah″ (Treatise A), Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 1610 *ṭibb,* fols. 52v.–53r.

far and I believe the list is still far from being exhaustive.[45] There is also an unsigned late eighth/fourteenth-century Mamluk-Kipchak version of Treatise A (unidentified as such hitherto) entitled "Kitāb Bayṭarat al-Vāziḥ." The translation from Arabic was made at the request of Tolu Beg, who is almost certainly the same as Tolu min 'Alī Shāh, *nā'ib* of Ṣafad, who was killed in 808/1405.[46] At his orders another *furūsīyah* treatise, this time on archery, was also translated into Turkish (see below, Cat. I [b]). Two copies of "Bayṭarat al-Vāziḥ" are preserved.[47]

The earliest authentic Mamluk work on horses is the anonymous "Kitāb Sharḥ al-Maqāmah al-Ṣalāḥīyah fī al-Khayl wa-al-Bayṭarah," which was written towards the end of the seventh/thirteenth century. It is a learned commentary on a comprehensive didactic poem on horses and other related topics in 133 verses, in *-ri,* presented within the framework of a *maqāmah*. There are two extant copies of this treatise bearing different and apocryphal titles.[48]

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[45]The following manuscripts of Treatise A have been identified: British Library MS Add 23416, entitled "Al-Furūsīyah wa-Shiyāt al-Khayl"; Chester Beatty Library MSS 3889 (seventh/thirteenth century), 416 (645/1256), 3319 (869/1464–65), 3073, and 3220 (twelfth/eighteenth century), all entitled "Al-Furūsīyah wa-Shiyāt al-Khayl"; Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 1610 *ṭibb,* entitled "Al-Furūsīyah wa-al-Bayṭarah fī 'Alamāt al-Khayl wa-'Ilājihā"; Damascus, Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhirīyah MS 71 *'āmm,* entitled "Al-Furūsīyah wa-al-Bayṭarah"; Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library MS 3608, ascribed to al-Ṣāḥib Tāj al-Dīn (d. 707/1307) and published under this apocryphal name by Fuat Sezgin as a facsimile in 2 vols., *Book on Veterinary Medicine: Kitāb al-Bayṭarah by al-Ṣāḥib Tāj al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī* (Frankfurt, 1984); Fatih Mosque Library MS 3510, entitled "Kitāb al-Khuyūl wa-al-Furūsīyah" (written for the *amīr akhūr* "stable master" of Sultan al-Nāṣir ibn Qalāwūn and the son of *amīr akhūr kabīr* "chief stable master" of the same sultan); Topkapı Sarayı Library MS 1951, entitled "'Awn Ahl al-Jihād min al-Umarā' wa-al-Ajnād" (893/1487): this copy, incomplete and catalogued as anonymous, was published (presumed unique) in Damascus (1996); Budapest University Library MS Arabe O.3, transcribed in Baghdad in 757/1356: this copy is incomplete, untitled, and catalogued as anonymous, and it was published as such (and presumed unique) by Muḥammad al-Tūnjī under the title *Al-Jawād al-'Arabī* (Kuwait, 1413/1993); Baghdad National Library MSS 134 *al-athār*, 1938/1 *al-athār;* Leiden University Library MS 528; Bibliothèque Nationale MSS 2823, untitled and containing only the first and last folios (1063/1653), and 2815, untitled and classified as anonymous. Treatise A was also plagiarized by a number of compilers, for example, British Library MS Or. 813 (620/1223; signed Aḥmad Ibn 'Atīq al-Azdī); and Ayasofya Library MS 3705 (copied for the Rasulid sultan of Yemen al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf al-Sa'īd [647–94/1249–95] by Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad, known as Ibn Abī Quṭayrah).

[46]See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi',* 4:48.

[47]Topkapı Sarayı MS Revan Köskü 1695 and Bibliothèque Nationale MS Suppl. Turc 179, fols. 1–99r. See also Janos Eckmann, "The Mamluk-Kipchak Literature" in *Central Asiatic Journal* 8 (1963): 316–17, and Kurtuluş Öztopçu, "Introduction," in *Münyetü'l-ġuzät: 14. yüzyıla âit Memluk-Kipçakçasıyla yazılmış askêri bir risâle,* ed. and trans. Kurtuluş Öztopçu, Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures, 13: Turkic Sources, 11 (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 4.

[48]The first one, written for the library of Yalbāy min Qānī Bāy al-Hamzāwī, is preserved in the

The text begins with a short introduction on the blazes, markings, stockings, and shackles of the horse. Then the author rather smoothly shifts to the rhymed prose of the *maqāmah,* setting forth the frame story: Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Ayyūb (Saladin) ordered that pure-bred Arab horses should be amassed for war. When that was done he summoned his courtiers and questioned them about the origins of the (Arab) horse, its breeds and bloodlines, its conformation, its qualities, the ailments that can strike it, its markings, its colors, and the equipment of its rider. No one answered but one man, an outsider, who stood up and recited the poem.[49] The commentary normally follows after one or two verses. Those from 1 to 116 cover hippology and farriery, from 117 to 122 deal with arms and armor, from 123 to 130 treat saddles and bridles, and finally from 131 to 133 deal with how the horseman should behave on the battlefield. When the commentary of the last three verses is completed, the rhymed prose resumes the argument of the *maqāmah* and reports that the sultan, greatly pleased with the poem, decided to appoint the poet as his stable master and to make him his boon companion. The *maqāmah* concludes in the style and spirit of *Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī* as the narrator (appearing in the role of al-Ḥārith ibn Hammām of the *Maqāmah*) discovered that he knew the poet (resembling the famous Abū Zayd al-Sarūjī) and engaged him in a pleasant and lively conversation.

This treatise is one of the hidden jewels of Mamluk *furūsīyah* literature. First of all, it should be noted that didactic poems, while common in such *furūsīyah* disciplines as archery and hunting, were not very frequent in the domain of horses, especially in such a comprehensive way.[50] Consequently, if this didactic

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library of Istanbul University, MS 4689, and titled ″Kitāb al-Razdaqah fī Maʻrifat al-Khayl wa-Ajnāsihā wa-Amrāḍihā wa-Adwiyatihā.″ The second copy, dated 1180/1766, is kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Arabe 2817. It is spuriously attributed to Wahb Ibn Munabbih under the title ″Kitāb fī ʻIlm Siyāsat al-Khayl.″ There is also one copy of the ″Maqāmah″ sans commentary in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 81 *furūsīyah Taymūr,* entitled ″Al-Maqāmah al-Ṣalāḥīyah fī al-Khayl wa-al-Bayṭarah wa-al-Furūsīyah.″

[49]The poem begins as follows:
الحمد للّه مبدي عالم الصور \ وخالق الخيل عزّاً منه للبشر
والصلوة على المختار من مضر \ وسيد الرسل من بدو ومن حضر

[50]In *furūsīyah* literature, didactic poems, namely in the fields of archery, hunting, and horses, appeared mainly from the sixth/twelfth century onwards, after these disciplines were established, and the major pertinent treatises were written during the first two hundred years of Abbasid rule. Among the few surviving didactic poems on horses from that period is ″Al-Urjūzah al-Manṣūrīyah fī Ṣifāt al-Khayl″ by the Zaydī Imam al-Manṣūr billāh ʻAbd Allāh Ibn Ḥamzah (d. 614/1217). It was commented by his son al-Amīr Shams al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan Aḥmad in a treatise entitled ″Kitāb Sharḥ al-Urjūzah al-Manṣūrīyah fī Ṣifāt al-Khayl,″ of which at least two copies survived; one of them is kept in the British Library, MS 814. The ″Urjūzah″ and its commentary are entirely based on early Abbasid philological contributions and works of *adab*.

poem was not the first of its kind, it is undoubtedly the earliest and the unique surviving example. It is also the first and probably the last didactic poem presented within the framework of a *maqāmah*. In *furūsīyah* literature, the *maqāmah* is an exceptional genre and the only one I am aware of is "Al-Maqāmah al-Qawsīyah" (on archery) by Ismā'īl ibn Jamāl al-Dīn al-Isbahānī (sixth/twelfth century), which is in rhymed prose[51].

The real importance of this work, however, lies in the subtlety of the didactic poem, the expert and erudite commentary of the author, and his clear and fine Arabic style. Although he did not name his pre-Mamluk sources, the text clearly shows that the author was perfectly familiar with the relevant Abbasid literature, especially *Kitāb Nasab al-Khayl* by Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819), *Kitāb al-Khayl* by Abū 'Ubaydah and above all "Kitāb al-Furūsīyah wa-al-Bayṭarah" by Ibn Akhī Ḥizām. It is also clear from his commentaries that the author was a pure product of military *furūsīyah,* as he was highly proficient in horsemanship, hippology, veterinary science, and arms and warfare. He gave us a valuable hint about himself and the period during which he wrote the treatise when he casually referred to two of his contemporaries who were alive when this work was written. One of them was Amir Sunqur al-Ashqar (Shams al-Dīn Sunqur al-Ṣāliḥī), *nā'ib al-salṭanah* in Damascus who died in 691/1292. He was personally and intimately known to the author who must have, therefore, belonged to the upper strata of the Mamluk ruling elite or was very close to it. The other personality is Sharaf al-Dīn al-Dimyāṭī, who died in 705/1305–6. Al-Dimyāṭī wrote a work on horses entitled "Faḍl al-Khayl," based exclusively on Abbasid philological and *adab* works and including a compendium of hadiths of the Prophet on the merits of horses,[52] with rather long chains of authority which our anonymous author quotes. As al-Dimyāṭī wrote his treatise in 688/1289, "Kitāb Sharḥ al-Maqāmah al-Ṣalāḥīyah" was, therefore, composed sometime between the latter date and the death of Sunqur al-Ashqar in 691/1292.

The only worthy signed Mamluk treatise on horses belonging to the first group is *Kāshif al-Wayl fī Ma'rifat al-Khayl,* also known as *Kāmil al-Ṣinā'atayn fī al-Bayṭarah wa-al-Zardaqah* and as *al-Nāṣirī,*[53] by Abū Bakr al-Bayṭār ibn Badr

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[51]See below, note 101.

[52]It has been published by Muḥammad Raghīb al-Ṭabbākh (Aleppo, 1930) from a single copy in Aleppo, al-Maktabah al-Riḍā'īyah MS *furūsīyah* 801, now lost. A new edition was published in Damascus (2001), allegedly based on a copy conserved in 'Ayn Shams University Library (Egypt), no reference number given. The most reliable copy, however, is that in Medina, 'Ārif Ḥikmat Library MS *ḥadīth* 54, dated 688/1289. Another copy, dated 850/1446–47, is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS 2816.

[53]Translated into French by Nicolas Perron, under the title *Le nâcérî: la perfection des arts, ou, Traité complet d'hippologie et d'hippiatrique arabes, par Abū Bakr Ibn Bedr,* 2 vols. (Paris,

al-Dīn, known as Ibn al-Mundhir, chief veterinary surgeon to Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn during his third sultanate (709–41/1310/41). Although the author drew heavily on Abbasid sources, especially on Ibn Akhī Ḥizām's Treatise A (from which he borrowed much more than he intimated), his professional experience ensured that his book was a genuine contribution. More than fifteen copies have survived, including an autograph version.[54]

The anonymous "Kitāb al-Furūsīyah fī 'Ilm al-Khuyūlīyah" is another valuable, hitherto unknown work that needs to be noted. The author, who assumed the role of a narrator, attributed the treatise to someone called al-'Abbāsī and claimed that the latter copied it from sources pertaining to King Solomon (al-Malik Sulaymān Ibn Dāwūd). The treatise is largely based on Abbasid sources and some of these are lost, hence the importance of this work. The text begins with a long introduction relating the Arabo-Islamic version of the creation of the horse and its breeds, which is the most detailed and complete account on this subject in *furūsīyah* literature. The work is divided then into four parts and each part into several sections. The first part deals with training and horse mastery; the second covers training the obstinate horse; the third treats colors, markings, and characteristics of the horse; and the fourth part is devoted to ailments and cures. Three copies of this interesting treatise are extant.[55]

A good example of a Mamluk compilation treatise on horses (group two) is by 'Umar ibn Raslān ibn Naṣr al-Bulqīnī (d. 805/1402), called "Qaṭr al-Sayl fī Amr al-Khayl." It is an abridgment of al-Dimyāṭī's *Faḍl al Khayl* but with supplementary material on hippology and equitation. At least six copies have been preserved.[56]

CAT. I (B): TREATISES ON ARCHERY

Archery was indubitably the most important and sophisticated discipline among

1852–60). It was edited by 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Daqqāq, *Kāshif Hamm al-Wayl fī Ma'rifat Amrāḍ al-Khayl: Le découvreur de l'importance des maux relativement à la connaissance des maladies des chevaux, ou, La perfection des deux arts: Traité complet d'hippologie et d'hippiatrie connu sous le nom de al-Nāṣiri* (Beirut, 1991).

[54]Topkapı Sarayı Library MS Ahmet III 1956, dated 722/1322. Nine more copies deserve particular mention: Topkapı Sarayı Library MSS Ahmet III 203, E.H. 1813, and E.H. 1817; Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MSS 4 and 5 *furūsīyah Taymūr;* Bibliothèque Nationale MSS 2813 and 2814; Baghdad, Iraqi Museum Library MS 187; and Chester Beatty Library MS 3680.

[55]Bodleian Library MS Huntington 377; Süleymaniye Library MS Şehid 'Alī Paşa 1550; Vienna National Bibliothek MS 1474.

[56]Süleymaniye Library MSS Şehid 'Alī Paşa 1549 and 2138; Iraqi Museum Library MS 17108; Sohag (Suhaj), Egypt MS *adab* 559; ; 'Ārif Ḥikmat Library MS *ḥadīth* 57; Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 214 *funūn ḥarbīyah.*

furūsīyah arts and the keystone in the training of the Mamluk *fāris*.[57] Likewise, archery treatises represent the richest branch in *furūsīyah* literature and the preserved copies account for almost one third of the total number of extant *furūsīyah* manuscripts of both categories. Furthermore, archery themes and texts constitute an integral part of general *furūsīyah* treatises (Cat. II), and of such thematic *furūsīyah* treatises as those concerning the art of war, arms and war machines, and the chase (respectively Cat. I [e], [f], and [g]). All this makes knowledge of Muslim archery and its literature indispensable for the comprehension of *furūsīyah* arts and literature as a whole.

However, archery literature is a singularly thorny field of research. It was subject more than any other branch of *furūsīyah* literature to manipulations and falsification at the hands of booksellers, copyists, and unknowledgeable compilers. Furthermore, because of its highly technical language, archery literature was particularly exposed to copyists′ errors and omissions. This phenomenon assumed such amplitude in the Mamluk period that even learned and acknowledged authors/archers like al-Akhmīmī showed reluctance to comment certain texts for fear of misinterpretation.[58]

These and other problems and pitfalls characteristic of archery literature, in conjunction with lack of research, may explain the total confusion reigning in modern publications concerning medieval Muslim archery, its evolution, history, historiography, and literature. It took many years of systematic research, during which the main core of archery literature—all still in manuscript form—was examined and collated, to clear up the picture. The following is a résumé of the main axes of Mamluk and pre-Mamluk archery literature. Its understanding, however, is innately connected with the evolution of archery techniques, the correct identification of archery masters, their epoch and their schools, and the types of bows used.

It should be emphasized that Arabo-Islamic archery as depicted in archery treatises was exclusively based on the use of the composite bow. On the other hand, all Arab philological works on bows,[59] classical Arabic poetry, as well as the entire corpus of hadith attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad on the merits of archery,[60] denote only the simple wooden hand bow. This was the traditional Arab bow and the only type of hand bow used by the Arabs in the pre- and proto-Islamic

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[57]For a detailed exposition of the training of the Mamluk *fāris* in archery, see al-Sarraf, ″L′archerie mamluke,″ 3:750–869.

[58]Al-Akhmīmī, ″Ḥall al-Ishkāl fī al-Ramy bi-al-Nibāl,″ Bibliothèque Nationale MS Arabe 6259, fols. 5v., 100r., 101r. Cf. al-Sarraf, ″L′archerie mamluke,″ 1:41.

[59]See al-Sarraf, ″Adab al-Furūsīyah,″ 113.

[60]The major source on this is al-Qarrāb al-Sarakhsī′s *Faḍā'il al-Ramy fī Sabīl Allāh*. See above, note 4.

periods. Nearly all the nomenclature pertinent to the simple Arab bow was adopted for the composite bow, which is referred to in archery treatises as *qaws* (bow) without further distinction. This may induce confusion between the two types of bows, especially when we know that archery treatises usually begin with the relevant traditions *(sunnah)* on archery, followed by the nomenclature and types of the simple bow as established by Abbasid philologists and coupled with the appropriate verses of Arabic poetry. As the composite and simple bows differ fundamentally, any confusion between them will render archery treatises totally incomprehensible and will also deeply compromise our understanding of *furūsīyah* arts and literature. Indeed, the essence of military *furūsīyah* and the whole Mamluk institution was based on horse archery,[61] which was totally subject to the employ of the composite bow. Unless otherwise specified, all occurrences of the term ″bow″ hereafter denote the composite bow.

Practically, all the basic archery texts were written during the first two centuries of Abbasid rule. The authors were confirmed archers and their works were records of their own experience and/or of the techniques of their respective schools of archery *(madhāhib al-ramy).* All these schools of archery emerged during the period in question. The founders, who flourished in Iraq and Khurasan, were the archery masters commonly referred to as *a'immat al-ramy* (imams of archery). Their number is not the same in all treatises but the data concurs that there were no more than ten principal figures and that the most prominent among these were Abū Hāshim al-Bāwardī, Ṭāhir al-Balkhī, Isḥāq al-Raffā', Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kāghadī, and Abū al-Fatḥ Sa'īd Ibn Khafīf al-Samarqandī. The latter, considered the greatest master of his time and the last of the archery imams, was born in Baghdad in the second half of the third/ninth century and gained prominence under the caliphs al-Rāḍī (322–29/934–40) and al-Mustakfī (333–34/944–46).[62] His father Khafīf al-Samarqandī was one of the loyal and close *ghilmān* of the caliph al-Mu'taḍid and the last of his chamberlains. Under this caliph, accredited for being a great archer[63] and the propagator of the technique of *ikhtilās,*[64] Abbasid archery was at

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[61]On the interdependant relation between the mamluk institution and archery, especially from horseback, see al-Sarraf , ″L′archerie mamluke,″ 3:1055–81.

[62]See anonymous, *Kitāb al-'Uyūn wa-al-Ḥadā'iq fī Akhbār al-Ḥaqā'iq,* ed. 'Umar Sa'īdī (Damascus, 1972–73), 1:316; 2:428, 442.

[63]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh,* 11:265; al-Zaynabī, ″Al-Qawānīn al-Sulṭānīyah,″ fol. 43v.; al-Ṭarsūsī, ″Tabṣirat Arbāb al-Albāb,″ fol. 61r.–v.; al-Aqsarā'ī, ″Nihāyat al-Sūl,″ fol. 36r.; al-Ṣughayyir, ″Kitāb Ramy al- Nushshāb,″ Topkapı Sarayı Library MS Ahmet III 2620, fol. 89r.

[64]A form of loose which gives the arrow greater power of penetration, suitable for war. Basically, it consists of drawing the bow to a certain limit, followed by a very short pause and then by a full draw executed with a snatch. Al-Ṭarsūsī, ″Al-Tabṣirah,″ fols. 61r.–v.; Ibn Maymūn, ″Al-Ifādah wa-al-Tabṣīr,″ fols. 62r., 68v.; al-Aqsarā'ī, ″Nihāyat al-Sūl,″ fol. 36r.; Ṭaybughā, ″Kitāb al-Ramy

its apogee. As an army commander, al-Samarqandī's *madhhab* in archery was entirely military. He was the younger contemporary of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kāghadī, who lived in Herat (now in Afghanistan) and devoted his life and fortune to gain excellence in archery. His school, based on target archery, was civilian.

As for al-Bāwardī, al-Balkhī and al-Raffā', they were the three celebrated great masters consecrated in the late Ayyubid and Mamluk periods as the greatest and true masters of archery *(a'immat al-ramy al-kibār)*. The consequences of this consecration largely dictated the orientation and nature of archery literature in the Mamluk period. The school of al-Bāwardī, who probably was still alive in the first half of the second/eighth century, was the first in Islam. It was very close to the old Sassanian school, which was principally based on foot archery. Al-Balkhī lived in the second half of the second/eighth century; his school mainly represented Abbasid Khurasani foot and horse archery. Isḥāq al-Raffā' flourished in Iraq in the first half of the third/ninth century. His school was a genuine Abbasid development and extremely important to our understanding of the evolution of Muslim archery, especially in the Arab region, where it was adopted by the majority of mounted and foot archers during the Abbasid and Mamluk periods. The school of al-Raffā' was often described as the Median School *(madhhab al-wasaṭ)* for having allegedly taken a median position in terms of archery techniques between the schools of al-Bāwardī and al-Balkhī. However, its real importance lies in its contribution to the standardization of archery techniques implied by the systemization of the Abbasid military training program, which inevitably led to the standardization of the war bow and consequently allowed its production in large quantities. This development reached considerable dimensions in Ayyubid Syria when Damascus became the largest center for manufacturing war bows in the Islamic world.[65]

The foremost authority on the schools of al-Bāwardī, al-Balkhī, and al-Raffā', and the key figure in Muslim archery literature as a whole, is Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad al-Ṭabarī, who was Ibn Akhī Ḥizām's older contemporary. Not much is known about him except that he was a devoted archer who traveled in Khurasan and Iraq seeking perfection in this art, and that he was trained in the technique of each one of the three masters by their respective disciples and then formed his own synthesis of their techniques. He expounded their methods, as well as his own eclectic approach, in a book entitled "Kitāb al-Wāḍiḥ fī al-Ramy." This became the most popular and widely used archery treatise in the Mamluk period, when al-Ṭabarī, referred to as the "founder of the eclectic school" *(ṣāḥib madhhab al-ikhtyār),* was implicitly consecrated as the fourth imam of archery.

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wa-al-Rukūb," fol. 37r.; al-Ṣughayyir, "Kitāb Ramy al-Nushshāb," fols. 80r., 89r.–90v.

[65]See al-Sarraf, "L'archerie mamluke," 2:498–506.

"Kitāb al-Wāḍiḥ" is an essential treatise not only in understanding and assessing Mamluk archery literature, but also Mamluk archery as a whole. In the Ayyubid period when the massive production of war bows in Damascus was standardized into three types, certain Syrian authors and archers introduced the idea that the practices of the great masters represented three somatic categories, tall (Abū Hāshim al-Bāwardī); medium (Isḥāq al-Raffā'); and short (Ṭāhir al-Balkhī). This categorization, which probably played an important role in legitimizing the consecration of the three masters during that period, was too constricting, as a bow made for a tall man and the techniques for using it were not necessarily unsuitable for a man of medium or short proportions. Al-Ṭabarī's eclectic method provided a practical alternative and was a stabilizing influence and safety valve against rigid classification.[66]

Most of the ten copies of "Kitāb al-Wāḍiḥ" that have reached us[67] bear only the *nisbah* of its author, al-Ṭabarī, preceded by such attributes as *shaykh, ustādh,* and/or *'allāmah.* This created a grievous misconception regarding the identity of the author, who was grossly confused in modern bibliographical essays with Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (615–94/1218–95), the well-known *shaykh al-ḥaram* of Mecca,[68] whose works and activities are fully documented by Mamluk sources.[69] The persistence of this flagrant error, accepted without further verification by modern scholars from the end of the nineteenth century till now,

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[66]Ibid., 2:494–506, 524–33; 3:722–40, 773–74, n. 42.

[67]British Library MSS Or. 9454, 9265/2, fols. 55r.–96r., and 3134; Bayezit Public Library MSS Veliyüddin Efendi 3175, 3177; Nuruosmaniye Mosque Library MS 4098; Topkapı Sarayı MS Revan Köskü 1933/2; Bodleian Library MS 396; Cairo, al-Azhar Library MS 6 *abazah* 7275; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin MS Ahlwardt 5539.

[68]W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften de Königlichen bibliothek zu Berlin* (1887–99, nos. 5540 and 5550) was the first to confuse the author of "Al-Wāḍiḥ" with *shaykh al-ḥaram* Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī; he was followed by Ritter, "La Parure," 136, and Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur* (Leiden, 1937–49), 906. The copies of "Al-Wāḍiḥ" available to Ahlwardt, Ritter, Brockelmann, and even to Ḥājjī Khalīfah (*Kashf al-Ẓunūn 'an Asāmī al-Kutub wa-al-Funūn* [Istanbul, 1941–43], 2:1995) bore only the *nisbah* of the author: al-Ṭabarī. In his *Talkhīṣ Rasā'il al-Rumāh* (Istanbul, 1263), written in Turkish for Sultan Maḥmūd II (1809–39), the Ottoman archer Muṣṭafá Kānī Qahwaçī Bāshī identified the author of "Al-Wāḍiḥ" with the historian Abū Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923). This sort of confusion was probably very old and may go back to the early fourth/tenth century, cf. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-Udabā',* ed. D. S. Margoliouth (Cairo, 1923–30), 6:453. The correct and full name of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭabarī figures in a number of *furūsīyah* treatises. Cf. al-Sarraf, "L'archerie mamluke," 1:70–76, 166, n. 97.

[69]See for example al-Dhahabī, *Kitāb al-'Ibar fī Khabar Man Ghabar,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid and Fu'ād Sayyid (Kuwait, 1960–66), 5:238; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 1:342–48; cf. Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Cairo, 1931–32), 5:8.

attests to the deplorable state of research in *furūsīyah* literature and particularly in archery literature, where al-Ṭabarī undoubtedly represents the key element par excellence in our understanding of it.

Furthermore, contrary to what is generally believed, ″Kitāb al-Wāḍiḥ″ was not the only archery treatise written by ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭabarī and in terms of thoroughness, it was not the most important one. His definitive work is ″Kitāb al-Shāmil fī al-Ramy,″ which represents the oldest surviving comprehensive archery treatise and probably the first of its kind in archery literature. It mainly deals with military archery and covers, *inter alia,* the types of bows, cords, arrows, thumb-rings, training the novice, shooting at the *birjās,*[70] faults and injuries to which the archer is exposed, bracing the bow, hints for archers in time of war, shooting at and from a fortress, etc. ″Kitāb al-Shāmil,″ of which I have found so far only one copy,[71] became a major source for subsequent *furūsīyah* treatises of both categories starting with Ibn Akhī Ḥizām′s Treatise B. Other works by al-Ṭabarī, still untraceable, include ″Kitāb Nuzhat al-Qulūb,″ ″Kitāb al-Kanz,″ and ″Kitāb Jāmiʻ al-Asrār.″[72]

The work of Rukn al-Dīn Jamshīd al-Khwārazmī was also an important third/ninth century Abbasid source of Mamluk archery literature. The long quotations which certain Mamluk authors give from his treatise made it clear that Jamshīd was a major source for the Mamluks on the great masters and on al-Ṭabarī, in particular, with whom he was a contemporary.[73] This information is confirmed by Jamshīd in a small but important treatise ascribed to him of which one copy only is extant.[74] In this treatise, probably a much abridged version of his main, untraceable treatise, Jamshīd mentions that his work was seen and verified by the great Iraqi archer Abū Bakr Ibn ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz Ibn Julham al-Baghdādī, to whom no archery treatise is attributed. Another Abbasid source for Mamluk archery literature is the work of Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf al-Akhbārī (third/ninth century) entitled ″Al-Iḍāḥ fī ʻIlm al-Ramy″ which has survived in one copy.[75] Mamluk writers also drew on the now lost works of Abū Bakr al-Warrāq, Abū Mūsá al-Ḥarrānī al-Sarakhsī,

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[70]For the different meanings and functions of *birjās* (pl. *barājis and barjāsāt*) in *furūsīyah* literature see al-Sarraf, ″L′archerie mamluke,″ 3:751–53.

[71]British Library MS 9265/1, fols. 1r.–55r. This manuscript, of which the first pages are wanting, is not recorded in the printed catalogue.

[72]See al-Ṣughayyir ″Kitāb Ramy al-Nushshāb,″ fols. 12v., 23r., 42r., 53r., 66r., 68r., 85v., 90r., 91v.

[73]Al-Ṣughayyir, ″Kitāb Ramy al-Nushshāb,″ fols. 48v. ff., 84v. ff.; Ṭaybughā, ″Kitāb al-Ramy,″ fol. 65r.–v.; al-Sinjārī, ″Hidāyat al-Ramy,″ fols. 14v., 16r.–v., 18r.–v., 21v., 22v.

[74]British Library MS Or 3631, fols. 279v.–293r., with the author′s name given as Jamshār, instead of Jamshīd.

[75]Nuruosmaniye Mosque Library MS 4098/2.

Aḥmad al-Suhrawardī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad al-Harawī, and 'Alī al-Daqqāq,[76] all of them ranked as great archers.

The advent of the Buwayhids in Iraq and the Fatimids in Egypt contributed to the decline in the region of military archery, and horse archery in particular. Neither the Daylami troops of the former nor the Berbers of the latter used this arm. The recourse of both dynasties, especially the Buwayhids, to Turkish horse-archers did not stop this decline. Only when the Saljuqs swept over the region with their Turkoman horse-archers did archery come back with force. Interest in archery literature was greatly revived, old Abbasid texts were reproduced and new ones were written. This time, the Syrian archers, who were already bearing the brunt of the Crusaders thrust, took the initiative. This also coincided with the efflorescence of bow manufacturing in Damascus and the birth of the famous Damascus war bow under the Burids.[77] Three contributions in the form of didactic poems are representative of this new spirit. The first one, a short and almost riddle-like poem on the fundamentals of archery intended for knowledgeable archers, is ″Al-Qaṣīdah al-Lāmīyah fī al-Ramy″ by Ṣāliḥ al-Shaghūrī who, on behalf of the Damascene archers, took it to Egypt in 553/1158 to challenge the Cairene archers and test their knowledge. It was commented by an Egyptian archer named Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Nabīl in a treatise entitled ″Kitāb fī 'Ilm al-Rimāyah bi-al-Nushshāb wa-Uṣulihi wa-Madhāhibih″ of which one copy is preserved.[78] The second contribution is an anonymous and untitled *urjūzah* on the fundamentals of archery and the schools of the three great masters, including important information on the main prototypes of war bows known in the region since the advent of the Abbasids. This fine *urjūzah* was commented at the end of the ninth/fifteenth century by al-Akhmīmī (see ″Ḥall al-Ishkāl″ below).

The third didactic poem was written and commented by Ḥusayn Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Yūnīnī[79] (d. 650/1252), who claimed to be the rightful heir of the bygone masters. While this claim may be questionable, al-Yūnīnī was certainly one of the greatest archers of his time. His work, entitled ″Al-Nihāyah fī 'Ilm al-Rimāyah,″ represents the most important archery treatise written in Ayyubid Syria, and is a precious link in our understanding of the evolution of archery techniques and literature. Like all archery treatises written after the period of the great masters, ″Al-Nihāyah″ is essentially based on early Abbasid texts and deals

[76]Al-Sarraf, ″L′archerie mamluke,″ 1:149–51.

[77]Ibid., 2:497–98.

[78]Köprülü Mehmed Paşa Library MS 470.

[79]He was also called al-Yunānī. Both *nisbahs* are correct in denoting Yūnīn or Yunān, a village near Baalabak (Baalbek) in Lebanon. See al-Dhahabī, *Kitāb al-'Ibar,* 5:248, n. 1; al-Baghdādī, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilā',* 3:1488.

with the fundamentals of archery as established by the masters. But it contains extremely valuable information on contemporary practices and equipment. Furthermore, it was al-Yūnīnī who first introduced the notion that the schools of the three great masters were influenced by their physical characteristics. This notion, though unsupported, was widely accepted by Mamluk archers and authors, as ″Al-Nihāyah″ became one of the standard sources of Mamluk archery literature. At least nine copies exist, including an imperfect autograph version.[80]

Sometime in the second half of the seventh/thirteenth century or early eighth/fourteenth century, two important archery treatises, greatly appreciated by Mamluk authors and archers, appeared in the Maghrib. This was exceptional and unprecedented as the crossbow, not the hand bow, usually predominated in that region. In fact, it was to challenge this trend and to promote the cause of the composite hand bow and the relevant oriental traditions that these treatises were avowedly and expressly written. The first one is ″Kitāb al-Badā'ī' wa-al-Asrār fī Ḥaqīqat al-Radd wa-al-Intiṣār wa-Ghāmiḍ Mā Ijtama'at 'alayhi al-Rumāh fī al-Amṣār″ by Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Aṣbagh al-Harawī, who severely criticized his Andalusian compatriots for preferring the crossbow to the hand bow. His treatise gives a penetrating and unique exposé on the merits and superiority of the hand bow to the crossbow and the defects of the latter in the open battlefield. The treatise also includes important information on contemporary practices relevant to archery and warfare in Muslim Spain. Three copies have survived.[81]

The other treatise is by the Moroccan archer Abū Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Maymūn al-Murrākishī,[82] who wrote ″Al-Ifādah wa-al-Tabṣīr li-Kull Rāmin Mubtadi' aw Māhir Naḥrīr bi-al-Sahm al-Ṭawīl wa-al-Qaṣīr,″ which is absolutely one of the best comprehensive treatises in archery literature and probably the most complete. In fact, ″Al-Ifādah,″ written as a manual for both the beginner and the expert archer, represents a concise and intelligible encyclopedia on archery covering a wide range of subjects that were never previously united in any one single comprehensive archery treatise. Ibn Maymūn drew on al-Ṭabarī′s works,

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[80]Damascus, Assad National Library MS 22 Zayyat, *al-adabīyāt al-manẓūmah* (originally in al-Ẓāhirīyah Library), autograph; Ayasofya Library MSS 2952 and 4051; Manisa (Maghnisa), Turkey, General Library MS 1145/3, fols. 21v.–130v.; Tire, Turkey, Necip Paşa Library MS 333/3, fols. 212v.–279r.; Chester Beatty Library MS 3158/1, fols. 1r.–62v.; Alexandria, Maktabat al-Baladīyah MS 81 *funūn ḥarbīyah;* Leiden University Library MS 1416; Gotha, Landesbibliothek MS 1340.

[81]Bodleian Library MS Marsh 304; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin MS 5538; Rabat, Maktabat al-Khizānah al-'Āmmah MS 32/1q.

[82]There is evidence that archery flourished in Morocco before the sixth/twelfth century and that a school, perhaps as important as the two traditional ones in Iraq and Syria, existed there (al-Sarraf, ″L′archerie mamluke,″ 2:82–83).

especially ″Kitāb al-Shāmil,″ and on many other Abbasid treatises, some of which are lost. The ″Ifādah″ was particularly esteemed in the Mamluk period, and Ibn Manglī emphatically advises his fellow troopers to use it as a major reference.[83] An earlier treatise by Ibn Maymūn, entitled ″Kifāyat al-Muqtaṣid al-Baṣīr fī al-Ramy ʻan al-Qaws al-ʻArabīyah bi-al-Sahm al-Ṭawīl wa-al-Qaṣīr,″ was more condensed and also known in the Mamluk period, but is not extant. Four copies of the ″Ifādah″ have been preserved.[84]

The Mamluks did not produce any worthwhile treatises on archery until the end of the Bahri period, contenting themselves with the reproduction of the pre-Mamluk archery literature. For example, the important chapter on archery in al-Aqsarāʼī′s ″Nihāyat al-Sūl,″ written during the third sultanate of Sultan al-Nāṣir Ibn Qalāwūn, is based entirely on pre-Mamluk sources (see below, Cat. II). The author defends this by saying that after the old masters no contributions had been made to this field.[85] Ibn Manglī′s main sources for archery in his various *furūsīyah* treatises, written under the sultan al-Ashraf Shaʻbān (764–78/1363–76), were Ibn Maymūn′s ″Al-Ifādah″ and al-Ṭabarī′s works. Both Ibn Manglī and al-Aqsarāʼī deplored the state of archery under the sultanate,[86] which had started to deteriorate during the third sultanate of al-Nāṣir,[87] and only worsened during the successive reigns of his sons.

A timid revival of archery and *furūsīyah* in general took place under al-Ashraf Shaʻbān, bringing forth several relevant works, including a didactic poem on archery titled ″Ghunyat (or Bughyat) al-Murāmī (or al-Marāmī) wa-Ghāyat al-Marām (or al-Murām) lil-Muʻānī.″ It was written and commented by a Syrian instructor of archery *(ustādh)* called Ṭaybughā al-Baklamīshī al-Yunānī.[88] This

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[83]Ibn Manglī, ″Al-Tadbīrāt al-Sulṭānīyah,″ fol. 56r.

[84]Köprülü Mehmed Paşa Library MSS 1212, 1213 (verified *[qubilat]* 759/1357–58), both of the second half of the fourth century; Chester Beatty Library MS 5144; Princeton University Library MS 793, catalogued as an anonymous sixteenth-century ″Kitāb fī Bayān Faḍl al-Qaws wa-al-Sahm wa-Awṣāfihimā.″ This last copy, presumed until now unique, was in fact translated with many errors into English under the title *Arab Archery* (Princeton 1945) by Nabih Amin Faris and Robert Potter Elmer. They remained unaware of the fact that they had actually translated a basic work on Muslim archery and not, as they believed, an anonymous sixteenth-century work, a mistake which was unfortunately readily adopted by modern scholarship. See al-Sarraf, ″L′archerie mamluke,″ 1:89–90.

[85]Al-Aqsarāʼī, ″Nihāyat al-Sūl″, fol. 37v.

[86]Ibid., fol. 41v., Ibn Manglī, ″Al-Tadbīrāt al-Sulṭānīyah,″ fol. 32r.; cf. al-Sarraf, ″L′archerie mamluke,″ 3:942, n. 3.

[87]On the causes for this decline and that of *furūsīyah* in general and the sultan′s role in it, see al-Sarraf, ″L′archerie mamluke,″ 3:877–82, 922–33.

[88]A version of this work has been translated into English with a commentary by J. D. Latham and

was the first true Mamluk treatise on archery.

Still borrowing heavily from pre-Mamluk sources, such as the works of ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭabarī, al-Yūnīnī, and Ibn Maymūn (all unacknowledged), Ṭaybughā's main contribution, unique in archery literature, lies in the few pages he devoted to the technique of shooting from horseback, and the measurements and descriptions he gave of the Mamluk war bow, the Damascene bow.[89] He also provides important information on crossbows and arrow guides. The relative thoroughness of his work, its simplicity, usefulness, and the vacuum it filled made it quite popular in the Circassian period as attested by the attention it was accorded and by the many, although variously titled, copies which have survived.[90]

The main Mamluk contribution to the literature on archery comes from the Circassian period. Especially significant was Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī ibn Qutlubeg ibn al-ʻAlāʼ al-Qāzānī (d. 858/1454), better known as Muḥammad Ibn ʻAlī al-Ṣughayyir. He was also called "al-Muʻallim," being a great authority on archery, and because he was the chief archery instructor of the royal Mamluks in the *ṭibāq* during the reigns of Sultan Mu'ayyad Shaykh (815–24/1412–21) and his successors up to the reign of his friend Sultan Jaqmaq (842–57/1438–53). He was then appointed governor of Damietta (Dimyāṭ).[91] He is the only author of works in this group about whom the sources furnish information. During his long life, many considered him the greatest authority on the theory and practice of archery.[92] This praise is totally justified, for he is certainly the most important

W. F. Paterson under the title *Saracen Archery* (London, 1970); cf. al-Sarraf "L'archerie mamluke," 1:125–29. On the term *ustādh* in Mamluk archery, see al-Sarraf "L'archerie mamluke," 1:49. Ṭaybughā was still active in the first two decades of the ninth/fifteenth century; this can be inferred from al-Ṣughayyir's "Kitāb Ramy al-Nushshāb," composed in 822/1419, where his name is mentioned frequently (fols. 6r.–v., 7v., 9r., 14r., 15v., 18v., 22r., 27v., 28r., 48v., 53v., 54r., 65r., 75r., 76r., 77r., 79v., 91r., 93v., 94r.). It has been suggested (Ritter,"La Parure," 137) that Ṭaybughā could have been Ṭaybughā Ibn ʻAbd Allāh al-Ashrafī, reported by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī in "Inbāʼ al-Ghumr" (Bodleian Library MS Huntington 123, fol. 129r.) to have died in prison in Aleppo in 797/1395. This unlikely identification has been generally accepted by modern scholars.

[89]Al-Sarraf, "L'archerie mamluke," 1:90–93, 2:506–20, 3:813 ff.

[90]For example; "Ghunyat al-Ṭullāb fī Maʻrifat Ramy al-Nushshāb," "Bughyat al-Murāmī wa-ghāyat al-Gharāmī fī Ramy al-Sihāmī," "Bughyat al-Murāmī wa-Ghāyat al-Marāmī lil-Muʻānī," "Al-Jihād wa-al-Furūsīyah wa-Funūn al Ādāb al-Ḥarbīyah," and "Al-Ramy wa-al-Rukūb." More than twenty copies of Ṭaybughā's work exist. On the fifteen copies known to Latham and Paterson see *Saracen Archery*, 195–96 (titles not indicated); in addition, see Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MSS 1m *funūn ḥarbīyah* (catalogued as anonymous) and 3m/2 (fols. 61v.–107v.); Suhaj Library MS 6 *ṣināʻah;* Aleppo, al-Maktabah al-Riḍāʼīyah MS 802 *furūsīyah;* Iraqi Museum Library MS 9405/ʻAzāwī.

[91]For further information, see al-Sarraf, "L'archerie mamluke," 1:44–49, 899ff.

[92]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʼ al-Lāmiʻ,* 7:203; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah, ed. William Popper (Berkeley, 1909–), vol. 7 pt. 2:577; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr,* 2:321. Al-Ṣughayyir was more

Mamluk authority in this field and one of the great names in Islamic archery literature in general.[93] While he was still a young disciple of *ustādh* Lu'lu' al-A'azz, al-Ṣughayyir made his first contribution to archery literature. He wrote a short and learned commentary on ″Al-Qaṣīdah al-Lāmīyah″ by Ṣāliḥ al-Shaghūrī (above). At least two copies have survived.[94] Many years later, when he was in his forties and fifties, he composed several specialized books on archery, but only one of these has survived, in two copies bearing different titles, one of them an autograph, ″Kitāb Ramy al-Nushshāb al-Mukhtaṣar al-Muḥarrar,″ dated 822/1419.[95] Although the treatise deals only with the bow and its accessories and the fundamentals of archery, the treatment of these subjects is so extensive and profound that it stands unparalleled in the entire extant archery literature. In fact, this monument, which includes many directions and hints for archery instructors, was not written for beginners—for whom the author promised to write a simplified version—but for experienced and learned archers who could understand and appreciate a critical analysis of some of the teachings of the pre-Mamluk masters. Al-Ṣughayyir cited and discussed an imposing number of Abbasid archery sources, all acknowledged, including the works of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭabarī, Abū Bakr al-Warrāq, Jamshīd al-Khwārazmī, Abū Mūsá al-Sarakhsī, Aḥmad al-Suhrawardī, Abū Ja'far al-Harawī, 'Alī al-Daqqāq, and two anonymous and apocryphal treatises attributed to the Sassanid king Bahrām Ghūr. The sole Mamluk work mentioned is Ṭaybughā′s ″Ghunyat al-Marāmī,″ which al-Ṣughayyir quoted many times, though often for the purpose of highlighting the errors of its author, Ṭaybughā, who is even described in one occasion as unworthy of the title *ustādh.*[96] Al-Ṣughayyir′s work has also a remarkable social and historical dimension, which is generally lacking in other archery treatises. It provides, for example, important and unique contemporary information on the practices and functions of archers′ guilds in Cairo and on the

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than eighty years old when he died.

[93]Cf. al-Sarraf, ″L′archerie mamluke,″ 1:142ff.

[94]Bibliothèque Nationale MS 6640/3, fols. 19r.–25r., entitled ″Kitāb Qaṣīdat al-Lāmīyah al-Mushtamilah 'alá Uṣūl al-Ramy wa-Furū'ihi wa-Ma Yadullu 'alayhi min Ma'rifat Sharā'iṭih,″ dated 799/1397; and Chester Beatty Library MS 3158/3, fols. 79v.–83r., entitled ″Sharḥ Naẓm Ṣāliḥ al-Shaghūrī fī al-Ramy″ (transcribed in the seventeenth century and incorrectly attributed to 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭabarī). The author did not mention this work in his own ″Kitāb al-Nushshāb,″ where he did list two even more elaborated works, ″Kashf al-Sirr al-Khafī li-Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī al-Ḥanafī″ and ″Al-Masā'il al-Qūṣīyah,″ which he had composed in Qūṣ in Upper Egypt (fols. 17v., 56v., 57r.; al-Sarraf, ″L′archerie mamluke,″ 1:147).

[95]Topkapı Sarayı Library MS Ahmet III 2620.

[96]At least part of this criticism, which is sometimes excessive and not always justified, is due to the strong rivalry that existed between the Egyptian and Syrian archers; cf. al-Sarraf, ″L′archerie mamluke,″ 1:145ff.

preponderant role of Syrian archers in this domain. The margins of this autograph often bear additional notes and comments by the author who at times seems submerged in the overflow of his vast erudition. The second extant copy of al-Ṣughayyir′s work bears the title ″Al-Hidāyah fī ʻIlm al-Rimāyah″[97] and is slightly different from the autograph in the disposition of its contents. This copy is particularly important because it was transcribed in 845/1441 by Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Pahlawān, who was himself an instructor of archery and one of the great archers of his time. Most significantly, al-Pahlawān, who personally knew al-Ṣughayyir and had great respect for him, preserved the margin-notes and comments of the latter and added many more of his own. Consequently, ″Al-Hidāyah″ is not merely a copy of ″Kitāb al-Ramy″ but rather a stand-alone treatise and an invaluable document on Mamluk archery. Because of their specialized nature, al-Ṣughayyir′s works never attained the popularity of Ṭaybughā′s treatise.

Of the long list of lesser works in this group the following treatises deserve special mention: ″Al-Urjūzah al-Ḥalabīyah fī Ramy al-Sihām ʻan al-Qisī al-ʻArabīyah,″ a poem of 400 verses of which one copy is extant, composed by Abū Bakr al-Ramī al-Ḥalabī, known as al-Minqār(d. 890/1485),[98] and al-Akhmīmī′s ″Ḥall al-Ishkāl fī al-Ramy bi-al-Nibāl,″ a late ninth-/fifteenth-century commentary on the anonymous sixth-/twelfth-century *urjūzah,* see above. Three copies are known.[99]

Among the very good compilation treatises of the second group is an autograph dated 855/1451 written for Sultan Jaqmaq by al-Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad Ibn ʻAysūn al-Ḥanafī al-Sinjārī, ″Hidāyat al-Rāmī ilá al-Aghrāḍ wa-al-Marāmī.″[100] It is a very clear résumé of Muslim archery with some very important information on pre-Mamluk archery. The treatises ″Ghars al-Anshāb fī al-Ramy bi-al-Nushshāb″ by al-Suyūṭī and ″Al-Qawl al-Tāmm fī Faḍl al-Ramy bi-al-Sihām″ by al-Sakhāwī are also worthy of consideration. At least three copies of the former exist;[101] of the

[97]Bodleian Library MS Huntington 548.

[98]Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin MS 5540

[99]Bibliothèque Nationale MS Arabe 6259, dated 913/1507–8 (transcribed from an autograph manuscript); Ayasofya Library MS 3845, dated 895/1489–90; Princeton University Library MS Yahudah ELS 3954/1, fols. 1v.–91r.

[100]Topkapı Sarayı Library MS Ahmet III 2305.

[101]Topkapı Sarayı Library MS Ahmet III 2325; British Library MS Or. 12830; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin MS 5540. This treatise is the only one that includes passages from ″Awthaq al-Asbāb fī al-Ramy bi-al-Nushshāb″ by ʻIzz al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʻah (al-Suyūṭī,″Ghars,″ fols. 15r.–22r.). A hasty reading of Ritter (″La Parure,″ 143), led ʻAwwād (*Maṣādir al-Turāth,* 107) to conclude that the manuscript in the Topkapı Sarayı library is the work of Ibn Jamāʻah himself. The same manuscript (fols. 22r.–30r.) includes the entire text of ″Al-Maqāmah al-Qawsīyah″ (″Al-Risālah al-qawsīyah,″ according to Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn,* 1:884) by Ismāʻīl Ibn Jamāl al-Dīn al-Isbahānī

latter we have an autograph dated 875/1470–71.[102] There is only one Mamluk-Kipchak archery treatise, entitled ″Al-Khulāṣah,″ or ″Kitāb fī ʻIlm al-Nushshāb.″ It was composed and translated for Tolu Beg (see above) by an anonymous compiler basically from ″Kitāb al-Wāḍiḥ″ of ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭabarī. Two copies are known.[103]

CAT. I (C): THE ARTS OF THE LANCE

The arts of the lance can be divided roughly into four parts: firstly, training the *fāris* in handling the lance, types of lance charges and thrusts, and the techniques of lance combat under different situations. Secondly, the *bunūd* (sing. *band*): each *band* comprises a set combination of movements performed solo by the horse lancer while he is in motion, and as if he is in the mêlée of a battle. The *band* is based on two essential movements: thrusting and parrying, which are executed in four directions, front, rear, left, and right, but with various angles. Thirdly, *al-manāṣib al-ḥarbīyah,* which denotes the technique of fencing with the lance where two horse lancers are engaged in simulated combat. And fourthly, *al-mayādīn* or *al-mawādin* (sing. *maydān,* and by extension the exercise itself): this is the technique of collective simulated combat between two teams of lancers executed according to a traced course.[104]

The main source for the Mamluks on lance training, types of charges, and thrusts was Ibn Akhī Ḥizām′s Treatise B. It was also one of the principal sources on the techniques of lance combat under different situations. Although other sources remain unidentified, two late Abbasid masters are mentioned in this connection, particularly in relation to *al-manāṣib al-ḥarbīyah:* Muḥammad Ibn al-Shayḍamī and Ibrāhīm Ibn Sallām.[105] There are no extant pre-Mamluk sources

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(sixth/twelfth century). Al-Suyūṭī′s treatise is thus the most trustworthy source on this *maqāmah,* two of the three surviving copies of which are later than his work and probably transcribed from it: Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library MS Ḥamīdiye 1447, fols. 114v.–116r.; Ayasofya Library MS 2983; Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS *adab* 3901.

[102]Princeton University Library MS Yahudah 3551; ʻAwwād, *Maṣādir al-Turāth,* 2:271, gave the wrong reference number. Three more copies are known, one of them Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 2m *funūn ḥarbīyah.*

[103]Bayezit Library MS Veliyüddin 3176, and Bibliothèque Nationale MS Suppl. Turc 197. See Eckmann, ″The Mamluk-Kipchak Literature,″ 317–19.

[104]In modern research *bunūd* and *al-manāṣib al-ḥarbīyah* are generally described in vague and laconic terms like ″exercises, maneuvers, and movements.″ *Al-mayādīn* are generally described as parades. The only serious effort to define and explain these terms was made by Mercier in *La Parure des cavaliers,* 389–93, but his limited sources and failure to dissociate his approach from European references greatly limited the value of his explanations. The definitions given here have been derived from an overall reading of the pertinent *furūsīyah* treatises.

[105]See for example ″Kitāb al-Makhzūn li-Arbāb al-Funūn,″ fol. 38r.–v.; (pseudo) Najm al-Dīn

for the *bunūd*. The evidence shows that the Mamluks inherited 150 *band* from the Abbasids and that the most eminent pre-Mamluk authority in this domain was the Iraqi lance master Usṭá Bāriq al-Rammāḥ al-Baghdādī,[106] who flourished in the first half of the seventh/thirteenth century. There are no surviving pre-Mamluk sources for the *mayādīn*. The monumental cloverleaf *maydān* discovered in Samarra[107] and Ibn Akhī Ḥizām′s Treatise B[108] make it clear that the origin of this art was also Abbasid. Mamluk treatises drawing on a lost Abbasid source also mention that collective and individual lance combats had been performed before al-Muʻtaṣim and al-Muʻtaḍid and furthermore that the stable master of the latter, Ibn Akhī Ḥizām, used to participate.[109]

No matter how important the Abbasid legacy was, it is in this field that the Mamluks showed genuine creativity and that their contribution to *furūsīyah* is most apparent. The credit for this goes almost entirely to the Syrian lance masters and particularly to the celebrated Syrian lance master Najm al-Dīn al-Aḥdab al-Rammāḥ (636–95/1238 or 39–1296), who made innovations in three of the four categories. His fame rests principally, however, on the 72 *bunūd* that he condensed out of the 150 *band* inherited from the Abbasids.

Al-Aḥdab′s marked influence on Mamluk *furūsīyah* literature persisted throughout the Mamluk period. This is clearly attested by the many extant manuscripts containing his *bunūd* and *manāṣib.* Most of these treatises belong to Category II (general *furūsīyah* treatises) and many of them could be rated as vulgar *furūsīyah* literature (group three). Copyists and anonymous compilers clumsily crafted lengthy treatises to envelop his very thin *bunūd* and *manāṣib.* By crediting al-Aḥdab with the authorship of these treatises, the false impression was created that he had written several.[110] Even the *bunūd* ascribed to him are only

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al-Aḥdab,″Kitāb al-Furūsīyah,″ fol. 16r.–v.

106See for example, Baktūt al-Rammāḥ, ″Kitāb fī ʻIlm al-Furūsīyah,″ fol. 6r.

107On this *maydān,* see Ahmed Sousa, *Rayy Sāmarrā' fī ʻAhd al-Khilāfah al-ʻAbbāsīyah* (Baghdad, 1948–49), 1:116–22; Ernst Herzfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra* (Hamburg, 1948), pls. xxiiib, xxiv; Alastair Northedge, ″Sibāq al-Khayl wa-Mayādīnihi fī Sāmarrā',″ in *Furūsīyah,* ed. al-Sarraf, 1:91–97 and editor′s note (u).

108See Ibn Akhī Ḥizām, ″Al-Kamāl fī al-Furūsīyah,″ fols. 21v., 41r.–v.

109See (pseudo) Najm al-Dīn al-Aḥdab, ″Kitāb al-Furūsīyah,″ fol. 16r.

110The titles of the manuscripts attributed to al-Aḥdab (″al-Furūsīyah wa-al-Manāṣib al-Ḥarbīyah″; ″Al-Furūsīyah wa-al-Jihād wa-Ma Aʻadda Allāh lil-Mujāhidīn min al-ʻIbād″; ″Kitāb al-Furūsīyah wa-al-Jihād [fī Sabīl Allāh]″; ″Kitāb al-Bunūd fī Maʻrifat al-Furūsīyah,″ etc.) are all later additions contrived by anonymous compilers or even drawn from the prefaces of manuscripts by modern bibliographers and archivists. Moreover, these titles do not necessarily belong to different treatises, just as manuscripts bearing the same title are not always identical. The following list of manuscripts ascribed to al-Aḥdab is not exhaustive and should be viewed with reserve: Mecca, Maktabat al-Ḥaram al-Makkī al-Sharīf MS 50 *tārīkh;* Bibliothèque Nationale MSS 2825, 2829; Topkapı

dubious versions of those found in his ″Kitāb al-Bunūd,″ which never reached us as an independent treatise. Al-Aqsarā'ī, a Damascene himself and al-Aḥdab′s younger contemporary, as well as a disciple of his disciple (ʻIzz al-Dīn al-Rammāḥ), could not find a definitive copy of ″Kitāb al-Bunūd″; he included four different versions in his own ″Nihāyat al-Sūl.″ He commented that these varying versions were useful,[111] implying that they reflect not copyists′ manipulations but rather different original versions by the author. This comment casts strong doubt on the existence of a main ″Kitāb al-Bunūd″ and suggests two possibilities: (1) that al-Aḥdab wrote different versions during his career as a lance master, or (2) that he never wrote a treatise at all but that at different times his *bunūd* were recorded by his followers**,** on their own initiative, or from dictation by him. The second possibility is more in keeping with the traditions of the period and can be inferred from al-Aqsarā'ī, as well as other writers.[112] The transmission and development of lance *bunūd* by followers of a master can explain the absence of signed treatises by those who are known to have created new *bunūd,* for example, al-Aqṭaʻ, a contemporary of al-Aḥdab, Ādam, and Usṭá Bāriq al-Baghdādī.

Al-Aḥdab′s *mayādīn* did not become as famous as his *bunūd* and *manāṣib*. The most current treatise on *mayādīn* in the Mamluk period was ″Tuḥfat al-Mujāhidīn fī al-ʻAmal bi-al-Mayādīn,″ by Lājīn Ibn ʻAbd Allāh al-Dhahabī al-Ṭarābulṣī al-Rammāḥ (d. 738/1337). More than eleven copies are available.[113] Lājīn and his work should not be confused with his son Muḥammad Ibn Lājīn al-Ḥusāmī al-Ṭarābulṣī al-Rammāḥ and his work, also on *mayādīn,* entitled ″Bughyat al-Qāṣidīn bi-al-ʻAmal fī al-Mayādīn,″ written for Sayf al-Dīn ʻĀshiqtīmūr al-Mārdīnī al-Nāṣirī, governor of Aleppo (d. 791/1389). Two copies are preserved.[114] Muḥammad Ibn Lājīn also related his own version of *bunūd* al-Aḥdab in a small treatise entitled ″Ghāyat al-Maqṣūd fī al-ʻIlm wa-al-ʻAmal bi-al-Bunūd,″ which survived

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Sarayı Library MSS Ahmet III 2129/1, Baghdad Köskü 370/2; Fatih Mosque Library MSS 3512/2, 3509/2.6; Ayasofya Library MSS 2899a/1, 4196/1; Nuruosmaniye Mosque Library MS 2294/2; Aleppo, al-Maktabah al-Aḥmadīyah MS 1272; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin MS 5553.

[111]Al-Aqsarā'ī, ″Nihāyat al-Sūl,″ fol. 44r.:

واختلفت عنه النسخ وأنا أذكر ما وصل إلي من النسخ التي صححتها وفيهم اختلاف كثير ولا يخلو اختلاف النسخ من فوائد وقد أحببت أن أذكر كل نسخه من أولها إلى آخرها حتى تعم ما حصل فيها من الفوائد وهذا لمن يطلب الدرجه العليا في العمل بالرمح وإذا لم يطلب الدرجه العليا تكفيه نسخه واحدة.

[112]See al-Sarraf, ″L′archerie mamluke,″ 1:162.

[113]Al-Maktabah al-Aḥmadīyah MS 1372; Fatih Mosque Library MSS 3512/4, 3509/8; Topkapı Sarayı Library MSS Ahmed III 2129/3, Baghdad Köskü 370/1; Ayasofya Library MSS 2899a/3, 4196/2; Nuruosmaniye Mosque Library MS 2294/2; Rampur Riza Library MS 3524; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin MS 5552; Bibliothèque Nationale MS 6604/1 (with the title ″ʻUmdat al-mujāhidīn fī tartīb al-mayādīn″).

[114]Ayasofya Library MS 3799/1, dated 780/1378; Leiden University Library MS 1418.

in one copy under the latter original title[115] and in several copies under different apocryphal titles and often with added material.[116]

CAT. I (D): THE ARTS OF THE MACE

Three basic and distinct types of mace were used in the early Abbasid period.[117] The first, commonly called *dabbūs* (pl. *dabābīs*), consisted of a wooden or iron shaft with a head of iron or other solid material with different shapes. The second was a one-piece iron staff, usually without a separate head or with one which was actually made integrally with the handle, invariably called *ʿamūd* (pl. *ʿamad* or *ʿumud*), and was both longer and considerably heavier than the *dabbūs.* The third, habitually called *kāfirkūb* (pl. *kāfirkūbāt*), was entirely made of wood, and was typical of the Khurasanis′ rank and file horsemen; it became obsolete as a regular cavalry weapon in the region by the end of the third/ninth century.[118] The *ʿamūd,* a costly weapon, was mainly the privilege of the rich military and political Abbasid elite. Most references to its use are associated with caliphs, army commanders, high-ranking officers, and the cream of *ghilmān* troops. The decline and fragmentation of the caliphate and the consequent collapse of its worldwide trade in armaments, iron, and steel, brought to an end the use of the *ʿamūd* as an elite weapon. It survived, however, on a very limited scale as a ceremonial and parade weapon, especially under the Fatimids.[119] The Mamluks of Egypt and Syria knew the *ʿamūd* only by name through Abbasid and Fatimid sources. All the precious though scanty data on the *ʿamūd* which is found in Mamluk *furūsīyah* treatises dates from the third/ninth century and was borrowed from early or later lost Abbasid *furūsīyah* treatises, such as those of Muḥammad Ibn Khālid (see below) and Ṣābir al-Manjanīqī (see below, Cat. II); the *dabbūs* was the only type of mace known in the Mamluk period.

Under the Abbasids, most references to the use of the *dabbūs* from the early third/ninth century onwards were associated with *ghilmān* troops. In fact the emergence of their institution coincided remarkably closely with the appearance of the term *dabbūs* in the documentary sources. By the time this institution reached full maturity under the Caliph al-Muʿtaḍid, the *dabbūs* became a permanent feature of *ghilmān* military equipment. In contrast to later periods when it became a heavier weapon, the third/ninth century Abbasid *dabbūs* was of a light type and, consequently, it played a minor role in close combat. Here it was of less importance

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[115]Bibliothèque Nationale MS Ar. 2827/2.

[116]See al-Sarraf, ″Adab al-Furūsīyah,″ 127

[117]For more information on this subject, see al-Sarraf, ″Close Combat Weapons,″ 149–78.

[118]Ibid.

[119]Ibid.

than were the *'amūd* and the *ṭabarzīn* (war-axe). The rapid decline of the latter two weapons during the fourth/tenth century necessitated the emergence of a heavier and oversized type of *dabbūs* called the *latt*. The term was ephemeral, as in the sixth/twelfth century the term *dabbūs* had become the generic term for studded maces, irrespective of their weight and the forms of their heads. By this time, however, the standard type of *dabbūs* was sufficiently heavy and effective to become the primary cavalry close-combat weapon for a Mamluk *fāris* or fully trained cavalryman.[120]

It was probably in the second half of the sixth/twelfth century or the first half of the seventh/thirteenth century that the rules of the art of fighting with a *dabbūs* were regulated in a recognized number of exercises called, like those of the lance, *bunūd*. Thirty five of these *bunūd* were recorded, most probably in Syria, during the Bahri period in an anonymous treatise entitled "Kitāb fī Ma'rifat La'b al-Dabbūs wa-al-Ṣirā' 'alá al-Khayl 'inda Mulāqāt al-Khaṣm fī Awqāt al-Ḥurūb." It is divided into two parts, in the first of which the exercises are described, and in the second, techniques of hand-to-hand combat on horseback. At least four copies have survived.[121]

Two contributions on the arts of the mace were made during the Circassian period. The first is the lost "Al-Usūs fī Ṣinā'at al-Dabbūs," by 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn Jamā'ah.[122] Given Ibn Jamā'ah's erudition, this work must surely have contained more information on fighting with the mace than simply an enumeration of thirty-five *bunūd*.

The second contribution is a Mamluk-Kipchak treatise entitled "Nuzhat al-Nufūs fī La'b al-Dabbūs," composed in Syria by Alṭanbughā al-Ḥusāmī al-Nāṣirī, known as Aṭājuq. It is preserved in an original copy dated 822/1419.[123] The importance of this hitherto unknown Mamluk-Kipchak treatise, wrongly described and classified as an Arabic work, is manifold. Besides being the only extant signed Mamluk treatise on the mace, this work, unlike all the other surviving Mamluk-Kipchak *furūsīyah* treatises, is not a translation from an Arabic text but was originally composed in Mamluk-Kipchak. Furthermore, as the author was an expert in the art of the mace and in close-combat techniques, his work undoubtedly constitutes an original and extremely important contribution to this field and to *furūsīyah* literature as a whole. In his rather long and reasonably well-written Arabic introduction, Alṭanbughā indicated that he was trained at the hand of several

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[120]Ibid.

[121]Topkapı Sarayı Library MS Ahmet III 3469/3; Ayasofya Library MS 3186/2; Bibliothèque Nationale MSS 2830/2, 6604/2 (incorrectly attributed to Lājīn al-Ṭarābulṣī).

[122]Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn,* 1:91.

[123]Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 21 *furūsīyah Taymūr*.

furūsīyah masters in mace play, a domain to which he was particularly devoted, and that, urged by his comrades, he decided to record the best of what he had learned in order that it would serve as a reference for his fellow warriors. He synthesized his masters′ teachings in six major *bunūd* associated with forty types of mace blows. The six *bunūd* comprise the essential maneuvers and techniques covered by the thirty-five *band*s described in the above anonymous work. The treatise also includes valuable hints on relevant close-combat techniques. A lack of pre-Mamluk sources for the *bunūd* of the mace is probably due to the same reasons which explain the lack of sources for the *bunūd* of the lance.

CAT. I (E): THE ART OF WAR

When in 129/746 ʻAbd Allāh Ibn Marwān was ordered by his father, the last Umayyad caliph Marwān II (127–32/744–50), to march against al-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Khārijī,[124] Marwān′s secretary *(kātib),* ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd Ibn Yaḥyá al-Kātib, wrote (on the order of the caliph) ʻAbd Allāh a letter containing practical advice and directions for organizing the army and the conduct of war.[125] This important and original epistle can be considered the forerunner of Muslim and Arab treatises on the art of war.

ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd′s epistle set the pattern for the Abbasid *kuttāb.*[126] ʻAbd al-Jabbār Ibn ʻAdī, *kātib* to the caliph al-Manṣūr, and according to Ibn al-Nadīm one of the ten most eloquent Abbasid *kuttāb,* followed ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd′s example. Ibn ʻAdī′s treatise ″Ādāb al-Ḥurūb wa-Ṣurāt al-ʻAskar″ was written for al-Manṣūr and dealt with the conduct of war and the organization of the army.[127] This lost work was probably the first true Abbasid and Muslim treatise on the art of war.

About seventy years later, al-Khalīl Ibn al-Haytham al-Harthamī al-Shaʻrānī composed his monumental ″Kitāb al-Ḥiyal wa-al-Makāʼid fī al-Ḥurūb″ for al-Maʼmūn. It was a multi-volume encyclopedic work comprising four hundred fifty topics and one thousand seventy-six chapters. Al-Masʻūdī ranked it among the pre-eminent contributions made by Muslim scholars.[128] The description and praise

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[124]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh,* 10:76–77; Muḥammad Kurd ʻAlī, *Rasāʼil al-Bulaghāʼ* (Cairo, 1908), 66; cf. al-Sarraf, ″Adab al-Furūsīyah,″ 122.

[125]Published in Kurd ʻAlī, *Rasāʼil al-Bulaghāʼ*, 1st ed. (1908), 66–89, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1913), 139–172, 3rd ed. (Cairo, 1946), 173–313. It was also published in *Umarāʼ al-Bayān,* ed. Kurd ʻAlī (Cairo, 1937); and in *Jamharat Rasāʼil al-Arab,* ed. Aḥmad Zakī Ṣafwat (Cairo, 1937). A serious edition and study of this important work is still lacking.

[126]Knowledge of the art of war apparently became one of the professional qualifications of a *kātib;* see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist,* 140.

[127]Ibid., 140, 377.

[128]Al-Masʻūdī , *Murūj al-Dhahab,* 1:13.

Ibn al-Nadīm gives this work, cited by him as *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal,*[129] adds considerable testimony to its importance and esteem. Undoubtedly al-Harthamī, an experienced and learned soldier writing for a refined and knowledgeable warrior caliph surrounded by a veritable pantheon of tacticians and illustrious army commanders, could only produce a masterpiece.[130]

It seems, however, that this work soon became rare and inaccessible after the fifth/eleventh century. Even copies of its abridged version, *Mukhtaṣar Siyāsat al-Ḥurūb,* were apparently quite scarce; only one copy has been preserved.[131] It is also likely that during the Mamluk period copies of this condensed version were mostly unsigned and probably untitled. This could explain the omission of al-Harthamī´s name from the Mamluk treatises that used *Al-Mukhtaṣar* and especially from the treatises of Ibn Manglī, who usually acknowledges his sources.

The anonymous ″Kitāb al-Ḥiyal fī al-Ḥurūb wa-Fatḥ al-Madā'in wa-Ḥifẓ al-Durūb,″ compiled in the late third/ninth century or early fourth/tenth century, was also used by Mamluk authors, especially compilers of texts of the third group. This Abbasid treatise, whose first chapters were taken from Ibn Akhī Ḥizām´s Treatise B, deals with military organization and stratagems of war in general; it also includes a section on the use of incendiary devices which is the oldest available in *furūsīyah* literature. The anonymous compiler claimed that the chapter on stratagems was inspired by an ancient Greek text found hidden between two rocks in Alexandria and based on the wisdom of Alexander. I have so far traced eight copies,[132] most of which were transcribed during the Mamluk period and one of which was apocryphally ascribed to the Mamluk author Ibn Manglī.[133] In the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth centuries the subject of *al-ḥiyal al-ḥarbīyah* and military organization was usually dealt with in general *furūsīyah* treatises, but works entirely devoted to this question were also written. One of those is *Al-Tadhkirah al-Harawīyah fī al-Ḥiyal al-Ḥarbīyah,* by Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʻAlī Ibn Bakr al-Harawī, who wrote it sometime between 588/1192 and the time

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[129]Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist,* 376–77.

[130]See al-Sarraf,″Adab al-Furūsīyah,″ 123–25.

[131]Köprülü Mehmet Paşa Library MS 1294; published without care by ʻAbd al-Ra'ūf ʻAwn (Cairo, 1964). A proper edition of this important work is still lacking. For a critical analysis of ″Mukhtaṣar,″ see al-Sarraf,″Adab al-Furūsīyah,″ 123–25.

[132]British Library MS Add. 14055; Topkapı Sarayı Library MSS Ahmet III 3469/2, 3467/1; Ayasofya Library MSS 3186/2, 2875, 3187, 3086/7; Leiden University Library MSS 92 and 499. A microfilm of Ahmet III 3469/2 is available in Maʻhad al-Makhṭūṭāt, incorrectly catalogued as being by Ibn Manglī and so cited by certain researchers.

[133]It is Ayasofya MS 3086/7 which Brockelmann (*GAL,* S2:167) rather precipitately included within Ibn Manglī´s works, thus generating this misconception.

of his death in 611/1215.[134] At least three out of five known copies were transcribed in the Mamluk period, one of them for the private library of Sultan Qāytbāy,[135] which proves that the Mamluks were familiar with this small but important work.

On the subjects of military tactics and army organization the Mamluk treatises introduced hardly any new concepts, but rather were based indiscriminately on earlier sources, regardless of their contemporary relevance. Ibn Manglī cited the *Tactica* of the Byzantine emperor Leo VI (886–912), itself almost entirely based on the *Strategicon* of the emperor Maurice (582–602); he gave it the title ″Marātib al-Ḥurūb″ and recommended it highly to soldiers.[136] Al-Aqsarā'ī used Sassanian sources, cited the Greek Polybius, and also drew heavily on the *Tactica* of Aelian, written in Greek at the beginning of the second century.

The main pre-Mamluk source remained the abridged version of al-Harthamī's work, though almost never acknowledged. It was quoted by al-Aqsarā'ī, Ibn Manglī, and especially ʻUmar Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Awsī al-Anṣārī, who included almost the entire text verbatim in his *Tafrīj al-Kurūb fī Tadbīr al-Ḥurūb,*[137] written for Sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj ibn Barqūq (801–8/1399–1407). On the whole, notwithstanding strong dependence on pre-Mamluk sources, Ibn Manglī's treatises constitute a worthy contribution.

Muḥammad Ibn Manglī al-Qāhirī (d. 784/1382) held the rank of commander of forty *(muqaddam)*[138] in the *ḥalqah* and was *naqīb al-jaysh* in Alexandria under Shaʻbān, to whom he dedicated his major treatises. It was in those years, when he was in his sixties and seventies, that he wrote most of his works. His treatise on naval warfare, entitled ″Al-Aḥkām al-Mulūkīyah wa-al-Ḍawābiṭ al-Nāmūsīyah,″ containing 122 *bāb*s, is unique in Arabic literature; in it he described naval tactics, types of warships, maritime equipment, and weaponry, especially guns. The text is interspersed with practical advice for the marine fighter. At least one copy has survived.[139]

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[134]Edited and translated by Janine Sourdel-Thomine as ″Les Conseils du Shaykh al-Harawī à un prince Ayyubide,″ *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales* 17 (1961–62): 206–66.

[135]For a description of four of the five copies, including the one transcribed for Qāytbāy, see Sourdel-Thomine,″Introduction,″ in ″Les Conseils,″ 214–16. The fifth copy is in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah, MS 2299 *adab*.

[136]Ibn Manglī, ″Al-Tadbīrāt al-Sulṭānīyah,″ fol. 14v.

[137]Edited and translated by George Scanlon as *A Muslim Manual of War, Being Tafrīj al-Kurūb fī Tadbīr al-Ḥurūb* (Cairo, 1961), who failed to recognize that it was based on a third/ninth century work and thus drew incorrect conclusions.

[138]The *muqaddam* commanded forty soldiers of the *ḥalqah* on military expeditions; as soon as an expedition was over he lost his command (see David Ayalon, ″Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army (i–iii),″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15 (1953–54): 64.

[139]Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 23 *furūsīyah Taymūr*. See Albrecht Fuess, ″Rotting Ships and

Two other treatises by Ibn Manglī on warfare have been preserved, ″Al-Adillah al-Rasmīyah fī al-Ta'ābī al-Ḥarbīyah″ and ″Al-Tadbīrāt al-Sulṭānīyah fī Siyāsat al-Ṣinā'ah al-Ḥarbīyah.″[140] Although the title of ″Al-Adillah″ suggests that the battle formations are the main subject of this small but important work, less than a quarter of the text is devoted to this topic. The rest consists of hints and advice to soldiers and *muqaddam*s on war, arms, equipment, naval warfare, siege warfare, and the like. Two copies have survived, one an autograph dated 770/1368–69.[141] Without acknowledging him, Ibn Manglī draws on the treatise of al-Harthamī and cites the mystic Abū al-'Abbās al-Būnī in connection with a certain battle formation taken from the latter′s books on talismans and the secret powers of numbers and letters.[142] Ibn Manglī included several plans of battle formations in which the numbers of soldiers were determined by the mysterious powers of the corresponding letters.[143] He was more explicit in ″Al-Tadbīrāt,″ where he revealed his belief in the subtle powers of letters and numbers and recommended that letters be inscribed on arms and armor. Indeed, he mentioned having written an entire treatise on the matter, the lost ″Aqṣá al-Amad fī al-Radd 'alá Munkir Sirr al-'Adad.″[144] ″Al-Tadbīrāt″ consists of advice and recommendations on arrangements to be undertaken at different governmental and military levels in anticipation of war. It also includes sections on archery, lance techniques, and horses. Ibn Manglī′s basic sources for this work were al-Harthamī′s *Mukhtaṣar,* Ibn Maymūn′s ″Al-Ifādah,″ and Ibn Akhī Ḥizām′s Treatise AB. Of the latter, Ibn Manglī said that Ibn Akhī Ḥizām was the originator of the fundamentals of charging with the lance and highlighted his contribution to the art of *furūsīyah* and its literature.[145] Five extant copies of

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Razed Harbors: The Naval Policy of the Mamluks,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5 (2001): 70–71.

[140]He also wrote five other works that have not survived: ″Al-Manhal al-'Adhb li-Wurūd Ahl al-Ḥarb,″ ″Al-Risālah al-Marḍīyah fī Ṣinā'at al-Jundīyah,″ ″Aqṣá al-'Amad fī al-Radd 'alá Munkir Sirr al-'Adad,″ ″Risālat al-Taḥqīq fī Sur'at al-Tafwīq,″ and ″Al-'Iqd al-Maslūk fīmā Yalzamu Jalīs al-Mulūk.″

[141]Ayasofya Library MSS 2839 (the autograph), 2875a.

[142]See Ibn Manglī, ″Al-Adillah al-Rasmīyah fī al-Ta'ābī al-Ḥarbīyah,″ fol. 22v. Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Būnī (*nisbah* derived from the Algerian town Būnah; d. Cairo 622/1225) is not known to have written a book on *furūsīyah* or the art of war. His most important treatises were on the power of numbers and letters: *Laṭā'if al-'Awārif fī 'Ilm al-Ḥurūf wa-al-Khawāss* and ″Mawāqif al-Ghayyāt fī Asrār al-Riyāḍīyāt″; cf. Khayr al-Dīn al-Zirklī, *Al-A'lām,* 4th ed. (Beirut, 1979), 2:145; A. Dietrich, ″Al-Būnī,″ *EI*^{2}, Supplement I:3–4, 156–57.

[143]Ibn Manglī, ″Al-Adillah al-Rasmīyah,″ fols. 14r.–17r., 22v.–23r.

[144]Ibn Manglī, ″Al-Tadbīrāt al-Sulṭānīyah,″ fols. 2v.–9r.

[145]Ibid., fol. 38v.:

وهذه الأصول الأربع كلها من كلام الختلي رحمه الله فانه بث في الإسلام قضايا حربية جزاه الله عنا معشر المسلمين.

″Al-Tadbīrāt″ are known.[146] Ibn Manglī′s works constitute a major source on the equipment of the Mamluk army, in particular the *ḥalqah* corps, at the end of the Bahri period. They are also essential for evaluating Mamluk military thinking.

CAT. I (F): TREATISES ON ARMS AND WAR ENGINES

During the first two centuries of Abbasid rule in Iraq, a great number of comprehensive and specific treatises on arms and armor and military technology were written by philologists, specialists, and *furūsīyah* masters.[147] At this point in our research, no treatise of the comprehensive type is known to have survived apart from *Kitāb al-Silāḥ* by Abū ʻUbayd al-Qāsim Ibn Sallām al-Baghdādī (d. 224/838), a succinct but highly important philological contribution on the nomenclature and types of weaponry used by and known to the Arabs in the pre- and proto-Islamic periods as attested mainly by Arabic poetry.[148] However, considerable data from lost treatises can be found dispersed in other sources. Encyclopedic dictionaries and works of *adab* preserved much of what Abbasid philologists wrote about the subject. Similarly, contemporary and later general and thematic *furūsīyah* treatises contained important borrowings from comprehensive arms and armor treatises written by Abbasid specialists and *furūsīyah* masters. Among the lost works of this category of authors are ″Kitāb al-Silāḥ″ by the Abbasid commander and statesman Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim Ibn ʻĪsá al-Baghdādī al-ʻIjlī (d. 227/830),[149] ″Kitāb ʻIlm al-Ālāt al-Ḥarbīyah″ by Mūsá Ibn Shākir′s sons Muḥammad (d. 259/872–73), Aḥmad, and al-Ḥasan, and ″Kitāb Ajnās al-Silāḥ″ by a certain Abbasid army commander and *furūsīyah* master named Abū ʻAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Khālid who flourished in the second half of the third/ninth century.[150]

As for specific treatises on arms and armor, only two survived from that period; namely the treatise on the types of swords by Abū Yūsuf Yaʻqūb Ibn Isḥāq al-Kindī (d. around the middle of the third/ninth century, perhaps in 252/866), and his treatise on the composition, manufacture, and quenching of steel blades. Both treatises were written for the caliph al-Muʻtaṣim. The first one, entitled ″Ajnās al-Suyūf″ or ″Al-Suyūf wa-Ajnāsuhā,″ is unique in its genre within *furūsīyah* literature. It was a remarkable field study, as each type of blade described was known and examined by al-Kindī himself, who spent years frequenting swordsmiths

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[146] British Library MSS Or. 3734, 9016 (imperfect at the beginning and end); Ayasofya Library MS 2856; St. Petersburg University Library MS c-726; Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 1147b.

[147] See al-Sarraf, ″Adab al-Furūsīyah,″ 118–21.

[148] Published by Ḥātim Ṣāliḥ al-Ḍāmin (Beirut, 1408/1988).

[149] See Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist,* 130; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʻyān wa-Anba' Abnā' al-Zamān,* ed. Iḥsān ʻAbbās (Beirut, 1969–72), 4:74; Ismāʻīl al-Baghdādī, *Īḍāḥ al-Maknūn fī al-Dhayl ʻalá Kashf al-Ẓunūn* (Istanbul, 1954), 2:303.

[150] Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn,* 1:145.

and investigating the sword markets of Baghdad, Basra, and Samarra. This perhaps explains why there was no attempt to write something similar again. In fact, al-Kindī's work remains definitely the most important source on swords in the entire medieval period. Ibn Akhī Ḥizām made extensive use of it, and he was probably the first *furūsīyah* author to do so. Nearly all subsequent borrowings from al-Kindī's work by Abbasid and Mamluk *furūsīyah* treatises were taken from Ibn Akhī Ḥizām's Treatise B rather than directly from al-Kindī's treatise, of which three copies are available.[151]

The second treatise, entitled "Risālah fī Jawāhir al-Ḥadīd lil-Suyūf wa-Ghayrihā min al-Asliḥah wa-Siqāyātihā," is no less important. Surely al-Kindī was neither the first nor the last Muslim author to write on the making of steel, but his treatise was the only work which has survived. Moreover, while admitting that none of the thirty-five recipes which he mentioned was his own, al-Kindī assured the caliph that he had critically tested each one of them. Al-Kindī was as brilliant an alchemist and metallurgist as he was a philosopher, and his second treatise therefore presents extremely precious scientific testimony on this subject. The text of this "Risālah," generally presumed lost, is fully preserved in al-Aqsarā'ī's "Nihāyat al-Sūl" as part of lesson three on the arts of the sword (see below, Cat II).

Abbasid treatises on arms and military technology also included contributions on incendiary weapons and on siege engines. Ibn al-Nadīm mentions, respectively, the anonymous "Kitāb al-'Ilm bi-al-Nār wa-al-Nafṭ wa-al-Zarrāqāt fī al-Ḥurūb," and the anonymous "Kitāb al-Dabbābāt wa-al-Manjanīqāt."[152] Later Abbasid *furūsīyah* literature did not include comprehensive or specific treatises on arms and military technology but the subject continued to be treated within general *furūsīyah* treatises. One of these was the lost "'Umdat al-Sālik fī Siyāsat al-Mamālik" (see below) by Ibn Ṣābir al-Manjanīqī[153] (d. 620/1220), who was the chief *(muqaddam)* of the *manjanīqīyīn* (mechanics and engineers of projectile engines) in Baghdad where he was born and died. Given his great and acknowledged expertise in arms and war engines, his monumental work undoubtedly represented one of the most authoritative contributions in this field.

The magnificent treatise written for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (d. 589/1193) by Marḍī ibn 'Alī al-Ṭarsūsī, viz. "Tabṣirat Arbāb al-Albāb . . .," should be mentioned.

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[151]Leiden University Library MS 287 (being chapter 6 of "Jamharat al-Islām Dhāt al-Nathr wa-al-Naẓm," by al-Shayrāzī); Ayasofya Library MS 4833 (fols. 38–45); Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 3640, which is a recent copy transcribed in 1359 H. from the Ayasofya copy, published with many errors by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Zakī in *Nashrat Kullīyat al-Ādāb, Jāmi'at al-Qāhirah* 14 no. 2 (1956): 1–36. See al-Sarraf, "Adab al-Furūsīyah," 120.

[152]Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist,* 377.

[153]His *nisbah* derived from *manjanīq*-mangonel, an Arabicized term used not only to denote the catapult or the trebuchet, but also to designate projectile-throwing engines in general.

Although it can be classified among general *furūsīyah* treatises, as it covers three distinct *furūsīyah* themes (weaponry, archery, and the art of war), the ″Tabṣirah″ was meant to be, and basically is, a work on arms and armor, and military technology. A close examination of the treatise, which is still essentially known through the truncated and quite misleading extracts published by Claude Cahen,[154] shows that ″Al-Tabṣirah″ is a compilation, based largely on early Abbasid sources. Contemporary data is mainly limited to siege engines and compound weapons. Al-Ṭarsūsī′s only source in this domain was an Egyptian innovator in military technology named Abū al-Ḥasan al-Abraqī al-Iskandarī, who himself did not write a treatise on the subject. In all, ″Al-Tabṣirah″ remains an extremely valuable source on Islamic arms and particularly on siege engines. The chapter on archery is among the best available on the various schools and techniques of the great Abbasid masters.[155] One of the three extant copies is an autograph, imperfect, written for the private library of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.[156] Although the other two copies were transcribed in the Mamluk period, it seems that ″Al-Tabṣirah″ was little known to Mamluk authors.

Under the Mamluks, and despite the thriving and highly developed weapons industry of Aleppo, Damascus, and Cairo, not a single original treatise on arms and armor can be cited. Compilations based on pre-Mamluk sources were also scarce. One of them is *Mustanad al-Ajnād fī Ālāt al-Jihād,* by Badr al-Dīn ibn Jamā'ah, who compiled it from early Abbasid philological contributions, and works of *adab* and hadith. Only one copy, dated 773/1371, has so far been traced.[157] As for the ninth/fifteenth century anonymous *Khizānat al-Silāḥ,* it is not, as presumed, a Mamluk work. It was composed in 840/1436 by an Iraqi *adīb* for the Muzaffarid ruler of Kirmān, Sultan Aḥmad Shāh. It is a petty, anecdotal, and banal work contrived from the books of *adab* and completely insignificant as a

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[154]Claude Cahen, ″Un traité d′armurerie composé pour Saladin,″ *Bulletin des études orientales* 12 (1947–48): 103–63. He failed to recognize *inter alia* that the folios were misarranged and that, in some of the most important folios, the lines are extended all the way through to the opposite page. A critical edition of ″Al-Tabṣirah″ is forthcoming.

[155]This chapter on archery was translated, rather equivocally, and published by Antoine Boudot-Lamotte as *Contribution à l′étude de l′archerie musulmane* (Damascus, 1968). As Boudot-Lamotte was neither familiar with the technical language of archery literature, nor with the sources of al-Ṭarsūsī, his translation as well as the edition of the Arabic text are extremely misleading.

[156]Bodleian Library MS Huntington 264 (presumed unique); Ayasofya Library MS 2848 (written by different hands; the last portion is dated 709/1309). There is a third ninth-/fifteenth-century copy kept in Katahiya Library, Turkey, which I haven′t seen yet, nor am I certain of its reference number.

[157]Iraq Museum Library MS 34310/3, edited and published by Usāmah Nāṣir al-Naqshbandī (Baghdad, 1983).

source on Islamic arms. Only one copy is extant.[158]

Apart from the information provided by Mamluk archery literature, such as the treatises of Ṭaybughā and Muḥammad al-Ṣughayyir, on bows, crossbows, and other archery equipment, contemporary data on arms and armor are lacking in both thematic and general Mamluk *furūsīyah* treatises, which recycled instead Abbasid data regardless of its relevance to the Mamluk period. Indeed, the most recurrent information on arms and armor found in Mamluk *furūsīyah* literature is derived from the sections of Ibn Akhī Ḥizām's Treatise B on swords, lances, and shields. On the other hand, general Mamluk *furūsīyah* treatises represent the source par excellence on incendiary weapons and firearms. There is also an anonymous work entirely devoted to the subject, entitled "'Iyārāt al-Nafṭ," of which one copy, dated 774/1372, is extant.[159]

Information on incendiary weapons and firearms, including cannons, is also dealt with in a unique work on siege engines, *Al-Anīq fī al-Manājīq,* written by Urunbughā al-Zaradkash for the *atabāk al-'askar* Manglī Bughā al-Shamsī (d. 836/1432). This work, complete with detailed drawings, provides full descriptions of the methods of constructing various siege engines: trebuchets, cannons, pedestal crossbows, wooden towers, ladders, and platforms. The last chapter deals with incendiary devices to be propelled by trebuchets and crossbows. Two copies of this treatise are known to exist.[160]

CAT. I (G): TREATISES ON HUNTING

The art of hunting with birds of prey, *bayzarah,* was the subject of the first Muslim treatises on the hunt, which appeared early in the Abbasid period. The oldest known Muslim contribution on hawking was a collective work containing 150 *bāb*s entitled "Kitāb Manāfi' al-Ṭayr" or "Kitāb al-Ṭuyūr," written on the order of the caliph al-Mahdī, who wanted a treatise on sporting birds synthesizing the knowledge of the Byzantines, Turks, and Arabs.[161] The principle authors of this work, of which at least two copies exist,[162] were al-Ghiṭrīf ibn Qudāmah

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[158]Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 2796 *adab,* published by Nabīl 'Abd al-'Azīz (Cairo, 1978).

[159]Tokapi Sarayi Library MS Ahmet III 3469.

[160]Both copies are included in one manuscript, Ayasofya Library MS 3469. A tentative edition was made by Nabīl 'Abd al-'Azīz (Cairo, 1981), and it was reedited by Iḥsān Hindī (Aleppo, 1405/1985).

[161]See "Kitāb Manāfi' al-Ṭayr," Bodleian Library MS Marsh 148, fol. 1v.

[162]Ibid.; and Topkapı Sarayı Library MS Ahmet III 2016 (880/1475), entitled "Ṭibb al-Ṭuyūr"; Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 2 *furūsīyah Taymūr,* a recent copy (dated 1323/1915) transcribed from a photostat copy (also kept in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah inv. no. 748 *ṭibb*) of the Topkapı Sarayı MS.

al-Ghassānī[163] and Adham ibn Muḥriz al-Bāhilī,[164] who were unanimously acknowledged by the sources as being the pioneer authorities in this field. A later Abbasid modified version of this work was apparently ascribed to al-Ghiṭrīf alone[165] and was translated into Latin on the order of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen (1194–1250) and from Latin into French by Daniel of Cremona, who dedicated it to Frederick′s son Enzio (1220–72).[166]

Another early Abbasid authority on falconry and hunting was a native of Basra named Ibrāhīm al-Baṣrī al-Bāzyār, who flourished during the period of Hārūn al-Rashīd and gained his favor. He was credited by al-Asadī as being the author of the first treatise written on hawking. Al-Asadī probably meant that al-Baṣrī was the author of the first original treatise on hawking. He speaks highly of his proficiency in hunting with sporting birds (the hawk, the saker falcon, and the peregrine falcon), dogs, cheetahs, and other trained predators, and in using all sorts of traps and snares, and credits him above all with introducing and propagating the techniques of liming birds *(tadbīq)*.[167]

During the third/ninth century most of the treatises on the hunt were written by high Abbasid dignitaries and notables, such as Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim Ibn ʿĪsá al-ʿIjlī (d. 225/839), ″Kitāb al-Jawāriḥ wa-al-Laʿb bi-hā″ and ″Kitāb al-Buzāh wa-al-Ṣayd″; al-Fatḥ ibn Khāqān (d. 247/861), ″Kitāb al-Ṣayd wa-al-Jāriḥ″; Aḥmad Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893), ″Kitāb al-Ṭard″; Aḥmad Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī (d. 286/899), ″Kitāb al-Jawāriḥ wa-al-Ṣayd Bi-hā″; ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Muʿtazz Ibn (the caliph) al-Mutawakkil (d. 296/908),″Kitāb al-Jawāriḥ wa-al-Ṣayd.″ These

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[163]Who is said to have lived long enough to be the grand falconer of the Umayyad caliphs Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (105–25/724–43) and al-Walīd ibn Yazīd (125–26/743–44) and to have to filled the same post for the Abbasid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd;″Manāfiʿ al-Ṭayr″ (Bodleian MS), fol. 1v.

[164]He must not be confused with the poet and army commander who fought in the ranks of Muʿāwiyah at Ṣiffīn (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab,* 1:227, 3:294, and 6:134).

[165]Other than taking an active and prominant part in the composition of the above collective work on falconry, there is no evidence that al-Ghiṭrīf made another contribution to this field. He was recently, however, credited with the authorship of yet another treatise on falconry of which several unsigned and variously titled copies survived. Two of these copies are preserved in Topkapı Sarayı Library, MSS Ahmet III 2099 and 2102. The former was published in facsimile by Fuat Sezgin and attributed to al-Ghiṭrīf under the title *Ḍawārī al-Ṭayr* (Frankfurt, 1986).

[166]See Casey A. Wood and F. Marjorie Fyfe, ″Introduction,″ in *The Art of Falconry, Being the De Arte Venandi cum Avibus* (Stanford, 1969), xlix; Baudouin van den Abeele, La fauconnerie dans les lettres françaises du XIIe au XIV siècles (Louvain, 1990), xvi, n. 10; idem, ″La chasse au vol médiévale,″ in *La chasse au vol au fil des temps* (Gien, 1994), 52–53, 55; see also Charles Homer Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), 318–20.

[167]Al-Asadī al-Baghdādī, ″Al-Jamharah fī ʿUlūm al-Bayzarah,″Escorial MS Ar. 903, fols. 76v.–77.

works, mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm,[168] are all lost and were even unknown to the sixth/twelfth century Abbasid authors, let alone later Mamluk authors.

In any case, it is doubtful whether any one of the above treatises can match the highly expert work written by the falconer of the caliph al-Mutawakkil (232–47/847–61) and his boon companion, viz. Muḥammad Ibn ʻAbd Allāh Ibn ʻUmar al-Bāzyār, known as ʻIrjah. His treatise, entitled ″Kitāb al-Jawāriḥ″ and often referred to as ″Al-Mutawakkilī,″ was one of the most outstanding and definitive contributions made in this field in Islam and a major source for later treatises. It also had a significant and lasting influence on the art and literature of falconry in Europe, where the author was known under the name of Moamin or Moamyn. ″Kitāb al-Jawāriḥ″ was translated into Latin as *De scientia Venendi per Avers* by Theodor of Antioch at the order of Frederick II, who reviewed it during the Siege of Faenza in 1240–41, and used it as a reference for his own monumental *De Arte Venendi Cum Avibus*.[169] The emperor′s treatise was virtually the first true and major treatise on falconry in the West but it had a very limited diffusion and practically no influence on the subsequent European cynegetic tradition.[170] This was far from being the case concerning the treatises of al-Ghiṭrīf and Muḥammad al-Bāzyār. The latter′s work survived in twenty-four copies in Latin and in several more copies in French,[171] Tuscan, Neapolitan, and Spanish.[172] Paradoxically, the complete Arabic text is still lacking, though important borrowings and large portions can be found in subsequent treatises.[173]

The fourth/tenth century witnessed the appearance of two important treatises on hunting: *Kitāb al-Maṣāyid wa-al-Maṭārid* by Abū al-Fatḥ Maḥmūd Ibn

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[168]Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist,* 130, 163, 321, 377.

[169]Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science,* 318–19; Wood and Fyfe, ″Introduction,″ in *The Art of Falconry,* xli.

[170]See K. Lindner, ″Tragödie der Monumentalität: Das Werk Friedrichs II von Hohenstaufen in historischer Sicht,″ *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Falkenordens* (1976–77): 75–78.

[171]Like the treatise attributed to al-Ghiṭrīf, ″Kitāb al-Jawāriḥ″ was also translated into French by Daniel of Cremona for Frederick′s son Enzio. An excellent edition of the French version of both al-Ghiṭrīf′s and Muḥammad al-Bāyzār′s treatises was made by Håkan Tjerneld as *Moamin et Ghatrif: traités de fauconnerie et des chiens de chasse* (Stockholm and Paris, 1945).

[172]The Spanish version of Muḥammad al-Bāyzār′s ″Kitāb al-Jawāriḥ″ is the most important and complete, as the translation was made directly from Arabic and not from Latin like the other versions. A very good edition of the Spanish version was made by José Manuel Fradejas Rueda under the title *Libro de los animales que cazan (Kitab al-Yawarih)* (Madrid, 1987).

[173]Such as the anonymous ″Al-Manṣūrī fī al-Bayzarah,″ compiled for the Hafsid sovereign al-Mustanṣir billāh (647–75/1249–77), of which only the fourth chapter (on hunting dogs), taken verbatim from al-Mutawakkilī, reached us in two copies kept in Dār al-Kutub al-Waṭanīyah in Tunis, MSS 15072, 13464. This portion was published by ʻAbd al-Ḥafīẓ Manṣūr in *Al-Mashriq* 62 (1968): 155–222; and it was published as a book (Tunis, 1989).

Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥusayn Ibn al-Sindī Ibn Shāhik, better known as Kushājim (d. 360/970), and *Kitāb al-Bayzarah* by ʻAbd Allāh al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Bāzyār, falconer of the Fatimid caliph al-ʻAzīz billāh (365–86/975–96).

The *Maṣāyid* of Kushājim is the oldest extant text which attempts to give a comprehensive treatment of venery and falconry. It represents a valuable résumé of contemporary practices and knowledge from the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries. As a poet and *adīb,* Kushājim sprinkled his treatise with related poems and anecdotes which gave his work important literary and social dimensions. This partly accounts for the treatise's popularity, which was not limited to the cynegetic milieu and literature. *Al-Maṣāyid* is the earliest source on hunting birds with the pellet bow *(qaws al-bunduq),* and is also the oldest surviving signed work that draws on Ibn Akhī Ḥizām's Treatise B. At least two copies are extant.[174]

The Fatimid *Kitāb al-Bayzarah* is one of the earliest known works in which the term *bayzarah* occurs, and is used as a title.[175] Furthermore, as the author of the Fatimid treatise dealt with both venery and falconry, the term *bayzarah* is used in a generic sense covering all types of hunting. *Kitāb al-Bayzarah* is the first Egyptian treatise on hunting and probably the only one to have been written during the Fatimid period. It was composed for al-ʻAzīz billāh, who from the early years of his reign was a zealous adherent of the Abbasid *al-furūsīyah al-nabīlah* which was upheld in Egypt by the Ikhshidids and before them by the Tulunids. Not only was he a passionate hunter, but he was also the first Fatimid sovereign to practice archery, play polo, and handle the lance in the eastern Abbasid fashion.[176] He was, however, unique in Fatimid history, as there is no evidence that his example was followed by his successors and the Abbasid *al-furūsīyah al-nabīlah* was not allowed to take root as a court institution under the Fatimids. This was partly due to the strong cultural and physical influence of the Berbers, who regained their pre-eminence after al-ʻAzīz's death. This also explains why apart from the *Kitāb al-Bayzarah* no other Fatimid *furūsīyah* treatise exists.

Al-Ḥasan al-Bāzyār modeled his treatise on the *Maṣāyid* of Kushājim, from which he drew abundantly, without acknowledging his source, and even plagiarized

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[174]Fatih Mosque Library MS 4090; Bayezit Library MS 2592. A tentative edition was made by Muḥammad Asʻad Ṭalas, based on a defective manuscript of 617/1220 owned by him (Baghdad, 1954).

[175]The word *bayzarah* is rarely if ever used in the literature of the second/eighth and the third/ninth centuries and is also absent from Kushājim's *Kitāb al-Maṣāyid* and Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*. It is probable that this term emerged in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries to designate the profession of the *bāzyār* or *bayzār,* though the former term is more commonly used for falconer. The term *bazdār,* which is the Persian equivalent of the Arabic *bāzyār,* is occasionally encountered.

[176]Ibn Muyassar, *Al-Muntaqá min Akhbār Miṣr: Passages Selected by al-Maqrīzī,* ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (Cairo, 1981), 179; cf. al-Sarraf, "L'archerie mamluke," 2:487–90.

some of Kushājim′s poems. The contribution of *Kitāb al-Bayzarah* lies mainly in the relatively small chapter on falconry, where the author gives some original and first hand observations. This treatise, which was rarely cited and apparently quite scarce, was completely unknown to the Mamluks. Two copies dating from the fourth/tenth century have been traced so far, of which one could be the original manuscript written for al-ʻAzīz billāh.[177]

After a long, barren period, Abbasid hunting treatises, like most of the other branches of *furūsīyah* literature, found new life in the last hundred years of the caliphate, when three of the most important Muslim treatises on the hunt were written: al-Zaynabī′s ″Al-Qawānīn,″ al-Asadī′s ″Al-Jamharah,″ and al-Baladī′s ″*Al-Kāfī*.″ The treatise of ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad al-Baladī,[178] *Al-Kāfī fī al-Bayzarah,* is exclusively devoted to falconry, and is among the best and most authentic texts written on the subject. In addition to his proper practical and theoretical knowledge, the author, who was a confirmed falconer and hunter, often related the opinion and experience of his fellow falconers, whom he frequented not only in Iraq but also in Egypt and especially in Syria. His written sources included the joint work of al-Ghiṭrīf and Adham Ibn Miḥriz and Muḥammad al-Bāzyār′s ″Kitāb al-Jawāriḥ,″ which was heavily cited. Until the latter work (when found) and/or the magnificent work of al-Asadī have been edited, *Al-Kāfī* will remain the most important published source on falconry.[179]

″Al-Qawānīn al-Sulṭānīyah fī al-Ṣayd″ was written by Abū al-Naṣr al-Qāsim Ibn ʻAlī al-Zaynabī al-ʻAbbāsī, a member of the highly distinguished Abbasid family of the Zaynabids,[180] particularly prominent in the social, cultural, and political

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[177]Chester Beatty MS 3831, a copy de luxe in 154 folios, considered among the oldest surviving Arabic manuscripts (see Kūrkīs ʻAwwād, *Aqdam al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʻArabīyah fī Maktabāt al-ʻĀlam* [Baghdad, 1982], 97). The other fourth-/tenth-century copy of ″Kitāb al-Bayzarah″ is apparently lost; a photostat copy of it is kept in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah, inv. no. 762 *tabīʻīyāt*. A copy of the latter is also kept in Maʻhad al-Makhṭūṭāt, inv. no. 20 *kīmyāʼ wa-tabīʻīyāt*. Muḥammad Kurd ʻAlī published a poor version of ″Kitāb al-Bayzarah,″ based on a defective copy without a colophon owned by an ″orientalist″ (unnamed) (Damascus, 1953). This edition was translated into French by François Viré as *Le traité de l′art de volerie (Kitāb al-Bayzara): Rédigé vers 385/995 par le Grand-Fauconnier du calife fāṭimide al-ʻAzīz bi-llāh* (Leiden, 1967).

[178]From the Iraqi town Balad, situated on the Tigris north of Mosul; the author, however, lived in Baghdad.

[179]Based on the unique manuscript in Tunis, al-Maktabah al-Aḥmadīyah MS 14290, a good edition of *Kitāb al-Kāfī fī al-Bayzarah* (Beirut, 1403/1983) was made by Iḥsān ʻAbbās and ʻAbd al-Ḥafīẓ Manṣūr. It is regrettable, however, that the editors failed to consult the manuscript literature on falconry, contenting themselves instead with the published treatises of Kushājim and al-Bāzyār.

[180]The *nisbah* is derived from Zaynab bint Sulaymān ibn ʻAlī ibn ʻAbd Allāh ibn al-ʻAbbās *(ʻammat al-khulafāʼ);* see Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *Al-Fakhrī fī al-Ādāb al-Sulṭānīyah wa-al-Duwal al-*

life of Iraq during the second half of the fifth/eleventh century and the first half of the sixth/twelfth century. The author, like his father before him, was the chief judge *(qāḍī al-quḍāh)* in Baghdad, where he died in 563/1167. Autobiographical data indicates that he started writing the treatise for the caliph al-Muqtafī (530–55/1136–60) shortly before his death and finished it in the beginning of the caliphate of al-Mustanjid (555–66/1160–70), to whom the work was ultimately dedicated. It was no accident that this treatise was begun under the patronage of al-Muqtafī, for during the Buwayhid and Saljuq period in Iraq the Abbasid caliphs lost the right of the royal hunt. And for almost a hundred and fifty years this caliphal institution, an ensign of royalty, and above all symbol of sovereignty, was practically non-existent. The death of the Saljuq sultan Mas'ūd in 545/1150 strengthened the position of al-Muqtafī, who is considered to be the first Abbasid caliph to have gained independence in Iraq since the advent of the Buwayhids,[181] and it was during the last five years of his reign that the Abbasid chronicles record that "the caliph went to the hunt" *(wa-kharaja al-khalīfah ilá al-ṣayd)*.[182]

The "Qawānīn" was meant to be a royal or caliphal manual of the hunt. This accounts for the extraordinary range and detail of this work, which included, in addition to venery and a valuable and long chapter on falconry, sections on types of horses, horse equipment, arms, archery, polo, the *futūwah* of hunting with the pellet bow, climatic conditions (in Iraq), astronomical tables and instruments, various methods of finding the direction of the *qiblah,* etc. The treatise also contains original epistles on hunting and a number of *ṭardīyāt* (hunting) poems, as well as new information on the Abbasid caliphs and the royal hunt in the early centuries of the caliphate. Consequently, it is a major reference on the Abbasid *al-furūsīyah al-nabīlah.* Moreover, al-Zaynabī's work is essential for assessing and verifying early Abbasid *furūsīyah* texts, of which he used a large assortment. Only one copy has survived.[183]

Abū al-Rūḥ 'Īsá Ibn 'Alī Ḥassān al-Asadī al-Baghdādī composed his "Al-Jamharah fī 'Ilm (or 'Ulūm) al-Bayzarah" during the first two decades of the second half of the sixth/twelfth century. This treatise is not restricted to falconry but is about hunting in general; consequently the word *bayzarah* is used generically. Al-Asadī was an experienced hunter and also had extensive theoretical knowledge,

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Islāmīyah (Beirut, 1966), 219. On the author, see Ibn Abī al-Wafā' al-Qurashī, *Al-Jawāhir al-Muḍīyah fī Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyah* (Hyderabad, 1322/1913–14), 1:411. On the other illustrious Zaynabids, see al-Sarraf, "Adab al-Furūsīyah," 139.

[181]Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* (Beirut, 1965–67), 11:256:

وهو أول خليفة إستبد بالعراق منفردا عن سلطان يكون معه منذ ايام الديلم ولحد الآن.

[182]E.g., Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam fī Tā'rīkh al-Mulūk wa-al-Umam* (Hyderabad, 1938–40) 6 (book x): 165, 176.

[183]Fatih Mosque Library MS 3508 (244 fols.); a microfilm of this manuscript in the Ma'had

and he was able to synthesize all the cynegetic and halieutic material of the Orient in two definitive volumes. The first was dedicated to technique and the second to the treatment and care of all sorts of trained predators and other animals. This majestic and unequalled work towers over the whole literature written on this subject in the Orient and constitutes absolutely the most important and decisive contribution to this field in Islam.[184] Three complete sets are extant.[185]

The basic Mamluk work on hunting was Ibn Manglī's ″Uns al-Malā bi-Waḥsh al-Falā,″ compiled in 773/1371. The originality of this work lies in the first few folios, where the author provided important information on types of saddles and on the techniques of hunting from horseback with the bow, spear, and sword. The rest of the treatise is entirely drawn from earlier sources, all acknowledged, especially al-Asadī's ″Al-Jamharah,″ which in an abridged form constitutes two thirds of ″Uns.″ Ibn Manglī also used Ibn Akhī Ḥizām's entire section on lion hunting with the bow from horseback (from Treatise B). Other sources included Kushājim's *Al-Maṣāyid,* al-Jāḥiẓ's *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān,* and Ibn Waḥshīyah's *Kitāb al-Filāḥah al-Nabaṭīyah.* More than two copies are extant.[186]

CAT. I (H): TREATISES ON POLO

With the advent of the Abbasids and the establishment of military *furūsīyah,* the ″king of games″ was inevitably democratized and lost its alleged exclusivity as ″the game of kings″ since it became an integral part of the training and on-going exercise of the mounted warrior and one of the fundamentals of military *furūsīyah.* Ibn Akhī Ḥizām emphatically exhorts his fellow cavalrymen to constantly play polo, which he believes most beneficial for the practice of *furūsīyah* arts, especially the arts of the sword, lance, and archery. He also deems polo essential for horse mastery and for training the horseman and the horse on individual and collective maneuvers. In sum, Ibn Akhī Ḥizām considers the game a physical and mental

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al-Makhṭūṭāt is incorrectly catalogued as a late Mamluk treatise dedicated to the caliph al-Mustanjid of Egypt (859–84/1455–79).

[184]Several extracts have been published by D. C. Phillot and R. F. Azoo in *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 3 (1907): 139–43, 173–78, 401–3, 599–600.

[185]Escorial Library MS Ar. 903; Ayasofya Library MS 3813; Calcutta, Asiatic Society of Bengal Library MS 865 M9 (the copy used by Phillot). A copy of the second volume of ″Al-Jamharah″ is in the British Library, MS Add. 23417; another one is in the Iraqi Museum Library, MS 22147.

[186]Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 12 *ṣināʿah,* transcribed from an autograph, as mentioned in the colophon; Bibliothèque Nationale MS 2832/1, dated 923 H., the colophon also indicates that it was transcribed from an autograph. The treatise was translated and published, apparently from a defective manuscript, by Florian Pharaon as *Traité de vénerie de Sid Mohamed el-Mangali* (Paris, 1880); a more recent translation, with annotations, based only on the manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, was made by François Viré as *De la chasse: Commerce des grands de ce monde avec*

practice for war.[187] In accordance with this perception of the role of polo in military training, general Abbasid *furūsīyah* treatises, starting from Treatise B of Ibn Akhī Ḥizām, commonly included a chapter—which usually represented a veritable self-contained treatise—on polo. This tradition was not observed by Mamluk authors/compilers of general *furūsīyah* treatises.

In fact, during the Mamluk period, although polo was consecrated as a royal institution, as an integral part of military training, and as a popular game among Mamluks and *ḥalqah* troopers, contribution to this field was practically nil. The only Mamluk treatise that can be cited on the topic is ″Ghāyat al-Itqān fī A'māl al-Nushshāb wa-al-Ṣawlajān″ by a certain Alṭamish (eighth/fifteenth century). This treatise, of which one copy is available,[188] merely recycled Abbasid data on the subject. This not only means that the Mamluks accepted without further innovation the rules and ″arts″ of the game which they inherited from the Abbasids, but also that the latter′s contribution in this field was complete and final. Indeed, all the pertinent texts and information in circulation during the Mamluk period were Abbasid.

The earliest text on polo in the Abbasid period was translated from the Persian under the title ″Kitāb Ā'īn al-Ṣawālijah,″ of which a small portion has survived in *'Uyūn al-Akhbār,* by Ibn Qutaybah. This text was perhaps different from the untraceable ″Kitāb Ā'īn al-Ḍarb bi-al-Ṣawālijah″ mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm.[189] The first original contribution in this field, however, was probably al-Jāḥiẓ′s ″Kitāb al-Ṣawālijah,″ which is deemed lost though reportedly a copy is jealously preserved in the library of al-Zāwiyah al-'Ayyashīyah in Morocco.[190] In any case, it would seem that al-Jāḥiẓ′s work was not very accessible all along, as it was neither quoted nor mentioned in *furūsīyah* literature or works of *adab* other than the bibliographical and biographical dictionaries. Conversely, the most accessible and widespread document on polo during the Abbasid and Mamluk periods was the relevant chapter from Ibn Akhī Ḥizām′s Treatise B, which represents the oldest surviving document on the subject. No less valuable but far less known and accessible is ″Kitāb 'Ilm al-Ḍarb bi-al-Ṣawālijah wa-Mā Yata'allaqu bi-Dhālika

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les bêtes sauvages des déserts sans onde (Paris, 1984).

[187]Ibn Akhī Ḥizām, ″Kitāb al-Furūsīyah wa-al-Bayṭarah″ (Treatise AB), Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 5m *funūn ḥarbīyah,* fol. 105v.:

اعلم أن الضرب بالصولجة من أعظم أصول ألفروسية منفعة لكل من طلب فنا من فنون الفروسية لا سيما العمل بالسيف والرمح والرمي لما يقع فيه من الكر والعطف والاختلاس والجولان والمناوشة وتدريب الدواب. وهي تدريب للحرب وتمرين للقلوب على القتال.

[188]Rabat, Maktabat al-Khizānah al-'Āmmah MS 32/3q.

[189]Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist,* 376.

[190]See Muḥammad Mursī al-Khūlī, ed., ″Introduction,″ in *Kitāb al-Burṣān wa-al-'Umyān,* by al-Jāḥiẓ (Cairo, 1981, 2nd ed.), 9.

min Ālāt al-Fursān wa-al-Rammāḥīn,"[191] which constitutes part of an anonymous, untitled, but highly important general Abbasid *furūsīyah* treatise written in the first half of the fourth/tenth century by a warrior and confirmed *furūsīyah* master (see below). The so-far unique though incomplete copy of this monument, which I happily discovered while preparing this study, is included in a *majmū'* on *furūsīyah* compiled for the private library of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh entitled "Kitāb fī Ma'rifat al-Khayl wa-al-Jihād wa-fī 'Ilm al-Ḍarb bi-al-Ṣawālijah wa-Mā Yata'allaqu bi-Dhālika min Ālāt al-Fursān." The chapter on polo contains a significant amount of information, especially on the history and rules of the game, not available in Ibn Akhī Ḥizām's relevant chapter, which was the only source cited and quoted by the anonymous author, who praised Ibn Akhī Ḥizām, calling him "*imām al-fursān,*" and acknowledged his authorship and definitive contribution in this particular domain. The anonymous author refers to a more comprehensive general *furūsīyah* treatise that he had written earlier and which included an even more detailed discourse on polo.

GENERAL *FURŪSĪYAH* TREATISES

The treatises which fall into this category are normally devoted to military *furūsīyah* and integrate different *furūsīyah* disciplines and fields of knowledge, both practical and theoretical, necessary for the training and education of the mounted warrior. The treatises vary in range and coverage of *furūsīyah* disciplines, but they invariably include and put emphasis on the arts of the lance, which sometimes constitute the central theme in such works.

The earliest and certainly the most important surviving general *furūsīyah* treatise is Ibn Akhī Ḥizām's Treatise B, which established the genre and served as a model for future treatises. In this treatise Ibn Akhī Ḥizām used, just for the sake of thoroughness, two sources (unacknowledged), namely the treatise of al-Kindī on the types of swords, and "Kitāb al-Shāmil fī al-Ramy" by 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭabarī. The rest of the treatise is entirely based on his personal experience and knowledge as a *furūsīyah* master. Indeed, the main core of the book lies in the chapters he composed on military equitation and horse mastery, the diverse arts of the lance, and the art of wielding the sword and javelin. His invaluable digression on the types and quality of lances, shields, and swords most suitable for the warrior is unique in *furūsīyah* literature. As for his chapter on archery, although he borrows heavily from al-Ṭabarī, it is very significant as it reflects the state of archery in the Abbasid army in the third/ninth century and the conflict between the Khurasani school of horse and foot archery and the Turkish school of horse archers. He closes his treatise with his famous contribution on polo, followed by

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[191]Topkapı Sarayı Library MS Ahmet III 2066/8.

his unique discourse on hunting lions with the bow on horseback. All these chapters and data were quoted and recycled by subsequent Abbasid and Mamluk *furūsīyah* treatises to the point that the treatise of Ibn Akhī Ḥizām became not only a basic source of future treatises but an integral part of them.

All six copies that I have discovered so far are catalogued under different titles, and most of them are either unsigned or bear fictitious names;[192] two copies are ascribed to Ṭaybughā al-Baklamīshī (above) and so quoted by modern researchers. Like his Treatise A on horses, Treatise B of Ibn Akhī Ḥizām was also translated into Kipchak, though in an abridged and truncated way, under the title *Munyat al-Ghuzāt*. Only one copy is extant.[193] There are also Ottoman and Persian versions of his work.[194] As previously explained, this work is still largely unrecognized in modern research as a third/ninth century work. The preamble of Treatise B may help in making the text easily identifiable. It begins with the words:

الحمد للّه ذي العظمة، المتعالي بالقدرة عن الصفات، ذي المجد والعز والسلطان، أحمده حمدا يزيد على حمد الحامدين وصلى اللّه على نبينا محمد خاتم النبيين.

However, one should keep in mind that this preamble and the section on military equitation which follows were sometimes used by Mamluk compilers of the third group to give an air of authenticity to their texts.[195]

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[192]Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 3m *funūn ḥarbīyah,* entitled ″Al-Jihād wa-al-Furūsīyah wa-Funūn al-Ādāb al-Ḥarbīyah,″ catalogued as having been written by Ṭaybughā al-Baklamīshī and so cited by modern researchers; Fatih Mosque Library MS 3513, entitled ″Kitāb al-Kamāl fī al-Furūsīyah wa-Anwāʿ al-Silāḥ wa-Adab al-ʿAmal bi-Dhālika wa-Ṣifāt al-Suyūf wa-al-Rimāḥ,″ transcribed for the private library of Sultan al-Ghūrī; Köprülü Mehmed Pasha Library MS 1361, entitled ″Kitāb fī al-ʿIlm bi-al-Furūsīyah wa-al-ʿAmal bi-hā,″ transcribed for the private library of Ibrāhīm ibn Sultan Muʾayyad Shaykh; Topkapı Sarayı Library MS Ahmed III 2515/1, entitled ″Kitāb Yashtamilu ʿalá Maʿrifat al-Ramy bi-al-Nushshāb wa-Ālāt al-Ḥarb wa-Anwāʿ Wujūh al-Ramy wa-Kayfīyat Shurūṭihi wa-Aḥwālih″; Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Library MS 3915, dated 843/1439–40, untitled and incomplete. The colophon was plagiarized from that in Bayezit Public Library MS Veliyüddin Efendi 3174, with corruption of the author′s name to Aḥmad; Alexandria, Maktabat al-Baladīyah MS 1201b, fols. 105r.–120r., entitled ″Al-Jihād wa-al-Furūsīyah wa-Adab al-Funūn al-Ḥarbīyah.″ This copy is ascribed to Ṭaybughā al-Baklamīshī and so quoted by modern scholars.

[193]The only copy is Topkapı Sarayı Library MS Ahmet III 3468 (850/1446), translated and published by Kurtuluş Öztopçu, see note 48 above.

[194]For an Ottoman translation of this work, see Topkapı Sarayı Library MS *khazina* 415; for Persian translations, see C. A. Storey, *Persian literature, a Bibliographical Survey* (Leiden, 1977), vol. 2 pt. 3:396. Cf. Kurtuluş Öztopçu, ″Introduction,″ in *Münyetü' l-ġuzāt,* 4.

[195]For example, British Library MS Or. 20730, fols. 1a–9a; Bibliothèque Nationale, inv. nos. 2826, fols. 55a–58a, entitled ″Al-Makhzūn li-Arbāb al-Funūn,″ and 2824, entitled ″Kitāb al-Makhzūn Jāmiʿ al-Funūn,″ composed for a Mamluk notable, and attributed in the beautiful colophon to Ibn Akhī Ḥizām.

The only other surviving Abbasid general *furūsīyah* treatise that I am aware of so far is the anonymous fourth/tenth century work mentioned in the polo section above. In addition to the chapter on polo, it consists of a long and highly original discourse on the arts of the lance largely based on the author's experience as a veteran soldier and *furūsīyah* master. The author cited and described a considerably more comprehensive work that he wrote earlier and which he referred to as *"kitābī al-kabīr."* It covered the arts of the sword, the arts of the lance, archery, including the description and use of crossbows, arrow guides and the relevant types of darts, the art of wielding the *'amūd* and the *kāfirkūb* (respectively the heavy iron staff and the wooden mace, both typical of the early Abbasid period), the art of wielding the *ṭabarzīn,* war-axe, the game of *ṭibṭāb,* hockey, and the game of polo.

It is quite possible that this work, which could be the untraceable "Kitāb al-Furūsīyah" of al-Ishmīṭī mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm,[196] was among the lost Abbasid works great numbers of which were used by Mamluk compilers of general *furūsīyah* treatises. Among these works might have been "Kitāb al-Furūsīyah" of the famous Baghdadi alim Ibn al-Jawzī (597/1200),[197] and especially the monumental work of Abū Yūsuf Najm al-Dīn Ya'qūb ibn Ṣābir ibn Barakāt al-Manjanīqī al-Baghdādī (d. 620/1220), "'Umdat al-Sālik fī Siyāsat al-Mamālik." Ibn Khallikān's description of the author's work and its contents indicate that this lost treatise might well have been one of the most outstanding contributions to Muslim *furūsīyah* literature.

Ibn Ṣābir al-Manjanīqī, who was also a talented poet, was so versed in siege engines that he became *muqaddam al-manjanīqīyīn* in his native city, Baghdad. According to Ibn Khallikān, Ibn Ṣābir started his career as a soldier and devoted himself to the study and practice of military arts until he became a celebrated and unrivalled authority in this field. His treatise, as its title indicates, was meant to be a definitive reference book for the Abbasid state on *furūsīyah*. It treated the conduct of war, battle formation, stratagems of war, military engineering, fortification, construction of strongholds, siege warfare, military training and exercises *al-riyāḍah al-maydānīyah* (which include all the "branches" of upper [mounted] and lower [foot] *furūsīyah),* the arts of wielding various arms, the manufacturing of weapons, equitation, and types of horses and their descriptions.[198]

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[196]Ibn al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist,* 377.

[197]Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn,*1446; Ismā'īl al-Baghdādī, *Hadīyat al-'Ārifīn* (Istanbul, 1951–55), 1:522.

[198]Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān,* 7:36:
كان ابن صابر المنجنيقي جندياً في ابتداء أمره مقدما على المنجنيقيين بمدينة السلام بغداد؛ ولم يزل مغرى بآداب السيف والقلم وصناعة السلاح والرياضة واشتهر بذلك ولم يلحقه أحد من أبناء زمانه في درايته وفهمه لذلك. وصنف فيه كتابا سماه عمدة المسالك في سياسة الممالك ولم يتممه. وهو مليح في معناه يتضمن أحوال الحروب، وتعبيتها،

Al-Manjanīqī died before finishing this massive encyclopedic work, but the fact that contemporary sources were familiar with its title, and above all with its contents, strongly suggests that copies were available in the seventh/thirteenth century.

The main corpus of general Mamluk *furūsīyah* treatises belong to the group designated as popular (third group). Basic treatises (first group), and good compiled ones (second group), are quite few. Of the first group, the following merit attention.

The oldest surviving general Mamluk *furūsīyah* treatise is by Badr al-Dīn Baktūt al-Rammāḥ al-Khazindārī al-Ẓāhirī.[199] He began writing his treatise in 689/1290 while Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl (689–93/1290–94) was conducting the siege of Acre, in which Baktūt participated as an ordinary trooper in the *ḥalqah*. It is a crude but sincere and highly motivated work. The author has no pretensions to the eloquence or erudition of his colleague of the late eighth/fourteenth century, Ibn Manglī; nor had he the same concerns and motives, for he was writing and responding to a different era, one marked by intense military activity. At this time the *ḥalqah* and its men enjoyed high esteem and *furūsīyah* was at its zenith. This was also the period of al-Aḥdab and ″lance fever.″ Baktūt was particularly proficient in the use of the lance. From the 150 *bunūd* of the Abbasid masters, the seventy-two *bunūd* by al-Aḥdab, and the twenty-four by Ādam, he forged seven essential exercises so as to make it easier for the beginner. He modeled his work on Ibn Akhī Ḥizām′s Treatise AB, imitating even its preamble. The treatise is mainly devoted to lance techniques and the care of horses, but it also contains interesting passages on other subjects, mainly on training the novice in archery and the alternation of different weapons on the battlefield. Apparently Baktūt did not give a title to his work and it has survived under different names.[200] More than seven copies have been traced so far.[201]

The treatise of Muḥammad Ibn ʻĪsá Ibn Ismāʻīl al Aqsarāʼī al-Ḥanafī (749/1348), ″Nihāyat al-Sūl wa-al-Umnīyah fī Taʻlīm Aʻmāl al-Furūsīyah,″ is generally

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وفتح الثغور، وبناء المعاقل، واحوال الفروسية، والهندسة، والمصابرة على القلاع والحصار، والرياضة الميدانية، والحيل الحربية، وفنون العلاج بالسلاح، وعمل أداة الحرب والكفاح، وصنوف الخيل وصفاتها. وقد قسم هذا الكتاب ورتبه في ابواب، كل باب منه يشتمل على فصول.

[199]Charles Rieu (*Supplement of the Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the British Museum* [London, 1894], 556), suggested that he could be the Baktūt Amīr Shikār al-Khāzindārī mentioned in al-ʻAsqalānī′s *Al-Durar al-Kāminah* as *nāʼib* of Alexandria (711/1311–12); he dug the canal of that city at his own expense. This hypothesis has led some modern scholars to confound the *nāʼib* with another Baktūt, who died in 771/1369, almost a century later than Baktūt al-Rammāḥ.

[200]For example, ″Al-Furūsīyah wa-ʻIlāj al-Khayl″ and ″Kāmil al-Ṣināʻah fī ʻIlm al-Furūsīyah wa-al-Shajāʻah.″ Copyists have also added Baktūt′s name to such treatises as al-Aqsarāʼī′s ″Al-Nihāyah″ and ″Al-Sirr al-Makhzūn wa-Jāmiʻ al-Funūn″ (Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn,* 2:89–99). The varying titles also have led modern scholars to conclude that Baktūt wrote several works.

[201]Bibliothèque Nationale MS 2830, fols. 1a–72b, catalogued as anonymous; British Library MS

considered the most important Mamluk *furūsīyah* treatise. This is a questionable assumption, since a full analysis of the work and its sources is still lacking.[202] It is not a synthesis but an ingenious original compilation by an alim who combined erudition with practical knowledge in some branches of *furūsīyah*, particularly in the arts of the lance and archery. It is a deliberate attempt at placing the available knowledge and experience into a unified framework, and also a concerted effort to reverse the deterioration of *furūsīyah* in his time. The result was a unique work of incontestable encyclopedic dimension which is curiously reminiscent of Ibn Ṣābir al-Manjanīqī´s ″'Umdat al-Sālik.″ ″Nihāyat al-Sūl″ includes historical data from a variety of cultural backgrounds. Much of this data was not indicative of contemporary practices. Some of the information on tactics, military organization, and battle formations was taken from Greek and Sassanian sources, which were never part of Abbasid or Mamluk military practice, at least not in the raw form presented. The importance of this work does not, however, lie in its supposed representation of Mamluk military reality, but rather in its being the only extant source on a number of subjects, including long quotations from treatises no longer surviving. A preliminary breakdown of the contents and, when possible, the identification of sources will provide a more precise assessment of the treatise.[203]

Lesson 1 (fols. 27b–42b). This chapter on archery is based on a considerable number of pre-Mamluk sources. Al-Akhbārī´s ″Al-Iḍāḥ fī 'Ilm al-Ramy″ is mentioned as ″Al-Iḍāḥ″ without accrediting the author; al-Yūnīnī´s ″Al-Nihāyah fī 'Ilm al-Rimāyah″ is referred to simply as ″Al-Nihāyah″ without mentioning the author´s name; al-Ṭabarī´s ″Kitāb al-Wāḍiḥ″ and Ibn Maymūn´s ″Al-Ifādah wa-al-Tabṣīr″ are both used without acknowledgment. He quotes ″Ardashīr″ (Ibn Bābak) and refers to his treatise as ″Al-Nihāyah.″[204]

Lesson 2 (fols. 42–118a). This chapter on the arts of the lance is the longest, and represents perhaps the most comprehensive development on the techniques of the lance in *furūsīyah* literature. It is divided into sets of *bāb*s, the first five of which are devoted to different versions of the *bunūd* of al-Aḥdab; his *mayādīn* and *manāṣib* are expounded in other *bāb*s. On this subject, al-Aqsarā'ī may be considered the most reliable authority. The only other source which can be identified

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Or. 3631, fols. 261a–279a; Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS *funūn ḥarbīyah* 4m; Rabat, Maktabat al-Khizānah al-'Āmmah MS 266/a; Istanbul, Evkaf Museum Library MS 2107; Ayasofya Library MS 4826/1; Topkapı Sarayı Library MS Ahmet III 3471/5.

[202]It has been edited in two unpublished Ph.D. theses by Sayed Muḥammad Luṭf al-Ḥaq (London University, 1955) and Nabīl 'Abd al-'Azīz (Cairo University, 1972). Both editors failed to use the two most reliable copies: Chester Beatty Library MS A 21 and British Library MS Add. 18866 (see below).

[203]Taken from the text in the British Library, MS Add. 18866.

[204]A work entitled ″Kitāb Ramy al-Nushshāb,″ attributed to Ardashīr and narrated on the authority

is Ibn Akhī Ḥizām's Treatise B (not acknowledged); his chapters on equitation and lance techniques, quoted verbatim, fill twenty *bāb*s. For the remainder of this chapter, which is considerable, the author drew on unidentified sources.

Lesson 3 (fols. 118a–148b). This chapter on the arts of the sword is entirely based on Abbasid sources. It includes three pages from Ibn Akhī Ḥizām's Treatise B (not acknowledged) and al-Kindī's entire treatise "Risālah fī Jawāhir al-Ḥadīd" (acknowledged). The remainder of the text, which constitutes the greater part of this chapter, includes an extensive discussion of the arts of the sword which is unique in the available *furūsīyah* literature. The source or sources used for this important discussion cannot be ascertained at this stage of research, though it may reasonably be suggested that al-Aqsarā'ī drew here from al-Manjanīqī's work and/or from the "Grand *furūsīyah* book" of the anonymous fourth/tenth century author.

Lesson 4 (fols. 151b–152b). This chapter on shields was taken almost entirely from Ibn Akhī Ḥizām's Treatise B (not acknowledged).

Lesson 5 (fols. 152b–153a). This short chapter on the *'amūd* (a ponderous iron staff), taken from early Abbasid sources, is irrelevant to the Mamluk period, for the weapon was already extinct at the advent of the Mamluks, who knew and used only the *dabbūs* (see above). Al-Aqsarā'ī concluded this chapter by mentioning that a frontier *(thughūr)* warrior told him that the *'amūd* weighs one hundred fifty dirhams and that it is preferable to have one even lighter.[205] The one hundred fifty dirhams is equivalent to about 0.5 kg, which is not even a third of the weight of a light *dabbūs,* while the minimum weight of an *'amūd* as standardized in the early Abbasid period was six kg and the maximum weight was commonly fixed at ten kg, but it could be much more.[206] This clearly indicates that al-Aqsarā'ī not only had never seen a real *'amūd* but that he did not have the slightest notion about its functions.

Lesson 6 (fols. 153a–161b). For cavalry training al-Aqsarā'ī's principal source was again Ibn Akhī Ḥizām's Treatise B (not acknowledged), covering horse equipment, vaulting on horses, and hunting with the bow. There is particular emphasis on the famous method of lion hunting with the bow from horseback.

Lesson 7 (fols. 161b–197b). The methods of using arms in various situations are described. The unity of style and subject matter is evidence that al-Aqsarā'ī was quoting verbatim from a now unidentifiable source. His work is thus the only one available on this aspect of *furūsīyah*.

Lesson 8 (fols. 197b–211b). In this chapter, the author deals with recruiting and organization of the army, including data totally incompatible with the Mamluk

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of Ṭāhir al-Balkhī, survives in a single copy: Nuruosmaniye Mosque Library MS 4098, fols. 63a–71a.

period, for example, a section on summoning and recruiting troops based on the army register *(dīwān al-jaysh)* developed by the Abbasids. It was considered important to keep accurate descriptions of each soldier and his mount in these registers, hence the emphasis on physiognomy, *'ilm al-firāsah,* which motivated scholars like al-Kindī and al-Jāḥiẓ to take an interest in the subject. The most important contributions in this field were *Kitāb al-Firāsah* by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209),[207] and *Kitāb al-Firāsah* by Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī al-Ṣūfī al-Dimashqī (d. 727/1327).[208] Al-Aqsarā'ī drew on both (not acknowledged) and on *Al-Kharāj wa-Ṣinā'at al-Kitābah* (not acknowledged) by Qudāmah ibn Ja'far al-Baghdādī (d. 329/940).[209] The section on ambush was taken from al-Harthamī's abridged treatise (not acknowledged) and also includes material from Aelian's *Tactica*.[210] The remainder of the text is probably from the same Sassanian source that al-Aqsarā'ī used in Lesson 9 (not acknowledged).

Lesson 9 (fols. 211b–235b). This chapter on battle formations is irrelevant to the Mamluk context, for it was based mainly on Aelian's *Tactica*[211] (acknowledged) and a Sassanian source (not acknowledged) that was already available in Arabic in the latter half of the second/eighth century, as some of the battle formations, especially those of crescent shape, were already known to al-Harthamī.

Lesson 10 (fols. 235b–240b). This chapter is devoted to military ruses involving incendiary and smoke devices. It is divided into two parts, the first, on the use of fire, copied from the anonymous Abbasid treatise *Kitāb al-Ḥiyal fī al Ḥurūb* (not acknowledged). The second part is about the use of smoke in battle. The source material for it has not yet been identified.

Lesson 11 (fols. 240b–281a). This rather long chapter is on the spoils of war and various problems of Islamic law concerning attitudes toward the enemy in war and peace. It is acknowledged to have been drawn from *Kitāb al-Siyar al-Ṣaghīr* and *Kitāb al-Siyar al-Kabīr,*[212] both written by the Iraqi jurist Muḥammad Ibn

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[207]First published by Muḥammad Raghīb al-Ṭabbākh, as *Risālah fī 'Ilm al-Firāsah* (Aleppo, 1929); then edited and translated into French by Yūsuf Murād as *La physiognomonie et le Kitāb al-firāsa de Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī* (Paris, 1939); cf. Tawfiq Fahd, "Firāsa" *EI*[2], 2:937. The work is also called J*umal Aḥkām al-Firāsah.*

[208]Published in Cairo 1882. The work is also known as "Al-Siyāsah fī 'Ilm al-Firāsah" or "Al-Firāsah li-Ajl al-Siyāsah."

[209]Edited and published by Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Zubaydī (Baghdad, 1981).

[210]See Geoffrey Tantum, "Muslim Warfare: A Study of a Medieval Muslim Treatise on the Art of War," in *Islamic Arms and Armour,* ed. Robert Elgood (London, 1979), 194.

[211]According to Tantum, "Muslim Warfare," 194, "Al-Nihāyah" contains approximately one third of the *Tactica.*

[212]The original text is apparently lost, but a version survived within the commentary of Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Sarakhsī (d. 429/1037), published and edited by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid and 'Abd

Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. 189/805).

Lesson 12 (fols. 281b–292a, end of treatise). This chapter covers complementary branches of knowledge needed by the warrior like casting auguries, treatment of wounds, and so on. The author's sources are not known, but the fact that he included such a chapter in his treatise attests to his concern for thoroughness.

After careful consideration of the treatise it is apparent that its importance lies in lessons 3 and 7 and parts of lessons 1 and 2. Consequently, it seems an exaggeration to qualify it as "the most important of all sources in Arabic on Muslim military organization, training and theory."[213] At least ten copies of the "Nihāyat al-Sūl" are extant.[214]

Baktūt's and al-Aqsarā'ī's works are the only authentically signed general *furūsīyah* treatises in the first group which can be traced up to now. All the other treatises of this group are unsigned either by accident or design. An example is the untitled and unsigned work with the first and last pages missing, written in the second half of the fourteenth century by a veteran master of *furūsīyah* in the royal barracks, during the sultanate of Sha'bān or of Barqūq. It should be considered one of the most original Mamluk *furūsīyah* texts. Its importance lies mainly in the author's directions and advice to his cadre of fellow *furūsīyah* instructors, whom he urges to be more inventive and to create new exercises for their pupils, especially in lance play. He has furnished information on how to treat and train the sultan's personal mamluks. There is also useful information on past and present *furūsīyah* masters, both Turkish and Arab. The author further expounded on riding and lance techniques. Only one copy has survived.[215]

Another anonymous text, "Al-'Adīm al-Mithl al-Rafī' al-Qadr" is the only one in which the complete training program of the Mamluks is set forth. It covers practically all aspects of upper (mounted) and lower (foot) *furūsīyah,* including techniques of fighting on foot, fighting with the dagger, boxing (the unique source

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al-'Azīz Aḥmad, as *Kitāb al-Siyar al-Kabīr bi-Sharḥ al-Sarakhsī,* 5 vols. (Cairo, 1971–72). A version of *Kitāb al-Siyar al-Ṣaghīr* was published by Majid Khadduri (Beirut, 1975).

[213] Scanlon, "Introduction," in *A Muslim Manual of War,* 10, quoting Ritter, "La Parure," 132–35.

[214] Chester Beatty Library MS A 21 (dated 767/1366); British Library MSS Add. 18866 (773/1371, probably copied from the Chester Beatty manuscript), Or. 3631, Add. 23487, 23488; Topkapı Sarayı Library MS Ahmet III 2651 (dated 775/1373); Ayasofya Library MSS 4044, 4197; Bibliothèque Nationale MS 2828; University of Cambridge Library MS Q9277; Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 3m/1. This last copy is incomplete, unsigned, and untitled; it is bound with a version of Ṭaybughā's treatise "Ghunyat al-Marāmī," and the whole manuscript, bearing the fictitious title "Al-Jihād wa-Funūn al-Adab al-Ḥarbīyah," is attributed by modern research to the latter and quoted as such.

[215] British Library MS Or. 9015 (imperfect).

on this subject), and wrestling.[216] This treatise is all the more valuable because most exercises are illustrated in detail. Only one copy, the original, is extant under this title;[217] later versions appeared under different titles. The one that needs to be mentioned, being a persistent source of misunderstanding, is the luxurious, anonymous version entitled ″Al-Makhzūn Jāmiʻ al-Funūn″ kept in the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg. It was wrongly attributed to Ibn Akhī Ḥizām or rather, *faute de mieux,* to ″Ibn Abī Khazzām″![218] This attribution is largely influenced by the similarity of title and general aspect with manuscript 2824 of the Bibliothèque Nationale apocryphally signed Ibn Abī Khazzām which we have described above and classified among the treatises of group three.

Among the compiled texts (second group) of general *furūsīyah* treatises two are especially noteworthy, *Kitāb al-Furūsīyah* by Ibn Qayyim al Jawzīyah,[219] which is of some use in explaining and correcting certain names and terms, and ″Naqāwat al-Muntaqá fī Nāfiʻāt al-Liqā,″ by al-Akhmīmī. It was written before his appointment as *qāḍī al-quḍāh* under Sultan al-Ghūrī. It is an abridgment of a lost work entitled ″Al-Muntaqá fī ʻUlūm al-Furūsīyah″ by Taqī al-Dīn Abū Zakarīyah Yaḥyá ibn Muḥammad al-Kirmānī al-Shāfiʼī al-Baghdādī[220] (761–833/1359–1429), who in turn compiled it from the major early *furūsīyah* works, including Ibn Akhī Ḥizām′s Treatise B. It is useful for explaining certain technical terms used by Ibn Akhī Ḥizām in his chapter on the lance. The only surviving copy is an unsigned autograph dated 889/1484.[221]

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[216] Al-Suyūṭī composed a treatise on wrestling, ″Al-Musāraʼah ilá al-Muṣāraʼah,″ of which perhaps two copies are known: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin MS 5557/2; Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 5 *khidiwīyah,* 11845. I have not seen the latter and I am not sure of its existence.

[217] Topkapı Sarayı Library MS Revan 1933 (871/1466–67), incorrectly catalogued as al-Ṭabarī′s ″Kitāb al-Wāḍiḥ″; a microfilm in Maʻhad al-Makhṭūṭāt is also incorrectly catalogued as a *″majmūʻ fī al-rumḥ,″* and a large portion of it has been attributed to ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṭabarī.

[218] A. Alikberov, ″Ibn Abi Khazzam and his Kitab al-Makhzun: The Mamluk Military Manual,″ *Manuscripta Orientalia: International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research* 1 (1995): 21–28.

[219] Edited by ʻIzzat al-ʻAṭṭār (Cairo, 1942).

[220] See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* ed. ʻAdnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1977), 151–52; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʼ al-Lāmiʻ* 10:259–61.

[221] British Library MS 7513/2.

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Political Violence and Ideology in Mamluk Society

The Mamluk era in the history of the Middle East is probably best known for two things: its impressive architectural legacy in Egypt and Syria and its political violence. As Lane-Poole wrote a century ago: "Most of these sultans died violent deaths at the hands of rival emirs. . . . The uncertainty of the tenure of power, and the general brevity of their reigns make it more astonishing that the Mamluk sultans found the leisure to promote the many noble works of architecture and engineering which distinguish their rule above any other period of Egyptian history since the Christian era."[1] A century after Lane-Poole, in the most recent history of the Mamluks, Robert Irwin still writes, "The tenure of power at the top was very insecure—at first sight the history of Egypt and Syria is little more than a sequence of sultans, whose often obscure reigns are embellished only by their own assassination, by the specters of strangled viziers and slaughtered emirs."[2]

Yet between Lane-Poole and Irwin something significant changes in the historiography of the era: the understanding of political violence in Mamluk society. Earlier historians like Lane-Poole deplored the violence, but then were faced with the task of explaining how the Mamluk system remained in place for more than two and a half centuries despite it. However, in recent years there has been a reconsideration of political violence in Mamluk Egypt and Syria. Broadly, there are two revisionist approaches.

Winslow Clifford in his dissertation, "State Formation and the Structure of Politics in Mamluk Syro-Egypt, 648–741 A.H./1250–1340 C.E.," attempts to explain Mamluk politics as a "dynamic equilibrium."[3] Accordingly he refers to "structured violence," and "the political theater of structured violence." He argues, "Violence was never the true cement of the early Mamluk state."[4] Further, "Far from embracing a Hobbesian 'war of all against all,' the Mamluks cultivated a manageable system of interaction meant precisely . . . to inhibit violence and resolve conflict by ensuring a reasonably equitable distribution of resources and rotation of power

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[1]Stanley Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages* (London, 1901), 246–47.

[2]Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* (London, 1986), Introduction, ii.

[3]Winslow Clifford, "State Formation and the Structure of Politics in Mamluk Syro-Egypt, 648–741 A.H./1250–1340 C.E.," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1995, 4.

[4]Ibid., 2.

within the ruling elite."

On the other hand, analysts such as Carl Petry and Robert Irwin see the violence as central. Petry says, "Recent analysts of military slavery in the medieval Muslim world have become convinced that, for good or ill, such feuding was not at all an aberration but in fact had evolved as a basic, indeed fundamental, dimension of militarist politics."[5] And a number of passages in Irwin's book *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* consider the meaning of such violence.

Yet despite this change of perspective, there still remains a certain tendency in scholarly writing, even as one acknowledges the level of violence, to treat it as excessive—or at least as *excess* to a less sanguinary topic—*waqf* endowments, cult of saints, the status of women, and so forth. And in any case, the question remains, if the violence was somehow "systemic," how did it function as part of the system—that is, how did it arise and prevail? In short, the seemingly paradoxical question still arises: how did seemingly continuous political violence serve the political system? The following essay considers not only the phenomenon of violence itself, but also its representation in the medieval chronicles, principally those of al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Taghrībirdī and Ibn Iyās. It proposes an ideological role for violence on the basis of those chronicles.

I should begin by saying that in my view the paradox of "stable yet violent" is the perspective illusion of a conventional way of thinking, one that assumes some sort of social equilibrium is the usual state of things. Such a perspective informs much critical thinking no less than everyday thinking (for example, conservative economists who treat such phenomena as recurrent monetary crises, environmental pollution, work place health hazards, terrorism, etc., as mere excesses and aberrations of global capitalism that, with just a bit more tinkering and fine tuning, will be largely eliminated). By way of contrast, the quasi-Hegelian view here is that such "excesses" and "unintended consequences" are fundamental to the system. What is more, such excesses play a critical ideological role in the subject's allegiance to the political order. The premise is that of Slavoj Žižek: "every ideology attaches itself to some kernel of *jouissance* which, however, retains the status of an ambiguous excess."[6] Lacan used the term *jouissance* to mean that form of traumatic attachment, the "pleasure in pain" that Freud described as "beyond the pleasure principle."

Evidence for this premise can easily be drawn from contemporary politics. For example, consider the role of sex scandals in American right-wing political discourse in the past decade. Ostensibly right-wing journalists and prosecutors investigated

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[5]Carl Petry, "Class Solidarity versus Gender Gain," in *Women in Middle Eastern History*, ed. Nikkie Keddie (New Haven, 1991), 124.

[6]Slavoj Žižek, *The Plague of Fantasies* (New York, 1997), 50.

and discussed the intimate details of the sex life of Bill Clinton not out of a prurient sado-voyeuristic pleasure in the public humiliation of their opponent, but rather because of some other high-minded concern: ″It′s not about sex. It′s about character. It′s about the law. It′s about family values,″ etc. Yet their obsessive attachment to the subject meant that cable news networks constantly broadcast gross details of people′s sex lives—even as the same people who discussed these ″scandals″ also complained about coarse and offensive television programming. In other words, the American right wing is galvanized, united by the very thing they claimed to denounce—a perverse obsession with sex (why was Ken Starr always grinning?).

Since the ideology at stake is medieval Sunni Islam, an example from the medieval chronicle of Ibn Taghrībirdī will provide some evidence for the validity of this premise in another time and culture (*jouissance* is ahistorical; how the ″hard kernel″ of *jouissance* is caught in various ideological fields is historical). In 693/1294 a powerful amir, al-Shujāʻī, was murdered by a rival′s mamluks. Then, in what was common practice, his head was paraded through the streets of Cairo on a lance. Since he had been an oppressive and rapacious official, Ibn Taghrībirdī says:

> People greatly enjoyed his killing, so that when the herald carried his head through the houses of the Coptic secretaries, they beat his face with their slippers as a way of seeking justice, and they pissed coins on the heralds—who earned a lot that way. But I say that this was a reprehensible mistake on the part of the heralds—God damn them *(qātalahum Allāh)*. Even if he had been an oppressor, he was better than the Christian Copts.[7]

In other words, Ibn Taghrībirdī is affronted by the fact that Christians derived enjoyment from something—the abuse of a decapitated head—that ought to have been the exclusive enjoyment of Muslims, a fact explained by his own libidinal attachment, as a Sunni Muslim, to the violence: for Ibn Taghrībirdī, the Christians were stealing the Muslims′ *jouissance.*

This essay then will explore the libidinal economy of Mamluk violence as represented in the chronicles. I shall also say that Mamluk violence is ″excessive″—but in another sense: it is excessive as an instance of Lacanian *jouissance,* what Slavoj Žižek calls ″surplus enjoyment.″ Precisely in so far as this violence fascinates the chroniclers (and us their readers), it reveals the ″surplus

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[7]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963), 8:52.

enjoyment that is the necessary support of social relationships of domination."[8] I will try to show how violence—assassination, execution, torture—was the "hard kernel" of *jouissance* that sustained the prevailing ideology. In that ideology, medieval Sunni Islam, the social relation of lord and servant is "fetishized" in the Marxist sense—that is to say, a contingent historical relation is represented as something "already there," preordained by divine order. In the Quran 16:74 God compares master and slave in this way: "God makes a comparison: a slave, property of his master, who cannot do anything, and one whom we have endowed with wealth, who may spend it privately or publicly—are they equal?"

To show how violence forms the ideological bond, we will consider a number of historical narratives from the chronicles of Mamluk historians—mostly from al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Taghrībirdī and Ibn Iyās—all of them versions in one way or another of one of the master narratives of medieval Islamic culture: the fall of the mighty man. That narrative will be critiqued by means of Kojève's "fight for pure prestige;" where in the medieval account, the great man falls on account of Fate or God, defeat in the ‴fight for pure prestige″ is solely at the hands of another man—which means that the fall of one great man is necessarily the rise of another.

Among all the various states and dynasties in medieval Islamic history, Mamluk social order in particular seems to give very clear empirical expression to this fetishized relation of master and slave. Obviously, that it was also extremely violent even by medieval standards was not, I think, mere accident.

To begin to sort out both the agents and the acts of violence, some provisional categories are necessary. A summary account of the beginnings of Mamluk rule will provide most of them. Like many good stories, it begins with a murder.

In 648/1250 a group of Bahri mamluks assassinated the Ayyubid sultan al-Mu'aẓẓam Tūrānshāh. The mamluks were frustrated with Tūrānshāh's rule and concerned about threats he had made against them. Yet it seems that although Tūrānshāh's assassination had been discussed, the event itself was not well planned. After one of the Bahri mamluks bungled an assassination attempt on him in his tent, Tūrānshāh took refuge in a wooden tower near the Nile. Hearing of the botched attempt, the other Bahri mamluks rushed to the scene and set the tower on fire. When Tūrānshāh emerged, they shot him with arrows and chased him into the river where they finished him off with their swords. The upshot was—in the context of medieval Islamic history—an anomaly: the brief reign of a woman, Shajar al-Durr, the widow of Tūrānshāh's father, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb II. After a few weeks, to patch up this weird state of affairs, she married the amir Aybak, who is usually reckoned the first Mamluk sultan. However, Aybak's reign was interrupted after only five days when a group of Bahri mamluks led by Aqṭāy secured the

[8]Žižek, *The Plague of Fantasies*, 51.

purely nominal restoration of an Ayyubid prince, al-Ashraf Mūsá, a boy of six years at the time. Obviously Mūsá never exercised real power; his reign simply sutured a split between Bahri and non-Bahri amirs. And indeed, the ostensibly deposed Aybak continued to wield great power by virtue of being Mūsá's *atabak* or military commander-in-chief, until, in 652/1254, after four years of maneuvering and plotting, Aybak, having secured his power base, lured his Bahri rival Aqtāy to the palace under the pretense of "consultation." Aybak's mamluks cut him down with their swords. Then they cut off his head and threw it down from the wall of the Citadel to his Bahri comrades who were waiting for him outside.[9] Aybak then deposed the child sultan and assumed the title of sultan himself.

Aybak's reign ended in 655/1257 when his wife Shajar al-Durr, hearing he was going to displace her with a Syrian princess, had her servants strangle him while he was taking a bath. A few days later, Shajar al-Durr was herself murdered by servants of her mother-in-law who beat her to death with their wooden clogs *(qibāqīb).* Aybak's son ʿAlī succeeded as sultan, but again merely as a place-holder until the contending forces among the mamluk amirs could sort themselves out and a clear victor could emerge.

Having proceeded only this far, certain empirical patterns and categories emerge to provide a sufficient framework for analysis.

First of all, there were, as Irwin puts it, two sorts of sultans: real sultans and "mock sultans." Real sultans were powerful amirs who seize the throne either by 1) assassinating another real sultan or 2) by deposing a "mock sultan." "Mock sultans" were usually young offspring of real sultans who tried repeatedly to establish hereditary dynasties and repeatedly failed. Their offspring simply "fronted juntas of feuding military men"[10] until one group gained the decisive advantage. The reasons for the failure to establish a hereditary dynasty are clear: the young sultan took the throne surrounded by powerful, older mamluks practiced in the arts of politics—intrigue, extortion, and murder—while the young sultan was not. The chronicler Ibn Taghrībirdī remarked when he was witness to the fall of one such mock sultan, al-Manṣūr ʿUthmān, a Burji sultan whose "reign" lasted less than two months:

> As the saying goes, "The weapon is present, but the understanding is absent." [This is] because they are young and inexperienced,

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[9]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk* (Cairo, 1956–58), 1:2:390; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 7:10–12; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr* (Cairo, 1972), 1:1:291.

[10]Irwin, *Middle East,* 27.

> unpracticed in the arts of war, and they know nothing of deceit and double-dealing with their opponents.[11]

Most often mock sultans were not murdered, since they were seen as harmless. The most important exceptions to this pattern were the descendants of Qalāwūn who must be accounted real sultans, yet even they also served time as mock sultans and were deposed one or more times before they matured and established their power so as to rule as real sultans.

The second thing we see in the story of Tūrānshāh, Shajar al-Durr, and Aybak is the variety of violence. The following categories drawn from the preceding summary may serve as rubrics for this essay and will help us sort out the mayhem: assassination (Tūrānshāh, Aybak); execution (Aqtāy); revenge-*lex talionis* (Shajar al-Durr). To these, I would add two more: torture and spectacle. As will be seen shortly, some blurring of these categories is inevitable. Clearly we would usually say that being strangled in a bath is an assassination, while being strangled in front of the sultan is an execution. Yet, the example of al-Nāṣir Faraj will show us the difficulty of this distinction. The larger significance of political violence in Mamluk culture hinges on two matters, its prevalence and its representation in the chronicles. What can we say about the gross realities beyond the representation? We shall work backwards, considering what seems the reality and then consider what we may deduce from the narrative representation of that.

Assassination

One may wonder, how prevalent was assassination? My tally of Mamluk sultans indicates that twenty-two of fifty were murdered. More to the point, if one only counts the twenty-nine ″real″ sultans (discounting the twenty-one ″mock″ sultans who did not really hold power), roughly two-thirds of these were murdered: nineteen of twenty-nine. Again, certain empirical patterns—the how, the when, and where—emerge with respect to assassinations. Often what I term an ″assassination″ is described in the chronicles as an instance of *fatk,* which the *Lisān al-ʻArab* tells us is ″to take the man by surprise and kill him,″ whereas an execution is most often termed *qatl* (″killing″) in the chronicles. But not always.

Not surprisingly, assassinations were usually attempted when the would-be victim was likely to be alone, relaxed, and off guard. As we have seen, Aybak was strangled while taking a bath. In 698/1298 the sultan Lājīn would be assassinated while playing chess. Prayer time was also a favored time; in 747/1347 Gurlū, an amir who had manipulated events under the young Qalwunids Ismāʻīl and Shaʻbān, was similarly murdered while praying; and towards the end of the Mamluk dynasty

[11]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 16:49.

in 908/1502 we read of Azdamūr, the *dawādār* of the sultan Qānsūh al-Ghawrī, being shot at with arrows while on his way to pray, his thoughts presumably concentrated on that beyond to which his rival wished to hasten him on his way.[12]

Many of the Mamluks liked to hunt, and hunting provided another opportunity to ambush the victim while he was alone.[13] In 657/1259, shortly after defeating the Mongol army at ʿAyn Jālūt, Quṭuz, who had been one of Tūrānshāh′s assassins, was ambushed and killed while hunting by a group of mamluk amirs, one of whom was the future sultan Baybars. And again in 693/1293 the sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl was assassinated while hunting by a group of disaffected amirs led by Baydarā. In the instance of Quṭuz, one of the amirs struck him first with a blow on the shoulder. Then another pulled him from his horse, and when he was on the ground, the rest shot him full of arrows. In the assassination of Khalīl, the first blows struck are similarly on the hand, and then the shoulder. Al-Maqrīzī describes it in this way: ″The two rushed him with their swords [the amirs Baydarā and Lājīn]. He [Baydarā] struck him on his hand and cut it off *(abāna yadahu),* then a second time and disabled *(hadda)* his shoulder. Then the amir Lājīn got to him and shouted at Baydarā, ″Whoever would be King of Egypt and Syria should strike a blow like this!″ and he struck him on the shoulder a blow which severed it *(ḥallahu).* Thus disabled, he was finished off by the other amirs. This plan of attack is found again and again in the sources no matter what the scene; the initial blow is not meant to kill, but is struck on the right shoulder, and its purpose is clearly to disable the victim and prevent him from fighting back. For example, when the amir al-Shujāʿī, already mentioned above, was jumped by mamluks of his rival Kitbughā, the first blow was struck on his hand. Then a second blow severed his head from his body.[14] In any situation where the victim is armed, the assassinations—taking into account, to be sure, the differences in weaponry—resemble mob-style killings; the goal is first to disable, then to dispatch the victim as quickly as possible—and in such a way that his death is a certainty.

In the pre-Thompson sub-machine gun era, the killing of al-Nāṣir Faraj illustrates the difficulties that could arise, even from a victim who has already been arrested (his is one of the examples that blurs the easy distinction between assassination and execution). Faraj surrendered to the amirs Nawrūz and Shaykh Maḥmūdī when they and the caliph al-Mustaʿīn gave him a written pledge of safety. But once they had apprehended Faraj, the amirs called in some complaisant qadis who ruled that the pledge was ″inoperative.″ They sent a party of five amirs and

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[12]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:3:736–37.

[13]One might expect the irony of ″the hunter being ′bagged′ ″ would have furnished the poets with obvious material, but the chronicles do not include any poetry on that theme.

[14]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 8:46.

executioners to Faraj, but seeing them, he realized at once what they meant to do, and he tried to defend himself. Al-Maqrīzī´s account reads thus:

> He [Faraj] defended himself. Two of the men jumped him and, after they had wounded him in several places, they threw him to the ground. At this point one of the two young assassins went at his neck with his dagger, and then he strangled him. By now he was wounded in five places. When he thought he was finished off, he stood up. [But] his heart was still beating, and he strangled him a second time. This time he was more certain he had died, and he left him, but then he moved again. So he went at him a third time and cut his arteries with his dagger.[15]

Whatever distinctions we might make between an assassination and an execution, I must add that this distinction usually has no legal implications. If the chronicles are to be believed, sultans rarely sought a legal ruling before they ordered someone killed. This distinction much more often concerns the relative rank of killer and victim, and bonds of loyalty that the chronicler might have thought ought to have existed between them. Assassination is most often the killing of a superior, whereas execution is the killing of an inferior—sometimes with, sometimes without legal pretence. In other words, the terms more nearly reflect a power relation—master and servant—rather than legal distinctions.

The slaying of the amir Shaykhūn in 758/1357 is another example that shows the absence of legal pretense and the difficulties of nomenclature. Shaykhūn was one of a powerful group of amirs who ran Egypt while a grandson of Qalāwūn, al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, learned the ropes. He was murdered in the presence of the sultan in the Hall of Justice by a mamluk named Qutlūqujā. The mamluk jumped Shaykhūn and struck him three blows with his sword, on his head, his face, and his arm.[16] The sultan gathered his private guards and hurried to safety. The killer claimed he acted solely on account of a private grudge and was executed shortly thereafter, but it was widely believed that the sultan ordered the murder.[17]

EXECUTION

Execution was the usual fate for a Mamluk amir who lost in the game of hardball politics. The means of execution were several. Common means were strangulation,

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[15]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:1:224.

[16]Ibid., 3:1:33.

[17]Irwin, *Middle East,* 142.

hanging, decapitation, bisection *(tawsīṭ),*[18] crucifixion, drowning, and burning. But as Aybak´s killing of Aqtāy shows, the simplest form of execution was to order one´s mamluks to cut the man down with swords. Strangulation with a bow string seems, as Irwin says, to have been regarded as ˝more honorable.˝[19] After the sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan consolidated his power, he arrested the amir Sarghitmish and had him strangled in prison in 759/1358. Likewise, hanging also seems to have been reserved for worthy foes; one of Baydarā´s conspirators in the assassination of al-Ashraf Khalīl in 693/1293, the amir Qujqār, was hung in the horse market.[20] But it is not always easy to determine why one means of execution is selected over another. Al-Ẓāhir Barqūq provides an example; Ibn al-Furāt tells us that in 793/1391 Barqūq ordered some prisoners to be taken to the Ridānīyah exhibition grounds, and of them he singles out three to be drowned, seven others to be crucified and then bisected.[21] If one were to single out drowning as ˝more honorable˝ would that be anything more than personal preference?

On the basis of my readings I would say that bisection was the most common form of execution for political opponents. This procedure was described by fourteenth century traveler Leo Africanus:

> The pains inflicted on malefactors are severe and cruel, especially those which are pronounced in the sultan´s court. He who steals is hung. He who commits a homicide through treachery incurs the following punishment: one of the executioner´s aides holds him by his two feet, another holds him by his head. The executioner, armed with a two-handed sword, cuts the body into two parts. The superior part is then placed on a pile of quicklime and can survive for twenty minutes, continuing to talk. It is a frightful thing to see and hear.[22]

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[18]Ibid., 86. The description of a method called *shaqq* may be an error. This was based on Excursus F in *The Theologus Autodidactus of Ibn Nafis,* ed. Max Meyerhoff and Joseph Schacht (Oxford, 1968), 81–82, which uses a manuscript of al-Nuwayrī´s *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*. However, that portion of al-Nuwayrī´s work has since been published, and the word in the printed text is not *shaqq* but *shanaq* = ˝gibbeting.˝ On the other hand, in Ibn Faḍlān there is definitely mention of a technique in Central Asia like *shaqq,* splitting a malefactor ˝in half from his neck to his thighs.˝ (*Risālat Ibn Faḍlān,* ed. Sāmī al-Dahhān [Damascus, 1959], 134). So it is possible the printed text is in error.

[19]Irwin, *Middle East,* 86.

[20]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:3:796.

[21]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt,* ed. Constantine Zurayk (Beirut, 1936), 9:1:261, ll. 5–11.

[22]Jean-Leon L´Africain, *Description de l´Afrique* (Paris, 1956), 2:519.

It should be noted that bisection and most of the other modes of execution have no relation whatsoever to any Islamic *ḥadd* penalty. As Irwin notes, bisection seems to have derived from Mongol practice.

Decapitation, as we have already seen, was another common fate for political losers. Sometimes it was the means of execution, but often it was performed on the already dead victim for other reasons that we will explore. In 782/1389 the amir al-Nāṣirī, who had outgrown his usefulness to the sultan Barqūq, was decapitated. In 680/1281 the amir Sayf al-Dīn Kunduk al-Ẓāhirī formed a conspiracy to assassinate the sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn while he was in Palestine, but Qalāwūn discovered the plot (with the help of Frankish intelligence) and had Kunduk arrested. Kunduk and his conspirators pleaded guilty and asked for a royal pardon, but Qalāwūn thought better of this. Kunduk and his conspirators were beheaded and then drowned in Lake Tiberias. This sort of ″overkill″ was far from uncommon, and raises obvious questions about the significance of inflicting further violence on an already dead body. Since it serves no practical purpose—in this case, that purpose having been achieved by the decapitation—it must serve some other end. And as I just noted, it was also often the case that someone was killed by other means and then had his head cut off.

Several aspects of these sorts of executions need to be sorted out. In and of itself the phenomenon of ″overkill″ would seem to be driven by hatred and the desire for revenge. On the other hand, decapitation of someone who was already slain does not always come under the heading of revengeful ″overkill.″ It also served sometimes as a means of publicity/spectacle—or even a more practical purpose. In 694/1393, after the amir Baydarā assassinated al-Ashraf Khalīl, some loyal Ashrafī mamluks killed him and put his head on a lance and had it carried by an executioner through the streets of Cairo. This entire episode will be considered below as spectacle. But decapitation seemed to have also served a specific, practical purpose apart from whether it was the means of execution or not. This is seen in the instance al-Nāṣirī. In his Latin biography of Barqūq, Bertrando de Mignanelli, who was resident in Egypt and Syria and was witness to many events in the reign of Barqūq, wrote, ″His head was brought before the Sultan, because the Sultan wanted to examine it carefully, as there was a squint in his eye, so that he would be in no doubt about his death.″[23] Similarly, we read of the heads of four unfortunates executed in Syria being conveyed to the sultan in Cairo for his examination. In 742/1342 the deposed sultan al-Manṣūr Abū Bakr was executed while imprisoned

[23]Bertrando de Mignannelli, *Ascensus Barcoch,* trans. Walter Fischel, *Arabica* 6 (May 1959): 163. As Fischel notes, it seems that Barqūq′s name (which can mean ″plum″ or ″prune″) may refer to his need to squint and hence the wrinkles that resulted. But al-Azraqī in *Akhbār al-Makkah* says that it was due to their protrusion *(juḥūẓ).* (Ed. Wüstenfeld, 3:186).

in Qūṣ in Upper Egypt, but his head was sent to the amir Qawsūn in Cairo (later in the same year Qawsūn himself, opposed by Syrian amirs, would be arrested and strangled in prison). In such instances as that of al-Manṣūr Abū Bakr and al-Nāṣirī, the decapitated head was equivalent to a death certificate for the individual.

In sum, the forms of execution could serve several different functions in addition to the permanent elimination of a political rival. There were cold executions, especially those carried out in prison such as that of al-Manṣūr Abū Bakr. At the other end of the spectrum were those executions in which feelings of revenge clearly played a part. Those carried out in public will be discussed in the next section; here we will confine the discussion to those carried out in the palace in front of the sultan or some powerful amir. The execution of al-Muẓaffar Baybars II provides an example. Al-Muẓaffar Baybars′ brief reign ended when Qalāwūn′s son al-Nāṣir Muḥammad I was restored for his third reign. Al-Maqrīzī paints a vivid picture of his ignominious end when he is captured by mamluks of his enemy Qarāsunqur: Baybars hurls his *al-kuluftāh* (a sort of embroidered cap) to the ground and says, ″God damn the world. I wish I had died and never seen this day.″ The mamluks of his enemy Qarāsunqur take pity on him; they dismount and put his cap back on his head.[24] When he is brought before the sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad I, the latter scolds Baybars II for the way he treated him when he was young: ″When I wanted roast goose you used to say, ′What does he do with goose? He eats twenty times a day!′″[25] The sultan then orders Baybars II to be strangled in his presence with a bow string. But when he is almost dead, the sultan has him revived. He curses and reviles him for a while; then he has him strangled a second time, this time until he dies. According to Ibn Taghrībirdī, the sultan himself would sometimes put the bow string *(watr)* around the victim′s neck.[26]

SPECTACLE

In the chronicles the most common public form of execution was crucifixion on the back of a camel followed by bisection. Perhaps the two most complete accounts of these spectacles describe the punishments meted out to the killers of al-Ashraf Khalīl in 693/1293 by Ashrafī mamluks, and, a century later in 793/1391, the sultan Barqūq′s execution in Damascus of amirs loyal to his nemesis Minṭāsh.

In the instance of Baydarā and his confederates, the accounts of al-Maqrīzī

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[24]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:2:493. The *kuluftāh* was a sort of embroidered cap worn under one′s steel helmet. It seemed to symbolize membership in the military caste. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 16:54. When two amirs are released and pardoned the new sultan allows them to wear this cap again.

[25]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 8:274–75.

[26]Ibid., 32.

and Ibn Taghrībirdī describe Baydarā´s death in such a way that he seems to be killed in a fight with Ashrafī mamluks. When the tide turns against them, Baydarā´s men flee, and he is surrounded by Ashrafīs who cut off his hand first (in assassinating Khalīl, Baydarā had cut off his hand and then his arm, and following *lex talionis* the same is done to him before they give him the *coup de grace*). Then they cut off his head and carry it back to Cairo on a lance.[27]

Ibn Iyās´s version differs in having more detail—though it is not necessarily in contradiction with the other two accounts. According to Ibn Iyās, when the Ashrafī mamluks subdue Baydarā they take him to the amir Kitbughā, the leader of the Ashrafī loyalists. Rather as in the case of Yalbughā the Lunatic, as soon as the royal mamluks see him they pounce on him. In Baydarā´s case, however, Kitbughā does not call them off:

> Then they took him to the amir Kitbughā. When the Ashrafī mamluks saw him, they cut him to pieces *(qaṭṭa‘ahu)* with their swords. Then they split open his belly and pulled out his liver, and each one of the mamluks cut off a piece and ate it—due to the severity of their grief for their master al-Ashraf Khalīl. Then the amir Kitbughā cut off his head and put it on a lance. He sent it back to Cairo where it was paraded and finally hung on the door of his house.[28]

This recalls the notorious episode in the battle of Uḥud, when the Muslim warrior Ḥamzah was slain, and Hind bint ‘Utbah cut out his liver and ate part of it, and perhaps raises the question of its factuality—Ibn Iyās may be indulging in fictional embellishment at this point. In any event, all three chroniclers go on to describe the capture, torture, and execution of seven of Baydarā´s confederates in very similar terms. Al-Maqrīzī describes it this way:

> Baybars the Jashankīr took charge of their torture to determine who else was in league with them. Then they took them out on Monday, the eighteenth [of Muḥarram]. Their hands were cut off with an axe on a wood chopping block. Then they were crucified on the back of camels with their hands hanging from their necks. And with Baydarā´s head on a lance leading the way, they were paraded through Cairo.[29]

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[27]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:3:792; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 8:19.
[28]Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i‘ al-Zuhūr,* 1:1:375, ll. 8–13.
[29]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:3:796.

In the account of Ibn Iyās, the *mashā'ilīyah* or heralds precede the parade calling out, "This is the punishment of someone who kills his master."[30] Al-Maqrīzī also devotes considerable attention to the grief of the families:

> They took them past the doors of their houses, and when they passed the door of 'Alā' al-Dīn Altunbughā, his female slaves came out unveiled, beating their breasts. And with them were his children and his male slaves. They had torn their clothes and their cries went up. His wife was on the roof and she tried to throw herself down upon him, but her servants grabbed hold of her. She was saying, "If only I could die instead of you." She had cut her hair, and she threw it down on him. The people collapsed from their crying—may mercy be upon them. They went on like that for days.[31]

The chronicle of Ibn Ṣaṣrā (fl. 793/1390) describes Barqūq's execution in 793/1391 of a group of twenty mamluks who had been in league with Barqūq's stubborn adversary Minṭāsh. This came after almost seven years of struggle between Barqūq and Minṭāsh, and in the train of a tremendous number of executions of collaborators. Minṭāsh would elude Barqūq for another eight months. Ibn Ṣaṣrā's account reads thus:

> He [Barqūq] immediately ordered them crucified and cut in two at the waist, and they were brought down from the citadel with chains on their necks, barefooted, to the stables of the sultan. They brought twenty camels at once, erected crosses on them, and brought the nails. It had rained during the night of that day, and there was much mud and it was slippery. The sultan went up and sat in the Pavilion to watch them, while the area below the citadel was filled with people, and the families of the crucified stood bewailing them. The mother of Amir Aḥmad ibn Baydamūr and their neighbors, barefooted and with torn clothing, were weeping, and the people wept at their weeping. When the day was half over, they brought the prisoners out of the stables of the sultan, and nailed up all of them for fatal crucifixion. They made a circuit of the city in that mire and slipperiness. They cried out for help, but they were not

[30]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 1:1:379.
[31]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:3:796.

> helped. Their families tore their clothes in grief for them, especially for the amir Aḥmad ibn Baydamūr. He was a native of the city, a good lad, who had caused no one any harm. Everyone liked him, for he was close to the people. The people saw him in this state, crucified, and his mother and neighbors bereft of hope. Shaykh ʻAlā' al-Dīn ibn Aybak eulogized the amir Aḥmad ibn Baydamūr well, telling what happened to him, how the people wept, how the sultan did not accept intercession for him, when he recited a description of his state at that time in a poem:
>
> Leave him on the cross, like a bridegroom without tambours or candles.
> But the eyes of men are on him. For him there was shedding of tears.
> And hearts fell melted with grief and pain within their ribs.
> For alas! He was a star of beauty which has left us without rising!
>
> They brought the prisoners to the bridge of Zalābīyah while the sultan watched from the Pavilion. Then they took them down from the nails and began to cut them in two, one after another. The amir Aḥmad ibn Baydamūr remained to the last. When he saw what had happened to his companions and that only he remained, he breathed a sigh and recited this single verse
>
> I see death lurking between the sword and the executioner's mat
> Watching me wherever I turn.
>
> Then they cut him in two, and the families of those cut in two each took their relatives to bury them. They brought a bier and took amir Aḥmad and Muṣṭafá to their tombs in four pieces.[32]

Ibn Ṣaṣrā's description is almost "cinematic." He describes in some detail the positions and attitudes of the sultan, the families, and the spectators, setting the stage as it were before the condemned are brought forth. He places particular emphasis on the muck and mire through which the crucified make their fatal tour,

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[32]Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *A Chronicle of Damascus, 1389–1397*, ed. and trans. William M. Brinner (Berkeley, 1963), 139–42 (pp. 103–5 in the Arabic text, *Al-Durrah al-Mudī' ah fī al-Dawlah al-Ẓāhirīyah*).

and one can see in his emphasis the objective representation of a medieval commonplace: the precariousness and instability of life in this world, *al-dunyā,* in contrast to the stability of the next world, *al-ākhirah,* a theme that is central in the ″master narrative,″ the fall of the mighty man. Finally, Ibn Ṣaṣrā ″zooms in,″ focusing on one individual, the amir Aḥmad ibn Baydamūr, whose youth, beauty, and popularity in Damascus (and possibly his innocence) make his fate particularly heart-wrenching. The sultan′s emphatic rejection of clemency is followed by a poem in which, striking a Gothic note, Ibn Baydamūr is ″married″ to death. Ibn Ṣaṣrā′s text, lingering over painful details so as to show us beauty being destroyed, is a perfect example of Lacanian *jouissance,* the excessive pleasure-in-pain that escapes the equilibrium of the pleasure principle—as well as the ″dynamic equilibrium″ of historians and political scientists.

TORTURE

Torture was commonplace. The terms most commonly used to mean torture are *ʿadhāb, ʿuqūbah,* and *muʿāqabah.* The verb *ʿaṣara* is also common, but seems to be used to mean more specific forms of torture involving presses of some sort. Yet, here again, it must be said that the term ″torture″ is our own; the chronicles do not really distinguish between punishment and torture. For example, when al-Maqrīzī speaks of a famine and economic crisis in Iraq in the year 825/1422, he employs the same terms where we would clearly translate *ʿuqūbah* as simply ″punishment″: they were, he says, ″ʿuqūbah min Allāh la-hum bi-mā hum ʿalayhi min al-qabīḥ.″[33] Thus, while the writers may register disgust at particular instances, torture per se—as we usually think of it—is not something condemned by these writers.

In an atmosphere of relentless conniving and plotting, torture was used to uncover the identities of plotters and conspirators. Yet its principle purpose in Mamluk politics was more mundane: it was used to raise revenue. All the most adept fiscal officers specialized in it. It was assumed that powerful officials would have used their office to amass secret hordes by means of bribes, extortion, and so forth, and once they were dismissed they were commonly tortured to reveal their caches of money and jewels and expensive cloths. For the less prominent, other means had to be used to identify those likely to yield secret wealth. In al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s third reign, al-Yūsufī describes how the *mutawalī* of Cairo, Aydakīn, used to go about in disguise at night and eavesdrop on houses, listening for singing or the sounds of drinking, the assumption being, it seems, that if the residents could afford musicians, they must have money. If such sounds were

[33]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:2:611.

heard, Aydakīn would raid the house and extort money from them.[34]

When al-Ashraf Khalīl assumed the throne in 689/1290 he immediately turned on the amir Turantāy. Al-Maqrīzī tells us Turantāy was killed *baʿda ʿuqūbah shadīdah* (after severe torture.) Ibn Taghrībirdī says that Khalīl *basaṭa ʿalayhi al-ʿadhāb ilá an māt* (put him to torture until he died). When the vizier Ibn Salʿūs, a favorite of al-Ashraf Khalīl, was arrested after Khalīl's murder, he was tortured to force him to reveal where he had hidden his wealth. His enemy the amir al-Shujāʿī turned him over to the amir Lu'lu' al-Masʿūdī, the *shādd al-dawāwīn,* who carried out the torture. Al-Maqrīzī wrote, "Fa-ʿāqabahu bi-anwāʿ al-ʿuqūbāt wa-ʿadhdhabahu ashadda ʿadhāb fa-istakhraja minhu mālan kathīran." In Ibn Iyās the episode is described in this way: "He [al-Shujāʿī] began to torture *(yuʿāqibuhu)* Ibn al-Salʿūs every night. He used presses on his joints until he died under the blows."[35]

At times it seems that some symbolism played a role in the specific torture. I have mentioned the significance of the embroidered cap *kuluftāh.* The metal helmet that all mamluks wore over this in battle was also used as an instrument of torture. In 800/1398 Barqūq had the powerful amir Ibn Tablāwī arrested and tortured at the instigation of the amir Yalbughā the Lunatic. The latter placed an iron helmet on Ibn al-Tablāwī's head, and then heated it over a fire.[36] An even more sadistic variation of this is found in the instance of Tāj al-Dīn Aḥmad, a scribe, arrested and tortured in 755/1354 by the amir Shaykhūn. A barber was summoned who shaved Tāj al-Dīn Aḥmad's head and made incisions in his skull. Then beetles were put in these incisions and a brass helmet was placed on Tāj al-Dīn's head. Again the helmet was heated over a fire and the beetles ate their way into his brain.[37]

"KINGSHIP IS CHILDLESS"

The foregoing examples, a small sample taken from a list of prominent men only, suggest the extent and varieties of political violence in Mamluk society. Obviously the chronicles usually make no mention of lesser lights who were tortured or executed. Nor does the preceding sample take into account mass violence: riots by lesser mamluks, or popular protests and uprisings by the commoners. An idea of the extent and variety of these latter sorts of violence can be found in Chapter V of Lapidus's *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages.*[38] But if this brief survey

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[34]Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir* (Beirut, 1987), 196–97.

[35]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr,* 1:1:379.

[36]Ibid., 1:2:499.

[37]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:1:6.

[38]Ira Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1967) 143–84.

convinces the reader that Mamluk politics were unusually violent even by medieval standards, why was this so?

Various explanations of Mamluk politics have been proposed. Sometimes it is argued that the conditions of mamluks—as strangers in the society they governed, cut off from their own families—tended to remove many of the restraints that might have otherwise acted as a check on their violence. Only religion might play such a role. But its effect—even though many mamluks were pious men—was, as we know, obviously weak in this area. And in any case, as we know from our own experience, one need not be an accomplished theologian to find religious sanction for horrific violence.

More often, the notion of *khushdāshīyah* is sometimes employed to explain factional strife in Mamluk politics. A mamluk who had been purchased and trained by the same master as another was the latter's *khushdāsh*. This tie, as Irwin says, "has been seen as the cement that bound mamluk factions together."[39] But this explanation must be rejected. For one, as Irwin also notes, the term was used very loosely. For another, contending mamluks often sought support outside the mamluk class. But most importantly, the instances of amirs who were *khushdāsh* to each other contending with one another, assassinating or executing one another, are numerous enough to call into question the explanatory power of the term. To cite only two prominent examples, as Holt notes, "both al-Ẓāhir Baybars and al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn were opposed by rebellious governors of Damascus, each of whom was a *khushdāsh* of the sultan against whom he rebelled."[40] As Irwin argues, the notion that the principle bond of loyalty of a faction to the amir who led it issued from any source except self interest in the most material sense is suspect. "The factions," Irwin writes, "were hardly more than coalitions formed by the greedy and the ambitious; they were in the main innocent of 'any common fund of party principle.'"[41]

But there is another aspect of *khushdāshīyah* that is important: not its supposed camaraderie, but rather that it is part of a master/slave relation. In order to consider the role of this relation in Mamluk political violence, I would return to the beginning of the dynasty and the episode of Shajar al-Durr's reign.

Her brief reign after the assassination of Tūrānshāh is, in the context of the medieval Islamic state, a conspicuous anomaly. It can only be explained by the fact that Tūrānshāh's killers, even if they had more or less resolved that he ought to be eliminated, had not yet figured out what was to come next. The description

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[39]Irwin, *Middle East,* 88.

[40]P. M. Holt, "The Position and Power of the Mamluk Sultan," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38 no. 2 (1975): 248.

[41]Irwin, *Middle East,* 152. See also 89–90, 153–57.

of the assassination in the chronicle shows it unfolding without careful planning, and is consistent with this surmise.[42] What Shajar al-Durr′s reign masks to some extent, and what neither Tūrānshāh′s killers nor those who opposed them seemed to realize at the time, is that the assassination of Tūrānshāh effectively abolished the principle of hereditary succession. As noted above, attempts would be made by certain Mamluk sultans to put their sons on the throne, but these usually failed—and even when they succeeded, it was not because the hereditary principle was generally recognized, but rather because the son, after he was deposed as mock sultan, somehow survived to learn the game of Mamluk politics well enough to build a power base and then usurp the throne himself, a pattern best seen in the multiple reigns of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn.

Two well-known sayings regarding this remarkable state of affairs crop up in the chronicles. One is the so-called ″Law of the Turks″: ″He who kills the king is the king.″ The second is the saying ″al-mulk ʻaqīm″ (kingship is childless). These statements have occupied the attention of a number of scholars. Ibn Taghrībirdī asserted that the Mamluk rulers introduced the so-called law code of the Mongols (=″Law of the Turks″), the *Yasa,* into their domains, and many historians, David Ayalon most prominently, have taken pains to show the dubiousness of this.[43] More recently, Ulrich Haarmann has concerned himself with possible historical precedents for the specific ″Law of the Turks″ stated above, viz., ″He who kills the king is the king.″[44]

But the contention here is that the meaning of these two well-known statements cited by Ibn Taghrībirdī are examples of ″retrojection.″ They are best understood not with reference to some cultural import from Turkish or Mongol societies in Central Asia, but rather to the violent events which gave birth to the Mamluk dynasty, not in reference to some dim past, but rather to a new and startling present, one in which the abolition of the hereditary principle brings forth a more primal sort of politics in which there is no ideological stake. Political violence among Mamluk politicians is devoid of any ideological/religious significance—as Irwin says, ″The factions were hardly more than coalitions formed by the greedy and the ambitious.″ Remarks made about Aybak, the first Mamluk sultan, support such an interpretation. Ibn Taghrībirdī quotes some mamluks as saying, ″When we want to remove him, we can because of his lack of power and his middling

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[42]Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century*, trans. P. M. Holt (London, 1992), 38–39.

[43]David Ayalon, ″The Great Yāsa of Chingiz Khān: A Re-examination,″ *Studia Islamica* 33; 34; 36; 38 (1971; 1971; 1972; 1973): 97-140; 151-80; 113-58; 107-56.

[44]Ulrich Haarmann, ″Regicide and the ′Law of the Turks,′″ in *Intellectual Studies on Islam,* ed. Michel M. Mazzaoui and Vera B. Moreen (Salt Lake City, 1990), 127–35.

rank among the amirs."[45] The unnamed mamluks' words make it clear that, for them, monarchy is not charismatic in any way.[46]

The rejection of a principle of hereditary succession effectively meant that there was no recognition of any principle of legitimacy—other than power itself. Violence done to one's rival should not, then, be attributed to the breakdown of authority—it was the source of authority. Nor, for that matter, is the trend in the later stages of the dynasty for rank-and-file mamluks to assert their power against the amirs to be considered as some sort of deterioration of the system.[47] Rather it is the logical extension of power politics throughout the entirety of the military class. For these reasons, we can say that Mamluk politics revealed—whether Mamluk politicians themselves knew it or not—the fetishistic basis of the master-slave relation that served as the social paradigm for not only Mamluk society, but medieval Islamic society in general. As in the Kojèvian "fight for pure prestige," the willingness to risk one's life was precisely the ante required to play the game of Mamluk politics; the death notices of amirs abound with the terms like *shujā'* (brave), *miqdām* (bold), possessing *fitnah* (acumen), and *ḥazm* (determination). Mamluk political violence is "imaginary" in the Lacanian sense of the term; insofar as the hereditary principle is a symbolic feature par excellence—in the Lacanian sense—its abolition brings forth a politics of pure rivalry devoid of ideological content.[48]

How then to square this account of Mamluk politics with the historians such as al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, and Ibn Iyās? What remains is to examine the

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[45]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 7:4. Also in P.M. Holt, "Succession in the Early Mamluk Sultanate," in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Supplement VII (Stuttgart, 1989), 145.

[46]The contrast between the blunt assessment offered by the amirs of Aybak and the portrait of a sultan that emerges in an "official" biography such as that of al-Ẓāhir Baybars by his "spin doctor" Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, and in anecdotes told of Quṭuz found in Ibn al-Dawādārī's *Kanz al-Durar,* could not be stronger. Syedah Fatima Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt* (Dacca, 1956), 9–10, 31 (Arabic text), and Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmi' al-Ghurar,* ed. Ulrich Haarmann (Freiburg, 1979), 8:40–3.

[47]David Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15 nos. 2 and 3 (1952–53): 210–13, and Amalia Levanoni, "The Rank-and-File versus Amirs: New Norms in the Mamluk Military Institution," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* ed. Philipp and Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 17–31.

[48]The importance of the master-slave relation in various places and times in the Islamic Middle Ages is seen in Hodgson, and in Paul Forand's article "The Relation of Slave and Master in Medieval Islam," in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 1 (1971): 59–66. Walter Andrews, in *Poetry's Voice, Society's Song* (Seattle, 1985), 90, wrote, "As the system of slavery grew to pervade the military and palace services, this peculiar master-slave relation appears to have become the dominant pattern of relationship throughout the central government. Even [free] born Muslims . . . came to define their relation to the *padishah* (monarch) as that of slave to master."

ideological role of this violence in the chronicles, for in the chronicles violence is given an ideological content.

NAKĀL: THE HARD KERNEL OF *JOUISSANCE*

Al-Maqrīzī´s account of a failed assassination plot against the first Burji sultan, al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, combines several of the preceding types of violence: attempted assassination, torture, and execution. An amir named ʻAlī Bāy al-Khazindār planned to assassinate Barqūq on the occasion of one of the rituals of Mamluk rule, the sultan´s annual opening of the Nile canal in Cairo. Al-Maqrīzī writes:

> When he [Sultan Barqūq] opened the canal as was the custom, he was accompanied by the amirs except for the amir ʻAlī Bāy the Khazindār. The latter secluded himself in his house for some days due to an illness that had befallen him—at least apparently—but harboring inside himself his murderous intention *(fatk)* towards the sultan. For he knew that when he descended to open the canal, he would pass by his house with the amirs, and so he plotted the assassination *(ightiyāl)* of the sultan.[49]

ʻAlī Bāy gathered a group of armed mamluks in his house ready to rush Barqūq and kill him as he passed, but the sultan was tipped off. The standards that marked his place in the parade were removed and the door of ʻAlī Bāy´s house bolted from the outside. By the time ʻAlī Bāy and his men got out, the sultan had already safely passed. In the mêlée that ensued ʻAlī Bāy´s mamluks deserted him and he hid in the heating room of a bathhouse, where he was apprehended. ʻAlī Bāy was tortured for two days to force him to reveal his collaborators, and then strangled.

If the political struggles per se were without ideological content, in al-Maqrīzī´s narrative we find rhetorical effects with certain broad ideological implications. The sentence in the translation above that begins ″The latter secluded himself in his house . . . ″ reads in Arabic: ″fa-innahu kāna qad inqaṭaʻa fī dārihi ayyāman li-maraḍ nazala bi-hi fīmā aẓharahu wa-fī bāṭin amrihi annahu qaṣada fatk bi-al-sulṭān.″ In his use of the verb *aẓhara* and the participle *bāṭin* al-Maqrīzī falls back on one of the most venerable rhetorical contrasts in medieval Arabic literature, that between what is exterior and apparent, *ẓāhir,* and what is interior and unseen, *bāṭin.*[50] The two terms are ubiquitous in the literature and are at once both rhetorical

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[49]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:2:903.

[50]Whether the words are actually al-Maqrīzī´s or not is another matter—al-Maqrīzī was known to copy long tracts from other writers without attribution. See the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., article ″Al-Maḳrīzī″ by Franz Rosenthal, and ″Notes on the Early *Naẓar al-Khāṣṣ,*″ by Donald

and interpretive devices. In a broad sense they were key terms in a pervasive medieval worldview wherein *bāṭin* designates the unseen but real, while *ẓāhir* refers to mere appearance, which is often misleading.[51] And this is how al-Maqrīzī employs them here. In order to explain ʻAlī Bāy′s treachery, al-Maqrīzī writes:

> The reason for this it seems is that one of his private mamluks, his steward *(shādd sharāb khānātihi),* took an interest in one of the slave girls of the amir Aqbāy al-Turantāy, wanting from her that which a man wants from a woman. But problems arose between them and that got back to Aqbāy. So he seized him [ʻAlī Bāy′s mamluk] and gave him a violent beating. Then ʻAlī Bāy got angry and complained of him [Aqbāy] to the sultan, but the sultan paid no attention to him. . . . So he [ʻAlī Bāy] got angry about that, and it stirred in him a hidden sense of outrage *(al-baghy al-kāmin)*.[52]

This account of ʻAlī Bāy′s plot is preceded in the chronicles by an account of a polo match among the mamluks attended by the sultan exactly one week before it. The polo match was followed by a drunken party that scandalizes the austere sensibility of al-Maqrīzī, who concludes:

> It was a day of extreme infamy and repulsiveness; intoxicants were flaunted, and the mamluks *(al-nās)* publicly committed abominations and sins the likes of which had not been known. Learned people *(ahl al-maʻrifah)* surmised that the end was near, and this was so. From that day forward indecencies were committed in the land of Egypt, while modesty diminished.[53]

Al-Maqrīzī tells us that the sultan afterwards gave ″the commoners *(al-ʻāmmah)* permission to plunder the leftover food and drink.″[54] And he stresses that the sultan wanted to join in the drinking, but was advised to leave and go back to the Citadel. Moreover, the language describing the drunken mamluks′ behavior on this occasion emphasizes the publicity of it, in the strictest sense: ″tajāhara al-nās

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Little, in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, 226.

[51]Such a view, of course, finds justification in the Quran 57:3, where God is *al-Bāṭin*—″the Unseen.″

[52]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:2:903.

[53]Ibid., 902.

[54]Ibid.

min al-fuḥsh wa-al-maʿāṣī.″[55]

What emerges then in al-Maqrīzī is a moralizing narrative in which the public and visible turpitude of the drunken polo match party begets ʿAlī Bāy′s secret and disastrous assassination plot which also, al-Maqrīzī tells us, came about because of sexual indecencies. If we consider the rhetorical structure contrasting what is internal and unseen and what is external and apparent—his apparent illness but his unseen murderous intent, his secret hatred—the moralizing intent of al-Maqrīzī′s narrative is clear. Also apparent is the libidinal charge the violence carries; al-Maqrīzī′s narrative weaves from public turpitude (the polo match debauch) to private sins (fornication and hatred) and ends in public violence (attempted assassination).

Al-Maqrīzī concludes his account with—what else?—the torture and execution of ʿAlī Bāy: ″On Tuesday evening, the twenty-second [of Dhū al-Qaʿdah] ʿAlī Bāy was severely tortured in front of the sultan. His feet and knees were broken, and his chest was crushed. But he did not implicate anyone else. Then he was taken outside and strangled.″[56]

The rhetorical strategy that attempts to endow violence with a moral content is even more apparent in two other accounts from al-Maqrīzī. The first is the torture and execution of the disgraced vizier Ibn al-Salʿūs in the wake of al-Ashraf Khalīl′s assassination in 693/1293. Ibn al-Salʿūs, a Syrian, made many enemies with his techniques of raising revenues, and when his patron Khalīl was murdered, his days were numbered. The amir al-Shujāʿī arrested him and had him tortured in the Madrasah Ṣāḥibīyah. Al-Maqrīzī says the amir Lu'lu' al-Masʿūdī took charge of his torture:

> Every day he would lead him from the madrasah to the Citadel on a donkey, and the riffraff would accost him along the way with their worn out sandals saying, ″Master! Audit these for us!″ They

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[55]The accounts of both the drunken polo party and the plot of ʿAlī Bāy in Ibn Taghrībirdī and Ibn Iyās repeat much of al-Maqrīzī′s text verbatim, though each writer adds a few details. After repeating al-Maqrīzī′s statement that the plot of ʿAlī Bāy ruined Barqūq′s relations with the mamluks, Ibn Taghrībirdī adds the now well-known piece of advice that Barqūq′s wife supposedly gave him: that he ought to make his mamluks *ablaq,* of four stripes, that is, composed of four different peoples: Mongols, Circassians, Greeks, and Turks (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 12:88). Ibn Iyās mentions al-Maqrīzī as a source, and then amplifies with his own observations. He tells the reader that the steward was one of ʿAlī Bāy′s favorites *(kān ʿazīzan ʿindahu)* and the number of blows he received from Aqbāy. And when ʿAlī Bāy goes to the sultan to complain, Ibn Iyās adds dialogue: ″So he [ʿAlī Bāy] got angry and he said, ′If you won′t take revenge for my mamluk, I will take revenge for him with my own hand′ (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr,* 1:2:502–8).

[56]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:2:907.

> made him listen to every sort of nastiness, and he was subjected to inexpressible humiliations and punishments. This Lu'lu' owed his position to Ibn al-Sal'ūs. . . . Ibn al-Sal'ūs was nice to him and made him the inspector *(shādd)* of the *dīwān*s in Egypt. And he [Lu'lu'] advanced in his service to the point that he was almost like one of his deputies—Ibn al-Sal'ūs simply called him "Lu'lu'." But God decreed that he fall into his [Lu'lu's] hands, and he went to extremes to humiliate him.[57]

After he describes the killing of al-Nāṣir Faraj, a son of Barqūq who—like Rasputin—did not go easily, al-Maqrīzī writes:

> They stole his clothes and dragged his body out. Then they threw it on a pile of garbage rising up [below the Citadel in Damascus]. He was naked with only his underwear covering his private parts and his thighs, and his eyes were open. People passed by him—amirs and mamluks—but God had turned their hearts away from him. The rabble played with his beard and his hands and his feet all day Sunday as an exemplary punishment of him from God. For truly he had thought nothing of the majesty of God, and thus God showed him his omnipotence.[58]

The theme of the fall of the mighty was, of course, one dear to medieval historians for whom it provided confirmation of the "vanity of the worldly pursuits"—and possibly consolation for their own lack of power. Al-Maqrīzī, among the three historians, places special emphasis on it in his introduction to his work. Immediately after his *bismillah,* al-Maqrīzī writes: "Say 'Allāhumma, lord of lordship *(mālik al-mulk),* you give power to whom you will and you take it from whom you will, you make mighty whom you will and you humble whom you will. . . .'"[59] Al-Maqrīzī concludes by saying that God helps his faithful servants conquer kings and take the wealth that they [the kings] have gained merely through power and force, and these people then pass it on to their sons and their sons' sons, but, "When they diverge from the guidance their prophets have brought them, He inflicts upon them calamities and destruction, and He gives power over them to the scum of the rabble *(ra'ā' al-ghawghā')* . . . who, after gaining power, bring

[57]Ibid., 1:3:798.
[58]Ibid., 4:1:224.
[59]Ibid., 1:1:26.

down upon them ruin."[60] His introduction, which begins with *mālik al-mulk,* ends with *ra'ā' al-ghawghā,'* its obverse, and with it we have descended from the loftiest to the basest—the scenes of the drunken polo party and the corpse lying on the garbage heap seem precisely the sorts of scenes anticipated by the phrase *ra'ā' al-ghawghā'*. In fact, in his account of the death of al-Nāṣir Faraj, *ghawghā'* is the very word al-Maqrīzī uses. But another term is more important here.

In the accounts above, al-Maqrīzī twice uses the same word to explain the terrible punishment and torture suffered by the losers—*nakāl,* translated above in the instance of Ibn Sal'ūs rather weakly as "punishments." But in fact it means more than simply "punishment." In *Lisān al-'Arab* Ibn Manẓūr quotes al-Jawharī: "nakkala bi-hi tankīlan idhā ja'alahu nakālan wa-'ibratan li-ghayrihi."[61] Al-Maqrīzī employs the same term to describe the killing of al-Nāṣir Faraj. And we find Ibn Taghrībirdī using it much the same way when he describes the punishment of the two amirs Qutlubughā al-Fakhrī and Ṭashtamur Ḥimmiṣ Akhḍar by the sultan al-Nāṣir Aḥmad in Karak in 742/1342: "The sultan imprisoned Qutlubughā al-Fakhrī and Ṭashtamur Ḥimmiṣ Akhḍar in the citadel of Karak after he made a public spectacle of Fakhrī, who was grossly humiliated by the common people."[62]

The language the two historians use is Quranic. *Nakāl* and variants are found in the Quran in five places. In 2:65–66, God says, "You have learned of those among you who broke the Sabbath. We said to them, 'Be contemptible apes!' We made them an example *(nakālan)* to their contemporaries and to those who came after, and a lesson to the righteous." In 5:38, He says, "as for male and female thieves, cut off their hands as punishment for what they have earned as exemplary punishment from God." And in 79:25, "God smote him with a punishment in the hereafter and in this world."[63] Beyond the insistence of al-Maqrīzī and other writers on the exemplary nature of torture and execution—that they are signs from God—the language used to describe instances of torture and execution in the chronicles cannot help but resonate with the temporal deaths and eternal tortures God inflicts on unbelievers in the Quran. For these reasons, insofar as al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, and Ibn Iyās are successful in interpreting the violence this way, a consistent analogy emerges: Just as God inflicts horrible torments on unbelievers

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[60]Ibid., 1:1:28.

[61]Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab* (Beirut, n.d.), 11:677.

[62]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:68, l. 5. "Fa-sajana al-sulṭān Qutlubughā al-Fakhrī wa-Ṭashtamur Ḥimmiṣ Akhḍar bi-Qal'at al-Karak ba'da mā nakkala bi-al-Fakhrī wa-uhīna min al-'āmmah ihānatan zā'idatan."

[63]Yet there is some unintended irony in the way al-Maqrīzī uses the word in the case of Ibn Sal'ūs when he says that "he was subjected to inexpressible punishments" *(fa-yanzilu bi-hi min al-khazy wa-al-nakāl mā lā yu'baru 'anhu),* since *nakāl* means precisely a punishment from which a meaning/lesson (*'ibrah)* can be derived, as we have seen in the notice in the *Lisān al-'Arab.*

who defy him, so too are horrible torments inflicted on those who defy a sultan, an amir more powerful in the political hierarchy. The recurrence of a variety of epithets designating those at the base of this hierarchy of domination in these contexts—*arādhil, ra'ā', ghawghā'*—is not by chance either, as al-Maqrīzī signaled in his introduction. And, indeed, in addition to the term *nakāl* other elements of the vocabulary of punishment, torture, and humiliation in the Quran recur in the chronicles; variants of *'aqab, 'adhāb, hīn*—all used in the Quran—also are common in the chronicles. Whether the writer bewails the punishment meted out to a loser in this instance or lauds it as well deserved in another is to some extent irrelevant—the over-arching pattern is one of an oscillation between fascination and disgust with violence. For, indeed, had Baydarā succeeded, had 'Alī Bāy succeeded, had Minṭāsh succeeded—had any of the other rivals in the political game succeeded—the same moral could have been applied to their victims: the mighty man who falls because he is too much absorbed with matter of *dunyā* to the detriment of *dīn*. In other words, the ″moral″ is in large degree independent of the actual empirical events—that is, of the violence.

The violence then is ″excessive″ in this sense too: that it exceeds the attempt of the historian to inscribe it in some such explanatory myth, and it exceeds it precisely insofar as it reveals the ″truth″ of the social structure of Mamluk society—that the relation of master and slave is ultimately based on nothing but violence and death. *Nakāl,* we should say, should be understood not so much as ″exemplary punishment,″ but rather as ″exemplary violence.″ Insofar as it alternately fascinates and disgusts the chroniclers *nakāl* is the ″hard kernel of *jouissance,*″ the surplus enjoyment that sustains the ideological bond of the chroniclers. The sublime monuments of Mamluk architecture are built not only of sandstone, but also of blood.

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Black Camels and Blazing Bolts: The Bolt-Projecting Trebuchet in the Mamluk Army

The Mamluks pioneered the use of gunpowder ordnance, but their principal piece of heavy artillery was ″the crushing, demolishing trebuchet″ (*manjanīq hādim haddād*).[1] In their campaigns of conquest, the Mamluks used substantial batteries of trebuchets, and Mamluk military science produced the only major technical treatise on the construction and operation of this form of artillery. The trebuchet (Arabic *manjanīq*, pl. *majāniq, manājīq, manājanīq,* and *majanīqāt*)[2] was the most powerful form of mechanical artillery ever devised. It consisted of a long tapering beam which pivoted near its butt-end around an axle mounted on top of a framework. At the end of the long arm of the beam, a sling was attached which held the missile. This was designed to open when the beam′s motion and position reached the desired state for discharge.

To launch a projectile, the beam—equipped with pulling-ropes at its short end—was set in a horizontal position. The operator of the machine readied the machine for launch by placing a projectile in the pouch of the sling. The sling had two ropes: one attached firmly to the end of the beam and the other looped over an iron prong extending from the tip of the beam. The alignment of the prong and the length of the sling were crucial to achieving maximum range. Human muscle force was applied to the pulling-ropes by a team of men—or, in some cases, women—while the operator guided the missile through the initial phase of the launch cycle. When the operator released the sling, a sudden surge of power was

[1]Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṣaṣrá, *A Chronicle of Damascus, 1389–1397, by Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṣaṣrá: The Unique Bodleian Library Manuscript of al-Durra al-Muḍī′a fī′l-Dawla al-Ẓāhirīya (Laud Or. MS 112)*, ed. and trans. William M. Brinner (Berkeley, 1963), 1:118, 2:85. On the development of gunpowder artillery by the Mamluks, see David Ayalon′s classic study *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom: A Challenge to a Mediaeval Society* (London, 1956). This study of the bolt-projecting trebuchet has been supported by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, an independent federal agency.

[2]On the Arabic term *manjanīq* denoting a trestle-framed trebuchet, see Paul E. Chevedden, ″The Artillery of King James I the Conqueror,″ in *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Robert I. Burns, S.J.*, ed. Paul E. Chevedden, Donald J. Kagay, and Paul G. Padilla (Leiden, 1996), 47–94, esp. 59–61. On the Arabic terms *ʻarrādah* and *luʻbah,* denoting a pole-framed trebuchet, see below note 4, and note 57 and text. Other Arabic terms for the trebuchet are discussed throughout the article.

imparted to the beam, as the maximum force exerted by the pulling-crew took full effect. This action propelled the throwing arm skyward and allowed the looped end of the sling to fly free, thus hurling the missile from the sling.

In later versions of the trebuchet a weight was added to the butt-end of the beam. This weight was first used to counterbalance the weight of the long arm of the beam at discharge when the sling was loaded with a heavy stone shot. The horizontal counterbalancing of the two arms of the beam was an ergonomic innovation in artillery design that greatly improved the efficiency of the human-powered trebuchet. The human energy required to hold the beam in place at discharge was greatly reduced, thereby allowing a greater amount of force to be exerted by the pulling crew to accelerate the beam. The great turning point in the evolution of the trebuchet came with the introduction of the counterweight machine that utilized gravity power alone to accelerate the beam. The counterweight trebuchet replaced the pulling crew with a gravitating mass that was either fixed rigidly to the butt-end of the beam (Figs. 7, 8, 9, 11, 12) or was articulated to the beam′s end by means of a hinge in order to allow the counterweight to move freely (Figs. 5, 6, 10).[3]

Trebuchets fall into three broad categories: (1) traction trebuchets, powered by crews pulling on ropes (Figs. 1 and 2); (2) hybrid trebuchets, powered by crews that received a gravity assist (Figs. 3 and 4); and (3) counterweight trebuchets, powered by gravitational energy (Figs. 5–12). The supporting framework for the axle of all three types of trebuchets adhered to two basic designs: (1) a pole framework; and (2) a trestle framework. Pole-framed machines required a fork-mounted beam. Two different mounting systems were used: (1) a fork mount, or pivot yoke, that surmounted the pole frame and held the axle (Figs. 1 and 3); and (2) a forked beam, looking like the letter Y, that attached its fork arms to the ends of the axle affixed atop the pole frame (Fig. 6). Pole-framed machines needed less material to construct than trestle-framed ones and had the great advantage of being able to discharge stone-shot in any direction without requiring the framework to be repositioned. Both mounting systems of the pole-framed trebuchet—pivot yoke and rotating axle—enabled the machine to be aimed instantly in any required direction. Trestle-framed machines pivoted the beam on an axle supported by the two triangular trusses of the framework (Figs. 2, 4–5, 7–12). They could only be aimed at a new target with great difficulty. To point such machines just a few degrees to the right or to the left required a change in position of the entire

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[3]An engineering analysis of the trebuchet that compares the principles of design and operation of traction-powered trebuchets with that of gravity-powered trebuchets is provided by Zvi Shiller in Paul E. Chevedden, Zvi Shiller, Samuel R. Gilbert, and Donald J. Kagay, ″The Traction Trebuchet: A Triumph of Four Civilizations,″ *Viator* 31 (2000): 433–86.

framework, which necessitated the expenditure of considerable labor. Although trestle-framed trebuchets were cumbersome and expensive, and were difficult to line up on a new target, they had the advantage of being sturdy and reliable.

DEVELOPMENT AND DIFFUSION OF THE TREBUCHET

The invention of the trebuchet was a unique discovery that was diffused from a single center of origin. China developed this powerful form of artillery between the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. From China, the two fundamental types of trebuchets—the traction-powered, pole-framed machine (Fig. 1) and trestle-framed machine (Fig. 2)—spread westward.[4] The new ordnance reached the eastern

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[4]On the development and diffusion of the Chinese trebuchet, see Herbert Frankle, "Siege and Defense of Towns in Medieval China," in *Chinese Ways in Warfare,* ed. Frank A. Keirman, Jr., and John K. Fairbank (Cambridge, Mass., 1974), 151–201; Joseph Needham, "China's Trebuchets, Manned and Counterweighted," in *On Pre-Modern Technology and Science: Studies in Honor of Lynn White, Jr.,* ed. Bert S. Hall and Delno C. West (Malibu, Calif., 1976), 107–45; Sergei A. Shkoliar, "L'Artillerie de jet a l'époque Sung," in *Etudes Song: In memoriam Étienne Balazs,* series 1, *Histoire et institutions,* pt. 2, ed. Françoise Aubin (Paris, 1971), 119–42; idem, *Kitaiskaia doognestrelnaia artilleriia: Materialy i issledovaniia* (Moscow, 1980); Robin D. S. Yates, "Siege Engines and Late Zhou Military Technology," in *Explorations in the History of Science and Technology in China*, ed. Li Guohao, Zhang Mehgwen, and Cao Tianqin (Shanghai, 1982), 414–19; *Weapons of Ancient China*, ed. Yang Hong (New York, 1992); and Joseph Needham and Robin D. S. Yates, *Science and Civilization in China,* vol. 5, *Chemistry and Chemical Technology,* pt. 6, *Military Technology: Missiles and Sieges* (Cambridge, 1994). The Chinese developed an elaborate nomenclature for the trebuchet to identify many different types of trebuchets, but they divided all of these types into two basic categories according to the configuration of the framework of the machine: (1) the pole-framed machine, called a "Whirlwind" trebuchet *(xuan feng pao)* (Fig. 1); and (2) the trestle-framed machine, called a "Four-footed" trebuchet *(si jiao pao)* (Fig. 2). Thus, a binary nomenclature for the trebuchet was born. As the traction trebuchet was diffused across Eurasia and North Africa, a binary terminology, based on the framework of the machine, was used by all who adopted the new artillery. In Arabic, for example, the pole-framed trebuchet was designated an *ʿarrādah,* and later a *luʿbah* ("Plaything") (see below, note 57 and text); the trestle-framed trebuchet was called a *manjanīq* (see above, note 2). The employment of the *ʿarrādah* and the *manjanīq* by Islamic armies during the period 632 to 945 is examined by Hugh Kennedy in *The Armies of the Caliphs: Military and Society in the Early Islamic State* (London, 2001), 110–13, 133–36, 154, 155, 163, 184, 185, 189. In the Latin West, a variety of terms were used to refer to the trebuchet in both Latin and the European vernaculars, but a clear terminological dichotomy is evident prior to the introduction of gravity-powered artillery, based upon the configuration of the machine's framework. The most commonly used term to denote the pole-framed trebuchet was *manganellus* (mangonel), while the heavier trestle-framed machine was usually identified by the term *petraria* ("rock-thrower"). Scholars who have examined the nomenclature for artillery have erroneously concluded that the diversity of terms may reflect differences in the size of the machine, in the weight of the projectile discharged from it, or even fundamental differences in the kind of artillery employed (e.g., tension, torsion, or traction). In the era of human-powered artillery, the terminology was related to the most obvious design feature of the

Mediterranean during the sixth century C.E. and rapidly displaced the heavy artillery of the classical world. Widespread diffusion of the new artillery throughout the Mediterranean and the Middle East followed. Arabia was familiar with the pole-framed and trestle-framed trebuchet prior to the rise of Islam, and, during the century following the death of Muḥammad in 632, the armies of the Prophet carried the new artillery from the Indus to the Atlantic in a ballooning movement of conquests.[5] These conquests spurred innovations in weaponry that led to the

machine: its framework. Even with the introduction of the hybrid machine, trebuchet terminology underwent no fundamental change, since this terminology was based on the configuration of the framework of the machine, a component that remained unchanged regardless of whether the trebuchet was a traction or hybrid model. This explains why only a few languages—Armenian, Syriac, Latin, French, and Occitan—introduced new terms to identify the hybrid trebuchet. Arabic literary culture generally ignored the hybrid trebuchet, but Arabic oral culture did not. It was dubbed *al-ghaḍbān* (The Furious One), and this term for the hybrid machine entered both Armenian and Turkish (see below, note 60 and text). For a discussion of the terminology of the trebuchet and its meaning, see Chevedden, ″Artillery of King James I,″ 56-76; idem, ″The Hybrid Trebuchet: The Halfway Step to the Counterweight Trebuchet,″ in *On the Social Origins of Medieval Institutions: Essays in Honor of Joseph F. O′Callaghan,* ed. Donald J. Kagay and Theresa M. Vann (Leiden, 1998), 182, 198–212; idem, ″The Invention of the Counterweight Trebuchet: A Study in Cultural Diffusion,″ *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 71–116; and Chevedden et al., ″Traction Trebuchet,″ 433–86, esp. 452 (Table 3), 460–61, 474–84.

[5]On the development and diffusion of the trebuchet outside of China, the following studies are of fundamental importance: Guillaume Dufour, *Mémoire sur l′artillerie des anciens et sur celle du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1840), 87–112; Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte, *Études sur le passé et l′avenir de l′artillerie* (Paris, 1848–71), 2:26–61; Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l′architecture du XI^e au XVI^e siècles,* (Paris, 1854–68), 5:218–42; Alwin Schultz, *Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger* (Leipzig, 1889), 2:363–93; Gustav Köhler, *Die Entwickelung des Kriegswesens und der Kriegführung in der Ritterzeit von Mitte des II. Jahrhunderts bis zu den Hussitenkriegen* (Breslau, 1886–89), 3:139–211; Sir Ralph Payne-Gallwey, *The Crossbow, Mediaeval and Modern, Military and Sporting: Its Construction, History and Management, with a Treatise on the Balista and Catapult of the Ancients* (London, 1903); Rudolf Schneider, *Die Artillerie des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1910); Marco Polo, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East,* 3d ed., trans. and ed. Colonel Sir Henry Yule (London, 1926), 2:161–69; Bernhard Rathgen, *Das Geschütz im Mittelalter* (1928; repr., Düsseldorf, 1987), 578–638; Kalevero Huuri, ″Zur Geschichte des mittelalterlichen Geschützwesens aus orientalischen Quellen,″ in *Societas Orientalia Fennica, Studia Orientalia*, 9/3 (Helsinski, 1941); Claude Cahen, ″Un traité d′armurerie pour Saladin,″ *Bulletin d′études orientales* 12 (1947–48): 103–63; José Frederico Finó, ″Machines de jet médiévales,″ *Gladius* 10 (1972): 25–43; idem, *Forteresses de la France médiévale: construction, attaque, défense*, 3d ed. (Paris, 1977), 149–63; Donald R. Hill, ″Trebuchets,″ *Viator* 4 (1973): 99–115; Carroll M. Gillmor, ″The Introduction of the Traction Trebuchet into the Latin West,″ *Viator* 12 (1981): 1–8; D. J. Cathcart King, ″The Trebuchet and other Siege-Engines,″ *Chateau Gaillard* 9–10 (1982): 457–69; Randall Rogers, ″The Problem of Artillery,″ Appendix III of *Latin Siege Warfare in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1992), 254–73; Peter Vemming Hansen, ″Experimental Reconstruction of a Medieval Trébuchet,″

development of the hybrid trebuchet (Figs. 3–4). The Byzantine Empire soon acquired this advanced piece of artillery, and by the second half of the ninth century it was being used in northern Europe.[6]

Another conquest movement, or more exactly an enterprise of reconquest, is likely to have led to the development of the counterweight trebuchet. In his efforts to reconquer Anatolia from the Saljuq Turks, Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) constructed large trebuchets, referred to as ἑλεπόλεις (*helepoleis*, "city-takers"), of several types, "but most of them were fashioned according to an unprecedented design of his own devising which amazed everyone."[7] The Byzantine emperor supplied the new artillery to the Latin Crusaders in 1097 to aid in the conquest of Nicaea in western Anatolia. During the twelfth century, the dynamics of conflict and contact quickly diffused the counterweight trebuchet throughout the Mediterranean and the Middle East. New terms arose to identify the machine that had started the gravity-powered revolution in artillery—the trestle-framed counterweight trebuchet. Arabic sources designated it a "big" trebuchet *(manjanīq kabīr)*, a "great" trebuchet *(manjanīq ʻaẓīm)*, or as a "huge" or "frightful" trebuchet *(manjanīq hā'il)*. During the thirteenth century, it was given a new Arabic name, the "Western Islamic" trebuchet *(manjanīq maghribī or manjanīq gharbī)*, perhaps reflecting a design improvement.[8] Syriac sources named the machine a "great"

Acta Archaeologica 63 (1992): 189–208; Paul E. Chevedden, Les Eigenbrod, Vernard Foley, and Werner Soedel, "The Trebuchet: Recent Reconstructions and Computer Simulations Reveal the Operating Principles of the Most Powerful Weapon of its Time," *Scientific American* (July 1995): 66–71; Chevedden, "The Artillery of King James I"; idem, "Hybrid Trebuchet"; George T. Dennis, "Byzantine Heavy Artillery: The *Helepolis*," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 39 (1998): 99–115; Paul E. Chevedden, "Fortifications and the Development of Defensive Planning during the Crusader Period," in *The Circle of War in the Middle Ages*, ed. Donald J. Kagay and L. J. Andrew Villalon (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1999), 33–43; idem, "Invention of the Counterweight Trebuchet"; and Chevedden et al., "Traction Trebuchet."

[6]On the development and diffusion of the hybrid trebuchet, see Chevedden, "Hybrid Trebuchet"; and Chevedden et al., "Traction Trebuchet."

[7]Anna Komnena, *Alexiade: Règne de l'empereur Alexis I Comnène (1081–1118)*, ed. and trans. Bernard Leib, Collection byzantine publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé (Paris, 1937–45), 11.2.1. The learned monk Euthymios Zygabenos, a close associate of Alexios, ranks the emperor's new artillery with the works of Archimedes, the most famous inventor of ancient Greece. This suggests that an important breakthrough in the design and construction of the trebuchet was achieved at Nicaea. Given the imminent appearance of gravity-powered artillery, this breakthrough is most likely to have been the development of the first counterweight trebuchet (Euthymios Zygabenos, *Panoplia*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne [Paris, 1857–66], 130:20). On the introduction of the counterweight trebuchet, see Chevedden, "Invention of the Counterweight Trebuchet."

[8]On the *manjanīq maghribī/gharbī*, a trestle-framed, gravity-powered trebuchet with a hinged counterweight, see Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb Aḥdab al-Rammāḥ, *Al-Furūsīyah wa-al-Manāṣib al-*

trebuchet *(manganīqē rawrbē),* and a Greek source called it a "great siege-engine" (μεγάλη μηχανή, *megalē mēkhanē*). In the Latin West, the new artillery was designated by the term "trebuchet," a diminutive form derived from the medieval Latin word *trabuc[h]us*. The term first appeared as *trabuchellus* in 1189, and a decade later *trabuchus* entered the record (Fig. 5).[9] Today the term "trebuchet" is used to refer to the entire class of artillery that draws its energy from a beam pivoted around an axle.

By the end of the twelfth century the diversification of the counterweight trebuchet into different forms had begun. In the Latin West, a pole-framed machine was introduced that had a bifurcated beam with two counterweights suspended from its fork arms. Its pivoting shaft and paired counterweights earned it its name, the *bricola,* or the "Two-Testicle" machine (Fig. 6), from the combination of the prefix *bi-,* "having two," and the Latin *coleus,* meaning testicle (Fr. *bricole,* It. *brìccola,* Oc. *bricola*, Catal. *brigola,* Cast. *brigola,* late L. *bric[c]ola,* Gk. *praikoula* or *prekoula*). In 1242 Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen sent *bricola*s to the Levant, and soon thereafter (post 1250) the Mamluks incorporated this versatile piece of artillery into their siege arsenal, calling it the "Frankish" or "European" trebuchet (*manjanīq ifranjī* or *manjanīq firanjī*). Muslim engineers employed by the Mongols brought the *bricola* to China, where it was designated the "Muslim" trebuchet *(hui-hui pao).* Batteries of *bricola*s (sing. *manjanīq firanjī*) rained

Ḥarbīyah: al-Barūd, al-Nīrān al-Ḥarbīyah, al-Taqṭīr, al-Nīranjāt, ed. Aḥmad Yūsuf al-Ḥasan, Maṣādir wa-Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh al-'Ulūm al-Taṭbīqīyah, vol. 8 (Aleppo, 1998), 118, Fig. 71; Chevedden, "Artillery of King James I," 62–63, Figs. 7–9; idem, "Invention of the Counterweight Trebuchet," 106, Fig. 3; and below, note 32 and text. Since the *manjanīq maghribī* had a hinged counterweight, it is likely that the feature which distinguished it from earlier counterweight trebuchets was the hinged counterweight box or a new method for hanging the counterweight box with a hinge. It should be noted that the earliest extant illustration of a gravity-powered trebuchet, the double-propose machine described and illustrated by al-Ṭarsūsī, had a "hinged" counterweight consisting of a rope sack filled with stones held by three strong cords (Murḍī ibn 'Alī ibn Murḍī al-Ṭarsūsī [d. 589/1193], "Tabṣirat Arbāb al-Albāb fī Kayfīyat al-Najāh fī al-Ḥurūb min al-Aswā' wa-Nashr A'lām al-I'lām fī al-'Udad wa-al-Ālāt al-Mu'īnah 'alá Liqā' al-A'dā'" [Instruction of the masters on the means of deliverance in wars from disasters, and the unfurling of the banners of information: equipment and engines which aid in encounters with enemies], Bodleian MS Hunt. 264, fols. 133v–135r [hereafter cited as "Tabṣirah fī al-Ḥurūb"]); idem, "Tabṣirah fī al-Ḥurūb," Süleymaniye Library MS Ayasofya 2848 mü, fols. 100r–102r; idem, *Mawsū'at al-Asliḥah al-Qadīmah: al-Mawsūm Tabṣirat Arbāb al-Albāb fī Kayfīyat al-Najāh fī al-Ḥurūb min al-Anwā'* [sic] *wa-Nashr A'lām al-A'lām* [sic] *fī al-'Udad wa-al-Ālāt al-Mu'ayyanah* [sic] *'alá Liqā' al-A'dā',* ed. Karin Ṣādir [Beirut, 1998], 168–69, 256–57 [Fig. 12]; Cahen, "Traité," 119, 120, Pl.. 3, Fig. 14; and Chevedden, "Invention of the Counterweight Trebuchet," 87–90, 115–16, Fig. 1).

[9]For a discussion of the nomenclature of the counterweight trebuchet, see Chevedden "Artillery of King James I," 61–63, 68–76; Chevedden, "Invention of the Counterweight Trebuchet"; and Dennis, "Byzantine Heavy Artillery."

destruction on the cities of Fancheng (1272) and Xiangyang (1273), on the Han River in northwest Hubei province, and broke the power of the Song Empire (960–1279). On the high seas, the *bricola* was mounted on the poops of ships and was used to bombard coastal cities and fortresses.[10] Human ingenuity and engineering skill combined to produce yet another type of gravity-powered trebuchet. This new machine extended the capabilities of the trebuchet enormously; it enabled the machine to do what it had never done before: discharge immense bolts.

The Bolt-Projecting Trebuchet

The improved performance of the counterweight trebuchet presented new possibilities for artillery. Two additional contrivances, the counterweight and the elongated sling, enabled artillery to break free of many of the limitations of the traction-powered trebuchet. The high rotational velocity reached by the beam of a counterweight trebuchet and the wider range of rotation that was utilized to accelerate

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[10]On Frederick II′s dispatch of *bricola*s to the Levant, see Caffaro, *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de′ suoi continuatori*, ed. Luigi T. Belgrano and Cesare Imperiale di Sant′Angelo, Fonti per la storia d′Italia pubblicate dall′Istituto storico italiano, Scrittori, Secoli XII e XIII, nos. 11–14bis (Rome, 1890–1929), 3:128: ″Et cum inimici mari et terra cum machinis, prederiis (= *petrariis*), bricolis, scalis et aliis hedifficiis eorum infortunio ad locum Levanti pervenissent.″ On the Muslim engineers who brought the *bricola* to China and the role these machines played in forcing the surrenders of Fancheng in 1272 and Xiangyang in 1273, see Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Ṭabīb, *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh,* ed. Bahman Karīmī (Tehran, 1338/1960), 1:651–52; idem, *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh,* trans. John Andrew Boyle, *The Successors of Genghis Khan* (New York, 1971), 290–91; Arthur C. Moule, *Quinsai: With Other Notes on Marco Polo* (Cambridge, 1957), 70–78. Both Rashīd al-Dīn (1247?–1318) and Chinese historian Zheng Sixiao (1206–83) provide details on the heavy artillery used at the sieges of Fancheng and Xiangyang (modern-day Xiangfan). Rashīd al-Dīn identifies the most powerful pieces of artillery as ″European″ trebuchets (sing. *manjanīq firangī*), or *bricola*s (*Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh,* 1:651; *Successors of Genghis Khan,* 290), and Zheng, who calls the machines ″Muslim″ trebuchets *(hui-hui pao),* indicates that, ″in the case of the largest ones, the wooden framework stood above a hole in the ground″ (quoted in Needham and Yates, *Science and Civilisation in China*, 5:6:221). Since the *bricola* was the only counterweight piece of artillery that had a framework capable of being mounted in a hole in the ground and was commonly set up in this fashion, there is little doubt that Zheng is referring here to the *bricola*. The stone-shot launched by these machines weighed 150 *jin,* or 94.5 kilograms (208 lb) (Moule, *Quinsai,* 76), and Zheng states that, ″the projectiles were several feet in diameter, and when they fell to the earth they made a hole three of four feet deep. When [the artillerists] wanted to hurl them to a great range, they added weight [to the counterpoise] and set it further back [on the arm]; when they needed only a shorter distance, they set it forward, nearer [the fulcrum]″ (Needham and Yates, *Science and Civilisation in China*, 5:6:221). On the development and diffusion of the *bricola* and the *manjanīq ifranjī/firanjī,* see Chevedden, ″Artillery of King James I,″ 62–63, 68, 71–76, 79, 84, Fig. 11; idem, ″Invention of the Counterweight Trebuchet,″ 102–3, 106–10, Fig. 5; and below, notes 33, 34, 35, and 36, and text. *Elegant Book* (see note 13) includes two illustrations of the *bricola* (″Anīq,″ fols. 20r, 22r; *Anīq*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 47, 51; *Anīq*, ed. Hindī, 97–98).

the beam made it possible to increase the length of the sling. By using a longer sling that was now driven by a constant or rotating load, the shooting potential of the machine was greatly improved, both in terms of the size of the projectile thrown and the range of the shot. The increased rotational velocity and greater rotational range of the beam also made it possible to substitute the standard trebuchet release mechanism—the sling—for a new release mechanism that enabled it to hurl projectiles never before launched by this type of artillery. With a few structural modifications, a stone-projecting, trestle-framed, counterweight trebuchet could be converted into a bolt-projecting machine and employed to discharge flaming bolts. A large blazing bolt hurled from a trebuchet was particularly suited for setting alight the wooden siege engines of an attacking army or burning the protective screens that shielded fortifications from bombardment.[11]

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[11]The evolution of the trebuchet from stone-projector to bolt-projector follows in reverse order the development of the ancient catapult. The catapult, which developed from the hand-bow, was originally designed to launch bolts. It was eventually scaled up in size and adapted to hurl stone-shot. On the development of the catapult, see Erwin Schramm, *Die Antiken Geschütze de Saalburg* (1918; repr., Bad Homburg, 1980); E. W. Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery: Historical Development* (Oxford, 1969); idem, *Greek and Roman Artillery: Technical Treatises* (Oxford, 1971); Nicolae Gudea and Dietwulf Baatz, ″Teile Spätrömischer Ballisten aus Gornea und Orsova (Rumänien),″ *Saalburg Jahrbuch* 31 (1974): 50–72; Dietwulf Baatz, ″The Hatra Ballista,″ *Sumer* 33 no. 1 (1977): 141–51; idem, ″Das Torsionsgeschütz von Hatra,″ *Antike Welt* 9 no. 4 (1978): 50–57; idem, ″Recent Finds of Ancient Artillery,″ *Britannia* 9 (1978): 1–17, Pls. 1–5; idem, ″Teile Hellenistischer Geschütze aus Griechenland,″ *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1979): 68–75; idem, ″Ein Katapult der *Legio IV Macedonica* aus Cremona,″ *Römische Mitteilungen* 87 (1980): 283–99; idem, ″Hellenistische Katapulte aus Ephyra (Epirus),″ *Athenische Mitteilungen* 97 (1982): 211–33; idem, ″Katapultteile aus dem Schiffswrack von Mahdia (Tunesien),″ *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1985): 677–91; idem, ″Eine Katapult-Spannbuchse aus Pityus, Georgien (UDSSR),″ *Saalburg Jahrbuch* 44 (1988): 63–64; idem, ″Die Römische Jagdarmbrust,″ *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt* 21 (1991): 283–90; idem, *Bauten und Katapulte des römischen Heeres* (Stuttgart, 1994); Dietwulf Baatz and Michel Feugère, ″Éléments d′une catapulte romaine trouvée à Lyon,″ *Gallia* 39 (1981): 201–9; A. G. Drachmann, *The Mechanical Technology of Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Copenhagen, 1963), 186–91; idem, ″Biton and the Development of the Catapult,″ *Prismata, Naturwissenschaftsgeschichtliche Studien, Festschrift für Willy Hartner,* ed. Y. Maeyama and W. G. Saltzer (Wiesbaden, 1977), 119–31; Barton C. Hacker, ″Greek Catapults and Catapult Technology: Science, Technology and War in the Ancient World,″ *Technology and Culture* 9 (1968): 34–50; Yvon Garlan, *Recherches de poliorcétique grecque* (Paris, 1974), 212–25; John G. Landels, *Engineering in the Ancient World* (Berkeley, 1978), 99–132; Arnold W. Lawrence, *Greek Aims in Fortification* (Oxford, 1979), 43–49; Werner Soedel and Vernard Foley, ″Ancient Catapults,″ *Scientific American* 240 (March 1979): 150–60; Philippe Fleury, ″Vitruve et la nomenclature des machines de jet romaines,″ *Revue des Études Latines* 59 (1981): 216–34; idem, *La mécanique de Vitruve* (Caen, France, 1993); Paul E. Chevedden, ″Artillery in Late Antiquity: Prelude to the Middle Ages,″ in *The Medieval City under Siege,* ed. Ivy Corfis and Michael Wolfe (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1995), 131–73; and Alan Wilkins, ″Reconstructing the *cheiroballistra,″ Journal of Roman*

Bolt-projecting trebuchets played an important role in the Mamluk army, particularly in the campaigns of conquest that brought an end to the Crusader states in Syria. This new class of artillery was designated by the term *manjanīq qarābughrā* (the "Black Camel" trebuchet).[12] The most important technical treatise devoted to the trebuchet, Yūsuf ibn Urunbughā al-Zaradkāsh's *An Elegant Book on Trebuchets (Kitāb Anīq fī al-Manājanīq),*[13] written in 867/1462–63, offers a detailed description of the "Black Camel" trebuchet.

IBN URUNBUGHĀ'S BOLT-PROJECTING TREBUCHET

The steps that are required to convert a stone-projecting, trestle-framed, counterweight trebuchet into a bolt-projecting machine are explained by Ibn Urunbughā, the foremost authority on medieval artillery:

> If you want to shoot bolts *(nushshāb)*—some of which are filled with inflammable material *(al-nār)* and sticky gums (*or* resins) *(lizāqāt)* and others are not—from a trebuchet *(manjanīq)* [do as follows]. If you want that [i.e., to shoot bolts], put a hook *(kullāb)*[14] at the center of gravity *('idl)* of the bolt (*al-nushshāb*). The hook should be made

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Military Equipment Studies 6 (1995): 5–59.

[12]The word *bughrā* is the Arabic form of the Turkish term for a camel stallion, *buğra*. The prefix *qarā-* is the Arabic form of the Turkish word for black *(kara),* which carries figurative meanings, often pejorative, but it can also mean "strong" or "powerful." On these Turkish terms, see Gerard Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972), 317–18 *(buğra);* 643–44 *(kara);* J. H. Kramers, "Ḳarā," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 4:572.

[13]Yūsuf ibn Urunbughā al-Zaradkāsh, "Kitāb Anīq fī al-Manājanīq," Topkapı Sarayı Muzesi Kutuphanesi MS Ahmet III 3469/1. This treatise is the longest and most profusely illustrated work in any language dealing with the trebuchet. Two editions of this text have appeared. The first was edited by Nabīl Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz under the title *Al-Anīq fī al-Manājīq* (Cairo, 1981), and the second was edited by Iḥsān Hindī under the title *Al-Anīq fī al-Manājanīq,* Maṣādir wa-Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh al-Taknūlūjiyā al-'Arabīyah, no. 4 [Aleppo and Kuwait, 1985]). This treatise is hereafter cited as "Anīq," and its two published editions as *Anīq,* ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz, and *Anīq,* ed. Hindī.

[14]The "hook" holds the loose end of the cord that is tied to the end of the throwing arm of the trebuchet. The "hook" is presumably attached to the loose end of the cord by a ring. The bolt is released when the ring at the end of cord frees itself from the "hook" during the launch cycle. This "hook" serves the same purpose as the device identified by Francesco di Giorgio Martini as a "nock" and probably resembled this component (see discussion below, "The Bolt-Projecting Trebuchets of Taccola and Francesco di Giorgio," and Fig. 12). In Arabic, the term "hook" can be applied to a variety of devices. Al-Ṭarsūsī uses the term "hook" *(khuṭṭāf)* to denote the prong, or style, that is fixed to the tip of the throwing arm to hold the loose end of the sling. This device may be bent or straight and looks nothing like a normal hook ("Tabṣirah fī al-Ḥurūb," Bodl., fols. 134v, 136v; "Tabṣirah fī al-Ḥurūb," Süleymaniye, fols. 97r, 100v; *Tabṣirah fī al-Ḥurūb,* ed. Ṣādir, 167, 169; Cahen, "Traité," 119, 120, 141, 142).

of iron. The hook will facilitate the lift-off (*yaḥmil*)[15] of the bolt (*al-sahm*) and effect the discharge (*ḍarb*) [16] [of the projectile]. The front part of the hook should face the head of the bolt (*nasl al-nushshāb*), and its back should face the fletching of the bolt (*rīsh al-sahm*). Then, after [doing] that, remove the pouch (*kaffah*) of the trebuchet and take out its first cord (*sā'id*)[17] [i.e., the cord attached to the loose

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[15]The verb *ḥamala,* meaning ″to carry,″ ″to pick up″ (something in order to carry it), ″to lift,″ or ″to convey″ (something), is used to describe the launching operation of the bolt-projecting trebuchet. Al-Ṭarsūsī also uses the verb *ḥamala* to describe the launching of projectiles from trebuchets (″Tabṣirah fī al-Ḥurūb,″ Bodl., fol. 130r; ″Tabṣirah fī al-Ḥurūb,″ Süleymaniye, fol. 95r; *Tabṣirah fī al-Ḥurūb,* ed. Ṣādir, 163). The action associated with this verb perfectly describes the first two stages of the launch cycle of a trebuchet. A missile that is launched from a sling is first *carried* by the sling of the trebuchet as the loaded sling slides along the trough of the machine prior to lift off. When the sling leaves the ground at lift-off, the missile is *lifted* from the trough but continues to be *carried* by the sling as it rotates in a circular orbit around the extremity of the long arm of the beam before being released. In the case of the bolt-projecting trebuchet, the ″hook″ holds the loose end of the cord that is fastened to the end of the throwing arm of the trebuchet. Just like the sling, the ″hook″ can be viewed as *carrying* the bolt as it first *carries* the bolt along the trough during the first stage of the launch cycle and then facilitates the *lift-off* of the bolt during the second stage of the launch cycle. The bolt enters the third stage of the launch cycle, the ballistic phase, when the loose end of the cord frees itself from the ″hook.″ In the context of hurling a missile from a trebuchet, the verb *ḥamala* means ″to carry″ (a projectile along the running-path of the trough), ″to facilitate lift-off″ (of a projectile), or simply ″to shoot″ or ″to discharge″ (a projectile), in the sense that a trebuchet can be said *to carry* a projectile a specified distance or in a specified way. The subsequent use of the verb *ramá,* meaning ″to throw″ or ″to hurl,″ to describe the launching of a bolt from the *qarābughrā* seems to indicate that the author seeks to establish a difference between the two initial stages of the launch cycle and the ballistic stage.

[16]According to Hindī, *ḍarb* (″discharge,″ ″shooting″) designates the projectile *(maqdhūf)* of the machine (*Anīq,* ed. Hindī, 45 n. 10). He cites Reinhart Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (Leiden, 1881; repr., Leiden, 1967), 2:6, as the source of this information, but Dozy provides no such translation for *ḍarb*.

[17]Hindī believes that the term *sā'id* (pl. *sawā'id*) refers to the rotating beam of the trebuchet (*Anīq,* ed. Hindī, 41 n. 9, 42 n. 2, 43 n. 9, 44 nn. 1 and 5, 45 n. 6). This term, which means ″forearm,″ refers specifically to the two sling cords of a trebuchet. This is made abundantly clear in Ibn Shaddād′s account of the Mongol siege of al-Bīrah (Birecik) in 674/1275. The Mongol battery of trebuchets bombarding the city was commanded by a Muslim artillerist who presumably had been impressed into Mongol service against his will. At the height of the siege, he seized an opportunity to betray his new masters. As the city defenders were attempting to bring counter-battery to bear upon the Mongol artillery, they persistently overshot their mark. Realizing that a simple adjustment to the sling cord would correct for overshooting, the Muslim artillerist shouted in Arabic to the operator of a trebuchet inside al-Bīrah and directed him to shorten the sling cord *(sā'id)* of his trebuchet by a cubit. When he had made this adjustment, the range of his shot was reduced, and he was able to make a direct hit on a Mongol trebuchet. This episode illustrates that medieval artillerists knew full well that slings of different lengths provided variations in trajectory

> end of the sling]. Then, attach the hook to the second cord [i.e., the cord fixed to the end of the throwing arm] and launch it (*tarmī bi-hi*), and it will hit the target you want, if God wills. This account of ours is a compete [description of the] operation of the trebuchet which is known as the "Black Camel" (*qarābughrā*).[18]

Although the text clearly states that the "Black Camel" trebuchet is a bolt-projecting machine, Iḥsān Hindī, who edited *Elegant Book,* asserts that "it is a type of trebuchet specifically designed for hurling stone-shot."[19] *Elegant Book* describes and illustrates three trebuchet incendiary bolts, providing detailed information on the type of projectiles that were discharged from a *qarābughrā*.[20] Three illustrations of the *qarābughrā* appear in *Elegant Book,* but they are difficult to interpret. The machine depicted is not designated a *qarābughrā,* but a *ziyār,* a machine identified in *Elegant Book* as a base-mounted, two-armed torsion catapult.[21] All three

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and range (ʻIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* ed. Aḥmad Huṭayṭ [Wiesbaden, 1983], 125). The trebuchet was apparently viewed as a metonymic extension of the human arm, since the trebuchet both closely resembles the human arm and operates in much the same way as the human arm. The long bone of the arm, the humerus, closely resembles the throwing arm of the trebuchet. The two thinner bones of the forearm, the radius and ulna, resemble the two sling cords of a trebuchet. The terminal part of the arm, the hand, bears a likeness to the pouch of the sling, since it both holds and releases the projectile. In addition, the mechanical properties of the human arm and the trebuchet have a marked resemblance to one another, because both the trebuchet and the human arm operate as a lever system. The pivoting motion of the trebuchet mimics the human arm in the act of throwing. The beam, resembling the humerus, pivots on its axle and sets in motion the sling, which is swung on its pivot around the extremity of the throwing arm, imitating the action of the elbow and the forearm. The energy flow process of the trebuchet and the human thrower is also similar. Potential energy given to the counterweight is converted into kinetic energy as it passes from the throwing arm to the sling and finally to the projectile. Similarly, energy supplied by muscle in the human thrower comes down the upper arm and acts to bend the arm at the elbow enabling the hand to move upward and downward in the act of throwing. For other parallels that contemporaries drew between human anatomy and the trebuchet, see Chevedden, "Artillery of King James I," 73–74, Pls. 14–15; Chevedden et al., "Traction Trebuchet," 446; and note 10 above and text.

[18]"Anīq," fol. 3v; *Anīq,* ed. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz, 26; *Anīq,* ed. Hindī, 45.

[19]*Anīq,* ed. Hindī, 46 n. 1. In his discussion of the bolt-projecting trebuchet, Hindī again insists that the *qarābughrā* launches stone-shot, while the *ziyār* launches bolts (*Anīq,* ed. Hindī, 94). Hindī also identifies the *qarābughrā* with the trestle-framed, stone-projecting trebuchet referred to as a "Turkish" trebuchet *(manjanīq turkī)* in *Elegant Book* (*Anīq,* ed. Hindī, 110).

[20]"Anīq," fols. 53v–54r; *Anīq,* ed. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz, 117–19; *Anīq,* ed. Hindī, 185–87.

[21]"Anīq," fol. 33r; *Anīq,* ed. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz, 73; *Anīq,* ed. Hindī, 109–10: a crude drawing of a *ziyār,* depicted as a bolt-projecting, two-armed torsion catapult mounted on a cruciform base, is shown together with a pole-framed traction trebuchet and a trestle-framed counterweight trebuchet atop a fortress tower. The projectile of the machine is a large bolt or shaft, identified by the term,

illustrations reveal an engine that is a true Frankenstein monster of medieval artillery. Two disparate species of artillery are combined in a single drawing. A torsion catapult and a bolt-projecting, trestle-framed trebuchet are united into one machine. The numerous drawings of trebuchets and other siege engines in *Elegant Book* indicate a high degree of technical competence, so the composite creations representing a bolt-projector do not appear to be the result of a casual or accidental act. Still less do they appear to be the result of inexperience or ineptitude on the part of the illustrator. Rather, it seems, the illustrator set out to deliberately produce in a single drawing two different types of bolt-projecting artillery used by the Mamluk army: the *ziyār* and the *qarābughrā.* Drawings of machines dating from the classical and medieval periods often incorporated multiple perspectives in the same figure. The draftsman could include, all in one diagram, the plan of a machine, its two side elevations, as well as its front and rear-elevations, making it very difficult for the modern researcher to interpret. Our illustrator has gone a step further and created a bastard machine by fusing two machines into one. This experiment, like Dr. Frankenstein′s, does not appear to have been very successful, although anyone with a sound knowledge of artillery construction would likely have been able to make out the meaning of the drawing.

Two of the illustrations of the bastard bolt-projector show a single, vertically-mounted torsion spring set in the center of one of the trusses of the trestle frame of a trebuchet (Figs. 7–8), while a third illustration shows a single, horizontally-mounted torsion spring positioned halfway up one of the trusses of a trestle-frame (Fig. 9). Although the illustrations are a fusion of incongruous elements, the features that are most characteristic of a *qarābughrā* predominate: a trestle framework, a beam with a counterweight fixed rigidly to its butt-end, a windlass for hauling down the beam, and a trough loaded with a bolt. The famous Sienese engineers Mariano di Iacopo, known as Taccola (1381–ca. 1458), and Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439–1502) have fortunately provided a number of fairly accurate illustrations of the ″Black Camel″ trebuchet.[22]

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kazz. This word may be derived from ξυσ–τον *(xus-ton),* the Greek term for ″shaft,″ ″spear-shaft,″ or ″spear.″ On *kazz,* mistranscribed as *karr,* see Abū al-Faraj ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʻAlī Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-al-Umam* (Hyderabad, 1360/1940), 10:169. The machine known as the *Kashk-anjīr* (″Battlement-Piercer″), a bolt-projecting, two-armed torsion catapult mounted on a cruciform base, is related structurally to the *ziyār* (″Anīq,″ fol. 23r, 33v, 35r; *Anīq,* ed. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz, 53, 74, 77; *Anīq,* ed. Hindī, 103–8). Al-Ṭarsūsī identifies the *ziyār* as a base-mounted bolt-projecting tension catapult. He describes and illustrates a single-bolt *ziyār,* a multiple-bolt *ziyār,* and a compound pulley for spanning a *ziyār* (*Tabṣirah fī al-Ḥurūb,* ed. Ṣādir, 118–23, 245–47, Figs. 1–3; Cahen, ″Traité,″ 108–10, 129–32, 151–52, Pl. 1, Figs. 1–3).

[22]Mariano Taccola, ″De ingeneis″ (ca. 1419–50), Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Codex CLM 197 II, fol. 68v: trebuchet with hinged counterweight launching a single bolt (reproduced in

THE BOLT-PROJECTING TREBUCHETS OF TACCOLA AND FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO

Taccola′s bolt-projector is a trestle-framed trebuchet with a hinged-counterweight (Fig. 10). The throwing arm terminates in a special four-pronged appendage that holds four ″sling″ ropes for the simultaneous discharge of four bolts. For simplicity′s sake, the illustrator has only drawn one of the bolts. Above the four-pronged appendage of the beam is an insert showing details of a two-tined fork for the throwing arm. A caption underneath the insert reads, ″It [the component shown above] shall be placed on the end of the beam *(mictatur in stilo istius pertice).″* Taccola′s illustration of the bolt-projecting trebuchet is the earliest depiction of the machine and the most accurate. The four-tined throwing arm shown in the illustration may have been a less than optimal design for the bolt-release mechanism, due to the close proximity of the ″sling″ ropes, but the two-tined fork that is depicted appears to be able to actuate the discharge of two bolts with adequate success.

Francesco di Giorgio′s illustration of a bolt-projecting trebuchet carries more than a caption title; it is accompanied by a full-length description of the machine,

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Mariano Taccola, *De ingeneis: Liber primus leonis, Liber secundus draconis, addenda*: *Books I and II, On Engines and Addenda [The Notebook],* ed. Gustina Scaglia, Frank D. Prager, Ulrich Montagsda [Wiesbaden, 1984], 1:86; 2:fol. 68v); Francesco di Giorgio Martini, ″Opusculum de architectura″ (ca. 1470–75), British Museum Department of Prints and Drawings 1947–1–17–2 (= London, British Museum Cod. Lat. 197 b 21), fol. 40r: trebuchet with hinged counterweight launching two bolts; Francesco di Giorgio, ″Codicetto″ (ca. 1470–90s), Biblioteca apostolica vaticana MS Vat. Urb. lat. 1757, fol. 99v: trebuchet with hinged counterweight and forked attachment at tip of beam launching two bolts (reproduced in Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Das Skizzenbuch des Francesco di Giorgio Martini: Vat. Urb. lat. 1757*, Belser faksimile Editionen aus der Biblioteca apostolica vaticana Codices e Vaticanis selecti quam simillime expressi iussu Ioannis Pauli PP II consilio et opera curatorum Bibliothecae Vaticanae, vol. 80 [Zurich, 1989], 2:99v); Francesco di Giorgio, ″Trattato I,″ copy (ca. 1480–1500), Biblioteca Reale di Torino Codex 148 Saluzzo, fol. 61v: trebuchet with fixed counterweight and forked attachment at tip of beam launching two bolts (reproduced in Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Trattati di architettura, ingegneria e arte militare,* ed. Corrado Maltese, Trattati di architettura, vol. 3 [Milan, 1967], 1:227 and Pl. 114); Anon. Sienese Engineer, Copybook Drawings, ca. 1470–90s, British Library Add. MS 34,113, fol. 133r: trebuchet with hinged counterweight launching two bolts with no forked appendage at tip of beam; Anon. Sienese Engineer, Copybook Drawings, ca. 1470–90s, British Library Add. MS 34,113, fol. 219v: trebuchet with hinged counterweight and forked appendage at tip of beam; and Anon. Raccolta Artist Engineer, ″Raccolta di città e macchine″ (ca. 1490s), Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Codex Magliabechiana II I 141 part 3, fol. 195v: trebuchet with fixed counterweight and forked attachment at tip of beam launching two bolts (reproduced in Chevedden, ″The Artillery of King James,″ Fig. 10). For information on the manuscripts and drawings of Francesco di Giorgio Martini, see Gustina Scaglia, *Francesco di Giorgio: Checklist and History of Manuscripts and Drawings in Autographs and Copies from ca. 1470 to 1687 and Renewed Copies (1764–1839)* (Bethlehem, Penn., and London, 1992).

which reads as follows:

> If we want to shoot bolts in another way, we first have to make a base frame composed of large and firmly-fastened beams of wood, above which two other beams of wood are nailed in an upright position and set a foot apart from each other. Between them [the uprights] is put a squared beam [counter]balanced like [the beam of] a trebuchet. The beam is twenty-five feet or more in length and has a [counterweight] box on top of its [butt-]end secured by iron straps. At the tip of the beam is a fork with three rings. The two lateral rings [of the fork] have a cord attached to them that is connected to the nock of the bolts, and the middle ring is connected to the serpentine lever [of the catch-and-trigger device], which is pulled up [to free the beam] after the beam has been elevated by a capstan. So, by elevating the [counterweight] box to the height at which gravitational energy [can be effectively employed], and by lifting the curved release, the bolts are discharged with great force because of the recoil of the [counterweight] box as it falls on the cords [stretched between the two uprights] below.[23]

Francesco′s illustration accompanying his description of the bolt-projecting trebuchet (Fig. 11) shows heavy cords wound around the lower portion of the uprights of the machine that act as a buffer for the descending beam. The buffer provides a safeguard against a movement of the beam that would damage the mechanical pull-back system of the throwing arm. This pull-back system is made up of two ropes that run from the top of the counterweight box to a capstan positioned behind the base frame of the machine. Incorporated in the system is a horizontal bar placed above the axle of the beam that redirects the ropes downward to the base frame where a set of rollers sends the ropes in the direction of the

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[23]Francesco di Giorgio, *Trattati di architettura,* 1:227: ″Se in altro modo i dardi trar vorremo, faccisi in prima un pavimento di grosse e ben commesse travi, sopra delle quali due altri diritti legni fermarai d′altezza piè vinti quattro, in distanzia uno piè dall′una e l′altra. Infra le quali una quadrata trave bilicata a guisa di trabocco, in longhezza piei vinticinque o più, in nella testa da piè una cassa con corregge di ferro collegata, e nella sua sommità uno forcone con tre anelli, e ai due che di fuore sono sia accomandato un pezzo di canape a ciascuno ch′el groppo loro a la bolgionella de′ dardi si riferischi, e all′anello di mezzo al lasso sia accomandato, ch′è dopo l′azar della tirata trave che all′argano tirare bisogna. Elevandosi la cassa dell′altezza della gravedine el lasso lassando i dardi potentemente trae per la repercussione della cadente cassa che ne′ canapi dappiè ribatte.″ I thank Silvia Orvietani Busch of the University of California at Los Angeles for her generous help in the translation of this passage. I alone am responsible for any errors.

capstan. This pull-back system fails to utilize the mechanical advantage that would be gained by the use of a lever. Worse, it requires the insertion of a cross-member that is placed in the direct path of the beam. A buffer must therefore halt the beam before it crashes into this component. This resolves one problem but creates another. With each discharge the beam would forcibly strike the buffer. Repeated blows would shake the machine apart. Design flaws—even catastrophic ones, such as this—are not altogether uncommon in the works of the great Italian Renaissance engineers, such as Taccola, Francesco di Giorgio, and Leonardo da Vinci. However, such flaws are not likely to have been repeated in workshops where heavy artillery was built. Here experienced craftsmen with a sound knowledge of artillery construction exercised control over production, not ″engineer-artists/authors″ whose kaleidoscopic interests occasionally overshot their technical skills.

Another problem with Francesco′s bolt-projecting trebuchet is the short span of the axle, a mere foot, which would have been quite detrimental to the lateral stability of the machine. Counterweight trebuchets were commonly constructed with wide axles to provide better lateral stability for the axle of the machine.[24] An axle measuring only a foot would have made it quite impossible for the counterweight box to pass between the uprights of the machine, despite the fact that Francesco′s illustration indicates that this was feasible. In addition, a gap of only a foot between the uprights does not provide adequate space for the two bolts positioned for launch at the base of the machine (Fig. 11). Another illustration of a bolt-projecting trebuchet, one by an anonymous artist-engineer that is based upon Francesco′s drawing, depicts a wider axle for the machine (Fig. 12). This axle is supported upon a trestle framework that is far more robust than the vertical posts depicted in Francesco′s drawing.

The anonymous artist-engineer has improved some features of Francesco′s machine and drawn others more distinctly. The release mechanism for the bolts in Francesco′s drawing is deficient in its details, making it impossible to determine how the bolts were discharged (Fig. 11). This feature is clearly represented by the anonymous artist-engineer. The device, identified by Francesco as a ″nock,″ is shown to consist of a tube, or sleeve, that is fitted over each of the bolts at the balance point (center of gravity). A notch on the upper side of the ″nock″ holds the loose end of the cords. The fixed end of the cords is attached to the outer prongs of the forked appendage at the end of the throwing arm of the trebuchet (Fig. 12). The bolts are projected during the launch cycle when the loose ends of the cords are freed from the ″nock.″ This device performs the same function as the ″hook″ on the bolts of Ibn Urunbughā′s machine (see above).

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[24]Chevedden et al., ″Traction Trebuchet,″ 447, 453–54.

The anonymous artist-engineer has provided Francesco′s machine with a more efficient mechanical pull-back system for the throwing arm, one that utilizes leverage. A single rope, threaded through a roller at the base of the machine, runs from the end of the beam to the capstan. The catch-and-trigger device for both machines consists of an S-shaped (serpentine) lever that is pivoted backward. This device is so crudely depicted in Francesco′s original drawing that the lever cannot be pivoted backward (Fig. 11), but the anonymous artist-engineer has delineated it accurately so that it can be turned (Fig. 12).

One component that remains unchanged is the buffer. Since the version of the machine drawn by the anonymous artist-engineer has no cross-member obstructing the path of the beam, the sole purpose of the buffer is to stop the throwing arm before it reaches a fully upright position. Francesco apparently believed that the recoil of the counterweight box against this buffer served in some way to discharge the bolts. In fact, such recoil would shake the machine to pieces. Furthermore, it is not the breaking action of the buffer and the recoil of the beam that effects the discharge of the bolts, but gravitational energy as it flows from the counterweight box to the beam, to the cords, and finally to the bolts. The presence of the buffer seems to indicate that Francesco held the view that the pivoting beam of the trebuchet must be halted before it reached a fully vertical position in order for the bolts to fly free from the two cords attached to the throwing arm. The buffer prevents the full range of the beam′s rotation from being utilized to hurl the bolts, since the buffer halts the beam before it can reach a fully upright position. Taccola′s drawing of the bolt-projecting trebuchet shows no such buffer for the beam (Fig. 10), and Ibn Urunbughā makes no mention of one in his description of the *qarābughrā* (see above).[25] It is unlikely, therefore, that the bolt-projecting trebuchet was furnished with a buffer for the beam, a device that would have hampered the operation of the machine.

Nomenclature of the ″Black Camel″ Trebuchet

The nomenclature of the ″Black Camel″ trebuchet presents a problem. Ibn Urunbughā is almost alone in identifying the bolt-projecting trebuchet by the term ″Black Camel″ *(qarābughrā)*. The only other Arabic work that adopts this designation for the bolt-projecting machine is *Sīrat al-Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Mankubirtī* by Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Nasawī, which was produced in a Persian cultural milieu.[26] All other Arabic historical sources refer to this engine as the ″Black Bull″

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[25]On the question of whether Francesco′s bolt projecting trebuchet, as well as many of his other ″ingenious devices,″ were ever meant to be actually operated, see Scaglia, *Francesco di Giorgio,* 9–10. For Taccola′s drawing of the bolt-projecting trebuchet, see note 22 above.

[26]Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Nasawī, *Sīrat al-Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Mankubirtī,* ed. Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad

(qarābughā) trebuchet, a corruption of the original term.[27] *Qarābughrā* is clearly the parent term, since *Elegant Book,* a technical treatise, employs this word, as does the first historical source to refer to the bolt-projecting trebuchet, al-Nasawī's *Sīrat Jalāl al-Dīn*. The romance cognate *caraboha* and its kindred terms *carabouha, carabaga, carabaccani,* and *carabachani* are all derived from *qarābughā* ("Black Bull"),[28] not from *qarābughrā* ("Black Camel").

The Turkish name for the bolt-projecting trebuchet may be linked to an association of the trebuchet with the camel that is also found in Arabic. One of the Arabic synonyms for a trestle-framed trebuchet *(manjanīq)* was *khaṭṭārah,* a word applied originally to a stallion-camel engaged in the action termed *khaṭarān,* the raising of its tail time after time which happens during bouts with rival camels. A connection was made in Arabic between the camel's tail being raised repeatedly and the motion of the throwing arm of a trebuchet as it goes through its launch cycle.[29] Although it seems sensible to establish a link between the camel-trebuchet connection in Arabic and that in Turkish, there is no absolute necessity to postulate such a relationship. The Turkish language appears to have associated the camel with the trebuchet in a semantic context related to the power of the machine, not to its operation. The camel stallion was one of the totem animals of the Turks, and this fact alone may explain why it was coupled with the most powerful form of artillery. The Turkish dynasty of the Ilek-Khans or Qarakhanids, which ruled over the regions of Eastern and Western Turkestan from 992 to 1212, commonly used

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Ḥamdī (Cairo, 1953), 303.

27David Ayalon, "Ḥiṣār," *EI²,* 3:473.

28The word *bughā* is the Arabic form of the Turkish term for bull, *buğa* or *buka* (Clauson, *Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish,* 312).

29Edward W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, (London, 1863–93), s.v. *khaṭara;* Hill, "Trebuchets," 100; and Kennedy, *Armies of the Caliphs,* 110. When the Umayyad Caliph Yazīd I besieged Mecca in 64/683, he employed a trestle-framed, traction trebuchet called *Umm Farwah* (Mother of Hair) that was described by the poet al-Zubayr ibn Khuzaymah al-Khath'amī as a *khaṭṭārah:* "raising its tail [i.e., beam] like a raging stallion camel *(khaṭṭārah mithla al-fanīq al-muzbid)"* (Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-al-Mulūk [Annales]*, ed. Michael Jan de Goeje et al., 3 series, 15 vols. [Leiden, 1879–1901], 2:426 [the reference is to series and page number, not to volume and page number]; idem, *Tārīkh,* trans. I. K. A. Howard, *The History of al-Ṭabarī [Tārīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk],* vol. 19, *The Caliphate of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah,* SUNY Series in Near Eastern Studies, Bibliotheca Persica [Albany, 1990], 224). The poet Abū Ya'qūb al-Khuraymī also refers to the trebuchet as a *khaṭṭārah* in his description of defensive artillery at Baghdad during al-Ma'mūn's siege of the city in 197–98/812–13. "In every gated street and on every side," the poet relates, was a *khaṭṭārah* that launched stone-shot the size of a man's head, and the barrage was so intense that the projectiles resembled "flocks of dusky sand grouse taking flight in commotion" (al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh,* 3:877; idem, *Tārīkh,* trans. Michael Fishbein, *The History of al-Ṭabarī (Tārīkh al-rusul wa'l-mulūk),* vol. 31, *The War Between Brothers*, SUNY Series in Near Eastern Studies, Bibliotheca Persica [Albany, 1992], 145–46).

a totemistic title formed from the term for a camel stallion, Bughra Khān.[30] The Turkish prefix *qarā-* (literally ″black″) carries the figurative meaning of ″strong″ or ″powerful″ and serves to intensify the meaning of *bughrā,* a term which on its own communicates the idea of power actively and efficiently displayed. Since the trebuchet was an instrument of enormous power, it was given a name in Turkish that symbolized great physical strength and energy.

The Turkish origin of the term *qarābughrā* suggests a Turco-Islamic origin for the bolt-projecting trebuchet. It may have emerged in the sultanate of the Great Saljuqs or in one of the Atabeg or Turkish principalities of western Asia. Alternatively, the Qarakhanids, who made the camel part of their regnal titles, may have invented the machine. As the western realms of the Qarakhanids passed into Saljuq and Khwarazm Shah spheres of influence, these two states may have acquired the bolt-projecting trebuchet and effected its diffusion westward.

THE ″BLACK CAMEL″ TREBUCHET IN MIDDLE EASTERN HISTORICAL SOURCES

Arabic historical chronicles identify the *qarābughrā,* usually under its corrupt form *qarābughā,* as being used in six sieges. In 626/1229, the last Khwarazm-Shah, Jalāl al-Dīn Mengübirti, became the first recorded military leader to employ a *qarābughrā* in his six-month siege of Akhlāṭ.[31] When the Ayyubid Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb laid siege to Homs in the winter of 646/1248–49, he employed a battery of artillery consisting of two trestle-framed, counterweight trebuchets—a bolt-projecting *qarābughrā* and a stone-projecting *manjanīq maghribī* (Western Islamic trebuchet)—and twelve ″Devilish″ traction machines *(majānīq al-shayṭānīyah).*[32] In 684/1285, the Mamluk Sultan Qalāwūn besieged the Hospitaller fortress of al-Marqab (Margat) with three *qarābughrā*s, three *bricola*s, identified as ″Frankish″ or ″European″ trebuchets *(majānīq firanjīyah),* and four traction trebuchets *(majānīq shayṭānīyah).*[33] In 688/1289, he attacked the

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[30]Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties: A Chronological and Genealogical Manual* (New York, 1996), 181–84; idem, ″Ilek-Khāns,″ *EI²,* 3:1113–17; *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, ed. Aḥmad H. Dani and Vadim M. Masson, vol. 4, *The Age of Achievement, A.D. 750 to the End of the Fifteenth Century*, pt. 1, *The Historical, Social and Economic Setting*, ed. M. S. Asimov and C. E. Bosworth (Paris, 1998), 121.

[31]Al-Nasawī, *Sīrat Jalāl al-Dīn,* 303.

[32]Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sālim Ibn Wāṣil, ″Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb,″ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS fonds arabe 1703, fol. 61r. Al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb′s *manjanīq maghribī* threw stone-shot against Homs weighing 140 Syrian *raṭl*s (259 kg or 571 lb). On the ″Devilish″ trebuchet *(manjanīq shayṭānī),* see Chevedden, ″Artillery of King James I,″ 61, and note 58 below and text.

[33]Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf al-Ayyām wa-al-ʿUṣūr fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr,* ed. Murād Kāmil and Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Najjār (Cairo, 1961), 78.

Crusader port city of Tripoli with a battery of nineteen counterweight trebuchets composed of thirteen *qarābughrā*s and six *bricola*s *(ifranjīyah)*.[34] After Qalāwūn's death, his son and successor, Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl, took up the siege of Acre, which his father had already set in motion. In 690/1291, he unleashed a deadly artillery attack against this heavily defended Crusader stronghold using a battery of seventy-two trebuchets, which included a complement of *qarābughrā*s alongside fifteen *bricola*s and fifty-two traction machines.[35] During the following year, in 691/1292, al-Ashraf Khalīl conquered the mighty fortress of Qal'at al-Rūm with a battery of artillery comprised of five *qarābughrā*s, five *bricola*s *(majānīq firanjīyah),* and fifteen traction trebuchets *(majānīq shayṭānīyah)*.[36] Rarely do the historical

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[34]Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Aybak al-Dawādārī, known as Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmi' al-Ghurar,* vol. 8, *Al-Durrah al-Zakīyah fī Akhbār al-Dawlah al-Turkīyah,* ed. Ulrich Haarmann (Cairo and Wiesbaden, 1971), 283; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,* vol. 31, ed. al-Bāz al-'Arīnī (Cairo, 1992), 47; and Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt,* ed. Costi K. Zurayk and Nejla Izzedin, vols. 7–9, Publications of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of the American University of Beirut, Oriental Series, nos. 9–10, 14, 17 (Beirut, 1936–42), 8:80.

[35]Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Abū Bakr al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Anbā'ihi wa-Wafayāt al-Akābir wa-al-A'yān min Abnā'ih: al-Ma'rūf bi-Tārīkh Ibn al-Jazarī (min Wafayāt Sanat 689 ḥattá Ḥawādith Sanat 699 H),* ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Sidon, 1998), 1:45; Quṭb al-Dīn Mūsá ibn Muḥammad al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān,* ed. Antranig Melkonian, *Die Jahre 1287–1291 in der Chronik al-Yūnīnīs* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1975), 86 (Arabic text), 163 (trans.); Muḥammad Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *'Uyūn al-Tawārīkh: Sanawāt 688–699 H,* ed. Nabīlah 'Abd al-Mun'im Dāwūd (Baghdad, 1991), 71; and Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 8:112. See the excellent article by Donald P. Little, which analyzes the Arabic accounts of the siege of Acre in great detail, "The Fall of 'Akkā in 690/1291: The Muslim Version," in *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon,* ed. Moshe Sharon (Jerusalem and Leiden, 1986), 159–81. Little's student Andreas D'Sousa has also produced an important study of the siege of Acre comparing Christian and Muslim sources, "The Conquest of 'Akkā (690/1291): A Comparative Analysis of Christian and Muslim Sources," *Muslim World* 80 (July–October 1990): 234–50.

[36]Al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 1:109; *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensultane in den Jahren 690–741 der Higra, nach arabischen Handschriften,* ed. Karl V. Zetterstéen (Leiden, 1919), 16; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 8:333; Mufaḍḍal Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd wa-al-Durr al-Farīd fīmā ba'da Tārīkh Ibn al-'Amīd,* ed. and trans. Edgar Blochet, "Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks," *Patrologia Orientalis* 14, no. 3 (1920): 553; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 226; and Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 8:136. All of the accounts of the siege of Qal'at al-Rūm that provide an enumeration of the several types of trebuchets used against this castle suffer from textual corruption. The most authoritative account appears to be that of al-Jazarī, who relates information received from two eyewitnesses to the siege, Amir Shams al-Dīn Abū al-Bayyān, known as Ibn al-Miḥaffadār, Amīr Jandār (armor bearer or guard officer), and his son Amir Sayf al-Dīn. The version of the siege in the anonymous chronicle edited by Zetterstéen is based on al-Jazarī's account, and the later accounts of the siege by Ibn al-Dawādārī and the Christian historian al-Mufaḍḍal Ibn Abī

sources give an enumeration of the different types of artillery used in a siege, so the actual use of *qarābughrā*s was probably far more numerous than the extant sources suggest.

al-Faḍā'il, appear to be unsuccessful attempts to resolve the textual problems of al-Jazarī's original (debased) narrative. Al-Jazarī's enumeration of the different trebuchets at Qal'at al-Rūm omits the number "five" before the second substantive in the list of three types of machines: "nuṣiba 'alayhā min al-majānīq khams majānīq ifranjīyah wa-qarābughā wa-shayṭānīyah khamsata 'ashr manjanīqan." Since the anonymous author, Ibn al-Dawādārī, and al-Mufaḍḍal Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il all state that five *qarābughrā*s were positioned on the western side of the castle, it is evident that there were five *qarābughrā*s at the siege, and that al-Jazarī's enumeration of artillery should be interpreted as entailing five "Frankish" trebuchets *(khams majānīq ifranjīyah),* or *bricola*s, five bolt-projecting trebuchets *(qarābughā),* and fifteen traction trebuchets *(shayṭānīyah khamsata ashr manjanīqan).* The ungrammatical phrase, *min al-gharbīyah jihat qarābughā,* that appears in al-Jazarī's description of the artillery at Qal'at al-Rūm should be amended to read, *min al-jihah al-gharbīyah khamsat qarābughā* ("on the western side [of the castle] were five *qarābughrā*s"), which follows, exactly or approximately, the phraseology found in the accounts of the anonymous author, Ibn al-Dawādārī, and al-Mufaḍḍal Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il. The attempts by authors after al-Jazarī to provide an accurate tally of the number of trebuchets used against Qal'at al-Rūm were unsuccessful. Ibn al-Dawādārī and al-Mufaḍḍal Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, either confused by al-Jazarī's phraseology or the corrupt nature of his text, set the number at nineteen (Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 8:333; Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Al-Nahj,* 553). Al-Nuwayrī and Ibn al-Furāt did better and came to a total of twenty trebuchets (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 226; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 8:136), while al-'Aynī came closest to the mark with a tally of twenty-three trebuchets (Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān: 'Aṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk,* vol. 3, *Ḥawādith wa-Tarājim, 689–698 H/1290–1298 M,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn [Cairo, 1989], 113).

The "Black Camel" *(Qarābughrā)* Trebuchet Used Together with Other Pieces of Military Ordnance in Thirteenth-Century Sieges

Date	Siege of	Besieged by	Artillery
626/1229	Akhlāṭ	Jalāl al-Dīn Mengübirti	1 *qarābughrā*
646/1248–49	Homs	al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb	1 *qarābughrā* 1 Western Islamic trebuchet *(manjanīq maghribī)* that hurled stone-shot weighing 140 Syrian *raṭl*s (259 kg or 571 lb) 12 "Devilish" traction trebuchets *(majānīq al-shayṭānīyah)*
684/1285	al-Marqab	Qalāwūn	3 *qarābughrā*s 3 *bricola*s (*majānīq firanjīyah*) 4 ""Devilish" traction trebuchets *(majānīq al-shayṭānīyah)*
688/1289	Tripoli	Qalāwūn	13 *qarābughrā*s 6 *bricola*s *(ifranjīyah)*
690/1291	Acre	al-Ashraf Khalīl	5 *qarābughrā*s 15 *bricola*s (*majānīq al-kibār al-ifranjīyah*) that hurled stone-shot weighing one Damascene *qinṭār* or more (185 kg or 408 lb +) 52 "Devilish" traction trebuchets *(majānīq al-shayṭānīyah)* an unspecified number of traction-powered pole-framed "Playthings" *(lu'ab)*
691/1292	Qal'at al-Rūm	al-Ashraf Khalīl	5 *qarābughrā*s 5 *bricola*s *(majānīq firanjīyah)* 15 "Devilish" traction trebuchets *(majānīq al-shayṭānīyah)*

THE TACTICAL ROLE OF THE "BLACK CAMEL" TREBUCHET

Judging from its employment in the six important sieges mentioned above and its likely use in other sieges, it seems reasonable to assume that the *qarābughrā* played a useful role in most of the major sieges undertaken by the Mamluks in the thirteenth century. Unfortunately, the historical sources provide no hints about the tactical use of this piece of artillery. What purpose did the "Black Camel" trebuchet serve? As a piece of artillery for shooting flaming bolts, it was perfectly suited for destroying the protective screens that shielded fortifications from stone-shot discharged from trebuchets. To protect defensive circuits in the Middle Ages, load-bearing curtains, or screens, were hung down over the walls on beams of wood projecting about a meter from the battlements. These screens were commonly composed of netting overlaid with cushioning material that served to deaden the impact of stones cast by artillery.[37] Since stone-shot of heavy artillery could only take effect on exposed masonry, it was essential for besiegers to destroy the protective screens in order to knock down walls with artillery safely from a distance. With the introduction of the counterweight trebuchet, the breaching capacity of artillery was greatly enhanced. Besiegers found that they could not only use the new ordnance to batter walls safely from a distance, but they could also—with a few minor adjustments, as indicated by Ibn Urunbughā—use this

[37]On the use of protective screens in premodern warfare, see Paul E. Chevedden, "The Citadel of Damascus," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1986, 1:194–97; idem, "Artillery of King James I," 79 and Pl. 12; Robert I. Burns and Paul E. Chevedden, *Negotiating Cultures: Bilingual Surrender Treaties in Muslim-Crusader Spain under James the Conqueror*, The Medieval Mediterranean, vol. 22 (Leiden, 1999), 176–77; Needham and Yates, *Science and Civilization in China*, 5:6:398–413; and Lawrence*, Greek Aims in Fortification,* 59, 64, 103–5. Several types of protective screens were employed in China during the Warring States Period (403–222 B.C.E.). These are described in the book *Mozi* (Book of Master Mo), dating from the fourth century B.C.E., and are analyzed in Yates, "Siege Engines and Late Zhou Military Technology," 420–23. Philo of Byzantium, writing around 200 B.C.E., discusses the use of screens on fortifications (Lawrence, *Greek Aims in Fortifications,* 105), as does Vegetius and an anonymous sixth-century Byzantine author (Flavius Vegetius Renatus, *Epitoma rei militaris,* ed. and trans. Leo F. Stelten [New York, 1990], 4.23; *Three Byzantine Military Treatise,* George T. Dennis, ed. and trans. [Washington, D.C., 1985], 43). In the Islamic world, a discussion of protective screens *(satā'ir,* sing. *sitārah)* can be found in Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Ṭabīb, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, trans. Étienne Quatremère, Collection orientale, manuscrits inédits de la Bibliothèque royale (Paris, 1836; repr., Amsterdam, 1968), 286–87; Abū al-Sa'īd al-Harthamī, *Mukhtaṣar fī Siyāsat al-Ḥurūb,* ed. 'Ārif Aḥmad 'Abd al-Ghanī, Silsilat Kutub al-Turāth, vol. 5 (Damascus, 1995), 61 *(sutar);* 'Alī ibn Bakr al-Harawī, *Al-Tadhkirah al-Harawīyah fī al-Ḥiyal al-Ḥarbīyah,* ed. and trans. Janine Sourdel-Thomine, "Les conseils du šayḫ al-Harawi à un prince ayyūbide," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 17 (1961–62): 239 (trans.), 243; and al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abd Allāh al-'Abbāsī, *Āthār al-Uwal fī Tartīb al-Duwal,* ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Umayrah (Beirut, 1989), 368 (on fixed fortifications), 372 (on ships).

artillery to destroy protective screens safely from a distance.[38] The trestle-framed counterweight trebuchet appears to have been adapted for this task. Although crossbows could also be used to shoot flaming bolts, their smaller projectiles were less likely to cause a conflagration that would consume the protective screen due to incendiary-proofing measures taken by defenders. These measures included soaking the protective screens in fire-retardant liquid and pouring water down from the battlements. An immense incendiary bolt launched by a *qarābughrā* facilitated rapid combustion by the release of the stored energy in its pyrotechnic mixture. If trebuchets could lodge a sufficient number of flaming bolts in a protective screen, a serious outbreak of fire would result that was capable of setting a protective screen ablaze. Aside from being well adapted for the task of destroying protective screens, the *qarābughrā* was equally suited for raining fire from heaven upon besieged towns and fortresses, but this does not appear to have been its primary function. Rounded fire-pots released from the sling of a trebuchet were quite capable of setting ablaze the interior parts of cities and castles, but only flaming bolts were capable of cleaving to a protective screen, thereby allowing combustion to spread and fire to consume the defensive shield of a masonry wall.[39] As a destroyer of protective screens, the *qarābughrā* appears to have filled a special niche in the medieval siege arsenal.

This is one possible route by which the idea of the bolt-projecting trebuchet may have been arrived at. On the other hand, this piece of artillery could have been invented to serve a defensive function and been subsequently adapted to perform in an offensive capacity. The defensive value of bolt-projecting artillery, particularly against approach-works, such as filling-mantlets, digging-mantlets, ram-mantlets, and mobile siege-towers, as well as against hostile artillery and densely packed groups of soldiers, is quite obvious. The fiery-bolt launched by a *qarābughrā* had the great advantage of being able to stick to wooden equipment and set it ablaze. Whatever in fact prompted the development of the bolt-projecting

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[38]On the introduction of the counterweight trebuchet, see Chevedden, "Invention of the Counterweight Trebuchet."

[39]Ibn Urunbughā offers the following instructions for launching fire-pots *(qudūr al-nafṭ)* and other rounded incendiary missiles from a trebuchet: "If you want to shoot a pot *(qidrah)* filled with naphtha *(nafṭ)* and *lizāqāt* [sticky gums or resins], a pot of quicklime *(kils)* and smoke pots *(dakhkhānāt),* or a stone of a trebuchet packed with naphtha *(nafṭ),* first of all, take the oil of the radish *(mā' al-fujl)* or mica *(talq)* dissolved in strong vinegar *(khall al-'atīq)* and wet [some] felt in [this]. [Then], stitch this felt in the pouch *(kaffah)* of the trebuchet and [on] the cords *(sawā'id)* [of the sling] up to their middle. Put the [fire-]pot *(qidrah)* in it [the pouch] and launch it, and it will burn what you want." ("Anīq," fol. 18r; *Anīq,* ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz, 24–25; *Anīq,* ed. Hindī, 44–45).
For additional descriptions, as well as illustrations, of trebuchets hurling fire-pots, see al-Rammāḥ, *Furūsīyah,* 114–18, Figs. 66, 67, 68, 71.

trebuchet, it seems certain that defending, as well as attacking, forces could readily make use of this piece of artillery.

Baybars al-Manṣūrī describes, with great rhetorical flourish, the incendiary projectiles that the Mamluks launched against Acre in 690/1291. The ″Islamic trebuchets″ *(majānīq al-islāmīyah),* he says, shot stones ″resembling stunning thunderbolts″ *(ka-al-ṣawā'iq al-ṣā'iqah)* and hurled bolts ″bearing the likeness of gleaming flashes of lightning″ *(ka-al-bawāriq al-bāriqah).*[40] His description of the stone-shot conveys the image of a flash of lightning viewed as an intensely hot solid body moving rapidly through the air before striking something. Ibn Urunbughā describes stone-shot perforated with holes to contain naphtha *(nafṭ)* that easily fits this image.[41] Baybars may be referring to this type of projectile or to any incendiary device having the shape of rounded stone-shot. His depiction of the bolts as ″gleaming flashes of lightning″ conveys the image of an electrical storm that rains down destruction by means of bolts or darts. There can be little doubt that Baybars is referring here to incendiary missiles hurled by bolt-projecting trebuchets.[42] Although there is no direct evidence that the Mamluk *qarābughrā*s were used to destroy the protective screens at Acre, we can be fairly certain that the defenses of the city were equipped with these devices. The inhabitants of Acre had a full seven months to prepare for the Mamluk siege, and Arabic sources note that they prepared the city extremely well for an assault. Al-'Aynī affirms that when Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl reached Acre during the first ten day of Rabī' II/4–13 April, ″he found it fortified with all kinds of equipment and siege machines.″[43] Since the outfitting of defenses with protective screens was a normal measure taken by besieged forces in the Middle Ages, we can assume that the defenders furnished the walls and towers of Acre with these screens. Their absence would certainly have merited a comment in the Arabic sources. Baybars al-Manṣūrī, an eyewitness to the siege, states that the inhabitants of Acre were so convinced of their ability to withstand a siege, due to the defensive measures that they had taken to fortify the towers and walls, that ″they did not even close the gates of the city, nor even

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[40]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah,* ed. Donald S. Richards, Nasharāt al-Islāmīyah, vol. 42 (Beirut, 1998), 279; Little, ″Fall of 'Akkā,″ 172.

[41]See note 39 above, and ″Anīq,″ fol. 54r–54v; *Anīq,* ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz, 119–21; *Anīq,* ed. Hindī, 188–91, where Ibn Urunbughā describes three types of ″flaming″ stones, i.e., rounded stone-shot drilled with holes to contain naphtha and other inflammable substances.

[42]For an alternate view, see Little, ″Fall of 'Akkā,″ 172, where Baybars al-Manṣūrī′s description of the missiles hurled by trebuchets is credited to rhetorical exaggeration.

[43]Al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān,* 57: ″fa-wajadahā qad taḥaṣṣanat bi-sā'ir al-'udad wa-al-ālāt.″ Here, ″equipment″ *('udad,* sing. *'uddah)* would include protective screens, and ″siege machines″ *(ālāt,* sing. *ālah)* would imply artillery as well as other siege engines.

hang down a protective screen *(ḥijāb)* in front of the gates."[44] Baybars's observation is quite revealing. It indicates that the defenders properly prepared their city for a siege, which would certainly have entailed the use of protective screens. It shows the supreme confidence of the inhabitants in the defensive measures that they had taken to protect the city from siege, but, more importantly, it discloses that the confidence, or "indifference" *('adam al-mubālāh bi-al-muḥāṣarah),* that they exhibited had its limits. It only extended to leaving the gates of the city open and not hanging protective screens in front of the gates. Had this confidence been more robust and involved leaving the city walls and towers bereft of protective screens, Baybars would doubtless have commented on this fact.

The specialized function to which the *qarābughrā* was put hardly precludes other uses for the machine. Ibn Urunbughā describes the *qarābughrā* as a modified stone-projecting, trestle-framed counterweight trebuchet. As such, it could easily be restored to its original condition as a stone-projecting piece of artillery. Once it had completed its primary task of reducing the protective screens to ashes, the *qarābughrā* could be refitted with a sling without any difficulty and put into action as a stone-projector. This may explain why Western European accounts of the *qarābughrā* mention it as being employed solely as a stone-projector (see below).

The "Black Camel" Trebuchet in Western European Historical Sources

Western European sources that refer to the *qarābughrā* cite it as being used by the Mamluks in only two sieges: the siege of Tripoli in 688/1289[45] and the siege of Acre in 690/1291.[46] The Mamluk conquest of these two great port cities effectively brought an end to Latin rule in Syria. The machine is designated by its romance

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[44]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 279; Little, "Fall of 'Akkā," 171–72. The use of the term *ḥijāb,* rather than *sitārah* (sing.) or *satā'ir* (pl.), for a protective screen draped in front a gate seems to indicate that protective screens were differentiated in Arabic on the basis of size. A small screen hung in front of a gate was denoted by the term *ḥijāb,* while a large screen hung in front of a curtain wall or tower was generally referred to by the plural word for screen, *satā'ir*.

[45]"Les Gestes des Chiprois," in *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Documents arméniens* (Paris, 1869–1906), 2:no. 476 (*carabohas*).

[46]"Ibid., no. 491 (*carabouhas*); *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi,* vol. 1, *Chronique d'Amadi,* ed. René de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1891), 220; Marino Sanudo, "Liber secretorum fidelium crucis super Terrae Sanctae recuperatione et conservaione," in *Gesta Dei per Francos,* ed. Jacques Bongars (Hanau, 1611), 2:230 (*carabagas*); John of Ypres, *Chronicon Sythiense Sancti Bertini,* in *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum,* ed. Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand (Paris, 1717), 3:770E (*carabagas*); and Florio Bustron, *Chronique de l'île de Chypre,* ed. René de Mas Latrie, in Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques (France), *Mélanges historiques: Choix de documents*, Collection des documents inédits sur l'histoire de la France, Mélanges historiques (Paris, 1873–86), 5:120 *(carabaccani).*

cognate *caraboha* or kindred terms (derived from *qarābughrā* through its corrupt form *qarābughā*), but no reference is made to it being used to hurl bolts, flaming or otherwise. According to the accounts of the siege of Acre by Marino Sanudo, John of Ypres, and Florio Bustron, the *caraboha* hurled large stones. The so-called ″Templar of Tyre,″ who authored *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, contends that ″*caraboha*s are small traction-powered Turkish trebuchets that have a rapid rate of discharge.″[47] The anonymous *Chronique d′Amadi,* which is dependent on *Les Gestes,* depicts *carabachani* as light artillery with a rapid sequence of discharge used for clearing the battlements of defenders.[48] The first three authors may have applied the term to an actual bolt-projecting trebuchet *(qarābughrā)* that had been refitted to launch stone-shot. Alternately, the authors may have confused the trestle-framed, bolt-projecting trebuchet *(qarābughrā)* with the gravity-powered, pole-framed trebuchet known as the *bricola.* According to al-Yūnīnī, the Mamluks employed fifteen ″big″ (i.e., counterweighted) *bricola*s *(majānīq al-kibār al-ifranjīyah)* against Acre, which hurled stone-shot weighing one Damascene *qinṭār* or more (185 kg or 408 lb +).[49] The ″Templar of Tyre,″ on the other hand, has probably mistaken the *qarābughrā* trebuchets for the numerous traction trebuchets used by the Muslims at Acre (see below), which had an extremely rapid sequence of discharge.[50] This misidentification of the *qarābughrā* has led Christopher Marshall to conclude that this machine is a hand-held sling used for hurling stones.[51] Other scholars, such as Charles Dufresne Du Cange, Henry Yule, and Eugène Martin-Chabot, have associated the *qarābughrā* with the hybrid trebuchet called a *calabre* in French.[52]

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[47]″Gestes des Chiprois,″ 2:no. 491: ″Qarabouhas, que sont engins petis turqueis quy se tirent as mains.″

[48]*Chroniques d′Amadi,* 220: ″. . . et il quarto dì da poi venuto fece drizar ripari in molti lochi et fece metter grandi ingegni et machine et caravachani, che gittavano spesso li muri della terra.″ Andreas D′Souza identifies both the *carabachani* in the *Chroniques d′Amadi* and the *caraboha* in *Les Gestes* as ″catapults″ and considers them to be different machines (D′Sousa, ″Conquest of ʻAkkā,″ 242 and n. 62).

[49]Al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl,* 86 (Arabic text), 162 (trans.). The editor of *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān,* Antranig Melkonian, incorrectly gives the weight of stone-shot launched by the Mamluk *bricola*s as 44.93 kilograms (99.05 lb.), by assuming that one Damascene *qinṭār* (185 kg or 408 lb) is equivalent to 100 Egyptian *raṭl*s (al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl,* 162 n. 7 [trans.]). Little accepts Melkonian′s calculation and drastically underestimates the weight of stone-shot hurled by the *bricola*s (Little, ″Fall of ʻAkkā,″ 171). On the Damascene *qinṭār,* a weight of 100 Syrian *raṭl*s of 1.85 kilograms, see Walther Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte umgerechnet ins metrische System* (Leiden, 1970), 26, 30.

[50]Al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl,* 86 (Arabic text), 162–63 (trans.): ″majānīq al-shayṭānīyah wa-al-laʻab″; al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd al-Jumān,* 58: ″majānīq ithnān wa-khamsūn manjanīqan shayṭānīyan.″

[51]Christopher Marshall, *Warfare in the Latin East, 1192–1291* (Cambridge, 1992), 214, 234.

[52]Charles Dufresne Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* (Niort, 1883–87), s.v.

Mamluk Light Artillery at the Siege of Acre

The account of the Mamluk artillery at Acre found in *Les Gestes* appears to be contradictory. We are told that the light artillery, identified by the "Templar of Tyre" as *caraboha*s, "did more harm to our men than the heavy artillery."[53] This statement does not mean to imply that the small caliber machines caused more damage than the large caliber machines. Light artillery would certainly not have inflicted more damage than heavy artillery, but large numbers of small trebuchets deployed in batteries could put down a tremendous barrage against defending forces. By producing a concentrated hail of missiles, light artillery served to neutralize the defenders on the battlements so that heavy artillery could engage in its work of destruction while siege-works and machinery were advanced against fortified positions. Given the slow sequence of discharge of the counterweight trebuchet, its effective use in siege operations required the deployment of sufficient numbers of light traction-powered trebuchets capable of delivering sustained volleys of small shot that would send defenders diving for cover. By putting down a heavy barrage against defending forces, the light artillery enabled heavy artillery to bombard strongpoints with virtual impunity. The anti-personnel use of light artillery also facilitated the approach of siege-engines and assault-works. Since the light artillery was employed specifically to kill or injure human beings, it would have taken from Acre a heavy toll of its defenders, thereby eliciting the seemingly paradoxical remark by the "Templar of Tyre." Both the Latinate and Arabic descriptions of the siege of Acre indicate that Muslim light artillery provided neutralizing shooting that gave support to heavy artillery and mining operations by keeping the defenders at bay.[54]

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calabra; Marco Polo, *Book of Ser Marco Polo,* 2:168; William of Tudela and anonymous, *La Chanson de la croisade Albigeoise,* ed. Eugène Martin-Chabot, Les classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge, vols. 13, 24–25 (Paris, 1931–61), 3:59. On the *calabre* as a hybrid trebuchet, see Chevedden, "Hybrid Trebuchet," 210–11.

[53]"Gestes des Chiprois," 2:no. 491: "Qarabouhas . . . faizoient plus de maus a la gent que les grans engins."

[54]Amadi's chronicle claims that bombardment from the Mamluk *carabachani* neutralized the defenders on the battlements of the Tower of the King, or the Accursed Tower, thereby allowing the besiegers to undermine it (*Chroniques d'Amadi,* 221). *Les Gestes* provides additional details on the Mamluk mining operations ("Gestes des Chiprois," 2:nos. 491, 493). Al-Yūnīnī indicates that the artillery destroyed the tops of the towers and the walls (al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl,* 87 [Arabic text], 163 [trans.]), and al-'Aynī describes how the trebuchets tore away the battlements and shook the denuded curtain walls in order to bring about their collapse (al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān,* 60). With the battlements sheared off, the defenders along the rampart walk of the curtain walls and the towers were completely exposed to the hail of missiles being directed at them by the besieging Mamluk army. The Mamluks were able to easily undermine the walls of the city

Fifty-two of the Mamluk trebuchets at Acre, according to al-ʿAynī, were traction-powered machines called ″Devilish″ trebuchets *(manjanīq shayṭānī).*[55] Al-Yūnīnī states that three varieties of trebuchets were used in great numbers: ″Devilish″ machines, ″Playthings,″ and *qarābughrā*s.[56] The first two machines are traction powered. The ″Plaything″ (*luʿbah*, pl. *luʿab*), called an *ʿarrādah* in most Arabic sources, was a pole-framed traction machine with a throwing arm mounted upon a pivot-yoke.[57] The name ″Plaything″ comes from the play, or rapid movement, of its throwing arm as it is sent skyward in quick succession during continuous operation. Al-ʿAynī may have included the pole-framed ″Playthings″ in his figure for ″Devilish″ trebuchets, or the ″playful″ artillery could be additional to the number of ″Devilish″ machines. Whatever interpretation is accepted regarding the number of traction trebuchets at Acre, it is clear that they were employed in great numbers and were used to neutralize the defenders on the ramparts.[58]

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because the barrage of missiles prevented the defenders from mounting any effective resistance. Even sallies in force failed to stop the mining operations. Al-Jazarī, al-Yūnīnī, and al-Nuwayrī comment briefly on the mining operations undertaken by the Mamluk army, but neither Little nor D′Souza make mention of the Arabic accounts of these activities, which were critical to the conquest of Acre (al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 1:45; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl,* 87 [Arabic text], 163 [trans.]; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 198; Little, ″Fall of ʿAkkā″; and D′Sousa, ″Conquest of ʿAkkā″). Little credits the successful Mamluk assault on Acre to artillery bombardment that weakened the defenses of the city. He ignores the fact that mining operations created the breaches in the walls that made the assault possible (Little, ″Fall of ʿAkkā,″ 174). The references to mining operations in the Arabic sources confirm and corroborate the Christian accounts of these siege-works.

[55]Al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān,* 58.

[56]Al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl,* 86 (Arabic text), 162–63 (trans.): ″ammā al-majānīq shayṭānīyah wa-al-laʿab wa-qarābughā shay' kathīr.″

[57]On the pole-framed traction trebuchet, referred to in Arabic sources as the *luʿbah* and the *ʿarrādah,* see Chevedden, ″ Artillery of King James I,″ 58–59, 61, 68, Figs. 1–4; idem, ″Hybrid Trebuchet,″ 184, 199, 206, 211, Figs. 1, 3, 7, 9; Chevedden et al., ″Traction Trebuchet,″ 460–61, 464 (Fig. 3), 466 (Fig. 5), 470 (Fig. 10), 474 (Fig. 14), 484 (Fig. 24). *Elegant Book* includes a number of illustrations of the pole-framed trebuchet (″Anīq,″ fols. 33r, 43v, 44r; *Anīq,* ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 73, 94, 95; *Anīq,* ed. Hindī, 109, 117, 118).

[58]The design of the ″Devilish″ trebuchet is open to debate. *Elegant Book* is the only source that provides illustrations of it, depicting it as a traction version of the pole-framed *bricola* (″Anīq,″ fols. 21v, 31r; *Anīq,* ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 50, 69; *Anīq,* ed. Hindī, 100–102). The two editors of *Elegant Book* both identify the machine incorrectly as a ″Sultanic″ or ″Royal″ trebuchet *(manjanīq sulṭānī),* due to the fact it is erroneously identified as such on fol. 21v of the text. The caption title for this machine is accurately inscribed on fol. 31r as *manjanīq shayṭānī,* so there is no question regarding the precise name of this trebuchet, which is the name by which it is known in all of the Arabic historical sources. Since Ibn Urunbughā′s pole-framed traction machine known by the names *ʿarrādah* and ″Plaything″ *(luʿbah)* is quite different from the ″Devilish″ trebuchet, it is clear that he, like al-Yūnīnī, considers it to be a different machine (″Anīq,″ fols. 33r, 44r; *Anīq,* ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, 73, 95; *Anīq,* ed. Hindī, 109, 118; Chevedden, ″Artillery of James I,″ 61, Fig. 1;

MAMLUK HEAVY ARTILLERY AT THE SIEGE OF ACRE ACCORDING TO *LES GESTES DES CHIPROIS*

Despite his misidentification of the *qarābughrā,* the ″Templar of Tyre″ does provide important and reliable information on the Mamluk artillery at Acre that demonstrates both his competency in Arabic and his ability to acquire accurate information on the Muslim assault. According to him, the heavy artillery launched stone-shot weighing a *qinṭār* (185 kg or 408 lb), which is in agreement with the weight given by al-Yūnīnī for stone-shot discharged by the Muslim *bricola*s. The ″Templar of Tyre″ describes four separate pieces of heavy artillery employed by the Mamluks. The first he calls by its Arabic name ″Haveben,″ giving a rough transliteration of

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idem, ″Hybrid Trebuchet,″ 184, Fig. 9; and Chevedden et al., ″Traction Trebuchet,″ 461, 484, Fig. 24). It may well have been configured as a traction version of a *bricola,* as illustrated in *Elegant Book*, but it is hard to imagine that the trestle-framed traction trebuchet passed out of use. The ″Templar of Tyre″ speaks of his so-called *carabohas* as small traction-powered ″Turkish″ trebuchets. While these small-caliber machines may be identified with the pole-framed *ʿarrādah* or *luʿbah,* which had an extremely rapid rate of discharge, it is equally plausible that the stone-projectors dubbed ″Turkish″ trebuchets by the ″Templar of Tyre″ were the same machines that are called ″Turkish″ by al-Ṭarsūsī. His ″Turkish″ trebuchet *(manjanīq turkī)* is a trestle-framed traction machine that has a framework consisting of two paired trusses in the shape of the Greek letter *lambda* (*Tabṣirah fī al-Ḥurūb,* ed. Ṣādir, 167, 254, Fig. 10; Cahen, ″Traité,″ 119, 141–42, Pl. 2, Fig. 11; and Chevedden et al., ″Traction Trebuchet,″ 460–61, 481, Fig. 21). Al-Ṭarsūsī recommends the ″Turkish″ trebuchet as the cheapest of all the trebuchets he describes and the one composed of the least amount of parts. This machine was used widely across Eurasia and North Africa and was known as the ″Crouching Tiger″ trebuchet *(hu dun pao)* in Chinese sources and as the *labdarea* (the *lambda*-shaped machine) in Byzantine sources. The Chinese machine had a beam of 7.50 meters in length mounted on a framework that stood approximately 5.19 meters in height. Attached to the butt-end of the beam were forty pulling-ropes that were hauled down by a crew of forty men, while a single loader directed the shot. The machine was capable of throwing a stone projectile weighing 7.56 kilograms a distance of more than 75.0 meters (Chevedden,″ Artillery of King James I,″ 61, 66, 86, Fig. 5; idem, ″Hybrid Trebuchet,″ 199–200; and Chevedden et al., ″Traction Trebuchet,″ 452, 475, Fig. 15). Although the evidence is somewhat tenuous, the ″Devilish″ trebuchet *(manjanīq shayṭānī)* and the ″Plaything″ *(ʿarrādah* or *luʿbah)* do appear to be different types of traction machines. The ″Plaything″ probably never deviated significantly from the Chinese machine of the same design, known as the ″Whirlwind″ trebuchet *(xuan feng pao)* (see Fig. 1, and Chevedden et al., ″Traction Trebuchet,″ 452, 474, Fig. 14), while the ″Devilish″ trebuchet was doubtless a larger machine. The design of the ″Devilish″ machine may have resembled Ibn Urunbughā′s drawing of it as a traction-powered *bricola*, or it may have had a trestle framework. Both the ″Devilish″ trebuchet and the ″Plaything″ worked their devilish ways by playing the enemy with rapid volleys of stone-shot. A discharge of slightly better than four shots per minute could be maintained by traction-powered trebuchets, so a battery of these machines was quite capable of neutralizing defenders on the battlements (Chevedden, ″Artillery of King James I,″ 55; idem, ″Hybrid Trebuchet,″ 209; and Chevedden et al., ″Traction Trebuchet,″ 441, 457).

the Arabic *al-ghaḍbān* (The Furious One). This term was originally applied to a hybrid trebuchet used in the defense of Baghdad in 251/865.[59] The term went on to become a generic name for the hybrid trebuchet and passed into Armenian and Turkish as *baban,* designating this class of artillery.[60] At the siege of Acre in 690/1291 the term was applied once again to an individual trebuchet, in this case, most probably a counterweight trebuchet from among the battery of gravity-powered machines used by the Mamluks. The ″Templar of Tyre″ correctly translates the name of this trebuchet as ″furious″ and indicates that this machine directed its shot against the guard of the Templars. His description of the second trebuchet provides the same data as his description of the first: ″Another trebuchet that was shooting at the guard of the Pisans had the name *Mensour,* which means the Victorious.″ The Arabic title *al-Manṣūr* does indeed mean ″The Victorious One,″ but the name of the trestle-framed counterweight trebuchet *(manjanīq ʻaẓīm)* identified by the ″Templar of Tyre″ takes the form of a *nisbah, al-Manṣūrī,* and refers to a trebuchet of Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, or a ″Royal″ trebuchet.[61] The ″Templar of Tyre″ admits that he does not know the name of the third trebuchet, but he does specify that it was a ″big″ machine that directed its shot at the guard of the Hospitallers. For the fourth trebuchet he provides only its location, not its name: ″The fourth trebuchet *(le cart* [sic] *engin)* was shooting at a great tower called the ′Accursed Tower,′ which is along the second [i.e., outer] wall [of the city] and is under the

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[59]*Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum,* vol. 1, Anon., *Kitāb al-ʻUyūn wa-al-Ḥadāʼiq fī Akhbār al-Ḥaqāʼiq,* ed. Michael Jan de Goeje (Leiden, 1869), 580; al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh,* 3:1551; idem, *Tārīkh,* trans. George Saliba, *The History of al-Ṭabarī* (*Tārīkh al-rusul waʼl-mulūk,*), vol. 35, *The Crisis of the ʻAbbāsid Caliphate,* SUNY Series in Near Eastern Studies, Bibliotheca Persica (Albany, 1985), 40.

[60]For references to *baban* in Armenian historical sources, see Matthew of Edessa, *Patmutʻiwn* (Jerusalem, 1869), 142–45, 177, 231, 235, 303, 306, 448, 452, 454, 465; idem, *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa,* trans. Ara Edmond Dostourian (Belmont, Mass., and Lanham, 1993), 87–88, 103, 128, 131, 162, 163, 232, 233, 235, 241; Aristakēs Lastivertts‘i, *Patmutʻiwn Aristakisi Lastiverttsʻwoy* (Erevan, 1963), 92–93; and idem, *Aristakēs Lastivertcʻi′s History,* trans. Robert Bedrosian (New York, 1985), 103–4. Aristakēs notes that the Saljuqs also employed this term (Aristakēs, *Patmutʻiwn,* 92; idem, *Aristakēs Lastivertcʻi′s History,* 103). On the Arabic term *al-ghaḍbān,* see Chevedden, ″Hybrid Trebuchet,″ 189–90, 202, 203.

[61]On this royal Mamluk trebuchet that required a hundred carts to transport it from Ḥiṣn al-Akrād (Krac des Chevaliers) to Acre, see Ismāʻil ibn ʻAlī Abū al-Fidāʼ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Tārīkh al-Bashar,* (Cairo, 1907–8), 4:24; idem, *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Tārīkh al-Bashar,* trans. Peter M. Holt, *The Memoirs of a Syrian Prince: Abūʼl-Fidāʼ, Sultan of Ḥamāh (672–732/1273–1331),* Freiburger Islamstudien, vol. 9 (Wiesbaden, 1983), 16. On the use of the term ″great″ trebuchet *(manjanīq ʻaẓīm)* to denote a trestle-framed counterweight trebuchet, see Chevedden, ″Invention of the Counterweight Trebuchet,″ 77, 90, 92, 93, 96, 106, 113.

guard of the king."[62]

MAMLUK HEAVY ARTILLERY AT THE SIEGE OF ACRE ACCORDING TO ARABIC HISTORICAL SOURCES

The "Templar of Tyre" does not give a full accounting of the heavy artillery arrayed against Acre. For that we must turn to the Arabic sources. According to Abū al-Fidā', the number of "big" and "small" trebuchets (*majānīq al-kibār wa-al-ṣighār,* i.e., counterweight and traction machines) deployed against Acre "was the greatest concentration of artillery ever assembled against any locality."[63] The very detailed and authoritative accounts of the siege by Shams al-Dīn al-Jazarī and Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī put the total number of Muslim trebuchets at seventy-two.[64] Ibn al-Furāt, al-Maqrīzī, and al-Nuwayrī put the number even higher, at ninety-two, but this figure is most probably a scribal error for seventy-two, since the unpointed *sab'* and *tis'* are often confused.[65] Of the seventy-two machines, most were traction-powered,[66] but a significant number were gravity-driven. Two types of gravity-powered engines were used: *bricola*s and *qarābughrā*s. According to al-Yūnīnī, fifteen *bricola*s *(majānīq al-kibār al-ifranjīyah)* were employed, but no specific figures are given in any source for the number of *qarābughrā*s used. If from a total number of seventy-two trebuchets (the figure given by al-Jazarī and al-'Aynī), al-Yūnīnī's fifteen *bricola*s and al-'Aynī's fifty-two "Devilish" traction engines

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[62]"Gestes des Chiprois," 2:no. 490: "Et a terme de ses .viii. jours; adreserent et aseïrent au point lor engins, que la piere qu'y getoi[en]t pezoit un quintar. L'un de ses engins, quy avoit nom Haveben, quy vient a dire Yrious, si estoit devers la garde dou Temple, et l'autre engin, quy getet contre la garde des Pizans, avoit nom le Mensour, ce est a dire le Victorious; et l'autre grant, que je ne vos le say nomer, getoit contre la garde de l'Ospitau; et le cart engin getoit contre une grant tour quy a nom la tour Maudite, qui est a[s] segons murs et est de la garde dou roy." Andreas D'Souza translates "le cart [sic] engin" ("the fourth trebuchet") as "the cart engine" (D'Sousa, "Conquest of 'Akkā," 242).

[63]Abū al-Fidā', *Mukhtaṣar,* 4:24; idem, *Memoirs,* 16.

[64]Al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 1:45; al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān,* 58. Although al-Jazarī was not present at the siege of Acre, his account of it is based on the report of the Mamluk Amir Sayf al-Dīn ibn al-Miḥaffadār, who witnessed the entire operation. Al-Yūnīnī also drew upon this important source for his account of the siege (Little, "Fall of 'Akkā," 163, 171, 172). Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī follows al-Jazarī and al-'Aynī and sets the total number of trebuchets used against Acre at seventy-two (*'Uyūn al-Tawārīkh,* 71).

[65]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 8:112; Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* (Cairo, 1934–73), 1:3:764; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 226.

[66]If the total number of "Devilish" traction trebuchets given by al-'Aynī (fifty-two) does not include the numerous pole-framed traction trebuchets *(lu'ab)* cited by al-Yūnīnī, there would have been far more than seventy-two pieces of artillery deployed by the Mamluks at Acre and a far greater percentage of these machines would have been traction powered.

are subtracted, the remainder will be five. We can assume therefore that the Mamluks employed at least five *qarābughrā*s at Acre.

Mamluk Artillery and Siege Tactics at Acre

Artillery played an important role in the conquest of Acre. Batteries of artillery were erected to effect both destruction and neutralization. Bolt-projecting trebuchets were probably used to launch incendiary missiles to consume the protective screens shielding the walls and towers from bombardment. Other pieces of artillery rained down incendiary projectiles on the interior of the city to cause a serious outbreak of fire. Once the walls were laid bare, heavy artillery began stripping away the battlements and pounding the ramparts, as light artillery and other missile weapons kept the defenders at bay. The neutralizing shooting allowed sapping operations to be conducted with virtual impunity. Sallies in force mounted by the defenders were unable to disperse the attackers or to seriously hamper the progress of the siege. Once the saps had effected substantial breaches in the urban defenses, the city was successfully stormed. Acre, one of the best defended cities of its day, was unable to withstand the powerful and well-organized Mamluk assault, which made use of the most advanced techniques of mechanized siegecraft then known. Key to the Mamluk victory was the extensive use of siege-works and artillery. Of no less importance was the sustained and determined spirit that motivated the besieging forces.[67]

The "Black Camel" Trebuchet and the East-West Artillery Axis

Although the trebuchet can be traced back to ancient China, many civilizations contributed to its development. The story of the trebuchet is not a simple one of linear diffusion in a five-part sequential process: from China to the Sasanian and Byzantine Empires, thence to Arabia, and finally to the Latin West. Divergent paths of innovation and dissemination permeated the Sino-Sasanian-Byzantine-Islamic-Latin axis as advancements in one cultural zone spread to others in a process of continuous interchange across Eurasia and North Africa. Knowledge of the trebuchet took some time to reach other parts of the world, but once Western Asia and the Mediterranean discovered the machine its dissemination and advancement proceeded at an accelerated pace. By the eighth century the civilization of Islam had greatly improved China's human-powered artillery. Muslim conquerors introduced a much larger traction-powered machine that utilized the action of gravity to assist in the discharge of a projectile (the hybrid trebuchet). Byzantium

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[67]See Little, "Fall of 'Akkā," and D'Souza, "Conquest of 'Akkā," for details on the powerful siege-train brought against Acre by the Mamluks, especially well equipped with ordnance, as well as for information on the spirit motivating the campaign.

and the Latin West quickly adopted this new machine and took the technology even further. From the eleventh century on, the pace of development quickened. Byzantine advances culminated in the invention of the first gravity-powered piece of artillery, the trestle-framed counterweight trebuchet. Progress in projectile technology did not stop there. A process of diversification of gravity-powered artillery soon began. The Latin West introduced a counterweight trebuchet with a pole framework that was capable of discharging missiles in any direction (the *bricola*). The Islamic world readily adopted this machine, as did the Mongols, who used it to subdue the Southern Song and consolidate their hold on all of China. As the *bricola* made its way eastward from Western Europe, the *qarābughrā* proceeded westward from the eastern realms of Islam. The Mamluks made the ″Black Camel″ trebuchet a standard piece of artillery, and their employment of this machine at Acre in 1291 is likely to have inspired Europeans to incorporate it into their siege arsenal. Although precise information is lacking regarding the dissemination of the bolt-projecting trebuchet to Europe, we may presume that it reached the West and found a place in European siege warfare.[68] The attention

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[68]Roland Bechmann has reconstructed the trestle-framed, counterweight trebuchet *(trebucet)* of Villard de Honnecourt as a bolt-projecting machine (Roland Bechmann, *Villard de Honnecourt: La pensée technique au XIIIe siècle et sa communication* [Paris, 1991], 255–72). If this interpretation stands, the presumption that the bolt-projecting trebuchet was diffused from a common source will be undermined, and the likelihood that it was invented independently and nearly simultaneously in the Latin West and in the eastern realms of Islam will emerge as a distinct possibility. The description and plan of the base frame of Villard′s trebuchet, which survives in his portfolio of architectural drawings dating from ca. 1230–35, has elicited a number of interpretations since the first facsimile edition of Villard′s drawings was published in 1858. The description of the machine ends with a passage pertaining to the release of the ″shaft,″ or ″beam″ *(fleke),* of the trebuchet: ″Et al descocier de le fleke penses. Et si vus en dones gard. Car il le doit estre atenue a cel estancon la devant″ [As for the discharging of the beam, remember and take heed, because it must be connected to the upright post in front]. The term *fleke* proved problematic because another word, *verge,* had been used by Villard to refer to the beam of the machine. Could *fleke* and *verge* signify the same component—the beam—or was *fleke* a different component, and if so, which one? The original editors of Villard′s portfolio, J. B. A. Lassus and Alfred Darcel, assumed that *fleke* referred to the projectile of the machine, which they believed was an arrow. (*Album de Villard de Honnecourt: Architecte du XIIIe siècle, manuscrit publié en facsimile,* ed. Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Lassus and Alfred Darcel [Paris, 1858; repr., Paris 1976]). In an important review of the Lassus-Darcel edition, Prosper Mérimée observed that the trebuchet was a stone-projecting machine and that the term *fleke* could only be understood as the pivoting beam of a trebuchet (Prosper Mérimée, review of *Album de Villard de Honnecourt: Architecte du XIIIe siècle,* ed. Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Lassus and Alfred Darcel, *Le Moniteur Universal* [20 December 1858]). Mérimée′s sensible interpretation is adopted here. In the first English edition of Villard′s portfolio, Robert Willis suggested that *fleke* should be understood as a detaining bolt of a catch-and-trigger device that held the beam in place prior to discharge and effected the release of the beam when it was dislodged by a mallet (*Facsimile of the Sketch Book of Wilars de Honecort with Commentaries and Descriptions by M.*

given to it by the great architect-engineers of the Renaissance attests to its assimilation by Western Europe.

The history of the trebuchet represents a complex process of diffusion and cross-fertilization of new ideas and techniques produced by cultural interaction on a vast scale. Just as the trebuchet is a fusion of different elements, which when working in proper relation produce a successful machine, the history of this weaponry exhibits a fusion of contributions of many cultures and peoples. Although the trebuchet may be characterized as a collective work, it was not the multitude that produced the dramatic breakthroughs in the development of the machine, but individual engineers who were the source of every important innovation.

J. B. A. Lassus and by M. J. Quicherat: Translated and Edited with Many Additional Articles and Notes by the Rev. R. Willis [London, 1859]). Bechmann has reverted back to the idea proposed originally by Lassus and Darcel and has reconstructed Villard´s trebuchet as a Rube Goldberg device for launching arrows. His design rivals any of Rube Goldberg´s machines and is just as preposterous. A mammoth scaffolding towers above the trestle frame of the machine upon which rests a single arrow that is discharged by the impact of the throwing arm as it pivots skyward following release. Bechmann´s machine is made out of whole cloth. He invents key design elements (e.g., the scaffolding) and radically reinterprets other components. The catch-and-trigger device of the machine, for example, which consists of a stanchion *(estancon),* or upright post, to hold a detaining bolt is refashioned as a break lever to restrain the rotation of a drum. Bechmann uses textual and pictorial evidence as a mirror to reflect his own *a priori* assumptions.

GUIDE TO ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. Two traction-powered trebuchets depicted in the Song dynasty′s military encyclopedia entitled *Wu jing zong yao* (The Essentials of the military classics), chap. 12, p. 50a, edited in 1044 by Zeng Gongliang (in *Ying yin Wen yuan ge Si ku quan shu,* vol. 726 [Taipei, 1983], 420). *Center,* the Chinese pole-framed trebuchet called a ″Whirlwind″ trebuchet″ *(xuan feng pao)* because it could be turned to face any direction. This machine had a beam of 5.40 meters in length mounted on top of a pole-frame that stood approximately 4.30 meters in height. Attached to the butt-end of the beam were forty pulling-ropes that were hauled down by a crew of forty men. The machine was capable of throwing a stone-shot weighing 1.89 kilograms a distance of more than 75.0 meters. In Arabic sources this machine was designated an *ʻarrādah* or a ″Plaything″ *(luʻbah,* pl. *luʻab),* due to the play, or rapid movement, of its throwing arm as it was sent skyward in quick succession during continuous operation. In the Latin West the most commonly used term for this machine was *manganellus* (mangonel). *Left,* the Chinese ″Hand-Trebuchet″ *(shou pao),* operated by a single man. A pole, fixed in the ground, carried a pin at its topmost extremity, which acted as a fulcrum for the arm of the machine. In Byzantine sources this machine was designated a χειρομάγγανα *(cheiromangana).*

Fig. 2. The most powerful trebuchet depicted in the *Wu jing zong yao,* chap. 12, p. 48a (in *Ying yin Wen yuan ge Si ku quan shu,* vol. 726 [Taipei, 1983], 419): a traction-powered, trestle-framed trebuchet, identified as ″The Septuple-Beam″ trebuchet *(qi shao pao).* It had a composite beam made up of seven wooden spars lashed together with rope or bound with metal bands that measured 8.40 meters in length. The beam was mounted on a framework 5.55 meters in height and 6.78 meters wide with trusses that were tilted inward 23 degrees off the vertical. The butt-end of the beam had 125 pulling ropes attached to it that were hauled down by a crew of 250 men. This machine was capable of throwing a stone-shot weighing between 56.70 and 63.0 kilograms a distance of more than 75.0 meters. In Arabic sources the trestle-framed trebuchet was called a *manjanīq,* and in the Latin West it was usually identified by the term *petraria* (″rock-thrower″).

Fig. 3. A pole-framed hybrid trebuchet identified as a *manjanīq ʻarrādah* in Ibn Urunbughā al-Zaradkāsh′s *An Elegant Book on Trebuchets (Kitāb Anīq fī al-Manājanīq),* 867/1462–63. This machine is identified in Chinese sources as the ″Whirlwind″ trebuchet (Fig. 1). A small counterweight is fixed to the butt-end of the main beam of the machine to keep it in balance when the sling is loaded with a projectile. Caption titles *(clockwise):* ″a pole-framed trebuchet″ *(manjanīq*

ʿarrādah); ″beam″ *(al-sahm);* ″pivot yoke [literally, ′housing′] of the trebuchet″ *(bayt al-manjanīq);* ″pulling-rope″ *(al-watar);* ″pole-frame″ *(ʿamūd);* ″small counterbalance″ *(al-aṣghar tathqīlah);* ″axle″ *(khinzīrah);* ″framing-piece [literally, ′bow′] of the trebuchet″ *(qaws al-manjanīq);* ″sling″ *(al-filqān).* After ″Kitāb Anīq fī al-Manājanīq,″ Topkapı Sarayı Muzesi Kutuphanesi MS Ahmet III 3469/1, fol. 44r.

Fig. 4. Detail of a stone fragment with a relief carving on its outer face depicting a siege. This fragment, mounted on a wall in the Church of Saint-Nazaire in Carcassonne, France, dates from the early thirteenth century. Some scholars believe it represents the siege of Toulouse in 1218 in which Simon de Montfort was killed by a stone-shot hurled from a trestle-framed trebuchet operated by women. If so, the stone-carver has saved Simon de Montfort embarrassment by depicting an all-male artillery crew. The relief carving shows a trestle-framed hybrid machine being prepared for discharge. Pulling-ropes are attached to six rings affixed to a weighted-base at the butt-end of the beam. A six-member pulling-crew is set to launch a rounded stone-shot which is being placed in the pouch of the sling by the operator of the machine (positioned, for purely artistic considerations, above the pulling-crew). Five of the crew are placed behind the trestle framework of the machine. Four of the five are ready to pull horizontally with both hands on two lines of rope, while the fifth, in a kneeling position, is about to pull downwards on a single line of rope. The sixth member of the crew is located directly under the butt-end of the beam and is set to pull vertically downwards on two lines of rope. This trebuchet has a curved axle, a feature which it shares with the pole-framed hybrid trebuchet pictured in Ibn Urunbughā al-Zaradkāsh′s *An Elegant Book on Trebuchets* (Fig. 3).

Fig. 5. Reconstruction of a trestle-framed counterweight trebuchet (*trebucet*) of Villard de Honnecourt, France, ca. 1230–35. This reconstruction by the Reverend Robert Willis (1800–75), the first professor of the University of Cambridge to win an international reputation as a mechanical engineer, is based upon Villard′s own account of the machine (description and plan of the base frame), which survives in his portfolio in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (MS Fr 19093, fol. 30r; Villard de Honnecourt, *Facsimile of the Sketch-Book of Wilars de Honecourt,* trans. and ed. R. Willis [London, 1859], 197). Lateral and longitudinal bracing is omitted and the capstan in the foreground is left unfinished since the construction of both capstans would be the same. The volume of the counterweight box has been estimated to have been about eighteen cubic meters and was able to carry a mass weighing up to thirty tons. With such a gravitating mass, it has been conjectured that this trebuchet could launch a 100-kilogram projectile more than 400 meters

and a 250-kilogram projectile more than 160 meters. This reconstruction of the machine is to be preferred to that of Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–79), which appears in his *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture du XI^e au XVI^e siècles* ([Paris, 1854–68], 5:227–28), and to that of Roland Bechmann, which appears in his study *Villard de Honnecourt: La pensée technique au XIII^e siécle et sa communication* (Paris, 1991), 255–72. This machine was identified in Arabic historical sources as the "Western Islamic" trebuchet *(manjanīq maghribī* or *manjanīq gharbī).*

Fig. 6. Mariano Taccola, "Liber Tertius de ingeneis ac edifitiis non usitatis" (1433), Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (Florence) Cod. palat. 766, fol. 41r. The "brichola" *(bricola),* or the "Two-Testicle" machine, from the combination of the prefix *bi-,* "having two," and the Latin *coleus,* meaning testicle. This pole-framed trebuchet with two hinged counterweights was invented in the Latin West by the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Mamluks acquired it post 1250 and called it the "Frankish" or "European" trebuchet *(manjanīq ifranjī* or *manjanīq firanjī).* Muslim engineers employed by the Mongols brought the *bricola* to China, where it was designated the "Muslim" trebuchet *(hui-hui pao)*. At the siege of Acre in 690/1291, the Mamluk *bricola*s hurled stone-shot weighing one Damascene *qinṭār* or more (185 kg or 408 lb +).

Fig. 7. Yūsuf ibn Urunbughā al-Zaradkāsh, "Kitāb Anīq fī al-Manājanīq," Topkapı Sarayı Muzesi Kutuphanesi MS Ahmet III 3469/1, fol. 34r. A bastard bolt-projector: a cross between a torsion catapult and a bolt-projecting, trestle-framed trebuchet. Figure title: "Depiction of its fabrication that you make just as you make the first [trebuchet]." Figure subtitle: "A *ziyār* different from the first." Caption titles in figure identifying parts of a torsion catapult: *jisr fawqānī:* the upper transom [of a catapult connecting the two tension-frames of a two-armed torsion catapult]; *jusūr taḥtānīyah:* the lower transoms [of a catapult fixed to the stock of the machine]; *sha'r rafī':* "fine hair" [making up the vertically-mounted torsion-spring]. Caption titles in figure identifying parts of a trestle-framed trebuchet: *qā'imah:* vertical support post [of the trestle frame] x 6; *jisr al-awwal:* first horizontal crosspiece [of the trestle frame]; *jisr thānī:* second horizontal crosspiece [of the trestle frame]; *jisr thālith:* third horizontal crosspiece [of the trestle frame]; *jisr rābi':* fourth horizontal crosspiece [of the trestle frame]; *dūlāb:* windlass [one handspike-drum of the windlass is depicted next to the tip of the throwing arm]; *mizrīb al-sahm:* the trough of the bolt; *qā'idah:* base frame [of the trebuchet]; *tathqīl al-sahm:* counterweight of the beam.

Fig. 8. Yūsuf ibn Urunbughā al-Zaradkāsh, ″Kitāb Anīq fī al-Manājanīq,″ Topkapı Sarayı Muzesi Kutuphanesi MS Ahmet III 3469/1, fol. 11r. A bastard bolt-projector: a cross between a torsion catapult and a bolt-projecting, trestle-framed trebuchet. Figure title: ″Depiction of the fabrication of this [trebuchet] that you make just as you made the first [trebuchet].″ Caption titles in figure identifying parts of a torsion catapult: *jisr fawqānī:* the upper transom [of a catapult connecting the two tension-frames of a two-armed torsion catapult]; *jisr taḥtānī:* the lower transom [of a catapult fixed to the stock of the machine] x 5; *sha'r rafī': ″*fine hair″ [making up the vertically-mounted torsion-spring]. Caption titles in figure identifying parts of a trestle-framed trebuchet: *qā'imah:* vertical support post [of the trestle frame] x 6; *jisr al-awwal:* first horizontal crosspiece [of the trestle frame]; *jisr thānī:* second horizontal crosspiece [of the trestle frame]; *jisr thālith:* third horizontal crosspiece [of the trestle frame]; *jisr rābi':* fourth horizontal crosspiece [of the trestle frame]; *dūlāb:* windlass [one handspike-drum of the windlass is depicted next to the tip of the throwing arm]; *mizrīb:* trough; *tathqīl al-sahm:* counterweight of the beam.

Fig. 9. Yūsuf ibn Urunbughā al-Zaradkāsh, ″Kitāb Anīq fi al-Manājanīq,″ Topkapı Sarayı Muzesi Kutuphanesi MS Ahmet III 3469/1, fol. 32r. A bastard bolt-projector: a cross between a torsion catapult and a bolt-projecting, trestle-framed trebuchet. Figure title: ″Another *ziyār* different from the first on which infantry *(al-rijāl al-ḥarīkah)* are stationed atop the *ḥiṣār* [lit., ′fortress,′ i.e., the crenellated superstructure atop the framework of the trebuchet].″ Caption titles in figure identifying parts of a torsion catapult: *sha'r: ″*hair″ [making up the horizontally-mounted torsion-spring]; *bayt al-sha'r:* tension frame of the torsion-spring. Caption titles in figure identifying parts of a trestle-framed trebuchet: *qā'imah:* vertical support post [of the trestle frame] x 4; *wasaṭ:* middle [support post of the trestle frame]; *dūlāb:* windlass x 2 [the two handspike-drums of the windlass are shown in front of the framework of the machine (defined here as the downrange side of the trebuchet)]; *jisr al-dūlāb:* windlass-roller; *mizrīb al-sahm:* the trough of the bolt; *mizrīb:* trough; *qā'idah:* base frame [of the trebuchet]; *al-sahm:* the beam; *tathqīl al-sahm:* counterweight of the beam; *mafrūkah:* handspike [of windlass] x 2 [One windlass handspike has five bars or levers by which the windlass is worked, another has four].

Fig. 10. Mariano Taccola, ″De ingeneis,″ ca. 1419–50, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Codex CLM 197 II, fol. 68v. Trebuchet with hinged counterweight launching a bolt. A four-tined throwing arm allows for the simultaneous release of four bolts. For simplicity′s sake, the illustrator has only drawn one of the bolts. Above the beam is an insert showing details of a two-tined fork for the throwing

arm with a caption underneath reading, ″It [the component shown above] shall be placed on the end of the beam *(mictatur in stilo istius pertice)*.″

Fig. 11. Francesco di Giorgio Martini, ″Trattato I,″ copy, ca. 1480–1500, Turin, Biblioteca Reale di Torino Codex 148 Saluzzo, fol. 61v. Trebuchet with fixed counterweight launching two bolts. Distinctive features include: a buffer that prevents the beam from attaining a full upright position; a mechanical pull-back system that requires a cross-member positioned in the path of the beam above the axle; a three-pronged forked appendage at the tip of the beam designed to release two bolts simultaneously; and a catch-and-trigger device consisting of an S-shaped (serpentine) lever that is designed to be pivoted backward but would be unable to perform its function as illustrated.

Fig. 12. Anon. Raccolta Artist Engineer, ″Raccolta di città e macchine,″ ca. 1490s, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Codex Magliabechiana II I 141 part 3, fol. 195v. Trestle-framed trebuchet with fixed counterweight launching two bolts. Distinctive features include: a buffer that prevents the beam from attaining a full upright position; a mechanical pull-back system that utilizes the leverage of the beam; a two-pronged forked appendage at the tip of the beam designed to release two bolts simultaneously; and a catch-and-trigger device consisting of an S-shaped (serpentine) lever that is pivoted backward.

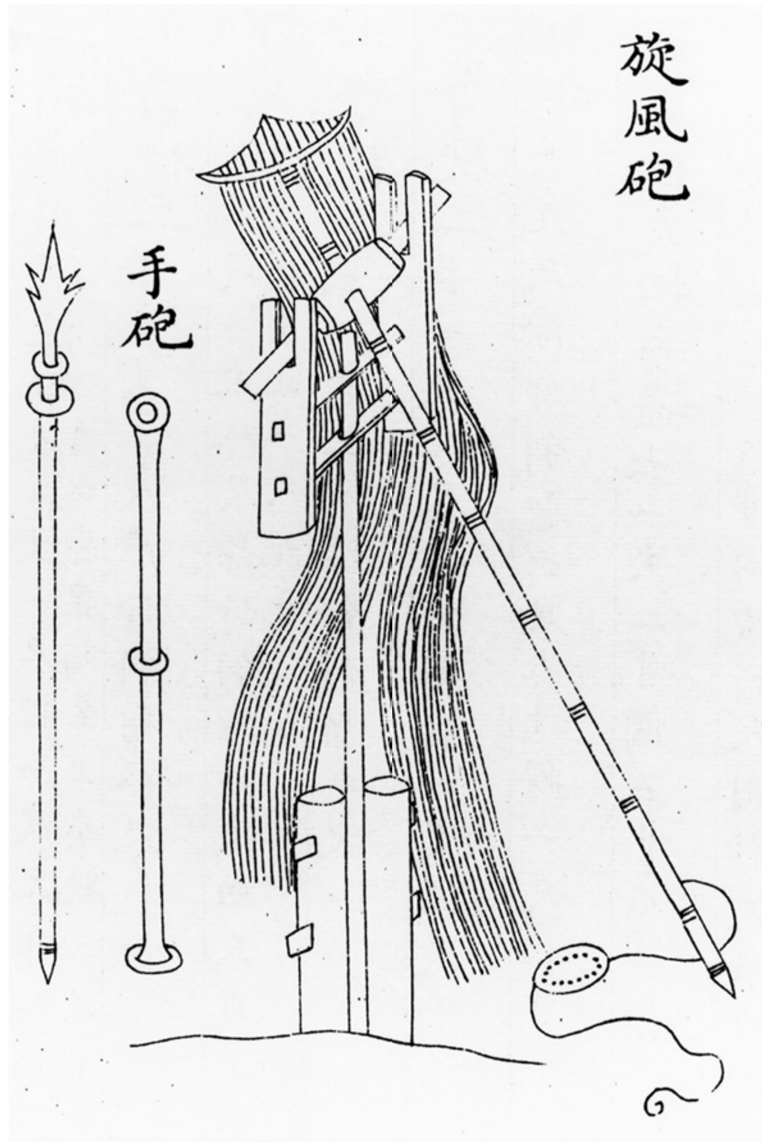


Fig. 1. Two traction-powered trebuchets depicted in the Song dynasty's military encyclopedia entitled *Wu jing zong yao* (The Essentials of the military classics).

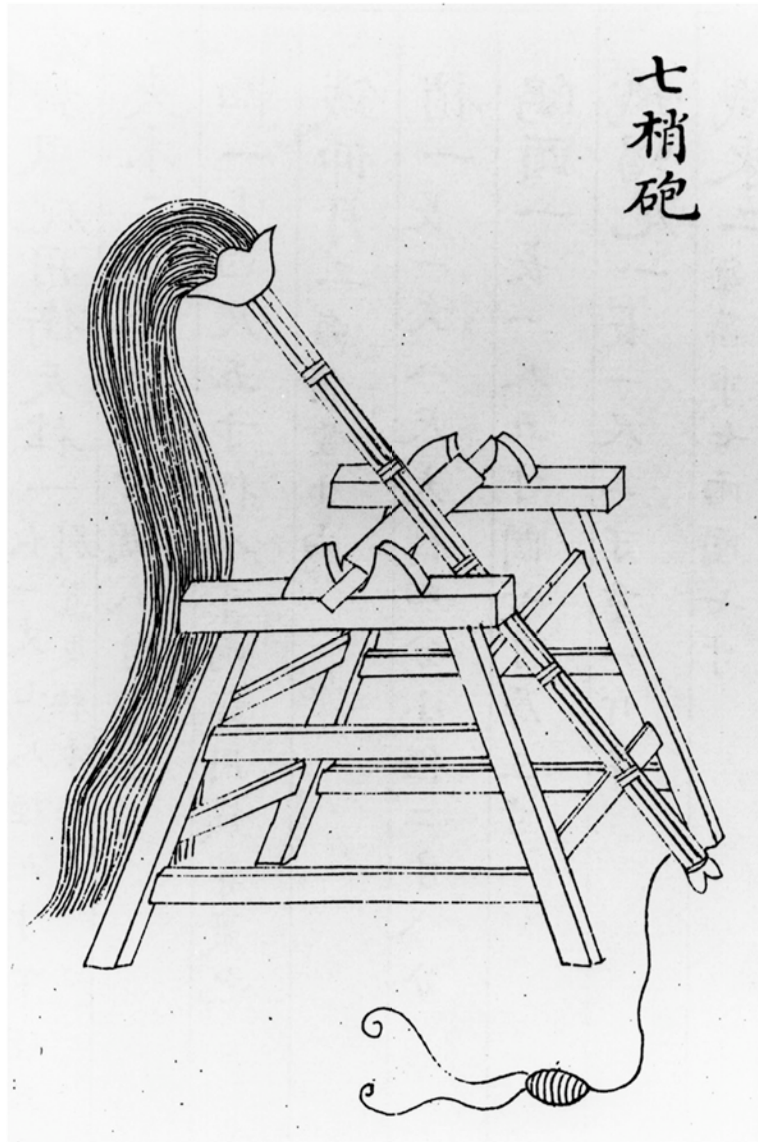


Fig. 2. The most powerful trebuchet depicted in the *Wu jing zong yao:* a traction-powered, trestle-framed trebuchet, identified as"The Septuple-Beam Trebuchet" *(qi shao pao).*

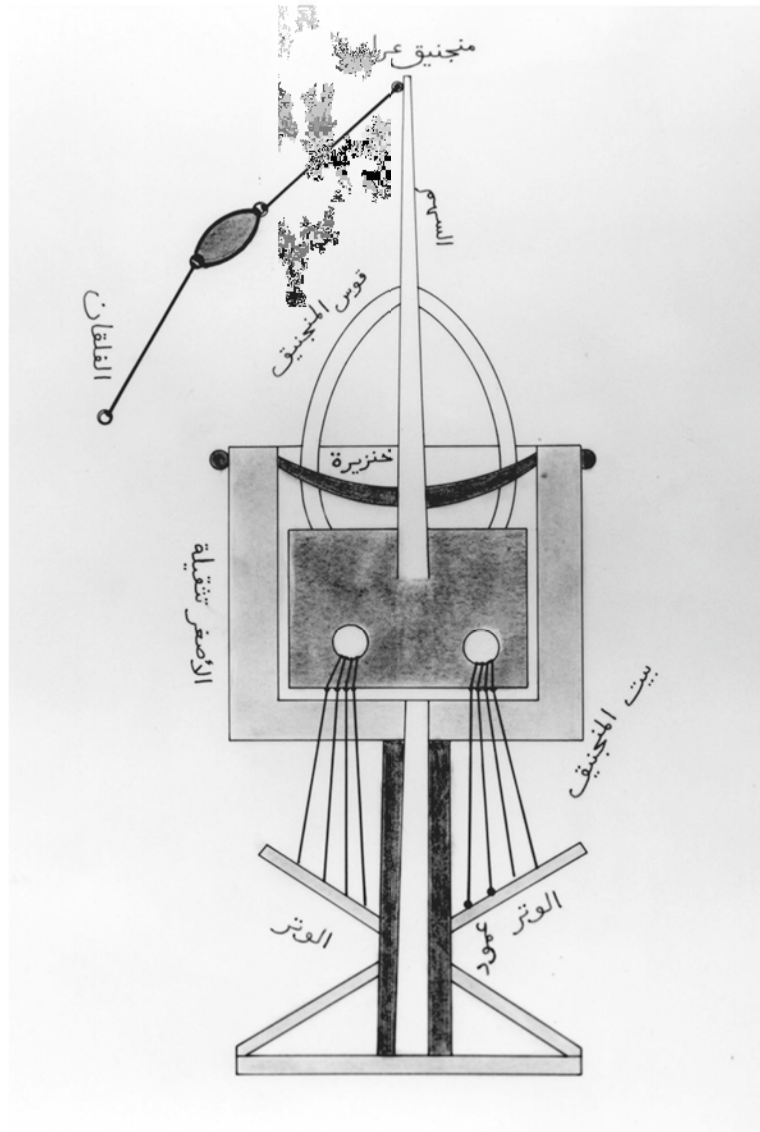


Fig. 3. A pole-framed hybrid trebuchet identified as a *manjanīq ʻarrādah* in Ibn Urunbughā al-Zaradkāsh's *An Elegant Book on Trebuchets (Kitāb Anīq fī al-Manājanīq),* 867/1462-63.

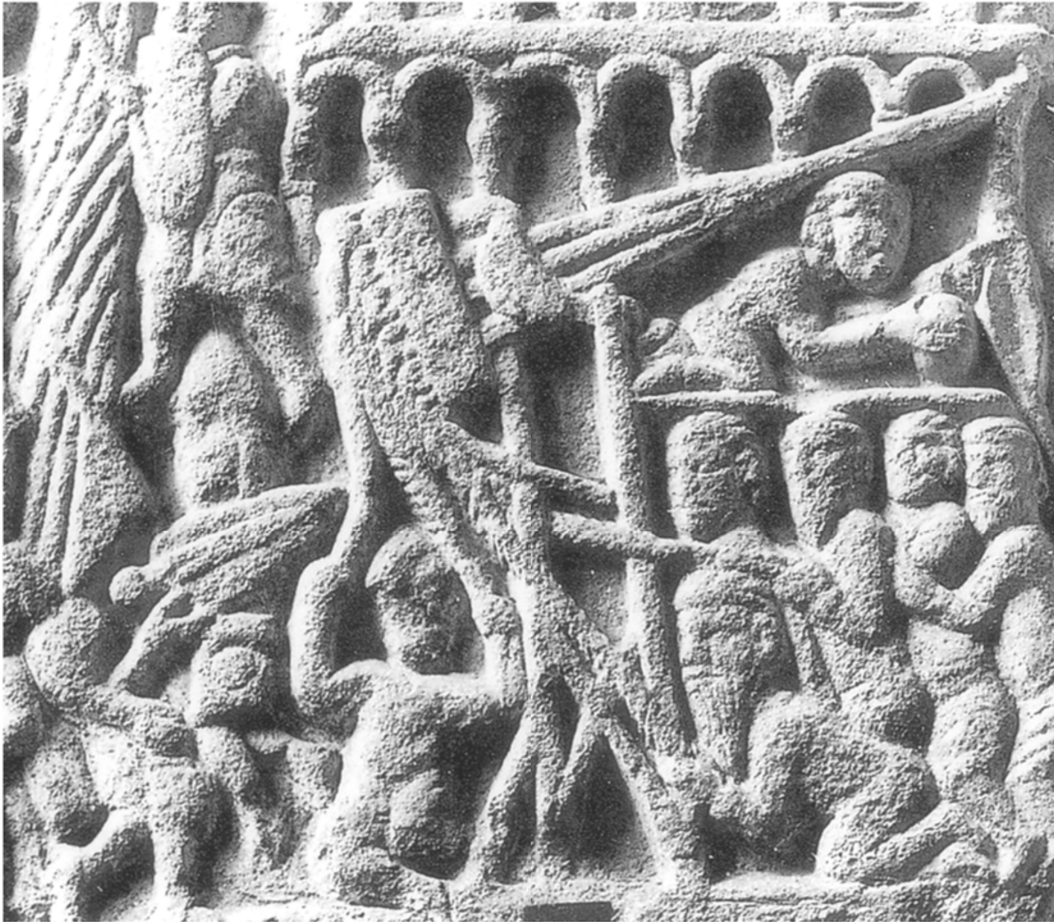


Fig. 4. Detail of a stone fragment in the Church of Saint-Nazaire in Carcassonne, France, with a relief carving on its outer face showing a trestle-framed, hybrid machine being prepared for discharge.

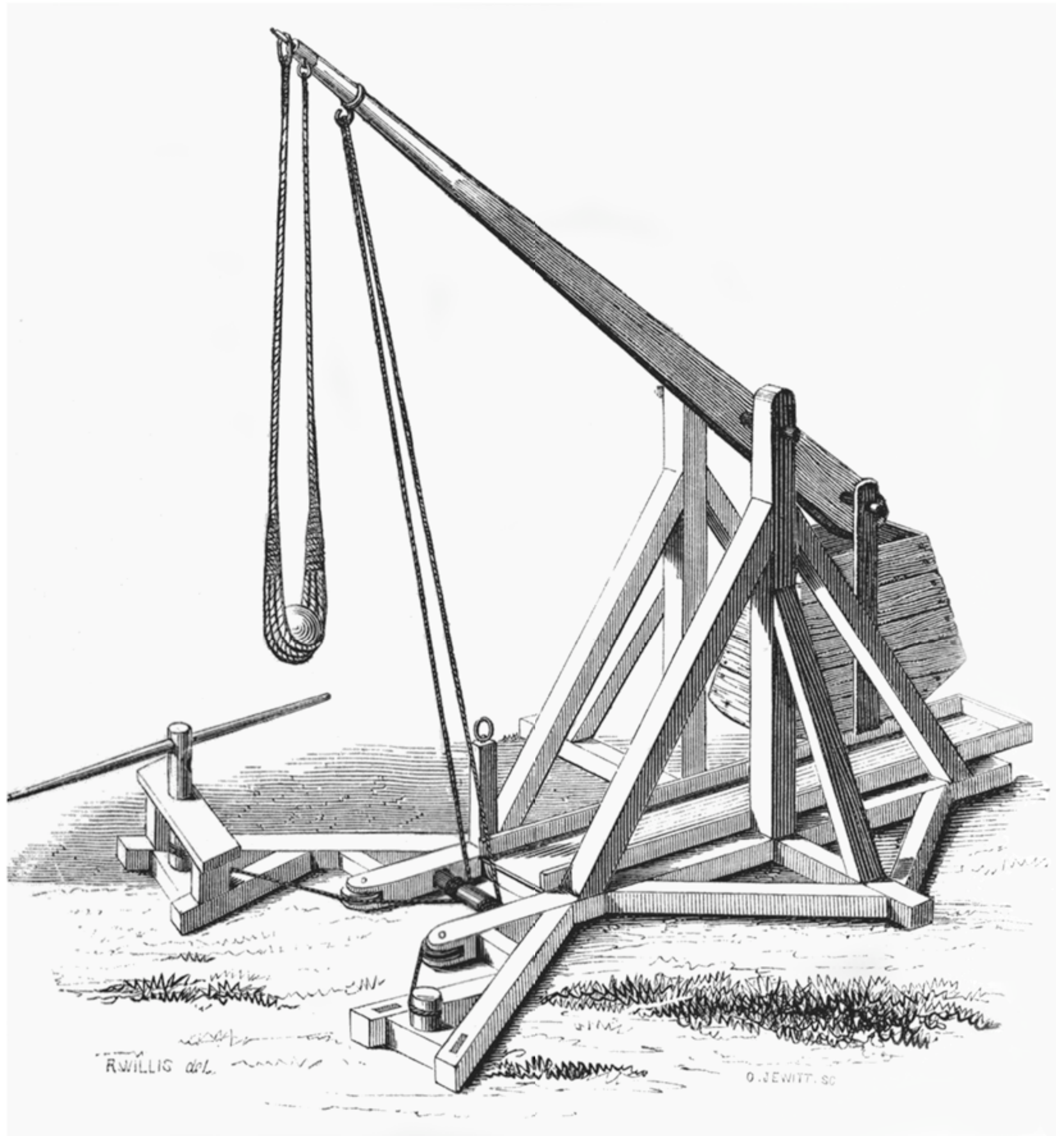


Fig. 5. Reconstruction of a trestle-framed, counterweight trebuchet *(trebucet)* of Villard de Honnecourt, France, ca. 1230–35, by the Rev. Robert Willis (1800–75).



Fig. 6. Mariano Taccola, ″Liber Tertius de ingeneis ac edifitiis non usitatis″ (1433), Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (Florence) Cod. palat. 766, fol. 41r. The ″brichola″ *(bricola),* or the ″Two-Testicle″ machine, a pole-framed trebuchet with two hinged counterweights, identified in Arabic historical sources as the ″Frankish″ or ″European″ trebuchet *(manjanīq ifranjī* or *manjanīq firanjī)*.

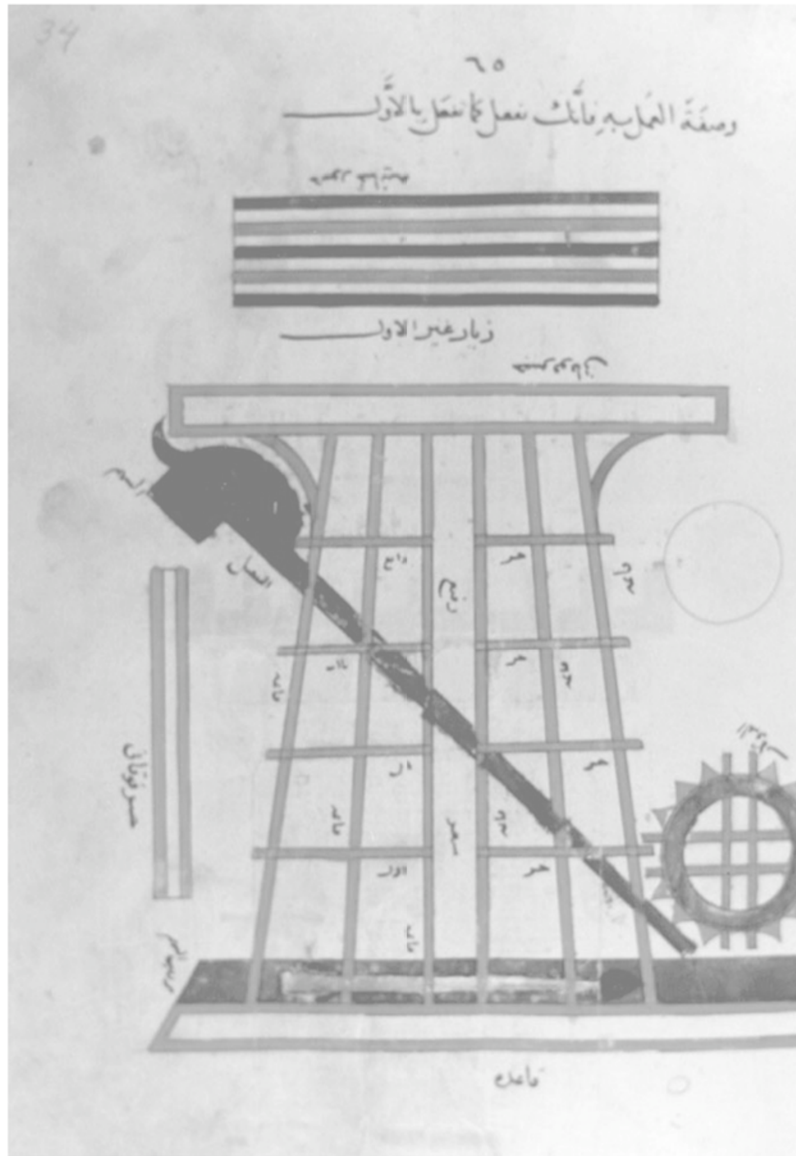


Fig. 7. Yūsuf ibn Urunbughā al-Zaradkāsh, ″Kitāb Anīq fī al-Manājanīq,″ Topkapı Sarayı Muzesi Kutuphanesi MS Ahmet III 3469/1, fol. 34r. A bastard bolt-projector: a cross between a torsion catapult and a bolt-projecting, trestle-framed trebuchet.

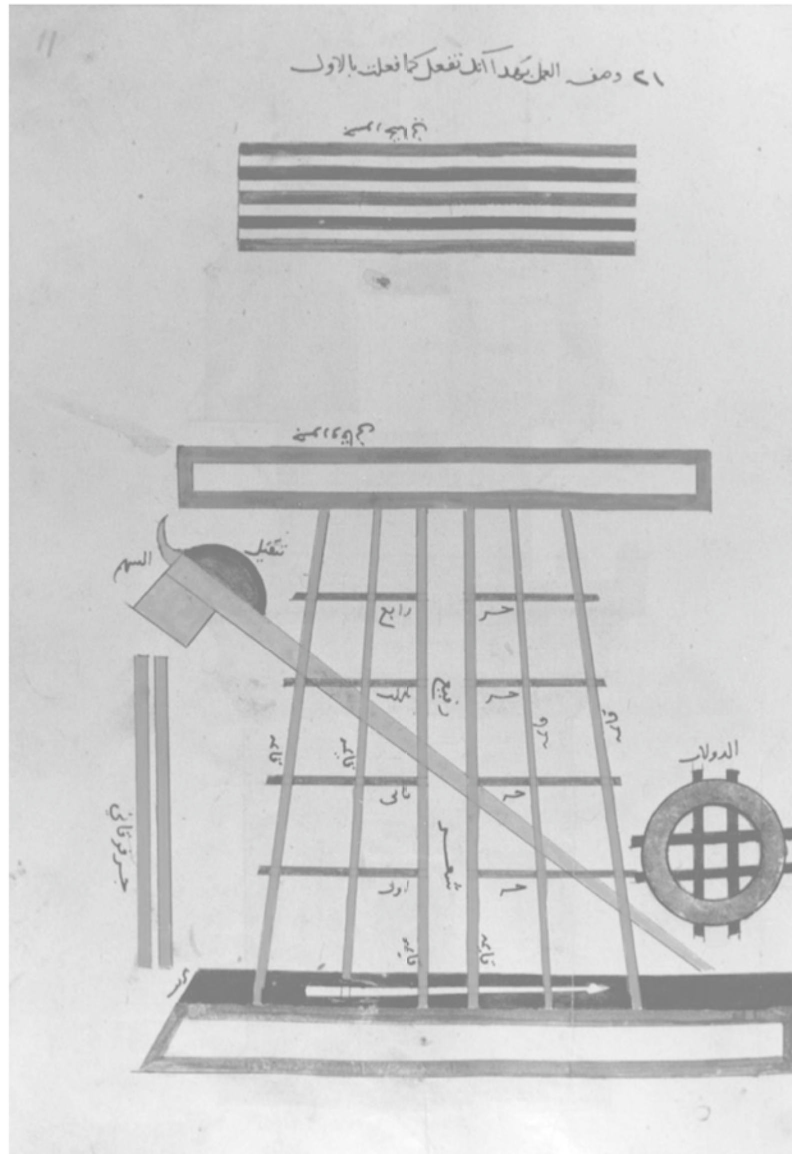


Fig. 8. Yūsuf ibn Urunbughā al-Zaradkāsh, "Kitāb Anīq fī al-Manājanīq," Topkapı Sarayı Muzesi Kutuphanesi MS Ahmet III 3469/1, fol. 11r. A bastard bolt-projector: a cross between a torsion catapult and a bolt-projecting, trestle-framed trebuchet.

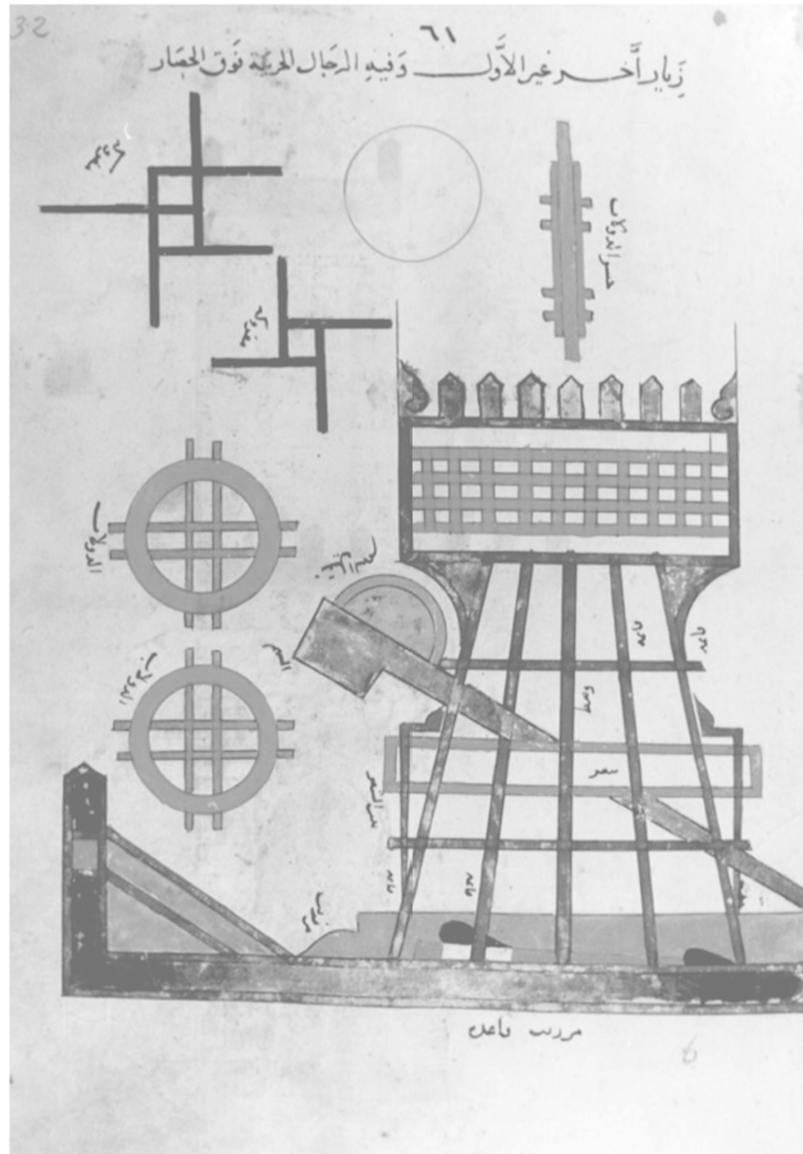


Fig. 9. Yūsuf ibn Urunbughā al-Zaradkāsh, ″Kitāb Anīq fi al-Manājanīq,″ Topkapı Sarayı Muzesi Kutuphanesi MS Ahmet III 3469/1, fol. 32r. A bastard bolt-projector: a cross between a torsion catapult and a bolt-projecting, trestle-framed trebuchet.

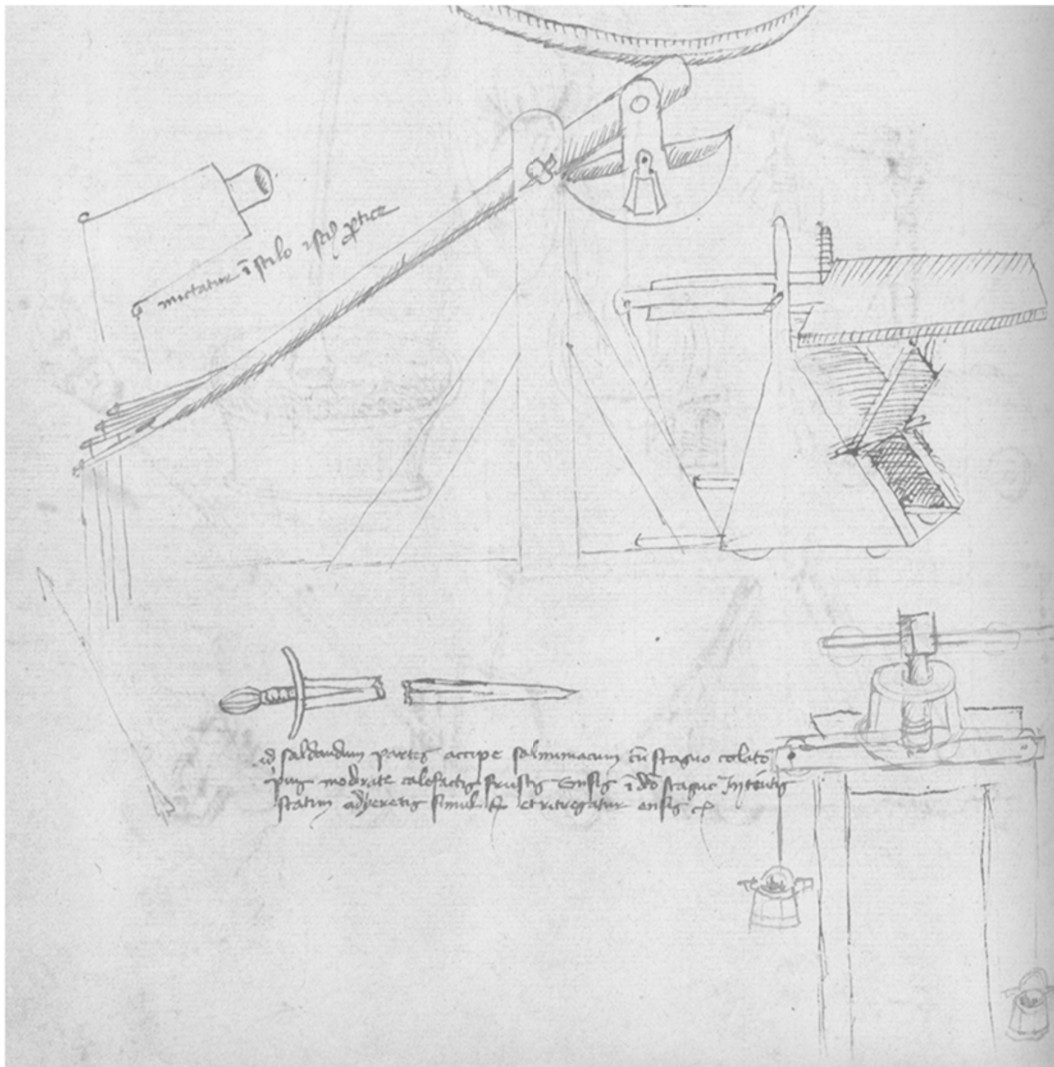


Fig. 10. Mariano Taccola, "De ingeneis," ca. 1419–50, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Codex CLM 197 II, fol. 68v. Trebuchet with a hinged counterweight and a four-tined throwing arm launching a bolt.

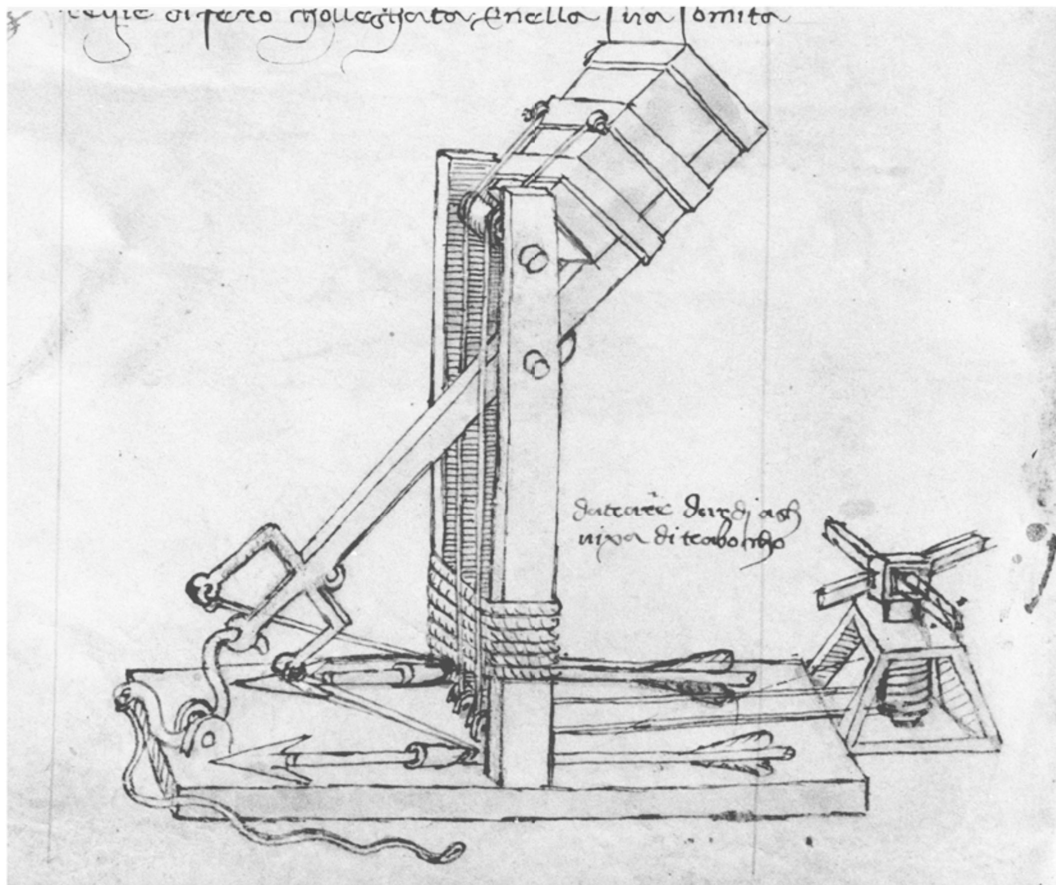


Fig. 11. Francesco di Giorgio Martini, "Trattato I," copy, ca. 1480–1500, Turin, Biblioteca Reale di Torino Codex 148 Saluzzo, fol. 61v. Trebuchet with fixed counterweight launching two bolts.

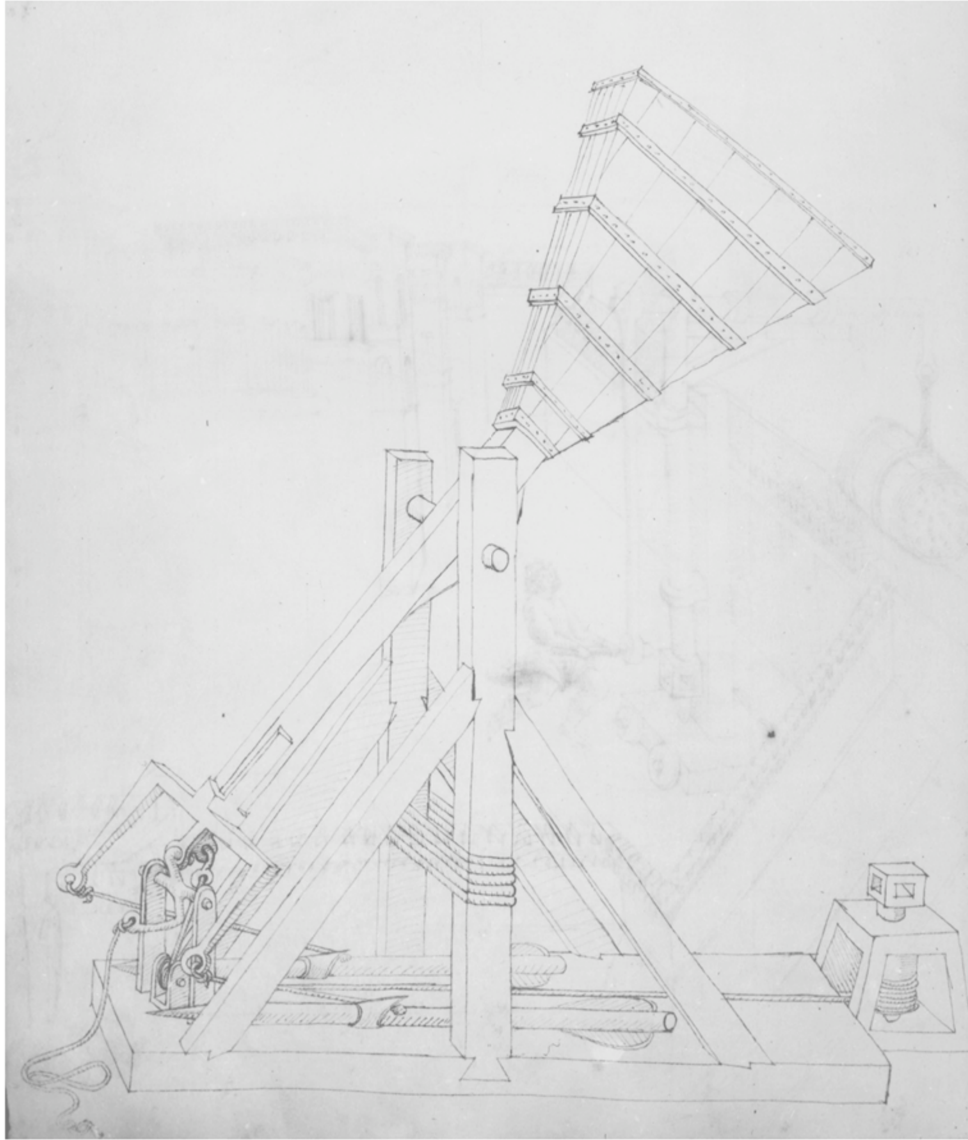


Fig. 12. Anon. Raccolta Artist Engineer, ″Raccolta di città e macchine,″ ca. 1490s, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Codex Magliabechiana II I 141 part 3, fol. 195v. Trebuchet with fixed counterweight launching two bolts.

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The Fire of 884/1479 at the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus and an Account of Its Restoration

Among the series of fires that are reported to have hit the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus during its pre-modern history, the fire of 884/1479 is so far the least known.[1] The well-known sources for this period, such as the contemporary Cairene chronicles of Ibn Iyās and al-Ṣayrafī, do not mention it; nor does al-Sakhāwī refer to the subsequent substantial restoration of the Umayyad Mosque in his long list of Qāytbāy′s construction and renovation works.[2] The Syrian historian Ibn Ṭūlūn (880–953/1476–1546), whose chronicle starts in 884, the same year when the fire broke out, when he was still a child, refers only briefly to the restoration works that followed this fire.[3] In his biographical dictionary of the viceroys of Damascus, however, he does not include any reference to this fire under the entry of Qānṣūh al-Yaḥāwī, the viceroy in charge at that time.[4]

However, a detailed description of the catastrophe and the following restoration works can be found in the chronicle *Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Wafayāt al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān* by the Damascene historian Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʻUmar al-

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[1]Earthquakes occurred in 132/748, 233/847, 587/1191, 702/1302, and 1173/1759, and fires in 461/1069, 552/1157, 562/1166, 570/1174, 646/1247, 740/1340, 803/1401, 884/1879, and in 1893. Jean Sauvaget, *Les Monuments Historiques de Damas* (Beirut, 1932), 16–18; ʻAfīf al-Bahnasī, *Al-Jāmiʻ al-Umawī al-Kabīr* (Damascus, 1988), 93 f. (his dates are not exact); Muḥammad Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb, *Rawāʼiʻ al-ʻImārah al-ʻArabīyah al-Islāmīyah fī Sūryā* (Ministry of *Awqāf*) (Damascus, 1982), 19 f. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṣaṣrā mentions the fire of Shaʻbān 794/1392: *Kitāb al-Durrah al-Muḍīʼah fī al-Dawlah al-Ẓāhirīyah,* ed. William Brinner (Berkeley, 1963), 2 (Arabic text): 117. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah mentions a reconstruction of the transept dome in 800/1397. In Muḥarram 788/1381 some of its lead sheets had been carried away by the wind: *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* ed. Adnan Darwich (Damascus, 1977), 1:583, 654.

[2]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʼiʻ al-Duhūr,* ed. M. Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden-Cairo, 1961–75), vol. 3; al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʼ al-Haṣr bi-Abnāʼ al-ʻAṣr,* ed. Ḥ. Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970); al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʼ al-Lāmiʻ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʻ* (Cairo, 1896), 6:201 ff.

[3]*Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 1962), 1:6.

[4]*Iʻlām al-Wará bi-Man Wulliya Nāʼiban min al-Atrāk bi-Dimashq al-Shām al-Kubrá,* ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duḥmān (Damascus, 1964), 92, 98. He was twice governor; the first tenure was 883–86/1478–81, the second 892–903/1487–98.

Anṣārī Ibn al-Ḥimṣī (1438–1527), who was an eyewitness to the event.[5]

Ibn al-Ḥimṣī's account of the fire of 884/1479 sheds light on an event that he considered to be of major importance to the city of Damascus but which, unlike the fire at the mosque of Medina one year later, did not engage the interest of the historians in the Mamluk capital.

The Author[6]

According to his own statements, written in the introduction to his chronicle and scattered in the text, Ibn al-Ḥimṣī was born in Damascus in Rajab 841/January1438 into a wealthy family of qadis and scholars.[7] His death is reported in 934/1527, his life thus having straddled the late Mamluk period and the first Ottoman decade of Syrian history.

In the month of Sha'bān 886/1481, while he was chief of the muezzins at the Umayyad Mosque, he was appointed as the deputy of the Shafi'i chief qadi of Damascus, Ibn Farfūr. In 896/1491 he was the qadi of the Syrian pilgrimage caravan. Ibn al-'Imād, who refers to him as Ibn al-Ḥimṣī *al-mu'arrikh,* i.e., the historian, writes that he spent some time in Cairo, where he was deputy of the Shafi'i chief qadi Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī and the *khaṭīb* of the royal mosque of the Citadel of Cairo. Sultan al-Ghawrī (1501–16) appreciated his voice and his performance. Al-Ghazzī quotes him on many occasions among his sources.

Ibn al-Ḥimṣī wrote a great chronicle, so far unknown, to which he often refers in his more concise *Ḥawādith al-Zamān*. The latter was conceived as a *dhayl* or continuation to Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī's *Inbā'*[8]; like its predecessor, it is at the same time a biographical encyclopedia of contemporary scholars.

Some Important Aspects of Ibn al-Ḥimṣī's Account

Because Ibn al-Ḥimṣī's text is a unique document in Mamluk historiography, a

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[5]There are two new editions of this manuscript. I am quoting that of 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 1999). The other one, published in Beirut (2000), is by 'Abd al-'Azīz Fayyāḍ Ḥarfūsh. Laylá 'Abd al-Laṭīf Aḥmad has already drawn attention to the importance of this source in *Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh wa-Mu'arrikhī Miṣr wa-al-Shām ibbāna al-'Aṣr al-'Uthmānī* (Cairo, 1980), 171–89.

[6]Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Cairo, 1351/1932–33), 8:201; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 1:49, 145, 324, 343, 346, 359; Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib al-Sā'irah bi-A'yān al-Mi'ah al-'Āshirah,* ed. Jibrā'īl Jabbūr (Beirut, 1979), 1:5.

[7]This corrects Ibn al-'Imād, who gives two alternative dates for his birth, 851 or 853.

[8]Ibn Ḥajar's best known historical works are *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī A'yān al-Mi'ah al-Thāminah* (Hyderabad, 1348–50/1929–31, and Cairo, 1966), and *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Abnā' al-'Umr* (Beirut, 1967, 1986). For his biography see F. Rosenthal, "Ibn Hadjar al-'Askalānī", *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.

translation of all the dispersed passages in the chronicle which deal with the outbreak of the fire and the subsequent restoration has been appended to the following discussion of the text.

Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, whose report consists of several passages integrated into his chronicle among various other events, provides a detailed and lively step-by-step description of the outbreak of the fire and its consequences. In his reconstruction of the scene that led to the outbreak of the fire, his presentation of the sequence of the restoration with all the data concerning the costs and the sponsors′ contributions, and the account of the respective tasks performed by the craftsmen′s teams, Ibn al-Ḥimṣī demonstrates the kind of accuracy that one would expect from a project manager. His account provides valuable information on the architectural history of the Umayyad Mosque and on building crafts in late Mamluk Damascus. Moreover, while he mentions the sequence of actions taken by the Damascene authorities to repair the damage, the author sketches a vivid picture of various episodes around the event, which add to the interest of this extraordinary document.

Ibn al-Ḥimṣī writes as a patriotic Damascene commoner emphasizing the solidarity between the various groups of the city′s population facing the catastrophe and their involvement with the fate of the mosque. He painstakingly records the contributions made by individual volunteers and sponsors to supplement the sultan′s share of the restoration costs.

The description of the collective grief of the Damascene population across its social and religious groups is remarkable. Following the first selfish reactions of those who sought to rescue their belongings while others were looting, a civic sense prevailed, which led people to cooperate in order to limit the damage. Did the religious establishment play a role here? The author himself writes that he helped in removing the furnishings and urged others to do the same.

Ibn al-Ḥimṣī does not provide any information concerning the existence in medieval Damascus of provisions for a fire emergency. He mentions only rescuing, not fire fighting measures. It seems, however, that it was common knowledge that in such cases beams should be removed from the wooden ceiling through which the fire progressed. The private and spontaneous initiative of an amir, who dwelt in an adjacent palace, of removing the beams on his side ultimately brought the fire to a halt. For this reason, the sultan′s master-builder was blamed for not having ordered this measure at an earlier stage. It thus appears that the responsibility for coordinating emergency responses resided in the office of the sultan′s master-builder of Damascus

The account sheds light also on the relationship between Muslims and *dhimmī*s. We are told that the marble craftsmen were Christians and that the non-Muslims grieved equally at the sight of the burning mosque. The episode of a Jewish

merchant who attempted to acquire the lead debris reveals another aspect of the Muslim-*dhimmī* relationship.

It is interesting to note that Ibn al-Ḥimṣī does not mention any *dhimmī,* i.e., Christian or Jew, by name. Similarly, Ibn Ṭūlūn, when he referred in his chronicle to the craftsmen who worked at the restoration of the mosque, explicitly wrote that he would name the Muslims among them, which implies that the non-Muslims were supposed to remain anonymous. There is a purpose in this attitude; some medieval Muslim historians considered it ″blackening the paper with unimportant things″ to write about Christians and Jews.[9]

It is obvious from Ibn al-Ḥimṣī′s account that the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus was a true icon for the city′s population. In his picture of that particular moment, all those who participated in the rescue shared a common identity. This may explain why the author takes care to name the craftsmen, an exceptional occurrence in chronicles of that time. Similarly, the credit he gives to the private sponsors makes clear that the reconstruction of the mosque was made possible by the populace, not just the sultan.

The Effect of the Fire on the Umayyad Mosque

A history of the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus in the post-Umayyad period has not yet been written; this makes it difficult to assess the real effect of this fire on its structure.

As in earlier cases, the fire originated in the surrounding markets and reached the interior of the mosque through an opening. This indicates that the markets and dwellings must have been adjacent to the walls of the mosque. This is further confirmed by the fact that rubble falling from the mosque during the works killed prisoners in a jail located nearby. The northern portico seems to have been damaged only on its western side. It has preserved to this day a restoration inscription dating from the reign of the Mamluk sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh in 1416, referring to its reconstruction by a builder from Alexandria.[10]

Because of the great fire in 1893, which severely damaged the mosque, it is difficult to assess how the mosque looked after the restoration described by Ibn al-Ḥimṣī. The latest detailed description of the Umayyad Mosque so far known prior to the fire of 884 is that of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʻUmarī. In a brief passage about the contemporaneous mosque, he mentions mosaics around the courtyard and in the upper part of the transept. He also refers to the local production of glass mosaics, though of a lesser quality, for the restoration of the Umayyad Mosque, which also provided the tesserae for the decoration of the mosque of Tankiz in the

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[9]Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden, 1952), 267.
[10]Sauvaget, *Les Monuments Historiques,* 23–25.

fourteenth century.[11] A stock of these tesserae, which were stored in boxes, was destroyed by the fire of 740/1340.[12] Ibn al-Ḥimṣī does not mention any damage to the mosque′s masonry, nor does he say anything about the mosaic decoration, which had dazzled so many eyewitnesses in the past. In fact, the mosque at that time had already lost many of its mosaics as a result of the series of previous fires and earthquakes. Ibn al-Ḥimṣī′s use of the term *fuṣūṣ* to describe what fell during the fire is ambiguous; the term could refer either to mosaic tesserae or to the glass pieces that are inserted in stucco grille windows (*qamarīyah*s).[13] It is astonishing, however, that the largest part of the surviving mosaics are located in the western portico, which was severely damaged by the fire. This raises the question as to whether the walls at that time were coated with plaster, which would have preserved the mosaics underneath. The coating could have been applied during the restoration that followed the devastating fire resulting from Timur′s invasion. In any case, it is important to note that mosaic decoration no longer characterized the image of the mosque in the mind of the Damascene population at the time when Ibn al-Ḥimṣī was writing.

In the prayer hall the decoration of the qiblah wall, which was just being renovated and was not yet completed, was destroyed alongside grille windows and some of the metal doors. Ibn al-Ḥimṣī himself was involved in the rescue actions, removing furniture and books and directing others to help.

In his report of the restoration works Ibn al-Ḥimṣī describes the aisles of the sanctuary as three individual segments (*jamalīn,* his plural of *jamalūn,* which means gabled aisle) on each side of the transept to the east and the west.[14]

Referring to the transept, he distinguishes between a northern and a southern *nasr,* both of which he praises for their beauty. This description, however, is confusing and difficult to reconcile with the well-known tripartite composition of the transept. Ibn Jubayr′s detailed description of the transept in the twelfth century refers to a large central dome, *qubbat al-raṣāṣ,* with a rounded profile and a wooden double-shell, covered with lead and supported by a canopy of piers. This dome was flanked to the north and south by two smaller ones. Because he misunderstood the meaning of the word *nasr,* he compared the transept with an

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[11]The mausoleum of Tankiz, which alone survives, has preserved parts of its mosaic decoration. Michael Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien* (Glückstadt, 1992), 1:97.

[12]Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʻUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār,* ed. Aḥmad Zakī (Cairo, 1924), 193.

[13]The mention of the glass is in an addition in the margin of fol. 84.

[14]Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Laylá ʻAlī Ibrāhīm, *Architectural Terms in Mamluk Documents, 648–923H/1250–1517M* (Cairo, 1990).

eagle spreading its wings.[15] By referring to a northern and a southern *nasr,* however, Ibn al-Ḥimṣī seems to view the transept as being composed of only two parts. He might have viewed the bay in front of the mihrab, which he calls *maqṣūrah,* as distinct from the rest of the transept.

Ibn al-Ḥimṣī mentions that the original ceiling was double-layered and that it was rebuilt with a single upper layer. The northern *nasr,* however, was single-layered prior to the fire.

In the Mamluk period the mosque had four mihrabs.[16] The fourth, on the very western end of the sanctuary, seems to have been added during the years 1326–38, when Tankiz, the governor of Syria, rebuilt the qiblah wall. Each of the four mihrabs served one of the four *madhhab*s of Sunni Islam. During these restoration works Tankiz pulled down the two minarets at the north corners of the mosque and reused their stones for the sanctuary.[17]

According to Ibn Baṭṭūṭah[18] and al-ʻUmarī the *miḥrāb al-ṣaḥābah,* the oldest one, was on the eastern side of the transept, and used by the Maliki community. The one on the western side of the transept was that of the Hanafis, followed by that of the Hanbalis further west. The axial main mihrab was that of the Shafiʻis. The three other mihrabs were the core of three madrasahs, each with its own imam, muezzin, and teacher serving the three other *madhhab*s.

During the restoration works in 1479 the *khuṭbah* was delivered at the Hanafi mihrab on the western side of the transept, then at the *miḥrāb al-ṣaḥābah,* or mihrab of the Prophet's companions, on the eastern side. Once the restoration was completed, Friday prayer returned to the *maqṣūrah,* i.e., at the axial mihrab.

The account of Ibn al-Ḥimṣī draws attention to a hardly noticed feature of the Umayyad Mosque, which is the four oblong rooms located on each side of the sanctuary and the courtyard (see plan). Described as a *mashhad* or shrine, they were named initially for the four rightly-guided caliphs; however, the names changed with time.[19] They were used for diverse purposes, including ceremonial and teaching. It is interesting to note, however, that the *mashhad al-mu'adhdhinīn*

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[15]Ibn Jubayr uses the word *nasr* for the entire transept *(al-gharīb al-mustaṭīl al-musammá al-nasr).* Ibn Baṭṭūṭah refers to the entire transept area as *qubbat al-nasr* (*Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr* [Beirut, 1959], 266 f.). Creswell already noticed that the word *nasr* did not refer to an eagle, but that it must be the translation of the Greek word *aétos,* which means both eagle and gable, the latter being meant in this context. K. A. C. Creswell and James Allan, *A Short Account of Early Muslim Architecture* (Aldershot 1989), 52 f.

[16]Creswell and Allan believe that the fourth is "quite modern." *Short Account,* 53.

[17]Sauvaget, *Les Monuments Historiques,* 17; al-Bahnasī, *Al-Jāmiʻ al-Umawī al-Kabīr*, 78.

[18]Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Riḥlah* (Beirut, 1985) 1:103 ff.

[19]According to Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʻUmarī, the southeastern one, named for the caliph Abū Bakr, included a library; the northeastern was named for ʻAlī; the southwestern, named for ʻUmar, was

was used as a treasury, where people could deposit their valuables in safety boxes. These were modernized after the fire, to be fixed in the wall with a uniform shape.

Qāytbāy's minaret at the southwestern corner of the mosque, which has well preserved its original features to the present day, seems to be all that remains from the restoration works that followed the fire of 1479.[20] Its octagonal shaft is decorated with Damascene *ablaq* masonry. Although the octagonal configuration vaguely recalls Cairene minarets, its proportions and the minaret's profile differ too much from the metropolitan style to be attributed to Cairene craftsmen, as has been suggested by Meinecke.[21] In fact, Ibn al-Ḥimṣī himself says nothing about an Egyptian contribution to the construction of the minaret. The tower, which forms the base of Qāytbāy's minaret, is the only one of the four Roman corner towers to have survived to the present day. The original structure, although it was restored in 680/1184 and 803/1400,[22] seems to have retained its initial proportions until 1479. Its size must have been impressive, since Ibn al-Ḥimṣī describes the minaret as having only one quarter the size of its predecessor.

The Patronage

The costs of the restoration were estimated by the viceroy of Damascus at 58,700 dinars. However, the sultan originally allocated only 15,000 and ultimately paid 22,500, including the reconstruction of the minaret! Obviously he did not trust his viceroy's estimate. He, moreover, seems to have been either unable or unwilling to come up with the entire cost of the mosque's repair, sponsoring the restoration of the prayer hall and the reconstruction of the minaret, and leaving the restoration of the western portico to other sponsors. In addition to the physical damage caused to the bazaar and the mosque, the destruction of the markets, which belonged to its *waqf* estate, deprived the mosque, for a while, of its natural source of revenue. Therefore, only the restoration of the *sāghah,* or goldsmiths' market,

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endowed with a chair of hadith and also included a library. The northwestern one was named for 'Uthmān. This was the place where the viceroy of Syria used to perform his prayer near a window, accompanied by the Shafi'i qadi. This *mashhad* also functioned as a tribunal and as the seat of the four chief qadis when they met to discuss political matters. Each of these *mashhad*s had an imam and a muezzin of its own. Al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār,* 196.

Ibn al-Ḥimṣī uses different names: Shaykh Khaṭṭāb instead of 'Alī, 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr or *mashhad 'Urwah* or *mashhad al-mu'adhdhinīn* instead of *mashhad 'Umar*, *mashhad al-nā'ib* instead of *mashhad 'Uthmān,* and *mashhad al-zanāyi'* instead of *mashhad Abī Bakr*.

[20]The balconies of the minaret were restored after the earthquake of 1173/1759. Mehmet Yaşar Ertaş, "1759 Şam Depremin'de Büyük Hasar Gören Emeviye, Selimiye ve Süleymaniye Camilerinin Onarimi," in *Papers Submitted to the International Symposium on Ottoman Heritage in the Middle East, 28 October 2000, Hatay, Iskenderun* (Ankara, 2001), 1: 241–49, 245.

[21]Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur,* 1:198.

[22]Al-Khaṭīb, *Rawā'i' al-'Imārah*, 21.

could be covered by *waqf* funds, while the rest had to be sponsored by the merchants and other individuals, including Mamluk dignitaries.

Ibn al-Ḥimṣī is quite precise in defining at each stage of completion what the sultan sponsored and what other donors did. Although a clear distinction between public funds and privy is difficult to make in the Mamluk period, the reference to *māl al-sulṭān* should not be understood as the sultan's private purse, but rather as the public treasury, or *bayt al-māl*.

The reconstruction of the southwestern minaret dragged on for a strikingly long period, lasting from Rabīʻ II 887/1482 to Dhū al-Qaʻdah 893/1488, over six years.[23] Furthermore, the work began more than two years after the outbreak of the fire, once the interior restoration was completed. Ibn al-Ḥimṣī's statement that the minaret was visibly smaller than the original is confirmed by the discrepancy between the size of the minaret's base and that of the Roman tower on which it stands (see figure). The fire of 886/1481 in the Prophet's mosque in Medina, which required funds and craftsmen from Cairo and Damascus, must have contributed to the delay in its restoration.[24] All this indicates that the restoration of the Umayyad Mosque was a substantial burden even for such a great builder as Sultan Qāytbāy. Obviously Damascus did not enjoy a priority status in the sultan's otherwise ambitious building program.[25] Considering that the reign of Qāytbāy produced in Cairo an impressive number of new buildings and restoration projects at a much speedier pace, the duration of two years for the restoration of the roof and the prayer hall of the Umayyad Mosque appears rather long, indicating that the building craft in Damascus was not adequate for important architectural projects.

The Building Crafts

Unlike the restorations of the mosques of Mecca and Medina by Sultan Qāytbāy, the restoration of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus took place without the contribution of Egyptian craftsmen. The author explicitly denies the participation of the marble workers whom the sultan sent from Cairo, due to the death of their master; the work was executed by local Christians. Ibn al-Ḥimṣī also seems to follow, though not explicitly, the general opinion which put the blame on the sultan's master-builder Ibn al-ʻAṭṭār for the magnitude of the damage. He gives all the credit for the work to the local workshops, whose names and contribution are mentioned individually.

Four teams of builders were involved in the project: Aḥmad al-Zanīk[26] and his

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[23]An inscription in the minaret indicates the completion date as 893/1487–88.

[24]Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Sultan Qāytbāy's Foundation in Medina, the *Madrasah,* the *Ribāṭ* and the *Dashīshah," Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 61–72.

[25]Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur,* 1:193f.

partners ʻAbd al-Wahhāb and Aḥmad ʻAbbās, who worked together with the apprentices of Ibn al-ʻAṭṭār. The *muʻallim* Muḥammad ibn al-ʻAjlūnīyah repaired the *mashhad* of Abū Bakr. In his short reference to the restoration work at the Umayyad Mosque, Ibn Ṭūlūn writes that a man called al-Zubdānī ibn al-ʻIzqī, who is not mentioned by Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, almost died in jail where he was kept in connection with the fire in the mosque. He does not clarify this connection, however.[27] Ibn Ṭūlūn adds that the fire necessitated a great deal of restoration work. The list of the craftsmen he cites as having been involved in the work differs slightly from that of Ibn al-Ḥimṣī; they are: ʻAbd al-Wahhāb al-Ḥalabī, Ibn al-ʻAjlūnīyah, Muḥammad ibn al-Mu'adhdhin, al-Aʻsar, al-Dafīh ibn al-Tāzī, and his brother ʻAbd al-Wahhāb.

Ibn al-ʻAṭṭār, the sultan′s master-builder, was not personally involved in the work, probably because of the accusations brought against him of not having taken the necessary measures to halt the fire. Another person, Fakhr al-Dīn ibn al-Bayrutī, is mentioned as having been the *muʻallim al-sulṭān* and to have died in Shaʻbān 886/1481;[28] it is not clear whether he shared Ibn al-ʻAṭṭār′s position or was his successor. Ibn al-ʻAṭṭār, however, later regained his position as the *muʻallim al-sulṭān.*[29]

As was usual in the Mamluk period, construction works of such significance took place under the supervision of an amir; in this case it was Yashbak, the viceroy′s chamberlain. The viceroy of Damascus, assisted by the governor of the Citadel and other bureaucrats, were in charge of estimating the restoration costs.

The craftsman who made the grille windows had the *nisbah* ″al-ʻAjamī,″ which in Mamluk texts could mean either Iranian or Turcoman from Iranian lands, or could also refer to someone who had lived or worked in Iran. Ibn al-Ḥimṣī refers to anonymous metalworkers (beaters) from Aleppo who made some of the doors, and he names Awlād al-Zuʻaymah as another team of metalbeaters also in connection with the doors. The craftsman who cast and applied the lead was an Anatolian Turk *(rūmī),* the *Ḥājj* Aḥmad Isḥāq al-Rūmī. As expected, none of these men is mentioned in contemporary biographical encyclopedias.

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[26]Ibn Ṭūlūn mentions Ibn al-Zafīk, who died in jail in 886/1481, having been beaten to death by order of the sultan in connection with the construction of a *khān* at Wādī al-Tīm. *Mufākahah,* 1:46. My reading of Ibn al-Ḥimṣī′s manuscript is, however, Ibn al-Zanīk, who must be identical with this person. The *fā'* and *nūn* could have been confused.

[27]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 1:6.

[28]Ibid., 56.

[29]Ibid., 107, 318. Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur,* 1:194.

IBN AL-ḤIMṢĪ´S ACCOUNT OF THE FIRE[30]

(fol. 74v f.) On the night of Wednesday 26 to 27 Rajab 884/13 October 1479 a catastrophe of unprecedented extent—even by comparison with Timur´s calamity—occurred when a fire broke out in the Umayyad Mosque, burning it entirely *(min awwalihi ilá ākhirihi),* sparing only the *mashhad al-nā'ib,* also known as *mashhad 'Uthmān,* and the *mashhad al-shaykh Khaṭṭāb,* also known by the name of 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn *[sic]* and a section of the northern portico *(riwāq).* The *mashhad al-nā'ib* was spared only because its ceiling was lower than that of the rest of the mosque [see plan].

In the northern *riwāq* only a small area escaped the fire. The western minaret caught fire and collapsed, killing a man.

The fire started in the bazaar, destroying the respective markets of the shoemakers *(akhfāqīyīn),*[31] the amber-dealers *('anbarīyīn),* the sword-makers *(suyūfīyīn),* the silk-weavers *(ḥarīrīyīn),* the small market of the merchants *(tujjār)* and weavers *(ḥayyākīn)* known as the farmers´ market *(sūq al-zurrā'),* and the great old goldsmiths´ market *(al-ṣāghah al-kabīrah al-'atīqah).* In this night people lost fortunes and shops and stores were looted; it was an abominable night, the thought of which makes one shudder *(yuqash'ir al-julūd).*

The fire broke out when a shoemaker called Abū Bakr ibn 'Alwān al-Budyūkī, who dwelt in a flat at the Bāb al-Barīd, asked his wife to prepare candle fat *(duhn sham').* While she was doing so, fat dripped on some hemp [that was there] which then caught fire without any of them noticing it. When the two of them realized what had happened they were so scared that they removed their belongings without informing anyone. The fire increased and spread into the shoemakers´ market. People rushed to move their belongings instead of extinguishing the fire, (fol. 75v) while others were looting. The fire went on destroying the shoemakers´ market *(adamīyīn)* and spread further to destroy the amber market, from where it penetrated the mosque through a broken grille window *(qamarīyah)* near the door of the southwestern minaret. It got to the ceiling on the southwestern corner and progressed to all other parts. It is reported that the sultan´s *mu'allim*[32] Muḥammad ibn al-'Aṭṭār, who was present, replied to those who reported the fire to him that

[30]The passages concerning the fire and the restoration which are dispersed in the chronicle have been here pasted together . For this free translation I am using a microfilm of the manuscript from the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts in Cairo (Ma'had al-Makhṭūṭāt al-'Arabīyah MS 239), not the published texts, which have gaps. In Tadmurī´s edition, the passages referring to the fire are 1:232–63, 313, and in Ḥarfūsh´s edition, 1:147–73.

[31]Elsewhere the author uses the synonymous term *adamīyīn.*

[32]This term in late Mamluk historiography refers to the court master-builder. See my *"Muhandis, Shādd, Mu'allim*: Note on the Building Craft in the Mamluk Period," *Der Islam* 72 no. 2 (1995): 293–309.

the ceiling was too high to catch fire; he [therefore] did not remove any beams [to prevent its advance]. However, the amir al-Ṣārimī Ibrāhīm ibn Manjaq, who dwelt in the Manjaq palace adjacent to the gate of the Clocks (Bāb al-Sā'āt), ordered some beams on his side to be removed and thus succeeded in stopping the fire short of his residence. The *mashhad al-shaykh Khaṭṭāb*[33] located nearby and the rest of the *riwāq* could thus be rescued. As for the *mashhad al-nā'ib,* it was not reached by the flames because its ceiling is lower than that of the mosque, with a gap between them.

I was present most of the time, carrying away with my colleagues the carpets from the mosque to the courtyard and urging others to do the same. As the fire was progressing, I gave orders to remove the minbar and carry out the Quran of 'Uthmān and the Quran fascicles *(rab'āt)* and the *ḍarīḥ* which belonged to the *waqf* [of the mosque].[34] We had just had straw mats (fol. 76) of unparalleled fine quality newly made. They were placed near the window of *mashhad al-nā'ib* where they all burned. However, the *mashhad* itself did not; it had also escaped the fire of Timur.

Two months earlier the viceroy Qānṣūh al-Yaḥāwī had ordered the renovation of the mosque and the estate that belonged to its *waqf*. The marble paneling in the southern wall had been entirely renovated by Christian craftsmen *(naṣārá murrakhimīn),* as far as the shrine *(ḍarīḥ)* of Sīdī Hūd. The fire also destroyed the gilded *ṭirāz* (inscription band) that had been entirely renovated. The marble burned down and collapsed like melting salt. Glass bits fell alongside a grilled glass window and the lead from the roof melted down. The beauty of the mosque vanished and it was wrapped in smoke.

Every time a part of the roof collapsed, one heard a formidable thunder-like noise. People could see each other in the night because of the brightness of the fire. All grieved profoundly; even *ahl al-dhimmah* wept at the sight, as did the people who flocked in from the villages. (fol. 76v) On Friday 29 Rajab (15 October) a bench *(kursī)* for the *khaṭīb* was placed in the courtyard before the transept dome *(qubbat al-nasr)*. He performed the sermon while the audience was heavily weeping *(wa-baká al-nās bukā'an 'aẓīman)*. It was a terrible moment.

On 27 Sha'bān (12 November) Shaykh Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ḥiṣnī came to the Umayyad Mosque and gave orders to remove the debris of the three eastern and three western aisles *(jamalīn)* and those of the *mashhad al-mu'adhdhinīn*. The debris of the western portico was removed on the first day, that of the three

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[33]This is another name for the *mashhad* of 'Alī, located behind the eastern portico of the mosque, and is not to be confused with the *mashhad* of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, which is on the western side of the prayer hall.

[34]It is not clear what is meant by *ḍarīh* here; perhaps the shrine of Hūd.

western aisles [of the sanctuary] the next day, and that of the eastern aisles on the third day. An overwhelming number of people were present during these three days, including women and children, each carrying according to his capacity, so that the task was achieved at an unusual speed. (fol. 77) I saw qadis, scholars, and *ashrāf*s loading the debris on animals and dumping it outside in the ruins *(kharāb).* This task would otherwise have taken a year to accomplish, but the zeal of the knowledgeable and virtuous made this possible. The mosque was filled with ovations and recitations *(tahlīl wa-takbīr);* it was a great moment.

On Sunday, the last day of Sha'bān (14 November), the sultan ordered the viceroy to make a cost estimate of what the mosque and its *waqf* estate would need. The viceroy Qānṣūh al-Yaḥāwī, alongside the qadi of the army *(qāḍī nāẓir al-jaysh),* Muwaffaq al-Dīn, the Maliki chief qadi, Bahā' al-Dīn al-Marīnī,[35] and Yashbak, the chief chamberlain and great *dawādār,* and many others, including master-builders *(mu'allimīn)* with the sultan's master-builder Ibn al-'Aṭṭār, came to inspect the mosque. Some people believed that Ibn al-'Aṭṭār was responsible for the spread of the fire because he opposed the removal of beams from the ceiling, a measure that would have stopped the fire. For this reason, when the angry populace saw him arrive with the viceroy, while people were busy removing the debris, they shouted to prevent him from entering the mosque and some tried to kill him. While the mamluks were taking his defense, the populace began to throw stones at the viceroy with ever increasing vigor. The angry viceroy grasped an axe to attack while his mamluks were hitting people who were running away. (fol. 77v) At that point the viceroy saw a Turk *(rūmī)* carrying his *tanbūr,*[36] which increased his fury, so that he and the mamluks beat him almost to death with a burnt log from the mosque. It was a terrible sight. After the populace had run away, the viceroy and his men eventually estimated the costs of the repair at 58,700 dinars and sent their report to the sultan.

On 3 Ramaḍān (17 November), the *shaykh al-balad,* the Shafi'i shaykh Taqī al-Dīn ibn Qāḍī 'Ajlūn[37] began to collect money from the merchants and other sponsors and set out to repair the *mashhad* of 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr, also known as *mashhad al-mu'adhdhinīn,* as well as the northern portico between the gates of Bāb al-Kallāsah and Bāb al-Barīd.

(fol. 78) In the same month an order came from the sultan announcing the allocation of 15,000 dinars from the sultan's treasury in the Citadel of Damascus, which should be sufficient to cover the restoration works. This should be [a

[35]According to Ibn Ṭūlūn, the Maliki chief qadi at that time was Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Marīnī, who died in 897/1492.

[36]A musical instrument.

[37]Al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib al-Sā'irah,* 1:114ff.

donation], not a loan to be reimbursed *(wa-lan tustadān thumma tudfa' li-ajlin ājil)*.

On Thursday 23 Shawwāl (6 January 1480) the sultan departed for pilgrimage.

In this same month [Shawwāl], the ceiling of the *mashhad al-mu'adhdhinīn* together with that of the vestibule of Bāb al-Barīd and the ceiling of the western portico were repaired. It used to be a double ceiling before the fire, but it was rebuilt, for structural reasons *(li-ajl al-khiffah),* with a single layer. This part was exclusively sponsored by generous donors from among the merchants and others.

On 5 Dhū al-Qa'dah (17 January) the viceroy ordered the carpenters and builders *(al-mu'allimīn wa-al-khashshābīn)* and the attendants of the Umayyad Mosque to tour the Damascene province in search of timber and beams suitable for the restoration of the mosque, which they did. (fol. 78v) The timber was purchased at a fair price and in a just manner *(bi-al 'adl wa-al-inṣāf)* with funds from the sultan's treasury handed out by his deputy the qadi Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-'Arīkī(?).

On Monday the 13th, the viceroy ordered the demolition of the mihrab of the *mashhad* of 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr, also known as *mashhad al-mu'adhdhinīn*, which was a beautiful marble mihrab flanked on both sides by cells, to be replaced by a new one and new cells. A new one was carved in the wall.

(fol. 79 f.) On 24 Dhū al-Ḥijjah (6 March) the restoration work sponsored by the sultan began in the sanctuary. The supervisor of the work was the amir Yashbak, the viceroy's second chamberlain, alongside the notaries *(shuhūd)* Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn ibn al-Jāmūs al-Asadī and his companion, Shaykh Nūr al-Dīn al-Jabṣīnī. A few months later, however, the sultan appointed Aydakī, the governor of the Citadel, as the financial trustee *(nā'ib 'alá al-maṣrūf);* he eventually replaced the previously-mentioned *shuhūd,* although they were men of outstanding piety and honesty, by Burhān al-Buṣrawī and Manṣūr al-Ismā'īlī. Amir Yashbak continued to work with the governor of the Citadel.

In Muḥarram 885 (March), a Jew came to buy the debris of the burnt lead that used to roof the aisles of the mosque, offering the amount of one thousand dirhams for it. They took him to the deputy-supervisor of the mosque, who refused to sell for less than 3,000 dirhams, to which the Jew also agreed. The reason for this purchase was that someone caught the Jew while he was stealing the lead debris. Fearing a scandal he offered to buy it. When he was asked to pay, he changed his mind and declared that he was short of cash. At that point someone outbid him by raising the price to 250 *ashrafī*s, which the Jew eventually paid. Later on he began, along with his wife, to complain about having been forced into this deal he had no need for. Another person came up and outbid them, so that by 7 Muḥarram (18 March) the price of the debris had reached 20,000 dirhams. On the 25th the debris was eventually sold for 1,250 dinars to Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Bahnasāwī, the treasurer *(ṣayrafī)* of the Citadel in the Umayyad Mosque, in the presence of a

large crowd. The Jew then returned, saying "'indī fīhi bi-al-amānah 10,000 dinars,"[38] but Nāṣir al-Dīn replied that he would buy it himself for any amount, disregarding profit, for the benefit of the mosque.

The mosque had lead at the southern aisles, the two *nasr*s *(nasrayn),* and the *'abbārāt*(?). What escaped the fire was stored in a room in the mosque. What was burnt was sold with the debris.

The sultan's restoration of the *mashhad al-zanāyi',* also known as *mashhad* Abī Bakr, was completed by (fol. 80) the *mu'allim* Muḥammad ibn al-'Ajlūnīyah.

In the same month the restoration of the safes of *mashhad al-mu'adhdhinīn,* or *mashhad* 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr, was completed. A total of fifty-two safe-boxes were replaced. This was done with the funds provided by the viceroy's secretary *(dawādār).* They were better than the original ones, which had different shapes and were not attached to the wall.

In Ṣafar (April) the first southwestern aisle *(jamalūn)* was completed with the sultan's funds by the *mu'allim* Aḥmad Ibn al-Zanīk and the *mu'allim* 'Abd al-Wahhāb under the supervision of Amir Yashbak al-Ḥamzāwī, the second chamberlain and overseer of the Umayyad Mosque.

The works progressed rapidly, thanks to the ingenious mechanical device of an old carpenter from Ṣāliḥīyah called Muḥammad al-Kuftī. It consisted of a pole *(sārī)* and a wheel *(dūlāb)* which could easily lift the beams, so that all the beams of an aisle could be raised in one morning. This was a great blessing that saved a great deal of money.

(fol. 80v) In Rabī' I (May) the roof of the second southwestern aisle was completed with the sultan's funds by the *mu'allim* Aḥmad 'Abbās and his team of Ibn al-'Aṭṭār's apprentices.

In the same month the first southeastern aisle was completed by the *mu'allim*s Aḥmad al-Zanīk and 'Abd al-Wahhāb. It included a great *maqṭū'* (cross-beam?)[39] above the shrine of St. John.

In Jumādá I (July) the sultan's restoration of the third southwestern aisle was completed by the *mu'allim* Aḥmad 'Abbās along with the apprentices of Ibn al-'Aṭṭār.

(fol. 81) In the same month they began the restoration of the marble dado sponsored by the sultan, beginning with the southwestern side. Aydakī, the governor of the Citadel and the sultan's financial trustee *(amīn 'alá al-maṣrūf),* ordered the repainting of the white frieze of the sanctuary with red *(zanjafar)* color. (fol. 81v)

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[38]I am not able to interpret this sentence. Could it perhaps mean that he had already pledged some security to fulfil his obligation?

[39]Literally this is an adjective meaning "cut"; here it might refer to a perpendicular section in the beams to mark the site of the shrine of St. John.

The original white was better and more pleasant; but the one who gave the orders was popular (*maḥbūb*?), namely the Citadel's governor.

In Jumādá II (mainly August) the sultan's restoration of the third southeastern aisle was done by *mu'allim* 'Abd al-Wahhāb and his partner Aḥmad al-Zanīk, thus completing the six aisles of the sanctuary with the exception of the two parts of the transept *(nasrayn)*. They also began to replace the grille windows *(qamarīyah)* of the southern wall.

In Rajab (mainly September) the floor of *mashhad al-mu'adhdhinīn* was paved with stone *(al-balāṭ al-lāṭūn)* with funds provided by the sultan.

(fol. 82) The works began at the inner doors, paid for by the sultan.

(fol. 83v) On the 27th (1 October) they began to cast the lead for the two transepts *(nasr)* and the '*abbārāt*. The lead was carried to the *madrasah balkhīyah* to be processed there.

(fol. 84) On 15 Sha'bān (19 October) the southern *nasr* was covered with lead; it took 77.25 *qinṭār*s. This was done by a Turk *(rūmī)* called al-Ḥājj Aḥmad Isḥāq al-Rūmī, who came on his own initiative without having been summoned. He was paid 20 dirhams per *qinṭār* for casting and mounting the lead, in addition to the wage of his apprentices. This man had previously produced the lead for Jerusalem. In the same month also the northern *nasr* was covered with lead with the sultan's funds.

(fol. 84v) During the month of Ramaḍān (November/December) the mosque was painted at the sultan's expense; the chandeliers and the lamps were then suspended. The chandelier *(fanūsat al-qanādīl)* was hung at the shrine of St. John. The *khuṭbah* and the *tarāwīḥ* prayer were then performed at the *miḥrāb al-ṣaḥābah* on the eastern side of the transept, instead of the Hanafi mihrab on the western side, where the *khuṭbah* was being held since the fire. Everyone was delighted.

(fol. 85 f.) In Shawwāl (December 1480/January 1481) the great grille windows of the transept were mounted.[40] They were made by Muḥammad al-'Ajamī. At the same time the painting of the northern *nasr* was completed. This and the other *nasr* are of unparalleled beauty. They were decorated with gold and lapis and the sultan's name with the date were inscribed on the southern *ṭirāz*. The northern *nasr* had no lower ceiling before the fire. Three doors were mounted in the area of the southern *nasr,* made by master metal-beaters *(al-mu'allimīn al-daqqīyah)* from Aleppo. The southwestern doors were made by the beaters Awlād al-Zu'aymah. The southeastern doors, which had not been damaged, were polished and returned

[40]The original mosque had arched windows with marble grilles of geometric design *(qamarīyah)* in the Roman tradition. Six of them are extant in the western portico. (Creswell and Allan, *Short Account,* 69 f.). Because of the fire of 1983 it is not possible to say if the *qamarīyahs* destroyed by the fire were Umayyad or later ones.

to their place. The sultan paid for all of this.

The 15,000 dinars allocated by the sultan were now almost exhausted. The sultan had sent marble specialists from Cairo but their *mu‘allim* died and they did not do any work.

(fol. 86v) In Muḥarram 886 (March 1481) the copper door of Bāb al-Ziyādah,[41] also known as the gate of the *‘anbarīyīn,* was mounted. It was restored at the sultan′s expense and came out better than before.

On Saturday the 16th (13 March) the bench of the muezzins was mounted in its original location in the *maqṣūrah;* it was decorated with gold and lapis and cost 25,000 dirhams. The repainted minbar was returned to its place, more beautiful than ever.

On Friday the 29th (30 March) a celebration service was held in the *maqṣūrah,* the chief qadi Sirāj al-Dīn al-Ṣayrafī performing the sermon. After the end of the sermon and the prayer, the Hanafi chief qadi Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-Qaṣīf, the Maliki chief qadi Shihāb al-Dīn al-Marīnī, the Hanbali chief qadi Najm al-Dīn ibn Mufliḥ, the great chamberlain Yashbak, and the sultan′s *dawādār* Yalbāy came, and the Quran fascicles *(rab‘ah)* were distributed among them in the *maqṣūrah*—the muezzins were also there; they dedicated their prayers and recitations to the sultan in gratitude for his having restored the mosque. So far the costs of the restoration had amounted to 16,000 dinars.[42]

(fol. 88) On Friday 24 Rabī‘ II (22 June) another service was held in honor of the sultan, in the presence of the viceroy Qijmas. Robes of honor were bestowed on the supervisor of the construction work and the governor of the Citadel, Aydakī, as well as on the qadis and the *khaṭīb* of the mosque representing the Shafi‘i chief qadi Sirāj al-Dīn ibn al-Ṣayrafī. By that time the restoration costs amounted to 17,000 dinars.

(fol. 88v) In Jumādá I 886 (June/July) the merchants and others returned to the now-restored markets of the farmers *(zurrā‘),* the silk-makers, the amber-dealers, and the sword-makers. The funds had been provided by the sale of the lead debris, which brought 1,250 dinars, along with funds provided by the *waqf* of the mosque. The goldsmiths′ market and parts of the shoemakers′ market were not restored yet because of the western minaret.

(fol. 90v) On Wednesday 9 Sha‘bān (3 October) an accident occurred at the gate of the Bāb al-Barīd. While the builders were dismantling the gate to rebuild it, rubble fell and killed a number of prisoners in the adjacent jail.

The restoration work took two years and fifteen days to complete and amounted

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[41]The gate of the exterior extension of the mosque, at the western end of the sanctuary.

[42]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 1:34, who gives the date 19 Muḥarram. This must be an error, however, as this date could not be a Friday.

to 18,000 dinars, not including the reconstruction of the western minaret.[43]

In Dhū al-Qaʿdah (December) news arrived that a fire had broken out at the Prophet's mosque in Medina; the sultan summoned builders who had worked at the Umayyad Mosque, among them the above mentioned Muḥammad al-Kuftī who had raised the beams.[44]

(fol. 96) In Rabīʿ II 887 (May/June 1482) the sultan ordered the reconstruction of the western minaret and the restoration of the lead in the remaining parts of the mosque.[45]

(fol. 97) In Rajab (August/September) the restoration of the goldsmiths' market, which belonged to the endowment of the mosque, was completed with *waqf* funds.

(fol. 148) In Dhū al-Qaʿdah 893 (October/November 1488) the reconstruction of the western minaret was completed to the best standard. It cost the sultan 4,500 dinars. It was built on the foundations of the former one, reusing its stones, albeit on a smaller scale of about one quarter of its original dimensions.

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[43]According to Ibn Ṭūlūn the restoration was completed in Rabīʿ II 886. Ibid., 1:42.

[44]Muḥammad al-Kuftī is also mentioned by Ibn Ṭūlūn, who similarly credits him for having raised the beams of the mosque. Ibid., 51.

[45]Ibid., 54.



The minaret of Qāytbāy above the Roman tower



Plan of the Umayyad mosque indicating the *mashhad*s in the late Mamluk period

Book Reviews

Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*. Edited by Muḥammad Zaynhum and Madīḥah al-Sharqāwī. Ṣafaḥāt min Tārīkh Miṣr, no. 39 (Cairo: Maktabat Madbūlī, 1998). Three volumes.

Reviewed by Frédéric Bauden, University of Liège

For those who are familiar with Claude Gilliot′s reviews of books published in Egypt, regularly appearing at the end of the *Mélanges de l′Institut Dominicain d′Études Orientales*, Muḥammad Zaynhum (sometimes Muḥammad Zaynhum Muḥammad ʻAzab) is almost a celebrity. His critical editions *(taḥqīq)* are generally based on previous ones published by the Būlāq press, or on a single manuscript preserved in the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah. Unsurprisingly, most of them are strongly criticized by Gilliot. Now, Zaynhum has decided to tackle the problem of a critical edition of al-Maqrīzī′s *Khiṭaṭ*. It is a well-known fact that the Būlāq version, with its impractical format, numerous defects, and the poor typography, has remained since its appearance in 1853 the standard edition, although some attempts were made to provide scholars with a better one. Several editions have appeared in the course of the last century, but a complete critical edition, based on several manuscripts, was still seriously needed. This is finally the case, with Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid′s project, which will be completed by the time this review is printed.[1] Compared to the latter, the Zaynhum edition must be categorized among the commercial shenanigans to which the Maktabat Madbūlī is accustomed. The new series, in which this book appears, is full of reprints of older editions almost without any modification. This is also the case here. Probably taken from the Būlāq edition, the text is presented in a more agreeable format in three volumes with a readable font. It is hard to know whether the text has been set up again or if an Optical Character Recognition process has been used. Be that as it may, the result is a disaster: no introduction, no bibliography, no indexes; footnotes limited to the identification of Quran verses, persons, and places in a rather erratic way ending with p. 498 of vol. 1; mistakes added to the Būlāq version (like al-Musabbiḥī′s name becoming al-Mashīkhī! (2:113). A collation of the beginning revealed the following errors : 1:5, line 3: يتقبلون for يتقلبون; line 15: مضى وغبر for مضى وعبر. To conclude, this edition should not find its way onto the shelves of any library and this is even more the case because of the appearance of A. F. Sayyid′s critical edition.

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[1]London: Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2002. Three vols. published so far. See my forthcoming review of vols. 1 and 2 in *Journal of Islamic Studies*.

ʻĀDIL SHARĪF ʻALLAM, *Al-Nuṣūṣ al-Taʼsīsīyah ʻalá al-ʻAmāʼir al-Dīnīyah al-Mamlūkīyah al-Bāqiyah bi-Madīnat al-Qāhirah* (Dār al-Thaqāfah lil-Ṭibāʻah wa-al-Nashr, 2001). Pp. 453, illustrations.

REVIEWED BY DINA GHALY, University of Toronto

This book is a catalogue of the foundation inscriptions of the standing Mamluk religious buildings in Cairo. Studies on foundation inscriptions are rare, and there are only two other major systematic works that cover, within their broader scope, the material of the book under review. The first is Max Van Berchem′s *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* (*CIA*), and the second is the *Repertoire chronologique d′épigraphies arabes (RCEA),* which is a collaboration of several authors. The former is so far unsurpassed in its scope and methodology, while the latter, which is focused on cataloguing the inscriptions without any further analysis of the context, is still incomplete. Therefore, a study in this category is always welcome.

The book, as outlined by the author in his preface, consists of an introduction, four chapters and a summary of results. The introduction provides a brief review of the earliest foundation inscriptions in Islamic architecture in Egypt. It also provides a useful list of the different building materials used for the inscriptions. Unfortunately, no reference is given for the trade terminology the author uses for the different stone types (p. 11).

The first three chapters follow a typological division of the different building types: the first covers madrasahs, the second mosques and the third the rest of the religious foundations such as *khānqāh*s, *zāwiyah*s, and *ribāṭ*s. This division is practical and facilitates systematic comparison within each group. The fourth chapter is an analysis of the catalogued inscriptions, with a comparison between the content of the inscriptions and the data available from the sources and *waqf* documents.

For each building listed, the author gives the foundation inscriptions, their location within the building, and a transcription in Arabic. Some of the inscriptions offer revisions made to previously published ones. Unlike the *RCEA,* which only gives the reference to the Quranic citations found in the inscriptions, the author reproduces Quranic texts in full. This is one of the positive aspects of the book. However, some of his revisions to the *RCEA,* which is a reference conspicuously absent from his bibliography, are not properly explained. For instance, for the Madrasah al-Bunduqdārīyah, he says that Wiet added two words to the text, but the reader is left to guess whether he means that the two words were there when recorded by Wiet and are no longer there now, or whether Wiet made a mistake adding those two words.

Other problems include the wrong references he gives to the *RCEA* for many

foundation inscriptions. For example, the reference he gives for the Madrasah al-Bunduqdārīyah is to vol. 12. Vol. 12 ends with the year 680/1281–82, while the madrasah dates to 683/1283–84 and is found in vol. 13, n. 4874. He also does not include inscription n. 4872 at the base of the dome, but adds one inscription stating the date. Another example is the reference for the Madrasah al-Jāwilīyah (pp. 186–87), which he gives as vol. 13, p. 5, when in fact it is p. 245, n. 5163 (he did not provide the catalogue number in this case). Furthermore, other inscriptions in this building are not mentioned at all. The author is also inconsistent in giving the corresponding *RCEA* reference for many of his catalogue entries (e.g., pp. 51, 188–89). One important aspect provided in the *RCEA* but missing in this book is the extensive bibliography that follows each catalogue entry.

There are useful additions and revisions for some inscriptions. For instance, the author adds the date to an inscription in the *khānqāh* of Baybars al-Jāshankīr, which is missing in the *RCEA,* as well as the name of the sultan in another inscription (pp. 188–89). Another example is the date he adds for an inscription in the *khānqāh* of Mughulṭāy. However, the lack of explanation of why or how this information was added when it has been missing in earlier publications raises doubts as to the validity of this data and makes it difficult to use the text.

For the madrasah of Īnāl al-Yūsufī, the author gives only the foundation inscription on the façade and ignores the inscription on the *sabīl,* published earlier by Van Berchem (*CIA* n. 190). In addition, the inscription he provides differs from the one published earlier by Lamei and Creswell, whom he does not mention. In this case, the author fails to provide any reference to previously published inscriptions. Furthermore, although the author discusses this building again in the fourth chapter, p. 234, and provides a partial transcription of its *waqf* manuscript in the appendix on pp. 312–17, no cross-reference to these two sections can be found in the main catalogue entry of the monument (p. 56).

In Chapter 4, "Analytical Studies," (pp. 223 f.) the author attempts to analyze the relationship between the foundation inscriptions and the function of the buildings. In this chapter, the author also provides a comparison between the architectural planning of the buildings and the information available from the sources and *waqf* documents. For this purpose, he reproduces plans—all were published earlier—for all the buildings he discusses, although the figure numbers are missing for most of them.

For each building type, the author attempts to organize the different designs adopted into categories, e.g., four-*īwān* plans, two-*īwān* plans, etc. Within each plan type, a list of the monuments that follow the specified type is provided. Under madrasahs, a curious plan type is his no. 8, "the *riwāq* plan without a courtyard or a *durqā‘ah*," under which he gives the Madrasah al-Bunduqdārīyah as an example. This is not accurate, since the only surviving parts of the building

are the two mausolea. The central part of the building, on which he based his plan type, is of later construction of unknown date and does not relate to the foundation inscription provided by the author. In addition, the reader is disappointed when no analysis is given showing how a specific plan type relates to the foundation inscription, as the author promised to do. In fact, since there is no relationship between building function and specific plan type, it is hard to understand the necessity of the detailed categorization the author provides.

The author explains, through the study of *waqf* documents, the intended functions of the building, and how these functions were to be carried out. Although this shows the relationship between the architecture and the *waqf*, it does not explain the particular plan type as categorized by the author. The obvious conclusion one can reach from the author′s search for a relationship between foundation inscriptions and building designs is that there is none. Plan types, such as the *īwān*-plan, and building function, whether it is a mosque, a madrasah, or a *khānqāh,* became increasingly interchangeable in the Mamluk period and were not related to the foundation inscriptions. In other words, the exercise conducted by the author to compile his plan types seems unnecessary and irrelevant to the purpose of the chapter and the book.

An analysis of plan types in Mamluk architecture has already been successfully attempted by Meinecke in his *Mamlukische Architektur*, who also provided a reason and context for their development. Obviously, the development of plan types was subject to various urban and other criteria and was unrelated to the intended function of the building.

The author notes that the madrasahs that have a mosque function do not have minarets. However, the madrasah he mentions in the preceding paragraph, that of Īnāl al-Yūsufī, which had a mosque function as he himself explains, does have a minaret (p. 234).

The author quotes extensive excerpts from several *waqf* documents in support of the description of the buildings′ functions. He also appended several of these buildings′ *waqf* texts to the book, which he considers one of the achievements of this publication. However, he only reproduced the sections relevant to his study and not the entire manuscripts. The sections dealing with the buildings′ description and location, as well as the income producing properties allocated to the building, are not provided. The manuscripts are only transcribed and not edited.

One valid conclusion the author arrives at is that when the word ″madrasah″ is included in the foundation inscription, the plan follows the *īwān*-plan consistently.

Editorial mistakes abound in this publication. First, a table of contents is conspicuously missing, as well as an index. The photographs are of such poor printing quality that they are entirely useless. Chapter one, the one cataloguing madrasahs, lacks a title.

More importantly, there are numerous spelling mistakes that hamper the soundness of the inscriptions. For example, p. 42, n. 7: ″Allāh *il*lā ilāh illā huwa,″ which is again repeated for n. 8. Uljāy al-Yūsufī is printed ″Uljāy ila Ūsufī″ and Qānībāy is printed ″Qātbāy.″ Such mistakes are so frequent, occuring in monument names as well as personal names, that they constitute a real obstacle, especially for someone unfamiliar with the material. In addition, there are numerous grammatical and language mistakes which render the author′s intent at times incomprehensible. Footnote references do not correspond to the correct footnotes (wrong numbering). Also, mistakes in dates can be found, as on p. 251 where the date is given as 13862. Pages 254–55 are repeated on pp. 256–57, while the correct two pages are missing. In these two pages, we miss the categorization of the author′s mosque plans.

Overall, this book, which would have been a practical reference for the study of Cairo′s religious architecture, does not replace the major references in this field with respect to Mamluk religious architecture. It offers some revisions to previously published inscriptions but must be consulted with other reliable references.

The Dîvân of Qânsûh al-Ghûrî. Edited by Mehmet Yalçın (Istanbul: Bay, 2002). Pp. 203.

Kansu Gavrî′nin Türkçe Dîvânı. Edited by Orhan Yavuz (Konya: Selçuk Üniversitesi, Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2002). Pp. 376.

REVIEWED BY ROBERT DANKOFF, University of Chicago

These are two editions of the Turkish poetry of Sultan Qānṣūh (or Qansu, or Qānıṣawh, or Qanısav) al-Ghawrī (or al-Ghūrī), d. 1516, hereafter in this review referred to by his Turkish *maḫlaṣ* as Gavri. Of these, the one by Yavuz is superior on the grounds of accuracy and comprehensiveness. The one by Yalçın does have the feature of an English rendering of the text, and so may be useful to someone who does not know Turkish but wishes to gain an idea of what the ill-fated sultan wrote poems about in that language (he also wrote poems in Persian and Arabic). The introductions of the two editions cover more or less the same ground—life, times, works, description of the manuscript—and both books include a facsimile of the unicum. Yavuz adds some poems drawn from other texts, plus a long and detailed analysis of the language of the poems; this analysis (pp. 159–282) may have some utility for Turcologists, although it struck this reviewer as largely

unnecessary since Gavri´s language is generally simple and straigtforward and departs in no way from standard Ottoman Turkish; also the analysis is skewed as based on a corpus that includes verses definitely not by Gavri (see below).

The unicum in question (Staatsbibliothek, Marburg, or. oct. 3744) has been known for some time and was described by Manfred Götz (*Türkische Handschriften* II [Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1968], 207–8) and used by Barbara Flemming in several of her articles devoted to Turkish literary activities in the late Mamluk period. The title, *Dīwān-ı Qānsūh al-Ghawrī,* refers to the first 87 folios out of a total of 236, but even this part contains *ghazal*s of other poets (see below). The rest contains poems of Aḥmed Paşa (d. 1497) and ʿAdnī (Maḥmūd Paşa, d. 1474) and several treatises on *ʿarūż* metrics.

The first part of the manuscript is incomplete, since there are clearly folios missing. What remains are roughly seventy poems attributed to Gavri. Yavuz counts 71, Yalçın 68. The discrepancy is accounted for as follows:

1. Yalçın omits a poem (XLVI in Yavuz´s edition) which in the manuscript bears an attribution to Şeyḫī, but although Şeyḫī is mentioned in the poem it is clearly by Gavri.
2. Yavuz includes an elegy (*merṣiye;* LII in his edition) for the Amir Yaşbek which is incomplete and which there is no reason to assign to Gavri.
3. Yavuz includes a long but incomplete *ḳaṣīde* as the last of Gavri´s poems in this collection (LXXI in his edition), apparently because the previous folio ends with an attribution to Gavri, but clearly at least one folio is missing in between, since the acephalous *ḳaṣīde* begins with the second hemistich of a verse; also the style is very Persianate and completely different from Gavri´s style, and furthermore the poet refers to himself as Aḥmed in the second-to-last extant verse. In fact, this is a portion of a well-known *ḳaṣīde* by Aḥmed Paşa dedicated to the Ottoman sultan Meḥemmed II Fātiḥ (see *Ahmed Paşa Divanı,* ed. Ali Nihad Tarlan [Istanbul, 1966], poem no. 13; Götz, *Türkische Handschriften,* 207, had already identified this properly).

Thus, by my reckoning, the Marburg manuscript contains 69 poems of Gavri. To these Yavuz appends nine others from four other manuscripts; five of these are by a certain Derviş Aḥmed who also signs himself Gavri but is clearly a different poet; the other four can confidently be assigned to Sultan Gavri (one—LXVIII in Yavuz's edition, Poem 66 in Yalçın´s—is from his Arabic *dīwān* and can be seen as balancing out the one Arabic poem in his Turkish ˝diwan˝).

One further discrepancy must be noted: Yavuz´s edition skips two pages of the original text, apparently corresponding to one opening that was skipped in the photograph of the manuscript which he used. The omission occurs after the first

two verses of no. IX in his edition. For the missing nine verses, see Yalçın, Poem 9. From this point also the enumeration of the folios is off by one in the two editions; thus Yavuz's 14b = Yalçın's 15b, etc.

The contents of the first eighteen poems can be roughly characterized as "religious," including praise of God, the Prophet, and the Companions; Sufi-style sentiments; and expressions of remorse for sin. The remainder of the poems sound the familiar *ghazal* themes of wine and love, and it is these that often appear in the manuscript together with counterparts *(naẓīre)* in the same meter and rhyme by other poets, including Aḥmedī (d. 1413), Nesīmī (d. ca. 1404), Aḥmed Paşa (d. 1497), and Cem Sultan (d. 1495). In the case of his contemporaries it appears that sometimes Gavri was responding to one of theirs, sometimes vice versa, although the question needs more study. Yavuz gives the text of these interspersed poems in footnotes to his edition or else in his introduction, thus permitting us to witness this *naẓīre* phenomenon at work; Yalçın omits them, thus giving us a distorted view of the original text.

At the end of two *ghazal*s Gavri names Şeyḫī (d. 1431) as the one he is emulating: "O Gavri, if Şeyhi heard your verse he would cock his ear, saying, 'Apparently shahs and sultans have favored you'" (Yavuz, XLI = Yalçın, Poem 41); "If your poetry does not match that of Şeyhi, go and give up Turkish!" (Yavuz, LX = Yalçın, Poem 58; reading: *Ermediyise ṣan'at ile Şeyḫiye şi'rüñ / Var Türkiyi terk et*).

We cannot date any of Gavri's poems, nor are there internal indications as to whether any one was composed before or after he became sultan. The only exception is the *ghazal* elegizing the Amir Yaşbek, presumably written shortly after he died in 1489 (Yavuz, LI = Yalçın, Poem 50). During his sultanate (1501–16) Gavri also sponsored the monumental Turkish translation of Firdawsī's Persian epic, the *Shāh-nāmah*, completed by the poet Şerīf (also known as Şerīfī) in 1511. This has recently been published in four volumes as *Şerîfî: Şehnâme Çevirisi,* edited by Zuhal Kültüral and Latif Beyreli (Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1999). Şerīf clearly gives his patron's name as Ġavrī Ḳānıṣav (vol. I, p. 14, verse 00335), confirming the interpretation of his name as Tk. *ḳanı sav* or *ḳanı saġ* meaning "the one of sound blood."

Four of Şerif's *ghazal*s written in honor of his patron are found toward the end of Gavri's "diwan" (text in Yavuz, pp. 31–34). Şerif states that Gavri's verses have given great pleasure to the people of Egypt *(Sözinden Ġavrī'nüñ el-ḥaḳ ḳatı ẕevḳ itdi Mıṣr ehli),* and that his own have garnered respect because of Gavri's *(Şerīf'üñ sözleri buldı şeref Ġavrī kelâmından),* indeed that it was Gavri's verse that made him, Şerif, incline to poetry at all *(Ġavrī'nüñ naẓmı-durur meyl itdüren şi're beni).* He praises Gavri's justice as giving rise to a peacable kingdom where ducks and geese nest together with falcons *('Adlüñden ördek ḳaz-ıla uçup ḳonarlar*

bāz-ıla)—the same image is found in the introduction to his *Shāh-nāmah* translation (vol. I, p. 15, verse 00382: *Ḳucaḳlar ḳaz-ıla ördekleri bāz*).

Annemarie Schimmel, in her foreword to Yalçın′s edition, points out that Turkish was the preferred language for poetical activities of most of the rulers of this period, including the Safavid Shah Ismail, Hussain Baiqara of Herat, and Babur conqueror of India; the only exception, paradoxically, is the Ottoman Sultan Selim I, who wrote poems only in Persian. Ottoman, or Anatolian, Turkish was cultivated as a literary language by the later Mamluk amirs and sultans, as Barbara Flemming especially has pointed out. The quality of Gavri′s verse is not high: it is competent but pedestrian, for the most part, and would hardly be of much interest except that the poet was also a sultan.

I pointed out above the superiority of Yavuz′s edition of Gavri′s poetry. Disregarding the unfortunate omission of nine verses and the unfortunate inclusion of a *ḳaṣīde* by Aḥmed Paşa as though it were by Gavri, Yavuz′s edition is nearly flawless. The remainder of this review contains critical notes on the book of Yalçın.

The Dîvân of Qânsûh al-Ghûrî was originally a Harvard dissertation, completed in 1993. The 2002 publication is unrevised, with the exception of substituting *é* for *i* in the text edition to represent the Turkish closed e-vowel. This is a welcome innovation; but in the one place where it really matters—distinguishing *éş* ″peer, equal″ from *iş* ″thing, work″ (Poem 11, lines 2a, 7a, etc.)—he fails to make the distinction. Some of the cross-references were not changed to accord with the printed format; thus in note 99 on p. 32 the reference to ″p. 5 n. 11″ should be to p. 14 n. 10.

Some of the most flagrant misreadings of Gavri′s text are the following (reference is to poem number followed by line number):

2.2a derkidür ⇒ deriñdür

2.8a kelîmdür ⇒ kelîmüm dér

3.14b ve'n-nâr-ı ʻâtî ⇒ve'nnâziʻâti (i.e., Quran 79:1)

6.3a ördi ⇒ urdı

6.6b size vâr-ı ⇒ sezâvâr-ı

9.7b yansın ⇒ yanasın

9.8a yalhiyetüñ ⇒ yâ liḥyetüñ

10.11b lâli ⇒ le'âli

14.5a Tevbe aʻyân ⇒ ″Tûbû″ ʻayân

23.4b özene ⇒ uzana

45.3a şefatinuñ [hem] ⇒ şefeteynüñ

54.4a ẖaddidir ⇒ ẖaddi dér

65.7a merhametüñle ⇒ raḥmetüñle

Many corrections need to be made in the English translations as well. Here are a few:

1.11b His treasury is filled with darkness and empty of actions ⇒ Devoid of good deeds, his treasure filled with wrong-doing

2.2a Whoever ponders upon comprehending His Essence, it is a contemplation to which intelligence cannot reach ⇒ Who can ponder His essence? It is too deep for intellect to reach

2.8a He is the interlocutor to Moses ⇒ He calls Moses ″my interlocutor″

4.7a the fish ⇒ the height of heaven

9.5b the shawl in front of you has no value for you ⇒ the shawl on your back is a great load

9.8a your state were white ⇒ or your beard was white

10.9a The heavens put the sandals upon his face ⇒ He put his sandal upon the face of heaven

12.10b Anything other than You is worthless ⇒ Anything else is self-regard. For Your sake, God!

20.8b feast ⇒ trumpet

26.2b a savaged heart replaces it ⇒ ″he comes with a pure heart″ (i.e., Quran 26:89)

26.3a I have no reason to let go the hem of your skirt after dying ⇒ I have no desire to let go the hem of your skirt until I die

36.5a God′s verse of *Nûr* ⇒ the verse: ″God is Light″

37.3 protect ⇒ pity

39.1a The boat has fallen ⇒ Let the boat sink

41.7a the Sheykh ⇒ Şeyhî (cf. 58.7a)

52.3b Have pity for the lover come, do not do it ⇒ Do not sacrifice the lover

53.2a put love′s fire into my heart ⇒ love′s fire is a glowing ember on my heart

58.7a give up composing poetry and Türkü ⇒ give up Turkish

'ABBŪD QARAH, *Ādāb al-Furūsīyah 'inda al-'Arab* (Damascus: Dār al-Malāyīn, 2000). Pp. kaf, 474.

MUḤAMMAD IBN MANKALĪ AL-NĀṢIRĪ, *Al-Ḥiyal fī al-Ḥurūb wa-Fatḥ al-Madā'in wa-Ḥafẓ al-Durūb.* Edited by Nabīl Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz Aḥmad (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah, 2000). Pp. 444.

REVIEWED BY JO VAN STEENBERGEN, K. U. Leuven–FWO-Flanders (Belgium)

Ever since the rise of Islam, the *jāhilīyah*-rooted concept of *furūsīyah* or "horsemanship" has remained an intrinsic part of Muslim society. Yet changing contexts and settings blurred its conceptual usages to such an extent that, e.g., the Mamluk historian and alleged *furūsīyah* expert Abū al-Maḥāsin ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1469) thought it necessary to precisely define its true nature, emphasizing that "*furūsīyah* is something different from bravery and intrepidity, for the brave man overthrows his adversary by sheer courage, while the horseman is one who handles his horse well in the charge and in the retreat, and who knows all he needs to know about his horse and his weapons and about how to handle them in accordance with the rules known and established among the masters of this art." Indeed, theory and practice had grown apart, so that apart from its stricly technical meaning, only known to "military" experts like Ibn Taghrībirdī, in every day use *furūsīyah* had often become synonymous with "bravery," even "chivalry."[1] This ambiguity was also extant in the age-old literary production on the subject, with, on the one hand, works of lexicography and *adab,* setting the technicalities of horsemanship within the framework of (Islamic) virtue, heroism, and chivalry, and on the other hand, the treatises on *furūsīyah,* mostly dating from the late Middle Ages and very technical by nature and content. Unlike the former sort, the majority of these treatises on horsemanship and supplementary military aspects were drawn up by practising experts, "men of the sword" rather than "men of the pen," though by tradition they as well liked to show off their erudition by punctuating their handbooks with quotes from classical Arabic literature.[2]

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[1]Abū al-Maḥāsin ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* ed. Ibrāhīm 'Alī Ṭarkhān (Cairo, 1963–72), 14:131; David Ayalon, "Notes on the *Furūsiyya* Exercises and Games in the Mamluk Sultanate," *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 9 (1961): 34-35; reprinted in idem, *The Mamluk Military Society* (London, 1979), 2:34-35; idem, "Furūsiyya - In the Mamlūk State," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 2:954; the translation is taken from Ayalon. Very illustrative in this respect is also the fact that in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* one is referred to the lemma "*furūsīya*" for information on both "horsemanship" and "chivalry" ("horsemanship," *EI*[2], 3:536; "chivalry," *EI*[2], 2:32).

[2]G. Douillet, "Furūsiyya," *EI*[2], 2:952-53.

This conceptual dichotomy and its omnipresence throughout Islamic history happens to find a very enlightening illustration in the two works that are the subject of this review. For, on the one hand, ʿAbbūd Qarah′s *Ādāb al-Furūsīyah*, published on the brink of the twenty-first century, is a clear exponent, both in title and content, of the ancient ″chivalrous″ branch of *furūsīyah* literature, while, on the other hand, the first critical edition of *Al-Ḥiyal fī al-Ḥurūb wa-Fatḥ al-Madāʾin wa-Ḥafẓ al-Durūb,* a fourteenth-century treatise on weaponry and warfare, is a prime example of this literature′s technical branch.

As indicated by its title, Qarah′s *Ādāb al-Furūsīyah* deals in detail with the manners and customs that characterize the classical standard of Arab ″horsemanship,″ ″i.e., good manners and the doing of noble deeds by which the Arab horseman has distinguished himself since ancient times and that have become exemplary, including the keeping of a promise, patience in bad times, the protection of those who seek refuge, the protection of women and children and of the weak, modesty and courage, generosity, openmindedness and liberality, forgiveness whenever possible, and, last but not least, all noble deeds man has extolled over the course of time″ (p. 24). He traces the origins of this moral horsemanship among the Arabs long before the rise of Islam, analyzes the factors that caused it to be an exclusively Arab phenomenon, and presents its constituant parts, ranging from the breeding of horses to the proverbial Arab hospitality. All these elements are presented in a way reminiscent of classical Arabic texts, making and illustrating his points through examples, stories, and quotations that stem from the Arabs′ rich cultural background. Unfortunately, the richness of his material sometimes also happens to make the author indulge in details and arguments the relevance of which is not always clear. Thus, e.g., he consistently tries to argue that Europe only managed to rise from its ″dark″ Middle Ages thanks to the practices and principles of Arab *furūsīyah,* with which it became acquainted during the Crusades. As for the field of Mamluk studies, regrettably this book′s argumentation does not go beyond the twelfth-century example of Arab-Muslim unity set by Saladin and it is therefore of only limited relevance for anyone particularly interested in Mamluk *furūsīyah.*

For obvious reasons, the latter observation does not hold for the fourteenth-century military treatise entitled *Al-Ḥiyal fī al-Ḥurūb wa-Fatḥ al-Madāʾin wa-Ḥafẓ al-Durūb* that has now for the first time been carefully edited by Dr. Nabīl Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, a *furūsīyah* expert in his own right.[3]

This work consists of two parts that are further divided into nine chapters *(abwab),* subdivided into numerous paragraphs (also *abwāb*). In the first part,

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[3]He graduated from Cairo University (1972) with an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation on Mamluk *furūsīyah*, entitled ″Nashr wa-Taḥqīq Makhṭūṭah: Nihāyat al-Suʾl wa-al-Umnīyah fī Taʿlīm Aʿmāl al-Furūsīyah maʿa Muqaddimah Tārīkhīyah ʿan Niẓām al-Furūsīyah fī ʿAṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk.″

different sorts of swords and shields, and bows, strings, and arrows are dealt with in every possible detail of fabric and use, followed by an excursus on different types and applications of glues and oils. The second part continues on bows and arrows, now concentrating on their construction; this is followed by a detailed and illustrated chapter on the construction of water wheels. The book concludes with two chapters on strategies and stratagems before, during, and after battle, including firm recommendations for commanders and the intricacies of besieging a city.

This entire treatise is presented as an amalgamate of different parts of text that were picked from a general guideline for rulers, written by Alexander the Great for his son, and that had been recovered from the ruins of ancient Alexandria by the Arabs, who had translated it into Arabic (pp. 192–93, 230). Hence the continuous use of the imperative masculine singular throughout the entire work and the unusually direct and plain way of writing. Yet the particularity of certain specific military terminologies and other at times rather anachronistic references, e.g., to Quranic verses (p. 23), suggests this alleged origin is nothing but a fabrication of style. Nevertheless, the attribution to Alexander is said to be a known phenomenon for a number of *furūsīyah* texts, suggesting that a link with certain Greek originals should not be excluded.[4]

At the same time, this particular setting has caused some confusion with regard to the identity of the treatise's author. For already in 1929, Ritter questioned its attribution to the known *furūsīyah* author and soldier in the Egyptian *ḥalqah,* Muḥammad ibn Mankalī, whose literary production is said to have flourished during the reign of the Mamluk sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'bān (764–78/1362–76).[5] Unfortunately, the editor, Dr. Nabīl Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz, makes no mention of this discussion, nor does he substantiate why he attributed this work to Muḥammad ibn Mankalī, though his name remained unnoticed in any of the manuscripts of the work that were used.

As for the latter, this edition is based on three fourteenth-century manuscripts, the oldest of which dates from the year 757/1356, which may serve as a *terminus ante quem* for the treatise.[6] They are consistently and with great care referred to

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[4]V. Christides, "Nafṭ," *EI*^{2}, 7:886.

[5]H. Ritter, "La Parure des Cavaliers und die Literatur über die ritterlichen Künste," *Der Islam* 18 (1929):151; Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden, 1938): S2:167. On Muḥammad ibn Mankalī, see Gerhard Zoppoth, "Muḥammad ibn Mängli: Ein ägyptischer Offizier und Schriftsteller des 14. Jh.s," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenländes* 53 (1957): 288-99.

[6]MS Ahmet III 3469, Al-Khizānah al-'Āmmah bi-al-Ribāṭ MS 43 *jīm,* and Al-Khizānah al-Malikīyah bi-al-Ribāṭ MS 285 (2712); the editor acknowledges having failed to get access to a number of other manuscripts, mentioning MSS Aya Sofia 3086, 3087, and Leiden MS 949 (pp. 7–9).

by the editor every time textual differences occur. On top of that, it is one of this edition′s major merits that the editor actively applied his scrutiny, erudition, and familiarity with the subject, its sources, and its academic production to try to solve the large number of difficulties of both technical and lexicographical nature which the specific character of this treatise poses to a modern reader. This not only enhances its accessibility to non-specialists, it would also allow specialists in related fields to make active use of this sort of source material. However, due to the unfortunate absence of a detailed index, this edition fails to measure up to the standard one expects of a properly executed edition.

However, this first and careful edition of *Al-Ḥiyal fī al-Ḥurūb* by Dr. Nabīl Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz is a major stepping stone for our understanding of the technical branch of *furūsīyah* literature. For, as David Ayalon already observed more than forty years ago, to date this literature remains not only in want of a careful and critical edition of its texts, but also of a lexicographic elimination of the semantic obstacles that continue to obstruct much of their profitable utilization.[7]

MUḤAMMAD IBN ʿAZZŪZ, *Madrasat al-Ḥadīth fī Bilād al-Shām khilāla al-Qarn al-Thāmin al-Hijrī: ʿAṣr al-Aʾimmat Ibn Taymīyah wa-al-Mizzī wa-al-Dhahabī wa-al-Barzālī* (Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmīyah, 1421/2000). Pp. 696.

REVIEWED BY MICHAEL B. SCHUB, Trinity College, Hartford

In the Mamluk period a number of religious schools flourished under the general name of "Houses *(dūr* or *buyūtāt)* of Hadith in the greater Shām (approximately: Syrian) area, the most famous of which was founded in Damascus by Atabeg Nūr al-Dīn (d. 560/1173). In the eighth/fourteenth century, thousands of scholars (including some women) lived righteous lives investigating and memorizing the traditions of the Prophet which had been *grosso modo* collected by al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), Muslim (d. 261/875), and the four other editors of the canonical collections of acceptable hadiths for Sunni Muslims ("The Six Books"), i.e., about six hundred years previously.

This work is the outcome of the author's doctoral dissertation, which was accepted in Rabat, Morocco in 1419/1998. After a pedestrian survey of the historical

[7]Ayalon, ″The *Furūsiyya* Exercises,″ 31–32; J. D. Latham and W. F. Paterson, *Saracen Archery: An English Version and Exposition of a Mameluk Work on Archery (ca. AD 1368) with Introduction, Glossary and Illustrations* (London, 1970), xxxii-xxxiii.

background of the period, the author begins what can only be called a hagiography. He lists the ancestors, teachers, children, students (sometimes supplying genealogical charts), etc., of a few hundred *muḥaddith*s, and repeats the encomia (often in verse) of these scholars reported in previous biographical works. No critical scholarly analysis sullies the pages of this worshipful catalog.

Only nine citations from the Quran and fourteen from the hadith are present, and those only *in passing*. Jacob Neusner would include this work in the genre of *Listwissenschaft*. One can only appreciate it as such.

FRANÇOIS CHARETTE, *Mathematical Instrumentation in Fourteenth-Century Egypt and Syria:The Illustrated Treatise of Najm al-Dīn al-Miṣrī.* Islamic Philosophy, Theology, and Science, Texts and Studies, 51 (Leiden: Brill, 2003). Pp. xxi + 422 + 136, illustrations.

REVIEWED BY IRINA LYUTER, Dibner Institute, MIT

This volume is representative of a growing trend in publications devoted to science and technology in the Mamluk period, including the mathematical instrumentation of that period. It contains a critical edition with English translation of the *Kitāb fī al-Ālāt al-Falakīyah* (Charette´s title), a richly illustrated Arabic treatise in 122 chapters concerning the construction of over one hundred different mathematical instruments. The value of the text lies in its detailed descriptions of instruments that are either insufficiently documented in the medieval Arabic technical literature as a whole, or indeed even absent from it. Taking into account the unprecedented number of its illustrations, it would be no exaggeration to describe the treatise as unique in its genre. The text was composed in Cairo around 730/1330 and has come down to us in two anonymous manuscripts.

Charette deserves recognition for his work. He has undertaken a profoundly professional linguistic and historical investigation to identify the author of the treatise as Najm al-Dīn al-Miṣrī, a little-known practical astronomer who spent most of his active life in Cairo; and he has presented convincing arguments for this authorship. Charette is ideally situated for this task, having previously studied three other works by Najm al-Dīn: two short treatises on spherical astronomy and approximate methods of finding the prayer times; and a huge compendium of tables.

The illustrated treatise of Najm al-Dīn was written as a reference manual for intermediate students and thus differs from works by Najm al-Dīn´s contemporaries

written on the use of instruments. It is in fact a compendium of instructions on how to construct a large variety of instruments by ruler and compass, sometimes by methods unique to the author. These instructions are concentrated exclusively on the mathematical aspects of the construction without discussions of a theoretical nature (for example, spherical trigonometry and gnomonics) or of more practical details of the construction (such as constructions of alidades and sights), the knowledge of which is implicitly assumed of the reader.

During the period of Mamluk rule, instrumentation became localized within the frame of a new subdiscipline of astronomy, the science of astronomical timekeeping *(ʻilm al-mīqāt)*. From the second half of the seventh/thirteenth century, this subdiscipline encompassed all aspects of practical astronomy (spherical astronomy, time keeping, astronomical instrumentation, qiblah computation, chronology and prediction of lunar crescent visibility), in other words, those aspects that were of direct relevance to the Islamic community. In David King′s terminology, this was ″an astronomy in the service of Islam.″ This orientation stipulated a new category of professional astronomers—the *muwaqqit*s, employed by a mosque or madrasah and responsible for establishing the times of prayer, computing the qiblah, and constructing instruments.

In his Introduction, Charette evaluates these radical changes in the practice of astronomy in order to define the place, role, and virtues of instrumentation in the context of Egyptian and Syrian societies of the Mamluk period. The increasing significance of the practical and useful aspects of astronomy (as opposed to the theoretical) specified a change in the practice and transmission of science. Among the peculiarities of Mamluk *mīqāt* literature, evident in both the concerns of its authors and the requirements of the religious institutions, Charette identifies the interaction of ″folk″ and mathematical astronomies; the predominance of approximate methods of solving problems for the needs of practical astronomy; the universality of methods for designing and developing instruments without the cost of approximation; the compilation of universal auxiliary tables; and the use of lists of so-called formulae accompanied by the mostly didactic character of the literature.

In this connection, and of particular importance for the history of mathematical sciences, Charette identifies a significant innovation that he deems ″an important step away from the hold of the rhetorical and toward a greater symbolic abstraction″ (p. 23). This innovation, appearing first in the encyclopaedia of *mīqāt* entitled *Jāmiʻ al-Mabādiʼ wa-al-Ghāyāt* by the seventh/thirteenth century astronomer Sharaf al-Dīn al-Marrākushī, consists in compiling mnemotechnic four-column tables in which each row has four quantities in which relation a:b=c:d holds. A similar table, though containing fewer entries, is credited to Najm al-Dīn al-Miṣrī and investigated by Charette in the present book (Part V, pp. 7–8, Appendix B).

The work of al-Marrākushī became the standard reference work for Mamluk Egyptian and Syrian, Rasulid Yemeni, and Ottoman Turkish specialists of the subject, including Najm al-Dīn al-Miṣrī, and is the earliest and most important source for the history of astronomical instrumentation in Islam. In this connection, a remarkable contribution from Charette is the supplemental biographical information he provides on the basis of al-Marrākushī's *Jāmi'*. Moreover, Charette presents in the Introduction a list of numerous lesser- or entirely unknown authors of the seventh–ninth/thirteenth–fifteenth centuries and sketches their main contribution to this science: al-Maqsī, Ibn al-Sam'ūn, al-Mizzī, Ibn al-Sarrāj, Ibn Shāṭir, Ibn al-Ghuzūlī, al-Bakhāniqī, Ṭaybughā al-Baklamishī, Jamāl al-Māridīnī, Ibn al-'Aṭṭār, and others.

Charrete's commentary on Najm al-Dīn's treatise is divided into five chapters and is a logical continuation of his Introduction. As a whole, these chapters form a groundbreaking historical-scientific essay on Islamic mathematical instrumentation during the Mamluk period. In the first part of the commentary, the author presents a classification, based on morphological and historical criteria, of the different categories of astrolabes and related instruments treated by Najm al-Dīn. The following chapters are devoted consequently to horary quadrants and portable dials, fixed sundials, trigonometric instruments, and, finally, miscellaneous instruments. This detailed historical and technical commentary is further characterized by Charette's analysis of a large number of both previously studied and unstudied manuscript sources on instrumentation from the period 800–1500 C.E. Charette also adds commentaries treating the mathematical aspects of the subject in order to aid the reader in grasping the main ideas and achievements of Najm al-Dīn as well as his predecessors and contemporaries. In some cases, Charette provides quite new and useful perspectives on the mathematical peculiarities of the constructions. For example, in the chapter on various-shaped horary quadrants and portable dials, Charette considers these instruments "in the light of the history of nomography" (p. 113) since they undoubtedly bear in modern terms the graphical representation of function of one or more parameters on a two-dimensional surface with a certain scale. What makes this particular chapter of special importance is the fact that earlier textual sources on such instruments are brief and scanty (not to mention that most are still unpublished), whereas Najm al-Dīn's information on them, as demonstrated by Charette, surpasses even the best-known account of al-Marrākushī.

Despite the textual problems inherent in the treatise (the instructions are obscure and indirect, explanations of the technical terminology are absent, and the language of the treatise is Middle Arabic), Charette has succeeded in producing an excellent *editio princeps* and a qualified English translation of this treatise. One small remark on Charette's translating technique may be in order. While the use of

modern terms like ″tangent″ and ″cotangent″ for the corresponding medieval trigonometric functions *ẓill mankūs* and *ẓill mabsūṭ* for the purpose of distinguishing them from proper vertical and horizontal shadows seems quite reasonable, the frequent use of the term ″function″ strikes one as overly modern for the medieval context. This is a relatively minor quibble given Charette′s achievement. The present volume is truly a wonderfully realized edition and translation and a masterful example of sound scholarship. This young author deserves high praise for his devotion to and absorption in the history of Islamic mathematical and technical sciences. I wholeheartedly recommend the present work to historians of Islamic and Western science, specialists of historical scientific instruments, as well as specialists of the Mamluk period. Charette announces future publications in the pages of this book; we await them eagerly.

KHALĪL IBN AYBAK AL-ṢAFADĪ, *Al-Kashf wa-al-Tanbīh ʻalá al-Waṣf wa-al-Tashbīh.* Edited by Hilāl Nājī and Walīd ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn ibn ʻAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī (Leeds: Majallat al-Ḥikmah, 1420/1999). Pp. 530.

NABĪL MUḤAMMAD RASHĀD, *Al-Ṣafadī wa-Sharḥuhu ʻalá Lāmīyat al-ʻAjam: Dirāsah Taḥlīlīyah* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ādāb, 1421/2001). Pp. 424.

REVIEWED BY EVERETT K. ROWSON, New York University

Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) is in need of no introduction to readers of this journal. His massive biographical dictionary, *al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* is a fundamental reference for all students of medieval Islam, and his wide-ranging literary production in other areas assures his status as a key figure for anyone concerned with the history and culture of the early Mamluk period in particular. Burgeoning interest in this period, both in the Middle East and in the West, has meant burgeoning interest in al-Ṣafadī, and the two recent publications under review here—one a critical edition of a previously unpublished text of his, and the other a focused study of what is perhaps his most interesting work—are welcome additions to our library of Ṣafadiana.

Al-Ṣafadī was, above all, an *adīb,* a littérateur, and his *oeuvre* includes a series of monographs on aspects of rhetoric. Those on the two most important tropes in the poetry of his time, paronomasia *(jinās)* and (roughly) double-entendre *(tawriyah),* have been available for some time—the former, indeed, appears to

have been the first of his works to find its way into print[1]—and the latter has been the subject of a fine analytical study by Seeger Bonebakker.[2] Now the redoubtable Hilāl Nājī, to whom we owe so much for his multitudinous critical editions of previously unavailable *adab* texts, has, with his collaborator Walīd al-Zubayrī, offered us the *editio princeps* of al-Ṣafadī's work on similes *(tashbīh),* essentially a poetic anthology but prefaced by not one but *two* theoretical introductions.

In their own introduction to the text, the editors provide a fairly conventional sketch of al-Ṣafadī's life and career, including notes on his interactions with fellow littérateurs (Ibn Nubātah in particular, although no sustained attempt is made to work out the details of the stormy relationship between the two). To this is appended what may be the most complete list to date of al-Ṣafadī's works, with full bibliographical information on eighteen published, thirty-four extant in manuscript, and fifteen apparently lost, as well as five red herrings that are not al-Ṣafadī's at all. There are a few minor slips in this list, however, and in a few places it is already out of date. The *Rashf al-Zulāl fī Waṣf al-Hilāl* is included among the published works, although the editors themselves point out that this is a mistake (it is extant in manuscript). The *Ikhtirā' al-Khurā'* has now been published; to describe it as "an explanation of two obscure verses" is not inaccurate, but obscures the fact that the verses are nonsense and the entire work is a parody of scholarly practice (as noted already by Brockelmann). Several more volumes of the *Wāfī* have appeared since the editors' tally of the progress in its publication. Whether one can conclude that al-Ṣafadī put together his own *dīwān* (now lost) from Ibn Taghrībirdī's statement that "his poetry is copious *(shi'ruhu kathīr)*" seems problematical.

Discussing the text itself, the editors cogently argue for its authenticity on the basis of both external and internal evidence. They also offer an illuminating quotation from Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 771/1369) on al-Ṣafadī's composition techniques: having borrowed from al-Ṣafadī one volume of his multi-volume commonplace book, the *Tadhkirah,* at the time that he was in the course of composing his work on similes, al-Subkī noticed a notation to the effect that "this volume has been gone through for material for the *tashbīh* book *(najiza al-tashbīh minhu)*"—and promptly composed a three-line poem in praise of the author cleverly playing off this phrase. Nājī and al-Zubayrī then provide a literary context of sorts for the work in the form of a list of ten earlier works on *tashbīhāt* (several of them

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[1]*Jinān al-Jinās fī 'Ilm al-Badī'* (Istanbul, 1881) (with al-Bisṭāmī, *Manāhij al-Tawassul fī Mabāhij al-Tarassul*); I have not seen the recent edition by Samīr Ḥusayn Ḥalabī (Beirut, 1987).

[2]*Faḍḍ al-Khitām 'an al-Tawriyah wa-al-Istikhdām*, ed. al-Muḥammadī 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ḥināwī (Cairo, 1979); S. A. Bonebakker, *Some Early Definitions of the Tawriya and Ṣafadī's* Faḍḍ al-xitām 'an at-tawriya wa-'l-istixdām (The Hague, 1966).

explicitly acknowledged as sources by al-Ṣafadī), although they make no attempt to analyze this material or chart a development of the genre. The edition itself is based on a unique Paris manuscript, briefly described and illustrated with four extremely dark and muddy photographs. Most disconcerting is the editors' bald statement that the work's second volume has been lost. While this seems likely enough—the text as published stops without any real ending, and another entire volume with other "themes" is easy to envisage—we are nowhere vouchsafed the grounds for this succinct pronouncement. (Something in the manuscript itself? We are not told).

Certainly the most interesting parts of the *Kashf* itself are its introductions. Why there are two of these rather than one is not entirely clear, although the first is on the whole more general and diffuse and the second highly technical. The ten chapters of the first introduction include, among other topics, a word-study of the root *sh-b-h* (with, inevitably, a review of interpretations of the famous "obscure verses" [*mutashābihāt*] of Quran 3:7); a discussion of the imaginative *(mukhayyilah)* faculty of the brain, complete with diagram (and betraying a very superficial knowledge of the philosophical tradition); a first pass (followed up in the second introduction) at an analytical parsing of different kinds of similes, with a spirited attack on Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 637/1239) in defense of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200);[3] and a list of thirty poets who were particularly good at employing similes, about half of them "post-classical," which gives us valuable insight into al-Ṣafadī's perception of the canon of Arabic poetry in his day. The second introduction, in twenty-four chapters, lists a variety of definitions of *tashbīh,* and distinguishes it carefully from the related concepts of *mathal, tamthīl,* and *majāz,* but is mostly devoted to working through a tree of subvarieties of simile, differentiated by various combinations of such aspects as concrete/abstract, unrestricted/restricted, single/multiple, and reversible/irreversible. The editors offer us no guidance for situating al-Ṣafadī's views here in their context, in terms either of sources or of responses to earlier opinions; but then one cannot demand that a text edition also be a study.

The bulk of the book itself, after the introductions—what al-Ṣafadī calls the "*natījah*"—consists of an anthology of verses deploying similes, arranged thematically. There are sixty-five chapters, beginning with celestial phenomena (sky, stars, and Milky Way; Pleiades; moon; etc.), shifting to meteorology (thunder and lightning; snow and hail; rainbow; etc.), then moving on to gardens (with some twenty chapters on individual flowers, including rich material on the famous

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[3]Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil was of course a literary icon in al-Ṣafadī's day, whereas Ibn al-Athīr seems to have been a personal bugbear of his, as emerges most clearly in his *Nuṣrat al-Thā'ir*, written in support of and supplementing *Al-Falak al-Dā'ir,* Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd's (d. 656/1258) attack on Ibn al-Athīr's *Al-Mathal al-Sā'ir.*

debate between the rose and the narcissus), fruits, vegetables (briefly, but eggplant gets inordinate attention), desserts and other foods, and beer. With bathhouses, followed by tree branches and birds, the principle of organization becomes a bit foggier; and the abrupt ending with birds certainly does suggest more topics to come. The poems presented, mostly of two to four lines, but occasionally longer, are rarely commented on, although al-Ṣafadī does like to offer "chains" of lines, tracing back through the tradition the use of a specific simile (*akhadhahu min,* "he took [this image] from"). Poets from all periods are represented, although there is relatively little pre-Abbasid verse; quite a lot of Andalusian poetry is included. Al-Ṣafadī sporadically includes as well some of his own verses, usually at the end of a chapter.

The edition is on the whole meticulous and intelligent (with full attention to the text's making sense, to the prosody of the verse, and so forth). The relatively copious and at times quite valuable notes mainly focus on parallel texts, often with variant readings, but do not attempt any real analysis of al-Ṣafadī's use of his sources. There are a few problems. Typographical errors occur in the first third of the book at a rate of about one every nine pages, hardly optimal but not an unfamiliar problem; but then from about page 148 this rate increases to about one every three pages, through to the end of the text, a fairly intolerable rate in particular for a text consisting mostly of poetry, not the least because most of these errors produce real words (and in some cases must be editors' rather than printers' errors); the misreading *aṣfar* for *aṣghar*—and vice versa—is especially frequent. Furthermore, page 148 itself is an erroneous duplication of page 149, and the proper text for that page is missing; the same thing happens at page 329 (duplicating page 339, with its own material omitted). There is also a bit of bowdlerization; although the *Kashf* is certainly not one of al-Ṣafadī's racier books, the editors have felt compelled to suppress three single words and two lines of verse in the first introduction, as well as several words from a line of verse about eggplant in the *natījah*. Less problematical, if not entirely justified, are the editors' relatively frequent interpolations of additional lines of verse from parallel sources, always, however, carefully noted.

The end matter provided is not really very satisfactory. We are given sixty pages of capsule bio-bibliographies of poets who appear in the work, alphabetically by *ism,* but not all of the latter appear and the basis for inclusion is not at all clear. This is followed by the bibliography, arranged alphabetically by title, consisting almost entirely of primary sources, and exclusively in Arabic, and a detailed table of contents. Distressingly, there are no indices, despite the obvious value both an index of proper names and one of verses would have had for readers and researchers.

Still, it is a joy to have this book in print—although it could hardly be claimed that it is al-Ṣafadī's most scintillating achievement. Twelve solid pages of verses

(mostly one- and two-liners) on the Pleiades can become a bit wearisome—and such dogged thoroughness betrays a weakness of al-Ṣafadī's that was noted even by medieval readers. Nabīl Muḥammad Rashād, in the second of the two publications to be considered here, has reproduced a telling comment by Ibn Taghrībirdī, praising al-Ṣafadī's literary accomplishments but noting that "I have observed, reading his verse in his own hand, that when he emulates *(yu'āriḍ)* one of the illustrious poets among his predecessors on a particular clever topos *(ma'ná)* he takes that topos or twist *(nuktah)* and renders it himself in two lines of verse, often quite good ones, but then adds two more lines on the same topos, and then two more, and two more, relentlessly continuing to versify the topos while saying 'and I said *(wa-qultu anā),*' until the eye gets bored, the mind gets fed up, and the ear rejects it; if he had abandoned such a procedure and been a little more discriminating in presenting us with his own verse, he would be (considered) one of the great poets. . . ."[4]

On the other hand, al-Ṣafadī could be exquisitely sensitive to readers' short attention spans, and nowhere more than in his *Al-Ghayth al-Musajjam fī Sharḥ Lāmīyat al-'Ajam*, a sort of *tour de force* of digression, in which commenting a celebrated 59-line poem becomes a vehicle for a two-volume work consisting mainly of extended disquisitions on the most varied topics imaginable. The *Ghayth* has been available in print since 1887, although never critically edited. It is a pity that the late Franz Rosenthal never devoted a sustained study to this work, despite his obvious enchantment with it, which is clear from any number of his articles (including his relatively recent entry on al-Ṣafadī for the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*). Now we do have such a sustained study, from Nabīl Muḥammad Rashād, and if it is disappointing in some important respects it is nevertheless gratifying to see attention devoted to such a rich, erudite, and entertaining monument of Arabic literature.

Rashād's study began as an M. A. thesis under Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, whose surveys of the later periods of Arabic literature, supplemented by an array of text editions, are fundamental for anyone pursuing further research in the field. This is, not surprisingly, a less mature work, and while Rashād has read the *Ghayth* carefully, and on the whole intelligently, his vision is in some ways severely circumscribed. Not only is he oblivious to Western scholarship (his references throughout are exclusively Arabic), he appears to be unaware of Arabic scholarship outside Egypt as well, citing two unpublished Egyptian dissertations of relevance to the *Ghayth* but ignoring two relatively recent published studies by

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[4]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, vol. 5, ed. Nabīl Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīz (Cairo, 1988), 257, cited by Rashād, p. 79.

Syrian scholars.[5] And while quite a lot of valuable contextualizing information is provided for both the author and his book, the ″analysis″ promised in Rashād′s title appears only sporadically, and many of the more interesting and important questions about both author and book are either not answered or not posed.

Predictably, the first two of Rashād′s five chapters are devoted to ″Intellectual Life in the Period″ and ″al-Ṣafadī′s Cultural Accomplishments *(thaqāfat al-Ṣafadī).″* In the former he is at pains to stress (and perhaps overstress) the support offered to arts and letters by the Mamluks themselves, and makes clear his vision of this period in Arabic literary history as one of retrenchment and preservation, after the disastrous Mongol invasions of the previous century; the prominence of ″the encyclopedic impulse″ in the ″renaissance″ *(naḥdah)* of Arabic learning and literature in Mamluk Egypt (and, distinctly secondarily, Syria) is explained on this basis and lauded in explicitly nationalistic terms. An excursus on accomplishments in the secular sciences (alchemy, medicine, and others) suffers from a certain naivete, but does avoid (as does the book as a whole) the traditional and now much contested view of the period as one of decadence. Rashād notes, correctly, the extraordinary prominence of the homoerotic *ghazal* and explicit sexuality *(mujūn)* in the material he is discussing, and while bowing to contemporary mores in generally avoiding extensive citation from these genres he laudably refuses to bowdlerize such quotations as are essential to his presentation. His discussions of the popularity of rhetorical tropes in general, and especially *jinās, tawriyah,* and *taḍmīn* (quotation), of the importance of Sufism in the culture of the period, and of the role of Andalusian and Maghribi immigrants in Mamluk culture generally are interesting, and his portrayal of the popularity of literary ″debates″ offers some truly fascinating material (including al-Ṣafadī′s rather jaundiced views on Ibn Taymīyah).

Chapter 2, on al-Ṣafadī himself and his ″culture,″ stresses the breadth of the latter, rather severely overestimating al-Ṣafadī′s expertise in science and philosophy and with some attendant confusion over the distinctions to be made between the realms of philosophy, theology, and science. The section on al-Ṣafadī as *adīb* is, on the other hand, quite rich, particularly with regard to his relationships with such fellow *udabā'* as Ibn Nubātah, al-Subkī, and the Andalusian Abū Ḥayyān (d. 745/1344).

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[5]He notes Manāhil Fakhr al-Dīn Fulayḥ, ″Nashāṭ al-Ṣafadī fī al-Naqd wa-al-Balāghah,″ a 1977 Ph.D. dissertation in the Faculty of Letters at Cairo University, and Ibrāhīm Muḥammad Manṣūr, ″Shurūḥ Lāmīyat al-'Ajam, Dirāsah Taḥlīlīyah Naqdīyah,″ a 1998 M.S. thesis in the Faculty of Letters at Tanta University. Unnoted are Muḥammad 'Alī al-Sulṭānī, *Al-Naqd al-Adabī fī al-Qarn al-Thāmin al-Hijrī bayna al-Ṣafadī wa-Mu'āṣirīhi* (Damascus, 1974, published in the wake of his edition of the *Nuṣrat al-Thā'ir* [Damascus, 1972]), and Ḥasan Dhikrī Ḥasan, *Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī wa-Minhajuhu fī Dirāsat al-Naṣṣ al-Adabī wa-Naqdihi* (Cairo, 1988).

The remaining three chapters focus on the *Ghayth* itself. Chapter 3 looks at al-Ṣafadī´s sources, which are divided into oral and written. Al-Ṣafadī was generally very punctilious about his citations, and his habit of saying ˝I heard from X in Damascus (or Cairo, or Ṣafad) in the year Y˝ or ˝I read the following by X in his own hand˝ has much to tell us about both his personal biography and the way *adab* worked, so to speak, in his world. While presenting his material mostly in the form of lists, Rashād does manage, cumulatively, to paint a rather vivid picture of this. Had he consulted Josef van Ess´s article on al-Ṣafadī, however, he would have been able to both sharpen and expand his presentation.[6] In discussing interrelationships between al-Ṣafadī´s own works, he fails to note that a passing reference in the *Ghayth* to a previously-composed opuscule *(muqtaḍab)* entitled *Al-Tanbīh ʻalá al-Tashbīh* must be either the *Kashf* edited by Nājī and al-Zubayrī or at least some earlier version thereof. And he is quite wrong in assuming that the fourteenth volume of the *Tadhkirah,* of which there is a copy in the Egyptian National Library, is the last; van Ess has pointed out that al-Ṣafadī produced at least forty-nine volumes of this work.

Chapter 4, on al-Ṣafadī´s methodology in the *Ghayth,* tackles the topic from a number of different vantage points. Regarding the author´s motives for composing the work, Rashād specifies the excellence of the poem being commented on, the model of previous commentaries on the *Lāmīyat al-ʻArab* of the pre-Islamic poet al-Shanfará, and al-Ṣafadī´s interest in displaying both his eloquence and his erudition; the latter point, an important one, deserves a fuller and more critical treatment than Rashād has given it. Al-Ṣafadī, in the introduction to the *Ghayth,* is quite explicit about his methodological aims, and Rashād pursues a ˝test case,˝ examining the extent to which the commentary on the poem´s first line actually conforms to them; his conclusion that it does so ˝perfectly˝ is perhaps a bit disappointing, but less so than his reluctance to analyze, rather than simply present, al-Ṣafadī´s rather elaborate defense of his digressive style and his explicit interest in supporting ˝modern˝ poets against the prejudices of more conservative tastes. Rashād is actually a bit touchy about the former, offering a rough division of al-Ṣafadī´s relentless digressions *(istiṭrād)* into those that are pertinent, fortuitous (not directly pertinent to the text being elucidated, but pertinent to al-Ṣafadī´s broader pedagogical and encyclopedic aims), and unwarranted (about which Rashād´s comments are distinctly ungenerous). On al-Ṣafadī´s pedagogical aims,

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[6]Josef van Ess, ˝Ṣafadī-Splitter,˝ *Der Islam* 53 (1976): 242–66, and 54 (1977): 77–107, is, as indicated by its title, rather a hodgepodge of observations (but valuable ones), in the wake of van Ess´s editing volume nine of al-Ṣafadī´s *Wāfī,* including an extensive list of his sources for that work. Also helpful would have been Donald P. Little, ˝Al-Ṣafadī as Biographer of His Contemporaries,˝ in *Essays on Islamic Civilization Presented to Niyazi Gerkes* (Leiden, 1976), 109–20.

on the other hand, Rashād is perceptive and cogent, offering a variety of arguments to show that the distribution of information in the *Ghayth* was unquestionably determined in large part by the author′s expectation that students, or neophytes, would constitute a large proportion of its audience. Appended to this chapter is the full text of al-Ṭughrā'ī′s *Lāmīyah* as it appears (59 lines, chopped up verse by verse) in the *Ghayth*, as well as an ″emulation″ *(mu'āraḍah)* of it (60 lines) by al-Ṣafadī, the latter absent from the *Ghayth* but happily discovered by Rashād, by chance, in a much later anthology.

In chapter 5, on ″Critical and Rhetorical Views in the Commentary,″ Rashād picks out five literary topics for further investigation. The first of these, on the ″music″ of poetry, is mostly devoted to a discussion of al-Ṣafadī′s arresting suggestion that al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad (d. 175/791) was influenced by Greek prosody in producing his henceforth canonical analysis of prosody in Arabic. Giving full credit to the plausibility of this proposal, Rashād nevertheless ultimately rejects it on the basis of the consensus of traditional reports to the contrary from ″our forebears *(aslāfunā)*″; such credulity is unfortunately characteristic of the book as a whole. The other chosen topics—well justified by the content of the *Ghayth* itself—are al-Ṣafadī′s assessment of the verse of al-Mutanabbī (staking out a middle position in the centuries-old controversy), his defense of the poet Ibn Ṣanā' al-Mulk (d. 608/1211) against an attack by a certain Ibn Jabbārah (d. 632/1235), his treatment of plagiarism (both al-Ṭughrā'ī′s ″thefts″ from earlier poets and those by later poets from him), and his discussions of rhetorical tropes (eighteen of them altogether, with particular attention to paronomasia *[jinās]*). Of the latter perhaps the most interesting is *ikhtilāṣ,* the device of cleverly shifting a topos *(ma'ná)* from one genre *(gharaḍ)* to another (such as using love-poetry imagery in an elegy, for example); al-Ṣafadī was extremely fond of this technique, as were his contemporaries generally, but here Rashād has little to say about it beyond his quotations from al-Ṣafadī himself.

In an appendix, Rashād pulls together all of al-Ṣafadī′s own verses as cited in the *Ghayth*—187 altogether, few exceeding four lines. In itself this is useful (since we lack a real *dīwān* of al-Ṣafadī′s poetry), but Rashād presents the verses alphabetically by rhyme letter, with virtually no indication of their original context, which in some cases renders their point completely opaque; some of the instances of *taḍmīn* (embedding quotations from earlier poetry) elude him as well. A brief conclusion simply highlights the principal points made throughout the study, and is followed by a bibliography (all Arabic, divided into primary and secondary sources) and a detailed table of contents. Again, there are no indices.

Despite its limitations, Rashād′s study is must reading for those of us with a particular interest in al-Ṣafadī, and is certainly worth the attention of anyone concerned with Arabic literature of the Mamluk period generally. Together, this

text edition and study advance our knowledge appreciably, and as indicators of a trend encourage us to look forward to more Ṣafadī, and more Ṣafadī studies, in the near future.

The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800). Edited by Hugh Kennedy. The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1453, no 31. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001). Pp. 269.

REVIEWED BY ANNE F. BROADBRIDGE, University of Massachusetts at Amherst

This work represents the proceedings of a conference on the Historiography of Islamic Egypt, held at the University of Saint Andrews, Scotland, from 28–31 August, 1997. Based on the generally high quality of these papers, it appears to have been a fascinating and unusually cohesive conference. All but one article are written in English; the exception is in French. This is a satisfying collection, which provides well-deserved attention to historians of Egypt, and paves the way for future work in this rich field.

The volume is arranged chronologically in sections of uneven length. Section topics include the Fatimid and Ayyubid Periods (358–658/969–1260), the Bahri Mamluk Period (648–792/1250–1390), al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) and His World, Historians of the Circassian Mamluk Period (784–922/1382–1517), and the Historiography of Ottoman Egypt. The collection concludes with a solitary article on the modern period.

Only two scholars presented on the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods, which reflects the relative paucity of that historical material. First Michael Brett uses John Wansborough′s theory on diplomatic terminology as a meta-language for communication in the Mediterranean to illustrate that Fatimid chancery documents, even when inaccurate, shaped the tone and style of the chronicles that relied on them as sources. Brett also discusses the institutional continuity that allowed authors from later periods to use these documents, and theorizes briefly about reasons for the eventual disappearance of such materials. Next David Morray provides a description of the biographical dictionary of Aleppo by Ibn al-Adīm (d. 660/1262), the *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab*. Morray focuses on the different kinds of travel in which medieval personalities engaged, and lays the groundwork for future in-depth studies.

Given the preponderance of historical sources for the Mamluk period (648–923/1250–1517), it is no surprise that Mamluk topics dominated the

conference. In the section on the Bahri period, D. S. Richards discusses the historian Baybars al-Manṣūrī (d. 725/1325) as a person and an author, although this work has now been superseded by the introduction to his edition of Baybars al-Manṣūrī's *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Ḥijrah* (Beirut, 1419/1998). Reuven Amitai uses six brief case studies to analyze the sources, style, strengths, and weaknesses of the little-known history of the Mongols written by the Mamluk historian Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʻAbd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333), which appears in his *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab.* Amitai demonstrates that al-Nuwayrī's information is often independent of the Persian histories and the anonymous *Secret History of the Mongols,* and argues convincingly that this work must be consulted by anyone seeking a fresh view of Mongol history. Robert Irwin makes a similar call for scholars to move outside the standard historical corpus. Interested in both the literary world of the Mamluk sultanate and its history, Irwin has struggled to promote Arabic literature in its own right, and as an aid to historical study.[1] This time he presents a literary analysis of an erotic text by the eighth/fourteenth-century ʻAlī al-Baghdādī, which he combines with an outline of the way this fictional collection could illuminate the social history of Cairo in the 730s/1330s.

Several presenters contributed to our increasingly sophisticated understanding of scholarly biases in the sources with which we grapple. For the Bahri period, Nasser Rabbat argues that when writing, the civilian literati not only emphasized their own social class to the detriment of commoners and the military elite, but actually constructed specific and often reductionist images of these two other groups, which have affected modern views of Mamluk society. Rabbat also explores the political and social reasons for the literati's biases, and the way the literati used variations in language to further their stereotypes. For the Circassian period, Carl Petry analyzes uneven coverage of Bedouin raids in the countryside and urban crime in Cairo to reveal that historians' discussion of crime reflected their own privileged and stratified view of society, and also gave them an opportunity to issue oblique criticism of the ruling elite.

An entire section of the conference was devoted to that perennially interesting personality and topic, the famous eighth/fifteenth-century Mamluk-era historian Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442).[2] In the solitary article written in French, Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid provides an overview of topographical

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[1]See also his "What the Partridge told the Eagle: a Neglected Arabic Source on Chinggis Khan and the Early History of the Mongols," *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy,* ed. Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (Leiden, 1999): 1–11.

[2]Scholars interested in al-Maqrīzī will also benefit from the proceedings of a later conference devoted entirely to that historian, for which see *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7/2 (2003).

writing in Egypt *(khiṭāṭ)* both before and after the composition of al-Maqrīzī's paramount *Al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭāṭ wa-al-Āthār*. Sayyid draws our attention to those authors whose works have been lost, and those who were members of religious minorities, among them Copts and Shi'ites. Also focusing on al-Maqrīzī, Amalia Levanoni and Irmeli Perho both employ case studies to illuminate different aspects of his writing. Levanoni uses the struggles for power by the Mamluk sultan Barqūq (r. 784–91/1382–89; 791–801/1389–99) to reveal that al-Maqrīzī's moralizing sometimes led him to present biased or inaccurate information; she also makes an important call for a reevaluation of the role of ethnicity in the transfer from Turkish to Circassian rule. Perho's case study of the treatment of common people in Cairo *(al-'āmmah)* in the writings of both al-Maqrīzī and his student Yūsuf ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470) demonstrates that their writing styles were shaped by their different interests and backgrounds.

Some took this conference as an opportunity to introduce new or little-known works. Among them was Li Guo, writing on Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Umar al-Biqā'ī (d. 885/1480), a brilliant maverick scholar with an ugly personal life whose chronicle contributes an original view of society in the mid-ninth/fifteenth century. A welcome addition to the existing sources, al-Biqā'ī's writing should expand our knowledge of the history and culture of this as yet understudied period. Guo also discusses al-Biqā'ī's use of apocalyptic visions and Quranic prophecy to produce a distinctive salvation history, and places al-Biqā'ī's work in the greater context of Islamic salvation history over the ages. Similarly, the late Ulrich Haarmann, to whom the conference proceedings are dedicated, also contributed an investigation of a misfit scholar, although this one was more bumbling than brilliant. Haarmann discussed one Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī (d. 888/1483), who was emotionally scarred in a nasty incident of scholarly hazing. By subsequently rejecting the norms of the social class that had rejected him, Abū Ḥāmid managed to break all literary conventions, distance himself from the tired stereotypes used for the Mamluk military elite (and aptly described by Nasser Rabbat earlier in this volume), and produce a unique and valuable set of works about life in Cairo in the later ninth/fifteenth century.

Despite the dominance of the Mamluk period, this collection also features a welcome set of articles on the historiographical wealth of Ottoman Egypt. Michael Winter provides an overview of changing attitudes towards the Ottomans displayed by Egyptian historians from the tenth/sixteenth to the fourteenth/twentieth centuries. This contribution is particularly useful for its discussion of works composed in Arabic, Turkish, and Hebrew.

Other articles on the Ottoman period propose the rethinking of current scholarly assumptions and practices. Jane Hathaway uses the example of two rival political factions in Egypt and their real or fictional ties to Yemen to call for the rehabilitation

of Yemen as crucial in understanding Egypt. She also demonstrates the localism and limitations of Ottoman-era historians by contrasting the simultaneous yet dissimilar historiographical traditions of the two regions. Daniel Crecilius also suggests a revision of scholarly assumptions. He unmasks the revered historian ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥasan al-Jabarṭī (d. 1237/1822) as an overly proud man who refused to acknowledge his sources, then details the way some modern scholars have been misled by al-Jabarṭī's coy insistence that he worked alone. That accomplished, Crecilius rehabilitates many of the oft-ignored eleventh/seventeenth- and twelfth/eighteenth-century historians whose works al-Jabarṭī consulted, and suggests that we do the same.

In a similarly revisionist vein, Nelly Hanna argues that a surfeit of comparisons between Ottoman Egyptian historians and their Mamluk predecessors has divorced the Ottoman authors from the social and cultural context in which their works were produced. She rectifies this shortcoming with an analysis of that context and of the role played in it by history as art, entertainment, and education. Like Nasser Rabbat, Hanna focuses in part on language variation in the texts, which illuminate different aspects of society and culture. Hanna also provides a list of histories in manuscript from this period, which should be read with the material provided by Crecilius and by Winter for a sense of the extent and variety of Ottoman Egyptian historical sources.

The final contributor, Paul Starkey, analyzes the uses of Egyptian medieval and pharaonic history by modern authors of fiction, and spotlights the works of Jurjī Zaydān and Gamāl al-Ghīṭānī. Like Robert Irwin's piece, this work gives us a welcome view of the shifting boundaries between history and fiction, and a reminder that history—though fascinating—is but one aspect of the extraordinary legacy of Egypt.

The editing of this collection is uneven, and the book contains some typographical errors in English and French, as well as mistakes in the transliteration of Arabic. But these are minor faults. They do not change the fact that reading such a fine collection of essays should be considered *de rigeur* for serious historians. By doing so, they will gain a new and subtle vision of the works on which we all depend.

MUḤAMMAD IBN AḤMAD AL-FĀSĪ, *Shifā' al-Gharām bi-Akhbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām*. Edited by 'Ādil 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-'Adawī and Hishām 'Abd al-'Azīz 'Aṭā under the supervision of Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ. Mawsū'at Makkah wa-al-Madīnah, no. 2 (Mecca-Riyadh: Maktabat Nizār Muṣṭafá al-Bāz, 1417/1996). Two volumes.

IDEM, *Al-Zuhūr al-Muqtaṭafah min Tārīkh Makkah al-Musharrafah*. Edited and annotated by Adīb Muḥammad al-Ghazzāwī, preface and revision by Maḥmūd al-Arnā'ūṭ (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 2000). Pp. 319.

IDEM, *Al-Zuhūr al-Muqtaṭafah min Tārīkh Makkah al-Musharrafah*.[1] Edited by 'Alī 'Umar (Al-Ẓāhir: Maktabat al-Thaqāfah al-Dīnīyah, 1422/2001). Pp. 404.

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When one considers Mamluk historiography, it is now recognized that there exists a Ḥijāzī school of historians in addition to the Egyptian and Syrian ones. It remains to be determined if significant differences characterize the historians of this area as compared to their colleagues in Cairo or Damascus. It would be interesting to know whether their technique of redaction or the use they made of their sources shows similarity to the historians of the other schools. However the Ḥijāzī historians have not yet attracted sufficient interest from scholars conducting studies of this sort, which is a great pity. Only recently, a first attempt to survey all Meccan historians, from the very beginning until the nineteenth century, has appeared and should stimulate further research in this field despite its shortcomings.[2]

The emergence of this school during the period under consideration coincides with the activity of a Meccan scholar, although of Moroccan origin, who lived mainly during the second period of Mamluk rule, namely Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī (832/1429). Between him and the first historians of Mecca, al-Azraqī (244/858) and al-Fākihī (*adhuc viv.* 272/885), there is a gap of more than five centuries, and thus it is important to stress the fact that he can be credited with the revival of a school that had not really caught on. This does not mean that there were no other scholars who were interested in the history of Mecca, but their works were merely isolated cases in their production, while al-Fāsī devoted most of his time to the writing of historical books dealing with the Holy City. Also, the heuristic aspect

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[1]"Yunshar kāmilan wa-bi-fahāris shāmilah lil-marrah al-ūlá."

[2]See Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb al-Hīlah, *Al-Tārīkh wa-al-Mu'arrikhūn bi-Makkah min al-Qarn al-Thālith al-Hijrī ilá al-Qarn al-Thālithah 'Asharah : Jam', 'Arḍ wa-Ta'rīf* (London: Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation , Makkah al-Mukarramah Encyclopaedia Branch, 1994). See my review in *MSR* 3 (1999): 223–30.

of his works is worthy of mention. Unlike many historians, he did not rely only on other written sources, although they included *fiqh* and hadith works for instance, but utilized less conventional materials such as diplomas *(ijāzah)* and dictionaries of authorities (*mashyakhah, muʿjam al-shuyūkh, thabat*). Even more intriguing is his undertaking ″field work″ in search of evidence, as when he personally measured the Kaʿbah, comparing his results to those of his predecessors. The same inquisitiveness drove him when, as an epigraphist, he scrutinized inscriptions which he found on buildings, sometimes giving the full text. Al-Fāsī certainly deserves a study in his own right and it is to be hoped that this call will not go unheeded.[3]

If he won fame and inspired students, it was thanks to two of his books: a biographical dictionary of residents of Mecca from the beginning of Islam to his own time, entitled *Al-ʿIqd al-Thamīn fī Tārīkh al-Balad al-Amīn,*[4] and a history of the Holy City, the title of which is *Shifāʾ al-Gharām bi-Akhbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām.* Both were begun at the same time and conceived as complementary. The idea of composing such a history occurred to him after he noticed that since al-Azraqī nothing serious had been written on the subject (*Shifāʾ* 1:39), a lacuna even stranger in his eyes when he considered that other cities had already been the subject of this kind of work, giving as examples the *Tārīkh Baghdād* by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, the *Tārīkh Dimashq* by Ibn ʿAsākir, and the *Tārīkh Miṣr* by al-Quṭb al-Ḥalabī (1:42). He then decided to collect all he had read about this subject, including inscriptions found on marble, stones, and wood, oral information, etc. (1:40). All the material gathered on independent leaves was then reorganized, following a plan of forty chapters.[5] It is thus clear that the *Shifāʾ* is not a conventional

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[3]What is available is completely inadequate. See Ṣubḥī ʿAbd al-Munʿim Muḥammad, *Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī: Rāʾid al-Muʾarrikhīn al-Ḥijāzīyīn (775–832 H./1373–1429 M.)* (Cairo: al-ʿArabī lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 1997). Reviewed by Li Guo in *MSR* 5 (2001): 169–75.

[4]Ed. by Muḥammad Ḥāmid Al-Fiqī (vol. 1), Fuʾād Sayyid (vols. 2–7), and Maḥmūd Muḥammad Al-Ṭanāḥī (vol. 8) (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat al-Sunnah al-Muḥammadīyah, 1962–69; repr., Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1406/1986).

[5]In a very important note added at the end of his book (2:1065), al-Fāsī recounts the history of its composition, explaining that the original work was much bigger and that he summarized it a first time in 811. Initially, it was organized in 24 chapters, but the author made important additions in 812, 813, 814, 815, and 816 which resulted in the presentation in 40 chapters as it is now. New additions were brought in 817 and 818–19. Most of these were taken from *Tārīkh Makkah* by al-Fākihī, a work which he did not get access to before, and from his own book *Al-ʿIqd al-Thamīn*. Thus the actual version of the *Shifāʾ* appears to be in fact a summary made by the author and expanded several times. The original text is constantly referred to by the author as the *aṣl* (1:47: ″asʾalu min kull wāqif ʿalá hādhā al-mukhtaṣar wa-aṣlihi″; 1:356: ″kamā dhakartuhu fī aṣl hādhā al-kitāb wa-iqtaṣartuhu hunā min dhālika ʿalá mā dhakartuhu″; 1:380: ″wa-nadhkuruhu kamā dhukira fī aṣl hādhā al-kitāb″). This version must have contained,

historical work where the data are presented according to the year or the reign. Each chapter focuses on a theme dealing with the Ḥaram (for instance, the names of Mecca, the Ḥaram, the Ka'bah, etc.) where all periods are considered, beginning with the Jāhilīyah. For Mamlukologists, the most important parts are probably chapters 23 (on the madrasahs, *ribāṭ*s, etc.) and 37 to 39 (lists of governors, and political, meteorological, and finally economic events).[6] But substantial data can also be found scattered in other chapters. Those interested in the Fatimid period will be surprised to learn that al-Fāsī occasionally quotes the *Tārīkh* of al-Musabbiḥī as he had access to a resumé *(mukhtaṣar)* made by Rashīd al-Dīn al-Mundhirī (1:203), a fact that has been overlooked by historians of this period.[7]

Before the edition under discussion here, the *Shifā'* was available in the following ones:

1) It was published for the first time in 1859, but only partly, by F. Wüstenfeld, in a collection of works dealing exclusively with the Holy City.[8]

2) It was only in 1956 that the full text was made available to scholars[9] in an edition based on an undated manuscript belonging to the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah (shelf-mark: Tārīkh 504). This edition also utilized another manuscript which was in fact a recent copy of the Cairo manuscript, and the editors also made use of other sources. The result of the collation was indicated in the footnotes, which rarely satisfy the requirements of a scientific edition.

3) Another edition was prepared by 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī.[10] It has been criticized by al-Hīlah[11] as being just a copy of 2). This same author recognized the lack of a good critical edition of this important text and hoped that one would be published in the future.

This could have been the case with the present edition. Published by a committee of three persons under the supervision of Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ, it appears as no. 2 in a promising series called "Mawsū'at Makkah wa-al-Madīnah," where no. 1 was in fact the *Tārīkh Makkah* by al-Azraqī. It seems thus that the publisher intends to place at the disposal of scholars the most important texts dealing with the two Holy Cities. In his preface (p. 11), the supervisor stresses the fact that only a few

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among other details, full chains of transmitters. It is now presumably lost.

[6]Some of these aspects have already been studied. See particularly the articles published by R. Mortel and C. Morisot.

[7]These quotations are not found in A. F. Sayyid, "Nuṣūṣ Ḍā'i'ah min Akhbār Miṣr lil-Musabbiḥī," *Annales Islamologiques* 17 (1981): 1–54.

[8]*Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1857–61), 2:55–324.

[9]Ed. by a board of experts, with supplements including *Al-Durrah al-Thamīnah fī Tārīkh al-Madīnah* by Ibn al-Najjār (Mecca: Maktabat al-Nahḍah al-Ḥadīthah).

[10]Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1405/1985.

[11]*Al-Tārīkh wa-al-Mu'arrikhūn bi-Makkah,* 122.

books on Mecca have been published, although many manuscripts are still waiting to be unearthed. What is curious in such a statement is why the committee decided to publish first two histories which were already available, unless it intended to prepare new critical editions. Unfortunately, as we will see with the *Shifā',* this is far from being the case.

The introduction (pp. 13–33) contains a short biography of al-Fāsī where only his most important works are mentioned. It lacks references and contributes nothing to our knowledge of the author. In the next section (pp. 19–21 and 27–33), the manuscripts ″selected″ are described. The editors have relied on two manuscripts, one of them corresponding to the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah manuscript already mentioned for edition no. 2.[12] This was not chosen as the basic text; rather another manuscript preserved in the same institution under the shelf-mark Tārīkh Ṭal‘at 2067 was selected.[13] Because it is dated 864, only 32 years after al-Fāsī′s death, it was preferred.[14] Recognizing that in some places both manuscripts have blanks clearly indicated as such *(kadhā fī al-aṣl),* the editors have hastily concluded that they are copies of the author′s original, but this is not necessarily so. Both are described summarily and no other copy is referred to, although they would have learned of others had they consulted al-Hīlah′s book, which has been available since 1994 (pp. 121–22).

The edition is provided with notes indicating the results of the collation of both manuscripts, as well as others where persons and places are identified, though not systematically. For instance (1:168), in an *isnād* with eleven transmitters, only four are clearly identified. Elsewhere (1:458), Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb al-Māwardī is identified as his famous namesake who died in 450/1058,[15] even though he appears in an *isnād* just after Sufyān ibn ‘Uyaynah (d. 196/811), and is followed by three other transmitters, the last one being al-Dāraquṭnī (d. 385/995). This was an anachronism apparently unnoticed by the editors. When the name of a person previously identified occurs subsequently, the editors have taken trouble to note

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[12]Here its shelf number is given as Tārīkh M 54. However, it is clear that we are dealing with the same manuscript, as the scribe′s name that can be read on the facsimile page of the colophon (p. 33) is identical with the one mentioned in the edition no. 2.

[13]The editors also refer to a third manuscript in the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah (Tārīkh Taymūr 1463), dated to 1336 A.H. As often in the case of such recent manuscripts, they are just copies of another MS from the same institution.

[14]According to al-Hīlah, *Al-Tārīkh wa-al-Mu'arrikhūn bi-Makkah,* 121, there is a manuscript in the Royal Library in Rabat (al-Khizānah al-Malikīyah, no. 1911) which is the oldest copy (848 A.H.) and the most reliable one *(aṣaḥḥ).*

[15]Al-Māwardī in this passage must be read al-Jārūdī, a correct reading appearing in the edition no. 2 although their manuscript gave al-Māwardī. In this case, the editors could modify the reading by comparison with the source quoted by al-Fāsī.

the previous identification, but this proves useless since no cross reference is provided and because the indexes are incomplete. Moreover, no particular effort has been made to try to locate passages quoted by al-Fāsī from other sources, not even the traditions selected from canonical collections, such as al-Bukhārī, Muslim, etc., although this would surely have helped to correct some incorrect readings common to both manuscripts. I have taken some soundings which confirm my negative impression: this edition is surely not a definitive one and in many respects it has proved to be less reliable than edition no. 2, adding new mistakes. Among these, I will mention just a few, such as 1:365, where تنحسرfأشطايا must be read تنخشرfأشظايا; 1:397, where منقوشرfعرضة must be read متقوسرfعرصة as al-Fāsī is speaking of the *ḥijr* (an enclosure with a wall in the shape of a bow); 1:459, where (two occurrences) الحافظ العرافي is in fact الحافظ العراقي as is confirmed by a quotation two lines below where the name is correctly given; 2:999 (عفيف الدين الطبري, leg. عفيف الدين المطري); 2:1026 (ابن مشدي, leg. ابن مسدي); 2:1029 (ماشخنا, leg. مشايخنا). The presence of indexes should allow me to temper these criticisms, but they are deficient. All the indexes have been placed at the end of vol. 2, even though they consist in fact of separate indexes for each volume. Most of them are incomplete and are not adequate for making use of the book. In conclusion, *Al-Shifā'* still awaits a serious critical edition with full annotation and proper indexes.

Al-Fāsī prepared a resumé of the *Shifā'* that he entitled *Al-Zuhūr al-Muqtaṭafah min Tārīkh Makkah al-Musharrafah,* where most details (*isnād*s, debates) have been eliminated. It would be a mistake, however, to neglect the work on this basis, since it appears that in some cases the author has added data which are not to be found in the *Shifā'*. Besides the *Zuhūr,* he produced, as he declares in his introduction, three other books on the same subject which must also be considered resumés of the *Shifā'*: *Tuḥfat al-Kirām bi-Akhbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām*, *Taḥṣīl al-Marām min Tārīkh al-Balad al-Ḥarām*, and *Hādī Dhawī al-Afhām ilá Tārīkh al-Balad al-Ḥaram.*[16] Except for the last work, they are preserved only in manuscript and remain unpublished. It is only recently that the *Zuhūr* has become available in several editions, among which two are under review here.[17] Both are based on an important manuscript and provide us an opportunity to compare how the editors have rendered it in their work. This manuscript, dated to 825 A.H. (thus during

[16] Al-Hīlah, *Al-Tārīkh wa-al-Mu'arrikhūn bi-Makkah,* 122–23, also mentions *Tarwīḥ al-Ṣudūr bi-Ikhtiṣār al-Zuhūr* and *Mukhtaṣar Tarwīḥ al-Ṣudūr* as resumés of the *Zuhūr.*

[17] ʿAlī ʿUmar speaks in disparaging terms (″ṭabʿah kathīrat al-taḥrīf wa-al-asqāṭ″) of an edition published in Mecca-Riyadh (Maktabat Nizār Muṣṭafá al-Bāz) in 1997 and prepared by Muṣṭafá Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, who based it on two manuscripts. Divergences noticed by ʿUmar with this Meccan edition have been indicated in the footnotes.

the lifetime of the author, who died in 832), is in the handwriting of Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Shuwāʼiṭī al-Yamanī[18] and was in the library of the Kuwaiti scholar ʻAbd Allāh ibn al-Khalaf al-Daḥiyyān, who bequeathed it to the Maktabat al-Awqāf al-Kuwaytīyah upon his death. Additionally, the title-page proves that the text was transmitted by well-known scholars. None of the editors has studied these notes that are transcribed here thanks to the facsimile of the title-page added in ʻUmar′s edition:

أروي هذا الكتاب من طريق شيخنا الحافظ برهان الدين الناجي[19] عن المؤلف تقي الدين الفاسي

وعن شيخنا السخاوي إجازة عن شيخه ابن حجر رواية عن المؤلف

وعن شيخنا الشيخ شهاب الدين ابن الملاح المقرئ الرملاوي[20] بدمشق رواية عن المؤلف

أروي هذا الكتاب من طريق شيخنا القاضي سراج الدين ابن الصيرفي[21] رواية عن المؤلف

Given its importance, a facsimile edition of the whole text was published by Muhannā Ḥamad al-Muhannā[22] together with an introduction, notes, and indexes. ʻUmar, however, made occasional use of an additional manuscript preserved in Baghdad (al-Mathaf al-ʻIrāqī, no. 1385), which was previously the property of Father Anastase Marie de Saint-Élie, who bought it in 1918. It is unfortunately undated, but seems to be from the seventeenth century.[23] While al-Ghazzāwī′s edition is provided with an introduction written by the supervisor al-Arnaʼūṭ (pp. 5–20), in which he discusses the author and his work and provides a cursory description of the manuscript, ʻUmar is more laconic (pp. 5–8) and speaks especially of the previous Meccan edition and of the manuscripts. Both editions are provided with footnotes, but not of the same value. Al-Ghazzāwī has tried to return to the original sources from which al-Fāsī quoted, though failing to locate the references made by the author to his other works. He also added, but rather meagerly, identifications of persons and places and explanations of lexical terms. On the other hand, ʻUmar has considered it important to faithfully indicate where he

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[18]On him, see ʻUmar ibn Fahd, *Muʻjam al-Shuyūkh,* ed. M. al-Zāhī (Mecca, n.d. [1982?]), 67, where it is stated that he settled in Mecca in 803 A.H. His *nisbah* designates a locality situated near Taʻizz.

[19]Ibrahīm ibn Muḥammad al-Dimashqī (d. 900/1495). See ʻU. R. Kaḥḥālah, *Muʻjam al-Muʼallifīn* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʼ al-Turāth al-ʻArabī, n.d.), 1:106.

[20]Unidentified.

[21]Unidentified.

[22]Kuwait: Al-Ṣundūq al-Waqfī lil-Thaqāfah wa-al-Fikr, 1417/1997.

[23]In one particular case, this manuscript appeared more reliable since a complete passage (pp. 133–34) was missing in the Kuwaiti manuscript.

found the references made by al-Fāsī to his other works. Yet he disregarded the identification of persons or places, which is a pity.

In summation, I believe that ʻUmar′s edition is, generally speaking, more reliable. If I should recommend one of them, I would be inclined to say that ʻUmar can be trusted in most cases, although one must be aware that his edition is not free from mistakes. His edition permits us to emend some readings in all the available editions of the *Shifā*ʼ. The presence of numerous, reasonably reliable indexes, is another positive aspect.[24] In the following lines, I have given the result of my collation of some passages, where the bold version is considered the correct one, so that the reader will be able to draw his own conclusions.

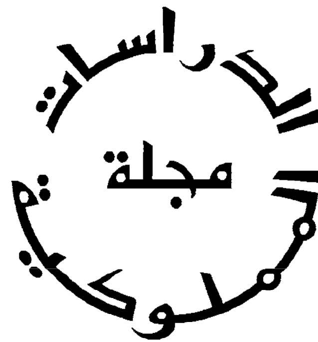
	Ghazzāwī		ʻUmar
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MAMLŪK STUDIES
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Mamlūk Studies Review is a biannual refereed journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648–922/1250–1517). It appears in January and July. The goals of *Mamlūk Studies Review* are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, nurture communication within the field, and promote further research by encouraging the critical discussion of all aspects of this important medieval Islamic polity. The journal includes both articles and reviews of recent books. Submissions of original work on any aspect of the field are welcome, although the editorial board will periodically issue volumes devoted to specific topics and themes. *Mamlūk Studies Review* also solicits edited texts and translations of shorter Arabic source materials (*waqf* deeds, letters, *fatāwá* and the like), and encourages discussions of Mamluk era artifacts (pottery, coins, etc.) that place these resources in wider contexts. Transliterated Middle Eastern languages should conform to the system utilized by the Library of Congress. All questions regarding style should be resolved through reference to *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th edition. All submissions should be typed double-spaced. Submissions must be made on labeled computer disk together with a printed copy. The print copy should have full and proper diacritics, but the disk copy should have no diacritics of any kind.

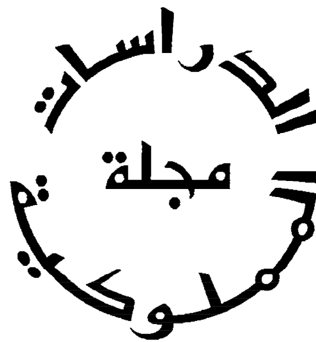
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Note

Bruce Craig first asked me to undertake the preparation of a *Mamlūk Studies Review* volume devoted to the economic history of the sultanate in early 2000. In retrospect, however, his suggestion only began to assume form and shape over the period from May 2000 to September 2001, endpoints defined by two international conferences devoted to Mamluk studies: the ″International Conference on the Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society″ organized by Haifa and Tel Aviv Universities (May 14–17, 2000); and the ″Symposium on Medieval Arabic Historiography: The Legacy of al-Maqrīzī (1364–1442)″ organized by the University of Notre Dame (September 28–29, 2001). These gatherings facilitated contacts with several of the scholars whose work appears in the following pages. The project then grew in scope as a result of two subsequent *Mamlūk Studies Review*-sponsored activities. The first was a double panel at the 2002 MESA conference entitled ″From Alexandria to Aden: Commerce and Society in the Medieval Middle East,″ and the second was ″The University of Chicago International Conference on Mamluk Studies″ held in May, 2003. The majority of the contributors to this volume were participants in one of these two events. Many people thus contributed their talents and efforts to this volume, as well as to the studies which, due to space constraints, could not be included here. I would like to especially thank Bruce Craig, Marlis Saleh, and our anonymous readers for all they have done to bring this volume to press.

Warren C. Schultz

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Yossef Rapoport
University of Oxford

Invisible Peasants, Marauding Nomads: Taxation, Tribalism, and Rebellion in Mamluk Egypt*

Right from the outset of Mamluk rule, the Arab tribes of Egypt stand out as the most persistent internal threat to the regime. The Egyptian tribesmen were the only group in the Mamluk domains that was openly and repeatedly contesting the legitimacy of Mamluk authority, and the only group that was ready to resort to armed resistance. In 650/1252–53, in what appears to be a direct response to the Mamluk seizure of power, an Arab uprising engulfed large parts of the Egyptian countryside. Led by the *sharīf* of the tribe of the Ja‘āfirah, Ḥiṣn al-Dīn ibn Taghlab, the Arabs mobilized a force of 12,000 cavalrymen and prevented the collection of the agricultural taxes. Ḥiṣn al-Dīn scorned the rule of al-Mu‘izz Aybak and the government of the Turkish slaves; rather, he claimed, the Arab tribes *(‘urbān)* were the true owners of the land.[1] Over the following century, the Arab tribes mounted two more general revolts. In 698/1298–99 the Arab tribes of Upper and Middle Egypt staged a rebellion that lasted for three years until its brutal repression by a Mamluk expeditionary force.[2] In 749/1349, following the first outbreak of

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*I would like to thank Abraham L. Udovitch, Adam Sabra, Lennart Sundelin, and the participants in the University of Chicago Conference on Mamluk Studies for their valuable comments on an earlier draft of this paper. I would also like to thank Tamer el-Leithy for his insightful comments and suggestions at various stages.

[1]For medieval sources, see Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār: Qabā’il al-‘Arab fī al-Qarnayn al-Sābi‘ wa-al-Thāmin al-Hijrīyayn,* ed. Dorothea Krawulsky (Beirut, 1986), 161; Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma‘rifat al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ ‘Āshūr (Cairo, 1934–72), 1:386 ff.; idem, *Al-Bayān wa-al-I‘rāb ‘ammā bi-Arḍ Miṣr min al-‘Arab* (Cairo, 1961), 37–38; Badr al-Dīn al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān: ‘Aṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1987–), 1:107–8; Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A‘shá fī Ṣinā‘at al-Inshā’* (Cairo, 1913–18), 4:68. For modern accounts, see, among others, Jean-Claude Garcin, *Un centre musulman de la Haute-Égypte médiévale: Qūṣ* (Cairo, 1976), 183–90, 372–74; Abdel Hamid Saleh, "Les relations entre les Mamluks et les Bédouins d'Egypte," *Annali: Istituto Orientale di Napoli* (n.s. 30) 40 (1980): 365–93; idem, "Quelques remarques sur les Bédouins d'Égypte au Moyen Âge," *Studia Islamica* 48 (1978): 60; Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam* (Leiden, 1997), 95; Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate, 1250–1382* (London, 1986), 27. Note that the reading Taghlab, as found in the critical edition of al-‘Umarī, is preferred over the reading Tha‘lab found in later works.

[2]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:914, 920; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn*

the Black Death, most of the Arab tribes of Upper Egypt were again engaged in a loosely organized rebellion centered on the regions of Assiut and Qūṣ. This uprising was only quelled in 754/1354.[3]

Interpretations of the Arab resistance to Mamluk rule differ, mainly with regard to the matter of the relationship between the tribesmen and the peasants. A. N. Poliak emphasized the agricultural nature of the Arab rebellions and the close alliance between the Arabs and the peasants. For Poliak, the bedouins of the Nile were halfway on the road to sedentarization, living in hamlets around the villages but retaining their privilege of armed service to the state.[4] More recently, Abdel Hamid Saleh has gone even further in allying the bedouins with the peasants. The bedouin tribesmen who migrated to the Nile valley were allowed to cultivate the land, and thus became ″peasants (*fallāḥ*s) of bedouin origin,″ distinguished by their tribal ethics and the solidarity of the tribe. When fighting against the Mamluk authorities they formed a close alliance with the general Egyptian population, with whom they had common cause.[5]

Jean-Claude Garcin, on the other hand, emphasized the fundamental conflict between the bedouin and the peasant. According to his interpretation, which is grounded in his detailed and much-praised study of the city of Qūṣ, the causes of Arab resistance to the Mamluks should be sought in the eternal struggle between Qaysī and Yamanī tribes. The Qaysī tribes of Upper Egypt, such as the Banū Hilāl and Banū Kanz, lived alongside the settled population of the southern regions, while Yamanī tribes, such as the Juhaynah, ʻArak, and Balī lived further to the north. Garcin suggests that the revolts were predominantly based in the regions occupied by Yamanī tribes, while the Mamluk authorities, like their Ayyubid predecessors, allied with the Qaysī tribes. But from the second half of the fourteenth century, when the bedouin Yamanī tribes were incorporated into the Mamluk state machinery, their true colors became apparent. When the bedouin leaders became major *iqṭāʻ* holders, their repression and exploitation of the peasantry was no better, and perhaps worse, than that of the Mamluk amirs.[6]

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al-Adab (Cairo, 1923–), 30:333; al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd al-Jumān,* 4:174–77; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1929–72), 8:149–53. See also Saleh, ″Les relations,″ 369 ff.; Garcin, *Qūṣ,* 374–76.

[3]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:770, 820, 839, 859, 896, 908–20. See also Saleh, ″Les relations,″ 378–79; Garcin, *Qūṣ,* 381–84.

[4]A. N. Poliak, ″Les revoltes populaires en Égypte à l′époque des Mamelouks et leur causes économiques,″ *Revue des études islamiques* 8 (1934): 251–73.

[5]Saleh, ″Quelques remarques,″ *Studia Islamica* 48 (1978): 45–70. Similarly, Sato believes that the life-style of the *ʻurbān* varied from cattle-breeding to agriculture (*State and Rural Society,* 95).

[6]Jean-Claude Garcin, ″Note sur les rapports entre Bédouins et fellahs á l′époque Mamluke,″ *Annales islamologiques* 14 (1978): 147–63; Garcin, *Qūṣ,* 362–84.

All three interpretations, I would argue, suffer from a common and misleading association of tribal identity with pastoral nomadism, whether past or present. The assumption that the Arab tribes are, or were in the recent past, pastoral nomads partly stems from semantic imprecision. Poliak, Saleh, and Garcin all refer to the rebelling tribesmen as bedouins, but the term most commonly used in the Mamluk sources is *ʿurbān,* a non-classical plural form of *ʿarab.*[7] The word *ʿarab* (Arab) in itself did not mean pastoral nomadism. As defined by the lexicographer al-Azharī (d. 370/980), who is invariably cited in Mamluk dictionaries, the *ʿarab* are all those descended from the Arabs, whatever their way of life may be. Arabs who live in settled communities, in cities or in villages, are still Arabs, even if they do not speak eloquent Arabic. Likewise, the Companions of the Prophet were Arabs, even though they lived in sedentary communities. The *aʿrāb,* on the other hand, is a Quranic term for a sub-category of Arabs who live in the open country and migrate for the purpose of grazing their herds. Al-Azharī is keen to emphasize that not all Arabs but only the *aʿrāb,* the pastoral nomads, can be equated with the *badw* (bedouin).[8]

Even the term *badw* could refer, in certain contexts, to rural communities that were not necessarily transhumant, as is demonstrated by Ibn Khaldūn's dichotomy of the *badw* and the *ḥaḍar.* At the beginning of the chapter on *badawī* civilization, Ibn Khaldūn defines *badw* as "those who either live from cultivation of the land *(al-falḥ)* or those who make their living by raising livestock." Both groups are by necessity *badw,* because both need space for their feddans of fields or pasturage for their herds.[9] It is true that Ibn Khaldūn later shifts his attention to the nomadic tribesmen, and his account of the devastation caused by the invasion of the Banū Hilāl to North Africa is often seen as an epitome of the antagonism between the desert and the sown in Islamic history.[10] But, as established by many a Khaldūnian interpreter, Ibn Khaldūn singles out the pastoral nomads because he considers them to be the simplest, the most elementary, and the purest form of *badawī* civilization.[11] On account of their simplicity and remoteness, the camel-herding

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[7]Reinhart Pieter Anne Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (Leiden, 1881), 2:108.

[8]Muḥammad ibn Mukarram Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab* (Beirut, 1955–56), 1:586; Shihāb al-Dīn al-Fayyūmī, *Miṣbāḥ al-Munīr* (Cairo, 1312), 2:22. Cited also in al-Qalqashandī, *Qalāʾid al-Jumān fī Taʿrīf Qabāʾil ʿArab al-Zamān,* ed. Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī (Cairo, 1963), 12; and idem, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Maʿrifat Ansāb al-ʿArab* (Beirut, 1980), 18. See also Edward W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, 1863–93), 5:1993.

[9]ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn* (Beirut, n.d.), 132.

[10]E. F. Gautier, *Le passé de l'Afrique du nord: les siécles obscures* (Paris, 1952); Bernard Lewis, "The Decolonization of History," in Lewis, *Islam in History: Ideas, Men and Events in the Middle East* (London, 1973), 43–48.

[11]Peter Von Sivers, "Back to Nature: the Agrarian Foundations of Society according to Ibn

nomads are able to preserve the purest Arabic speech and purest lineages, which also means that their group solidarity *(ʿaṣabīyah)* is the strongest. They are nonetheless only a sub-category within the larger group of *badw,* a group that includes peasants and nomads, cultivators and herdsmen. Rendering Ibn Khaldūn's *badw* as "bedouin" is therefore somewhat misleading. As Muhsin Mahdi notes, the reduction of the Khaldūnian *badw* to "nomadic" can lead to serious misunderstanding of Ibn Khaldūn's thought.[12]

The dissociation of tribalism and bedouin identity from pastoral nomadism finds its corollary in attempts by anthropologists to come to terms with the often confusing ethnographic accounts of Middle Eastern tribes. In Afghanistan, Pakistan, Oman, the Yemen, and Morocco, and in many other places in the Middle East, tribesmen are for the most part settled cultivators. While most tribes have both nomadic and settled components, major tribal groups in these countries are—and were in any part of their known history—settled cultivators with little or no inclination towards pastoral nomadism. While tribes share some common features, like a segmentary lineage system and ideals of political autonomy, a tribal identity specifies little, if anything, about systems of production.[13] Even a bedouin identity cannot be simply equated with camel-herding or pastoralism. Bedouins are, almost always, Muslim Arabic speakers, and, for the most part, are organized along tribal lines. But the bedouins can live by more than one strategy.[14] In modern Jordan, for example, very few of the large bedouin groups are, or were in the recent past,

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Khaldun," *Arabica* 27 (1980): 68–91, esp. 70–71. See also Fuad Baali, *Society, State and Urbanism: Ibn Khaldun's Sociological Thought* (New York, 1988), 95–102; Mohamed Talbi, *Ibn Khaldun et l'histoire* (Tunis, 1973), 64–72; Aziz al-Azmeh, *Ibn Khaldūn in Modern Scholarship: a Study in Orientalism* (London, 1981), 208–15; Steven C. Caton, "Anthropological Theories of Tribe and State Formation in the Middle East: Ideology and the Semiotics of Power," in *Tribes and State Formation in the Middle East,* ed. Philip S. Khoury and Joseph Kostiner (London, 1991), 74–108. Robert Irwin also notes that while the opposition between nomad and sedentary is central to Ibn Khaldūn's thought, his *badawī* civilization includes both bedouin and peasants ("Toynbee and Ibn Khaldūn," *Middle Eastern Studies* 33, no. 3 [1997]: 461–79).

[12]Muhsin Mahdi, *Ibn Khaldun's Philosophy of History: a Study in the Philosophic Foundation of the Science of Culture* (London, 1957), 193.

[13]Dale Eickelman, *The Middle East and Central Asia: an Anthropological Approach,* 3rd ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ, 1998), 45–46, 105–21; Richard Tapper, "Anthropologists, Historians and Tribespeople on Tribe and State Formation in the Middle East," in *Tribes and State Formation,* 48–68.

[14]Martha Mundy and Basim Musallam, "Introduction," in *The Transformation of Nomadic Society in the Arab East*, ed. Mundy and Musallam (Cambridge, 2000), 1; Eickelman, *The Middle East and Central Asia*, 64–65; idem, "Being Bedouin: Nomads and Tribes in the Arab Social Imagination," in Joseph Ginat and Anatoly M. Khazanov, *Changing Nomads in a Changing World* (Brighton, 1998), 38–49.

pastoralists or nomads. The decisive elements of their bedouin identity—that which makes them *badw*—are rather their memory of a lineage associated with a distant nomadic past, and their adherence to ideologies of equality and autonomy.[15]

I would contend here that a clear distinction between pastoral nomadism as an economic option, tribalism as a form of social organization, and bedouin-ness as a cultural identity allows for a richer interpretation of the resistance of the *'urbān* to Mamluk rule. Such a conceptual distinction also makes it possible to distill much more precisely the meaning of tribal identity in the medieval Egyptian countryside, and to place the tribes right at the center—rather than at the margins—of Egyptian history. Moreover, it also sheds a much-needed light on the process of conversion and Islamization outside of the urban centers. In order to do that, we need to re-visit al-Nābulusī's *Tārīkh al-Fayyūm,* the most detailed account of a rural province that has reached us from medieval Islamic Egypt. Al-Nābulusī visited the Fayyum only a decade before the outbreak of the first Arab rebellion against the Mamluks, and I would argue that what al-Nābulusī saw in the 1240s can be generalized for other parts of Middle and Upper Egypt. The tribes of the Fayyum, seen through the eyes of al-Nābulusī, are crucial for a proper interpretation of the Arab revolts in the century that followed.

The account of the province of the Fayyum written by the Ayyubid official Abū 'Uthmān al-Nābulusī, entitled *Tārīkh al-Fayyūm wa-Bilādihi,* is the most detailed cadastral survey to have survived from medieval Egypt.[16] In the words of Stephen Humphreys, it is "as close as we will ever get to an official tax register for

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[15]Tariq Tell, "The Politics of Rural Policy in East Jordan, 1920–1989," in *The Transformation of Nomadic Society*, 90–98; Andrew J. Shryock, "Popular Genealogical Nationalism: History Writing and Identity among the Balqa Tribes of Jordan," *Comparative Studies in History and Society* 37, no. 2 (1995): 325–57.

[16]Abū 'Uthmān al-Nābulusī, *Tārīkh al-Fayyūm wa-Bilādihi (Description du Faiyoum),* ed. B. Moritz (Cairo, 1898; repr., Beirut, 1974). George Salmon, "Répertoire géographique de la province du Fayyoûm d'aprés le Kitâb Târîkh al-Fayyoûm d'an-Naboûlsi," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 1 (1901): 29–77, provides a brief summary for each village. For a discussion of tax obligations, see Claude Cahen, "Le régime des impôts dans le Fayyūm Ayyūbide," *Arabica* 3 (1958): 8–30 (reprinted in idem, *Makhzūmiyyāt* [Leiden, 1977]). On production and irrigation, see Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 215–24; I. König, "Die Oase al-Fayyum nach 'Uthmān ibn Ibrahim an-Nabulusi: ein Beitrage zur Wirtchaftsgeschichte Aegyptens um die Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts n. chr.," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischer Wissenschaft* 10 (1996): 190–253. For a useful recent summary, see G. Keenan, "Fayyum Agriculture at the End of the Ayyubid Era: Nabulsi's *Survey*," in *Agriculture in Egypt: From Pharaonic to Modern Times,* ed. Alan K. Bowman and Eugene Rogan, Proceedings of the British Academy 96 (Oxford, 1999), 287–99.

Mamluk Egypt."[17] Al-Nābulusī, dispatched to the Fayyum in 641/1243 by al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb with instructions to report on the fiscal conditions of the province, was a prominent official in the Ayyubid bureaucracy. He wrote at least two other works concerned with the proper administration of the finances of Egypt. One is a staunchly anti-*dhimmī* text, appropriately called *Tajrīd Sayf al-Himmah li-Istikhrāj Mā fī Dhimmat al-Dhimmah,* in which he argues against the employment of Copts in the state's bureaucracy.[18] In another treatise, *Luma' al-Qawānīn al-Muḍī'ah fī Dawāwīn al-Diyār al-Miṣrīyah,* al-Nābulusī exposes abuse and incompetence in the administration. In this work al-Nābulusī comes across as an extremely pedantic and experienced civil servant, who is wholly and totally committed to the increase of the government's revenue.[19] It is against this perceived incompetence that al-Nābulusī set out to write *Tārīkh al-Fayyūm* as an exemplary model of a cadastral survey, paying very careful attention to the minute details of agricultural production.

Tārīkh al-Fayyūm is divided into nine introductory chapters dealing with the geography, history, and demography of the Fayyum, followed by the main body of the treatise, the cadastral survey itself. The survey begins with a description of the provincial capital, Madīnat al-Fayyūm, which is then followed by entries for more than one hundred villages. For each village, al-Nābulusī starts by indicating the size of the village and the state of its habitation, its geographical location, its inhabitants, its sources of water, the names of the *iqṭā'* holders, and the local mosques, churches, and monasteries. The fiscal part of the entry is a list of the actual taxes levied on the village, divided into taxes in cash and taxes in kind. The taxes in kind are expressed in *irdabb*s, mostly of wheat and barley, but sometimes also of legumes. The taxes in cash were levied on all other taxable agricultural products, such as livestock and cash crops, including flax, cotton, sesame, indigo, vegetables, and fruits. This category of taxes in cash also included the poll-tax levied on non-Muslims, specifically the Coptic population, a fiscal feature that enables us to estimate the number of Copts residing in each village.

In an introductory chapter, entitled "on the inhabitants of the Fayyum and their division into *badw* and *ḥaḍar,*" al-Nābulusī divides the population of the Fayyum

[17]R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry* (Princeton, 1991), 174.

[18]Claude Cahen, "Histoires coptes d'un cadi médiéval," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 59 (1960): 133–50. See also Brian Catlos, "To Catch a Spy: The Case of Zayn ad-Dīn and ibn Dukhân," *Medieval Encounters* 2 (1996): 99–113.

[19]Claude Cahen, "Quelques aspects de l'administration égyptienne médiévale vus par un de ses fonctionnaires," *Bulletin de la faculté des letters de Strasbourg* 26 (1947–48): 98–118; English translation by C. A. Owens, "Scandal in the Egyptian Treasury: A Portion of the *Luma' al-qawānīn* of Ibrāhīm al-Nābulusī," with an introduction by C. C. Torrey, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 14 (1955): 70–80.

into the familiar Khaldūnian categories. In the beginning of the chapter al-Nābulusī writes:

> When I was given orders to survey the region of the Fayyum, I went from village to village and acquainted myself with its inhabitants. I would have even made a census, but for my fear that they would notice [me doing so]. I have found the majority of the people to be Arab *(aktharu ahlihā al-ʻarab),* divided into sections and tribes *(al-afḥādh wa-al-shuʻūb).* As for the *ḥaḍar,* there are very few of them, residing in no more than two or three villages. These few *ḥaḍar* communities are under the protection of the Arabs. In return, the Arabs take a fee from the revenue of their allotted portions *(rizaqihim)*[20] or hold rights to part of their lands, and the Arabs treat [the *ḥaḍar*] in a humiliating manner. The Arabs belong to three tribal confederacies *(uṣūl),* which are the Banū Kilāb, Banū ʻAjlān, and the al-Lawāthīyīn. I will now list their dwelling places, excluding [the tribes] who seek pasture at the time of a drought and those who come there to transport the harvest.[21]

In this key chapter, al-Nābulusī informs us that almost the entire population of the Fayyum consisted of Arab tribesmen, which he also describes as *badw,* or bedouin. The only exceptions were a few *ḥaḍar* communities, who were under the domination of the Arab tribes. Al-Nābulusī goes on to list around one hundred villages—that is practically all the villages in the province—organized by their tribal affiliation. All these villages were populated by *badw,* with the exception of only three villages in which the population was *ḥaḍar* and the *badw* were only the guardsmen *(khufarā')*.[22] The list corroborates al-Nābulusī's general statement about the predominance of the *badw,* and shows that the population of the Fayyum was indeed dominated by three tribal groups. First in importance were the Banū Kilāb, then the Banū ʻAjlān, and then—much smaller—the Lawāthah, a Berber tribe. The Banū Kilāb dominated in the central, south, and west; the Banū ʻAjlān in the east and the north; while the Lawāthah dwelt in villages along the Lāhūn gap.[23]

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[20]On the meaning of *rizqah* in the Mamluk period, see N. Michel, "Les *rizaq iḥbāsīyah,* terres agricoles en mainmorte dans l'Égypte mamelouke et ottomane: Étude sur les *Dafātir al-Aḥbās* ottomans," *Annales islamologiques* 30 (1996): 105–98.

[21]Al-Nābulusī, *Tārīkh al-Fayyūm,* 12–13.

[22]These were the village of Munsha'at Awlād ʻArafah and the village of Bājah, both guarded by the Banū ʻĀmīr of the Banū Kilāb, and the village of Minyat al-Usquf (al-Nābulusī, *Tārīkh al-Fayyūm,* 13, ll. 18–19).

[23]See summary in Keenan, "Fayyum Agriculture," 292.

The predominance of the Banū Kilāb in the Fayyum is also attested in a treatise on Arab tribal genealogy written by Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥamdānī (d. after 680/1281), a work that has reached us through al-ʻUmarī and al-Qalqashandī.[24]

In order to understand the meaning of Arab tribal identity in the Fayyum, let us take a closer look at the village of Saylah, one village out of the hundred-odd *badw* villages described by al-Nābulusī.[25] According to him, Saylah was a medium-size village at the eastern edge of the province, three hours ride from Madīnat al-Fayyūm. He notes that, like most other villages in the province, the inhabitants of Saylah mainly cultivated cereals—wheat, barley, and broad beans *(fūl)*. The reliance of the village on grain production is borne out by its list of taxes. At the top of the list were the taxes on grain, levied in kind. They amounted to 2,500 *irdabb*s, a third of which was to be paid in wheat and the remaining two-thirds in barley. Assuming an average tax rate of 2.5 *irdabb*s per feddan, as reported by Ibn al-Mammātī,[26] we can estimate that the villagers of Saylah cultivated at least 1,000 feddans of cereals.[27] The monetary value of these taxes was also substantial: given normal prices, 2,500 *irdabb*s of grain were worth tens of thousands of dirhams.[28] All the other taxes paid by the villagers of Saylah pale in comparison. They owed only around 730 dirhams for their herds of livestock, which included 600 head of sheep, goats, a few cows, and one solitary ox. In addition, ten non-Muslim men who lived in the village owed twenty dinars as their poll-tax.

Saylah was a cereal-growing community, a typical village in al-Nābulusī's Fayyum. All the taxes on livestock, chicken, and fodder, even including the miscellaneous fees paid to local officials, were nothing but small change compared to the tax on grain. This was a settled community, and its fields were probably

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[24]Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʻUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār,* 157; al-Qalqashandī, *Qalā'id,* 117, 124, 126. In another work al-Qalqashandī mentions only the Banū ʻAwf as residing in the Fayyum (*Nihāyat al-Arab*, 343), and they are also mentioned by al-ʻUmarī as inhabiting the province (*Masālik al-Abṣār,* 164–65). See full discussion in Saleh, "Les migrations bédouines en Égypte au Moyen Âge," *Annali: Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 41 (1981): 23.

[25]Al–Nābulusī, *Tārīkh al-Fayyūm,* 114–16. For Saylah, see also Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighbouring Countries Attributed to Abû Sâlih, the Armenian,* trans. Basil Thomas Alfred Evetts (Oxford, 1895), 209.

[26]*Kitāb Qawānīn al-Dawāwīn,* ed. A. S. Atiyya (Cairo, 1943), 259.

[27]According to later cadastral surveys, the villagers of Saylah cultivated more than 1,000 feddans. Ibn Duqmāq puts it at 4,573 feddans (Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad Ibn Duqmāq [d. 1407], *Al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat ʻIqd al-Amṣar,* ed. Karl Vollers [Cairo, 1893], 5:9), and Ibn al-Jīʻān at 3,609 feddans (*Kitāb al-Tuḥfah al-Sanīyah bi-Asmā' al-Bilād al-Miṣrīyah* [Cairo, 1974], 155). See also Heinz Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern* (Wiesbaden, 1979–82), 1:269.

[28]According to al-ʻUmarī, in the first half of the fourteenth century, and under normal circumstances, an *irdabb* of grain fetched 10–15 dirhams (cited in Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam* [Cambridge, 2000], 120).

marked with fences *(judrān),* as were the fields of other villages in the province.[29] While it is possible that some migrated seasonally with the herds, the community as a whole was not transhumant. It was quite different from the *muntaji'ūn,* the nomadic herdsmen, mentioned by al-Nābulusī as being taxed only for their livestock.[30] And yet, like almost all the villages in al-Nābulusī ′s Fayyum, Saylah was inhabited by a tribal group. Al-Nābulusī says that the villagers of Saylah belonged to the Banū Zur'ah, a section of the Banū 'Ajlān.[31]

Like Saylah, almost all the cereal-growing villages of the Fayyum were inhabited by *badw,* or Arab, tribal groups. Each village is identified with a section of a tribe in a plain and straightforward manner, and this identification is repeated twice, once in the fifth chapter on the inhabitants of the province and then again in the individual entries for each village. There is nothing to suggest that the Arab tribes lived around the villages, maintaining a half-sedentary way of life, as suggested by Poliak.[32] The Arab tribes provided armed protection to the few *ḥaḍar* villages, but, given the demographic predominance of the Arabs, this was the exception rather than the rule, contrary to the purely military role ascribed to them by Cahen.[33] Moreover, there is nothing to suggest that these were tribes in the process of becoming settled. Al-Nābulusī is quite keen to note the disappearance of villages and the founding of new ones, but says nothing about recent settlement of nomadic tribesmen. It is not that the *badw* came to resemble the peasants; rather, in al-Nābulusī′s Fayyum, the *badw* was a category that included both peasants and nomads—the vast majority of the inhabitants of the province.

The demographic predominance of the Arab tribesmen meant that even the handful of *ḥaḍar* rural settlements were under the influence of the Arabs. The hamlet of Munsha'at Awlād 'Arafah was populated by Christian *ḥaḍar,* but guarded by the Banū 'Āmir, a section of the Banū Kilāb.[34] Similarly, the majority of the inhabitants of the village of Abū Kisā were *ḥaḍar,* but a minority belonged to the

[29]The village of Fānū was so close to the village of Naqalīfah that the fence *(jidār)* of the former was in the lands of the latter (al-Nābulusī, *Tārīkh al-Fayyūm,* 31). Similarly, the fence of al-Malālīyah was in the lands of another village (ibid., 133). When the lands of a village were without a fence, al-Nābulusī saw it as a sign of an abandoned village (ibid., 87).

[30]See examples in al-Nābulusī, *Tārīkh al-Fayyūm,* 55, 88.

[31]The published text has Banū Kilāb, but this is a mistake, perhaps on the part of the editor. Compare al-Nābulusī, *Tārīkh al-Fayyūm,* 14, l. 3.

[32]Poliak, ″Les revoltes populaires,″ 257.

[33]Claude Cahen states that protection fees *(rasm al-khafārah)* were paid to the bedouin for not pillaging the villages (″Le régime des impôts,″ 19). He does not clarify that this could have been the case only in the few non-Arab villages.

[34]Al-Nābulusī, *Tārīkh al-Fayyūm,*13, l. 18.

Banū Jawwāb of the Banū Kilāb, who likewise assumed the role of guardsmen.[35] The small town of Bamūyah, boasting of a regional market and a variety of tradesmen, was mainly inhabited by *ḥaḍar*. But three sections of the Banū ʿAjlān shared the responsibility of protecting it.[36]

The difference between the *badw* and the *ḥaḍar* becomes clearer when we consider the village of Minyat al-Usquf as an example of a *ḥaḍarī* village. Minyat al-Usquf was a small village not far from the province's capital.[37] Perennial irrigation allowed the village houses to be surrounded by orchards and gardens. The village produced a great variety of fruits, such as, among others, apricots, grapes, lemons, and pomegranates. The population consisted of Christian *ḥaḍar*, including 56 adult men subject to the poll-tax. Their protection was in the hands of the Banū Zurʿah.[38] The entire tax assessment of the village was in cash rather than in grains, as the village held no arable land. The total tax assessment was around 230 dinars. The major part of this sum, 216 dinars, was levied on the village's orchards, and the remaining taxes were paid on the village's palm-trees and dye-house. In addition, the village had to pay 112 dinars in poll-tax, at the standard rate of 2 dinars per every adult non-Muslim male.

One major difference between the *badw* and the *ḥaḍar* villages lay in their agricultural produce and irrigation method. The village of Minyat al-Usquf mainly cultivated cash-crops and was therefore dependent on perennial irrigation, while the *badw* village of Saylah grew cereals and was dependent on seasonal inundation. The villagers of Minyat al-Usquf, like the other predominantly *ḥaḍar* villages in the Fayyum, did not cultivate wheat or barley at all, but only cash-crops, especially vegetables, fruits, and sugar-cane. The correlation between the *badw* villages and cereal growing may suggest that tribal social organization was linked to the organization of cereal cultivation, and, especially, to the local irrigation system.[39] In cereal-growing villages, the amount of arable land was subject to drastic annual fluctuations, and the peasants may have looked for ways of sharing the risk of a low Nile level. As late as the eighteenth century, cereal-growing villagers in

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[35]Ibid., 46, ll. 17–18. The village is listed as one of the settlements of the Banū Jawwāb (ibid., 13, l. 7).

[36]Ibid., 69, ll. 11–12.

[37]Ibid., 145–46.

[38]Ibid., 145, l. 22. But in another place al-Nābulusī states that it is the Banū Rabīʿah who are the guardsmen of the village (ibid., 13, l. 18). This may be a copying or editing mistake.

[39]On the possible correlation between tribal segmentation and collective land management, see Scott Atran, "Hamula organization and *mashāʿ* tenure in Palestine," *Man* 26 (1986). Alternatively, it has been argued that tribal segmentation emerges when the irrigation system is local and not based on one large waterway (Thomas F. Glick, *From Muslim Fortress to Christian Castle: Social and Cultural Change in Medieval Spain* [Manchester, 1995]).

Upper Egypt redistributed the village lands annually, according to the tillage rights of individual households or clans, with the aim of equalizing the effects of a bad harvest.[40] Indeed, according to an anecdote told by al-Nābulusī, the lands of the village of Saylah were redistributed periodically among the cultivators.[41] In the *ḥaḍar* villages that relied on perennial irrigation such collective management of production would not have been necessary.

The second major difference was that the inhabitants of Minyat al-Usquf were predominantly Christians while the *badw* villagers of Saylah were predominantly Muslim. All in all, 1,142 adult non-Muslim men were registered as living in the province of the Fayyum.[42] Of these, about half lived in eight predominantly Christian *ḥaḍar* villages, which accounted for less than 10% of the total number of villages in the province.[43] The Christian *ḥaḍar* inhabitants of these villages were the only people in rural Fayyum without tribal affiliation or claim to Arab genealogy, the only ones excluded from the otherwise all-encompassing *badw* identity. In addition, about five hundred Christian men liable for the poll-tax were unevenly spread among the far more numerous *badw* villages, at an average of about five per village. In Saylah, for example, ten adult non-Muslim men and their families lived in the midst of the Muslim *badw* majority.

Unlike the *ḥaḍarī*s, the *badw* had the right to bear arms, a privilege obviously reserved to Muslims. Some of the Arab tribesmen must have been armed during peacetime, since we are told that Arab tribesmen guarded, and possibly harassed, the few Christian *ḥaḍar* villages.[44] Al-Nābulusī also tells us that the Arab tribes of

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[40]Kenneth Cuno, *The Pasha's Peasants: Land, Society, and Economy in Lower Egypt, 1740–1858* (Cambridge, 1992), 66; idem, "Origins of Private Ownership of Land in Egypt," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 12 (1980): 246. Poliak has already suggested that village lands were periodically redistributed in the Mamluk period, but on rather slim evidence ("Some Notes on the Feudal System of the Mamluks," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* [1937]: 104–5).

[41]Al-Nābulusī relates, in the context of an anecdote about a locality in Saylah allegedly blessed by the Prophet Jacob, that "whenever this plot of land falls in someone's field through distribution *(bi-al-qismah),* the yield of the field increases by 100 *irdabb*s" (*Tārīkh al-Fayyūm,* 114). I take this sentence to mean that the same plot of land rotated between different cultivators according to some form of a periodic draw.

[42]But about a quarter of these 1,142 non-Muslim men were regarded as absentees *(nā'ūn),* that is, men who left their original village and now dwelled in another village, either in the Fayyum or in another province. On this fiscal category of absentees, see also al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 8:244.

[43]Apart from the five villages already mentioned (Abū Kisā, Bājah, Bamūyah, Minyat al-Usquf, and Munsha'at Awlād 'Arafah), other predominantly Christian and *ḥaḍar* villages were Dimashqyan al-Baṣal, Sinnūris and Dhāt al-Ṣafā'.

[44]Qalāwūn's memorandum to Kitbughā, dated 679/1281, specifically prohibits the *'urbān* from carrying weapons of any kind when traveling from village to village (Sato, *State and Rural*

the Fayyum were required to provide 400 cavalry for royal campaigns, forces that were naturally aligned according to tribal lines.[45] Again, it should be emphasized that the Arab tribesmen of the Fayyum lived, for the most part, in settled communities. Al-Nābulusī´s fundamental dichotomy of *badw* and *ḥaḍar* is not between nomads and settled cultivators, not between the desert and the sown, but rather between Muslim tribesmen and non-Muslims. It therefore follows that the right to carry arms and to participate in royal campaigns was not confined to nomads, but was associated with the Islamic and *badw* identity of the rural population of the Fayyum.[46]

Al-Nābulusī´s dichotomy of Christian *ḥaḍar* and Muslim *badw* meant that not only were all the *badw* Muslims, but, more surprisingly, all the Muslims were *badw*—a demographic situation which could not have been purely the result of settlement by nomadic tribes coming from the Arabian Peninsula. According to medieval Islamic historiography, the Arab tribes that participated in the Muslim conquests spread all over the Islamic world, from the lands of the Turks to Andalusia and West Africa.[47] The tribesmen of the Banū Kilāb, the dominant tribe in the Fayyum, were supposedly the descendants of a small clan that lived in the outskirts of Medina. Some of them had migrated to Egypt in the early second/eighth century, and others to Syria.[48] We are also told that the remoteness of the Fayyum laid it open to raids by Arab and Berber tribes, and that the associated phenomenon of the sedentarization of nomads has been recurrent in the province up to modern times.[49] But if we are to believe that the entire Muslim population of al-Nābulusī´s Fayyum was indeed descended from the Arab tribes that migrated from the Arabian Peninsula, we must wonder about the fate of the indigenous population. We are not dealing here with one single village in which the nomads have chased away

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Society, 113, citing Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt,* ed. C. Zurayq [Beirut, 1936–42], 7:196–200). But such a prohibition suggests that it was not uncommon for Arab tribesmen to travel armed.

[45]Al-Nābulusī, *Tārīkh al-Fayyūm,* 177–78. Sato assumes that the Arabs were required to provide these troops in return for an *iqṭā‘* (*State and Rural Society,* 53), but there is no specific mention of such an *iqṭā‘* in al-Nābulusī´s text.

[46]As Talal Asad reminds us, there is no reason to think that nomads would always be militarily more powerful than sedentary populations. The history of Islam abounds with examples of sedentary populations dominating over nomadic groups, starting with the early Islamic community itself (Talal Asad, ″The Bedouin as a Military Force: Notes on Some Aspects of Power Relations between Nomads and Sedentaries in Historical Perspective,″ in *The Desert and the Sown: Nomads in the Wider Society,* ed. Cynthia Nelson [Berkeley, 1973], 61–71).

[47]See, for example, al-Qalqashandī, *Qalā'id,* 19.

[48]Ibid., 117. In his other treatise on tribal genealogies al-Qalqashandī is not certain whether the Aleppine Banū Kilāb have the same ancestry as Egyptian tribes of the same name (*Nihāyat al-Arab,* 365).

[49]P. M. Holt, ″Al-Fayyūm,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 2:872–73.

the original cultivators, or with nomads settling on the margins of the cultivated areas, but rather with an entire province. A massive settlement of nomads should have been a cataclysmic event, on the scale of the Hilalian invasion of North Africa. Strangely enough, the process in which a small tribal group came to represent the vast majority in the Fayyum has not left any historical record of violent dispossession or mass exodus.[50]

The only plausible explanation for the concurrent Islamization and bedouinization of the province of Fayyum is that conversion to Islam was accompanied by the assumption of a bedouin tribal identity. Al-Nābulusī actually tells us that the *badw* Muslim villages stood at the same sites as the formerly Christian villages. Even if some villages on the edges of the Fayyum were deserted in late antiquity, the province as a whole was never abandoned by its cultivators.[51] The *badw* Muslim village of Saylah was located in precisely the same place in which the Christian village of Saylah, a center of Coptic Christianity, used to stand.[52] According to al-Nābulusī, as many as forty churches used to serve the village of Saylah alone, although only one church and one monastery remained when he surveyed the village. In fact, remains of the Christian past were everywhere evident in the *badw* Muslim villages of the Fayyum.[53] Therefore, it seems likely that the Christian cultivators gradually took over, not only the Muslim religion and Arabic language of the conquerors, but also their tribal social organization and *badw* identity.[54] We must therefore conclude that most of the villagers of the

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[50]See also the remarks of Saleh, who has made an earnest attempt to chronicle the migrations of the Arab tribes to Egypt, but concludes that in most cases the history of their settlement remains obscure (″Les migrations″).

[51]On the desertion of villages in the Fayyum in late Antiquity, see Keenan, ″Fayyum Agriculture,″ 288, and the sources cited there. For models linking sedentarization of Arab tribes with Islamization, see Nehemia Levtzion, ″Towards a Comparative Study of Islamization,″ in *Conversion to Islam,* ed. idem (London, 1979), 1–23; and more recently, in the context of Crusader Palestine, Roni Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 1998), 263–68. For criticisms of this approach, see remarks by Tarif Khalidi, ″Tribal Settlement in Early Medieval Palestine,″ in *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East,* ed. idem (Beirut, 1984), 181–89; Jeremy Johns, ″The *Longue Durée*: State and Settlement Strategies in Southern Transjordan Across the Islamic Centuries,″ in *Village, Steppe and State: The Social Origins of Modern Jordan,* ed. Eugene L. Rogan and Tariq Tell (London, 1994), 1–31.

[52]On Saylah as one of the centers of the Coptic Church in the Fayyum, see Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī, *Churches and Monasteries,* 209.

[53]Also noted by Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 182.

[54]The process of conversion in early Islamic Fayyum is the subject of a current Ph.D. thesis entitled ″Arabization and Islamization in the Countryside of Early Medieval Egypt: The Fayyum District, 640–1036,″ by Lennart Sundelin at Princeton University. I am grateful to Lennart for sharing with me his preliminary results.

Fayyum were holding on to an identity derived from a fictitious account of their ancestry. It is crucial for our understanding of tribal identity in the Mamluk period, and for our perception of Arab resistance to Mamluk authority, that the nomadic past claimed by the Arab tribesmen was imagined, not real.

In the year 701/1301, as the contemporary Mamluk chronicler and bureaucrat al-Nuwayrī tells us, the harm caused by the *ʻurbān* of Upper Egypt had reached unacceptable levels:

> They resorted to highway robbery, and imposed on the merchants and the artisans in Assiut and Manafalūṭ a tax similar to the *jāliyah* [the common term for the poll-tax imposed on non-Muslims]. They defied the authority of the local governors, and prevented the payment of the agricultural *kharāj* taxes. Their leaders called themselves by the names of [the Mamluk] amirs, one calling himself Baybars and another calling himself Sallār. They armed themselves and released all prisoners incarcerated in jails. Seeing that, the amirs called upon the qadis and the jurists, and asked their opinion on the permissibility of waging battle against [the *ʻurbān*], and the [jurists] gave a *fatwá* to that effect.[55]

The Arab revolt, according to al-Nuwayrī's account, was about reversing the relations of power between city and countryside. On the one hand, the rebels prevented the payment of agricultural taxes, while on the other hand they siphoned back part of the income made by the local representatives of urban wealth, the merchants and the artisans. The revolt attempted to establish a local autonomous government ruled by tribal leaders who bore the titles of the Mamluk amirs, a mirror image of the central government in Cairo. But it was a topsy-turvy government, one in which the merchants and the artisans pay their taxes to the local population. Not incidentally, perhaps, the taxes imposed by this rebel government had a markedly religious connotation, as if non-Arabs were not true Muslims.[56]

The subsequent brutal suppression by the Mamluk forces leaves us in no doubt regarding the mass participation of peasants in this revolt. After thousands

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[55]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 30:333, cited in al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:920.

[56]Similarly, in al-ʻAynī's account of the revolt of Ibn Taghlab, the rebels are supposed to have collected a tax resembling the *jizyah* (the legal term for the poll-tax) from several provinces in Upper Egypt (al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd al-Jumān,* 1:107).

of Arabs were put to the sword, al-Nuwayrī reports that the Mamluk forces took 1,600 Arab captives, who were all cultivators of the land *(la-hum filāḥāt wa-zurū‘)*.[57] The booty was immense, including a substantial amount of agricultural products, such as oil taken from the local presses, and thousands of cows and oxen. Reportedly, the Mamluk armies could not find buyers for the enormous amounts of grain *(ghilāl)* they obtained during the suppression of the revolt. But when the troops returned north, they found the land empty:

> The troops made their way back on 16 Rajab (18 March 1302). [They found that] the land had become desolate, and one could walk and encounter no one on his way, or dwell in a village and see only women and small children. Then they decided to release the prisoners and let them go back, in order to sustain the land *(li-ḥifẓ al-bilād)*.[58] That year, an unusually large portion of Upper Egypt was sown, followed by a harvest so bountiful it could not be counted.[59]

Like the Arab tribesmen of the Fayyum, the majority of Arab rebels were peasants. Following the repression of the Arab revolt, the same Arab tribesmen who participated in the revolt, and who were killed or captured by the Mamluks, were now needed to cultivate the land. This passage has been noted by both Poliak and Saleh, who took it either as a sign of the close alliance between the peasants and the bedouins, or as an indication of the increasing settlement of the nomads. Even Garcin, who is generally keen to distinguish between the peasants and the bedouin, is bewildered by a revolt that evokes images of a French peasant *jacquerie*.[60] But in light of what we know of the Arab tribesmen of the Fayyum, the peasant participation in the revolt should not surprise us. If, as in the Fayyum, the vast majority of the Muslim peasantry had an Arab tribal identity, then their participation in an Arab revolt makes sense: the Arab revolts had an agricultural nature, as well as a peasant mass participation, simply because the Muslim peasants of Upper Egypt *were* Arabs.

All the large Arab revolts of the first Mamluk century had a predominantly agricultural nature. The first Arab revolt of 650/1252–53, erupting only seven

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[57]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 30:334, cited in al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:922; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 8:153; a slightly different wording in al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-Jumān,* 4:176.

[58]Al-‘Aynī, citing al-Yūsufī, has ″li-ḥifẓ al-zirā‘āt wa-al-sawāqī wa-ghayruhā″ (*‘Iqd al-Jumān,* 4:177).

[59]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:922, l. 14.

[60]Garcin, ″Note sur les rapports,″ 150.

years after al-Nābulusī's survey, engulfed the entire Egyptian countryside, including the Arab tribes of the Fayyum. In this first revolt, as well as in the subsequent ones, the entrepots of grain levied as taxes and destined for Cairo were always targeted. Poliak also points out that the revolts were based in the Nile valley. The nomadic tribes of the desert, on the other hand, are never mentioned as taking part in the revolts.[61] Occasionally, Mamluk sources even appear to use the terms *fallāḥūn* and *'urbān* interchangeably. Thus, after the suppression of the revolt of Ibn al-Aḥdab in 754/1354, the amir Shaykhū is reported to have severed the head of any peasant who pronounced the letter *qāf* in the manner of the Arabs, and went on to kill many *'urbān* and *fallāḥūn*. Later that year, Ibn Iyās tells us, the sultan decreed that no *fallāḥ* should ride a horse or carry a weapon.[62] Similarly, during the suppression of the 701/1301 revolt, a punitive mission led by Sunqur al-A'sar confiscated all the horses of the *fallāḥ*s and the *badw*. According to al-Nuwayrī, the result of this punitive mission was that the *fallāḥ*s were subjugated, and handed over the *kharāj* taxes.[63]

But it would be wrong to equate the Arab tribesmen with a sedentary life-style in the same way as it is wrong to equate them with a nomadic life-style. Both nomads and peasants participated in the revolts, and both were considered to have had an Arab *badw* identity. It is likely that those Arab tribesmen who protected the roads and provided horses for the royal post *(barīd)* were predominantly nomadic.[64] The lists of booty captured by the Mamluk armies during the consecutive suppressions of the Arab revolts suggest that some of the rebels subsisted on animal husbandry, and in particular on camel-herding. Even after the revolt of 701/1301, for which the Mamluk sources most explicitly indicate mass peasant participation, we are told that the Mamluk army confiscated 80,000 head of cattle, 4,000 horses, and 33,000 camels.[65] The involvement of the nomads in the revolts does not exclude the involvement of peasants; these were Arab rebellions, undertaken by Muslim peasants and nomads who subscribed to an Arab tribal identity.

This Arab identity is best captured by the word *'urbān,* a term that distinguished the Arab tribes of Mamluk Egypt and Syria from the pure Arabs of the Arabian Peninsula. Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī (d. 749/1349), who devoted a long chapter to

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[61]Poliak, "Les revoltes populaires," 259.

[62]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr,* ed. M. Muṣṭafá, H. Roemer, and H. Ritter (Cairo and Wiesbaden, 1960–63), 1:550–51.

[63]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:914.

[64]See, among other sources, Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār,* 69; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 3:454, 4:211, 13:198; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 8:201; Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 95, 98; Saleh, "Les relations."

[65]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:922.

the Arab tribes in his geographical work *Masālik al-Abṣār,* makes a consistent distinction between the original *ʻarab,* or Arabs, and the contemporary Arab tribes, "the *ʻurbān* found in our time."[66] In al-ʻUmarī's view, the *ʻurbān* are those who claim Arab descent and who subscribe to the values of the nomadic life-style, even if they no longer practice it.[67] While al-ʻUmarī eulogizes the nomadic way of life,[68] he nonetheless acknowledges that many Syrian tribes have settled down. These tribes, he says, were originally Arab but are no longer so, as they became *ḥaḍarī*s, settled people who cultivate agriculture.[69] The list that follows is organized by localities, each locality with its tribal inhabitants. Among the places mentioned are the cities of Gaza, Hebron, Jerusalem, Nablus, ʻAjlān, Adhruʻāt, Ḥimṣ, Ḥamāh and Shayzar. By the end of the long list, which al-ʻUmarī admits to be incomplete, it is clear that much of the Syrian peasantry claimed Arab origins.[70]

In Egypt, according to al-ʻUmarī, almost all the *ʻurbān* were settled cultivators. The Banū al-Zubayr, who dwelled in the province of al-Bahnasā, are described as submissive artisans and peasants.[71] The five sections of the Banū Saʻd of the Judhām mostly practiced agriculture and husbandry. The Banū ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir were a lineage of scribes.[72] In his administrative work *Al-Taʻrīf,* al-ʻUmarī claims that only the Arabs of the western province of al-Buḥayrah have the true traits and mores of Arabs, because these tribes were truly nomadic and traveled as far as al-Qayrawān and Gabes. He also singles out the Arabs of the province of al-Sharqīyah as having special status in the eyes of the sultan.[73] In these two provinces of Lower Egypt, in which the land is more suitable for grazing than for intensive agriculture, the Arab tribes undertook the defense of their own districts, unlike the other provinces, where the *ʻurbān* were only responsible for maintaining the roads.[74] But the rest of the Arab tribes are not held in great respect, because:

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[66]This distinction was apparently drawn from al-Ḥamdānī's thirteenth-century treatise, now lost (Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʻUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār,* 71, 157).

[67]Ibid., 69.

[68]Ibid., 35, 124–36.

[69]"Wa-bi-al-Shām min ṣalībat al-ʻarab qad kharajū bi-hā ʻan ḥukm al-ʻarab wa-ṣārū bi-hā ahl ḥāḍirah sākinah wa-ʻummār diyār kaṭinah" (ibid., 154).

[70]Ibid., 154–55. On the diversity of bedouin economy in Syria see also Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ,* ed. J. H. Kramers (Paris, 1964), 222.

[71]Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʻUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār,* 160–62. Also in al-Maqrīzī, *Bayān,* 41; al-Qalqashandī, *Qalā'id,* 148.

[72]Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʻUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār,* 174; al-Maqrīzī, *Bayān,* 23. The chronicler and bureaucrat Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir belonged to this lineage.

[73]Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʻUmarī, *Al-Taʻrīf bi-al-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf* (Cairo, 1312), 70; cited in al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 7:160. See also Saleh, "Les relations," 367.

[74]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 8:201; al-Maqrīzī, *Bayān,* 44. See also Sato, *State and Rural*

> They [the Arab tribes of Egypt] are sedentary people who sow their lands, who do not travel between the highlands and the plains or between Syria and Iraq, as they do in the Arabian peninsula, and who do not venture beyond the limits of their fences.[75]

While al-ʿUmarī noticed the discrepancy between the reality of the sedentary subsistence on the one hand and the Arab genealogy on the other, he nonetheless considered the Arab peasantry as part of the *ʿurbān*. Like the word *muslimān,* distinguishing between recent converts and "true" Muslims, the term *ʿurbān* served to distinguish between the pure Arabs of the legendary past and the mundane contemporary existence of Arab tribesmen, who did not necessarily live up to the notions of true Arab-ness.[76] The sedentary life of the Arab tribesmen of the Fayyum was therefore not an exception, but rather the rule in most Egyptian provinces along the Nile valley. Al-ʿUmarī's account suggests that it was particularly so in Upper and Middle Egypt, the centers of the great Arab revolts. Al-Nābulusī's tax records for the *badw* cereal-growers of the Fayyum are thus in complete accordance with the mass participation of peasants in the revolts, and are further corroborated by the explicit authority of al-ʿUmarī, our main contemporary source concerning the Mamluk *ʿurbān.*

If the Fayyum was indeed representative of Middle and Upper Egypt in general, this would imply not only that most *ʿurbān* were peasants, but also that the vast majority of the peasants were *ʿurbān.* As we recall, in al-Nābulusī's Fayyum all the Muslim peasants were also members of an Arab tribe. Modern scholars have always assumed that the Arab tribes lived as a minority amongst a sea of Egyptian peasants, or *fallāḥūn*. But, as Sato noted in his study of Mamluk rural society, the term *fallāḥ* is seldom used in Mamluk sources of this period.[77] In administrative works, including *Tārīkh al-Fayyūm,* the peasants are usually called *muzāriʿūn,* a fiscal and legal category derived from the *muzāraʿah,* the standard share-cropping

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Society, 98; Saleh, "Les migrations," 14.

[75]". . . li-mā kānū ahl ḥāḍirah wa-zarʿ laysa minhum man yunjidu wa-lā yuthimu wa-lā yuʿriqu wa-lā yushʾamu wa-lā yakhrijūna ʿan ḥudūd al-judrān" (Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Al-Taʿrīf,* 70; cited in al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 7:160).

[76]The term *ʿurbān* would appear to have some derogatory connotation, as suggested by Garcin (*Qūṣ,* 362). On the use of the term *muslimān* in the Mamluk period, see Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, "Le converti à travers quelques écrits historiques du IXe/XVe siècle," in *Proceedings of the Eighteenth Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*: *Law, Christianity and Modernism in Islamic Society,* ed. U. Vermeulen and J. M. F. Van Reeth (Leuven, 1998), 171–84. I owe this reference to Tamer el-Leithy.

[77]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 185.

contract in Islamic law. In the chronicles, the term *fallāḥ* is almost never used, except with regard to irrigation works,[78] and, as mentioned above, in association with the term *'urbān.* The Arab identity of the Egyptian peasant can provide a simple explanation for the mysterious silence of the Mamluk sources regarding the *fallāḥ:* the term *muzāri'* defined the peasant's fiscal obligations, the term *fallāḥ* defined his professional activity of cultivating the land, and the term *'urbān* defined his social tribal allegiance and his political agency. The three terms referred to different aspects of the life of the Arab peasantry of Egypt.

However, as with al-Nābulusī's Fayyum, if most of the Egyptian peasants were *'urbān,* it is historically impossible that all were the offspring of the Arab conquerors. In works devoted to tribal genealogy, medieval writers such as al-'Umarī explained the *badw* character of the Egyptian peasant by the settling down of nomadic tribes coming from the Arabian Peninsula. But works of tribal genealogy were compiled with a purpose. Al-'Umarī was interested in highlighting the lineage of his own tribe, and devoted a treatise, now lost, to extolling its virtues. He is very sympathetic to the tribes, glorifying their role in the defense of the Mamluk domains from foreign enemies. His account is as close as we get to the Arab tribesmen's view of themselves, an exercise in propaganda in which genealogical claims play a major role.[79] It would therefore be a mistake to read his text for what it is not. Al-'Umarī's tribal genealogies, in which a seemingly endless reservoir of Arab tribes are constantly migrating and settling down in the Egyptian countryside, hold little historical value. Such tribal histories, which invariably include the migration of distant ancestors to the site of the current settlement, are still found in peasant communities of the Middle East. The tribal histories of Tunisian village communities, for example, would have us believe that the country was first inhabited in the fifteenth century. Therefore, as Lucette Valensi points out, "genealogy reveals itself not as an account of the past, but as an allegory of the present, a translation of political, religious and matrimonial practices."[80]

The claim to Arab descent by the Muslim villagers of Upper and Middle Egypt must be understood as an attempt to negotiate the present rather than as a

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[78]Ibid., 224–25, 230, and the sources cited there. See, for example, al-Maqrīzī's account of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's public works of 723/1323, when the amirs were ordered to bring the *fallāḥ*s of their lands to help in the construction of a dike (*Kitāb al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār al-Ma'rūf bi-al-Khiṭaṭ al-Maqrīzīyah,* ed. Khalīl al-Manṣūr [Beirut, 1998], 3:294).

[79]On the pro-Arab inclination of al-'Umarī, see Dorothea Krawulsky, "Introduction," in al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār,* 29, 59–60.

[80]Lucette Valensi, *Tunisian Peasants in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,* trans. B. Archer (Cambridge and Paris, 1985), 57. See also E. Peters, "The Proliferation of Segments in the Lineage of the Bedouin of Cyrenaica," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institut*e 90 (1960): 29–53.

factual narrative of the past, a move that has many parallels in medieval Islam. Michael Brett suggests that the Banū Hilāl invasion of North Africa was not a real event, but a myth perpetuated by sedentary Banū Hilāl tribesmen to establish themselves as a class of warriors, part of the elite and not of the commoners. He concludes that the Banū Hilāl epos emerged as an attempt to ″modify the realities of the past in order to meet the exigencies of the present.″[81] Even more pertinent are the attempts of fourteenth-century North African Berber converts to produce Muslim genealogies that extended to earlier dates than those of their conversion.[82] Last but not least, claims of sharifian descent going back to the Prophet Muḥammad were likewise a means of securing material and social privileges. Medieval Muslim societies made some attempts to regulate the genealogical claims to Prophetic descent, most notably through the institution of *niqābat al-ashrāf,* but they were not always successful. At least one fourteenth-century *naqīb al-ashrāf* was found guilty of selling the entitlement to sharifian status in return for bribes, and there are quite a few other examples from Islamic history.[83]

A claim to bedouin identity and lineage provided the villagers of Mamluk Egypt with a language of rights—both to the land and to its dominant religion. Rather then being viewed as the descendants of Coptic converts, the *badw* identity meant a pride of place within the Muslim community. And rather than being regarded as lowly tax-paying peasants, the claim to an Arab descent was also a claim to the values of an imaginary nomadic past, in particular to the independence and the equality of the nomadic tribe. By adopting an ideology of lineage or of bedouin-ness, the rural communities found a sense of superiority in Islam and nostalgia for the autonomy of a nomadic past. The tribal genealogies preserved in the work of al-ʻUmarī, and later reproduced by al-Maqrīzī and al-Qalqashandī, were the product of a purposeful attempt to re-align local identity within the dominant culture.

Moreover, bedouin-ness was also an empowering ideology that could nourish armed resistance. The claim to Arab descent and nomadic past may also be a means of justifying revolt against the state and its tax-collectors. In our *badw* village of Saylah, where a significant proportion of the crops would have been taken away by royal officials like al-Nābulusī, a revolt led by the *sharīf* Ḥiṣn

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[81]Michael Brett, ″The Way of the Nomad,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 58 (1995): 265. Brett does not, however, doubt the claims of the Banū Hilāl to a nomadic past.

[82]Maya Shatzmiller, ″Une source méconnu de l′histoire des Bérbèrs : Le *Kitab al-ansab li-abi Hayyan*,″ *Arabica* 30 (1983), esp. 73–80, and idem, ″Le mythe d′origine bèrbere—aspects historiographiques et sociaux,″ *Revue de l′occident musulman* 35 (1983): 145–55. I owe these references to Tamer el-Leithy.

[83]Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Inbāʼ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʼ al-ʻUmr* (Beirut, 1967–75), 1:39. See also C. van Arendonk- [W. A. Graham], ″Sharīf,″ *EI²*, 9:329–37.

al-Dīn ibn Taghlab would have made an impact. Resistance to taxation and to the local bureaucracy would have found an outlet through the *sharīf*'s alleged descent from the Prophet, the local community's pride in its Arab lineage, and its adherence to the bedouin ideal of autonomy. Set against a Mamluk elite composed of newcomers both to Egypt and to Islam, the *sharīf* evoked the value of lineage as well as the rights of the indigenous communities. As we remember, scorning the rule of the Turkish slaves, Ḥiṣn al-Dīn claimed that the Arab tribes were "the true owners of the land."

In *Tārīkh al-Fayyūm wa-Bilādihi*, al-Nābulusī provides us with a singular eye-witness account of social and economic life in a medieval Egyptian province; we should listen to him very carefully. In particular, al-Nābulusī divides the population of the Fayyum into the Khaldūnian categories of *badw* and *ḥaḍar,* and tells us that almost the entire population of the Fayyum was *badw*. From the fiscal part of his survey we learn that the *badw* tribesmen lived, for the most part, in sedentary cereal-growing villages, which were dependent on seasonal inundation. The few *ḥaḍar* villages, on the other hand, cultivated cash-crops and were dependent on perennial irrigation. Moreover, the inhabitants of the *ḥaḍarī* villages were predominantly Christians while the *badw* villages were predominantly Muslim. Al-Nābulusī's dichotomy of Christian *ḥaḍar* and Muslim *badw* meant that not only were all the *badw* Muslims, but, more surprisingly, all the Muslims were *badw*. I have argued that the only plausible explanation for this demographic situation is that conversion to Islam by the indigenous Christian population was accompanied by the assumption of a *badw* tribal identity.

Like the Arab tribesmen of the Fayyum, the majority of the tribesmen who took part in the large Arab revolts of the Mamluk period were peasants. Moreover, it seems that, as in the Fayyum, most of the Muslim peasantry in the Egyptian countryside had an Arab tribal identity. This Arab identity is best captured by the term *ʿurbān,* which was meant to distinguish the Mamluk tribesmen from the truly Arab tribes of the Arabian Peninsula. Unlike the original Arabs, most of the *ʿurbān* lived a sedentary existence, but still claimed Arab descent and subscribed to the values of the nomadic life-style. These claims, transmitted to us in several genealogical works composed in the Mamluk period, hold very little historical value. It is quite impossible that a large portion of the Egyptian peasantry were the descendants of a few tribal clans who arrived following the Muslim conquest. Rather, the claim to Arab descent by the Muslim inhabitants of rural Egypt must be understood as an attempt to negotiate the present. Bedouin-ness, that is the memories of an (invented) nomadic past of independence and the pride in an (alleged) lineage in Islam, was an ideological antidote to the lowly status of the

bulk of the cereal-growing Egyptian peasantry. And when the opportunity was ripe, it was also a rallying cry for revolt.

The findings of this article are limited to the first century of Mamluk rule in Egypt. Arguably, by limiting my discussion to this early period, I have ignored the wealth of historical evidence regarding the increasing political influence of the tribes in the fifteenth century. In particular, I have not discussed the fifteenth-century reports of bedouin violence towards the peasantry, especially in Lower Egypt.[84] I would argue, however, that the outbreak of the plague in the middle of the fourteenth century is an appropriate cut-off point for a study of the rural communities of Egypt. The Black Death brought about radical demographic, economic, and social changes to Egyptian rural society, changes whose nature we are just beginning to understand. The tribesmen of al-Nābulusī's Fayyum inhabited a world very different from that of their descendants two centuries later. Since Arab and bedouin identities were not fixed or natural, but rather assumed and cultural, the definition of bedouinness must have shifted through the ages. Undoubtedly, there is still detailed research to be done on the place of the Arab tribesmen in Mamluk society. But this research must acknowledge that the Arab tribes represented a significant portion of the Egyptian population, if not an outright majority; and that they should be at the center, rather than at the margins, of Mamluk historiography.

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[84]For a summary, see Jean-Claude Garcin, "The Regime of the Circassian Mamlūks," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, ed. Carl Petry (Cambridge and New York, 1998), 290–317.

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Sharp Practice in Levantine Trade in the Late Middle Ages: The Brizi-Corner Affair of 1376–77*

Given the common reputation of Mamluk officials as being, even by the standards of their own time and place, extraordinarily corrupt and grasping, it is hardly surprising that contemporary governments, confronted by reports of Mamluk officials impounding the goods of foreign merchants, and demanding of them outrageous compensation, were inclined to attribute these acts to greed. That this was not always the case, however, that in some circumstances Mamluk officials operated not solely from greed but as well in reaction to some real offense and from a desire for justice for their own subjects, is evident from the documents from the Venetian archives which refer to what, for want of any official title, might be designated the Brizi-Corner Swindle of 1376–77.[1]

The Venetians were, by the fourteenth century, old hands at Levantine trade, perhaps the oldest in Christendom. The national legend of the smuggling of the body of St. Mark from Abbasid Egypt in the ninth century attests not only to the antiquity of Venetian contacts in the East, but also to their self-perception as a people who could take care of themselves in the treacherous world of Eastern Mediterranean trade and politics. They had confronted and dealt with all manner of hazards at one time or another—pirates, cut-throat competition from the Genoese and others, uncooperative or merely corrupt officials, and the uncertain security of the goods, and, indeed, the very persons, of traders living on sufferance in foreign parts. They knew their way around.

Successful trade presupposes mastery of diplomacy, and Venice had learned to play that game particularly well: from Flanders to Tana, even among the crafty Byzantines or the testy Mongols, Venetian diplomats had met with success in securing the trading interests of the Republic. And yet, in the mid- and late fourteenth century, the Venetians apparently found their resourcefulness severely tested by trading conditions in Egypt and Syria. Even for a trading nation of such consummate ability, dealing with the Mamluks was something particularly challenging.

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[1]Brief mention of the swindle discussed in this article can be found in Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983), 123.

The rapacity of Mamluk officials has, justly, become legendary; there can be little doubt that they often preyed heavily on whomever they could, to the extent that they may have grievously harmed the economies of Syria and Egypt. The system not only allowed such abuses, but in part made them necessary: the tenure of official posts was uncertain, and the temptation to milk them for all they were worth was great. Abuses of office, impositions of extraordinary levies on the helpless—Muslim and non-Muslim alike—manipulation of the market, or even forced purchases to take advantage of one′s own speculations in commodities, were all standard practice for Mamluk officials, both in Egypt and in Syria.[2]

Particularly vulnerable to the greed of such functionaries were the communities of foreign, especially Latin Christian, traders conducting their affairs in port towns and inland emporia. Without the protection offered by law to Muslims, or even to Christian subjects of the sultan, their position on Mamluk soil was, at best, equivocal. Security of person or property, let alone expectations of honest trade practices, was not derived from any legal right, but rather depended on the goodwill of the sultan and his deputies, on their willingness to grant safe conduct and special trading privileges. Self-interest, of course, dictated that the Mamluks allow and even encourage trade, but this consideration hardly deterred officials from seeking bribes in exchange for trading concessions. It is no wonder, then, that throughout the late Middle Ages ambassadors from merchant states around the Mediterranean, their purses bulging with cash to buttress their persuasiveness, arrived at Cairo, commissioned to seek the valuable permission of the sultan to carry on trade, to set up factories, to be represented by consuls, and the like. Such treaties were negotiated with various European trading powers, granting them security and establishing guidelines for trade.[3] But these treaties could in no way be viewed as a guarantee of smooth operations and freedom from harassment. The ability of foreign traders to do business unhampered was directly proportional to the sultan′s willingness (and ability) to see that his edicts were enforced, and that the concessions he had granted were observed, by his governors and lesser officials in the provinces. In the fourteenth century compliance by local officials with concessions handed out at Cairo could not be taken for granted. They, at the very least, could be expected to demand their own share of the graft before carrying out their duties.

That Venice, along with other trading nations, suffered from these abuses is

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[2]See, for example, Ira Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 55–56, 124–25.

[3]Some of the most valuable articles on these concessions have been published by John Wansbrough. See, in particular, his articles ″The Safe-Conduct in Muslim Chancery Practice,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 34 (1971): 20–35; ″A Mamluk Letter of 877/1473,″ *BSOAS* 24 (1961): 200–13; ″Venice and Florence in the Mamluk Commercial Privileges,″ *BSOAS* 28 (1965): 483–523.

abundantly clear: some sense of how difficult a time Venetian merchants were having in the Levant, and of how extensive and regular these abuses were, can be extracted from the pages of the registers of the Deliberazioni Miste of the Senate, preserved at the Archivio di Stato of Venice.[4] Scarcely a register exists—and fourteenth-century registers that cover more than a three to four-year period are rare—that does not contain numerous references to the trials suffered by Venetian merchants at Alexandria, Damascus, or elsewhere. Iniquitous levies (contrary to the privileges granted by the sultan), unwarranted confiscation of the goods of merchants,[5] demands for graft and bribes (Venetian *manzarie;* modern Italian *mangerie*), imprisonment and beatings of Venetian merchants or even of the Venetian consul, all figure in the pages of the registers, and particularly in the drafts of commissions for the embassies that Venice, with monotonous regularity, was forced to send east throughout the last half of the century to secure the interests of her merchants.

The Venetians, like all good negotiators, knew the value of taking the offensive from the first. An ambassador sent on such an important mission was already likely to be well-versed in this cardinal rule of successful negotiation. The commissions, nonetheless, regularly made it clear how the Republic expected her envoys to approach the discussions: however diplomatically he might phrase his arguments, an ambassador was to put all of Venice′s grievances to the fore immediately, and to demand satisfaction. Never argue from weakness, never admit even partial culpability for problems arising between the two states—this seemed to be the principle upon which Venetian negotiations with the Mamluks (and with other states as well) were built.

In any event, the commissions, when read as a series, begin to look like form letters: after giving the usual expressions of goodwill, the ambassador is then to mention all the abuses suffered by Venetian merchants at some given place,

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[4]The registers for the fourteenth century are to be found under the heading *Deliberazioni Miste* (hereafter given as ASV, Senato Miste); after 1400, most material pertaining to foreign relations can be found in the registers of *Deliberazioni Secrete*.

[5]Particularly vulnerable were the goods of the merchants who died while trading abroad—such goods were supposed to be secured by the consul for disposal as the deceased′s will, or law of inheritance, required. But often whatever was found in his possession went into the purse of an official. Such was the case, for instance, of one Nicoleto Trevisan, an agent carrying on trade in the Levant in the early 1380s. Falling ill at Acre, and fearing for his life, he sent his *tarjumān,* with the proceeds from his trading activity, to the captain of a Cretan galley in the harbor, a commission that the *tarjumān* faithfully fulfilled. The luckless Trevisan did die, and the *amiratus* of Acre had his corpse searched immediately. His *tarjumān* was imprisoned and questioned—under circumstances we can only imagine—and the official, having learned the whereabouts of the money, had it extracted from the captain, ″per vim.″ See Venice, Archivio di Stato di Venezia (ASV), Senato Miste, 29 July 1382 (reg. 37, fols. 99v–101r).

concerning which the ambassador is to say he is sure that the sultan was unaware, and the news of which is certain to be displeasing to that particular font of justice. Only after unburdening himself of this speech and receiving the sultan's guarantees that such abuses would not be tolerated, and after satisfying himself that these instructions would be carried out, could the ambassador take up other business.

It is in the context, then, of this series of very like commissions that the commission of 8 September 1377 stands out as unusual: the grotesquely un-Venetian tone of apology Nicolò Loredan and Baldo Querini were instructed to take before the sultan was a conspicuous departure from the normal pattern. Why would Venice, usually quick to object indignantly to mistreatment of her citizens and restriction of her trade, instruct her ambassadors to adopt nothing short of a posture of crawling contrition when they went before the sultan?

In light of the usual pattern of commissions, it at first seems worthy of little note that in the winter of 1376–77, the Senate voted to select an ambassador who "shall place before the sultan the [illegal] novelty perpetrated against our consul and merchants in the regions of Damascus, and obtain the release of the goods and merchandise of our merchants, held in said regions."[6] The commission for Nicolò Zeno, selected for the job, was worded in the usual way,[7] and he was sent forth with two thousand ducats for gifts and bribes, and told to stay at Cairo until he had received a promise that the abuses would be rectified, had written to the consul at Damascus to this effect, and had received word back that the promise had indeed been carried out.[8]

No verbatim account of the embassy of Nicolò Zeno can be found, but, from what we know from later documents, it must have turned out to be a singularly awkward and uncomfortable assignment. The ambassador, sent to chide the sultan for letting his officials abuse their positions and molest Venetian subjects who

[6]". . . exponat [soldano] novitatem factam consuli et mercatoribus nostris, in partibus Damaschi, et procuret liberationem haveris et mercationum nostrorum detentarum in dictis partibus . . ." Venice, ASV, Senato Miste, 30 December 1376 (reg. 35, fols. 133v–134r [new numbering 145v–146r]).

[7]Venice, ASV, Senato Miste, 17 January 1376 [=1377] (reg. 35, fol. 138v [new numbering 150v]). It does appear that the Senate was a bit more agitated than usual: a vote was taken (14 January 1376 [=1377]) to cut off completely all commerce with Beirut and Damascus, but this was defeated.

[8]Venice, ASV, Senato Miste, 19 January 1376 [=1377]. After all this important business has been taken care of, the ambassador is instructed to do "whatever good he can" to effect the release of the king of Armenia and his wife and sons. They had been held by the Mamluks since the dismemberment of the Kingdom of Lesser Armenia two years earlier.

were trading in all good faith, must have been greeted with stony silence, followed by the revelation, supported by what Zeno apparently found sufficient evidence, that it was not owing to malfeasance by Mamluk officials that Venetians were being imprisoned and their goods confiscated at Damascus, but rather it was owing to the fact that certain Venetians had been systematically swindling Muslim traders.

Up to this point, Marco Brizi, the alleged swindler, and his associates appear, as they doubtless appeared both to their compatriots in the Senate and to the Muslim traders who injudiciously trusted them, as honest Venetian businessmen, of long experience in the Levant. It must have been of a shock, then, when a chastened Nicolò Zeno returned from his embassy to Cairo. The main points of his reports to the Senate can be surmised from the very first words of the decree in which the scandal became public:

> In that Ser Marco Brizi and Ser Zanachi Cornario have, as has been learned, fled the environs of Damascus with the goods and possessions of Saracens, and have sent some of these goods to Venice; and, as is clear enough, they have delivered some of these goods over to the hands of Ser Jacobello Cornario, accomplice of the aforementioned . . .[9]

The decree goes on to detail steps to be taken: the provisors of the state are ordered to make a thorough investigation; all such merchandise found at Venice is to be immediately impounded; the culprits are to be arrested if they come to Venice or fall into the hands of Venetian officials elsewhere.[10]

Marco Brizi was a merchant of apparently long experience in the Orient. His subsequent misdeeds must have proved all the more embarrassing for the Republic in light of the position of trust to which he had been earlier assigned: he had served a long tenure as Venetian consul at Damascus, at least through the first half of the 1370s.[11] Nor could that embarrassment have been diminished by the fact that the Senate, just a year before the scandal broke, had ordered their consul at Alexandria to pressure the Mamluk sultan himself for payment of a debt of

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[9]Venice, ASV, Senato Miste, 27 August 1377 (reg. 36, fol. 34r [new numbering 35r]).

[10]Actually, only the Corner brothers are named specifically; Brizi, as later documents reveal, was apparently already dead.

[11]After a short breech of diplomatic and commercial relations in 1369–70, we find reference to permission being given for Marco Brizi to return to his position as consul at Damascus (Venice, ASV, Senato Miste, 13 May 1370 [reg. 33, fol. 54r]). He was apparently still consul in early 1375, when he was replaced in that position by Johannes Barbadico (Venice, ASV, Senato Miste, 6 February 1374 [=1375], 30 March 1375 [reg. 34, fol. 156, reg. 35, fol. 9v]).

some 8,000 Byzantine gold pieces, which he owed to two Venetian traders, ″Jacobus Cornario″ and ″Marcus de Briciis,″[12] the first time we see together the names that were to be linked only a short time later in an indictment.

In any event, the investigative and punitive measures ordered by the Senate in August 1377 could only be the first steps in repairing the damage done to Venice′s Levantine trade—and her reputation for honesty—by the actions of Brizi and the Corners. All possible means were to be employed to placate the sultan and his officials: on the very day the public condemnation of Brizi and the Corners was issued, the Senate also voted to send yet another embassy to Cairo, this time to express the Republic′s sorrow and mortification over the incident. Nicolò Loredan and Baldo Querini were selected for the task.[13]

The draft of their commission, dated 8 September 1377, outlined in typically scrupulous detail—often specifying the very words that were to be used—just how the Senate wished the new ambassadors to approach their task. In form, it is much the same as the commissions of other ambassadorial expeditions; in content, however, it is unique: after the usual fulsome exchange of words of greeting and undying friendship, the ambassadors were to tell the sultan that the Senate had received and understood the reports of Nicolò Zeno and the letters of the sultan, and was most upset if any of her citizens had perpetrated such an act. They were to tell the sultan further that Venice had launched an investigation of the affair, but that the results would be disappointing to those seeking restitution or revenge: none of the culprits were to be found at Venice, nor could Venice locate any of their belongings that might be impounded. In any event, a warrant had been issued for their arrest and return to Venice, and it was certain that, once they were caught, it would be a long time before any of them emerged from prison.

> Had we but known [the ambassadors are further instructed to say] of these things before their flight, we should have taken steps against them of such immediate and personal significance, as they would not have forgotten as long as they lived, both as a punishment for them, and as an example to others in the future.[14]

Venice, the ambassadors were to conclude, would never condone such an act, and such occurrences were expressly contrary to the desires of the doge. Since, therefore, Venice had acted in good faith, it was only right that the goods of honest Venetian merchants be released; they had, indeed, been seized illegally, contrary to the

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[12]Venice, ASV, Senato Miste, 20 May 1376.

[13]Ibid., 27 August 1377.

[14]Ibid., 8 September 1377.

sultan′s own edicts, which did not recognize guilt by association: ″the son should not be made to bear the damages or punishment for his father[′s misdeeds], nor the father for [those of] the son.″[15] If by some chance the ambassadors should find the sultan cooperative, they were to press him to order his officials to release the impounded merchandise immediately; one of them was then to go to Damascus to check to see if the order had indeed been carried out, while the other was to remain at Cairo.

And yet so greatly did the Senate recognize the weakness of Venice′s position that they were willing not only that their ambassadors should so uncharacteristically abase themselves, but also that they should descend into melodramatic pathos:

> And, so that you might attain our end more quickly and easily, you should say to the sultan and his aides that every day orphans, widow ladies, and others appear before us, asking of us the release of the aforementioned goods, saying, most insistently, that they have nothing else in this world.[16]

The Senate′s instructions provide as well what we must consider more practical inducements to obtain cooperation on the matter. The commission provides them with 2,000 ducats for ″gifts″ for the sultan and his men, as well as for paying graft; in an addendum to the commission, however, the ambassadors are authorized to make bribes up to 15,000 ducats, ″out of the goods and belongings of our merchants that are held there.″[17] In any event, the ambassadors are instructed to use whatever skills they can: the concern is indeed that of securing the release of the merchandise, but further, and ultimately more important, securing good relations for the future.

No mention of the swindle, of the punishment of the Venetian trading community,

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[15]Ibid. Compare the text of the safe-conduct granted by Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī to the Florentines, edited and translated by Wansbrough, ″Safe-Conduct,″ 22: ″wa-an lā yuṭālib al-ab ʻan ibnihi wa-lā al-akh ʻan akhīhi.″ Venetian traders at Aleppo had apparently enjoyed similar security at a much earlier time: See G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, eds., *Urkuden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig* (Vienna, 1856), 2:276, mentioned in M. E. Martin, ″The Venetian-Seljuk Treaty of 1220,″ *English Historical Review* 95 (1980): 330; see as well the provisions of the treaty between Genoa and Qalāwūn mentioned in P. M. Holt, ″Qalawun′s Treaty with Genoa in 1290,″ *Der Islam* 57 (1980): 102.

[16]Venice, ASV, Senato Miste, 8 September 1377 (reg. 36, fol. 37v [new numbering 38r]).

[17]″. . . quod possitis expendere in manzariis . . . usque ad summam ducatorum .xv. de bonis et rebus nostrorum retentis deinde.″ Venice, ASV, Senato Miste, 14 September 1377 (reg. 36, fol. 38r [new numbering 39r]).

or even of the two ambassadorial missions appears in the usual Mamluk sources. At first this might appear striking, because while arrivals of ambassadors are not always noted by the chroniclers, they are frequently mentioned.[18] But the Islamic years 778–80 [May 1376–April 1379] were ones of particular turmoil in Mamluk Cairo. In March 1377, the sultan al-Ashraf Shaʻbān, who had been on the throne for fourteen years and was the last of the line of the descendants of Qalāwūn to rule in more than just name, was overthrown and strangled, and his son ʻAlī, who was just a boy of seven, was placed on the throne by the coalition of conspirators.[19] There followed a period of instability and even more than the usual court intrigue, as various Mamluk amirs sought to seize for themselves positions of power around the child sultan: the Islamic year 779 [May 1377–April 1378] saw no fewer than four men occupy the post of *atābak al-ʻasākir,* normally the second in command in the state but, when the sultan was a mere figurehead, the position of greatest power.[20] The last of these was Barqūq, who would become sultan in 1382, inaugurating the second, or ″Circassian,″ phase of Mamluk rule.

In short, the Venetian embassies arrived in a Cairo gripped by political intrigue. If Zeno arrived anytime after March 1377,[21] his audience was not with a single sultan and his advisers, but with a boy surrounded by a throng of amirs who were at that very moment jockeying for power. This could very well explain the eight-month period between the commission and his report to the Senate. Nor was the embassy of Querini and Loredan faced with significantly more stable conditions. It is amazing that they got anything done at all.

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[18]For instance, both al-Maqrīzī (*Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʻrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah [Cairo, 1934–75], 3:1: 254) and Ibn Iyās (*Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʼiʻ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá [Cairo and Wiesbaden, 1982–84], 1:2:157–58) mention the arrival of an ambassador from the Byzantine emperor in December–January 1375–76, delivering a gift of an ingenious mechanical clock.

[19]Al-Maqrizi, *Sulūk*, 3:1:275–83; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr,* 1:2:174–81; Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, [n.d.]), 11:72–78.

[20]Al-Maqrizi, *Sulūk*, 3:1:303, 305–8, 310, 316–17, 322–24; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr,* 1:2:200, 201–3, 206, 213, 219–20; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 11:152–58, 160–63. Concerning the position of *atābak al-ʻasākir,* see William Popper, *History of Egypt 1382–1469: Egypt and Syria Under the Circassian Sultans: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrî Birdî′s Chronicles of Egypt*, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, vols. 15–16 (Berkeley, 1955), 91; David Ayalon, ″Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army--III,″ *BSOAS* 16 (1954): 58–59; P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades* (London, 1986), 146.

[21]It is impossible to establish from the commissions exactly when the ambassador did depart; in any event, the problems of navigation in the Mediterranean in mid-winter may have made for considerable delays.

It was with good reason that Venice viewed with concern her prospects for trade in Mamluk lands, because the Brizi-Corner swindle, far from being an isolated incident, was one of many such incidents that had apparently plagued Venetian-Mamluk relations for decades.[22] An addendum to the commission given to Loredan and Querini suggests that they could strengthen their case before the sultan by mentioning that ″at many times many *bancherii*[23] had run off from that region, and never had any sort of innovation or molestation been practiced on that account against merchants or commerce.″[24] Venetian traders, it would seem, as a matter of course had in their possession goods obtained from Muslim merchants for which they had not yet fully paid, goods that had been taken either on credit or on consignment. There is evidence as well that some of these goods were carried off—we must presume legally—from Muslim ports, with expectation of later compensation. In 1369, a time of heightened tension between Venice and Egypt, Venetian citizens who had in their possession the goods of ″Saracens of Egypt or Syria, subjects of the sultan of Babylon″ are called upon to report the fact, although in this case it is just as likely that what Venice was planning was a confiscation of goods legitimately held in trust, a ″freezing of Muslim assets,″ as it were, as relations with the Mamluks deteriorated completely.[25] A far more clear-cut case is that of one Christoforo Permarino, who is reported to have fled Syria with the belongings and goods of Muslim merchants, and whom the Senate orders to be held, and ″dealt with according to what is just.″[26]

The profits to be made in the Levantine trade were, obviously, enormous, more than compensating for the discomforts and indeed hazards of life in so inhospitable a place. Even without resorting to dishonest means, the person involved in such trade, especially one of such long-term experience as Brizi, could expect to amass a handsome fortune. And indeed, the Venetians had made honesty something of their stock-in-trade. It was a tremendous advantage to Venetian traders in the competitive Levantine marketplace to be regarded as always to be

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[22]We must, of course, consider that the charges against the three were manufactured. As noted above, they had lent money in the past to the sultan and, we may assume, lesser officials, and it would not be the first instance where powerful rulers sought to discharge their debts by making accusations of turpitude against their creditors. But the ambassadors and the Senate did find the evidence compelling and the actions of the accused, if not damning, were certainly suspicious.

[23]*Banchiere* generally meant an ″international banker,″ although it could also mean a local banker or even money changer. See Florence Elder, *Glossary of Medieval Terms of Business, Italian Series 1200–1600* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), 39–40.

[24]Venice, ASV, Senato Miste, 14 September 1377 (reg. 36, fols. 37r–38v [new numbering 38r–39v]). We do have to wonder how wise a negotiating ploy it was to bring up such past offenses.

[25]Ibid., 31 August 1369 (reg. 33, fol. 30v).

[26]Ibid., 20 May 1385.

trusted; shrewd, no doubt, and all the more respected for it, but not dishonest.

How, then, could men like Brizi be drawn into dishonest dealings? How, indeed, could they be put in possession of goods not theirs in the first place? The answer is to be found in the very reputation for trustworthiness that had helped Venetian trade flourish: Muslim merchants were, apparently, willing either to sell to Venetian merchants on credit, or to entrust goods to them on consignment, allowing them to take possession of their goods in advance of full payment, in return for greater profit later on. Such a system must have worked well as long as the merchants themselves remained on the scene. But when, after a career in the east, one decided to clear out for good, there must have been some temptation to buy once more on credit, and abscond before paying.

Venice had already encountered problems owing to this practice. In 1359 the Senate instructed the consul at Alexandria to go to Cairo to urge the sultan to forbid Muslim merchants from selling goods to Venetians on credit, or entrusting them with goods on consignment, recognizing that these sales were potentially dangerous.[27] Little apparently resulted from the mission.

A year before the Brizi-Corner scandal broke, there was again alarm in Venice about the potential harm that could be done Venetian interests by the willingness of Arab traders to sell to Venetians on credit. In 1376 the Senate wrote to the Venetian consul at Alexandria, ordering him to ask the sultan to issue an order forbidding the sale of goods by Muslim merchants to Venetians on credit, ". . . because, owing to the sales on credit made by Saracens to our merchants and citizens at said regions of Damascus and other regions of Syria, many damages and harmful effects might follow, in all sorts of ways."[28] For their own part, the Senate issued an edict a month later, forbidding Venetians from buying on credit from Muslims, as well as entering into mutual relationships that would involve them in having possession of the goods of Muslim merchants.[29] But either the damage had already been done, or Brizi and his associates were able to ignore the order. Sadly, in the commission for Loredan and Querini, the Senate once again takes up the issue:

> We also commission you, that when you have cleared away the main object of your mission, you should, how and when it seems best to you, take pains and petition before the sultan, as forcefully as you can, that his subjects may in no way sell to our merchants

[27]Ibid., 18 June 1359. Making the situation perhaps even more hazardous was that Mamluk officials themselves often invested in consignments of cargo. See Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 120.

[28]Venice, ASV, Senato Miste, 20 May 1376 (reg. 35, fol. 100v [new numbering 112v]).

[29]Ibid., 19 June 1376 (reg. 35, fol. 107v [new numbering 119v]).

> on credit, so as to prevent such things from happening again in the future, owing to the desertion of either his subjects or ours. Such an injunction should be backed by all the greatest penalties, restraints and strictures that you can obtain, by showing the sultan and his men how useful—indeed necessary—such a thing is for the sake of merchants and commerce; use such arguments and words as seem useful to you.[30]

Clearly there was great risk in Venetians taking possession of goods that belonged to Muslim merchants, even if by honest means and temporarily. So tenuous and uncertain, so subject to abuse of all sorts, was the position of the Latin trader in the East that even the accidental loss or destruction—let alone intentional theft—of goods not fully theirs would be disastrous. So nervous was Venice about the harm that could be done to her commerce by such a loss, that she even prohibited Venetian ships from turning a profit by carrying goods belonging to Muslims from place to place, ″. . . because it might be the cause of great scandal and misunderstanding.″[31] Quite simply, Venice did not want her citizens in the Levant to have in their possession or care goods to which they had not full and clear title.

Given the essentially negative character of the news that they brought to Cairo and the potential for some unpleasantness during—and after—their audience with the sultan, and given the chaos and political turmoil that must have hindered the regular conduct of business at court, few would look with relish on the task to which Loredan and Querini were assigned. Fewer still would anticipate that they would meet with the success that, in spite of everything, the Republic very clearly expected of them. And yet, apparently, they did succeed. Exactly what they said and did, exactly what concessions they had to make, what compensation they had to arrange, whose purses they had to fill, we do not know. But we do have the indirect evidence of commissions to later ambassadors, who were charged with seeing that the sultan enforced the promises he made to ambassador Loredan.[32] Of course, one would not expect the Mamluks to have remained obstinate for long. Trade with the Venetians was dear to Muslim merchants, to the official coffers of the state, and no doubt to the private purses of its minions. We still must, however,

[30]Ibid., 8 September 1377.

[31]″. . . quod posset esse causa magni scandali et erroris.″ Venice, ASV, Senato Miste, 12 May 1384 (reg. 38, fol. 120r [new numbering 121r]).

[32]See, for instance, the commission to Petro Grimani and the same Baldo Querini, Venice, ASV, Senato Miste, 29 July 1382 (reg 37, fols. 99v–101r).

pause to appreciate the choice of the Senate in so obviously picking the right people for the job.

What, finally, of the other protagonists of the story, the people who made all this fuss necessary? Their various fates must have, at least, given some comfort and consolation to the merchants whom they had diddled. Marco Brizi apparently did not live to enjoy his profits. Already in the edict of 27 August 1377, we are struck by the fact that orders for arrest are given only for the brothers Corner; Brizi is not mentioned. Our suspicions that he came to a bad end are confirmed by the commission of 8 September 1377. Brizi, it seems, was killed at sea while making his getaway on Genoese galleys. No further detail is supplied. A curious point arises about the role of Venice´s arch-rival, Genoa, in abetting Brizi´s getaway. Relations between Venice and Genoa, particularly as regarded Levantine trade, had not been unqualifiedly bad in the 1370s. Indeed, the decade opened upon a union of cooperation between the two rivals, engineered and encouraged by the pope, and born of a perceived need to present a united front against abuses in Mamluk ports. But by mid-decade the tension that was ultimately to lead to the unsuccessful Genoese blockade at Chioggia in 1378–80 was already present, nourished by hostility over the dispositions of the islands of Cyprus and Tenedos. Brizi´s contacts with Genoa went back at least to 1370, when Genoese ships were possibly involved in transporting the then- consul at Damascus back to that city from Cyprus.[33] It would seem improbable that Genoa played an active role in Brizi´s swindle. Nonetheless, in helping him make off with the goods of Muslim merchants, Genoa could but hope that the act would do long-term damage to Venice´s interests in the Levant.[34]

Zanachi Corner, it seems, did very little better: he had been found, living as a pauper and beggar on Cyprus. Whether he had already squandered what he had, or whether, when the story first became public, he had to flee without the swag, we cannot say. Both men disappear for good from the records. Not so Zanachi Corner´s brother Jacobellus, who, to be just, seems not to have played so damning a role in the scheme. He had also remained in exile, but some four years later we find him petitioning to be allowed to return to Venice to explain himself without being thrown into prison as soon as his foot hit the wharf: in no way, he explained, had he been an accomplice, or even an associate, of Brizi. The Senate seemed willing to accommodate him.[35] And yet, only a few months later, they withdrew their permission allowing him to return with immunity, fearing that, even after

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[33]Ibid., 13 May 1370.

[34]I have found no mention of the incident in Genoese archival materials.

[35]Venice, ASV, Senato Miste, 30 August 1381.

years had elapsed, Venetians might still suffer.[36] We can only guess how great the original fury of the Mamluk inner circle had been over the crime from the fact that, at least as the Venetians perceived it, it might still be smoldering after four years.

[36]Ibid., 10 December 1381 (reg. 37, fol. 38v).

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The Last Decades of Venice´s Trade with the Mamluks: Importations into Egypt and Syria

For hundreds of years, Venetians and Mamluks were engaged in an economic partnership based on a fundamental interdependence of two economic systems that were both linked to many other commercial networks. During the fifteenth century, Venetian merchants and entrepreneurs became the main middlemen between the territories subject to Mamluk sultans and western Europe.

The basic characteristics of the commercial relations between Mamluk lands and Venice stem from their dependence on the continuous presence of Venetians in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. This presence had two main components: on the one hand merchants, commercial agents, and official representatives (consuls and vice-consuls) staying in the main centers of commercial activity, importing and exporting goods and keeping constant contacts with their partners in Venice and in other centers of international trade; and on the other hand, periodic visits of Venetian ships, including both the state-owned and regulated commercial galleys, particularly those operating on the Alexandria, Beirut, and *trafego* galley lines,[1] and the privately-owned round ships.[2] The latter were also of two kinds: those visiting the Levantine ports in preestablished periods *(mude)* in spring and autumn, and those that were not dependent on a state-regulated sailing schedule. Thus, Venetians functioned not only as exporters of goods from Venice to the East and from the East to Venice, but also as importers of Western goods and products into Egypt and Syria. No Egyptian or Syrian merchant is known to have been involved in this trade with the West beyond the boundaries of Mamluk territories.

The activities of Venetian merchants in Mamluk lands were often disturbed or disrupted, owing to disagreements with Mamluk sultans as to the conditions regulating their activities and to harassments by Mamluk officials, who considered European merchants easy prey to extortion. In particular the policy inaugurated by Sultan Barsbāy in the 1420s and pursued by his successors, forcing the Venetians

[1]The *trafego* line linked Venice, the Maghreb, and the Mamluk ports. On the system of the merchant galleys, see Frederic C. Lane, *Venice, A Maritime Republic* (Baltimore and London, 1973), 124–31, 337–52.

[2]Round ships is a term used in Mediterranean shipping to distinguish a certain type of ship (roundish in form, propelled by sails) from another type, namely galleys, which were long in form and could be operated either with sails or with oars.

to buy part of the large quantities of pepper they were always exporting from Mamluk territories from the sultan´s warehouses at a high price, was the source of many difficulties. But notwithstanding several moments of crisis, trade always continued, and Venetians never disappeared from the scene for long periods.

During the last twenty years of the Mamluk Sultanate, there were further internal and external factors that threatened to destroy this commercial relationship altogether. On the Egyptian and Syrian side, the death of Sultan Qāytbāy in 1497 was followed by approximately four years of violent power struggles over the sultan´s throne. The accession of Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī in 1501 seemed to stabilize the political situation inside the sultanate, but other destabilizing forces continued to disrupt trading activities in the region, particularly the rise of the Safavid power in the east and the ensuing military struggle between Safavid Persia and the Ottoman Empire.

At the very same time, in a coincidence that could not have been any worse from both the Mamluk and the Venetian standpoints, the Portuguese caravels began bringing spices to Lisbon through the new sea route around Africa. Mamluk efforts to oust the Portuguese from the Indian Ocean ended in failure, and in 1513 and again in 1516, the Portuguese penetrated the Red Sea, causing damage to Muslim shipping centered around Jidda. In 1513, the Portuguese also reconquered Hormuz.[3]

During those years, Venice had to face one of the most difficult phases in its history. The Italian wars that had begun in 1494 with the French invasion of Italy, the war against the Ottoman Empire that lasted from 1499 to 1503, and even more so, the war of the league of Cambrai, which began in 1509 with the loss of all Venetian territories in the Italian mainland, necessitated enormous investment in armies and military equipment. Loss of income, heavy taxation, and forced public loans led to a serious financial crisis.[4] International trade, the basis of the republic´s power and wealth, could not be pursued without great difficulty during those years, since many of the products exported from Venice to the east originated from or passed through lands that had become enemy territory, either in the Balkans and the eastern Mediterranean, where the Ottomans constituted a threat, or in the *Terra Firma* and the Alps controlled by the European enemies of Venice.

Confronted with these great difficulties and even by the same threats, such as the rise of Ottoman power and the Portuguese presence in the Indian Ocean, one

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[3]Subhi Y. Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter (1171–1517)* (Wiesbaden 1965), 453–61.

[4]Frederic C. Lane, ″Venetian Bankers,″ *Journal of Political Economy* 45 (1937), reprinted in *Venice and History: The Collected Papers of Frederic C. Lane* (Baltimore, 1966), 70–72, 79–80; Gino Luzzatto, *Storia economica di Venezia dall´ XI al XVI secolo* (Venice, 1995), 221–38.

would have expected more collaboration between Venetians and Mamluks. Yet that was not the case. Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī intervened on two occasions to stop trading relations with Venice. In 1503 he claimed that goods included in the tribute paid by Venice to the sultan in recognition of Mamluk suzerainty over Cyprus were of bad quality, and two years later he tried to raise substantially the quantity of pepper that Venetians were required to buy directly from him.[5] In 1510 another crisis developed on account of Venetian contacts with the Safavids.[6] Consequently, no galleys were sent to Alexandria and Beirut in 1505, to Alexandria in 1506, and to Beirut in 1510. These and further pauses in the functioning of the Alexandria and Beirut lines for other reasons were signs of crisis in the trade between Venice and the Mamluks.[7]

Under such unfavorable conditions Venetian merchants tried to continue their activities in Mamluk territories. Impressed by the dramatic character of military events and political upheavals, we tend to underestimate the peaceful and often uneventful activities of merchants. But international trade is actually the visible aspect of very strong forces of supply and demand, of patterns of consumption and basic needs that are remarkably resilient. Wars eventually end, regimes change, political leaders rise and fall, but, as we shall see, such patterns of material life cannot easily be swept away.

For the last twenty years of the Mamluk Sultanate, we are lucky enough to have a considerable amount of source material that allows us to study in detail the Venetian trading system in general and the commercial exchange with Mamluk territories in particular. Venetian sources are rich and diversified in this respect, including

[5]Marino Sanuto [Sanudo], *I diarii,* 58 vols. (Venice, 1879–1902), 5:114–15; Maria Pia Pedani Fabris, ″Gli ultimi accordi tra i sultani mamelucchi d′Egitto e la repubblica di Venezia,″ *Quaderni di studi arabi* 12 (1994): 57–60; Francesco Gabrieli, ″Venezia e i Mamelucchi,″ in *Venezia e l′Oriente tra tardo medioevo e Rinascimento,* ed. Agostino Pertusi (Florence, 1966), 427; John Wansbrough, ″A Mamluk Ambassador to Venice in 913/1507,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 26 (1963): 503–30.

[6]Francesca Lucchetta, ″L′ ˙ affare Zen¨ in Levante nel primo Cinquecento,″ *Studi Veneziani* 10 (1968): 109–219.

[7]In addition to the years mentioned above, no galleys were sent to Alexandria in 1508, 1509, 1513, 1514, and 1515. See Claire Judde de Larivière, ″Entre bien public et intérêts privés: Les pratiques économiques des patriciens vénitiens à la fin du Moyen Age,″ Ph.D. diss., Université Toulouse II-Le Mirail, 2002, 1:80. However, trade on board round ships, more difficult to follow, did not stop, and as of 1514 the galleys lost their monopoly on transporting spices, which could henceforeward be shipped, alongside other goods, on private Venetian ships: Frederic C. Lane, ″Venetian Shipping during the Commercial Revolution,″ in *Venice and History,* 14 (originally published in *American Historical Review* 38 [1933]: 219–39).

official documents related to trade, commercial correspondence, notarial acts, judicial records, and diaries. These have already been the subject of substantial research, sometimes in combination with Mamluk narrative sources, and it is not my purpose here to return to the well-known themes that have occupied historians of these issues for many decades. In fact, most studies dedicated to this commercial system have focused essentially on trade in products that were exported from the East into Europe. A great amount of research has been carried out, for example, on the spice trade and its vicissitudes following the Portuguese discovery of the route around Africa to the Far East. In a recent book on Venetian trade in late fifteenth-century Syria, it is stated that ˝the main scope of Venetian presence in Syria was not to sell [imported] products; on the contrary, the foremost aim of the Venetians was to buy several high-quality products and to sell them in Venice with great profit.˝[8] I am not entirely convinced that this distinction rightly reflects the attitude of Venetians engaged in trade with Mamluk territories. As we shall see, much attention was paid to, and an impressive amount of capital invested in, products imported into Mamluk lands. These, however, have attracted relatively little attention by historians, and the few studies that do treat such arguments are not focused on a limited time span of about twenty years, which is precisely the aim of the present paper.

Among the many Venetian sources that shed light on importations into Egypt and Syria during the last twenty years or so of the Mamluk Sultanate I have chosen to focus especially on two types that are of particular interest in this regard. The first includes cargo lists and references to the cargo of ships sailing to Egypt and Syria, included in the diaries of Domenico Malipiero, Girolamo Priuli, and Marino Sanudo. All three were Venetian patricians who recorded, often on a daily basis, the developments of their times, including trade and shipping. Malipiero´s work, which is actually halfway between a chronicle and a diary, covers the period between 1457 and 1500,[9] Priuli´s diary, part of which has been lost, covers the period between 1494 and 1512,[10] and Sanudo´s diary, the most impressive of the three, covers the years between 1496 and 1533.[11] From these diaries I have been able to extract seven detailed cargo lists as well as ten more

[8]Eric Vallet, *Marchands vénitiens en Syrie à la fin du XVe siècle* (Paris, 1999), 88–89.

[9]Domenico Malipiero, ˝Annali veneti dall´anno 1457 al 1500 del senatore Domenico Malipiero, ordinati e abbreviati dal senatore Francesco Longo, con prefazione e annotazioni di Agostino Sagredo,˝ *Archivio storico italiano* series 1, vol. 7, pt. 1 and pt. 2 (1843): 1–1138.

[10]Girolamo Priuli, *I diarii (1494–1512),* ed. Arturo Segre (vol. 1) and Roberto Cessi (vols. 2 and 4), *Rerum italicarum Scriptores,* vol. 24, pt. 3 (Città di Castello and Bologna, 1912–36). The third volume, covering the period between September 1506 and May 1509, has been lost. Vols. 5–8, treating the period between October 1509 and July 1512, remain unpublished.

[11]See above, n. 5.

succinct descriptions of cargoes of merchant galleys that sailed from Venice to Alexandria and to Beirut between 1495 and 1515. The cargoes of galleys sailing on the *trafego* line, which ran between Venice, the Maghreb, Egypt, and Syria, are never referred to, most probably because their role in carrying Western goods to the lands of the Mamluk Sultanate was negligible. Altogether, the cargoes of twenty out of thirty-two galley convoys that sailed to Syria and Egypt during those two decades are described, at least to some extent, by the diarists (some of the descriptions refer to both lines). These descriptions have been put together in Appendix A. Another cargo list used here belongs to a private ship that sailed to Syria in 1499.[12] The second type of sources includes two merchant manuals *(Tariffe)* of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries: the unpublished ″Tarifa″ [sic] of 1494, bearing the name of Lorenzo Rimondo [Arimondo] and mainly concerned with Alexandria, and Bartolomeo de′ Paxi′s *Tariffa,* first published in Venice in 1503. Both of them offer very precious and generally up-to-date information on Venetian trading activities at the turn of the sixteenth century.[13] Their lists of products imported into Egypt and Syria are included in Appendix B. Other sources, Venetian and Arabic, and, of course, several modern studies, have been used to try and clear up questions concerning the role of Cyprus in this commercial relationship, as well as the provenance and the patterns of consumption of goods imported into Mamluk lands.[14] This last aspect, however, still remains greatly unexplored.

Before turning to analyze the material drawn from these two types of sources, it is necessary to refer to their reliability. The cargo lists found in the Venetian diaries are not directly drawn from the ships′ manifests, but rather indirect reconstructions, mostly based on reports that the captains of galley convoys sent from the ports of Istria, before sailing to the East.[15] As far as the items mentioned in the lists are concerned, there is no reason to doubt the veracity of data provided by the diarists. More caution should be applied when using the quantitative data included in these lists, in view of the rather uncertain course they had passed

[12]Benjamin Arbel, ″Attraverso il Mediterraneo nel 1499: una nave veneziana naufragata a Cipro e il suo carico,″ in *Le vie del Mediterraneo: Idee, uomini, oggetti (secoli XI–XVI),* ed. Gabriela Airaldi (Genoa, 1997), 103–15.

[13]Lorenzo Rimondo, ″Tarifa de prexi e spesse achade a metter e ttrar marchadanttie di la terra de Alexandria e alttri lochi etc.,″ Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice, MS It. VII 545 (7530); Bartolomeo de′ Paxi, *Tariffa de pexi e mesure del prestantissimo miser Bartholomeo di Paxi da Venetia* (Venice, 1503).

[14]My thanks go to Housni al-Khateeb Shehada for helping me locate and use the Mamluk sources.

[15]On these and other types of cargo lists, see Benjamin Arbel, ″Les listes de chargement des bateaux vénitiens: un essai de typologie,″ in *Mélanges en l′honneur de Michel Balard*, *Byzantina Sorbonensia* (forthcoming).

before ending up in these diaries. This uncertainty is reflected in the inconsistencies between different reports referring to the same convoy, when available.[16] Except for a short analysis of overall figures referring to the comprehensive value of cargos and precious metals shipped eastward, we shall therefore forego quantitative speculations, contenting ourselves with identifying those products that appear time and again on these lists, and using the numerical data mainly to get a general idea of the order of magnitude of the shipments concerned. For the sake of brevity, this reservation will not be repeated henceforward whenever numbers taken from these lists are cited.

The two commercial manuals present a different problematic. As for Rimondo´s *Tariffa,* thanks to Ugo Tucci we may consider it one of the new types of manuals that appeared in the Venetian commercial milieu at the end of the fifteenth century, being composed by Venetian factors overseas (in this case by Lorenzo Arimondo who was active in Alexandria) and intended for practical use by these agents. We may therefore consider it to authentically reflect the Egyptian market for Venetian imports during those years.[17] Paxi´s book, on the other hand, has been attributed by Tucci to another category of manuals, which mainly served for training of young merchants. But Tucci also emphasized that the training of merchants necessitated up-to-date instruments,[18] and there is no reason to exclude the possibility that an impressive work like that of Paxi genuinely reflected the movements and content of Venetian trade in the Levant at the time of its first appearance in print (1503). In the prologue to his work, Paxi declares that it was the fruit of long and serious effort and laborious study *(grave e longa mia faticha e laborioso studio)*.[19] In fact, there are several indications that Paxi´s book was indeed the consequence of a genuine effort to provide up-to-date material on the world of international trade in the period of its original publication. Tucci has noted, for example, the updating of the measure for oil in Constantinople,[20] and Paxi´s careful reference to the spice *kanter* [=*qinṭār*] of Damascus,[21] to which I may add the absence of Coron and Modon, the important Venetian ports in the southern Peloponnese,

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[16]See, for example, Appendix A, for Malipiero´s and Priuli´s reports on the galleys sailing to Alexandria in summer 1498, and Sanudo´s and Priuli´s reports on the Alexandria convoy of 1511.

[17]For problems related to the use of merchant manuals, with special emphasis on the Venetian ones, see Ugo Tucci, ˝Tariffe veneziane e libri toscani di mercatura,˝ *Studi veneziani* 10 (1968): 65–108, esp. 92–97; idem, ˝Manuali di mercatura e pratica degli affari nel medioevo,˝ in *Fatti e idee di storia economica nei secoli XII–XX: Studi dedicati a Franco Borlandi* (Bologna, 1976), 215–31.

[18]Tucci, ˝Manuali,˝ 220.

[19]Paxi, *Tariffa,* 1v.

[20]Tucci, ˝Manuali,˝ 226.

[21]Tucci, ˝Tariffe veneziane,˝ 107–8.

which had been lost in 1500, and which were not re-integrated into the post-war system of Venetian commerce.[22] Admittedly, the opening of the Atlantic spice-route to India is not yet reflected in this book,[23] but this is quite understandable, considering its date of publication.[24] In any event, our scope in using this sort of source is limited to defining the main categories and nature of goods imported by Venetians to the Mamluk lands, and possibly to tracking down their provenance. For this purpose, and although no systematic research has yet been carried out to corroborate this hypothesis, I tend to consider the first edition of Paxi′s manual as a trustworthy presentation of the contents of Levantine trade in general, and of importations into Mamluk lands in particular, in the late fifteenth and the first years of the sixteenth century. A comparison between the lists of goods shipped to the Levant that are included in these manuals with the cargo lists of galleys sailing to those parts, as well as with other commercial papers, seems to corroborate this hypothesis.

The cargo lists of Venetian merchant galleys sailing eastward, and the cargo list of a round ship wrecked off Cyprus on its way to Syria, present a quite coherent picture of which products were expected to find buyers in eastern markets. A first group of such items includes different kinds of metals and their products.

Precious metals constituted a most important item among Venetian importations into Egypt and Syria. Gold reached Venice mainly from the Maghreb and from Hungary, and silver from the Tyrol, and probably also from Serbia and Bosnia.[25] They were exported to Mamluk lands in the form of silver and gold coins (including Mamluk *ashrafī*s),[26] silver ingots, silver and gold artifacts, and even as gold dust

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[22]Benjamin Arbel, ″The Ionian Islands and Venice′s Trading System during the Sixteenth Century,″ *Acts of the Sixth International Panionian Congress,* 1997 (Athens, 2001), 2:147–60. The war with the Ottomans was concluded in 1503.

[23]Tucci, ″Tariffe veneziane,″ 97.

[24]Only in July 1501, two years after the event, was the news about Da Gama′s return from India confirmed in Venice. Besides, though no spices were found in Alexandria in 1499, the quantities of spices that reached Venice from Alexandria and Beirut in 1500 and 1502 were far greater than those reaching Lisbon. See Ruggiero Romano, Alberto Tenenti, and Ugo Tucci, ″Venise et la route du Cap: 1499–1517,″ in *Mediterraneo e Oceano Indiano: Atti del sesto colloquio internazionale di storia Marittima,* ed. Manlio Cortelazzo (Florence, 1970), 109–12.

[25]Eliyahu Ashtor, *Les métaux précieux et la balance des payements du Proche-Orient à la basse époque* (Paris, 1971), 41–42, 46, 50.

[26]See Fernand Braudel and Alberto Tenenti, ″Michiel da Lezze, marchand vénitien (1497–1514),″ in *Wirtschaft, Geschichte und Wirtschaftsgeschichte: Festschrift zum 65 Geburtstag von Friedrich Lütge,* ed. Wilhelm Abel et al. (Stuttgart, 1966), 43 (1497), 62 (1507), 71 (1511).

(tiber) that reached Alexandria from Tripoli on board Venetian galleys.[27] These distinctions are not reflected in the cargo lists of our diarists, who preferred to express the overall value of precious metals sent on board these ships in terms of Venetian ducats. This does not mean, however, that the entire sum referred to consisted of gold ducats. In fact, silver ingots and coins are never mentioned separately in the cargo lists, although we know for certain that they were shipped to Mamluk territories in great quantities.[28] The Venetian mint even issued special silver coins for exportation to the Levant, worth less than the standard silver coins circulating in Venice.[29] In a commercial letter sent from Famagusta to Venice in 1511 it was reported that the galleys sailing that year to the Levant were carrying silver coins to the value of 100,000 ducats.[30] And at the beginning of the sixteenth century, a French observer noted that in the Venetian mint, silver ingots weighing about 25 marks each (some 6 kg.), were especially produced for exportation to the Levant, to a total annual amount equivalent of about 800,000 ducats.[31] A great part of those must have reached Mamluk territories.

Though not bothering to distinguish between gold and silver, our diarists do, however, use other distinctions that cannot be easily understood. For example, with reference to the Beirut galleys of November 1502 and to the Alexandria galleys of March 1503 and of March 1511, Priuli distinguishes between what he calls *aver di cassa a nollo* or *al nolo,* and *aver di cassa di marcadanti;* Sanudo, on the other hand, uses different distinctions in 1501 and 1511, referring to *aver di cassa d´aviso* and *aver di cassa in scrigni*.[32] These distinctions may partly be understood if we consider that cash money or silver ingots transported on the

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[27]See Appendix B-I.

[28]For overall estimations of precious metals shipped to Egypt and Syria during the period under examination, see Appendix C. For silver, see Ashtor, *Les métaux précieux,* 50; and Frederic C. Lane, *Venice, A Maritime Republic,* 287, 299. E.g.: expressing his dissatisfaction with the fact that Venetians unloaded their ships at Tripoli instead of Beirut in 1499, the governor of Damascus seized 52 sachets *(groppi)* of silver coins kept by Venetian merchants (Malipiero, ˝Annali,˝ 649); see also the list of coins sent in 1505 by Michiel da Lezze on board the Barbary galleys, where the value of each coin sachet is expressed in ducats, specifying at the same time that they actually contained silver coins *(Mozenigi)* (Braudel and Tenenti, ˝Michiel da Lezze,˝ 57).

[29]Sanudo mentions a decision taken in March 1498 by the Council of Ten in this regard: Sanudo, *I diarii,* 1:903.

[30]Ugo Tucci, ˝Monete e banche nel secolo del ducato d´oro,˝ in *Storia di Venezia dalle origini alla caduta della Serenissima,* vol. 5, *Il Rinascimento: Società ed economia,* ed. Alberto Tenenti and Ugo Tucci (Rome, 1996), 785.

[31]Frederic C. Lane and Reinhold C. Mueller, *Money and Banking in Medieval and Renaissance Venice,* vol. 1, *Coins and Moneys of Account* (Baltimore and London, 1985), 165.

[32]See Appendix A.

galleys were subject to freight charges. When writing about the quantity of gold and silver (referred to as ″ducats″) on the Alexandria galleys of 1498, Priuli comments that the sum might be much higher than 240,000 ducats, because ″they always declare a lower sum, since they have to pay freight charges″ *(sempre se dice de menno* [sic] *per el pagar del nolo)*.[33] The sums mentioned by the diarists should therefore be taken as estimates, including a sum on which freight charges were paid, according to the report *(aviso)* of the convoy′s captain, and an additional sum, which could not be accurately evaluated, since it pertained to gold and silver kept in private strong-boxes *(scrigni)* on board. Another expression found in Priuli′s diary with reference to the Alexandria convoy of 1510, namely *traze le galie di nolo, d′aviso,* does not appear to refer to specie shipped on board, but rather to the sums owed to the galleys on account of freight charges.

In any case, huge amounts of silver and gold yearly reached Egypt and Syria not only on board state galleys, for which we have more information, but also on the privately-owned ships, though on the whole it can be surmised that the latter carried smaller amounts of precious metals, since spices, normally shipped on galleys, were much more expensive than goods exported from Mamluk lands on round ships, and galleys were also better protected against pirates. As a rule, sums sent to Alexandria were higher in comparison with those sent to Syria.

The fact that large quantities of gold and silver were imported annually by Venetians into Mamluk lands is often referred to as a reflection of Venice′s unfavorable trade balance with the Mamluks. Without discarding this claim altogether, it seems that behind this steady flow of precious metals into Mamluk territories there is another economic factor. Precious metals, even in the form of coins, were considered a commodity, similar to copper, tin, or woolens. Merchants had to pay freight charges for gold or silver coins shipped on the galleys, and when reaching Egypt, they were also subject to customs dues.[34] Even more significant is the fact that during the period under consideration, it was more profitable to export silver to the East than gold. This can be inferred, for example, from a remark made by Marino Sanudo in August 1498, writing that considerable quantities of old coins and gold were sent on the galleys sailing to Alexandria; however, he writes, one could not expect to make a profit out of these gold pieces *(di li qual*

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[33]Priuli, *I diarii,* 1:94.

[34]On freight charges on coins, see, for example, the account made in 1413 at Ḥamāh by Lorenzo Priuli, where a sum is accounted for the payment of freight for a sachet containing 200 ducats: Archivio di Stato di Venezia (hereafter: ASV), Miscellanea di carte non appartenenti ad alcun archivio, busta 18. In Alexandria, gold ducats were subject to a customs due of 1 per cent, whereas silver coins and ingots had to pay 1 ducat for every 6 *rotoli zeroi* [=*raṭl jarwī*] and 1 ounce (1 ducat for 12 *lire grosse*). See Paxi, *Tariffa,* 49r.

ori non si farà bene).[35] In fact, it is very likely that the large sums expressed in ducats were actually often brought eastward in the form of silver coins and silver ingots.[36] On silver ingots exported to Alexandria, which had 60 karats of copper per mark of silver (the same alloy as the *Marcelli* coins in Venice), Venetians could make a profit amounting to 4-5 per cent when selling them in Alexandria. This is explicitly stated in Paxi´s commercial manual, though with reference to the past, before a slight change in the standard weights of silver was introduced.[37] But it can be surmised that profit could still be substantial, considering the great sums involved. These profits seem rather low in comparison with those that could be enjoyed from other branches of trade, but silver (like gold) was a merchandise that Venetians could dispose of immediately, whereas in the case of other goods it was not always certain when and at what price they could be sold.

Besides for coinage, silver and gold were widely used by the Mamluks for many purposes, such as robes of honor, riding outfits, writing instruments, and various ornaments.[38] Briefly, silver was in demand and was more valuable in the East than in Europe. Moreover, this demand for silver in Mamluk territories seems to have been connected to an even higher demand in India and the Far East, ensuring the constant flow of this metal from Venice into Egypt and Syria, and most probably also farther eastward.[39]

Among other metals shipped eastward, copper in particular was highly sought after in Mamluk lands, since all lists discovered so far include at least one sort of copper cargo, and mostly more. During the fourteenth and early fifteenth century, Italian merchants imported copper into Egypt from the northern shores of Anatolia.[40]

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[35]Sanudo, *I diarii,* 1:1032.

[36]In 1497, no ingots could be found for shipment to the East. See Appendix A-III.

[37]Paxi, *Tariffa,* 49r.

[38]Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Cairo, 1996), 2:3:158–59, 170–71; Leo A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume: a Survey* (Geneva, 1952), 25 (silver and golden belts), 35 (spurs overlaid with silver or gold); Carl Petry, ″Robing Ceremonials in Late Mamluk Egypt: Hallowed Traditions, Shifting Protocols,″ in *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture,* ed. Stewart Gordon (New York, 2001), 363 (golden sword, gold saddle, gold insignia).

[39]Ashtor, *Les métaux précieux*, 52; idem, ″Maʻdin,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 5:963b; J. Michael Rogers, ″To and Fro: Aspects of Mediterranean Trade and Consumption in the 15th and 16th Centuries,″ *Revue du Monde Musulman et de la Méditéranée* 55–56 (1990): 61, 63. Rogers´ statement that Venetian merchants settled their purchases in gold (ibid., 63) seems to be based on the wrong assumption that all the sums of cash and other forms of precious metals shipped eastward, which are expressed in ducats, represent real gold coins.

[40]Philippe Braunstein, ″Le marché du cuivre à Venise à la fin du Moyen Age,″ in *Schwerpunkte der Kupferproduktion und des Kupferhandels in Europa 1500–1650,* ed. Hermann Kellenbenz (Vienna, 1977), 85; Ashtor, ″Maʻdin,″ 963b.

Yet the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, and the gradual closing of the Black Sea to Italian ships, may have enhanced the importance of copper imported by the Venetians to Egypt and Syria from Europe, where copper production considerably expanded precisely during those decades.[41]

Quantities mentioned in our sources are impressive. In 1496, according to Malipiero, the galleys left in Alexandria no less than 10,000 *qinṭār*s of copper, equivalent to some 954 tons;[42] in 1501, 381 tons were sent to Beirut; in 1503, Priuli noted in his diary that the copper exported to Egypt, all sent by one Venetian merchant, Michiel Foscari, amounted to 1,000 *miera* (about 477 tons), in addition to 400 *miera* loaded on private ships and 300 more awaiting further passage, altogether about 811 tons.[43] In 1510, the value of copper exported to Alexandria on board the galleys was estimated by Sanudo at 50,000 ducats.[44] Comparing these impressive quantities to the much lower ones included in two late fourteenth-century cargo lists of the Alexandria galleys—about 212 *miera* (94.6 tons) and 70 *miera* (33.3 tons) in 1395 and 1400 respectively—one may wonder whether what seems to be a spectacular increase really represents a marked rise in the demand for copper in Egypt and Syria towards the end of the Mamluk period.[45]

Most of the copper shipped eastward had originated from the Tyrol and from Slovakia and was brought to Venice by German merchants. It could have reached Venice in various forms, but part of it may have undergone some industrial

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[41]It has been estimated that between 1460 and 1530, the production of European copper had quintupled: J. U. Nef, ″Mining and Metallurgy in European Civilization,″ *Cambridge Economic History of Europe,* vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1952), 469–70.

[42]Copper was weighed in Venice in thousandweights *(miera)* of *lire di grossi;* each *miera* was equivalent to around 477 kg. In Alexandria it was weighed in *qinṭār*s *jarwī* (in Venetian terminology: *canter ceroi* or *geroi*), each one of which was equivalent to around 95.4 kg. Paxi, *Tariffa,* 7v, 44r; *Lettres d′un marchand vénitien: Andrea Berengo (1553–1556),* ed. Ugo Tucci (Paris, 1957), 357; Eliyahu Ashtor, ″Levantine Weights and Standard Parcels: A Contribution to the Metrology of the Later Middle Ages,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 45 (1982): 473.

[43]Priuli, *I diarii,* 2:255. Between 1495 and 1503, Michiel Foscari exported to Alexandria 1555 tons of copper. See Braunstein, ″Le marché du cuivre,″ 92.

[44]Sanudo, *I diarii,* 9:516. See also Ashtor, *Les métaux précieux,* 58–64. Though mainly brought on board Venetian ships, copper could occasionally reach Egypt on board other vessels (ibid., 64). See also idem, ″Profits from Trade with the Levant in the Fifteenth Century,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38 (1975): 253–54. Since Ashtor does not specify what the original terms translated by him as ″copper plates″ and ″polished plates″ were, his data should be treated cautiously.

[45]Jacques Heers, ″Il commercio nel Mediterraneo alla fine del sec. XIV e nei primi anni del XV,″ *Archivio Storico Italiano* 113 (1955): 167. If the amount of copper shipped in 1395 and 1400 can really be considered ″important quantities″ (ibid.), how should we describe the shipments of 1497 and 1503, which were about eight or nine times as big?

process in Germany, in Venice itself or in its neighboring territories, before being sent eastward in the form of semi-finished or finished products.[46] It is indeed listed under different headings in the cargo lists: the greatest quantities appear to have been shipped as copper ˝loaves˝ *(rami in pan),* most likely raw copper packed in baskets or cases; another common form of shipment included copper bars *(rami in verga);* copper wire *(fil di rame)* was also often shipped on galleys sailing to the east; another category included ˝worked copper˝ *(rami lavoradi)*. The significance of the latter can be deduced from a passage in Paxi´s manual mentioning ˝worked copper products, that is coppers˝ *(rami lavorati, zoè caldiere)*. Ugo Tucci explains that this term signifies semi-finished copper vessels, ready for further elaboration by Egyptian or Syrian coppersmiths.[47] Some of these vessels could have been made of brass, an alloy widely diffused in Mamluk lands for various purposes.[48] Another copper product shipped to Mamluk ports was verdigris *(verdirame),* a green crystallized substance formed on copper by acetic acid. It could have been produced from copper in Venice or Murano, before being shipped eastward.

The uses of all these kinds of copper (*nuḥās*), brass *(shabah, bīrinj),* and

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[46]Braunstein, ˝Le marché du cuivre,˝ 86–88. Copper also reached Venice by sea, on board the Flanders galleys; see ibid., 86, and Ugo Tucci, ˝Il rame nell´economia veneziana del secolo XVI,˝ in *Schwerpunkte der Kupferproduktion,* 102.

[47]Tucci, ˝Il rame,˝ 96.

[48]Michael Rogers suggests that the absence of zinc from bills of lading means that much of the *rami* must actually have been brass, yet zinc was only identified as a distinct metal at a much later stage; cf. Rogers, ˝To and Fro,˝ 65. The Beirut galleys of 1498 are said to have carried 164 baskets *(coffe)* of copper loaves, whereas those sailing to Alexandria that year had, according to Sanudo, 1,168 (according to Malipiero—1,100) copper baskets on board. The cargo list of 1499 includes 19 packs of ˝worked copper˝ *(rami lavoradi)* sent by Antonio Negro to his son Alvise in Beirut (Arbel, ˝Attraverso il Mediterraneo,˝ 113). In 1500, the galleys of Beirut had 354 cases of copper loaves *(rami in pan),* and 51 cases of copper bars for Alexandria; the Alexandria galleys of the same year carried 1,234 baskets *(coffe)* of copper loaves, 40 loads of copper bars, 30 of ˝worked copper,˝ and 28 of copper wire. The Alexandria galleys of 1501 had 800 *miera* (some 381 tons) of copper loaves on board (all of them shipped by the firm Agostini dal Banco), and those sailing to Beirut an unspecified quantity of the same. The Beirut galleys that departed in November 1502 had on board 233 cases of copper loaves, 5 of worked copper, and 12 bundles of copper wire. The galleys of Alexandria that sailed in March 1503 (originally the 1502 galleys) had 2,463 cases of copper loaves, 188 bundles of copper bars, 76 bales of worked copper, and 24 bundles of copper wire. The galleys of Alexandria that sailed in October 1503, though rather poor and empty, nevertheless carried 268 copper baskets. In 1504 the Alexandria galleys carried 500 copper baskets. In 1510, the galleys of Alexandria had on board 316 baskets of copper loaves, 327 barrels of copper bars, 16 bales of worked copper *(rami lavoradi),* and 14 bundles *(fardi)* of copper wire. The galleys of Alexandria sailing in 1511 had 505 lots of copper rods, 527 cases of copper loaves, 106 of worked copper, and 9 cases of verdigris. The Beirut galleys of 1513 carried 77 copper loaves and 2 bundles of copper wire. For references to the galleys´ cargo lists, see Appendix A.

derived products in Egypt and Syria were, of course, manifold, such as the minting of coins (both small coins—*fulūs*—and silver coins with copper alloy), military uses, house utensils and ornamental objects, the roofing of mosques and palaces, as well as for medical use and for dyeing (in the case of verdigris). Copper was regularly accepted as barter payment in exchange for pepper and other spices in Syria and Egypt.[49] Copper objects also seem to have served as status symbols. In his fifteenth-century description of Cairo, al-Maqrīzī´s mentions ornamented copper objects carried in a procession, as well as copper watering vessels in the stables of a prominent amir.[50]

Tin was also a common cargo on Venetian ships sailing to Egypt and Syria. Paxi mentions Flanders as the origin of tin bars imported into Syria, but that must have been associated with the fact that Venice imported tin on board the Flanders galleys, which also called on English ports. In fact, most of the tin traded by Venetians must have originated from Cornwall.[51] According to Paxi, tin reached Alexandria in the form of rods *(in verga)*.[52] This important material could, of course, be used for preparing bronze *(ṣafr),* but it has been pointed out that in fifteenth-century Egypt bronze appears to have been replaced by leaded brass.[53] However, tin was also used for tinning of copper vessels, kitchen utensils, and implements. Eric Vallet suggests that since it always followed woolens in price lists of merchants´ letters, it was, among non-precious metals, the greatest in demand on the Syrian market of the early 1480s.[54]

Steel *(azzali),* probably produced in the area of Brescia, appears only once in our lists.[55] It was, of course, an important material for Mamluk armorers, and Egypt and Syria might have been supplied with it from other sources. On the other hand, tinned iron plates always figure in these cargo lists, where they appear under three headings: *banda larga, banda raspa', * and *piastre di laton.*[56] Iron

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[49]Tucci, ˝Il rame,˝ 97.

[50]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:3:110.

[51]The galleys sailing to Beirut in 1498 carried 22 bundles *(fardi)* of tin. The ship wrecked in 1499 had 8 bundles of tin [bars?] sent by Marcantonio Morosini to Syria: Arbel, ˝Attraverso il Mediterraneo,˝ 113. The 1500 galleys of Beirut had 112 such bundles; the galleys sailing to Beirut had 130 tin bundles *(fassi)* on board. The 1503 galleys of Alexandria carried 182 bundles; the 1510 galleys of Alexandria carried 45 cases *(casse)*. The 1511 cargo list of the galleys of Alexandria has 106 packages; the Beirut galleys of 1513 carried 11 bundles of ˝fine tin.˝

[52]Paxi, *Tariffa,* 43v.

[53]Rogers, ˝To and Fro,˝ 64, based on P. T. Craddock, ˝The Copper Alloys of the Medieval Islamic World Inheritors of the Classical Tradition,˝ *World Archaeology* 9, no. 1 (1979): 68–79.

[54]Vallet, *Marchands vénitiens,* 84.

[55]20 *azalli* packages figure in the cargo list of the Alexandria galleys of 1511.

[56]The galleys sailing to Alexandria in 1498 had 71 bundles of *banda larga* and those sailing to

mainly reached Venice from Styria and Carinthia, and its tinning was probably carried out in Venice itself, or in the Venetian mainland.[57] The importation of iron plates into Egypt and Syria must have been intended for specific purposes, whose exact nature can only be guessed at this stage. Military uses have certainly to be taken into consideration, but civil uses, for construction and for all sorts of instruments and utensils should not be excluded either.

Lead, most probably brought from the Balkans, can also occasionally be found in those cargo lists.[58] Lead was used for the production of leaded brass, for water conducts in aqueducts, for public and private baths, for roofing of important buildings, and generally for protecting iron from corrosion.[59] A kind of lead, called *raṣāṣ qalʿī,* served for manufacturing breast chain-mail.[60]

Information on further uses of lead in these regions can be found in the thirteenth-century pharmaceutical treatise of Ibn al-Bīṭār (died in 1248), who was also active in Damascus. The fact that it was still relevant in the later Mamluk period and even afterwards is attested by the medical treatise of a sixteenth-century doctor from Antioch, Dāʾūd al-Anṭākī (died in 1599). The latter distinguished between two different qualities of lead *(raṣāṣ): asrab* and *qalʿī* (a synonym for *qaṣdīr*). The former was of inferior quality, not fully distilled, and could be easily processed by smiths. The pharmaceutical uses of lead were manifold. It was ground into different ointments (especially for cosmetic purposes), rendering them more effective, and also used for disinfecting wounds and stopping bleeding. It served against various skin diseases, against tumors, especially in the sexual organs, against hemorrhoids, against stings of scorpions, and against masturbation of

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Beirut, 63 barrels of *banda*. The 1499 cargo list has 6 barrels of *banda raspa´* sent to Beirut by Hieronimo and Jacomo Striga: Arbel, ″Attraverso il Mediterraneo,″ 113. The 1500 galleys of Beirut had 18 barrels of *banda raspa´;* those sailing to Alexandria that year had 50 bundles of *banda larga.* The galleys of Alexandria departing in March 1503 had 282 bundles of *banda larga* on board. The Alexandria galleys of 1510 had 4 barrels of *banda raspa´*. The Alexandria galleys of 1511 had 19 barrels of *banda raspa´* and 57 packages of *banda larga* as well as *piastre di latton.* The Beirut galleys of 1513 carried 15 bundles of *banda larga,* and 2 of *banda raspa´*. Paxi explicitly explains the term *banda larga* as tinned iron *(Banda larga zoè ferro restagnado):* Paxi, *Tariffa,* 51r.

[57]Philippe Braunstein, ″Le commerce du fer à Venise au XVe siècle,″ *Studi Veneziani* 8 (1966): 268, 277. Michiel Foscari, whom we have already encountered as a copper exporter to Egypt, was also involved in iron production and exportation: he invested in mines, controlled the processing of iron at Belluno, and exported iron products to Crete and the Levant (ibid.).

[58]Paxi gives equivalents for weight units of Ragusa and Alexandria with reference to lead. See Paxi, *Tariffa,* 44r. The galleys sailing to Alexandria in 1498 carried 55 lots *(pr.)* of lead; the Beirut galleys of 1500 had 32 m. *[miera?]* of lead; the Alexandria galleys of 1510 had 130 ″pieces.″

[59]Ashtor, ″Maʿdin,″ 963b.

[60]*Al-Munjid fī al-Lughah wa-al-Aʿlām,* 28th ed. (Beirut, 1986), 654.

adolescents. Putting five *dirham*s under someone's pillow could cause hallucinations, and a few drops sprinkled into one's ear were considered an effective protection against murder. Rings made of lead were considered effective against becoming overweight. It was also used in agriculture, to prevent fruits from falling immaturely, and in small quantities it was used as a pesticide.[61]

Mercury also seems to have been in demand both in Syria and Egypt, since it figures on four of our cargo lists.[62] Mercury veins were discovered in 1490 at Idria, in the province of Gorizia, and later it was from there that Venetians acquired this material.[63] Among other purposes, especially gilding,[64] mercury *(zi'baq)* was commonly used in Mamluk lands for medical purposes, such as against lice (in combination with other substances), for treating dermatological problems, as well as against muscle and joint pains. It was used externally against bad smells and swollen throats.[65] Mercury also served for preparing cinnabar *(zenabrii),* or mercuric sulfide (vermilion), a decorative dyestuff figuring on several of these cargo lists,[66] which was produced on the island of Murano.

Textiles of various types constituted an important component of Venetian shipments to Syria and Egypt. Most of them were woolens of different qualities and provenance. Eliyahu Ashtor dedicated a long and detailed study to the exportation of Western textiles to the Muslim Orient in the later Middle Ages, a study that opens much wider vistas than our cargo lists, which hardly specify the origins of these products.[67] Only cloths made in Venice and a few specific types of cloth are occasionally listed separately. Such is the case of kerseys, which were

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[61]Dā'ūd ibn 'Umar al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkarat Ūlī al-Albāb wa-al-Jāmi' lil-'Ajab al-'Ujāb* (Beirut, n.d.), 1:168; cf. Ḍiā' al-Dīn Abī Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad al-Andalusī al-Māliqī Ibn al-Bīṭār, *Al-Jāmi' li-Mufradāt al-Adwiyah wa-al-Aghdhiyah* (Beirut 1992): 1:434–37.

[62]The galleys sailing to Beirut in 1498 had 35 lots of mercury according to Sanudo and 63 *boioli* (vases) of the same product according to Malipiero; in 1500 the Beirut galleys had 248 barrels marked "for Alexandria"; in 1503 the Alexandria galleys—60 barrels; in 1510, 50 barrels were sent to Alexandria, and in 1511, 251 [barrels?].

[63]Philippe Braunstein, "Zur Frügeschichte des Bergbaus und Quecksilberhandels von Idria," *Neues aus Alt-Villach,* vol. 2, *Jahrbuch des Stadtmuseums* (Villach, 1965), 41–45.

[64]Rogers, "To and Fro," 64.

[65]*Zi'baq* was widely used for dermatological purposes, both for humans and non-human animals: Ibn al-Bīṭār, *Al-Jāmi',* 1:487–88; al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkarat Ūlī al-Albāb,* 1:184.

[66]On the Venetian production, see Luzzatto, *Storia economica,* 180. In 1498, 27 lots of cinnabar were sent to Beirut; in 1500 the Beirut galleys carried 256 cases and those sailing to Alexandria, 307 cases. In 1503 the Alexandria galleys had 78 barrels of cinnabar on board; in 1510 the Alexandria galleys had 44 cases, and in 1511, 21 cases, 5 of which belonged to Michiel da Lezze. See Braudel and Tenenti, "Michiel da Lezze," 71. See also Rogers, "To and Fro," 64.

[67]Eliyahu Ashtor, "L'exportation de textiles occidentaux dans le Proche Orient musulman au bas Moyen Age (1370–1517)," in *Studi in memoria di Federigo Melis* (Naples, 1978), 2:303–77.

relatively cheap woolens originally produced in England but subsequently imitated in many other places.[68] The latter may probably be identified with the woolen cloth called *al-jūkh,* the use of which became so widespread in al-Maqrīzī´s time.[69] Some lists also mention separately linen cloths *(tele),* serge cloths *(sarze),* and *grixi,* or *grisi,* which were cheap woolens, as well as a few specific types of garments, imported in small quantities, such as *bernusi* (women´s gowns known in the east as *burnus*), *carpette* (most likely also women´s garments), and *gonele de griso* (probably a type of men´s coats).[70]

Since our cargo lists provide only a little information on the origin and type of cloth sent to Egypt and Syria, it is worthwhile to cite the relevant paragraphs of Paxi´s *Tariffa*, more helpful in this regard. Among those sent to Alexandria, he mentions:

> Fine Venetian cloths, scarlet and dark blue *(paunazi)* cloths, Paduan scarlet cloths, Brescian cloths, ˝bastard˝ cloths, Southampton cloths *(panni santani), rocha* cloths,[71] cloths from Geneva and from Feltre, that is dyed *bianchete* [a type of cheap cloth], and other kinds of cloths.[72]

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[68]The galleys sailing to Alexandria in 1498 had 71 bales of cloths on board, while those sailing to Beirut had 418 bales; the ship wrecked in 1499 had 6 bales and one bundle of woolens sent to Syria: Arbel, ˝Attraverso il Mediterraneo,˝ 113. The 1500 Beirut galleys had 400 bales of *panni* and those sailing that year to Alexandria, 133 bales; the galleys sailing to Beirut in October 1501 carried 330 bales of woolens; the Beirut galleys of 1502 had 560 bales of *panni* on board; those that sailed to Alexandria in 1503 had 127 bales. The Beirut galleys of 1504 had 450 bales; the Alexandria galleys of 1510 had 180 bales of Venetian woolen ˝of various sorts,˝ 110 bales of woolens originating from Western Europe *(panni di Ponente)* of various sorts, and 100 bales of kerseys. The Alexandria line of 1511 had 134 bales of woolens on board; and the Beirut galleys of 1513 carried 241 bales.

[69]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:3:159; Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* 25; Ashtor, ˝L´exportation,˝ 305.

[70]See the list of the Beirut galleys of 1502 (12 bales of *sarze,* 11 of *tele,* and 11 rolls of *grixi*), and the Alexandria galleys of 1510 (8 bales of *bernusi*) and 1511 (2 packings of *gonele de griso*). For *bernussi,* see Salvatore Battaglia, *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* (Turin, 1961–2002), 2:186; for *sarze,* ibid, 17:580; for *carpetta,* see Nicolò Tommaseo and Bernardo Bellin, *Nuovo dizionario della lingua italiana* (Turin, 1865), 1:1253; on *griso* (pl. *grisi*), see Achille Vitali, *La moda a Venezia attraverso i secoli: Lessico Ragionato* (Venice, 1992), 210.

[71]*Rocha* may derive from *roça,* i.e., madder, meaning cloths dyed with this material. According to another interpretation, not entirely contradictory, this term denotes low-quality cloths. I am grateful to Dr. Edoardo Demo and Dr. Andrea Mozzato for their assistance in trying to sort out the expressions related to woolens in Paxi´s *Tariffa.*

[72]Paxi, *Tariffa,* 48r.

Woolens exported to Damascus are listed by him as follows:

> Fine Venetian cloths, some scarlet, some dark blue, Paduan "bastard" cloths, fine Florentine cloths, Brescian cloths, narrow cloths from Bergamo, washed and sheared *(bagnadi e cimadi),* expurgated cloths from Bergamo *(panni bergamaschi tiradi),* Guildfort cloths *(panni Zilforto),* Southampton cloths, *sesse* [Essex] cloths,[73] Saint Ursula cloths, narrow Geneva cloths, full-size cloths from Majorca *(panni maiorini integri),* large Geneva cloths, half-size cloths from Majorca *(panni mezzi maiorini),* cheap cloths of the *Fontego (panni de fontego),* large Flemish serge cloths, narrow Flemish serge cloths, *panni zinese le vestrine,*[74] hemp cloths.[75]

Shorter lists are given by Paxi for Aleppo and Tripoli, though with slight variations, as for instance concerning the colors preferred on the Aleppo market: beside the dark violet *(paonazo)* and scarlet, typical for Venetian cloth also shipped to Egypt, we have azure, white, and green, as far as Florentine cloth was concerned.[76] Judging by a few merchant letters written in Syria in 1484, Western woolens sold on the Syrian market at that time were those from Bergamo, Brescia, and Vicenza in the Venetian mainland, as well as cloths from Geneva, Southampton, Essex, the cloths known as *panni bastardi,* cloths of the *fontego,* and serges.[77]

Silk cloth of various types was imported in smaller quantities than woolen cloth to the Mamluk East. Our cargo lists mention gold cloth *(panni d'oro)* or simply "silk cloth" *(panni di seta),* very likely products of Venice's important luxury industries, exported for the refined Mamluk clientele.[78] Al-Maqrīzī explicitly

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[73]The term *sesse* sometimes denotes oriental textile, but in the present case it is obviously a Western product sent eastward. Cf. *Ambasciata straordinaria al sultano d'Egitto (1489–1490)*, ed. Franco Rossi (Venice, 1988), 225; John Wansbrough, "A Mamluk Letter of 877 (1473)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 24 (1961): 209, citing Quatremère.

[74]The significance of these terms remains to be elucidated.

[75]Paxi, *Tariffa,* 54r.

[76]Ibid., 56r–56v.

[77]Vallet, *Marchands vénitiens,* 281, 288, 297, 300–1. On *panni bastardi,* see Ashtor, "L'exportation," 346–48. According to Ashtor, *panni de fontego* were of the cheapest sort (ibid., 313).

[78]The 1500 Beirut galleys had 6 cases with *pani d'oro et de seda* and those sailing to Alexandria, 7 cases of silk cloth *(pani de seda).* The Beirut galleys of 1502 had 10 cases of silk cloth; the galleys sailing to Alexandria in 1503 had 3 cases of silk cloth and one of gold cloth. The Alexandria galleys of 1510 had 2 cases of silk cloth whereas those of 1512 had 15 cases with silk and gold cloth. At the beginning of the sixteenth century there were as many as one thousand silk looms in Venice: Luzzatto, *Storia economica,* 176. See also Luca Molà, *The Silk Industry of*

mentions silk cloths worn by Mamluk amirs as being of Rūmī, that is European, origin.[79] We can partly overcome the succinct character of our lists with the help of the report on gifts presented in 1489–90 by the Venetian ambassador to Mamluk officials, which included luxurious silk cloths,[80] and also with the help of Paxi´s *Tariffa,* mentioning, for the Alexandria market, damask *(damaschi),* velvet *(veludi),* and cloth of gold *(panni d´oro)* and of silver *(panni d´arzento).*[81] For Damascus Paxi provides a slightly different and more detailed list, probably reflecting the tastes of local clients: to Damascus, the Venetians sent, besides damask and velvet, also gold brocade, *campo d´oro,* and silver brocade.[82]

Another category of luxury items included furs. We know, for example, from al-Maqrīzī´s writings that during his times, Egyptians of both sexes, especially but not exclusively Mamluks, used to ornament their clothing with furs of different sorts. The bestowal by the sultan of robes lined with expensive furs was customary as a reward for service, confirmation of an elite status, reconciliation, and restoration.[83] Another indication of the special interest of Mamluks in furs is the fact that they were exempt from customs dues when imported to Alexandria.[84] This weakness for Western furs seems to have been well known in Venice, for when Venetian ambassadors came to Egypt to negotiate with the Mamluks they brought along with them great amounts of furs to be presented to the sultan and his officials.[85] Our cargo lists mention sables *(zebellini)* and vairs *(vari),* which according to Paxi´s book were imported either raw or dressed.[86] To these we may

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Renaissance Venice: The Challenge of Innovation in a Mercantilist Economy 1450–1600 (Baltimore-London, 2000).

[79]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:3:369.

[80]*Ambasciata straordinaria,* 78–83.

[81]Paxi, *Tariffa,* 48r–48v.

[82]Ibid., 54r. For Aleppo and Tripoli, see ibid., 56v.

[83]Ibid., 168–69, 369; Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* 14, 19, 23, 25; Petry, ″Robing Ceremonials,″ 363–64, 367–70.

[84]Paxi, *Tariffa,* 50.

[85]In 1489, Ambassador Pietro Diedo brought along 3,000 pieces of vairs and 80 of sables: *Ambasciata straordinaria*, 79. In 1512, Ambassador Domenico Trevisan brought as presents 120 sables, 4,500 vairs, and 400 ermines: Jehan Thenaud, *Le voyage d´outremer . . . 1512 suivi de la relation de l´ambassade de Domenico Trevisan au Soudan d´Egypte,* ed. Charles Schefer (Paris, 1884), 187.

[86]The 1500 Beirut galleys had 2 cases of marten´s furs and 3 of vairs; those sailing to Alexandria in the same year had 4 cases containing *″zebelini armilini″* and 2 containing vairs; the 1502 Beirut galleys had 9 barrels of vairs; the 1503 Alexandria galleys carried 8 barrels of vairs; the 1511 Alexandria galleys had 2 cases of marten furs and 19 of vairs; and the Beirut galleys of 1513 had 4 barrels of vairs, one case of ermines, and one of sables.

add common marten furs *(martore),* stone marten [=beech marten] furs *(fuine),* and ermines *(ermellini),* mentioned in Paxi′s manual among goods imported to Alexandria. It would be useful to identify the kinds of furs imported by the Venetians with those mentioned by al-Maqrīzī.[87] Vair *(varo)* must correspond to *sinjab,* whereas ermine *(ermellino)* probably corrsponds to *qamāqin* (=mod. Arabic: *qāqūm*?). Sable *(zibellino)* is normally translated as *sammūr,* but the same Arabic term is also given as a translation for common marten *(martone).*[88] *Fuina* denotes stone marten fur, though Dozy suggested that it was beaver fur, corresponding to al-Maqrīzī′s *qirḍ aswad,* or *qundus*.[89] *Washaq,* another sort of fur mentioned by al-Maqrīzī, seems to be lynx fur. If it denotes European lynx and not the Middle Eastern caracal, it is not clear to which sort of furs mentioned in Venetian sources it corresponds.

Hats are also encountered on board ships sailing to Alexandria. Our lists include both *capelli* and *barete,* which seem to represent two different kinds of headgear.[90] Venetian hat manufacturing seems to have undergone an impressive expansion around the turn of the sixteenth century. According to a petition presented by the hatters to the Venetian government in 1506, the number of workshops producing headgear in Venice had risen within a few years from 5 to over 80.[91] Was this impressive expansion somehow related to a demand for Venetian hats in Mamluk territories? Were the green, blue, and red hats mentioned by al-Maqrīzī as being fashionable in his times imported by the Venetians?[92]

A kind of textile not intended for clothing, but often exported to Egypt and Syria, is hemp cloth (*canevaza,* pl. *canevaze*). This coarse material was produced in Venice from hemp grown around Montagnana, in the Venetian mainland.[93] It served particularly the Venetians themselves, for preparing sacks and packages for goods exported by them westwards. This was especially important for the exportation of raw cotton and cotton thread, shipped in great quantities from Syria

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[87]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:3:168–69.

[88]Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* 23; Rāshid Barrāwī, *Qāmūs al-Nahḍah al-ʻArabīyah* (Cairo, 1983), 674, 968; Reinhart Pieter Anne Dozy, *Dictionnaire detaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845), 358–59.

[89]Dozy, *Dictionnaire detaillé,* 328.

[90]The galleys sailing to Alexandria in 1503 had nine bales of *capelli* on board; those sailing there in 1510 had 21 cases of *barete,* and the ones sailing to the same port in 1511 carried 12 cases of *barette.*

[91]Judde de Larivière, ″Entre bien public et intérêt privés,″ 354–55.

[92]See al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:3:168–69. On Mamluk headgear, see Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* 27–32.

[93]Frederic C. Lane, ″The Rope Factory and Hemp Trade in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries,″ in *Venice and History,* 373–74 (originally published in *Journal of Economic and Business History* 4 (1932): 830–47.

and Palestine on board Venetian vessels.[94]

Various glass products, originating from Venice′s famous glass manufacturies at Murano,[95] were also common on board Venetian ships sailing to the Mamluk Sultanate.[96] Michael Rogers wrote that by the fifteenth century the Mamluk market had already been enslaved to Venetian glass exports, and our cargo lists seem to corroborate this statement.[97] Among the goods imported to Damascus and Tripoli, Paxi′s manuals mentions ″common glass″ *(veri comuni),* rosaries *(paternostri)* made of yellow glass, and glass crystal *(veri cristalini).*[98] Among those imported to Alexandria, Rimondo′s ″Tarifa″ makes reference to ″glass for mirrors″ *(veri da spechio)* and to ″worked glass″ *(veri lavoradi).*[99] Vases made of glass crystal also seem to have been in demand in the Mamluk lands.[100]

The term *veri cristalini,* or *cristal[l]i,* as it appears on our cargo lists, is worthy of some further comment. The word *cristalli* had manifold meanings in Italian writings of the early modern period. It could denote products made of rock crystal or of glass crystal, as well as of mirrors, phials, lenses, drinking glasses, glass panes, and even saltpeter.[101] However, in the late fifteenth century Venetian context, *cristallino* or *cristallo* were terms used to denote a special kind of high-quality colorless and transparent imitation of rock-crystal, invented in Venice during the second half of the fourteenth, and further improved during the first half of the fifteenth, century.[102] The term *Veri cristal[l]ini* seems to have denoted

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[94]The ship wrecked in 1499 had 2 *ruotoli* of canvas on board: Arbel ″Attraverso il Mediterraneo,″ 113. The Beirut galleys sailing in November 1502 had 85 *baloni* of canvas on board; the Alexandria galleys of 1503 had 3 *balle;* and the Beirut galleys of 1513—10 *ruotoli.* Cf. Ashtor, ″L′exportation,″ 367–69.

[95]On the Murano glass industry, see particularly Luigi Zecchin, *Vetro e vetrai di Murano: Studi sulla storia del vetro* (Venice, 1987–90); Rosa Barovier Mentasti et al., ed., *Mille anni di arte del vetro a Venezia* (Venice, 1982); Rosa Barovier Mentasti, *Il vetro veneziano* (Milan, 1982).

[96]The ship wrecked in 1499 carried 6 barrels of rosaries: Arbel, ″Attraverso il Mediterraneo,″ 113. The Alexandria galleys of 1500 carried 3 cases of *christalli;* the Beirut galleys of 1502 had 11 barrels of rosaries and 5 cases of *lavori de cristalo.* The galleys sailing to Alexandria in 1503 carried 12 cases of glass products; the 1510 Alexandria galleys had 3 cases of *cristali* and those of 1511 had 85 cases of glass rosaries. The Beirut galleys of 1513 had 4 cases of glass products *(veri)* and 20 of rosaries.

[97]Rogers, ″To and Fro,″ 68, n. 16.

[98]See Paxi, *Tariffa,* 54r–54 v, 108r.

[99]Ibid., 56v; Rimondo, ″Tarifa,″ fols. XVIII, XLIV.

[100]On arrival at Jaffa in July 1480, the captain of the Venetian pilgrims′ galley sent vases made of glass crystal *(vasi christalini)* to the *dawādār* of Damascus, to ensure favorable treatment of the pilgrims. See Santo Brasca, *Viaggio in Terrasanta,* ed. L. Momigliano Lepschy (Milan, 1966), 63.

[101]Battaglia, *Grande dizionario,* 3:980–82.

[102]Luigi Zecchin, ″Il ′Vetro cristallino′ nelle carte del Quattrocento,″ in his *Vetro e vetrai di*

various objects made of crystal glass, as can be inferred from a commercial letter sent to the Levant in March and April 1511, announcing the shipment of two cases of *veri cristalini,* one containing 1,000 *stagnaele* and 30 *angistere* and the other one containing 1,000 *stagnaele* and 40 *angistere* with a stem and a gilded rim *(da pé con la bocca indorata)*—all terms designating different sorts of glassware.[103] The same passage also helps us to get an idea about the quantities of products contained in those ″cases″ mentioned in our cargo lists.

Al-Maqrīzī′s description of Cairo, as well as a series of letters sent in 1512 by Martino Merlini, a Venetian merchant in Venice, to his brother and business partner Giambattista, then residing in Syria, help us clarify the nature of those *cristalli,* and also shed some light on Mamluk consumption of Venetian luxury products. From al-Maqrīzī′s work we learn that during his times crystal *(ballūr)* was used as a status symbol by the upper classes of Mamluk society. For example, brides of prominent families were traditionally presented with a sort of bed or divan called *dikkah,* which was paraded in the streets of Cairo. Al-Maqrīzī mentions a granddaughter of one of the sultans who received as a wedding present such a *dikkah* made of crystal, on which there were other precious objects, such as a crystal vessel painted with figures of birds and animals.[104]

Martino Merlini′s commercial correspondence is of great interest in many respects. It reveals the *modus operandi* of the Venetian entrepreneur who encouraged his brother to carry out a thorough market research concerning the demand for what he called ″*lavori di cristalo smaltadi,*″ that is, enameled crystal objects. Giambattista was required to send to his brother (most probably his elder brother) a detailed report concerning the types of such merchandise which were mostly sought after in Syria, to find out who and what kind of people possessed them, as well as to specify the kinds and quantities of such products in their possession. He was also encouraged to address one of the amirs and ask him what kind of new product he would like to have, and to send to Martino a model made of wood, or a drawing of the same, so that the expert manufacturer of these crystal objects,

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Murano, 1:229–33; David Jacoby, ″Raw Materials for the Glass Industries of Venice and the Terraferma, about 1370–about 1460,″ *Journal of Glass Studies* 35 (1993): 86–87.

[103]Giovanni Dalla Santa, ″Commerci, vita privata e notizie politiche dei giorni della Lega di Cambrai (da lettere del mercante veneziano Martino Merlini),″ *Atti dell′Istituto Veneto*, series 9, vol. 1 (t. 76), part 2 (1916–17): 1575, note. The term *Angistere (Angastare, inghistere, angastera)* denoted a spherically-shaped bottle with a long narrow neck; see Luigi Zecchin, ″I primi cristalli muranesi in Oriente,″ in his *Vetro e Vetrai*, 1:244; idem, ″Vetrerie muranesi dal 1276 al 1482,″ ibid., 3:5; idem, ″Cesendelli, Inghistere, moioli,″ ibid., 3:162–65; Harold Newman (with additions by P. V. Albonico), *Dizionario del vetro* (Milan, 1993), 18; Brovier Mentasti, *Il vetro veneziano,* 44. *Stagnaele* could denote drinking glasses made of opaque white glass (worked with tin oxide).

[104]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:3:171.

Vetor di Anzoli, could produce it back in Murano.

In another letter of the same year, Martino asked his brother to acquire a suit of Mamluk armor, and if he were unable to do so, to bring with him to Venice a model made of leather or cloth and a drawing of the same. Merlini intended to produce, with the help of Vetor de Anzoli, whom he described as ″the one who makes the most beautiful crystal artifacts sent to that land″ (i.e., the Mamluk Sultanate), a suit of armor made of crystal, with a helmet made of enameled silver, and possibly also inlaid with precious stones. Such a product, Martino wrote ironically, would not be fit for defense, but would be a magnificent and unique piece that could be worn by a sultan′s slave in a parade,[105] ″as is the habit among the Mamluks to parade their beautiful crystal artifacts, such as saddles, breastplates or corsets, and scimitars, which have no other use than adornment.″[106] Martino was hoping to draw a profit amounting to one thousand ducats from such an affair, and he also encouraged his brother to find a way of convincing the Safavid ruler of Persia to acquire a similar artifact, which would raise the profit to about three or four thousand ducats.[107] Martino′s reference to crystal saddles is confirmed by Ibn Iyās′s description of the procession organized by Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī on 15 Rabīʻ al-Ākhar 922/17 May 1516, when leaving Cairo for his battle against the Ottomans.[108] Briefly, Mamluk sultans and amirs seem to have been the clients of these expensive and extravagant glass-crystal artifacts, representing wedding gifts or different instruments of Mamluk horsemanship, produced especially for this market in Venice′s glass manufactories at Murano, and shipped, alongside other glass products, to Egypt and Syria on board the state galleys. As a matter of fact, objects made of glass crystal were often decorated with elaborate trailing, with enamelling and gilding and with filigree decoration.[109]

Coral of the red, black, and white sorts, originating in the western Mediterranean, could also often be found on board these ships.[110] The most important sources of

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[105]″vestir uno schiavo che vadi davanti el soldan per una ponpa e zentileza.″

[106]″chome i uxano portar dele altre belle chosse in destra, chome xè le selle, e i torsi e samitare, che è fate de cristalo, le qual non se adoperano in altro salvo che in adornamento.″

[107]Dalla Santa, ″Commerci,″ 1566–69; also cited in Zecchin, ″Il vetro muranese negli scritti del Cinquecento,″ in his *Vetro e vetrai di Murano,* 1:234. On Mamluk armor and arms, see Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* 37–48.

[108]Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Iyās al-Ḥanafī, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʼiʻ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 1984), 5:41 (″surūj balūr muzzayak [muzzayan?] bi-dhahab″).

[109]Zecchin, ″Il ′Vetro cristallino,′″ 232 *(lavori cristallini da dorar e da smaltar);* idem, ″Cristallini dorati e smaltati,″ in his *Vetro e vetrai,* 3:109–13, with a photo (p. 113) of a late fifteenth-century enamelled cup produced in Venice and found in Syria; Harold Newman, *An Illustrated Dictionary of Glass* (London, 1977), 81, 327; idem, *Dizionario del vetro,* 113.

[110]The galleys of 1496 left 36 cases of coral in Alexandria. The Beirut galleys of 1498 carried 11

Mediterranean coral were off the shores of the kingdom of Tunisia, Sardinia, Corsica, Sicily, Provence, and Liguria. The best and probably richest source was the Tunisian one off Marsá al-Kharaz (today in Algeria), and its main clients were in the Mamluk Levant. From the 1430s until the 1460s the Tunisian coral fisheries were dominated by the Genoese, but from the 1470s the Venetians succeeded in breaking the Genoese monopoly on the lease of coral extraction in Tunisian waters. The shipment of coral and coral products on Venetian vessels to Mamluk lands during the last decades of the fifteenth century was therefore linked to a direct involvement of Venetians in the extraction of this natural product in the area considered to produce its best quality. Yet, although there were also coral artisans in Venice, part of the coral products shipped on board Venetian galleys to Egypt and Syria seems to have originated from other sources of supply.[111]

Paxi's commercial manual mentions four different sorts of coral brought by Venetians to Alexandria—*coralli in brancha* (coral twigs), *toro* (probably polished coral), *bastardo* (broken pieces of coral), and *zoppe,* a term whose significance remains unclear.[112] A substantial part of these materials seems to have been imported as rosary beads, called *bottoni de coralli,* which, as he specifies, were beads *(pater nostri)* that were supposed to be round and thick *(tondi e grossi)* and above all, have a good color.[113] Paxi's remark that such beads were being acquired in great quantities in Genoa and Sicily indicates that the Venetian grasp of Tunisian coral did not exclude the possibility of acquiring coral products for the Mamluk markets from other sources. Besides, although the Venetians enjoyed a hegemony in Mamluk western trade, other entrepreneurs could also take part in this field, as exemplified in a contract for the sale of coral artifacts in Cairo, stipulated in 1482 between two Neapolitans (one of whom was a jeweler).[114] Such alternative sources of supply must have grown in importance after the retreat of the Venetians from

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cases of coral; the Beirut galleys of 1500 carried 17 cases of coral, and those sailing that year to Alexandria carried 9 cases of coral. The galleys sailing to Alexandria in 1503 carried one case of coral; the 1511 Alexandria galleys had 4 cases of coral beads; the Beirut galleys of 1513 carried 13 cases of coral, 19 of coral beads, and 5 of a similar product.

[111]On the geography and history of coral fisheries in the fifteenth-century Mediterranean, see Giovanni Tescione, *Italiani alla pesca del corallo ed egemonie marittime nel Mediterraneo* (Naples, 1940), xlviii–lvii, 35–60; Bernard Doumerc, "Le corail d'Ifriqiya à la fin du Moyen-Âge," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 19/B (1983): 9–12; Damien Coulon, "Un élément clef de la puissance commerciale catalane: le trafic du corail avec l'Egypte et la Syrie (fin du XIVe–début du XVe siècle)," *Al-Masāq* 9 (1996–97): 99–149. On Venetian production of coral artifacts, see Luzzatto, *Storia economica,* 183.

[112]Paxi, *Tariffa,* 47r. Paxi once refers explicitly to *coralli barbareschi;* see ibid., 54v.

[113]Ibid., 43r, 47r, 48v.

[114]Tescione, *Italiani,* 45.

direct exploitation of the Tunisian coral reefs around the turn of the sixteenth century.[115]

Besides rosaries, jewelry, and talismans, coral was widely used in the Islamic world for medical purposes, as a collyrium against eye diseases, against hemorrhage and blockage of the urinary tract, and against epilepsy and mental illnesses. The broken coral imported by the Venetians could have served for such therapeutic purposes. Coral was also widely used as an amulet against various troubles, such as snake bites and malaria, and was believed to be an aphrodisiac.[116]

Amber, which also seems to have enjoyed a regular demand in Mamluk markets, came from the Baltic regions, and reached Venice either through German merchants active in the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi,* or on board the Flanders galleys.[117] Fifteenth-century Venice was famous for its artistic works of amber,[118] and at least part of the cargoes exported to Syria and Egypt must have included such artistic artifacts.[119] Cairo had a special amber market, and according to al-Maqrīzī, even commoners used to wear amber necklaces and ornament their homes with amber objects.[120] Yet it is possible that amber, like coral, was also shipped eastward as a raw material, since it also served medical purposes. Amber was believed to be effective as a hemostatic and astringent, and in solving problems of the urinary tract. It was also used to prevent vomiting and against hemorrhoids, as well as for curing broken bones.[121]

Two more typical industrial products made in Venice and its mainland territories

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[115]Doumerc, ˝Le corail d´Ifriqiya,˝ 482.

[116]A. Dietrich, ˝Mardjān,˝ *EI*[2]*,* 6:556a; al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkarat Ūlī al-Albāb,* 1:75; Tescione, *Italiani,* xxxv.

[117]Paxi refers to ˝ambra fina de Fiandra˝ among goods imported to Alexandria: *Tariffa,* 43r. Venetian merchants in Syria distinguished between ˝amber from Lübeck,˝ or ˝amber of the fontego,˝ and ˝amber from Bruges˝: *Documenti per la storia economica dei secoli XIII–XVI,* ed. Federico Melis (Florence, 1972), 186 (letter from Damascus, 1484); Vallet, *Marchands vénitiens,* 297, 300–1.

[118]Luzzatto*, Storia economica,* 183.

[119]The Beirut galleys of 1498 carried 7 bales of worked amber, and 12 bales of raw amber (Malipiero mentions only the latter in barrels). The ship wrecked in 1499 carried one barrel of amber: Arbel, ˝Attraverso il Mediterraneo,˝ 113. The Beirut galleys of 1502 had 9 barrels of amber products *(ambra lavorata)* and 3 more of raw amber; the 1511 Alexandria galleys had 2 cases of amber.

[120]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:3:166–67. For further data and comments, see Ibn Iyās, *Journal d´un bourgeois du Caire,* tr. and ed. Gaston Wiet (Paris, 1955), 1:289–90 and n. 1.

[121]M. Plessner, ˝Kahrubā,˝ *EI*[2]*,* 4:445b; al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkarat Ūlī al-Albāb,* 1:276–77. On amber originating from the Far East and the Indian Ocean, see Floréal Sanagustin, ˝Parfums et pharmacologie en Orient médiéval: savoirs et représentations,˝ in *Parfums d´Orient,* ed. Rika Gyselen (Bures-sur-Yvette, 1998), 191–92.

respectively were soap and paper, also encountered on board galleys and ships sailing to the lands of the Mamluks. The solid white Venetian soap was made of olive oil from Venetian colonies in Greece and alkali ashes imported from Syria. Paxi calls these soaps "*savoni bianchi da navegar*," indicating that they were mainly produced for exportation.[122] To have an idea on quantities of this product exported eastward, we may use the example of a few shipments for which the weight is provided by our sources. The galleys of 1496 brought 200 *miera* (60 tons) of soap to Alexandria and in 1511, our sources mention two shipments to Alexandria, both carried out by the same merchant: the first of 11,701 kg, and the second (on another galley of the same *muda*) of 5,279 kg.[123] In other words, a single Venetian merchant shipped about 17 tons of soap to Alexandria in a single *muda*.[124]

Paper shipments from Venice to Mamluk territories also seem to have been quite regular.[125] This also was undoubtedly a product of Venetian industries in the mainland territories of the republic.[126] The examination of water-marks has shown that during the Ottoman period, paper used in Egypt was to a great extent of Venetian origin,[127] and it is most likely that the preponderance of Venetian importations of this material had already begun under the Mamluks.

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[122]Paxi, *Tariffa,* 46v.

[123]Braudel and Tenenti, "Michiel da Lezze," 71. The quantities are given in Venetian *lire sottili.* The first shipment had 38,875 net *lire* and the second—17,540. The Venetian *lira sottile* was equivalent to 0.301 kg: Paxi, *Tariffa,* 49v, and Tucci, *Lettres d'un marchand vénitien*, 354. These soaps were packed in sacks, whereas the cargo list of the same galleys included in Sanudo's diary mentions only soap in cases *(casse).* Cf. Appendix A.

[124]More information on soap shipments: the galleys sailing to Alexandria in 1498 had 573 sacks of soap and those sailing there in 1500 had 62 cases of soap on board. In 1503 the galleys brought 378 cases of soap to Alexandria; the 1511 Alexandria galleys had 602 cases of soap on board.

[125]The ships wrecked in 1499 carried altogether 10 bales of paper belonging to two different merchants: Arbel, "Attraverso il Mediterraneo," 113. The galleys sailing to Beirut in 1500 carried 42 bales of paper; the Alexandria galleys of 1503 carried 23 bales of paper; the 1510 Alexandria galleys had 8 paper bales on board. See also Luzzatto, *Storia economica,* 180, and for evidence on earlier years of the fifteenth century: Eliyahu Ashtor, "The Venetian Supremacy in Levantine Trade: Monopoly or Pre-Colonialism?," *Journal of European Economic History* 3 (1974): 26, n. 85.

[126]Michela dal Borgo, "Cinque secoli di produzione cartacea nei territori della Repubblica di Venezia," in *Charta: Dal papiro al computer,* ed. Giorgio Raimondo Cardona (Milan, 1988), 180–87; Ivo Mattozzi, "Il distretto cartaio dello stato veneziano: Lavoro e produzione nella valle del Toscolano dal XIV al XVIII secolo," in *Cartai e stampatori a Toscolano: Vicende, uomini, paesaggi di una tradizione produttiva,* ed. Carlo Simon (n.p., 1995), 23–65.

[127]Ugo A. Zanetti, "Filigranes vénitiens en Egypte," in *Studi albanologici, balcanici, bizantini e orientali in onore di Giuseppe Valentini* (Florence, 1986), 437–99.

The importation of soap and paper, as well as of sugar (imported from Cyprus), was mentioned by Ashtor as a reflection of the decline of Levantine industries that had produced these items in the past.[128] Although it can be shown that soap was still produced in the late fifteenth century in Syria,[129] no such evidence exists, to the best of my knowledge, for paper, and the imported quantities cited above, especially in the case of soap, may support Ashtor´s claim.

Spices, dyes, pigments, perfumes, and drugs normally traveled westward, but a few such products of western provenance were nearly always to be found on board Venetian ships sailing eastward. Such is the case of saffron, originating, according to de´ Paxi, from the region around L´Aquila in the Abruzzo.[130] It served for cooking, for medical purposes, for cosmetics, for dyeing, and even for perfume, and must have had special importance considering Mamluk preference for the yellow color.[131] An Egyptian chronicler records how in 855/1451, while celebrating the rise of the Nile, Egyptians happily threw saffron at one another.[132] This habit could have continued in later years, encouraging further importation by the Venetians. Other dyes often shipped to these lands were realgar (*risegallo*, or *sandarac*), the red pigment or varnish that could be produced artificially but which, apparently, was also extracted from the raisin of the Moroccan *callitris quadrivalvis;*[133] *sbiacca,* a carbonate of lead used as a white color, both as a varnish and whitewash for walls, and for paints and cosmetics;[134] and finally, what our sources call *grepola,* or *tartaro,* which seems to be a crust accumulating on the sides of wine casks, a substance that apparently was in demand in the Mamluk

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[128]Ashtor, ″The Venetian Supremacy″; idem, ″Levantine Sugar Industry in the Later Middle Ages: a Case of Technological Decline,″ in *The Islamic Middle East, 700–1900: Studies in Economic and Social History,* ed. Abraham P. Udovitch (Princeton, 1981), 91–132.

[129]On soap manufacturing at Tripoli, See Vallet, *Marchands vénitiens,* 188, based on Paxi, *Tariffa,* 44r.

[130]Armando Sapori, ″I beni del commercio internazionale nel Medioevo,″ *Archivio storico italiano* 113 (1955): 25–26; Paxi, *Tariffa,* 48r.

[131]See Henri Bresc, ″Les entrées royales des Mamlûks: Essai d´approche comparative,″ in *Genèse de l´Etat moderne en Méditéranée* (Rome, 1993), 91.

[132]Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madā al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr* (Cairo, 1990), 330.

[133]One and a half bales of saffron were shipped in 1510 to Alexandria; 12 bottles of *risegallo* were transported on the ship wrecked in 1499: Arbel, ″Attraverso il Mediterraneo,″ 113; 3 barrels of *risegalli* were sent to Alexandria in 1503; 12 cases of the same product were on board the Alexandria galleys in 1510, and 35 *risegal* packages of unspecified nature on those of 1511. J. Michael Rogers identifies realgar as the natural orange-red sulfide of arsenic (As_2S_2): Rogers, ″To and Fro,″ 70, n. 42.

[134]Battaglia, *Grande dizionario,* 2:202 *(Biacca).* In 1502 the galleys sailing to Beirut had 135 barrels containing this product.

Levant, and must have served medical purposes.[135]

The Alexandria galleys of 1510 carried 90 cases of sulfur, and Paxi's manual also mentions this material among those commonly exported from Venice to Alexandria and Damascus.[136] Sulfur was used for bleaching, for the preparation of gun-powder and fireworks, as fumigation to expel vermin from houses, and in medicine against skin diseases and stings of poisonous animals, in electuaries against fever, cough, asthma, tetanus, and dropsy, as well as in magic.[137]

Among foodstuffs shipped by the Venetians to the lands ruled by the Mamluks, a special place was reserved for chestnuts. This merchandise does not figure in our cargo lists for the simple reason that special ships were required to transport it. Such ships were even called "the chestnut ships," and they seem to have sailed from Italy to Mamluk territories on quite a regular basis. For the two last decades of the Mamluk Sultanate I have found evidence for shiploads of chestnuts sent to Syria in 1509, 1510, and 1516, but these were very likely not the only vessels used for the same purpose during those years.[138]

According to Bartolomeo de' Paxi, the best chestnuts exported to Egypt and Syria originated from the area of Bologna, the valley of Lamone, and the territory of Imola. The same author mentions, besides fresh chestnuts, also dried chestnuts, and chestnuts boiled in wine, of which only small quantities were exported eastward for obvious reasons.[139] Chestnuts seem to have mainly served as a substitute for grains in periods of scarcity. One may wonder whether the expansion of cotton fields in later medieval Syria was carried out at the expense of grain fields, thus creating periods of scarcity and necessitating resorting to substitutes of this kind.

It is remarkable to observe to what extent the information included in Paxi's commercial manual corresponds to the cargo lists of our three diarists and to other testimonies that reflect the actual operation of importations into Egypt and Syria. The cargo lists, however, are incomplete (the diarists sometimes admit it), partly, but not only, because galleys were intended for the shipment of special kinds of goods. Judging by the information included in our two commercial manuals, the range of products imported by Venetians to Mamluk lands on board different kinds of vessels was actually much wider. Appendix B includes Paxi's lists of goods imported into Damascus, Aleppo, and Tripoli, and a list of goods mentioned

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[135]See the cargo list of the Alexandria galleys in 1500, 1510, and 1511. On the meaning of the word, see Battaglia, *Grande dizionario,* 7:35.

[136]Paxi, *Tariffa,* 49r, 53v.

[137]M. Ullmann, "al-Kibrīt," *EI*^{2}, 5:88b.

[138]Sanudo, *I diarii,* 8:11 (1509); ibid., 11:740 (return of a chestnut ship in January 1511); ibid., 24: 19, 221 (the chestnut ship back in Cyprus in January, and in Venice in March 1517).

[139]Paxi, *Tariffa,* 44v–45r, 54r.

(though not listed) in his manual and in Rimondo´s ″Tarifa″ of 1494 as imported to Alexandria. Besides the products already mentioned, Paxi mentions olive oil of various provenances (from Tripoli and Tunis in Barbary, Seville, Majorca, and Puglia);[140] horse hair and pig hair *(seta de cavallo, seta de porco);*[141] Cypriot sugar; molasses *(gotare)* from Palermo;[142] honey of different provenances (Bologna, Dalmatia, Catalonia);[143] wax, originating from Ragusa;[144] Malmsey wine (most probably imported from Venetian Crete);[145] currants from Smirne;[146] mastic from Chios;[147] walnuts *(noxe)* from the Marche and hazelnuts *(noselle)* from the Kingdom of Naples;[148] [dried] figs from Venetian Dalmatia;[149] dried plums from Naples or Sicily;[150] almonds from Apulia and from Provence (especially for Damascus, in years of scarcity);[151] pine kernels *(pignoli);* cheese (most probably imported from Crete);[152] bells; fustian cloth; camlets; silk cloth known as *camocati* (probably imported from Cyprus);[153] box-tree wood; needles; thimbles;[154] antimony sulfide (*cophalo*, the Arabic *kuḥul*), a typical Catalan chemical, used in the Levant as a cosmetic and for collyrium; orpiment (arsenic trisulfide used as yellow dye) from Salonica;[155] *dragante,* a raisin brought from Greece, serving as an energizer and

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[140]Ibid., 44r, 49v; Ashtor, ″Profits,″ 253.

[141]Horse-hair *(seta de cavallo)* is also mentioned in the cargo list of the Alexandria galleys that departed from Venice in November 1500; 24 barrels of pig´s hair *(sede de porcho)* were sent on galleys to Alexandria in 1503.

[142]Paxi, *Tariffa,* 44r. For Cypriot molasses, see below, 66 and n. 168.

[143]Ibid., 46r–46v.

[144]Ibid., 44r. See also Luzzatto, *Storia economica,* 180.

[145]Benjamin Arbel, ″Riflessioni sul ruolo di Creta nel commercio mediterraneo del Cinquecento,″ in *Venezia e Creta: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Iraklion-Chanià, 30 settembre–5 ottobre 1997,* ed. Gherardo Ortalli (Venice, 1998), 249.

[146]Paxi, *Tariffa,* 46r (″from Anatolia″), 50r (″from Smirne″).

[147]Ibid., 47r.

[148]Ibid., 6r, 45v, 49v.

[149]Ibid., 3v, 46r.

[150]Ibid., 46r.

[151]Ibid., 6r, 44r, 49v. Seven barrels of almonds were on board the ship wrecked off Cyprus in 1499: Arbel, ″Attraverso il Mediterraneo,″ 113.

[152]Arbel, ″Riflessioni,″ 249.

[153]On this product, see Wilhelm Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen Age* (Leipzig, 1886): 2:697–98.

[154]A barrel of thimbles *(diziali)* was sent to Syria on board the ship wrecked off Cyprus in 1499; see Arbel, ″Attraverso il Mediterraneo,″ 113.

[155]Paxi, *Tariffa,* 44r.

refresher, in preparing a dark blue dye, and probably also as a mordant;[156] *zafari,* a dark blue cobalt-based dyestuff used for painting on glass; blue glaze *(smalta azuro),* undoubtedly for producing enameled glass;[157] *loldano (ladanum),* a Cypriot raisin used for medical purposes and for incense;[158] tinned iron wire *(filo de loton);*[159] alum, acquired in Constantinople;[160] timber from Anatolia and Rhodes;[161] tinned iron basins; and a product called *gozime,* or *gozeme,* which I have not been able to identify.[162]

Rimondo's "Tarifa" of 1494 also mentions among the goods imported to Alexandria wether wool; lead oxide *(mor da sangue); roza*, which might signify rose water; sesame; *tigname,* an aromatic bark used for incense; Barbary hides; coarse woolen cloth or blankets *(s[ch]iavine);* cotton; linen; nut-galls; and *largado,* another product which I have been unable to identify.

The fact that many of these products do not figure in our cargo lists is no proof that they were not imported to Egypt and Syria in the period under consideration. We have very little evidence on private ships active in this period, and even the cargo lists of the galleys that have been analyzed above are not comprehensive, and often include generic terms, such as *merce,* or *aver sottil,* which may comprise many of the items mentioned in the two merchant manuals.

Any discussion of Venetian importations into Mamluk lands should not omit Cyprus, which became a Venetian territory *de facto* in 1473 and *de jure* in 1489. The island, situated merely sixty miles off the Syrian coast and not very far from Egypt, was not only an important emporium and way station on the routes of Venetian ships sailing between Venice and Mamluk territories, but also a source of supply for the latter. This historical aspect of the easternmost colony of Venice is hardly known and difficult to follow. We have, however a few indications pointing to the close mercantile contacts, especially with Syria, carried out on board small local vessels, operated by Syrian Christians, who were inhabitants of Famagusta. The captain of Famagusta reported, for instance, in October 1500 that between four and six boats arrived from Syria every week with foodstuffs.[163] In

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[156]Ibid., 48r; Battaglia, *Grande dizionario,* 4:996.

[157]Paxi, *Tariffa,* 108r.

[158]Ibid., 47r.

[159]Ibid., 48v, and Appendix B at the end of the present article.

[160]Paxi, *Tariffa,* 47v–48r.

[161]Ibid., 49r.

[162]Ibid., 47v; Rimondo, "Tarifa," fol. XVIIIv.

[163]Sanudo, *I diarii,* 3:1120.

September 1502, the captain reported that boats owned by Syrians reach Cyprus on a daily basis.[164] In 1510, the governors wrote to Venice that many poor people in Cyprus depended for their living on trade with Syria.[165] This activity was carried out on small vessels, and only exceptionally left any traces in written documents, but a few archival sources allow us to get an idea about the nature of this trade, and particularly on importations from the island into Syria and Egypt. In 1504, a few Cypriots of Syrian origin complained that the Venetian consul in Damascus compelled them to pay dues on salt, sugar, honey, and molasses, which they imported into Syria, and even on cash money exported from that country.[166] Salt was indeed one of the island´s main export products, and its exportation to Syria (as also to Anatolia) was regulated by a periodical lease to private individuals.[167] In 1514, Cypriot molasses was also exported into Egypt, a piece of information corroborating the testimony of our two *Tariffe* in this regard.[168]

Contraband trade between Syria and Cyprus, as, for instance, the exportation of wheat, normally forbidden to be exported to non-Venetian territories, should also be taken into consideration, considering the relatively short distances separating the island from the shores of the Mamluk Sultanate. In 1509, for example, the governors of Cyprus reported bringing to trial exporters of 60,000 *mozza* of grains.[169] On some occasions grains were officially sold to the Mamluks, as for instance in 1513, when barley crops were abundant on Cyprus and great shipments were carried out to Syria, both by the governors and by private individuals.[170] The Venetian Council of Ten later authorized the governors of the island colony to export to Syria or Turkey up to 40–50,000 *mozza,* instructing them to prevent private individuals from competing with the public exportations.[171] Later that year the Council of Ten authorized two Venetian patricians who held in lease public estates on Cyprus to export up to 20,000 Cypriot *mozza* of barley ˝to Syria or

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[164]Ibid., 4:486.

[165]Ibid., 11:266.

[166]Ibid., 5:944.

[167]Benjamin Arbel, ˝Venetian Cyprus and the Muslim Levant, 1473–1570,˝ in *Cyprus and the Crusades,* ed. Nicolas Coureas and Jonathan Riley Smith (Nicosia, 1995), 172; reprinted in Benjamin Arbel, *Cyprus, The Franks and Venice* (Aldershot, 2000), article XII.

[168]Three vessels waited at Paphos for over three months before being able to cross over to Damietta, with a cargo of molasses ˝and other drugs,˝ finally sailing towards the end of March 1514: Archivio di Stato, Venezia (hereafter: ASV), Lettere ai Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci (hereafter: Lett. Capi X), busta 288, nos. 101–2.

[169]Ibid., fol. 69.

[170]In May 1513, 1,000 *ashrafī*s, the return of a barley shipment to Syria, were sent from Cyprus to Venice: ibid., nos. 86–88.

[171]ASV, Consiglio dei X (hereafter: X) Misti, reg. 36, fol. 63v (30 Aug. 1513).

Turkey."[172] But grains were also imported from Mamluk lands, as reported in the following year by the governors—who bought 10,000 *mozza* in Damietta and were hoping to obtain more from Syria.[173] During that summer, following a locust plague that ruined Cypriot harvests, ships loaded with Syrian wheat reached Cyprus on a daily basis, until the crisis related to Venetian contacts with Persia temporarily disrupted collaboration with the Mamluks.[174]

Since 1426, Cyprus had been paying tribute to the Mamluk sultan, and its rulers were bound to send yearly to Cairo luxury cloths, mostly produced and dyed on the island, to the value of 8,000 ducats. After taking control of the island, Venice continued to pay this tribute. The main occupation of the camlet and samite industries in Nicosia seem to have been connected to this yearly dispatch of luxury cloths to the Mamluks.[175]

Commercial contacts between Venice, Venetian Cyprus, and the Mamluk territories also had an interesting monetary consequence. Mamluk coins, such as *ashrafī*s and *maydīn*s, circulated in Cyprus, necessitating official intervention to regulate their circulation and make arrangements for evaluating those coins, which must have had different alloys and weights.[176] *Ashrafī*s are also occasionally encountered on ships sailing from Venice eastward, indicating that the circulation of Mamluk gold coins was not limited to lands ruled by the sultan and its close neighbors.[177]

Finally, one cannot disregard the role of Venetian shipping in trade between different Muslim lands, and even between different Mamluk territories. The galleys of the *trafego* line, to which we have devoted too little attention in this paper, connected the Maghreb with Egypt and Syria, and were a convenient means of transportation for Muslim traders, besides their role in the Venetian trading system. Private Venetian ships also sailed between different ports of the Muslim Mediterranean.[178] It is therefore not surprising to find in Paxi's manual, in addition

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[172]Ibid., fols. 80–80v (28 Sept. 1513).

[173]Sanudo, *I diarii,* 11:265–66. See also Arbel, "Venetian Cyprus and the Muslim Levant," 172.

[174]Sanudo, *I diarii,* 11:656.

[175]Arbel, "Venetian Cyprus and the Muslim Levant," 161–62. Following is a list of such cloths sent from Cyprus by the Venetians to the sultan as tribute (plus presents) for the two previous years (the sultan expressed his dissatisfaction about their quality): zambeloti di Cypro per presente-peze 40; zambeloti per le page-peze 582; campo d'oro-pichi 200 quarte 3; damaschini-pichi 42; Raso venitian-pichi 103; panni de lana acoloradi-pichi 318 3/4: Sanudo, *I diarii,* 5:114–15.

[176]ASV, Lett. Capi X, busta 288, no. 91 (14 Dec. 1513).

[177]Braudel and Tenenti, "Michiel da Lezze," 43 (1497), 71 (1511).

[178]E.g., Sanudo's report in mid-April 1497 about the shipwreck off Tripoli of a private vessel owned by Priamo Contarini, sailing from Alexandria to the Maghreb with merchandise belonging to Moors: Sanudo, *I diarii,* 1:605.

to olive oil imported from Barbary (Tripoli and Tunis), gold dust *(tiber)* imported likewise from Tripoli, or currants imported from Smirne, also linen, a product acquired in Alexandria, and imported by Venetians into Tripoli in Syria, and a product called *muchara,* mentioned among those imported from Damietta into the same Syrian port town.[179] The cotton mentioned in Rimondo´s manual as imported into Egypt also could have originated in Syria.

What general conclusions can be drawn from this material? The difficult political and military background certainly had negative repercussions on Venetian importations into Egypt and Syria. The Alexandria line in particular was often interrupted, and Venice´s dire straits opened new opportunities to its commercial rivals. Priuli and Sanudo noted in their diaries the activity of French and Genoese ships in the course of Venice´s war with the Ottomans in 1500 and 1501, carrying copper, woolens, corals, and specie to Syria and Egypt and exporting cotton and spices.[180] However, it does not seem that the French or the Genoese were able to replace the Venetians as the chief trading partners of Egypt and Syria on a regular and continuous basis. For example, in 1505, to cover a debt owed to him by the Venetians for forced sales of his pepper, the sultan confiscated goods belonging to Venetian merchants in Alexandria and Cairo in order to sell them in public auctions. According to merchants´ letters from Cairo, the woolens and hazelnuts thus sold enjoyed excellent prices, since shortages of certain goods had developed in the Egyptian markets following the temporary absence of Venetian ships.[181] The rich shiploads of the galleys sailing to Alexandria in 1510, which, according to Sanudo, carried goods to the value of 300,000 ducats, may also indicate that shortages of certain products had developed in Egypt during the previous two years, when no galleys had been sent eastward. Despite the difficulties, Venetians and Mamluks thus continued to depend on one another down to the end of the Mamluk Sultanate. This impression would be even stronger if we took into consideration importations on board private ships that were functioning alongside the galleys, and especially during years when galleys were not sent eastward.[182]

In view of this interdependency, a crisis in Venetian-Mamluk trade may also

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[179]See Appendices A and B-I. Could this term signify marine shells (*maḥārah*, pl. *maḥārāt*)?

[180]Priuli, *I diarii,* 1:259; ibid, 2:42–43, 65; Sanudo, *I diarii,* 3:687, 1121.

[181]Priuli, *I diarii,* 2:401.

[182]E.g., the report of the Venetian consul in Alexandria, dated 26 March 1503, on the arrival there of ″Moras´s ship,″ loaded with 240 barrels of oil, a ship loaded with copper belonging to Michiel Foscari, a *barzoto* loaded with hazelnuts, and another [Venetian?] ship with hazelnuts *(noxele)* from Sicily: Sanudo, *I diarii,* 5:34–35.

indicate a crisis in the Mamluk economy in general. Ashtor′s suggestion that Mamluk external trade in the late fifteenth century was flourishing may be erroneous, being based on rather scanty evidence. In view of the great geopolitical, commercial, and military upheavals characterizing those years, it is difficult to accept the claim that the last decades of the Mamluk Sultanate were characterized by commercial and industrial prosperity that had no precedent in the earlier Bahri Mamluk period.[183]

That does not mean the international trade became insignificant, particularly as far as local demand for certain products was concerned. Assuming that not only the cargo lists, but also the two *Tariffe,* represent a real (though quantitatively incomplete) picture of the importations into Egypt and Syria in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the number, variety, and also the value of products shipped to the Mamluk Levant is impressive indeed.

In three cases, our cargo lists contain estimates for both precious metals and other merchandise sent to Alexandria.[184] In 1486 Malipiero remarked that little money was sent to Egypt whereas the goods shipped there were evaluated by him at 230,000 ducats; in 1496, 220,000 ducats worth of gold and silver were sent to Alexandria, but 50,000 came back, which leaves us with 170,000 ducats as against 150,000 invested in goods sent to the same destination; and in 1510, according to Sanudo, only 52,000 ducats of gold and silver were sent to Egypt whereas the goods shipped there were evaluated by the diarist at no less than 300,000 ducats (including copper worth 50,000 ducats).[185] Regardless of the question of the balance of payment between Venice and the Mamluk Sultanate,[186] our diarists′ evaluations do indicate that the economic importance of goods other than gold and silver imported by Venetian merchants into Egypt (and most probably also to Syria) during those years was far from negligible. It would be, of course, hazardous to judge by these few cases, but the tendency of sending smaller amounts of specie and precious metals on the state galleys sailing eastward indicates an increase in the relative importance of other products shipped on the same vessels during the last decades of Mamluk rule,[187] and probably a growing importance of barter transactions in the East. The decline in gold and silver shipments was both a sign of economic difficulties on the Venetian side, and a grave problem for the Mamluks.

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[183]Cf. Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 510–11; Robert Irwin, ″Egypt, Syria and Their Trading Partners,″ in *Carpets of the Mediterranean Countries 1400–1550,* ed. R. Pinner and W. B. Denny (London, 1986), 78.

[184]See Appendix C.

[185]It should, however, be taken into consideration that no galleys sailed to Beirut in 1510.

[186]See R. S. Lopez, ″Il problema dei bilanci dei pagamenti nel commercio di Levante,″ in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV,* ed. Agostino Pertusi (Florence, 1973), 431–51. See also my remarks above, 43–46.

[187]See Appendix C.

It must have been relatively easier for Venetian merchants to acquire on credit in Venice goods that were meant to be sent eastward, but were they able to do the same with gold and silver? Thus, with less gold and silver arriving from the West, Mamluk capacity to finance trade with India and southeast Asia, and most likely also their ability to confront the Portuguese and the Ottomans, were restricted.[188]

Of course, some goods, particularly those that are not mentioned in the cargo lists, were probably only occasionally sent eastward, or else were shipped on board round ships, for which we have only one cargo list at our disposal. However, the fact that not a few products could be found time and again in substantial quantities on galleys and ships sailing both to Syria and Egypt point to well-established patterns of consumption of goods originating from Venice and the West, and to the dependence of the Mamluk market on Venetian importations of certain products. Among those, raw materials, especially metals, occupy a prominent place. Copper in different forms, tinned iron, tin, lead, and mercury seem to have been in constant demand both in Egypt and Syria, and this demand must have only grown when Venetian galleys were unable to reach the ports of the Mamluk Levant. It is also noteworthy that the old restrictions on provision of strategic materials to the Mamluks were ineffective, especially during years in which Venice and the papacy were at war. Indeed, such products were openly exported to the Mamluks.[189]

It has also been noted that in spite of the general crisis, luxury items for the Mamluk elite, such as silk cloth and furs, or extravagant artifacts made of glass crystal, continued to reach the ports of Egypt and Syria, but we have no way of checking whether consumption of these goods declined towards the end of the Mamluk period. Michael Rogers has claimed that ″consumers of luxuries are tenacious and imaginative in their efforts to keep up their standards of living,″[190] and it may well be the Mamluk upper classes also behaved that way despite the financial difficulties characterizing the last decades of the Mamluk Sultanate.

Luxury goods undoubtedly offered the Venetian merchants prospects for great profits, but that did not cause them to neglect other opportunities. For instance, among the woolens imported into Egypt and Syria we encounter kerseys and *grisi (grixi),* which were considered to be common cloths; rosary beads made of glass

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[188]Rogers, ″To and Fro,″ 66.

[189]In view of the huge amounts of copper shipped regularly to Egypt and Syria, the accusation brought against Michiel Foscari, reported by Sanudo in October 1503, of having shipped prohibited goods (i.e., copper) into Egypt, looks more like lip service or even a personal vendetta, rather than an indication of Venetian policy to implement the old restrictions. See Sanudo, *I diarii,* 5:162. Cf. Braunstein, ″Le commerce du fer,″ 288–89.

[190]Rogers, ″To and Fro,″ 66.

and even amber can also be considered as rather inexpensive merchandise. And an unknown portion, which could be substantial, of the above-mentioned raw materials probably found its way to small manufacturers for production of common utensils. Among the foodstuffs, chestnuts and other sorts of nuts, and occasionally grains, can also be considered as products that had a wider consumption. It would therefore not be erroneous to state that Venetian importations into Mamluk lands reached, either directly or indirectly, a considerably wide spectrum of Mamluk society.

One has also to take into consideration that at least part of the products imported by the Venetians into Egypt and Syria were re-exported to other lands. This may be the case of some of the silver, copper, tin, brass, mercury, cinnabar, woolens, dyestuffs, mastic, mirrors, beads, verdigris, and other goods for which we have evidence of exportation to India via Aden during the fifteenth and the first years of the sixteenth century.[191] According to a German merchant manual of the early sixteenth century, a merchant buying spices in Cochin was required to pay for half of it, or at least one third, in copper.[192] Part of this copper must have reached India through the lands of the Mamluks.

It is also important to note that the appearance of a certain product in a list of imported goods cannot by itself constitute sufficient proof of its scarcity in Mamluk territories. Similar products, or different sorts and qualities of the same products, could be imported and exported at the same time. This is especially true of luxury goods, which could have attracted the refined tastes of an elite clientele. For example, a small ship *(schirazo)* from Constantinople that anchored in July 1484 at Saline, in Cyprus, was said to have sailed from Damietta loaded with wheat (sold on Cyprus) and salt. But it was actually on its way to Tripoli in Syria, where soap was intended to be loaded, to be shipped to Constantinople.[193] We may surmise that both the salt and the soap concerned were local products. Soap from Tripoli was probably not expensive enough or refined enough for the tastes of certain clients in Egypt, who preferred the product imported from Venice.

Finally, it is tempting to try and compare imports into Syria with those into Egypt. As far as precious metals were concerned, it is possible that the smaller quantities of silver imported into Syria, compared with those shipped to Alexandria, have something to do with the lower value of silver in the northern territories of the Mamluk empire, where silver also arrived from Persia and central Asia.[194] However, we should not forget that a large part of the money paid for spices in

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[191]Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens,* 130; Rogers, ″To and Fro,″ 61, 63, 65–66.

[192]Braunstein, ″Le marché du cuivre,″ 91.

[193]Melis, *Documenti,* 200.

[194]Ibid., 52–53.

Alexandria was used to cover purchases of these precious goods from their importers into Egypt, whereas much of the gold and silver imported into Syria remained in the land itself, since it was invested in acquiring cotton and cotton products as well as alkali ashes for the Venetian glass and soap industries.

All shipments of Venetian soap discovered so far were made to Egypt, and none to Syria. Likewise, both Rimondo´s and Paxi´s commercial manuals mention soap among the products imported into Egypt but omit it from the list of importations into Syria. Is it because of protective measures for the soap industry at Tripoli, or was the latter competitive enough in Syria to prevent Venetian importers from trying to market their own soap there? As for woolens, it should be noted that the list of woolen cloths imported, according to de´ Paxi, into Damascus, Aleppo, and Tripoli, is longer and more diversified than the similar list referring to Alexandria. Certain kinds of silk cloth in demand in Damascus, as well as colors preferred in the Aleppo market, are also worthy of attention. However, the limited quantity of relevant data on these issues requires great caution in drawing any definitive conclusions. It is also possible, for example, that higher customs dues in Alexandria, compared to those in Syria,[195] may have played a role in merchants´ considerations as to the destinations of their shipments. In fact, rather than helping us formulate clear answers, the material presented here raises a series of questions. The data included in these few cargo lists are also insufficient for drawing any serious quantitative conclusions, especially since we do not have comparable data from the decades preceding the period treated here. They do provide, however, many elements for further research on patterns of material life and consumption during the last decades of Mamluk rule.

[195]Ashtor, ″Profits,″ 267.

APPENDIX A: CARGOES OF VENETIAN GALLEYS SAILING TO BEIRUT AND ALEXANDRIA, 1495–1513, ACCORDING TO THE DIARISTS MALIPIERO, PRIULI, AND SANUDO

I–II. AUGUST 1495: INFORMATION ON THE GALLEYS TRAVELING TO ALEXANDRIA AND BEIRUT

Le gallie de Alexandria, che sono quatro, et da Barutto altrettante, partirono nel mese di agosto secondo il consueto et piui riche assai di quello che cadauno pensava, che per le guerre et angarie accadute pensavanno non dovesseno andar si riche; quelle de Alexandria de contantti ducati 190,000, rami in pani mura [*sic,* should be *miera*] 1,100, ogli botte 500, le galee da Baruto richissime al´uxato et alttri danari et robe assai, che non si pol chusì dirle, perché non se intende la veritade.

Priuli, *I diarii,* 1:30

III–IV. 1496: INFORMATION ON CARGOES SENT TO ALEXANDRIA AND BEIRUT

Nonostante che in 18 mesi sia sta´ messo quatordese decime a Monte Nuovo e sie perse ai Governadori, è sta´ manda´ in Alessandria su queste galie 220,000 ducati e a Barutho 120,000, senza quei che è sta´ mandai in Soria per le nave . . .
. . . galie d´Alessandria . . . torna in drio 50,000 ducati de contadi; e dise che resta in Alessandria 1,000 bote de ogio, 10,000 cantera de rami e 200 miera de saoni, 36 casse de corali e altre merce, in tutto per cento e cinquantamile ducati . . .

Malipiero, ˝Annali,˝ 629, 634–35

V–VI. 1497: PRECIOUS METALS SENT TO THE EAST

A 22 d´Avosto [1497] è sta´ manda´ con le quattro galie d´Alessandria tresentomile ducati de contadi senza le merce; e a Baruthi sessantamile. Non se ha possudo haver arzenti in pezza, che è sta´ pagadi cinque ducati e vinti un grosso la marca; et è sta´ fatto gran quantità de moneda; e per questo, è abondantia de monede forestiere: testoni de Milan, da trenta soldi l´un; Bolognesi, Ferraresi, Mantoani; carlini papali da 12 e da 20; e de bezzi di Alemagna.

Malipiero, ˝Annali,˝ 640

VII–VIII. SUMMER 1498: CARGOES OF THE GALLEYS SAILING TO ALEXANDRIA AND BEIRUT

A. MALIPIERO´S REPORT

El cargho delle galie che va in Alessandria, è de contadi dusentomile ducati, settanta una bala de pani, mile e cento coffe de rame, cinquecento e settanta tre sachi de saoni; e quelle che va a Baruthi, sessanta mile ducati de contadi, quattrocento e disdotto bale de pani, cento e sessantaquattro coffe de rami, dodese barili de ambra, sessantatre barili de banda, vintisette casse de cenapri, sessanta tre bojoli de argento vivo.

Malipiero, ″Annali,″ 646

B. PRIULI´S REPORT

AUGUST 1498: CARGO LIST OF THE BEIRUT GALLEYS, CAPTAIN GABRIEL BARBARIGO, AND OF THE ALEXANDRIA GALLEYS, CAPTAIN PIETRO LANDO

Ali XII detto de agosto se partì tutte le gallie deli viagii, zoè le ultime, et per lettere da Puola se intende le gallie da Baruto aver tra argenti et ongari a nolo de gallia duc. 55,000 et in cassa de marchadanti et tanse ducati 15,000, in tuto ducati 70,000 de contanti, pani per Soria balle 418, rami in pani coffe 164, stagni fardi 22, corali casse 11, ambra lavorata bale 7, ambra greza balle 12, zenabrii C.i 27, argenti vivi C.i 35, et altre simile cosse et marchadantie al uxato che ogni anno se manda.

Le gallie de Alexandria hano tra argenti e monede et venetiani ducati 190,000 a nollo di gallia et in cassa de marchadanti et tanse duc. 50,000, in tutto duc 240,000 de contanti, benché se judicha sia stato molto piui, perché sempre se dice de menno *[sic]* per el pagar del nolo. Rami in pani coffe 1,168, piombi pr. 55, banda larga fassi 71, et altre merchadantie, che solenno andar ogni anno pani balle 71.

Priuli, *I diarii,* 1:94

IX. NOVEMBER 1500: CARGO LIST OF THE GALLEYS OF BEIRUT, CAPTAIN MARINO DA MOLIN

Panni	bal. 400	Rami in verga per Alexandria	c. 51
Zenabrii	c. 256	Zebellini	c. 2
Stagni	ff. 112	Pani d´oro et de seda	c. 6
Banda raspa´	bl. 18	Vere per Famagosta	c. 2
Piombi	m. 32	Merze	c. 24
Argenti vivi per Alexandria	bl. 248	Velli	c. 1
Rami in pam	c. 354	Chanevaze	r. 22

Per Cipro Famagosta

Chanevaze	r. 30	Ambra	bl. 13
Fero	f. 10	Coralli	c. 17
Grisci	r. 12	Sarze	bl. 9
Pani	bl. 25	Cartte	bl. 42
Merze	f. 3	Rami lavorati	bl. 9
Chorezuoli	bl. 1	Vari	3
Banda larga	f. 48	Aver di cassa a nollo	50,000
Fil de rame	f. 33	Aver di cassa per Zipro	10,000

Priuli, *I diarii,* 2:74

X. NOVEMBER 1500: CARGO LIST OF THE GALLEYS OF ALEXANDRIA, CAPTAIN ALVIXE ZORZI

Rami in pam	chofe 1,234	Seta de cavalo	c. 2
Rami in verga	c. 40	Choralli	c. 9
Rami lavorati	c. 30	Zebelini armilini	c. 4
Fil de rame	c. 28	Vari	c. 2
Banda larga	ff. 50	Pani de seda	c. 7
Zenabri	casse 307	Christalli	c. 3
Saponi	c. 62	Aver di cassa a nolo duc.	100,000
Pani	bl. 133	Aver di cassa di	
Gripolla	bl. 9	marchadanti d´avixo duc.	40,000

Priuli, *I diarii,* 2:74

XI–XII. OCTOBER 1501: CARGOES OF THE GALLEYS SAILING TO ALEXANDRIA AND BEIRUT

Il charigo dele gallie de Alexandria, che partironno a questi giorni fo ducati 80,000 a nolo et ducati 40,000 in cassa di marchadanti, in tutto ducati 120,000 di contadi; rami in pam miera 800, tutti in una persona deli Agostini dal Bancho. Altre sorte de merze al´uxatto.

Il charigo dele gallie da Barutti che partironno a qusti giorni fo tra nollo di gallia et cassa de marchadanti de contadi ducati 18,000, per Rodi ducati 8,000 venetiani di zecha, panni balle 330, stagni fassi 130, rami in pam et altre sorte merze al´uxato.

Priuli, *I diarii,* 2:183

XIII. November 1502: Cargo List of the Galleys of Beirut, Captain Pollo Vallaresso

Pani	bl. 560	Pani de seda	casse 10
Rami in pani	chase 233	Carpette	bl. 3
Rami lavorati	chasse 5	Paternostri	barili 11
Fil di rame	fassi 12	Lavori de cristalo	casse 5
Sarze	balle 12	Merze	casse 13
Telle	balle 11	Aver sotil	casse 7
Canevaze	baloni 85	Sbiacha	barili 135
Vari	botte 9	Aver di cassa per Rodi duc.	5,000
Ambra lavorata	bl. 9	Aver di cassa a nollo duc.	25,000
Ambra greza	bl. 3	Aver di cassa di marcadanti	5,000

Per Corfu

Pani	bl. 22	Velli	casse 13
Capelli	bl. 5	Grixi	rodoli
Savoni	casse 11		11

Priuli, *I diarii,* 2:254

XIV. March 1503: Cargo List of Alexandria Galleys, Captain Sebastian Moro

Rami in pani	chasse 2463	Vari	casse 12
Rami in verga	fassi 188	Merze	casse 3
Rami lavorati	balle 76	Rixegelli	bl. 3
Filo di rame	fassi 24	Capelli	bl. 9
Stagni	fassi 182	Pani de seda	cassete 3
Banda larga	fassi 282	Pani d´oro	cassetta 1
Arzenti vivi	barili 60	Corallo	cassa 1
Zenabrii	barili 78	Canevaze	bl. 3
Savoni	casse 378	Aver di cassa a nollo	
Pani	bl. 127	per duc.	70,000
Vaio	botte 8	Aver di cassa de marchadanti	
Sede de porcho	barili 24	per duc.	30,000
Carte	bl. 23		

Priuli, *I diarii,* 2:255

XV. OCTOBER 1503: CARGOES OF ALEXANDRIA GALLEYS, CAPTAIN PANGRATIO GIUSTINIAN

Le gallie de Alexandria etiam questo anno andoronno al suo viazo, et rispecto il consuetto, foronno poverissime et solamente ducati 35,000 de contadi a nolo de gallia et ducati 5,000 in chassa de marchadanti, rami cofe 268 et altre fussare; et mai per aricordo de marchadante andoronno le piui povere gallie per uno viazo in Alexandria. . . .

Priuli, *I diarii,* 2:303

XVI–XVII. 28 SEPTEMBER–3 OCTOBER 1504: DEPARTURE OF THE BEIRUT AND ALEXANDRIA GALLEYS

adi 28 settembre . . . partironno duo gallie da Venetia al viazo consuetto de Barutti, capittanio ser Antonio Morexini, cum la muda, in borssa, il suo charigo veramente pani bl. 450 et altre merze, segondo il consueto, danari in cassa, zoè aver di cassa per ducati 30,000 in zercha. . . .

[3 October] . . . se partironno a questi giorni tre gallie al viazo di Alexandria, capitanio ser Polo Calbo, cum charigo de ducati 70 mila de conttadi et coffe 500 rami in zercha, et altre droge, et panni assai; tamen fu tenuto cum veritade poverissimo viazo.

Priuli, *I diarii,* 2:355–56

XVIII. 6–15 FEBRUARY 1510: GALLEYS SAILING TO ALEXANDRIA, CAPTAIN LORENZO LOREDAN

A. GENERAL EVALUATION [6 FEB.]

In questa note partì la galia di Alexandria ultima di sora porto, patron ser Mafio Bernardo, molto richa et carga . . . Et nota dite galie di Alexandria porta de ducati 50 milia ducati di rami, e merze e panni per ducati 250 milia.

Sanudo, *I diarii,* 9:516

B. CARGO LIST [15 FEB.]

Panni di più sorte		Savoni, casse et sachi	No. 410
da Veniexia	balle 180	Rami in pan	coffe 316
Charisee	balle 100	Rami in verga,	
Panni di più sorte		barili e fardi	No. 327
di Ponente	balle 110	Zenabri	casse 44

Arzenti vivi	barili 50	Resegal	casse 12
Banda larga	fardi 89	Zafaran	balle 1 1/2
Stagni	casse 45	Cristali	casse 3
Rami lavoradi	balle 16	Carte	balle 8
Fil di rame	fardi 14	Merze	casse 15
Banda raspa´	barili 4	Panni di seda	casse 2
Piompi *[sic]*	peze 130	Aver di cassa	
Alumi	botte et casse...	d´aviso per duc.	40,000
Solfari	casse 90	Aver di cassa	
Barete	casse 21	in scrigni per duc.	10,000
Bernusi	balle 8	Traze le galie	
Gripola	casse 24	di nolo, d´aviso duc.	2,500

Sanudo, *I diarii,* 9:536–37, with a slight correction on the basis of Sanudo´s autograph manuscript in Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (Venice) MS It. VII 237 (9224), fol. 34v [*resegal,* instead of *Zisegal* in the printed edition]

XIX. 23 March 1511: Cargo List of the Alexandria Galleys, Captain Piero Michiel

A. Sanudo´s Report

Rami in verga	505	Gonele de griso	2
Rami in pam	casse 527	Paternostri de vero	casse 85
Arzenti vivi	251	Sede da cavalo	barili 1
Zenabri	casse 21	Ambra	2
Rami lavoradi	106	Panni de seda e d´oro	casse 15
Barette	casse 12	Banda raspa´	19
Pani de lana	134	Gripola	28
Vari	19	Banda larga	57
Ver de rami	casse 9	Zebelini	casse 2
Azalli	20	Piastre de laton	casse 27
Botoni di corallo	casse 4	Merze casse	
Stagni	106	Aver di nollo per cassa	
Savoni	casse 602	di merchadanti d´aviso, duc.	90,000
Risegal	35		

Sanudo, *I diarii,* 12:77–78

B. PRIULI´S REPORT

Da Puola veramente segondo il solito si hebbe il carigo delle gallie quale andavano al viagio de Alexandria, capitano ser Piero Michiel, chome apar qui a carta 119. Et haveranno al nolo tra arzenti lavorati et danari contadi ducati 90,000, et in chassa di marchadanti ducati 16,000, tuta volta se iudichava certissimamente fusseno in tuto ducati 120,000 de contadi et arzenti lavorati, quali se potevanno reputare danari . . . Et cum le sopradicte galie etiam andoronno merze assai, id est pani de piui sorte bale 234, stagni fassi 236; rami in pam choffe 250; et rami in verghe fassi 250; arzenti vivi et zenabri bogiolli 350 in zircha; et rami lavoradi et altre robe assai segondo il solito che furono stimate riche galie a questi tempi

Biblioteca del Museo Civico Correr (Venice) MS P.D. PD 252-c, vol. 6, fol. 128v

XX. SEPTEMBER 1513: SPECIE AND GOODS ON THE BEIRUT GALLEYS, CAPTAIN MARCANTONIO DA CANAL

Da sier Marco Antonio da Canal, capitanio di le galie di Baruto, date . . . a Puola. Avisa il cargo dile do galie sue, ch´è di contadi ducati 10 milia e merzi ut in poliza, e col nome di Dio fanno vela a buon viazo . . .

1513, adì 18 Septembrio, ai scogi di Puola

cargo di galie do di Baruto, capitanio sier Marco Antonio da Canal

Panni	bale 241	Botoni di coralo	casse 5
Ambra	casse 22	Botoni di coralo *[sic]*	casse 19
Vari	bote 4	Armelini	casse 1 1/2
Veri	casse 4	Zebelini	casse 1 1/2
Merze	casse 3		
Rami	C.o 77	Canevaze	ruodoli 10
Banda larga	fassi 15	Pater nostri	casse 20
Banda raspa	fassi 3	Aver sotil, zercha	ducati
Fil di rame	fassi 2		6000
Stagno fin	fassi 11	Aver di cassa	ducati
Corali	casse 13		10,000

Sanudo, *I diarii,* 17:79, 82, with slight corrections on the basis of Sanudo´s autographic manuscript in Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (Venice) MS It. VII 245 (9232), fol. 50v [concerning the numbers of cases of *Armelini* and *Zebelini*]

APPENDIX B: IMPORTATIONS INTO MAMLUK LANDS ACCORDING TO THE *TARIFFE*

I. GOODS IMPORTED INTO SYRIA ACCORDING TO BARTOLOMEO DE´ PAXI (1503)

A. PRODUCTS IMPORTED INTO DAMASCUS[196]

Arzento di bolla che sono dela liga de marzelli
Stagni in verga de Fiandra
Stagni de fontego
Arzenti vivi
Rami in pan
Piumbi
Rami tiradi in fil rosso
Fil de loton zallo tirado
Fil de ramo rosso tirado
Rami de bolla
Banda larga, zoè ferro stagnado
Grepola zoè tartaro
Cophali mordasangue
Cenabrio in pan
Verderamo in udre
Solphari
Arsenico
Sulimado
Oropiumento
Lume de rocha
Oio de tigname Cera de Natolia et d´altri loghi
Mastici
Coralli, zoè brancha
Toro
Bastardo
Zopa Zafran *[sic]*
Botoni de coralli
Coralli pescadi
Ambra zalla de Fiandra
Ambra greza fina
Ambra lavorada
Ambra mezana de Fiandra
Smalto azuro
Bacille de loton
Tigname
Cristallo
Paternostri zalli
Carta da scrivere
Tele de molte sorte
Canevaze
Zuchari fini de Cypri
Miele *[sic]* de Dalmatia; ma nota che voleno esser bianci e duri
Veri cristalini
Vari fini de pelo
E vari fini de coro
E zibelini
Armelini

De molte sorte de panni de lana fano per Damascho, ma se trazeno da Venesia e da altri loghi qui di soto darò noticia de tute sorte fano per lì, e prima:

Panni fini da Venesia
Alcuni scarlati
Alcuni Pauonaci panni paduani bastardi

[196]The first grouping of products, up to ″armelini,″ probably refers to wares imported into Damascus, since it is located between detailed information on trade with Damascus and additional lists of products imported into that city.

Panni da Fiorenza fini
Panni bressani
Panni bergamaschi streti, bagnadi e cimadi
Panni bergamaschi tiradi
Panni Zilforto
Panni Santoni
Panni sesse
Panni Santorsola
Panni genevrini stretti
Panni maiorini integri
Panni genervini larghi *[sic]*
Panni mezi maiorini
Panni de fontego
Sarze de Fiandra large
Sarze de Fiandra strete
Panni zinese le vestrine
Canevaze

Panni de seda li quali fano per Damascho e se trazeno da Venesia e de altri loghi, e prima:

Veludi de più colori
E damaschini de piu colori
Brocha d´oro
Campo d´oro
E brocha d´arzento

Alcuni fructi fano per Damascho, e prima:

Maroni, ma voleno essere del conta´ de Bologna overo della valle de Lamone et del conta de Imola, et questi sono li migliori, et durano più che altri fructi de altri loghi
Castagne seche mondade
Castagne cote in vino ma poche se ne conduse
Mandole comune de Puia quando Damascho non fa
Noselle da Napoli quando manchano a Damascho ne vene portado
Miele biancho duro del conta´ de Bologna overo de Dalmatia o de Catalogna, questi sono le meior de tutti li altri mieli

Molte merce de fontego se fano per Damascho
Lavor de lotoni assai
Pater nostri zalli de vero
Banda raspada de fontego

Merce milanese de più sorte, come sono:

deziali de loton
Campanelle
Alchuni aghi
Anchora alchune altre merce milanese

Paxi, *Tariffa*, 53v–54v

B. Products Imported into Aleppo

Merce e panni che fano per Alepo

Prima panni fini da venesia scarlati
pavonazi, panni da Fiorenza,
la mazor parte azuri biavi et verdi,
panni bastardi bagnadi, zimadi,
panni bastardi de Fiandra tiradi,
che non siano bagnadi ne zimadi,
panni zenevrini largi, panni maiorini,
panni santoni, panni bergamaschi
tirade ogni color
Arzenti de bolla de liga del marcello
Ducati d´oro de zeche venetiani
Stagni de Fiandra stagni de fontego
Banda raspada
Bacille de loton

Cotoni [sic, but: Botoni] per coralli
ma volleno essere tondi e grossi
et de bon color
Grepola
Carta da scriver
Zibilin
Loldano
tigname
Ambra lavorada de ponente
Vari
Panni de seda, zoè veludi e damaschini
panni d´oro
Merce de fontego de più sorte
Merce milanese de ogni sorte
Canevaze

Paxi, *Tariffa*, 56r–56v

C. Products Imported into Tripoli

Robe, zoè merze e panni che fano per Tripoli de Soria, e prima:

Arzenti de bolla
Panni bergamaschi bagnadi zimadi
Panni zervevini
Panni visentini streti
Panni fini scarlati
Panni santoni
Panni visentini alti
Panni bastardi
Panni bressani et quarantani
Panni de seda
Panni de oro
Canevaze
Ambra lavorada
Loldano
Panni de fontego
Vari

Stagni
Panni paduani
Zibelini
Rami lavoradi
Rami in caphe
Tigname
Vari cristalini de ogni sorte
Zuchari
Muchara de Damiata
Lini de ogni sorte de Alixandria
Veri comuni
Orzo
Sal de Corfu
Risi
Paternostri de vero
Carta da scrivere

Arzento vivo
Noselle da Napoli overo de Cicilia
Et tute le sopradite robe fano per Alepo

Paxi, *Tariffa*, 56v

II. Goods Imported into Alexandria According to Rimondo´s and Paxi´s Merchants Manuals

A. Products Imported into Alexandria Mentioned in Rimondo´s 1494 "Tarifa" (Arranged Here in Alphabetical Order According to the Original Spelling)

Anbra
Armelini
Arzenti vivi
Bastardi
bazilli
Biacha
Bossi
Canbelotti
Cartte
Cera
Chamocha
Chanevaze
Chastegne
Chorali in brancha
Choralli
Cibibo
Cofolli
Coralli in fil, zoè pater nostri
Dragantti
Eoro
Fige
fil di rame
Formazi
Formazi in ff.
Fostagni
Galle
Gottare in zare
Gottare zoè melazi in charatelli
Gottoni
Gozema
Lana di Chastron
Largado in zare
Lini
Loldano
Mandolle senza schorzo
Mastizi
Mieli in udri
Mieli in zare
Mieli in zarotti
Mor da sangui
Nosse (Noxe)
Noxelle
Oglio in botta
Oglio in udri
Oglio in zare di Sibilia
Oglio magrabi in zare
Oropimentto
Pani
Pani di seda
Pelle di Barbaria
Pignulli
Piombi
Rami
Rixegall
Roza
S[ch]iavine
Savoni in sachi da Venetia
Seda di porcho e di chavallo
Solfari
Stagni

Sussimani
Sussine (susine)
Tigname (tegname)
Tta . . . tir
Ttarttaro
Ttavole di rame
Vari crudi e chonzi
Verdirami
Veri da spechi
Vini
Zafaran
Zafari
Zope

Rimondo, ˝Tarifa,˝ fols. 10r–28v, 40v–41v

B. Goods Mentioned by Paxi as Imported to Alexandria (Arranged Here in Alphabetical Order According to the Original Spelling)

Armelini
Arzenti in piatini de bolla
Arzenti lavoradi
Arzento vivo (arzenti vivi)
Bacili de loton
Banda raspada
Bossi
Botoni de coralli, zoè pater nostri
Canevaze
Castagne zoè maroni
Cenabrio
Cere
Cibibo de Natolia dal´Ismir
Cophali
Coralli
Draganti
Ducati d´oro in groppo
Fige
Filo de loto
Formazo
Fuini
Gotare
Gozime
Grepola, zoè tartaro
Landano
Lignami [from] Natolia over Rodi
Lume de rocha [from] Constantinopoli
Mandole comune de Puia rotte
Martoni
Mastici da Sio
Miele de Dalmatia
Miele in caratelli [from] Romagna e [il] Bolognese
Miele in udre de Cipri overo d´altro logho
Miele in Zara
Monede [such as] Marceli e Mozenighi
Nose dela Marcha
Noselle integre del Reame de Napoli
Noselle rotte da Napoli
Noxe de la Marcha da Recanati overo da Fermo
Oio de Maiolicha
Oio de Puia dela mesura de Bari
Oio de Sibilia
Oio de terra de Barbari
Oio in udri
Oio magarbin da Tripoli de Barbaria e da Tunis
Oro lavorado
Oropimento
Panni de lana de molte sorte
Panni de seda
Piombi (piumbi)
Rame (ramo) philado

Risagallo
Rame in pan (in panno)
Savoni bianchi da Venesia (da navegar)
Sbiaca
Sede de Cavallo
Sede de porco
Solphari
Stagni in verga
Susine seche da Napoli overo da Cicilia
Tiber de Tripoli di Barbaria
Vari crudi e conzi
Verderamo
Vini malvasie
Zafari
Zafran
Zibelini

Extracted from Paxi, *Tariffa*, pp. 43v–50r

APPENDIX C: Overall Value of Precious Metals and Goods Shipped to the Mamluk East, According to the Venetian Diaries (Expressed in Ducats)

	Alexandria		Beirut	
Year	Prec. Metals	Goods	Prec. Metals	Goods
1423				200,000
1486	″little money″	230,000		
1495	190,000			
1496	220,000 -50,000 170,000	150,000	120,000	
1497	300,000		60,000	
1498	200–240,000		60–70,000	
1499	no galleys		no galleys	
1500	140,000		50,000	
1501	120,000		18,000	
1502			25–30,000	
1503	100,000 -50,000 50,000			
1504	70,000		30,000	
1510	52,000	300,000		
1511	90,000 [Sanudo]			
1511	90+30,000= 120,000 [Priuli]			
1513			10,000	

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Sugar in the Economic Life of Mamluk Egypt

Sugar cane cultivation seems to have originated in northern India,[1] from where it spread both eastward and westward. As for the eastward route, it was only during the sixteenth–seventeenth centuries that sugar cane cultivation was introduced to Okinawa in Japan through southeast China, but it spread swiftly to the countries on the westward route. It is believed that sugar cane cultivation had already begun both in Iran and Iraq in the mid-seventh century at the end of the Sasanian period.[2]

According to *Tabaṣṣur bi-al-Tijārah* (Thoughts on commercial activities) by al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868–69), the district of Ahwāz irrigated by the Dujayl River in western Iran was particularly well known as a major producer of sugar *(sukkar)* and silk brocade *(dībāj)*.[3] According to Andrew M. Watson,[4] sugar cane cultivation was introduced to southern Iraq from western Iran and diffused further to the Jordan valley and the Syrian coastal regions up to Bāniyās around the tenth century. As to the situation in tenth century Iraq, Ibn Ḥawqal relates that there was no village without sugar cane *(qaṣab sukkar)* in this vast area.[5]

Before sugar cane spread to the Islamic world, a traditional treacle of grapes, carobs, and other fruits, called *dibs,* was very popular in addition to honey *(ʿasal),* the universal sweetening agent among both the wealthy and common people.[6] However, even after the wide diffusion of sugar cane, the common people under the Abbasids still continued to use the less expensive treacle for sweetening.[7]

The first clear reference to the cultivation of sugar cane in Egypt comes from a papyrus of the mid-eighth century.[8] According to D. Müller-Wodarg, sugar cane cultivation spread in ninth-century Egypt.[9] However, the main sugar cane-producing

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[1]Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China,* vol. 6, pt. 3, *Biology and Biological Technology: Agro-Industries and Forestry; Agro-Industries: Sugarcane Technology,* by Christian Daniels and Nicholas K. Menzies (Cambridge, 1996), 191.

[2]Andrew M. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World* (Cambridge, 1983), 26.

[3]Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Tabaṣṣur bi-al-Tijārah* (Cairo, 1935), 32.

[4]Watson, *Agricultural Innovation,* 26–28.

[5]Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ* (Leiden, 1967), 254.

[6]M. M. Ahsan, *Social Life under the Abbasids* (London, 1979), 100–1.

[7]Ibid., 100.

[8]Watson, *Agricultural Innovation,* 28.

[9]D. Müller-Wodarg, "Die Landwirtschaft Ägyptens in der frühen Abbasidenzeit," *Der Islam* 31

districts noted in the Arabic sources up to the end of the eleventh century were mostly restricted to the outskirts of al-Fusṭāṭ and the villages of Lower Egypt. On the other hand, al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) is probably the first to refer to sugar cane cultivated in such districts as Assiut and Qūṣ in Upper Egypt.[10] Accordingly, it was after the eleventh–twelfth centuries that sugar cane plantations spread to Upper Egypt on a large scale, resulting in an increase of sugar consumption in Egypt and sugar export from Egypt to other Muslim countries and Europe.[11]

The present article attempts to demonstrate the importance of sugar in the economic life of Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt, focusing on sugar as merchandise, medicine, and festival goods after an explanation of the diffusion of sugar cane cultivation and its manufacturing technology.

THE DIFFUSION OF SUGAR CANE CULTIVATION IN EGYPT

Both Muḥammad al-Musabbiḥī (d. 420/1029) and Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī (d. 588/1192) refer repeatedly to the sugar consumption in the Fatimid court,[12] but do not identify the districts where it was grown in Egypt. However, the following account of the village of Naqqādah in Qūṣ shows that Ayyubid soldiers were eager to cultivate sugar cane.

> Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn granted the village of Naqqādah, together with one-third of the village of Sandabīs, as *waqf* to twenty-four soldiers who were guarding the prophet's tomb. They set up a water wheel *(dūlāb),* constructed a sugar cane pressing factory *(ma'ṣarah lil-qaṣab)* there, and guarded the water wheel by turns.[13]

Thereafter during the reign of Saladin, Abū 'Amr 'Uthmān al-Nābulusī (d. 660/1261), an Ayyubid government official, under orders from Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ (r.

(1954): 47–48.

[10]Al-Bakrī, "Kitāb al-Masālik wa-al-Mamālik," Österreichische Nationalbibliothek MS Cod. Mixt 779, fols. 19–20.

[11]Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta's and Fallahun* (Leiden, 1997), 211. Helmut Blume, based on the description by von Lippmann (*Geschichte des Zuckers* [Leipzig, 1890]), relates that sugar cane spread to the Levant and Egypt before the end of the seventh century, to Cyprus (about 700), Morocco (about 709), Andalusia (about 714), Crete (about 818), and Sicily (about 827) (*Geography of Sugar Cane* [Berlin, 1985], 24). However, the dates are too early to confirm the full spread of sugar cane cultivation into these districts. See Watson, *Agricultural Innovation,* 28–29.

[12]Al-Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr* (Cairo, 1978–84), 1:65, 79–80; Ibn al-Ma'mūn, *Akhbār Miṣr* (Cairo, 1983), 26, 31, 35–36, 42, 63.

[13]Ibn Duqmāq, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār* (Cairo, 1893), 2:33, 49.

638–47/1240–49), observed the situation in the province of Fayyum for two years (641–42/1243–44) after which he wrote a history entitled *Tārīkh al-Fayyūm* dedicated to his master.[14] This book contains a vivid description of the introduction of sugar cane into the province of Fayyum. Here are a few examples.

1. The village Dahmā *(iqṭā'):*
   In this village cotton had been cultivated until irrigation water was diverted to sugar cane. As sugar cane spread, all the water was devoted to its irrigation, which caused [the village] to abolish cotton cultivation.[15]
2. The village Dhāt al-Ṣafā' *(iqṭā'):*
   In this village sesame had been cultivated, then rice was introduced as the land worsened in fertility. But rice was abandoned eventually because the water was diverted to sugar cane newly introduced into the village.[16]
3. The village Shānah *(iqṭā'):*
   As the population increased, the villagers went to the village of Lawāsī to cultivate there. But because Lawāsī was distant from their village, they emigrated to a nearby place. It is also said, however, that the cause of their emigration *(intiqāl)* was the lack of irrigation water *(qillat al-mā')* due to the increase of sugar cane cultivation in the province of Fayyum.[17]
4. The village Shadamūh *(iqṭā'):*
   The village has fruit orchards of dates, grapes, and sycamores. Winter crops [wheat, barley, broad beans, flax, etc.] are mainly cultivated, and summer crops [sesame, cotton, taro, eggplant, etc.] had also been cultivated until sugar cane increased.[18]

The instances described by al-Nābulusī show that sugar cane cultivation spread to the extent of supplanting such summer crops as rice *(aruzz),* cotton *(quṭn),* and sesame *(simsim),* because its cultivation required irrigation even after the Nile had receded. According to his survey during the middle of the thirteenth century, the cultivated area of sugar cane in the province of Fayyum amounted to 1,468 feddans (about 881 hectares), while the area of wheat, for example, was 29,000 feddans (about 17,400 hectares) in total.[19]

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[14]Ed. B. Moritz (Cairo, 1898). About *Tārīkh al-Fayyūm* and its author, see Claude Cahen, "Le régime des impôts dans le Fayyūm ayyūbide," in idem, *Makhzūmīyāt* (Leiden, 1977), 194–96.

[15]Al-Nābulusī, *Tārīkh al-Fayyūm,* 101–2.

[16]Ibid., 102.

[17]Ibid., 122–23.

[18]Ibid., 125–26.

[19]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 212–13.

The following accounts confirm that sugar cane cultivation was already widespread in the districts of Upper Egypt other than the province of Fayyum in the first half of the Mamluk period. We find an account in the annal for 697/1289 in *Kitāb al-Sulūk* by al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442):

> [After the Ḥusāmī *rawk* (the cadastral survey of Egypt conducted by Sultan al-Ḥusām Lājīn in 1289)][20] the viceroy *(nā'ib al-salṭanah)* Mankūtamur was granted vast *iqṭā'*s in Upper Egypt; that is to say, Marj Banī Humaym and its surroundings, Samhūd and its surroundings, Ḥarajat Qūṣ, Madīnat Udfū, and waterwheels *(dūlāb)* in these districts. The revenues were made up of over 110,000 *irdabb*s (about 9,900,000 liters) of crops *(ghallah)*, raw sugar *(qand)*, molasses *('asal)*, dates, sheep, and firewood. He owned 27 sugar cane-pressing factories *(ma'ṣarah li-qaṣab al-sukkar)* there.[21]

Al-Maqrīzī gives another account on Mallawī in Upper Egypt:

> During the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir, the cultivated area for sugar cane increased to 2,500 feddans (about 1,592 hectares) in this district. ['Abd al-Wahhāb] al-Nashw, supervisor of the sultan's domain *(nāẓir al-khāṣṣ)*, seized all the sugar produced there in 738/1337–38 to send 14,000 *qinṭār*s (1,260,000 kilograms) of raw sugar *(qand)* other than molasses to Dār al-Qand at al-Fusṭāṭ. Later he forced the people in the district to deliver 8,000 *qinṭār*s (720,000 kilograms) of *qand* to it.[22]

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[20] About *al-rawk al-Ḥusāmī* carried out in Egypt in 697/1298, see Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 124–34.

[21] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk* (Cairo, 1939–73), 1:843–44. E. Ashtor relates that the sugar factories were usually in the same area where sugar was grown ("Levantine Sugar Industry in the Late Middle Ages: A Case of Technological Decline," in *The Islamic Middle East, 700–1900: Studies in Economic and Social History*, ed. Abraham L. Udovitch [Princeton, 1981], 93). However, while sugar pressing factories *(ma'ṣarat al-sukkar)* were in the same area, sugar refineries *(maṭbakh al-sukkar)* were often located in towns like Qifṭ, Qūṣ, and al-Fusṭāṭ (see below).

[22] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1270 H., repr. Baghdad, 1970), 1:204. Concerning the sugar industry in Mallawī, see Ashtor, "Levantine Sugar Industry," 99. 'Abd al-Wahhāb Sharaf al-Dīn al-Nashw (d. 740/1339), a converted Coptic Muslim, was employed as a clerk *(kātib)* by Sultan al-Nāṣir and was later appointed *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*. He was arrested because he had confiscated the estates of amirs and merchants and levied heavy taxes on the people (Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah* [Cairo, 1966–67], 3:42–43; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī* [Cairo, 1994], 7:390–93; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk*, 2:473 f.).

Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (703–770 or 779/1304–1368–69 or 1377), who visited Mallawī at the beginning of the fourteenth century, states:

> The town has eleven sugar cane-pressing factories *(ma'ṣarah li-sukkar)* where even beggars or the poor *(faqīr)* can enter freely. They come to the factories with hot bread, put them into the pots which are boiling pressed juice, and go out with the bread steeped plentifully in sugar juice.[23]

According to Abū al-Fidā' (d. 732/1331), Qamūlah, a village located south of Qūṣ in Upper Egypt, had many orchards where sugar cane was cultivated.[24] Al-Udfuwī (d. 748/1347) further relates that he found forty sugar refineries *(maṭbakh lil-sukkar)* and six sugar cane-pressing factories *(ma'ṣarah li-qaṣab al-sukkar)* in Qifṭ, and in Samhūd there were many such factories with seventeen stone mills *(ḥajar)* in total.[25] Al-Udfuwī's description shows that during the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries Qifṭ was a particularly important center for sugar production in Egypt. *Al-sukkar al-Qifṭī* was famous for its purity.[26]

These accounts reveal that sugar cane had come to be cultivated on a large scale in the districts of Upper Egypt by around the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The large plough known as *muqalqilah* must have been invented during this time.[27] The work required from planting to harvest is summarized by al-Nuwayrī

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[23]Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Tuḥfat al-Nuẓẓār fī Gharā'ib al-Amṣār* (Paris, 1854), 1:100–1. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah calls the town "Manlawī." It was also called "Mallawī" or "Maltawī" (Muḥammad Ramzī, *Al-Qāmūs al-Jughrāfī lil-Bilād al-Miṣrīyah* [Cairo, 1953–68], 2:4:68–69).

[24]Abū al-Fidā', *Taqwīm al-Buldān* (Paris, 1840), 103–4. Yāqūt says that Qamūlah had many date trees and vegetables (*Mu'jam al-Buldān* [Beirut, 1955–57], 4:398–399).

[25]Al-Udfuwī, *Al-Ṭāli' al-Sa'īd al-Jāmi' li-Asmā' al-Fuḍalā' wa-al-Ruwāt* (Cairo, 1914), 7–8, 9, 18; Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Al-Madkhal* (Cairo, 1981), 4:154; Yāqūt relates also that sugar cane cultivation was popular at Bahjūrah in Upper Egypt (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān,* 1:514). In 742/1341–42 Amir Qūṣūn was able to make numerous grants to his mamluks, partly because he held 500 feddans of privately owned land in Upper Egypt for sugar cane cultivation (al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 2:561; al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir* [Beirut,1986], 370–71). See also S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967–93), 1:125–26.

[26]Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Al-Madkhal,* 4:154; Subhi Y. Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im spätmittelalter (1171–1517)* (Wiesbaden, 1965), 320; E. Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1976), 243.

[27]"A Memorandum to Amir Kitbughā" issued in 1281 may be the first reference to this *muqalqilah,* which was used for the construction of canals and irrigation dikes (Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 111, 207). See also Hassanein Rabie, "Some Technical Aspects of Agriculture in Medieval Egypt," in *The Islamic Middle East,* ed. Udovitch, 64.

(d. 733/1333) with respect to his native land, Qūṣ:

> In the Coptic month of Barmahāt (25 February–26 March), after weeded fields are cultivated six times by the *muqalqilah*—a large-sized plough *(miḥrāth kabīr)*—and smoothed by harrows after six more ploughings, sugar cane with two joints is planted by throwing it into ridged fields. The second-year sugar cane *(khilfah)* is irrigated after burning the old stubble. When seed leaves grow, the soil is hoed *(ʻazq)* to weed the fields, which continues until the end of Bashnas (26 April–25 May). During this period the plants are to be irrigated at fixed intervals, twenty-eight times in total, for two to three hours. The second-year cane harvest in Kīhak (27 November–26 December) and the first-year cane *(ra's)* harvest in Ṭūba (27 December–25 January) are reaped and carried on camels or donkeys to pressing factories *(maʻṣarah)*.[28]

Al-Nuwayrī adds, ″This explanation is about sugar cultivation in the province of Qūṣ, but it is not much different from that of other provinces.″[29] In any case, sugar cane, in addition to its long term of cultivation (about 10 months), required complicated tasks, such as deep ploughing, weeding, hoeing, irrigation at intervals, pressing, and processing. That is to say, sugar production in medieval Egypt was conducted with high technology, large capital outlays, and much labor. Sugar production, therefore, was mostly carried out under the control of the government from the Fatimid period on.

SUGAR PRODUCTION TECHNOLOGY

As to who cultivated sugar cane in Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt, al-Nābulusī says that in the province of Fayyum cultivation was chiefly done on crown farms (*wasīyah,* pl. *awāsī*). *Awāsī,* in the early Islamic period, designated a private domain *(ḍayʻah)* mostly consisting of estates belonging to Coptic monasteries *(dayr)* and great bishops *(rāhib)*.[30] On the other hand, *awāsī* during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods have been regarded as state domains cultivated by corvée or as village common lands.[31] However, when we examine the terms provided by

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[28]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1954–92), 8:264–67.

[29]Ibid., 8:271.

[30]Morimoto Kosei, *The Fiscal Administration of Egypt in the Early Islamic Period* (in Japanese) (Tokyo, 1975), 342.

[31]Cahen, ″Le régime des impôts,″ 28; idem, ″Contribution à l'étude des impôts dans l'Égypte médiévale,″ *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 5(1962): 265–66.

al-Nābulusī in detail, we find both explanations somewhat inadequate. Al-Nābulusī gives us various accounts: government income through cultivation of *al-awāsī al-dīwānīyah* (ministry *awāsī*); *al-awāsī al-sulṭānīyah* (the sultan's *awāsī*) in the town of Fayyum; and provisions from *al-wasīyah al-'ādilīyah* (charitable *wasīyah*).[32] Furthermore, it is interesting to find *awāsī* not only as a part of *iqṭā',* but also in the villages belonging to the sultan's domain.[33] We may therefore conclude that *awāsī* under the *iqṭā'* system were crown farms controlled directly by the government or sultan.

Al-Nābulusī gives us brief references to their cultivators:

1. sugar cane in the village of al-'Udwah (80 feddans)
   80 feddans cultivated by *murābi'ūn*[34]
2. sugar cane in the village of Sinnūris (318 feddans)
   222 feddans cultivated by *muzāri'ūn*
   96 feddans cultivated by *murābi'ūn*[35]
3. sugar cane in the village of Fānū (268 feddans)
   95 feddans cultivated by *murābi'ūn*[36]

There is another example from the village Maṭar Ṭāris, where both *muzāri'ūn* and *murābi'ūn* cultivated sugar cane and vegetables on 76 feddans of *awāsī*.[37] Furthermore, the town of Fayyum allotted 110 feddans for sugar cane cultivation in the surrounding area, among them 28.5 feddans cultivated by *muzāri'ūn,* and 81.5 feddans by *murābi'ūn.*[38]

Muzāri'ūn, who were usually called *fallāḥūn,* were peasants who customarily cultivated the land allotted under *qabālah* contracts concluded with the government or *iqṭā'* holders *(muqṭa')* after the annual flood of the Nile in autumn.[39] On the other hand, *murābi'ūn,* according to Cahen, meant peasants who had the right to take one-fourth *(rub')* of what they produced. They paid the ordinary tax in cash

[32]Al-Nābulusī, *Tārīkh al-Fayyūm,* 25–26.

[33]Ibid., 32–34, 100, 108, 134, 157, 158. See also al-Makhzūmī, "Minhāj fī 'Ilm Kharāj Miṣr," British Library MS Add. 23483, fols. 99r–100v.

[34]Al-Nābulusī, *Tārīkh al-Fayyūm,* 32–34.

[35]Ibid., 107–10.

[36]Ibid., 156–59.

[37]Ibid., 156–59.

[38]Ibid., 27, 174–75.

[39]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 192–97. After the annual flood of the Nile, irrigated land was classified according to each cultivation contract *(qabālah)* concluded between peasants *(muzāri'ūn)* and *iqṭā'* officials or government officials *(mubāshirūn).*

on their cultivation of sugar cane.[40] I have my doubts about *murābi'ūn* paying the ordinary tax in cash, but the following two points should be taken into consideration. First, most of the *murābi'ūn* cultivated sugar cane in *awāsī,* while *muzāri'ūn* cultivated wheat and barley in addition to sugar cane. Secondly, *murābi'ūn* were provided with both crops and cash by the government every year, while the *muzāri'ūn* were given only seed for cultivation.[41] That is to say, *murābi'ūn*, who might have formed a class of agricultural laborers, were apparently inferior in status to *muzāri'ūn.*[42] However, it should be noted that *murābi'ūn* were not slaves in any sense of the word.[43]

Now, let us turn to the description of al-Nuwayrī once again explaining the way sugar was produced in Qūṣ.

> The harvested sugar cane is carried on camels or donkeys to pressing factories *(ma'ṣarah)* and put in a place called "the sugar cane plant" *(dār al-qaṣab),* where laborers cut it into small pieces with large knives and clean the mud off. The cleaned pieces are carried to mill stones *(ḥajar)* which are rotated by excellent oxen *(baqar jayyid).* The pressed juice is boiled in large pots (with a capacity of 3,000 *raṭl*s, about 1,350 kilograms of juice) called *khābīyah* in the refinery *(maṭbakh)* after filtrating the crushed cane through a sieve *(munkhal).* The boiled juice is filtered three times through wool and put in another room after further boiling to produce raw sugar *(qand)* and molasses *('asal).* Then the raw sugar is boiled once again with water and fresh milk *(al-laban al-ḥalīb)* to get white sugar *(al-sukkar al-bayāḍ)* and fine molasses *(quṭārah).* The refining percentage of white sugar is one-fourth or one-sixth of raw sugar.[44]

According to his explanation, the process of sugar production can be summarized as follows: (1) sugar cane cutting and cleaning at the *dār al-qaṣab,* (2) pressing with mill stones rotated by oxen, (3) filtration of the crushings and boiling juice in the refinery *(maṭbakh),* (4) reboiling to produce raw sugar *(qand)* and molasses

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[40]Cahen, "Le régime des impôts," 23.

[41]Al-Nābulusī, *Tārīkh al-Fayyūm,* 32-34, 107–10, 133–38.

[42]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 217–19.

[43]Al-Maqrīzī explains that "*'abd qinn*" is a slave for life who cannot expect to be sold or emancipated (*Khiṭaṭ,* 1:85). Egyptian peasants (*muzāri'ūn* or *fallāḥūn*) under the *iqṭā'* system were also not slaves by law, but were actually likened to *'abd qinn*. See Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 177.

[44]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 8:267–71, 272.

(ʿasal), and (5) further boiling of raw sugar with water and fresh milk to make white sugar.

Al-Nuwayrī explains that sugar cane was pressed with mill stones *(ḥajar)* rotated by oxen; however, we do not know whether these mills were of the vertical or horizontal type. In *Description de l'Égypte* published after Napoleon's expedition to Egypt in 1798, we find a drawing of horizontal and roller-type mills for sugar cane pressing.[45] In the Caribbean islands, where sugar manufacturing technology was introduced from the Islamic world, roller-type mills were popular among planters.[46] Based on these later facts, it may well be supposed that horizontal and roller-type stone mills were used for sugar cane pressing in Egypt during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods.

Al-Nuwayrī relates that when raw sugar is boiled a second time with water and fresh milk, white sugar and fine molasses can be produced. Does his assertion have any scientific grounds? According to a scientist at the Department of Agriculture, the University of Tokyo, fresh milk is effective in creating white sugar because heated milk protein curdles absorb the impurities in raw sugar. In the same vein, raw sugar was boiled with fresh eggs to get white sugar in Okinawa during the Tokugawa period. Consequently, al-Nuwayrī's explanation is based on sound scientific grounds.

Al-Nuwayrī does not refer to the method of adding ashes into the pressed juice before boiling; however, there is the well-known story told by Marco Polo (1254–1324) about sugar production in China. His travel account reads:

> Before this city (Unken) came under the Great Khan (Qubilai 1260–94) these people knew not how to make fine sugar; they only used to boil and skim the juice, which when cold left a black paste. But after they came under the Great Khan some men of Babylonia who happened to be at the Court proceeded to this city and taught the people to refine the sugar with the ashes of certain trees.[47]

It is annotated that Babylonia in this passage indicates "little Babylonia of Egypt" within the old city of al-Fusṭāṭ and Unken is a city located near Zaytun. If this account is reliable, sugar-refining technology was introduced into the coastal areas of southeast China from Mamluk Egypt. According to Christian Daniels, most scholars regard this as a factual report due to the lack of evidence of the use

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[45]*Description de l'Égypte* (Cologne, 1994), 692.

[46]Blume, *Geography of Sugar Cane,* 27.

[47]*The Book of Ser Marco Polo,* trans. and ed. H. Yule, 3rd ed. (London, 1929), 2:226.

of plant extracts for sugar refining in China.[48]

Al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283) relates that Assiut in Upper Egypt was a sugar-producing center transporting every kind of sugar all over the world.[49] Raw sugar *(qand)* (that is, poor quality sugar) was called "red sugar" *(al-sukkar al-aḥmar)* in the Arab world.[50] *Sulaymānī* was a kind of sugar produced from *qand* after another boiling.[51] Then *sulaymānī* was refined to *fānīdh* or white sugar by another boiling.[52] What was produced after further refining was rock sugar *(ṭabarzad or thalij),* regarded as the highest-quality sugar.[53]

As to "Egyptian sugar" during the Mamluk period, al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) lists in *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá* the following varieties: *mukarrar* (repeated), *tabaʻ* (subordinate), *wasaṭ* (middle), and *nabāt* (literally "plants," that is, sugar candy).[54] According to Ashtor, *mukarrar* was thrice-boiled sugar, *tabaʻ* and *wasaṭ* twice-boiled, and *nabāt* once-boiled.[55] I assume that these three types correspond roughly to *fānīdh*, *sulaymānī,* and *qand,* respectively.

As sugar production spread from Lower to Upper Egypt on a large scale by the thirteenth or fourteenth century, sugar was considered the most important export to European countries as well as a luxury good consumed by Egyptian sultans and amirs at their residences or at public festivals. Taking a great amir as an example, the account book *(daftar)* of amir Ṭaybars al-Ḥājj al-Wazīrī (d. 687/1288), which was written down by one of his mamluks, discloses that Ṭaybars and his household had consumed totally in his career 3,000 sheep *(ghanam),* 600 cows *(baqar),* 500 horses *(ikdīsh),* 28,000 *qinṭār*s of sugar for drinks *(sukkar lil-mashrūb)* and 160 *qinṭār*s of sugar for making sweets *(ʻamal al-ḥalāwāt).*[56] As one *qinṭār* was about 45 kilograms, 28,000 *qinṭār*s and 160 *qinṭār*s were equivalent to 1,260 tons and 7.2 tons of sugar respectively. Ṭaybars, who was related to

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[48]Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, 351–52.

[49]Al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād wa-Akhbār al-ʻIbād* (Beirut, 1960), 147.

[50]Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Al-Madkhal,* 4:149, 152; al-Dimashqī, *Kitāb al-Ishārah ilá Maḥāsin al-Tijārah* (Cairo, 1318), 32.

[51]Al-Idrīsī, *Kitāb Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fī Ikhtirāq al-Āfāq* (Naples and Rome, 1970–84), 3:227.

[52]Yāqūt, *Muʻjam al-Buldān,* 5:42. Yāqūt relates that *al-fānīdh al-māsakānī* is a kind of fine sugar produced in the district of Māsakān in Sijistān in southeast Iran.

[53]Al-Thaʻālibī, *Laṭāʼif al-Maʻārif* (Cairo, n.d.), 82–83. Concerning the various kinds of sugar produced in the Islamic world, von Lippmann, *Geschichte des Zuckers,* 98–102.

[54]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá fī Ṣināʻat al-Inshāʼ* (Cairo, 1963), 3:309.

[55]Ashtor, "Levantine Sugar Industry," 96–97. He concludes that *mukarrar, tabaʻ, wasaṭ,* and *nabāt* correspond respectively to *muccaro, caffettino, musciatto,* and *candy* found in the description of Pegolotti who travelled to China via the Middle East and wrote a book entitled *La practica della mercatura scritta* (1335–43).

[56]Al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd al-Jumān* (Cairo, 1987–92), 3:172.

Sultan Baybars by his daughter's marriage, was promoted to amir of one hundred and appointed as *nā'ib al-salṭanah* in Damascus in 659/1261.[57] This shows evidently that the households of great amirs during the early Mamluk period were already consuming a large quantity of sugar.

SUGAR IN EGYPTIAN SOCIETY UNDER THE MAMLUKS

SUGAR AS A COMMODITY

We find various descriptions of domestic and international transactions involving sugar in Arabic historical sources dating back to around the ninth century. For example, al-Ṭabarī relates that in 238/852 the Rūm (Byzantine) army attacked Damietta in Lower Egypt, plundering goods *(amti'ah),* raw sugar *(qand),* and flax *(kattān)* to be carried to Iraq.[58] Besides, according to Ibn Ḥawqal, white sugar *(fānīdh)* produced in Kirmān was transported to Sijistān and Khurāsān in Iran during the tenth century due to an increase of sugar cane cultivation there.[59] Al-Muqaddasī (tenth century) also states that sugar produced in Khūzistān was transported to Iraq, Yemen, and other countries.[60]

As to the sugar carried from Egypt to Syria, Bar Hebraeus (d. 685/1286) has the following to say:

> [A Jew said to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who was encamped before Acre], "I am a Jew and a merchant of Damascus. I was coming by sea from Alexandria, and I had with me twenty loads of sugar. And when I came to the port of 'Akkā thy servants plundered me." . . . and when they admitted that they had deposited it in the Treasury, he [Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn] commanded the officials and they gave to the Jew the price of the sugar.[61]

Goitein says, "Sugar production must have been one of the major, if not the greatest, industry in Fusṭāṭ during the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods, and the share of the Jews in this field was very extensive."[62] He further relates that *sukkarī,* or maker (and seller) of sugar, was one of the most common occupations and family

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[57]Al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt* (Wiesbaden, 1982), 16:508–9; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 1:448.

[58]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-al-Mulūk* (Leiden, 1879–1901), 3:1418.

[59]Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ,* 313.

[60]Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm* (Leiden, 1906), 416.

[61]Bar Hebraeus, *Chronology,* ed. and trans. E. A. Wallis Budge (London, 1932), 2:342.

[62]Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society,* 1:125–26.

names occurring in the Geniza documents.[63]

We find another account about the sugar carried from Egypt to Baghdad in *Kitāb al-Sulūk* by al-Maqrīzī:

> In this year [650/1252] the news arrived that the Mongol army encountered a caravan *(qāfilah)* headed for Baghdad from Ḥarrān and plundered it of great assets, including 600 loads *(ḥiml)* of Egyptian sugar, valued at 600,000 dinars.[64]

As one *ḥiml* was about 225 kilograms during the twelfth–thirteenth centuries,[65] 600 *ḥiml*s were equivalent to 135 tons of sugar. Consequently, these accounts show that Egypt had already become one of the most important sugar-producing countries in the Islamic world, exporting to such countries as Syria and Iraq.

As to sugar exportation from Egypt to European countries during the Mamluk period, al-Maqrīzī relates:

> When the water of the Nile flows into the Alexandria Canal during Misrā (25 July–23 August), ships *(markab)* loaded with various kinds of goods, like crops *(ghallah),* spice *(bahār),* and sugar *(sukkar),* set sail.[66]

The Alexandria Canal was a long canal connecting a place near Ṭanṭā and the coastal town of Alexandria, where Italian merchants chiefly from Venice, Genoa, and Pisa purchased various spices from Muslim merchants under the protection of their own consulates.[67] However, as al-Maqrīzī discloses, the goods purchased by the Italians also included agricultural crops, sugar, alum, and paper from Egypt, besides spices from the East.[68]

It is well known that the Kārimī merchants carried on a flourishing spice trade

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[63]Ibid., 126. We find the account of the Jewish merchants of sugar *(al-Yahūd al-sukkarīyūn)* in Ibn Duqmāq, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār,* 1:41.

[64]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 1:383–84.

[65]Walther Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte* (Leiden, 1955), 13–14; E. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval* (Paris, 1969), 141.

[66]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:273.

[67]Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History,* states on page 299, ″Even after the fall of Acre [in 1291] the trading nations sent embassies to the sultan of Cairo and concluded new commercial treaties, reducing imposts and acquiring new rights.″

[68]Concerning the sugar transportation from Egypt to European countries, see the following works: Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens,* 320; Ashtor, A *Social and Economic History,* 306; Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 215.

in Yemen, Egypt, and Syria during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods. According to al-Ashqar, 201 Kārimī merchants can be identified from the Arabic sources of the Mamluk period.[69] Based on the vast profits from the spice trade, they made loans to the sultan of Cairo and other princes. However, it should be noted that they traded also in wood, sugar, textiles, precious metals, wheat, and ceramics for the Italian merchants.[70]

As to sugar production and trade by the Kārimī merchants during the Mamluk period, here is an example from *Kitāb al-Intiṣār* by Ibn Duqmāq (d. 809/1406). Among the 65 refineries *(maṭbakh al-sukkar)* located at al-Fusṭāṭ,[71] 7 were owned by the sultan, 21 by amirs, 13 by merchants *(tājir),* and 27 not identified. Among the 13 *maṭbakh*s owned by merchants, 4 were managed by *sukkarī*s[72] (Muslim or Jewish sugar merchants), and another 4 by the Kārimī merchants.[73] This indicates that in the Mamluk period, Kārimī merchants were involved in managing sugar refineries in addition to trading sugar with Muslim and European countries.

Among the above-mentioned four *maṭbakh*s owned by Kārimīs, two were managed by the Kharrūbī family from Cairo. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kharrūbī (d. 762/1361) was particularly well known as a "sugar refinery merchant" *(tājir fī maṭābikh al-sukkar)* at al-Fusṭāṭ and as founder of a school *(madrasah)* across from the Nilometer, where he stipulated that every post at the school should be occupied by Arabs.[74] On the other hand, his brother, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Kharrūbī (d. 769/1368), started out as a poor merchant, but earned immense profits later through trade and constructed a large tomb *(turbah)* in the district of al-Qarāfah, south of Cairo.[75]

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[69]Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Ghanī al-Ashqar, *Tujjār al-Tawābil fī Miṣr fī al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Cairo, 1999), 467–539. According to Ashtor, people of all denominations belonged to the Kārimīs, Muslims, Christians, and Jews (*A Social and Economic History,* 300).

[70]Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens,* 93; Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History,* 241, 300; al-Ashqar, *Tujjār al-Tawābil,* 76.

[71]Ibn Duqmāq, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār,* 1:41–46.

[72]Among the merchants who sought protection from amirs like Qūṣūn and Bashtāk in 737/1336–37, there was a sugar merchant *(rajul sukkarī)* who had made adulterated sugar and molasses *(zaghal fī al-sukkar wa-al-ʻaṣal)* (al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 370).

[73]The names of the refineries owned by the Kārimī merchants were as follows: Maṭbakh ʻUqbah al-Milḥ, Maṭbakh al-Kamāl ibn Marzūq, Maṭbakh Sirāj al-Dīn ibn al-Kharrūbī, and Maṭbakh Nūr al-Dīn ibn al-Kharrūbī.

[74]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:369–70. Al-Maqrīzī relates also that Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad constructed a quarter *(rabʻ)* near the school. On the Kharrūbī family, see Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens,*114–15, 228; E. Ashtor, "The Kārimī Merchants," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1956): 48–50; Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 121, 212.

[75]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:369.

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's grandson, Nūr al-Dīn ʻAlī (d. 802/1400), called "the last merchant of the Kharrūbī family," made the Meccan pilgrimage several times and was reputed to be an honest and pious person. However, at the age of thirty he was whipped by the amir Barqūq (later sultan 784–91/1382–89, 792–801/1390–99) for trying to secure the position of vizier at the Mamluk court by bribery.[76] His grandson, Sirāj al-Dīn Sulaymān (d. 864/1460), could not maintain his status as one of the notables *(aʻyān)* at al-Fusṭāṭ, for in 826/1423 Sultan Barsbāy (825–41/1422–38) proclaimed a government monopoly over sugar refining and trade and in 832/1429 ordered that spices be traded at prices fixed by the government, dealing the Kārimī merchants a fatal blow.[77] Sulaymān, who could not pay his debts under such severe conditions, was arrested and sent to prison in Cairo.[78]

The fall of the Kharrūbī family symbolized the fate of the Kārimī merchants during the later Mamluk period. Under monopolistic policies imposed on sugar and spices by Sultan Barsbāy, they suddenly lost their livelihoods in Egypt. Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470) relates in his chronicle that the Kārimī merchants had disappeared from the Egyptian markets by the middle of the fifteenth century.[79]

SUGAR AS MEDICINE

Sugar was widely used also for medical purposes in the medieval Muslim world and elsewhere. Ibn Bayṭār (d. 646/1248), who was born in Malaga in Andalusia and lived in both Ayyubid Cairo and Damascus as a pharmacologist, compiled a voluminous work entitled *Al-Jāmiʻ li-Mufradāt al-Adwiyah wa-al-Aghdhiyah* (Compiled terminology on medicines and nourishments),[80] based on the results of his reading and field work. The item on "*sukkar*" in this book reads:

> Dioscorides [first century] relates that it is a kind of honey *(ʻasal),* but solid. In fertile lands like al-Hind and al-Maghrib, it is found

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[76]Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Inbāʼ al-Ghumr bi-Anbāʼ al-ʻUmr* (Cairo, 1969–72), 1:195–96. It is said that Nūr al-Dīn [or Kamāl al-Dīn?] proposed a bribe of 100,000 dinars to get the position.

[77]Aḥmad Darrāj, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay* (Damascus, 1961), 57 f.; Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens,* 355 f.; Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 36, 52, 57, 96.

[78]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʼ al-Lāmiʻ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʻ* (Beirut, 1353–55), 3:267.

[79]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr* (Berkeley, 1930–42), 2:247. He says, "This year [859/1455] not a single Kārimī merchant was to be found [in the market] from the end of Ramaḍān to date, which caused much damage to the situation of the common people." Concerning the monopolistic policies of Sultan Barsbāy, see the following works: Darrāj, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay*; Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens,* 422–23; Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History,* 309; al-Ashqar, *Tujjār al-Tawābil,* 439–51.

[80]Ibn Bayṭār, *Al-Jāmiʻ li-Mufradāt al-Adwiyah wa-al-Aghdhiyah* (Bulaq, 1291).

> as [sugar] cane.[81] It looks like salt, but if one drinks it with water, his stomach will be relieved. It is also effective against bladder *(mathānah)* and kidney *(kulyah)* pain.
>
> Galen [ca. 129–ca. 200] relates that the *sukkar* carried from al-Hind and al-Maghrib was apparently extracted from cane and congealed. It is not harmful to the stomach, unlike our honey *(ʻasal)*.
>
> Ibn Māsawayh [160–243/775–857] relates that it is effective for the stomach, in particular for persons whose gall *(al-mirrah al-ṣafrā')* is not sufficient. *Ṭabarzad* (rock sugar) is not softened like *sulaymānī* and *fānīdh*.
>
> ʻĪsá al-Baṣrī[82] relates that if one drinks it with almond powder, it is effective both against colic (*qawlanj)* and impotence *(ʻatīq)*. It is also capable of removing phlegm *(balgham)* from the stomach.
>
> Al-Sharīf[83] relates that if one drinks it with butter, it becomes a fine diuretic. If one drinks one *ūqīyah* [25 grams] of sugar with two *ūqīyah*s of butter, it is effective against stomachache, and it also purifies afterbirth. If one drinks sugar with hot water, it heals sore throat and is effective against cough *(suʻāl)* and asthma *(taḍāyq)*. Persons with experience relate that it relieves cough.
>
> Al-Rāzī [543–606/1149–1209] relates that it relieves chest *(ṣadr)* and lung *(ri'ah)* pain. If raw sugar *(nabāt)* is boiled with rosewater *(mā' al-ward),* it becomes the coldest and lightest of drinks. And if it is boiled with violet leaves *(waraq al-banafsaj),* it becomes the gentlest drink for the body.[84]

For all these reasons, sugar was one of the generic medicines sold by druggists, *(ʻaṭṭār),* as well as a luxury good traded by sugar merchants *(sukkarī)*. The *ʻaṭṭār*s during the Mamluk period also sold spices like pepper, nutmeg, and cloves, and perfumes like frankincense, musk, and saffron in addition to generic medicines like pomegranate and lemon bark or root, medicinal herbs, dry fruit, rosewater, and sugar.[85] Furthermore, Ibn al-Ḥājj (d. 737/1336), who wrote a guide to everyday life, relates that sick Muslims require foods and drinks mixed with sugar.[86]

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[81] It is doubtful that the material related by Dioscorides refers to the sugar made from sugar cane.

[82] ʻĪsá ibn Ibrāhīm al-Baṣrī? See Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums* (Leiden, 1970), 3:128.

[83] Perhaps "al-Sharīf al-Idrīsī." See Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Al-Jāmiʻ li-Mufradāt,* 1:5.

[84] Ibid., 3:22–23.

[85] A. Dietrich, "Al-ʻAṭṭār," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 1:751–52.

[86] Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Al-Madkhal,* 4:153–154.

We find another example of the medicinal importance of sugar in *Ighāthat al-Ummah* by al-Maqrīzī:

> The year 695/1295–96 began with the people distressed because of high prices and diminishing income. However, they placed their hopes on the crops *(al-ghilāl al-jadīdah),* which were almost due. When the crops were ripe, a wind coming from the direction of Barqa blew like a storm and darkened the horizon, carrying a yellow dust that covered the crops in the area. . . . The crops withered; the summer crops, such as rice, sesame, colocasia, and sugar cane, as well as other irrigated plantings, all failed. Consequently, prices soared. This wind was followed by diseases and high fevers that afflicted the entire population, thus causing the prices of sugar, honey, and other products needed by the sick to soar.[87]

Faced with this severe situation, Sultan Kitbughā (694–96/1294–96) ordered that the poor and needy *(faqīr, dhū al-ḥājāt)* be assembled and distributed among the amirs. He allocated one hundred of them to every amir of one hundred, fifty to every amir of fifty, and so on down to every amir of ten receiving ten.[88] However, the situation was worsened by the epidemics following rampant inflation. Al-Maqrīzī continues:

> Epidemics intensified throughout the countryside and in the villages, and disease spread in Cairo and Old Cairo (al-Fusṭāṭ). The number of deaths multiplied, and medicines were so much in demand for the sick that a druggist *(ʻaṭṭār)* located at the beginning of the Daylam quarter in Cairo sold 32,000 dirhams [of medicines] in one month.[89]

It is probable that what this Cairene *ʻaṭṭār* sold, in the midst of the epidemic, was mostly sugar. At the end of the thirteenth century, the annual *iqṭāʻ* revenue of a

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[87]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah* (Cairo, 1940), 33–34; English tr. by Adel Allouche as *Mamluk Economics* (Salt Lake City, 1994), 44. The translation has been modified slightly by the present writer.

[88]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 35; *Mamluk Economics,* 45. In 694/1294, when Kitbughā acceded to the sultanate, the disaster began in Egypt and he was regarded as an "ill-omened sultan" (Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 106).

[89]Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthah,* 35; *Mamluk Economics,* 45.

ḥalqah cavalryman was 20,000 dirhams or less, lower than the sum earned in a month by the above Cairene *'aṭṭār*.[90] We find another example in the annal for 709/1309 by al-Maqrīzī:

> During this year fierce disease spread among the people and epidemic *(wabā')* also prevailed. Medicines and doctors were in demand, but what was needed by the sick became so scarce that sugar was purchased at five dirhams per *raṭl* [450 grams], chicken at the same price, and melon at one dirham. Under such circumstances, an *'aṭṭār* could earn from two to three hundred dirhams per day.[91]

Furthermore, during the autumn of 748/1347 plague *(ṭā'ūn)* spread to Egypt from Syria, then throughout Lower Egypt and further to Upper Egypt the next year.[92] In 749/1348 the daily death toll in Cairo increased rapidly from 300 to 2,000, devastating Barjawān quarter, where al-Maqrīzī was born and raised, leaving 42 vacant houses.[93] The plague spread outside Egypt; for example, in Ghazzah a peasant was found dead, grasping a plough *(miḥrāth)* in his hands.[94] At this time, the price of sugar needed by the sick soared to 23–27 dinars per *qinṭār* (45 kilograms),[95] which was equivalent to 4.6–5.4 dirhams per *raṭl,* enabling the *'aṭṭār*s of Cairo to enjoy once again windfall incomes, far beyond that of the *ḥalqah* cavalrymen.

SUGAR AS A FESTIVAL GOOD

Nāṣir-i Khusraw (d. 453/1061), a Persian poet and traveller who visited Fatimid Egypt in 439/1047,[96] states in his travel account, *Safar Nāmah:*

> They say that during Ramaḍān sugar granted by the sultan [Fatimid caliph] to his servants amounted to 50,000 *mann* (about 41,650 kilograms). I actually saw an [ornamental] tree shaped like a citron *(turanj),* with all its branches, leaves, and fruits made of sugar.[97]

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[90] Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 133.

[91] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 2:55.

[92] Concerning the plague in the Middle East during the years 748–49/1347–49, see Michael W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977).

[93] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 2:780, 782.

[94] Ibid., 775.

[95] Ashtor, *Histoire des prix,* 317.

[96] Nāṣir-i Khusraw converted to the Isma'ili sect during his stay in Egypt.

[97] Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar Nāmah* (Berlin, 1340), 79.

This was an elaborate decoration of sugar to display the authority of the Fatimid caliph, al-Mustanṣir (487–95/1094–1101) to the Muslim and non-Muslim peoples in Cairo. Based on the above description, we may see further that the practice of distributing sugar by the caliphs or sultans in the sacred month of Ramaḍān had already begun in the Fatimid period. It is related also that in 624/1227 the Ayyubid sultan al-Kāmil (615–35/1218–38) spent his money on schools *(madrasah)* and Sufi convents *(khānqāh),* giving bread, meat, candy *(ḥalawī),* and sugar to every scholar *(faqīh)*.[98] Furthermore, in 636/1238 Sultan al-Malik al-ʻĀdil (635–37/1238–40), who had acquired lordship over Egypt and Syria, held a banquet *(simāṭ)* below the citadel in Cairo and provided candy and 5,000 *ublūj*s of sugar (about 50,000 kilograms) to the common people.[99]

In 660/1262 over 200 Mongol soldiers who had been defeated by Berke Khan arrived in Cairo with their families. They were cordially received as *″wāfidīyah″* (immigrants) by Sultan Baybars (658–76/1260–77), who ordered that they be provided with fodder, sheep, robes, and sugar.[100] According to *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá* by al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418), the cadastral surveys conducted by Sultan al-Nāṣir *(al-rawk al-Nāṣirī)* during the years 713–25/1313–25 helped establish the basis of an empire which continued up to the end of Sultan Ashraf Shaʻbān′s reign (764–78/1363–77).[101] It is related that this Sultan al-Nāṣir, who had a deep appreciation for horses *(khayl),* granted textiles, sugar, and other goods to persons who brought excellent horses to him.[102]

During the third reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir (709–41/1310–41), the sugar grant to

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98Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Al-Durr al-Maṭlūb fī Akhbār Mulūk Banī Ayyūb* (Cairo, 1972), 283.

99Ibn Duqmāq, ″Nuzhat al-Anām fī Tārīkh al-Islām,″ Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 1740 Tārīkh, fol. 35a–35b. The *ublūj* originated from the Persian *āblūj* which meant a loaf of sugar. According to al-Maqrīzī, one *ublūjah (ublūj)* was equal to about a ninth *(tusʻ)* of a *qinṭār [jarwī]* (about 10 kilograms) (*Khiṭaṭ,* 1:103). Ashtor reads the words *″tisʻ* (nine) *qinṭār*s*″* (810 kilograms) (″Levantine Sugar Industry, 123, 127), but the output of sugar per feddan based on that weight far exceeds the figure seen in modern Egypt. Cf. H. A. B. Rivlin, *The Agricultural Policy of Muḥammad ʻAlī in Egypt* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), 146. See also Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 219–20.

100Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 1:473–74. Notables of the *wāfidīyah,* also called *″mustaʻminūn″* (persons who requested safety), were granted the rank of amir, and the others were incorporated into the Bahri Mamluks. See also Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir* (Dacca, 1956), 58–59; David Ayalon, ″The Wafidiya in the Mamluk Kingdom,″ *Islamic Culture* 25 (1951): 89–104.

101Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 4:14. See also Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 161. Ibn Khalīl al-Asadī (ninth/fifteenth c.) estimates that the Nāṣirī *rawk* brought about the prosperity of villages through fair administration promoting public welfare, which continued until the reign of Sultan Barqūq (al-Asadī, *Al-Taysīr wa-al-Iʻtibār* [Cairo, 1968], 74, 76–77).

102Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 2:526.

the Mamluk amirs in Ramaḍān had already become an established custom. Al-Maqrīzī states:

> During the days of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, the annual grant of sugar *(rātib al-sukkar)* [to amirs and sultan's mamluks] during Ramaḍān amounted to 1,000 *qinṭār*s (about 45,000 kilograms), then increased to 3,000 *qinṭār*s (135,000 kilograms) in 745/1344–45 [under the reign of al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl ibn Muḥammad], estimated at 600,000 dirhams which are equal to 30,000 Egyptian dinars.[103]

The purchase of a great number of mamluks and horses by Sultan al-Nāṣir, as well as the generous grant of sugar to his servants, gradually affected the finances of the Mamluk government. However, heavy sugar consumption continued during the reigns of his successors. Here is an example from 778/1377:

> We could not estimate the loads of kitchenwares, drinks, and various kinds of eatables [prepared for the Meccan pilgrimage by Sultan Ashraf Sha'bān]. Among them there were 30,000 small bags of sugar candy *(ḥalawī),* each bag weighing 5 *raṭl*s [about 2.25 kilograms], 180,000 *raṭl*s [about 81,000 kilograms] in total. Since all the candy was made of pure sugar, it was worth more than 100 *mithqāl*s [about 468 grams] of musk, except sandalwood and aloes.[104]

Since the amirs who accompanied Sultan Ashraf to Mecca also provided sugar candy, 360,000 *raṭl*s (162,000 kilograms) of sugar was consumed in only one month. Although the small bags of sugar candy were prepared for the Meccan pilgrims, the Cairene people criticized such luxury, saying "it is not suitable for the Meccan pilgrimage."[105]

Besides the lavish consumption of sugar by sultans and amirs, the close relationship between sugar consumption and festivals had already appeared among the common people in Fatimid Cairo. Al-Baṭā'iḥī writes that on Mawlid al-Nabī (12 Rabī' I 517/10 May 1123) sugar, almonds, honey, and sesame oil (*sīraj*) were provided to every religious shrine *(mashhad)* in Cairo.[106] Al-Maqrīzī further relates a case in Mamluk Cairo in his *Khiṭaṭ:*

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[103]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:231.

[104]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:273.

[105]Ibid.

[106]Al-Baṭā'iḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr* (Cairo, 1983), 62.

> The Sugar Candy Market *(Sūq al-Ḥalawīyīn)* [in Cairo]. This is a market for selling sugar candy *(ḥalawī),* called today ″various sweets.″ It was the best market where one could find shops selling plates, heavy brass-wares, and various colored sugar candy. I witnessed that in this sugar market each *qinṭār* (45 kilograms) of sugar was sold at 170 dirhams. . . . During the month of Rajab one finds a beautiful scene in this market. Many kinds of sugar candy are made in the shapes of horses *(khayl),* lions *(sab'),* cats *(qiṭṭah),* etc. Since the candy is hung by threads in the shops, they are called ″hung candy.″ Each piece weighs between 1/4 *raṭl* [about 110 grams] and 10 *raṭl*s [4.5 kilograms] and are all purchased for children. The markets in al-Fusṭāṭ, Cairo, and their environs are also filled with goods like these.[107]

The tradition of abstaining from raids and warfare during the holy month of Rajab has been observed since the Jāhilīyah. Furthermore, it is related that on the 26th night of this month the Prophet Muḥammad travelled to Jerusalem on a legendary horse *(al-Burāq)* and ascended to heaven (the *isrā'* and *mi'rāj* legends based on Quran 17: 1). We are not certain whether the custom of ″hung candy″ in Rajab originated from this popular legend or not. In contemporary Cairo, we find similar customs on the occasions of the Prophet′s birthday *(mawlid al-nabī),* and the Feast of the Sacrifice *('īd al-aḍḥá)*.[108] At the sugar candy stores, large candies in the shape of brides, camels, and horses are displayed, as well as boxes filled with small candy in the shape of radishes, eggplants, turnips, strawberries, etc.

According to al-Maqrīzī, successive misfortunes after the latter half of the fourteenth century caused a swift decline in sugar production in Egypt. He states,

> Misfortunes *(miḥnah)* happened [intermittently]. The price of sugar increased due to the ruin of both waterwheels *(dūlāb)* in Upper Egypt and sugar refineries *(maṭbakh al-sukkar)* in the town of al-Fusṭāṭ. Since many sugar candy artisans *(ṣāni')* died out, production also declined.[109]

Miḥnah in the works of al-Maqrīzī indicates *fasād* (corruption) on the part of

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[107]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:99–100.

[108]On the Muslim festivals, see Gustav E. von Grunebaum, *Muḥammadan Festivals* (London, 1951).

[109]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:99.

sultans and amirs rather than natural disasters—mostly *ṭaʿūn* (plague)—that struck Egypt intermittently beginning with the great epidemic of 748/1347–48, which was called ″the Black Death″ in Europe.[110] On the other hand, Ashtor states that the Egyptian and Syrian sugar industries during the later Mamluk period adhered to their old methods, using oxen as power to drive the pressing mills,[111] while in the sugar mills of Sicily and Cyprus, oxen had been replaced by horses and waterpower.[112] This argument is not correct, however, because the above account by al-Maqrīzī discloses that waterwheels *(dūlāb)*[113] were already in use in Egypt under the Mamluk sultans. Consequently, it may well be that it was not technological stagnation, but rather both political corruption and natural disasters that caused the decline of the Egyptian sugar industry in the later Mamluk period.

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[110]Al-Maqrīzī gives the following explanation as to the causes of famine and high prices in late Mamluk Egypt. The first is political corruption among the Mamluk amirs. Political posts such as vizier, qadi, and *wālī* could not be obtained without paying bribes *(rishwah)*. The second is the rise in the taxes levied on *iqṭā*ʿs; and the third is the circulation of copper coins. During the reign of Barqūq, dinars and dirhams disappeared from the market places (*Ighāthah,* 71). In contrast to the explanation of al-Maqrīzī, Abraham Udovitch proposed that repeated plague epidemics from the middle of the fourteenth century must have significantly decreased the population in Egypt, which led to the stagnation of economic activity in rural and urban society (″England to Egypt, 1350–1500: Long Term Trends and Long-distance Trade,″ in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, ed. M. A. Cook [London, 1970], 115–28). However, since Egyptian agriculture was closely tied to administrative affairs, we cannot easily reject al-Maqrīzī′s suggestion on the grounds that he mistook cause for effect. See also Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 237–39.

[111]Ashtor relates that from the second half of the thirteenth century until the end of the fourteenth, the technological level of the Middle Eastern sugar industry was relatively high and was by no means lower than that of the sugar industries in the southern European countries (″Levantine Sugar Industry,″ 105).

[112]Ibid., 105–6.

[113]On *dūlāb* see Rabie, ″Agriculture in Medieval Egypt,″ 70–71; Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 134 n. 2.

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A Note on Archaeological Evidence for Sugar Production in the Middle Islamic Periods in Bilād al-Shām

The role of sugar in medieval Mediterranean trade is well documented in Italian and Arabic sources. The cultivation of sugar cane and the refinement of sugar are also well documented in the archaeological record.[1] Numerous sugar mills and refineries have been discovered in surveys of Israel and Jordan, and four refineries have been the subject of excavation (and publication), providing physical evidence for sugar production, as well as insight into the modes and methods of production,

[1]The textual evidence for production and trade in the Islamic Mediterranean has been discussed most prolifically by Eliahu Ashtor (see especially his ″Levantine Sugar Industry in the Later Middle Ages: A Case of Technological Decline,″ in *The Islamic Middle East: 700–1900,* ed. Abraham Udovitch [Princeton, 1977], 91–132; idem, ″Levantine Sugar Industry in the Later Middle Ages: An Example of Technological Decline,″ *Israel Oriental Studies* 7 (1977): 226–80). It is also discussed by Andrew M. Watson among other agricultural products: Andrew M. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World* (Cambridge, 1983). W. D. Philips discusses the diffusion of sugar throughout the Mediterranean, and its trade through the sixteenth century: W. D. Philips, ″Sugar Production and Trade in the Mediterranean at the Time of the Crusades,″ in Vladimir Goss, ed., *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades,* Studies in Medieval Culture, vol. 21 (Kalamazoo, 1986), 393–406. A. Peled concentrates on Crusader production in Palestine: A. Peled, ″The Local Sugar Industry under the Latin Kingdom,″ in *Knights of the Holy Land: The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. Silvia Rozenberg (Jerusalem, 1999), 251–57. Anthony Luttrell, Franz Georg Maier and Vassos Karageorghis, and Marie-Louise von Wartburg have all written on the Cypriot sugar industry, with Maier and von Wartburg drawing on excavations of several well-preserved mills on Cyprus: Anthony Luttrell, ″The Sugar Industry and Its Importance for the Economy of Cyprus during the Frankish Period,″ in *The Development of the Cypriot Economy from the Prehistoric Period to the Present Day*, ed. V. Karageorghis and D. Michaelides (Nicosia, 1996), 163–73; Franz Georg Maier and Vassos Karageorghis, *Paphos: History and Archaeology* (Nicosia, 1984); Marie-Louise von Wartburg, ″The Medieval Cane Sugar Industry in Cyprus: Results of Recent Excavations,″ *The Antiquaries Journal* 63 (1983): 298–314; idem, ″Cane Sugar Production Sites in Cyprus, Real and Imagined,″ *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (2000): 381–400. H. Eduard LaGro′s dissertation on Ayyubid-Mamluk ceramics from Tell Abu Sarbut contains a nice summary and description of the sugar industry in the southern Levant, noting al-Nuwayrī′s description of differences between Egyptian and Syrian production methods. See his dissertation (due to be published in 2004): H. Eduard LaGro, ″An Insight into Ayyubid-Mamluk Pottery: Description and Analysis of a Corpus of Mediaeval Pottery from the Cane Sugar Production and Village Occupation at Tell Abu Sarbut in Jordan,″ Ph.D. diss., University of Leiden, 2002.

throughout the region of Bilād al-Shām. In addition, excellent comparanda come from very well preserved sugar refineries dating to the late thirteenth to sixteenth centuries A.D. excavated in Cyprus, which, having been modeled on the earlier and contemporary Levantine refineries, illustrate how the Levantine installations may have functioned.[2] Other comparanda come from Iran and North Africa: a refinery dating to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. was excavated at Susa,[3] and several sites, probably sixteenth century and later, have been surveyed in Morocco.[4] Although sources such as al-Qalqashandī and al-Nuwayrī, as well as Geniza letters and other trading documents, indicate Islamic Egypt was awash in sugar cane, there have unfortunately been no published excavations in Egypt to accompany the textual evidence.[5]

In Bilād al-Shām, four sugar factories have been excavated and published, all in the south, in modern Israel and Jordan. Tell Abu Qa'dan/Deir Alla in southern Jordan was excavated by Henk J. Franken and Moawiyah M. Ibrahim in 1977 and 1978, and the nearby Tell Abu Sarbut was excavated by Hubert de Haas, H.

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[2]Marie-Louise von Wartburg, "Design and Technology of the Medieval Cane Sugar Refineries in Cyprus: A Case Study in Industrial Archaeology," in *Paisajes del Azúcar: Actas del Quinto Seminario International Sobre la Caña de Azúcar,* ed. Antonio Malpica (Granada, 1995), 81–116; von Wartburg and Maier, "Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos): 15th Preliminary Report: Seasons 1987–1988," *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (1989): 175–88. Also see Maier, "Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos): Ninth Preliminary Report: Season 1976," *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (1977): 134–40; von Wartburg and Maier, "Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos): 16th Preliminary Report: Seasons 1989 and 1990," *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (1991): 255–62.

[3]Rémy Boucharlat and Audran Labrousse, "Une sucrerie d'époque islamique sur la rive droite du Chaour à Suse: I: Description et essai d'interprétation des structures," *Cahiers de la délégation archéologique française en Iran* 10 (1979): 155–76; Monik Kervran, "Une sucrerie d'époque islamique sur la rive droite du Chaour à Suse: II: Le matériel archéologique," *Cahiers de la délégation archéologique française en Iran* 10 (1979): 177–237.

[4]Paul Berthier, *Les anciennes sucreries du Maroc et leurs réseaux hydrauliques,* 2 vols. (Rabat, 1966).

[5]For example, Ashtor has culled Arab chroniclers such as Ibn Duqmāq and Ibn Mutawwaj for lists of factory owners in both Cairo and Upper Egypt (Eliahu Ashtor, "Levantine Sugar Industry in the Later Middle Ages: An Example of Technological Decline"). The Cairo Geniza documents, covering a slightly earlier period, also indicate production and sale in Egypt: S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza,* vol. 1, *Economic Foundations* (Berkeley, 1967); idem, "Mediterranean Trade in the Eleventh Century: Some Facts and Problems," in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East: From the Rise of Islam to the Present Day,* ed. M. A. Cook (London, 1970), 51–62. Jean-Claude Garcin has compiled the sources for Qūṣ and Upper Egypt: Jean-Claude Garcin, *Un centre musulman de la Haute-Egypte médiévale, Qūṣ,* Textes arabes et études islamiques no. 6 (Cairo, 1976).

Eduard LaGro, and Margreet L. Steiner in 1989, 1990, and 1992.[6] In Islamic Beisan (Roman-Byzantine Scythopolis), excavations have revealed a Mamluk sugar factory making use of part of the Crusader citadel there. Brief descriptions are included in Ruth Gertwagen's report on the Abbasid-Fatimid fortress and surrounding Islamic settlement,[7] and by Jon Seligman in his report on his excavations of the Crusader citadel.[8] Edna J. Stern has excavated a fairly well-preserved sugar refinery and associated mill in northern Israel that dates to the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods.[9]

There are numerous mills extant in Palestine and the Jordan valley, and numerous places are known from the textual sources to have grown sugar cane and manufactured sugar. All of the surveys of the Jordan valley at least mention sites having numerous sugar pots scattered on the surface, and some have described milling sites in detail.[10] Stern's M.A. thesis provides valuable survey data of the forty-three sites in Israel that have positive evidence of having been sugar factories.[11] She also lists those that may have produced sugar (twenty sites), and those that have been rumored to produce sugar but for which there is no evidence (three

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[6]Henk J. Franken and Mo'awiyah Ibrahim, "Two Seasons of Excavations at Tell Deir 'Alla, 1976–1978," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 22 (1977–78): 57–80; Henk J. Franken and J. Kalsbeek, *Potters of a Medieval Village in the Jordan Valley: Excavations at Tell Deir 'Allā—a Medieval Tell, Tell Abu Gourdan, Jordan* (Amsterdam, 1975); Hubert de Haas et al., "First Season of Excavations at Tell Abu Sarbut, 1988: A Preliminary Report," *ADAJ* 33 (1989): 323–26; idem, "Second and Third Seasons of Excavations at Tell Abu Sarbut, Jordan Valley (Preliminary Report)," *ADAJ* 36 (1992): 333–43.

[7]Ruth Gertwagen, "The Fortress (of Bet She'an)," *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 11 (1989–91): 56–59.

[8]J. Seligman, "Bet She'an, the Citadel," *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 15 (1996): 43–47.

[9]Edna J. Stern, "The Excavations at Lower Horbat Manot: A Medieval Sugar-Production Site," *'Atiqot* 42 (2001): 277–308.

[10]See especially Mo'awiyah Ibrahim et al., "The East Jordan Valley Survey, 1975," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 222 (1976): 41–66; idem, "The East Jordan Valley Survey, 1976 (Part Two)," in *Archaeology of Jordan: Essays and Reports,* ed. Khair Yassine (Amman, 1988), 203; G. R. D. King, "Survey of Byzantine and Islamic Sites in Jordan: Third Season Preliminary Report (1982): The Southern Ghôr," *ADAJ* 31 (1987): 39–460; idem, "Survey of Byzantine and Islamic Sites in Jordan: Third preliminary report (1982): The Wadi Arabah (Part 2)," *ADAJ* 33 (1989): 203; B. MacDonald, *The Wadi el Hasa Archaeological Survey 1979–1983, West-Central Jordan* (Waterloo, Ontario, 1988); idem, "The Southern Ghors and Northeast 'Arabah Archaeological Survey, 1986, Jordan: A Preliminary Report," *ADAJ* 31 (1987): 410; Donald S. Whitcomb, "The Islamic Period as Seen from Selected Sites," in *The Southern Ghors and Northeast 'Arabah Archaeological Survey,* Sheffield Archaeological Monographs, no. 5, ed. B. MacDonald (Sheffield, 1992), 113–18.

[11]Ms. Stern has generously e-mailed me the tables from her M.A. thesis in English.

sites).[12] Fifty-one possible sugar-producing sites in Palestine have also been collected from survey and textual sources and summarized by Brigitte Porëe-Braitowsky in a long article that also relies on some of her own reconnaissance.[13] This number is mostly a count of milling sites, for which there is no direct archaeological evidence of sugar production, however. Here we are concerned with those sites that have been excavated or surveyed, and found to contain the best proof there is for sugar production, which is the presence of great quantities of sherds of both conical sugar molds and syrup jars.[14] Boiled, reduced cane juice (collected from chopped and crushed sugar cane) was poured into the molds, which were conical, having a wide mouth and narrow base, and had one to three small holes punched in the base. The molds were either set directly on or raised over syrup jars, which collected the liquid slowly draining from the mold. This slow draining, as well as evaporation of liquid, resulted in a cone-shaped cake of sugar. The collected syrup might be re-boiled and poured again into molds, or sold in its own right.[15] The sugar molds were often broken during the removal of the sugar cake, resulting in great quantities of broken pottery remaining at sugar-production sites, and likely on-site production of pottery.[16]

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[12]Edna J. Stern, ″The Sugar Industry in Palestine during the Crusader, Ayyubid, and Mamluk Periods in Light of the Archaeological Finds,″ M.A. thesis, Hebrew University, 1999. There are numerous such sites in this region. For example, the excavators at Caesarea believe they have discovered an Abbasid-period mill used for sugar, which would have been animal-driven. They cite no evidence beyond the mill itself, but Caesarea was known as one of the more important sites of sugar production in the early Islamic period. See Avner Raban, ″Combined Caesarea Excavations (B),″ *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 17 (1998): 58–76. (I am grateful to Asa Eger for this reference.)

[13]Brigitte Porëe-Braitowsky, ″Les moulins et fabriques à sucre de Palestine et de Chypre: Histoire, geographie et technologie d′une production croisee et medievale,″ in *Kypros kai oi Staurophories/Cyprus and the Crusades: Papers given at the International Conference ′Cyprus and the Crusades,′ Nicosia, 6–9 September, 1994,* ed. Nicholas Coureas and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Nicosia, 1995), 377–510.

[14]Milling sites that are not accompanied by this ceramic evidence could not have been used for sugar, although it has been argued that some of them may have been built for grinding sugar cane and were later used for grain.

[15]The reconstruction of sugar production comes from al-Nuwayrī, and from the above-mentioned excavations at Kouklia, Cyprus. See LaGro′s useful summary of al-Nuwayrī′s description in his dissertation (LaGro, ″An Insight into Ayyubid-Mamluk Pottery,″ 30–31, or al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,* vol. 7 (Cairo, 1931).

[16]Berthier, *Les anciennes sucreries du Maroc;* Franken and Kalsbeek, *Potters of a Medieval Village*; von Wartburg, ″The Medieval Cane Sugar Industry in Cyprus.″

Summaries of the excavations known to date illustrate what is known and possible to know from the archaeological evidence:

Tell Deir Alla is a large mound in the east side of the Jordan valley, close to the Zerqa' river. Excavations from 1960 to 1967 by Henk J. Franken of the University of Leiden revealed intensive Late Bronze Age and Iron Age occupation, but in the Islamic periods the site was used as a cemetery, presumably contemporaneous with the adjacent site of Tell Abu Qa'dan.[17] Some of the grave goods include sugar molds and syrup jars.[18] At Tell Abu Qa'dan, northeast of Deir Alla, mills were still visible in the early twentieth century several hundred meters to the east of the tell.[19] Because of its presumed relationship with Tell Deir Alla, it was excavated briefly in 1967 by M. Jamerah of the Department of Antiquities. These excavations and a detailed ceramic study were published by Franken and J. Kalsbeek, providing the most detailed study extant of sugar vessels from this region.[20] Only two 5 m x 5 m trenches were dug, with most of the work concentrating on one trench. The excavators reached a depth of 6.5 m, of material that they dated from the eighth to the fifteenth centuries A.D.[21] In trench DA/AR100 a series of courtyard levels was excavated, each containing pottery, ash, and thick clay deposits from collapsed walls, as well as some pits and thick ash deposits. Bread ovens were also found. The excavators emphasize that the most surprising aspect of the excavation was the very large quantity of ceramic recovered from the courtyards, including several pots smashed *in situ* by a collapsed wall, and thus able to be reconstructed. Partly because of the nature of the deposition, and partly because of the speed of excavation, the excavators were unable to get good stratigraphic differentiation. All the dating is done on the basis of ceramic analysis, not stratigraphy. Thus Franken and Kalsbeek differentiate three phases of occupation, or at least of ceramic production, but they are unable to anchor them to an absolute chronology.

The greatest quantity of sherds from the site is of two types, present only in

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[17]Franken and Ibrahim, ″Two Seasons of Excavations at Tell Deir ′Alla, 1976–1978.″ (Abu Qa'dan is spelled Abu Gourdan in the publications.)

[18]The cemetery was again excavated in 1976–78 by a joint expedition of the University of Leiden and the Jordanian Department of Antiquities, directed by H. J. Franken and M. M. Ibrahim.

[19]Franken and Kalsbeek, *Potters of a Medieval Village*, 219.

[20]Ibid.

[21]James A. Sauer questions the basis for these dates, as Franken and Kalsbeek make only a few general comparisons of their pottery with other sites, and make no attempt to sort through the nineteen layers of stratigraphy. James A. Sauer, ″Pottery Techniques at Tell Deir ′Alla,″ *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 222 (1976): 91–94. LaGro′s dissertation is meant to follow up on and perhaps improve upon Franken and Kalsbeek′s ceramic study: LaGro, ″An Insight into Ayyubid-Mamluk Pottery.″

the latter two phases of the site. Thousands of body sherds were found belonging to the above-described sugar-pots: conical molds (these having a single small hole in the base) and syrup jars, which are generally described as ″bag-shaped,″ and are handle-less and almost rimless. Both types of sugar pot are usually of somewhat coarse red- or white-firing wares, thickly potted. Only the interiors of the molds are smoothed. According to Franken and Kalsbeek′s study of those at Deir Alla and Abu Qa'dan, they are made with a combination of coil-built and wheel-thrown techniques. The molds come in various heights, keeping a generally standard rim diameter. They seem to be roughly standardized to three different capacities. The same rim variations occur in each phase, making rim changes useless for chronology. Syrup jars are likewise consistent in shape and capacity throughout the periods. The vast majority of both molds and jars are plain, but there are rare examples of decorated sugar molds, having combed decoration or even a dark green glaze.[22] The sheer quantity of ceramics related to the sugar industry, along with the presence of some vitrified sherds, indicates that they may have been produced on site to meet the high demands of sugar production.[23] The courtyards themselves may represent the remains of a refinery, used over a long period of time.

Tell Abu Sarbut, only about 1.5 km west-northwest of Tell Deir Alla and Tell Abu Qa'dan, was excavated by Hubert de Haas, H. Eduard LaGro and Margreet L. Steiner in 1989, 1990, and 1992. Although no remains of either a mill or a press were found, the excavators did find part of a large building that may have been used as a refinery, with two main phases of use some time apart. In its second phase there were benches with sugar molds embedded in them, ready to hold other sugar molds into which the boiled sugar cane juice would be poured. Many fragments of sugar molds and jars were also found here. Another part of the tell revealed a domestic area containing four phases of Ayyubid-Mamluk occupation built directly over unexcavated Byzantine remains. Material culture included numerous ceramics, but also fragments of glass bracelets and pieces of iron and bronze. The dating of this area and the factory was based on calibrated ^{14}C dates.[24] They date the last phase of the domestic area, which is evidence of the village, to A.D. 1434–1510 or 1598–1620, and the phase succeeding the last phase of the factory to 1292–1448. Thus the factories could have been late Ayyubid or early

[22]Franken and Kalsbeek, *Potters of a Medieval Village*, 143–46.

[23]For comparison, the fourteenth–fifteenth-century sugar mill at Kouklia on Cyprus included a simple round kiln for manufacturing the molds and jars on site (von Wartburg, ″The Medieval Cane Sugar Industry in Cyprus″). Generally the quantity of specialized vessels for sugar production is so high at each site that it only seems reasonable to assume that they were manufactured on-site.

[24]The reports do not disclose what material was used for the ^{14}C samples or how many samples were taken.

Mamluk. We may infer that the village was not completely dependent upon the success of the factories, for it remained occupied for at least a century after the last use of the factory.[25]

Beisan or Bet She'an, Byzantine Scythopolis, also possesses evidence of sugar production in its later periods. It has been excavated by numerous institutions, but we are concerned with two projects: the Bet She'an Excavation Project in cooperation with the Department of Archaeology of Haifa University excavated the area of interest to us in August–October 1989 and May–November 1990 under the direction of Ruth Gertwagen and Adrian Boaz; and the Israel Antiquities Authority excavated in the summers of 1992, 1993, and 1994 under the direction of Jon Seligman. In the lower town, in an area about 400 m west of the center of the Roman-Byzantine town, there is an area of occupation dating from the Byzantine through the Ottoman periods, centered around the Crusader citadel. The citadel appears to have been built over an earlier fortress from the Abbasid-Fatimid periods. In the early Mamluk period a complex of installations for the manufacture of sugar was built inside the citadel's inner rooms, keep, and part of the moat, as well as over the basalt buildings to the north of the citadel, which may be interpreted as houses built around a courtyard. The principal evidence for sugar manufacture is the presence of thousands of sherds of sugar pots lying on a lime floor. Seligman also noted "compartments built along the walls to support vessels used in the sugar industry," presumably sugar molds.[26] Unfortunately neither Gertwagen nor Seligman describe the finds in detail, although Seligman notes they found no installations for processing the cane itself (i.e., a press). In any case the industry appears to have been short-lived in this location, and by the late Ottoman period the citadel's upper story was rebuilt and used as a school.

Excavations at Yesud HaMa'ala in the Galilee have revealed the interesting building sequence of a possible synagogue cum sugar factory.[27] Yesud HaMa'ala is in eastern Galilee, on the east bank of the Jordan, about 15 km north of Safed. Excavations were carried out there in 1883, 1970, and 1974–83 by Y. Shoram,

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[25]De Haas et al., "First Season of Excavations at Tell Abu Sarbut"; idem, "Second and Third Seasons of Excavations at Tell Abu Sarbut"; LaGro, "An Insight into Ayyubid-Mamluk Pottery. "

[26]Seligman, "Bet She'an, the Citadel."

[27]Although there are four short publications by the excavators in Hebrew, I have relied most heavily on the summary in French by Porëe-Braitowsky. A. Biran, "Yesud HaMa'ala," in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1993), 4:1510; Biran and Shoram, "Remains of a Synagogue and of a Sugar Installation at Yesud HaMa'alah" (in Hebrew), *Eretz-Israel, Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies* 19 (1987); A. Biran and Dan Urman, "Yesud HaMa'ala, Synagogue—1982–1983" (in Hebrew), *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 2 (1983): 110–11; Porëe-Braitowsky, "Les moulins et fabriques à sucre de Palestine et de Chypre."

Avraham Biran, and Dan Urman. The building housing the sugar factory seems to be undated. The entire twenty-one meter length of the south wall was uncovered to a height of 1.5 m. The interior space of the building was divided with two rows of columns. In its latest phase the three spaces provided by the rows of columns each held a plastered basin in and around which numerous fragments of sugar molds and jars were discovered. The basins each incorporated a column base. Further evidence of sugar refining was the presence of a five-meter-long stone canal, providing the water necessary for the process of sugar refining.

The ceramics, including those of the sugar pots, were dated on the basis of one Crusader coin minted in Cyprus to the thirteenth century, to which the excavators date the last phase of use of the building. The excavators claim that there were no ceramics later than the medieval period, and also that there were no Roman or Byzantine sherds. The colonnaded building is nevertheless identified as a synagogue based on an Aramean inscription found on the site, along with architectural similarities with those at Gush Halav and Capernaum, which date to the fourth through sixth centuries A.D.

Excavations at Lower Horbat Manot provide the final example of an excavated sugar refinery in Bilād al-Shām. This was a salvage excavation conducted by the Israel Antiquities Authority in 1995. At this site, on the Acre plain about 12 km northeast of Acre, a refinery and aqueduct were built by Godfrey le Tor in the thirteenth century A.D. (who sold it to the Hospitallers, who in turn leased it to the Teutonic Knights of Montfort) and remained in operation under Mamluk and then Ottoman governance.[28] A screw-press nearby was likely the site of sugar cane crushing, before it was taken to the refinery to be boiled. The excavation of the site was incomplete, but the excavators did establish the location of the building that would have housed the fire pits over which cauldrons of cane juice would have been boiled, and they fully excavated the courtyard where the cakes of sugar were dried. The large quantities of sugar pots dating from the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries indicated that the production of sugar did not slacken during or after the transition to Mamluk rule.[29] The nature of the Ottoman sugar production is far more fragmentary, however. One transformation is apparent, and that is in the manufacture of the sugar vessels themselves. In the Crusader period they are made of a cleaned clay, with added temper, and fired at a high temperature to a hard finish. The Mamluk and Ottoman vessels were, however, made of clay that had not been cleaned or had any added temper, and were fired at a lower temperature to a softer finished product. Stern suggests this difference in production may reflect the change in ownership between the Crusader and Mamluk periods,

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[28]Stern, "The Excavations at Lower Horbat Manot."

[29]Ibid.

even though the workers at the plant are likely to have remained the same, coming from the nearby village of Manueth.[30] In addition, the capacity of the molds became greater over time, with the Crusader sugar molds having an average volume of 3.8 liters, the Mamluk sugar molds having volumes of 4, 4.5, or 6 liters, and the Ottoman sugar molds being too fragmentary to determine their volume.[31]

As mentioned above, comparanda for the functioning of sugar mills and refineries can be found at several sites on Cyprus, which are said to be modeled on the Crusader refineries found on the Levantine coast.[32] The sugar factory at Kouklia-Paphos is the most complete factory extant, containing a press, mill, boiling and refining installations, and a workshop and storage area, built within the remains of Roman temples. It was thoroughly excavated by a Swiss-German expedition in the late 1980s, and dates from the thirteenth century with possible use into the seventeenth century.[33] The layout of the factory is logical and efficient for the production of sugar, and represents a refinement of mill planning from those known in the Levant, the layouts of which do not seem planned. Water, so important in both the growing of cane and the production of sugar, was brought to the site from a spring 3 mi. away by means of an aqueduct. Two mills operated at the site, the smaller perhaps an addition to increase the milling capacity of the factory. The larger stone-built mill, grinding hall, and refinery are adjoined, sitting at the bottom of a slope on the main aqueduct line. In the mill proper, the cane was crushed on a large mill-base, still *in situ,* on which a large animal-driven runner stone rotated. The mash thus produced was then taken to a water-driven mill north of the hall and pressed, as described by al-Nuwayrī. The adjoining vaulted refinery hall contained basins for collecting the freshly-squeezed cane juice, and hearths for boiling it in large copper cauldrons, as well as a water conduit in the center of the room, compartments for molds of sugar juice to rest on beams for evaporation, and rooms with water basins for the soaking and cleaning of sugar jars and molds.[34] The stone and mud-brick hearths are constructed so that their stoking chambers are on the outside of the building, to prevent ash and soot from entering

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[30]Ibid.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Von Wartburg, ″The Medieval Cane Sugar Industry in Cyprus″; idem, ″Cane Sugar Production Sites in Cyprus.″ Until the mid-fifteenth century, the master of the royal refinery at Kouklia was always a Syrian (Maier and Karageorghis, *Paphos: History and Archaeology*).

[33]Von Wartburg, ″The Medieval Cane Sugar Industry in Cyprus″; von Wartburg and Maier, ″Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos): 15th Preliminary Report″; idem, ″Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos): 16th Preliminary Report.″

[34]Von Wartburg, ″The Medieval Cane Sugar Industry in Cyprus.″

the refining area.[35] A storage and workshop area was found adjoining this complex at the north, which may have served as a place to store and repair the cauldrons and other implements used in refining. An additional mill or crushing installation was found here as well.[36]

This review of the excavations of sugar-production sites reveals that the archaeological evidence corroborates the textual evidence of both the processes by which sugar was produced in the Mamluk period and the implements with which it was done.[37] The numerous sugar mills that have been surveyed (twenty positively-identified sites in modern Israel alone) also seem to corroborate the story of large quantities of sugar being produced for the international and probably local markets in this period. On the other hand, these excavations and surveys cannot yet flesh out the picture of production in rural Bilād al-Shām, placing sugar in its agricultural and economic contexts. This is not due to the inherent limitations of archaeological investigation, but rather to the failure on the part of excavators to determine the relationship of the sugar refineries with their supporting settlements. This element is missing from all excavations discussed above but that of Tell Abu Sarbut, where the excavators determined that the existence of the village was not contingent upon the success of the sugar refinery, as it was occupied long after the refinery was defunct.[38] Careful excavation of additional sugar factories and their attendant settlements will help address such debated issues as rural population fluctuation in Mamluk Bilād al-Shām, and the degree to which populations of various regions depended on cash crops and associated industries.

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[35]Von Wartburg and Maier, ″Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos): 15th Preliminary Report.″

[36]Von Wartburg and Maier, ″Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos): 16th Preliminary Report.″

[37]For example, al-Nuwayrī describes the sugar pots and molds, noting that the molds were of different volumes.

[38]This may soon be remedied by the ongoing research at Tall Hisban in southern Jordan, where excavators have unearthed a storeroom containing sugar storage jars. The surrounding area is likely to have held numerous sugar mills, and several mill sites have tentatively been identified in archaeological field surveys as being Mamluk. See Bethany J. Walker, ″Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilad al-Sham in the Eighth/Fourteenth Century: The Case of Hisban,″ *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 62 no. 4 (2003): 241–61. As she notes in this article on p. 259, n. 81, research on the possible sugar industry at Hisban will integrate the field research and textual study of *waqf* and other documents and is published in her article entitled ″Mamluk Investment in Transjordan: A ′Boom and Bust′ Economy″ in this volume.

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Mamluk Investment in Transjordan: a ″Boom and Bust″ Economy*

The fourteenth century witnessed a flurry of economic activity not only in Egypt but also in the most remote and previously neglected of the Mamluk provinces, such as *Mamlakat Karak* and the southern districts of *Mamlakat Dimashq*. This region, which constitutes today′s Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, benefited from intense capital investment from Cairene sources, as well as an expansion of the local military and administrative apparatuses. From the reinstatement of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to the sultanate in 1310 until the end of the century the agriculture of geographical Transjordan prospered. Yet, in spite of this prosperity and the obvious financial benefit gained by the Egyptian state from this region, large parts of the Transjordan were abandoned by the fifteenth century.

The handful of historians who have written on Mamluk Jordan and the much larger number of archaeologists working in the region′s ″Middle Islamic″ period have largely agreed on the factors behind this phenomenon.[1] They regularly cite natural disasters (earthquakes, droughts, locust infestations, and floods), plague and other epidemics, currency devaluation and changing trade and transport routes, political factionalism in Cairo, and the region′s unruly bedouin, who are said to have been eager to devour villages once the garrisons protecting them pulled out, as creating the conditions for the economic collapse of the fifteenth century.[2] They describe this collapse as total, affecting the entire region, and permanent, a financial,

*The following is based on a paper presented at the MESA Annual Conference in Washington, D.C., on November 25, 2002, as part of the pre-organized panel ″From Alexandria to Aden: Commerce and Society in the Medieval Middle East.″ I want to thank Dr. Warren Schultz for organizing this panel and for his encouragement in submitting my contribution for publication here.

[1]The most prolific of the historians are Jordanian nationals: Drs. Yūsuf Ghawānimah and Muḥammad ʻAdnān al-Bakhīt. The most relevant archaeological literature will be cited throughout this paper.

[2]Yūsuf Ghawānimah, ″The Affects of Plague and Drought on the Environment of the Southern Levant During the Late Mamluk Periods″ (in Arabic), *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 2 (1985): 315–22, and idem, ″Earthquake Effects on Bilad al-Sham Settlements,″ *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 4 (1992): 53–59; R. M. Brown, ″Late Islamic Settlement Patterns on the Kerak Plateau, Trans-Jordan,″ M.A. thesis, SUNY-Binghamton, 1984; Jum′a Mahmoud H. Kareem, *The Settlement Patterns in the Jordan Valley in the Mid- to Late Islamic Period* (Oxford, 2000), 12 and 16–17.

political, and demographic ruin from which the region recovered only briefly in the sixteenth century. Their conclusions are based largely on contemporary Egyptian sources and interpretations of archaeological surveys in the region now twenty or more years old. They are regularly cited in both the historical and archaeological literature and have colored the way both groups of scholars "read" their respective sources.

The economic decline of Transjordan should be understood as part of the larger pattern of political, financial, social, and environmental decline of Greater Syria and the Mamluk empire as a whole. Its local conditions, however, must also be considered in any debate about the agricultural and demographic shifts of the late Mamluk period. Transjordan was unique in many respects. Outside of Kerak in the south (the nursery of sultans and a provincial capital) and the smaller administrative center of ʻAjlūn to the north, it had no large or permanent official centers. Although the structure of Mamluk administration throughout Syria was irregular, the Transjordan seemed to have been particularly susceptible to shifts in district capitals, fluid administrative borders, and frequent changes in the ranks of its local governors, phenomena perhaps reflecting the state's precarious relationship with the region's large bedouin population.[3] Moreover, investment by the state and state officials had an ambiguous effect on the fortunes of this region. While the location of the hajj and caravan routes through its interior certainly benefited Jordan, the plantation-style development of the Ghôr (Jordan Valley) for growing and processing cane sugar and the conversion of some of the best farmland in the well-watered northern highlands and central plains to vast, grain-producing *iqṭāʻāt* may have contributed to uneven development of the region, favoring particular districts over others. In addition, much of this land was made *waqf* for institutions outside of Jordan. Many of these endowments, and the farms that supported them, survived well into the Ottoman period.[4] This was not necessarily the case with the agricultural properties in the Ghôr, a large portion of which belonged to the sultan as part of his personal estate *(khāṣṣ).* In the absence of a strong, centralized government, irrigation canals fell into disrepair, there was no longer any direct supervision of sugar manufacturing and transport, and many industries were abandoned, to be replaced by new agricultural projects.[5]

A general over-reliance on written sources from Egypt has obscured many of

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[3]Bethany J. Walker, "Mamluk Investment in Southern *Bilād al-Shām* in the Fourteenth Century: The Case of Ḥisbān," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 62, no. 4 (2003): 243 ff.

[4]See the discussion of the Ottoman tax registers for northern Jordan below.

[5]In his archaeological survey of the northern Jordan Valley, Kareem began to document the rise and fall of the local sugar industry through mill sites, storage facilities, canals, and road systems (Kareem, *Settlement Patterns in the Jordan Valley,* 9 ff).

these developments. What was true for Egypt was not necessarily true for the Transjordan, as a reading of Syrian sources seems to indicate. Among the chronicles of the period, those of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (who died in 1448) and Baybars al-Dawādār *(Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah)* are illustrative of the kind of data available on local agriculture. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s *Tārīkh* includes regular excerpts of letters exchanged between this judge and his colleagues posted in other cities throughout Syria. These letters often discuss how crops are doing that year in villages under the judges′ jurisdictions, occasionally mention the prices of agricultural goods, and lament the cold spells and floods that have ruined local harvests. Significant in this regard are passages describing farms in northern (the village of Ḥibrāṣ) and central (the village of Ḥisbān) Jordan.[6] The Mamluk amir Baybars al-Dawādār served as the governor *(nā'ib)* of Kerak from 1286 to 1291.[7] While this source is primarily concerned with political events and military campaigns, the author makes the occasional reference to towns and villages in southern and central Transjordan and the road networks that connect them. The Syrian geographies of the period are also a rich source of information about the location of towns and villages, the topography of the region, water resources, and agricultural specialization. Most significant in this regard are *Al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah* of Ibn Shaddād (d. 1285) and *Nukhbat al-Dahr fī 'Ajā'ib al-Barr wa-al-Baḥr* of al-Dimashqī (d. 1327).[8] In addition, the secretary′s manual of Amir Khalīl al-Ẓāhirī, who served at Kerak in 1437, not only describes the administrative structure of Greater Syria in his day but also describes, however irregularly, the topography, climate, and crops that characterize each region.

These sources are very general and treat the smaller villages of the region in only a cursory fashion. Mamluk *waqfīyāt* and early Ottoman tax registers (*defter*s) are much richer sources of information on demographics, the size of farms, ownership of rural estates, crops grown in the smallest of villages, and the revenues they yield. With one exception, the *waqfīyāt* remain in manuscript form; several from the Dār al-Wathā'iq and Wizārat al-Awqāf in Cairo are presented publicly for the first time in this study.[9] Many of the Ottoman registers in Istanbul relevant to Jordan have been published and translated into Arabic by Muḥammad 'Adnān

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[6]Abū Bakr Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* ed. 'Adnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1977–), 3:164 (entry for year 761) and 4:181 (year 803).

[7]Baybars al-Manṣūr al-Dawādār, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah,* ed. D. S. Richards (Beirut, 1998), XVI.

[8]These sources, however, should be used with caution. They often combine data from much older sources with contemporary descriptions, not always specifying the time period to which they are referring. In order to locate rural sites from archival sources (such as *waqfīyāt*), one should combine the medieval geographies with a reading of more modern travel accounts.

[9]They are listed at the end of this paper.

Bakhīt and charted into map form by the historical geographers Hütteroth and Abdulfattah.[10] These are a gold mine of detailed data on Mamluk agriculture and rural endowment practices, because the Ottomans inherited the Mamluks′ local tax apparatus and applied it with little alteration in the sixteenth century and the registers make regular reference to *awqāf* in the region dating back to the Mamluk period.[11] In the absence of any comparable Mamluk tax records, these sources are priceless for this kind of research. The picture of Jordanian agriculture that emerges from these documents is one of continuity. While it is clear that many villages were abandoned during the fifteenth century and that there was some level of decline in agriculture throughout Jordan, some areas, particularly the north, continued to be relatively productive throughout this period and grew rapidly in population in the first half of the sixteenth century.

In addition to the underutilization of these textual sources, there are archaeological reasons for reconsidering the phenomenon of decline in Mamluk Jordan. A refinement of ceramic chronologies during the last fifteen years has resulted in the identification of many Middle (or Ayyubid and Mamluk) and Late Islamic (Ottoman) occupational levels and sites that were mistakenly assigned to other time periods.[12] This, combined with an intensified effort at regional surveys

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[10]These are the registers published by Bakhīt and used for this study: three registers for Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah (*Tapu Defteri* #430 of 930/1523, #401 of 950/1534, and #99 of 1005/1596–97) and two for Liwā᾽ ʻAjlūn (*Tapu Defteri* #970 and #185 of 1005/1596). There is no date given for #970 in the manuscript used by Bakhīt, but he suggests a date of roughly 1538, based on the year of service for an amir named as an *iqṭā*ʻ recipient in one entry (Muḥammad ʻAdnān Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah [Shamālī al-Urdunn] fī al-Qarn al-ʻĀshir al-Hijrī/al-Sādis ʻĀshir al-Mīlādī* [Amman, 1989], 9). Hütteroth and Abdulfattah use the following: *defter-i mufassal* of Liwā᾽ Quds al-Sharīf (#112), Nablus (#100), Gaza (#192), Lajjūn (#181), ʻAjlūn (#185), Ṣafad (#72), and Shām al-Sharīf of Ḥawrān subprovince (#99) (Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth and Kamal Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late 16th Century* [Erlangen, 1977], 4). Bakhīt also used two of these registers. They date to 1005/1596–97 and reflect the results of the ″new census″ taken at the end of the century, which was the last the Ottomans administered in the Arab provinces.

[11]The Ottomans levied the ʻ*ushr* on charitable *awqāf*. This is why they appear as a source of revenue for *khāṣṣ, timar,* and *za᾽āmāt* holders in the registers.

[12]Ceramicists are slowly beginning to visually differentiate Ayyubid, Mamluk, and Ottoman variations of the Handmade Geometric Painted Ware (Jeremy Johns, ″The Rise of Middle Islamic Hand-Made Geometrically-Painted Ware in Bilad al-Sham [11th–13th Centuries A.D.],″ in *Colloque international d′archéologie islamique*, Textes arabes et études islamiques no. 36 [Cairo, 1993], 65–93; R. M. Brown, ″A 12th Century A.D. Sequence from Southern Transjordan: Crusader and Ayyubid Occupation at el-Wu᾽eira,″ *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 31 [1987]: 267; and idem, ″Summary Report of the 1986 Excavations: Late Islamic Shobak,″ *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 32 [1988]: 225–45) and handmade burnished cookpots with ″elephant ear″ handles (ibid.). One category of crudely handmade bowls, often attributed to ″bedouin″

and the excavation of late medieval sites, is forcing archaeologists working in the country to rewrite the occupational history of late Mamluk and early Ottoman Jordan.[13] On the basis of archaeological data alone it is becoming clear that while certain regions were abandoned by the fifteenth century (such as much of the Kerak Plateau),[14] much of the remainder of the country was still occupied and retained viable local markets and a productive agricultural base.[15]

The most damaging evidence against general economic decline in Jordan at the end of the fourteenth century is the numerous endowments of productive agricultural land located throughout the country and dating to the third quarter of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth centuries. Thus, Jordan′s overall economy, as it can be measured from *awqāf* alone, would appear to be thriving at the very time that the Mamluk economy was in ″decline.″[16] Among the published examples of the endowment of rural land in Jordan by sultans are: the endowment by Barqūq of the villages of Nimrīn, Kafrīn, and Zarā'ah in the Jordan Valley and

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manufacture, is generally acknowledged by archaeologists to be Ottoman to modern in date (B. Mershen, ″Recent Hand-Made Pottery from Northern Jordan,″ *Berytus* 33 [1985]: 75–87) or twelfth-century to modern (Dr. Roberta Tomber, Museum of London and Wādī Faynān Expedition, personal communication, citing parallels from Petra and Gharandale; the Wādī Faynān pottery is as yet unpublished). For a general downdating of several Mamluk wares to the Ottoman period, consult G. Ziadeh, ″Ottoman Ceramics from Ti'innik, Palestine,″ *Levant* 27 (1995): 209–45.

[13]An important survey in this regard is that of Wādī Faynān (interim reports have been published in recent issues of *Levant;* see also previous note and forthcoming monograph *Archaeology and Desertification: the Wādī Faynān Landscape Survey, Jordan,* ed. G. Barker and D. Mattingly [Amman]). For excavated sites, see Brown, ″Summary Report″ (Shobak); A. M. McQuitty, M. A. Sarley-Pontin, M. Khoury, M. P. Charles, and C. F. Hoppe, ″Mamluk Khirbat Fāris,″ *ARAM* 9 (1997): 181–226 (Khirbat Fāris); and B. J. Walker and O. S. LaBianca, ″The Islamic *Quṣūr* of Tall Ḥisbān: Preliminary Report on the 1998 and 2001 Seasons,″ *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 14 (2003): in print (Tall Ḥisbān).

[14]J. Maxwell Miller, *Archaeological Survey of the Kerak Plateau* (Atlanta, 1991); Brown, ″Late Islamic Settlement Patterns.″

[15]Walker and LaBianca, ″Islamic *Quṣūr* of Tall Ḥisbān″; Walker, ″Mamluk Investment in Southern *Bilād al-Shām*″; Jeremy Johns, ″The *Longue Durée:* State and Settlement Strategies in Southern Transjordan Across the Islamic Centuries,″ in *Village, Steppe and State: The Social Origins of Modern Jordan,* ed. E. L. Rogan and T. Tell (London, 1994), 1–31.

[16]Endowments of rural properties are only one measure of economic health. Other factors that are quantifiable or can be documented textually or archaeologically, and which will be examined in my forthcoming *Life on the Mamluk Frontier, Transjordan 1260–1516 A.D.,* are minting and exchange of coins, prices, distribution and longevity of industrial sites (copper smelting, sugar processing, textile factories, etc.), continuity of local and regional markets, maintenance of roads and caravansaries, evidence of continued exchange of luxury goods (certain categories of glazed wares, imported semi-precious stones, exotic building materials), and educational facilities and programs.

several properties in Egypt, Palestine, Jordan, and Syria for his mosque-madrasah complex in Cairo;[17] Khushqadam′s endowment of a *mazra‘ah* (isolated plot) in the Ghôr and the villages of Marw and Harhar in northern Jordan for his madrasah in Cairo;[18] and Sha‘bān′s endowment of the village of Ādar and a bathhouse and garden in Wadi Kerak in 777/1375.[19]

The following is a preliminary discourse on the success of Mamluk agricultural investment in Jordan in the fourteenth century and its apparent failure by the fifteenth. The oft-repeated wholescale abandonment of this region at the end of the century is far from proven. It remains to be determined to what degree Jordan really was abandoned by the Mamluk authorities and subsequently depopulated and what factors account for this. Was this image of a ″boom and bust″ economy true for the entire country or only parts of it? What were the Mamluk state′s administrative and agricultural objectives in the region and what impact did they have on Transjordanian society, in terms of its economic health and settlement patterns, and the local environment?

In order to assess the regional differences, if any, in settlement history or agricultural development, I have selected individual villages in four different districts in Jordan as case studies: Malkā and Ḥibrāṣ in the Sawād (northern Jordan, between the Yarmouk River and Irbid and southeast of the Sea of Galilee); Nimrīn and Kafrīn in the Lower Ghôr (central Jordan Valley); Ḥisbān in the Balqā’ (central Jordanian highlands, the Madaba Plains); and Ādar (a suburb of Kerak) in the Shira’ (southern Jordanian highlands) (Fig. 1).[20] All six villages are

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[17]There is no date for the Ghôr endowments—Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah,* 23; M. A. Bakhīt and Nūfān Rajā’ al-Ḥammūd, *Daftar Mufaṣṣal Liwā’ ‘Ajlūn: Ṭābū Daftarī Raqm 185, ‘Anqarah 1005 Hijrī Muwāfiq 1596 Mīlādī* (Amman, 1991), 32. The other endowments appear in an unpublished manuscript (*Waqfīyah* 9/51) and date to 796/1393.

[18]No date—Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah,* 45 and 57; M. A. Bakhīt and N. R. al-Ḥammūd, *Daftar Mufaṣṣal Liwā’ ‘Ajlūn: Ṭābū Daftarī Raqm 970* (Amman, 1989), 187; and idem, *Ṭābū Daftarī Raqm 185,* 32.

[19]Manuscript incomplete, and recipient remains unknown—*Waqfīyah* 8/49, sections relevant to Jordan published in Yūsuf Ghawānimah, *Tārīkh Sharqī al-Urdunn fī ‘Aṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-‘Ūlá (al-Qism al-Ḥaḍārī)* (Amman, 1979), 243–44; idem, ″Al-Qaryah fī Junūb al-Shām (al-Urdunn wa-Filisṭīn) fī al-‘Aṣr al-Mamlūkī fī Ḍaw’ Waqfīyāt Ādar,″ *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 1 (1982): 363–71; and M. A. Bakhīt, ″Awqāf During the Late Mamluk Period and the Early Ottoman Times in Palestine and Jordan,″ in *Urbanism and Islam,* ed. Editorial Committee of the Research Project ″Urbanism in Islam, a Comparative Study″ (Tokyo, 1994), 186.

[20]Jordan in Mamluk times was administratively divided between the southern section *(safaqah)* of the Province of Damascus *(Mamlakat Dimashq)* in the north and the Province of Kerak *(Mamlakat Karak)* in the south (Nicola Ziadeh, *Urban Life in Syria Under the Early Mamluks* [Beirut, 1953], 13; Aḥmad ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, *Al-Ta‘rīf bi-al-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf,* ed. M. Mas‘ūd [Cairo, 1894], 177–81). The northern half of the country consisted of five regions *(‘amal):* the Balqā’ (its

attested historically, having appeared in medieval geographies and been recorded in some detail in Mamluk *waqfīyāt* or Ottoman tax registers or both. All have been either excavated or surveyed and appear in formal archaeological reports. A combined analysis of all of these sources indicates that each village experienced the mixed benefits of an uneven investment in local agriculture by the Mamluk state. Moreover, two were local administrative centers and enjoyed some political prominence: Ḥibrāṣ was one of the largest villages in the Sawād in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods, and Ḥisbān served as the capital (a *wilāyah*) of the Balqā' (an *'amal*) for roughly the first half of the fourteenth century.[21]

I am most concerned in this article with determining when and where (and under what circumstances) agricultural investment in Jordan began by Mamluk officials; quantifying that investment (and determining to what degree that system was exploitative); and identifying when it came to an end, why it did. These questions can only by fully addressed by using all the sources available, that is to combine textual, archival, and archaeological data. The data gleaned from archaeological surveys, in particular, are ideally suited to a rereading and fleshing out of medieval *waqfīyāt* and tax registers. All three sources are concerned with historical and economic geography, their coverage overlapping with and complementing each other in various ways. This is an experiment in methodology that I believe is beginning to bear fruit.

capital shifted among Amman, Ḥisbān, and Ṣalt), Jabal 'Awf (and its capital 'Ajlūn), the Sawād (containing the districts, or *aqālīm,* of Bayt Rās and Fahl/Pella), the Upper Ghôr (with its center of al-Quṣayr), and the Middle Ghôr (its center was 'Amaṭah) (A. G. Walmsley, "Settled Life in Mamluk Jordan: Views of the Jordan Valley from Fahl [Pella]," *ARAM* 9 [1997]: 129; Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Dimashqī, "Nukhbat al-Dahr fī 'Ajā'ib al-Birr wa-al-Baḥr," published as *Manuel de la Cosmographie du Moyen Age,* ed. M. A. F. Mehren [Amsterdam, 1964], 270 ff.). For the rank of the amirs stationed in the local capitals, see Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'* (Cairo, 1913–), 5:207–8. This was the agricultural heartland of the country. Southern Jordan, while agriculturally less productive, on the whole was more important politically because of the prominence of Kerak in the Mamluk period. This province included Kerak, Shobak, and the Lower Ghôr. Jordan in the Ottoman period was part of Damascus Province in three parts: the southernmost sections of the subprovince of the Ḥawrān (Qaḍā' Ḥawrān), Liwā' 'Ajlūn, and Niyābat Karak. Four districts in the southern Ḥawrān in this period are located in modern Jordan: Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah (in the Sawād, today's Irbid District), Nāḥiyat Juhmah, Nāḥiyat al-'Asar, and Nāḥiyat 'Uqbah (Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah,* 1–2).

[21]For an administrative history of Tall Ḥisbān, see Walker, "Mamluk Investment in Southern *Bilād al-Shām,*" and idem, "Mamluk Administration of Transjordan: Recent Findings from Tall Ḥisbān," *Al-'Uṣūr al-Wusṭá* 13, no. 2 (2001): 29–33.

Northern Jordan

One of the richest agricultural regions in Jordan is the ″Sawād,″ the rolling hills and deep wadis located between the Yarmouk River and Irbid. Because it is so close to the border with modern Syria, the Sawād fell under the administration of either Syria or Jordan through the medieval and early modern periods.[22] This location placed it at the crossroads of communications and commerce; an extensive network of roads connected the regional center, Irbid, with the markets of medieval Damascus, Baghdad, Jerusalem, and Cairo.[23]

This region occupies a high plateau (800–900 meters above sea level) above the eastern slopes of the northern Jordan Valley and enjoys temperate weather and good soil.[24] It is well watered, with an average annual rainfall of 376 mm, or 15″, (heaviest in the winter), wadis with running water for at least part of the year, and numerous springs. In the Middle Ages the region was known for its forests of oak, evergreen, and cypress. During the Mamluk and Ottoman periods the Jordanian Sawād specialized in wheat, barley, and olives; today it produces some of the best olive oil in this part of the Middle East.[25] A variety of summer crops are also grown, such as lentils, chickpeas, and carobs. The rolling hills and low grass cover, moreover, make for excellent grazing: sheep and goats were a significant

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[22]In the thirteenth century Kūrat Sawād was part of Jund Urdunn, a subprovince of the Province *(jund)* of Damascus (Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī ibn Shaddād, ″Al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah fī Dhikr Umarā' al-Shām wa-al-Jazīrah,″ published as *Liban, Jordanie, Palestine: Topographie historique d′Ibn Šaddad*, ed. Sāmī Dahhān [Damascus, 1963], 123, citing Yaʻqūb). By the fifteenth century Iqlīm Baysān fell under the authority of Maʻāmilat Dimashq of Mamlakat Shāmīyah (Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī, ″Kitāb Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik wa-Bayān al-Ṭuruq wa-al-Masālik,″ published as *Zoubdat kachf el-mamâlik: Tableau politique et administrative de l′Égypte, de la Syrie et du Ḥidjâz sous la domination des soultans mamloûks du XIII au XV siècle,* ed. Paul Ravaisse [Paris, 1894], 44). During the sixteenth century the Ottomans, as part of their administrative reorganization of Bilād al-Shām, defined this area as a *nāḥiyah* (district) in the southern region of Qaḍā' Ḥawrān (Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah,* 3).

[23]Ghawānimah, *Tārīkh Sharqī al-Urdunn,* 39. This was true for the Roman period, too.

[24]Most of the region lies at 400–500 meters above sea level (JADIS entries for Khirbat Malkā and Ḥibrāṣ). Temperatures of the last ten years have ranged from a balmy 39.3° C in the summers to -.92° C in the winter, with an annual average of 18° (www.dos.gov.jo/env/annual/environment_2001). The relatively cool temperatures, high rainfall, high water table, and high percentage of humus in the soil makes this region ideal for agriculture (Kareem, *Settlement Patterns in the Jordan Valley,* 6).

[25]George Adam Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (New York, 1898), 612–13, describes the extensive wheat fields as they existed in the late nineteenth century. For references to olive groves and presses in the vicinity of Malkā in the fourteenth century, see *Waqfīyah* 9/51, fol. 18, l. 18, and fol 19, l. 22. Ottoman taxes on olives, olive oil, and presses have been published in Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah.*

part of the tax base in this region during the sixteenth century.[26] It has always been a densely settled region, with numerous small villages that experienced marked population growth in the fourteenth and the middle of the sixteenth centuries.[27] Because of its continued prosperity into the nineteenth century, the region was among the first in Transjordan to fall under the jurisdiction of the Tanzimat administrators.[28]

The Sawād was, moreover, richly provided with public institutions, financially supported through endowments of largely local farmland. *Zāwiyah*s for Companions of the Prophet, pre-Islamic prophets, and local Sufi shaykhs and small village mosques[29] punctuated the landscape, as they do today.[30] The remains of a barrel-vaulted mosque still stand in the largest village of the region, Ḥibrāṣ; the minaret of another mosque, which once carried an inscription that can be dated to 686/1287, was either dismantled for building material or collapsed at some point during the

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[26]These taxes, like all others, are published on numerous pages throughout Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah.*

[27]For population figures from the early Ottoman period, see Hütteroth and Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography,* and Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah*. Evidence of population growth in the Mamluk period is based on a reading of ceramics from surface surveys, architectural inscriptions (see below), and written sources. For published reports on archaeological surveys in the region, see T. Kerestes, J. Lundquist, B. Wood, and K. Yassine, "An Archaeological Survey of Three Reservoir Areas in Northern Jordan," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 22 (1978): 108–35; G. King, "Preliminary Report on a Survey of Byzantine and Islamic Sites in Jordan, 1980," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 26 (1982): 85–96; G. King, C. J. Lenzen, and G. O. Rollefson, "Survey of Byzantine and Islamic Sites in Jordan, Second Preliminary Report, 1981," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 27 (1983): 85–437.

[28]The appointment of an Ottoman governor in Irbid in 1851 predated the Syrian Land Reform Law by thirteen years (for Ottoman administration of the Sawād in this period, see E. L. Rogan, "Bringing the State Back: The Limits of Ottoman Rule in Jordan, 1840–1910," in *Village, Steppe and State: The Social Origins of Modern Jordan,* ed. E. L. Rogan and T. Tell [London, 1994], 34–41).

[29]The Ottoman tax registers record 23 mosques in 23 villages in 950/1534 and 28 mosques in 25 villages in 1005/1596–97 (Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah,* 15–16).

[30]Among these are the *zāwiyah*s of Shaykh ʻUthmān al-Ḥamāmī and Shaykh ʻĪsá in Malkā and those of Shaykh Mismār, Banī Ḥamīd, and Shaykh Samādī in Ḥibrāṣ (Table 9 in Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah,* 36–37). Eight *zāwiyah*s are listed in Bakhīt's tax registers as having been supported by properties in Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah (ibid., 16). How many of the *zāwīyah*s, and not just the *mawāqif,* were located in this region cannot be determined from these registers alone. Biographical dictionaries of the Mamluk period also describe the careers of individuals trained in such local mosques (and perhaps madrasahs). For references to shaykhs and *fiqh* scholars from Ḥibrāṣ, Malkā, and other smaller villages in their vicinity, see Ghawānimah's lists of names compiled from these sources in his *Al-Tārīkh al-Ḥaḍārī li-Sharqī al-Urdunn* (Amman, 1982), 128, 134, 181, 182, and 185–86. (He relies heavily on Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, al-Sakhāwī, and Ibn Kathīr.)

last eighty years.[31] According to the *defter–i mufassal* #99, there were three muezzins and three khatibs serving perhaps two mosques in the same village.[32] Large landholdings by Mamluk sultans and amirs account for the cultivation of cash crops (such as olive oil) and the withdrawal of tax revenues levied on them for *awqāf*.[33] According to the early Ottoman *defter*s of *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah,* some of the most productive villages (or parts of them) were endowed for institutions located outside the region. Sultan Khushqadam endowed three shares of the village of Marw (population of 28 households) and three shares of Harhar (38 households) for his madrasah in Cairo. The annual revenues for each of these villages in 950/1534 were 9900 and 9100 *aqja* respectively.[34] For Harhar the revenues came entirely from tax on wheat, the yield of which was among the highest in the region.[35] Although the size of the fields was not mentioned in any of three *defter*s for this *nāḥiyah,* those of Marw amounted to 12 feddans (approximately three acres or 1.5 hectares).[36] Although the Ottomans continued to recognize Khushqadam′s endowment, they made the rest of the remaining shares of the two estates the private property *(khāṣṣ)* of the provincial governor.

Parts of three other villages were endowed by amirs for various purposes[37]: Bulūqs (population of 3 households in 1005/1596–97) for al-ʻIzzīyah madrasah in

[31]D. C. Steuernagel, ″Der ʻAdschlūn,″ *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palestinien Vertrag* 49 (1926): 155–56; Michael Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien (648/1250 bis 923/1517)* (Glückstadt, 1992), 2:65, entry #43.

[32]Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah,* 111. This register names properties in Ḥibrāṣ that were made *waqf* for two mosques, but whether these mosques were also located in the village, as Bakhīt asserts, is not clear (ibid., 15).

[33]In the Jordan Valley these cash crops include sugar, bananas, and indigo. The excavated site of Mamluk Tabaqat Fahl falls into the same pattern of land use in this regard (Walmsley, ″Settled Life in Mamluk Jordan,″ 131). Excavations of Bayt Rās (C. Lenzen and E. Knauf, ″Beit Rās/Capitolias: A Preliminary Evaluation of the Archaeological and Textual Evidence,″ *Syria* 64 [1987]: 21–46; C. Lenzen and A. McQuitty, ″The 1984 Survey of the Irbid/Beit Ras Region,″ *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 22 [1988]: 265–74) and Khirbat al-Burz (C. Lenzen and A. McQuitty, ″Khirbet el-Borz,″ *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 29 [1985]: 175–78) provide further archaeological evidence for intensive agriculture and growing population in this period.

[34]Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah,* 38 and 45.

[35]Only Ḥibrāṣ produced as much wheat for that year.

[36]Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah,* 45.

[37]The registers do not provide the date the endowments were originally made. Amirs are generally not named, so it is far from certain that the *awqāf* are Mamluk in origin. While this seems to generally be the case, Bakhīt suggests that the Bulūqs and Dullūzah endowments are Ayyubid (ibid., 15, n. 36). Nonetheless, the *mawāqif* were still productive and the endowments recognized as such by the Ottoman authorities.

Damascus, Dullūzah (14 households in 950/1534) for the same institution, and Ḥawar (17 households in 1005/1596–97) for an unnamed recipient; all three were *timar*s in the mid-sixteenth century.[38] The highest revenues of any recorded year from each of the villages (2400, 2950, and 8220 *aqja* respectively) are primarily from grains; olives also figured prominently among the revenues from Ḥawar (2579 *aqja* in 950/1539).[39] The field size for Dullūzah and Ḥawar were recorded at six (ca. 1.5 acres or .3 hectare) and ten feddans (ca. 2.5 acres or 1.25 hectares), respectively.[40]

The village of Ḥibrāṣ, located eight kilometers northeast of Bayt Rās and twelve kilometers north of Irbid, was one of the largest villages in Mamluk Jordan's Sawād and the largest of the Ottoman's southern Ḥawrān.[41] Archaeological surveys have documented continuous occupation at the site from the Byzantine through Ottoman periods.[42] The remains of two contemporary mosques, both dated by inscriptions to 686/1287, have stood in the modern village of the same name until modern times.[43] The one, comprised of enclosure walls enclosing a small nine-bay mosque of later date, can be attributed to the Mamluk period on account of an inscription that once adorned its minaret, destroyed in the 1970s, and its construction;[44] nine-bay mosques, with the aisles running parallel to the qiblah wall, pointed arches, reused basalt columns (often from Byzantine churches), and deep mihrabs can be found throughout northern Jordan at thirteenth- and fourteenth-century sites.[45] Ḥibrāṣ does not seem to appear in contemporary written sources

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[38]Ibid., 21–22.

[39]Ibid., 170, 62, and 92.

[40]Dullūzah: p. 42 (930/1523); Ḥawar: p. 126 (1005/1596–97). In 1005/1596–97, Ḥawar's revenues had dropped to 5600 *aq*/yr.

[41]Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah,* 15.

[42]JADIS site #2223.007.

[43]The twelve-meter high minaret that carried the dated inscription is now gone, but it was recorded in the 1920s by Steuernagel ("Der 'Adschlūn [1926]," 155–56). The inscription, not fully translated in the survey report, was apparently an abbreviated endowment text that carried the name of the donor, Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb II. Steuernagel attributes the minaret, on this basis, to 686/1286 (ibid., 156). The mosque to which this minaret was attached was no longer standing at the time of the survey.

[44]The inscription has been reproduced in Yūsuf Ghawānimah, *Madīnat Irbid fī al-'Aṣr al-Islāmī* (Irbid, 1986), 59.

[45]A published floor plan of this mosque can be found in ibid, 55. Mamluk mosques at Tabaqat Fahl, Amman, and 'Azraq (Walmsley, "Settled Life in Mamluk Jordan," 134, Figs. 3–5; 137, Fig. 6; and 137, Fig. 7) and several in the vicinity of 'Ajlūn are of roughly the same scale, construction, and design (Yūsuf Ghawānimah, *Al-Masājid al-Islāmīyah al-Qadīmah fī Minṭaqat 'Ajlūn* [Irbid, 1986]; N. MacKenzie, "Ayyubid/Mamluk Archaeology of the 'Ajlun Area: A Preliminary Typology," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 46 [2002]: 615–20).

until the middle of the fourteenth century, when historians note it for its connection to scholarship and agriculture.[46] The village continued to grow throughout the Mamluk period and into the Ottoman. The village had a large population by 950/1534 (at 90 households, two "bachelors," and two imams) and has been described as "crowded."[47] It also was a market center, one on the same scale as Kerak, Ṣalt, ʻAjlūn, and Irbid;[48] the market taxes were paid directly to the provincial governor.[49] Taxes on wheat and barley supported, in part, local *zāwiyah*s and mosques.[50]

The much smaller village of Malkā, eight kilometers west of Ḥibrāṣ and seven northwest of Um Qeis, figures prominently in an unpublished manuscript in Dār al-Wathā'iq in Cairo.[51] In this lengthy *waqfīyah* of 796/1393, Sultan Barqūq has endowed several of his personal properties throughout Egypt and Syria for his madrasah complex on the Bayn al-Qasrayn in Cairo. These include businesses in Cairo, all of the district of Baḥrīyah and entire villages in the district of Kursīyah in Egypt, villages near Jerusalem, villages around the south shore of the Sea of Galilee, villages in the Golan, and a share of rural properties in the district of Maʻarrat Nuʻmān. The section of this manuscript that concerns this study deals with villages in the Lower Galilee, specifically one called "Ḥay Malkā."[52] Here is described a hilltop settlement hedged in on all sides by deep wadis, a tight network of villages and hamlets, and well-traveled roads. The land around Malkā, according to the *waqfīyah,* is full of vineyards, olive trees and presses, smaller villages, *mazra*ʻs (isolated plots of farmed land), and shrines. The only evidence in the *waqfīyah* of economic decline is the occasional reference to an outlying settlement in ruins *(kharāb),* fields that have been abandoned, or presses *(maʻāṣir)* that are no longer working *(baṭṭāl)*. This is remarkable, given the fact that the endowment dates to the end of the fourteenth century. Clearly this part of Jordan was still densely settled and economically viable then.

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[46]Neither Ibn Shaddād nor Baybars al-Dawādār, two local sources for the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, make any reference to this village (Ibn Shaddād, *Liban, Jordanie, Palestine;* Baybars al-Dawādār, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah*). On the other hand, in passages cited above from Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's chronicle, Ḥibrāṣ emerges in several annual entries, including one for 761/1359 in which the village's qadi is said to have drowned in a flood there that year, and in an obituary for 762/1360, when a religious scholar by the name of Aḥmad ibn Mūsá, a companion of Ibn Taymīyah, dies in the village.

[47]Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah,* 23 and 8.

[48]Hütteroth and Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography,* 87, Fig. 8, and 199.

[49]Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah,* 14.

[50]Ibid., 37, 59, and 111.

[51]*Waqfīyah* 9/51. I will publish the Malkā section of the manuscript in my forthcoming *Life on the Mamluk Frontier*.

[52]Fols. 18–21 of this manuscript.

The occupational and agricultural history of Malkā provides the perfect example of the intensified investment in the region by the Mamluks in the fourteenth century. Contemporary Arabic sources do not mention this village until the late fourteenth century, when scholars using the *niṣbah* ″al-Malkāwī″ appear in the biographical entries of Syrian chronicles. [53] The relative prosperity alluded to in the *waqfīyah* of 796/1393 seems to have continued into the sixteenth century. Its revenues in ″summer crops″ (melons, beans, and vegetables) and ″trees″ (here olive groves are likely) were among the highest in the region, according to the *defter* of 1005/1596–97. It had its own mosque by mid-century, and its population had doubled in size by the end of the century.[54] The village was still occupied in the late mandatory period and is today a thriving center of olive oil production.[55]

CENTRAL JORDAN—THE BALQĀ'

The Balqā', a highland plateau situated between Wādī Zarqā' and the Sawād in the north to Wādī Mu'jib and the Kerak Plateau in the south, has historically been one of the bread baskets of Jordan.[56] Its annual rainfall (350–440 mm) is sufficient for dry farming, and the high clay content of the local soils allow for a harvest even in drier seasons.[57] Although never a densely settled region, the Balqā' sustained a political importance as a communications corridor. The Mamluks retained the classical period ″King′s Highway″ as the caravan route through Syria and placed their pigeon, postal, and pilgrimage routes, which led travelers from Damascus to

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[53]Neither Ibn Shaddād nor Baybars al-Dawādār mention Malkā, even though they do write about other villages in Jordan (for passages on Nimrīn and Kafrīn, for example, see Baybars al-Dawādār, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah*, 180).

[54]For tax entries for Malkā in 950/1534 and 1005/1596–97, see Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah,* 88 and 162. See also Hütteroth and Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography,* 202 (entry MZ65).

[55]Hütteroth and Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography*. Archaeological surveys in this region 1885–1914 and during the 1920s and 1960s documented many of the sites discussed above (Siegfried Mittmann, *Beiträge zur Siedlungs- und Territorialgeschichte des nördlichen Ostjordanlandes* [Wiesbaden, 1970]; Steuernagel, ″Der 'Adschlūn [1926]″; idem, ″Der 'Adschlūn,″ *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palestinien Vertrag* 47 [1925]: 206–40 and *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palestinien Vertrag* 48 [1925]: 1–50, 121–34). (For Malkā, see Mittmann, *Beiträge zur Siedlungs- und Territorialgeschichte,* 24–25 and 257; Steuernagel, ″Der 'Adschlūn [1926],″ 118–19; and JADIS site #2223.016—″Khirbet Malkā.″) The results of these surveys indicate that occupation was most intense during the Roman, Byzantine, and Mamluk periods. Renewed fieldwork in the Malkā region by Oklahoma State University in October, 2003, aimed at updating the database of these earlier surveys (see the author′s upcoming field report, ″The Malkā-Ḥibrāṣ Survey: Archaeological Investigation of Mamluk Agricultural Policy″).

[56]The Balqā' was also known for its fruit and walnut groves.

[57]M. Russell, ″Hesban During the Arab Period: A.D. 635 to the Present,″ in *Hesban 3: Historical Foundations,* ed. L. Geraty and L. G. Running (Berrien Springs, MI, 1989), 33.

either Cairo or Mecca, in this, Jordan′s heartland. The region was also of political importance to the state, as local tribes actively participated in the internal power struggles among the Mamluk elite.[58] The capital of this district *(Wilāyat Balqā')* from early in the fourteenth century until 1356 was the town of Ḥisbān.[59] At 895 meters above sea level, this hilltop site commands a view of the Madaba Plains and the northeast end of the Dead Sea and offers a glimpse, on clear days, of Jerusalem and Jericho. According to al-Ẓāhirī, Ḥisbān was the center of an agricultural district that included over 300 villages.[60] It was also strategically located on several important communications corridors: on the *barīd* and interior pigeon routes of Syria and just off the hajj road from Damascus.[61]

Phase II excavations at Tall Ḥisbān, begun in 1998, are contributing to our knowledge of the Mamluks′ official presence in Transjordan in the fourteenth century.[62] Most of the architecture standing on the tell dates to this period, when a citadel occupied the summit. This complex consisted of what has been identified as the residence of the governor of the Balqā'[63] (a building loosely based on a

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[58]For the role of the tribes of the Balqā' in Baybars′ campaigns against the local Ayyubid princes and in reestablishing al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on the throne for his third reign, see Walker, ″Mamluk Investment in Southern *Bilād al-Shām*.″

[59]Ḥisbān was the capital of the southernmost district of Mamlakat Dimashq (al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-'asha'*, 4:200–1). For documentation of its rise and decline as a rural capital, see Walker, ″Mamluk Investment in Southern *Bilād al-Shām*.″

[60]Al-Ẓāhirī, *Zoubdat kachf el-mamâlik,* 46.

[61]Yūsuf Ghawānimah has compiled lists of postal, pigeon, and pilgrimage stops from brief references in al-'Umarī, al-Qalqashandī, Ibn Shāhīn, al-'Aynī, and Ibn Aybak in his *Al-Tārīkh al-Ḥaḍārī,* 64 and 69.

[62]The most recent excavation reports and historical studies related to the project can be found in O. S. LaBianca, P. J. Ray, Jr., and B. J. Walker, ″Madaba Plains Project, Tall Ḥisbān, 1998,″ *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 38, no. 1 (2000): 9–21; B. J. Walker, ″The Late Ottoman Cemetery in Field L, Tall Ḥisbān,″ *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 322 (2001): 47–65; idem, ″Mamluk Administration of Transjordan″; idem, ″Mamluk Investment in Southern *Bilād al-Shām*″; and Walker and LaBianca, ″The Islamic *Quṣūr* of Tall Ḥisbān.″ For on-line overviews of the project and weekly field reports, consult the following web sites: history.okstate.edu/depttour/histarch/index.html (Oklahoma State University) and www.quonic.com/~hisban (Andrews University). The Tall Ḥisbān excavations are under the senior direction of Dr. Øystein LaBianca of Andrews University. The author is Co-Director and Chief Archaeologist of the project. Andrews University began fieldwork at the site in 1968. For a full bibliography of this Phase I work, see B. J. Walker, ″Militarization to Nomadization: The Middle and Late Islamic Periods,″ *Near Eastern Archaeology* 62, no. 4 (1999): 202–32. Tall Ḥisbān is registered in JADIS as site #2213.001.

[63]To date I have found only one name of an amir who is said to have served at Ḥisbān: Jarkas al-Jalālī (d. 791/1388) (Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 4:308). The source does not specify the years he served at this post, only that he was a mere *jundī* when he served as *wālī* at Ḥisbān and was

four-*īwān* plan, with four clusters of rooms opening onto an open-air, paved courtyard), a small *ḥammām,* the remains of a kitchen, and a series of high barrel-vaulted rooms that may have been the barracks. The field seasons of 1998 and 2001 concentrated on the long storeroom of the "governor's residence," a room preserved by an earthquake and fire in mid-century.[64] This space was full of lamps and storage (sugar jars) and serving vessels (glazed relief wares), the latter monumental in size and bearing lengthy dedicatory inscriptions to unnamed amirs.[65] In the second half of the century the military installation on the summit was abandoned, while the town below and surrounding the tell, with an active marketplace and possible madrasah, continued to thrive until the end of the century.[66]

The architectural remains of the citadel and the objects recovered from its storeroom attest to Ḥisbān's role as an administrative center, garrison, and sugar transport point in the fourteenth century.[67] Both tell and town, however, were all but abandoned by the middle of the fifteenth century.[68] The Ottoman *defter*s of the sixteenth century suggest that the population of Ḥisbān had been reduced to a small village. The register of 1538 states that Ḥisbān was the only village between Naʿūr and Wādī Mu'jib and that it had a population of only seven households.[69] The only tax category was "olive oil and grapes."[70] By the end of the century (1005/1596), there was no permanently settled population living there *(khālī)*.[71] The village was not resettled until the late nineteenth century.[72]

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later promoted to an "amir of 100, commander of 1000" and transferred.

[64]Earthquakes in the vicinity of Ḥisbān are historically attested for 1341, 1343, 1366, 1403–4, and 1458 (Ghawānimah, "Earthquake Effects").

[65]The inscriptions are formulaic and generic: no historically attested name of amir has yet been deciphered. The two most common are: "Among the things made [on order] of the amir" *(mimmā ʿumila bi-rasm al-amīr)* and "Glory, good fortune, achievement, and happiness [to the owner]" *(al-ʿizzah wa-al-iqbāl wa-bulūgh al-āmāl wa-saʿādah).*

[66]Walker, "Mamluk Investment in Southern *Bilād al-Shām*."

[67]There is no evidence for sugar production or processing at the site. However, water mills (of questionable date and use) have been identified during archaeological surveys (Robert D. Ibach, Jr., *Hesban 5: Archaeological Survey of the Hesban Region* [Berrien Springs, MI, 1987], 194). Moreover, the proximity of the tell to the Jordan Valley, its location on important transport routes, and the large quantity of sugar jars found in the storeroom (too many to serve the dietary needs of the garrison alone) suggest that Ḥisbān served as a sugar distribution point.

[68]The absence of fifteenth-century pottery at the site suggests this.

[69]Bakhīt and al-Ḥammūd, *Ṭābū Daftarī Raqm 970,* 100.

[70]Ibid., 33.

[71]Bakhīt and al-Ḥammūd, *Ṭābū Daftarī Raqm 185,* 149 (entry #138) and Hütteroth and Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography,* 169 (entry P138).

[72]Walker, "Late Ottoman Cemetery."

Central Jordan—the Lower Ghôr

The agriculture of the Jordan Valley received considerable attention from Mamluk officials over the course of the fourteenth century. High temperatures (surpassing 45° C in the summers) and an abundance of water ensured that *iqṭāʿāt* located here would be productive. Many factors contributed to the growth of large towns and villages in this region during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries: the destruction of Tiberias and Baisan during the Ayyubid-Crusader wars, the new geographical division and administration of the Jordan Valley by the Ayyubids and Mamluks, security, the *barīd* system of Sultan Baybars (the routes of which now passed through the Ghôr), and the sugar industry.[73] In the Jordan Valley new villages emerged and others were transformed into agricultural storage places (for grains and sugar), industrial sites (primarily for sugar), and centers of large ″plantations″ for large-scale production of grains. Some of the most lucrative *iqṭāʿāt* were located here, and many of these were made *waqf* for sultanic institutions in Cairo.

As quickly as the Jordan Valley benefited from official investment, however, it suffered from its gradual withdrawal. The plague of 748/1347 may have been the initial cause of this decline. Maqrīzī is only one of many sources that describe this event in Jordan. He claims, ″According to the news that I have received, the people of al-Ghôr and Baisan find the lions, wolves, wild asses, and other wild animals dead and on them the trace of the bubo.″[74] The heat and crowded living conditions may have made the effects of the plague worse than in other parts of Jordan. The Ghôr, unlike other regions of the country, did not recover; many villages were abandoned, and the sugar industry eventually collapsed.

It is possible to trace these developments through textual and archaeological sources. Ottoman tax registers for Liwāʾ ʿAjlūn make reference to two villages in the central Jordan Valley endowed by the Mamluk sultan Barqūq for his madrasah-mausoleum complex in Cairo.[75] Nimrīn (185 m below sea level) and Kafrīn were little more than rest stops on a well-traveled road between Kerak and Damascus at

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[73]Kareem, *Settlement Patterns in the Jordan Valley,* 10–11. For a bibliography on Mamluk sugar, see Walker, ″Mamluk Investment in Southern *Bilād al-Shām*.″ The best archaeological evidence for sugar processing comes from Abū Sarbut and Tall Abū Ghurdān. Tall Ḥisbān and Tabaqat Fihl appear to have been sugar distribution sites.

[74]Kareem, *Settlement Patterns in the Jordan Valley,* 16.

[75]Bakhīt and al-Ḥammūd, *Ṭābū Daftarī Raqm 970,* 102 *(defter–i mufassal* #970) and 125 (*defter–i mufassal* #185). Register #185 is based on the 1005/1591 census. Register #970, on the other hand, is undated, but has been attributed to 945/1538 by its editors on the basis of the name of one *iqṭāʿ* holder (ibid., 9). See also Mehmed İpşarli and Muḥammad Dāwūd al-Tamīmī, *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn* (Istanbul, 1982), 32, 53, and 94.

the turn of the fourteenth century.[76] By the end of the century they were lucrative enough for the sultan to have set aside the entire village of Nimrīn and shares of Kafrīn for his Cairo complex.[77] Excavations at Tall Nimrīn and surveys of the region have documented a long history of occupation in the area that peaks in the Mamluk period.[78] Evidence of sugar production in the form of water mills and *abaleeg* (sugar jars) has been identified here and in the region.[79] The Ottoman authorities respected Barqūq's endowment in both of these villages, at least through the end of the sixteenth century. They invested in the Ghôr in order to rejuvenate their tax base in the area. While Nimrīn remained a small village throughout, the population of Kafrīn grew to 43 households, which oversaw 20 feddans of some of the richest grain fields in central and southern Jordan.[80] Cotton and sesame replaced sugar cane as cash crops; the Mamluk sugar industry was never revived.[81]

SOUTHERN JORDAN—KERAK PLATEAU

Southern Jordan was dominated by Kerak Castle, which was the capital of its own province *(Mamlakat Karak),* a favored place of exile for deposed sultans, and the

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[76]Baybars al-Dawādār, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah,* 180.

[77]Bakhīt and al-Ḥammūd, *Ṭābū Daftarī Raqm 970,* 23.

[78]JADIS, site #2014.027; J. Mellaart, "Preliminary Report of the Archaeological Survey in the Yarmouk and Jordan Valley for the Four Point Irrigation Scheme," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 6–7 (1962): 126–57, Pls. 24–32 (site #58); M. Ibrahim, J. Sauer, and K. Yassine, "The East Jordan Valley Survey, 1975," *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* 222 (1976): 41–66; A. Ḥadīdī, "Archaeological Work of the Department of Antiquities," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 25 (1981): 15–42, 6 Pls. (in Arabic); M. Piccirillo, "A Church at Shurat Nimrīn," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 26 (1982): 335–42, Pls. 103–10; R. H. Dornemann, "Preliminary Comments on the Pottery Traditions at Tell Nimrīn, Illustrated from the 1989 Season of Excavations," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 34 (1990): 153–82; J. Flanagan and D. McCreery, "First Preliminary Report of the 1989 Nimrīn Project," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 34 (1990): 131–52; J. W. Flanagan et al., "Preliminary Report of the 1990 Excavation at Tell Nimrīn," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 36 (1992): 89–111; and Kareem, *Settlement Patterns in the Jordan Valley* (site #182). Flanagan, McCreery, and Yassine excavated Tell Nimrīn/Tell al-Shūnah South from 1989 to 1994. For Kafrīn, see Ibrahim, Sauer, and Yassine, "The East Jordan Valley Survey" and Kareem, *Settlement Patterns in the Jordan Valley* (site #197—p. 69, Pl. 48).

[79]See Ibach, *Archaeological Survey of the Hesban Region,* and Kareem, *Settlement Patterns in the Jordan Valley,* for a list of sites.

[80]Bakhīt and al-Ḥammūd, *Ṭābū Daftarī Raqm 185,* 125. For a chart comparing the yield of wheat and barley among villages in Liwā' 'Ajlūn, see p. 52.

[81]Ibn Taghrībirdī provides the last historical account of sugar production in the Jordan Valley in 802/1399 (Kareem, *Settlement Patterns in the Jordan Valley,* 17).

nursery of sons of sultans during the Mamluk period.[82] This is one of the most inhospitable regions of Jordan; it is crisscrossed by deep canyons, is mostly desert, and, for the period under discussion, was frequented by nomadic groups who had a reputation for attacking trading and pilgrimage caravans and local villages. Contemporaries emphasized how difficult travel was there and how little water there was.[83] Nonetheless, villages, mills, *mazār*s, and *mashhad*s were numerous on the Kerak Plateau under Mamluk suzerainty. Many of these fell into ruin, however, over the course of the fifteenth century, as villages were abandoned for the security of the hills on the western and southern fringes of the plateau.[84] The withdrawal of Mamluk troops from the local garrisons, which protected these villages and the road system, quite likely contributed to this state of affairs.[85]

A partially published *waqfīyah* in the Dār al-Wathā'iq in Cairo describes the endowment by Sultan Sha'bān of the village of Ādar and a bathhouse and farmland in its vicinity in 777/1375.[86] The document describes a large and thriving farming community of 140 households (both Muslim and Christian),[87] where a variety of foodstuffs were produced (including walnuts, fruit, wheat, olives, and cheese), and there was local industry (flour mills and oil and wine presses) and public services (mosque, madrasah, bathhouse). However, the *waqfīyah* also bears witness to some degree of economic decline: 10 of the 83 houses in the village were uninhabited, as were several cisterns. By the early Ottoman period Ādar had been

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[82]Both al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and Barqūq lived here during their periods of exile from Cairo, and it was from here that they plotted the return to their thrones. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, moreover, grew up at Kerak, as did the sons of Baybars. For an archaeological description of the Mamluk palace in the citadel, see R. M. Brown, "Excavations in the 14th Century A.D. Mamluk Palace at Kerak," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 33 (1989): 287–304.

[83]Al-Ẓāhirī, *Zoubdat kachf el-mamâlik,* 43.

[84]Brown, "Late Islamic Settlement Patterns on the Kerak Plateau"; R. Brown, "Late Islamic Ceramic Production and Distribution in the Southern Levant: A Socio-Economic and Political Interpretation," Ph.D. diss., SUNY-Binghamton, 1992, 363–467. Archaeological surveys attest to the widespread abandonment of settlements during this period (Miller, *Archaeological Survey of the Kerak Plateau*). Jeremy Johns argues, however, that the farmers of the Kerak Plateau shifted from a market to a subsistence economy as early as the thirteenth century. For his argument, based entirely on ceramic production, see his "The Rise of Middle Islamic Painted Ware" and "The *Longue Durée*."

[85]For a recent reassessment of this period, see Shawkat Ḥujjah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī li-Minṭaqat Sharqī al-Urdun min Janūb al-Shām fī 'Aṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Thāniyah* (Irbid, 2002), which attributes much of Jordan's social and economic decline in the fifteenth century to amiral rebellions.

[86]*Waqfīyah* 8/49, sections published in Ghawānimah, "Al-Qaryah fī Junūb al-Shām," and idem, *Tārīkh Sharqī al-Urdunn,* 243–44. The name of the recipient of this endowment is missing from the extant manuscript.

[87]Ghawānimah estimates a total population of some 700 people (Ghawānimah , "Al-Qaryah fī Junūb al-Shām," 364).

reduced to a mere *mazra'ah:* an isolated, cultivated field, with no permanent settlement.[88]

CONCLUSIONS

I have come across three Mamluk *waqfīyāt* that record sultanic endowments of agricultural land in Jordan.[89] They are roughly contemporary, dating to the end of the fourteenth century.[90] All three describe a relatively healthy economy and thriving village structure in different parts of the country. These, combined with references to Jordanian villages in contemporary sources and evidence from archaeological surveys and excavations, indicate that in terms of population and agricultural production, Jordan was doing very well throughout the fourteenth century. While there is evidence of decline in some regions of Jordan fifty to a hundred years later (villages are abandoned, certain industries disappear), this is far from true for the country as a whole.

If the Black Death of 748/1347 was the catalyst for economic decline across the Mamluk Empire, why was there an agricultural flowering in Jordan in this very period? What do the flurry of endowments, population growth, and continued market activity mean? Perhaps the importance given to this single event has been exaggerated, and attention should be paid, instead, to other factors, such as environmental change, agricultural diversity, and the peculiarities of Mamluk administration of the Transjordan. Pollen analysis of cores taken throughout Jordan indicates that the higher precipitation that allowed for increased intensive agriculture in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries began to decrease during the fifteenth.[91] This would have heavily impacted water-intensive crops, such as cane sugar, and would have diminished overall agricultural yields for areas without irrigation.

Political problems may have been an indirect factor in the abandonment of villages in southern and central Jordan. In northern Jordan, where local farming did not have to rely on state support (to repair irrigation canals, for example) and had a diversified agricultural base (not a plantation economy), there is very little evidence of real economic or social decline. On the other hand, administrative centers (and especially those garrisoned with Mamluks, such as Ḥisbān) and "plantation farms" (Nimrīn and Kafrīn) seemed to have suffered the most from

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[88]Bakhīt and al-Ḥammūd, *Ṭābū Daftarī Raqm 970,* 152 and Bakhīt and al-Ḥammūd, *Ṭābū Daftarī Raqm 185*, 306.

[89]*Waqfīyah* 8/49, *Waqfīyah* 9/51, and *Waqfīyah* 704.

[90]777/1375, 796/1393, and 792/1389, respectively.

[91]N. Shehadeh, "The Climate of Jordan in the Past and Present," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 2 (1985): 25–37, and W. van Zeist, "Past and Present Environments of the Jordan Valley," ibid., 199–204.

economic and political problems in Cairo, which drew away locally-based soldiers and administrators. The affluence of the fourteenth century and general impoverishment in some of these regions in the fifteenth may be related to the successes and failures of the *iqṭāʿ* system, after its reorganization by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad during his *rawk* of 1313–25.[92] While it is dangerous to base even preliminary assessments on only a handful of villages, such a pattern of regionally based growth and decline is generally supported by archaeological surveys, which document hundreds of sites.

The traditional views on Mamluk ″decline,″ culled largely from Egyptian chronicles, do not do justice to the complexities of economic developments and settlement cycles in Jordan. Here economic trends are not so easily explained by epidemics, changes in trade routes, the depredations of soldiers in urban streets, and abusive taxation practices. Mamluk investment in Transjordan was exploitative and short-term, but only in some districts did it produce a ″boom and bust″ society for the period under consideration.

[92]Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta´s and Fallahun* (Leiden, 1997), 237.

ABBREVIATIONS FOR SOURCES

MANUSCRIPTS

Waqfīyah 8/49 *Sijill* 49, *maliff* 8, *Ḥujjaj ʿumarāʾ wa-salāṭīn,* Dār al-Wathāʾiq, Cairo (Sultan Shaʿbān's endowment of 777—lands in Egypt and Syria, name of recipient missing from manuscript)—*mawqūf* of village of Ādar and its dependents, also published in Ghawānimah 1982 and 1979: 243–44.

Waqfīyah 9/51 *Sijill* 51, *maliff* 9, *Ḥujjaj ʿumarāʾ wa-salāṭīn,* Dār al-Wathāʾiq, Cairo (Sultan Barqūq's endowment of 796—lands in Egypt and Syria for his madrasah complex on the Bayn al-Qasrayn in Cairo)—*mawqūf* of village of Malkā and its dependents, fols. 18–21.

Waqfīyah 704 *Sijill* J.-704, Wizārat al-Awqāf, Cairo (Sultan Barqūq's endowment of 792—miscellaneous rural properties, locations throughout southern Syria).

ELECTRONIC SOURCES

JADIS: Jordan Antiquities Database and Information System (courtesy of the Department of Antiquities office, Amman, Jordan; also available on-line at www.nis.gov.jo/anti).

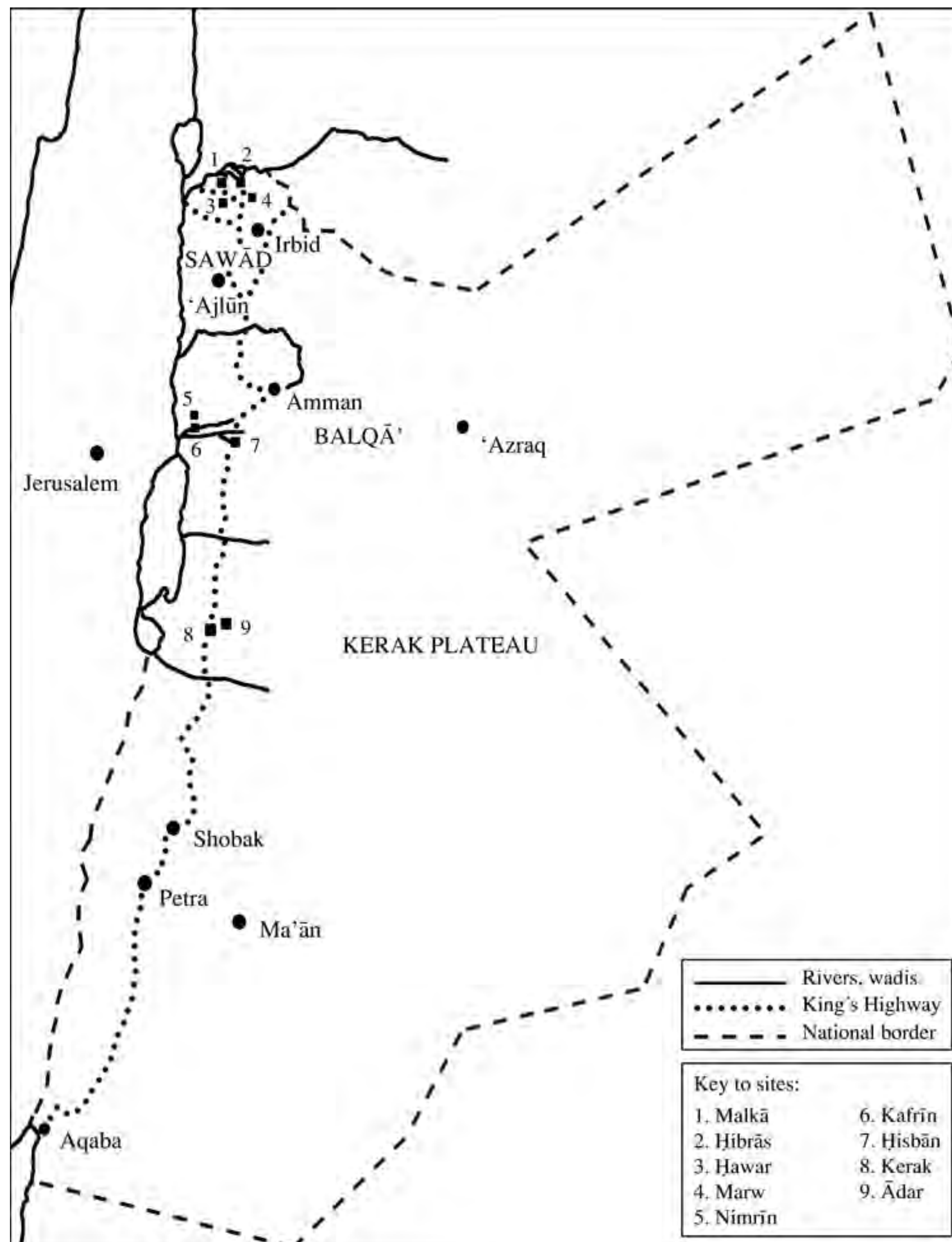


Fig. 1. Agricultural map of Mamluk Jordan.



Fig. 2. Mamluk mosque in Ḥibrāṣ. Built in two phases and reused in modern times, this mosque has never been formally excavated. A recent architectural survey by Oklahoma State University indicates that the central building, a late Ottoman or Mandate-period mosque, was built within the remains of a larger thirteenth–fourteenth-century mosque.



Fig. 3. Interior view of later Ḥibrāṣ mosque. This small, three-aisled mosque is typical of constructions in northern and central Jordan. Like many historical mosques in the region, it had no minaret: a staircase of basalt steps engaged in the exterior face of the qiblah wall led to the roof, from where the muezzin called the faithful to prayer.



Fig. 4. Modern village of Malkā. Malkā produces some of the highest quality olive oil in the region, as it did in the Mamluk period.



Fig. 5. Network of wadis surrounding Malkā. Sultan Barqūq's *waqfīyah* of 796/1393 lists numerous wadis, watercourses, springs, and hills that demarcated his estate in Malkā. It is difficult to identify the nearby wadis today with those detailed by Barqūq's scribe: the residents of Malkā today know the river beds by a variety of names, and there is little consensus among them.



Fig. 6. Tell and grainfields in Ḥisbān. Once the administrative capital of the Balqā', Mamluk Ḥisbān was known for its wheat fields, orchards, gardens, and market. Grains and olives dominate the villagers' agricultural production today.



Fig. 7. *Qa'ah* of Mamluk ″governor's complex″ at Tall Ḥisbān. When first excavated in the 1970s, the flagstones of the central courtyard were in pristine condition, and some walls were preserved to a height of a meter and a half. Although greatly dilapidated today, it remains one of only two Mamluk palaces in Jordan. It is currently undergoing restoration.



Fig. 8. Mamluk sugar jar. The Mamluks produced several different sugar products, each of varying degrees of fine or coarse crystallization and priced accordingly. Sugar cane was cut and boiled and then dried in ceramic cones, where crystallization occurred. The final product was eventually stored in cylindrical or hourglass-shaped ceramic jars for storage and transport. Sugar cones are found in production sites, primarily in the Ghôr. Sugar jars *(abaleeg)* are associated with both production sites and administrative centers, which may have doubled as redistribution points.



Fig. 9. View of Jordan River Valley. The Jordan River and the wadis that flow into it were the focus of intensive sugarcane cultivation during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The industry then largely disappeared in Jordan, as epidemics decimated the workforce and the local *iqṭāʿ* system that supported the industry collapsed. By the sixteenth century cotton and indigo became the main plantation crops in the Ghôr.



Fig. 10. Wādī Mu'jib. This deep canyon, the largest in Jordan, made transport to and from Kerak Castle quite difficult. In spite of this, parts of the Kerak Plateau were fairly densely settled in the Mamluk period with well-to-do farming villages.



Fig. 11. Village of Ādar. Sultan Shaʿbān endowed this village for a charitable purpose, according to a partially published *waqfīyah* of 777/1375. Nothing of the Mamluk village remains, however; the core of the modern village is Ottoman. Today Ādar is a prosperous village of wheat farmers, a large percentage of whom are Roman Catholic.



Fig. 12. ʿAjlūn in the springtime. ʿAjlūn is located in one of the best watered and richest agricultural regions of Jordan. Unlike other areas, this part of northern Jordan appears to have been continuously occupied and agriculturally productive from the Middle Islamic period until today.

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The Regime and the Urban Wheat Market: The Famine of 662/1263–64 in Cairo*

Famines and the Cairo Wheat Market

The Nile´s Annual Cycle

The typology of famines in Muslim Egypt is rather simple since famines occurred either as the result of speculation, meaning the withholding of supplies, or as a result of the Nile not rising enough. When the Nile failed to reach its plenitude the effect was twofold: on the year it occurred (the current year) and, of course, the next one. It must be emphasized that the price and availability of grain in the current year were determined by the flow of the Nile in the preceding year, which might have been normal. The shortages that were likely to occur in the current year came about as the result of buying for the future or hoarding in preparation for an impending shortage. In this case the famine took place because of a disturbance in the workings of the market mechanism, and not necessarily as a result of speculation or actual shortage. These observations become clear when one examines the annual flow-regime of the Nile and the resultant availability of grain in Cairo.

The annual rise of the Nile used to begin during the Coptic month of Ba'ūnah (8 June–7 July) and intensified during Abīb (8 July–6 August). The beginning of the rise during Ba'ūnah made it possible for boats loaded with grain to sail from both Upper and Lower Egypt toward Cairo. During Misrā (7 August–5 September, to which five to six extra days are added since Misrā is the twelfth Coptic month), the rising water of the Nile made the canal of Alexandria navigable and boats began sailing toward Cairo with grain and other agricultural products such as flax and sugar cane as well as timber and iron brought to Alexandria by Italian merchants for the government. The Nile usually reached plenitude, i.e., sixteen cubits as measured at the Cairo Nilometer, during Misrā. The new agricultural year began during Tūt (11/12 September–9/10 October) when the seeds needed for the planting of wheat and barley were delivered to the *fallāḥīn* but the actual sowing only began in Upper Egypt during Bābah (11/12 October–9/10 November). The annual rise and subsequent decrease in the level of the Nile came first in Upper Egypt while, in other parts of the country, the preparation of the land for the sowing of

*I am grateful to David Jacobi of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, for his valuable criticism and suggestions.

grain and barley was done during Kiyahk (10/11 December–8/9 January). The harvest and threshing of the grain were completed shortly before the beginning of the rise of the Nile in Ba'ūnah.[1]

If we shift our attention back to Cairo we can note two parallel events that always took place in the capital: the observation of the rise of the Nile and the arrival of freshly-harvested grain to the ports. Progress in the rise of the Nile indicated what the fortunes of the next agricultural year would be, whereas the amount of grain available was determined by the previous year′s river-flow. Whatever the quantities of grain that arrived in Cairo were, the fluctuations in the market were related to the observation of the rise of the river—which ultimately determined the intensity and volume of the demand. It must be pointed out that the rise of the Nile was measured and announced on a daily basis and the attempt of the first Fatimid caliph in Egypt (973) to ban this, in order to prevent panic, failed.[2] The suppression of information was an ill-conceived idea since it created panic. The rise was public knowledge and clearly observable even without the measurements made at the Nilometer.

How the Cairo Wheat Market Worked

When grain arrived at the grain ports (*sāḥil* pl. *sawāḥil,* meaning docks or wooden jetties) of Cairo it was taxed.[3] This taxation is widely documented for the whole period of the Middle Ages. Ostensibly the government thus had a powerful tool in its hands to combat rising prices and to prevent the starvation of the worst-off segments of the urban population. Abolition of taxes, even temporarily, could have been an effective tool to combat both a brief (or artificial) crisis or a real and acute shortage by encouraging more affordable prices and delaying the worst of the famine for a while. Medieval regimes, however, were very reluctant to abolish

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[1]This section is based on the agricultural calendars of Ibn Mammātī, al-Makhzūmī, and al-Maqrīzī. These texts have been edited, translated into French, and annotated by Charles Pellat, *Cinq calendriers Égyptiens* (Cairo, 1986), 7, 15, 19, 65, 75, 79, 95, 99, 101, 105, 113, 123, 125, 127, 129. For the distinction between winter crops (wheat, barley, beans, and flax) and summer crops (watermelons, beans, cotton, and sugar cane), see Hassanein Rabie, ″Some Technical Aspects of Agriculture in Medieval Egypt,″ in *The Islamic Middle East, 700–1900,* ed. Abraham L. Udovitch (Princeton, 1981), 68–71.

[2]Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā' bi-Akhbār al-A'immah al-Fāṭimīyīn al-Khulafā',* ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1967), 1:138; Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Book of Travels (Safarnāmah),* translated into English by W. M. Thackston, Jr. (New York, 1986), 41.

[3]In eleventh-century Cairo there were two main grain ports. One, *sāḥil Maqs,* served for unloading the grain designated for the consumption of the Fatimid palace, while the other, *sāḥil Miṣr,* served the capital and its population. Grain shipped from Upper and Lower Egypt arrived at *sāḥil al-Sa'īd* and *sāḥil Asfal Arḍ* while barley was unloaded at *sāḥil al-sha'īr*. See al-Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr,* ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid and Thierry Bianquis (Cairo, 1978), 39, 73, 78, 87, 94.

taxes on grain. For example, in 1025, taxes on grain were only lifted at the height of the famine but this was too late and too little to have any real effect on the prices.[4] Another tool in the hands of the government was the declaration of maximum prices *(tas'īr)* for grain, flour, and bread. This policy was usually implemented more readily and at earlier stages of any evolving crisis yet, as far as can be ascertained from the sources, this always had a negative effect on the market and brought sales to a standstill.[5]

The government had two further means in its hands to combat shortages in grain and high prices: importation or the sale of grain from its own stocks. The importation of grain into medieval Egypt is a complex and little-researched topic and the evidence collected and discussed by Eliyahu Ashtor is inconclusive. We do know that grain was imported to Egypt during periods of shortage at the end of the thirteenth century, and even during normal years, but whether the Mamluk authorities or private merchants were behind the imports during the years of shortage remains vague.[6] As has been demonstrated by Benjamin Arbel's work on Venetian Cyprus in the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries, grain was traded in the eastern Mediterranean and the flow of the trade was determined by regional shortages with grain surplus countries exporting to places affected by poor harvests. Other forces were, however, also at work and price differences were a powerful inducement for the exporting of grain from Mamluk Egypt or Venetian Cyprus (even during

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[4]For taxation of grain in the Fatimid period, see ibid., 75. For the Mamluk period, see al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,* ed. al-Bāz al-'Arīnī and 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ahwānī (Cairo, 1992), 32:227; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyadah and Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr (Cairo, 1943–72), 2:2:538, 3:3:972–73; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 1963), 3:315, 331.

[5]For legal and theological aspects of *tas'īr*, see D. Gimaret, "Les theologiens musulmans devant la hausse des prix," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 22 (1979): 330–39. For practical aspects, see Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Islam: Mamlūk Egypt, 1250–1517* (Cambridge, 2000), 138, 146.

[6]Eliyahu Ashtor, "The Wheat Supply of the Mamlūk Kingdom," *Asian and African Studies* (Haifa) 18 (1984): 283–85, 287. One of the most explicit references to massive imports of grain to Egypt concerns the famine of 694/1294–95, which was caused by the insufficient rise of the Nile. The imports of grain to Alexandria reached 300,000 *irdabb*s and the grain was imported from Sicily, Constantinople, and the Land of the Franks (perhaps France); but as to who was behind these imports, this is not specified. See Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah,* ed. D. S. Richards (Beirut, 1998), 305–6, 312. In 1396, the arrival of boats loaded with grain lowered the prices of wheat and bread in Fusṭāṭ-Cairo and brought relief to the famine-stricken capital. The crisis of 798/1395–96 was caused by excessive flooding of the Nile in the previous year, but the identity of those responsible for the imports in 1396 remains unknown. See Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt,* ed C. Zurayk (Beirut, 1932), 9:432, 434, 435, 436.

years of shortages) toward markets offering higher prices.[7] The most effective tool the government had to combat rising prices was the selling of grain from its own stocks and forcing people of the ruling class to do the same. This point directly touches upon the essence of the Cairo grain market and needs greater elaboration.

Ira M. Lapidus has pointed out that the ruler procured the grain he needed from the lands under his direct control, shipped it to the capital and stored it in granaries as did people of the ruling class, amirs and administrators. The urban grain market operated parallel to this system, but it was occasionally influenced by the household grain economy of the regime. The ruler and other people of the ruling class sold surplus grain on the urban market and, in time of crisis, diverted and confiscated supplies going to that market. How the grain economy of the Fatimid regime worked is known from al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*. Al-Maqrīzī (1364–1442) combined in his account information derived from Ibn al-Ma'mūn (d. 1192) and Ibn al-Ṭuwayr (1130–1220). Lands belonging to the Fatimid ruler were scattered all over Egypt but the grain shipped for the regime to Cairo came from Upper Egypt. Grain from other regions was shipped to Alexandria, Tinnis, and Damietta and, from there, was transferred to Tyre and Ascalon. Tyre, until its fall to the Crusaders in 1124, received 70,000 *irdabb*s of grain annually while Ascalon (lost to the Crusaders in 1153) received 50,000 *irdabb*s. In Cairo the regime stored 300,000 *irdabb*s of grain in its granaries *(ihrā')* and fodder in two large *shuwan*. The most significant information is supplied by Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, who specifies to whom the Fatimid regime allocated its grain: the employees of the state and the court *(arbāb al-rutab wa-al-khidam),* those who were entitled to state sponsored charities, the black corps of the army and navy, and the royal guest house. The grain intended for consumption by the ruler and his wives and concubines *(jihāt)* was ground at special mills operated by slave-girls of the palace.[8] The Office of the Navy, also known in the Fatimid period as the Office of Holy War, maintained a fleet of Nile boats that belonged to the regime for the shipment of grain and

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[7]Benjamin Arbel, "Venetian Cyprus and the Muslim Levant, 1437–1570," in *Cyprus and the Crusades*, ed. N. Coureas and J. Riley-Smith (Nicosia, 1995), 171–72. For imports of wheat to Palestine and Syria in the high and late Middle Ages, see J. H. Pryor, "In Subsidium Terrae Sanctae," *Asian and African Studies* (Haifa) (Studies in Memory of Eliyahu Ashtor) 22 (1988): 127–47; Robert Irwin, "The Supply of Money and the Direction of Trade in Thirteenth-Century Syria," in *Coinage in the Latin East,* ed. P. W. Edbury and D. M. Metcalf (Oxford, 1980), 77; Zohar Amar, *Agricultural Produce in the Land of Israel in the Middle Ages* (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 2000), 65–68. Most of these imports came from Sicily with small amounts coming from Egypt.

[8]Ira M. Lapidus, "The Grain Economy of Mamlūk Egypt," *JESHO* 12 (1969): 12–14; al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadat Kitāb al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār,* ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (London, 1995), 246–48. For shipping of firewood to Constantinople, see J. Koder, "Maritime Trade and the Food Supply for Constantinople in the Middle Ages," in *Travel in the Byzantine World,* ed. R. Macrides (Aldershot, 2002), 113–14.

firewood *(aḥṭāb)* to Cairo.[9] Altogether the Fatimid regime had one million *irdabb*s at its disposal[10] but one should add the grain sent annually to the Holy Cities of Arabia to the grain allotments mentioned by Ibn al-Ṭuwayr.

Little changed after the transition from the Fatimid-Ayyubid to the Mamluk period. Al-Qalqashandī (1355–1418) notes that grain, barley, and beans received from the lands controlled by the sultan were stored in the sultanic *ihrā'* that were located in Fusṭāṭ and at the arsenal. Fodder, designated for the royal stables, was also stored, as was most of the grain that came from the Manfalūṭ region where the taxes were collected in kind. The stored grain was sent to the sultan's mills, which were also located at the arsenal and occupied a vast closed area. The amirs did what the sultan did but on a reduced scale, storing grain and fodder and thus providing for the needs of their households and troops.[11] The clearest contrast between the household grain economy and the free markets appears in the early fifteenth-century writings of Muḥammad ibn Khalīl al-Asadī. He states that the daily wheat consumption of the capital city was 1,000 *irdabb*s, and this was divided equally between the free market and households. He maintains that the ruling establishment (*aṣḥāb al-mu'n wa-al-rawātib al-sulṭānīyah wa-al-amirīyah,* literally those employed by the sultan and the amirs), the law colleges, and the Sufi lodges consumed 500 *irdabb*s daily. Al-Asadī's figures, however, should not be taken seriously, especially since he states that the yearly consumption of the capital was 360,000 *irdabb*s of wheat, which is a misleading extrapolation from the supposed daily wheat consumption of the capital. The significance of al-Asadī's account is in its being a reflection of medieval people's awareness of the huge inequality that existed in the operation of the urban wheat market wherein a tiny minority enjoyed disproportionate supplies.[12]

It is important to note that the desire for a self-sufficient household grain economy (conduct typical of the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk rulers and people of the ruling class during those periods) was also shared by the better-off segments of the urban society. The Geniza documents and the work of S. D. Goitein shed important light on this subject. What clearly emerges is that the wheat market was almost always a buyer's market and that prices fluctuated sharply. Goitein estimates that twelve *irdabb*s of wheat were needed annually "for an average middle-class household."[13] People of the upper middle class, and perhaps even of the middle

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[9]Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, *Nuzhat al-Muqlatayn fī Akhbār al-Dawlatayn*, ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (Beirut, 1992), 139.

[10]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr,* ed. Muḥammad al-Ya'lāwī (Beirut, 1991), 6:489.

[11]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá,* ed. M. H. Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 1987), 3:522–23, 4:33, 61.

[12]Al-Asadī, *Al-Taysīr wa-al-I'tibār,* ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Ṭulaymāt (Cairo, 1967), 142.

[13]See *A Mediterranean Society* (Berkeley, 1983), 4:235.

middle class (if such terms can be used to describe medieval society), often tried to buy the wheat needed for their household consumption as it arrived at the grain-ports of Cairo. Although they usually managed to provide for themselves they had no surpluses for sale and thus must be distinguished from the people of the ruling class and their vast stocks. It seems that people of the middle middle class could bake bread for themselves either by buying flour from a miller *(ṭaḥḥān)* or a flour merchant *(daqqāq),* yet their main problem must have been getting firewood.[14]

Other segments of the population, the lower middle class, the working class, and the vast urban underclass, were dependent for their supply of bread on the operations of the wheat market. A number of participants were involved in this supply, each with its own role, but access to these participants was class related. Two professional groups, the oven owners and the bakers/bread vendors, were directly involved in the baking and selling of bread. Information on how the oven owner *(farrān)* operated is provided by *ḥisbah* manuals (works dealing with the rules of the market). For instance, according to al-Shayzarī, Saladin's contemporary whose work might reflect more a Syrian than an Egyptian urban reality, the *farrān* used to receive dough from customers and then bake bread for them which was delivered to their homes by boys in his service. The same picture emerges from the *ḥisbah* book of Ibn Bassām, a twelfth-century Egyptian contemporary of al-Shayzarī. The differences between the *farrān* and the *khabbāz* are, however, blurred in their works,[15] an ambiguity that is also characteristic of the writings of Ibn al-Ukhūwah, a fourteenth-century Egyptian author of a *ḥisbah* manual. His chapter concerning these two professional groups, entitled "The rules of *ḥisbah* concerning the *farrān* and the *khabbāz,*" implies that both had ovens and that certain regulations about how these should be operated applied to both of them. Ibn al-Ukhūwah's account mostly deals with the *farrān* who baked bread for people who brought him dough but, in fact, he also baked bread from his own dough for others.[16] His main problem was how to secure fuel that was neither human nor animal waste, to operate the oven. The clearest evidence of the differences between the *farrān* and the *khabbāz* appears in the writings of Ibn al-Ḥājj (d. 1337), author of a moral guide who also presents a vivid picture of Cairo's street life. He corroborates Ibn al-Ukhūwah's depiction of the *farrān* as a baker who

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[14]Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, *Nuzhat al-Muqlatayn*, 94.

[15]Al-Shayzarī, *Kitāb Nihāyat al-Rutbah fī Ṭalab al-Ḥisbah,* ed. al-Bāz al-ʻArīnī (Cairo, 1946), 22–23; Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-Rutbah fī Ṭalab al-Ḥisbah,* ed. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Sāmarrāʼī (Baghdad, 1968), 21–23, 61–62; Maya Shatzmiller, *Labour in the Medieval Islamic World* (Leiden, 1994), 107, 108, 220–21.

[16]Ibn al-Ukhūwah, *Maʻālim al-Qurbah,* ed. with partial English translation by R. Levy (London, 1938), 91–92.

baked for others and he refers to his customers as ″owners of the bread,″ meaning he baked them bread from the dough they had brought. The *farrān*′s shop served as a kind of communal bakery and a place of social gathering while the *khabbāz* sold bread from the flour he himself bought and his customers are referred to as ″buyers.″ To what extent, if at all, the *farrān* also baked bread on his own initiative is not alluded to by Ibn al-Ḥājj. As clearly borne out by Maya Shatzmiller′s discussion of the *farrān,* the Egyptian realities alluded to by Ibn al-Ḥājj were quite similar to those in other Muslim cities.[17] We may safely assume that there were also bread vendors who had no ovens and baked no bread but bought a quantity of bread from the *khabbāz* in order to sell it in the streets.[18] They are also referred to as *khabbāz* but, apparently, they served a lower class clientele and neighborhoods farther away from the main markets. Most probably the urban underclass, and perhaps also the working class, were dependent for their daily bread on this type of *khabbāz*.

Daily dependence on the bread vendor-*khabbāz* had serious drawbacks since the price of bread varied on a daily basis and, socially, buying bread on the streets was regarded as demeaning. Food and cooked dishes were sold on the streets but eating was perceived as a private matter. This tension between what was considered to be proper conduct and urban realities is nicely illustrated by Ibn al-Ḥājj. On the one hand, he describes food vendors and the dishes they prepared and sold but, on the other hand, he advocates the partaking of food at home.[19] Another problem, according to the physician Ibn Riḍwān (998–1068), was that the bread baked in Egypt crumbled after a day and became inedible.[20] There were many qualities of bread ranging from white bread of high quality *(ḥuwwārah),* which enjoyed wide popularity and was common in Cairo and Baghdad alike, to low quality bread.[21]

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[17]See *Kitāb al-Madkhal* (Beirut, 1972), 4:178, 180, 182–83; Shatzmiller, *Labour in the Medieval Islamic World,* 220–21.

[18]The clearest evidence for *khabbāz* as bread vendor is from Cairo of the mid 440s/early-1050s. A *khabbāz* referred to as *ṣu'lūk* (beggar, vagabond), indicating a low social origin, reduced the price of bread he sold and competed successfully with the *'arīf* (possibly meaning the head of the trade/profession) of the *khabbāzūn*. The market supervisor took actions against the *ṣu'lūk* but the chief qadi supported and rewarded him. See al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā'*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥilmī Muḥammad Aḥmad (Cairo, 1971), 2:224. For a shop *(ḥānūt)* of a *khabbāz* in Cairo of 1025, see al-Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr*, 107.

[19]See Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Kitāb al-Madkhal,* 2:322, 324, 328, 330.

[20]*Medieval Islamic Medicine: Ibn Riḍwān′s Treatise "On the Prevention of Bodily Ills in Egypt,"* English trans. and introduction by Michael W. Dols, Arabic text ed. 'Ādil S. Jamāl (Berkeley, 1984), 90 (trans.), 7 (text). J. D. Latham, ″Some Observations on the Bread Trade in Muslim Malaga (c. A.D. 1200),″ *Journal of Semitic Studies* 29 (1984): 113.

[21]The preference for white bread was deeply rooted in Middle Eastern societies. For Byzantine Egypt, see M. S. A. Mikhail, ″Some Observations Concerning Edibles in Late Antique and Early

Other types of breads common in Egypt were *khushkār,* made of coarse-ground flour, and semolina bread (*samīd*). The price differences between the *ḥuwwārah* and the *khushkār* breads are illustrated by the attempts of the *muḥtasib,* the market supervisor, to regulate their prices during the famine of 1025. He fixed the price of the *khushkār* bread at five *raṭl*s per dirham and that of *ḥuwwārah* at four *raṭl*s per dirham; however, as usually happened with price-fixing, the edict brought the market to a standstill. Following the cancellation of the edict the *samīd* bread was sold at two *raṭl*s per dirham, indicating how unrealistic the price regulation of the market supervisor had been. Although the prices continued to soar the pricing of bread continued to reflect the different qualities and preferences of the customers. The *samīd* was sold later at two *raṭl*s per one and a quarter dirhams while the *khushkār* was sold at two *raṭl*s per dirham.[22]

One last point concerns the highest level of the grain market, where we find both the wheat merchants *(qammāḥūn)* and the brokers *(samāsir)*. The *ḥisbah* manuals do not mention them at all, indicating that they were too powerful to be under the jurisdiction of the market inspector. Their wealth is well attested in the sources, but their precise role in the operation of the market still requires clarification. This is also the case with respect to the difference that existed between the roles played in the market by wheat merchants and brokers.[23]

THE FAMINE OF 662/1263–64

The information concerning the events of 662/1263–64 and Baybars′ grain policy comes from a number of highly authoritative and well-placed contemporary historians. We shall begin with the narrative of Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir (1223–92), who was the head of Baybars′ chancery *(dīwān al-inshā')*. He recounts that, at the beginning of Rabīʻ II 662/end of January–beginning of February 1264, the prices went up and the sultan imposed maximum prices. Although not explicitly

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Muslim Egypt,″ *Byzantion* 70 (2000): 108. For Baghdad, see D. Waines, ″Cereals, Bread and Society,″ *JESHO* 30 (1987): 280. For Constantinople, see J. L. Teall, ″The Grain Supply of the Byzantine Empire, 330–1025,″ *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 13 (1959): 91–92, 99–100.

[22]Al-Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr*, 48, 72. For types of bread and bakeries, see Ch. Pellat, ″Khubz,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 5:1087–92; R. Mielck, *Terminologie und Technologie der Müller und Bäcker im islamischen Mittelalter* (Hamburg, 1913), 75, 78–79 (I owe the reference to Mielck′s work to the kindness of Thomas Bauer of Münster University).

[23]This ambiguity is reflected by al-Musabbiḥī′s report about the death (in 1025) of Ibn Saʻdān, described as a ″wheat merchant who was one of the respected brokers dealing with wheat at the Upper Egypt Dock in Fusṭāṭ.″ See *Akhbār Miṣr*, 94. For the wealth of a Christian wheat merchant in mid-eleventh century Cairo, see Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Book of Travels*, 55–56. The memory of the wealth and generosity of a flour merchant who handed out charity to the poor during the 1060s civil war in Cairo still lingered in fifteenth-century Cairo. See Ibn al-Zayyāt, *Al-Kawākib al-Sayyārah fī Tartīb al-Ziyārah,* ed. A. Taymūr (Baghdad, n.d.), 149.

stated, it is clear that Baybars′ edict of maximum prices brought the market to a standstill. The sultan quickly realized his failure at influencing the working of the market and on 7 Rabīʿ II/8 February he rescinded the maximum prices.

Baybars′ subsequent policies were the outcome of his initial failure to influence the working of the market. It seems that on the same day, 7 Rabīʿ II/8 February, he ordered the selling of grain from the stocks of the regime to the amount of 500 *irdabb*s per day. The sale was made exclusively, and at affordable prices, to the poor *(ḍuʿafāʾ)* and widows and restricted to two *wabīʿ* per person. What makes Baybars′ policy unique is his decision to commit the resources of the regime to combat high prices at a very early stage of the crisis. The steps that followed were an extension of this policy towards other social groups and involved people of the ruling class in sharing the responsibility for the implementation of the policy. The names of the poor in Cairo-Fusṭāṭ were registered and amirs were obliged to feed groups of the poor for three months. In addition to this, people who belonged to the civilian society, such as great merchants, witnesses serving at the courts of the qadis, and other wealthy people, took upon themselves the responsibility of providing for the poor *(masākīn)*. To what extent the participation of the people of the ruling class and those of the civilian society in these efforts was voluntary or forced is not alluded to. Baybars undertook to provide for the blind, but the most interesting references are to the Kurds and the Turkmen *(turkumān)* for whom the *atābak*, or commander-in-chief of the Mamluk army, provided.[24] Apparently the Kurds and the Turkmen were both part of the *wafīdīyah* and, as auxiliary troops, their remuneration was low and insufficient in times of dearth. The high price of bread brought them to the brink of starvation and, as organized military tribal units, they had the potential for violence. Baybars, by committing the resources of the state and the ruling class, bought social peace.

According to Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī (1251–1330), Baybars′ biographer and the maternal uncle of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, the rise of the Nile in 662/1263–64 was low and, as a result, prices surged.[25] His remark indicates that the crisis of 662/1263–64 was probably caused by massive purchases of grain in anticipation of difficulties in 663/1264–65, but the supplies that existed in 662/1263–64 must have been quite normal and the regime probably had adequate grain resources at its disposal. The

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[24]See *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* ed. and trans. into English by S. F. Sadeque under the title *Baybars I of Egypt* (Dacca, 1956), 94–95 (text), 204–6 (trans.); ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1976), 188–90. Other accounts are strongly influenced by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir: see al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 29:96; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:2:507–8.

[25]See Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī Ibn ʿAsākir, *Kitāb Ḥusn al-Manāqib al-Sirrīyah al-Muntazaʿah min al-Sīrah al-Ẓāhirīyah*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1976), 74. According to Ibn al-Dawādārī, the rise of the Nile in 661/1262–63 was above 16 cubits but he has no data for 662/1263–64. See his *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmiʿ al-Ghurar*, ed. Ulrich Haarmann (Cairo, 1971), 8:94, 106.

fact that the crisis began only in February 1264 does, however, raise some questions. If indeed the crisis was a result of a low Nile and massive purchases of grain for the future one would expect it to have begun earlier (in August–September when the low rise of the Nile had already been recorded) and to have intensified during October–November 1263. Possibly the rise of the Nile was only slightly below 16 cubits and the future purchases, although not that massive, were sufficient to create a depressed market that experienced low supplies and high prices. This trend slowly gained momentum, and erupted in full force during February 1264.

The sources offer clues about Baybars′ household grain economy. Apparently Baybars needed 20,000 *irdabb*s of grain annually to bake bread for the people of his inner circle *(khāṣṣah)* and his *mamālīk* military slaves, in addition to 120,000 *irdabb*s of fodder for his stable. Another biographer of Baybars, Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī Ibn Shaddād (1217–85), says that the state (in his words, Baybars) made charitable distributions of wheat and flour to the poor and devotees in the Holy Cities of Arabia and also distributed large quantities (10,000 *irdabb*s annually) to the poor, mystics living in lodges, and the people living in seclusion in Cairo. These charitable allocations of grain must be distinguished from a special pious endowment *(waqf)* set up by Baybars for buying bread for poor Muslims. It seems that feeding the poor was quite central to Baybars′ conduct as a ruler and believer and, during Ramaḍān, Baybars used to set slaves free and supply food to 5,000 people each night. The freeing of slaves was Baybars′ personal charity, but whether the Ramaḍān food provisions were supplied from Baybars′ own grain or from the state resources remains unclear.[26]

THE WIDER IMPLICATIONS

Two issues need to be addressed when the wider implications of the events of 662/1263–64 are discussed: 1) to what extent Baybars′ policy was unique and 2) what the characteristic features of Cairo′s wheat market in a broader comparative perspective were. As simple as the typology of famine in medieval Egypt is, it should serve as a guide when the response of a regime to a crisis is evaluated. There is no point in comparing what a regime did, or failed to do, during a famine caused by the inadequate rise of the Nile to its conduct in other circumstances. The crisis of 662/1263–64 was a minor one and Baybars′ actions reflect his understanding of the limits of governmental intervention into the market mechanism. Clearly, those most adversely affected were the poor and some foreign military groups and Baybars realized that there was no point in exerting pressure on other

[26]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir,* ed. Sadeque, 24, 103 (text), 107, 217 (trans.); Shāfiʻ ibn ʻAlī, *Kitāb Ḥusn al-Manāqib,* 34; Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ (Wiesbaden, 1983), 301–2.

participants in the market to lower prices, so he took action on his own. The grain stocks of the sultan and the military and civil elite were adequate and the supplies of new grain (determined by the harvest of 661/1262–63) were normal. The sultan could afford to dispense grain in order to achieve social peace. His policies enhance what is known about his personality, his involvement in the affairs of the state, the way he set a personal example, and his swift and determined response to emergencies.

Baybars′ biographers favorably compare his policies in 662/1263–64 to those of other rulers, whose indifference in times of crises brought great misery to people. Quite understandably they conveniently overlooked the different circumstances of each crisis and Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir′s comparison of Baybars to the Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-ʻAdil and his actions in 597/1200–1 is quite misleading. According to Ibn al-Dawādārī (d. after 1335), in 595/1198–99, 596/1199–1200, and 597/1200–1 Egypt suffered a famine caused by the insufficient rise of the Nile. The cumulative effect was devastating and, in 597/1200–1, the signs of depopulation in the capital and the rural areas were visible, with people being reduced to cannibalism. At the height of the famine (in 596/1199–1200, according to al-Maqrīzī, or in 597/1200–1, according to Ibn al-Dawādārī), al-Malik al-ʻAdil distributed grain to the poor and his example was followed by the amirs and people of means.[27] By any comparison al-ʻAdil did more than Baybars did and under the worst circumstances imaginable. If anything al-ʻAdil′s example perhaps inspired Baybars, and providing for the poor by the sultan and other members of the elite during times of crisis became common in the Mamluk period. The responses of the Mamluk sultans, however, varied greatly and fluctuated between intervention and indifference or a late response.[28] It is difficult, almost impossible, to discern clear patterns in the way rulers dealt with crises and the assumption made about the grain ″moral economy″ in Mamluk Egypt is rather speculative, being based on a questionable model (eighteenth-century France and England) and presented with too little textual evidence.[29]

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[27]Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar,* ed. Saʻīd ʻAbd al-Fattāḥ ʻĀshūr (Cairo, 1972), 7:133, 136, 140, 148, 149; al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyadah and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1940), 29–31.

[28]During the famine of 1294–95, for example, people of the military ruling class as well as wealthy civilians, including the historian Baybars al-Manṣūrī (then an amir in Alexandria), provided for the poor, while during the crisis of 1395–96 the sultan Barqūq distributed food and charity to the poor and righteous in the capital (see sources quoted in note 6). For a detailed study of the 1294–96 crisis, see M. Chapoutot-Remadi, ″Une grande crise à la fin du XIIIe siècle en Egypte,″ *JESHO* 26 (1983): 217–46.

[29]See Boaz Shoshan, ″Grain Riots and the ′Moral Economy′: Cairo, 1350–1517,″ *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 10 (1980): 459–61.

Any comparison made between the unique Egyptian realities and other Mediterranean regions, not to say Western Europe, is difficult and must be carefully handled. According to Paul Magdalino about forty percent of Constantinople′s grain market in the ninth–twelfth centuries was dominated by the household grain economy. The court, the Church, charitable institutions, and private people managed to secure grain supplies for themselves in a way unrelated to the ups and downs of Constantinople′s grain market.[30] Thus a basic resemblance to Cairo does exist but the differences are no less important. Supplying Constantinople with grain, from the point of view of geography (i.e., the regions from which the grain came) and transportation, was a far more complex and demanding task than it was in Cairo, which benefited from the movement of boats from Upper and Lower Egypt toward the capital.

In the case of the Cairo wheat market and, more broadly, the grain economy of Muslim Egypt as a whole, we can truly speak about *longue durée* trends. Al-Kindī, the tenth-century author of a booklet entitled the *Excellencies of Egypt,* outlined the three main grain economy realities of Egypt: 1) the country produced vast surpluses; 2) there was a close correlation between the height of the Nile′s annual rise, the agricultural fortunes, and the level of taxation; and 3) Egypt fed the Holy Cities of Arabia.[31] This was not only a question of a river-dependent agricultural economy, since the Nile and its annual flood also permeated the religious and social life of the country. Moreover, ancient Egyptian customs and festivities continued under the guise of Christianity, and later Islam, well into the nineteenth century.[32]

Al-Kindī′s last point reflected the new seventh-century realties of an Egypt slipping away from Byzantine control. Although the loss of Egypt and North Africa carried many consequences for Byzantium, the shipment of grain from Alexandria to Constantinople had already collapsed earlier. In the sixth century truly vast quantities of grain, estimated at 160,000 metric tons, were being shipped each year by a fleet of 1,200 to 1,800 ships from Alexandria to Constantinople but this *longue durée* system came to an end in the early seventh century. In 618 the distribution of public bread in Constantinople ceased and new patterns of supply

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[30]P. Magdalino, ″The Grain Supply of Constantinople, Ninth–Twelfth Centuries″ in *Constantinople and Its Hinterland,* ed. C. Mango and G. Dagron (Aldershot, 1995), 39, 43.

[31]See *Faḍā'il Miṣr,* ed. Ibrāhīm Aḥmad. al-ʻAdawī and Muḥammad ʻUmar (Cairo, 1947), 44, 46, 60, 70.

[32]For medieval festivities and ceremonies connected with the Nile, see William Popper, *The Cairo Nilometer* (Berkeley, 1951); Paula Sanders, *Ritual, Politics, and the City in Fatimid Cairo* (Albany, 1994), ch. 5. For the early nineteenth century, see E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (repr. New York, 1973), ch. 26. The similarities are striking and these accounts can be read as a continuous sequence.

emerged and were consolidated.[33] Writing about Constantinople after the eighth century J. Durliat has categorically stated: "Constantinople ne fut plus affamée."[34] It must be emphasized that the provision of grain to Constantinople was not only a question of overcoming geographical and administrative complexities, but frequently involved political issues relating to Byzantium's commercial relations with other Mediterranean powers. For example, in the commercial treaties between Byzantium and Venice during the rule of Michael VIII (1259–82), Venetian exports of grain from Byzantium were dependent upon the level of grain prices in Constantinople, giving priority to the needs of the local urban market.[35] Like their Byzantine predecessors, the Ottomans were much concerned with securing orderly grain supplies for Istanbul and preventing shortages. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, these efforts culminated in the creation of a special administration to deal with this problem.[36]

Returning to medieval Cairo and its wheat market, one may conclude that it was torn between the household grain economy of the regime, the ruling elite, the upper echelons of the civil society, and the free market upon which the rest of the population was dependent. Governmental intervention in the functioning of the free market was minimal and no special efforts were made to supply Cairo. This lack of interest in how the population of the capital obtained its bread stands in contrast to the Byzantine and Ottoman policies in regard to Constantinople-Istanbul.

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[33]For the sixth-century system of supply and its collapse, see M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy* (Cambridge, 2001), 104–5, 108–10.

[34]See "L'approvisionnement de Constantinople," in *Constantinople and Its Hinterland,* 21.

[35]J. Chrysostomides, "Venetian Commercial Privileges Under the Palaeologi," *Studi Veneziani* 12 (1970): 267–356.

[36]R. Murphey, "Provisioning Istanbul: The State and Subsistence in the Early and Modern Middle East," *Food and Foodways* 2 (1988): 217–63; T. Guran, "The State Role in the Grain Supply of Istanbul: The Grain Administration, 1793–1839," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 3 (1984–85): 27–39.

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Reconstructing Life in Medieval Alexandria from an Eighth/Fourteenth Century *Waqf* Document*

On 12 Jumādá I 726/16 April 1326, the Mamluk sultan of Egypt, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, sold a large quantity of property in Alexandria. The purpose of this sale was to finance an increase in the salaries and allowances of the inhabitants of the *khānqāh* (Sufi convent) at Siryāqūs, some twenty miles northeast of Cairo, which he had founded the previous year. The transaction and the subsequent increases in salaries are recorded in a *waqf* (religious endowment) document from the period, now kept at the Dār al-Wathā'iq al-Qawmīyah in Cairo.[1] In the document the property to be sold, which consists of inns, dye-houses, oil presses, and other buildings, is described in great detail. The approximate positions of the buildings in Alexandria are also specified. These details allow the modern historian to collect a large amount of information regarding the spatial relationships between the individual structures and the area they occupied, as well as giving an insight into the activities that took place there.

Currently modern knowledge of the layout of medieval Alexandria (Fig. 1) is fairly sparse.[2] Writers of the period give only a general description of the city, and so this *waqf* document, published by Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn in 1982,[3] sheds vital new light on this topic. In this article an attempt is made to reconstruct maps of the properties described and, where possible, to determine their approximate location using a combination of the document and the existing reconstructions of

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[1]The *waqf* is written on the versos of two documents, 25/4 and 31/5. The rectos contain the original *waqf* of the *khānqāh.*

[2]The map is derived from those published in ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz Sālim, *Tārīkh al-Iskandarīyah wa-Ḥaḍāratuhā fī al-ʻAṣr al-Islāmī* (Alexandria, 1961), 115; idem, *Takhṭīṭ Madīnat al-Iskandarīyah wa-ʻUmrānihā fī al-ʻAṣr al-Islāmī* (Beirut, 1964), (between) 80–81, 96–97; and Martina Müller-Wiener, *Eine Stadtgeschichte Alexandrias von 564/1169 bis in die Mitte des 9./15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1992), 332.

[3]As an appendix to Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī, *Tadhkirat al-Nabih fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1982). The document may be found on pages 419–48.

the city by modern historians, which are based on the historical sources. Consideration will also be given to the role of the properties in the city and its commercial life. A translation of the relevant part of the *waqf* document (lines 15–91) forms an appendix to the article.

Funduq al-Bayḍ wa-al-Qaṣab (Fig. 2, Lines 15–28)

The first property described in the document is listed as being a *funduq* named ″al-Bayḍ wa-al-Qaṣab.″ The modern Arabic word *funduq* means a hotel, and derives from the Greek *pandokheion*.[4] In the Middle Ages it had a similar meaning, being a hostelry where people could store goods and find lodging for themselves and their animals.[5] As Olivia Remie Constable has shown, textual references to *fanādiq* are found in documents dating from at least as early as the year 284/896,[6] and isolated references to them continue to appear during the fourth/tenth century.[7] References to *fanādiq* become much more common during the Ayyubid sultanate (564–647/1169–1249),[8] and throughout the Mamluk Sultanate (647–923/1249–1517) they occupied a position of great importance in the Levant. The majority of the clientele of these *fanādiq* were merchants.

As Martina Müller-Wiener notes, *fanādiq* were administered in a number of ways. Some were owned and administered by families or amirs who were heavily involved in trade, whereas others were dedicated to particular trades or to particular nationalities.[9] The last was particularly true in Alexandria, as European trade was

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[4]See Olivia Remie Constable, ″Reconsidering the Origin of the *Funduq,″ Studia Islamica* 92 (2001): 195–96. The Byzantines used the term *phoundax* (itself derived from *funduq*) to refer to these buildings. Other buildings similar in function included the Byzantine *mitaton,* and the Muslim *khān* and *wakālah* (Ennio Concina, *Fondaci* [Venice, 1997], 21, 58).

[5]R. le Tourneau, ″Funduḳ,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 2:945. Mirfat Maḥmūd ʻĪsá suggests that *fanādiq* were not themselves used for accommodation, but that they normally had a *rab'* (living quarters) built above them that fulfilled this function (″Dirāsah fī Wathā'iq al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'bān ibn Ḥusayn: al-Munsha'āt al-Tijārīyah wa-Aḍwā' Jadīdah 'alá Takhṭīṭ al-Mi'mārī lil-Fanādiq wa-al-Ribā' fī al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī,″ *Al-Mu'arrikh al-Miṣrī* 21 [1999]: 155–56). This distinction does not seem to be drawn in this document.

[6]Constable, ″Reconsidering the Origin of the *Funduq*,″ 196.

[7]See M. Sharon, ″A Waqf Inscription from Ramlah,″ *Arabica* 13 (1966): 77–84; Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ,* ed. J. H. Kramers, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1967), 432–33; and Abū al-Ma'ālī al-Musharraf ibn al-Murajjā ibn Ibrāhīm al-Maqdisī, *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis wa-al-Khalīl wa-Faḍā'il al-Shām,* ed. Ofer Livne-Kafri (Shfaram, 1995), 200. Although the last of these was written between 1030 and 1040, the account seems to date from the previous century.

[8]André Raymond and Gaston Wiet, *Les Marchés du Caire,* Textes Arabes et Études Islamiques, vol. 14 (Cairo, 1979), 2.

[9]Müller-Wiener, *Stadtgeschichte Alexandrias,* 250–51.

not allowed in Cairo,[10] and hence the town became Egypt′s most important center for trade between the East and the West. However, unless the name has no direct connection to the usage of the establishment, rather like that of an English public house, it would seem to indicate that the *funduq* described here is based around trades, in this case in *bayḍ* (eggs) and *qaṣab* (reeds or sugar cane), rather than being linked to a particular family or nationality.

The *waqf* states that this *funduq* is located on the southern side of the Maḥajjah al-ʻUẓmá, the main road that runs from the Rosetta Gate at the east end of Alexandria to the Green Gate at the west end. Given that the Muslims used the West Harbor of the town,[11] and might be expected to prefer shorter rather than longer trips to transport their goods (particularly in the case of eggs!), a western location on this road is not inconceivable.

The layout of the *funduq* itself seems to be slightly different from that of other Alexandrian *fanādiq* of the Middle Ages. One enters through a door into a vestibule *(dihlīz),* before coming into a central hallway *(qāʻah),* which is surrounded by other rooms, mostly storerooms *(makhāzin)* with a vault *(khaznah)* on the eastern side. The layout of the first floor is similar, with another central hall surrounded by two rooms, a pantry *(khuristān),* a utility room *(murtafaq)* and a bay window *(rawshan)* projecting out from the northern wall. Directly above the bay window is another similar bay window and a small room. One of the major sources for the layout of these buildings, the German traveller Felix Fabri, who travelled to Alexandria in 887–88/1483, describes *fanādiq* belonging to the Venetians, Genoese, and Catalans, and all of them have central spaces like those found here, but these are courtyards, rather than the halls found in this building.[12] He notes that the Catalan and the larger of the two Venetian *fanādiq* he saw are constructed like monasteries,[13] with the Catalan *funduq* in particular having bedrooms around the courtyard.[14] This implies a cloister-like structure, with buildings surrounding the

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[10]Subhi Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter (1171–1517)* (Wiesbaden, 1965), 197.

[11]Ibid., 134. Franks and Byzantines used the East Harbor.

[12]Felix Fabri, *Voyage en Egypte,* trans. R. P. Jacques Masson (Paris, 1975), 693–95, 959–61. Bernhard von Breydenbach, another German traveller who made the pilgrimage in this year, notes Alexandrian *fanādiq* belonging to the King of Sicily, the Venetians (two), and the Genoese (Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Die Reise ins Heilige Land*, ed. Elisabeth Geck [Wiesbaden, 1961], 39). Symon Semeonis, an Irish friar who visited the city in 723–24/1323, notes *fanādiq* belonging to Marseilles, Genoa, Venice, the Catalans ″and others″ (Symon Semeonis, *Itinerarium Symonis Semeonis ab Hybernia ad Terram Sanctam,* ed. and trans. Mario Esposito, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae, vol. 4 [Dublin, 1960], 48–49).

[13]Fabri, *Voyage,* 694, 960.

[14]Ibid., 694.

central yard.[15] However, be it a hall or a courtyard, it seems likely that the central space surrounded by other rooms was a standard design for *fanādiq* in Alexandria. Expanding beyond the city, there are also examples of Cairene *fanādiq* from the period built in this way,[16] and Ennio Concina has shown that the design was used for *fanādiq* and similar buildings in Europe, the Byzantine Empire, and throughout the Levant,[17] although it is not clear exactly where it originated. One can imagine that it would be practical, since the central space would provide both an area for maneuvering large bundles of goods and safe overflow storage for times when the stores were full. Fabri describes the two Venetian *fanādiq* as having goods stored in the courtyard,[18] which would seem to support this possibility.

The existence of shops outside this *funduq* suggests two possibilities. Either local merchants set up shops outside *fanādiq* in order to supply travellers with goods, or the travelling merchants carried out some direct trade with the public, rather than trading entirely through agents. Either way, the location of shops outside *fanādiq* was a normal practice at the time.[19]

It is worth noting that there does not appear to be a religious building of any type in this *funduq*. This further supports the suggestion that this was not a building used by foreigners, from the West at least. As Wilhelm von Heyd notes, *fanādiq* used by Europeans had chapels, where Western priests ministered to the inhabitants.[20] In Alexandria this service would not be required by local traders, who could attend religious buildings in the city. Thus the absence of a religious building in the *funduq* suggests that it probably catered to local inhabitants, rather than Europeans.

Two of the buildings surrounding the *funduq* are of particular interest. The ruined bath on the west side is interesting as there seems to be a link between baths and *fanādiq*. It is understandable that hot, sweaty travellers might be relieved to find a bath near the *funduq* in which they were staying, but what is interesting is that the bath is ruined. The historian al-Maqrīzī (766–845/1364–1442), in his

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[15]This is also in accordance with the description given by Wilhelm von Heyd in *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Âge* (Leipzig, 1923), 2:430.

[16]For other examples from the period, see Sylvie Denoix et al., *Le Khan al-Khalili et ses Environs: Un Centre Commercial et Artisanal au Caire du XIII^{e} au XX^{e} Siècle,* Études Urbaines, vol. 4/1–2 (Cairo 1999), 2:8–10 and 105–8 (both in Arabic section).

[17]Described in Concina, *Fondaci.*

[18]Fabri, *Voyage,* 960.

[19]See ʻĪsá, "Dirāsah fī Wathā'iq," 143.

[20]Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce*, 2:433. According to Fabri's work, this is true of the Genoese, Catalan, and at least one of the Venetian *fanādiq*. See Fabri, *Voyage,* 691–92, 959. Muslim *fanādiq* did sometimes contain mosques or rooms for prayer. However, this is not the case with regard to either of the *fanādiq* mentioned in this document.

description, or *Khiṭaṭ,* of Egypt, refers to two *fanādiq* in similar locations in Cairo. The Funduq ʻAmmār al-Ḥammāmī, in the area of Suwayqat al-Masʻūdī, was built on the site of a ruined bath,[21] and the great *funduq* of the Office of Inheritances, in the area of al-Akfānīyīn, was built next to similar ruins.[22] This might suggest that there was something provided by such ruins that *fanādiq* required. The most likely answer is that *fanādiq* required large quantities of water for both the inhabitants and their beasts. However, in the face of a lack of definite evidence, this must be regarded as mere speculation for the moment.

The second building of interest is the madrasah on the other side of the baking oven and ruined bath. The madrasah is that of Abū Ṭāhir ibn ʻAwf, which was established by Riḍwān al-Khashī, the vizier of the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ, in 533/1137.[23] Unfortunately, the identification of this madrasah is of limited use in establishing the precise location of the *funduq*. Although the madrasah was well known in the Mamluk period, nothing remains of it today[24] and its exact location is unknown.

FUNDUQ AND SESAME OIL PRESS (*FUNDUQ WA-MIʻṢARAT AL-SHĪRAJ*, FIG. 3, LINES 28–45)

The second property described consists of two buildings, another *funduq* and a sesame oil press. It is difficult to determine the exact location of these two buildings, as no information is given regarding this apart from that they are on the eastern side of Musk Alley, as shown. The fact that they are bordered to the south by three markets might suggest that they are on the northern side of the Maḥajjah al-ʻUẓmá, between the East Mosque and the Sea Gate, for as Müller-Wiener notes, it is here that most of the markets were located.[25] However, this location is by no means certain.

This second *funduq,* which is not named, is constructed in a similar fashion to the Funduq al-Bayḍ wa-al-Qaṣab, although its layout is more complex. Once again, it has the central hall surrounded by stores. However, instead of another hall on the first floor it has a wooden gallery *(riwāq khashab)* which goes around the space above the hall below and crosses it from east to west.[26] This seems more

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[21]Ḥammām Ibn Qaraqah, listed in al-Maqrīzī, *Al Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Bulaq, n.d.), 2:81.

[22]Ḥammām ʻAjīnah, listed in ibid., 2:81.

[23]Sālim, *Tārīkh al-Iskandarīyah,* 63–4. See also Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabih,* 430, n. 4.

[24]Sālim, *Takhṭīṭ Madīnat al-Iskandarīyah,* 79–80.

[25]Müller-Wiener, *Stadtgeschichte Alexandrias,* 241.

[26]A similar arrangement is found in the layout of the Funduq al-Ḥujar, in the area of Bāb al-Zuhūmah in Cairo. This building is recorded in the *waqf* of the sultan Barsbāy, written in

in accordance with the standard design of *fanādiq* described earlier, in that the central space at ground level is open to the elements. The gallery is surrounded by rooms upstairs, in what seems to be the usual arrangement. The stores on the eastern side of the first floor are used by *(maḥmūl ʻalá)* shops in the Carpenters′ Market to the south. Again, there are shops outside the door, suggesting direct trade was carried out with the public, and there are no religious buildings in the *funduq,* implying that it catered mainly to local inhabitants.

Immediately to the south of the *funduq* is a sesame oil press. This is a simple, two-storey building with a baking oven, an animal stall, and a variety of pieces of equipment for making the oil in a small rectangular area on the ground floor. On the first floor are two stores. The existence of this press is interesting as, according to Subhi Labib, Egypt imported oil, most particularly sesame oil,[27] which was rarely produced in the country.[28]

It is not clear if there was a link between the press and the *funduq,* or whether they are mentioned as being together purely for convenience′s sake. The *funduq* door, the public fountain, and two shops to the north of the *funduq* door are contributory to *(ḥāmilah ilá)* the mosque next door. This fact, and the fact that several stores are used by two shops in the Carpenters′ Market, as mentioned above, suggest a fairly high level of interaction between the *funduq* and other local properties and institutions. In the case of the stores that are used by the shops in the Carpenters′ Market, the use of storage space nearby is understandable. However, the precise relationship between the mosque, its shops, and the *funduq* is less clear. It seems that the *funduq* is required in some way to contribute to the mosque′s upkeep, but what form this takes, and why only parts of the property are regarded in this way, remains a mystery. It may be that the incomes of these parts of the property are a *waqf* for the mosque.

GLASS-WORKS (*ZAJJĀJAH,* FIG. 4, LINES 45–52)

The next property described is a glass-works, which according to the document is located in an area known as the (two) baths of al-Akhawayn. The location of this area is unknown, but as the property contains a well that is described as being on the Nile, this might place it on the western side of the city, where the *khalīj* from the river passes through it.

The glass-works, which the *waqf* states was originally a soap-works *(ṣabbānah),* consists of a vestibule that goes past two rooms and a well, before ending at a

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846/1442. It also has an upper storey that overlooks the courtyard, although this does not include a gallery (see Denoix, *Khan al-Khalili,* 2:8–10 [Arabic section]).

[27] Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens,* 39

[28] Ibid., 321.

hall. On the opposite side of the hall is a store, a room where the glass is made, and a *sābāṭ,* which Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Laylá ʿAlī Ibrāhīm describe as a raised passageway which would normally pass between two buildings above ground level.[29] Since the *waqf* does not state that the rest of the building is above ground level, this definition does not seem to be appropriate here. It is more likely to be a roofed passageway at ground level. A number of properties in this document include these structures, as will be shown below. The passageway contains a number of pieces of equipment that are left over from when the building was a soap-works.

It is interesting that the glass-works is bordered by the house of a Jewish jeweler to the north, and the house of a (presumably Muslim) swordsmith to the east. The existence of these craftsmen side by side suggests that Alexandria may not have had sharply delineated quarters defined by the religions of their inhabitants, but consisted rather of a mix of peoples living throughout the town. However, in the face of a lack of further evidence, it is difficult to say how far this one instance is representative of the general situation.

DYE-WORKS (*MAṢBAGHAH,* FIG. 5, LINES 52–57)

This dye-works is one of two properties that the *waqf* describes as being located in an area called "al-Qamarah."[30] As ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Sālim notes, in the Classical era the gate at the western end of Alexandria was known as the Gate of the Moon.[31] It might be that the area near the gate would have picked up its name. If one were to assume that the name of the gate was carried over after the Muslim conquest, becoming Arabicized to "Bāb al-Qamar,"[32] before falling out of use in favor of the name "al-Bāb al-Akhḍar" (the Green Gate), it might be that the name of the area nearby would also have become Arabicized, becoming "al-Qamarah" (the crescent moon).[33] This would place this property at the west end of Alexandria, near the Green Gate.

One enters the dye-works through a vestibule containing a well, before coming into a hall, on the opposite side of which is another hall, a *sābāṭ,* a room, and a staircase leading up to another room. On the north side of the building, to the west of the vestibule, is another area where dyeing kettles are made.

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[29]Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Laylá ʿAlī Ibrāhīm, *Al-Muṣṭalaḥāt al-Miʿmārīyah fī al-Wathāʾiq al-Mamlūkīyah* (Cairo, 1990), 60.

[30]The other is the slaughterhouse listed next in the document.

[31]Sālim, *Tārīkh al-Iskandarīyah,* 19.

[32]This is the name used by the Arabic sources (Sālim, *Takhṭīṭ Madīnat al-Iskandarīyah,* 42).

[33]It is known that the Muslims did not change the layout of the town when they conquered it (ibid., 69).

Textiles formed a large proportion of the industry of Alexandria. As one of the major trade centers between the East and the West, it was well positioned to take advantage of the dyes that passed through the town. Labib describes numerous dyes that came to Egypt from India and places further east.[34] Thus it is likely that this building was very important to merchants who dealt in textiles. It is probably no accident that it was built immediately to the north of the silk *funduq*.

SLAUGHTERHOUSE (*MASLAKH,* FIG. 6, LINES 57–61)

This is noted as being the second property in al-Qamarah, but beyond that little information is given. The properties around the building are mentioned, consisting of two houses and a dye-works. However, the description of the building itself is very brief.

DYE-WORKS (*MAṢBAGHAH,* FIG. 7, LINES 61–69)

This property is located in an area called al-Qaṭṭābīn, and would appear to be on the other side of the area of Bi'r Ḥar, to the east of the slaughterhouse just mentioned, as the document states that the road runs from this property west to Bi'r Ḥar, whereas the road was described as running east from the previous property to the area. Assuming the area is not huge, this would place this property in the western end of the city, near al-Qamarah. This proposed location is further supported by the existence of a well on the Nile canal inside the building.

The description of this building is slightly confused, particularly as the Arabic word ″*mutaqābil*″ may mean either ″being opposite″ or ″being together with.″ In particular, the two *īwān*s are described as ″*mutaqābil*″ but then it is stated that one is in the north, and the other in the west. The map given presents what seems to be the most likely arrangement.

SCALDING-HOUSE (*MASMAṬ,* FIG. 8, LINES 69–72)

The description of this building is very brief. It is described as being a large building roofed with wood and palm fronds in the area of Lesser Ḥaddādīn. The properties surrounding it are also mentioned, consisting of a blacksmith′s shop, an oil press, and the Qaysārīyat al-Nashā, which may be a perfume workshop. Apart from that there is no further information.

SESAME OIL PRESS (*MA'ṢARAT AL-SHĪRAJ,* FIG. 9, LINES 72–78)

This property is in the area of Dār al-Jadīdah, Qaysārīyat al-A'jām, and Furn al-Sabbānah. ″Qaysārīyat al-A'jām″ translates as ″the trade complex of the non-

[34]Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens,* 334–35.

Arabs,″ which might place the property in the eastern half of Alexandria, near the harbor used by foreigners.

The description of the property is confused, seeming to make little sense when it is drawn out, and so the map presented here should be seen as a particularly rough reconstruction. In particular, it has been assumed that the entrance passage turns to the north, in order to allow for the existence of rooms on either side of it, even though this is not specified in the document. Again, the existence of this press seems to contradict Labib′s suggestion that sesame oil was rarely produced in Egypt.

SLAUGHTERHOUSE (*MASLAKH,* FIG. 10, LINES 79–83)

This slaughterhouse is described as being in the area of the Great Market, to the south of it. Considering that the *funduq* and sesame oil press described in lines 29–45 of the document are described as being to the north of the Great Market, this would place this property somewhere to the south of these, perhaps on the northern side of the Maḥajjah al-ʻUẓmá, between the East Mosque and the Sea Gate, where most of the markets were located.

The description of the property itself is extremely brief, and as it seems to consist of only a vestibule and a *sābāṭ,* it is not clear exactly where the actual slaughter of animals takes place. It is surrounded by a shop, a bench where skins are sold, a mosque, and an area where taro is grown.

BAKING OVEN (*TANNŪR,* FIG. 11, LINES 83–91)

The last urban property described in the document[35] is a baking oven on the southern side of the street running from it in the direction of Saqīfat al-Zardī. It includes an upper level, which seems to include a way down to the hall below. However, it is not clear how this is achieved, and so a way down has not been marked on the map.

CONCLUSION

It is important, when conducting a study of this type, to remember that one is dealing with possibilities, rather than definite facts. The information presented in the *waqf* document is unclear, with the descriptions of the buildings being vague and sometimes confused. This suggests that the scribe was not actually at the properties when the descriptions were written. In addition, it is notable that towards the end of the list of properties the descriptions gradually become shorter and less detailed, with more difficulties regarding the feasibility of the layouts described.

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[35]The document also describes a piece of rural property which is sold to help finance the *waqf.*

This, combined with increasing omissions of words (particularly *″yantahī″* [extends] in the description of borders) suggests that the scribe may have become either rushed or bored with this part of his work. Given that the rest of the document is carefully written, the latter seems more likely. One additional problem with the descriptions of the properties sold is that they lack any measurements.

As a result of the problems with the descriptions, the maps presented here must be regarded as possible interpretations, rather than definite representations. Likewise, the interpretations of the relations between the properties, the surrounding environment, and the local inhabitants, based as they are on sparse historical records and a relatively small quantity of modern scholarship, must also be regarded as remaining open to debate. However, despite the tentative nature of the reconstructions presented here, they present a model that may be enhanced and refined as more information becomes available in the future, and so remain a valid contribution towards our knowledge of the geography and history of Alexandria.

Regardless of the problems with the reconstruction of properties, this document still sheds an important light on al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and his involvement in Levantine trade. The properties being sold by this sultan represent a wide range of trades and commodities, including reeds or sugar cane, eggs, sesame oil, glassmaking, dyeing, slaughter of livestock, and preparation of meat and bread, to say nothing of income from accommodating merchants and travellers in the *fanādiq*. As has been noted by Eliyahu Ashtor and Ira M. Lapidus, the Mamluk sultans and amirs of Egypt, including al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, were frequently involved in the exploitation of products of particular commercial importance, of which sugar was one,[36] so his ownership of a *funduq* which may have been involved in this important trade is not surprising. However, it is interesting to note how many other trades al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was involved in. It would not be unreasonable to suggest that this mercantile policy might also have been employed by the Mamluk amirs, in order to avoid being vulnerable to crises in the market for a particular commodity.

Many of the trades represented by these properties declined significantly during the eighth/fourteenth and ninth/fifteenth centuries. Most particularly, the trade in sugar, textiles, glass, oil, and soap suffered in the face of increasing European competition.[37] Amalia Levanoni traces the origins of this decline back to excessive expenditure during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s reign, during which there was also a

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[36]Eliyahu Ashtor, ″Levantine Sugar Industry in the Later Middle Ages—an Example of Technological Decline,″ in *Technology, Industry and Trade: The Levant versus Europe, 1250–1500*, ed. Benjamin Z. Kedar, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Croft Road, Hampshire, and Brookfield, Vermont, 1992), 237–40; and Ira M. Lapidus, ″The Grain Economy of Mamluk Egypt,″ *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 12 (1969): 1.

[37]Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341)* (Leiden and New York, 1995), 140–41.

significant decline in the transit trade with Europe.[38] In this light, the sale of a number of properties associated with trades that would eventually wane seems ominous, although it may be too early to read any greater significance into it.

The use of contemporary legal documents is a relatively new field in Islamic studies, simply due to the fact that it is only recently that collections of such documents have become available to modern scholars. In addition to giving insights into both the possible geography and urban life of medieval Alexandria and the mercantile policy of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and the Mamluk amirs, this article illustrates one way in which these documents may be used to complement the evidence of textual sources, illuminating aspects of urban history that they neglect.

[38]Ibid., 142–96.

APPENDIX

15.[39] . . . All of the *funduq* that is in the protected port of Alexandria, known as Funduq al-Bayḍ wa-al-Qaṣab.

16. He is appointed to sell it[40] and the four shops outside its door and the upper level overlooking the north side of the *funduq* mentioned

17. and its shops mentioned. It is on the Maḥajjah al-ʻUẓmá. On the southern side of it [the road] on the east side are two of the shops of its [the *funduq*'s] property, and on the west side of it are two shops

18. also of its property. One enters from the door of the *funduq* to a vestibule that has a platform on the western side of it. Then one enters a hall

19. in which, on the eastern side, there are three stores containing the property of others. Next to them is a door through which one enters a vault, which is part of the property of this *funduq*.

20. That is going round in a circle from the south.[41] On the west side there are also three stores. On the north side to the east of the vestibule are two stores,

21. and to the west of the vestibule is one store. On the opposite side of the *funduq* are three stores. The door of the overlooking upper level mentioned is to the west of the two western shops mentioned.

22. One goes up from it on a stone staircase to a vestibule, then to the door of a marbled hall. On the western side of the hall is a room, and opposite it is a room like it. On

23. the southern side is a platform, next to which is a door to the utilities. Opposite the platform on the northern side is a bay window made of baked brick and lime. In it are

24. windows with wooden shutters looking out over the road. Next to the bay window is a pantry in which is a wooden staircase. One goes up it to a bay window, above the bay window

25. mentioned, with windows with wooden shutters also looking out over the road. Next to it is a small room in which is a staircase. One goes up it to the roof above.

26. Four borders surround that [property]. The southern [border] extends to the crypt, which is the tomb of the Muslims. Its second border, which is the northern [border], extends to the

27. main street, which is the Maḥajjah al-ʻUẓmá, in which is its door. The eastern [border] extends to a house known as [belonging to] Shihāb al-Ḥall, the

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[39]The description begins on the fifteenth line of the document.

[40]Reading *"li-bayʻihi."*

[41]In other words, from south to north one has a store, another store, another store, and then a vault.

house of Muḥammad al-Karābilī and the upper level known as
28. [that of] Ibn al-Zarqā. The western [border] extends to the ruined bath and the baking oven, which separate it from the ʿAwfī madrasah. And [also being sold is] all of
29. the *funduq* and the sesame oil press and the five shops outside their doors, which are in Alexandria in the area of
30. Musk Alley. The sesame oil press is outside the *funduq* mentioned. The doors of these places are on[42] the east side
31. of the alley mentioned. One sees their doors from the west. One enters the *funduq* through the door to a vestibule on the southern side of which is a platform,
32. [then] one enters a hall. On the northern side of it are four stores, in one of which is a cistern. On the eastern side of it are also four stores
33. and a staircase with stone stairs. One goes up it to a long passageway in which are six stores. These stores are used by shops in the Carpenters´ Market.
34. Some of them are religious bequests. On the southern side of the lower part of the *funduq* are three stores. On the western side is a false door. On the eastern side
35. is a staircase that one goes up on stone stairs to a second level, on top of the stores below, and a wooden gallery with wooden bannisters. In the middle of the
36. gallery is a gallery with wooden bannisters extending from it, from the east side, to the west side. On the northern side of the
37. second level are four rooms, on the eastern side are five rooms, on the southern side are four rooms, and on the western side are four rooms.
38. Then one goes down to the hall of the *funduq* and one finds next to the platform of the vestibule a door in which is a staircase. One goes up it to the roof of the *funduq* mentioned. One goes out of the *funduq* and one finds next to it, on the southern side, the door of the oil press. One enters through it to a small rectangle in which is a baking oven. Opposite it is
39. the sesame oil [grind]stone. On the northern side are oils and kneading troughs. Above the oil press shop is a store for sesame seeds. To the west of it [the store] is another store. To the north
40. of the [grind]stone is an animal stall. The two stores were property of the *funduq* mentioned. To the south of the door of the oil press are three shops, and to the north of its door
41. is the door of the *funduq,* the cistern of a public fountain, and the two remaining shops. The door of the *funduq* and the cistern of the public fountain[43] and the two shops next to

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[42]Lit. ″clinging to.″

[43]Reading ″*ṣahrīj al-sabīl*.″

42. the cistern are contributory[44] to a mosque there. That is surrounded by four borders. The southern [border] extends to the two shops separating the southernmost shops
43. outside the door[45] from the Great Market, which extends from it to the Carpenters′ Market on the east side and to the market . . .[46]
44. on the west side. The northern [border] extends to the mosque mentioned and to the *funduq* known as [that of] al-Jamālī ʻAbd Allāh ibn Ḥasan ʻAlī. The eastern [border extends] to the Qaysārīyah
45. al-Jukundārīyah, known now as Sufi dwellings. The western [border] extends to the street in Musk Alley, and in it is the door. And [also being sold is] all of
46. soap-works, which is now a glass-works for making glass in the protected port of Alexandria in the area of the two baths of al-Akhawayn, on the
47. eastern side of the passing alley, which is on the northern side of the two baths mentioned. One enters through its door into a vestibule in which, on the left
48. of the one entering, is a room. Opposite it is a utility room. Next to the door of the room is a cistern, then one enters a hall, in the eastern side of which is a *sābāṭ*
49. and two pillars. In it is a copper dome for making soap and also basin troughs for the soap. Opposite this *sābāṭ* is a room, next to which is
50. a well on the Nile canal. On the opposite side of the hall is a large room for making the glass, next to which is a store. Four borders surround that. The southern [border] extends to
51. the main street to the two baths mentioned and other places. The northern [border] extends to the house of Mūsá the Jewish jeweller. The eastern [border extends] to the house of Muḥammad
52. the swordsmith. The western [border] extends to the main alleyway, and in it is its door. And [also being sold is] all of the dye-works
53. that is in the port of Alexandria in the area of al-Qamarah. One enters through its door into a vestibule in which is a well, then one enters a hall in the southern side
54. of which is an *īwān*.[47] Opposite it is a place in which dyeing kettles are made. Opposite it is a *sābāṭ* with pillars. Next to it is a room, and next to the room is a staircase. One goes up
55. it on stone steps to another upper room above the lower room mentioned. Four borders surround that. The southern [border extends] to the silk *funduq*

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[44]Reading *″ḥāmilat tilka.″*

[45]Lit. ″the southern shops of its shops, which are outside its door.″

[46]Unreadable word in manuscript.

[47]Three-sided hall.

56. facing the tomb of Fuḍūl the teacher. The northern [border extends] to the main street, and in it is its door. The eastern [border extends] to the upper level of which it is mentioned that it is property of
57. Sayf al-Dīn Khalaf ibn Farāj. The western [border extends] to the school appointed for the teaching of the noble Quran. And [also being sold is] all of
58. the slaughterhouse, which is appointed for the slaughter of sheep in the protected port of Alexandria, in the area of al-Qamarah on the southern side of the street running from it
59. eastwards in the direction of Bi'r Ḥar. On enters through its door to a large room for the purpose of slaughtering the sheep. Four borders surround that. The southern [border] extends to the house
60. of al-Naṣārī. The northern [border extends] to the main street. The eastern [border extends] to the dye-works known as the bequest of the amir Sayf al-Dīn Sallār.
61. The western [border] extends to the house of Abū al-Hinā the Christian, and in it is its door. This slaughterhouse contains the property of others. And [also being sold is] all of
62. the dye-works that is in the protected port of Alexandria in al-Qaṭṭābīn, on the northern side of the street running east of it
63. to al-Maqūqas, and west, passing in the direction of Bi'r Ḥar. One enters through its door into a vestibule in which are two rooms opposite one another. One has in it a *sitt jawābī*[48]
64. for the purpose of dyeing, and a room [that has] in it a well on the Nile canal. One enters from it [the vestibule] into a hall in which are two *īwāns* near one another in the west and the north. The western [one] has in it a vault
65. with a door. Next to the northern [one] is a room for firewood and utilities and a staircase. One goes up it to an upper room above its shop, [which is to the] west of[49] its [the dye-works′] door
66. and next to its door. On the eastern side there is also a shop of its property. This dye-works has four borders. The southern [border extends] to
67. the main street, and in it is its door. The northern [border extends] to the turn of the western alley. The eastern [border extends] to the shop
68. that is [part] of its property,[50] which divides it from the alley without crossing it. The western [border extends] to the shop that is [part] of its property,
69. which divides it from the alley that crosses the main street. And [also being sold is] all of the scalding-house appointed for the scalding of heads

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[48]It is not clear what this means.

[49]Reading *″gharbī min.″*

[50]Reading *″ḥuqūqihā.″*

70. in the protected port of Alexandria in the area of Lesser Ḥaddādīn. It is a large house roofed over with wood and palm fronds. Four borders surround it.
71. The southern [border] extends to the oil press known as that of the Banū al-Qawāmī. The northern [border] extends to a blacksmith′s shop acknowledged as a possession of Ibnat Ismā‘īl al-Ḥanafī.
72. The eastern border extends to the passage in the market, and in it is its door. The western [border] extends to Qaysārīyat al-Nashā.[51] And [also being sold is] all of
73. the sesame oil[52] press that is in the protected port of Alexandria in the area of Dār al-Jadīdah, Qaysārīyat al-A‘jām, and Furn al-Sabbānah.
74. One enters through the door of this oil press into a passage to a [grind]stone then to kneading troughs and oils. On the eastern side of this passage is a baking oven then
75. an animal stall. Facing this animal stall mentioned is a store for the sesame seeds. Next to the baking oven is a staircase. One goes up it on stone steps to an upper room
76. for the sesame seeds, then to another upper room. Next to the door of the oil press is a shop, [which is part] of its property, for selling the sesame oil. Next to the shop is a well.
77. Four borders surround this oil press. The southern [border extends] to benches and a baking oven, which are religious bequests. The northern [border] extends to al-Dār
78. al-Jadīdah. The eastern [border extends] to the main street, and in it is its door. The western [border extends] to the ‘Imādī madrasah.
79. And [also being sold is] all of the slaughterhouse appointed for the slaughter of sheep in the port of Alexandria in the area of the Great Market on
80. the southern side of the street running eastwards in the direction of . . .[53] One enters through its door to a long vestibule then to a *sābāṭ*
81. with two pillars roofed with palm fronds and reeds. Four borders surround it. The southern [border] extends to the bench known for the sale of skins.[54]
82. The northern [border extends] to the Great Market. The eastern [border extends] to a shop known[55] as [that of] the Banū Salāmah and others. The western [border extends] to the mosque
83. known as the work of the *faqīh* Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn ‘Arabī and to the ruins

[51]Possibly a perfume workshop.

[52]Reading *″shīraj.″*

[53]Unreadable word in manuscript.

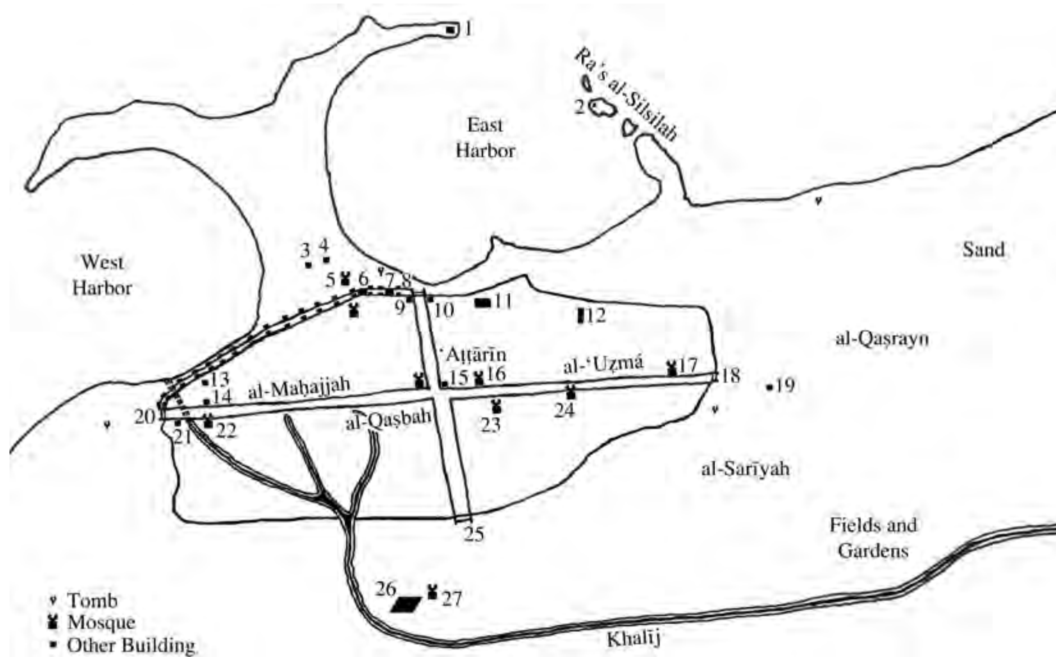
[54]Reading *″al-maq‘ad al-ma‘rūf bi-bay‘ al-julūd.″*

[55]Reading *″yu‘rafu.″*

appointed for the growing of taro. And [also being sold is] all of
84. the baking oven appointed for the preparation of grilled meat[56] in the protected port of Alexandria, on the southern side of the street running from it in the direction of Saqīfat
85. al-Zardī. One enters through its door to a hall in which are two ovens and a well and a fireplace for scalding heads and sheep. On the southern side
86. of the hall is a well, and on the northern side is a *sābāṭ* with a pillar and a large store for slaughtering. Among the properties of this oven is
87. an upper level over the southern side of it. Its [the upper level's] door is on the north side of the road [that is] next to the oven on the southern side of it. One goes up to its door on a
88. stone staircase. One enters through it into the hall mentioned. All of the roof of this place is reeds and palm fronds. Four borders surround that.
89. The southern [border] extends to the road known as that of al-Baṭlah, in the front of which is the door of its upper level, [which has been] mentioned. The northern [border] extends to the house of Yāqūt
90. al-Ḥabashī al-Shawī. The eastern [border extends] to the passage in the road, and in it is its door. The western [border extends] to the mill known as [that of] the amir ʻAlam al-Dīn
91. ibn Khālid al-Sulamī.

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[56]Reading "*shiwā'*."



1. Pharos
2. Tower of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad
3. Ribāṭ al-Siwār
4. Ribāṭ al-Wāsiṭī
5. Mosque of al-Ṭarṭūshī
6. Arsenal (Dār al-Ṣinā'ah)
7. Textile factory (Dār al-Ṭirāz)
8. Sea gate
9. Center for exports (al-Ṣādir)
10. Jafār al-Qaṣārīn
11. Governor's Palace (Dār al Niyābah)
12. Obelisk
13. Weapons Depot (Qaṣr al-Silāḥ)
14. Sultan's Palace (Dār al-Sulṭān)
15. Dār Ibn al-Jiyāb
16. East Mosque
    Mosque of al-'Aṭṭārīn
17. Mosque of Ibn al-Ashhab
18. Rosetta Gate
19. Ribāṭ al-Hakkārī
20. Green Gate
21. Tomb of al-Ṭarṭūshī
22. West Mosque
23. Mosque of Dhū al-Qarnayn
24. Mosque of al-Mu'tamin
25. Gate of the Pillars
    Gate of al-Sidrah
    Spice Gate
26. Cavalry Pillars and Ruins of the Serapaeum
27. Mosque of the Cavalry (al-Sawārī)

Fig. 1. Mamluk Alexandria

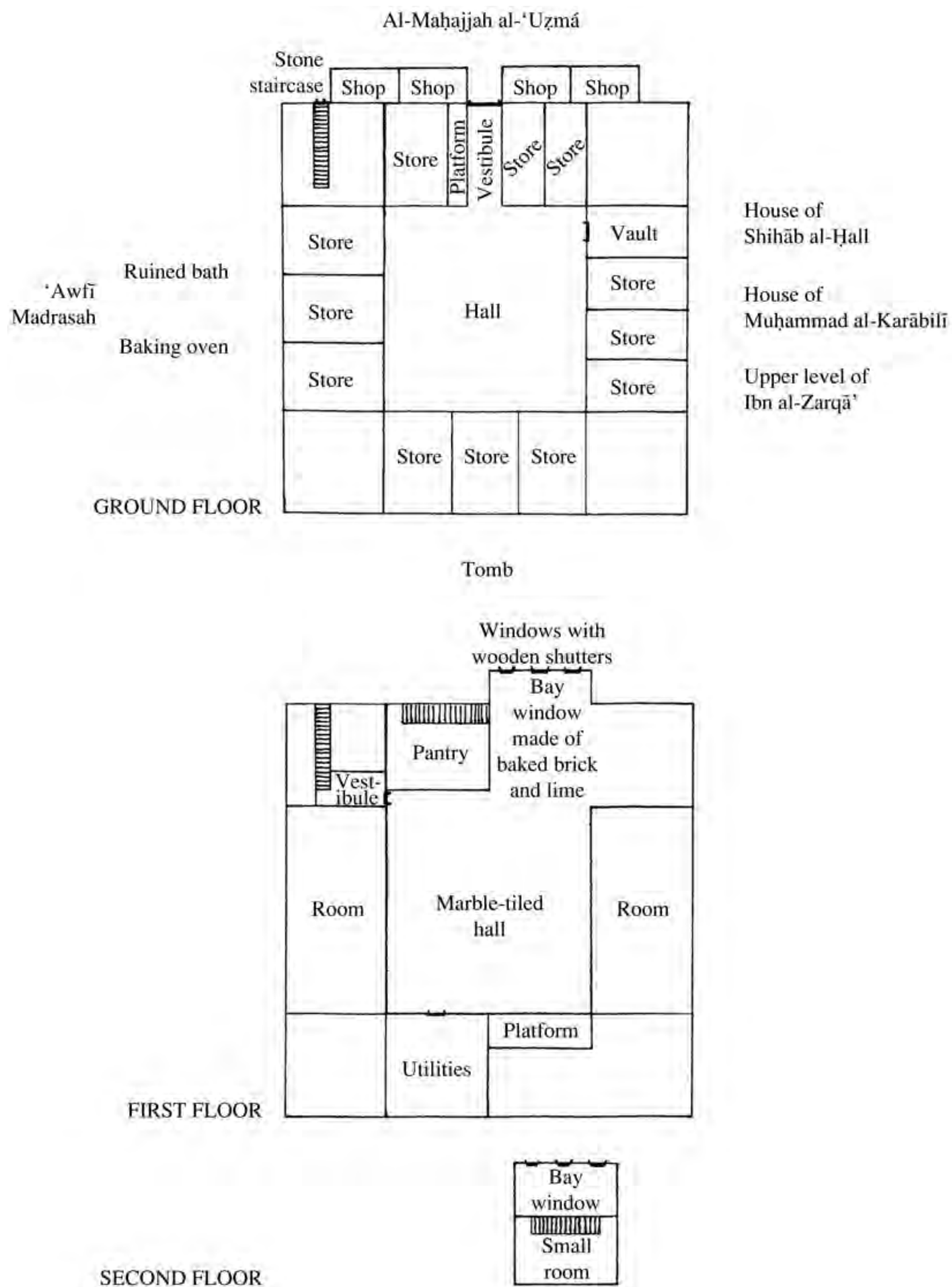


Fig. 2. Funduq al-Bayḍ wa-al-Qaṣab

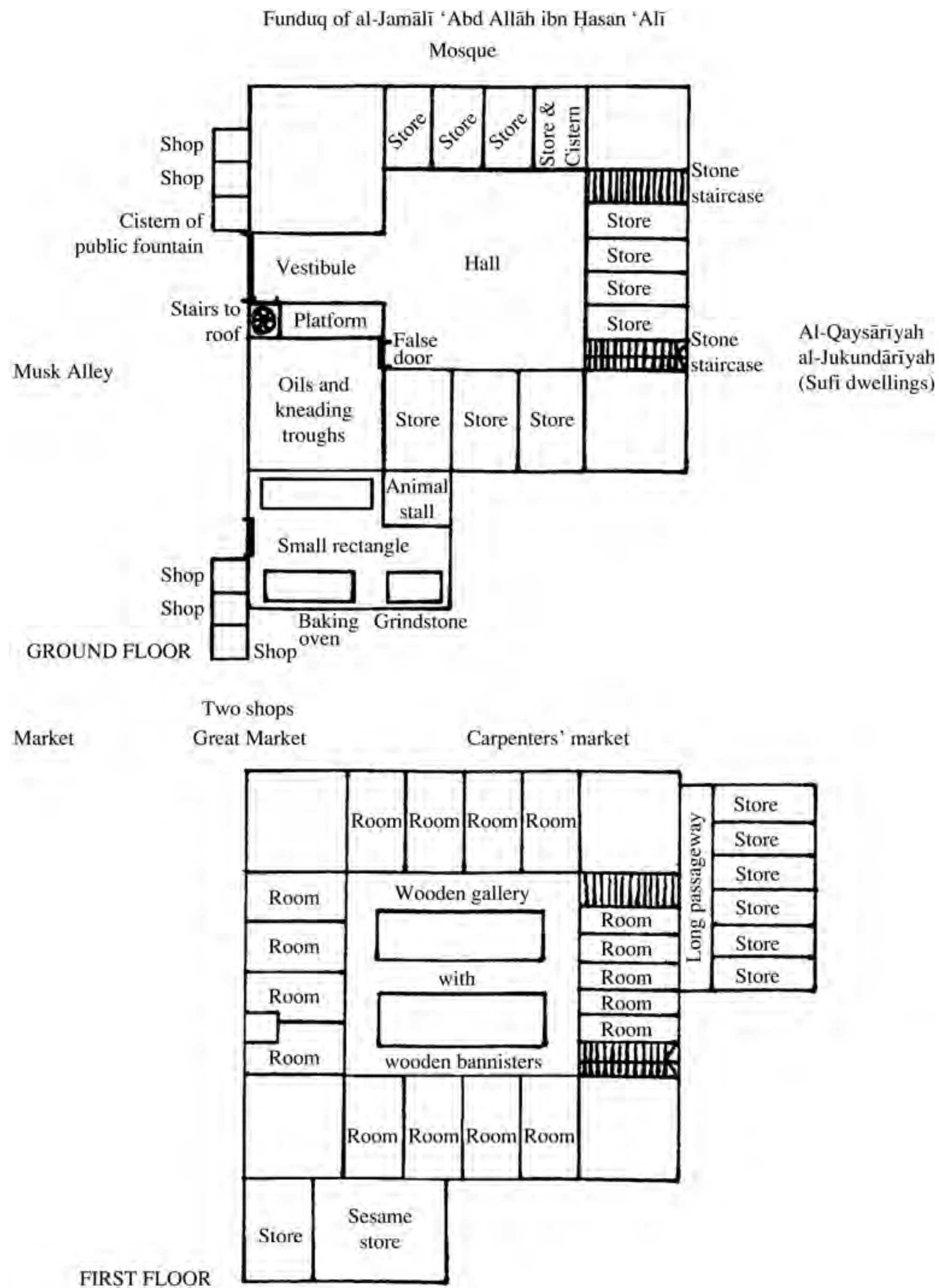


Fig. 3. Funduq and sesame oil press

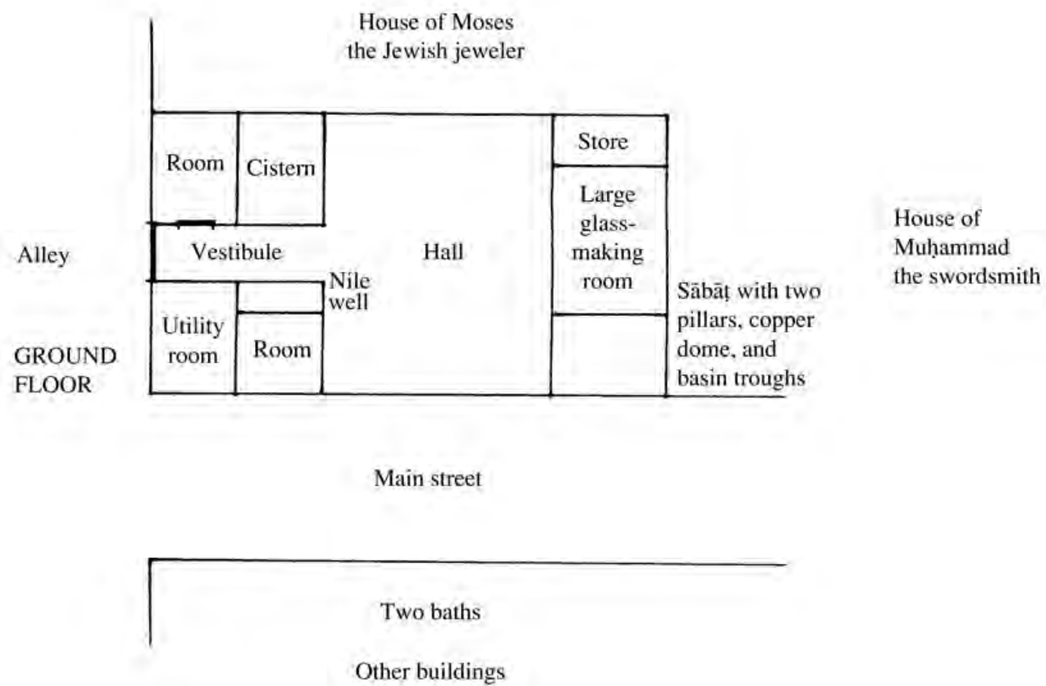


Fig. 4. Glass-Works

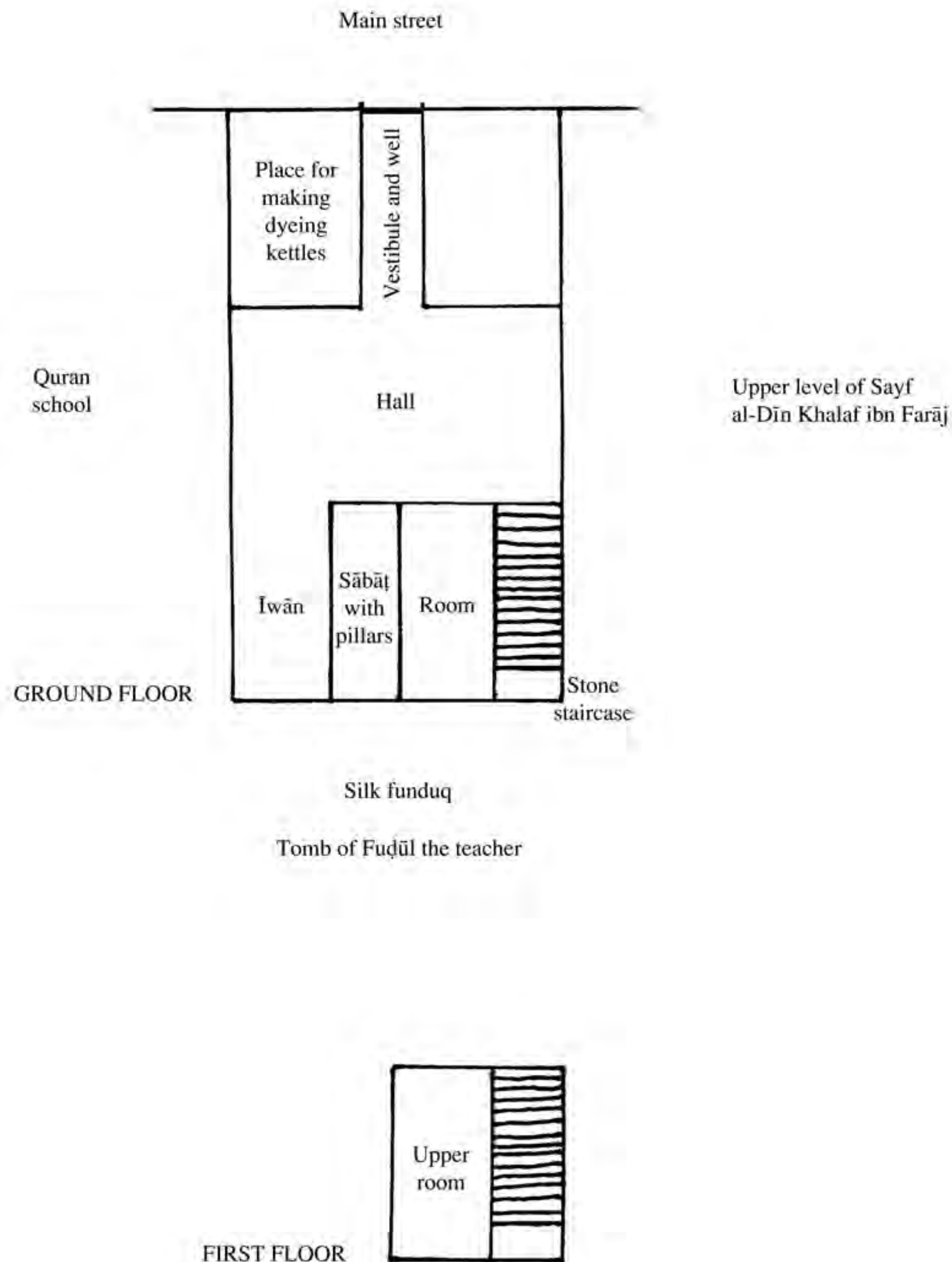


Fig. 5. Dye-Works

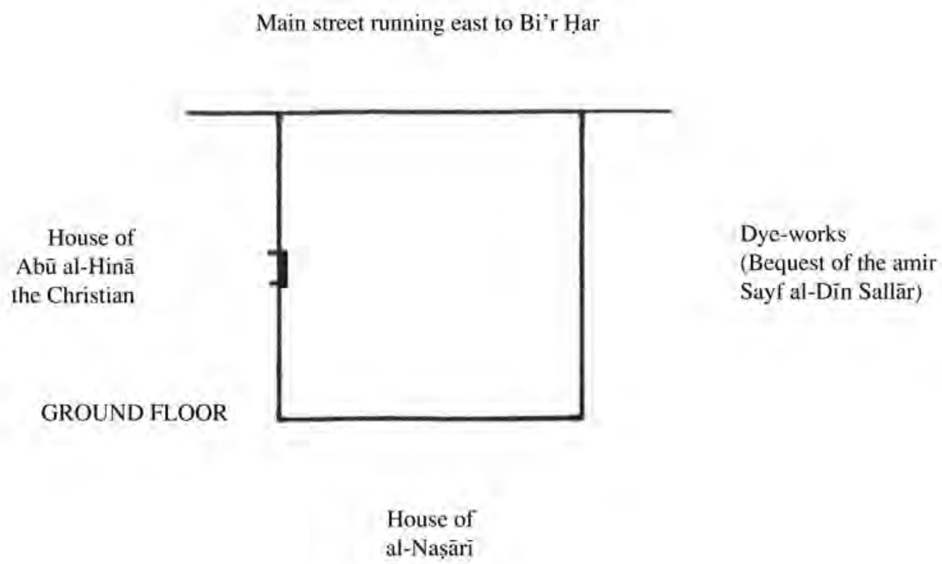


Fig. 6. Slaughterhouse

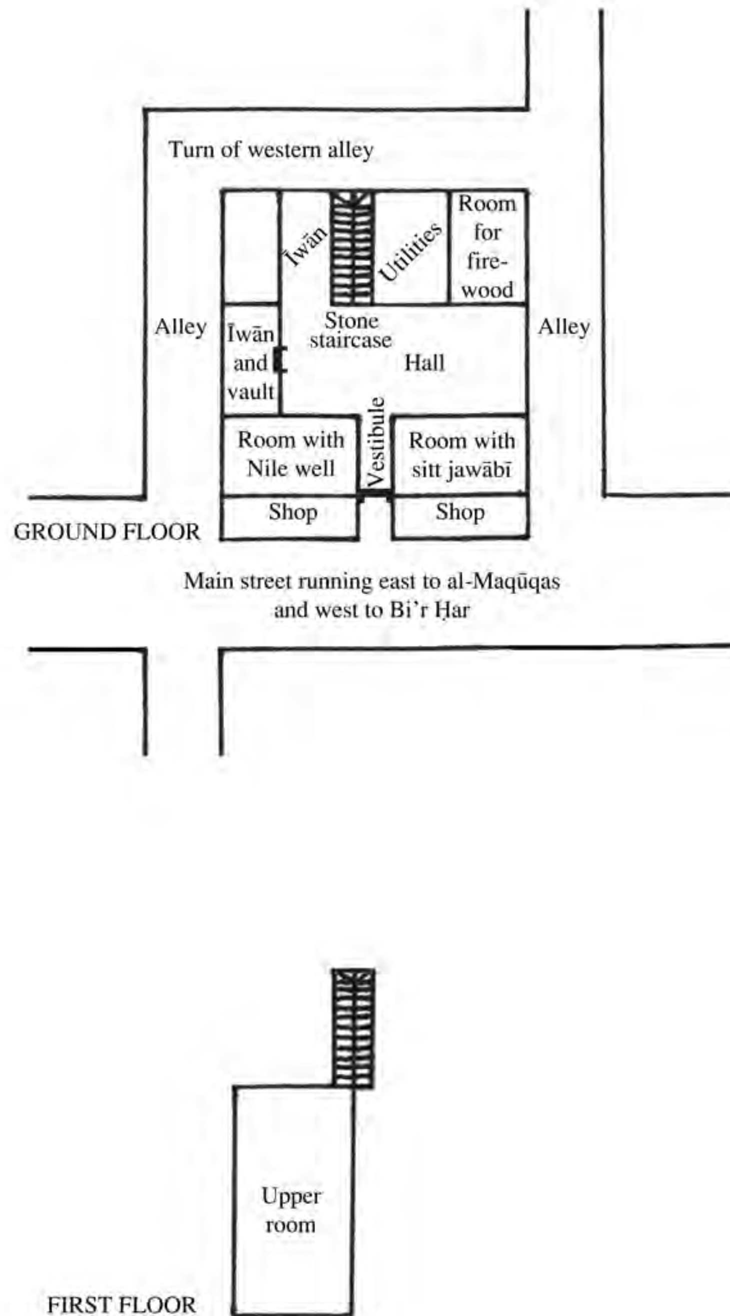


Fig. 7. Dye-Works

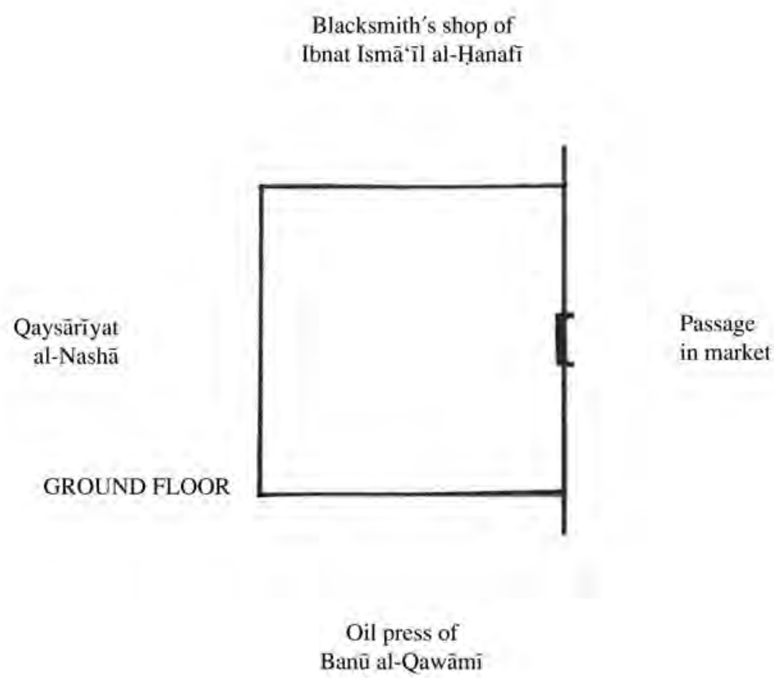


Fig. 8. Scalding-House

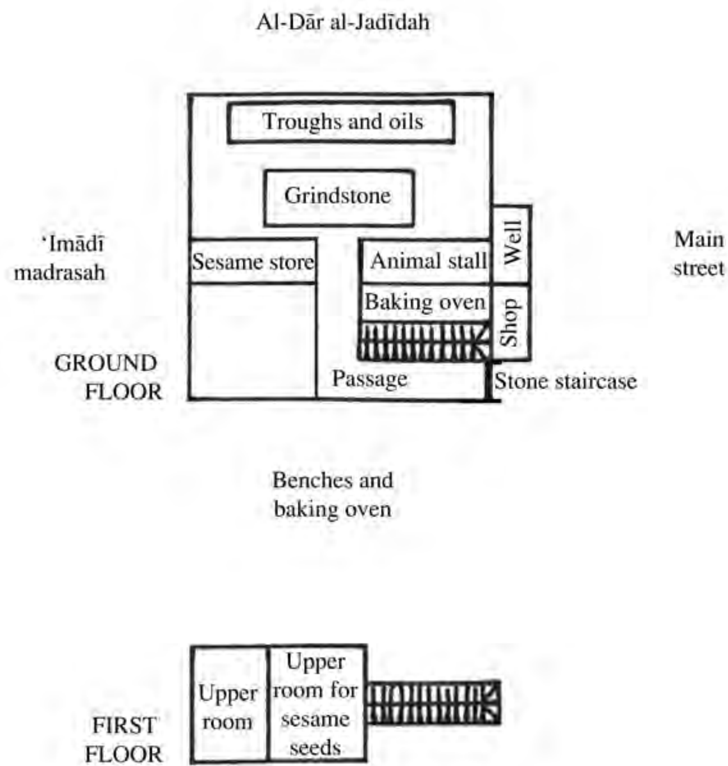


Fig. 9. Sesame Oil Press

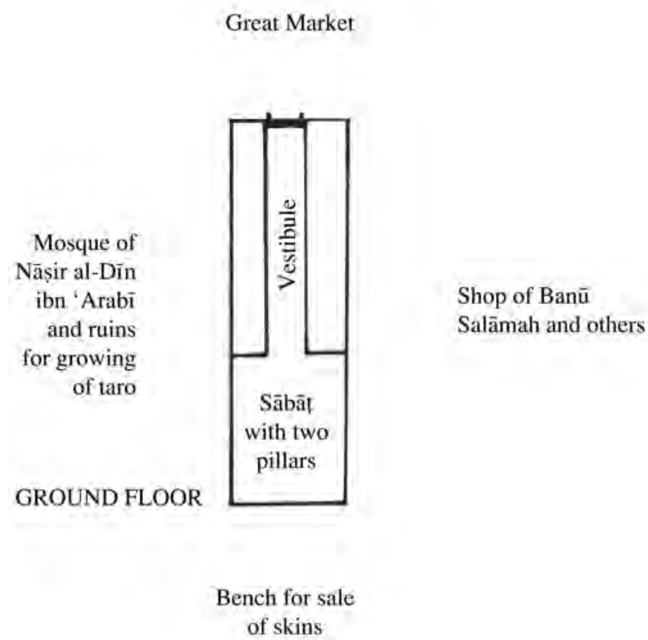


Fig. 10. Slaughterhouse

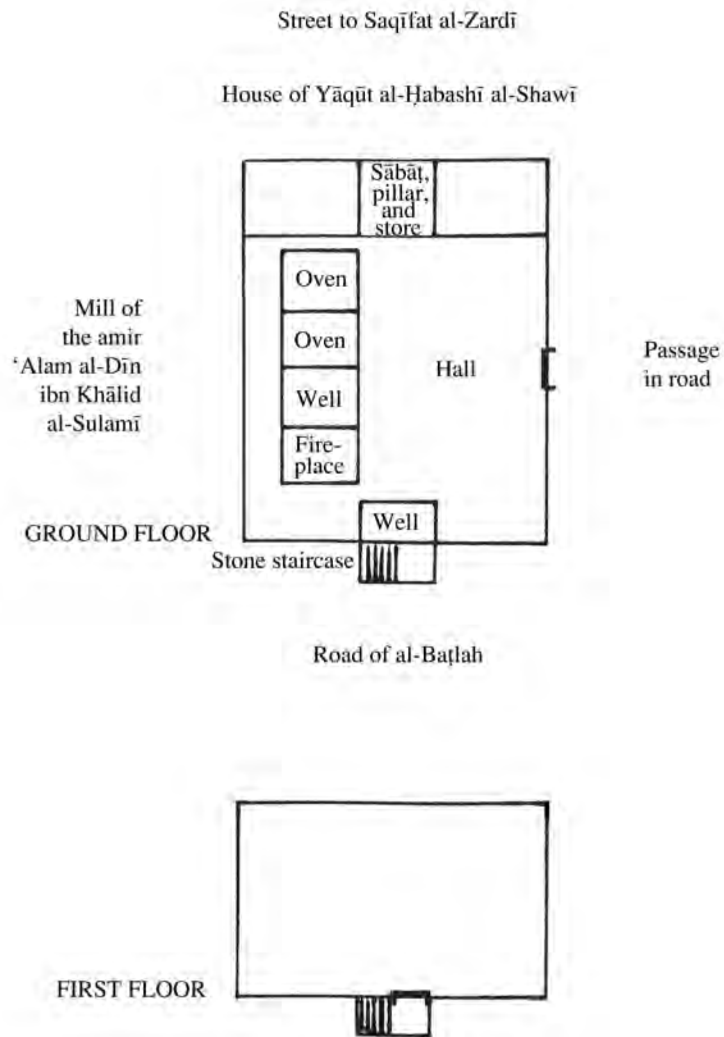


Fig. 11. Baking Oven

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Thirty Years after Lopez, Miskimin, and Udovitch

Some thirty years ago, Robert Lopez, Harry Miskimin, and Abraham Udovitch boldly set out to depict the economic panorama of post-plague Europe and the Middle East in their article, ″England to Egypt, 1350–1500: Long-Term Trends and Long-Distance Trade.″[1] Within the confines of England, Italy, and Egypt, they described a widespread pattern of economic deterioration. This degeneration, they argued, was the product of several factors. One of these was the little ice age.[2] The little ice age was a period of climatic change that broke the warm spell in northern Europe and brought with it drenching rains and horrifically cold winters. In England, this heavy rainfall coupled with icy winters ushered in a famine the like of which had never been seen before or since.[3] In other areas, such as southern Europe, it may have accelerated soil erosion. In the Middle East and Central Asia, they speculated that it might have ushered in a dry spell that brought similar catastrophic famines to these regions. Another factor that affected all of these regions was the intensification of warfare.[4] From the Hundred Years War in Europe to the campaigns of Tamerlane in the Middle East, warfare brought with it widespread devastation to urban and rural areas alike. Finally, they argued that plague ushered in a major demographic retrenchment that was followed by a severe and widespread economic depression.[5]

Lopez, Miskimin, and Udovitch focused on two major aspects of the subsequent economic depression: social stratification and the lack of bullion engendered by the imbalance of trade flows between East and West, North and South.[6] Economic dislocation, they argued, brought with it an end to the comparatively open and democratic society of the age of prosperity and separated society into two

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[1]Robert Lopez, Harry Miskimin, and Abraham Udovitch, ″England to Egypt, 1350–1500: Long-Term Trends and Long-Distance Trade,″ in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East,* ed. Michael Cook (London, 1970), 93–128.

[2]Ibid., 94.

[3]Ibid., 96. See also William Chester Jordan, *The Great Famine* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

[4]Lopez et al., ″England to Egypt,″ 95.

[5]Ibid., 94.

[6]Ibid., 95, 106, 111, 114.

differentiated compartments. At the top were the rich and powerful few and, at the bottom, were the hard-pressed and degraded multitude.

The second focal point of their argument follows from the first: the enriched upper stratum of society poured money into the luxury goods of long-distance trade. The result of this trade was that gold and silver flowed from Northern to Southern Europe.[7] From Southern Europe, it flowed to the Levant.[8] From the Levant, the drain of bullion finally found a resting place on the shores of India, from which highly valued spices were exported.[9]

Their analysis of the economic dislocations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries beg for a fresh scrutiny. I will challenge here both the importance of these international trade flows and the universality of economic stratification in Western Europe and the Middle East.

I will focus on other factors that test their depiction of this period as one of unremitting depression and stratification in all the areas that they study. Lopez, Miskimin, and Udovitch found an equally dismal scenario in England, Italy, and Egypt. I will contest some of their findings here by comparing the situation in England with that in Egypt, illustrating the important contrasts in the economic reaction of both economies to depopulation from the Black Death. This analysis will, at the same time, shift our focus away from long-distance trading patterns to the more significant developments that were taking place in the domestic economies of these two regions.

Regarding the situation in England, Harry Miskimin offered a picture of economic depression aggravated by increasing disparities in the incomes of the upper and lower stratum of society. This was coupled with increasing purchases by the upper class of luxury goods flowing in from the south. I contend that this picture is at best incomplete, and in many areas contradicts more recent research on the economic profile of England after the Black Death.

By any economic measure of income, the most prosperous caste in England was the landholders. If a rising disparity between rich and poor became evident, one must then ask if this upper stratum of society benefited or lost from events that followed plague depopulation. If it is Miskimin's contention that the upper stratum of society became relatively wealthier in the wake of the plagues, then we must look to this class to discern a pattern of wealth distribution from the poorer classes to the richer ones.

Plague depopulation in England brought with it a situation in which landholders found themselves challenged by the relative scarcity of rural labor and abundance

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[7]Ibid., 101–6.

[8]Ibid., 109–10, 114–15.

[9]Ibid., 128.

of arable land. Landholders were faced with conditions in which the price scissors threatened their economic status. On the one hand, the decrease in grain prices ate away at their revenues. On the other hand, peasant demands for reduced rents and higher wages exposed them to increased costs of production.[10] English landlords attempted in vain to battle with the economic demands of scarce labor, but their failure to effectively band together over a long period of time meant that market forces eventually ruled the day.[11] Wages rose, rents decreased, and both of these phenomena took place within the context of falling grain prices.[12] Landlords, not their peasants, were squeezed by the new economy which arose in the wake of the plague. Not for nothing is the fifteenth century known as the ″golden age of the peasantry.″ This was not an era of rising disparities in income; it was, in fact, quite the opposite.

On another economic level, Harry Miskimin glides over dramatic changes that were taking place in the English economy. The collapse of the manorial system, rising per-capita incomes, and scarcity of labor created opportunities for peasants to become producers in rural industries that were cropping up.[13] Most notable is the rise of the cloth industry. Here, finished goods took the place of unfinished wool in the export industry. Granted, the overall revenues from wool and cloth exports dropped, but one must keep in mind that population had dropped significantly at the same time. Per-capita exports of finished goods certainly increased, and the

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[10]See, for example, N. J. Mayhew, ″Population, Money Supply, and the Velocity of Circulation in England, 1300–1700,″ *Economic History Review* 48 (1995): 238–57; Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c. 1200–1520* (Cambridge, 1989), 151–87.

[11]John Hatcher, ″English Serfdom and Villeinage: Towards a Reassessment, ″ in *Landlords, Peasants, and Politics in Medieval England,* ed. T. H. Aston (Cambridge, 1987), 247–84; R. H. Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society 1000–1500* (Cambridge, 1993), 200, 219–21; Rosemary Horrox, ed. and trans., *The Black Death* (Manchester and New York, 1994), 238; Dyer, *Standards of Living,* 42, 147; Rodney Hilton, *The Decline of Serfdom in Medieval England,* 2nd ed. (London and Bassingstoke, 1983), 39, 42, 56–57; E. B. Fryde, *Peasants and Landlords in Later Medieval England c. 1380–c. 1525* (New York, 1996), 3; Z. Razi, ″The Myth of the Immutable English Family,″ *Past and Present* 140 (1993): 257–58.

[12]Dyer, *Standards of Living,* 42, 97, 146–47, 221; Fryde, *Peasants and Landlords,* 147, 160; Razi, ″The Myth,″ 253–54, 256–57; Rodney Hilton, *The English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1975), 24, 35–38, 64–67; idem, *Class Conflict and the Crisis of Feudalism* (London, 1985), 13.

[13]Hilton, *Class Conflict and the Crisis of Feudalism,* 47, 255–57, 265, 277; Dyer, *Standards of Living,* 210: Peter Kriedte, *Peasants, Landlords, and Merchant Capitalists: Europe and the World Economy, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 1983), 6–7, 13, 29, 100; Hilton, *English Peasantry,* 13, 40, 52, 82; Dyer, *Standards of Living,* 185.

new phenomenon of exporting finished cloth was one that would never be reversed.[14] Of equal or greater importance was the increase in demand and supply in the domestic market for cloth, due to higher incomes below the economic strata of the landlords. The rise of the peasantry equaled the rise of a new class of consumers that buoyed England's economy in the fifteenth century.[15]

England's economy was not suffering from rising income disparities, nor was it suffering from a collapse in trade; domestic consumption more than made up for the loss of raw wool exports. Was this even an economic depression, as Miskimin maintains? The answer here would again be no. The profile of a classic economic depression is missing. Rising wages and rising profits in the arena of proto-industry are hardly hallmarks of an economic depression. An overall rise in per-capita income also serves to negate the profile of a classic economic depression.[16] I would argue that post-plague England in fact went through a positive period of what we would now call "structural adjustment." We will look at this again as we turn to study the case of Egypt after the Black Death.

Egypt provides us with a sharp contrast to events that took place in England. Here, landlords were highly successful in squeezing the peasantry in the wake of the plague. The reasons for this lie in the complex mechanism of landholding that existed in Egypt. Egyptian landlords were economically less tied to their individual estates due to frequent transfer of estates from one hand to another, the lack of inheritance, scattered holdings, and, above all, the filtering role played by the Egyptian urban-rural bureaucracy.[17] The net result was that Egyptian landlords

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[14]Peter Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1988), 376–77.

[15]Mavis Mate, "The East Sussex Land Market and Agrarian Class Structure in the Late Middle Ages," *Past and Present* 139 (1993): 48, 60, 65; Dyer, *Standards of Living,* 149–50; Mayhew, "Population," 249; Britnell, *Commercialisation,* 202, 220; Steven Epstein, "Cities, Regions, and the Late Medieval Crisis: Sicily and Tuscany Compared," *Past and Present* 130 (1991): 5–8. See also John Langdon, "Lordship and Peasant Consumerism in the Milling Industry of Early Fourteenth-Century England," *Past and Present* 145 (1994): 3, 4, 7, 41.

[16]At this point, not only had the marginal and average product of labor increased significantly, but the total agrarian product and even landlord revenues were reaching and exceeding their pre-plague levels. See Mayhew, "Population," 244 (Table I for comparison of 1300 and 1526 output in monetary terms), 248 for his comment on living standards in the early sixteenth century, and 250–51 for more analysis of the full recovery in absolute terms in the early sixteenth century. To mention one local case, Durham priory provides an interesting example of an area that had suffered heavy losses in the fifteenth century (not only from the plague but also from Scottish raids) and was now in full recovery. See R. B. Dobson, *Church and Society in the Medieval North of England* (London, 1996). At this point the output of tin and lead were back up to their pre-plague levels as well, and were soon to expand much further in scale. See Dyer, *Standards of Living,* 103–4.

[17]Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá fī Sināʻat al-Inshā*ʼ (Cairo, 1913–19), 13:118–23;

were able to successfully collude and squash peasant demands for reduced rents.[18] However, Egyptian landlords won little more than a Pyrrhic victory. As Udovitch correctly points out, the Egyptian agrarian economy was ruined by the plague, its revenues falling from some nine million dinars to little more than a million dinars over a century and a half.[19] The beleaguered peasants fled their lands, flocking to urban centers as the irrigation system slowly collapsed around them.[20] No one stood to benefit from this situation, and the profits of the spice trade offered the elite only a token compensation for the returns they lost in Egypt's hitherto rich agrarian sector.

Furthermore, pressure on urban centers from rural flight, coupled with the collapse of the irrigation system, seems to have led to a situation in which the price scissors were the reverse of those found in England. Grain prices rose and wages, at least in the mid-fifteenth century, seem to have dropped in the wake of

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Carl Petry, "A Paradox of Patronage during the Later Mamluk Period," *Muslim World* 73 (1983): 188; Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʻrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Saʻīd ʻAbd al-Fattāḥ ʻĀshūr (Cairo, 1957–73), 3:563; Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimāʻīyah fī Miṣr* (Cairo, 1980), 72; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *ʻInbā' al-Ghumr bi-Anbā' al-ʻUmr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1969–72), 6:134; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Cairo, 1853–54) 1: 90; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 3:501; Sato Tsugitaka, "The Evolution of the Iqṭāʻ System under the Mamluks: An Analysis of al-Rawk al-Ḥusāmī and al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko (the Oriental Library)* 37 (1979): 99–131; idem, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam* (Leiden, 1997); Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt A.H. 564–741/A.D. 1169–1341* (London, 1972), 56; Jennifer M. Thayer, "Land Politics and Power Networks in Mamluk Egypt," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1993, 45–46; Cairo, Wizārat al-Awqāf (Ministry of Religious Endowments [hereafter W. A.]) Waqfīyah 1019; W. A. Waqfīyah 901; W. A. Waqfīyah 92; W. A. Waqfīyah 3195; W. A. Waqfīyah 883; W. A. Waqfīyah 140; W. A. Waqfīyah 809; W. A. Waqfīyah 720; Ibn Mammātī, *Kitāb Qawānīn al-Dawāwīn,* ed. A. S. Atiya (Cairo, 1943), 297–306; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:61; Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī, *Kitāb Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik wa-Bayān al-Ṭuruq wa-al-Masālik,* ed. Paul Ravaisse (Paris, 1894), 78, 129–30; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 3:522–26, 4:18; ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Abī Bakr al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah fī Akhbār Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Beirut, 1997), 2:131; Carl Petry *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1981), 15–36, 203–20.

[18]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 3:519–22; Ibrāhīmʻ Alī Ṭarhkān, *Al-Nuẓum al-Iqṭāʻīyah fī al-Sharq al-Awṣaṭ fī al-ʻUṣūr al-Wusṭá* (Cairo, 1968), 100, 482; al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik*, 107, 130; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:345; Thayer, "Land Politics," 134.

[19]Lopez et al., "England to Egypt," 115.

[20]Michael Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977), 163–65; William Tucker, "Natural Disasters and the Peasantry in Mamluk Egypt," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 24 (1981): 215–24; Boaz Shoshan, "Grain Riots and the 'Moral Economy' in Cairo: 1350–1517," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 10 (1980): 462–67; Ira Lapidus, "The Grain Economy of Mamluk Egypt," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 12 (1969): 11–14; Saʻīd ʻAbd al-Fattāḥ ʻĀshūr, *Al-Mujtamāʻ al-Miṣrī fī ʻAṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk* (Cairo, 1993), 45–46.

the plagues.[21] England and Egypt provide us with a mirror in which opposite outcomes arose from the same exogenous input.

But there is more that should be said here about the output of ″proto-industrial″ goods, particularly textiles, the engine of pre-modern manufacturing. Miskimin correctly points to the growth of a finished cloth industry in England, and Udovitch correctly points out that the cloth industry in Egypt suffered from both decreased output and higher prices. These changes within the domestic market signaled major transformations in economic development. Why was English cloth both cheaper and more abundant in the wake of the plagues, while Egyptian cloth became both scarcer and more expensive?

The reasons lie in different changes in aggregate supply and demand curves and I would like to turn your attention to graphs that illustrate the trend in both economies. This particular example analyzes the supply and demand for wool in the domestic economies of England and Egypt before and after the Black Death. Taking a 50% loss of the population as a given for our hypothesis, we can see the alternative outcomes for both countries.[22]

For England, the quantity of arable land and hence grain for the domestic market decreased, but not as much as population. Following the plagues, there was more land available for the production of wool for finished cloth on the domestic market. The amount of land devoted to pasture for wool actually increased after the plagues.[23] This was due to the fact that the lower demand for grain had increased the amount of land available for other products. (See Fig. 1.)

Because the grain supply decreased less than the population (demand), the equilibrium point moved down and to the right. (See Figs. 2 and 3.) There was less grain being grown, but at a cheaper price. Because of the redistribution of income down the social scale, there were now more consumers demanding finished

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[21]See my forthcoming book, *The Black Death in World History: The Case of England and Egypt* (Austin, in press).

[22]Ibid.

[23]Slicher Van Bath, *The Agrarian History of Western Europe* (London, 1963), 14; Mate, ″East Sussex Land Market,″ 57–60. Mate notes that some lords reversed their practice of trying to increase surplus extraction and instead tried to increase, and, where possible, diversify production. Mate particularly singles out the knightly families as being especially active in this process. See also Hilton, *English Peasantry,* 45. Hilton also notes that more landlord income was reinvested in agricultural buildings (ibid., 213–14) and Dyer estimates that the percentage of revenue reinvested by landlord aristocracy in buildings for agricultural use more than doubled between the early fourteenth century and the early fifteenth century (from 5% to more than 10%). See Dyer, *Living Standards,* 80. That landlords began to keep their own accounts and concentrate on fewer estates, rather than relying exclusively on reeves and bailiffs, is also indicative of increased concentration on flexible and rationalized production (ibid., 94, 100).

cloth and hence the demand for wool was greater.[24] At the same time, the supply of domestic wool had increased. The equilibrium point moved down and to the right: more wool was available at a lower price.

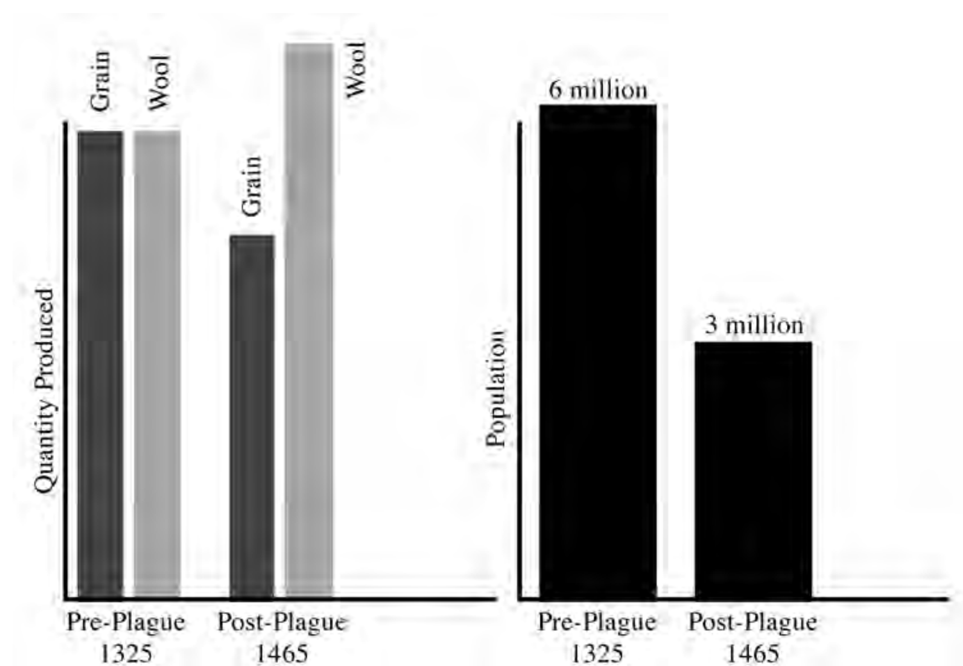


Fig. 1. Output of grain and wool in England. Population of England.

[24]Dyer, *Standards of Living,* 158–59.

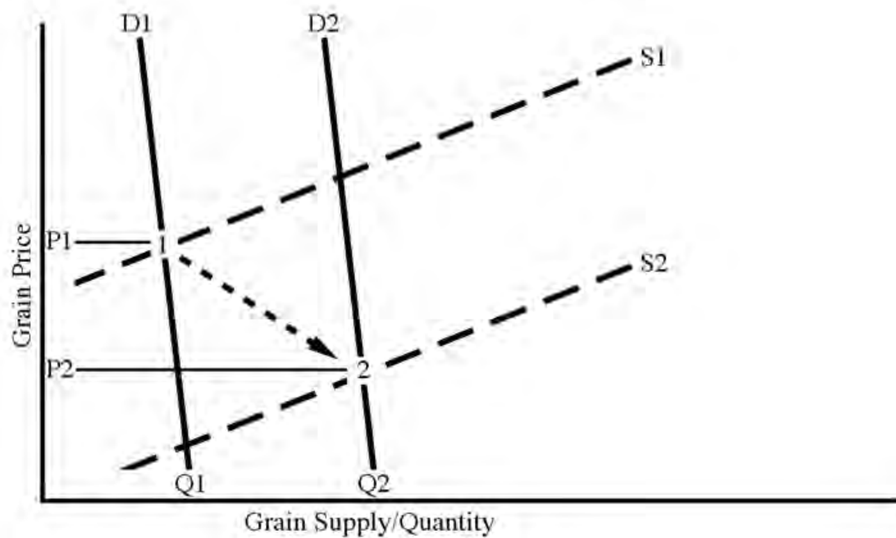


Fig. 2. Grain supply and demand in England.
D=Demand S=Supply P=Price Q=Quantity

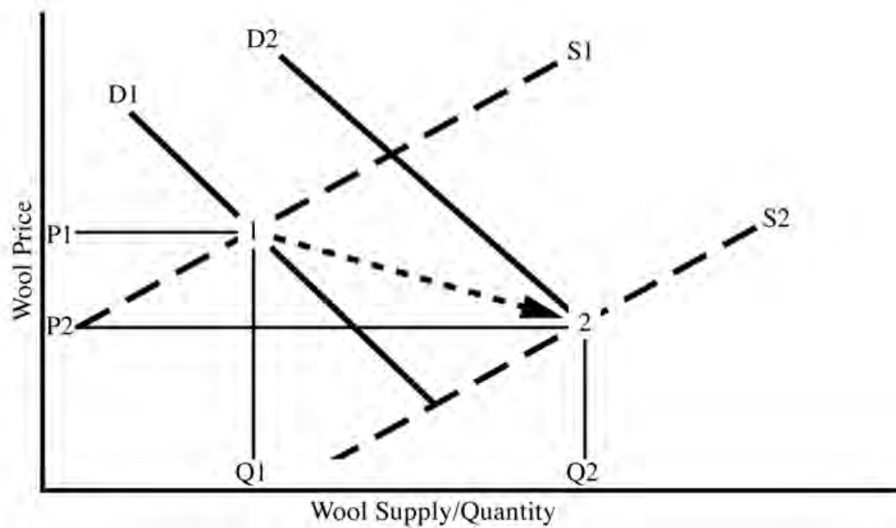


Fig. 3. Wool supply and demand in England.

Egypt´s profile for the same two goods looks quite different. The quantity of arable land and hence grain for the domestic market had decreased more than the

drop in population. (See Fig. 4.) The supply of grain had decreased more than the number of plague survivors; hence you now had not only less grain, but the grain that was available cost more.[25] The equilibrium point for grain moved up and to the left, now selling at a higher price. (See Figs. 5 and 6.) At this point the differential elasticities of the demand curves become important. Regardless of the price, people will always demand a certain amount of basic nutrition, in this case grain, and hence the demand curves are steeper than those for wool, which people can forego during extremely hard economic times. The demand curves for wool are accordingly more elastic, closer to the horizontal than the vertical. Because the demand for grain is less elastic, it will tend to ″crowd out″ the demand for wool. If only so much land was available in Egypt′s ruined irrigation economy, wool was sacrificed to make space for grain.

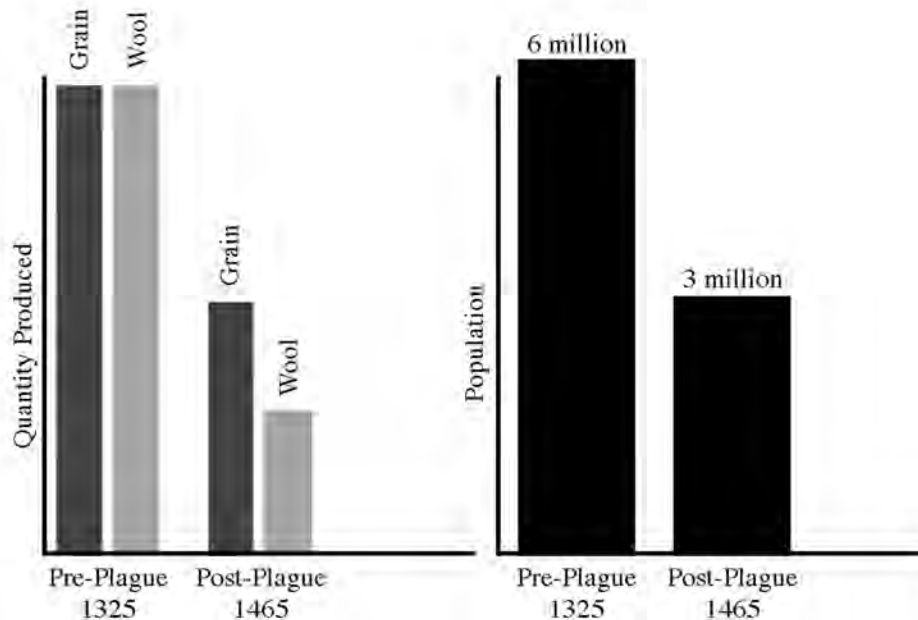


Fig. 4. Output of grain and wool in Egypt. Population of Egypt.

[25]See Borsch, *The Black Death.*

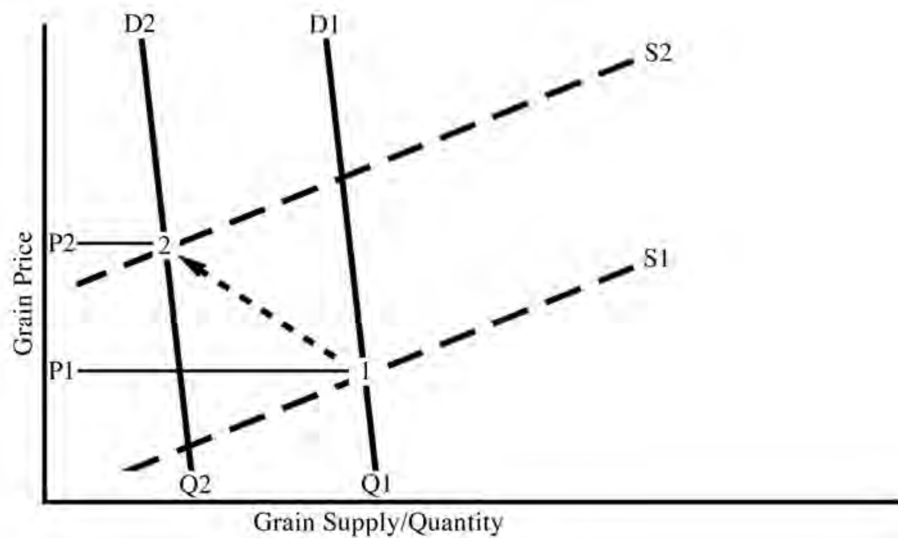


Fig. 5. Grain supply and demand in Egypt.

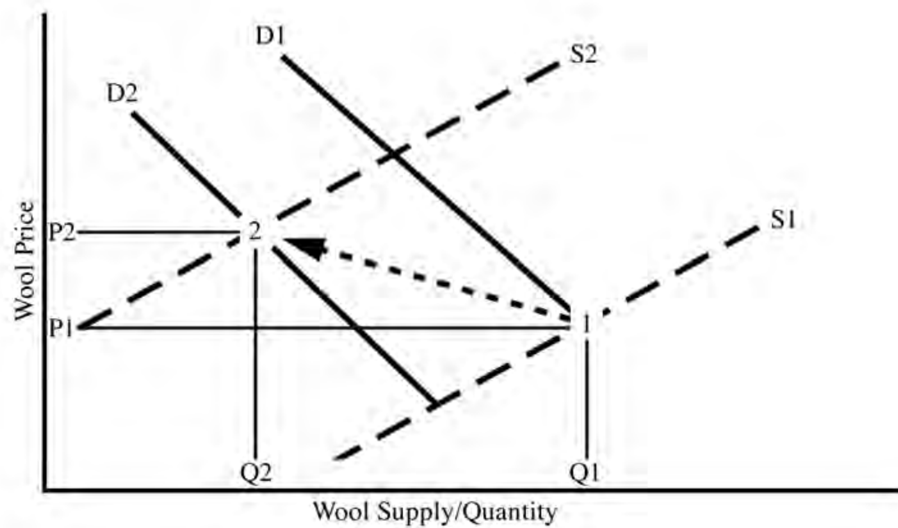


Fig. 6. Wool supply and demand in Egypt.

The significantly reduced supply of wool was actually great enough that there was now not only less wool, but it was selling at a higher price. This was despite the

fact that demand for finished cloth by impoverished consumers had decreased. The equilibrium point moves up and to the left: less wool selling at a higher price.

I have belabored this point to demonstrate how these two economies were moving in opposite directions. England was developing a more commercialized domestic market while the other economy, Egypt, was going through a process of de-commercialization.[26] This process can be seen in a number of other areas besides the production of wool. Examples can be seen in the reduced production of flax and sugar in the Egyptian economy,[27] and increased production of pig iron and other manufactured products in the English economy.[28]

To sum up, the picture presented here challenges the universality of trends that Lopez, Miskimin, and Udovitch presented. Economic developments in England were not so dismal as depicted by Miskimin; social stratification and bullion flows did not play the role that he contended they did. On the other hand, developments in Egypt seem to have been far more disastrous than that portrayed by Abraham Udovitch. Bullion flows, as significant as they were, pale in comparison to developments within the domestic economy, and social stratification played a far more marginal role in England, even as it may have played a more significant role in Egypt. These opposing outcomes should be the focus of future research in this area as scholars attempt to find a discernible global pattern of the calamitous fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

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[26]See, for example, al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:705.

[27]Ibid., 256, 280, 603, 663, 709–10, 737.

[28]W. R. Childs, "England's Iron Trade in the Fifteenth Century," *Economic History Review* 34 (1981): 25–47. See also Hilton, *English Peasantry,* 38, 86–89. Hilton also points to relative expansion in other areas of rural industry such as brewing, tanning, and metallurgy in the making of iron implements.

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The Rise of a New Class? Land Tenure in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: A Review Article

There is a consensus among historians of Mamluk Egypt that the fifteenth century was a turning point in the country's social and economic history. For some, the key element lies in demographics, in the failure of the Egyptian population to recover from repeated blows dealt by the arrival of the Black Death and subsequent recurrences of epidemic disease. For others, the arrival of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean spelled the end of Egypt's central role in the transit trade between the East Indies and the Mediterranean. Still others argue that Egypt's manufacturers were unable to keep pace with technological improvements taking place in Europe. Whatever one's perspective, however, it is difficult to deny that insufficient attention has been paid to Egypt's most important economic resource, agriculture. The fifteenth century saw fundamental changes in the types of land tenure and the identity of landholders.

In this context, ʿImād Badr al-Dīn Abū Ghāzī's book *Fī Tārīkh Miṣr al-Ijtimāʿī: Taṭawwur al-Ḥiyāzah al-Zirāʿīyah Zaman al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah* (On the social history of Egypt: the development of landholding in the age of the Circassian Mamluks)[1] helps to fill an important gap. Abū Ghāzī uses a variety of sources, including Ottoman registers that have only recently begun to be utilized by Mamluk historians, to examine changes in landholding in the last century of Mamluk rule.[2] Although Abū Ghāzī is a Marxist historian, he begins by setting himself up in opposition to those historians, Marxist or otherwise, who see Egypt as an example of Oriental despotism or the Asiatic Mode of Production. These historians have argued that Egypt's riverine agricultural system made it inevitable that state property would predominate over private property in agriculture.[3] Here he is clearly correct. Although a series of Egyptian states were involved in maintaining the system of canals and dikes that irrigated much of Egypt's farmland, this never prevented the existence of private ownership of land or the growth of a class of landowners with substantial holdings. One need only observe the example of Roman Egypt to see

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[1]Cairo: ʿAyn lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Buḥūth al-Insānīyah wa-al-Ijtimāʿīyah, 2000. Reviewed by Igarashi Daisuke in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7 (2003): 254–57.

[2]Nicolas Michel has used some of the same sources in his recent articles on the Egyptian peasantry in the early sixteenth century.

[3]Abū Ghazī, *Fī Tārīkh Miṣr al-Ijtimāʿī,* 5.

that private land ownership has been prevalent in some periods.[4]

Abū Ghāzī argues that the fifteenth century saw the sale of large quantities of agricultural land by the state to private parties, and that by the end of the Mamluk Sultanate, a new class of private landowners was coming into existence.[5] Abū Ghāzī bases these conclusions on a study of Ottoman documents, especially the *daftar*s of the *Ruznāme*. These sources detail the origins of private landholdings, *waqf*s, and *rizqah*s. Using them, he can trace sales from the Mamluk Bayt al-Māl which resulted in land being alienated by the state into private hands.

In order to understand the significance of this process, however, one must go back to the year 1315, when the Mamluk state reached its highest degree of centralization. It was in that year that the Mamluk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad instituted his famous *rawk* (cadastral survey) in Egypt. In fact, the survey began in Syria in 1313, and was not completed in Aleppo until 1325.[6] In Egypt, the process was finished by April 1316, with the sultan reserving 10/24 of Egypt's agricultural land for himself and his mamluks. The remainder was turned into *iqṭā'*s for the amirs and members of the *ḥalqah*.[7] At this point, with the exception of limited *waqf* lands that were held over from the previous period, all of Egypt's taxable agricultural land was to be turned over to the state *dīwān*s or else made into *iqṭā'*. While it is not possible to examine all of the implications of the Nāṣirī *rawk* in this essay, the important point with regard to land tenure is that the sultan controlled almost all of Egypt's land, either for his own use, or to be distributed as temporary *iqṭā'*s. Private ownership of agricultural land was insignificant and *waqf* land limited.

It appears that this centralized system was still largely in place in the year 1400. It is not clear when things began to change, but there are good reasons to believe that the alienation of state lands was limited prior to the fifteenth century. Ulrich Haarmann's study of the decline of the *awlād al-nās* as a military force shows that the *ḥalqah* continued to hold significant *iqṭā'*s until 1397, but had lost almost all of them by 1480.[8] The following table, which I have compiled based on the information from two surveys of Egypt's lands contained in Ibn al-Jī'ān's *Al-Tuḥfah al-Sanīyah fī Asmā' al-Bilād al-Miṣrīyah,* gives a sense of how significant

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[4]Jane Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt: The Social Relations of Agriculture in the Oxyrhynchite Nome* (Oxford, 1996).

[5]Abū Ghazī, *Fī Tārīkh Miṣr al-Ijtimā'ī,* 10.

[6]Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam* (Leiden, 1997), 135.

[7]Ibid., 142–43.

[8]Ulrich Haarmann, "The Sons of Mamluks as Fief-Holders in Late Medieval Egypt," in *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East,* ed. Tarif Khalidi (Beirut, 1984), 141–68.

the alienation of state lands in the fifteenth century became.[9]

Table 1: Villages containing *waqf*s, private estates, and *rizqah*s in 1376 and 1480

Year	*Waqf*	Private Estates	*Rizqah*
1376	66	49	?
1480	885	607	1425+

What this table clearly shows is that the Mamluk state was alienating lands at a furious rate during the fifteenth century. By the latter part of the century, *waqf,* private, and *rizqah* land were present throughout the Egyptian countryside. In the cases of *waqf* and private estates, the increase in the number of villages containing these types of tenure was more than tenfold. Since Ibn al-Jīʻān counted 2,163 villages in Egypt, not counting some villages in Giza that were under the control of the royal *dīwān,* we can calculate the percentage of villages in Egypt containing these types of land tenure at these two dates:

Table 2: Percentage of Egyptian villages containing *waqf,* private property, and *rizqah*s in 1376 and 1480

Year	*Waqf*	Private Property	*Rizqah*
1376	3.0%	2.2%	?
1480	40.9%	28.0%	65.8%

Unfortunately, Ibn al-Jīʻān′s numbers are not specific enough for us to calculate the exact amount of land that fell into each category. While he does give figures for the amount of *rizqah* land in each village, there was clearly *rizqah* land whose extent he did know with precision. The total amount of *rizqah* land that he counted was 78,975.5 feddans, or an average of 55.4 feddans per village containing *rizqah*

[9]Cairo, 1974. The data is presented in raw form in Heinz Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern* (Wiesbaden, 1979).

land. This amounts to less than two percent of Egypt's total agricultural lands in 1315. Despite the incompleteness of our evidence, and even if we assume that Ibn al-Jī'ān's information was better for 1480, when he wrote his survey, than it was for 1376, one cannot avoid concluding that all three types of tenure were spreading very quickly.

One thing that we cannot learn from Ibn al-Jī'ān's work is exactly when these changes were taking place. Here, Abū Ghāzī's work is very helpful. He has examined 40 original deeds of sale from the Bayt al-Māl from the Mamluk period, and another 530 deeds he identified in the Ottoman archives in Cairo.[10] He believes that these are only a fraction of the original documents, but they give him a substantial sample from which to work. Having compiled these deeds, Abū Ghāzī can identify the periods in which most of the sales of lands from the Treasury occurred. He finds that the periods 853–72 (1449–67) and 903–22 (1498–1517) saw the greatest number of sales, comprising 40.1% and 36.7% respectively of the total.[11] These periods correspond to the reigns of a number of mid-fifteenth century sultans and that of the final twenty years of Mamluk rule, especially the reign of Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī. The first large group of sales occurred in the reign of Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy (1422–37), and the reign of al-Ashraf Qāytbāy (1468–96) also saw a significant number, although not as many as one might expect given his long reign.[12]

The timing of these sales is curious. As Abū Ghāzī points out, the justification sometimes cited in the documents, that the sales are necessary to raise money to fund a war, is not convincing. The chronology of the sales does not correspond to the periods of greatest military threat to the Mamluk empire, which Abū Ghāzī identifies as the years 800–20 (1397–1418) and 880–900 (1475–95), when the Mamluks were at war with Tamerlane and the Ottomans, respectively.[13]

For Abū Ghāzī, the explanation for this phenomenon lies not in military necessity, but in economic crisis. He proceeds to recite the usual list of weaknesses of the fifteenth-century Egyptian economy: demographic decline, decline of the transit trade, the failure of the state to control the Nile floods, bedouin raids in the countryside, exorbitant taxation of the peasantry, monetary crisis, etc. Following Fernand Braudel's analysis, he concludes that while the West was able to recover quite quickly from the Black Death, the "East" did not.[14] While he puts his finger on a number of key aspects of fifteenth-century Egyptian economic history, his

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[10]Abū Ghazī, *Fī Tārīkh Miṣr al-Ijtimā'ī,* 11, 16.

[11]Ibid., 28.

[12]Ibid., 20–22.

[13]Ibid., 61.

[14]Ibid., 67–69.

explanation is not convincing. Indeed, it is not really an explanation so much as a laundry list of economic woes which are assumed to have reduced the income of the Mamluk state, which then compensated by selling off state lands that had been assigned as *iqṭā*ʻs.

There are several problems with this analysis. First of all, in many cases, the buyer of state lands was the sultan himself. This is particularly true of Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī, who used a combination of purchases from the Bayt al-Māl and ″exchanges″ (*istibdāl*s) of property with existing *waqf*s to build his massive endowment. Indeed, as Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Carl Petry have shown, the size of many royal *waqf*s was so large that the revenues generated were too great to be intended to fund the *waqf* itself.[15] It is likely that the sultans were setting aside sources of revenue for themselves and their progeny, and in this sense, acting much as most founders of endowments did.

Furthermore, if one examines the chronology of major economic crises in the fifteenth century, it is not clear whether it would correspond to the periods in which the Bayt al-Māl was doing most of its business in land sales. Although it is very difficult to assess the rise or fall of revenues from trade, it is clear that the worst agricultural crises of the Mamluk period occurred in the period 1373–1404.[16] Although later crises did occur in 1415–16, 1449–52, 1469–70, and 1486–87, these dates do not match up well with the data collected by Abū Ghāzī. Furthermore, later crises do not seem to have had the impact that the great crises of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century did. Clearly it is true that Egypt′s agricultural revenues declined in the fifteenth century, but to what degree did this result from agricultural decay or from the alienation of state lands into private hands?[17]

I have argued elsewhere that the sudden rise in the number of *waqf*s in the mid-fifteenth century should be understood in the context of the changing character of the Mamluk elite.[18] It is at this very time when Haarmann shows that the military role of the *awlād al-nās* was in serious decline that the number of *waqf*s established by the descendents of mamluks increases considerably. While some of

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[15]Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimāʻīyah fī Miṣr, 648–923/ 1250–1517* (Cairo, 1980), 72 ff; Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?: The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt′s Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1996), 199.

[16]Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1517* (Cambridge, 2000), chapter 6.

[17]For the opinion that widespread decay overcame Egypt′s irrigation system in the fifteenth century, see Stuart J. Borsch. ″Nile Floods and the Irrigation System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 4 (2000): 131–46. For a discussion of village desertion see Nicolas Michel, ″Villages désertés, terres en friche et reconstruction rurale en Égypte au début de l′époque ottomane,″ *Annales islamologiques* 36 (2002): 197–251.

[18]Sabra, *Poverty,* 93.

these *waqf*s were funded by urban properties, others were based on the donation of rural estates. The large increase in the number of *waqf*s in the fifteenth century should be seen as part of a process by which members of the Mamluk elite and their descendents privatized state resources, especially agricultural land, for their own benefit.[19] The tide of centralization which had reached its height in the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was now receding, and at an increasingly swift pace.

Abū Ghāzī identifies three consequences of this process of the privatization of agricultural lands.[20] First, he argues that a change in land tenure was taking place; the *iqṭā‘* system was collapsing. Second, the shift of resources into private hands was fundamentally changing the social structure of the country at the expense of the Mamluks. Finally, the corruption which had taken hold of many aspects of the Egyptian economy, evident in the sultans′ monopolies over certain commodities, now extended to the land market, since the land sales were frequently made to the sultan′s retainers.[21] Based on his study of the Ottoman *daftar*s, Abū Ghāzī[22] can identify 275 villages in Egypt and Syria where lands were sold to private parties. The prime beneficiaries of these sales were Mamluk amirs, who were the buyers in 40.6% of sales, the *awlād al-nās* (23.6%), bedouin chiefs and village shaykhs (8.4%), state bureaucrats (6.1%), jurists and judges (5.1%), and sultans and their families (2.5%).[23] Obviously, the fact that some purchases must have been significantly larger than others means that the role of rulers and their families was probably much larger than these statistics indicate. He does not identify the gender of the buyers, but my own study of *waqf*s by the *awlād al-nās* found that up to 50% of the founders in that category were women.[24] One may also suspect that the role of bedouin shaykhs may have been larger. As the research of Jean-Claude Garcin has shown, the bedouin were of increasing significance as landholders in fifteenth-century Egypt, especially in the province of Sharqīyah and in Upper Egypt.[25]

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[19]There are some interesting parallels between the privatization of the state in fifteenth-century Egypt and a somewhat similar process that occurred in the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth century. See Ariel Salzmann, ″An Ancien Régime Revisited: ′Privatization and Political Economy in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire,′″ *Politics and Society* 21 no. 4 (December 1993): 393–423.

[20]Abū Ghazī, *Fī Tārīkh Miṣr al-Ijtimā‘ī,* 103.

[21]Ibid., 80.

[22]Ibid., 104.

[23]Ibid., 109.

[24]Sabra, *Poverty,* 92–93.

[25]Jean-Claude Garcin, ″Note sur les rapports entre bedouins et fellahs à l′époque Mamluke,″ in his *Espaces, pouvoirs et idéologies de l′Egypte médiévale* (London, 1987), 147–63; idem, *Un Centre musulman de la Haute-Égypte médiévale: Qus* (Cairo, 1976), 468–511. For the role of bedouin

For Abū Ghāzī, the fifteenth century was a turning point in Egyptian history. The system of land tenure was changing from that of state ownership of the majority of agricultural lands which were doled out in *iqṭā'*s to a new reality in which private property predominated. The owners of these lands constituted a new social class who would eventually have asserted themselves politically. In fact, however, two factors prevented this social transformation. The most important, in Abū Ghāzī's view, is the Ottoman conquest. Although the Ottomans did not abolish all of the private holdings and *waqf*s, they reversed the trend towards privatization of land. As he puts it, foreign invasion "aborted" the "possibilities latent in society."[26] Only in the nineteenth century did private ownership of land become a permanent feature of the Egyptian agricultural economy. To paraphrase the title of Peter Gran's well-known book, the "Mamluk roots of capitalism" were uprooted by the Ottomans only to re-emerge under the khedives.

This argument is problematic in a number of ways, most obviously because it is conjectural. There is no way to test what would have happened had the Ottoman conquest never occurred. More importantly, however, there are good reasons to question whether capitalism (as we know it, anyway) could have developed out of late Mamluk society. As Abū Ghāzī himself notes, lands purchased from the Bayt al-Māl rarely remained private holdings for long. Usually they were turned into *waqf* quite quickly. Almost two-thirds of the property sold by the Mamluk treasury remained in the hands of the purchaser, his family, or his *waqf* after the Ottoman conquest.[27] This demonstrates that the market for land was limited. Furthermore, 63.6% of land sales were eventually turned into *waqf* lands. After the Ottoman conquest, that figure rose to 88.89%.[28]

In short, what happened in Egypt in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century was not the formation of a class of private landowners who operated in a widespread land market. Rather the state gradually sold off much of its lands to the military elite, their children, local officials, and even to the sultans themselves. To prevent the state from reasserting its rights over these lands, the new owners quickly turned them into trusts and endowments. Since these trusts and endowments were sacrosanct under Islamic law, and since they frequently benefited various religious institutions or the poor, it was much harder for the state to recover what it had lost. Each sultan was faced with a dilemma: he needed to reward his retainers and provide for his family. He may also have wished to construct a monument to preserve the memory of his rule and to gain support from the religious scholars

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shaykhs in reclaiming lands in al-Buḥayrah, see Michel, "Villages désertés," 224–29.

[26]Abū Ghazī, *Fī Tārīkh Miṣr al-Ijtimā'ī,* 112.

[27]Ibid., 113.

[28]Ibid., 106.

and the ordinary people. Yet he could not seize the endowments of his predecessors without earning the condemnation of the religious classes. Furthermore, to seize others′ endowments would virtually guarantee that his own *waqf*s would be seized after his death. Thus, each sultan found that it was in his best interest to leave the existing endowments alone and concentrate on building his own. In order to maintain the support of his retainers, he made sure that land was made available to them for the same purpose.

We have no way of knowing what would have happened had this process continued unchecked. Perhaps subsequent sultans would have followed the model of al-Ghūrī and built their own *waqf*s on the ruins of others′. Perhaps they would have confiscated many of the *waqf*s on the premise that sales from the Bayt al-Māl were illegitimate. They might have attempted to return to the status quo ante and reinstitute the *iqṭā‘* system in full. We also do not know what an economy dominated by *waqf* would have meant for the peasantry or for industry. Contrary to what has been argued at times, *waqf* and commercial agriculture are by no means incompatible. There is no way to determine whether the *waqf* administrators would have turned into agricultural entrepreneurs or simply waited for their rents to pour in.

Despite these weaknesses it must be said that Abū Ghāzī′s book is an important one. It raises significant historical questions, provides new evidence for Mamluk economic history, and brings new sources to bear on the problem. In particular, his systematic use of the Ottoman archives to answer questions about Mamluk history is an important innovation, one which will undoubtedly influence future students of Mamluk history.

Book Reviews

Iḥsān ʻAbbās, *Tārīkh Bilād al-Shām fī ʻAṣr al-Mamālīk, 648–923 H./1250–1517 M.* (Amman: Maṭbaʻat al-Jāmiʻah al-Urdunīyah, 1998). Pp. 400.

Reviewed by Josef Meri, Institute of Ismāʻīlī Studies, London

The Palestinian scholar Iḥsān ʻAbbās´s career spanned over five decades during which he made outstanding contributions to diverse branches of knowledge, ranging from modern Arabic literature and especially Palestinian, Iraqi, and medieval Arabic poetry, to literary studies of Sicily and Andalusia, biographical literature, and history. His monograph *Tārīkh Bilād al-Shām fī ʻAṣr al-Mamālīk,* which was published in 1998, represents the best general study of the history of Mamluk Syria to date. Although a literary scholar by training, ʻAbbās is no stranger to historical studies. His contribution to Mamluk studies, which is represented by the present work under review, is his first monograph published as part of the Committee for the History of Bilād al-Shām series, jointly published by the Universities of Jordan and Yarmuk, though ʻAbbās jointly edited, along with the Ottoman historian Muḥammad ʻAdnān al-Bakhīt, the seminal three volume *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilād al-Shām during the Early Islamic Period up to 40 A.H./640 A.D*. (Amman, 1987). The series editors are to be commended for producing over the years excellent studies and edited conference proceedings. It is to be hoped that the series will be given a new impetus through fostering closer international collaboration and by focusing on social, cultural, and legal aspects of the history of Bilād al-Shām.

Regrettably, the history of Mamluk Syria has traditionally taken a backseat to that of Egypt. Given the paucity of studies that focus on Mamluk Syria, ʻAbbās´s *Tārīkh Bilād al-Shām* is a most welcome contribution which is to be recommended for graduate study and for reference. This study will also appeal to scholars in the West and the Islamic world who are interested in the political, economic, and military history of the Mamluk Sultanate in Greater Syria. It should also be required reading for advanced undergraduates in the Middle East who lack any substantive knowledge of the pre-modern history of their own region.

The work is clearly and intelligibly presented in an accessible fashion and includes maps of the northern and southern regions of Bilād al-Shām as well as a useful glossary based on Muḥammad al-Baqlī´s lexicon of Mamluk words and expressions, many of which are derived from al-Qalqashandī´s *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá*.

Iḥsān ʻAbbās did not regard himself as a historian. In deference to his colleagues, ʻAbbās states that his study does not have any pretensions to be a detailed monograph of Mamluk history. Indeed, the author explicitly states that others have covered aspects of Mamluk history far more thoroughly than he has. Such humility and

deference to one´s colleagues are rare qualities among academics. Indeed, ʿAbbās´s view of the political and dynastic history of the Mamluk state from the reign of Sultan Qalāwūn onwards is clear when he admits that ″it is not exciting, not because of the periods of unrest that it contains, but rather because it repeats itself in a boring fashion″ (p. 286). For ʿAbbās, it is not the often recurring themes in the political-dynastic history that are at the core of his analysis, but rather those events, policies, and cultural developments that had an impact on Syrian society. Distilling the history of Greater Syria from the broader dynastic and political history of the Mamluks, whose administrative and political base was at Cairo, is a difficult task, but one which ʿAbbās admirably fulfilled.

In the introduction, ʿAbbās comments on the bias of sources toward the Syrian Mamluks themselves rather than being oriented toward Bilād al-Shām (p. 5). Moreover, he observes that most of the sources deal with the battles the Bahri Mamluks fought against the Crusaders and the Mongols and that, in general, their geographical focus tends to be on Damascus. ʿAbbās begins by offering a brief overview of historical works pertaining to the Mamluk dynasty, including some rarely-mentioned sources. Here he invokes Ibn Khaldūn´s influence on later writers like al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497).

ʿAbbās provides an overview of the Mamluk Sultanate and its organization. Chapter One provides a brief overview of the institution of the sultanate, the system of investitures, dress, processions, banquets, royal residences, the royal kitchen, stables, and resting places. Chapter Two focuses on the political, economic, social, cultural, and artistic developments in Bilād al-Shām. Noteworthy is ʿAbbās´s alphabetically-organized gazetteer, which summarizes the most peculiar features of the principal villages, towns, and cities of Greater Syria and which is derived from the writings of medieval geographers and travelers (pp. 96–105). This is followed by a brief discussion of European travelers and pilgrims in Bilād al-Shām.

Chapter Three presents the reigns of twenty Mamluk rulers and discusses their involvement in the political and administrative affairs of Bilād al-Shām. ʿAbbās succinctly outlines their achievements, the major battles they fought, their political alliances, rivalries, and economic policies. Especially noteworthy is ʿAbbās´s discussion of Baybars´ (r. 658–76/1260–77) rule, in which he deftly outlines Baybars´ achievements, including his massive public works campaigns, reform of the postal service between Cairo and Damascus, reform of the judiciary and the appointment for the first time of four chief qadis, the organization of the Arab tribes, and promotion of good relations with the leader of the Ismaʿili community in Syria. Baybars also restored major shrines, such as the Dome of the Rock Mosque in Jerusalem and the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron. As a historian of pilgrimage places, I was struck by the near absence of a discussion of Baybars´ repairing and endowing shrines such as the tomb of Noah at Karak for pious

visitors and the meaning of such undertakings within the religious framework both locally and regionally. ʿAbbās's discussion of interfaith relations might have been augmented, though he does provide an interesting succinct discussion of the relations between Bilād al-Ḥabash and the Mamluk sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Barsbāy (r. 825–41/1426–37).

Understandably, ʿAbbās does not address cultural history, popular customs, or traditions at any great length. In his discussion of the peasants *(fallāḥīn),* he observes that little information about the daily lives, beliefs, and practices of this segment of society exists. Yet we do know a great deal about their lives from pilgrimage guides and travel accounts, among other sources (see Josef Meri, *Cult of Saints Among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria,* Oxford, 2002). A recommended complementary work to *Tārīkh Bilād al-Shām,* which more fully addresses social life in Greater Syria, is Ibrāhīm Zaʿrūr's *Al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimāʿīyah fī Bilād al-Shām fī al-ʿAṣrayn al-Ayyubī wa-al-Mamlūkī* (Damascus, 1993).

One of the most noticeable deficiencies in this work is its lack of footnotes, which is compensated for by a well-organized overview of the Mamluk state in Greater Syria. Moreover, the publisher should have been more attentive to standardizing the foreign language references in the footnotes and in the bibliography. Despite these rather minor flaws, Iḥsān ʿAbbās is to be heartily appreciated for producing an otherwise excellent introduction to the history of Mamluk Syria.

BADR AL-DĪN MAḤMŪD AL-ʿAYNĪ, *ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān: al-ʿAṣr al-Ayyūbī (Part 1: 565/1168 [sic 1169]–578/1182).* Edited by Maḥmūd Rizq Maḥmūd (Cairo: Dār al-Kutub wa-al-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmīyah, Markaz Taḥqīq al-Turāth, 2003). Pp. 432.

REVIEWED BY KONRAD HIRSCHLER, University of Kiel

Al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1451) contributed with his voluminous universal chronicle *ʿIqd al-Jumān* (The necklace of pearls) to the blossoming, encyclopedic historiography of the later Mamluk period. Having pursued a career as a distinguished courtier, he is a typical example of the intimate link between the exercise of power and the production of historical knowledge in this period. During the course of his life he held a variety of offices, chief among them the posts of *muḥtasib, nāẓir al-aḥbās,* and Hanafite chief qadi. This prominent standing within the ruling elite was certainly reinforced by al-ʿAynī's command of Turkish. Thus, this chronicle

represents a valuable contemporary source for understanding Mamluk grand politics of the author′s period.

With the exception of an extract in the *Recueil des historiens des Croisades,* the process of editing this chronicle has begun quite belatedly. It is only in the mid-1980s that the first editions were published. In one such edition, ʻAbd al-Rāziq al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Qarmūṭ (al-Azhar) brought out the final and, from a factual point of view, most interesting part of the chronicle: his two volumes covered respectively the years 815/1412 to 823/1421 (Cairo: Maṭbaʻat ʻAlā', 1985); and the years 824/1421 up to the chronicle′s end in 850/1447 (Cairo: al-Zahrah lil-Iʻlām al-ʻArabī, 1989). In another edition, Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo University) started from the beginning of the Mamluk period and published in four volumes the text for the years 648/1250 to 707/1308 (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-ʻĀmmah lil-Kitāb, 1987–92). Regrettably, he did not complete his project, and the parts dealing with the events and obituaries of the following ninth/fourteenth century are yet to be published.

Maḥmūd Rizq Maḥmūd (al-Minyā University) has now embarked upon the task of editing the parts of the *ʻIqd al-Jumān* concerned with the Ayyubid period, i.e., from 565/1169 to 647/1250, the point where Amīn′s edition starts. The present first volume reports the rise of the dynasty until 578/1182, the start of the last decade of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn′s rule. In contrast to the final parts of the chronicle, dealing with events either witnessed by al-ʻAynī himself or taken from a variety of sources, obviously, this part does not add significant new detail to Ayyubid history. Nevertheless, the author integrates the main Ayyubid and Zangid sources, most importantly al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, al-ʻImād al-Iṣfahānī, Ibn al-Athīr, Abū Shāmah, and Ibn Shaddād, into the skillful and coherent narrative typical of Mamluk encyclopedic historiography.

This historiography′s aim ″to survey, to comprehend, to control, to consummate″[1] the material is apparent throughout the text. For example, the year 567/1171–72 starts with the end of the Fatimid dynasty in Egypt under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, neatly structuring the events in sections introduced by ″firstly,″ ″secondly,″ etc. Then the Syrian side of the story with regard to Nūr al-Dīn is introduced in a separate section. Finally, the year′s narrative culminates in the developing strife between the two protagonists. By comparison, a text of the Ayyubid period, such as Abū Shāmah′s *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn,* narrates the same events in a radically different style: the focus shifts continually between the two protagonists. At the same time, other subjects, such as Frankish raids, appear in the course of the text as independent sections, which ″interrupt″ the narrative. It is on this historiographical level that the main interest of al-ʻAynī′s text on the Ayyubids lies: the increasing number of

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[1]Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period* (Cambridge, 1994), 184.

edited Ayyubid and Mamluk chronicles will contribute to our understanding of the developing historiographical styles and the different historical perceptions.

Similar to the two previous editions by al-Qarmūṭ and Amīn, the present edition is based on the two manuscripts: MS Ahmet III 19/2911 (microfilm copy in Maʻhad al-Makhṭūṭāt) and Dār al-Kutub MS 1584 *tārīkh*. The text was then collated with the chronicle's main Zangid and Ayyubid sources. The edition is of high quality, providing in detail the variant readings. Nevertheless, considering the numerous other extant manuscripts of the *ʻIqd al-Jumān,* it would have strengthened the edition if the "Cairo canon" Ahmet III/Dār al-Kutub had been supplemented by additional manuscripts. This will be even more relevant for the future edition of the text covering the later Ayyubid period: the editor states in his introduction that the period between 620/1223 and 647/1250 will be edited solely on the basis of the Dār al-Kutub manuscript. It is hoped that he will look for additional material.

The generous textual apparatus makes this edition a helpful starting point for early Ayyubid history. The clarifications of personal and geographical names, as well as the explanations offered for difficult terms, facilitate the reading considerably. On the same level, the indexes of personal names, groups, geographical names, and technical terms are very useful.

AḤMAD IBN MUḤAMMAD IBN ʻARABSHĀH, *Fākihat al-Khulafāʼ wa-Mufākahat al-Ẓurafāʼ*. Edited by Ayman ʻAbd al-Jābir al-Buḥayrī (Cairo: Dār al-Āfāq al-ʻArabīyah, 1421/2001). Pp. 674.

REVIEWED BY ARNOUD VROLIJK, Leiden University

Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn ʻArabshāh[1] (791–854/1389–1450) was born in Damascus. When Timur Lenk conquered the city in 1400–1 he was taken to Samarkand. In his youth he traveled and studied extensively in Central Asia. Later in his life he served under the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II, for whom he conducted his correspondence in Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Mongol. He returned to Syria in 1421 and finally settled in Egypt in 1436. His main work is a rather unflattering biography of Timur, *ʻAjāʼib al-Maqdūr fī Nawāʼib Taymūr* (The wonders of

[1]On the author and his work see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʼ al-Lāmiʻ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʻ* (Cairo, 1353–55/1934–36), 2:126–31, and J. Pedersen, "Ibn ʻArabshāh," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 3:711–12.

destiny, or the vicissitudes of Timur), a text that was first edited by Golius in 1636. Other works by him include a panegyric dedicated to Sultan Jaqmaq and an Arabic translation of Sa'd al-Dīn al-Warāwīnī's version of the *Marzubān-nāmah,* a Persian collection of animal fables in the vein of Ibn al-Muqaffa''s *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah.*

The present work, *Fākihat al-Khulafā' wa-Mufākahat al-Ẓurafā'* (The caliphs' fruit and the elegant people's banter), is an expanded version of Ibn 'Arabshāh's own translation of the *Marzubān-nāmah*. According to Ḥājjī Khalīfah, it was completed in Ṣafar 852/April–May 1448.[2] The work lacks the crisp succinctness of *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah,* and the extensive use of *saj'* or rhymed prose makes it dull and ponderous in the eyes of a modern reader. A scholar like Robert Irwin found "the inflated, metaphorical style . . . hard going."[3] On the other hand, Reuben Levy asked for clemency on the part of the modern reader by stating that medieval authors "catered for different conditions and a different taste. To [them], elaborate imagery and embroidered speech were the means of attracting and holding the attention not of readers, but of listeners; because the tales were recited by rhapsodists to audiences who were enthralled as much by the music of the heaped-up epithets and gracefully involved periods in which the tales were told as by the narratives themselves."[4]

The *Fākihah* is by no means a rare text; any important collection of Islamic manuscripts in the Western world possesses at least several copies. It has also been the subject of numerous editions since Freytag published his *Fructus imperatorum et iocatio ingeniosorum* (Bonn, 1832–52). There is an 1869 edition by the Dominican fathers of Mosul, and the popularity of the text in nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century Egypt is amply demonstrated by twelve Cairo editions published between 1276/1860 and 1325/1908, some of them with *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah* in the margin. Somehow, the interest of the reading public in the *Fākihah* seems to have dwindled after the early twentieth century, but recently it was revived by an edition by Muḥammad Rajab al-Najjār, the well-known Egyptian specialist in Mamluk literature (al-Ṣafah, Kuwait: Dār Su'ād al-Ṣabāḥ, 1997).

The present work was edited by Ayman al-Buḥayrī, whose interest in anecdotes of the caliphs and mirrors for princes is reflected in his other editions as well.[5] For this edition of the *Fākihah* al-Buḥayrī used two manuscripts from the National

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[2]*Kashf al-Ẓunūn,* ed. Flügel (London, 1835–58), 4:345.

[3]Robert Irwin, "Ibn 'Arabshāh," *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature,* ed. Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (London, 1998), 1:312–13.

[4]Reuben Levy, *The Tales of Marzubān* (London, 1959), 9.

[5]Al-Itlīdī, *Nawādir al-Khulafā'* (Cairo, 1998); Ibn Ẓafar, *Al-Sulwānāt* (Cairo, 1999); and Ibn Qutaybah, *Al-Sulṭān* (Cairo, 2002).

Library of Egypt, the MSS Adab Taymūr 764 and Adab Ṭal'at 4606, and a 1909 edition he refers to as an imprint of ″al-Maktabah al-Ḥalabīyah,″[6] an edition not cited in 'Āyidah Ibrāhīm Nuṣayr′s bibliography of early twentieth-century Egyptian imprints.[7] The editor considers MS Adab Taymūr 764 as an autograph (p. 9), presumably because it contains the author′s own colophon and also because of its date, which the author reads as *awākhir* Rabī' I 850/25 June–4 July 1446. It is more likely however, that the date is *awākhir* Rabī' I 852/3–12 June 1448, which corresponds almost exactly with Ḥājjī Khalīfah′s information on the subject.[8] However, the fact that a manuscript contains the author′s colophon does not necessarily imply that it actually is an autograph. In fact, we find Ibn 'Arabshāh′s own colophon repeated in a number of manuscript copies, for instance the Berlin MS Petermann 295 and Leiden Or. 135. An old Cairo edition I was able to consult, al-Maṭba'ah al-Sharafīyah 1316/1898, also has it. None of these three appear to be directly related to the Taymūr manuscript. Other arguments against the editor′s assertion are that the Taymūr manuscript is copied in two different hands and that the first page of the manuscript contains a *tarḥīm,* an expression generally used for deceased authors.[9] On the whole, however, the Taymūr manuscript appears to be a valuable textual witness, containing authentic readings that have not been preserved elsewhere. Regarding it as an autograph, the editor claims to have adopted it as the base text of his edition (p. 10). It is therefore somewhat puzzling to see that al-Buḥayrī′s edition is not based on this particular manuscript at all: a short collation of the facsimiles and the edited text reveals that the first four lines of the manuscript text with the *tarḥīm* have been omitted; likewise, the text of the colophon (p. 577) is not that of the Taymūr manuscript.

It is quite difficult to go beyond this superficial comparison, because al-Buḥayrī′s edition lacks a critical apparatus that would enable the reader to check the provenance of each part of the text. Thus, it is impossible to see what role the other textual witnesses have played in establishing the text. Instead of a critical apparatus there is a footnote apparatus, which contains biographical and geographical information drawn from classical sources like *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* by Ismā'īl ibn 'Umar Ibn Kathīr (ca.. 1300–73) or *Mu'jam al-Buldān* by Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (1179–1229).

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[6]See p. 9, possibly the Cairene printing house of Muṣṭafá al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī.

[7]'Āyidah Ibrāhīm Nuṣayr, *Al-Kutub al-'Arabīyah Allatī Nushirat fī Miṣr bayna 'Āmay 1900–1925* (Cairo, 1983), 230.

[8]See the facsimile text on p. 18 of al-Buḥayrī′s edition. Prof. Jan Just Witkam′s advice on the matter is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

[9]Facsimile page of the manuscript on p. 15 of the edition, l. 4: ″taghammadahu Allāhu ta'ālá bi-raḥmatihi wa-riḍwānihi″ (May God, exalted is He, cover him with His grace and favor). For this *requiescat* remark after the names of deceased authors see Adam Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: a Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography* (Leiden, 2001), 54.

The greater part of the footnote apparatus, however, is devoted to lexical items. For his explanation, the editor draws upon his own personal knowledge of the Arabic language without reference to lexicographical works. It is not altogether clear what criteria the editor used: a fairly common word like *sirḥān,* ″wolf″ (p. 26), is footnoted, while an obscure word like *ghaḍanfar* for lion (p. 249) remains unexplained.

The value of the edition would have been much enhanced by a thorough introduction to the author, his text, and its social and literary environment, the so-called *Sitz im Leben*. A half-page description of the textual sources of the edition, a single page on edition technique, and one and a half pages on the life of Ibn ʿArabshāh must be regarded as too scanty. A bibliography of consulted works would also have been helpful. Minor defects of the edition are the introduction of modern-style punctuation and the absence of the folio numbers of the most important manuscript source.

The merit of this edition lies in its multiple indexes, covering almost a hundred pages, of Quran verses, *aṭrāf* of prophetic traditions, poetry, names of persons, geographical names, lexical items, proverbs and fixed expressions, and a succinct subject index. Unfortunately, the indexes are not free of errors. For instance, in the index of ″nations and places″ *Āl Qusṭanṭīn* (the Byzantines, p. 482) and the town of Amul (p. 566) are missing. Baghdad appears twice, once under *Baghdād* and once under *Madīnat al-Salām*. The index of personal names cites the names just as they are given in the text without any critical arrangement, which makes them difficult to find. Thus, the Imam Abū Ḥanīfah is entered under al-Nuʿmān, Ibn Sīnā under Abū ʿAlī, Ibn Khaldūn under Abū Hurayrah, and the Mamluk sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq under Abū Saʿīd. The poet′s name is ʿUmar ibn al-Fāriḍ, not ʿAmr ibn al-Fāriḍ. Kisrā is a title, not a person. Finally, Ibn ʿArabshāh himself is not mentioned in the index. In the glossary, words of non-Arabic origin tend to be missing, such as the Greek word *Saqmūniyā* (scammony, p. 201) and the Persian titles *dawādār, bazdār,* and *khaznadār* (p. 466).

In terms of book production, it must be said that the edition is carefully typeset, well printed and bound, and reasonably priced. Despite its shortcomings in terms of editorial scholarship, this edition will help to make Ibn ʿArabshāh′s work more accessible to modern readers. For this, one must be grateful to the editor.

SHAWKAT RAMAḌĀN ḤUJJAH, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī li-Minṭaqat Sharqī al-Urdun min Junūb al-Shām fī ʻAṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Thāniyah* (Irbid: Mu'assasat Ḥamādah lil-Dirāsāt al-Jāmiʻīyah wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʻ, 2002). Pp. 308.

REVIEWED BY BETHANY J. WALKER, Oklahoma State University

The continuing debate over the decline of the Mamluk state is revisited from the ″periphery″ of the empire in this work by Shawkat Ḥujjah. The book examines the Burji Mamluk period in Jordan and assesses the general political, economic, and demographic decline of the state from the vantage point of the Jordanian provinces, southern Mamlakat Dimashq and Mamlakat Karak. In its chronological scope, methods, and organization, it builds on the work of the Jordanian historian, Yūsuf Ghawānimah, on his country in the Bahri Mamluk period.[1] The present work is the author′s unrevised doctoral thesis, advised by Dr. Ghawānimah[2] and completed at Yarmouk University in Irbid in 1996. Only the conversion of footnotes to chapter endnotes differentiates this publication from his original dissertation.

Ḥujjah′s book opens and closes with the theme of Mamluk decline, a popular topic among Jordanian historians. According to the author, the factors behind this decline and those that most heavily impacted southern Bilād al-Shām are many-fold: natural disasters, Mongol invasions, bedouin incursions, political competition among the Syrian amirs, and the weakness of the central government (p. 9). The marked demographic transformation of the region in the late Mamluk period—the abandonment of villages, general population decline, and shifts in settlement—is the principal indicator of political decline for most historians and archaeologists working in Jordan today. Ḥujjah′s work was conceived, in part, as a contribution to this debate. While he repeats many of the mantras of the academic establishment in this regard, he reads a wider variety of sources and does so with an eye to social history.

The city of Kerak, the capital of Mamlakat Karak, occupies central stage in this book and is presented as a microcosm of southern Syria in the ninth/fifteenth century. Ḥujjah′s narrative focuses on the reigns of Sultans Barqūq and Faraj and the many armed uprisings by amirs and tribal shaykhs alike that were launched from that city. It was the rebellions of the Syrian amirs, the author argues, that

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[1]Among Ghawānimah′s most important studies on Mamluk Jordan are *Tārīkh Sharqī al-Urdun fī ʻAṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Ūlá, al-Qism al-Siyāsī* and *Tārīkh Sharqī al-Urdun fī ʻAṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Ūlá, al-Qism al-Ḥaḍārī,* both published in Amman in the mid-1980s. He has written a cultural history of Amman and, more recently, brief paperback reports on medieval Irbid, the mosques of ʻAjlūn, and saints′ shrines in Jordan, as well as a monograph on Jerusalem.

[2]Personal communication, Yūsuf Ghawānimah.

weakened the government in Cairo, created chaos and civil war in Jordan, and drove the general demographic and economic collapse of the Syrian provinces. The introduction and six chapters of his book reflect themes that account for these developments: the strategic importance of Jordan to the Mamluk state; political events during the sultanates of Barqūq and Faraj and after Faraj's death; the political role of the Jordanian tribes; and trade and communications in the region.

In his well-organized and clearly written introduction, Ḥujjah describes those sources that have yielded the most data on political, economic, and social conditions in Jordan in the ninth/fifteenth century. He relies on an assortment of contemporary sources—administrative manuals (al-ʻUmarī's [d. 749/1348] *Kitāb Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*), travelogues (largely Ottoman: the eleventh/seventeenth-century *Al-Riḥlah al-ʻIyashīyah* and *Al-Riḥlah al-Khayārī*), chronicles and biographical dictionaries (primarily Syrian: Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's [d. 851/1447] *Tārīkh* and Ibn Ṭūlūn's [953/1546] *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān*), and biographies of the Burji Mamluk sultans (for instance, Ibn Ṣaṣrā's [d. 800/1397] *Kitāb al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah fī al-Dawlah al-Ẓāhirīyah,* which covers Barqūq's reign)—that have until now been underutilized. The bulk of his primary material comes from the microfilm archives of the University of Jordan library that Dr. Muḥammad ʻAdnān Bakhīt, Jordan's leading Ottomanist, created in the mid-1980s. This is a large repository, comprised of copies of Mamluk and Ottoman-period manuscripts housed in collections in Jerusalem, Cairo, Damascus, Istanbul, and libraries throughout Europe.[3] The University of Jordan archives has transformed research in the country since the mid-1980s, allowing Jordanian scholars to work on topics that had previously required international travel. Like the majority of Islamic historians in Jordan today, Ḥujjah relies most heavily on local sources that focus on the Transjordan, and particularly the provincial capital of Kerak, such as ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ's (d. 920/1514) *Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal.*

The author justifies his focus on Jordan for the Burji Mamluk period in Chapter 1, where he emphasizes the centrality of geographic Transjordan as a communications corridor, the political role of its tribes and administrative centers (such as Kerak and ʻAjlūn), and the fertility of the *iqṭā'āt* located there. The chapter opens with a linguistic discussion of the term *al-ghūr* and cites numerous poetic references to the term—a section, in all, that contributes nothing to the book. The rest of Chapter 1 is devoted to the technical administration of Transjordan under the Burji Mamluks: the location of provincial and district boundaries, and the frequent transfer of administrative centers. While such topics have been dealt

[3]For the holdings of this collection, see the published catalogues in Muḥammad ʻAdnān Bakhīt et al., *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts (on Microfilm),* vols. 1–3 (Amman, 1984-86).

with in detail by other historians,[4] Ḥujjah's innovation is the attention he showers on the changing fortunes of Mamlakat Karak in this period, as it loses its independent administrative status and is finally added to the District of Jerusalem (Niyābat al-Quds) in the early tenth/sixteenth century. The political rationale for the redistricting of this province, as well as the political fallout that such administrative changes produced, remain important themes for the rest of his book.

In Chapter 2 the author begins to analyze the chaos of the Burji Mamluk period by illustrating the many ways amirs stationed in Transjordan and the citizens and tribesmen of the region created and reacted to political conflicts. This chapter deals primarily with Sultan Barqūq, whose reign was interrupted by the insurrection of Amirs Yalbughā al-Nāṣirī and Minṭāsh in 791/1388. As al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was forced to many years before him, Barqūq spent his exile year imprisoned in the jail of Kerak Castle, from where he was able to consolidate his personal ties with residents of Kerak Town and the leadership of the Banī ʿUqbah and the Jarm. Kerakis, townsmen and tribesmen alike, were united in their support of Barqūq, according to this reading of the sources, and played a central role in returning him to the throne. Underneath the author's narrative are the strains of modern nationalism, in which political loyalty, particularly among the tribes, is applauded. It is not clear whether this double-entendre was deliberate, but it is occasionally encountered today in Jordanian historiography. An innovative analysis of texts on the Jordan River Valley closes this chapter (pp. 79–82), in which Ḥujjah investigates the poor management practices that may have contributed to the collapse of the agricultural sector in the valley at the turn of eighth/fourteenth century, such as the diversion by the *mushadd al-ghūr* of water to his own plots, and extortion, forced sales of produce, and hoarding of food goods by other government officials (p. 81).

Civil war is the theme of the third chapter, which deals with Jordan during Faraj's sultanate. Although he exaggerates the impact of Timur's invasions on Jordan (pp. 119–29), he makes a good argument for the centrality of Kerak, its official personnel, and its residents in the revolts of Mamluk amirs (Mahtar ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in 807/1404; Shaykh al-Maḥmūdī and Nawrūz al-Ḥāfiẓī in 813/1410) and tribal shaykhs (pp. 115–19). The chapter primarily examines the careers of the governors of Kerak and of its citadel, which averaged a year or two in length during Faraj's reign, and evaluates the way in which their rivalries, imprisonments,

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[4]Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mameloukes d'après les auteurs arabes: description géographique, économique et administrative* (Paris, 1923); Nicola Ziadeh, *Urban Life in Syria under the Early Mamluks* (Westport, Conn., 1970); and, more recently, Ṭāhā Ṭarāwinah, *The Province of Damascus during the Second Mamlūk Period (784/1382–922/1516)* (Kerak, Jordan, 1994).

armed revolts, and poor administration devastated the economic base of Kerak Province and Gaza. Here Ḥujjah emphasizes the role of the tribes in these troubled times, as marauding bands plundered and destroyed villages in the absence (or weakness) of local Mamluk garrisons, forcing residents to abandon their settlements and take refuge in the nearest citadels (pp. 250 ff). His textual references are perhaps the strongest evidence to date for the relationship between ″bedouin predations″ and the shift from lowland to highland settlements in the fifteenth century, a phenomenon long identified through regional surveys but never sufficiently explained by archaeologists. In his concluding arguments for this chapter, the author attributes the decline of Jordan during Faraj′s reign to: 1) the power struggle among the sultan′s top amirs in Syria; 2) Timur′s invasion of Syria (the effects of which were felt in northern Jordan); and 3) the pillage and destruction of Jordanian centers by soldiers and tribes.

Stories of local interest frame Chapter 4, which chronologically covers the post-Faraj years, between 816/1413 and 922/1516. Here the author recounts those political events of the period that either took place in Jordan or had the greatest impact there. Among these are the establishment of the rival sultanate of Ibn Thaqāl, a.k.a. ″al-Sufyānī,″ in ʻAjlūn in 816/1413, as well as several short accounts of the rapid rise and fall of several governors of Kerak. The author then lists those governors *(nawāb)* of Kerak, ʻAjlūn, and Salṭ (merged into one administrative district sometime in the third quarter of the eighth/fifteenth century), and the Jordan River Valley *(al-ghūr)*. He makes ample use of biographical sources for this purpose, including Ibn al-Jīʻān ([d. 901/1496] *Al-Qawl al-Mustaẓraf*), Ibn Ṭūlūn ([d. 954/1546] *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān*), and Ibn Iyās ([d. 930/1523] *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʼiʻ al-Duhūr*). This chapter provides a convenient list in Table 2 of the governors of Kerak during the reigns of Barqūq and Faraj (pp. 168–70). Ḥujjah concludes this chapter with a diatribe against the later governors of Kerak, accusing them of destroying Jordan through their political rivalries (which led to oppression of the peasants and tribal devastations in their absence), corruption (they essentially bought their governorships) and political opportunism (leading to their exile and imprisonment), collaboration with foreign powers, and irresponsible land management (pp. 185–87).

The final two chapters of the book enumerate Jordan′s tribal groups (and their roles in the political debacles of the period) and highlight the central role that the region played in Mamluk trade (the pilgrim markets of ʻAqabah, ʻAjlūn, and Zarqāʼ; lists of merchandise produced and sold; domestic and transit trade routes) and communications (the hajj route from Damascus, for example, passed through the middle of Jordan). While these are interesting and useful summaries for the newly initiated, such topics are standard fare for Jordanian master′s theses and doctoral dissertations. Moreover, the handwritten maps of trade routes on pp. 281

and 283, which are appendices for Chapter 5, are illegible and, thus, not usable. Likewise, the author´s commentary on archaeological surveys in Irbid reflects a superficial understanding of such fieldwork and does not contribute to his arguments about the structure of caravan trade networks (p. 253). Nonetheless, Ḥujjah makes more meaningful assertions about the civil resistance of townsmen (and particularly those of Kerak) vis-à-vis the Mamluk governors (p. 116–17) and their united self-defense against tribal raids (p. 230).

One of the strengths of Ḥujjah´s monograph is his broad foundation of written sources. One of its weaknesses is his uncritical reading of these sources and sweeping generalizations based on a few of them: applying the special circumstances of Kerak to the whole of Jordan, for example, and using Ottoman-period travelogues to comment on the socio-political state of towns and villages in the Mamluk period. Moreover, the author neglects some key sources that would have refined and, in some instances, contradicted his conclusions, such as Ottoman tax registers (translated into Arabic and published in Jordan by Bakhīt in 1989 and 1991, thus readily available to the author at the time of writing his dissertation)[5] and the large body of archaeological literature (providing a wealth of data on demographics, settlement, environment, and material culture and trade) found in nearly every university library in the country.

These criticisms aside, Ḥujjah´s study is a thorough, interesting, and extremely useful analysis of the political conditions that impacted Jordanian society and economy in the ninth/fifteenth and early tenth/sixteenth centuries. As a provincial history (and one of the few books on Jordan) and one focused on the transition between the Bahri and Burji periods, readers will find it a most welcome contribution to Mamluk studies. Ḥujjah´s interpretation of the role of the Syrian amirs in the decline of the Mamluk state, his understanding of the political role of the Jordanian tribes, and his interest in the impact of both on local agriculture are topics that are multi-disciplinary in appeal and fresh in approach.

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[5]Muḥammad ʻAdnān Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah (Shamālī al-Urdunn) fī al-Qarn al-ʻĀshir al-Hijrī/al-Sādis ʻĀshir al-Mīlādī* (Amman, 1989); idem, *Tapu Defteri No. 275: Detailed Register of the Private-Khass of the Governor in the Province of Damascus 958 A.H./1551-2 A.D.* (Amman, 1989); Muḥammad ʻAdnān Bakhīt and Nūfān Rajā al-Ḥammūd, *The Detailed Defter of Liwa' ʻAjlun: Tapu Defteri No. 970* (Amman, 1989); and idem, *The Detailed Defter of Liwa' ʻAjlun: Tapu Defteri No. 185, Ankara, 1005 A.H./1596 A.D.* (Amman, 1991).

Fustat Finds: Beads, Coins, Medical Instruments, Textiles and Other Artifacts from the Awad Collection. Edited by Jere L. Bacharach (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2002). Pp. xi + 235.

REVIEWED BY WARREN C. SCHULTZ, DePaul University

This book is both a celebration of the role played by the Egyptian physician Henri Amin Awad in the preservation of material culture objects from Fustat *and* a poignant reminder of the lost opportunities to learn more about this important site for the history of early to medieval Islamic Egypt. As the Introduction points out, Dr. Awad opened a clinic in the Fustat region in 1950, and shortly thereafter began accepting small unidentified objects of ″no real market value″ (p. 4) from his poor patients in exchange for medical treatment. Over the course of the next few decades, Dr. Awad obtained, examined, studied, occasionally published, and eventually donated many such objects to several institutions and universities in Egypt and abroad. Thus the word ″collection″ in the subtitle of this volume is to be understood broadly as referring to material which funneled through Awad′s holdings before ending up elsewhere, and should not be taken to mean a set of material currently in his possession or in a single location.

The Introduction states that Dr. Awad had the initial difficult choice before him as to whether he should accept these items or refuse to take them since leaving them *in situ* ″until scientific teams of archaeologists could examine them″ would be the preferred situation in an ″ideal world″ (p. 3). This of course is a key issue of some controversy in the scholarly arena (not to mention those of government policy and legal regulations) and readers of the book will undoubtedly have their own strong views on this matter. While it is certainly true that artifacts with specific site references are of the most value to scholars present and future, it is also valid that items with only the most general provenance—i.e., found in the Fustat region—are of use to scholars. It is in that spirit that this book was prepared.

The book is divided into thirteen sections of varying lengths. The majority were prepared especially for this volume, although two are revised versions of previously published material (those coauthored by Hamarneh and Amin). All provide detailed descriptions of the items therein, and some also situate the significance of their items in wider arenas of knowledge. The contents are: the ″Forward″ by Ibrahim ʻAbd al-Rahman and ʻAbd al-Rahman ʻAbd al-Tawwab; ″Introduction″ by Jere L. Bacharach; ″Beads″ by Peter Francis, Jr.; ″Bone, Ivory & Wood″ by Jere L. Bacharach and Elizabeth Rodenbeck; ″Coins″ with initial comments by Jere L. Bacharach, and identifications by Michael L. Bates, Peter Mentzel, Norman D. Nicol, and Luke Treadwell; ″Copper Coinage of Egypt in the Seventh Century″ by Lidia Domaszewicz and Michael L. Bates; ″Glass Weights

and Vessel Stamps" by Katharina Eldada (the longest contribution); "Glass Vessel Stamp Data for *Materia Medica*" by Sami K. Hamarneh and Henri Amin Awad; "Medical Instruments" by Sami K. Hamarneh and Henri Amin Awad; "Medical Prescriptions" by Henri Amin Awad; "Metal Objects" by Jere L. Bacharach and Elizabeth Rodenbeck; "Textiles" by Nancy Arthur Hoskins; and an appendix, "Selected Bibliography of Published Works by Dr. Henri Amin Awad."

The overwhelming majority of the items listed and described in this volume are from the periods before the establishment of the Mamluk Sultanate. (The main exceptions to this observation are the numerous Mamluk coins listed in the "Coins Section" and two Mamluk-era medical prescriptions.) Nevertheless, the Mamlukist will find the book a useful resource for situating in wider contexts any Mamluk-era material culture artifacts that s/he may have occasion to analyze. The contributions on "Beads" and "Textiles" in particular serve as both useful primers (to the non-specialist) for those knowledge-fields as well as detailed catalogues of the items described.

Some comments regarding the "Coins" section are in order as more than four hundred coins described therein are linked to the Mamluk era. The coins listed in this section are all now preserved at the American Numismatic Society in New York. In light of that, the omission of their ANS accession numbers from the catalogue (as was done in the section on "Glass Weights and Vessel Stamps") is unfortunate, since those numbers not only provide the date of donation, but are what make it possible to track down specific coins in the collection. Still, it is convenient to have this list gathered in one place, as the following example points out: given the usual assumption about the limited circulation of copper coins, the large number of mintless *fulūs* of Sultan Baybars from the Fustat region as found in the Awad collection adds credence to the argument advanced by Michael Bates that these coins were struck in Egypt as well as in Syria.

Finally, the Introduction also points out that Dr. Awad donated many coins to several Egyptian museums in addition to those given to the ANS, but that "it proved to be too complex a problem to track down the gifts to these various institutions" (p. 5). I certainly have great empathy for this problem, and what follows is only a minor quibble. Nevertheless, even a preliminary and general list of what went where, gleaned perhaps from the personal records of Dr. Awad, would have been useful information for any scholar whose work might benefit from tracking down additional specimens. For, as Bacharach and Rodenbeck point out, it is first necessary to build up a database of artifacts in order to use material culture in the effort of writing "the history of everyday life in Fustat and other Mediterranean and Middle Eastern cities" (p. 32).

SHIHĀB AL-DĪN AḤMAD IBN MUḤAMMAD IBN ʻUMAR AL-ANṢĀRĪ IBN AL-ḤIMṢĪ [841–934], *Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Wafayāt al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān.* Edited by ʻUmar ʻAbd al-Salām Tadmurī. (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-ʻAṣrīyah lil-Ṭibāʻah wa-al-Nashr, 1419/1999). Three volumes.

REVIEWED BY CARL F. PETRY, Northwestern University

The publication of an important historical text heretofore accessible only from scattered manuscripts covering disparate chronological portions of the whole in a legible format is a welcome event. The editor has consulted the known fragments of Ibn al-Ḥimṣī´s text to produce what appears at first glance to be a carefully annotated and documented edition. Tadmurī states (pp. 63–68) that the surviving fragments of the *Ḥawādith* are preserved in the Feyzullah Library (Istanbul) for the years 851–900, Cambridge University (UK) for the years 901–8, and Suhāj University (Egypt) for the final period 909–30. The latter two manuscripts were examined from photocopies held by the Manuscript Institute of the Arab League in Cairo. The three volumes do not follow the chronological divisions imposed by the manuscript fragments, but are divided between the years 851–901 (vol. 1), 902–23 (vol. 2), 923–30 (vol. 3—to which are appended short episodic fragments and surviving, but incomplete, lists of necrologies).

The editor notes that chronological lacunae occur at various stages of all three manuscripts, while other writers likely contributed entries that the author included without overt acknowledgment. Some were inserted after his demise. The edited text of the original is preceded by the editor´s detailed introduction that includes a biography of the author, a list of his teachers, a summation of research on his career by a scholar identified as Laylá ʻAbd al-Laṭīf, a discussion of the editor´s consultation and collation of the three manuscript fragments, a list of the author´s writings (surviving or undiscovered), and a statement about his place in the historiography of Mamluk Egypt and Syria (pp. 9–68).

This place, although infrequently acknowledged in contemporary scholarship of the period,[1] is significant. Ibn al-Ḥimṣī spent most of his mature years in Damascus, second city of the Mamluk Empire. Keenly observant of the turbulent events unfolding there during the final decades of rule by the Circassian sultans and their viceroys, Ibn al-Ḥimṣī reveled in reporting factional infighting waged by the military elite and their civilian adjutants. His rich tapestry of local happenings, personally witnessed, is interspersed by descriptions of intermittent visits by officials

[1]For example, Brockelmann mentions Ibn al-Ḥimṣī only once, in a one-line reference that does not provide the author´s *nisbah* (Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* [Leiden, 1938], S2:41, #12a).

from Cairo, the imperial center, and reference to broader developments in foreign lands. The *Ḥawādith* is therefore a valuable, indeed indispensable, source for the history of Damascus, and Syria more generally, during this era that preceded the Ottoman conquest. No student of the region can afford to ignore it now that Professor Tadmurī has made the work readily available.

A cautionary note is necessary, however. I have had occasion to consult the original manuscript (#1438) held by the Feyzullah Library myself. Among its more striking entries is a discussion of circumstances surrounding the succession to the Sultanate of "Iraq and the East" following the alleged death of Ya'qūb Bak ibn Uzun Ḥasan in Shawwāl of 898/August 1493 (fol. 132a; see below for correct death date). Ibn al-Ḥimṣī castigates Ya'qūb's vile behavior when he states that the sultan responded to a request for an *iqṭā'* from the son of a notable with his own demand for "an abomination" *(fāḥishah)* in return for its bestowal. Upon the youth's complaint to the sultan's mother, she upbraided her son for his conduct. Ya'qūb responded by slaying his parent in shocking fashion—while intoxicated. When his brother learned of the murder, he attacked Ya'qūb and killed him. The army then rose against the brother, executed him, and ultimately selected a grandson of Uzun Ḥasan via another line, Rustam Bak, as sultan. This lurid episode is certainly unsettling. Matricide is a crime condemned unconditionally in any society. Yet it raises perspectives vital to understanding the background to Ya'qūb's death and Rustam's succession, a noteworthy episode in Aqqoyunlu history (Ibn al-Ḥimṣī's details themselves may be questioned; Ya'qūb was assassinated in 896/1490 rather than in 898).

But the editor omitted this episode from the printed version (vol. I, 343–44). His rendition jumps from request for the *iqṭā'* to the brother's murder of Ya'qūb. With the deletion, the text reads as if Ya'qūb murdered the boy, which appears as the occasion for the army's deposition of him. This amounts to an unconscionable distortion of the original. It is the one case that I encountered (I was unable to obtain a complete copy of the original or to examine it *in toto;* the original was brought down to the Süleymaniye). Yet if the editor made this deletion, for whatever reason, he may have committed similar distortions elsewhere throughout the manuscripts. The otherwise admirable result may thus be unreliable for accurate historical reference and should be consulted with caveats.

ʻUMAR IBN AL-FĀRIḌ, *ʻUmar ibn al-Fāriḍ: Sufi Verse, Saintly Life.* Translated and introduced by Th. Emil Homerin (Paulist Press: New York and Mahwah, NJ, 2001). Pp. xvii + 360.

REVIEWED BY MICHAEL WINTER, Tel Aviv University

ʻUmar Ibn al-Fāriḍ (576–632/1181–1235), arguably the greatest mystical poet in Arabic, lived in a century exceptionally rich in famous Sufi poets, writers, thinkers, and shaykhs, many of whom were recognized as *awliyā',* saints, or friends of God. The best-known names are Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-ʻArabī, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī, Shihāb al-Dīn ʻUmar ibn Muḥammad al-Suhrawardī, Sayyidī Aḥmad al-Badawī, Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī, Najm al-Dīn Kubrā, and Ḥajjī Bektāsh. The personalities and the works of many Sufi writers and shaykhs were loved and admired by many Muslims, but also gave rise to controversies. ʻUmar Ibn al-Fāriḍ was one of them. His poetry was loved, well known, and influential, and found a host of commentators. Yet his poetry and mysticism were also a subject of repeated attacks and controversies, particularly during the Mamluk period. His mysticism and religious attitudes were often associated with those of Ibn al-ʻArabī, although, as Th. Emil Homerin notes, it is not likely that the two famous contemporary mystics knew of each other.

Ibn al-Fāriḍ lived most of his life in Cairo, but also spent fifteen years in Mecca. He was devout and learned in the Islamic sciences. Yet it was his poetry that brought him fame and ultimately recognition as a *walī,* a saintly man. Homerin has been studying this Sufi poet, his life, his poetry and ideas as they were expressed in his mystical poetry, for a long time. His first book, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, His Verse, and His Shrine*[1] was the first thorough study of Ibn al-Fāriḍ. That study introduced the poet, giving his biography and his ideas and religious views as they are reflected in his poetry. Also described are the controversies that took place about his doctrines that seemed to certain scholars contrary to Islamic orthodoxy, and his eventual acceptance by most Muslims and his reputation as a *walī.* These developments happened in Cairo during the Mamluk period. Homerin described in detail the ideas, personalities, and forces that were at play around Ibn al-Fāriḍ's mysticism. The book discusses the poet's legacy and status in later times, up to the twentieth century.

The present book has the objective to make Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poetry and ideas accessible to a wider readership of people who may not know Arabic but are interested in mysticism, Sufism and Islam in general, and classical Arabic poetry.

[1]Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1994.

Arabists and other specialists in the field will also find the book useful for deepening their knowledge of Arabic Sufism.

The book, which opens with a comprehensive introduction about Ibn al-Fāriḍ and his poetry (pp. 7–37), is an annotated reader of translated selections of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's most famous poems, parts of authoritative Arabic commentaries, and also the biography, or rather hagiography, of the poet written by his grandson ʻAlī, Sibṭ Ibn al-Fāriḍ. It is entitled *Dībājat al-Dīwān* (Adorned proem to the *dīwān*) (the collection of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poems edited by his grandson.) ʻAlī received the information about Ibn al-Fāriḍ from Kamāl al-Dīn ʻAlī, one of the poet's sons. The *Adorned Proem* presents the poet's physical description and some highlights of his life in Cairo and Mecca. We are told that Ibn al-Fāriḍ turned down offers by al-Malik al-Kāmil, the Ayyubid sultan of Egypt, to prepare for him a grave next to the sultan's mother in the domed shrine of al-Imām al-Shāfiʻī, and also returned money sent to him by the ruler, as befits a saintly man. Various miracles were attributed to Ibn al-Fāriḍ.

ʻAlī relates that during one of his pilgrimages to Mecca, Ibn al-Fāriḍ unexpectedly met Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, the renowned Sufi shaykh and writer, who also came from Iraq to perform the hajj duty. The two mystics were indeed contemporaries, but whether this encounter was a historical fact is doubtful.

Finally, Ibn al-Fāriḍ's death and his awesome funeral procession are described in detail.

The *Adorned Proem* reports an incident that happened around 687/1288, during the reign of Qalāwūn, the Mamluk sultan. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Bint al-Aʻazz, a well-known scholar who was vizier and later a high ranking qadi, slandered a prominent Sufi shaykh named al-Aykī for ordering his disciples to study Ibn al-Fāriḍ's longest and most important poem, "Naẓm al-Sulūk," translated by Homerin as "Poem of the Sufi Way." It is also the longest Sufi poem in Arabic, spanning over 761 verses. Ibn Bint al-Aʻazz, like many of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's critics afterwards, accused the poet of promoting the doctrine of *ḥulūl,* or incarnation of the Holy in a human form, thus annihilating the separation between God and His Creation, contrary to the belief of Islamic orthodoxy. The author of the *Adorned Proem* reports that as a punishment from God, Ibn Bint al-Aʻazz was dismissed from his high positions. Later he repented, and even recited Ibn al-Fāriḍ's verses during his next hajj. God accepted his prayers, and he was again entrusted with the judgeship.[2]

In the center of the book is the full and annotated translation of "Naẓm al-Sulūk"

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[2]A fiercer controversy about Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poetry and doctrines raged in 874–75/1469–70 during the reign of Sultan Qāytbāy. Al-Biqāʻ, an alim who was the poet's fiercest critic, suffered humiliation and exile. See Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, his Verse, and His Shrine,* 62-73.

(″Al-Tā'īyah al-Kubrá,″ the ode rhyming on *tā'*). The translator decided on a verse-by-verse commentary, printed on the pages facing the text of the translation, a graphically successful solution. This poem is full of motifs, allusions, and imagery from the Quran, the hadith, and the Sufi tradition. Homerin′s wide knowledge of all these sources makes his commentary extremely useful even to experts in Islamic culture and vital to the wider public. Only the principal themes of the ″Poem of the Sufi Way″ will be mentioned here: the love of the mystic for God; the Day of the Covenant;[3] the Light of Muḥammad;[4] *dhikr;*[5] and many allusions to figures and ideas from the Quran and Arab poetry. As Homerin makes clear, Ibn al-Fāriḍ′s mystical ideas, images, and allusions are not original. The poet drew on the Sufi heritage and literature. For example, Junayd of Baghdad (d. 297/910) developed the doctrine of the Day of the Covenant, and the writings of Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 289/896) were important for the belief in the Light of Muḥammad. The influence of the great al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) on later mystical theories and attitudes are also discernible in the work of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, as in the ideas of many other Sufis. Yet the artistic rendition of these mystical elements was Ibn al-Fāriḍ′s own contribution that brought him fame, admiration, and sometimes denouncement.

In the Introduction (pp. 35–36) Homerin notes correctly that medieval and modern commentators, who persisted in reading the ″Poem of the Sufi Way″ as Ibn al-Fāriḍ′s spiritual autobiography, have failed to appreciate the presence of the lyric ″I,″ the dramatic persona so essential to the poem′s craft. That ″I″ is at times the lover, at others ″Muḥammad′s Light,″ and at times a combination of both. Homerin adds: ″Many sections of the poem, such as that on divine emanation and the various levels of existence, would be more the product of doctrine, reason, and reflection than of personal mystical experience.″ Homerin also points to the poem′s openly didactic character.

I fully agree with Homerin′s analysis and conclusions. I would emphasize more the strong apologetic strain used by Ibn al-Fāriḍ that is evident in many verses in this poem. The poet repeats the message that in spite of the fact that the lover has experienced union with the Holy, he is committed to fulfill the religious

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[3]*Yawm al-Mīthāq,* the day in pre-eternity on which God made His covenant with the spirits of humanity before their existence in creation, after Quran 7:127.

[4]The pre-eternal entity, a type of logos principle, God′s first emanation and the instrument of all subsequent creation. According to one hadith, Muḥammad said: ″I was a prophet when Adam was still between water and clay,″ and in a divine saying, God says to Muḥammad: ″If not for you, I would not have created the heavens.″ Even after the death of the human Muḥammad, the Prophetic Light continues to appear on earth among the gnostics and friends of God. Homerin, *Ibn al-Fāriḍ*, 29.

[5]″Recollection,″ the Sufi ritual of calling God′s names in unison, often to the point of ecstasy, to recollect past union with God in order to return to the Day of the Covenant.

laws and follow the mainstream of Islamic theology. ″I have not transgressed the two truths: The Book, and the traditions of our Prophet″ (p. 155, verse 280). Other examples in a similar vein are: p. 287, verse 743, p. 203, verse 454, and the translator′s comment on p. 202, for verses 454–55.

I have found that the most interesting part of Ibn al-Fāriḍ′s apologetics is his repeated denial of his belief in *ḥulūl,* the divine′s incarnation into a human form that would annul the separation between God and His creation. This strong denial is significant, since Ibn al-Fāriḍ′s poetry in general and ″Al-Tā'īyah al-Kubrá″ in particular were associated with the doctrine of *ḥulūl,* particularly among his critics. The poet knew exactly what he was being accused of, although, as we have seen, he was not the creator of that doctrine. For example: ″When did I ever shift away from my saying: ′I am her′ or say—how wrong indeed!—′She dwells in me′?″ (p. 153, verse 277).[6] For another example, see p. 289, verse 749. Perhaps the most explicit expression to that effect is p. 155, verse 284: ″So in the clearer of the two visions I have a sign that keeps my creed free from any incarnation.″

The book is an important literary and scholarly achievement. The two poems which Homerin translated and annotated are by far Ibn al-Fāriḍ′s most celebrated ones, ″Naẓm al-Sulūk″ being the most important Sufi poem in Arabic. The ″Wine Ode″ (Al-khamrīyah) is a short poem about mystical love, which in Sufi imagery is likened to wine. The translation of the ″Wine Ode″ is followed by selected portions of the commentary by Dāwūd al-Qayṣarī (d. 747/1345), a supporter of Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn al-ʻArabī′s mystical doctrines. As Homerin explains, the commentary gives us an idea about the interpretative strategies used by Sufis. He notes that this poem could be read as a classical Arabic wine and love poem, without the mystical dimension.

It is hard to translate poetry; all the more so when the texts are the difficult and beautiful mystical poetry composed in Arabic in the Middle Ages. I have compared many verses of the original with the translation, and I am deeply impressed at how faithful to the original text and at the same time elegant and lucid the translation is.[7]

Finally, the cover art of the book ought to be mentioned, not only because of its beauty in form and colorful decoration, but because Th. Emil Homerin tells how special this painting is to him. Mark Staff Brandl, an international artist, theorist and critic, who is his friend from childhood, created it. One sees a sort of colorful and imaginative calligraphy echoing the Arabic sounds *ta*, *ti,* and *tu*, the

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[6]Ibn al-Fāriḍ′s use of the feminine gave rise to accusations that he was referring to God in the feminine form.

[7]Only in one place did I not like Homerin′s translation. On p. 215, verse 496, he translates *al-maʻīyah* as ″withness.″ Even the quotation marks do not make this translation seem right. But, of course, it is easier to criticize than to translate.

past tense suffix for the second person masculine and feminine, and then the first person. The artist was inspired by verse 218 of the ″Tā'īyah,″ whose message is that lovers in union transcend duality as ″You,″ and become ″I.″ This is one of the central motifs of the poem.

MAJDĪ ʻABD AL-RASHĪD BAḤR, *Al-Qaryah al-Miṣrīyah fī ʻAṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk, 648–923 H./1250–1517 M.* ([Cairo]: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-ʻĀmmah lil-Kitāb, 1999). Pp. 376.

REVIEWED BY WILLIAM TUCKER, University of Arkansas at Fayetteville

Originally an M.A. thesis in history at al-Minufīyah University (Egypt), the present volume is a study of village life in Egypt from ca. 1250 to 1517. The author seeks to elucidate the role of the Egyptian peasant village in the economy and politics of the Mamluk period through consultation and analysis of major Egyptian Mamluk-era authors in both published works and manuscript sources. The results are presented through the prism of economic, social, cultural, and religious life.

The book consists of an introduction, six chapters, and a conclusion. The source materials include a judicious mixture of chronicles, biographical dictionaries, administrative handbooks, topographical works, travelers′ accounts, etc. Baḥr seems to have used these materials carefully and critically, although the obvious problem is that of ferreting out reliable and substantial information on country dwellers, particularly poor cultivators, from these religiously or politically elite authors.

Chapter 1 provides interesting and useful information about the village administrators, *ʻumdah*s, as well as the village agricultural technical specialist (?), the *khawlī*. Baḥr′s discussion of the latter is particularly interesting because it provides insight into the knowledge and planning involved in cultivation in Mamluk Egypt, as well as peasant perceptions of this official and, for that matter, the *ʻumdah*s.

Chapter 2 details the various forms of *dawāwīn, iqṭā*ʻs, and *awqāf* present in Egypt during this period. Although the information here is clearly of value, the informed reader will recognize much of it from previous studies, e.g., those of Professors Sato, Ayalon, etc. The chapter concludes with some mention of individually-owned land, but, probably because the sources available do not contain nearly as much information on this issue as one would like, the author furnishes much less information here than the present reviewer would like to have seen.

Baḥr devotes Chapter 3 to an examination of the Mamluk feudal system and to the various officials involved in its performance and maintenance. The discussion

of the activities of the *nāẓir*s, the *mustawfī,* and other officials, whether administrative, technical, or fiscal, is interesting and offers insight into the ways in which peasants were controlled, disciplined, and, indeed, exploited. In many respects this section is the most valuable part of the book because of its actual engagement with peasant life and the methods of control exerted by Mamluk feudal interests operating in the countryside.

In Chapter 4 the author investigates such issues as irrigation, crops planted, and markets, and inevitably, the range of disasters and catastrophes that blighted the lives and livelihoods of Egyptian rural dwellers. On the latter point, the materials cited are useful but betray a surprising unfamiliarity with some of the basic secondary sources that deal with these serious problems (as, for example, this reviewer′s own study of disasters and Mamluk peasants published more than twenty years ago in *JESHO,* in 1981, to be exact).

Chapters 5 and 6 offer the reader some insight into social life, daily existence, and religious identity and worship in the countryside. We learn, for instance, about the work, homes, and health problems of Mamluk-era peasants. In this respect, Baḥr′s work complements the writings of some Western scholars about European peasant life. The contents of Chapter 6 particularly, while interesting, do not add substantially to what we already know about mosques and churches in Egypt during this period, although the detailed treatment of rural Christians′ religious institutions is valuable.

All in all, this book constitutes a serious attempt to illuminate the economic and social base of Egyptian society in a very important era and, as a result, merits a careful reading. That being said, there are obvious problems with this volume. First of all, the information presented by many of the Mamluk authors is, not surprisingly, very sketchy and ultimately tells us more about the Mamluk masters than about their peasant producers. Secondly, the present author′s impressive knowledge of the primary source material is not matched by a parallel awareness or utilization of modern studies, especially those of non-Egyptian scholars. If nothing else, a rapid perusal of the bibliographies provided in *The Cambridge History of Egypt,* Volume 1, should have offered valuable assistance in such an effort.

I readily understand the problems of procuring books from countries other than one′s own, but I feel quite certain that at the very least *The Cambridge History of Egypt,* if not other sources, must be available in Egyptian academic libraries. It is important that we all, wherever we are, try to learn from and utilize all of the available scholarship regardless of its country of origin. That is, in the final analysis, the impetus for the *Mamlūk Studies Review*′s admirable policy of offering reviews of so many books on the Mamluks coming from the contemporary Arab world.

List of Recent Publications

Aḥmad, ʻUmar ibn Aḥmad, *Kashf al-Ḥujub fīmā Qayyamahu al-Dhahabī min al-Kutub*. Riyadh: Dār al-Miʻrāj al-Dawlīyah lil-Nashr, 2000. Pp. 382.

Anṣārī, Khālid ibn Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī, *Itḥāf al-ʻIbād bi-al-Aḥādīth Allatī Takallama ʻalayhā Ibn al-Qayyim fī Zād al-Maʻād*. Riyadh: Dār Ṭuwayq lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʻ, 2002. Pp. 318.

Ibn al-Nafīs, ʻAlī ibn Abī al-Ḥazm, *Al-Shāmil fī al-Ṣināʻah al-Ṭibbīyah*. Edited by Yūsuf Zaydān. Abu Dhabi: al-Majmaʻ al-Thaqāfī, 2000. 13 vols. in 12.

Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʻUmarī, Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyá. *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*. Edited by ʻAbd Allāh ibn Yaḥyá al-Sarīḥī. Abu Dhabi: al-Majmaʻ al-Thaqāfī, 2000–3–. 10 vols.

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī, *Ajwibat al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī ʻalá As'ilat baʻḍ Talāmidhatih: min al-Majmūʻah Raqm (1) ilá al-Majmūʻah Raqm (10); Wa-Yalīhi Ajwibat al-Ḥāfiẓ al-ʻIrāqī ʻalá As'ilat Tilmīdhihi al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī*. Edited by ʻAbd al-Raḥīm ibn Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Qashqarī. Riyadh: Aḍwā' al-Salaf, 2003. Pp. 173.

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī, *Nukat ʻalá Kitāb Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ*. Edited by Rabīʻ ibn Hādī ʻUmayr. ʻAjmān, U.A.E.: Maktabat al-Furqān, 2003. 2 vols.

Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, *Al-Manhaj al-Qawīm bi-Sharḥ Masā'il al-Taʻlīm; Wa-maʻahu Ḥāshiyat al-Jarhazī li-ʻAbd Allāh ibn Sulaymān al-Jarhazī*. Jiddah: Dār al-Minhāj lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʻ, 2004. 2 vols.

Ibn Rajab, ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad, *Majmūʻ Rasā'il al-Ḥāfiẓ ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī*. Edited by Abū Muṣʻab Ṭalʻat ibn Fu'ād al-Ḥulwānī. Cairo: al-Fārūq al-Ḥadīthah lil-Ṭibāʻah wa-al-Nashr, 2002. 4 vols.

Ibn Shaybān, Aḥmad Sālim, *Al-Wujūd al-Mamlūkī fī al-Yaman, 921–945 H./1515–1538 M*. [Aden]: Jāmiʻat ʻAdan, 2002. Pp. 233.

Ibn Taymīyah, Aḥmad ibn ʻAbd al-Ḥalīm, *Al-Madākhil ilá Āthār Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyah wa Mā Laḥiqahā min Aʻmal*. Edited by Bakr ibn ʻAbd Allāh Abū Zayd. Mecca: Dār ʻĀlam al-Fawā'id lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʻ, 1422–24. 11 vols.

IBN TAYMĪYAH, AḤMAD IBN ʻABD AL-ḤALĪM, *Al-Risālah al-Ṣafadīyah: Qāʻidah fī Taḥqīq al-Risālah wa-Ibṭāl Qawl Ahl al-Zaygh wa-al Ḍalālah*. Edited by Abū ʻAbd Allāh Sayyid ibn ʻAbbās al-Jalīmī. Riyadh: Aḍwā' al-Salaf, 2002. Pp. 618.

NUWAYRĪ, MUḤAMMAD IBN MUḤAMMAD, *Sharḥ al-Durrah al-Muḍiyah fī al-Qirā'āt al-Thalāth al-Marwīyah.* Edited by ʻAbd al-Rāfiʻ ibn Raḍwān ibn ʻAlī al-Sharqāwī. Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 2003. 2 vols.

ṢAFADĪ, KHALĪL IBN AYBAK, *Law'at al-Shākī wa-Damʻat al-Bākī.* Edited by Muḥammad ʻĀyish. Damascus: Dār al-Awā'il, 2003.

Arabic Transliteration System

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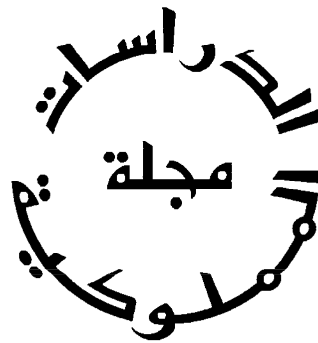
ء	ʼ	خ	kh	ش	sh	غ	gh	م	m
ب	b	د	d	ص	ṣ	ف	f	ن	n
ت	t	ذ	dh	ض	ḍ	ق	q	ه	h
ث	th	ر	r	ط	ṭ	ك	k	و	w
ج	j	ز	z	ظ	ẓ	ل	l	ي	y
ح	ḥ	س	s	ع	ʻ				
		ة	h, t (in construct)			ال	al-		

ـَ	a	ـُ	u	ـِ	i
ـً	an	ـٌ	un	ـٍ	in
آ	ā	ـُو	ū	ـِي	ī
ـَا	ā	ـُوّ	ūw	ـِيّ	īy (medial), ī (final)
ى	á	ـَو	aw	ـَي	ay
				ـَيّ	ayy

Capitalization in romanized Arabic follows the conventions of American English; the definite article is always lower case, except when it is the first word in an English sentence. The *hamzah* is not represented when beginning a word, following a prefixed preposition or conjunction, or following the definite article. Assimilation of the *lām* of the definite article before ″sun″ letters is disregarded. Final inflections of verbs are retained, except in pausal form; final inflections of nouns and adjectives are not represented, except preceding suffixes and except when verse is romanized. Vocalic endings of pronouns, demonstratives, prepositions, and conjunctions are represented. The hyphen is used with the definite article, conjunctions, inseparable prepositions, and other prefixes. Note the exceptional treatment of the preposition *li-* followed by the article, as in *lil-sulṭān*. Note also the following exceptional spellings: Allāh, billāh, lillāh, bismillāh, mi'ah, ibn (for both initial and medial forms). Words not requiring diacritical marks, though following the conventions outlined above, include all Islamic dynasties, as well as the following terms: Quran, sultan, amir, imam, shaykh, Sunni, Shiʻi, Sufi. Common place-names should take the common spelling in American English. Names of archaeological sites should follow the convention of the excavator.

MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW

VI



2002

Middle East Documentation Center (MEDOC)
The University of Chicago

MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW

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Mamlūk Studies Review is an annual refereed journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648-922/1250-1517). The goals of *Mamlūk Studies Review* are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, nurture communication within the field, and promote further research by encouraging the critical discussion of all aspects of this important medieval Islamic polity. The journal will include both articles and reviews of recent books. Submissions of original work on any aspect of the field are welcome, although the editorial board will periodically issue volumes devoted to specific topics and themes. *Mamlūk Studies Review* also solicits edited texts and translations of shorter Arabic source materials (*waqf* deeds, letters, *fatāwá* and the like), and encourages discussions of Mamluk era artifacts (pottery, coins, etc.) that place these resources in wider contexts. Transliterated Middle Eastern languages should conform to the system utilized by the Library of Congress. All questions regarding style should be resolved through reference to *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th edition. All submissions should be typed double-spaced. Submissions must be made on labeled computer disk together with a printed copy. The print copy should have full and proper diacritics, but the disk copy should have no diacritics of any kind.

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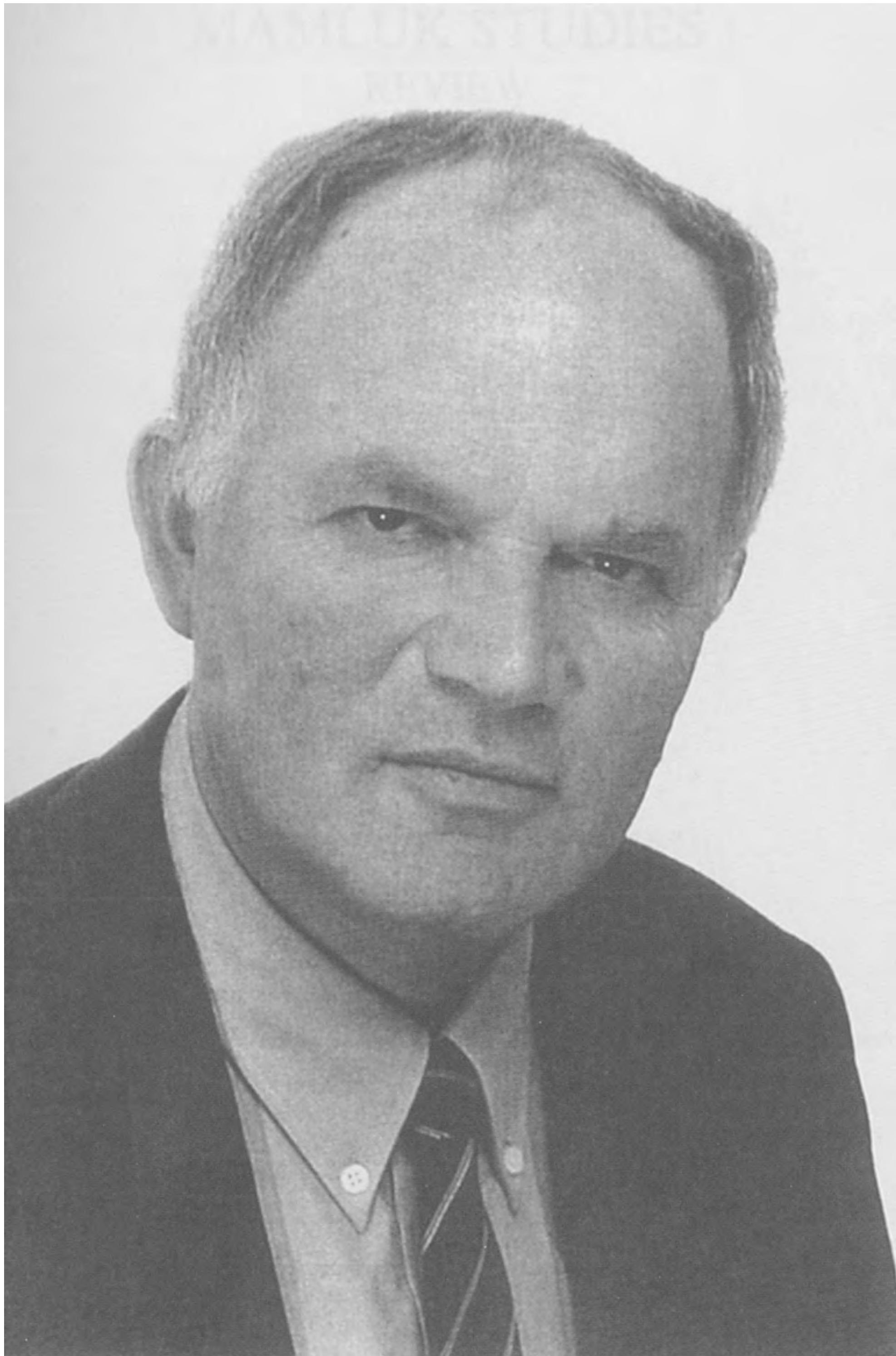
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ULRICH HAARMANN

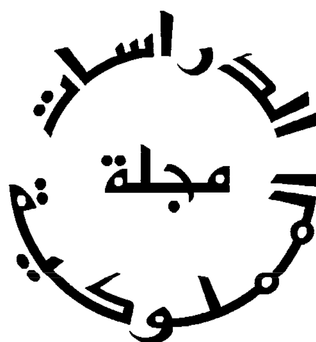
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Nihil est melius quam vita diligentissima

وَقُلْ رَبِّ زِدْنِي عِلْماً



MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW



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Articles

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W. W. Clifford
The University of Chicago

″Mediators and Wanderers″: Ulrich Haarmann and Mamluk Studies

The recent and untimely passing of Ulrich Haarmann, Director for Modern Oriental Studies at the University of Berlin, has not only deprived *Islamwissenschaft* of one of its greatest modern influences but the field of Mamluk Studies of one of its most important Continental exponents. For while the corpus of Haarmann′s scholarship was predictably wide-ranging in the time-honored Orientalist tradition, his reputation rested primarily on the bedrock of his published dissertation on early Mamluk historiography.[1] Indeed, his many subsequent contributions to the general study of Mamluk civilization may be said to have characterized the main thrust of his scholastic career. Haarmann felt that a ″deeper understanding″ of the general ″Mamluk phenomenon″ could be achieved by studying particularly the interrelationship of Mamluks and non-Mamluks. However, he believed that it was ″[e]qually critical″ to analyze the ″relationship between Mamluk fathers and their non-Mamluk descendants, the so-called *awlād al-nās*. . . .″[2] To that end, Haarmann insinuated in the late 1980s that one of his primary ambitions as an historian was to produce ultimately a ″comprehensive study of [the] military, economic, and cultural standing . . . from 1250 to 1517″ of this vital but little-understood stratum of medieval Syro-Egyptian society.[3] A culturally as well as ethnically hybridized group, the *awlād al-nās* fulfilled a crucial social function as ″mediators and wanderers between the foreign [Turco-Circassian] elite and the local Arabic-speaking population of Egypt and Syria.″[4]

That Haarmann, a philologist by training, should take such a keen interest in culture is unsurprising. Since the early nineteenth century, language and culture have been closely intertwined in the German *wissenschaftlich* tradition, especially in the works of such lights as Johann Gottfried von Herder, Wilhelm von Humboldt,

[1]Ulrich Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit*, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 1, 2nd ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1970).

[2]Haarmann, review of *The Age of the Crusades: the Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517*, by Peter M. Holt and *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382*, by Robert Irwin, *Journal of Semitic Studies* 32 (1987): 382–83.

[3]Haarmann, ″Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage: Mamluks and Their Sons in the Intellectual Life of Fourteenth-Century Egypt and Syria,″ *Journal of Semitic Studies* 33 (1988): 104, n. 111.

[4]Haarmann, review of *The Age of the Crusades,* 383.

Jacob Grimm, and Franz Bopp. Indeed, theoretical advances in historical linguistics have often foreshadowed the development of related ideas in social and cultural anthropology.[5] Thus, while Haarmann praised the philologist Helmut Ritter, best known perhaps for his association with *Bibliotheca Islamica*, as ″the most important German Orientalist of our century,″ he also acknowledged the singular achievement of Carl Heinrich Becker in introducing critical method into the study of Islamic history.[6] One-time Prussian Minister of Culture and a founding father of *Der Islam,* Becker argued that Islamic cultural systems were capable of producing dynamic socioeconomic change. His adaptation of the idea of ″cultural circles″—the grouping of related cultural traits derived from the *Kulturkreis* theory prominent in contemporary *mitteleuropäisch* ethnology and anthropogeography—seems to have been particularly revelatory to Haarmann, for whom *Sozialgeschichte* seems to have been largely the product of *Kultur* anyway. Certainly, his belief in a pre-logical concept like the *kollektiv Bewusstsein der Zeit* as a source of historical change invokes the same *Volksgeist* of the *Kulturkreis*—the fundamental psychic principle shaping the traits of the ″cultural circle.″[7] Indeed, Haarmann′s cataloging of the various traits of the *awlād al-nās* could be interpreted as an effort at decoding their *Weltanschauung,* another configurative concept of Austro-German culture-area theory.[8]

Empowered by the synergistic relationship between *Philiologie* and *Kulturgeschichte,* Haarmann came to notice in Mamluk historical texts how a relatively small, discrete social group—*awlād al-nās*—occupied a unique and strategic nexus in Mamluk civilization, bridging the cultural interstices between the alien-extracted *umarā*' (their own fathers) and the indigenous ulama (their colleague/competitors). The lack of meaningful scholarship about these people, he believed, was the outcome chiefly of an historiographical bottleneck created initially in the medieval period by ″non-Mamluk scholars″ attempting to communicate what they believed was the cultural irrelevance of the *nās* and *awlād al-nās*. Haarmann sought actively to counteract the ″bias″ he detected in this discursive, ulama-authored literature by drawing attention to the importance of more objective archival materials.[9]

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[5]Alan Barnard, *History and Theory in Anthropology* (Cambridge, 2000), 48.

[6]Haarmann, ″L′orientalisme allemand,″ *MARS: Le Monde Arabe dans la Recherche Scientifique/The Arab World in Scientific Research/Al-'Ālam al-'Arabī fī al-Baḥth al-'Ilmī* 4 (1994): 75.

[7]Haarmann, ″Einleitung,″ in *Geschichte der arabischen Welt*, ed. Ulrich Haarmann (Munich, 1987), 10.

[8]Barnard, *History and Theory,* 50–51.

[9]Haarmann, ″Arabic in Speech,″ 81.

The endowment deed *(waqfīyah),* for instance, was not only an important—and largely untapped—source for understanding the socioeconomic foundations of cultural institutions in fourteenth and fifteenth century Syro-Egypt but, because it was ″an intrinsically legal genre of writing″ allowed ″no space for manipulation by a scholar. . . .″ They served, moreover, as ″a precious correlate to the often biased reports on academic life and strife found in contemporary . . . literature.″ The deeds studied by Haarmann revealed in particular that while the madrasah, which provided state-sponsored stipends for sufis, served as a physical nexus ″between popular and academic religious life in the time of Barqūq,″ it also segregated members of *awlād al-nās* from participating directly in the cultural life within its precincts.[10] Haarmann drew attention as well to library inventories as portals into the contemporary intellectual and cultural life not only of ulama but also the Mamluks (and presumably their dependents), for whom ″[b]ook-collecting was an expensive yet widespread hobby.″ One such inventory, of the library of a fourteenth-century Jerusalem shaykh, demonstrated significant holdings in sufi-oriented materials but little interest in the very historical literature in which Haarmann himself detected so much bias against the *nās* and *awlād al-nās* .[11]

Despite Haarmann′s best pedagogical efforts, these non-Mamluk progeny have fallen by the scholastic wayside. Largely ignored by David Ayalon, except as military reservists, then ″underestimated″ by Ira Lapidus in terms of their social and cultural significance in Mamluk urban and court life, the *awlād al-nās* experienced not transparency but invisibility as subject matter during the crucial formative years of the field.[12] There has been subsequently little remediation. Even now, an extemporaneous cross-cutting of scholarship on Mamluk administrative, intellectual, socioeconomic, and military subjects reveals few traces of their historical passage. Haarmann′s study of the *awlād al-nās* stands, therefore, as the *ne plus ultra;* of sad necessity, it will remain incomplete. Still, his contributions to date, particularly the several published revisions of a seminal article that achieved final form only in 1998, provide vital insights into the sociocultural processes of this otherwise unheralded group.[13]

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[10]Haarmann, ″Mamluk Endowment Deeds as a Source for the History of Education in Late Medieval Egypt,″ *Al-Abḥāth* 28 (1980): 35–38.

[11]Haarmann, ″Arabic in Speech,″ 93; idem, ″The Library of a Fourteenth Century Jerusalem Scholar,″ *Der Islam* 61 (1984): 327–33.

[12]Haarmann, ″Arabic in Speech,″ 83, n. 5; 105, n. 114.

[13]The article began in 1977 as a conference paper [″Mamluks and *awlād al-nās* in the intellectual life of fourteenth century Egypt and Syria″] delivered at the Seventh Oxford-Pennsylvania History Symposium in Oxford. After two published revisions (1988 and 1995) it achieved its final incarnation as ″Joseph′s law—the careers and activities of Mamluk descendants before the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt,″ in *The Mamluks in Egyptian politics and society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich

Indeed, Haarmann′s self-avowed goal was to detect the ″patterning of . . . non-Mamluk cultural activities.″[14] Whereas their Mamluk fathers had undergone a process of acculturation, these non-Mamluk offspring—the *awlād al-nās*—had had a kind of interculturative experience, wandering between the ″two heterogeneous traditions″ represented by the *umarā*ʾ and ulama. Though not an anthropologist per se, Haarmann was nevertheless seeking to understand the cultural role of one of the chief carriers of social process in the ″highly polarized″ environment of late medieval Syro-Egypt. The *awlād al-nās* functioned primarily as interlocutors *(Dolmetschern)* between the bias of the Arabic-speaking ulama and the parochialism of the Turkish-speaking *umarā*ʾ*,* their placement at the social ″fulcrum″ symbolized by the heraldic emblem of the pen-box. All cultures, of course, undergo a certain degree of internal differentiation. But the *awlād al-nās* appear to have been something more than just culturally different. Haarmann at times gives an impression almost of alienation. For a group trapped eternally between the ″barracks″ *(Kasernen)* and the ″mosque colleges″ *(Moscheehochschulen)* this is not altogether surprising. Haarmann did not believe, however, that the *awlād al-nās* were ″caught helplessly″ between the two cultural camps. He felt that despite the informality of their social status, they at least ″recognized their potential of surviving and indeed thriving as *born* . . . mediators.″ Still, their *Mittlerstellung* could not have been a comfortable cultural space to inhabit.[15]

Overshadowing their medial position were of course the ulama, who flatly ″declared culture and science their own proper domain.″ Because of such absolutist claims to communicative competence the ulama had little incentive to understand the culturally ″other″ in Mamluk society. Even the appearance of Arabic-Qibjaq glossaries and Turkish grammars in early fourteenth-century Syro-Egypt, which Haarmann considered an important potential breakthrough in intercultural *Kommunikation,* did little to stimulate ulama interest in the literary sources of the *Türkentum,* which in addition to their (con)fusion of *Faktum* and *Legende* were viewed as entirely too pagan to be incorporated into the ″hallowed genre of Islamic writing.″ Any possible ″intercultural perspective″ the ulama might have developed naturally ″was stifled by various self-imposed dogmatic restrictions.″[16] These very same ulama, however, were not so shy about generating their own

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Haarmann, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge, 1998): 55–84.

[14]Haarmann, ″Arabic in Speech,″:82.

[15]Ibid., 83; idem, ″Väter und Söhne im Herrschaftssystem der Mamluken,″ *Berliner Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft e.V-Jahrbuch* (1995): 222.

[16]Haarmann, ″Alṭun Ḫān und Čingiz Ḫān bei den ägyptischen Mamluken,″ *Der Islam* 51 (1974): 1–36; idem, ″Arabic in Speech,″ 84, 85.

vehemently anti-Turkish propaganda, accelerating the historical development of ″the traditional stereotype of the Turkish barbarian . . . not only without culture but by their very nature . . . excluded from it.″[17] Neither were they above passing windy judgments even about the use of some of the Turks′ own military equipment. Ulama authors debated whether the preference shown by the Turks for the use of the standard, if foreign, Persian bow constituted unacceptable innovation. But, as this bow helped the Mamluks guarantee the integrity of the *ummah,* it finally passed muster by the ulama.[18]

Haarmann seems to suggest that neither the Mamluks nor their progeny, despite some genuine intellectual capacity, ever succeeded in engendering a more cosmopolitan sensitivity toward their cultural diversity. Language, both written and spoken, created not cultural unity but cultural apartheid within late medieval Syro-Egyptian society. The *awlād al-nās,* whose first language after all was Arabic rather than Turkish, seemed unable to convert their linguistic competence into communicative competence. Though ethnic hybrids themselves with ″unencumbered access . . . and membership rights in . . . the military and civil worlds,″ they failed to negotiate any hybridized cultural rules favoring their communicative equality. What cultural freedom they already enjoyed—to use ″exotic materials without restraint″ in their writings—they failed for the most part to exploit. The ″split identity″ exemplified by the Egyptian chronicler and *walad al-nās* Ibn Aybak al-Dawādārī was, Haarmann regretted, an all-too-rare demonstration of ″the latitudes of eccentricity and independence of mind which the *awlād al-nās* could enjoy . . . if only they were ready to use it.″ [19]

That the monologic ulama found the cultural aspirations of the *nās* and *awlād al-nās* so insubordinate reflects not so much chronic miscommunication or existential crisis as the contrived distortion of cultural politics. Yet, even in an atmosphere of ″petrified conservatism,″ those cultural politics occasionally folded back on themselves. Amidst the general subsidence of intellectual life in fifteenth century Syro-Egypt, Haarmann detected some subtle changes in the normal ″xenophobic″ discourse of the ulama. For instance, the alim Muhibb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Khalīl, better known as Abū Ḥāmid, came to manifest an ″ambivalent attitude″ in his political writings about the culturally ″other″ Turco-Circassians. While initially critical of their vanity, ignorance, and un-shari‘ah-like tendencies, he decided ultimately that the Mamluks were not total boors. It was instead the

[17]Haarmann, ″Ideology and History: Identity and Alterity: The Arab Image of the Turk from the ‘Abbasids to Modern Egypt,″ *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 20 (1988): 183.

[18]Haarmann, ″The late triumph of the Persian bow: critical voices on the Mamluk monopoly on weaponry,″ in *The Mamluks in Egyptian politics and society*, 185–86.

[19]Haarmann, ″Arabic in Speech,″ 101, 110–12.

ulama who were actually ″intolerably self-righteous and pernicious.″ Ergo, Abū Ḥāmid′s famous epithet: ″ẓulm al-turk wa-lā ʻadl al-ʻarab.″ His ″vacillation between denigration and adoration″ typified for Haarmann ″the profound instability″ which existed in relations between the *umarā*ʼ and ulama. The cultural dichotomy reflected in Abū Ḥāmid′s writings condemned him, like any *walad al-nās,* to the ″no-man′s land″ between the ″fortified trenches″ occupied by the *umarā*ʼ*,* on the one hand, and the ulama, on the other.[20]

Such cultural ambivalence resided not only among contemporary Arab ulama but also among some of their Persian and Maghribi colleagues. The Shafiʻi jurist and theologian Faẓl Allāh ibn Rūzbihān Khunjī Iṣfahānī, for instance, though a foreign alim was nevertheless a ″sensitive″ observer of late Mamluk civilization. While not uncritical of all he saw, the erudite Khunjī clearly expressed at times ″pro-Mamluk sentiment,″ praising them not only for their physical defense of Islam but also its cultural support in what he considered to be its true ″homeland″ *(bayẕat al-Islām)*. In fact, Haarmann believed that Khunjī′s masterpiece, the *Tārīkh-i ʻĀlam Ārā-yi Amīnī,* was composed in part to resolve the author′s cultural ambivalence, his ″oscillating and contradictory judgments,″ about Mamluk civilization.[21] The legendary Maghribi alim, Ibn Khaldūn, viewed the Turkish elite of the Mashriq from his own historicist perspective as a natural stage in the development of Arabo-Islamic history, praising them for their combination of true belief and nomadic virtues.[22]

While the Mamluks themselves possessed a certain *Kollektivverhalten,* it is unclear what kind of *Kaste* their offspring formed. Indeed, Haarmann asked in 1988 ″[t]o what degree did [the *awlād al-nās*] form at all a clearly definable separate group . . . ?″[23] A decade later he concluded that because of their ″informal″ social status between two more traditional corporate groups, the *awlād al-nās* lacked any ″tangible collective identity . . . or resulting group solidarity.″[24] Yet, there are other instances when he thought of them as relatively ″well consolidated,″ a ″corporate body,″ even briefly a ″subsidiary″ *Militararistokratie*.[25] In fact, they

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[20]Haarmann, ″′Rather the Injustice of the Turks than the Righteousness of the Arabs′—Changing *ʻUlamā*ʼ Attitudes Towards Mamluk Rule in the Late Fifteenth Century,″ *Studia Islamica* 68 (1988).

[21]Haarmann, ″Yeomanly Arrogance and Righteous Rule: Faẓl Allāh ibn Rūzbihān Khunjī and the Mamluks of Egypt,″ in *Iran and Iranian Studies: Essays in Honor of Iraj Afshar*, ed. Kambiz Eslami (Princeton, 1998): 109–24.

[22]Haarmann, ″Ideology and History,″ 182.

[23]Haarmann, ″Arabic in Speech,” 104.

[24]Haarmann, ″Joseph′s law,″ 83.

[25]Ibid., 66, 77; idem, ″The Sons of Mamluks as Fief-holders in Late Medieval Egypt,″ in *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*, ed. Tarif Khalidi (Beirut, 1984), 143.

probably did not constitute a corporate but rather a social group. Both recruited from birth, had limits to membership, internal structure, common purpose, and possessed a certain longevity. The principal difference lay, however, in perpetuity. The *umarā'* and ulama, because they spanned virtually the whole of Islamic history, are examples of corporate groups. The *awlād al-nās* appear by comparison to have been a much shorter-lived phenomenon, in short, a social group. Even Haarmann had trouble identifying and dating them securely.[26]

While the *awlād al-nās* shared little social solidarity with their ulama colleagues, they did enjoy a certain economic solidarity with their *umarā'* fathers. As internal distributions of *iqṭā'* to both the royal and non-royal *awlād al-nās* declined in the late fourteenth century, forcing a corresponding economic collapse of their social power, they relied more on their fathers' establishment of so-called family *awqāf* to support them. While this conversion of public, often *iqṭā',* land first into private property and then into tax-exempt charitable institutions deprived the military of much of its material base, it "fitted perfectly the needs of Mamluk fathers and their sons." It also had the effect at least in medieval Cairo of creating an unexpected but "important link" among the Mamluks, their non-Mamluk offspring, and local learned civilians. In the real estate business servicing this conversion of private estates into pious foundations, the *awlād al-nās* may have taken the opportunity to expand their definition of interlocutor to include "broker."[27]

How did the fathers of the *awlād al-nās* figure into their sons *Weltanshauung*? Haarmann believed that while they were probably more consciously affected by the ill-will *(Ressentiment)* of local civilians, many turned intentionally toward the civilian world, eager to eschew "a world smelling of horses, sweat and weaponry."[28] This was probably easier to do in Syria than Egypt, Haarmann thought, given the gravitational pull of the "parental Turkish heritage" exerted by the court in Cairo and the relatively more developed social power of the Syrian ulama.[29] Some went so far as to disavow their fathers' Hanafi "Turkish" *madhhab,* though they may have been drawn back together again by their mutual attraction to sufism.[30] Did disaffected *awlād al-nās* ever embrace the traditional Arabo-Islamic cultural beliefs in individual honor, freedom, and egalitarianism that contradicted the values of their fathers' slave/client subculture?

Sadly, Haarmann's coda to his own study of the *awlād al-nās* seems unnecessarily pessimistic—that "the 'culture' of the Mamluks will remain largely inaccessible

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[26]Haarmann, "Sons of Mamluks," 147; idem, "Joseph's law," 61.

[27]Haarmann, "Joseph's law," 71–76; idem, "Sons of Mamluks," 161.

[28]Haarmann, "Väter und Söhne," 224; idem, "Joseph's law," 78.

[29]Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech," 110.

[30]Haarmann, "Joseph's law," 78–79.

and elusive to us″ because of scholarly bias in the primary sources.[31] Perhaps. But Haarmann′s thoughtful decoding of those ″mediators and wanderers″ has already suggested some deeper implications not only about the long-range intelligibility of that ″culture″ but about the constant value of his own scholarship. He makes us see, foremost, that the structure of Mamluk society was epiphenomenal, an unintended consequence of the intersubjective struggle in late medieval Syro-Egypt to define and redefine communicative competence among the *nās, awlād al-nās,* and ulama. Though confronted by both cultural options—e.g., exploiting ″exotic materials″—and social circumscriptions—e.g., having Turkish mothers—the *awlād al-nās* were clearly not functionalist automata but rather interactionist strategizers. Haarmann was not perhaps as self-conscious a social theorist as, say, Ira Lapidus, but his instinctive interactionism stands up well against Lapidus′s elaborated structural-functionalism. Haarmann′s interest in interpreting cultural patterns rather than explaining social laws, his close collaboration of cultural anthropology and history, his focus on the dynamic process of negotiating cultural meaning rather than on the customary stasis of maintaining social structure all serve to mark his primary intellectual contribution as such.

[31]Haarmann, ″Arabic in Speech,″ 85.

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Notes on Mamluk Madrasahs

The core of Ulrich Haarmann´s diverse scholarly interests was his fascination with the literary sources for Mamluk history. His pioneering research on various forms of Mamluk literature—chronicles, travelogues, biographies, religious tracts, *furūsīyah* manuals, etc.—is indispensable for scholars.[1] Not so well known, however, is his occasional interest in documentary sources, most notably in two articles published in the eighties, one entitled ˝Mamluk Endowment Deeds as Sources for the History of Education in Late Medieval Egypt.˝[2] This article reflects the increasing interest given to the history of Mamluk institutions by scholars during the past two decades, using to some degree *waqfīyah*s as primary sources.[3] In the present article I shall assemble some data on Mamluk madrasahs from two secondary sources that have been neglected and which help fill in some of the gaps left by *waqfīyah*s. One of these is al-Asyūṭī´s fifteenth century *shurūṭ* manual devised for judges, witnesses, and notaries in preparing legal documents;[4] the other is al-Nuwayrī´s chronicle contained in his encyclopedia written in the early fourteenth century for the use of chancery clerks.[5]

[1]For his publications see Stephan Conermann, ˝Ulrich Haarmann, 1942–1999,˝ *Mamlūk Studies Review 4* (2000): 6–25.

[2]*Al-Abḥāth* 28 (1980): 31–47. The other is ˝The Library of a Fourteenth-Century Jerusalem Scholar,˝ in *Palestine,* vol. 1, *Jerusalem,* The Third International Conference on Bilād al-Shām (Amman, 1983), 105–10; reprinted in *Der Islam* 61 (1984): 327–33.

[3]E.g., Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Itjimā'īyah fī Miṣr 648–923 H./1250–1517 M.* (Cairo, 1980); Kāmil Jamīl al-'Asalī, *Ma'āhid al-'Ilm fī Bayt al-Maqdis* (Amman, 1981); Leonor Fernandes, *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt: the Khanqah* (Berlin, 1988); Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton, 1989); Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt´s Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994).

[4]*Jawāhir al-'Uqūd wa-Mu'īn al-Quḍāh wa-al-Muwaqqi'īn wa-al-Shuhūd,* ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī (Cairo, 1955).

[5]Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923–).

AL-ASYŪṬĪ´S MODEL

In several publications I have used al-Asyūṭī´s *Jawāhir* as a basis for comparing juristic formulations of how legal documents should be prepared with the actual practice of notaries and judges in late fourteenth-century Jerusalem. [6] I have found that despite variations, documents consistently conform to juristic models. Although it would be interesting to compare and analyze any number of extant Mamluk *waqfīyah*s with al-Asyūṭī´s models, such an exercise, I am convinced, would probably confirm my earlier conclusions. Instead, focusing on al-Asyūṭī´s model for endowing a madrasah I shall summarize what he thought an ideal Mamluk college might be and, at the same time, draw attention to his descriptions of certain positions mentioned in such documents.

Himself a Shafi‘i, al-Asyūṭī states at the outset that his model could serve for any of the legal schools.[7] He devotes little space to the physical aspects of the building, satisfied with the general comment that ″it is to be described and delineated in full . . . along with every place endowed for it.″[8] As we shall see, al-Asyūṭī also covers the possibility that the endower might choose to attach subsidiary educational facilities to the madrasah proper, namely a school for orphans and institutes for teaching the Quran and reciting hadith. He might also endow books for the madrasah. But the author´s main interest lies in the personnel of the madrasah and its adjuncts: their duties, functions, and qualifications. These personnel are not discussed systematically but for our purposes can be divided into administrators, educational and devotional staff, and custodians.

ADMINISTRATORS OF THE MADRASAH

The endower *(wāqif),* who for charitable purposes and an afterlife in paradise provides the inalienable funds for the institution, bears ultimate responsibility for administering it, but he can be, and often is, represented by a controller *(nāẓir)*:

> The controller is in charge of the interests of the madrasah, its maintenance, and that of its endowments, along with obtaining its rents, revenues, and profits and disbursing them for legal expenses.[9]

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[6]E.g., ″Documents Related to the Estates of a Merchant and His Wife in Late Fourteenth-Century Jerusalem,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 93–193; cf. idem, ″The Nature of *Khānqāhs, Ribāṭs,* and *Zāwiyas* under the Mamlūks,″ in *Islamic Studies Presented to Charles J. Adams,* ed. Wael B. Hallaq and Donald P. Little (Leiden, 1991), 91–106.

[7]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir,* 1:342, 343.

[8]Ibid., 342.

[9]Ibid., 343.

In addition to the initial paper work, his duties begin with construction of the building, its maintenance, repair, and improvement, in which he may be assisted by a manager *(mutawallī)*. In addition, the controller disburses an annual amount for furnishings and supplies, including carpets and mats, oil and lamps. He is expected to be present at the madrasah on class days in order to insure that the teachers, students, and functionaries perform their duties according to the stipulations of the *waqf*.[10] He can also be assisted by a revenue collector *(jābī)*.

Teachers, Students, and Devotional Staff

Al-Asyūṭī´s madrasah is staffed by a professor *(mudarris)* supported by ten teaching assistants *(mu'īdūn),* and a factotum *(naqīb)* who distributes sections of the Quran to the students on class days. This staff is responsible for teaching fifty students *(faqīh)* who are divided into ten beginners *(mubtadi'ūn),* twenty intermediates *(mutawassiṭūn),* and twenty finalists *(muntahūn)*.[11] Although al-Asyūṭī does not say so, these numbers should be regarded as examples since they obviously depend on the revenue from the endowment, and, as is well known, many Mamluk madrasahs had four professors, one for each school of jurisprudence. In any case, all of the students and the staff were to receive a salary or stipend as stipulated in the actual deed, to be determined, presumably, by the endower and disbursed by the controller.

> The professor is to sit with his students in the qiblah section of the madrasah for one hundred of the customary class days of the spring and autumn, conducting lessons for the students in the applications *(furū')* of *fiqh* and other sciences as stipulated by the endower. When the professor has completed his lessons, each of the ten teaching assistants presides over five students and repeats and discusses the lessons with them, causing them to understand what they find difficult.[12]

Once a year the finalists and intermediates are required to repeat what they have memorized to the professor, whilst the beginners are obliged to demonstrate their writing skills once a month. Unfortunately al-Asyūṭī says nothing further about the curriculum of the madrasah, but the fact that it is associated with a school of law and that the professor teaches applications of *fiqh* indicates that law continued

[10]Ibid., 345.
[11]Ibid., 343.
[12]Ibid., 344.

to play a central role, similar, perhaps, to its importance in the Saljuq colleges researched by George Makdisi.[13]

Two persons are assigned to the madrasah to conduct prayers. Each of these imams is to lead assembled Muslims, including the staff and students of the madrasah, in the five daily prayers as well as special nighttime prayers in Ramaḍān. He should be assisted by the muezzin, who is responsible both for proclaiming the public invitation to the five daily prayers and performing them behind the imam and transmitting them to the worshippers. He pronounces the amen after supplicatory prayers and glorification of God *(takbīr)* after the Ramaḍān prayers.[14] Provision for public prayers in the madrasah supports Amīn's observation that Mamluk madrasahs took on many of the devotional activities of mosques.[15]

Custodians

Most prominent of those charged with the upkeep of the madrasah is the architect *(mi'mār).* He is responsible for building and maintaining the madrasah and those structures which constitute its endowment. Specifically he supervises the construction workers and purchases their supplies—both tools and materials such as wood, stone, stucco, dirt, etc.[16] Next in importance is the doorkeeper *(bawwāb),* if only because he controls and limits access to the building:

> . . . he prevents all from entering except students, salaried employees, and worshippers. He does not permit common folk and plebeians to sleep or settle in the madrasah or to engage in play, talk, or sport. Nor will he permit any common people or anyone else who is not employed by the *waqf* to use the ablution facilities. . . .[17]

Obviously, then, the madrasah was to be reserved for the exclusive use of the teachers and students, except for worshippers at times of prayer only, and it was the doorkeeper's duty to insure this character of the building. To keep it clean, swept, washed, and illuminated, al-Asyūṭī's model appoints a janitor *(qā'im).*

Oddly enough, al-Asyūṭī gives more detail regarding the personnel and activities of the adjunct educational institutions than he does about the college itself. Each of these facilities is to be closely administered and supervised by the controller of the madrasah.

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[13]See *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh, 1981).

[14]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir,* 1:344.

[15]*Al-Awqāf,* 227–28.

[16]Al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir,* 1:343, 345.

[17]Ibid., 344.

School for Orphans *(Maktab Aytām)*

If the endower provides for a school for orphans, it can be placed over the portal of the madrasah or elsewhere in the building. Here an unspecified number of poor and needy Muslim [orphan] boys who have not yet attained puberty are taught memorization of the Quran by a teacher *(mu'addib),* assisted by a tutor *(ʻārif).* Classes are held six days a week, with Fridays and Tuesday and Thursday afternoons free.[18] Al-Asyūṭī stipulates that the teacher is to be "a good and religious man, virtuous and chaste, who has memorized the Book of God and is of good fortune."[19] As for methods of instruction, the Quran is to be taught by "inculcation *(talqīn),* memorization *(taḥfīẓ),* and repetition *(murājaʻah),* by repeating and correcting the verses until the boy knows and can repeat the verse himself."[20] But the curriculum of the school is not restricted to memorization of the Quran, for the students are also taught "to read and write, make excerpts from books, and perform ablutions and prayers in the school at the specified times."[21] When students reach maturity, the controller replaces them with those who have not. A boy who completes memorization before puberty remains at the school until he has attained it . Both the staff and the students receive daily rations of bread in addition to salaries for the former and spending money for the latter, with special disbursements on religious holidays. Supplies such as pens, ink, inkwells, and tablets are to be provided to the orphans plus a full set of seasonal clothing:

> Winter: a chemise, drawers, a cotton *jubbah,* a fur, a blue wool cap, and black Bulgarian leather sandals. Summer: a chemise, drawers, a white *jubbah* of beaten cotton, a cap, and yellow sandals.[22]

Although there is no suggestion that the *maktab* might provide candidates for admission to the madrasah, this possibility should not be overlooked. By the same token, *maktab* graduates might be able to enrol in either of the two departments which the endower might establish at the madrasah.

[18]Ibid., 345.
[19]Ibid., 346.
[20]Ibid.
[21]Ibid., 346–47.
[22]Ibid., 346.

Quran Academy *(Dār lil-Qur'ān al-'Aẓīm)*
This academy is designed to train experts in the seven recitations of the Holy Book. The students practice daily under the supervision of a shaykh and give recitals every day after supplications for divine rewards for the endower, his family, and the Muslim dead in general. The pious and virtuous shaykh should have memorized the Quran and be ″proficient in delivering the seven recitations in the manner in which Gabriel recited to the Prophet.″[23] He might have ten students, all of whom have already memorized the Quran and now embark on advanced study of Quranic sciences and recitations under his supervision. When the students successfully complete their studies, they are awarded a license *(ijāzah) b*y the shaykh and are promoted to the position of reciter *(muqri')* in the academy. There they serve for as long as funds are available for their stipends from the endowment and for the new students who replace them. Thus, al-Asyūṭī states, the devotional and educational activities of the academy will be perpetuated. Funds are to be provided for a janitor *(qā'im)*.

Center for Prophetic Tradition *(Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Sharīf al-Nabawī)*
Unlike the madrasah, the Orphan School, and the Quran Academy, the Hadith Center was apparently designed for strictly devotional, as opposed to educational, purposes. Thus there was no teaching staff, only hadith reciters; al-Asyūṭī gives twenty as an example; they sit seven days a week, either in the center itself if there is a special chamber or on seats in the madrasah, reciting traditions to those Muslims who had gathered there. These readings were to be performed

> correctly and precisely, without solecisms or alterations, from noble works such as the *Ṣaḥīḥ*s of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, al-Baghawī′s *Al-Maṣābīḥ*, al-Nawawī′s *Al-Adhkār,* and other books transmitted from virtuous scholars as well as eloquent and excellent exhortations.[24]

Some Mamluk madrasahs did contain several of these elements. Quite common, moreover, were institutions that combined Sufi devotional practices with the educational activities of madrasahs and the prayers and sermons of the mosque. These institutions have been studied from several points of view.[25] Moreover, in

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[23]Ibid., 347.

[24]Ibid., 348–49.

[25]See Amīn, *Al-Awqāf,* 238–40; Fernandes, *Evolution,* 33–46; Berkey, *Transmission,* 44–94; Th. Emil Homerin, ″Saving Muslim Souls: The *Khānqāh* and the Sufi Duty in Mamluk Lands,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 59–84.

his model *waqfīyah* for *khānqāh*s, al-Asyūṭī provides for the possibility that the four schools of jurisprudence might be taught there as well as ″grammar, linguistics, exegesis, Arabic, prosody, hadith, and other sciences that it is legally permissible to study.″[26] In this respect it is to be stressed that al-Asyūṭī did not intend to describe any specific institution but merely to provide models covering eventualities. Nevertheless, they do give insight into the desired nature and milieux of education in Mamluk madrasahs.

Al-Nuwayrī′s Chronicle

Almost two-thirds of al-Nuwayrī′s comprehensive encyclopedia for chancery clerks and scribes is devoted to regional annals of Muslim territories. The long section on Egypt begins with the Tulunids and ends in 731/1331. Al-Nuwayrī is important for us because he held positions in the bureaucracy that enabled him to gain and record first-hand information about the administration of royal endowments. Furthermore, he was not reluctant to judge what he observed with a critical eye. Thus in 703/1303–4 he relates that he became ″an administrator in the Bureau of Royal Crown Property of Egypt and elsewhere,″ and took up residence in the newly opened Madrasah Nāṣirīyah.[27] There, as an official in this bureau, he observed how the *waqf* for the madrasah was administered by virtue of his access to its endowment deeds. This experience he used as the basis of his account of the madrasah in the *Nihāyah*.[28] This institution had a checkered history as we shall see from al-Nuwayrī himself. Significantly, for the study of endowment deeds as sources for institutional history, al-Nuwayrī states that he decided to summarize the *waqfīyah* for the Madrasah-Turbah of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad faithfully, ″in spite of its length and deviation from the chronological order [of the annal],″ because, he says,

> in similar cases, after an extended passage of time, *waqfīyah*s have been concealed so that knowledge of the endowments and stipulations fades. Furthermore, after bandying these deeds and stipulations about among themselves the supervisors and administrators appropriate the endowments and change the disbursements contrary to the stipulations of the *waqf,* using custom as a pretext. Thus the endower′s intentions are abandoned in favor of the administrators′ opinions and ″customary expenses.″[29]

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[26]Cited in Little, ″Nature of *Khānqāhs,″* 99.
[27]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 32:73.
[28]Ibid.
[29]Ibid., 63.

Here, then, is an explicit warning that *waqfīyah*s in general contain only the intentions of the endower without guarantee that they will be observed. This is true, al-Nuwayrī states, even during the endower's lifetime, even, moreover, if he be the sultan:

> I was confirmed in the decision [to reproduce the terms of the endowment] by what happened in this blessed [Nāṣirīyah] madrasah from the very beginning, despite the endower's remaining alive, despite ample reason to scrutinize it, despite the appointment of chief judges, notable ulama and distinguished jurisprudents to teach there. All this notwithstanding, the stipulation of the endower was violated in many respects, and the salaries fell short of the endower's provisions, even though there was a surplus of funds. . . .[30]

Before examining the infractions we shall look at al-Nuwayrī's version of the history of the madrasah and its endowment deed. As is well known, the original tomb-college complex had been endowed and partially constructed by the sultan Kitbughā during his short reign (694–96/1294–96). After his deposition, work ceased until 698/1298–99, when al-Nāṣir returned to power. With the advice of chief qadi Zayn al-Dīn ibn Makhlūf, controller of royal properties, the sultan bought the building and endowed it with a monthly income of 18,000 dirhams from rents in Cairo and environs alone. According to al-Nuwayrī, only two days before al-Nāṣir's departure for Syria in 698 to meet the Ilkhan Ghāzān in battle, this same Ibn Makhlūf had himself, and his descendants, appointed as controllers of the *waqf* and as professors of Maliki jurisprudence in the madrasah. But this audacious action in the judge's favor emboldened one of his assistants in the Crown Property Bureau, Shams al-Dīn ibn ʿUbādah, to advise the sultan to change the terms of the *waqfīyah* in such a way that it would not exclude the sultan and his freed eunuchs from the benefits of the endowment. This the sultan did and replaced Ibn Makhlūf as controller by al-Nāṣir's freed eunuch, al-Ṭawāshī al-Amīr Shujāʿ al-Dīn ʿAnbar al-Lālā al-Khāzindār, and other Qalawunid freed eunuchs after him.[31] This is not the place to discuss the role of eunuchs in Mamluk endowed institutions;[32] suffice it to say for the time being that ʿAnbar was an extremely powerful individual in the Mamluk state, holding as he did controllership of three

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[30]Ibid.

[31]Ibid., 61–62.

[32]See Shaun Marmon, *Eunuchs and Sacred Boundaries in Islamic Society* (New York, 1995); David Ayalon, *Eunuchs, Caliphs and Sultans: A Study of Power Relationships* (Jerusalem, 1999).

other endowments along with Command of the Prophet′s Eunuchs, Bridle of the Royal Harem, and an Amirate of Ten Eunuchs of his own.[33] When al-Nuwayrī asked Ibn ʻUbādah why he had arranged for the eunuch to replace Ibn Makhlūf as controller of the Madrasah Nāṣirīyah, he replied that he wanted only to requite the qadi for excluding him from the offices of the *waqf*.[34] In any case, this act of spite had adverse consequences, as will be seen below.

Contents of the Revised *Waqfīyah*: Physical Features of the Tomb-College

As was the case with many Mamluk endowments the building contained both a domed mausoleum *(qubbah),* presumably intended for the founder, and a madrasah proper. The madrasah, again according to Mamluk custom, contained four *īwān*s (recessed chambers), each being reserved for the study of jurisprudence according to each of the four dominant legal schools, as well as Quranic exegesis and recitation. It is noteworthy that the choice *īwān*—the *qiblī* (southern)—was designated for the Malikis, perhaps because of Ibn Makhlūf′s influence. This unusual primacy given his school was reinforced when the document was certified by the chief Hanafi judge, stating that ″the magistrate *(ḥākim)* to whom supervision would revert should be a Maliki.″[35] Al-Nuwayrī claims that, perhaps inadvertently, when the madrasah opened the Hanafis and Hanbalis were each mistakenly installed in the *īwān* designated for the other, but this was later rectified.[36] The madrasah was divided into two stories that provided living accommodations for the teaching staff, the students, and imams so that they could ″devote themselves to study of ′the noble science [*fiqh*?].′″[37] It should be remembered, moreover, that al-Nuwayrī himself resided there for a time as an administrator of the endowment. The deed also mentions the use of the building by non-residents and its availability for prayers and other religious duties.[38]

The *Qubbah*

The tomb in the middle of the domed chamber was separate and isolated, being reserved for burials. When the building was opened in 703/1303, al-Nāṣir had the body of his mother moved there and later buried a daughter in the same place.[39] He himself was buried in the complex next door established by his father Qalāwūn.

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[33] Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 33:75.

[34] Ibid., 32:62.

[35] Ibid., 69.

[36] Ibid., 61.

[37] Ibid., 66.

[38] Ibid., 64.

[39] Ibid., 74.

Besides tombs the *qubbah* contained space for prayers and teaching. For these purposes an imam was to be appointed to lead Muslims in prayer five times a day and a shaykh to teach Prophetic tradition. In addition there were to be twenty-five Quran readers who took turns in reciting and in praying for the endower, his family, and Muslims in general.[40] Four freed eunuchs of the sultan or his father were to be assigned to the *qubbah* for unspecified duties. Judging, however, from the example of those eunuchs appointed to the tomb chamber in the Qalāwūn complex, their constant attendance there served as a reminder of the gravitas *(nāmūs)* of the deceased sultan and of the decorum which was to be maintained in the burial chamber.[41] A doorkeeper limited access to the *qubbah* and the madrasah. Two special janitors *(qā'im)* and three caretakers *(farrāsh)* were to be responsible for cleaning and furnishing the chamber, its court, ambulatory, and water basin.[42] The endower instructed that ″the necessary carpets, inlaid candlesticks, brass basins, and other implements be provided,″ such as lamps, water utensils, spittoons, and ″red and white ʻAbadānī mats.″[43]

The Madrasah

The *waqfīyah* actually names the four scholars who were to serve as professors in the madrasah, three of whom were chief qadis, the only exception being the Shafiʻi *mudarris*.[44] These four are designated to teach the applications of *fiqh* at convenient times between sunrise and sunset. Preceding these lessons, each class is to recite passages from the Quran and, following the lessons, conduct prayers for the endower.[45] The controller is to appoint an unspecified number of teaching assistants who are charged, as in al-Asyūṭī′s model,

> to examine their students and to provide explanations and corrections to those who need them, encouraging them to work without stint in extra repetition and explication. . . .[46]

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[40]Ibid., 64.

[41]See Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Cairo, 1854), 2:380.

[42]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 32:65.

[43]Ibid., 74, 66.

[44]Ibid., 60–61.

[45]Ibid., 66–67.

[46]Ibid., 67.

A *naqīb* is also to be appointed, as in al-Asyūṭī´s model, plus a *dā'ī,* presumably one who conducts invocational prayers for the founder and others. For ritual devotions an imam is to be appointed to lead the five daily prayers and to ″perform the duties of the imamate according to madrasah custom.″[47] No less than eight muezzins are to be installed in the madrasah and the *qubbah,* with two chiefs ″familiar with the timing of prayer, responsible not only for the calls to prayer but also assisting in their performance, glorification of God, and commemoration of the dead.″[48] A librarian *(shāhid)* is to be placed in charge of books to insure that they circulate for study only inside the building. In addition to the doorkeeper, who is to deny access to suspicious characters and curiosity seekers, a wheel-driver *(sawwāq)* is to oversee the waterworks for the building, and the controller is to disburse funds for, among other things, Nile water to fill the cisterns.[49]

FINANCES

Whereas al-Asyūṭī´s model does not itemize any financial details of a model madrasah, al-Nuwayrī provides full details for the Nāṣirīyah Madrasah. There is no need to reproduce his list of all the properties in Egypt and Syria along with their revenues for the benefit of the institution. But it is noteworthy that al-Nuwayrī points out an error in the delineation of its resources: the property in question was not endowed in toto but

> was among the property inherited by the sultan al-Nāṣir from his father Qalāwūn and other family members, amounting to approximately eighteen shares of the total value. This amount alone was available to the endowment, and the clerk´s inclusion of all this property *(khān)* was an error and oversight. . . .[50]

But al-Nuwayrī´s chief criticisms of the financial aspects of the *waqf* are directed toward the misappropriation of funds intended for the personnel of the building. The financial arrangements stipulated by the endowment deed are somewhat complicated in that some are specified for individuals such as professors and imams and others for groups of unspecified number such as teaching assistants and students. Nevertheless, comparison of al-Nuwayrī´s figures with those for the *khānqāh* established in 717/1316 by al-Malik al-Nāṣir shows some degree of correspondence in spite of generally higher salaries in the madrasah. Thus, although

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[47]Ibid.

[48]Ibid., 64.

[49]Ibid., 68.

[50]Ibid., 72.

the four professors in the madrasah and the chief Sufi in the *khānqāh* were to be paid two hundred dirhams a month, there was a discrepancy of sixty dirhams for the imam*s* and nineteen for the custodians.[51] But the important point for our purposes is that the first controller of the madrasah *waqf,* al-Ṭawāshī Shujā' al-Dīn, deliberately violated the provisions of the deed and the actual income of the endowments. Thus al-Nuwayrī, sometime after he took up residence in the madrasah in 703, discovered that the income exceeded the expenditures by ″a substantial amount.″[52] Al-Nuwayrī claims that he made it his business as administrator to correct the situation so that a hiatus of three months in which there were no expenditures was no longer in effect But the finances were not regularized until Shujā' al-Dīn died in 724/1324 and was replaced by the viceroy al-Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Arghūn, who made the *waqfīyah* public and applied its provisions.[53] At this time it became clear that the former had paid only half of the salaries and stipends due to the teaching assistants and students and had appropriated three months′ disbursements for himself. This practice the new controller abandoned and by distributing the income as stipulated in the deed increased the number of students and doubled their stipends.[54]

CONCLUSION

At the risk of belaboring an obvious point, I hope I have shown that as commendable as the increasing use of documents in general and *waqfīyah*s in particular for Mamluk history may be, it is clear that they cannot be used autonomously, at face value. On the basis of al-Nuwayrī′s first-hand experience I have suggested that *waqfīyahs* expressed only pious intentions that could easily be subverted in practice, whether intentionally or not. Unfortunately, such frank, authoritative disclosures are rare in Mamluk historiography. Not so clear, however, is the influence exerted by the *shurūṭ* manuals on the drafting and formulation of *waqfīyah*s. In other words, how far did jurisprudential standards for legal, legitimate endowments, such as those embodied in al-Asyūṭī′s model, impinge on the drafting of actual documents, regardless of the possibilities and intentions of application?

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[51]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 32:64–65; Fernandes, *Evolution,* 64–65.

[52]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 32:73–74.

[53]Ibid., 73–74.

[54]Ibid., 33:76.

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Awlād al-Nās as Founders of Pious Endowments: The *Waqfīyah* of Yaḥyá ibn Ṭūghān al-Ḥasanī of the Year 870/1465

We are indebted to Ulrich Haarmann for important insights into the fascinating world of the activities and careers of Mamluk descendants, who, according to their own Mamluk tradition, had access neither to the privledged status of the political and military elite nor to the economic resources of the country.[1] Unfortunately, Ulrich Haarmann died all too early and therefore his plan to write a comprehensive monograph on the *awlād al-nās* was not realized. In the first part of the following article, we give a short outline of Ulrich Haarmann´s theses on this topic within a broader Mamluk context. The *waqf* deed which forms the basis for this article was discovered by him to contribute valuable insights into certain activities of the *awlād al-nās*. For this reason, we have presented a complete edition of it.

I

The most striking feature of the Mamluk era in Egypt and Syria, a period which lasted some 250 years, is its unusual polarization of society. A predominantly Arab population was ruled by an elite of enfranchised military slaves, exclusively of Turko-Circassian stock, engaged in constant self-regeneration because of its self-imposed rules.[2] Membership in the Mamluk class was open only to those who

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[1]Ulrich Haarmann, ″Sons of Mamluks as Fief-Holders in Late Medieval Egypt,″ in *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East,* ed. Tarif Khalidi (Beirut, 1984), 141–68; idem, ″Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage: Mamluks and their Sons in the Intellectual Life of Fourteenth-Century Egypt and Syria,″ *Journal of Semitic Studies* 33 (1988): 81–114; idem, ″Väter und Söhne im Herrschaftssystem der Mamluken,″ *Berliner Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft e.V. -Jahrbuch* (1995): 211–27; and idem, ″Joseph´s Law—The Careers and Activities of Mamluk Descendants before the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt,″ in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 174–87.

[2]Still the best introduction is David Ayalon, ″Aspects of the Mamluk Phenomenon,″ *Der Islam* 53 (1976): 196–225 and 54 (1977): 1–32. But see also Ulrich Haarmann, ″Der arabische Osten im

were free-born non-Muslims of Turko-Circassian stock outside the Islamic sphere of power, who were then enslaved, brought to Egypt, converted to Islam, trained in chivalry, and finally manumitted. Only those fulfilling these criteria could belong to the ruling class and share the resulting political, military, and economic privileges. A substitute family grouped around a specific master *(ustādh)* constituted the smallest unit within this ruling Mamluk caste.[3] It bore the name of its *ustādh* and became extinct only upon the death of its last member. Mamluk ideals called for fierce and lifelong loyalty to the master, and staunch solidarity with the comrades grouped around the same foster-father. Loyalty and solidarity lent position and social stability to the individual Mamluk. The drawback of this pronounced esprit de corps was an internal rivalry between the various Mamluk ″families,″ a resulting general conflict within the ruling Mamluk caste, and especially the inevitable loss of power when the respective protector was overthrown or died.[4] But despite the tensions inherent in the system, the model of the Mamluk ″non-hereditary one-generation nobility″[5] actually seems to have promoted stability, perhaps in part due to its simplicity. At any rate, one can assume that the longevity of Mamluk rule over the autochthonous populations of Egypt and Syria may also—perhaps even primarily—be attributed to the Mamluk principle of constant self-renewal. On the other hand, a model of society which barred its own offspring from acceding to power did not prove to be viable in the long run. Every principle is, after all, based on the idea that no, or very few, exceptions from the rule are permissible. And it is exactly here that difficulties set in. A cursory glance at the list of rulers indicates that a dynastic line of succession existed during the entire era of Mamluk rule. Whereas only seven genuine Mamluks ruled in the years from 684/1250 until 784/1382, there were seventeen sons of Mamluk fathers. And even during the subsequent period, the Circassian era from an ethnic point of view, eight out of a total of twenty-four sultans were born in Egypt. One reason

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späten Mittelalter, 1250–1500,″ in *Geschichte der arabischen Welt,* ed. Ulrich Haarmann (Munich, 1994), 217–63, esp. 217–36; Linda S. Northrup, ″The Baḥrī Mamlūk Sultanate, 1250–1390,″ in *The Cambridge History of Egypt,* vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt: 640–1517,* ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 242–89; and Jean-Claude Garcin, ″The Regime of the Circassian Mamluks,″ in ibid., 290–317.

[3] David Ayalon, ″L′esclavage du Mamelouk,″ *Oriental Notes and Studies* 1 (1951): 1–66, and idem, ″The Mamluk Novice: On his Youthfulness and on his Original Religion,″ *Revue des études islamiques* 54 (1986): 1–8.

[4] On this, see D. S. Richards, ″Mamluk Amirs and their Families and Households,″ in Philipp and Haarmann, *Mamluks in Egyptian Politics,* 32–54, and Robert Irwin, ″Factions in Medieval Egypt,″ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1986): 228–46.

[5] David Ayalon, ″Names, Titles and ′Nisbas′ of the Mamluks,″ *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975): 193. See also idem, ″Mamluk Military Aristocracy: A Non-Hereditary Nobility,″ *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 10 (1987): 205–10.

for this remarkable fact may have been that, as far as the line of succession was concerned, nomadic oligarchic traditions competed with hereditary monarchial ones well into the ninth/fifteenth century.[6] Only with the accession of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (r. 815–24/1412–21), after the interregnum of Caliph al-Musta'īn (812/1415), did the policy of enthroning a new ruler acquire its ultimate form. Upon the death of a sultan who had previously emerged as the victor from wrangling between the strongest amirs, his son was accepted as the nominal leader by a tacit agreement until the question of the genuine successor had been settled. The princes, who often were still young, usually moved back to second rank without much resistance. Of course, these young princes were ambitious as well, and relinquishing the prestigious sultan's office must have been difficult for some of these *sīdī*s—as the sons of sultans and sultan's Mamluks were called.[7] And the desire inherent in any father to pass on to his son the opportunities and sinecures he himself had enjoyed was, of course, a powerful motivation as well. In the ninth/fifteenth century two sultans abdicated during their own lifetime to stand aside for their sons' benefit—an absolute novelty in Mamluk history. But there was a fixed pattern. When the time for finding the strongest amir had passed, the predecessor's son resigned without further ado. Not only did the deposed *sīdī*s remain unmolested under the leadership of the new strong man, but they sometimes were also valued company for the new ruler and his offspring.

The question of Mamluk adherence to principle thus illustrates the system's perviousness in the upper echelons. It also brings into focus a group which has been rather neglected in the few contemporary attempts at classifying the entire population, namely the sons and grandsons of the Mamluks.[8] Above all, the numerous

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[6]P. M. Holt, "The Position and Power of the Mamlūk Sultan," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38 (1975): 237–49; idem, "Succession in the Early Mamluk Sultanate," in *XXIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag: vom 16. bis 20. September 1985 in Würzburg: ausgewählte Vorträge*, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, supplement 7, ed. Einar von Schuler (Stuttgart, 1989): 144–48. On this important question, see also Amalia Levanoni, "The Mamluk Conception of the Sultanate," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 26 (1994): 373–92, and now Henning Sievert, "Das ägyptische Mamlukensultanat im 15. Jahrhundert nach dem 'Tārīḫ al-Malik al-Ašraf Qāytbāy' von Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī," M.A. thesis, University of Kiel, 2001.

[7]The short reigns of the *sīdī*s during the Circassian era have been analyzed by Agata Rome, "Die kurze Regierungszeit der mamlukischen Sultanssöhne in der tscherkessischen Phase (784/1382–922/1517)," M.A. thesis (Lizentiatsarbeit), University of Basel, 1995.

[8]For example, one could consult Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1412), *Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-ghummah* (Beirut, 1980); Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn 'Alī al-Subkī (d. 771/1370), *Mu'īd al-Ni'am wa-Mubīd al-Niqam,* ed. David W. Myhrman (London, 1908); or Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī (d. 888/1483), "Badhl al-Nasā'iḥ al-Sharqīyah fī mā 'alá al-Sulṭān wa-Wulāt al-Umūr wa-Sā'ir al-Ra'īyah," Berlin Ahlwardt MS 5618. We are presently preparing Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī's

progeny of the Mamluk serving class, as distinct from the protégés of the ruler and his Mamluks, are of sociohistorical importance in their own right. We know from the contemporary chronicles and additional prosopographic sources that these Mamluk offspring not only participated in numerous social functions, but also developed a distinct collective identity. For example, they were called by a collective name: *awlād al-nās*. This term not only signified the second generation of Mamluk sons but also the grand- and even the great-grandsons. The name points to common roots as a specific feature. They were united in their being ″sons of the nobles,″ i.e., the Turko-Circassian elite. The *awlād al-nās* represented the opportunities and limits of development in Mamluk society. They were connected to the realm of the state, the army, and the economy dominated by the Mamluks through their fathers without really belonging to them. Characteristically, they usually had Arab names.[9] Their place of birth made the *awlād al-nās* Egyptians without the local populace accepting these second generation (and thus second class) ″Turks″ as their own. Many Mamluk sons, who often had an Egyptian mother and spoke Arabic as well as Turkish, assumed the role of mediators between the two worlds. Yet, psychologically and socially their situation was not enviable. Their ambitions were strictly circumscribed from the outset. On the one hand, religious scholars and other segments of the population resented them as a visible manifestation of ″Turkish″ domination. On the other hand, they were refused access to the highest offices of the state by the Mamluks. But even in this the Mamluks were inconsistent, because the highest offices of state were held by the sons of amirs in the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century under Sultan Ḥasan (r. 748–52/1347–51).[10] Even during the subsequent systematic ″re-Mamlukization″ of the army and state leadership there were still two *awlād al-nās* amongst the nine imprisoned amirs of highest rank when Sultan Barqūq (r. 784–91/1382–89) was overthrown in 791/1388–89.[11] At this time their share in the middle and lower ranks rose to a quarter and more than a half respectively.[12] Certain high offices, such as the commandant of Cairo or the administrator of the ruler′s tournament grounds, were

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text for publication. On its author, see Ulrich Haarmann, ″The Writer as an Individual in Medieval Muslim Society,″ in *Individual and Society in the Mediterranean Muslim World: Issues and Sources,* ed. Randi Deguilhem (Aix-en-Provence, 1998), 77–87, and idem, ″Al-Maqrīzī, the Master, and Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī, the Disciple—Whose Historical Writing Can Claim More Topicality and Modernity?,″ in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800)*, The Medieval Mediterranean, vol. 31, ed. Hugh Kennedy (Leiden, 2001), 149–65.

[9]Ayalon, ″Names, Titles and ′Nisbas′,″ 229–31. For those *awlād al-nās* who had Turkish names, see Haarmann, ″Arabic in Speech,″ 103, n. 109.

[10]Haarmann, ″″Sons of Mamluks,″ 145.

[11]Haarmann, ″Der arabische Osten,″ 227.

[12]Haarmann, ″Sons of Mamluks,″ 145, n. 5.

apparently accessible to Mamluk progeny.[13] Moreover, just like retired officers or their widows, they had access to the institution of pension fiefs (*al-rizqah al-mabrūrah*),[14] and frequently seem to have accumulated substantial real estate in rural areas, as we shall see.

Generally speaking, any of the *awlād al-nās* could enter a military career. This was because the Mamluk army not only included especially privileged sultan′s Mamluks who upheld the system and the less-esteemed amir′s Mamluks, who were dispersed over the whole empire, but also the so-called *ḥalqah*[15] as its third armed force. This honorary legion commanded by sultans′ sons consisted of cavalrymen of highly diverse origins including Mamluk offspring, free Kurdish and Mongol warriors, Bedouins, Turkmen tribal chiefs in Syria, and meritorious civilians.[16] Until 854/1450 the *ḥalqah* absorbed the Mamluks′ sons.[17] Afterwards this force lost some of its military prowess because of the infiltration of non-military elements and thus some of its social prestige, especially since its members could buy out of participation in military missions.

The mediating role of the *awlād al-nās* became particularly clear in the religious and scientific life of the period.[18] The military career of a Mamluk son was usually accompanied by religious activities. They were the cultural interlocutors between barracks and madrasahs, polo fields and sufi convents, between officers and scholars. The two groups were mutually dependent on each other and needed to collaborate for the welfare of the Islamic community, according to the belief of contemporary theologians. But not everyone pursued this double track. Many sons of Turkish mothers remained attached to the court and were content with the restricted military career open to them and the culture maintained in the citadel and in the private homes of the amirs. Still others pursued a purely academic career and were successful as calligraphers, traditionists, legal scholars, historians, or even poets.

The case that Ulrich Haarmann discussed in his study on Mamluk descendants[19] and that we would like to present here has less to do with this intellectual world and deals only indirectly with the internal affairs of military careers. It concerns the material affairs of the *awlād al-nās* and their position in the Mamluk economy.

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[13]Ibid., 143.

[14]On the *rizqah al-mabrūrah,* see Nicolas Michel, ″Les rizaq iḥbāsiyya, terres agricoles en mainmorte dans l′Egypte mamelouke et ottomane,″ *Annales islamologiques* 30 (1996): 105–98, esp. 119.

[15]See David Ayalon, ″Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army II,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15 (1953): 448–76, esp. 448–59.

[16]Haarmann, ″Sons of Mamluks,″ 142.

[17]Haarmann, ″Joseph′s Law,″ 62–70.

[18]Haarmann, ″Arabic in Speech,″ 106–114 and idem, ″Joseph′s Law,″ 77–83.

[19]Haarmann, ″Joseph′s Law,″ 74–76.

Documents that have recently come to light have given fresh impetus to research into the social and economic history of the Mamluk empire.[20] Apart from the documents thus far known to us from the Monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai[21] or the archives of the Temple Mount in Jerusalem,[22] we are indebted to our Egyptian colleague Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn for the collection, compilation, and cataloguing of the various documents from Islamic, especially Mamluk, times that were kept in Cairo in diverse places, relocated again and again, and relabeled (or lost) in the process.[23] These comprise private documents, which were issued and witnessed or certified before a notary or a judge, as opposed to the public documents issued by the state chancellery. Hence they include not only business documents but also endowment deeds.[24] Among the roughly 900 documents from Cairo surviving from Mamluk times are those dealing with 200 proceedings involving Mamluk sons and grandsons and even granddaughters.[25] They represent a surprisingly close-knit network of the different Mamluk groups of society. Franchisers and franchised cofound an endowment, civilians and military personnel do business together, and elsewhere Mamluks sell property to amirs′ daughters and vice versa.[26]

As an example Ulrich Haarmann chose a document from the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century that concerns the properties of a certain Yaḥyá ibn Ṭūghān al-Ḥasanī.[27] Yaḥyá ibn Ṭūghān was a Mamluk′s son, as his name suggests.

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[20]See the summarizing articles by Donald P. Little, ″The Significance of the Ḥaram Documents for the Study of Medieval Islamic History,″ *Der Islam* 57 (1980): 189–219; idem, ″Documents as a Source for Mamluk History,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 1–14; also Carl F. Petry, ″A Geniza for Mamluk Studies? Charitable Trust *(Waqf)* Documents as a Source for Economic and Social History, *MSR* 2 (1998): 51–72.

[21]See Kenneth W. Clark, *Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine′s Monastery* (Baltimore, 1955); A. S. Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai* (Washington, 1952).

[22]See Donald P. Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from al-Ḥaram aš-Šarīf,* Beiruter Texte und Studien, vol. 29 (Beirut, 1984).

[23]Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Fihrist Wathā′iq al-Qāhirah ḥattá Nihāyat ′Aṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk (239–922 AH/853–1516 AD)* (Cairo, 1981). On this book, see the important review by Ulrich Haarmann, *Die Welt des Islam* 27 (1987): 127–30.

[24]On the differences between private and official documents, see Rudolf Vesely, ″Die Hauptprobleme der Diplomatik arabischer Privaturkunden aus dem spätmittelalterlichen Ägypten,″ *Archiv Orientalni* 40 (1972): 312–43.

[25]On women as administrators of *waqf* properties, see Carl F. Petry, ″Custodians of Property in Later Medieval Egypt,″ in *Woman in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender*, ed. Nikki R. Keddie and Beth Baron (New Haven, 1991), 122–42.

[26]Haarmann, ″Joseph′s Law,″ 73–74.

[27]Haarmann, ″Joseph′s Law,″ 70–77 with minor errors. We find this *waqf* deed in Amīn′s catalogue as no. 428, Amīn, *Fihrist*, 133–34. Its registration number at the Ministry of Pious Foundations in

This Yaḥyá is not mentioned in chronicles and biographical works, but his father appears to have been the sultan′s correspondence secretary *(dawādār)* Ṭūghān al-Ḥasanī ″al-Majnūn,″ who enjoyed high social status, as indicated by the fact that he could buy his own mamluks.[28] Yaḥyá served as a soldier in the *ḥalqah*[29] and drew his pay from this position. Generally speaking, Mamluk officers, members of the *ḥalqah,* and certain non-military state employees were paid by military benefices *(iqṭā‘),* i.e., by allocation of the tax revenue of a certain district.[30] Such tax fiefs were measured out according to the services of the beneficiary. In keeping with the Mamluk principle of perpetually renewing the elite upholding the state through the recruitment of new mamluks from the steppe, they were non-hereditary in principle. But this principle frequently conflicted with the predictable desire of the individual amir to retain freely disposable property secure against seizure. Legal loopholes were developed to avoid this obligation to sell, which provided the notaries and the qadis of the time with a very lucrative practice.[31] For example, it was tolerated that a Mamluk return his *iqṭā‘* voluntarily to the fief office and then purchase it as unentailed private property *(milk)* which then could be sold, bequeathed, or transferred into an endowment.[32]

The man in question, Yaḥyá ibn Ṭūghān, also held rural property and as such was representative of the affluence to which a member of the second generation could attain due to the munificence of his father, even in the second half of the ninth/fifteenth century. As mentioned above, the reputation of the *ḥalqah* had already diminished by this time. This situation was also reflected in the distribution of fiefs to the Mamluk sons. While the share of the *awlād al-nās* in the total tax revenue of Egypt had been a substantial 13.67% in the year 777/1376, it had decreased a generation later to 2.5% and finally amounted to a negligible 0.15% in 885/1480.[33] This process of the gradual ″de-fiefing″ of Mamluk progeny, however, is certainly not the equivalent of pauperizing this group, but only means that many of the *awlād al-nās* had managed to transfer their *iqṭā‘* estates into private ownership or endowments—ultimately by illegal means.

Cairo is 571 jīm.

[28]Haarmann, ″Joseph′s Law,″ 74, n. 6.

[29]Waqf no. 428 (Amīn) = 571 jīm (Ministry of Pious Foundations), line 3.

[30]On the development of the Mamluk *iqṭā‘* see Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta‘s, and Fallahun,* Islamic History and Civilization, Studies and Texts, vol. 17 (Leiden, 1997).

[31]Haarmann, ″Joseph′s Law,″ 71.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Haarmann, ″Sons of Mamluks,″ 161.

Yaḥyá´s ″property″ consisted of areas in the district of Barshans in the province of Manūfīyah, north of Cairo,[34] and in Shinrāqá in the province of Gharbīyah, still further to the north.[35] During the fourteenth century, the first piece of land was a fiefdom of the *sīdī* Amir Ḥājj, the son of Sultan al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (r. 764–78/1363–77), whereas the second was used by unnamed military forces until we rediscover it in the land registry as *iqṭāʿ* of the *ḥalqah* in 802/1400.[36] It is this ″property,″ the size of which is always expressed in terms of a proportion of the district´s collectively owned and administered cultivated land (*ḥissah*),[37] that was deeded by Yaḥyá completely to his relatives and offspring, as we can see from his endowment deed *(waqfīyah)* from the year 870/1465.[38]

As an aside, let us mention that such *waqfīyah*s, which constitute the most detailed and important sources of Egypt´s and Syria´s socioeconomic history in the ninth/fifteenth century, have only very gradually been taken note of by historians.[39] Few have been edited, still fewer translated and analyzed.[40]

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[34]Waqf no. 428 (Amīn) = 571 jīm (Ministry of Pious Foundations), line 6.

[35]Ibid., line 12.

[36]Haarmann, ″Joseph´s Law,″ 74–75.

[37]Waqf no. 428 (Amīn) = 571 jīm (Ministry of Pious Foundations), line 5.

[38]Ibid., line 65.

[39]See the introductory articles by Ulrich Haarmann, ″Mamluk Endowment Deeds as a Source for the History of Education in Late Medieval Egypt,″ *Al-Abḥāth* 28 (1980): 31–47, and Sylvie Denoix, ″Pour une exploitation d´un ensemble d´un corpus: Les waqfs mamelouke du Caire,″ in *Le waqf dans l´espace islamique: Outil de pouvoir socio-politique,* ed. Randi Deguilhem (Damascus, 1995), 29–44. It suffices to mention some of the pioneering secondary works: Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimāʿīyah fī Miṣr 648–923 H./1250–1517 A.D.: Dirāsah Tārīkhīyah Wathāʾiqīyah* (Cairo, 1980); Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt´s Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994); Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt´s Adjustment to Ottoman Rule: Institutions, Waqf and Architecture in Cairo, 16th and 17th Centuries,* Islamic History and Civilization: Studies and Texts, vol. 7 (Leiden, 1994); Annette Kaiser, *Islamische Stiftungen in Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Syriens vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert*, Islamwissenschaftliche Quellen und Texte aus deutschen Bibliotheken, vol. 8 (Berlin, 1999).

[40]See Ulrich Haarmann´s lists: Haarmann, ″Endowment Deeds,″ 31–32, and idem, review of Amīn, *Fihrist,* 130. One could add Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, ″Wathīqat Waqf al-Sulṭān Qāytbāy,″ *Al-Majallah al-Tārīkhīyah al-Miṣrīyah* 22 (1975): 343–90; idem, ″Wathāʾiq Waqf al-Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn,″ in Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan ibn ʿUmar Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1976–86), 2: 330–448; idem, ″Maṣārif Awqāf al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn,″ in ibid., 3:340–449; idem, *Wathīqat Waqf al-Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Qalāwūn* (Cairo, 1982); Christl Hein, ″Die Stiftungs- und Kaufurkunden des Amīrs Miṯqāl al-Ānūkī,″ in *Die Restaurierung der Madrasa des Amīrs Sābiq ad-Dīn al-Ānūkī und die Sanierung des Darb Qirmiz in Kairo* (Mainz, 1980), 145–74; Felicitas Jaritz, ″Auszüge aus der Stiftungsurkunde des Sultans Barqūq,″ in Ṣāliḥ Lamʿī Muṣṭafá, *Madrasa, Ḫānqāh und Mausoleum des Barqūq in Kairo*

The ultimate purpose of an endowment principally established ″for eternity″ and whose conditions could not be altered was to perform an act pleasing to God.[41] There was a distinction between a charitable endowment *(waqf khayrī),* which could provide for the building and maintenance of mosques, Quran schools, caravanserais, and drinking fountains, and a family endowment *(waqf ahlī or dhurrī),* which was established for the benefit of one′s own children and grandchildren or other relatives. Family endowments were very popular because they could ensure an income for one′s own progeny under the pretense of an altruistic act, hold one′s property together, or evade the inheritance laws of the Quran. In view of these rather secular purposes of the family endowment, the institution was quite controversial among the religious scholars. It was nonetheless commonplace in everyday life.[42] This was so because private property was totally unprotected against seizure by the state. Yet the immunity of endowments provided a certain safeguard against wide-spread confiscation. In addition, properties once deeded could be exchanged for less valuable real estate with high profits. This was often formally safeguarded by designating one′s own offspring ″poor″ and ″needy″ or by assigning a small part of the endowment income to a charity. One consequence of this practice was that the amount of land available for military fiefs was reduced to one-third its former size within a period of one hundred years.

As already mentioned, we have access to Yaḥyá ibn Ṭūghān′s complete *waqf* deed. With regard to form and content it fully complies with the usual legal stipulations for a family endowment. Following the invocation[43] and after having

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(Glückstadt, 1982), 117–77; Ahmed M. El-Masry, *Die Bauten von Ḫādim Sulaimān Pascha (1468–1548) nach seinen Urkunden im Ministerium für Fromme Stiftungen in Kairo,* Islamwissenschaftliche Quellen und Texte aus deutschen Bibliotheken, vol. 6 (Berlin, 1991); Jean-Claude Garcin & Mustafa Anouar Taher, ″Les waqfs d′une *madrasa* du Caire au XVe siècle: Les propriétés urbaines de Ǧawhar al-Lālā,″ in Deguilhem, *Le waqf dans l′espace islamique,* 151–86. Miriam Hoexter provides an overview of recent secondary publications in ″*Waqf* Studies in the Twentieth Century: The State of the Art,″ *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41 (1998): 474–95.

[41]See J. N. D. Anderson, ″The Religious Element in Waqf Endowments,″ *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 38 (1951): 292–99. On the legal status of *waqf* endowments see J. Kresmárik, ″Das Waḳfrecht vom Standpunkt des Šarī‘atrechtes nach der hanefitischen Rechtsschule: Ein Beitrag zum Studium des islamischen Rechtes,″ *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 45 (1891): 511–76; G. Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh, 1981), 35–71; Rudolph Peters, ″Waḳf,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 11:59–63 and Heffening, ″Waḳf,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., 4:1096–1103.

[42]Taqī al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Kāfī al-Subkī (d. 756/1355) is the author of a treatise about the abuse of family endowments. See his ″Al-Qawl al-Mū‘ib fī al-Qaḍā’ al-Mūjib,″ Gotha MS 979.

[43]Waqf no. 428 (Amīn) = 571 jīm (Ministry of Pious Foundations), line 1.

presented the evidence of witnesses,[44] the *wāqif,* who is classified as honorable,[45] provides information about the size of the endowment. Above all, this includes a detailed description of the boundaries of the district of Yaḥyá's *ḥissah*,[46] whose precisely-assessed yields[47] were primarily intended to benefit his own relatives. According to the decree of a judge this was a regular *waqf* conforming to the shari'ah, which could not be sold, transferred, given away, or exchanged.[48] The first part of the document closes with a commonly used quotation from the Quran by stating that the endowment conditions could not be altered until the day that God inherits "the earth and whoever is upon it" because He is "the best of heirs." (Quran 19:41 and 21:89).[49] It is only then that the real conditions of the deed are stated. The revenue accruing from the properties donated by Yaḥyá ibn Ṭūghān were to be paid out in decreasing proportions to his offspring, his sister, his half-sister, his mother, the surviving grandmother on his mother's side, and finally his wives and his stepmother.[50] Yaḥyá made especially elaborate provisions for his burial place. Quran readings were to be performed at that site every Friday, while recitals at his son's home were deemed sufficient on weekdays.[51] In accordance with common practice, revenues accruing from the endowed property were to be transferred in a descending line to the children and grandchildren of the donor and their offspring and to his near relatives. Should there be no surviving heirs, the revenues from the *waqf* passed to charitable institutions in the cities of Mecca and Medina, the holy places of Islam.[52] Yaḥyá ibn Ṭūghān reserved for himself the right to monitor the observance of the deed's provisions during his lifetime.[53] Upon his death this responsibility was to be passed on to Mamluk amirs whom he mentioned by name as first, second, and third choices. The first amir was a certain Kumushbughá ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Timrāzī.[54] As fourth potential executor he appointed the chief eunuch of the sultan's palace *(zimām al-ādur al-sharīfah),*[55] an expert in administration, who would have ensured that the provisions of the

[44]Ibid., line 4.

[45]Ibid., lines 4–5.

[46]Ibid., lines 10–11 and 16–17.

[47]Ibid., lines 5–6 and 11–12.

[48]Ibid., lines 20–21.

[49]Ibid., lines 21–22.

[50]Ibid., lines 24–29.

[51]Ibid., lines 31–34.

[52]Ibid., lines 35–48.

[53]Ibid., lines 48–49.

[54]Ibid., lines 51–53.

[55]Ibid., line 55.

endowment were not infringed upon in favor of someone else′s offspring. In closing, the document details the usual obligatory reservations,[56] a penalty clause,[57] the judge′s decision, and the witnesses′ signatures.[58]

Transforming private property into a foundation was a commonplace custom at the level of Mamluk sons in the time of Yaḥyá ibn Ṭūghān. Amirs and sultans, but above all their wives, daughters, sons, and grandsons systematically turned their property into endowments at the end of the ninth/fifteenth century.[59] The office of foundation administrator was well paid, even though it was a matter of intense discussion as to whether it was permissible for the donor (or the donor′s offspring) and the administrator to be one and the same person. A genuine shadow economy developed around the institution of foundations, especially since the property of the deceased was no longer protected against official seizure.[60] When the fiscal coffers were empty in 896/1491, the otherwise pious Sultan Qāytbāy (r. 872–901/1468–96) decreed that the country′s *waqf* institutions had to pay the equivalent of five months′ income to the state.[61] Hundreds of documents on exchange transactions *(istibdāl)*[62] are preserved from the late Mamluk period concerning the exchange of otherwise non-negotiable *waqf* properties with other (probably) less valuable real estate with the blessing of documents clerks.[63] Increasingly, the sultans transformed their rapidly growing income from confiscations and other forced measures into endowments. The same applied to royal real estate. These revenues could then be put to use for the maintenance of their own clientele without any public body interfering. Thus, a private business sector of considerable scale evolved.[64]

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[56]Ibid., lines 56–57.

[57]Ibid., lines 61–62.

[58]On the diplomatics of Mamluk *waqf* deeds, see Vesely, ″Hauptprobleme,″ and Stephan Conermann, ″Anmerkungen zu einer mamlūkenzeitlichen *waqf*-Urkunde aus dem 9./15. Jahrhundert,″ in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur der Mamlūkenzeit in Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann (1942–1999)*, Asien und Afrika: Beiträge des Zentrums für Asiatische und Afrikanische Studien (ZAAS) der Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, vol. 5, ed. Stephan Conermann and Anja Pistor-Hatam (forthcoming).

[59]Haarmann, ″Joseph′s Law,″ 71–72.

[60]Petry, *Protectors,* 166–72 and 196–210. In this respect, Lucian Reinfandt′s nearly finished dissertation, ″Stiftungsstrategien im späten Mamlukensultanat: Die Urkunden der Sultane al-Ašraf Īnāl und al-Mu′ayyad Aḥmad Ibn Īnāl,″ will give new impetus.

[61]Haarmann, ″Der arabische Osten,″ 251.

[62]On *istibdāl* see ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm ‘Alī, ″Min Wathā’iq al-‘Arabīyah fī al-‘Uṣūr al-Wusṭá.: Wathā′iq Istibdāl,″ *Majallat Kullīyat al-Ādāb, Jāmi‘at al-Qāhirah* 25 (1963): 1–38.

[63]Haarmann, ″Der arabische Osten,″ 251.

[64]Petry, *Protectors,* chapter 7.

The other documents to which we have access—two collections of papers concerning exchanges and sales—give us information about the subsequent fate of the *waqf* of Yaḥyá ibn Ṭūghān.[65] Twenty years after the original grant of 870/1465 the son of the donor, Muḥammad al-Sibā'ī, and the primary executor, Kumushbughá ibn ʻAbd Allāh al-Timrāzī, sold parts of these properties to two civilians. One share was then sold to a Mamluk daughter on behalf of and probably by order of her father in 890/1485. The other part was subsequently sold to a Mamluk son, Ibrāhīm ibn Khushqadam, in 891/1486, and then transferred to a sultan′s guard, i.e., a Mamluk, three years later. He in his turn, together with his wife, once again transformed the endowed property into a foundation in 898/1493.

Diverse acts of sale, endowment, and exchange thus complement each other and serve as a blueprint for the understanding of Mamluk land and capital policies, especially in the Circassian period. The transitory ownership of land illustrates the ready availability of real estate, even though some of it should actually have remained non-negotiable as *waqf* indefinitely. Contrary to strict shariʻah regulations it was, as already mentioned, common to release endowed property from its *waqf* stricture. In view of the shortage of freely disposable land only this kept the Egyptian property market afloat in the ninth/fifteenth century.

Above all, we are shown a less stratified society in which not all real estate transactions ended up in the hands of the powerful Mamluk elite. Rather, one gains the impression that Mamluk descendants were important mediators, brokers, and quite frequently also fronts in such transactions. The *awlād al-nās* represented a mobile intermediary group between the ruling Mamluk caste and the local elite. Together with the eunuchs[66] they form a group of extreme importance for the understanding of Egypto-Syrian society during Mamluk times. Their role as mediators calls into question the notion of a rigid social dichotomy. The Mamluk principle was compromised at several levels so that Mamluk sons not only had the opportunity to share power with Mamluks on an individual basis, but can even be perceived as a distinct group in their own right. In conclusion it is to be hoped that Mamluk progeny and their hybrid culture will continue to be of interest, especially since the extant material offers ample scope for further research.

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[65]One can find these documents in Amīn′s catalogue as no. 389 and no. 525. Amīn, *Fihrist,* 113–14 and 146–47. The registration numbers of the Ministry of Pious Foundation in Cairo are 493 jīm and 665 jīm. We are preparing these documents for publication. Stephan Conermann and Souad Saghbini, ″Mamlūkensöhne *(awlād an-nās)* als Stifter und Landbesitzer: Ein Fall aus dem 9./15. Jahrhundert,″ in Conermann and Pistor-Hatam, eds., *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur der Mamlukenzeit.*

[66]On the role of eunuchs, David Ayalon′s ″The Eunuchs in the Mamluk Sultanate″ remains authoritative. See *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet,* ed. M**.** Rosen-Ayalon (Jerusalem, 1977), 267–95.

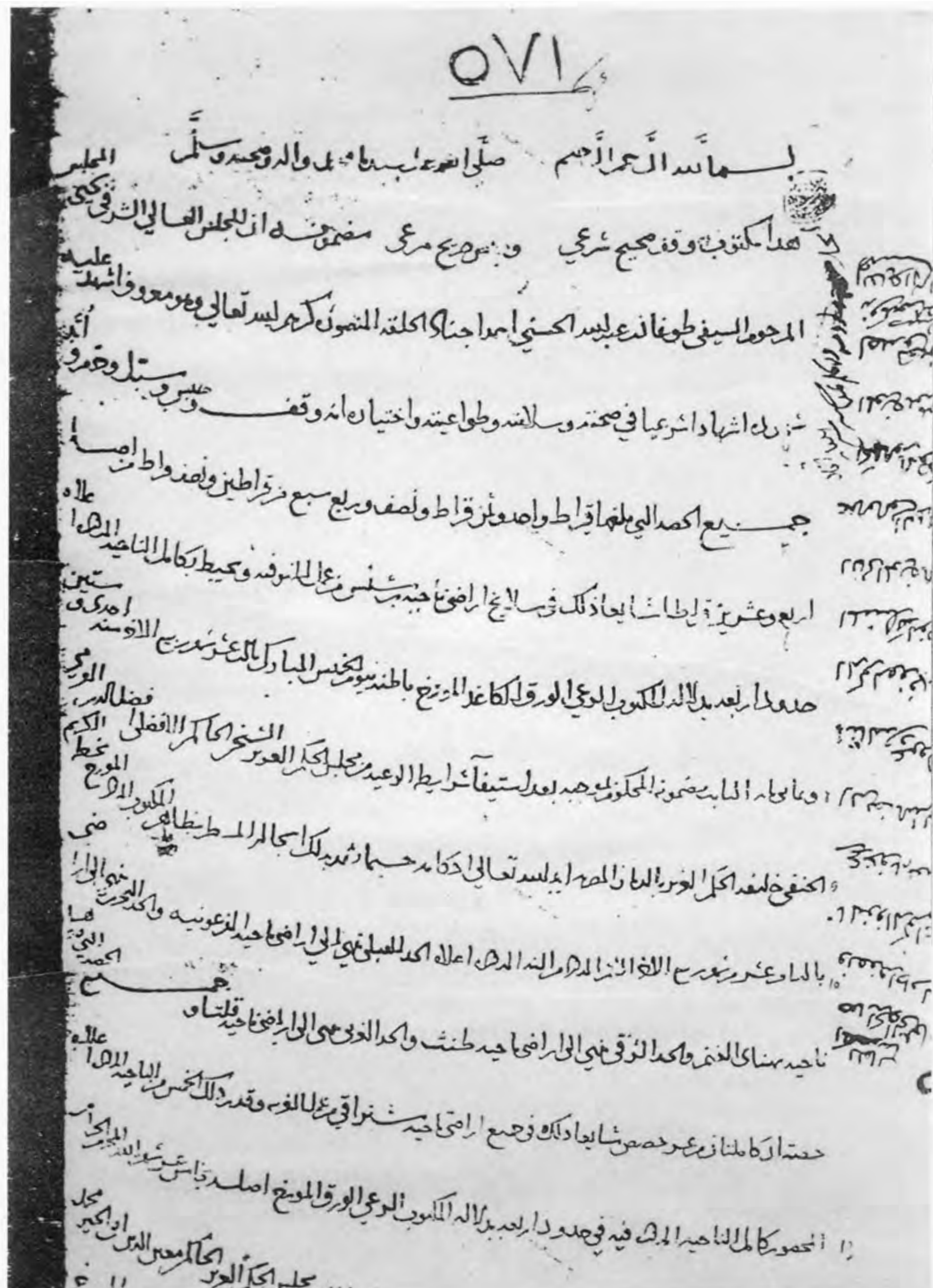


Figure 1. The *Waqfīyah* of Yaḥyá ibn Ṭūghān al-Ḥasanī



Figure 3. The *Waqfīyah* of Yaḥyá ibn Ṭūghān al-Ḥasanī, continued

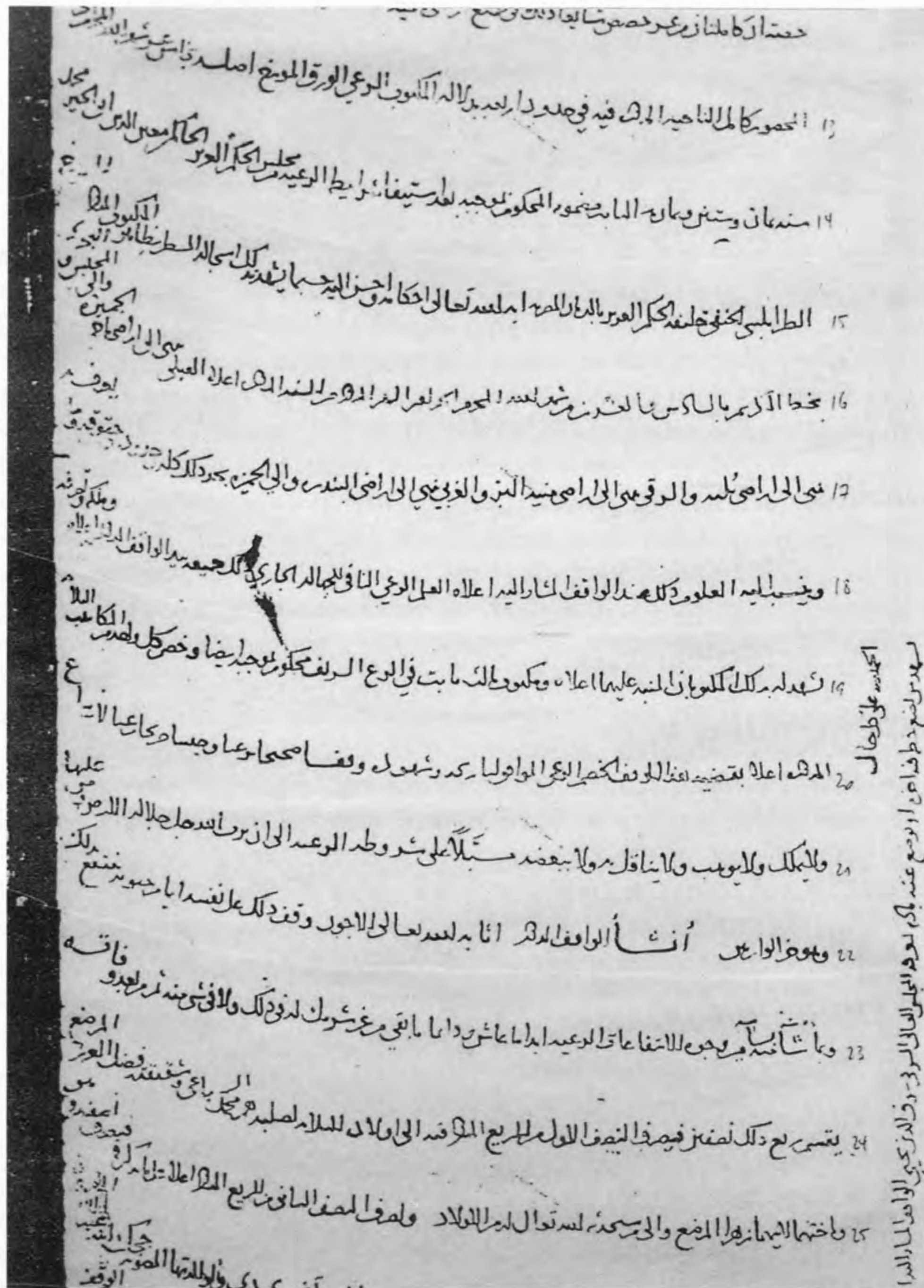


Figure 2. The *Waqfīyah* of Yaḥyá ibn Ṭūghān al-Ḥasanī, continued

Figure 5. The *Waqfīyah* of Yaḥyá ibn Ṭūghān al-Ḥasanī, continued

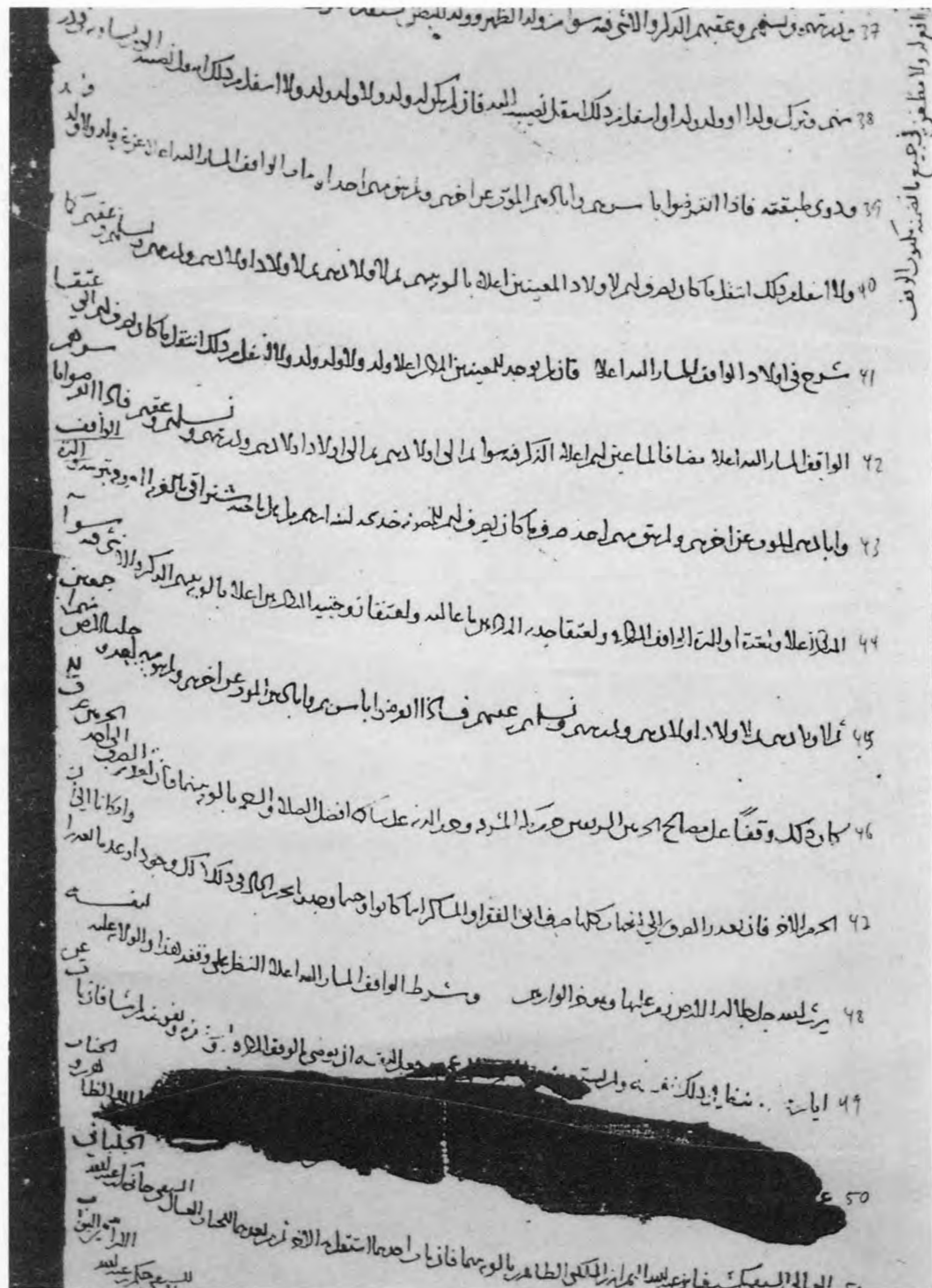


Figure 4. The *Waqfīyah* of Yaḥyá ibn Ṭūghān al-Ḥasanī, continued

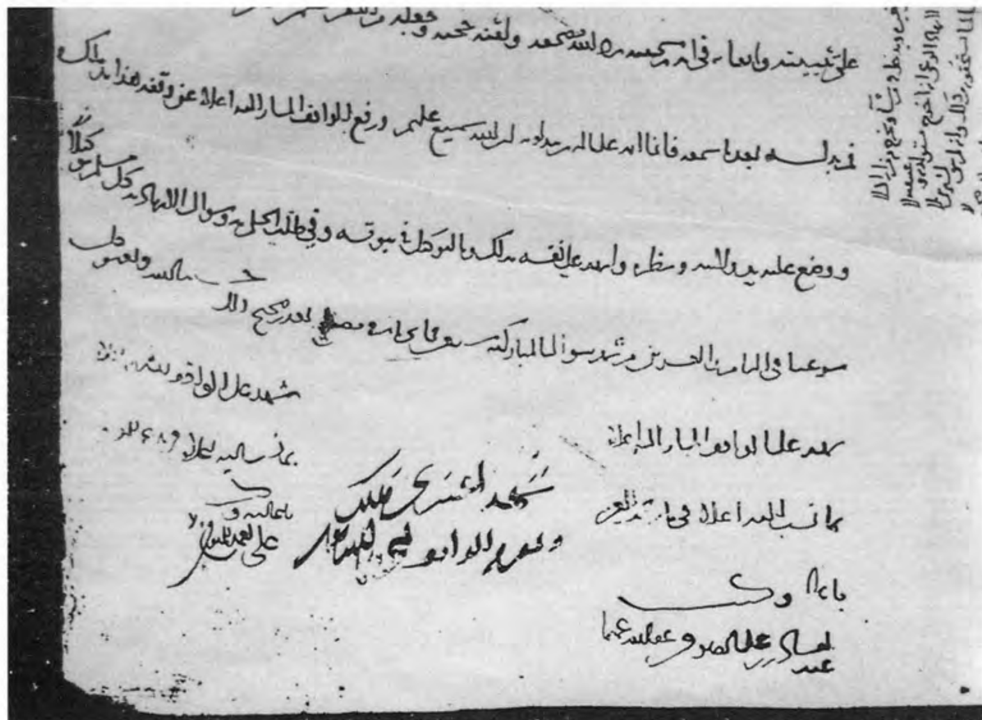


Figure 6. The *Waqfīyah* of Yaḥyá ibn Ṭūghān al-Ḥasanī, continued

وثيقة وقف يحيى بن السيفى طوغان بن عبد اللّه الحسنى[1]

١. بسم اللّه الرحمن الرحيم[2] صلى اللّه على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم[3]
٢. هذا مكتوب وقف صحيح شرعي وحبس صريح مرعي مضمونه أن المجلس العالي[4] الشرفي يحيى [بن] المجلس
٣. المرحوم السيفي طوغا ابن عبد اللّه الحسني أحد أجناد الحلقة المنصورة[5] كثرهم اللّه تعالى وهو معروف أشهد عليه
٤. شهوده إشهادا شرعيا في صحته وسلامته وطواعيته واختياره[6] أنه وقف وحبس وسبل وحرم وأبد[7]
٥. جميع الحصة التي مبلغها قيراط[8] واحد وثمن قيراط ونصف وربع سبع من قيراطين ونصف قيراط من أصل

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[1]هذه الوثيقة محفوظة تحت الرقم٥٧١ ج، مسلسل ٤٢٨، تاريخ ٢٨ شوال ٨٧٠ هـ بقسم المحفوظات والوثائق (الدفترخانة) بوزارة الأوقاف بالقاهرة. محمد محمد أمين، فهرست وثائق القاهرة حتى نهاية عصر سلاطين المماليك (٢٣٩–٩٢٢ ﻫ/٨٥٣–١٥١٦ م) (القاهرة،١٩٨١)، ١٣٣.

[2]كان من عادة كتاب الوثائق في العصور الوسطى البدء بالوثيقة بالبسملة. احمد بن علي القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى في صناعة الإنشا (القاهرة، ١٣٣١–١٣٣٨\١٩١٣–١٩١٩)، ٢: ٢١٩–٢٢٨؛ عبد اللطيف إبراهيم، "التوثيقات الشرعية والإشهادية في ظهر وثيقة الغوري،" مجلة كلية الآداب، جامعة القاهرة ١٩، جزء ١ (١٩٥٧): ٣٦٢.

[3]التصلية تكون عادة في بداية الكتب للتبرك والتيمن، وهي من توابع البسملة. إبراهيم، "التوثيقات الشرعية،" ٣٦١–٣٦٢؛ القلقشندي، صبح، ٦:٢٢٧.

[4]عن الألقاب الفخرية الورادة في هذه الوثيقة، أنظر القلقشندي، صبح، ٦:١١٥ وما يليها؛ حسن الباشا، الألقاب الإسلامية في التاريخ والآثار (القاهرة، ١٩٥٧)، ٨٩ وما يليها.

[5]عن أجناد الحلقة أنظر: القلقشندي، صبح، ٤ :١٦؛
David Ayalon, "Ḥalḳa," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 3:99.

[6]صيغة قانونية اصطلح عليها كتاب الوثائق في العصور الوسطى للدلالة على صحة التصرف. عبد اللطيف إبراهيم، "وثيقة وقف مسرور بن عبد اللّه الشبلى الجمدار،" مجلة كلية الآداب، جامعة القاهرة ٢١، جزء ٢ (١٩٥٩): ١٦٠. تعليق ٧.

[7]ألفاظ الوقف صريحة وكناية، فالصريحة ثلاثة وقف، حبس، سبل؛ والكناية ثلاثة أيضا تصدق، حرم وأبد. أمين، فهرست، ٤٢٦ حـ١ .

[8]القيراط كوحدة مساحة يشكل واحد على أربعة وعشرين من الفدان عماد بدر الدين ابو غازي، "دراسة ديبلوماتية في وثائق البيع من املاك بيت المال في عصر المماليك الجراكسة مع تحقيق ونشر بعض الوثائق الجديدة من أرشيفات القاهرة،" رسالة دكتوراه، جامعة القاهرة، ١٩٩٨، جـ٢ ق ٤، ٧٠٨؛
Walter Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte* (Leiden and Cologne, 1970), 66.

٦. أربع وعشرين قيراطا شايعاً[٩] ذلك في سلايخ[١٠] أراضي ناحية بر شنص[١١] من عمل المنوفية.[١٢] ويحيط بكامل الناحية[١٣] المذكورة أعلاه

٧. حدود أربعة بدلالة المكتوب الشرعي[١٤] الورق الكاغد[١٥] المؤرخ باطنه بيوم الخميس المبارك ثالث عشر شهر ربيع الآخر سنة إحدى وستين

٨. وثماني مائة الثابت مضمونه المحكوم بموجبه بعد استيفاء شرايطه الشرعية من مجلس الحكم العزيز الشيخي الحاكمي الأفضلي فضل الدين القرمي[١٦]

٩. الحنفي خليفة الحكم العزيز بالديار المصرية أيد الله تعالى أحكامه حسبما يشهد بذلك إسجاله المسطر بظاهر المكتوب المذكور المؤرخ بخطه الكريم

١٠. بالثامن عشر من شهر ربيع الآخر الشهر المذكور من السنة المذكورة

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[٩] الملكية الشائعة وسط بين الملكية المفرزة والملكية المشتركة، فالحصة في الشيوع شائعة في كل المال ولا تتركز في جانب منه بالذات، والشيء المملوك في الشيوع لا يملكه الشركاء مجتمعين، بل يملك كل شريك أو مشتاع حصة فيه. والمالك في الشيوع له أن يتصرف في حصته الشائعة بكافة أنواع التصرفات القانونية ومنها البيع دون حاجة إلى موافقة باقي المشتاعين. أنظر عبد اللطيف إبراهيم، "وثيقة بيع،" مجلة كلية الآداب، جامعة القاهرة ١٩، جزء ٢ (١٩٥٧): ١٧١–١٧٢ تعليق ٢٥.

[١٠] السلايخ هي الأراضي التي لا تسقى والتي ليس فيها شجر. أنظر المنجد في اللغة والأدب والعلوم، طبعة ١٩ (بيروت، ١٣٧١\١٩٦٨) وبطرس البستاني، كتاب محيط المحيط (بيروت، ١٢٨٦\١٨٧٠)، مادة "سلخ."

[١١] بر شنس من عمل المنوفية وهي بيرشمس محمد رمزي، القاموس الجغرافي في البلاد المصرية من عهد قدماء المصريين إلى سنة ١٩٤٥ (القاهرة، ١٩٥٣–١٩٥٤)، ٢١٥:٢؛ الاسعد بن المهذب أبي مليح ابن مماتي، كتاب قوانين الدواوين (القاهرة، ١٩٤٣)، ١٠٣؛ شرف الدين يحيى ابن الجيعان، التحفة السنية بأسماء البلاد المصرية (القاهرة، ١٩٧٤)، ١١٥.

[١٢] المنوفية عرفت بهذا الإسم من أيام العهد الفاطمي ونسبت إلى منوف التي كانت قاعدة لها. رمزي، القاموس الجغرافي، ١٥:٢.

[١٣] لا بد من ذكر الحدود الأربعة للعقار الموقوف، ولكننا نلاحظ هنا أن كاتب الوثيقة يذكر الحدود الأربعة للناحية وليس للعقار الموقوف والسبب في ذلك أنه عقار مشاع إبراهيم، "وثيقة وقف مسرور،" ١٦٣–١٦٤.

[١٤] المقصود بالكتاب الشرعي عقد البيع المؤرخ بيوم الخميس١٣ شهر ربيع الآخر سنة ٨٦١ هـ والذي يثبت أن الواقف يملك الموقوف، وأنه جار في يده وله حق التصرف فيه، كما أن هذا المكتوب دليل خطي ثابت. ويظهر أن الواقف كان عليه تقديم المستندات التي تثبت ملكيته للموقوف. إبراهيم، "وثيقة بيع،" ١٧٧–١٧٨؛ نفس المؤلف، "التوثيقات الشرعية،" ٣٨٦–٣٩١؛ نفس المؤلف، "وثيقة وقف مسرور،" ١٦١ حـ٨.

[١٥] أنظر القلقشندي، صبح، ٤٦٥:٢، ٤٧٦؛
. Adolf Grohmann, *Allgemeine Einführung in die Arabischen Papyri* (Vienna, 1924), 58

[١٦] محمود بن عمر بن منصور، أفضل الدين بن السراج القرمي الأصل القاهري الحنفي، توفي سنة ٨٦٥ هـ\١٤٦٠ م؛ شمس الدين محمد بن عبد الرحمن السخاوي، الضوء اللامع لأهل القرن التاسع (القاهرة، ١٣٥٣–١٣٥٥)، ١٤٢:١٠–١٤٣، رقم ٥٧٠؛ أبو المحاسن يوسف ابن تغري

أعلاه. الحد القبلي ينتهي إلى أراضي ناحية الفرعونية[١٧] والحد البحري ينتهي إلى أراضي

١١. ناحية بهناى الغنم[١٨] والحد الشرقي ينتهي إلى أراضي ناحية طنت[١٩] والحد الغربي ينتهي إلى أراضي ناحية قلتا.[٢٠] وجميع الحصة التي قدرها

١٢. حصتان كاملتان من عشر حصص شايعا ذلك من جميع ناحية شنراقي[٢١] من عمل الغربية[٢٢] وقدر ذلك الخمس من الناحية المذكورة أعلاه

١٣. المحصور كامل الناحية المذكورة فيه في حدود أربعة بدلالة المكتوب الشرعي[٢٣] الورق المؤرخ أصله بخامس عشر شهر اللّه المحرم الحرام

١٤. سنة ثمان وستين وثمان ماية الثابت مضمونه المحكوم بموجبه بعد استيفاء شرايطه الشرعية من مجلس الحكم العزيز الحاكمي معين الدين أبي الخير محمد

١٥. الطرابلسي[٢٤] الحنفي خليفة الحكم العزيز بالديار المصرية أيد اللّه تعالى أحكامه وأحسن إليه حسبما يشهد بذلك إسجاله المسطر بظاهر المكتوب المذكور المؤرخ

١٦. بخطه الكريم بالسادس والعشرين من شهر اللّه المحرم الحرام الشهر المذكور من السنة المذكورة اعلاه. القبلي ينتهي إلى أراضي ناحية الجميزة[٢٥]

بردي، النجوم الزاهرة في ملوك مصر والقاهرة (القاهرة، ١٩٦٨)، ٣١٤:١٦.

[١٧] الفرعونية من القرى القديمة من أعمال المنوفية رمزي، القاموس الجغرافي، ١٥٨:٢؛ ابن الجيعان، التحفة السنية، ١٠٢؛ ابن مماتي، قوانين الدواوين، ٩٤.

[١٨] بهناى الغنم من أعمال المنوفية وهي بهناى رمزي، القاموس الجغرافي، ٢١٥:٢؛ ابن الجيعان، التحفة السنية، ٣٦، ١٠٤؛ ابن مماتي، قوانين الدواوين، ١١٥.

[١٩] طنت من قرى مصر. ياقوت، معجم البلدان، ٥٥٠:٣؛ ابن مماتي، قوانين الدواوين، ١٦٢؛ ابن الجيعان، التحفة السنية، ١٠٧.

[٢٠] قلتا من القرى القديمة من أعمال المنوفية وهي قلتى الكبرى رمزي، القاموس الجغرافي، ١٦٥:٢؛ ابن الجيعان، التحفة السنية، ١٠٨؛ ابن مماتي، قوانين الدواوين، ١٦٩.

[٢١] شنراقي قرية قديمة من أعمال الغربية وهي شنراق. رمزي، القاموس الجغرافي، ٨:٢؛ ابن الجيعان، التحفة السنية، ٨٤؛ ابن مماتي، قوانين الدواوين، ١٥٦.

[٢٢] الغربية عرفت بهذا الإسم في العهد الفاطمي وأطلق عليها الغربية لوقوعها غربي فرع النيل الشرقي. رمزي، القاموس الجغرافي، ٨:٢.

[٢٣] المقصود عقد البيع؛ أنظر الحاشية رقم ١٢.

[٢٤] محمد بن عبد الرحيم بن محمد بن أحمد بن أبي بكر بن صديق، معين الدين أبو الخير الطرابلسي القاهري الحنفي، توفي سنة ٨٧٣\١٤٦٨، السخاوي، الضوء، ٥٢:٨، رقم ٦٠.

[٢٥] الجميزة قرية قديمة اسمها الأصلي أبشيش من أعمال الغربية رمزي، القاموس الجغرافي، ٤:٢؛ ياقوت، معجم البلدان، ٩٢:١؛ ابن الجيعان، التحفة السنية، ٨٤؛ ابن مماتي، قوانين الدواوين، ٩٣.

وإلى المخلس[٢٦] والبحري
١٧. ينتهي إلى أراضي (...) والشرقي ينتهي إلى أراضي منية البز[٢٧]
والغربي ينتهي إلى أراضي البندرة[٢٨] وإلى الجميزة بحد ذلك كله وحدوده
وحقوقه وما يعرف به
١٨. وينسب إليه المعلوم ذلك عند الواقف المشار إليه أعلاه العلم الشرعي
النافي للجهالة الجاري ذلك جميعه بيد الواقف المذكور أعلاه وملكه وتصرفه
١٩. يشهد له بذلك المكتوبان المنبه عليهما أعلاه ومكتوب ثالث ثابت في
الشرع الشريف محكوم بموجبه أيضا وخصم كل واحد من المكاتيب الثلاث
٢٠. المذكورة أعلاه بقضية هذا الوقف الخصم الشرعي[٢٩] الموافق لتاريخه
وشهوده وقفا صحيحا شرعيا وحبسا صريحا مرعيا لا يباع
٢١. ولا يملك ولا يوهب ولا يناقل به ولا ببعضه مسبلا على شروطه الشرعية
إلى أن يرث اللّه جل جلاله الأرض ومن عليها.[٣٠]
٢٢.وهو خير الوارثين.[٣١] أنشأ الواقف المذكور أثابه اللّه تعالى الأجور وقف
ذلك على نفسه أيام حيوته ينتفع بذلك
٢٣. وبما شاء منه سائر وجوه الانتفاعات الشرعية أبدا ما عاش ودايما ما بقي
من غير شريك له في ذلك ولا في شيء منه ثم من بعد وفاته
٢٤. يقسم ريع ذلك نصفين: فيصرف النصف الأول من الريع المذكور فيه إلى
أولاده الثلاثة لصلبه هم محمد السباعي وشقيقه فضل العزيز المرضع
٢٥. وأختهما لأبيهما زهرا المرضع وإلى من سيحدثه اللّه تعالى له من
الأولاد. ويصرف النصف الثاني من الريع المذكور أعلاه على ما يذكر فيه .
فيصرف النصف وهو
٢٦. الربع من الريع المذكور لوالدة الواقف المشار إليه أعلاه يعني الست

[٢٦] المخلس اسمها الأصلي منية المخلص من أعمال الغربية وهي ميت المخلص رمزي، القاموس الجغرافي، ٢:٦٤؛ ابن الجيعان، التحفة السنية، ٩٤.

[٢٧] منية البز قرية قديمة من أعمال الغربية وهي ميت البز. رمزي، القاموس الجغرافي، ٢:٦٣؛ ابن الجيعان، التحفة السنية، ٩٣؛ ابن مماتي، قوانين الدواوين، ١٨٦.

[٢٨] البندرة قرية قديمة من أعمال الغربية. رمزي، القاموس الجغرافي، ٢:٤٠؛ ابن الجيعان، التحفة السنية، ٦٥؛ ابن مماتي، قوانين الدواوين، ٩٣، ١٨٦.

[٢٩] الخصم الشرعي: نوع من التأشير على وثائق الملكية بما يفيد التصرف في هذه الأملاك أو في بعضها، وكان هذا التأشير يتم على هوامش الوثائق وفي نفس تحرير الوثيقة الجديدة، وبتوقيع نفس الشهود، فيرد في نهاية هذه التأشيرات عبارة ". . . الموافق لتاريخه وشهوده . . ." أمين، فهرست، ٣٣٨ حـ ٣.

[٣٠] مأخوذة من القرآن سورة ١٩، آية ٤٠.

[٣١] مأخوذة من القرآن سورة ٢١، آية ٨٩.

المصونة فاطمة ابنة المرحوم تغري بردي ولوالدتها المصونة ججك ابنة عبد اللّه (...)

٢٧. بعد (...) الست خوند كزل وللمصونة شيرين ابنة عبداللّه زوجة الواقف المذكور أعلاه ومستولدته بالسوية بينهن ويصرف ربعه وهو الثمن من ريع الوقف

٢٨. المذكور [أعلاه] لزوجة الواقف الثانية هي المصونة حليمة ابنة المرحوم الحاج محمد المعروف ببطين، ومما فضل بعد ذلك وهو الثمن من ريع الوقف المذكور

٢٩. (...) فيه منه لشهيرة والدة ابنته زهرا المذكورة أعلاه كل من الفلوس الجدد[٣٢] أوما يقوم مقامها من [الدراهم] ألفا درهم نصف ذلك ألف درهم ويصرف منه

٣٠. (...) وعرف منه في ثمن ما عد ونسب (...) الصريح

٣١. المعروفة (...) المرحوم يلبغا اليحياوي مايتا راون نصف ذلك ماية راون، ويصرف منه في جامكية[٣٣] مقري يقرأ كل يوم جزئين من القرآن العظيم

٣٢.في سكن ذرية الواقف المشار إليه أعلاه خلا يوم الجمعة فإن قراءته تكون بتربة الواقف المذكور في كل شهر من شهور الأهلة ماية درهم النصف من ذلك خمسون درهما فلوسا

٣٣. جدد أو ما يقوم مقامها من النقود ويصرف منه من جامكية قيم بالتربة التي مدفن فيها الواقف المذكور في كل شهر من شهور الأهلة ستون درهما النصف ثلثون درهما

٣٤. فلوسا جدد أو ما يقوم مقامها من النقود ويصرف بقية الريع المذكور أعلاه في ثمن خبز بر وصدقة وغير ذلك على ما يراه الناظر[٣٤] على الوقف

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[٣٢] لعله يقصد الفلوس الجدد التي ضربها السلطان الناصر حسن بن قلاوون في عصر المماليك البحرية أو لعل المقصود الفلوس الجدد التي ضربها السلطان الظاهر جقمق في عصر المماليك الجراكسة. عبد اللطيف إبراهيم، "وثيقة الأمير آخور كبير قراقجا الحسني،" مجلة كلية الآداب، جامعة القاهرة ١٨، جزء ٢ (١٩٥٦): ٢٣٩–٢٤٠، تعليق ٦٧؛ أبو غازي، "دراسة ديبلوماتية،" جزء ٢ ق ٤، ٧٠٧–٧٠٨.

[٣٣] الجامكية جمع جوامك أو جامكيات، كلمة فارسية معناها الراتب بشكل عام ورد ذكرها كثيرا في العصر المملوكي.
Reinhart Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (Leiden, 1881), 1:169;
.Francis John Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary* (London, 1892), 1:351

[٣٤] الناظر على الوقف هو المتولي عليه، وأطلق عليه الناظر لأنه ينظر في الأموال ومصاريفها. والنظر أو الولاية على الوقف لا يجوز لخائن أو عاجز ولا بد من أهليته وأمانته وعدله وكفايته. القلقشندي، صبح، ٤٦٥:٥؛ عبد اللطيف إبراهيم، "نصان جديدان من وثيقة

المشروح فيه
٣٥. ويؤدي إليه إجهاده، فإن مات أحد من المعينين المذكورين أعلاه انتقل ما كان يصرف [إليه] إلى أولاد الواقف المشار إليه أعلاه مضافا لما يصرف لهم،
٣٦. فإذا مات أحد من الأولاد المذكورين أعلاه انتقل نصيبه إلى من بقي منهم ثم من بعدهم إلى أولادهم ثم إلى أولاد أولادهم ثم إلى أولاد أولاد أولادهم ثم
٣٧. وذريتهم ونسلهم[٣٥] وعقبهم[٣٦] الذكر والأنثى فيه سواء من ولد الظهر وولد البطن، يستقل به الواحد عند انفراده ويشترك فيه الاثنان فما فوقهما، على أن من مات
٣٨. منهم وترك ولدا أو ولد ولد او أسفل من ذلك انتقل نصيبه إليه، فإن لم يكن له ولد ولا ولد ولد ولا أسفل من ذلك انتقل نصيبه إلى من يساويه في درجته
٣٩. وذوي طبقته. فإذا انقرضوا بأسرهم وأبادهم الموت عن آخرهم ولم يبق منهم أحد أو مات الواقف المشار إليه أعلاه عن غير ولد ولا ولد ولد
٤٠. ولا أسفل من ذلك انتقل ما كان يصرف لهم لأولاد المعينين أعلاه بالسوية بينهم، ثم لأولادهم ثم لأولاد أولادهم وذريتهم ونسلهم وعقبهم كما
٤١. شرح في أولاد الواقف المشار إليه أعلاه. فإن لم يوجد للمعينين المذكورين أعلاه ولد ولا ولد ولد ولا أسفل من ذلك انتقل ما كان يصرف لهم إلى عتقاء
٤٢. الواقف المشار إليه أعلاه مضافا لما عين لهم أعلاه الذكر فيه سواء ثم إلى أولادهم ثم إلى أولاد أولادهم وذريتهم ونسلهم وعقبهم فإذا انقرضوا بأسرهم
٤٣. وأبادهم الموت عن آخرهم ولم يبق منهم أحد صرف ما كان يصرف لهم للمصونة خديجة ابنة إبرهيم من أهل ناحية شنراقي بالغربية المعروفة بتربية والدة الواقف
٤٤. المذكورة أعلاه ولعتقاء والدة الواقف المذكور فيه ولعتقاء جدته المذكورتين بأعاليه ولعتقاء زوجتيه المذكورتين أعلاه بالسوية بينهم الذكر والأنثى فيه سواء
٤٥. ثم لأولادهم ثم لأولاد أولادهم وذريتهم ونسلهم وعقبهم فإذا انقرضوا

الأمير صرغتمش،" مجلة كلية الآداب، جامعة القاهرة ٢٨ (١٩٦٦): ١٥٦ تعليق ٤٦.

[٣٥] يراد بلفظ الذرية والنسل" البطون " قريبها وبعيدها، فهو يتناول الأولاد الصلبية والأحفاد أي الأولاد وأولاد الأولاد وأولادهم أبدا ما تناسلوا. ويتناول الوقف على هذا الوجه كل من كان موجودا وقت الوقف من أولاد الواقف أو نسله كما يتناول كل من يولد منهم أنظر زهدي يكن، أحكام الوقف (صيدا وبيروت، بدون تاريخ)، ٢٦٦.

[٣٦] يراد بلفظ العقب الولد وولد الولد أبدا ما تناسلوا من الأولاد الذكور دون الإناث، وعليه أن

بأسـرهم وأبادهم الموت عن آخـرهم ولم يبق منهم أحـد وخلت الأرض منهم أجمعين

٤٦. كان ذلك وقفا على مصالح الحرمين الشريفين حرم مكة المشرفة وحرم المدينة على ساكنها أفضل الصلاة والسلام بالسوية بينهما، فإن تعذر الصرف إلى أحد الحرمين صرف إلى

٤٧. الحرم الآخر، فإن تعذر الصرف إلى الجهات كلها صرف إلى الفقراء والمساكين أينما كانوا وحسبما وجدوا يجري الحال في ذلك كذلك وجودا وعدما تعذرا وإمكانا إلى أن

٤٨. يرث اللّه جل جلاله الأرض ومن عليها وهو خير الوارثين وشرط الواقف[٣٧] المشار إليه أعلاه النظر على وقفه هذا والولاية عليه لنفسه

٤٩. أيام [حياته] وينظر في ذلك بنفسه ولمن يستعين[به بالطريق الشرعي و] جعل لنفسه أن يوصي بالوقف المذكور ويسنده ويفو[ضه] عنه لمن شاء فإن مات عن

٥٠. عـ(...) الملكي الظاهري والجناب

٥١. العالي السيفي كمشبغا بن عبداللّه التمرازي المالكي الظاهري بالسوية بينهما. فإن مات أحدهما استقل الآخر ثم من بعدهما للجناب العالي السيفي جانم ابن عبد اللّه الجلباني

٥٢. والجناب العالي السيفي بردبك بن عبد اللّه السيفي السلحدار[٣٨] الظاهرين بالسوية بينهما على ما شرح أعلاه ثم من بعد وفاتهما للجناب العالي السيفي جكم بن عبد اللّه البراهيمي البواب

٥٣. والجناب العالي السيفي شاذبك بن عبد اللّه الجمالي أمير آخور[٣٩] الظاهرين على الحكم المشروح أعلا ه. وجعل الواقف المشار إليه أعلاه لمن ما جرى وفاته من النظار

٥٤. المذكورين أعلاه أن يسند الوقف المذكور ويوصي به ويفوضه لمن شاء فإن مات عن غير وصية ولا إسناد ولا تفويض به أو كان وتعذر ذلك بوجه من وجوه التقدرات

كل من كان ابوه من أولاد الواقف الذكور كان عقبا للواقف وبالعكس نفس المرجع اعلاه، ٢٦٧.

[٣٧] لقد جرت العادة في عصر المماليك أن يتولى الواقف النظر والولاية على وقفه أيام حياته، ثم يعهد بذلك من بعده لأولاده وأولاد أولاده وغيرهم. أمين، فهرست، ٤٢٨ حـ٣، ٤٣١ حـ ٦.

[٣٨] السلحدار هو الموكل بحمل سلاح السلطان أو الأمير الذي هو في خدمته، ومن وظيفته أيضا الإشراف على السلاح خاناه، وما هو من توابع ذلك. القلقشندي، صبح، ٤٥٦:٥؛ Shai Har-El, "Silāḥdār," *EI*², 9:609.

٥٥. الشرعية كان النظر على الوقف المذكور أعلاه لمن يكون زماما[٤٠] بالآدر الشريفة السلطانية بالديار المصرية إذ ذاك يجري الحال في ذلك وجودا وعدما إلى أن اللّه تعالى جل ذكره

٥٦. الأرض ومن عليها وهو خير الوارثين. وجعل الواقف المذكور أعلاه لنفسه أيضا أن يرمي في هذا الوقف ما يرمي زيادته وينقص منه ما يرمي تنقيصه

٥٧. ويغير فيه ما يرمي تغيره ويدخل فيه من شاء ويخرج منه من أراد يفعل ذلك كلما بدا له مرة بعد أخرى من الزيادة والنقصان والإعطاء والحرمان[٤١] ما دام حيا

٥٨. باقيا، فإذا توفاه اللّه تعالى استقر الحال على ما هو الحال عليه وليس لأحد بعده فعل شيء من ذلك يجري الحال في ذلك كذلك إلى أن يرث اللّه الأرض ومن عليها وهو خير الوارثين.

٥٩. فقد تم هذا الوقف ولزم ونفذ حكمه وانبرم[٤٢] وصار وقفا من أوقاف المسلمين محرما بحرمات اللّه الأكيدة وأثابه العظمة السديدة

٦٠. فلا يحل لأحد يؤمن باللّه واليوم الآخر ويعلم أنه إلى ربه الكريم صاير من أمير أو مأمور أو آمر أن يغيره أو يبدله أو يسعى في

٦١. إبطاله فمن فعل ذلك كان اللّه تعالى حسيبه وطليبه يوم التناد يوم يكون اللّه هو الحاكم بين العباد[٤٣] "يوم تجد كل نفس ما عملت من خير محضر أوما عملت من سوء تود لو أن بينها وبينه أمدا بعيدا ويحذركم اللّه نفسه واللّه رؤف بالعباد"[٤٤] ومن أعان

٦٢. على تثبيته وإثباته في أيدي مستحقيه برد للّه مضجعه ولقنه حجته

Notes above the red line appear on the previous page in the print edition.

[٣٩] أمير آخور هو الذي يتحدث على اصطبل السلطان أو الأمير، ويتولى أمر ما فيه من الخيل والإبل وغيرها مما هو داخل في حكم الإصطبلات. القلقشندي، صبح، ٥:٤٦١؛ David Ayalon, "Amīr Ākhūr," *EI*², 1:442.

[٤٠] الزمام هو الذي يتحدث على باب ستارة السلطان أو الأمير من الخدام والخصيان القلقشندي، صبح، ٥:٤٥٩؛ Dozy, *Supplément,* 2:601.

[٤١] الشروط التي يجوز للواقف اشتراطها والمعروفة بالشروط العشرة وهي الزيادة والنقصان؛ الإدخال والإخراج؛ الإعطاء والحرمان،؛ التغيير والتبديل؛ البدل والاستبدال؛ التحصيص والتفضيل. عن هذه الشروط أنظر يكن، أحكام الوقف، ٢٠٩ وما يليها؛ إبراهيم، "وثيقة الأمير آخور،" ٢٥٠ وما يليها، تعليق ٩٢؛ نفس المؤلف، "وثيقة استبدال،" مجلة كلية الآداب، جامعة القاهرة ٢٥، جزء ٢ (١٩٦٣): ٢٢، تعليق ٩.

[٤٢] صيغة توثيقية للتأكيد على تمام هذا التصرف القانوني ولزومه وهو هنا إنشاء الوقف ابراهيم، "وثيقة وقف مسرور،" ١٦٨، تعليق ٣٢؛ أمين، فهرست، ٤٣٣ حـ ٤.

[٤٣] صيغة جزائية تواتركتاب الوثائق العربية في العصور الوسطى على إثباتها في ختام وثائق الوقف، وهذه الصيغة هي للنهي والعقاب واللعنة لمن يسعى في تغيير الوقف أو

وجعله من الأمينين المطمئنين الفرحين المستبشرين الذين[٤٥] "لاخوف عليهم ولا هم يحزنون"[٤٦]

٦٣. "فمن بدله بعدما سمعه فإنما اثمه على الذين يبدلونه أن اللّه سميع عليم".[٤٧] ورفع الواقف المشار إليه أعلاه عن وقفه هذا بذ[لك] ملكه

٦٤. ووضع عليه يد ولايته ونظره[٤٨] وأشهد على نفسه بذلك وبالتوكيل في ثبوته وفي طلب الحكم به وسؤال الإشهاد به كل مسلم توكيلا

٦٥. شرعيا[٤٩] في الثامن والعشرين من شهر شوال المبارك سنة سبعين ثماني ماية[٥٠] مصلح بعذر صحيح ذلك[٥١] حسبنا اللّه ونعم الوكيل.[٥٢]

شهد على الواقف المشار إليه أعلاه بما نسب إليه أعلاه في تاريخه المعين بأعاليه وكتب
عبد القادر بن علي الصيرفي عفا اللّه عنه

شهد على الواقف المشار إليه أعلاه بما نسب إليه أعلاه في تاريخه المعين بأعاليه وكتب
علي بن. . ."[٥٣]

أبطاله، كما أنها ذات أسلوب ديني مناسب للعصر. إبراهيم، "وثيقة الأمير آخور،" ٢٢٠، سطر ٢٤٦–٢٥١؛ أمين، فهرست، ٤٣٣ حـ ٥.

[٤٤] القرآن سورة ٣، آية ٣٠.

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[٤٥] صيغ للترغيب والثواب لمن أعان على بقاء الوقف ودوامه وإثباته أنظر نفس المصادر الواردة في الحاشية رقم ٤٣.

[٤٦] القرآن سورة ١٠، جزء من آية ٦٢.

[٤٧] القرآن سورة ٢ آية ١٨١.

[٤٨] صيغ فقهية خاصة بالتخلية شاعت في العصر المملوكي وصارت شروطا مألوفة، كما أنها من عبارات التخلية والتي تعتبر بمثابة تسليم العين الموقوفة على المستحقين الذين يمثلهم الناظر حتى ولو كان التسليم لم يتم ماديا في واقع الأمر. عبد اللطيف إبراهيم، "خمس وثائق شرعية،" مجلة جامعة أم درمان ٢ (١٩٦٩): ١٧٨–١٧٩؛ أمين، فهرست، ٤٣٥ حـ ٢.

[٤٩] لا بد من إقرار الواقف واعترافه بما وقفه مما يجعل تصرفه لازما ونافذا، ولذلك لا بد من الإشهاد عليه بمعرفة ما وقفه المعرفة الشرعية النافية للجهالة مما يجعل إقراره حجة عليه ويسقط حقه في لإبطال الوقف بدعوى عدم علمه. ابراهيم، "وثيقة وقف مسرور،" ١٦٨ حـ ٣٤؛ أمين، فهرست، ٤٣٥ حـ ٣.

[٥٠] هذا هو تاريخ التصرف القانوني (الوقف) الوارد في ختام وجه الوثيقة، وقد أثبته كاتب الوثيقة باليوم والشهر والسنة الهجري، وهو مدار التاريخ الإسلامي.. ابراهيم، "التوثيقات الشرعية،" ٣٨٢، تحقيق ٥٠؛ نفس المؤلف، "وثيقة بيع،" ١٩٢، تحقيق ٤٥.

[٥١] هذه العبارة وأمثالها توجد كثيرا في نهاية بعض الوثائق التي قد يحدث فيها شطب أو كشط وتصليح أو إضافة وإلحاق بعض الألفاظ، وهي ترد قبل الحسبلة مباشرة في أغلب الأحوال. إبراهيم، "وثيقة الأمير آخور،" ١٩٦ حـ ٢، ٢٥١، تحقيق ٩٤؛ نفس المؤلف، "وثيقة وقف مسرور،" ١٦٩ حـ ٣٦.

[٥٢] الحسبلة هي الدعاء الختامي في نهاية الوثيقة، وقد اصطلح الكتاب على أن يكتبوا بلفظ

شهدا عندي بذلك
وبعرفة الواقف أعزه اللّه تعالى[٥٤]

هامش وجه الوثيقة

ليسجل بثبوته ولزومه وحكمه (...):[٥٥]

[مكتوب الاستبدال] [٥٦]
(...) علامة القاضي
(...) العالي

صارت الحصة التي مبلغها قيراط واحد وثمن قيراط ونصف وربع سبع من قيراطين ونصف قيراط من أربع وعشرين قيراط شايعا ذلك من أراضي ناحية بر شنس بالمنوفية المذكورة أعلاه يمنة ملكا طلقا من أملاك بدر الدين حسن بن عبد الرازق بن عمر عرف بابن(...) لها بعد صدور المسوغ المقتضى له (...) شرعي الشريف بالبينة الشرعية في مكتوب الاستبدال الشرعي جملة من الدراهم مايتا درهما وعشرون درهما (...) حال ذلك يعين من جملة [المبلغ] المذكور ليصرف كما عرف في مكتوب الاستبدال الذي

الجمع علي اعتبار آن المتكلم يتكلم بلسانه ولسان غيره من الآمة ابراهيم، "التوثيقات الشرعية،" ٣٩٨، تحقيق ٦٣؛ القلقشندي، صبح، ٦:٢٦٩.

[٥٣]بقية التوقيع غير مقروء.

Notes above the red line appear on the previous page in the print edition.

[٥٤]هذه هي تأشيرة القاضي الذي قام بتوثيق الفعل القانوني والحكم بصحة الوقف ولزومه عقب توقيعات الشاهدين، ولا يكتب القاضي الموثق ذلك أسفل التوقيعات إلا إذا كان قاصدا الإعلام بصحة التوقيعات وسلامتها من الريب من جميع النواحي. ابراهيم، "وثيقة وقف مسرور،" ١٧٠ حـ ٤٣.

[٥٥]هذا اللفظ خاص بتسجيل الوثيقة وهو يرد عادة على الهامش الأيمن في بداية وجه الوثيقة، مكتوبا بخط القاضي الموثق نفسه بعد حكمه بصحة التصرف القانوني ولزومه والجدير بالذكر أن هذا اللفظ "ليسجل" يرد دائما بصيغة الأمر. أنظر عن هذا الموضوع ابراهيم، "التوثيقات الشرعية،" ٣٠٦، ٣٦٤؛ نفس المؤلف، "خمس وثائق شرعية،" ١٩٨–١٩٩؛ نفس المؤلف، "وثيقة بيع،" ١٥٧–١٦١.

(...) المنتقل هو (...) تسلما شرعيا حسبما (...) في مكتوب الاستبدال
(...) التالي الموقع بالثاني عشرين من شهر رجب سنة إحدى وتسعين
وثمان ماية المحكوم بكونه مالكا(...) على الواقف العلم (...) الحكم الشرعي
المقتضي حكما شرعيا أيد اللّه أحكامه(...) المؤرخ بتاريخه وهو الثاني
عشرين من شهر رجب الـ(...) إحدى وتسعين وثمان ماية حسبنا اللّه
ونعمايه

يشهد في مكتوب الاستبدال
أحمد بن ... [57]

يشهد في مكتوب الاستبدال
أحمد بن محمد بن ... [58]

[فصل الملكية والحيازة]
الحمد للّه على كل حال
يشهد من يضع خطه فيه آخره أو يوضع عنه بإذنه بمعرفة المجلس العالي
الشرفي شرف الدين يحيى الواقف المشار إليه أعلاه وبمعرفة ما منه
الحصص الموقوفة أعلاه المعرفة الشرعية ويشهدون مع ذلك أن المجلس الشرفي
يحيى الواقف المشار إليه فيه لم يزل مالما حايزا لجميع الحصص الموقوفة
أعلاه إلى حين صدور هذا الوقف المشروح بأعاليه يعلم شهوده ذلك ويشهدون
مسؤلين فيه حسبنا اللّه ونعم الوكيل.

شهد بمضمونه
أحمد بن إبراهيم ابن عبد الرحمن
وكتب عنه بإذنه وحضوره [59]
شهاب الدين القرمي

شهد بذلك
أحمد بن محمد

شهدا بذلك عندي حفظهما اللّه تعالى. [60]

[فصل الإعذار]
[الحمد] للّه على نعمه

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[56] مكتوب الاستبدال موجود تحت رقم وثيقة الوقف ٥٧١ ج، مسلسل ٤٢٨، تاريخ ٢٢ رجب ٨٩١ هـ المبدل كمشبغا بن عبد اللّه التمرازي (الناظر على الوقف) ومحمد بن الواقف، المستبدل حسن بن عبد الرازق بن عمر. أمين، فهرست، ١٣٣.

Notes above the red line appear on the previous page in the print edition.

[57] بقية التوقيع غير مقروء.

[58] بقية التوقيع غير مقروء.

[59] هذا الشاهد في فصل الملكية والحيازة لا يعرف الكتابة أي لم يكتب نص الشهادة ولم يوقع بخطه، بل كتب ووقع عنه بإذنه وحضوره أحد كتاب الحكم أو الشهود العدول من مساعدي

[أشـهـد] عليـه المجلس العـالي الشـرفي يـحـيـى الـواقـف المشـار إليـه أعـلاه شـهـوده إشـهـادا شـرعـيـا أنـه دافـع لـه ولا مـطـعن في جـمـيـع مـا تضـمـنـه مكتـوب الـوقـف المشروح بأعـاليـه ولا فـيـمـن شـهـد فـيـه ولا فـيـمـا شـهـد بـه فـيـه ولا فـي شـيء من ذلك حـسـبـنـا اللّه ونعم الـوكـيـل وصلوتـه وسـلامـه على سـيـدنـا مـحـمـد وآلـه وصحبـه أمـين.

يـشـهـد عليـه بذلك	يشهد عليه بذلك
(...) أعزه اللّه تعالى	محمد بن محمد (...)
شهدا عندي بذلك[61]	أعزه اللّه تعالى

[شـروط تـعديل الـوقـف] [62]

الـحـمـدللّه وحـده بـعـد أن شـرط المجلس الـعـالي الـشـرفي شـرف الـديـن يـحـيـى الـواقـف المشـار إلـيـه أعـلاه لـنـفـسـه أن يرمـي في هـذا الـوقـف مـا يرمـي زياده وينقص منـه مـا يـرمـي تنقيـصـه ويـغـيـر فـيـه مـا يـرمـي تـغـيـيـره ويـدخـل فـيـه من شـاء ويـخـرج منـه من أراد. يـفـعل ذلك كلمـا بدا لـه مـرة بـعـد أخـرى من الـزيـادة والـنـقصان والإعطاء والحرمان مـا دام حيـا بـاقـيـا، فـإذا تـوفـاه اللّه تـعـالى استـقـر الحال على مـا هو عليـه على مـا شرح وفصل بأعـاليـه أشـهـد عليـه شـهـود الإشـهـاد الـشـرعي أنـه أخـرج مـسـتـولدتـه وعـتـيـقتـه المصونة شـيـرين المرأة الكـامـل ابـنـة عـبـد اللّه الـرومـيـة الجنس من الاسـتـحـقـاق من الـوقـف المسطر بأعـاليـه وجـعل مـا كان تـصـرف لـهـا من اسـتـحـقـاق ريـع وقـفـه المذكـور أعـلاه مـصـروفـا لأولاد الـواقـف المسمـى أعـاليـه مـضـافـا لما يسـتـحـقـونـه من ذلك وأنـه لم يبـق لشـيـرين المذكـورة اعـلاه مـن ريـع الـوقـف المذكور حق ولا اسـتـحـقـاق ولا شـيء ولـو انـتـقل(...) لـهـو (...) شـيـرين المذكـورة أعـلاه خـامـس عـشـري شـهـر ذي الـقـعـدة(...) سـبـعـين وثمـانـي مـايـة حـسـبـنـا اللّه ونـعـم الـوكـيـل وصلوتـه وسـلامـه على سـيـدنـا مـحـمـد وآلـه وصحبـه

شـهـد عليـه بـذلك
مـحـمـد بـن مـحـمـد الـصـوفـي

القـاضـي الموثق والحـاضـرين مـجـلس حكمـه وقـضـائـه، وهـذا يـدل عـلى آن هـذا الـشـاهـد مـن الـعـامـة وعـلى قـدر اجـتـمـاعـي مـتـواضـع. ابـراهـيـم، "وثـيـقـة اسـتـبـدال،" ٣٥؛ أمـين، فـهـرست، ٣٤٤ حـ ٤.

[60] تأشيـة القـاضـي الموثق، أنـظر الحاشيـة رقـم ٥٤.

[61] تأشيـرة القـاضـي الموثق، أنـظر الحاشيـة رقـم ٥٤.

[62] شـروط تـعديل الـوقـف مـوجـودة تحت رقم وثـيـقـة الـوقف٥٧١ ج، مـسـلسل ٤٢٨، تـاريـخ ٢٥ ذو القعدة ٨٧٠ هـ. أمـين، فـهـرست، ١٣٣.

Notes above the red line appear on the previous page in the print edition.

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Religious Endowments and Succession to Rule: The Career of a Sultan´s Son in the Fifteenth Century

No subject attracted Ulrich Haarmann's attention more during the last years of his life than the phenomenon of the Mamluks' sons *(awlād al-nās)* in late medieval Egyptian and Syrian societies.[1] We still know relatively little about this group and its relation to the other sections of society. On these questions Ulrich Haarmann was preparing a monograph which now must remain unfinished due to his premature death. Thus, much still remains unclarified.

A crucial source for further work, which surely has not yet received the appropriate attention, are the numerous private documents of the time, of which the endowment deeds in particular are the focus here.[2] They give insight into the financial and personal conditions of founders and their families much more than the chronicles and biographical literature do, and thus afford us a glimpse of things that otherwise pass unnoticed in the literature. While we cannot always avoid hypothetical solutions, use of such documents allows us to raise questions and suggest answers which otherwise would not be the case basing ourselves on the traditional sources. This is the case here with our study of the sultan's son al-Mu'ayyad Aḥmad, who in 865/1461 succeeded his father al-Ashraf Īnāl (r. 857/1453–865/1461) to the throne. In keeping with the conventions of that time, he remained in power for only four months before he was deposed by his highest

[1]See Ulrich Haarmann, ″Joseph's Law: The Careers and Activities of Mamluk Descendants before the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt,″ in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 55–84; idem, ″The Sons of Mamluks as Fief-Holders in Late Medieval Egypt,″ in *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*, ed. Tarif Khalidi (Beirut, 1984), 141–68.

[2]An introduction to the institution of Islamic foundations *(waqf)* in Egypt as well as an up-to-date summary of research, including editions of endowment deeds, is given in Doris Behrens-Abouseif, ″Waḳf,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 11:63–69. From the time of the Mamluk sultanate there are almost 1000 private documents preserved in three Cairo archives: the National Archives (Dār al-Wathā'iq al-Qawmīyah), the National Library (Dār al-Kutub al-Qawmīyah), and the Ministry of Endowments (Wizārat al-Awqāf). They are all described in Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Catalogue des documents d'archives du Caire de 239/853 à 922/1516* (Cairo, 1981).

military officer and successor al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam (r. 865/1461–872/1467).[3] The few events of his short sultanate have so far not been given sufficient attention and we have failed to appreciate their deeper meaning due to our not taking into account the evidence provided by documents. The documentary evidence not only sheds more light on the reign of Aḥmad but also may suggest something about the experiences of other sultan´s sons in the fifteenth century.

In his ultimately futile attempt to succeed his father, al-Mu'ayyad Aḥmad had much more favorable conditions than the other sultans´ sons of the fifteenth century, and it surely was not certain that he would be overthrown after only a few months. Born in Ghazza in 835/1431, while his father served as governor *(nā'ib),* he studied there in his youth with local scholars and during his father´s sultanate gradually moved up the military hierarchy. At the time of his father's death he was already commander-in-chief of the army *(atābak)* and leader of the annual pilgrimage caravan. When he succeeded his father on the throne on 14 Jumādá I 865/25 February 1461, he was already 30 years of age and thus older and more experienced than other pretenders to the throne before him. Yet even such military, political, and administrative experience could not prevent his overthrow on 19 Ramāḍān 865/28 June 1461 and his several years of detention in the Alexandrian fortress that followed.

His sultanate did not begin without promise; at the beginning he seems to have controlled his father's mamluks effectively and prevented their notorious plundering. This criterion of good rule, seemingly crucial for this late phase of the Mamluk sultanate—i.e. keeping control over the perennially erratic mamluk factions—he at first fulfilled even better than his father had. This earned him the gratitude of the population and the appreciation of contemporary observers.[4] Such a successful start was only possible because he possessed a sufficient reserve of cash for distribution—a topic which will be discussed below. His luck, however, did not last. Aḥmad could not meet the demands of all the mamluk factions equally so that an opposition soon emerged among those mamluks who had already been disadvantaged under his father and were not willing to accept this situation under another sultan. The commander-in-chief Khushqadam appeared early on as the focus of this dissident group.[5] Aḥmad tried to defend his position by relying on rank-and-file mamluks, which in turn caused displeasure among his own al-

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[3]For al-Mu'ayyad Aḥmad see his biography in Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Beirut, 1934), 1:246. For historical events see Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, vol. 7 (Berkeley, 1929).

[4]Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 1:246; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 652.

[5]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 659–64.

Ashrafīyah mamluks.[6] Only a few weeks later, civil war broke out in Cairo and Aḥmad's political isolation soon became apparent when his own mamluks deserted to the other side. Even the offer of high state positions failed to appease his opponents and he was forced from office.[7]

He was confined to the fortress of Alexandria where his condition soon improved. In the second half of 865/1461 Aḥmad was released from the dungeon. Complete rehabilitation, however, took place only with Khushqadam's death in 872/1467. One of the first official acts by the new sultan, Timurbughā, was the granting of freedom of movement within Alexandria for Aḥmad as well as restoring the social position and material wealth of the former al-Ashrafīyah mamluks.[8] Aḥmad appears to have withdrawn from politics at this time. About his life during the following years the narrative sources remain silent with one remarkable exception: already an influential and frequently consulted member of Alexandrian society, in early 887/1482 he became a shaykh, i.e., he was elected to the executive body of the Alexandrian branch of the al-Shādhilīyah Sufi order and led the meetings *(dhikr)* from that time on.[9] Thereafter he seems to have remained in Alexandria for the remainder of his life with the exception of 884/1479 when he was allowed to travel to Cairo to attend the funeral of his mother Zaynab.[10] After his death in Ṣafar 893/January 1488 his body was sent to Cairo and buried in his father's mausoleum.[11]

Up to this point the saga of Aḥmad′s life seems to be typical of a dethroned and exiled sultan. Fortunately, however, the endowment deed of al-Mu'ayyad Aḥmad which is preserved in the Dār al-Wathā'iq in Cairo[12] allows us fuller

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[6]Ibid., 665. See also Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341)* (Leiden, 1995).

[7]Levanoni, *A Turning Point,* 19–25.

[8]Gustav Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen* (1846–62; reprint, Osnabrück, 1967), 5:288; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 846.

[9]Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 1:246. The importance of such a leading position in this popular and decentralized order should not be underestimated. It could be a hint that Aḥmad still maintained political influence after his time as sultan. For the al-Shadhilīyah order's social implications see Eric Geoffroy, *Le soufisme en Egypte et en Syrie sous les derniers Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans: orientations spirituelles et enjeux culturels* (Damascus, 1995); Alexander Knysh, *Islamic Mysticism: A Short History* (Leiden, Boston, 2000), 208ff.; P. Lory, ″Shadhiliyya,″ *EI*², 9:172–75.

[10]Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 1:244.

[11]Ibid., 246.

[12]The endowment deed of 20 Jumādá II 865/2 April 1461 (called [DW] H in the following) is written on the reverse of an endowment deed ascribed to al-Ashraf Īnāl carrying the number DW 51/346 (Amīn, *Catalogue,* no. 137). The foundations of Īnāl are the subject of my Ph.D. dissertation, now in preparation. It includes an edition and annotated translation of Īnāl's two preserved endowment deeds, which are: Dār al-Kutub al-Qawmīyah MS 63 *tārīkh* from 28 Shawwāl 862/8 September

access to the details of Aḥmad′s life and raises questions about the connection between rulership and benefactors′ activities, succession to the sultanate, and the aims of rulership. This document tells us that Aḥmad, shortly after his assumption of power, purchased land shares in no less than 37 Syrian and Egyptian villages and then bequeathed them to his family's existing foundation (*waqf ahlī).* This family foundation shall be called here (DW). It had been created by Aḥmad′s father al-Ashraf Īnāl shortly before his death a few months earlier.[13] It consisted of 18 properties[14] in Cairo's best quarters as well as shares in 20 Syrian and Egyptian villages.[15] The income from renting the real estate as well as the levy *('ibrah)* paid annually by these agricultural lands was intended for the maintenance of Īnāl's family, i.e. his only wife Zaynab, his sons Aḥmad and Muḥammad, and his daughters Fāṭimah and Badrīyah.[16] The two important offices of the foundation's inspector *(naẓar)* and administrator *(wilāyah),* who determined the distribution of the foundation's income, resided characteristically with Zaynab.[17] No effort was

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1458 (Amīn, *Catalogue,* no. 884) as well as the already mentioned Dār al-Wathā'iq al-Qawmīyah MS 51/346 from 10 Ṣafar 865/25 November 1460 (Amīn, *Catalogue,* no. 137). A third document, which was originally preserved in the Cairo Ministry of Endowments, has only been recently lost: al-Awqāf MS 910q from 17 Dhū al-Hijjah 861/5 November 1456 (Amīn, *Catalogue,* no. 392). Furthermore, several sales documents *(bay')* are preserved in the Cairo archives, in whose transactions Īnāl was involved as vendor *(bā'ī):* al-Awqāf MS 643j from 13 Jumādá I 863/18 March 1459 (Amīn, *Catalogue,* no. 396; edited in Zaynab Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ, ″Wathā'iq al-Bay' fī Miṣr khilāl al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī,″ Ph.D. diss., Cairo University, 1977); Dār al-Wathā'iq MS 20/122 from 19 Jumādá I 864/12 March 1460 (Amīn, *Catalogue,* no. 131; edited in 'Imād Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd Abū Ghāzī, ″Dirāsah Diblūmātīyah fī Wathā'iq al-Bay' min Amlāk Bayt al-Māl fī 'Aṣr al-Mamāmlīk al-Jarākisah, ma'a Taḥqīq wa-Nashr ba'ḍ al-Wathā'iq al-Jadīdah fī Arshīfāt al-Qāhirah,″ Ph.D. diss., Cairo University, 1995, 2:169–93); Dār al-Wathā'iq MS 27/176 from 27 Dhū al-Hijjah 864/13 October 1460 (Amīn, *Catalogue,* no. 135; edited in Maḥfūẓ, ″Wathā'iq al-Bay'″). Additionally, the existence and the dating of some former sales documents of Īnāl's and Aḥmad ibn Īnāl's, which are lost today, can be proved by quotations in the preserved documents.

[13]Aḥmad's sales deed dating from 7 Jumādá II 865/20 March 1461 has not survived. However, its date is known by a quotation in (DW) H, line 122. Īnāl's family endowment from 10 Ṣafar 865/25 November 1460 is documented in (DW) A.

[14](DW) A, nos. 1–11, 13–16, 18, 39. These properties were trading houses and market halls, apartment houses, stores, stables, bakeries and public baths. They were situated in the main Cairo commercial districts Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, Būlāq, and al-Fuṣṭāṭ.

[15](DW) A, nos. 19–38.

[16](DW) H, lines 131–46. Refers to (DW) A, lines 132–42.

[17](DW) A, lines 835–38. The appointment of the founder or a close relative as foundation inspector was fiercely discussed by contemporary observers and considered partly illegal. See Taqī al-Dīn 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Kāfī al-Subkī's (d. 1355) unpublished treatise ″Al-Qawl al-Mū'ib fī al-Qaḍā' al-Mūjib,″ in Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Berlin, 1902), 2:87; likewise Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* ed. Josef van Ess (Wiesbaden, 1974), 9:478

made to hide such a conflict of interest. With the additional properties acquired by Aḥmad, the foundation's capital and thus the family's fortune was substantially enlarged. Otherwise, he did not modify the dispositions made by his father.

Aḥmad's maneuver must be seen in connection with his father's earlier foundations. Apart from the family trust just mentioned (DW), Īnāl had endowed another foundation, for which documentary evidence also remains and which will here be designated (DK).[18] This was a foundation with an appearant charitable purpose *(waqf khayrī),* which consisted of a large building complex erected in the northeastern Cairo cemetery *(ṣaḥra'),* which in addition to a mausoleum *(turbah)* for the sultan and his family, contained a college *(madrasah),* a Sufi convent *(khānqāh),* a Friday mosque *(jāmi'),* and a hermitage *(zāwiyah).*[19] To underwrite the building's construction and permanent expenses he created several additional foundations, the documents for which are unfortunately now lost.[20] However, we do know about the endowments of Syrian and Egyptian lands added to the foundation's capital in the years 1458 and 1459.[21] Īnāl took these additional agricultural lands from both the state treasury *(bayt al-māl),* and from land he had personally acquired earlier.[22] The tasks of inspection and administration, including

(both quoted in Haarmann, "Joseph's Law," 72, n. 90).

[18]Dār al-Kutub MS 63 *tārīkh*.

[19]For the mausoleum, which was erected in 854/1450, see Michael Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien (648/1250 bis 923/1517)*, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe, vol. 5 (Glückstadt, 1992), 2:372; Max van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum: Egypte,* Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, vol. 19 (Cairo, 1894–1903), 395–97, nos. 271 and 405. For the convent, finished in 858/1454, see Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 2:378f. For the college/ mosque, which was finished in 860/1456 in seven months and became active shortly thereafter, see Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 2:379; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá, Bibliotheca Islamica, vol. 5 a-e (Wiesbaden, Cairo, 1960–75), 2:333.

[20]The course of events and the dates of the individual endowments cannot be reconstructed. Only the deed for the Friday mosque, dating from 20 Jumādá II 862/5 May 1458 is quoted. See (DK) E, line 46f. Probably these lost documents were written on the similarly lost first part of the document (DK).

[21]The relevant endowment deed is the preserved collective deed Dār al-Kutub MS 63 *tārīkh* (see n. 12 above). The first of these additional endowments is dated from 21 Shawwāl 862/1 September 1458, when Īnāl endowed 14 different fiefs in the Syrian province of al-Ṭarābulus. One week later, on 28 Shawwāl 862/8 September 1458, he endowed a fief located in the Egyptian province of al-Gharbīyah. Two months later, on 3 Muḥarram 863/10 November 1458, he endowed six fiefs located in the Egyptian provinces of al-Jīzah, al-Muzāḥamīyatayn and al-Ushmūnayn. On 18 Ramaḍān 863/19 July 1459 he further endowed three fiefs in the Syrian province of Jabal Nābulus. See documents (DK) A, B, D, E.

[22]The lands endowed in documents (DK) A and (DK) D had been part of the state treasury's property previously. In connection with the lands endowed in documents (DK) B and (DK) E

distributing the income, whose purpose was largely unspecified, were performed exclusively by Īnāl himself. He thus exercised virtually complete discretion over the disbursement of funds. After his death these tasks were to be transferred to his son and successor Aḥmad.[23] After 1459 there seem to have been no further endowments for the benefit of the college, at least no further documents in connection with this are known.

Contemporary observers complained that the motive for this sort of charity was really profit for the founders.[24] The inseparable connection between charitable motives and clear self-interest was a typical feature of endowments. This subject has been written about in recent academic literature so abundantly that it need not be dealt with again here.[25] Perhaps for our purpose, it is only important that this general distrust of endowments is additionally confirmed by the structure of Īnāl's building complex. Its clearly unconventional character—which reminds us of a component system rather than a unified conception of a foundation—tells us

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sales-deeds are mentioned dating from 11 Shawwāl 862/12 August 1458 and 24 Shaʿbān 863/26 June 1459 respectively. However, neither of these is preserved. See (DK) B, lines 51–54; (DK) E, line 24f. For endowments of lands that had been state property before, see Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Sultan Qāytbāy's Foundation in Medina, the *Madrasah,* the *Ribāṭ* and the *Dashīshah,*" *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 64.

[23](DK) D, lines 40–42; (DK) E, lines 39–47. For the problems of a single person being both founder and foundation's inspector, see n. 17 above.

[24]The examples of Ibn Khaldūn and Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī are quoted in Haarmann, "Joseph's Law," 71f.

[25]See especially Carl F. Petry, "A Paradox of Patronage during the Later Mamluk Period," *The Muslim* World 73 (1983): 182–207. A remarkably apologetic religious explanation for establishing foundations is provided by Khalid A. Alhamzeh, "Late Mamluk Patronage: Qānṣūh al-Ghūrī's Waqf and his Foundations in Cairo," Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1993, 185–90. For the caritative motive for endowing, see Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1517* (Cambridge, 2000), 69–100. For the psychological factor of endowing in times of plague epidemics, wars, and other insecurities, which should from today's point of view not be underestimated, see Jonathan P. Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton, 1992), 142–46. For political advantages, especially the legitimation of power, for which the foreign-born Mamluk upper class had to pay, see Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge,* 130–34. For economic advantages and advantages in inheritance law for the founder, see Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge,* 134–42. The foundation's contributions to maintenance of communal government in a modern sense are dealt with for Ottoman times by works of İ. Metin Kunt, "The Waqf as an Instrument of the Public Policy: Notes on the Köprülü Family Endowments," in *Studies in Ottoman History in Honour of Professor V. L. Ménage*, ed. Colin Heywood and Colin Imber (Istanbul, 1994), 189–98 as well as André Raymond, "Les grands waqfs et l'organisation de l'espace urbain à Alep et au Caire à l'époque Ottomane (XVIe–XVIIe siècles)," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 31 (1979): 113–28. For the conditions of foundations in Central Asia, which were rather similar, see Richard D. McChesney, *Waqf in Central Asia: Four Hundred Years in the History of a Muslim Shrine, 1480–1889* (Princeton, 1991), 37–39.

about the investor's desire for an expandable model. Such a model could be expanded gradually, depending on how the financial situation of the founder permitted or required it. Īnāl not only wanted to promote Islamic culture, but, to a much larger extent, the accumulation of his own fortune.[26]

Both aspects were inseparably connected. If on the one hand charitable endowments were only established if the founder could have at the same time his hidden profits, then on the other hand, only their public benefit made the acceptance of endowments by society possible. The justification for Īnāl's additional endowments (DK) in favor of his large building complex may have been rising expenses or perhaps a decrease in the foundation's annual income *('ibrah)*. Otherwise the endowment of agricultural lands, a majority of which originally belonged to the government, would have had no legal basis.[27]

One of the peculiarities of late medieval endowments was a frequent combination of charitable endowments with those whose purpose was to provide for the endower's family *(waqf mushtarak)*. This feature was understood as disguising the founder's true motives, which was the enrichment of his family, by presenting it in the guise of charity.[28] Often enough, however, there were cases of simple family trusts *(waqf ahlī)*, which were not disguised as charitable institutions.[29] Īnāl's foundation (DK) was a family type of investment with a charitable veneer. Yet the other foundation (DW) was, perhaps due to time pressure, a simple family trust. Surely such things were legally disputed, yet there must have been good reason why a respectable Hanafi judge, surely incorruptible at 94 years of age, gave this endowment legal validity. He was, interestingly enough, the same judge who had certified the endowment (DK).[30]

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[26]Īnāl's funerary complex differs remarkably from the complexes of other sultans. Its completion took a long time, and its design is not homogenous. See van Berchem, *CIA Egypte*, 406.

[27]An examination of the real decrease in the value of currency in the fifteenth century would be revealing. Additional endowments probably had become necessary because of diminished productivity of those lands which had already been endowed for the college/mosque. For inflation at that time, see Subhi Y. Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter (1171–1517)*, Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beiheft Nr. 46 (Wiesbaden, 1965), 423–40.

[28]Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimā'īyah fī Miṣr (648–923/1250–1517): Dirāsah Tārīkhīyah Wathā'iqīyah* (Cairo, 1980), 72–78.

[29]Legitimation for this was given by a saying of the prophet (hadith), in which he allowed the donor to consume part of the donation's yield on his behalf. See Aḥmad ibn 'Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Bulūgh al-Marām* (Cairo, n.d.), no. 784 (quoted in Rudolf Peters, "Waḳf," *EI*^{2}, 11:59.

[30](DW) A, line 663; (DK) H, lines 11–17; (DK) L, lines 8–15; (DK) N, lines 7–12. The chief judge *(qāḍī al-quḍāh)* was Sa'd al-Dīn al-Muqaddasī al-Dayrī. See M. K. Salibi, "Listes chronologiques des grands cadis de l'Egypte sous les Mamelouks," *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 25 (1957): 105.

The previous ownership of the properties endowed in (DW) is also interesting. Only the trading house *(wakālah)* mentioned last in the document had been purchased by Īnāl before the endowment was established.[31] The remaining properties and agricultural lands seem to have come into his possession in a more obscure way. Some were part of earlier foundations whose dates are even mentioned in the document (DW).[32] These, it can be assumed, Īnāl had acquired by exchange transactions *(istibdāl)*.[33] Such a case was recorded by a chronicler in connection with one of the properties endowed in (DW): in Rabī' I 860/February 1456 Īnāl had acquired several ramshackle apartment houses and shops on the main street of Bayn al-Qasrayn by exchanging them for equivalent buildings. Afterwards, he immediately demolished them and built new apartment houses, shops and a large market hall *(qaysārīyah)* on this valuable piece of land.[34] All this then became part of an endowment by Īnāl, whose deed was issued on 25 Rabī' I 861/20 February 1457.[35] In this instance, Īnāl showed his business acumen since he had not acquired the properties completely, but only a lower-priced share of 75 percent, which nevertheless made him majority owner with full freedom of action to demolish the buildings. The previous owner, a nearby mosque, still held a quarter of the shares, yet had lost their right to a say in the matter. Īnāl had taken over unprofitable

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[31]This is building no. 39, mentioned in (DW) A, lines 760–80. The sales deed from 30 Rabī' II 864/23 February 1460 is lost. However, the date of the purchase is mentioned in (DW) A, line 861f.

[32]It remains to be determined whether the former endowment deeds are still extant. In Īnāl's deed (DW) A no information is given concerning the former endowers. Accordingly, no detailed assertions can be made about earlier conditions. Only the previous dates of endowment are given for some of the objects. Hence, village no. 38 had formerly been endowed on 1 Rabī' I 847/29 June 1443. See (DW) A, lines 755–59. Further endowments are supported by documentary evidence from 28 Rajab 859/14 July 1455 (among others, apartment house no. 8a; see [DW] A, line 228f.); 25 Rabī' I 861/20 February 1457 (market hall no. 11 and shops and apartment houses no. 13; see [DW] A, line 289f.); 28 Rabī' II 861/25 March 1457 (apartment house no. 15 together with villages nos. 20–37; see [DW] A, lines 667f., 707f.); 18 Ramaḍān 863/19 July 1459 (two apartment houses no. 7; see [DW] A, line 178f.; on the same day Īnāl also endowed his foundation of deed [DK] B).

[33]Contemporary observers bitterly complained about the negative phenomenon of *istibdāl* transactions. See Amīn, *Awqāf,* 241 f.; Behrens-Abouseif, "Qāytbāy's Foundation," 63; idem, "Qāytbāy's Investments in the City of Cairo: Waqf and Power," *Annales Islamologiques* 32 (1998): 33; Ulrich Haarmann, "Der arabische Osten im späten Mittelalter 1250–1517," *Geschichte der arabischen Welt*, ed. Haarmann (Munich, 1994), 251.

[34]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. William Popper (Berkeley, 1931), 2:255; ibid., ed. M. K. 'Izz al-Dīn (Cairo, 1990), 573; Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur*, 2:381. Concerned are the objects in (DW) A, nos. 11–13, erected in 627/1230.

[35](DW) A, line 290.

property and ensured at the same time through a majority holding that he alone could determine the means necessary to increase its value.[36]

On the other hand, other endowed property in (DW) had not been part of earlier foundations.[37] Yet the documents remain completely silent about their former ownership. Even if there is the possibility that the beginning of the document, which is lost today, contained the relevant information, doubt still remains. Too many other possible means of acquisition need to be taken into account, such as confiscation or a more or less concealed takeover of properties and agricultural lands abandoned due to recurring plague epidemics, which normally would have reverted to the heirs or to the state treasury.[38]

A further peculiarity of the foundation (DW) is the timing of its establishment—only three months before Īnāl's death. Perhaps one can assume that Īnāl at that time already knew about his approaching death, for this foundation appears to be a hasty enterprise intended to secure the family's material needs after his death. In contrast, the foundation (DK) was created over a long period of time. By transferring property into the possession of foundations his estate was made secure. Crown land did not have to return to the state treasury, while private family property *(milk)* was to a large extent shielded from the danger of confiscation. An additional precautionary measure by Īnāl was the installation of his wife Zaynab as administrator of the foundation. She had already been involved with all of his earlier foundations and thus had substantial experience in endowment management. Above all, however, as a woman she was in a substantially safer position than was her son Aḥmad, who would have to contend with the difficult task of establishing his rule.[39]

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[36]Sultan Qāytbāy, who ruled only a few years later, regularly used this method for the accumulation of his foundation property. Similar methods are also attributed to Sultan Barsbāy. See Behrens-Abouseif, "Qāytbāy's Investments," 33.

[37]Concerned are objects nos. 2, 5, 6, 8b, 9, 10, 12–14, 16–18.

[38]Behrens-Abouseif, "Qāytbāy's Investments," 33f.

[39]For women as inspectors of foundations see Carl F. Petry, "Class Solidarity versus Gender Gain: Women as Custodians of Property in Later Medieval Egypt," in *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender*, ed. Nikki R. Keddie and Beth Baron (New Haven, 1991), 122–42, as well as my article "Was geschah in der Zeit zwischen Barsbāy und Qāytbāy? Überlegungen zu einer Neubewertung des späten Mamlukensultanats" (forthcoming). Also in connection with Zaynab, there is documentary evidence of caritative foundations. Accordingly, in 865/1460–61 she began with the construction of a hospice *(ribāṭ)* in Mecca. This project, however, had to be given up after the dethronement of her son Aḥmad on 19 Ramaḍān 865/28 June 1461. Yet an adjacent public well *(bi'r)* was finished. See Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Fāsī, *Shifā' al-Gharām bi-Akhbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām*, ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (1859; reprint, Hildesheim and New York, 1981), 2:111; Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur*, 2:384. Another hospice in the Cairo quarter of Bayn al-Qasrayn, which is seriously decayed today, might also have been erected on behalf of Zaynab.

What was going on inside Aḥmad′s head when he took over the sultanate from his father? Possibly he had no illusions about his hopeless situation, having in mind the examples of earlier unlucky sultans′ sons.[40] In that case he would have used the little time remaining to him as sultan to make his possessions *(milk)* secure by endowing them before they could be confiscated. Whether he would also have transferred crown land into foundations like his father did if he had had more time cannot be known. However, that would explain Aḥmad′s attempt to put down the rebellion against him and to delay his dethronement. In this case his activities as founder are an important, although largely unseen, aspect of his short sultanate. More plausible, however, is the scenario of Aḥmad figuring out ways to retain the throne. He was more experienced and mature than were his unsuccessful predecessors. Furthermore, the family's endowments provided him with funds which might have enabled him to control the mamluk factions by paying them. In a state like the late Mamluk sultanate, which increasingly suffered from shortages of money, the most important yet at the same time most difficult task of a ruler seems to have been to meet the financial demands of these factions. Only with cash funds could one successfully rule and calm the unrest paralyzing most domestic affairs. The largest endowment entrepreneur was the most powerful ruler too. Consequently, Īnāl had tried to establish a dynasty in order to give the country continuity and stability.

Even if Aḥmad's attempt to permanently succeed his father on the throne bore no success—despite a good beginning—the family's history was still not over. The first years were difficult. Aḥmad's successor al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam also had trouble maintaining the loyalty of his own mamluks. Because of the empty state treasury, he ordered Īnāl's family foundations to hand over their annual income to the treasury. According to the chronicler Ibn Taghrībirdī, this amounted to a total of one million army dinars *(dīnār jayshī),* which surely is an exaggerated amount. Nevertheless, it gives us an idea of the dimensions of these foundations.[41] For comparison, the annual fief-levy for the highest army offices at that time amounted to 250,000 army dinars.[42] Under Sultan al-Ashraf Qāytbāy (r. 1468–96), who had married a cousin of Aḥmad's, Fāṭimah bint ʻAlī ibn Khāṣṣbak, the family regained

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Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw'*, 12:45; Aḥmad ʻAbd al-Rāziq Aḥmad, *La Femme au temps des mamlouks en Egypte*, Textes arabes et études islamiques, vol. 5 (Cairo, 1973), 25; Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur*, 2:386.

[40]The succession of a sultan and the mostly futile attempts of founding a dynasty in the fifteenth century are examined by Agatha Rome, ″Die kurze Regierungszeit der mamlukischen Sultanssöhne in der tscherkessischen Phase (784/1382–922/1517),″ M.A. thesis, University of Basel, 1995.

[41]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 7:693.

[42]Haarmann, ″Der arabische Osten,″ 234.

its influence.[43] They also had close connections to the powerful state chancellor *(dawādār)* Yashbak min Mahdī after he married one of Aḥmad's daughters.[44] When Zaynab died in 884/1479, the supervision of the foundations was turned over to the now-rehabilitated Aḥmad, who, as we already have seen, was to gain a substantial social position in Alexandria as shaykh of a Sufi order.

The documents also show him in later years still actively managing the endowments. Thus in 871/1467 he brought a suit, together with a certain Abd al-Raḥīm al-Barizī,[45] against the administrators of a foundation of a certain Sayf al-Dīn Qānim Atābak al-'Askar al-Manṣūr, a former officer of Īnāl's.[46] In 891/1486 he went to court over a share in the fortune of the deceased Alexandrian Kārimī merchant Sharaf al-Dīn Ya'qūb ibn Muḥammad.[47] In 908/1502 a former slave of Aḥmad's named Dilbār bint 'Abd Allāh added to a foundation which she had established together with him during his lifetime.[48] Apart from (DW) H, however, Aḥmad created other endowments. This is shown by an entry in a contemporary land register *(rawk)* in which a village named al-Sanjarīyah, located in the Egyptian province of al-Daqahlīyah, is registered as an endowment of Aḥmad's. This is not mentioned in the available documents.[49]

We furthermore know that the foundation (DW) was administered by Aḥmad's descendants in the sixteenth century. There is documentary evidence of exchange transactions *(istibdāl)* in the years 902/1496, 921/1515, 974/1566, and 997/1589 respectively.[50] Finally, one may conclude that by examining the documents one gains substantial insight into important aspects of al-Ashraf Īnāl's and his son al-Mu'ayyad Aḥmad's policies. A more exact analysis of their foundations would support Carl Petry's assumption of a "clandestine economy."[51] However, they did

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[43]For Fāṭimah, see Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 3:157 and 302.

[44]Weil, *Geschichte*, 5:288.

[45]Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 4:168.

[46]Wizarāt al-Awqāf MS 740j from 25 Jumādá II 871/1 February 1467 (Amīn, *Catalogue,* no. 433). For Sayf al-Dīn Qānim, see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 7:818.

[47]Wizarāt al-Awqāf MS 750j from 7 Rabī' I 891/13 March 1486 (Amīn, *Catalogue,* no. 523). For the merchant Sharaf al-Dīn Ya'qūb, who possessed a legendary fortune and also was active as founder, see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 10:285f.

[48]Endowment deed Dār al-Wathā'iq MS 37/235 from 23 Rabī' II 908/26 October 1502 with additional modification from 8 Rabī' I 909/31 August 1503 (Amīn, *Catalogue,* no. 247).

[49]The land register referred to is Yaḥyá ibn al-Maqarr Ibn al-Jī'ān's *Al-Tuḥfah al-Sanīyah bi-Asmā' al-Bilād al-Miṣrīyah,* written in the year 885/1480. See Heinz Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern* (Wiesbaden, 1980), 2:753.

[50]Documents (DW) C–G.

[51]For the notion of a "clandestine economy" see Carl F. Petry's *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994), 196–219.

not enrich themselves due to greed. On the contrary, in times of a permanent shortage of money and an unsettled Mamluk system, sultans needed cash reserves urgently in order to maintain power. This, in turn, was necessary to restore the country's stability and continuity, and in particular to control and contain the unrest between the different Mamluk factions. This also helps to explain the sultans´ regular attempts to establish dynasties. Aḥmad's case was the first time a sultan's son of the Circassian sultanate possessed the necessary prerequisites to succeed his father to the throne. The fact that even he was overthrown seems more surprising than predictable. Thus Aḥmad's short sultanate should be judged not as another futile temporary solution, but as a missed opportunity to improve the situation and to pacify and stabilize internal conditions in Egypt.

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The Privatization of "Justice" under the Circassian Mamluks

The failure of military and palace entitulature to match the actual functions of those who bore the titles was a fairly pervasive aspect of Mamluk rule. Thus, for example, the *dawādār*, or Bearer of the Sultan's Inkwell, exercised much wider powers than his ceremonial title might suggest. Under the Bahri Mamluk sultans, the *dawādār* was not only in charge of the chancery, but also controlled, or at least exercised responsibilities for, foreign affairs, the *barīd* (state postal service), and espionage.[1] Similarly, the chief duty of the *mihmāndār* (the officer in charge of receiving guests) seems to have been to liaise with powerful Arab tribal shaykhs, particularly the Banū Faḍl, the paramount Arab tribe in the Syrian desert.[2]

Ḥājib may be translated literally as "doorkeeper" or "chamberlain" and *ḥājib al-ḥujjāb* as "chief doorkeeper." However, it is questionable whether the *ḥājib al-ḥujjāb,* a senior officer in the Mamluk regime, actually spent much of his time in opening and closing the sultan's door, or in screening petitioners and others who sought audience with the sultan. In "Studies in the Structure of the Mamluk Army," David Ayalon described the function of the *ḥājib al-ḥujjāb* as follows: "The main function of the *ḥājib al-ḥujjāb* was the administration of justice among the mamluks of the amirs according to the laws of *Yāsa*. His authority was independent, but during the time that the office of *nā'ib al-salṭana* was in existence he was sometimes obliged to consult with the holder of that office. It was also his duty to present guests and envoys to the sultan and he was in charge of organizing military parades." Ayalon additionally noted that originally there were three *ḥājib*s, but Barqūq increased their number to five.[3] Ayalon's description of the *ḥājib*s as enforcers of the Mongol law code of the *Yāsa* echoed the views previously put forward by A. N. Poliak.[4] However, Ayalon later came to reconsider the matter

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[1]Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* (Beckenham, Kent, 1986), 39.

[2]Ibid., 115 and n.

[3]David Ayalon, "Studies in the Structure of the Mamluk Army III," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 16 (1954): 60.

[4]A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon, 1250–1900* (London, 1939), 14 f., 65; idem, "Le Caractère colonial de l'État Mamelouk dans ses Rapports avec la

and, in a series of carefully researched and cogently argued articles, he demonstrated that the *ḥājib*s did not administer justice according to the Mongol *Yāsa*.[5] Since Ayalon discussed the matter, others have gone further and doubted the very existence of Chingiz Khan's *Yāsa* in the sense of a written code of Mongol law and custom.[6] Even so, according to Ibn ʻArabshāh, there was some kind of written code called the *Yāsa*, which was produced and read out every time a new Great Khan was chosen.[7]

Be that as it may, if the *ḥājib*s were not administering justice according to the Mongol *Yāsa*, what were they doing? The role of *ḥājib*s in the Bahri Mamluk period has been discussed by Jørgen Nielsen in a monograph devoted to *maẓālim*, or "secular royal jurisdiction."[8] As he notes, *maẓālim* literally means 'wrongful exactions.'[9] However, the word was commonly used to refer to the discretionary jurisdiction of rulers and governors to settle grievances and respond to petitions without directly basing themselves on the shariʻah. *Maẓālim* overlapped with *siyāsah* and "the maẓālim under the Mamlūks in practice became involved in a particular form of siyāsa."[10] This last "is the prerogative of the head of state—whether caliph or sultan—to set aside the Sharīʻa, to supplement it, and to influence its interpretation and application."[11] Nielsen has noted the claims advanced by al-Subkī, al-Maqrīzī, and al-Qalqashandī that *ḥājib*s took over the administration of *maẓālim* ("secular" or "political justice") and in doing so usurped much of the authority of the qadis.[12] The three authors cited seem to be implying that the *ḥājib*s exercised some kind of judicial authority not just over members of the Turkish mamluk military caste, but also over the population at large. Nielsen, basing himself on detailed chronicle references to the exercise of *maẓālim* or *siyāsah* justice by the

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Horde d'Or," *Revue des études islamiques* 9 (1935): 235–36; idem, "The Influence of Chingiz-Khan's Yāsa upon the General Organisation of the Mamluk State," *BSOAS* 10 (1940–42): 862 ff.

[5]Ayalon, "The Great Yāsa of Chingiz Khan: A Re-examination," *Studia Islamica* 33 (1977): 97–140; 34 (1971): 151–80; 36 (1972): 113–58; 38 (1973): 107–56.

[6]See, for example, David O. Morgan, "'The Great Yāsa of Chingiz Khan' and Mongol Law in the Ilkhanate," *BSOAS* 49 (1986): 163–76; idem, *Medieval Persia, 1040–1797* (London, 1988), 55.

[7]Irwin, "What the Partridge Told the Eagle: A Neglected Arabic Source on Chinggis Khan and the Early History of the Mongols," in *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy,* ed. Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David O. Morgan (Leiden, 1999), 5–11.

[8]Jørgen S. Nielsen, *Secular Justice in an Islamic State: Maẓālim Under the Baḥrī Mamlūks, 662/1264–789/1387* (Istanbul, 1985); cf. idem, "*Maẓālim* and *Dār al-ʻAdl* Under the Early Mamluks," *Muslim World* 66 (1976): 114–32.

[9]Nielsen, "*Maẓālim,*" 114–15.

[10]Nielsen, *Secular Justice,* 32.

[11]Nielsen, "*Maẓālim,*" 123.

[12]Nielsen, *Secular Justice,* 83–85, 107–9.

sultan and his officials in the Bahri period, is inclined to the view that the accusations made by al-Subkī, al-Maqrīzī, and al-Qalqashandī were unfounded. Those accusations are of a piece with more general complaints by civilian and religious writers about the various ways in which the Mamluk elite allegedly infringed the provisions of the shari'ah. Nielsen's overall conclusion was that "the maẓālim was primarily occupied with considering the oppression, arrogance, mistakes or plain inefficiency of officialdom."[13]

There is no reason to doubt the correctness of Nielsen's conclusion insofar as the administration of *maẓālim* justice in the Bahri period is concerned. However, of the authors cited on the *ḥājib* and his usurpation of judicial authority, Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī wrote his curious treatise on the importance of good intentions in all walks of life, the *Kitāb Mu'īd al-Ni'am wa-Mubīd al-Niqam,* quite late in the Bahri period (in the early 760s) and al-Qalqashandī and al-Maqrīzī wrote in the Circassian period. Al-Subkī was already uneasy that the Turks had made the *ḥājib* a judge and that he tended to follow the authority of *siyāsah,* rather than shari'ah.[14] In chronicles written in the Circassian period, we find reports of incidents that tend to support the generalized accusations made in al-Subkī's *Mu'īd al-Ni'am* and in al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*. Indeed, not only did the *ḥājib*s usurp judicial powers that were formerly exercised by the qadis, but other military officers also did the same.

However, the military usurpation of judicial powers only seems to have become flagrant and pervasive in the opening decades of the fifteenth century. Al-Qalqashandī finished compiling his chancery encyclopedia, the *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá,* in 814/1412. According to al-Qalqashandī, under the Mamluk sultans, *ḥājib*s had acquired a jurisdiction over cases not suitable for the courts, such as ones relating to the *dīwān*s (financial offices).[15] In a separate section of the encylopedia al-Qalqashandī dealt with *maẓālim* and the various forms that *maẓālim* petitions took depending on what officer or official they were presented to.[16] It would appear then that by al-Qalqashandī's time *maẓālim* cases were not the exclusive prerogative of the sultan and the *ḥājib.*

Al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, a topographical work that ranged more widely than merely topographical issues, was written ca. 827/1424. In it, in the section devoted to the office of *ḥājib,* he complained that, whereas in the early Mamluk period the

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[13]Ibid., 133.

[14]Tāj al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn 'Alī al-Subkī, *Kitab Mu'īd al-Ni'am wa-Mubīd al-Niqam* (Cairo, 1948), 40.

[15]Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá fī Kitābat al-Inshā'* (Cairo, 1913–18), 3:277; 5:450.

[16]Ibid., 6: 204–10.

jurisdiction of *ḥājib*s did not extend beyond dealing with military matters, such as disputes between *jundī*s (soldiers) concerning *iqṭā'*s and so forth, in his own time the *ḥājib*s had taken upon themselves to arbitrate on matters that had been previously dealt with by qadis according to the shari'ah. "Nowadays *ḥājib* is the term applied to the various amirs who give judgement over the *nās."* Although *"nās"* here may be translated simply as "people," it is possible that al-Maqrīzī intended the term to refer only to members of the military elite. (However, the case of the Persian merchants cited below suggests that he may after all have been using *nās* in the first and more general sense.) He went on to claim that the *ḥājib*s tended to be swayed in their judgements by bribes that were handed to the *ra's nawbat al-nuqabā'* and "today the *ḥājib* judges over everything great and small regarding the *nās,* whether it be a matter of shari'ah or *siyāsah* jurisdiction." *"Siyāsah"* was a Satanic word in al-Maqrīzī's eyes.[17]

In a subsequent section devoted to *siyāsah* jurisdiction, al-Maqrīzī denounced the corruption and arbitrary proceedings of the *ḥājib*s. They did what they wished and they proliferated to such an extent that in one year there were 86 *ḥājib*s. According to al-Maqrīzī, the rot began with the case of a group of Persian merchants whom the Hanafi chief qadi had put in prison for failing to pay import dues in 753/1352 during the reign of al-Ṣāliḥ ibn Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn. The chief *ḥājib,* Sayf al-Dīn Jurjī, exercised his authority, based on *siyāsah,* in order to set those merchants free and exact the dues demanded by the merchants' creditors. "From then on the *ḥājib* did what he wished in judging over the people *(nās)*."[18]

According to Ibn Ḥajar, in 823/1420 (only a few years before the *Khiṭaṭ* was compiled) the sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (who was then very ill and approaching death) had decreed that *ḥājib*s should exercise no jurisdiction in shari'ah matters. However, the sultan's decree remained in force for only a couple of days, as the mamluk amirs campaigned so vigorously against it that the sultan was compelled to rescind his decree and proclaim that they could indeed exercise jurisdiction in shari'ah affairs. Immediately following this royal volte-face, the Hanafi chief qadi and the senior *ḥājib* clashed. Though it is not entirely clear what the clash was about, it seems that the *ḥājib* refused to hand over an accused man to the qadi's jurisdiction and had his messenger flogged. The sultan, when he heard of the matter, was enraged and told the *ḥājib* that if he, the sultan, had been enjoined to conform to the jurisdiction of shari'ah law, he would have done so immediately. He then reissued the decree that only qadis could exercise jurisdiction in shari'ah

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[17]Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār [Khiṭaṭ]* (Cairo, 1959), 3:145.

[18]Ibid., 148f.; c.f. Joseph Escovitz, *The Office of Qâḍî al-Quḍāt in Cairo under the Baḥrī Mamlûks,* Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, vol.. 100 (Berlin, 1984), 159; Nielsen, *"Maẓālim,"* 127.

matters and the *mashāʿilī*s (urban dogsbodies who functioned as lamplighters, removers of night-soil, and police constables, as well as town-criers) went round the city proclaiming this. The *ḥājib*, enraged by this, had one of the *mashāʿilī*s flogged, but when the Hanafi qadi complained, the *ḥājib* excused himself by claiming that he had had the *mashāʿilī* flogged for a different matter altogether. After that things quietened down for a bit.[19]

Ibn Taghrībirdī, in his account of the reign of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (815/1412–824/1421), under the year 819/1416, states that the deputy *dawādār* did not at that time exercise justice among people *(nās)* nor were orderlies *(nuqabā')* stationed at his door. The same applied to the deputy head of guards *(ra's nawbah thānī).*[20] Ibn Taghrībirdī continues that the first deputy *dawādār* to exercise those prerogatives was Qurqmās al-Shaʿbānī, while the first deputy *dawādār* was Aqbīrdī al-Minqār. Qurqmās was appointed deputy *dawādār* in 824/1421 or in 825/1422. (Ibn Taghrībirdī is inconsistent on the chronology of Qurqmās's career).[21] The chronicler also gives inconsistent information about Aqbīrdī's career, but evidently he became deputy head of guards during the sultanate of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, since he died before the sultan did.[22]

A few decades later there was a renewed clash over the respective spheres of influence of the qadi and the *ḥājib,* when the Sultan Jaqmaq clashed with the Maliki qadi in 856/1452. In this case a Muslim had successfully brought a case against a Jewish trader dealing in Circassian mamluks and had had it judged according to shariʿah law. However, the Jew refused to accept shariʿah jurisdiction and threatened to take the case elsewhere, whereupon the qadi had him flogged. Then the Jew appealed to Jaqmaq, who summoned the qadi and rebuked him for encroaching on what properly belonged to *siyāsah* jurisdiction and told him that he had given judgement in error. The qadi was then briefly deposed.[23]

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[19]Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Anbā' al-ʿUmr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1972), 3:219.

[20]Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Berkeley,1909-36), 6:356; translated by William Popper as *History of Egypt, 1382–1469 A.D. Translated from the Arabic Annals of Abu l-Maḥasin ibn Taghrî Birdî by William Popper,* University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, vols. 13–14, 17–19, 22–24 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1954–), 3:38.

[21]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 6:356, 7:255f.; Popper, *History,* 3:38; 5:168f.

[22]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 6:347, 458; Popper, *History,* 3:32, 108. The (intrinsically trivial) problem here is that Ibn Taghrībirdī describes Aqbīrdī as having exercised justice among the people with orderlies at his gate before being promoted to the governorship of Alexandria in 818/1415, and this is at least a year before the he says the deputy head of guards began to exercise the new prerogatives.

[23]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. William Popper (Berkeley, 1930), 1:129f.

Ibn Taghrībirdī reported the above incident in his chronicle *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr*. In his other chronicle, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah* (which is more closely focused on the character and deeds of the Mamluk sultans), he spells out how arbitrary and widespread the administration of ″justice″ had become by mid-fifteenth century. At the end of his annal for year 861 (1456–57) he observed that the ″year ended with the authority of the judges *(ḥukkām)* of shari'ah and *siyāsah* set at naught by the power of the purchased mamluks *(julbān)* of the Sultan Inal. Anyone from the people *(nās)* with a claim against anyone whomsoever went to one of these mamluks to secure his claim and no sooner had he informed the mamluk of what he wished than he secured what he wished from his opponent in the case. For at the gates of the most important of these mamluks a sort of head of guards *(ra's nawbah)* and military police *(nuqabā')* were stationed, while some had a *dawādār*. The mamluk would then send for the other man in the case and, after threatening him with a beating and other punishment, he would command the man to satisfy the plaintiff's claim, whether that claim was true or false. If he did not pay he would immediately be beaten and thrashed. Everyone learned about this and went to them to have their affairs settled and people *(nās)* deserted the judges *(ḥukkām)*. So the purchased mamluks became very powerful and the judges' authority reached a nadir.″[24]

Ibn Taghrībirdī returned to the theme in his account of the events of 863/1458–59. At this time, ″the power of the purchased mamluks exceeded all limits, while the authority of the judges of Egypt was absolutely null. Anyone who had a just claim, or the semblance of such a claim brought his charge against his opponent only before the purchased mamluks, and immediately he would secure what he claimed from his opponent, justly or otherwise. So everyone, especially merchants and sellers of any kind of wares, feared the mamluks and most men gave up their businesses, fearing the loss of their capital . . . ″[25]

Despite the efforts of various scholars to assign a precise meaning and function to the *naqīb* (pl. *nuqabā'*), the term does not seem to have been used very precisely. According to Ayalon, the *naqīb al-jaysh* was a sort of chief of military police with responsibility for arrests and escorting the condemned to execution. He also had responsibilities for mustering and parading troops. The *nuqabā' al-ḥalqah* were his deputies in Cairo. There was also a *naqīb al-mamālīk* who may have had similar duties, but only with respect to mamluks and not the rest of the army.[26] Popper also gave the *naqīb al-jaysh* a role as military policeman and adds that he

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[24]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 7:494; Popper, *History,* part 6:72.

[25]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 7:516f.; Popper, *History*, 6:84–85.

[26]Ayalon, ″Studies in the Structure,″ 64–65.

had many opportunities for collecting bribes.[27] However, from the passage in the *Nujūm al-Zāhirah* just cited above, it would appear that the term *naqīb* was used in a general sense to refer to the junior officers employed to guard the ad hoc courts of the mamluks and to enforce their decisions. Al-Maqrīzī also notes that the *naqīb*s, like the *ḥājib*s, were especially associated with *maẓālim* sessions, which they attended as court officers.[28]

The administration of *maẓālim* was also associated with the platforms *(dikak*, s. *dikkah)* from which the mamluk officials gave their verdicts. The *dikak* were sited at the gates of the mamluk amirs' houses. In 910/1505 the sultan al-Ashraf Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī, moved by piety, banned the great officials among the amirs from stationing *nuqabā'* at their gates and he banned all trials except those that were conducted according to the shari'ah.[29] Something similar happened in 919/1513–14, when Qānṣawh, under the impetus of a sudden surge of piety brought on by the outbreak of plague in Egypt, again issued a decree abolishing the ″platforms″ and their attendant officers *(nuqabā')* and messengers *(rusul).* It is clear from the context of this decree that he was attempting to abolish the practice of mamluk officers selling justice to all and sundry. However, like al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, Qānṣawh faced pressures from his officers to have their profitable jurisdiction restored to them. They argued that since they were no longer able to give justice, the people *(nās)* have no way of securing their rights *(ḥuqūq)*. Whereupon Qānṣawh partially backed down and allowed the platforms to be re-established, but he decreed that the *nuqabā'* and messengers should henceforth be debarred from taking too large a percentage from plaintiffs in order to advance their cases.[30]

The usurpation by amirs and mamluks of some of the judicial functions of the qadis may explain why some mamluks studied shari'ah law. It is a notable feature of the Circassian period that a number of mamluk officers were well versed in Hanafi jurisprudence. The amir Ṭāṭār (later the sultan al-Ẓāhir Ṭāṭār) is probably the most famous example. According to Ibn Taghrībirdī, during the short reign of al-Muẓaffar Aḥmad (824/1421), Ṭāṭār presided and delivered judgements in the stables of the Cairo Citadel. He ″decided cases between the people and settled the affairs most judiciously, for he was a man of outstanding ability, alert and intelligent, and had a good knowledge of jurisprudence and other subjects; he loved to study

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[27]Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382-1468 A.D.: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrî Birdî's Chronicles of Egypt*, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, vols. 15–16 (Berkeley, 1955-57), 1:94.

[28]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2:245.

[29]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr* (Istanbul, 1931), 4:76; translated by Gaston Wiet as *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire* (Paris, 1955), 1:73.

[30]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 4:312, 320; Wiet, *Journal,* 1:283, 292f.

especially the teachings of the Ḥanafite masters, for he held them in high honour."[31] There are, however, other examples. Tamurbughā, who also rose to be sultan (872/1467–8), had an excellent knowledge of Hanafi jurisprudence.[32] The amir Sayf al-Dīn Sūdūn al-Maghribī (d. 843/1439–40), who rose to be a deputy *ḥājib* before being politically disgraced, is a particularly interesting example. According to Ibn Taghrībirdī, Sūdūn was obsessive in his study of jurisprudence and invariably supported the case of the weak against the strong. This meant that if he heard a case between a trooper and a peasant, he would always give judgement in favor of the peasant, even if the trooper was actually in the right.[33]

It is quite likely that there were other amirs and mamluks who tried to deliver justice according to the precepts of the shari'ah, or at least according to a sense of equity, but evidently other mamluks were selling verdicts for money and receiving petitions in order to exercise patronage and develop local clienteles. The "justice" and "protection" that these officers offered will not have differed very much from that offered by Don Corleone in Mario Puzio's novel *The Godfather*. We are dealing here with a mostly subterranean history. At first the *ḥājib*s, acting as delegates of the sultan, exercised a kind of administrative jurisdiction over matters relating to the army and the *dīwān*s. Then they took to hearing cases presented by merchants and other civilians and thereby encroached on the jurisdiction of the qadis, at which point judicial and executive powers became utterly confounded. Then other quite junior officers, such as the deputy *dawādār,* arrogated the same jurisdiction to themselves. Then even purchased mamluks took to receiving petitions from all and sundry and using their muscles to enforce their ad hoc jurisdiction. However, the fragmentary and somewhat speculative nature of the evidence of abuses in *maẓālim* jurisdiction described above is obvious. Pious chroniclers complained repeatedly about the way that the provisions of the shari'ah were being breached, but they did not actually dwell upon the matter, nor did they systematically record the way in which *maẓālim* justice was delegated and diffused to such an extent that justice shaded into racketeering and any mamluk with a sword could pose as an officer of the law. It was hardly a matter for celebration.

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[31] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 6:484; Popper, *History,* 3:126.

[32] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*,7:843f.; Popper, *History,* 7:140.

[33] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 7:267f.; Popper, *History,* 5:176. On learned mamluks more generally, see Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton, 1992), 128–60; idem, "'Silver Threads Among the Coal': A Well-Educated Mamluk of the Ninth/Fifteenth Century," *Studia Islamica* 73 (1991): 109–25.

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Sultan al-Ghawrī and the Arts

In the last decades of Mamluk rule the visual arts flourished, despite a deplorable economy and a fatal political and military situation. The reigns of Sultans Qāytbāy and al-Ghawrī each in its own way turned a page in the history of Mamluk art. Judging from the handsome and richly decorated monuments and from the originality of the objects produced during his reign, Qāytbāy appears to the modern viewer to have been a great patron of the arts. For his contemporaries, however, he was regarded more as a sponsor of religious and philanthropic foundations rather than as a patron of artistic creations. The image conveyed by his chroniclers and biographers is of a good and pious Muslim ruler who founded a large number of religious institutions and restored and refurbished major mosques and shrines in his empire. Together with his amirs he also contributed to Cairo's revitalization and embellishment. In addition to his piety, however, Qāytbāy must also have had an esthetic appreciation of the visual arts; otherwise it is difficult to explain the explosion of decorative ideas that characterizes the monuments and the art objects produced during his reign. Nevertheless, it was the pious works rather than the esthetic innovations that shaped his image in late Mamluk historiography. His successful military campaigns against the Ottomans and the Turcoman principalities which threatened the borders of the Mamluk empire and his humble life-style, not to mention his performance of the hajj—a rarity among the Mamluk sultans—earned him the reputation of being a pious and good sultan.[1]

The profile of his successor, Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī, that emerges from the chronicles is indeed quite different from Qāytbāy's pious image. It is of a monarch with clear artistic and hedonistic inclinations.[2] Seen in retrospect and considering

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[1]Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʻ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʻ* (Cairo, 1896), 6:201–14.

[2]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'iʻ al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'iʻ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá, Bibliotheca Islamica, vol. 5 a-e (Wiesbaden and Cairo, 1960–75), 5:87 ff.; ʻAbd al-Wahhāb ʻAzzām, *Majālis al-Sulṭān al-Ghawrī* (Cairo, 1941); Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib al-Sā'irah bi-Aʻyān al-Mi'ah al-ʻĀshirah,* ed. Jibrā'īl Sulaymān Jabbūr (Beirut, 1979), 1:294–97; ʻAbd al-Ḥayy ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-ʻImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Beirut, n.d.), 8:113 f.; Barbara Flemming, "Šerīf, Sultan Ġavrī und die 'Perser,'" *Der Islam* 45 (1969): 81–93; Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (New York, 1994), 158–73; idem, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and*

its catastrophic end, al-Ghawrī´s reign could by no means be evaluated favorably. Even if the causes of the fall of the Mamluk empire were complex and began long before his reign, that it happened during his reign had to be attributed to his conduct and his politics, in contrast to Qāytbāy, who appears as having been able to stave off that fate. From the perspective of the modern art historian, however, the reign of al-Ghawrī, had it not coincided with the final stage of Mamluk history, could have changed the history of Mamluk art. It was a tragic coincidence that al-Ghawrī did not have the personality needed for that particular time in Mamluk history when the empire was facing fatal threats from inside and outside its territory which ultimately led to its downfall.

Al-Ghawrī has already attracted a relatively good deal of scholarly attention. ʻAbd al-Wahhāb ʻAzzām in the 1940s and Barbara Flemming in the 1960s dealt with the remarkable literary activities at his court; Esin Atıl discussed his patronage of the art of the book; and more recently Carl F. Petry focused on the political history of his reign. This article discusses the artistic vision of this sultan as a whole while speculating on its origins and motivations.

Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī was sixty years old when he came to power in 906/1501. A mamluk of Qāytbāy, he was first appointed governor of Upper Egypt, then governor of Tarsus in northern Syria and subsequently grand chamberlain in Aleppo and governor of Malatya. Upon his return to Cairo he became great *dawādār* and great *ustādār*.[3]

Like Qāytbāy before him, al-Ghawrī had to deal with inherited economic and fiscal problems, with increasing Safavid and Ottoman pressure, with Portuguese threats, and with domestic unrest. Although he was well aware of his precarious military situation, which he tried to cope with by modernizing the army and consolidating fortifications, al-Ghawrī became increasingly absorbed by his role as glamorous ruler and patron of the arts.

Ibn Iyās describes the sultan as having a distinguished and awesome appearance, which he cultivated and enhanced with lavish ceremonial *(muhāb jalīl mubajjal fī al-mawākib, mil' al-ʻuyūn fī al-manẓar)*. His opulent dress and hedonistic tendencies *(al-mazaḥ wa-al-mujūn)* earned him the reputation of preferring pleasure to work. Both Ibn Iyās and the historian al-Ḥalabī describe his rule as characterized by the pursuit of pleasure and luxury and by his taste for literary colloquia.[4] He loved fine clothes, perfumes, scents, and jewelry; he wore many rings with precious stones; and he preferred a golden belt to the traditional draped girt of Baʻalbakī fabric. He was a gourmet who ate from golden vessels, and he loved flowers.

Qānṣuh al-Ghawrī in Egypt (Seattle and London, 1993), 185–99.

[3]P. M. Holt, "Ḳānṣawh al-Gh̲awrī," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 4:552–53.

[4]Petry, *Twilight*, 12.

Al-Ghazzī describes him as fat with a big belly. Ibn Iyās says that al-Ghawrī's faults outweighed his merits and he criticized him for his greed and profligate ways, which were paid for by harsh and tyrannical measures that led to economic crisis.

COURT AND CEREMONIAL

One of the features of al-Ghawrī's court life was his predilection for the *a'jām,* who were numerous in his entourage as well as in his army. According to Flemming the *a'jām* frequently mentioned by Ibn Iyās might have been not just Iranians, as the term usually means, but rather Turcomans from Iranian lands.[5]

His Fifth Corps *(al-ṭabaqah al-khāmisah),* whom he armed with handguns in one of his attempts at modernizing the army, included Persians and Turcomans along with local recruits of mamluk origin and Egyptian birth. Ibn Iyās connects al-Ghawrī's weakness for the *a'jām* with his enthusiasm for the Nasīmīyah order, whose founder was 'Imād al-Dīn Nasīmī, a Turkish sufi poet of the esoteric and occult-oriented *ḥurūfī* school.[6]

A'jām were also among the court musicians and poets who accompanied the sultan wherever he went. One of his *nadīm*s, or boon companions, was Ibn Qijiq, the chief of the musicians.[7] Another was a man whom Ibn Iyās calls *"al-'ajamī al-shanaqajī*, a Turkish word for potter. He was very close to the sultan, and as a result enjoyed great prestige and influence. He went on political missions to Damascus and Aleppo, and he headed an embassy to the Safavid shah Ismā'īl.[8] There were other *a'jām* among the artists and intellectuals of the sultan's entourage and in the communities of the great Mamluk religious foundations.

Al-Ghawrī was particularly interested in regal esthetics, and often took into his own hands the staging of his processions and parades and the elaborating and inventing of court rituals. At the same time as he elaborated the royal processions, including those of his family, to enhance his image, he abolished the traditional and important procession of the grand *dawādār,* who at that time had the status of a grand vizier, a measure which Ibn Iyās deplored.[9]

Among his innovations was replacing the finial with a bird that was carried above the sultan's head in processions with a gold finial called a *jallālah,* which

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[5]Flemming, "Šerīf," 84.

[6]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 4:401; see T. Fahd, "Ḥurūf," *EI*[2], 3:595–96.

[7]Flemming, "Šerīf," 83. He is also mentioned in Sharīf Ḥusayn's introduction to his translation of the *Shāhnāmah.* Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 4:481f., 5:35.

[8]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 4:325; see also 206, 293.

[9]Ibid., 104.

had the shape of a crescent.[10] When his wife went on pilgrimage he designed a special procession for her in the course of which her camel, carrying an empty palanquin, paraded across the city.[11] He also let his son, although he did not have any official function in the pilgrimage, cross the city in a grand procession behind the *maḥmal* litter.

Ceremonial elephants were another of al-Ghawrī′s innovations. When Ibn Qijiq was sent to Syria, he arrived in a procession that included three elephants, an unusual scene at that time. The first of these elephants to be mentioned was brought from Africa in 916/1510; it was one year old and the populace, who had not seen an elephant in more than four decades, was thrilled at the spectacle. (In contrast, elephants were a common sight at the Timurid court). A few months later another elephant followed,[12] and from then on elephants became part of the Nile festival which celebrated the Opening the Canal or Khalīj of Cairo.[13] Al-Ghawrī also enjoyed watching animal combats, and attended elephant fights as well as the more common bull and ram fights.[14]

Al-Ghawrī was following Qāytbāy′s example when he sponsored the games and parades of lancers which his predecessor had revived after a long period of neglect.[15] These performances used to take place during the pilgrimage season. On the occasion of the visit of Ottoman and Safavid ambassadors the sultan proudly displayed his lancers to his guests to demonstrate *″furūsīyat ʻaskar Miṣr,″* or the chivalry of Egyptian soldiers.[16]

Most important was the innovation al-Ghawrī introduced to the Mamluk throne or *dikkah*. Until his reign the Mamluk sultan sat in state in the *ḥawsh* of the Citadel on a portable bench above which a yellow tent was erected on particularly solemn occasions. This bench was called *dikkat al-ḥukm,* which means ″bench of judgment″ or ″bench of government″ (Fig. 1).[17] Al-Ghawrī replaced this bench with a masonry structure called *masṭabah,* built with richly lavish polychrome stones and marble and decorated with a gilded frieze inscribed in relief with his

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[10]Ibid., 419, 423. I wonder whether the word *j-l-a-l-h* is not a misreading of *hilāl,* or crescent.

[11]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr,* 4:409f.

[12]Ibid., 187, 206.

[13]Ibid., 325.

[14]Ibid., 448.

[15]Ibid., 61.

[16]Ibid., 391.

[17]Ibid., 2:400; 4:103, 203, 219.

name. The bench had a *wazrah*[18] or marble dado four cubits high. Ibn Iyās was impressed, commenting that no monarch had ever had such a thing before.[19]

This new form of throne, however, did not meet everyone's approval.[20] After al-Ghawrī died on the battle field of Marj Dābiq, his successor, al-Ashraf Ṭumānbāy, demolished the *masṭabah* and reestablished the *dikkah* on which he sat in state, just as Qāytbāy had done.[21] This was more likely to have been a symbolic gesture than an expression of esthetic preference.

The *masṭabah* attracted the attention of the artist who illustrated the Turkish *Shāhnāmah* commissioned by Sultan al-Ghawrī. In this manuscript the painter borrows Mamluk architectural patterns to depict scenes of enthroned rulers and other episodes. In two miniatures published by Atıl the throne differs from the usual type depicted elsewhere in the manuscript in being a masonry structure consisting of a domed canopy standing on an elevated platform and resting on four columns of granite and porphyry. Marble decoration of Mamluk style is also recognizable (Fig. 2). The frontispiece of al-Ghawrī's anthology of Turkish poetry held in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin shows an enthroned ruler, probably the sultan himself, seated in a similar structure. The ruler sits under a domed canopy crowned with a balustrade with a spherical object at either end (Fig. 3).[22] These could be what Ibn Iyās describes as *ifrīz,* or a decorative band of white marble with two gilded pomegranates. The representation of an enthroned ruler in the frontispiece of a book of poetry composed by a monarch recalls Timurid and Ottoman traditions.

FESTIVALS

Music and dance are often mentioned at al-Ghawrī's court. The sultan himself is reported to have danced at the mosque or Dome of Yashbak, accompanied by musicians.[23] Such performances, which must have been related to sufi rituals and *samā',* also took place in profane settings, as in the pleasure palace on the island of Rawḍah.[24]

Ibn Iyās describes at length a feast held on the island of Rawḍah near the Nilometer. The sultan's palace, together with the Nilometer and the adjoining

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[18]Ibid., 4:203 f. For *wazrah,* see Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Laylá 'Alī Ibrāhīm*, Al-Muṣṭalaḥāt al-Mi'mārīyah fī al-Wathā'iq al-Mamlūkīyah, 648–923 H/1250–1517 M* (Cairo, 1990), 121.

[19]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 4:207.

[20]Ibid., 5:107, 117.

[21]Esin Atıl, "Mamluk Painting in the late Fifteenth Century," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 159–71, pls. 12, 13, 14; idem, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks* (Washington, 1981), 264f.

[22]Atıl, "Painting," pl. 14.

[23]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 4:171.

mosque with its minaret, were entirely covered with lights, as were all houses along the shores of the island and Fusṭāṭ on the opposite shore, with its great aqueduct tower built by al-Ghawrī. The sultan′s great galley, which had cost 20,000 dinars to build, was anchored near the Nilometer with all its masts illuminated. Fireworks were shot from fifty boats floating around the island′s southern tip, where the event took place. Music accompanied the spectacle. By order of the sultan, all twenty-four grand amirs appeared in their boats on the Nile, each with his ceremonial band or *ṭablakhānah*. The sound of their drums and trumpets rose from the Nile along with the sultan′s own orchestra playing on the island, creating a ″formidable thunder″ *(al-ra'd al-qāṣif).* Al-Ghawrī watched the nightly scene from the roof of his palace. Ibn Iyās remarked that nothing like it had ever been done before during the Mamluk sultanate, not even in Barqūq′s or al-Mu'ayyad′s reigns. [25]

Another author, al-Sharīf Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, gave a similarly vivid description of the celebration of the Prophet′s birthday at the Citadel.[26] The sultan sat in a blue tent surrounded by all religious dignitaries. After the banquet and the distribution of the robes of honor, the procession of the great amirs took place, each bowing before the sultan and reciting a couple of panegyric verses. Then came the sufis wearing *khirqah*s with long sleeves to present their *samā'* or musical performance; they danced until midnight. At that point the sultan, wearing a blue *khirqah* himself, joined the sufis and danced with them until morning.[27]

Literature

Al-Ghawrī′s taste for literature is well documented.[28] He was knowledgeable in poetry, history, hagiography, and music. He composed poems in Turkish and in Arabic.[29] According to the author of the *Nafā'is* he also spoke Persian, Kurdish, and Armenian. Al-Ghawrī was a patron of Egyptian poets. Once when he received an offensive message in the form of a poem from the Safavid shah Ismā'īl, he launched a literary campaign in Cairo, inviting all poets to counter-attack with their own verses. Ibn Iyās dedicates several pages to this event.[30]

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[24]Ibid., 254f.

[25]Ibid., 376f.

[26]See below, *Nafā'is al-Majālis al-Sulṭānīyah.*

[27]'Azzām, *Majālis,* 1:38–50.

[28]Atıl, ″Mamluk Painting″; Barbara Flemming, ″Literary Activities in Mamluk Halls and Barracks,″ in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet,* ed. Myriam Rosen-Ayalon (Jerusalem, 1977), 249–65.; Dieter George et al., ed., *Islamische Buchkunst aus 1000 Jahren* (Berlin, 1980), 17, 45.

[29]Atıl, ″Mamluk Painting″; idem, *Renaissance;* Nurhan Atasoy, ″Un manuscrit mamlūk illustré du Šāhnāma,″ *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 37 (1969): 151–58.

[30]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 4: 221-28.

Despite its significance for the history of literature, the fact that al-Ghawrī commissioned the first rhymed Turkish translation of the *Shāhnāmah* has not been recorded by Arab historians. Its translator, Ḥusayn ibn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥanafī, of *sharīf* genealogy, credits Sultan al-Ghawrī in his introduction with being a bibliophile who possessed several copies of the *Shāhnāmah* in his library. This fascination with the *Shāhnāmah* and the art of the book had no precedent among Mamluk monarchs. The translator seems to have been one of several *a'jām* whom the sultan appointed in the religious foundation of al-Mu'ayyad. Ibn Iyās mentions a person of *'ajamī* origin named al-Shaykh Ḥusayn al-Sharīf al-Ḥanafī who was appointed in 908/1503 as the Hanafi shaykh of the madrasah-*khānqāh* of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh and held this post "to this day," i.e., to the date of the manuscript, which is 922/1516.[31] On another occasion in 917/1511 the historian mentions a man of *'ajamī* origin and *sharīf* descent who was summoned to the court to translate a Persian poem sent by Shah Ismā'īl.[32] Most likely this person is identical with the *Shāhnāmah* translator and the sufi shaykh at the Mu'ayyadīyah.[33]

Another *sharīf,* also of eastern origin and with a similar name, Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, was the author of *Nafā'is al-Majālis al-Sulṭānīyah,* a book that records al-Ghawrī's scholarly colloquia for the year 910/1504-5.[34] The *Nafā'is,* of which the copy dedicated to the sultan is now in the Topkapi Museum in Istanbul, consists of the protocols of the sessions organized by the sultan to discuss political, religious, and literary themes with the ulama. Al-Sharīf Ḥusayn's Arabic is deficient; he must have been of Turkish or Persian origin. In his book he reports that in 910/1504 al-Ghawrī gave him a *waẓīfat taṣawwuf,* i.e., he appointed him to a sufi position in his own religious foundation; but for some reason the author never received his salary from there. In one of al-Ghawrī's literary sessions, the origins of the *Shāhnāmah* were discussed. Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghaznah was mentioned as asking his advisers what would be more likely to make him immortal, the sponsoring of a book or a monument, to which he received the answer that a monument falls in ruins after a certain time, whereas a book is more likely to

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[31]Ibid., 54. This information is confirmed in the introduction of the manuscript itself by the translator, who states that it was completed at the Mu'ayyadīyah in 916/1511. Flemming, "Šerīf," 89.

[32]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 4:221.

[33]According to a Turkish source, the translator of the *Shāhnāmah* had the *nisbah* "al-Āmidī" attached to his name. He was close to the Ottoman prince Jem, who came to Cairo in 1481, and he died in Cairo in 920/1514. 'Azzām, *Majālis,* 1:45f.; Flemming, "Šerīf," 85, 90, quoting Mehmed Tahir, *Osmanlı Müellifleri* (Istanbul, 1334–43/1916–25), 2:256. This is, however, in contradiction to Ibn Iyās, who testifies that in 1516 he was still at the Mu'ayyadīyah.

[34]'Azzām, *Majālis,* 1:36, 90.

survive. This story might have inspired al-Ghawrī with the idea that a Turkish translation of the *Shāhnāmah* might endow him as well with immortality.[35]

Sultan al-Ghawrī and Italian Painters

Like the Ottoman sultans, Sultan al-Ghawrī had a portrait of himself made by a European artist. It shows him with the famous great turban *(takhfīfah kabīrah)* with two long horns, also known as *nā'ūrah,* i.e., waterwheel. This turban, which has been well described by Ibn Iyās, seems to have been typical of this sultan's reign.[36]

The tradition of Muslim sultans sitting for portraits by Italian artists was initiated by the Ottoman sultan Mehmed the Conqueror and was also cultivated by Iranian and Mughal monarchs. It seems that Italian artists also had the opportunity of portraying both Qāytbāy and al-Ghawrī. A portrait of the latter, published by Julian Raby, is datable to the late sixteenth century, but must have been based on an earlier work; it shows the sultan as quite an old man wearing the great double-horn turban described by Ibn Iyās. Another portrait showing a younger al-Ghawrī was published by 'Azzām without any reference to its origin (Fig. 4).[37] A painting in the Louvre, attributed to a Bellini disciple, depicts the reception of an embassy by al-Ghawrī (despite its Damascene setting); it suggests that Italian artists were admitted to the sultan's presence.

Leonardo da Vinci seems to have had contacts with the Mamluk court. In his diary the artist writes that he was sent by a Mamluk *daftardār* of Syria during the reign of Qāytbāy on a special mission to the Taurus mountains.[38] This mission, for which the diary itself gives no date, has been dated by his biographers to between 1482 and 1487, on the grounds that Leonardo, whose journey to the Middle East is not contested, seems to have been absent from Europe during this particular period. Moreover, Leonardo's diary contains the text of a letter to this amir in which he apologizes for his delay in submitting his report.[39] This letter refers to an earlier extended correspondence with the amir with whom he seems to have been familiar. It is possible that this *daftardār* was al-Ghawrī himself, who at the beginning of his career, between 889/1484 and 894/1489, was sent by Qāytbāy to this area *(al-bilād al-ḥalabīyah)* on military missions against the Ottomans and also as governor of Tarsus, prior to his appointment to Aleppo in 1489. The Taurus mountains form the northern part of the province of Cilicia, which borders

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[35]Ibid., 2:81f.

[36]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 4:.212, 254, 332.

[37]'Azzām, *Majālis,* 1:1.

[38]*The Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci*, ed. Irma A. Richter (Oxford, 1980), 264f., 296.

[39]It is well-known that Leonardo da Vinci often failed to complete things he had started.

Syria to the north and where the city of Tarsus is situated. Tarsus itself was integrated into the Mamluk empire during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. In the late fifteenth century it became involved in the border skirmishes between the Ottomans and the Mamluks; when the Ottomans conquered Syria, Tarsus became part of their Aleppo governorate. Al-Ghawrī was involved in warfare in this area, and could well have sent a European to survey the territory.[40] There is an artistic connection between Leonardo and the late Mamluks: the pattern of the logo he made for his workshop is a knotted rosette very reminiscent of late Mamluk metalwork decoration.[41]

ARCHITECTURE

An episode recorded by Ibn Iyās in 917/1511 demonstrates al-Ghawrī's interest in architectural history. Shortly after he had the fortifications of Alexandria restored, the sultan had a gypsum model of the city made by an architect from there called Ibn al-Ṣayyād. This model must have been large, for the sultan had to ride to the northern outskirts of Cairo to see it. It showed Alexandria with its walls and towers and with the Pharos, built in the Ptolemaic period in the third century B.C., which once stood there, represented to scale: "wa-al-manār allatī kāna *(sic)* bihā wa-qadr ʻarḍihā wa-ṭūlihā."[42] This model must have been historical, or at least combination of the actual Alexandria with historical landmarks, because at that time the ancient Pharos had already been gone for approximately 180 years.[43] The protocols of al-Ghawrī's colloquia show that he was interested in history and in ancient monuments. He also inquired about the pyramids, their builder , and their purpose.[44]

Ibn Iyās criticized the sultan for squandering funds on useless constructions, and misusing the *bayt al-māl* funds for decorating and gilding walls while neglecting his duties as the supreme judge. In fact, the list of the monuments he erected during his reign clearly shows the relative predominance of secular buildings: residential structures, the restoration of the palaces of the Citadel,[45] a palace near the Nilometer at Rawḍah,[46] and another expensive pleasure complex at Maṭarīyah,

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[40] C. E. Bosworth, "Ṭarsūs," *EI²*, 10:306-7.

[41] Francesco Gabrieli and Umberto Scerrato, *Gli Arabi in Italia,* 3rd ed. (Milan, 1989), pls. 614–15.

[42] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr,* 4:196.

[43] It collapsed between 1326 and 1341, before the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Riḥlah* (Beirut, 1985), 1:38.

[44] ʻAzzām, *Majālis,* 2:54ff.

[45] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr,* 4:165.

[46] Ibid., 243.

near Yashbak′s *qubbah,*[47] for which an aqueduct was built to pipe water from the Nile to create a pond. His major secular building seems to have been the complex of the hippodrome at the foot of the Citadel, which he also equipped with a great aqueduct.[48] There he built a garden with imported trees and a pool surrounded by residential and ceremonial structures with loggias. Sometimes he would spend several days there; for holding audiences and receiving embassies he preferred it to the Citadel.[49]

The reign of Sultan al-Ghawrī introduced innovations in architectural forms and in the relationship between architecture and its decoration. The exquisite stone-carving characteristic of Qāytbāy′s architecture was replaced by the use of ceramics in architectural decoration, as can be seen in the sultan′s minaret at the Azhar mosque. The minaret is strikingly tall and has a double-headed upper story. The facetted middle shaft is inlaid with blue ceramic in the pattern of repetitive arrows.

The two minarets of the mosque of Qānibāy al-Rammāḥ, built during al-Ghawrī′s reign, combine the double head with a rectangular two-storied shaft. Stone carving is kept to a minimum, confined to the *muqarnas* of the balconies. Here for the first time since the octagonal minaret of al-Māridānī, built more than a century and a half earlier, a new minaret design was created.[50]

The funerary complex of Sultan al-Ghawrī is in many respects an innovative monument. It was built on both sides of the main street or *qaṣabah* of al-Qāhirah (Figs. 5, 6). There was already a Cairene tradition of building religious complexes on both sides of a street, such as the mosque and the *khānqāh* of Shaykhū,[51] and the complex of Bashtāk, which had a bridge connecting a mosque with a *khānqāh* across a street.[52] By building his twin minarets above the towers of the southern gate, Bāb Zuwaylah, al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh similarly straddled the street with a monument. In the northern cemetery Sultan Barsbāy arranged the structures of his religious complex on both sides of the road.

Al-Ghawrī′s buildings in the city center display a bold and unprecedented arrangement.[53] In the complex the mosque is located on the western side of the main avenue; the mausoleum, the *khānqāh,* and the *sabīl-maktab* are on the eastern

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[47]Ibid., 289, 325, 327, 381.

[48]Ibid., 110.

[49]Ibid., 10, 137f., 173f., 268f.

[50]Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Minarets of Cairo* (Cairo, 1985), 87f.

[51]Ibid., 93.

[52]Ibid., 82.

[53]Michael Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien*, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe, vol. 5 (Glückstadt, 1992), 1:167.

side. Actually, although the *waqfīyah* defines it as *khānqāh,* it was not a traditional *khānqāh* with boarding facilities; it consisted only of a gathering hall without living units for the sufis. The traditional *khānqāh,* with living units for the sufis had already disappeared, being replaced by a multifunctional institution which served as a Friday mosque at the same time as it included a teaching curriculum for students and sufi services.[54] These multifunctional foundations usually included a *rab',* or group of apartments, which the endowment deed does not dedicate specifically to the sufis or the students, but instead specifies that it be rented to whomever the administrator of the *waqf* judged suitable. The fusion of the *khānqāh* with the mosque-madrasah reflected the total integration of sufism in late Mamluk religious life.

The fact that the *khānqāh* in al-Ghawrī's complex was an independent structure, separate from the mosque, should not, however, be interpreted as a response to some change in the status of the sufis or their rituals. The stipulations of al-Ghawrī's *waqf* indicate that his foundation was structured like all other Mamluk foundations of this period, such as Qāytbāy's funerary complex. There, however, all activities took place within the same structure. The splitting off of the *khānqāh,* therefore, was only an architectural device with an esthetic purpose rather than a response to a functional requirement. It served the design to place a structure on the other side of the street, facing the mosque. The sultan's mausoleum was not adjacent to the mosque, as one would expect on the basis of Mamluk architectural traditions, which regarded the optimal location for a princely mausoleum to be on either side of the prayer hall and overlooking the street. This layout combined proximity to the sanctuary and its sacred associations with visibility from the street.[55] The layout also allowed the sultan to build a mausoleum with a width equal to that of the prayer hall, which only occurs in the funerary madrasah of Sultan Ḥasan.[56]

Al-Ghawrī's mausoleum was attached to the *khānqāh,* which included a Mecca-oriented hall with a mihrab, in front of which sufi gatherings were to take place; the mosque, also called madrasah in the *waqfīyah,* fulfilled the functions of a Friday mosque. The splitting of the *khānqāh* thus created a second mosque to which the mausoleum could be attached. It served the design of a symmetrical composition that fully dominated the street in the very heart of the city.

The western building had a protruding minaret to the south. A massive four-story rectangular tower of conspicuous height, this minaret had a four-headed upper

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[54]Behrens-Abouseif, "Change in Function and Form of Mamluk Religious Institutions," *Annales Islamologiques* 21 (1985): 73–93.

[55] Christel Kessler, "Funerary Architecture Within the City," in *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire,* ed. André Raymond et al. (Cairo, 1972), 257–68.

[56] In the case of the *khānqāh* of Barsbāy in the Northern Cemetery, the mausoleum's width equals the depth of the adjoining prayer hall.

structure covered with blue tiles.[57] Ibn Iyās claims that this was the first four-headed minaret ever to be built in Cairo. The *waqfīyah* describes the tiles as of lapis blue color *(qāshānī azraq lāzuwardī)*.[58] The color must have been similar to the blue ceramic decoration of the sultan′s minaret at al-Azhar. A drawing by Pascal Coste shows that the blue tiles of the minaret covered the entire third floor as well as the four-headed top and that they were pierced in their center, where they were attached by a nail. Moreover, nails were driven between the tiles to provide additional support (Fig. 7).[59] An inscribed cartouche is included in the ceramic revetment.

The minaret faced the mausoleum dome, which was similarly covered with blue tiles.[60] A nineteenth-century drawing by Girault de Prangey shows the dome prior to its collapse, covered with tiles (Fig. 8).[61]

Both the minaret and the dome, with their blue tiles, must have been an unusual spectacle. On the north-eastern side the *sabīl-maktab* projected onto the street on three sides, also an innovation. A wooden roof connected the two buildings, providing shade for the street market.

The first stipulation of the *waqf* refers to the maintenance of the tiles, stating that they should be replaced as soon and as often as needed. Tiles had not been used since the domes of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad at his mosque and his palace at the Citadel, which also had a ceramic revetment, so Cairene craftsmen were no longer accustomed to the construction of tiled domes. This may explain why, soon after the building was finished, the dome of al-Ghawrī had to be pulled down and rebuilt.[62] The sultan himself sat on the roof of the madrasah under a tent to supervise the work. The minaret also had to be rebuilt. Ibn Iyās writes that its upper structure was rebuilt in brick; it collapsed in the nineteenth century and was replaced with a five-headed structure.

The use of ceramics in architectural decoration was fashionable in Cairo in the Bahri Mamluk period. Faience mosaic decoration, influenced by Ilkhanid Iran, was used on a limited number of buildings, the earliest extant example of which is the mosque of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad at the Citadel, and the latest the mosque of

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[57]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 4:249.

[58] *Waqf* deed, Ministry of Awqāf MS 883, 14.

[59]*Pascal Coste, toutes les Egypte* (exhibition catalogue) (Marseille, 1998), 129.

[60]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 4:58, 249, 299, 306; 'Azzām, *Majālis,* 1:28.

[61]Joseph Philibert Girault de Prangey, *Monuments arabes d′Egypte, de Syrie et d′Asie Mineure*, *dessinés et mesurés de 1842 à 1845* (Paris, 1846), 80. K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt* (Oxford, 1952–59), 2:73.

[62]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 4:249.

Sultan Ḥasan.[63] Underglaze-painted tiles were produced in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Damascus and in Cairo. Underglaze-painted epigraphical blazons and tiles for lintel decoration were produced during Qāytbāy's reign.[64] The dome of Sultan al-Ghawrī used to have an underglaze-painted ceramic band on the drum.[65] Sultan al-Ghawrī had some renovation work done on the dome of Imām al-Shāfiʿī and may have also tried to decorate it with green tiles. Creswell mentions green rectangular tiles found covering the upper five meters of the dome.[66] Both Sultans Qāytbāy and al-Ghawrī are reported to have undertaken restoration work on the sanctuary, but no source mentions that the dome of Imām al-Shāfiʿī was covered with tiles. Al-Ghawrī might have started such a revetment project, but been unable to complete it.

The workshop that produced the tiles for Sultan al-Ghawrī continued to operate in the early Ottoman period. Green tiles, also pierced in the center, cover the mausoleum dome of Shaykh Abū al-Saʿūd, built by Sulaymān Pasha. The mosque of Sulaymān Pasha also has green and blue tiles, and the minaret of Shāhīn al-Khalwatī has green tiles at the conical top. The mausoleum of Amir Sulaymān, built in 951/1544, is adorned with underglaze-painted blue and white tiles in the tympanum between the lintel and the relieving arch, and with a blue and white underglaze inscription on the drum.[67] This type of architectural decoration continued to be seen on many buildings of the Ottoman period. The blue dome of al-Ghawrī's mausoleum had a particular significance; it included the relics of the Prophet along with the Quran said to have belonged to the caliph ʿUthmān,[68] which up to then had been housed in the building called *ribāṭ al-āthār,* which had fallen into disrepair. Its founder had been the vizier Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Ḥannā (d. 707/1303), who had purchased the relics from a family in Yanbūʿ and installed them in the *ribāt* which he founded for that purpose on the Nile shore south of Fusṭāṭ. Ever since its founding the shrine had been a place of pilgrimage, one that al-Maqrīzī describes as lively and filled with great numbers of worshippers.[69] Sultan al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (1363-76) endowed it with a Shafiʿi madrasah, and Sultan Barqūq (1382–89)

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[63]Michael Meinecke, "Die mamlukische Fayencemosaikdekoration: Eine Werkstätte aus Täbriz in Kairo 1330–1350," *Kunst des Orients* 11 (1976/77): 85–144.

[64]Marilyn Jenkins, "Painted Pottery: Foundations for Future Study," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 95–114.

[65]Claude Prost, *Les revêtements céramiques dans les monuments musulmans de l'Egypte* (Cairo, 1916), pl. 4/2.

[66]Creswell, *Muslim Architecture,* 2:73.

[67]Prost, *Revêtements,* 17; Christel Kessler, *The Carved Masonry Domes of Mediaeval Cairo* (Cairo, 1976), pl. 46.

[68]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'iʿ al-Zuhūr,* 4:68.

[69]Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1854), 2:429.

built a dam on the Nile banks. The relics were moved to al-Ghawrī's mausoleum accompanied by a grand procession. Ibn Iyās comments that relocation of the relics was a violation of the founder's *waqf* stipulations.

Although al-Ghawrī does not seem to have cultivated the religious aspect of his image very much, the transfer of the relics to his mausoleum was undoubtedly meant to add to its prestige by making it a place of pilgrimage. His *waqfīyah* stipulates that a eunuch had to be present in the mausoleum to serve the visitors and pilgrims who came to see the relics and the Quran of ʻUthmān.[70]

Ibn Iyās also mentions that the *khānqāh* of al-Ghawrī had a magnificent Quran which was originally in the *khānqāh* of Baktimur. Since that *khānqāh* had fallen into ruins more than a century earlier, al-Ghawrī must have acquired it from Baktimur's heirs, paying a thousand dinars. This Quran was comparable only to the one which al-Nāṣir Muḥammad bought for his *khānqāh* at Siryāqūs, which had fetched the same price of a thousand dinars.[71] The Quran of Baktimur's *khānqāh* could have been the famous Quran of Uljaytū which is now in the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo; it is inscribed with the name of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Baktimur's master, and the statement that it was made *waqf* by Baktimur.[72] A Quran box that was once in the Mosque of al-Ghawrī, and is now in the Islamic Museum in Cairo, could have contained this Quran.[73] Although it is anonymous, its style puts it in the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Baktimur's patron, who might have given the box with the Quran of Uljaytū as gifts to his favorite amir.[74]

Sultan al-Ghawrī seems to have had a predilection for the color blue. The tent in which he used to celebrate the Prophet's birthday at the Citadel was blue, like the color of his *khirqah,* and as were his dome and the top of his minaret. The Uljaytü Quran of Baktimur's *khānqāh* is illuminated predominantly in blue.

The evolution of the arts in al-Ghawrī's reign was not the by-product of an intense religious patronage, as was the case with his master Qāytbāy. With all his acknowledgment and admiration for Qāytbāy's achievements, al-Ghawrī himself had different motives. His approach to the arts was from the outset profane rather than pious. He worked carefully at constructing his image as a poet and scholar and a patron of secular arts, pursuing the kind of princely image that was cultivated by the Timurid, Safavid, and Ottoman princes, but was unfamiliar in the culture of

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[70]Copy of the *waqfīyah* dated 911 at the Daftarkhānah, Ministry of Awqāf, MS 883, 93.

[71]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr,* 4:69.

[72]David James, *Qurʼāns of the Mamluks* (London, 1988), 109.

[73]Atıl, *Renaissance,* 86.

[74]Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Waqf as Renumeration and the Family Affairs of al-Nasir Muhammad and Baktimur al-Saqi," in *The Cairo Heritage: Papers in Honor of Laila Ali Ibrahim,* ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Cairo, 2001).

the Mamluk court. Moreover, there is an undeniable Iranian flair to al-Ghawrī´s cultural life, which is evident in his entourage of *a'jām* and his preoccupation with the *Shāhnāmah*. His literary colloquia demonstrate his interest in Iranian history and culture with references to Timurid princes and citations of poems by Ḥusayn Bāyqarā. The fashion of ceramic revetment points to the same source of inspiration. One may also speculate that the layout of his complex, with the madrasah facing the *khānqāh,* was inspired by descriptions he might have heard of Samarqand and Ulūgh Beg´s Rājistān.

The obsession with regal glamour in this critical phase of Mamluk history, however, raises the question of al-Ghawrī´s true motives. Was his patronage inspired merely by frivolity and hedonism? Or was it perhaps part of a political agenda? Al-Ghawrī´s major enemies, the Safavid shah Ismā'īl and the Ottoman sultan Selim, were both of royal lineage. The former descended from an alliance of a sufi saint with royalty; the latter had a long royal genealogy. That al-Ghawrī was defensive about his own humble origins is clearly documented in the *Nafā'is*. In one of his colloquia the sultan is reported to have claimed that the Circassians were of Arab origin, descended from the Ghassanid tribe which had converted to Islam, an idea that had already surfaced during the reign of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh.[75] A vendetta, however, forced the Ghassanid chieftain to escape and seek refuge at the court of the Byzantine emperor Heracles, where he converted to Christianity. The emperor eventually granted him and his people the land that became henceforth Circassian territory.[76] In another session, al-Ghawrī claimed again to be of Arab stock as a result of his Circassian origin, which thus qualified him to be a true *khalīfah!*[77]

Sensitivity over of the Mamluk lack of pedigree seems to have been provoked by the Ottomans. Again in the *Nafā'is* it is reported that Jānibak, a Mamluk envoy to the court of Bāyazīd II (1481–1512), was told that the Holy Cities should not be governed by the sons of unbelievers *(awlād al-kafarah),* but rather by a *sulṭān ibn sulṭān,* in other words, the Ottomans. To this Jānibak replied that on the Day of Judgement lineage would play no role; nobility is defined by knowledge and *adab* rather than descent.[78] Al-Ghawrī is quoted as saying that *adab* is the most important thing in the world *(mā fī al-dunyā aḥsan min al-adab).*[79] On another

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[75]Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-Aynī, *Al-Sayf al-Muhannad fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh al-Maḥmūdī,* ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt and Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1967), 28. I thank Prof. Donald Richards for having drawn my attention to this point.

[76]'Azzām, *Majālis,* 1:85.

[77]Ibid., 108.

[78]Ibid., 134f.

[79]Ibid., 4.

occasion the Mamluks are said to have replied to the Ottoman scorn at their lack of lineage with the question, ″And who was the Prophet′s or Abraham′s father?″

Al-Ghawrī, sensitive about the shortcomings of his pedigree, seems to have launched the Circassian-Arab legend to bestow on himself an Arab nobility that would enable him to stand up to his rivals. His appropriation of the Prophet′s relics for his mausoleum should be seen in this light. Al-Ghawrī seems to have been trying to modernize the image of the Mamluk sultanate shortly before its collapse, by adopting the artistic language of the great powers at that time, the Ottomans and the Safavids, hoping perhaps that this image might deter his enemies and perhaps rescue his kingdom.



Figure 1. Sultan Qāytbāy enthroned on the *dikkah*. (From *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff,* trans. Malcolm Letts [London, 1946], 107).

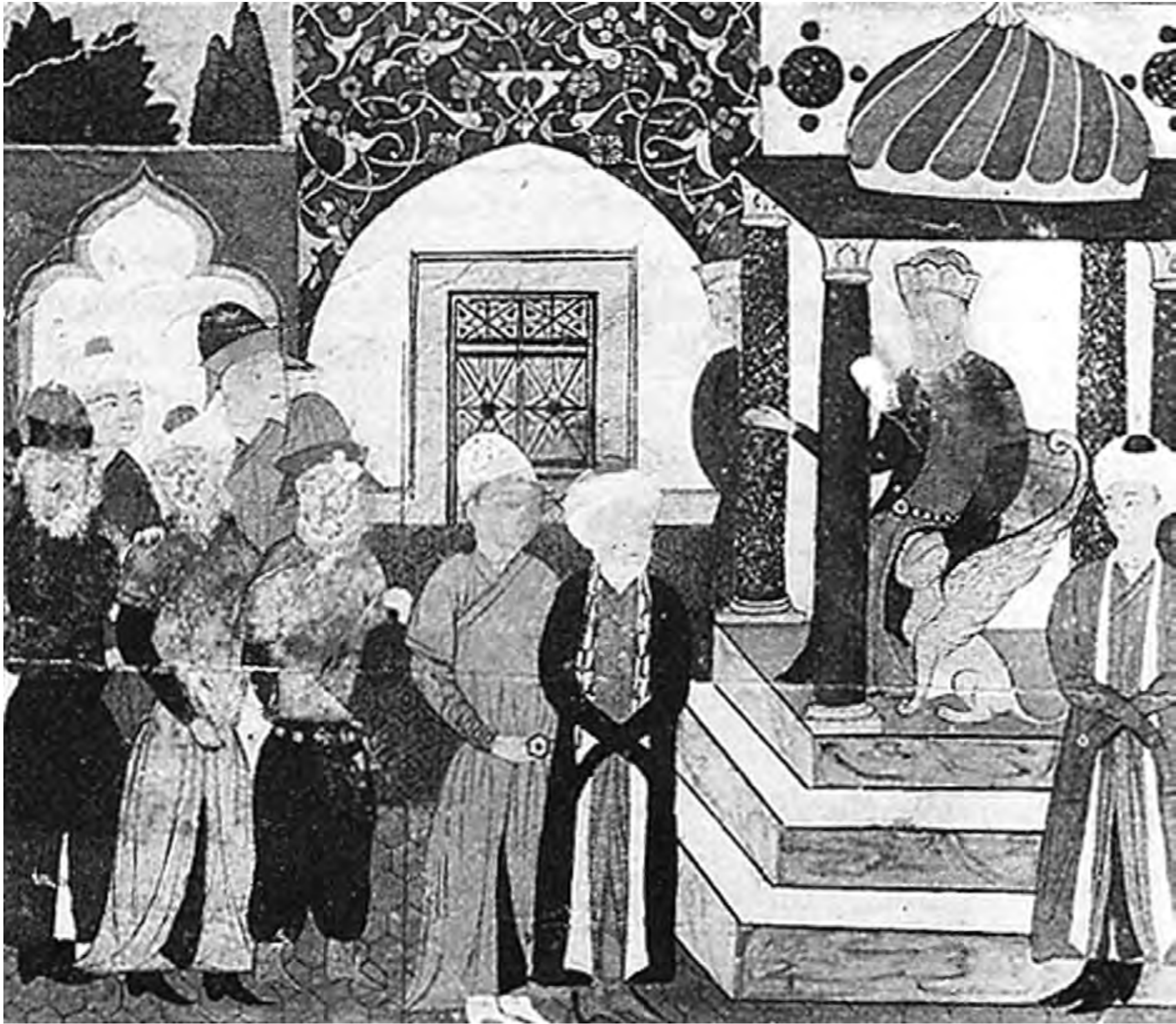


Figure 2. The enthronement of Kayqubād in the *Shāhnāmah* of al-Ghawrī (Courtesy of Esin Atıl).



Figure 3. Frontispiece of the anthology of Sultan al-Ghawrī (Courtesy of Esin Atıl).



Figure 4. Portrait of Sultan al-Ghawrī by an unknown artist
(From ʻAzzām, *Majālis*).



Figure 5. The religious-funerary complex of Sultan al-Ghawrī

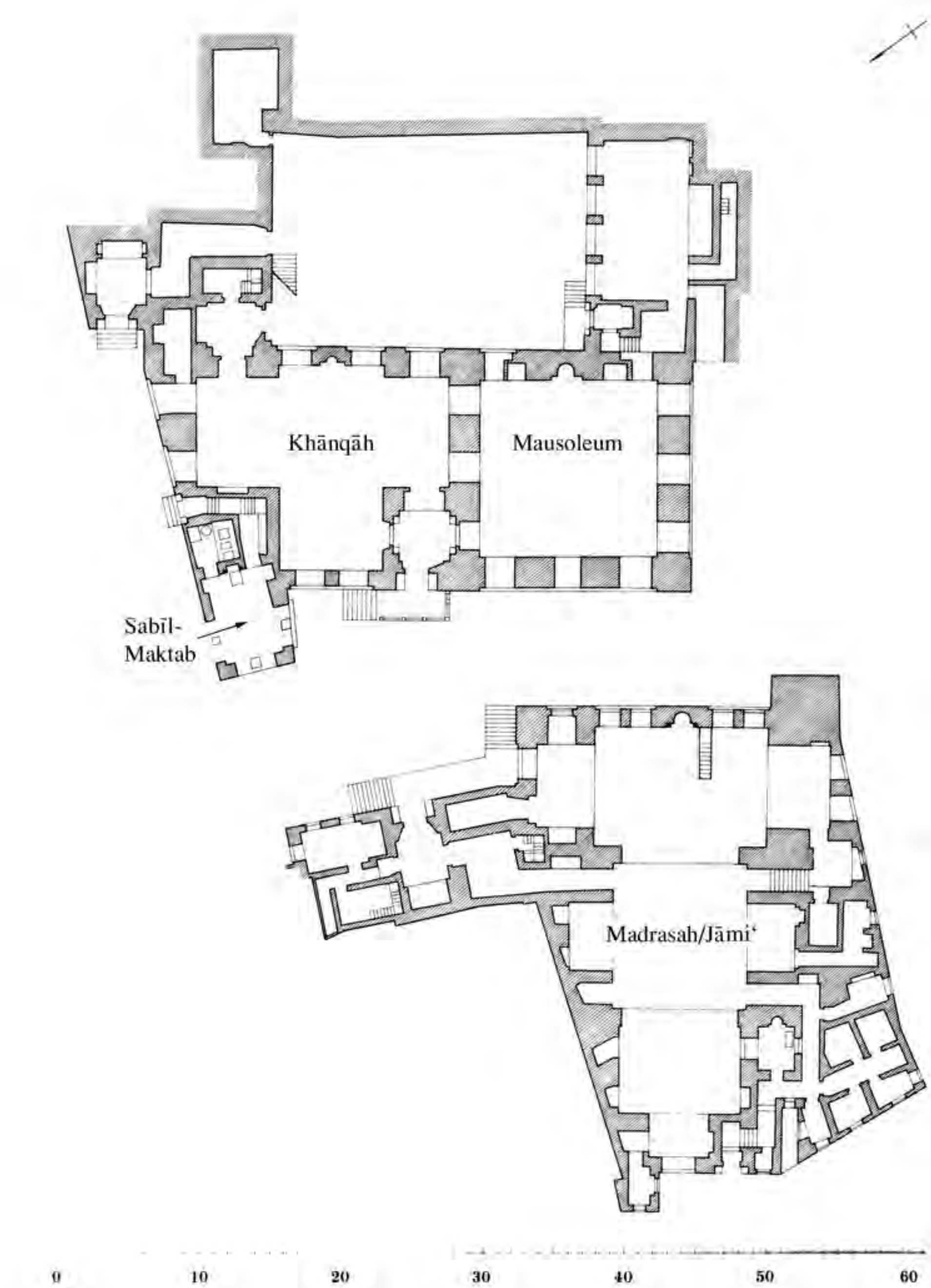


Figure 6. Plan of the religious-funerary complex of Sultan al-Ghawrī (From Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 1:167).

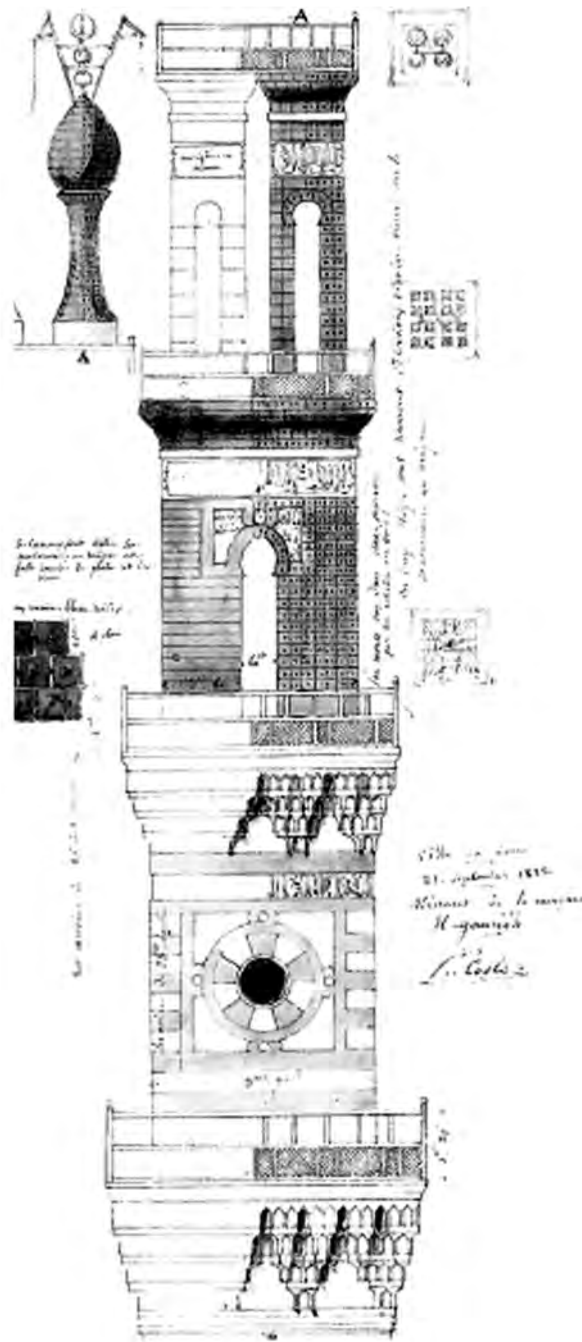


Figure 7. The minaret of al-Ghawrī covered with tiles (From *Pascal Coste*)



Figure 8. The religious complex of Sultan al-Ghawrī seen from the south, before the collapse of the dome and the minaret (From Girault de Prangey, *Monuments arabes d'Egypte, de Syrie et d'Asie Mineure*).

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Between Qadis and Muftis: To Whom Does the Mamluk Sultan Listen?

In spite of the proliferation of scholarship on many aspects of life during the Mamluk era, one aspect of Mamluk society that still has not received the attention it deserves—despite the fact that it is crucial to our understanding of the dynamics of life during that time—is the relationship between members of the religious elite.

In this article, I propose to examine the relationship between two groups of religious officials, qadis and muftis, as reflected in their debates in both public and private forums. I will examine the role played by each group and their efforts to influence the changes occurring in society as well as the role of the sultan in endorsing changes in the law suggested by the religious scholars.

In order to do so, I will focus primarily on two cases which best reflect the extent of disagreement and competition which existed among the individuals who were members of these religious groups. The cases selected will show that the debates between religious scholars were frequently characterized by great tension and often led to the public´s opposition to the views of one of the two parties.

Debates between qadis and muftis focused mostly on conflicting interpretations of a point of law. The chronicles frequently report heated debates that took place in a *majlis* presided over by the sultan. The intense discussions would usually be provoked by a question put to the assembly of distinguished scholars by the ruler or an important amir. Occasionally, the full argument relating to the disagreement was expounded upon by a member of the two groups in a short *risālah,* or in a *fatwá.* As a result, we can follow the lines of argumentation of the two groups by consulting the extant *risālah*s or *fatwá*s, or by reading accounts in the chronicles. The examination of the full texts of these *risālah*s and *fatwá*s together with the comments provided by the medieval chroniclers also throws light on the legal procedures that introduced changes in the law. Indeed, this helps us understand how a legal opinion pertaining to a specific case could eventually become binding and take the form of a general law imposed by the ruler.

Before discussing the cases which were the object of disagreement between muftis and qadis, let me review the duties and responsibilities which were attached to their respective positions.[1]

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[1]For general information on the qualification, responsibilities, and function of medieval qadis see

In his book on Islamic chancery al-Qalqashandī has a section entitled ″Al-Ijāzah bi-al-Iftā' wa-al-Tadrīs″ (License to teach and issue legal opinions).[2] From the title of this section we are already informed that in order to issue a valid legal opinion *(fatwá)* an individual should first receive a license allowing him to do so. The *ijāzah* represents the certification that the individual is authorized to issue a legal opinion according to a specific school of law. Medieval chronicles mention a number of religious scholars who had received *ijāzah*s from prominent scholars. Thus, Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī mentions in the obituaries for the year 801 that Jamāl al-Dīn al-Zuhrī al-Shāfi'ī had received such a license from his father in the year 791 (″wa-adhana lāhu abūhu fī al-iftā'″).[3] Elsewhere he writes that Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī (b. 724), a student in Jāmi' al-Ḥākim, had received a license to issue *fatwá*s from al-Badr Ibn Hilāl.[4] In the obituaries for the year 846 al-Sakhāwī writes about Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Maḥallī, who was a companion of Ibn Jamā'ah for ten years. Al-Maḥallī had received from the latter an *ijāzah* giving him permission to teach jurisprudence and to expound orally and ″use his pen″ to issue *fatwá*s according to the Shafi'i school of law.[5] Al-Qalqashandī himself had received an *ijāzah* from his shaykh, Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ, known as Ibn al-Mulaqqin, when the latter had reached the port of Alexandria where the scholar was resident in the year 778.[6]

An individual could receive more than one *ijāzah* issued by different shaykhs. Presumably the more *ijāzah*s the individual had, the more reliable his opinion was. Thus, al-Sakhāwī writes in the obituaries for the year 846 that Qadi Shams al-Dīn al-Qurashī al-Shāfi'ī, who was born in al-Maḥallah in 763, was given an *ijāzah* by Maḥmūd al-'Ajlūnī. He was also given an *ijāzah* permitting him to teach and issue *fatwá*s by al-Bulqīnī in the year 809, while in 782 he had been given an *ijāzah* by Ibn 'Aqīl.[7] In the obituaries for the year 852 he writes about his own shaykh, Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, and says that he had received *ijāzah*s to teach and to issue *fatwá*s from al-Bulqīnī, Ibn al-Mulaqqin, and al-Abnāsī.[8]

Al-Qalqashandī provides us with the text of his own *ijāzah,* which is interesting

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Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Abī al-Dam, *Adab al Qaḍā'* (Baghdad, 1984). For information on justice in the Mamluk period, see Jørgen S. Nielsen, *Secular Justice in an Islamic State: Maẓālim under the Baḥrī Mamlūks* (Leiden, 1985).

[2]Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá fī Kitābat al-Inshā'* (Cairo, 1913–18), 14:322.

[3]Aḥmad ibn 'Alī Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Anbā' al-'Umr* (Beirut, 1986), 4:62.

[4]Ibid., 5:344–47.

[5]Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk* (1897; reprint, Cairo, [1972]), 60.

[6]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 14:322–25.

[7]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr,* 60.

[8]Ibid., 230–231.

because it throws light on the qualifications of a mufti and the latitude that its possessor enjoyed in the interpretation of the law. In it one reads: ″Knowledge is the strongest form of worship *(ʻilm aqwá asbāb al-ʻibādah)*. . . . Since the aforementioned [person] has grown and was brought up in the climate of knowledge and virtue *(ʻilm wa-al-faḍīlah)* and has shown high moral standards *(akhlāq)* and has been in the company of distinguished shaykhs and jurists working under their guidance . . . he has been given the license to teach according to the school of law of al-Imām al-Shāfiʻī . . . and to issue *fatwá*s *(an yuftī)* to whomever approaches him for a legal opinion whether in written or oral form *(khaṭṭan aw lafẓan)* according to his own *madhhab*. This license is issued to him because he has been found perfectly eligible and highly qualified due to his vast knowledge.″ The *ijāzah* was certified and signed by a number of religious scholars.[9]

As is clear from the preceding, the mufti′s qualifications rested on his knowledge of the various fields of the religious sciences in his *madhhab*. It is not therefore surprising to read that the ones given *ijāzah*s were individuals who had proven themselves as scholars in their *madhhab*. These individuals often occupied teaching positions or at least, as in the case of al-Qalqashandī, were qualified to do so. This point is confirmed by information found in *waqf* documents. For example, one reads in the *waqfīyah* of Sultan Ḥasan that the founder appointed to the Qubbah a teacher-mufti *(mudarris muftī)* qualified to teach Quran exegesis.[10] The same document refers to a salary of three hundred *nuqrah* dirhams being paid to the *qāḍī al-qudāh* Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī al-Shāfiʻī, who was *qāḍī al-qudāh* in Damascus, to perform the duties of mufti *(ʻalá waẓīfat al-iftā')* during his lifetime and after him to his successor as *qāḍī al-qudāh* in Syria, provided that he also performed the functions of mufti *(yaqūm bi-waẓīfat al-iftā')*.[11] The *waqfīyah* refers also to the appointment of a shaykh *miʻād,* who should be a mufti well known for his religiosity *(ʻālim muftī mashhūr bi-al-diyānah)*.[12] The *waqfīyah* of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh stipulates that the *shaykh al-ṣūfīyah,* who was from the Hanafi *madhhab,* should be well acquainted with the works of jurisprudence of his own school and the works of the religious scholars of the other schools of law.[13] He had to be qualified to teach and to issue *fatwá*s. The *waqfīyah* of al-Jamālī Yūsuf al-Ustādār also mentions the appointment of a Shafiʻi religious scholar qualified to teach and issue *fatwá*s. As per the founder′s instructions the individual chosen, Shaykh Abū al-Maʻālī Muḥammad al-Khwārizmī al-Shāfiʻī, was to take up residence in the

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[9]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 14:322–25.

[10]Ḥujjat Waqf al-Ṣulṭān Ḥasan, Dār al-Wathā'iq MS 365, fol. 441.

[11]Ibid., fol. 447.

[12]Ibid., fol. 444.

[13]Ḥujjat Waqf al-Ṣulṭān al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, Ministry of Awqāf MS 938, fol. 44.

foundation, a *khānqāh*. The shaykh was to be paid a salary for issuing legal opinions.[14]

Interestingly, it appears from these cases that the issuing of legal opinions was remunerated by a fixed salary paid from the *waqf*. In general, muftis who did not occupy endowed positions were also remunerated for their legal opinions. This, of course, opened the door for bribes and entailed the payment of large sums of money by rulers or amirs in return for a favorable opinion being issued by the mufti. On the other hand, since the issuance of *fatwá*s had become a lucrative business, religious scholars too fell prey to corruption as they began giving licenses to issue *fatwá*s to individuals who were not qualified to be muftis, in return for handsome sums of money. This poor state of affairs seems to have become widespread by the end of the fourteenth century. In the obituaries for the year 795, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī mentions Aḥmad ibn ʻUmar ibn Hilāl al-Iskandarānī, then al-Dimāshqī, a Maliki *faqīh* whom he praises as a good scholar. However, he wrote, he was to be blamed for accepting bribes *(rishwah)* to give licenses to issue *fatwá*s *(ʻalá al-idhn fī al-iftā')* to individuals who were not qualified. He was often denounced for this by other religious scholars.[15]

An individual could have his license to issue *fatwá*s revoked if his peers called his performance or qualifications into question. Al-Sakhāwī mentions that in the year 852 a *majlis* attended by the sultan and by al-Qalqashandī, al-Manāwī, and other Shafiʻi scholars met to reconsider the position occupied by Shaykh Ibn Jamāʻah, shaykh of the Ṣāliḥīyah in Jerusalem, at the request of al-Sirāj al-Ḥimṣī. The latter had claimed that Ibn Jamāʻah was not qualified to teach and accused him of issuing *fatwá*s which were faulty![16] Ibn Ḥajar wrote concerning the Shafiʻi scholar Ibn al-Naqqāsh that his exegesis was rather peculiar and that he favored the amirs.[17] Ibn al-Naqqāsh's friendship with Sultan Ḥasan saved him temporarily from the attacks of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Hirmāsī. Yet, as al-Maqrīzī reports, in the year 760 he was summoned in front of a *majlis* attended by Qāḍī ʻIzz al-Dīn ibn Jamāʻah at the request of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Hirmāsī and was accused then by al-ʻIrāqī of issuing *fatwá*s not in conformity with the teachings of the Shafiʻi *madhhab*.[18] Ibn Ḥajar, who is more explicit, adds that he was accused of issuing *fatwá*s to some Copts. As a result, Ibn al-Naqqāsh was forbidden to issue *fatwá*s. He was

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[14]Ḥujjat Waqf al-Jamālī Yūsuf al-Ustādār, Dār al-Wathā'iq MS 17/106.

[15]Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 3:171.

[16]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr,* 216.

[17]Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʻyān al-Mi'ah al-Thāminah* (Beirut, n.d.), 4:71.

[18]Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʻrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* vol. 3 pt. 1 (Cairo, 1970), 47–48.

also prevented from giving public sermons *(majālis al-wa'ẓ)* unless he read from a book.[19]

Regarding the qualifications of qadis, al-Qalqashandī wrote that the position of qadi was given to qualified individuals known for their caring, honesty, piety, and humility. He adds that the position should go to someone who is going to exert his personal *ijtihād* to ensure that justice prevails after having relied on the evidence presented by litigant parties, making sure that all are treated equally.[20]

Ibn Abī al-Dam al-Shāfi'ī defines *qaḍā'* as a *farḍ kifāyah* whose aim is to order people, compelling them to accept a ruling. When issuing a verdict in his capacity as judge, a qadi was bound by the testimony of witnesses and the evidence pertaining to the case he was examining. After consulting the various juridical sources he should be prepared to render his judgement. However, in cases where the judge could not find any precedent or help from the sources consulted, he was asked to use his *ijtihād,* if he considered himself a worthy *mujtahid.*[21] Otherwise, as al-Ṭarābulusī suggested, it was imperative for him to refer to a mufti "in cases for which he does not find any information that can help him formulate his judgement; if he considers himself a *mujtahid* he could use his own *ijtihād* or use analogical reasoning based on precedent before rendering his judgement. But if he does not consider himself a *mujtahid* he should ask a mufti for an opinion and render his judgement on the basis of it. In any case, the qadi should never render a judgement without having full knowledge of the legal issue."[22] In issuing a legal opinion, a mufti had a wider scope of proofs at his disposal than a qadi, taken from his own *madhhab* or other *madhhab*s. This latitude often allowed the mufti to propose opinions and solutions to problems which sometimes clashed with the narrower interpretations of the qadis. Accordingly, it is not surprising to see rulers and their amirs resort to the muftis whenever they wanted to legitimize some course of action or behavior which would normally raise criticism and opposition on the part of the religious scholars. Obviously, in doing so they were taking a risk, since the result of the *fatwá* was not guaranteed always to favor them. In spite of the resort to bribery already referred to, the mufti might still speak his mind and oppose the ruler. Thus, the dilemma for the ruler and the amirs would be whether to act on their own and face the wrath of their opponents, or to have some religious scholar sanction their actions. Often in cases which required measures which made it necessary to skirt the law, such as the illegal appropriation of

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[19]Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah*, 4:71.

[20]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 14:341.

[21]Ibn Abī al-Dam, *Adab al Qaḍā',* 1:129 ff.

[22]'Alī ibn Khalīl al-Ṭarābulusī, *Mu'īn al-Ḥukkām fī-mā Yataraddad bayna al-Khaṣmayn min al-Aḥkām* (Cairo, 1973), 26.

funds, for example, Mamluk rulers found themselves forced to consult the religious scholars. Since the measures contemplated by the ruler were considered illegal, religious scholars were put in an awkward position. Indeed, by providing an opinion which would favor the upholding of the law they would clearly oppose the ruler′s wishes and thus run the risk of incurring the ruler′s wrath. Few of them would take this risk if the ruler′s actions threatened their self interest. In general, by the end of the fourteenth century, upholding the letter of the law required courage. Accordingly, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī praises Qāḍī Tāj al-Dīn al-Ṭarābulusī, who was mufti in Dār al-ʻAdl, saying that he would insist on his rulings and he would not knuckle under like others did.[23] Al-Maqrīzī writes that in the year 780 Barqūq, who was then *amīr kabīr,* convened a *majlis* to which he invited judges and other religious scholars to discuss the possibility of seizing land which had been endowed for mosques, madrasahs, *khānqāh*s, and *zāwiyah*s as well as a number of other endowments. This caused an uproar among some of the scholars who spoke against it. Al-Bulqīnī, who was present at the meeting, remained silent, possibly in an effort to avoid voicing his opposition to Barqūq′s request. When he was asked for the reason for this silence his answer was, ″No one asked for my opinion.″ So Barqūq indicated that he should speak and he was forced to voice his opposition to the confiscation of any legal endowment. Ibn Abī al-Baqā', who was also present at this meeting, stood up and in an apologetic way addressed the group of amirs, saying that they were in positions of authority and the decision was theirs. After an angry dispute al-Bulqīnī said, ″Oh amirs, you order the qadis [to give you their opinion] but if they don′t provide the opinion you want you dismiss them.″[24]

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī mentions that in the year 803, when the Mongol Tīmūr had invaded Sivas and was advancing toward northern Syria, a *majlis* was convened to decide whether it was legal to seize half or a third of the merchants′ capital in order to equip the army. The request in itself was not unique but the answer provided was indeed revealing. The qadi Jamāl al-Dīn al-Malaṭī answered the ruler: ″If you decide on your own, you have the authority to do so *(fa-al-shawkah lakum),* but if you want to base your decision on our issuing a *fatwá* to that effect, then it is impossible for any of us to do so *(wa-in aradtum dhālika bi-fatāwinā fa-hādhā lā yajūz li-aḥad an yuftī bih).*″[25] Such an answer is quite interesting since it was uttered by someone who was often accused of favoring illicit behavior.

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[23]Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 9:22.

[24]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* , vol. 3 pt. 1, 345–46.

[25]Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 4:191. Elsewhere (4:350) the author writes that al-Maḥallī′s answer was: ″If you are acting from a position of authority then all the power is yours. As for us, we will not issue such a *fatwá* nor would we accept to endorse it″ *(wa-lā nuḥillu an yuʻmal).*

Indeed, this mufti was often accused of issuing *fatwá*s making it legal to eat hashish, and, says Ibn Ḥajar, he often exerted himself to find subterfuges (*ḥiyal)* to allow *ribā*.[26]

Issuing *fatwá*s which supported a view which was contrary to the traditional interpretations of jurists could have far reaching implications. Indeed, if adopted by the ruler and embraced by a group of scholars, such *fatwá*s could ultimately lead to changes and open the way for the widespread adoption of practices previously considered illegal by the majority of religious scholars. Muftis like al-Bulqīnī and al-Subkī were known to have defied the traditional views of their school of law without hesitation, despite the disapproval of their peers, because their legal opinions were supported by the ruler and the military elite. Al-Suyūṭī, who was aware of the legal implication of their *fatwá*s, provided an apologetic explanation for their behavior, saying that even though they had opened the door for illegal practices, they were responding to the needs of their time. Furthermore, he did not hesitate to claim that a *fatwá* should in fact reflect the reality of the time.[27]

The opinions of muftis seem to have played a major role in introducing legal changes. Accordingly, we should pay closer attention to the content of *fatwá*s and the way they were formulated, since in the long run, when the public uproar faded, they were often followed by the imposition of a law. The greater the prestige of the scholar issuing the opinion, the more effective his opinion and the weaker the chances that it would be challenged by his peers. Some qadis had forged quite a reputation for themselves and seem to have been put to the test. Muftis from the Syrian part of the empire seem to have been particularly effective in challenging the qualifications of other scholars. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī notes the arrival in Cairo in the year 828 of Yūsuf ibn Quṭb al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī from Aleppo and his boast that no other scholar could compare to him. So the sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy, eager to test the validity of his claim, summoned a group of renowned Hanafi scholars to a *majlis.* He asked for a collection of *fatwá*s to be brought. He then ordered that one *fatwá* should be assigned to each mufti for comment. Accordingly, Shaykh Niẓām al-Dīn Yaḥyá, the shaykh of the Ẓāhirīyah; Shaykh Badr al-Dīn al-ʻAntābī; Shaykh Sirāj al-Dīn, who was the shaykh of the Shaykhūnīyah; Ṣadr al-Dīn ibn al-ʻAjamī; Shaykh Saʻd al-Dīn ibn al-Dīrī, shaykh of al-Mu'ayyadīyah; and Shaykh Yūsuf, respectively, were ordered to provide their legal opinion on the questions assigned to each of them. They all agreed except for shaykh Yūsuf, who said he only wrote opinions in his home. So they all proceeded to write. Once they had finished, the sultan forwarded their opinions to the Hanafi *qāḍī al-qudāh* Zayn al-Dīn for him to examine and decide who was

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[26]Ibid., 348.

[27]Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Ḥāwī lil-Fatāwī* (Beirut, n.d.), 1:206–10.

right and who was wrong in his answer.[28] On the basis of this, are we to understand that the *qāḍī al-quḍāh* had the power to oversee the *fatwá*s of other religious scholars? Until we have more information on the dynamics regulating *fatwá*s and the interaction between scholars at different levels any answer to this question would be pure speculation.

As far as ceremonial and public appearances go, it is certainly clear that the *qāḍī al-quḍāh* enjoyed a higher status than the mufti of Dār al-ʻAdl. Indeed, concerning Dār al-ʻAdl al-Maqrīzī writes that the custom was for the sultan to sit in the Īwān Kabīr and the qadis of the four schools of law to sit at his side. The Shafiʻi qadi, who enjoyed a higher status, would sit to his right, followed by the Hanafi, then the Maliki, and finally the Hanbali. However , after the rule of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, this order changed and the four qadis took their place on either side of the sultan. The Shafiʻi qadi sat to the right, followed by the Maliki and the *qāḍī ʻaskar,* then the *muḥtasib* of al-Qāhirah, then the Shafiʻi mufti of Dār al-ʻAdl. The Hanafi qadi would sit to the sultan′s left, followed by the Hanbali.[29]

Regardless of who took precedence over the other in legal or ceremonial matters, the question remains: to whom did the sultan listen when he was seeking advice? And whose decision was implemented when it came to serious matters?

Among the interesting cases mentioned by al-Maqrīzī there is one concerning a *majlis* which had met at the request of Sultan Ḥasan. This particular *majlis* gave way to a heated discussion between the qadis and muftis. This debate prompted Sultan Ḥasan to raise the question of the importance of muftis and their *fatwá*s. Indeed, while the qadis were entrenched in their positions and were attacking the opinions of muftis, claiming that they had no basis in the law, the sultan addressed himself to the qadis, saying, ″If the *fatwá*s have no bearing on legal matters, let us abolish both the muftis and their *fatwá*s.″[30]

This *majlis,* which was held at Siryāqūs, had met as a result of an incident which had taken place in the year 760, when the mosque of al-Ḥākim was being restored. The restoration took place under the supervision of Shaykh Quṭb al-Dīn al-Hirmāsī. On the occasion of this restoration the sultan had endowed the mosque with a *waqf* which was to support some of the needs of the foundation and the salaries of its staff. The sultan chose the same occasion to remunerate the supervisor of the work, al-Hirmāsī, by setting aside for this shaykh and his children some part of the agricultural land. It is this particular land which became the object of the controversy a year later. Indeed, in the year 761 Sultan Ḥasan, who had turned against al-Hirmāsī, confiscated his fortune and destroyed his house. The reason

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[28]Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Inbāʼ al-Ghumr,* 8:63–64.

[29]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1854)*,* 2:208–9.

[30]Ibid., 278–80.

behind this change of heart is in itself quite interesting. According to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, the person behind this reversal of fortune was Ibn al-Naqqāsh, who had been known for his unorthodox exegesis. As previously mentioned, this scholar had often been accused of issuing *fatwá*s which were in conflict with the teachings of the Shafiʿi school of law. When Shaykh al-Hirmāsī heard about this, he attacked him in public and spread rumors about him. Ibn al-Naqqāsh tired of this and vowed to retaliate. His goal was reached when he succeeded in turning the sultan against al-Hirmāsī, prompting this ruler to seize the properties of the shaykh, to order the destruction of his house, which was built in front of the Jāmiʿ al-Ḥākim, and to exile him and his children.[31]

The subject of the heated debate between the qadis and muftis was a plot of agricultural land totaling 560 feddans in Ṭandatā.[32] A share of this land had been set aside as *waqf* to benefit the mosque, while the rest of the land had been given to al-Hirmāsī by the sultan at the request the shaykh. After the demise of al-Hirmāsī, the sultan wished to seize the shaykh′s share of this land. However, he was faced with a problem: al-Hirmāsī had turned the agricultural land received from the sultan into a *waqf*. By turning the land into a *waqf,* al-Hirmāsī had invalidated the clause which, in agreement with the Hanafi school of law, would have allowed the sultan to seize it.

Trying to find a loophole in the law, Sultan Ḥasan asked religious scholars to re-examine the validity of the whole *waqf,* claiming that when he had made his declaration *(ishhād)* and sworn in front of the witnesses that he had endowed this land, he had not read the whole document, nor was he aware of the exact share allotted to al-Hirmāsī. The sultan also claimed that he was convinced that the greatest part of the land endowed was to benefit the mosque of al-Ḥākim and that only a negligible plot was to benefit al-Hirmāsī. Upon investigation it appeared that the witnesses of this *waqf* had sworn that they had taken cognizance of the detailed content of the *waqf,* which had apparently been drafted by al-Hirmāsī and clearly favored him. The problem, put before the religious scholars, spurred a heated debate between qadis and muftis. Indeed, muftis such as Ibn ʿAqīl, al-Subkī, al-Bisṭāmī, al-Baghdādī, and others argued for the nullification of the *waqf* since it was contingent upon an invalid declaration. The Hanafis argued that regardless of the faulty acknowledgment and declaration of a witness, this *waqf* could not be nullified since the content of its clauses had been legally approved by the Hanafi qadi and its execution by qadis of other *madhhab*s was sound. So, says al-Maqrīzī,

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[31]Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah*, 4:71.

[32]Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad Ibn Duqmāq, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat ʿIqd al-Amṣār* (Bulaq, 1893), section 2, 94, mentions Ṭandatā among the towns of the District of Gharbīyah, whose *ʿibrah* was 15,000 dinars, distributed mostly as *iqṭāʿ* for the amirs′ *ṭablkhānah*s.

the sultan summoned muftis and the qadis to Siryāqūs, where he was spending some time, but only Tāj al-Dīn al-Manāwī, the deputy of the Shafiʻi qadi, appeared.[33] The Shafiʻi, Hanafi, and Hanbali qadis claimed they were too sick to attend. Hence, the sultan gathered the religious scholars who were in attendance in one of the palaces located in Maydān Siryāqūs and put the case before them, asking them to decide the matter. All but one scholar concurred that the *waqf* was null. Al-Manāwī, however, said that, according to the school of Abū Ḥanīfah, the ruling was valid even if the declaration of the witness and swearing was faulty. This statement caused an uproar on the part of the muftis, both Shafiʻis and Hanafis. They all argued that this was not the view of his *madhhab* and that since the consensus of scholars did not support al-Manāwī′s views, they declared that the ruling was to be considered invalid. To this al-Manāwī replied, ″Judgements are not rendered by way of *fatwá*s″ *(al-aḥkām mā hiya bi-al-fatāwī)*. The aforementioned qadi had already claimed, in another *majlis* involving a case concerning the Jewish community, that the opinion of muftis was to be disregarded and that *fatwá*s should not be relied upon when issuing a judgement! Hearing this, the audience of scholars retorted that he was wrong and that he showed his great ignorance, since no legal judgement could be rendered without a *fatwá* from God and His messenger. They also added that the status of *fatwá*s was established first by God the Almighty as stated in the Quran. Sirāj al-Dīn al-Hindī and others who were present at the *majlis* declared that the statement of al-Manāwī was blasphemous and that the school of Abū Ḥanīfah held that whoever disdained *fatwá*s and muftis was an infidel *(kāfir)*. Defending himself, the shaykh argued that his objection was only to *fatwá*s which conflicted with the teachings of a school of law. Interestingly, they all answered that he was still wrong in arguing this, since a *fatwá* could contradict a particular *madhhab* and yet be in agreement with truth and justice. Sultan Ḥasan, who was present during this altercation, interjected: ″If you claim that *fatwá*s have no authority, let us therefore dismiss all muftis and abolish *fatwá*s!″ He then paused, confused about what he had heard, and asked: ″How should I act in this situation?″ Referring to this gathering, ʻAlī Mubārak mentions that when Sultan Ḥasan asked the qadis and muftis whether he could invalidate the *waqf* of the plot of land in Ṭandatā they all concurred that he could except for al-Manāwī, who stood firm declaring that it was illegal to do so.[34] Praising the stand taken by this shaykh, al-Maqrīzī mentions that the land remained in the hands of al-Hirmāsī′s children. In a note of dismay he also calls upon the reader to compare the principled stand taken by al-Manāwī to the behavior of scholars of

[33]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:280.

[34]ʻAlī Mubārak Bāshā, *Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīqīyah al-Jadīdah li-Miṣr al-Qāhirah* (1888; reprint, Cairo,1980), 4:169.

his time who all fail to uphold the rigorous application of the law and issue rulings which favor the ruling class.[35]

This case suggests that up to the mid-fourteenth century qadis were still able to hold their own and did not yield to pressure from the rulers or their amirs.[36] In fact it seems that the qadis′ influence remained strong up till the beginning of the fifteenth century, when they began to temporize in their rulings. This was probably due to the fact that the position of qadi came to be filled by people who, for the most part, had obtained their position by paying bribes and were unqualified. It is precisely then that the opinions of famous religious scholars seemed to matter. In fact, muftis′ legal opinions were carefully considered by qadis, who relied upon them especially when the rulings they had to issue would set a precedent that would initiate a change.[37] Often, the muftis′ opinion stood as a check on the lack of rigorous adherence to the letter of the law shown by qadis, reminding them of the necessity of applying the law without favoritism. One of the cases worth discussing concerns a *fatwá* issued by al-Suyūṭī entitled ″Al-Jahr bi-Man‘ al-Burūz ‘alá Shāṭi’ Nahr.″[38] This particular *fatwá* had led to the spread of false rumors among people, prompting al-Suyūṭī to defend himself, as he mentioned at the beginning of the *fatwá.* Ibn Iyās wrote that in 896 a rumor spread among the people claiming that Shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī had issued a *fatwá* which stated that erecting a building on the shores of al-Rawḍah was not permissible since the consensus of religious scholars recognized that it was illegal to build on the banks of rivers. As for those who claimed that this was permissible according to the Shafi‘i school of law, said al-Suyūṭī, they are wrong since such permission was not found in any of the works of the Shafi‘i scholars.[39] Al-Suyūṭī reports the reasons which led him to issue this *fatwá,* saying that a man who owned a house in al-Rawḍah undertook some renovations which led to additions in the direction of the river. These additions were followed by other construction which brought the total to thirty six *dhirā‘,* all added in the direction of the banks of the river, that is to say, the interdicted area of the ″*ḥarīm al-nahr*.″ Due to these new additions, his building was projecting beyond the row of houses adjacent to it. So, said al-Suyūṭī, he told him that this was illegal according to the four schools of law. The man started spreading rumors claiming that al-Suyūṭī issued a *fatwá*

[35]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:280.

[36]For some other examples see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk* , vol. 3 pt. 1, 345–46; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr,* 4:350.

[37]See, for example, what al-Suyūṭī says in *Al-Ḥāwī lil-Fatāwī,* 1:206–10; see also al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr,* 164.

[38]Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Ḥāwī lil-Fatāwī,* 1:194–97.

[39]Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i‘ al-Zuhūr fī Waqā’i‘ al-Duhūr* (Cairo, 1984), 3:283.

asking for the demolition of all the houses of al-Rawḍah and this, according to the religious scholar, was a lie.

Because the rumor was creating an uproar among the people, al-Suyūṭī decided to defend himself in a work in which he produced the arguments of all four schools of law in support of the prohibition against building on the banks of rivers. Our interest in the *fatwá* lies in its conclusion which provides us with an insight into the procedures leading to the adoption of changes in legal practice. It also allows us to understand the relationship between the *qāḍī al-qudāh* of a *madhhab* and a mufti, since it shows how, at the request of the latter, the qadi confirmed the need for a change. Similarly, it reveals the role played by the sultan in the endorsement and promulgation of new laws.

In his conclusion al-Suyūṭī says: ″I sent the case of this man to the Shafiʿi *qāḍī al-qudāh.* I joined to it the views of the four schools of law. I also informed him that rulings issued in the past by scholars allowing people to construct buildings on the shores of al-Rawḍah were illegal.″ The *qāḍī al-qudāh* accepted the truth and instructed his deputies not to issue permits to build on the shores of al-Rawḍah. As he prepared to summon the individual concerned to his court to sanction him and impose the prohibition on him, al-Suyūṭī sent the qadi a note in which he suggested that, rather than impose the prohibition on a single individual, it would be preferable that the prohibition take the form of a general prohibition. Because the qadi appeared perplexed, says al-Suyūṭī, he explained to him that this course of action was permissible since in an earlier case Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī had ruled in the same way and had even written a book about it. Al-Suyūṭī sent al-Subkī′s work to the *qāḍī al-qudāh,* who then issued a general prohibition against building on the shores of al-Rawḍah. His ruling was confirmed by the Hanbali *qāḍī al-qudāh* and the Maliki *qāḍī al-qudāh.* Following this prohibition, al-Suyūṭī sent the qadi′s ruling and his own work on the subject to the sultan. After taking cognizance of their works, the sultan imposed a general prohibition on encroaching on the shores of al-Rawḍah and threatened to demolish any such illegal buildings.

From the preceding it appears that in issuing his order of prohibition, the sultan was relying on the ruling of the *qāḍī al-qudāh* and not entirely on the *fatwá* of al-Suyūṭī. However, it also appears that the *qāḍī al-qudāh* did not decide on his own to issue a general prohibition but in doing so had taken the *fatwá* of al-Suyūṭī into consideration. Also, the one who initiated the contact with the sultan was not the *qāḍī al-qudāh* himself but the mufti, al-Suyūṭī.

We can therefore speculate that in order to be effective, any change in the law or any general decree had to have the final approval of the sultan who would be the one to issue it. Often, after adopting a decision which was met with great opposition from the population, a ruler would request from the religious scholars

the writing of a *fatwá* or a *risālah* which would justify his action. Amirs would often follow the same pattern. For example, one important *risālah* was written for the amir Yashbak al-Dawādār when his decision to create changes in the urban landscape caused an uproar among the population. The *risālah,* written by Ibn Shiḥnah, provides arguments supporting the action of the amir. At the end of the work, the author writes: ". . . and if you reflect upon the proof that I have provided it will become clear to you that this [action] is in conformance with truth and justice . . . and whoever opposes it in our time relies only on personal interest and whim."[40] Ibn Iyās refers to this incident by saying that in the year 882 Yashbak decided to clean the streets and widen the thoroughfares. So he ordered the demolition of buildings that were blocking traffic in public streets, a matter which caused a lot of harm to the owners of these properties. Apparently he was able to do so thanks to the help of one of the deputies of the Shafiʻi qadi, Fatḥ al-Dīn al-Sūhājī, who, under pressure from the amir, had issued a ruling favoring the demolition.[41]

Examination of the cases discussed above indicates that whenever the rulers were faced with problems involving decisions touching a point of law, they consulted with the qadis.[42] It is difficult, however, to determine whether their behavior was entirely dictated by their eagerness to respect the law or by their attempt to have someone else bear the blame for unpopular decisions. In any case, it seems clear that they would always prefer to clothe their actions in an aura of legality. Accordingly, in cases where the qadis' opinions went against the rulers' will, the latter would first try to exert pressure on them in an attempt force them to validate his decision. If still faced by the opposition of qadis who would not yield to pressure, as was often the case up to the beginning of the fifteenth century, the ruler could still ask a mufti to issue a *fatwá* in his favor. In general, muftis enjoyed greater latitude in their interpretation of the law. By the fifteenth century many were indeed inclined to condone decisions that were unpopular with the masses but favorable to the ruler or the elite.

When it came to introducing changes into the law, it seems that muftis' legal opinions had first to be endorsed by the qadis before being enacted by the sultan. In all cases, whether the sultan listened to the qadis or the muftis, he was the one who had the final word in enacting a law or issuing a decree.

In conclusion, to answer the question, to whom did the Mamluk sultan listen when he was seeking advice? one is tempted to answer that the sultan listened to

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[40]Ibn Shiḥnah, "Taḥṣīl al-Ṭarīq ilá Tashīl al-Ṭarīq," Arab League MS 1337, fol. 112.

[41]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr*, 3:127–28.

[42]It should be clear that qadis were often in possession of licenses which allowed them to issue *fatwá*s. However, when they were approached by the ruler seeking their advice in their capacity as *qāḍī al-qudāh,* it seems that they were bound by a stricter interpretation of the law.

whomever was providing him with the opinion he wanted to hear. In other words, the Mamluk sultan listened to himself!

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What Ibn Khaldūn Saw: The Judiciary of Mamluk Egypt*

Introduction

The career of Ibn Khaldūn is well known. He was active from the mid-fourteenth century in the political arena of North Africa and Spain, where he wrote his great work, *Al-Muqaddimah*. He then moved to Egypt where he was to become the Malikite chief judge *(qāḍī al-quḍāh)*. He was appointed to the post of chief judge by the Mamluk sultan Barqūq (r. 784–91/1382–89, 792–801/1390–99) twenty months after his move to Egypt, following an unexpected summons on 19 Jumādá II 786/8 August 1384.[1] He resigned the post after about ten months, but twelve years later he was appointed chief judge for a second time. Thereafter followed a succession of resignations and reappointments, so that by the time of his death in 808/1406 he had served six times as chief judge.

Prior to his first appointment, Ibn Khaldūn had had no experience as a working judge *(qāḍī)*. His only experience of working in legal administration had been while resident in Morocco, where he had served as appeal court *(maẓālim)* judge in 762/1361, concurrent with other positions under the Marinid sultan Abū Sālim. He held singular views and ideals about matters of legal administration, however, thanks to his experience in politics and his academic research.

Once appointed chief judge, he was brought into close contact with the affairs of the law courts, and the picture of the Egyptian legal administration which gradually revealed itself to him was not what he had expected. He experienced a

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[1]Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Taʻrīf bi-Ibn Khaldūn wa-Riḥlatihi Gharban wa-Sharqan,* ed. Muḥammad ibn Tāwīt al-Ṭanjī (Cairo, 1951), 254; Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʻrifat Duwal al-Mulūk* (Cairo, 1939–73), 3:517; Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Rafʻ al-Iṣr ʻan Quḍāt Miṣr* (Cairo, 1957–1961), 2:344; Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʻ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʻ* (Cairo, 1934–36), 4:146; Ibn Khaldūn, *Le voyage d'Occident et d'Orient: autobiographie,* trans. Abdesselam Cheddadi (Paris, 1980), 153; Walter Joseph Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn in Egypt: His public functions and his historical research, 1382-1406; A study in Islamic historiography* (Berkeley, 1967), 30–31.

kind of culture shock. The state of affairs he discovered is clearly recorded in his autobiography, *Al-Taʿrīf bi-Ibn Khaldūn wa-Riḥlatihi Gharban wa-Sharqan,* along with an unmitigated account of his response to it.

Ibn Khaldūn′s account of the Mamluk legal administration has been largely ignored by scholars, however. Even the relatively recent specialized work of Escovitz[2] does not mention it. The present paper, therefore, is intended to bridge this gap by giving an account of his observations in his autobiography, and through this account, presenting an aspect of that time which cannot be appreciated by looking only from the perspective of the history of institutions.

IBN KHALDŪN′S INAUGURATION AS CHIEF JUDGE

In Ṣafar 786/March 1384, soon after Ibn Khaldūn had begun his first public appointment in Egypt as professor at the Qamḥīyah College,[3] there was an incident whereby the current Malikite chief judge, Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Khīr, was criticized by Malikite jurists for passing an incorrect judgment in court. As a result, Jamāl al-Dīn fell out of favor with Sultan Barqūq and was dismissed on 3 Jumādá II/23 July of the same year. Less than two weeks later, on 19 Jumādá II, Ibn Khaldūn received his summons from the sultan. He went to the Citadel and was ordered to assume the now empty post of Malikite chief judge. He declined, explaining that he did not have the experience for such a job, but the sultan was adamant and Ibn Khaldūn eventually agreed. He was invested by the sultan with the robe of honor and the honorific title of *Walī al-Dīn*, and then, with an escort of dignitaries and guards, he was led northwards up Cairo′s central avenue to the district of Bayn al-Qaṣrayn. This formal procession was superintended by Alṭunbughā al-Jūbānī (d. 792/1390), the amir of the council *(amīr al-majlis).* Alṭunbughā al-Jūbānī was a Turkish general who wielded great power at the palace. He had made Ibn Khaldūn′s acquaintance soon after the latter′s arrival in Cairo, and it was he who had introduced Ibn Khaldūn to Sultan Barqūq. The route of the procession was in accordance with tradition, stopping first at the Nāṣirīyah College,[4] where the proclamation appointing Ibn Khaldūn as Malikite chief judge was read out. The procession then crossed the street and went into the Ṣāliḥīyah College, where Ibn Khaldūn took the seat of the chief judge of the Malikite court.[5]

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[2]Joseph H. Escovitz, *The office of qâḍî al-quḍât in Cairo under the Baḥrî Mamlûks* (Berlin, 1984).

[3]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Būlāq, 1270 [1853]; repr. Baghdad, 1970) 2:364; Abū Bakr ibn Aḥmad Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍi Shuhbah* (Damascus, 1977), 3:131.

[4]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:382; Escovitz, *Office of qâḍî al-quḍât*, 196–97.

[5]Ibn Khaldūn, *Taʿrīf,* 254; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:480, 513, 517; Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn in Egypt,* 31.

Since the reforms of Sultan Baybars (r. 658–76/1260–77) in 663/1265, the judicial administration of Mamluk Egypt had been entrusted to the chief judges of the four schools of law.[6] Among these, the chief judge of the Shafi'ite school was accorded the highest rank. This was presumably because, prior to the reforms, chief judges had always come only from the Shafi'ite school. The Shafi'ite chief judge thus had more power than the judges of the other schools, including sole jurisdiction over such matters as the execution of wills and the management of the property of orphans. Such details notwithstanding, while administration itself was in the hands of the four judges, the power to appoint or dismiss the chief judge belonged, by Islamic tradition, to the ruler. The appointment of Ibn Khaldūn by the sultan was thus no exception.

The Ṣāliḥīyah College which housed Ibn Khaldūn's court had been founded by the Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn (r. 637–46/1240–49), and was the most powerful college in Egypt. It was the educational institute for all of the four schools of law, and it housed each of their courts. Ibn Khaldūn sat in the court of the Malikite school. Court was held in a room known as an *īwān,* which was in the shape of a half-dome, open at the front. The residences of the chief judges were also located in one corner of the college.[7]

One can imagine that, on seeing the court, Ibn Khaldūn must have pondered his readiness for the job. In particular, his thoughts must surely have lit upon what he had written in *Al-Muqaddimah* on "The duties of the judge," seven years earlier in North Africa.[8] In that section, he cites the various basic rules for judges contained in a warning letter which the caliph 'Umar (r. 13–23/634–644) is said to have given to Abū Mūsá al-Ash'arī, the judge of Kūfah (the letter was in fact, apparently, a fake). He also refers to *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah* written by the Buwayhid jurist al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058), explaining how this book elucidates the basic laws and conditions pertaining to the judge's profession, and how it describes judges eventually being responsible for certain out-of-court duties, as well as for knowledge of court matters.

From his writing, it seems that Ibn Khaldūn had experienced no discrepancy between what he had observed of current Islamic law in North Africa and what he

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[6]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:538–39; Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1929–72), 7:121–22, 218; Escovitz, *Office of qâḍî al-quḍât*, 20–28.

[7]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:374; Escovitz, *Office of qâḍî al-quḍât,* 192–96.

[8]Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Muqaddimah,* published by E. Quatremère as *Prolégomènes d'Ebn-Khaldoun,* Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale et autres bibliothèques, vols. 16–18 (Paris, 1858), 16:397–400; Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: an Introduction to History,* trans. Franz Rosenthal (New York, 1958), 1:452–56.

had learnt of legal traditions since the early Islamic period. The images he had in his mind of what the qualifications and duties of an Islamic judge should be, what could be expected of a justice, and so forth, were entirely theoretical, based on what he had studied. As well as this theoretical view, however, he also had his own particular view of the history of civilizations, according to which a society would tend to decay as its civilization developed, the seeds of social disintegration being incorporated within the development of civilization. Although he was still new to Egypt at this time, he must already have sensed the spiritual decay of this highly civilized society, and thus felt as if he were seeing his pet theory exemplified.

Ibn Khaldūn′s image of the ideal judge thus had to remain an ideal in the reality of Egyptian society. Nonetheless, he tried to preside over legal affairs in accordance with this lofty ideal. Such an endeavor, carried out as it was with extreme circumspection, was bound to encounter tremendous problems in the Egyptian society of that time. Ibn Khaldūn was convinced, however, that precisely by undertaking this endeavor, he was fulfilling his responsibilities to the people and to his patron, the sultan, and he applied himself with great zeal to his task. The following is from his autobiography:

> I made the utmost effort to enforce God′s law, as I had been charged to do. I tried to conduct things fairly and in an exemplary manner: I considered the plaintiff and the accused equally, without any concern for their status or power in society; I gave assistance to any weaker party, to level out power inequalities; I refused mediation or petitions on either party′s behalf. I focused on finding the truth only by attending to the evidence. I also kept a watchful eye on the conduct of the official witnesses *(al-naẓar fī ʻadālat al-muntaṣibīn)* responsible for testimonies *(taḥammul al-shahādāt).* There were some among them who were dishonest or lacking in morals. Evidently the superintendents of justice *(al-ḥukkām)* had not fully investigated these people: dazzled by their connections with powerful names, the superintendents had overlooked any character flaws. The majority of the official witnesses were private tutors in the Quran, or prayer-leaders employed by amirs, so the superintendents of justice must have installed them as official witnesses in the belief that they were of impeccable character. The judges were informed that these witnesses were men of integrity *(fī tazikiyatihim ʻinda al-quḍāh wa-al-tawassul lahum).* In reality, moral decay ran deep among the official witnesses, and within such a deceit-ridden, corrupt administration, the decay spread from

> one person to the next. Whenever I found out about wrong-doers, I punished them and gave them a severe warning.[9]

Ibn Khaldūn tried to establish fair court procedure as quickly as he could after his investiture. Inevitably, such an endeavor required him to take a scalpel to the degenerate world of Egypt's judiciary.

Participants in the Mamluk Judicial Administration I

The first point to consider with respect to the passage from *Al-Ta'rīf* cited above is the phrase "the official witnesses responsible for testimonies." The title "official witness" is expressed in Arabic as *'udūl* or *shuhūd,* which often occur in the plural, or by the abstract noun *'adālah*. The presence of witnesses is a requirement of the Islamic court and the official witness system is considered to date back to the early Abbasids at the end of the eighth century, judging from the complexity of the tests *(tazkiyah)* used to measure the fair-mindedness of witnesses.[10] The presence of official witnesses is understood as a system for maintaining the fairness of the court and for ensuring the smooth running of the judicial administration. The fact, as indicated in Ibn Khaldūn's writing above, that the official witnesses are appointed not by a judge but by a specialized superintendent of justice *(ḥākim)* is also noteworthy.

The official witness system is referred to in Ibn Khaldūn's earlier work, *Al-Muqaddimah.* In this work, he begins by describing the content of the work of official witnesses: with permission from the judge they carry out duties such as bearing witness during a trial, and recording the details pertaining to people's rights, properties, debts, and other legal transactions, as required on the certificate of judgment. He goes on to explain the essential qualifications for an official witness: utter honesty and sincerity in accordance with religious law. To check whether official witness candidates are in possession of these qualities, their lifestyles are scrutinized by a judge. A candidate deemed suitable for the position can then serve as official witness for a judge, who can send him out throughout the city to investigate the sincerity of litigants. Judges also employ these professional official witnesses to verify the authenticity of evidence. In addition, official witnesses in every city have their own shops and benches where they customarily sit, so that they can be called upon as a witness by anyone with legal business to conduct.[11]

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[9]Ibn Khaldūn, *Ta'rīf,* 254–55; Ibn Khaldūn/Cheddadi, *Voyage,* 153–54.

[10]Cf. Aḥmad ibn 'Umar al-Khassāf (d. 261/874), *Kitāb Adab al-Qāḍī*, ed. Farhat Ziadeh (Cairo, 1978), 83–84; Emile Tyan, "'Adl," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 1:209-10; idem, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam* (Leiden, 1960), 236–42.

[11]Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Muqaddimah,* 16:404–5; Ibn Khaldūn/Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah,* 1:461–62.

This provides a picture of what would have been assumed to be the everyday work of the official witness in the Islamic society of Ibn Khaldūn′s time. The official witnesses referred to in the extract from *Al-Ta'rīf* cited above, however, do not seem to conform to this image. The majority of them were appointed by the powerful amirs and, at least in trials connected with the amirs, the official witnesses could not be expected to provide impartial witness. If corruption was not rooted out by the official witnesses, then fair trials became an impossibility. Ibn Khaldūn recognized this and tried to redress the problem which had developed over the years. It was inevitable, though, that such action would result in his making enemies. He explains some of the problems as follows:

> I put a stop to the witnessing work of those official witnesses whom I knew to have guilty consciences. Among them were a number of scribes *(kuttāb)* belonging to the judges′ offices *(dawāwīn al-quḍāh),* who, among other things, kept the records of public hearings. As well as being versed in the compilation of trial documents *(da'āwá)* and judgment documents *(ḥukūmāt),* these scribes were employed by the amirs to draw up a variety of contracts and certificates. Thus their status was considered higher than that of other official witnesses, and since the judges were also in awe of the power of the amirs, the amirs were able to shield their scribes from any criticism. Some of the scribes would attack even the fairest official document *(al-'uqūd al-muḥkamah),* endeavoring to claim its invalidity because of some legal problem related to a trial or some problem with the style of the document itself. When rewards of status and gifts were offered, the scribes were all too eager to apply themselves to such tasks. A case in point is that of the *waqf*s (*awqāf:* endowments). There are many *waqf*s in Cairo, including several which are hardly known to anyone. These are easy prey for corrupt deals. A corrupt scribe will join forces with someone who wants to buy a *waqf* to turn it into private property, and draw up the validating documents for him. Difficulties are compounded by differences between the legal schools *(ikhtilāf al-madhāhib)* of the superintendents of justice *(al-ḥukkām bi-al-balad)* for the areas concerned. The superintendents′ attempts to prevent such usurping of *waqf*s are simply ignored. Thus the alienation of *waqf*s increases, and at the same time, other contracts *('uqūd)* and private properties *(amlāk)* also become subject to similar risks.

> Trusting in God, and fearing not the hatred and contempt which was poured on me, I took steps to root out such evil.[12]

The above passage shows how, among the official witnesses, there were scribes with responsibilities in the law courts, who, in collusion with amirs, exploited their legal knowledge and their positions so as to become accomplices of crime. In such circumstances, there was no hope of a just court. The official witnesses who were present during court sessions and the scribes of the *dīwān al-qāḍī* who carried out the court′s secretarial work have generally been viewed as different types of functionaries, but Ibn Khaldūn′s writing shows that the scribes who were charged with the court′s secretarial work might also serve as official witnesses; and those who did so were often in the employ of the amirs, which meant that they were accorded superior status among the scribes. The main aim of these scribes was to line their own pockets, and what they preyed upon most heavily was the *waqf* property: *waqf* which, in Islamic law, should not be touched even by those in authority.

VIOLATIONS OF *WAQF* PROPERTY RIGHTS

Even before Ibn Khaldūn′s time, the Mamluk period had seen repeated occurrences of *waqf* property being targeted by people in authority. Conspiring judges would find the *waqf* contracts of the property in question invalid, or they would give evidence to that effect, so that the property would then be confiscated by the state. History books record cases of such actions being perpetrated even by sultans. In 709/1310, for example, Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 693/1293–94, 698–708/1299–1309, 709–41/1310–41) is said to have summoned the chief judges and had them testify that some estates *(ḍiyāʻ)* and private properties *(amlāk)* which the previous sultan, Baybars II, and the regent, Sallār, had designated as *waqf*, had actually been purchased with money from the state coffers *(bayt al-māl)* and so the claim that they were *waqf* was void. This confirmed, the sultan had Āqūsh, amir and governor *(nāʼib)* of Karak, and Karīm al-Dīn, superintendent of the sultan′s private property, sell off the legacy of Baybars II. The money thus raised was divided between the sultan and Baybars′ daughter, who was the wife of an amir.[13]

In 717/1317, Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad planned to acquire more *waqf* land by exchanging it for other land. The *waqf* land in question was in Birkat al-Fīl in Cairo, and had been bequeathed by Baybars II to his children. In this instance, the chief judge of the Hanafite school, Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥarīrī, opposed the exchange,

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[12]Ibn Khaldūn, *Taʻrīf,* 255–56; Ibn Khaldūn/Cheddadi, *Voyage,* 154–55.

[13]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:82; Escovitz, *Office of qâḍî al-quḍât,* 149.

arguing that *waqf* land could not be exchanged, according to Hanafite law. Hearing of this, Sirāj al-Dīn ʻUmar ibn Maḥmūd, a judge of the same school, saw an opportunity to further his own career. He promised the sultan that, if he were made chief judge, he would pass judgment on the matter in the sultan's favor. He became chief judge and the exchange of the *waqf* land was legitimized. This chief judge fell ill and died just two months later.[14]

Six years later, in 723/1323, the sultan arrested Karīm al-Dīn, the judge who had been made to conspire in illegally acquiring *waqf* land in 709/1310, and who was superintendent of sultanate private properties. The sultan tried to confiscate Karīm al-Dīn's property, but this included *waqf* worth six million dinars. He ordered the chief judges to hand over the *waqf* land, but the Shafiʻite chief judge, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Jamāʻah, opposed this, asserting that this land had become *waqf* land by fully legal procedures. At this, the sultan employed witnesses to give false testimony against Karīm al-Dīn, saying that all of the latter's land *(ʻaqar)* and property, be it *waqf* or free property (*ṭalq*; property not subject to any rules), had been acquired with the sultan's money and not with Karīm al-Dīn's own money. As a result, his *waqf* rights became invalid and all of Karīm al-Dīn's property became the sultan's. The Mamluk historian al-Maqrīzī, (d. 845/1442) writes that the sultan designated a part of the confiscated property as *waqf* and renamed it *al-waqf al-Nāṣirī,* but that he did not, in reality, accord the land proper *waqf* treatment.[15]

A further incident occurred some thirty years later, in 754/1353. By this time the sultan had become a mere puppet of his generals. The vizier ʻIlm al-Dīn Ibn Zanbūr had been arrested, and the powerful amir Ṣarghitmish tried to have the *waqf* rights of Ibn Zanbūr's property nullified, then sell the property. He tried to use the above-described events of 723/1323 as the legal precedent for this. Thus he summoned the chief judges of the four schools of law to the Hall of Justice *(dār al-ʻadl)* in the Citadel, and he urged them to nullify Ibn Zanbūr's *waqf* rights. The Shafiʻite chief judge, ʻIzz al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʻah, opposed this, however, and the Hanbalite chief judge, Muwaffaq al-Dīn ʻAbd Allāh, agreed with his opposition. Ṣarghitmish flew into a rage, asking the chief judges, "Do you want to destroy this country through your wickedness?" He argued with them, citing the judgment *(qaḍīyah)* whereby Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had had the *waqf* of Karīm al-Dīn revoked. Chief Judge ʻIzz al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʻah rebutted this, stating that the decision in the case of Karīm al-Dīn had been based on testimonies that Karīm al-Dīn's property had all been acquired through his managing the sultan's property and hence had been acquired not with his own money but with the sultan's money.

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[14]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:173–74.

[15]Ibid., 243–44, 888; Escovitz, *Office of qâḍî al-quḍât,* 148–49.

The revoking of Karīm al-Dīn′s *waqf* could be acknowledged on this basis as legal. In the case of Ibn Zanbūr, however, even though he had been vizier, his assets had all been acquired through private business dealings. To confiscate any *waqf* or property derived from these assets would be illegal. The validity of ʻIzz al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʻah′s argumentation was upheld, and Ṣarghitmish′s petition rejected.[16]

The opposition that Ṣarghitmish met with from the chief judges, and his failure to have the *waqf* nullified, may have been partly due to the fragility of his power base. He had promised the sultan′s widow that, if he succeeded in having Ibn Zanbūr′s *waqf* revoked, he would give her a portion of it. That this plan had now come to nothing was a great blow to him. He became ill and was forced by the other amirs to give up his position as chief governor *(ra's nawbah)*.[17]

Examples like the one of Ṣarghitmish, where opposition by the chief judges kept *waqf* out of the clutches of those in power, are rather rare in the historical records. Much more frequent are examples of judges collaborating in the plots of the influential. Among these is the case of Amir Qawṣūn. In 730/1330, Qawṣūn was building a magnificent mosque outside the Zuwaylah gate near Birkat al-Fīl in Cairo. He wanted to extend the plot of the mosque so he tried to buy the public bathhouse *(ḥammām)* which neighbored his property. This public bathhouse, however, had been donated as *waqf* by the late amir Jamāl al-Dīn Āqūsh (d. 710/1310), so its sale or purchase was illegal. Qawṣūn discussed the matter with the judges, with the outcome that the Hanbalite chief judge, Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʻUmar, apparently gave his backing to a secret plan. This involved the side-wall of the public bathhouse being unexpectedly broken down—probably on the orders of the amir—at which some public witnesses *(shuhūd),* who were also conspirators in the plot, appeared before Chief Judge Taqī al-Dīn. They testified that, ″This bathhouse is dilapidated and of no use. It is likely to injure someone standing near it or passing by. It would be better to sell a building which is damaged like this.″ Their testimony ensured that a witness′s report *(maḥḍar)* had to be drawn up, and the chief judge then ordained that, in accordance with the law of the Hanbalite school, the premises could be sold. When drafting the witness′s report, one of the official witnesses refused to sign it, saying, ″God knows, I went into that bathhouse this morning and bathed there. There was nothing wrong with it. To testify that by sunset of this same day it has fallen into disrepair is something I cannot do.″ He left without signing, but another person was summoned in his place and the latter signed the document. The witnesses′ report was drawn up in accordance with Hanbalite protocol, and Amir Qawṣūn bought the public bathhouse from the son

[16]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:888–89; Escovitz, *Office of qâḍî al-quḍât,* 149–50.

[17]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:889.

of Amir Jamāl al-Dīn Āqūsh, who owned the *waqf* rights. According to al-Maqrīzī all of those involved ″used trickery and deception to get rid of a *waqf*.″[18]

A few years later, in 733/1333, Amir Qawṣūn bought the mansion of Amir Shams al-Dīn Baysarī (d. 698/1299) in Cairo, which had been a *waqf*. Baysarī′s *waqf* document had been drawn up with scrupulous attention to legal formalities, and it was signed by 72 witnesses, including members of the Shafiʻite chief judge class such as Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Daqīq al-ʻĪd, Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Razīn and Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Bint al-Aʻazz. Nonetheless, the Hanbalite chief judge, who was eager to conspire with Qawṣūn, allowed a valuation document *(maḥḍar bi-shuhūd al-qīmah)* to be drawn up for the mansion. The value was set at 200,000 dirhams, with the mansion value itself at 190,000 dirhams and a further 10,000 dirhams for the orphaned children of Baysarī; and an official report was drawn up to that effect. Thus the chief judge permitted the sale of the mansion and the sale of its grounds up to the approved value. This mansion was of unparalleled magnificence. Al-Maqrīzī writes that he felt sickened at having to record the incident.[19]

The infringements of *waqf* rights described above were no doubt the more remarkable cases, with less clear-cut infringements probably being plentiful but not significant enough to be recorded in history books. Certainly from the accounts of Ibn Khaldūn, it seems that it was nothing out of the ordinary for not only scribes, but even chief judges, to conspire with amirs in attempts to appropriate *waqf*s or the property of others. It was because of this state of affairs that, at the end of the Bahri Mamluk period, directly before Ibn Khaldūn had come to Egypt, an incident had occurred which had rocked the very existence of the *waqf* system. This was when the great amir *(amīr al-kabīr)* Barqūq, who would later become the first sultan of the Burji Mamluks, had summoned the judges and the ulama elders in 780/1379 and called for the abolition of all *waqf*s in Egypt and Syria, be they *waqf* lands supporting religious institutions such as mosques, colleges, and monasteries, or *waqf* lands constituting the livelihoods of descendants of Mamluks or amirs. The *waqf* certificates of the whole country were presented before the assembled amirs and ulama, and they were informed of how the profits from these *waqf*s amounted each year to an enormous sum. Barqūq then admonished that, ″This state of affairs is causing the weakening of the Muslim armies.″ The Shaykh al-Islam Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī spoke out against this, saying that the *waqf*s for religious institutions such as mosques, colleges, and monasteries were supporting the lives of Islamic jurists and prayer-leaders: ″No one can abolish these, and no Muslim has the right to compel such action. If anyone wants so badly to abolish

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[18]Ibid., 320–21; Escovitz, *Office of qâḍî al-quḍât,* 150.

[19]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:880, 2:362; Escovitz, *Office of qâḍî al-quḍât,* 150–51. Escovitz′s record of this event as occurring in 723 must be a mistake for 733.

the *waqf*s, then let a single office *(dīwān)* be established where we can all settle our accounts, as is our right. In this way, Your Excellencies could see how we do not want huge sums of money in preference to the *waqf*s we have received. Those *waqf*s which, on the other hand, have been bought for sycophants by dishonest means using state money, those, if they have not been acquired by the correct and legal means, could be abolished.″ The Shafiʻite chief judge, Badr al-Dīn Ibn Abī al-Baqā', offered blandishments in response to this speech by Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī, claiming that all land belonged to the sultan, so His Highness and Their Excellencies, the amirs, may do with it as they pleased. The military judge *(qāḍī al-askar)* Ibn al-Bulqīnī countered that even the sultan was only a man. It was just that His Highness and Their Excellencies were the ones to appoint the judges, so if the judges did not carry out orders, Their Excellencies could dismiss them. Al-Maqrīzī writes that the outcome of this investigative conference was that, although the Mamluk authorities could not abolish all *waqf*s, they did select numerous *waqf*s to be abolished, and they turned them into *iqṭāʻ*. [20]

PARTICIPANTS IN THE MAMLUK JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION II

The previous section illustrated how, under the Mamluks, *waqf* property had been an object of desire to all figures of authority from the sultan down, even before Ibn Khaldūn came to Egypt. The law in this respect was observed in name only: members of the ruling class who were covetous of the *waqf*s employed the services of judges, scribes, and official witnesses to give the appearance of abiding by Islamic law, and the judges, scribes, and official witnesses for their part had their own self-interested reasons for aiding and abetting the rulers. The following excerpt from Ibn Khaldūn′s *Taʻrīf* shows how deeply rooted such practices were. He evidently felt that Mamluk society had lost the dignity, or sanctity, even of its court. This is clear from what he writes on the muftis, whose job it was to give opinions on points of law.

> I turned my attention next to the Malikite muftis *([ahl] al-futyā).* Among them were arbitrators *(ḥukkām,* plural of *ḥakam)* of some experience, who were notorious for being argumentative, for giving conspiratorial advice to plaintiffs *(khuṣūm)* and for giving out post-judgment opinions on points of law *(futyā)* [counter to the judgments passed at court]. Some of these *ḥukkām* were contemptible people who had no qualifications, yet had passed themselves off as scholars of law or official witnesses *(ʻadālah),* then risen to the ranks of muftis or teachers, and fulfilled these offices with little care. There

[20]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:345–47; Escovitz, *Office of qâḍî al-quḍât,* 152–53.

> are great numbers of these men, perhaps because the population of Cairo itself is so huge, and there is no one to reprimand them, evaluate their skills, or give them warnings. They can hand out their rulings freely, in this city [Cairo], without being subject to any regulation. Every plaintiff employs a mufti to help him vie with and win against his opponent, asking the mufti's advice on how to resolve the situation being contested. The muftis then give their clients advice calculated to satisfy, but since the two muftis in a case are each operating from different standpoints, the opinions *(fatāwá)* they offer simply contradict each other. Things are made even worse when muftis offer their contradictory opinions after a judgment has been passed. Such conflict occurs frequently among the four schools of law [since they each have different interpretations of the law], so [when events have come to such a pass] it becomes almost impossible for a fair judgment to be served. The general public *(ʻāmmī)* has no means of properly evaluating the qualifications *(ahlīyah)* of muftis, so this corruption is spreading, and there is little hope of it dying out.[21]

The muftis described in this excerpt from *Al-Taʻrīf* cut a rather different figure than that which is usually expected of a mufti. In the long history of Islam's mufti system, those appointed by the rulers as muftis were competent and decent people selected from among the brightest jurists versed in Islamic law. The opinions they gave on points of law were called *fatwá,* while the act of offering a *fatwá* itself was known as *futyā* or *iftā'*. The earliest reference to the mufti system is a record of the Umayyad governor of Egypt Ayyūb ibn Shuraḥbīl charging three men, Jaʻfar ibn Rabīʻ, Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb, and ʻUbayd Allāh ibn Abī Jaʻfar, with the job of performing Egypt's *futyā,* on the order of Caliph ʻUmar II (r. 99-101/717–20).[22] The system underwent certain changes during the course of history, but by the time of the Mamluks, the muftis involved in the *iftā'* of the Hall of Justice *(dār al-ʻadl)* were the highest-ranking, with a total of four muftis, one from each of the schools of law, being appointed to this rank.[23]

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[21]Ibn Khaldūn, *Taʻrīf,* 256–57; Ibn Khaldūn/Cheddadi, *Voyage,* 155.

[22]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:332; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 1:238; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah fī Tārīkh Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1968), 1:299. Jaʻfar ibn Rabīʻah was selected from among the Arabs, Yazīd ibn Abī Ḥabīb and ʻUbayd Allāh ibn Abī Jaʻfar from the *mawālī*.

[23]Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá fī Ṣināʻat al-Inshā'* (Cairo, 1964), 11:207–8; Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire*, 219–24.

In Ibn Khaldūn′s *Muqaddimah*, the job of mufti is classed among the religious duties presided over by the caliph. It is described as follows:

> As to the office of mufti, the caliph must examine the religious scholars and teachers and entrust this office only to those who are qualified for it. He must help them in their task, and he must prevent those who are not qualified from (becoming muftis). (The office of mufti) is one of the (public)interests of the Muslim religious community (The caliph) has to take care, lest unqualified persons undertake to act as (mufti) and so lead the people astray. Teachers have the task of teaching and spreading religious knowledge and of holding classes for that purpose in the mosques. If the mosque is one of the great mosques under the administration of the ruler, where the ruler looks after the prayer leaders, as mentioned before, teachers must ask the ruler for permission (to teach there). If it is one of the general mosques, no permission is needed. However, teachers and muftis must have some restraining influence in themselves that tells them not to undertake something for which they are not qualified, so that they may not lead astray those who ask for the right way or cause to stumble those who want to be guided. A tradition says: ″Those of you who most boldly approach the task of giving *fatwá*s are most directly heading toward hell.″ The ruler, therefore, has supervision over (muftis and teachers) and can give, or deny, them permission to exercise their functions, as may be required by the public interest.[24]

The picture of the mufti emerging from the above citation is superficially similar to that in *Al-Ta‘rīf*, but in fact the two portraits are different. Perhaps Ibn Khaldūn had come to feel a kind of indignation at the judicial system of Mamluk Egypt, and indeed at the cultural degeneracy of Mamluk society as a whole, compared with the Islamic society of the Maghrib with which he had been familiar formerly. The description in *Al-Ta‘rīf* continues as follows:

> Still, I set about reforming this [habit] by arresting the muftis who were quacks or who lacked learning *(ahl al-hawá wa-al-jahl),* and I punished them firmly. Among them, however, was a number of Maghribis who gathered together *(multaqiṭūn)* and dazzled people by rattling off jargon *(iṣṭilāḥāt),* although they themselves had neither

[24]Ibn Khaldūn/Rosenthal, *The Muqaddimah,* 1:451–52; Ibn Khaldūn, *Al-Muqaddimah,* 16:396–97.

studied under a great master *(shaykh)* nor versed themselves in specialist texts. They trifled with people´s feelings, turning the court *(al-majālis)* into a place where prominent people were slandered and those deserving of respect were insulted. They hated me because of the punishments I meted out, so they joined forces with the inhabitants of those monasteries *(zawāyā)* promoting the same kind of belief as theirs. The appearance of piety that this allegiance lent them brought them a level of prestige, which they then abused in impious ways. Good people *(ahl al-ḥuqūq)* would inevitably choose them as arbitrators, at which they would gabble their chants as if with the voice of Satan, then claim that all was solved. Being unmoved by religion, their ignorance leads them to expose the laws of God *(aḥkām Allāh)* to danger.

I broke up their malevolent circle and chastised their clients, in accordance with the laws of God. Their cronies in the monasteries became powerless, since people stopped going there, so their well [their source of funds] dried up. Having thus lost their clientele these foolish people flew into a rage. They tried to defile my honor, inventing and spreading twisted, false rumors about me. Even the sultan came to hear rumors of my wrongs. The sultan however did not listen to them; the consequences of what I had put in motion were in the hands of God. Thus I paid no heed to the ignorant and walked the path of courage and rigor. I took equality and righteousness as my guides, rebuffed temptations toward injustice, and firmly refused to be influenced by prestige or riches, even when this resulted in my name being slandered. Such a course of action was not adopted by my colleagues: they disavowed my counsel and advised me to follow their example in appeasing the government officials *(akābīr)* and showing consideration toward those with influence. In other words, in clear cut cases I should pass judgments favorable to the dignitaries *(a‘yān),* and when there were difficulties I should reject the case, since when there were other judges *(ḥākim)* [within the same circle of jurisdiction] there was no obligation for one judge to pass judgment. This was their way of helping each other out.[25]

[25]Ibn Khaldūn*, Ta‘rīf,* 257–58; Ibn Khaldūn/Cheddadi, *Voyage,* 155–56.

While not claiming to have examined every piece of historical data on the Mamluk period, the present author believes that the excerpt above must surely be one of the clearest descriptions of what the muftis of Ibn Khaldūn´s time were really like. A recapitulation of Ibn Khaldūn´s main points is as follows:

1. The role of the mufti at that time was to act as a kind of legal advisor to anyone wanting advice regarding lawsuits. Muftis fulfilled this role by helping their clients devise strategic answers which would enable them to win a lawsuit, and sometimes by issuing *fatwá*s against judgments that had been passed, thus throwing the court into confusion.

2. The number of muftis was very large. Among them were many who had no qualifications but had managed to pass themselves off as jurists or official witnesses of adequate ability. Since such ill-qualified muftis were numerous and probably adopted a threatening air, nobody dared to chastise them or question their qualifications.

3. In Cairo, muftis could issue *fatwá*s freely; there were no restrictions. The litigants on both sides would employ muftis to fight their battle, with the result that the *fatwá*s issued would often contradict each other and the court would again be thrown into confusion. Conflicts of this kind were particularly numerous when each of the four law schools had differing laws concerning a certain problem. In such cases there was little hope of a fair judgment being reached.

4. Since the general public had no way of evaluating the validity of the qualifications or the *fatwá*s of the muftis, the corruption spread, and the more it spread, the less there was any chance of wiping it out.

5. Among the quack muftis were a number of men from Ibn Khaldūn´s homeland of the Maghrib. They banded together and spent their time making jargon-filled statements to slander and denounce those who were respected in the courts.

6. Collaborating with the Maghribis whom Ibn Khaldūn punished was a group of monastery affiliates, who should have been fervent in their faith. Like the muftis, they offered consultations for believers and litigants, and they postured as a grandiose oracle. What they received in return they used to line their pockets.

In short, the muftis were crooked lawyers. But that was not all: the issue of the band of Maghribis was significant in a way that deserves further attention. Ibn Khaldūn presided over the court as the Malikite chief judge, and in the Maghrib,

adherents of the Malikite school were numerous, so it can be assumed that, among the litigants at Ibn Khaldūn´s court, there were not only Egyptians but also a lot of Maghribis. The group of muftis from the Maghrib was thus a pressure group which the court had to consider. This phenomenon was no doubt not restricted to the Malikite school, but also existed in the courts of the other schools. In a court full of ill-intentioned muftis, there could have been little hope of maintaining the *manifestation of the law at its sternest.*

The fact that Ibn Khaldūn repeatedly criticized the issuing of post-judgment *fatwá*s should also not be overlooked. It goes without saying that the muftis´ action of issuing *fatwá*s—and thus utterly ignoring the authority of a court judgment—was just what was wanted by all the influential figures hoping to use the court to their advantage. The court must have been frequently forced into retrials, and aspects of judgments must frequently have been overturned.

The court thus ultimately lacked authority; a fact which, as Ibn Khaldūn explained, originated also in the behavior of the judges. The judges frequently used bribes to buy their positions, or they accepted bribes to pass favorable judgments. When there was no way that a favorable judgment could be passed, they would reject the case, making excuses such as not being obliged to pass judgment since there were other judges available. Thus by avoiding the court they could look after their own interest.

HOW EGYPT´S INTELLECTUALS SAW IBN KHALDŪN

Ibn Khaldūn endeavored to reform the corruption which was manifest in all levels of the Mamluk judiciary: among official witnesses and scribes, muftis and judges. Inevitably his actions caused conflict and made him unpopular, and an opposition movement grew up. His *Ta‘rīf* gives his version of how these events reached their conclusion.

According to this version, the Maghribi muftis who had joined forces with the monastery residents and slandered Ibn Khaldūn to the sultan went on to rally others dissatisfied with Ibn Khaldūn, such as official witnesses whom he had barred from practicing. Together they testified that Ibn Khaldūn was not passing judgment according to Islamic law, but was simply acting according to his own ideas, even in cases where a judgment reached by unanimous agreement of the community *(qaḍīyat ijmā‘)* was required. False charges and slander such as this abounded. When men from among these slanderers tried to seek favorable judgment for themselves, Ibn Khaldūn temporarily suspended court business. The litigants, who belonged to the anti-Ibn Khaldūn faction, then lost no time in delivering a petition to Sultan Barqūq saying that Ibn Khaldūn should be investigated. Judges and muftis were summoned to investigate Ibn Khaldūn, probably including the chief judges of the other schools and the muftis of the Hall of Justice *(dār al-‘adl).*

The result of this investigative council *(majlis ḥafl li-al-naẓar)* was not only that Ibn Khaldūn was cleared of the accusation that he had passed illegal judgments, but also that the plots against Ibn Khaldūn reached the ears of the sultan. Ibn Khaldūn was thus free to continue passing judgments according to the law of God, in spite of the claims made against him.

This angered the opposition group intensely, and they set to work on close associates of the sultan and influential amirs who were guilty of acquiring their privileges illegally and now feared they might soon lose them. They used every trick they knew to fan the flames of indignation toward Ibn Khaldūn, saying, for example, that even though Ibn Khaldūn lacked the necessary specialist knowledge, he would ignore the privileged rights of the powerful, or he would reject any mediation on their behalf. As a result, enmity toward Ibn Khaldūn grew in all quarters, and even his relations with those close to the sultan became awkward. In the midst of all this came the sad news that a ship on which Ibn Khaldūn's family was traveling from Tunis to Egypt had met with a storm near Alexandria and sunk. In such circumstances, Ibn Khaldūn felt he could no longer carry out his duties, and he made up his mind to resign the post of chief judge. His friends advised him, however, that to resign would anger the sultan, his protector, so Ibn Khaldūn remained in the post, until finally, on 7 Jumādá I 787/16 June 1385, permission came from the sultan, and Ibn Khaldūn resigned. Jamāl al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Khīr was appointed in his stead.[26]

Thus Ibn Khaldūn's autobiography describes the circumstances of his resigning his first appointment as chief judge. He does not name his antagonists, but according to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī (773–852/1372–1449), the well-known judge and scholar of hadith, one of his enemies was a man named al-Rakrākī.[27] Al-Maqrīzī identifies this al-Rakrākī as Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Rakrākī al-Maghribī, a Malikite professor at Shaykhū Monastery, *Khānqāh Shaykhū*.[28] Al-Rakrākī had been appointed to his position in Rabīʻ I 781/January or February 1379, but was dismissed in Jumādá II 786/July or August 1384—exactly the time when Ibn Khaldūn was appointed chief judge—and then reappointed two months later. Like Ibn Khaldūn, he was from the Maghrib.[29]

In his description of how the Maghribi muftis, resentful of being punished, banded together with the inhabitants of the monasteries, Ibn Khaldūn does not give detailed information about the monasteries. He simply uses the Arabic word *zawāyā*, (s. *zāwiyah*). There is no doubt, however, that one of the monastery

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[26]Ibn Khaldūn, *Taʻrīf,* 258–60; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:533; Ibn Khaldūn/Cheddadi, *Voyage,* 157–58.

[27]Ibn Ḥajar, *Rafʻ al-Iṣr,* 2:345.

[28]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:421.

[29]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:334, 357, 517, 518, 522.

inhabitants who conspired with the muftis was al-Rakrākī of the Maghrib. Evidently he felt that Ibn Khaldūn was his rival. When asked about him on one occasion, he replied, ″Ibn Khaldūn knows nothing of Islamic law scholarship; he just has some trifling knowledge of a philosophical sort *(al-'ulūm al-'aqlīyah).* His lectures in that field are designed to attract people, and they′re more amusing than the lectures of [the musician] Shaykh Shams al-Dīn al-'Ammārī.″[30]

According to Ibn Ḥajar, it was the conflict that grew up between Ibn Khaldūn and al-Rakrākī that led to the investigation of Ibn Khaldūn. In Ibn Ḥajar′s version, Ibn Khaldūn presented to the investigation council a written *fatwá,* which he claimed was in the hand of al-Rakrākī and was addressed to the sultan. Al-Rakrākī denied that the *fatwá* had anything to do with him. When the document was examined it was found to be a fake. Hearing of this, Sultan Barqūq dismissed Ibn Khaldūn and replaced him with 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khīr in Jumādá I 787/June or July 1385.

This account differs completely from Ibn Khaldūn′s account of the investigative council. It leads us to be suspicious of Ibn Ḥajar. In Ibn Khaldūn′s *Ta'rīf,* it was after the investigative council that the activities of his detractors led to awkwardness between himself and the sultan′s associates, and it was after he had heard of the misfortune striking the boat carrying his family that he made the decision himself to resign. Only on his friends′ advice did he remain in the job, until finally the sultan gave permission for him to resign. According to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (d. 851/1448), a ship dispatched by the Hafsid sultan was lost with the wife and five daughters of Ibn Khaldūn on board in Ramaḍān 786/October or November 1384.[31] This is a full seven months before Ibn Khaldūn′s leaving his office, so, even taking into account the time required for the news to travel, this casts doubts on the veracity of Ibn Ḥajar′s account. It also makes his objectivity as a historian seem questionable with regard to Ibn Khaldūn.

How, then, did the Mamluk jurists and historians finally judge the legal administration of Chief Judge Ibn Khaldūn, this outsider come the Maghrib? The following historians all refer to Ibn Khaldūn: al-Maqrīzī (ca. 766–845/1364–1442), Muḥammad ibn 'Ammār (769–844/1367–1441), Ibn Ḥajar, Ibn Taghrībirdī (ca. 812–74/1409–70), and al-Sakhāwī (830–902/1427–97). The question of how al-Maqrīzī viewed Ibn Khaldūn′s *Muqaddimah* is the topic of a previous paper by the current author which also discusses al-Maqrīzī′s perspective on history, his writing style, his manner of presentation of the key arguments, and the fact that

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[30]Ibn Ḥajar, *Raf' al-Iṣr,* II, 345; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi',* 4:147. In each of these, al-'Ammārī appears as al-Ghammārī, but this is an error. Cf. al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:463.

[31]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:138.

his work seems to have been influenced by Ibn Khaldūn.[32] Al-Maqrīzī was indeed a kind of apprentice to Ibn Khaldūn. He had heard Ibn Khaldūn's lectures with his own ears, and he tended to write about him in glowing terms. In *Al-Khiṭaṭ* and *Al-Sulūk li-Mar'ifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* al-Maqrīzī refers to Ibn Khaldūn as "our venerable teacher *(shaykhunā).*"[33] Unfortunately, however, he does not relate anything of Ibn Khaldūn's term as chief judge or of the reactions of the Egyptians toward him at that time.

Muḥammad ibn 'Ammār, a professor of Malikite jurisprudence at the Musallamīyah College in Cairo, was a colleague of al-Maqrīzī. He studied Islamic law and history under Ibn Khaldūn, and he too sang Ibn Khaldūn's praises. Al-Sakhāwī relates of Ibn 'Ammār that "he praised Ibn Khaldūn's *Tārīkh* excessively, saying that *Al-Muqaddimah* comprises all branches of learning, and it achieves its lofty aims with a beauty of style that could not be achieved by any other. Indeed, it is one of those works whose titles are not descriptive of their contents, such as *Al-Aghānī* (Book of Songs), which was named thus [by its author, Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī]."[34] Like al-Maqrīzī, Ibn 'Ammār did not leave any account of Ibn Khaldūn's judicial administration.

Ibn Ḥajar lived a little later than al-Maqrīzī and Ibn 'Ammār. He grew up in a wealthy household and, on completion of his studies, worked as professor at several colleges, his main topic being study of hadith. When he was 51 he entered the judiciary, where, over a period of 21 years, he served repeatedly as chief judge, among other posts, while at the same time writing his numerous books. During his lifetime and thereafter he was considered to be the person who epitomized Egypt's scholars of religious law.[35] He was probably acquainted with Ibn Khaldūn during his youth, but unlike al-Maqrīzī and Ibn 'Ammār he was not under his tutelage. With regard to Ibn Ḥajar's views on Ibn Khaldūn, al-Sakhāwī writes that, while al-Maqrīzī and Ibn 'Ammār praised Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah,* Ibn Ḥajar agreed with their praise only partially and claimed that Ibn Khaldūn would

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[32]Morimoto Kosei, "Qarār-nomin ka, Qarrār-nomin ka: Ejiputonomin ni kansuru Maqrīzī no kijutsu no kaishaku wo megutte" (Critical remarks on modern interpretations of al-Maqrīzī's description of Egyptian farmers), *Isuramu sekai* (The world of Islam) 16 (1979):3–5.

[33]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:50, 2:76, 190; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:480, 517; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi',* 2:24; cf. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn in Egypt,* 28–29.

[34]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-I'lān bi-al-Tawbīkh li-Man Dhamma al-Tārīkh* (Damascus, 1349 [1930]), 27, 312; idem, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi',*8:232–34; cf. Franz Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1968), 280, 497; cf. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn in Egypt,* 28.

[35]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi',* 2:36–40; cf. Franz Rosenthal, "Ibn Ḥadjar al-'Asḳalānī," *EI*², 3:776-78.

have been unable to verify the accuracy of his historical facts *(akhbār),* particularly those regarding the history of the East.[36]

The content of Ibn Ḥajar′s *Raf‘ al-Iṣr ‘an Quḍāt Miṣr* is based predominantly on the *Kitāb al-Quḍāh* written by Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh al-Bishbīshī (762–820/1361–1417/18), but it also reflects his own views to no inconsiderable extent. Al-Bishbīshī had worked as an assistant to al-Maqrīzī in his post concerning market supervision *(ḥisbah)*.[37] Naturally, Ibn Ḥajar′s *Raf‘ al-Iṣr ‘an Quḍāt Miṣr* also recounts events relating to Ibn Khaldūn, including the details, cited above, of the conflict between Ibn Khaldūn and al- Rakrākī and of the council for investigating Ibn Khaldūn. Ibn Ḥajar′s style of description is not uniform throughout the work, but the following is a representative example of what he wrote regarding Ibn Khaldūn′s judicial administration:

> When Ibn Khaldūn came to the land of Egypt, people went out to meet him and welcome him warmly. He had no end of followers and visitors. . . . [However,] when Sultan Barqūq appointed him Malikite chief judge, he carried out his duties in such a way that he brought difficulties upon himself. He upset everyone, and his method of scolding was to have people rapped on the nape of the neck, through which he earned the nickname ″The Prodder.″ This was because, when he got into a rage, he would demand, ″A prod for that fool!″ at which the miscreant was jabbed on the nape of the neck until the skin turned red. . . . [In addition,] when other chief judges would come in to greet him, he would not even stand up. If accused of bad manners he would apologize. . . . [Even at court] he would not modify his Maghribi costume in the slightest, and he would not wear the garments of an Egyptian judge. In all he did, he seemed to enjoy coming into conflict with others. . . . He treated Egyptians cruelly and was violent toward many prominent personages and official witnesses. It is said that when the Maghribis heard of Ibn Khaldūn′s appointment as chief judge, they were shocked and attributed it to there being a lack of Egyptians knowledgeable about law. Further condemnation came from Ibn ‘Arafah [716–803/1316–1401 (a chief mufti of Tunis)] who stopped in Egypt en route to Mecca on a pilgrimage, and commented, ″We thought that the position of chief judge was the most prestigious

[36]Al-Sakhāwī, *I‘lān,* 313; cf. Rosenthal, *History of Muslim Historiography*, 498.

[37]Al-Sakhāwī, *I‘lān,* 206; idem, *Al-Ḍaw’ al-Lāmi‘,*5:7; cf. Rosenthal, *History of Muslim Historiography*, 428.

> office, but when we heard that Ibn Khaldūn now held the position, we realized that we had been wrong." . . . [Thus, Ibn Khaldūn] was conducting the affairs of chief judge in a manner which the Egyptians were not accustomed to, and this eventually resulted in the outbreak of conflict between Ibn Khaldūn and al-Rakrākī. . . . In 787[/1385] when Ibn Khaldūn was dismissed and the former chief judge, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Khīr, was reinstated, people rejoiced. This reaction is a measure of their hatred for Ibn Khaldūn.[38]

Thus Ibn Ḥajar portrays Ibn Khaldūn as an ungrateful, coarse, and ill-mannered character who resolutely refused to adapt to Egyptian customs. By contrast, however, he also says, quoting from al-Bishbīshī's *Kitāb al-Quḍāh,* "[Ibn Khaldūn] was a brilliant speaker and his behavior was impeccable. This was all very evident after he stopped working as chief judge, but while appointed chief judge he had not mixed with others, preferring to avoid contact."[39] In addition, Ibn Ḥajar himself writes, "Once Ibn Khaldūn was released from his judge's duties, he attracted numerous followers by virtue of his fine character, he was seen in amiable discussion with people, he was welcomed everywhere with smiles, he paid visits to amirs and he conducted himself with humility."[40] This shows that it was not the case that Ibn Ḥajar did not know Ibn Khaldūn's character. Nonetheless, judging from the descriptions cited above, it seems clear that Ibn Ḥajar had no conception of what Ibn Khaldūn knew of Egypt's judiciary, nor did he know the fundamental reasons behind Ibn Khaldūn's harsh measures at court.

This seems all the more evident when one notes how Ibn Ḥajar believed and passed on the words of Ibn ʿArafah, the chief mufti of Tunis, who was senior in years to Ibn Khaldūn, and who was, for years, the latter's rival.[41] The inclusion of Ibn ʿArafah's words seems to indicate that Ibn Ḥajar stood in the same camp as al-Rakrākī and others who were against Ibn Khaldūn. Such a stance cannot have been unrelated to the fact that Ibn Ḥajar belonged to the upper echelons of society: he was a blood relation of the Kārimī merchants who had built up a fortune through long-distance trade, and he had married one of his daughters into the Mamluks. In marked contrast to Ibn Khaldūn, he had experienced only the favor of the Mamluk system, and had no understanding of its harsher realities. This lack of understanding of society was mirrored in his flawed perception of history,

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[38]Ibn Ḥajar, *Rafʿ al-Iṣr,* 2:342–43, 344–45.

[39]Ibid., 344.

[40]Ibid., 345.

[41]Ibn Khaldūn*, Taʿrīf,* 232, 244. Muḥammad ibn ʿArafah went to Egypt in either 793/1391 or 796/1394. Cf. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 9:240–42.

evident from his contributions to the debate on the question of the genealogy of the Fatimids. In light of such views, it is not surprising that he claimed to be unable to understand the high praise of his colleague, al-Maqrīzī, for Ibn Khaldūn.[42]

Ibn Ḥajar also writes about the second time Ibn Khaldūn was appointed as chief judge, in 801/1399. He reports on how Ibn Khaldūn presided over the court with the same attitude as on the first occasion, and how, regrettably, he was drawn into a trial because of dismissing his assistant, Nūr al-Dīn Ibn Khallāl. Ibn Khaldūn's desire to reform Egypt's corrupt judiciary had not abated during those thirteen years, nor would it thereafter.[43] Ibn Khaldūn himself did not write much about his second appointment as chief judge, or about any of the appointments thereafter, but it is clear that he did not change his methods. Judges and other members of the judiciary who were against him, such as Nūr al-Dīn Ibn Khallāl, plagued him by slandering him at the sultan's court, or by bribing people to turn against him, but still, he "continued to try to fulfill his duties properly, as before, avoiding any self-interest, and focusing on seeing the defendants judged fairly."[44] He never made any move to alter his policies. This description clearly tallies with Ibn Ḥajar's account.

The historian Ibn Taghrībirdī was active after Ibn Khaldūn's death. On Ibn Khaldūn as a judge, he writes, "Ibn Khaldūn was extremely strict, and he considered the office of judge to be a position of great honor which he executed with the deepest respect. This attitude won him praise. He turned down the requests of government officials, and he refused to lend his ear to the petitions of the wealthy. As a result of this, such people began to slander Ibn Khaldūn to the sultan, and the sultan eventually dismissed him. . . ."[45] Ibn Taghrībirdī's viewpoint is evidently quite different from that of Ibn Ḥajar.

Coming finally to al-Sakhāwī, he, in contrast to Ibn Taghrībirdī, looked up to Ibn Ḥajar as "our venerable teacher," and greatly revered him. He writes a detailed biography of Ibn Khaldūn, but most of this is based on what Ibn Ḥajar wrote. In other words, al-Sakhāwī's viewpoint was the same as that of Ibn Ḥajar. He does not, however, follow up Ibn Ḥajar's passages addressing the issues of the conflict between Ibn Khaldūn and al-Rakrākī, and the council to investigate Ibn Khaldūn.[46]

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[42]Ibn Ḥajar, *Raf' al-Iṣr,* 2:347–48.

[43]Ibid., 345–46.

[44]Ibn Khaldūn, *Ta'rīf,* 350, 383.

[45]Ibn Taghrībirdī, "Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī," Paris Ms. Arabe 2071, fols. 49–50. Cf. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn in Egypt,* 34.

[46]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi',* 4:145–49.

CONCLUSION

This article has presented a picture of Mamluk Egypt´s judiciary, based primarily on Ibn Khaldūn´s *Ta'rīf*. Almost all of the people who made up the judiciary, from the judges to the scribes and official witnesses, to the muftis and the teachers at the colleges and monasteries, had some kind of connection to the powerful amirs, with whom they co-operated for profits instead of for the upholding of the law and for governance by law. By fulfilling the wishes of the influential and the wealthy, they could gain status and wealth themselves. To this end, the role of those working in the judiciary came to be one of making use of their knowledge and experience to find loopholes in the law. The practice of fighting court cases with false interpretations of the law obviously led to the destruction of legal order and the decline of respect for the law. By the end of the 14th century, these habits had become so entrenched in Egyptian society that they seemed like traditions of long-standing, provoking not the slightest surprise. Into such a society came Ibn Khaldūn, a foreigner with his own particular view of the history of civilizations. Egyptian intellectuals were divided as to whether they supported his administration of justice or were against it. It is significant that Ibn Khaldūn´s supporters included men like Ibn 'Ammār, who is given special mention in histories for the fact that he never once accepted gifts of money or goods, even though he was a judge.[47] As a judge who did not take bribes, he was an exception to the rule, and those judges who accepted bribes as a matter of course could hardly have passed fair judgment on Ibn Khaldūn. Against such a background, there is no doubt that the goal which Ibn Khaldūn had set himself—the reformation of a judiciary dependent on and ineluctably bound into the Mamluk system of rule—was, try as he might, unattainable.

[47]Cf. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi',* 8:234.

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Aspects of Islamization of Space and Society in Mamluk Jerusalem and its Hinterland*

I

On the eve of the Arab conquest the majority of the population of southern Bilād al-Shām was Christian.[1] The conquest set in motion forces that eventually transformed the area into a predominantly Muslim one. Nevertheless, even as late as the end of the fourth *hijrī* century (tenth century C. E.) the noted chronicler and former Jerusalem citizen al-Muqaddasī lamented that the city was still dominated by Christians.[2] Throughout the Crusader period one may still find significant regions of Christian communities and settlements in Palestine.[3] This demographic state of affairs changed by the beginning of the sixteenth century. At that point the majority of the population was mostly Muslim, as the Ottoman records clearly show.[4] One may thus conclude that the Islamization of Syria was a slow process. It took no less than seven to nine centuries before Islamic communities established themselves as the dominant demographic element in southern Bilād al-Shām. It is

*I gratefully acknowledge the devoted assistance of Mrs. Tamar Sofer and Mrs. Michal Kidron with the maps and charts included in this article. An earlier version was given as a lecture on the occasion of the Gilad Bartur award for outstanding Ph.D. candidates, of which I was a recipient. I wish to dedicate this article to the memory of Gilad Bartur.

[1]See for example Robert Schick, *The Christian Communities of Palestine From Byzantine to Islamic Rule* (Princeton, 1995), 9–19. See also the map section in Yoram Tsafrir, Leah di Segni, and Judith Green, *Tabula Imperii Romani Iudaea-Palestina* (Jerusalem, 1994), where the dominance of the Christian communities is clearly demonstrated.

[2]Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Maʿrifat al-Aqālīm*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1906), 168.

[3]Roni Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Cambridge. 1998), 222 ff.

[4]Amnon Cohen and Bernard Lewis, *Population and Revenue in the Towns of Palestine in the Sixteenth Century* (Princeton, 1978). See also Nehemia Levtzion, "Conversion to Islam in Syria and Palestine and the Survival of Christian Communities" in Michael Gervers and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi, eds., *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries* (Toronto, 1990), 289–311.

also implied that the post-Crusader periods (namely Ayyubid and Mamluk) were critical times as far as Islamization and conversion are concerned.

Conversion to Islam, whether of a single person or a community, is characterized by both social and spatial-morphological transformations. Embracing Islam leads to changes in personal habits and daily routine and is followed by changes of the physical surroundings. Conversion of entire communities further enhances and enlarges the magnitude of the changes. Institutions, social structures, public norms, and other characteristics are gradually altered and become modified. That said, the actual process of conversion usually remains obscure, mainly due to lack of precise documentation.[5]

How did this process materialize? Was it a conversion of *dhimmī* communities (mainly Christians) to Islam? Could it be that Muslims became the majority due to the immigration and dwindling of the former population? Was it a conversion of individuals or of entire communities? So far few explanations have been suggested regarding the process. Levtzion is of the opinion that conversion to Islam in Syria was both a short- and a long-term process.[6] The distinction lies between the conversion of individuals and that of entire communities. The long-term process takes place when individual conversion is concerned. Rapid conversion, as Vryonis demonstrated with regard to Asia Minor, should be attributed more then anything else to the sedenterization of new Muslim communities in areas deserted by earlier Christian ones.[7] In the Byzantine-Ottoman case, the Christian communities collapsed prior to the Turkish invasion of the twelfth century and onward, as they were destabilized and deprived of genuine leadership and stability due to the gradual deterioration of the Byzantine empire. The various Turkish tribes thus settled in a region that lacked political, administrative, and religious continuity. The Vryonis model suggests that rapid conversion of an area should be ascribed to sedenterization of nomads and not to mass conversion of an existing population. Levtzion stressed in his work the role of various agents of Islamization in pushing forward the process of conversion, such as sufi saints and merchants, to name only two.[8] Recently, Ellenblum has published the results of a study in which he links together the Vryonis and Levtzion models. He strongly supports the position

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[5]For further clarification of some of the difficulties, see for example Richard W. Bulliet, "Conversion to Islam and the Emergence of a Muslim Society" in Nehemia Levtzion, ed., *Conversion to Islam* (New York, 1979), 30.

[6]Levtzion, "Conversion to Islam in Syria," 289.

[7]Speros Vryonis, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh Century through the Fifteenth Century* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1971).

[8]Levtzion, *Conversion to Islam,* 1–23.

that the two processes, i. e., rapid regional and slower personal Islamization, do not necessarily contradict but rather complement each other.[9]

In this article I argue that Islamization is not only the conversion of people to the Islamic faith. It is also the process through which the cultural landscape is transformed and is filled with Islamic objects and landmarks.[10] The growing dominance of the Muslim population within the Mamluk state led inevitably to transformations of the landscape by creating what might be termed an Islamic ambience. This will be demonstrated by studying the case of the Abū al-Wafā', a family of scholars and sufis that struck roots in the Jerusalem region. The literary and morphological data concerning the family´s activity and influence reveals some of the implications of Islamization. It furnishes us with the opportunity to examine up close some of the changes in the built environment stemming from the hitherto somewhat vague process of Islamization. Members of the family acted as agents of Islamization and through their work a new and transformed cultural landscape was created. The data concerning the family may also draw our attention to the social aspects of the growing dominance of Islamic culture and its spatial outcomes. Methodologically, it offers an opportunity to fill the usual lacunae in the complicated picture of the Islamization of society and space alike. However, the reader may find that even in this case sufficient detail concerning these and other issues is still lacking. Our knowledge concerning the former Christian communities is scarce, as is our understanding of the morphological features of the settlements in question before their takeover by a Muslim population. The source material is lacking if we compare it to what we are accustomed to for Mamluk Egypt. The archeological evidence is not always satisfying, even though the area has been surveyed thoroughly since the last decades of the nineteenth century.

I would also like to draw the reader's attention to the methodology that may allow us to fill in some of the gaps in our knowledge. It is the landscape that

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[9]Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, 255–56.

[10]For the notion of landscape, or, as I put it here, cultural landscape, the reader is advised to consult Dominique Chevallier, ed., *L´Espace social de la ville arabe* (Paris, 1979). The theme of cultural landscape is a central theme of geographical studies. See, for example, Denis E. Cosgrove, ″Place, Landscape, and the Dialectics of Cultural Geography,″ *Canadian Geographer* 22 (1978): 66–72; idem, ″Problems of Interpreting the Symbolism of Past Landscape″ in Alan R. H. Baker and Mark Billinge, eds., *Period and Place* (Cambridge, 1982), 220–43; idem, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (London, 1984); Yi-fu Tuan, ″Geography, Phenomenology and the Study of Human Nature,″ *Canadian Geographer* 15 (1971): 181–92; idem, ″Thought and the Landscape, the Eye and the Mind´s Eye″ in D. W. Meinig, ed., *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes* (New York, 1979), 89–102.

comprises the primary source of reference. When combined with information from the literary sources, an awareness of landscape leads us towards a better understanding of the issues of Islamization, conversion, and the transformation of the built environment.

II

In an article that has received less attention than it deserves, Ashtor drew a comprehensive picture of Mamluk Jerusalem.[11] While depicting the scholarly atmosphere of the city he mentions a family of notables by the name of Abū al-Wafā'.[12] The origins of the family are to be found in Iraq. There, in the twelfth century, a member of the family, a certain Tāj al-'Ārifīn Abū al-Wafā' Muḥammad, was considered by fellow-scholars and laymen alike an admired alim.[13] Masterman and Macalister (who collected local tales on Muslim saints) were of the opinion that the family came to Palestine from the Ḥijāz via Persia.[14] Canaan relied on a story related to him by the *khaṭīb* of a village in the Judean Hills (Bayt Ṣafāfah) who located the family's roots in Khurāsān.[15] Neither of them substantiated his speculation with any form of concrete data. Be that as it may, once members of the family are to be found in the area, their role in the events described below was crucial. The various activities ascribed to members of the family had a direct bearing on the process of Islamization and on cultural changes in the region.

As in many cases dealing with the area of Jerusalem during the Mamluk period, most of our information is to be found in Mujīr al-Dīn's late fifteenth century chronicle. According to him, a member of the Abū al-Wafā' family, whose father was a brother of the aforementioned Tāj al-'Arifīn, settled in Palestine during the Ayyubid period.[16] His name was Badr al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad Abū al-Wafā', and he is depicted as a *quṭb,* that is, a sufi leader of the highest level.

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[11]Eliyahu Ashtor, "Jerusalem in the late Middle Ages" (in Hebrew), *Yerushalayim: Review for Eretz-Israel Research* 2 (1955): 71–116.

[12]Ibid., 109. The reader is advised to consult the genealogy table (Fig. 1) whenever a family member is mentioned.

[13]'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Aḥmad al-Sha'rānī, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrá* (Cairo, n.d.), 116.

[14]Ernest W. Gurney Masterman and Robert Alexander Stewart Macalister, "Occasional Papers on the Modern Inhabitants of Palestine," *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (1916): 11ff.

[15]Taufik Canaan, "Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine," *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* (1927): 308.

[16]The story as narrated below is based mainly on Mujīr al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī al-'Ulaymī, *Al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Tārīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl* (Amman, 1973), 146–49.

Badr al-Dīn was highly regarded by the notables of his time and won the approbation of all levels of society. His reputation for holiness and virtue attracted many disciples who came to live with him and his family in a place called Dayr al-Shaykh. He died in 650/1252 and his burial place became a site for *ziyārah* (visitation of a shrine for ritual purposes). Saints and common people, as well as animals, we are told, used to come to pay him tribute. A *zāwiyah* was probably built on the premises while Badr al-Dīn was still alive. Mujīr al-Dīn reports that he often went on a visit *(taraddadtu)* to the place, though true to his usual indifference to topography he is not very specific about its location. He only specifies that it was a third of a *barīd* due west of Jerusalem in a place called Wādī al-Nusur.[17] The location of the *maqām* is of the utmost importance for understanding the family′s mobility within the local society and space, and is also an instance in which local myths and legends may be compared with contemporary literary sources. In view of the crucial importance of Badr al-Dīn′s tomb and *zāwiyah,* I shall deal at length below with its exact location. Another issue that needs to be clarified is what might be termed the time-space channels of Badr al-Dīn in the vicinity of Jerusalem. This will have tremendous bearing on the way we understand the family's past, its progress toward Jerusalem, and its upward social mobility.

Wādī al-Nusur is a tributary of the central stream of the Judean hills, Wādī Ṣurār (today Naḥal Soreq). On a spur rising on the southern shoulder of the Ṣurār one may still find ruins of a small village named Dayr al-Shaykh.[18] Amidst the deserted terraces and dilapidated houses of the village lies a very conspicuous complex, the *maqām* of Sultan Shaykh Badr, as the local people used to call it.[19]

The attachment of the title sultan to Badr al-Dīn′s name need not bother us nor be considered an official one. It is commonly understood as an honorary title often bestowed upon esteemed scholars.[20] Scholars agree that Sultan Badr and

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[17]*Barīd* as referred to here means the distance between two stations of the *barīd* line. It is in no way an indication of the existence of a *barīd* line to Jerusalem. Consulting the maps of Sauvaget leads to the rough estimate of 30–40 km. as the standard distance between two stations. See Jean Sauvaget, *La Poste aux Chevaux dans l′Empire des Mamlouks* (Paris, 1941), esp. 70. A third of a *barīd* then would be 12–15 km., which is inaccurate in the case of Dayr al-Shaykh, found some 20 km. west of the city.

[18]Information about the village may be found in various surveys: C. R. Conder and H. H. Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine,* vol. 3, *Judæa* (London, 1881), 23–24; Wolf Dieter Hütteroth and Kamal Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late Sixteenth Century* (Erlangen, 1977), 113; Walid Khalidi, ed., *All That Remains: The Palestinian Villages Occupied and Depopulated by Israel in 1948* (Washington, D.C., 1992), 288.

[19]This is also the name assigned to the place in Conder and Kitchener, *Survey of Western Palestine*, 24–25.

[20]Nevertheless, the local legends ascribe this title to Badr al-Dīn′s past as a king or a ruler in one of several locations.

Badr al-Dīn are the same person.[21] However, I would like to make a distinction between fact and fiction in the history of this distinguished forefather of the Abū al-Wafā' family. Let us begin by quoting Petersen´s description of Badr al-Dīn:

> He originated either from Khurassan or the Hejaz and came to Jerusalem as a Dervish. . . . Badr first lived in Shu'fat[22] in Jerusalem but after his daughter´s death he moved westward to Wadi al-Nusur where he lived in a cave. . . . The exact dates of Badr´s life are not known although it is known that his son Muhammed died in 663 A. H. and that Badr lived at the same time as king Zahir (Baybars) which indicates a date sometime in the thirteenth century.[23]

Petersen relied mostly on local folk tales collected by Masterman and Canaan. These are based on the collective memory of people in the Jerusalem area in the early twentieth century. The common outline of the different narratives is as follows: a most revered man named Sultan Badr, who is descended from a royal family (either in Hijāz or Khurāsān), came to participate in Baybars' alleged siege of Jerusalem, at the time in the hands of the infidels. He stayed in a place called Karafāt, later to be called Sharafāt. After the city was won over into Muslim hands, he went to Hebron and on the way met with a hostile girl, who threw a stone at his head. After performing a miraculous act at that spot, he kept walking until he reached a cave in a place called Dayr al-Shaykh, where he settled. There, the girl´s father caught up with him and begged his forgiveness. Badr al-Dīn accepted his apologies and agreed to marry the girl. The family settled in Dayr al-Shaykh, where the order was established, the *zāwiyah* was built, and eight children were born.

The story has myriad versions and subsumes many anecdotes, which makes it impossible to discern between hypothetical historical truth and total fiction. I will deal briefly with only a few of these. In the popular story, Badr al-Dīn begins his voyage in Palestine at Jerusalem and moves in a westerly direction until he reaches Dayr al-Shaykh. According to this version, Badr al-Dīn arrived in Palestine when Jerusalem was in Christian hands, thus supplying us with a terminus ante quem of

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[21]See Conder and Kitchener, *Survey of Western Palestine,* 24–25; Masterman and Macalister, ″Occasional Papers,″ 11 ff; Canaan, ″Mohammedan Saints,″ 305–10; Muṣṭafá Murād al-Dabbāgh, *Bilādunā Filasṭīn*, vol. 8 pt. 2/1 (Beirut, n.d.), 175–78; and recently, Andrew Petersen, ″A Preliminary Report on Three Muslim Shrines in Palestine,″ *Levant* 28 (1996): 97–113, especially 99–103.

[22]The proper name of the village is of course Sharafāt, as will be discussed later.

[23]Petersen, ″Shrines,″ 99.

1244.[24] Badr al-Dīn had eight children in Dayr al-Shaykh. The eldest, Muḥammad, died in 675/1263, having already established a family of his own. This makes it practically impossible that he could have been no more than nineteen years old when he died, which would have to be the case if he was born at Dayr al-Shaykh in 1244 or later. Moreover, one should bear in mind that there is no data concerning a siege of Jerusalem by Baybars, nor for that matter that he was anywhere in its vicinity prior to the 1250s. Hence it seems improbable that Baybars and Badr al-Dīn ever met, according to the data at hand. The only possible pertinent Muslim siege of Jerusalem is the famous one of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 1187, which seems to be too early for Badr al-Dīn—that is, of course, if we accept his death date of 650/1253 as recorded by Mujīr al-Dīn. Thus it is safe to assume that Badr al-Dīn's arrival on the scene in Palestine took place during the short period of renewed Crusader dominance of Jerusalem during 1229–44. This is the only feasible setting that gives credibility to his participation in an attempt to win the city back to Muslim hands. That said, Badr al-Dīn could not have settled first in Jerusalem and only later gone out to its hinterland. The first station of the family was, as reported by Mujīr al-Dīn, the site at Dayr al-Shaykh in Wādī al-Nusur. At the time of Badr al-Dīn's son's death in 675/1263, Dayr al-Shaykh was densely crowded with people and houses, the outcome of the activity of Badr al-Dīn and presumably of the people of the order *(ṭarīqah)* following him. This was one of the factors responsible for the second move taken by the grandson of Badr al-Dīn, ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ, in the direction of Jerusalem.

ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ was also an esteemed scholar and an acknowledged religious figure.[25] He headed the order that had been established by his grandfather in Wādī al-Nusur. The first decision on his part was to relocate the *zāwiyah*. The new location was a village named Shafrāt at the outskirts of Jerusalem. By the fifteenth century the place was known as Sharafāt due to the honor *(sharaf)* bestowed on it on account of the family taking up residence there.[26] The change of a place name is one of the most common indications of the settlement of a new cultural or ethnic group and its growing dominance.[27] In the case of Shafrāt/Sharafāt, it marked the transformation of a Christian village into a Muslim one.

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[24]Regarding the second Crusader occupation of Jerusalem see, e.g., P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517* (London and New York, 1986), 60 ff.

[25]Mujīr al-Dīn, *Al-Uns al-Jalīl,* 2:147.

[26]Ibid.

[27]The demographic, ethnic, and religious changes in a certain area lead eventually to alterations of the toponymic map. In fact, sometimes this will be the only textual evidence of the change. See Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, 179–256, for an exhaustive discussion of cultural and social boundaries based on toponymy as a primary source. This issue will be further elaborated below.

ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ died in 696/1293, to be followed by his son Dāʾūd as head of the order. Dāʾūd was considered a worker of miracles *(min aṣḥāb al-karāmāt)*. One of his miraculous deeds will be dealt with later on, as it contains important information concerning the process of Islamization. While he acted as head of the order, a sufi lodge *(zāwiyah)* and a tomb were built in the village of Shafrāt. Dāʾūd died in 701/1301 and was succeeded by his son Aḥmad, who died in the year 723/1323.[28] He also had eight children, two of whom, ʿAlī and Muḥammad al-Bahāʾ, were considered among the religious leaders *(ʿumdah)* of Palestine and its environs (". . .wa kānā ʿumdat al-arḍ al-muqaddasah wa mā ḥawlahā").[29] When Muḥammad died, ʿAlī assumed responsibility for the upbringing of his children. While Muḥammad was still alive he and ʿAlī received an endowment from the amir Manjak al-Sayfī in the form of the entire village of Sharafāt.[30] The date of the endowment is obscure and uncertain. According to Mujīr al-Dīn, Manjak was at the time of the endowment the governor of al-Shām. If that was the case, there are two plausible dates, the first being 762/1361 and the second between 769/1368 and 775/1374.[31] The fact that ʿAlī had already died in 757/1356 rules out either of these possibilities. The problem is worsened when we consult the *waqfīyah* (endowment deed) as registered in the Ottoman *taḥrīr*. The date of the endowment deed is indicated as 894/1488, which totally disrupts our previous calculation.[32] Manjak had a very colorful and change-filled career. His first position in Syria was as *ḥājib* in Damascus in 748/1347. After a short period in Syria he was summoned again to Cairo, where he played a major part in the complicated internal political turmoil of the early 1350s. Another interlude in Syria took place in 755/1354 during which he was sent in exile *(baṭṭāl)* to Ṣafad. By 760/1358 he was appointed as governor of Tripoli, Aleppo, and finally Damascus, where he served as governor until 762/1361. Either Mujīr al-Dīn was wrong and the endowment was made while Manjak acted as a *ḥājīb* and not as the governor of Damascus, or Manjak could have endowed the village at any date prior to ʿAlī's death in 757/1356 and was only titled governor by Mujīr al-Dīn, without any

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[28]Mujīr al-Dīn, *Al-Uns al-Jalīl,* 2:148.

[29]Ibid., 149.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, "Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʿd al-Wāfī," Paris Ms. Arabe 752, fols. 367a–368a (cited in Michael Hamilton Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem: an Architectural Study* [London, 1987], 385.) But see Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah*, ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Jād al-Ḥaqq (Cairo, n.d.), 5:131, where he depicts Manjak as governor of Aleppo at that period.

[32]Mehmed İpşirli and Muḥammad Dāwūd al-Tamīmī, eds., *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn* (Istanbul, 1402/1982), 35. See also Kāmil Jamīl al-ʿAsalī, *Maʿāhid al-ʿIlm fī Bayt al-Maqdis* (Amman, 1981), 345.

connection to his actual position at the time. Leaving that aside, the fact remains that a leading figure of the Mamluk elite was acting as patron of the family. It is another indication of their growing importance within local society.

The final move into Jerusalem was taken by Tāj al-Dīn Abū al-Wafā' Muḥammad (the son of that 'Alī who was endowed with the village of Sharafāt). Mujīr al-Dīn relates that Tāj al-Dīn used to visit the city much more than his father and grandfather ever did.[33] After the death of his father he bought a house in Jerusalem and was the first of the family to reside there *(istawṭana)* in 782/1380. He established another branch of the Wafā'īyah order in a compound bordering the Ḥaram al-Sharīf wall.[34] Tāj al-Dīn died in Jerusalem in 803/1401 and was buried in Māmillā cemetery. Two of his sons, Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr and 'Alī, are mentioned in Mujīr al-Dīn's description. Soon after the move to Jerusalem, members of the family are to be found in senior positions in the religious and administrative circles of Jerusalem.[35]

Drawing a comprehensive picture of the Abū al-Wafā' activities in Jerusalem is beyond the scope of this article and I shall highlight here only a few examples. Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr, the son of Tāj al-Dīn, was born in Jerusalem in 799/1396. At the death of his father he was nominated to succeed him as head of the al-Wafā'īyah order. He was the first member of the family given the *nisbah* al-Ḥusaynī, after al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, by Mujīr al-Dīn. Gradually it became the common name by which the family was known. The al-Ḥusaynīs grew to become one of the leading families of the city, from the Mamluk period until today. For example, the family played a crucial part in the events of the revolt of the *naqīb al-ashrāf* in the early 1700s in Jerusalem.[36] Taqī al-Dīn gained recognition as a leading figure in Jerusalem and his death in 859/1454 was commemorated with a special prayer *(ṣalāt al-mayt)* that was conducted in the al-Aqṣá mosque after the Friday prayers. His funeral became a procession of sufis and others from the city to his burial place in the Māmillā graveyard. He was buried in the compound of

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[33]Mujīr al-Dīn, *Al-Uns al-Jalīl*, 2:149.

[34]The beginning of the al-Wafā'īyah *zāwiyah* in Jerusalem is not altogether clear. The issue will be dealt with in the section concerned with the Abū al-Wafā' as agents of Islamization.

[35]Mujīr al-Dīn, *Al-Uns al-Jalīl,* vol. 2 passim mentions members of the family as scholars and sufis alike. See also genealogical table (Fig. 1).

[36]'Ādil Mannā', "The Rebellion of the Naqīb al-Ashrāf in Jerusalem, 1703–1705" (in Hebrew), *Cathedra* 53 (1989): 49–74. The supposed lineage of the Ḥusaynīs back to Badr al-Dīn, although often stated by members of the family and scholars, cannot be corroborated. In fact, the family lineage which suggests kinship between the famous al-Ḥusaynīs to al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī has recently been refuted. 'Ādil Mannā', "Myth and Anti-Myth of the Ḥusaynī Family," (lecture held at the Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, 2 April 1999).

the amir Ṭūghān al-ʻAlā'ī, adjacent to the al-Qalandarīyah *zāwiyah*.[37] Again this should be regarded as an indication of the family's status and its involvement with prominent figures of the Mamluk elite. Taqī al-Dīn′s son, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-ʻAbbās Aḥmad, headed the order after him.[38] He was also considered an outstanding scholar, but unlike the rest of his family was an adherent of the Hanafi school. This is probably why he left Jerusalem in 880/1475 and went to Istanbul seeking answers to religious problems among the predominantly Hanafi Ottoman religious authorities.[39] He even had an audience with the sultan, who offered him a position in his administration. Shihāb al-Dīn died in Istanbul two years after his arrival.

The manner and extent to which the family struck roots in the social elite of Jerusalem is remarkable. Like other families of ulama who immigrated to the city during the Mamluk period, religious and scholarly virtues were the catalyst for a rapidly upward social mobility.[40] The recognition and status won by the family had, among other outcomes, morphological and visible expressions in the rural and urban landscape. Those will be discussed below to demonstrate the connections between the family′s activities and the themes of conversion and Islamization.

III

Conversion, like other cultural changes in human societies, effects change in the built environment. As already mentioned above, in most cases the actual process of conversion is somewhat vague and unsatisfactorily documented. Therefore, a study which examines the morphological outcome of the process may promise to bridge some of the gaps in our knowledge. Changes in the man-made environment in the form of shrines, houses, layout of fields, crops, irrigation systems, etc., are, and should be considered, the physical manifestations of the new cultural process. The method adopted and applied throughout this article is to consider the new morphological icons and transformations in the physical milieu as one considers textual data. Therefore the building activity initiated by family members will be dealt with at length below. The different construction projects of the Abū al-Wafā' will be traced along the chronological sequence of moves already described, from the hinterland of Jerusalem to the core of the city.

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[37]The compound no longer exists, therefore only a plausible location can be suggested.

[38]Mujīr al-Dīn, *Al-Uns al-Jalīl,* 2:232.

[39]Ibid, 233.

[40]See, for example, Kamal S. Salibi, ″The Bānū Jamāʻa: A Dynasty of Shāfiʻite Jurists,″ *Studia Islamica* 9 (1958): 97–110.

The *zāwiyah* in Dayr al-Shaykh: The village of Dayr al-Shaykh lies some 20 km. west-south-west of the old city of Jerusalem. It is located on a hill rising on the southern shoulder of Wādī al-Ṣurār. The *zāwiyah* complex is the best preserved and most conspicuous building in what is today the ruined village of Dayr al-Shaykh. The place is served by a number of roads of both regional and local importance. Coming from Jerusalem, one could follow two possible roads. The first one follows the main ridge southwest of the city until the village of Malḥah (see map no. 1). From Malḥah the road carries on in a westerly direction until it intersects with Wādī al-Sikkah (today Naḥal Refa'im). From the intersection, the road follows the course of the wadi up until the bottom of the spur at the top of which lies Dayr al-Shaykh, some 7 km. due west. The second possible way would be to begin from near Wādī al-Sikka, which starts some 1.5 km. south of the city wall, and to follow it in the manner already described above. In both cases one reaches a paved road (2 m. in width), today in a state of ruin, that leads from the bottom of the ravine to the summit of the hill, some 800 m. long.[41] Not far from Dayr al-Shaykh, Wādī al-Sikkah joins the central stream of the Judean hills, Wādī al-Ṣurār (today Naḥal Soreq), which flows all the way to the Mediterranean, some 35 km. in a westerly direction. The route of the Ṣurār served as one of the main roads one could take from the coastal plain of Palestine to the central mountain ridge, where cities such as Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Hebron are located. Numerous local roads linked Dayr al-Shaykh with other settlements in the Judean hills. Thus the *zāwiyah,* although built in a rural and remote environment, was highly accessible both to its immediate and distant surroundings. The accessibility of the site and its proximity to a major route in the area is echoed in a local tale. According to this tale, the first encounter between Badr al-Dīn and Baybars took place as the latter was advancing on the main road to Jerusalem and Badr al-Dīn was waiting for him en route.[42]

The *zāwiyah* complex was surveyed by Andrew Petersen of the British School of Archeology in Jerusalem in 1995.[43] It is a 30 by 20 m. compound, surrounded by a wall of variable height due to the change in the local terrain. Petersen's survey found the complex to comprise four main parts: a courtyard, a prayer hall, a *maqām* (the grave itself), and a crypt. It bears the common characteristics of other local shrines and sanctuaries abundant in the landscape of Palestine: the dome (or several domes) that symbolizes the holy character of the compound, the source of water usually found within the precinct itself or in its immediate

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[41]Parts of the paved road are still visible along the marked hiking trail leading from Wādī al-Ṣurār to Dayr al-Shaykh.

[42]Masterman and Macalister, "Occasional Papers," 13–14.

[43]Petersen, "Shrines," 99.

surroundings, a few functional rooms, a prayer hall, and a peripheral wall.[44] In establishing the construction date and building sequence, Petersen relates that the date of the *zāwiyah* corresponds to Badr al-Dīn's period. Interestingly enough, it looks as if the Muslim building was built on a former Crusader one. This might explain, as Petersen suggests, the name Dayr as preserving the memory of a monastery that was here prior to the *zāwiyah*. I will return to this characteristic while discussing the process of Islamization later on.

Not far from Badr al-Dīn's *zāwiyah,* about 1 km. east of it, on a mountain called Shaykh Marzūq (today Mt. Giora), one may still find a *maqām* named Burj al-Shaykh Marzūq, that is, the tower of Shaykh Marzūq. Who was this Marzūq and how is he connected to the story of the Abū al-Wafā'? As the local story has it, Marzūq was a servant of Badr al-Dīn. His primary task was to watch over the *zāwiyah* from one of the summits near Dayr al-Shaykh. This was considered part of the holy war (jihad) against the enemies of Islam. When Marzūq was on his deathbed, Badr al-Dīn came to look after him and to assure him that he would come to no harm. Following his death a *maqām* was constructed on the mountain connected with him, known ever since as Burj al-Shaykh Marzūq.

The *zāwiyah* in Sharafāt: The village of Sharafāt stands on a ridge rising above the Wādī al-Sikkah some 8 km. south of Jerusalem. It is to be found in close proximity to the villages of Bayt Ṣafāfah and Malḥah. The village is less than 1 km. away from the central road using Wadī al-Sikkah, and some 4 km. away from the main road that stretches along the central ridge of Palestine. At the highest point of the village lies the complex attributed to the family of Abū al-Wafā'. The complex contains four parts: a prayer hall (today the mosque of Sitt Badrīyah), a courtyard, a *maqām,* and a number of rooms that might have served as cells for sufis.[45] The complex is surrounded by a wall and has only one entrance on its eastern side. The site has undergone several reconstructions over the years, which were responsible for the alteration in its original form. From the first building phase one may discern both the domed cell believed to be the tomb of 'Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ and the prayer hall, converted today to a mosque. The cells in the courtyard were probably used by the people of the *zāwiyah* but lost all their former characteristics due to constant renovations. Adjacent to the complex on its southern side one may find two rows of buildings, mostly warehouses and pens in

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[44]The most comprehensive survey of holy sites in Palestine is still Canaan, "Mohammedan Saints," in which Canaan brings textual as well as pictorial descriptions of dozens of such sites. For comparison see, for example, the tomb of Phinehas, the shrine of Shaykh al-Ṣamit, and the shrine of Nabī Yūnus at al-Mashhad. Although one may find variations in each of the sites, a basic functional and symbolic plan is repeated in all of them.

[45]While surveying the site I encountered the local muezzin, who is of the opinion that those rooms were part of the *zāwiyah*.

a dilapidated state. I cannot be certain whether they should also be attributed to the *zāwiyah* complex or to a former, i. e. Crusader, phase of the site. North of the *zāwiyah* stands an enormous oak tree that, according to the local legend, guards the grave of Sitt Badrīyah, the daughter of Badr al-Dīn.

Trees are one of the common features usually found in the vicinity of shrines and sanctuaries in Palestine.[46] The reason for this lies in the popular belief that they are protected by the holiness of the saint buried next to them. Any harm inflicted on such a tree will cause grave repercussions for the person involved. Since they were never harmed or exposed to grazing, such holy trees gained an unusual height by local standards. An oddity for which I can offer no explanation is the attribution of the *maqām* (as well as the tree) to Sitt Badrīyah, a daughter of Badr al-Dīn, and not to ʻAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ as one would assume. It seems that the holiness attributed to the male section of the family in the written sources shifted to the female section of the family in the local oral tradition.[47]

The al-Wafā'īyah *zāwiyah* in Jerusalem: The al-Wafā'īyah was thoroughly investigated by Burgoyne in his survey of Mamluk architecture in Jerusalem.[48] The building is to be found on the south side of Ṭarīq Bāb al-Nāẓir, adjacent to the gate itself. This is one of the most prestigious sites possible for a Muslim building in Jerusalem. It is bounded by the wall of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf to the east and surrounded by sumptuous and important sites such as Ribāṭ al-Manṣūrī, Ribāṭ al-Kurt and the al-Manjakīyah madrasah. The building is not homogenous and includes several periods of construction, as one may infer from the description related by Mujīr al-Dīn:

> Al-Zāwiyah al-Wafā'īyah—next to Bāb al-Nāẓir, and above it is a house which is considered part of the complex, which was known as the house of the shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Hā'im, later known as the house of the family of Abū al-Wafā' because they took up residence there. Formerly it was known as the house of Muʻāwiyah.[49]

The various building periods as reported by Mujīr al-Dīn are corroborated by the findings of Burgoyne. He finds that the early stages of construction predate the Mamluk period, probably being Ayyubid. During the Mamluk period the *zāwiyah* included two stories and a house above them. Later on, during the Ottoman period, a third story was built, as can be seen on the street frontage of the building.

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[46]See Canaan, "Mohammedan Shrines," 30–31. Regarding the tree in Sharafāt, see ibid., 69.

[47]Ibid., 305 ff.

[48]Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem,* 456–59.

[49]Mujīr al-Dīn, *Al-Uns al-Jalīl,* 2:37.

It is a structure of fairly large size by local standards (30 by 10 m.). It comprises a hall, a courtyard, and a set of rooms of medium size, on both the first and second floors.

The location of the al-Wafāʼīyah, in such close proximity to the al-Manjakīyah madrasah, can be interpreted as another indication of the relations between the family and this important figure in the Mamluk elite, in the same fashion as the endowment of Sharafāt, referred to above. This may very well explain how a newcomer to the city managed to purchase a parcel of land in one of the most prestigious areas of the city. Could it be that the amir Manjak provided for the Abū al-Wafāʼ family within the city, as well as in its hinterland? The fact that the two compounds stand opposite each other may not be a coincidence. Another *zāwiyah* which is connected to the Wafāʼīyah order within the city is al-Ḥamrah, near the Khānqāh al-Ṣalaḥīyah. Mujīr al-Dīn is silent about its founder as well as the date of its foundation. This explains why the information concerning this building, and its relation with the one next to Bāb al-Nāẓir, is scanty.[50]

IV

The various activities initiated by members of the Abū al-Wafāʼ engendered a visible outcome in the landscape of the region both in and out of Jerusalem. Our attention has been primarily focused on the *zāwiyah* compounds, but it should not be forgotten that those were not isolated or solitary constructions. The *zāwiyah* in Dayr al-Shaykh acted as a focal point and catalyst for other buildings and residences, later to form the entire village. Remember that the reason given by Mujīr al-Dīn for the relocation of Badr al-Dīn′s grandson to Sharafāt was the overpopulation and density of the former place. The arrival of Badr al-Dīn, a sufi leader of the highest rank, in the Judean hills was the catalyst for a chain of events that can not in any way be considered marginal. The activities instigated by him and other members of his family led to visible results, to be followed by demographic and cultural changes. At the time of Badr al-Dīn's arrival, southern Bilād al-Shām was still heavily populated with non-Muslim communities, although it had been within the realm of Dār al-Islām for more then six hundred years. In other words, the process of Islamization was far from being completed when he arrived at Palestine. Followed by his family and adherents, Badr al-Dīn settled in the hinterland of Jerusalem, some 20 km. due southwest of the city. There a center for the order was constructed in a secluded, albeit highly visible and accessible, site, soon to become the heart of a thriving settlement. The village that sprang up from and

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[50]Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem,* 456.

around the *zāwiyah* survived until the Israeli occupation of 1948. The formation of this village should not be regarded as just another settlement but rather as a new post won for Islam in the ongoing struggle against Christianity. This is vividly described in the local tales ascribing the role of *mujāhid* to Badr al-Dīn and his servant Marzūq:[51]

> Shaykh Marzūq was a slave whom Sultan Badr used to station upon the summit of a high mountain to the east of Dayr al-Shaykh to keep a lookout for the enemy in the time of war and jihad.[52]

As far as Islamization is concerned, the narration of Mujīr al-Dīn, our prime informant, is unfortunately insufficient. Did an already established Christian settlement exist when Badr al-Dīn arrived on the scene? And if so, what eventually happened to the original community? The existence of a former Christian settlement may be deduced from a construction level in the *zāwiyah* that pre-dates the thirteenth century. It is also implied by the appearance of the word *dayr* (monastery in Arabic) in the village name. This word may be interpreted as indicating the former existence of a Byzantine monastery, later to become a Frankish or Christian Arab settlement.[53] Ellenblum created a sociological and spatial model according to which the Frankish population settled primarily in areas already dominated by indigenous Christian communities. In other words, the rural settlements of the Frankish immigrants followed those of their fellow Christians.[54] He demonstrates this phenomenon by drawing the cultural border of southern Samaria between Muslim and Christian villages. This is aptly depicted in the toponymic map of the area by the abundant use of the word *dayr,* indicating a formerly Christian area. Following the same logic and exploiting Ellenblum's maps of Byzantine churches and Frankish rural settlements in Palestine, one may find a densely populated Christian area in the environs of Dayr al-Shaykh.[55] Map 2 includes all rural Frankish settlements as found and described by Ellenblum, followed by sites that have the word *dayr* in their name.[56] The map depicts an area dominated by Christian

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[51]See Masterman and Macalister, "Occasional Papers," 127

[52]Ibid.

[53]See Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, 228–29, where he draws a map depicting the cultural lines between Muslim and Christian communities, based on a toponymic survey of sites which have the word *dayr* in their names.

[54]Ibid, 233.

[55]The map is based on the Frankish rural sites as depicted in ibid., xviii, and Conder and Kitchener, *Survey of Western Palestine,* sheet XVII.

[56]As yet I cannot fully demonstrate the existence of a Frankish layer in all settlements with *dayr* in their name.

settlements, starting from the Jerusalem-Bethlehem line on the east and stretching westward as far as the Dayr Aban-Bayt Jimāl line. In regard to Dayr al-Shaykh, the two sets of indicators exist, in the form of the toponymic sign *dayr* and the existence of a layer that pre-dates Badr al-Dīn's complex.[57] The conclusion is that Badr al-Dīn's arrival on the scene was not to a region devoid of population, but rather to a Christian-dominated area.

The role of sufis and saints as agents of Islamization in different parts of the Muslim world has been established already by various scholars.[58] Vryonis highlights the critical role of the mystic and sufi orders in the Islamization of Anatolia.[59] The simple, sometimes even crude and earthly Islam of the holy man *(baba)* and his followers was far more appealing to the Christian community of Anatolia than the orthodox, rigid one of the ulama. The beginning of the process was humble and incidental. Hand in hand with the expansion of the Seljuks went the arrival of the lonely saint, dwelling in as yet un-Islamized regions of Anatolia and slowly gaining respect and influence over the gradually waning local Christian communities. The role played by Badr al-Dīn was in many ways identical. He arrived at an area that was under Islamic rule, though apparently Muslims were not the majority. Badr al-Dīn's taking up residence in Dayr al-Shaykh led to the Islamization of the place. The fate of the former population and the precise phases of Islamization cannot be fully established. The events that took place at Sharafāt bring to light a much more detailed picture.

In order better to understand what transpired in Sharafāt one needs to consult Mujīr al-Dīn′s description again.[60] The *zāwiyah* in Sharafāt was built during the period when Dā'ūd (d. 701/1301) was head of the order. At that time, we are told, the village was Christian, except for Dā'ūd′s family and adherents. Some of the Christians, who owned vineyards, were also involved in the production of wine. The wine was sold to, among others, sinful Muslims *(lil-fassāq min al-muslimīn)*. This state of affairs vexed Dā'ūd and he called upon God to stop this from occurring. Indeed, we are told by Mujīr al-Dīn, the Christians stopped the wine

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[57]See again Petersen, ″Shrines,″ 103.

[58]See Levtzion, *Conversion to Islam*, 16–20, where he summarizes research on various locations and periods demonstrating the role of sufis in the process of Islamization. But see recently Reuven Amitai, ″Sufis and Shamans: Some Remarks on the Islamization of the Mongols in the Ilkhanate,″ *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 42 (1999): 27–45. In this article, Amitai claims that Islamization via sufi agents in the Mongol region was primarily of institutional sufis close to Mongol ruling circles. The connection between members of the Abū al-Wafā' family and Manjak al-Sayfī may indicate the same closeness between sufis as agents of Islamization and ruling circles of the Mamluk elite.

[59]Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism,* esp. 351–402.

[60]Mujīr al-Dīn, *Al-Uns al-Jalīl,* 2:147–48.

production because each time the grapes were pressed, they would turn out to be vinegar. As the story has it, this was the wrath of God inflicted on the infidels. Once the Christian inhabitants were deprived of their livelihood, they had no alternative but to leave the village. As Mujīr al-Dīn puts it, they realized that they were facing a man of enormous power (namely Dā'ūd), a wizard *(sākhir),* so they abandoned their fields and left the village altogether. The expulsion of the Christian farmers caused the *iqṭā'* owner *(muqṭa')* grave losses. Thereupon Dā'ūd leased the lands of the village from him and built a *zāwiyah* and a tomb where he and his descendants were to be buried later. The construction of Muslim institutions and landmarks was the morphological materialization of the demographic and cultural changes that took place in the village of Sharafāt. The changing of the village name from Shafrāt to Sharafāt is yet another sign of this dramatic change.

The crucial role of the Abū al-Wafā' family as agents of Islamization is fully attested in the village of Sharafāt. It appears that they acted as a Muslim vanguard which eventually transformed a Christian settlement into a Muslim one. A similar case is to be found during the early Ottoman period in the north of Palestine. The person concerned, Shaykh al-Asadī, settled in the heart of what was then a Christian village.[61] Later on a *zāwiyah* was constructed and eventually the total Islamization of the village took place. The former Christian population emigrated (or rather was forced to emigrate) to an alternative site. Layish investigated the case of Dayr al-Asad (the village of Shaykh al-Asadī) fully and found it to be a typical case of the Islamization policy of the Ottoman empire as implemented throughout its territories.[62] As it happens, the shaykh was endowed with the village lands by none other then the Ottoman sultan Selim I.

The events that led to the Islamization of Sharafāt have a lot in common with those that led to that of Dayr al-Asad. To begin with, it was the settlement of a sufi order or person in the heart of a Christian village that started the process. Gradually the sufis strengthened their hold on the place, as can be seen in the shape of visible Islamic symbols and institutions. At some point in the process governmental help was granted. As Layish depicts it, the initiative for the penetration of the sufi shaykh into Dayr al-Asad was taken by the sultan. This was started by the granting of an endowment, comprising the entire village lands, to the shaykh. As reported by Mujīr al-Dīn, Sharafāt was also given as an endowment to the head of the Wafā'īyah order. The endower was a prominent figure in the Mamluk

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[61]Aharon Layish, ″Waqf and Sūfi Monasteries in the Ottoman Policy of Colonization: Sulṭān Selīm I′s Waqf of 1516 in Favour of Dayr al-Asad,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 50 (1987): 61–89.

[62]Ibid., 75, n. 57, where he relies primarily on Ömer Lûtfi Barkan, ″Les fondation pieuses comme méthode de peuplement et de colonisation: Les derviches colonisateurs de l′époque des invasions et les couvents (saviyé),″ *Vakıflar Dergisi* 2 (1942) (partie française).

elite, i. e., the amir Manjak al-Sayfī. The act of endowment took place sometime during the middle of the fourteenth century, some fifty odd years after the Abū al-Wafā' were already well rooted in the new location.[63] Nevertheless, the patron-sufi relation was one of the conditions that helped the process materialize.

The cases of Dayr al-Shaykh and Sharafāt bring to light the role of the Abū al-Wafā' as agents of Islamization in the Judean hills. It appears that the area was still dominated by Christian-Frankish settlements in the thirteenth century. This situation gradually altered after the arrival of Badr al-Dīn's family and order on the scene. The process was not of Islamization of the indigenous communities but rather Islamization brought about by creating such conditions as would force those communities to leave. The growing movement of immigrants from the Bayt Jālah-Bethlehem region (i. e., the region where the Abū al-Wafā' settled) to the Galilee during the late Mamluk and early Ottoman periods was described by Cohen and Lewis.[64] Apparently Ottoman documents show a substantial migration of Christians from the area lying south of Jerusalem. It is my suggestion here that this process started already in the thirteenth century and continued at least until the sixteenth century. One should realize that unlike the rural settlements of the area in question, the urban part of it (i.e., Bayt Jālah and Bethlehem) is still heavily populated with Christian communities.

V

The case of the Abū al-Wafā' has enabled us to take a closer look at what usually remains obscure and unreachable in the sources regarding the stages of Islamization in a region prior to the relatively richly documented Ottoman period. The story of Badr al-Dīn and his followers contains many of the characteristics of other sufi leaders, as described by Trimingham:

> In the development of organized Sufism *zāwiyas* were more important than most of those just described [i. e., *ribāṭ* and *khānqāh*], but here the institution was a man. They were small modest establishments, centred around one shaikh; at first impermanent, especially since such men were frequently migrants themselves. It was through these men, migrant or settled, that self-perpetuating *ṭarīqas* came into being. They were not endowed like *khānaqāhs*

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[63]See again the discussion regarding the problem of establishing the accurate date of the endowment, above.

[64]Cohen and Lewis, *Population and Revenue,* 32–33.

> and *ribāṭs,* though in time when they became family residences they tended to accumulate *awqāf.*[65]

Badr al-Dīn was indeed a stranger when he immigrated and settled in Dayr al-Shaykh. Trimingham asserts that this was in itself a quality that helped sufis to win over the hearts of the local population.[66] Whether this was part of a Mamluk plan or policy one can only surmise, and hopefully future research will establish this. Be that as it may, the fact remains that along the way the family received crucial help from the Mamluk authorities. This occurred in the form of the patronage granted by Amir Manjak al-Sayfī on several occasions.

Members of the Abū al-Wafā' acted as agents of Islamization. Through their various activities they were responsible for changes in the cultural landscape of the region. It seems that changing social and religious forces were met by a change in economic demands, as in the case of the wine at Sharafāt. The pendulum was working in favor of the growing Islamic communities and against the former Christian settlers. But still we are left with many parts missing from the puzzle. Where did the displaced Christian communities go? Did they migrate elsewhere or did some of them embrace Islam? Why was no trace to be found of the former religious buildings, namely churches? The crucial issues of migration, demographic changes, and the changing of the cultural landscape following them await further research. Nevertheless, the methodology established here and the detailed case study break new ground in the complicated research into the Islamization of the region.

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[65]J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam* (Oxford, 1971), 168–69.

[66]Layish, "Waqf and Sūfi Monasteries," 76–78.

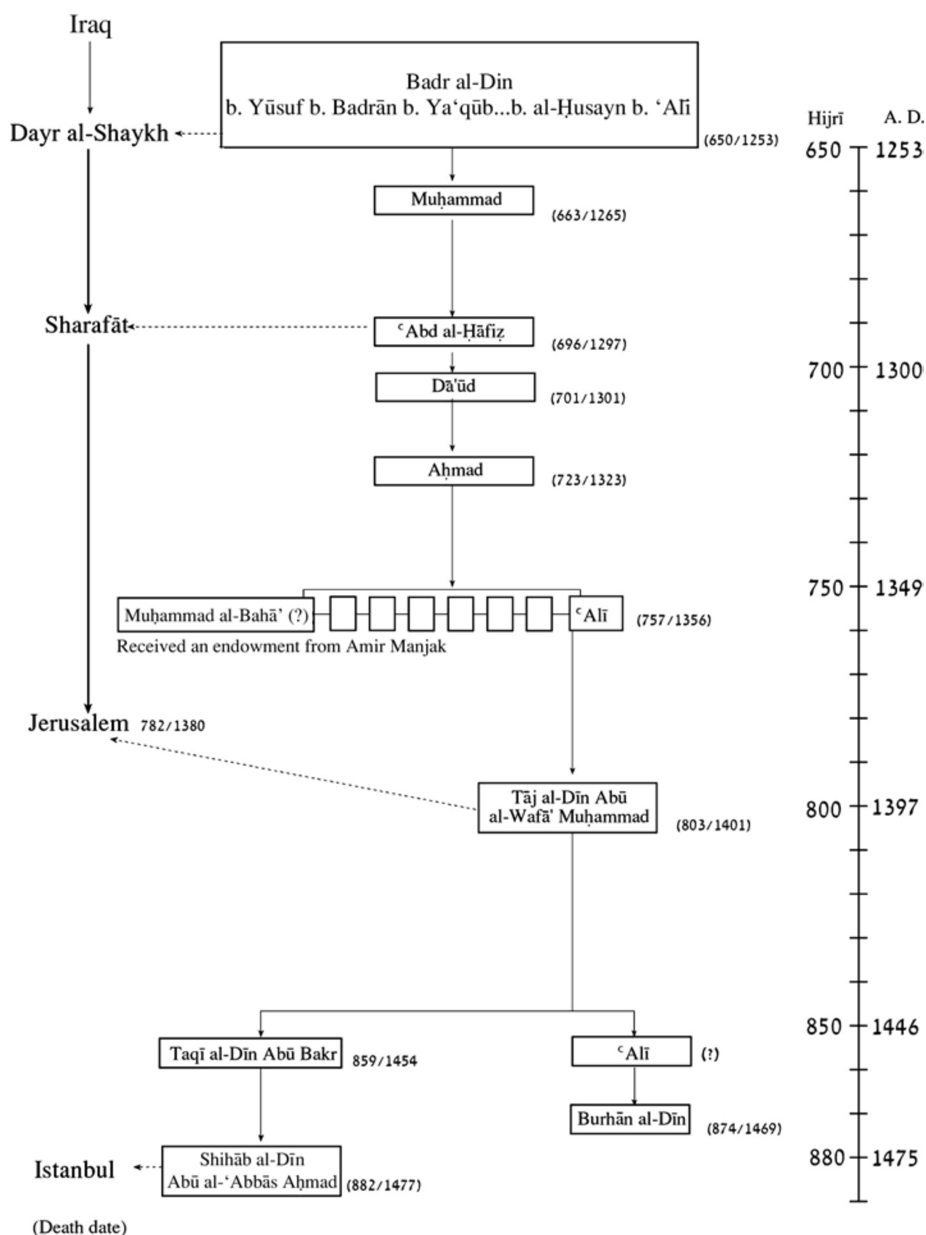


Figure 1. Abū al-Wafā' Genealogy Table

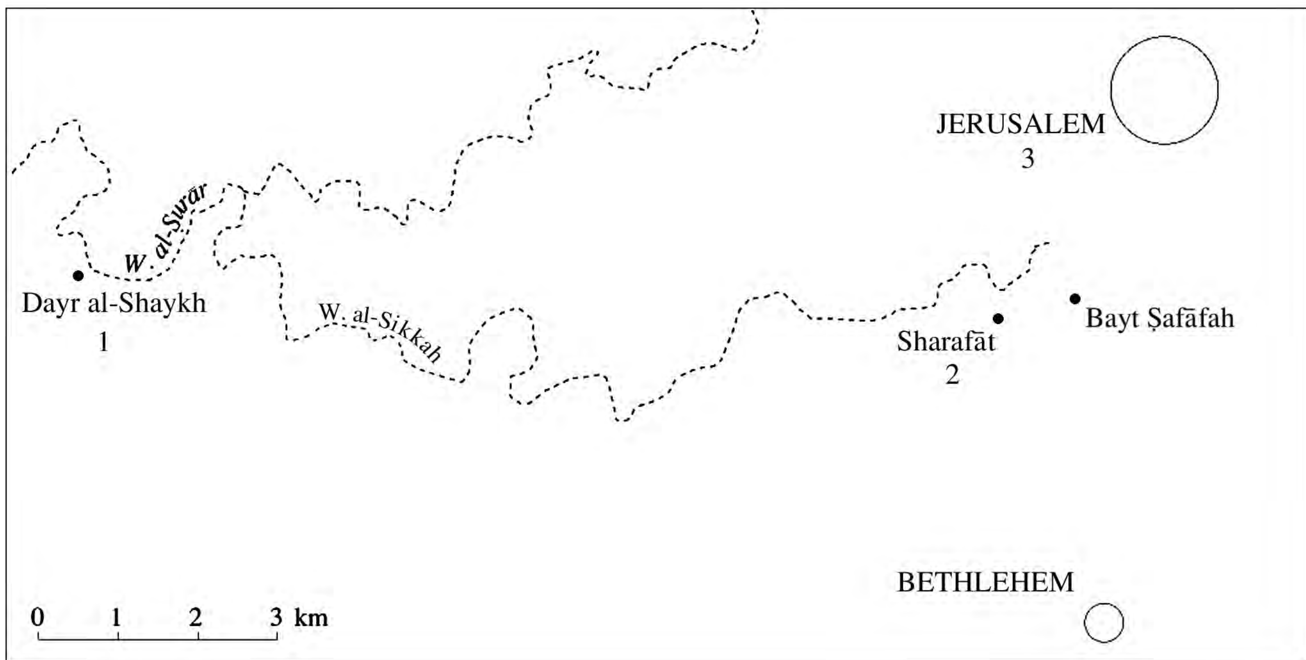


Figure 2. The Abū al-Wafā' Locations in the Vicinity of Jerusalem

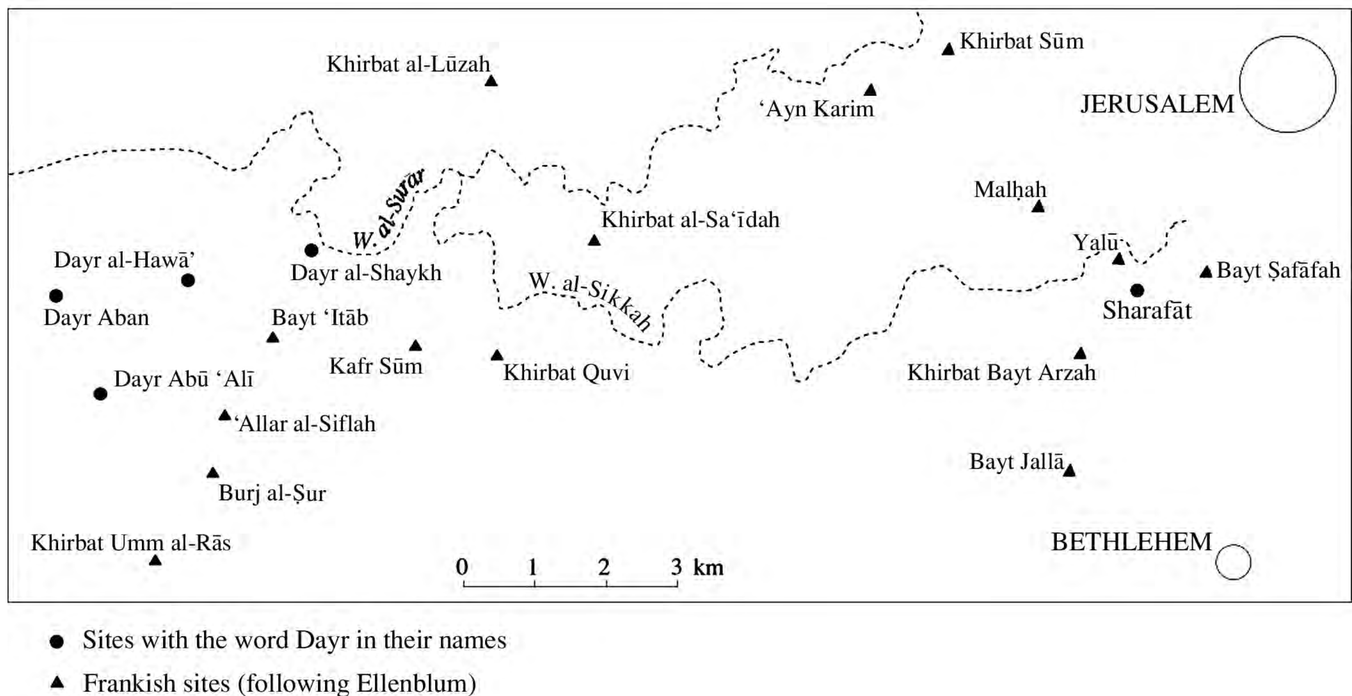


Figure 3. Frankish and Christian Settlements in the Judean Hills

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Perception of Architecture in Mamluk Sources

Mamluk architecture is one of the most extensively though unevenly studied categories in the field of Islamic architectural history today. Several surveys, varying in scope, numerous articles and monographs on individual monuments, and a few comparative studies of regional variations in architectural style exist. Many more are being published at an unprecedented rate as the field of Mamluk studies gains more students and researchers, and now has a journal of its own, *Mamlūk Studies Review*.[1] Even a few preliminary theoretical discussions have been held on some of the formal, symbolic, and sociocultural attributes of this architectural tradition, and a number of historiographic essays have attempted to understand it in the context of Mamluk and Islamic cultural and social history, something that is generally lacking for other medieval Islamic architectural traditions.[2] This scholarly attention should not be surprising to anyone familiar with the sheer number and variety of Mamluk buildings still standing in Egyptian, Palestinian, Lebanese, and Syrian cities—and they constitute only a fraction of the total that can be computed from the sources. For two hundred and sixty-seven years, scores of projects of all types: small and large, private and public, pious and commercial, pompous and poised, purposeful and frivolous, were sponsored by sultans, amirs, and members of the local elite in practically every corner of the

[1]For a recent review of the publications on Mamluk art and architecture, see Jonathan Bloom, ″Mamluk Art and Architectural History: A Review Article,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 31–58.

[2]See R. Stephen Humphreys, ″The Expressive Intent of the Mamluk Architecture in Cairo: A Preliminary Essay,″ *Studia Islamica* 35 (1972): 69–119; Oleg Grabar, ″Reflections on Mamluk Art,″ *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 1–12; Michael Meinecke, ″Mamluk Architecture, Regional Architectural Tradition: Evolutions and Interrelations,″ *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 2 (1985): 163–75; idem, *Patterns of Stylistic Change in Islamic Architecture: Local Traditions versus Migrating Artists* (New York, 1995); Nasser Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden, 1995); Bernard O′Kane, ″Monumentality in Mamluk and Mongol Art and Architecture,″ *Art History* 19 (1996): 499–522. Some of the still unpublished recent Ph.D. dissertations proclaim the new, more interpretive directions that the field in general is following; see, for example, Lobna Abdel Azim Sherif, ″Layers of Meaning: An Interpretive Analysis of Three Early Mamluk Buildings,″ Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1988; Howyda N. al-Harithy, ″Urban Form and Meaning in Bahri Mamluk Architecture,″ Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1992; Jane Jakeman, ″Abstract Art and Communication in ′Mamluk′ Architecture,″ Ph.D. thesis, Oxford University, 1993.

sultanate, particularly in Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, Tripoli, and Jerusalem, but also in smaller towns and villages.[3]

The Mamluk written sources, chronicles and biographical dictionaries, but especially encyclopedic manuals, geographical treatises *(masālik),* and topographical tracts *(khiṭaṭ),* in their capacity as records of their time reflect both the profusion of buildings and the interest in architecture that Mamluk culture manifested. They all pay more than passing attention to buildings and land reclamation projects sponsored by sultans, amirs, and lesser notables. Some, like Ibn Shaddād, al-Maqrīzī, and Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī, show a genuine interest in buildings and cities and, sometimes, even an expert and appreciative handling of their particular qualities in the descriptions they provide of them. In fact, each of them makes buildings the backbone of one key book in his historical oeuvre. Many biographers, especially those directly commissioned by a sultan or grandee, even wax lyrical on the projects sponsored by their patrons. Sometimes they exaggerate their numbers, costs, and sizes. At other times, they emphasize their grandeur and rhetorically compare them with paradigmatic monuments known from literature or from the past. The veracity, intensity, and enthusiasm of their coverage, or lack thereof, however, were neither constant nor uniform. They fluctuated over time, following both the shifting investment in architecture among the Mamluk patrons, sometimes from one reign to the next, and the inclination of the individual reporters to notice and discuss it, which may or may not have been affected by the importance placed on building by the Mamluk patrons.

Yet, over the entire Mamluk period, there is a marked progression in the reports towards a more informed and involved discussion of buildings and projects, and even a growing interest in their architectural, historical, and sociocultural qualities. This evolving attitude seems to have transcended the individual inclination of a particular author. It affects every genre of historical writing, even annals and biographies, aside from its more concrete consequence of animating special types with architectural focus such as the *masālik* and the *khiṭaṭ*. It is discernible in the texts of the most architecturally reticent among the late-Mamluk authors, such as al-Suyūṭī and al-Sakhāwī, who could not help but reflect the more sophisticated handling of architecture achieved by their literary peers.[4]

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[3]Michael Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien (648/1250 bis 923/1517),* part 2, *Chronologische Liste der Mamlukischen Baumassnahmen* (Glückstadt, 1992), vii–ix, provides thorough estimates of the number of Mamluk monuments in all the major Syrian and Egyptian cities.

[4]This is apparent in al-Sakhāwī, *Kitāb al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk,* which is a chronicle continuing al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk,* and in his little article *Al-Tuḥfah al-Laṭīfah fī Tārīkh al-Madīnah al-Sharīfah.* It comes across more distinctly in al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah fī Tārīkh Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* which is his modest attempt at producing a *khiṭaṭ* book.

The trend appears to have peaked in the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century, at a time when the culture in general was coming to terms with the magnificent architectural endowments of the previous Bahri period which changed the face of many Mamluk cities, especially Cairo. This is the moment when Ibn Khaldūn came to Cairo and declared it to be the center of Islam and the epitome of *ʿimrān,* a concept encompassing both civilization and urbanization, which he was busy theorizing about at the same time.[5] He was soon followed by his brilliant student, Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, who devoted a tremendous amount of time and effort to producing the first encyclopedic work on the history, development, and architectural monuments of a city in Islam, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār,* which is essentially a paean to Cairo. Other contemporary scholars like Ibn Duqmāq, Ibn al-Furāt, al-Qalqashandī, Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Ibn ʿArab Shāh, and Ibn Taghrībirdī, though not as architecturally articulate as al-Maqrīzī was or as theoretically astute as Ibn Khaldūn, still show in their different ways a maturing sensitivity to the role of architecture in the life of the city and the reputation of patrons.

But this cultural interest in buildings and urban projects was not without its immediate political agenda: Mamluk authors for a variety of reasons disapproved of the Burji sultans, comparing them unfavorably to the great sultans of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. One of the main arguments they used to disparage their contemporary sultans was that they could not maintain the urban and architectural momentum generated by their illustrious predecessors, and they thus lacked their drive, commitment, good management, and generosity. Many Mamluk authors harp on this point, even including some who belonged to the Mamluk ruling class, such as Ibn Taghrībirdī.[6] This vocal criticism, however, may indicate not so much a general and popular disapproval of the Mamluks' performance as rulers as it did a growing divergence between the ruling Mamluks and the educated classes who controlled all historical writing and represented themselves and others through their own views, prejudices, and frameworks of interpretation.[7]

Historicizing the Mamluk interest in buildings, identifying its various proponents among the historians and analyzing their different approaches and textual techniques, and elucidating its conceptual ramifications for the study of Mamluk architecture

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[5]Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah,* ed. ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid Wafī (Cairo, 1960), 3: 829–36; for an abridged text in English, *The Muqaddimah,* trans. Franz Rosenthal, ed. N. J. Dawood (Princeton, 1967), 263–67.

[6]See the condemnation of al-Maqrīzī, one of the best critics of his age, in *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-lʿtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1854), 2: 214; see also Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1929–56), 7: 328–29.

[7]See my "Representing the Mamluks in Mamluk Historical Writing," in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt, c. 950–1800,* ed. Hugh Kennedy (Leiden, 2000), 59–75, esp. 60–71.

and culture form the subject of this article. My approach and interpretations have been greatly influenced by the ideas of the late Ulrich Haarmann on the writing of Mamluk history, especially as he began to articulate them in his latest contributions before his enormously regretted and untimely death. This article is but a small token of appreciation for his brilliant and original scholarship.

The Philological and Literary Context of Writing on Architecture

By its complex nature and exigencies, architecture can be neither a solitary nor modest activity. As Ibn Khaldūn noted, architectural projects, whether monuments or entire cities, required huge outlays of time, money, and manpower that can only be supplied by strong, stable, wealthy, and—most important—urban patrons.[8] Architectural projects fulfilled social and pietistic functions and went a long way toward enhancing the reputation of their founders and patrons, propagating their claims and embellishing their images. This made architecture, especially when it came to monumental buildings, primarily a royal or elite pursuit, and, as such, grist for the mill of chroniclers and biographers who wrote on the lives and deeds of the ruling class. The interest shown in architecture by the chroniclers of the Mamluk period, however, is not new in Islamic historiography. Biographers from earlier times recorded royal architectural projects and noted some of their peculiarities when they summarized the deeds of their founders. But Mamluk authors paid considerably more attention to architecture than their predecessors had done both in scope and depth. Their references were more numerous, comprehensive, and detailed than those of earlier historians, although like their predecessors and their successors until the nineteenth century, they never used graphic illustration to convey their impressions of the buildings they described. They, however, made a great effort to emphasize urban, political, social, economic, and cultural contexts, though rarely to consider formal, artistic, or symbolic significance. Aside from mentioning how large or tall or strange a building was, or listing particularly expensive materials in its construction, or indicating that a certain surface was ornamented using a certain complicated technique, formal or spatial qualities of the buildings were passed over in silence.

This unaesthetic tendency is apparent in the language used by Mamluk authors as well. When they write about architecture, they use primarily mundane and functional terms and rarely treat any spatial, artistic, or conceptual point. Buildings are hardly ever qualified as beautiful *(ḥasan, jamīl),* proportionate or harmonious *(mutanāsib, mu'talif, muntaẓam),* or pleasing *(bāhij),*[9] all terms associated with

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[8]Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah,* 3: 832–36; abridged English text, *Muqaddimah*, 265–67.

[9]Except for some odd and not immediately explainable cases, such as the Madrasah al-Mu'izzīyah of al-Mu'izz Aybak (1250–57), in Miṣr al-Fusṭāṭ. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah fi al-Tārīkh*

aesthetic concepts that had a venerable history in philosophical and *adab* treatises of an earlier period. Although they appear most frequently in literary and abstract discussions, they may initially have been introduced to express formal or visual appreciation of human types, of objects, or of engineering projects.[10] But they do not seem to have made their way into architectural description. On the other hand, they had been absorbed into literary criticism and were frequently used to express aesthetic judgment of prose or poetic style. Many of the Mamluk authors who write about architecture in fact show a certain ease with the denotative intricacies of these aesthetic terms when applied to literary analysis, which they all practiced and proudly displayed in their soberer books, though they seem not to have been able, or perhaps had no interest in, making the leap from literature to architecture.

Formal and architectural investigations seem to have been outside the intellectual curiosity or scholarly training of Mamluk authors.[11] Because of that handicap, they do not seem to have developed the techniques and terminology to carry out such examinations, and it shows in their texts. They apparently never attempted to transpose familiar aesthetic concepts from the literary domains, with which they were thoroughly familiar, or the less practiced disciplines of philosophy, geometry,

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(Cairo, 1932–39), 13:196, comments that ″although the madrasah′s span from the outside is of the best construction, its interior space is not so impressive″; al-Yunīnī, *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān* (Hyderabad, 1954–61), 1:60, and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 7:14, say that ″its *dihlīz* is very wide and very long, while the structure itself is proportionally small.″ See also Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-ʻAyni, *ʻIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, (Cairo: 1987–92), 1:44; Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat ʻIqd al-Amṣar,* ed. K. Vollers (Cairo, 1893), 4:35, 53–54, 92–93.

[10]A. I. Sabra in his edition of Ibn al-Haytham, *The Optics of Ibn al-Haytham: Books I-III, On Direct Vision* (London, 1989), 2: 99, discusses the example of the famous essayist al-Jāḥiẓ (767–869) in his *Risālat al-Qiyān* (The Essay on Singer-Slaves), ed. ʻAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn in his *Rasā'il al-Jāḥiẓ* (Cairo, 1965), 2:162–63. Al-Jāḥiẓ explains physical beauty in terms of two aesthetic principles: *tamām* (fullness) and *iʻtidāl* (moderation); both are dependent on *wazin* (measure, balance, rhythm) which varies according to every case under consideration. Al-Jāḥiẓ goes on to say that *wazin* also governs the beauty of vessels, furnishings, embroidered textiles, and water channels, all of which have to achieve balance in form and composition *(al-istiwā' fī al-kharṭ wa-al-tarkīb).* (Sabra considered *tamām, iʻtidāl,* and *wazin* to be three separate principles, although it seems that al-Jāḥiẓ suggests that *tamām* and *iʻtidāl* both derive from *wazin.*)

[11]This area of research is not well covered. One notable pioneer is George Makdisi. His *Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West* (Edinburgh, 1990), passim, presents one of the most thorough discussions of the types of knowledge and kinds of settings available to medieval Islamic ″humanists″ (to use Makdisi′s term). Makdisi (Appendix A, 355–61) provides a summary of Ḍiyā' al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr′s (1163–1239) eight scholarly requisites for poets and *kuttāb* from his *Al-Mathal al-Sā'ir fī Adab al-Kātib wa-al-Shāʻir* (Riyadh, 1983–84), which shows clearly that no visual concerns belonged in those lists.

music, and the like to the unfamiliar field of architecture.[12] Nor does it seem to have occurred to them to adapt the professional vocabulary that might have been used by the builders to describe the buildings because of the sharp social division that separated them from these craftsmen and artisans and that consequently hindered communication between the two social groups.[13] Philosophical ideas, however truncated or distracted, sometimes did seep into Mamluk texts, but virtually no professional architectural or constructional terms at all found their way into them.[14] The very few and significant exceptions, such as Ibn Shaddād, al-Maqrīzī, and Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī, who at times reveal a certain affinity with professional terminology, may have developed their interest in the building crafts after having been exposed to them in some official capacity, such as serving as *muḥtasib* (city inspector) as in the case of al-Maqrīzī, or *shādd* (building supervisor), or some other similar function. It should be stressed, however, that the predisposition of these three to buildings and to the ways they are apprehended by craftsmen was peculiar to them: not all who wrote and also served at some point as building supervisors show either interest or a comparable mastery of professional terminology and modes of description.[15]

When buildings are at all noticed in the Mamluk sources for their visual qualities, they are generally described as unusual or marvelous *(*'*ajīb* and *gharīb)* and never further elaborated on, or mentioned for their monumentality and display of wealth, usually expressed in terms such as *kabīr, 'azīm,* or *fākhir.* Although monumentality is primarily considered an aesthetic and spatial quality in today's architectural discourse, the few references to monumentality in Mamluk sources

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[12]A single exception, to my knowledge, can be found in the memoirs of the Iraqi physician 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (1162–1231), a very sharp and perceptive resident of Cairo in the later part of the Ayyubid period (he wrote his text in 1204), *Al-Ifāḍah wa-al-I'tibār fī al-Umūr al-Mushāhadah wa-al-Ḥawādith al-Mu'āyanah bi-Arḍ Miṣr* (Cairo, 1869), where he uses aesthetic notions to analyze the naturalness and proportionality achieved in the ancient Egyptian statues. This exceptional short treatise deserves a study on its own.

[13]For a discussion of the status of the building professions in the Mamluk society, see my "Architects and Artists in Mamluk Society: The Perspective of the Sources," *Journal of Architectural Education* 52 (1998): 30–37; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Muhandis, Shād, Mu'allim—Note on the Building Craft in the Mamluk Period," *Der Islam* 72 (1995): 293–309; and the pioneering Leo Mayer, *Islamic Architects and Their Works* (Geneva, 1956), 20–27.

[14]An interesting example of a philosophical framework is al-Qalqashandī's chapter on *nafs al-khaṭṭ* ("the writing itself," used here in the sense of the nature of penmanship) in his voluminous *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'* (Cairo, 1913-18), 3: 1–149, esp. 41–43, a well structured and competent, if platitudinous, discussion that relies heavily on older texts and poetic quotations.

[15]Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī, al-Maqrīzī's rival, who served seven time as *muḥtasib,* is a case in point. For their dates of service as *muḥtasib*, see Aḥmad 'Abd ar-Rāziq, "La ḥisba et le muḥtasib en Égypte au temps des Mamluks," *Annales Islamologiques* 13 (1977): 115–78, 148–53.

seem to have been less aesthetically construed and more politically, or at least ideologically, driven. They often bore a competitive edge: the authors mention buildings as comparable in massiveness to those of their patrons that had been built in the realm of the Ilkhanids, the Mamluks' main Islamic rivals, or other less important Islamic powers such as the North African Marinids or the smaller Anatolian principalities.[16] Praising the monumentality of their patrons' buildings was at times coupled with downplaying the monumentality of those of other sovereigns. That buildings served this propagandistic purpose may have been induced by the patrons themselves, especially during the early Mamluk period, when the Mongol Ilkhanid threat was real and the propaganda war between the two sides fierce and multifaceted.[17]

But the emphasis on monumentality may also have reflected a heightened historical awareness among the Mamluk authors, which was expressed in the comparisons encountered in the sources between the Mamluk buildings and famous monuments of both the mythical and historical past including the pre-Islamic period. This too is a pre-Mamluk phenomenon. But it found formal expression in the Mamluk period with the development of a more or less fixed list of venerated ancient monuments that constituted a monumental category in medieval Arabic literature and are often mentioned when the achievements of past nations, a favorite topic in *adab,* are discussed.[18] Many descriptions of contemporary Mamluk monuments refer the reader to one or another of these structures, most frequently to the Īwān-i Kisrā in al-Madā'in (Ctesiphon) in Iraq, the epitome of monumentality which is sometimes brazenly claimed to have been matched or surpassed by the building under discussion.[19]

This practice is more than a literary trope despite its poetic and literary origins and its frequent usage in the sources. The veracity of the comparison itself is much less important to both authors and readers than the historic connection and the contest across time implied in it. The monumental category is a way of reclaiming the golden age inscribed in the Mamluk collective memory at a time

[16]O'Kane, "Monumentality in Mamluk Art," passim.

[17]On various aspects of this heated propaganda war, see my "Ideological Significance of the Dar al-'Adl in the Medieval Islamic Orient," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 27 (1995): 3–28, esp. 24–28; Adel Allouche, "Teguder's Ultimatum to Qalawun," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 22 (1990): 437–46; Donald P. Little, "Notes on Aitamiš, A Mongol Mamluk," *Beiruter Texte und Studien* 22 (1979): 387–401.

[18]O'Kane, "Monumentality in Mamluk Art," 500, n. 4; see also my "Al-Īwān: Ma'nāhu al-Farāghī wa-Madlūluhu al-Tadhkārī," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 49 (1997): 249–67.

[19]O'Kane, "Monumentality in Mamuk Art," 510 and nn., discusses comparisons made in two Mamluk and Ilkhanid sources between two major monuments—the mosque of 'Alī Shāh in Tabriz and the madrasah of Sultan Ḥasan in Cairo—on the one hand, and the Īwān-i Kisrā on the other.

when the Mamluk state was showing signs of its ability to recoup some of the glories of that golden age. It had very swiftly defeated the Crusaders and Mongols, asserted its rule over all the Syro-Egyptian territories, and devised a new caliphal legitimacy with the installation of an Abbasid caliph in Cairo after the annihilation of the Baghdadi caliphate by the Mongols in 1258. The culture reacted to these Mamluk victories with renewed hope of recapturing the glorious past and reviving the true caliphate after two centuries of uncertainty, a feeling which lasted well into the fifteenth century. It was reflected in the reorientation of Mamluk historical writing towards a pan-Islamic outlook reminiscent of the writing of the eighth- and ninth-century historians who lived under an at least nominally unified Islamic world.[20] Thus, an entire generation of Mamluk historians—including al-ʻUmarī and al-Nuwayrī in Cairo and Ibn Kathīr and al-Dhahabī in Damascus—adopted a universal and upbeat approach and covered the entire Islamic world in their writing. A similar historic emphasis is expressed in visual references to the venerated monuments of the early Islamic period which dot the early Mamluk architecture built in the time of Baybars and Qalāwūn and his sons.[21] Both references to the monuments of the past in the sources and to the past in early Mamluk architecture embody and reinforce the rekindled Mamluk sense of historical continuity and represent a conscious effort to give it shape: one in space, the other in words.

If Mamluk sources lacked a developed aesthetic or architectural language, they did have another specialized language at their disposal, and that was the legal language of the w*aqf* (endowment) documents with which they seem to have been thoroughly familiar. The institution of the *waqf,* an old and venerable Islamic legal-fiscal system for organizing charity, social services, and the management and inheritance of real-estate and agricultural land, had by the Mamluk period developed a language and a procedure for documenting buildings that satisfied contractual and legal requirements and reflected both an interest in the purely functional and socioeconomic dimensions of architecture and a specific vision of

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[20]See the analysis of Dorothea Krawulsky concerning the change in historical production in the Mamluk period in ″Al-Intāj al-Thaqafī wa-Sharʻiyat al-Sulṭah,″ her introduction to Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyá Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʻUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār: Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Ūlá* (Beirut, 1986), 15–37, reprinted in a volume of her collected articles, *Al-ʻArab wa-Īran: Dirāsāt fī al-Tārīkh wa-al-Adab min al-Manẓūr al-Idiyulūjī* (Beirut, 1993), 94–116.

[21]See my ″Mosaics of the Qubba al-Zahiriyya in Damascus: A Classical Syrian Medium Acquires a Mamluk Signature,″ *Aram* 9–10 (1997–98): 1–13; also my ″Mamluk Throne Halls: Qubba or Iwan,″ *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 201–18, for discussions of Umayyad echoes in early Mamluk architecture. See also Jonathan Bloom, ″The Mosque of Baybars al-Bunduqdari in Cairo″ *Annales Islamologiques* 18 (1982): 50–55; Hana Taragan, ″Politics and Aesthetics: Sultan Baybars and the Abu Hurayra/Rabbi Gamliel Building in Yavne,″ in *Milestones in the Art and Culture of Egypt*, ed. Asher Ovadiah (Tel Aviv, 2000), 117–43, esp. 124–30, for discussions of conscious Fatimid references in the architecture of Baybars' mosque.

the role of buildings in social and urban space.[22] The description of a building in a *waqf* usually begins with recording its surroundings—the other buildings, streets, and urban artifacts facing or abutting it in all directions. This sets the boundaries of the building and frames it within its urban context. Then comes the sequential description of every individual space in the building as it is seen by a person walking through it. The description ordinarily starts at the entrance and then moves in a set direction, enumerating the various aspects and features of each space in the building. In most cases, the description covers an entire level before moving up to the next. The individual descriptions pay more attention to circulation, especially location of doors, and to the specific functions of parts of the spaces than they do to their appearance. Yet they brought the verbal description of architecture to a sophisticated level where even formulaic expressions carried specific connotations that captured what was culturally important in the structure being described which could affect its monetary value and desirability.

These codified expressions found their way into the descriptions of buildings in the sources. Like the *waqf*s, the historical texts placed very little emphasis on the status of buildings as aesthetic objects to be looked at. They often even ignored it. They cared more about the buildings' contextual effects, experiential qualities, or functional capacity. A building, moreover, was never seen as a separate, stand-alone object: it could only make sense as a component in an urban context or in the landscape, probably a reflection of the prevalent forms of dense layout in the city and scattered pavilion arrangement in the garden. The only exceptions were citadels and isolated caravanserais or *khānqāh*s in the countryside which usually elicited brief comments on their exterior walls and mass and mainly on

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[22]Methods for the use of *waqf*s as historical documents in analyzing architecture have been developed by many authors in the recent past. The pioneering scholar was ʻAbd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm ʻAlī, "Wathīqat al-Amīr Ākhūr Kabīr Qarāqujā al-Ḥasanī," *Majallat Kullīyat al-Ādāb* 18 (1956): 183–251; idem, "Al-Wathā'iq fī Khidmat al-Āthār," in *Al-Mu'tamar al-Thānī li-al-Āthār fī al-Bilād al-ʻArabīyah* (Cairo, 1958), 205–88. See also Michael Rogers, "Waqfiyyas and Waqf-Registers: New Primary Sources for Islamic Architecture," *Kunst des Orients* 11 (1976–77): 182–96; Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimāʻīyah fī Miṣr (684–923 A.H./1250–1517 A.D.)* (Cairo, 1980); Mona Zakarya, *Deux palais du Caire médiéval: Waqfs et architecture* (Marseilles, 1983); Donald P. Little, "The Haram Documents as Sources for the Arts and Architecture of the Mamluk Period," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 61–72; Leonor Fernandes, "Notes on a New Source for the Study of Religious Architecture during the Mamluk Period: the Waqfiya," *Al-Abḥāth* 33 (1985): 3–12. One of the best studies of the architectural particularities of *waqf* formulae and terminology is Hazem Sayed, "The Rabʻ in Cairo: A Window on Mamluk Architecture and Urbanism," Ph.D. diss., MIT, 1987; it is unfortunately still unpublished. For a summary of his research, see his "Development of the Cairene Qāʻa: Some Considerations," *Annales Islamologiques* 23 (1987): 31–53.

their strength and solidity, as would be expected.[23] Otherwise, hardly any description of an urban façade can be found in Mamluk sources or in *waqf* documents. Only the location of entrances and position of minarets were noted, emphasizing the link between the public space of the street and the building proper. Even interior spaces were seen in the context of their connectivity and functionality and never in an abstracted way as arranged spaces or volumes. Their architectural characteristics were never noticed except to indicate how they were accessed and whether or not they had built-in usable spaces, such as recesses, niches, and alcoves.

Mamluk historical sources and *waqf* documents alike were most concerned with what can be termed the socioeconomic aspects of buildings. They spent most of their energy on discussing patrons, cost, intended functions, capacity for services, and the abundance or inadequacy of the *waqf*s attached to buildings for their upkeep and to support their designated users, and very little on anything else. The form and structure of the source descriptions resembled those found in the *waqf* documents themselves, not only because the two types stemmed from similar literary and legal traditions, but also because many of their authors were also legal experts and may have been personally involved in the redaction of *waqf* documents. The language of one form flowed into the other as authors themselves moved between the two. Many authors even incorporated parts of the *waqf* documents that they had access to, thanks to their position in the administration or the judicial system, in their historical texts describing major buildings, probably because the *waqf* texts already contained in an authoritative style the information they wished to present. This practice in fact has preserved some of the *waqf* texts that otherwise would have disappeared from the record.[24]

Yet there is a small, though structurally and formally significant, difference between the two forms. The chronicles obviously did not have to carry the legal responsibility the *waqf* texts did. They thus were able to adopt a less rigid and formulaic structure and to allow literary tropes and storytelling techniques to permeate their *waqf*-inspired texts and imbue them with informative and entertaining anecdotal, historical, and comparative details.[25] The use of the ″monumental

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[23]See my *Citadel of Cairo,* 9–14, 59–60, for an analysis of the texts describing the fortifications of the Cairo citadel.

[24]See, for instance, Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* ed. A. A. al-Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1976), 278–79, who copied the section on al-Azhar from an original *waqf* document redacted for the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim. Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2: 273–74, reproduces what appears to be a more complete text from the same *waqf.*

[25]A recent discussion of the purposes and techniques of historical writing in the Mamluk period is Ulrich Haarmann, ″Al-Maqrīzī, the Master, and Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī, the Disciple—Whose Historical Writing Can Claim More Topicality and Modernity?,″ in *The Historiography of Islamic*

category″ mentioned earlier is one of these techniques. So are the abundant poetic quotations, which may have been part literary bravado, part expressive tool. The same applies to historical references, mythically based comparisons, and reported conversations which seem often to have been totally fabricated.[26]

This historical reporting laced with *adab* techniques and tropes would have to be seen within the larger framework of the profusion of ″literarized″ history with a popular bent, observed by some contemporary students of Mamluk history and recently problematized by Ulrich Haarmann as a testing ground for the post-structuralist challenge to the conventional historiographical binary opposition of ″narrativity versus facticity.″[27] ″Narrativity,″ Haarmann observed, had always enlivened Arabic history writing with its close ties to *adab,* but its treatment by historians varied even during the same time period. Some, like Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī, may have intentionally ornamented their accounts to make them more novelistic and enticing, whereas others, like al-Maqrīzī, preferred a more serious, solemn, and learned outlook. The ″literarized″ modes seem to have expanded in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, when history was apparently a popular subject with a wide readership, judging from the large number of compilations and abridgments of earlier works and of new compositions produced during that period.[28]

The Social and Political Context of Writing on Architecture

The language of the sources dealing with buildings can be summed up as financially concerned, conservatively driven, legally and literarily based, and visually inexperienced, qualities that distinguished the groups to which most of the Mamluk authors belonged. These groups comprised the ulama and the *kuttāb* (the two greatly overlapped in the Mamluk period) and the *awlād al-nās,* or the literarily-inclined sons of Mamluk amirs and soldiers who should be intellectually, socially, and ideologically classified with the ulama and *kuttāb* despite their Mamluk lineage,

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Egypt, 59–75.

[26]See my discussion of a conversation between two powerful amirs of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Bashtāk and Qawṣūn, in my ″Representing the Mamluks in Mamluk Historical Writing,″ 72–75.

[27]Haarmann, ″Al-Maqrīzī, the Master, and Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī, the Disciple,″ 149–51.

[28]See Ulrich Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit* (Freiburg, 1970), 129–37; idem, ″Auflösung und Bewahrung der klassischen Formen arabischer Geschichtsschreibung in der Zeit der Mamluken,″ *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 121 (1971): 46–60, esp. 49. A succinct restating of Haarmann′s historiographical observations appears in his review of Bernd Radtke, *Weltgeschichte und Weltbeschreibung im Mittelalterlichen Islam,* in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115 (1995): 134. See also Li Guo, ″Mamluk Historiographic Studies: The State of the Art,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 15–43, esp. 33–37.

Mamluk privileges, and knowledge of the Turkish language.[29] Members of these groups, who can loosely be termed the literati, also formed the reading public for the same sources, which reinforced the development of a closed discourse and facilitated the formation of an endogenous and insular school of history, in which every member was linked in more than one way to the others, and every member′s work was inevitably and immediately measured against the works of others, who practically covered the same terrain.[30] The literati also shared the same general ethos. Their sense of themselves was grounded primarily in educational background, scholarly or chancery specialization, or jurisprudential affiliation *(madhhab)*. But they had little practical notion of group solidarity aside from superficial signs, ranging from dress codes to mannerisms of speech and conduct or their means of memorializing themselves. They nonetheless dominated the production and transmission of knowledge, with the ulama in particular maintaining their hold on the traditional religious functions, which kept them in touch with the people and in a position to affect public opinion. Members of the three groups of literati also controlled the judicial, administrative, educational, and *waqf* services through which they wielded tremendous influence as agents of mediation and arbitration, but hardly ever as agents of social change.[31]

These social groups depended on the Mamluk military elite for their livelihood; the Mamluks patronized and employed them to administer the religious, social, and fiscal systems of the sultanate, because they were the most educated groups. They were, however, excluded from any political decision-making and kept under constant check enforced with the threat of confiscation, arrest, and sometimes exceedingly brutal punishment. This paradoxical situation affected how they expressed their relationship with the Mamluk ruling elite to whom they were financially and socially indebted. A mixture of fear, servility, jealousy, affected flattery, and the occasional diatribe found their way into historical and biographical texts dealing with the Mamluk elite and their achievements and shortcomings. It

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[29]See the discussion in Ulrich Haarmann ″Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage: Mamluks and Their Sons in the Intellectual Life of Fourteenth-Century Egypt and Syria,″ *Journal of Semitic Studies* 33 (1988): 81–114, esp. 82–85; idem, ″Joseph′s Law: The Careers and Activities of Mamluk Descendants before the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt,″ in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* ed. T. Philipp and U. Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 55–84.

[30]Donald Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography: An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn* (Wiesbaden, 1970), 73–99, offers a comparative examination of specific years in the annals of six historians which shows their complicated patterns of interdependence.

[31]For a discussion of these social practices in Damascus in particular, see Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (New York, 1994), 37–54, 108–51.

colored the ways chroniclers and biographers structured and narrated their prose, and explained its nuances and innuendos.[32]

The Mamluk sources treat architecture, therefore, in a way that reflects not only the personal inclination of an author or the collective social and intellectual structures or even the expectations, tastes, and preferences of the readership. Authors were powerfully beholden to the wishes and interests of their Mamluk patrons and their desire to have their work documented, celebrated, and memorialized. There were certainly sultans, such as Baybars, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and Qāytbāy, whose interest in building was pronounced to the point that it affected their rule and how their amirs and notables handled their wealth and expressed their positions in society.[33] Each in his own way and for his own particular set of reasons and preferences endowed the cities of the realm with large numbers of religious, charitable, commercial, military, and palatial monuments. Each also is reported to have been directly involved in the projects he commissioned, sometimes interfering in the planning stages, sometimes dictating the design and decoration of a specific building, and at other times even working on the construction. Commentators on their reigns did not fail to notice this prodigious production and personal involvement and to be impressed by both.[34] Whole sections of the biographies they dedicated to these sultans read like building rolls, recording every project they sponsored in every city of the sultanate. This practice, routine and trivial as it may seem to us, was a historical novelty in the early Mamluk period. This was the first time that an effort was made to list all the building projects and systematically register them in a separate section that could be inserted into what had become an established set of subjects considered essential to the biography of a grandee, especially a sultan: his personal qualities and

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[32]For a discussion of the textual techniques these groups used to assert themselves, see my "Representing the Mamluks in Mamluk Historical Writing," 59–75.

[33]David Ayalon went so far as to assert that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's predilection for grand building projects drained the Mamluk economy so much that it never recovered; see his "Muslim City and the Mamluk Military Aristocracy," *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 2 (1968): 311–29; idem, "The Expansion and Decline of Cairo under the Mamluks and Its Background," in *Itineraires d'Orient: hommages à Claude Cahen,* ed. Raoul Curiel and Rika Gyselen (Paris, 1994), 14–16. The decline of Cairo, which was congruent with the downfall of the Egyptian economy in the second half of the Mamluk period, is complicated and cannot be blamed solely on internal political factors; it still needs a thorough study. Janet Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (New York, 1989), 224–47, presents a well-balanced synthesis of Egypt's economic plight in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

[34]Behrens-Abouseif, "Muhandis," 293–95, lists a number of instances in which Mamluk patrons, most notably al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, played a direct role in the design of the buildings they sponsored; see also my *Citadel of Cairo,* 186–90, 277–80, for a discussion of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's involvement in the remodeling of the citadel and its surroundings.

virtues, his military campaigns, his embassies, his main associates and functionaries, and his buildings and other projects.

This arrangement seems first to have been introduced into the annals of the reign of Baybars I, an indefatigable builder and the first true organizer of the Mamluk state and system. The individual who can be credited with this biographical innovation is ʻIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī Ibn Shaddād (1217–85), an Aleppine scholar and *kātib* who began his career in his native city in the administration of its last Ayyubid ruler, al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf. After the Mongol invasion of Syria in 1260–61, he fled to Cairo and as a distinguished refugee was soon serving in Baybars′ administration, in the entourage of the famous vizier Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Ḥinnā.[35] Ibn Shaddād′s annals of Baybars′ reign, of which only the last third survive, were recently published. Though probably not officially commissioned, they appear nonetheless to have been approved by the sultan and perhaps even compiled from conversations with him. They were, however, completed after Baybars′ death, during the reign of his son Barakah Khān (1276–79) as is clear from the last section. At the end of the annals, Ibn Shaddād affixes an extended and eulogistic biography of Baybars. In it, he provides an exhaustive list of the numerous structures Baybars built all over his sultanate, structure by structure, and city by city beginning with Cairo and moving on to all the Syro-Palestinian cities in which Baybars sponsored building projects.[36] For the royal structures in or around the Citadel of Cairo—that is, where Ibn Shaddād lived and worked—he sometimes even goes a step further and provides measurements or supplies superlatives to convey the quality of particular structures. He also enumerates the architectural components of every palace and *qāʻah* Baybars built for himself, his son Barakah Khān, and his favorite amirs.[37]

In itself, Ibn Shaddād′s list is unusual, but more remarkable is the attention he devotes to space organization and architectural terminology, certainly rare among medieval historians (the only comparable historians are al-Maqrīzī and Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī, both of whom lived more than a century later). Two possible explanations can be advanced for this special treatment. First, the list could simply have resulted from the importance Baybars placed on architecture; he might have ordered these detailed descriptions of his most important projects to be included in his inventory of achievements. But this explanation is weakened by the fact that Ibn ʻAbd

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[35]On Ibn Shaddād, see Yoel Koch, ″ʻIzz al-Dīn ibn Shaddād and His Biography of Baybars,″ *Annali: Istituto Universitario Orientale, Sezione Slava* 43 (1983): 249–87; P. M. Holt, ″Three Biographies of al-Ẓāhir Baybars,″ in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, ed. D. O. Morgan (London, 1982), 19–29.

[36]Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ (Wiesbaden, 1983), 339–61.

[37]The buildings are analyzed in my *Citadel of Cairo,* 100–31.

al-Ẓāhir, Baybars′ official biographer, does not include anything comparable in his otherwise extensive encomium, *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir*. Alternatively, Ibn Shaddād′s list could have been inspired by his own expertise and interest in architecture, inducing him to dedicate a disproportionate amount of space to the reporting of building projects. His expertise is apparent from the precise and assured language, attention to detail, and professional terminology displayed in describing his patron's structures. Nor was this interest new: it is already discernible in his important compendium on the history and topography of Syria and the Jazīrah, *Al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah fī Dhikr Umarā' al-Shām wa-al-Jazīrah,* commissioned by Baybars and written during his reign, probably in recognition of Ibn Shaddād′s knowledge of the various principalities in those two regions and in preparation for their ultimate annexation to the Mamluk sultanate. *Al-A'lāq,* a pioneering work that anticipated al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* in its orientation, structure, and appreciation of architecture, is divided into sections on Aleppo and its environs, Damascus and its surrounding regions (including Lebanon and Palestine), and the Jaziran cities. It includes a systematic list of the major buildings—citadel, main mosque, madrasahs, *khānqāh*s, and caravanserais—for each city and, in the case of the major cities such as Damascus and Aleppo, the history of each structure in detail as well.[38]

The main difference between *Al-A'lāq* and Ibn Shaddād′s biography of Baybars is that the list of buildings in the latter is presented as the final category of Baybars′ achievements and qualities and is meant to complement and perhaps to illustrate or concretize them. It is an innovative modification to the usual structure of eulogistic biographies where the list of architectural projects undertaken by the subject, in addition to providing a record of the patron′s architectural accomplishments, is invested with propagandistic and political import. Ibn Shaddād′s biography inaugurated a new convention in Mamluk royal and princely biographies: it aimed at comprehensiveness and avoided the usual exaggerated and lyrical invocation of key monuments. His successors all begin to record all the building projects of their subjects, not just the highlights, although no one reaches the same degree of detail that Ibn Shaddād achieved. Later chroniclers, such as Ibn Shākir al-Kutubī (1282–1363) in his biographical dictionary *Fawāt al-Wafīyāt* and Ibn Taghrībirdī (1410–70), the fifteenth-century chronicler and son of a Mamluk amir, in his *Nujūm,* give shorter lists of Baybars′ structures with slight differences from Ibn Shaddād′s, but they both eliminate the description of the citadel′s palaces and *qā'ah*s.[39] The details of the buildings that Ibn Shaddād so

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[38]For an analysis of the book, see Muḥammad Sa'īd Riḍā, ″Ibn Shaddād fī Kitābihi Al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah, ′Qism al-Jazīrah,′″ *Majallat al-Mu'arrikh al-'Arabī* 14 (1980): 124–204.

[39]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 7: 191–97; Muḥammad ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt wa-al-*

relished adding to his essential list thus seem to have been a personal quirk, perhaps a sign of some architectural expertise that was not recorded in his biography. They did not reappear in any later account of building projects by Mamluk patrons.

The Architecturally-Conscious Genres

By the end of the fourteenth century, a significant development can be detected in all the sources dealing with architecture, including the usual annals, biographies, and encyclopedias: they begin to show more interest in the sociocultural, symbolic, and expressive import of buildings. No comprehensive explanation of this shift has ever been offered, but several modern historians, notably Oleg Grabar and R. Stephen Humphreys, have tried to connect it to the sheer number of art objects that were being produced for both the upper and middle classes, including the wealthier *kuttāb* and ulama, and the monuments that were crowding urban space and influencing how people viewed and experienced their cities or used their public areas.[40]

Humphreys and Grabar each used this observation to move in a direction that serves his aims. Humphreys, in a thirty-year-old study that is still quoted today by Islamic architectural historians, used architecture in the city to propose an interpretation of the social dynamics that developed between the Mamluk military elite and their indigenous subjects. He ascribed to the Mamluks, especially in Cairo, a heightened awareness of the role buildings can play in enhancing the reputation of their patrons and in assuring their position in the public eye. He saw in the endless rows of monuments whose façades competed along the streets of Cairo ample proof of that understanding, which he called ″the expressive intent″ of Mamluk architecture. He also detected a ″tension″ between the ostentation and striving for visibility of these monuments and their ostensibly pious and charitable functions, and read it as signifying the merger of the political agenda of the Mamluk military elite and the religious expectations and needs of its Muslim population, at least as it was articulated by the literati whose writing constitute our main source of information. Humphreys singled out other sociopolitical measures effected by the Mamluks, such as the reorganization of the court system under Baybars and the tightening of state control over the ulama class, as other manifestations of the same tension he saw in the architecture between the political and the social and religious forces in the Mamluk society.

Grabar′s purpose was very different. He was seeking to classify and understand Mamluk art and architecture and to highlight the sources useful for their study. In an earlier essay, he had noted a correlation between the level of artistic and

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Dhayl ʻAlayhā, ed. Iḥsān ʻAbbās (Beirut, 1973), 1:242.

[40]Grabar, ″Reflections on Mamluk Art″; Humphreys, ″Expressive Intent of the Mamluk Architecture.″

architectural production all over the Islamic world in the fourteenth century, but especially in the Mamluk sultanate, and the appearance in historical treatises of interpretations that linked the degree of cultural sophistication to sponsorship of art and architecture and interest in city life.[41] He identified Ibn Khaldūn and his distinguished student al-Maqrīzī as the two most prominent protagonists of this correlation, and hailed their two famous works, the *Muqaddimah* of the former and the *Khiṭaṭ* of the latter, as its main illustrations.

This new awareness of the sociological significance of architecture makes its impact felt mostly in the language and orientation of the *masālik wa-al-mamālik* and *khiṭaṭ* books, two interrelated literary genres whose resurgence in the fourteenth century is tied in more than one way to the concurrent interest in architecture and urban development.[42] Traditionally, however, neither *masālik* nor *khiṭaṭ* was primarily concerned with the buildings themselves, their forms and functions, and their intended or perceived messages. *Al-masālik wa-al-mamālik* was essentially a loosely defined *adab* type that was developed out of the combination of several scholarly, literary, and administrative genres including *futūḥ* (chronicles of the conquests), travel and *ziyārāt* (pilgrimage) literature, chancery and *kharāj* (taxation) manuals, and *ṣurat al-arḍ* (cartography).[43] Its framework was geographic, bordering on the cosmographic, with a universalistic Islamic scope that rarely ventured outside the frontiers of the Islamic world. Its heyday was the ninth and tenth centuries when a number of outstanding geographer travelers crisscrossed the Islamic world, compiling their depictions of one Islamic world, after its political unity held together by the Abbasid caliphate had passed. Buildings figured in it primarily as unusual and distinguishing features of a region or city. They would be noted in passing in a fashion akin to the way the natural and supernatural *ʿajāʾib* of a place, including unusual or ancient monuments, were often mentioned.

The startling early victories of the Mamluks against the Crusaders and the Mongols in the thirteenth century reinvigorated the literati and renewed their trust in Islamic political and territorial unity. The *masālik*'s orientation moved toward the geopolitical, a shift exemplified by the seminal work of Ibn Faḍl-Allāh al-ʿUmarī

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[41]Oleg Grabar, "Reflections on the Study of Islamic Art," *Muqarnas* 1 (1983): 1–14, esp.10–11.

[42]This new awareness seems to have affected even the traditional form of *adab* collections. A fascinating example is ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Bahāʾī al-Ghazūlī (d. 1412), *Maṭāliʿ al-Budūr fī Manāzil al-Surūr* (Cairo, 1882), which integrates in an unprecedented way a number of architectural elements, such as fountains, tanks, and wind catchers, in the list of topics that an *adīb* needs to be able to discuss and to summon literary quotations about in his function as a literary companion.

[43]André Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11e siècle* (Paris, 1967–80), 1:267–330; Ulrich Haarmann, "Auflösung und Bewahrung der klassischen Formen," 46–60; idem, review of *Weltgeschichte und Weltbeschreibung im mittelalterlichen Islam,* by Bernd Radtke, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115 (1995): 133–35.

(1301–49), *Masālik al-Abṣār fi Mamālik al-Amṣār,*[44] compiled in the late 1330s when the author was serving as a high administrator at the court of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, including a stint as the sultan′s private secretary *(kātib al-sirr)* between 1329 and 1332. In addition to geographical surveys of the countries of Islam and their immediate neighbors, al-ʻUmarī provides topographic descriptions of important Islamic cities and holy sites and firsthand information on the ceremonies and duties of their rulers and lists of the ranks, functions, and protocols of their officials and caretakers. Buildings in his text are presented in their sociopolitical context as expressions of dynastic and royal pride and splendor and as positive architectural achievements functionally and spatially distinguishing their urban setting. In other words, they are seen as cultural artifacts.

The *khiṭaṭ* form is an almost exclusively Egyptian and significantly more localized genre than the *masālik wa-al-mamālik*. Its cosmocentric focus is often linked to a deep-rooted affinity with Egypt as a homeland which persists in the writing of Egyptian historians from the early Islamic period on.[45] These feelings intensified in medieval times, especially after the establishment of the Fatimid caliphate, which created in Egypt a new and vigorous authority independent of Baghdad.[46] In the *khiṭaṭ* books, they are thought to have found expression in careful and meticulous descriptions of Egypt′s topography, history, and monuments, and particularly Cairo as Egypt's capital and major political, economic, and cultural center. Within this framework, buildings most often appear as urban landmarks examined in the context of their streets and neighborhoods. Their patrons, costs, and circumstances are also noted and their historical significance weighed.

The *khiṭaṭ* genre reached its apogee around the middle of the fifteenth century with Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī′s *Al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*. Composed between 1417 and 1439/40, this magisterial compendium offers the most elaborate and spirited testimony we have of Islamic Egypt's urban history.[47] In his introduction, al-Maqrīzī describes his book as a ″summary of the

[44]Dorothea Krawulsky, introduction to al-ʻUmarī, *Masālik,* 15–37.

[45]The idea that Egypt had a specific character and was a clearly defined entity is the theme of many Egyptian historical and analytical studies. See especially Jamāl Ḥamdān, *Shakhṣīyat Miṣr: Dirāsah fī ʻAbqarīyat al-Makān* (Cairo, 1980–84), passim. More recent studies include Milād Ḥannā, *The Seven Pillars of the Egyptian Identity* (Cairo, 1994); ʻIzzah ʻAlī ʻIzzat, *Al-Shakhṣīyah al-Miṣrīyah fī al-Amthāl al-Shaʻbīyah* (Cairo, 1997); Muḥammad Nuʻmān Jalāl and Majdī Mutawallī, *Hāwiyat Miṣr* (Cairo, 1997); Ṭalʻat Raḍwān and Fatḥī Raḍwān, *Abʻad al-Shakhṣīyah al-Miṣrīyah: Bayna al-Māḍī wa-al-Ḥāḍir* (Cairo, 1999).

[46]Claude Cahen, ″Khiṭaṭ,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 5:22; Jack A. Crabbs, Jr., *The Writing of History in Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (Detroit, 1984), 115–19.

[47]Muḥammad ʻAbd Allāh ʻInān, *Miṣr al-Islāmīyah wa-Tārīkh al-Khiṭaṭ al-Miṣrīyah* (Cairo, 1969), 52–54.

history of the monuments of Egypt from the earliest times, and of the surviving structures in Fusṭāṭ, and the palaces, buildings, and quarters of al-Qāhirah with short biographies of their patrons and sponsors."[48] This is the most straightforward definition of a *khiṭaṭ* book we have and a rather truthful and precise description of the scope of the book, which briefly covers Egyptian cities other than the two capitals, expands its range when it deals with Fusṭāṭ, but reserves the most detailed treatment for Fatimid al-Qāhirah and its Ayyubid and Mamluk extensions. Al-Maqrīzī also presents a concise statement of the reasons behind the writing of the book, the most prominent of which is his filial affection toward his country, his city, and even his *ḥārah* (neighborhood), Ḥārat al-Burjūwān in the heart of Fatimid al-Qāhirah, which had prompted him since his youth to collect every bit of information on its history he came across. Miṣr (in this context probably meaning both the country and the city) was, according to him, "place of my birth, playground of my mates, nexus of my society and clan, home to my family and public, the bosom where I acquired my wings, and the niche I seek and yearn for."[49]

Al-Maqrīzī's method was influenced by the sociohistorical theories of his revered teacher, the great Ibn Khaldūn, with whom he studied for a long time.[50] The overarching cycle of the rise and fall of dynasties that formed the basis of Ibn Khaldūn's hermeneutical framework in explaining historical process seems also to have informed al-Maqrīzī's thinking and structuring of his *Khiṭaṭ,* albeit indirectly.[51] Al-Maqrīzī seems to have subsumed the Khaldunian structure in his text as a way of classifying and understanding the vast amount of historical, topographic, and architectural material he had collected over the years. He seems to have devised an analogous cycle of prosperity and urban expansion followed by decay and urban contraction to frame his exposition of the fate of Cairo under the successive dynasties that governed Egypt in the Islamic era: the Tulunids, Ikhshidids, Fatimids, Ayyubids, and Qalawunid and Circassian Mamluks. The political fortune of each of these dynasties or families is plotted against the fluctuations of the urban and

[48]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:2–3.

[49]Ibid., 1:2.

[50]Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-A'yān al-Mufīdah,* ed. A. Darwīsh and M. al-Maṣrī (Damascus, 1995), 2:63, 193; idem, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:50, 2:76, for the passages directly copied from Ibn Khaldūn's dictation, and bearing dates spanning more than ten years.

[51]The influence of Ibn Khaldūn's interpretive framework is evident in a number of short thematic books by al-Maqrīzī, such as his treatise on the calamity of the early fifteenth century, *Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah,* and his analysis of the rivalry between the Umayyads and the Abbasids, *Al-Nizā' wa-al-Takhāṣum fīmā bayna Banī Ummayah wa-Banī Hāshim.* See M. Muṣṭafá Ziyādah, "Tārīkh Ḥayāt al-Maqrīzī," in *Dirāsāt 'an al-Maqrīzī: Majmū'at Abḥāth,* ed. M. Ziyādah et al. (Cairo, 1971), 13–22; see also Adel Allouche, *Mamluk Economics: A Study and Translation of al-Maqrīzī's Ighāthah* (Salt Lake City, 1994).

architectural prosperity of Cairo in a way that echoes the Khaldunian cyclical view of human history.[52]

In this recursive scheme, architecture constituted the visual, palpable, and measurable signifier of every stage in the historical cycle of the rise and fall of Cairo. Buildings, streets, the entire city, and the whole country were analyzed and meticulously described by al-Maqrīzī, not only because they embodied the obviously idealized past but also because they narrated through their particular architectural and urban forms the history of Egypt under its various rulers. Al-Maqrīzī's work, under the combined impact of his passionate attachment to his city and the theoretical framework he absorbed from his teacher, is an idiosyncratically melancholy and culturally-oriented architectural and urban history which introduces a new role for architecture as the agency of both personal memories and collective aspirations. Such a powerful evocation of the meaning of architecture will not again be articulated as purposefully as al-Maqrīzī did until Victor Hugo wrote the celebrated chapter "Ceçi Tuera Cela" for his medieval novel, *Notre Dâme de Paris,* published in 1832, to convey the role of architecture as the carrier of meaning for historical cultures.[53]

With al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ,* we reach the most elaborate exploration into history writing through the chronicling of buildings and topography that remains an exception in Mamluk historiography. Although the book was copied and abridged numerous times by later Mamluk and Ottoman historians, as evidenced by its more than 185 extant manuscripts, no later Mamluk historian seems to have managed to absorb the method adopted by al-Maqrīzī from Ibn Khaldūn or to capture the mood and intensity displayed in al-Maqrīzī's text. Mamluk historians continued to produce books on urban and architectural history, such as al-Suyūṭī's *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah fī Tārīkh Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* or Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī's (and not Ibn Ẓāhirah as the published book asserts)[54] *Al-Faḍā'il al-Bāhirah fī Maḥāsin Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* or Ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī's *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik wa-Bayān al-Ṭuruq wa-al-Masālik*. But although they all show an understanding of the sociocultural significance of architecture, they all revert to older methods or frameworks, such as that of *faḍā'il,* or the *masālik* format, or the classificatory listings of early *khiṭaṭ* books with no underlying historical or cultural interpretations.

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[52]The most clearly structured cycles are those of Tulunid al-Qaṭā'i' and Fatimid Cairo, al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:313–26 and 360–65 respectively.

[53]Victor Hugo, "Ceçi Tuera Cela," Livre Cinquième, pt. 2., *Notre Dâme de Paris* (Paris, 1830–32).

[54]As convincingly argued by Haarmann, "Al-Maqrīzī, the Master, and Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī, the Disciple," 154–55. Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī's predilection for architecture and urbanism characterizes most of his work. See, for instance, his short treatise, *Al-Fawā'id al-Nafīsah al-Bāhirah fī Bayān Ḥukm Shawāri' al-Qāhirah fī Madhāhib al-A'immah al-Arba'ah al-Ẓāhirah,* ed. Amāl al-'Umarī (Cairo, 1988).

Conclusion

This essay has attempted to articulate and contextualize the perception of architecture as gleaned from the Mamluk historical sources. For modern historians and architectural historians dealing with these sources, the findings presented here raise a number of methodological and historiographical questions.[55] The formidable architectural production of the Mamluk period suggests that architecture played a substantial role in the display, articulation, assertion, transfer, and symbolizing of wealth, social status, and perhaps other values as well. Most historians and architectural historians normally begin their analysis with this observation and ″read″ the architecture itself—and more readily its inscriptions—for clues about its significance to its society. They then scout the sources to confirm or further their formulations, glossing over the elementary fact that these sources do not necessarily represent common attitudes toward architecture in the Mamluk society at large. This oversight has led to a variety of sometimes conflicting, sometimes impressionistic interpretations, many of which rest on thin historical conjecture, which has prompted some observers to question the validity of the entire exercise of searching for architectural meaning.[56]

Before using the sources for interpreting the meaning of architecture for Mamluk society, one must first understand their peculiarities and commonalities. For, aside from individual quirks, these sources essentially reflect the collective background, education, and social manipulations of their authors and, to a lesser extent, their readers, both of whom were almost certainly restricted to members of the educated classes. What they really and clearly tell us is that, for this influential and vocal group in Mamluk society, architecture was mainly thought of as a tool of political and personal propaganda and of legal and financial gain, as a source of complaint and employment, and perhaps of entertaining anecdotes. But it was puzzling aesthetically and almost meaningless symbolically. The few exceptional observers—ʻAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, Ibn Shaddād, Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʻUmarī, al-Maqrīzī, and Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī—added primarily sociocultural and historical dimensions to the meaning of architecture, but their dealing with it remained

[55]Some, of course, reject the whole historical method and emphasize the particularity of Islam as a religion in endowing all of its art and architecture with somewhat suprahistorical, spiritual, and esoteric qualities. For a discussion of this demarche with an emphasis on the Mamluk period see Aly Gabr, ″The Traditional Process of the Production of Medieval Muslim Art and Architecture: With Special Reference to the Mamluk Period,″ *Edinburgh Architectural Research* 20 (1993): 133–59.

[56]Bloom, ″Mamluk Art and Architectural History,″ 40, dropped the whole issue by exclaiming, ″It remains to be proven that Mamluk builders gave a hoot about symbolic meaning.″ I am not sure whether he meant ″builders″ specifically or was referring to the entire Mamluk society.

essentially textual, literal, and unarchitectural. Al-Maqrīzī is obviously a special case. Although he too did not proffer an ″architectural″ understanding of architecture as we conceive of it today, his ingenious induction of the elements of the built environment as historical indices in the service of his overall interpretation of the history of Egypt put him in a class by himself. But this methodological innovation is not why he is usually consulted by modern historians. The exceptional historians otherwise did not really break rank with their social support group, the literati, either intellectually or politically, and therefore cannot be seen as representing a fundamentally different take on the meaning of architecture as seen from their vantage point.

This condition colors all modern explanations of Mamluk architecture which perforce have had to go through the prism of the sources before reaching their conclusions. Thus, we know practically nothing about the views of the architects (or master builders), or the general population for that matter, simply because their voices are never heard in the sources.[57] Conversely, the patrons—either members of the ruling Mamluk class or, to a lesser degree, wealthy merchants and ulama—appear to have played a major or defining role in the conception of architecture and its eventual signification and appreciation. They are not only said to have contributed to the design and decoration of the buildings they commissioned,[58] but they are also presented as the ones whose tastes, attitudes, and preferences habitually gave architecture its extra-artistic and extra-functional significance. Therefore, one could argue that the widespread and accepted scholarly assumption of today that Mamluk architecture should be understood primarily through the roles, aspirations, and circumstances of its patrons is predicated on the peculiar structures and limitations of the sources, as well as on the complex relationships that their authors, as individuals but primarily as social groups, had with the Mamluk elite. Elementary as it might seem, this conclusion helps us keep in mind that, although our views on the signification of Mamluk architecture are tilted toward a large role for the Mamluk ruling class, this bias is intrinsically sustained and probably exaggerated by none other than their sometime satisfied, sometime disgruntled interpreters, the Mamluk historians.[59]

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[57]See my interpretation in ″Architects and Artists in Mamluk Society: The Perspective of the Sources,″ 30–37.

[58]Behrens-Abouseif, ″Muhandis,″ 293–95, reminds us that many early Mamluk patrons, most notably al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, played a direct role in the design of the buildings they sponsored.

[59]I am here obviously pushing Ulrich Haarmann's salient observation about the presumed objectivity of the sources to locate their subjectivity in their collective mindset and their complicated relationships to the Mamluk elite. See Haarmann, ″Al-Maqrīzī, the Master, and Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī, the Disciple,″ 150. See my full argument on the problem of representation in Mamluk sources in general in ″Representing the Mamluks in Mamluk Historical Writing.″

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Qāytbāy´s Diplomatic Dilemma Concerning the Flight of Cem Sultan (1481–82)

In the spring of 1482, for the second time in as many years, the forces mustered in Anatolia by the Ottoman prince Cem Sultan proved inadequate to wrest the throne from his brother Bayezid. The defeated prince took to flight, eventually finding refuge with the Knights of St. John at Rhodes. His subsequent career as a pawn of European diplomacy, a cudgel with which various Christian potentates could threaten Bayezid into good behavior, is of course of great interest to those studying the dynamics of Ottoman-Latin relations and, indirectly, to the historian of the Mamluks. In the increasingly complex world of Eastern Mediterranean diplomacy, few events were of purely bilateral interest.

It is not Cem´s European career, however, that we shall concern ourselves with in this article, but rather the events of the preceding year. For in the events of fall 1481 through spring 1482 lay what may well have been the final, crowning insult in the steady deterioration of relations between Istanbul and Cairo—the refuge given by the Mamluk sultan Qāytbāy to Cem Sultan after his first defeat.

Contrary to the interpretation of historians such as Gaston Wiet,[1] relations had hardly been cordial in the immediately preceding years. Propinquity always seemed to strain relations, and as far back as the reign of Yıldırım Bayezid I (1389–1402), whose conquests in Anatolia brought the frontiers of the two states ever closer, Cairo had looked with some concern at the activities of their parvenu neighbor. The westward shift of the Ottoman frontier following Tamerlane´s invasion had contributed to a renewal of a distant cordiality, but in the third quarter of the fifteenth century relations were again showing signs of tension. Long gone was the fraternal good feeling that prevailed in the days of Murad II (1421–1451) and Jaqmaq. Although Sultan Īnāl sent a message of pious congratulation to Fâtih Mehmed II (1451–81) on the conquest of Constantinople, that very event can be seen as having marked the beginning of the renewed deterioration; the old power watched warily as Mehmed enjoyed continuing success, and the frontiers of the two states again drifted closer. Their mutual suspicion was played out in a struggle to establish influence over the Dulgadır, one of the last of the semi-independent

[1]See, for example, his ˝Deux princes ottomans à la cour d´Égypte,˝ *Bulletin de l´Institute égyptien* 20 (1938): 138–39.

buffer states. They did for some time cooperate on the matter of the Karamanids, whom each seemed to regard as a nuisance, but even this cooperation had evaporated, and the last Karamanid prince, Kasım Bey, was living in exile in İçel, on the western fringe of Mamluk-controlled Cilicia.[2]

We shall never be able to know with certainty the ultimate target of Mehmed′s final campaign as he headed east into Anatolia in the spring of 1481. Perhaps he was renewing his assault on the Hospitallers at Rhodes, but his biographer Tursun Bey asserts that he had decided finally to deal with the Mamluks, and at least one modern biographer agrees.[3] On May 3, after a short illness, the Conqueror died at Gebze.

The lack of any clear guidance for political succession, let alone a principle of primogeniture in Islamic law, had contributed to chaos and civil war in Islamic polities since the murder of the caliph ʿUthmān in 656, and the similar lack of these principles in the Turkic tradition, combined with the practice of distributing territories to family members as appanage, only served to exacerbate the problem in Turco-Islamic lands. The Ottomans had, of course, established a practice of fratricide, by which the son who, upon the death of his father, first reached the capital and secured the support of key elements in the ruling elite would have all his brothers put to death without delay. The practice can be traced to Bayezid I, who had his brother Yakup murdered following his father′s death at Kossovo; it was, however, Mehmed II who had it codified, making it not only permissible but praiseworthy or even obligatory as a means to avoid political unrest.[4]

The key to survival, then, if you were a royal prince, was to secure the support of the high military and administrative officers, preferably even before the old sultan died, and to bolster that position by being on the spot as quickly as possible after his death. Complicating the matter was that royal princes were routinely sent

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[2]The exact administrative status of the towns of the western end of Cilicia (Cilicia Trachea or Turk. İçel) at this time is ambiguous, but Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Sulṭān al-Ẓāhirī (*Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik wa-Bayān al-Ṭuruq wa-al-Masālik,* ed. P. Ravisse [1893; reprint, Cairo, 1988], 50) states clearly that Mersin and Tarsus at least were dependencies of Aleppo; Popper, however, seems to place Mersin outside Mamluk territory (see *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382–1468 A.D.: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrî Birdî′s Chronicles of Egypt*, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, vols. 15–16 [Berkeley, 1955–57], 15:11, 17, 51, map 2, 18).

[3]*The History of Mehmed the Conqueror,* edited and translated by Halil İnalcık and Rhoads Murphey, American Research Institute in Turkey Monograph Series, no. 1 (Minneapolis and Chicago, 1978), 156b; Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time,* translated by Ralph Manheim (Princeton, 1978), 402–3.

[4]See Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror*, 65–66, and A. D. Alderson, *The Structure of the Ottoman Dynasty* (Oxford, 1956), 25–26, who says that Mehmed′s ″Law of Fratricide″ was ″supported by references to the Koran and the authority of the ulema.″

out, from adolescence on, to learn the business of government by serving as provincial governors. It was, in consequence, advantageous to have a gubernatorial assignment fairly close to the capital.

Mehmed's death, as we have seen, was rather sudden. Barely fifty, he was apparently well enough to set out on campaign, only to fall ill and die soon after his departure. His two surviving sons, Bayezid and Cem, had been assigned to Amasya and Karaman respectively. Upon the sultan's death, a revolt at Istanbul among the janissaries was capped by the murder of the grand vizier Karamanî Mehmed, a partisan of Cem; the janissaries, who were mostly supporters of Bayezid, clamored for calling their favorite in from Amasya. The acting grand vizier, no doubt eager to avoid the fate of his predecessor, did everything to expedite Bayezid's return; in the meantime, Bayezid's son Korkud was temporarily placed on the throne. With this support, Bayezid arrived and took the throne, probably around 27 Rabīʻ I/26 May; his brother Cem, who had considerable support among the old Turkish element, was still well out of the way, in Karaman.

If Cem's posting had made it impossible to secure his position at Istanbul upon Mehmed's death, it also afforded him a natural base of power from which to contend with his brother for the throne. He had apparently proposed to Bayezid that they divide the empire between them.[5] This proposal Bayezid not unexpectedly rejected, and Cem must have known what to expect, for his father's "fratricide" decree was quite explicit. He was clearly not prepared to calmly await the summons to the capital and the inevitable bowstring, and he seems to have had the support of both Ottoman and Karamanid elements. What happened next has been the subject of much embellishment and controversy. One early account, short on detail but also relatively free of later accretion, is that of the historian Oruç:

> After [Mehmed's death and the rioting of the janissaries], Bayezid took the throne on Saturday, 19 Rabīʻ I 886 [18 May 1481]. He sat for a few days and then sent the Beylerbeg of Rumelia to Sofia.
>
> On his side, Cem Sultan, having seated himself on the throne of Karaman and having listened to the advice of some political intriguers *(bir kaç müfsidler sözüne uyup),* set out with his army. He reached Bursa, seized the treasury there, and settled in. Bayezid heard this news, ordered Gedik Ahmed Paşa in from Apulia [where he had been campaigning], and gathered the army. With the janissaries and the *kapıkulları* he set out from Istanbul, and [the two armies] met at Yenişehir. There was a battle and many men died. In the end Cem Sultan's army fled to Bursa, and Cem himself

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[5]Halil İnalcık, "Djem," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 2:529.

> went back to Karaman. Sultan Bayezid came after him. Cem abandoned Karaman and fled to Egypt. From there he went to the Hejaz.
>
> Sultan Bayezid brought the army back to Gedik Ahmed, and sent him to Karaman. . . . Gedik Ahmed conquered the section of Karaman of the Dış Varsak.
>
> For his part, Cem Sultan, returning from the Hejaz, again arrived in Karaman. With the agreement of the Varsak and Turgut tribes, and [some] tribal chieftains, he again fought with Sultan Bayezid. Cem was unable to stand up to Bayezid and was defeated. He fled, taking to the sea. He reached the land of the Franks.[6]

While there are the usual slight discrepancies concerning the chronology, the battle of Yenişehir took place on or about 22 Rabīʻ II/20 June.[7] After the battle the victorious Bayezid returned to Istanbul to reassume the throne, which had temporarily been assigned to Korkud as regent until a clear victor should emerge.[8]

Cem, for his part, fled first to Konya, where he gathered up his family, and then fled south. (Indeed, Cem brought his mother with him; she remained at Cairo when he embarked on his further adventures, and died there in 1498, surviving her son by some four years.)[9] Most sources that mention his route at all speak of him going from Konya to Tarsus, which would involve passing either by way of Gülek or Mut-Silifke. The former seems to be suggested by the *Vaki′at-i Sultan Cem*, which speaks of him crossing the Bolkar Range of the Taurus.[10] At Tarsus he was greeted by Kasım Bey, and thence proceeded to Adana and Antioch.

The fugitive prince and the Mamluk sultan now entered into negotiations, probably with the atabeg of Aleppo, Özbeg, acting as an intermediary. Again, establishing a chronology is a bit difficult. The date given by Wiet, April 1481,[11] is obviously wrong. The Damascene Ibn Ṭūlūn reports that by 22 Jumādá I/19 July Cem had received permission the cross the frontier and was already at

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[6]Oruç, *Die frühosmanischen Jahrbücher des Urudsch,* ed. Franz Babinger, Quellenwerke des Islamischen Schrifttums, vol. 2 (Hannover, 1925), 131–32; *Oruç Beg tarihi,* prepared by Nihal Atsız, Tercüman 1001 Temel Eser, vol. 5 ([Istanbul], 1972), 129–30.

[7]*Vaki′at-i Sultan Cem*, ed. Mehmed Arif ([Istanbul], 1330/[1914]), 2.

[8]Sydney Nettleton Fisher, *Foreign Relations of Turkey: 1481–1512*, Illinois Studies on the Social Sciences, vol. 1, no. 1 (Urbana, Illinois, 1948), 17–19.

[9]Gaston Wiet, ″Refugiés politiques ottomans en Égypte,″ *Arabica* 1 (1954): 261.

[10]*Vaki′at-i Sultan Cem*, 3. This would seem to be an odd choice, since it involved a much longer journey before he crossed the mountains and got out of reach of his pursuers.

[11]Wiet, ″Deux princes ottomans,″ 139.

Damascus.[12] Ibn Iyās, on the other hand, tells us that only in Jumādá II, that is to say 28 July at the earliest, did word of the battle of Yenişehir and of Cem′s arrival at the frontier even reach Cairo.[13] While this might at first seem an improbably long delay, it is in part corroborated by what we learn from the *Vaki′at,* which reports that Cem reached Aleppo on 22 Jumādá I (19 July), where he met with Özbeg.[14] The latter, we may gather from Ibn Iyās, then reported to Cairo.

It would have been interesting to be privy to the deliberations that summer among Qāytbāy and his amirs, for the situation was delicate, and called for the nicest sort of political judgment. To admit Cem would almost certainly offend Bayezid and provide him, if he wanted one, with a *casus belli.* There had been trouble before over fugitives, and Cem was no paltry rebellious governor or amir, but rather a pretender who was a direct threat to Bayezid′s throne and life. How should such a fugitive, or any fugitive, be treated?

Within the context of contemporary political theory there is some guidance on the matter. In his short treatise on geography and administration, al-Ẓāhirī devotes some space to how the Muslim sovereign should deal with fugitives:

> The sovereign should not allow a fugitive from a neighboring monarch to become an intimate, and should not disclose confidential matters to him, but rather should honor him and keep him at a distance.
>
> If the fugitive comes from a monarch in a state of enmity with the sovereign, one of two possibilities is true: either the fugitive is lacking in loyalty, having not perceived the loyalty he owed to his master; or there is some deception, so that he might obtain information about the kingdom, and communicate it to the monarch he supposedly fled; perhaps, indeed, he will sow dissatisfaction among the troops.
>
> If the fugitive comes from a monarch friendly with the sovereign, he should be kept at a distance out of concern for the sensibilities of the monarch from whom he has fled. If the fugitive has a death sentence hanging over him when he seeks refuge, the words of the commander of the faithful come forward: ″Beware that you not obstruct the punishments of God.″ And if he has committed some [other, lesser] crime, and has asked forgiveness for it, it is fitting

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[12] *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 1962), 1:43.

[13] Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo and Wiesbaden, 1982–84), 3:183.

[14] *Vaki′at-i Sultan Cem,* 4.

> that the sovereign should intercede and seek to return him to his master.[15]

The gist of this curious and paradoxical advice is that while it is a mistake for the sovereign to associate too closely with any fugitive, it is the fugitive from a friendly neighbor who perhaps merits favor. Cem certainly had a death sentence hanging over him, but one that derived not from any rigid principle of Holy Law, but from a peculiarity of Ottoman dynastic tradition, codified by Mehmed (and confirmed by *fatwá* from the Ottoman ulama, whose authority the Mamluk sultan was hardly obliged to accept). In such a case, Qāytbāy was under some obligation to intercede on the fugitive′s behalf, to attempt to effect some sort of reconciliation.

In the end it was decided to allow Cem to cross the frontier (which technically he had already done) and to be brought to Cairo ″with a few of his men″ *(fī qalīl min ʻaskarih),*[16] although these ″few″ may have amounted to about one hundred men.[17] Qāytbāy clearly did not want to be seen giving refuge within his frontiers to a whole rebel army, merely, as was fitting, to an Ottoman prince. Meanwhile, preparations were begun at Cairo for Cem′s arrival.

The pace of Cem′s entourage south through Syria was a leisurely one; either Cem himself felt no urgent need to get to his audience with Qāytbāy, or Cairo had arranged that his trip be a slow one to allow time to prepare his reception and, no doubt, to define their policies further. Between his arrival at Aleppo and his arrival at Damascus a full month had elapsed, although in part this delay may be owing to the fact that he and many of his entourage had fallen ill. Arriving in Damascus 25 Jumādá II/21 August, he tarried there at least a week, but probably more. Everywhere he went the local officials greeted him warmly and honored him in various ceremonies. He left Damascus around 3 Rajab/28 August, reaching Jerusalem 13 Rajab/7 September.[18] Traveling thence via Gaza, he finally arrived at Cairo in Shaʻbān (i.e., the last week of September at the earliest).[19]

Even upon his arrival at Cairo Cem did not immediately meet with the sultan. First came more receptions and feasts with the various Mamluk amirs. Finally, in a lavish procession he was led up to the citadel. There in the courtyard he finally met with Qāytbāy. The sultan greeted his guest warmly, and showered him with a variety of gifts, including a lavish robe, but pointedly did not stand when receiving

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[15]Al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdah,* 60–61.

[16]Oruç, *Jahrbücher,* 131–32; İnalcık, ″Djem," 529.

[17]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-Khillān,* 1:43.

[18]Wiet, ″Deux princes ottomans,″ 139–41; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *.Mufākahat al-Khillān,* 1:43; *Vaki′at-i Sultan Cem,* 4.

[19]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr,* 3:185; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *.Mufākahat al-Khillān,* 1:47; *Vaki′at-i Sultan Cem*, 4.

him. This was a marked breach of protocol, but Qāytbāy clearly had no intention of further antagonizing Bayezid by treating his wayward brother as he would a fellow sovereign.[20] At least at this juncture Qāytbāy seems not to have decided to back Cem′s claims to the Ottoman throne.

Cem was lodged at the house of Ibn Julūd, the *kātib al-mamālīk* (a civilian official, not one of the Mamluk military aristocracy). In the following two months he attended a round of social functions (he was an honored guest when the *kātib al-sirr*—the ″confidential secretary,″ another civilian official—celebrated the circumcision of his sons), culminating with the *ʻīd* celebration marking the end of the Ramaḍān fast (23 November 1481), which he observed with Qāytbāy at the citadel in the company of the great amirs.[21]

Shortly thereafter Cem asked for the sultan′s leave to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Cities. Not only did Qāytbāy give his permission for the trip, but he gave Cem and his entourage a lavish send-off as well, and provided him with funds for his pious journey.[22] Cem′s departure for the Hejaz must actually have been a bit of a relief for Qāytbāy. It gave him and his amirs more time to consider the situation and what needed to be done next with their awkward guest.[23] Now no decision had to be made immediately: Cem was, after all, not a fugitive at all, but rather a Muslim prince whom they received as he passed through their lands in fulfillment of a religious duty. Who was Qāytbāy to interfere with such a mission? The hard decisions could be put off until later.

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[20]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr,* 3:185. Ibn Iyās′s account is not quite consistant with that of the *Vaki′at-i Sultan Cem,* where we are told that there was ″handshaking and embracing″ between the two (musafaha ve mu′anaka idüb); but Qāytbāy does seem to stop short of recognizing Cem as a fellow sovereign, referring to him as ″my son″ *(oğlum)* rather than ″my brother.″

[21] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr,* 3:185–87, 189; *Vaki′at-i Sultan Cem*, 4. On the status of the *kātib al-mamālīk* and the *kātib al-sirr*, see Popper, *Notes to Ibn Taghrî Birdî′s Chronicles*, 15:97, 100.

[22]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr,* 3:190.

[23]Although Ibn Iyās says somewhat enigmatically that Qāytbāy had ″made up his mind about Cem″ (ʻazima al-sulṭān ʻalá al-Jumjumah). *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr,* 3:187.

Up to this point, there is little disagreement among our sources about what happened, although many of the major Ottoman sources gloss over or fail entirely to mention Cem′s initial stay in Egypt.[24] While in the Hejaz he seems to have devoted himself to the usual activities of a pilgrim.

Shortly after his return from the hajj in Muḥarram 887/February-March 1482 Cem began to make it clear that he was determined to return to Anatolia to make another bid for the throne. This decision he discussed at a meeting, or several meetings, with Qāytbāy and his inner circle.[25] Ibn Iyās is vague about what had brought about this new resolve; he merely tells us that ″Cem grew restless with his stay at Cairo and sought to return to his country to make war on his brother.″[26] On this point the Ottoman sources, with the exception of Oruç and the Anonymous *Tevarih*, tell us more, and both the *Vaki′at* and the broader chronicles are in agreement. The entreaties of some Anatolian beys, especially of Karamanoğlu Kasım Bey from his own place of exile in İçel, seem to have convinced Cem that he had sufficient support for such a gamble.[27]

These audiences were to affect in the most serious fashion Mamluk relations with Bayezid and his successor, and it is, naturally, over the question of what happened as Cem pleaded his case before Qāytbāy that our sources diverge wildly and significantly. The Mamluk sultan had several possible courses of action:

> *a*. he could have Cem seized and returned to Istanbul, where the bowstring almost certainly awaited him. Such an action would surely please Bayezid, and probably would have resulted in a temporary improvement in relations; perhaps it would have forestalled the war that was to come. The long-term effects are

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[24]Of the two manuscripts of Neşri reproduced in facsimile by Taeschner, one, the cod. Manzel, merely says that Cem went to Egypt and thence towards Mecca; the other, the cod. Manisa, omits mention of an initial visit to Egypt at all (*Ğihannümā, die altosmanische Chronik des Mevlana Meḥemmed Neschri,* ed. Franz Taeschner [Leipzig, 1951], 1:221, 2:312), as does Aşıkpaşazade (*Die altosmanische Chronik des Ašıkpašazade,* ed. Friedrich Giese [Leipzig, 1929], 184). The anonymous Ottoman chronicle (*Die altosmanischen anonymen Chroniken ″Tevārīḫ-i Āl-i ʻOs̱mān,″* ed. and trans. Friedrich Giese [Breslau and Leipzig, 1922–25], 1:116–17, translation 2:154–55) makes no mention at all of what Cem did between being driven off in 1481 and the renewal of his campaign in 1482, while Oruç merely says that Cem ″left Karaman and went to Egypt. From there he reached the Hejaz.″ A detailed account of Cem′s pilgrimage does appear in *Vaki′at-i Sultan Cem*, 4–5.

[25]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr,* 3:187.

[26]″Wa-fīhi [Muḥarram 887] taqallaqa Jumjumah ibn ʻUthmān min iqāmatihi bi-Miṣr, wa-ṭalaba al-tawajjuh ilá bilādihi li-yuḥāriba akhīhi [*sic*].″ *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr,* 3:192.

[27]*Vaki′at-i Sultan Cem,* 5; Aşıkpaşazade, *Chronik*, 185; Neşri, *Ğihannümā,* 1:121, 2:313. Also see Fisher, *Foreign Relations,* 25–26.

harder to surmise: in the ″what have you done for us lately?″ atmosphere of international politics, favors (though not offenses) are often soon forgotten.

b. he could keep Cem as his more or less permanent guest, under house arrest. This would have given Qāytbāy a tool in future dealings with the Ottomans. The implicit threat of unleashing Cem at the head of an army might have allowed Qāytbāy to get Bayezid to do Cairo′s bidding in affairs of common concern, and later Latin Christendom would, quite effectively, use Cem in such a fashion when he subsequently became their prisoner. But again the short-term benefits are few, and are offset by the potential of bitter retribution once assassination or natural causes deprived them of their pawn.

c. he could step back and let Cem do as he pleased. Such a course would perhaps have been most in keeping with a policy of neutrality. Neutrality, however, is seldom appreciated by either antagonist.

d. he could, as Cem was certainly urging him to do, send back the fugitive with material support to help him claim the throne. This would be the riskiest policy with a very substantial possible reward: an Ottoman sovereign who owed them his throne. But again, as with the first option, the life-expectancy of the memory of such favors is notoriously short.

In short, Cem had placed Qāytbāy in a quandary. No course of action promised long-term rewards, and some presented definite immediate and long-term hazards.

Some modern scholarship tends towards the belief that Qāytbāy threw his backing behind Cem. Qāytbāy, we are told, not only gave Cem 40,000 ducats for expenses, but furnished him as well with several thousand soldiers. He further sent orders to the governors of Aleppo and Damascus that they should offer Cem similar assistance.[28] The modern source of this story would seem to be Louis Thuasne′s biography of Cem.[29]

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[28]Fisher, *Foreign Relations*, 26; Halil Edhem, ″Hersekoğlu Ahmed Paşa′nın esaretine dair Kahire′de bir kitabe,″ *Tarih-i osmani encümen-i mecmuası* 5 (1914): 204.

[29]″. . . il y fut encouragé par Qaitbay qui voyait avec plaisir les dissensions intestines affaiblir un puissant Etat voisin du sien; aussi engagea-t-il le prétendant à marcher ′où la gloire l′appelait,′ et lui fournait de l′argent et des troupes. Il lui donna quarante mille ducats, deux mille esclaves et quelques places fortes sur les confins du pays de Karamanie. Suivant l′example de leur maître, les gouverneurs de Damas et d′Alep lui remirent chacun dix mille ducats, ainsi qu′une solde à tous ceux qui s′engageaient à servir sous lui.″ *Djem-Sultan: Étude sur la question d′Orient à la fin du XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1892), 51–52.

Such an interpretation seems in part to be corroborated by contemporary Mamluk historians. Qāytbāy, we are told by the Damascene Ibn Ṭūlūn, equipped Cem and gave him material support against his brother, so that he might wrest the throne from him. He later amends this, however, to say that while Qāytbāy bestowed gifts on Cem and gave him what was appropriate for monarchs, it was said that he was actually trying to act as an intermediary of peace between Cem and Bayezid.[30]

While there is little doubt that Thuasne was true to his sources, it is curious that contemporary Ottoman sources—those written in the time of and for Bayezid, sources with little incentive to gloss over the transgressions and provocations of the Mamluks—make no mention of either the meeting or of the supposed aid offered by Qāytbāy. Both Neşri and Aşıkpaşazade merely tell us that, leaving his mother at Cairo, Cem went north to Adana.[31] Oruç, as mentioned above, again makes no mention of Qāytbāy′s attitudes or actions, and simply says that Cem ″came back from Egypt and went again to Karaman.″[32] Those who believe in Qāytbāy′s complicity might argue that the brevity of these works would dictate omission of such detail. But the complicity of the most powerful ruler in the Islamic Eastern Mediterranean could hardly be viewed as trivial and unworthy of comment, especially by those who, as I have said, had every reason to point out outrageous conduct by the Mamluk sultan. There is even an alternate tradition, passed on in some manuscripts of Aşıkpaşazade, which says that when Cem went to Egypt the Mamluk sultan ″showed him no regard,″ and that Bayezid later complained ″How strange that the Egyptian showed no friendship with my father, has begun to show hostility towards me, and above all because of them my brother has become prisoner of the infidel!″[33]

Those who would claim some sort of complicity on Qāytbāy′s part need furthermore to get around the account of Ibn Iyās, the one chronicler who doubtless had first-hand knowledge of the events at court.[34] Not only is Qāytbāy′s conduct blameless in his account, it seems quite laudable:

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[30]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-Khillān,* 1:47, 53.

[31]Neşri, *Ğihannümā,* 1:222, 2:313; Aşıkpaşazade, *Chronik*, 185.

[32]Oruç, *Jahrbücher*, 130–31; *Oruç Beg tarihi*, 129–30.

[33]″Ol vakıt sultan al-mücahidîn Sultan Mehmed Khan Gazi Allah rahmetine kostu oğlu Bayezid Khan padişah oldu karındaşı Cem Sultan kaçtı Mısır′a vardı Mısır sultanı itibar etmedi Mekke′ye gitti Mısırlı Ka′ba′da oturmağa komadı Mısır′a getirdi Mısır′da dahi komadılar Cem dahi başını aldı kâfir vilayetine girdi. Sultan Bayezid eder: Ne aceb bu Mısırlı babamla dostluk etmediler benimle dahi adavete başladılar hususa ki onların sebebinden karındaşım kâfire esir oldu dedi.″ Aşıkpaşazade, *Chronik*, 225.

[34]Ibn Iyās was in his mid-thirties at the time, and was very close to many high-ranking amirs. See W. Brinner, ″Ibn Iyās,″ in *EI*^{2}, 3:812–13. Even if he was not an eyewitness to the meeting, his sources of information concerning the proceedings should have been very good indeed.

> In [Muḥarram 887/February-March 1482] Cem grew restless of his stay in Cairo, and sought permission [to return] to his own country to war against his brother. Qāytbāy gathered the amirs to consult them on the matter; then he had Cem brought in to speak at length with the amirs. The atabeg Özbeg verbally abused Cem, but Cem would not abandon his wish to return home. After the matter was discussed at great length between Cem and the amirs, Qāytbāy adjourned the meeting, having only grudgingly *(ʿalá karh minhā)* given Cem permission to depart.[35]

From Ibn Iyās's account, not only had Qāytbāy not decided to throw his support behind Cem's bid to claim the Ottoman throne, but he had in fact tried to dissuade him from this course. Nor do his commanders and his advisers show any approval. The only one Ibn Iyās mentions specifically, Özbeg (who would, ironically, play a major role in the coming war against the Ottomans), speaks to the Ottoman pretender with rude impertinence. If the sultan or his advisers had any sympathy with Cem's plans or saw any future advantage in them, Ibn Iyās makes no mention of it.

But is this account credible? Certainly Ibn Iyās was in Cairo and the closest of all our sources to the deliberations that winter. Such proximity, however, might also lead him to fabricate an account favorable to his patrons and associates at court. Such is indeed the habit of medieval chroniclers, and caution must rule our judgments. Ibn Iyās was, at the same time, no more to be suspected of such fiddling than his contemporaries among Ottoman historians. They, in fact, were recording not merely the political history of a state, but rather of a dynasty, and hence not just about their patrons' predecessors, but of the ancestors, and hence had greater incentive to protect the reputations of earlier sultans of the house. The biological discontinuity of the Mamluk regime, particularly in its later years,[36] made it less hazardous for the chronicler to criticize the dead. Far from ignoring or excusing the faults of previous sultans, Ibn Iyās often points to them with relish.[37]

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[35] *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr,* 3:192.

[36] During the earlier phase of the Mamluk state many of the more prominent sultans were themselves the offspring of sultans; by the fifteenth century, however, this was more the exception than the rule. Since Barqūq, the only sultan of note who was the biological offspring of a sultan was Barqūq's own son Faraj.

[37] It should be noted, however, that Ibn Iyās was writing this section during the reign of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī (see *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr,* 3:207), who was one of Qāytbāy's mamluks and, one would presume, loyal to the memory of his master. Even so, in a later section Ibn Iyās is highly critical of

Furthermore, the account given in the *Vaki′at-i Sultan Cem,* the author of which was no mere chronicler but a close companion of Cem throughout his life,[38] in large part corroborates that of Ibn Iyās. It relates that at a contentious meeting at which permission was at first refused, Qāytbāy ultimately and grudgingly relents, in effect washing his hands of the matter with the words, ″Someone wishes to come of his own volition, perform the pilgrimage and depart again; how should we prevent him from doing so?″[39]

Setting aside for the moment the question of the reliability of our various sources, we can approach the question of what is likely, knowing what we do of the people involved. Qāytbāy would certainly have liked to see a friend, or at least a debtor, on the Ottoman throne, but such a goal could as easily have been effected by returning the rebel prince to his brother′s justice. None of the sources that claim he helped Cem attribute any credible motive for the preference, although Thuasne speculates that he wished to provoke continued chaos among the Ottomans. The only reason why Cem would be friendlier than Bayezid towards the Mamluks was the strictly after-the-fact one that Qāytbāy had helped him. To assume otherwise would be to propose some sort of trans-Taurine conspiracy between Cem acting as his father′s governor at Karaman and the Mamluks. Such a conspiracy is not wholly out of the question, especially with the mischievous Kasım Bey acting as intermediary, but was it likely? Since no evidence for such a conspiracy exists, we are forced back on the notion that the sole connection between Cem and Qāytbāy would be that Qāytbāy had given Cem help.

Qāytbāy was a skillful politician; he would know that gratitude was a poor basis for international friendship. Nor would he be likely to overestimate Cem′s chances of success, with or without Mamluk support. All in all, the gains to be had if Cem succeeded hardly seem worth the risk of the consequences if he failed—the certain enmity of Bayezid. It would not have been a wise move, and Qāytbāy, as I have pointed out, was no fool.

Qāytbāy would, of course, have given Cem certain provisions. It was only natural to bestow gifts on so august a person, or to provide an impoverished prince with sustenance while he was a guest; and certainly, once Cem had resolved to return to Anatolia, it was not at all inappropriate to give him provisions and an escort for his trip through Syria. But is there any evidence that Qāytbāy, as we are told, furnished Cem with forty thousand ducats and several thousand soldiers, and ordered the governors of Damascus and Aleppo to add to the levy? Such a

al-Ghawrī himself. See Brinner, ″Ibn Iyās,″ 813.

[38]See İnalcık, ″Djem,″ 530.

[39]″Bir kişi kendü ihtiyariyle gelüb hac idüb gine gitmek ister biz ne vechiyle men eyleyelim?″ *Vaki′at-i Sultan Cem*, 5.

commitment to direct involvement would have been a bald act of war. The money, of course, might leave no trail, but if several thousand Mamluks accompanied Cem into Ottoman territory, what became of them? There is no mention, anywhere, of Mamluk survivors from Cem′s subsequent defeat straggling back to Syria, nor mention in any Ottoman sources of Mamluk prisoners in Ottoman hands.[40]

But even if Qāytbāy′s culpability rested only in washing his hands of the affair and allowing Cem to do as he would, this was bad enough. Ibn Iyās says that Qāytbāy, when he heard of the failure of Cem′s second expedition, regretted having let him go in the first place, and the same author later adds that Cem′s departure was ″a capital mistake.″[41] Letting Cem loose, and perhaps even not preventing him, on his way north to Anatolia, from recruiting disaffected Turcomans to his cause, was bound to offend the Ottoman sultan. The matter was made all the more serious when Cem reached Adana. There, we are told by our Ottoman sources, he met with Karamanoğlu Kasım Bey and, shortly later, they were joined by Mehmed Bey, the rebellious *sancakbey* of Ankara.[42] Adana, although nominally the realm of the Ramazanoğulları, was clearly considered Mamluk territory: al-Ẓāhirī lists it as a dependency of Aleppo.[43] There is no evidence that Qāytbāy, or his governor of Aleppo, did anything to stop the conspirators from using Mamluk territory as a staging ground for their campaign against Bayezid. Even if Qāytbāy′s actions can be portrayed as having conformed to some standard of accepted practice, they were, by omission if not by commission, not well-considered. No partisan of any cause appreciates neutrality.

Such was Cem′s subsequent career, moreover, that Bayezid would hardly have been well-disposed towards anyone that had facilitated his brother′s return. Not that Cem had much of a chance of winning on the field: he had little support at court, and his combined army of Turcomans had little chance against his brother′s forces. Having crossed back into Anatolia in the spring of 1482, he was again beaten. He fled now, not back to Egypt, but to the Knights of St. John of the Hospital at Rhodes.

We can only imagine the delight of the Grand Master of the Order when Bayezid arrived. Only two years earlier the Hospitallers had been beleaguered in their island fortress by Mehmed′s troops. Here now was a tool which, if used properly, would ensure their security, and few scruples about offending Bayezid

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[40]Ibn Iyās regularly reports the return of survivors of military disasters. See, for example, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 2:241–43, 341, 3:34–36.

[41]Ibid., 3:195–96.

[42]Aşıkpaşazade, *Chronik*, 185; Neşri, *Ğihannümā,* 1:122, 2:313. The *Vaki′at* makes the offense even more serious—Mehmed Bey and Cem met initially not at Adana, but at Aleppo, and thence proceeded to Adana and their meeting with Kasım Bey.

[43]Al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdah,* 50–51.

restrained them. They did allow themselves to be convinced—for a price—by Bayezid′s envoys to remove Cem to Europe. There he was passed among European princes, the carefully-watched house guest of several courts, until his death in 1495. For Christendom, he was a guarantee of Bayezid′s good behavior; as long as the threat existed that he could be put at the head of an army and sent east to claim his throne, Bayezid dared not raise his hand against the West. For the next twelve years the Ottoman advance against Christendom was halted.[44] With any serious campaigning in Europe precluded, Bayezid had not only the time but now the predisposition to direct his attention against the Mamluks.

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[44]It is in fact the contention of many historians, most notably Fisher (*Foreign Relations*, 27–35), that Cem′s European exile was the primary factor in determining Bayezid′s relations with Western Christendom. Bayezid was, certainly, accommodating until after 1495.

Book Reviews

FĀRIS AḤMAD AL-'ALĀWĪ, *'Ā'ishah al-Bā'ūnīyah al-Dimashqīyah* (Damascus: Dār Mu'add lil-Ṭibā'ah wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī', 1994). Pp. 230.

REVIEWED BY TH. EMIL HOMERIN, University of Rochester

'Ā'ishah al-Bā'ūnīyah is one of the best kept secrets in the history of Arabic literature. Born into a leading Damascene family of judges, Sufis, and litterateurs during the Mamluk era, 'Ā'ishah received an excellent education, specializing in Sufism and poetry. During her lifetime she exchanged poems with members of the scholarly and political elite, and even had an audience with the Mamluk sultan al-Ghawrī shortly before her death in 922/1516. More amazing still is the fact that 'Ā'ishah al-Bā'ūnīyah is one of the few women in pre-modern Islamic history to have written a substantial amount of Arabic poetry and prose. Among her surviving works in manuscript are a Sufi manual, a poetic rendition of a work praising the Prophet by al-Suyūṭī, and two collections of her own poems, including a *takhmīs* of al-Būsīrī's *Al-Burdah*. This latter work probably inspired her two most famous works in praise of the Prophet, her *Al-Mawrid al-Ahná fī al-Mawlid al-Asná,* and her *badī'īyah,* popularly known as *Al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn fī Madḥ al-Amīn,* both of which were published in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Since that time, however, 'Ā'ishah al-Bā'ūnīyah has received little scholarly attention. A few references have been made to her in works of Arab bibliography, while W. A. S. Khalidi gave her a concise entry in the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1:1109–10). A short notice, with a few of her poems, may also be found in 'Umar Farūkh's *Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī* (1984; 3:926–30), though she is absent from the recently published *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature* (1998). Nevertheless, over the years, scholars working in Damascus, especially 'Abd Allāh Mukhliṣ (1941), and Mājid al-Dhahabī and Ṣalāḥ al-Khiyamī (1981), have published a handful of articles calling for renewed attention to her life and writings. Based in large part on their work, Fāris Aḥmad al-'Alāwī has published a new study of the poet, together with editions of her *Al-Mawrid al-Ahná fī al-Mawlid al-Asná* (with the editorial assistance of Lu'ī 'Abd al-Ḥakīm Ghannām) and her *Al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn fī Madḥ al-Amīn.*

Al-'Alāwī's study of the life 'Ā'ishah al-Bā'ūnīyah and her immediate ancestors (11–68) consists largely of quotations and paraphrases of Mamluk chroniclers and biographers, including al-Sakhāwī, Ibn al-Ḥanbalī al-Ḥalabī, and al-Ghazzī. He cites some of her poems found in these sources, pointing out their musical qualities

and ʻĀʼishah′s obvious tendencies toward Sufism and love of the Prophet. Al-ʻAlāwī also notes ʻĀʼishah′s admiration of al-Būsīrī′s *Al-Burdah*, but he fails to notice Ibn al-Fāriḍ′s influence which looms large in much of her verse. While this material may serve as a basis for further more detailed research, al-ʻAlāwī′s review of ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʼūnīyah′s writings is incomplete and, at times, inaccurate and misleading. For instance, he is unaware of the existence of her Sufi manual or the location of her work *Durar al-Ghāʼiṣ,* based on al-Suyūṭī, though both may be found in Cairo′s Dār al-Kutub. Worse still, al-ʻAlāwī has confused ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʼūnīyah′s two separate *dīwān*s as one work. In 1981, Mājid al-Dhahabī and Ṣalāḥ al-Khiyamī described an autographed copy of her *dīwān* in Damascus dating from 921/1515, and containing six poems in praise of Muḥammad, including a *takhmīs* of al-Būsīrī′s *Al-Burdah,* and her famous *badīʻīyah* with her commentary on it. Al-ʻAlāwī calls the work *Fayḍ al-Faḍl,* and adds that there are two additional manuscripts of the work in Cairo′s Dār al-Kutub. However, the Damascus manuscript does not bear this title, and had al-ʻAlāwī actually seen the Cairo manuscripts he would have learned that they are a totally separate and earlier collection of ʻĀʼishah′s Sufi verse.

Turning to al-ʻAlāwī′s editions of her two poems, one finds a useful introduction to the history of celebrating the Prophet′s birthday, an overview of the *mawlid al-nabī* genre of prose and poetry publicly recited on that occasion, and a long list of those who composed on the subject. This is followed by a short discussion and outline of the contents of the *Al-Mawrid al-Ahná* (65–113). Al-ʻAlāwī notes that he has added sections and sub-headings to the work, and then concludes with the shocking revelation that, because of the difficulty of acquiring a copy of the Cairo manuscript autographed by the author, he has chosen to re-publish the 1301/1883 Damascus edition (115–79)! The situation is the same for his edition of her *Al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn*, for which al-ʻAlāwī used a 1304/1914 Cairo edition published on the margins of Ibn Ḥijjah′s *Khizānat al-Adab,* instead of the autographed Damascus manuscript (197–212). Al-ʻAlāwī does provide a useful review of the *badīʻīyah* genre and its major practitioners (183–95), and his notes to both texts are generally helpful, though typographical errors are frequent throughout the book (but causing more irritation than confusion).

In short, al-ʻAlāwī′s *ʻĀʼishah al-Bāʼūnīyah al-Dimashqīyah* may serve as a basic introduction to the life and work of this extraordinary woman and litterateur of the Mamluk period, while making two of her works more accessible. Yet, had al-ʻAlāwī actually read and accurately edited some of the valuable manuscript sources, he could have made a far more significant and lasting contribution to the study of Arabic literature.

Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras, II: Proceedings of the 4th and 5th International Colloquium organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 1995 and 1996. Edited by U. Vermeulen and D. De Smet (Leuven, Uitgeverij Peeters, 1998). Pp. 311.

REVIEWED BY PAUL E. WALKER, The University of Chicago

Similar to the earlier volume, *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras: Proceeding of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd International Colloquium organized at the Katholieke Univeriteit Leuven in May 1992, 1993 and 1994* (Leuven, 1995), issued by the same two editors (and reviewed by Stephen Humphreys in *MSR* II [1998]: 245–48), this is a collection of papers from later meetings of the International Colloquium centered at the Catholic University of Leuven (Louvain). Those assembled in this instance, sixteen in all (ten in French, three each in English and German), again cover a wide variety of, for the most part, unrelated topics in the history of Egypt and Syria for the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk periods. By far the greatest portion deal with the Fatimids (eight out of sixteen). A few that ostensibly cover later periods have material on the Fatimids, although at the same time several from the Fatimid section carry some importance beyond that era alone.

One prime example is Heinz Halm's study of all the data about the Nubian *baqṭ* (the pact according to which Nubia was allowed, though continuing to be Christian, to enter into a kind of treaty relationship with the Muslims). Halm's purpose is to trace carefully the exact chronology of the provisions, set by various sources at different periods, which comprise this highly unusual treaty of mutual obligation. Thus, much of what he discusses concerns events prior to the Fatimids and concludes after them, with the eventual termination of Nubian independence and its Islamization under the Mamluks, the *baqṭ* thus rendered obsolete and meaningless.

Still, Mamluk scholarship is poorly represented overall, with only four short papers: two by Vermeulen (one on the caliphal *bay'ah* as given by al-Qalqashandī and another on correspondence of the Mamluk Faraj and the Marinid Abū Sa'īd during the brief stay of Tamerlane in Syria); one by J. Dobrowolski (on the funerary complex of Amir Kabīr Qurqumas in Cairo); and one by M. Van Raemdonck (on a Mamluk helmet now in the Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels). The Mamluk section of the volume occupies only 46 pages as compared to 73 for the Ayyubids and 176 for the Fatimids. And it seems necessary to admit that the papers dealing with the earlier rather than later periods have greater special interest and value.

For Fatimid history all the papers are quite useful, including among them M. Brett on the long-term implications of the powerful vizier al-Yāzūrī's fall from grace and execution, which led to sixteen consecutive years of chaos and decline; D. De Smet on the transfer of the head of Ḥusayn from Palestine to Cairo, as well as a second article on the evidence for the possibility of a Druze cult of the Golden Calf; Halm's discovery of important new information about the death of Hamzah, the founder of the Druze religion; J. Richard on Fatimid maritime bases; P. Smoor on Fatimid court poetry; and J. Van Reeth's reexamination of the problem of the reputed fraud practiced in the Holy Sepulchre and that church′s destruction by al-Ḥākim.

There are four papers in the Ayyubid section, again each of interest: A.-M. Eddé on the geographical and ethnic origin of the populace of Aleppo in the thirteenth century (information made somewhat less essential by the subsequent publication of her 1999 book *La Principauté ayyoubide d'Alep*); L. Korn on the possible political implication of Saladin's building programs in Cairo, Damascus, and Jerusalem respectively; J. Thiry on the decline of North Africa over the eleventh and twelfth centuries and its causes (many aspects of the issue discussed here concern the Fatimids more than the Ayyubids), and Van Reeth on the evidence surrounding, and the meaning of, the bark kept in the mausoleum of al-Shāfiʻī.

For the most part these are papers of high quality. Each offers a serious contribution and individually they will have to be consulted by anyone working in the specific area covered.

The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society, edited by Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998). Pp. xiv, 306.

Reviewed by W. W. Clifford, The University of Chicago

The eighteen articles contained herein began as symposium papers delivered at the Werner Reimers Foundation in Bad Homburg in December of 1994. Though characterized by its organizers, Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann, as a ″small conference,″ the congressional achievement was nevertheless big, presenting a wide range of insights into two principal avenues of current scholarship on *mamlūkīyah:* the structure of elite politics and the cultural divide between ruler and ruled in both Classical (1250–1517) and Neo-Mamluk (1517–1811) Syro-Egypt. While the work is a self-described attempt at forming generally ″an impression of

the ′state of the art′ of Mamluk studies,″ its primary mission seems to be to account for the ″surprisingly durable″ nature of the Mamluk social system itself.

Were the foundations of this durability principally materialistic or ideological? Amalia Levanoni, in a very serviceable summary [″Rank-and-file Mamluks versus amirs: new norms in the Mamluk military institution″] of her earlier monograph, suggests that changes in the economic circumstances of the ″rank-and-file″ resulted in a proletarianization of Mamluk military culture. She finds the cause of this systemic revolution in the social pathology principally of one individual, Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who during his third reign introduced ″rapid advancement and easy access to material plenty.″ The proliferation of these ex-officio paramilitary pressure groups accelerated the anarchy of the fifteenth century.

Ulrich Haarmann′s contribution [″Joseph′s law—the careers and activities of Mamluk descendants before the Ottoman conquest of Egypt″], which represents the third and final revision of a signal paper originally delivered by him at the Seventh Oxford-Pennsylvania History Symposium in Oxford in 1977, argues against such cultural materialism, doubting that the perpetuation of ″the system of Joseph″—inducting aliens into military servitude in Egypt—produced a corresponding cultural apartheid between the ″foreign ruling nobility″ and their ″native subjects.″ Mamluk society was too permeable and dynamic, culturally integrated in part by its own hybridized social spin-offs, the non-Mamluk descendants of the Mamluks—the *awlād al-nās*—who mediated the social process in late medieval Syro-Egypt through their intercultural intellectual, paramilitary, and economic activity. Haarmann delivers a significant collateral blow to David Ayalon′s notion of Mamluk rule by a ″one-generation aristocracy,″ characterizing it as ″a social *absurdum*″ (p. 84). He finds in the fourteenth century many of the *awlād al-nās* in the upper echelons not just of the *ḥalqah* reserve but the regular army as well. So many, in fact, that Haarmann suggests they actually formed for a time their own ″subsidiary . . . military aristocracy″ (p. 66).

Donald S. Richards attempts to split the difference, proposing in his piece [″Mamluk amirs and their families and households″] that the Mamluk/*mamlūk* system was laced together by the group solidarity embedded in the various types of personal relationships, those of a ″contractual nature,″ those that were ″consanguineal″ and ″affinitive,″ as well as mimetic ones like the non-biological ″brotherhood″ of *ukhūwah.* All relational types were ultimately affected, however, by the material circumstance of land-holding. Whether in rural *iqṭāʻāt* or urban development property, these families and households relied on rents drawn from agricultural plots, houses, shops, and markets. The conversion of public holdings into private estates and then, if possible, into charitable trusts *(awqāf)* proved a lucrative strategy in the fourteenth century for ensuring familial integrity. This materialist high tide was ″interrupted″ by upheavals in the fifteenth century that

led to the decay, confiscation, and dissolution of property, particularly family *awqāf*. Richards gives the impression that these various *mamlūk* relational types were coextensive during the Classical period. But what about the balance of social power among them? Richards suggests that it was amidst the upheavals of the fifteenth century that the passing of ″power and status″ visibly altered. The ″collective ethos of the *mamlūks*″ declined and ″the recognition of kinship ties . . . intensified″ (p. 33).

Richards′ focus on the role of the household in the Classical period is reproduced in the several contributions to Neo-Mamluk history, though they disagree to what extent this similarity of form represented an actual cultural revival of Mamluk usages. Like Richards, Thomas Philipp ponders in his article [″Personal loyalty and political power of the Mamluks in the eighteenth century″] the cultural implications of different forms of social solidarity among the politicking post-Classical Mamluks. Multiple, horizontal bonds among *khushdāsh*s were not as strong as vertical, affective ones between sons and Mamluks of one common, immediate master. The indecisiveness of horizontal loyalties in the Neo-Mamluk period may help to explain the rash of *khusdāsh*-related assassinations in the eighteenth century, which became under ʻAlī Bey al-Kabīr an ″acceptable political ploy.″ The Mamluk system, which should perhaps have ended in 1786, remained perversely durable despite such practices. Daniel Crecelius in his article [″The Mamluk beylicate of Egypt in the last decades before its destruction by Muḥammad ʻAlī Pasha in 1811″] sees new recruitment patterns aimed at rebuilding Neo-Mamluk factions as similarly costly. In an argument reminiscent of Levanoni′s about the breakdown of Mamluk political order, Crecelius points out that the beys ″advanced their Mamluks more quickly than normal, took shortcuts in their training.″ Whereas Levanoni sees the Mamluk system falling prey to ambitious ″rank-and-file″ Mamluks in the fourteenth century, Crecelius argues that the Neo-Mamluk beylicate, ″which opened their households to recruits from new territories and new ethnic backgrounds,″ fell prey in its turn to restive ″mercenaries″ in the eighteenth century.

Michael Winter argues in his piece [″The re-emergence of the Mamluks following the Ottoman conquest″] in favor of a kind of cultural re-emergence in the post-Classical Mamluk period through the military household, though he characterizes it as the merging of separate traditions among Circassian Mamluk amirs and Ottoman beys by the eighteenth century into a common ″neo-Mamluk culture.″

Jane Hathaway in her contribution [″′Mamluk households′ and ′Mamluk factions′ in Ottoman Egypt: a reconsideration″] recognizes, too, the importance of the military household as a source of social solidarity in Ottoman Egypt but, unlike Philipp and Winters, is unsure to what extent it reproduced culturally ″comparable structures in the Mamluk sultanate.″ Like Richards, Hathaway sees diversity in

household forms, everything ″from relatively informal barracks coalitions to highly articulated residence-based conglomerates.″ While these households were perhaps ″neither wholly Ottoman nor wholly Mamluk,″ she feels they represented the ″multifaceted political culture unique to the Ottoman period.″ It is interesting to see that this social solidarity apparently also had legs. While Mamluk households and families had directly controlled the countryside in their own right, efflorescent neo-Mamluk military households, as they drifted from the political center to the provincial periphery, also served directly as ″prototypes″ for local *aʻyān* households, allowing them to better dominate their own regions in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In this way, ″the household served as a nexus between centre and province″ to a degree possibly it hadn′t in the Classical Mamluk period.

Some cultural continuation from the Classical to the Neo-Mamluk periods can be detected. According to Nelly Hanna [″Cultural life in Mamluk households (late Ottoman period)″], inventories of the private library holdings in military households reveal that Neo-Mamluk beys, like Classical Mamluk amirs, ″were not completely ignorant of their cultural environment,″ that they, indeed, attained a level of intellectual and cultural sophistication not often associated with men engaged constantly in political violence. Hanna observes cultural continuities in terms of the numbers of books in Turkish, of orthodox religious titles as well as less orthodox Sufi literature, and of scientific titles (medical/veterinary, astronomical, alchemical). These beys, while not involved in ″intellectual production,″ did preserve the ″classical traditions. ″ More than that, they became a veritable source, like the ulama, for ″cultural transmission″ of those traditions by opening their private libraries to the public.

Contributors generally agree that both Mamluk and Neo-Mamluk military elites expressed social solidarity through segmentation into discrete and independent military households. They vary, however, on the degree to which the continuation of this Mamluk social form into the Neo-Mamluk period represented revival of Classical Mamluk cultural usage. The articles on military household/familial dynamics, which compose about half the volume, are clearly its core. But one can note approvingly the excellence of other related scholarship contained herein. Both Jonathan Berkey [″The Mamluks as Muslims: the military elite and the construction of Islam in medieval Egypt″] and Ulrich Haarmann [″The late triumph of the Persian bow: critical voices on the Mamluk monopoly on weaponry″], for instance, offer up thought-provoking discussion of the problems surrounding Mamluk cultural innovation in the Classical period. For the Neo-Mamluk period, Doris Behrens-Abouseif [″Patterns of urban patronage in Cairo: a comparison between the Mamluk and the Ottoman periods″] and André Raymond [″The residential districts of Cairo′s elite in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods (fourteenth to eighteenth centuries″] reveal many continuities in the urban cultural landscape

of Cairo. Behrens-Abouseif has determined, for instance, that many of the commercial and *waqf*-designated properties in the Ottoman period were "already in existence during Mamluk times and often even belonged to Mamluk *waqfs*." Both ages supported religious construction, though Mamluk educational institutions gave way to neighborhood mosques and *sabīl-maktab*s in the Ottoman period. It was principally the lack of "imperial vision" in the Ottoman period that ensured that "the Mamluk heritage was maintained and preserved until modern times." Raymond for his part finds "a striking continuity" from the thirteenth through seventeenth centuries in the urban distribution of elite residential areas, especially their continued domination of terrain from al-Qāhirah into the southern suburbs.

While Raymond's article showcases sophisticated technical analysis of residential patterns in Cairo, the volume as a whole reveals no new critical method in the interpretation of Mamluk social history akin, say, to Michael Chamberlain's social theoretical interpretation of Mamluk Damascus as a knowledge-based society. The collection is a superb glance back at the traditional social analysis that has brought the field of Mamluk Studies to the forefront of Islamic history but fails to anticipate the interpretive method of the "new" social history beginning to poke its nose under the tent.

Dīwān al-Muwashshaḥāt al-Mamlūkīyah fī Miṣr wa-al-Shām. al-Dawlah al-Ūlá (648–784 H./1250–1382 M.). Edited by Aḥmad Muḥammad ʻAṭā (Cairo: Maktabat al-Adab, 1999). Pp. 440.

Reviewed by Mustapha Kamal, The University of Chicago

Initially the *muwashshaḥāt* (or strophic poetry) was unique to the poetry cultivated by Andalusian poets. Because of its form and meters, the *muwashshaḥāt* has caused many debates among scholars; until now, there is no agreement as to whether the genre is derived from classical Arabic poetry (especially Abbasid poetry) or adapted from a native Iberian tradition preserved continuously since Roman times.[1] Whether or not one can scan the *muwashshaḥāt* by applying the canonical meters discovered by al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (d. 174/791) is disputed by scholars, and the way in which the *muwashshaḥah* genre made its way into Egypt and the Levant has yet to be fully explained. But we do know that *muwashshaḥāt* were widely cultivated under the Ayyubids.

[1]Otto Zwartjes, *Love Songs From al-Andalus* (Leiden, 1997), 5–171.

One of the most important theorists of the genre in pre-modern times was Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk (d. 609/1212) and, as his *Dār al-Ṭirāz fī 'Amal al-Muwashshaḥāt* proves, he studied both their meter and form extensively. For Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk, a *muwashshaḥah* is a series of words strung together in order to fit a special meter. If a *muwashshaḥah* is composed of six *aqfāl* and five *ajzā',* i.e., if it begins with a refrain, it is considered complete; but if it contains only five *aqfāl* and five *ajzā',* i.e., if it does not begin with a refrain, it is called acephalous or bald.

While the writings of Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk and others did much to foster an appreciation of this poetry, there has remained a gap in our knowledge of its later development under the Mamluks as well as a persistent prejudice against Mamluk literati and their contributions to Arabic literature in general. 'Aṭā's book is therefore a welcome addition to the scholarly literature. In spite of the author's announced intention to collect the Mamluk *muwashshaḥāt* in two volumes, only a single volume has appeared to date. It consists of three parts: the first records the output of Egyptian poets, the second that of Syrian poets, and the third of poets who visited Egypt between 648/1250 and 784/1382.

This book goes a long way toward addressing the prejudices about Mamluk literary culture which are still widespread among historians of Arabic literature, even among Arab scholars, in spite of the efforts of Muḥammad Kāmil al-Fiqī, Shawqī Dayf, 'Umar Mūsá Bāshā, Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, Bakrī Shaykh Amīn, 'Abduh 'Abd al-'Azīz Qulqaylah, and others.[2] Mainstream historians of Arabic literature still describe Mamluk poetry as "decadent, pallid, worn out, and lacking authenticity."[3]

In this compilation, one is struck by the overwhelming number of vernacular *kharjah*s (pp. 73, 76, 106, 161, 172, 230, 236, 255, 290, 340, and 350), and the absence of non-Arabic ones, except for the following (p. 350):

Halakī   in qāla: yuq
Yā insān ṭurkhān sinī   yughmā sakam sanī.
[What if he said: "No"?
O you, magnificent one, as you're my booty, I'll sodomize you
time and again.]

The way in which these *kharjah*s are located in the *muwashshaḥāt* contradicts al-Ḥillī's theory equating *kharjah* and *qufl*.

[2]See Th. Emil Homerin's important article "Reflections on Arabic Poetry in the Mamluk Age" in *Mamluk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 63–85.

[3]Ibid., 71.

Reading this collection of *muwashshaḥāt*, we can only admire the skill and poetic versatility of two towering figures: al-Maḥḥār (d. 711/1311) and al-Ṣafadī (696–764/1297–1363). Al-Ṣafadī excels when he composes two *muwashshaḥāt.* In the first one, the hemistichs of every *bayt* (strophe) rhyme with one another (pp. 329–30); then to every line in this *muwashshaḥah,* al-Ṣafadī adds another hemistich. The new rhyme-words rhyme with one another. Thus, the rhyme-words in the first *bayt* of the first *muwashshaḥah* read as follows: *mālī, ḥālī, qāli*, and *thānī.* In the corresponding strophe of the second *muwashshaḥah,* the last two hemistichs of the first *bayt* read as follows: *mālī/bilā manāmi*, *ḥālī/bi-al-ibtisāmi*, *qāli/khawfa al-ti'āmi*, and *thānī/ba'da al-anāmi.*

With al-Ṣafadī, we see a tendency that will become a major trend in the poetic renaissance that al-Bārūdī (d. 1322/1904) and Shawqī (d. 1350/1932) spearheaded in the last decades of the nineteenth century, i.e., the poetic emulation of great texts. Al-Ṣafadī emulates al-Maḥḥār's *muwashshaḥah* (p. 237) whose opening line is:

> Mā nāḥat al-wurqu fī-al-ghūṣūnī illā   hājat 'alá taghrīdihā law'atu al-ḥazīni
> [The turtledoves cooed on the branches causing the sorrows of the lovelorn one to flare up]

in his own *muwashshaḥah* (p. 275) which opens as follows:

> Mā tanqaḍī law'atu al-ḥazīnī aṣlan   wa-law salā illā li-ḍarbin min al-junūni
> [The passion of the lovelorn one cannot come to an end, even though he forgets his sorrow, unless he has lost his mind].

Al-Maḥḥār himself had emulated Aydamur al-Maḥyawī's *muwashshaḥah* (p. 238 n.):

> Bāta wa-summāruhu al-nujūmu sāhir   fa-man turá 'allamaki al-sahar yā jufūn
> [The stars were his only companions,
> who then taught you sleeplessness, O my eyes?]

This emulation is manifest especially in *muwashshaḥāt* whose rhyme scheme is particularly complex. An instance is given by al-Maḥḥār (p. 186):

Ariqtu li-barqin lāḥa min dūni ḥājirī fa-ajrá dumū'ī min shu'ūni maḥājirī
[I lost sleep over lightning that flashed between my (distant])beloved and me, causing my tears to flow)]

Another tour de force is al-Ṣafadī's use of paronomasia (Ar. *jinās*). For example, the following *bayt* (p. 276):

Fī rīqihi ladhdhatu al-sulāfi lā fī ka'si al-mudām
Ra'aytu lī minhu fī irtishāfi shāfī min al-saqām
Aqūlu wa-al-ṣamtu fī i'tikāfi kāfī 'inda al-malām:
[His lips taste better than real wine
In them, I found cure to my disease.
And I say, when silence is the best answer to reproaches:]

In these three lines, the poet makes the three hemistichs rhyme with each other both horizontally and vertically. First he makes the first and middle hemistichs of each line rhyme with each other horizontally: *al-sulāfi* and *lā fī; irtishāfi* and *shāfī; i'tikāfi* and *kāfī*. Then he makes the first hemistichs of the lines rhyme vertically: *al-sulāfi, irtishāfi* and *i'tikāfi;* then the middle hemistichs rhyme: *lā fī,* s*hāfī,* and *kāfī*. Then, he makes the last hemistichs rhyme: a*l-mudām, al-saqām,* and *al-malām*. This in itself would be considered a tour de force, but al-Ṣafadī takes the challenge a little further. In each line he creates a paronomasia between the rhyme-word of the first hemistich and the only word composing the second hemistich, e.g., *al-sulāfi* and *lā fī; irtishāfi* and *shāfī;* and *i'tikāfi* and *kāfī*—as if the second word were coined by amputating a part of its predecessor.

In spite of its undeniable contribution to Mamluk literary studies, 'Aṭā's book suffers from a few imperfections. In his very short preface, he mentions the Khalilian meter of each *muwashhaḥah*. The truth is that al-Khalīl's system does not apply to most of the *muwashshaḥāt* recorded in this collection. It suffices to look at the *muwashshaḥāt* on pages 195 and 198. 'Aṭā has a moralistic approach to *kharjah*s. Most of the time, he comments on the wanton meaning of the closing line(s) with the following sentence: "Kharjah kāshifah mājinah fāḥishah fāḍihah" [revealing, brazen, obscene, and infamous *kharjah*]. 'Aṭā considers that al-Ṣafadī's sixth *muwashshaḥah* (p. 288) is homoerotic, whereas the ending strophe clearly mentions an adulterous woman complaining about her jealous husband. The book is full of typographical errors and incorrect vowelling. Sometimes the mistake is due to an incorrect reading of the line. For example, 'Aṭā reads the following line (#33, p. 348):

Wa-ghadatin qad sabāhā   man ḥusnuhu al-badra ḍāhá
[A young woman was conquered by him whose beauty outshines the moon]

as

Wa-ghadatin qad sabāhā   min ḥusnihi al-badru ḍāhī.

This reading does not make sense and breaks the rhyme between *sabāhā* and *ḍāhá*.

The present book has partially filled a serious gap in Mamluk literary studies. It complements Sayyid Muṣṭafá Ghāzī´s *Dīwān al-Muwashshaḥāt al-Andalūsīyah* (1979).

AḤMAD ṢUBḤĪ MANṢŪR, *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn: Dirāsah Uṣūlīyah Tārīkhīyah* (Cairo, 1998). Pp. 508.

REVIEWED BY OTFRIED WEINTRITT, Cologne University

This rather lengthy book comprises several parts that together form an intellectual and social biography of Ibn Khaldūn. It begins with a detailed account of his scholarly and political life and follows with an explication of the *Muqaddimah* and the various ways it has been read critically, detailing primarily Ibn Khaldūn´s discussion of the notion of *ʿumrān* (civilization). But the author´s chief interest is in asking a question as yet unposed by scholars: Why was the last period of Ibn Khaldūn´s life marked by so little intellectual activity?

During his time in Egypt (1382–1406) Ibn Khaldūn´s experiences were clearly not reflected in his scholastic output, which diminished substantially. His historiographic-literary interests had of course already found meaningful expression in the *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, including the famous *Muqaddimah*. When he arrived in Cairo, then, Ibn Khaldūn had essentially finished much of his life´s work, leaving really only a subsequent autobiography to compose. In this autobiography he certainly referred to Egypt, but only in passing. One might have reasonably expected that Ibn Khaldūn would have at least revised the *Muqaddimah,* if not penned an entirely new piece, to reflect the fundamental differences he observed between the geopolitics of Egypt, the *umm al-ʿumrān,* and those regions further west upon which his famous cycle of the rise-and-decline of tribal, kin-based dynasties was originally based.

The reasons, Manṣūr presumes, are embedded in Ibn Khaldūn's fundamental acceptance of the Sufi belief in the unity of the creator *(ʻaqīdat waḥdat al-fāʻil).* This doctrine, that God as the originator of all human actions, good or bad, negates man's free will, actually explains not only Ibn Khaldūn's intellectual abstinence but increasing social seclusion during his Egyptian phase. Put simply, Ibn Khaldūn was reluctant to revise works—the *Muqaddimah* and the *Tārīkh* particularly—that formed a resume of his own frustrated ambitions in establishing political power for himself. They memorialized not his, but God's decision not to bring him to high office (p. 496). Ibn Khaldūn's ancestors had proven unable to found a dynasty themselves; his own efforts were equally devoid of success, despite his outstanding mental abilities *(ʻabqarīyah).* Influenced already by his own view that the state can only be established and maintained through a tribal sense of solidarity *(ʻaṣabīyah),* Ibn Khaldūn now embraced with Sufic conviction the notion that he had failed because God had neither chosen him as His divine instrument nor provided him any *ʻaṣabīyah* with which to sustain his own extraordinary intellectual skills.

The issue of *ʻaṣabīyah* itself in any case complicated any real hope of meaningfully revising a work like the *Muqaddimah*. Egypt was a long-settled agrarian society, enjoying both centralized power and a stable population—an *arḍ-shaʻb-dawlah*—which exuded a sense of place *(waṭan)* unknown to the nomadic societies with which Ibn Khaldūn was familiar. Indeed, as a place where tribes were few and politically powerless, Egypt must have appeared to Ibn Khaldūn the antithesis of the *ʻaṣabīyah*-driven tribal societies he had previously analyzed. In evaluating the Egyptian case, therefore, Ibn Khaldūn would have had to acknowledge that the model of Islamic civilization upon which he had built his intellectual reputation had only limited heuristic value after all.

Manṣūr also speculates that Ibn Khaldūn's abiding enthusiasm *(taʻaṣṣub)* for his Maghrib homeland may have further inhibited his revision of the *Muqaddimah*. This is suggested by his inclusion in the *Kitāb al-ʻIbar* of Berbers, along with Arabs and Persians, as people significant in the historical formation of Islamic civilization. Yet of the seven chapters of the *ʻIbar* the Berbers appear only in the final two, a possible reflection of Ibn Khaldūn's overwrought pride in his Maghribi origins.

Manṣūr further argues that Ibn Khaldūn may also have been alienated by his inability to achieve judicial reform while he was Malikite chief judge in Egypt. His principal aims were to abolish both bribes and the indiscriminate charge and counter-charge of unbelief within the Egyptian scholastic community. In this, Ibn Khaldūn was doomed yet again to failure. The judicial system of contemporary Egypt was replete with corruption, justice a virtually unknown quantity. The variety of schools of law in Egypt, unlike in the univocal Malikite Maghrib,

encouraged a corrupt trade in *fatwá*s that resulted in a welter of contradictory legal scholarship. As a chief judge, Ibn Khaldūn could neither work under these conditions nor alleviate their irregularities. This was to prove his undoing.

These frustrations, according to Manṣūr, led Ibn Khaldūn to choose a conspicuously secluded life in Egypt marked by misanthropy, his colleagues apparently reciprocating his social distancing. He was viewed by them as unscrupulous, the product no doubt of his practice of *'aqīdat waḥdat al-fā'il*. He was seen, too, as a master of hypocrisy, a skill employed notably to win the favor of Sultan Barqūq in spite of having penned a *fatwá*—at the behest of Barqūq's rival, Mintash—charging him with unbelief.

Manṣūr feels that Ibn Khaldūn's general reticence in his autobiography about the country and people of Egypt reflected ultimately his feelings of superiority over his Egyptian colleagues and his refusal to become Egyptianized like other newcomers (e.g., Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Maghribī). Even the continued wearing of his native clothing can be interpreted as emblematic of Ibn Khaldūn's allegiance to his original Maghribi identity. Despite his alienation from the Egyptian intelligentsia, many of whom he did not even appear to have known, Manṣūr believes that Ibn Khaldūn's intellectual marginalization in Egypt, including his failure to generate disciples, can be lain at his own feet. He simply did not want to use his talents any further after having finished the *Kitāb al-'Ibar*. Manṣūr is inclined to see in Ibn Khaldūn's intellectual stagnation a reflection of his Sufic belief in the unity of the creator, which he illustrates with the common saying "rabbunā 'āyiz kidā." In this regard, the author mentions a report from the historian al-Sakhāwī that Ibn Khaldūn spent his final years on the banks of the Nile in the company of female singers and young men *(al-shudhūdh al-jinsī)* (p. 499).

The author's portrait of Ibn Khaldūn possesses one final thrilling, perhaps criminal stroke. While one cannot rule out natural causes in his apparent sudden death, Ibn Khaldūn may in fact have been the victim of foul play. The author notes that five other high-ranking scholars died during the political turmoil between 1387 and 1402, all possibly murdered. The chief culprit, Manṣūr believes, was a confidant of Sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj, Ibn Ghurāb, whose own death followed shortly that of the curmudgeonly Ibn Khaldūn.

QĀSIM ʻABDUH QĀSIM, *ʻAṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk: al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī wa-al-Ijtimāʻī* (Cairo: ʻAyn lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Buḥūth al-Insānīyah, 1998). Pp. 390.

REVIEWED BY THOMAS HERZOG, University of Halle

The book under review, written by Qāsim ʻAbduh Qāsim, head of the Department of History at the University of Zaqāzīq (Egypt), is part of a series of the author′s recent works devoted to Ayyubid and Mamluk history and covers at least partly some of the subjects already discussed in his early publications: *Māhīyat al-Ḥurūb al-Ṣalībīyah* (Cairo, 1993); *Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh Miṣr al-Ijtimāʻī* (Cairo, 1994); *Al-Ayyūbīyūn wa-al-Mamālīk: al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī wa-al-ʻAskarī* (together with ʻAlī al-Sayyid ʻAlī) (Cairo, 1995); *Al-Sulṭān al-Muẓaffar Sayf al-Dīn Quṭuz, Baṭal Maʻrakat ʻAyn Jālūt* (Damascus, 1998); *Al-Khalfīyah al-Aydiyūlūjīyah lil-Ḥurūb al-Ṣalībīyah: Dirāsah ʻan al-Ḥamlah al-Ūlá, 1095–1099M* (Cairo, 1999); *Taṭawwur Manhaj al-Baḥth fī al-Dirāsāt al-Tārīkhīyah* (Cairo, 2000).

In general, Qāsim′s study seems to have been conceived as an introduction to Mamluk history for students and educated laymen. The author uses a gripping narrative style writing history with a strong focus on the personal careers of some of the most important Mamluk sultans. Unfortunately, Qāsim slips at times into metaphysical interpretations of history, as, for example, when he speaks of the ″historical mission″ of the sultan Quṭuz, or into melodramatic utterances in the style of Jirjī Zaydān when he deplores the murder of the same sultan with the words: ″Hākadhā jā'at nihāyat baṭal min abṭāl tārīkh al-muslimīn, kāna mil' al-ʻayn wa-al-qalb, aḥabbahu al-nās . . .″ (p. 111).

In contrast to his promise to cover the history of the Mamluk Empire, Qāsim′s book is a history of Egypt and of Egyptian society during the Mamluk period. Especially in the second part of the book nearly all examples focus on Egypt and Cairo; the Bilād al-Shām is practically absent from the study. As the title notes, the author′s work is subdivided into two parts: political and social history. The first part of his study is divided into nine chapters: (1) The historical conditions of the rise of the Mamluk sultanate; (2) The political basis of the Mamluk sultanate; (3) Quṭuz: from mamluk to sultan; (4) The Mongol threat; (5) The battle of ʻAyn Jālūt; (6) The end of a hero; (7) Baybars and the constitution of the Mamluk state; (8) The reign of the Qalawunids and the end of the Crusaders′ presence; (9) The state of the Circassian Mamluks. The second part of the book is divided into eight unnumbered chapters (Introduction; Andalusian travellers in Cairo; Egypt in the *Riḥlah* of Ibn Batuta; Markets and everyday life; Religious minorities and Egyptian society; Religious festivals and public feasts; Everyday professions; Famines, epidemics, and economic crises).

As indicated by these titles, Qāsim's work presents some peculiar features. First, in his presentation of the political history of the Mamluk sultanate, it is astonishing to see that he focuses on the first eighty years of Mamluk rule. Whereas the author narrates the history of the Bahri sultanate over about a hundred pages, he sums up the history of the Burji sultanate as a period of utter decline in less than twenty pages. Second, Qāsim's special interest in Quṭuz (nearly fifty of the one hundred and fifty pages of the book's first part deal with Quṭuz's approximately two-year reign) is due to the fact that chapters 1–6 of his study are an exact reproduction of a large part of his monograph on this sultan, published in Damascus in the same year as the book under review (he doesn't mention his own publication). The author's concentration on the founders of the Mamluk sultanate is certainly exaggerated, especially with regard to his strongly negative description of the Circassian sultanate.

Whereas the first part of Qāsim's study owes its structure to its chronological organization, the second part of his book appears to be somewhat unorganized. There is no obvious logical link between the different chapters of the second part. This part of his work resembles a collection of essays clumsily glued together rather than part of an integrated scholarly study. After a somewhat repetitive introduction to Mamluk society, the author inserts two chapters dealing with the reports of Andalusian travellers to Egypt and Cairo. These accounts inform us about the concept of *riḥlah* in the Islamic Middle Ages, but do not contribute much to our understanding of Mamluk society. After these two generally informative, but not very well integrated chapters, Qāsim presents the social history of Egypt and Cairo throughout the 267 years of Mamluk rule through the prism of market life. Here his descriptive method gives valuable, detailed information, usually supported with precise citations from Mamluk Arabic sources. The author introduces the theme of the religious minorities in Mamluk society in the following chapter, which is generally informative but again poorly linked to the preceding chapters. Similarly in the following chapters the reader is provided rich information about secular and religious feasts as well as on the different professions of everyday life but is deprived of an analytic approach based in modern historical methodology.

The author introduces his main thesis in his introduction and repeats it often throughout his study: the historical role of the Mamluks was the defense of the Arab and Muslim World against the Mongol threat and the colonialist ambitions of Europe which, according to Qāsim, began with the Crusades (p. 5). But "once the external threats—the Frankish crusader entity *(al-kiyān al-franjī al-ṣalībī)* and the heathen Mongols—had disappeared, the Mamluk sultanate became a political and economic burden . . . and transformed itself into a monster that did not deserve to be saved" (p. 6). According to the author, the intrinsic problem of Mamluk rule was the way in which Mamluk sultans ascended to power: Qāsim

underlines in every chapter of his work that a political system whose leaders acquired power only by force following the principle of ″the rule to the victor *(al-ḥukm li-man ghalab)*″ was destined to internal disorder and political, economic, and cultural decay. To his mind it was the merely formal legitimation of Mamluk rule by the Abbasid puppet caliphs of Cairo ″that brought about hypocrisy in the political life of the Arab World, a phenomenon under whose consequences we suffer to the present day″ (p. 6).

The didactical repetitiveness with which the author reproduces every twenty pages his principal thesis cannot conceal that the reasons for the decay of Mamluk rule—the beginning of which Qāsim dates quite arbitrarily to the beginning of the Burji sultanate—are much more complex than he would have us believe. For instance, it is regrettable that he introduces one important cause for the decay of Mamluk society—the natural catastrophes and the plague at the end of the fourteenth century—only in the last chapter of the second part of his study. Finally the author does not explain how the Mamluk sultanate managed to remain in power for more than two and a half centuries while it was plagued by anarchy and corruption.

Qāsim′s book is very much source-based and leaves the impression that the author ignores most of the contributions of recent Western and Oriental scholarship (the most recent reference to a Western work dates from 1979; the Arabic secondary literature cited dates, except for the author′s own works, almost exclusively from the 1960s and 1970s). Although Qāsim′s book is largely descriptive and often quite repetitive, it may be of some interest for Western scholars not always at ease with Arabic sources because of his extensive use of printed and manuscript source materials, even if, just as Western scholarship did for a long time, he refers much too often to al-Maqrīzī (to whom he dedicated his *Taṭawwur Manhaj al-Baḥth fi al-Dirāsāt al-Tārīkhīyah*). But again, Qāsim seems to accept the sources at face value instead of critically contextualizing and evaluating them, just as, unfortunately, still too many Western scholars do.

Despite all criticism Qāsim′s book may be a useful introduction to the Mamluk era. His gripping narrative style and his extensive use of source materials render his book valuable reading for a wide circle of readers, especially when used in combination with other historical studies.

MUḤAMMAD AL-SHUSHTĀWĪ, *Mutanazzahāt al-Qāhirah fī al-'Aṣrayn al-Mamlūkī wa-al-'Uthmānī* (Cairo: Dār al-Āfāq al-'Arabīyah, 1999). Pp. 355.

REVIEWED BY LEONOR FERNANDES, American University in Cairo

The title of this book on places of promenade or recreation during the Mamluk and Ottoman periods raises the expectations of the reader eager to learn more about the social life of the inhabitants of Cairo during these periods. From the very first chapter, however, it becomes clear that al-Shushtāwī is not really interested in the social life of the inhabitants of Cairo but rather in urban development. Indeed, the author chooses to focus primarily on the development of urban centers which, as he mentions, became favorite places of residence and promenade during the periods under discussion. Al-Shushtāwī's painstaking effort to compile information from primary and secondary sources is remarkable. The reader is taken on a tour of the most important loci of entertainment such as the river Nile, ponds, islands, canals, and belvederes, but is left to ponder why people chose to go to such places and what type of social activity went on there. The reader has to wait for the last chapter where an attempt is made to put these places in a social context. However, no real analysis is provided and the reader is left with questions about places classified as "*mutanazzahāt*." For instance, visiting a religious foundation as a place of promenade in order to have "a good time" may not mean much to the reader and certainly requires an explanation (pp. 33, 39).

Al-Shushtāwī 's descriptions of the urban development of the islands of al-Rawḍah, al-Jazīrah al-Wusṭá, Jazīrat al-Dhahab, and al-Warrāq are quite interesting to follow. The island of al-Rawḍah is given particular attention (pp. 52–84) since it had become the favorite place for recreation and entertainment during the Mamluk period. It is there, we are told, that people used to go to celebrate weddings, seasonal festivals, and other unspecified festivities. There is a great deal of literature about this island. For instance, medieval scholars often wrote poetry describing the beauty of al-Rawḍah with its gardens and palaces. Passages from this literature are included in the last chapter . Al-Shushtāwī also mentions that al-Suyūṭī himself had been inspired by the beauty of al-Rawḍah and that he had issued a *fatwá* in 896/1491 stating that it was illegal for people to build on the shores of al-Rawḍah. Al-Shushtāwī claims that al-Suyūṭī's concern was to preserve the beauty of the island so it would remain a pleasure for the viewer, and a place of promenade (p. 52). However, the *fatwá,* whose title was "Al-Jahr bi-Man' al-Burūz 'alá Shāṭi' Nahr," was actually concerned with a point of law and not esthetics.

Urban space on the islands and areas around ponds and canals had become favorite places of residence for the elite who built their palaces and mansions there. Such places were often visited by people from all walks of life. Often, says

al-Shushtāwī, people would visit at the invitation of the elite, who would open their doors for the masses to enjoy their gardens in an attempt to enhance their public image.

The last chapter of the book deals with what should have constituted the core of the study, that is, the social aspect of the *mutanazzahāt*. Here, the author decided to provide the reader with his definition of the word *mutanazzahāt,* which he refers to as being places where people could go to relax and enjoy a good time during special occasions such as seasonal festivals and religious feasts. This long chapter (pp. 269–353) is divided into four sections, each dealing with one sort of entertainment. The author focuses on the activities associated with places such as the Nile, ponds, belvederes, canals, and islands, where people would congregate. He also discusses what he refers to as the aberrant behavior *(al-amrāḍ)* associated with or resulting from celebrations taking place in such locations. Among the celebrations resulting in the gathering of large crowds he mentions religious occasions such as the birth of the Prophet and the procession of the *maḥmal*. Other festivities were associated with the Nile flood and had a national character, such as Wafā' al-Nīl. One of the sections deals with Coptic festivals which had assumed a national character and were celebrated by both Christians and Muslims, for example 'Īd al-Shahīd, Īd al-Nawrūz, and Īd al-Ghiṭās. The author mentions that the celebrations of Nawrūz and Ghiṭās had been discontinued by the middle of the Mamluk period, while those associated with the Nile survived even after the Ottoman conquest of Egypt. Due to the symbolism attached to some of these festivals, the author should have examined them in their changing cultural context. Reference to Huda Lutfi's article "Coptic festivals of the Nile: aberrations of the past?"[1] would have been useful.

This book is easy to read despite its numerous typographical errors and repetitions. The author should be given credit for attempting to take us back to this distant past and offering us a glimpse of the social life of Mamluk society. On the whole this is an interesting contribution to the field of Mamluk studies. A bibliography and an index would have been helpful.

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[1]*The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998).

MUḤAMMAD FATḤĪ AL-SHĀʻIR, *Al-Sharqīyah fī ʻAṣray Salāṭīn al-Ayyūbīyīn wa-al-Mamālīk* (Manūfīyah: Dār al-Maʻārif, 1997). Pp. 208.

REVIEWED BY NIALL CHRISTIE, University of Toronto

This book presents a survey of the Egyptian province of al-Sharqīyah during the Ayyubid and Mamluk eras (564/1169–923/1517). The medieval Egyptian province of al-Sharqīyah lay, as the name implies, on the eastern side of the Nile delta, to the south of the province of al-Daqahlīyah. It originally occupied the entire area east of the Damietta branch of the Nile from the southern border of al-Daqahlīyah all the way to Cairo, but in 715/1315 the southern portion of the province was separated from it, becoming the province of al-Qalyūbīyah. Throughout the period the capital of Sharqīyah was Bilbays.[1]

Muḥammad Fatḥī al-Shāʻir opens his study with an examination of the development and geography of the province, from ancient times up to the end of the Mamluk sultanate. He then discusses the administration of the province and its role as a channel for communications (particularly by pigeon post) and the transport of snow and ice between Syria and Egypt.

The second part of al-Shāʻir's study concerns itself with the political and military role of the province, examining in particular Crusader activity in the area, its role in the rise of the Ayyubid and Mamluk sultanates, and the relations of these sultanates with the Bedouin of the area, both peaceful and otherwise. Some consideration is also given to the activities of brigands and instances of internal strife during the period.

The third part of the book focuses on the economic history of al-Sharqīyah. The author gives an overview of the *iqṭāʻ* (feudal estate) system under the Ayyubids and Mamluks, before proceeding with a description of how this system was administered in al-Sharqīyah. He then considers a number of other important features of the economic life of the province. He lists the canals and dams which were the responsibilities of the sultan, describes the most important crops grown in the area and also considers mines, local industries, and trade. The last part of this section discusses the economic effects of plague and famine on the province.

The next part of al-Shāʻir's work considers the social life of the province. He examines the major social groups living in the area, giving attention in turn to the Mamluk elite, the Bedouin tribes, the religious and scribal classes, the merchants, craftspersons, *dhimmī*s (tolerated non-Muslim communities under Muslim rule), and the peasantry. He then discusses the role of the province as a hunting retreat for the Ayyubid and Mamluk elites.

[1]G. Wiet and H. Halm, "Al-Sharḳiyya," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 9:356–57.

The last major part of al-Shā'ir's work focuses on the religious and intellectual life of the province. He considers the role of various institutions, including *madāris* (legal schools), *makātib* (Quran schools), and *masājid* (mosques) before describing the religious and intellectual elite. He gives examples of noted individuals of the area, including teachers, poets, and judges. He then considers the sufis of the area, noting particularly famous groups and individuals.

Al-Shā'ir concludes that much of the importance al-Sharqīyah enjoyed during the period derived from its geographical position, forming as it did a gateway between Egypt and the other countries of the Middle East. This importance manifested in a number of ways, most notably in its becoming a center both of political significance for the Bedouin, and of commercial and intellectual activity.

The book has a large bibliography, which includes some works by European scholars. There is also a useful appendix containing tables describing the *iqṭā'āt* and *awqāf* (religious endowments) of the province, including their areas and incomes. A contents list is also included at the back.

Al-Shā'ir uses an extremely wide range of medieval Arabic sources in his study. His selection of sources includes works by historians, geographers, biographers, and writers of secretarial manuals. He also supports his primary material with a number of works by Middle Eastern and European scholars. As implied above, the number of European works used is small, but given that al-Shā'ir's emphasis is on information contained in the primary sources, this is not a major problem. However, use of a wider range of secondary material might have resulted in a more well-rounded study.

Al-Shā'ir's work is a valuable contribution to the scholarship of Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt. It is a wide-ranging survey of a number of different topics in the history and development of the province, and as such it provides a useful framework for further study of the area.

MUḤAMMAD AL-TŪNJĪ, *Bilād al-Shām ibbāna al-Ghazw al-Maghūlī* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-'Arabī, 1419/1998). Pp. 200.

REVIEWED BY JOHANNES PAHLITZSCH, Freie Universität Berlin

While appearing to promise a study of the thirteenth century Mongol campaigns against Syria, this short book really serves only to invoke for modern Muslims the struggles of that age in order to reawaken their patriotic spirit and rouse them to a defense of their modern Arab homeland. For now, as then, maintains the author,

Muḥammad al-Tūnjī, the covetous eyes of its enemies continue to be directed at al-Shām (pp. 5–6). Only the last third of the book actually embraces the subject matter of its own title. In reality, al-Tūnjī has produced little more than a nebulous overview of the Mongol conquests of the Islamic world.

The author begins with the foundation of the Mongol Empire under Chingiz Khān (pp. 10–46), describing the society and culture in its heyday. Al-Tūnjī's verdict ultimately is that the Mongols have always been a primitive people lacking much cultural development—in contrast to the bedouin and Arab hill tribes who, following Ibn Khaldūn, remained generally superior to sedentary populations (p. 19). The cruelty manifested by the Mongols in their conquests is prime evidence, the author believes, of their primitive nature.

In discussing Chingiz Khān himself, al-Tūnjī has evidently not consulted a single one of his more recent biographies.[1] In particular his evaluation of the "Great *Yāsa*" is accomplished without specifying any primary source or even reflecting the doubts raised by David Morgan some years ago about the actual existence of a written legal code in Chingiz Khān's day.[2] Furthermore, the author gives only short shrift to the turbulent history of the post-Chingizid division of the Mongol Empire into vast territorial appanages among his sons.

While attempting to explore the contours of Mongol religion (pp. 49–62) al-Tūnjī manages only to produce a general catalog of their shamanistic beliefs and contacts with other religions such as Buddhism and Christianity. Yet again, the authors fails to avail himself of any of the available secondary scholarship, such as Jean Richard's study of papal missionary efforts among the Mongols.[3] The author can seem to find nothing more important to say about the subsequent conversion and advance of Islam under the Mongols except that history will not easily forgive them for the overall destruction they have wrought on Islamic civilization (p. 59).

The middle part of the book takes up Hülagü's conquest of the Middle East (pp. 65–126). Al-Tūnjī believes that the Mongol prince was tasked originally by the Grand Khān Möngke to vanquish the Assassins, conquer Iran, conquer the Abbasid heartland, and then subjugate Syria and Egypt. He fails, however, to address the signal issue of whether Möngke intended these conquests to constitute

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[1]For example, the biography by Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan: His Life and Legacy* (Oxford, 1991).

[2]David O. Morgan, "The 'Great Yāsa of Chingiz Khān' and the Mongol Law in the Īlkhānate," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 49 (1986): 163–76.

[3]Jean Richard, *Le Papauté et les missions d'Orient au Moyen Age (XIIIe–XVe siècles)* (Rome, 1977).

an empire proper for Hülagü.[4] The author argues principally that the ″Arab *ummah*″ was subjected in this period not only to a Mongol threat but to an equivalent Crusader one as well. Each conquest effort, he claims, relied primarily on Arab disunity for its success and aimed not only to occupy and exploit the region but exterminate its inhabitants as well. Al-Tūnjī′s effort at equating these two threats is merely another attempt at invoking for the modern Muslim reader the image of the Arab world under threat of foreign domination, especially from its old nemesis—the West. The Crusaders were after all of much less importance for Syria in this period than the Mongols and, unlike them, did not generally massacre Muslim populations (if one excepts the conquest of Jerusalem).

Al-Tūnjī is particularly interested in tracing the unequivocally pro-Mongol posture of indigenous Christians to the successful Mongol strategy of using *dhimmī*s as regional catspaws. Despite Hülagü′s actions at Baghdad and Damascus, only the slaying of the Christian population during the reduction of Aleppo exposed true Mongol intentions towards these *dhimmī* communities. While al-Tūnjī fails to consider the potential role of Christians in facilitating the fall of Abbasid Iraq, he does comment on the situation of the *dhimmī* population in neighboring Ayyubid Syro-Egypt. Because these Christian groups developed excellent relations with the Ayyubids, they were never tempted to cooperate with the Crusaders. What Christian transgressions transpired in Damascus are represented by al-Tūnjī as merely spontaneous, isolated attacks by a handful of individuals (p. 142). In short, he completely denies any tension between the Damascene Muslim and Christian communities. This is not entirely accurate. For instance, Hibat Allāh ibn Yūnis ibn Abī al-Fatḥ, a Christian treasurer in Ayyubid employ and no doubt a leader in the Melkite community of Damascus, used his wealth and influence to advance rather brazenly the interests of his co-religionists, most notably in renovating and expanding St. Mary′s Church. His zealotry proved his undoing, however. According to the historian Abū Shāmah, he was suspended from office and chained publicly to the portal of St. Mary′s, charged with misusing his office to subjugate Muslim interests to Christian ones.[5]

Al-Tūnjī has little to say, however, about the relationship of such *dhimmī* communities with subsequent Mamluk regimes. On the whole, he seems to think their interests were not greatly harmed despite his rather surprising claim that the

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[4]For Möngke and his expansionist policy, cf. Thomas T. Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism: The Politics of the Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia, and the Islamic Lands, 1251–1259* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1987).

[5]Abū Shāmah al-Maqdisī, *Al-Dhayl ʻalá al-Rawḍatayn,* ed. Muḥammad Zāhid ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kawtharī (Beirut, 1974), 156.

Mamluks were less tolerant of other religions than the Ayyubids (p. 144).[6] His interest in the Mamluks themselves centers more around their crucial victory at the battle of ʻAyn Jālūt. Al-Tūnjī argues chiefly that, unlike the Abbasid caliph al-Mustaʻṣim, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars played a savior-like role in Islam by both unifying the region and demonstrating that the Mongols could be vanquished through decisive action. The author is offended by traditional historical works that denigrate this crucial Mamluk victory by minimizing the number of Mongol troops involved. To that end, al-Tūnjī wildly estimates the force left behind by Hülagü in Syria at 100,000 men (p. 161). More recent studies that have shown the Mongol occupation force to have been quite small—12,000 to 20,000 men—are ignored.[7] The author displays similar carelessness in treating the scholarship surrounding other issues. His coverage of the installation of the Abbasid caliphs in Aleppo and Cairo, for instance, overlooks Stefan Heidemann′s important work.[8] Also, his treatment of the long Mamluk-Ilkhanid struggle for Syria after ʻAyn Jālūt (pp. 173–90) manages to ignore Reuven Amitai-Preiss′s important work on this period.[9] The last Mamluk victory over the Mongols in 1303 provides al-Tūnjī one final opportunity to celebrate the unity of Arab arms over foreign aggression.

All in all, al-Tūnjī′s book, though based on older, standard works on Mongol history such as Saunder′s *History of the Mongol Conquests,* provides a generally reliable presentation of facts.[10] Its chief shortcoming lies in its failure to incorporate the research of more recent publications, even David Morgan′s general history.[11] Moreover, al-Tūnjī presents no new findings himself. Presumably, this was not his objective in the first place, given his prior background in literary history (p. 6). The author seems to have intended this book to rise above simple narration to consider social and religious developments, but even as a general introductory text it fails to achieve what any good handbook might—enabling students to delve more deeply into selected matters. Moreover, in spite of the seemingly non-partisan

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[6]For the situation of the Christians under Mamluk rule cf., for example, Christian Mueller and Johannes Pahlitzsch, ″Baybars I and the Georgians in the Light of the Two New Arabic Documents from the Archive of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem,″ in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society,* ed. Amalia Levanoni and Michael Winter (forthcoming).

[7]Cf. Reuven Amitai-Preiss, ″ʻAyn Jālūt Revisited,″ *Tāriḫ* 2 (1992): 119–50, with references to the older literature.

[8]Stefan Heidemann, *Das Aleppiner Kalifat (A.D. 1261): vom Ende des Kalifates in Bagdad über Aleppo zu den Restaurationen in Kairo* (Leiden, 1994).

[9]Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks:the Mamluk- Īlkhānid War, 1260–1281* (Cambridge, 1995). Not mentioned is also Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century,* trans. Peter M. Holt (London and New York, 1992).

[10]Published in London, 1971.

[11]David O. Morgan, *The Mongols* (Oxford and Cambridge, MA, 1986).

depiction of events, the underlying intention of the author is readily discernible. Al-Tūnjī consciously presents Saladin and Baybars as role models able to vanquish foreign threats through their geopolitical unification of Syria. Only through such unity and decisiveness, the author insists, will modern-day, would-be conquerors of al-Shām be forestalled. It is perhaps for this reason that al-Tūnjī tries to minimize *dhimmī* pro-Mongol partisanship so as not to be seen as critical of the current Christian-Muslim condominium.

MAḤĀSIN MUḤAMMAD AL-WAQQĀD, *Al-Yahūd fī Miṣr al-Mamlūkīyah fī Ḍaw' Wathā'iq al-Jinīzah 648–923 H./1250–1517 M*. (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1999). Pp. 471.

REVIEWED BY JOSEF W. MERI, University of California, Berkeley

Arabic studies that sensitively treat the history of the Jewish communities of the Near East are rare. Indeed, the history of Near Eastern Jewry has only recently become a legitimate topic of inquiry in the Arab and Islamic Middle East outside the bounds of traditional scholarship, which ordinarily focuses on Jewish and Arab nationalist ideologies in the modern context. Before the advent of political ideologies and nation states, Oriental Jews were integrated into the social, economic, and political life of their societies. The pre-modern context offers many fine illustrations of the complex social and economic relations and the professional and informal religious and spiritual associations that characterized inter-faith relations. During the Mamluk era in particular (648/1250–923/1517), scholars, theologians, historians, and travelers produced a cornucopia of historical, legal, and literary writings, which shed light on the economic, social, and political conditions under which Egyptian Jewry lived. This was also the most significant period for the development of the Jewish faith in the post-Talmudic period, when Islamic rituals and customs influenced Jewish prayer and other rituals and some Jews, including the descendants of the great Jewish physician and theologian Maimonides (1135-1204), were attracted to various forms of mysticism.

One noteworthy critical examination of the history of Jewish life in the Islamic world, which fortunately does not succumb to ideology, is Maḥāsin Muḥammad al-Waqqād's *Al-Yahūd fī Miṣr al-Mamlūkīyah fī Ḍaw' Wathā'iq al-Jinīzah* (The Jews in Mamluk Egypt in light of the Cairo Geniza documents). This is the first serious historical study to make effective use of the Arabic sources by presenting a thorough and balanced discussion of Egyptian Jewry and their participation in

Egyptian society during the Mamluk era. By contrast, traditional studies do not, for instance, adequately consider the relatively uncommon occurrences of violence perpetrated against Jews. Waqqād sensitively grounds her discussion of such instances in her sources. Her work is an admirable achievement, exemplified by her meticulous and effective use of Arabic historical, literary, and legal sources as well as the Jewish sources upon which the works of Mann, Goitein, Cohen, and others rely. She has also made effective use of Jewish sources, including Judeo-Arabic and Arabic texts, though for Hebrew she generally relies on secondary sources or translated collections such as of Geniza documents and travel accounts.

This study is divided into four primary chapters in addition to an introduction, conclusion, table of contents, and appendices. The introduction provides a historiographical overview of the types of sources concerning the Jews of Egypt and a brief discussion of their status from early Islamic times in pre-Mamluk Egypt. As Waqqād observes in her introduction, the most notable authors writing on the history of Near Eastern Jewry are Jewish. However, the publication of this study underscores the need for international collaborative projects focusing on the history of the Jewish communities of the Near East. Chapter 1 explores the status of the Jews in the Mamluk state and the positions they held. Chapter 2 turns to their economic status, their professions, and trade activities. Chapter 3 looks at the internal organization of the various Jewish communities (Rabbanites, Karaites, and Samaritans) and their religious leadership and judiciary. Chapter 4 provides an overview of the Jewish family, holy days, and religious festivals.

While this study is methodical and logically ordered and the research meticulous, the footnotes and citation of western publications are inconsistent and sometimes works are poorly cited, as has come to be expected of much historical scholarship in the Middle East. Moreover, the editors could have been much more diligent in preventing typos and spelling mistakes, particularly in the citation of western sources.

Occasionally Waqqād displays uncritical moments, when for instance she interjects without proper attribution the mythical statement, which is grounded only in European Christian polemical sources against Judaism, that Jews employed Christian and Muslim blood during the preparation of Passover matzo (p. 378). Moreover, Waqqād takes for granted the twelfth-century Jewish sage and physician Moses Maimonides′ conversion to Islam (p. 59) without mentioning that his conversion was coerced. (Cf. Ibn al-Qifṭī′s (d. 1248) biographical account).

One of the most interesting sections of this book, which gives an intimate sense of the involvement of Egyptian Jewry in their society, is the section on *ziyārah* (pilgrimage) (pp. 393-95). Waqqād′s discussion of Jewish pilgrimage to Jerusalem *(aliyah)* seems rather inadequate. *Aliyah* is the religious commandment of pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which Jewish men observed during the Holy Days of

Passover, the Festival of Weeks (Shavuot) and the Feast of the Tabernacles (Succoth). After the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E., *aliyah* ceased to be incumbent upon Jews. Apart from the residents of Palestine, pilgrimage to Jerusalem was largely the province of wealthy merchants, theologians, and communal leaders and proved to be impossible for the vast majority of Near Eastern and European Jews, who hardly possessed the resources. It was only after the expulsion of the Jews from Iberia in 1492 and the Ottoman conquests of the early sixteenth century that Jewish immigration and pilgrimage significantly increased. When pilgrimage proved impractical for Oriental Jews, they found it necessary to develop alternate pilgrimage centers, which, although in terms of religious significance never surpassing Jerusalem, served to socially integrate them within their places of residence, as did the adoption of customs and rituals also practiced by Muslims. Although Holy Days were the most important occasions for the performance of *ziyārah,* it was performed regularly. Few recorded accounts of Egyptian Jews making pilgrimage to Jerusalem exist. Surviving Geniza accounts mention that Dammūh was one such place of pilgrimage for the Jews of Egypt. Such places as Dammūh served as alternative places of pilgrimage (p. 396). Here, Waqqād might have referred to Goitein's discussion of Dammūh in *Mediterranean Society*.

Noteworthy is the appendix, which contains a number of Arabic and Judeo-Arabic documents, the latter translated into Arabic by the author.

Waqqād effectively and quite convincingly demonstrates that the Arabic sources reveal Jews enjoyed a relatively peaceful and stable state of coexistence with their Muslim neighbors and were integrated into many aspects of social and economic life. Overall, this study represents a significant and successful attempt to represent the history and society of the Jews of Mamluk Egypt and should be a welcome addition to the library of scholars of the medieval Near East and those interested in interfaith issues.

BAYBARS AL-MANṢŪR AL-DAWĀDĀR, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah: History of the Early Mamluk Period.* Edited by D. S. Richards (Beirut: United Distributing Co., 1998). Pp. 488.

REVIEWED BY LI GUO, University of Notre Dame

The work published here is Baybars al-Manṣūrī's (d. 725/1325) account of the first sixty years of the Mamluk sultanate, from its formative years (650/1251) to the year 709/1310, which marks the beginning of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn

Qalāwūn's third reign. It constitutes the most important and original portion of the author's famous *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah,* a history of Islam in the tradition of al-Ṭabari and Ibn al-Athīr. This edition is, as the editor points out, "a long overdue contribution to the study of the Mamluk state and . . . one more building block to be put in its place in the whole edifice of Mamluk historiography" (p. xiii); and it is most welcome indeed.

The English introduction provides the reader with sketches of the author's biography and a survey of his works, as well as a discussion of the importance of the *Zubdat al-Fikrah* and the author's place in early Mamluk historiography. Richards stresses the particular difficulty in establishing Baybars al-Manṣūrī's relationships with other contemporary historians because of the peculiar, if not unique, nature of his writing, "which is consciously literary and poetic and therefore not immediately easy to compare with some of the more sober Mamluk historians" (p. xxiii). This coming from a member of the Mamluk elite, whose mother tongue was not Arabic but who managed, nevertheless, to acquire "to a notable degree the literary and religious culture" (p. xv) of the Arabs, is truly fascinating. The fact that the *Zubdah* also contains a considerable amount of autobiographical material also helps to distinguish Baybars al-Manṣūrī from many of his fellow Mamluk historians. Modern scholars have long noted that Baybars al-Manṣūrī's accounts of the events are unique in many ways. Donald P. Little, in his ground-breaking study of early Mamluk historiography,[1] has verified that Baybars al-Manṣūrī's *Zubdah* offers many accounts of the events in which he had participated or which he had witnessed. Shah Morad Elham's study, prepared under the tutelage of the late Ulrich Haarmann and remaining to date the only monograph in a Western language that is dedicated to Baybars al-Manṣūrī,[2] further reveals that the *Zubdah* is very different from the work of the more famous and mainstream historian al-Nuwayrī. My spot check of the present edition further confirms that a substantial number of Baybars al-Manṣūrī's accounts are drastically different from those of other contemporary authors such as al-Jazarī, al-Yunīnī, and Ibn al-Dawādārī. In addition, Richards also observes that Baybars al-Manṣūrī gives a "relatively large amount of space to events in Spain and North Africa" (p. xxiv), the source of which remains unidentified. Surely we have here, in Baybars al-Manṣūrī, a historian with his own experience, his own sources, and his own voice.

The edition is based on the only two extant manuscripts (British Library Ms. Add. 23325 and Yale Ms. n. 1277 [Landberg 758]). Collation was made against

[1]*An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography: An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn* (Montreal, 1970), 4-10.

[2]*Kitbuġa und Lāǧīn: Studien zur Mamluken-Geschichte nach Baibars al-Manṣūrī und an-Nuwairī* (Freiburg, 1977).

Badr al-Dīn al-ʻAynī′s *ʻIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,* a fifteenth-century chronicle that is known to have borrowed heavily from Baybars al-Manṣūrī. Some passages not found in the two manuscripts, but preserved in the *ʻIqd,* are provided here as supplements (pp. 419–31). The edition is of the highest quality. It is diligently executed, with a generous textual apparatus, such as variant readings from the manuscripts, clarification of difficult passages, meters of the verses, etc. Very useful indexes include personal names, place names, and technical terms.

MAḤMŪD SĀLIM MUḤAMMAD, *Ibn Nubātah: Shāʻir al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Damascus, Beirut: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1999). Pp. 243.

REVIEWED BY THOMAS BAUER, Universität Münster

Good news first. In a series called *Silsilat al-Aʻlām* comprising monographs on the life and work of great poets, writers, and scholars of the Arab world, a volume has been dedicated to Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī (686–768/1287–1366), the only poet of this age who has been granted this honor so far. But whoever might have hoped that this would be a sign of a new, less prejudiced, and less ideologically distorted appreciation of Mamluk poetry will be disappointed. Even those who at least expected some new factual insights will hardly be satisfied. Maḥmūd Muḥammad′s book adds little if anything to ʻUmar Mūsá Bāshā′s groundbreaking study *Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī: Amīr Shuʻarāʼ al-Mashriq* (Cairo: Dār al-Maʻārif, 1963, 1992). Two monographs about a man whom I would reckon without hesitation among the greatest pre-modern Arabic poets are certainly not too much, since even many basic facts about his work and biography remain to be elucidated. Let me only mention Ibn Nubātah′s difficult but stimulating relation to al-Ṣafadī, his role as a writer of *inshā*ʼ, and his achievements as an anthologist. But all these subjects are either only mentioned in passing or are not even touched upon in Muḥammad′s book. Instead, the author limits himself to retelling the well-known facts about ″the poet and his age″ (pp. 7–23), ″the content of his poetry″ (pp. 24–130), and ″his poetical style″ (pp. 131–211). One can determine that everything that is found in Muḥammad′s book has already been said (and often much better) by ʻUmar Mūsá Bāshā, and everything that cannot be found in Bāshā′s study is equally absent in Muḥammad′s.

There would hardly remain any reason for saying more about this book were it not for the fact that, due to its author′s distorted conception of literature and his complete ignorance of literary theory, this book turns out to be not a work *about*

Ibn Nubātah but rather a lampoon *against* him. Since Muḥammad's view of literature in general, and of the literature of the Mamluk period in particular, is still widespread (cf. Th. Emil Homerin in MSR 1 (1997): 71), some more detailed notes may be appropriate.

In his preface, the author apparently criticizes the notion of Mamluk literature as a phenomenon of "decline consisting only of ornament and play with words" (p. 5). But instead of refuting this attitude, Muḥammad does his best to corroborate it. 'Umar Mūsá Bāshā, in his unsurpassed study, succeeded in recognising Ibn Nubātah's *tawriyah*-saturated style as an exciting innovation that considerably added to the referential potential of Arabic poetry, and by comparing this sort of style to symbolism managed to demonstrate the modernity of Ibn Nubātah and to foster a better understanding of Mamluk poetry in general. Though Muḥammad mentions Bāshā's study in his bibliography, his book gives the impression that Bāshā's monograph was never written. Instead, Muḥammad's book is a sad relapse into the belief that the only aim of literature is the "natural expression of true emotions." This attitude is a trivialised and deformed version of the aesthetics of Western romanticism and was used by "orientalists" to disparage (and to protect themselves from the fascination of) an imagined "Orient" of irrationalism, ornament, and secret promises. In a process of self-colonialisation these notions have been adopted by some Arab intellectuals and directed against their own cultural heritage. It is surprising and disappointing that these things are still discussed. But exactly these ideas form the core and very essence of Muḥammad's book. With every line of Ibn Nubātah's poetry the author asks the question if it can be read as the "natural expression of genuine feelings," or, to put it somewhat provocatively, if it is *kitsch* (which is obviously the author's real literary ideal). To test the authenticity of the feelings behind a line he uses a well-known scheme. Since rhetorical devices such as *jinās* and *tawriyah,* according to his conviction, cannot arise from "authentic feelings," one has only to look for such devices in order to find out if an elegy springs from real grief or constitutes merely professional craftsmanship (what great damage has been caused by considering both as incompatible!). By applying this method Muḥammad tries to show that there is more "true feeling" behind Ibn Nubātah's famous (and really astounding) elegies on the death of his own children than behind his elegies on several princes, but I am afraid that this conclusion is reached mainly by overlooking the quite reasonable amount of *tawriyah*s even in Ibn Nubātah's poems dealing with personal affairs. Whatever the case may be, I guess that Muḥammad must feel rather uncomfortable with his position as associate professor of Mamluk and Ottoman poetry. The poetry of these (and not only these) periods needs a different aesthetic approach and cannot be reasonably evaluated with an unreflective longing for *kitsch*.

In order to present an example that shows how terribly Ibn Nubātah is misunderstood in this book, but also to give an idea about what could be done with his poetry, I would like to take a closer look at four lines that Muḥammad particularly dislikes and ruthlessly criticises. According to him, they are ″far away from truth . . . without apparent impression of a specific emotional experience″ (p. 163). These lines form the introduction to the *nasīb* of a poem in praise of al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Abū l-Fidā' (*Dīwān Ibn Nubātah*, p. 4):

qāma yarnū bi-muqlatin kaḥlā'ī / 'allamatnī al-junūna bi-al-sawdā'ī//
rasha'un dabba fī sawālifihī al-nam-/-lu fa-hāmat khawāṭiru al-shu'arā'ī//
rawḍu ḥusnin ghannā lanā fawqahu al-ḥal-/-yu fa-ahlan bi-al-rawḍati al-ghannā'ī//
jā'iru al-ḥukmi qalbuhū liya ṣakhrun / wa-bukā'ī lahū bukā al-khansā'ī//

Though a highly complex text like this is even more untranslatable than poetry normally is, I shall venture the following try:

(1) Gazing with dark eyes that taught me madness in consequence of *black (eyes)* / melancholia, there came
(2) a young gazelle on the cheeks of whom ants are crawling so that the poets′ minds are seized by the raptures of love.
(3) A garden of beauty is his face, above which jewelry sings for us—welcome to the lush garden full of rustling / *garden of the singer*!
(4) He treats me with harshness, his heart is (hard as) stone / *ṣakhr* for me, and my weeping for him is like the weeping of al-Khansā'!

Taken at face value these four lines form a quite ordinary, conventional but well formed *ghazal* depicting the fascination of the beautiful beloved and the pains of the lover. But what seems so conventional at first sight is in fact a very complex piece of art. Each line contains a *tawriyah,* the form of *double entendre* that was so popular in Ayyubid and Mamluk times that Ibn Ḥijjah even called the whole period the ″age of the *tawriyah,*″ and Ibn Nubātah was unanimously considered the era′s chief master of the technique. The *tawriyah* makes use of the fact that many words have more than one meaning, and it must be constructed in a way that although only one of its meanings is primarily intended, the hearer/reader is made aware of the other, non-intended meaning of the word. In the case of these four lines, we have no less than three different kinds of *tawriyah*. In the first line, the lyrical I is obviously going mad because of the black eyes of the beloved.

However, *sawdā'* means also ″black bile, melancholia″ which enables a medical interpretation of the line. Since the context points to the primarily intended meaning, we are confronted with a *tawriyah mubayyanah*. The situation in the next line is more complex, obviously too complex for Muḥammad, whose knowledge of the poetic tradition does not prove sufficient to understand it. Again dominated by Western standards of the nineteenth century, in this case in the field of sexual morals that have even forcefully been changed by the colonial powers, Muḥammad does not recognize that the beloved is of the male sex and that the ″ants″ that are creeping up his cheek are not a simile for ″crumbs of her perfume″ but for ″his downy beard,″ one of the main subjects of Arabic love poetry from the time of Abū Tammām until the middle of the nineteenth century (cf. my *Liebe und Liebesdichtung in der arabischen Welt des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* [Wiesbaden 1998], 225–80; see 264 f. for many references to further comparisons between the beard and ants in the love poetry of the ninth and tenth centuries). The comparison is not new at all, but Ibn Nubātah adds a *tawriyah* by stating that the downy beard ″seizes the minds of the poets.″ By mentioning the word *shu'arā'* the hearer becomes aware of the fact that *al-naml* is, just as *al-shu'arā'*, the name of a surah of the Holy Quran. This form of *tawriyah*, which becomes only conspicuous by means of another *tawriyah*, is called *tawriyah muhayya'ah*. Muḥammad cannot see any relation between the names of the surahs and a *ghazal*; it is only ″mannerism″ (p. 163) to seek relations between things that have nothing to do with each other. Well, ants are, as I said, a very common image in love poetry, and I can think of one or another relations that could possibly be found between poetry and poets. And we will see later how the Quran comes in.

The third line adds the acoustic dimension to the optic one. The beloved′s face is a garden (a common image), but a garden is only perfect when birds sing in it. Instead of birds, the beloved′s garden here is filled with the rustling of his adornment (perhaps his earring); therefore it is a *rawḍah ghannā'* which one can interpret as ″a garden, a singer.″ That is how far Muḥammad came, stating that the whimsical poet ″describes the garden as one of singing that comes from singing″ (p. 163). This note, intended to mock Ibn Nubātah, falls back on its author by proving his lack of the linguistic competence to understand Ibn Nubātah′s poems. The intended meaning of *ghannā'* is not that derived from the root *gh-n-y*, but that from the root *gh-n-n. Ghannā'* can also be the feminine of *aghann* and means as an epithet to a garden ″abounding with herbs in which the winds murmure by reason of the denseness of its herbage″ (cf. Lane, s.v., adapted). It is an old Arabic expression for a *locus amoenus* and therefore makes excellent sense in this line. The *tawriyah* in this case is a *tawriyah murashshaḥah* in which the context (″singing″) points to the not intended meaning (″singer″). It is no shame to fall into the trap of a

tawriyah murashshaḥah, as Muḥammad did here, as long as one does not blame the poet for one´s own misunderstanding.

The fourth line complains about the reluctance and harshness of the beloved whose ˝heart is of stone (*ṣakhr*),˝ a very common theme of love poetry. As a result, the lover must weep, and the poet compares his weeping to that of the pre-Islamic poetess al-Khansā' who spent many years composing elegies on the death of her beloved brother whose name was Ṣakhr. Since the brother´s name is clearly not intended by the word *ṣakhr* in the first hemistich, this is a *tawriyah murashshaḥah* again.

It is not true that these lines are really ˝mannered.˝ They contain only a single *jinās* (*ghanná–ghannā'*) and are, provided an average acquaintance with poetic language, not particularly difficult to understand if one disregards the *tawriyrah*s. And this is quite possible, since the lines yield perfect sense even without thinking about melancholia, the Quran, and al-Khansā's brother. But of course the *raison d´être* of these verses lies in their *tawriyah*s, much to the dislike of Muḥammad who holds that it is the task of the poets to produce a straightforward expression of emotions (for which purpose, by the way, no poets are needed at all). But what if emotions are not a straightforward thing? Feelings do not exist independently from the culture of which their bearer forms a part. Emotions have their social and situational context, find their cultural interpretation, have their own history, and carry in themselves their own ambiguities. This was, in some way or another, already known to the Arab love poets of the preceding centuries. Never, however, could this factual complexity be transformed into poetry with such literary complexity as it was by the use of the *tawriyah* in the Mamluk period. In these four lines, Ibn Nubātah succeeds in an unprecedented way in providing a broader context for the feelings of love and to put them in the frame of other emotions and of the factors that constitute the condition of human emotionality. From line one we can infer that there is a biological basis to feelings. In line two we are referred to the Quran, which not only talks about emotions evoked or pretended by poets (Q. 26:225: ˝al-shu'arā' . . . fī kulli wādin yahīmūn˝—this *āyah* is clearly alluded to in Ibn Nubātah´s line), but is in itself a text that has always been experienced as loaded with extreme emotionality that eventually even led to the death of its readers (in the case of the *qatlá al-Qur'ān*). From religious emotions we are taken to emotions caused by nature as reflected in garden and flower poetry, alluded to in line three. And finally, and probably as a sort of climax, the emotions of love are paralleled with those of grief caused by the death of a close relative in line four. Perhaps it is not only the well-known parallel between love and death that is suggested here, but also the historical depth of feelings by alluding to the names of two historical figures. The reader is thus referred to the biological, religious, natural, and historic dimension of emotions. It is a stupid criticism to say that the

elements hinted at in the form of the *tawriyah* have nothing to do with the ″authentic″ feelings of love. Instead, it is quite obvious that the subject of love is consciously avoided in the images which are hinted at by the secondary meanings of the *tawriyah*s, or rather the theme of love is accompanied by a subtext in a way similar to the technique of the *leitmotiv* in Wagner′s *Ring,* where the music provides for a second textual layer that interprets, comments, and often counteracts the layer of discursive language. What is achieved in the *Ring* by music is achieved in Ibn Nubātah′s poetry by the ambiguity of the *tawriyah* that enables the poet to create a second textual thread that accompanies, reflects, and adds to the primary text. Ibn Nubātah may not always be so successful with his *tawriyahs* as in the quoted example, but his poems are always interesting and mark an achievement that clearly opens a new and fascinating chapter in Arabic literary history, and, since I do not recall any obvious parallels in other literatures, even in the history of world literature.

In any case, there remains a lot to be said about Ibn Nubātah, but not much about Muḥammad′s superficial and prejudiced text. Instead of wasting one′s time with this book it should be spent much more profitably by reading Ibn Nubātah′s poetry itself. And anyone who wants to read a book about this poet can be advised to read ʻUmar Mūsá Bāshā′s outstanding study, which still remains one of the best books on Mamluk poetry.

AḤMAD QADRĪ AL-KĪLĀNĪ, *Al-Malik al-ʻĀlim Abū al-Fidā', Malik Ḥamāh.* Introduction and Notes by ʻAbd al-Razzāq Kīlānī (Damascus: Al-Maṭbaʻah al-ʻIlmīyah, 1998). Pp. 112.

REVIEWED BY NIALL CHRISTIE, University of Toronto

This book is an edition of a biography of Abū al-Fidā', one of a number of biographies of notables of Ḥamāh written by the scholar Aḥmad Qadrī al-Kīlānī (1886–1980), who was himself a native of the city. An introduction and notes are supplied by the editor, ʻAbd al-Razzāq Kīlānī, who knew the author personally. This is the first printed edition of the work itself, which up until this time existed only in manuscript.

Abū al-Fidā' was an Ayyubid amir, historian ,and geographer. Born in Damascus in 672/1273, he was a cousin to Maḥmūd II, the prince of Ḥamāh. He witnessed the siege of Marqab (Margat) in 684/1285 and took part in a number of later campaigns against the Crusaders. His account of the fall of Acre to al-Ashraf

Khalīl in 690/1291 is particularly well known. When the Ayyubid principality of Ḥamāh was suppressed in 698/1299 he remained in service to its Mamluk governors, and eventually managed to secure the governorate for himself in 710/1310. He was appointed sultan of Ḥamāh by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 720/1320, continuing to rule until his death in 732/1331. His best known works are a universal history covering the pre-Islamic period and Islamic history to 729/1329, *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh al-Bashar,* and a geography, *Taqwīm al-Buldān.*[1]

'Abd al-Razzāq Kīlānī's introduction occupies the first quarter of his edition of Aḥmad Qadrī al-Kīlānī's work. He gives a description of the origins and history of the Ayyubid sultanate up to and including the sultanate of Abū al-Fidā' at Ḥamāh. 'Abd al-Razzāq Kīlānī's choice of sources is fairly narrow, relying primarily on Abū al-Fidā's *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh al-Bashar* and the chronicle *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* by Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), as well as the modern *Mawsū'at al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī* by Aḥmad Shalabī. The introduction then proceeds with a description of the life and works of Aḥmad Qadrī al-Kīlānī himself, written from the perspective of a man who knew him personally, and including a number of personal anecdotes. Several of Aḥmad Qadrī al-Kīlānī's associates are also described in footnotes to this part. The information presented in the introduction is primarily descriptive, with little discussion of the material.

The major part of the rest of the work consists of Aḥmad Qadrī al-Kīlānī's biography of Abū al-Fidā'. The first part of this is a chronological account, describing his birth, upbringing, education, character, military experiences, and career in Damascus, before giving an account of his gradual achievement of the governorate and then sultanate of Ḥamāh. Al-Kīlānī then presents a number of panegyric poems written for Abū al-Fidā', before describing other actions he performed during his life, most particularly his pilgrimages and visits to Jerusalem. The works of Abū al-Fidā' are also discussed, including sources, content, translations, and publication details. Finally, he describes Abū al-Fidā's death, elegies written to his memory, and the architectural remains from the construction he conducted during his life. The narrative is almost entirely descriptive, with al-Kīlānī making little attempt to analyze the material. However, this is not his purpose. He presents a biography of Abū al-Fidā', seeking merely to describe his activities and achievements, not to carry out a detailed examination of his motives or any other deeper topics. Footnotes by 'Abd al-Razzāq Kīlānī explain individual points in the narrative, providing useful supplemental information, but the editor has not made any further attempt to update al-Kīlānī's work to take account of more modern scholarship.

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[1]H. A. R. Gibb, "Abū 'l-Fidā'," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 1:118–19.

Al-Kīlānī makes use of a number of Arabic sources in his account of Abū al-Fidā's life. His major source is Abū al-Fidā's *Tārīkh,* but he also makes considerable use of the biographical dictionary *Durar al-Kāminah* by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī (d. 852/1449) and takes some information from other sources. However, although he cites page and volume numbers, he does not cite which editions of works he is using, nor is there a bibliography given in the book, something which might create difficulties for future research on the passages cited. Al-Kīlānī generally allows the sources to speak for themselves, quoting large sections of text and often allowing them to form a significant part of the narrative. His particular reliance on Abū al-Fidā's own account makes his biography seem somewhat one-sided. On the other hand, it also gives the reader an insight into Abū al-Fidā's major preoccupation, the achievement of the sultanate over Ḥamāh. However, the work might have benefited from more balanced use of the sources.

The book concludes with an afterword by ʻAbd al-Razzāq Kīlānī, in which he assesses Abū al-Fidā's achievements, most particularly his ability to preserve the Ayyubid sultanate at Ḥamāh despite the fact that the Ayyubid dominance of Egypt and Syria had been extinguished by the Mamluks considerably earlier. The afterword also concludes the historical survey of the Ayyubid sultanate begun in the introduction.

Al-Malik al-ʻĀlim Abū al-Fidā: Malik Ḥamāh is a useful book, for two reasons. Firstly, it provides a basic, clear, thematic account of the life of the sultan. Abū al-Fidā' has been given relatively little attention by modern scholarship.[2] Hence this book draws welcome attention to this important figure which has been mostly lacking up to this point. Secondly, the book is useful as a collection of Arabic texts related to the life and works of Abū al-Fidā', making it worthy of examination by scholars wishing to conduct further research on the sultan.

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[2]The most notable exception to this is a partial translation of the *Tārīkh* by P. M. Holt, entitled *The Memoirs of a Syrian Prince: Abu'l-Fidā', Sultan of Ḥamāh (672–732/1273–1331),* Freiburger Islamstudien, vol. 9 (Wiesbaden, 1983).

The Cairo Heritage: Essays in Honor of Laila Ali Ibrahim. Edited by Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Cairo and New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2000). Pp. 341.

REVIEWED BY BETHANY J. WALKER, Oklahoma State University

This high-quality festschrift offers a fitting tribute to one of the most influential figures in Cairene studies. As a social historian, art historian, educator, and conservationist, Laila Ali Ibrahim has impacted scholarship on the ″Mother of the World″ on many levels. Her commitment to and love for Cairo are evident in several key articles and monographs on the historic city, in her many years of activism to save its monuments and neighborhoods, and in her generosity towards resident and visiting scholars, among whom are the contributors to this volume.

The essays in this festschrift represent a good mix of Egyptian and non-Egyptian scholarship on the city. The authors regularly cite one another, and the overlap of themes and references makes for a coherent, well-structured text. The volume is organized into four sections, all of which illustrate Laila Ali Ibrahim′s intellectual interests and scholarly contributions. Each examines Cairo from a different vantage point, beginning with a bird′s eye view of the city as a whole, going then to its monuments and the furnishings of those monuments, and concluding with the dilapidated state of the modern neighborhoods collectively known as ″Islamic Cairo.″ The sections are tied together by the common theme of *waqf* and its impact, for good or bad, on the medieval and modern city.

Part One, entitled ″History,″ examines the historiography of Cairo, in which al-Maqrīzī plays a particularly visible role. Jean-Claude Garcin′s article ″Outsiders in the City″ appropriately opens the volume with a discussion of the character of the Mamluk city, whether it was a foreign and colonial creation forced on Egyptians or, rather, a natural stage in the development of the larger Egyptian state. To this end he considers the integral roles played by the outsider/newcomer in Islamic history and argues that the Mamluks were ″acceptable strangers″ whose monumental urban creations were reflections of indigenous state development. His ″inner outsider″ is, thus, a useful model for art history and should be introduced to the debates on the character of Mamluk art, which emphasize its ″renaissance″ of classical Islamic styles.

Because of his centrality to Cairene historiography and to Mamluk studies as a whole, al-Maqrīzī is the subject of two articles by Nasser Rabbat and Sabri Jarrar. Rabbat assesses al-Maqrīzī′s *Kitāb al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* as a product of *khiṭaṭ* writing (descriptions of the planned urban quarter) and traces the evolution of this genre from *faḍāʼil* (merits of cities) and *tarājim* (biographies of urban notables) literature to *masālik* (historical topography)

treatises. He suggests that what distinguishes al-Maqrīzī from other *khiṭaṭ* writers is his overarching theory of history, heavily influenced by Ibn Khaldūn, and his concern, like that of Ibrahim, for recording Cairo's monuments before they disappear. Although the heavy and at times awkward prose makes Jarrar's article difficult to read, his suggestion that al-Maqrīzī's unique contribution was in his "alternative, architectural approach to history" (p. 32) is thought-provoking. Jarrar argues that the Mamluk historian uses the concepts of *khiṭaṭ* (in this case "streets") and *āthār* (structures on those streets) to construct a hierarchical system of describing Cairo's urban space. Al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, however, is not nearly as systematic in its descriptions of streets and monuments as Jarrar would have us believe. The amount of detail and the extent of storytelling (poetry, various asides, and "gossip") in al-Maqrīzī's accounts depended on the sources that were at his disposal. Moreover, an explanation for al-Maqrīzī's interest in "urban realism," to use Jarrar's phrase, is missing from this essay.

The volume's editor, Doris Behrens-Abouseif, rounds out Part One with an essay on the Mamluk sultans' use of family *waqf* to supplement amiral incomes. Not only does the author's new data challenge the traditional understanding of the economic position of the *awlād al-nās*, but I believe it will be useful for explaining the financial mechanisms behind the urban patterns achieved in Cairo in the early Mamluk period.

Part Two, "Architecture and Urban History," focuses on Cairo's monuments and the institutions that created them, and what impact they had on urban design. Most of the articles in this section relied on *waqfīyāt* as primary sources, *waqf* being the primary institution through which the urban fabric was transformed. As with Part One, this section opens with a theoretical essay. In his trademark oratorial style, Oleg Grabar presents a model for explaining the architectural inscriptions that punctuate the old city's landscape, suggesting that people write on buildings primarily to explain the building's purpose. He claims that the most significant contribution of Islamic architecture was the semantic function of architectural inscriptions, in which writing was part of the building's fabric. If so, we should extend Grabar's argument to the level of the city: such inscriptions were also an integral part of the urban fabric. Thus, they should be read as a source of information on what patrons valued in their city, what they found beautiful in it, and how they hoped to transform it.

The five following articles address specific architectural problems and are concerned with identifying or dating particular monuments. In his essay on the Ibn Ṭūlūn minaret, Tarek Swelim revives the controversy over the date of the extant minaret, suggesting that the base is Ayyubid and the *mabkharah* early Mamluk. Finbarr Flood, in his study of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's Bāb al-Sa'āt on the Citadel, illustrates another way in which Umayyad architecture, and specifically

the Great Mosque of Damascus, influenced the monuments of Qalawunid Cairo. On the basis of written sources, Flood argues that the Cairene gate served the same purpose as the gate of the same name in Damascus: to provide access from the congregational mosque to the palace. In an act of historical and literary wizardry, Howayda al-Harithy identifies the Turbat al-Sitt described by al-Maqrīzī with the Qubbat wa-Īwān al-Manūfī of the Southern Qarāfah. According to al-Harithy, what stands today are the remains of a *qubbah-zāwiyah* complex and the earliest identified domed *zāwiyah* of the Mamluk period. In keeping with the volume′s theme of recording disappearing monuments, Chahinda Karim tries to reconstruct the original appearance of the mosque of Ulmās al-Ḥājib, which the author claims is the earliest surviving congregational funerary mosque in Egypt. The debate over the origins of the Mamluk *qāʻah* reappears in Bernard O′Kane′s analysis of the influence of domestic on religious architecture. This well-argued essay, which traces the evolution of Cairo′s sacred architecture to the fifteenth century through the adoption and adaptation of such spatial and decorative devices as the widened *qiblah īwān* and the *kurdī,* could have benefited from the inclusion of floor plans.

Waqf is the focus of the next four essays in this volume. These essays as a group are methodologically the strongest part of the volume. The authors suggest ways in which the Mamluks and Ottomans rezoned, revived, and otherwise transformed the city through creative manipulation of the *waqf* system. In recreating the history of a fifteenth-century *qaysarīyah* that no longer exists, Husam Ismail makes a strong case for the extensive use of *istibdāl* in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods and demonstrates ways it which it transformed *waqf*-″protected″ properties on the *qaṣabah*. Mamluk success in re-urbanizing Cairo through the manipulation of the *waqf* institution is the subject of Sylvie Denoix′s article. She argues that *waqf* made possible the rejuvenation of the *qaṣabah* by putting a variety of income-producing properties in the neighborhood, thereby diversifying the local economy. In a similar vein, Leonor Fernandes presents several fifteenth-century examples of the ways that *istibdāl,* the semi-legal exchange of *waqf* properties, not only transformed entire urban quarters but made *awqāf* themselves possible. She demonstrates how *istibdāl* worked as a legal process and suggests that it was well suited to the Mamluk′s urban policies of the period, when ″downtown″ land was scarce and the economy was troubled. In André Raymond′s study of a seventeenth-century *sabīl* near Bāb Zuwaylah, it was outright sale of an endowed property that allowed it to exchange hands, making possible its financial survival.

The second section of the volume closes as it began, with a theoretical essay on architectural esthetics. In this case the author, Khaled Asfour, considers the relevance of Mamluk architecture to contemporary Arab architectural design, bringing attention to the ways in which the medieval architects personalized their edifices. It was the tension between innovation and tradition in the façade, decorative

program, and articulation of internal space, Asfour contends, that made Mamluk monuments an integral part of the urban fabric. His emphasis on the relationship of building façades to the thoroughfares is particularly relevant to programs for the old city's revival, as presented later in the book.

Part Three of the Ibrahim festschrift, "Decorative Arts," deals with the production structure of ceramics and glassware. With the publication of wasters of Ayyubid and Mamluk lusterwares from Fusṭāṭ, Abd al-Ra'uf Ali Yusuf is able to demonstrate that Cairo, as well as Damascus, was a center of production for luster-painted pottery. Moreover, on the basis of stylistic analysis, he suggests that a variety of wares produced in the Mamluk period were fired together in the same kilns. While such kiln debris as wasters is critical new data, neither of these theories on Mamluk ceramics is new. Yusuf's bibliography is a bit out-of-date, particularly in light of laboratory techniques that are now widely used. Petrographic analysis, in particular, has discredited the old argument that migration of potters accounts for the wide distribution and decentralized production of the more expensive glazed wares, such as lusterware.[1]

J. M. Rogers' study of Mamluk glass surveys the archaeological evidence for its distribution and export. He suggests, on the basis of decorative and materials analysis, that there were workshops that specialized in enameling, using ready-made glass blown elsewhere. The poor quality of the generic dedicatory inscriptions in Arabic that decorate many vessels leads Rogers to believe there was no central control for the production of "secular" glass. A comparison with identical inscriptions from other media, however, suggests that changes in the market, rather than the structure of production, may account for variation in inscriptional content and calligraphic quality.[2] To better illustrate his arguments, photographs of the glass vessels in question would have been welcome.

In the final section of the volume, "Preservation of the Urban and Architectural Heritage," representatives from the World Bank, Harvard University's Department of Urban Planning and Design, and the American University in Cairo suggest ways in which to arrest and repair the decay of "Islamic Cairo." Ismail Serageldin's economic analysis of urban renewal reminds the reader that saving the historic core of Cairo is possible only through city-wide renewal projects. He calls for a revitalization of the economic base of the old city by using cultural heritage

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[1]Scott Redford and M. James Blackman, "Lustre and Fritware Production and Distribution in Medieval Syria," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 24 (1997): 1–15; Robert B. Mason, "Medieval Egyptian Lustre-painted and Associated Wares: Typology in a Multidisciplinary Study," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 34 (1997): 201–42.

[2]For this alternative interpretation based on an analysis of contemporary sgraffito ware, see Bethany Walker, "The Ceramic Correlates of Decline in the Mamluk Sultanate: An Analysis of Late Medieval Sgraffito Wares," Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1998, 199–277.

methods. Given the current move towards eco-tourism, the development of archaeological heritage sites, and the participation of academics in NGOs, his models for report-writing and fund-raising are appropriate and timely. Based on a graduate seminar offered at Harvard University, François Vigier strongly urges that project directors maintain the concept of *ḥārah*, which is the most important unit of the medieval city, when planning improvements in circulation (streets) and parking in Islamic Cairo. His emphasis on the integrity of the medieval quarter echoes statements made by Denoix and Asfour earlier in the volume.

The concluding essay in the volume is a bittersweet tribute to Islamic Cairo by John Rodenbeck. Like Vigier, Rodenbeck strongly supports area conservation, with an emphasis on streets and neighborhoods, over the restoration of individual monuments. He is critical of recent restoration designs that do not take into account entire neighborhoods, such as the USAID-funded project administered by the American Research Center in Egypt. The author overlooks, however, the very successful restoration of Bayt Suhaymī, an ARCE collaboration, that has included the cleaning and repavement of Darb al-ʻAṣfūr (just off of the *qaṣabah*), as well as the economic revival of the block of shops facing the house.

Rodenbeck emphasizes that in spite of the many conferences convened and organizations formed since the 1980s to address the decline of the old city, few of their initiatives have been put into action, and the medieval quarters of Cairo may be gone by the next generation. His sobering message has resonated with this scholar, who recently took a dozen Oklahoma State University students for their first visit to Islamic Cairo: "those of us will disappear who were once able to recognize that neither memory nor legend can ever take the place of the real thing" (p. 338).

Although occasional grammar mistakes and missing words, the result of poor editing, detract from the book, this festschrift is a well-balanced, multi-disciplinary contribution to scholarship on Cairo. Mamluk specialists will find it a valuable addition to their libraries.

War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th–15th Centuries. Edited by Yaacov Lev (Leiden, New York and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1997). Pp. 410.

REVIEWED BY W. W. CLIFFORD, The University of Chicago

This assembly of fourteen variegated inquiries into the characteristics of the medieval Middle Eastern military institution is taken, the editor readily concedes, "from a

broad perspective″ and with an ″arrangement″ that might appear ″arbitrary.″ The consequence of such broadness and randomness is predictable. Lev′s volume, like other collections of its kind, suffers a good deal from topical fragmentation, particularly among the first half dozen so-called ″early Muslim period″ offerings—a highly diverse mix of technological, literary, and administrative perspectives that, whatever their individual merits, seem collectively to add or clarify little about the institutional structure or process of the medieval Syro-Egyptian military. Only Lev′s contribution, ″Regime, Army and Society in Medieval Egypt, 9th–12th Centuries,″ really brings us anywhere near this goal. He considers principally the troubled emergence of the institution of military slavery in the Tulunid-Ikhshidid period. Despite uncertainty about the long-term macroeconomic impact of military slavery, particularly on urban development, Lev is otherwise unequivocal in his conclusion: ″In fact, the destructive nature of the institution of military slavery was manifested already during the Tulunid-Ikhshidid period″ (p. 150). The article affords him a natural opportunity to reiterate his long-standing complaint about the consequences of such a system on the later Fatimid state. Indeed, Lev′s chief purpose in this article seems to be to rediscover in the Tulunid-Ikhshidid ninth–tenth centuries his earlier prejudice against a system he believed ultimately responsible for the Fatimid twelfth-century collapse.

Lev achieves much better results with a more coherent cache of Mamluk-related offerings. Both Anne-Marie Eddé and Reuven Amitai-Preiss consider the composition and dynamic of the military class in thirteenth–fourteenth century Syro-Egypt, providing collaterally a welcome critique of David Ayalon′s long-enshrined reconstruction of the early Mamluk military institution. Eddé revives in her article ″Kurdes et Turcs dans l′armee ayyoubide de Syrie du Nord″ one of the key issues Ayalon no doubt believed he had settled—the significance of Kurds in the late Ayyubid military structure. She suggests that ethnic antagonisms not just between Kurds and Turks but among Turkish and non-Turkish (e.g., Armenian) *mamālīk* effected ties of loyalty among the Syrian soldiery. Moreover, while the Syrian army on the brink of the Mamluk period could still be considered dominated by Turks, an important role continued to be played by Kurds, whose influence actually increased after 1250–51/648 as a result of a concatenation of socio-political circumstances: loss of power by the free-born Turkish families associated with the Zangids, adherence of Syrian Turks to the new Mamluk regime in Cairo, and the continued loyalty of Kurdish families like the Qaymarīyah to the Syrian Ayyubids.

Eddé is moved at the end of her piece to temporize her conclusions, claiming her remarks represent only a ″slight nuancing of D. Ayalon′s perspective on the Ayyubids″ (p. 236). Perhaps. But no such disclaimer can be applied to Amitai-Preiss′s head-on confrontation with yet another aspect of the Ayalon legacy, at the beginning of his article ″The Mamluk Officer Class During the Reign of Sultan Baybars.″

Grappling with an issue left conspicuously unaddressed in his earlier book,[1] Amitai-Preiss reveals here finally his unreserved support for the position long espoused by R. S. Humphreys *contra* David Ayalon concerning the institutional origins of the Mamluk army.[2] In what constitutes perhaps the most important, certainly controversial, statement in the whole of the Lev volume, Amitai-Preiss observes candidly: ″Even taking into consideration . . . the reservations of Ayalon, it appears that Humphreys is correct on a number of important points: the early Mamluk army (at least after A.D. 1260) was bigger, better organized and more centralized than its Ayyubid precursor. Humphreys is right in attributing these ′reforms′ to a large degree to Baybars′s need to create a military machine capable of dealing with the ongoing [Ilkhanid] menace. . . .″ (p. 269).

In fact, Amitai-Preiss takes his cue in this article from a topic raised initially by Humphreys and later reconsidered by Robert Irwin—the composition and underwriting of the senior officer corps under Baybars. He affirms that while the Mamluk military establishment was not exclusively of slave origin, many of the officer class were *mamālīk*, the Ṣāliḥī and Ẓāhirī amirs particularly enjoying the lion′s share of Baybars′s munificence. Amitai-Preiss′s extrapolation about the foundation of Baybars′s power rightly stresses his attempts at making stakeholders in his regime of all officer grades, even amirs whom he characterizes as ″unaffiliated . . . nobodies.″ In re-evaluating Baybars′s consolidation of power over his Mamluk colleagues it is perhaps time to recognize finally his true political skills, not as a despotic leg-breaker but rather as a consummate deal-maker.

Yehoshua Frenkel′s contribution, ″The Impact of the Crusades on Rural Society and Religious Endowments: The Case of Medieval Syria (Bilad al-Sham),″ dovetails neatly with Amitai-Preiss′s, demonstrating just how Baybars underwrote economically this consolidation of power. Just as Ayyubid and early Mamluk regimes continued the Crusader practice of allocating assets and properties to fund religious establishments in Syria so, too, they embraced the Latin Kingdom′s policy of enserfment, continuing to convert local cultivators *(fallāḥūn)* into sharecroppers *(muzāri‘ūn)* in order to guarantee better their system of military land assignment. Though clearly controverting shari‘ah this practice, Frenkel opines, proved ″a powerful device to forge bonds of loyalty between the *sultan*s and the *amir*s″—just as suggested by Amitai-Preiss.

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[1]Reuven-Amitai Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Īlkhānid war, 1260–1281*. Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge, England, 1995).

[2]See, R.S. Humphreys, ″The Emergence of the Mamluk Army,″ *Studia Islamica*, 45 (1977),:67–99; 46 (1977): 147–82; David Ayalon, ″From Ayyūbids to Mamlūks,″*Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 49 (1981): 43–57; reprinted in *Islam and the Abode of War: Military slaves and Islamic adversaries* (Aldershot, 1994): 43–57.

The contributions by John Masson Smith, Jr., and Bernadette Martel-Thoumian shift focus away from the military institution itself to consideration of its operational art. Smith's contribution "Mongol Society and Military in the Middle East: Antecedents and Adaptations" is actually a strategic consideration of Mongol logistical and tactical shortcomings in their thirteenth–early fourteenth-century Syrian campaigns, but can be considered a kind of rejoinder to Amitai-Preiss's prior observations in his book, *Mongols and Mamluks,* about the relative merits of the two opposing forces in Syria. Most interestingly Smith, who did not have access to *Mongols and Mamluks* at the writing of his article for this volume, attempts to argue for the very Mamluk military superiority that Amitai-Preiss attempted to deny in his book. Whereas Smith believes that in light of their larger horses, armor, swords, and high-speed archery, "[m]an for man, and horse for horse, the Mamluks were better than the Mongols" (p. 255), Amitai-Preiss earlier wrote: "Taken as a whole, the Mongols were not significantly inferior soldiers to their Mamluk enemies, in spite of certain differences in arms, horses and tactics."[3]

Smith and Amitai-Preiss are even more diametrically opposed on the issue of the logistical limitations of Syria itself to Mongol military operations. Smith stresses the "ecological constraints" of climate and geography on the availability of water and fodder sufficient for "a short campaigning season for a [Mongol] force big enough to meet strategic requirements" (pp. 254–55). Amitai-Preiss, however, minimized these considerations, insisting that "[l]ogistical problems did not prevent the Mongols from invading Syria with large forces, nor do they fully explain [their] withdrawal . . . when the Mongols did succeed in occupying the country."[4]

The compact excellence of Smith's article contrasts with the slower-paced artisanship of Bernadette Martel-Thoumian's piece "Les dernières Battailles du grand émir Yašbak min Mahdī." While Smith vigorously diagrams the operational problems confronting the Mongol army in Syria, Martel-Thoumian attempts a more subtle sketch of the operational competence displayed by the late Mamluk military institution on the Syro-Mesopotamian frontier. While not fruitless, her long and elaborate narration of events threatens at times to overwhelm the reader, nearly camouflaging her principal insight, that while possessing superior numbers and probably comparable equipment, the Mamluks somehow proved militarily incompetent in dealing with Dhū al-Qadr and Aqquyunlu challenges between 1468/872 and 1481/885. Why? Martel-Thoumian is ultimately better at raising the question than answering it. Her general conclusion, that the manpower costs and

[3]Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, 229.
[4]Ibid, 229.

political humiliation attendant on these defeats opened the province of Aleppo to the possibility of future (i.e., Ottoman) invasion, seems rather patented as well.

In sum, Mamlukists are undoubtedly the victors in this volume, which in spite of its cost is worth obtaining for both its historical and historiographic insights into the institutional problems of war-making in late medieval Syro-Egypt.

QĀSIM ʿABDUH QĀSIM, *Al-Sulṭān al-Muẓaffar Sayf al-Dīn Quṭuz, Baṭal Maʿrakat ʿAyn Jālūt* (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 1998). Pp. 176.

REVIEWED BY AMALIA LEVANONI, University of Haifa

This book is the seventy-first volume in the series *Aʿlām al-Muslimīn* (Celebrated Muslims) and is dedicated to the figure of Sultan al-Muẓaffar Quṭuz (1259–60), the fifth sultan of the Mamluk state (1250–1517). It has six chapters, a preface and a summary.

The author places at the center of the discussion of Sultan al-Muẓaffar Quṭuz's curriculum vitae the principal issue with which historians and historical philosophers have been occupied for years: Man's desires as a reason for deeds in history. In other words, have "history's heroes," by their intended actions, been the cause of historical events or was it the forces and processes embodied in history that have brought about its movement in a direction over which "the heroes" had little control? However, it is clear also that celebrated men in history reflect in their actions the values of the society in which they live and therefore their deeds all move towards a historical consequence compatible with the desire of society. Based on these arguments, the author feels that Sultan Quṭuz, too, was a product of contemporary Muslim society and that despite his short period of rule, the course of history moved in only one direction, that of his decision to protect Islam and the Arab region *(al-minṭaqah al-Arabīyah)* from the enemies of Islam. Quṭuz took the stage of history to fulfill the role designated for him, that is, to lead the Muslims to victory over the Mongols at the battle of ʿAyn Jālūt. These are the main arguments developed by Qāsim in the six chapters of the book.

The first chapter is a review of the political situation in the Muslim states on the eve of the battle of ʿAyn Jālūt in the face of the Mongol threat from the east and the Crusader threat from the west. Adopting the traditional perception of leadership in Islam that one of the principal roles of political leaders is to protect Islam from threats from without by means of jihad, the author maintains that the Ayyubids and the Mamluks after them played an identical historical role. The

moment the Ayyubids stopped playing this role, adopting a policy of coexistence with the Crusaders, their purpose ended and some new factor was supposed to take their part on the stage of history (pp. 20–22). Evidence of this is that the Mamluks succeeded in vanquishing the Crusaders, who had invaded Egypt in the Seventh Crusade led by Louis IX (648/1249), while the Ayyubids were otherwise engaged in internal political conflicts.

The second chapter sets out in detail the Mamluk system and the management of the military, political, and religious administration in the Mamluk state in order to explain the background against which Quṭuz progressed from mamluk to sultan.

The third chapter focuses on Quṭuz's rise through the Mamluk ranks until, as sultan, he led the Mamluk army into battle against the Mongols, who had just laid waste the Islamic countries in the east.

While Chapter Four deals with the Mongols, from the beginning of the conquest of Bukhara in 1220 up to the battle of ʻAyn Jālūt, the fifth chapter describes the battle of ʻAyn Jālūt itself and attempts to determine its historical importance for Islam. Qāsim's assessment is that the victory over the Mongols did nothing to change the destiny of Islam, as held by scholars, especially the Europeans, because the sheer size of the Muslim population in the east was such that it prevented the Mongols from destroying it! In contrast, a real threat was posed to Islam by the Crusaders in the Arab region because their objective was to settle the region with European immigrants (pp. 17, 120–22).

The sixth chapter describes the circumstances of Quṭuz's death, and more precisely, his murder by Mamluk amirs from a rival faction, al-Baḥrīyah. Apart from violence and bloodshed in the power struggles that were characteristic of the mamluk factional system, the author notes that since Quṭuz had mounted the stage of history to play a definite historical role, its completion necessitated his departure (p. 158).

This study is problematic for a number of reasons. First, it leans heavily on a meta-historical theory which assumes that Islam is the only true faith and thus is destined for universal dominion. This hypothesis is the basis of traditional Islamic historiography and has been perceived as driving the course of Islamic history. Accordingly, the rise and fall of dynasties, like the Ayyubids and their replacement by the Mamluks, did not change the course of history. Dynasties appear on the stage of history and disappear from it to serve the purpose of this basic assumption. This perception has prevented the author from dealing analytically and critically with the primary sources he relies on. Thus the author has not discussed effectively contradictions in the primary sources regarding the events of the battle of ʻAyn Jālūt and has not dealt with the issue of the inclusion of folkloristic myths and legends in historical narrative. Moreover, he has not referred to the vast body of modern research conducted over recent decades on the Mamluks' relations with

the Crusaders and Mongols, and more specifically, on the battle of ʿAyn Jālūt. The important studies by P. M. Holt, D. Ayalon, D. O. Morgan, P. Jackson, R. Amitai-Preiss, and others have not been deemed worthy of mention.

This book is therefore a narrative reflecting what is written in the primary sources on the subject in question and is loyal to the value perceptions expressed in them (see pp. 14, 15, 22, 33, 83, 84, 89, 101, 104, and elsewhere). These failures apart, a number of instances were noted in this book of citations from primary sources and of references to modern studies without the author making mention of them (pp. 25, 32, 33).

The principal contribution of this book is, therefore, that it is likely to serve as a primary source for research on myths in contemporary societies that are built around historical figures, figures from the Middle Ages for example, in order to foster present-day ideologies and values.

MASʿŪD AL-RAḤMĀN KHĀN AL-NADWĪ, *Al-Imām Ibn Kathīr: Sīratuhu wa-Muʾallafātuhu wa-Manhajuhu fī Kitābat al-Tārīkh* (Damascus and Beirut: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1999). Pp. 353.

REVIEWED BY AMINA ELBENDARY, The American University in Cairo

In the very first volume of this journal Li Guo lamented the lack of adequate biographies of even the major Mamluk historians. Such studies, he argued, would help "frame Mamluk history not only in political, social, military and institutional, but also personal and intellectual terms."[1] And indeed a biography of Ibn Kathīr promises to be not only the story of such an influential man's life, but also a glimpse into a whole school of Mamluk intellectuals and their relationships with each other and with the powers of the time. This latest biography of Ibn Kathīr by Masʿūd al-Raḥmān Khān al-Nadwī falls short of such expectations.

The book is divided into two sections, the first dealing with Ibn Kathīr's biography and his writings and the second dealing with his methodology in *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah*.

The author has diligently extracted all references to Ibn Kathīr's life and work from the historian's own writings, mainly from his *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah*. He has also studied almost all of what the medieval biographical dictionaries have to say about Ibn Kathīr. Thus the first sections of this present volume read as a

[1]Li Guo, "Mamluk Historiographic Studies: The State of the Art," *Mamluk Studies Review,* 1:43.

remarkable and detailed *curriculum vitae* of the Mamluk historian. Hence we know many of the books Ibn Kathīr studied, the ulama he studied with, and the students who eventually studied under his tutelage. We get a glimpse of the social and political ties that bound various schools and generations of ulama together. The author details all the works Ibn Kathīr is said to have authored, including those which are mentioned in medieval sources but have not survived. The picture that emerges of Ibn Kathīr is of a man whose intellect spanned a wide array of disciplines and genres: from Quranic studies to hadith, and from history to poetry.

Yet while the author hints at various squabbles between ulama, some of which had their effects on Ibn Kathīr's career, he does not proceed from there to contemplate the political power plays that informed a Mamluk historian's career. Especially frustrating is the lack of analysis of Ibn Kathīr's relationship with Ibn Taymīyah and its implications for their scholarship. The same is true of references to Ibn Kathīr's relationship with ruling authorities, which is not treated in depth by the present author. The historian's views on *al-isrā'īlīyāt* and his scathing criticism of scholars of "the people of the book," while repeatedly referred to in the present volume, are not at all analyzed with reference to the historical context in which they occurred.

Though al-Nadwī proposed to offer a "*sīrah*" of Ibn Kathīr, the reader is left knowing rather little about the man and his personality. And as the author's own meticulous footnotes attest, this is not simply a question of the availability of primary sources and their inherent biases. There is a lot that could have been read between the lines to offer a more lively portrait of this scholar who continues to influence the way historians read Mamluk history.

The second part of the book deals with Ibn Kathīr's methodology in writing *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah*. This section stands well on its own as a historiographic study of Ibn Kathīr's *magnum opus*. And indeed it appears to have been previously published by the author in 1980.[2]

Here al-Nadwī offers a useful summary of the various chapters of *Al-Bidāyah* as well as a thorough analysis of the different sources on which Ibn Kathīr relied in writing each of them. He also points out how Ibn Kathīr proceeded to critique these sources while composing the book so that the text is not simply a compilation of previous writings on Islamic history. Al-Nadwī discusses which sources Ibn Kathīr relied on, and how, and which sources he avoided and why. Al-Nadwī argues that Ibn Kathīr preferred to rely on sources whose authors were, like him, well-versed in religious studies (p. 319).

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[2]*Ibn Kathīr al-Mu'arrikh: Dirāsah Taḥlīlīyah li-Kitābihi al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* (Aligarh, 1980).

Ibn Kathīr′s rich scholarly background made his *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* a hybrid text between history and hadith. Al-Nadwī points out, as is evident upon a careful study of the text, how Ibn Kathīr′s scholarly background in religious studies and particularly in hadith and *tafsīr* influenced his historiography. This is especially evident in the chapters dealing with early Islam and the Prophet Muḥammad′s *sīrah* (pp. 166, 319–320). From al-Nadwī′s analysis we get the impression that Ibn Kathīr was first and foremost an alim before being a historian.

In *Al-Bidāyah* Ibn Kathīr often digresses from the topic he has been discussing to the extent of adding anecdotes and fables that in al-Nadwī′s view do not belong in a general history book. But luckily for the modern historian he took after Ibn al-Jawzī in recording weird and unusual events including natural disasters, plagues, and price increases—that in addition to events of high politics as well as social and cultural developments (pp. 279–280).

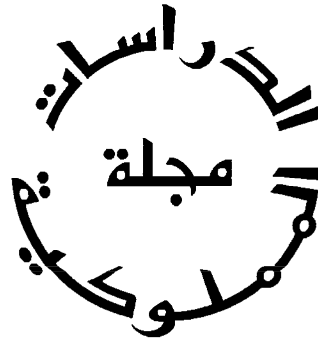
Despite al-Nadwī′s references to many of Ibn Kathīr′s sources he did not compare *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* to other works in this genre of universal history which could have highlighted the historian′s originality as well as served to place him in an intellectual and historical context.

In both sections of the book al-Nadwī′s pursuit seems to have been carried out in almost total isolation from the contemporary disciplines of history and Arabic studies; the author does not refer to any modern secondary sources of Mamluk history. Similarly, he does not engage in any debate with modern schools of historiography. Indeed in his preface to the second section of the present book, dated March 1979, al-Nadwī complains of the lack of sources available to scholars of Islamic and Arabic studies in Indian libraries.

Mas‘ūd al-Nadwī has produced an interesting if rather traditional account of Ibn Kathīr′s life and career. In general, the book—especially in its first sections —is infinitely more descriptive than analytical. The author does not push any of his findings further to their logical conclusions. The book does, however, with its careful record of Ibn Kathīr′s writing and the sources he relied on, pave the way for a more modern (perhaps even postmodern) biography of Ibn Kathīr.

MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW

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MAMLŪK STUDIES
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Mamlūk Studies Review is an annual refereed journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648-922/1250-1517). The goals of *Mamlūk Studies Review* are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, nurture communication within the field, and promote further research by encouraging the critical discussion of all aspects of this important medieval Islamic polity. The journal will include both articles and reviews of recent books. Submissions of original work on any aspect of the field are welcome, although the editorial board will periodically issue volumes devoted to specific topics and themes. *Mamlūk Studies Review* also solicits edited texts and translations of shorter Arabic source materials (*waqf* deeds, letters, *fatāwá* and the like), and encourages discussions of Mamluk era artifacts (pottery, coins, etc.) that place these resources in wider contexts. Transliterated Middle Eastern languages should conform to the system utilized by the Library of Congress. All questions regarding style should be resolved through reference to *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th edition. All submissions should be typed double-spaced. Submissions must be made on labeled computer disk together with a printed copy. The print copy should have full and proper diacritics, but the disk copy should have no diacritics of any kind.

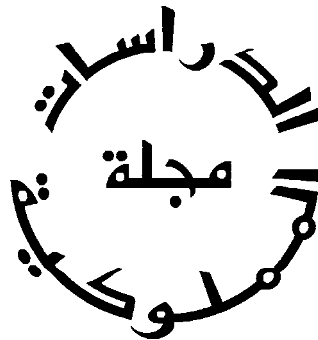
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ULRICH HAARMANN
1942-1999

The Mamluk System of Rule in the Eyes of Western Travelers*

THE LENS OF OCCIDENTAL TRAVEL REPORTS

The reports of late medieval European travelers to Egypt and Palestine have been discovered recently by experts in the history of mentalities as a first-rate source for the reconstruction of contemporary European modes of thought, perception, and experience during the critical transition from the medieval to the modern. Among this body of works, pilgrims' reports have been especially fruitful, and in particular, those sections dealing with Egypt. Despite the significance that this land had in the Old and New Testaments, in Egypt—unlike the Holy Land—it was not yet the case that every stone and every ford was imbued with sacral historical significance. Vast horizons were open to the imagination and curiosity of the traveler in Egypt, horizons which had long since been blocked in Jerusalem, Bethlehem, or Nazareth. The holy sites of Palestine so preoccupied the attention of authors and readers that they paid very little attention to the landscape and everyday life around them.[1]

Reports on Egypt are not so unidimensional; they show a thematic multiplicity. The wonders of nature, that is the exotic animal and plant world of the Nile oasis, as well as the disconcerting customs and habits of the natives,[2] are placed on an equal footing with the locales and monuments associated with Biblical reminiscences. Among the more prominent such sites are the fruitful land of

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*Delivered as the Fifth Annual *Mamlūk Studies Review* Lecture at The University of Chicago, February 25, 2000. The lecture was read by John E. Woods. Kenneth J. Garden and Stefan H. Winter translated it from German. Aram Shahin tracked down a number of missing or incomplete footnote citations.

[1]See Hannes Kästner, "Nilfahrt mit Pyramidenblick: Altvertraute Wunder und fremde Lebenswelt in abendländischen Reiseberichten an der Wende der Neuzeit," in Eijiro Iwasaki, ed., *Begegnung mit dem 'Fremden': Grenzen-Traditionen-Vergleiche.* Akten des VIII. Internationalen Germanistenkongresses Tokyo 1990, vol. VII, (Tokyo 1991), 307-16; here 308 n. 3 with further references.

[2]Pero Tafur, *Pero Tafur: Travels and Adventures 1435-1439,* ed. and trans. Malcolm Letts, The Broadway Travellers (New York, 1926), 71 on jesters.

Goshen,[3] the pyramids as the granary of Joseph,[4] and the fig tree in the grove of Maṭarīyah[5] under which the holy family found shelter during their flight from the henchmen of Herod.

The perspectives of western travelers to the Orient were naturally subject to European schemes of interpretation, which they had to justify neither to themselves nor to their audience. Not only the educational horizon and religious engagement, but also the cultural and geographic background of the individual author were limited by the traditional and conventional statements and assessments of the Holy Scripture. In those days there was no space for personal experience outside of this frame of reference.

Despite this, we witness a long-term and highly significant transformation, at least in the case of the later travelers at the end of the fifteenth century and beginning of the sixteenth. Recently rediscovered classical texts, namely those of Herodotus, Pliny, and Strabo, emerged as sources of incontestable reliability on the country, edifices, and history of Egypt, rivalling the authoritative tradition of the Holy Scriptures. The contradictions between the Bible and the historians and geographers of antiquity strengthened the inclination to rely on one´s own observation, that is, living, empirical examination. Hannes Kästner has made this clear with the example of the reporting on the pyramids and the crocodile.[6] We find that Arnold von Harff, for example, a knight from the lower Rhine who traveled throughout Egypt from 1496-98, relies entirely on Holy Scripture in his traveler´s report. On the other hand, the humanistically educated Dominican monk Felix Fabri (d. 1502), who left by far the most informative and also most literarily distinguished pilgrim´s report, struggles to reconcile knowledge newly won from the works of the classical authors with the apodictic statements of the Bible. He must frequently resign himself to apposing contradictory interpretations of the things that he encounters in the Sinai or in Egypt about which the Scripture and the old masters give differing accounts.[7]

Travelers to Egypt were spared the necessity of this balancing act when they encountered not the ″familiar strangers″ (the pyramids or the Nile, for example) of

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[3]Ludolf von Sachsen, *Ludolph von Suchem´s Description of the Holy Land, and of the Way Thither, Written in the Year A.D. 1350,* trans. Aubrey Stewart, Library of the Palestine Pilgrims´ Text Society, vol. 12 no. 3 (London, 1895; repr. New York, 1971), 67.

[4]Tafur, *Travels,* 78.

[5]Ibid., 77; Felix Fabri, *Voyage en Égypte de Félix Fabri 1483,* trans. Jacques Masson, Collection des voyageurs occidentaux en Égypte 14 (Cairo, 1975), 897; Emmanuel Piloti, *L´Égypte au commencement du quinzième siècle d´après le traité d´Emmanuel Piloti de Crète (incipit 1420),* ed. P.-H. Dopp (Cairo, 1950), 28-31.

[6]Kästner, ″Nilfahrt,″ 312.

[7]See his reports on the pyramids, Fabri, *Voyage,* 448 ff.

the authoritative texts, to use Kästner´s phrase, but rather ″true strangers.″ These include the banana plant,[8] rivers upon one of whose banks poisonous snakes thrive while on the other bank they expire,[9] incubators for chicks,[10] giraffes, the Nilometer,[11] the carrier pigeon post,[12] or even a ruling elite that recruited itself in the slave market. This had to be conveyed to the European reader in all of its immediate wonder and strangeness. This subjective striving for realism may not always have been successful. Naive observations were often tied again to general statements from the Bible or classical authors, which led inevitably to the ″harmony of deceptions″ described by Ludwig Fleck.[13] Thus in Pero we read of mules, heavily laden with grain, crossing tirelessly over visible ramps and entering into the pyramids, that is, into Joseph´s granary.[14] The classical, Christian, and even Muslim wonders of the land are depicted together by Fabri, himself inspired by a visit to the pyramids,[15] but are blended, according to the level of knowledge the author brings to each, into a kaleidoscope of commentary, theological report, and direct description.[16]

Also subject to the rules of the time were the illustrations, through which *mirabilia* unknown in Europe were to be brought nearer, quickly reaching the reader thanks to printing. The prelate of Mainz, Bernhard von Breydenbach, who visited Egypt in 1483 at the same time as Fabri, had his artistically-talented Dutch traveling companion depict the then-unknown giraffe, the crocodile (frequently described by classical authors), and the mythical unicorn,[17] all peacefully occupying a single woodcut. Arnold von Harff, on the other hand, showed himself to be more sober. He contented himself with the giraffe and the crocodile, which he incidentally drew separately. In the encounter with the unknown and unbelievable, there was plenty of room for both its fantastic and its relatively objective representation.

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[8]Cf. Piloti, *L´Égypte,* 24.

[9]See Ludolf, *Description,* 63.

[10]Again Ludolf, ibid., 67; Piloti, *L´Égypte,* 38-40.

[11]Ludolf, *Description,* 78; Piloti, *L´Égypte,* 20.

[12]Ludolf, *Description,* 80; Tafur, *Travels,* 68 f.

[13]See reference in Kästner, ″Nilfahrt, ″ 309 n. 6 and 313 n. 16.

[14]Tafur, *Travels,* 78.

[15]Fabri, *Voyage,* 448 ff.

[16]See esp. ibid., 475 ff.

[17]Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Die Reise ins Heilige Land: Ein Reisebericht aus dem Jahre 1483 mit 15 Holzschnitten, 2 Faltkarten und 6 Textseiten in Faksimile,* ed. Elisabeth Geck (Wiesbaden, 1961), 35.

This forms the basis of the particular value of travelers´ reports for the Islamic historian. The geographic and cultural distance from which the western visitors to the Nile, the Sinai, or to Palestine came again and again permitted a conscious awareness of, and reflection on, structural differences in the everyday world that they found there. The inhabitants of this world, on the other hand, were not capable of this, at least not without conscious effort. For the Egyptians themselves, the milieu in which, and according to whose rules, they lived was close, intimate, and taken for granted. The self-evident does not require examination, which is valid here as well. It cannot be approached from outside, for the inner distance necessary for objective analysis is lacking. The European visitors were able to grasp the differences and otherness of the Near Eastern world more clearly than were its own natives.

In this way, insights into the social structure and ruling system were also achieved, insights for which we search in vain in the Arabic sources, including political and administrative tracts. The occidental pilgrims deal extensively not only with the Mamluk system of ruling and recruiting[18] but also with the relationship between Mamluks and their sons, the focus of this paper, and sometimes even their relations with the native Egyptian (and Syrian) population. They also speculate about the reasons for this peculiar regime. Whenever possible, a link is of course also sought between observations and commentary on the Mamluk ruling system and Biblical or Biblical-classical traditions whose truth is unquestioned.

The Slave Status of the Mamluks

The primary reaction of the contemporary western commentary on Mamluk rule was astonishment over the fact that slaves could become rulers of the land. The Castillian Pero Tafur, who visited Egypt in the time of Sultan Barsbāy (1422-38), relates how the Mamluks were sold for cash in the Black Sea region by Christian merchants, brought to Egypt, Islamized there (″made into Moors″), and instructed in Islamic law and the arts of mounted warfare. At this point they were equipped and received a salary. Only from their ranks could one become sultan or admiral. Only one of their number could occupy the offices of the empire.[19] Emmanuel ″Mannoli″[20] Piloti (b. 1371), an enterprising Venetian of Cretan origin[21] and many-year resident of Egypt in the early fifteenth century, emphasizes this absurdity when he says that the Mamluks, bought as slaves, pretend that God had invested

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[18]Tafur, *Travels.*

[19]Ibid., 74.

[20]Piloti, *L´Égypte,* 99.

[21]Ibid., 102.

them with the sword and the power to rule and govern this land.[22] According to the Bedouin with whom Piloti had contact,[23] it was preposterous that the Mamluks, the ″nation vitupé reuse″ who had been bought with the money of the Egyptian peasants, should be the rulers of the land and not the Bedouin. It was these who had been called to this position since time immemorial and from whose numbers, after all, the Prophet Muḥammad came.[24] In another passage, however, Piloti adds his voice to the chorus of those who say that, without these purchased slaves, Cairo would be in a hopeless situation.

Hans Schiltberger also comments on this unusual phenomenon. A native of Munich, Schiltberger visited Egypt and several other regions of the Islamic Near East at the same time as Piloti, that is, during the reign of Sultan Faraj (1405-12) and his successors in the first third of the fifteenth century. He closes his chaotically structured chapter 38, entitled ″The Neighboring Lands of the Great Tartardom, a Description of Cairo,″[25] with the strikingly nuanced observation ″that hardly anyone becomes the Egyptian sultan who has not come out of the Mamluk bodyguard, of which many had been sold there as slaves.″ His formulation is doubly qualified: there would certainly also be sultans who are not themselves Mamluks; and not every Mamluk enters this elite as a purchased slave. There is no talk here of exclusivity.

The absurdity of slave rule was easily harmonized by our European travelers with the image associated with Egypt since Herodotus[26] that everything on the Nile stands on its head. In his fictional dialogue with a nun, the Franciscan abbot Francesco Suriano, zealous for learning, lists all of the ways in which Egypt is the opposite of the Western, read natural, order. He counts thirty-six contrasts. Among them are some objective and accurate observations. These include, for example, the fact that in Egypt, one writes from right to left,[27] and begins a letter with the address whereas ″we″ close with it. Other observations are of interest concerning legal praxis. For example, ″we″ repudiate women, but there it is the women who repudiate the men (!)[28] and there, poultry is sold by size and fruit and vegetables

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[22]Ibid., 11; see also 14.

[23]Ibid., 19.

[24]Ibid., 11 and 19.

[25]Johannes Schiltberger, *Hans Schiltbergers Reise in die Heidenschaft: Was ein bayerliches Edelmann von 1394 bis 1427 als Gefangener der Türken und Mongolen in Kleinasien, Ägypten, Turkestan, der Krim und dem Kaukasus erlebte*, adapted by Rose Grässel (Hamburg, 1947), 87.

[26]Herodotus, *Histories,* second book, chapter 35.

[27]Francesco Suriano, *Treatise on the Holy Land,* trans. Theophilus Bellorini and Eugene Hoade (Jerusalem, 1949), 204.

[28]Ibid.

by weight whereas in Europe it is the opposite.[29] The pair of opposites that concerns us here is number 27 regarding Mamluk rule: for us, slaves are servants, but there they are lords.[30]

″All Mamluks are Christian Apostates″

It is not easy to clarify the claim made by most of the European travelers that the Mamluks are *all* Christian renegades. It is known from the Arabic sources that the majority of the Mamluks were *awlād al-kafarah,* ″sons of true unbelievers.″[31] This was indeed held against them at the court of the Ottoman sultan Bayezid. Initially they were predominantly Kipchak Turks. From the end of the fourteenth century they were of Circassian-Abkhazian origin. Certainly there were some Christians who became Mamluks, as per the prevailing misconception, after being captured (no doubt willingly, on occasion) or through the slave market. After the Ottomans defeated the western alliance led by Emperor Sigismund at Nicopolis in 1396, two hundred Christian prisoners of war, French and Italian, were sold en masse as Mamluks to the Cairene sultan by the victorious Turks, and ″All were made to be pagans,″[32] that is, they had to accept Islam. This is reported by Piloti, the Cretan merchant and Venetian subject,[33] who spoke with them in Cairo. As prominent as this Mamluk contingent may have remained in the consciousness of West Europeans, converted Christians were in fact still only a comparatively small minority.

In 1498, Arnold von Harff mentions as the regions of origin Slavonia, Greece, Albania, Circassia, Hungary, Italy, and, in rare cases, also Germany,[34] in short, the Caucasus and the Balkans with its adjoining regions. A few years earlier, in 1483, Bernhard von Breydenbach lists ″Slavonia, Albania, Hungary, and the Romance countries.″[35] Greeks and Christian Caucasians, especially Georgians, would have represented the largest ″Christian″ contingent of the Mamluks. After all, historians of the fifteenth century provide lists not only of the Circassians, but also of the Greeks (*arwām*) who attained the sultan′s throne. In comparison with the Mamluks

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[29]Ibid.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, *Kitāb Nafā'is Majālis al-Sulṭānīyah fī Ḥaqā'iq Asrār al-Qur'ānīyah,* in *Majālis al-Sulṭān al-Ghawrī, Ṣafaḥāt min Tārīkh Miṣr fī al-Qarn al-'Āshir al-Hijrī,* ed. 'Abd al-Wahhāb 'Azzām (Cairo, 1360/1941), 133.

[32]″Tous furent fais tornez estre poyens.″

[33]Piloti, *L′Égypte,* 104, 110.

[34]Arnold von Harff, *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff, Knight, from Cologne through Italy, Syria, Egypt, Arabia, Ethiopia, Nubia, Palestine, Turkey, France, and Spain, Which he Accomplished in the Years 1496 to 1499,* trans. Malcolm Letts, Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society, 2nd. ser. no. 94 (London, 1946), 120.

[35]Breydenbach, *Reise,* 37.

of pagan-shamanistic origin who came to Islam without a detour through Christianity (and in some cases, those already born as Muslims),[36] converted Christians, and in particular the central and southern European "Foreign Legion" among them, did not constitute an important presence on the Nile.

But for our pilgrims from the West, it was precisely these few Mamluks from the Christian realms who were important. Moreover, the catastrophe of Nicopolis was everywhere present: imperceptibly, the few became many, a noteworthy and typical but proportionally insignificant, marginal group became the whole. And one carried this exaggerated claim to the next without anyone seeing the necessity of determining its accuracy while in the region. For by having supposedly all quit the path of salvation, the Mamluks became more enigmatic and interesting to the audience of these travel reports back home. Piloti speaks with admiration of the fact that the Mamluks who were captured at Nicopolis were "young, handsome, and stood at the beginning of illustrious careers."[37] The decision of these Europeans to reject Christianity demonstrated in fascinating and menacing ways the attraction of Islam and also of the Mamluk institution in which a slave, bought like a cow or a horse,[38] could rise to become the ruler of a powerful kingdom. In Burgundy in the fifteenth century, the term *mammelu,* "Mamluk," became a regular synonym for "apostate."[39]

A few of the European renegades are actually quite well known to us from the western travelers' reports. Piloti's encounter with "two hundred" Latins who had become Mamluks has already been mentioned. Konrad the Mamluk from Basel was met by Arnold von Harff, a knight from Cologne, in 1496, and also by Felix Fabri of Ulm[40] thirteen years before that in Cairo, the Rome of the pagans.[41] Fabri takes him to be "at that time, the only German at the court of the sultan."[42] In another passage, he speaks at length of some Catalan and Sicilian Mamluks, "that is, Christian renegades," whom he encountered in Gaza directly before the exciting and arduous trip across the Sinai. Thenaud mentions a Mamluk from Languedoc.[43] Arnold von Harff sat together over forbidden wine not only with Konrad, but also

[36]Piloti, *L'Égypte,* 15, 64.

[37]Ibid., 110: "tous estoyent josnes, beaux et tous eslus."

[38]Harff, *Pilgrimage,* 120.

[39]See Johan Huizinga, *Im Bann der Geschichte: Betrachtungen und Gestaltungen,* trans. Werner Kaegi (Basel, 1943), 245.

[40]Fabri, *Voyage,* 913-14.

[41]"Rome des payens," Piloti, *L'Égypte,* 11.

[42]Fabri, *Voyage,* 913-14.

[43]Jean Thenaud, *Le voyage d'Outremer (Égypte, Mont Sinay, Palestine),* ed. Charles Schefer, Recueil de voyages et de documents pour servir à l'histoire de la géographie 5 (Paris, 1884; repr. Geneva, 1971), 64.

with a German subject of the Danish king. His countrymen clearly enjoyed the exchange and the opportunity to speak German again. They showed him the city, even arranged a visit to the Citadel and, above all, instructed him in the strange Mamluk universe. They had attached themselves to this universe of their own free will but remained conscious of its peculiarities, all the more so in the company of an interlocutor from the world of their own past. If Felix Fabri is to be believed (though in fact, in this case it may well have been a matter of wishful thinking), the Islam of these opportunistic converts, as he portrays them, was not especially firm. For one thing, they give themselves to forbidden pleasures such as wine drinking. Already in the middle of the fourteenth century, this passion is reported by Ludolf von Sachsen, who spent the years 1336-41, the last years of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn′s sultanate, in Egypt and Palestine. He writes, ″these mercenaries (i.e., Mamluks) have an especial delight in Germans whom they straightaway recognize by their appearance and walk, and drink wine deeply with them, albeit it is forbidden by their law.″[44] Beyond this, ″all Mamluks are bad pagans [i.e., Muslims] and all have the intention to return to Christianity. The Mamluk from Basel also promised us that he wanted to return, and the dragoman Tamgwardin often tells us that he does not want to stay long.″[45]

European converts to Islam played a key role as courtiers and officials in exactly that sphere in which western visitors encountered the indigenous people. Pero Tafur, Piloti,[46] Felix Fabri, and Thenaud, thirty years later, all report southern European dragomen who smoothed the way for European visitors and who, though not without sentimental memories of their own Christian youth, had no desire to turn their backs on Islam. One of them, the Spanish born Taghrībirdī, was sent by Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī as an ambassador to Venice at the rank of *amīr tablkhānah*.[47] In these reports, the spontaneous familiarity with these intermediaries is counterbalanced by the total incomprehension of how easily these countrymen had become accustomed to the mores and vices of the Islamic milieu. The claim, coming from Christian mouths, that they were all waiting for an opportunity to return to the Christian fold can be rejected as an exaggeration and a case of wishful thinking, even if there were occasionally such confessions made by disillusioned, aging Mamluks to their countrymen. Ludolf von Sachsen tells of three impoverished ″renegades″ from the diocese of Minden, whom he met in

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[44]See Ludolf, *Description,* 61.

[45]Felix Fabri, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Bruders Felix Faber ins Heilige Land Anno 1483* (Berlin, n.d.), 122; idem, *Voyage,* 915.

[46]Piloti, *L′Égypte,* 87.

[47]Schefer, Introduction to Thenaud, *Voyage,* xlv, li-lii.

Hebron, longing to return home.[48] They had hoped for fame and fortune, surely in the service of an amir, through their Mamlukdom and conversion to Islam, but now toiled, despite their status as Mamluks, as a water carrier, a manual laborer, and a porter.[49] Ludolf also speaks of a German Mamluk who had guarded the balsam garden of the sultan before the gates of Cairo, prominently mentioned by nearly every European traveler to Egypt, who did in fact return to Christianity. Piloti personally obtained the release, in 1402 from Sultan Faraj ibn Barqūq, of Christians (Mamluks?) who were forced against their will to convert to Islam.[50] This came after his diplomatic success in purchasing the freedom of 150 Saracen captives from the grasp of the Duke of Naxos.[51]

The testimonies of the exclusively Christian origin of the Mamluks by travelers to Egypt of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries vary according to the emphasis given to this theme. They also vary, in cases in which the text is longer and allows for such conclusions, according to the socially and regionally determined perspective of the reporter as well as his level of education. One finds both brief qualifications attached to the term ″Mamluk″ as well as lengthy interpretations that reach into other areas.

In the fourteenth century, Niccolò da Poggibonsi summarily mentions the ″number of Christian renegades,″ that is, of Mamluks, in the heading of chapter 176 of his pilgrim′s report.[52] His contemporary, Ludolf von Sachsen, even holds all Turks, ″the most zealous Saracens [i.e., Muslims], but not of the Saracen race [i.e., Arabs],″ (!) to be apostates from Christianity.[53] A few generations later, we have the report of Bertrando de Mignanelli, the intimate observer of the rise, fall, and rise of Sultan Barqūq, in his *Ascensus Barcoch*. He tells us that Nuʻayr, the Bedouin ally of Mintāsh and adversary of Barqūq, held it against Barqūq that he had been a Christian and was then sold into slavery.[54]

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[48]Ludolf, *Description,* 70.

[49]See also Michael Hamilton Burgoyne and D. S. Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study* (Jerusalem, 1987), 55.

[50]Piloti, *L′Égypte,* 103.

[51]Ibid., 95-103.

[52]Niccolò da Poggibonsi, *A Voyage beyond the Seas (1346-50),* Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum 2 pt. 2, trans. Theophilus Bellorini and Eugene Hoade (Jerusalem, 1945), 89.

[53]Ludolf, *Description,* 30.

[54]Bertrando de Mignanelli, trans. Walter J. Fischel in ″*Ascensus Barcoch:* a Latin Biography of the Mamlūk Sultan Barqūq of Egypt (d. 1399) Written by B. de Mignanelli,″ *Arabica* 6 (1959): 153.

Both of the Florentine travelers Leonardo di Frescobaldi[55] and Simone Sigoli[56] directly address the Christian origin of Sultan Barqūq, who ruled Egypt during their stay. On the other hand, Bertrandon de la Brocquière, who visited the Near East in 1432-33, is not entirely certain about the Christian past of this ″ancestor″ of the Circassian sultans ruling during the fifteenth century.[57] With regard to Barqūq, Frescobaldi adheres to an entirely personalized treatment of his subject.[58] He reports that Barqūq had his father brought to Egypt from the pagan Circassian lands, then forced him to renounce Christianity and be circumcised. This operation led to the death of the old man in a short time. This depiction is known to be accurate and greatly preoccupied the Arab historians.[59]

The travel report of the Castillian globetrotter Pero Tafur stems from the first half of the fifteenth century. He speaks of the Mamluks as ″apostate barbarians.″[60] ″No one other than these renegades can become sultan or admiral, nor hold office or prebend. Neither can any Moor [i.e., native Muslim Egyptian] under pain of death ride a horse. These Mamluks possess all the knightly privileges.″[61] Tafur, and this I mention only in passing, exaggerates when he claims that every non-Mamluk who mounts a horse is immediately killed. However, we do learn from numerous oriental sources that horses were fundamentally reserved for the Mamluks, who were addicted to *furūsīyah*.

Perhaps the most important witness is again Piloti, who spent many years in Egypt during the final phase of Sultan Barqūq′s reign, under Faraj, and then again under Barsbāy.[62] He emphasizes not only the Mamluks′ monopoly of power, as does Tafur, but also their Christian origin. In his schema of the three ″pagan″ (i.e.,

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[55]Leonardo di Frescobaldi, ″Pilgrimage of Lionardo di Niccolò Frescobaldi to the Holy Land″ in Theophilus Bellorini, Eugene Hoade, and Bellarmino Bagatti, trans., *Visit to the Holy Places of Egypt, Sinai, Palestine and Syria in 1384,* Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum 6 (Jerusalem, 1948), 45 ff..

[56]Simone Sigoli, ″Pilgrimage of Simone Sigoli to the Holy Land″ in Theophilus Bellorini, Eugene Hoade, and Bellarmino Bagatti, trans., *Visit to the Holy Places of Egypt, Sinai, Palestine and Syria in 1384,* Publications of the Studium Biblicum Franciscanum 6 (Jerusalem, 1948), 171.

[57]Bertrandon de la Brocquière, *The Voyage d′Outremer by Bertrandon de la Brocquière: Translated, Edited, and Annotated with an Introduction and Maps*, trans. Galen R. Kline, American University Studies, Series II: Romance Languages and Literature, vol. 83. (New York, Bern, Paris, Frankfurt am Main, 1988), 22.

[58]Frescobaldi, *Pilgrimage,* 46.

[59]This report is to be found not only in al-Maqrīzī but also in the short chronicles such as Abū Ḥāmid′s *Duwal al-Islām.*

[60]Tafur, *Travels,* 74.

[61]See also Burgoyne and Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem,* 55.

[62]Piloti, *L′Égypte,* 11.

Muslim) Egyptian nations or ″generations″ (Egyptians; Arabs [i.e., Bedouins]; Mamluks), he equates Mamluks with purchased slaves of *Christian* origin:

> The third nation, they are bought slaves, from all Christian nations, of whom are made Mamluks and admirals, and from these the sultan is made. And in this nation they made themselves lords and governors and they command the state and the lordship over the people of the country and over the generation of the Arabs and over the inhabitants of the country. . . .[63]

Piloti had great difficulty in reconciling the cliché that all Mamluks were of Christian origin with the much more complex evidence that was available to him. As an expert in long-distance trade, he was better informed than any of the other European reporters of the late middle ages. He provides a more realistic picture in his chapter on the procurement of Mamluks[64] and the Genoese entrepôt of Caffa in the Crimea.[65] He writes that the Tatar (and other) slaves purchased by the sultan′s ″facteurs et serviteurs″ in the ″pagan″ *(payen/poyen)* (i.e., truly pagan or Muslim, certainly not Christian) lands of the Tartars, Circassians, Russians (!), etc., passed through Caffa.[66] There, they are said to have been asked by the Genoese authorities (whom the author, as a Venetian, deeply mistrusts) whether they would rather be Christians or pagans (in this case, Muslims).[67] If they choose to be Christians, the Genoese keep them. Only if they choose to be Muslims do they travel with the Muslim slave traders in Muslim[68] or disreputable Christian ships[69] through Gallipoli[70] to Alexandria, Damascus, and Cairo (if they are not first seized by Christian corsairs).[71] There, they are delivered in triumph to Islam.[72] Whenever the slave traders have again brought a couple of hundred future Mamluks of the sultan to

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[63]Ibid., 14.

[64]Ibid., 15f.

[65]Ibid., 64.

[66]Ibid.

[67]Ibid., 16, 64: ″se il/ils vuellent estre crestiens ou payens/poyens″; note that he writes ″*estre*,″ ″be″ and not ″become″ or ″remain.″

[68]Ibid., 15.

[69]Ibid., ″sur nés de malvis crestiens et mal disposés″; 64, ″sur naves de très faulx et très mauvais crestiens.″

[70]Ibid., 15, 62.

[71]As depicted by Piloti, ibid., 60.

[72]Ibid., 16.

Cairo, and have been led to the Citadel with highest honor and the blare of trumpets, the heralds of the sultan, of the ″chief de la foy payene,″[73] loudly cry:

> These honorable traders have brought and rendered three hundred or more, whatever the number may have been, souls of the Christian nation and Christian faith to the sultan. These will now live and die in the faith of Muḥammad so that the faith of Muḥammad may multiply and grow and that of the Christians may dwindle.[74]

Also, the fact that Piloti takes pains to present two of the Mamluk conspirators against Sultan Faraj as Christian renegades[75] (one came from Salonica, the other from the southern Slavic lands) implies that there must also have been Mamluks who did *not* arrive in the country as Christians. Piloti′s own evidence cannot, therefore, easily be harmonized with his claim that all Mamluks had fallen away from Christianity.

The travel reports from the last quarter of the fifteenth century are numerous and often closely interwoven.[76] Travelers such as Tucher, among others, will not be considered here. One of the most original authors in this respect is again Francesco Suriano, abbot of the Franciscan monastery on Mount Zion in Jerusalem and favorite of Sultan Qāytbāy and the famous/infamous chief *dawādār* Yashbak al-Ẓāhirī. He had spoiled both of them during their exile in Jerusalem with monasterial hospitality and, above all, fine cuisine. In one passage, Suriano qualifies the term ″Mamluk″ as ″that is, Christian renegade soldiers.″[77] In another passage, he formulates the rule equally concisely: ″all of these soldiers must be Christian renegades.″ But he goes another step and substantiates this rule in a ″historical″ way:[78]

> Their first sultan was bought and sold five times and for this reason, to the present day, only he who has been bought and sold five times can ascend to this position. And if one of them does not meet this prerequisite and nonetheless wishes to ascend to this position,

[73]Ibid.

[74]See ibid., 15.

[75]Ibid., 12.

[76]Arnold Esch, ″Gemeinsames Erlebnis - individueller Bericht: Vier Parallelberichte aus einer Reisegruppe von Jerusalempilgern 1480,″ *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 11 (1986): 385-416.

[77]Suriano, *Treatise,* 4, 191.

[78]Ibid., 207.

> then he is bought and sold as many times as is necessary. Only a Christian renegade can rule this land.[79]

In 1496-98, in his etiology of the unique foundational law of the Mamluk system, Arnold von Harff goes back, impeded neither by humanistic knowledge nor doubt, to the Old Testament. For him, it was Joseph who set the precedent to which contemporary Egyptians still conformed:[80]

> For it was never questioned since the time of Joseph, who was sold by his brothers into Egypt, that a Sultan should be a heathen born, and always an elected renegade Christian . . .[81]

Later he carries this idea further:

> . . . as Joseph was sold by his brothers and came to Egypt to Cairo to King Pharaoh (as the Bible tells us plainly in the thirty-seventh chapter of Genesis), and this Joseph was such a wise man that after Pharaoh´s death he was chosen King or Sultan and ruled the land with great wisdom and in peace, so they keep him in everlasting remembrance. They will have no Sultan who has not first been sold, and they observe this until today, choosing Sultans from the bartered Christians known as Mamelukes. . . .[82]

When Harff and his two German companions encounter over one thousand young, dark-skinned Mamluks after his visit to the Citadel, and he asks his two friends and drinking-partners about these people, he discovers that the sultan presently

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[79]Quoted in Pietro Casola, *Canon Pietro Casola´s Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Year 1494,* trans. M(ary) Margaret Newett, Publications of the University of Manchester 26 (Manchester, 1907), 392 n. 88.

[80]Harff, *Pilgrimage,* 103; ibid., trans. Paul Bleser, ″Le pelerinage du chevalier Arnold von Harff,″ in *Zum Bild Ägyptens im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance/Comment se représente-t-on l′Égypte au moyen âge et à la renaissance?,* ed. Erik Hornung, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 95 (Göttingen, 1990), 81.

[81]Note that pagan here means Muslim. Pagan can therefore also metonymically mean ″Arabic,″ the language of the pagans. See Jan Hasištejnský z Lobkovic (1450-1517) in his pilgrim´s report *Putování k Svatému Hrobu,* quoted by Svatopluk Souček, ″A Czech Nobleman´s Pilgrimage to the Holy Land: 1493,″ *Journal of Turkish Studies* 8 (1984) (special issue entitled *Turks, Hungarians and Kipchaks: A Festschrift in Honor of Tibor Halasi-kun*), 233-40; here, 235, ″pohansky.″

[82]Harff, *Pilgrimage,* 120; idem, *Pelerinage,* 98.

possessed 15,000 Mamluks ″who are renegade Christians,″[83] from which that year alone one thousand had been killed. There is no talk of Joseph in this passage, nor is there any in Harff′s vivid report of how these Christian warriors become Muslim Mamluks:

> When these Mamelukes are first captured in Christian lands they are sold to the heathen. They are then forced to say: ″Holla, hylla lalla Mahemmet reschur holla:″ that is in German: ″God is God and shall be so forever, Mahomet is the true prophet sent from God.″ Then they circumcise him and give him a heathen [Muslim] name.[84]

The learned Felix Fabri, who had stayed in Cairo in 1480 and 1483, reports in a manner that is similarly colorful and direct. He discriminatingly registers and comments on what occurs around him in a different way. He speaks of the renegade status of the Mamluks in several passages both in the long and in the short version of his *Evagatorium*, for example, on the occasion of the visit of some Mamluks to the house of the Christian pilgrims in Cairo on October 11, 1483,[85] or in a report about the three ″mighty ones″ of the empire:[86] ″Cathube [Qāytbāy], a Catalan renegade, the father of the sultan and governor of all the kingdom, and the admiral, head of the armies. These three men do everything. . .″ This quote corresponds in the German summary to the following striking text: ″And all three are Mamluks, apostate Christians, and all office holders in all the lands of the king sultan are Mamluks and greatly oppress the Saracens and allow them no power, nor do they let them become rich.″[87]

Fabri sees the causes for these unusual political conditions in demography and in the social structure. He explains them in a manner that approximates the conclusions of modern research: by utilizing an inexhaustible reservoir of soldiers from the outside (Christians, Fabri believes), one is no longer dependent on native Muslims. Rather, these are discriminated against in favor of the Mamluks:

> All Mamluks are Christian renegades. . . . They neither let the Saracens serve as soldiers nor permit them to bear weapons. Things have gone so far that, thanks to the growth of the band of Christian renegades and apostates, only such are considered as sultan or king

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[83]Harff, *Pilgrimage,* 108; idem, *Pelerinage,* 86.

[84]Harff, *Pilgrimage,* 122; idem, *Pelerinage,* 101.

[85]Fabri, *Pilgerfahrt,* 121; idem, *Voyage,* 913.

[86]Fabri, *Voyage,* 576f.

[87]Fabri, *Pilgerfahrt,* 128-29; idem, *Voyage,* 928.

> of Egypt. This custom is not very old and does not have the force of law among them. But the immense flood of renegades has brought about this situation, which is the greatest of all humiliations for the Saracens and for the Christians a powerful and repulsive scandal and simultaneously the ruin of our faith. They have decreed that no one can become sultan who has not before been a Christian and who has not been sold twice since his fall from faith [Suriano spoke of five times].[88]

A reference to Joseph and Genesis 37 and 39 follows. Then Fabri repeats the last point once again: ″They thus say that no one may be sultan who has not renounced his Christian brothers and been sold twice.″[89] This is surely a reflection of the fact that Mamluks, especially in the later period, might have a number of masters (sing. *ustādh)* in short succession:

> Furthermore, these apostates have decreed that all important offices in the kingdom can only be entrusted to Mamluks. The governors, legal officials (!), princes, army commanders, and emissaries within the realm of the sultan are all Mamluks. The [prospect of] emancipation and freedom and these hopes of attaining the highest offices attract numerous Christians. There are also the payments and daily stipends, the security, but also the weakness of the flesh and the prospect of possessing several women. All of this leads a great number of them to abandon their [Christian] faith. As soon as one has disowned his faith, he immediately receives an office, a salary, and is placed above others.

From the perspective of contemporary research, what is interesting in this quote is Fabri′s view that the imported military slaves′ monopoly of power is not a *law,* but rather a custom resulting from the *embarras des richesse* of Mamluk importers, which does not stem from a previous age. This impressively commensurate analysis admittedly does not prevent our Dominican, in his search for biblical *loci probantes,* from also calling upon the biblical Joseph as the godfather of this unusual custom. Harff, who traveled thirteen years later, could have been inspired by Fabri′s Joseph argument in his own portrayal.

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[88]Fabri, *Voyage*, 551-53. See also Jean Claude Garcin, ″Aux sources d′une idéologie: la force empruntée de l′Islam (trafic d′hommes et mentalités en Méditerranée)″ in *Le mirior égyptien: Rencontres méditerranéennes,* ed. Robert Ilbert and Philippe Joutard (Marseilles, 1984), 167, reprinted in Garcin, *Espaces, pouvoirs et idéologies de l′Egypte médiévale* (London, 1987).

[89]Fabri, *Voyage,* 552-53.

In another passage in Fabri´s travel report, we encounter the tensions between the Mamluk elite and the native Egyptians,[90] which culminated in the ban on weapons for the latter, linked with the supposed exclusively Christian past of the Mamluks. In the passage depicting the pilgrims´ stay in Gaza, two Saracen (that is, native Arab-Muslim) guides of a Christian pilgrim caravan with the names Sabat(h?)ihanco and Elphahallo accuse the Europeans entrusted to their care of cultivating displeasingly friendly relations with Mamluks. And this despite the fact that the Mamluks (whose offensive hubris vis-a-vis the Muslims of the land has already been mentioned) should be especially repugnant to Christians.[91] Sabat(h?)ihanco says, ″You are true Christians! How can you dare to eat and drink with these people who have sworn off the faith of the Christians with abominable oaths?″ His companion Elphahallo raises the pressure for self-justification for the pilgrims still more: ″You are among those Christians who will doubtless be saved through their faith. It is just as certain that these Mamluks will be damned for having rejected your faith. How can there be relations between you?″ The pilgrims responded, according to Fabri ″as best they could,″[92] astounded at the belief that one could achieve salvation only in the faith in which he was born and in no other.[93]

SULTANS AND POPES: THE DESCENDENTS OF THE MAMLUKS

If it is indeed the case that the Mamluk ruling elite replenishes itself entirely from the outside (for demographic or whatever other reasons), irrespective of whether they are Christians or pagans, then all natives must be *ipso facto* barred from participation in these highest privileges, no matter how much this runs contrary to human psychology, which yearns to pass riches and instruments of power on to its own progeny in as undiminished a form as possible.

The extent to which the limitation of membership in the elite to first-generation Mamluks can be demonstrated to be a historical reality over the course of decades is a major concern of this study. What do the European travel reports have to say on this matter? As we have said, Schiltberger speaks, as far as the circumstances that he experienced in the early fifteenth century are concerned, very reservedly of the fact that there is hardly a sultan who is not a Mamluk.[94] This commentary implies that there are exceptions to be expected. After all, the time which he

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[90]Found in this quote as well as in Pero Tafur; see above.

[91]Fabri, *Voyage,* 32.

[92]Ibid., 33.

[93]See also the brief reprimand in ibid., 798: ″We saw many Mamluks there, powerful and magnificent, all of them Christian renegades.″

[94]Schiltberger, *Reise,* 87.

describes and partially experienced first hand saw the enthronements of several sons of sultans (Faraj ibn Barqūq; but also the sons of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh and Ṭaṭar).

Pero Tafur, who also visited Egypt at this time, namely during the sultanate of al-Ashraf Barsbāy, speaks not about the princes specifically but rather about the sons of the Mamluks generally, which makes this testimony especially valuable. He has the impression that the Mamluk privileges diminish continually from the first to the second and third generation: ″Their [i.e., the Mamluks′] sons have a somewhat reduced status [from that of the father] and the grandchildren less still. After this, they are considered as native born Moors.″[95] Piloti′s commentary, stemming from the same period, is much less precise. In his chapter on the training of the Mamluks in the barracks under the supervision of the *ṭawāshīyah,* indispensable as a supplement to Maqrīzī′s *Khiṭaṭ* and Abū Ḥāmid al-Maqdisī′s *Duwal al-Islām*,[96] he adds, following the description of the emancipation ceremony of the Mamluks before the sultan and the transfer of the corresponding privileges, that this favor is to continue to be held after the death of the beneficiary by his children or other relatives.[97] He may have been thinking here of payments to survivors *(rizqah mabrūrah)* or perhaps only of non-material support for the relatives of the deceased Mamluks. We cannot infer anything more precise from this succinct quote.[98]

The next voices are half a century younger. At this point, the chances of the descendents of Mamluks having a share in the power and wealth of the state are judged much more cautiously.

Let us begin with a fifth ″renegade″ quote from Arnold von Harff, which has heretofore escaped consideration. It concerns the constitutional consequences of the decree that the ruler must come from outside, and thus by implication also the lot of the sons of Mamluks born in the land: ″no heathen [Muslim] born in the Sultan′s country can be a ruler; only the captured renegade Christians, there called Mamluks, rule the Sultan′s country.″[99]

Harff was present in Egypt at just the right time to watch how effective this rule he posited actually was, or at least to see how power politics were carried out with reference to it. Qāytbāy, close to death, had abdicated in favor of his fourteen-

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[95]Tafur, *Travels,* 74.

[96]″. . . and there, there are the great masters, who are tavassi, which is to say castrated, who are the leaders and governors of this band of slaves. . .″Piloti, *L′Égypte,* 16.

[97]Ibid.

[98]See also Burgoyne and Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem,* 55a/b.

[99]Harff, *Pilgrimage,* 121; idem, *Pelerinage,* 99. The French translation is incorrect in exactly this spot. Instead of ″Dans le pays du Soultan aucun païen de naissance n′a le droit de régner″ it should read ″aucun païen qi est né dans le pays du Sultan, n′a le droit de régner.″

year-old son al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. In my opinion, this bold youth has been badly handled in the historiography to date. Not only did he show farsightedness as an energetic proponent of the increased outfitting of the army with firearms, he also learned to write Turkish and Arabic poetry in the cultivated ambiance that his father had created in the Citadel. It is true that Sultan Jaqmaq had already done this before him, in January 1453.[100] However, for contemporaries, this abdication and transfer of rule to a son born in the country (one, furthermore, with an Arabic surname) was a provocation and transgression of valid law. With this argument, that the sultan had acted illegally, the powerful General Qānṣūh Khamsmi'ah promptly claimed the sultanate for himself, ″since he was of the opinion that no one heathen born [i.e., Muslim] should be Sultan.″[101] Power befitted only ″genuine″ Mamluks.

We can also infer from western sources, if only indirectly, how widespread was the conviction that Qāytbāy′s abdication in favor of his son was in fact a coup d′état. Under the date May 26, 1496, shortly before Qāytbāy′s death and Muḥammad′s succession, otherwise unknown Alexandrian sources informed the Venetian diplomat Sanuto that the generals and the Mamluks opposed the appointment of Qāytbāy′s son as the new sultan because the youth was a ″son of the people.″[102] Their laws, on the contrary, stipulated that power could be conferred only to a purchased slave. A good eight weeks later, on the 22nd of July of that year, Sanuto′s diary states that the son had in fact been made sultan, but that his reign would not last long because he was a ″son of the people.″[103] ″Son of the People,″ *fiol di la zent,*″ is naturally nothing other than the Italian translation for the well-known *ibn al-nās* (pl. *awlād al-nās*). This term, used only sparingly in the Arabic sources as a categorical label, was therefore clearly in circulation, otherwise it would not, as in this case, have been taken up by foreigners.[104]

It can be inferred from a further observation of Arnold von Harff that the purely Mamluk, that is, oligarchic, election principle had prevailed, even after two hundred years, over the competing dynastic principle in this final phase of the Mamluk sultanate, not only at the pinnacle of the state but also in all of the

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[100]See Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* vol. 15, ed. Ibrāhīm ʻAlī Tarkhān and Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1972), 452-53, and Abū Ḥāmid al-Maqdisī, *Kitāb Duwal al-Islām al-Sharīfah al-Bahīyah wa-Dhikr mā Ẓahar lī min Ḥikam Allāh al-Khafīyah fī Jalb Ṭā'ifat al-Atrāk ilá al-Diyār al-Miṣrīyah*, ed. Ṣubḥī Labīb and Ulrich Haarmann, Bibliotheca Islamica 57 (Beirut, 1997), 95.

[101]Harff, *Pilgrimage,* 104; idem, *Pelerinage,* 82.

[102]″*Fiol di la zente,*″ Marino Sanuto, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto,* ed. Federico Stefani (Venice: 1879-1903), 262.

[103]Ibid.

[104]See Harff, *Pilgrimage,* 103-4 n. 4; see also Casola, *Pilgrimage,* 392 n. 88.

subordinate benefices reserved for Mamluks: ″when a Mameluke dies, the Sultan takes his goods and all that he has left behind, and if he has ten children they inherit nothing, for they are heathen born [i.e., Muslims]. But, if the Sultan is pleased, out of his grace, to give them something, that they may keep.″[105] Machiavelli′s commentary in 1513 on the Mamluk system of succession is also relevant here. He compares it to the election of a pope, inasmuch as both forms of rule can be described neither as inherited nor as acquired, ″for it is not the sons of the old rulers who are heirs and who remain lords. Rather, the sultan is raised to this rank by those who have the power to do so. Because this is an ancient, traditional structure, one cannot speak of an acquired position, for many of the difficulties that one has with new leadership are not present in it. Even if the ruler is new, the organization of the state is nonetheless old and arranged as if the new lord had inherited the throne.″[106] The College of Cardinals and the council of Mamluk oligarchs are in essence equated.

A valuable confirmation that Arnold von Harff′s verdict on the career opportunities of the sons of Mamluks at the end of the fifteenth century was current in European circles is given by the canon Pietro Casola, who traveled to Jerusalem two years before Harff.[107] His commentary in this respect is connected to his complaint about the rule of the cursed Mamluks, who had repudiated Christianity, over the Holy Land. He places the responsibility for this tragedy with the quarrelsome Christians themselves, who fragment their powers, then speaks to our theme: ″Only a Christian apostate can rule over the Moors. And when one of these apostates takes a wife and has sons, these sons cannot succeed the father in his office. Such sons are called ″sons of the people,″ although they are sons of the sultan.″

The expertise of the theological scholar Felix Fabri is especially enlightening in this matter. Here again, he tries at all costs to systematize that which is incomprehensible to him, and to make it plausible to his readers at home through references to his own culture, no matter how speculative. In both versions of his travel report, the German abridgement,[108] and in the full Latin edition of the *Evagatorium*,[109] he imaginatively addresses the obvious problem of how the sons of Mamluks can share in the privileges of their fathers despite their exclusion:

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[105]Harff, *Pilgrimage,* 122; idem, *Pelerinage,* 100.

[106]Machiavelli, *The Prince,* chapter 19.

[107]Casola, *Pilgrimage,* 279.

[108]Fabri, *Pilgerfahrt,* 122.

[109]Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium in terrae sanctae, arabiae et egypti peregrinationem,* ed. Cunradus Dietericus Hassler, Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 2-4 (Stuttgart, 1843, 1849), 3:93.

> It is estimated that there are more than 30,000 Mamluks in Cairo in the service of the sultan. The sultan is the heir of all of them, for it is not permissible that the son of a Mamluk inherits his father´s fortune. He is not even seen as a Mamluk, because he has never been a Christian and has not fallen away [from Christianity]. Therefore, the Mamluks intentionally allow their children to be baptized as Christians. As long as they are growing up, they have them instructed in the faith of Christ. However, when they have reached the age in which they can judge for themselves, somebody leads them to renounce their faith in full public view. Now the son can follow in his father´s footsteps and become a Mamluk. The young people know this and yearn for the day of their apostasy to come as soon as possible, because they may then ride a horse and carry weapons. And for this reason, the number of Mamluks grows from day to day.[110]

In the German edition of Fabri´s 1483 pilgrim´s report, abridged from the complete Latin version, it is stated briefly that:

> The Mamluks also allow all their children and women to be baptized. But not all do so for the sake of God; rather they seek to deceive through this. At the court of the king sultan, no one can be or become powerful but Christian apostates. For no heathen [i.e., Muslim] can become a Mamluk and therefore the Mamluks have their sons baptized and instructed in the Christian faith until they reach the age, then they too apostatize, become Mamluks, and inherit their father´s fortune. All this could not be had they not been Christians before. And this is a lamentably great deception in which there is no good, for in this manner the name of Christ remains among the heathens.[111]

The following paragraph is incomplete in the available German abridgement of Fabri´s pilgrim´s report. Therefore I have inserted the missing passages (in italics) from an available French translation of the complete German text:

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[110]Fabri, *Voyage,* 553.

[111]Fabri, *Pilgerfahrt,* 122; idem, *Voyage,* 915.

> There are innumerably many Mamluks at the court. The sultan, *the amir, and the dyodar* [i.e., *dawādār*] have nearly 30,000 Mamluks, all of whom are given a salary. *Their inheritance goes to the sultan. Their children retain only that which it pleases him to leave them.* We saw young boys as Mamluks at the court, many with costly ornament. The entire land, as far at the sultan rules, is ruled through Mamluks and the Saracens have no power there.

Fabri´s peculiar idea, irreconcilable with the reality known to us, that descendents of Mamluks could, by means of a limited term conversion, attain the privileges of their fathers so to speak through the back door surely has an ideological background on the Christian side. Garcin, for example, sees this as an effort by the author to make the impressive power of the Mamluks and their many victories over the Christians bearable to himself.[112] By declaring them to be former or crypto-Christians, one could claim them for one´s own cause, sharing in their success in a deeper sense. This must surely be the most complex but also the most unequivocal expression of the West´s respect for this powerful monarchy and its rulers. The alleged eagerness of the Mamluks in general to return to Christianity, their native religion, has been discussed above. This claim too strengthened the feeling that, on the deepest level, one was dealing not with opponents but with allies. To be defeated by them was less humiliating than if one had been dealing with true foreigners. We should also not forget that the Mamluks were the masters of the holy places of Palestine, the land which the Crusades had sought in vain to win back for Christendom. Arnold von Harff has one of his German Mamluks argue simply but fully in the context of this deep-set Christian disquiet over the Mamluks´ power: Jerusalem is a holy place for all three great religions, for Jews, Christians, and Muslims. Whoever rules this city must then be the most powerful king on earth.[113]

Ibn Zunbul, who wrote his history of the conquest of Egypt by Sultan Selim at the beginning of Ottoman rule, renders historical processes (as well as the inheritance of privileges), as he is fond of doing, in a (fictional) dialogue. In the following case he deals with the competing principles of succession. If, according to Selim, a sultan must be descended from a sultan,[114] something that disqualified a Mamluk from becoming ruler, these were quick to reply: ″Who was Abraham´s or

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[112]Garcin, ″Aux sources d´une idéologie,″ 168.

[113]Harff, *Pilgrimage,* 128-29.

[114]Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī Ibn Zunbul, *Wāqiʻat al-Sulṭān al-Ghawrī maʻa Salīm al-ʻUthmānī,* ed. ʻAbd al-Munʻim ʻĀmir (Cairo, 1962, repr. 1997), 84, 166.

Muḥammad´s father?″[115] Even in a time when the Mamluk sultanate had long since become history, this basic law of the late Mamluk period was still deeply anchored in the consciousness of the Egyptian people. The French Franciscan André Thevet visited the country in 1550 and encountered again and again sentimental memories of the courageous sultans, especially the last of them, Ṭūmān Bāy, whom the Ottoman conqueror Selim had executed in a most bestial manner. He puts it this way: ″The sons of the Mamluks could not become soldiers and therefore the sultan was not able to bring about the succession of his sons.″[116]

THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE EUROPEAN TRAVEL REPORTS

In the course of the history of the Mamluk sultanate from 1250 to 1517, the most important institutions of the empire were gradually, and sometimes also abruptly, ″Mamlukized.″ Reverses in this process, such as the well-known intermezzo during Sultan Ḥasan´s reign, were without lasting consequence. Occidental pilgrims and emissaries inform us about these social and political developments, initially sporadically and later with greater and greater frequency. Through their distance they saw, as emphasized above, the essential institutional changes at the pinnacle of the state more clearly and impartially than many of the officials of the chancery or court historians of the time.

The most important stages in this long process of the erosion of the non-Mamluk elites´ power to the benefit of the sultan and the royal Mamluks who underpinned the system can be briefly summarized. Under Qalāwūn began the displacement of the ″turban wearers″ from offices traditionally accorded to civilians, such as the vizierate, by true Mamluks *(mukalwatūn).* The next decisive event was the reform, finally successful after many failed attempts, of the army and fiefs by al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in the year 1315. As a result of this, the rulers and sultan´s Mamluks were able to secure a greater share of the rural wealth of Egypt at the expense of non-Mamluk groups (such as the *ajnād al-ḥalqah*). Nevertheless, the assumption of power by the oligarchy of generals after the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad still did not mean the end of dynastic continuity at the pinnacle of the

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[115] Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Egypt´s Adjustment to Ottoman Rule: Institutions, Waqf and Architecture in Cairo, 16th and 17th Centuries,* Islamic History and Civilization Studies and Texts 7 (Leiden, 1994), 197; al-Ḥusaynī, *Kitāb Nafā'is Majālis al-Sulṭānīyah*, 133 f. In the early fourteenth century, in the struggle between the son of the sultan, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and his ″purely″ Mamluk opponent, Baybars, the formula ″*al-mulk ʻaqīm*″ epitomized the ideal of personal effort over inherited position.

[116] André Thevet and Jean Chesneau, *Voyages en Égypte 1549-1552,* ed. Frank Lestringant, Collection des voyageurs occidentaux en Égypte 24 (Cairo, 1984), 178: ″. . . voire les enfans sortis d´un Mamelu, ne pouvoient estre honorez du tiltre d´hommes d´armes: qui estoit cause, que le Soldan ne pouvoit faire que ses enfans luy succedassent.″

state itself. Sultans from the reigning house—Qalāwūn´s sons and grandchildren—ruled over Egypt longer than the Ayyubids, although they were born in the land and should have been excluded from power according to stricter Mamluk rules. The longevity of his house was favored by the fact that the Egyptian-born al-Nāṣir was able, with iron self-discipline and determined politicking, to shake the stigma of non-Mamlukdom and was seen by contemporaries as a true and even exemplary Mamluk.

From the end of the fourteenth century, European travel reports are available as a source for these important events. Simone Sigoli cites the reservations, for example, of the caliph to the usurpation of the throne by Barqūq at the expense of the Qalawunids:[117] as an illegitimate ruler, he must first buy the loyalty of the amirs.[118] Also de Mignanelli, in his report made possible by his intimate proximity to the ruler, Barqūq, emphasizes the at that time still uncontested validity of the dynastic principle. He writes in *Ascensus Barcoch* how it was held against Barqūq that he was a slave, that is, in contrast to all of his predecessors since al-Manṣūr Lājīn, he had come to the throne as a real Mamluk. It is further noted that, in deposing his rival Barakah, he nevertheless had himself sanctioned by the Qalawunid shadow caliph as custom dictated. It required fine maneuvering, according to the author of *Ascensus Barcoch*, well versed in events at the court and in the provinces, but in the end, the rebel Barqūq was able, after two attempts, to ascend to the sultan´s throne and depose the last Qalawunids, allies of his opponents.

The next break in this development, the diversion of funds originally earmarked for Barqūq´s son to the *dīwān al-mufrad,* was not registered by a single western traveler. Nonetheless, we do hear from Piloti about what was perhaps the most important turning point, in terms of institutional history, in the history of the office of the sultan.[119] I am thinking of the execution of Sultan Faraj, the son of Barqūq, in the year 1412. This was done with the blessing of the shadow Caliph al-Mustaʿīn,[120] at the behest of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, who was so conscious of his own Mamlukdom. The farce that immediately after this event the previously mentioned Abbasid shadow Caliph al-Mustaʿīn held the throne for a short time, only to be removed soon afterwards once the new strong man had rid himself of

[117]Sigoli, ˝Pilgrimage,˝ 175.

[118]Ibid., 174.

[119]Piloti, *L´Égypte,* 12-13.

[120]With appeal to supposed violations of the law: ˝that he has treated infinite pagans [i.e., Muslims] unjustly *[il avait fait infinis payens contre justice]* and that he has eaten pork and drunk wine on Friday . . .˝ Ibid., 13.

his internal opponents, also found its way into Piloti, though naturally he does not really grasp the institutional impotence of the office of the caliphate.[121]

At that time, in 1412, cracks began to appear in the law of the succession of father by son, which had been recognized without question as valid from within and without. This was a relic of the Seljuks and Ayyubids, as whose heirs the Mamluks saw themselves. It becomes predictable that the sons, whose succession was regularly pushed through the election councils composed of the most powerful oligarchs by their fathers before death, will only be left in office as sultan until the victor in the power struggle among full Mamluk competitors is determined. The observations of Schiltberger and Tafur (the latter comments on the career chances of Mamluk sons generally, not only of the princes, or *sīdī*s) reveal a clear hierarchy between the Mamluks of the first generation and their immediate descendents. For the Mamluk descendents of the fourth generation, according to Tafur, the blue blood of their forefathers carries no weight whatsoever.

After a further thirty years, the glut of travel reports begins and we near the end of the sultanate. At this point the hopes of the sons of Mamluks are finished, that is the hope to slip into their father′s shoes despite having been born in the wrong place. All of the European reporters corroborate this, as brief, muddled, and biased as their portrayal of the fact may be. The last attempt is made by Qāytbāy. He has his half-grown son Muḥammad appointed as sultan in his stead while he is still alive and thereby provokes the opposition of the entire Mamluk establishment. In the hundred years from Mignanelli′s Barqūq biography to Arnold von Harff′s colorful portrayal of the civil war between al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qāytbāy and his ″full Mamluk″ challengers, the opinion of the foreigners on what is legitimate has turned 180 degrees. The son of the ruler is at this point no longer destined to succeed as on the basis of his lineage but rather, quite on the contrary, disqualified through his relationship.

[121]See ibid., and ff.

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Mamluk Egyptian Copper Coinage Before 759/1357-1358: A Preliminary Inquiry

I

Paul Balog′s *The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria* was published in 1964.[1] Contrary to a frequently-encountered belief among Mamlukists, the study of Mamluk money did not end with its appearance. While the *CMSES* (as it will henceforth be referred to) has proved a solid foundation for the subsequent study of Mamluk numismatics and monetary history, it did not solve every problem nor answer every question. There are still several outstanding gaps in our knowledge of Mamluk money. This article sketches out the parameters of one such gap: developments in the copper coinage minted in Cairo for the first century of Mamluk rule.

In the year 759/1357-58, apparently at the instigation of the Amir Sarghitmish, the Mamluk Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan issued new copper coins (often referred to as *al-fulūs al-judud* in the sources) of different appearance and minted to a heavier, fixed weight—the *mithqāl* standard—than those that had circulated previously.[2] Coins similar to these were minted during the remaining decades of the eighth/fourteenth century, and apparently were struck in such quantities that they circulated well into the next.[3] But what was going on before these developments? What is the state of our knowledge about Mamluk *fulūs* before the ″new ones?″ The obvious starting point in the search for answers is the *CMSES*, where we read:

> The weight-unit of the copper coinage since the beginning of the Baḥri rule until 759 H, during the second reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, was the *dirhem*. At this time the *mithqāl* was officially proclaimed as the unit of weight. Whereas before 759 H. the copper could pass

[1]New York, 1964.

[2]The coin type is *CMSES* type 369.

[3]See Warren C. Schultz, ″Mahmûd ibn ‘Alî and the ′New Fulûs′: Late Fourteenth Century Egyptian Fulûs Reconsidered,″ *American Journal of Numismatics,* 2nd ser.*,* 10 (1998): 127-48.

> by tale [i.e., by count], even though for modest transactions only, after that time it had to be weighed for any business deal.[4]

In light of the research presented below, several modifications must be made to Balog's assessment. First of all, the situation is quite different depending on whether one is discussing *fulūs* struck in Cairo or in the major Syrian mint cities of Damascus, Ḥamāh, Aleppo and Tripoli.[5] For reasons explored in the next section, this discussion will be limited to those coins struck in Cairo. Secondly, the numismatic record for Cairene *fulūs* itself is scanty to say the least, and fraught with problems. Thirdly, the surviving literary records reveal a more complex situation for the period "since the beginning of Baḥri rule." And finally, the question why the Mamluk Sultanate would have specified a weight standard for low value copper coinage must be asked.

II

It is useful to preface this discussion with some comments about copper coinages in the medieval Islamic world. Unlike gold and silver coins of a high alloy, copper (and other base metal) coinages have a low intrinsic value, reflecting the lower worth of copper vis-à-vis the precious metals. Copper coins are thus usually described as a fiduciary money, with a higher percentage of their circulating (extrinsic) value determined by factors other than their metallic content. The only ways in which an issuing authority could maintain this higher extrinsic value would be by limiting the number of copper coins it issued and by accepting them in turn as payment for taxes and other transactions.[6] Failure to do so could result in the coins plummeting in value to a floor provided only by the market value of the metal itself.

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[4]*CMSES,* 49. Balog based his analysis here on the compilation of textual citations found in William Popper's *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghribirdi's Chronicles of Egypt,* University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, vol. 16 (Berkeley, 1957).

[5]The occasional Mamluk mints of al-Lādhiqīyah, Malaṭya, and al-Marqab seem to have minted only silver. Copper coins were not struck in Alexandria until 770/1368-69, and thus fall outside of the time period of this study. Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Jamāl al-Dīn Shayyāl (Cairo, 1940), 69.

[6]See Carlo Cipolla, "The Big Problem of the Petty Coins," in *Money, Prices, and Civilization in the Mediterranean World, Fifth to Seventeenth Centuries* (Princeton, 1956), 27-37. Cipolla discusses coins of extremely low silver content in this article, but his analysis holds true for copper-only coins as well. It is worth repeating that despite what is frequently asserted, it is highly unlikely that any pre-modern state could guarantee or enforce exchange rates after a coin entered circulation.

Copper coins are also said to have fulfilled a different role in the marketplace than their precious metal counterparts. Copper coins are often dismissed as merely local coins, good for petty purchases only, and not given the status of legal currency. The reality is more complex, both for questions of legal standing and circulation. For the former, while it is true that gold and silver coins are discussed more frequently than copper coins in the works of major Muslim jurists,[7] by the Mamluk period it is clear that the role and status of copper coins was of concern to religious scholars.[8] This is a topic that needs further attention.

In terms of circulation, it must be acknowledged that both textual and archeological evidence suggest that Mamluk copper coins could circulate far from the city of their origin. *Fulūs* from Cairo, for example, circulated as far afield as Jerusalem and its environs,[9] and possibly in Quṣayr on the Red Sea as well.[10] Nevertheless, it is probably safe to assume that the norm was for these coins to circulate close to their mint of origin. That said, there are immediate differences between the copper issues of Cairo and the Syrian mints for the first century of Mamluk rule. The copper issues of the Syrian mint cities (Damascus, Ḥamāh, Aleppo, Tripoli) are far better known than those from Cairo. Many more Syrian types and actual specimens are known to us, although few studies of these coins have been published.[11] These Syrian *fulūs* vary tremendously in their appearance,

[7]See Robert Brunschvig, "Conceptions monétaires chez les juristes musulmans (VIIIe-XIIIe siècles)," *Arabica* 14 (1967): 113-43; and A. L. Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit in Medieval Islam* (Princeton, 1970).

[8]As is well known, al-Maqrīzī's screeds against copper coinage pepper his *Ighāthah* and *Shudhūr al-Nuqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqūd.* Al-Suyūṭī also discusses copper coinage in a *fatwá,* "Qaṭ' al-Mujādalah 'inda Taghyīr al-Mu'āmalah," cited by Christopher Toll, "Minting Technique according to Arabic Literary Sources," *Oriental Suecana* 19-20 (1970-71): 125-37. An as yet unexploited resource are the Mamluk-era *fiqh* manuals. Rafaat El Nabarawy has drawn attention to one such manuscript, Ibn Hayyim's "Nuzhat al-Nufūs fī Bayān Ḥukm al-Ta'āmul bi-al-Fulūs" preserved in the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 1073 *fiqh shāfi'ī.* See his "Maskūkāt al-Mamālīk al-Jirākisah fī Miṣr," Ph.D. diss., University of Cairo, 1981, p. *yā'*.

[9]Ibn Hayyim, "Nuzhat al-Nufūs," mentioned Cairene coppers circulating in Jerusalem (cited by El Nabarawy, "Maskūkāt al-Mamālīk," p. *yā'*). This observation is also supported by many small hoards of copper coins preserved at the Israel Antiquities Authority, wherein Cairene coppers are found mixed with *fulūs* from the Syrian mints. The author gratefully acknowledges the permission of Ruth Peled and the assistance of D. T. Ariel in examining these coins. While it is true that archeological finds alone do not prove zones of circulation, in this case the correlation of both literary and archeological evidence supports the assertion that Cairene coppers did indeed circulate in Jerusalem.

[10]This is clear from the archeological excavations done at the site, which revealed copper coins from Cairo and other Mamluk cities. Permission to examine the coins found at Quṣayr and preserved at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago was granted by Donald Whitcomb.

[11]The important study by Lutz Ilisch, "The emission of copper coins in 8th century H. Mamluk

and make frequent use of heraldic-type designs and decorations. The situation is made more complex by the fact that many coppers of clear Syrian provenance lack a mint name. They also exhibit extreme metrological variance from type to type and across mint. The issues of each of these Syrian mints is deserving of their own study. For these reasons, I will limit my discussion to Cairene *fulūs* only.

Finally, as was the case for gold and silver, there were no functioning mines for copper in the Mamluk domains.[12] Metal for minting *fulūs* had to come from either existing stocks of copper (in the form of older coins or in other goods such as plate, etc.) or was purchased from external sources.

III

The numismatic and the literary records are clear that the Ayyubid rulers of Egypt minted copper coins.[13] The Mamluks thus inherited a monetary market place in which coins of gold, silver, and copper circulated. Unfortunately, while copper coins are mentioned in the sources with some frequency, actual copper coins from the first century of Mamluk rule are rather rare. There are only 16 types that have thus far been linked to Cairo by the *CMSES* and subsequent scholarship. These types, along with two other possible Cairene types, are listed in Figure 1. Obviously, there are significant gaps in this record. Coins have been definitively linked to only four sultans out of a possible 21 rulers from Shajar al-Durr to the second reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan.[14] Clearly there is much numismatic spade work to be done. Three problems seem especially important to me as illustrative of the difficulties faced in studying the copper coinage of this period.

The first concerns the *fulūs* of al-Ẓāhir Baybars.[15] The only mint name found on his surviving coins thus far is Damascus. Most of his copper coins are without

Syria," delivered at the Balog Memorial Symposium in 1988, is unpublished.

[12]ʻĀfiyah, Muḥammad Sāmiḥ, *Taʻdīn fī Miṣr Qadīman wa-Ḥadīthan* (Cairo:,1985), vol. 1, *Al-Taʻdīn al-Qadīm fī Miṣr,* 215. Cf. Adel Allouche, *Mamluk Economics* (Salt Lake City, 1994), 18.

[13]After several centuries in which copper coins were apparently not minted in Egypt, the Ayyubid al-Mālik al-Kāmil (615-35/1218-38) ordered the striking of *fulūs*. For a discussion of this event, see Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt, AH 564-741/1169-1341* (London, 1972), 182-83; the story of the woman and the water seller is surely apocryphal. This episode is also discussed by Claude Cahen, "Monetary Circulation in Egypt at the time of the Crusades and the Reform of al-Kāmil," in *The Islamic Middle East, 700-1900,* ed. A. L. Udovitch (Princeton, 1982), 315-33.

[14]This ignores the Syrian-based "revolts" and claims of Sinjār and Sunqur. For the Syrian *fulūs* struck by Sunqur, see Balog, "Un fals d'al-Kāmil Shams al-Dīn Sunqur, sultan mamelouk rebelle de Damas," *Revue numismatique,* ser. 6, vol. 15 (1973): 177-79.

[15]See *CMSES* types 94-103.

mint name. For good reason, many of these mint-less coins have been linked to other Syrian cities, notably Ḥamāh.[16] However, it is of course possible that some of the coin-types lacking a mint name were struck in Cairo. That this is so is one probable repercussion of the fact that mint-less coins of Baybars were found in the digs at Fusṭāṭ.[17]

A second problem lies in the copper coins of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.[18] The entire coinage of this sultan awaits an in-depth analysis. His *fulūs*, in particular, are little understood. Many are mint-less and most types lack dates. The few that have dates are from his third reign only. More seem to be from Syria than Cairo. When faced with the difficulties of sorting and attributing this coinage, Balog placed it all in his discussion of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign (709-41/1309-40) for "practical purposes."[19] A perusal of this section of the *CMSES*, however, reveals that some of the copper coins attributed to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad by Balog bear only the regnal title *al-Malik al-Nāṣir* or even just *al-Nāṣir*. Note that it is possible that coins featuring only the regnal title *al-Nāṣir* and without personal name could also be al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, or for that matter any of the other Mamluk sultans who adopted this sobriquet. Balog argued against this, stating that the copper coins of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan have a "different style of design" than those of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.[20] He was doubtless referring to the "new *fulūs*" minted in 759 and after; these coins are clearly different from what is known to have preceded them, and are immediately recognizable. However, it must be emphasized that these "different" coins appeared only in 759, towards the end of the second of two reigns of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (748-52/1347-51 and 755-62/1354-61). The question remains: did al-Nāṣir Ḥasan order the minting of copper coins in the years before 759? As of yet, no coins of Cairo for Ḥasan before 759 have been found, possibly because no one has been looking for them. It is possible that some of them are mixed in with the issues of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The lucky appearance of an overstrike or odd die link would be most helpful in this matter.

Furthermore, many of these coins are thus far only known in a few specimens. I have been able to locate and study only four examples of Quṭuz's type #26, for

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[16]Lorenz Korn, *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen: Ḥamāh* IV c *Bilād aš-Šām III* (Berlin, 1998), 26.

[17]I have examined six of these Fusṭāṭ coins of Baybars. They are preserved in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. My thanks to Raymond Tindel for his assistance in viewing these coins.

[18]*CMSES* types 214-65, pp. 147-63. An initial attempt at making sense of this complex copper series is Nuha N. N. Khoury's "The Copper Coinage of al-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un," unpublished paper, 1986 American Numismatic Society Summer Graduate Seminar.

[19]*CMSES*, 125.

[20]Ibid., 163.

example, and only six of Qalāwūn's type #140. The exceptions to this issue of scarcity are the later types of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl. Thanks to two hoards, both published by Balog, several hundred of these coins are known and available for study.[21] Nevertheless, given the paucity of surviving specimens, the publication of more specimens of already known rare types would not be mere duplication but significant contributions to our knowledge, making possible more comprehensive studies of the *fulūs* of the first Mamluk century.

IV

In contrast to the scanty numismatic record, the Mamluk literary sources contain many remarks about the Cairene *fulūs* in the first decades of Mamluk rule. Copper coins are mentioned in various contexts, ranging from lists of prices to exchange rates to the description of innovations in the way in which *fulūs* were valued. The earliest mention of this last sort of comment refers to events of the year 695/1295-96, during the reign of the sultan Kitbughā.[22] It is found in al-Maqrīzī's *Ighāthah*, and is worth quoting in its entirety.

> When al-'Ādil Kitbughā became sultan, . . . the injustices of the vizir Fakhr al-Dīn 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Khalīlī became more frequent, and the members of the sultan's entourage and his mamluks oppressed the population. Because all were greedy in [accumulating] wealth and receiving bribes and protection money, new *fulūs* were minted. These were *so light* that people avoided them. Hence it was proclaimed in 695/1295-96 that *they would be valued by weight and that one* fals *would be the weight of one dirham* [of minted copper]. Then it was announced that the exchange rate of one *raṭl* of *fulūs* would be two [silver] *dirham*s. *This was*

[21]Balog, "Trésor de monnaies en cuivre Mamelouks Bahrides," *Annali d'Instituto Italiano di Numismatica* 23-24 (1976-77): 199-215; idem, "Three Hoards of Mamluk Coins," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 16 (1970): 173-78. The "Annali" hoard of 668 pieces is particularly important. These coins are recognizable by their "chocolate-brown" patina. The bulk of this hoard remained in Balog's personal collection. This important collection is now preserved at the Israel Museum, where I was able to weigh these coins, many of them for the first time. I would like to thank Yaakov Meshorer and Haim Gitler for their assistance in studying the Balog collection.

[22]A supposed development in Mamluk *fulūs* said to have occurred in 650/1252-53 did not in fact occur. It is the result of an editing error in the text of al-Maqrīzī's *Ighāthah,* 70. The actual events described in that passage took place "after 750" and not "after 650" as the editors put it. See W. Schultz, "Mamluk Money from Baybars to Barquq," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1995, 190-92.

> *the first time in Egypt that [the value of] the* fulūs *was determined by weight and not by tale*.[23] (emphasis added)

Several items in this passage require further comment. There are two "firsts" mentioned in this passage, one explicitly and the other implicitly. The "explicit" first is al-Maqrīzī's last sentence; that this event marked the first time that the value of Egyptian copper coins was determined by their weight and not count. This is problematic, in light of evidence discussed below. The "implicit" first in the passage is al-Maqrīzī's assertion that the weight of a single copper coin was set at one *dirham*.[24] This is the earliest known (to us) citation that pegs Mamluk *fulūs* to a specific weight standard. If true, it places the establishment of a weight standard for the copper coins not at the beginning of the Bahri period, but more than four decades into the sultanate. More importantly, if true, it inserts a new factor in the determination of value of these coins.

Prior to this development, if the weight of earlier copper coins did not matter, then the sole determinant of value was quantity. The more coins one possessed, the more money one had in one's possession. This is the normal situation expected when dealing with a fiduciary coinage of low intrinsic worth. Of course the value of the coins could be lowered by a number of factors, chief among them the failure of the mint to limit the numbers minted, but it would not make a difference if some coins were heavier than others.[25] If this were the case in Egypt prior to 695, however, why then would the people reject "lightweight" copper coins as asserted in the above passage? How could a coin be described as lightweight if no weight standard had been specified?

The answers to these questions lie in an analysis of al-Maqrīzī's assertion that the year 695/1295-96 marked the first time the value of copper coins was determined by weight. Specifically, we must explore the math behind the exchange rates

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[23]Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 71. The original Arabic is found in the *Ighāthah,* 70, but see also 37-38. Al-Maqrīzī gave no source for his account of this event, which took place well before his birth. It is probable that the ultimate source for this account was a now-lost section of the history of al-Yūsufī. This is warranted by the observation that a similar account (lacking a few details) is also found in Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1987-91), 3:303. The dependence of both al-Maqrīzī and al-ʻAynī on al-Yūsufī has been established by Donald P. Little, "The Recovery of a Lost Source for Bāḥrī Mamlūk History: al-Yūsufī's *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Ṣīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir," Journal of the American Oriental Society* 94 (1974): 42-54.

[24]Note that the term *"dirham"* is both the generic name for a silver coin, a unit of account used in valuation, and a weight unit of approximately three grams. In this case it is clearly used to signify a weight unit. See George C. Miles, "Dirham," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 2:319-20.

[25]Therefore I must disagree with Rabie, who posits the existence of "lightweight" copper coins in the early Bahri period (*Financial System*, 188).

along with a closer examination of other contemporary textual sources. Al-Maqrīzī wrote that the exchange rate of these new copper coins was set at one *raṭl* of *fulūs* equal to two silver *dirham* coins. In Egypt at that time, a *raṭl* was a unit of weight equivalent to 144 *dirham* weight units. If the exchange rate cited above is correct, the math is quite simple. With their weight fixed at one *dirham*, 144 of the new copper coins of 695 would weigh a *raṭl*, and collectively be worth two silver *dirham*s. Thus 72 of these *fulūs* would equal one silver coin.[26] If the new *fulūs* were prepared with care and indeed weighed a *dirham*, the holder of the coppers desiring to use them in a commercial transaction could either count out the coins or weigh them to reach the desired amount, for the resulting sums would be equivalent. Thus a customer could count out 18 *fulūs* to purchase an item priced at a quarter-*dirham*, but then for an item priced at four silver *dirham*s, he could weigh out four *raṭl*s of *fulūs* rather than count out 288 separate coins. But other than the ease with which such interchangeability must have aided transactions, what else could have been behind the establishment of a weight standard for low value copper coins?

The establishment of a weight standard may also be explained as a attempt to minimize the harm that was evidently being done to those using *fulūs* by the way in which copper coins had previously been valued in the marketplace. This explanation is based on the fact that al-Maqrīzī was wrong in his assertion that 695 was the first time Mamluk copper had passed by weight (the explicit first mentioned above). Other Mamluk sources mention two instances in the two years preceding 695 where the copper:silver exchange rate specified the total weight of copper coins required to buy a silver coin but not their number. According to al-Suyūṭī (like al-Maqrīzī a ninth/fifteenth century source), in 693/1293-94 it took one *ūqīyah* of copper coins to equal one-quarter of a silver *dirham*.[27] At twelve *ūqīyah*s to the *raṭl*, this would result in an exchange of one *raṭl* of copper coins worth three silver *dirham*s. Al-Suyūṭī then mentioned that the rate subsequently fell to one *raṭl* of copper equal to two silver coins, a rate corroborated for 694/1294-95 by al-Maqrīzī in his *Sulūk,* (and also cited as the rate reaffirmed in 695).[28] In

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[26]This exchange rate represents a devaluation of the copper:silver ratio found much earlier in the seventh/thirteenth century. In 622/1225 it took 48 *fulūs* to buy one good silver coin, and 16 to purchase one low silver coin. The exchange rates quoted in most discussions of al-Kāmil′s reforms of that year usually fail to differentiate between the types of silver coins available in the market. See Aḥmad ibn ʻAbd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1964-), 29:131, n. 2, but note that the editors mistakenly identify a *dirham wariq* as a high silver content coin.

[27]Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥādarah fī Akhbār Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1904), 2:177. See also Popper, *Egypt and Syria,* 67.

[28]Al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn,* 2:177; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʻrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad

neither of these years is the number of copper coins necessary to reach the required weight specified. Thus we are left to conclude that prior to 695 no weight standard had yet been fixed for the copper coins. What was important was the total weight of copper coins required to exchange for a silver *dirham*, not their number. In effect, copper coins had become little copper ingots, valued at or slightly above their copper content. In such a context, a heavier coin would be worth more than a lighter one.

The events leading up to 695 reveal a fundamental tension that apparently existed up to the last decade of the seventh/thirteenth century. This tension resulted in different rules in effect for transactions involving copper coins depending on whether the transaction was small or large. Simply stated, it meant that those who held lighter-weight coins would always face the potential of loss in value when they tried to use those *fulūs* in large scale transactions. If, for example, a baker sold loaves of bread for a single *fals* or two per loaf, it is likely that he accepted these coins by tale. Yet if he had to pay for his silver *dirham*s′ worth of wheat using several *raṭl*s of these same coins (as was evidently the case in 693-94), he would need more of the light-weight coins to make the desired exchange weight. It is no wonder that before 695 the Cairenes are said to have refused to use the lighter-weight coins said to have been issued by Kitbughā′s minions. Since the exchange rate for larger transactions was already two *raṭl*s of copper coins per silver *dirham*, it would have required more of the newer coins to reach that weight.

Once the weight of individual copper coins was standardized, however, the number of copper coins necessary to total a *raṭl* would remain relatively constant. If the individual *fals* weighed a *dirham*, then it should always take 144 of these *fulūs* to reach a *raṭl*. Of course the value of that *raṭl* of *fulūs* vis-à-vis silver *dirham*s could change in response to any number of market factors, but by minting copper coins to a specified weight standard, the nameless officials responsible were in effect attempting to guarantee the extrinsic value of coined copper. Given these circumstances, a weight standard for the *fulūs* can be seen for what it was, an attempt to ensure that the same petty coins could be used in confidence both by tale and by weight.

I have discussed this account in some detail because it sets the parameters of all subsequent *fals* crises of the remainder of the period under consideration here. In every example, the *fulūs* are said to circulate at an established rate of exchange until the presence of lighter coins (either officially minted or perhaps counterfeits) forces a drop in the copper:silver exchange rate, which in turn causes upheaval in the marketplaces of Cairo. This brings about the minting of new full-weight coins which circulate at the old exchange rate. The old *fulūs* are usually said to have decreased in value, taking many more of them to equal a silver *dirham* than

before. This basic cycle of events is mentioned at least four more times in the Mamluk sources for the period up to 759.

The first such occurs in 705/1305-6, during the second reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.[29] The next crisis of *fulūs* falls in the years 720-21/1320-22, during the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. This episode is noteworthy because some of the new full-weight coins issued in response to the turmoil are said to have included a "heraldic napkin" *(buqjah)* in their design as a way to differentiate them from the preceding coins.[30] This account is closely followed by the events of 724/1323-24.[31] The final example occurs in 745/1344-45, during the reign of al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl.[32] While the odd detail may vary between these accounts, the basic pattern is very familiar.[33]

It remains to be seen if the numismatic evidence corroborates the above analysis. Here the scantiness of this evidence proves an obstacle. There are no known Egyptian *fulūs* from the reign of Kitbughā, for example, and there are very few known from the sultans before him, so we are unable to mesh the account of 695 with precise numismatic data. Yet the surviving coins are not entirely mute concerning the possible establishment of a *dirham*-weight *fals* in or around 695. There do exist five measurable samples of coins that fall on either side of that date. These samples allow us to ascertain if a weight standard was ever established for *fulūs* during the first century of Mamluk rule.

Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr (Cairo, 1934-73), 1:810.

[29] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:17. See also al-'Aynī, *'Iqd,* 4:410, where there is no mention of the minting of new coins, and K. V. Zetterstéen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensultane in den Jahren 690-741 Higra, nach arabischen Handschriften* (Leiden, 1919), 132, for an even briefer account. Al-Maqrīzī's passage reads "in that year economic transactions in Cairo ceased due to the increase of the number of *fulūs* as well as [an increase] in the lightweight *fulūs*. . . . New *fulūs* were ordered struck and the lightweight *fulūs* were exchanged at the rate of two and one half [silver *dirham*s] per *raṭl,* and business resumed."

[30] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:205-6; cf. Rabie, *Financial System,* 195-96. J. W. Allan has argued that this rhomboid is but a frame for the words it surrounds and not necessarily a heraldic device. See his "Mamluk Sultanic Heraldry and the Numismatic Evidence: A Reinterpretation," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1970): 99-112, especially 100.

[31] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:253, idem, *Al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1270/1853-54), 2:148-49; Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1942), 9:77; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn,* 2:180. There is no evidence to support the weight standard of a "*dirham* and one-eighth" cited by the editors of the *Sulūk,* and repeated in the text notes of the *Nujūm.*

[32] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:669.

[33] All except the last are discussed in Rabie, *Financial System*, 195-97.

The sole anterior sample is that of the Ayyubid Cairene *fulūs* of al-Kāmil Muḥammad and al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb.[34] While they were minted several decades before Kitbughā's reign, they do provide a baseline against which the early Mamluk *fulūs* may be compared. The weights of 85 of these coins are plotted in a frequency table (Fig. 2).[35] The wide range of coin weights—from less than 1.40 to more than 4.90 grams—and utter lack of a pronounced peak in any weight interval are strong visual proof that these Ayyubid coppers were not struck to a weight standard. It is safe to conclude, therefore, that if a weight standard for copper coins is subsequently encountered, it is of Mamluk origin.

The remaining four coin samples date from after the reign of Kitbughā. Three are dated to the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and the fourth to the reign of al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl. Figure 3 tabulates the earliest sample from the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, struck during the years 710-12/1310-13. The sample consists of twelve coins dated 710, and fourteen additional coins which, while undated, can be assigned to this period on stylistic grounds.[36] While this period does not match up with any of the crises noted above, these coins represent the closest available chronological set of data to the events of 695, and therefore should be examined. The weights of these 26 coins are plotted on Figure 3. The sample is admittedly quite small, but the peak interval (2.80-2.89 grams) is noteworthy. It falls close to the value of approximately 3.00 grams which is the weight usually associated with the *dirham*-weight unit in the Mamluk era.[37] Nine of the 26 coins fall in that range. While it would be unwise to build an argument on such a tiny sample, this graph—with its pronounced peak and tight cluster of 25 of the 26 coins—suggests at the very minimum that more attention was being paid to the weight of the *fulūs*.

The next set of coins can be clearly linked to the events of 720-21 mentioned above. This is evident from the *buqjah* which is quite prominent in the coin design. A small sample of 15 of these coins is tabulated in Figure 4. The shape of the graph is similar to Figure 3, albeit shifted slightly to the left on the horizontal

[34]While the Egyptian coppers of al-Kāmil Muḥammad are mint-less, they are attributed to Cairo by archeological evidence. See Michael Bates, "The Function of Fatimid and Ayyubid Glass Weights," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 24 (1981): 65, n. 8.

[35]A frequency table plots the number of coins on one axis against weight units on the other axis, and is a useful tool for illustrating metrological aspects of a coinage sample. The author would like to thank the many curators and private collectors who graciously made the collections in their care available for this metrological analysis.

[36]The coins in question are *CMSES* types 231-2. For a discussion of the style of these coins, see Khoury, "The Copper Coinage of al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qala'un," 14-15.

[37]For the range of values for such units as the *dirham* and *mithqāl*, see my forthcoming "Mamluk Metrology and the Numismatic Evidence."

axis. The sample is too small to safely confirm or deny the existence of a weight standard, yet it does establish a base set of data to which future specimens may be added in the hope of eventually corroborating the literary accounts of this coinage. Still, if a *dirham* weight standard of approximately 3.00 grams was in place, the peak interval (2.50-2.59 grams) raises the possibility that this sample itself contains examples of the light-weight counterfeit coins mentioned by al-Maqrīzī in his accounts of the *buqjah* coinage.

The third and final batch of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s coins studied contains 299 specimens of an epigraphic design.[38] These coins are undated, but can be placed with confidence in the last decade of his rule. Several factors support this attribution, the most important being the extremely close resemblance of these coins to the dated issues of Damascus from 735-41/1334-40.[39] (This is, incidentally, one of the few instances in which there appears to have been coordination in the minting of *fulūs* between Cairo and one of the Syrian mints. The significance of this awaits further study.) While this sample of coins does not chronologically match any of the incidents mentioned above, its size makes it a valuable source of metrological information. The weights of these coins are plotted in Figure 5. This frequency table has the prototypical bell-shaped curve that is expected when charting a coinage prepared to a fixed weight standard. The coins are tightly clustered around the peak interval of 2.90-2.99 grams. The average weight of the sample is 2.98 grams. Given the *dirham*-weight unit of about 3.00 grams for the Mamluk period, this data does indeed support the conclusion that by the fourth decade of the eighth/fourteenth century, Egyptian copper coins were being struck to the *dirham*-weight standard.

This standard was evidently continued into at least the reign of al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʻīl (743-46/1342-45). A sample of 188 coins dated 745-46 and bearing the name of this sultan is plotted in Figure 6.[40] With these dates, these coins are strongly linked to the episode of *fulūs* crisis in 745 discussed by al-Maqrīzī. While the curve is not the perfect bell-shape seen in Figure 5, it is a tightly packed histogram, suggesting close attention was paid to coin weight. The most interesting feature of the table is clearly the large number of coins that fall in the intervals 3.00 to 3.09 and 3.10 to 3.19 grams. This would suggest either that the coins were struck to a

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[38]These coins are *CMSES* types 220-1. A total of 275 of these coins came from the hoard published by Balog as ″Tresor de Monnais en cuivre Mamlouks Bahrides″ (see note 21). Balog provided less than 20 weights in this article. Balog identified 263 coins as type 220-1. The additional 12 are the result of my attribution.

[39]The Damascene coins are CMSES types 222-226. For this and other stylistic reasons, Khoury also attributes these Cairene coppers to the latter years of his reign. (Khoury, ″The Copper Coinage of al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qala′un,″ 17-18.

[40]These coins are *CMSES* types 285-6.

standard slightly higher than the *dirham*-weight unit, or that the *dirham*-weight unit was slightly heavier than previously assumed, but final word on this should be postponed until more specimens of these types are known and weighed.

V

Lastly, in light of this discussion of the literary and numismatic evidence, what conclusions can be drawn for the first century of Mamluk Egyptian *fulūs?* First, given the uneven quality of the numismatic evidence, any conclusions must be painted in the broadest possible strokes. A corollary of this is that the literary and numismatic evidence simply do not correlate closely. Coins discussed by the chronicles in certain years are often rare or even unknown, and those coins that do survive in large numbers are often not mentioned by the surviving literary sources at all. Thankfully, the possibilities for meshing chronicle and coin improve after this first century of Mamluk rule.

Secondly, we must back away from Balog′s assertion that the *dirham*-weight standard was in place for the copper coins from the beginning of the Bahri period. The first mention of such a standard does not appear until 695, and the available numismatic evidence does not begin to support such an assertion until the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Figure 2 is proof that the Ayyubids did not utilize a standard weight *fals*. For the next eight decades we simply do not have enough coins to work with. It is only with Figure 5, plotting coins attributed to the late 730s, that we have a statistically viable sample indicating a weight standard was in use, and that that weight standard is close to the 3.00 gram range usually associated with the *dirham*-weight.

Thirdly, what was gained by the institution of a weight standard for the *fulūs?* Seen in the light of how copper coins circulated and were exchanged, the establishment of such a standard is best viewed as an attempt to insure that *fulūs* could be used for both small-scale and larger transactions; that those who took them by tale could also use them by weight. The fact that the 759 reform featuring *mithqāl*-weight coppers was maintained for more than three decades—the situation did not disintegrate until the 790s—further indicates that fixing the weights of Egyptian copper coins was an effective measure.

And finally, there is still work to be done in Mamluk numismatics and monetary history.

The following types have been identified. ″Epigraphic″ means that the most noteworthy feature of coins is their legend. They lack a clearly identifying symbol or design. Unless specifically mentioned otherwise, references are to Balog′s *CMSES*.

Name:	Date:	Comments:
Quṭuz		
Type #26	658	epigraphic
Qalāwūn		
#140	678	epigraphic
#140A	ND	epigraphic (Balog 1970)
#140B	ND	epigraphic (*Annali* 23)
al-Nāṣir Muḥammad		
#232	710	each side features a central circle, in which is found ″Muḥammad″ on one side, and ″Qalāwūn″ on the other.
#242	720	*buqjah*-type, c.f. #244, Damascus mint
#243	721	*buqjah*-type
#219B	ND	epigraphic (*Annali* 23)
#220	ND	epigraphic, similar legends found on #222-226, all Damascus, dated 736-41.
#220A	ND	epigraphic (*Annali* 23) variant of 220
#220B	ND	epigraphic (*Annali* 23) variant of 220
#221	ND	epigraphic
#221A	(7)39	epigraphic (*Annali* 23)
#231	ND	one side features a central circle in which is found ″Muḥammad.″ The other side is epigraphic.
al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl		
#285	745	legends enclosed in cross shaped cartouche on one side, in a linear square standing on edge, with arabesque knot in each corner, on the other
#286	746	as above
#290	DM	*dirham*-type dies? Attribution to Cairo is uncertain.
al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ		
# __	753(?)	tentative attribution of coin in the ANS collection

Figure 1. Mamluk Copper Coinage of Cairo, 650-759

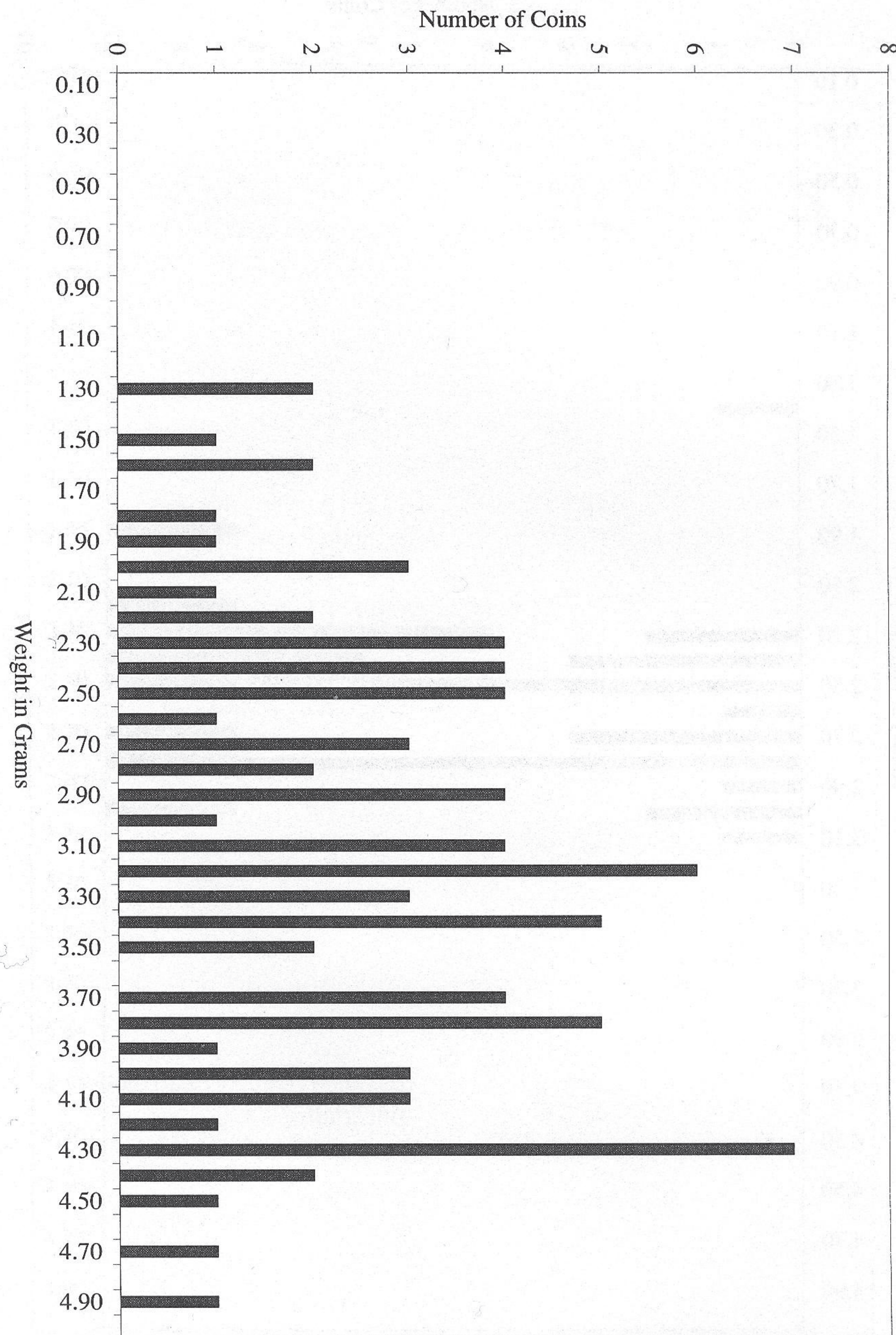


Figure 2. Ayyubid *Fulūs* from Cairo (85 coins)

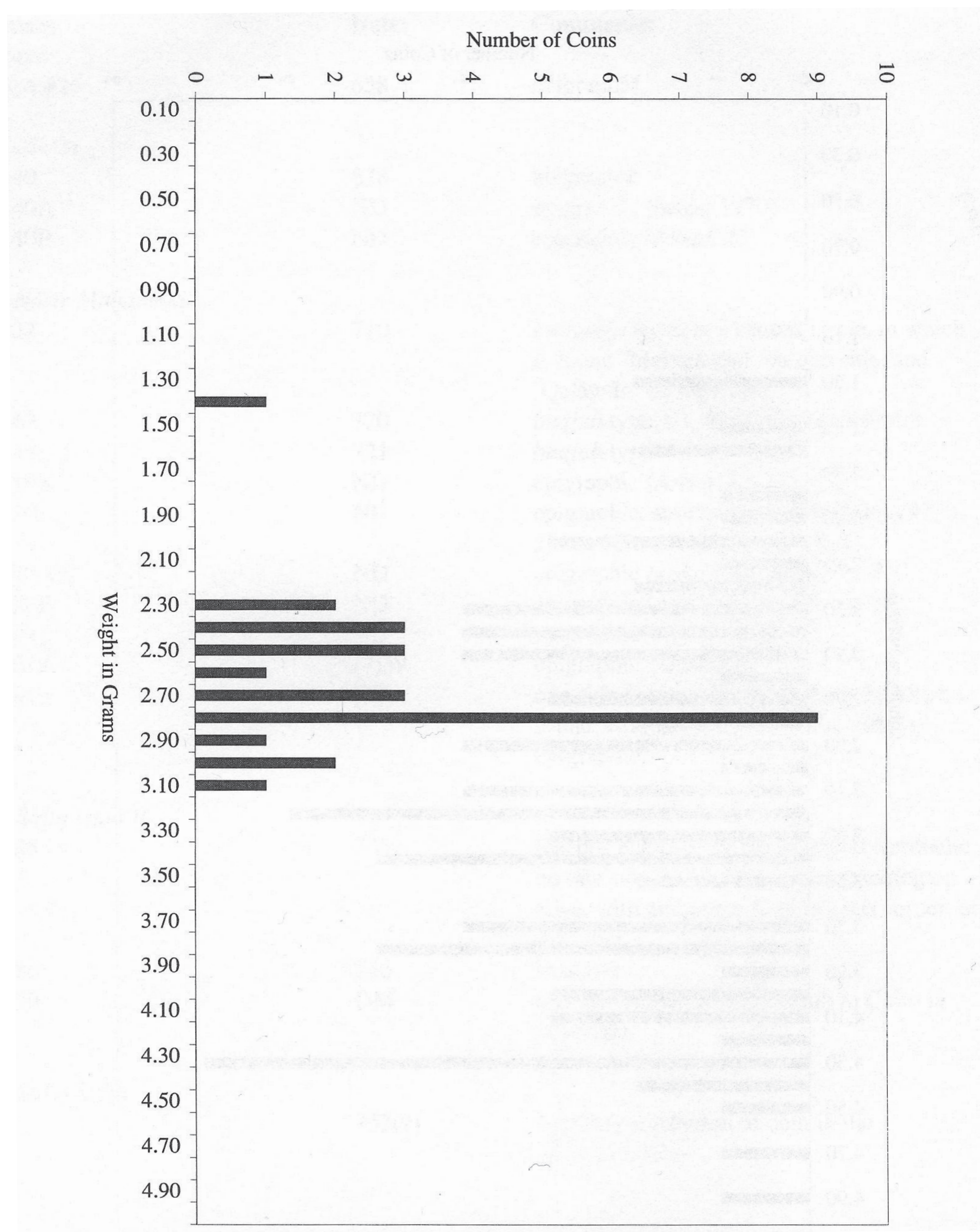


Figure 3. Cairo *Fulūs* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, *CMSES* type 231-2 (26 coins)

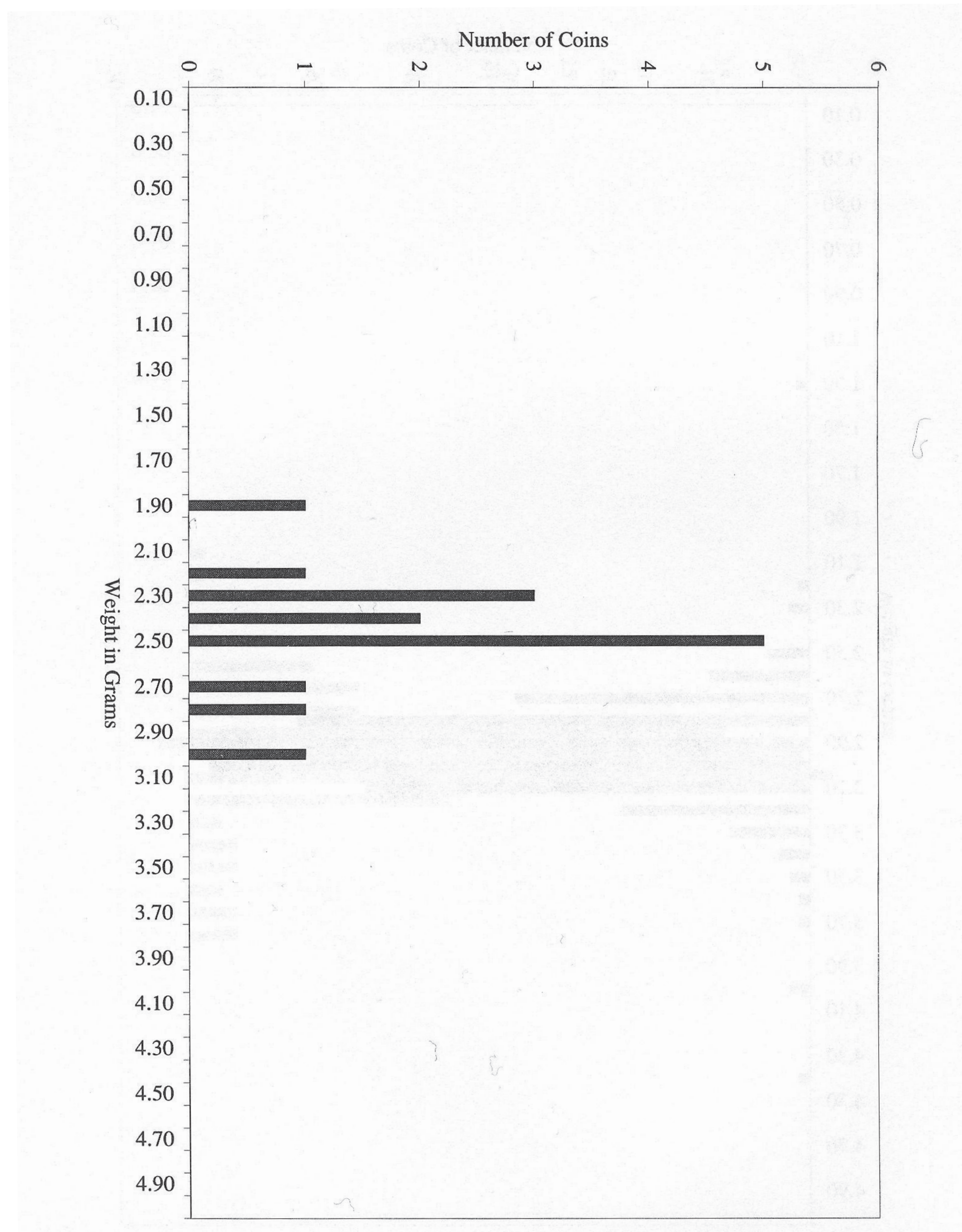


Figure 4. Cairo *Fulūs* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, *CMSES* type 242-3 (15 coins)

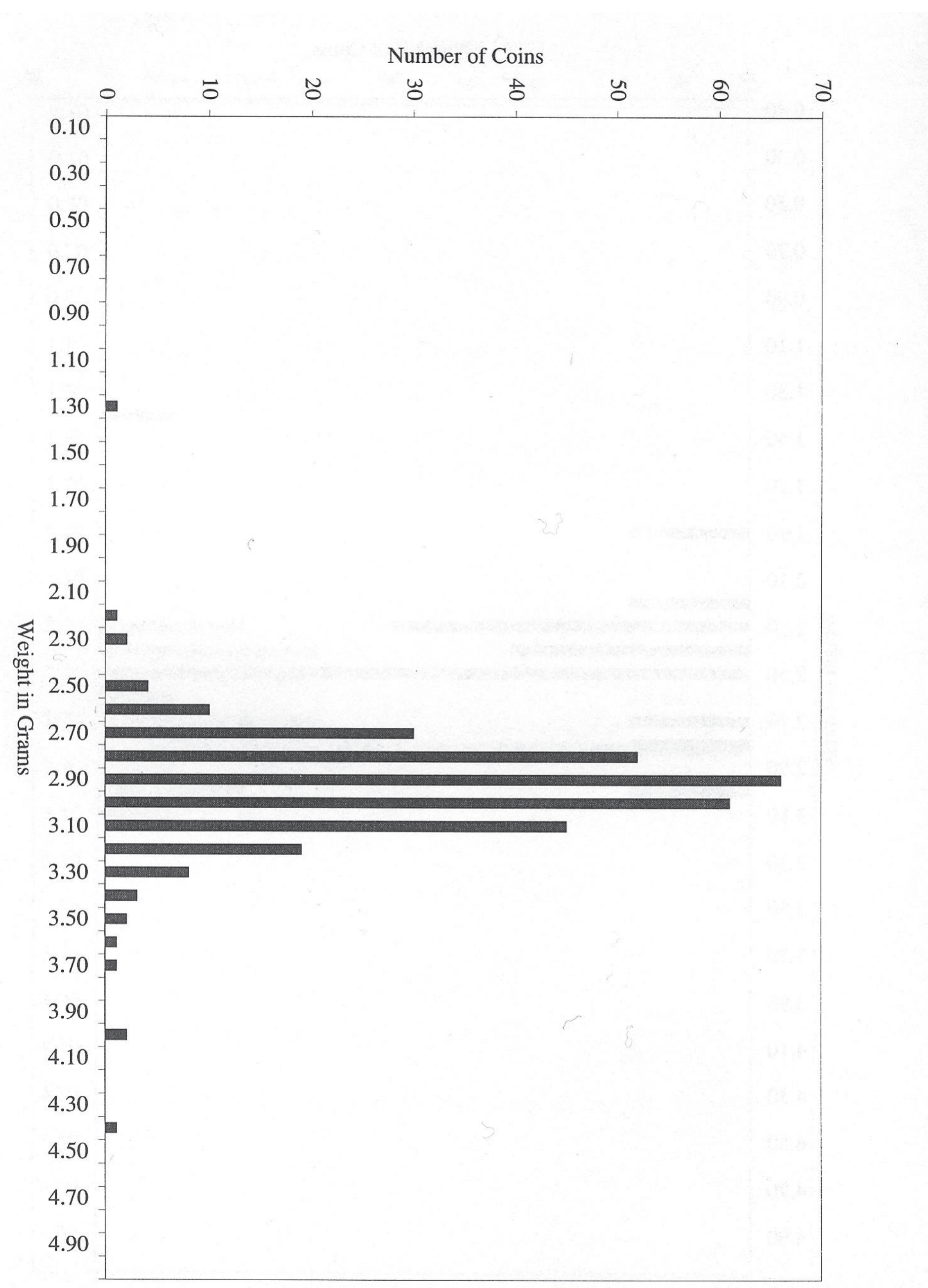


Figure 5. Cairo *Fulūs* of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, *CMSES* type 220-1 (299 coins)

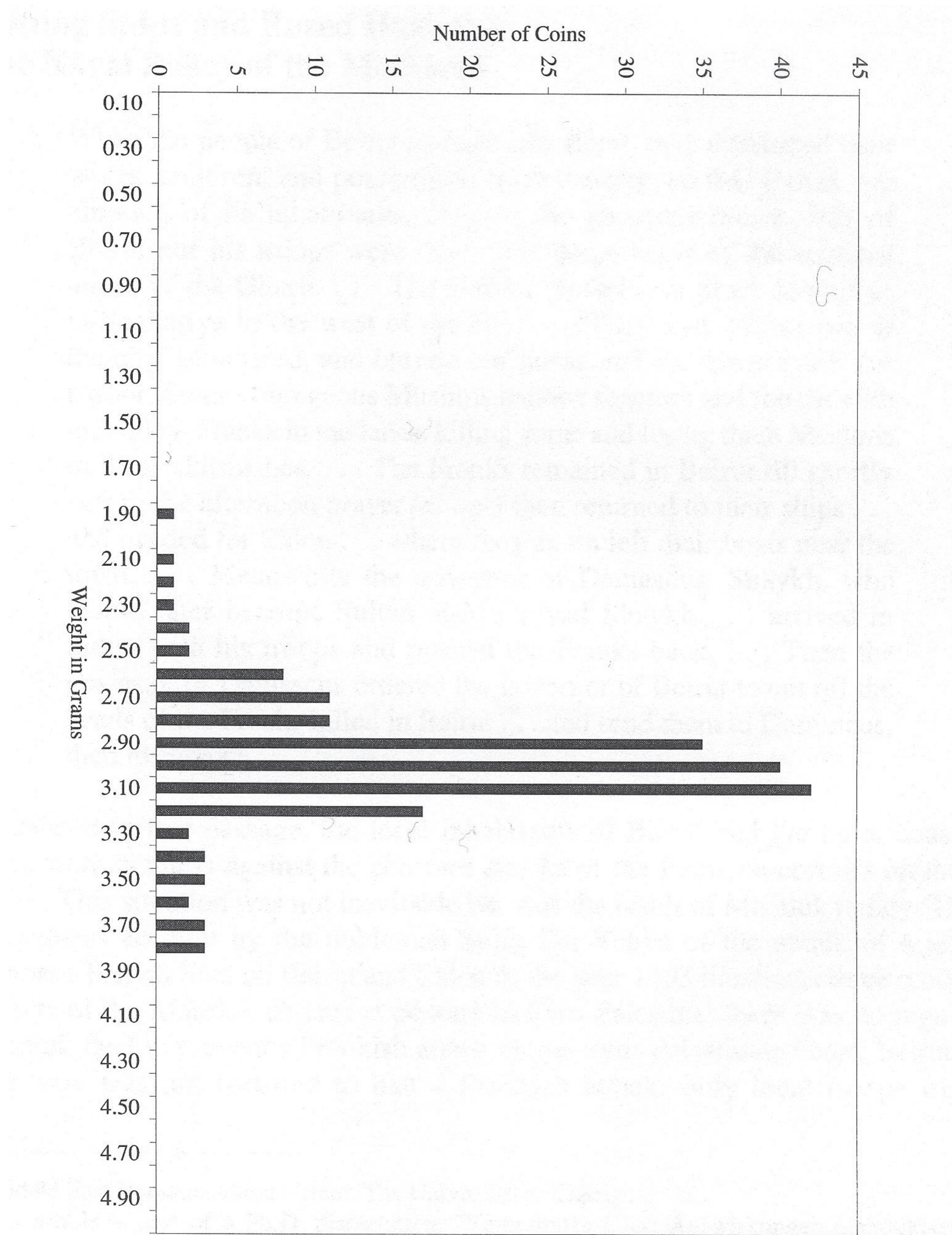


Figure 6. Cairo *Fulūs* of al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʼīl, *CMSES* type 285-86 (188 coins)

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Rotting Ships and Razed Harbors: The Naval Policy of the Mamluks*

> When the people of Beirut noticed [the fleet], they evacuated their wives, children, and possessions from the city, so that Beirut was emptied of its inhabitants. Neither the governor *(mutawallī)* of Beirut nor his troops were there, just the soldiers of the regional amirs of the Gharb. . . . The Franks landed at a place known as al-Ṣanbaṭīya in the west of the city. . . . They took possession of the city, plundered, and burned our house and the market near the harbor. Some courageous Muslims banded together and fought with individual Franks in the lanes, killing some and losing three Muslims in these skirmishes. . . . The Franks remained in Beirut till shortly before the afternoon prayer *(al-aṣr)* then returned to their ships . . . and headed for Sidon . . . where they again left their boats near the town. . . . Meanwhile the governor of Damascus, Shaykh, who would later become Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh . . . arrived in Sidon with his troops and pushed the Franks back. . . . Then the governor of Damascus ordered the governor of Beirut to cut off the heads of the Franks killed in Beirut . . . and send them to Damascus, then to Egypt.[1]

As related in this passage, the local inhabitants of Beirut and the other coastal cities were helpless against the constant attacks of the Frankish corsairs on their towns. This situation was not inevitable but was the result of Mamluk policy. This eyewitness account by the nobleman Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyá of the attack of a joint Genoese-French fleet on Beirut and Sidon in the year 1403 illustrates three crucial aspects of the Mamluk defensive posture in Syro-Palestine: there was no regular Mamluk fleet to prevent a Frankish attack on the Syro-Palestinian coast; Beirut at that time was not fortified to halt a Frankish attack; only local troops were

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[1]Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyá (d. after 1436), *Tārīkh Bayrūt: Akhbār al-Salaf min Dhurrīyat Buḥtur ibn 'Alī Amīr al-Gharb bi-Bayrūt*, ed. Francis Hours and Kamal Salibi (Beirut, 1969), 32-34.

stationed on the coast and the Franks were therefore free to plunder the harbor towns until the regular Mamluk army arrived from Damascus.

This article will review the three most important components of Mamluk naval policy and assess the effectiveness of that policy in securing the coast. This three-part review will be followed by a discussion of why the Mamluks never initiated a lasting program to build and maintain a fleet.

The main aim of the Mamluks after the expulsion of the Crusaders from the Syro-Palestinian coast in 1291 was to prevent their return and to that end they destroyed the harbors there. This ″scorched earth″ policy was designed to prevent the Crusaders from capturing a fortified town on the coast and using it as a base for further operations in Syria. This razing of the harbors was combined with the transfer of the line of defense further inland from the coast, where fortifications were built and troops garrisoned. These troops could deploy to the coast within days if an attack by Frankish forces took place.

The second component of Mamluk naval policy was the building of ad hoc fleets. These were the only manifestations of Mamluk naval activity. The naval squadrons were designed only to transport troops to a destination, not to wage battle in naval encounters. These ships were galleys which depended on oarsmen and thus had a limited range. Because of weather conditions, they were unable to operate year-round and therefore their use was seasonal. A recurring feature of the Mamluk ad hoc fleets was that they did not survive from one reign to the next. Once the sultan who had built the ships died, his successors were so occupied by the ensuing power struggle that they left the boats of their predecessor to rot. This lack of continuity was the main reason no regular fleet was maintained and no lasting naval program ever came into being under the Mamluks.

The third pillar of Mamluk naval policy was their attempt to involve European powers, through alliances and treaties, in the defense of the Mamluk Empire. In the beginning of their reign the Mamluks concluded treaties with the Crusader states and the kingdom of Aragon. In the second half of the fourteenth century the Venetians had emerged as the main trading partner and ally of the Mamluks. But the Venetians could not successfully prevent other European freebooters from constantly attacking the Mamluk coast.

Generally, Mamluk naval policy contributed to the success of the goal of preventing the return of the Crusaders. In doing so they neglected the needs of the local populations on the coast, who as a consequence lived in dilapidated towns and were under the constant threat of Frankish pirate attacks. The question remains why the Mamluks chose this particular naval policy in order to defend their coasts and did not opt for a more aggressive approach at sea like the Ottoman Empire.

THE RAZING OF COASTAL CITIES

> The conquest [of Acre in 1291] was followed by the fall of Sidon, Beirut, and ʿAthlīth in the same year. With this conquest the whole coast was liberated, and when these towns were captured they were totally razed out of fear that the Franks could reconquer them. They have stayed in Muslim hands until now.[2]

With these words the Mamluk historian al-Qalqashandī hailed the successful defense of the coast as proven by the results. This defensive strategy of destroying the coastal cities was no Mamluk invention. It hearkens back to the example set by the Ayyubid sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) (1171-93). On several occasions his fleets were defeated by the Franks, and his biographer al-Kātib ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī had much to say about these maritime disasters. He explained that something like this was bound to happen because the rulers of Egypt had preferred to employ only worthless riffraff rather than recruit good sailors.[3]

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had experienced a serious setback when he could not break the blockade of the Crusader ships around Acre in the year 1191. The Crusaders therefore were able to reconquer Acre, which Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had taken from them in 1187.[4] Salāḥ al-Dīn was so disappointed by that failure that he decided to destroy Ascalon when the English King Richard I Lionheart (1189-99) was advancing on it. He preferred to destroy this coastal town rather than let it fall into the hands of his enemy.[5]

When the Mamluks seized power they emulated the practice Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn employed at Ascalon by destroying and razing all the harbors of the Syro-Palestinian coast reconquered during the following years. After the Crusaders were repelled, the towns of the coast were never again fortified by the Mamluks. The worst destruction of coastal towns took place in Palestine because of the geographical

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[2]Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Qalqashandī (d. 1418), *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ* (Cairo, 1914), 4:178.

[3]ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1201), *Al-Fatḥ al-Qussī fī al-Fatḥ al-Qudsī,* ed. Muḥammad Maḥmūd Ṣubḥ, (n. p., 1965), 161-62; David Ayalon, "The Mamluks and Naval Power: A Phase of the Struggle between Islam and Christian Europe," *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 1, no. 8 (1967): 4; reprinted in Ayalon, *Studies on the Mamluks of Egypt (1250-1517)* (London, 1977), VI, 1-12.

[4]Hans Eberhard Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Stuttgart, 1989), 124, 131-34; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442), *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1934), 1:1:104-5; idem, *A History of the Ayyūbid Sultans of Egypt*, trans. with introduction and notes by R. J. C. Broadhurst (Boston, 1980), 90-93.

[5]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 1:1:106; idem, *A History of the Ayyūbid Sultans of Egypt*, 93; Moshe Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae* (Leiden, 1997), 1:139.

proximity of Jerusalem, the potential target of any new Crusade. Beirut and Tripoli were relatively favored by their location further away from the Holy City. Beirut would become the most important trading city on the coast, and Tripoli under the Mamluks played an important role as a center of provincial administration.[6]

The Syro-Palestinian coast was systematically razed from Ascalon in the south to the harbor of Antioch, St. Simeon (al-Suwaidā'), in the north. The only exception to this pattern was Tripoli, which fell in 1289 to the Mamluks. It was totally destroyed but then rebuilt in a new location three kilometers inland, at the foot of Mount Lebanon. The new location of Tripoli was chosen for strategic reasons. At the foothills the Mamluks could fight Frankish attackers already present in the plain between Tripoli and the shore. Contemporary observers did not like the new location of the city. Ibn Taghrībirdī said it was built in a place where foul winds reigned and the town generally had an unhealthy atmosphere.[7]

The location of the new Tripoli was part of the Mamluk strategy to move the defense lines away from the coast to locations further inland. All the major fortresses on the shore disappeared. They were replaced by smaller towns and a few walls with small garrisons. These fortifications were only shadows of the former Crusader castles. Even Beirut, the only remaining real harbor on the Syro-Palestinian coast, was stripped of its walls and only had some fortifications near the harbor to blunt the initial impact of a Frankish attack.

Such a policy meant that local notables like the Druze family of the Buhturids of the Gharb and the so-called Turcomans of the Kisrawān were responsible for regional defense.[8] These local notables had the task of delaying Frankish attackers until the regular Mamluk troops could arrive from Damascus. Communications with Damascus were conducted by means of pigeons during the day and fire signals at night.[9]

As it usually took some days before reinforcements reached Beirut, the town had often already been pillaged when the troops finally arrived. Thus the Mamluk system of destroying coastal cities and building a defense line inland from al-Bīrah in the north to al-Karak proved to be successful, when we consider that no new Frankish invasion could gain a foothold in Mamluk territory, but unsuccessful in terms of personal security for the local inhabitants. For them the initiation of a fleet-building program would have been a better long-term option than destroying

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[6]On the political development and the social and economic history of the Syro-Palestinian coast in Mamluk times, see parts 2 and 3 of the author's dissertation, "Verbranntes Ufer."

[7]Abū al-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 1470), *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* ed. Wizārat al-Thaqāfah wa-al-Irshād al-Qawmī (Cairo, 1938), 7:322.

[8]Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyá, *Tārīkh Bayrūt,* 29, 70-72.

[9]Ibid., 35.

their cities. Very little of the vast wealth generated by the Levant trade stayed in the Syro-Palestinian coast, which remained poor.

In contrast to the Syro-Palestinian cities, Egyptian coastal cities were not razed, probably because previous attempts by the Crusaders to land in the delta had been successfully repulsed by the Muslims. The Mamluks had faith in their ability to defend the Egyptian coast and therefore did not destroy the cities there, although they too suffered from neglect.

As a consequence of the total devastation of the Syro-Palestinian coast, these towns recovered only slowly, and did not flourish during the Mamluk period. The military interest of the Mamluks was directed toward their eastern frontier where they expected an attack from the powerful Ilkhans. There the Mamluks built their fortresses directly on the frontier. The Mamluk sultan Baybars I (1260-77) described the contrasting military policies in the west and in the east as follows:

> One part (of the Muslim armies) uproots Frankish fortresses and destroys (their) castles, while (another) part rebuilds what the Tatars destroyed in the East and increases the height of their ramparts (compared with what they were).[10]

The devastation of the Syro-Palestinian littoral and the transfer of the defense line was very effective in preventing the return of the Franks. This was the Mamluk credo which never changed. Only minor fortification works were undertaken by the Mamluks. The victims of this policy, as mentioned previously, were the local inhabitants of the coast who lived in dilapidated towns and were under constant threat of a Frankish attack.

While it is clear that the destruction of the coastal cities was the cornerstone of Mamluk defense policy along the Syro-Palestinian coast, there is some evidence of Mamluk naval activity throughout the two hundred and fifty years of their rule. This evidence will be examined below. From this it can be concluded that the Mamluks tried, at least from time to time, to fight on the sea.[11]

Attempts to Wage War on the Sea

The great naval powers in the Mediterranean at the time of the Mamluks were the Venetians, Genoese, Catalans, and the Hospitaller Knights of Rhodes. Later in the fifteenth century, the emerging Ottoman fleet would manage to change the balance in favor of the Muslims. However, the few Mamluk naval endeavors that

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[10]Quoted in Ayalon, ″The Mamluks and Naval Power,″ 12.

[11]For a more detailed description of the following events, see part 1 of the author′s dissertation, ″Verbranntes Ufer.″

were undertaken were directed mainly against Cyprus in an attempt to stop pirate activity against Mamluk shores.

Baybars I undertook the building of a fleet but the performance of the Mamluk navy bordered on the comic. In 1270 twelve enemy vessels entered the harbor of Alexandria and sacked a merchant ship. During this episode the newly-constructed Mamluk vessels were not deployed because the admiral was visiting the sultan in Cairo.[12] In 1271 this fleet was dispatched against Cyprus, presumably with the intention of stopping the flow of supplies to the Crusader states along the Syro-Palestinian coast from there.[13] This took place while the Cypriot ruler, Hugh III of Lusignan, was accompanying the English Prince Edward on a military expedition in Palestine.[14] When Baybars learned of this, he ordered his fleet into action, hoping to benefit from the absence of the Cypriot ruler from the island.[15] The Mamluk fleet, disguised as Christian ships and flying flags displaying the Christian cross, was not up to the task at hand. The fleet was dashed on the reefs when approaching the harbor of Limassol (al-Nimsūn) in Shawwāl 669/May-June 1271. The local inhabitants completed the destruction of the ships and took custody of the surviving Mamluk sailors.[16] Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, eschewing other explanations for this inept performance, attributes the destruction of the fleet to the wrath of God because the ships had displayed Christian symbols.[17] Although this first Mamluk naval expedition had ended in a fiasco, Frankish supremacy on the sea did not prevent Baybars from continuing his military advance in Palestine.[18]

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[12]Peter Thorau, *Sultan Baibars I. von Ägypten: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Vorderen Orients im 13. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 246.

[13]P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517* (London-New York, 1997), 95-96; Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge,* 246.

[14]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 1:2:592; Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir (d. 1292), *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* ed. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1976), 383; Peter Thorau, *Sultan Baibars I.,* 251; Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge,* 247.

[15]Quṭb al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī (d. 1326), *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān fī Tārīkh al-Aʻyān* (Hyderabad 1955), 2:453. According to Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir it was planned that the Mamluk attack would force Hugh to go back to Cyprus (see Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir,* 386). It is unclear whether the Mamluks intended to conquer the island or only to loot. Thorau argues the fleet did not contain enough ships or men for a possible conquest of the island (see Thorau, *Sultan Baibars I.,* 253).

[16]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir,* 386-87; Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-ʻAynī (d. 1451), *ʻIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1988), 2:73-74; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 1:2:594; idem, *Al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār,* ed. Muḥammad Zaynhum and Madīḥah al-Sharqāwī (Cairo, 1998), 3:18; Thorau, *Sultan Baibars I.,* 253.

[17]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, (d. 1292), *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir,* 387.

[18]Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge,* 247.

Undaunted, Baybars built a new fleet in Cairo, the number of ships exceeding the number destroyed at Cyprus.[19] This fleet, however, apparently never set sail, as no fighting by these vessels is mentioned in the sources.

The next Mamluk ship-building project was undertaken after the fall of Acre in 1291 and the end of the Crusaders in Palestine, at the initiative of the Mamluk sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl (1290-93), in the year 692/1293. Sixty well-equipped ships were constructed and high-ranking Mamluk officers were made part of the crew. After the boats were finished, a review on the Nile was staged. For the spectators special lodgings were built on the island of al-Rawḍah and outside of Cairo. Each boat had, besides a tower and fortress for defense purposes, a ram and special equipment to throw naphtha. Allegedly, when the Franks heard of this fleet, they immediately sent envoys who sued for peace.[20] This report obviously is greatly exaggerated, and there is no evidence that this new navy was ever engaged in any serious naval encounter. It is more likely that these vessels were left to decay when rebellious amirs killed Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl in Muḥarram 693/December 1293.

The first known success achieved by Mamluk ships was the conquest of the small island of Arwād just off the shore of Ṭarṭūs (Anṭarsūs). Arwād had remained in the hands of the Crusaders while the rest of their territory had been lost. The island was finally taken in 702/1302. Even though Arwād lay just off the coast, the local governor needed help and asked for ships to come all the way from Egypt,[21] clearly indicating that there were no Mamluk ships cruising the Syrian coast.

The year 1366 saw the collapse of yet another fleet-building project of the Mamluks. This project was initiated in response to the attack on Alexandria in 1365 by the Cypriot King Peter I of Lusignan (1359-69). Peter, who was also titular king of Jerusalem, was one of the last Frankish rulers to try to revive the Crusades. Between 1362 and 1365 he went to Europe to seek help for his planned excursion against the Mamluks and to recruit troops for this expedition.[22] In spite of receiving little support from Europe he attacked Alexandria. He landed in Muḥarram 767/October 1365 with his fleet of Cypriot ships and some European

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[19]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir,* 387; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 1:2:594.

[20]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 3:18-19.

[21]ʻIsmāʻīl ibn ʻUmar Ibn Kathīr (d. 1373), *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah fī al-Tārīkh,* ed. Aḥmad Abū Mulḥim (Beirut, 1987), 7:14:23; Ismāʻīl ibn ʻAlī Abū l-Fidā' (d. 1331), *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar* (Cairo, n.d.), 3:47; Muḥammad Kurd ʻAlī, *Kitāb Khiṭaṭ al-Shām* (Damascus, 1925), 2:142.

[22] P. W. Edbury, "The Crusading Policy of King Peter I of Cyprus, 1359-1369" in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades,* ed. P. M. Holt (Warminster, 1977), 90.

boats.[23] Although he may have intended to remain in Alexandria and exchange the city for Jerusalem, he was forced to abandon the totally-plundered city because he could not expect to hold it against the main Mamluk forces arriving from Cairo.[24]

Although the troops of the Cypriots stayed just a few days in Alexandria, this event showed clearly the inability of the Mamluks to defend against attacks from the sea. A relatively small fleet of Franks had managed to occupy and sack the most important Mamluk harbor without any real resistance. In response the commander-in-chief *(atābak)* Yalbughā al-ʻUmarī ordered an expeditionary fleet to be built in order to avenge the Cypriot assault on Alexandria.[25] The governor of Damascus, Baydamur al-Khwārizmī, announced at the end of 1365 the assembling of craftsmen in a wood near Beirut to build ships.[26] Baydamur then went personally to Beirut to supervise the construction work, while pains were taken to hide the building site from the Cypriots.[27] This ambitious project was doomed when Yalbughā al-ʻUmarī was killed by Mamluk rivals at the end of 1366. With him his navy also died.[28]

> When Yalbughā al-ʻUmarī died on Sunday, 10 Rabīʻ II 768/15 December 1366, work on the ships stopped. Only two ships were brought to the sea. Their names were Sanqar and Qarājā, named after two prominent amirs of the time. Baydamur hurried to build them and equipped them with masts and rudders. They remained at a place near Beirut where they were left to rot in the same way as the rest of the fleet, which was not brought down from al-Masṭabah to the sea at Beirut. A lot of money had been spent on the project but no one benefited from it . The only useful thing remaining was the iron, which the local people took from the rotting ships.[29]

In Egypt at least some of the ships had made it into the water. In Rabīʻ I 768/November 1366 a review of this fleet was held in Cairo, where it allegedly frightened the Catalan envoys. Music was played and the sky was lighted by

[23]P. W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374* (Cambridge, 1991), 166.

[24]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:105-7; Leontios Makhairas (d. after 1432), *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus*, ed. and trans. R. M. Dawkins (Oxford, 1932), 1: § 171-73.

[25]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 7:14:329.

[26]Ibid., 330, 334, 335.

[27]Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyá, *Tārīkh Bayrūt,* 30.

[28]Holt, *The Age of the Crusades,* 127.

[29]Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyá, *Tārīkh Bayrūt,* 30.

naphtha bombs. Nevertheless, this fleet was never put into service after the death of its builder Yalbughā al-ʻUmarī.[30]

In the following years the Cypriots attacked several Mamluk coastal installations. A peace treaty was signed in 1370 only after Peter I of Lusignan was killed by his nobles, who were unhappy with the expenses of his war.[31] This peace agreement was also due to Genoese and Venetian pressure on the kingdom of Cyprus, because of the disruption in trade occasioned by these hostilities. The Venetians especially emerged after this as the main trading partners of the Mamluks, whereas the Genoese took a more hostile approach. Genoese pirates became a constant nuisance for the Mamluks thereafter. Cyprus had overextended its forces and as a result had lost its leading role in maritime trade to the Italian seafaring nations. The impotence of the kingdom of Cyprus was fully demonstrated when Genoa conquered Famagusta, the most important harbor of the island, in 1373.[32]

The lessons of the skirmishes with the Cypriots were inescapable for the Mamluks. They had been unable to defend their coastal territory from the raids of a seemingly insignificant power and had utterly failed in their attempt to carry the battle to the shores of Cyprus. What they needed was a disciplined and well-outfitted fleet capable of performing these roles in defense of their kingdom.

Some fifteen-odd years later, the Cypriot King Janus (1398-1432) supported Catalan corsairs in their pirate activities, and henceforth, the Catalans supplanted the Genoese as the main sea-borne threat to the Mamluks.[33] These pirate attacks intensified after the Catalan King Alfonso V (1416-58) came to power and pursued an aggressive policy in the eastern Mediterranean as king of Catalonia, Sicily, and Naples.[34] In response to this threat and to rumors of a new Crusade under Alfonso V, Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy (1422-38) initiated several successful expeditions against Cyprus. In 1424 he sent a small fleet to Famagusta, which was cordially received by the Genoese governor, who seems to have chosen to remain neutral in this particular Mamluk-Cypriot conflict. From Famagusta the Mamluk expedition

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[30]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:1:129-130; Muḥammad ibn Qāsim al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī (d. after 1374), *Kitāb al-Ilmām bi-al-Iʻlām fīmā Jarat bi-hi al-Aḥkām wa-al-Umūr al-Maqḍīyah fī Waqʻat al-Iskandarīyah* (Hyderabad, 1968), 3:231-34; Werner Krebs, *Innen- und Aussenpolitik Ägyptens, 741-784/1341-1382* (Hamburg, 1980), 100-103.

[31]Krebs, *Innen- und Aussenpolitik Ägyptens,* 324.

[32]Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades,* 179.

[33]Aḥmad Darrāj, *L´Egypte sous le règne de Barsbay (825-841/1422-1438)* (Damascus, 1961), 241.

[34]For Alfonso V see Alan Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous, King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, 1396-1458* (Oxford, 1990).

proceeded to Limassol, where they sacked the town.[35] Encouraged by this success, Barsbāy planned a larger expedition.[36] In the arsenals of Būlāq near Cairo new ships were built. In the following year a grand total of forty ships were gathered in Tripoli, representing the most impressive Mamluk fleet to date. This fleet departed Tripoli in Ramaḍān 828/July 1425 and sailed for Cyprus, once again availing themselves of the neutrality and hospitality of the Genoese governor of Famagusta. Near Larnaka the Mamluk fleet engaged and defeated twelve Cypriot ships under the command of the brother of the Cypriot king. This was the first Mamluk victory in a naval battle. The Mamluks then sacked the fortress of Limassol, but departed for Egypt in Shawwāl 828/August 1425 after rumors reached them that naval help from Europe was on its way to Cyprus.[37]

Janus, fearing a new Mamluk attack the following year, attempted to rally support from European allies, but with little success. Venice stood with the Mamluks, and even Alfonso V demanded money and then sent only a token force.[38] Janus's fears proved to be well-founded, and an even larger Mamluk fleet landed troops on the island who then marched on Nicosia.[39] In the ensuing battle King Janus was captured and his palace put to the torch.[40] The victorious fleet then returned to Egypt, where it had to be anchored at several coastal towns because no Egyptian harbor had the capacity to accommodate the entire fleet.[41] Janus was compelled to pay a 200,000 dinar ransom and agree to an annual tribute. He also had to

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[35]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* trans. by William Popper as *History of Egypt 1382-1469* (Berkeley, 1954), 4:18-19; Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyá, *Tārīkh Bayrūt,* 242; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:2:668; Makhairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus,* 1:§ 652.

[36]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:2: 684; Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī (d. 1449), *Inbāʼ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʼ al-ʻUmr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1972), 3:346; Subhi Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter (1171-1517)* (Wiesbaden, 1965), 353.

[37]Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyá, *Tārīkh Bayrūt,* 242-47; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah (History of Egypt 1382-1469),* 4:21, 25-28; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:2:679, 694; Makhairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus,* 1:§ 654-58; Darrāj, *L´Egypte sous le règne de Barsbay,* 246.

[38]Darrāj, *L´Egypte sous le règne de Barsbay,* 247-52.

[39]Sāliḥ ibn Yaḥyá, *Tārīkh Bayrūt,* 249; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʼ al-Ghumr,* 3:366; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:2:720; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah (History of Egypt 1382-1469),* 4:33-34.

[40]Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyá, *Tārīkh Bayrūt,* 250-51; Darrāj, *L´Egypte sous le règne de Barsbay,* 256; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʼ al-Ghumr,* 3:368; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:2:722; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah (History of Egypt 1382-1469),* 4:37; Makhairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus*, 1:§ 672-96.

[41]Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyá, *Tārīkh Bayrūt,* 251; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʼ al-Ghumr,* 3:369; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah (History of Egypt 1382-1469),* 4:40.

promise to stop pirate activity originating from his island directed at Mamluk shores.[42]

At this juncture it would seem that the Mamluks could have changed the balance of power in the eastern Mediterranean had they occupied Cyprus. Barsbāy, however, seems to have been content that Cyprus had become a Mamluk vassal and promised to halt piracy. Although these expeditions against Cyprus were the highlight of Mamluk naval activity, they still did not reach a very high standard. The testimony of the Venetian merchant Piloti, who resided in Egypt for lengthy periods between 1396 and 1438, that the Mamluks did not have enough rudders to equip their galleys, and that they were compelled to transport troops to Cyprus on Nile barges, is certainly telling.[43] Indeed, there are only a few passing references to Barsbāy's fleet later in the sources.

Meanwhile, a new center of Frankish pirate activity developed at Rhodes, and the task of responding to this threat fell to Sultan Jaqmaq (1438-53), who dispatched a fleet of fifteen vessels from Būlāq in 1440. The fleet sailed via Cyprus to Rhodes, where they succeeded only in plundering a sugarmill. A subsequent naval encounter with the Hospitallers ended without a clear result and the Mamluk fleet, frustrated, returned to Egypt.[44] Jaqmaq waited two years before attempting a new expedition against Rhodes. In 1442 he ordered the construction of new ships in Cairo, Tripoli and Beirut,[45] and this fleet sailed in the direction of Rhodes in 1443, where an attack was launched against the nearby island of Castolorizo. Castolorizo was sacked and 200 captives taken, but before an attack on Rhodes could take place bad weather forced the fleet back to Egypt. Although the sultan was disappointed, the people considered this campaign more successful than the first.[46] Jaqmaq launched a third campaign in 1444, the fleet arriving at Rhodes in August, where troops were landed and the fortress besieged. This assault was repelled by the Hospitallers and the Mamluk force retreated.[47] In commenting on

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[42]Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyá, *Tārīkh Bayrūt,* 252; Makhairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus,* 1:§ 701.

[43]Emmanuel Piloti (d. after 1438), *L'Egypte au commencement du quinzième siècle d'après le traité d'Emmanuel Piloti de Crète (Incipit 1420),* ed. Pierre Herman Dopp (Cairo, 1950), 108-9.

[44]Hassanein Rabie, "Mamlūk Campaigns Against Rhodes (A.D. 1440-1444)" in *The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times*, ed. C. E. Bosworth (Princeton, 1989), 284; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah (History of Egypt 1382-1469),* 5:81-82; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:3:1205.

[45]Ibn Iyās (d. ca. 1524), *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr,* ed. Mohamed Mostafa (Wiesbaden, 1972), 2:233; Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī (d. 1497), *Wajīz al-Kalām fī Dhayl 'alá Duwal al-Islām*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf (Beirut, 1995), 2:583.

[46]Rabie, "Mamlūk Campaigns Against Rhodes," 284-85; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah (History of Egypt 1382-1469),* 5:95; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 2:238.

[47]Rabie, "Mamlūk Campaigns Against Rhodes," 285; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 2:243; Ibn

this defeat, Ibn Iyās says that God did not want Jaqmaq to enjoy the same success as his predecessor Barsbāy.[48] The Mamluks posed no subsequent threat to Rhodes, which eventually fell to the Ottomans in 1522.

The Mamluk overlordship of Cyprus led to their involvement in its internal affairs when King John (1432-58) died and the succession to his throne was disputed. His daughter Charlotte, with the support of Cypriot noblemen, was installed as queen (1458-64),[49] even though her rule was challenged by John's illegitimate son, Jacob, who sought the intervention of the Mamluks on his behalf.[50] He presented himself as the rightful heir since he was male and respected Mamluk suzerainty. While this argument won over some of the Mamluks, Ibn Taghrībirdī comments that, because he was a bastard, the laws of the Franks did not permit him to claim the throne.[51] The Mamluks nevertheless intervened on his behalf, al-Ashraf Īnāl sending a message claiming the island on behalf of Jacob.[52] Some factions of the Mamluks, however, disputed the intervention on grounds that Charlotte also recognized Mamluk supremacy and paid the tribute. While the sultan wavered, Jacob seems to have gained the support of powerful amirs through his generous spending in Cairo. These amirs insisted that Īnāl should install Jacob as king[53] and to this end a fleet was once again constructed and passed in review on the Nile before setting sail for Cyprus in autumn, 1460.[54] With the help of this Mamluk force Jacob conquered Nicosia, the capitol, although Charlotte escaped to the coastal city of Kyrenia, where she was besieged by her half brother.

Inexplicably, most of the Mamluk force supporting Jacob suddenly returned to Egypt, whether due to concerns about bad weather,[55] or more likely due to reports relating to the health of the sultan. When the inevitable struggle to place a new sultan on the throne began, no leading amir wanted to be away from Cairo. Shortly thereafter Īnāl died, and the small Mamluk force remaining on the island under Jānibak al-Ablaq was not sufficient to influence the outcome of the succession dispute.[56] The situation in Cyprus remained in limbo even though the new sultan,

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Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah (History of Egypt 1382-1469),* 5:93-95.

[48]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 2:243.

[49]Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1948), 3:548.

[50]Ibid., 553; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah (History of Egypt 1382-1469),* 6:87.

[51]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah (History of Egypt 1382-1469),* 6:87.

[52]Ibid., 88.

[53]Ibid., 100.

[54]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 2:361-62; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah (History of Egypt 1382-1469),* 6:87; idem, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. William Popper (Berkeley, 1942), 342-43.

[55]Hill, *A History of Cyprus,* 3:561-63.

[56]Ibid., 564; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah (History of Egypt 1382-1469),* 6:104.

al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam, sent additional Mamluk contingents to the island in support of Jacob in 1461 and again in 1463. In each case these troops returned without having accomplished their objective, much to the consternation of the sultan. According to Ibn Taghrībirdī, Khushqadam was unable to prevent these troops from returning to Egypt, even though in 1462 he issued an order forbidding the entrance into Mamluk harbors of any ship returning from Cyprus.[57]

Ultimately Jacob prevailed, even managing to conquer Famagusta, which had been in the hands of the Genoese for nearly one hundred years.[58] Shortly thereafter Jacob killed the Mamluk amir Jānibak, even though Jānibak had fought by his side. Jacob appeased Khushqadam's anger about this murder with large sums of money.[59] This ended the presence of Mamluk troops on the island. In the autumn of 1464 Jacob finally became lord of the whole of Cyprus when he conquered Kyrenia, the last stronghold of his half sister. Jacob II was the first king of Cyprus to rule over the entire island in a hundred years. However, the rule of the Lusignans over Cyprus would soon end. Jacob II had married the Venetian noblewoman Katherine Cornaro and when Jacob III (1473-74) died after only one year in power, she became queen and then abdicated in 1489, leaving Cyprus to the Venetians.[60] The island would later fall to the Ottomans, who were able to secure their conquest with a powerful navy, something the Mamluks lacked.

The feat of Vasco da Gama in sailing around the Cape of Good Hope in 1498 resulted in a Portuguese presence near the east African coast which presented a threat to Mamluk and Venetian trade in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. In fact, the Portuguese had produced a naval revolution with a fleet of ocean-going, cannon-heavy sailing ships possessing great range, mobility, and fire power and capable of operating the year around far from home. Neither the Mamluks nor the Ottomans could compete on the open seas with them. The Portuguese presence had a great impact on the revenues the Mamluks derived from the spice trade, and Mamluk merchants increasingly complained that the Portuguese captured Muslim trading ships in the Indian Ocean.[61] The Mamluks attempted to counter the Portuguese by striking an alliance with the rulers of Gujarat in Northwest India;

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[57]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah (History of Egypt 1382-1469),* 7:42, 46, 51, 57-58; idem, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr,* 409, 434-37; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 2:385.

[58]Hill, *A History of Cyprus,* 3:590; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah (History of Egypt 1382-1469),* 7:60.

[59]Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 3:591-92; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah (History of Egypt 1382-1469),* 7:60-61.

[60]Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge,* 217.

[61]Marino Sanuto (d. ca. 1533), *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto (1496-1533),* ed. Guglielmo Berchet (Venice, 1881), 6:246, 249; Palmira Brummet, *Ottoman Seapower and Levantine Diplomacy in the Age of Discovery* (New York, 1994), 112.

the Portuguese seaman Lopo-Soares reports a passing encounter with a fleet of the Mamluk-Gujarat alliance near Malabar in 1504.[62] The Portuguese also posed a threat to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina and it was for this reason that Sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī dispatched several vessels in the direction of India in 1505, although they seem to have had no effect on Portuguese activities.[63] The impotence of the Mamluk response to these Portuguese incursions may be gauged by the fact that al-Ghawrī had to resort to threats that he would destroy the grave of Jesus and other Christian places of pilgrimage if Portuguese actions in the Indian Ocean did not stop.[64] The Portuguese clearly considered these idle threats and the Portuguese King Manuel I (1495-1521) soothed the nerves of the Pope by pointing out the Mamluks were too interested in the money derived from Christian pilgrims to do anything which would interrupt this steady flow of revenue.[65]

During the waning days of the Mamluk Sultanate the Mamluks enlisted help from both the Ottomans and the Venetians in their attempts to counter Portuguese naval activities, which, among other things, sought to divert the spice trade away from its old routes through the Gulf and the Red Sea.[66] In spite of the strained relations resulting from the Mamluk-Ottoman war in Anatolia from 1485 to 1491, there is clear evidence that from 1507 on, the Ottomans provided the Mamluks with war materials such as wood and copper, and also sent marine soldiers.[67] According to Portuguese sources, the Venetians assisted the Mamluks by providing boat-building experts and cannons.[68] Such help from the Venetians is very probable because the Levant trade, now clearly threatened by the Portuguese, was a major source of income for them. With Venetian assistance, the Mamluks now intensified the building of ships at Suez.[69] At the same time Qānṣawh created a small flotilla in the Mediterranean to facilitate the transfer of important war materials from

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[62]Genevieve Bouchon, ″Le Premier Voyage de Lopo Soarres en Inde 1504-1505,″ *Mare Luso-Indicum* 3 (1976): 67-68.

[63]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr,* 4:84-85, 95-96.

[64]Virginia de Castro e Almeida, ed., *Chroniques de Garcia de Resende, João de Barros, Damião de Goes, Gaspar Correa, Fernão Lopes de Castanheda,* Les grands navigateurs et colons portugais du XVe et du XVIe siècles, vol. 5 (Paris, 1940), 33-36; Brummet, *Ottoman Seapower,* 113; S. M. Imamuddin, ″Maritime Trade under the Mamluks of Egypt (644-923/1250-1517),″ *Hamdard Islamicus* 3, no. 4 (1980): 73.

[65]*Chroniques de Garcia de Resende,* 36-37; Brummet, *Ottoman Seapower,* 113.

[66]Andrew C. Hess, ″The Ottoman Conquest of Egypt (1517) and the Beginning of the Sixteenth-Century World War,″ *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 4 (1973):75.

[67]Sanuto, *I Diarii*, 7:12-13, 128, 152; Brummet, *Ottoman Seapower,* 114.

[68]*Chroniques de Garcia de Resende,* 158-59.

[69]Sanuto, *I Diarii*, 10:110-11; Brummet, *Ottoman Seapower,* 115.

Asia Minor to Egypt. These ships were later lost in September 1510, when they were sunk by ships of the Hospitallers of Rhodes.[70]

The fleet resulting from this new collaboration with the Ottomans and the Venetians went to sea in 912/1507, destined for India under the joint command of the Mamluk Ḥusayn al-Kūrdī and the Ottoman Salmān Ra'īs.[71] The fleet was initially victorious in an encounter with the Portuguese at Chaul in January 1508,[72] but in a return engagement the Portuguese destroyed a great number of the Mamluk ships at Diu on the northwest coast of India.[73] The manifest inability of the Mamluks to guarantee the security of maritime trade in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea finally moved the Indians to threaten collaboration with the Portuguese. A delegation carried this threat to Cairo in 1510. Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī tried to appease them, but it was another full five years before a new expedition could be mounted to the Red Sea.[74]

In the spring of 1514 the sultan had personally gone to Suez to observe the construction of his new fleet. There he found that the command of the fleet was in the hands of the Ottoman captain Salmān, who had at his disposal two thousand Ottoman troops.[75] Although rumors abounded that Sultan Selīm I (1512-20), having just registered a tremendous victory over the Safavids of Iran in August 1514, might next attack the Mamluks,[76] the joint Mamluk-Ottoman fleet—consisting of twenty ships outfitted with cannons—sailed for India in the summer of 1515.[77]

The story of the end of the Mamluk Sultanate is well known, and was played out while this fleet was at sea. Perhaps the Ottomans, during this period of collaboration, had discovered the true state of Mamluk military preparedness. Whatever the case, the Ottoman army shortly defeated the Mamluks in the field at Marj Dābiq, north of Aleppo, on 25 Rajab/24 August 1516,[78] Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī

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[70]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 4:191-92; Sanuto, *I Diarii*, 10:432, 636, 799; 11:76, 105, 227-28, 394; Brummet, *Ottoman Seapower,* 116.

[71]Brummet, *Ottoman Seapower,* 115.

[72]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 4:142. The news of the Mamluk naval success led to three days of celebrations in Cairo.

[73]*Chroniques de Garcia de Resende,* 186-91; Brummet, *Ottoman Seapower,* 115; Jean Louis Bacqué-Grammont and Anne Kroell, *Mamlouks, Ottomans et Portugais en Mer Rouge: l'Affaire de Djedda en 1517* (Cairo, 1988), 2. The news of the total Mamluk defeat let to the despair of the Mamluk Sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī (see Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 4:156).

[74]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 4:182, 185; Sanuto, *I Diarii*, 11:65, 75-76, 105, 479; Brummet, *Ottoman Seapower,* 116.

[75]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 4:362-65.

[76]Ibid., 446.

[77]Ibid., 467.

[78]Ibid., 5:85.

losing his life in defense of his kingdom. The Ottomans then took Cairo the very next year, hanging the last Mamluk sultan Ṭūmān Bāy (1516-17) at the Bāb al-Zuwaylah gate.[79] When the Mamluk-Ottoman naval forces returned in August 1517, the Ottoman captain Salmān had thrown his Mamluk co-commander into the sea once he had heard of the Ottoman victory.[80] This expedition had never made it to India, although Salmān had launched an unsuccessful attack against Aden.[81] He did repulse a Portuguese attack on Jiddah in April 1517, after which the Portuguese departed from the Red Sea.[82]

In summarizing Mamluk attempts to wage sea-borne warfare, the following observations may be made. There was never a regular fleet operating in Mamluk waters, but rather fleets were built on an ad hoc basis for specific expeditions, and when the expedition was over, the ships were left to rot. This happened after the expeditions against Cyprus under Barsbāy, and again against Rhodes under Jaqmaq. There was no continuity to programs of ship building and naval preparedness from one sultan to the next, and such attempts as there were ceased with the death of the sultan who initiated them, as was the case with Baybars I, al-Ashraf Khalīl, and Yalbughā al-ʻUmarī. The only sustained naval activity during the entire period of the Mamluk Sultanate was that which took place in the Indian Ocean and Red Sea, lasting more than ten years. Most naval operations were carried out in close proximity to the Mamluk coast, the main focus being Cyprus. The attacks against Rhodes and activities in the Red Sea were exceptions. Mamluk naval expeditions were reactions to specific acts of aggression against Mamluk coastal towns or merchant activities. Acts of piracy against Mamluk shores continued throughout the entire period of the sultanate, in spite of Mamluk attempts to put a stop to this activity. For the whole of the Mamluk era there is no evidence of a state-sponsored trading fleet, but only of a few vessels owned by merchants. Apparently, no Mamluk ship was ever seen in a European harbor. This second component of Mamluk naval policy, the waging of sea-borne warfare, had only one great success: the capture of the Cypriot King Janus in 1426. All other expeditions ended in failure.

Naval Defense through Treaty

Another facet of Mamluk naval policy was their attempt to secure their naval defenses through alliances and treaties with European powers. Two phases can be

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[79]Ibid., 5:172.

[80]Ibid., 5:199; David Ayalon, *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom* (London, 1956), 82.

[81]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr,* 5:81.

[82]Bacqué-Grammont, *Mamlouks, Ottomans et Portugais en Mer Rouge,* 28-29.

distinguished in this effort. The first lasted until 1291 and concluded with the final expulsion of the Crusaders. The diplomatic thrust of treaties concluded during this period was to insure Mamluk rule of the Holy Land. The majority of these treaties were concluded with the Crusader states, which found it necessary and expedient to accept certain compromises due to heavy Mamluk pressure. One early treaty, dating from 669/1271 and concluded between Baybars I and the Hospitallers,[83] required the Hospitallers to stop any foreign incursion into Mamluk territory, whether by land or sea, save one by a large force headed by a European king.[84] Similarly, Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn concluded a treaty in 680/1281 with Bohemond VII of Tripoli, which extracted from Bohemond a promise that he would not aid any enemy of the Mamluks who attacked them.[85] An agreement struck between Qalāwūn and the Kingdom of Jerusalem in 682/1283 went even further. It required the authorities in Acre to give the Mamluks two months′ advance warning of any landing of an overseas force on Mamluk shores.[86] A similar treaty of Qalāwūn's was concluded with Tyre in 684/1285, wherein the Europeans pledged to secure the Mamluk state against foreign invaders and to withhold assistance from other Franks attempting to harm the Mamluks.[87] It should be noted that, in spite of these treaties, both Tyre and Acre fell to Mamluk forces in 1291. In addition to the Crusader states, the Kingdom of Lesser Armenia was forced to enter into a similar pact at the end of the fifteenth century. [88]

The greatest success of this policy of securing naval defense through diplomacy was the Catalan-Mamluk treaty of 689/1290, an agreement reached between Alfonso III (1285-91) and Qalāwūn. The Catalans became an emerging power in the eastern Mediterranean after occupying Sicily in 1282. Searching for new allies, the Catalans approached the Mamluks.[89] In the resulting treaty they pledged they were prepared to fight in defense of the Mamluk Empire on the sea and proclaimed their desire to be friends with all the friends of the Mamluks. The treaty is explicit in its mention of the pope, other Frankish rulers, Venice, Genoa, and the Crusaders:

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[83]P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260-1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers* (Leiden, 1995), 49.

[84]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá,* 14:50; Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy,* 55; Urbain Vermeulen, ″Le traité d′armistice relatif à al-Marqab conclu entre Baybars et les Hospitaliers (1. Ramadan 669/13. Avril 1271),″ *Orientalia Loveniensia Periodica* 22 (1991): 185-93.

[85]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 1:3:977; Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy,* 65.

[86]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf al-Ayyām wa-al-ʻUṣūr fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr,* ed. Murād Kamīl (Cairo, 1961), 41-42; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá,* 14:59-60; Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy,* 84-85.

[87]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf al-Ayyām,* 109; Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy,* 116.

[88]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf al-Ayyām,* 102; Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy,* 103.

[89]Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy,* 129-31.

if any of these intended harm to the Mamluks, the Catalan king would prevent it. He would sequester the enemy's galleys in order to prevent them from attacking the Mamluk coast and harbors. If one of the Crusader states should break its treaty commitments to the Mamluks, the Catalans pledged not to provide troops or weapons to that state. They would never conspire with the pope or others against the Mamluks, and if they should learn of such a conspiracy, they would be under obligation to inform the Mamluks.[90]

This treaty was renewed in 692/1293 between al-Ashraf Khalīl and Jacob II (1291-1327).[91] Most Europeans were shocked that such a treaty would be concluded by a European power with the Mamluks after they had taken Acre in 1291. Pope Nicholas IV (1288-92) had, in fact, already announced a total embargo on trade with the Mamluks.[92] And in fact, the Catalans concluded peace with the Holy See in 1302, after which they joined the trade embargo.[93] In the end, the Catalans never had to demonstrate whether or not they would truly have provided a naval defense for the Mamluks. After 1292 the Mamluks controlled the entire Syro-Palestinian littoral, but since their naval inferiority remained, they continued to try to bolster their defenses against piracy through treaties.

The intent of Mamluk policy during the second phase was to prevent the possible return of the Crusaders to positions from which they had been driven and to combat Frankish piracy on Mamluk shores. For a time immediately after the fall of Acre and the resulting papal ban on trade with the Mamluks, there could be no commercial treaties between Europe and the Mamluk state. Observance of the embargo was fairly strict during the first half of the thirteenth century, but even then it was not completely effective. During this period what remained of the Levant trade passed through Cyprus, European merchandise being transported to the island from where it was transshipped on small Cypriot boats to the Mamluk coast. By the second half of the fourteenth century the embargo began to loosen, due in part to the desire of the Italian seafaring nations to trade with the Mamluks and the possibility of purchasing exemptions from the papal ban. This arrangement proved to be lucrative for the popes, and Italian merchants availed themselves of the opportunity to purchase exemptions allowing them one or even more trips to

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[90]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf al-Ayyām,* 159-60; Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy,* 134-35.

[91]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá*, 14:67-68; Maximiliano A. Alarcón y Santón and Ramón García de Linares, *Los documentos árabes diplomáticos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* (Madrid, 1940), 341-42.

[92]Gherardo Ortalli, ″Venice and Papal Bans on Trade with the Levant: The Role of the Jurist″ in *Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of David Jacoby,* ed. Benjamin Arbel (London, 1996), 242.

[93]Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983), 18.

the Muslim Levant.[94] When the Venetians concluded a new trade agreement in 1345, they noted that they had not been in Mamluk territory for twenty-three years.[95]

The Italian maritime powers replaced Cyprus in the Levant trade after the Cypriot attack on Alexandria in 1365. Subsequently, Venice became the main trading partner and ally of the Mamluks, with whom they maintained harmonious relations. Genoese and Catalan pirates, however, continued to harass the Mamluks.[96] Venetian support for the Mamluks against Frankish corsairs was demonstrated during the Cypriot-Mamluk war in 1366, when they ordered an embargo on the export of weapons and military support for Cyprus, despite the protests of Pope Urban V.[97] Another instance of Venetian support for the Mamluks took place in 1403, when they warned the Mamluks of an imminent Genoese attack on the Syro-Palestinian coast. The commander of the Genoese fleet, the French Marshal Boucicaut,[98] learned of the betrayal when he captured a Venetian ship near Beirut, whose captain confessed to having warned the coastal towns.[99] In an act of revenge, the Genoese looted a Venetian spice repository in Beirut.[100]

The Mamluks and Cypriots concluded a treaty in 1414, the Cypriots pledging to cease pirate activities and to return all Muslim prisoners who had not been baptized.[101] This peace was fleeting, however, and in 1425 Barsbāy dispatched another expedition against the island. During this operation both the Genoese and the Catalans agreed to remain apart from the conflict in return for a Mamluk agreement to favorable trade relations.[102] The Genoese governor of Famagusta, acting in accord with this new relationship, allowed the Mamluk expeditionary fleet to

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[94]Ortalli, ″Venice and Papal Bans on Trade with the Levant,″ 242-48; Ashtor, *Levant Trade,* 17-18.

[95]*Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum sive Acta et diplomata res venetas, graecas atque Levantis, illustrantia,* ed. G. M. Thomas and R. Predelli (Venice, 1880), 1:291; Ortalli, ″Venice and Papal Bans on Trade with the Levant,″ 248.

[96]Eliyahu Ashtor, ″The Venetian Supremacy in Levantine Trade: Monopoly or Pre-Colonialism?,″ *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 3 (1974): 11-16.

[97]Hill, *A History of Cyprus,* 2:342.

[98]At that time Genoa had fallen under French influence.

[99]Jean Le Maingre de Boucicaut, ″Livre des faicts″ in *Nouvelle collection des mémoires pour servir à l′histoire de France*, series 1, vol. 2, ed. Joseph Fr. Michaud and Jean-Joseph-François Poujoulat (Paris, 1850), 631-32; Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, *La France en Orient au xive siècle* (Paris, 1886), 1:438.

[100]Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyá, *Tārīkh Bayrūt,* 32-34.

[101]Makhairas, *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus,* 1:§ 636, 646.

[102]Ashtor, *Levant Trade,* 289.

anchor in his harbor.[103] This signaled a change from the aggressive policy of the Genoese toward the Mamluks that had characterized this relationship at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century. Catalan piracy, however, remained a significant irritant to the Mamluks during the fifteenth century, even though the Catalan King Alfonso V and Sultan Barsbāy had concluded a peace treaty.[104] Ashtor thinks Alfonso V agreed to peace in the hope of achieving better conditions for trade, and when these did not materialize, he unleashed his pirates in the quest for booty.[105] On the other hand, the Mamluks were successful in pacifying Cyprus and the Cypriots were compelled to cooperate. The Mamluks were able to use the island as an intermediate port in 1440 and 1443 on the way to and from Rhodes.[106]

The Venetians continued through the fifteenth century the policy of cooperation with the Mamluks, which, though not a formal alliance, was seen by both sides to be mutually advantageous. The Venetians continued to benefit from favorable trade relations with the Mamluks and took care to secure Mamluk interests when possible, as, for example, in 1444, when they participated in a Crusader alliance against the Ottomans, but ordered their captains not to attack the Mamluks or Mamluk possessions during this anti-Ottoman campaign.[107] Twenty years later the Venetians demanded the release of Muslim merchants who had been seized by the Hospitallers of Rhodes while on board a Venetian vessel. This show of force secured the release of the merchants,[108] and bolstered the Venetian role in the transport of Mamluk merchants and their goods between Alexandria and Beirut. Mamluk-Venetian relations drew even closer in 1489, when the last Cypriot queen abdicated in favor of the Venetians. When Sultan Qāytbāy expressed some displeasure at this development and the fact he had not been consulted before the fact, he was mollified by assurances that a Venetian government and fleet in Cyprus would be all the more effective in providing protection against pirates, due to closer proximity, and that the yearly tribute of 8000 ducats would be paid by the Venetians as it had been by the Cypriots.[109]

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[103]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah (History of Egypt 1382-1469),* 4:20, 26; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:2:671-72, 694.

[104]Reginaldo Ruiz Orsati, ″Tratado de Paz entre Alfonso V de Aragon y el Sultan de Egipto, al-Mālik al-Ashraf Barsbāy,″ *Al-Andalus* 4 (1939): 342-44 (Arabic text), 365-68 (Spanish translation).

[105]Ashtor, *Levant Trade,* 301.

[106]Rabie, ″Mamlūk Campaigns Against Rhodes,″ 284-85; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah (History of Egypt 1382-1469),* 5:81-82, 95; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:3:1205; Ibn Iyās, *Badā᾽i‘ al-Zuhūr,* 2:224, 238.

[107]Ashtor, *Levant Trade,* 292.

[108]Archivio di Stato, Venice, Senato-Secreta, 22, fol. 37b.; Ashtor, *Levant Trade,* 452-53.

[109]Hill, *The History of Cyprus*, 3:821-23.

The relationship, of course, had a few ups and downs. In 1512 Sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī felt obliged to send a communication via a Venetian envoy complaining that the Venetians had become lax in patrolling for pirates and Cyprus had once again become a haven for freebooters. The Venetians responded that they wanted to fulfill their obligations but had been temporarily distracted by affairs in Europe.[110] Venice promised to redouble their efforts in order that the Mamluks would have no reason to complain.[111] This exchange is clear evidence of the fact that the Mamluks had placed at least a part of the responsibility for their naval defense in the hands of the Venetians. The Venetians also assisted the Mamluks in the construction of ships and cannons in response to the Portuguese appearance in the Red Sea at the beginning of the sixteenth century.[112]

Another aspect of the Mamluk policy of relying on others to provide their naval defenses was their employment of Maghribi mercenaries, probably recruited from territories controlled by the Hafsids, who, in contrast to the Mamluks, possessed considerable skills in equipping and manning ships.[113] A number of Maghribi mercenaries were involved in the unsuccessful defense of Alexandria against Peter I of Lusignan in 1365.[114] When a counter offensive was planned under the command of Yalbughā al-ʻUmarī in the following year, both Maghribi and Turcoman mercenaries were employed to man Mamluk vessels. The planned attack never took place, however, due to the death of al-ʻUmarī.[115] Contemporary observers noted the prowess of the Maghribis in naval defense. When an enemy ship was captured in the harbor of Alexandria in 1368, the Mamluk historian al-Nuwayrī suggested the use of Maghribi mercenaries to secure the harbor.[116]

Maghribi seamen were held in high regard throughout the Mamluk period. When the Mamluks constructed their Red Sea fleet in 1505 to fight the Portuguese,

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[110]The unfortunate events had been the military successes of the League of Cambrai, which was under the leadership of France and Germany, directed against Venice. The fighting led to territorial losses for Venice. Things looked better in 1511 when the League of Cambrai had cracked and the partners of the League started to fight each other.

[111]M. Reinaud, ″Traités de commerce entre la république de Venise et les derniers sultans mameloucs d′Egypte,″ *Journal Asiatique*, 2nd series, 4 (1829): 34-35.

[112]*Chroniques de Garcia de Resende,* 158-59.

[113]Hans-Rudolf Singer, ″Der Maghreb und die Pyrenäenhalbinsel bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters″ in *Geschichte der arabischen Welt,* ed. Ulrich Haarmann (Munich, 1991), 315.

[114]Krebs, *Innen- und Aussenpolitik Ägyptens,* 287.

[115]Ibid., 100.

[116]Al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī, *Kitāb al-Ilmām,* 279-82, 393; Martina Müller-Wiener, *Eine Stadtgeschichte Alexandrias von 564/1169 bis in die Mitte des 9./15. Jahrhunderts: Verwaltung und innerstädtische Organisationsformen* (Berlin, 1992), 57-58; Krebs, *Innen- und Aussenpolitik Ägyptens,* 324-25.

the majority of the crews consisted of Turcomans, black slaves, and Maghribis.[117] The evidence for these Maghribi mercenaries is confined to Egypt. There is no evidence that they served along the Syro-Palestinian coast. The Turcoman naval mercenaries derived from the Turcoman principalities along the coast of Asia Minor, where they were active as corsairs. This activity gave rise to Venetian demands that the Mamluks prevent Turcoman piracy against Venetian vessels, to which the Mamluks agreed in a Mamluk-Venetian commercial treaty in 1415.[118] This promise to restrain the Turcomans does not seem to have been strictly enforced, however, because in 1471 we read about the Venetian senate complaining to the Mamluk sultan that the Mamluk governors in Syria were allowing Turcoman pirates into their harbors, where they were attacking Venetian vessels.[119] Finally, we also find mention of a Castilian, Pedro de la Randa, who fought as a naval mercenary for the Mamluks, but was in the end beheaded because he refused to become a Muslim.[120] To sum up, it seems that naval mercenaries were only occasionally employed by the Mamluks. This happened in cases of urgent need, such as the Mamluk-Cypriot War of 1365-70 and during the few seaborne military expeditions of the Mamluks.

When all other avenues failed, the Mamluks were not averse to buying security from attacks from the sea. According to the Venetian merchant Emmanuel Piloti, Sultan Faraj (1399-1405, 1405-12) dispatched an important spice merchant in 1403 with a large sum of money to Alexandria in order to bribe a Genoese fleet which had already looted Beirut and was threatening Alexandria. In this instance, fate was on the side of the Mamluks. The fleet had departed before the merchant arrived to pay the bribe, its crews having been decimated by the outbreak of a virulent disease.[121]

If I may use a currently topical term, the attempts of the Mamluks to "outsource" their naval defenses met with mixed success. The treaties with the Crusader states prior to 1291 allowed the Mamluks to gain total control over the Holy Land. The second phase of treaties and alliances, after the fall of Acre in 1291, achieved a limited success in that the Crusaders were unable to reestablish themselves in the Levant, but proved ineffective in preventing attacks by Frankish corsairs. Although the Venetians assisted the Mamluks on many occasions, they could not provide a

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[117]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 4:84-85.

[118]*Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum,* no. 168, 2:312-13; Riccardo Predelli, *I Libri commemoriali della Republica di Venezia, Regesti*, no. 168 (Venice, 1883), 3:376.

[119]Ashtor, *Levant Trade,* 454.

[120]Pero Tafur, *Travels and Adventures 1435-1439*, ed. and trans. Malcolm Letts (London, 1926), 97-99.

[121]Piloti, *L'Egypte,* 90.

defense over the entire Mamluk coast, which was subjected to repeated corsair attacks. The deployment of naval mercenaries had only a very limited effect and was not carried out continuously or on a large scale. Meanwhile, the populations of the Mamluk coastal cities suffered from this inability of the Mamluks to protect them from continuing pirate attacks. The frustrations of the local population are illustrated by an incident in 1439, when a group of locals tried to take matters into their own hands. Declaring jihad, they boarded three vessels in Damietta and set sail to defend Beirut, but were sunk in Beirut harbor by four Frankish ships.[122]

WHY DID THE MAMLUK EMPIRE FAIL TO BECOME A NAVAL POWER?

The question of why the Mamluks did not create a regular fleet and thereby extend their influence and power in the eastern Mediterranean has been addressed by David Ayalon in his short study, "The Mamluks and Naval Power."[123] He cites two principal causes: a lack of natural resources, especially wood and iron, and their social and military preferences based on their tradition of mounted warfare. The ingrained disdain of these archers on horseback for other forms of combat not only worked against their ever becoming a naval power, but also extended to their reluctance to embrace and develop an infantry and its concomitant weaponry such as the cross bow and, later, firearms. He also cites the absence of a credible naval challenge outside the Mediterranean prior to the emergence of the Portuguese threat in the Indian Ocean. The Mamluks were prepared to accept naval inferiority in the Mediterranean so long as their trade with India was not at risk.[124]

The scarcity of wood has often been cited as a reason for the inferiority of Muslim ship building.[125] Such arguments may have led Ayalon to conclude that the Mamluks lacked sufficient wood for ship building on a large scale. Nevertheless, the Mamluks ruled over North Syria and parts of Cilicia, where there were ample forests. There were also considerable timber resources near Beirut and Tripoli. The Mamluks constructed large parts of their few transport fleets in Syria in proximity to these forests. Even Egypt had wood. The fleet that transported Jacob II to Cyprus to install him as king in 1460 was constructed in Egypt in a single year.[126] Wood could be found in the Delta and along the Nile. Fahmy has written

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[122]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:3:1170-72.

[123] David Ayalon,"The Mamluks and Naval Power," 1-12.

[124]Ibid., 1.

[125]George F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times* (Princeton, 1951), 5; Ekkehard Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland: Das Mittelmeer unter byzantinischer und arabischer Hegemonie (650-1040)* (Berlin, 1966), 134, 155-56.

[126]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah (History of Egypt 1382-1469),* 7:87, 102.

about a variety of trees which grew in Egypt in the Middle Ages.[127] Christides thinks the argument about the alleged scarcity of wood is highly questionable. According to him the amounts by which the forests in the Middle East are alleged to have diminished in the Middle Ages have been greatly exaggerated.[128]

Besides relying on their own timber resources, the Mamluks could also import wood from Asia Minor, if needed. They did this several times during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[129] The facts surrounding the alleged lack of iron suggest this argument too is fallacious. Iron was especially of value for shipbuilding in the Mediterranean because here the planks of the vessels were held together with iron nails, whereas "in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean they were stitched."[130] Iron was mined in the Mamluk Empire and both Ibn Baṭṭūṭah and al-Qalqashandī wrote about an iron mine near Beirut.[131] According to Ayalon, this mine did not produce enough iron and, moreover, it was the only one in all of Syria and Egypt at the time.[132] On the other hand, Fahmy writes about iron found in Egypt in the eighth century and made into nails for the construction of ships.[133] Even if it is not clear if there was still sufficient iron in Egypt in Mamluk times, it could have been imported from elsewhere within the Muslim realm, for example, from Asia Minor[134] or the Maghrib.[135] Moreover, there was always a possibility of importing iron from Europe, despite papal injunctions. In a Catalan-Mamluk treaty of 689/1290, for example, the Catalans promised to sell iron to the Mamluks.[136] Subsequently, after Catalan-Mamluk relations had deteriorated, the Venetians exported iron to the Mamluks.[137] If iron was in such short supply, it is hard to explain events like the one which took place near Beirut in 1366, when the local

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[127]Aly Mohamed Fahmy, *Muslim Naval Organisation* (London, 1950), 75-79.

[128]Vassilios Christides, *The Conquest of Crete by the Andalusians (ca. 824-961)* (Athens, 1984), 49.

[129]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 4:2:689; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr,* 2:356; 4:191-92; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah (History of Egypt 1382-1469),* 6:88; Sanuto, *I Diarii,* 10:432, 636, 799; 11: 76, 105, 227-28, 394; Brummet, *Ottoman Seapower,* 116; Ashtor, *Levant Trade,* 480.

[130]Fahmy, *Muslim Naval Organisation,* 80.

[131]Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (d. 1368), *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭah* (Beirut, 1964), 62; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá,* 4:111.

[132]Ayalon, *Gunpowder and Firearms,* 102.

[133]Fahmy, *Muslim Naval Organisation,* 81-82.

[134]Ayalon, *Gunpowder and Firearms,* 102.

[135]Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik,* 124-25.

[136]Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf al-Ayyām,* 161; Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy,* 136.

[137]Rolf Sprandel, ″Le commerce du fer en méditerranée orientale au moyen âge″ in *Sociétés et compagnies de commerce en Orient et dans l′océan Indien* (Actes du huitième colloque international d′histoire maritime, Beirut 5.-10. September 1966), ed. Michel Mollat (Paris, 1970), 389-92.

population was allowed to scavenge the abandoned fleet which had been constructed for the planned invasion of Cyprus, carrying away iron and other salvageable materials.[138] The locals clearly knew how to make use of it.[139]

We must agree with Ayalon, however, regarding the Mamluks' commitment to a social order based on mounted warfare and its concomitant training and exercises as predisposing the Mamluks to reject the idea of seafaring.[140] There was not only no prestige associated with waging war on the sea, but to address someone as *"yā usṭūlī"* (sailor) allegedly would send him into a rage, even though in earlier times seamen had been referred to as "warriors in the path of God."[141] Young mamluks were inculcated in the art and discipline of *furūsīyah* as a component of their formal education,[142] and with few exceptions, only members of the Mamluk military class were allowed to ride horses.[143] The bond between mamluks, their horses, and their social hierarchy was thus complete. It goes without saying that no part of their education or training broached the subject of seamanship or waging seaborne warfare.

The Mamluks were not unaware of their naval weakness. Baybars I, writing to the king of Cyprus after his naval forces had been defeated by the latter in 1271, notes that the horses of the Franks were their ships and the ships of the Mamluks were their horses, meaning that the Franks might have the upper hand on the sea with their ships, but on land where it really counted, the Mamluks had more success with their horses.[144] This weakness was commented on by some contemporary historians. Al-Maqrīzī contrasts the situation of the Mamluks with that of the Fatimids, who he claims had five thousand naval captains in Egypt in the eleventh century. He also notes that under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn there existed a special secretariat for the fleet *(dīwān al-usṭūl),* which administered the construction of fleets and the payment of crews. But the later Ayyubids and the Mamluks turned their backs on this heritage.[145] Ayalon has shown that from more than a thousand

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[138]Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyá, *Tārīkh Bayrūt,* 30.

[139]This has not changed until now. During the Lebanese civil war a great part of the rails of the trains between Beirut and Tripoli vanished without a trace.

[140]Ayalon, "The Mamluks and Naval Power," 1.

[141]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:17-18.

[142]Ulrich Haarmann, "Der arabische Osten im späten Mittelalter 1250-1517" in *Geschichte der arabischen Welt*, ed. Ulrich Haarmann (Munich, 1991), 222-25.

[143]David Ayalon, "The Muslim City and the Mamluk Military Aristocracy," *Princeton Near East Paper* 20 (1975): 25.

[144]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir,* 376-77.

[145]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 3:14, 17-18.

biographies from the Mamluk era, not a single one recounts the life of a naval commander.[146]

There was a considerable conservatism in the Mamluk Empire which resulted in a reluctance to embrace change. Ayalon's point that the Mamluks were uninterested in naval warfare due to the absence of a credible seaborne challenge outside the Mediterranean prior to the emergence of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean underlines this conservatism. They would accept their naval inferiority in the Mediterranean as long as their trade with India was not at risk. This conservatism emerged in other military areas as well, most notably in their reluctance to adopt firearms, well-illustrated by the overthrow of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (1496-98) when he attempted to form a military unit of black slaves with firearms.[147]

It is interesting to speculate on what might have been. Had the Mamluks not ceded the Mediterranean to the Europeans, might not they have profited to a much greater degree from trade? One can only guess at the possibilities that might have existed for Mamluk merchants in Europe. Had they understood that the idea of a new Crusade had become increasingly unpopular and unlikely, might not they have rebuilt their coastal towns? Had they not been wed to a social and military structure so imbued with an ethos dependent upon horses, might they not have challenged Europe for naval supremacy in the Mediterranean?

A single Mamluk officer has left us a rather amazing document. Muḥammad ibn Mengli wrote a treatise on naval warfare, "Al-Aḥkām al-Mulūkīyah wa-al-Ḍawābit al-Nāmūsīyah fī Fann al-Qitāl fī al-Baḥr."[148] He was a member of the *awlād al-nās,* his father having come to Egypt from Central Asia.[149] While his exact rank is unclear, he refers to himself as *naqīb al-jaysh* in Alexandria in 770/1368-69, and has been judged by a modern biographer to have been among the most important dignitaries in Alexandria at the time.[150] Ibn Mengli was aware of the work on naval warfare written by the Byzantine Emperor Leon VI (886-912), the "Naumachia,"[151] and incorporates part of it in his own work.[152] Ibn Mengli

[146]Ayalon, "The Mamluks and Naval Power," 5.

[147]Holt, *The Age of the Crusades,* 198.

[148]Gerhard Zoppoth, "Muḥammad ibn Mängli: Ein ägyptischer Offizier und Schriftsteller des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 53 (1957): 289.

[149]Ibid., 293.

[150]Ibid., 296.

[151]Muḥammad Ibn Mengli (d. after 1378), "Al-Aḥkām al-Mulūkīyah wa-al-Ḍawābit al-Nāmūsīyah fī Fann al-Qitāl fī al-Baḥr," Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, MS 23 Taymūr (microfilm, University of Chicago Library), fol. 71.

[152]Christides, *The Conquest of Crete*, 63; idem, "Naval Warfare in the Eastern Mediterranean (6th-14th centuries): An Arabic Translation of Leo VI's Naumachia," *Graeco-Arabica* 3 (1984): 138.

demonstrates a detailed knowledge of naval warfare in this work and even asserts that Muslim methods of waging naval warfare were superior to those of the Byzantines.[153] At the very least this is evidence that a high-ranking Mamluk officer had given serious thought to the theory of naval warfare.

Another possible source of inspiration for the Mamluks was Muslim naval experience in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean.[154] This is most impressively illustrated at the end of the fifteenth century in the book *Kitāb al-Fawā'id fī Uṣūl al-Baḥr wa-al-Qawā'id* by Ibn Mājid al-Najdī. Ibn Mājid writes about the use of stars and compass in navigation and describes the particularities of seafaring in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean.[155] There is no evidence, however, that experience gathered in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean was ever put to work in the Mediterranean by Mamluk seafarers, and perhaps because they were never challenged or stimulated, these mariners found themselves both technically and tactically wanting when the Portuguese suddenly appear in these "Muslim" waters.[156] What might have been if the Mamluks could have combined the theoretical knowledge of naval warfare of Ibn Mengli with the seafaring abilities of a Red Sea captain like Ibn Mājid?

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[153] Christides, ″Naval Warfare,″ 139.

[154] G. R. Tibbetts, introduction to *Arab Navigation in the Indian Ocean Before the Coming of the Portuguese, Being a Translation of Kitāb al-Fawā'id fī uṣūl al-baḥr wal-qawā'id* by Ibn Mājid al-Najdī (d. before 1535), ed. and trans. G. R. Tibbets (London 1971), 1.

[155] Ibid., 28-37.

[156] Ayalon, ″The Mamluks and Naval Power,″ 2.

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Al-Suyūṭī and His Works: Their Place in Islamic Scholarship from Mamluk Times to the Present

Editor′s note: The article that follows was written by Dr. Saleh at my request. It is my intention that from time to time we will publish a biographical article summing up what is known about an important person who lived during the rule of the Mamluks. The article should provide more detail than, for example, the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* and should include an extensive bibliographical apparatus. In short, it should provide a starting point for anyone wanting to know about a particular person who flourished under the Mamluks. Dr. Saleh compiled a list of famous Mamluk intellectuals, those usually referred to in the scholarly literature as ″polymaths″ because they contributed to so many different fields. From this list she selected al-Suyūṭī, both because of his inherent interest and because his life has been well documented in the primary and secondary literature. Dr. Saleh has agreed to produce a second biography for a future issue. If you are interested in participating in this project, please let us know.

Recognized as the most prolific author in the Islamic world, past and present, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī is represented in virtually every genre of scholarly and literary production that existed during the Mamluk age. He believed himself to be the most learned man of his time, and this as well as even bolder claims that he made polarized his contemporaries into ardent supporters versus vehement adversaries. The controversy over the value of his contribution to scholarship continues to this day.

Al-Suyūṭī′s life has been described in great detail elsewhere,[1] and here it is necessary to give only a brief outline. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad

[1]Al-Suyūṭī′s own autobiography, *Al-Taḥadduth bi-Niʻmat Allāh,* has been edited with extensive and valuable commentary by Elizabeth Sartain (*Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī,* University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, no. 23 [Cambridge, 1975]). Two of al-Suyūṭī′s pupils wrote full-length biographies of their teacher: ʻAbd al-Qādir al-Shādhilī, *Bahjat al-ʻĀbidīn bi-Tarjamat Ḥāfiẓ al-ʻAṣr Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī,* ed. ʻAbd al-Ilāh Nabhān (Damascus, 1998) and Shams al-Dīn al-Dāwūdī, ″Tarjamat al-Suyūṭī,″ of which an unedited manuscript is held in Tübingen (Sartain, *Al-Suyūṭī,* 1:148). Full-length modern biographies include Ṭāhir Sulaymān Ḥammūdah, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: ʻAṣruhu wa-Ḥayātuhu wa-Āthāruhu wa-Juhūduhu fī al-Dars al-Lughawī* (Beirut, 1989), Saʻdī Abū Jīb, *Ḥayāt Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī maʻa al-ʻIlm min al-Mahd ilá al-Laḥd* (Damascus, 1993), Muḥammad al-ʻArūsī al-Maṭwī, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī* (Beirut, 1995), and Iyād Khālid al-Ṭabbāʻ, *Imām al-Ḥāfiẓ Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, Maʻlamat al-ʻUlūm al-Islāmīyah* (Beirut, 1996), in addition to numerous books and articles devoted to specific aspects of al-Suyūṭī′s work.

ibn Abī Bakr ibn ʿUthmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Khiḍr ibn Ayyūb ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Humām Jalāl al-Dīn al-Khuḍāyrī al-Suyūṭī was born on 1 Rajab 849/3 October 1445. His mother, a Circassian slave, was said to have given birth to him in the family library, where his father had sent her to retrieve a book; hence his prophetic nickname *"ibn al-kutub"* (son of books).[2] Al-Suyūṭī's father, a scholar, died while al-Suyūṭī was a small child, but guardians made sure that the boy received the education usual for one of his background, beginning with memorizing the Quran and proceeding to the various religious sciences, grammar, *adab,* and Shafiʿi jurisprudence. He was given his first *ijāzah* to teach grammar and *adab* at the age of sixteen, and by the following year had been given permission to teach Shafiʿi jurisprudence and issue *fatwá*s by the chief qadi, ʿAlam al-Dīn Ṣāliḥ al-Bulqīnī.

At the age of eighteen al-Suyūṭī inherited his father's former post as professor of Shafiʿi jurisprudence at the mosque of Shaykhū, and later added the post of teacher of hadith at the Shaykhūnīyah. He also was appointed to two other positions which seem to have been administrative rather than instructional: shaykh of sufis at the mausoleum of Barqūq al-Nāṣirī, and supervisor of the Baybarsīyah *khanqāh.*

Even as al-Suyūṭī's scholarly fame began to spread abroad, his career in Egypt became mired in numerous disputes. Disagreements with other ulama on specific points of theology and law invariably degenerated into reciprocal personal attacks. There were also a number of widespread controversies (which involved the entire community of the ulama and in some cases the amirs and up to the sultan himself) into which al-Suyūṭī waded, including the question of the orthodoxy of the famous sufis Ibn al-Fāriḍ and Ibn al-ʿArabī (al-Suyūṭī defended it) and the question as to whether or not women would see God in the afterlife (al-Suyūṭī denied that possibility). His contentiousness and irascibility progressed to the point that he refused to pay the customary monthly courtesy call on the sultan Qāytbāy in order to receive personally his stipend as shaykh of the Baybarsīyah *khānqāh,* citing the practice of the early pious Muslims in refusing to frequent worldly rulers.[3]

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[2]ʿAbd al-Qādir ibn Shaykh al-ʿAydarūsī, *Al-Nūr al-Sāfir ʿan Akhbār al-Qarn al-ʿĀshir,* ed. Muḥammad Rashīd al-Ṣaffār (Baghdad, 1934), 51.

[3]This incident provides a good example of al-Suyūṭī's wont to vindicate his actions by writing one or more books. The result in this case was *Mā Rawāhu al-Asāṭīn fī ʿAdam al-Majīʾ ilá al-Salāṭīn* (What the masters related regarding not frequenting sultans), ed. Majdī Fatḥī al-Sayyid (Tanta, 1991), as well as several books justifying his habit of wearing the *ṭaylasān,* a sort of shawl, to the few meetings he did have with Qāytbāy, a habit which had drawn negative comment from one of his arch-enemies, Ibn al-Karakī, a favorite of the sultan's: *Ṭayy al-Lisān ʿan Dhamm al-Ṭaylasān* (Holding the tongue from censure of the *ṭaylasān*) in *Majmūʿ Tisaʿ Rasāʾil* (Lahore, 1890) and "Al-Mufākharah bayna al-Ṭaylasān wa-al-Ṭarḥah" (Contest between the *ṭaylasān* and

In the late 890s/1480s, al-Suyūṭī began to withdraw from public life. He progressively resigned from his various teaching and administrative posts and stopped delivering *fatwá*s. In 906/1501 he was dismissed from his post at the Baybarsīyah *khānqāh* following acrimonious disputes with the sufis there,[4] and when the sultan Ṭūmānbāy, in support of the sufis, sought to have him killed he went into hiding. Upon the sultan's death al-Suyūṭī reappeared but retreated completely to his house on Rawḍah Island, announcing that he was devoting himself to God, refusing to leave the house and receiving visitors only reluctantly. There he remained, writing and revising his works, until his death on 19 Jumādá I 911/18 October 1505.

What was al-Suyūṭī's stature as a scholar? There can be no doubt that he was endowed with an incredibly agile and retentive mind. He claimed to have memorized 200,000 hadiths, which were all that had come to his attention; if he had located more, he would have memorized them as well.[5] In speed of writing and composition al-Suyūṭī was "one of the great signs *(āyāt)* of God,"[6] and he was able to edit and dictate several works simultaneously; his pupil al-Dāwūdī is reported to have said: "I have seen the shaykh write three quires in one day, both composing and writing down, as well as dictate hadith and answer opponents."[7]

Quite early in his scholarly career al-Suyūṭī claimed special expertise in a number of subjects: "I was endowed with deep penetration in seven sciences: Quran commentary, hadith, jurisprudence, grammar, rhetoric *(ma'ānī)*, rhetoric *(bayān)*[8], and style *(badī')*[9] (in the style of Arabs, not in the style of Persians and

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the *ṭarḥah* [a sort of veil]), Chester Beatty MS 3420. On Ibn al-Karakī's relationship with Qāytbāy see Helena Hallenberg, "The Sultan Who Loved Sufis: How Qāytbāy Established a Shrine Complex in Dasūq," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 4 (2000): 147-66. An additional factor in al-Suyūṭī's reluctance to meet with the sultan, according to his sufi biographer 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī (d. 973/1565), was the fear that the Prophet, who had appeared to al-Suyūṭī more than seventy times while he was awake, would hide himself from him if he did so (*Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣughrá,* ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad 'Aṭā [Cairo, 1970], 29-30).

[4]These reached the point that the sufis "rose up against their shaykh . . . and almost killed him, then they carried him in his clothes and threw him into the fountain." Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr,* ed. Paul Kahle and Muṣṭafá Muḥammad (Istanbul, 1931), 3:378.

[5]'Abd al-Ḥayy ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Beirut, 1966), 8:53.

[6]Najm al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib al-Sā'irah bi-A'yān al-Mi'ah al-'Āshirah,* ed. Jibrā'īl Sulaymān Jabbūr (Beirut, 1945), 1:228.

[7]Ibid.

[8]"Al-ma'ānī wa'l-bayān: two of the three categories into which, since the time of al-Sakkākī (d.626/1229), the study of rhetoric has often been divided, the other being badī'. *'Ilm al-bayān* can best be translated with 'science of figurative speech,' as it only deals with the simile (as an

philosophers); and I believe that what I attained in these seven sciences (with the exception of jurisprudence) was never attained by any of my teachers, let alone others. I do not make this claim for jurisprudence, for there my teacher[10] has a wider perspective."[11] He also claimed mastery, though to a lesser degree, of *uṣūl al-fiqh,* polemics, morphology, division of inheritances, elegant prose writing, letter-writing, Quranic recitation, medicine, and accounting.[12] He consciously avoided the "sciences of the ancients," particularly logic.

Al-Suyūṭī came to feel that he had been born into an age of widespread ignorance and scholarly decline, and that as the most knowledgeable person of his time he had a special mission to assemble and transmit the Islamic cultural patrimony before it disappeared entirely due to the carelessness of his contemporaries.[13] This consciousness of his own superiority led him to make several very controversial claims.

Al-Suyūṭī's conviction that "he alone, in an age of increasing ignorance, was a true scholar"[14] first led him to claim that ". . . the tools of *ijtihād* have been perfected in me—I say that praising God and not out of pride."[15] Al-Suyūṭī noted that one could be a *mujtahid* in one field but not necessarily another, acknowledging that "most people are not aware of *ijtihād* in hadith and Arabic, but are aware of *ijtihād* in shari'ah only."[16] Al-Suyūṭī, however, claimed *ijtihād* in all three of these fields, a rank unequalled, in his view, by anyone since the time of al-Subkī (d. 756/1355).[17]

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introduction to the discussion of metaphor), the metaphor, the analogy, the metonymy and the allusion, and statement by implication. *'Ilm al-ma'ānī* indicates a set of rather strict rules governing the art of correct sentence structure, the purpose of which was to demonstrate that changes in word order almost invariably lead to changes in meaning." *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., *Glossary and Index of Technical Terms to Volumes I-VIII and to the Supplement, Fascicules 1-6,* 195-96.

[9]"Badī': the branch of rhetorical science which deals with the beautification of literary style, the artifices of the ornamentation and embellishment of speech." (Ibid., 33)

[10]'Alam al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī.

[11]Muḥammad Sulaymān Faraj, "Thaqāfat al-Imām al-Suyūṭī wa-Intājuhu wa-Juhūduhu al-'Ilmīyah fī al-Dirāsāt al-Islāmīyah" in *Al-Imām Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: al-Iḥtifā' bi-Dhikrá Murūr Khamsat Qurūn 'alá Wafātih: Buḥūth al-Nadwah allatī 'Aqadat'hā al-Munaẓẓamah bi-al-Ta'āwun ma'a Jāmi'at al-Azhar, al-Qāhirah, 11-13 Shawwāl 1413 H/3-5 Abrīl 1993 M*. ([Rabat], 1416/1995), 1:70, quoting from al-Suyūṭī's *Asbāb Wurūd al-Ḥadīth* without giving an exact citation.

[12]Al-Sha'rānī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣughrá,* 22.

[13]Éric Geoffroy, "Al-Suyūṭī," *EI*^{2}, 9:914.

[14]Sartain, *Al-Suyūṭī,* vol. 1, *Biography and Background,* 61.

[15]Faraj, "Thaqāfat al-Imām," 70. This matter is discussed in detail by Sartain, *Al-Suyūṭī,* 1:61-69.

[16]Al-Sha'rānī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣughrá,* 23 f.

[17]Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Taḥadduth,* vol. 2 of Sartain, *Al-Suyūṭī,* 205-14.

The rejection of this claim by most of his contemporaries led al-Suyūṭī to explain himself in the face of what he felt was their misunderstanding. Their accusation that he had claimed unrestricted, independent *ijtihād* like that wielded by the four imams who had founded the major schools of law was false. Rather, he was entitled to ″derivative″ *(muntasab)* unrestricted *ijtihād* within his *madhhab*: ″When I attained the rank of unrestricted *ijtihād,* I did not depart in giving legal opinions from the *madhhab* of al-Shāfiʻī.″[18]

Al-Suyūṭī set out his claim to *ijtihād* at length in his *Al-Radd ʻalá Man Akhlada ilá al-Arḍ wa-Jahila anna al-Ijtihād fī Kull ʻAṣr Farḍ* [Refutation of those who abide on the earth and are ignorant of the fact that *ijtihād* is a duty in every age].[19] As the title implies, al-Suyūṭī believed that anyone who denied the possibility of *ijtihād* was ignorant; it is a collective duty *(farḍ kifāyah)* which he, as the only qualified person, was discharging on his contemporaries′ behalf. He admitted, however, that while most of his opposition came from those who mistakenly denied the possibility of the current existence of any *mujtahid,* another group admitted that possibility but considered al-Suyūṭī unworthy of it.[20]

Al-Suyūṭī′s conviction of his intellectual superiority, indeed uniqueness, grew until he was impelled to make a yet bolder claim: to be the restorer of religion *(mujaddid)* expected at the end of every century:

> . . . I hope . . . to be the *mujaddid* at the end of this ninth (fifteenth) century, just as al-Ghazālī had hoped for himself, because I alone have mastered all kinds of different disciplines, such as Qur'ānic exegesis and its principles, Prophetic tradition and its sciences, jurisprudence and its principles, language and its principles, syntax and morphology and their principles, polemics, rhetoric and good style, and history. In addition to all this, there are my outstanding, excellent works, the like of which nobody has written before, and their number up till now is about 500. I have originated the science of the principles of language *(uṣūl al-lughah)* and its study, and nobody has preceded me in this. It follows the same lines as Prophetic tradition and principles of jurisprudence. My works and my knowledge have travelled to all countries, and have reached Syria, Rūm, Persia, the Hijaz, the Yemen, India, Ethiopia, North Africa, and Takrūr, and have spread from Takrūr to the ocean. In all that I

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[18]Al-Shaʻrānī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣughrá,* 17-21.

[19]Ed. Fu'ād ʻAbd al-Munʻim Aḥmad (Alexandria, 1985).

[20]Al-Suyūṭī, ″Irshād al-Muhtadīn ilá Nuṣrat al-Mujtahidīn″ [Guidance for the rightly guided to support of the *mujtahid*s], quoted in Sartain, *Al-Suyūṭī,* 1:68.

> have mentioned, I have no equal, nobody else living has mastered the number of disciplines that I have, and, as far as I know, nobody else has reached the rank of unrestricted *ijtihād* except for me.[21]

Undaunted by his contemporaries′ reaction to this claim, which will be discussed below, al-Suyūṭī went on to convince the shadow ʿAbbasid caliph, al-Mutawakkil ʿalá Allāh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, to appoint him qadi-in-chief over all qadis in all the lands of Islam, with the power to appoint and dismiss whomever he liked. When the qadis predictably rose in outraged protest, the caliph backed down and rescinded the appointment, saying, ″What part did I have in this? It was the shaykh Jalāl al-Dīn who persuaded me that it was desirable; he said that this was an ancient post, and the caliphs used to grant it to whomever they chose among the ulama.″[22] Uncharacteristically, al-Suyūṭī unfortunately does not seem to have left an account of this affair from his point of view;[23] one can only speculate that it represented another aspect of his attempt to secure recognition as the foremost scholar of his time.

It appears that this recognition was more readily granted by those who were separated from al-Suyūṭī by either distance or time. He was widely revered outside of Egypt, and a great proportion of his writing consists of the *fatwá*s he issued in response to requests from abroad. After his death a superstitious awe began to accrue to the scholar, at least according to his student Ibn Iyās, who reported that upon his death, some people bought his shirt and cap, hoping to obtain blessing through them.[24] There were even claims of miracles circulated, which purportedly al-Suyūṭī had requested be kept secret until after his death. These included the report of a servant that he and his master had miraculously been transported in an instant to Mecca and then just as quickly returned to Cairo,[25] and prediction of the Ottoman invasion and subsequent ruination of Egypt in 923/1517.[26]

Among al-Suyūṭī′s contemporary peers, however, his own pupils seem to have been somewhat isolated in their great admiration and respect for the man. His arrogance and combative personality made it virtually impossible for other scholars to appreciate his undeniable accomplishments, and his more extravagant claims in particular were met with outrage and scorn. His professional life consisted

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[21]Al-Suyūṭī, ″Al-Tanbiʾah bi-Man Yabʿathuhu Allāh ʿalá Raʾs Kull Miʾah″ [Announcement of he who is sent by God at the beginning of each century], quoted in Sartain, *Al-Suyūṭī,* 1:70-71.

[22]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr,* 3:331.

[23]Sartain, *Al-Suyūṭī,* 1:93.

[24]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr,* 4:83.

[25]Al-Shaʿrānī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣughrá,* 30.

[26]Ibid., 31.

largely of disputes with other scholars (another large body of his writing consists of refutations of others′ opinions, numerous titles beginning with *Al-Radd ʿalá . . .*).

Perhaps the most powerful individual with whom al-Suyūṭī was in conflict was Ibn al-Karakī, a favorite of the sultan Qāytbāy—a conflict that caused him serious difficulties.[27] His bitterest rival, however, appears to have been al-Sakhāwī.

Al-Sakhāwī′s entry on al-Suyūṭī in his biographical dictionary, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ,* drips with vitriol. He accused al-Suyūṭī firstly of plagiarism: ″. . . he would take . . . a lot of earlier works in various fields which were not well known to his contemporaries, change a little bit, and then present them attributed to himself, and make a great fuss in presenting them such that the ignorant would suppose them to be something unequalled.″[28] He added sarcastically, ″If he were going to steal them, I wish at least he had not distorted them—if he had just copied them it would have been more useful.″[29]

Al-Sakhāwī went on to denigrate al-Suyūṭī′s mastery of grammar (of which, we may recall, al-Suyūṭī was particularly proud) by accusing him of phonetic corruption *(taḥrīf)* and misspelling or misplacement of diacritics *(tasḥīf).* This he attributed to al-Suyūṭī′s faulty education which resulted from his having acquired much of his learning by reading independently rather than receiving it orally from a teacher.[30]

Al-Sakhāwī was particularly scornful of al-Suyūṭī′s claim to *ijtihād;* and not al-Sakhāwī alone but, he claims, ″Everybody rose against him when he claimed *ijtihād.*″[31] In fact, al-Sakhāwī said, the claim was made ″to cover up his mistakes.″[32] In sum, al-Sakhāwī admitted grudgingly that al-Suyūṭī was ″quick at writing,″ but his truly distinguishing feature was his ″folly and excessive arrogance, even to his mother, so that she continually complained of him.″[33]

As noted before, al-Suyūṭī seems to have been appreciated best at a distance. The sufi writer al-Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565), for instance, venerated al-Suyūṭī and wrote of him, ″He was the most knowledgeable person of his time in the sciences and arts of hadith.″[34] Complimentary entries on him appear in many later biographical

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[27]See note 3.

[28]Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Beirut, 1966), 4:66.

[29]Ibid., 68.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Ibid., 69.

[32]Ibid., 68.

[33]Ibid., 69.

[34]Al-Shaʿrānī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣughrá,* 28.

dictionaries and histories, from that of his pupil Ibn Iyās (d. ca. 930/1524)[35] through al-Ghazzī (d. 1061/1651)[36] and Ibn al-ʻImād (d. 1089/1679).[37] The centuries following al-Suyūṭī's death are replete with abridgements, commentaries, and supercommentaries on his works (the pre-modern counterpart to our secondary literature).

With the rise of European interest in Islamic history and literature, al-Suyūṭī came in for his share of the disdain generally heaped on all authors post-dating the "golden" Abbasid period. Ignaz Goldziher (d. 1921), for instance dismissed a lifetime of work with the scathing comment: ". . . our ingenious al-Suyūṭī did not shrink from drawing up treatises which, at a cursory glance, purport to have no other end than the elucidation of the subject set down on the title page, but which, on closer examination, prove to be nothing other than polemical works whose sole purpose is to serve as an exaggerated advertisement for their author and as instruction to his contemporaries in his unsurpassed and unsurpassable greatness and erudition."[38]

Goldziher apparently shared al-Suyūṭī's contemporaries' outrage at his daring to claim the right of *ijtihād* as well as the status of the most learned man of the time:

> Even if a not inconsiderable degree of vanity and self-esteem is required to list the description of his own life and scholarly labors among the biographies of the mujtahidūn—a vanity which is best illustrated by the pompous style and manner in which al-Suyūṭī speaks of his own works and refers to his own academic career—this is to a large extent overshadowed by the almost nauseating kind of self-adulation we find in his lesser works.
>
> Despite his ability and diligence, and despite the value of his achievement, he must naturally have become an insufferable figure to many of his learned contemporaries, to whom the circumstance of his laying claim to all merit for himself seemed to detract from their own worth.[39]

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[35]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr*.

[36]Al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib al-Sāʼirah.*

[37]Ibn al-ʻImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab.*

[38]Ignaz Goldziher, "Zur Characteristik Gelâl ud-dîn us-Sujûtî's und seiner literarischen Thätigkeit," *Sitzberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien* 69 (1871), translated with notes by John Hunwick, "Ignaz Goldziher on al-Suyūṭī: A Translation of his Article of 1871, with Additional Notes," *The Muslim World* 68, no. 2 (April 1978): 80-81.

[39]Ibid., 80.

Many earlier modern Arab scholars, and some up till the present, share this assessment, though without Goldziher's venomous and curiously personal dislike. They tend to dismiss al-Suyūṭī as a mere compiler. Saʿdī Abū Jīb, for instance, while titling his article "Al-Suyūṭī: Allāmat ʿAṣrih" [al-Suyūṭī: the most erudite of his age], opined that al-Suyūṭī's writings are not innovative nor do they show creative thought; this is only to be expected as that was the style for scholarly writing in his day. His value lies in the fact that he preserved for us earlier writings that were otherwise destroyed by the Mongol invasions and the fall of Spain.[40]

Al-Suyūṭī's modern Western biographer, Elizabeth Sartain, cautiously agreed, at least partially, with this negative evaluation of scholarship in the Mamluk age and, by extension, that produced by al-Suyūṭī. While defending al-Suyūṭī against al-Sakhāwī's charges of plagiarism, Sartain deferred final judgment as to the "originality" of his work to "specialists in the fields of Muslim learning in which he wrote."[41] She did note that the age's emphasis on oral transmission and memorization helped to discourage original thought,[42] and concluded that despite the favorable conditions, and "in spite of the great activity of scholars, few outstanding contributions to knowledge were made, and by al-Suyūṭī's time there was evidence of steady decline in academic standards."[43]

In contrast, and perhaps in reaction to this, in recent times there has been what might be termed a revival of interest in al-Suyūṭī and his work. An only moderately intensive search for books and articles dealing exclusively or substantially with the subject of al-Suyūṭī yielded a total of 192 titles, the vast majority written within the last thirty years. Following the traditional path, many of these are commentaries (s. *sharḥ*) on specific works. Others discuss al-Suyūṭī's sources and methodology in his endeavors in such fields as Quran commentary, philology, jurisprudence, and history, while still others attempt to evaluate his contributions and his significance as a scholar to those fields.

Two international conferences devoted solely to al-Suyūṭī have been held in Egypt, one in 1976 and a second in 1993, the latter commemorating the five hundredth anniversary of al-Suyūṭī's death.[44] (That same year an entire issue of

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[40]Saʿdī Abū Jīb, "Al-Suyūṭī: ʿAllāmat ʿAṣrih," *Al-Turāth al-ʿArabī* 13, no. 51 (1413/1993): 63-78.

[41]Sartain, *Al-Suyūṭī,* 1:115.

[42]Ibid., 123.

[43]Ibid., 119. Al-Suyūṭī, of course would have agreed with her assessment of scholarship in his age while excepting himself. See Sartain's lengthy discussion of this topic, which is much more nuanced than my extracts might suggest, pp. 112-33.

[44]The proceedings of both conferences have been published: *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, prepared by al-Majlis al-Aʿlá li-Riʿāyat al-Funūn wa-al-Ādāb wa-al-ʿUlūm al-Ijtimāʿīyah, 13-19 (Cairo, 1978) and *Al-Imām Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: al-Iḥtifāʾ bi-Dhikrá Murūr Khamsat Qurūn ʿalá Wafātih:*

the journal *Al-Turāth al-ʿArabī*[45] was devoted to articles treating various aspects of his life and work.) While the first conference was attended only by Egyptian participants, the second widened its scope to include contributors from a wide range of Muslim countries: Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Palestine, the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Azerbaijan, Morocco, Kuwait, Pakistan, Senegal, Malaysia, Qatar, Iraq, and Tunisia. Neither, however, included any Western participants, and the papers published in the proceedings of both conferences (which treated basically the same themes as other literature on al-Suyūṭī) showed virtually no awareness of, or perhaps interest in, Western contributions to Suyūṭī studies.

Spokesmen for both conferences expressly stated that their purpose was to ″revive″ the memory of al-Suyūṭī, which had been unfairly allowed to lapse. The second conference went on to lay out a number of ambitious goals in this regard. These included, among others, organizing competitions (with prizes) for students carrying out al-Suyūṭī studies; production of a film on al-Suyūṭī; translating some of his works into world languages; urging journalists and other disseminators of information in all Islamic countries to educate the people about al-Suyūṭī′s contributions to Islamic culture; and enlisting the cooperation of various Muslim institutions to revive al-Suyūṭī′s beloved *ijtihād*.[46]

Some Western scholars as well have become more appreciative of the value of al-Suyūṭī′s work. For instance, Éric Geoffroy′s 1997 *Encyclopaedia of Islam* article on al-Suyūṭī disputes the widespread condemnation of al-Suyūṭī as merely a compiler. No doubt he did do a great deal of compiling, extracting, summarizing, and commenting on earlier works (including his own) in keeping with his perceived mission of preserving the Islamic scholarly heritage. Yet he went beyond that, according to Geoffroy: ″. . . he prefigures the modern period by certain aspects, such as being partly an autodidact, presenting to a public, which he wanted to be widened, manuals which were centered around precise themes. . . . He indeed takes up themes which were usually neglected in Islamic literature. . . . As for form, al-Suyūṭī′s procedure is scientific in so far as he quotes his sources with

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Buḥūth al-Nadwah allatī ʿAqadat′hā al-Munaẓẓamah bi-al-Taʿāwun maʿa Jāmiʿat al-Azhar, al-Qāhirah, 11-13 Shawwāl 1413 H/3-5 Abrīl 1993 M./Commemorating the 5th Centennial of the Death of Imam Jalal-Eddine Al-Souyouti: Papers presented at the Symposium organized by ISESCO and Al-Azhar University, Cairo, 11-13 Shawal 1413 H/3-5 April 1993/Commémoration du 5e centenaire de la mort de L′Imam Jalal-Eddine Al-Souyouti: Communications présentées au colloque organisé par l′ISESCO et l′Université Al-Azhar Le Caire, 11-13 chaoual 1413 H/3-5 avril 1993 ([Rabat], 1416/1995).

[45]Vol. 13 (1413/1993).

[46]*Al-Imām Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī,* 2:602-3. I cannot say whether any of these goals have actually been met.

precision and presents them in a critical way. In the introduction to a work, he often defines the method which he is going to follow. His works benefit from a clear structure, and he often broke new ground by expounding his material according to its alphabetical order."[47]

In any discussion of al-Suyūṭī, one is bound to express admiration, whether frank or grudging, and astonishment at the sheer massive quantity of his literary output. Al-Suyūṭī incorporated lists of his own works in other works on several occasions, and the biographies written by his students al-Shādhilī and al-Dāwūdī contained such lists approved by him. These lists differ from one another, ranging in size from 282 to 561 titles. Later biographical descriptions of al-Suyūṭī almost always include a count of his works if not a list; these range up to the nearly one thousand titles claimed (but not listed) by Ibn al-Qāḍī (d. 1025/1616).[48]

The first modern Western attempt to compose a list of al-Suyūṭī's works, drawing from various sources, was carried out by Gustav Flügel in 1832,[49]and named more than 500 titles. Carl Brockelmann (who was concerned only with extant manuscripts) listed 415.[50] Since then a number of works have been devoted to the question of al-Suyūṭī's production and to attempting to pin the list down.[51]

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[47]Éric Geoffroy, "Al-Suyūṭī, Abū'l Faḍl ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr," *EI*[2], 9:914-15.

[48]Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Qāḍī, *Durrat al-Ḥijāl fī Asmāʾ al-Rijāl,* quoted in Yaḥyá Maḥmūd Sāʿātī, "Mushkilat al-ʿUnwān fī Muʾallafāt al-Suyūṭī wa Atharuhā fī Iḍṭirāb Iḥṣāʾ ʿAdadihā bayna al-Dārisīn" in *Al-Imām Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī,* 1:141.

[49]Gustav Flügel, "Sojuti's Leben und Schriften," *Jahrbücher der Literatur, Anzeige-Blatt* 58; 59; 60 (1832): 25-40; 20-36; 9-29.

[50]Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden, 1949), 2:180-204, S2:179-98.

[51]ʿAbd al-Ḥayy ibn ʿAbd al-Kabīr Kattānī, *Fihris al-Fahāris wa-al-Ithbāt wa-Muʿjam al-Maʿājim wa-al-Mashyakhāt wa-al-Musalsalāt* (1928; reprint Beirut, 1982-86), 2:1010-22; Jāmiʿat al-Riyāḍ, Qism al-Makhṭūṭāt, *Fihris Makhṭūṭāt al-Suyūṭī al-Mawjūdah bi-Jāmiʿat al-Riyāḍ,* prepared by Yaḥyá Maḥmūd Sāʿātī (Riyadh, 1972); Aḥmad al-Sharqāwī Iqbāl, *Maktabat al-Jalāl al-Suyūṭī: Sijill Yajmaʿu wa-Yasifu Muʾallafāt Jalāl al-DīnʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūṭī* (Rabat, 1397/1977); ʿIṣām al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raʾūf, "Muʾallafāt al-Suyūṭī" in *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī*, 103-32; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ʿIzz al-Dīn Sayrawān, *Muʿjam Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥuffāẓ wa-al-Mufassirīn, maʿa Dirāsah ʿan al-Imām al-Suyūṭī wa Muʾallafātih* (Beirut, 1984); ʿAbd al-Ilāh Nabhān, "Fihris Muʾallafāt al-Suyūṭī al-Maṭbūʿah, Mansūqah ʿalá al-Ḥurūf," *ʿĀlam al-Kutub* 12, no. 1 (Rajab 1411/Jan 1991): 33-53; Muḥammad Khayr Ramaḍān Yūsuf, "Al-Mustadrak ʿalá Fihris Muʾallafāt al-Suyūṭī al-Maṭbūʿah," *ʿĀlam al-Kutub* 12, no. 3 (Muḥarram 1411/Aug 1991): 440-49; Yaḥyá Maḥmūd Sāʿātī, "Fihris Muʾallafāt al-Suyūṭī al-Mansūkh fī ʿĀmm 903: Dirāsah wa-Taḥqīq, *ʿĀlam al-Kutub* 12, no. 2 (Shawwāl 1411/Feb 1991): 232-48; idem, "Fihris Makhṭūṭāt al-Suyūṭī: Nuskhah min Awākhir al-Qarn al-Thālith ʿAshar," *ʿĀlam al-Kutub* 13, no. 6 (al-Jumādiyān 1413/Oct-Nov 1992): 639-47; idem, "Mushkilat al-ʿUnwān fī Muʾallafāt al-Suyūṭī"; Badīʿ al-Sayyid al- Lahhām, "Al-Mustadrak al-Thānī ʿalá Fihris Muʾallafāt al-Suyūṭī al-Maṭbūʿah," *ʿĀlam al-Kutub* 14, no. 3 (Dhū al-Qaʿdah-Dhū al-Hijjah 1413/May-Jun 1993): 321-34; Ekmeleddin Ihsanoğlu, "Makhṭūṭāt Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī fī Maktabāt Turkiyā" in *Al-Imām Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī,* 1:171-74; Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-

Each list contains, and omits, works respectively omitted and contained in other lists.

Elizabeth Sartain, in her work on al-Suyūṭī's autobiography, detailed the difficulties that preparing a definitive list of his works would entail:

> At one stage of my research, I had hoped to be able to prepare a complete list of al-Suyūṭī's works. Regrettably, this turned out to be impossible. Al-Suyūṭī's works number altogether some 600; one could conceivably prepare an accurate and complete list even of so large a number of works, were it not for the obscurity and confusion concerning the exact titles and subjects of many of them. Some of these problems can be solved by reference to existing MSS, other obscurities cannot be clarified because the works concerned have been lost. This confusion has several causes: firstly, many of the works have more than one title, for instance, a book referred to in one context by its proper title, may be mentioned in another context merely as "Commentary on such-and-such a work" or "Treatise on such-and-such a subject". These titles then become recorded in lists of al-Suyūṭī's works as if they are separate works. I suspect that al-Suyūṭī himself occasionally made this mistake in his own lists of his works, and certainly Brockelmann's list has several examples of such confusion. Secondly, it was al-Suyūṭī's habit to rewrite his works, to abridge them, sometimes more than once, to issue parts of a larger work separately, and sometimes to join short works together in a larger one. This means that there may be two or more works on exactly the same subject, sometimes with very similar titles; once the titles are misrecorded by copyist or cataloguer, it becomes impossible to distinguish between them except by reading them, if copies have survived and are accessible. The task of drawing up a list of al-Suyūṭī's works would be easier if he had written less; as it is, anyone who embarks on this task will be obliged to consult many of those MSS of al-Suyūṭī's works which have survived, and these probably run into thousands, scattered in libraries all over the world.[52]

Shaybānī and Aḥmad Sa'īd al-Khāzindār, *Dalīl Makhṭūṭāt al-Suyūṭī wa-Amākin Wujūdihā* (2nd ed., Kuwait, 1995); Nāṣir ibn Sa'ūd ibn 'Abd Allāh Salāmah, *Mu'jam Mu'allafāt al-Suyūṭī al-Makhṭūṭah bi-Maktabat al-Mamlakah al-'Arabīyah al-Sa'ūdīyah al-'Āmmah* (Riyadh, 1996).

[52]Sartain, *Al-Suyūṭī,* 1:179.

Although valiant efforts have been made in this direction, notably by Aḥmad al-Sharqāwī Iqbāl and Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Shaybānī with Aḥmad Sa'īd al-Khāzindār in their identifications of extant manuscripts,[53] it appears that for the matter to be solved (to the extent possible given the survival or lack thereof of any given work) it would require implementation of the primary recommendation set forth at the 1993 conference. This called on ISESCO (the Islamic Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) to appoint a committee of experts to prepare a detailed, indexed list of al-Suyūṭī's works, indicating manuscript locations of extant works, and date and place of publication of published titles.[54]

How was it possible for one man to produce such a huge quantity of work? 'Iṣām al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ra'ūf admonished us not to dismiss this as impossible; after all, al-Suyūṭī began writing at the age of seventeen and spent the last years of his life in seclusion, totally devoted to his work of composing and editing.[55] Moreover, as Sartain and others have noted, al-Suyūṭī often divided single works into sections, giving each section a separate title. Al-Sakhāwī sniffed, "He [al-Suyūṭī] mentioned that his compositions exceed three hundred books. I saw of them what consisted of a single sheet of paper [e.g., a *fatwá*]; as for those that are less than one quire, they are many."[56] To be fair to al-Suyūṭī, though, we must note that conversely a number of his works consist of many volumes. Clearly there is no getting around the fact that the man was extraordinarily productive.

The range of subjects which al-Suyūṭī covered is equally impressive. Lists of al-Suyūṭī's works are typically divided by subject. His student al-Shādhilī's list, approved by the master himself in the year 904/1498-99, for instance, is classified as follows: Quran commentary and what relates to it, 37 titles; hadith and what relates to it, 207 titles; what is related to the terminology *(muṣṭalaḥ)* of hadith, 24 titles; jurisprudence, 73 titles; principles of jurisprudence, principles of religion, and sufism, 17 titles; philology, grammar, and morphology, 57 titles; rhetoric, 7 titles; works combining various subjects, 10 titles; literature, anecdotes, prose

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[53]See note 51.

[54]*Al-Imām Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī,* 2:602.

[55]'Abd al-Ra'ūf, "Mu'allafāt al-Suyūṭī," 24.

[56]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi',* 4:68.

composition, and poetry, 97 titles;[57] and history, 32 titles.[58] This is virtually a syllabus of classical Islamic scholarship.

What, then can be said about the true value, the quality as opposed to quantity of this vast corpus? Al-Suyūṭī clearly considered his work qualitatively and not just quantitatively superior to that of any of his peers: ″It is my wont to write only on matters in which I have no precursor and then to exhaust the subject completely.″[59] Yet he never claimed to have authored four or five or six hundred weighty tomes. He was well aware of the different levels of significance of his various works (one might quibble with his decision to award a title to a one-page *fatwá* and list it as a ″work″). A valuable glimpse into his thinking is provided by his list of his own works that appears in his autobiography *Al-Taḥadduth bi-Niʻmat Allāh*. This list, unlike all others including those drawn up by him, is divided not by subject matter, but into seven classes delineated by worth and degree of originality.

Al-Suyūṭī described the first class of his works as follows: ″Those for which I claim uniqueness. The meaning of this is that nothing comparable has been composed in the world, as far as I know. This is not due to the incapability of those who came before—God forbid—but it simply did not happen that they undertook anything like it. As for the people of this age, they cannot produce its like due to what that would require of breadth of vision, abundance of information, effort, and diligence.″[60]

This section consists of 18 titles:

Eight in the field of philology and grammar:

″Jamʻ al-Jawāmiʻ fī al-ʻArabīyah″
Its commentary, entitled ″Hamʻ al-Hawāmiʻ″
″Al-Ashbāh wa-al-Naẓā'ir fī al-Qawā'id al-ʻArabīyah, ″ also entitled
″Al-Maṣā'id al-ʻAlīyah fī al-Qawā'id al-ʻArabīyah″
″Al-Silsilah fī al-Naḥw″
″Al-Nukat ʻalá ′Al-Alfīyah′ wa-′Al-Kāfiyah′ wa-′Al-Shāfiyah′

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[57]Most of these are *maqāmāt;* Brockelmann labelled them al-Suyūṭī′s ″experiment[s] in belles-lettres″ and noted dryly that they ″. . . only have the title and the form (rhymed prose) in common with the perfect examples of this genre. . . .″(Carl Brockelmann, ″Al-Suyūṭī, Abū′l Faḍl ʻAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad D̲jalāl al-Dīn al-K̲h̲uḍairī al-S̲h̲āfiʻī,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 1st ed., (reprint), 7:573. While perhaps artistically lacking, the subject matter of these *maqāmāt,* which ranges from information on plants to erotica, once again highlights al-Suyūṭī′s amazing versatility.

[58]Al-Shādhilī, *Bahjat al-ʻĀbidīn,* 175-255.

[59]Al-Suyūṭī, ″Ghāyat al-Iḥsān fī Khalq al-Insān,″ quoted in Goldziher/Hunwick, ″Ignaz Goldziher on al-Suyūṭī,″ 94.

[60]Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Taḥadduth,* vol. 2 of Sartain, *Al-Suyūṭī,* 105.

wa-′Al-Shudhūr′ wa-′Al-Nuzhah′[61]″ in one composition
″Al-Fatḥ al-Qarīb ‘alá ′Mughnī al-Labīb′[62]″
″Sharḥ Shawāhid ′Al-Mughnī′″
″Al-Iqtirāḥ fī Uṣūl al-Naḥw wa-Jadaluh″

Six in the field of Quran and its commentary:
″Al-Itqān fī ‘Ulūm al-Qur’ān″
″Al-Durr al-Manthūr fī al-Tafsīr bi-al-Ma’thūr″
″Tarjumān al-Qur’ān″
″Asrār al-Tanzīl″
″Al-Iklīl fī Istinbāṭ al-Tanzīl″
Tanāsuq al-Durar fī Tanāsub al-Āyāt wa-al-Suwar

One each in hadith, biography, jurisprudence, and a rebuttal of logic and scholastic theology:
″Nukat al-Badī‘āt ‘alá ′Al-Mawḍū‘āt′[63]″
″Ṭabaqāt al-Nuḥāh al-Kubrá,″ entitled ″Bughyat al-Wu’āh″
″Al-Jāmi‘ fī al-Farā’iḍ,″ incomplete
″Ṣawn al-Manṭiq wa-al-Kalām ‘an Fann al-Manṭiq wa-al-Kalām″

Subsequent generations have agreed with al-Suyūṭī′s esteem for these 18 works. All of them were valued enough to be represented by extant manuscripts; the value accorded to them in more recent times can be gauged by the fact that all but 3 of them have been published (some many times).

Al-Suyūṭī described his second class as one ″for which comparable works have been composed, and a very learned person could produce its like. This class includes works of which at least a volume, more or less, was completed,″[64] though some of them are labeled ″unfinished.″ This class comprises 50 titles; many of these are abridgements of Suyūṭī′s or others′ works, abridgements of abridgements, and commentaries on commentaries. Of these, 38 titles are extant, and 30 of these titles have been published.

[61]″Al-Alfīyah fī al-Naḥw wa-al-Ṣarf″ by Ibn Mālik (d. 672/1274); ″Al-Kāfiyah fī ‘Ilm al-I‘rāb″ and ″Al-Shāfiyah fī ‘Ilm al-Taṣrīf″ by Ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 646/1249); ″Shudhūr al-Dhahab fī Ma‘rifat Kalām al-‘Arab″ by Ibn Hishām (d. 761/1360); ″Nuzhat al-Ṭarf fī ‘Ilm al-Ṣarf″ by al-Maydānī (d. 518/1124). (Sartain, *Al-Suyūṭī,* 1:180, n. 12)

[62]″Mughnī al-Labīb ‘an Kutub al-A‘ārīb″ by Ibn Hishām (d. 761/1360). (Sartain, *Al-Suyūṭī,* 1:180, n. 13)

[63]″Al-Mawḍū‘āt min al-Aḥādīth al-Marfū‘āt″ by Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200). (Sartain, *Al-Suyūṭī,* 1:180, n. 7)

[64]Al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Taḥadduth,* vol. 2 of Sartain, *Al-Suyūṭī,* 106.

Class three consists of 60 works of small size, ranging from 2 to 10 quires (s. *kurrāsah*).[65] Of these, 55 are extant, and only 17 of them remain unpublished.

Class four comprises quire-length works, excluding *fatwá*s.[66] Al-Suyūṭī listed here 102 works, including 59 extant works of which 32 have been published. This section includes, among other things, his many *maqāmāt,* which are not here listed individually under their separate titles but have often been so listed and so published.

*Fatwá*s are gathered into a class of their own. Al-Suyūṭī characterizes them as being of the size of ″quires—more or less,″[67] though as we have seen they could be ″less″ than a quire to the extent of being a single page. There are 80 titles here; of these, a surprising 67 are extant and 60 have been published (though most often in compilations, not separately).

Al-Suyūṭī´s class six is quite interesting. These, he said, are ″compositions that I do not count because they are of the type done by idlers who are interested merely in transmitting, which I composed at the time I was studying and seeking *ijāzah*s—although they contain good points compared to what other people write.″[68] Most of these 40 titles are ″*muntaqá*s″ [selected extracts] of other works; indeed, they appear to be little more than al-Suyūṭī´s study notes. Not surprisingly, only 8 are extant, none of them published.

The final class consists of works ″which I started then lost interest in, having written only a little.″[69] These 83 titles again seem mainly to consist of notes and study aids: abridgements, marginal notes on commentaries and supercommentaries, versifications, no doubt to aid in memorization. Of these 15 still exist and 6, all on the subject of hadith, have even been published.

This gives us a snapshot, based on one listing, of the place of al-Suyūṭī´s works in Islamic scholarship. We can attempt to judge the value placed on a given work by succeeding generations by seeing whether or not that work was copied and has left surviving manuscripts. As mentioned earlier, a number of attempts have been made to identify the existence and location of manuscripts of all of al-Suyūṭī´s works.[70]

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[65]Ibid., 111.

[66]Ibid., 115.

[67]Ibid., 121.

[68]Ibid., 126.

[69]Ibid., 129.

[70]Brockelmann, *GAL,* 2:180-204, S2:179-98; Iqbāl, *Maktabat al-Jalāl al-Suyūṭī;* Sā‘ātī, ″Fihris Makhṭūṭāt al-Suyūṭī″; al-Shaybānī and al-Khāzindār, *Dalīl Makhṭūṭāt al-Suyūṭī.* Al-Shaybānī and al-Khāzindār located manuscripts representing 724 works and were unable to locate manuscripts for 187 more titles, giving a total of 911 works.

In turn the judgment of more modern times on the worth of a certain work is evidenced by publication or lack thereof. I have come up with a list of 392 works written by al-Suyūṭī that have been published at least once, without counting additional editions of the same title.[71] Surely the production of such a huge number of works judged worthy of publication is a tremendous achievement.

It is an interesting though probably ultimately futile exercise to seek a definitive enumeration of the individual works within the corpus of al-Suyūṭī's literary production and to trace the existence and location of their manuscripts and history of publication. However, stepping back now to focus on the forest instead of the trees, al-Suyūṭī gave the world an enormous quantity of scholarly material, saving and transmitting treasures of the Islamic cultural heritage but also adding his own valuable contribution to it.

[71]Other such listings, all of which I have taken into account, include again Iqbāl, *Maktabat al-Jalāl al-Suyūṭī* and al-Shaybānī and al-Khāzindār, *Dalīl Makhṭūṭāt al-Suyūṭī,* as well as Nabhān, "Fihris Mu'allafāt al-Suyūṭī al-Maṭbū'ah"; Salāmah, *Mu'jam Mu'allafāt al-Suyūṭī;* Yūsuf, "Al-Mustadrak 'alá Fihris Mu'allafāt al-Suyūṭī al-Maṭbū'ah"; and al-Lahhām, "Al-Mustadrak al-Thānī 'alá Fihris Mu'allafāt al-Suyūṭī al-Maṭbū'ah."

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Mamluk Legitimacy and the Mongols: The Reigns of Baybars and Qalāwūn

To date scholars have established that the early Mamluk sultans legitimized their rule through the conscious use of Islamic themes.[1] As yet however, one crucial issue that has not been routinely addressed, but should be, is audience. Much of the scholarship on Mamluk legitimacy assumes that this legitimacy was asserted in relation to an internal audience, by which is meant either the military elite, the non-military populace, or both. But Mamluk legitimacy must also be examined in light of various external audiences. The most significant of these, and the one discussed here, was those Mongol sovereigns with whom the Mamluks were in the closest contact, namely, the rulers of the Golden Horde and the Ilkhanids. Mamluk assertions of legitimacy can be detected in the diplomatic letters and embassies Baybars and Qalāwūn exchanged with each Mongol power.

Furthermore, although scholars have already discussed the Islamic foundation on which Mamluk legitimacy rested, as yet no one has asked, ″Why this particular

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[1]Only Stefan Heidemann ventures into a discussion of the external Mongol audience; the remaining scholars (mentioned below) focus fairly exclusively on the internal audience. This focus itself is quite clear, but rarely made explicit. See Stefan Heidemann, *Das allepiner Kalifat (A.D. 1261): Vom Ende des Kalifates in Baghdad über Aleppo zu den Restaurationen in Kairo*, Islamic History and Civilization, 6 (Leiden, 1994); also P. M. Holt, ″The Structure of Government in the Mamluk Sultanate″ in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades,* ed. P. M. Holt, (Warminster, England, 1977), 44-61; idem, ″Some Observations on the Abbasid Caliphate of Cairo,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47 (1984): 501-7; idem, ″The Position and Power of the Mamluk Sultan,″ *BSOAS* 38 (1975): 237-49; R. Stephen Humphreys, ″The Expressive Intent of the Mamluk Architecture of Cairo: A Preliminary Essay,″ *Studia Islamica* 35 (1972): 69-119; Jacques Jomier, *Le Mahmal et la caravane Égyptienne des Pelerins de la Mecque (XIIIe-XXe siècles)* (Cairo, 1953); Remke Kruk, ″History and Apocalypse: Ibn al-Nafīs′ Justification of Mamluk Rule,″ *Der Islam* 72 (1995): 324-37; Wilferd Madelung, ″A Treatise on the Imamate Dedicated to Sultan Baybars I″ in *Proceedings of the 14th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants,* ed. A. Fodor (Budapest, 1995), 1:91-102; Emmanuel Sivan, *L′Islam et la Croisade: Idéologie et propagande dans les réactions musulmanes aux Croisades* (Paris, 1968); Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century,* trans. P. M. Holt, (London and New York, 1992); and John E. Woods, ″Islamic History, 1200-1500: The Transition from Late Medieval to Early Modern,″ a paper presented at the Smithsonian Institution on the occasion of the opening of the Esin Atil exhibition, ″Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks,″ 1981.

foundation?″ To address this question in part, we must first acknowledge that the ideology expressed in the diplomatic interaction was not the product of any individual Mamluk sultan alone; rather, it arose from an amalgam of existing diplomatic protocol, the wishes of the sultan and his closest military advisors, and the stylistic, rhetorical, and ideological concerns of the religiously-trained scholars who actually produced the letters. Indeed, each diplomatic mission, and thus the ideas embedded within it, must be seen as the product of a great and, unfortunately, largely indiscernible collaboration of minds. Certainly, however, the religious orientation of much of Mamluk ideology must be understood in part as a contribution from the religious scholars who wrote it.

But this alone is not enough to explain the Mamluk recourse to religious symbolism; indeed, they were hardly the first to employ it. In fact, we must also consider the influence of Mongol ideology. It must be remembered that at least until 1335 Mamluk assertions of legitimacy for the external audience were directed primarily at the Mongols on a number of levels. The Mamluk sultans came to power in an age that can be described as one of Nomad Prestige,[2] and witnessed the appearance of a new and powerful legitimizing ideology, that of the Mongol ruling family. In brief: Chinggis Khān and his descendants saw themselves as a divinely-favored dynasty, whose members were destined to rule the entire world through their possession of a special good fortune (the imperial *su*), which had been granted by the supreme deity Tenggeri, who represented Heaven or the Great Blue Sky itself.[3] In such an ideological context, any independent ruler intent on retaining his independence was a rebel, not only against the Chinggis Khanid family, but worse yet, against the Will of Heaven as well. The wholesale and merciless slaughter of such rebels was therefore necessary and good, since it both implemented the Divine Will and provided an excellent object lesson for other would-be rebels. In addition to this clear, uncompromising, and universalist ideology of rule, the Mongols brought with them innovations in concepts of law, among which was the introduction of an all-important set of laws and decrees issued by Chinggis Khān himself, the *yāsā* (Mongolian *yasagh*). This was to play an important role in legitimizing ideology both during and after the Mongol period.[4]

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[2]Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam* (Chicago, 1974), 2:369.

[3]I. de Rachewiltz, ″Some Remarks on the Ideological Foundations of Chinggis Khan′s Empire,″ *Papers on Far Eastern History* 7 (1973): 21-36; J. J. Saunders, *The History of the Mongol Conquests* (London, 1971), 53, 65; Bertold Spuler, *Les Mongols dans l′Histoire* (Paris, 1961), 18.

[4]I. de Rachewiltz, ″Foundations,″ 25, 29; Hodgson, *Venture,* 2:405-6. For a discussion of the *yāsā* see: I. de Rachewiltz, ″Some Reflections on Činggis Qan′s J̌asγ,″ *East Asian History* 6 (1993): 91-104; David Ayalon, ″The Great *Yāsa* of Chingiz Khan. A Reexamination,″ *Studia Islamica* 33 (1971): 97-140, 34 (1971): 151-80, 36 (1972): 113-58, 38 (1973): 107-56 (also reprinted in his *Outsiders in the Lands of Islam: Mamluks, Mongols and Eunuchs* (London, 1988); D. O. Morgan,

Mongol claims to legitimacy were made known to others in a variety of ways: first and imperfectly through the Mongols′ written and verbal demands for submission from as-yet-undefeated rulers, among them the Mamluk sultans themselves. Second, and more thoroughly, the Mongols disseminated their ideology directly to the newly-subdued either through the command appearance of new vassals at Mongol courts, or through the retaining and ″reeducating″ of the hostage relatives of such vassals. Likewise some scholars furthered literate knowledge about the Mongols, including their ideology, by writing treatises on them.[5]

The Mamluk sultans in particular had other reasons to be familiar with the Mongol manifestation of legitimacy. Many of the early Mamluks not only had originated in lands controlled by scions of the House of Chinggis Khān, but came from a pagan steppe background similar to the Mongols′ own; this the Mamluks′ subsequent Arabic Islamic education could only overlay, not erase. More notably, an unspecified number of Mamluks were themselves Mongols, some of whom had fought in the Mongol conquering armies. Likewise the Mamluk sultanate received and absorbed several successive waves of immigrant Mongols in its first fifty-odd years.[6] These were welcomed into the Mamluk military elite at all levels, including the highest. In fact, with such numbers of Mongols on hand and such a level of expertise among them, the Mamluk sultanate may have had arguably the best possible knowledge of Mongols and their ways for a region not under Mongol rule at that time.

Thus the Mamluks were faced not only with the very real, physical menace of the nearby Ilkhanids, but also with the less tangible but equally real shadow of Mongol prestige from both the Ilkhanids and the Golden Horde. They had no ready ideological response to the Mongol claim of divine favor, the supremacy of the *yāsā* or the apparent superiority of the Chinggis Khanid ruling family. In fact the Mamluks were ideologically weak even without the Mongol menace. In a world where lineage had mattered and would matter for centuries, the Mamluk sultans were singularly ill-suited to justify their rule, for they uniformly suffered from the significant problem of slave origin. They were at worst men whose

″The ′Great Yasa of Chingiz Khan′ and Mongol Law in the Ilkhanate,″ *BSOAS* 49 (1986): 163-76.

[5]I am thinking here, of course, of Juvaynī, whose work became known in Mamluk lands and was eventually the basis for much of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʻUmarī′s writings on the Mongols. See ʻAlā' al-Dīn ʻAṭā Malik Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy,* ed. Muḥammad Qazvīnī, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, 16 (Leiden and London, 1912); tr. J. A. Boyle, *The History of the World-Conqueror* (Manchester, 1958); also see Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyá Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʻUmarī, *Das mongolische Weltreich: al-ʻUmarī′s Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār,* ed and tr. Klaus Lech (Wiesbaden, 1968).

[6]See David Ayalon, ″The Wafidiyya in the Mamluk Sultanate,″ *Islamic Culture* 25 (January-October 1951): 89-109.

professional careers had begun with a period of servitude, or at best, the sons and grandsons of such men. Slaves were nobodies, their origins mostly unknown and assumed to be unimportant. A slave had no illustrious lineage; if he did, few either knew about it or cared.

Admittedly the Mamluks were military slaves, not domestic or agricultural workers, and military slavery was the most elevated kind of male bondage in terms of career possibilities and relative social status. Nevertheless the stigma of servitude, combined with the resulting perceived lack of illustrious lineage, posed a real, significant, and long-term ideological problem both for Mamluk rulers and for the religious scholars who produced the actual Mamluk diplomatic missives.

That this issue was perceived as an ideological weak spot can be gleaned from Mongol opinion of the Mamluks. In Hülegü´s 658/1260 demand for total submission from Quṭuẓ, for example, Hülegü denigrated the latter for his servile origins.[7] The Ilkhanids´ Armenian allies were even more insulting, according to Grigor of Akner, who relates that when Baybars attempted to correspond with the Armenian king Het'um in the early 660s/1260s, Het'um called him a dog and a slave, and refused to have any dealings with him. When Baybars subsequently took Het'um´s son Lev'on captive in 664/1266, he reportedly asked the Armenian prince: ″Your father called me a slave and would not make peace. Am I the slave now, or you?″[8] Nor were later Mamluk rulers safe from such accusations—Ghazan reportedly hurled them at both al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and his father Qalāwūn when conversing with local ulama during the Ilkhanid occupation of Damascus in 699/1300.[9] Nearly a century later Tīmūr, who was not even himself a Mongol, disparaged the slave origin of sultan Barqūq in a letter to the Ottoman Yıldırım Bayazid.[10]

Thus given both their own lack of lineage and the awesome challenge of Mongol prestige, it is not surprising that, for the external audience, the early Mamluk sultans and the scholars around the throne turned to an ideology of legitimacy that was defined simultaneously by religion and military action. Using such concepts as Mamluk achievement on the battlefield in the name of religion, and the physical protection of Muslims and Islamic society—both officially

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[7]Bar Hebraeus, *Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal,* ed. Fr. Anton Salahani (Beirut, 1890), 484-85; Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa Jāmi' al-Ghurar,* ed. Ulrich Haarmann (Cairo, 1391/1971), 8:47-48; Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá fī Sinā'at al-Inshā'* (Cairo, 1333/1915), 8:63-64.

[8]Grigor of Akner, ″History of the Nation of the Archers,″ ed. and tr. Robert P. Blake and Richard N. Frye, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12, nos. 3 and 4 (December 1949): 359.

[9]Rashīd al-Dīn Ṭabīb, *Tārīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī: Dāstān-i Ghāzān Khān,* ed. Karl Jahn, E. W. J. Gibb Memorial Series, n.s., 14 (London, 1940), 127.

[10]Zeki Velidi Togan, ″Timurs Osteuropapolitik,″ *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (1958): 108, 279-98.

sanctioned by the Cairene Abbasid caliphs—the Mamluk sultans managed to sidestep the linked issues of slavery and unknown lineage, and respond to the ideological and military challenges of Mongol power in general. The Ilkhanid threat in particular had the unexpected positive side effect of giving Baybars, Qalāwūn, and their civilian and military advisors something on which to focus and by which to find definition. If the Ilkhanids were infidels and Slaughterers of Muslims, Murderers of the Abbasid Caliph, and so on, then the Mamluks could be Defenders of Islam, Protectors of Muslims, Friends of the Caliph, etc. The Mamluks maintained their ideology of religious guardianship in the face of Mongol prestige at least until the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.[11]

THE MAMLUKS AND THE GOLDEN HORDE

Historians face a paucity of evidence when investigating the relations of the early Mamluk sultans to the Golden Horde. Fortunately this has not deterred the determined, and a number of authors have contributed short, medium, and even lengthy expositions of the subject, among them S. Zakirov, Reuven Amitai, David Ayalon, Stefan Heidemann, Peter Jackson, and Marius Canard.[12] Given the extensive nature of some of these contributions, I will restrict the present study to an investigation of the ideology involved in those relations, although this may still require the presentation of material well-examined elsewhere. Certainly the effort of the aforementioned scholars is to be commended, since none of the letters are preserved in documentary form, and very few remain even in literary form, despite the time, effort, and money Baybars and Qalāwūn expended on establishing and maintaining cordial ties to Saray. We must therefore rely on the particulars of behavior and event, and those snippets of messages that were provided at the discretion and literary judgement of the chroniclers. This situation is further complicated by the chroniclers′ own biases, for their initially strong interest in the

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[11]This should not imply that by avoiding genealogical issues the Mamluks lost interest in them. On the contrary, all of the early Mamluk sultans made considerable efforts to develop their own dynasties, although only Qalāwūn was at all successful. Likewise examples exist of individual Mamluks whose illustrious—albeit questionable—lineage is traced in the sources. Quṭuẓ is one example; al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (815-24/1412-21) is another. The attempts by chroniclers to discover or uncover lineages worth the name for important Mamluk figures only highlights the concern with which contemporary society viewed the issue.

[12]S. Zakirov, *Diplomaticheskie Otnosheniia Zolotoi Ordy s Egiptom (XIII-XIV vv.)* (Moscow, 1966); Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260-1281* (Cambridge, 1995); Ayalon, ″Yasa,″ parts B and C; Peter Jackson, ″The Dissolution of the Mongol Empire,″ *Central Asiatic Journal* 22, nos. 3-4 (1978): 186-244; Marius Canard, ″Un traité entre Byzance et l′Egypte au XIIIe siècle et les relations diplomatiques de Michel VIII Paléologue avec les sultans mamlûks Baibars et Qalâ′ûn″ in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes* (Cairo, 1935-45), 197-224.

Golden Horde dwindled over the years. One might surmise that the Golden Horde could not compete with the far more absorbing and dramatic Ilkhanids, who received much more ink. Nevertheless the importance of the Golden Horde to Mamluk rulers should not be underestimated.

As early in his reign as 660/1262 Baybars sent out feelers to the Golden Horde in the form of a letter to Berke Khān, which he entrusted to a reliable merchant.[13] This attempt was probably spurred by the news of a battle between Berke Khān and Hülegü, which Hülegü had lost.[14] No full copy of the letter remains, but its author, Baybars′ redoubtable biographer and head chancellor Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, cannot resist describing his work and even giving an example or two of his style. By this point, Baybars had heard rumors that Berke Khān had converted to Islam. Thus in the letter Baybars urged Berke Khān to fight Hülegü, reminding him that as a Muslim he must wage holy war against other Mongols, even if they were his relatives. (Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir informs us that he himself supported this argument for Baybars by pointing out that the Prophet had fought his own relatives from among the Quraysh in order to ensure their conversion.[15]) Clearly as a non-Mongol trying to intervene in the affairs of the Mongol ruling family, this was the only approach Baybars could take. Further emphasizing this Muslim-infidel dichotomy, Baybars/Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir appealed to anti-Christian sentiment: ″Reports have come one after the next that, for the sake of his wife and her Christianity, Hūlāwūn [*sic*] has established the religion of the cross, and has advanced the observance of his wife′s religion over your religion. He has settled the unbelieving *jathlīq* [Nestorian Catholicus] in the home of the [Abbasid] caliphs, [thereby] preferring her over you.″[16] Thereafter we learn that the letter urged Berke Khān to fight Hülegü, and discussed Baybars′ own efforts as a *mujāhid*.[17]

Although Baybars received no immediate answer to his first effort at contacting the Golden Horde, relations nevertheless developed further later that same year, when a group of about two hundred Mongols appeared in eastern Syria, heading for Damascus. Initially their approach triggered the sending out of a Mamluk reconnaissance force, the scorching of a wide swathe of earth around Aleppo and an upsurge of panic throughout the Syrian population. When the Mamluk force actually encountered the Mongols, however, it was revealed that the infidels were

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[13]Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* ed. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1976), 88-89.

[14]ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ismāʻīl Abū Shāmah, *Tarājim Rijāl al-Qarnayn al-Sādis wa-al-Sābiʻ al-Maʻrūf bi-al-Dhayl ʻalá al-Rawdatayn,* ed. Muḥammad Zāhid ibn al-Ḥassān al-Kawtharī (Cairo, 1366/1947), 219; also see Amitai-Preiss, *War,* 81.

[15]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 88.

[16]Ibid., 89.

[17]Ibid.

in fact Muslims and bore greetings to the ruler of Egypt from none other than Berke Khān. Once the religious identity of the group had been established, Baybars ordered that they be welcomed warmly, sent robes of honor to them and their wives, and had houses built for them in Cairo.[18] They finally arrived in that city on 24 Dhū al-Hijjah 660/9 November 1262.[19] The Mamluk sultan met them personally two days later on 26 Dhū al-Hijjah/11 November and held a great ceremony of welcome for them in which he handed out robes, horses and money, and appointed their leaders amirs of one hundred and the rest amirs of varying lesser degrees.[20]

Almost immediately after the arrival of the Golden Horde delegation Baybars hastened to prepare envoys of his own to send to Berke Khān. He also scrambled to present the right image. A week later on 2 Muḥarram 661/16 November 1262 Baybars inaugurated a refugee Abbasid as the caliph al-Ḥākim in the presence of the Mongol leaders, his own envoys, the senior Mamluk amirs, and the most important religious personnel in Cairo. Al-Ḥākim's lineage was verified, and a family tree drawn up. Baybars swore allegiance to the caliph, promising to rule in a godly fashion and to fight for God's sake. In return al-Ḥākim invested Baybars with the care of Muslim lands and Muslims in general, exhorted him to perform jihad, appointed Baybars his partner in supporting the truth [of religion],[21] and finished by giving two brief sermons. In them al-Ḥākim focused on the concepts of *imāmah* (leadership of the Muslim community) and *jihād* (here: military struggle against infidels). To underscore the importance of these two themes al-Ḥākim evoked the horrors of Hülegü's sack of Baghdad, then demonstrated that Baybars had revived the imamate, driven away the enemy, reestablished the Abbasid caliphate to its exalted position, and supplied it with a willing army. Al-Ḥākim finished by exhorting his listeners to fight the holy fight, and reminded them of their religious duty to obey those in command, i.e., Baybars.[22] After the ceremony Baybars had a letter to Berke Khān drawn up, in which he urged the Mongol ruler to perform jihad against Hülegü, described the composition and strength of his own armies, enumerated his allies and enemies, and went on to reassure Berke Khān of the warm welcome the Mongol delegation had received. In addition Baybars discussed al-Ḥākim's inauguration in Cairo and al-Ḥākim's lineage. A copy of the caliph's family tree accompanied the letter, and the envoys were sent off in Muḥarram 661/November-December 1262.

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[18]Ibid., 136-37, and copying him, Aḥmad ibn ʻAbd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,* ed. Saʻīd ʻĀshūr (Cairo, 1410/1990), 30:63.

[19]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 30:63.

[20]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 138.

[21]"*Qasīmahu fī qiyyām al-ḥaqq,*" Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 142.

[22]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 143-45.

Stefan Heidemann links the investiture of al-Ḥākim to Baybars′ ideological requirements for establishing relations with Berke Khān. Baybars had already legitimized himself to the internal audience through the establishment of his first Abbasid caliph, al-Mustanṣir, whom he had then summarily disposed of by sending him off to die attempting to retake Baghdad.[23] Upon the arrival of Berke Khān′s followers, Baybars found himself facing a new audience, but without a caliph. Heidemann points out that the non-Mongol Baybars had several ideological strikes against him when compared to Berke Khān, including Baybars′ status as a former slave, and his origin in Qipchak lands, which at that time were subordinate to the Golden Horde.[24] Fortunately however, Berke Khān had converted to Islam, and luckily Abū al-ʻAbbās Aḥmad, another Abbasid, had made it back from the debacle in Iraq and was available for the caliphate. Baybars hastily had him recognized, and thereby in his message to Berke Khān was able to refer to a number of legitimizing concepts that could be palatable both to a new believer and to a member of a major ruling house. These included al-Ḥākim′s status as (albeit newly-minted) Abbasid caliph, al-Ḥākim′s several hundred years of lineage, the caliph′s formal recognition of Baybars′ rule and Baybars′ own position as a successful *mujāhid* bearing the Abbasid seal of approval. In this way Baybars managed to provide himself with enough creditability to approach the ideologically awe-inspiring Chinggis Khanid.[25]

In all likelihood Berke Khān was willing to be approached, for a few months later in Rajab 661/May-June 1263, i.e., before Baybars′ envoys could have traveled to Saray and back, an independent embassy from the Mongol ruler arrived in Alexandria by boat and was conveyed from there to Cairo. The full text of Berke Khān′s letter is not included in any of the Mamluk chronicles, but Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir summarizes the contents as follows: After expressing peace and gratitude, Berke Khān got down to business by asking for Baybars′ help against their common foe, Hülegü. Portraying Hülegü as defying the law/decrees *(yasaq)* of Chinggis Khān and his family *(ahl),* Berke Khān then explained that his own battles with Hülegü were motivated by the desire to spread Islam and Islamic rule, return the Islamic lands to the condition they had previously enjoyed, and avenge the Islamic community in general.[26] Finally he requested that Baybars send a force out to the

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[23]For a thorough discussion of al-Mustanṣir′s disastrous campaign see Amitai-Preiss, *War,* 56-60.

[24]Heidemann, *Kalifat,* 165.

[25]Ibid., 166.

[26]Al-Nuwayrī uses *yasaq* in *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 30:87; Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir uses *sharīʻah* in *Rawḍ,* 171. Jackson understands *yāsā* here as meaning a single decree of Chinggis Khān; namely that Jochi and his descendants (i.e., the Golden Horde) were to enjoy the revenues of northwestern Iran. These were what Hülegü had diverted to himself. See Jackson, ″Dissolution,″ 235.

Euphrates to attack Hülegü, and also come to the aid of the Saljuq ruler, ʻIzz al-Dīn Kay Kāʼūs.[27]

That the message was received well can be inferred from Baybars′ response, which took up seventy half sheets of Baghdadi paper[28] and was again written by none other than Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir. Unfortunately like the others, no copy of this letter has been preserved, so we must rely on Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir′s own report of its contents. Indeed he assures us that he filled the message with Quranic *āyah*s, hadith exhorting jihad*,* compliments to the recipient, and heroic descriptions of the Egyptian armies and their own dedication to the holy fight.[29] Simultaneously sweetening and further emphasizing the message was the staggering number of gifts Baybars sent to the Mongol ruler. These included items of worship (prayer-carpets, a copy of the Quran alleged to be in the handwriting of the third caliph, ʻUthmān), items of jihad (swords, helmets, arrows, bows and bowstrings, horses and their trappings), and more conventional gifts (clothes, slaves, candles, rare animals, and so on).[30]

Nor was this all. In an additional demonstration of piety, manliness and religious solidarity, Baybars had al-Ḥākim invest Berke Khān′s envoys with the *futūwah* trousers during their stay in Cairo. Baybars had already initiated al-Ḥākim through the power delegated to him by his first caliph, al-Mustanṣir. Thus in what was to be one of only a few diplomatic encounters for the caliph, al-Ḥākim in turn performed the ceremony with both Baybars′ envoys to Berke Khān and Berke Khān′s own envoys. Then he preached a new sermon, the text of which is not recorded, and entrusted the embassy with clothes to present to Berke Khān himself, thereby including him in this special ritual.[31] Later Berke Khān′s envoys were sent out to visit the Islamic holy cities, where Baybars had the Mongol ruler′s name mentioned in the *khuṭbah* after his own in a further show of Islamic unity.[32]

Thereafter ambassadors continued to travel back and forth between the two rulers. On 10 Dhū al-Qaʻdah 662/4 September 1264 another of Berke Khān′s embassies arrived in Cairo, along with Baybars′ own returning envoys. Their arrival fortunately coincided with a comprehensive military review and extensive games, thus the Mongol ambassadors were invited to attend and watch all the

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[27]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 171.

[28]Full Baghdadi paper was the largest, best and most prestigious kind, and was used for caliphal documents and letters to *"al-ṭabaqah al-ʻulyā min al-mulūk ka-akābir al-qānāt min mulūk al-sharq."* However at times smaller sizes of Baghdadi paper might be used for the same purpose, as full Baghdadi could be hard to obtain. Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubh,* 6:190.

[29]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 171-72.

[30]Ibid., 172-73; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 8:97.

[31]For a more complete treatment see Heidemann, *Kalifat*, 169-71.

[32]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 174.

festivities, which included an expansive ceremony of investiture. Baybars must have hoped to impress them by displaying his resources for pursuing jihad. That the desired effect was achieved is suggested by Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, who writes that the envoys asked Baybars during the military review whether these were the forces of Egypt and Syria combined, to which Baybars responded that they were only the forces stationed at Cairo. Naturally Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir portrays the ambassadors as being dumbfounded and amazed.[33]

By contrast with Berke Khān′s previous ambassadors, who had met with the caliph al-Ḥākim and attended the *futūwah* initiation ceremony in 661/1263, however, these envoys had no recorded interaction with the caliph. Rather they frequented martial ceremonies and services of investiture. The only specifically Islamic event they attended was the circumcision of Baybars′ son and heir al-Malik al-Saʻīd.[34] This suggests Baybars′ interest in promoting his own would-be dynasty. In fact, as a result of his achieved cordiality with the Golden Horde, Baybars was soon able to dispense with elaborate rituals involving al-Ḥākim, and eventually restricted him to a circumscribed life in the citadel. Heidemann suggests that at this point Baybars′ legitimacy needed no further help from the caliph.[35] In addition, al-Ḥākim represented a potential rallying point for would-be rivals in Egypt and Syria, and thus had to be kept in seclusion. Worthy of note is that the chronicles record the arrival of various other Abbasids in Damascus after al-Ḥākim′s establishment; they also report that these claimants were all intercepted and sent straight to Cairo, after which they uniformly disappear from historical view.[36]

In 663/1265 Baybars sent his own ambassador to Saray. According to al-Nuwayrī the purpose of this embassy was to intercede with Berke Khān on behalf of the Byzantine emperor Michael Paleologus, whose lands the Golden Horde had been raiding for some time. But naturally Baybars did not let slip the opportunity to send gifts to the Mongol ruler, among them such significant religious mementos as three turbans that had been taken to Mecca on the ʻ*umrah* expressly for Berke Khān, and a bottle of water from the well of Zamzam, as well as some nice balsamic oil.[37]

Thus Baybars, despite his lowly origin and the tenuous nature of his ideological position, managed to establish a good rapport with Berke Khān based on Baybars′ promotion of proper Islamic military values. Or did he? The image we have is almost uniformly presented from Baybars′ own point of view, as distilled through

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[33]Ibid., 213, al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 30:101.

[34]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 214, 218.

[35]Heidemann, *Kalifat,* 173.

[36]Ibid., 179-80; Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 247-48; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 30:128.

[37]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 30:116-17.

the historical work of Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir and then copied by later writers. By contrast, two other Mamluk authors suggest that Baybars′ relationship to Berke Khān was anything but that of equal to equal. The first is Ibn Wāṣil, who reports, when describing the contents of Baybars′ letter of Muḥarram 661/November 1262, that Baybars enumerated the glories of the Islamic armies *(al-ʻasākir)* but then went on to point out that they were all obedient to Berke Khān and awaiting his command, *″fī ṭāʻatihi wa sāmiʻah li-ishāratih.″*[38] We discover a similar phenomenon in the work of al-Yūnīnī. In a discussion of Baybars′ subsequent embassy to Berke Khān sent later that same year (661/1263), al-Yūnīnī reports that the accompanying letter suggested that Baybars would enter into a subordinate relationship to Berke Khān. This was to be achieved through Baybars′ joining of the *″īlīyah″* (here: group of subordinates) and becoming obedient to the Golden Horde ruler: *″al-dukhūl fī al-īlīyah wa al-ṭāʻah.″*[39]

A related point should be made here about the proposed joint Mamluk-Golden Horde campaigns against the Ilkhanids, which were a common theme of this diplomatic interaction. It is interesting to note that in one Mamluk source the Mongol envoys are made to quote Berke Khān as saying, ″I will give you [Baybars] the land that your horses reach in Ilkhanid territory.″[40] The generous granting of land by one ruler to another in this fashion can hardly be described as a relationship of equals, but rather as that of sovereign and loyal subordinate. Thus whatever Baybars′ understanding of his relationship with the Golden Horde, or more precisely, whatever the view he wanted Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir to present of him, it may in fact have differed from the Golden Horde′s image of the way things were. It seems possible that, despite Berke Khān′s new-found faith and supposedly new, Islamic way of doing things, he may actually have looked on Baybars with the old Mongol world view: that is, as an obedient subject, who happened in this case to be Muslim, and whom he could order to ride out on campaign or promise land to as he pleased. True, Baybars appears to have responded favorably to these suggestions, but no actual military alliance ever took place.[41] Nevertheless, this is not to suggest that Baybars was ever involved in an *actual* overlord-vassal relationship with Berke Khān. There is no evidence that Baybars sent any hostages to Berke′s court at any time or for any reason. Likewise the reports of gifts that Baybars sent to

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[38]Muḥammad ibn Sālim Ibn Wāṣil, ″Tārīkh al-Wāṣilīn min Akhbār al-Khulafāʼ wa-al-Mulūk wa-al-Salāṭīn,″ Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, MS 40477, fol. 1306.

[39]Quṭb al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʼāt al-Zamān* (Hyderabad, 1375/1955), 2:197. The full text is: *″al-dukhūl fī al-īlīyah wa-al-ṭāʻah wa-ṭalab al-muʻāḍadah ʻalá hulāku ʻalá an yakūn lahu* [i.e., *li-baybars*] *min al-bilād allatī tuʼkhadh min yadihi* [i.e., *min yad hulāku*] *mimmā yalī al-shām nasīb.″*

[40]Al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl,* 2:195.

[41]Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 8:167.

Saray suggest that these were just that—gifts, and not some kind of obligatory tribute. Thus, the imbalance, if one there was, appears to have existed on a purely ideological level.

At any rate, Baybars′ relations with the Golden Horde went on to survive Berke Khān′s death in 665/1267, for Baybars wrote to Berke Khān′s great-nephew and heir Möngke Temür and set a similar tone to that of his earlier correspondence. Since Möngke Temür was not a Muslim, however, Baybars found himself employing a more limited ideological coin. No text of this letter remains, which is unfortunate since it would be interesting to see how Baybars and his chancellery composed this missive without the religious imagery that had permeated his letters to Berke Khān. All we know is that in the letter Baybars offered his congratulations on Möngke Temür′s ascension and his condolences over Berke Khān′s death, and urged Möngke Temür to fight Hülegü′s son Abaka, who had succeeded to Ilkhanid rule.[42] Thereafter the two monarchs continued to exchange messages and gifts, and Baybars continued to urge Möngke Temür to attack Abaka.[43] In 670/1272 Möngke Temür wrote requesting Baybars′ military assistance against the house of Hülegü, and proposing that all the Muslims lands in Abaka′s hands be returned to Baybars′ control.[44]

After Baybars′ death on 28 Muḥarram 676/1 July 1277, the Mamluk chroniclers report little diplomatic activity for the brief reigns of his sons, with the exception of the arrival in Alexandria of a Golden Horde embassy in Rabīʻ I or II 676/July-August 1277, which went up to Cairo.[45] Clearly this embassy had been sent before news of Baybars′ death reached Saray. We may assume that al-Malik al-Saʻīd met with the embassy, and likewise presumably sent them home again eventually, but the sources are extremely laconic and offer no illuminating details whatsoever. The Mamluk chronicles remain silent on this subject for the rest of al-Malik al-Saʻīd′s reign, which could mean that neither side sent envoys, or that diplomatic interaction did occur but the historians were too preoccupied tabulating factional strife among members of the military elite to notice it. But since diplomatic activity with the Golden Horde continued under Qalāwūn, it seems that the nearly

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[42]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 288.

[43]Ibid., 335, 400, 404, 411; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 27:362 and 30:221; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Kitāb al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah fī al-Dawlah al-Turkīyah,* ed. ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd Ṣāliḥ Ḥamdān (Cairo, 1987), 71; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 8:167.

[44]Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ (Wiesbaden, 1983), 36; also Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 399-400, and copying him, al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 30:192.

[45]Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, ″Tārīkh al-Islām wa-Ṭabaqāt al-Mashāhīr wa-al-Iʻlām,″ Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, MS 10680, fol. 7a.

three-year period from Baybars′ death to Qalāwūn′s ascension could not have witnessed anything too out of the ordinary.

Unfortunately none of the letters from Qalāwūn′s reign have been preserved either as documents or literary works. We do know, however, that Qalāwūn sent a message and sixteen loads of cloth, clothes, objets d′art *(tuḥaf),* mail, helmets, and bows to the Golden Horde quite early in his reign.[46] Qalāwūn may have been hedging his bets with that embassy, since the gifts were for everyone and anyone of importance in Saray: the ruler Möngke Temür, his brother Töde Möngke and nephew Tölebugha, one of the major Mongol generals, Noghai Noyan, a number of royal ladies and the Saljuq sultan ʻIzz al-Dīn Kay Kāʼūs. We may presume that at the very least Qalāwūn intended to maintain cordial relations. He may also have hoped to keep the channels open for the importation of new mamluks from Golden Horde territory, a crucial concern for him.[47] Nevertheless the Mamluk historians took no notice of the embassy until 681/1282, when Qalāwūn received a message from his *own* envoys to the Golden Horde, who wrote to inform him that Möngke Temür had died before their arrival, so they had presented their gifts to his brother and successor Töde Möngke instead.[48]

In 682/1283 Töde Möngke′s first embassy arrived in Cairo. His envoys were both *faqīh*s, and bore news of Töde Möngke′s conversion to Islam, his ascension to the throne, and his intention to implement the shariʻah in his lands. Töde Möngke requested that Qalāwūn provide him with a Muslim name and send him both a sultanic and a caliphal banner, as well as some small drums, with which to ride when fighting enemies of the faith.[49] Here we see Qalāwūn cast in the role of ″senior in Islam,″ requested to provide the necessary paraphernalia for Töde Möngke so that he too could be a good *mujāhid*. Qalāwūn′s response was to send the envoys to the Hijaz to perform the pilgrimage, although the sources are silent about whether he had Töde Möngke′s name and titles mentioned after his own in the sermons in Mecca, as Baybars had done for Berke Khān in 661/1263. Upon the return of the two *faqīh*s to Cairo, Qalāwūn sent them back to Töde Möngke with envoys of his own in 682/1283-84. Presumably Qalāwūn fulfilled Töde Möngke′s request, since there is no word to the contrary, and since such a refusal would have been significant enough to warrant one.

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[46]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf al-Ayyām wa-al-ʻUṣūr fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr,* ed. Murād Kāmil (Cairo, 1961), 17-18.

[47]That the slave trade was on Qalāwūn′s mind is clear from his actions in Rabīʻ I 679/July 1280, seven months after his ascension to the throne, when he began negotiations with the Byzantine Emperor Michael Paleologus over a treaty in which the free passage of slave merchants ultimately became a significant clause. For a full discussion see Canard, ″Traité,″ 197-224.

[48]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf,* 17-18.

[49]Ibid., 46; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 31:102-103.

In this way Qalāwūn not only perpetuated the relationship of solidarity in religion that Baybars had started, but also managed to establish himself as the religious senior, a concept that seems to be new and specific to him. Peter Jackson has pointed to the importance of hierarchy, status, and seniority among members of the Mongol ruling family; thus Qalāwūn's proclamation of seniority must have resonated strongly in a milieu already imbued with the weight of such claims.[50]

Qalāwūn also based his legitimacy in part on his control of the Abbasid caliph, as Baybars had done before him. Of course al-Ḥākim played no important foundational role as he had during Baybars' reign. Moreover, as Heidemann has indicated, al-Ḥākim's activity in general under Qalāwūn was extremely circumscribed: no sermons, no *futūwah* ceremonies, no recorded relationship to the ongoing diplomacy with the Golden Horde.[51] Nevertheless the figure of the caliph, at least, continued to play a role in Qalāwūn's relation with the Golden Horde, although Qalāwūn may not have wanted it to do so. But the token nature of al-Ḥākim's role during Qalāwūn's reign is underscored by the caliph's forcibly secluded lifestyle—one wonders if the caliph was at all involved in the sending of his own banner to Saray, or whether it was done without his participation.

In addition to fulfilling Töde Möngke's petition, Qalāwūn himself seems to have asked for something from Töde Möngke, although nowhere do we discover what that request was. Indeed we can only infer its existence from the information for the year 685/1286-87, when one of the two *faqīh*s returned from Saray to inform Qalāwūn that he had been granted all that he had asked.[52] Given the phrasing of the report, it seems possible that Qalāwūn made a number of different requests. But what were they? What might Qalāwūn have wanted from Töde Möngke in 682/1283-84? None of the Mamluk historians tells. Perhaps Qalāwūn was once again seeking to ensure the steady flow of mamluks from the Black Sea region. In addition, it so happens that at that time Qalāwūn was embroiled in unfriendly negotiations with the Ilkhanid ruler Aḥmad Tegüder, as will be discussed below. Was Qalāwūn asking Töde Möngke for military assistance against Tegüder? Did he seek a re-creation of those grand campaigns to divide Ilkhanid territory between two Muslim warriors that Baybars and Berke Khān had discussed but never carried out? After all, Töde Möngke was portraying himself to Qalāwūn as a new convert, and had specifically requested the paraphernalia of holy war from him. What better time for Qalāwūn to encourage him to try it?

It is interesting that Aḥmad Tegüder was also depicting himself to the Mamluk sultan as a new Muslim, which may have put Qalāwūn in an odd ideological

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[50]Jackson, "Dissolution," 195.

[51]Heidemann, *Kalifat*, 177, 181.

[52]"*Al-ijābah ḥaṣalat ilá jamī' maṭlūb mawlānā al-sulṭān,*" Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf,* 143.

position. How might he have responded to each of these two Mongol leaders? What arguments could the non-Mongol, former slave, Muslim protector of the Abbasid caliph use when faced with a friendly, newly-converted Mongol ally and a hostile, newly-converted Mongol would-be overlord who was a distant cousin to the ally? Without any documentary or much literary evidence, or even knowledge of the nature of Qalāwūn´s request, we can only surmise. But one answer might well be this concept of seniority in religion, which wove through Qalāwūn´s ideological interactions not only with Töde Möngke, but also with Tegüder, as we shall see below. At any rate, by the time Töde Möngke´s answer arrived, Tegüder was dead, and the danger (if there had been any) had passed, which might explain the laconic quality of the Mamluk chronicles on the subject. This was to be the last substantial mention of Qalāwūn´s diplomatic relations with the Golden Horde, who receded into the chronicles´ background.

The Mamluks and the Ilkhanids

While relations between the Mamluks and the Golden Horde were characterized by mutual expressions of friendship, religiosity, and solidarity in Islam against the infidels in Iran, Mamluk relations with those very infidels were characterized by hostility, mutual mistrust, and outright warfare. Baybars´ reign was largely shaped by bad news from the east, the north, or the northeast, whether reports of Ilkhanid raids, trouble with their allies the Armenians, or full-fledged military endeavors from either or both directions. Most encounters between the two sides involved battles, skirmishes, plotting and subterfuge, inciting middlemen to harass the enemy, or spying. In the interests of preserving space, I shall not here plunge into the intricacies of Baybars´ hostilities towards the Ilkhanids, but refer the reader to the work of Reuven Amitai on the subject for a thorough and comprehensive view of the particulars.[53] Rather I shall focus on the diplomatic activity between Baybars and Abaka, that is, the exchange of messages or embassies, and the legitimizing ideology embedded within them. Here the relationship was simple and straightforward from each point of view: Baybars was a good Muslim ruler and Protector of Islam faced with a tyrannical dynasty of pagans; Abaka was a divinely-designated ruler from the princely house of Chinggis Khān against whom an illegitimate rebel of tainted slave origin had arisen.

That Abaka felt it was high time the rebel submit can be inferred from his embassy of 664/1265-66. Unfortunately the Mamluk chronicles tell us little on the subject. Abaka´s ambassadors met with Baybars in Syria, bringing him a gift and asking for peace *(ṣulḥ)*. As Amitai has pointed out, it was most likely that ˝peace˝ here meant no more than obedience to Abaka, especially since the Ilkhanids had

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[53]Amitai-Preiss, *War*.

recommenced military movements against Baybars′ territory at the same time.[54] Likewise the gift, whatever it was, may have been no more than symbolic, with its acceptance conveying Baybars′ willingness to submit. We cannot be sure however, since we are told little more about the ultimate fate of either the ambassadors or their gift.[55]

The way was prepared for the next exchange of envoys by a singular chain of events. In 664/1266 a Mamluk force sent to Cilicia captured in battle Lev‘on, son of the Armenian king, along with some of his close relatives.[56] King Het‘um entered into negotiations with Baybars for the conditions of his son′s release. Among the conditions was that Het‘um should send to Abaka and obtain from him one Sunqur al-Ashqar, a former Mamluk, who had been in prison in Aleppo in 658/1260 when Hülegü had captured the city. When Hülegü left, he took Sunqur (among others) with him.[57] Het‘um traveled to Abaka′s court in 665-66/1267-68 to make the petition, but Sunqur′s whereabouts were unknown.[58] In the following year, 666-67/1268-69, Het‘um sent an envoy back to Abaka, who by this time had managed to find Sunqur.[59] Sunqur was conveyed back to Cilicia, Baybars was informed of his arrival and the exchange of Sunqur for Lev‘on was made.[60]

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[54]Ibid., 111-14.

[55]Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Furāt, ″Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,″ Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, MS 54251, fol. 110a; Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma‘rifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá M. Ziyādah (Cairo, 1936), 1:553. Also see Amitai-Preiss, *War,* 120.

[56]″La Chronique Attribuée au Connétable Smbat,″ tr. Gérard Dédéyan, in *Documents relatifs à l′histoire des croisades* (Paris, 1980), 118; Ibn ‘Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 270; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Tuḥfah,* 58; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 8:118; Grigor, ″Archers,″ 357; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 30:153.

[57]For an in-depth discussion of Sunqur, Lev‘on, and their exchange one for the other see Amitai-Preiss, *War,* 118-120. Also see Faḍl Allāh ibn Abī al-Fakhr al-Suqā‘ī, *Tālī Kitāb Wafāyāt al-A‘yān,* ed. and tr. Jacqeline Sublet (Damascus, 1974), 85 (Arabic text); Ibn ‘Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 327; and the romantic but inaccurate rendition of Grigor, ″Archers,″ 355.

[58]Amitai-Preiss discusses the various accounts of how Sunqur al-Ashqar was located or contacted in Ilkhanid lands; see Amitai-Preiss, *War,* 120. Of them all, I personally find the arguments of Smbat and Grigor most convincing, namely, that Sunqur′s whereabouts were at first unknown, and that in fact it took Abaka some time to find him. There was, after all, no special reason for Abaka to keep track of one person from among the prisoners his father had brought out of Aleppo nearly 10 years earlier. Likewise it is quite possible that Sunqur′s new life and/or career among the Ilkhanids, whatever it was, took him to any number of locations within their territory. Het‘um′s request would therefore have necessitated that Sunqur be identified, located, and, if far away from Abaka, brought in to the *ordo,* all of which could easily take months.

[59]Smbat, ″Chronique,″120; Grigor, ″Archers,″ 371.

[60]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 30:154; Smbat, ″Chronique,″ 120; Grigor, ″Archers,″ 371; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Tuhfah,* 64; also see Amitai-Preiss, *War*, 119.

By the time of his dramatic ransom for the Armenian prince, Sunqur had been living with the Mongols for several years, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that he spoke Mongolian with a degree of proficiency. Before letting him go to Cilicia, Abaka seems to have entrusted Sunqur with an oral message to deliver to Baybars. Little record of this message can be found; indeed it seems that the chroniclers were initially unaware of it, since the only reference to it appears in the text of Baybars′ correspondence with Abaka in 667/1269, as discussed below.

Nevertheless this oral message reestablished diplomatic contact between the two rulers. Thereafter Baybars and Abaka established a wary, short-lived, and unfriendly set of diplomatic exchanges, facilitated in part by the Armenian king. In 667/1269, for example, Baybars permitted an Ilkhanid envoy to enter his realms bearing written and oral messages, both of which are extant today at least in part.[61] A large chunk of the oral message is preserved:

> The King Abaka, when he emerged from the East, took control of all the world. All entered into obedience to him, and no opposer opposed him; he who opposed him died. As for you: [even] if you rose up to the sky or sank down to the ground, you would not free yourself from us. The best policy is that you make peace *(ṣulḥ)* with us. . . . you are a mamluk and were sold in Sivas; how do you [dare] oppose the kings of the earth?[62]

Here we see a combination of the Mongol imperial ideology of world conquest, and Mongol disdain for slave origin. In fact, Abaka took this opportunity to strike Baybars in his weakest ideological point. Apparently Abaka had as little tolerance for the Mamluk sultans′ former bondage as had his own father or their mutual allies the Armenians.

Abaka′s written letter was likewise short on grammar and shorter on charm.[63] In it Abaka acknowledged that Quṭuẓ, not Baybars, had been responsible for executing Hülegü′s envoys in 658/1260; such an acknowledgment would allow Abaka to accept Baybars as a vassal. After discussing Sunqur′s children and a number of other Qipchak Turks whom Baybars had requested be sent to Mamluk realms, Abaka went on to brag that only discord among the Mongols themselves had kept him from riding towards (and presumably attacking and demolishing)

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[61]Amitai-Preiss, *War,* 121; also see his ″An Exchange of Letters in Arabic between Abaγa Ilkhan and Sultan Baybars (A.H. 667/A.D. 1268-69),″ *Central Asiatic Journal* 38:1 (1994): 11-33.

[62]Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 8:140. For a translation of a slightly different version of the text, see Amitai-Preiss, *War*, 121.

[63]For a translation and commentary see Amitai-Preiss, ″Exchange.″

Baybars. Abaka then reached the crux of the letter, his call for Baybars to become a vassal: ″You suggested that ′We [i.e., Baybars] become subject *(naṣīr īl)* and give power [over to Abaka]′; we deem that appropriate from you.″[64] Abaka went on to emphasize the universal obedience enjoyed by his family, then ordered Baybars to send representatives from among his brothers and sons to the Mongol court, where they would learn about the *yāsā* and then be returned to Baybars (presumably to teach him in turn). This was standard Mongol procedure to initiate subordinates.

Baybars′ response was even shorter than Abaka′s initiative, and was equally unfriendly. It opened with a disinterested tone, saying that only because of ″what Shams al-Dīn Sunqur al-Ashqar said to us″[65] had Baybars expressed interest to the Armenian king in exchanging embassies. The reference here must be to the oral message sent to Baybars via Sunqur from Abaka, although this is one of the only instances in the histories that we find even this roundabout mention of it. The letter carefully distanced Baybars from Quṭuz (the Envoy Murderer) by emphasizing how Baybars had sent Abaka′s embassy back unharmed. The letter then mocked Abaka′s attempts to persuade Baybars to any kind of agreement. As evidence for the impossibility of a relationship between them, it attacked the issue of Chinggis Khanid law by arguing that Baybars′ *yāsā* was greater than that of Chinggis Khān.[66] The use of the word *yāsā* here must be understood as a reference to the shari‘ah with its concomitant religious supremacy (to Muslim eyes) over any pagan dynastic law. Certainly there is no evidence that Baybars attempted to found or promulgate a set of laws or decrees similar to the *yāsā* of Chinggis Khān; indeed, such developments in legitimizing strategy appeared much later.[67]

Baybars further belittled the Mongols in his response to Abaka′s proclamation of universal obedience by pointing to the battle of ‘Ayn Jālūt and the death in it of Hülegü′s general Kitbugha. He also reminded Abaka of Abaka′s intention to send one of his own relatives to Baybars, and Baybars′ willingness to trade the favor. This is a startling statement, since the sending of relatives was one way that the Mongols themselves established their vassals. Combined with Baybars′ proclaimed

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[64]Ibn ‘Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 340.

[65]Ibid., 341.

[66]For the *yāsā* see the references in footnote 4.

[67]The Ottomans, for example, did not develop a special law code until Fatih Mehmed promulgated the *kanunname* and *yasakname* during his reign (1449-80). See Halil İnalcık, ″Suleiman the Lawgiver and Ottoman Law,″ *Archivum Ottomanicum* 1 (1969): 105-38.

superiority of the shari'ah, this statement suggests that Baybars was envisioning at the very least a relationship of equals, if not even that Abaka should be inferior to him.[68]

Unlike in his letters to Berke Khān, the specifically Islamic content of Baybars' message to Abaka is noticeably muted. Rather he seems in this exchange to have relied ideologically on evocation of military victories over the Ilkhanid forces, denial of interest in relations with Abaka and allusions to his own equality to the Ilkhanid ruler. Although he asserted the supremacy of his own *yāsā* (the shari'ah) over that of Chinggis Khān, he did not refer to it by its Islamic name. Nor did the letter mention the Abbasid caliph at any point, which was a significant departure from the correspondence sent to Berke Khān. One probable reason for this omission was the hopelessly un-Islamic nature of the recipient. Berke Khān had presented himself as interested in nothing but Islam, which allowed Baybars and his ideologues to sidestep the daunting issues of Mongol legitimacy and prestige that might otherwise have been raised. But it must have been clear that Islamic terminology would be meaningless to Abaka, which thus led to the use of phrasing that would resonate properly. That the embassy led to nothing positive can be inferred from the events of the next year, in which a Mongol force raided the area around Aleppo.[69]

It was not until 670/1272 that a second attempt at so-called diplomacy took place between the two rulers, again through intermediaries. In that year Baybars received envoys from the chief Mongol in Anatolia, Samaghar, and the chief Anatolia minister, Mu'īn al-Dīn the Parvānah, who were seeking a peace agreement.[70] Ibn Shaddād reports that Samaghar invited Baybars to send him envoys for Abaka, with whom Samaghar himself would intercede for the Mamluk sultan.[71] Accordingly Baybars chose two amirs and sent them off via the horses of the *barīd*. They went first to Anatolia, where they met with Samaghar and the Parvānah, and from there were conveyed to meet Abaka. The Persian historians mention nothing of the envoys' audience with Abaka, or even the presence of Mamluk envoys at the Ilkhanid court. If the Mamluk sources are to be believed, however, the meeting was just as unfriendly as the previous one. If there was a written letter no copy remains, thus our information is confined to snippets of the oral message preserved in the chronicles. Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir credits the Mamluk amirs with saying to Abaka: "The sultan sends greetings to you and says that the

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[68]Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 343.

[69]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 30:170; Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 361-62; Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh,* 33; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Tuhfah,* 73.

[70]Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 399; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 30:191.

[71]Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh,* 34.

envoys of Möngke Temür [of the Golden Horde] have come to him repeatedly [saying] that the sultan [Baybars] should ride from his side, and the king Möngke Temür should ride from his side. Wherever Baybars′ horse reached would be his, and wherever Möngke Temür′s horse reached would be his.″[72] Clearly the riding out and taking of land would be at the expense of Ilkhanid sovereignty. Abaka′s response, also as recorded by Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, indicates that he understood this point quite well, for he reportedly became enraged and stormed out of the audience.

Ibn Shaddād presents an alternate, more convincing view: in the oral message Baybars refused vassalage but, in an assumption of personal responsibility for all Muslims, asked Abaka to give back the Muslim lands he held.[73] Not surprisingly Abaka found this to be an non-viable option, but suggested that each ruler retain what he already had (and, presumably, refrain from trying to take any more land from the other).[74] In this report Abaka comes across as willing to consider the establishment of some kind of status quo. Although discussions continued for a time, in the end Baybars′ envoys were sent back without any agreement having been reached.[75]

That the negotiations were theoretically still open is indicated by the fact that Abaka sent a second embassy to the Mamluk sultan in the following year; it arrived in Damascus in Ṣafar 678/August-September 1272. That Baybars was uninterested in an agreement can be inferred from the fact that he seems to have been determined to put the Mongol envoys in their place. Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir indicates that they were required to perform the *jūk* three times before Baybars′ governor in Aleppo, likewise in Ḥamāh and so on.[76] Since the *jūk* was a sign of deference and respect to high-ranking Mongols, Baybars indicated his assumption of at least equal status to Abaka by making the Mongol envoys perform it in front of his own local governors.[77] There was no celebration upon the embassy′s arrival, but Baybars had troops brought in and paraded in front of them to impress or awe them.

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[72]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 399-400, and copying him, al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 30:192.

[73]Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh,* 35.

[74]Ibid.

[75]Ibid.; Amitai-Preiss, *War*, 128.

[76]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 404.

[77]Here Baybars may well have been portraying his strength to his own troops by using the *jūk*, which involved getting down on one knee and putting an elbow on the ground. Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 27:339. Certainly there might be no small psychological gain for Baybars′ own followers from seeing him treat the Mongol envoys in this fashion. For psychological warfare see Amitai-Preiss, *War*, 129. Unfortunately, however, in the interest of space I must leave the subject of Baybars′ relation to his own troops for a later endeavor.

No copy remains of Abaka′s second letter, if there was indeed a written document in addition to the oral message. We know from Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, however, that Abaka wanted a peace agreement *(ṣulḥ)* with Baybars, engineered through the mediation of Sunqur al-Ashqar. But Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir goes on to tell us that Abaka wanted to ratify this treaty by having either Baybars or his heir come to his court. Thus the peace treaty Abaka sought seems to have been no more than the relationship of vassalage he had previously attempted to create. Baybars was not interested, and replied with an echo of his former statement: Abaka might come to Baybars′ *own* court if he desired a peaceful agreement. This reinforced the Mamluk presentation of the relationship as one in which Abaka was at best of equal standing, if not even inferior to Baybars. Of course from Abaka′s point of view such a relationship was inconceivable.[78] Only a few days after Baybars sent the embassy back towards the borders, he himself set out to engage and defeat a Mongol force at the Euphrates. Baybars al-Manṣūrī considers this battle and Baybars′ victory in it to have been a turning point for the Mamluk sultan, after which Baybars′ reputation increased greatly and his fear of Ilkhanid strength decreased.[79] Certainly this marked the end of Baybars′ attempts at diplomatic interaction with the Ilkhanids as well.

Qalāwūn had no diplomatic exchanges with Abaka, but Mamluk-Ilkhanid relations in general under Qalāwūn did pick up where they had left off under Baybars: in a state of open hostility and an ideological relationship of good Muslim vs. bad infidel on the one hand and Glorious Khān vs. lowly rebel on the other. This culminated in Qalāwūn′s defeat of Abaka′s brother Möngke Temür[80] at the battle of Homs in 680/1281. It was only when both Abaka and Möngke Temür died later that same year and another one of Hülegü′s sons, Tegüder, converted to Islam that a wrench was thrown into the Mamluk ideological works.

In Jumādá I 681/August 1282 the newly-named Aḥmad Tegüder sent envoys to Qalāwūn. Modern scholars have interpreted this in various ways, for which see the pioneering work of P. M. Holt in particular, as well as the revision of Adel Allouche.[81] Holt points out the caution, hostility, and fear the Mamluks manifested

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[78]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 404.

[79]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Tuḥfah,* 76.

[80]Not to be confused with the Golden Horde ruler of the same name.

[81]P. M. Holt, ″The Ilkhan Aḥmad′s Embassies to Qalāwūn: Two Contemporary Accounts,″ *BSOAS* 49 (1986): 128-32; Adel Allouche, ″Tegüder′s Ultimatum to Qalāwūn.″ *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (1990): 437-46. Also see Amitai-Preiss, *War*, 147, 211; Peter Jackson, ″Aḥmad Takūdār,″ *Encyclopedia Iranica,* ed. Ehsan Yarshater (London, 1984), 1:661-62; J. A. Boyle, ″Dynastic and Political History of the Īl-Khāns,″ *The Cambridge History of Iran* (Cambridge, 1968), 5:365; Bertold Spuler, *The Mongols in History,* tr. G. Wheeler (London, 1971), 44-45; Denis Sinor, ″Les relations entre les Mongols et l′Europe jusqu′à la mort d′Árghoun et de Béla

towards the Mongols in general and Tegüder′s envoys in particular, but ultimately suggests that Tegüder was seeking some kind of a truce with Qalāwūn.[82] Allouche proposes a revision of this view by arguing that Tegüder′s purpose in contacting the Mamluk sultan was to establish Qalāwūn as a subordinate to himself.[83] Here I will follow Allouche′s assessment, namely that Tegüder′s first communication to Qalāwūn was a call for the latter to become Tegüder′s vassal, since divisions of religion no longer separated them.[84]

Tegüder′s first set of ambassadors were Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Shīrāzī and Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Taytī al-Āmidī. They were brought under close escort to Cairo, where they met with Qalāwūn in the autumn of 681/1282. According to Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī the embassy was received in great style, at night, in an audience lit by numerous candles.[85] Tegüder had sent both oral and written messages. The letter proclaimed the good news both of Tegüder′s conversion and his accession to the throne, from which he intended to set right Muslim affairs. This established Tegüder immediately as a rival to Qalāwūn in the realm of virtuous Muslim rulership, and thereby added a new ideological dimension to the weight of Mongol prestige and Ilkhanid hostility. Tegüder informed Qalāwūn of a Mongol *kuriltai* that had taken place in which all the participants had wanted to attack the Muslims, but he alone had dissented out of a sense of moral good. Here Tegüder may have been hoping to intimidate Qalāwūn with the image of Mongols united against him, while simultaneously reinforcing the portrayal of his own moral integrity.

Thereafter Tegüder′s letter included a lengthy section on the various deeds the new Ilkhan had performed for the good of the Muslim community. First and foremost was his establishment of the rule of Islamic law *(nawāmīs al-sharʿ al-muḥammadī),* which may have functioned as his substitute for the *yāsā* vaunted by Hülegü and Abaka. (It is significant that Tegüder and his cousin Töde Möngke both began their reigns in this fashion, and at approximately the same time.) The letter went on to talk about Tegüder′s pardoning of criminals, his inspection of the organization of pious endowments, his construction of new buildings for religious use, and the regularization of protection for the pilgrimage caravans. Particularly in these last two areas Tegüder threatened Qalāwūn′s legitimacy, for Qalāwūn was a great founder of religious building projects, and was also responsible not

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IV,″ *Cahiers d′histoire mondiale* 3, no. 1 (1956): 54.

[82]Holt, ″Embassies,″128, 132.

[83]Allouche, ″Ultimatum,″ 438.

[84]Ibid., 438.

[85]Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī, *Kitāb al-Faḍl al-Maʾthūr min Sīrat al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām al-Tadmurī (Sidon/Beirut, 1418/1998), 101; also see Holt, ″Embassies,″ 129.

only for the pilgrims who passed through his own realms, but for all pilgrimage activities in the Hijaz as well.

The letter went on to inform Qalāwūn that Tegüder had ordered his soldiers not to harass merchants travelling back and forth between his lands and Qalāwūn's territory. Then it reported that Tegüder had caught Qalāwūn's spy disguised as a dervish, whom out of the goodness of his heart he had sent back to Qalāwūn rather than execute. This allowed Tegüder to arrogate the moral high ground to himself, from which he (or his scribes) proceeded to lecture Qalāwūn about the evil effect spies had on the Muslim community. The letter then summed up with the point of Tegüder's message, in which he demanded that Qalāwūn submit to his authority and enter into a vassal-overlord relationship with him.[86]

In his response Qalāwūn was faced with the ideological ramifications of Tegüder's conversion, which denied him the easy defense of a good Muslim ruler facing a non-Muslim foe, and presented him with an imposing rival in the realm of responsible Islamic rule. The Mamluk response was twice as long as the Ilkhanid letter, and it addressed not only Tegüder's written letter point by point, but also the oral message *(mushāfahah)* that accompanied it.[87] Qalāwūn's letter opened with an acknowledgment of Tegüder's conversion and his emergence from the ways of his relatives. The letter expressed Qalāwūn's relief over Tegüder's new-found faith, then introduced a critical point in the Mamluk sultan's ideological self-defense by praising God that Qalāwūn had converted first and thus had seniority in religion: "We thanked God for making us among the predecessors and first ones to this station and rank [or: to this religion, station, and rank[88]], for making firm our feet in every situation of endeavor *(ijtihād)* and holy fight *(jihād)* where without Him feet would quake."[89] Ideologically this projected religious primacy was akin to Qalāwūn's status vis-à-vis Töde Möngke of the Golden Horde, and gave the Mamluk sultan a base from which to withstand the Muslim Tegüder's call for vassalage.

Qalāwūn's letter went on to acknowledge the various ways Tegüder had acted as a good Muslim ruler, and assured him that this was correct procedure. Coming on the heels of his assertion of religious seniority, this had the effect of reinforcing

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[86]Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf,* 9-10; Shāfi' ibn 'Alī, *Faḍl*, 94-100; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 8:249-54; Bar Hebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar*, 506-10; 'Abd Allāh ibn Faẕl Allāh Vassāf al-Haẕrat, *Tajziyat al-Amṣār wa-Tazjiyat al-A'ṣār,* ed. by Joseph Hammer-Purgstall as *Geschichte Wassaf's: persisch herausgegeben und deutsch übersetzt* (Vienna, 1856), 234-39; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:978-80; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 8:65-68. Also see Allouche, "Ultimatum," 438-40.

[87]This allows us to reconstruct much more of the oral message than usual.

[88]Mufaḍḍal Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd wa-al-Durr al-Farīd fīmā ba'da Tārīkh Ibn al-'Amīd* (Paris, 1911, 1920, 1932), 512.

[89]Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf,* 11.

Qalāwūn′s image as a Muslim ruler who already knew what he was doing, and was therefore superior to a newcomer like Tegüder. The letter′s tone became critical when it castigated previous Ilkhanids for taking control of other rulers and their kingdoms, notably the Saljuqs, without due cause, and warned that this kind of oppression was not the behavior of a pious king. Such a statement contributed to the image of Qalāwūn as knowledgeable advisor, while further setting the stage for his later treatment of the question of vassalage.

On the freedom of merchants the letter asserted Qalāwūn′s own sovereignty by assuring Tegüder that Qalāwūn, too, had ordered his governors not to harass them; this had the effect of making their free passage a matter requiring the attention of both rulers. It is significant that the letter specifically mentioned the governors of al-Raḥbah and al-Bīrah, both of which forts were thorns in the Ilkhanids′ military side. Turning to the question of the alleged spy, the letter cast doubts on Tegüder′s projection of moral superiority by charging that real dervishes had been mistaken for spies and murdered in Mongol lands, and that Tegüder himself had sent quite a few actual spies into Qalāwūn′s territory.

Thereafter Qalāwūn′s letter came to the questions of vassalage. Carefully it avoided a direct answer but intimated a certain lack of interest on Qalāwūn′s part by going on at length about the importance of true friendship. That Qalāwūn had some misgivings about Tegüder′s understanding of the nature of friendship was then made clear when the letter condemned Tegüder for using inappropriately harsh and threatening language in an ostensibly cordial message.

Finally the letter addressed Tegüder′s oral message, which can be reconstructed to include three points. First Tegüder said that he would stay in his own territory (and not attack Qalāwūn′s lands) if Qalāwūn would reach an agreement with him *(ittifāq),* i.e., become his vassal. In response Qalāwūn′s letter suggested that an agreement could only be reached if Tegüder had true friendship in mind, i.e., if it were in fact a peaceful agreement and not a vassal-overlord arrangement. Second, Tegüder suggested that if Qalāwūn were not really interested in expansion, he should stay within his own territories (and stop raiding into Tegüder′s territory). In reply the letter lambasted Tegüder for the conduct of his governor and brother Qunghurtai in Anatolia, claiming that Qunghurtai was shedding blood, wreaking destruction, enslaving innocents, selling free persons as slaves, and all while the Islamic tax *(kharāj)* from that land was coming to Tegüder.[90] This portrayed Tegüder as the bad ruler oppressing Muslims, and left the door open should Qalāwūn decide later to present himself as the virtuous Muslim savior-king freeing the oppressed in Anatolia. Third, Tegüder challenged that if Qalāwūn refused to

[90]Tegüder actually did execute Qunghurtai later, but this had no particular effect on Qalāwūn′s letter.

stop raiding into Tegüder's land, he should choose a battlefield (and they would settle the matter that way). In response Qalāwūn's letter ridiculed the Ilkhanid armies by pointing out that they had seen battlefields in Syria before, and were afraid to come back to them any time soon.[91]

In this exchange, as in his relationship to the Golden Horde, Qalāwūn's legitimacy rested primarily on the new concept of religious seniority. Nevertheless he and his chancellery did not hesitate to refer to past Mamluk military victories over the Ilkhanids as Baybars had done. Allouche has argued that Qalāwūn may also have relied on the position of the Abbasid caliph, to whom all Muslims (and therefore presumably Tegüder as well) owed allegiance. Allouche's argument centers on the fact that the caliph was in fact mentioned early in the correspondence, for a sentence to this effect was preserved in those copies of the letters found in Shāfi' ibn 'Alī, Vassāf, and Bar Hebraeus.[92] Reasons for the omission of the caliphal reference from the copies in Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, Ibn al-Dawādārī, and al-Maqrīzī are worth investigation, although we shall not be able to do so here.[93] But if the caliph was indeed included in the correspondence, then this confirms that al-Ḥākim continued to play an ideological role in foreign diplomacy, just as he did in Qalāwūn's relations with the Golden Horde. And if the deletion of the caliphal reference in Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir (and through him many of the other Mamluk chronicles) was deliberate, then this could support the thesis that Qalāwūn was uneasy about that caliphal role.

Nevertheless Qalāwūn's ideological position as (potentially) caliph-brandishing religious senior was still tenuous, at least to some minds. Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir went to the trouble of shoring up Qalāwūn's arguments in his biography of the sultan, where he discredited Tegüder at length by portraying his conversion as fake and an attempt to dupe Qalāwūn.[94] By contrast, other Mamluk historians (especially those not writing under sultanic patronage) were either neutral or even convinced of the genuineness of Tegüder's conversion.[95] Regardless, this marked the beginning of a trend for Qalāwūn, his descendants, and their ideologues, who were reluctant to believe that any Ilkhanid conversion to Islam could be genuine, although they were quick to believe it from the Golden Horde. Such a point of view was ideologically advantageous for the Qalawunids, since it allowed them to revert to

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[91]Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf,* 15-16.

[92]Shāfi' ibn 'Alī, *Faḍl*, 102-3; Vassāf, *Tajziyah,* 234; Bar Hebraeus, *Mukhtaṣar*, 510-18; also see Allouche, "Ultimatum," 442.

[93]Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf,* 8; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 8:249-54; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:978-80.

[94]Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf,* 4.

[95]Al-Dhahabī, "Ṭabaqāt," Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, MS 10682, fol. 24b; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl,* 4:211.

the older model of Mamluks protecting Muslims from infidels or, in this case, false converts.

Tegüder′s second embassy arrived in Damascus on 12 Dhū al-Hijjah 682/2 March 1284. The Ilkhanid′s spiritual advisor Shaykh ‘Abd al-Raḥmān was in charge, riding with a large, armed escort and the *jitr* or royal parasol.[96] In Mamluk lands only the sultan rode with the *jitr,* thus Shaykh ‘Abd al-Raḥmān′s appearance with it was a challenge to Qalāwūn′s sovereignty. The shaykh refused to relinquish the parasol at the border, but was deprived of it and of his armed escort against his will by the Mamluk governor of Aleppo, who had gone to meet him.[97] This cold welcome was designed to convey Qalāwūn′s rejection of any further thoughts of vassalage, should Tegüder entertain them. Shaykh ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and the truncated remainder of his entourage were conveyed secretly and under heavy guard to Damascus ″in the medieval equivalent of a sealed train,″ as Holt has so aptly put it.[98] There they were lodged in the citadel and given considerable daily stipends—the shaykh himself reportedly received 1,000 dirhams per day[99]—but were nevertheless forced to cool their heels for six months. During this period their sender Tegüder died, and Qalāwūn met with them only after verifying this fact.

Qalāwūn then received the embassy at night in early Jumādá II 683/August 1284, surrounded by an impressive display of lighted candles (reportedly 1,500[100]) and his best mamluks, dressed in their finest. Without telling the envoys of Tegüder′s death, Qalāwūn heard the content of the letter.[101] It had been dated Rabī‘ I 682/May-June 1283, and in it Tegüder outlined the way he and his Mongol cousins in various khanates had managed to shelve their past disagreements and agree to return to a state of unity.[102] As in his first letter, Tegüder may have been trying to present a united Mongol front in order to awe Qalāwūn. Tegüder′s letter went on to point out that the Ilkhan′s sending of the shaykh ‘Abd al-Raḥmān had been at Qalāwūn′s request,[103] then finished by dropping the references to obedience and submission *(ṭā‘ah)* that had been used in the first letter, and requested only a peaceful agreement *(ṣulḥ* and *ittifāq).* Allouche suggests that this change in wording reflected Tegüder′s new interest in negotiations as opposed to his previous demand

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[96]Ibn ‘Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf,* 49.

[97]Ibid.; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 8:261.

[98]Holt, ″Embassies,″ 132.

[99]Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz*, 8:261.

[100]Ibid., 265.

[101]Ibn ‘Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf,* 68.

[102]Ibid., 70.

[103]Ibid., 71.

for Qalāwūn's vassalage.[104] But immediately thereafter came a warning to Qalāwūn to ignore naysayers: "Perhaps a small group of fools from among those who like discord and hypocrisy will not agree to an accord ([since] their dispositions are incompatible with peaceful agreement), desiring [thereby] to put out the light of God with their mouths (but God's light is complete!), and to go against their community out of a greedy ambition to accomplish their desire. What is required here therefore is that their words not be heard and their deeds left [alone]."[105] If Tegüder had been interested in negotiations then this type of closure, combined with the grandiose manner in which Shaykh ʻAbd al-Raḥmān crossed into Qalāwūn's realm, does not suggest negotiation between equals, but rather between superior and subordinate.

Obviously Qalāwūn and his ideologues were saved from the necessity of working out an ideologically appropriate response to Tegüder by the happenstance of the latter's death. Shortly after hearing the content of Tegüder's message Qalāwūn demonstrated the depth of his antagonism towards his deceased co-religionist by moving Shaykh ʻAbd al-Raḥmān and the other envoys into different quarters in the citadel, drastically reducing their stipends, relieving them of the bulk of their possessions, and leaving them to languish. Shaykh ʻAbd al-Raḥmān himself died shortly thereafter; his cohorts remained incarcerated until most of them were eventually freed dramatically by the intervention of a sympathetic poet and one of the Mamluk amirs.[106] Thereafter Qalāwūn returned to ideological business as usual with Tegüder's pagan successor Arghūn.

To conclude: early Mamluk assertions of legitimacy for the external audience were primarily directed at and defined in relation to the Mongols. For the Mamluk sultans the basic threat of Ilkhanid hostility was further complicated by the more abstract problem of Mongol prestige. Nor was this prestige an issue merely with the Ilkhanids, but also had a significant effect on Mamluk relations with the rulers of the Golden Horde. As former slaves in a world obsessed with genealogy, and as Qipchak Turkish nobodies faced with the weight of the divinely-ordained Chinggis Khanid dynasty, its impressive military legacy, and its obsession with the position of laws and decrees, Baybars, Qalāwūn, and their ideologues turned to a combination of military action and religious principles for definition. These included the manipulation of the Abbasid caliph and his own prestige, an emphasis on those military aspects of the faith in which the Mamluks could excel, proclamation

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[104]Allouche, "Utimatum," 443.

[105]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf,* 71.

[106]Al-Suqāʻī, *Tālī,* 107; Al-Dhahabī, "Ṭabaqāt," Dār al-Kutub, Cairo, MS 10682**,** fol. 26b with 11 lines of the poetry itself; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl,* 4:217 has 20 lines.

of the shari‘ah´s superiority over the *yāsā,* and, when matters were complicated by Ilkhanid conversion and religious rivalry, the concept of seniority in religion.

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Qalāwūn´s Patronage of the Medical Sciences in Thirteenth-Century Egypt*

Introduction

It is generally held that the medical sciences in the Islamic world reached their peak during the eleventh century and then subsequently declined.[1] Yet there are many indications that, in fact, medicine, or aspects of it, continued to flourish in the following centuries. One thinks particularly of the hospitals founded by Nūr al-Dīn (ca. 548-49/1154) and by al-Qaymarī (ca. 646/1248) in Damascus and by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in Cairo in the twelfth century, as well as the long list of illustrious physicians who served in both, not to mention the biographical dictionaries of Ibn al-Qifṭī (d. 645-46/1248)[2] and Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʻah (d. 668-69/1270)[3] which vividly portray the vitality of intellectual life, including the medical sciences, in their time.[4] In the late thirteenth century the Mamluk sultan Qalāwūn established a

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[1]Joseph Schacht, for example, says of the eleventh century: ″It is the last century before the slow and irresistible decline of the Greek scientific spirit in the Arab-Islamic world.″ (Cited by Michael Dols, *Medieval Islamic Medicine: Ibn Riḍwān´s Treatise ″On the Prevention of Bodily Ills in Egypt*,″ translated with an introduction by Michael W. Dols; Arabic text, ed. Adil S. Gamal [Berkeley, 1984], 66, n. 344). Joseph Schacht and Max Meyerhof state with regard to some of the great medical figures of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: ″The merit of these men to have maintained the ancient sciences is so much the greater, inasmuch as the Islamic orthodoxy which had been always opposed to these studies was very strong ever since the end of the XIth c., and exerted a well-nigh overwhelming influence at the courts of those kings and princes who were inclined to promote learning.″ (*The Medico-Philosophical Controversy between Ibn Buṭlān of Baghdad and Ibn Riḍwān of Cairo* [Cairo, 1937], 8-9). See also George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science*, (Baltimore, 1927), 1:738.

[2]*Tārīkh al-Ḥukamā'*, ed. J. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903). A. Dietrich, ″Ibn al-Ḳifṭī,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 3:840.

[3]*ʻUyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'* (Beirut, 1965). J. Vernet, ″Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʻah,″ *EI²*, 3:692-93.

[4]Ibn al-Nafīs, *The Theologus Autodidactus of Ibn al-Nafīs,* edited with an introduction, translation, and notes by Max Meyerhof and Joseph Schacht (Oxford, 1968), 8-9; also Max Meyerhof, ″Ibn

hospital in Cairo which, as both teaching and treatment center, was clearly intended to be the foremost medical facility of its day in the Islamic world. It was also at this very time that his contemporary, the famous doctor and former Chief Physician of Egypt, Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 687/1288),[5] advanced his theory regarding the lesser circulation of the blood several centuries before Europeans arrived at similar conclusions.[6] Indeed, Qalāwūn′s hospital in Cairo attracted the support of Ibn al-Nafīs who donated his library and house to the institution.[7] How then shall we reconcile the judgement of historians with the evidence of interest in, and intellectual vitality of, the medical sciences so apparent in the late thirteenth century?

Consideration of the personal and political agenda involved in Qalāwūn′s patronage as reflected in the documentation of his activity in the field may yield clues in this regard. After surveying Qalāwūn′s activities more generally, we will focus in particular on evidence found in the diploma of appointment (*taqlīd*) issued by the sultan′s chancery to the Chief Physician Muhadhdhib al-Dīn Ibn Abī Ḥulayqah on the occasion of his appointment to the professorial Chair of Medicine at Qalāwūn′s hospital in Cairo, al-Bīmāristān al-Manṣūrī. Although the evidence of the *taqlīd* may not provide conclusive proof regarding Qalāwūn′s intentions, it will nonetheless stimulate further discussion of the intellectual environment which framed his patronage of the medical sciences in late thirteenth century Egypt.

Qalāwūn′s patronage is rather richly documented. Although the original hospital founded by the sultan in Cairo in 683/1285 is no longer standing, several narrative reports record its commissioning, the purchase of the site, construction, and inaugural ceremonies.[8] Two extant *waqfīyah*s describe the site and legally attest to

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al-Nafīs and His Theory of the Lesser Circulation,″ *Isis* 23 (1935): 110; reprinted in idem, *Studies in Medieval Arabic Medicine, Theory and Practice*, ed. Penelope Johnstone (London, 1984), 6:103-4.

[5]Ibn al-Nafīs, *Theologus*, 18; on Ibn al-Nafīs see also Max Meyerhof-[J. Schacht], ″Ibn al-Nafīs,″ *EI*[2], 3:897-98. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʻah does not include a biography of Ibn al-Nafīs in his dictionary (see ibid., 897, and Ibn al-Nafīs, *Theologus*, 10).

[6]I.e., the ″pulmonary circulation of the blood, from the right ventricle of the heart through the pulmonary artery *(vena arteriosa)* to the lung and from there through the pulmonary vein *(arteria venosa)* to the left ventricle of the heart.″ According to the authors, Ibn Nafīs′s theory ″boldly″ contradicted ″the accepted ideas of Galen and of Ibn Sīnā″ and anticipated ″part of William Harvey′s fundamental discovery.″ See Meyerhof-[Schacht], ″Ibn al-Nafīs,″ 898; Ibn al-Nafīs, *Theologus*, 26.

[7]Ibn al-Nafīs, *Theologus*, 12-13, 17-18. Among the books donated was his *Kitāb al-Shāmil fī al-Ṣināʻah al-Ṭibbīyah,* or *Kitāb al-Shāmil fī al-Ṭibb (The Comprehensive Book on the Art of Medicine)* (ibid., 22).

[8]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, ″Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah,″ vol. 9, Cairo University Library MS 24028 (photocopy of British Museum Or. MS Add. 23325), fol. 144r; idem, ″Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah

the details of the endowment, its management, and the facilities and services provided.[9] To these important sources can be added a copy of the *taqlīd* of Muhadhdhib al-Dīn Ibn Abī Ḥulayqah[10] on the occasion of his appointment as Chief Physician *(ra'īs al-aṭibbā')*[11] (in Egypt [and Syria?]) and a copy of the diploma issued to the same Ibn Abī Ḥulayqah appointing him to the Chair of Medicine *(tadrīs al-bīmāristān)* at Qalāwūn's hospital in Cairo.[12] Last, but not least, chronicles and biographical dictionaries supply information regarding Qalāwūn's appointees and other well-known physicians of the period, although never enough to satisfy our curiosity.

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fī al-Dawlah al-Turkīyah," Cairo University Library MS 24029 (photocopy of Austrian National Library MS Flugel 904), fols. 46r-47v; Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf al-Ayyām wa-al-'Uṣūr fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr,* ed. with translation and notes by Murād Kāmil (Cairo, 1961), 55; Shāfi' ibn 'Alī, *Kitāb al-Faḍl al-Ma'thūr min Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 1998), 166-68; Shams al-Dīn al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Anbā'uhu wa-Wafayāt al-Akābir wa-al-A'yān min Abnā'ihi,* the years 682-87/1283-88, edited with German translation by Ulrich Haarmann in *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit* (Freiburg, 1969), 24; Shihāb al-Dīn al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,* vol. 31, ed. al-Bāz al-'Arīnī (Cairo, 1992), 105-13; Qirṭāy al-'Izzī al-Khazindārī, "Tārīkh al-Nawādir mimmā Jārá lil-Awā'il wa-al-Awākhir," microfilm copy of Gotha MS 1655, fols. 122v-124v; Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt,* ed. Qusṭanṭīn K. Zurayq and Nejla [Abu] Izzedin (Beirut, 1936-42), 8:8-9; Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. with notes by Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr (Cairo, 1934-72), 1:3:716; ibid., trans. Etienne Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Egypte, écrite en arabe par Taki-eddin-Ahmed Makrizi* (Paris, 1837-45), 2:64; idem, *Al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār fī Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Bulaq, 1270; reprint edition, n.d.), 2:406-7.

[9]Ḥasan ibn 'Umar Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh,* ed. Muḥammad M. Amīn (Cairo, 1976), 1, appendix, study, 296-328; edition, 329-96; excerpts (in French), a plan, and photographs can be found in Ahmed Issa Bey, *Histoire des Bimâristans (hôpitaux) à l'époque islamique: discours prononcé au Congrés international de médecine tropicale et d'hygiene tenu au Caire, décembre 1928* (Cairo, 1928), 40-76. See also Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Fihrist Wathā'iq al-Qāhirah ḥattá Nihāyat 'Aṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk (Catalogue des documents d'archives du Caire)* (Cairo, 1981).

[10]That the name is Ḥulayqah and not Khalīfah, as Ibn al-Furāt or his editor writes, is argued by J. Sublet in a note on Muhadhdhib al-Dīn and his brothers. See her edition of Muwaffaq Faḍl Allāh ibn Abī al-Fakhr al-Kātib al-Naṣrānī Ibn al-Ṣuqā'ī, *Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-A'yān,* ed. with translation and notes by J. Sublet (Damascus, 1974), 60-61, n. 69, n. 2.

[11]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 8:22-25. The diploma does not specify the geographic jurisdiction of the appointee.

[12]Ibid., 25-27; Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'* (Cairo, 1913-20; repr., 1963), 9:253-56.

THE HOSPITAL IN CAIRO

The sources tell us that in 682/1283[13] Qalāwūn purchased the site and commissioned the construction, in the street known as Bayn al-Qaṣrayn in the heart of what had been Fatimid Cairo, of a hospital, which he intended, along with his tomb *(qubbah),* to be the focal point of his monumental complex. The location chosen for the complex was the site of one of the former Fatimid palaces, now inhabited by some female descendants of the Ayyubid ruling family. The choice of site was quite deliberate. Qalāwūn clearly wished his monumental complex to be located in proximity to the tomb of his master, the last Ayyubid sultan of Egypt, al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb.[14] The sultan purchased the site through his agent *(wakīl)* and compensated the women with Qaṣr al-Zumurrud to which they were expeditiously removed.[15] Construction began in 683/1284-85 and was completed in 684/1285. Inaugural ceremonies, attended by the sultan, at which he dedicated the hospital to all classes of Muslims, were held soon after.[16]

Although this complex also included a madrasah and a Quran school for orphans *(maktab al-sabīl),* it is clear that Qalāwūn took special interest in the hospital. It was not the first hospital that he had founded. Early in his reign, in 680/1281-82, Qalāwūn established a hospital in Hebron about which, unfortunately,

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[13]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf al-Ayyām,* 55; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, ″Zubdah,″ fol. 144v; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:106; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 7:278; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:406; al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith,* 24. Ét. Combe, J. Sauvaget, and G. Wiet, eds. *Répertoire Chronologique d'Epigraphie Arabe (RCEA)* (Cairo, 1944), 13:34, no. 4850; 36, no. 4852, like no. 4850, mentions that it was begun in 683/1284-85 and finished in 684/1285-86; 37, no. 4853. These inscriptions, though found in the *bīmāristān,* nevertheless also mention the *qubbah* and madrasah. On the selection of this site see Linda S. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678-689 A.H./1279-1290 A.D.)* (Stuttgart, 1998), 119-20.

[14]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf al-Ayyām,* 56; Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, 119. John Hoag notes that the plan of Qalāwūn´s complex, with its long passageway dividing the tomb and madrasah, mirrors the plan of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb´s madrasah-tomb complex across the street. See his *Islamic Architecture* (New York, 1987), 80.

[15]Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, 119.

[16]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf al-Ayyām,* 126-29; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, ″Zubdah″; Shāfiʻ ibn ʻAlī, *Faḍl,* 168; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 31:106-7; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 8:9; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2:406-7. Inscriptions from the madrasah containing dates are recorded in *RCEA*, 13:30-36, nos. 4844-50, 4852-53. See also Michael Meinecke, *Die Mamlukischen Arkitektur in Ägypten und Syrien,* Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe, 5 (Gluckstadt, 1992), pt. 2:61. The combination of hospital and tomb in the pre-Mongol period is found in Damascus (Bīmāristān al-Qaymarī, constructed in 646/1248) where, however, the hospital is located across the street from the tomb, and at several sites in Anatolia. Qalāwūn´s complex appears to be the only Mamluk instance of this combination (Dr. Yasser Tabbaa, personal communication). See also *RCEA,* 12, nos. 4408, 4409, 4410, 4411.

no further information has as yet come to light.[17] Also, an inscription at the Nūrīyah in Damascus, dated 682/1283, records that renovations and further embellishments were undertaken at that hospital during Qalāwūn′s reign, probably on his orders.[18] Also, although the endowment provided by Qalāwūn for his hospital in Cairo was enormous, that for the madrasah was, say several sources, barely sufficient.[19] In fact, Shāfi‘ ibn ‘Alī, a scribe in Qalāwūn′s chancery and the author of a history of Qalāwūn′s reign, claims that Qalāwūn had not wanted to build a madrasah in the first place, that this was one of the ″*ziyādāt*,″[20] ″excesses″ or perhaps ″additions,″ of Qalāwūn′s mamluk, ‘Alam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Shujā‘ī, who besides serving several terms as vizier (or *mudabbir al-mamālik*) in charge of the financial administration, also frequently functioned as chief architect, engineer, and project manager in this sultan′s building program. In any case nothing was spared with regard to the hospital. Qalāwūn built, as is reported in the diploma for the Chair of Medicine, ″a hospital to dazzle the eyes.″[21] Medicine was taught in the hospital[22] and also, according to al-Maqrīzī, in the madrasah.[23] The library, housed in the *qubbah,* included medical texts, among them, probably, those donated by Ibn al-Nafīs.[24] The importance attached by Qalāwūn to the hospital was underlined by his appointment of the Chief Physician as professor of medicine at this institution. Far from being an honorary post or cushy sinecure, this position carried important responsibilities related to the supervision and regulation of the medical profession and its practitioners, including physicians *(al-aṭibbā’ al-ṭabā’īyah),* ophthalmologists *(al-kaḥḥālīn),* and surgeons *(al-jarā’iḥīyah).*[25] The diploma attests to the fact that a high standard of conduct was expected in the profession and that the responsibility for its upholding was delegated

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[17]Meinecke, *Arkitektur*, 57, and sources cited therein.

[18]Ibid., 59; *RCEA*, 13:13, no. 4820.

[19]Shāfi‘ ibn ‘Alī, *Faḍl,* 168, who claims the endowment amounted to one million dirhams per year; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:106; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 8:9.

[20]Shāfi‘ ibn ‘Alī (*Faḍl,* 168) claims that Qalāwūn did not order the construction of the madrasah, that he had wanted nothing more than the *bīmāristān,* and that at its inauguration, he almost did not enter.

[21]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 8:25; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A‘shá,* 11:254.

[22]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 31:108.

[23]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:380; Issa Bey, *Bimâristans,* 43. On the teaching of *ṭibb* in madrasahs, see J. Pedersen-[G. Makdisi], ″Madrasa: 6. Courses of instruction and personnel,″ *EI*[2], 5:1130; and Gary Leiser, ″Medical Education in Islamic Lands from the Seventh to the Fourteenth Century,″ *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 38 (1983): 56-59.

[24]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 31:111.

[25]See the *taqlīd* for the *riyāsat al-ṭibb*, Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 8, in which these duties are described. See also Ibn al-Nafīs, *Theologus*, 18; also Leiser, ″Medical Education,″ 71-72.

to the *ra'īs al-ṭibb*. Not only did the Chief Physician have authority over doctors and other practical day-to-day matters, but he was encouraged to pursue the more intellectual and theoretical side of his profession as well. The diploma urges that he ″be seized by the desire to occupy himself with works written in the field *(al-muṣannafāt),* the science of nutrition *('ilm al-taghdhīyah),* knowledge of the questions *(ma'rifat al-masā'il), ḥafẓ al-fuṣūl* (attentiveness to or protection of the branches or specializations [?]) and *baḥth* (study of) *al-qānūn wa-al-kulliyāt.*″[26]

Qalāwūn′s Motives

The founding of hospitals had most often been a royal enterprise, though not exclusively so. One has only to mention the hospitals established by the Buyid ruler 'Aḍūd al-Dawlah (d. ca. 367/978) in Baghdad, Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 270/884) in Cairo, Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī (d. 569/1174) in Damascus, and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (d. 589/1193) in Cairo and Jerusalem to demonstrate this point. Moreover, this prerogative seems to have been exercised most frequently not by the caliph, but by military rulers. Philanthropy of this sort was a particularly effective legitimizing strategy for secular military rulers, perhaps because hospitals functioned primarily as charitable and convalescent institutions along with whatever instruction they may have provided, and their charitable role especially gained widespread support. The *waqfīyah* for Qalāwūn′s hospital specifies that it was intended for all Muslims in need of medical attention, whether male or female, residing in Cairo or Miṣr (Fusṭāṭ) or their environs, or arriving from other provinces or countries. The Muslim sick and infirm would be treated at the hospital irrespective of race or other characteristics, whether rich or poor, regardless of their station in life.[27]

Not only was the establishment of hospitals an elite prerogative, but the direction of the hospital at this time was an office of state. In late thirteenth-century and early fourteenth-century Egypt, a high-ranking bureaucrat served in this capacity. Al-Nuwayrī (d. 732/1332), the author of the chronicle *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,* held this position at Qalāwūn′s hospital from 1303 to 1308, which certainly explains why his report, along with the endowment deed itself, provides the most detailed account of the services provided by the hospital.[28] Moreover, as already

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[26]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 8:23-24. It seems quite probable this last reference alludes to Ibn Sīnā′s *Al-Qānūn fī al-Ṭibb* and Ibn Rushd′s *Kitāb al-Kulliyāt* although it is possible that the sense intended might also be a more general one.

[27]Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirah*, 1, appendix, 358, lines 315-18. See also al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 31:107; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 8:9; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, 2:406.

[28]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 31:105-13. A well-known amir who later held this post was Ṣarghitmish, appointed by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. See Muḥammad M. Amīn, *Al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimā'īyah fī Miṣr, 648-923/1250-1517* (Cairo, 1980), 126.

noted, the appointment of the Chief Physician to the Chair of Medicine at the hospital signaled the importance attached by the sultan to this institution and also, perhaps, to the teaching of medicine.

Another factor which may have influenced the sultan′s decision to found a hospital is the fact that Cairo was now the preeminent capital of the Islamic world. Qalāwūn′s career in Egypt and Syria spanned the period in which Baghdad had fallen to the Mongols and the caliph had been killed. Baybars had brought a surviving member of the Abbasid family to Cairo and put him on the caliphal throne.[29] Cairo, then, was, in fact, the new seat of the caliphate. In its newly exalted position it was only fitting that this city should display all the trappings of the throne of Islam, including a hospital equal to the ʻAḍūdī hospital in Baghdad or the Nūrīyah in Damascus. The founding of a hospital was an entirely appropriate gesture, given the rising political star of the new seat of both caliphate and sultanate.

Yet another consideration may have been that the institution of *waqf* provided donors with a means to avoid confiscation of property or its fragmentation in adverse times or at death. Qalāwūn may have had such thoughts in mind when he established this institution with a rich endowment. Moreover, the *waqfīyah* allowed him to retain control during his lifetime. As *nāẓir* (supervisor) of the hospital, he would retain the right to administer the properties, a privilege his sons would inherit at his death, and which would devolve to his mamluks should his own bloodline die out.[30]

Finally, although this sultan gives no evidence of a particularly religious personality, perhaps Qalāwūn may have wished to cover his bases in this regard; a good deed now might win rewards in the Hereafter as the endowment deed actually reminds us.[31] A prophetic hadith, which constitutes part of the founding inscription for the renovations undertaken at the Nūrīyah during Qalāwūn′s reign,[32] is repeated in a slightly altered form in the *waqfīyah* for the *bīmāristān* (″Idhā

[29]See P. M. Holt, ″Some Observations on the ʻAbbasid Caliphate of Cairo,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 67 (1984): 501-7; Mounira Chapoutôt-Remadi, ″Une institution mal connue: le khalifat abbaside du Caire,″ *Cahiers de Tunisie* 22 (1972): 11-23; David Ayalon, ″Studies on the Transfer of the ʻAbbasid Caliphate from Baghdad to Cairo,″ *Arabica* 7 (1960): 41-59.

[30]Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirah,* 1, appendix, 329. See also al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:407.

[31]Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirah,* 1, appendix, 329.

[32]*RCEA*, 13:13, no. 4820 (″Idhā māta ibn Ādam inqaṭaʻa ʻamaluhu illā min thalāthin: ʻilm yantafiʻu bi-hi aw walad ṣāliḥ yadʻū lahu aw ṣadaqah jāriyah″).

māta al-ʿabd inqaṭaʿa ʿamaluhu illā min thalāthin: ṣadaqah jāriyah aw ʿilm yantafiʿu bi-hi aw walad ṣāliḥ yadʿū lahu. . . .″ [When a man dies, his deeds come to an end except in three respects: a permanent charitable donation, or learning from which one benefits, or a pious son who prays for him.])[33] and may have been taken to heart by Qalāwūn.

While the above suggestions are somewhat speculative, the sources suggest other possible, and perhaps more concrete, motives. One anecdote claims that Qalāwūn′s troops had massacred a large number of Cairenes over a three-day period. Remorseful, Qalāwūn vowed to build the hospital in recompense. That Qalāwūn would have ordered or sanctioned such a bloodbath, however, seems out of character, for he is described in contemporary sources as mild-tempered, abhorrent of bloodshed, his only fault being greed.[34] Elsewhere it is reported that during his amirate, having fallen ill in Syria as he set out on a campaign, Qalāwūn was treated and cured with medicine obtained from the Nūrīyah, the hospital built by Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zangī in Damascus. With health restored Qalāwūn eventually visited the hospital and was so awed by it that he vowed to build a hospital like it should he ever ascend the throne.[35] This explanation seems more plausible than the first and the sources do in a rather nebulous way link Qalāwūn with Nūr al-Dīn′s initiative.[36] Whether this motive was conjured up after the fact or actually played a role in Qalāwūn′s building program, however, cannot be known.

Qalāwūn′s decision to undertake this project must have been at least partially inspired by such considerations. Nevertheless, I find it of considerable interest that Qalāwūn should choose at this particular time, and in the context of the major monument of his reign, to patronize the medical, rather than the religious, sciences, for as is well attested, this was a religiously conservative age. The Crusades and the Mongol invasions had made Egypt and Syria in the thirteenth century the bulwark and refuge of Islam. The Mamluk ruling elite, in touch with the mood of the times and seeking to gain legitimacy for themselves and the cooperation of the religious establishment, whatever other projects they might undertake, made it their business to establish religious institutions (madrasahs, *khānqāh*s, *zāwiyah*s)—lots of them. Indeed, the urban landscape of cities like Cairo and Jerusalem was transformed during the Mamluk period by building projects of this kind. With the explosion of religious facilities the demand for religious personnel

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[33]Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirah*, I, appendix, 362, lines 246-247 and 330, n. 3.

[34]Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan,* 56, 142.

[35]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:406.

[36]For example, al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:408, mentions that whereas Nūr al-Dīn financed his hospital from a legal source, Qalāwūn′s financial sources were suspect. Qalāwūn′s renovations at the Nūrīyah also suggest a link (see above).

also grew. The increasingly well-entrenched religious elite and their religious, scholarly, and pedagogical activities eventually brought about an intensification of the religious atmosphere.

On the other hand the medical sciences, associated as they were with the Ancients, though they had provided the starting point and basis for Islamic medicine, were, at least at some level and in some circles, especially perhaps among Hanbalis,[37] regarded with a certain disdain because of their non-Islamic or pre-Islamic, secular, origin. A well-trained physician was expected to have studied philosophy as well, a characteristic that would have won disapprobation in some religiously conservative quarters.[38] Also, the medical profession had until the eleventh century been dominated by *dhimmī*s, i.e., Christians and Jews. Even in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's day in late twelfth-century Egypt, many *dhimmī* physicians were in his service.[39] At a time when anti-Christian sentiment was perhaps on the rise, the medical sciences may have suffered to some degree because of their close connection with non-Muslim practitioners. In fact, the *waqfīyah* for Qalāwūn's hospital specifies that Christians and Jews were neither to be treated nor employed there.[40] It is all the more interesting then that the appointee to the Chair of Medicine was a recent Christian convert to Islam.[41] The medical sciences were, therefore, in some sense "tainted." Among some upper class and well-educated Muslims, however, a more liberal attitude toward the secular sciences does seem to have prevailed. We know, for example, that the medical sciences were among the subjects of interest and discussion in the salons of the ruling elite.[42]

At the popular level hospitals were seen primarily as charitable institutions, not especially as institutions of medical learning or research associated with a

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[37]Meyerhof and Schacht, introduction to Ibn al-Nafīs, *Theologus,* 6.

[38]See Emilie Savage-Smith, "Medicine," in *Encyclopaedia of the History of Arabic Science,* ed. R. Rashed (London and New York, 1996), 954.

[39]Twenty-one physicians were employed in his service, of whom eight were Muslims, eight were Jews, and five were Christians. Max Meyerhof, "Sultan Saladin's Physician on the Transmission of Greek Medicine to the Arabs," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 18 (1945): 169; reprinted in idem, in *Studies in Medieval Arabic Medicine,* 3:169. See also Leiser, "Medical Education," 49, and references cited therein.

[40]Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirah*, 1, appendix, 323, lines 250-51.

[41]See below.

[42]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 8:23, where in the diploma it is mentioned that Muhadhdhib al-Dīn and his father had been in the service of kings and that he and his brothers had grown up in their presence, etc. See also Schacht and Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy,* 9 and Meyerhof and Schacht, introduction to Ibn al-Nafīs, *Theologus,* 16, citing al-Ṣafadī's biography of Ibn al-Nafīs, stating that Muhadhdhib al-Dīn was among those amirs and others who used to seek the company of Ibn al-Nafīs at his house.

non-Islamic or pre-Islamic tradition.[43] As charitable institutions, hospitals could be used as an instrument to win popular support.[44] Qalāwūn′s reputation as a beneficent ruler flourished at least partly through his association with the hospital as a charitable institution rather than an institution of medical learning. As late as the nineteenth century women visited his tomb to receive the sultan′s *barakah* (blessing) which, they believed, would save them from childlessness.[45] In fact, Qalāwūn′s name is still to this day revered; it is now attached to the eye clinic which stands on the site of the original hospital.

Yet, the teaching of the medical sciences was, in my view, a most important aspect of Qalāwūn′s hospital.[46] The *waqfīyah* reiterates the need for members of the medical profession who ″are concerned with *'ilm al-ṭibb,″* not just treatment, to be employed at the hospital.[47] The *waqfīyah* also specifically provides for the appointment of a doctor who will occupy himself with '*ilm al-ṭibb* in its various fields and who will sit in the large ″office″ (*al-maṣṭabah al-kubrá,* lit. the large stone bench or platform) designated for him.[48] Al-Nuwayrī, who as *nāẓir* of the hospital in the early fourteenth century had personal experience of its administration, records that the *ra'īs al-aṭibbā'*, whose functions have already been described, and who was simultaneously appointed to the Chair of Medicine in the hospital during Qalāwūn′s reign, was to give lectures in medicine which the students would find useful (″yajlisu fīhi ra'īs al-aṭibbā' li-ilqā' dars ṭibb yantafi'u bi-hi al-ṭalabah″).[49] The *taqlid* for the Chair of Medicine elaborates: included in the *waqf* was the creation of a place specifically for those concerned with *'ilm al-ṭibb* ″which was [now] almost unknown. . . He selected for the purpose from among the learned in medicine those who were best suited to lecturing (man yaṣluḥu li-ilqā' al-durūs), and from whom both the chief *(ra'īs)* and the deputy *(mar'ūs)* among the people of this profession would benefit.″[50] The emphasis here seems to be on teaching. Thus, though the hospital was perhaps seen primarily as a charitable

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[43]Dols, *Medieval Islamic Medicine,* 31, 35; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Fatḥ Allāh and Abū Zakariyya: Physicians under the Mamluks* (Cairo, 1987), 17.

[44]Dols, *Medieval Islamic Medicine,* 35.

[45]Stanley Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages* (London, 1921; repr. 1925), 283-84.

[46]In this I disagree with Behrens-Abouseif, who states (*Physicians under the Mamluks,* 17) that though many hospitals had a doctor on staff, not much teaching of the medical sciences actually occurred in them. At the Manṣūrīyah, she says, the teaching of medicine was not an important function since, according to the *waqfīyah,* only one doctor was employed.

[47]Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirah*, 1, appendix, 359, line 220; 366, lines 284-85.

[48]Ibid., 366, lines 284-85.

[49]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 31:108.

[50]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 8:26.

institution, the teaching of the medical sciences was, nevertheless, an important focus. This once again suggests that Qalāwūn was interested not only in gaining popular favor through charity, but also in fostering medical learning.[51]

The documents associated with the hospital and with the appointments to medical posts during Qalāwūn's reign provide further evidence for the importance of the teaching of medicine in the hospital. The *taqlīd* for the Chief Physicianship *(riyāsat al-ṭibb)* suggests that, as has been related, "because *'ilm* is of two kinds, the science of religion *('ilm al-adyān)* and the science of the body *('ilm al-abdān),"* Qalāwūn was determined to improve knowledge *(al-naẓar)* in these two sciences.[52] This idea is reiterated in the *taqlīd* for the appointment to the Chair of Medicine at the hospital. This document states that whereas those kings who had preceded him had occupied themselves with the science of religion, they had neglected the science of the body; each of them had built a madrasah, but none had concerned himself with a hospital.[53] Thus, they had neglected the saying of the Prophet that "learning is of two kinds" *[al-'ilm 'ilmān]*.[54] None of his predecessors had encouraged any of his subjects to occupy himself with the science of medicine; none had created a *waqf* to support the pursuit of learning in this science *['alá ṭalabat hādhā al-'ilm]*. None had prepared a place for those who occupied themselves with this science; nor had they appointed anyone to represent this occupation. When he realized this, Qalāwūn joined through these religious and worldly means ("waṣalnā min hādhihi al-asbāb al-dīnīyah wa-al-dunyawīyah mā faṣalūhu") what his predecessors had severed and he built a hospital.[55] These passages make it clear that Qalāwūn made a deliberate decision to sponsor the medical sciences.

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[51]Dols (*Medieval Islamic Medicine,* 32) remarks that "there was keen competition for instruction in these hospitals, which played an increasingly important role in medical education. . . . A close association can be seen between the highly developed hospitals and medical education in medieval Islamic society."

[52]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 8:23.

[53]To which predecessors does the document refer since, in fact, rulers such as Nūr al-Dīn and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had built hospitals? I would suggest the possibility that the Ayyubids al-Malik al-Kāmil and al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb and the Mamluk al-Ẓāhir Baybars are intended. Qalāwūn had close ties with all three. He had probably been a mamluk of al-Kāmil before passing into the service of al-Ṣālih and was a close associate of al-Ẓāhir Baybars. See Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan,* 65-75. Furthermore, the *waqfīyah* states that Qalāwūn built the hospital in the "*khaṭṭ*" [quarter] of the Kāmilīyah, the Ṣālihīyah, and the Zāhirīyah madrasahs, thereby making a visual statement regarding his patronage. See Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirah*, 1, appendix, 355, lines 194-95. See also Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah's biography (*'Uyūn al-Anbā'*, 590-99) of the father, Rashīd al-Dīn Ibn Abī Ḥulayqah, in which his relations with these three rulers is well documented.

[54]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 8:25. Issa Bey (*Bimâristans,* 42) cites a verse by Būsīrī without, unfortunately, giving his source: "Tu fondas une école et un Bimaristan, Pour redresser les religions et les corps."

[55]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 8:25.

The problem is how to interpret his choice. Did he, perhaps, simply want to distinguish himself from his predecessors? Should his medical project be seen as a challenge to the religious conservatism or narrowmindedness of certain groups? Or was Qalāwūn′s aim to restore balance between the spiritual and the physical as the rhetoric suggests?

The deliberate way in which Qalāwūn approached this project, his previous sponsorship of hospitals and the multiple mentions in the documents of the need to redress the balance between the religious and the medical sciences suggest that his agenda, in addition to whatever political and social goals were involved, was also inspired by concern for the medical sciences themselves. His appointments in the field might be expected to reflect this concern.

THE APPOINTMENT OF MUHADHDHIB AL-DĪN IBN ABĪ ḤULAYQAH (B. 620/1223) TO THE CHAIR OF MEDICINE

The quality of institutions is determined, not just by the physical facilities, or the services described in brochures (or in this case the *waqfīyāt*), but by those associated with them, who administer them and who practice and teach in them. In this regard the teaching appointment at the hospital may be significant and an inquiry into the holders of the office during Qalāwūn′s reign might be expected to provide insights regarding Qalāwūn′s decision to support the medical sciences and the agenda behind his patronage. The qadi Muhadhdhib al-Dīn Ibn Abī Ḥulayqah and his brothers, the qadis ʻAlam al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (d. 708/1308-9)[56] and Muwaffaq al-Dīn Aḥmad Abū al-Khayr, were the sons of Rashīd al-Dīn Abū al-Waḥsh Ibn Ḥulayqah (d. 676/1277-78).[57] Rashīd al-Dīn was the most prominent pupil of the well-known Chief Physician in Damascus, Muhadhdhib al-Dīn Ibn al-Dakhwār (564-65–627-28/1169–1230), who in ca. 622/1225 gave as *waqf* his house for use as a medical school.[58] Rashīd al-Dīn was thus connected by his training with one of the most outstanding members of the medical profession in thirteenth-century Egypt and Syria. From the diploma for the *riyāsat al-ṭibb* we learn that Rashīd al-Dīn had been in the service of kings *(mulūk)* and that the brothers had grown up in their presence.[59] This family was, then, also well-connected. Rashīd al-Dīn′s three sons were appointed jointly to the *riyāsat al-ṭibb* in 684/1284-85. Muhadhdhib al-Dīn, however, was designated as the primary *ra'īs* among them.[60] Qalāwūn

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[56]Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirah,* 1:708-9.

[57]Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʻah, *ʻUyūn al-Anbā',* 590-98; Ibn al-Ṣuqāʻī, *Tālī,* 263; see also n. 69.

[58]Issa Bey, *Bimâristans,* 16; Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science,* 2:1099; Meyerhof, ″Lesser Circulation,″ 110; idem, *Studies in Medieval Arabic Medicine,* 6:103-4, 110.

[59]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 8:23.

[60]Ibid.*,* 8:24.

appointed him to the Chair of Medicine at the hospital as well.[61] Al-Ṣafadī's biography of Ibn al-Nafīs yields the interesting bit of information that in addition to the "princes" who used to seek company in his house was Muhadhdhib al-Dīn Ibn Abī Ḥulayqah, the Chief Physician.[62] Muhadhdhib al-Dīn, therefore, might be considered a protege of Ibn al-Nafīs and thus linked with the great tradition of medical men connected to the Nūrīyah and even the ʻAḍūdī hospital in Baghdad.[63] Yet Muhadhdhib al-Dīn leaves little trace in the sources. He does not seem to have distinguished himself in any way, nor to have made any outstanding contribution to the science or profession of medicine while in office, if the silence of the sources is any indication.[64]

In the tradition of medieval Islamic prosopography, the biographical dictionaries and necrologies found in many chronicles of the time reflect an ideal but supply little personal detail. The diplomas provide scant additional information. Nevertheless, it may be worthwhile to give some attention to the way in which Ibn Abī Ḥulayqah is described in the two diplomas at our disposal. The diploma of appointment to the *riyāsat al-ṭibb* simply states that Qalāwūn has appointed Ibn Abī Ḥulayqah to both the *riyāsah* and the *tadrīs* because he has raised him to the place of Ibn Sīnā.[65] In the diploma for the Chair of Medicine at the hospital, Ibn Abī Ḥulayqah is called the "Ḥakīm Hippocrates," "al-Jalīl Socrates," "al-Fāḍil Galen," and "al-Afḍal Dioscorides." He is the "Socrates of the region *(al-iqlīm),*" the "Galen of his time" and "the Ibn Sīnā of the day." Stock phrases though they may be, expectations were apparently high.[66]

Given the fact that hospitals in general were widely seen as charitable, rather than as teaching, institutions, one must also inquire regarding the nature of the Chair of Medicine at Qalāwūn's hospital in Cairo. Qalāwūn appointed not just a learned physician but the same man he had appointed to the *riyāsat al-ṭibb*. Was his main goal simply to elevate the status of the hospital by appointing the Chief Physician to the teaching post in it? Unfortunately, neither the *waqfīyah,* which mentions the teaching function at the hospital, nor the *taqlīd* which appoints Ibn Abī Ḥulayqah to the professorship at the hospital tells us anything about his actual teaching duties or the curriculum other than that he was to sit in the place

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[61]Ibid., 25.

[62]Meyerhof, "Lesser Circulation," 110; idem, *Studies in Medieval Arabic Medicine,* 6:110.

[63]On the chain of teachers and students linking Baghdad with Damascus and Cairo, see Meyerhof and Schacht, introduction to Ibn al-Nafīs, *Theologus,* 8-9.

[64]Issa Bey, *Bimâristans,*12-74, provides a list of doctors who served at the Bīmāristān. Muhadhdhib al-Dīn is not included in his list.

[65]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh*, 8:24.

[66]Ibid., 26.

provided for him at the scheduled hours, where he would give lectures of benefit to the students.

Although we may not be able to learn much about Ibn Abī Ḥulayqah himself, the diploma of appointment to the professorship of medicine at the hospital suggests expectations for this individual. Indeed, it contains a curious but extremely interesting reference which may be key and which, I believe, addresses the sultan's aspirations for his appointee. The reference reads: ". . . wa li-yubṭil bi-taqwīmihi al-ṣiḥḥah mā allafahu Ibn Buṭlān . . ." (. . . may he [Ibn Abī Ḥulayqah] negate by his Tables of Health that which Ibn Buṭlān wrote . . .),[67] a play on words which carries an historical allusion clearly intended to awaken the memory of an incident which had occurred two centuries earlier in Fatimid Cairo, namely, the bitter personal encounter and scientific dispute between two physicians, Ibn Buṭlān and ʻAlī ibn Riḍwān, of which a partial written record has been preserved.[68] What meaning would this reference have had for the thirteenth-century reader of this document? Does it shed any light on Qalāwūn's motives?

Ibn Buṭlān and Ibn Riḍwān: Ghosts from the Fatimid Past

Ibn Buṭlān (d. 458/1066) was a resident of Baghdad, a Nestorian Christian and theologian, and perhaps a priest.[69] But he was also a physician and the author of a number of works, the most important and well known of which was his *Taqwīm al-Ṣiḥḥah* or *Tables of Health (Tabula* or *Tacuini Sanitatis).* This work, borrowing a technique from astronomy, systematically arranged information on hygiene, dietetics, and domestic medicine in tabular form, an idea that seems to have been original in this field at that time.[70] The reference in our document plays both on Ibn Buṭlān's name (from the root *b-ṭ-l, yubṭil*) and on the title of his work, *Taqwīm al-Ṣiḥḥah.*

In 440/1049, Ibn Buṭlān set out from Baghdad for Cairo. The primary purpose of his trip seems to have been to make the acquaintance of the learned Muslim Cairene doctor Ibn Riḍwān. They did meet but, unfortunately, took an instant and bitter dislike to each other on several accounts. The acrimonious nature of their relationship can be partially explained by Ibn Riḍwān's difficult personality. He was known for his venomous attacks against both the living and the dead (including such luminaries as Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq, the famous Nestorian Christian physician

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[67]Ibid.

[68]Schacht and Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy.*

[69]J. Schacht, "Ibn Buṭlān," *EI*[2], 3:740. See Ibn Buṭlān, *Le Taqwīm al-Ṣiḥḥah (Tacuini Sanitatis) d'Ibn Buṭlān: un traité médical du XIe siècle,* history of text, edition, translation, and commentary by Hosam Elkhadem (Louvain, 1990), for a well-documented biography.

[70]Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science,* 1:731.

and translator of ancient Greek medical texts [d. 260/873], al-Rāzī, the illustrious physician and philosopher [d. 313/925 or 323/935], Ibn al-Jazzār, the Qayrawani physician [d. 395/1004-5], and Ibn Buṭlān′s own Christian teacher Ibn al-Ṭayyib, learned in medicine but also in the Islamic religious sciences [d. 435/1043]).[71] At the lowest level their mutual dislike turned on physical appearances. Ibn Riḍwān criticized Ibn Buṭlān′s looks, but not to be outdone, Ibn Buṭlān responded in verse:

> When his face appeared to the midwives
> They recoiled in perplexity
> And said, keeping their words to themselves:
> Alas, had we only left him in the uterus.[72]

Though their mutual dislike extended to this very personal level, it was also fueled by their disagreement over more serious intellectual issues regarding the method of study, curriculum, and practice of medicine. The dispute itself concerned the ″issue of differences in the constitutions of newborn birds and chickens,″[73] or which is warmer, the chicken or the bird (?), an issue which was, in fact, central to the Galenic system, the study of bodily humors in relation to disease.[74] Ibn Buṭlān, though a follower of Hippocrates and Galen, nevertheless challenged the traditional belief in this regard to which his adversary Ibn Riḍwān, also an ardent devotee of Galenism, firmly adhered.[75] As Dols notes, their dispute over whether the chicken or the bird was warmer presents both of these learned doctors at their absolute worst.[76] Of greater importance is that it does bring into focus several significant medical issues in the medieval Arab Islamic world, namely: the persistence and strength of the Hellenistic tradition in this period,[77] the tension between dogmatism and empiricism in Hellenistic learning and in medieval Islamic medicine,[78] and the question of how best to study medicine.[79]

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[71] J. Schacht, ″Ibn Riḍwān,″ *EI*^{2}, 3:906; Dols, *Medieval Islamic Medicine,* 61.

[72] From the *Conflict of the Physicians,* quoted by Dols, *Medieval Islamic Medicine,* 61.

[73] Dols, *Medieval Islamic Medicine,* 65-66.

[74] Ibid., 10. Humoral pathology is the idea that everything is composed of four elements: earth, fire, air, and water with their respective qualities of cold, hot, dry, and wet. In the body food is transformed into four substances: blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile. When these substances are in balance, health and well-being result.

[75] Ibid., 65-66 and n. 342.

[76] Ibid., 65.

[77] Ibid., 66, n. 344, citing Schacht.

[78] Ibid., 21.

[79] Schacht and Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy,* 19; see also, Dols, *Medieval Islamic*

Ibn Riḍwān and Ibn Buṭlān came from very different backgrounds and had entered the medical profession by very different educational routes. Ibn Buṭlān seems to have led a privileged life. He was well-educated, well-traveled, and, though a Christian, well-versed in the Islamic sciences and in Arabic literature. He knew Greek and Syriac and had studied with some of the most famous physicians of his day. He was also the author of a number of works, including, in addition to his *Taqwīm,* the *Da'wat al-Aṭibbā'* or *The Doctors´ Dinner Party* (a criticism of medical charlatanism), a book of remedies, a treatise on the purchase of slaves and detection of physical defects in them, and the memoirs of his trip from Baghdad to Cairo.[80] Ibn Riḍwān´s family in contrast was poor. He was the son of a baker in Giza and had probably never left Cairo. Unable to afford study with any learned doctor, Ibn Riḍwān, by working as an astrologer on the streets of Cairo, managed to earn enough to acquire a basic medical education, largely through self-study. Having become very learned in the medical sciences, he eventually worked his way up through the ranks to the post of Chief Physician.[81] He was, in fact, no slouch. His literary output, consisting mainly of medical treatises, was copious,[82] and in his writing Ibn Riḍwān demonstrates a thorough knowledge of ancient Greek medicine and a firm loyalty to Galen.[83] Yet, despite their widely divergent origins, Ibn Riḍwān and Ibn Buṭlān share some points in common. Both were extremely well-grounded in the classical curriculum, based on Hippocrates and especially Galen. Both expressed dismay at what they perceived to be the slipping standards of medical education in their day.[84] In other words both shared a common culture which demonstrates the continuing strength of the Hellenistic tradition in the medieval Arab Islamic world.[85]

Their dispute, however, also brings to light the existence of tension within Hellenistic learning itself between Dogmatism on the one hand and Empiricism on the other. The Dogmatists hoped ˝to create an exact science of medicine on the basis of the largely empirical writings of Hippocrates,˝ ˝through philosophic speculation formulated on a priori principles or *dogmata* of medical knowledge,˝ ˝and deduced treatments from them.˝[86] The Empiricists, on the other hand,

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Medicine, 64.

[80]Dols, *Medieval Islamic Medicine,* 52, n. 255; Schacht, ˝Ibn Buṭlān,˝ *EI*[2], 741.

[81]Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, *'Uyūn al-Anbā'*, 563; Dols, *Medieval Islamic Medicine,* 55-56.

[82]Schacht, ˝Ibn Riḍwān,˝ 906.

[83]Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, *'Uyūn al-Anbā',* 562; Schacht, ˝Ibn Riḍwān,˝ 906-7; Dols, *Medieval Islamic Medicine,* 63.

[84]On Ibn Riḍwān see Dols, *Medieval Islamic Medicine,* 29; for Ibn Buṭlān see below, his treatise on medical charlatanism.

[85]Dols, *Medieval Islamic Medicine,* 66.

[86]Ibid., 21.

recommended ″observation and experience and used the inductive method.″[87] Both trends, already present within Galenism, had been absorbed by Islamic medicine.[88] In this dispute Ibn Riḍwān in some respects appears to be more closely attached to the Dogmatist school whereas Ibn Buṭlān, in his challenge to the traditional Galenic belief regarding the chicken and the bird, demonstrates a more liberal spirit.[89]

Finally, the two men were at each other′s throats over the question of how best to study medicine. Ibn Riḍwān was a self-taught man who had learned most of what he knew from books,[90] and, as has been pointed out by others, he made of that necessity a virtue in his argument with Ibn Buṭlān. Hellenistic learning then was not the issue between them; rather it boiled down to who was better educated in that tradition, and it was in this framework that the issue of how best to acquire a superior medical education arose.[91]

Conflicting opinions regarding the two doctors are found in the works of their medieval colleagues as well as in those of modern scholars. Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʻah considered Ibn Riḍwān ″a better medical man and better trained in the philosophical and associated sciences.″[92] On the other hand, Ibn al-Qifṭī summed up Ibn Riḍwān as ″a man of narrow mind and not of sound judgment.″[93] More recently M. C. Lyons has remarked that while Ibn Riḍwān′s critique of medieval medicine in the Islamic world is in some respects ″self-deceiving,″ nevertheless it may ring true, for similar thoughts are found in the works of Ibn Rushd.[94] Finally, Joseph Schacht and Max Meyerhof concluded that Ibn Riḍwān was ″not an original thinker but merely a strong exponent of Hippocrates′ and Galen′s thought, except for his list of remedies that were unknown to the ancients.″[95] Whatever the case may be, it is clear that while sharing a common tradition and some ideas, Ibn Riḍwān and Ibn Buṭlān were of different social background, religious affiliation, and approach to their profession.

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[87]Ibid.

[88]Ibid.

[89]Ibid., 65-66, especially n. 342; also Schacht, ″Ibn Buṭlān,″ *EI*^{2}, 741. On the Dogmatist (Ibn Sīnā)-Empiricist (al-Rāzī) spectrum, Elkhadem places Ibn Buṭlān closer to al-Rāzī, the leader of the Empiricist tradition. See his commentary in Ibn Buṭlān, *Le Taqwīm,* 25.

[90]Schacht, ″Ibn Riḍwān,″ *EI*^{2}, 907.

[91]Dols, *Medieval Islamic Medicine,* 66.

[92]Ibid., 64-65

[93]Ibid.

[94]Ibid.

[95]Ibid.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE REFERENCE TO IBN BUṬLĀN IN THE DIPLOMA ISSUED TO MUHADHDHIB AL-DIN IBN ABĪ ḤULAYQAH

Now, finally, we must consider the intent behind the inclusion of the reference to Ibn Buṭlān in Ibn Abī Ḥulayqah′s diploma and what the appointee would have inferred from it. In some respects it seems strange that this dispute should be recalled two centuries later. Yet, the reference assumes that the reader is familiar with what was intended, a point which is in itself of interest. In fact, Ibn Buṭlān′s works were still popular. The *Taqwīm al-Ṣiḥḥah* had caused a stir in its day because Ibn Buṭlān had had the novel idea to adapt a method of presenting information, which until then had been used only in astronomy, to the field of medicine. The use of tables allowed him to systematize a great deal of information. The method was eventually applied in still other fields, in geography, for example.[96] In fact, the use of tables became such a popular way of presenting information that the term ″*taqwīm,*″ which until then had retained the original sense of ″rectification,″ ″correction,″ or ″reform,″ came to mean in thirteenth-century common usage simply ″tables.″[97] Further evidence of the enduring popularity of this work in the thirteenth century is that the first translation of the *Taqwīm al-Ṣiḥḥah* into Latin seems to have been made at that time, quite probably in the second half of the century, the date of the earliest extant manuscript (and there are a large number of them).[98] Finally, another indication that Ibn Buṭlān′s works were still widely read is the fact that the earliest Mamluk painting to have survived is a miniature from a manuscript of his *Daʿwat al-Aṭibbāʾ (The Doctors′ Dinner Party)* which dates to 1273.[99] Thus, we know for a fact that Ibn Buṭlān′s name was still on people′s lips; his works were widely known and read in the second half of the thirteenth century. Most well-educated Muslims would have been familiar with Ibn Buṭlān′s works and most probably would have understood the allusions found in the *taqlīd*. The problem for us is one of interpretation. As we have seen there are many levels to the original dispute between Ibn Buṭlān and Ibn Riḍwān and we are not even certain whether the reference in the *taqlīd* aims to recall some aspect of that dispute or whether it refers to the *Taqwīm* itself. What then exactly did the scribe intend by exhorting Ibn Abī Ḥulayqah to ″negate″ by his *taqwīm* (or his rectification, reform, correction) what Ibn Buṭlān had written?

One thought that comes to mind is that this rather hostile reference to Ibn Buṭlān may have been inspired by his Christianity. Ibn Abī Ḥulayqah, it should be remembered, was a recent convert. The reference might have been the scribe′s

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[96]Ibn Buṭlān, *Le Taqwīm,* 37-38.

[97]Ibid., 14.

[98]Ibid., 43.

[99]Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (Cleveland, 1962), 143-44.

way of reminding Ibn Abī Ḥulayqah of his place. But Ibn Buṭlān had lived in a more liberal age when discussions between Christians and Muslims, especially at the Fatimid court in Egypt, were nothing out of the ordinary and when, in fact, there even seems to have been something of a Christian revival in Egypt.[100] Ibn Buṭlān, though a Christian, was well versed in the Islamic sciences and Ibn Riḍwān counted Jews among his closest colleagues. Thus, it seems unlikely that Ibn Riḍwān's acrimonious attacks against others, including Ibn Buṭlān, were religiously motivated and that the dispute was remembered in that way.[101] By the thirteenth century, however, the atmosphere had changed and the pressures on the Dār al-Islām had resulted in an intensification of the religious environment. During Qalāwūn's reign two centuries later, I have argued elsewhere that, even in the face of the Crusades and the Mongol invasions, there was no large-scale persecution of Christians; whatever anti-Christian measures were taken during his reign were directed against Christian employees in the financial diwans.[102] It was precisely in this regard that Ghāzī ibn al-Wāsiṭī, himself a bureaucrat and contemporary of Qalāwūn, wrote his tract against the employment of Christians and Jews in the bureaucracy.[103] The *waqfīyah* for the hospital does include an explicit injunction against the employment of Christians and Jews as well as against their treatment there.[104] The fact that Muhadhdhib al-Dīn belonged to a family of recent converts to Islam could, therefore, have occasioned the reference to Ibn Buṭlān. Muhadhdhib al-Dīn had converted to Islam during the reign of Baybars;[105] ʻAlam al-Dīn, his younger brother, converted just before his appointment;[106] the third brother, Muwaffaq al-Dīn Aḥmad, had apparently converted to Islam only in 683/1283-84, a timely conversion in light of the fact that soon after, he too was appointed jointly with his brothers to the *riyāsat al-ṭibb*. He converted in the sultan's presence whereupon the sultan bestowed upon him a robe of honor.[107] To accept the

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[100]Gary Leiser, "The *Madrasa* and the Islamization of the Middle East: The Case of Egypt," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 22 (1985): 29-35.

[101]Schacht and Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy,* 14.

[102]Linda S. Northrup, "Muslim-Christian Relations during the Reign of the Mamluk Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, A.D. 1278-1290," in *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Michael Gervers and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi (Toronto, 1986), 259.

[103]R. J. H. Gottheil, "An Answer to the Dhimmis," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 41 (1921): 383-457. See also Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan,* 200, 224, 229 for further references to Ghāzī al-Wāsiṭī.

[104]Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirah*, 1, appendix, 367, lines 295-97.

[105]Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʻah, *ʻUyūn al-Anbāʼ,* 598.

[106]Ibn al-Ṣuqāʻī, *Tālī,* 60, n. 69.

[107]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1:3:722.

appointment, even as a junior member of the family triumvirate, he had to be Muslim. While hostility to Ibn Buṭlān in the original incident does not seem to have been based on religion, it is possible that, given the recent conversion of the Ibn Abī Ḥulayqah family to Islam and the prohibition in the *waqfīyah* of the employment or treatment of *dhimmī*s at the hospital, this derogatory reference to Ibn Buṭlān in the *taqlīd* may have been intended to remind them of their place, especially as in the *riyāsah* they had some authority over other doctors, including Muslims.[108] Perhaps there was sensitivity to the fact that the work of Ibn Buṭlān, a Christian, had gained such popularity and that the new appointee to the professorship at the hospital was but a recent convert and perhaps not a very sincere one at that. The Christian biographer, Ibn al-Ṣuqāʿī, seems to want to reassure this readers in this regard when he reports that although one of the brothers, ʿAlam al-Dīn Ibn Abī Ḥulayqah, had been offered the patriarchate (before his conversion to Islam), he had declined it.[109]

Ibn Buṭlān was also criticized for his willingness to stray from the Galenic straight path.[110] When he realized through observation the necessity of correcting an axiom of Galenic medicine, he had no difficulty in doing so. Ibn Riḍwān had been much more rigid in his adherence to Galen. Like Ibn Buṭlān, Ibn al-Nafīs in thirteenth century Egypt, though as well-grounded in Galen as his predecessors, was critical of the master and in fact, on the basis of his observation, refuted Galen in his discovery of the lesser circulation of the blood. Ibn al-Nafīs, however, was not admonished for his empiricist tendencies. In fact, he was revered, as is demonstrated by the fact that the ruling elite and physicians sought his company. Thus, one´s position toward Galenism also does not seem to have inspired the reference.

I tend to think that the rather adversarial innuendo behind this play on words has to do with the nature of the *Taqwīm al-Ṣiḥḥah* itself. As we have seen, Ibn Buṭlān´s great contribution was to have pioneered a method to systematize data in the form of tables. Elkhadem argues that Ibn Buṭlān had a social as well as a practical goal: to make hygiene and health information more accessible and understandable to the general public.[111] At the same time, however, this form of presenting data might be seen as a perfect illustration of Ibn Riḍwān´s contention that standards in medical education were slipping. Ibn Riḍwān had been critical of the growing tendency to write summaries and to study medicine from compendiums

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[108]According to the *taqlīd* (Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 8:244), Muhadhdhib al-Dīn was made preeminent among the three brothers and in this position had important responsibilities (see above).

[109]Ibn al-Ṣuqāʿī, *Tālī,* 60, n. 69.

[110]Schacht and Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy,* 78.

[111]Ibn Buṭlān, *Le Taqwīm*, 14-21, 28 for a discussion of the organization and contents of the work.

rather than from the original works; students no longer studied original texts but only the abridgements or summaries. Ibn Buṭlān's *Taqwīm* would seem to illustrate the point.[112] Despite Ibn Buṭlān's attack on medical charlatanism and slipping standards of medical education, his own *Taqwīm* was perhaps viewed as the very kind of work that was leading to the decline in the medical sciences. The diploma, as we have seen, suggests that the teaching of medicine was in Qalāwūn's day neglected, almost unheard of. The reference to the *Taqwīm al-Ṣiḥḥah* may, thus, have been intended to exhort Muhadhdhib al-Dīn in his new teaching position to restore the status of the science of medicine to its former high level by promoting (like Ibn Riḍwān and contrary to Ibn Buṭlān) the study of the medical sciences from the original texts. Whatever the case may be, the reference to the dispute seems to establish Ibn Riḍwān as a role model for Ibn Abī Ḥulayqah.

CONCLUSION

Qalāwūn's deliberate decision to patronize the medical rather than the religious sciences was certainly motivated by a complex of religious, political, social, and personal considerations. These considerations included piety, charity, the preeminent status of Cairo in the Islamic world of the late thirteenth century, legitimation, relations between the religious (and especially the conservative) elite and the Mamluk ruling class, and possibly the personal benefits accruing to the donor of a *waqf*. Beyond these important, though quite mundane goals, however, the sources hint that Qalāwūn may have aimed at something more: the fostering of medical learning. At the least, it appears that he wished to restore the balance between the spiritual and medical branches of learning. More ambitiously, he may have wished to restore the medical sciences to their former glory. Our inquiry into his patronage has produced some tantalizing fragments of information regarding the intellectual environment which informed his decision, but no conclusive evidence that enables us to decipher with any certainty the nature of his own personal vision. His hospital, planted among the madrasahs of his predecessors, was intended to make a statement, but it is difficult to translate that statement in full. Whereas Qalāwūn's monuments constituted a dramatic visual affirmation of his sponsorship of the medical sciences and of his aspirations in their regard, aspirations that are reiterated in a literary way in the diplomas, his appointment of Muhadhdhib al-Dīn Ibn Abī Ḥulayqah to the *riyāsat al-ṭibb* and the *tadrīs al-bimāristān* is more puzzling. The sources are silent regarding Muhadhdhib al-Dīn's accomplishments, suggesting that he may have failed to fulfill expectations. Yet it would be unfair to judge Qalāwūn's patronage of the medical sciences on the basis of this one appointment. If, moreover, the intent of the reference in the

[112]Schacht and Meyerhof, *Medico-Philosophical Controversy,* 22.

diploma was to intimate sultanic support for the approach to the restoration of the science and study of medicine favored by Ibn Riḍwān (i.e., a return to the study of original texts), then the opportunity to pursue new knowledge through the empirical method favored by al-Rāzī, Ibn Buṭlān, Ibn al-Nafīs, and others may have been lost, not for lack of intellectual vitality but simply because of the path chosen. Before arriving at such a conclusion, however, the impact of Qalāwūn´s patronage on the medical sciences must be further explored through a study of the hospital, its charitable and educational roles, the fortunes and management of its endowment, and the careers of Muhadhdhib al-Dīn´s successors in the years following Qalāwūn´s reign. This path will be followed in another study now in progress.

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The Sultan, The Tyrant, and The Hero: Changing Medieval Perceptions of al-Ẓāhir Baybars*

As the true founder of the Mamluk state, al-Ẓāhir Baybars is one of the most important sultans of Egypt and Syria. This has prompted many medieval writers and historians to write about his reign. Their perceptions obviously differed and their reconstructions of his reign draw different and often conflicting images.

In this article I propose to examine and compare the various perceptions that different writers had of Baybars's life and character. Each of these writers had his own personal biases and his own purposes for writing about Baybars. The backgrounds against which they each lived and worked deeply influenced their writings. This led them to emphasize different aspects of his personality and legacy and to ignore others. Comparing these perceptions will demonstrate how the historiography of Baybars was used to make different political arguments concerning the sultan, the Mamluk regime, and rulership in general. I have used different representative examples of thirteenth- to fifteenth-century histories, chronicles, and biographical dictionaries in compiling this material. I have also compared these scholarly writings to the popular folk epic *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars.*

In his main official biography, written by Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, Baybars is presented as an ideal sultan. By contrast, works written after the sultan's day show more ambivalent attitudes towards him. Some fourteenth-century writers, like Shāfiʻ ibn ʻAlī, Baybars al-Manṣūrī, and al-Nuwayrī, who were influenced by the regime of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, tend to place more emphasis on his despotic actions. Other late Mamluk historians, like al-Maqrīzī, al-ʻAynī, and Ibn Taghrībirdī, demonstrate a more balanced approach towards the sultan, and present him as a great ruler while still acknowledging his shortcomings and excesses. In the popular epic *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars*, he is a Muslim hero. Comparing these three main perceptions of Baybars—as idealized sultan, harsh despot, or Muslim hero—shows that certain qualities such as just rule and commitment to Islam were to be emphasized when constructing the ideal image of the ruler, while others

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such as cruelty and despotism were to be ignored or downplayed. It also allows us to see through the seemingly straightforward veneer of narrative that these sources employ and to glimpse the undercurrents beneath.

Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir (1223-92), Baybars′s loyal employee, wrote the sultan′s official biography.[1] The writer was chief clerk in Baybars′s chancery and drafted many state documents himself.[2] Thus he was witness to many of the events he described.[3] Baybars was very much involved in the writing of this work. The writer often read out drafts to the sultan, who duly rewarded him.[4] Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir gives Baybars a voice in several passages of the book that begin with phrases like ″the sultan told me″ or ″I was informed by the sultan,″ which indicates that his source for this version of an event was the sultan himself.[5] This work was clearly intended as a panegyric of Baybars and sought to promote the Mamluk regime.

Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir presented Baybars as an ideal ruler and an excellent soldier, ignoring events that could have tarnished Baybars′s image or else relating them in ways that worked in the sultan′s favor. He considered him the true hero of the famous battle of ʻAyn Jālūt and attributed the larger part of the victory to his military efforts rather than those of the actual leader of the armies, Quṭuz.[6] Furthermore, instead of arguing that Baybars had no role in the murder of Quṭuz, Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir insisted that Baybars alone was responsible for killing him and was not a member of a larger conspiracy.[7] This was to legitimize Baybars′s rule

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[1]The other biography of Baybars is *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Ẓāhir* by ʻIzz al-Dīn ibn Shaddād. Unfortunately it does not survive in full. The extant part, dealing with the years 1272-78, has been edited and published by Aḥmad Hutayt: ʻIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* Bibliotheca Islamica, 31 (Wiesbaden, 1983). These two works are the main primary sources used by later medieval historians writing on the reign of Baybars.

[2]P. M. Holt, ″Three Biographies of al-Zahir Baybars,″ in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds,* ed. David O. Morgan (London, 1982), 20; Abdul-Aziz Khowaiter [ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Khuwayṭir], *Baibars the First: His Endeavours and Achievements* (London, 1978), 145.

[3]Khowaiter, *Baibars,* 158.

[4]Shāfiʻ ibn ʻAlī ibn ʻAbbās, *Ḥusn al-Manāqib al-Sirrīyah al-Muntazaʻah min al-Sīrah al-Ẓāhirīyah,* ed. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1989), 339; Holt, ″Three Biographies,″ 20; idem, ″The Virtuous Ruler in Thirteenth-Century Mamluk Royal Biographies,″ *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 24 (1980): 28; Khowaiter, *Baibars*, 162.

[5]For example: Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* ed. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1976), 51. See Khowaiter, *Baibars,* 154.

[6]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 64; Holt, ″Three Biographies,″ 23.

[7]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 68; Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250-1382* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, Ill., 1986), 37; Holt, ″Three Biographies,″ 21-22; Khowaiter, *Baibars,* 159.

according to what Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir claimed to have been a law of the *yasa,* namely that a regicide should succeed to the throne.[8] Because of the semi-official nature of the book, we may consider Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir′s account to be the one promoted by Baybars himself.[9]

Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir′s account of Baybars′s life focused on the sultan′s military endeavors and achievements. He also emphasized the sultan′s piety and his services to Islam; for example, he restored the Abbasid caliphate in Cairo. This of course further legitimized his rule. It also gave him leverage in his confrontation with the Mongols.[10] Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir also gave many examples of Baybars′s pious acts, especially his pilgrimage to the holy sites in Mecca and Medina, his ban on the consumption of wine[11] and hashish,[12] and his campaigns against prostitution.[13] The writer′s description of Baybars′s pilgrimage is rather elaborate. The sultan′s trip to the Hijaz, like many of his endeavors, was arranged in semi-secrecy.[14] This habit of making a mystery of his whereabouts and travels contributed to Baybars′s development into a romantic character.[15]

Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir sought to impress upon his readers that Baybars performed the rites of pilgrimage perfectly. He humbled himself before God:

> He remained like an ordinary person not shielded by anyone and protected only by God. He was alone in praying and performing the rites of pilgrimage. He then went over to the Kaʻbah—God bless it—and washed it with his hands. He carried the water in a waterskin over his shoulders and washed the blessed house and remained among the common people. . . . He held people′s hands—may God help him—and assisted them to the Kaʻbah; one commoner clung to him and could not keep hold of his hand because of the crowds and so clung to the sultan′s clothes and tore them and almost threw him on the ground.[16]

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[8]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 69; Irwin, *Middle East in Middle Ages,* 37.

[9]Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century,* trans. P. M. Holt (London, 1992), 81.

[10]Khowaiter, *Baibars,* 35.

[11]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 228, 258, 307, 390.

[12]Ibid., 266.

[13]Ibid., 176, 350.

[14]Ibid., 354, 357, 359-60; P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517* (London and New York, 1986), 96.

[15]Thorau, *Lion of Egypt,* 197.

[16]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 355.

He also instructed his close employees to distribute money and clothing discreetly to the people of the Ḥaram. Baybars obviously wanted to perform the pilgrimage correctly and to carry out all the rites to perfection, so much so that he had the Hanafi *qāḍī al-quḍāh* accompany him throughout the trip and instruct him in matters of religion.[17] Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir concluded the account of the pilgrimage by declaring that: ″the sultan performed the duty of pilgrimage as it should be.″[18]

Baybars the ideal sultan was also necessarily a just ruler. Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir dealt extensively with Baybars′s administration of justice. He described how Baybars restored the Dār al-ʻAdl and often presided over the court himself.[19] He related various cases to prove to his readers that Baybars was extremely firm and stern about justice. For example, a man was in dispute with the sultan over the ownership of a well which Baybars had started digging and which the man had completed. Baybars insisted that he and his opponent be treated equally before the *sharʻ* and stepped down from his position of judge at the Dār al-ʻAdl so that the *qāḍī al-quḍāh* could decide the case. The qadi ruled that the sultan had the right to the well but must pay the building expenses of his opponent.[20] Baybars is thus shown as setting an example to demonstrate that the *sharʻ* and rule of law must be observed by all, even the sultan. He is portrayed as a strong sultan who is not afraid of being made equal with his subjects.

Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir′s presentation of Baybars′s death was in line with his approach throughout the rest of the work. In dealing with this he was very formal and discreet: he merely stated that Baybars fell sick and died.[21] He did not mention any of the unseemly circumstances of his illness, which according to other reports was due to poison or drinking too much *qumz,* a favorite Mamluk alcoholic drink made from mares′ milk.[22]

By contrast, in later works written during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a more ambivalent attitude towards Baybars emerged. This led the writers of these works to include less glamorous and less flattering accounts of the sultan alongside accounts of his military achievements and the glories of his reign. Some of these

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[17]Ibid.

[18]Ibid., 356.

[19]Ibid., 77, 84, 176; Holt, ″Virtuous Ruler,″ 32-33.

[20]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 84.

[21]Ibid., 472-73.

[22]For example: Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʻrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1957), 1:635; Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍā′il, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks: texte arabe publié et traduit en francaise par E. Blochet* (Paris, 1919), 276-77; Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥīm ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt,* ed. Qusṭanṭīn Zurayk (Beirut, 1942), 7:85.

historians, such as Baybars al-Manṣūrī (d. 1325), Shāfi' ibn 'Alī (d. 1330), Ibn al-Dawādārī (d. 1336), and al-Nuwayrī (d. 1332), may have wished to diminish the importance of Baybars's legacy in order to enhance the achievements of the regime of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. This is particularly evident in Shāfi' ibn 'Alī's *Ḥusn al-Manāqib al-Sirrīyah al-Muntaza'ah min al-Sīrah al-Ẓāhirīyah,* his *mukhtaṣar* of Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir's *Rawḍ*. P. M. Holt argued that this work might have appeared as a sort of companion to Shāfi''s biography of Qalāwūn, *Al-Faḍl al-Ma'thūr min Sīrat al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr* during the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.[23] This later work was intended as praise of Qalāwūn and served to legitimize his regime and by extension, those of his sons.[24] Shāfi' had the task of justifying Qalāwūn's usurpation of the throne from the sons of Baybars, his *khushdash* and former sovereign to whom he owed allegiance. This prompted Shāfi' to slight Baybars's reputation while simultaneously praising Qalāwūn. Yet even in these works, Baybars's legacy and importance could neither be ignored nor completely obliterated. Historians writing in the later Mamluk period, such as Ibn al-Furāt (d. 1404), al-Maqrīzī (d. 1441), al-'Aynī (d. 1451), and Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 1469), even expressed a sense of nostalgia for "the good old days" which prompted al-Maqrīzī to describe Baybars as "one of the greatest rulers of Islam."[25]

In these later works, Baybars's role in the murder of Quṭuz was no longer the main one, nor was it necessarily to be celebrated.[26] The murder of Quṭuz was presented as a conspiracy involving several amirs, among whom was Baybars.[27] In some versions he was not even the one to deal either the first blow or the death blow.[28] They further emphasized the abhorrent nature of the act by portraying

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[23]P. M. Holt, "The Presentation of Qalāwūn by Shāfi' ibn 'Alī," in *The Islamic World From Classical to Modern Times: Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis,* ed. C. E. Bosworth, Charles Issawi, et al. (Princeton, 1989), 143.

[24]Ibid., 148.

[25]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:641.

[26]Shāfi' ibn 'Alī, *Ḥusn al-Manāqib,* 66; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Mukhtār al-Akhbār: Tārīkh al-Dawlah al-Ayyūbīyah wa-Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Baḥrīyah ḥattá Sanat 702 A.H.,* ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Ṣāliḥ Ḥimdān (Cairo, 1993), 11; idem, *Kitāb al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah fī al-Dawlah al-Turkīyah: Tārīkh Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Baḥrīyah fī al-Fatrah min 648-711 A.H.,* ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Ṣāliḥ Ḥimdān (Cairo, 1987), 45; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1964-), 29:477-78; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:435; Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf ibn Taghrībirdī al-Atābikī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963), 7:83; Irwin, *Middle East in Middle Ages,* 37.

[27]'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'īl Abū al-Fidá, *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Tārīkh al-Bashar* (Beirut, 1968), 3:207.

[28]For example: Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Mukhtār,* 11; idem, *Tuḥfah,* 45; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:435; Shāfi' ibn 'Alī, *Ḥusn al-Manāqib,* 66-67; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 29:477-78; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 7:83. See Holt, "Three Biographies," 26; idem, "Some Observations on Shāfi' ibn 'Alī's Biography of Baybars," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 29 (Spring 1984): 125.

Quṭuz in positive terms as a good and pious Muslim, suggesting he did not deserve to be killed and that his murder was therefore unjust.[29] Quṭuz in these writings was a good, pious sultan who was betrayed by his men. This was emphasized by reports that Quṭuz was originally ″Maḥmūd″, the Muslim-born son of the Khwarizm-shahs, who was sold into slavery after the Mongol defeat of his dynasty and who was later the hero of the battle of ʻAyn Jālūt, where the Muslims achieved victory over the Mongols.[30] In contrast to Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir′s version, which left no room for contenders to the throne, Shāfiʻ ibn ʻAlī wrote that the top Mamluk amirs had chosen Sayf al-Dīn Balban al-Rashīdī, ″the most prominent amongst them,″ to be their next sultan.[31] The idea that Baybars was not among the prominent Mamluk amirs is echoed in Ibn Kathīr′s version, which complements Shāfiʻ′s. Ibn Kathīr wrote:

> It is said that when he [Quṭuz] died the amirs were confused amongst themselves over whom to make sultan. They each feared the consequences and that what befell others could quickly befall them [i.e., that they could be murdered by fellow Mamluks like Quṭuz, his predecessor Aybak, and the Ayyubid Tūrañshāh before them], so they agreed on Baybars al-Bunduqdārī, though he was not among the most prominent *muqaddamīn;* they wanted to try it out on him.[32]

These writings presented the harsh and despotic side of Baybars′s rule. Baybars was known for his strictness and severe punishments.[33] These writers reported that he spied on and imprisoned several top Mamluk amirs, often on the grounds that they were conspiring against the sultan.[34] These accounts tended to present unfavorable images of Baybars as a paranoid, insecure dictator rather than a strong ruler trying to control a huge empire. Baybars′s imprisonment of Shams

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[29]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 29:484; Abū Bakr ibn ʻAbd Allāh ibn Aybak ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmiʻ al-Ghurar,* ed. Ulrich Haarmann (Cairo, 1971), 8:41.

[30]For example: Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar,* 8:39-40; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 29:479-80; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 7:85-86; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:435; Quṭb al-Dīn Abū al-Fatḥ Mūsá ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Quṭb al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī al-Baʻlabakī al-Ḥanbalī, *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān* (Hyderabad, 1954), 1:368.

[31]Shāfiʻ ibn ʻAlī, *Ḥusn al-Manāqib,* 67.

[32]Abū al-Fidá al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidayah wa-al-Nihāyah* (Beirut and Riyadh, 1966,) 13:223.

[33]Khowaiter, *Baibars,* 37-38.

[34]Shāfiʻ ibn ʻAlī, *Ḥusn al-Manāqib,* 129; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 30:84-87, 111, 123, 180; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar,* 8:96; Ibn Abī al-Faḍā′il, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks,* 79; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:493-95.

al-Dīn Sunqur al-Rūmī, for instance, could have been presented as an example of the sultan reining in his top generals, which was always a challenge for the Mamluk regime. Instead, Shāfi‘ ibn ‘Alī and al-Nuwayrī cast shadows on Baybars's character in their accounts of the incident. According to Shāfi‘, the sultan imprisoned Sunqur al-Rūmī, who had tortured one of his mamluks to death despite the sultan's intercession. Shāfi‘ explains that Sunqur had discovered that the mamluk was a spy for Baybars.[35] Al-Nuwayrī's version, on the other hand, suggests that the sultan might have been attracted to the mamluk, who was "good looking," and it was this which prompted Sunqur al-Rūmī to punish him.[36] Both explanations for the imprisonment of this amir thus portray Baybars in a negative light.

Other writers, like al-Maqrīzī, did not criticize this toughness that Baybars demonstrated in dealing with the Mamluks. So, for example, in dealing with the imprisonment of a top general, Sayf al-Dīn Balban al-Rashīdī, al-Maqrīzī mentioned his several transgressions and Baybars's patience and tolerance until he was informed—through spies, of course—of this amir's conspiracy with an Ayyubid ruler against Baybars, which the sultan could not allow to go unpunished.[37] Here Baybars hardly seemed despotic in seeking to control the Mamluk generals and preempting a coup d'etat.

Nevertheless, even these later writings, which were not intended to idealize Baybars, acknowledged his active role in the administration of justice and the implementation of shari‘ah.[38] Unlike Ibn ‘Abd al-Ẓāhir, who suspiciously ignored Baybars's decision to appoint four chief judges from the four schools, later sources dealt with the decision but differed in its evaluation. Shāfi‘ ibn ‘Alī, in his *mukhtaṣar* of Ibn ‘Abd al-Ẓāhir's work, explained that the reason behind the decision was the strictness of the Shafi‘i qadi, Ibn Bint al-A‘azz, which led to a state of stagnation in the administration of justice.[39] Ibn Kathīr explained that Ibn Bint al-A‘azz held up rulings that went against the Shafi‘i *madhhab* but were allowed by other *madhāhib*.[40] This was also the explanation given by al-‘Aynī later in the fifteenth century.[41] The qadi's adherence to the letter of the law rather than its spirit appeared almost unjust and obstructive. Thus Baybars's decision was presented as an

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[35]Shāfi‘ ibn ‘Alī, *Ḥusn al-Manāqib,* 210.

[36]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 30:123.

[37]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:493.

[38]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Mukhtār,* 13; Shāfi‘ ibn ‘Alī, *Ḥusn al-Manāqib,* 135, 143, 157; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:501, 503, 508, 536-37.

[39]Shāfi‘ ibn ‘Alī, *Ḥusn al-Manāqib,* 210-11.

[40]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah,* 13:245.

[41]Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-‘Aynī, *‘Iqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1988), 1:408.

innovative solution to the everyday problems which people faced in the qadi's court. It could be interpreted as an act of religious tolerance that simultaneously enhanced the power of the sultan.[42]

For writers like al-Nuwayrī, Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz was a respectable, firm judge who followed shariʿah strictly even when it was in contradiction to the interests of the ruling authorities, the Mamluks. In this version of the incident, the qadi had issued a ruling which harmed the interests of one of the top amirs, and it was this amir who suggested that Baybars appoint four chief judges.[43] Al-Nuwayrī's probable disapproval of the decision is hinted at by his account of the Syrian judges' resistance to this decision. They first refused their appointments and then tried to resign, but the sultan would hear none of that.[44] That there would be resistance to such a decision after traditional Shafiʿi control is perhaps understandable.

Al-Maqrīzī's account, on the other hand, included an anecdote that reveals how unpopular the decision was. Somebody saw al-Ẓāhir Baybars in a dream after his death and asked him how God had judged him. Baybars responded that he received the most punishment for appointing four judges since this had disunited Muslims.[45] This then was his most unjust decision according to al-Maqrīzī.

The ambivalence of later Mamluk sources towards Baybars's harshness and injustice is further demonstrated in their accounts of the fires in Fustat and the taxation of Damascus. Both cases were ignored by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, who sought to promote an ideal image of the sultan.

The fires that plagued Fustat in 1264 were obviously dangerous and threatened to lead to disorder. They occurred during a time when Crusaders were among the main enemies of Islam and when toughness with Franks and Christians in general was welcomed by many Muslims. Copts were blamed for the spread of the fires, supposedly as revenge for Baybars's attacks on and destruction of churches in Syria after his defeat of various Frankish enemies.[46] Baybars reacted by ordering that all Copts and Jews, including the elders of both communities, be burned. They responded by offering to ransom themselves. Some sources report that the elders of the community paid the ransom.[47] While none of the writers consulted outwardly criticized Baybars's actions, some of their accounts seem to suggest they thought the punishment was too severe. Thus Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il (a Copt himself) along with al-Nuwayrī wrote that a pious Coptic monk who was

[42]Thorau, *Lion of Egypt,* 165-66.
[43]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 30:117.
[44]Ibid., 122.
[45]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:640.
[46]Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī, *Ḥusn al-Manāqib,* 198; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 30:114.
[47]Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī, *Ḥusn al-Manāqib,* 198.

known for helping people in need regardless of their religion paid the requested amount.[48] This man was tortured to death on the basis of a *fatwá* given by the *fuqahā'* citing ″fear of *fitnah*.″[49] The positive terms in which that man is described suggest that by helping pay the fine he was doing a good deed, which in itself implies that these people were treated unjustly.

While all sources appreciated Baybars′s war efforts and his victories against the Mongol and Frankish enemies of Islam, later sources also acknowledged that this glory came at a high price. Building and sustaining large armies cost a lot of money. This overburdened some members of the population more than others. Baybars raised the taxes on Damascus and its environs, arguing that this was land reconquered from the Mongols and therefore as technically *'anwah* land it could be taxed at a higher rate.[50] The sultan′s earlier decision to appoint four chief qadis came to his service. He secured *fatwá*s from Hanafi jurists legitimizing his argument and his decision.[51] Yet this decision was listed among Baybars′s injustices in several later sources. The understandable unpopularity of this maneuver was still clear a century later in Ibn Kathīr′s *Al-Bidāyah* where he wrote:

> This issue is famous and there are two opinions on the matter; the correct one is that of the majority, which is that [Muslim property reconquered from infidels] should be returned to its original owners.[52]

This decision was listed among Baybars′s injustices in several later sources. Ibn al-Furāt and al-Nuwayrī reported that the people of Damascus suffered so much that they prayed Baybars′s rule would end.[53] Al-Nuwayrī wrote that various ulama of Damascus had pleaded with Baybars to decrease the heavy taxes, and though the sultan promised them to end all taxes once he defeated the enemy, he broke his promise.[54] After much pleading and with the intercession of al-Ṣāḥib Fakhr al-Dīn (son of the vizier Ibn Ḥannā), who had studied Shafi'i jurisprudence, Baybars agreed to allow Damascenes to keep their property in return for a million dirhams paid in installments.[55] When he died, Damascenes had paid only half of the amount due.

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[48]Ibn Abī al-Faḍā′il, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks,* 135-36.

[49]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 30:151-52.

[50]Ibid., 152-53.

[51]Al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl*, 2:386-87; al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān,* 2:30.

[52]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah,* 13:252.

[53]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 85.

[54]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 30:362-63.

[55]Al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl*, 2:387; al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān,* 2:30; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah,* 13:252.

Historians of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries cast doubts over the manner of Baybars's death which further tarnish his image. In several versions, the sultan had planned to poison another man but the cups were mixed up and Baybars drank the poison by mistake.[56] The insinuations in these stories cannot be ignored. First they imply that Baybars was in the habit of killing and poisoning other men for no legitimate reason. In this case, the man for whom the poison was intended was an Ayyubid who had performed outstandingly in a battle and received high praise, which is said to have made the sultan jealous. But more importantly, these reports imply that Baybars deserved to die such a death, which in itself betrays the authors' true judgment of his rule. Most versions suggest that Baybars died of poison, although they differ in their rendition of the details. This air of conspiracy and mystery adds to the legend of the sultan.

While historians were busy writing their interpretations of the Mamluk regime and the reign of Baybars, other histories, unofficial and unscholarly, were also being constructed. The events of Baybars's life and reign provided a source for popular entertainment. The first major work of a popular nature to take Baybars as its protagonist was *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars*.

The dating of *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars* is a fundamental problem facing researchers who wish to use it as a source for cultural and social history. We know that some form of the *Sīrah* had come into being by the fifteenth century, because it was mentioned by Ibn Iyās.[57] His comments were very brief and do not indicate to what degree it had developed by then. The earliest extant manuscript of the *Sīrah* is found in the Vatican collection and dates back to the sixteenth century.[58]

The fact that the *Sīrah* was primarily a work for oral performance meant that it was a fluid, changing text, rather than a static and defined one. The storyteller and the audience reconstructed the already fluid text at every recitation. This work, which began as an *oral* folk epic, was eventually put into writing, though most surviving manuscripts of the *Sīrah* date back only to the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries.[59] Even so it continued to be a living oral tradition; E. W. Lane gave an account of the reciters of "*Seeret Ez-Zahir*" in the nineteenth century, and Ṭāhā

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[56]Thorau, *Lion of Egypt,* 242; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar,* 208-10; Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks,* 276-77; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 86; Abū al-Fidá, *Al-Mukhtaṣar*, 4:10; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:635-36; al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān,* 2:179-80.

[57]R. Paret, "Sīrat Baybars," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 1:1127; Boaz Shoshan, "On Popular Literature in Medieval Cairo," *Poetics Today* 14 (1993): 354.

[58]Bridgette Connelly, *Arab Folk Epic and Identity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1986), 8; Paret, "Sīrat Baybars," 1127.

[59]Connelly, *Arab Folk Epic*, 8.

Ḥusayn mentioned public recitations and the sale of printed editions of it in the early twentieth century.[60]

The printed versions of the *Sīrah* that are now available are not carefully prepared editions of specifically identified manuscripts, nor are they faithful to the richness and language of the manuscripts.[61] The only serious academic work carried out so far on *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars* is the still incomplete translation into French—without an accompanying edited Arabic text—by Georges Bohas and Jean-Patrick Guillaume.[62] This translation is based on a nineteenth-century manuscript from Aleppo.[63] For this article I have used the printed edition currently available in the bookstores of Cairo. This is a five-volume edition published in 1996 by al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb.[64] The title page of each part (of which there are fifty in the five volumes) includes the title *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars, Tārīkh al-Malik al-'Ādil Ṣāḥib al-Futūḥāt al-Manṣūrah* and announces that it is a second edition of a version first published in 1341/1923.

The importance of *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars* in studying the historiography of Baybars himself has not received sufficient consideration. It is as if scholars of the *Sīrah* were trying to divorce its protagonist from his historic counterpart. It is important for the scholar to realize and to emphasize that Baybars the sultan, Baybars of the historical scholarly sources, and Baybars of the *Sīrah* are not identical. Yet it is equally important to realize that this distinction was probably lost on most reciters, listeners, and readers of *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars*. Thus the reconstructions of Baybars's life through the *Sīrah*—just as those in traditional primary sources—were meant to comment on Baybars the sultan and consequently on rulership in general even while they entertained the public.

The *Sīrah* relates the exploits of "Maḥmūd" Baybars, the legendary Muslim hero who triumphs over wicked *kuffār*. It is important to note that in the epic it is Baybars, not Quṭuz, who is born into a noble Muslim family.[65] This fabricated royal lineage might have been necessary to legitimize Baybars's—and by extension, the Mamluk regime's—rule. Just as in official discourse Baybars needed the legitimation provided by a caliph's seal, so in popular discourse this legend served

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[60]E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (The Hague, London, and Cairo, 1978), 395; Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, *Al-Ayyām* (Cairo, 1992), 82.

[61]Georges Bohas, "L'autobiographie de Baïbars," *La Museon* 104 (1991): 125.

[62]Georges Bohas and Jean-Patrick Guillaume, *Roman de Baïbars/Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars,* 8 vols. (Paris, 1985-).

[63]Robert Irwin, "Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars," *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, ed. Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (London, 1998).

[64]*Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars*, 5 vols. (Cairo, 1996).

[65]Ibid., 128, 277, 469, 471-77, 704.

to affirm the right of slave troops who were born non-Muslims to rule over most of the central Islamic lands.

Most medieval scholarly sources did not dwell on Baybars′s pre-Mamluk life. He entered official narrative as a mamluk of Aydakin Bunduqdār, after which he rose through the military bureaucracy and became one of the top mamluks of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb.[66] *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars* offered a domesticated image of this military slave. It did not portray Baybars in any barracks. Instead, ″Maḥmūd″ was adopted by a rich Damascene lady, Fāṭimah al-Aqwasīyah. She is the one who named him ″Baybars,″ after her deceased son.[67] Thus the *Sīrah* domesticated its hero and presented him in terms to which the audience could relate. The motif of Baybars′s adoption is repeated with al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb and Shajar al-Durr, who also adopt Baybars as their son and name him as al-Ṣāliḥ′s heir. The emphasis on Baybars′s origin as "Maḥmūd," as well as his adoption by prestigious Muslim families, appears to be a response to the charge that Mamluks did not know their families and their parents. For a culture that highly esteems the family as a social unit it would have been important to present the hero as a man from a ″good family.″

All medieval scholarly reports, both those in Baybars′s favor and those against him, claimed that he had played a part in the regicide of his predecessor, Quṭuz. Contrary to that stance, however, *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars* attempted to clear its hero from any such charge. The relationship between the two men was portrayed as amiable and strong; Quṭuz treated Baybars very generously and appointed him his heir to the throne.[68] Baybars in turn ″commended Quṭuz′s doings and rulings and praised him.″[69] Quṭuz was mysteriously killed and a note beside the corpse accused Baybars of the regicide.[70] It turned out that Baybars′s Frankish enemy, Juwān, was behind both the murder and the accusation, and subsequently Baybars was cleared.[71]

Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars is rather nuanced in its interpretation and representation of Baybars′s legend. It presents him as a hero, a good pious Muslim ruler. Yet unlike the ideal sultan which Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir makes Baybars out to be, *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars* humanizes rather than valorizes its protagonist. This Baybars is not a larger than life hero; he does not perform miraculous feats himself and is often caught in troublesome situations and needs assistance. It is the secondary

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[66]G. Wiet, ″Baybars I, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Rukn al-Dīn al-Ṣāliḥī,″ *EI*^{2}, 1:1124.

[67]*Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars*, 164.

[68]Ibid., 1076-77.

[69]Ibid., 1078.

[70]Ibid., 1079.

[71]Ibid., 1080-81.

″helper″ characters of ʿUthmān and Jamāl al-Dīn Shīḥah (an Ismaʿili chief) who perform miracles and are often considered to be divinely guided.[72] Baybars himself is neither almighty nor invincible. This almost subversive portrayal of a ruler′s power is best exemplified in the way the *Sīrah* deals with Baybars′s relations with the Ismaʿilis.

In the official narrative Baybars crushed and subjugated the Ismaʿilis of Syria.[73] A great deal of emphasis is placed on how they were forced to pay tribute to the Mamluks rather than to the Franks.[74] In the *Sīrah,* however, the Ismaʿilis are presented as one of Baybars′s main support groups who came to his rescue when he was in danger and performed miracles to save him.[75] Their leaders saved Baybars from deadly situations when Christian enemies tried to kill him.[76] It is as if he owed to them his sultanate and the maintenance of his power. Yet even in the *Sīrah* Baybars appointed their leader for them, choosing an outsider for the job; an act of extreme subjugation for such a group.[77]

Baybars′s piety and loyalty to Islam was stressed throughout the *Sīrah* primarily in terms of popular religious beliefs and practices.[78] He was looked after by several saints who saved him by miracles from life-threatening dangers.[79] He was also depicted as performing orthodox religious rituals strictly.[80] Sayyidah Zaynab is the patroness of many of the characters of the *Sīrah,* ensuring their victory and helping them out of trouble.[81] Sayyidah Nafīsah is the one who unites Baybars with his aide and companion ʿUthmān ibn al-Ḥublá.[82]

Baybars′s loyalty to Islam was also expressed in terms of strong religious prejudice against Franks as well as Christians in general. The Franks were the main enemies of Islam in the *Sīrah*, along with fire-worshipping Mongols. Baybars′s principal enemy and the personification of evil in the *Sīrah* was Juwān, a Christian monk who disguised himself in several personae, including that of chief qadi, in

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[72]For example: ibid., 571, 636.

[73]Jean-Patrick Guillaume, ″Les Ismaéliens dans le *Roman de Baybars*: genèse d′un type littéraire,″ *Studia Islamica* 84 (November 1996): 145.

[74]For example: Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī, *Ḥusn al-Manāqib,* 224-25, 241-42; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 30:247-52; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:587; Khowaiter, *Baibars*, 123-26

[75]*Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars*, for example: 203, 206, 565, 705, 1038, 1051, 1055, 1106, 1171, 1173, 1175, 1186, 1322.

[76]Ibid., 1175.

[77]Guillaume, ″Les Ismaéliens,″ 145.

[78]*Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars*, 290, 323, 570, 573, 592.

[79]Ibid., 676, 718.

[80]Ibid., 145, 257, 325, 328, 332, 621, 720.

[81]Fārūq Khūrshīd, *Aḍwāʾ ʿalá al-Siyar al-Shaʿbīyah* (Cairo, 1964), 101.

[82]Ibid.

order to kill Baybars and defeat the Muslims. This motif of the Christian villain in Muslim disguise is echoed throughout the *Sīrah.* Several minor villains also turn out to be Christians in disguise. [83] Baybars defeats them all, with the help of ʻUthmān or the Ismaʻilis. Tough and despotic measures taken by Baybars and Shīḥah against Christians, such as destroying churches or turning them into mosques, are related with pride.[84]

As in the more scholarly sources, in constructing a heroic image of Baybars, a great deal of emphasis is placed on his justice. Baybars himself laid down forty conditions which had to be met before he would accept the sultanate. Most of these conditions have to do with government and the administration of justice. Similar to the image of Baybars in some of the later medieval sources, despotic suspicion seems behind some of these conditions. Thus any two amirs consulting over a decision of the sultan's would be killed, amirs were not to convene except in the sultanic *dīwān,* and only the ulama had the right to voice opposition to any of his decrees.[85] In contrast, Jamāl al-Dīn Shīḥah set only one condition for Baybars to be sultan: ″Abide by justice and fairness. For I have made you ruler over Egypt, Syria, and other Muslim lands as long as you obey God. If you steer away from the course of Truth you will be dismissed and we would not owe you any obedience.″[86]

The despotic side of Baybars which was apparent in many of the medieval sources is, as one might expect, almost absent in the *Sīrah.* Yet the *Sīrah* does deal with the taxation of Damascus, which was considered one of Baybars′s most unjust decrees. In the *Sīrah,* Baybars tries to levy taxes on Damascus in order to fight the Mongol enemy Hulāwūn, but the Damascenes refuse to pay, arguing ″you are a king and kings meet one another and fight for their positions; . . .we serve whoever sits on the throne.″[87] The pious shaykh al-Nūrī tells Baybars that these taxes are unjust. When Baybars asks how he is then to defend his land from unbelievers, the shaykh curses him and accuses him of insulting the men of virtue and the doctors of the law.[88] The *Sīrah* reverses the traditional balance of power between ruler and subjects. Baybars appears helpless in the face of strong opposition from the people and the ulama. This must have brought a sort of sweet imaginary revenge to audiences accustomed to heavy taxation throughout the centuries.

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[83]*Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars*, 800, 804, 807, 812, 927, 990, 1039-40, 1103, 1174.

[84]Ibid., 946, 982, 1202, 1238, 1242, 1245.

[85]Ibid., 1084.

[86]Ibid., 1084-85.

[87]M. C. Lyons, *The Arabian Epic: Heroic and Oral Story-Telling* (Cambridge, 1995), 1:33.

[88]Ibid.

While in the scholarly sources most justice was carried out within the boundaries of formal judicial and legal procedures, the *Sīrah* celebrates a more crude street style of justice, where Baybars always defeats the "bad guys."[89] His use of questionable means is justifiable, because it leads to the triumph of good over evil. Thus one of the recurring motifs of the work is Baybars killing off an evil character apparently without due cause. In court, the truth is made clear and it becomes obvious that Baybars's action had been just. His taking the law into his own hands is not condemned.

This practical attitude towards justice and the law demonstrated in the *Sīrah* was paralleled by a distrust of qadis and the court system. Thus Baybars's main opponent and the personification of evil in the *Sīrah,* the Christian spy Juwān, spent the first half of the work disguised as chief qadi in the Ayyubid court. In his position as qadi he repeatedly tried to prosecute Baybars for the various murders, but Baybars always came out justified. The *Sīrah* also made fun of the schools of law. To save himself from a long wait for their case to be heard by a qadi, ʻUthmān, Baybars's friend and aide, proposed that he would be a Hanafi while Baybars could be a Shafiʻi "for today."[90] This further confirms the pragmatic stance that the *Sīrah,* and by extension its Cairene audience, took with regard to the law, a stance that one could argue is still part of Egyptian urban culture to this day.

Baybars's reputation, from the earliest scenes of the *Sīrah,* is based on his justice. In his pre-sultanate days, Baybars rose quickly through the government bureaucracy and at each new post fought corruption and injustice against the common people. This—rather than some miraculous power—seems to have been both his greatest credential and his greatest achievement. Baybars's main attraction as a hero in this *Sīrah* was his ability to defeat wrongdoers and dispense justice. This fight to establish internal justice and order preceded external battles against enemy troops.

It is Baybars's local reputation as a man of honor and courage, a man capable of fighting corruption, which qualified him to lead armies into battle and earn his troops' loyalties.[91] The *Sīrah* is full of anecdotes about Baybars's military capabilities and stories of his courage in battle.[92] In many instances, however, Muslim victories were due more to trickery and intelligence than simply to military and physical power.

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[89]*Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars*, 147, 151, 226, 278, 285, 363, 369, 373, 378, 426, 556, 563.

[90]Lyons, *The Arabian Epic*, 1:34.

[91]Khūrshīd, *Aḍwāʼ*, 105-6.

[92]*Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars*, 981-82, 989, 996, 1163.

Fourteenth-century Egyptian scholars writing under Qalawunid influence and patronage tended to throw unfavorable light on Baybars′s image and present his legacy in a negative manner. The text of the *Sīrah* appears to be conscious of those subtle tensions. In *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars,* Baybars the protagonist is poisoned to death by none other than Qalāwūn![93]

Thus historians of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries and the creators of *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars* presented very different perceptions of al-Ẓāhir Baybars. These varying and often contradictory accounts show that they used the historiography of this sultan to make various political arguments. For example, Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir glorified Baybars in an attempt to legitimize his rule and promote the then newly-established Mamluk regime. This he accomplished by presenting its founder as an ideal sultan and ruler. Historians of successive generations demonstrated more ambivalent attitudes towards Baybars. Some, like Baybars al-Manṣūrī, Shāfiʻ ibn ʻAlī, and al-Nuwayrī, might have been interested in de-emphasizing Baybars′s achievements in order to enhance those of the regime of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. This might not seem strange in light of the changes that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was introducing to the institutional foundations set by the founders of the Mamluk state, including his own father, Qalāwūn. His experience being ousted from the sultanate twice left him determined to turn his third reign into a new beginning for Mamluk rule and to make a name for himself as a great ruler.[94] To justify and rationalize his innovations it followed that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and his court intellectuals would attempt to slight the founders and originators of the very traditions they sought to overturn. It is revealing that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad chose to destroy and rebuild at a lower height Baybars′ famous Bridge of the Lions, the lions adorning the bridge being Baybars′s emblem.[95] This might have prompted fourteenth-century Egyptian historians to include negative aspects of Baybars′s rule and character. That they were not writing under his control, as Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir was, also allowed them more freedom in expressing their views—a point which Shāfiʻ ibn ʻAlī explicitly makes.

In contrast to the Egyptian authors, most Syrian historians of the fourteenth century, like al-Yūnīnī and Ibn Kathīr, were religious scholars and teachers.[96]

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[93]Ibid., 3078.

[94]Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310-1341)* (Leiden, 1995), 31, 197.

[95]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Cairo, 1996), 3:238.

[96]Donald P. Little, *An Introduction to Mamluk Historiography: An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā′ūn*, Freiburger Islamstudien, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1970), 69. For a review of literature discussing the existence of a ″Syrian school″ of Mamluk historiography see Li Guo, ″Mamluk Historiographic Studies: The State of the Art,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 29, 37-41.

Their distance from the court and the fact that they did not hold official positions meant that they were less likely to be influenced by the attempts to slight and defame the legacy of Baybars for the benefit of the Qalawunid dynasty. The third Syrian historian of this period referred to in this article is Abū al-Fidá, the Ayyubid prince of Ḥamāh.[97] Though Abū al-Fidá was part of the ruling regime he was more concerned in his work with provincial affairs. Being an Ayyubid himself, he did not need to legitimize the Qalawunid dynasty and consequently he, too, was not overly prejudiced against Baybars. Thus the attitudes expressed by fourteenth-century Syrian historians towards Baybars paralleled those of later Egyptian historians of the fifteenth century.

Yet obviously the legacy of Baybars was so strong that even rival regimes could not afford to ignore his achievements. His military victories and conquests and his establishment of a strong, centralized, extensive empire were not ignored by any of the Mamluk writers I consulted. Needless to say, a severe attack on the founder of the Mamluk state would have undermined the legitimacy of the regime under which they all lived and worked. Furthermore, the ambivalence that these writers demonstrated towards Baybars suggests that while they appreciated his contributions to state building and his establishment of order and military conquests, they also realized that these came at a heavy price. Maintaining large armies that were strong enough to expand Mamluk rule into Nubia, Libya, and Armenia, to keep such a huge empire together, and to fight off enemies, east and west, such as the Mongols and the Crusaders, also entailed a high degree of discipline and order and were—necessarily—funded by heavy taxation. However, by the fifteenth century writers were removed from the events of Baybars′s reign and the heavy burdens caused by his achievements had been somewhat forgotten. His reign came to represent an age of glory, perhaps because these writers perceived their own time as one of decline and decadence. In popular memory Baybars lived on through *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars,* which presents him as a humanized Muslim hero who fought the internal as well as external enemies of Islam and who carried out justice for all. During the nineteenth century, an age of European occupation and Egyptian defeat, these memories of past glory were so popular that E. W. Lane reported that there were thirty reciters, in Cairo alone, who specialized exclusively in *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars.*[98]

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[97]Little, *Introduction*, 46.

[98]Lane, *Manners and Customs,* 395.

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Arabic Studies of Mamluk Jerusalem: A Review Article

The study of Islamic Jerusalem by Arab scholars over the last century has been less important than the work of non-Arab scholars, but the situation is now changing. Arab scholarly studies of Islamic Jerusalem have blossomed since the early 1980s and publications by Arab authors now predominate in terms of number, and increasingly also in terms of quality. This is especially the case since the mid-1990s with the M.A. theses of the students at the Institute of Islamic Archaeology, al-Quds University, and other institutions. Arab scholarship has reached the point where it is scarcely possible to do thorough research about Mamluk Jerusalem without an awareness of Arabic publications. This article has the objective of presenting what recent Arabic scholarship has to offer for the study of Mamluk Jerusalem. It does not attempt to survey the work of Western or Israeli scholars, whose publications are better known and more easily accessible than Arabic ones.[1]

Arabic publishing activity about Mamluk Jerusalem began as early as 1866, when Mujīr al-Dīn´s fundamentally important history about Jerusalem and Hebron was first edited.[2] But the first significant scholarly work had to wait until after the First World War with Kurd ʻAlī in the 1920s,[3] and Mukhliṣ in the 1920s and 1930s,[4] and more substantially until after the Second World War with al-ʻĀrif, starting in 1947[5] and culminating in his *Mufaṣṣal* of 1961,[6] and al-Dabbāgh in the

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[1]This article borrows heavily from my forthcoming publication, *The Sites and Monuments of Islamic Jerusalem* (Beirut, 2000), which is intended to provide encyclopedic coverage and comprehensive bibliography for all the Islamic sites and monuments.

[2]Mujīr al-Dīn, *Al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Tārīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl* (Cairo, 1866). His history in manuscript form remained well-known throughout the Ottoman period to Jerusalemites and travellers/pilgrims, such as the late seventeenth-century sufi author ʻAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī.

[3]Muḥammad Kurd ʻAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām* (Damascus, 1925-28).

[4]See his collected articles reprinted in Kāmil al-ʻAsalī, ed., *Turāth Filasṭīn fī Kitābāt ʻAbd Allāh Mukhliṣ maʻa Dirāsah Mufaṣṣalah ʻan Ḥayātihi wa-Shakhṣīyatihi al-ʻIlmīyah* (Amman, 1986).

[5]See especially ʻĀrif al-ʻĀrif, *Tārīkh al-Ḥaram al-Qudsī* (Jerusalem, 1947); idem, *Tārīkh al-Quds* (Cairo, 1951); and idem, *Tārīkh Qubbat al-Ṣakhrah al-Musharrafah wa-al-Masjid al-Aqṣá al-Mubārak wa-Lamḥah ʻan Tārīkh al-Quds* (Jerusalem, 1958).

[6]ʻĀrif al-ʻĀrif, *Al-Mufaṣṣal fī Tārīkh al-Quds* (Jerusalem, 1961). It does not completely supersede his earlier books.

1970s.[7] Those studies covered the fuller history of Jerusalem, of which the Mamluk period is only a part. The first lengthy studies focused on the Mamluk period were by al-Imām in 1976,[8] and Ḥamūdah in 1979,[9] but those studies were largely reworkings of the information that Mujīr al-Dīn had provided. Only al-ʻĀrif′s studies included much additional documentation, such as the texts of building inscriptions.

But it was in the 1980s that the shelf of Arabic publications about Jerusalem in the Islamic periods, and specifically in the Mamluk period, began to fill up, in particular with the publications of Kāmil al-ʻAsalī.[10] While not attempting to cite every Arabic publication, this article will present the most important publications, arranged by topic.

TEXT EDITIONS

Many Arabic manuscripts have been edited over the years, but a sizable number still await editing. The single most important text for the history of Mamluk Jerusalem, Mujīr al-Dīn′s *Uns al-Jalīl bi-Tārīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl*, written in 900–902/1495–96, was first edited in the nineteenth century, while the most commonly cited version, which contains editing mistakes and misprints, was published in 1973.[11] An index was produced in 1988.[12] A careful new critical edition was published in 1999,[13] but because it does not have an index, it does not fully obviate the need for the 1973 edition.[14] A second major text for the later

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[7]Muṣṭafá Murād al-Dabbāgh, *Bilādunā Filasṭīn,* pt. 2, vols. 9 and 10, *Fī Bayt al-Maqdis 1–2* (Amman, 1975 and 1976, with numerous other editions and printings).

[8]Rashād al-Imām (Rached Limam), *Madīnat al-Quds fī al-ʻAṣr al-Wasīṭ (1253-1516)* (Tunis, 1976).

[9]ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Saʻīd Ḥamūdah, ″Bayt al-Maqdis fī ʻAhd al-Mamālīk″ (M.A. thesis, al-Azhār University, 1979).

[10]There are two festschrifts for Kāmil al-ʻAsalī: *Kāmil al-ʻAsalī, al-ʻAlāmah al-Maqdisī wa-Qaḍīyat al-Quds* (Jerusalem, 1996) and Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥamārnah, ed., *Dhākhirat al-Quds: Buḥūth wa-Dirāsāt Muhdāh li-Dhikrá Kāmil Jamīl al-ʻAsalī* (Amman, 1996), and a biography: Muḥammad Ghūshah, *Al-Quds fī Turāth Kāmil al-ʻAsalī* (Jerusalem, 1998). A full bibiliography of Kāmil al-ʻAsalī can be found in my *Sites and Monuments of Islamic Jerusalem.*

[11]Mujīr al-Dīn, *Al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Tārīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl (* Amman, 1973).

[12]Isḥāq Mūsá al-Ḥusaynī and Ḥasan al-Silwādī, *Fahāris Kitāb al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Tārīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl li-Mujīr al-Dīn al-Ḥanbalī* (Jerusalem, 1988).

[13]Mujīr al-Dīn, *Al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Tārīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl,* volume 1 edited by ʻAdnān Yūnis ʻAbd al-Majīd Abū Tabbānah and volume 2 edited by Maḥmūd ʻAwdah al-Kaʻābnah (Amman, 1999). This is the published version of their M.A. theses of 1999 and 1997 respectively for Jāmiʻat al-Najāḥ al-Waṭanīyah, Nablus.

[14]One should note the following studies about Mujīr al-Dīn: Kāmil al-ʻAsalī, ″Mujīr al-Dīn al-ʻUlaymī al-Ḥanbalī: Mu'arrikh al-Quds: Naṣṣ Jadīd ʻan Ḥayātihi wa-Naṣṣ Dhayl Kitābihi *al-Uns*

Mamluk period by Mujīr al-Dīn, his general history entitled *Al-Tārīkh al-Mu'tabar fī Anbā' Man 'Abara fī al-Tārīkh,* remains unedited.[15] The other text of fundamental importance for Mamluk Jerusalem, especially for the buildings on the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, which al-'Umarī wrote around 745/1345, was first edited in 1924.[16]

A recently edited text is by Ibn Nubātah, a native of Cairo and a poet who was the superintendent of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and Christian pilgrimage in the 1330s under Amīn al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh, the governor of Damascus. While normally resident in Damascus, Ibn Nubātah made frequent trips to Jerusalem, especially around Easter. In 733/1333 or 735/1335–36 Amīn al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh traveled to Jerusalem to inspect his newly constructed al-Madrasah al-Amīnīyah and its endowments. Ibn Nubātah accompanied him on that trip and wrote an account that is most interesting for the description of al-Madrasah al-Amīnīyah.[17]

The genre with the largest number of texts is the "Islamic Merits of Jerusalem" literature, surveyed by al-'Asalī and Ibrāhīm in the 1980s.[18] Three recently edited "Merits of Jerusalem" texts from the Mamluk period are Ibn 'Asākir's *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*,[19] al-Maqdisī's *Muthīr al-Gharām*,[20] and al-Suyuṭī's *Itḥāf al-Akhiṣṣā' bi-Faḍā'il al-Masjid al-Aqṣá*.[21] There are many additional unedited manuscripts, but their value as independent works is lessened because the authors

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al-Jalīl," *Dirāsāt* (University of Jordan) 12, no. 8 (1985): 115-35; Fahmī al-Anṣārī, *Mu'arrikh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl Mujīr al-Dīn Abū al-Yumn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Umarī al-'Ulaymī al-Ḥanbalī: Ḥayātuhu wa-Mawḍa' Qabruh* (Jerusalem, 1986). Mujīr al-Dīn is the subject of a Ph.D. thesis in progress by Muḥammad As'ad at Jāmi'at al-Qadīs Yūsuf, Beirut.

[15]Photocopied manuscript in the possession of Fahmī al-Anṣārī, Jerusalem.

[16]Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, ed. Aḥmad Zakī Pāshā (Cairo, 1924).

[17]Ḥamd Aḥmad 'Abd Allāh Yūsuf, ed., *Riḥlat Ḥazīrat al-Uns ilá Ḥaḍrat al-Quds li-Ibn Nubātah 733 H./1332 M*. (Jerusalem, 1994) (reprinted in 1995 with the same pagination of edited text, but different supplementary editorial pages). Yūsuf cites his name as Ibn Nubālah.

[18]Kāmil al-'Asalī, *Makhṭuṭāt Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis: Dirāsah wa-Bibliyūghrāfiyā* (Amman, 1981); Maḥmūd Ibrāhīm, *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis fī Makhṭuṭāt 'Arabīyah Qadīmah: Dirāsah Taḥlīlīyah wa-Nuṣūṣ Mukhtārah Muḥaqqaqah* (Kuwait, 1985). See also Ḥasan 'Abd al-Raḥmān Silwādī, "Adab Faḍā'il al-Quds: Ahammīyatuhu wa-Ifādat al-'Asalī minhu fī Tārīkhihi lil-Quds al-Sharīf" in *Kāmil al-'Asalī,* 113-73.

[19]Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, ed. 'Umar ibn Gharāmah al-'Umarawī (Beirut, 1995), especially volume one.

[20]Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Maḥmūd ibn Tamīm al-Maqdisī, *Muthīr al-Gharām ilá Ziyārat al-Quds wa-al-Shām*, ed. Aḥmad al-Khaṭīmī (Beirut, 1994). This is the published version of al-Khaṭīmī's 1985 Ph.D. thesis.

[21]Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Shams al-Dīn al-Suyuṭī, *Itḥāf al-Akhiṣṣā' bi-Faḍā'il al-Masjid al-Aqṣá,* ed. Aḥmad Ramaḍān Aḥmad (Cairo, 1982-84).

frequently reworked earlier texts. That makes the study of the ″Merits of Jerusalem″ literature relatively unfruitful.

One should also note the three publications by al-Dabbāgh, al-ʻAsalī, and al-Tāzī with excerpts of travellers and pilgrims from all periods writing in Arabic about Jerusalem,[22] such as for the Mamluk period Muḥammad Abū Muḥammad al-ʻAbdarī, a native of North Africa, who went on pilgrimage to Mecca and spent five days in Jerusalem in 690/1291—the brief information about Jerusalem in his *al-Riḥlah al-Maghribīyah* focused on the Ḥaram—and Khālid ibn ʻĪsá al-Balawī, a qadi and native of Spain, who went on pilgrimage to Mecca and spent two months in Jerusalem in 737/1337. His account of his travels, *Tāj al-Mafraq fī Taḥliyat ʻUlamā' al-Mashriq,* concentrated on the Ḥaram and the religious scholars in the city.

PRIMARY DOCUMENTS

There are a number of collections of documents covering both the Mamluk and Ottoman periods, such as Darrāj′s collection of documents connected with the Franciscan monastery on Mount Zion,[23] al-ʻAlamī′s publication of *waqf* documents related to the Maghribi Quarter (the area of the Western Wall plaza today),[24] and al-ʻAzīzī′s presentation of some documents related to the Christians.[25] The 800-odd documents found in the Islamic Museum in the mid-1970s, known as the Ḥaram Documents, studied in most detail by Donald Little, have attracted only limited attention from scholars writing in Arabic. While al-ʻAsalī[26] and al-Ṣāliḥīyah[27] published the texts of some of the documents, information derived from the documents rarely appears in Arabic studies of Mamluk Jerusalem. Abū Ḥāmid′s

[22]Al-Dabbāgh, *Bilādunā Filasṭīn,* pt. 2, vol. 10 (1976), 420-509; Kāmil al-ʻAsalī, *Bayt al-Maqdis fī Kutub al-Riḥlāt ʻinda al-ʻArab wa-al-Muslimīn* (Amman, 1992); ʻAbd al-Hādī al-Tāzī, *Al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl fī al-Riḥlāt al-Maghrabīya: Riḥlāt Ibn ʻUthmān Numūdhajan* (Rabat, 1997). See also Yusrá Aḥmad ʻAbd Allāh, ″Al-Quds fī Kitābāt Raḥḥālah wa-Jughrāfī al-Qarn al-Sābiʻ wa-al-Thāmin al-Hijriyayn,″ *Al-Mu'arrikh al-Miṣrī* 21 (1999): 337-84.

[23]Aḥmad Darrāj, *Wathā'iq Dayr Ṣahyūn bi al-Quds al-Sharīf* (Cairo, 1968).

[24]Aḥmad al-ʻAlamī, *Waqfīyāt al-Maghāribah* (Jerusalem, 1981). The text is error-filled.

[25]Rūksī ibn Zā'id al-ʻAzīzī, ″Min Tawṣīyāt wa-Mawāthīq al-Mamālīk lil-Ruhbān fī al-Quds wa-Ḍawāḥihā,″ *al-Dārah* 7, no. 2 (1981): 208-32.

[26]Kāmil al-ʻAsalī, *Wathā'iq Maqdisīyah Tārīkhīyah* 1 (Amman, 1983); idem, *Wathā'iq Maqdisīyah Tārīkhīyah* 2 (Amman, 1985); idem, *Wathā'iq Maqdisīyah Tārīkhīyah* 3 (Amman, 1989).

[27]Muḥammad ʻĪsá al-Ṣāliḥīyah, ″Min Wathā'iq al-Ḥaram al-Qudsī al-Sharīf al-Mamlūkīyah,″ *Ḥawliyāt Kullīyat al-Ādāb, Jāmiʻat al-Kuwayt* 26 (1985).

M.A. thesis about the Islamic law court judges in the Mamluk period is one notable exception.[28]

But by far the most important documentary source for Mamluk Jerusalem is the Ottoman *sijill*s, the records of the Islamic law court in Jerusalem during the Ottoman period. Most of the annual volumes survive, including some from the first years of the Ottoman period, each containing summaries of hundreds of court cases written in Arabic.[29] A thorough examination of the documents in the *sijill*s is a mammoth task that remains to be undertaken, but would reveal hundreds of court cases related to such topics as property ownership and endowments that shed light on the Mamluk period. For example, many Ayyubid and Mamluk period endowment documents, lost in the original, are preserved because they were copied into the *sijill*s. Al-ʻAsalī throughout his numerous books and articles,[30] along with ʻAbd al-Mahdī,[31] largely pioneered the practise of using the *sijill*s extensively for documenting the history of the Islamic institutions in Jerusalem, and most other scholars have subsequently included *sijill* citations in their publications. But citations of the *sijill* documents must be used with caution because they are prone to errors, and regrettably some authors deliberately cite erroneous or incomplete *sijill* references as a way to prevent rivals from finding the specific documents. The Ottoman Islamic law court *sijill*s represent a vast source of as yet untapped information about Jerusalem and they are far and away the most potentially fruitful topic for research into Mamluk Jerusalem.

As an example of what remains to be learned about Mamluk Jerusalem from the Ottoman *sijill*s, Ghūshah has come across a number of citations that refer to the location of the various city gates both before and after the rebuilding of the city wall by the Ottomans in the 1530s. Those *sijill* references, such as the ones to both an old and new Bāb al-Khalīl (Jaffa Gate), seem to demonstrate that the Ottomans did not always build their city wall on top of the derelict Ayyubid-Mamluk walls, but rather in the west and south the Ottomans expanded the area enclosed

[28]Muḥammad Ḥusayn ʻAlī Abū Ḥāmid, "Quḍāt al-Quds fī al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī" (M.A. thesis, Jāmiʻat al-Qadīs Yūsuf, 1998).

[29]For the best presentation of what the *sijill*s have to offer, see the chapter by Khaḍr Salāmah in Robert Hillenbrand and Sylvia Auld, eds., *Ottoman Jerusalem: The Living City* (London, forthcoming 2000). The most easily accessible microfilm copy of the *sijill*s is at the University of Jordan.

[30]He published numerous documents in his *Wathā'iq Maqdisīyah Tārīkhīyah* volumes. See Fahmī al-Anṣārī, "Sijillāt al-Maḥkamah al-Sharʻīyah wa-Wathā'iquhā wa-Dawr Kāmil al-ʻAsalī," in *Kāmil al-ʻAsalī,* 245-54. (Response by Khaḍr Salāmah, pp. 255-73).

[31]ʻAbd al-Jalīl ʻAbd al-Mahdī, *Al-Madāris fī Bayt al-Maqdis fī al-ʻAṣrayn al-Ayyūbī wa-al-Mamlūkī: Dawruhā fī al-Ḥarakah al-Fikrīyah* (Amman, 1981).

by their city wall to include some neighborhoods that had built up over the previous centuries outside the earlier derelict walls.[32]

INSCRIPTIONS

The bulk of the Arabic inscriptions from the Mamluk period were published by Max van Berchem in the 1920s. Only a handful of new inscriptions have been identified since then, notably by Manṣūr, who included in his M.A. thesis several previously unpublished Mamluk inscriptions in the Islamic Museum on the Ḥaram al-Sharīf in Jerusalem.[33] A complete catalogue of the Arabic inscriptions in the Islamic Museum, including a number of previously unknown Mamluk period inscriptions, is in preparation by Khaḍr Salāmah and Robert Schick.

ARCHITECTURE

Little architectural study was done prior to Michael Burgoyne's *Mamluk Jerusalem*,[34] the fundamentally important work, but one should note the dissertations by Nāṣir,[35] the general corpus of Islamic monuments in Jerusalem prepared by Najm and others,[36] and studies of the Madrasah al-Ṭashtamarīyah, al-Turbah al-Kīlānīyah, and the Sabīl of Qāytbāy.[37] Al-ʻAsalī's publications are less studies of architecture than they are documentary histories based on the Ottoman *sijill*s.[38]

As recent additions to the architectural study of the city, one should note Hawari's study of the Ayyubid architecture of Jerusalem,[39] and Natsheh's study of

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[32]Part of Muḥammad Ghūshah's Ph.D. dissertation research in progress on sixteenth-century Jerusalem, presented at the W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, Jerusalem, Fall 1999.

[33]Ḥamdān ʻAbd al-Rāziq Ḥusayn Manṣūr, "Dirāsah lil-Nuqūsh al-ʻArabīyah fī al-Matḥaf al-Islāmī bi-al-Quds" (M.A. thesis, University of Jordan, 1995).

[34]Michael Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study* (with additional historical research by D. S. Richards) (London, 1987). An Arabic translation has been prepared by Aḥmad al-ʻAlamī, but awaits publication.

[35]Jalāl Asʻad Nāṣir (Quzūḥ), "ʻAmā'ir al-Sulṭān Qāytbāy fī Bayt al-Maqdis" (M.A. thesis, Cairo University, 1974); idem, "Al-ʻAmārah al-Mamlūkīyah al-Jarkasīyah fī Bayt al-Maqdis, 784 H.–922 H./1382 M.–1517 M." (Ph.D. diss., Cairo University, 1983). See also idem, "Al-Madrasah al-Ṭashtamarīyah fī Bayt al-Maqdis 784 A.H.-1382 A.D." in *Al-Mu'tamar al-Dawlī al-Thālith li-Tārīkh Bilād al-Shām: Filasṭīn,* vol. 1, *Al-Quds* (Amman, 1983), 52-79.

[36]Rā'if Najm, et al., *Kunūz al-Quds* (Amman, 1983). It contains many mistakes.

[37]Idārat al-Awqāf al-Islāmīyah, *Al-Madrasah al-Ṭashtamarīyah: Dirāsah Raqm (1) Ṭarīq Bāb al-Silsilah* (Jerusalem, 1977); Yūsuf Natshah, *Al-Turbah al-Kīlānīyah, 753 A.H./1342 A.D.* (Jerusalem, 1979); Muṣṭafá Najīb, *Dirāsah Jadīdah ʻalá Sabīl al-Sulṭān Īnāl al-Mundathar wa-al-Sabīl al-Ḥālī lil-Sulṭān Qāytbāy bi-al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf bi-al-Quds* (Cairo, 1984).

[38]Especially Kāmil al-ʻAsalī, *Min Āthārinā fī Bayt al-Maqdis* (Amman, 1982).

[39]Mahmoud Hawari, "Ayyubid Jerusalem: An Architectural and Archaeological Study" (Ph.D.

sixteenth-century Ottoman public architecture in the city.[40] Al-Anṣārī′s studies of some secondary mosques in the Old City from the Mamluk period concentrate more on their recent history.[41] Rizq has compared the monuments in Jerusalem with those that the same patrons built in Cairo.[42]

There are numerous Mamluk buildings in the Old City that are not included in Burgoyne′s study, while the historical documentation provided by Richards from the Ottoman *sijill*s is far from exhaustive. But only a few more Mamluk buildings have been added to the documented corpus of buildings. Al-Dajjānī′s study of the Tomb of David on Mount Zion and Ṭaha′s study of the Golden Gate in part covered the Mamluk period.[43] But more significantly, Abū Rayyā′s study of the Islamic monuments on the Mount of Olives covered much new ground.[44] Abū Rayyā was remarkably successful in combining attestations from Western Christian pilgrims and Arabic sources; that enabled him to determine that the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives was converted from an open structure into an enclosed mosque just prior to 737/1337. He also documented for the first time the Maqām al-Arba‘īn, located in the middle of the Muslim cemetery near the Mazār Salmān on the east side of the Mount of Olives. It may be the same monument as the mausoleum of al-Sittah Zahrah, the wife of the amir Tughān al-‘Uthmānī, the inspector of the two Ḥarams and the governor of Jerusalem in the 840s/1430-1440s.

Another addition to the corpus of Islamic buildings in the city is Ghūshah′s study of the Sa‘dī Quarter, the area between Damascus Gate and Herod′s Gate north of the Via Dolorosa.[45] Ghūshah′s book is the first comprehensive study of

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diss., University of London, 1998).

[40]Yusuf Natsheh, ″Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Public Buildings in Jerusalem: A study based on the standing monuments and the evidence of the Jerusalem sijill″ (Ph.D. diss., University of London, 1997); forthcoming in Hillenbrand and Auld, *Ottoman Jerusalem.*

[41]Fahmī al-Anṣārī, *Masjid al-Sulṭān Barqūq* (Jerusalem, 1994); idem, *Masjid al-Shaykh Rīḥān, Masjid Qalāwūn, Masjid al-Qaymarī* (Jerusalem, 1995).

[42]‘Āṣim Muḥammad Rizq, ″Ba‘ḍ Madāris Rijāl al-Dawlah al-Miṣrīyah fī Bayt al-Maqdis Khilāl al-‘Aṣrayn al-Ayyūbī wa-al-Mamlūkī (671-923 H./1171-1517 M.) wa-Dirāsāt Takmīlīyah min Madārisihim bi-al-Qāhirah,″ *Dirāsāt Āthārīyah Islāmīyah* 5 (1995): 103-45.

[43]Amāl al-Dajjānī, ″Masjid al-Nabī Dā’ūd ‘alayhi al-Salām wa-Maqāmuhu, Bayt al-Maqdis: Dirāsah Tārīkhīyah Atharīyah Mi‘mārīyah″ (M.A. thesis, Institute of Islamic Archaeology, al-Quds University, 1996); Aḥmad Ṭaha, *Al-Bāb al-Dhahabī fī al-Fatrah al-Islāmīyah: Dirāsah Atharīyah Tārīkhīyah* (Jerusalem, 1999) (the published version of his 1996 M.A. thesis for the Institute of Islamic Archaeology, al-Quds University).

[44]Rafa‘ Abū Rayyā, ″Al-Mawāqi‘ al-Islāmīyah ‘alá Jabal al-Zaytūn/Ṭūr Zaytā: Dirāsah Mi‘mārīyah, Atharīyah, Tārīkhīyah″ (M.A. thesis, Institute of Islamic Archaeology, al-Quds University, 1999).

[45]Muḥammad Ghūshah, *Ḥārat al-Sa‘dīyah fī al-Quds al-‘Uthmānī* (Jerusalem, 1999) (a greatly expanded version of his M.A. thesis for the Institute of Islamic Archaeology, al-Quds University, 1998).

one of the residental neighborhoods in the Old City, in which he provides historical and architectural documentation for some forty buildings, most previously unstudied.While most of those buildings date to the Ottoman period, he presented architectural documentation or information derived from the Ottoman *sijill*s about the Bāb al-Dā'īyah gate, removed when the Ottomans rebuilt the walls, the Zāwīyah al-Lu'lu'īyah, endowed in 775/1373, the *dār* of the amir Ṭūghān, founded in 864/1459, and the oven and mill of Dā'ūd ibn al-Asyad, endowed in 879/1474.

There is little architectural documentation left to be done for the buildings on the Ḥaram al-Sharīf and the other major public monuments in the Old City, but much remains to be documented elsewhere, such as the little-known northeast area of the Old City, east of Herod's Gate and north of the Via Dolorosa. A number of Mamluk madrasahs and other buildings attested in historical sources such as Mujīr al-Dīn's history have yet to be identified on the ground, while there are numerous extant buildings with architectural features suggesting a date in the Mamluk period that have not been identified or documented. A thorough examination of the Ottoman *sijill*s should provide information to help resolve the numerous outstanding questions of identification.

ART

Little about Islamic art of Mamluk Jerusalem has been written, despite the riches of the Islamic Museum on the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, which houses a large collection of Quran manuscripts, lamps, incense burners, and other objects that were endowed to the al-Aqsa Mosque, Dome of the Rock, or other Islamic institutions over the centuries. Beyond Abū Khalaf's thin study that includes photographs of a mosque lamp from the time of the governor Tankiz, there is little to note.[46] A catalogue of some, but by no means all, of the exquisite Quran manuscripts in the Museum, including a number of Mamluk period ones, is currently in press.[47]

GENERAL HISTORY

Several authors, notably Ghawānmah and 'Alī, have produced general studies of the Mamluk period.[48] There are also numerous recent general multi-period histories of Jerusalem that include the Mamluk period; al-'Asalī's work on medicine is of

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[46]Marwan Abu Khalaf, *Islamic Art Through the Ages: Masterpieces of the Islamic Museum of al-Haram al-Sharif (al-Aqsa Mosque) Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1998).

[47]Khaḍr Salāmah, *The Qur'ān Manuscripts in the Islamic Museum, al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf, Jerusalem* (Paris, forthcoming).

[48]Yūsuf Ghawānmah, *Tārīkh Nīyābat Bayt al-Maqdis fī al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Amman, 1982); al-Sayyid 'Alī 'Alī, *Al-Quds fī al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Cairo, 1986); Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr, "Ba'ḍ Aḍwā' 'alá Madīnat al-Quds fī 'Aṣr Salaṭīn al-Mamālīk" in *Al-Mu'tamar al-Dawlī,* 80-127.

especial interest.[49] Many others are not worth listing here. Evidence for the first years of Ottoman rule sheds much light on the preceeding late Mamluk period; the best study of sixteenth-century Ottoman Jerusalem is the one by Ya‘qūb.[50]

EDUCATION

Islamic education has been the topic of several studies.[51] The histories of the numerous madrasahs in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods, focusing on information derived from the Ottoman *sijill*s about their administrators and teachers, have generated numerous studies.[52] The information that Mujīr al-Dīn provided about the madrasahs in Jerusalem has been rehashed more times than is worth citing here, most recently in al-‘Alamī's thin study.[53]

PEOPLE BURIED IN JERUSALEM

Studies of famous Muslims buried in Jerusalem is a sub-field of its own, with information for the Mamluk period largely derived from Mujīr al-Dīn. Kāmil al-‘Asalī wrote about each of Jerusalem's cemeteries and mausolea,[54] while al-Anṣārī studied the Māmillā Cemetery, and collected the names of the people known to be buried there.[55]

VARIOUS

A number of other studies on specific topics are also worth noting, such as Yaḥyá's study of libraries,[56] and Tasan's study of administration.[57] Jerusalem in

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[49]Kāmil al-‘Asalī, *Muqaddimah fī Tārīkh al-Ṭibb fī al-Quds mundhu Aqdam al-Azminah ḥattá Sanat 1918 A.D*. (Amman, 1994).

[50]Muḥammad Aḥmad Salīm Ya‘qūb, *Nāḥiyat al-Quds al-Sharīf fī al-Qarn al-‘Āshir al-Hijrī/al-Sādis ‘Ashar al-Mīlādī* (Amman, 1999).

[51]‘Abd al-Jalīl ‘Abd al-Mahdī, *Al-Ḥarakah al-Fikrīyah fī Ẓill al-Masjid al-Aqṣá fī al-‘Aṣrayn al-Ayyūbī wa-al-Mamlūkī* (Amman, 1980); idem, "Al-‘Ulūm al-Dīnīyah wa-al-Lisānīyah fī Ẓill al-Masjid al-Aqṣá fī al-‘Aṣrayn al-Ayyūbī wa-al-Mamlūkī" in *Al-Mu'tamar al-Dawlī,* 141-203; Kāmil al-‘Asalī, "Al-Madāris wa-Ma‘āhid al-‘Ilm wa-al-‘Ulamā’ fī Filasṭīn (al-Qarn al-Khāmis—al-Thānī ‘Ashar lil-Hijrah/al-Qarn al-Ḥādī ‘Ashar—al-Thāmin ‘Ashar lil-Mīlād," in Hādīyah al-Dajjānī-Shakīl and Burhān al-Dajjānī, eds., *Al-Ṣirā‘ al-Islāmī al-Faranjī ‘alá Filasṭīn fī al-Qurūn al-Wusṭá* (Beirut, 1994), 494-529.

[52]Especially Kāmil al-‘Asalī, *Ma‘āhid al-‘Ilm fī Bayt al-Maqdis* (Amman, 1981) and ‘Abd al-Jalīl ‘Abd al-Mahdī, *Al-Madāris fī Bayt al-Maqdis fī al-‘Aṣrayn al-Ayyūbī wa-al-Mamlūkī: Dawruhā fī al-Ḥarakah al-Fikrīyah* (Amman, 1981).

[53]Aḥmad al-‘Alamī, *Al-Madāris al-Mamlūkīyah fī al-Quds* (Jerusalem, 1999).

[54]Kāmil al-‘Asalī, *Ajdādunā fī Thará Bayt al-Maqdis* (Amman, 1981).

[55]Fahmī al-Anṣārī, *Tarājim Ahl Maqbarat Māmillā* (Jerusalem, 1986); idem, *Tārīkh Maqbarat Māmillā* (Jerusalem, 1987).

[56]Mahāh Aḥmad Yaḥyá, "Al-Maktabāt al-Islāmīyah fī Bayt al-Maqdis fī al-‘Aṣr al-Mamlūkī"

Arabic literature during the Crusades has been the subject of two books by ʻAbd al-Mahdī.[58] The biography of Kamāl al-Dīn ibn Abī Sharīf at the end of the Mamluk period has been studied in detail by Abū Sanīnah.[59]

POPULAR ARTICLES

Occasional brief popular articles about Islamic Jerusalem are published in the Islamic magazines *Hadī al-Islām*, published by Wizārat al-Awqāf wa-al-Shu'ūn wa-al-Muqaddasāt al-Islāmīyah bi-ʻAmmān since 1956; *Hudá al-Islām*, published by Idārat al-Awqāf wa-al-Shu'ūn wa-al-Muqaddasāt al-Islāmīyah bi-al-Quds since 1982; *al-Isrāʻ*, published by Dār al-Fatwá wa-al-Buḥūth al-Islāmīyah fī al-Quds wa-al-Diyār al-Filasṭīnīyah since 1996, and *Al-Minbar*, published by Dā'irat al-Awqāf al-Filasṭīnīyah since 1997. Those articles do not warrant separate mention here. But one should also be aware of the popular magazine *Al-Quds al-Sharīf* published between 1984 and 1994. Of particular interest are the many articles that al-ʻAsalī published there. Occasional details in those articles are not found in his other publications.[60] The publications of the Yawm al-Quds conferences held annually in Amman, Jordan and at al-Najah National University in Nablus are of limited interest.

ACCESSIBILITY

While I have attempted to show the range of current Arab scholarship, tracking down the references I have given is a difficult problem, especially the various unpublished M.A. and Ph.D. dissertations. The numerous interesting publications of the Qism Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-Islāmī (Department of the Revival of Islamic Heritage) in Abū Dīs,[61] regrettably are also very poorly distributed. One needs to be in Jerusalem itself to track the citations down; Fahmī al-Anṣārī´s library in East Jerusalem is the place to start.[62]

(M.A. thesis, Institute of Islamic Archaeology, al-Quds University, 1999).

[57]Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Tasan, ″Al-Waẓā'if al-Dīnīyah wa-al-Idārīyah bi-al-Masjid al-Aqṣá fī ʻAhd Dawlat al-Mamālīk,″ *Al-ʻUṣūr* 5, no. 2 (1990): 283-310.

[58]ʻAbd al-Jalīl ʻAbd al-Mahdī, *Bayt al-Maqdis fī Adab al-Ḥurūb al-Ṣalībīyah 492-648 h.* (Amman, 1989); idem, *Bayt al-Maqdis fī Shiʻr al-Ḥurūb al-Ṣalībīyah 492-648 h.* (Amman, 1989).

[59]Yūsuf ʻAbd al-Wahhāb Abū Sanīnah, *Shaykh Mashāyikh al-Islām Malik al-ʻUlamā' al-Kamāl Muḥammad ibn Abī Sharīf* (Jerusalem, 1990).

[60]A complete list can be found in my *Sites and Monuments of Islamic Jerusalem.*

[61]They are the publishers of, for example, the books by Fahmī al-Anṣārī cited earlier.

[62]I must extend a special word of thanks and appreciation to Fahmī al-Anṣārī, for his assistance over the years from December 1994 to January 2000, when I was the Islamic Studies Fellow at the W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research in Jerusalem.

ṢUBḤĪ ʻABD AL-MUNʻIM MUḤAMMAD, *Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī: Rāʼid al-Muʼarrikhīn al-Ḥijāzīyīn (832-775 H./1373-1429 M.)* (Cairo: al-ʻArabī lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʻ, 1997). Pp. 212.

REVIEWED BY LI GUO, University of Notre Dame

The history of Mecca, especially that of the period after the glorious years of Muḥammad′s life and activities there, has drawn increasing scholarly attention recently, after having been ″strangely neglected practically,″ in Franz Rosenthal′s words,[1] since the third/ninth century, the time of the renowned Meccan historians al-Azraqī (d. ca. 246/860) and al-Fākihī (d. after 272/885). Among the leading local historians (those belonging to the so-called ″Hejazi school″ in the long chain of development of historical writing), Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī al-Makkī al-Ḥasanī al-Mālikī al-Fāsī (d. 832/1429) is without doubt one of the most original and outstanding, a pioneering sort of figure. The book under review is the first serious attempt to present this historian′s life and labor in a monograph.

Unfortunately, the scholarly value of the book is considerably limited. The major disappointment is the fact that only one manuscript (Ibn Farḥūn′s [d. 799/1397] *Naṣīḥat al-Mushāwir*) has been consulted in this pioneering study—if one may call it that, in view of a lack of other publications on the subject. While use is made of some well-known primary and secondary sources in Arabic, western scholarship on the subject is largely ignored, except for brief mentions of Carl Brockelmann′s *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Franz Rosenthal′s *A History of Muslim Historiography* and Heinrich Ferdinand Wüstenfeld′s 1859 work *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka.* (I doubt the original German text of the latter was ever consulted inasmuch as every single German word in the title given in the bibliography is misspelled [p. 212]). There are no indexes of any sort. These shortcomings, combined with the poor quality of printing and frequent typografical errors (the most awkward is the conjunction *wāw* being repeatedly set at the end of a line), make the book look less than serious.

The book is divided into two major parts, and they are preceded by a Preface and followed by Concluding Remarks. The Preface (pp. 2-6) outlines the purpose, scope, and method of the study. The author states that what made him embark upon the task is the fact that Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī, a leading figure in revitalizing the Hejazi historical tradition following a long decline after the third/ninth century, and one of the most prominent scholars of the ninth/fifteenth century in Mecca, has long been hidden from the limelight. He is hardly known outside the circle of

[1] ″al- Fāsī,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 2:828-29.

a few specialists, and his achievements as well as his influence on the development of Hejazi historiography have been little studied and not fully appreciated.

Part One, ″al-Fāsī′s Biography″ (*Sīrat al-Fāsī*), consists of four chapters: (1) ″His Upbringing and Life″; (2) ″His Education″; (3) ″His Fellow Scholars″; and (4) ″His Students″ (pp. 7-66). Although the format here is typical, the content is quite insubstantial. The title of chapter 1 is rather misleading in that the chapter merely gives a list of al-Fāsī′s famous family members (pp. 7-18), but nothing is said about ″his upbringing and life.″ Given the fact that the main source for this part is al-Fāsī′s own biographical work *al-ʻIqd al-Thamīn*, in which he devoted considerable attention to his own autobiography, the author′s failure to present a meaningful biography is regrettable.

Chapter 2 offers yet another list, this time that of al-Fāsī′s teachers and his journeys in search of knowledge. Each name, and each city, is accompanied by a lengthy footnote that contains commonplace information. I do not see, for instance, the need to footnote ″Mecca″ (p. 19), ″al-Masjid al-Ḥarām″ (p. 20), ″Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī″ (p. 27), and many others, in this slim volume. The lengthy explanation of the meaning of ″*ijāzah*″ (p. 30) is redundant as well. One gets the feeling that the author is trying to expand the study into a book from the very limited original data he has collected. The name dropping is necessary only if the author demonstrates that these people′s writings and teachings had significant impact on al-Fāsī′s own career as an historian. But unfortunately, it is exactly at this point that the present book falls short. For instance, it is well known that the great historian Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) was al-Fāsī′s teacher and patron, and that his methods and writings profoundly influenced al-Fāsī′s historical thinking and writing. Although considerable space is devoted to Ibn Khaldūn and his relationship to al-Fāsī (pp. 40-54), one finds mostly digressive passages about *Ibn Khaldūn′s* biography and *his* major works. Only a few pages are left to deal with the real subject here, that is, Ibn Khaldūn′s influence on al-Fāsī′s writing (pp. 50-54); even this little space is filled with citations from al-Fāsī′s own works where he mentioned Ibn Khaldūn as his source. There is no synthesis, let alone analysis.

The same method and style continue in chapter 3 (pp. 55-60), which deals with al-Fāsī′s fellow scholars, among whom the most intriguing is Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī (d. 852/1449). The chapter turns out to be primarily a biography of *Ibn Ḥajar* and a list of *his* works. Nothing is said about his dealings with, and influence on, al-Fāsī. Chapter 4 follows suit, with more name dropping and no discussion. Oddly, only at the end of Part One is there passing mention of al-Fāsī′s career as the Mālikī chief judge in Mecca, a position that provided him with a great deal of firsthand information on the city, its institutions, and its people, giving his accounts of the history of the city a certain sense of authenticity. This point, unfortunately, is not elaborated by the author. One also wonders why this

portion, which is essential to a better understanding of al-Fāsī's world view and his sources, should be given so little attention and be put here, disjointedly, at the very end of his biography.

Part Two, "al-Fāsī and His Labors in Historical Writing" (*al-Fāsī wa-Juhūduhu al-Tārīkhīyah*), is the better and more substantial and informative segment of the book (pp. 68-192). It has five chapters: (1) "al-Fāsī's works"; (2) "The Hejazi School of Historical Writing"; (3) "The Features of Historical Writing in al-Fāsī's Time and Their Impact on His Works"; (4) "al-Fāsī's Framework of Historical Inquiry" (*Iṭār al-Baḥth al-Tārīkhī*); and (5) "al-Fāsī's Influence on Later Historiography."

Chapter 1 lists al-Fāsī's major works with information on the manuscripts and publication records of these titles. Twenty titles, with several additional miscellanies, are listed; among them the two most important and original are *Shifā' al-Gharām bi-Akhbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām*, a history of Mecca, and *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn fī Tārīkh al-Balad al-Amīn*, a biographical dictionary of the people associated with Mecca, including the author's own autobiography. Of the former, only the old 1956 edition is mentioned, while the new 1996 Mecca edition (edited by Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ et al.) failed to make the list. This is the part from which the reader would naturally crave more information, since this is the first effort ever to study al-Fāsī's works in a comprehensive way, but it falls short on detail. The majority of the entries are only given as titles, without any additional information; as for the titles that do get some attention, the information is usually brief (pp. 68-72). As if to compensate for the dearth of substance in this section, the author has devoted a longer segment (pp. 73-79) to quoting citations that praise al-Fāsī's writings. However, these citations are mainly stock clichés common in medieval Muslim scholarly critique, and they are all quoted from al-Fāsī's own *al-'Iqd al-Thamīn*.

Chapter 2 deals with an interesting topic, that is, the Hejazi school of historical writing. Leaning heavily on Brockelmann, Rosenthal, and Shākir Muṣṭafá, the author first gives a detailed overview of the development of historical thinking and writing in Mecca and Medina in the early Islamic era. The main thesis is that the awareness of Muslim historical writing started as early as the beginning of Islam, when Mecca was the center of Muslim learning. While early authors focused on broader themes concerning *maghāzī*, or early Muslim conquests, and *ḥadīth* transmission, it was not until the third/ninth century, when the Hejaz was less in the spotlight in the Islamic political arena, that we see historians like al-Azraqī and al-Fākihī engage in recording *akhbār* about the holy city Mecca *itself* as well as giving descriptions of its topography. The motive for such pursuits seems to have stemmed from the desire among the local '*ulamā*' to bring back to the Muslims' collective consciousness the importance of the holy places, to remind Muslims of their duties of pilgrimage to these places, and to provide guides for

such visits. Later authors of the ″Hejazi school″ did not exceed this scope until the ninth/fifteenth century, when al-Fāsī emerged as an ″historian″ in the real sense, whose writings combined clearly executed chronicles with in-depth historical analysis, not only bringing the ″Hejazi school″ back on the map of Muslim historiography, but also influencing later historians in the Hejaz and elsewhere.

Chapter 3, which deals with the specifics of the historical writings of al-Fāsī′s time and their influence on al-Fāsī, is a natural continuation of the previous chapter. It is also of special interest for Mamluk scholars in that this chapter touches upon some important issues in Mamluk historiography as a whole. According to the author, the historical writing in al-Fāsī′s time, i.e., the ninth/fifteenth century, can be characterized by five phenomena regarding themes, methodology, approach, etc., and they are: (1) quoting (*al-naql*) from other sources; (2) writing epitomes of existing works (*al-talkhīṣ wa-al-ikhtiṣār*); (3) writing continuations (*al-tadhyīl*) of existing works; (4) autobiography; and (5) local history. Each of these categories is treated in detail, placing al-Fāsī′s writing, which reflects in various ways all these facets, within the context of mainstream historiography in Egypt and Syria, whose leading figures include al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Ḥajar (al-Fāsī′s friend), al-ʻAynī, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, al-Sakhāwī, al-Suyūṭī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, and Ibn Iyās, among others.

More discussion of al-Fāsī′s own historical writings continues in chapter 4, where several issues pertaining to al-Fāsī′s historical methodology, his major achievements, and the continuity and discontinuity of his own works as well as those of the ″Hejazi school″—as opposed to those ″common features″ nourished through the labors of the Egyptian and Syrian masters mentioned above—are addressed. Among many issues dealt with here, students of Mamluk history may be particularly interested in learning more about al-Fāsī′s two masterpieces, which represent, respectively, the two major genres of historical writing of his time: his biographical dictionary of the learned persons of Mecca (*al-ʻIqd al-Thamīn*) and his local history of Mecca (*Shifāʼ*). Fortunately, nearly half of the book (pp. 115-80) is devoted to these two works. In discussing *al-ʻIqd*, the author first presents a layout of the structure and main contents of the work; some textual aspects such as the alphabetical order of arranging the 3,500 plus entries (p. 117) as well as other principles that guided the organization of this bulky work (pp. 118 f.) are given special attention. The author points out that this alphabetical order is also found in Ibn Ḥajar′s biographical work *al-Iṣābah fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah*, which follows a model set by Ibn al-Athīr (d. 733/1332) and other earlier authors such as Abū ʻAbd Allāh ibn Mundah (d. 395/1005), Ibn ʻAbd al-Barr (d. 462/1070), and others. As regards the content of the work, the author calls attention to the fact that the biographical section proper is preceded by an introduction of the *faḍāʼil* genre, or praise for the virtues of a city, which is itself a summary of

al-Fāsī's history of Mecca, the *Shifā'*. Furthermore, this introduction is sometimes considered as an independent work by the title of *al-Zuhūr al-Muqtaṭafah min Tārīkh Makkah al-Musharrafah* (p. 127). The author then moves on to a detailed discussion of the composition of a typical biographical entry in the work (pp. 129-37). The significance of studying such entries is highlighted, as "these biographies have preserved for us a picture of the intellectual and cultural life of the era" by showing vividly the network that ties the *'ulamā'* with their teachers, students, and most importantly, their peers, depicting these people's friendship, fellowship, rivalry, and competition "in a way that is no less revealing and nuanced than that of political histories" (p. 129). For those familiar with Michael Chamberlain's work on Damascene *'ulamā'*, al-Fāsī's biographical dictionary seems to offer an analogy, or a mirror, of the same kind of struggle, or civil *fitnah*, but this time in a Hejazi context.

Source criticism is another issue that is noteworthy (pp. 138-45). In addition to conventional literary sources, al-Fāsī, we are told, also utilized material evidence, such as that of ruins, inscriptions, etc., as well as documents, such as official communiqués, letters, speeches, etc., in his work. This method was advocated by his mentor Ibn Khaldūn, whose influence on the younger al-Fāsī manifested itself in many ways in the latter's work. This last point is addressed in some detail in the following section on the "historical critique" (*al-naqd al-tārīkhī*) in *al-'Iqd* (pp. 147-52). The main conclusion is that al-Fāsī practiced what his teacher Ibn Khaldūn preached in that his critical spirit as a true historian is seen not only in his method of establishing sound chains of transmitting historical data, his careful treatment of sources, and his cautious handling of conflicting accounts and stories, but also his speaking his mind in the practice of the methodology of *al-jarḥ wa-al-ta'dīl*, i.e., critique, verifying reliable accounts and disputing false statements.

The discussion of al-Fāsī's history of Mecca, the *Shifā'*, follows the same style and format (pp. 153-80). A description of the structure and composition of the work (pp. 154-56) is followed by a lengthy source "criticism" (pp. 156-75), which turns out to be a long, and unnecessary, list of the literary sources mentioned by al-Fāsī, with a brief description of the documents utilized in the work and citations of poems found in the book. Like many of the previous segments, there is very little analysis but rather merely digressive listing and citations. Several issues are in order here. First, regarding the development of the writing of Meccan local history, the author is of the commonly-held opinion that al-Fāsī followed the pattern established by al-Azraqī and al-Fākihī, that is, a work that combines topography, legends of pre-Islamic Mecca, and history per se. It is noted that al-Fāsī did not employ the conventional annalistic form in writing his chronicles; in other words, his "history" is thematically arranged, a form that is not widely represented in Mamluk historiography. Of special interest for students of the

Mamluks will be the author's discussion of the Mamluk documents preserved in local archives that are not found in other sources, such as personal letters exchanged between the *'ulamā'* concerning the riots led by Egyptian pilgrims in Mecca in 730/1329 (pp. 172-73), and the official decrees dealing with personnel changes at the office of the governor (*wilāyah*) in Mecca.

Speaking of the poetry in al-Fāsī's historical work, the author has rightly observed that many of the poems found in al-Fāsī's history are *not* related to the events of the narrative line (p. 175). This is by no means something unique to al-Fāsī's work. As I have discussed elsewhere, by the time of the so-called "Syrian school of historical writing," i.e., that of the seventh-eighth/thirteenth-fourteenth century Syrian authors al-Birzālī, al-Yūnīnī, and al-Dhahabī (from whom al-Fāsī evidently quoted heavily), the notion that a *tārīkh* is not only a record of factual events, but a register of Muslim religious learning and a selective anthology of Arabic cultural and literary heritage appears to have gained a considerable following.[2] It is assumed that the poems found in a historical work need *not* necessarily be relevant to the narrative line. Al-Fāsī's case provides another piece of evidence that this notion was widely accepted, and practiced, by later Mamluk historians, including those who were as far away as the Hejaz.

The book concludes with a chapter on al-Fāsī's influence on the development of the "Hejazi school" of historical writing. According to the author, al-Fāsī's importance as a role model for later Meccan historians manifests itself in several aspects: his methodology (*manhajīyah*), his style (*uslūb*), and his approach (*ṭarīqah*), that is, his way of classifying major themes, laying out the contents, setting the goal of each work by an explicit introduction, and presenting historical events in a thematic rather than annalistic form. Special emphasis is placed on al-Fāsī's attentiveness to field work in his effort to verify facts from various sources, and his critique of conflicting accounts. In this connection, the chapter leaves much to be desired. A discussion, for instance, of the common elements and differences between this "Hejazi school" as compared to other "schools" in the Mamluk period, such as those of Syria and Egypt, would be most welcome. Regarding the genre of autobiography, a genre that did not advance itself very much in the Mamluk period, it is well known that al-Fāsī wrote his autobiography in the third person as part of his biographical dictionary *al-'Iqd*, but what can one say about it as compared to other contemporary autobiographies, if there were any? What was its influence on later similar attempts (such as the famous one by al-Suyūṭī [d. 911/1505], who credited al-Fāsī as the inspiration for his effort) in terms of format, structure and method?

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[2]*Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography* (Leiden, 1998), 1:96.

Overall, the book is useful for those who are interested in general Mamluk historiography and the local history of Mecca, especially that of the Mamluk period. But great effort is needed to extract information and insight from this book, which is long on citation, often unnecessary, and short on synthesis and analysis.

IBN QĀḌĪ SHUHBAH, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah*, Volume Four, Edited by Adnan Darwich (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1997). Pp. 767.

REVIEWED BY DAVID C. REISMAN, Yale University

Twenty years after the publication of the first volume of the critical edition of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's abridgement *(mukhtaṣar)* of his "Dhayl," Darwich has finally brought to a conclusion his superlative endeavor with the publication of volume four. Darwich entitled the work *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah*, but this is somewhat misleading. The work edited by Darwich is actually an abridgement of a larger history entitled "Dhayl," an historical record originally begun by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's master Ibn Ḥijjī, but later expanded by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah. A holograph manuscript (Chester Beatty 5527) of the "Dhayl" was discovered three years ago in Dublin, Ireland, and was subjected to a detailed analysis in the pages of this journal by the present reviewer.[1] The publication of volume four of the "Tārīkh" (hereafter referred to as the "abridgement") by Darwich provides the opportunity to make some additional comments about Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's historical production as well as observations on Darwich's editorial techniques.

This final volume covers the years 801-8. By far the most important of these years was 803, in which Timur entered Syria from Anatolia and laid siege to Aleppo and Damascus among other cities. The significance of this campaign for the population of Syria and consequently for the historians Ibn Ḥijjī and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah is reflected in the lion's share of space Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah allots to that year in his abridgement. Of the eight years recorded in volume four, 803 receives some one hundred pages of the printed edition. The other years are dispatched in some fifty pages each. The year 808, the last year for which there are extant manuscripts of the abridgement, is summarily and incompletely treated in a mere seven pages. It is unlikely that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah would have divided a year across volumes; this fact suggests that the holograph manuscript of the abridgement

[1]"A Holograph MS of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's 'Dhayl'," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 19-49.

that Darwich used is incomplete. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s student′s copy (the other manuscript used for volume four of the edition) ends abruptly even earlier: in the midst of the biographies for the year 806 (p. 390 n. 1).

The various elements of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s technique as an historian are conveyed in a most direct way in his retelling of the events of 803. A broad typology of sources can be discerned. And while no attempt is made to weave the various sources into a narrative whole, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s frank commentary on those sources proves to be more than adequate recompense for that lack. His information for events in Egypt is still drawn from the as yet unidentified Egyptian history that he shares with al-Maqrīzī.[2] His sources for the invasion of Syria by Timur, and especially Timur′s entrance into Damascus and the events that followed, include Ibn Ḥijjī′s original rough notes and an unnamed eyewitness account. In this regard, the publication of the final volume of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s abridgement brings to light a hitherto unnoted fact: neither Ibn Ḥijjī nor Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah was present in Damascus during Timur′s occupation. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah tells us that Ibn Ḥijjī left Damascus for Zura‘ on 23 Rabī‘ II 803 and consequently he ″wrote very little on this *fitnah*″ (p. 161-62); he then states that his additional material comes from the written source of ″a trustworthy friend″ (p. 162). This last statement, along with the absence of any first person accounts from Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, clearly indicates that he had himself left the city prior to Timur′s arrival.

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s confidence in this trustworthy eyewitness occasionally wanes. He concludes a brief account of the destruction wrought by Timur′s troops by noting that ″the period of time was too short for precise reports, but general accounts by both the elite and the commoner, those present and those absent, are in accord″ (p. 169). His eyewitness′s report of the fall of the citadel in Damascus he deems too simple; he says ″it was more complicated than that″ (p. 175). He makes up for the occasional deficiencies in this source by including a wealth of other material, including synopses of Timur′s various proclamations (pp. 148, 167, 179). A marginal note in the ″Dhayl″ (Chester Beatty 5527) indicates that he drew on Ibn ‘Arabshāh′s biography of Timur[3] for his announcement of the latter′s death in 807 (p. 425). However, he was not aware of Ibn Khaldūn′s *Autobiography;* neither of the reports about the meeting between Timur and Damascene scholars accords Ibn Khaldūn the central and singular role Ibn Khaldūn accorded himself

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[2]Both Ibn Duqmāq and Ibn al-Furāt have been tentatively suggested as that common source; see Reisman, ibid., 39, 42. It is worth noting that this source appears hostile to Ibn Khaldūn; a certain malicious glee can be detected in the explanation of why Ibn Khaldūn was divested of his judgeship (p. 143), an explanation absent from Maqrīzī′s account (*Sulūk*, ed. Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ ‘Āshūr [Cairo, 1972], vol. 3, pt. 3, 1027).

[3]Ibn ‘Arabshāh, *‘Ajā’ib al-Maqdūr fī Akhbār Tīmūr,* ed. Jacobus Golius (Leiden, 1636).

in his *Autobiography*.[4] For Timur′s sack of Baghdad in Dhū al-Qaʻdah 803, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah drew on ″a native of Damascus taken captive who knew Turkish″ (p. 191). Finally, it is now clear that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah drew on Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī for a number of biographies of these later years;[5] in one of his biographies for the year 806, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah states that ″[this] biography comes from the death notices that Ibn Ḥajar wrote for me″ (p. 392).

This brief source analysis suggests that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s abridgement will prove important to the study of Timur′s campaign in Syria. And while there is much unmined material that remains in the larger ″Dhayl″ (Chester Beatty 5527) for the years that overlap between the ″Dhayl″ and its abridgement, Darwich has done such a superlative job in editing the abridgement that immediate attention should now be directed to an edition of those years not covered in the abridgement but found in the ″Dhayl″: 809-10.

Darwich made use of every manuscript of the abridgement at his disposal for his complete edition. The remaining years (801-8) of the abridgement to survive are to be found in two manuscripts: the author′s holograph (Asad Efendi 2345), completed according to Darwich sometime before 840; and a copy made by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s student Khaṭṭāb ibn ʻUmar al-Ajlūnī (Paris 1098-9) made from ″fascicles″ *(karārīs)* around 840.[6] A comparison of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s holograph of the larger ″Dhayl″ with the holograph abridgement indicates that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah made additions to the latter from the former sometime after his student had made his copy. Interestingly, Darwich′s critical apparatus indicates that certain of these additions were made by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah both in his holograph and in his student′s copy (see pp. 7, 8, 172, 192, 196, 293, 301, 309, 340, 343, 346, 347), and that other additions were made by him in his student′s copy but not in his own holograph (see pp. 353, 358, 360, 365, 372, 373, 376). The first set of marginal additions, in both MSS, can be accounted for if Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah made corrections to his student′s copy after the latter had completed it. The implication of the

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[4]In fact, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah received his information on the meeting from Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-ʻIzz (d. 837/1433) who was himself present. And while Ibn al-ʻIzz provides a parallel account of some of the conversation that Ibn Khaldūn recorded in his *Autobiography,* it is clear that Ibn Khaldūn was not alone with Timur for the conversation and so contradicts Ibn Khaldūn (see pp. 167, 182). There is an English translation of the relevant part of Ibn Khaldūn′s *Autobiography* by Walter J. Fischel entitled *Ibn Khaldūn and Tamerlane* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1952).

[5]In *MSR* 2, 44, the present reviewer noted that Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī cited Ibn Ḥijjī′s ″Dhayl″ for biographical information (in the former′s *Al-Durar al-Kāminah*), and Li Guo (*MSR* 1, 19) signalled the existence of a manuscript of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī′s continuation of his own *Durar* that has marginal notes in Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s hand. The relationship of borrowing amongst these three scholars should be investigated more fully.

[6]For Darwich′s hypothesis concerning composition and copy dates for these manuscripts, see vol. 2, pp. 57ff., and vol. 4, notes to pages 172, 192, 196, 211, 213, 291, 368.

second set of marginal notes, found only in his student´s copy, will require further analysis; perhaps Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah wanted to work with a clear copy of the abridgement in his process of revision? Further, these additions are not limited to material from the ˝Dhayl˝. One surprising observation that can now be made with the edited text of the abridgement at hand is that after 840 Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah seems to have concentrated his efforts on providing a version of the abridgement that would supersede the larger history known as the ˝Dhayl.˝ This is evident from the fact that some of the marginal material found in the abridgement is not to be found in the ˝Dhayl˝ (see for instance a biography, pp. 251 ff., and additional lines, p. 59, lines 13-14).

These observations about the interrelationship of the two copies of the abridgement and the holograph manuscript of the ˝Dhayl˝ can only be made from the very detailed notes in Darwich´s critical apparatus. Indeed, his comments about the student´s copy (Paris 1098-9) extend beyond a record of textual variants to include observations of a broader importance, for instance, the fact that al-Ajlūnī did not accord Ibn Ḥijjī the rank of *˝ḥāfiẓ,˝* for in each instance that Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah had so distinguished his master, al-Ajlūnī revised that title to *˝al-shaykh˝* (e.g. p. 216, n. 3), and that al-Ajlūnī often took it upon himself to revise Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah´s Middle Arabic (pp. 21, n. 2, and 166, n. 2). The benefits to be had from such a detailed record of the two manuscripts thus supersede the rule regarding the elimination of secondary exemplars in the art of textual criticism. However, at least part of that rule still applies: Darwich need not have expended such energy in recording the minor errors of reading al-Ajlūnī committed, and thereby could have reduced some of the clutter of his critical apparatus.

Other material extraneous to the critical apparatus includes the citation of sources Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah used for his history, and observations of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah´s editorial methodology in using those sources. A future modification would be to separate comments on the text and comments on the sources into two apparatuses. Finally, the fact that line numbers were employed for Darwich´s edition should have eliminated the need for superscript footnote references; this elimination would have greatly reduced the clutter of the text. The significance of these suggestions is far outweighed by the admiration that must be accorded Darwich as an historian of the Mamluk period. His profound grasp of the language and literature of the period is evident on every page of his edition, from his references to other sources (not limited to published texts) in the footnotes to the extensive vowelling of the text (the vocalizations of Turkish names are almost always correct).[7] On the rare occasions in which Darwich has made additions to

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[7]Such detailed vocalization is rarely seen in editions of historical texts; typographical errors, while present, are minimal (e.g. read ˝al-fitnatu˝ for ˝al-fitnati,˝ 187:ult.).

the text, his surmises are independently corroborated by the Chester Beatty manuscript of the ″Dhayl″ (which was not known to him).[8]

As with the other volumes of his edition, Darwich has included in volume four an analytical section that briefly recounts major events of each year, divided into political, legal, intellectual, economic, social, and natural phenomena sections. Readers of Darwich have also come to expect the detailed indices found in each volume; these include people (those subject to death notices and those not), geographical and topographical names, technical terms, peoples and groups, and an index of works mentioned by the author. The usefulness of the people index extends beyond the reading of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s history, thanks to Darwich′s inclusion of basic biographical data under each name, often with a citation of another external source in addition to references to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s work. Minor errors and omissions have occasionally crept into these indices; for instance, references to Burhān al-Dīn Ibn Mufliḥ are also found on pp. 167 and 171; the reference to page ″9″ under Taymūr (Timur) should read ″19;″ and page 63 under the same entry is incorrect. In his introduction to volume two of his edition, Darwich promised a ″glossary″ for the whole of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s work which has yet to materialize.

Students and scholars of Mamluk history have reason to celebrate the conclusion of Darwich′s edition of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s abridged history. In the second volume of his edition (French Avant-propos, p. 8) , Darwich noted that the critical editing [of medieval Arabic texts] is a difficult undertaking and one which requires a clear vision of the whole civilization of a given epoch. With this final volume of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah′s history, Darwich has admirably demonstrated just what can be accomplished with such a vision.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS TO THE ARABIC TEXT

Some of the lacunae in the abridgement and some of the passages that Darwich found difficult to read in his two exemplars can be filled and read through recourse to the Chester Beatty MS 5527 of the ″Dhayl.″ Page, line and footnote numbers refer to Darwich′s volume four.

174.19. بَيْتي read Darwich: undotted in MSS Asad Efendi, Paris, and Chester Beatty : تبِنْي read Reisman.
235.3. انتهى ووالده توفّى في رجب سبع وخمسين add. Chester Beatty 5527.
402.8. أقمشة add. Chester Beatty 5527.
402.13. . . . خمس Darwich : خمسمائة نفس من Chester Beatty 5527.

[8]For instance, his addition of ″[al-nās],″ p. 183, is corroborated by Chester Beatty MS 5527.

419. note 1. No lacuna.
419. 5. بكْتمر الركني add. Chester Beatty 5527.
419. note 2. No lacuna.
425.7. معمى read Darwich : يعني Chester Beatty 5527.
425.15. على . . . أنعم فقبل read Darwich : على صبائهم إنهم معك Chester Beatty 5527.
444.10. صالح الاشنهي add. Chester Beatty 5527.
453.14. الشهبي add. Chester Beatty 5527.
453.16. المحط الرحالي تارة add. Chester Beatty 5527.
453.18. شرفه add. Chester Beatty 5527.
457.3. المنال الجاير add. Chester Beatty 5527.

ʻADNĀN Muḥammad Fāyiz al-Ḥārithī, *ʻImārat al-Madrasah fī Miṣr wa-al-Ḥijāz fī al-Qarn 9 H./15 M.: Dirāsah Muqāranah* (Mecca: al-Mamlakah al-ʻArabīyah al-Saʻūdīyah, Wizārat al-Taʻlīm al-ʻĀlī, Jāmiʻat Umm al-Qurá, Maʻhad al-Buḥūth al-ʻIlmīyah wa-Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1997). Two volumes.

REVIEWED BY DORIS BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF, University of Munich

This work consists of two volumes, the second of which is entirely dedicated to the illustrations, plans, and photographs. The subject defined by the author in his title is a comparison of madrasah architecture in Egypt and the Ḥijāz during the Mamluk period.

The study is divided into three parts. In the first part of his investigation al-Ḥārithī describes three madrasahs in Cairo: the madrasah-*khānqāh* of Faraj Ibn Barqūq, the madrasah of al-Ashraf Barsbāy in Cairo′s center, and that of Qāytbāy in the cemetery. The subject of the second part is the madrasahs of the Ḥijāz: the Bāsiṭīyah at Mecca and the Bāsiṭīyah at Medina, both built in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, and the madrasah of Qāytbāy in Mecca. The third part includes an analysis of and comparison between the Egyptian and the Ḥijāzī madrasah plans followed by a description of architectural and decorative elements of Mamluk (Cairene) madrasah architecture.

The study begins with a short discussion of the theories dealing with the origins of madrasah architecture (K. A. C. Creswell, G. Makdisi, O. Aslanapa, ʻA.

Ḥilmī, Ḥ. al-Bāshā, M. al-Kaḥlāwī), upon which the author comments that even though each of them has a certain validity, they do not take into consideration the variety of plans involved in madrasah architecture. It should be added that this variety of plans is even more pronounced in the period on which this study concentrates, which is the fifteenth century, when the Mamluk madrasah had already lost many of its earlier features in form as well as in function. In fact, none of the three Egyptian cases discussed was a madrasah in the classical sense, but rather a combination of *khānqāh* and madrasah; that of Qāytbāy was not a madrasah at all, but a Friday mosque with Sufi functions. The author does note the fluidity in the Mamluk terminological definition of these institutions as well as the flexibility of their function in the late period, but his interest is focused on the variety of plans used in late Mamluk religious architecture rather than on the architecture or the evolution of the madrasah as such, or on the relationship between form and function. It should be noted, however, that some functions, such as whether the madrasah was also a *jāmi'* (the presence, especially outside of Cairo, of a minaret is sometimes the decisive clue) and whether it also included a Sufi community (as did the madrasah of Barqūq), might be of relevance to the architectural layout of the complex. It is the author's opinion that if the function (madrasah, *khānqāh* or *jāmi'*) of an institution is defined by its inscriptions differently from the *waqf* deed, the inscription should be trusted (pp. 284f.). This view can by no means be supported, since the *waqf* deed not only names the type of foundation involved, but also describes its curriculum as well as the functions of the personnel attached to it; these are specific criteria for the definition of the institution which cannot be disregarded.

The architectural survey of all six buildings, which I will not discuss here, proceeds on the basis of an element-by-element formal description, as given in *waqf* documents, with the difference that the author indicates measurements. Al-Ḥārithī tells us that the two Bāsiṭīyah madrasahs of Mecca and Medina which are still extant have undergone only minor alterations. It is regrettable, however, that he does not seem to have visited them himself, as he bases his descriptions of their present state on oral communications by other scholars, using in addition literary and visual material. His reference to other Ḥijāzī monuments is mostly indirect, relying on other studies without the support of illustrations.

Information about Qāytbāy's madrasah in Mecca, which did not survive and for which no *waqf* deed is known, is provided from literary sources as well as from historic views and photographs in addition to an Egyptian survey map predating the Saudi destruction of the building. On the basis of this material the author

presents a reconstruction of the plan and elevation of this madrasah. No *waqf* document seems to exist for any of the Ḥijāzī foundations discussed by the author.[1]

In the third part of the book, which deals with analysis and comparison, al-Ḥārithī comes to the conclusion that the madrasahs of the Ḥijāz, while influenced by Egyptian architecture, developed their own local patterns based on the *ḥujrah*, which is a simple room used for the gatherings related to the institution′s functions, instead of the *īwān* or the arcaded hall. This *ḥujrah* is represented in the two madrasahs built by Qāḍī ʻAbd al-Basīṭ in Mecca and Medina, an observation that is also applicable to Mamluk Syrian architecture. It should be noted here that a characteristic function of the foundations attached to the mosques of Mecca and Medina, like Qāytbāy′s madrasah in Medina, was that of a hospice for pilgrims.

The final chapter deals with the architectural and decorative elements of the Mamluk madrasah with some interesting information on libraries and the location of the living units.

In spite of its comparative outlook this study focuses heavily on Cairene architecture, which the author seems to know better than the Mamluk architecture of Mecca or Medina of which, moreover, little has survived. Although the Mamluks′ patronage in the provinces, especially the Holy Cities, was substantial, their buildings outside Cairo did not belong to the same architectural school as those of the capital. In spite of undeniable mutual influences between Cairo and Syria, Cairene Mamluk architecture was not really duplicated elsewhere in the empire (not even in the Egyptian provinces themselves), with the exception of Qāytbāy′s buildings in Jerusalem and the Ḥijāz, which were erected by Cairene teams of master-builders and masons. One would have expected the author to recognize that the madrasah of Qāytbāy in Mecca was closer to Cairene tradition than other buildings because exceptionally, and like that of Medina, it was built by an Egyptian master-builder and Egyptian craftsmen. It would be interesting to investigate whether Ḥijāzī Mamluk architecture was related to that of the Syrian provinces.

Another aspect which should have been considered in a discussion of plans is the role of the urban setting which, as is well known, played a role in the design of Mamluk urban architecture, where the founder′s mausoleum—mostly absent in provincial architecture—occupied a prominent place. In the cases of Mecca and Medina, where the founders had an obvious preference for close proximity to the sanctuary (thus limiting the choices of available plots), adjustments to the plans must have been inevitable, as is evident in the Mamluk buildings around the Ḥaram of Jerusalem.

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[1]The *waqf* deed of Qāytbāy′s madrasah in Medina has been discussed by me in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999).

The illustrations in the second volume are of rather poor quality, and they deal essentially with Cairene architecture. The five historic photographs of Mecca and Medina from the collection of Sultan ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd and Muḥammad Ṣādiq Pasha are interesting.

The author, who used for his study an important number of literary sources, *waqf* documents, and many recent Arabic studies including unpublished M.A. and Ph.D. theses from Cairo is, on the other hand, poorly informed about research done in European languages, except for his short mention of Creswell′s ideas on the origins of the madrasah; not even the *Corpus Inscriptionum* has been consulted in the context of epigraphy. His very short bibliography of Western literature (which does include, however, references on Persian and Sassanian architecture) contains mistakes to the extent of being unintelligible. In this regrettable shortcoming al-Ḥārithī is not alone; rather, he represents a large part of scholarship on Islamic art history written in Arabic. Of course it is also true that Western scholars in this field have entirely disregarded recent art historical studies in Arabic, which despite their provincial character and, as a result, methodological weaknesses, can be useful to the Western reader. Islamic art history is a very young discipline in Arabic scholarship; unless it interacts with Western scholarship it will remain deficient.

Any information dealing with Mamluk architecture in the Holy Cities is of interest, since these buildings are not accessible to the non-Muslim scholar. Although this book is focused on Cairene Mamluk architecture, al-Ḥārithī does draw attention to the Mamluk buildings in Mecca and Medina. One should look forward to more material and more research on religious patronage and medieval architecture in the Ḥijāz.

FĀDĪ ILYĀS TAWWĀ, *Al-Manākh wa-al-Asʻār wa-al-Amrāḍ fī Bilād al-Shām fī ʻAhd al-Mamālīk (642-922 H./1250-1516 M.)* (Beirut: n.p., 1998). Pp. 590.

REVIEWED BY WILLIAM TUCKER, University of Arkansas at Fayetteville[1]

The present volume constitutes both a valuable addition to the historiography of the Syrian lands in the Mamluk period generally and a major contribution to the ecological and demographic history of the Mamluk realm in particular. Consisting

[1]I wish to thank my student, Farid al-Salim, for his assistance in sifting through the wealth of material presented in this volume.

of a brief introduction and three large chapters, as well as numerous charts and graphs, Tawwā´s study focuses upon the climate, agrarian commodity prices, and disease patterns in greater Syria between 1250 and 1517. As his introduction indicates, the author´s methodology reflects the theories of *Annales* historians such as E. Le Roy Ladurie, Fernand Braudel and, in Ottoman history, Daniel Panzac. Beginning with brief examinations of geographical features (e.g., relief, crops, forests, etc.), climate, and population, the introductory section continues with a survey of the techniques of climatic history, such as dendrochronology, phenology, and glaciology. The author concludes the first part of the initial chapter with remarks about climatic data as well as a set of tables of yearly weather data by seasons, climatic zones, and an outline of such weather phenomena as droughts, cold waves, floods, hail and snow.

The second part of Chapter 1 incorporates a detailed investigation of drought, especially three major waves (1292-98, 1304-20, 1359-89), and the effects of these water shortages upon agricultural production and livestock resources. Tawwā then examines episodes of cold and snow, torrential rains and floods, heat waves, and winds both hot and cold. Crop damage, human and animal mortality, infrastructural damage, and epidemic diseases are all noted as major by-products of these weather events. Chapter 1 concludes with a schematization of climatic fluctuations in the region during the Mamluk period (e.g., 1280-1320, warm winters; 1370-1440, warm winters) and the deduction that these fluctuations were consistent with what was happening elsewhere in the world at the time.

The second chapter of the book is devoted to an examination of grain and bread prices in Mamluk *Bilād al-Shām*. The author shows how weather conditions, wars, insect infestations, and the political elite´s manipulations of supplies and storage all affected the prices of wheat and bread. Important data in the text and tables demonstrate price fluctuations and their causes; for instance, plague and drought caused bread prices to soar between 1370 and 1400. In 1466 prices tripled because of harsh climatic conditions and an invasion of mice. Similar information is forthcoming about barley prices, but, interestingly enough, Tawwā points to the added factor that the demand for barley increased during times of war, when it was used for animal feed. Spiraling prices of wheat and barley are also shown to have stimulated price escalation of other commodities, such as meat, vegetables, fruits, etc. The section ends with a treatment of famines stimulated by rising prices and shortages and the linkage in such cases with malnutrition, disease, and the incidence of epidemics.

In the concluding chapter of his study, Tawwā examines the diseases and epidemics which attacked Mamluk Syrian territory. He devotes a good deal of attention to the various plague epidemics, which he divides into periods of one century each. Although he writes at length about the pandemic of 1347-49, he

also scrutinizes carefully the other major plague events, i.e., those of 1361-64, 1369, 1372, 1374, 1393, and 1459. The discussion continues with a consideration of factors leading to the development and proliferation of diseases such as plague and other maladies, including smallpox, malaria, and even epizootic (animal) diseases. Hygienic and personal habits had a significant role, according to the author. Limited cleanliness, wearing clothes of the deceased victims of contagious diseases, and crowding at prayers are all noted as factors in the spread of sickness.

The second part of the last chapter centers upon the demographic effects of the fifty-eight waves of plague which hit Syria during the Mamluk era. Tawwā concludes that *Bilād al-Shām* lost between 250,000 and a million people to plague during the relevant period. Peasants and middle-class urban dwellers were especially hard hit, and those whose professions brought them into contact with these groups (bakers, merchants, water carriers) also suffered disproportionately. The author argues that notables and government officials were less affected because of their possible isolation.

Finally, Tawwā analyzes the relationship between climate and plague occurrences. Drought, heat, and humidity apparently facilitated the spread of plague, as did the movement of people related to seasonal change. Plague also resulted in famine, price increases, and rural depopulation.

Unfortunately, the discussion of plague and other diseases, while interesting and carefully conceived, suffers from a lack of attention to important English-language studies of disease and plague, such as those of Michael Dols, William McNeill, Lawrence Conrad, and J. D. F. Shrewsbury, among others.[2] The important, albeit brief, article on epidemics by Boaz Shoshan is also missing, and this study might have been of use as regards chronology and original sources not utilized in the present work.[3]

In one of the most intriguing features of his volume, Tawwā offers, between pages 419 and 477, tables and graphs illustrating the life expectancy in *Bilād al-Shām* during the Mamluk period. These statistical illustrations unfortunately, but not unexpectedly given the source materials, provide information for male notables only. The materials indicate, according to the author′s analysis, that life expectancy decreased from an earlier high of 73 to 60.91 years in 1348/49 and then reached its lowest point, 59.15 years, in the late fourteenth century. Life expectancy rose in the fifteenth century but remained below 70. The author suggests,

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[2]Michael W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977); William McNeill, *Plagues and Peoples* (New York, 1976); Lawrence I. Conrad, ″The Plague in the Early Medieval Near East″ (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1981); J. D. F. Shrewsbury, *A History of Bubonic Plague in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1970).

[3]Boaz Shoshan, ″Notes sur les epidemies de peste in Egypte,″ *Annales de démographie historique* (Paris, 1981): 387-404.

incidentally, that this latter figure compares favorably with the current life expectancy in Lebanon, which he puts at 66 years. Not surprisingly, the data show that notables could secure a higher level of health protection and nutrition, enjoying higher life expectancy than the lower classes. One may, of course, question the nutritional quality of consumption related to affluence, more luxurious consumption not necessarily equated with nutritional advantage, although increased quantity could also have been a factor here.

All in all, this book is extremely useful and stimulating for anyone engaged with environmental, medical, economic, or simply Mamluk history. One may argue that the lack of familiarity with numerous English-language studies deprives the work of greater theoretical or comparative perspective. For instance, one might wish to assess the relationship between caloric intake and resistance to disease and the consequent relationship between food consumption levels and epidemic disease.[4] Also, questions arise about the absence of certain primary works, especially the history of Birzalī, which might have provided even more data and insight for the author.

In the final analysis, however, Tawwā is to be commended for the careful, painstaking, and systematic study he has produced. The illustrative tables, graphs, charts, etc., are in themselves valuable contributions, but in fact this volume offers the reader far more than that! It constitutes a major addition to the emerging field of disaster research in the Middle East.

SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD IBN ʻALĪ IBN ṬŪLŪN, *Inbā' al-Umarā' b*i-Inbā' al-*Wuzarā'*. Ed. by Muhanná Ḥamad al-Muhanná (Beirut: Dār al-Bashā'ir al-Islāmīyah, 1998). Pp. 128.

REVIEWED BY STEPHAN CONERMANN, University of Kiel

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Ṣāliḥī al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanafī, better known as Ibn Ṭūlūn, belongs to the species of ″quilldrivers.″ His urge to write may have been innate but in the end, Ibn Ṭūlūn just wanted to match his adored teacher al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), whose titles, as is well known, number more than seven hundred.

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[4]For some of the issues associated with malnutrition, immunity, and epidemics, see my article, ″Environmental Hazards, Natural Disasters, Economic Loss, and Mortality in Mamluk Syria,″ *Mamluk Studies Review* 3 (1999), especially 119-23.

Ibn Ṭūlūn was born in 880/1473 in al-Ṣāliḥīyah, near Damascus. At the age of eleven he received a scholarship to study jurisprudence at the Madrasah al-Māridānīyah. After completing some higher studies in Cairo he went back to the former Umayyad capital. There he found a job as a teacher of grammar, *tafsīr,* and hadith at the Madrasah al-Ṣāliḥīyah. Subsequently he held several other teaching and administrative posts, but never rose to higher ranks. Ibn Ṭūlūn died, more than seventy years of age, in 953/1546.

Although his contemporaries considered him an expert in *fiqh* and Tradition, only his historical writings have attracted the attention of modern specialists. This is probably due to the fact that these writings describe in detail the important change from Mamluk rule to Ottoman domination in Syria. Thus only a small number of his many extant works (from an original total of 750 titles) have been published, and only a very few have been the subject of scholarly studies.[1] Now Muhanná Ḥamad al-Muhanná presents us with his edition of Ibn Ṭūlūn's *Inbā' al-Umarā' bi-Abnā' al-Wuzarā',* which is based on the only existing manuscript, now in Berlin.[2]

Inspired by the Quranic verses "Appoint for me a minister *(wazīran)* from my household, Aaron, my brother. Gird by him my strength, and associate him in my affair. That we may glorify Thee often and make remembrance of Thee often. Verily Thou hast become of us observant,"[3] Ibn Ṭūlūn thought it a good idea to write a small book about the lives of thirty-two viziers. This genre was not altogether unknown, as exemplified by Muḥammad al-Ṣūlī's (d. ca. 336/947) *Kitāb al-Wuzarā',* Ibn al-Jarrāḥ's (d. 296/908) *Kitāb al-Wuzarā',* al-Jahshiyārī's (d. 331/942) *Kitāb al-Wuzarā' wa-al-Kuttāb,* al-Tha'ālibī's (350-429/961-1038) *Kitāb al-Wuzarā',* al-Ṣābī's (359-448/970-1056/57) *Kitāb al-Wuzarā',* and Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's (463-542/1071-1147) *Al-Ishārah ilá Man Nāla al-Wizārah.*

In his *Inbā' al-Umarā' bi-Abnā' al-Wuzarā'* Ibn Ṭūlūn gives his readers more or less important, but above all entertaining, information about some illustrious persons. Thus, we find al-Qāsim ibn Wahb (258-291/872-904),[4] vizier to the Abbasid caliphs al-Mu'taḍid (279-289/892-902) and al-Muktafī (289-295/902-908),

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[1]The most important editions are *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 1962-64); *Al-Qalā'id al-Jawharīyah fī Tārīkh al-Ṣāliḥīyah,* ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān (Damascus, 1949-56); and his autobiography *Al-Fulk al-Mashḥūn fī Aḥwāl Muḥammad ibn Ṭūlūn* (Damascus, 1929). Of his *I'lām al-Wará bi-Man Waliya Nā'iban min al-Atrāk bi-Dimashq al-Shām al-Kubrá* we have a French translation by Henri Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas sous les mamlouks et les premiers Ottomans* (Damascus, 1952).

[2]Wilhelm Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der arabischen Handschriften,* vol. 9, Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin (Berlin, 1897), no. 9880.

[3]Surah 20, verses 29-35 (Bell's translation).

[4]No. 2, pp. 25-29.

and the three famous ministers of the Barmakid family during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-193/786-809): Yaḥyá ibn Khālid (d. 190/805),[5] who remained in office for seventeen years (170-187/786-803), and his two sons al-Faḍl (d. 193/808)[6] and Ja'far (d. 187/803),[7] who frequently presided with Yaḥyá and also appear to have been styled *wazīr*. The end of this triad is all too well known: in January 187/803 the caliph suddenly decided to put an end to "the reign of the Barmakids" *(sulṭān Āl Barmak)*. He had Ja'far executed; al-Faḍl and Yaḥyá were brought to al-Raqqah, where they both died in prison.

Also included in this work are, for example, al-Muḥallabī (291-352/903-963), the prominent vizier to the Buyid amir of Iraq Mu'izz al-Dawlah (334-356/945-967) from 339/950 until his death in 352/963, and Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Gharnāṭī Lisān al-Dīn (713-776/1313-1375),[8] better known as Ibn al-Khaṭīb. During the reigns of Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf ibn Ismā'īl (733-755/1333-1354) and Muḥammad V al-Ghanī billāh (first reign 755-760/1354-1359; second reign 763-793/1362-1392), Ibn al-Khaṭīb not only held the office of chief administrator but also assumed the honorary title of *Dhū al-Wizāratayn*.

We furthermore encounter such celebrities as al-Ṭūsī (597-672/1201-1274)[9] and Ibn Sīnā (370-428/980-1037).[10] Al-Ṭūsī was in the service of the Mongol Khan Hülägü (654-663/1256-1265) during the sack of Baghdad in 1258 and later retained his office in the reign of Abaqa (663-681/1265-1282), while Ibn Sīnā was appointed vizier several times by various local rulers. The famous scholar, physician, and philosopher spent his last fourteen years at the court of 'Alā' al-Dawlah Muḥammad (d. 433/1041) in Isfahan.

Muhanná Ḥamad al-Muhanná gives the reader of Ibn Ṭūlūn's *adab* work a short introduction and adds some useful notes to the text. In sum, this is a good work, but considering the numerous writings of Ibn Ṭūlūn still awaiting publication one might say about this edition: nice to have, but nothing more and nothing less.

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[5]No. 3, p. 30.

[6]No. 4, pp. 31-32.

[7]No. 5, pp. 33-35.

[8]No. 21, pp. 78-83.

[9]No. 26, pp. 97-101.

[10]No. 32, pp. 124-126.

Najm al-Dīn ʻUmar Ibn Fahd, *Itḥāf al-Wará bi-Akhbār Umm al-Qurá,* vols. 1-3 edited by Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt, vol. 4 edited by ʻAbd al-Karīm ʻAlī al-Bāz, vol. 5 (Indexes) prepared by Muḥammad Ismāʻīl al-Sayyid Aḥmad and Ṣādiq al-Bīlī Abū Shādī (Mecca: al-Mamlakah al-ʻArabīyah al-Saʻūdīyah, Jāmiʻat Umm al-Qurá, Maʻhad al-Buḥūth al-ʻIlmīyah wa-Iḥyāʼ al-Turāth al-Islāmī, Markaz Iḥyāʼ al-Turāth al-Islāmī, 1983-1990).

Reviewed by Li Guo, University of Notre Dame

Najm al-Dīn ʻUmar, known also as Muḥammad Ibn Fahd (812/1409-885/1480), was a member of the prominent Ibn Fahd family in Mecca and the author of a history of the city entitled *Itḥāf al-Wará bi-Akhbār Umm al-Qurá*. The current complete edition of the work is a welcome addition to the expanding library of the key texts on the history of the Holy City of Islam in the aftermath of its glorious earlier days.

Unlike many medieval Arabic "universal histories," which usually begin with the Creation, Ibn Fahd's History of Mecca begins with the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad and runs to 885/1480, the year of the author's death. The main value of the work, which is a continuation of al-Fāsī's earlier history of Mecca and the basis of a later history of Mecca by the author's son ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz, rests on the author's account of the period of his own lifetime, which is covered in vol. 3 (601/1204-830/1426) and vol. 4 (831/1427-885/1480) of the present edition (vol. 4 was in fact a dissertation submitted to the University of Umm al-Qurá in Mecca). The edition, based on manuscripts from libraries in Cairo, Mecca, and Medina, is skillfully executed. The indexes (vol. 5), including the Quran, hadith, poetry, men's and women's names, place names, and bibliographical references, are very serviceable. However, the reader will find the edition less than user-friendly insofar as the pages are not marked by headers (e.g., the year in question), although each volume concludes with a detailed table of contents.

Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature, edited by Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (London and New York: Routledge, 1998). Two volumes.

Reviewed by Th. Emil Homerin, University of Rochester

Begun in 1990, the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature* aims to catalog writers and trends of Arabic literature from its beginnings until the late twentieth century.

Over one hundred individuals contributed entries to this work and its target audience of "students and academics working in Arabic language and literature and, more generally, in the fields of Middle Eastern culture, history and philosophy . . ., other Middle Eastern literatures . . ., comparative literature, non-western literatures and world literature."[1] The editors note further that they have sought "to emphasize the state of the art of current scholarship on Arabic literature, relying on recent research and less on received traditional opinion."[2] A fine product of these goals is Julie Scott Meisami's detailed entry for Abū Tammām, which cites five critical editions of his work and thirteen secondary sources in Arabic, French, German, and English. Unfortunately, not all entries meet this high standard including, surprisingly, Meisami's own entry for Ibn al-Fāriḍ, which lacks reference to any of more than a dozen scholarly books and articles on the poet and his verse published since 1980. There are other serious omissions: in T. Bauer's entry "al-Muʻallaqāt" one finds a citation to A. J. Arberry's uninspiring translations in *The Seven Odes,*[3] but not to Michael Sells' exquisite versions in his *Desert Tracings,*[4] while Renate Jacobi in her article on the *qasīdah* fails to cite even one of Jaroslav Stetkevych's essential writings on the subject.

Perhaps oversights are to be expected in such an ambitious encyclopedic project though, fortunately, they are few in the nearly one hundred entries on writers living during the Mamluk period. These subjects are "writers" broadly defined by the editors for the medieval period, where "the scope of 'literature' has not been restricted to belles lettres but has been extended to other types of writing—history, biography, geography, philosophy and so on—as medieval writers and readers did not make the same distinctions between various types of 'literature' as do modern ones."[5] This definition allows for a wide range of authors, from religious figures including ʻAbd al-Razzāq al-Qāshānī, Ibn Taymīyah, and al-Nawawī, to historians and secretaries such as Abū al-Fidā, al-Maqrīzī, and al-Qalqashandī. Many of these entries (nearly 30%) have been competently compiled by C. E. Bosworth, R. Irwin, A. Knysh, and D. S. Richards, and the vast majority of entries will be appreciated for their citation of recent text editions and studies of their respective subjects. Still, when one sifts through these entries of individuals, one finds too few poets and writers of belles lettres, in all about a dozen, including authors from the Maghrib and Andalusia. Among these, al-Būṣīrī and Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī are the most frequently mentioned in the *Encyclopedia*, with the individual

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[1] P. x.

[2] Ibid.

[3] (London, 1957).

[4] (Middletown, CT, 1989).

[5] P. xi.

entry for each being written by C. E. Bosworth. Bosworth′s short entry for al-Būṣīrī focuses exclusively on the poet′s celebrated ode in praise of Muḥammad, the *Qasīdat al-Burdah;* there is no mention of other verse by al-Būṣīrī, such as his scathing poems against the Copts and corrupt officials, or even a citation to a text edition of his *Dīwān*. Bosworth does direct his reader to relevant entries in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* and to J. W. Redhouse′s 1881 English translation of the poem, though not to Stefan Sperl′s more recent translation and insightful comments on the ode.[6] Bosworth′s entry for Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī is longer and more thorough, and he points out al-Ḥillī′s importance to the study of popular Arabic poetic forms and colloquial poetry in the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries. However, here again, Bosworth does not cite any published edition of the poet′s *Dīwān* or Arabic studies of the poet, including those by ʻAllūsh, al-Ayyūbī, and M. Rizq Salīm.[7] Nevertheless, readers should find both entries thoughtful and useful, particularly in comparison to D. J. Wasserstein′s paragraph ″Ibn al-ʻAfīf al-Tilimsānī.″ Wasserstein cropped his brief entry from J. Rikabi′s more extensive article in *EI*², which Wasserstein cites while omitting Rikabi′s concise description of the poet′s elegant style, which avoided the mannerism of the time, as well as his popular nickname of ″al-Shābb al-Ẓarīf″ (imagine an article on Samuel Clemens without ″Mark Twain″). Further, Wasserstein does not provide a bibliography, which should have included, minimally, Shākir Hādī Shukr′s edition of al-Shābb al-Ẓarīf′s *Dīwān*[8] and, perhaps, also ʻUmar Mūsá Bāshā′s chapter on the poet in his *Tārīkh al-Adab al-ʻArabī: al-ʻAsr al-Mamlūkī*.[9] A glance at this latter source also reveals several noted poets of the Mamluk period who deserve a place in any comprehensive work on Arabic literature, namely al-Ashraf al-Anṣārī, al-Tallaʻfarī, Ibn Mulayk al-Ḥamawī, and ʻĀ'ishah al-Bāʻūnīyah, though they and others are absent from the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*.

Turning from entries on individuals to those on thematic subjects, one generally finds a fair representation of authors from the Mamluk period. References to relevant Mamluk examples are to be found, for instance, in entries for biography, Cairo, Damascus, didactic literature, Egypt, exegesis, geographical literature, grammar, historical literature, Syria, and travel literature. This is also the case for more specifically belles lettres subjects including *adab*, *ʻajā'ib* literature, allusion and intertextuality, *badīʻ, badīʻīyāt, khamrīyah,* literary criticism, love theory,

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[6]Stefan Sperl and Christopher Shackle, eds., *Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa* (Leiden, 1996), 2:388-411; 470-76.

[7]Jawād Aḥmad ʻAllūsh, *Shiʻr Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī* (Baghdad, ca. 1959); Yāsīn al-Ayyūbī, *Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī* (Beirut, 1971); Maḥmūd Rizq Salīm, *Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī* (reprint, Cairo, 1980).

[8](Beirut, 1985).

[9](Beirut, 1989), 241-74.

lughz, maqāmah, muʿāraḍah, muzdawijah, naẓm, and *zajal.* Further, exceptional coverage is given to the popular literature of the period, especially in the contributions of Shmuel Moreh, who pays particular attention to issues of medieval drama and acting. Moreh provides detailed entries and bibliographies on subjects including "acting and actors, medieval," "khayāl," "shadow-play," and "theatre and drama," and to this should be added his entry on the actor Ibn Mawlāhum al-Khayālī, and Everett Rowson's entries on the playwrites Ibn Sūdūn and Ibn Dāniyāl.

Surprisingly, the Mamluks and their writers are not mentioned in entries for the crusades, *futūḥ,* or patronage, nor do they figure in entries on the important poetic genres of *fakhr, ghazal, madīḥ, qasīdah,* or *ritha';* these latter entries effectively end around the year 1000 C.E. though, of course, Arabic poetry did not. Overall, the contributions to Arabic poetry and belle lettres made by the elite of the Mamluk domains are underrepresented in the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature,* though Robert Irwin's excellent entry "Mamlūks" goes far to correct this shortcoming. Irwin cites Arabic poetic activity and patronage by specific Mamluk sultans and amirs, as well as several entertaining anthologies composed during this period on life's pleasures, whether permissible or forbidden. Irwin mentions some of the historians and encyclopedists for which the Mamluk era is best known, but he also takes care to note the panegyric and devotional verse popular at the time, along with poetic treatises on law, grammar, love, and other subjects. Naturally, he discusses Ibn Dāniyāl and the shadow play, together with popular romances, such as ʿAntar. Irwin then draws attention to al-Subkī's *Kitāb Muʿīd al-Niʿam* and the *al-Madkhal* of Ibn al-Hājj as important sources for probing Mamluk life and times. He concludes with reference to several occult works composed during this period, while offering the opinion that the Mamluk era was "not a great age for Sūfī literature,"[10] which strikes me as a rather premature conclusion given that most such literature—including *dīwān*s by several students of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, as well as commentaries on his work and that of Ibn al-ʿArabī—lies unedited and, for the most part, unread in manuscript. Irwin provides a useful bibliography citing pertinent studies in both English and Arabic, thus rounding out his concise and balanced entry on the literature and culture of the Mamluk age for the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*.

[10]Vol. 2, p. 503.

ʻIṢĀM MUḤAMMAD SHIBĀRŪ, *Al-Salāṭīn fī al-Mashriq al-ʻArabī: Maʻālim Dawrihim al-Siyāsī wa-al-Ḥaḍārī: Al-Mamālīk (648-923 H./1250-1517 M.).* (Beirut: Dār al-Nahḍah al-ʻArabīyah, 1995). Pp. 264.

REVIEWED BY STEFAN WINTER, The University of Chicago

Al-Mamālīk follows *Al-Salājiqah/al-Ayyūbīyūn* (Beirut, 1994) in Shibārū's two-part study in the political history of medieval Egypt and Syria. The volume is a handsomely produced paperback, and includes six maps; detailed analytical indices; tables of reigning Mamluk sultans, Khwarazm-Shahs, and Ilkhans; and an appendix of eleven samples (from previously published sources) of Mamluk diplomatic correspondence with Mongols, Byzantines and Crusaders.

The author introduces each sultanic regime with a chronological account of its rise and salient military ventures, followed by a chapter on the distinguishing features of its administrative system. This format seems to work better in the first volume, where it helps the reader sort out the muddle of Fatimid, Saljuq, Burid, Zangid, Crusader and Ayyubid potentates who controlled different parts of Egypt and Syria to varying degrees between 1055 and 1250. In the volume devoted entirely to the Mamluks, Shibārū takes six chapters to evoke one sultan after the other; each one apparently of interest only in so far as he did battle with the Mongols, Crusaders, Cypriots, or Ottomans.

Among the more interesting sections is Shibārū's detailed account of the rise of the Mongols (chapter two). Emphasizing (perhaps excessively so) the importance of the *yasa* law code, he is at pains to explain the Mongols' success in terms of their superior organization, not their barbaric savagery. Through this sympathetic look at the Mongols, the achievement of the Mamluks at ʻAyn Jālūt appears all the greater; the author treats neither the question of Mongol influence in the Mamluk system nor David Ayalon's criticism regarding the *yasa*'s abiding importance. Also novel is Shibārū's assertion (pp. 78-79) that the destruction of Baghdad in 1258, far from visiting disaster on Muslim civilization, actually facilitated the revival of culture and learning in the new, more dynamic capital of Cairo.

The book's bibliography basically consists of the standard "Top 40" of published narrative sources. Shibārū sprinkles footnote references to these liberally throughout those sections dealing directly with the Mamluks. But given the broad sweep of his presentation, it is unfortunate that he does not discuss the secondary literature or any diverging interpretations, particularly in the well-written chapters on the Mongols and on the Ottomans. (Much of the former seems to be more directly inspired by Grousset's *L'empire des steppes* than the odd footnote reference allows.) As is evident also in the first volume, the author is less sure-footed in European

history, apparently confusing several terms for the same Crusading order (pp. 28-9) and wrongly thinking that the 1311 council of Vienne was convened for the sake of planning a new attack on Egypt, but failed because Europe was ″moving toward laicisation and secularisation″ and had no more use for holy war (p. 89). But these are minor objections; the author′s overall command of the history not only of the central Islamic core-lands, but also of the Turco-Mongol and Frankish invaders, is laudable.

Shibārū′s analysis of the Mamluks′ major foreign wars is highly nuanced and intelligent, bringing out the diplomatic intrigues that broke the Mongol-Crusader-Armenian alliance in 1260, probing the Mamluks′ reticence in using firearms on the battlefield in 1516 though they had preceded the Ottomans in the adoption of siege artillery, and so on. It is thus regrettable that the author does not put his talents toward elucidating more of the inter-factional conflicts that so characterized the Mamluk system. In the ninth and final chapter, he does provide a competent overview of the Mamluk civil and military administration, covering the composition of the sultanic and provincial armies, the significance of *furūsīyah*, the institutionalization of four *madhhab*s, etc. By way of diachronic historical interpretation, however, Shibārū suggests only that the discipline of the Mamluk barracks began to deteriorate with the advent of the Burji regime, leading ultimately to the fall of the sultanate at the hands of the Ottomans.

The more specialised reader may regret further omissions, individual errors of detail, or the occasional inaccuracy of *hijrī* to *milādī* conversion. The primary appeal of this work is its broad perspective which, because it encompasses the rule of sultans in the Near East from the Saljuqs onward, transcends a simple panegyric to, or denunciation of, the Mamluk regime. In the first volume, Shibārū shows skillfully how neither racial nor religious affinities inevitably determined diplomacy and politics among the sultans, Crusaders, and Mongols, but concludes that the divide between Turkish and Kurdish rulers and the Arab populace facilitated the deposition of both the Abbasid and Fatimid caliphates. What is it then that links together the sultans from the Saljuqs to the Mamluks, but excludes the Ottomans? The author′s underlying ideological position becomes clear only in the unexpectedly bizarre and disappointing conclusion: citing Quranic verses and *hadith* to demonstrate that only Arabs qualify to be caliph, Shibārū commends the foreign-blooded sultans for their service to Islam in protecting the Arab caliphs before Ottoman Turks usurped and falsified that office in the sixteenth century. If one can disregard this dissatisfying conclusion, then the two volumes of Shibārū′s thoughtful, ambitious and eminently readable work together should make for a good introduction to the political history of medieval Syria and Egypt, of interest primarily to the Arabophone student and general reader, and perhaps also to the specialist concerned with contemporary Mamlukist historiography.

Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen. Ḥamāh IV c Bilād aš-Šām III (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag Tübingen, 1998). Edited by Lorenz Korn. Forward by Lutz Ilisch. Pp. 58.

REVIEWED BY WARREN C. SCHULTZ, DePaul University

Specialists in the field of Mamluk numismatics know that the basic reference work in the field, *The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria,* by Paul Balog (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1964; commonly referred to by the siglum MSES), has a distinct Egyptian bias in terms of the mints of origins for the coins described therein. This bias is both in number and in type, and is especially so for the copper *fulūs.* In his unpublished contribution to the Balog Memorial Symposium held in Israel in 1988, Lutz Ilisch, the director of the Forschungsstelle für islamische Numismatik, Tübingen (henceforth FINT), described this bias, and mentioned how Syrian Mamluk coins had become increasingly available on the coin market in the years since the publication of the MSES. Until the appearance of the volume under review, however, these Syrian coins remained relatively inaccessible for study. For this reason and others, its publication is thus a most welcome and important development.

By definition, a sylloge provides both illustrations and descriptions of each coin specimen preserved in a specific collection. This book is the fourth volume of a planned multi-volume series devoted to the massive and important holdings of pre-modern Islamic coins preserved at the FINT. It is the first FINT volume to address a mint city of the Mamluk Sultanate; previous volumes covered the mints of Palestine, Eastern Khorasan, and Northern and Eastern Central Asia. The work contains 21 plates illustrating both sides of 708 coins, 552 of which are Mamluk. (As Lorenz Korn points out in his brief and lucid introduction, Ḥamāh was an active mint from the late sixth to mid-ninth Muslim centuries. The volume thus describes 147 Ayyubid and 9 Mongol coins minted there as well.)

The basic arrangement of this sylloge is chronological, following standard numismatic conventions for coins that are anonymous, feature incomplete dates, or have no date at all. Since it is restricted to the FINT coins, it should be noted that this volume does not contain a complete mint series for this city. Thus, as is pointed out on p. 32, Mamluk gold coins from Ḥamāh are extremely rare, and none are found in this collection. This observation in no way detracts from the usefulness of this work, however, for as the noted Islamic numismatist Stephen Album has pointed out, the volume does present ″virtually a complete catalogue″ of everything known to have been minted at Ḥamāh.

The beauty of this work lies in its plates. The photography is uniformly excellent. The photographs are on a 1:1 scale, with clear and precise reproduction.

The value of the sylloge to the researcher is that the poor- as well as the well-struck coin is illustrated. And since the former seem to predominate in Mamluk coinage, a newcomer to the field of Mamluk monetary history would benefit from a perusal of the plates alone. Thus, for example, until the appearance of the FINT volumes for the mints of Aleppo, Tripoli, Cairo, and Alexandria, this volume will be the sole easily accessible resource for the as yet not fully understood *"fals khafīf"* series from the reigns of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and before. Similarly, by including many "overstrikes," in which an existing coin has been struck again with another set of dies (c.f. the many examples on plate 19), this volume sheds some light on an important subfield of Mamluk numismatics: these overstrikes have been used to solve some thorny chronological problems of sequence for the copper coins in particular.

This work is more than pictures, however. A succinct yet thorough description of each coin is provided. The abbreviations used in these descriptions are easily mastered. Every coin has been weighed and measured. Die linkages between coins are pointed out. A list of basic legends is included. Omissions or gaps in legends and dates are noted and a provenance has also been given for each coin. In short, the information necessary to make sense of the coin illustrations has been provided. All reflect the cumulative expertise of those who have worked to make this collection available to a wider audience.

There remains one terminological quibble. Several silver coins in this sylloge are described as "half-*dirham*s." (See nos. 159, 165, 217, 218, 252, 256, 324, 335, 345, 356, 360, 433, 435, 471, 558, and 570.) In the wider context of Mamluk coinage, I find this term problematic, primarily for metrological reasons. Until the silver of Barsbāy and the later Circassian sultans, the many surviving specimens suggest strongly that Mamluk silver coins were prepared with only the most general and imprecise attention to a weight-standard. The coins in question here all share the fact that they weigh less than two grams. Yet this sample itself varies in weight from around 1.20 to 1.70 grams. When doubled, such "half-*dirham*s" yield quite different "full" *dirham* weights and values. Similarly, there are other coins in the sylloge that are less than two grams, yet are not labeled as "half-*dirham*s." (See nos. 221, 272, 343, 411, 419, 536, 537, 620, 684-6.) Such lightweight coins are clearly fractional *dirham*s, but to label them "half-*dirham*s" suggest a denominational precision not found for most of the Mamluk era. (Actual denominational terms like half, or quarter *[dirham]* do not appear on Mamluk coins until the mid-ninth/fifteenth century.) Something more than light weight is needed to justify the label. Otherwise the term becomes so imprecise as to be meaningless. There do exist, for example, small silver coins from the reigns of Baybars and his sons, struck with smaller dies featuring a design and legend different from the larger, "full" *dirham*s. While no denominational notation is

found in those die legends, the consistently smaller and lighter qualities of these coins combined with their special dies would seem to deserve the label. All the coins mentioned above, however, are struck with the same dies as the heavier coins which surround them. Little utility is gained from labels such as "half-*dirham*" in this context.

This observation does not detract from the overall importance of this book. It is a fundamental research tool for Mamluk monetary history, and a copy should be in every research library.

ḤAYĀT NĀṢIR AL-ḤAJJĪ. *Al-Sulṭah wa-al-Mujtama‘ fī Salṭanat al-Mamālīk: Fatrat Ḥukm al-Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk al-Baḥrīyah min Sanat 661 H./1262 M. ilá Sanat 784 H./1382 M.* (Kuwait: Jāmi‘at al-Kuwayt, Lajnat al-Ta'līf wa-al-Ta‘rīb wa-al-Nashr, 1997). Pp. 220.

REVIEWED BY ANNE FALBY BROADBRIDGE, University of Chicago.

From the title of Ḥayyāt Nāṣir al-Ḥajjī's latest work, the reader might expect a towering essay addressing sweeping themes and grand ideas. A first glance at the text, however, reveals a book explaining why Mamluk society fell into disarray during the *later* Bahri period. Upon further inspection it becomes clear that al-Ḥajjī is actually condemning the moral corruption of the military elite while investigating Mamluk financial troubles throughout the fourteenth century, especially the various ways the ruling elite tried to cope with problems of cash flow and revenue. Al-Ḥajjī does go on to discuss social, economic, and moral changes in Mamluk society, but her overwhelming focus is on high-level fiscal disorder and ethical decay as the catalysts for all other societal problems.

To begin, al-Ḥajjī suggests that by the Mamluk period Islamic society had lost its adherence to religious notions of proper government. By these al-Ḥajjī specifies the concepts of taking counsel *(shūrá)* and [dispensing] justice *(‘adl)*. Al-Ḥajjī also addresses the ruler's obligation to guarantee the populace its rights to protection *(amān)* and freedom *(ḥurrīyah)*. Although a grandly conceived investigation of the moral basis for societal decline, al-Ḥajjī's theory falls a bit short in places—she neglects to define her understanding of the idea of freedom, for example, the use of which smacks of anachronism. Her essay also hints at an attempt to discuss history as it should have been (in moral terms) rather than as it perhaps was, for al-Ḥajjī posits a kind of Ideal Age of Islamic rule—corresponding approximately to that of the earliest caliphs—which did not last.

Al-Ḥajjī goes on to suggest that Mamluk society entered its period of deterioration after 740/1341 precisely because al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's heirs neglected these basic Islamic principles of government. Specifically, power struggles among the amirs and within the house of Qalāwūn itself led to faulty, un-Islamic and short-sighted policies, which in turn led to oppression, financial ruin and moral disarray throughout society. Unfortunately al-Ḥajjī does not seem to be familiar with the work of Amalia Levanoni, who located the roots of decline in al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's own day.[1] One wonders what al-Ḥajjī might have made of Levanoni's argument and conclusions had she encountered them.

After establishing her theory of disintegrating ethics, al-Ḥajjī devotes the rest of the book to an analysis of the specific financial ways in which things fell apart. (It should be noted, however, that her treatment of fiscal and societal issues covers the entire Bahri period, even though by her own argument decline did not really set in until the 740s/1340s.) In this section al-Ḥajjī focuses overwhelmingly on the policy of the *muṣādarah*, or governmental seizure of an individual's property and assets. Al-Ḥajjī illustrates her detailed discussion of kinds of *muṣādarāt* with a wealth of examples; this is the strongest section of the book. She focuses on the types of people likely to be targeted (amirs, administrative officials, prosperous individuals) and the reasons prompting the seizure of assets (genuine wrongdoing, political machinations, sultanic or amiral grudges, a need for ready cash). Finally she investigates the way this process changed over time throughout the century, which is really quite absorbing. After this lengthy discussion of the *muṣādarah* itself, al-Ḥajjī devotes the rest of the work to a follow-up examination of the economic, administrative, social, and moral repercussions of this type of fiscal reordering. Although parts of these later sections are interesting, they are not up to the level of her work on the *muṣādarah*. Consequently these chapters suffer from a certain repetition of both material and points, as well as an uneven application of supporting evidence from the sources.

Nevertheless, although al-Ḥajjī's detailed discussion of the *muṣādarah* and its ramifications is interesting, one cannot help but wonder whether other factors might not also have contributed to economic stagnation and social and moral disarray during the second half of the fourteenth century. Al-Ḥajjī does not seem to be interested in natural disasters, for example, and thus fails to mention either the bubonic plague pandemic of 748-49/1347-48 with its accompanying devastation of society, or the thirteen secondary plague epidemics that followed it over the

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[1]Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (1310-1341)* (Leiden, 1995).

course of the next 50-odd years. One doubts that al-Ḥajjī has read Michael Dols´ seminal work[2] on the subject, since he is not mentioned in the bibliography.

Nor, despite her focus on the political elite, does al-Ḥajjī always give equal attention to all of their actions. Thus, for example, she spends little time on the brief and ultimately unsuccessful reign of al-Nāṣir Aḥmad (742/1341-42), despite the fact that he reportedly absconded to Karak with the entire extensive contents of the royal treasury, none of which was ever recovered.[3] One wonders whether the disappearance of so much wealth from ruling hands might not have been a factor in the shortage of cash al-Ḥajjī claims Mamluk sultans faced in the 740s/1340s and which she attributes solely to their excessive and immoral spending on luxury goods and services. In a discussion of decay stemming from financial mismanagement, such an omission is baffling.

On a minor and more technical note: al-Ḥajjī´s work seems to have lacked a good editor, as the book suffers from numerous typographical errors and an over-reliance on multiple exclamation points. The single paragraph that stretches from pages 107-10 should have been broken into several smaller units. Al-Ḥajjī´s bibliography is quite lengthy, but it suffers from the above-mentioned omissions as well as some other peculiarities. At times it hints at a curiously purist tendency, since she read some of the Arabic sources in manuscript form—al-Shujāʻī, Ibn al-Suqāʻī, al-ʻUmarī´s *Masālik al-Abṣār*—even though edited versions of those works do exist. Al-ʻAynī is incorrectly identified as Muḥammad, not Maḥmūd. Also, al-Ḥajjī refers to the MS of Baybars al-Dawādārī al-Manṣūrī´s *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah*, but oddly does not seem to have read the same author´s *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah fī al-Dawlah al-Turkīyah.*

In sum, al-Ḥajjī´s work purports to be a comprehensive investigation of decline in the fourteenth century, but is really more a statement about Mamluk morality, venality, and resulting societal disarray, all supported unevenly with evidence from the sources. The work is most valuable for al-Ḥajjī´s detailed investigation of the *muṣādarah* and its myriad permutations and results. Given the exclusivity of her focus on financial policy and the moral decisions of a corrupt ruling elite, however, some of her conclusions must be taken with a grain of salt. Nevertheless al-Ḥajjī does the field the service of raising numerous questions about the ways in which Mamluk society functioned, particularly fiscally. Some of these she does indeed answer; the remainder she leaves open for the reader to ponder.

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[2]Michael W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977).

[3]Shams al-Dīn al-Shujāʻī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī wa-Awlādihi,* ed. Barbara Schaëfer (Weisbadan, 1977), 216-17. Shujāʻī mentions household furnishings, 1,000,000 *dīnār*s, 2,000,000 *dirham*s, 180 chests of robes of honor, 15,000 *irdabb*s of wheat, livestock, and so on. Al-Ḥajjī mentions none of this. For an interesting treatment of the incident and its repercussions, see Levanoni, *Turning Point,* 180-81.

Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *Al-Taṭawwur al-'Umrānī li-Madīnat al-Qāhirah mundhu Nash'atihā wa-ḥattá al-Ān* (al-Dār al-Miṣrīyah al-Lubnānīyah, 1997). Pp. 132.

Reviewed by Leonor Fernandes, American University in Cairo

This book proposes to survey the urban evolution of Cairo from its foundation to modern times. Despite its ambitious topic, the author succeeds in providing the non-specialist with a good overview of the expansions of the city. The book is roughly divided into three main sections covering the urban developments which took place from the conquest of Egypt to the post-World-War-II period; touching briefly upon the most recent transformations of the city.

The first section, which occupies roughly one third of the book, covers the period from the foundation of al-Fusṭāṭ to the creation and expansion of al-Qāhirah under the Fatimids. Rather than bore the reader with detailed plans of the city and its quarters, the author chose to focus on the history of the Fatimids and their architectural legacy: mosques, palaces, mausolea, walls, and gates. Sayyid, who mentions al-Maqrīzī, Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī, and Ibn Jubayr, often provides quotes. However, one may question the relevance of such inclusions in a survey work written for non-specialists. Since the proper bibliographical references fail to accompany the quotes or authors′ names their presence is equally of little use to the specialized scholars. The omission of the proper bibliographical information accompanying the names/quotes could perhaps be justified by the decision of the author to add at the end of each section, sometimes even at the end of each paragraph, a short bibliography on the subject discussed.

The second section of the book covers the expansion of Cairo under the Ayyubids and the Mamluks. The brief discussion of the Ayyubids′ achievements centers primarily on their military architecture, mainly the Citadel that became the seat of their government. According to Sayyid, as the Ayyubids moved their residence to the Citadel, al-Qāhirah proper lost its exclusive character and became the locus of religious foundations and a center for commercial activities and artisanship (pp. 30, 33). As mentioned by the author, the shift from Shi'sm to Sunnism during the Ayyubid period motivated them to build schools—thirty-two of them—to counter the Fatimid *da'wah* (p. 30). The presence of madrasahs and commercial foundations in what was once the heart of Fatimid Cairo brought about a change in the urban structure of the capital which was now opened to the common people (p. 33).

The change in the nature of the urban network was felt more strongly in the Mamluk period, during which the capital saw its greatest expansion. The expansion of Cairo under the Mamluks receives the most attention, and in this sub-section the author makes the best use of the primary and secondary sources at his disposal.

As a result, he succeeds in providing the reader with a good historical overview of the period. The reader is also able to appreciate the Mamluks′ architectural additions to the city; the latter′s urban topography, the successful program of urbanization adopted by rulers like al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and the contributions of his successors are highlighted and solidly documented. Perhaps as a tribute to the wealth of studies done on the Mamluk period, the reader is provided with a state of the art survey of the city′s religious buildings, commercial constructions, and palaces. The expansion of the city outside the southern gate, its northeastern extension, and the big project of Amir Azbak are all given proper attention, and the addition of a number of plates benefits the reader.

The last section of the book covers the period from the Ottomans to modern times. Sayyid points out that during that period, urban expansion was in the direction of the south and west of the Khalīj. He links this expansion to demographic changes, which pointed to an increase in the population. Such an increase, he says, prompted the elites of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to move away from the heart of al-Qāhirah and the area around the Citadel to areas located further to the south and in particular around Birkat al-Fīl. Such a shift in urban expansion was made possible by the relocation of the tanneries, which took place at that time. In the eighteenth century, the elite settled in areas to the west of the Khalīj, more specifically around the Birkat al-Azbakīyah (p. 62).

The last ten pages of the book are dedicated to the study of the changes which took place in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The rule of Muḥammad ʻAlī and his successors and their efforts to modernize Cairo are surveyed briefly. The author points out that in the first half of the nineteenth century the bulk of the urban changes took place in the following quarters: the Citadel, Birkat al-Azbakīyah, Būlāq, and Shubrā, where the pasha erected for himself a palace. Sayyid shows how Ismāʻīl′s dream of transforming the capital into a modern city and his use of European experts such as Haussmann, Berillet, and Grand greatly altered the topography of this Islamic capital. By the end of the nineteenth century and thanks to the tireless efforts of ʻAlī Bāshā Mubārak, minister of public works, Cairo had acquired a new set of street networks, the great garden of Azbakīyah to replace the old pond, new bridges, and new palaces. Finally, the twentieth century saw the formation of new quarters such as Zamalek (1905), Garden City (1906), Heliopolis (1906), and Maadi (1907).

This survey of the urban expansion of the city of Cairo is easy to read and the presence of a number of illustrations allows the reader to get a good picture of the changes which occurred throughout the centuries. The book could equally be useful to students since it provides them with a lengthy bibliography, which includes primary as well as secondary sources. One welcomes such concise works, which give a quick survey of a city′s development without encumbering the

reader with too many specific details or big theories. A number of unfortunate typographical errors could have been avoided. A careful spelling of foreign names would have helped. On the whole the book represents an interesting contribution to the field.

ILYĀS AL-QAṬṬĀR, *Niyābat Ṭarābulus fī ʻAhd al-Mamālīk (688-922 H./1289-1516 M.),* Manshūrāt al-Jāmiʻah al-Lubnānīyah, Qism al-Dirāsāt al-Tārīkhīyah, 43 (Beirut: Dā'irat Manshūrāt al-Jāmiʻah al-Lubnānīyah, 1998). Pp. 752.

REVIEWED BY JOHN L. MELOY, American University of Beirut

Ilyās al-Qaṭṭār has provided the field of Mamluk studies a great service by authoring this comprehensive study of the province or vice-regency *(niyābah)* of Tripoli during the Mamluk period, starting from its roots as a county in the Crusader period until the Ottoman conquest. The author argues that during the Mamluk period Tripoli experienced an awakening *(nahḍah)* in a variety of fields—society, economy, urban development, military, demography—due in large measure to the attention the city received from the Mamluk state. The historical significance of the province not only lies in the multi-faceted growth it underwent until the mid-fourteenth century but, he argues, also is due to the fact that Tripoli was inextricably tied to the countryside. Al-Qaṭṭār makes the point that the *niyābah,* centered in Tripoli, was established to control the religious minorities in the region so that the city provided a locus of communication between these groups. Consequently, the study brings ″the countryside from the margins of Arab-Islamic history and places it in the sphere of interest of power″ (pp. 701-2). Historiographically, a study of the province of Tripoli serves as a means to combine the traditional urban orientation of Mamluk history with a view of the geographical and social margins of the state.

In spite of its rapid growth early in the Mamluk period, Tripoli never became one of the main metropolitan centers of the Mamluk state. Nonetheless, al-Qaṭṭār′s study demonstrates that it should be the object of modern scholarly attention since it affords the opportunity to examine inter-community relations and urban-rural connections, thus broadening and deepening our understanding of Mamluk history. Confessional and local sources from this region, of course, provide the opportunity to investigate inter-community relations. For example, the author uses the marginalia found in the Rabbula Gospel text, which comprise a record of the endowment deeds of the See of the Maronite Patriarchate from 1154 to 1522, as well as the

more widely known Maronite and Druze chroniclers. The author recognizes the limited scope of such sources and for a broader view of Tripoli's history he relies on the standard sources used by Mamluk historians.

The division of the book, to use the author's expression, is "classical" (p. 32). He starts with a lengthy introduction discussing the geographical setting of the city and the region, which includes a considerable amount of geological detail, the relevance of which is not altogether apparent. Subsequent chapters cover the following topics: (1) politics and the military, including extensive discussions of the Mamluk campaigns against the Crusaders and Ismailis and the campaigns into the Kisrawān region of Mount Lebanon; (2) society, including discussions of the Maronite, Ismaili, and Nusayri communities; (3) administration, including highly detailed descriptions of official positions in the provincial bureaucracy; (4) urban development, including descriptions of architectural and urban units; and (5) economy, ranging from the economic setting (sections on the plague, locusts, wind storms, etc.) to industry, maritime trade, revenue assignments, and other topics. Many of these chapters contain long series of sub-sections rather monotonously describing particular items or phenomena; e.g., commodities, building types, administrative districts, etc. Of course, the drawback of this encyclopedic scheme of organization is that the tremendous amount of detailed information can overshadow the valuable arguments expressed in his concluding remarks. However, this style, which is by no means unusual, should not be allowed to detract from the author's contribution. Throughout the text, al-Qaṭṭār briefly explores a number of substantive issues, including discussions on the nature of cities in the province, the role of villages, modes of research in Islamic urbanism, and an especially interesting set of remarks on the nature of the relationship between the provincial administration and the local population. These and other discussions may be of concern to Islamic historians in general, and will certainly be of interest to scholars of the Mamluk period in particular.

Al-Qaṭṭār's bibliography is quite extensive, although two entries are incomplete. Complete bibliographic information on the Rabbula text mentioned above, as well as the epigraphic data preserved on Tripoli's buildings, would have been helpful, rather than the brief descriptions provided under the rubric of "Archives" (p. 703, and see the description of his sources on pp. 26-27). This oversight is indeed curious since the study as a whole is thoroughly documented; citations for these "archival" sources are contained, one might even say buried, in the notes of the respective chapters.

To a great extent Ilyās al-Qaṭṭār has anticipated Stephan Conermann's call, issued in the last volume of *Mamlūk Studies Review* (pp. 257-60), for studies taking on a microhistorical approach. Historians of the Mamluk Sultanate will appreciate al-Qaṭṭār's monograph on the province of Tripoli, particularly for its

wealth of information on this important but often overlooked medieval city and its hinterland.

AḤMAD IBN ʻALĪ IBN ḤAJAR AL-ʻASQALĀNĪ, *Tarjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyah,* edited by Abū ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Saʻīd Maʻshashah (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1419/1998). Pp. 76.

REVIEWED BY JON HOOVER, University of Birmingham

The Shafiʻi scholar Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī (d. 852/1449) is best known for his commentary on al-Bukhārī's hadith collection, *Fatḥ al-Bārī*. Among his numerous other writings is *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* a biographical dictionary devoted solely to important persons of the eighth Islamic century. This dictionary allots a considerable sixteen pages to the Hanbali jurist Ibn Taymīyah (d. 728/1328). The booklet under review prints only Ibn Taymīyah's biography as found in a manuscript isolated from the rest of *Al-Durar* and located in the Kuwaiti Markaz al-Makhṭūṭāt. The editor gives the source of the manuscript as the Dār al-Kutub in Egypt, but he does not tell us more about its origin or its transmission apart from the remainder of *Al-Durar*.

This copy of Ibn Taymīyah's biography does not appear to differ substantially from that found in the edition of *Al-Durar* printed in Hyderabad in 1348/1929-30 (vol. 1, 144-60). In his footnotes, the editor lists numerous minor discrepancies between his manuscript and a copy of *Al-Durar* printed in Egypt. I did not have access to the Egyptian edition, but it appears there are also slight differences between this and the Hyderabad edition.

The editor's purpose in publishing this booklet is expressly apologetic. In his introduction, he notes that some unnamed elements in our time have taken it upon themselves to brand as unbelievers *(takfīr)* scholars like Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Wahhāb, and Ibn Taymīyah. Ibn Ḥajar's biography of Ibn Taymīyah then serves as a refutation of this charge because the great Shafiʻi hadith scholar refused to call Ibn Taymīyah an unbeliever. Moreover, the biography reveals that even many of those who differed with the Hanbali jurist admired him and acknowledged his deep piety, extensive knowledge, and defense of Islam against heresy. In short, the editor sets forth a highly respected figure in Islamic religious sciences to testify on Ibn Taymīyah's behalf against his modern detractors.

After the introduction, the editor supplies us with a short biography of Ibn Ḥajar. Brief notes on the manuscript and editorial method follow, as do pictures

of the first and last manuscript pages. Then comes the text of the biography. This is liberally supplemented with footnotes devoted to textual variants, identification of personalities appearing in the text, and correction of factual errors in Ibn Ḥajar′s account.

As biographies of Ibn Taymīyah go, Ibn Ḥajar′s account is highly unusual. It contains claims that come as a surprise to anyone familiar with Ibn Taymīyah′s life and writings. Without explanation, Ibn Ḥajar tells us Ibn Taymīyah recanted from his doctrine of God′s attributes during his trials of 705/1306 and a report was written to the effect that he had said he was an Ash'arī. At another point, we find Ibn Ḥajar has Ibn Taymīyah confessing to be a Shafi'i.

As the editor indicates, it would seem the traditionalist Ibn Ḥajar was trying to ameliorate the bad reputation Ibn Taymīyah had in some Shafi'i quarters by bringing him into conformity with the orthodoxy of the time. Yet I am not sure this interpretation is adequate because the cost entailed in Ibn Ḥajar′s reworking of Ibn Taymīyah′s story is so high that one begins to wonder whether it might be a form of satire. Contrary to what one might expect from someone writing an apology, Ibn Ḥajar turns Ibn Taymīyah into a groveling wimp, and the editor himself devotes considerable effort to correcting this image in his footnotes. In any case, the reasons for Ibn Ḥajar′s odd portrayal of the Hanbali jurist remain unclear, and this suggests an intriguing avenue for further inquiry.

The editorial work and the printing of this biography are superb. Yet it remains only a printed edition of a single manuscript about whose provenance we know little. The primary significance of this little booklet is the reminder that some curious puzzles remain to be solved in the legacy of one of Islamic history′s most controversial figures.

ḤUSNĪ MUḤAMMAD NUWAYṢIR, *Al-'Imārah al-Islāmīyah fī Miṣr: 'Aṣr al-Ayyūbīyīn wa-al-Mamālīk* (Cairo: Maktabat Zahrā' al-Sharq, 1996). Pp. 724.

REVIEWED BY NASSER RABBAT, MIT

In its architectural heritage, Cairo is unquestionably one of the world′s richest cities. Its monuments run the gamut of styles from the seventh to the twentieth century that we now call ″Islamic.″ The most spectacular, however, date from the Mamluk period (1250-1517), which created a wealth of structures that synthesized the achievements of earlier times and symbolized the image of the city for centuries to come. The Mamluk period also produced the largest and most complete study

of a city in Islamic history, Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī's *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*. Composed between 1415 and 1439-40, it records with loving care each and every street and every important structure in Cairo and, to a lesser degree, other Egyptian cities up to Maqrīzī's own time. This encyclopedic book has remained extremely influential for more than five centuries, not only because of its expansive range, but also, and perhaps more powerfully, because of its intense emotional charge as an expression of Maqrīzī's filial affinity with his city and his country.

It is not surprising, then, that most modern Egyptian architectural historians have focused on the Mamluk period and that so many among them have come under Maqrīzī's intellectual and rhetorical sway. Some even come across as his modern, visually-oriented heirs. Like him, they weave together architectural descriptions with historical sketches and anecdotes about the patrons, users, and builders (when they are known). And like him their narrative is more diachronic than synchronic.[1] Others adopt either a typological or a chronological approach, though they still depend on Maqrīzī's data, structure, and prose.[2] For all of them, however, Maqrīzī provides an essential pretext to a scholarly tradition that presents Cairo's architectural history as an endogenous development which unfolds over time with minimal interaction with the outside world, and which is suffused with self-conscious patriotism.

The most recent entry in this category is Ḥusnī Muḥammad Nuwayṣir's *Al-ʿImārah al-Islāmīyah fī Miṣr: ʿAṣr al-Ayyūbīyīn wa-al-Mamālīk*. Though the title mentions Egypt, the book only deals with the Islamic architecture of Cairo in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods. In three unequal sections—on the Ayyubids (114 pp.), the Bahri, or Turkish, Mamluks (110 pp.), and the Burji, or Circassian, Mamluks (494 pp.)—a selection of monuments is listed, their architecture described in varying degrees of detail, and, when available, their *waqf*s quoted to elucidate their forms and functions. This last aspect is probably the most significant and beneficial addition that this book brings to the usual survey of Cairene architecture. It also gives the book a stronger Maqrizian flavor than its predecessors since both authors, Nuwayṣir and Maqrīzī, insert *waqf* texts into their descriptions to lend them a more authoritative tone.

The book, however, lacks a clear criterion for its selection of representative buildings; those chosen vary in relevance from one historical period to the next. The list of Ayyubid monuments is fairly complete, although there are some historical

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[1]Cf. Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Waḥḥāb, *Tārīkh al-Masājid al-Āthārīyah Allatī Ṣallá fīhā Farīdat al-Jumʿah Ḥaḍrat Ṣāḥib al-Jalālah al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Fārūq al-Awwal* (Cairo, 1946; reprint 1994).

[2]Cf. Aḥmad Fikrī, *Masājid al-Qāhirah wa-Madārisuhā,* 3 vols. (Cairo, 1962-69); Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Razzāq Aḥmad, *Tārīkh wa-Āthār Miṣr al-Islāmīyah* (Cairo, 1977; reprint 1993).

problems in including the mausoleum of the Abbasid caliphs and that of the Sultana Shajar al-Durr in that category—the former because the building is most probably early Mamluk, although the first tomb under its dome dates back to the late Ayyubid period (1242); the latter because Shajar al-Durr is considered by most historians to be the first Mamluk ruler, although she was the consort of al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb. The list of the Bahri Mamluk buildings, on the other hand, gives only 7 examples out of almost 100 structures still standing today in part or in toto, and is therefore too limited and arbitrary to allow the reader any general observations on the period's architectural characteristics or its main achievements. A somewhat better ratio obtains with the treatment of Burji (or Circassian) monuments: 28 out of a total of almost 150 still standing. Here, Nuwayṣir is at his best: his descriptions are careful and detailed and supported by *waqf* information in 20 of the 28 monuments covered (especially in the last part which covers Qāytbāy's buildings, the subject of Nuwayṣir's Ph.D. dissertation).

Given the disparity between the three sections, one is inevitably led to see the book more as an excursion into the Ayyubid and Mamluk architecture of Cairo, in a way reminiscent of the much earlier *Rambles in Cairo* (Cairo, 1931) by Mrs. Devonshire, than as a comprehensive study. This impression is further confirmed when one considers the book's structure: it has no preface and no conclusion summarizing its method and goals. Only the Ayyubid section has a brief introduction. It begins with a comment on the neglect that the architecture of the Ayyubids suffered at the hands of the "Orientalists," purportedly "because of their religious biases against Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn." This is patently untrue, and the point is embarrassingly belied by the fact that the author heavily depends for his text, and especially for his figures, on K. A. C. Creswell's *Muslim Architecture of Egypt* (Oxford, 1959), a dependence that is never acknowledged. Moreover, the copying appears to have been done in haste, for the author does not seem to have checked some of the Arabic names in the English transliteration, so that the name of the Abbasid envoy to the last Ayyubids, Abū Naḍlah, is rendered with a *dāl,* following the anglicized form, when the original was with a *ḍāḍ* (pp. 100 and 104, figs. 5 and 6).

The book nonetheless provides fairly complete architectural descriptions of a number of key Cairene monuments, especially those of the late Burji period, which are not covered in Creswell's still magisterial survey (it had stopped in 1311, and we are still waiting for Christel Kessler's promised continuation). The book also fills a niche in the Arabic language market, in which inexpensive architectural surveys are otherwise unavailable. It is therefore regrettable that the numerous figures, borrowed from a medley of sources, are so badly reproduced and in such a maddening variety of scales as to be totally useless.

But what is really unfortunate, to this reviewer at least, is the persistence of the endogenous Maqrizian model, which might have been admirable in a pre-

nationalist fifteenth-century treatise, but not in this late twentieth-century survey—all the more because the last major study of Mamluk architecture, Michael Meinecke's *Die Mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien* (Glückstadt, 1992), had already broken with the cosmocentric archetype to posit instead a framework of regional exchange. Having long suffered from an exclusivist and now largely discarded conception of Western architecture as having developed with little or no interaction with other traditions—including its own—the study of Islamic architecture, or any subcategory thereof, should embrace architectural and cultural interconnectedness as its interpretive credo.

Slave Elites in the Middle East and Africa: A Comparative Study, edited by Miura Toru and John Edward Philips (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 2000). Pp. 248

REVIEWED BY WARREN C. SCHULTZ, DePaul University

This volume contains eleven papers presented at "The Slave Elites Workshop" organized by the Islamic Area Studies project of the University of Tokyo. The workshop was organized to move beyond symposia focused only on the Mamluk Sultanate and to "elucidate the transregionality and commonality of the slave-elite system in West Africa and the Middle East by paying attention to their similarities and differences" (p. xi). The book thus aims for a wider audience than Mamlukists. Indeed, several of the contributors call for more comparative studies with slave systems outside the Islamic world. It is to be hoped that it receives this wider audience, for a recurrent theme in several of the papers is that many of the theories and theses for analyzing slavery developed by scholars concerned with the Atlantic or East Asian slavery systems are of limited (if that) applicability to the many types of slavery found in the Islamic world.

The book is organized into three parts sandwiched between an introduction and conclusion: Part One: Origins (papers 1-3); Part Two: Power and Networks (4-7); and Part Three: Transitions (8-11). The contents include: the introduction "Slave Elites in Islamic History" by Sato Tsugitaka; "The Turkish Military Elite of Samarra and the Third Century Land Tenure System" by Matthew Gordon; "Slave Elites and the *Saqāliba* in al-Andalus in the Umayyad Period" by Sato Kentaro; "The Location of the 'Manufacture' of Eunuchs" by Jan S. Hogendorn; "My Slave, My Son, My Lord: Slavery, Family and State in the Islamic Middle East" by Dror Ze'evi; "The Changing Concept of *Mamlūk* in the Mamluk Sultanate in Egypt and

Syria″ by Nasser Rabbat; ″Waqf as an Instrument of Investment in the Mamluk Sultanate: Security vs. Profit?″ by Carl F. Petry; ″The Power of Knowledge and the Knowledge of Power: Kinship, Community and Royal Slavery in Pre-Colonial Kano, 1807-1903″ by Sean Stilwell; ″The Concept of Slavery in Ottoman and Other Muslim Societies: Dichotomy or Continuum″ by Ehud R. Toledano; ″Mawlay Isma‘il′s *Jaysh al-‘Abīd*: Reassessment of a Military Experience″ by Fatima Harrak; ″Comrades in Arms or Captives in Bondage: Sudanese Slaves in the Turco-Egyptian Army, 1821-1865″ by Ahmad Alawad Sikainga; ″The Persistance of Slave Officials in the Sokoto Caliphate″ by John Edward Philips; and the concluding remarks ″Slave Elites in Japanese History″ by Miura Toru.

Despite the comparative emphasis stressed in the preface, introduction, and conclusion, the bulk of these contributions are focused studies on specific cases in particular regions. While not specifically about the Mamluks, Hogendorn, Ze′evi, Toledano, and Philips do place their essays in wider contexts, and all refer at least in passing to the Mamluk Sultanate. Only the chapters by Rabbat and Petry are specifically devoted to matters Mamluk, with Petry raising comparative issues in the final section of his article. Given the nature of this journal and its primary audience, I will restrict my comments to these six essays, as individual readers will find the remaining chapters of value or not depending on their own interests in and needs for comparative examples.

Hogendorn′s contribution is bleakly fascinating as the author sketches out the nuts and bolts of the trade and manufacture of eunuchs in the Muslim Mediterranean world. It argues that economic factors—based mainly on the high post-operative death rates—are crucial to understanding why castration centers were located so far from final markets. Wide-ranging in terms of chronology, this chapter is based primarily on sources later than the Mamluks, with a heavy emphasis on the nineteenth century. The discussion of eunuchs in the Mamluk sultanate is primarily of a historical contextual nature, and is based on the work of Ayalon.

Ze′evi′s contribution is a short interpretive essay based on existing scholarship, in which he promises to look at familiar matters in a new way. He argues that in the Islamic world, it was necessary for future elite slaves to pass through a period of ″social slumber″ as full members of the master′s household before moving on to bigger things. Its greatest value, I believe, may be to the non-Islamicist reader, for he delivers a brief yet cogent analysis of the inapplicability for Islamic contexts of several aspects of Orlando Patterson′s thesis of slavery as social death. The inadequacy of Patterson′s central metaphor for the many types of Ottoman slavery is eventually endorsed by Toledano as well, although the latter specifically approves the value of approaches like Patterson′s which stress the ″mutually conditioning effect of the owner-slave relationship″ (p. 166). He ultimately favors a ″continuum based model″ for understanding owner-slave relationships over the simple

dichotomy of free/slave. Toledano also provides a useful overview of the wider field of slavery studies, identifying several possible reasons why to date many ″comparative″ studies of slavery have not included slavery in Muslim societies.

Philips′ essay is much broader than the title suggests. It is not just a case study of the Sokoto Caliphate′s eventual re-adoption of slave officials and soldiers after coming to power with an ideology condemning their use as un-Islamic, although that in itself is valuable enough. Weaving between issues of theory and evidence-based analysis, he deftly links his case study to the wider issue of the ubiquity of slave officials in the pre-modern Muslim world, reaching the conclusion that this institution was ineluctable (pp. 232-33). This frank, even iconoclastic, essay will certainly provoke thought.

The above-mentioned essays all reinforce the basic yet important point that many of our undergraduates have never realized, that not all slave systems are the same. Rabbat′s contribution illustrates for non-Mamlukist readers that not all mamluk systems are the same. Even though Rabbat reminds us that the sources available are not particularly forthcoming as to how the transition took place, the mamluk system established by Baybars and Qalāwūn and lasting into the fourteenth century was very different from the mamluk system of, say, the Abbasids or the Seljuqs. Mamluk mamluks were no longer life-long slaves, subjugated to their masters, but a ″caste″ of free individuals, with shared experiences and overlapping loyalties, to name but a few differences.

Petry′s essay is of a more foundational nature, exploring the convoluted details of that essential financial phenomenon, the *waqf*. After discussing the probable reasons for the popularity of *waqf*s among the Mamluk elite, Petry presents a detailed overview of the assets listed in the major *waqf* deeds of the penultimate Mamluk sultan, Qanṣūh al-Ghawrī. From the detailed lists of real estate, he teases out the conclusion that al-Ghawrī′s investments favored stability and reliability over profit and risk. He goes on to explore some potential ramifications of this observation. Petry has thus identified another important thesis against which other endowment deeds should be checked. Given that several hundred of these complex deeds survive from the Mamluk period, this would be a tedious task, but nevertheless a valuable one.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that this workshop was held in October 1998; the editors are to be commended for bringing the proceedings to publication so rapidly.

MUḤAMMAD IBN IBRĀHĪM AL-JAZARĪ, *Tārīkh Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Anbā'ihi wa-Wafayāt al-Akābir wa-al-A'yān min Abnā'ihi: al-Ma'rūf bi-Tārīkh Ibn al-Jazarī*. Edited with introduction by 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Sidon/Beirut: al-Maktabah al-'Aṣrīyah, 1998). Three volumes.

REVIEWED BY LI GUO, University of Notre Dame

For students of the early Mamluk era, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Jazarī (d. 739/1338) is our own al-Ṭabarī. Enough has been said about the originality and significance of this Damascene historian who is hailed as the father of early fourteenth-century Syrian as well as Egyptian (!) historical writing. His principal work *Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Anbā'uhu wa-Wafayāt al-Akābir wa-al-A'yān min Abnā'ihi (Events and News of the Time with Obituaries of Worthies and Notables)*[1] is regarded by medieval and modern scholars as one of the main sources on the reigns of Qalāwūn, al-Ashraf Khalīl, Kitbughā, Lājīn, and al-Malik al-Nāṣir. Unfortunately, the work has survived only in fragments, few of which have been published so far.[2] The current complete lavish edition of the extant fragments is, therefore, most welcome.[3]

Volume one is based on the famous Paris MS Bibliothèque Nationale arabe 6739 (wrongly given as 6379 in the Introduction), which was the basis of Sauvaget's masterly French summary (covering the years 689/1290 to 699/1299)[4] as well as of my partial edition, supplemented with the parallel text of al-Yūnīnī's *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān* (covering the years 697/1297 to 699/1299).[5] In his brief introduction, the editor, after comparing it to al-Jazarī's *al-Mukhtār,* an epitome of the work edited by al-Dhahabī, noted that the Paris MS is neither the *Mukhtār,* nor the original of the *Ḥawādith* per se, but rather "another epitome of the work." And this assessment prompted him to postpone his comprehensive introduction to the work until Volume 2, which is believed to be part of "the original" (pp. 5-6).

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[1]I use Little's translation of the title; see Donald Little, "Historiography of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Epochs," in *Cambridge History of Egypt*, ed. Carl Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 428.

[2]For modern scholarship on al-Jazarī, see Jean Sauvaget, *La Chronique de Damas d'al-Jazarī (Années 689*-698 H (Paris, 1949); Ulrich Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit* (Freiburg, 1970); Donald Little, *An Introduction to Mamluk Historiography* (Montreal, 1970); idem, "Historiography," 427-30; Numan Jubran, "Studien zur Geschichte und Sozialgeographie von Damaskus im Ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert: mit einer Teiledition der Chronik Šams ad-Dīn Muḥamad [sic] al-Ğazarīs," Ph.D. diss., Freiburg, 1987; Li Guo, *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography: al-Yūnīnī's Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān* (Leiden, 1998), especially 1:41-59.

[3]Another edition is being prepared by Numan Jubran, Yarmouk University, Jordan.

[4]Sauvaget, *La Chronique*.

[5]Guo, *Al-Yūnīnī,* vol. 1, translation, vol. 2, Arabic text.

This is interesting but by no means a surprise insofar as the Paris MS bears another title, *Jawāhir al-Sulūk fī al-Khulafā' wa-al-Mulūk,* and has been identified by modern scholars as representing a recension of the acclaimed *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* or *Tārīkh al-Jazarī* (not "Ibn al-Jazarī," as Haarmann repeatedly pointed out).

To review the edition, I did a spot check of the years 697 to 699 A.H., comparing it to the Paris MS, the microfilm of which is at my disposal, as well as my own edition of this portion where al-Yūnīnī's and al-Jazarī's versions run parallel, nearly identical, to each other.[6] It reveals that as far as the history section is concerned, Tadmurī's and my editions, based on the same manuscript, are nearly the same; but there are some different readings of poetry, the most thorny task in the editing process. One example must suffice here: on pp. 387-88 (the events of the year 697 A.H.), a panegyric poem celebrating Sultan Lājīn's recovery from an accidental injury was mistaken in Tadmurī's edition as prose.[7] Since these two editions are likely to be the only ones available for some time to come, I therefore offer the appended list of these different readings. Comments will be made only when errors, either Tadmurī's or mine, are obvious. Otherwise I leave the judgment to the reader. In the following list, T stands for Tadmurī's edition, and G for Guo's.

T	G
397:20 جوى	14:15 حوى
404:10 خيرة	20:1 حيرة
404:11 سعي سعيا	20:2 سعيا
405:12 تُسرّ	21:12 نسرّ
405:23 أكتم	22:8 أ أكتم
406:4 لقولي	22:14 لقلبي
406:5 عنك	22:15 عندك
406:8 لقومي	22:18 لقوم
406:11 لإسهامه	23:2 لا سهامه
406:13 ولائمة	23:4 فلائمة
أتتني	انثني
ظننت	ظنتْ
406:15 العذائر	23:6 الغدائر

[6] Guo, *Al-Yūnīnī,* 2:1-99.

[7] Cf. Guo, *Al-Yūnīnī,* 2:4, 1:99; also Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmi' al-Ghurar,* ed. Ulrich Haarmann (Cairo, 1971), 8:371-72.

406:16 قديما	23:7 قد نما
406:17 اخضرّ	23:8 أخضر
406:24 جيرة	23:15 حيرة
406:27 ظبي	23:18 طيّ
407:2 لا منى	23:20 لامني
407:7 جسد end of 1st hemistich	24:5 جسد beginning of 2nd hemistich
صدورك	صدودك
407:11 أنني beginning of 2nd hemistich	24:9 أنني end of 1st hemistich
407:22 بالنفسج	25:9 البنفسج
407:25 غيّ	25:12 في
408:5 دلت	26:3 ولت
408:8 صيد	26:9 صد
408:9 تول (تولى)	26:10 قول
408:11 وفيك	26:12 ونيل
408:15 لنا end of 1st hemistich	27:3 لنا beginning of 2nd hemistich
408:18 الهدى (this seems to be right, given the context here)	27:9 الهوى
408:19 وكيف لا	27:10 وكيف ولا
408:20 والبركم	27:11 بالبر كم
408:23 خرفا	27:14 حرفا
408:25 بالدر	27:16 بالذر
409:1 شهد	27:17 شهداء
411:15 يجمعنا	30:13 بجمعنا
411:18 رمزنا شيء	30:16 رمر ناشيء
411:19 تجرم	31:1 الجرم
411:21 مخلصا beginning of 2nd hemistich	31:3 مخلصا end of 1st hemistich
412:13 نبي	32:2 بني
ذوآبة	دوابه
412:14 عرار	32:3 غرار
412:16 بغرير	32:6 بعزير
413:8 صبا و	33:3 صبابة
413:9 وأنزه	33:4 أنزة
413:11 أعظمته	33:6 أعظمه

414:5 عرفت	34:4 غرقت
414:13 مغلق	34:12 متعلق
414:17 مخالطه	34:16 فخالطه
414:21 وليس	35:2 فليس
414:25 وجهة حياتي (this is obviously incorrect, because the poem is rhymed in ني)	35:6 وجهه حيّاني
415:12 الاجرع	36:2 الاجزع
415:13 للطب	36:4 للقلب
415:19 ففي beginning of 2nd hemistich	36:10 ففي end of 1st hemistich
415:20 كاظمة	36:11 وكاظمة
415:21 بكم end of 1st hemistich	36:12 بكم beginning of 2nd hemistich
415:24 عين	36:15 يمين
415:25 حبهم بكى	36:16 حيهم يكن
416:3 غنيت فأعد	37:5 عنيت وأعد
416:4 تطوي	37:6 يطوي
416:12 أسى	37:17 أمسى
416:13 تذوق	38:1 يذوق
416:22 قل لي (قلي in MS)	38:14 قلبي
416:24 الى من beginning of 2nd hemistich	38:16 الى من end of 1st hemistich
417:1 شقاء	39:1 شفاء
417:5 فعليه	39:5 لعليه
417:8 كما	39:11 كم
417:19 رسالة مشتاق	40:15 رسالة
418:1 نحبي	41:4 بحبي
418:11 الـ سرى in two hemistichs أنوح	41:14 السرى end of 1st hemistich أبوح
418:12 سيـ نفحها in two hemistichs	41:15 سينفحها beginning of 2nd hemistich
418:16 الرند أيحكي in two hemistichs	42:1 الرندا يحكي in two hemistichs
418:18 لما	42:4 كما

418:20 السير	42:6 للسير
418:25 فما end of 1st hemistich	42:11 فما beginning of 2nd hemistich
419:2 فها beginning of 2nd hemistich	42:14 فها end of 1st hemistich
419:6 أعيذك	43:3 أعندك
تريح	ترنح
419:7 للطاعين	43:4 للظاعين
419:15 أحبابي	43:13 أحبائي
419:16 رإن لهم beginning of 2nd hemistich	43:14 وإن لهم end of 1st hemistich
419:17 حبا	43:15 حيا
419:19 عسى beginning of 2nd hemistich	43:17 عسى end of 1st hemistich
419:23 وحدي	44:7 وجدي
419:26 حشاشتي	44:10 حشا شتي
420:2 ودلني beginning of 2nd hemistich	44:12 ودلني end of 1st hemistich
448:16 حرقتي	81:6 خرقتي
448:17 تخفى	81:7 يخفي
448:22 أميرا كمّل	81:12 أمير أكمل
449:7 يكتب	82:3 يكبت
449:10 دمه end of 1st hemistich	82:6 دمه beginning of 2nd hemistich
449:16 شمرته تيها	83:1 سمرته تيهاء in two hemistichs
450:8 وعد مؤمن	83:13 رعد موهن
450:9 زأر	83:14 زار
450:11 يجاوره	84:2 تجاوره
450:14 تعبّا	84:5 تقبا
450:17 يقل	84:8 تقل
450:23 رفعت	85:1 رفقت
يديك	نديك
453:3 لي	86:12 بي
453:7 شدا	87:4 شذا
453:10 الصدغ	87:7 الصدع
اللحاظ	اللحظ
453:12 مرنح غربة	87:9 مريخ غرته
453:13 ينثني	87:10 يتثنى
453:20 معتمدي	87:17 معتهدي

تمضي	يمضي
453:21 يواري	87:18 توارى
454:1 الفرس	87:19 الغرس
459:6 مضى لا, the MS has مضى لي لا	93:15 مضى بي لا
459:7 ذكراك	93:16 ذكرك
459:10 ملك	94:1 مللت
460:16 نشتاق	95:6 تشتاق
460:20 وينقضي beginning of 2nd hemistich	95:10 وينقضي end of 1st hemistich

Volumes 2 and 3 present the text of the Istanbul MS, Köprülü 1037, which covers the years 725/1325 to 738/1338. This is the first complete edition, to my knowledge, of this portion of al-Jazarī´s work.[8] For the reasons mentioned above, a lengthy introduction is provided here, in Volume 2. It includes (1) a general description of the manuscript (pp. 5-7), (2) re-pagination of the misplaced folios (pp. 8-18), (3) an overview of the contents of the manuscript (pp. 18-20), (4) al-Jazarī´s method (pp. 20-23), (5) source criticism (pp. 24-29), (6) discussion of al-Jazarī´s reliance on ʻAlam al-Dīn al-Birzālī (pp. 29-34), and (7) al-Jazarī´s biography (pp. 34-41). The somewhat repetitive introduction does offer a great deal of information. However, for those familiar with earlier works by Cahen, Sauvaget, Haarmann, and Little on the subject, very little can be found that is new.

The edition of the three volumes is overall competent. The editor has supplied headings (marked with brackets) to each cluster of the text. Some additional contents, drawn from other contemporary or later sources, are provided as well (marked with brackets). The editor also thought fit to add to Volume 1 appendixes that contain quotations of al-Jazarī´s ″original″ from parallel sources, some still in manuscript (al-Fayyūmī´s [d. 1369] ″Nathr al-Jumān fī Tarājim al-Aʻyān,″ Dār al-Kutub MS 1746), that are missing from the Paris MS (pp. 469-79). The footnotes include grammatical corrections as well as variant readings from parallel sources. The indexes include Quran and hadith quotations and poems, as well as the table of contents and bibliographical references. But there is no index of proper names of persons and places, which is inconvenient.

[8]For the Istanbul MS, see Haarmann, *Quellenstudien*, 48-50.

SAMIRA KORTANTAMER, *Bahrî Memlûklar´da Üst Yönetim Mensupları ve Aralarındaki İlişkiler* (İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi, 1993). Pp. 208.

REVIEWED BY STEFAN WINTER, The University of Chicago

To many scholars in Turkey today, medieval Islamic history is of interest simply as a backdrop to the emergence of the early Turkmen beylicates in Anatolia. A noteworthy exception is Samira Kortantamer, lecturer in the Literature Faculty at Aegean University in Izmir, who treats the phenomenon of Qipchak Mamluk rule in Egypt and Syria first and foremost as a remarkable and unique episode in Middle Eastern and comparative political history. Her past contributions have included articles both on Mamluk historiography and on the Mamluk bureaucratic apparatus, as well as Turkish translations of key essays by David Ayalon and P. M. Holt (see the on-line Mamluk Bibliography).[1] In this monograph, Kortantamer sets out to explore the informal relations, sympathies, and personal rivalries between high government officials in order to explain the human and social dynamics that underpinned this sui generis form of rule.

Following Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il´s *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd* (a portion of which the author edited and translated for her University of Freiburg dissertation in 1973), the members of the administration are defined here as the sultan, the caliph, the high amirs, the four head qadis, and the vizier. Kortantamer does not so much analyze the Mamluk system of government as provide an anthology of textual passages illustrating individual office holders´ mutual interactions. Her sources are limited in essence to Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il and Maqrīzī´s *Sulūk*. While the citations are generally evocative and colorful, and are supplemented by extensive footnotes on technical terms and biographical references, one almost wishes the author had also developed a deeper, more essayistic interpretation of her subject.

After a brief overview of the genesis of Mamluk rule, the first section treats the sultans´ relations with their wives, sons, and daughters. Much of this is used to relate the story of Shajar al-Durr which, sensational as it may be, hardly typifies family relations in Mamluk-era aristocratic households. The author is then left to demonstrate that the women are really only mentioned in the sources in the context of royal weddings, the births of heirs, and occasionally pilgrimages. The situation is naturally different with respect to sons, and Kortantamer provides a few lively examples of some sultans´ attempts to get their offspring recognized as their political successors, and of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad´s increasingly frustrated efforts to have his son and prospective heir Anūk give up his girlfriend.

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[1]http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/su/mideast/MamBib.html.

The discussion turns to the sultans′ relations with other state functionaries, beginning with the caliph. After reproducing Maqrīzī′s account of the caliphate′s transfer to Cairo, the author describes how the Mamluks′ respect for the institution gradually deteriorated to the point that individual caliphs could be deposed and exiled by the sultans, even against the wishes of the religious judges. Next comes the sultans′ relationships to the leading Mamluk amirs, which the author classes according to whether the incumbent sultan was strong or weak. The prototype of the former—al-Nāṣir Muḥammad—showered favors on his mamluk Tankiz until he wearied of his arrogance and set about to destroy him. For another example of a strong sultan′s wrath against his Mamluks, the author devotes ten pages to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s attempts to have agents assassinate Qarāsunqur and Ākkūsh al-Afram in Ilkhanid Iran. In contrast, weak or youthful sultans, such as al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s son Barakah, were constrained to do the powerful amirs′ bidding. The qadis, on the other hand, had no political role at all, other than attending a new sultan′s enthronement and legitimizing his rule. Utilized to manifest the Mamluks′ respect for the religious law, the qadis could in fact be ignored or overruled in important matters such as the succession to the caliphate. Another position which lost much of its importance under the Mamluks was that of vizier. While political affairs became the sole prerogative of Mamluk military officers such as the *nā'ib,* the civilian vizierate saw its area of responsibility reduced to finance. Incumbents were frequently Coptic converts and invariably wealthy, which, as Kortantamer illustrates with the case of Ibn Zunbūr, made them especially susceptible to spectacular instances of divestment, torture, and expropriation.

Chapter II is devoted to relations from the caliph′s point of view and inevitably reiterates much of what was stated under sultan-caliph relations in Chapter I. Kortantamer quotes at length the passages describing the inductions of the first and second caliphs, contrasting this with al-Manṣūr ʻAlī′s abrupt dismissal of al-Mutawakkil in 1377. No matter how much religious prestige the caliphs were made to embody, the author concludes again, a strong sultan could always impose his choice for the office even against the opposition of the qadis.

The most stimulating excerpts are perhaps those presented in the final chapter, which deals with the high amirs′ relations to the sultan and to each other. The author begins by describing how slaves were imported and integrated into the military aristocracy of Egypt, while remaining rooted in their Turkish cultural background. Loyalty to one′s original master (and his household) was the highest moral value within Mamluk circles and thus a sine qua non for a successful political career. The only tie stronger than this was the Mamluk′s to his *khushdash,* or brother-in-arms. Kortantamer again categorizes Mamluk peer relations according to whether the sultan was weak or strong, as illustrated by the story of the amirs Qawṣūn and Bashtāk. Even on his deathbed, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad could still

pledge his two leading Mamluks to mutual loyalty. Afterwards, however, Qawṣūn succeeded in manipulating the ineffectual new sultan in order to eliminate his rival. Only when he thus overplayed his hand did the other amirs rally around the newly influential Aydughmish and topple Qawṣūn, with the term "Qawṣūnī" going down in popular parlance as an insult.

If Kortantamer's sources are already well-known to specialists, her selection of passages certainly captures much of the intrigue of "the Mamluk phenomenon." As a pioneering work in the arena of Turkish-language Mamluk studies, Kortantamer's contribution should do much to spark further interest and research.

SHAI HAR-EL, *Struggle for Domination in the Middle East: The Ottoman-Mamluk War, 1485-1491* (Leiden, New York, and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1995) Pp. 238.

REVIEWED BY W. W. CLIFFORD, The University of Chicago

More than twenty years ago Andrew Hess challenged us to think of the early sixteenth/tenth century Mediterranean world not as geographically unitary but, rather, culturally differentiated. Hess believed his post-Braudelian "new segregation" of Mediterranean life could best be discerned at the fringe of its most antagonistic cultural zone—Ottoman-Habsburg North Africa. Fueling cultural segregation along this "archetypal" frontier was a mid-fifteenth/ninth century convergence of technological and political change into a military revolution benefiting Iberian expansion into the Western Islamic lands. Beset by structural bottlenecks, Andalusian and Maghribian states proved unable to replicate Iberian advantages in administrative centralization and military specialization. Even the Sa'dian dynasty, after a credible start, failed ultimately to harness the "unique combination of firepower, mobility and political unity" which made the Ottomans so competitive in the struggle for leadership within the Maghrib—just as it had made them in the Levant. For like the North African Sa'dians, the Levantine Mamluks had seemingly also failed to master the "new style of warfare." Despite its segregated, post-tribal, urban-based, institutional structure, the early sixteenth/tenth century Mamluk state was unmistakably "in the throes of its own decline," according to Hess, owing to its failure to "restructure [its] armies to fit the new (gunpowder) technology."[1]

[1]Andrew C. Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier: A History of the Sixteenth-Century Ibero-African Frontier.* (Chicago and London, 1978); idem, "Firearms and the Decline of Ibn Khaldun's Military Elite," *Archivum Ottomanicum* (1973): 173-200.

Despite its rather obvious importance, Islamicists have been generally reticent about Hess's revisionism. Typically perhaps, while the author of the book under review, Shai Har-El, affects some knowledge of Hess's work, he addresses it only tangentially in the end. This is all the more regrettable as his own thesis about the "defensive strategic principles" driving late Mamluk foreign policy largely parallels Hess's belief about the decline of Mamluk political and military power over the course of the fifteenth/ninth century. What analysis Har-El does provide of this decline constitutes little more than a potted summary of David Ayalon's traditional views on the systemic collapse of Mamluk civilization. Concerning the role of Hess's "new technology" in Mamluk decline, Har-El acknowledges only that there existed within the late Mamluk military an "insufficient use of firearms and new methods of warfare" (pp. 28, 54-55). Indeed, from Har-El's narrative of the decisive frontier battle at Ağa-Çayırı (1488/893) one infers that Mamluk victory was based less on their non-use of the "new technology" than their ability simply to frustrate Ottoman tactical deployment of their own. Despite its apparent validation of *furūsīyah,* Ağa-Çayırı was nevertheless a "hard lesson" to some in Cairo about the shortfall in Mamluk military preparedness, including Sultan Qāytbāy, who in its aftermath began inducting the arquebus formally into the Mamluk military arsenal (pp. 201-2).

While much of Har-El's book is filled expectably by traditional military-diplomatic narration, it is not entirely the kind of *l'histoire événementielle* about which Braudel liked so much to fret. At the outset Har-El attempts to center the usual story of Mamluk-Ottoman relations in a novel heuristic framework of interlocking regional "subordinate system[s]." Already embedded in a "Mediterranean subordinate system," the Mamluk and Ottoman states found themselves, according to Har-El, unavoidably entangled in the struggle for control of an Anatolian "subordinate frontier system" adrift since the collapse of Mongol authority in west Asia. Despite the successful evolution of a "balance of power system," which employed "shifting alliances" to limit "the amount of violence," traditional statecraft could not ultimately overcome regional centrifugal tendencies. The final collapse of the Anatolian frontier system into a post-Aqquyunlu "power vacuum" coincided with a sudden waning of Mamluk and waxing of Ottoman military capabilities. The concomitant differentiation between Cairo's "status quo" policy and Istanbul's increasingly "imperialist" one engendered an uncontrollable conflict that would achieve denouement not on the plains of Cilicia but in the Nile river valley itself. Thus was sown at Ağa-Çayırı (1488/893), Har-El seems to be intimating, the crop bitterly reaped at Raydānīyah (1517/923).

Indeed, the effectiveness of Har-El's study of the 1488/893 campaign cannot be divorced from his fine, antecedent geo-political analysis of Cairo's "status quo" policy. Briefly, in an effort to consolidate their post-Mongol strategic-commercial

position in the Near East, the Mamluks absorbed in 1375/776 the Little Armenian kingdom of Cilicia, inaugurating a ″new epoch″ which was to bring Cairo ″into a confrontation with the growing power of the Ottomans.″ To forestall this inevitable conflict, the Mamluks assembled an elaborate ″defense-in-depth system″ anchored by natural defensive barriers, i.e. the Anti-Taurus and Amanus mountains, as well as man-made ones, i.e. historic ″frontline″ (*thughūr*) and ″rearline″ (*ʻawāṣim*) military infrastructures. Layered into these relatively stable geo-strategic echelons were more frangible political sub-systems, i.e. ″outer″ buffer-client principalities (Karaman and Kadi Burhan al-Din) as well as ″inner″ ones (Ramadan and Dulkadir). While the Mamluks themselves guaranteed ″basic security″ against theater invasion, the Turkman buffer-clients were tasked to deal with border provocations. It was a break-down in this ″current security″ mission on the ″inner″ frontier after 1464/868 that would effectively doom the classical Mamluk state.

In general Har-El′s taxonomy helps to impose a certain meaningful order on the jumble of military-diplomatic events characteristic of this period. Some concepts, though, appear to have greater integrative value than others. His ″buffer-client system,″ for instance, seems a less affected and more dynamic heuristic structure than his quasi-stable, inter-regional ″subordinate systems.″ Har-El has furthermore an effective grasp of regional geography. Particularly valuable is his terrain overview of the Cilician campaign, giving readers a good feel for the operational problems confronting both Mamluk and Ottoman war planners. Ağa-Çayırı, by the way, is ″a plain roughly mid-way between Adana and Tarsus.″ Har-El has moreover sensibly buttressed his written descriptions with a variety of maps, an important inclusion too often omitted by scholars.[2]

A significant if somewhat undeveloped subplot in Har-El′s story of terrestrial conflict in Cilicia is that of maritime warfare, particularly the risky Ottoman projection of naval power onto the Mamluk littoral. Har-El draws attention principally to an important contemporary Ottoman naval *defter,* not much studied over the last half century, which lists the naval armament employed in the Ottoman flotilla.[3]

The *defter* notes intriguingly what appear to be two large, heavily-gunned, carrack-rigged sailing vessels—*bârça*s *(barza).* But aside from associating these vessels with the Ottoman sea-*ghāzī*, Burak Reis, who a decade later at the battle of Zonchio would command another of these experimental sailing warships, Har-El

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[2]While the book can rightly be praised for its map production, the same cannot be said for editorial control over errata, of which there is a great deal.

[3]Haydar Alpagut*, Denizde Türkiye* (Istanbul, 1937), 627; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı*, Osmanlı Devletinin Merkez ve Bahriye Teşkilâtı* (Ankara, 1948), 512-13.

adds little to the historical appreciation of his own document.[4] This is not wholly surprising as his own secondary sources, while venerable, are quite dated. Absent, for instance, is Svat Soucek′s seminal, modern study of late medieval Ottoman naval terminology.[5]

And while any organized discussion of contemporary Ottoman sea-going artillery is difficult to discern in the secondary literature, Har-El′s own characterizations seem unaccountably problematic. The *prangi,* for instance, which figures prominently as the most numerous type of gun counted in the *defter,* is described by Har-El merely as ″certain firearms.″ In fact the *prangi* was a small-caliber swivel gun and a standard piece of Ottoman secondary naval armament. Har-El also defines the somewhat larger caliber swivel guns, *zarbazan*s, as ″mortars,″ a confusing appellation. Is he perhaps conflating the term with the smaller Spanish bow swivel gun (*morterete*) or with a siege mortar-bombard, or does he mean to suggest that the Ottomans had successfully mounted sea-going mortars on their warships two centuries before the accepted advent of a dedicated bomb vessel? Har-El′s own illustration of the Ottoman flotilla (p. 182) is a curious pastiche of round-bottomed, oared, single-masted, and square-rigged ship types, none visibly mounting, by the way, any of the guns listed in the *defter*. Har-El might have done better simply to re-read John Guilmartin, who not only describes but correctly *illustrates* some of these Ottoman gun tubes (pp. 158-72; 301-2).

While perhaps technical, the issue of naval artillery is not entirely scholastic. As a purpose-built, sailing gun-platform, the *pârça* did not long survive the fifteenth/ninth century to provide the Ottomans a possible blue-print for their own version of the ″fast and maneuverable carriers of *artillery*″ they would soon face in the Atlantic-style galleons.[6] We possess, then, in this contemporary naval *defter* a rare snapshot of an evolutionary dead-end in Ottoman naval development, one which was to have momentous historical repercussions for the Ottoman retention of strategic control of the early modern Mediterranean. While Har-El′s evaluation of both the operational and tactical significance of the Ottoman flotilla in the overall Cilician campaign is satisfactory, he might have brought greater historic insight to this important puzzle.

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[4]Har-El, *Struggle*, 173-74; John Francis Guilmartin, *Gunpowder and Galleys: Changing Technology and Mediterranean Warfare in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1974), 86-88; see also Andrew C. Hess, ″The Evolution of the Ottoman Seaborne Empire in the Age of the Oceanic Discoveries, 1453-1525,″ *American Historical Review* 75 no. 7 (1970): 1905, who notes Burak Reis′s appearance in Ottoman service somewhat later than Har-El.

[5]Svat Soucek, ″Certain Types of Ships in Ottoman-Turkish Terminology,″ *Turcica* 7 (1975): 233-49.

[6]Guilmartin, *Gunpowder*, 158-72, 301-2; see also idem, ″The Early Provision of Artillery on Mediterranean War Galleys,″ *Mariner′s Mirror* 50 (1973): 257-80; Soucek, ″Certain,″ 244.

Concerning the demise of the Ottoman fleet off Cilicia, its foundering and partial capture in August 1488/Ramāḍan 893 after a sudden storm—possibly a seasonal *khamsīn*—Har-El′s short account (pp. 181-83) fails to appreciate fully the special characteristics of the local maritime environment. It is curious that his close attention to the geographical does not seem to extend ″offshore,″ as it were, to the hydrological or meteorological. Ottoman naval planners would almost certainly have known that Cilician waters posed a serious natural obstacle. Counter-clockwise currents, high waves, and katabatic squalls descending the Taurus range made even the summer months unfavorable, even dangerous, for sea-borne operations.[7]

It is sometimes claimed conveniently by Ottomanists, including Har-El (p. 192), that the unsuccessful campaign of 1488/893 was a token military gesture. Yet, how likely is it that Ottoman war planners would have jeopardized such a large, well-equipped fleet, including expensive ″capital″ ships (*pârça*s) in such a high-risk maritime environment and at such extreme operational range without serious expectation of strategic dividends? Upon reflection, Bayezid II′s naval descent on Ayas (1488/893) seems no more whimsical than his father′s (Mehmed II) sea-borne gambit at Otranto (1481/885).

From the Mamluk maritime perspective, one transcendent question emerges: Where was the Mamluk navy in 1488/893? Cilicia was still within operational range of Mamluk flotillas well into the early sixteenth/tenth century. Even the Ottoman naval force commander (*kapudan*) (and Sultan Bayezid′s son-in-law), Hersek-oğlu Ahmed Paşa, feared a Mamluk amphibious landing in Cilicia (pp. 177-78). Moreover, the fifteenth/ninth century had already witnessed the highly competent exercise of Mamluk *Seemacht* in the eastern Mediterranean, one which would be extended just a few years later into the Indian Ocean. Unfortunately, the mystery of the Mamluks and their relationship with firearms is surpassed in Har-El′s scholarship only by the puzzle of their relationship with naval vessels. And, as with firearms, Har-El is content to invoke *ipse dixit* David Ayalon′s rambling commentary on Mamluk naval history as answer (pp. 58-9).

Finally, the generally positive results of Har-El′s campaign study are somewhat spoiled by his over-calculated historical summation. His claim, for instance, that the aftermath of Ağa-Çayırı, including the peace treaty of 1491/896, somehow ″saved [Sultan Bayezid′s] prestige″ and gave the Ottomans ″a symbolic victory″ (p. 212) is unconvincing. Certainly, it diverges in sum and substance from the

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[7]See for instance John H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean 649-1571* (Cambridge, 1988); idem, ″Winds, waves, and rocks: the routes and the perils along them,″ *Maritime Aspects of Migration* (1989): 71-85; Victor Goldsmith and Stan Sofer, ″Wave climatology of the Southeastern Mediterranean,″ *Israel Journal of Earth Sciences* 32 (1983): 1-51.

interpretation given recently by Carl Petry, whose biography of Sultan Qāytbāy Har-El seems to have entirely overlooked.[8]

Furthermore, Har-El's contention that the subsequent Mamluk "shift from neutrality in [the] Ottoman-Safavid conflict" led to an actual "military alliance" between Cairo and Tabriz after 1514/920 also does not jibe. Though preliminary strategic talks were held, Mamluk-Safavid summitry ultimately derailed on their mutual struggle for symbolic diplomatic precedence.[9]

This all suggests a certain *post hoc ergo propter hoc* fallacy underpinning Har-El's basic historical reasoning. Despite the generally sensible integration of geo-politics into his study, there lingers a faint reductionist whiff of Turnerian physiography-as-history in his stress on the inevitability of some final reckoning between the proximal Mamluk and Ottoman states. Clearly, Har-El has unsuccessfully eluded the historicist embrace of Turkish nationalist scholarship, which has long held a belief in the mythic expansion of the frontier march (*uc)* as a primary source of Ottoman values and institutions. Yet, the violence of Ottoman-Mamluk encounters after Ağa-Çayırı, notably at Raydānīyah, should be interpreted as neither redemptive by Ottomanists nor apocalyptic by Mamlukists.

MUḤAMMAD ʻABD AL-GHANĪ AL-ASHQAR, *Tujjār al-Tawābil fī Miṣr fī al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Cairo: al-Ḥay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-ʻĀmmah lil-Kitāb, 1999), Pp. 571.

REVIEWED BY HAYRETTIN YUCESOY, The University of Chicago

This study was originally a doctoral dissertation submitted to Ayn Shams University in Egypt. It treats the emergence, development, and demise of the spice trade in Egypt known as Kārimī. It comprises seven chapters, an introduction, a conclusion, and appendices (a list of Kārimī merchants during the Mamluk period, maps showing the trade routes and major centers, and charts depicting the family trees of two prominent Kārimī merchants).

As one may expect, al-Ashqar begins his study with a consideration of two central issues: the origins and etymology of the name Kārimī, and the circumstances of the rise of Kārimī commercial activity. His discussion of the first problem, in

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[8]Carl F. Petry, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamluk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qanṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (Seattle and London, 1993), especially 88-103.

[9]W. W. Clifford, "Some Observations on the Course of Mamluk-Safavi Relations (1502-1516/908-922): I & II," *Der Islam* 70 no. 2 (1994): 272-74.

which he compares and contrasts the main theories on the subject (such as that of Ṣubḥī Labīb [who has authored the article in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*], of Goitein, and of al-Shātir Buṣaylī), concludes, unfortunately, without any new suggestions. Likewise, the author's conclusion that the Kārimī emerged as a group of merchants who had been known to operate locally up until the eleventh century, when they gradually expanded their horizons and began to engage in long-distance trade between the Indian Ocean and the coasts of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, is a recapitulation of previous conclusions of scholarship.

Al-Ashqar pays due attention to the relationship between the high volume-big profit trade and the ruling institution, and highlights the benefits of the cooperation between the Kārimī merchants and the Mamluks in fostering trade on the one hand, and for stabilizing the Mamluk ruling apparatus, and launching large-scale military, architectural, and administrative projects on the other. His awareness of the role that European powers and merchants played in the Kārimī trade, and especially of the Mongol-European alliance and of the attempts to exclude the Mamluks from the east-west trade (a project that ended in the fourteenth century) show al-Ashqar's interest in considering the larger picture of the spice trade. However, one would expect to see a reference to Janet Abu-Lughod's study *Before European Hegemony,* a knowledge of which could have greatly improved his treatment. His disinterest in the theoretical dimensions of his subject is also evident in other chapters.

For instance, al-Ashqar deals with the social status and role of Kārimī merchants, categories of financial transactions, commercial and financial institutions, commodities, routes, centers, vessels, and seasons of Kārimī trade. He discusses how the Kārimī merchants realized very early their unique position and formed an intercontinental and long-lasting connection among themselves and how, by virtue of their wealth, organization, and control of Kārimī commodities, for which there was a high demand, they became a significant part of Mamluk economy, politics, and society. He also emphasizes the Kārimīs' skills and world-view which allowed them to master languages, chivalry, social manners, trade laws, taxation, astronomy, arithmetic, seafaring, etc. However, there is no attempt whatsoever to initiate an informed theoretical discussion about the role of Egypt in the crucial economic changes that took place globally in the period from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. In particular, a discussion of the rise of capitalism in Western Europe vis-à-vis the economic context of the Middle East, would have been desirable. It is perhaps asking too much to expect al-Ashqar to discuss the theoretical implications of the trade boom, capital accumulation, group solidarity, and international outlook of the Kārimīs and of the ways in which they might have affected the configuration and outlook of Mamluk society. After all, if he is silent on these matters, so is the mainstream of historical scholarship.

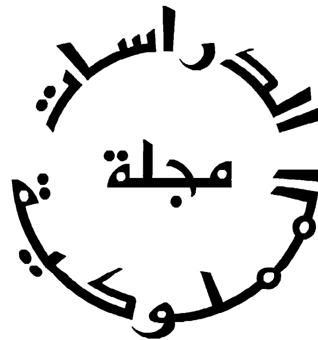
Al-Ashqar′s explanation of the decline of the Kārimī trade hurts his study, rather than helping it reach a convincing conclusion. His division of the causes of decline into ″external″ and ″internal″ is artificial and is based on a perspective other than that of the Kārimīs themselves. It shatters the whole notion of the intercontinental scope and sophistication of the spice trade, thus giving the wrong impression that internal and external causes can be separated. Al-Ashqar seems to have gathered material and presented it as a cause for decline without much analysis or attention to the time-frame in which events took place. It is neither appropriate nor convincing to string together ″causes″ spanning from the beginning of the fourteenth century to the sixteenth century (the papal boycott, for example, the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and the following Portuguese monopoly of the spice trade in the period between 1499-1509, and Qāytbāy′s confiscation of the property of the Kārimīs in the beginning of the sixteenth century). He does not mention the specific conditions which caused some recurring phenomena throughout two centuries, (e.g., confiscation of property, the papal boycott, pirate activity, etc.) to be crucial factors in the collapse of the Kārimī trade in the late fifteenth century.

All in all, al-Ashqar makes extensive use of sources in his study, consults contemporary scholarly literature—not necessarily the most recent, however—and incorporates some of their arguments in his research primarily to verify his suggestions or to argue a point. One could wish he had provided the reader with a brief assessment of the scholarly literature on his topic and then highlighted his own contributions. Despite all the shortcomings of the study and the lack of new insights for specialists on the Kārimī merchants, just to see ideas substantiated by evidence taken from primary sources and enriched by examples, without unnecessary and misleading rhetoric of religiosity and nationalism, is refreshing. To be sure, there is repetition and needless digression in some parts; the print is not reader-friendly, nor are the maps and charts. There are many spelling mistakes where the Latin alphabet is used, and yet more embarrassingly there is a missing signature of sixteen pages between pages 193 and 208. One must point out also that his description of trade routes is less than adequate. Also, al-Ashqar would have done a much better job had he included legible maps and better studied the commercial centers in terms of their specific value for Kārimī trade. Chapter Six, which discusses how the Kārimīs deployed their intercontinental potential to connect distant territories by acting as envoys, missionaries, and patrons of art and learning, could have been integrated into the previous three chapters, since it deals with many of the subjects treated in Chapters Three, Four and Five. One would say in conclusion that the book makes an acceptable ″inflated version″ of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* article ″Kārimī,″ albeit in a not very attractive form.

MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW

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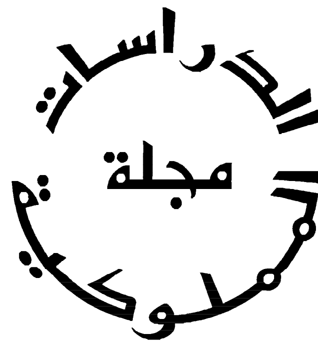
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MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW



The Bruce D. Craig Prize for Mamluk Studies

The Bruce D. Craig Prize, carrying a cash award of $1,000, is given annually by *Mamlūk Studies Review* for the best dissertation on a topic related to the Mamluk Sultanate submitted to an American or Canadian university during the preceding calendar year. In the event no dissertations are submitted, or none is deemed to merit the prize, no prize will be awarded. To be considered for the 2006 Prize, dissertations must be defended by December 31, 2006, and submitted to the Prize Committee by January 31, 2007. Submissions should be sent to:

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Preface

In the course of my work as editor of this journal, and also as editor of the *Chicago Online Bibliography of Mamluk S*tudie*s,* I began to take note of a body of scholarship in the field of Mamluk studies by Japanese scholars. Of course, I don´t read Japanese, so my acquaintance with this scholarship was limited to books and articles written in European languages. Once my curiosity was piqued, however, I began to review a number of scholarly journals published in Japanese which also included English abstracts. I was surprised not only by the amount of work being done in the field by our Japanese colleagues, but was also impressed by the erudition and originality displayed by some of the authors. I recently counted the number of citations to works by Japanese scholars which appear in the *Chicago Online Bibliography of Mamluk Studies*. I found forty-nine citations to works written in languages other than Japanese. All are European languages except for one entry in Arabic and one in Persian (the latter is a translation of a book originally written in English). I also found fifty-four citations to works written in Japanese. This means, of course, that more than half of all Japanese scholarship in the field in essentially unknown outside of Japan, to the great detriment of the field at large.

In May of 2003, at a conference on Mamluk studies held at the University of Chicago, I had the opportunity to discuss all of this with Professor Sato Tsugitaka. In the course of our discussion I suggested that a special issue of *Mamlūk Studies Review* be devoted to articles written by Japanese specialists in the field and asked him to help me produce it. The volume in hand is the result of this collaboration. I wish to take this opportunity to thank Professor Sato, without whom the project could never have succeeded. Thanks are due also to my colleague Eizaburo Okuizumi, Japanese Studies Librarian at the University of Chicago, who took a keen interest in the project and answered, with unfailing good humor, questions about the romanization of Japanese titles and other issues. Thanks are also due Patrick Wing for his skillful editorial contributions and Olaf Nelson for solutions to myriad software and other technical problems.

Bruce D. Craig
Editor

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Sato Tsugitaka
Waseda University

Mamluk Studies in Japan: Retrospect and Prospect

Islamic and Middle Eastern studies in Japan has a long history dating back to the beginning of the Meiji Era (1868–1912), when research was first based on information received through China and translations of treatises by European scholars of Islam. From the 1930s on, Japanese scholars began to form various research associations and institutions, such as the Institute of Islamic Civilization Studies (Isuramu Bunka Kenkyujo, 1932), the Institute of the Islamic World (Kaikyoken Kenkyujo, 1937), and the Institute of Oriental Culture (Toyo Bunka Kenkyujo, 1941) in order to study Islam and Islamic civilization on their own. However, during World War II, they were directed by the Japanese government to investigate the contemporary situation of Muslim populations in such Asian countries under Japanese occupation as China, Indonesia, and Malaysia. The aim was clearly to utilize the sense of solidarity existing among these Asian Muslims in the war effort. After such research activities ceased with the end of the war in 1945, some scholars who chose to continue Islamic studies turned toward classical studies regarding medieval Islamic civilization, forsaking their research on contemporary Islam.

After World War II, a new era of Islamic and Middle Eastern studies was opened in Japan under the leadership of Maejima Shinji, Izutsu Toshihiko, and Shimada Johei. Maejima Shinji (1903–83) studied cultural exchange in the history of contact between East and West, making use of the available Chinese and Arabic sources. His major work was collected into the voluminous *Various Aspects of Cultural Exchange between East and West* (Maejima 1971). He is also known for his original translation of *Alf Laylah wa-Laylah* into Japanese under the title *Arabian Nights* (Maejima 1966–92).

Izutsu Toshihiko (1914–93) utilized the methodology of semantics in his study of the Quran, as revealed in such works as *The Structure of the Ethical Terms in the Koran*[1] and *God and Man in the Koran*.[2] He translated the Quran into Japanese,[3] which is widely read even today due to its accuracy and clarity. In his later years

[1]In English (Tokyo, 1959).

[2]In English (Tokyo, 1964).

[3]3 vols. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1957).

Izutsu took great interest in studying the history of Sufism and Taoism in comparative perspective.

Shimada Johei (1924–90), who had pursued the fields of Arabic and Islamic history under ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Dūrī, Bernard Lewis, and others at the University of London, made serious efforts to introduce European Islamic research methods into Japan. He wrote many articles in Japanese on the social and economic history of the early Islamic period, based on such Arabic sources as *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-al-Mulūk* by al-Ṭabarī, *Kitāb al-Kharāj* by Abū Yūsuf, and *Futūḥ al-Buldān* by al-Balādhurī. His collected articles, entitled ″Studies on the Early Islamic State″[4] is regarded as a masterwork completed after his many years′ labor.

These pioneers, however, mostly focused on the study of Islamic history and civilization in the classical ages, not extending their interests to the Seljuqid, Ayyubid, or Mamluk periods. It was only from the end of the 1960s on that Japanese scholars started to investigate seriously the various subjects related to the Ayyubid and Mamluk dynasties.

The Beginning of Mamluk Studies in Japan

Before World War II, Kobayashi Hajime had studied the mamluks in Islamic history (Kobayashi 1939); however, his work was not concerned with the Mamluk dynasty, but with mamluk soldiers as a social and political phenomenon peculiar to Islamic civilization. I myself, after studying the methodology of Islamic history under Shimada, turned to the history of Mamluk Egypt and Syria which is favored with ample historical sources in Arabic. My intention was to see how the Mamluk period might be understood in the evolution of Arabic history since the early Islamic period, so I was stimulated by the article of Claude Cahen entitled ″L′évolution de l′iqṭāʻ du IXe au XIIIe siècle,″[5] which traced chronologically the evolution of the *iqṭāʻ* system in medieval Islamic history.

I too took up the subject of the *iqṭāʻ* system to disclose the relationship between state and society during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, but differed in approach from Cahen and Shimada, who had mostly studied the landholding and taxation systems. I first paid attention to cadastral surveys *(rawk)* conducted in Egypt and Syria during the years 1298–1325. I wrote two articles on this subject originally in Japanese (Sato 1967, 1969a), then revised and enlarged them into an English translation (Sato 1979). From these studies on the cadastral surveys, I found that very little research had been done on rural life and the peasantry in medieval Egypt and Syria. After collecting the sources related to this subject through a search of Arabic manuscripts in Cairo, Damascus, and Istanbul, I wrote

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[4]In Japanese (Tokyo: Chuo Daigaku Shuppanbu, 1996).

[5]*Annales, économies, sociétés, civilisations* 8 (1953): 25–52.

a major article on rural society and the peasantry in Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt (Sato 1973). A collection of my articles on the evolution of the *iqṭā‘* system was published in Japanese in 1986, then in 1997 I published an English book entitled *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta‘s, and Fallahun* (Sato 1997), which included the above-mentioned Japanese research in revised and enlarged form. My empirical work on Egyptian rural society during the medieval period served as a stimulus to the appearance of a book *Al-Qaryah al-Miṣrīyah fī ‘Aṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk*[6] by an Egyptian scholar, Majdī ‘Abd al-Rashīd Baḥr.

Kobayashi Seiichi, following his study of commercial policy under the Mamluk government (Kobayashi 1973a), took up the study of the formation of Sufi orders and their activities in medieval Egypt (Kobayashi 1973b, 1975). After that, however, his interest changed to the modern history of Egypt, particularly religious movements there during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Yajima Hikoichi, who had studied Arabic and Islamic history under Maejima Shinji, intended to examine commercial and cultural activities in the Islamic world during medieval times. Basing his work on the original Arabic sources, Yajima disclosed various aspects of Egyptian commercial policy during the Bahri Mamluk period (Yajima 1980). In his study of the commercial activities of the Kārimī merchants, he made clear the trade route connecting the Nile valley with the Red Sea coast, focusing on the Qūṣ-‘Aydhāb route (Yajima 1986). He then published a valuable work describing historical change in international commercial networks of medieval Islam, although not touching on the causes of such changes (Yajima 1991). After a long-term study of the Arabic manuscripts of the travel accounts by Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Yajima translated *Tuḥfat al-Nuẓẓār* into Japanese with very learned annotations (Yajima 1996–2002). Now he is preparing a new critical Arabic text of *Tuḥfat al-Nuẓẓār,* based on the collected manuscripts.

Yukawa Takeshi, who was also a student of Maejima, has studied the social and cultural activities of the ulama in Egypt during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods. He published several articles on such subjects as the ulama community in medieval Upper Egypt (Yukawa 1979a), the activities of the Maghribi and Andalusi ulama in Egypt (Yukawa 1980), and Ibn Jamā‘ah's ideas on education (Yukawa 1990a). In particular, Yukawa became interested in the political thought of Ibn Taymīyah (Yukawa 1983a, 1985, 1988, 1990b), translating *Al-Siyāsah al-Shar‘īyah* into Japanese in collaboration with Nakata Ko (Yukawa 1991: Nakata 1991b).

Morimoto Kosei began his research on the taxation system in Egypt during the early Islamic period, based mainly on Greek and Arabic papyrus documents. His results were published under the title of *The Fiscal Administration of Egypt in the*

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[6]Cairo, 1999.

Early Islamic Period.[7] He then became interested in the historical views of Ibn Khaldūn and translated the *Muqaddimah* into Japanese (Morimoto 1978–87), and wrote an article on judicial corruption during the Mamluk period, utilizing the original sources describing what Ibn Khaldūn saw in Egypt (Morimoto 2002).

Ohara Yoichiro, who had worked at the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, published a book in Japanese entitled *The Mamluk Dynasty in Egypt* (Ohara 1976). However, it is not an original work, but a collection of academic research done by modern Arabic scholars. Mutaguchi Yoshiro is a journalist who has contributed considerably to attracting general readers to Islamic and Middle Eastern issues through books on the medieval and contemporary Arab world (Mutaguchi 1972, 1986a). His Japanese translation of *Les Croisades vues par les Arabes* by Amin Maalouf (Mutaguchi 1986b) is still widely read by university students.

The New Era of Mamluk Studies in Japan

Yajima, Yukawa, myself, and other scholars initiated the field of Mamluk studies in Japan and oriented the research toward a new era of prosperity since the 1980s. Kikuchi Tadayoshi, who had studied Oriental history at Waseda and Osaka Universities, took up the study of the social life of Mamluk Egypt, focusing on the personal histories of *muḥtasib*s in Cairo (Kikuchi 1983). He then wrote several articles on the Arabic manuscript *Al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim fī Ḥawādith al-ʻUmr wa-al-Tarājim* by ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī (d. 1514), who was a son of Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, author of *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik* (Kikuchi 1997, 2000, 2002). Kikuchi's intent was to describe a vivid history of Mamluk Egypt by comparing the accounts of ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ, Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Sakhāwī, Ibn Iyās, et al.

Miura Toru, who had the unique experience of working at a publishing company for about ten years, began his research activities on the urban history of Damascus during the Mamluk period under my guidance. His research on the suburb of Damascus, al-Ṣāliḥīyah (Miura 1987, 1989d, 1995b) intended to describe the urbanization process of al-Ṣāliḥīyah during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, based mainly on *Al-Qalā'id al-Jawharīyah fī Tārīkh al-Ṣāliḥīyah* by Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 1546). He then extended his research interests into the social activities of outlaws called *zuʻr* in al-Ṣāliḥīyah during the Mamluk period (Miura 1989a, 1989c). On the other hand, Miura has made serious investigations into the court documents preserved at Markaz al-Wathā'iq al-Tārīkhīyah fī Dimashq. Based on his detailed study on these documents, he shed light on the actual situation of the Islamic legal system from the late Mamluk to the Ottoman period (Miura, 2000b). *Slave Elites in the Middle East and Africa,* edited by Miura and John E. Philips (Miura and Philips 2000) is also a useful contribution to the comparative study of mamluks in

[7]In English (Kyoto: Dohosha, 1981).

Islamic history, including the Mamluk period.

Hasebe Fumihiko, stimulated strongly by Boaz Shoshan's article "Grain Riots and the 'Moral Economy': Cairo, 1350–1517,"[8] studied the food riots that occurred in the later Mamluk period through the Arabic source materials (Hasebe 1988). He extended his interest to studying the characteristics of Egyptian society in the abnormal weather, famine, and epidemics that occurred during the fourteenth century (Hasebe 1989). His research on food riots attempts to explain the actions of the Mamluk government when faced with such severe disturbances as well as to disclose the actual conditions of grain price fluctuations and food shortages in Mamluk Cairo (Hasebe 1990, 1993, 1994, 1999a). Recently, Hasebe has taken up the relationship between the sultan's kingship and the Sufi saints during the end of the Mamluk period (Hasebe 1999b, 2002), and has edited an interesting book entitled *Poor Relief in the Medieval Mediterranean Cities* (Hasebe 2004b), which includes two articles on the relief efforts in medieval Cairo and Jerusalem (Hasebe 2004c; Miura 2004).

Matsuda Toshimichi, who was a student of Shimada, has made efforts to study the useful documents of St. Catherine's Monastery. Based on his elaborate decipherment of these documents, he has written many articles on such subjects as nomads in the Sinai Peninsula (Matsuda 1989, 1991a), the dissolution of *waqf*s (Matsuda 1991b), the *dhimmī*s in medieval Egypt (Matsuda 1990b), *maẓālim* institutions under the Mamluks (Matsuda 1990a), and the oath *(qasāmah)* found in the proclamations of Sultan Qāytbāy (Matsuda 1995b). Recently, he expanded his research interest to the Ḥaram documents in Jerusalem and introduced several sources related to the qadis in Jerusalem and the Christian pilgrims who traveled there during the Mamluk period (Matsuda 1997, 2004).

Ohtoshi Tetsuya, who studied Arabic and Islamic history under my guidance at the University of Tokyo, took special interest in communicating with Egyptian poor people, living among them in Old Cairo for two years. His first article (Ohtoshi 1993a, 1993b) describes concretely various aspects of popular visits to al-Qarāfah (the City of the Dead) in Cairo, utilizing the Arabic manuscripts of the *ziyārah* books, travel guides *(mashāyikh al-ziyārah)* written between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. Then he discussed several phases of development and the social function of al-Qarāfah during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, by analyzing the accounts of chronicles, *waqf* documents, and biographies in addition to the *ziyārah* manuscripts (Ohtoshi 1994, 1996a). Ohtoshi then extended his research interest gradually into considering the conceptualization of "Egypt" as reflected in visits to the holy tombs in Muslim society (Ohtoshi 1998, 2001b), the relationship between the Copts and Muslims in twelfth- through fifteenth-century Cairo (Ohtoshi

[8] *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 10, no. 3 (1980).

2001a, 2003), and the aspects of *taṣawwuf* as revealed in the *ziyārah* books and the visits to al-Qarāfah (2004a, 2004b).

Taṣawwuf is one of the main subjects studied by Japanese scholars. In addition to Ohtoshi´s and my work (Sato 2001), there is Kisaichi Masatoshi´s book entitled *Isuramu seija* (Muslim saints),[9] focusing on the Sufi saints in the Maghrib countries. Tonaga Yasushi, who has seriously examined the methodology of *taṣawwuf* studies, has clarified the position of *taṣawwuf* in Sunni thought during the Mamluk period (Tonaga 1990b) as well as the controversies over the orthodoxy of *waḥdat al-wujūd* during the late Mamluk period (1990a). In contrast to Tonaga´s work, Nakata Ko turned to the study of the religious and political thought of Ibn Taymīyah, including the significance of *ijmā‘* (Nakata 1987), the theory of Quranic exegesis (Nakata 1988), and a refutation of metaphor *(majāz)* theory (Nakata 1990a).

The field of Islamic archeology was pioneered by Kawatoko Mutsuo at the Middle Eastern Culture Center, who published a voluminous work entitled *The Egyptian Islamic City* (Kawatoko and Sakurai 1992), which includes the survey results of his elaborate excavation work done at al-Fusṭāṭ for seven years beginning in 1978. Kawatoko also clarified the international coffee trade in south Sinai between the late fifteenth and the early eighteenth century, utilizing the Arabic documents excavated at the port of al-Ṭūr (Kawatoko, 2001). Shindo Yoko, who participated in the excavations at al-Fusṭāṭ and al-Ṭūr along with Kawatoko, took special interest in glassware throughout the Islamic world. Classifying and analyzing the pieces unearthed from al-Ṭūr and Rāyah, she has written several articles on Islamic marvered glass (Shindo 1993), glass bracelets (Shindo 1996), and glass beakers (Shindo 2004b), and recently has published a book in Japanese entitled *Arts and Crafts in Islam* (Shindo 2004a), which is a general history of the subject.

Some Characteristic Features of Mamluk Studies in Japan

First of all, it should be mentioned that the third generation of Japanese scholars studying the Mamluk dynasty appeared in Japan during the first half of the 1990s. They study various subjects related to state and society in the Mamluk period, based on the Arabic, Turkish, and Italian documents. Kondo Manami, following the publication of an article on the practice of law in Mamluk Syria (Kondo 1994), took up Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī and his family in relation to the activities of ulama during the Mamluk period (Kondo 1995, 1999). Horii Yutaka, who studied the Ottoman conquest of Egypt as a turning point in the history of the Eastern Mediterranean world, has examined the commercial relationship between Italian cities and Islamic states during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Based on the Arabic and Italian source materials, he has described the situations of the Venetian

[9]Tokyo: Kodansha, 1996.

consul and residents in Egypt under the Ottoman conquest (Horii 1997a, 1997b) as well as under late Mamluk rule (Horii 1999, 2003). Igarashi Daisuke first studied the Syrian financial policy during the late Mamluk period (Igarashi 1999), and then, after a stay in Syria for two years, considered the legal opinions about the *bayt al-māl* by al-Balāṭunusī, a Shafiʻite scholar in Mamluk Damascus (Igarashi 2003). Recently, he is studying the establishment and development of the *dīwān al-mufrad* under the Circassian Mamluks to clarify the transformation of the Mamluk regime during the fifteenth century (Igarashi 2004).

Another newcomer, Nakamachi Nobutaka, who first studied Armenian in his graduate work, took an interest in examining the peace treaties that Baybars concluded with the Franks and the Armenians (Nakamachi 1996). Following the publication of an article on military refugees from the Ilkhanids to the Mamluk sultanate (Nakamachi 2000), Nakamachi realized the importance of studying the Arabic manuscripts of *ʻIqd al-Jumān* by al-ʻAynī to understand Mamluk history during the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries (Nakamachi,2003). Ito Takao has noticed that the social mobility of the Egyptian ulama was rather limited between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries through investigating the activities of two influential families, Banū al-Bulqīnī and Banū al-Shiḥnah (Ito 1996). He also examined in detail the historical sources al-Sakhāwī referred to in his *Al-Iʻlān bi-al-Tawbīkh* (Ito 1997). Finally, let me add that three young scholars have joined us recently: Ota Keiko in an article on the Meccan Sharifate and its diplomatic relations during the Bahri Mamluk period (Ota 2002), Ishiguro Hirotake in a discussion about the administrators of *Wafā' al-Nīl* during the Burji Mamluk period (Ishiguro 2002), and Yoshimura Takenori in an analysis of the water supply administration in the suburbs of Cairo under the Bahri Mamluk government (Yoshimura 2003).

Secondly, we may indicate the efforts of Japanese scholars to study Arabic manuscripts and documents abroad other than the published primary sources. As mentioned above, I myself have searched for Arabic manuscripts related to the *iqṭāʻ* system in Cairo, Damascus, and Istanbul, Yajima on the travel account of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Matsuda on various subjects related to the St. Catherine′s documents, Ohtoshi on the guidebooks for visitors to al-Qarāfah, Kikuchi on the writings of ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ, and Nakamachi on the chronicle by al-ʻAynī, to mention a few cases. It is noteworthy also that Miura and Horii have tried to compare the Mamluk and the Ottoman periods in their work utilizing Arabic and Italian documents.

As to the published materials related to Arabic and Islamic studies, not a small number of universities and institutes, including the Faculty of Letters at the University of Tokyo, The Institute of Oriental Culture (The University of Tokyo), Keio University, The National Diet Library, The Toyo Bunko, Hokkaido University, Kyoto University, and Kyushu University, for example, have collected them since

the 1960s. However, the collections are still small and insufficient for scholars and students who want to use the primary sources in earnest. Among the universities and institutes mentioned above, The Toyo Bunko (Oriental Library), which was established in 1924 by the Mitsubishi Company to promote Asian studies in Japan, has the best collection on the Middle East in Arabic (20,000 volumes), Persian (15,000), and Turkish (18,000), and source materials related to the Mamluk period account for a large part of the Arabic collection there.

Following World War II, Japanese scholars, who were freed from the historical view of imperial absolutism, were stimulated considerably by Marxism, which puts stress on the social and economic factors in the development of history. For example, Shimada Johei chose to study the taxation system in the early Islamic period with the intent of participating in similar discussions with historians working in other fields. As mentioned above, Morimoto Kosei followed him, but I differed slightly from them and took up the subject of the *iqṭāʿ* system to examine the relationship between state and society during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods (Sato 1967, 1969b, 1979, 1997a). The commercial activities of the Kārimī merchants were also considered of a major importance to understanding social and economic mobility in international trade networks (Kobayashi 1973a; Yajima 1980, 1986, 1989, 1991). The study of the monetary system in medieval Islam by Kato Hiroshi (Kato 1976) is regarded also as an achievement in the same field of research.

I had already started my study of rural society and the peasantry in Egypt (Sato 1972, 1973, 1977) prior to the introduction of the social history method developed by the Annale school in the 1980s. From around that time on, the study of social history was conducted eagerly in relation to the Mamluks as seen in the work on food riots by Hasebe (Hasebe 1988, 1990, 1994, 1999a), the *zuʿr* of Mamluk Damascus by Miura (Miura 1989a, 1989c), and Ohtoshi´s work on popular visits to al-Qarāfah in Old Cairo (Ohtoshi 1993a and others). Active studies on the social roles of ulama by Yukawa (Yukawa 1979a, 1980, 1981), Kikuchi (Kikuchi, 2002), Miura (Miura 2000), Kondo (Kondo 1994, 1995, 1999), and Ito (Ito 1996, 2003) have greatly improved our understanding of urban life during the Mamluk period.

Consequently, the above discussion demonstrates that the field of Mamluk studies in Japan has developed steadily since the end of the 1960s. Most of the younger scholars hope to visit the Middle East both to search for source materials and communicate with local scholars. Due to the appearance of the second and the third generations of expert since the 1980s, research has been greatly diversified to include such subjects as the relationship between kingship and Sufis, political and judicial ideas of the ulama, various aspects of urban life, international trade networks, etc. However, we find only a few scholars working on the fields of architecture, history of science, or arts and crafts during the Mamluk period.

Furthermore, we have another important subject to consider, ″What is the Mamluk state?″ in comparison to other Islamic states in history. As to the languages used in the research literature, we now face a serious problem. As revealed in the Select Bibliography, the number of books and articles written in English (and including one article in German) amounts to only 30 (17%) of the total as of the end of 2004. We should recognize the fact that the works written in Japanese cannot be understood by most non-Japanese scholars. In order to contribute to international academic activities, it is necessary for us to publish more of our research achievements in Arabic, Persian, Turkish and the European languages.

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An Analysis of ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī al-Malaṭī's Description of the Year 848: On the Process of Writing History in the Late Fifteenth Century

Introduction

In the field of Islamic historical studies, the Mamluk era offers a relatively vast amount of material. In recent times, many historical sources and some revised editions of these sources have been published. It is thus becoming easier to study the Mamluk era from a variety of perspectives. However, other historical materials, such as *waqf* documents, require further attention. In addition, systematic analysis of a broad range of sources requires close attention to how the texts were produced.

The focus of this article is the process by which ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī (844–920/1440–1514) wrote his historical work *Al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim fī Ḥawādith al-ʿUmr wa-al-Tarājim* (hereafter referred to as al-Rawḍ). The manuscript deals with the period between the mid and late ninth century/the mid fifteenth century. I look specifically at the descriptions of the year 848 (20 April 1444–8 April 1445). In order to show how ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ used other historical sources in writing his book, his descriptions in al-Rawḍ will be compared with notes he made in the margins of another manuscript. Then, in order to understand how his book was received, I will examine how the information in his book was transmitted to the next generation.

The Author of al-Rawḍ and the Method for Analyzing his Writing Process

Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī (813–73/1410–68), father of ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī, wrote a well-known book titled *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik.* According to Ibn Iyās, Khalīl had an exceptional career, considering he was one of the descendants of the mamluks *(awlād al-nās)*. He also obtained an *ijāzah* in hadith from Ibn Ḥajar.[1] His son, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, was born in 844 in Malaṭīyah, a town in Asia Minor, where his father Khalīl served as *nāʾib*. ʿAbd

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[1]J. Gaulmie and T. Fahd, "Ibn Shāhīn," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 3:934. The life of Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī was addressed in my article "My Father Khalīl ibn Shāhīn—Comparative Study of Descriptions by ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī" (in Japanese), *Seinan Asia Kenkyu* 47 (1997): 53–73, which is a comparative study of al-Rawḍ's description of 873, the year that Khalīl died. Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr wa-Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden, 1960–75), 3:25 (hereafter referred to as *Badāʾiʿ*).

al-Bāsiṭ accompanied his father to his various posts in such places as Tripoli, Damascus, and Cairo, and on his pilgrimages. At the age of 28, ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ left for the Maghrib and al-Andalus to study medicine (866–71/1462–67). Later, he resided in Cairo and became acquainted with a number of intellectuals there. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ wrote several books on Hanafi law, medicine, and history. He died in 920/1514 in Cairo.[2]

As mentioned above, the main focus of this article is ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ′s al-Rawḍ. The extant manuscript is preserved in the Vatican Library and is bound in two volumes (Vatican Arabo 728, 729) A filmed version of this manuscript is preserved in the Egyptian National Library (Dār al-Kutub MS 2403 tārīkh Taymūr). The manuscript in the Vatican Library was not given much attention when it was bound, with the result that the folios were not arranged according to their page numbers. However, the pages of the filmed version in the Egyptian National Library were arranged correctly.[3]

This two-volume manuscript contains information about events spanning the 30-year period from 844 to 874 (1440–69/70). However, there is a considerable gap in the chronology. The first volume contains only six years, from 844/1440 to 850/1446–47, and the second volume contains only nine years from 865/1460–1 to 874/1469–70. Thus, coverage of fourteen years (i.e., 850–64) is missing from the two volumes. Each year comprises two sections: a chronicle section and an obituary section. The description of only one year is complete in the first volume.[4]

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[2]Robert Brunschvig, *Deux récits de voyage inédits en Afrique du nord au XV siècle* (Paris, 1936; repr. Frankfurt am Main, 1994); G. Levi Della Vida, ″Il regno di Granata nel 1465–66 nei ricordi di un viaggiatore egiziano,″ *Al-Andalus* 1 (1933): 307–34. These are editions and translations of ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ′s descriptions of his travel to the Maghrib and al-Andalus found in al-Rawḍ. Zakī Muḥammad Ḥasan, *Al-Raḥḥālah al-Muslimūn fī al-ʻUṣūr al-Wuṣtá* (Cairo, 1945); I. Y. Kratchkovskiy, *Arabskaya Geograficheskaya Literatura,* vol. 4 of *Izbrannye Sochinenia* (Moscow and Leningrad, 1957), translated by ʻUthmān Hāshim as *Tārīkh al-Adab al-Jughrafī al-ʻArabī*, 2nd ed. (Beirut, 1987); ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Ḥamīdah, *Aʼlām al-Jughrāfīyīn al-ʻArab* (Damascus, 1416/1995; 1st ed., 1984). On the importance of al-Rawḍ as a historical source, see Carl F. Petry, *Twilight of Majesty: the Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (Seattle, 1993), 8–9; Li Guo, ″Mamluk Historiographic Studies: the State of Art,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1977): 21; Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ʻIzz al-Dīn, *ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī Muʼarrikhan* (Beirut, 1410/1990).

[3]MS 2403 tārīkh Taymūr is bound in four volumes. In this version Vatican Arabo 728 was arranged chronologically from fol. 1r to fol. 19v, and fol. 48r to fol. 66r (the end of Vatican Arabo 728), and then fols. 20r to 47v (there is a missing part between fol. 39v and fol. 40r), and re-paginated. In this article, the folio number is quoted from Vatican Arabo 728.

[4]Vatican Arabo 728 consists of a chronicle and a part of the biographies of 844, a part of a chronicle and biographies of 845, a part of a chronicle of 846, a chronicle and biographies of 848, a chronicle and part of the biographies of 849, and a chronicle and part of the biographies of 850.

The two-volume manuscript is unique, and assumed to have been written during the period between 887 and 890.[5]

‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ made notes in the margin of another manuscript, the ″Inbā’ al-Ghumr bi-Anbā’ al-‘Umr,″ Topkapı Sarayi Müzesi kütüphanesi MS Ahmet III 2941/2, the famous chronicle written by Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī (hereafter referred to as Inbā’[T]). The notes in the margins of the first volume, MS Ahmet III 2941/1, are quoted in the annotations of the edition published in Damascus, but they have not been studied in detail.[6] The catalog of manuscripts preserved in the Topkapı Library shows that this manuscript was written in 880/1475 and that it ends in the year 849.[7] In fact, the final folio (198r) of Inbā’(T) has more information added at the end. While two other editions—the Cairo edition and the Hyderabad edition—end in the chronicle section in Muḥarram of the year 850,[8] Inbā’(T) has three added lines that give an account of Monday, 12 Rabī‘ I 850, as well as some concluding sentences. Then, biographies of five people who died in that year are

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However, Vatican Arabo 729 ends with the biographies of 874, and in this part at least one folio between a biography of Yashbak min Ḥaydar al-Ashrafī and a biography of the historian Yūsuf ibn Taghrībirdī is missing.

5‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ wrote about a person in fol. 48v of Vatican Arabo 728: ″I will write about the man who died in (8)87, the year I started writing this book;″ cf. al-Rawḍ, fols. 18v, 52r. In fol. 260r, the final folio of Vatican Arabo 729, there is the sentence ″I finished writing the second volume on Monday 18 Rabī‘ I 890,″ although ″the second volume″ is written in red and is unclear. After this sentence though, there is writing that indicates the year 895, but the meaning is uncertain. (Brunschvig, *Deux recits,* 10, does not mention this writing.)

6Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr bi-Anbā’ al-‘Umr,* ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān, vol. 1 (Damascus, 1399/1979).

7F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu* (Istanbul, 1966), 3:391.

8Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr bi-Anbā’ al-‘Umr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1969–98), hereafter referred to as *Inbā’(C);* Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr bi-Anbā’ al-‘Umr fī al-Tārīkh* (Hyderabad, 1967–76; repr. Beirut, 1406/1986), hereafter referred to as *Inbā’(Ḥ).* The manuscripts that were the basis of these two editions are as follows: *Inbā’(Ḥ)* was edited by using the manuscript in al-Maktabah al-Sa‘īdīyah Library in Hyderabad as the main text, and comparing it with the manuscript in the Egyptian National Library and two manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, although the numbers of these manuscripts are not quoted. *Inbā’(C)* was edited using al-Maktabah al-Ẓāhirīyah MS 231 tārīkh as the main text, comparing it with seven additional manuscripts: (1) Maktabat al-Azhar MS 710 tārīkh (2) MS Ahmet III 2942/1 (3) Bibliothèque nationale MS 1601 (4) al-Maktabah al-Sa‘īdīyah MS 94 tārīkh (5) a manuscript in Medina, MS 523 Madīnah (6) a manuscript in Ṣan‘ā’ of which a microfilm copy is in the Egyptian National Library (7) British Museum MS 1601. Manuscripts (3), (4), and (6) are thought to be used for both editions. The second volume of the manuscript (2), MS Ahmet III 2942/2, is not used. According to Dr. Ḥasan Ḥabashī, an editor of the Cairo edition, *Inbā’(C),* manuscript (4) includes notes by al-Biqā‘ī, while the editor of the Hyderabad edition, *Inbā’(Ḥ),* did not identify the author of these notes but noted the differences in the texts of the manuscripts in his footnotes.

given, followed by additional concluding remarks. At the very end, there is a sentence which states that this is the end of the second volume, with the date Tuesday, 6 Rabīʿ II 886. This is 34 years after the author, Ibn Ḥajar, passed away and one year before ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ began to compose al-Rawḍ. A variety of notes are found in the margins of the manuscript Inbā'(T), some of which are signed ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī. Other notes are not signed and seem to have been written by different people. A careful comparison between these notes in the margins of Inbā'(T) and the text of al-Rawḍ provides a clear insight into ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ's writing process. (The part on which this article is based is from fol. 192r to fol. 194v of al-Inbā'[T].)

The Purpose and Method of Writing al-Rawḍ

At the beginning of al-Rawḍ, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ wrote:

> I started writing this history with a description of the year 844, the year I was born. This is to accurately depict the chronicle sections *(al-ḥawādith al-mutajaddidāt)* and the obituary sections of people who died in the same year *(al-wafayāt)*. I decided to describe daily events, noteworthy happenings, and biographies *(tarājim)* of famous people in this era and obituaries *(wafayāt)* in detail. I sometimes deviate from the main topics, especially in biographies or appointments to offices or other accounts, and I tell life stories and careers of famous living people. I tried not to treat anything lightly but tried to describe their biographical information carefully in detail. I also made some notes *(taʿlīq)* with red ink in the margins *(hāmish)* which show the contents of biographies and obituaries in order for people who want to know the details to find corresponding accounts easily. I instructed scribes of this book not to forget to write these notes for easy searching of information.
>
> We hope that this history book will be a continuation *(dhayl)* to the great useful famous history books written before: the two great history books by Chief Qadi Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī, a history book by Shaykh al-Islām Ḥāfiẓ al-ʿAṣr Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, a history book by al-Taqī al-Maqrīzī, and many other great history books written by many masters. Although I am hoping that this book will be a continuation to the aforementioned historical books, I think it is appropriate for me to cover the same several years that have already been covered in those books. In my book I added useful information to the narratives in these overlapping years. When this method was carried out and complete and this book came to fruition,

> I named this book ″Al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim fī Ḥawādith al-ʻUmr wa-al-Tarājim.″
>
> In this book I tried to include information which has been transmitted by reliable masters, events that I myself witnessed, and detailed accounts of transmitted information that are worthy of belief. God—praise to Him—please help me to accomplish my purpose. Almighty God, please lead me to use appropriate language, not to defame people, not to hold prejudiced views, and not to misunderstand matters. Please also help make me [by writing this book] entitle all the appropriate people with appropriate rights, bring prestige to appropriate people, and lead us away from vices committed by people who led shameful lives. These are the purposes of my writing this book. (al-Rawḍ, fols. 1v–2r)

In the statement above, ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ named master historians whose examples he followed. His explanation of why he started his book in the year he was born and why his book should be a continuation *(dhayl)* to past history books is especially influenced by Ibn Ḥajar, who had started his book from the year 773, the year he was born.[9]

The method described in this preface can be found strictly observed throughout his work. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ quoted details of daily events from previous historians, whose names he mentions. When he did not mention his sources by name, he began his quotations with ″one man wrote,″ mostly specifying where they were from. As he wrote in the preface, some chronicle sections contain events that he witnessed himself, information that he heard from his acquaintances, and biographical information of people related to these events. Similar to other history books written in the same era, he tried to organize the chronicle by month, date, and day of the week.

Following the chronicle sections, the biographies of people who died in the year are recorded alphabetically according to their *ism,* which is written in red. In some cases, he added the titles of offices and various pieces of information about living sons and grandchildren of the individuals mentioned in these sections. Because he began his work from the year he was born, he had personal contacts with individuals who were contemporaries with, and had direct knowledge about, his subjects. One of the characteristics of his writing is, as explained in the

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[9] *Inba'(C),* 1:3–5. See Caesar E. Farah, *The Dhayl in Medieval Arabic Historiography* (New Haven, 1967) on the category of *dhayl,* and Wadad al-Qadi, ″Biographical Dictionaries: Inner Structure and Cultural Significance,″ in *The Book in the Islamic World,* ed. G. N. Atiyeh (Albany, 1995), 93–122, on the changes in the content of biographical information in the field of biography studies.

preface, that in both the chronicle and the biography section, notes and personal names are indicated in red in the margins.

Another characteristic is that he added aspects of his own personal history to some narratives.[10] In a chronicle section, he described his journey to the Maghrib and al-Andalus among other events, which were also arranged by dates.

ANALYSIS OF THE DESCRIPTIONS OF THE YEAR 848

A reliable method by which to analyze the process of al-Rawḍ′s composition would be to compare descriptions in al-Rawḍ and those in Ibn Ḥajar′s history, especially before and after 850, with other historical sources written in the same era, such as al-Sakhāwī′s book. This article deals with the year 848 for two reasons: first, only the description of the year 848 has a complete chronicle section and obituary section for the whole year. Second, I hope to establish a model for ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ′s process for treating events before 850. Many important events occurred in 848, which had significant historical consequences. In addition, Ibn Ḥajar, al-Sakhāwī, and ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ himself all went through several important personal experiences in that year. The descriptions of the year 848 start at 20r and end at 31r in the manuscript of al-Rawḍ.[11]

I have compared the chronicle section of al-Rawḍ with the following sources: accounts in Ibn Ḥajar′s *Inbāʼ,* which ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ hoped to continue (the two editions published in Hyderabad and Cairo, *Inbāʼ(Ḥ)* and *Inbāʼ(C),* and the Topkapı manuscript Inbāʼ[T]), and notes in the margins of Inbāʼ(T), most of which were signed by ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ himself at the end; accounts in Ibn Taghrībirdī′s *Al-Nujūm* and *Ḥawādith;* accounts in al-ʻAynī′s *ʻIqd;* accounts in *Nuzhah* by Ibn Dāwūd al-Ṣayrafī; accounts in *Al-Tibr* by al-Sakhāwī; and accounts in *Badāʼiʻ* by Ibn Iyās.[12]

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[10]Cf. Otfried Weintritt, ″Concepts of History as Reflected in Arabic Historiographical Writing in Ottoman Syria and Egypt (1517–1700),″ in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 188–204; *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition,* ed. Dwight F. Reynolds (Berkeley, 2001), 80–82, 241.

[11]In the margin above the main text of 20r, there is a note reading, ″And al-Sirāj ibn al-Mulaqqan″ in handwriting different from that of the main text. This seems to be a catchword indicating that this part is followed by 19v. If we consider the contents of 19v, however, which are biographies for the year 844, 19v cannot follow 20r; cf. above, n. 3.

[12]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963–72), hereafter referred to as *Al-Nujūm;* idem, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ʻIzz al-Dīn (Beirut, 1410/1990), hereafter referred to as *Ḥawādith;* idem, *Al-Dalīl al-Shāfī ʻalá al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Mecca, 1399/1979; repr. Cairo, 1998), hereafter referred to as *Al-Dalīl*; idem, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʻda al-Wāfī,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo,1985–2002), hereafter referred to as *Al-Manhal;* al-ʻAynī,

The analysis of information gained from these sources indicates how ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ crafted his own work. He first added notes in the margins of Inbā'(T) based on the accounts from *Al-Nujūm, Ḥawādith,* and al-ʻAynī's *ʻIqd,* and also added original information he obtained himself, before beginning to write al-Rawḍ. It seems that *Nuzhah* and *Al-Tibr* were being written around the same time. I will also analyze how the information by ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ was transmitted to *Badā'iʻ*.

I will discuss several events that happened in the year 848 to illustrate characteristics of ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ's writing process. This year started with an epidemic which had begun the previous year. In al-Rawḍ, ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ wrote,

> The *dīwān al-mawārīth al-ḥashrīyah* reported 120 people died per day in Cairo, but it was said that 200 more people died and these numbers were not reported to the *dīwān.* I personally think that there were more deaths because many of the dead people were children and slaves and the *dīwān* did not know the conditions of most children or slaves. This means that 300 or 400 people died. The situation grew worse and after the pilgrims returned [from Mecca] at the end of this month, many children and slaves in the caravan died of the epidemic. 1000 people died in one day.[13]

From this account, we can tell that ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ used a brief description from the *Inbā'* and referred to *Al-Nujūm, ʻIqd,* and other materials for additional information.[14]

At that time Ibn Ḥajar, author of *Inbā',* was Shafiʻi chief qadi. In his own book, he recounts that he became sick. The same description can be found also in al-Rawḍ and *Al-Tibr*. Ibn Ḥajar wrote about the epidemic in a book completed in that year.[15] According to many accounts, he started working actively again after he

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ʻIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān, ed. ʻAbd al-Rāziq al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Qarmūṭ (Cairo, 1406–9/1985–89), hereafter referred to as *ʻIqd ;* Ibn Dāwūd al-Sayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970–94), hereafter referred to as *Nuzhah;* Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayr al-Sulūk* (Būlāq, 1896; repr. Cairo, 1974), hereafter referred to as *Al-Tibr;* idem, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʻ fī Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʻ,* ed Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Qudsī (Cairo, 1353–55/1934–36; repr. Beirut, n.d.), hereafter referred to as *Al-Ḍaw';* idem, *Al-Dhayl al-Tāmm ʻalá Duwal al-Islām lil-Dhahabī,* vol. 1, ed. Maḥmūd al-Arnā'ūṭ et al. (Beirut and Kuwait, 1992); idem, *Wajīz al-Kalām fī al-Dhayl ʻalá Duwal al-Islām,* ed. Bashshār ʻAwwād Maʻrūf et al. (Beirut, 1416/1995), hereafter referred to as *Wajīz*.

[13]See Michael W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977), 169–85, for mortality figures.

[14]*Inbā'(Ḥ),* 9:219–20; *Inbā'(C),* 4:224; *Al-Nujūm,* 15:359; *ʻIqd,* 619.

[15]Franz Rosenthal, "Ibn Ḥadjar al-ʻAsḳalānī," *EI*^{2}, 3:776–78; *Al-Tibr,* 87; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Badhl al-Māʻūn fī Faḍl al-Ṭāʻūn,* ed. Ibrāhīm Kīlānī Muḥammad Khalīfah (Ṣanʻā' and Beirut, 1413/1993), 231; *Al-Tibr,* 87.

recovered from the disease. In al-Rawḍ, there is another interesting account that Ibn Ḥajar attempted to obtain the release of ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ′s father Khalīl when he was arrested and put in prison. However, neither *Inbā'* nor *Al-Tibr* record this incident, so it is not clear whether it is true or not. Al-Sakhāwī only wrote that Khalīl was dismissed from office and expelled on 4 Rabīʻ II. He did not mention the attempt to release him, despite the fact that in *Al-Tibr* he remarked on other personal affairs such as his marriage to a merchant′s daughter on 8 Rabīʻ II in the presence of his teacher, Ibn Ḥajar.[16]

Regarding the Mamluk expeditionary force sent to Rhodes, al-Rawḍ has more detailed descriptions than any other historical work. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ first wrote that *Inbā'* claims 22 Muḥarram as the date of departure of the expeditionary vessels, but that this was a misunderstanding *(wahm)* by his teacher Ibn Ḥajar, and the real month of departure was Rabīʻ I. Al-Sakhāwī referred to the date of the expedition based on *Inbā'* while al-Rawḍ is based on Ibn Taghrībirdī′s accounts.[17] The information about this expedition seems to have been gathered from the letters of Burhān al-Dīn al-Biqāʻī, a historian who joined the expeditionary force.[18] The descriptions of the battles are very lively compared to other histories.

This expedition was planned following the success of the expedition the previous year to the small island of Qashtīl (Castellorizzo) located east of Rhodes. After the expedition force arrived in Rhodes in August, 1444, they besieged the fortress in vain for 40 days. This failure led to the conclusion of a peace treaty the following year, ending Mamluk attempts to expand their military power to Rhodes.[19]

ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ wrote vividly about the arrival in Cairo of a delegation from the Timurid ruler Shāh Rukh between Shaʻbān and Ramaḍān of 848. They had an audience with Sultan Jaqmaq in the citadel and presented him with the *kiswah.* When this was revealed, mamluks and citizens were roused to anger. The delegation was attacked and their lodging house was looted. Al-Sakhāwī wrote in *Al-Tibr* that a famous qadi accompanied this delegation and that he was present when Ibn Ḥajar gave this qadi an *ijāzah,* but in *Inbā'* Ibn Ḥajar did not mention this audience at all. In the margin of Inbā'(T), ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ wrote of the approval the sultan

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[16] *Al-Tibr,* 93.

[17] *Al-Tibr,* 87; *Al-Nujūm,* 15:360–63; *Ḥawādith,* 1:104.

[18] *Inbā'(Ḥ),* 9:223–24; *Inbā'(C),* 4:226–27. Dr. Ḥasan Ḥabashī quotes al-Biqāʻī′s private notes in the footnotes of his edition, which shows that he did not consider them part of the main text of *Inbā'*. However, since the editor of *Inbā'(Ḥ)* did not recognize that these notes were written by al-Biqāʻī, they are included in the main text.

[19] Ettore Rossi, ″The Hospitallers at Rhodes, 1421–1523,″ in *A History of the Crusades,* ed. H. W. Hazard (Madison, 1975), 3:319–20; Hassanein Rabie, ″Mamluk Campaigns Against Rhodes (1440–1444),″ in *The Islamic World,* ed. Clifford Edmund Bosworth et al. (Princeton, 1989), 281–86.

had given the previous year, which was quoted from *Al-Nujūm.* In al-Rawḍ, he also added that the sultan was enraged and chastised the viceregent (*walī al-salṭanah* [sic]). This information was gathered from a witness who happened to be there.[20]

In *Inbā'*, there is no description of the campaign to Varna (10 November 1444), in which Murad II defeated the Hungarian and Slavic army. The note in the margin of Inbā'(T) is quoted exactly from *Al-Nujūm.*[21] It was written in al-Rawḍ that a delegate of al-Malik Murād ibn 'Uthmān, who was the ruler *(mutamallik)* of Adrianople (Edirne), Bursa, and the land of Rum behind Adrianople and Bursa, arrived and was said to have defeated the *Banū al-Aṣfar* known as al-Anukrus (Hungarians). It was also written in al-Rawḍ that the sending of prisoners would be described later, but no description of their arrival in Dhū al-Ḥijjah is found.[22] Other historical sources, however, have descriptions of the arrival of many gifts and prisoners that the Ottomans sent to flaunt their power.[23] The Ottomans sent many gifts and prisoners to the Aqquyunlu and the Timurids. This campaign was considered the first move toward the conquest of Constantinople (857/1453).[24] This battle as well as the failure of the Rhodes expedition had a great impact on the future of the Mamluks.

There is no mention in *Inbā'* about the above-mentioned events, except a simple description of the expedition to Rhodes. 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ gathered new information related to these events, added it in the margin of Inbā'(T), and arranged it in al-Rawḍ. Toward the end of *Inbā'*, we find only short and simple descriptions.

Notes written in the margins of Inbā'(T) tell us that 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ gathered information from either *Al-Nujūm, Ḥawādith,* or *'Iqd*. In the descriptions of the appointments and dismissals of government officials, the content and order of sentences are exactly the same as in *Al-Nujūm*, but they are not attributed to *Al-Nujūm.* On the other hand, information quoted from *'Iqd* is followed by the phrase ″as al-'Aynī wrote.″[25] Quotations are found throughout the period from Ṣafar to the end of the year, but more quotations are made in the months after

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[20]*Al-Tibr,* 96; *Al-Nujūm,* 15:364.

[21]*Al-Nujūm,* 15:366.

[22]The details of this campaign were described in the account of the conversion to Islam of the prisoners who were sent to Cairo in early Muḥarram of the next year, 849. (al-Rawḍ, fols. 31r–32v); Ibn Iyās also briefly mentioned the prisoners′ conversion in the same month. See *Badā'i',* 2:247.

[23]*Ḥawādith,* 1:112; *'Iqd,* 2:631–32; *Nuzhah,* 4:311–12; *Al-Tibr,* 98–99.

[24]Deno J. Geanakoplos, ″Byzantium and the Crusades, 1354–1453,″ in *A History of the Crusades,* ed. Hazard, 3:96–97; Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300–1481* (Istanbul, 1990), 129–36.

[25]The same method of quotation is also used in al-Rawḍ. When raising objections, 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ sometimes mentions Ibn Taghrībirdī by name. Other times he simply writes, ″someone says the following.″

Ramaḍān.[26] Since the main text of fol. 193v of Inbā'(T) is about the events which happened in Dhū al-Ḥijjah, the text of fol. 193r is filled with information about events before Dhū al-Ḥijjah, actually leaving no blank space. And this may be the reason why accounts of happenings after Ramaḍān are dated only as ″the same day,″ ″the same month,″ or ″the same year.″ This careless dating method seems to be one of the causes for mistakes in al-Rawḍ when quoting information from the margins of Inbā'(T).

Comparing the notes in the margins of Inbā'(T) with al-Rawḍ, it is clear that ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ tried to fix the exact dates of incidents to avoid mistakes by using phrases such as ″in the same month, that is, [the name of the month].″ Some accounts in the margins of Inbā'(T) cannot be found in the corresponding parts of al-Rawḍ, which means that these accounts might have been left out or moved to other places in al-Rawḍ. For example, the biographies of individuals found in the margins of the chronological section of Inbā'(T) were moved to the obituary sections of the years of their deaths.

The dates of all the events after Rajab 848 in al-Rawḍ, with only one exception, match exactly with other historical sources. The only exception is the campaign against the Bedouins of al-Buḥayrah. In the margin of Inbā'(T), ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ wrote that this happened on 16 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, but in al-Rawḍ, the date given is the 26th. This is probably due to a slip of the pen while writing the Arabic numeral.

There are great differences between al-Rawḍ and other historical sources, however, in their descriptions of the three months of Rabīʻ II, Jumādá I, and Jumādá II. Ibn Taghrībirdī included no event for Jumādá I and Jumādá II, noting that nothing worth mentioning happened in these months.[27] In al-Rawḍ, on the other hand, ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ described the details of his father Khalīl′s dismissal and arrest, a very important event in ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ′s life.

As will be shown below, it seems that many accounts of events which occurred in Rabīʻ II were dated after Jumādá I. I now will analyze the descriptions of these dating differences.

First, the date of the Nile inundation is given as Tuesday, 9 Rabīʻ II in *Inbā'(Ḥ),* but both in *Inbā'(C)* and in the main text of Inbā'(T), it is written as Tuesday, 19. In al-Rawḍ, however, the date is 19 Jumādá II. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ always wrote notes in the margins when he had to add new information to the main text of Inbā'(T). However, he did not write a note for a change of the month for this entry. This means that the date of the Nile inundation in al-Rawḍ should have been Tuesday, 19 Rabīʻ II. It is likely, therefore, that probably he or his scribe

[26]The notes in Inbā'(T), fol. 193r are the quotations from *Al-Nujūm,* 15:363–67.

[27]*Ḥawādith,* 1:107.

made a mistake in writing and misdated it as 19 Jumādá II. *Badā'i'* also has this event misdated as Jumādá II, which indicates that this date in *Badā'i'* was taken from al-Rawḍ.[28]

Next, there are two accounts that were written by 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ himself in the margin of Inbā'(T). The first account is the appointment and dismissal of the *nā'ib* of the Damascus citadel. The second account is the appointment and dismissal of the *nā'ib* of Malaṭīyah, which is thought to have resulted in the incident related to his father Khalīl. Both the appointments and dismissals are dated 3 Rabī' II. But in al-Rawḍ he dated them in Jumādá I and Jumādá II.

The date of these two accounts can be analyzed by considering his style in other parts of his book. When 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ changed the date or contents of the notes in the margins of Inbā'(T), he wrote special notices in al-Rawḍ. The description of how the fleet departed for Rhodes from the port of Alexandria is one example. This account is not found in the main text of *Inbā'*. However, in the margin 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ included this account under 16 Rabī' I. In al-Rawḍ 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ dated this departure 17 Rabī' I and began his description by saying that ″on Saturday, 17, which Ibn Taghrībirdī wrote as 16.″[29] This shows clearly that 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ at first gathered information from Ibn Taghrībirdī′s description and corrected the date when he wrote al-Rawḍ.

The description of the appointment and dismissal of the *nā'ib* of the Damascus citadel can be analyzed in the same way. In al-Rawḍ he wrote ″On Monday, 2 Jumādá I, which a man miswrote as 3.″ The man he was referring to was Ibn Taghrībirdī. 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, therefore, corrected this date from 3 to 2. Ibn Taghrībirdī included the description of this incident under the date 3 Rabī' II. He also wrote the description of the appointment and dismissal of the *nā'ib* of Malaṭīyah under the same day.[30] The next problem is the difference of the month between 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ′s account and the accounts of Ibn Taghrībirdī and other historians. That is, when did the incident happen, in Rabī' II or Jumādá I?

In his *Nayl,* 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ organized the events and obituaries according to month, and did not write dates and days of the week. Although the dating is sometimes obscure, the date for the appointment and dismissal of the *nā'ib* of Damascus is clearly written as Rabī' II.[31] The fact that he gave the exact date of this incident, therefore, means that he changed it from 3 Rabī' II to 2 Rabī' II.

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[28] *Inbā' (Ḥ),* 9:222–23; *Inbā' (C),* 4:226; Inbā'(T), fol. 192v. It seems that it was forgotten, and *'asharah* (10) was written between the lines above 9; *Badā'i',* 2:242.

[29] *Al-Nujūm,* 15:360.

[30] Ibid., 363; *Ḥawādith,* 1:105; cf. *Al-Tibr,* 90.

[31] 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal,* ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmūrī (Beirut and Sidon, 2002), 5:188 (hereafter referred to as *Nayl[T]*).

The descriptions of the appointment and dismissal of the *nā'ib* of Malaṭīyah and the *atābak* of Aleppo are found under 3 Rabīʻ II *(Nujūm, Ḥawādith, Nuzhah)* or 4 Rabīʻ II *(ʻIqd, Al-Tibr)*.[32] These accounts are not found in the main texts of Inbā'(T), *Inbā'(C)* or *Inbā'(Ḥ)*. In the margin of Inbā'(T), ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ dated these two incidents as 3 Rabīʻ II. He also added about his father Khalīl, the former *atābak* of Aleppo, that ″my father was put in prison without any reason.″

But in al-Rawḍ he did not include these three accounts under Rabīʻ II, although he recorded them under 2 Jumādá II and added that Qānbāy al-Ḥamzāwī, a *nā'ib* of Aleppo, slandered Khalīl and made allegations to the sultan, resulting in his dismissal as *atābak* of Aleppo and his imprisonment in the jail of the citadel.[33] In his *Nayl* ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ gives short accounts of the same appointment and dismissal, as well as his father′s arrest, under Jumādá II. *Badā'iʻ* includes the account of this appointment and dismissal only under Jumādá II, without mentioning the former *atābak* of Aleppo, Khalīl. Therefore, it can be presumed that Ibn Iyās, author of *Badā'iʻ,* got his information from al-Rawḍ.[34]

These analyses prove that the three accounts of appointment and dismissal of the *nā'ib* of the Damascus citadel, the *nā'ib* of Malaṭīyah, and the *atābak* of Aleppo in Rabīʻ II were divided into an account under Jumādá I and two accounts in Jumādá II in al-Rawḍ. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ added the incident involving his father under Jumādá II.

There are some indications of how ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ gathered information for his book and how these incidents related to his own life. Ibn Ḥajar was dismissed from the chief judgeship in Rabīʻ II. Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū al-Barakāt al-Haythamī,[35] a Shafiʻi deputy judge *(nā'ib),* approved the matter. The sultan, however, was dubious about his decision, and summoned witnesses who were involved in the case. These witnesses were astonished that they were summoned, and changed their testimony. The sultan, therefore, decided to punish the deputy judge, and put him in prison. Because he was Ibn Ḥajar′s deputy judge, Ibn Ḥajar was ordered to stay in his house, which was tantamount to dismissal from office. Ibn Ḥajar was later given an opportunity to plead his case. After listening to his plea, the sultan made him promise that the number of deputy judges would not exceed ten, and reinstated him. This case was closed when the sultan also reinstated the deputy judge after a recommendation from Ibn Ḥajar. The detailed descriptions of this

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[32]*Al-Nujūm,* 15:365; *Ḥawādith,* 1:106; *ʻIqd,* 623; *Nuzhah,* 4:302; *Al-Tibr,* 93.

[33]Regarding this incident, Dr. ʻUmar ʻAbd al-Salām Tadmūrī indicates a different reason in another source in *Nayl(T),* 1:14–15.

[34]Ibid., 5:190; *Bada'iʻ,* 2:242.

[35]Only *Nayl(T),* 5:187, and *Badā'iʻ,* 2:242, referred to this person as Shams al-Dīn Abū al-Barakāt al-Haythamī.

incident and the punishment of the deputy judge are not found in Ibn Ḥajar′s *Inbā' (Ḥ)* and *Inbā' (C)*.[36] In the margin of Inbā'(T), however, ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ quoted sentences from ʻ*Iqd,* which mention al-ʻAynī′s name, and wrote about the penalty that the sultan imposed on the deputy judge, i.e., to remove his turban and walk to the citadel gate to be handed over to the chief of police *(wālī al-shurṭah)* and enter the felony prison.[37] ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ continued with the quotation of a related account and then his own comment in the margin: as someone who served the sultan, ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ added how much the sultan was enraged. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ ended with a comment that al-ʻAynī described this incident well. This is an example of his attitude toward his writing: he contacted witnesses and confirmed information. In al-Rawḍ, however, the information from the witness and his own comment on this incident are not included.

How the sultan issued and retracted his order is interesting. The order to keep Ibn Ḥajar confined to his house was conveyed by one of the sultan′s mamluks *(khāṣṣakīyat al-sulṭān)* of the executive secretary′s assistants *(al-dawādārīyah al-ṣighār)*. Then, Shams al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Rūmī, an attendant *(jalīs)* who also served the sultan, visited Ibn Ḥajar and told him how sorry the sultan felt about his dismissal, and ordered him to visit the sultan early the next morning.[38] This attendant, according to the notes in the margin of Inbā'(T), served Sultan al-Ẓāhir Ṭaṭar before his enthronement and also served Sultan Jaqmaq. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ wrote that he was not very knowledgeable but was a very good negotiator. He also wrote that the man was well acquainted with his father, depicting him favorably.

Descriptions of the following incident are found in all the sources referred to in this article, with the exception of Ibn Taghrībirdī′s books. The detailed descriptions are found only in *Nuzhah.* According to its author, Ibn Dāwūd al-Sayrafī, this incident happened when a rich man died and left a large inheritance to his heirs. Since his children were young, the matter was brought before a Shafiʻi deputy judge. This judge approved the request for a bride price *(ṣadāq)* to one of the wives of the deceased. One of the trustees of the will raised an objection and petitioned the sultan for a ruling. Ibn Dāwūd al-Sayrafī remarked on how strange it was that this deputy judge did not resign his office even though he was said to be rich, earning 600 dirhams a day.[39]

At the end of this year, the sultan heard a rumor about al-Furriyānī (or al-Ghurriyānī), a self-proclaimed Mahdi, and sent a letter to the *nā'ib* of Jerusalem

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[36]*Inbā' (Ḥ),* 9:221–22; *Inbā' (C),* 4:225–26.

[37]ʻ*Iqd,* 2:622.

[38]*Nuzhah,* 4:300–1 has a different explanation: after the incident, Ibn Ḥajar resigned on his own, and when the sultan heard about the resignation he despatched al-Rūmī.

[39]Ibid.

ordering him to bring this man to Cairo. He was supported by the Bedouins of Jibāl Nābulus (Jabal Ḥumaydah). He presented himself to the *nā'ib,* after which he stopped his activity and was not brought to Cairo, thus ending the matter. This man was born in Tunis in 780 and later stayed in Cairo, where he provided al-Maqrīzī with some information about the Maghrib. He was, therefore, mentioned in many sources.[40] *Inbā'(Ḥ), Inbā'(C),* and *Al-Tibr* describe his stay in Cairo before going to Jibāl Nābulus.[41] However, the notes in the margins of Inbā'(T) continue the story of this man′s life after he stopped his activities. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ quoted the same stories from these notes in al-Rawḍ. According to these descriptions, this man moved between Damascus and Tripoli, and in Tripoli always stayed at the house of Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsá ibn Yūsuf,[42] an army inspector *(nāẓir al-jaysh),* who treated him kindly. Many of his books were stored in this house. It is also mentioned that he died in Latakia in 862.[43] The reason why ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ was able to obtain such details is that his father Khalīl was living in Tripoli with his family when he was an amir of twenty. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ was 18 years old and probably remembered stories of this man vividly. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ added in al-Rawḍ that this man knew a great deal about the Mahdist movement of ʻUbayd Allāh and Muḥammad ibn Tūmārt in the Maghrib.

Adding a bit of his own family history, ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ wrote that the sultan had the exchequer give his father Khalīl Madīnat Qāqūn as *iqṭāʻ* and the village named Yaṭṭah bi-Murabbaʻah (?) as *rizqah* to compensate him after being falsely accused and imprisoned. The family later sold these lands at a comparatively low price of 1,000 dinars, though the annual profit was about 800 dinars at the time. In the year 848 ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ was four years old. There is a note in the margin of Inbā'(T) that he was stabbed in the chest this year, but this description is not included in al-Rawḍ. He probably considered this incident too personal.

Next I will analyze the obituary section (biographies) of nineteen people listed in al-Rawḍ. Among historical sources, al-Sakhāwī′s *Al-Tibr* included the largest number of people (thirty-six people) in the obituaries. It is written in *Inbā'* and in

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[40]*Al-Ḍaw',* 7:67–70; *Al-Dalīl,* 2:600; *Al-Manhal,* 9:308–9.

[41]*Inbā'(Ḥ),* 9:226–28; *Inbā'(C),* 4:228–29; *Al-Tibr,* 102–3.

[42]According to *Al-Ḍaw',* 10:192, he came from a Christian family in al-Shawbak and was an army inspector in Tripoli. The relationship with this person is not mentioned; *Al-Tibr,* 422. For his death in 862, see ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ, ″Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal,″ Bodleian Library MS Hunt 610, fols. 121r–v (hereafter referred t as *Nayl*); *Nayl(T)*, 6:41; *Al-Dalīl,* 2:754; *Wajīz,* 2:714.

[43]Al-Rawḍ, fol. 26r. On the other hand, it is written in *Nayl,* fol. 56r, that this man died in Bilād Ṭarābulus after 860. In *Nayl(T)*, 5:198–99, the name of this man involved in the incident of the year 848 appears as al-Ghurriyānī. In the later part of *Nayl(T)*, 6:32, there is an obituary of the man named al-Furriyānī in the year 862 without mentioning of the place of his death. There is no indication of any connection between these two similar names.

al-Rawḍ that four more people died or were said to have died this year. If these four were added, the total would have been forty (cf. the Appendix).

First, in analyzing how ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ composed his biographies, I will compare al-Rawḍ with two editions of *Inbā'*, namely *Inbā'(Ḥ)* and *Inbā'(C),* and the main text and notes in the margins of Inbā'(T). I would also like to discuss the characteristics of two editions of *Inbā'* and their problems.

Inbā' itself does not contain much information in the obituary section. The main text of Inbā'(T) includes the obituaries of only three people. *Inbā'(Ḥ)* includes accounts of only six people. *Inbā'(C)* has accounts of ten people, among whom nine died in the year 848. About the manuscript of *Inbā'* which includes notes by al-Biqāʻī, Dr. Ḥasan Ḥabashī, the editor of *Inbā'(C),* says that there are biographies of only four people. He included all the names found in eight manuscripts that he used to edit this book and explained the differences among these eight manuscripts in the footnotes. This example can be found in the obituary of Abū Bakr ibn Isḥāq in *Inbā'(C)*. Other historical sources date this man's death to 847. *Inbā'(C)* itself gives his obituary under 847. But in one manuscript his death was dated 848, so the editor of *Inbā'(C)* quoted this in the main text and explained the details in the footnote. *Inbā'(Ḥ)* annotated these differences in the footnotes for 847. These footnotes of the two editions reveal the relationships among the manuscripts of *Inbā'* and provide useful clues as to how this information is related to the composition of al-Rawḍ.[44]

In comparing Inbā'(T) and al-Rawḍ and analyzing how ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ composed the obituary section, the entry for Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad that appears in the first part of the obituary section of al-Rawḍ proves that Inbā'(T) was the book that ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ read and relied upon for his description.[45] In al-Rawḍ, ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ wrote, "Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm, while Ibn Ḥajar inadvertently miswrote *(sahá)* Aḥmad ibn Ismāʻīl." Neither *Inbā'(Ḥ)* nor *Inbā'(C)* has this description.[46] According to the footnotes of these two editions, there is no manuscript which contains the name Aḥmad ibn Ismāʻīl. Inbā'(T), however, has exactly the same sentence in its main text. This means the signature "ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī" in the margins of this manuscript was written by ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī himself. This man, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm, was a Maliki qadi and the older student of Ibn Ḥajar. His life is described in detail by al-Sakhāwī in *Al-Tibr* and *Al-Ḍaw'*.[47] In al-Rawḍ, ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ consulted an acquaintance of this person and corrected his birthdate in al-Sakhāwī's book.

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[44]*Inbā'(C),* 4:230; ibid., 218; *Inbā'(Ḥ),* 9:215.

[45]Al-Rawḍ, fol. 26r; Inbā'(T), fol. 193v.

[46]*Inbā'(Ḥ),* 9:239–40; *Inbā'(C),* 4:240.

[47]*Al-Tibr,* 106–7; *Al-Ḍaw',* 2:69–70.

The nineteen obituaries for the year 848 in al-Rawḍ can be categorized into three groups. The first group includes the biographies that ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ seems to have gathered from al-Sakhāwī´s book. The above-mentioned Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad is an example of the entries in this group. In most cases he did not mention the sources of his information. According to its contents, and due to the fact that there is no other clue as to the ultimate source of this information, al-Sakhāwī´s book will for now be considered the source. There are ten biographies in this group.

The second group includes the biographies that ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ gathered from al-ʻAynī´s *ʻIqd* and from Ibn Taghrībirdī. He also added some information himself. There are seven biographies in this group.

The third group includes the biographies that ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ selected independently. There are two of these.

Six out of ten biographies in the first group did not appear in Inbāʼ(T) and until today the information can be traced only to al-Sakhāwī´s works. For example, the account of the Hanbali shaykh Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd Allāh can be found only in *Al-Tibr* and *Al-Ḍawʼ*.[48]

Three of the biographies in the first group are found in the unsigned notes in the margin of Inbāʼ(T). Two of them are found only in *Inbāʼ(C).*[49] They are the Shafiʻi shaykh Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān and Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī ibn Abī Bakr, a famous merchant in Syria. Their biographies appear in *Al-Tibr,* making it clear that this information was the basis of the unsigned notes in Inbāʼ(T).[50] Al-Rawḍ includes an anecdote about the famous Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī ibn Abī Bakr that ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ heard from a merchant in Tunis in 867 on his way to the Maghrib. It is also stated that ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ´s father was on good terms with this man when he and ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ were living in Damascus. The biographical account of the Shafiʻi shaykh Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyá Abū Zuhrah, who wrote many books, is not found in either *Inbāʼ(Ḥ)* or *Inbāʼ(C),* though *Al-Tibr* and *Al-Ḍawʼ* have detailed descriptions of the relationship between the teacher and student. Al-Sakhāwī also wrote that he met this man´s son ʻAbd al-Wahhāb in Tripoli.[51] ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ wrote in al-Rawḍ that he saw the book of this Muḥammad written in his own hand and attended lectures given by his son, ʻAbd al-Wahhāb, at a Tripoli mosque, when ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ´s family lived in that city from 862 until approximately 865. He also added a short biography of this son and quoted a verse of his poetry,

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[48] *Al-Tibr,* 112; *Al-Ḍawʼ,* 8:159.

[49] According to *Inbāʼ(C),* neither of them are in the manuscript that includes notes by al-Biqāʻī. Their names do not appear in *Inbāʼ(Ḥ)* either.

[50] *Al-Tibr,* 112, 112–13, respectively.

[51] Ibid., 113–14; *Al-Ḍawʼ,* 10:70–71.

information not found in the biography of this son in *Al-Tibr*.

In the second group, two obituaries clearly show the relationships between historical sources. The descriptions of ʻAbd al-Raḥīm ibn Abī Bakr (or ʻAlī) al-Ḥamawī Zayn al-Dīn, a famous preacher, appear in the main text of Inbāʼ(T) and in the signed notes in its margin. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ started his description in al-Rawḍ by writing:

> ʻAbd al-Raḥīm ibn Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī ibn Abī al-Fatḥ ibn al-Muwaffaq al-Ḥamawī al-Qādirī al-Qāhirī al-Shāfiʻī, al-Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn. Ibn Ḥajar inadvertently miswrote *(sahá)* ʻAlī for his father's name *(ism)* and Nāṣir al-Dīn for his honorific title *(laqab)*. Ibn Taghrībirdī miswrote *(wahama)* both the *ism* and *laqab* and wrote Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad.

In the main text of Inbāʼ(T), his father's *ism* was written as ʻAlī and his *laqab* as Nāṣir al-Dīn. Both *Inbāʼ(Ḥ)* and *Inbāʼ(C)* give his father's *ism* as ʻAlī and *laqab* as Zayn al-Dīn. This description in al-Rawḍ is evidence that it was Inbāʼ(T) that ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ himself read. In *Al-Nujūm* Ibn Taghrībirdī called this man Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad. *Al-Tibr* gives the name of this man's father as Abū Bakr, as does al-Rawḍ.[52] ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ, therefore, seems to have read the main text of Inbāʼ(T) first and examined the information in *Al-Nujūm* critically, referring to sources like *Al-Tibr,* before starting to write his book. He also made notes in the margin of Inbāʼ(T) about ʻAbd al-Raḥīm's son, Maḥmūd, and grandson, Ibrāhīm, who also acquired a good reputation. Their descriptions also appear in al-Rawḍ with slight differences in word order and composition.

A man named Muḥammad al-Ḥamawī appears in unsigned notes in the margin of Inbāʼ(T). These unsigned notes have two different styles. The first part of the notes gives a brief biography of this man. Then, a note in a different hand says that this is about this ʻAbd al-Raḥīm. ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ, therefore, concluded that this man was ʻAbd al-Raḥīm, who is described in the previous paragraph, and did not include him in al-Rawḍ. In *Inbāʼ(C),* there is a brief biography of Muḥammad al-Ḥamawī with an editor's footnote saying that this information was not found in the manuscript with notes by al-Biqāʻī.[53] In this footnote, the descriptions in *Al-Nujūm,* which are also referred to in the previous paragraph of this article, are quoted. In the main text of *Inbāʼ(C),* there is a description in parentheses saying "ʻAbd al-Raḥīm has previously been mentioned; his name was written already." The editor wrote in his footnote that this sentence did not make sense. However, I

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[52] *Inbāʼ(Ḥ),* 9:229; *Inbāʼ(C),* 4:231; *Al-Nujūm,* 15:506; *Al-Tibr,* 108–9.
[53] *Inbāʼ(C),* 4:231–32.

believe the biographical description under the name of Muḥammad al-Ḥamawī is the summary of a biography under the name of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm despite some differences. A difference between the two is the date of death: 2 Dhū al-Qa‘dah and Wednesday 3 Dhū al-Qa‘dah. *‘Iqd*, however, has the same death date of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm and even the same day of the week.[54] Thus I conclude that this was the same person. *Inbā’(Ḥ)* does not include a biography of this person. *Nuzhah* gives a description of him under the name Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Ḥamawī. This is probably because its author gathered information from both *‘Iqd* and *Al-Nujūm,* but included information primarily from *Al-Nujūm.*[55]

Another typical description of this second group is Fayrūz al-Ṭawāshī, a cupbearer *(sāqī)* of Sultan al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh. The description of this cupbearer is found in both an unsigned note and a signed note in the margin of Inbā’(T). The signed note is quoted from *‘Iqd*. These descriptions were arranged in al-Rawḍ in order to make its meaning clear. A part of *Al-Nujūm* is also quoted, prefaced by the phrase ″Someone says that.″[56]

The third group contains obituaries of two people. Neither of them are found in the main text or the margin of Inbā’(T), in *Inbā’(Ḥ),* or in *Inbā’(C)*. One is the Shafi‘i shaykh Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī. ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ wrote that he did not know much about him and only mentioned that this man died that year in Mecca. I cannot find any description of this man in other historical sources. The other is Yūsuf ibn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ′s half brother, an older brother who died at the age of five in that year. He added that his brother′s mother was released from slavery by his father and, as of the writing of the book, was almost 70 years old living with his own mother. These two people did not appear in his *Nayl,* nor in Ibn Iyās′s *Badā’i‘*.

Among the obituaries of the nineteen individuals in al-Rawḍ, only three are mentioned in ″Majma‘,″ a collection of biographies written by ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ, of which only a part remains.[57] He chose fourteen obituaries in *Nayl.* Ibn Iyās selected all eleven people out of these nineteen people and wrote short versions of their obituaries for the same year in *Badā’i‘*.[58]

The above analyses of the obituary section (biographies) reveal two characteristics of ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ′s writing. Firstly, he used firsthand information

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[54] *‘Iqd,* 2:632.

[55] *Nuzhah,* 4:312–13; *‘Iqd,* 2:632; *Al-Nujūm,* 15:506.

[56] *‘Iqd,* 2:633; *Al-Nujūm,* 15:506–8.

[57] ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ, ″Majma‘ al-Mufannan bi-al-Mu‘jam al-Mu‘anwan,″ Maktabat Baladīyat al-Iskandarīyah MS 4448/800b musalsal 5 tārīkh. As for the three individuals mentioned in ″Majma‘,″ see Appendix.

[58] *Nayl(T)*, 5:184–200; *Bada’i‘*, 2:241–47.

from acquaintances of his subjects in vividly depicting people and the era in a narrative form. Secondly, he included aspects of his own personal history, which can be considered inextricably related to the method of using firsthand information. He also explained the meaning of Turkish names, which can be considered a distinct characteristic of his writing. The information on ulama relationships between teacher and student is more detailed in al-Sakhāwī's *Al-Tibr* than al-Rawḍ. One could say that al-Sakhāwī merely showed greater interest in this issue, but I believe that 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ used a version of *Al-Tibr* that did not have as much detailed information as the one we know today. Al-Sakhāwī wrote that out of forty people, obituaries of six of them, which are not included in al-Rawḍ, were based on the descriptions of Ibn Fahd, who was well versed in information about Mecca.[59] This reveals that al-Sakhāwī's history which 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ used to compose al-Rawḍ did not contain information from Ibn Fahd.

Conclusion

One of the manuscripts of Ibn Ḥajar's *Inbā'*, which is preserved in the Topkapı Library (Inbā'[T]), was the manuscript that 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ used. He made notes in the margins of this manuscript based on other sources and on his own research. In this article I have analyzed these notes and examined how the author used the information in *Inbā'* when writing al-Rawḍ. First, the notes written in the margins by 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ or others were made based on information from Ibn Taghrībirdī, primarily his *Al-Nujūm.* Second, 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ added information from '*Iqd* and his own research. It was concluded, through studying the descriptions in al-Rawḍ, that these notes were used as the bases for the accounts and their dates in al-Rawḍ. In the descriptions of the year in question, some events were misdated or miswritten. These same mistakes also appear in Ibn Iyās's book.

In the margin of the obituary section of Inbā'(T), there are several biographies of people who are not listed in the main text, some of which seem to be clearly based on information from *Al-Nujūm*. In these descriptions, 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ added new information and included biographies of sons or grandsons of the people mentioned in the book, who would have been alive at the time. All these biographies in the main text and in notes in the margins of Inbā'(T) are included in al-Rawḍ and their descriptive details tell us that Inbā'(T) was also used as a basis for the creation of this part of al-Rawḍ. 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ added information by al-Sakhāwī in composing this part of al-Rawḍ. He also selected some accounts of his personal and family histories from the notes in the margins of both the chronicle and obituary sections of Inbā'(T) and incorporated them into al-Rawḍ.

Ibn Iyās was a student of 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ and he included descriptions of 'Abd

[59] *Al-Tibr,* 105–6, 108, 110, 113.

al-Bāsiṭ in his book while he was still alive.[60] When Ibn Iyās referred to Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, he wrote, ″He is the father of the author of a book titled *Al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim.*″ Ibn Iyās also described him as ″his father.″[61] All the accounts with ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ′s name, with only one exception, are quoted from his poems.[62] This may be the reason why the influence ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ had on Ibn Iyās has not been studied. This article has focused on the accounts of only one year, but the analyses of this year′s descriptions makes it clear that al-Rawḍ had a great influence on Ibn Iyās′s descriptions of events and biographies, as well as his basic chronological framework. Al-Sakhāwī also wrote about his student ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ. He mentioned ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ′s journey to study, his other teachers, and his journey to the Maghrib. He wrote, ″He excelled in many fields. He wrote, composed poetry, and showed an interest in history.″ He continued, ″Therefore, he visited me very often.″[63] As an additional piece of information related to al-Sakhāwī, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ seems to have used a simple version of al-Sakhāwī′s history that had less information than the version of al-Sakhāwī′s book we know today. Al-Sakhāwī′s book was presumably revised after ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ wrote al-Rawḍ. This, I believe, also helps us understand al-Sakhāwī′s own writing process.

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[60]*Badāʾiʿ,* 4:373–74.

[61]Ibid., 2:153, 169, 172, 174, 176, 177, 205, 215, 254, 375, 448; 3:25.

[62]Ibid., 3:263, 318, 424–25, 455–56; 4:83–84.

[63]*Al-Ḍawʾ,* 4:27.

APPENDIX: LIST OF NAMES OF PEOPLE WHO DIED OR WERE SUPPOSED TO HAVE DIED IN THE YEAR 848

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Ibrāhīm ibn Maḥmūd al-Dimashqī					(T) 105 (Ḍ) 11:170			
2. Abū Bakr Yūsuf (Isḥāq), al-Shaykh Bākir	[Year 847] (C) 240	[Year 847] (N) 501 (Ḥ) 100	[Year 847] 613–15	[Year 847] (N) 175 (M) 44r–45r	[Year 847] (T) 78 (Ḍ) 11:26–27 (W) 591 (DH) 643		[Year 847] 238	
3. Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī ibn Aḥmad					(F)(T) 105–6 (Ḍ) 2:12–13			
4. Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī ibn Muḥammad					(T) 106 (Ḍ) 2:33			
5. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, al-Ḥannāwī	(Ḥ) 228–29 (C) 240 (T) 193v			(R) 26r–v (N) 189 (M) 112r	(T) 106–7 (Ḍ) 2:69–70 (W) 598 (DH) 649			1
6. Tajār ibnat Muḥammad					(T) 107 (Ḍ) 12:16			
7. Timrāz al-Mu'ayyadī				(R) 26v (N) 187–88 (M) 243r	(T) 107–8 (Ḍ) 3:38		242	1

Continued on next page

Appendix—*Continued*

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
8. Jamāl (Jamāz) ibn Miftāḥ					(F)(T) 108 (Ḍ) 3:78			
9. Ḥasan ibn Qirād					(F)(T) 108 (Ḍ) 3:121			
10. Ḥusayn al-Kāzirūnī					(T) 108 [Year 849] (Ḍ) 3:161			
11. Ḥamzah ibn ʿUthmān Qarāyalik	(Ḥ) 229 (C) 231 (T) 193v	(N) 508 (Ḥ) 115	644	(R) 26v–27r (N) 192–93	(T) 108 (Ḍ) 3:165 (W) 599 (DH) 651	313		2
12. Saʿīd al-Balīnī					(T) 108 (Ḍ) 3:256			
13. Sunqur				(R) 27r (N) 195	(T) 108 (Ḍ) 3:273			1
14. Sūdūn al-Nawrūzī	(T) 193v	[year 847] (D) 1:335 (M) 6:172–73		(R) 27r–v (N) 188	[Year 847] (Ḍ) 3:287			2
15. (Ṭūkh al-Abūbakrī)	(Ḥ) 229 (C) 231 [Year 849] (T) 193v	(N) 508 (Ḥ) 116 (M) 7:14 [Year 849] (D) 1:371		[Year 849] (R) 27v (N) 201	[Year 848 or 849] (Ḍ) 10:10 [Year 849] (T) 129 (W) 606 (DH) 656		[Year 849] 242	2

16. (Ṭūghān)				[Year 849] (R) 27v	[Year 849] (T) 129			(2)
17. ‘Abd Allāh ibn Abī Bakr					(T) 108 (Ḍ) 5:15–16			
18. ‘Abd Allāh ibn ‘Alī					(F)(T) 108 (Ḍ) 5:35			
19. ‘Abd Allāh al-Zura‘ī				(R) 27v (N) 200	(T) 108 (Ḍ) 5:76		245	1
20. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm ibn Abī Bakr (cf .no. 35)	(Ḥ) 229 (C) 231 (T) 194r	(N) 506 (Ḥ) 113	632	(R) 27v–28r (N) 197	(T) 108–9 (Ḍ) 4:170 (W) 598 (DH) 650		246	2
21. ‘Abd al-Ghannī ibn ‘Abd Allāh					(T) 109 (Ḍ) 4:251			
22. ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibrāhīm					(T) 109 (Ḍ) 4:306			
23. ‘Abd al-Muḥsin al-Baghdādī				(R) 28r (N) 185	(T) 109 (Ḍ) 5:79			1
24. ‘Uthmān ibn Abī Bakr					(T) 109 (Ḍ) 5:127			
25. ‘Ulbā ibn Muḥammad					(T) 109–10			
26. ‘Alī ibn Yūsuf					(F)(T) 110 (Ḍ) 6:52			

Continued on next page

Appendix—*Continued*

27. Fayruz al-Ṭawāshī	(Ḥ) 229 (C) 231 (T) 193r	(N) 506–8 (Ḥ) 114–15 (D) 2:523 (M) 4:348	633	(R) 28r–v (N) 194	(T) 110 (Ḍ) 6:176 (W) 599 (DH) 651	313	244	2
28. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Baṭīkh					(T) 110			
29. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʻUmar, Ibn al-Kumayl	(Ḥ) 230 (C) 232–33 (T) 194v	(D) 2:592 (M) 9:275–79		(R) 28v–29r (N) 193–94	(T) 110–12 (Ḍ) 7:28–30 (W) 598 (DH) 648		244	2
30. Muḥammad ibn Abī Saʻd					(T) 112			
31. Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd Allāh				(R) 29r–v	(T) 112 (Ḍ) 8:159			1
32. Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān	(C) 232 (T) 194v			(R) 29v	(T) 112			1
33. Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī ibn Abī Bakr ibn ʻAlī				(R) 29v				3
34. Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī ibn Abī Bakr, al-Khawājā Ibn al-Muzalliq	(C) 232 (T) 194v			(R) 29v–30r (N) 191	(T) 112–13 (Ḍ) 8:173 (W) 599 (DH) 650		243	1

35. Muḥammad (ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥamawī) (cf. no. 20)	(C) 231 (T) 194v	(N) 506 (Ḥ) 113				312–13		
36. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr					(T) 113 (Ḍ) 9:67			
37. Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyá ibn Aḥmad, Abū Zuhrah	(T) 194v			(R) 30r–31r (N) 188–89	(T) 113–14 (Ḍ) 10:71 (W) 596 (DH) 648		242	1
38. Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyá ibn Aḥmad Abū ʿAbd Allāh					(T) 114 (Ḍ) 10:71			
39. Yūsuf ibn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn				(R) 31r				3
40. Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad, al-Kawmī				(R) 31r (N) 192	(T) 114 (Ḍ) 10:328 (W) 598 (DH) 649		243	1

ABBREVIATIONS IN APPENDIX COLUMNS FROM LEFT TO RIGHT

1. Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī
   (C): *Inbā’(C),* vol. 4
   (Ḥ): *Inbā’(Ḥ),* vol. 9
   (T): Inbā’(T), 193v–194v

2. Ibn Taghrībirdī
   (N): *Al-Nujūm,* vol. 15
   (Ḥ): *Ḥawādith*, vol. 1
   (D): *Al-Dalīl,* 2 vols.
   (M): *Al-Manhal*, vols .1–9

3. al-‘Aynī
   ‘Iqd, vol. 2

4. ‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ
   (R): Al-Rawḍ, Vatican Arabo 728, 26r–31r
   (N): *Nayl(T),* vol. 5
   (M): Majma‘

5. al-Sakhāwī
   (T): *Al-Tibr*
   (Ḍ): *Al-Ḍaw’,* 12 vols.
   (W): *Wajīz,* vol. 2
   (DH): *Al-Dhayl,* vol. 1
   (F): Information from Ibn Fahd

6. al-Ṣayrafī, Ibn Dāwūd
   Nuzhah, vol. 4

7. Ibn Iyās
   Badā’i‘, vol. 2

8. a supposed group

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The Rank and Status of Military Refugees in the Mamluk Army: A Reconsideration of the *Wāfidīyah*

The existence of military refugees from Mongol territory during the Bahri Mamluk period was of great importance for the history of the Mamluk Sultanate politically, diplomatically, and culturally. David Ayalon studied this group over fifty years ago in his article "The Wafidiya in the Mamluk Kingdom"[1] and his theory has been widely accepted, together with his term *wāfidīyah,* an Arabic "collective formation from *wāfid* 'one who comes, makes his way, in a delegation or group.'"[2] In his study, he criticizes A. N. Poliak, who stated that the *wāfidīyah* enjoyed high positions in the Mamluk army because of the vassal character of the Mamluks' relationship to the Golden Horde.[3] Rather, Ayalon claims, the *wāfidīyah* were constantly discriminated against in the Mamluk military system throughout the Mamluk period because they were not mamluks, i.e., of slave origin.

In the view of the present author, however, his study is too narrow. First, he connects the arrival of the *wāfidīyah* only to the political situation inside the Mamluk Sultanate, and neglects the situation outside it. For example, he characterizes al-Ẓāhir Baybars and al-ʻĀdil Kitbughā, the two sultans who received the largest and second largest number of Mongol immigrants, according to his counting, as "an admirer of the Mongol regime" and "a member of that ethnic group" respectively, as if these factors caused these immigrations. The *wāfidīyah*'s influx, however, must not have had much to do with the reigning sultans; rather, it was caused by internal factors within the Ilkhanid state. Second, Ayalon states that the *wāfidīyah*'s inferior status is proved by the fact that most of them joined the *ḥalqah* unit.[4] Yet, in another place, he points out the prominent position of the *ḥalqah* in the early Mamluk period.[5] These two claims seem contradictory. Third, his survey tends to look at the *wāfidīyah* as a unit, so he fails to grasp their diversity. We must differentiate their commanders from their soldiers, the Mongol

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[1]David Ayalon, "The Wafidiya in the Mamluk Kingdom," *Studia Islamica* 25 (1951): 89–104.

[2]David Ayalon, "Wāfidiyya," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 12:26–27.

[3]A. N. Poliak, "Le caractère colonial de l'Etat Mameluk dans ses rapports avec la Horde d'Or," *Revue des études islamiques* 9 (1935): 213–48.

[4]Ayalon, "Wafidiya," 90–91.

[5]David Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army," pt. 2, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15 (1953): 448–51. And see later section of the present article.

tribesmen from indigenous groups within Mongol-ruled territory, and groups who came in the early Mamluk period from groups who came in relatively later periods.

All of these problems resulted from the lack of adequate published sources in Ayalon's time. In the present day, because research in Mamluk historiography has progressed and more Arabic sources have been published, we have access to more thirteenth- and fourteenth-century contemporary sources. The present state of research "simply demands that this part of his work be redone."[6]

ARRIVAL OF THE MILITARY REFUGEES

WHO WERE THE *WĀFIDĪYAH*?: IBN SHADDĀD'S CATEGORIZATION

Actually, the term *wāfidīyah* is not found frequently in the contemporary sources, and though there are references to a *wāfidīyah* in the Mamluk army, the designation must have been temporary and indefinite. Ayalon uses this word in the extremely wide meaning of "immigrants, those coming from outside" and includes not only al-Khwārizmīyah and the Kurdish Shahrazūrīyah, who came before the Mongols, but also Frankish and Maghribi refugees, and even those who came from the Ottoman state. On the other hand, later scholars use this term in a narrower sense, as "individuals and groups of tribesmen who fled to the Sultanate from Mongol controlled territory."[7] We shall also follow the latter definition in this study. Accordingly, this study generally limits itself to the period from the formation of the Mongol state in Iran until its end, i.e., from 1258 to 1335.

But before we proceed to the main subject, we must make clearer who the *wāfidīyah* were by referring to a contemporary account. ʻIzz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, the author of Sultan Baybars' biography, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* lists the names of 201 refugees who entered the sultanate during his reign in a section titled "Those who came to him" *(man wafada ʻalayhi)*. He classifies them into the following groups:[8] (a) those from Medina and Yanbuʻ (19 persons); (b) those from al-ʻIrāq (21 persons); (c) those from al-Mawṣil (17 persons); (d) amirs of al-ʻArab and al-Turkumān (46 persons); (e) Muslims who were displaced by the Mongols *(al-Tatār)* (21 persons); (f) those from Bilād al-Rūm (35 persons); (g)

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[6]R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry,* rev. ed. (London, 1995), 182. For the historiography of the first part of the Mamluk period, see Donald P. Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography: An Analysis of Arabic Annalitic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn* (Wiesbaden, 1970). About the recent situation of the publication of Mamluk sources, see Li Guo, "Mamluk Historiographic Studies: The State of the Art," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 15–43.

[7]Reuven Amitai, "The Remaking of the Military Elite of Mamluk Egypt by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn," *Studia Islamica* 72 (1990): 149, n. 17.

[8]See also Peter M. Holt, "Three Biographies of al-Ẓāhir Baybars," in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic World,* ed. David O. Morgan (London, 1982), 24–26.

Mongols (40 persons); (h) those from Māridīn (1 person); and (i) notables of the Franks (2 persons).[9]

Among these, groups (a) and (d) should be excluded from this study, because they came to the sultanate and then returned to their country; they never became regular members of the Mamluk army.[10] All the refugees of groups (e) and (h) and a part of those of (c) were Ayyubid princes in Syria and Saljuqid *atābak*s.[11] Therefore they did not come from ″Mongol-controlled territory″ any more than group (i), the Frankish refugees. The other three groups, which can be regarded as *wāfidīyah* for this study, represent three types of *wāfidīyah* during Baybars′ reign: indigenous soldiers who came from areas newly occupied by the Mongols (b), subordinates of the Rūm Saljuqs (f), and Mongol tribal units (g).

CHRONOLOGY OF THE *WĀFIDĪYAH*′S DEFECTIONS

Other contemporary sources do not indicate when or under what circumstances all those listed by Ibn Shaddād arrived in the Mamluk Sultanate. This shows that the sources do not transmit all the information about the *wāfidīyah.* Still, we have twenty-four examples during the period covered in the present article of groups of refugees whose arrival times are known. The following list shows the arrival year of these groups, their leaders′ names, and the size of the group.

(1)	660/1262	Shams al-Dīn Salār al-Mustanṣirī, a ruler of al-ʻIrāq 300 horsemen[12]
(2)	660/1262	Ṣaraghān Āghā, a commander of the Golden Horde 200 horsemen[13]

[9]Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Ẓāhir* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 329–38.

[10]See Richard T. Mortel, ″The Ḥusaynid Amirate of Madīna during the Mamluk Period,″ *Studia Islamica* 80 (1995): 97–110. Strangely, Ibn Shaddād does not mention the sharifate of Mecca here. For the relationship between the Meccan sharifate and the Mamluk Sultanate, see Ota Keiko, ″The Meccan Sharifate and its Diplomatic Relations in the Bahri Mamluk Period,″ *Annals of Japan Association for Middle East Studies* 17, no. 1 (2002): 1–20. For the relationship between the Arabs and the Mamluk Sultanate, see M. A. Hiyari, ″The Origins and Development of the Amirate of the Arabs during the Seventh/Thirteenth and Eighth/Fourteenth Centuries,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38 (1975): 509–24.

[11]Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqtaʻs and Fallahun* (Leiden, 1997), 78.

[12]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir* (Riyadh, 1976), 123–24; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923–98), 30:54–55; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʻrifat al-Mulūk* (Cairo,1939–72), 1:476; al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān* (Cairo, 1987–92), 1:333.

[13]Abū Shāmah, *Tarājim Rijāl al-Qarnayn al-Sādis wa-al-Sābiʻ* (Cairo, 1947)*,* 220; Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 137–38; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān fī Tārīkh al-Aʻyān* (Hyderabad,

(3)	661/1263	Karmūn Āghā, a commander of the Golden Horde over 1300 horsemen[14]
(4)	662/1264	Sayf al-Dīn Baklak, a ruler of Shīrāz a large number *(jamā'ah kabīrah)*[15]
(5)	662/1264	Jalāl al-Dīn Bashkar ibn Dawādār, a vassal of the Abbasids a large number[16]
(6)	672/1273–74	Shams al-Dīn Bahādur, a ruler of Sumayṣāṭ[17] not specified
(7)	675/1277	Ḥusām al-Dīn Bījār, a vassal of the Rūm Saljuqs, and several others[18] not specified
(8)	681/1282	Mu'min Āghā, a ruler of Mawṣil not specified, but a small number[19]
(9)	681/1282–83	Sinān al-Dīn al-Rūmī, a son of a ruler of Amasia[20] not specified
(10)	681/1283	Shaykh 'Alī, a Sufi shaykh several Mongols[21]
(11)	683/1284	no specific names 4000 horsemen[22]

1954–61), 1:496, 2:156; Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd wa-al-Durr al-Farīd fīmā ba'da Tārīkh Ibn al-'Amīd,* in "Histoire des sultans mamlouks," ed. E. Blochet, *Patrologia Orientalis* 12, 14, 20 (1919–28), 1:442; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:64; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmi' al-Ghurar* (Cairo, 1960–92), 8:90.

[14] Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 177–80; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah* (Beirut, 1998), 101; idem, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah fī al-Dawlah al-Turkīyah* (Cairo, 1987), 51; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl,* 1:534; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:89–90; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:501; al-'Aynī, *'Iqd,* 1:364–65.

[15] Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 198; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 105; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:99.

[16] Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 203, 209–10; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 109; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:111.

[17] Shāfi' ibn 'Alī, *Ḥusn al-Manāqib al-Sirrīyah al-Muntaza'ah min al-Sīrah al-Ẓāhirīyah* (Riyadh, 1976), 153; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 131; idem, *Tuḥfah,* 78; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:207–8; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:611.

[18] Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 462; Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh,* 153–58, 160, 174–75; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl,* 3:164; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:233; Mufaḍḍal, *Nahj,* 2:403–6; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:621; al-'Aynī, *'Iqd,* 2:153–54.

[19] Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 196, 199.

[20] Ibid., 216.

[21] Ibid., 217; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:88; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:708–9; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1929–49), 9:15.

[22] Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf al-Ayyām wa-al-'Uṣūr fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr* (Cairo, 1961), 68;

(12)	695/1296	Ṭaraghāy, the commander of the Oirat tribe 10,000–18,000 households[23]
(13)	698/1299	Sulāmish, a lieutenant from al-Rūm 500 horsemen[24]
(14)	703/1304	Badr al-Dīn Jankalī ibn al-Bābā, a ruler of Ra'sal-'Ayn 11 persons[25]
(15)	704/1304	Four *silāḥdārīyah*s of Ghāzān 200 horsemen with their families[26]
(16)	705/1305–6	Sayf al-Dīn Ḥannā and Fakhr al-Dīn Dāwūd, brothers of Amir Salār[27] not specified
(17)	717/1317	Ṭāṭī, a commander of one thousand of the Mongols 100 horsemen with their families[28]
(18)	722/1322	Aḥmad, a son of an aunt of the sultan[29] not specified
(19)	724/1323–24	Ḥasan, a relative of the sultan[30] not specified
(20)	726/1326	Ṭāyirbughā, a relative of the sultan[31] not specified

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Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 240.

[23]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 291–92; idem, *Tuḥfah,* 146; Abū al-Fidā', *Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar* (Cairo, 1907), 4:34–35; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 8:361–62; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:296–99; al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Anbā'ihi wa-Wafayāt al-Akābir wa-al-A'yān min Abnā'ihi* (Sidon and Beirut, 1998), 1:286–88; Mufaḍḍal, *Nahj,* 2:590–93; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah fī Tārīkh* (Cairo, 1932–39), 13:363; al-'Aynī, *'Iqd,* 3:278–79, 3:304–7, 311.

[24]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 302–3; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:373–75; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl*, in *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography: al-Yūnīnī's Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān,* ed. Li Guo (Leiden, 1998), 64–65; Mufaḍḍal, *Nahj,* 2:623–28; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:876.

[25]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Tuḥfah,* 175; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 9:113; Mufaḍḍal, *Nahj,* 3:97–99; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah,* 14:31; al-'Aynī, *'Iqd,* 4:303–4; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:950; idem, *Al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Būlāq, 1270 A.H.), 2:134.

[26]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 32:86.

[27]Ibid., 96.

[28]Ibid., 254; al-'Aynī, "'Iqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān," Istanbul, Bayazit MS Veliyyüddin 2394, fol. 112. For the manuscripts of al-'Aynī's chronicles, see Nakamachi Nobutaka, "Al-'Aynī's Chronicles as a Source for the Baḥrī Mamluk Period," *Orient* 40 (2005): 140–71.

[29]Al-'Aynī, "'Iqd," MS Veliyyüddin 2394, fol. 316.

[30]Ibid., fol. 472.

[31]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 33:203; al-'Aynī, "'Iqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān," Istanbul, Süleymaniye MS Süleymaniye 835, fols. 48v–49v.

(21)	727/1327	Muḥammad Bīh ibn Jamaq, a relative of the sultan[32] not specified
(22)	728/1328	Tamurtāsh, a lieutenant from al-Rūm 300–600 horsemen[33]
(23)	738/1337	Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Sharwīn, an official of Baghdad 500 persons[34]
(24)	738/1337	Nāṣir al-Dīn Khalīfah ibn ʻAlī Shāh, an official of Baghdad[35] not specified

During Baybars′ reign, four groups were indigenous groups from Mongol-occupied areas (nos. 1, 4–6), one group came from the Rūm Saljuqs (no. 7), and two groups were Mongol tribesmen (nos. 2–3). Ibn Shaddād calculates the *wāfidīyah* from the Mongol tribesmen to have numbered about three thousand horsemen, while the chronicles state that there were two groups, of 200 and 1,300 men, respectively. These two groups, which some historians count more accurately as three groups,[36] are often combined as a single group under sixteen commanders in the sources.[37] It is noteworthy that in all cases these defections of the Mongol *wāfidīyah* were unexpected events for the Mamluk Sultanate; we can find no evidence that the Mamluks enticed them to immigrate. On the other hand, some of the indigenous *wāfidīyah* from areas newly occupied by the Mongols had had connections with the Mamluk Sultanate, and Baybars seems to have pursued a ″head-hunting″ policy toward them.[38] The defections of the Rūm Saljuq *wāfidīyah,* whose arrivals spanned a long term, were caused by Baybars′ military campaign against al-Rūm.

Although a large number of refugees arrived during the reign of Baybars, the

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[32]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 33:231–232; al-ʻAynī, ″ʻIqd,″MS Süleymaniye 835, fol. 72r.

[33]Abū al-Fidāʼ, *Mukhtaṣar,* 4:98; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl*, in Guo, *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography*, 63–66; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 9:346–48; Mufaḍḍal, *Nahj*, in *Ägypten und Syrien zwischen 1317 und 1341 in der Chronik des Mufaḍḍal b. Abī'l-Faḍā'il,* ed. Samira Kortantamer (Freiburg, 1973), 39–40; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah,* 14:138, 140; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:346–48; al-ʻAynī, ″ʻIqd,″ MS Süleymaniye 835, fol. 88r ff.

[34]Al-Shujāʻī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥi wa-Awlādihi* (Wiesbaden, 1985), 17–18; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:437–38; al-ʻAynī, ″ʻIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,″ Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi MS Ahmet III 2911/a17, fol. 113v.

[35]Al-Shujāʻī, *Tārīkh*, 27; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:446; al-ʻAynī, ″ʻIqd,″ MS Ahmet III 2911/a17, fol. 113r.

[36]For example, al-Yūnīnī describes the *wāfidīyah* in 661/1263 as *al-ṭā'ifah al-thāniyah* and *al-ṭā'ifah al-thālithah*; see al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl,* 1:534, 2:195.

[37]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 84–85; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:501; al-ʻAynī, ʻ*Iqd,* 1:365.

[38]For no. 1 see al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:54–55. For no. 4 see Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 182; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:90. For no. 5 see ibid., 207–8.

role of his policy of encouraging the *wāfidīyah* to immigrate should not be overestimated. Most of their defections reflected the situation of Mamluk-Mongol relations in those days rather than Baybars′ admiration of the Mongol regime and military organization.[39]

Further, even in the post-Baybars period refugees in some number came to the sultanate continually. In the reign of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn we find four groups of refugees (nos. 8–11), one of which consisted of four thousand horsemen, and the total number of these refugees is larger than the total number in Baybars′ reign. Afterwards, Sultan Kitbughā received the famous Oirat *wāfidīyah* (no. 12), and al-Manṣūr Lājīn accepted a group of refugees led by Sulāmish, a Mongol lieutenant of al-Rūm (no. 13). During al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s second reign, three groups arrived (nos. 14–16). Among these, it is true that the Oirat *wāfidīyah* was ″the greatest wave of Tatār horsemen immigrating to the Mamluk kingdom.″[40] Their defection itself, however, probably had nothing to do with the fact that Kitbughā was also a Mongol mamluk, contrary to Ayalon′s suggestion, since no evidence of ″head-hunting″ on Kitbughā′s part is found.[41]

Most of their defections were motivated by disorder upon the deaths of Ilkhan rulers and purges carried out by the Ilkhans. Mu'min Āghā (no. 8) was suspected of the murder of the Ilkhan Abaghā′s brother.[42] The *wāfidīyah* in 683/1284 (no. 11) came because of the internal disorder in the Ilkhanid state after Arghūn′s enthronement.[43] Ṭaraghāy, Sulāmish, and Jankalī ibn al-Bābā (nos. 12–14) were escaping the purge instituted by the Ilkhan Ghāzān. Some groups of the *wāfidīyah* consisted of family members of the Mamluk elite (nos. 16, 18–21), especially the relatives of the sultans, who arrived around the year 722/1323, in which the Mamluks and the Mongols came to an agreement on a peace treaty. Tamurtāsh (no. 22), who rebelled against the Ilkhan Abū Sa'īd and defected, had been on friendly terms with a Mamluk amir, Sayf al-Dīn Aytamish.[44] But, in spite of their friendship, Tamurtāsh was executed by the sultan in conformity with the treaty. The defections of the last two groups of *wāfidīyah* (nos. 23–24) were caused by the political disorder after Abū Sa'īd′s death. Khalīfah ibn 'Alī Shāh (no. 24) was

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[39]Ayalon, ″Wafidiya,″ 98.

[40]Ibid., 99.

[41]Of course, it is true that Kitbughā favored them after they came to the sultanate, but we must distinguish the reason for their defection from how the sultan treated them after they arrived.

[42]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 213, 215.

[43]Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf,* 68.

[44]Al-'Aynī, ″'Iqd,″ MS Süleymaniye 835, fol. 54v. See Donald P. Little, ″Note on Aitamiš, a Mongol Mamluk,″ in *Die islamischen Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Festschrift für Hans Robert Roemer zum 65. Geburtstag,* ed. Ulrich Haarmann and Peter Bachmann (Wiesbaden, 1979), 396–97.

also an associate of a Mamluk amir, Sayf al-Dīn Tankiz, and when the Ilkhan Abū Saʿīd died, Khalīfah first sought refuge with Tankiz.

The *wāfidīyah* defections reviewed here can be characterized as follows: first, most of them were caused by the internal political situation of the Ilkhanids, rather than that of the Mamluk Sultanate. Second, especially in the later period, the *wāfidīyah* often had some connections with the Mamluk elite before their defections.

STARTING ASSIGNMENTS

THE HIERARCHY OF ASSIGNMENTS: ACCOUNTS FROM THE REIGN OF BAYBARS

Ayalon states in his article that "most of them joined the *ḥalqah,* whose status . . . was greatly inferior to that of the Mamluk units."[45] This statement has formed the basis for the idea that the military refugees were a group discriminated against in the Mamluk Sultanate. In this section we shall see if most of them actually joined the *ḥalqah* unit or not.

Here let us refer to Ibn Shaddād again. He states that those who sought refuge from al-Tatār during the reign of Baybars were assigned positions as follows:

> Among them some were assigned exceptionally to the *khāṣṣakīyah;* others were assigned to the unit of *silāḥdār* (armor bearers), the unit of *jamdār* (wardrobe keepers), and the unit of *sāqī* (cupbearers).[46] Others were made amirs of *ṭablkhānah,* others were made amirs given from ten to twenty cavalrymen, and others were incorporated into amirs′ units.[47]

In this account, we find a somewhat hierarchical order of treatment of these newcomers. This can be categorized as follows:

(a) Recruited into the sultan′s units: *khāṣṣakīyah, silāḥdār, jamdār,* and *sāqī:* All of these units are regarded as consisting of Mamluks.[48]

(b) Appointed to the rank of amir, i.e., amir of *ṭablkhānah* or an amir having

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[45]Ayalon, "Wafidiya," 90.

[46]For translation of the words *silāḥdār, jamdār,* and *sāqī,* see William Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans 1382–1468 A.D.: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrî Birdî′s Chronicles of Egypt* (Berkeley, 1955), 95.

[47]Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh*, 337–38. A similar passage can be found in al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl*, 3:256–57, and Ayalon cites the latter ("Wafidiya," 98-99). However, the former is more first-hand information.

[48]For the *khāṣṣakīyah*, see Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army," pt. 1, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15 (1953): 213–16. But one finds among the *khāṣṣakīyah* those who were not mamluks. See ibid., 215.

from ten to twenty cavalrymen: ″Amir of *ṭablkhānah,*″ generally translated as ″amir of forty,″ derives from the word ″band″ *(ṭablkhānah)*. It is the second highest rank of amir after ″amir of one hundred and commander of one thousand″ *(amīr mi'ah wa-muqaddam alf)*.[49]

(c) Integrated into the units of various amirs.

(d) Retained in the unit of their original leader: though this group is not mentioned specifically by Ibn Shaddād, its existence is reasonable, given (b).

As far as we can see from this passage, there is no requirement that they join the *ḥalqah* units, which Ayalon regards as the main destination of the *wāfidīyah.* But in another place, Ibn Shaddād cites the regulation that non-Mongol *wāfidīyah* who came from al-ʻIrāq and other regions join the *ḥalqah* unit.[50] We can thus add provisionally to the four above-mentioned categories a fifth category:

(e) Assigned to the *ḥalqah* unit.

In order to consider whether assignments to all five of these categories were actually made in practice, let us take two examples from events that occurred in the reign of Baybars.

The first example is Shams al-Dīn Salār al-Mustanṣirī′s group, who arrived in Egypt in 660/1262 and were the first military refugees in the reign of Baybars (see no. 1 in list above). According to Ibn Shaddād, when Baybars received them, ″he made him [Salār] amir of fifty cavalrymen, took into service one hundred persons from those who arrived with him, and divided the rest among amirs.″[51] In this passage, we find mention of those who were appointed to the rank of amir, i.e., Salār himself, those who were assigned to the sultan′s own unit, and those who were divided among amirs′ units. Salār′s ″fifty cavalrymen″ meant that he could retain his own followers within the limit of fifty. Those who were taken ″into service″ would have joined either the mamluk unit or the *ḥalqah* unit, but it is unclear which they joined in this case. Thus, of Salār′s three hundred followers, one-sixth stayed under their original leader (case d above), one-third joined the mamluk unit or *ḥalqah* unit (case a or e), and half were assigned to various amirs′ units (case c).

The next example is the first group of Mongol refugees which came in 660/1262, one of the leaders of which was Sayf al-Dīn Ṣaraghān Āghā (see no. 2 in above list). When they arrived at Cairo, Sultan Baybars ″made their leaders amirs with one hundred cavalrymen or less and assigned the rest to his Baḥrīyah unit and to his mamluks.″[52] It is clear that Ṣaraghān and other anonymous leaders were permitted

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[49]See Ayalon, ″Studies on the Structure,″ pt. 2, 467–71.

[50]Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh,* 331.

[51]Ibid., 330.

[52]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ*, 138.

to keep more than one hundred of their followers in total. Since this group consisted of two hundred cavalrymen,[53] we can conclude that more than half of them stayed in the service of their original leader (case d) and that less than half joined the mamluk unit (case a).[54]

These two examples show that the five categories of Ibn Shaddād can be substantiated by fact, even though the difference between (a) and (e) is unclear. As this categorization applies to the reign of Baybars only, let us examine the cases of all other *wāfidīyah* we know about in the period under discussion.

The Starting Rank of the *Wāfidī* Amirs

First, let us investigate the military refugees who were appointed to the rank of amir in the above category (b). Ibn Shaddād ranks this category as second to those who were recruited into the sultan's unit. But we treat them first here because they were commanders of the various *wāfidīyah* groups originally. Although some of the soldiers under them reached the rank of amir during their later careers in the Mamluk army, we shall treat them in a later section and here look at the starting rank to which the commanders were appointed on their arrival.

Although Ibn Shaddād states that the commanders were made amirs of *ṭablkhānah* and "from ten to twenty cavalrymen," Shams al-Dīn Salār al-Mustanṣirī was made amir of "fifty cavalrymen," as seen above. The fact that not forty but fifty cavalrymen were allowed to Salār means in those times there was a lack of the strict uniformity of rank of later times, i.e., amir of one hundred, amir of forty, amir of ten. In 672/1273–74, Shams al-Dīn Bahādur from Sumayṣāṭ (see no. 6 above) was made amir of twenty cavalrymen, which is also not in accordance with the normative size of Mamluk amirs' units, as R. Stephen Humphreys has shown, at least during the reign of Baybars.[55]

On the other hand, Sayf al-Dīn Ṣaraghān Āghā and other leaders of the first Mongol refugees in 660/1262 were made "amirs with one hundred cavalrymen or less," as seen above. If we take this as appointment to the rank of "amir of one hundred," they can be regarded as having gotten a higher rank than Ibn Shaddād's generalization. On this point, while Ayalon states that "Baybars' reign is also marked by the absence of a single appointment to the rank of Amir of a Hundred,"[56]

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[53]Ibid., 137.

[54]The Baḥrīyah unit here means the Mamluk unit that Baybars founded, namely al-Baḥrīyah al-Ẓāhirīyah. See David Ayalon, "Le régiment Bahriya dans l'armée mamelouke," *Revue des études islamiques* 19 (1951): 137.

[55]R. Stephen Humphreys, "The Emergence of the Mamluk Army," pt. 2, *Studia Islamica* 46 (1977): 165–66.

[56]Ayalon, "Wafidiya," 99.

as Sato Tsugitaka points out, Ayalon's statement is a mistake, "although the example of such an appointment was indeed rare."[57] Reuven Amitai-Preiss regards the report of this appointment as "mere hyperbole" because the appointment of one of the *wāfidīyah* to this rank "is not substantiated by one concrete example from the sources."[58] In my view, there is no logical reason for denying this appointment itself, although we should not regard it as to the highest rank of amir because of the lack of a strict uniformity of rank in the early Mamluk period. At least one of these Mongol *wāfidī* amirs must have been appointed to a relatively high rank in Baybars' reign.

However, it is true that most of the *wāfidī* amirs were appointed to the rank of amir of *ṭablkhānah*. The following list shows the starting rank of twenty-two *wāfidī* commanders.[59] The number in parentheses is the number of the group they were associated with in the list above.

1. Shams al-Dīn Salār (1)	Amir of fifty cavalrymen
2. Ṣarīm al-Dīn Ṣaraghān (2)	Amir of one hundred cavalrymen
3. Sayf al-Dīn Karmūn and others (3)	Amir of *ṭablkhānah*
4. Sayf al-Dīn Baklak (4)	Amir of *ṭablkhānah*
5, Muẓaffar al-Dīn Washshāḥ ibn Shahrī (4)	Amir of *ṭablkhānah*
6. Jalāl al-Dīn Bashkar ibn al-Dawādār (5)	Amir of *ṭablkhānah*
7. Shams al-Dīn Bahādur (6)	Amir of twenty cavalrymen
8. Aqūsh (10)	Amir of *ṭablkhānah*
9. Ṭaraghāy (12)	Amir of *ṭablkhānah*
10. Ulūs (12)	Amir of ten cavalrymen
11. Badr al-Dīn Jankalī ibn al-Bābā (14)	Amir of *ṭablkhānah*
12. ʻAlī (14)	Amir of ten cavalrymen
13. Nīrūz (14)	Commander (*taqdimah*)
14. Ṭāyirbughā (20)	Amir of *ṭablkhānah*
15. Yaḥyá ibn Ṭāyirbughā (20)	Amir of ten cavalrymen
16. Muḥammad Bīh ibn Jamaq (21)	Amir of *ṭablkhānah*
17. Tamurtāsh ibn Jūbān (22)	Amir of one hundred
18. Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Sharwīn (23)	Amir of *ṭablkhānah*
19. Fakhr al-Dīn Maḥmūd (23)	Amir of *ṭablkhānah*
20. Ḥusayn (23)	Amir of ten cavalrymen

[57] Sato, *State and Rural Society*, 101–2.

[58] Reuven Amitai-Preiss, "The Mamluk Officer Class during the Reign of Sultan Baybars," in *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, Seventh-Fifteenth Centuries,* ed. Yaacov Lev (Brill, 1997), 286. See also Ayalon, "Wāfidiyya," 27.

[59] For the personal data of each amir, see the Appendix.

21. Kābik (23)	Amir of ten cavalrymen
22. Nāṣir al-Dīn Khalīfah ibn ʻAlī Shāh (24)	Amir of one hundred in Syria

We find that most of them initially held the rank of amir of *ṭablkhānah*. Only three commanders (nos. 2, 17, and 22) were made ″amir of one hundred″ when they arrived.[60] Six commanders (nos. 7, 10, 12, 15, 20, 21) were appointed to a lower rank like ten or twenty cavalrymen, but in the case of five of them (nos. 10, 12, 15, 20, 21) their colleague commanders from their same group were given *ṭablkhānah* rank.

This tendency seems to reflect the idea in those days that the rank of *ṭablkhānah* was the one suitable for refugee commanders. For example, Sultan Kitbughā welcomed the Oirat refugees, who arrived in 695/1296, and intended to appoint their commander Ṭaraghāy amir of one hundred and commander of one thousand. But when he consulted with the amirs, they suggested to him that he should give Ṭaraghāy the rank of *ṭablkhānah* at first and promote him later.[61]

What the rank of *ṭablkhānah* actually means, however, must be considered. Some sources other than Ibn Shaddād state that Salār al-Mustanṣirī was made an amir of *ṭablkhānah*.[62] Therefore he became an amir of fifty cavalrymen and amir of *ṭablkhānah* concurrently. Moreover, when Jankalī ibn al-Bābā (11) arrived in Cairo in 703/1304, Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ″made him an amir of *ṭablkhānah* and granted him one hundred cavalrymen.″[63] In these two examples, the rank of ″amir of *ṭablkhānah*″ is obviously not equal to having forty cavalrymen. Humphreys points out the honorary meaning of the rank of *ṭablkhānah* bestowed on foreign vassals in the earlier years of Baybars′ reign and states, ″this title signified less a specific rank than one′s entry into the political-military elite of the Kingdom.″[64] We must distinguish between the honorary meaning of the rank of *ṭablkhānah* and the number of cavalrymen that they could accommodate, at least in the second reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.

Furthermore, we must pay attention to the fact that appointment to the rank of

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[60]But three more amirs (nos. 11, 14, and 18 in the above list) were raised to amir of one hundred soon after their arrival. See below.

[61]Al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd,* 3:306.

[62]Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 123; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:55; al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd*, 1:333.

[63]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Tuḥfah*, 175. In fact, Jankalī was appointed amir of *ṭablkhānah* upon arrival, and then was raised to amir of one hundred. See below.

[64]Humphreys, ″Emergence of the Mamluk Army,″ pt. 2, 169.

amir in the Mamluk Sultanate always involved distribution of an *iqṭāʻ*.[65] Consider the following passages:

> [Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad] appointed him [Jankalī] amir of *ṭablkhānah* upon the *iqṭāʻ* of the amir Bahā' al-Dīn Qarāqūsh, who was transferred to Damascus.[66]

> The amir Bahā' al-Dīn Qarāqūsh was transferred to amir of Ṣafad, and Jankalī was granted his rank of amir, which is *ṭablkhānah*.[67]

> [Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad] ordered him [Jankalī] to live in the citadel, and on his settling down, ordered the amir Bahā' al-Dīn Qarāqūsh to leave for Ṣafad and granted his *iqṭāʻ* to this Jankalī.[68]

All these three passages describe the same event. Although they have diverse information about the new post of the amir Qarāqūsh, in this case it is obvious that the rank of amir which he had held was connected with a certain *iqṭāʻ* and that Jankalī was granted both at the same time. As for the correspondence between the rank of amir and an *iqṭāʻ*, another example can be found in the case of Maḥmūd ibn Sharwīn (no. 15). Upon his arrival, this Maḥmūd was made only an amir of *ṭablkhānah,* but when the amir Ṭāyirbughā, who was one of the commanders of one thousand and was himself a *wāfidī* amir, died, Maḥmūd was raised to commander of one thousand in his place, and at the same time he received Ṭāyirbughā's *iqṭāʻ*.[69]

These examples show that there was a one-to-one correspondence between each rank of amir and a certain *iqṭāʻ* in this period. In order to recruit a commander of the military refugees, it was necessary for the sultan to transfer another amir or to wait for some amir's death. This rule can also be substantiated by the following two examples: Tamurtāsh (14) gained the rank of amir of one hundred in the place of Amir Sanjar al-Jamaqdār,[70] and Khalīfah ibn ʻAlī Shāh (19) was appointed commander of one thousand in Damascus in the place of Amir Barsbughā al-ʻĀdilī.[71]

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[65]For the *iqṭāʻ* distribution to the *wāfidīyah* during the reign of Baybars, see Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 99–103.

[66]Mufaḍḍal, *Nahj,* 3:98.

[67]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:950.

[68]Al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd,* 4:303.

[69]Al-Shujāʻī, *Tārīkh*, 28; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:437.

[70]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:294.

[71]Ibid., 446.

We can observe a result of the redistribution of *iqṭā*ʻs carried out by al-Manṣūr Lājīn and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad[72] in the examples after Jankalī's defection in 703/1304. Because of the reform of the *iqṭā*ʻ system, it became impossible to bestow high rank and large *iqṭā*ʻs upon *wāfidī* amirs when they arrived. Instead, the sultan consistently gave them the rank of amir of *ṭablkhānah* as an honorary rank. Accordingly, it is meaningless to compare their starting ranks, most of which were amir of *ṭablkhānah*. Rather we must investigate their ranks later in their careers.

WĀFIDĪ SOLDIERS ASSIGNED TO UNITS

THOSE RECRUITED INTO THE SULTAN'S MAMLUK UNIT

During the reign of Baybars, there are statements that a part of the *wāfidī* soldiers were incorporated into the sultan's mamluk unit (category [a] above). Baybars assigned fewer than half of the first Mongol *wāfidīyah* "to his Baḥrīyah unit and to his mamluks," as seen above, and when the number of military refugees increased after that, Baybars "divided all groups among twice their number of royal mamluks" *(wa-yufarriquhum kull jamāʻah bayna aḍʻāfhā min al-mamālīk al-sulṭānīyah).*[73] Further, Qalāwūn assigned some of the followers of Shaykh ʻAlī (no. 10) to his own mamluk unit or to the *khāṣṣakīyah*.[74]

Sato states, "It is not clear whether the Mongols who were incorporated into the Mamluk corps became slaves or not."[75] In my opinion, they did not become slaves, but remained free men, for one would expect some evidence of the conflicts that would have occurred if they had been enslaved. Rather, the sources emphasize their honorable positions within the Mamluk army: Ibn Shaddād ranks this group as first on the above-mentioned list, and Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir states, "Each one of them became like an independent amir attended by soldiers and slaves *(ghilmān)*."[76] We also noted above the *wāfidīyah* of Salār, one hundred of whom were taken into service, but we could not determine whether they joined the mamluk unit or the *ḥalqah*. Thus, the historians of the early Mamluk period seem to have regarded the fact that they were assigned to the immediate control of the sultan as important, while they disregarded whether or not they became slaves.

Among those in this category in the later period, Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī and Bahādur al-Damurdāshī (nos. 15 and 25 in the Appendix) were the most successful. These two came to Egypt under the command of *wāfidī* amirs, were assigned to

[72] For the result of the redistribution of *iqṭā*ʻs *(rawk),* see Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 152–61.
[73] Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 138.
[74] Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 217; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:88; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:708–9.
[75] Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 102.
[76] Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 138.

the sultans′ mamluk units, and reached the rank of amir of one hundred and commander of one thousand in their later careers. Amitai-Preiss regards Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī as a ″non-affiliated″ amir, i.e., neither al-Manṣūrīyah nor al-Nāṣirīyah.[77] However, Aydamur′s biography states that he was ″the greatest of al-Burjī amirs″[78] and many sources call him ″al-Manṣūrī.″ Bahādur al-Damurdāshī was one of the twenty-four commanders of one thousand at the time of the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and he was classified among ″his (i.e., al-Nāṣir′s) mamluks and *khawāṣṣ*″ and was called ″al-Nāṣirī.″[79] We can consider that these two were not only *wāfidīyah* but also mamluk amirs. Thus, even in this later period, the difference between free men and slaves in the Mamluk army was not always clear.

Those Divided into the Amirs′ Units

This category (category [c] above) can be found in the case of Salār′s group, half of whom were divided among amirs′ units. When Mu'min Āghā (no. 8 in list beginning on p. 57) and his followers sought refuge with Qalāwūn in 681/1283, his two sons were assigned to serve under the amir Sayf al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy, *nā'ib al-salṭanah* of Qalāwūn.[80]

Ibn Shaddād ranks this category as the last on the list shown above, and its minor position within the Mamluk army is substantiated by the following two examples. First, when al-ʻĀdil Kitbughā was dethroned, the new sultan al-Manṣūr Lājīn arrested three commanders of the Oirat refugees, Ṭaraghāy, Kaktāy, and Ulūṣ. As for the rest of them, ″some of them came to serve under amirs [in Egypt] and others went to Syria and sought to enter the service of amirs.″[81] Second, when six hundred followers of Tamurtāsh arrived at Egypt in 728/1328, al-Nāṣir ″was antipathetic towards those who were in Tamurtāsh′s service and divided a part of them among amirs, so that they served under them without *iqṭā*ʻs.″[82] Both examples show that this category did not provide favorable conditions for the military refugees, and the latter shows that they were assigned without being given *iqṭā*ʻs.

Those Retained in the Unit of Their Original Leader

Before seeking refuge, the *wāfidīyah* had been part of a military organization, very different from that of the army of the Mamluk Sultanate, stationed in Mongol-controlled areas. After they sought refuge, most had to accept being dispersed into

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[77] Amitai, ″Remaking of the Military Elite,″ 149.

[78] Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir* (Beirut, 1986), 384.

[79] Al-Shujāʻī, *Tārīkh,* 112.

[80] Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 210.

[81] Al-ʻAynī, ʻ*Iqd,* 3:356.

[82] Mufaḍḍal, *Nahj* in Kortantamer, *Ägypten*, 39–40; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:295.

various units of the Mamluk army, but a part of them (case [d] above) were able to remain in the service of their original commanders, who had gained the rank of amir.

As seen above, Salār al-Mustanṣirī was allowed to keep his followers up to the limit of fifty persons out of three hundred, and Ṣaraghān Āghā kept at least one hundred out of two hundred. For the later *wāfidīyah,* we have little information on how many followers remained under their commanders. But I suppose that a certain number of them remained in their original leaders′ units and that these units constituted the various *wāfidīyah* groups in the Mamluk army, as will be seen later.

Those Assigned to the Ḥalqah *Unit*

Let us return to the previous question: did most of the *wāfidīyah* join the *ḥalqah* unit (case [e] above)? Here also let us start with the reign of Baybars. During his reign, Ibn Shaddād states, none of the Mongol *wāfidīyah* were assigned to the *ḥalqah* unit, as seen above, and no other contemporary sources report their assignment to the *ḥalqah* either.[83] It is uncertain whether those of the *wāfidīyah* from al-ʿIrāq commanded by Salār al-Mustanṣirī who were ″taken into service″ were assigned to the *ḥalqah* unit or the mamluk unit. As a whole, no *wāfidīyah* groups are described as assigned to the *ḥalqah* during the reign of Baybars, except for a few ʿIrāqī *wāfidīyah.* Ayalon points out that the amir Sayf al-Dīn Qunqur al-Tatarī, who came to Egypt in the reign of Baybars but whose arrival year is unknown, ″was assigned a good *iqṭāʿ* in the *ḥalqah.*″ [84] If we consult with more contemporary sources, however, we find no account like this.[85]

After the reign of Baybars, also, we find only a few cases of *wāfidīyah* who were assigned to the *ḥalqah.* Al-Maqrīzī states that about 300 commanders of the Oirat refugees, except for Ṭaraghāy and al-Luṣūṣ (Ulūṣ), were made commanders in the *ḥalqah (taqādum fī al-ḥalqah),*[86] but this information is not found in any contemporary source. According to al-ʿAynī, who cites al-Yūsufī, Nīrūz, a brother of the amir Jankalī, was appointed *taqdimah,* which was possibly *taqdimat al-ḥalqah* (commander of the *ḥalqah*). Through all the period covered in the present article, we find no indication that the *wāfidīyah* in general joined the *ḥalqah* unit, contrary

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[83]See the cases of Ṣaraghān Āghā and Karmūn Āghā (nos. 2 and 3 in the list).

[84]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk* (Beirut, 1936–42), 8:179; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 8:42. See Ayalon, ″Wafidiya,″ 90, n. 10.

[85]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 301; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 31:274; K. W. Zettersteén, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensultane in den Jahren 690–741 der Hiğra nach arabischen Handschriften* (Leiden, 1919), 29.

[86]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:22; Ayalon, ″Wafidiya,″ 90, n. 10.

to Ayalon′s statement.

Besides, it is necessary to clarify what the term *ḥalqah* meant in this period. Here, Ayalon and Humphreys′ argument about the *ḥalqah* is helpful. They both accept the fact that the *ḥalqah* in the army of Saladin was an elite force under the personal command of the sultan. Ayalon considers that the *ḥalqah* kept its high position at least until the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and that it gradually declined because of the redistribution of *iqṭā‘*.[87] On the other hand, Humphreys argues that the *ḥalqah* was already weak at the beginning of Baybars′ reign, because ″it comprised the bulk of the provincial Syrian troops.″[88] The basic disagreement between these two is whether there was much continuity between the Ayyubids and the Mamluks, or not.[89]

Ayalon and Humphreys, however, agree that the *ḥalqah* in the Bahri period was still attached to the sultan as royal troops.[90] This seems to be a key to the solution of the obscure treatment of the *wāfidīyah*. As seen above, the Mongol *wāfidīyah* in the reign of Baybars were assigned to the sultan′s mamluk unit without being enslaved, supposedly. We can just say that they joined the royal troops. The expression *khāṣṣakīyah* used by Ibn Shaddād can be used whether they were mamluks or free men. As for the troops of Salār al-Mustanṣirī, there is no designation whether they joined the mamluks or the *ḥalqah;* they are simply described as being taken ″into service.″

In my view, during the reign of Baybars, the *ḥalqah,* the *khāṣṣakīyah,* and even the sultan′s mamluks constituted one royal troop, and there was no distinction among the terms. The distinction between mamluks and free men inside this troop would not have mattered in this period. So I disagree with Humphreys on the point that he regards the *ḥalqah* of Baybars as second-class royal troops. Rather, I agree with Ayalon′s view of the early Mamluk *ḥalqah,* but disagree with him on the point that regards the *ḥalqah* as a separate troop from the mamluks.

It is true that the *ḥalqah* became second-class royal troops but only in a later period. Furthermore, we have found little connection between the *wāfidīyah* and the *ḥalqah.* Accordingly, we cannot support Ayalon′s statement that we know the *wāfidīyah* were discriminated against because they joined the *ḥalqah.*

Advancement in the Mamluk Army

So far we have only dealt with the rank assigned to military refugees when they

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[87] Ayalon, ″Structure of the Mamluk Army,″ pt. 2, 448–56.

[88] Humphreys, ″Emergence of the Mamluk Army,″ pt. 2, 148, 163 ff.

[89] For their arguments about the *ḥalqah,* see also David Ayalon, ″From Ayyubids to Mamluks,″ *Revue des études islamiques* 94 (1991): 50–53.

[90] Ibid., 163.

had just arrived. But we can also identify those who were later promoted to higher rank. Especially, we can identify nine amirs of one hundred from the *wāfidīyah* (nos. 1, 4, 12, 15, 20, 23, 24, 25, and 27 in the Appendix), while Ayalon counts only four amirs of one hundred.[91] Besides, other *wāfidī* amirs seem to have reached politically important positions at the Mamluk court, although they are not described as amirs of one hundred in any source (nos. 2, 5, 6, 11, 13, and 22 in the Appendix). *Wāfidī* amirs in high positions can be seen throughout the period in question. If we divide this period into two phases, with the third enthronement of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 1310 as a dividing point, we can see that the reasons for their advancement were different in the two phases.

THE FIRST PHASE (1262–1310)

In the first phase, from the outset of the Mamluk Sultanate until 1310, i.e., before the third enthronement of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, most of these refugees remained with their own military units which maintained their solidarity. Let us look at some groups which arrived at various times.

The Mongol *wāfidīyah* who come in the reign of Baybars (nos. 2–3 in the list) often appear in the sources as a group under Mongol commanders afterwards. For example, in 680/1281, when Sultan al-ʻĀdil Sulāmish, a son of Baybars, was dethroned and Qalāwūn became sultan, a group called *al-tatār al-wāfidīyah* fled from Cairo, under command of their leader Sayf al-Dīn Karāy (no. 6 in the Appendix) and his sons.[92] This episode shows that they had still kept their Mongol tribal bond for about twenty years. Since this Karāy and his unit returned to Cairo later and submitted to the authority of Qalāwūn,[93] it seems they maintained their unit during the reign of Qalāwūn. There are also some accounts in the chronicles stating that one of their leaders, Sayf al-Dīn Nūkāy (no. 4 in the Appendix) participated in several expeditions against the Crusaders and the Mongols until 699/1299, so we can suppose that their unit continued to exist as a viable military unit no less than thirty-six years after their arrival.

The Rūm *wāfidīyah* (no. 7 in the list) left little trace in the sources after their defection. But two of their leaders (nos. 11 and 12 in the Appendix) achieved high positions in the reign of al-Manṣūr Lājīn and the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Therefore it can be supposed that this group also maintained its political power for a long time.

As for the famous Oirat refugees (no. 12 in the list), they retained not only their tribal solidarity, but also their religious creed and lifestyle during the reign of

[91]See Ayalon, "Wafidiya," 93.

[92]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 193.

[93]Ibid., 200; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:36; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 7:221.

Sultan Kitbughā. For example, it is reported that they did not observe the fast in the month of Ramaḍān, and that they ate the meat of horses that they had not slaughtered according to Islamic conventions, but had been beaten to death, as was their custom.[94] Yet this situation did not continue for long, as seen above. After their leaders were arrested, they could no longer remain a strong military faction and we find only a few accounts about them, such as the short-lived riot in 1299.[95]

We can generalize the first phase using the five categories mentioned above as follows: a large number of category (d) soldiers continued to serve under category (b), i.e., *wāfidī* amirs. These amirs were advanced for reasons of their military ability and the large number of category (d) soldiers under their command, for the sultans in this phase needed these military refugees in order to solidify the newborn Mamluk state as well as to bolster their own authority.[96] *Wāfidīyah* of categories (a) and (c), i.e., those taken into the units of the sultan or other amirs, are also found in this period, but these categories produced no high-ranking amirs.

On the other hand, the *wāfidīyah* in this phase are also characterized by their marital ties to the sultans. For example, two of the four wives of Baybars at the time of his death were daughters of Mongol *wāfidī* amirs who came to Egypt in 661/1263, and a daughter of Karmūn, the leader of these *wāfidīyah,* had been another of his wives. Qalāwūn married another daughter of Karmūn, who gave birth to his son al-Ṣāliḥ ʻAlī, and also the daughter of one of the Rūm *wāfidīyah.* She is known as the mother of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Besides, Qalāwūn married his two sons, al-Ṣāliḥ ʻAlī and al-Ashraf Khalīl, to the daughters of Mongol *wāfidīyah.*[97]

What was the reason for these close marital ties between the *wāfidī* amirs and the Mamluk elite? As for the Oirat, Ayalon points out their physical beauty and states, ″Many Mamluks married Oirat wives.″[98] In my opinion, however, the Mamluk elites′ preference for the daughters of *wāfidī* amirs had rather to do with their fathers′ military ability. The sultans wanted marriage with their daughters for political reasons: they regarded the *wāfidīyah* as reliable supporters.

THE SECOND PHASE (AFTER 1310)

In this phase, i.e., the third reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and afterwards, unlike the first phase, we can find no unit that consisted of military refugees

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[94]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:298.

[95]See no. 17 in the Appendix.

[96]See Humphreys, ″Emergence of the Mamluk Army,″ pt. 2, 159.

[97]See nos. 2, 4, 6, and 10 in the Appendix.

[98]Ayalon, ″Wafidiya,″ 92, 100.

alone, and only those amirs who had personal connections with the sultan could reach high rank.

The amir Badr al-Dīn Jankalī ibn al-Bābā (no. 20 in the Appendix) advanced to the highest rank in the Mamluk Sultanate, but when he arrived in Egypt in 703/1304, he had brought only several horsemen with him. So when he was made an amir of one hundred, his unit could not have consisted of Mongols only. The reason for his advancement is unknown, but it is clear that it depended on his personal connection to Sultan al-Nāṣir rather than his troop′s strength. This connection is reflected in the fact that his daughter married a son of al-Nāṣir.

If we again take an example from the Oirat *wāfidīyah,* the amir Qararnah (no. 18 in the Appendix) is noteworthy. After the dissolution of this group, most of the Oirat were divided among the amirs′ units, and it is not clear how this amir Qararnah was treated. But during the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Qararnah was sent to the Ilkhanids as an envoy, and during the reigns of the sons of al-Nāṣir, he was sent to post-Ilkhanid Baghdad twice. These appointments were presumably due to his geographical knowledge of Iran or his skill as an interpreter of the Mongol language. He eventually reached the rank of amir of *ṭablkhānah,* thus becoming the most successful Oirat in the Mamluk Sultanate.

The group commanded by Tamurtāsh (no. 24 in the Appendix) was welcomed by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad at first, but when al-Nāṣir arrested Tamurtāsh and executed him, the men were divided among Mamluk amirs.[99] Bahādur al-Damurdāshi (no. 25 in the Appendix) had been under this Tamurtāsh′s command, as his *niṣbah* shows, and then was assigned to al-Nāṣir′s mamluk unit. Afterwards, though his former colleagues vainly rose in revolt in 732/1331–32,[100] he reached the highest rank of amir, and his prosperity continued until his death in 743/1343, in the reign of al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā‘īl. He married a daughter of al-Nāṣir, and it is clear that his advancement was closely related to his personal connection to the sultan. Similarly, the brothers Badr al-Dīn and Sharaf al-Dīn ibn Khaṭīr (nos. 13–14 in the Appendix) were promoted to high ranks, despite their original affiliation, the Rūm *wāfidīyah.*

One of the last refugees, Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Sharwīn (no. 26 in the Appendix) was supposedly advanced because of his skill as an administrator. Before coming to Egypt, he had been a vizier of Baghdad,[101] and that is why he was treated favorably by Sultan al-Nāṣir. And then, in the reign of al-Manṣūr Abū Bakr, a son of al-Nāṣir, he was appointed vizier.

Thus, throughout the second phase, we can find several *wāfidī* amirs (category [b]), who kept only a few of their original soldiers (category [d]) under their

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[99] Al-‘Aynī, ″‘Iqd,″ MS Süleymaniye 835, fol. 97v.

[100] Ibid., fols. 171v–172r.

[101] However, I could not find any evidence that he was a vizier in Baghdad in Persian sources.

command. These amirs were able to reach high rank, not by their military importance, but by their strong connections to the sultan or by their skill as administrators. In this phase, we also find high amirs recruited into the sultans′ units (category [a]) whose advancement owed to personal factors.

In this second phase, we still find several examples of marital ties between *wāfidī* families and the Mamluk elite.[102] These ties, however, were based on the sultans′ favoritism toward them, while those in the first phase were based on the *wāfidīyah*′s military importance.

CONCLUSION

The present study has clarified that the *wāfidīyah*′s status was higher than scholars have realized. A certain number of them were recruited into the royal troops, not into the *ḥalqah,* a minor unit in the Mamluk army. Some of the *wāfidī* amirs reached the highest rank in the Mamluk army.

Of course, their status was not unchanging from the beginning to the end, and the change in their status closely reflected the change of structure of the Mamluk Sultanate. At the outset of the Mamluk Sultanate, the *wāfidīyah* could retain their tribal units because the sultans needed to make use of their capable forces to strengthen the newborn state and to solidify their own authority. Owing to this tribal solidarity, their leaders could reach high positions in the Mamluk military system. In the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, however, the centralization of power was achieved, and the sultan no longer needed to depend on strong units of military refugees. He could advance his favorite retainers whether they were sultan′s mamluks or not.[103] Therefore, in this phase, several highly advanced *wāfidī* amirs emerged from *wāfidīyah* groups which had only a small number of personnel or which had collapsed and completely dissolved.

It is true that the *wāfidīyah* were not mamluks, i.e., those who were brought to the Mamluk Sultanate as slaves or captives. But differences between free men and slaves in the Mamluk army seems to have been less significant than has been realized, at least in the early Mamluk period. The *wāfidīyah* were outsiders to the sultanate, just as the mamluks were. The *wāfidīyah* often shared with the royal mamluks the sense of belonging to a certain sultan,[104] because their only base of

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[102]See nos. 20 and 25 in the Appendix.

[103]During the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, there were many examples of amirs who attained the highest ranks without sufficient military training. See Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn 1310–1341* (Leiden, 1995), 34–40.

[104]Cf. the Mongol *wāfidīyah* and Baybars′ mamluk unit (al-Baḥrīyah al-Ẓāhirīyah) in the revolt of 680/1281: Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*, 193; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:78. The *wāfidī* amir Sayf al-Dīn Nūkāy was called a Ẓāhirī amir (al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl*, in Guo, *Early Mamluk Syrian*

power was the relationship with the sultan who recruited them. The present article shows that the situation of the *wāfidīyah* cannot be explained by the dichotomy of slave and free man. It also casts a new light on the Mamluk political order and the relationship between the Mamluk army and the sultans´ household.

Historiography, 72). See also the Oirat *wāfidīyah* and Kitbughā´s mamluks in the revolt of 699/1300: al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 1:883.

APPENDIX: THE LIST OF THE *WĀFIDĪ* AMIRS

(The number after the name is the number of the group in the previous list with which the individual was associated.)

1. Sayf al-Dīn Ṣaraghān Āghā (no. 2): His name is found only in the account of 661/1263 (Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 180; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:89–90) and in the allocation list *(maktūb jāmiʻ bi-al-tamlīk)* of 663/1265 (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 98–99; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:276–81; Mufaḍḍal, *Nahj,* 1:479–86; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:532–34). Amitai-Preiss identifies him as a leader of the Mongol *wāfidīyah* of 660/1262. See Amitai-Preiss, ″Mamluk Officer Class,″ 295.
2. Sayf al-Dīn Karmūn al-Tatarī (d. 664/1266, no. 3): His biography is found in Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 264; Shāfiʻ ibn ʻAlī, *Ḥusn,* 111; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:130. He sought refuge in Cairo in 661/1263 accompanied by another thirteen Mongol commanders and their men, and his name is also found in the allocation list of 663/1265. One of his daughters married al-Ẓāhir Baybars and then the amir Sayf al-Dīn Kunduk al-Ẓāhirī, while another married al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and gave birth to his son al-Ṣāliḥ ʻAlī. Shāfiʻ ibn ʻAlī, *Faḍl al-Maʼthūr min Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr* (Sidon, 1998), 111; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 164, 228; idem, *Tuḥfah,* 56, 87. See also Amitai-Preiss, ″Mamluk Officer Class,″ 296.
3. Badr al-Dīn Baktāsh ibn Karmūn (no. 3): Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh,* 338. His name is found only in the account of the battle of Ḥimṣ in 679/1280 (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 197; idem, *Tuḥfah,* 100; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:33–34; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 7:216).
4. Sayf al-Dīn Nūkāy al-Tatarī (d. 699/1300, no. 3): He was one of the fourteen Mongol commanders of 661/1263. He was arrested in Baybars′ reign but later was released and appointed amir of one hundred by Qalāwūn. He died at the battle of Wādī al-Khāzindār (al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd,* 4:17). One of his daughters married Baybars (Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 8:219; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 30:368; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:640–41; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 7:179). Another daughter, named MNKBK, married al-Ṣāliḥ ʻAlī ibn Qalāwūn in 681/1282 (Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf,* 20; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 228–29; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:90; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:709) and gave birth to a prince, Mūsá (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 32:170). A third daughter, named Ardukīn (Urdutakīn), married al-Ashraf Khalīl ibn Qalāwūn in 682/1284 (Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf,* 44; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 232–33; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:99; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:717.), and after his death married al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and gave birth to a prince, ʻAlī, who died at an early age. She died in 724/1324. Mufaḍḍal, *Nahj* in Kortantamer, *Ägypten,* 23; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:347–48;

al-ʻAynī, "ʻIqd," MS Veliyyüddin 2394, fol. 481; Howayda al-Harithy, "Turbat al-Sitt: An Identification," in *The Cairo Heritage: Essays in Honor of Laila Ali Ibrahim,* ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Cairo, 2000), 103–21.

5. Jamāl al-Dīn Khaḍir ibn Nūkāy (d. 728/1328, no. 3): He was an amir of *ṭablkhānah.* Biography: al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 33:275; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʻyān al-Mi'ah al-Thāminah* (Hyderabad, 1972–76), 2:205; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:304; al-ʻAynī, "ʻIqd," MS Süleymaniye 835, fol. 109r; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 9:275. See also Sato Tsugitaka, "The Proposers and Supervisors of al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī in Mamluk Egypt," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 86.
6. Sayf al-Dīn Karāy al-Tatarī (no. 3): He was one of the Mongol refugees, but only later historians list his name (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 84; idem, *Tuḥfah,* 51; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:501; al-ʻAynī, ʻ*Iqd,* 1:365). One of his daughters married Baybars. When Qalāwūn became sultan, Karāy joined the amir Shams al-Dīn Sunqur al-Ashqar in Ṣaḥyūn, and returned to Cairo with al-Baḥrīyah al-Ẓāhirīyah and al-Tatār al-wāfidīyah in 680/1281 (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 193, 195, 200; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:36; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 7:214, 221). He had two sons, Shams al-Dīn Āqsunqur and Alṭunṭāsh (Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh,* 114, 338).
7. Sayf al-Dīn Jabrak al-Tatarī (no. 3): He was one of the fourteen Mongol commanders of 661/1263. His name is found only in the account of the battle of Ḥimṣ in 692/1293 (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 181; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:33; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 7:215; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:692).
8. Ḥusām al-Dīn Bījār al-Bayburtī (d. 681/1282, no. 7): He and his son Bahādur came from al-Rūm in 675/1276, following Saktāy (no. 10 below) (Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh,* 155). Biography: al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl,* 4:168; Ibn al-Ṣuqāʻī, *Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-Aʻyān* (Damascus, 1974), 54–55; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt* (Wiesbaden, 1961–), 10:360; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:711.
9. Badr al-Dīn Bahādur ibn Bījār al-Bayburtī (d. 680/1281, no. 7): His wife was a daughter of Saktāy. Biography: al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl,* 4:107; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:84–85; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* 10:295; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr* (Beirut, 1991), 2:500; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʻda al-Wāfī* (Cairo, 1986–), 3:427.
10. Saktāy (no. 7): He was the first refugee from al-Rūm, who came in 675/1276 with his brother Jāwrajī. His daughter Ashlūn married Qalāwūn in 681/1282–83 and gave birth to his son al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf,* 110; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 229; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:90, 267; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:709; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:459).
11. Mubāriz al-Dīn Sawārī ibn Tarkarī, Amīr Shikār (d. 704/1304–5, no. 7): He was one of the Rūm *wāfidī* amirs (Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh,* 154–55; al-Yūnīnī,

Dhayl, 3:166; Mufaḍḍal, *Nahj,* 2:407–8). He is also known as one of the sixteen amirs who supported al-Manṣūr Lājīn in 696/1296 (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 313). Biography: Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 382; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:14; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:275; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 8:217.

12. Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn ibn Jandarbak (d. 729/1328, no. 7): He was one of the Rūm *wāfidī* amirs. He served the amir Lājīn (later sultan) and became an amir of one hundred in the third reign of al-Nāṣir. Biography: Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 9:352; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 33:288; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr wa-A'wān al-Naṣr* (Beirut and Damascus, 1998), 2:259–64; Mufaḍḍal, *Nahj* in Kortantamer, *Ägypten,* 44; al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffá,* 3:649; idem, *Sulūk,* 2:313; al-'Aynī, "'Iqd," MS Süleymaniye 835, fol. 128v; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 5:152; idem, *Nujūm,* 9:276–77. See also Amitai, "Remaking of Military Elite," 162.
13. Badr al-Dīn Mas'ūd ibn Awḥad ibn Khaṭīr (b. 683/1284–85, d. 754/1253–54, no. 7): He was a son of the Rūm *wāfidī* amir Niẓām al-Dīn Awḥad ibn Khaṭīr (Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh,* 174–75, 337; Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 462). His grandfather Sharaf al-Dīn Mas'ūd ibn Khaṭīr was a prominent amir in the Rūm Saljuqid sultanate. Born in Damascus, he was favored by al-Nāṣir and held the posts of grand *ḥājib* and governor (*nā'ib*) of Ghazza and Tripoli. Biography: al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 5:417–27; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 6:110; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:292–93.
14. Sharaf al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Awḥad ibn Khaṭīr (d. 749/1249, no. 7): He was a brother of the above Badr al-Dīn Mas'ūd. He served also as *ḥājib* in Damascus and Cairo. Biography: al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 5:364; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 6:80.
15. 'Izz al-Dīn Aydamur al-Khaṭīrī al-Manṣūrī (d. 738/1337–38, no. 7): Originally he was one of the mamluks of Niẓām al-Dīn Awḥad ibn Khaṭīr (father of the amirs numbered 13 and 14 above) and was later assigned to the Burjīyah unit by Qalāwūn. He reached the rank of amir of one hundred in the third reign of al-Nāṣir. Biography: al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhah,* 384; al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 1:660; idem, *Wāfī,* 10:17; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:511–12; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 3:180–82; idem, *Nujūm,* 9:312. See also Amitai, "Remaking of the Military Elite," 161; Sato, "Proposers and Supervisors," 82.
16. Ṭaraghāy (no. 12): He was a leader of the Oirat refugees in 695/1296. For his career under the Mongols, see Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh* (Tehran, 1995), 1262, and also Shimo Hirotoshi, *The Political Structure of the Mongol Empire: The Core Tribes of the Ilkhanid* (in Japanese) (Tokyo, 1995), 275–76. He was favored by al-'Ādil Kitbughā, but in the reign of al-Manṣūr Lājīn he and the Oirats were purged (al-'Aynī, '*Iqd,* 3:356). His brief biography is found only in Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 6:381–82.
17. Ulūṣ (d. 699/1300?, no. 12): After the purge of the Oirat, among their leaders,

he was the only one released, for unknown reasons. In 699/1300, he conspired with Sayf al-Dīn Buriltāy, one of the sultan's mamluks, and ʻAlā' al-Dīn Quṭulūbars al-ʻĀdilī, a mamluk of Kitbughā, and revolted, but they were soon put down and executed (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 330; idem, *Tuḥfah,* 156; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 31:381; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 9:15; Mufaḍḍal, *Nahj,* 2:632; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:883).

18. Qararnah (d. 749/1348–49, no. 12): One of the Oirat refugees, he was appointed amir of *ṭablkhānah* by al-Nāṣir. He was sent as envoy to the Ilkhanids several times. Biography: Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 4:290.
19. Sulāmish (d. 698/1299, no. 13): He was the governor of al-Rūm under the Ilkhanids and sought refuge in Egypt in 698/1299. Leaving his brother Quṭquṭū, who was given an *iqṭāʻ* in Egypt, he went to al-Rūm, where he was caught and executed by the Ilkhanid army. See Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmiʻ,* 1287, 1289; Shimo, *Political Structure,* 129.
20. Badr al-Dīn Jankalī ibn al-Bābā (d. 746/1346, no. 14): His daughter married Ibrāhīm, the son of al-Nāṣir, and he became one of the twenty-four amirs of one hundred in the third reign of al-Nāṣir. Biography: al-Ṣafadī, *Aʻyān,* 2:163–66; idem, *Wāfī,* 11:199–200; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:89–91; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:134–35; idem, *Muqaffá,* 4:75–77; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:143–44; Ayalon, "Wafidiya," 93; Amitai, "Remaking of the Mamluk Elite," 163; Sato, "Proposers and Supervisors," 80.
21. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Jankalī (b. 697/1297–98, d. 742/1342, no. 14): He was born in Diyār Bakr and came to Cairo with his father Jankalī. He became a Hanbali jurisprudent *(faqīh)*. Biography: al-Ṣafadī, *Aʻyān,* 4:379–95; idem, *Wāfī,* 2:310–13; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 5:155; al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffá,* 5:508; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 9:325.
22. Sayf al-Dīn Dilanjī (d. 751/1350, no. 14): He was a nephew of Jankalī. He arrived at Cairo in 730/1329–30 and later held the post of governor of Ghazza. Biography: al-Ṣafadī, *Aʻyān,* 2:356–57; idem, *Wāfī,* 14:28–29; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:228; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:249.
23. Sayf al-Dīn Ṭāyirbughā (Ẓahīrbughā) (d. 738/1337, no. 20): He was one of the relatives of Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn. When he arrived with Ilkhanid envoys in 726/1326, he was made amir of *ṭablkhānah*, and was raised to the rank of amir of one hundred before long. He read and wrote the Mongol language in the sultan's court. Biography: al-Ṣafadī, *Aʻyān,* 2:635–36; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:234.
24. Tamurtāsh (Damurdāsh) ibn Jūbān (d. 728/1328, no. 22): He was the governor of al-Rūm in Ilkhanid territory, and he sought refuge in Egypt in 728/1328. He was made amir of one hundred, but al-Nāṣir executed him seven months after he arrived, on account of the peace treaty with the Ilkhanids. Biography:

al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 2:111–15; idem, *Wāfī,* 10:400–3; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:62; 2:228–29. See also Shimo, *Political Structure,* 150–53.

25. Bahādur al-Damurdāshī al-Nāṣirī (d. 743/1343, no. 22): He was originally a mamluk of Tamurtāsh and was later assigned to al-Nāṣir's mamluk unit. He became amir of one hundred in the latter half of the third reign of al-Nāṣir. Biography: al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 252–53; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* 10:299; idem, *A'yān,* 2:62–63; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:36.
26. Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn 'Alī ibn Sharwīn (d. 748/1347, no. 23): Known as "the vizier of Baghdad." He sought refuge from Baghdad accompanied by some officials and their families in 738/1337. He was made amir of one hundred and after al-Nāṣir's death he held the post of vizier three times. Biography: al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 5:399; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 6:90; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:755; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:183; Ayalon, "Wafidiya," 93.
27. Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ghawrī (no. 23): He came to Egypt with the above Maḥmūd ibn Sharwīn and was appointed Hanafi qadi (al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh,* 19). Biography: al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* 3:22; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 3:430.
28. Nāṣir al-Dīn Khalīfah ibn 'Alī Shāh (d. 749/1348, no. 24): He was a son of Tāj al-Dīn 'Alī Shāh, a *ṣāḥib al-dīwān* in the Ilkhanid state. He sought refuge in Damascus in 738/1337, counting on the support of the amir Sayf al-Dīn Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī, governor of Syria, and was appointed commander of one thousand of Damascus. Biography: al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān,* 2:324–25; idem, *Wāfī,* 13:383–84; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:218; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:794; idem, *Muqaffá,* 3:767.

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Cairene Cemeteries as Public Loci in Mamluk Egypt

Introduction

After the conquest of Egypt, the Arab Muslims located their graveyards in the area beneath the Muqaṭṭam Mountain, stretching outward from the southeast side of their new capital, al-Fusṭāṭ. This older and larger cemetery area became known as al-Qarāfah al-Kubrá (the Greater Qarāfah). Subsequently, the cemetery area developed around several famous mausolea, including the mausoleum of Imām al-Shāfiʻī, extended to the Muqaṭṭam as well, and came to be called al-Qarāfah al-Ṣughrá (the Lesser Qarāfah). Also, outside the Naṣr Gate, there stretched another cemetery area, eventually swallowed by the so-called al-Ṣaḥrā' that prospered most during the Mamluk period, and had stronger ties with the Mamluk ruling elites. There were several other smaller graveyards, and in this article, I include all cemetery areas in the region surrounding Cairo/Fusṭāṭ in the term ″Cairene cemeteries,″ although al-Qarāfah al-Kubrá preceded the construction of Cairo.

These cemetery areas were primarily sanctuaries where people came to console the souls of the dead, or to seek help for worldly difficulties and pray for entrance into heaven through the fulfillment *(ijābah)* of the *duʻā'* (supplicatory prayer). Likewise, crowds including women and children went there on excursions, leading to the depiction of these areas by the historian al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) as ″the greatest meeting place of the Egyptian people, and their most popular pleasure resort.″ [1]

Literature detailing these cemetery areas and the practice of visitation *(ziyārah/ziyārāt)* among Egyptian Muslim society were prominent in the Mamluk era and continued even through the nineteenth century. Yet, in vicissitude of time, these works tended to focus on the *ahl al-bayt* (the Prophet Muḥammad′s holy family), arranging information about them into chapters. Al-Qalʻāwī (d. 1815), al-Shablanjī (d. 1883), and al-Mushkī (published in 1919), for instance, composed treatises of this sort, and al-Nabhānī′s (d. 1931–32) compilation of *karāmāt* (miracles and virtues) achieved by ″saints″ should be recalled in this regard.[2] Ḥasan Qāsim,

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[1] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Būlāq, 1270 A.H.), 2:444; Tetsuya Ohtoshi, ″The Manners, Customs, and Mentality of Pilgrims to the Egyptian City of the Dead: 1100–1500 A.D.,″ *Orient* 29 (1993): 19.

[2] Al-Qalʻāwī, ″Mashāhid al-Ṣafā fī al-Madfūnīn bi-Miṣr min Āl al-Bayt al-Muṣṭafá,″ Dār al-Kutub MS 2136 Tārīkh; al-Shablanjī, *Nūr al-Abṣār fī Manāqib Āl Bayt al-Nabī al-Mukhtār* (Cairo,

in addition, listed famous mausolea in 1936.[3] Meanwhile, scholarly investigations in the Western academy were initiated by A. F. Mehren in the latter half of the nineteenth century,[4] followed by R. Guest and L. Massignon, primarily focusing on topography.[5] Great breakthroughs were made by Yūsuf Rāghib, who, after completing an inventory of *ziyārah* guidebooks of the cemeteries, published many substantial studies on this subject.[6] Since the 1980s, Christopher Taylor and the present author have engaged this subject from social-historical or historical-anthropological perspectives, detailing customs and the social background and trying to reconstruct the social milieu.[7] More recently, new studies seem to be flourishing in this field.

This article is an attempt to reconsider the historical characteristics and illuminate actual conditions of these cemetery areas, where any Muslim could participate in various activities, each in his or her own way, irrespective of their position in the social strata, place of origin, gender, or age.[8] Particularly, primary consideration is focused on the various ways in which people participated, based on their social positions or strata, and the supervision of that area by the Mamluk government.

1948); al-Mushkī, *Al-'Adl al-Shahīd fī Taḥqīq al-Mashāhid* (Cairo, n.d.); al-Nabhānī, *Jāmi' Karāmāt al-Awliyā'* (Cairo, 1984). For more detail, see Tetsuya Ohtoshi, "A Note on the Disregarded Ottoman Cairene *Ziyāra* Book," *Mediterranean World* 15 (1998): 75–85.

[3]Ḥasan Qāsim, *Al-Mazārāt al-Miṣrīyah* (Cairo, 1936). Also Aḥmad Taymūr, *Qabr al-Imām al-Suyūṭī: wa-Taḥqīq* Mawḍi'ih (Cairo, 1927) should be added here.

[4]A. F. Mehren, *Câhirah og Kerâfat, historiske Studier under et Ophold i Ægypten 1867-68* (Copenhagen, 1869).

[5]R. Guest, "Cairene Topography: El Qarafa according to Ibn Ez Zaiyat," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1925): 57–61; L. Massignon, "La cité des morts au Caire (Qarāfa-Darb al-Aḥmar)," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 57 (1958): 25–79.

[6]Yūsuf Rāghib, "Essai d'inventaire chronologique des guides à l'usage des pèlerins du Caire," *Revue des études islamiques* 16 (1973): 259–80; idem, "Sur deux monuments funéraires du cimetière d'al-Qarāfa al-Kubrá au Caire," *Annales islamologiques* 12 (1974): 67–84; idem, "Sur un groupe de mausolés du cimetière du Caire," *REI* 40 (1972): 189–95; etc.

[7]Christopher Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteou*s (Leiden, 1998); Tetsuya Ohtoshi, "Visits to the Holy Tombs in the Egyptian City of the Dead" (in Japanese), *Shigaku Zashshi* (Historical review) 102, no. 10 (1993): 1–49; idem, "The Manners, Customs, and Mentality"; idem, "The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century: Phases of Its Development and Social Function" (in Japanese), *Toyo Gakuho* 75, no. 3/4 (1994): 161–202; idem, "The Egyptian City of the Dead and Visits to Holy Graves: A Case Study from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Centuries" (in Japanese), Ph.D. diss., The University of Tokyo, 1994; idem, "Muslims and Copts as Reflected in the *Ziyāra* Books and *Qarāfa*s," in *Islam in the Middle Eastern Studies: Muslims and Minorities* (Osaka, 2003), 27–51; etc.

[8]The main historical sources of this article have already been referred to orally at the Annual Meeting of the Historical Society of Japan in 1991, also partly published in Japanese as "The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century."

As a result, I hope to elucidate the various roles that these cemeteries played in the Cairo/Fusṭāṭ region, and how the public loci in Islamic Egypt functioned for members of Egyptian society, by reconsidering the relationships between cemetery areas and the people of various strata of society in Cairo, as well as the interactions among those people.[9]

CEMETERIES AS RESIDENTIAL AND LEISURE PLACES

Cairene cemeteries, including the two Qarāfahs and al-Ṣaḥrā', were primarily huge areas where the dead of Cairo and al-Fusṭāṭ, from sultans to paupers, were entombed. These were graveyards for all Muslims, who probably requisitioned them as their burial land from Coptic Egyptians after the conquest. Copts were allocated a spot near the Ḥabash Lake as their cemetery, although the higher stratum of Copts, such as the pope or some bishops, were buried in churches like al-Mu'allaqah of Old Cairo, or, in some cases, the pope's body was relocated to the monastery of Abū Maqār in Wādī Naṭrūn.[10] The main cemeteries for Jews and Samaritans may have stood next to the Coptic ones beside the Ḥabash Lake, which the 56th Coptic Pope Khā'īl III (880–907) sold to them. Perhaps this measure was taken due to the construction of the *maydān* (square) in a new capital, al-Qaṭā'i', by Ibn Ṭūlūn. Other *dhimmī*s interred their dead within churches, such as the Melikites, who also buried their dead in the Quṣayr Monastery on the Muqaṭṭam, the Armenians, and the Nestorians.[11] Thus, Muslim cemeteries were adjacent to *dhimmī* graveyards, although from a shari'ah point of view, they should have been kept separate by great distances.[12]

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[9]The aim of this article does not lie in social class or stratum analysis; the sectioning of each chapter by headings such as the common people, ulama, or ruling elites, is employed only for arrangement and facilitation of the arguments herein, not for rigid classification of social strata. Through such indices, this article intends to illuminate various aspects of Cairene cemeteries.

[10]Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī (attributed; the true author was Abū al-Makārim), *Tārīkh al-Shaykh Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī* (London, 1969), 54–57, Ibn al-Muqaffa' (attributed), *Kitāb Siyar al-Ābā' al-Baṭārikah* (Cairo, 1948–), 2:3:171, 207, 211, 220, 232, 3:1:7; Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd wa-al-Durr al-Farīd, Patrologia Orientalis* 20 (1928): 288, 450, 586; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:460; Tetsuya Ohtoshi, "Visits and Pilgrimages of Copts in Islamic Egypt" (in Japanese), *Rekishigaku Kenkyu* 755 (2001): 178–87; idem, "Conception of 'Egypt' in the Pre-Modern Period: Preliminary Essay," *Mediterranean World* 16 (2001): 15–33; idem, "Visits, Holy Tombs and Relics in the Medieval Egyptian Muslim Society" (in Japanese), in *Pilgrimage and Popular Faith,* History of the Mediterranean World 4 (Tokyo, 1999), 224–61.

[11]Al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Wulāh wa-al-Quḍāh* (London, 1912), 215; Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat 'Iqd al-Amṣār* (Beirut, n.d.), 4:121; Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī (attributed), *Tārīkh,* 55–57; Ohtoshi, "Visits and Pilgrimages of Copts in Islamic Egypt," 181.

[12]Although not written in the Mamluk period, see al-Damanhūrī (d. 1192/1778), *Iqāmat al-Ḥujjah al-Bāhirah 'alá Hadm Kanā'is Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Berkeley, 1975), 63 (text).

At the same time, since the Cairene cemetery areas were located on the periphery of the Cairo/Fusṭāṭ region, they were vulnerable to easy plunder by raiding outsiders. The invasion of the areas of al-Qarāfah or by the Qarmatians and Fatimid Maghribians, and later by the Ottomans, may be recalled in this regard.[13]

People from all across the social stratum, regardless of gender or age, visited the tombs of their acquaintances or "saints"; these activities were termed *ziyārah*.[14] Also, travelers from outside of Egypt came to visit the cemeteries, drawn by such sites as the mausoleum of Imām al-Shāfiʻī.[15] Many of them stopped on their Meccan pilgrimages. While visiting famous mausolea, visitors would often form groups, each led by a shaykh of *al-ziyārah,* an authority and guide, making a circuit of the holy mausolea following their own routes. In 845/1442, for instance, eleven groups went on tours of the two-Qarāfahs simultaneously. The shaykhs of *al-ziyārah,* who might be considered tour leaders, wrote guidebooks for tomb visitation, termed "*kutub al-ziyārah*" (books of visit) as well. These treatises, which are utilized in this article, detailed the customs of visitation, and cited abundant anecdotes about the late saints.[16] The *ziyārah* was made not only by visiting groups (sing. *ṭā'ifah*), but also by individuals or groups with specific motives. For instance, at the tomb of al-Shāṭibī in al-Qarāfah al-Ṣughrá, verses of the deceased and the Quran were recited by shaykhs and their pupils on the first Tuesday of each month.[17]

The sanctity of the Qarāfah cemeteries was assumed to be strengthened by their location beneath the holy Muqaṭṭam Mountain. The word al-Qarāfah is employed interchangeably with *safḥ al-Muqaṭṭam* (the foot of al-Muqaṭṭam Mountain) in historical sources. The Muqaṭṭam itself attracted the reverence of

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[13]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'iʻ al-Zuhūr* (Cairo, 1982–84), 5:154; Ohtoshi, "The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century," 171.

[14]The term "saint" in this article is employed to denote an analytical concept, which is applied to any person who won veneration from others, including those who were called *walī*/*awliyā',* *ṣāliḥ*/*ṣāliḥūn,* etc. Concerning various terminological problems on "saints," see Tetsuya Ohtoshi, "'Saints' and 'the Cult of the Saints'" (in Japanese), in *The Handbook of Islamic Studies* (Tokyo, 1995), 240–48.

[15]Before the Mamluk period, in the middle of the twelfth century, al-Shaykh Ibn al-Ṣābūnī, who was living in Damascus, asked Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the Zangid ruler, for permission to visit Imām al-Shāfiʻī in al-Qarāfah, and his hope was realized. See Abū Shāmah, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn* (Cairo, 1956–62), 2:68.

[16]For more detail on the manners and customs which prevailed in Egyptian cemeteries and their visits, and also on the *shaykh al-ziyārah* and *kutub al-ziyārah,* see Ohtoshi, "The Manners, Customs, and Mentality"; idem, "The Egyptian City of the Dead and Visits to Holy Graves"; and Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous.*

[17]Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Qasṭallānī, "Al-Fatḥ al-Mawāhibī fī Tarjamat al-Imām al-Shāṭibī," Dār al-Kutub MS 1766 Tārīkh Taymūr, fols. 90–93.

Egyptians of various religions—Copts cherished their own legendary memory of moving the Muqaṭṭam Mountain. A person entombed in this area may have been believed to have escaped Judgment. Muslim literature often depicted al-Muqaṭṭam through personification, and every important historical figure was said to have had a relationship with it. Later, the *ziyārah* tract of al-Shuʿaybī (seventeenth century) even illustrated its cosmological position by ranking it with Mount Arafat, the Kaʿbah, and Jerusalem.[18] Al-Muqaṭṭam was therefore described as *″al-muqaddas″* (holy) by both Muslim and Coptic literature.[19]

As a result, a *duʿā'* (supplicatory prayer) performed there was thought more likely to be fulfilled. The fulfillment *(ijābah)* of individual *duʿā'* constituted a crucial concern of visitors to graveyards, and its content tended to concentrate on worldly affairs or entering heaven.[20] Moreover, mass prayers conducted by rulers were often held there, mainly in the back enclosure of Sultan Barqūq′s religious complex in al-Ṣaḥrā', seeking the abatement of the plague or the rising of the Nile. People, including Copts and Jews, were urged to go there to pray, and huge amounts of bread, meat, and other items were distributed on those occasions.

After the death of a relative, the bereaved family would stay for long periods at the graveyard to comfort the soul of the deceased.[21] Additionally, visitors from in and out of Cairo/Fusṭāṭ came to visit these cemetery areas. As time went on the infrastructure in al-Qarāfah was improved, with numerous walled tomb structures enabling people to live there, and it consequently became inhabited by the common people.

As early as the Tulunid period, histories already suggest the presence of inhabitants, particularly those who enjoyed the benefits of an aqueduct from the Ḥabash Lake to al-Maʿāfir (al-Qarāfah al-Kubrá), constructed by Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 270/884).[22] In the Ikhshidid period (935–69), the situation seems to have remained

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[18]Al-Shuʿaybī, ″Kitāb Yashtamil ʿalá Dhikr Man Dufina bi-Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah min al-Muḥaddithīn wa-al-Awliyā' wa-al-Rijāl wa-al-Nisā',″ Maktabat al-Azhar MS Tārīkh 5105819, fols. 92a–b; Ohtoshi, ″A Note on the Disregarded Ottoman Cairene *Ziyāra* Book,″ 81.

[19]Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī (attributed), *Tārīkh,* 62; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:454; al-Kindī, *Kitāb al-Wulāh wa-al-Quḍāh,* 13; Ohtoshi, ″Conception of ′Egypt′ in the Pre-Modern Period: Preliminary Essay,″ 22; idem,″Muslims and Copts as Reflected in the *Ziyāra* Books and *Qarāfa*s,″ 41; cf. Ibn al-Zayyāt, *Al-Kawākib al-Sayyārah fī Tartīb al-Ziyārah fī al-Qarāfatayn al-Kubrá wa-al-Ṣughrá* (Cairo, 1325 A.H.), 276.

[20]For a detailed analysis of the content of the *duʿā'* and the logic of its rewards, see Ohtoshi, ″The Manners, Customs, and Mentality,″ 30–39.

[21]Ibid., 23; Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Al-Madkhal* (Cairo, 1981), 1:251–53.

[22]Al-Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad Ibn Ṭūlūn* (Cairo, n.d.), 345, 350, 353; Ibn ʿUthmān, ″Murshid al-Zuwwār ilá Qubūr al-Abrār,″ Dār al-Kutub MS 5139 Tārīkh, fols. 162b, 91a–b; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfat al-Aḥbāb wa-Bughyat al-Ṭullāb fī al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Mazārāt wa-al-Tarājim wa-al-Biqā' al-Mubārakāt* (Cairo, 1937), 180; Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Intiṣār,* 4:57–58.

the same.[23] From the Arab conquest to the Fatimid period, the development of the al-Qarāfah al-Kubrá area, first as a suburb of al-Fusṭāṭ and then as a graveyard area, is evidenced by archeological research as well.[24] When they entered Egypt, the Fatimids were reported to have made al-Qarāfah al-Kubrá a residential area, and they built mosques, large pavilions, monuments, and cisterns, and so many moved there that it eventually became congested.[25] There were, however, also struggles between the Qarāfah resident Egyptians and al-Maghāribah, who came with the Fatimids. Notably, in 363/973, the Maghāribah invaded the Qarāfah district, evicting Egyptians, and plundered or occupied it.[26] In those days, the natives of al-Qarāfah may have been known as al-Qarāfīyah, who went so far as to send robes of honor to a swindler named Shurūṭ, possibly a converted Copt, when the Banū Qurrah of the Arab Bedouins supported him as their caliph.[27] Nevertheless, the Fatimids later distributed to the Qarāfah residents a great deal of meat and sweets through the mosque, and built a free mill complete with working beasts and fodder.[28] Sufis were reported to seclude themselves in the Muqaṭṭam, though the reliability of this passage in the text is uncertain.[29] Although it suffered disasters in al-Mustanṣir′s reign (427–87/1036–94), and in 564/1168, the area revived in the Ayyubid period, with many new buildings, such as Ribāṭ Fakhr al-Dīn and the *muṣallá* (oratory) of Ibn al-Arsūfī. Most famous of all was the rebuilding of the mausoleum of Imām al-Shāfiʿī in al-Qarāfah al-Ṣughrá with an aqueduct built by Sultan al-Kāmil.[30] The custom of *ziyārah* seems to have been established in this period, as indicated by the appearance of *ziyārah* tracts.[31]

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[23]Al-Shuʿaybī, ″Kitāb Yashtamil ʿalá Dhikr Man Dufina bi-Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,″ fol. 153a.

[24]R. Gayraud, ″Istabl ʿAntar (Fostat) 1985: Rapport de fouilles,″ *Annales islamologiques* 22 (1986): 1–26, idem, ″Istabl ʿAntar (Fostat) 1986,″ *Annales islamologiques* 23 (1987): 55–71.

[25]Al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 180.

[26]Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār Miṣr* (Cairo, 1981), 164; al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-Ḥunafāʾ bi-Akhbār al-Aʾimmah al-Fāṭimīyīn al-Khulafāʾ* (Cairo, 1967–73), 1:113, 131, 139, 143, 145, 148, 2:20–21; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1975–), 28:150, 206.

[27]Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (attributed), *Kitāb Siyar al-Ābāʾ al-Baṭārikah,* 2:2:210; al-Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr,* ed. W. Millward (Cairo, 1980), 174.

[28]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:319–20, 445–46; idem, *Al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr* (Beirut, 1991), 6:493; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 28:208.

[29]Ibn al-Nāsikh, ″Miṣbāḥ al-Dayājī wa-Ghawth al-Rājī wa-Kahf al-Lājī,″ Dār al-Kutub MS 87 Buldān Taymūr, fol. 124.

[30]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:320, 444; idem, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk* (Cairo, 1939–73), 1:1:208; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmiʿ al-Ghurar* (Cairo, 1960–72), 7:170.

[31]Ibn ʿAṭāyā (d. 612/1216), for instance, lived in al-Qarāfah al-Kubrá, and wrote a *ziyārah* treatise. Al-Mundhirī, *Al-Takmilah li-Wafayāt al-Nuqilah* (Beirut, 1988), 2:346; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāh fī Ṭabaqāt al-Lughawīyīn wa-al-Nuḥāh* (Beirut, n.d.), 2:107; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk* (Beirut, 1932–42), 5:183–84.

Geographical works of this period also confirm the existence of inhabitants in the Qarāfahs.[32]

The Bahri Mamluk period is considered one of the high points of the Qarāfahs; they are thought to have been fully developed to accommodate both sojourners and inhabitants. The residents of Cairene cemeteries were too numerous to be mentioned. According to the sources, accommodations for residents and sojourners included mosques, *khānqāh*s, *zāwiyah*s, *ribāṭ*s, *madrasah*s (colleges), *mashhad*s (mausolea), *turbah*s (mausolea), *maqbarah*s (graveyards), and *qubbah*s (cupolaed mausolea). This situation was made possible through equipment and development of religious institutions in this period based mainly on the *waqf* (religious endowment) system. Other facilities recorded were a *muṣallá* (oratory), *sūq*s, *furn*s (baking ovens), public bathhouses, an aqueduct, and wells. Residents and sojourners consisted of people concerned with religious institutions, Sufis, superintendents and employees of the above-mentioned public facilities, persons related to the cemetery industry such as grave diggers, and so-called "*fuqarā'*," assumed to be living with their families.[33] Al-Maqrīzī 's description of this situation is widely known: "Then amirs of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's dynasty rebuilt this cemetery area. . . . The soldiers and the rest of the people followed them, and built mausolea, *khānqāh*s, *sūq*s, mills, and public bathhouses as far as the area from al-Ḥabash Lake to al-Qarāfah Gate, and the residential area of Fusṭāṭ to Muqaṭṭam Mountain became built up.[34]

Subsequently, as al-Qarāfah also attracted the governing elite of the dynasty, it became inhabited by them, for instance, Vizier Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Sal'ūs (d. 693/1294), Tāj al-Dīn Ibn Ḥinnā (d. 707/1308), and *qāḍī al-quḍāh* (chief justice) Ibn Bint al-A'azz (d. 695/1295–96). Also, the area began to produce notable scholars of the age, such as Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī (d. 682/1283–84), Aḥmad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Qarāfī (d. 802/1402), and Ibn al-Hā'im (d. 815/1412).[35] Bearers of

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[32]Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fī Ikhtilāq al-Āfāq* (Cairo, n.d.), 324; Yāqūt, *Kitāb al-Mushtarak* (Göttingen, 1846), 341.

[33]Ibn 'Uthmān, "Murshid," fols. 90a, 91a, 116b, 131b, 229b–230a; Ibn al-Nāsikh, "Miṣbāḥ," fols. 66, 98; Ibn al-Zayyāt, *Al-Kawākib,* 108–9, 154, 175, 227, 244, 254, 257, 280; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 180, 190; al-Ḥalabī, *Al-Qabas al-Ḥāwī li-Ghurar Ḍaw' al-Sakhāwī* (Beirut, 1998), 2:131; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī* (Cairo, 1984–), 7:77, 133, 190; idem, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963–72), 7:356; al-Kutubī, *'Uyūn al-Tawārīkh* (Baghdad, 1984), 21:46, 166, 314; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'īyah al-Kubrá* (Cairo, 1964), 6:90, 8:321; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 7:112; Ibn 'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Beirut, n.d.), 5:373; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān* (Hyderabad, 1954–61), 3:70, 291; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:3:148; etc.

[34]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:444; cf. Ohtoshi, "The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century," 167; Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous,* 20.

[35]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 6:207; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:3:760–61, 2:1:41–42; al-Ḥimyarī, *Al-Rawḍ*

the *nisbah* ″al-Qarāfī,″ or ″native of al-Qarāfah,″ were recorded in rather large numbers.[36] It is interesting to note that, before around 844/1440–41, visits to the mausoleum of al-Sayyidah Ruqayyah were hindered because people—including Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Taqā—had taken up residence there.[37] In this manner, the commoners were a driving force for the custom of living in the Qarāfahs, and thereafter the elites of the dynasty followed suit.

As places of residence, the two Qarāfahs, al-Kubrá and al-Ṣughrá, suffered severe devastation due to recurring pestilence, but ironically, at the same time, they expanded as graveyards. In 806/1403–4, the inhabitants were reduced in numbers by a disaster, then in 833/1430 and 864/1460, a huge number of deaths resulted from pestilence reported in the areas included in the two Qarāfahs.[38] Among the dwellers of al-Qarāfah, al-Sūdān al-Takārirah, who originated in an area which may have stretched from western Sudan to Mali, were well known to have become the greatest victims. According to the sources, only a handful of the three thousand al-Takārirah survived the pestilence, notwithstanding the fact that they sought refuge in the Muqaṭṭam Mountain.[39] These al-Takārirah seem mostly to have settled there on their Meccan pilgrimages, as exemplified in the case of the well-known King Mansā Walī, al-Malik Mūsá ibn Abī Bakr, who stopped in Egypt (724/1324) accompanied by a retinue of ten thousand. He enjoyed the hospitality shown there, famously dispersing a large quantity of gold, and stayed in al-Qarāfah al-Ṣughrá.[40]

On the other hand, the Ṣaḥrā' area developed toward the northeast of the

al-Mi'ṭār fī Khabar al-Aqṭār (Beirut, 1975), 460–61; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt* (Beirut, 1974), 2:280; al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Mufassirīn* (Cairo, 1972), 1:81–82.

[36]Al-Ḥalabī, *Al-Qabas al-Ḥāwī,* 2:99, 113; Aḥmad Bābā al-Timbuktī, *Nayl al-Ibtihāj bi-Taṭrīz al-Dībāj* (Tripoli, 1989), 543; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 6:36; Ibn al-Nāsikh, ″Miṣbāḥ,″ fol. 203; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:3:1025; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Beirut, 1353–55 A.H.), 6:62, 10:62, 11:220.

[37]Ohtoshi, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century,″ 170–71; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:3:1229; al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-Kalām fī al-Dhayl 'alá Duwal al-Islām* (Beirut, 1995), 2:570.

[38]The famous account by Leo Africanus, who visited al-Qarāfah in 1526, estimated its population as two thousand families, after the great disaster. Līwūn al-Ifrīqī, *Waṣf Ifrīqīyah* (Rabat, 1980), 2:20; M. Dols, *The Black Death In the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977), 196.

[39]Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān* (Cairo, 1970–94), 3:189; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 4:2:826; idem, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:320. Ibn al-Nāsikh noted the existence of a graveyard where many al-Takārirah were buried. See ″Miṣbāḥ,″ fol. 208.

[40]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:320; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:2:648–49; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh* (Cairo, 1976–86), 2:142–43; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá fī Sinā'at al-Inshā'* (Cairo, 1963), 5:293; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 30:367. Regarding al-Takrūr in general, see al-'Umarī, *Al-Ta'rīf bi-al-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf* (Beirut, 1988), 44–46; N. Levtzion, ″Mamluk Egypt and *Takrûr*,″ in *Studies in History and Civilization* (Jerusalem, 1988), 183–207.

citadel in the Mamluk period, and the graveyard, which appeared in the Fatimid period outside the Naṣr Gate, combined with this area.[41] Although this area was famed for its closeness to the ruling elite, who filled the place with religious complexes, people of all classes began to live there over the course of time. We find, since the Bahri Mamluk period, many ulama bearing the *nisbah* of al-Ṣaḥrāwī, such as ʻAbd al-Ṣamad al-Ṣaḥrāwī (d. 879/1475) and Muḥammad al-Abūdarrī (d. 844/1440–41). They were born and raised or lived in structures there that included *zāwiyah*s, *turbah*s, and houses.[42]

Qubbat al-Naṣr and al-Raydānīyah must have marked the northeast limits, as indicated by the situation of 749/1349: ″Graveyards were filled up lengthwise from the Naṣr Gate to Qubbat al-Naṣr, and to the Muqaṭṭam Mountain breadth-wise. Also the area from the Ḥusaynīyah cemetery to al-Raydānīyah was filled up. . . .″[43] Qubbat al-Naṣr, established in the Fatimid era, originated in a *zāwiyah* where *fuqarā'* (poor, Sufis) abided. Following the reconstruction by Sultan al-Nāṣir, ruling elites of the dynasty, notably the Mamluks, made much use of this Qubbah. The place became an overnight stop for sultans and amirs, and communal supplicatory prayers *(duʻā')* were conducted here for rainfall or the abatement of pestilence. Al-Raydānīyah was also associated strongly with the ruling elite, and was frequently utilized by them, mainly after Sultan Barqūq′s reign. Near the *masṭabah* there, military exercises, such as polo and horse races, were held. The function and characteristics of these two spots bear much similarity; birds for communication or hunting were bred there, and they also marked places for receiving visitors from the north or seeing them off. Since both places offered a suitable gathering place for members of the army and amirs, they became strategic points for rebels as well as rulers.[44] Possibly due to their strong relationship with the ruling elite of the dynasty, and the alienation felt by the common people, these two places seldom appear in *ziyārah* books, but appear very frequently in the chronicles.

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[41]Concerning al-Ṣaḥrā' area, Qubbat al-Naṣr, and al-Raydānīyah, see Ohtoshi, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century,″ 168–70; D. Behrens-Abouseif, ″The North-Eastern Extensions of Cairo,″ *Annales islamologiques* 17 (1981); and H. Hamza, *The Northern Cemetery of Cairo* (Cairo, 2001).

[42]Al-Ḥalabī, *Al-Qabas al-Ḥāwī,* 1:396, 2:63–64, 2:229, 1:276–277, 1:540; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw',* 8:33, 4:209–10, 6:62, 241; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Anbā' al-ʻUmr* (Beirut, n.d.), 7:396; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'iʻ,* 2:386; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 7:251. H. Hamza listed 14 entries in al-Sakhāwī′s *Al-Ḍaw'*. Hamza, *The Northern Cemetery,* 51.

[43]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:3:783.

[44]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:433; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:26, 92, 2:2:311, 373–74, 2:3:570, 576–77, 609, 630–31, 711–12, 846–47, 3:1:153, 280, 332, 384, 1160; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Mawrid al-Laṭāfah* (Cantabrigiae, 1792), 91; al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir* (Beirut, 1986), 205, 325; Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd,* 451–53; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 3:43.

As has been seen, the custom of living in cemeteries has a long history in Egypt, contrary to what is usually believed. Therefore we need to investigate this custom by extending the span of our study, taking the Egyptian view of the hereafter into consideration. In addition, it can be noted that there was a certain interrelationship between the funeral prayers held at Muṣallá Bāb al-Naṣr (Bāb al-Naṣr Oratory) and burials conducted in the Ṣaḥrā' area.[45]

Another important aspect relating to cemeteries, shared by the whole population, was pleasure seeking. Since *ziyārah* books made an effort to situate the visiting of cemeteries within the framework of Islamic pious activities, they never mentioned that visits were often made for pleasure. Yet, if we look at visitors′ behavior, we can easily discern the tendency to pursue pleasure. The common populace *('āmmah)* went on moonlit nights, bringing sweets and drinks, while influential people were fond of enjoying the moonlight of summer nights in the courtyards of mosques in the Qarāfah. In winter, they preferred to stay overnight under the minbar (pulpit). Even women and children could stay out openly until late at night, which was ordinarily quite exceptional.[46] For travelers from outside Cairo the Qarāfahs, which included the mausolea of Imām al-Shāfi'ī and al-Sayyidah Nafīsah, were the first place to be visited. Egyptians, too, may have ushered travelers there, as in the case of an Ilkhanid mission.[47] Meccan pilgrims who stopped in Egypt made visits there and left accounts of the Cairene cemetery regions. They include Ibn Jubayr, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, al-Tujībī, al-Balawī, al-'Abdarī, and al-Qalṣādī.[48]

The *wā'iẓ* (religious preacher) preached from pulpits in the City of the Dead, and the *qāṣṣ* (storyteller) narrated Arab heroic epics, such as *Sīrat 'Antar* and *Sīrat Dhāt al-Himmah,* among the graves or near the Qarāfah Gate. Quran reciters recited in singsong tones, creating additions and subtractions, or stresses, arbitrarily.[49] From the following account quoted in *ziyārah* treatises regarding Shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn (d. 622/1225), we can well perceive the situation:

> One of the *ṣāliḥūn* (pious men) who resided in al-Qarāfah had died, so his comrades had prepared the funeral ceremony *(waqt,*

[45]Al-Ḥalabī, *Al-Qabas al-Ḥāwī,* 1:295, 360, 2:99, 121, 204, 326; al-Biqā'ī, *Iẓhār al-'Aṣr li-Asrār Ahl al-'Aṣr* (Riyadh, 1993), 1:187, 206; etc.

[46]Ohtoshi, ″The Manners, Customs, and Mentality,″ 27–28; idem, ″Visits to the Holy Tombs in the Egyptian City of the Dead,″ 19; idem, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society,″ 178–79; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 181; Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 1:268; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:486, 2:444.

[47]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:2:397.

[48]Ibid.; Ibn Jubayr, *Al-Riḥlah* (Beirut, 1980), 20. As for Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, al-Tujībī, al-Balawī, al-'Abdarī, and al-Qalṣādī, see Ohtoshi, ″Visits to the Holy Tombs in the Egyptian City of the Dead,″ 1, 4, 9, 42.

[49]Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 1:268.

> *'urs)* in the Zāwiyah al-Gharābilī. There a *qawwāl* (religious singer) named al-Faṣīḥ, handsome and preeminent in singing in that era, was engaged. In their hearts, the people assembled there had come to hear him sing. Then the shaykh Fakhr al-Dīn, who was held in awe, was informed of this event, and arrived on the scene with his attendants, urging al-Faṣīḥ to desist. Al-Faṣīḥ fled, fearing the shaykh, and the audiences were practically dying with deep disappointment at the passing of the reason they had gathered [abridged].[50]

Moreover, the ruling elite occasionally enjoyed singing and drinking at the southern border of al-Qarāfah al-Kubrá.[51] Thus the activity of singing and dancing performed in the cemeteries varied from mere entertainment to more religious appearances. In either event, ulama condemned them for the mingling of the sexes and immorality as a sort of *bid'ah* (deviation from correct religious practice).

Celebration feasts for saints′ birthdays (sing. *mawlid, mawṣim, waqt,* etc.) were held in the cemeteries as well, although this is not reflected in *ziyārah* tracts.[52] In the case of the well-known shaykh Muḥammad Wafā' (d. 765/1364), his tomb was ″famed for hosting a *waqt* (celebratory occasion), yearly on the twenty-second night of Rabī' II [for commemorating the deceased]. Plenty of money was spent, and crowds flocked there.″[53] On the other hand, the *mawlid* of al-Sayyidah Nafīsah at her mausoleum began in 889/1484, and became known as ″*mawlid al-khalīfah*″ (the caliph′s *mawlid*), since the caliph, who resided close to this mausoleum, took care of it.[54]

THE ATTACHMENT OF THE COMMON PEOPLE TO THE CAIRENE CEMETERIES

One way in which the common people involved themselves in the Cairene cemeteries was through the creation/fabrication of tombs of famous persons, or forging/rewriting their names on tombstones. Among the many objects of cemetery visitors, prominent targets were mausolea of the *ahl al-bayt* (the Prophet

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[50]Ohtoshi, ″The Manners, Customs, and Mentality,″ 27–28; idem, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society,″ 178–79; Ibn al-Zayyāt, *Al-Kawākib,* 109–10; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 230–31. The original information on this account can be found in Ṣafī al-Dīn ibn Abī al-Manṣūr, *Risālat Ṣafī al-Dīn ibn Abī al-Manṣūr* (Cairo, 1986), 80–81. Cf. al-Mundhirī, *Takmilah,* 3:164–65; Ibn al-Mulaqqin, *Ṭabaqāt al-Awliyā'* (Cairo, 1973), 467.

[51]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:2:491–92.

[52]Tetsuya Ohtoshi, ″*Taṣawwuf* as Reflected in *Ziyāra* Books and the Cairo Cemeteries,″ in A. Sabra and R. McGregor, *The Development of Sufism in Mamluk Egypt* (forthcoming).

[53]Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah* (Beirut, 2002), 3:414.

[54]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 3:206.

Muḥammad′s family) and *ṣāliḥ*/*ṣāliḥūn* (pious figure[s]) who acquired veneration from the masses. Yet, in reality, many popular mausolea which attracted visitors were fake, and the names on tombstones were frequently misattributions. *Ziyārah* treatises repeatedly made accusations of such inventions.[55]

Concerning the invention of holy tombs or mausolea, one premise is that the practice of disinterment may have prevailed in Egyptian society in that period, which is supported by this statement from a *ziyārah* book: ″many *ṣāliḥūn* who were entombed in an Egyptian cemetery were disinterred after several years.″[56] People would excavate deserted graves and build new mausolea with purportedly-discovered skulls or relics, such as the robe of the Prophet Muḥammad, with invented anecdotes. Similarly, several mausolea were built based on people′s dreams. Mausolea built on the basis of skulls were called *mashāhid al-ru'ūs,* while those based on dreams were known as *mashāhid al-ru'yā*.[57]

The following is the gist of an anecdote concerning the invention of mausolea, which occurred in the first half of the fifteenth century. An old man named Mubārak al-Takrūrī (d. 871/1467) retired from his work as a dough kneader at a baking oven located in Bāb al-Lūq, and began living in al-Qarāfah. Then, removing the soil of a mound little by little, he began to construct holy tombs. Whenever he saw grave posts while walking around through the cemeteries, he brought them back to one of his tombs in progress. His first creation was a tomb named Shukran, and he brought its *sitr* (cover cloth) from the gate of al-Manṣūrī hospital to al-Qarāfah al-Kubrá, in Barsbāy′s reign. When the mausoleum of al-Sayyidah Fāṭimah al-Ṣughrá was destroyed by malefactors, he took its tombstone and put it on one of his invented graves, calling it ″the tomb of Fāṭimah al-Ṣughrá.″ Also, he carved stones, naming his tombs whatever he liked. Then he turned to the construction of that area, and as the place of Mubārak′s holy tombs gained fame, even Sultan Jaqmaq and his wife were said to have supported Mubārak.[58]

Let us now look at examples of Cairene mausolea, which were built upon skulls, dreams, bodies of the deceased, or even complete fiction. If we focus on the periods of creations/fabrications, it is notable that the Fatimids stand out. Specifically, viziers of the later Fatimids or the caliphs themselves were the main inventors. Yet we need to add that this practice continued to occur beyond the Fatimid era. Second, objects of creation tended to center around the *ahl al-bayt,* chiefly ʻAlī′s descendants, and also great prophets, such as Moses. Among them,

[55]For a detailed analysis on the creation and rewriting of holy tombs, see Ohtoshi, ″Visits, Holy Tombs and Relics in the Medieval Egyptian Muslim Society,″ 231–51.
[56]Ibn ʻUthmān, ″Murshid,″ fol. 41b.
[57]Ohtoshi, ″Visits to the Holy Tombs in the Egyptian City of the Dead,″ 23–24; Ibn al-Zayyāt, *Al-Kawākib,* 184; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 298.
[58]Al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 180–81.

we have many traces of Moses in al-Muqaṭṭam and the Qarāfahs, such as the Aqdām mosque, which contained a footprint attributed to Moses.

The reascription of tombstones was another prevailing practice. For instance, someone rewrote the name on a tombstone as al-Mustanṣir, the caliph, but in fact it was the tomb of al-Mustatir, the onion merchant. Examples of contrived names on tombstones are: the Umayyad Caliph Yazīd, Mu'āwīyah, Bilāl, the muezzin of the Prophet Muḥammad, one of the famous *ṣaḥābah,* Abū Hurayrah, the Prophet Daniel, the son of the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, etc. The pattern of these reascriptions can be summarized as being based on famous historical figures or even fictitious characters. The former includes the Prophet Muḥammad's holy family, persons linked to the Prophet Muḥammad like the *ṣaḥābah,* other prophets, "saints," and historically well-known individuals. The latter category comprises fictitious offspring of famous people, such as Muḥammad ibn Zayn al-'Ābidīn. Concerning the way names were invented, it often depended on name similarity, but sometimes this was totally irrelevant. Numerous acts of fabrication and mis-transmission resulted in the production of a huge amount of misnaming, where both the tombstones and their supporting legends were false, and the views of *ziyārah* books varied as a result.

Thus seen, the list of invented names of "false" mausolea rather represents the wishes and expectations of commoners, and it is in these falsely attached names that we may perceive their mentality and intentions. Through this method of positive participation in the dynamic life of cemeteries, we see an outburst of energy in the common people engaged in visiting cemeteries or inventing tombs.

Next, as stated above, cemeteries provided inhabitable places for the people, where they could enjoy benefits, or could hope for relief from economic hardships in their daily lives.[59] Large scale banquets, for instance, were held on occasions of celebration for the completion of distinguished buildings or to commemorate recovery from illness. Banquets were also held at communal prayers for the rise of the Nile or the abatement of the plague, at funerals, and feasts, where great quantities of food and money would be dispensed. Moreover, through various religious institutions, both *waqf* income and direct contributions from the state reached Sufis, the needy, and orphans. Numerous visitors to graveyards, needless to say, gave alms and made offerings. Under such circumstances, the masses apparently understood the cemeteries to be a place for sustenance. They could visit cemeteries in times of privation, and were advised to do so. Some of them went even further in order to obtain money or goods from visitors to al-Qarāfah.[60]

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[59]The following argument was detailed in Ohtoshi, "The Manners, Customs, and Mentality," 34–39.
[60]Ibn al-Nāsikh, "Miṣbāḥ," fol. 68.

Thus, ″many people desired to live there, because of . . . the frequency of alms and acts of charity toward the people of al-Qarāfah.″ It was also recorded that on Fridays, ″all the poor of Cairo go there to eat and to receive money which is given to them.″[61] I have previously analyzed this situation, and have explained it as a symbiotic relationship, wherein the wealth and good deeds of visitors were exchanged for rewards from Allāh, through the intercession of those who received them.[62] Indeed, this exchange was nicely depicted by Shu'ayb ibn al-Ḥurayfīsh: ″The poor man is the rich man′s messenger, since when the rich man exercises almsgiving to the poor man with alms on behalf of his [deceased] parents or relatives, it will reach to the deceased; thus the poor man is the rich man′s messenger.″[63]

Tomb robbery would have been committed primarily by the common people. According to *ziyārah* treatises, *kafan* (the winding sheet for the deceased), *tābūt* (coffin), and tomb poles were stolen, and other sources list silver candlesticks, carpets, *sitr* (cover-cloths of a grave or coffin), copies of the Quran, lumber from a mausoleum′s ceiling, and windows. It was in 827/1427 and 918/1512 that the scandal of selling disinterred corpses to Europeans was publicized.[64] As for the plundering of graveyards, there was great unrest in 864/1459, and again in 901/1495, when natives of al-Ṣaḥrā' fled en masse to Cairo, due to plundering by bands of robbers. Some destruction of tombs was carried out as a result of political embroilments or private grudges. In one example, which occurred in 748/1347, a mob opened the grave of Amir Shujā' al-Dīn, stripping off his *kafan,* and burnt his remains.[65] When criminals were apprehended, rulers punished them severely, through methods such as beheading, cutting off their hands, whipping, crucifixion, or flaying of the face.[66]

Since al-Qarāfah comprised large open spaces, it offered refuge in times of emergency. For instance, ″in 702/1303, there was a great earthquake in Egypt and

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[61]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:444–45; P. H. Dopp, *L′Égypte au commencement quinzième siècle d′après le Traité d′Emmanuel Piloti de Crète* (Cairo, 1950), 34–35; G. Wiet, *Cairo: City of Art and Commerce* (Westport, 1964), 135.

[62]Ohtoshi, ″The Manners, Customs, and Mentality,″ 30–39; idem, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society,″ 180–81.

[63]Shu'ayb ibn al-Ḥurayfīsh, *Rawḍ al-Fā'iq fī al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-Raqā'iq* (Cairo, 1949), 67–68.

[64]Ibn al-Nāsikh, ″Miṣbāḥ,″ fol. 136, Ibn al-Zayyāt, *Al-Kawākib,* 97, 321; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Mawrid al-Laṭāfah,* 75–76; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:2:306, 3:1:222, 4:2:661; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 5:159–60, 2:91–92, 3:205, 4:275–76.

[65]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 1:1:515; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr* (Berkeley, 1930–42), 2:334; idem, *Al-Nujūm,* 10:45, 55–56; al-Shujā'ī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 197; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:3:599.

[66]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,*1:2:306; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 3:391; Y. Rāghib, ″Faux morts et enterrés vifs dans l′espace musulman,″ *Studia Islamica* 44 (1983): 26.

Syria with collapsing houses, and a lot of people died under the debris. A tsunami ensued due to the earthquake, and wrecked many ships. The earthquake lasted for forty days; people fled to al-Qarāfah and pitched tents for themselves. It so affected Alexandria that the sea rose to the middle of the city."[67] Also, in 699/1300, a large number of troops conscripted by the Mamluk government stayed in the Qarāfah and other places due to a shortage of housing.[68] The stopping place for the aforementioned king of al-Takrūr was al-Qarāfah al-Ṣughrá, and the *wālī* (governor) of al-Qarāfah and Fusṭāṭ, Amir Abū al-Ḥasan ʻAlī ibn Amīr Ḥājib took care of him. Similarly, in 783/1338, the daughter of the Marinid ruler Abū al-Ḥasan ʻAlī, known as al-Ḥurrah, stayed in al-Qarāfah with a group of four hundred Meccan pilgrims. These facts reveal that the cemeteries not only contained open spaces, but also were supplied with sources of water and food.[69]

The Ulama's Attachment to Cemeteries

For the ulama, Mamluk society offered more positions in religious institutions than in previous times, and some of them were established in Cairene cemeteries.[70] That is to say, cemetery areas provided places for their employment and education. To take some examples, al-Madrasah al-Nāṣirīyah (or al-Ṣalāḥīyah), near Qubbat al-Imām al-Shāfiʻī, was of crucial importance, as is shown by the fact that al-Qalqashandī regarded it as one of the positions suitable for high-ranking *mudarrisūn* (professors).[71] *Mudarrisūn* and shaykhs were employed there, as we can see in the historical literature.[72] Names of *khānqāh*s in the Qarāfahs, whose positions for ulama were known, included those of Tuquztamur, Baktamur, al-Karīmīyah, al-Ṭaydamurīyah, (Arghūn al-ʻAlāʼī and Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd), and notably Khānqāh Qawṣūn (near the Qarāfah Gate) which comprised a shaykh and fifty Sufis with abundant *waqf*s at its opening in 736/1335.[73] Also, *khānqāh*s and *turbah*s in al-Ṣaḥrāʼ

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[67]Al-Suyūṭī, *Kashf al-Silsilah ʻan Waṣf al-Zilzilah* (Medina, 1404 A.H.), 118. Cf. Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʼil, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd,* 592–94.

[68]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:3:898.

[69]Ibid., 2:2:447–48; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 2:142–43; Levtzion, "Mamluk Egypt and *Takrûr.*"

[70]According to the assertion of I. Lapidus, ulama of relevant age included *fuqahāʼ* (jurists), judges, scholars, teachers, Quran reciters, hadith reciters, Sufis, functionaries of religious institutions, professional witnesses, and so on. Moreover, many ulama were appointed by the state as bureaucrats, or could be part-time merchants. Even workers, craftsmen, or people of lower strata could become ulama. Ira Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1967), 107–15.

[71]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 9:256.

[72]Examples are too numerous to be listed, including al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʻUqūd al-Farīd,* 1:377; *Al-Sulūk,* 1:1:302; al-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Mufassirīn,* 2:135; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 4:229; and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah* (Damascus, 1977), 1:2:174.

[73]K. V. Zetterstéen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlûkensultâne* (Leiden, 1919), 190–91, 227–28.

included Khānqāh Ṭaybughā al-Ṭawīl, Turbat Khushqadam, and Turbat Barqūq.[74] The shift from a shaykh post in one *khānqāh* to another was a frequent occurrence.[75] Other institutions in these cemeteries, to which appointments are recorded, included Mashhad al-Sayyidah Nafīsah, *zāwiyah*s, *turbah*s, *ribāṭ*s, *jāmi'*s, etc.[76] In those foundations, ulama found employment in positions such as *shaykh* (leader), *mudarris* (teacher), *nāẓir* (administrator), *khaṭīb* (preacher), hired Sufis, *khādim* (servant), and so forth. Further, other institutions in these cemetery areas might have employed ulama in operating positions, such as Jāmi' Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, Ribāṭ Fakhr al-Dīn ibn Quzul, Jāmi' al-Afram, and Jāmi' Ibn al-Labbān.[77]

For ulama as well, Cairene cemeteries were places for visiting tombs, being entombed, and occasionally living, as noted earlier. Even a well-known biographer of the age such as Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282) visited the cemetery frequently, and left eyewitness observations in his *Wafayāt*. In addition, in his chronicle, Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1405) repeatedly cites the words of his comrades who visited al-Qarāfah.[78]

Cemetery areas also provided employment for Sufis, as mentioned above, and there were several magnet spots for Sufi practices, centering around certain *zāwiyah*s, such as Zāwiyat Abū al-Su'ūd and Zāwiyat (or Ribāṭ) Ṣafī al-Dīn Ibn Abī al-Manṣūr, in addition to *khānqāh*s, *turbah*s, and *zāwiyah*s founded by the ruling elite. These examples were strongly related to the *ṭarīq*/*ṭarīqah* (way) of al-Shādhilīyah. *Zāwiyah*s in the Qarāfahs are thought to have provided places of contact between ulama and visitors to cemeteries, whereby the visitors could participate in the religious gatherings and rituals conducted there. Moreover, ascetic practices in the Muqaṭṭam region and the cemeteries beneath it were conducted by Sufis.[79]

Furthermore, it was significant that ulama intervened in cemetery areas through

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Cf. al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* 2:425; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:273, 2:3:688, 698, 748, 755–56, 3:1:194; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 10:45; idem, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 7:121; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 1:2:104; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:2:239; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Durar al-Kāminah* (Cairo, 1966–67), 2:333; Ibn Shāhīn, *Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal* (Sidon, 2002), 1:150, 2:22, 323; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 2:236.

[74]Al-Ḥalabī, *Al-Qabas al-Ḥāwī,* 1:283; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah,* 1:377.

[75]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:3:998.

[76]Concerning Mashhad al-Sayyidah Nafīsah, see, for instance, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 7:135, 189, 403.

[77]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:298, 303, 324, 367. As for the construction activities of the ruling elite, see Chapter 4.

[78]Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-A'yān* (Beirut, n.d.), 1:171, 174, 218, 318, 349, 2:292, 338, 516, 3:129, 162, 222, 317, 318, 4:72, 192, 462; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 5:33, 70, 158, 185, 190.

[79]For more detail, see Ohtoshi, "*Taṣawwuf* as Reflected in *Ziyāra* Books and the Cairo Cemeteries." The meaning of the term "Sufi" widened during this period, and many ulama were encompassed by this term, hence I included Sufis in this section.

their juridical and religious functions; for example, they criticized the manners of visiting tombs and the tombs′ appearance, judged how to inter the dead, and so forth. Ulama could express their judgments based upon shari‘ah (Islamic law), which often took the form of condemning *bid‘ah* regularly performed by the people, such as visits by women or their mingling with strangers, *nadhr* (an offering often accompanied with a vow), praying to entombed ″saints,″ leading to their veneration, ostentatious graves, singing and dancing with musical instruments at the cemetery, walking on graves with shoes, etc.[80] Through these accusations, the ulama established their ″authority,″ and retained their sphere of activity. To cite a well-known incident in this regard, al-‘Izz Ibn ‘Abd al-Salām, the *sulṭān al-‘ulamā’* (d. 660/1262), criticized the existence of ostentatious tombs in Cairene cemeteries and activities that took place there, and reportedly succeeded in persuading Sultan Baybars to have all such tombs razed, although it was never enforced.[81]

CEMETERIES AND THE DYNASTIC ELITE[82]

In this section, I will attempt to show how the ruling elite interrelated with Cairene cemeteries in ways not connected to their supervision, which will be discussed next. First are the *ziyārah*s of sultans or their entourages, which had a long history among the Muslim rulers of Egypt. From the time of the legendary Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 270/884) and his son Khumarawayh (d. 282/896), and Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī (d. 357/968), through the Fatimids (al-Ḥākim, al-Āmir, Amīr al-Juyūsh al-Afḍal, Vizier al-Ma’mūn, al-Ẓāfir, and al-‘Āḍid), to the Ayyubid sultan Kāmil, rulers and their retainers are said to have engaged in the *ziyārah*.[83] The tradition is assumed to have persisted during the Mamluk period, for Sultan Baybars is portrayed as having followed their example.[84] Even if we confine ourselves to the Burji Mamluk period, we can see the *ziyārah* of sultans occurred frequently, i.e., Barqūq (786/1384, 796/1394, 797/1395), Faraj (812/1409), Mu’ayyad (*al-du‘ā’* at al-Ṣaḥrā’ in 822/1419), Barsbāy (841/1438), Jaqmaq (845/1442), Īnāl (865/1461), Aḥmad ibn Īnāl (865/1461), Khushqadam (866/1462, 870/1465, 871/1466, 871/1467),

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[80]See Ohtoshi, ″The Manners, Customs, and Mentality,″ 19–44; idem, ″The Egyptian City of the Dead and Visits to Holy Graves,″ Chapter 1.

[81]Ohtoshi, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century,″ 173–74.

[82]Herein, ″ruling elites″ or ″dynastic elites″ include sultans, military elites, high-ranking officials, and ‘Abbasid caliphs who immigrated to Cairo, etc.

[83]Ibn ‘Uthmān, ″Murshid,″ fols. 91b–92a, 163a; Ibn al-Zayyāt, *Al-Kawākib,* 67, 72, 84, 126; al-Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr*, 40–41; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt,* 4:103–4; Ibn al-Nāsikh, ″Miṣbāḥ,″ fols. 103, 115, 164; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti‘āẓ al-Ḥunafā’,* 2:102, 3:118; idem, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:484, 2:461; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 214; Ibn Ma’mūn, *Akhbār Miṣr* (Cairo, 1983), 42, 64.

[84]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:2:499, 501, 520, Ibn al-Nāsikh, ″Miṣbāḥ,″ fol. 154.

Qāytbāy (872/1468, 874/1469, 874/1470, 876/1471, 876/1472, 882/1478, 885/1480, 885/1481, 886/1482), Muḥammad ibn Qāytbāy (901/1496), Ghawrī (913/1508, 914/1508, 915/1510, 918/1512, 920/1514, 922/1516), and Tūmān Bāy.[85] Some retainers followed suit on *ziyārah* activities, or even took the initiative, such as Yūnus ibn ʿUmar, who is reported to have visited al-Qarāfah every Friday.[86] Along with these visits, the ruling class performed charitable activities such as distributing *ṣadaqah* (alms) and food. Even when they could not visit the cemeteries personally, they arranged for these distributions. Since these cemetery areas contained the sepulchers of the elites′ relatives, frequent reports of visits to them can also be found.

Further, as mentioned above, members of the ruling elite also competed in the building of architectural works in cemeteries.[87] They constructed madrasahs, mosques, and *khānqāh*s in their names, and *turbah*s for their own entombment. Those buildings and institutions obviously reflect the religious policy or the personal attitude of each member of the ruling elite, and they also can be considered to be closely related to their *ziyārah* activities and the development of the northeast al-Ṣaḥrā' area.

It is widely known that these religious institutions were administered by the *waqf* system. A large number of tombs in the cemeteries were devastated in the vicissitudes of time, and crumbled into the soil. In order to avoid this, considerable efforts were exerted. The first method taken, under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ayyūbī, was the government′s direct commitment to the administration of holy sepulchers by nominating managers to live there, paying them stipends *(jirāyāt),* and also making monthly payments to *faqīr*s (poor, Sufis) and *awliyā'* (″saints″), and enabling

[85]Ohtoshi, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century,″ 184–85; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:1:515, 807, 4:1:487–89, 4:2:1028; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nuzhat al-Asāṭīn fī Man Waliya Miṣr min al-Salāṭīn* (Cairo, 1987), 119; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 1:383–84, 2:252, 455–56, 3:401; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 7:356–58; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'iʿ*, 2:45–46, 180, 374, 449, 3:10, 336, 4:126, 133, 169, 253, 382, 5:38; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,* ed. ʿA. Qarmūt (Cairo, 1985–), 1:362–63; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 15:91, 16:290; idem, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr,* 3:542; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 159; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā' al-Haṣr bi-Anbā' al-ʿAṣr* (Cairo, 1970), 136, 148, 150, 327; Ibn Shāhīn, *Nayl al-Amal,* 6:107, 131, 225, 249, 250, 264, 319, 321, 415, 7:16, 201, 250, 262, 294; Ibn Zunbul, *Ākhir al-Mamālīk* (Cairo, n.d.), 144.

[86]Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā' al-Haṣr,* 468.

[87]Ohtoshi, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century,″ 185; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 345; Anon., *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Ḥulá Ḥaḍrat al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1970), 192; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nuzhat al-Asāṭīn,* 58, 81, 93, 131, 137, 140, 152; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 7:170, 9:388–89; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 2:236, 3:33–34, 243; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 8:236, 12:103, 15:348, 16:97; idem, *Ḥawādith*, 1:397; Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Intiṣār,* 4:124; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:324, 416–18, 425, 428; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:1:86, 2:2:390, 516, 540, 2:1:238, 273, 2:3:688, 698, 706, 748, 755–756, 911; etc.

travelers to stay there.[88] Second, the operations of tomb structures were carried out with *waqf* income. The elite and others endowed their property as *waqf* for the maintenance of tombs, mausolea, or *khānqāh*s, and appointed overseers *(nāẓir, mutawallī)* of these institutions. *Waqf* endowments were no longer designated exclusively to the public infrastructure, nor to the mausolea of those who had won the veneration of the populace. On the contrary, influential families increasingly administered their own *turbah*s through the *waqf* system, diminishing the social redistribution aspect which this system originally boasted.[89]

Specifically, the list of persons who were recorded as having established *waqf*s included sultans, high-ranking amirs, qadis, ulama, and so-called saints *(awliyā')*. We are able to confirm the sources of *waqf* income as *iqṭā'*s of certain lands, or rent from buildings. Structures founded by *waqf*s included the famous mausolea of Imām al-Shāfi'ī, Ikhwat Yūsuf, and Ibn al-Fāriḍ, *turbah*s of sultans or member of the ruling elite, and the facilities of religious institutions.[90] Sultan Baybars was famed for establishing a *waqf* for the ritual washing, *kafan,* and burial of the dead who had no relatives.[91]

An illustration of tomb management according to the *waqf* system can be found in the mausoleum of Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235). In the days of Sultan Īnāl (r. 857–65/1453–61), Amir Tamur and his descendants managed the operation, building a mausoleum with *waqf* donations, holding a banquet, performing charity works, and paying stipends *(jāmakīyah)* to the *khādim.*[92]

As for the administration of the mausoleum of al-Sayyidah Nafīsah, the Abbasid caliphs, who had immigrated to Cairo due to the Mongol invasion of Baghdad, took charge of it. The first caliph to be buried in al-Qarāfah near al-Sayyidah Nafīsah was al-Ḥākim (d. 701/1302), and afterwards this became the practice.[93] They began to live near the mausoleum of al-Sayyidah Nafīsah, a holy area suitable for caliphs. This is understandable since she might have been one of the

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[88]Ibn Jubayr, *Al-Riḥlah,* 20–24.

[89]Ohtoshi, "The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century ," 174. In the case of Turbat al-Ṣūfīyah, the shaykh of *al-khānqāh* took money from those who wished to be entombed there, in exchange for burial. See al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 31–32.

[90]Ohtoshi, "The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century ," 175; Ibn 'Uthmān, "Murshid," fol. 226b; Ibn al-Zayyāt, *Al-Kawākib,* 178; Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il*, Nahj al-Sadīd*, 134–35; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 147; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Mawrid al-Laṭāfah,* 99; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 382–83; al-Maqrīzī*, Al-Sulūk,* 1:2:638, 2:2:442, 3:2:944–45, 4:1:457.

[91]Ohtoshi, "The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century ," 175; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:2:638.

[92]Ohtoshi, "The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century ," 175; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 382–83.

[93]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Mukhtār al-Akhbār* (Cairo, 1993), 118; Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Nahj al-Sadīd*, 585; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 136; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥādarah* (Cairo, 1968), 2:62.

most admired people in pre-modern Egypt, and also, in a broad sense, they could be regarded as of the same lineage.[94] Then, after the caliph al-Mu'taḍid (r. 753–63/1352–62), sultans began to entrust its *naẓar* (superintendency, controllership) to successive caliphs instead of appointing administrative officials.[95] Since caliphs stood to benefit a great deal from *nudhūr* (offerings) to this mausoleum, when they were deprived of this post during the years 766–88/1365–87, and after the Ottoman conquest, it caused them a great loss.[96] They benefited from donated objects such as candles and oil, and also from offerings of money placed in the box beneath the head end of al-Sayyidah Nafīsah's tomb.[97] Additionally, the *mawlid* of al-Sayyidah Nafīsah began to be known as "the caliph's *mawlid*," as he was a main part of this celebration. It should also be noted that, notwithstanding the fact that caliphs were in charge of the mausoleum, the management of its *waqf* was assigned to the *mustawfī* (accountant), and one of them might have been a Muslim convert from among the Copts. The names of a *khādim* and a *shāhid al-khizānah* employed there are also mentioned in the sources.[98]

Let us now move on to more details of *waqf* operations in Cairene cemeteries. As shown above, expenses for managing mausolea through the *waqf* system included specified items, such as *ṣadaqah,* banquets for the "poor," and stipends for supervisors and Quran reciters. It should be added that payments were made from *waqf* income to visitors to the Qarāfah, as I have detailed elsewhere.[99] For example, the *waqf* document of Amir Mithqāl mentions stipends of twenty dirhams per month to two reciters at the mausoleum of Ibn Labbān in al-Qarāfah al-Ṣughrá. In the *waqf* document of Sultan Barsbāy, the *waqf* was reserved for a *zāwiyah,* a *sabīl* (public fountain), Quran reciters, etc.[100]

The following case is from the *waqf* document of a leading historian, Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470), through which we attempt to trace the details of administration of a mausoleum according to the *waqf* system.[101] This was not a

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[94]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 6:21, 51; 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nuzhat al-Asāṭīn,* 67; al-Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'* (Beirut, 1988), 551.

[95]Al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 136; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:3:609, 3:1:76; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 9:1:72.

[96]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 1:2:17, 378, 5:192, al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-Kalām,* 1:123.

[97]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 5:192; cf. Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:306; *Al-Sulūk,* 3:1:76; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 1:1:587–88.

[98]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 9:1:180; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 5:693; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:2:644.

[99]Ohtoshi, "The Manners, Customs, and Mentality," 21; wathīqah waqfīyah, Sūdūn min Zāda al-Ẓāhirī, Dār al-Wathā'iq no. 58, 804 A.H.

[100]M. Meinecke, *Die Restaurierung der Madrasa des Amîrs Sâbiq al-Dîn Miṯqâl al-Ânûkî* (Mainz, 1980), 164; *Ḥujjat Waqf al-Ashraf Barsbāy* (Cairo, 1963), 45–48, 50–52, 58; etc.

[101]'Abd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, "Waqfīyat Ibn Taghrībirdī," in *Al-Mu'arrikh Ibn Taghrībirdī* (Cairo, 1974), 183–221. Concerning studies of 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, see Tetsuya Ohtoshi, "Professor 'Abd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm on Archive Studies," *Yamagata Daigaku Shigaku Ronshū* 16 (1996): 1–13.

mausoleum of saints, but rather a mausoleum run by an influential family for themselves.

The *waqf* endowments for this mausoleum in al-Ṣaḥrā' consisted of several properties, including buildings in the Barjawān quarter of Cairo and on the Nile shore at Būlāq, and shares from two parcels of land in the Gharbīyah district of the Delta. The structures of this mausoleum described in the *waqf* document were *īwān al-qiblah,* used as a mosque, four *fasāqī* (family vaults) for the endower's four families, a wide *ḥawsh* (courtyard, walled enclosure) for burial, a *qā'ah* (hall) and *riwāq* (portico, apartment), toilets, an *isṭabl* (stable), a *maṭbakh* (kitchen), *ṭibāq* (living units) and *khalāwī* (Sufi cells) for employees of the mausoleum, a *sabīl* (fountain) and a *ṣihrīj* (cistern) under it, and a *maktab* upstairs in the *sabīl* as a place for children to study. All of these were to meet the demands of residents of the mausoleum and visitors, particularly the families of the *waqf* endowers.

Regarding duties and allowances for operating the mausoleum, the following conditions were set in the *waqf* document: 400 (dirhams per month; the same monetary unit is employed hereafter) for the *bawwāb* (gate-keeper); the *muzammalātī,* who was in charge of the *sabīl,* was given 300, also 300 for the water suppliers, 500 for the *farrāsh* (janitor), who would clean up or sweep the mausoleum and prepare the lamps and frankincense, 150 each as scholarships for ten young orphans and sons of needy people, 300 for their teacher, 150 each for two Quran reciters for the tomb of the *waqf* endower; 200 each for the *shādd* (superintendent) of the *waqf* and its buildings, and *khāzin al-kutub* (librarian). The repair and maintenance of the mausoleum cost 200, 500 for the supervisor *(nāẓir)* of the mausoleum and its *waqf,* 300 for shaykhs who recited the Quran every morning in shifts at the *īwān* of the mausoleum; also 150 each for nine other Sufis, and so forth. Moreover, stipulations set by the *waqf* endower reveal that, for instance, Sufis and their shaykh in the mausoleum should not leave their posts or neglect their duties, except in cases of illness or the pilgrimage to Mecca. Likewise, the *bawwāb* and other employees should live in the mausoleum.

As seen from this document, the mausoleum of Ibn Taghrībirdī combined various functions including a mosque for prayer, locations for Sufi practices and education, and tombs. Thus, it should be pointed out that the number of religious complexes, which were variously known as *khānqāh*s, *ribāṭ*s, *zāwiyah*s, *turbah*s, *qubbah*s, madrasahs, and mosques, expanded in this age. In Cairene cemetery areas the growth of these institutions was widespread, to the point where shaykhs with their disciples, employees, and their families dwelled together, as exemplified in the aforementioned case of the Khānqāh Qawṣūn near the Qarāfah Gate, which comprised a shaykh and fifty Sufis, supported by abundant *waqf*s.

The ruling elite of the Mamluk dynasty would conduct collective prayers in

cemeteries, for the rising of the Nile River, or the abatement of plague.[102] Given that pestilence raged, people in Egypt tended to flee from the land in defiance of *fatwá*s telling them to remain, or rely on talismans, yet there was no better plan than to implore Allāh who presides over all things. Some of them, however, not only considered this prevalence of pestilence as the fury of Allāh, but went so far as to destroy places of amusement, alcohol, and hashish, prohibiting women from going out, and attacking Christian quarters, in the name of eradicating corruption.[103] An account of a communal prayer in the Ṣaḥrā' area is described as follows:

> [In 822/1419] the pestilence prevailed and sudden death increased so that people began to tremble. Hence, the sultan Mu'ayyad Shaykh proclaimed three days of fasting through the *muḥtasib*. After three days′ fasting, people went out to the Ṣaḥrā'. The caliph, *fuqarā',* ulama, major Sufis, judges, and common people with the vizier and an *ustādār* (steward) marched to the mausoleum of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir (Barqūq). They lifted a caliph′s banner and the Quran, raising invocations to Allāh. Groups of Jews and Christians also attended raising the Torah and the Gospels, respectively. The sultan wore wool like a Sufi; on his horse was a plain cloth. As the sultan arrived at the back enclosure of Barqūq′s mausoleum, he prayed tearfully, rubbing his face on the ground. Enormous amounts of food and slaughtered beasts were distributed to the poor. More than thirty thousand pieces of bread were also dispensed, and the people kept on praying [abridged].[104]

Similar events were repeated in 749/1349, 775/1373, 806/1403, 818/1416, 822/1419, 823/1420, 833/1430, and 854/1450, whenever the plague was rampant, or the Nile failed to rise. Al-Ṣaḥrā' and the fringe of al-Qarāfah, al-Raṣad and al-Āthār al-Nabī were spots used for such events.[105] Collective marching and prayer beneath al-

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[102]Ohtoshi, ″Muslims and Copts as Reflected in the *Ziyāra* Books and *Qarāfa*s,″ 42–43, idem, ″Conception of ′Egypt′ in the Pre-Modern Period: Preliminary Essay,″ 23.

[103]Ohtoshi, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century,″ 185–86; H. Ḥabashī, ″Al-Iḥtikār al-Mamlūkī wa-'Ilāqatuhu bi-al-Ḥālah al-Ṣiḥḥīyah,″ *Ḥawlīyāt Kullīyat al-Ādāb bi-Jāmi'at Ayn Shams* 9 (1964); 133–57; Q. 'A. Qāsim, *Al-Nīl wa-al-Mujtama' al-Miṣrī fī 'Aṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk* (Cairo, 1978), Chapter 2; Tāshkubrī′zādah, *Risālat al-Shifā' li-Adwā' al-Wabā'* (Cairo, 1292 A.H.), 38–39; M. Dols, *The Black Death In the Middle East,* Chapters 4 and 6.

[104]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 4:2:487–89; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 2:455–56; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 16:77–79; al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān,* 1:362–63; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 7:356; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 2:45–46.

[105]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 1:1:531, 2:128, 282–83; Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 5:134–35,

Muqaṭṭam carried out by a combination of Muslims, Copts, and Jews can be traced back to the Tulunid period, in 270/884.[106] The above quotation brings up at least five points at issue, when collated with other historical sources. The first is that the official character of the Ṣaḥrā' area, and in particular, the back enclosure of the Barqūq mausoleum should be underscored. Collective prayers led by the ruling elite would have been held in this northeast area, whereas most of the common people would pray in the more southern al-Qarāfah area, except perhaps when they were recruited to the northeast. Second, Jews and Copts were mobilized in these official prayers, without fail. This may have been rational, as many Copts were employed in the financial offices of the government, and this mass ritual itself was held by the ruler and his government. Yet, without the entire set of these *dhimmī*s, I have suggested, the total image of ″Egypt″ would not have been complete, which might have made the ritual less effective.[107] Third, related to the second point, the attendance and support of the masses was vital. Their participation was indispensable for the pious deeds of almsgiving and food distribution to gain merits, whether in the mundane world or the hereafter. Viewed from the point of view of the commoners who were associated with this ritual, what they obtained there could be regarded as wages or remuneration for their attendance. Fourth, rituals performed in times of the Nile′s failure to rise and the prevalence of pestilence bore a close resemblance; countermeasures for the plague were considered to be of the same dimension as natural disasters, and all these were believed to be ultimately under the control of Allāh. Fifth, the sultan dressed like a Sufi, expressing himself as sincere and humble; his manner can be interpreted as behaving as an intercessor to Allāh for all the people in the land.

Meanwhile, banquets *(walīmah, simāṭ)* on a large scale were often given by the ruling class in the cemetery areas. As stated earlier, rulers and the military elite were ardent in their support of construction activities in cemeteries, and every celebration for the completion of a building such as a *khānqāh,* for the recovery of health, or collective prayers, was marked by this sort of banquet. It was considered more a religious ritual than an amusement, and included recitation of the Quran, almsgiving on a large scale, and the distribution of food and slaughtered

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7:385–86; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:3:780–81, 3:1:219, 4:3:749, 822–23; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith,* 1:90; idem, *Al-Nujūm,* 10:204–5, 14:97–98, 15:424–25; al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd al-Jumān,* 1:244, 383; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 3:184; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk* (Cairo, repr. 1974), 311–12.

[106]Ohtoshi, ″Muslims and Copts as Reflected in the *Ziyāra* Books and *Qarāfa*s,″ 42–43.

[107]Additionally, Copts performed communal prayers for the swelling of the Nile yearly in churches, holding festivals along the Nile. All this may have created the impression of Copts as having a special relationship with this river. See Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Armanī (attributed), *Tārīkh,* 75–76, 96; Ibn al-Muqaffá (attributed), *Kitāb Siyar al-Ābā' al-Baṭārikah,* 2:3:213.

beasts. Many people of influence, those connected to religious institutions, and *faqīr*s assembled there.[108] All these factors, including the above-mentioned *ziyārāt* and the construction projects of rulers, lead to the conclusion that Cairene cemeteries formed a legitimate stage for rulers to act justly and generously. Moreover, on this stage one could be sanctified through the solemn atmosphere of the Cairene cemetery areas. At the same time, these places offered points of close contact between the ruling class and the common people, on occasions such as *ziyārah, ṣadaqah,* and *walīmah.* Through the information networks among people of religious affairs, and hearsay among the commoners, news of the good deeds of the ruling elite may have spread from the cemeteries throughout the domain. If we look at it from the governmental point of view, notwithstanding that they might have sincerely aspired to the fulfillment of their prayers, such banquets could also be taken as a measure to win popularity among the masses.

The Ṣaḥrā' area was included in the itineraries of sultans′ parades, for the area seems to have played a significant symbolic role in solemnifying the parades. Sultans, in their customary parade of enthronement, would first head for the Qubbat al-Naṣr in al-Ṣaḥrā', then enter Cairo from the northern Naṣr Gate, and after marching through the decorated city, they would go out from the southern Zuwaylah Gate to return to the citadel, traversing a counterclockwise arc. Some of these parades are reported to have included Copts and Jews in their company. The shorter version of this parade, which made a circuit only around the citadel, also attached importance to the parade from the Qarāfah Gate. These courses were proper in a practical sense, but also served to demonstrate dignity, authority, and sanctity.[109] Moreover, in 659/1261, Sultan Baybars held a ceremony of enthronement in the vicinity of al-Qarāfah, which is understandable given the Qarāfah′s function as a solemn stage, and its open spaces. Furthermore, in 677/1278, the ceremony of mourning one year after the death of Sultan Baybars was held in al-Qarāfah, and meals were served in tents, and ″people of different classes assembled therein.″[110] Likewise in 814/1411, Sultan Faraj held an appointment ceremony for a caliph, a qadi, and others at the mausoleum of Barqūq, indicating the official ceremonial characteristics of this area, as well as recognizing the majesty of his late father (Barqūq), and demonstrating legitimacy to his subjects.[111]

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[108]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 7:41; Ibn Shiḥnah, *Al-Badr al-Zāhir fī Nuṣrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qāytbāy* (Beirut, 1983), 52–53; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge,* 190–91, 227–28; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 2:333–41; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:261–62, 2:2:390, 403.

[109]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 7:41, 8:57, 87, 16:78–79; idem, *Mawrid al-Laṭāfah,* 77; al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 236; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:941–43, 2:2:343, 379; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 2:390, 425; Abū Ṣāliḥ (attributed), *Tārīkh,* 75–76, 220.

[110]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:2:648.

[111]Ibid., 452, 459, 461, 4:1:174–75; Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd,* 424; Ibn al-Dawādārī,

Another important aspect of cemetery areas was military training and the games of horsemen. In the Mamluk period, games combined with military exercises, such as the lancers′ exercises (sing. *la'b rammāḥ*), polo, and *qabaq* (a game in which a rider shoots arrows at a standing guitar-shaped target), were put in force as the practice of *furūsīyah* (chivalry), and some of their playing fields *(mayādīn)* were located in the cemetery districts. They included Maydān al-Qabaq in al-Ṣaḥrā', Maydān al-Nāṣirī on the periphery of al-Qarāfah al-Kubrá, and the space in front of the mausoleum of al-Ḥarrār in al-Qarāfah al-Kubrá alongside the Ḥabash Lake.[112] Maydān al-Nāṣirī was recognized as the playing field for polo, and Maydān al-Qabaq was known, as the name indicates, for the playing of the *qabaq* game. Notably, at circumcision ceremonies for sons of the ruling class, as well as games of *qabaq,* robes of honor were bestowed on principal figures of the dynasty, and a plenitude of goods was dispensed.[113]

Furthermore, lancers′ exercises were repeated before the mausoleum of al-Ḥarrār. This custom began being conducted at the time of *dawrān al-maḥmil* (the ceremonial city circuit of the pilgrimage palanquin sent to Mecca), and on the first occasion, which was in the month of Rajab (there were two annually), was carried out in al-Qarāfah. Lancers in red garments and their horses, both armored, took part in mock battles. Young troopers standing on clogs fixed on their horses swung lances in both hands in staged combat. Upper class and common people alike would take pleasure in watching the games.[114] This exercise of lancers during the *dawrān al-maḥmil* became established as an annual observance, and as early as in 822/1419, it served to amuse Cairo/Fusṭāṭ inhabitants. Consequently, when it was cancelled, such as in 836/1433, 839/1436, and 848/1444, due to demoralization or military expeditions, the people were greatly disappointed and grew indignant. Conversely, their delight in the revival of this event was all the greater, yet when it resumed in 857/1453 after a ten-year interval, the details had already been forgotten, and, in 910/1505 and 920/1514, it was viewed as an old custom.[115]

Kanz, 8:73.

[112]Ohtoshi, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century,″ 188–90; J. Jomier, *Le mahmal et la caravane égyptienne des pèlerins de la Mecque* (Cairo, 1953), 35–42; D. Ayalon, ″Notes on the Furūsiyya Exercises and Games in the Mamluk Sultanate,″ *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 9 (1961): 31–62; A. 'Abd al-Rāziq, ″Deux jeux sportifs en Égypte,″ *Annales islamologiques* 7 (1974): 95–130.

[113]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 8:16; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 8:243–44; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:2:517–18.

[114]Ibn Ẓahīrah, *Al-Faḍā'il al-Bāhirah fī Maḥāsin Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1969), 200; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 4:57–58; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:2:517–18. Cf. Al-Aḥdab, *Al-Furūsīyah wa-al-Manāṣib al-Ḥarbīyah* (Baghdad, 1984), 138–39; Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 1:272 ff.

[115]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith*, 1:15, 2:180; idem, *Al-Nujūm,* 15:76, 366, 16:68; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk,* 95–96; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 2:143, 4:72, 391.

During lancers′ practices, the *mu'allim* (commander) of the band of lancers, accompanied by four pashas *(bāshāt al-arba'ah),* led the army corps. Qāytbāy, the amir of one thousand, was noted as a master at this practice; he would always perform this exercise at al-Qarāfah al-Kubrá, aside from the *maḥmil*′s circuits. In addition, he innovated a new ceremony in which the Mamluks, four pashas, and a *mu'allim* would dismount in the order named and kiss the ground in front of the sultan.[116]

These exercises of military training and games denote not only that Cairene cemetery zones contained wide open spaces and were located beneath the citadel, which was the base for the troops, but also that they provided a place for contact with the common populace, as in cases of royal parades and rituals, which served as another measure for cultivating personal popularity and for impressing upon the people the rulers′ dignity and legitimacy.

Despite the fact that Cairene graveyards were primarily sanctuaries comprised of sepulchers and religious institutions (as they occupied the area around the citadel, and also contained many open spaces), they became arenas for political actions of the ruling elite, particularly amirs and Mamluks.[117] Accordingly, one of the several gates of the citadel, Bāb al-Qarāfah, became a strategic point of the dynasty, manned by Mamluks and even blockaded if necessary.[118] These political actions can be summarized as follows: First, *turbah*s, madrasahs, and a *burj* (tower) in the Qarāfahs were utilized for informal confinement. In 678/1280, for instance, after his dismissal, Vizier Burhān al-Dīn was ordered to confine himself in a madrasah in the Qarāfah. Then, in 723/1323, the qadi Karīm al-Dīn was subjected to arrest and confiscation, and was placed under confinement in a mausoleum.[119] Second, during struggles for supremacy or for other reasons, several members of the elite concealed themselves within mausolea, their *fisqīyah,* or *zāwiyah*s, in ways that can be interpreted as a demonstration of the asylum aspect of Cairene cemeteries. Amir Lājīn (693/1294), Yashbak (803/1401), and Jarbāsh

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[116]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith*, 3:455–57, 493; idem, *Al-Nujūm,* 16:268; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā' al-Haṣr,* 332.

[117]Ohtoshi, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century,″ 190–92.

[118]Not only the Bāb al-Qarāfah of the citadel, but also the Bāb al-Sirr likely connected the citadel with al-Qarāfah district. Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:2:445, 2:1:229, 2:2:478, 2:3:600, 877, 3:1:274, 383, 3:2:604, 612, 632; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 10:58; idem, *Mawrid al-Laṭāfah,* 77; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 8:360; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge,* 184; al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār* (Beirut, 1986), 144.

[119]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 7:156; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 7:293; idem, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 7:345; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 8:310–11; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge,* 173; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:247–48, 255; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt,* 2:383.

(865/1461) typify this aspect, and one of them was besieged and arrested there.[120] Third, examples of assassinations and murders there are too numerous to count. The two Qarāfahs and al-Ṣaḥrā' were advantageous in that corpses could be buried there immediately after a homicide. In 648/1251, 746/1346, and 748/1348, amirs assassinated sultans and entombed them there.[121] Fourth, battles in cemetery sections were best exemplified in the case of 804/1402, whereby a force of Amir Nawrūz took up a position near the Ḥabash Lake, were defeated by Sultan Faraj at the periphery of al-Qarāfah, and some major personnel were captured.[122]

As seen here, Cairene cemetery areas, which had been essentially the sanctuary of Egyptians, took on some aspects of what could be called, in my expression, ″the courtyard of the Mamluks,″ which the military elite frequented as a result of their location (surrounding the citadel and being situated between the two cities of Cairo and Fusṭāṭ). Nevertheless, the government made vigorous efforts to supervise graveyard areas, which I will discuss next.

Further, regarding the interrelationships between big merchants and the cemetery districts, they were interred there, visited tombs of acquaintances or mausolea, and might themselves become objects of *ziyārah* if they became venerated by the people. What is more, they dispensed alms, or at least the people hoped that they would, as with the aforementioned merchant who was surrounded by the needy in the cemetery.[123] Some of them might have built religious institutions or shops, yet these sites would not primarily be for profit, but for the spending of profit.

Government Supervision of Cemeteries[124]

Crime, political activities, the reputation of cemeteries as pleasure resorts where people of both genders and all ages and social strata mixed, and vulnerability to outside invasion: all these characteristics may have led rulers to regard Cairene cemeteries as disquieting and dangerous spaces. In addition, their location just beneath the citadel, the focal point of Mamluk rule, containing tombs of the ruling

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[120]Al-ʻAynī, *ʻIqd al-Jumān,* 3:239; Ibn Shāhīn, *Nayl al-Amal,* 6:126; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 3:516; idem, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:268, 448; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:3:1063; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʻīyah,* 8:173; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 2:113; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ*, 1:2:628, 2:386, 3:436.

[121]Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 8:18, 381–82; al-Makīn ibn al-ʻAmīd, *Akhbār al-Ayyūbīyīn*, *Bulletin d′études orientales* 15 (1958): 41, 44; al-ʻAynī, *Sayf al-Muhannad fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Muʼayyad Shaykh al-Maḥmūdī* (Cairo, 1966–67), 214; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 2:313, idem, *Al-Nujūm,* 10:172–173, Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ*, 1:1:518, al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:3:730, 737, 742–744, 3:1:332, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāminah*, 2:84–85.

[122]Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 2:140–41; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʻUqūd al-Farīdah,* 1:574–81.

[123]See note 60. One of the Kārimī merchants, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 769/1368), built a large *turbah* in al-Qarāfah (al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:369).

[124]Ohtoshi, ″The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century,″ 182–84.

elite themselves and their relatives, made them important. Through the supervision of solemn spaces where people came into contact with holiness, rulers may have endeavored to show their dignity. The Mamluk government, therefore, made strenuous efforts to supervise the cemeteries, and repeatedly took measures such as prohibiting women's visits.

The memorandum *(tadhkirah)* of the amir Kitbughā should be reexamined in this context. Issued in 679/1281 by Sultan Qalāwūn to Vice Sultan Zayn al-Dīn Kitbughā, the memorandum was also directed at all subjects by its being read at each minbar (pulpit). It contained directives regarding the two Qarāfahs, such as "*mujarradūn* (night watches) are to be customarily arranged around both Cairo and Fusṭāṭ, as well as in the district of al-Qarāfah. . . . It should not be neglected even for one night, and *mujarradūn* are not to leave their posts except at dawn or in complete daylight," or "on Friday nights, men and women should not assemble at the two Qarāfahs; particularly, women are prohibited from this."[125]

The *muḥtasib* (inspector of markets and public morals) should also inspect graveyards and their moral order, as is reflected in the *ḥisbah* treatises. Namely, he should oversee the selection of burial sites, methods concerning ablution of the dead, burial, visiting of tombs, as well as the shape of tombs, and he should also prevent women from ostentatious lamentation, visiting graves, and following the bier.[126] The ulama of all the schools of law supported enforcing discipline in cemetery areas, or even took the initiative in enforcement. Some of them cooperated with the governing authorities, and undertook to investigate alleged holy tombs outside the mortuary zones, moving them into a cemetery if they were legitimate.[127]

Furthermore, although executions were ordinarily carried out in the citadel and other places, graveyards, too, could function as execution grounds. This should be reinvestigated in relation to the supervision of cemetery regions. Mainly grave robbers were executed therein; however, in 793/1391, some influential amirs, who had been imprisoned, were beheaded in al-Ṣaḥrā'.[128] Yet, a more consistent and systematic measure for supervising cemeteries was created: the establishment of the office of *wālī al-Qarāfah* (governor of al-Qarāfah).[129]

According to al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418), the police districts *(wilāyāt al-*

125Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 7:197; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 8:94; Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam* (Leiden, 1997), 105–23.

126Ibn al-Ukhūwah, *Ma'ālim al-Qurbah fī Aḥkām al-Ḥisbah* (London, 1938), 46–51; Yaḥyá ibn 'Umar al-Andalusī, *Kitāb Aḥkām al-Sūq* (Cairo, 2004), 68–69.

127Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:3:649; Ohtoshī, "Visits, Holy Tombs and Relics in the Medieval Egyptian Muslim Society," 241–51.

128Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 1:331; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 1:1:515; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:2:306.

129Ohtoshi, "The City of the Dead and Egyptian Society from the 12th to the 15th Century," 182–84.

shurṭah) of Mamluk Cairo and its surroundings were divided into three quarters: *wilāyat al-Qāhirah* (Cairo), *wilāyat Miṣr* (Fusṭāṭ), and *wilāyat al-Qarāfah.* An *amīr ʿasharah* was appointed as the *wālī* of al-Qarāfah under the supervision of the *wālī Miṣr;* nonetheless, at the time *Ṣubḥ* was written, the Qarāfah district was incorporated into the Fusṭāṭ district. After the annexation, the Fusṭāṭ *wālī* was upgraded and the office assumed by an *amīr ṭablkhānah,* still less than the Cairo *wālī.*[130] We will attempt to collate this account with those in other chronicles of the same period that show some discrepancies.

In 786/1385, ″the first″ (according to al-Maqrīzī) *wālī al-Qarāfah* (a separate position from *wālī Miṣr*) the amir of ten Sulaymān al-Kurdī, was nominated by Sultan Barqūq.[131] Perhaps before this, the governors *(wālī, mutawallī)* of al-Qarāfah were appointed occasionally, as noted in historical sources, such as in the Fatimid period (Ibn Shuʿlah al-Kutāmī), 672/1274, 724/1324 (Amir Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Amīr Ḥājib, who was said to have been *wālī* of al-Qarāfah and Fusṭāṭ), and 737/1336–37 (Ibn ʿUsaylah); yet they might have been in lesser positions, or under the superintendence of other *wālī*s, like the *wālī Miṣr.*[132] Then, in 792/1390, Sulaymān was assigned as *wālī Miṣr,* so there is a possibility that he might have held both positions concurrently.[133] In 801/1399, the two-Qarāfah district was added to the jurisdiction of the *wālī Miṣr,* Amir Ṣārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, who took the position of Sulaymān, and also in the month of Rajab in 803/1401, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, the *amīr ṭabar* (hatchet), assumed the position of *wālī al-Qarāfah.*[134] Eventually, in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah in 803/1401, the Qarāfah district was transferred to the *wālī* of Cairo, Amir Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ṭablāwī.[135] It is in this way that the Qarāfah *wālī*'s position was separated from or united with that of Fusṭāṭ or Cairo, possibly influenced by the individual situation of persons appointed as *wālī,* or the intention of the ruler.

After 803/1401, accounts regarding *wālī al-Qarāfah* disappear from the chronicles. Instead, the function of *naẓar al-Qarāfah* (supervisorship or controllership of al-Qarāfah), or its supervisor, *nāẓir al-Qarāfah,* began to be recorded.[136] In 856/1452, for instance, Abū Bakr al-Muṣāriʿ died; he was ″*nāẓir* of

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[130]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 4:23.
[131]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:2:525; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 1:106; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 11:241. Although Ibn Iyās noted that the Qarāfah district was separate from the Cairo district, this account is not trustworthy. *Badāʾiʿ*, 2:355–56.
[132]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:319; Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Ẓāhir* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 77; al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 378.
[133]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:2:717; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 9:1:214.
[134]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:2:927, 3:3:1054; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 1:2:518, 545, 620.
[135]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:3:1069; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 1:2:633; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 2:118.
[136]Al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār al-ʿAṣr,* 1:199, 341; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith*, 124, 161; al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz*

the Imām al-Shāfi'ī mausoleum, the Layth mausoleum, and all of al-Qarāfah. And the sultan had bestowed on him the controllership for mausolea of al-Qarāfah." Abū Bakr al-Muṣāri', mentioned here, was originally one of the *awbāsh* (riffraff), but Sultan Jaqmaq promoted him to this position, whereby he was said to have enriched himself. Yūsuf Shāh (d. 876/1471), who was in fact *mu'allim al-bannā'īn* (the master of royal builders), took over Abū Bakr al-Muṣāri''s post of *naẓar al-Qarāfah* in 856/1452 and remained until 857/1453 when the sultan's son-in-law Amir Burdbak seized it. In 892/1487, a qadi was dismissed from the *naẓar al-Qarāfatayn;* meanwhile in 897/1492, *anẓār* (pl. of *naẓar*) and similar offices, such as al-Baybarsīyah, al-Sa'īdīyah, *waqf* al-Ṣāliḥ, and al-Qarāfatayn, were under the jurisdiction of the *ustādār* Taghrībirdī, and then were transferred to the *dawādār* Taghrī Barmish. In 901/1495, (qadi) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 912/1506) was appointed to the position of *naẓar al-Qarāfatayn* (the two-Qarāfahs), as well as *naẓar* of *waqf*s. If we compare this account side by side with others, we can make the conjecture that the function of this *naẓar al-Qarāfah* (or *al-Qarāfatayn*) would be to inspect or administer mausolea and *zāwiyah*s in the two Qarāfahs, including those of Imām al-Shāfi'ī and Imām Layth. Thus, this position likely concentrated on the administration of mausolea, but its relationship with fiscal duties and control of *waqf*s in each mausoleum remains rather obscure. Yet, seen from other *nāẓir*s' duties, *naẓar al-Qarāfah* can be assumed to have dealt in some way with *waqf* administration and the financial affairs of mausolea in the Qarāfah.

On the other hand, regarding the Ṣaḥrā' area, we find only the function of *naẓar,* such as *naẓar turbat al-Ẓāhir Barqūq* (superintendency of Barqūq's mausoleum), but not the *wālī*. In 856/1452, Sultan Jaqmaq nominated al-Shaykh 'Alī al-Muḥtasib for *naẓar turbat al-Ẓāhir Barqūq,* following the dismissal of al-Muḥibb ibn al-Ashqar, who was its *nāẓir* according to the stipulations set by the *waqf* founder. Al-Shaykh 'Alī (d. 862/1458) had experience as the *muḥtasib* of Fusṭāṭ and of Cairo successively, and al-Muḥibb ibn al-Ashqar, who was *kātib al-sirr* (confidential secretary), held the *naẓar* of *khānqāh* Siryāqūs after his dismissal from Turbat al-Ẓāhir Barqūq. The *naẓar* of the Ṣaḥrā' area seems likely to have been concerned with supervising mausolea financially and administratively through the management of *waqf*s, as seen through *waqf* documents as well as chronicles or biographies.[137]

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al-Kalām, 2:856, 3:1005, 1265; idem, *Al-Ḍaw',* 11:100–1; idem, *Al-Tibr,* 385; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā' al-Haṣr,* 469; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 3:317, 4:97.

[137]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith*, 125, 196, 383; idem, *Al-Nujūm,* 16:194–95; al-Biqā'ī, *Iẓhār al-'Aṣr,* 1:206, 340, 350, 440, 2:386; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw',* 11:185, 6:47. The complexity of who controlled the madrasah of Barqūq, and the share of the *kātib al-sirr* therein, are depicted in J. Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo* (Princeton, 1992), 65–66. Cf. S. L. Mostafa, *Madrasa, Ḫânqâh und Mausoleum des Barqûq in Kairo* (Glückstadt, 1982). Also regarding *nāẓir*

To conclude, *nāẓir*s of al-Qarāfah and Turbat Barqūq, especially the latter, seem more to be involved in the financial and administrative management of mausolea, in contrast to the *wālī al-Qarāfah,* whose function rather laid stress on the policing and supervision of the districts. The aforementioned *naẓar* of al-Sayyidah Nafīsah′s mausoleum, which was undertaken by caliphs, should be viewed in this respect.

WOMEN′S ASSOCIATION WITH CEMETERIES

During the Mamluk period, women′s visits to cemeteries can be clearly observed. These visits became a focus of harsh diatribes by ulama and of supervision by *muḥtasib*s. Their criticism pertained mainly to the mingling of women and men, and moral laxity.[138] According to Ibn al-Ḥājj (d. 737/1336), ″on Thursdays they go out to the tombs, and stay there on Fridays, then return home on Saturdays; likewise on the day of ʻĀshūrā' (10th of the month of Muḥarram), two Feasts (*ʻīdān*) and the night of mid-Ramaḍān.″ Moreover, they went out visiting the mausoleum of al-Ḥusayn on Mondays, al-Sayyidah Nafīsah on Wednesdays or Saturdays, and on Thursdays and Fridays to Imām al-Shāfiʻī in al-Qarāfah, and also the tombs of their relatives.[139] It should be recalled that al-Tīfāshī (d. 651/1253) had already portrayed al-Qarāfah in his compilation of anecdotes as a place where women assembled.[140] The Mamluk government repeatedly proclaimed the prohibition of women′s visits to cemeteries, such as in 679/1280, 708/1309, 793/1391, 824/1421, 825/1422, 835/1432, 841/1438, and 864/1460, usually prior to the feast celebrating the end of Ramaḍān. Yet, several records, including frequent criticism and bans on women′s *ziyārah,* clearly show that women were integral to visiting customs in Cairene cemeteries.[141]

Furthermore, it is worth noting that women of all classes visited cemeteries, and they could be interred therein, as well. Among them, there must have been women who helped with the fabrication of holy tombs, by carrying soil in their veils for instance, and even women of the ruling elite, who would visit, pray, and pledge ample donations to cemeteries, as in the case of the mothers of Sultan Ismāʻīl and Amir Anūk. In fact they acted as the very mediators between the royal elite and the common people by describing the conditions and merits of *ziyārah* to

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al-waqf, see L. Fernandes, *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt: The Khanqah* (Berlin, 1988), 60–63; T. Ito, ″Aufsicht und Verwaltung der Stiftungen im mamlukischen Ägypten,″ *Der Islam* 80 (2003): 46–66.

[138]Ohtoshi, ″The Manners, Customs, and Mentality,″ 29–30.

[139]Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Madkhal,* 1:268, 2:17.

[140]Al-Tīfāshī, *Nuzhat al-Albāb fī-mā lā Yūjad fī Kitāb* (London, 1992), 238–40.

[141]Ibn al-Furāt*, Tārīkh,* 7:197; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:1:51; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 1:334; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, 2:84, 142, 186; Ohtoshi, ″The Manners, Customs, and Mentality,″ 29–30.

their husbands or families.[142]

CONCLUSION

Cairene cemeteries were open to people of all social strata, regardless of ethnic origin, social status, language, gender, age, occupation, disparity in wealth, physical handicap, religion, place of origin, illness, or skin color.[143] Commoners could participate there through frequent visits and the creation or reidentification of tombs, as is well reflected in the guidebooks of *al-ziyārah*. Through *ziyārah* texts, writings on the tombs, and hearsay, people were able to form their own discourses. The ulama also maintained an association with Cairene graveyards through their writings and preachings, while the ruling elite held banquets, communal prayers, or engaged in political struggles there. Everyone could find his own medium through which to relate to the cemeteries, and had the right to visit or be buried there. In this sense, Cairene cemetery areas formed a public locus in which people of any social status participated in their creation or improvement.[144] The public character of al-Qarāfah is well reflected in what al-Shaykh ʻAlī al-Turkī (d. 804/1401–2) was told by Shaykh ʻUmar, while they were walking through al-Qarāfah. ″ʻAlī, al-Qarāfah is the cemetery for Muslims, and no one individual can possess it, nor is one allowed to take [even] a portion of it for oneself.″ [145]

Relationships in the cemeteries did not always depend on hierarchy; rather, equality was emphasized. Personal relationships among visitors to Cairene cemetery

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[142]Ohtoshi, ″Visits, Holy Tombs and Relics in the Medieval Egyptian Muslim Society,″ 241–51; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 2:3:649–50; idem, *Al-Muqaffá,* 2:312; al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 181.

[143]This characteristic also held true within the cities of Cairo and Fusṭāṭ. According to *ziyārah* treatises, sick persons rushed into cemetery areas to pray for their healing, albeit the *ḥisbah* tract warns against the mingling of hermaphrodites with women in funerals. See Ibn al-Ukhūwah, *Maʻālim,* 51.

[144]In general, the definition of ″public″ can delineate anything official relating to a nation, such as public education or public enterprise; anything common to all people, such as public welfare or public order; or anything open to everyone, such as information or a space from which no one will be rejected. Additionally, ″publicness″ is usually placed opposite ″community,″ and the latter is defined as the relationship unconsciously established between persons, before the emergence of individual consciousness, such as family. If ″public″ is understood as a notion adoptable only for modern bourgeois society derived from the modern West, any efforts to utilize this conception within the context of Cairene cemeteries are rendered inaccurate from the beginning. Likewise, a simple application of Western concepts to Middle Eastern studies should be avoided in general. This article does not employ directly the recent definitions and arguments on the public sphere, but still reflects them to some extent. The employment of the word and conception of ″public″ as a framework for reference and comparison can be thought of as stimulating to argument, which helps us to discover new aspects of Cairene cemeteries. In this sense, this article is evocative rather than deductive. See J. Saito, *Publicness* (in Japanese) (Tokyo, 2000).

[145]Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʻUqūd al-Farīdah,* 2:510.

districts were generally not communal, but rather temporal. Institutions such as *waqf* or shari'ah, then, pervaded the whole of this composition. That is why the government ordered *muḥtasib*s to supervise these cemetery areas, and *wālī*s to control them. In addition, they sent their superintendents *(nāẓir)* to oversee mausolea′s finances through the *waqf* system, and the government even supported the burial expenditures of commoners through *waqf* income.

The way people related to Cairene cemeteries, however, would have varied according to their religious beliefs, social status or personal situations, gender, and so forth. Particularly, internalized religious attitudes and values might have affected these relationships greatly; hence Sufis, who were devoted to ascetic practices there, differed from rigid scholars, who tried to prohibit people from visiting holy tombs. Thus the involvement of all classes does not mean that their interests and activities there were always in harmony. On the contrary, they were often in conflict with one another; for instance, the ruling elite undertook to supervise the activities of commoners and women. Ulama, too, harshly condemned them. Hence, Cairene cemetery areas were loci where power relationships were acted out.

Was there, then, any category of society who were excluded from visiting Cairene cemetery areas? As I mentioned above, they were open and accessible to all people, from sultans to commoners. It is worth underlining here that women went there to visit famous mausolea and fulfill their prayers through the mediation of the entombed Muslim saints. This habit was often criticized by scholars and sometimes prohibited by the government, yet women were never actually expelled from the cemeteries, and the Qarāfahs retained their fame as a spot for women to assemble. Nor were people from outside Egypt or Cairo excluded, so that it was a tourist spot not only for Muslims, from Andalusian Spain to Central Asia, but seemingly also for European travelers.

As for religious differences, the issue is rather subtle. Generally speaking, visits by non-Muslims to the Qarāfahs and al-Ṣaḥrā' may possibly be presumed to have been avoided by non-Muslims themselves, and not welcomed readily by Muslims. Nonetheless, we should never forget the fact that the communal prayers in Cairene cemetery areas in the Mamluk period always mobilized a band of Copts and Jews. Additionally, as the cemetery of Coptic Christians was situated on the southern border of al-Qarāfah al-Kubrá, and the Jews′ cemetery was also located close to the Ḥabash Lake, strictly speaking, their cemeteries were on the edge of the Cairene cemetery zones. And it is possible that they made visits to their own cemeteries by passing through Muslim cemetery areas. Moreover, European non-Muslim travelers possibly traversed them and left accounts of their own visits. Since the Cairene cemeteries were popular pleasure spots for Egyptians, there is a possibility that non-Muslims mingled with Muslims, as is frequently

observed during feasts in Mamluk Egypt. Thus we see a contrast between *ziyārah* to Cairene cemeteries and the Meccan pilgrimage, which prohibits non-Muslims in the holy zone.

Yet people who violated public morals, as expressed in the *ḥisbah* tracts, were the first to be excluded from the cemetery areas, at least in theory. Also, thieves, people of shameless behavior, those who insulted Islamic values, and destroyers of tombs were to be excluded. In reality, however, as mentioned earlier, the Cairene graveyards were famed for their thieves and moral laxity.

Finally, it can be seen that there was a difference in function and character between the two Qarāfahs and al-Ṣaḥrā'. If I may generalize by contrasting them, the Qarāfahs were a burial district for venerated people and commoners, and a visitation site for people of all classes. Meanwhile al-Ṣaḥrā' projected a more official character, where members of the ruling elite preferred to be interred, and for the common people it was usually not a place to visit for fulfillment of their prayers, except in instances when they were mobilized. *Ziyārah* treatises, therefore, seldom depicted tombs of sultans and *khānqāh*s there.

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The Establishment and Development of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad: Its Background and Implications

The amount of tax revenues from farm villages was estimated throughout Egypt and Syria on the basis of the cadastral survey referred to as *al-rawk al-Nāṣirī,* conducted during the third reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (709–41/1310–41). Based on the results of the survey, *iqṭā'*s were reallocated to soldiers, giving priority to the Mamluks. Simultaneously, a new ratio for the division of agricultural land into *iqṭā'*s and *khāṣṣ* land (land in the government's domain) was fixed. The government's control over the allotment of *iqṭā'* was greatly strengthened through this *rawk,* and the political, military, and financial systems of the Mamluk state were finally established on the basis of the highly centralized *iqṭā'* system. It is commonly understood that this resulted in the formation of the basic structure of the Mamluk state.[1]

However, the state structure thus established began to crumble after the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century, when the Mamluk state was thrown into political and social confusion. It was thus obliged to transform itself in various respects. Although this is considered as superficial evidence of the decline of the Mamluk dynasty thereafter, in recent years, several important articles have been published, attempting to document the transformations in state and society, especially the changing domestic and international situations during the rule of the Circassian Mamluks (784–922/1382–1517). These articles throw new light on Mamluk history.[2] Presently, Mamluk studies has reached a stage where the historical development

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[1]On *al-rawk al-Nāṣirī* and its significance, see: Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta's and Fallahun* (Leiden, 1997), Chap. 6.

[2]For examples of the works relating to this study in particular: 'Imād Badr al-Dīn Abū Ghāzī, *Taṭawwur al-Ḥiyāzah al-Zirā'īyah fī Miṣr Zaman al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah: Dirāsah fī Bay' Amlāk Bayt al-Māl* (Cairo, 2000); Miura Toru, "Urban Society at the Mamluk Era: With a Focus on Damascus" (in Japanese), *Shigaku Zasshi* 98, no. 1 (1989); Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?: The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994); idem, "Fractionalized Estates in a Centralized Regime: the Holdings of al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī According to their Waqf Deeds," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41, no. 1 (1998); Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn 1310–1341* (Leiden, 1995).

of the Mamluk regime throughout the whole of the Mamluk era is being reassessed through further research on the structure of the state and society during the period of "decline."

From this perspective, this article is concerned with a special financial bureau called al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, which was founded by al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, the first sultan of the Circassian Mamluks (r. 784–91, 792–801/1382–89,1390–99). The existence of this *dīwān,* which was charged with providing monthly wages and other essentials to the sultan's mamluks, was the most obvious difference between the state machinery of the Bahri Mamluks (648–784/1250–1382) and the Circassian Mamluks. However, thus far, the study of this *dīwān* has been superficial and little is known about it despite its having played a crucial role as the most important bureau during this period. I believe that elucidating the implications of its establishment and evolution will also contribute to understanding the problems that confronted the Circassian Mamluk state, compelling it to undertake such an institutional change.

In this article, we trace the historical development of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad from its establishment until its fiscal bankruptcy on the eve of the enthronement of Sultan al-Ashraf Qāytbāy in 872/1468, who had initiated financial and administrative reforms in order to revitalize the weakened Mamluk state.[3] We also investigate the political and social factors underlying this transformation in order to show that it was not a superficial alteration of the financial machinery; rather, it was closely linked to the process of the collapse of the *iqṭā'* system, established through *al-rawk al-Nāṣirī,* and the resulting transformation of the state structure.

THE POLITICAL AND FINANCIAL SITUATION IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE EIGHTH/FOURTEENTH CENTURY PRIOR TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AL-DĪWĀN AL-MUFRAD

It is necessary to examine the political and financial situation after the death of Sultan al-Nāṣir in 741/1341 and to understand the problems that confronted Barqūq when he seized power. Regarding the political situation, the Mamluk state was undergoing "political chaos," primarily caused by a fundamental problem concerning the character of the sultan's power and the path of succession. Power struggles in those days were basically caused by three factors: first, contesting for power between the Qalāwūnid sultans, who ascended on a lineage basis, and the Supreme Council *(majlis al-mashūrah),* comprising several senior Mamluk amirs; second, factional rivalries among the amirs; third, the direct intervention of the Royal Mamluks *(al-mamālīk al-sulṭānīyah)* in the political process. The Royal Mamluks were a powerful political group because they possessed the armed strength required to win such struggles. After a series of struggles, Sultan al-Ashraf Sha'bān was killed during the *coup d'état* in 778/1377. In the following year (779/1378), Amir

[3]Cf. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?,* 190–219.

Barqūq finally seized power and began to rule through the agency of the position of *atābak al-ʿasākir* (commander-in-chief) with the title of *al-amīr al-kabīr* (the Grand Amir). Subsequently, the principle that the paramount individual among the Mamluk amirs would assume the supreme seat with the support of a Mamluk factional power base and through an agreement among the Mamluks, which was the political system prior to the establishment of the Qalāwūnid "royal authority," was re-established. This principle was maintained for the remainder of the Circassian Mamluk period, determining the fundamental character of the sultan's power.[4]

It now became essential for Barqūq, who had emerged as the final winner in the series of power struggles, to rebuild the state structure that had been weakened during the previous volatile situation. The matter that required immediate attention was that of finance, which was responsible for affecting the stability of successive governments. The period of political and social upheaval following the death of al-Nāṣir was marked by a financial crisis. It had become difficult for the state treasury to meet expenses; therefore, dismissals and resignations of successive viziers were frequent. Although an increase in allowances and provisions for the army, the eunuchs, the harem, etc., was observed to be the principal cause of the financial difficulties,[5] it was not their only cause. The generous special bonus *(nafaqah)* paid to the Royal Mamluks for the purpose of gaining their support during political struggles had strained the treasury.[6] In addition to this, the great plague, which first broke out in 749/1348–49, played an additional, crucial role in the economic deterioration, resulting in rural depopulation and a subsequent decline in agricultural production in the Middle East.[7] Moreover, the "political confusion" in those days also impoverished rural areas in Egypt and Syria because it resulted in the government and the *iqṭāʿ* holders neglecting *ʿimārah* (cultivation of land) and exacting oppressive taxes from peasants, in addition to the subsequent plundering

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[4]On the political and social situation after the death of Sultan al-Nāṣir, see: Amalia Levanoni, "The Mamluk Conception of the Sultanate," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 26 (1994): 383–85; idem, *A Turning Point,* Chap. 3; Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* (London, 1986), Chap. 7.

[5]For example: al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk* (Cairo, 1939–73), 2:626–27, 630, 671, 722, 724, 738, 745, 746, 809–10 (hereafter cited as *Sulūk*). On the financial reform by vizier Manjak (749–50/1348–50): al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (London, 2002–3), 4:296–304 (hereafter cited as *Khiṭaṭ*); *Sulūk,* 2:748–50.

[6]Cf. Levanoni, *A Turning Point,* 101–4.

[7]Irwin, *Middle East,* 137–38; Robert Lopez, Harry Miskimin, and Abraham Udovitch, "England to Egypt, 1350–1500: Long-term Trends and Long-distance Trade" in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East,* ed. M. A. Cook (London, 1970), 115–28; cf. Stuart J. Borsch, "Thirty Years after Lopez, Miskimin, and Udovitch," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (2004): 191–201. On the plague and its effect in the Middle East, see: Michael W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977), Chaps. 5–7.

of these areas resulting from the incursion of bedouin tribes with their herds and flocks.[8] There is no doubt that these varied factors contributed to economic decline and ensuing financial difficulties. However, the immediate cause of the decrease in state revenues was a problem arising from the system of landholding, which was characterized by the alienation and privatization of state lands that produced *kharāj* (land tax) revenues for the state treasury.

With regard to agricultural land in Egypt, which was the principal financial resource of the Mamluk state, 14 *qīrāṭ*s (14/24) were allotted to amirs and the *ḥalqah* troopers as *iqṭā'* and the remaining 10 *qīrāṭ*s (10/24) became *khāṣṣ* land. *Iqṭā'*s for the Royal Mamluks were allocated from the *khāṣṣ* land, with the remainder allocated for other governmental needs.[9] According to the traditional financial system of the Mamluk state, the vizier was in charge of the financial affairs of the government as the chief financial officer, and the bureau headed by him was called the Dīwān al-Wizārah/al-Dawlah (the vizier's bureau/the state bureau).[10] Although the state's economic and financial difficulties were predominantly due to the above-mentioned reasons, I believe that another direct cause was the decrease in taxable lands held by the government. Al-Maqrīzī's account reads as follows:

> On 11 Ṣafar 783 (7 May 1381), Shams al-Dīn Abū al-Faraj al-Maqsī resigned from the office of vizier owing to the impotence of the office, because a huge amount of land had been lost from [the resources for] its work. . . . The following day, the Grand Amir (Barqūq) sent a *khil'ah* (robe of honor) of a vizier to al-Maqsī in order to persuade him to continue [in office] as before. However, he declined the offer because the lands that had been lost from the state [bureau's resources] could not be recovered.[11]

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[8]Al-Asadī, *Al-Taysīr wa-al-I'tibār wa-al-Taḥrīr wa-al-Ikhtibār fīmā Yajib min Ḥusn al-Tadbīr wa-al-Taṣarruf wa-al-Ikhtiyār* (Cairo, 1968), 78–79, 85–86, 92–95 (hereafter cited as *Taysīr*); Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 236–39. Useful information on the social and economic crisis in the period from the late Bahri Mamluks to the beginning of the Circassian Mamluks is contained in al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah* (Cairo, 1940).

[9]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 142–43; Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt A.H. 564–741/A.D. 1169–1341* (London, 1972), 54–55.

[10]On the financial organization of the Mamluk state during this time, see: al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'* (Cairo, 1913–22), 4:28–30 (hereafter cited as *Ṣubh*); Rabie, *Financial System,* 138–61; al-Bayyūmī Ismā'īl, *Al-Nuẓum al-Mālīyah fī Miṣr wa-al-Shām Zaman Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk* (Cairo, 1998), Chap. 1.

[11]*Sulūk,* 3:410–11, cf. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah* (Damascus, 1977–97), 1:57 (hereafter cited as *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah*).

At this point, it should be noted that at the beginning of Barqūq′s rule, the decrease in government land was regarded as a crucial problem in the state′s finances and it was described as the reason for the vizier′s resignation and his adamant refusal of Barqūq′s offer. We will now investigate the two causal factors that Barqūq attempted to address during his reign. The first was that amirs had rented large quantities of agricultural land from the state treasury. On 19 Ramaḍān 784 (26 November 1382), Barqūq deposed the Qalāwūnid nominal sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ḥājjī and pronounced himself sultan. He then immediately appointed Shams al-Dīn Ibn Kātib Arlān, who was the chief manager *(nāẓir)* of Barqūq′s office *(dīwān)* when he was an amir, as the vizier and ordered him to restore the fiscal integrity of the state:

> Since al-Malik al-Ẓāhir (Barqūq) ascended to the sultanate, some time had passed. [But] the [financial] affairs were not in order. Therefore, he appointed him [Ibn Kātib Arlān] to the post of vizier in Muḥarram 785 (March 1383). . . . At the time of his appointment, there was neither one dirham [in cash] nor one *qadaḥ* of grain in the [state] coffers, [because] state lands had been rented by amirs at a lower rate than their value by means of making advance payments.[12]

This indicates that a large amount of government land that should have been producing tax revenues for the state treasury had been ″rented″ by the powerful amirs for negligible amounts; in other words, the lands had passed into their *de facto* possession.

The second problem was an increase in the sales of state land and subsequent ″waqfization″ of the lands thus sold. During this period, a substantial amount of agricultural land had been sold by the state treasury as *milk* (private real estate), and then turned into *waqf* (religious trust) for the support of religious institutions or the descendants of sultans and amirs. Accordingly, in 780/1379, which was the year following his ascension to power as *atābak,* Barqūq called a meeting to discuss this problem in order to make such acts illegal and to implement the return of the alienated lands to the state treasury:

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[12] *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* 1:225; cf. *Sulūk,* 3:569; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʻUqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-Aʻyān al-Mufīdah* (Damascus, 1995), 1:122; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān* (Cairo, 1970–94), 1:161 (hereafter cited as *Nuzhah*); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʻd al-Wāfī* (Cairo, 1985–2003), 1:75 (hereafter cited as *Manhal*).

> On 16 [Dhū al-Ḥijjah 780] (5 April 1379), the Grand Amir Barqūq summoned qadis and learned shaykhs and consulted with them regarding the cancellation *(ḥall)* of *waqf* lands allotted for mosques *(jawāmi' wa-masājid),* schools *(madāris),* and Sufi convents *(khawāniq wa-zawāyā wa-rubṭ),* for descendants of sultans *(mulūk),* amirs, and others, and for pious *rizqah*s,[13] and whether the sale of Egyptian and Syrian *kharājī* lands from the state treasury was [legally] permissible or not. Documents concerning Egyptian and Syrian lands that had been turned into *waqf* or privatized—the amount [of loss] was an enormous sum of money every year—were presented. When these were read to the amirs and learned men present [at that consultation], Amir Barqūq stated, "This is the matter that has weakened the army of the Muslims."[14]

Barqūq's questioning of this circumstance, the legality of which had remained largely unchallenged until this time, indicates that he considered the management of the government to be seriously impeded by the sale and "waqfization" of state lands, which had intensified following al-Nāṣir's reign.[15] That is to say, the increase in *waqf*s caused a decrease in government tax revenues because the *waqf* properties were tax-free owing to their religious nature.[16] Moreover, state lands had often been sold for a pittance by means of an immediate refund of the price paid to the

[13]*Rizqah* (pl. *rizaq*) is land allotted by the sultan from the state treasury. It is classified under two categories: the first one is the "military *rizqah*" *(al-rizaq al-jayshīyah),* which was allotted to retired amirs or widows and orphans of dead amirs. The second one is the "pious *rizqah*" *(al-rizaq al-aḥbāsīyah),* which was allotted to religious institutions or religious men. See: A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon, 1250–1900* (London, 1939; repr. Philadelphia, 1977), 32–34; Takao Ito, "Aufsicht und Verwaltung der Stiftungen im mamlukischen Ägypten," *Der Islam* 80 (2003): 55–61.

[14]*Sulūk,* 3:345.

[15]Al-'Aynī, "Tārīkh al-Badr fī Awṣāf Ahl al-'Aṣr," British Library MS Add. 22350, fol. 104v (hereafter cited as *Badr*); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963–72), 11:166 (hereafter cited as *Nujūm*); *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* 3:580.

[16]Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimā'īyah fī Miṣr 648–923 A.H./1250–1517 A.D.* (Cairo, 1980), 279. *Taysīr* also says that the state land sale and the subsequent "waqfization" was one of the reasons for the decrease in revenues in Egypt that occurred during the period from *al-rawk al-Nāṣirī* till the enthronement of Barqūq. Moreover, it was also regarded as a reason for the agricultural decline because the *'imārah* of *waqf* lands was often neglected (*Taysīr,* 79–83). While Abū Ghāzī, basing his findings on archival sources, describes the phenomenon as widespread under the Circassian Mamluks (Abū Ghāzī, *Taṭawwur,* 10, 16–17), we also find this situation described for earlier times in the literary sources.

state treasury for the land.[17]

Thus, these two factors that had led to the alienation of state lands were the fundamental causes of the financial difficulties at the time of Barqūq′s ascent to power. Moreover, their effects on the *iqṭā‘* system, which was based on the principle of state landholding and its full control over land allocation, cannot be ignored; this topic will be addressed later. Although the reasons for the problems that arose after the death of Sultan al-Nāṣir require careful examination, it is plausible that the damage to rural districts that resulted from the great plague had inflicted losses on the amirs who depended on the *iqṭā‘* income; therefore, they tried to obtain lands through suspect methods during the political instability wherein the sultan′s control over the government had weakened, by taking advantage of the frequent transfer of *iqṭā‘*s whose holders were lost to the plague.[18]

Nevertheless, when Barqūq took power, he made efforts to resolve these two problems during his reign. However, although all his attempts succeeded initially, they proved to be inconclusive. With regard to the former problem, Vizier Ibn Kātib Arlān succeeded in recovering lost lands from the possession of the amirs and rebuilding state finances during his tenure.[19] However, his death in 789/1387 and Barqūq′s temporary dethronement due to Amir Minṭāsh′s rebellion in 791/1389 nullified the efforts put into the reconstruction of the landholding system. When Barqūq recovered his position in the following year, 792/1389, he appointed several civilians, who had worked as viziers, to various financial posts at the Dīwān al-Wizārah for the purpose of ″restor[ing] the condition of the state land to that in Ibn Kātib Arlān′s years.″[20] Nonetheless, the fact that a majority of them were relieved of their positions as early as the following year is an indication of the failure of this attempt. With regard to the latter, it is important to understand the manner in which the *majlis* ended; however, two different endings are reported in the sources. While some sources such as *Sulūk* claim that Barqūq succeeded in confiscating *waqf* lands and allotting them to the army as *iqṭā‘* regardless of strong opposition from the ulama,[21] others, such as *Inbā’ al-Ghumr,* report that his

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[17]*Sulūk,* 3:346. The same method is often observed in the archival sources, and Abū Ghāzī estimates that 10 percent of the state land sales he counted on the basis of the archives had applied this method. See: Abū Ghāzī, *Taṭawwur,* 80–83.

[18]Cf. *Sulūk,* 2:785.

[19]Ibid., 3:486–87, 569; *Nuzhah,* 1:60–62, 160–61; *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* 1:103–4, 224–25; *Manhal,* 1:74–76; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr bi-Abnā’ al-‘Umr* (Cairo, 1969–98), 1:272, 338–39 (hereafter cited as *Inbā’ al-Ghumr*).

[20]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk* (Beirut, 1936–42), 9:237–38 (hereafter cited as *Ibn al-Furāt*); *Sulūk,* 3:727–28; *Inbā’ al-Ghumr,* 1:401; *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* 1:350; *Nuzhah,* 1:317–18.

[21]*Sulūk,* 3:347; *Nujūm*, 11:166; *Badr,* fol. 104v.

attempt resulted in failure owing to the opposition.[22] It is difficult to judge the veracity of these reports. Although similar *majālis* were called in 783/1381 and 789/1387 during Barqūq′s reign[23] and also under later sultans, not all of them succeeded in abrogating *waqf*s. Moreover, owing to the opposition of the ulama, they went no further than imposing temporary levies on the *waqf*s under emergency situations such as military expeditions.[24] Therefore, this is an exceptional case even if the abrogation of *waqf*s was carried out at the time. In reality, throughout the Mamluk era, state land sales had never been forbidden, nor had the confiscation of lands converted into *waqf*s been legalized.[25]

When Barqūq seized power under these difficult circumstances, he not only made efforts to bring state finances under control, but also founded a new bureau, al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, for the purpose of anchoring the financial administration and achieving the political stability of his regime.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AL-DĪWĀN AL-MUFRAD AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE STATE MACHINERY

Chancery manual sources such as *Ṣubḥ* explain al-Dīwān al-Mufrad as follows: it was an independent financial bureau in charge of providing the monthly wages *(jāmakīyah),* clothing allowances *(kiswah),* fodder *(ʻalīq),* and other provisions to the Royal Mamluks, having specific lands separate from those of the state treasury as its own resources. *Ustādār al-sulṭān/al-ʻāliyah* (the sultan′s/supreme majordomo), one of the military officers, managed this *dīwān* as chief, assuming the responsibilities of other officials such as *nāẓir al-dīwān al-mufrad* (the deputy chief of the *dīwān*), scribes *(kuttāb),* notaries *(shuhūd),* and so on.[26]

While it is clear that this *dīwān* had been established by Barqūq, there are two

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[22]*Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 1:178–79; *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* 3:580; al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-Kalām fī al-Dhayl ʻalá Duwal al-Islām* (Beirut, 1995), 1:238–40 (hereafter cited as *Wajīz*).

[23]In 783/1381: *Sulūk,* 3:443. In 789/1387: *Badr,* fol. 127r–v; *Ibn al-Furāt,* 9:10–11; *Sulūk,* 3:563; *Nujūm,* 11:247; *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* 1:218–19.

[24]Amīn, *Awqāf,* 322–38. For example, in 803/1400: *Sulūk,* 3:1028–29; *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* 4:145; *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 2:134. In 812/1409: *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 2:421. In 839/1345: *Nuzhah,* 3:335–36.

[25]On the Islamic legal disputes regarding the legality of the sale and ″waqfization″ of state lands in the Mamluk era, see: Kenneth M. Cuno, ″Ideology and Juridical Discourse in Ottoman Egypt: the Uses of the Concept of *Irṣād*,″ *Islamic Law and Society* 6, no. 2 (1999): 145–49.

[26]*Ṣubḥ,* 3:453; al-Ẓāhirī, *Kitāb Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālīk* (Paris, 1894), 106 (hereafter cited as *Zubdah*); *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:723; Ibn Kinnān, *Ḥadā'iq al-Yāsmīn fī Dhikr Qawānīn al-Khulafā' wa-al-Salāṭīn* (Beirut, 1991), 120–24 (hereafter cited as *Ḥadā'iq*); anon., ″Kitāb Dīwān al-Inshā',″ Bibliothèque Nationale MS Arabe 4439, fols. 126r–v, 136v (hereafter cited as *Dīwān al-Inshā'*; regarding the source, see: Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l′administration dans l′état militaire Mamlūk [IXe/XVe siècle]* [Damascus, 1992], 16).

opinions regarding the actual year of its establishment; that is, 784/1382 or 797/1395.[27] The former is based on an account in the *Khiṭaṭ* stating that it was established by the conversion of an *iqṭā‘,* held by Barqūq when he was an amir, into a revenue source "when he ascended to the sultanate."[28] Accordingly, it regards 784/1382, the year of Barqūq's enthronement, as the year of establishment. On the other hand, the latter opinion depends on an account in *Nujūm* stating that it was established by the conversion of the *iqṭā‘* belonging to Barqūq's son Muḥammad, who died in 797/1395.[29] In other words, the difference of opinion with respect to the year of establishment of the *dīwān* arises from a question regarding its source of revenue, i.e., whether it was originally Barqūq's *iqṭā‘* or his son's. We shall now examine the actual establishment process of this *dīwān* on the basis of the chronicle sources.

In the early years of Barqūq's reign as *atābak al-‘asākir* from 779/1387, the government had been jointly headed by Barqūq and his colleague, Amir Barakah. Subsequently, owing to the political differences between them, Barqūq succeeded in incarcerating Barakah and then killing him in Rabī‘ I 782 (June 1380);[30] consequently, Barqūq's regime attained stability. At this time, he gave Barakah's *iqṭā‘,* which was allotted to an amir of one hundred, and the amirate to his own son Muḥammad, who was born on the first day of that month. He then appointed Amir Sharaf al-Dīn Mūsá ibn Dandār ibn Qaramān as Muḥammad's *ustādār* to be the manager of his *iqṭā‘,* contrary to the prevailing custom that when the position of an amir became vacant, it was given to another along with his *iqṭā‘*.[31] It appears reasonable to suppose that Barqūq intended to profit from the *iqṭā‘* held in the name of his infant son as well as to prevent the emergence of a political rival by not giving the vacant *iqṭā‘* of the number two position to another amir. In the meantime, Barqūq retained his own *iqṭā‘* as an amir of one hundred in addition to

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[27]For opinions regarding its establishment year as 784/1382: Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration,* 53; Jean-Claude Garcin, "The Regime of the Circassian Mamluks" in *The Cambridge History of Egypt,* vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt 640–1517,* ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 300. 797/1395: Poliak, *Feudalism,* 4; Heinz Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern* (Wiesbaden, 1979–82), 1:44; Ulrich Haarmann, "The Sons of Mamluks as Fief-holders in Late Medieval Egypt," in *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East,* ed. Tarif Khalidi (Beirut, 1984), 157.

[28]*Khiṭaṭ,* 3:723.

[29]*Nujūm,* 12:145–46.

[30]*Sulūk,* 3:381–86; *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* 1:22–26; *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 1:210–11.

[31]*Sulūk,* 3:387, 389; Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Jawhar al-Thamīn fī Siyar al-Mulūk wa-al-Salāṭīn* (Beirut, 1985), 2:255; *Nujūm,* 11:180. Each amir used to have his own *ustādār* to manage the financial affairs of his *iqṭā‘* and other resources. See: al-Subkī, *Mu‘īd al-Ni‘am wa-Mubīd al-Niqam* (Cairo, 1948), 26–27; *Ṣubḥ,* 5:457.

being in charge of the financial affairs of the state as the *atābak*. During this time, Amir Bahādur al-Manjakī (d. 790/1388) had served as Barqūq's *ustādār*[32] and managed his *iqṭā'*. Thereafter, Barqūq formally ascended to the sultanate in Ramaḍān 784 (November 1382) and immediately appointed his personal *ustādār,* Bahādur, to the post of *ustādār al-sulṭān* with a rank of amir of forty, as well as to the post of Muḥammad's *ustādār*.[33] Although the duties of the *ustādār al-sulṭān* had hitherto included taking charge of all the affairs relating to the sultan's court and servitors as "majordomo,"[34] Bahādur's duties mainly comprised financial management, much as the *ustādār*s of the amirs. Nevertheless, this does not immediately imply that al-Dīwān al-Mufrad was established during this time. The first reference to this *dīwān* was made in Dhū al-Qa'dah 788 (November 1386), in which Sa'd al-Dīn Naṣr Allāh ibn al-Baqarī, who had managed Barqūq's private financial affairs prior to his enthronement, was appointed as the *nāẓir* of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad "newly established *(istajadda)* by the sultan."[35] Therefore, it appears reasonable to suppose that this *dīwān* was officially established at this time. However, I believe that Muḥammad's *iqṭā',* which had been under the control of the *ustādār al-sulṭān,* was probably added to the *dīwān*'s resources after his death in 797/1395 because his *iqṭā'* remained separate from the land of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad after its establishment as it was previously;[36] however, it might have been a *de facto* source of revenue for this *dīwān.*

Thus, we can summarize the establishment process of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad as follows: Barqūq had kept for himself two *iqṭā'*s allotted to amirs of one hundred, which once belonged to Barqūq and Barakah, as his own revenue source, and independent of the government purse, without allotting them to others even after his enthronement. Subsequently, he appointed the *nāẓir* and formally established this *dīwān* through the conversion of his former *iqṭā'* into its revenue source in 788/1386, then added the other *iqṭā'* to it later, possibly in 797/1395. If this is true, a question arises regarding the inducement for him to establish the *dīwān.* One reason could be that it was due to one of the policies aiming to augment the mamluks trained and organized by the sultan himself, called *mushtarawāt,*[37] and

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32 *Sulūk,* 3:393.

33 Ibid., 478; *Nujūm,* 11:228; *Nuzhah,* 1:49; *Badr,* fol. 116v.

34 Al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār* (Cairo, 1985), 57–58; *Ṣubḥ,* 4:20.

35 *Sulūk,* 3:553; *Nuzhah,* 1:143. For the management of Barqūq's financial affairs, see: *Sulūk,* 3:336.

36 *Badr,* fols. 139r, 145r.

37 The Royal Mamluks comprised the *mushtarawāt*, the Mamluks who were trained by the present reigning sultan, and the *mustakhdamūn,* those who were transferred from the service of the preceding sultans or amirs to the service of the reigning sultan. See: David Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure

also to ensure the regular distribution of monthly wages to them. During the chaotic period preceding Barqūq's ascent to the sultanate, the control of the Royal Mamluks was beyond the sultan's power and even the *mushtarawāt* had often participated in revolts by the amirs against the sultan demanding money.[38] Because of this, following his enthronement, Barqūq exiled the previous sultans' mamluks and replaced them with his own in order to secure control over the Royal Mamluks.[39] Therefore, the establishment of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad could be regarded as a corollary policy; that is, while the Royal Mamluks were sustained by *iqṭā*'s allotted from the *khāṣṣ* land or the monthly wages paid from the state treasury, this system had been directly affected by the decrease in state lands. To counter this problem, Barqūq ensured there would be an exclusive revenue source for the Royal Mamluks through the establishment of this *dīwān*. Accordingly, he succeeded in maintaining the *mushtarawāt,* comprising a large number of mamluks, estimated at 5,000 men.[40] The establishment of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad undoubtedly enabled Barqūq to retain his power, unlike his predecessors during the late Bahri Mamluk period. However, it should be noted that this *dīwān* was organizationally and financially independent of the traditional financial system of the Mamluk state as it was originally established, because the *dīwān* itself was funded by *iqṭā'* lands. This made it possible for the *dīwān* to avoid the direct effects of the government's financial difficulties which would affect the sultan's power base directly; however, it also indicated that Barqūq could not solve the fundamental problem causing these financial difficulties, and that it was difficult for the sultan to depend on the traditional financial system.

Consequently, the newly-established al-Dīwān al-Mufrad rapidly expanded its role, and the Mamluk state structure also came to be reorganized owing to its development. Initially, the financial affairs of the state were managed by three independent bureaus, namely, Dīwān al-Wizārah, Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ, and al-Dīwān al-Mufrad. Although each of these had its own revenue sources and was responsible for providing certain allowances, all of them were sometimes placed under the sole supervision of the *mushīr al-dawlah* (counselor of the government).[41] Although the role and revenue sources of each of these bureaus changed with time, they may be summarized as follows: Dīwān al-Wizārah obtained its income through

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of the Mamluk Army 1," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15, no. 2 (1953): 204–22; William Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382–1468 A.D.: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrî Birdî's Chronicles of Egypt* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1955), 1:87.

[38]Sultan Sha'bān distributed money to his mamluks for the purpose of "securing himself by giving his money" [*Sulūk,* 3:139, 154], but he lost his position due to their participation in the amirs' revolt (see note 6). For a case pertaining to Barqūq's mamluks in 784/1382, see: *Sulūk,* 3:473; *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* 1:84–85.

[39]In 784/1382: *Sulūk,* 3:479; *Nuzhah,* 1:49–50. In 785/1383: *Sulūk,* 3:500; *Nuzhah,* 1:78.

the collection of *kharāj* tax from particular districts such as Giza and Manfalūṭ and miscellaneous taxes *(mukūs),* and undertook the responsibility of supplying meat and other food for the Royal Mamluks and others. Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ obtained its resources from taxes levied at Alexandria and other coastal ports on the Mediterranean, which covered expenses for the two feasts *(ʿĪdayn), khilʿah*s, etc. Finally, as mentioned before, al-Dīwān al-Mufrad was responsible for the monthly stipends and other essentials for the Royal Mamluks.[42]

It is difficult to specify the exact year in which the division of state finances into these three bureaus was completed. However, it is fairly certain that the two prominent *ustādār*s, Yalbughā al-Sālimī (d. 811/1409) and Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf (d. 812/1409), who seized political and financial power during the civil war during the reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj (801–8, 808–15/1399–1405, 1405–12), were associated with the transformation of the financial organization. Each of them was also an amir of one hundred exercising the general management and supervision of state finances as *mushīr al-dawlah,* and occasionally held concurrently the post of vizier.[43] During their tenure, the office of the *ustādār* underwent a remarkable growth in importance, accompanied by a dramatic increase in the numerical strength of the staff of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad.[44] In contrast, the office of vizier, which had hitherto played a crucial role in state finances, lost its importance.[45] Based on this knowledge, we can judge that the transformation of the financial bureaucracy was achieved at approximately this time; however, this leaves still unanswered the question of whether this was an intentional policy clearly designed to transform the organization of state finances.

Parallel to the division of the state finances, the *khāṣṣ* land in Egypt was also allocated to the resources of each bureau.[46] However, lands allotted to the Dīwān al-Wizārah and Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ accounted for only a small portion of the entire amount of land, and al-Dīwān al-Mufrad acquired the greater portion of it for itself[47] along with some farm land in Syria.[48] Consequently, al-Dīwān al-Mufrad

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[40]*Nujūm,* 12:107; cf. Ayalon, "Mamluk Army 1," 224–25; *Manhal,* 3:328; *Nuzhah,* 1:499.

[41]*Dīwān al-Inshā',* fol. 125r; *Ḥadā'iq,* 119; *Zubdah,* 106; Popper, *Systematic Notes,* 1:96.

[42]On the roles, resources, and officials of each financial *dīwān,* see: *Zubdah,* 97–98, 106–9; Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration,* 35–40, 49–53; Poliak, *Feudalism,* 4–5.

[43]Yalbughā al-Sālimī: *Khiṭaṭ,* 4:159–63; *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 2:417–19; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Cairo, 1934–37), 10:289–90 (hereafter cited as *Ḍaw'*); *Sulūk,* 3:1052–53, 1106; *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* 4:308–9, 312. Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf: *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 2:445–48; *Ḍaw',* 10:294–97; Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration,* 103–5.

[44]*Sulūk,* 4:289; *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 3:38.

[45]*Khiṭaṭ,* 3:723–24; *Taysīr,* 71.

[46]*Khiṭaṭ,* 1:261.

became the most important office for Egyptian local administration, and the appointee to the post of *ustādār al-sulṭān* began to assume the additional post of Viceroy of Lower Egypt *(nā'ib al-wajh al-baḥrī)* from the reign of Sultan Faraj, and also of Upper Egypt *(nā'ib al-wajh al-qiblī)* from the reign of Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy (825–41/1422–38). The appointee was also invested with the authority to appoint and dismiss local governors *(wālī, kāshif)*.[49] Furthermore, the *ustādār* would often travel throughout the rural districts of Egypt in order to collect taxes himself.[50]

With regard to the proportion of land assigned to al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, valuable information can be obtained from *Intiṣār* and *Tuḥfah,* which recorded the name, size of the cultivated land, and the tax revenues of each tax district *(nāḥiyah)* in Egypt (see Table).[51] This indicates that during the reign of Sultan Barqūq, the agricultural land of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad in Egypt comprised only 14 districts with annual revenues (*'ibrah*) estimated at approximately 200,000 *dīnār*s *jayshī* (dj).[52] However, by the reign of Sultan Qāytbāy, approximately eighty years later, these numbers had increased tremendously; the number of districts had increased by approximately ten times (159 districts), and the amount of revenue collected had increased approximately seven times (1,413,858.3 dj). These districts were spread across most of the provinces of Egypt (17 of 21) and the average revenue from them was 8,892.2 dj, which was more than twice that of the revenues obtained

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[47]Ibid., 3:724; *Zubdah,* 107.

[48]*Sulūk,* 3:898; *Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* 1:657, 4:107; *Nuzhah,* 2:398.

[49]*Dīwān al-Inshā',* fol. 126r–v; *Ḥadā'iq,* 121; *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:724. However, according to the chronicles, the first case of an *ustādār* holding the post of Viceroy of Lower Egypt came about in 800/1397 (i.e., toward the end of Barqūq's reign), and the first case of an *ustādār* holding the post of Viceroy of Upper and Lower Egypt came about in 824/1421 (i.e., the year in which Sultan al-Muẓaffar Aḥmad was enthroned). See: *Sulūk,* 3:891, 4:568; *Nuzhah,* 2:498.

[50]For example, the case occurring in 816/1414: *Sulūk,* 4:274–75; *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 3:15. In 820/1417: *Sulūk,* 4:385, 392–94; *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 3:138; *Nuzhah,* 2:401. Moreover, several *ustādār*s had careers as Egyptian local governors. For example, Fakhr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ghanī ibn Abī al-Faraj (d. 821/1418): *Sulūk,* 4:180, 267, 356; *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 3:182–84; *Manhal,* 7:314–18; *Ḍaw',* 4:248–51.

[51]Ibn Duqmāq, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat 'Iqd al-Amṣār* (Cairo, 1893); Ibn al-Jī'ān, *Kitāb al-Tuḥfah al-Sanīyah bi-Asmā' al-Bilād al-Miṣrīyah* (Cairo, 1898). Notes on the Table: (1) All figures were rounded off to one decimal place. (2) If al-Dīwān al-Mufrad shared a tax district with other uses (such as private land, *waqf,* etc.), the *'ibrah* of the *dīwān* was calculated by dividing the *'ibrah* of the district under consideration equally, except in a case wherein the *'ibrah* of each was specified. (3) The *'ibrah,* the average *'ibrah,* and the percentage were calculated excluding those districts whose *'ibrahs* were not known. Therefore, the total amount of *'ibrah* for the whole of Egypt given in this Table differs from that written in the opening paragraph of *Tuḥfah.* However, when calculating the percentage of *'ibrah* of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, this showing of a general tendency is not a problem because there is a small difference of only one decimal place.

from all the Egyptian districts, which was 4,107.8 dj. Moreover, 187 districts in Egypt provided revenues exceeding 10,000 dj, of which 47 belonged to al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, accounting for almost one-fourth of the total number. However, this *dīwān* also accounted for 20 of the 50 districts (40 percent) that provided revenues of 20,000 dj and more, and 10 of the 17 districts (almost 60 percent) that provided revenues of 30,000 dj and more, with the ratio rising in proportion to the revenue. These details immediately clarify that this *dīwān,* as a matter of priority, acquired a greater number of productive districts among the resources under its control. As a result, al-Dīwān al-Mufrad held the largest number of tax districts among the financial bureaus of the government, the income from which comprised 17.3 percent (i.e., more than 4 *qīrāṭ*s) of the revenues from all the rural districts of Egypt.

This increase in al-Dīwān al-Mufrad's landholdings had been achieved by means of acquisition of not only *khāṣṣ* lands previously under the control of the Dīwān al-Wizārah but also *iqṭā'*s. The chronicles report several cases in which *iqṭā'*s of deceased or dismissed amirs were added to the resource pool of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad by sultans: those of three amirs of one hundred, one amir of forty, one amir of ten, and one amir of unknown rank.[53] However, not all the *iqṭā'*s added to this *dīwān* were such high-yielding ones belonging to high-ranking amirs. According to *Nujūm,* regarding Zayn al-Dīn Yaḥyá al-Ashqar (d. 874/1469), the *ustādār* during the reign of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq (842–57/1439–53), "he seized numerous *iqṭā'*s of the Royal Mamluks and amirs, acquiring them by force, and added them to al-Dīwān al-Mufrad." *Ustādār*s tried to seize *iqṭā'*s of lower-ranking amirs, mamluks, and probably also the *ḥalqah* troopers for the purpose of discharging their duties and advancing their own interests at every opportunity.[54] In addition, this *dīwān* benefited from other sources of revenue, notably, the government-managed waterwheels *(dawālib)* in 803/1401 and the income from the sultan's monopoly on sugar in 832/1429. Moreover, a deficit in this *dīwān* was covered by

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[52]Unit expressing the amount of tax revenues from farm land. See: Rabie, *Financial System,* 48–49; Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 62–63, 152–55.

[53]Amirs of one hundred: Yalbughā al-Sālimī, *ustādār al-sulṭān* (in 803/1401) [*Sulūk,* 3:1067]; 'Alī Bāy, *dawādār al-kabīr* (in 824/1421) [*Sulūk,* 4:573; *Nujūm,* 14:182]; Sūdūn min 'Abd al-Raḥmān, *atābak al-'asākir* (in 837/1433) [*Sulūk,* 4:906; *Nuzhah,* 3:275; *Nujūm,* 15:35–36]. Qānṣūh, amir of forty, and Amīn, amir of ten (in 831/1428) [al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān* (Cairo, 1989), 335 (hereafter cited as *'Iqd*); *Sulūk,* 4:779; *Nujūm,* 14:319]. Amir Jakam al-Ashrafī, uncle of the ex-sultan al-'Azīz Yūsuf (in 867/1463) [Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. William Popper (Berkeley, 1930–42), 759 (hereafter cited as *Ḥawādith*[1])].

[54]*Nujūm,* 16:28. Haarmann also connects the decline in *iqṭā'* holdings of the sons of the sultans (*sīdī;* pl. *asyād*) during the Circassian Mamluk period to the establishment of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad

sales of positions in local government in 824/1421.[55]

These details show that the establishment of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad brought about and played a pivotal role in the reorganization of the administrative and financial bureaucracy. It clearly indicates that providing monthly stipends to the Royal Mamluks became the most important task of the government. As mentioned earlier, the Mamluk state had undergone a radical change in its political and power structure, resulting in the Royal Mamluks expanding their role in politics.[56] Furthermore, they rioted when there were delays in the distribution of wages, which often escalated into open revolt against the sultan vociferously demanding his dethronement;[57] therefore, the reliable distribution of wages became the primary concern of successive sultans. Viewed in this light, the establishment of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad can be regarded as an organizational adjustment to the new political structure.

On the other hand, it is important to note that al-Dīwān al-Mufrad developed through the acquisition of not only *khāṣṣ* lands but several *iqṭā*ʿs as well. While the number of amirs of one hundred in Egypt had been fixed at 24 men owing to *al-rawk al-Nāṣirī*, all of these posts were rarely filled during the Circassian Mamluk period. According to *Ṣubḥ,* the decrease in the number of amirs of one hundred resulted from the establishment of this *dīwān,* and their number was reduced to 20 or less, and even 18 during the reign of Barqūq due to this reason. Thereafter, this decrease in the number persisted till the reign of Sultan Barsbāy in 840/1436, when it dipped to 13, and then 11 in 857/1453 during the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq.[58] This indicates that on one hand al-Dīwān al-Mufrad accumulated a vast amount of agricultural land but on the other that *iqṭā*ʿ lands for amirs decreased inversely, so that the ratio between the *khāṣṣ* land and the *iqṭā*ʿs based on *al-rawk al-Nāṣirī* was being diminished.

Nevertheless, such a large-scale expansion of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad's landholdings should not simply be regarded as part of an "innovation" to strengthen

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(Haarmann, "Sons of Mamluks," 157–58, 162–63).

[55]The case occurring in 803/1401: *Sulūk,* 3:1067. In 832/1429: *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 3:419; *Sulūk,* 4:796; *Nuzhah,* 3:150. In 824/1421: *Sulūk,* 4:574.

[56]Amalia Levanoni, "Rank-and-File Mamluks versus Amirs: New Norms in the Mamluk Military Institution" in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 17–31.

[57]The revolt in 842/1438: *Sulūk,* 4:1091–95; *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 4:96–97; *Nuzhah,* 4:29–37; *Nujūm,* 15:264–75. In 854/1450: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Cairo, 1990), 1:213–16 (hereafter cited as *Ḥawādith*[2]); Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr* (Wiesbaden, 1960–75), 2:279 (hereafter cited as *Badāʾiʿ*). In 859/1455: *Nujūm,* 16:87–91; *Ḥawādith*[2]*,* 1:454–61.

[58]Barqūq's reign: *Ṣubḥ,* 4:14; *Badr,* fol. 162v. Barsbāy's reign: *Sulūk,* 4:989. Jaqmaq's reign:

the sultan′s autocratic power by an increase in the number of Royal Mamluks through the building up of this *dīwān.* On the contrary, it resulted from the necessary addition of resources to this *dīwān,* moving parallel to the gradually deteriorating financial situation, as we shall see in what follows.

THE BANKRUPTCY OF AL-DĪWĀN AL-MUFRAD AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

The economic decline caused by various factors such as plague was further aggravated during the Circassian Mamluk period.[59] Accordingly, al-Dīwān al-Mufrad also experienced financial difficulties as early as the reign of Sultan Barsbāy, usually regarded as a relatively stable period.[60] In Rajab 828 (May 1425), a large deficit was detected through an audit of the *dīwān;* it amounted to 120,000 dinars per year. Similarly, another deficit, detected in Rabīʻ II 832 (January 1429), had reached 60,000 dinars per year.[61] The financial condition markedly deteriorated subsequent to the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq, during which many *ustādār*s resigned, fled, or were dismissed and suffered confiscation, and the Royal Mamluks frequently demonstrated against the arrears of their monthly wages.[62] While the difficulty in managing this *dīwān* was undoubtedly further aggravated by the economic decline, I would like to emphasize that its expenditures showed a consistent increase throughout the period under consideration. During the reign of Sultan Shaykh, the total amount spent on monthly wages accounted for 11,000 dinars per month; it subsequently increased to 18,000 dinars during Barsbāy′s reign, 28,000 dinars

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Ḥawādith[2], 1:333. Cf. Poliak, *Feudalism,* 8; Popper, *Systematic Notes,* 1:86.

[59]On the economic decline under the Circassian Mamluks, see: E. Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1976), 301–31. Regarding the financial difficulties of the Mamluk state during the period under consideration, see: Miura Toru, ″Administrative Networks in the Mamluk Period: Taxation, Legal Execution, and Bribery″ in *Islamic Urbanism in Human History: Political Power and Social Networks,* ed. Sato Tsugitaka (London and New York, 1997), 59–66.

[60]According to my analysis of the chronicles, there are 21 accounts on the financial failures of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad during 16 years and 8 months of his reign. It is remarkably larger than 5, the number of accounts of financial failures during the 14 years and 3 months of the reign of Sultan Faraj, and 2, during the 8 years and 5 months of the reign of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (815–24/1412–21).

[61]In 828/1425: *Sulūk,* 4:688. In 832/1429: *Sulūk,* 4:796; *Nuzhah,* 3:150.

[62]During the reign of Barsbāy, 9 men assumed the post of *ustādār* a total of 13 times, and the average term of office at one time was 15.4 months. However, during the reign of Sultan al-Ashraf Īnāl (857–65/1543–60), 7 men assumed the post a total of 12 times and the average term was 8.2 months, while during the reign of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam (865–72/1461–17), 5 men assumed it a total of 12 times, and the average term was 6.5 months. These figures indicate that the frequency of the substitution was increasing steadily. According to Miura, the average term of office of an *ustādār* during the period from the beginning of Barsbāy′s reign to Qāytbāy′s

during Jaqmaq′s reign, and it finally reached 46,000 dinars in 873/1468, immediately after Qāytbāy′s enthronement.[63] Since these amounts excluded the expenditures on other necessities such as clothing allowances and fodder, the total expenditure of the *dīwān* undoubtedly exceeded the given amount.

This increase in expenditures was not caused by an increase in the number of the sultan′s mamluks or radical pay raises;[64] rather, it was caused by the inclusion of recipient groups other than mamluks. Several accounts are found in the sources wherein we can find that various groups such as the sons of the mamluks, referred to as *awlād al-nās,* Islamic jurisprudents *(fuqahā'),* women, children, orphans, merchants, and other common people were also enrolled as recipients, receiving money and supplies from al-Dīwān al-Mufrad similar to the mamluks after the reign of Jaqmaq, particularly after 860/1455:[65]

> If only a sultan′s mamluk was [a recipient], what do you think about the present [circumstances]? Countless people comprising ″men of the turban″ (*muta'ammimūn*: religious men), the *awlād al-nās,* merchants *(tujjār),* common people *('āmmah),* and even Christians had been enrolled with the sultan′s treasury *(bayt al-sulṭān)* [as recipients]. The situation departed from the rule and transcended its boundaries. Viziers were unable to provide meat supplies, and *ustādār*s also were unable to [provide] the monthly wages and fodder. . . . These incidents were unheard of before, except following the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq (may God have mercy upon him).[66]

It may be reasonable to believe that in its development, al-Dīwān al-Mufrad assumed the additional responsibility of providing for some of the needs of ″men of the turban″ and the poor, which prior to its establishment would have been

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enthronement in 872/1468 was 1.09 years (Miura, ″Administrative Networks,″ 63).

[63] *Ḥawādith*^{2}*,* 689; al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā' al-Haṣr bi-Abnā' al-'Aṣr* (Cairo, 1970), 33–34 (hereafter cited as *Inbā' al-Haṣr*).

[64] The monthly wage of a mamluk rose from 100 dirhams to 400–500 dirhams in 809/1406 [*Sulūk,* 4:28], thereafter undergoing several raises till it reached 2,000 dirhams per month during Barsbāy′s reign [*Sulūk,* 4:804, 817–18; *Nuzhah,* 3:160, 178; *Nujūm,* 14:330]. However, this increase was superficial and primarily resulted from the state of disorder of the monetary system; that is, the widespread circulation of copper coins and the consequent decline in the value of the dirham. On the conversion rates and the prices in this period, see: E. Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l′orient medieval* (Paris, 1969), Chaps. 6, 7; Popper, *Systematic Notes,* 2:41–106.

[65] *Inbā' al-Haṣr,* 16, 20–21, 43; *Ḥawādith*^{1}*,* 465, 491–92, 678, 682, 689–95; *Nujūm,* 16:82–83.

[66] *Ḥawādith*^{1}*,* 691.

carried out by the government as charity.[67] However, more noteworthy reasons for the increase in the numbers and types of recipients were: first, the new, formal recognition of the *awlād al-nās* as recipients and second: the increase in the informal recipients registered fraudulently.

(1) The Awlād al-Nās

The sons of the mamluks, referred to as *awlād al-nās,* began to be enrolled in al-Dīwān al-Mufrad and like the mamluks, received monthly wages and provisions. The *awlād al-nās* were originally military men belonging to the *ḥalqah* troops, receiving *iqṭā*ʻs from the sultan.[68] A question arises as to the circumstances that required their enrollment, which started on a regular basis during the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq. I believe it was the ultimate consequence of the long-term decline of the *ḥalqah* that began during the late Bahri Mamluk period. It is widely known that the *ḥalqah* troops became impoverished and began to sell their *iqṭā*ʻs for money in the last decades of the Bahri Mamluk period;[69] however, their condition continued to deteriorate under the Circassian Mamluks. In Ramaḍān 821 (October 1418), Sultan Shaykh initiated the reconstitution of the *ḥalqah* and improved the chances of a *ḥalqah* trooper holding an *iqṭā*ʻ based on his status. That is to say, amirs often purchased the *ḥalqah* troopers′ *iqṭā*ʻs or acquired them in the names of their own mamluks and eunuchs. The sultan′s mamluks also acquired *ḥalqah* troopers′ *iqṭā*ʻs in addition to their own monthly wages. Accordingly, several *ḥalqah* troopers who lost their revenue source entered into the service of the amirs as ″mamluks of the amirs.″[70] This indicates that the *iqṭā*ʻs of the *ḥalqah* gradually came into the possession of the mamluks and amirs, the higher-ranking military class, contrasting with the decline of the *ḥalqah.* In addition, the situation wherein ″*iqṭā*ʻs were lost by being turned into *rizqah*s, *milk*s, etc.,″ was also regarded as a

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[67] *Taysīr,* 73; *Dīwān al-Inshā',* fol. 133v.

[68] David Ayalon, ″Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army 2,″ *BSOAS* 15, no. 3 (1953): 456–58.

[69] On the decline of the *ḥalqah* troops and the sale of *iqṭā*ʻs of the *ḥalqah* troopers, see: ibid., 451–56; *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:710–11. While the origin of this phenomenon lay in *al-rawk al-Nāṣirī,* which sharply reduced the revenues from *iqṭā*ʻs for the *ḥalqah* troopers, the plagues that had been frequent since 749/1348–49 also aggravated this problem. In addition to causing extensive damage to the rural areas and decreasing income from the *iqṭā*ʻs, several *iqṭā*ʻs that lost their holders to the plagues fell into the hands of non-military men. See: Dols, *Black Death*, 273–75; Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 159–60.

[70] *Nujūm,* 14:69–71; *Sulūk,* 4:461–64; *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* 3:169. There are several examples wherein a sultan′s mamluk held an *iqṭā*ʻ of a *ḥalqah* trooper. For example, when the monthly wages were distributed to the Royal Mamluks in Rabīʻ II 827 (March 1424), wages of mamluks who also held *iqṭā*ʻs of the *ḥalqah* troopers were deducted. See: *Sulūk,* 4:661.

reason for the decline of the *ḥalqah,*[71] and the alienation of the state lands mentioned above continued uninterrupted, directly influencing the decrease in the land for *iqṭā*ʿs. In any case, this effort of Sultan Shaykh's was largely futile and the decline of the *ḥalqah* proceeded.

The continued decline of the *ḥalqah* troops and their disappearance as a military unit naturally and directly affected the sons of the mamluks, who joined the military unit as *"awlād al-nās"* troopers. One possibility is to assume that the enrollment of *awlād al-nās* in al-Dīwān al-Mufrad was in keeping with a policy to maintain them as a military unit by directly providing wages in cash from the state treasury instead of *iqṭā*ʿs, which had been gradually reduced during the period under consideration. The fact that Sultan Qāytbāy tested the *awlād al-nās* on their military ability by making them draw their bows and deducted the monthly wages of those who were unsuccessful in the examination proves that the wage for the *awlād al-nās* paid from al-Dīwān al-Mufrad was officially regarded as compensation for military service. But in fact a majority of them had never possessed any abilities suited to military service, nor had they received an amount necessary to support them. This is proved by the following account (885/1481) regarding the inspection of *ḥalqah* members in which they are ordered to maintain their military equipment and acquire military training:

> However, as for the *awlād al-nās,* no previous sultan had ever reviewed them, or ignored them even if they had reviewed them [with the army]. . . . One [of them] receiving a monthly wage of as much as 500 or 300 dirhams [as opposed to the regular sum for a mamluk of 2,000 dirhams] and having dependents is poor. Where can he raise additional [money] in order [to pay] for a sword, a lance, or a quiver? These are the people who preceding sultans allowed to have presents of alms *(ṣadaqah)* from the sultan's treasury.[72]

As this account indicates, the monthly wages paid to the *awlād al-nās* were not well-earned rewards for military service; rather, they were a kind of "public-assistance payment" for the sons of the mamluks. We can say that the novel enrollment of the *awlād al-nās* in al-Dīwān al-Mufrad as formal recipients of stipends indicated that the traditional military *iqṭā*ʿ system had reached a dead end as a consequence of the continuous decrease in state lands.

(2) INFORMAL RECIPIENTS

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[71]*Nujūm,* 14:71.

[72]*Inbāʾ al-Haṣr*, 501–2.

There were several categories of informal recipients who were enrolled in al-Dīwān al-Mufrad. If we examine the people who acquired the right to receive wages from this *dīwān* and the channels through which they achieved it, they may be divided into two groups. The first group includes ″the people connected with influential men in the state *(muḍāfī kibār al-dawlah)*.″[73] It can be stated with a fair amount of certainty that they had connections and became recipients with the aid of their patrons. The majority of these are assumed to be mamluks and private staff of the amirs although there were various kinds of people among them. In the aforementioned account pertaining to Sultan Shaykh′s policy that aimed for the reconstruction of the *ḥalqah,* it is stated that the amirs enrolled their mamluks and eunuchs in this *dīwān* so that they could acquire monthly wages in addition to acquiring *ḥalqah* troopers′ *iqṭā*ʻs for their own uses (see note 70). For example, there was a case wherein an *ustādār* enrolled his own mamluks in this *dīwān* as ″sultan′s mamluks″ and paid them wages from it.[74] Another example is that of Amir Burdbak al-Bajmaqdār (d. 875/1470), an eminent amir who successively held various high offices such as Viceroy of Aleppo, Viceroy of Damascus, etc., and who compelled viziers and *ustādār*s to provide him and the men in his service with monthly wages and various supplies.[75] It is obvious that these types of people had included themselves among the regular recipients in view of the fact that amirs often balked at the attempts of sultans to reduce their stipends.[76]

The second group includes the people who purchased their status as recipients. Al-Ashqar, who had occupied the position of *ustādār* for more than ten years during the reign of Sultan Jaqmaq, was given free rein in the management of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, which was mired in financial difficulties. Due to a lack of operating funds, he began to sell the rights of receiving wages from this *dīwān* in order to obtain funds to disburse the monthly wages. Consequently, various people fraudulently acquired wages as ″sultan′s mamluks.″ Furthermore, it was inevitable that these wages fell into the hands of wealthy people; there were amirs who also received monthly wages, or mamluks who gained more than one stipend at a time.[77] In 873/1468, Qāytbāy attempted to reestablish the principle that each mamluk would receive only 2,000 dirhams (i.e., the regular stipend) and compelled mamluks who purchased stipend-receiving status or received more than this amount to

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[73] *Ḥawādith[1]*, 678; *Inbāʼ al-Haṣr*, 16.

[74] *Inbāʼ al-Haṣr*, 173.

[75] Ibid., 300.

[76] *Sulūk,* 3:1103; *Nuzhah,* 2:165; *Ḥawādith[2],* 1:426; *Badāʼiʻ*, 2:320. Sultan Qāytbāy did not approve the intervention of the amirs in his attempts at reforming al-Dīwān al-Mufrad in 873/1468 [*Ḥawādith[1],* 693].

[77] On the sale of the monthly wages and its repercussions, see: *Inbāʼ al-Haṣr*, 34.

return them to the sellers (probably including rank and file mamluks and *awlād al-nās*).[78] This explains the manner in which the sale of wages became widespread.

Under these circumstances, al-Ashqar managed al-Dīwān al-Mufrad as well as possible using all the means within his power, such as seizing *iqṭā*ʿs and *rizqah*s for the *dīwān*'s resources.[79] Nevertheless, this was nothing more than ad hoc management depending on his own discretion; thus, it ceased to function following the death of his supporter, Jaqmaq. Furthermore, a part of the agricultural land from the *dīwān*'s resources frequently fell into the hands of amirs and mamluks aiming to acquire the lands as *iqṭāʿ* during times of political unrest, such as the interval between a sultan's death and a new sultan's enthronement.[80] In addition, powerful amirs' *ḥimāyah* (private protection) over farm villages, which became widespread during this period and prevented local officials from collecting taxes from them undoubtedly exerted a negative influence on this *dīwān,* which depended heavily on tax returns from rural districts.[81] Therefore, sultans regularly had to meet this *dīwān*'s deficit from their own purses because it could not otherwise be operated.[82] During the reign of Khushqadam, the fact that the *ustādār* was awarded a *khilʿah* and was lauded each time he was able to provide stipends to the mamluks proves the difficulty of performing this job at this time.[83] These circumstances compelled Qāytbāy, who ascended to the sultanate in 872/1468, to immediately embark on a thorough financial reform. However, this will not be discussed in this article for lack of space.

CONCLUSION

On the basis of our analysis of the historical development of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad from its establishment till the time of its fiscal bankruptcy, two important facts relating not only to this *dīwān* but also to the structure of the Mamluk regime itself were clarified. Firstly, the growing weakness of the system of land management under the sole authority of the state had a persistent influence on the establishment, development, and, finally, bankruptcy of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad. This *dīwān* was established against the background of a problem, namely, the alienation of

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[78] *Ḥawādith[1]*, 690; *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr*, 36. Similarly, the rights to receive meat supplies from Dīwān al-Wizārah were also dealt with [*Badāʾiʿ*, 3:23, 331] and pensions *(maʿāsh)* for the poor/Sufis *(fuqarāʾ)* and others were sold at a high price [*Nujūm,* 16:28].

[79] For further details of al-Ashqar, see: *Ḍaw',* 10:233–34; *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr*, 172–75.

[80] *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr*, 34; *Ḥawādith[2]*, 1:137; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk* (Cairo, n.d.), 218; *Badāʾiʿ*, 2:383.

[81] *Taysīr,* 95–96, 135–36.

[82] *Ḥawādith[1]*, 413, 449, 491, 757; *Ḥawādith[2]*, 1:453.

[83] *Ḥawādith[1]*, 486, 491–92, 493, 495.

agricultural lands from the state treasury. However, this continued to be perceived as a problem without an effective solution throughout the Circassian Mamluk period. As Abū Ghāzī describes it, the state land sales rapidly increased in the 850s/1446–56 and a majority of those lands sold fell into the hands of the upper class of Mamluks, such as the sultans and amirs.[84] This problem was directly related to the malfunctioning of the *iqṭāʿ* system; the privatization and inheritance of *iqṭāʿ* lands were widespread during the period under consideration, and the *iqṭāʿ* system was shaken to its foundations.[85] It can be said that the large increase in al-Dīwān al-Mufrad's landholdings resulted from the ceaseless efforts to raise money for the monthly stipends of the relatively lower-class Mamluks (and their sons) who had been directly affected to a greater extent by these problems of the *iqṭāʿ* system, by means of concentrating the gradually decreasing state lands, either *khāṣṣ* lands or *iqṭāʿ*s, into this *dīwān*. Simultaneously, it meant that redistributing agricultural lands based on government initiatives such as *al-rawk al-Nāṣirī* were impossible, because titles to lands such as private holdings, *waqf,* lease, *ḥimāyah*, etc., were complicated.

Secondly, in relation to the above, the government's ability to control the distribution or withholding of remuneration, not only *iqṭāʿ*s but also the monthly stipends or other provisions, through the machinery of the state had weakened. In contrast, powerful amirs were striving to acquire interests from the state for themselves, and even their followers acquired interests with their support. It appears reasonable to suppose that this situation suggesting "the privatization of the state" that Sabra refers to[86] was closely linked to the emergence of the personal factions/households referred to as *jamāʿah* or *bāb,* which formed around powerful figures (including amirs, civilians, and qadis), and expanded their roles in politics and society during the late Mamluk period.[87] However, this is irrelevant to the main subject. In a political structure where one of the powerful amirs would ascend to the sultanate with the support of a Mamluk factional power base and through an agreement among the Mamluks, it essentially enabled other powerful

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[84]Abū Ghāzī, *Taṭawwur,* 26–28, 110–11. However, I agree with Adam Sabra that the alienation of state lands was a part of the privatization of state resources by the Mamluk elite (and their descendants) linked to a change in the character of the Mamluk elite opposing Abū Ghāzī's view that it induced the rise of a new class of private landowners with the opening of a land market. Adam Sabra, "The Rise of a New Class? Land Tenure in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: A Review Article," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (2004): 207–10.

[85]*Taysīr,* 81–83; al-Balaṭunusī, *Taḥrīr al-Maqāl fīmā Yaḥill wa-Yaḥrum min Bayt al-Māl* (al-Manṣūrah, 1989), 107–8, 164–65; Poliak, *Feudalism,* 36–37.

[86]Sabra, "The Rise of a New Class?" 207–8, n. 19.

[87]On the *jamaʿah*/*bab,* see: Miura Toru, "Urban Society at the Mamluk Era," 8–11, 17–19; cf. Miura, "Administrative Networks," 57–58, 65–66.

amirs to interfere in the workings of the administration. Thus, the sultan's control through the state machinery naturally had its limits although it was in varying degrees according to the sultan's ability and his power base. Inferentially, the sultan, as the "principal Mamluk," had first of all to protect the interests of all the Mamluks, ensuring an equitable distribution of wealth and its allotment among them.[88] On the basis of an understanding of the nature of the sultan's power and the political structure, we can explain the role of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad from a different perspective; that is, securing resources through the establishment of the *dīwān* and its continuous development achieved institutional stability in training and maintaining a certain number of Mamluks despite the adverse financial situation. In other words, it functioned as an effective mechanism in sustaining the Mamluk military system that produced the ruling military elites through the purchase, training, and emancipation of slaves, which was a fundamental basis of the Mamluk regime. It also enabled the continuance of their rule during the period of economic decline and the collapse of the state structure. Furthermore, the observation that the Royal Mamluks comprised the *mushtarawāt* of the ruling sultan and the *mustakhdamūn* trained by preceding sultans (see note 37) as well as the fact that powerful amirs had let their followers receive wages from al-Dīwān al-Mufrad indicates that not only the sultan but also several Mamluk factions and their leaders, namely, powerful amirs, had their own vested interests in this *dīwān*. In other words, the development of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad and various other efforts to ensure the regular payment of monthly stipends were linked to the common interest of the Mamluk community, beyond the original plan supporting the preferential treatment of only the sultan's mamluks.

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[88]Under the Circassian Mamluks in particular, the members of those Mamluk factions who were trained and emancipated by the same sultan functioned as political interest groups. It was essential for sultans to manage the government through balancing the interests of such factions. On the Mamluk factionalism in politics and the power structure of the sultan, see: Robert Irwin, "Factions in Medieval Egypt," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1986): 228–46; Levanoni, "The Mamluk Conception."

Table. Egyptian *Nāḥiyah*s Assigned to *al-Diwan al-Mufrad* in the Reigns of Qāytbāy and Barqūq

Province (*iqlīm*/*a'māl*)	Number of *Nāḥiyah*s	Total *'Ibrah* (dj)	Average *'Ibrah* (dj)	D. al-Mufrad	*'Ibrah* (dj)	Average *'Ibrah* (dj)	Percentage	D. al-Mufrad	*'Ibrah* (dj)
	The Reign of Qāytbāy (around 885/1480) (According to *Tuḥfah*)							The Reign of Barqūq (around 800/1397) (According to *Intiṣār*)	
Lower Egypt									
The Suburbs of Cairo	26	114,100	5,705	2	24,000	12,000	21.0	3	25,896
al-Qalyūbīyah	60	365,500	6,768.5	2	31,800	15,900	8.7	1	22,000
al-Sharqīyah	382	1,085,185	3,288.4	15	77,700	5,180	7.5	0	0
al-Daqahlīyah	213	435,938.5	2,476.9	8	90,860	11,357.5	20.8	0	0
Ḍawāḥī Thaghr Dimyāṭ	14	24,200	2,016.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
al-Gharbīyah	474	1,730,723.2	3,951.4	18	267,950	14,886.1	15.5	1	13,000
al-Manūfīyah	133	491,768.5	3,753.9	7	44,700	6,385.7	9.0	–	–
Abyār wa-Jazīrat Banī Naṣr	47	100,888	2,193.2	5	14,000	2,800	13.8	–	–
al-Buḥayrah	230	561,908.3	2,565.8	34	175,890.3	5,173.2	31.3	2	13,000
Fuwwah	16	54,400	3,885.7	0	0	0	0	–	–
Nastarāwah	6	29,900	5,980	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ḍawāḥī al-Iskandarīyah	14	34,112	4,264	3	5,000	1,666.7	14.6	0	0
Total for Lower Egypt	**1,615**	**5,028,623.5**	**3,460.2**	**94**	**731,900.3**	**7,786.2**	**14.6**	**7**	**73,896**
Upper Egypt									
al-Jīzīyah	159	206,142	5,027.9	5	33,025	6,605	16.0	0	0
al-Iṭfīḥīyah	53	96,794.5	1,935.9	3	10,916	3,638.7	11.3	0	0
al-Fayyūmīyah	102	433,543	4,563.6	9	27,632	3,070.2	6.4	–	–
al-Bahnasāwīyah	155	968,971	6,417	21	278,764	13,274.5	28.8	3	52,000 +
al-Ushmūnayn	105	526,339.7	5,110.1	17	167,455	9,850.3	31.8	3	56,000
al-Manfalūṭīyah	5	38,000	9,500	0	0	0	0	0	0
al-Asyūṭīyah	32	329,220	10,620	3	83,250	27,750	25.3	0	0
al-Ikhmīmīyah	24	180,864	7,536	1	20,000	20,000	11.1	0	0
al-Qūṣīyah	43	366,999	9,657.9	6	60,916	10,152.7	16.6	1	19,542.5
Total for Upper Egypt	**678**	**3,146,873.2**	**5,860.1**	**65**	**681,958**	**10,491.7**	**21.7**	**7**	**127,542.5**
Total for Egypt	**2,293**	**8,175,496.7**	**4,107.8**	**159**	**1,413,858.3**	**8,892.2**	**17.3**	**14**	**201,438.5**

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Slave Traders and Kārimī Merchants during the Mamluk Period: A Comparative Study

Both slave traders *(nakhkhās, jallāb)* and Kārimī merchants played important economic and social roles in Mamluk Egypt, Syria, and the Hijaz. As Ira M. Lapidus has stated, slave traders were regarded on religious grounds as disreputable, like brokers, town criers, and money changers, but nevertheless were employed in the slave trade for the army of the Mamluk sultanate and became important figures in Mamluk circles.[1] David Ayalon was the first historian to provide a brief overview of the characteristics of slave traders.[2] In an investigation of mamluk names, titles and *nisbah*s, he also discovered the personal ties that existed between slave traders and ex-mamluks, that is, the sultans and amirs sold by them.[3] On the other hand, Subhi Y. Labib′s voluminous book on commercial activities in Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt presents only a brief description of the slave trade during the Mamluk period.[4] Eliyahu Ashtor and Andrew Ehrenkreutz have also touched upon military slaves supplied by the Genoese from the end of the thirteenth century on; however, both failed to refer to Muslim slave traders during that period.[5] Al-Sayyid al-Bāz al-ʻArīnī, in his book entitled *Al-Mamālīk,* explained the title *khwājā,* which was held mostly by slave traders, and their transactions in military slaves, through case studies of several merchants during the Mamluk period.[6]

As for the Kārimī merchants, more research has been accomplished than in the case of slave traders. S. D. Goitein, in a study on the origins of the Kārimī merchants based on the Geniza documents, refers to their close relationship with

[1]Ira. M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1967), 82, 122–23.

[2]David Ayalon, *L′esclavage du Mamelouk* (Jerusalem, 1951), 1–4.

[3]David Ayalon, ″Names, Titles and ′Nisbas′ of the Mamluks,″ *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975): 189–232.

[4]Subhi. Y. Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter 1171–1517* (Wiesbaden, 1965), 259, 490.

[5]Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983), 11, 28, 36, 47, 127, 333; Andrew Ehrenkreutz, ″Strategic Implications of the Slave Trade between Genoa and Mamluk Egypt in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century,″ in *The Islamic Middle East, 700–1900,* ed. A. L. Udovitch (Princeton, 1981), 335–45.

[6]Al-Sayyid al-Bāz al-ʻArīnī, *Al-Mamālīk* (Beirut, 1979), 73–77.

the merchants active on the west coast of India.[7] Walter J. Fischel, following up on the pioneering study by Gaston Wiet,[8] states that the Kārimī merchants formed a strong association and played an important role in Mamluk fiscal administration through their participation in the profitable spice trade between Egypt and Yemen.[9] By adding new Arabic sources, Ashtor criticized Fischel′s views, stating that (1) the Kārimīs were a loosely-organized group of merchants dealing not only in spices but also slaves and agricultural products between Egypt and Yemen, including Syria, and (2) contrary to Fischel′s belief that the Kārimīs were an exclusively Muslim group of merchants, there is no reason why the Kārimīs should not have admitted Christians and Jews into their ranks.[10] Based on plentiful Arabic and non-Arabic sources, Labib systematically describes their activities from the Fatimid to the Mamluk period.[11] Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Ashqar has furthered the historical study of the spice trade during the Mamluk period with a book entitled *Tujjār al-Tawābil fī Miṣr fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī,*[12] which provides a very useful list of 201 Kārimī merchants containing their full names, personal information, and related historical sources.

As mentioned above, slave traders and Kārimī merchants have been studied mainly in the context of the social and economic history of Mamluk Egypt and Syria. Given that my interest lies in the similarities and differences between these two groups of merchants, this article will attempt to compare them during the Mamluk period, in terms of their fields of commercial activity, commodities, relationships with Mamluk sultans, and religious and cultural activities, based on the cases of two famous slave traders and one leading family from among the Kārimī merchants as depicted in the contemporary Arabic sources.

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[7]Shlomo D. Goitein, ″The Beginning of the Kārim Merchants and the Character of their Organization,″ in *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions* (Leiden, 1966), 351–60; idem, ″New Light on the Beginnings of the Kārim Merchants,″ *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 1 (1958): 175–84.

[8]Gaston Wiet, ″Les Marchands d′Épices sous les Sultans Mamlouks,″ *Cahiers d′Histoire Egyptienne* 7 (1955): 81–147.

[9]Walter J. Fischel, ″Über die Gruppe der Kārimī-Kaufleute,″ *Analecta Orientalia* 14 (1937): 67–82. The revised version of this article in English is ″The Spice Trade in Mamluk Egypt,″ *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 1 (1958): 157–74.

[10]Eliyahu Ashtor, ″The Kārimī Merchants,″ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1956): 54–56. See also idem, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1976), 241–42, 300–1, 320–21; idem, *Levant Trade,* 218, 270 f.

[11]Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens,* 60–63, 112–21, 402–5. See also idem, ″Egyptian Commercial Policy in the Middle Ages,″ in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East,* ed. M. A. Cook (London, 1970), 63–77.

[12]Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Ashqar, *Tujjār al-Tawābil fī Miṣr fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Cairo, 1999).

Two Slave Traders

The activities of Khawājā Majd al-Dīn Ismā'īl ibn Muḥammad ibn Yāqūt al-Sallāmī (671–743/1272–1342) and Khawājā Fakhr al-Dīn 'Uthmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Ayyūb ibn Musāfir al-As'ardī (d. 783/1381) are described in the Arabic chronicles and biographical dictionaries, allowing one to obtain a general grasp of their origins, spheres of activity, commodities, types of activity, relationships with the Mamluk sultans, and religious and cultural activities.

Origins

Majd al-Dīn al-Sallāmī was born in the village of al-Sallāmīyah near Mosul in al-Jazīrah in the year 671/1272.[13] According to Yāqūt (574 or 575–626/1179–1229), al-Sallāmīyah was a large village located on the east bank of the upper Tigris.[14] Al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) says that he came to Egypt as a merchant and was granted the much-coveted title of *khawājā* during the reigns of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 693–94/1293–94, 698–708/1299–1309, 709–741/1310–41).[15] *Khawājā* (Arabic corruption of *hoja*) was a title *(laqab)* bestowed upon wealthy merchants operating in official service from outside the Mamluk domain in places like al-Jazīrah, Fars, etc.[16] Al-Ṣafadī (696–764/1297–1363) states that he was a significant figure, intelligent, friendly, and an excellent mediator between local rulers.[17]

Fakhr al-Dīn 'Uthmān al-As'ardī was from As'ard, a town to the south of Āmid in al-Jazīrah.[18] He was granted the title of *khawājā* for his distinguished service in transporting Barqūq (future sultan 784–91/1382–89, 792–801/1390–99), then his father and his brothers to Cairo in 782/1381.[19] According to *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* Fakhr al-Dīn was thought of as brave, intelligent, and dignified.[20]

As to language ability, both Majd al-Dīn and Fakhr al-Dīn should have spoken

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[13] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā'iẓ wa-al-I'tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1270/1853; repr. Baghdad, 1970), 2:43; idem, *Kitāb al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr* (Beirut, 1991), 2:181. *Al-Muqaffá* confuses Majd al-Dīn with Najm al-Dīn.

[14] Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* (Beirut, 1955–57), 3:234.

[15] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 2:181.

[16] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shá fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'* (Cairo, 1963), 6:13; Ayalon, *L'esclavage,* 3-4; Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 122–23, 127–29; Muḥammad Qandīl al-Baqlī, *Al-Ta'rīf bi-Muṣṭalaḥāt Ṣubḥ al-A'shá* (Cairo, 1984), 124. Ashtor states mistakenly that the honorific title khawadja or khawadjaki which was bestowed upon them is not mentioned in the great manual of state administration compiled by al-Qalqashandī (*A Social and Economic History,* 321).

[17] Al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt* (Wiesbaden, 1949–), 9:220.

[18] Abū al-Fidā', *Taqwīm al-Buldān* (Paris, 1840), 289.

[19] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah* (Damascus, 1977), 1:3:38, 70.

[20] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963), 11:220.

Arabic fluently since they were from al-Jazīrah. However, Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470) states that Fakhr al-Dīn could speak Turkish, but not Arabic.[21] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (779–851/1377–1448) gives his name as Fakhr al-Dīn al-ʻAjamī (al-aṣl) al-Miṣrī,[22] which indicates that he was originally not an Arab, but later lived in Cairo. As al-ʻArīnī concludes, judging from their names, most of the slave traders during the Mamluk period were non-Arabs.[23]

Spheres of Activity

Al-Maqrīzī (766–845/1364–1442) states in *Kitāb al-Sulūk* that Majd al-Dīn traveled often between Cairo and Tabriz using post *(barīd)* horses,[24] which were formally for official business. Tabriz at the beginning of the fourteenth century was not only the capital city of the Ilkhans but also an emporium of international trade.[25] Al-Maqrīzī states in *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* "Majd al-Dīn used to go in the countries of Ṭaṭar, trade there and return with slaves (sing. *raqīq*) and other goods."[26] It is related that when he visited the court *(urudū)* of the Ilkhanids, he would stay there for two or three years.[27]

As in the case of Barqūq, who was from Charkas,[28] Fakhr al-Dīn was involved in the trade between Cairo and the province of Charkas to the north of Tabriz. Fakhr al-Dīn also constructed a splendid trading center *(qaysārīyah)* in Damascus, which indicates that his activities encompassed both Egypt and Syria.[29] According to al-Maqrīzī,

> Sultan al-Nāṣir increased the number of male slaves (sing. *mamlūk*) and female slaves (sing. *jāriyah*) to be purchased. He summoned the slave traders and gave them money to purchase male and female slaves. When the traders returned from Uzbek, Tabriz, Rūm and

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[21]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʻd al-Wāfī* (Cairo, 1980–), 3:286; idem, *Al-Nujūm,* 11:224.

[22]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:3:73.

[23]Al-ʻArīnī, *Al-Mamālīk,* 76.

[24]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʻrifat Duwal al-Mulūk* (Cairo, 1938–73), 2:209, 246.

[25]Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History,* 264.

[26]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:43.

[27]Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʻyān al-Mi'ah al-Thāminah* (Cairo, 1966–67), 1:407.

[28]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:241; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:476, 943; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 11:223.

[29]Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Inbā' al-Ghumr bi-Anbā' al-ʻUmr* (Cairo, 1969–72), 1:247; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:3:73.

> Baghdad [to Cairo] with mamluks, the sultan would bestow precious goods upon them.[30]

The spheres of activity of Majd al-Dīn and Fakhr al-Dīn—Tabriz and the province of Charkas—were included in the districts for purchasing slaves as mentioned by al-Maqrīzī.

COMMODITIES

Majd al-Dīn was known as a mamluk trader for the sultan *(tājir al-khāṣṣ)* during the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir. He often traveled to the Tatar provinces and returned with mamluk and *jāriyah* slaves (sing. *raqīq*) and other goods.[31] The Arabic sources do not describe the "other goods"; however, Majd al-Dīn might have purchased such products in the Tatar provinces as furs, silk goods, and silver.

Fakhr al-Dīn was a "mamluk merchant" *(tājir fī al-mamālīk),*[32] widely known as the trader *(jālib)* who brought al-Atābak Barqūq from the Charkas provinces to Cairo around 764/1363.[33] According to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, Fakhr al-Dīn was a "merchant of the sultan" *(tājir al-sulṭān)* bringing mamluks and *jāriyah*s from the Turkish provinces *(Bilād al-Turk)*.[34] However, it is not related whether or not he traded other goods besides slaves.

TYPES OF ACTIVITY

According to the Arabic sources, the slave traders of the Mamluk period were engaged in commerce on an individual basis, not forming any trade organizations. According to al-Maqrīzī, Majd al-Dīn al-Sallāmī was a person of high intelligence, a skillful manager, who had gathered information on the character and manners of local rulers, and a man of gentle character, moderate speech, and handsome appearance.[35] These talents and knowledge enabled him to form a personal bond of trust with Sultan al-Nāṣir. Al-Ṣafadī relates that Majd al-Dīn earned the trust *(wajāhah zā'idah)* of both Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir and the Mughuls (the Ilkhanid court) due to his outstanding conduct.[36]

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[30]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:524. We find another account that in 737/1336–37 Sultan al-Nāṣir ordered khawājā 'Umar to go to Uzbek to purchase mamluks and *jāriyah*s (al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir* [Beirut, 1986], 379).

[31]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:43; idem, *Al-Muqaffá,* 2:181.

[32]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 1:247.

[33]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 11:223.

[34]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:3:73.

[35]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 2:182; idem, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:43.

[36]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 9:220. See also Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:407.

On the other hand, Ibn Taghrībirdī remarks in the obituary notice for Fakhr al-Dīn ʻUthmān that he achieved salvation *(saʻādah)* for his personal contribution in bringing Barqūq to Egypt.[37] Because Barqūq was also grateful to Fakhr al-Dīn for services that had opened his opportunity for advancement in Egypt, the sultan would stand up from afar whenever he saw Fakhr al-Dīn and pay his respects.[38] Thus Fakhr al-Dīn, like Majd al-Dīn, developed his trading business based on a personal relationship with the sultan. However, we do not find any account that their descendants inherited their slave-trading businesses following their deaths.

Relationships with the Mamluk Sultans

From the time of the establishment of the Ilkhanid dynasty in 654/1256, hostile relations continued between the Mamluks and the Ilkhanids until the end of Ghazan Khan′s reign (694–713/1295–1304). Since Majd al-Dīn had the confidence of both Sultan al-Nāṣir and Ghazan′s nephew, Abū Saʻīd (716–36/1316–35), he attempted to mediate between them. Majd al-Dīn traveled to Tabriz several times for the sultan carrying letters and gifts (sing. *hadīyah*) he himself chose for the notables at the Ilkhanid court.[39] In 722/1322 Amir Aytamish al-Muḥammadī was eventually sent to Abū Saʻīd to conclude a peace treaty *(ṣulḥ)*. The treaty, which was effective for ten years and ten days,[40] guaranteed that roads between the two countries would be open, enabling all merchants to travel freely and a caravan to travel from Iraq to al-Ḥijāz every year with a decorated palanquin *(maḥmil)* and the flags *(sanjaq)* of both countries.[41]

Due to his contribution to the peace treaty, Majd al-Dīn confirmed his position with Sultan al-Nāṣir and gained even greater esteem and favor than before.[42] Consequently, Majd al-Dīn obtained various privileges from the Mamluk government: the sultan assigned *iqṭāʻ*s of the *ḥalqah* to his mamluks, and granted him meat, bread, white unleavened bread (*kumāj*), barley, sugar, sugar candy, etc., worth one hundred and fifty dirhams a day. Furthermore, the sultan allotted him the village of Arrāq in Baʻlabakk,which yielded ten thousand dirhams annually.[43]

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[37]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 11:220.

[38]Ibid. Sultan Barqūq named himself Barqūq al-ʻUthmānī after the slave merchant Fakhr al-Dīn ʻUthmān (Ayalon, ″Names,″ 221).

[39]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:43; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:175; idem, *Al-Muqaffá,* 2:181; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:407; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 9:220; Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Tuḥfat al-Nuẓẓār fī Gharā'ib al-Amṣār* (Paris, 1854; repr. 1969), 1:171–72.

[40]Ibn Aybak al-Dawādārī, *Al-Durr al-Fākhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir* (Cairo, 1960), 312–13.

[41]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:209–10.

[42]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 2:181; idem, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:43.

[43]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 9:220–21. See also al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 2:181–82; idem, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:43.

In addition, according to al-Maqrīzī, Majd al-Dīn was granted another fifty thousand dirhams and received a 50% tax exemption on his goods.[44]

It is widely known that Barqūq named himself Barqūq al-ʻUthmānī because he greatly respected Fakhr al-Dīn ʻUthmān. When Fakhr al-Dīn died in 783/1381, just before Barqūq ascended the throne, he prayed to God and wailed much for him.[45] Furthermore, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī (773–852/1372–1449) relates that Fakhr al-Dīn personally requested the abolition of the pomegranate tax *(maks al-rummān)* in Damascus and his request was eventually granted by the sultan.[46] It is interesting to find that both Majd al-Dīn and Fakhr al-Dīn were exempted from taxation due to their personal relationships with the sultans.

Religious and Cultural Activities

As to the public works sponsored by slave traders, we do not find any information on such activities except Fakhr al-Dīn′s trading center *(qaysārīyah)* in Damascus. Research to date documents only a few religious and cultural activities conducted by slave traders during the Mamluk period.[47]

The Kārimī Merchants

From the end of the Fatimid period on, the Kārimī merchants cultivated commercial relations with Yemen, India, Southeast Asia, and China. During the Mamluk period there were such influential families among the Kārimīs as al-Maḥallī, al-Kharrūbī, Ibn Kuwayk, and Ibn Musallam. Here I will take up al-Kharrūbī as an example of an upstart wealthy Kārimī merchant to be compared with the slave traders discussed above.

Since ″kharrūb″ in Arabic means carob, the family ancestor, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Miṣrī al-Kharrūbī, might have been a carob retailer. According to Ibn Ḥajar, the Kharrūbīs originated from Kharrūb square in Fusṭāṭ[48] where carob was usually sold.[49] In any case, the family′s activities as Kārimī merchants lasted for seven generations from Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Kharrūbī (mid-thirteenth century) to Fakhr al-Dīn

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[44]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:246.

[45]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʼ,* 1:247.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 2:141. Al-Ḥusayn ibn Dāwūd al-Khawājā ʻIzz al-Dīn al-Sallāmī was a merchant who constructed a madrasah known as ″al-Sallāmīyah.″

[48]Ibid., 1:481.

[49]Ibn Duqmāq, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat ʻIqd al-Amṣār* (Cairo, 1893), 1:35. According to this account, the square was originally called ″Raḥbat Dār al-Malik,″ then it came to be named ″Raḥbat Kharrūb″ because carob was usually sold there.

Sulaymān (d. 864/1460), who was imprisoned due to his large debt.[50]

ORIGINS

It was after the time of the two brothers, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (d. 769/1368) and Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad (d. 762/1361), that concrete descriptions of the Kharrūbīs appear in the Arabic chronicles and biographical dictionaries. Their activities were centered around Fusṭāṭ, where they were probably born as Arab Muslims. Among the Kharrūbī merchants, only Sirāj al-Dīn or Badr al-Dīn ibn Abī ʻUmar ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn[51] and Nūr al-Dīn ʻAlī ibn ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz ibn Aḥmad (d. 802/1400)[52] were granted the title of *khawājā*.

SPHERE OF ACTIVITY

Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad constructed al-Madrasah al-Kharrūbīyah on the outskirts of Fusṭāṭ and his brother Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad built a large tomb *(turbah)* in al-Qarāfah.[53] Khawājā Nūr al-Dīn ʻAlī, who was a manly *(murūwah)* and benevolent *(khayr)* person, came to be one of the most notable merchants in Egypt and went to Mecca several times, probably both for pilgrimages and trade.[54] He was also the owner of a school *(ṣāḥib al-madrasah)* near the bank of the Nile in Fusṭāṭ.[55]

Zakī al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn ʻAlī al-Kharrūbī (d. 787/1385) was brought up as a Sufi *(faqīr),* because his father, who yearned for the ascetic life, built a monastery *(zāwiyah)* for his son at al-Jīzah. After he returned from Yemen via ʻAydhāb with a small amount of goods, Zakī al-Dīn inherited a large fortune from his brother Badr al-Dīn, which provided him with the opportunity for success.[56] Ibn Ḥajar relates in *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,*

> [In Mecca] I was under the patronage of Zakī al-Dīn like his slave *(raqīq)* because my father had requested him to take care of me due to my young age. In 786/1384 I returned [to Cairo] with him and Zakī al-Dīn still retained the title of leadership *(riʼāsah).*[57]

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[50]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʻ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʻ* (Beirut, 1934–36), 3:267.

[51]Ibid., 3:267, 8:246.

[52]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʼ,* 2:123; Ibn Iyās relates that Nūr al-Dīn ʻAlī died in 803/1401 (*Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʼiʻ al-Duhūr* [Wiesbaden, 1961–75], 1:2:636).

[53]Al-Maqrīzī, Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:369.

[54]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʼ,* 1:123.

[55]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ,* 1:2:636.

[56]Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:481–82.

[57]Ibid., 482. See also al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:539; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:3:167–68. Since Ibn Ḥajar was born in 773/1372, he was thirteen years old when he returned to Cairo with Zakī

When Zakī al-Dīn died in 787/1385, Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Maḥallī took the title of leadership *(ri'āsat al-tujjār)* exclusively until he died in 806/1403.[58] Al-Maqrīzī relates that Burhān al-Dīn al-Maḥallī was a large-scale Kārimī merchant who traveled to Syria and Yemen many times.[59]

According to the above accounts, the sphere of activity of the Kārimī merchants, particularly those of the Kharrūbī family, were Fusṭāṭ, Cairo, Mecca, Yemen, and Syria. We know that there was a not-insignificant number of Kārimīs who unlike the Kharrūbīs traveled to India and as far as China.[60]

COMMODITIES

The research to date informs us that the Kārimīs traded spices *(bahār),* lumber, textiles, precious stones *(jawāhir),* wheat *(qamḥ),* sugar *(sukkar),* pottery *(fakhkhār),* slaves (sing. *raqīq*), etc.[61] Al-Qalqashandī (756–821/1355–1418) states that "the office of spice and al-Kārimī" (*naẓar al-bahār wa-al-Kārimī*) supervised the various spices *(bahār)* and other goods the Kārimī merchants brought from Yemen,[62] so there is no doubt that the Kārimīs specifically brought spices from Aden to Cairo, Alexandria, and Damascus.

However, as I have already mentioned in another article,[63] we find an interesting account in Ibn Duqmāq's (d. 809/1406) *Kitāb al-Intiṣār,* which relates that among the 65 sugar refineries *(maṭbakh al-sukkar)* located at Fusṭāṭ, 7 were owned by the sultan, 21 by amirs, and 13 by merchants (sing. *tājir*). Among the 13 refineries owned by merchants, 4 were managed by *sukkarī*s (probably Muslim and Jewish sugar merchants) and another 4 by the Kārimī merchants. Among the 4 refineries owned by the Kārimīs, 2 were managed by Kharrūbī family members: Maṭbakh Sirāj al-Dīn ibn [Abī 'Umar] al-Kharrūbī and Maṭbakh Nūr al-Dīn ['Alī ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz] al-Kharrūbī.[64] Sirāj al-Dīn ibn Abī 'Umar was the family's fourth-

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al-Dīn al-Kharrūbī. See Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah, *Al-Mu'arrikhūn fī Miṣr fī al-Qarn al-Khāmis 'Asharah al-Mīlādī* (Cairo, 1954), 18.

[58]Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:482.

[59]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 1:246. Concerning Burhān al-Dīn al-Maḥallī, see also Ashtor, "The Kārimī Merchants," 48.

[60]Al-Ashqar, *Tujjār al-Tawābil,* 467–539.

[61]Ashtor, "The Kārimī Merchants," 55–56; Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 125; Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta's and Fallahun* (Leiden, 1997), 215; al-Ashqar, *Tujjār al-Tawābil,* 76.

[62]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 4:32. Labib inscribes "der nāẓir al-buhār und al-Kārimī" (*Handelsgeschichte*, 165). However, not "al-buhār" but "al-bahār" is correct.

[63]Sato Tsugitaka, "Sugar in the Economic Life of Mamluk Egypt," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (2004): 99.

[64]Ibn Duqmāq, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār,* 1:41–46.

generation merchant prior to Nūr al-Dīn ʻAlī, who died in 802/1400.[65] This indicates that the Kharrūbīs had already begun managing sugar refineries during the latter half of the thirteenth century. Accordingly, we need to correct Ashtor's view that the first generation was represented by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (d. 769/1368).[66]

Among the Kharrūbīs, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad (d. 762/1361) was particularly well known as a "sugar refinery merchant" *(tājir fī maṭābikh al-sukkar)* at Fusṭāṭ.[67] In 751/1350 Sultan Ḥasan (748–52/1347–51) ordered the Kharrūbīs to provide sugar for his grant of the commodity during the month of Muḥarram.[68] The above accounts show that the Kharrūbīs profited not only from the spice trade but also from sugar refining and sale. Al-Maqrīzī says, "When the water of the Nile flows into the Alexandria Canal during Misrā (25 July–23 August), ships (sing. *markab*) loaded with various kinds of goods, like crops *(ghallah),* spices *(bahār),* and sugar *(sukkar),* would set sail."[69] Sugar during the Mamluk period was thought to have been one of the most important exports to Europe as well as a luxury good consumed by sultans and amirs at their private residences or during public festivals.[70]

TYPES OF ACTIVITY

It is widely known that the Kārimīs formed a loose confederation of merchants bound together by professional interest and that they constructed hostelries (sing. *funduq*) on various occasions for common purposes.[71] According to Lapidus, Kārimī merchants themselves were headed by *ra'īs*es, who acted as liaisons between them and the state for the purpose of discipline, diplomacy, banking, and other services.[72] However, Ashtor emphasizes the fact that such titles as "chief of the Kārimīs" found in Arabic chronicles and biographical dictionaries should not be taken too literally.[73]

In the case of Zakī al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Kharrūbī, who held the title of *ra'īs al-tujjār,* Ibn Ḥajar relates that after he obtained the title, the influential merchants

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[65]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'iʻ,* 1:2:636.

[66]Ashtor, "The Kārimī Merchants," 50.

[67]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:369. See also Sato, "Sugar in the Economic Life," 99.

[68]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:829.

[69]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 1:273. See also Sato, "Sugar in the Economic Life," 98.

[70]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 215.

[71]Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History,* 300–1; idem, "The Kārimī Merchants," 51, 55–56; Goitein, "The Beginnings," 351.

[72]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 125.

[73]Ashtor, "The Kārimī Merchants," 51.

came to be subject to him.[74] Arabic sources do not state distinctly what sort of authority he held over the Kārimī merchants, but it is clear that the title was closely related to the Mamluk government. This will be discussed in the following section.

Though the Kārimīs formed a loose confederation, there was, at the same time, a strong business rivalry among several of them. For example, when a dispute arose between Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kharrūbī and Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Musallam (d. 776/1374), Ibn Musallam said to Badr al-Dīn, "Buy sacks for all your money and bring them to me. Then I will fill them for you with my coins."[75] However, interestingly enough, Ibn Musallam gave his daughter in marriage to Sirāj al-Dīn ʻUmar ibn ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz (d. 825/1422), a Kharrūbī merchant, in order to strengthen ties between the two families.[76]

Another example of the rivalry that existed among the Kārimī merchants can be found in Ibn Ḥajar's *Inbā' al-Ghumr,* already noted by Labib.[77] In 786/1384, when trouble arose between Zakī al-Dīn al-Kharrūbī and Shihāb al-Dīn al-Fāriqī, an influential merchant from Yemen, they were both tried before Sultan Barqūq. In answer to al-Fāriqī's accusations, Zakī al-Dīn quoted a letter written by al-Fāriqī and addressed to the lord of Yemen, which read, "At present Egypt is in a state of corruption *(fasād)*. Since there is no credible lord *(ṣāḥib),* you need not send any gifts from here on. The present lord [sultan] is the lowest and the most despicable among the mamluks." After reading this, Barqūq ordered al-Fāriqī seized and his tongue cut out. Then the sultan bestowed on Zakī al-Dīn a fine robe *(khilʻah)* and granted him the title of "great merchant" *(kabīr al-tujjār).*[78]

Relationships to the Mamluk Sultans

The account of the Zakī al-Dīn/Shihāb al-Dīn dispute tells us that Zakī al-Dīn was granted the title of great merchant or chief merchant *(ra'īs al-tujjār)* in 786/1384. In *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* Ibn Ḥajar states, "Zakī al-Dīn approached the state *(dawlah)* and gained the title of leadership *(ri'āsah),* thus surpassing his equals,"[79] showing distinctly that Zakī al-Dīn petitioned Sultan Barqūq to bestow

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[74]Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:482; idem, *Inbā',* 1:306. Zakī al-Dīn was also called "*kabīr al-tujjār*" (a leading figure of merchants) (al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:539).

[75]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 1:99–100.

[76]Al-Sakhāwī, *Kitāb al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk* (Bulaq, 1896; repr. Cairo, 1974), 107; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 3:289.

[77]Labib, *Handelsgeschichte*, 228. See also S. Labib, "Kārimī," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 4:640–43.

[78]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 1:288.

[79]Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:482.

upon him the title of *ri'āsah.* Since he died in 787/1385 at Fusṭāṭ,[80] Zakī al-Dīn held that title for about two years. Ibn Ḥajar relates that after he gained the title, Zakī al-Dīn's status *(qadr)* in the government improved, and he became preeminent among the Kārimī merchants.[81]

Before that, in 781/1379, Kamāl al-Dīn, a grandson of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Kharrūbī, was arrested and whipped by amir Barqūq because he attempted to obtain the rank of vizier with a bribe of 100,000 dinars. Following that incident, Kamāl al-Dīn was exiled to Qūṣ in Upper Egypt, where he was ordered to reside until his death.[82] Consequently, Kamāl al-Dīn al-Kharrūbī was not summoned with three other influential Kārimī merchants—Burhān al-Dīn al-Maḥallī, Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Musallam, and Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī ibn al-Kharrūbī—to supply Sultan Barqūq with 1,000,000 dirhams for the war against Timur when the latter attempted to invade Syria in 796/1394.[83] The above three Kārimī merchants' share thus amounted to ten percent of the 10,000,000 dirhams expended for Barqūq's royal mamluks just prior to the war.[84]

According to al-Ashqar, the Kārimīs during the Mamluk period were supported and administered by "the office of spices and the Kārimī," which issued passports (sing. *jawāz*) to them and imposed taxes (2.5 percent) on their trade goods.[85] Furthermore, Lapidus argues that the Kārimī merchants became officials because of their close association with the government.[86] However, Zakī al-Dīn al-Kharrūbī, for example, though he gained the title of *ra'īs al-tujjār* and had authority over his Kārimī colleagues,was never regarded as a state official.

Religious and Cultural Activities

Compared to the slave traders, we find many more instances of religious and cultural activities conducted by the Kārimīs. As mentioned above, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kharrūbī (d. 762/1361), who was known as a "sugar refinery merchant," constructed a school (*madrasah*, later called "al-Madrasah al-Kharrūbīyah) to which he appointed Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Uqayl

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[80]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:539; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 11:305; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:482. It is related that when he died, Zakī al-Dīn left a will stating that he provide Sultan Barqūq with 30,000 dinars (Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:3:168).

[81]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbā',* 1:306.

[82]Ibid., 195–96.

[83]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:811; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk* (Beirut, 1936–42), 9:378–79. Incidentally, Ibn al-Furāt describes each of these three merchants with the title of qadi. See also Fischel, "The Spice Trade," 171; Ashtor, "The Kārimī Merchants," 53.

[84]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:803.

[85]Al-Ashqar, *Tujjār al-Tawābil,* 105–7, 112–13.

[86]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 128.

″professor of law″ *(mudarris fiqh)* and Shaykh Sirāj al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Bulqīnī assistant *(muʿīd)*.[87] It is said that Badr al-Dīn set down the condition that non-Arabs not be appointed to its faculty.[88] His brother, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 769/1368), built a large tomb *(turbah)* at Qarāfah, which his grandson, Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī (d. 802/1400), repaired and to which he later added a fine washroom *(maṭharah)*.[89] According to Ibn Ḥajar, ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 776/1374) was the owner of a fine madrasah adjacent to his house.[90] Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Kharrūbī (d. 785/1383) built a large house on the bank of the Nile and converted it into a madrasah, to which he donated a *waqf* and appointed a professor of tradition *(mudarris ḥadīth)*.[91] Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn′s son, ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 776/1374), also built a madrasah in the suburbs of Fusṭāṭ, which was larger than that of his uncle Badr al-Dīn, but he died before its completion.[92] According to Ibn Iyās (852–ca. 930/1448–ca. 1524), Khawājā Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Kharrūbī (d. 802/1400) was also the owner of a madrasah in Fusṭāṭ near the Nile.[93]

After he returned from Mecca in 786/1384, Zakī al-Dīn *(raʾīs al-tujjār)* invited Najm al-Dīn Ibn Razīn to learn *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* from him. It is said that he was a person of decency *(hishmah),* esprit de corps *(ʿaṣabīyah),* and manliness *(murūwah),* donating generously to scholars and poets.[94] Al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) relates that Badr al-Dīn ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Kharrūbī (d. 825/1422), who had yearned to hear the Quran, listened to his reading many times and died heavily in debt.[95] Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī, who was a pious Sufi *(mutaṣawwif),* donated 100,000 dirhams for the reconstruction of al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf in Mecca.[96] Although Nūr al-Dīn was called ″the last of the Kharrūbī merchants *(ākhir tujjār Miṣr min al-Kharāribah),″*[97] actually he was not the last merchant to come out of the Kharrūbī family, for his nephews, ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar (d. 842/1438), Badr

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[87]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:369. Badr al-Dīn also built *rab*ʿs (living quarters) near the school (ibid.).

[88]Ibid., 369–70.

[89]Ibid., 369.

[90]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ,* 1:86–87.

[91]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:368.

[92]Ibid., 370.

[93]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 1:2:636.

[94]Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:482. We also find al-Khānqāh al-Kharrūbīyah in al-Maqrīzī′s *Khiṭaṭ* (2:426–27). However, Zakī al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Kharrūbī originally constructed this as a private house for his family. In 822/1419 the house was converted into a *khānqāh* in accordance with the wishes of Sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh.

[95]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 6:92.

[96]Ibid., 5:240.

[97]Ibid.

al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʻUmar (d. 833/1430), and Fakhr al-Dīn Sulaymān ibn ʻUmar (d. 864/1460), etc., still continued to be active in trade. Fakhr al-Dīn, who had spent a luxurious life reading the Quran, suffered misfortune, fell deeply into debt, and was consequently imprisoned,[98] no doubt as the result of the spice and sugar monopoly policies attempted by Sultan Barsbāy (825–41/1422–38).[99]

In conclusion, the above comparison between several slave traders and the Kharrūbī family of Kārimī merchants during the Mamluk period can be summarized in the following six points.

(1) Most of the leading slave traders who were from outside the Mamluk domain were given the title of *"khawājā,"* while only two merchants were granted the title of *"khawājā"* among the Kharrūbīs, who were based in Fusṭāṭ.

(2) Slave traders traveled from Cairo or Damascus to Tabriz and the province of Charkas along the northern routes, while the Kharrūbīs traded between Fusṭāṭ, Cairo, Mecca, and Yemen along the southern routes, but not as far as India, Southeast Asia, or China.

(3) Slave traders returned from Tabriz and the Tatar provinces with male and female slaves and other goods, while the Kārimīs traded goods such as spices, sugar, lumber, textiles, precious stones, wheat, pottery, and slaves. The Kharrūbīs, in particular, earned large profits not only from the spice trade but also from sugar refining and sale.

(4) While slave traders engaged in business on an individual basis, the Kārimīs formed a loose confederation headed by chief merchants *(ra'īs al-tujjār),* which title sultans bestowed upon several wealthy merchants.

(5) Since slave traders were favored and relied upon by both the Mamluk sultans and the Mongol khans, they played an active part as diplomats using their knowledge of the characters and manners of the local eastern rulers. They were often exempted from taxation due to their personal relationships with sultans. The Kārimī merchants also enjoyed the protection of sultans in return for their contribution to the spice trade and contribution to military expenditures. However, the Kharrūbīs were never regarded as state officials, despite their close association with the Mamluk sultans and influential amirs.

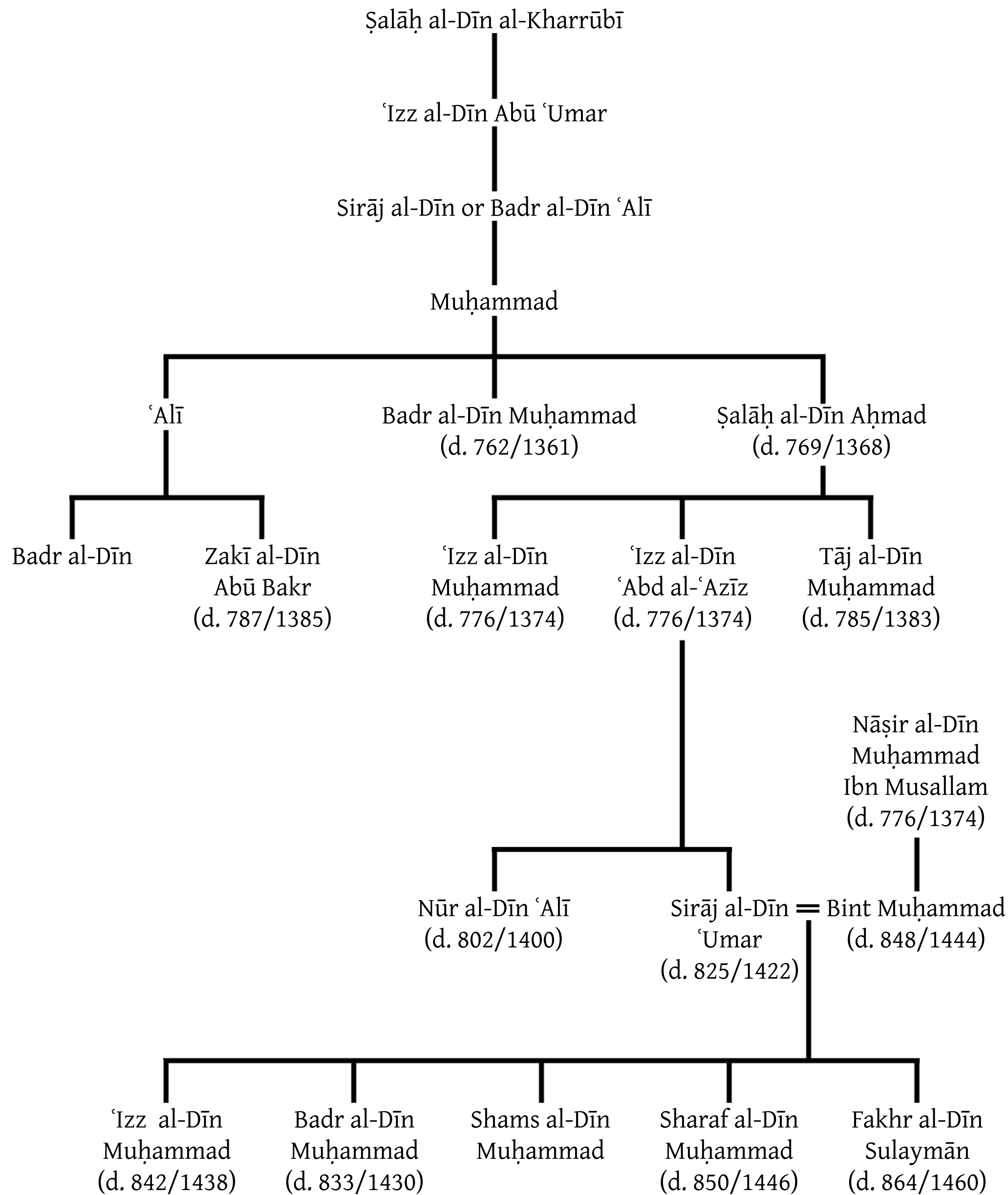
(6) As to the public works of slave traders, we find little positive information

[98]Ibid., 3:267.

[99]Concerning the monopoly policies of Sultan Barsbāy, see the following works: Aḥmad Darrāj, *L'Egypte sous le règne de Barsbay* (Damascus, 1961); Labib, *Handelsgeschichte,* 94 f.; idem, "Egyptian Commercial Policy," 63–77; E. Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History,* 321; idem, *Levant Trade*, 278 f.; al-Ashqar, *Tujjār al-Tawābil,* 439 f; John L. Meloy, "Imperial Strategy and Political Exigency: The Red Sea Spice Trade and the Mamluk Sultanate in the Fifteenth Century," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123, no. 1 (2003): 1–19.

on their activities. In contrast to this, there are many accounts of the religious and cultural activities conducted by the Kharrūbīs, like the construction of schools in Fusṭāṭ, appointment of professors to those schools, and donations for the reconstruction of al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf in Mecca. Accordingly, it seems that the Kārimī merchants, most of whom were Arab Muslims from Egypt, Yemen, and Syria, made attempts to return part of their wealth to society through such public welfare *(maṣlaḥah)*-oriented religious and cultural works.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE KHARRŪBĪS[100]



[100]Revised and enlarged genealogy based on the table by E. Ashtor (1956).

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Urban Society in Damascus as the Mamluk Era Was Ending

Introduction

How were the Mamluks, formerly military slaves and of a different race and religion, able to govern cities occupied principally by Arab Muslims for more than 250 years? Nearly forty years have passed since Ira M. Lapidus presented a stimulating thesis, and abundant documentation, in an attempt to answer this question. His thesis is still influential: The Mamluks did not simply have military and political superiority; they also linked peasants and nomads to the cities by means of active social and economic actions, forming a variety of networks between these rural outsiders and the two main classes in urban society, the notables and the common people. Thus, the ruling Mamluks' linkage of the ulama and the common people into one political and social unity was characteristic of the structure of urban society during the Mamluk dynasty. Lapidus called such a system of political and social relations the "Mamluk regime"[1] and argued that it had its origin in the Seljukid era of the eleventh to twelfth centuries and worked well even after the rise of the Ottoman dynasty.[2]

In this article the author examines urban society at the end of the Mamluk period. According to Lapidus, the Mamluk regime suffered a serious crisis in this period, but later recovered under Ottoman rule. Earlier studies have thus far described this period as one of decline or disorder, but have given no analyses of the socio-political structure except those of Carl F. Petry, who regards it as a period of innovation because of the leadership of the sultans.[3] The article discusses

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[1]Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1967). On the Mamluk regime, see 43, 191.

[2]Ira M. Lapidus, "The Evolution of Muslim Urban Society," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 15 (1973): 41; idem, *Muslim Cities,* student edition (Cambridge, MA, 1984), xiii–xiv; idem, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Cambridge, 1988), 353–64. I have discussed methodological problems of Lapidus' urban study in *Islamic Urban Studies: Historical Review and Perspectives,* ed. Haneda Masashi and Miura Toru (London, 1994), 89–91, 116–18, 340.

[3]Carl F. Petry has published two illuminating works on the socio-political structure of Egypt at the end of the Mamluk period. See *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (Seattle, 1993); *Protectors or Praetorians?: The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (New York, 1994).

a period of about fifty years, from the reign of Sultan al-Ashraf Qāytbāy (872–901/1468–96) to the occupation of Cairo by the Ottomans, paying primary attention to the political changes outlined below.

First came the financial problem. At the end of the Mamluk period the state constantly faced serious financial crises, due to the decrease of income from *iqṭā‘* land as agricultural production fell and the salaries paid to mamluks and officials increased. Meanwhile, however, the Mamluk state needed to dispatch the army against repeated Ottoman incursions from the northern frontier into Syria, which required an extraordinary budget. The financial problem was therefore closely linked to state security. Sultan Qāytbāy inaugurated a new financial policy of imposing taxes on properties owned by civilians and donated as *waqf,* as well as reducing the salaries of military and state officials, thus changing the balance of state income and expenditures. The sultans who succeeded him followed this policy. Although such a policy was criticized by the ulama and the citizens as oppressive conduct *(ẓulm)* against the shari‘ah and *‘ādah* (customary law), its purpose was to replace income lost from the *iqṭā‘* system, by increasing taxes on the cities and their inhabitants.[4]

Second came the decline of the mamluk army, a phenomenon so precipitous that the sultans and provincial governors began to use non-mamluk military forces. The sultans′ mamluks, called *julbān,* often revolted against the sultans, demanding the customary extra payments *(nafaqah)* during mobilization and at the succession of a new sultan, or complaining about delays in payment of their monthly stipend. These revolts were caused not only by a lack of military discipline but also by the weakening of the state economically. Having lost their *iqṭā‘* income, the mamluks had become salaried workers who depended on the stipend paid to them by the sultans. They could not sustain themselves without an extra payment, in the face of the financial crisis and sudden rise in commodity prices, which reduced the real value of their incomes. The sultans, recognizing the weakness of the military, organized a new army (called the Fifth Army) consisting of non-mamluks, conscripted black slaves *(‘abīd),* and the urban outlaws called *zu‘r,* in order to reform a military system that at that time depended solely on the mamluks. This new army consisted of infantry equipped with firearms and hired at lower salaries

[4]Soon after his succession, Sultan Qāytbāy at the council meeting *(majlis)* twice proposed a new taxation plan on the citizens and the *waqf* properties. He had no choice but to withdraw it, however, because of strong opposition from the ulama. Then he adopted a policy of salary cuts instead. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. William Popper (Berkeley, 1930–42), 635–37, 689–93; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā’ al-Haṣr bi-Abnā’ al-‘Aṣr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970), 33–37; Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i‘ al-Zuhūr fī Waqā’i‘ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo and Wiesbaden, 1960–75), 3:13–15, 20–23.

than the mamluks, thus challenging the privileged status of the mamluks.[5]

The financial and military crisis became crucial at the end of the Mamluk period, after Qāytbāy, and this necessitated reform of the state itself, which up until that time was based on the *iqṭāʿ* and the mamluk system. The above-mentioned new financial and military policies were introduced to achieve such reform. The new targets were cities and citizens, and this inevitably caused changes in urban administration. In this article we will examine the changes in urban society, focusing on Damascus. The main sources are journals by Ibn Iyās (d. ca. 930/1524), Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546), and Ibn Ṭawq (d. 908/1502).[6] These are detailed diary-like chronicles and give us clues as to how the inhabitants behaved toward external political and economic pressures and developed new networks as the era ended, even though this behavior was often implicit and concealed behind the apparent disturbances.

Change of Legal Administration

Bribery and Confiscation *(Muṣādarah)*

We find a remarkable number of descriptions of bribery in relation to appointment to office, as well as of confiscation of property by forcible means *(muṣādarah):* for bribery, 49 cases are found in *Badāʾiʿ,* 34 in *Mufākahat,* and 22 in *Inbāʾ;* for confiscation, 78 cases are found in *Badāʾiʿ,* 21 in *Mufākahat,* and 12 in *Inbāʾ*. Instances of both bribery and confiscation are found throughout the Mamluk period, but in the following discussion we will focus on particular features at the end of the period.[7] Bribes were customarily offered at the time of appointment to

[5]The sultans′ mamluks revolted about thirty times during the fifty years at the end of the Mamluk period, and most of the revolts were caused by their economic difficulties such as the termination of salary payments and food distribution. They had to maintain their households, pay wages to their subordinates, pay house rents, buy clothes, etc. (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:369, 483–86).

[6]Muḥammad Ibn Iyās was the son of a mamluk living in Cairo. See Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:47, 136. Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn was a Hanafi jurist living in the Ṣāliḥīyah Quarter in Damascus, who wrote a detailed chronicle of Damascus as well as a review of the provincial governors: *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 1962–64), and *Iʿlām al-Wará bi-Man Wulliya Nāʾiban min al-Atrāk bi-Dimashq al-Shām al-Kubrá,* ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm Ḥāmid Khaṭṭāb (Cairo, 1973). See Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Fulk al-Mashhūn fī Aḥwāl Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn* (Damascus, 1348); Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Beirut, n.d.), 8:298–29; Stephan Conermann, ″Ibn Ṭūlūn: Life and Works,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 1 (2004). Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq lived in Damascus and provides a record of daily life there. See Ibn Ṭawq, *Al-Taʿlīq: Yawmīyāt Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Ṭawq,* ed. Jaʿfar al-Muhājir (Damascus, 2000–5), 1:8–11.

[7]I have discussed bribery and property confiscation in Miura Toru, ″Administrative Networks in the Mamlūk Period: Taxation, Legal Execution, and Bribery,″ in *Islamic Urbanism in Human History,* ed. Sato Tsugitaka (London, 1997). Bernadette Martel-Thoumian's recent article, "The

office, and there seems to have been standard amounts (such as 3,000 dinars for the chief judgeship of Cairo). The sultans could amass a huge amount of income from bribes by making frequent appointments of high officials.[8] As for confiscation, the amounts extracted were often more than 10,000 dinars, higher than the amount of bribes, and these were exacted to cover the extra payments *(nafaqah)* mentioned above.[9] Both bribery and confiscation were used as financial measures to cover the state income deficit. The main targets were civil officials living in the cities, thus transferring the wealth of the citizens to the state.

The constant bribery and confiscation caused changes in the administrative process and the quality of the officials. First, high officials needed to have considerable wealth to pay bribes and endure confiscations.[10] Second, the bribery was pervasive, from high officials to minor ones and common people, as shown in the following report. In Rajab 922/August 1516 when the Ottoman sultan Selim entered Aleppo in peace, he reproached three chief judges of Cairo (who were arrested there) for their unjust conduct, saying that ″you have received bribes *(rishwah)* at the trial under the shari‘ah and assumed the office of chief judge, seeking for it by money, and did not prevent the oppressive conduct *(ẓulm)* of the Mamluk sultans towards the citizens.″ The new Mamluk sultan al-Ashraf Ṭūmānbāy (r. 922/1516–17) stated at the appointment of four new chief judges of Cairo in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 922 that ″I have not received any bribe from them, and therefore you must not take bribes from any citizen.″[11] This report tells us that bribery had pervaded the whole administration, so widespread as to reach the judges and nullify any chance for justice at trials over which they presided. Furthermore, the bribery relating to judges was more frequent than other types.[12] We cannot simply

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Sale of Office and Its Economic Consequences during the Rule of the Last Circassians (872–922/1468–1516)," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9, no. 2 (2005), is a detailed research contribution but does not make use of my earlier work.

[8]Ibid., 46–49.

[9]Of the forty-seven cases reported in *Badā’i‘,* confiscation of more than 10,000 dinars occurs in about two-thirds (thirty-four cases). Intentional confiscations for the extra payments are found: *Badā’i‘,* 3:394, 407, 409, 442–43. For the average amount of confiscation, see ibid., 52.

[10]The average bribe for the chief judge (3,000 dinars) was equivalent to five years′ salary, assuming his salary was fifty dinars (Miura, ″Administrative Networks,″ 48–49). Since such a huge bribe was required, even wealthy men lacking the knowledge and skill needed for state civil officials were appointed simply by offering it (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith,* 771, 780–81; Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i‘,* 4:257, 264).

[11]Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i‘,* 5:117.

[12]Bribery to get the position of chief judge appears in 56% (18 cases) of the total in *Badā’i‘* and 30% (6 cases) of the total in *Mufākahat,* while it rises to 65% (13 cases) in *Mufākahat* in the case of the appointment of deputy judges. A judge who did not receive a bribe at his trial was praised, which ironically shows the generality of taking bribes at trials (Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā’,* 346–47, 451;

ascribe the prevalence of bribery to the depraved morals of the ulama. We must analyze the changes in the administrative system itself, which we will do in the next section, using as an example the Furfūr family, who monopolized the office of Shafiʻi chief judge in Damascus for 35 years.

THE FURFŪR FAMILY OF DAMASCUS

Two Shafiʻi chief judges, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd (d. 911/1505)[13] and his son Walī al-Dīn Muḥammad (937/1531),[14] were both known as Ibn al-Furfūr, a name which was ascribed to their ancestor. As for the origin of this Furfūr family, all that is known is that Shihāb al-Dīn′s father Maḥmūd served Ibn Muzhir (d. 893/1488), confidential secretary *(kātib al-sirr)* of the Sultanate, and Shihāb al-Dīn himself was a head of Ibn Muzhir′s bureau at Damascus.[15]

Shihāb al-Dīn was appointed the Shafiʻi chief judge of Damascus, in addition to his existing posts as *nāẓir al-jaysh* (superintendent of the army), *wakīl al-sulṭān* (go-between for the sultan), and *nāẓir al-qalʻah* (superintendent of the Citadel), when he was thirty-three years old, in Ṣafar 886/April 1481. This was only five days after the former chief judge Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn′s appointment. The chronicle *(Inbā')* explains this sudden change as owing to three reasons: Shihāb al-Dīn, who with a fine countenance and voice and chivalrous mind *(futūwah)* was a right hand *(akhṣā')* to Ibn Muzhir, offered a bribe of 30,000 dinars and got a recommendation from the Shaykh al-Islām.[16] Ibn Muzhir, as a confidant of the sultan, had influence when it came to office appointments, and the judges were usually appointed from among the staff who served his bureau.[17] His close relationship to Ibn Muzhir dating from his father′s time, and a large bribe, secured the appointment of Shihāb al-Dīn.

Shihāb al-Dīn continued to be the Shafiʻi chief judge for twenty-five years until his death in Jumādá II 911/November 1505. Furthermore, in Rabīʻ I 910/August

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Ibn Iyās, *Badā'iʻ,* 4:353, 460).

[13]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʻ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʻ* (Cairo, 1353–55), 2:222–23; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq al-Thaghr al-Bassām fī Dhikr Man Wulliya Qaḍā' al-Shām,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Damascus, 1956), 180–81; Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, *Al-Kawākib al-Sā'irah bi-Aʻyān al-Mi'ah al-ʻĀshirah,* ed. Jibrā'īl Sulāymān Jabbūr (Beirut, 1945–59), 1:141–45; Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt,* 8:49; Ibn Ayyūb, ″Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-ʻĀṭir fīmā Tayassara min Akhbār Ahl al-Qarn al-Sābiʻ ilá Khiṭām al-Qarn al-ʻĀshir,″ Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Orientalabteilung MS 9886, fol. 37v.

[14]Cf. al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 2:22–24; Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt,* 8:224–25.

[15]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw',* 2:222; 10:137.

[16]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:33–34, 36, 39; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā',* 513–14. Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʻlīq,* 1:49, 51. The amount of his bribe was reported at 32,000 dinars in *Mufākahat.*

[17]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw',* 9:88–89; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā',* 288, 297; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'iʻ,* 3:255.

1504 he was appointed the Shafiʿi chief judge of Cairo, in addition to Damascus, and was allowed to pass the office to his deputy in his will.[18] At the same time his son Walī al-Dīn became deputy judge at the tender age of fifteen years; at his father′s death the following year, he succeeded to the post of chief judge and held this office for about ten years, until Rabīʿ I 921/May–June 1515.[19] The office of the Shafiʿi chief judge was the highest among the four chief judges, as he supervised *waqf* foundations and could appoint his own deputies *(nāʾib)*.[20]

Shihāb al-Dīn appointed twenty-four deputy judges during his tenure, with up to fourteen at one time. He controlled the ulama of the Shafiʿi law school by the appointment of deputies, so that he appointed a man of knowledge like al-Nuʿaymī (d. 927/1521) and dismissed a deputy who opposed him.[21] He also took a bribe when assigning a deputy office.[22] His influence extended to the other law schools so much as to make his nephew Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Furfūr (d. 936/1529) a superintendent and professor of the Qāṣṣāʿīyah Madrasah, and to discharge Ibn al-Qaṣīf, the Hanafi chief judge. Badr al-Dīn finally assumed this office succeeding Ibn al-Qaṣīf in Muḥarram 902/October 1496.[23] As he held this office until Dhū al-Ḥijjah 913/March 1508, the Furfūr family monopolized the highest offices of two influential law schools for ten years after 902.

Shihāb al-Dīn seems to have been a powerful mediator among the ulama in matters of appointments to office, liberation from imprisonment, and the like.[24] He cultivated close connections with military officers such as the provincial governor *(nāʾib)* by means of gifts and banquets.[25] Such connections increased his influence, so that he was able to play an influential role in the conflict between the provincial governor and the common people, who resisted his attempt to tax them, preventing

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[18]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:280; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:141; Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt,* 8:49. Ibn Iyās reports this concurrent occupation of two chief judgeships as unprecedented (*Badāʾiʿ,* 4:84).

[19]Assuming deputy judgeship: al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:141; Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt,* 8:49. Appointment as chief judge: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:294. Resignation: ibid., 383.

[20]Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ* (Cairo, 1913–22), 4:192.

[21]Fourteen deputy judges: ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* ed. Akram Ḥasan al-ʿUlabī (Damascus and Beirut, 1988), 123 (al-Buṣrawī himself was mentioned as one of the deputy judges in Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq,* 1:126). On al-Nuʿaymī: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:162. Dismissal of deputy judges: ibid., 174, 207, 220.

[22]Bribe: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:46, 49, 50; Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq,* 1:83, 195.

[23]Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt,* 8:147; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:169, 269, 313; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt,* 230, 235–37, 239; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:13–14.

[24]Appointment: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:151, 273; al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris,* ed. Jaʿfar al-Ḥasanī (Damascus, 1948–51), 2:23. Debt: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:161–62. Liberation: ibid., 1:158, 202. Mediation: Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq* , 2:629.

[25]Gift: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:215. Banquet: ibid., 253; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt,* 181.

the governor from attacking them in 905/1500.[26] He had gained considerable influence in Damascene politics and society and was known to be a man of wealth, having *iqṭāʿ* land in the provinces and a residence in Damascus, owning shops and public baths, and holding *waqf* properties.[27]

Strong opposition developed against the rising influence of the Furfūr family. In Rajab 893/June–July 1488 a lampoon on the deputies of Shihāb al-Dīn was thrown into the Umayyad Mosque. It ridiculed his deputy judges one by one in the form of a poem.[28] Once again, in Rabīʿ II/March–April 1489, another lampoon was thrown into the court of the governor's palace *(dār al-saʿādah),* in which a deputy was accused of oppressive behavior *(ẓulm)* at a trial and the forcible imposition of taxes *(balṣ).*[29] These lampoons asserted that the deputies acted tyrannically at their most important job, conducting trials. An order was sent to summon to Cairo two deputies, two notaries *(shāhid),* a *dawādār* (executive secretary), and a bailiff *(naqīb)* working under Shihāb al-Dīn in Shawwāl 895/September 1490. Here we note that those to be summoned were called "*jamāʿah* (faction, household) of the Shafiʿi chief judge, Shihāb al-Dīn,"[30] which shows that the subordinate staff (deputies, notaries, etc.) was regarded as within the faction of Shihāb al-Dīn, and the organization itself was criticized.

Based on two incidents that occurred after the death of Shihāb al-Dīn, it seems that the Furfūr family organized a faction/household composed of both familial and non-familial members. First, when Shihāb al-Dīn died on 2 Jumādá II 911, his son Walī al-Dīn sent an urgent message from Cairo to announce that he had been appointed chief judge to succeed his father on 9 Jumādá II and all deputy judges should remain in office. One of the deputies, al-Nuʿaymī, hesitated to conduct a trial, however, because the sultan had not authorized the assignment of

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[26]Shihāb al-Dīn was described as being strong in his struggles with the governors (al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 229). Conflict in 905/1500: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:227. He also prevented the clash in 891/1486 thus leading to the peace announcement (Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq,* 2:627–28).

[27]*Iqṭāʿ:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:103, 105, 110, 258. Residence: ibid., 253, 351; al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 114. Shops: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat*, 1:117. Bath: ibid., 243; Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq,* 2:1061. *Waqf*s and *milk:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 2:115 and recorded *waqf* and *milk* properties of the Furfūr family in the Land Survey Registers at the beginning of Ottoman rule (Tapu Tahrir Defteri, no. 393:12, 112, 185, and no. 602:11, 22, 99, 140, 347). Wealth: Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:84.

[28]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat*, 1:96.

[29]Ibid., 112. Al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 133. Ibn Ṭawq reported about this lampoon that Shihāb al-Dīn rejected it as a slander before the governor, and there is no criticism of him in Ibn Ṭawq's report, unlike Ibn Ṭūlūn's. See Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq,* 2:839.

[30]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:133, 143. Al-Buṣrawī reported that his deputy judge al-Sibt was also summoned (al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 143–44). Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq,* 2:981.

deputies. Nevertheless, the other deputies continued their work.[31] We know from this report that appointment to the office of deputy judge lapsed when the official who had made the appointment left office, and permission of the sultan was needed to re-assign the deputy. To keep his own faction together, Walī al-Dīn declared the deputies would continue in office before getting the sultan′s permission. Walī al-Dīn benefited the deputies by assuming his late father′s office and assigning the office of deputy to each of them, so they did not follow al-Nuʿaymī. The second incident was that members of the faction *(jamāʿah)* of Walī al-Dīn were arrested and subjected to confiscation in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 911/April–May 1506, only a half-year after the first incident. Six persons, including Muḥammad, the *dawādār* of Walī al-Dīn and his late father, and the *ustādār* (majordomo) of his father, were arrested and sent to prison to be mulcted.[32] The reason for this arrest and confiscation was not made public, but its purpose must have been to reprimand the Furfūr family as a group because the target of the punishment was obviously the subordinate staff responsible for its management, such as the *dawādār* and the *ustādār*.[33] These reports show that the Furfūr family had organized a faction/household including non-familial members, who were united by their common interests.

*JAMĀʿAH*S IN LEGAL ADMINISTRATION

The term *jamāʿah* means a group in general, and was often used at the end of the Mamluk period to designate a specific faction led by a boss, attaching to it his own name or his post. The most frequent ones were those of provincial governors and chief judges.[34] The word *bāb*—originally meaning gate—was also used to designate a household or faction performing administrative tasks under the boss.[35]

The organization of *jamāʿah*s under judges was demonstrated during the two incidents in which Ibn Furfūr′s group was summoned and later mulcted. The members can be classified into two groups: legal administrative staff such as the *nāʾib, shāhid,* and *naqīb* on one hand, and the management staff such as the *dawādār* and *ustādār* on the other hand.

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[31] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:294. At the appointment of Shihāb al-Dīn to be chief judge, he sent a letter to declare the continuance of the predecessors of deputy judges (Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq,* 1:53).

[32] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:300.

[33] Dawādār Muḥammad served two heads of the Furfūr family and took an important role as envoy on behalf of one (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:215, 297). He was blamed at the time of confiscation in 894/1489 as well as of the summons in 895 (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:108, 133), which suggests to us his responsibility for household management.

[34] We find twenty-one examples of governor′s *jamāʿah*s and thirteen of chief judge′s in *Mufākahat*.

[35] Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ,* 409, 450; al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 106, 215.

First I will examine the legal administrative staff.[36] A *nā'ib* was a deputy judge appointed by the chief judge of each of the four Sunni law schools to conduct trials under his auspices. The number of deputy judges exceeded one hundred in Cairo and might have been about twenty in Damascus.[37] They conducted trials at the notary's office and even in the street,[38] and they seem to have been taking bribes, as is shown in an order stating that a *nā'ib* should be dismissed when he received anything at trial.[39] Walī al-Dīn Ibn Furfūr issued an order to his *nā'ib*s that they must not hear a complaint, authorize a document, or hold a trial other than at the house of the chief judge, in order for him to oversee the legal process, but nevertheless the *nā'ib*s were soon permitted to conduct trials freely. The *nā'ib*s resisted this new order and conducted trials and certified documents at their own houses in order to profit personally.[40]

*Shāhid*s acted as witnesses at trials, as well as for marriage contracts and commercial transactions.[41] They were also called *'adl*.[42] They received a fee for notarizing contracts or for being a trial witness,[43] had shops *(ḥānūt, dukkān)* and

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[36]Regulations on legal administrators can be found in these sources: al-Mawārdī, *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah wa-al-Wilāyāt al-Dīnīyah* (Cairo, 1960), 71, 76; Ibn Abī al-Dam, *Kitāb Adab al-Qaḍā',* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá al-Zuhaylī (Damascus, 1982), 98–100, 105–9. Émile Tyan studies those officials using legal and administrative texts in his *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam,* 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1960), 200–61.

[37]Sultan al-Ghawrī, in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 919/January 1514, restricted the number of deputy judges for each Sunni law school in Cairo to 40 for the Shafi'is, 30 for the Hanafis, 20 for the Malikis, and 10 for the Hanbalis, a total of 100 (Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 4:352). In Damascus in 902/1496 there were as many deputy judges as 10 for the Shafi'is, 5 for the Hanafis, and one for each of the other two schools, making a total of 17 (al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 190). The number of Walī al-Dīn's deputy judges reached 16 at one time (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:309).

[38]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk* (Beirut, 1936–42), 9:298–99; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā',* 341, 375, 439.

[39]Bribe: al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 190. Order: Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā',* 493.

[40]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:311. At the time of Shihāb al-Dīn in Muḥarram 897/November 1491, a royal order came out to prohibit the *nā'ib*s of the Furfūr family from judging at their houses and keeping a *shāhid, wakīl,* and *rasūl,* but it was the order written by Shihāb al-Dīn (Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 3:1082).

[41]Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford, 1964), 192–94; R. Peters, "Sh̲āhid," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 9:207–8. Ibn Ṭawq worked as a *shāhid,* and then recorded in his journal different kinds of contracts in which he was engaged (Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 1:40, 59, 96, 101, 2:842, etc.).

[42]Al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:285, 304; 2:31.

[43]It was reported that the fee was three dirhams for a certificate written at the office of the *muḥtasib* (market inspector) in Damascus, and the total number of certificates came to 3,000 in a day and the *rasūl*s executing this work gained one dinar each per day (Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā',* 389). The Ottoman sultan Selim I, before his entry into Damascus, sent a new judge there to proclaim

bureaus *(markaz, maktab)* in the city, and performed their work at mosques and madrasahs and city gates in Damascus and Aleppo.[44] Descriptions of *shāhid*s are often found in the biographies of the ulama: for example, that they acquired their incomes by working as a *shāhid*[45] or began their career as a *shāhid*.[46] The position of *shāhid* was usually the first job for legal administrators. As an example, a *nā'ib* of Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Furfūr, 'Uthmān, was originally a weaver, then became a madrasah gatekeeper, and worked as a notary under the Hanafi chief judge. He was promoted to *nā'ib* by paying a bribe and remained at this post for more than twenty years.[47] We find many cases of promotion from *shāhid* to *nā'ib,* or of holding both positions at the same time.[48] The offices of *nā'ib*s and *shāhid*s might be centers of legal administration where people were trained not so much in legal theory as in legal practice, and where a personal network (*jamā'ah*/faction) would be created.[49]

*Naqīb*s were bailiffs, also called *rasūl,* who executed legal judgements. They received a fee from a plaintiff and made a profit by exacting more from a defendant. In Cairo in Jumādá I 919/July 1513, the sultan ordered *naqīb*s and *rasūl*s under the amirs (military chiefs) not to extort payments from the parties to a trial.[50] At that time the amirs used to profit by holding a trial at the bench *(dikkah)* in front of their house gates.[51] This order aimed to prevent the subordinates from oppressing the parties. The Damascus governor also prohibited *naqīb*s from exacting a penalty without a plaintiff in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 918/February–March 1513.[52]

*Wakīl*s (go-betweens) arbitrated a matter between the party and the judge. We found a notable example of a *wakīl* in Sharaf al-Dīn, who served the chief judge

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that the fee for a marriage contract was to be 25 dirhams, of which 20 dirhams were for the judge and 4 for the *shāhid* (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 2:29–30, 41).

[44]Shops in Cairo: Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā',* 306; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 4:347. Office in Damascus: al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:118, 271; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:345; al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 128, 231. Office in Aleppo: al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:22, 269. At the gate of the Umayyad Mosque: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:138–39; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib*, 1:285.

[45]Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā',* 306, 450; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:176, 178, 271, 279.

[46]Al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:270, 320.

[47]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:50; al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 107, 190, 221; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:260.

[48]Promotion: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:310–11; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:189, 2:9. Concurrent work of *nā'ib* and *shāhid:* Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā',* 341.

[49]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 4:131.

[50]Ibid., 320.

[51]Ibid., 302, 312. This is a kind of *maẓālim* court (administrative court) supervised by administrative executives, such as the sultan and provincial governors.

[52]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:374. Ibn Furfūr's *naqīb*s also exacted money (Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 2:1199).

in spite of his ignorance and illiteracy. He bribed his boss to hear the cases and then extorted bribes from the parties. After a while he found favor with the judge and was consulted about important matters, lived in a mansion, and bought slaves, until he became so powerful that chief judges went to call on him instead of the reverse. Finally, however, in 876/1472 he was prohibited from performing the duties of a *wakīl*.[53]

The increase of lawsuits in larger cities accelerated this tendency of seeking more profit in legal administration. A curious order was issued in Rabīʻ II 914/July–August 1508, forbidding the bringing of a suit against anybody without just cause *(ḥaqq),* and demanding that the accused not be deprived of anything by such an unjust lawsuit. A similar order in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 914/March 1509 provided that a lawsuit would not be accepted unless the defendant agreed to the claim.[54] These orders show that lawsuits and trials had turned into a means for the strong to exploit the weak. Trials were no longer to maintain justice and fairness *(ʻadl)* in society or to prevent oppressive conduct *(ẓulm),* but were instead a means to pursue the private interests of both citizens and legal administrators.

We can surmise the features of legal factions and their staffs at the end of the Mamluk period. First, they gained their income by receiving fees, bribes, and exactions pursuant to the performance of legal functions. It is noteworthy that such income was not necessarily regarded as irregular or illegal, but instead as proper in lieu of salary, as the following episode demonstrates. ʻIzz al-Dīn, the Hanbali chief judge, did not solicit bribes at trials, because he received sufficient income from his madrasah salary and income from rented properties.[55] Legal staff could become wealthy by increasing their income from bribes and fees like the above-mentioned *wakīl.* Second, it was not necessary to have had a madrasah education in order to carry out the work of a notary and go-between. To give an example, a *shāhid* from a peasant background *(fallāḥ)* came to Damascus to be a *rasūl*, then became a *ballāṣī* (tax collector) and later worked as a *shāhid*. He was eventually banished because of his crime of forging a royal order.[56] His example shows that the easiest way for newcomers to the city to earn a living was to be employed as subordinate staff such as a *rasūl* or *ballāṣī* under the patronage of an influential man. After gaining experience in legal practice, they could advance to

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[53]Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʼ*, 408–11. Other *wakīl*s: ibid., 224, 518–19; al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 104.

[54]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʼiʻ,* 4:134; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Iʻlām,* 214. At the *maẓālim* court of the sultan, bribes were offered (Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʼ,* 367). Therefore the sultan was forced to control the increase of lawsuits brought to him in Shaʻbān 876/January 1472 (ibid., 400–1).

[55]Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʼ*, 345–47, 450–51. He was famous for his austerity and did not employ *nāʼib*s, *naqīb*s, and *rasūl*s as the other chief judges did.

[56]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:334.

become a *shāhid* or *nā'ib* and make more money.

Legal factions absorbed a large number of subordinate staff in the cities, based on the common interests for each member in making money from legal execution, plus their own training and promotion system inside the *jamā'ah,* until they strengthened and extended their organizations. To control such an extended faction *(jamā'ah)* required a managing staff of *dawādār*s and *ustādār*s such as that of the *jamā'ah* of Ibn Furfūr. We know about the prevalence of such *jamā'ah* organizations at the end of the Mamluk period because of the legal reform ordered by the Ottoman sultan Selim I and carried out from Sha'bān 922/August 1516 to Rabī' I 924/February–March 1518. In both Cairo and Damascus, the judges' courts were concentrated in one place, the number of *nā'ib*s and *shāhid*s was reduced, and the judges' *rasūl*s and *wakīl*s were dismissed. Strong resistance to this reform existed, however. No one in Cairo or Damascus obeyed the order. After Selim's departure to Istanbul, the provincial governor of Damascus, Jānbirdī al-Ghazzālī (r. 924–27/1518–21), allowed *shāhid*s to go back to their offices and restored the "*jamā'ah* of the judges, that is, *shāhid*s and *rasūl*s."[57] Legal factions *(jamā'ah)* could survive despite the Ottoman attempt at reform because they had already taken root in urban society.

The chief judges organized their factions, composed of subordinate staff, and executed legal affairs to gain huge profits by means of these *jamā'ah*s. This was why they sought the post of chief judge in spite of paying a large bribe and enduring property confiscation. We find similar organizations led by *kātib*s *al-sirr* and *muḥtasib*s as well.[58]

CHANGE OF CITY ADMINISTRATION

TAXATION AND MILITARY CONSCRIPTION

Mamluk sultans, facing the two serious problems of the need to mount military expeditions abroad and financial crisis, introduced a new tax policy, to be imposed on citizens and *waqf* properties. Such policies were imposed in Syrian cities as well,[59] and provincial governors of Damascus instituted the new taxation. Syrian cities were threatened by the invasion of the Ottoman army. How to pay the costs of war and raise the necessary military personnel and supplies were crucial problems of urban politics. In this section we will examine how these problems were solved, as well as investigate the changes in city administration, focusing on Damascus.

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[57]Ibid., 2:29–30, 41, 88–89; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 5:165–66, 243; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:169.

[58]Kātib al-Sirr Ibn Muzhir: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:381; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā',* 222, 314, 409; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 9:89. *Muḥtasib:* Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbā',* 389, 430. See also Miura, "Administrative Networks," 59–66.

[59]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 3:280, 4:23.

The provincial governor, called the *nā'ib al-salṭanah,* oversaw the administration of Damascus, with its population estimated at 50,000 to 60,000 persons.[60] The chronicles report a new type of taxation imposed on the citizens and city quarters *(ḥārah, maḥallah)*;[61] the first example was in Muḥarram 890/January 1485 and there eventually were sixty-eight examples prior to the end of the Mamluk period. Most of these were by order of provincial governors. After 904/1499, the tax was imposed every year.[62] In contrast, Cairo had only eight examples of such taxation according to Ibn Iyās' *Badā'i'*. What was the reason for its frequency in Damascus?

PURPOSE AND OBJECT

The imposition of occasional taxes in Damascus had two purposes: one, to fund the conscription of infantry soldiers for foreign expeditions (twenty-one cases) and the other, to impose an extra tax, allegedly as punishment, on a quarter where a murder was committed (fourteen cases). In contrast, in Cairo, seven of eight cases of taxation are for expeditionary costs, primarily to pay extra allowances to the mamluks rather than for infantry. As for the object of taxation, in Damascus taxes were imposed on all the city quarters or collected from an individual quarter,[63] whereas in Cairo they were levied on immovable properties of *waqf* and *milk* (private ownership), and a portion of rental income was collected.[64] The amounts

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[60]My estimate of the population of Damascus and its quarters at the end of the Mamluk period is based on a household survey at the beginning of Ottoman rule in Damascus. Cf. Jean-Paul Pascual, *Damas à la fin du 16e siècle d'après trois actes de waqf ottomans* (Damascus, 1983), 1:23–27. The approximate number of quarters was estimated as 70 inside the city wall *(madīnah)* and 30 in the Ṣāliḥīyah Quarter, on the basis of the descriptions of Ibn Ṭūlūn (Ibn Ṭūlūn, "Ḥārāt Dimashq al-Qadīmah," *Al-Mashriq* 35(1937) and Ibn Kinnān, *Al-Murūj al-Sundusīyah al-Fasīḥah fī Talkhīṣ Tārīkh al-Ṣāliḥīyah,* ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Dahmān (Damascus, 1947).

[61]There is no comprehensive study of the city taxation system during the Mamluk period, except that we know *zakāt* and *maks* were imposed on goods and trade, and *mushāharah* was imposed on daily commodities, at the end of the Mamluk era. Cf. Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt A.H. 564–741/A.D. 1169–1341* (London, 1972), 80–107.

[62]The descriptions were collected from the sources of *Mufākahat, I'lām,* and *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī.* Those who imposed the tax were provincial governors, 21 cases; governor's *jamā'ah,* 6 cases; *khāṣṣakī* (sultan's guardsmen), 4 cases; and Mamluk sultans, 2 cases. In addition, 12 cases seemed to be by governors, judging from their taxation procedures.

[63]Taxation on all the quarters of Damascus was 23 cases, and on individual quarters, 25 cases.

[64]Taxation in Cairo: in Rabī' I 894 (Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 3:260–61), in Rabī' I–II 896 (ibid., 278–280), in Muḥarram 907 (ibid., 4:14–17, 20) and in Rajab 917 (ibid., 242). Here the owners of *milk* properties such as houses *(bayt, rab'),* shops *(ḥānūt),* public baths *(ḥammām),* vegetable gardens *(ghayṭ),* mills *(ṭāḥūn),* and vessels *(markab)* collected the rent in advance from their lessees to pay the provisional tax to the sultans (ibid., 4:16). Such taxation can be found previously for dispatching the troops against the Mongols (700/1300) and Timur (803/1401); see Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* (Beirut, 1966), 14:14; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal*

of taxation are known in the case of Damascus; the least one being 50 dinars from each quarter and larger amounts, including 1000 dinars imposed on the Shāghūr Quarter and 20,000 dinars on the whole city of Damascus.[65]

Expedition and Infantry

A new tax to fund an expedition was inaugurated in Jumādá II 891/June 1486. At that time the provincial governor of Damascus, Qijmās al-Isḥāqī (r. 892–902/1487–97), was asked to dispatch an expeditionary force by the commander of the Egyptian army in Aleppo. The governor read the letter from the commander in the presence of ulama and other officials, and apologized for the need to collect money from them to dispatch infantry troops against the Ottoman army.[66] In this case the purpose of taxation is clearly to send infantry troops; eight other cases were described as simply for an expedition. Can we assume these orders were also specifically for infantry?

The primary reason to use infantry is obvious. Due to the weakening of the Mamluk army, the need for infantry increased, for these troops could be hired by wage *(jāmakīyah, ma'lūm)*. Provincial governors ordered the conscription of men to serve as infantry in support of the mamluks, and the number of troops reached 4,000.[67] Another reason is technical: the use of gun power was becoming more necessary at the end of the Mamluk period. The Ottomans were able to use gun power, and therefore the Mamluk sultans were forced to organize infantry troops other than their mamluks. They organized the Fifth Army from non-mamluks and trained non-mamluk slaves *('abīd)* to use guns.[68] In Damascus, we find many examples of infantry troops (forty-five cases).[69] It is natural to assume that infantry

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al-Mulūk, ed. Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āshūr (Cairo, 1939–73), 1:906–7, 3:1052–53.

[65]Taxation of 50 dinars: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:245. Taxation of 1000 dinars: ibid., 247, 249; al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 179. Taxation of 20,000 dinars: *Mufākahat,* 1:254.

[66]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām,* 72; al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 112. Ibn Ṭawq reported that the heads *(kubrá)* of quarters were asked to collect the money for infantry at an amount of 15 dinars for each infantryman (Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 2:625–29).

[67]In 903/1498 the provincial governor ordered the military dispatch. Most of the mamluks, however, were unwilling to go on the expedition, and eventually only 70 mamluks as well as many infantrymen went (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:196-97). The number of infantry troops: ibid., 342 and idem, *I'lām,* 232.

[68]David Ayalon, *Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Kingdom,* 2nd ed. (London and Worcester, 1972), 59-83. Ayalon stressed the unwillingness of the mamluks to wear guns and the Mamluk Sultanate's delay in using firearms. Robert Irwin refutes these assertions by Ayalon in his recent article, "Gunpowder and Firearms in the Mamluk Sultanate Reconsidered," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society,* ed. Amalia Levanoni and Michael Winter (Leiden, 2004). The Fifth Army: Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 4:324, 369. *'Abīd:* ibid., 3:383, 4:84, 5:81, 107, 134.

[69]The descriptions are collected from *Mufākahat* and *I'lām*.

troops must have been equipped with firearms, although their specific use is mentioned in only two cases.[70] While the sultans in Cairo, using non-mamluks, organized a new army to employ firearms, infantry was conscripted from the city quarters in Damascus.[71]

The next problem was how to conscript infantry and cover their wages. We can find answers from the descriptions that follow. In Muḥarram 907/August 1501 the deputy governor ordered conscription of troops from each quarter and announced that the conscripts′ allowances should be collected from their respective quarters.[72] In Jumādá I 912/October 1506 the provincial governor asked each quarter for twenty infantrymen to accompany him on an expedition, and the *ʿarīf*s (administrative heads) of the quarters began to collect money to support these soldiers.[73] As these two descriptions show, the quarters were levied heavily, contributing both infantrymen and their wages. However, a clever means of dealing with this problem was devised: The outlaws *(zuʿr)* of the quarter were conscripted and the inhabitants paid their wages. This mechanism is mentioned in the report of Jumādá I 908/November–December 1502, which says that the provincial governor collected the money to be paid to infantrymen, but could not collect it from the *zuʿr* whom he would conscript.[74] As the following section explains, the *zuʿr* were outlaw groups who usually brought arms with them. This solution worked well for all parties concerned. For the governor, the *zuʿr* provided a strong military force. For the *zuʿr,* conscription was a way to acquire weapons as well as wages. For the inhabitants of the quarter, it enabled them to avoid conscription. The provincial governors could acquire the infantry troops at the expense of the inhabitants. This is why they repeated this policy, and by pursuing this policy they could solve their financial and military problems simultaneously.

Penalty Tax for Murder

The provincial governor imposed a penalty tax on the inhabitants of any quarter where a murder had occurred. For example, at the Mazzāz quarter in Ramaḍān 906/1501 a man was killed and robbed of his horse. Several days later the *ustādār*

[70]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:211, 289.

[71]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:118. Ibn Ṭawq states that unjust exaction spread in the city due to the infantry conscription (*Taʿlīq,* 2:937–38).

[72]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:245.

[73]Ibid., 309.

[74]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Iʿlām,* 164. In Jumādá II–Rajab 898/February–March 1493 the provincial governor ordered the collection of 20 dinars per infantryman, totalling 10,000 dinars for the whole city, equivalent to 500 infantrymen (Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq,* 3:1174–75, 1178, 1189). Other cases of conscripting the *zuʿr* for infantry in Damascus: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 92, 190, 195, 330, and those in Cairo: Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:230, 5:119, 140.

of the governor imposed a penalty tax on the inhabitants there.[75] Judging from this report, the provincial governor imposed a penalty on the quarter whether the killer lived there or not. The governor had good reason for this penalty taxation, as he stated when he imposed a penalty of 1000 dinars on the Ṣāliḥīyah Quarter in Dhū al-Qaʿdah 901/August 1496: ″I did not impose [a penalty] without a basis in shariʿah. One of the Hanafi ulama told me that the *diyah* (blood money) should be collected from the inhabitants of the quarter when a murdered person was found there and the killer was unknown.″[76] This legal ground originated from the theory of the Hanafi law school, called *qasāmah* (compurgation). Joseph Schacht explains it thus: ″If the body of a person is found who has obviously been killed, the inhabitants of the quarter, the owner of the house and his *ʿaqīla* (relatives) must swear fifty oaths that they have not killed him and do not know who has killed him. They thereby become free from liability to *qiṣāṣ* but must as *ʿaqīla* pay the blood money.″[77] The legal texts of the twelfth century developed this theory to specify that all inhabitants of the quarter were responsible as a group for the murder or compurgation,[78] responding to the development of city quarters.

The provincial governors used this legalism to repeatedly impose penalty taxation. The chronicle states, ″at the end of this month incidents of murder occurred many times because of the absence of the governor, and his deputy again imposed the penalty for the reason of murder, which was oppressive to the people.″[79] This shows that the governors willingly imposed the penalty on the quarter, rather than pursing the killer. It is obvious they took the penalty to cover their lack of income, in place of normal taxation,

The amount of the penalty imposed was much larger than that collected to support the conscripted infantry, reaching 1000 dinars in the great quarters like the Ṣāliḥīyah. This could be a financial boon for the governor, but on the other hand was oppressive to the inhabitants, causing dissension between the rulers and citizens. The inhabitants of the Masjid al-Qaṣab Quarter gathered to ask for God′s relief *(takbīr)* from a huge imposition due to a murder in Jumādá II 905/January 1501.[80] On the side of the rulers, al-ʿĀdil Ṭūmānbāy, after assuming the position of sultan in Damascus in Jumādá I 906/November 1500, issued a decree that the inhabitants of the quarter where a murder occurred should not be liable for the

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75 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:234.

76 Al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 179.

77 Schacht, *Introduction,* 184.

78 Al-Kāsānī, *Kitāb Badāʾiʿ al-Ṣanāʾiʿ fī Tartīb Sharāʾiʿ* (Cairo, 1327–28), 7:286–96.

79 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:317; idem, *Iʿlām,* 209.

80 Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:227; idem, *Iʿlām,* 103. The inhabitants of the Ṣāliḥīyah Quarter protested the penalty tax in 901/1496 (Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq,* 3:1430–31).

penalty; rather they should strive to pursue the killer. The decree of Sultan al-ʿĀdil was engraved on the stone wall of each quarter.[81] But this decree was issued so the sultan could win the favor of the citizens, and it was rescinded after four months.[82] The opposition led to bloodshed in Rabīʿ I 910/August 1504, when Muḥammad Bardadār, the bailiff of the governor, went to the Maydān al-Ḥaṣā Quarter to exact the penalty because its inhabitants killed his colleague, and his fellows were attacked and killed on their way. The next day, the inhabitants stoned those who tried to bury those killed, and antagonism deepened between the two groups. The governor launched an effort to arrest the killers, but the *zuʿr* began to support the inhabitants. The governor was then forced to issue a decree of *amān* (peace), attributing the murder of Muḥammad Bardadār to a dog.[83] In this incident, the governor was on the side of the victim and could demand blood money from the inhabitants. Nevertheless they showed strong resistance to the imposition of this financial penalty. Why did the governors cling to the blood penalty, which caused heavy oppression? The governors of Damascus had no other means but the blood penalty to increase their incomes, whereas the sultans in Cairo could gain an immense amount by bribes and property confiscation to overcome a financial crisis.[84]

TAX COLLECTION AND THE *JAMĀʿAH*S OF THE GOVERNORS

The governors used differing tax collection procedures to fund expeditions and for the murder penalty. We know that when Governor Qijmās attempted to raise money to dispatch an expedition of infantry in 891/1486 the response from the citizens was to protest and assert that his actions were motivated by self-interest and were illegal. As the people prepared to stone him, Qijmās went to the house of Shaykh al-Islām Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr Ibn Qāḍī ʿAjlūn (d. 928/1522),[85] to talk him into asking the influential people of each quarter to cooperate in tax collection. As the Shaykh al-Islām consented to this request and justified the taxation, *ʿarīf*s

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[81]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:234; idem, *Iʿlām,* 129. It remained until the twentieth century and was recorded in Jean Sauvaget, ″Decrets mamelouks de Syrie,″ *Bulletin d′études orientales* 2 (1932): 44. Sultan Qāytbāy issued a similar decree (*Iʿlām,* 129).

[82]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:234.

[83]Ibid., 279–80.

[84]Property confiscation in Damascus was conducted on a smaller scale than that of Cairo in terms of the number and amount. The number of confiscations in Damascus noted in *Mufākahat* and *Iʿlām* for the period 885–922 was 17 (in contrast to 73 cases in Cairo in the same period), and in only 4 cases were more than 10,000 dinars confiscated.

[85]He was a Shafiʿi jurist and played a role in negotiations on matters of civil life such as the rise of commodity prices and the alcohol trade (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:29–30, 32, 41). Cf. al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:114–18; Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt,* 8:157.

(administrative heads of the quarters) and other influential persons began to collect the money.[86] At first, the governors strove to get the consent and cooperation of the ulama to defend this taxation. Later, however, only two examples of their seeking such support can be found,[87] indicating it probably was unnecessary.

In practical terms, *'arīf*s of each quarter were charged with the task of collection, as in the example of Qijmās. The following report is suggestive: In Jumādá I 912/September 1506 when the governor ordered the conscription of twenty infantrymen from each quarter, *'arīf*s of the quarters began to collect money following the example of Qijmās.[88] A noteworthy incident occurred during the twenty years between these two reports. When the order of infantry conscription was given in Muḥarram 907/July 1501, outlaws *(ghawghā')* began to plunder the quarter. They justified their actions by insisting that the order stipulated that their wages should come at the expense of each quarter. This caused severe harm to the inhabitants, who appealed to the deputy governor. He suddenly decided to collect 50 dinars from each quarter, 40 dinars of which was allotted to the infantry.[89] The example of Qijmās in 891/1486 was mentioned as precedent for the collection in 912/1506 to avoid such confusion.

Who were the *'arīf*s of the quarter? In spite of only meager information about the duties of the *'arīf*s, we can say that they were the administrators responsible for security as well as tax collection in each quarter, and were appointed by the governor.[90] *'Arīf*s pocketed the money collected from the quarter and seemed to have taken tips in exchange for allowing some to avoid paying, for the governor ordered *'arīf*s to collect taxes in Jumādá I 893/April 1488, warning that no one should seek the protection of *'arīf*s.[91] When *zu'r* of the quarters were ordered to take part in an expedition in Ṣafar 914/June 1508, *'arīf*s were asked to cover their expense, so as not to burden the citizens.[92] The governor must have recognized the abuse committed by *'arīf*s while collecting taxes. The people's strong opposition to the exploitation of the *'arīf*s often led to their murder.[93]

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[86]In other sources, three chief judges as well as Taqī al-Dīn were reported as cooperating in the taxation: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām,* 73–74; al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 112. See also note 66.

[87]Refusal of taxation by the judge: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:119. Refusal by shaykh of the quarter in Aleppo: ibid., 282.

[88]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:309; idem, *I'lām,* 203.

[89]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:245; idem, *I'lām,* 148. Ibn Ṭawq reported in 893/1488 that it was usual to collect 60 dinars for infantry in the city (*Ta'līq,* 2:781).

[90]Appointment: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 2:24, 104. Keeping security: ibid., 1:344, 2:11.

[91]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:89; idem, *I'lām,* 76.

[92]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:330.

[93]Ibid., 2:21, 22.

Subordinate officials of the provincial governor such as the *ustādār,* the *dawādār,* and the *bardadār* collected the murder penalty, and they were often collectively called the *jamāʻah* of the governor.[94] The governor′s *jamāʻah* was composed of two different groups, one being subordinate officials such as *ustādār, dawādār, khāzindār* (grand treasurer), *bardadār,* and *mihmandār* (host manager), the same posts that can be found in the central government of Egypt. These were administrators whose function was to perform political and administrative tasks for the provincial governor.[95] The *dawādār* was mainly responsible for tax collection, for the arrest and execution of criminals, and for supervising the *jamāʻah* itself.[96] They were primarily from the mamluks of the governor, and later the governors would value them above higher officials of the provincial government like *ḥājib al-ḥujjāb* (grand chamberlain).[97]

The second group executed public policy: for example, the *ballāṣī* and *naqīb* carried out commands of the governor and the *dawādār*.[98] The *ballāṣī* was a tax collector, but only part time because the first group of *bardadār* and *ra's al-nawbah* (guard) held these positions concurrently.[99] They might also be recruited from the common people, as announced in the decree of Rabīʻ I 912/August 1506 that recently appointed *ballāṣī*s were dismissed and should return to their own professions.[100] The third group was mercenaries, such as the *ʻabīd* (black slaves) and the *zuʻr. ʻAbīd* were hired by wage and worked as private soldiers of the governors, equipped with firearms, especially in the civil war against the sultan. They were also employed to make collections from citizens and for security.[101] Lastly, the governors hired drifters (*gharīb*) entering the city and robber chieftains,[102]

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[94]On *ustādār:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat*, 1:234, 247, 377, 2:3, 7; idem, *Iʻlām,* 150. *Dawādār:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:89. *Bardadār:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:273, 279. *Jamāʻah:* ibid., 315, 348.

[95]On *khāzindār:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:203, 303, 346, 355, 370. *Mihmandār:* ibid., 81, 215, 227. On other subordinates officials, see also notes 94, 96, 97.

[96]On the *dawādār:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:151, 264. Expedition commander: ibid., 172, 277, 344. Arrest and execution: ibid., 255, 258–59, 291, 370. Leader of the governor′s *jamāʻah* after his death: ibid., 80, 83, 86. On a powerful *dawādār,* Jandar: Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʻlīq,* 3:1161.

[97]*Dawādār* and *khāzindār* assumed the office of deputy-governor, in place of the great chamberlain *(ḥājib al-ḥujjāb)* who by the regulations had this office (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:104, 309, 317, 330, 2:11).

[98]On *naqīb:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:215. *Ballāṣī:* ibid., 251–52, 257; idem, *Iʻlām,* 159.

[99]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:221, 252, 254.

[100]Ibid., 306.

[101]*ʻAbīd*′s wages: ibid., 263. Gun arms: ibid., 201. Private mercenaries: idem, *Iʻlām,* 99, 105. Exploitation: idem, *Mufākahat,* 1:280. Police: ibid., 260.

[102]*Gharīb:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:263. Robber: ibid., 288.

in their attempt to maintain control by incorporating marginal men in urban society into their *jamāʿah*.

The new taxation to support conscripted infantry and the imposition of the murder penalty benefited the governors financially and militarily. To perform these new procedures efficiently, they organized the *ʿarīf*s in each quarter while also maintaining their *jamāʿah*s as a distinct group separate from the formal administrative organization. Thus, they could control the inhabitants of the quarters directly. Next we will examine the actual conditions of people under this system of rule.

The City Quarters and the Common People

Political Development of the Quarters

There were two conflicts in Damascus that reflect political developments of the quarters at the end of the Mamluk period. One was the civil war from Ṣafar to Rabīʿ II 903/October to December 1497, and the other was the popular revolt in Jumādá I 907/October 1501.

In 903/1497 Āqbirdī (d. 904/1499), after being defeated by the sultan in Cairo, marched to Damascus. Īnāl al-Faqīh, the recently-appointed governor of Damascus, joined him. When their alliance against the sultan became known on 26 Ṣafar, citizens hastened to bring their property inside the city walls for fear of an attack by the rebellious troops. The next day the mamluks who supported the sultan gathered at the citadel. However, a split occurred among them and they were left leaderless. Ultimately they all fled from the citadel in fear of an attack by the rebels. On 29 Ṣafar the rebels first clashed with the inhabitants of the Ṣāliḥīyah Quarter in the northern suburbs, which had remained on the sultan′s side, and established their base at the Maydān al-Ḥaṣā Quarter in the southern suburbs of Damascus, from which they planned to attack the inner city. On the sultan′s side, the *nāʾib al-qalʿah* (governor of the citadel) was made commander and continued to wage battle for a month and a half. On 16 Rabīʿ II, the rebels launched a final attack with all their force, but could not enter the city. Hearing that the army, led by the new governor Kurtbāy al-Aḥmar (r. 903–4/1497–98), was approaching Damascus to subdue them, the rebels then abandoned Damascus for Aleppo.[103]

It is noteworthy that the common people and *zuʿr* fought on both sides. One report was that nobody supported the sultan other than the common people *(al-ʿawāmm),* especially those of the Shāghūr Quarter, and that Āqbirdī was amazed at the strength of the common people who fought equally with his army.[104] Several

[103]Ibid., 185–96.

[104]Ibid., 200.

reports also document the participation of the *zuʿr* in the battle. Responding to the sultan′s dismissal of Governor Īnāl and his demand for their submission, the rebels claimed it was a false report in order to keep the *zuʿr* on their side.[105] This report suggests the *zuʿr* were an indispensable force for the rebels. We know that they were employed as infantry because the people complained that the *zuʿr* behaved as they pleased in each quarter because the Turks (mamluks) valued them as infantry.[106] Both groups often used firearms that were normally employed only by infantrymen. Therefore the *zuʿr* might participate in the battles as infantry with guns. As the Shāghūr Quarter was a base of the *zuʿr,* it is possible that they comprised the militia of the Shāghūr who fought against the rebels so bravely.

Also notable are the political activities of the people organized in each quarter, especially at major quarters located in the suburbs. At the time of Āqbirdī′s rebellion, the Shāghūr and Ṣāliḥīyah Quarters were allied with the sultan and defended the inner city, while the Maydān al-Ḥaṣā and the Qubaybāt Quarters sided with the rebels. They were not forced to take sides, but allied themselves with one side or the other depending on their personal politics. The Ṣāliḥīyah Quarter fought against the rebels on the side of the sultan and refused the rebels′ proposal of alliance, which demanded that they supply one hundred soldiers and safeguard the women and belongings of the rebels.[107] The inhabitants of the Maydān al-Ḥaṣā and Qubaybāt Quarters demanded their protection when moving to the Qabr ʿĀtikah Quarter to take refuge from the combat.[108] In contrast, the quarters located between the Maydān al-Ḥaṣā and the inner city, such as al-Suwayqah, Qaṣr al-Ḥajjāj, and Masjid al-Dhabān, were often battlefields and suffered devastation.[109] Suburban quarters were exposed to the dangers of attack and plunder by invaders, and the inhabitants there moved to shelter in the inner city, with its protection of a strong city wall, as shown in the war of 903/1497. The four suburban quarters participating in the civil war with their own armies and of their own volition seem to have learned from bitter experience, however, that this was the best and indeed the only way to defend their quarters.

The popular revolt in 907/1501 illustrates political developments in the major suburban quarters of Damascus. First, the inhabitants of the Shāghūr and the

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[105]Ibid., 194.

[106]Ibid., 195.

[107]Ibid., 199. See also Miura, ″The Ṣāliḥiyya Quarter in the Suburbs of Damascus: Its Formation, Structure, and Transformation in the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Periods,″ *Bulletin d′études orientales* 47 (1995): 164.

[108]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:189, 191, 195.

[109]Al-Suwayqah: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:192. Qaṣr al-Ḥajjāj: ibid., 192–95. Masjid al-Dhabān: ibid., 189, 192–93, 195.

Maydān al-Ḥaṣā Quarters gathered at the congregational mosque of Muṣallá al-ʿĪdayn on 14 Jumādá I and allied to fight against the injustice *(ẓulm)* of the governor and his faction.[110] Governor Qānṣūh al-Burj (r. 906–10/1501–4) had levied taxes on quarters like the Maydān al-Ḥaṣā and the Shāghūr and others so frequently that there was no quarter which had not been taxed during the one and one-half months since his arrival.[111] Here the word *ẓulm* is used in reference to this taxation by his *jamāʿah*. On that day the inhabitants of the Shāghūr Quarter clashed with the *jamāʿah* of the sultan, and the sultan dispatched the army, against which the people fought, allied with the *zuʿr*. Meanwhile "the strength of the people and the *zuʿr* overwhelmed the army," defeating it, until the people of the quarter demanded that the governor of the citadel, sent as a messenger of the sultan, should transfer three officials (*ustādār*, *ballāṣī,* and the *naqīb* of the *muḥtasib*),[112] all of whom were responsible for collecting taxes. On the 15th and 16th, the people constructed barricades in their quarters, fought the army, and forced it to retreat. At night the governor, fearing their attack, sent a mission of the governor of the citadel and judges, to talk to their representatives *(akābir)* and promised to accept their demands to abolish taxation on markets and houses and execute the tax-collectors *(ballāṣī)*. The people of the quarter accepted his answer as satisfactory.[113] This, however, was only a temporary concession. Three months later the governor began to levy taxes on the inhabitants again and attacked the *zuʿr* of the Shāghūr Quarter and others. This time, his army defeated the *zuʿr,* put their leaders to death, and pillaged the Shāghūr Quarter.[114] The *zuʿr* could not cope with the governor's army by themselves. It was the collaboration of the *zuʿr* and the common people that had brought them victory over the governor in the revolt of 907/1503.

The political change is clear from the stories of the civil war in 903 and the revolt in 907: First, while the declining power of the mamluk army was apparent, the armed people had gained sufficient strength to fight in place of the mamluks, or to cope with them. The governors employed the *zuʿr* as infantry, which increased their own power. Second, the suburban quarters stopped depending on the power of the governor and instead initiated their own independent political actions. Third, the *zuʿr* played an important role in the popular movement of the quarter.

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[110]Ibid., 250; idem, *Iʿlām,* 152.

[111]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:249; idem, *Iʿlām,* 151.

[112]This *naqīb* had been a broker *(simsār)* and was blamed as a subordinate of the tyrant (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:279).

[113]Ibid., 250–52; idem, *Iʿlām,* 152–54.

[114]Taxation: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:254, 258; idem, *Iʿlām,* 157, 159. Arrest and attack: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:258–60; idem, *Iʿlām,* 160–61.

THE ACTIVITY OF THE *ZU'R* AND THEIR CHARACTER

The original meaning of the word *zu'r* is "thin-haired," and it also has the meanings of "lacking in wealth" and "lacking in virtue."[115] At the end of the Mamluk period it designates a specific group of outlaws, using three variations of the root *(zu'r, ahl al-za'ārah, az'ar)*.[116] The words *ghawghā'*, *awbāsh* (both mean mobs), and *manāḥīs* (scoundrel) were also used to designate specific groups like the *zu'r*.[117] Here we examine their activities and their character, lumping them all together under the term *zu'r*.[118] (See Appendix Table, Activities of the *Zu'r* in Damascus.)

ACTIVITIES OF THE ZU'R

We classified the activities of the *zu'r* into four categories in Table 1:

TABLE 1. TYPES OF ACTIVITIES OF THE *ZU'R*

Categories	Actions and their Frequencies	
Violence	Murder 30 (5 of these were victims)	Plunder and attack 24
Public	Procession 13	Militia 11
Mass Struggle	Fighting 15	Revolt 6
Others	Arrest and Execution 26	

[115] Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab* (Cairo, 1300–7), 5:411–12.

[116] Activities of the *zu'r* in Damascus were recorded for the first time in 889/1484, and thereafter reports of their activity suddenly increased, so that the number of reports concerning the *zu'r* totaled 111 by the decline of the Mamluk Dynasty, according to the sources of *Mufākahat, I'lām, Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* and *Ta'līq*. The term *az'ar* is used to designate individuals of the *zu'r,* especially the head (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:283, 259, 315; idem, *I'lām,* 181). The term *zu'r* is a plural form of *az'ar,* designating the group of the *zu'r*.

[117] The words *ghawghā'* and *awbāsh* are sometimes connected to the word *zu'r,* such as *ghawghā' al-zu'r* and *awbāsh al-zu'r* (see Appendix Table). The same group is described by both words, *zu'r* and *ghawghā'*. Other words are also used to designate similar groups of the *zu'r; shabāb* (originally youth): Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 2:105; idem, *I'lām,* 260, 266; *manāḥīs* (originally bandit): Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:66.

[118] The leading studies on the *zu'r* are: Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 153–63, 173–77; Akram Ḥasan al-'Ulabī, *Dimashq bayna 'Aṣr al-Mamālīk wa-al-'Uthmānīyīn* (Damascus, 1982), 95–110; 'Abd al-Waddād Barghūt, "Jawānib Ijtimā'īyah min Tārīkh Dimashq fī al-Qarn al-Khāmis 'Asharah min Makhṭūṭ Ibn Ṭawq," in *Kitāb al-Mu'tamar al-Duwalī li-Tārīkh Bilād al-Shām* (Damascus, 1974). In a paper published in 1989, I described relations between the quarters of Damascus and the *zu'r:* Miura, "The Structure of the Quarter and the Role of the Outlaws: The Ṣāliḥīya Quarter and the Zu'r in the Mamluk Period," in *The Proceedings of the International Conference on Urbanism in Islam,* vol. 3 (Tokyo, 1989). In a recent paper by James Grehan, the author's analysis of motivation for the revolts in the quarters neglects a key topic: the socio-political relationships of the *zu'r* to the quarters and the common people there. "Street Violence and Social Imagination in Late-Mamluke and Ottoman Damascus (ca. 1500–1800)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35, no. 2 (2003).

The activities in the first category are the most frequent, which shows that the *zu'r* most commonly committed illegal acts of violence. In regard to murder, they intentionally killed *'arīf*s, *ballāṣī*s, and *naqīb*s who collected taxes,[119] which means that these murders had a political basis. They could be hired to kill anyone—for example, to kill the aide of an arbitrary ruler *(a'wān al-ẓalamah)* or, just the opposite, to assassinate at the request of a ruler a shaykh who helped those who were unjustly oppressed.[120] The targets of their plundering and attacks were indiscriminate. They were strong enough to attack with impunity even in the light of day, and to celebrate their success by holding a banquet at which they displayed their loot.[121] Afterwards they sold the loot and pocketed the money.[122] The *zu'r* plundered as they pleased, especially when a state of anarchy prevailed owing to the death of a governor or to civil war, and the citizens feared them.[123] They are differentiated from simple robbers *(surrāq, ḥarāmīyah)*[124] stealing at night. We can say, based first of all on their behavior, that the *zu'r* were an outlaw group that maintained its livelihood by violent acts such as plunder and murder.

If they had only committed illegal acts, they would soon have disappeared or lived at the edge of society. Their second role reveals their public function. They were conscripted as infantry by the governors and asked to participate in public processions such as receiving delegations. In Muḥarram 909/July 1503 the governor included the armed *zu'r* in a procession, though he had previously prohibited the arming of the *zu'r*.[125] The third category is mass struggle, that is, combat among the *zu'r* of different quarters (four cases) and revolts against the rulers (six cases). It is noteworthy here that the *zu'r* organized the whole quarter for combat. In Dhū al-Ḥijjah 907/June 1502 the *zu'r* of the Maydān al-Ḥaṣā Quarter rose as one against the governor in response to the execution of their leader. People fled their houses and the heads of the Muṣallá Quarter and others constructed barricades to defend their quarters.[126] The fourth category, arrest and execution, represents the

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[119] *'Arīf:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 2:24. *Ballāṣī:* ibid., 1:221. *Naqīb:* ibid., 176.

[120] Tool of the tyrant: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:181. Shaykh: ibid., 279–79; idem, *I'lām,* 177; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:77–78.

[121] Ibn Ṭūlūn criticized this banquet in his chronicle: They rob the poor by force. They shall never be happy no matter how much they are proud of their power and wealth. (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:180).

[122] Ibid., 239.

[123] Ibid., 1:183–85, 2:27–28. On the fear of the citizens, see column "Fear" in the Appendix Table.

[124] *Surrāq:* Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 2:582, 891, 914, 3:1436, 1509, 1516. *Ḥarāmīyah:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:68; Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 1:510, 2:649, 3:1486.

[125] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:268.

[126] Ibid., 258–59; idem, *I'lām,* 160.

results produced by the activities in the other three categories.

The above-mentioned three categories describe the ambiguous character of the *zuʿr*. The first category shows an outlaw character, those who did not hesitate to employ violence in the violation of the law. Their violence, however, was not only for their own interests, but had an additional effect on the city and its quarters. The second category tells us that their organized power was indispensable to citizens as well as rulers, to defend the city and its properties. Furthermore, from the third category, we see that they took over leadership of the battles to defend the quarter whether the inhabitants wanted them to or not. In all these categories, the activities of the *zuʿr* were closely related to the socio-political changes of the city and the quarters.

Relation to the Rulers

The governors could not ignore the habitual plundering and murders of the *zuʿr*, since they not only destabilized the civil order, but also at times attacked the governors and their subordinates. Therefore the governors began to take action against the *zuʿr*, for example by issuing a decree prohibiting the *zuʿr* from arming themselves.[127] Especially after the civil war in 903/1497 when the need for armed infantry increased, Governor Kurtbāy organized new troops by, on the one hand, conscripting *ʿabīd* (black slaves) from among the citizens and training them in the use of firearms, and on the other hand, clamping down on the *zuʿr* until most of them fled the city during his reign.[128] Soon after the revolt of 907/1503, the governor ordered the arms merchants to submit a document swearing not to sell arms to anyone but the mamluks.[129] He began to take measures against the *zuʿr* after the end of 907, arresting the *zuʿr* leaders of the Maydān al-Ḥaṣā Quarter and others and executing them on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 907/July 1502, attacking the Shāghūr Quarter with the *ʿabīd* and mamluk army, killing the *zuʿr* leaders of the Shāghūr and the Qarāwinah in the battle, plundering the markets there, and burning the quarters.[130] Both governors, having experienced the danger of employing the *zuʿr* as auxiliary forces, intended to train the *ʿabīd* instead of the *zuʿr* and to check the latter by the former.

Nevertheless these measures proved unsuccessful in the end. In reaction, the *zuʿr* attacked the quarter of the *ʿabīd* and plundered it in Rabīʿ I 910/August 1504.[131] At the same time, the amirs began to hire the *zuʿr* for their private armies

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[127]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:197, 299, 314, 331.

[128]Ibid., 201–3; al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 228.

[129]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:252.

[130]Ibid., 258–59, 260–61; idem, *Iʿlām,* 160–61.

[131]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:280.

even though the hiring of the *zu'r* had been prohibited by decree in Shawwāl 905/May 1500.[132] This decree was ignored by the amirs even after the great chamberlain *(ḥājib al-ḥujjāb)* remonstrated with Governor Arikmās for giving arms to their leaders in Sha'bān 911/January 1506.[133] Thereafter, the *zu'r* were always conscripted from each quarter and the role of the *'abīd* was completely eroded.[134]

Why did these measures against the *zu'r* lack consistency and effectiveness? Our answer: because the *zu'r* were necessary and indispensable for the governors and amirs facing the declining power of the mamluks. Put another way, although mamluks were the sole military force for a long time, other military forces eventually appeared to compete with the mamluks around the turn of the sixteenth century. Therefore the governors needed to keep the *zu'r* on their own side, by bestowing robes of honor *(khil'ah)* and asking for an oath of homage,[135] just as they did with the mamluks.

Relations to the Quarters

The activities of the *zu'r* were usually related to the quarters in terms of organization. Table 2 shows their relations to the individual quarters:

Table 2. Relations between the *Zu'r* and the Quarter

Shāghūr	24	Maydān al-Ḥaṣā	11
Ṣāliḥīyah	11	Muṣallá	5
Qubaybāt, Shuwaykah	4 for each	Qarāwinah, Mazābil, Qabr 'Ātikah	2 for each
Bāb al-Jābiyah	2	Qaṣr al-Ḥajjāj	1

Table 2 lists 68 cases and 11 quarters; of these 11 quarters, all except Bāb al-Jābiyah were located in the suburbs of Damascus outside the city wall. The activities of the *zu'r* were most conspicuous in the suburbs. They seemed, however,

[132]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām,* 108. A similar decree is found in Ramaḍān 906 (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:233).

[133]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:283, 295, 298; idem, *I'lām,* 181, 197, 198–99. In addition, the two persons who struggled for the office of governor's *dawādār* both hired the *zu'r* (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:269).

[134]Conscription and imposition for expeditions was most frequent during the period 912–22/1506–16: in all, 13 cases, representing 62% of the total number.

[135]*Khil'ah:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:185; idem, *I'lām,* 78. Swearing homage: idem, *Mufākahat,* 1:282–83; idem, *I'lām,* 180.

to be present in all quarters, as the phrase "the *zuʿr* of each quarter" appears.[136] Furthermore they were also in the villages surrounding Damascus, as the head of the *zuʿr* in the Shāghūr Quarter called on the *zuʿr* of Damascus and the Ghūṭah (surrounding villages of Damascus) to plunder and held a great banquet.[137] The *zuʿr* were most active in the five quarters of Shāghūr, Maydān al-Ḥaṣā, Ṣāliḥīyah, Muṣallá, and Qubaybāt, where they fought with each other, while also allying themselves to fight against the governor, especially if he oppressed them.[138]

The quarter became a unit by which to organize the *zuʿr* under their head (called by them *shaykh* or *kabīr*), especially in the above-mentioned major suburban quarters. The *zuʿr* head of the Shāghūr Quarter was famous for being titled *sharīf* and *sayyid* (meaning descendant of the Prophet Muḥammad)[139] and had wide influence over other quarters, as mentioned before. The heads of the *zuʿr* in Maydān al-Ḥaṣā and Bāb al-Jābiyah were also heads *(shaykh)* of the quarters at the same time,[140] which means the head of the *zuʿr* not only led the *zuʿr* in his quarter but also represented the quarter itself.

Relationship to the People

The *zuʿr* were a menace to the population and their attacks and plundering were aimed at ordinary people as well as the wealthy and upper classes. Rivalry between the governors and the *zuʿr* might have been a cause for the *zuʿr* to seek revenge. The murders increased the blood penalty on the quarters. The following describes the *zuʿr* in the quarters:

> Taxation and property confiscation increased recently in each quarter, and the *zuʿr* became angry, wanting to pay nothing at all. Some of them pressured the shops under their control, to make them sell at a higher price than other shops and to get kickbacks from them. When being taxed for the quarter, they tried to evade the imposed levy by transferring the money to other shops. They enjoyed their fill of food and drink, and were depraved in their exploitation of women and Muslim property. When you find a man brandishing a horrible dagger in the middle of his body, it is indeed

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[136]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:316; 330; idem, *Iʿlām,* 208.

[137]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:283.

[138]Struggle between the Maydān al-Ḥaṣā and the Shāghūr Quarters: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:179, 232. Between the Qubaybāt and the Maydān al-Ḥaṣā: ibid., 182. Alliance: ibid., 260; idem, *Iʿlām,* 160–1.

[139]*Sayyid:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:219; *sharīf:* ibid., 225.

[140]Ibid., 289, 332; idem, *Iʿlām,* 191.

> a criminal who is short and ugly to support confiscation by the ruler.[141]

As shown by this description, the *zu'r* in each quarter controlled the markets and shops from which they pocketed kickbacks to the extent that no one could do business without paying a kickback *(fā'idah)* to them.[142] In exchange, they protected *(yaḥmī)* the shops from taxation by the governor.[143] Considering this relationship between the *zu'r* and the quarter, the governor's attempt to exact taxes from shops under their control was a threat to their control of the shops and the quarter itself. This is why they often killed *ballāṣī*s and *'arīf*s who collected tax from the quarter.

We now come to a re-examination of the popular revolt in 907/1503, especially the relationship between the *zu'r* and the quarter. The revolt began, it is clear, with the alliance of the Shāghūr and Maydān al-Ḥaṣā Quarters. A victory of the people against the governor was achieved through an alliance between the *zu'r* and the common people. Three questions arise, however, about participation by the *zu'r*.

The first is whether the *zu'r* participated in the revolt from its beginning or later rallied the people in their support. The report of *I'lām* on the first clash says "the inhabitants *(ahl)* of the Shāghūr Quarter clashed with the *jamā'ah* of the governor. Other *zu'r* appeared there after hearing of the clash, and united against the mamluk army." The *zu'r* of the Shāghūr must have participated in the first clash and asked for help from other *zu'r*.

The second question is who the chiefs *(akābir)*[144] of the people were who met with the delegation of the governor on 16 Jumādá I to talk about a peace agreement. Lapidus supposed them to be shaykhs of the quarters. He insisted that the shaykhs and the *zu'r* dealt separately with the governor in these negotiations and that the *zu'r* continued to murder officials, only afterwards making peace with the governor. In his study, he equates the shaykhs of the quarters with leading notables such as influential ulama who represented the interests of the inhabitants and negotiated on their behalf, and he assumes that they used the power of the *zu'r* as a counter-

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[141]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām,* 195. A similar description is found in Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:292–93, relating that the *zu'r* commanded the markets *(sūq)* under them not to cooperate in the imposition. We find a description of Ibn Ṭawq in 901/1496 of the *zu'r* going around the markets in the inner city with their swords drawn and demanding money from the merchants and others (Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 3:1437).

[142]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām,* 208.

[143]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:316; idem, *I'lām,* 208.

[144]*Akābirhum:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:251; *akābir al-ḥārāt:* idem, *I'lām,* 154.

balancing power to that of the governor.[145] His lucid explanation contradicts the sources, however, concerning both this event and others. The sources do not use the term *shaykh* but rather *akābir* to designate the chiefs in the negotiations. As the word *akābir* was often used to designate the leaders of the *zu'r*,[146] it is possible to suppose that *akābir* here means the leaders of the *zu'r*. Lapidus′ explanation is based on his thesis that the shaykhs and the *'arīf*s represented the interests of the inhabitants and negotiated on their behalf.[147] As for the descriptions of the shaykhs and *'arīf*s of Damascus in the *Mufākahah, I'lām,* and *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* we find no cases in which they actually acted in the interests of the people of the quarter.[148] Considering that a leader of the *zu'r* was also the shaykh of the quarter, and that the shaykhs of the quarters, along with the *ballāṣī*s and *naqīb*s,[149] were denounced in a decree by the sultan, the assumption that the shaykh of the quarter was an autonomous representative for the inhabitants is far too simplistic.[150]

Finally, the course of events after the treaty of 16 Jumādá I gives us a key to understanding the role of the *zu'r* in the revolt. On 4 Jumādá II, the next month, the governor sent a messenger to the head of the *zu'r* in the Shāghūr Quarter. The governor promised not to demand blood money for those killed in the fight, not even from those responsible for it, and concluded a peace *(ṣulḥ)* with the *zu'r,* much to the relief of both the citizens and the governor. Then the *zu'r* of the Shāghūr, Maydān al-Ḥaṣā, and Qubaybāt quarters held a peace-making banquet for the governor.[151] Observing these complicated procedures, we see that the *zu'r* fought against the governor, and therefore the *zu'r* anticipated the imposition of

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[145]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 156–57.

[146]*Akābir:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:283; idem, *I'lām,* 180; *kabīr:* idem, *Mufākahat,* 1:247, 259.

[147]Lapidus, *Muslim Cities*, 92–93.

[148]Lapidus regards the shaykhs as mediators between the rulers and the common people, citing examples of the latter′s opposition to the former′s imposition in 890 (correctly 891) and in 907 (ibid., 93). These sources, however, simply describe the opposing ones as *al-nās* (citizens), and do not mention shaykhs (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:254; idem, *I'lām,* 72–74).

[149]In Dhū al-Ḥijjah 918/February–March 1513 a decree was issued to prohibit the activities of shaykhs of the quarters *(mashā'ikh al-ḥārāt),* body guards *(ru'ūs al-nuwab),* and *naqīb*s (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:374). *Ru'ūs al-nuwab* in general designates the office responsible for guarding the sultan, but the three cases in Damascus were all tax collectors (*ballāṣī:* Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:70, 221; Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 3:1509). The purpose of this decree was clearly to prohibit exploitation by these three offices. It is plausible to assume that the shaykhs of the quarters were actual rulers of the quarters, like the *zu'r*, rather than communal representatives of the inhabitants.

[150]Al-'Ulabī in his study defines the shaykhs of the quarters as dominating the inhabitants of quarters and speaking in the name of the inhabitants before the provincial rulers, whereas the *'arīf*s dominated the inhabitants, taking root in the quarters and cooperating with the rulers in taxation. No reference is given, however, to the original sources (al-'Ulabī, *Dimashq,* 95–96).

[151]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:251–52; idem, *I'lām,* 154–55.

blood money. True peace could not come without a solution to the problem of blood money. It is noteworthy that before making peace the governor was most worried that his *ballāṣī*s would not perform their task and the collection of taxes might stop.[152] As mentioned above, the people demanded transfer of the *ustādār* and *ballāṣī* who were responsible for tax-collection. The crucial issue was the governor′s taxation of the quarters by his *jamāʻah,* and the *zuʻr*′s resistance by force.

This evidence leads us to conclude that the *zuʻr* fought against the governor throughout the revolt in 907/1503 simply to prevent taxation in their quarters. They fought to defend their interests in the quarters, and not to aid the people. This explanation is consistent with the character of the *zuʻr*, who defended their own interests at all times; the alliance between the common people and the *zuʻr* was possible because abolition of the tax was a common interest and goal for both. The governors were eager to control the *zuʻr,* and conversely the *zuʻr* resisted the arrest of their leaders with all possible force.[153] Thus, they competed and struggled with each other to gain control over the quarters. Whoever succeeded there would get the money, whether as a tax or as a protection fee *(ḥimāyah).*

Social Background

The *zuʻr* ruled the quarters of Damascus and their inhabitants during the final years of the Mamluk period. At the same time, they confronted the authority of the governors and thereby protected the inhabitants from the exactions of the governors. For the quarter inhabitants, to take shelter under the *zuʻr* meant protection from the governor′s exploitation, and if one became a *zuʻr* himself, he could escape from the rule of both the governor and the *zuʻr* and gain wealth and power. The influence of the *zuʻr* emerged suddenly and became widespread in a very short time.[154] This sudden development might be caused by such socio-political change around the quarters.

It is difficult to know the organizational development of the *zuʻr* and its inner structure, because sources on the members and the organization of the *zuʻr* are scarce. In spite of this, we find among its members common people such as brokers *(dallāl),* weavers *(ḥā'ik),* carpenters *(najjār),* and tin makers (*samkarī*).[155] The report of Ibn al-Mibrad (d. 909/1503), a Hanbali jurist, on a strange event of mass assassinations in 902/1496–97 shows changes in the esteem for *zuʻr* among the ulama.

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[152]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:252; idem, *Iʻlām,* 154.

[153]See Appendix Table, nos. 60, 79, 81, and 92.

[154]See note 116.

[155]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:204, 238, 2:105; idem, *Iʻlām,* 191.

> This year, after the death of governor Qānṣūh, a legal scholar published his opinion that the murder of the subordinates of unjust tyrants *(ẓalamah)* should be permissible, and encouraged the *zu'r* to assassinate them. A simple-minded man killed a subordinate or gave silver coins to the *zu'r* to assassinate a subordinate. After the killing, the murderer declared that the person killed was a subordinate [of the unjust tyrant]. Due to this, so many fatalities occurred that about thirty persons were killed in the Ṣāliḥīyah Quarter and about one hundred in the inner city. . . . I was asked about this issue two times. . . . [My answer is] both lack legality. The *zu'r* must not be encouraged.[156]

This opinion of Ibn al-Mibrad represented the traditional idea of the ulama to oppose both the *zu'r* and unjust rulers and not to justify the violence of the *zu'r* as a weapon against injustice. This idea had no power, however, due to the fact that rulers, chief judges, and the *zu'r* all competed with each other for profit and power. Therefore the new opinion that condoned the violence of the *zu'r* as a means of removing injustice is worth noting. Such an opinion must have encouraged the weak and suffering to seek the protection of the *zu'r*.

In this year of 902 murders by the *zu'r* and clashes among the quarters indeed continued, even up to the time of the great pilgrimage festival.[157] On 14 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 902/8 August 1497, the *zu'r* of the Maydān al-Ḥaṣā Quarter invited those of the Shāghūr, Qubaybāt, and Ṣāliḥīyah quarters and others to a banquet to make peace. Amirs, the *nā'ib al-qal'ah,* and other mamluks participated as well as three persons who were rumored to be leaders of the *zu'r;* one was Taqī al-Dīn, deputy judge of Ibn al-Furfūr, and another was al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm, the *naqīb al-ashrāf*.[158] The third, Ibn al-Muḥawjib (d. 912/1506), is described as generous, with real power, someone to be asked for aid by those who suffered injustice, and visited by influential ulama and amirs.[159] We cannot ascertain that these three were

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[156]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:181–82. The response of Ibn al-Mibrad on this matter is held at the National Asad Library of Syria under the title "Al-Dhu'r fī Aḥwāl al-Zu'r" (Ms. 3243).

[157]Murders: Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 3:1491, 1500; quarter clashes: ibid., 1507–8.

[158]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:180; Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 3:1513. On Qāḍī Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī Zar': Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:63, 272, 284, 349; Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 1:370, 437; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:119; Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt,* 8:90. On al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:189, 315; al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 33, 57; al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:100–1; Ibn al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt,* 8:60.

[159]Al-Ghazzī, *Kawākib,* 1:136–37. His influence on the governors and other ulama: Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:189, 202, 249, 307; al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 74, 178, 191, 223, 229; Ibn Ṭawq, *Ta'līq,* 1:194, 2:813, 3:1367, 1514. Another example is that the *nāẓir*s of the Umarīyah

in fact the leaders of the *zuʿr*, but they must have had actual connections to the *zuʿr* to mediate in their conflicts even though they did not hold high official positions.

The *zuʿr* were illegal outlaws who acted in their own self interest, whether on the side of the rulers or on the side of the common people. Due to this ambiguous character, the governor could not subdue them, until they turned into the representatives of justice who opposed injustice often through violence.[160]

CONCLUDING REMARKS: THE CHANGING STRUCTURE AND DYNAMISM OF URBAN SOCIETY

The purpose of this article has been to examine the theory of Muslim urban society and the Mamluk regime presented by Ira M. Lapidus, by re-constructing the structure of urban society at the end of the Mamluk period. Lapidus argued that the mamluks were able to rule Muslim urban society by combining the ulama and the common people into one social group. His theory is based on the assumption that three major groups—the mamluks, the ulama, and the common people—comprised that urban society. These three, however, were changing at the end of the Mamluk period.

First, the mamluks′ military power had weakened and they had become ″salaried workers″ in the city after losing their principle source of income *(iqṭāʿ)*. Meanwhile, influential amirs and provincial governors formed their *jamāʿah*s, organizing *ʿabīd* and the *zuʿr* as private troops and using subordinates like *ballāṣī* to perform tasks of city administration and maintain their rule. The mamluks thus lost their unity as a political force, and social differentiation appeared among them. Second, a similar differentiation or polarization can been seen among the ulama. High officials such as the chief judges also organized their *jamāʿah*s by using subordinate staff in their faction to shoulder city administration and politics together with the influential members of the military, and to exploit the citizenry. Ulama other than the high officials seemed to be hired for these *jamāʿah* as subordinates or to depend on allowances from *waqf* properties as before. Frequent struggles over *waqf* institutions and *waqf* properties[161] suggest that *waqf*s had been a major economic resource for the ulama. Ultimately they lost their dignity and role as religious and legal intellectuals and forfeited their influence on urban society, except for a few high officials like Ibn Furfūr. Finally, the common people of the third stratum were

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Madrasah in the Ṣāliḥīyah Quarter hired robbers *(ḥarāmīyah)* and the *zuʿr* in opposition to the governor (see Miura, ″The Ṣāliḥiyya Quarter,″ 159–60).

[160]It is noteworthy that the outlaws called *shuṭṭār* and *zuʿr* fought against the injustice of judges, *muḥtasib*s, and other officials, supporting the just rulers, sultans and caliphs, in the oral folk literatures of the Mamluk period such as *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars* and *Sīrat ʿAlī Zaybaq*. It might reflect the popular image of the *zuʿr,* which shall be discussed in my future work.

[161]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:113, 202, 319, 321, 346, 385. Ibn Ṭawq, *Taʿlīq,* 1:109.

ruled directly by the *jamāʿah*s of the governors, influential amirs, and high officials, and they were also squeezed by force. In such severe conditions, the common people had only three possible choices: suffering the exactions unwillingly, being a subordinate of the person who ruled, or taking shelter under the protection of the *zuʿr*. The *zuʿr*, with their violence and organization, created in the quarters a domain that even the ruling power could not invade, ignoring authority and the law. The *zuʿr* can be regarded as *jamāʿah*s inside the quarter for people who had no other way to participate.

In the cities, at the end of the Mamluk era, the provincial governors, amirs, high officials, and the *zuʿr* all formed their own factions (*jamāʿah*s) to strengthen their domains and to achieve their own interests. They struggled with each other by force. Here, in fact, the three strata of mamluks, ulama, and the common people had already dissolved and lost their bases as social strata as well as political actors. They all began to move into the factions. Scholars have regarded such social mobilization so far as being, on the one hand, decline and depravity or corruption and, on the other hand, regarded social mobilization as disorder. Recent studies, however, have shed light on both mobilization and factionalization of society under Ottoman rule in Egypt and Syria.[162] Although we might discuss at greater length whether the socio-political change discussed in my article was only a temporary phenomenon, appearing solely at the end of the Mamluk period, we should also consider the dynamism and potential inherent in any urban society that enables illegitimate organizations like *jamāʿah*s and *zuʿr* to become cores of administration and rule, and to represent two contradictory notions of justice *(ʿadl)* and injustice *(ẓulm).*

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[162]The growth of influential families, both military and civil, in Ottoman Egypt and Syria can be regarded as re-organization of the societies by the household factions. See Abdul-Karim Rafeq, *The Province of Damascus 1723–1883* (Beirut, 1966); Linda Schatikowski Schilcher, *Families in Politics: Damascene Factions and Estates of the 18th and 19th Centuries* (Stuttgart, 1985); and James Reilly, *A Small Town in Syria: Ottoman Hama in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 2002).

APPENDIX TABLE: ACTIVITIES OF THE *ZU'R* IN DAMASCUS

				Quarters						Activities									Indiv.			
No.	Yr.	Mo./ Day	Terms	MH	SR	SA	Q	MU	SH	Mu	P/A	Pr	Mi	F	R	A/E	O	F	Head	Pers. name	Sources	Notes
1	889	10/?	C		O					o											T:202	
2	890	1/1	A											O							I:70	
3	890	1/30	A, F		O											O					T:441, M1:66	
4	890	6/17	H		O						O			O		O					T:488	
5	890	10/11	A			O					O										T:524	
6	892	8/8	A									O									T:713	
7	893	6/19	A		O									O							M1:92	
8	894	11/29	C							O						O				O	M1:110	
9	899	2/10	C		O					o										O	M1:153	
10	899	8/3	A													O					T:1281	
11	899	8/6	C													O				O	T:1282	
12	900	11/11	D								O										M1:166	
13	901	2/8	C							o										O	T:1386	
14	901	12/29	A							O	O										T:1437	extortion
15	901	12/?	B							o											M1:168	
16	902	7/22	A											O							T:1478	
17	902	9/22	A							O											T:1491	
18	902	9/23	A							O	O										T:1491	
19	902	10/23	A								O			O							M1:176	
20	902	10/24	A						O							O					T:1499	
21	902	10/24	C		O					O										O	M1:177	
22	902	10/26	A		O									O							T:1500	
23	902	10/27	A		O					O											T:1500	
24	902	11/23	A								O										M1:179	
25	902	11/30	F	O	O									O							M1:179, T:1507	
26	902	12/6	A								O										T:1511	Mazābil
27	902	12/8	A													O					T:1512	
28	902	12/8	A, F			O															T:1512	police
29	902	12/14	A, F	O	O	O	O		O										O		M1:180, T:1513	banquet, Mazābil and Qabr 'Ātikah
30	902	12/15	A			O								O							T:1513	

31	902	12/22	A		O												O				T:1515	
32	902	12/23	C			O				O										O	T:1515	
33	902	12/25	A							O											T:1516	
34	902	12/27	A							O											T:1516	
35	902	?	A							O											M1:181	
36	903	1/1	A	O			O				O										M1:182	
37	903	1/12	A	O	O						O			O							M1:183	
38	903	1/23	A	O								O	O						O		M1:185	
39	903	1/25	A							O											M1:185	
40	903	2/2	A															O			M1:185	
41	903	2/2	F															O			M1:186	
42	903	3/11	F										O			O					M1:190	
43	903	3/13	D								O							O			M1:191	
44	903	3/14	B								O							O			M1:191	
45	903	4/1	D										O								M1:194	
46	903	4/11	E										O					O			M1:195	
47	903	10/?	A		O											O			O		M1:196	
48	903	11/1	A		O					O						O				O2	M1:196	
49	903	11/16	B														O				M1:197	
50	904	1/2	B														O				M1:202	
51	904	3/10	A, F															O			M1:203	
52	904	3/?	A															O			I:87	
53	904	3/16	D						O	O										O3	M1:204	
54	904	3/17	A													O				O	M1:204	
55	904	3/?	A															O			I:87	
56	904	4/15	A																		M1:207	pursue
57	904	8/25	C							◎										O	M1:212	
58	904	8/28	A									O									M1:212	
59	904	9/6	A			O										O				O	M1:213	
60	904	11/23	A		O									O	O				O	O	M1:216	

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS:
Terms: A=*zu'r;* B=*ahl al-za'ārah;* C=*az'ar;* D=combination of *zu'r* and *ghawghā';* E=combination of *zu'r* and *awbāsh;* F=*ghawghā';* G=*awbāsh;* H=*manāḥīs*
Quarters: MH=Maydān al-Ḥaṣā; SR=Shāghūr; SA=Ṣāliḥīyah; Q=Qubaybāt; MU=Muṣallá; SH=Shuwaykah
Activities: Mu=Murder; P/A=Plunder/attack; Pr=Procession; Mi=Militia; F=Fighting; R=Revolt; A/E=Arrest/execution; O=Order; F=Fear
◎ =Murder in which *zu'r* was killed
Indiv.: This column designates cases in which a head of *zu'r* or the personal name of a *zu'r* was mentioned. The number indicates when two or more individuals were mentioned.
Sources: M=*Mufākahat;* I=*I'lām;* T=*Ta'līq*

Continued on next page

Appendix Table—*Continued*

				Quarters						Activities									Indiv.			
No.	Yr.	Mo./ Day	Terms	MH	SR	SA	Q	MU	SH	Mu	P/A	Pr	Mi	F	R	A/E	O	F	Head	Pers. name	Sources	Notes
61	904	12/16	C			O										O					M1:220	
62	905	1/1	C							O											M1:212	
63	905	2/11	A		O							O				O			O		M1:224	
64	905	6/?	A					O			O										M1:227	
65	905	10/20	B										O								I:109	
66	906	4/23	A									O									I:121	
67	906	4/26	A									O									I:122	
68	906	8/11	AB	O	O							O		O						O	M1:232	
69	906	10/20	AC							O						O				O2	M1:238	Qaṣr al-Ḥajjāj
70	907	1/15	F								O		O								M1:245	
71	907	1/22	A										O								M1:245	
72	907	3/1	A			O					O	O				O			O	O	M1:247	
73	907	3/2	A															O			M1:247	
74	907	after 5/14	A		O									O	O						M1:250; I:152	
75	907	6/4	A		O														O	O	M1:251; I:154	
76	907	6/6	A					O													M1:252; I:155	
77	907	6/17	A	O	O	O	O	O													M1:252	banquet
78	907	7/5	A																O		I:156	
79	907	12/23	A	O										O	O	O			O	O	M1:258; I:160	
80	907	12/?	A					O											O2	O2	M1:259; I:160	
81	908	1/26	A, F		O			O						O	O	O			O2	O2	M1:260, I:160	Qarāwinah
82	908	3/28	C		O											O					M1:262	Qarāwinah
83	908	4/27	A									O									M1:262	
84	908	5/?	A										O								I:164	
85	909	1/?	B														O				M1:268	
86	909	1/30	A									O									M1:268	
87	909	3/3	A									O									M1:269	
88	909	4/24	A							◎										O	M1:270	Bāb al-Jābiyah
89	910	3/4	D							O											M1:279	
90	910	3/12	B	O							O										M1:280	

91	910	3/14	B																		M1:280	instigation
92	910	3/17	F								O				O						M1:280	
93	910	3/18	B								O										M1:280	
94	910	4/1	F												O					O	M1:280	
95	910	5/6	A							O											M1:281	
96	910	6/3	D										O						O		M1:283	
97	910	6/6	F							O											M1:283	
98	910	6/10	D	O			O					O									M1:283, I:181	
99	910	6/13	CD		O						O	O							O	O	M1:283, I:181	
100	910	6/16	F								O							O			M1:284	
101	910	8/4	A										O								M1:286	
102	910	8/7	A													O					M1:286	
103	910	9/23	C			O				O						O					M1:287, I:186	
104	911	1/3	A													O			O	O	I:191	Bāb al-Jābiyah
105	911	4/?	A																		M1:293, I:195	rule of quarters
106	911	8/14	BC		O															O	M1:295	
107	911	11/?	A														O				M1:299	
108	911	12/?	A			O										O					M1:300	
109	913	1/19	A														O				M1:314	
110	913	3/7	C													O					M1:315	
111	913	4/?	A															O			M1:316, I:208	
112	913	9/14	G						O	O	O					O					M1:320	Qabr ʿĀtikah
113	914	2/23	A										O								M1:330	
114	914	3/17	C													O					M1:331	
115	914	5/19	C	O						O										O	M1:332	
116	916	5/12	F																		M1:344	protest
117	922	4/?	E											O							M2:7	
118	922	8/3	A							O											M2:24	
119	922	8/23	A							O											M2:27	
120	922	8/23	A							O	O							O			M2:27	
121	922	8/23	A								O										M2:27	
122	922	8/24	A								O										M2:27	
Tot.				11	24	11	4	5	4	30	24	13	11	15	6	26	6	12	16	31		

Book Reviews

Response to Th. Emil Homerin, review of *Sanctity and Mysticism in Medieval Egypt: The Wafā' Sufi Order and the Legacy of Ibn 'Arabī,* by Richard J. A. McGregor, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9, no. 2 (2005): 238–41.

Richard J. A. McGregor

I would like to respond to Emil Homerin′s review of my book *Sanctity and Mysticism in Medieval Egypt: The Wafā' Sufi Order and the Legacy of Ibn 'Arabī* in *MSR* vol. 9, no. 2. Homerin is right to point out the difficulty in identifying clear lines of influence between mystical thinkers. The issue at hand is how to characterize the relationship between Ibn 'Arabī and Muḥammad and 'Alī Wafā'. Since the Wafā's were not students within the well-known ″Akbarian″ school—that is, they did not identify themselves as systematizers or commentators on Ibn 'Arabī′s work—we are obliged to comb through the Wafā' writings in search of similarities with Ibn 'Arabī′s work. In this context Homerin writes ″McGregor must undertake a more extensive and exacting comparison if he wants to assess the scope and strength of Ibn 'Arabī′s influence on Muḥammad and 'Alī″ (p. 241). I would agree with this only in part. Yes, more comparisons (especially of material not relating to *walāyah*) would be welcome, but I am confident that such subsequent work would support my characterization that Muḥammad and 'Alī Wafā' have read Ibn 'Arabī closely. However the picture becomes less clear once we realize that the Wafā's have gone a step further, and put the Akbarian system to work in their own mystical speculations (see p. 8). Thus the question arises as to what exactly we mean by ″influence″? Certainly Ibn 'Arabī′s technical vocabulary has been imported into the Wafā' writings, and so have many key concepts; but the Wafā's were not slavish, and the details of their doctrine of *walāyah,* for example, differ significantly from Ibn 'Arabī′s. They are deeply ″influenced″ by his wider hermeneutic, ontology, epistemology, and technical vocabulary, but at the same time they strive to assert their own insights and identities. How they manage to do both is fascinating, and should force us to examine what exactly we mean by ″influence.″ Homerin would argue that what I am calling the Akbarian influence may well be found elsewhere, with Ibn al-Fāriḍ for example. I would not dispute that the wider strokes of this mystical philosophy went beyond the writings of Ibn 'Arabī, but my view is that so much of the Wafā' writing can be explained in light of Ibn 'Arabī that he is certainly a primary ″influence.″ I am not sure how we could quantify the ″scope and strength″ of this influence. This said,

at the same time I am sure a full comparison of the Wafā' poetry with that of Ibn al-Fāriḍ would also yield interesting parallels (or influences), and certainly a closer reading of the Akbarian school figures (Qūnawī et al.) would be worthwhile. One final point: I would like to remind readers that the Arabic texts provided in the notes are unedited copies of the manuscript texts, and not typos (although neither the English nor the Arabic texts are completely free of those). See my "Note on Transliteration" for more on this.

Aḥmad Fawzī al-Hayb, *Al-Taṣannu' wa-Rūḥ al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Damascus: Manshūrāt Ittiḥād al-Kuttāb al-'Arab, 2004). Pp. 121.

Reviewed by Roger Allen, University of Pennsylvania

As the specific discipline of literature studies has come to define itself and to develop its own theoretical modes over the course of the last century or so, the need to write and, more often than not, to rewrite literary histories has come to be regarded as being part of a continuing process. In the case of the Arabic heritage, the literary historian enters a sphere in which the basic chronological parameters and esthetic criteria are often regarded as having been set long since, and within the contexts of both indigenous and external research. Scholars here confront a set of historical attitudes that can be viewed as a perfect model of the rise, decline, and renaissance model of generic developments (or lack thereof). *Mamlūk Studies Review* (and especially Volume VII and articles in Volume IX) has played a major part in attempts to challenge some of the critical postures and attitudes engendered by approaches to this topic that have set specific chronological boundaries to periods of efflorescence and decline. The Mongol sack of Baghdad in 1258, for example, has been adopted as a convenient dividing-line between a "high" period before it and a "period of decadence" after it; all that in spite of clear signs of change in the anterior period and of continued creativity in the so-called "Mamluk" period that followed it (the latter being a period that Professor Thomas Bauer has recently declared to be "one of the apogees of Arabic literature" (*MSR* 9, no. 2 [2005]: 129).

The work under review here thus enters a subfield of Arabic literature studies in which traditional attitudes are already being challenged, although, it has to be admitted, mostly from outside the Arabic-speaking region itself. There is a certain irony here too, one that involves the as-yet-unexplored history of the origins and motivations at work in this usage of the term "decadence" to describe a six-century

period in Arabic literary history. As Bauer also points out as a contribution to that much-needed project, the process of tarring several centuries of literary creativity with the brush of ″decadence″ can be seen as part of the nineteenth-century agenda of European powers in order to justify their colonial intentions by underlining the ″backwardness″ of the peoples in the target regions (see esp. ibid., 105–7). Such lessons in the applications of history were, it would appear, well learned by Arab scholars such as Ṭāhā Ḥusayn and Aḥmad Amīn during their studies in France in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Within the context of the ″*taṣannu‘*″ of the title of this volume, it goes without saying, of course, that the juxtaposition of the ″natural″ *(maṭbū‘)* and the ″artificial″ *(maṣnū‘)* in discussions of Arabic poetry and debate over their relative virtues (particularly in the context of an increased emphasis on *badī‘*) had been part of the critical milieu at least since the time of Ibn Qutaybah (d. 889); indeed that very topic is the focus of a complete study by Mansour Ajami, *The Neckveins of Winter* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984), not mentioned by the author of the current study (but then all the sources in this work are in Arabic). One can perhaps get a glimpse of the attitudes involved by posing the question as to whether the ″*taṣannu‘*″ of the title is best translated in English as ″artifice,″ with its mostly positive connotations—the process of acquiring a craft, or rather as ″artificiality,″ with its implications of contrivance and even lack of sincerity.

The author announces in both his prefatory and concluding material that he wishes to assess the phenomenon during the Mamluk era through two lenses: that of the period in question, and that of the contemporary era. He is to apply the principles he outlines to the poetry of two poets from the period: Ibn al-Wardī (d. 1349) and Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 1349). However, whatever the parameters that are cited and the intentions that are made, what emerges is a prolonged lament over the course of Arabic poetry and its modes of analysis, beginning with the publication of *Kitāb al-Badī‘* by Ibn al-Mu‘tazz (d. 908). As has been noted many times, that particular work was actually a rather conservative gesture, in that it intended to show that the trend towards increased elaboration in the use of poetic devices was a matter of emphasis; Arabic poetry (and indeed the text of the Quran itself) contained many examples of the devices to which Ibn al-Mu‘tazz had drawn attention. In his rapid survey of the development of artifice (or is it artificiality?—pp. 16–33), the author suggests that in the pre-Islamic era and the early period of the Islamic caliphate, the two elements of ″naturalness″ and ″artifice″ were in some kind of balance (p. 19), raising, of course, the question as to: in whose eyes and according to what criteria. This typically idealized scenario in analyzing the earliest periods in the Arabic poetic tradition is seen as undergoing a gradual change ″which distanced it bit by bit from the element of content which is the basis of the tradition″ (ibid.). The ″problem″ is, at least in the view of those

who would cast generic developments of this kind in negative terms, that subsequent poets and critics adopted Ibn al-Mu'tazz's categories (and especially his "*muḥassināt*" [embellishments]) and proceeded to produce larger and larger lists of their examples. In this context Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī (d. 1058) comes in for his due share of opprobrium for the elaboration of devices in his *Luzūmīyāt* (p. 20), as do al-Ḥarīrī (d. 1122) and al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 1200) for their similarly elaborate prose works (pp. 13, and 20–22). But the major culprits in this gradual and prolonged process are said to be the critics (p. 22): Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī (d. 1005) and Ibn Rashīq (d. 1063?) are cited as merely two of those who assembled long lists of devices, until a time when one of the two poets whose works are analyzed in detail in this volume, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, managed to assemble 104 of them. This led, we are told, to a change in the nature of the poetic art and the function of the poet; the concentration on form over content meant that "the poet no longer believed that poetry was an expression of his emotions and a portrait of his feelings" (p. 31). Poets resorted to imitations of each other and to attempts at besting their forebears; the study of plagiarism became a growth industry.

The author then proceeds to analyze the two above-mentioned poets in separate chapters. With Ibn al-Wardī, he concentrates on the individual aspects in the enhanced use of *badī'* devices (evident from the subdivision of the chapter into a number of specific *muḥassināt* categories); with al-Ḥillī (and specifically his *Durar al-Nuḥūr fī Imtidāḥ al-Malik al-Manṣūr* [Pearly necklets concerning the eulogy of al-Malik al-Manṣūr]) the author's analytical method demands a more unified and comprehensive approach to the poems, particularly since they are mostly (and naturally, considering the title) panegyrics.

Not surprisingly, the result of such surveys of these two poets and their poems (indeed their individual lines) succeeds in providing confirmation of the generally negative image of the direction of the poetic tradition provided in the prefatory chapters.

This work then contextualizes a detailed study of two poets of the Mamluk era in a very particular way. In returning to my opening thoughts about the larger issues involved in contemporary studies of Arabic literary history in general and of this era in particular, I am left to wonder in what way(s) is the "deck stacked" in a study of this type. The author's use of sources is excellent and extremely well referenced, but one is drawn inevitably to the conclusion that, by relying on sources, both pre-modern and modern, that clearly operate within a matrix of historical periodization and a view of generic development that prefers breaks (ruptures perhaps) to continuities, the verdicts to which this volume inexorably leads the reader are almost a foregone conclusion. Indeed the very introduction to the volume, by 'Abd al-Karīm al-Ashtar, uses the term "*khumūd*" (decline) on its very first page. What I find missing in this study is any desire to call into question

the very parameters on which these assessments of broad cultural trends are based. For example, we can certainly read the poetry and the criticism of it (and, in this case, the critical analysis of both the poetry and its criticism), but what about the views of the audiences (including critics) that were contemporary with the poetry and poets? Are we really to believe that, for several centuries in Arabic literary creativity, the variety of audiences that listened to and read the poetry that was created within a certain time period and its cultural norms and expectations did not appreciate and even enjoy what they were hearing and reading? Are we supposed to blame them for ″getting it wrong″ on esthetic criteria? Or is it rather that an entirely different set of critical yardsticks were at work? I would suggest that, before we can really attempt to assess poetic creativity during this prolonged period, a more profoundly researched answer to that last question is a prerequisite.

This volume then provides a useful survey of the work of two poets of the Mamluk era, set against a study of the place of artifice in the poetic tradition that is firmly based in long-accepted opinions that may well need to be substantially revised.

SUHAYR MUḤAMMAD IBRĀHĪM NU‘AYNI‘, *Al-Ḥurūb al-Ṣalībīyah al-Muta'akhkhirah: Ḥamlat Buṭrus al-Awwal Lūsinyān ‘alá al-Iskandarīyah, 1365 M/747 H* (Giza: ‘Ayn, 2002). Pp. 260, maps.

REVIEWED BY NIALL CHRISTIE, University of British Columbia

In this book Suhayr Nu‘ayni‘ presents an account of the attack made on Alexandria in 767/1365 by the Lusignan King of Cyprus, Peter I (d. 770/1369). This is widely regarded as one of the last major actions undertaken by the Crusaders in the eastern Mediterranean, and despite the fact that the Latins only occupied Alexandria for a few days, it had a significant impact, exacerbating tensions between Muslims and Christians for years after the event and contributing to the slow decline and eventual downfall of Lusignan Cyprus in the ninth/fifteenth century. Until now Peter of Lusignan′s expedition has received relatively little attention from scholars in comparison to the other major Crusading expeditions, something that, while understandable in the face of its limited size and scope, nevertheless makes this book a welcome contribution to the field.

Nu‘ayni‘ begins her account of the events by surveying both previous scholarship on the attack on Alexandria and the sources that provide information about the events. She makes use of both primary and secondary sources from both Europe

and the Middle East; she pays particular attention to the *Kitāb al-Ilmām bi-al-I'lām* of the Muslim eyewitness, al-Nuwayrī al-Sikandarī (d. after 775/1372), the *Prise d'Alexandrie* of the French poet Guillaume de Machaut (d. 778–79/1377), and the *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus* of the Cypriot Greek chronicler Leontios Makhairas (d. c. 835/1432), but also makes use of a wide range of other sources from both the contemporary and later European and Middle Eastern literature.

The bulk of Nu'ayni''s work is divided into five parts. In the first of these she provides a description of Europe and the Levant before the attack on Alexandria. Her account of the Levant focuses on the political, social, and economic situation of Egypt under the Mamluk sultan al-Ashraf Sha'bān (d. 778/1377), and also details relations between the Mamluk sultanate and its neighbors in Iraq, Armenia, the Byzantine Empire, and Africa, while her account of Europe describes the various states of the region, again in political, social, and economic terms, before describing Cyprus in detail. In the second part of her work Nu'ayni' focuses more closely on the history of Cyprus preceding Peter of Lusignan's expedition, examining the circumstances that led him to conceive the idea of attacking Alexandria, the motives ascribed to him by the sources, and his efforts to garner support for the venture in Europe. The following two parts of Nu'ayni''s text describe the expedition itself, from Peter I's departure from Venice on 7 Shawwāl 766/27 June 1365 through his capture of Alexandria on 24 Muḥarram 767/10 October 1365 to his eventual withdrawal from the city a few days later. Her account is detailed, and she both compares and analyzes the primary sources. The fifth part describes the aftermath of the attack and its impact on both the internal relations of the Levantine region and the wider interactions of the Levant and Europe, with particular attention paid to its effect on military and commercial interaction between Christians and Muslims and Europeans and Levantines.

Nu'ayni' concludes her work with an account of the subsequent "death" of the crusading movement and the Muslim response in the ninth/fifteenth century before providing an analysis of the events. She is highly critical of the attack, regarding it as a result of the papacy's inability to change with the times and accept that it no longer directed the military might of Europe, something that was further exacerbated by a more widely-held, outdated European perception of political, economic, and military realities in the Levant. Meanwhile, Peter I is blamed for pursuing policies that merely consumed the resources of Cyprus and left it destitute, making it ripe for subjugation and conquest by external enemies, while he is accused of pursuing his venture for commercial and political rather than pietistic motives. Such a negative portrayal of the situation is, naturally, open to question, particularly when it comes to the issue of Peter I's motives. While the attack has been regarded by some scholars as an attempt to dominate Mediterranean commerce, others have

regarded Peter I as being genuinely stimulated by a crusading zeal that he also displayed in earlier life.[1] Thus the matter is somewhat more complex than Nu'ayni' believes.

Shortcomings aside, Nu'ayni''s work is of great value as a detailed account of the attack on Alexandria that takes account of both European and Levantine sources. As such, it is recommended for scholars interested in this dramatic and controversial event.

MUḤAMMAD YŪSUF AYYŪB, *Al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī: Ḥayātuhu wa-Shi'ruh* (Riyadh: Maktabat al-Adīb, 1999). Pp. 269.

AḤMAD KHĀLID JĪDAH, *Al-Madāris wa-Niẓām al-Ta'līm fī Bilād al-Shām fī al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Beirut: al-Mu'assasah al-Jāmi'īyah, 2001). Pp. 432.

REVIEWED BY WALID SALEH, University of Toronto

These two books cover different aspects of the intellectual life of the Mamluk era, and in so doing point to a regrettable absence of any substantial general study in English of the cultural and intellectual life under the Mamluks such as one is accustomed to read about medieval Europe. The first book is a study of the poetry of one of the leading intellectual figures of the Mamluk era, while the second is a survey of the educational system under the Mamluks. Before discussing them individually, a generalization about the milieu in which they were produced is in order. Both works share in obvious ways both the virtues and the faults typical of most secondary literature coming from the Arab Middle East. Invariably there is much to learn from such works, and this reviewer, for one, is a devoted reader of them. Despite their shortcomings, they offer the interested reader many insights and directions for study. Some are indeed indispensable in so far as they have carried out the first stage of assessing information available in the literature on a certain topic. Ultimately there is no telling when such works can be useful and there is no substitute for assessing each on its own merits.

The first work under review here, *Al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar,* makes clear two things: that the collected poems of Ibn Ḥajar are now available in print, and that a study

[1]For a variety of opinions, see for example Norman Housley, ″The Crusading Movement,″ in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades,* ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford, 1995), 272–74; Peter Edbury, ″The Latin East, 1291–1669,″ in ibid., 298–300; and Sir Harry Luke, ″The Kingdom of Cyprus, 1291–1369,″ in *A History of the Crusades,* ed. Kenneth M. Setton (Madison, 1969–89), 3:352–60.

on this most important author is sorely needed. Like many of his peers Ibn Ḥajar wrote many important works in many different fields—altogether 216 works, according to the author of this study. This huge number of books makes it even harder for those planning to study his intellectual career. One only needs to point to his epoch-making commentary on al-Bukhārī′s *Ṣaḥīḥ, Fatḥ al-Bārī fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī,* to realize that he is one of the most important of medieval hadith scholars. The current edition of *Fatḥ al-Bārī* is in 14 volumes, totalling about 8000 pages of finely-printed text. Recently his *mu'jam* has been published—under the title *Al-Mu'jam al-Mufahras,* edited by M. al-Mayādīnī (Beirut, 1998)—allowing us a rare opportunity to study what Ibn Ḥajar studied of previous Islamic scholarship.

Ayyūb′s work is dedicated to a study of the poetry of Ibn Ḥajar and he makes clear that this study was part of his M.A. work, which also included the edition of Ibn Ḥajar′s unpublished second collection of poetry, *Al-Sab'* (p. 5). This newly-published collection is different from his *Dīwān,* which has been available for a while. We are not told this, however, and only by going through the footnotes and the bibliography does this fact become clear. The first one hundred pages of Ayyūb′s work offer a biography of Ibn Ḥajar, which includes a full list of his works (pp. 77–87). The rest of the book is a study of the poetics of Ibn Ḥajar, and the approach here is squarely traditional. His poetry is analyzed through the lens of genres, eulogy, panegyric, etc. Ayyūb′s critical vocabulary is anything but scholarly; we are still here in the realm of the school of ″truth and beauty.″ But in the course of this analysis we do learn that Ibn Ḥajar used to travel to Yemen to recite his poetry to their kings for money. This is a very interesting snippet of information, and unfortunately Ayyūb does not inform us about his sources for it. The most interesting aspect of Ibn Ḥajar′s poetry, however, is his non-traditional poetry, the non-*qaṣīdah* poetry, such as *al-muwashshaḥāt*. The *kharjah*s of these poems were written in colloquial Egyptian dialect. This is rather important information to know and dialectologists should take note. The bibliography at the end of the book is important, as it includes a large number of secondary Arabic studies on the intellectual life in the Mamluk era, the only such studies available so far.

The second book under review, *Al-Madāris* by Jīdah, is a better work on the whole, in so far as it is a more systematic study of the educational system of the Mamluk era. Most of the work is a listing of all the information available in the sources on madrasahs, their names, dates of establishment, and the names of professors who taught there. There is also an analysis of the curriculum, the students′ life, professors′ duties, etc. The merit of this work is that it offers a detailed survey of all the information available in primary sources, a task that is usually beyond most of us. Scholars wishing to write on the educational system

will benefit immensely from this work. As for the cultural life of the Mamluk era, we still await a study that will do justice to its monumental achievements in the cultural sphere.

Kitāb Waqf al-Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Ḥasan bin Muḥammad bin Qalāwūn ʻalá Madrasatihi bi-al-Rumaylah. Edited by Huwaydā al-Ḥārithī. Bibliotheca Islamica, vol. 45 (Beirut: in commission at United Distributing Co., 2001). Pp. 295 + 11.

REVIEWED BY JOHANNES PAHLITZSCH, Freie Universität Berlin

The foundation of Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (735/1334-762/1360) on Maydān al-Rumaylah (today Maydān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn) opposite the Citadel could very well be termed the most magnificent building of the Mamluk period in Cairo. Thus, the edition of the long endowment deed *(waqfīyah)* of Ḥasan's foundation by Huwaydā al-Ḥārithī, who is Associate Professor for Architecture and Design at the American University of Beirut and already well known for her work on Islamic art and architecture with a special emphasis on the Mamluk period, is most welcome.[1]

The *waqfīyah* of Sultan Ḥasan has been transmitted in two copies, both in the possession of the Dār al-Wathā'iq al-Qawmīyah in Cairo. The original parchment document (no. 40/6) of which a small portion has been published by Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn in 1986[2] is damaged and has not been used by al-Ḥārithī. Instead, she relied on an obviously contemporary bound manuscript copy (no. 365/85). According to al-Ḥārithī a comparison of this copy with the fragments of the *waqfīyah* demonstrate that it is an exact copy of the original. Also included in the bound copy and published by al-Ḥārithī are the texts that have been written on the back of the original *waqfīyah,* namely a confirmation of the *waqfīyah,* an

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[1]Cf. for example "The Complex of Sultan Ḥasan in Cairo: Reading between the Lines," *Muqarnas* 13 (1996): 68–79; "Invisible Boundaries, Visible Presence: Persian Cultural Influence on Medieval Cairo," *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies* 7 (2004): 1–28; "The Ewer of Ibn Jaldak (623/1226) at the Metropolitan Museum of Art: An Inquiry into the Origin of the Mawsili School of Metalwork," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 64 (2001): 355–68; "The Concept of Space in Mamluk Architecture," *Muqarnas* 18 (2001): 73–93; "Turbat al-Sitt: An Identification," in *The Cairo Heritage: Papers in Honor of Layla Ibrahim,* ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Cairo, 2000), 113–31; "The Patronage of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, 1310–1341," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 4 (2000): 219–44.

[2]In: Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh,* vol. 3 (Cairo, 1986), 341–449.

incomplete second *waqfīyah* with additional endowments and new personnel appointments, and a similarly incomplete list of further *waqf* lands in Egypt and Syria.

The first *waqfīyah* of Sultan Ḥasan follows the usual form of Islamic endowment deeds. After an introduction describing the religious merits of the *waqf* there follows the very casual statement that the endowed property belonged to the private property of the founder (pp. 1–5). This short remark stands in sharp contrast to the explicit formulas used in the *waqfīyah* of Ḥasan's grandfather Qalāwūn.[3] The description of the newly-erected buildings of Ḥasan's complex (pp. 5–10) is followed by the long list of endowed properties in Egypt and Syria (pp. 10–148). It is remarkable to find foundations like the "*waqf 'alá al-Madrasah al-Nūrīyah al-Ḥanafīyah*" and many other foundations included in the endowed properties without giving any reference to how they could be transferred to Ḥasan's foundation—if by means of *istibdāl* or because the plague has ruined many foundations.[4] As is well known, these descriptions of property could be of great value for topographical research. However, the *waqfīyah* of Ḥasan could be used as well for the study of the history of older foundations not only in Egypt but also in Syria, especially in Damascus. Then the purpose of the foundation and its different parts, namely the *qubbah,* the *jāmi',* the *madrasah,* and the *maktab al-sabīl* are given together with a list of its staff, their salaries, and instructions to distribute donations on specific occasions (pp. 148–73). The next section deals with the duties of the administrator *(nāẓir)* of the foundation, the appointment of the founder's family as administrators, and the general stipulations of the founder *(shurūṭ)* followed by the final legal formulas, the date, and subscriptions of witnesses (pp. 173–79). The fact that Ḥasan appointed himself as the first *nāẓir* with all rights to change his foundation including the right of *istibdāl* might hint at the legal means that were used in the transfer of the above-mentioned *waqf* lands into Ḥasan's foundation.

In editing the documents contained in MS 365/85 al-Ḥārithī follows the method of reproducing the text as it is "with no corrections, additions, or alterations except for some characters added for the purpose of clarity" (p. 10, English introduction). Furthermore she provides her edition with a double apparatus, giving in the first one some helpful information about the meaning of certain terms or the location of certain places while the second one is the critical apparatus. In view of the fact that a considerable part of the original *waqfīyah* still exists (according to

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[3]In: Ibid., vol. 1 (Cairo, 1976), 337.

[4]For a similar case cf. the discussion of Sultan Īnāl's foundations by Lucian Reinfandt, *Mamlukische Sultansstiftungen des 9./15. Jahrhunderts: Nach den Urkunden der Stifter al-Ašraf Īnāl und al-Mu'ayyad Aḥmad Ibn Īnāl,* Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, vol. 257 (Berlin, 2003), 74–84.

Amīn, a text of 1258 lines) it would have been very desirable to use both versions of the document for the establishment of the published text whenever possible. A comparison with Amīn′s edition of parts of the original *waqfīyah* shows that there are not only differences between the two versions as indicated in the apparatus of Amīn′s edition but that MS 365/85 even has a considerable lacuna which is filled by Amīn′s edition. It is true that al-Ḥārithī does mention this fact in a note. However, she does not give the missing the text (cf. p. 150, l. 4; Amīn, pp. 389–95, ll. 1209–58). Thus, al-Ḥārithī′s text cannot be called a critical edition of Ḥasan′s endowment deed based on all available copies of the document. Instead al-Ḥārithī′s edition should be described best as a reproduction of one specific version.

Unfortunately one′s faith in the reliability of this reproduction is shaken if one compares the few pictures of the manuscript published in the book with the printed text. So al-Ḥārithī′s text reads on p. 176, l. 15, *yajrá* with *alif maqsūrah* instead of *yajrī* as is indicated quite clearly in the manuscript (cf. the picture on p. 290). On the same page, l. 19, one has to read *thubūtihi* as in the manuscript instead of *thubūthihi*. On p. 209, l. 18, the manuscript has *wa-min dhālika* instead of *min dhālika,* which makes a difference in terms of syntax, and on p. 210, l. 2, something got mixed up between the footnote and the text (cf. p. 293). While the published text reads *qīrāṭ faddān* the manuscript has *qīrāṭ min faddān.* Confusingly, al-Ḥārithī states in note 2 that *qīrāṭ faddān* corresponds to the manuscript, which should be corrected to read *qīrāṭ min faddān*.

Al-Ḥārithī′s method to reproduce the manuscript unchanged might have the advantage of giving an unadulterated impression of the Mamluk court′s use of the Arabic language. However, one gets the impression of a certain methodological inconsistency when she follows the model of the manuscript in writing *hā'* instead of *tā' marbūtah* or *alif mamdūdah* instead of *alif maqsūrah* at the end of the word while adding the missing diacritics in the middle of the word as in the case of *mubīd al-ṭughātin* (p. 180, l. 5, cf. p. 291), to give just one example. On the one hand she substitutes *hā'* at the end of *al-ṭughātin* instead of *tā' marbūtah*. On the other hand she changes the *'ayn* of the manuscript to *ghā'*. All in all it would have improved the legibility of the text to standardize the use of, e.g., *tā' marbūtah*, *alif maqsūrah,* or *hamzah* at the end of the words as well.

With regard to headings, paragraphs and punctuation al-Ḥārithī follows the same method. Only the headings found in the manuscript, be it in the text proper or in margins, are inserted into the text. A few editorial measures like the addition of periods might have helped the reader to find his or her way through the very long descriptions of endowed properties. Furthermore al-Ḥārithī′s unsystematic insertion of headings and subheadings does not help to clarify the structure of the *waqfīyah*. So no heading, paragraph, or even a period separates the section on the

foundation′s expenditures from the section on the duties of the *nāẓir* (pp. 171–73). Especially in the case of the localization of the endowed property it is not helpful to find, e.g., the Madrasah al-Nūrīyah in Damascus, which is mentioned without any reference to its location, under the general heading of property in the *diyār al-miṣrīyah* (pp. 10 and 32).

Despite its editorial shortcomings—and maybe it should be taken into account that al-Ḥārithī is an art historian, not a philologist—the edition of Sultan Ḥasan′s endowment deed is a very valuable contribution to the study not only of Cairo and its history, but also of the history of other cities such as Damascus and Antioch. In particular, the indices of people and place names are very important tools for future research.

YAḤYÁ IBN ʻABD AL-ʻAẒĪM AL-JAZZĀR, *Dīwān al-Jazzār*, edited by Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām (Alexandria: Munshaʻat al-Maʻārif, 2001). Pp. 109.

ʻUMAR IBN MASʻŪD AL-MAḤḤĀR, *Dīwān Sirāj al-Dīn al-Maḥḥār*, edited by Aḥmad Muḥammad ʻAṭā (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ādāb, 1422/2001). Pp. 488.

REVIEWED BY THOMAS BAUER, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität

The editions under review are dedicated to two poets from the earlier period of the Mamluk era. Neither of them has got an entry in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* nor in the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*. But they were famous enough in their time, and the editions under review prove that both are interesting, provide important material for a better understanding of early Mamluk cultural life, and doubtlessly deserve further study. The editors, however, seem to have had difficulties to find a publisher for their products, and therefore instead of a calligraphic layout and gold imprinted cloth (now standard with religious texts) one finds homemade, awkwardly printed books sometimes hard to read (and to obtain), as is the case with al-Maḥḥār′s *Dīwān,* or full of printing errors and other shortcomings, as is the case with the *Dīwān* of al-Jazzār.

Yaḥyá al-Jazzār (601–79/1204–81) is one of the first of the many craftsmen-poets of the period. He grew up in the butcher shop of his parents in al-Fusṭāṭ. When his father discovered that his boy could make verses, he presented him proudly to Ibn Abī al-Iṣbaʻ. ″Well done,″ Ibn Abī al-Iṣbaʻ remarked on hearing the boy′s lines, ″you are a good diver.″ The father took this as a compliment for his son′s talent and brought a present of food to Ibn Abī al-Iṣbaʻ, but he had only meant that the son had not yet mastered the meters of poetry and was thus ″diving″ from one

baḥr ″sea = meter″ into the next.[1] This anecdote is important because it shows that poetry met with great interest even among craftsmen and that poetry was seen as a means to social advancement.

Al-Jazzār surmounted his problems with meters and, according to al-Ṣafadī, became the best poet of his time next to al-Sirāj al-Warrāq.[2] His success as a poet allowed him to give up his job as a butcher and to try to earn a living by composing panegyric poetry. For a while this attempt proved successful, but in his later years he had to resume his craft as a butcher. To people who mocked him for that, he replied that as a butcher the dogs would run after him, whereas as a poet he had to run after the dogs. The life of al-Jazzār is therefore characteristic for the role of poetry in the Mamluk period as a whole in a twofold way. First, al-Jazzār is a good example of the spread of literary knowledge and practice in the whole of society right down into the class of merchants and craftsmen. Second, this increase in poetic production led to a lowering of its monetary value, so that it became increasingly difficult to earn one′s living only by composing poetry.

In his history of Mamluk literature, M. Zaghlūl Sallām had dedicated a comparatively long chapter to al-Jazzār and pointed to the poet′s importance.[3] An edition of the *Dīwān* of al-Jazzār by the same scholar may meet therefore with great expectations. But it turns out to be a great disappointment. It is not easy even to figure out what exactly M. Zaghlūl Sallām edited. There is no description of a manuscript and not even a hint about what the basis of the present edition is. As a matter of fact, the whole introduction is nothing else but the very chapter on al-Jazzār from Zaghlūl Sallām′s history of Mamluk literature dating from 1971. No modifications or additions have been made. Though it is true that progress in the study of Mamluk literature is rather slow, it is not so slow that absolutely nothing has happened during the last three decades!

To find out what we have before us, we have to turn to another text on al-Jazzār that has been edited more recently. It is al-Ṣafadī′s notice on al-Jazzār in the twenty-eighth volume of *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,*[4] which is, with its thirty pages, the longest entry in the whole volume. This volume is now available in an excellent edition by Ibrāhīm Shabbūḥ, who spent more effort and care on these thirty pages than Zaghlūl Sallām did for his entire edition. For in addition to the manuscript of the *Wāfī,* Shabbūḥ also used two manuscripts relevant for the poetry of al-Jazzār. The first is a selection of al-Jazzār′s poetry, compiled by the poet himself and dedicated to his close friend, the famous historiographer of

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[1]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* vol. 28, ed. Ibrāhīm Shabbūḥ (Berlin, 2004), 184.
[2]Ibid.
[3]Muḥammad Zaghlūl Sallām, *Al-Adab fī al-Aṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Cairo, 1971), 2:135–51.
[4]Al-Ṣafadī, 183–212.

Aleppo, Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʻAdīm (588–660/1192–1262), entitled *Taqāṭīf* (variant reading: *Taqṭīf*) *al-Jazzār*. It is preserved in a manuscript in Tunis. The second is a manuscript preserved in Istanbul and entitled *Al-Muntakhab min Shiʻr al-Shaykhayn*. It contains poems by al-Jazzār and his ″sparring partner″ al-Sirāj al-Warrāq.[5] As becomes clear from a comparison between al-Ṣafadī′s article and M. Zaghlūl Sallām′s edition, the latter used a film of the Tunis manuscript (without even mentioning this fact), and the edition is therefore not an edition of the *Dīwān al-Jazzār,* but of the *Taqāṭīf al-Jazzār*. Sallām did not use the *Muntakhab,* though it is mentioned in a footnote on p. 7, and consequently a great portion of the poetry of al-Jazzār that has come down to us is missing in the edition.

As an anthology, the text edited by Zaghlūl Sallām gives only a rather small selection of al-Jazzār′s poems, and for most of the longer poems only excerpts are given. The bulk of the poetry is *madīḥ* and *ghazal*. The last part of the book is entitled ″Al-Ḍirāʻah al-Nājiḥah wa-al-Biḍāʻah al-Rājiḥah″ and consists of twenty-eight poems in praise of the prophet, each comprising ten lines. Each poem rhymes on a different consonant of the alphabet, and the rhyme consonant is always also the first letter of every line. A further development of this scheme was used by al-Ṣafī al-Ḥillī in his *Durar al-Nuḥūr fī Madāʻiḥ al-Malik al-Manṣūr*.[6] Ibn Saʻīd al-Maghribī, who was a friend of al-Jazzār, and the editor consider these poems as literarily inferior to al-Jazzār′s achievements in other genres, and I do not dare to contradict.

In the high proportion of *madīḥ,* the low proportion of satiric, frivolous, and sarcastic epigrams, and the lack of a discernible influence of the spoken language, al-Jazzār′s poetry differs from that of other craftsmen poets like Ibrāhīm al-Miʻmār. It is not easy to decide, therefore, to what degree al-Jazzār can be considered a ″popular poet,″ as the editor calls him (p. 5), notwithstanding al-Jazzār′s social origin and position. But this impression is, at least partially, due to the fact that in his *Taqāṭīf* al-Jazzār presents a selection of his poetry meant to meet the taste of an educated *kātib* who may not have been interested in the ups and downs of Cairene everyday life. So, e.g., al-Jazzār composed several pieces on his donkey. An elegy on this animal is quoted in al-Ghuzūlī′s *Maṭāliʻ al-Budūr* and mentioned in the editor′s introduction (p. 16), but only half of the twelve lines are given in the text (p. 40). We can read an even more complete version of seventeen lines now in al-Ṣafadī′s notice.[7] Even more interesting is a poem that al-Jazzār puts into

[5]A copious selection of the poetry of Sirāj al-Dīn al-Warrāq is now easily accessible in Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʻUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār,* vol. 19, ed. Yūnus Aḥmad al-Sāmarrā'ī (Abu Dhabi, 1424/2002), 15–306.

[6]See W. Heinrichs, ″Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 8:803b.

[7]Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* 211–12.

the mouth of his little infant. In this poem, which is preserved in several sources, but not in Zaghlūl Sallām's edition,[8] al-Jazzār uses baby talk. So far, Ibn Sūdūn was the only poet known to have used baby talk in his poems.[9] Such findings show that it may indeed be reasonable to draw a line of popular poets from al-Jazzār to al-Mi'mār and further to Ibn Sūdūn.

Further examples may demonstrate that the text edited by M. Zaghlūl Sallām is far from being exhaustive. In the recently published anthology *Al-Muḥāḍarāt wa-al-Muḥāwarāt* by al-Suyūṭī, al-Jazzār is quoted five times with altogether sixty-two lines.[10] This shows that al-Jazzār was not yet forgotten after 250 years, but it also shows that the *Dīwān* that is now in our hands contains only a segment of al-Jazzār's production, since only three of the sixty-two verses in the *Muḥāḍarāt* reappear in the *Dīwān*. Among the missing pieces we find two elegies on the scholar 'Izz al-Dīn ibn 'Abd al-Salām, a short piece of three lines, and a long one of thirty lines, and a poem of twenty-three lines in praise of al-Ẓāhir Baybars on the occasion of the pilgrimage in the year 664. Not only are these poems missing from Sallām's edition, we do not find in it even a hint of a relationship between the poet and 'Izz al-Dīn or Sultan Baybars. Especially important, both from a literary as from a biographical point of view, is the entry on al-Jazzār in Muḥsin al-Amīn's *A'yān al-Shī'ah*.[11] Interesting enough is the fact that al-Jazzār has got an entry in it. Further, al-Amīn provides the most detailed account of al-Jazzār's life, and finally, the entry presents a remarkable poem rhyming on *ūzū*/*īzū* on al-Ḥusayn not given in any other source. The editor has not used these and other sources, which are crucial for the understanding of al-Jazzār and his poetry. And even those that were known to him were used in a superficial and negligent way. To mention only one example: The *Dīwān* contains a short *'Āshūrā'* poem that corroborates al-Jazzār's veneration for the *Ahl al-Bayt*. Its first line is given in the edition as follows:

ويعودُ عاشوراءُ يُذكِرُني وُزْءَ الحَسين، فليت لَم يُعدِ

The poem is quoted—as the editor notes—in al-Ṣafadī's *Tamām al-Mutūn,*[12] but

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[8]Ibid., 209–10.

[9]Arnoud Vrolijk, *Bringing a Laugh to a Scowling Face: A Study and Critical Edition of the "Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-Muḍḥik al-'Abūs" by 'Alī Ibn Sūdūn al-Bašbuġāwī* (Leiden, 1998), 33–34.

[10]Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb al-Muḥāḍarāt wa-al-Muḥāwarāt,* ed. Yaḥyá al-Jubūrī (Beirut, 1424/2003), 128, 294–95, 376–77.

[11]Muḥsin al-Amīn, *A'yān al-Shī'ah,* 5th ed., ed. Ḥasan Amīn (Beirut, 1420/2000), 15:247–51.

[12]Al-Ṣafadī, *Tamām al-Mutūn fī Sharḥ Risālat Ibn Zaydūn,* ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1969), 207. On this text see Everett K. Rowson, "An Alexandrian Age in Fourteenth-Century

this did not help to avoid the three mistakes, and the vocalization given in al-Ṣafadī´s text, where we read *ʻĀshūrā' yudhakkirunī* instead of *ʻĀshūrā'u yudhkirunī,* should at least have been given as an alternative reading in the apparatus. According to this source, the above line should be read as follows:

ويعودُ عاشورا يُذكِّرُني   رُزْءَ الحُسينِ، فليت لَم يَعُدِ

ʻĀshūrā' comes back and reminds me of al-Ḥusayn´s affliction—
would that it never came back!

Unfortunately, this example is representative of the whole edition. Relevant sources are either not used at all or only selectively. Even in al-Ṣafadī´s *Tamām al-Mutūn* we can find several lines by al-Jazzār which are not mentioned by the editor of the *Dīwān* (pp. 49, 64, 285). The text itself is marred by countless mistakes, which cannot always be corrected as easily as in the example given. Sometimes *shaddah* and vowel signs seem to be haphazardly distributed among the consonant text. It is hard to believe that an experienced scholar and editor such as M. Zaghlūl Sallām can be held responsible for the mess. In any case, this combination of a defective edition and an out-dated study can hardly be considered the last word on al-Jazzār.

The fame of al-Jazzār was overshadowed to a certain degree by the great poets of the next two generations, but during his lifetime his renown even spread to Syria and inspired a young man in Aleppo who was just beginning to write his first poems to compose a *muwashshaḥ* in praise of al-Jazzār and to send it to Egypt. This young man was Sirāj al-Dīn ʻUmar ibn Masʻūd al-Maḥḥār (d. 711/1311), also known as al-Kattān. The *muwashshaḥ* is found in al-Maḥḥār´s *Dīwān* (p. 304-5). The headline that says that the poem is ″in praise of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Jazzār al-Miṣrī″ has to be corrected to ″Abū al-Ḥusayn,″ since the poet, who is addressed by al-Maḥḥār as ″Yaḥyá,″ is without doubt none other than Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Jazzār. Therefore, it must have been composed in the year 679/1281 or earlier and thus is one of the earliest preserved poems by al-Maḥḥār, most of which date between 683 and 711 (see the editor´s remark, p. 12).

Though al-Jazzār and al-Maḥḥār were of similar social origin, the latter´s fate differed much from that of his older Cairene colleague, for, in contrast to al-Jazzār, al-Maḥḥār managed to find patrons who allowed him to make a living from his poetry. From the year 683 onwards, al-Maḥḥār stayed in Ḥamāh as a court poet to the Ayyubid princes who still were allowed to govern this town under Mamluk

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Damascus: Twin Commentaries on Two Celebrated Arabic Epistles,″ *MSR* 7, [no. 1] (2003): 97–110.

sovereignty. The same constellation was to repeat itself half a century later, albeit with a more famous poet—Ibn Nubātah—and probably a more famous prince—Abū al-Fidā'—too. Al-Maḥḥār's sultans were al-Malik al-Manṣūr II (r. 642–83) and al-Malik al-Muẓaffar III (r. 683–98), to whom he offered most of his panegyric odes and some of his *muwashshaḥāt*. Several poems are also dedicated to al-Manṣūr's brother al-Malik al-Afḍāl, and a panegyric *muwashshaḥ* is addressed to the latter's son 'Imād al-Dīn (no. 42, pp. 301–4), who is none other than Abū al-Fidā', the future al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad and patron of Ibn Nubātah. The comparatively simple style of al-Maḥḥār's *qaṣā'id,* however, seems to be closer to Bahā' al-Dīn Zuhayr than to Ibn Nubātah.

For this or for some other reason, later authors displayed only minor interest in the *madīḥ* poems of al-Maḥḥār. Al-Ṣafadī, to mention one example, dedicates quite a long article to al-Maḥḥār in his *A'yān al-Aṣr* (3:662–77), in which he does not quote from al-Maḥḥār's panegyric odes at all, but only from his epigrams and his *muwashshaḥāt.* As a matter of fact, the *muwashshaḥ* seems to be the proper domain of al-Maḥḥār's poetic genius, in contrast to Ibn Nubātah, who perhaps only composed panegyric *muwashshaḥāt* on al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad because al-Maḥḥār's songs still resounded in the palace of Ḥamāh. On the contrary, half of al-Maḥḥār's *Dīwān* is made up of *muwashshaḥ* and *zajal*—a quite unusual proportion for a court poet. In fact, with his more than sixty *muwashshaḥāt,* al-Maḥḥār provides the largest corpus of this poetic form in the Bahri Mamluk period. Despite its metric and rhythmic complexity, the *muwashshaḥ* was considered a simpler and more popular form of poetry than the *qaṣīdah*. The audience expected from the *washshāḥ* not a sophisticated presentation of striking and original *ma'ānī,* but a melodious arrangement of the well-known topoi of love poetry. After all, one must never forget that *muwashshaḥāt* were meant to be song texts. The editor has already drawn our attention to al-Maḥḥār and his crucial role for the Mamluk *muwashshaḥ* in a recent publication, which inevitably overlaps with the present edition.[13] It corroborates that al-Maḥḥār was a preeminent *washshāḥ* of the Bahri Mamluk period.

The same holds true regarding the vernacular brother of the *muwashshaḥ,* the *zajal.* Al-Maḥḥār's *Dīwān* contains the remarkable number of thirty-seven *azjāl,* which represent a major corpus of the Eastern *zajal* in its earlier period. Al-Maḥḥār was certainly not the first Eastern *zajjāl.* A *zajal* by Mujīr al-Dīn Ibn Tamīm (d. 684/1285) is quoted by al-Nawājī.[14] But the genre was probably still in its formative

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[13]*Dīwān al-Muwashshaḥāt al-Mamlūkīyah fī Miṣr wa-al-Shām: al-Dawlah al-Ūlá (648–784/1250–1382),* ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad 'Aṭā (Cairo, 1990); see the review by Mustapha Kamal, *MSR* 6 (2002): 198–202.

[14]Shams al-Dīn al-Nawājī, *'Uqūd al-La'āl fī al-Muwashshaḥāt wa-al-Azjāl,* ed. 'Abd al-Laṭīf

period in the East when al-Maḥḥār wrote his contributions. As far as I can judge, the Andalusian model is more visible with him than with any other *zajjāl* of the Mamluk realm. He considers Ibn Quzmān as his model and boasts that whoever hears his *zajal* will imagine that Ibn Quzmān is still alive (p. 360). Therefore it naturally follows that al-Maḥḥār does not hesitate to use words typical of the Arabo-Andalusian dialect (such as the negative particle *las*). In the end of the first *zajal* in the *Dīwān*, al-Maḥḥār declares that ″Western are my words, though I am from Syria″ (*Maghribī lafẓī lākinnī min ahl il-Shām,* p. 344). In this respect, his *zajal* differs remarkably from that of later authors such as al-Mi'mār or Ibn Sūdūn who only use their own (Cairene) dialect in the *zajal*. Cairo, however, plays a role even in the *zajal* of the Syrian al-Maḥḥār. In *zajal* no. 13 al-Maḥḥār depicts an elementary school *(maktab)* in a Cairene setting *(qarīb Darb il-Wazīr)*. The teacher *(faqīh)* sits at the door of his class like an amir, correcting, threatening, or even beating every pupil who is committing a speech error *(alḥan)*—quite a nice idea in a vernacular *zajal* (p. 361):

ثمَّ مكْتَب قَريب دَرْبِ الوَزيرْ
وفيهِ الصَبْيَانُ صِغَار وكبارْ
وَفَقيه جالِس على باب مَكْتَبُهْ
أيّ مَنْ ألْحَنْ في الكَلامِ يُعْرِبُهْ
وَيْهَدِّدْ ذا وذا يَضْرُبُهْ
وهُوَ جالس بينهم كالأَميرْ
الصَرَّامهْ والأدب والوقارْ

It seems that for this genre depiction the reality of Cairo and its dialect was more influential than that of Cordoba.

The editor had only a single (albeit old and reliable) manuscript at his disposal, or rather, a microfilm of it, since the original (formerly in Alexandria) seems to be lost now (p. 18). Considering this and the fact that only comparatively few quotations of al-Maḥḥār′s poems in other sources could help him, one can only admire the formidable task that the editor has accomplished. As minor shortcomings one could mention the lack of a bibliography and the fact that the page numbers given in the index are not correct (one can find the poems though according to the number given to them). One should also mention the entry on al-Maḥḥār in Ibn Taghrībirdī′s *Manhal,*[15] which, however, does not provide verses absent from

al-Shihābī (Baghdad, 1982), 201–2.

[15]Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣafī wa-al-Mustawfá ba'd al-Wāfī,* vol. 8, ed. Muḥammad

'Aṭā's edition. In sum, 'Aṭā has done an excellent job and we can only be grateful for having al-Maḥḥār's poetry now in a reliable edition, which is deserving of a more lavish presentation. A careful edition like 'Aṭā's shows that one can only promote the cause of Mamluk literature by dedicating to it as much diligence and effort as is the custom with pre- and early Islamic poetry.

RĀ'ID MUṢṬAFÁ ḤASAN 'ABD AL-RAḤĪM, *Fann al-Rithā' fī al-Shi'r al-'Arabī fī al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī al-Awwal* (Amman: Dār al-Rāzī, 2003). Pp. 430.

REVIEWED BY TH. EMIL HOMERIN, University of Rochester

Rithā', or "elegy," is one of the oldest genres of Arabic poetry. The Arabic elegy probably arose out of pre-Islamic Arab lamentations for dead relatives, usually senior adult males. After the coming of Islam, poets gradually extended the genre to include other relatives, including women and children. Poets also composed elegies on important public figures, such as amirs, viziers, caliphs, and their family members, for whom the elegy served as a type of eulogy and obituary. Similarly, classical Arab poets composed verse lamenting the deaths of the Shi'i imams, the destruction of Muslim cities by infidels, and the reversal of Muslim fortunes. The classical Arabic elegy, then, had a long and respected tradition. Poets of the Mamluk period added to this legacy, and this is the focus of *Fann al-Rithā' fī al-Shi'r al-'Arabī fī al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī al-Awwal* by Rā'id Muṣṭafá Ḥasan 'Abd al-Raḥīm.

At the outset, 'Abd al-Raḥīm never states why he confined himself to the first half of the Mamluk period. There is some justification for dividing Mamluk rule into two periods based on dynastic change, but 'Abd al-Raḥīm does not state how this division is applicable to the study of elegy. Perhaps he simply wanted to limit his study in terms of sources and research time, or maybe he hopes to write a sequel, though I doubt that he will reach further conclusions to warrant this. Still, 'Abd al-Raḥīm's study is a very useful survey of the type of elegies composed during the Mamluk period.

'Abd al-Raḥīm cites al-Mubarrad's (d. 285/899) observation that an effective elegy may give consolation to the bereaved and contribute to proper public mourning. Yet 'Abd al-Raḥīm has little else to say about the elegy's uses and purposes, in general. Further, he does not discuss the origins of *rithā'* or detail its developments

Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1999), 324–29.

but, instead, moves directly into the Mamluk period, categorizing and describing elegies in terms of the deceased. He begins with a chapter on deceased family members and close relatives (pp. 1–37) introduced by a brief discussion of poets′ elegies for themselves and the recurrent themes of the brevity of life and the inevitability of death. He then moves on to elegies on male relatives. Among these, the most frequent subject is the death of a son. ʻAbd al-Raḥīm observes this as a change from the Umayyad and Abbasid periods when elegies to brothers were more frequent. He notes that this may be the effect of Arab, Muslim society moving away from tribal life, in which brothers were valued as allies, toward urban living and the increasing importance of the nuclear family, in which sons were thought to preserve the family′s line and fortune. Citing numerous verses by a number of poets, ʻAbd al-Raḥīm shows that sons who died young were generally praised for their sinless life and handsome appearance, while older and grown sons were eulogized for their skills, learning, and virtue. Often the blissful life of the deceased son in heaven is compared to the living hell of the grieving father.

In contrast to the many poems on sons, ʻAbd al-Raḥīm could find only three short elegies written by sons for their fathers, and he is at a loss to explain why. It may be that ʻAbd al-Raḥīm would have found more examples had he searched further, especially in the many collections of Mamluk poetry still only in manuscript, which he obviously did not consult. It may be too, however, that most sons did not feel a pressing need to compose an elegy for their fathers, who were often eulogized by their contemporaries. Further, most societies regard the death of parents as a sad but inevitable event, and the natural, ordered passing of a generation, while the death of a child is often viewed as a shocking and tragic event requiring an explanation and extraordinary consolation.[1]

ʻAbd al-Raḥīm dedicates his second chapter to elegies on men of state, especially the sultans (pp. 38–114). Often the elegists had once been in the employment of the deceased, and they are worried about their futures following their patron′s death. ʻAbd al-Raḥīm asserts that many of these elegies were written by poets interested more in their own prestige and financial security than in consoling the bereaved family. While this is undoubtedly the case for some poems, ʻAbd al-Raḥīm belabors the point and underestimates the possible friendship and respect that may have grown between poets and patrons. In addition, the sorrow and concern over an uncertain future voiced in many elegies may well have echoed feelings in the larger populace worried over possible chaos in the wake of a ruler′s death. Hence, the elegist′s praise of the deceased′s successor, usually his son, may reflect the

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[1]C.f. Th. Emil Homerin, ″A Bird Ascends the Night: Elegy and Immortality in Islam,″ *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 59, no. 4 (1991): 247–79, and Avner Gil′adi, *Children of Islam* (Oxford, 1992), 67–119.

hope for a peaceful transition in power and the need to maintain a world with order and sense.

ʿAbd al-Raḥīm passes over such issues and concentrates, instead, on an inventory of some of the themes and images found in these ″royal″ elegies. As in most elegies, the deceased is presented in an ideal fashion and, in this case, the deceased sultan may attain near mythical status as the manly, pious, Muslim ruler and defender of Islam. Here, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm fails to make a connection that others have made regarding elegy and eulogy in general, namely their ability to portray, to a significant degree, a society′s norms and values regarding relations between ruler and ruled, husband and wife, parents and children, etc. However, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm does draw attention to descriptions of royal funerals in many elegies and their usefulness for reconstructing some of the important funeral rites and rituals of the Mamluk period. Finally, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm notes that the elegies on sultans, generals, and other important men of state usually praise the deceased and seek consolation in his certain heavenly reward. In the case of such great sultans as Baybars and Qalāwūn, some of their battles and achievements may be dramatically and, to a degree factually, recounted and praised. Yet a few elegies have a sharper, negative tone. Often short and sometimes in more folk poetic forms, these invectives castigate the deceased for bad behavior and an immoral life, and offer a curse in lieu of praise. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm suggests that this may have provided some solace to those victimized by the deceased, while serving as a warning to living officials who cared for their own reputations and legacies.

In chapter three, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm reviews elegies on the men of the pen, the many religious scholars and litterateurs in Mamluk domains (pp. 116–66). These elegies were often composed by colleagues and students and, too, by poets formerly patronized by the deceased. Generally, the deceased is praised for his learning, piety, generosity, and forbearance, and occasionally for his courage in facing the infidels in battle, or for standing up for the community against unjust rule. Eminent scholars, including Ibn Taymīyah (d. 728/1328) and Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355), were often the subject of many elegies, some of which mentioned the deceased′s fields of learning and specific writings by name. Secretaries, too, were praised in elegies for the power of their pens to do good and correct wrongs, and poets offered consolation to the bereaved by lauding such pious legacies. References to the Quran and hadith are frequent in these elegies, which often depict the deceased as alive and well in heaven, in his writings, and in his obedient children and learned students.

ʿAbd al-Raḥīm reviews elegies on women in his fourth chapter (pp. 167–96). He claims that there is a scarcity of these elegies. Certainly there are fewer elegies for women than men, and ʿAbd al-Raḥīm is probably correct to attribute this to women′s lower social status in the Mamluk period. Nevertheless, he cites many

examples and could have offered even more, especially had he known of Abū Ḥayyān's (d. 745/1344) many elegies for his grown and accomplished daughter Nuḍār (d. 730/1329).[2] Such elegies by fathers for daughters and husbands for wives are a valuable and largely untapped resource for the study of male-female relations in the Mamluk period. Why ʻAbd al-Raḥīm segregated women relatives from the men is not clear, particularly as they are treated with the same respect as their male counterparts. Deceased wives of the elegist or of his colleagues are depicted as pious and generous, of good character, and sometimes learned. Deceased women may be likened to a buried treasure or a secluded maiden, and physical attributes may be lauded in ideal terms (i.e., a face like the full moon), which one finds, but less frequently, in elegies on male relatives. ʻAbd al-Raḥīm may be right to assume that women are more often compared to elements of nature, and men to civilization and learning, though this is by no means a hard and fast rule in Mamluk elegies. Moreover, when a wife's death is likened to the setting of the sun, for instance, this may not denote the loss of physical beauty (especially if the wife was elderly), so much as to the poet losing the "light of his life."

This raises one of the major short-comings of this book, namely the author's apparent lack of analysis regarding nearly universal themes involving death, dying, and symbolic immortality. The eclipse of the sun or moon, the setting of the sun, moon, and stars, the broken branch, the wilting of the redolent flower, the departure of the traveler, and many other motifs occur time and again in world literature and art to symbolize, not just the loss of beauty and love, but above all death. Yet, they imply new life as the sun, moon, and stars will rise again, the leafless tree and dead flower will sprout anew in spring, while the traveler will safely arrive at a heavenly home. While ʻAbd al-Raḥīm is certainly aware of the symbolic associations of many such themes, he never fully acknowledges their essential function to place the sorrow of the bereaved in larger contexts (of nature, society, religion. etc), in order to assert that while the deceased is gone, they are not annihilated but live on in their legacies and, of course for Muslims, in heaven.[3]

In the fifth chapter, ʻAbd al-Raḥīm recounts many elegies composed on Muslim cities that were devastated by the Mongols or Crusaders, including Baghdad, Damascus, and Alexandria (pp. 197–253). Occasionally, a poet may attribute this catastrophe to God's retribution against the sinful life of the city's inhabitants though, more often than not, the tragedy is seen as a wake up call for Muslims to take up arms and defeat the infidel. While acknowledging dramatic and stylistic

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[2]Homerin, "A Bird Ascends the Night."

[3]See Robert Jay Lifton, *The Broken Connection* (New York, 1983), 3–112, and George Lakoff and Mark Turner, *More Than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor* (Chicago, 1989), 1–56.

dimensions of these elegies, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm also points to their possible historic value as some of the elegists were eye-witnesses to the destruction of the Muslim cities that they lament. Weapons and battles are sometimes described in detail, and while the infidels are often depicted as vicious dogs, filthy pigs, or other unsavory characters, the Mamluks are not always lauded as lions and heroes. This was especially the case in elegies on the sack of Alexandria in 767/1365, which resulted, in part, because the Mamluk forces fled the city without fighting.

ʿAbd al-Raḥīm gathers together a number of topics in his sixth chapter, including elegies on animals, broken drinking goblets, lost arrows, slave boys, singers, the banning of hashish and wine, and the loss of the good life of debauchery (pp. 254–301). These elegies are frequently works of humor and satire, and this chapter features many verses from the shadow plays of Ibn Dāniyāl (d. 710/1310). Elegies on the death of male slaves, however, are serious poems, and of some significance. Several recount the poet′s grief at the loss of a young slave boy, whom the poet was raising and educating as he had his own sons. Other elegies for youthful male slaves *(ghilmān)* resemble elegies for concubines in that love and the physical beauties of the young man are the focus of praise. Had ʿAbd al-Raḥīm compared such elegies with those on concubines, instead of segregating men and women, he might have found that it is not the sex of the deceased so much as his/her social status that determines whether the deceased′s physical or moral features will be the major subject of praise.

ʿAbd al-Raḥīm devotes his seventh and final chapter to elements of form and style (pp. 303–401). Once again, this is a largely descriptive chapter, in which he takes up routine notions of poetic harmony and unity, which are easily achieved in the *rithā'* since its subject is the deceased and reflections on life and death. He notes the frequent quotation of the Quran and hadith as sources of consolation, particularly in assuring the bereaved that there is a life after death. He mentions some of the classical poets, including Abū Tammām (d. ca. 232/845), al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/965), and al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1058), frequently referred to in Mamluk elegies, and briefly discusses poetic influences. He also catalogs various stylistic elements, including the use of repetition, interrogatives, imperatives, etc., that elegists employed to heighten the tone and pitch of their poems. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm draws attention to the frequent appearance of scholarly terms and jargon in elegies as indicative of their authors′ academic and scribal background, and he ends with a discussion of the rhetorical devices *(badīʿ)* that were quite popular in the Mamluk period. Unlike many scholars of Mamluk literature, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm does not dismiss *badīʿ* with contempt. Rather, he notes that if used in excess, it will distract the reader from the poem′s theme, while its judicious use may enhance the poem′s form and content. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm argues forcefully that antithesis *(ṭibāq)* and paronomasia *(jinās)* are particularly suited to elegy. Antithesis accords especially

well with elegy given the natural contrasts between life and death, joy and sorrow, night and day, etc.; as for paronomasia *(jinās)* and similar devices, when carefully applied they add to the musical qualities of any verse.

Despite these insights, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm occasionally makes the common mistake of equating simplicity with sincerity, and rhetorical style with insincerity, a false dichotomy that has plagued the study of Arabic literature. For example, he cites the rhetorical verses composed by al-Ṣafadī on the death of Abū Ḥayyān′s daughter Nuḍār as being forced and artificial due to the use of rhetorical devices, yet had ʿAbd al-Raḥīm read Abū Ḥayyān′s own elegies to his daughter, he would have found many of the same devices, and this applies to many poets of the time, including Ibn Nubātah who composed a number of elegies on his dead children.[4] Further, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm questions the sincerity of emotions and grief underlying other elegies, particularly those composed on the children and women folk of colleagues, whom the poet may have seldom met due to social constraints of the period. It may well be true that most of these men did not know or interact with the female members of a colleagues′ family, though we do not know this for certain. However, this lack of personal contact does not render the elegists′ words insincere. Today, many of us send sympathy cards with verses that we never even composed, yet most of us are sincere in our expressions of condolences to others. I think that we must view the elegies from the Mamluk period in the same light. They were publicly recognized and, perhaps, expected forms of condolence exchanged among the learned and ruling classes of Mamluk society and, as such, an important means of social discourse about life and death, love and friendship. To question the sincerity of these elegies is to miss an important and quite intended function.[5] ʿAbd al-Raḥīm should have understood this as he cites (p. 196) several ″Thank You″ poems composed in response to elegies previously received in sympathy for a lost loved one. While ʿAbd al-Raḥīm focuses on stylistic similarities of the poems, he ignores their social dimension and relevance.

This is indicative of the major flaw in his study, which is the lack of critical analysis on many themes and issues. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm never analyzes a complete elegy in any detail, and he often abridges his quotations without telling his reader. Moreover, he fails to read elegies from the Mamluk period in the larger context of elegy, in general, and, as is the case with many Arab scholars, he cites almost nothing by Western scholars relevant to his topic. To his credit, he has cited in his bibliography most of the many Arabic works written on *rithā*ʾ. Despite its

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[4]Thomas Bauer, ″Communication and Emotion: The Case of Ibn Nubātah′s *Kindertotenlieder*,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, [no. 1] (2003): 49–95.

[5]Th. Emil Homerin, ″Reflections on Arabic Poetry in the Mamluk Age,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 63–85, esp. 74–75.

shortcomings, *Fann al-Rithā' fī al-Shi'r al-'Arabī fī al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī al-Awwal* offers a detailed description of elegies composed in the Mamluk period, and a tantalizing glimpse into their importance for the study of Mamluk society.

Governing the Holy City: The Interaction of Social Groups in Jerusalem between the Fatimid and the Ottoman Period, edited by Johannes Pahlitzsch and Lorenz Korn (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2004). Pp. 156, maps, illustrations, tables.

REVIEWED BY NIALL CHRISTIE, University of British Columbia and Corpus Christi College, Vancouver

This edited volume comprises eight articles dealing with a variety of issues related to the city of Jerusalem during the second/eighth to fifteenth/twentieth centuries. Of these, five are of direct relevance to the Mamluk period (648–922/1250–1517), while the others are likely to be more peripheral to the interests of the readership of this journal. All bar one of the articles derive from a round-table discussion of Jerusalem in the Middle Ages held at the 28th Deutscher Orientalistentag in Bamberg in March 2001.

In the introduction, the editors set out the scope of their volume; they seek to explore the social rather than political or religious history of the city, focusing in particular on the interaction of its inhabitants with the urban fabric. In doing so, they present articles that make particular use of sources that are consulted less frequently by modern scholars than the historical chronicles, including legal documents, inscriptions, and architectural remains.

Given this emphasis, it is fitting that the first two articles, "Primary Sources on Social Life in Jerusalem in the Middle Ages," by Khader Salameh, and "The Arabic Stone Inscriptions in the Islamic Museum, al-Ḥaram ash-Sharīf, Jerusalem," by Salameh and Robert Schick, introduce two such types of sources. In the first article, Salameh surveys the collections of documents held in three institutions in Jerusalem, the Aqṣá Mosque Library, the Islamic Museum, and the Shari'ah Court at the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, which collectively include documents dating from the first/seventh to fourteenth/twentieth centuries, many of which are relevant for the study of the Mamluk period. Salameh pays particular attention to what these documents reveal about the role of *awqāf* (charitable endowments) in Jerusalem. The second article complements the first by drawing attention to the Arabic stone inscriptions found in the Islamic Museum in Jerusalem, which include tombstones and dedicatory, Quranic, and building inscriptions. Eleven examples, ranging in

date from the second/eighth to the thirteenth/nineteenth centuries (including three from the Mamluk period), are given in Arabic, Arabic transliteration, and English, with illustrations of the actual artifacts also being included.

The next article, ″Manifestations of Private Piety: Muslims, Christians and Jews in Fatimid Jerusalem,″ by Andreas Kaplony, addresses the ways in which people of all three faiths reacted to the holiness of the city during the Fatimid period (358–492/969–1099). Drawing in particular on the *Safarnāmah* of Nāṣir-i Khusraw and the *Faḍā'il Bayt al-Maqdis* of Ibn al-Murajjá al-Maqdisī, Kaplony shows that personal piety could manifest in a number of ways, including the performance of pilgrimages, the establishment of residence at holy sites, seeking to die and/or be buried in the holy city, donations of lamps, oil, and carpets, and the patronage of architectural work and institutions. Thus Kaplony explores religious observance as conducted by members of all social classes during the period.

Moving from the Fatimid to the Ayyubid period, the next two articles consider the attention paid to Jerusalem by Saladin (d. 589/1193) and his descendents. In ″The Transformation of Latin Religious Institutions into Islamic Endowments by Saladin in Jerusalem,″ Johannes Pahlitzsch examines Saladin′s foundation of three religious institutions, a madrasah, a *khānqāh,* and a hospital, as part of his re-Islamization of the city after the Muslim conquest of 583/1187. Pahlitzsch shows that Saladin sought to ensure a smooth transition in the administration of both Muslim and non-Muslim religious institutions during the Muslim takeover, only changing their religious affiliations if such changes helped with this transition. An edition and translation of the *waqfīyah* (endowment document) of the *khānqāh* is included. Meanwhile Lorenz Korn, in ″The Structure of Architectural Patronage in Ayyubid Jerusalem,″ considers Ayyubid architectural patronage in the city, demonstrating that the fact that relatively few buildings were founded by Saladin′s descendents (with the exception of his nephew al-Mu'aẓẓam 'Īsá [d. 624/1227]) is indicative of the city′s decline, in the Ayyubids′ eyes, from a symbol of the jihad to an unimportant town that could be traded away for political ends.

The last three articles of the volume are concerned, either directly or indirectly, with the Mamluk period. Yehoshua Frenkel′s ″The Relationship Between Mamluk Officials and the Urban Civilian Population: A Study of Some Legal Documents from Jerusalem″ uses a variety of *waqfīyāt,* petitions, decrees, and death registers to show how these documents can shed light on the history of those individuals normally neglected by the historical narratives. Frenkel demonstrates that while the Mamluk rulers used *awqāf* as a means of establishing their legitimacy as rulers, the lower classes could also make use of the institution in a variety of ways to assert themselves in the public sphere. Frenkel includes texts and translations of two decrees in support of his argument.

Joseph Drory addresses the issue of natives of Jerusalem working in the heartland

of the Mamluk realm in ″Jerusalemites in Egyptian Society during the Mamluk Period.″ Drory notes that both medieval sources and modern scholars regard inhabitants of the holy city as having contributed little to the Mamluk state. Drory proposes to disprove this assertion, which he does by presenting case studies of three chief judges of Jerusalemite origin who became highly influential in Egyptian religious and political circles in the eighth/fourteenth to tenth/sixteenth centuries, showing that contrary to received wisdom, natives of the city did rise to positions of considerable prominence in Egyptian society.

The final article of the volume, ″The Walls and Gates of Jerusalem Before and After Sultan Süleyman′s Rebuilding Project of 1538–40,″ by Mohammad Ghosheh, surveys the development of the city′s wall and gate defenses from the Ayyubid to the early Ottoman periods. Much of Ghosheh′s article is devoted to the Mamluk period, and he shows that contrary to the general opinion, the Mamluk city did have some walls, built at least in part through the efforts of the city′s population, as is apparent from statements in several court records. Ottoman court records also prove to be useful, revealing information about the work conducted on the walls of Jerusalem during the early Ottoman period. Ghosheh concludes by noting that current scholarly opinions about the defenses of Jerusalem and the historical sources that refer to them must be re-evaluated in the light of the new evidence contained in the Mamluk and Ottoman court records, of which he provides illustrations and edited texts of several. The volume concludes with a bibliography.

As should by now be apparent, *Governing the Holy City* is an important volume for its contributions to modern understanding of the social history of Jerusalem. However, it is even more important for its use of hitherto largely neglected legal documents and inscriptions from archives and museums in Jerusalem. Scholars of the medieval Middle East, and the Mamluk period in particular, are beginning to make increasing use of such sources in their research; this volume, with its surveys of available resources and its presentation and use of numerous texts and translations of such sources, can only help to encourage this healthy trend.

ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN KHALĪL IBN AYBAK AL-ṢAFADĪ (attributed), *Law'at al-Shākī wa-Dam'at al-Bākī*, edited by Muḥammad 'Āyish (Damascus: al-Awā'il, 2003). Pp. 104.

REVIEWED BY EVERETT K. ROWSON, New York University

In a 2004 review for this journal of an edition of one work by al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) and a study of another, I noted the burgeoning interest in this author in both the Middle East and the West, and expressed the hope that the trend would continue.[1] I am gratified to say that it has not only continued but intensified. The Beirut-Wiesbaden edition of al-Ṣafadī's massive biographical dictionary, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* now lacks only three of its thirty volumes; his dictionary of contemporaries, the *A'yān al-'Aṣr,* has been available since 1998 in a serviceable if not optimal six-volume edition;[2] and his voluminous correspondence (almost a biographical dictionary in itself, as well as a literary anthology), the *Alḥān al-Sawāji',* appeared in two volumes in an excellent edition in 2004.[3]

Muḥammad 'Āyish is one of several recent enthusiastic converts to Ṣafadī studies. Besides the *Law'at al-Shākī,* under review here, he has also edited al-Ṣafadī's amusing parody of the genre of literary commentary, the *Ikhtirā' al-Khurā',*[4] and is promising an edition of the *Tashnīf al-Sam' bi-Insikāb al-Dam',* one of al-Ṣafadī's many "theme" anthologies, this one focusing on tears. But the field is getting crowded. A first critical edition of the *Tashnīf* appeared already in 2000[5] (it was published earlier, uncritically, in Cairo in 1903), as did one of the *Ikhtirā'* (never previously published).[6] In 2003 al-Ṣafadī's "beautiful boy" anthology, *Al-Ḥusn al-Ṣarīḥ fī Mi'at Malīḥ,* was edited for the first time.[7] But the prize for industry at this point must go to Muḥammad 'Abd al-Majīd Lāshīn, who in 2005 published

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[1]Reviews of al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Kashf wa-al-Tanbīh 'alá al-Waṣf wa-al-Tashbīh*, edited by Hilāl Nājī and Walīd ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Zubayrī (Leeds: Majallat al-Ḥikmah, 1420/1999), and of Nabīl Muḥammad Rashād, *Al-Ṣafadī wa-Sharḥuhu 'alá Lāmīyat al-'Ajam: Dirāsah Taḥlīlīyah* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ādāb, 1421/2001), in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 1 (2004): 315–23.

[2]Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr wa-A'wān al-Naṣr,* ed. 'Alī Abū Zayd et al., 6 vols. (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Mu'āṣir and Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1998).

[3]Al-Ṣafadī, *Alḥān al-Sawāji' bayna al-Bādi' wa-al-Murāji',* ed. Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ, 2 vols. (Damascus: Dār al-Bashā'ir, 2004).

[4]Al-Ṣafadī, *Ikhtirā' al-Khurā' fī Mukhālafat al-Naql wa-al-Ṭibā',* ed. Muḥammad 'Āyish (Amman: Dār 'Ammār, 2004).

[5]Al-Ṣafadī, *Tashnīf al-Sam' bi-Insikāb al-Dam'/Ladhdhat al-Sam' fī Ṣifat al-Dam',* ed. Muḥammad 'Alī Dāwūd (Alexandria: Dār al-Qafā' li-Dunyā al-Ṭibā'ah wa-al-Nashr, 2000).

[6]Al-Ṣafadī, *Ikhtirā' al-Khurā',* ed. Fārūq Asalīm (Damascus: Ittiḥad al-Kuttāb al-'Arab, 2000).

[7]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Ḥusn al-Ṣarīḥ fī Mi'at Malīḥ,* ed. Aḥmad Fawzī al-Hayb (Damascus: Dār Sa'd al-Dīn, 2003).

first editions of al-Ṣafadī′s *Al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim wa-al-ʿArf al-Nāsim* (a general anthology of his own poetry), his *Ṣarf al-ʿAyn* (a ″theme″ book on eyes), and his *Al-Hawl al-Muʿjib fī al-Qawl al-Mūjib* (one of a series of studies on particular rhetorical figures).[8] Most importantly, Lāshīn has also published the most comprehensive biography and study of al-Ṣafadī to date, an impressive work that will be basic for all future Ṣafadī studies.[9]

If it is his, the *Lawʿat al-Shākī wa-Damʿat al-Bākī* (The Sufferer′s pain and weeper′s tear) must count as al-Ṣafadī′s most enduringly popular work. At least twenty-five manuscripts of it are known, it was the first of his works to be printed (in a lithograph edition in Cairo in 1857), and it was republished at least a dozen times between 1864 and 1922, in Cairo, Istanbul, Hims, and Tunis. In form it is a *maqāmah* (also described in some manuscripts as a *risālah,* but the two terms were virtually synonymous in the Mamluk period), a relatively brief prose narrative, giving an account in the first person of the narrator′s love affair with a young Turkish soldier. The plot is minimal—the two meet by chance, fall in love on the spot, arrange to meet a week later, spend a happy night of love, and then part—but proceeds extremely slowly, since the point is not the story but the language, which is an elaborately rhetorical rhymed prose, punctuated at regular intervals by short passages in poetry. The verses, whose authors are never identified (this was conventional in the *maqāmah* genre), usually recast what has just been said in prose, a procedure that reflects the popularity of both *ḥall al-naẓm* (prosification) and *naẓm al-manthūr* (versification) among the littérateurs of the period.[10] The improbabilities of the plot—of which there are many, such as the reproaches the beloved directs at the lover when they first meet, accusing him of abandoning the good sense he knows he has always shown in the past by not falling in love—are to be explained by the fact that the entire exercise is driven by the conventions of love poetry, not in any sense by reality.[11]

In the introduction to his new edition of this text (the first since 1922, to the best of my knowledge), Muḥammad ʿĀyish briefly reviews al-Ṣafadī′s life and works (a very incomplete and rather perfunctory list); summarizes the *Lawʿah*′s plot (laudably avoiding any editorial comment on its homoerotic theme); lists

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[8]All Cairo: Dār al-Āfāq al-ʿArabīyah, 2005.

[9]Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Majīd Lāshīn, *Al-Ṣafadī wa-Āthāruhu fī al-Adab wa-al-Naqd* (Cairo: Dār al-Āfāq al-ʿArabīyah, 2005).

[10]Both devices have been analyzed by Amidu Sanni, *The Arabic Theory of Prosification and Versification* (Beirut-Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1998).

[11]For further discussion of the content of the text see Everett K. Rowson, ″Two Homoerotic Narratives from Mamluk Literature: al-Ṣafadī′s Lawʿat al-shākī and Ibn Dāniyāl′s al-Mutayyam,″ in *Homoeroticism in Classical Arabic Literature*, ed. J. W. Wright, Jr. and Everett K. Rowson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 158–91.

some of the previous printed editions of the work and describes the manuscripts on which he has relied for his own; discusses the problem of its authorship; and explains how he has gone about editing it. All of this is presented clearly and succinctly, but there are some issues that merit comment.

The most important of these is the question of authorship. ʿĀyish is sufficiently cautious about this that the cover of his book reads ″attributed to *(al-mansūb li-)* al-Ṣafadī.″ In fact, as he explains in some detail, while the majority of manuscripts do in fact attribute the work to al-Ṣafadī, there are others that assign it to no fewer than four other authors: Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 752/1351), Ibn Khaṭīb Dārayyā (d. 811/1408), Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥarīrī (d. 967/1560), and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Māridīnī (ninth/fifteenth c.). The only one of these he takes seriously, however, is Zayn al-Dīn, since that attribution appears in both the *Shadharāt al-Dhahab* of Ibn al-ʿImād and the *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* of Ḥājjī Khalīfah (whereas an attribution to al-Ṣafadī appears nowhere in the bio-bibliographical tradition, nor does al-Ṣafadī seem ever to mention the title in his own works, despite his habit of frequent cross-referencing among them). ʿĀyish is nevertheless inclined to accept the attribution to al-Ṣafadī, although offering no real arguments for it beyond a vague claim of similarity of style between the *Lawʿah* and al-Ṣafadī′s correspondence as reproduced in his *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ*.

Lāshīn has now gone into this question in somewhat greater detail.[12] He is also inclined to grant al-Ṣafadī′s authorship, but besides appealing, like ʿĀyish, to style and to the preponderance of the manuscript evidence, he also notes that most of the (unattributed) poetry in the *Lawʿah* also appears (attributed) in al-Ṣafadī′s other works, especially in the *Wāfī,* and lists quite a number of examples, including a two-line poem that is not only in fact by al-Ṣafadī himself but serves as the introduction to one of his unpublished works, a collection of literary exchanges from the past with the title *Al-Mujārāh wa-al-Mujāzāh fī Mujārayāt al-Shuʿarāʾ*. He also notes that at one point the beloved, addressing the narrator, refers to ″your imam al-Shāfiʿī,″ which is exactly how al-Ṣafadī, a fervent adherent of the Shafiʿi school of Islamic law, would have done it; and, less convincingly, argues that the narrator′s describing himself as a *ṣabb damʿuhu mithl ismihi* (″a besotted one whose tears are like his name″) is a reference to al-Ṣafadī′s personal name, Khalīl, which literally means ″close friend,″ the intended meaning being that the narrator′s tears (which *do* appear in great abundance throughout the text) are his inseparable companion. (It seems more likely, however, that the reference is to the word *ṣabb* itself, which can mean ″poured out″ as well as ″besotted.″)

This question cannot be settled in a review, but a few further considerations may be noted. ʿĀyish has done an admirable job of tracking down most of the

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[12]Lāshīn, *Al-Ṣafadī,* 95-98.

authors of the *Law'ah*'s poems (87 out of 145), and they fit quite well with al-Ṣafadī's authorship. At least five are by al-Ṣafadī himself ('Āyish notes three, to which Lāshīn has added one, and I have identified another); seven are by his colleague and sometime friend Ibn Nubātah; a number of others are by other colleagues and friends, including one by Ibn al-Wardī and another by his early mentor Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd; and none seem to postdate his own lifetime. Were the work later, one would expect the occasional appearance of a later poet.

On the other hand, there are serious questions about the relationship between this work and some other titles mentioned in contemporary sources. One of al-Ṣafadī's very first works was a *maqāmah* (or *risālah*) titled *'Ibrat al-Labīb bi-'Athrat al-Ka'īb* (A Lesson for the perspicacious from the stumbling of the disconsolate [lover]), which he himself tells us he composed in emulation of a *maqāmah* enjoying enormous popularity in Cairo when he arrived there in 727/1327, the *Marāti' al-Ghizlān* of 'Alā' al-Dīn Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir.[13] The text of the latter has been tracked down by Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila in al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-Arab* (where the author but not the title is given), and is in fact an account of an affair with a young Turkish soldier.[14] Al-Ṣafadī's *'Ibrah* (which is also in some manuscripts called "Al-Maqāmah al-Aybakīyah," suggesting that it was his *only,* or at least his most famous, *maqāmah*) has never been published; but any temptation to identify it with the *Law'ah* would seem to founder on the fact that both the *'Ibrah* and the *Law'ah* are included, side by side, in a Bodleian manuscript (MS Sale 34). Further complicating matters is the fact that al-Ṣafadī informs us that at some point he studied with Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī the latter's *Dam'at al-Bākī*,[15] about which nothing further appears to be known, while some manuscripts (and one early publication) of the *Law'ah,* while attributing it to al-Ṣafadī, call it *Dam'at al-Bākī wa-Law'at al-Shākī*. One can only hope that further investigation of manuscripts of the *Law'ah,* and the now long overdue publication of the *'Ibrah,* will help clear up this situation.

The resources 'Āyish had mustered to establish his text are very far from ideal. For his base *(aṣl),* he has relied on a 1331/1912 Cairo printing, apparently purely on the basis of availability, since he himself points out its poor quality. This he has collated with two relatively recent manuscripts from the library of Maḥmūd Sab' al-Mustashār (not further identified) in Cairo, the first ("Ṣ") dated

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[13]Al-Ṣafadī, *A'yān al-'Aṣr,* 3:496.

[14]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 1923-), 8:140–9. See Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, *Maqama: A History of a Genre* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 340, 386. The *Marāti' al-Ghizlān* of Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir is not to be confused with the work of the same title by al-Nawājī (d. 859/1455), which is a collection of epigrams about beautiful boys, in the tradition of al-Ṣafadī's *Al-Ḥusn al-Ṣarīḥ.*

[15]Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* 8:255; *A'yān,* 1:420.

1272 and attributing the work to Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī and the second (″D″) undated (?) and attributing it to Ibn Khaṭīb Dārayyā. Besides frequent minor textual variations among these, manuscript ″Ṣ″ frequently supplies additional words and phrases, which the editor has mostly included in his text, in brackets. The apparatus lays out all significant variants in lucid fashion. I have in turn collated the text with the 1922 Cairo edition by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad Hārūn, which supplies yet more minor variations, lacks almost all the additions from ″Ṣ″, and turns out to have a major lacuna that becomes apparent only from the collation. (Hārūn also supplies some attributions for the poetry, which do not always agree with those of ʿĀyish.)

In textual terms, then, we are hardly better off than we were in 1922, and must continue to await a truly critical edition. ʿĀyish′s printed text is certainly easier to read than the older ones, however, and he has supplied quite a lot of vocalization, almost all correct, and is sensitive to both the meaning and the scansion of the poetry. His work in tracking down the verses in other sources is to be appreciated. A table of verses at the end (first rhyme word, meter, author if known, number of lines, page number) is helpful. The only other end matter is a bibliography of primary sources, but for a short work of this kind no further indices would be expected.

List of Recent Publications

ABŪ SHĀMAH, ʻABD AL-RAḤMĀN IBN ISMĀʻĪL, *Khuṭbat al-Kitāb al-Muʼammal lil-Radd ilá al-Amr al-Awwal: wa-hiya al-Khuṭbah al-Kubrá al-Muqaddamah bayna Yaday Kitāb, al-ʻIlm al-Jāmiʻ bayna al-Fiqh wa-al-Āthār.* Ed. Jamāl ʻAzzūn. Riyadh: Aḍwāʼ al-Salaf, 2003. Pp. 237.

ASHQAR, USĀMAH ʻUMAR SULAYMĀN, *Manhaj al-Iftāʼ ʻinda al-Imām Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah: Dirāsah wa-Muwāzanah.* Amman: Dār al-Nafāʼis, 2004. Pp. 422.

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DAMĪRĪ, MUḤAMMAD IBN MŪSÁ, *Al-Najm al-Wahhāj fī Sharḥ al-Minhāj.* Beirut: Dār al-Minhāj, 2004. 10 vols.

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Arabic Transliteration System

Romanized Arabic in *Mamlūk Studies Review* follows the Library of Congress conventions, briefly outlined below. A more thorough discussion may be found in *American Library Association-Library of Congress Romanization Tables* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1991).

ء	’	خ	kh	ش	sh	غ	gh	م	m
ب	b	د	d	ص	ṣ	ف	f	ن	n
ت	t	ذ	dh	ض	ḍ	ق	q	ه	h
ث	th	ر	r	ط	ṭ	ك	k	و	w
ج	j	ز	z	ظ	ẓ	ل	l	ي	y
ح	ḥ	س	s	ع	‘				
		ة	h, t (in construct)			ال	al-		

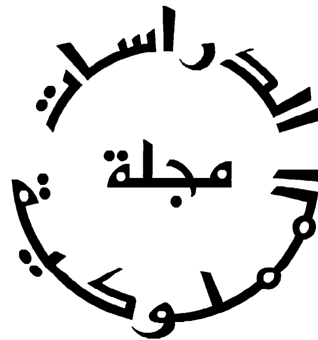
ـَ	a	ـُ	u	ـِ	i
ـً	an	ـٌ	un	ـٍ	in
آ	ā	ُو	ū	ِي	ī
اَ	ā	ُوّ	ūw	ـِيّـ	īy (medial), ī (final)
ى	á	َو	aw	َي	ay
				َيّ	ayy

Capitalization in romanized Arabic follows the conventions of American English; the definite article is always lower case, except when it is the first word in an English sentence. The *hamzah* is not represented when beginning a word, following a prefixed preposition or conjunction, or following the definite article. Assimilation of the *lām* of the definite article before ″sun″ letters is disregarded. Final inflections of verbs are retained, except in pausal form; final inflections of nouns and adjectives are not represented, except preceding suffixes and except when verse is romanized. Vocalic endings of pronouns, demonstratives, prepositions, and conjunctions are represented. The hyphen is used with the definite article, conjunctions, inseparable prepositions, and other prefixes. Note the exceptional treatment of the preposition *li-* followed by the article, as in *lil-sulṭān*. Note also the following exceptional spellings: Allāh, billāh, lillāh, bismillāh, mi’ah, ibn (for both initial and medial forms). Words not requiring diacritical marks, though following the conventions outlined above, include all Islamic dynasties, as well as the following terms: Quran, sultan, amir, imam, shaykh, Sunni, Shi‘i, Sufi. Common place-names should take the common spelling in American English. Names of archaeological sites should follow the convention of the excavator.

MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW

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Mamlūk Studies Review is a biannual refereed journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648–922/1250–1517). It appears in January and July. The goals of *Mamlūk Studies Review* are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, nurture communication within the field, and promote further research by encouraging the critical discussion of all aspects of this important medieval Islamic polity. The journal includes both articles and reviews of recent books. Submissions of original work on any aspect of the field are welcome, although the editorial board will periodically issue volumes devoted to specific topics and themes. *Mamlūk Studies Review* also solicits edited texts and translations of shorter Arabic source materials (*waqf* deeds, letters, *fatāwá* and the like), and encourages discussions of Mamluk era artifacts (pottery, coins, etc.) that place these resources in wider contexts. Transliterated Middle Eastern languages should conform to the system utilized by the Library of Congress. All questions regarding style should be resolved through reference to *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th edition. All submissions should be typed double-spaced. Submissions must be made on labeled computer disk or online, together with a printed copy. The print copy should have full and proper diacritics, but the disk or online copy should have no diacritics of any kind.

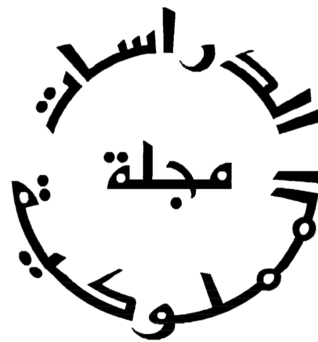
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MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW



The Bruce D. Craig
Prize for Mamluk Studies

The Prize Committee is pleased to announce that Zayde G. Antrim (Ph.D., Harvard University) has been named the recipient of the 2005 Bruce D. Craig Prize for Mamluk Studies for her dissertation:

"Place and Belonging in Medieval Syria, 6th/12th to 8th/14th Centuries"

The Committee was impressed by Antrim′s exhaustive use of various genres of sources to study the formation of a medieval Syrian ″sense of place.″ She broke new ground in developing a paradigm in Mamluk studies for an indigenous and contemporary understanding of ″place″ and, specifically, the creation of a Syrian identity. The Committee believes that her work will find a place not only in Mamluk studies but also world systems theory/globalization studies and a variety of other disciplines such as political/social/intellectual history, art and architectural history, geography, and archaeology.

The Bruce D. Craig Prize, carrying a cash award of $1,000, is given annually by *Mamlūk Studies Review* for the best dissertation on a topic related to the Mamluk Sultanate submitted to an American or Canadian university during the preceding calendar year. In the event no dissertations are submitted, or none is deemed to merit the prize, no prize will be awarded. To be considered for the 2006 Prize, dissertations must be defended by December 31, 2006, and submitted to the Prize Committee by January 31, 2007. Submissions should be sent to:

Chair, Prize Committee
Mamlūk Studies Review
The University of Chicago
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The Prize Committee for 2005 consisted of Marlis J. Saleh (University of Chicago); Li Guo (University of Notre Dame); and Bethany J. Walker (Grand Valley State University).

Previous Prize Winner:
2004: Tamar el-Leithy, Princeton University, ″Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo: 1293–1524.″

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Linda T. Darling
University of Arizona

Medieval Egyptian Society and the Concept of the Circle of Justice

One of the prominent ideologies of justice in medieval Egypt was the one called the Circle of Justice.[1] That term refers to an ancient concept of justice in which the king at the top of society was seen as dependent on the peasants at the bottom; they could only provide him revenue if he provided them justice. Justice, in this view, meant much more than equality before the law; it had to include peace, protection, good organization, and a functional infrastructure. In its summarized form the Circle consisted of eight sentences:

> The world is a garden for the state to master.
> The state is power supported by the law.
> The law is policy administered by the king.
> The king is a shepherd supported by the army.
> The army are assistants provided for by taxation.
> Taxation is sustenance gathered by subjects.
> Subjects are slaves provided for by justice.
> Justice is that by which the rectitude of the world subsists.[2]

Scholars who have referred to this idea have emphasized the absolutist and elitist elements of it and have often neglected its acknowledgment that the ruler′s power rested on the well-being and productivity of his subjects. I would argue, however, that this understanding of political interdependence was pervasive enough in Egyptian society to be known to peasants and artisans as well as rulers and scribes, that institutions were established and maintained to implement it, and that ordinary people used these institutions to demand justice from their rulers, whether

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[1]A version of this article, part of a larger study I am preparing on the dissemination and implementation of the Circle of Justice *(Justice and Royal Power in the Middle East),* was presented at the American Research Center in Egypt Convention, Tucson, Arizona, April 2004; I thank the members of the audience for all their helpful comments.

[2]This version of the Circle is from *The Counsels of Alexander,* presented to the Timurid prince Baysunghur, reproduced and translated by Thomas W. Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision*: *Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Washington, 1989), 12; it is identical to one of those in the *Sirr al-Asrār,* our earliest source for the saying.

or not they received it.[3] First, although Muslims attributed this idea to the Persians, the Persians inherited it from the Assyrians and the Assyrians from the Sumerians. By the time of the rise of Islam, it had been promulgated for three millennia; any idea repeated that long is bound to seep into people′s consciousness to some degree. Second, this concept of justice formed the ideological underpinning for a number of social institutions that touched the lives of ordinary people throughout the Islamic period, notably the regulation of taxation by surveys and registers and the *maẓālim* court, the court for redress of wrongs.

As my colleagues who are Mamluk historians know, I am not a Mamluk historian but an Ottomanist. Anne Broadbridge, however, has drawn our attention to the fact that Ibn Khaldūn, famed as the transmitter of the Circle of Justice to the Ottomans, was not without influence in his own society.[4] In this article, therefore, I will examine medieval Egyptian society′s use of this concept. In so doing, I acknowledge my debt to the many scholars who have already researched aspects of this issue and propose that by knitting their work together we may gain a new view of the subject. First, let us look at the origin of the saying (the origin of the idea itself would take us back to the Sumerians and is outside the scope of this article).

The eight sentences quoted above came from a tenth-century book called *Sirr al-Asrār* or *Secretum Secretorum,* at least part of which was supposedly written by Aristotle for Alexander the Great.[5] That book contained several variations of the sentences, attributed to different people: Aristotle, the Persian king Anūshirvān, the fourth caliph ʻAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and the Muslim conqueror of Egypt ʻAmr ibn al-ʻĀṣ, suggesting that a variety of earlier sources existed at that time which are no longer known to us. The eight sentences initially became popular in Spain, where they were quoted around 980 by Ibn Juljul in a biography of Aristotle that appeared in his collection of medical biographies, *Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā' wa-al-Ḥukamā'*.[6] A shorter four-line version, which had first appeared as a quotation

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[3]See Aziz al-Azmeh, *Muslim Kingship: Power and the Sacred in Muslim, Christian, and Pagan Polities* (London, 1997); Antony Black, *The History of Islamic Political Thought: From the Prophet to the Present* (Edinburgh, 2001).

[4]Anne F. Broadbridge, ″Royal Authority, Justice, and Order in Society: The Influence of Ibn Khaldūn on the Writings of al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, no. 2 (2003): 233; Cornell H. Fleischer, ″Royal Authority, Dynastic Cyclism and ′Ibn Khaldûnism′ in Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Letters,″ *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 18 (1983): 198–219.

[5]See Robert Steele, ed., *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, vol. 5, *Secretum Secretorum,* English trans. Ismail Ali (Oxford, 1920), 224–27; ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī, ed., *Fontes Graecae Doctrinarum Politicarum Islamicarum*, pt. 1, *Testamenta Graeca (Pseudo-) Platonis, et Secretum Secretorum (Pseudo-) Aristotelis* (Cairo, 1954), 126–28.

[6]Abū Dāwūd Sulaymān ibn Ḥassān ibn Juljul al-Andalūsī, *Les générations des médecins et des*

from anonymous sources in the *adab* work of Ibn Qutaybah (828–89), *'Uyūn al-Akhbār*, was disseminated by Ibn Juljul′s compatriot, Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (d. 940), through his *adab* work *Al-'Iqd al-Farīd,* where it was attributed to 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ.[7] This version became very popular in Egypt. The eight sentences first appeared in Egypt around 1050 in an *adab* anthology by al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, who used a version replacing the word ″king″ with ″imam.″[8]

The Fatimids (969–1171), who ruled Egypt in al-Mubashshir′s time, belonged to a movement with a powerful sense of social justice and an expectation of a charismatic ruler to enact it. The precise nature of the ruler′s charisma was a secret imparted only to initiates, but his reforming role was part of the movement′s official propaganda. The Fatimid caliphs, especially in their celebration of public festivals and processions, drew on the common people′s ideology of the ruler as a fountain of justice to whom petitions were addressed, a victorious warrior, sponsor of the infrastructure, and bestower of prosperity.[9] A legal compendium by the chief Fatimid qadi al-Nu'mān highlighted the interdependence of ruler and people and warned that God

> hearkens to the prayer of every oppressed one. . . . Cherish most that conduct which conforms to the highest degree of rightfulness, is the most perfect expression of obedience to the Lord, and ensures most the contentment of the common people, for the discontent of the common people outweighs the contentment of the retinue.[10]

He stressed the interdependence of all social groups and the contribution of that interdependence to the prosperity of the whole society, and therefore recommended that the ruler maintain the populace in good order:

> Take care of those who pay the *kharāj* and consider everything that will keep them in good estate, for upon their welfare rests that

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sages (Ṭabaqāt al-' aṭibbā' wal-ḥukamā'), ed. Fu'ād Sayyid (Cairo, 1955), 26. Many of the quotations of this saying were listed by Iḥsān 'Abbās, ed., *'Ahd Ardashīr* (Beirut, 1967), 98; and Joseph Sadan, ″A ′Closed-Circuit′ Saying on Practical Justice,″ *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 10 (1987): 325–41; but these scholars did not contextualize or discuss them.

[7]Ibn 'Abd Rabbih al-Andalūsī, *Al-'Iqd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1928), 1:18.

[8]Abū al-Wafā' al-Mubashshir ibn Fātik, *Los Bocados de Oro (Mujtār al-Ḥikam),* ed. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī (Beirut, 1980), 222.

[9]Paula Sanders, ″From Court Ceremony to Urban Language: Ceremonial in Fatimid Cairo and Fusṭāṭ,″ in *The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times: Essays in Honor of Bernard Lewis*, ed. C. E. Bosworth et al. (Princeton, 1989), 311–22.

[10]Gerard Salinger, ″A Muslim Mirror for Princes,″ *Muslim World* 46 (1956): 28, 33.

> of others. . . . They and none other are the mainstay of the state, and the people are dependent on them. Therefore you should care for the cultivation of their land and the favorable state of their livelihood more than for the easy collection of their *kharāj*.[11]

In the first century of their rule, the Fatimids could take credit for a rise in Egyptian prosperity, perhaps by following this advice. The protection they provided enhanced their legitimacy, according to the Persian poet and pilgrim Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who was there in the 1040s.

> The people are so secure under the sultan′s reign that no one fears his agents, and they rely on him neither to inflict injustice nor to have designs on anyone′s property. . . . The security and welfare of the people of Egypt have reached a point that the drapers, moneychangers, and jewelers do not even lock their shops—they only lower a net across the front, and no one tampers with anything.[12]

The Fatimids put great stress on their ability to supply grain and bread and to control the grain merchants. They also paid for the repair of irrigation works, provided public safety, granted land to petitioners, and reportedly presided over the *maẓālim* court in person.[13] A Fatimid political testament called the judicial office ″the balance of God′s justice which He has established on earth to vindicate the offended against the offender, to defend the weak against the strong″; it urged rulers to hear the grievances of the people and lighten their tax burden in times of distress, and recommended that judges be appointed who were learned, forbearing, pious, who would not be impatient, ″get angry with the contenders, or be exasperated at the halting speech of stammerers.″[14] Ibn al-Sayrafī, author of a treatise on bureaucracy, saw the people′s petitions as improving the state′s reputation by bringing injustices to the attention of the ruler, initiating investigations, and

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[11]Ibid., 33.

[12]Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Naser-e Khosraw′s Book of Travels (Safarnāma)*, trans. W. M. Thackston, Jr. (New York, 1986), 55–57.

[13]Boaz Shoshan, ″Fāṭimid Grain Policy and the Post of the Muḥtasib,″ *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 13 (1981): 183–85; Yaacov Lev, ″The Suppression of Crime, the Supervision of Markets, and Urban Society in the Egyptian Capital during the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries,″ *Mediterranean Historical Review* 3 (1988): 90; Kenneth M. Cuno, *The Pasha′s Peasants: Land, Society, and Economy in Lower Egypt, 1740–1858* (Cambridge, 1992), 20; Sadik A. Assaad, *The Reign of al-Hakim bi Amr Allah (386/996–411/1021): A Political Study* (Beirut, 1974), 78–83.

[14]Salinger, ″Muslim Mirror,″ 34, 31.

promoting the good behavior of officials.[15] All sorts of people used the *maẓālim* court: Muslims and non-Muslims, city dwellers and country folk, rich and poor sent petitions or brought their cases to the court in Cairo and obtained responses to their pleas.

During the Ayyubid period, the Circle of Justice became one of the elements in the legitimation of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ibn ʻAyyūb. His biographer, the religious scholar Ibn Shaddād, began the biography with chapters on religion and justice describing Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as a just governor, quoting the Prophetic definition of a just governor as the Shadow of God upon earth, and alluding to the just governor′s favored position on the day of resurrection. In the role of a just ruler, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn performed a revenue survey, remitted non-Quranic taxes (restored by later sultans),[16] and regularly held *maẓālim* court. As Ibn Shaddād described the court:

> Every Monday and Thursday he sat in public to administer justice, and on these occasions jurisconsults, kâdis, and men learned in the law were present. Every one who had a grievance was admitted—great and small, aged women and feeble men. He sat thus, not only when he was in the city, but even when he was travelling; and he always received with his own hand the petitions that were presented to him, and did his utmost to put an end to every form of oppression that was reported. Every day, either during the daytime or in the night, he spent an hour with his secretary, and wrote on each petition, in the terms which God suggested to him, an answer to its prayer.[17]

In this receptive atmosphere, literature on justice began to emerge. A work of advice written for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn on the virtues of leadership quoted the eight-line Circle of Justice in a section on the virtue of justice, putting it in the mouth of

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[15]Henri Masse, ″Ibn el-Çaïrafi, Code de la chancellerie d′état (Période fâtimide),″ *Bulletin de l′Institut français d′archéologie orientale* 11 (1914): 113–15.

[16]Claude Cahen, ″L′Évolution de l′iqta‘ du IXe au XIIIe siècle: Contribution à une histoire comparée des sociétés medievales,″ *Annales, économies, sociétés, civilisations* 8 (1953): 46; al-Maqrīzī, *A History of the Ayyubid Sultans of Egypt,* trans. R. J. C. Broadhurst (Boston, 1980), 75–76, 231. A twelfth-century history of eastern Anatolia equated justice with remission of non-Islamic taxes and injustice with ″murder, mulcting, and the imposition of illegal taxes″ (Carole Hillenbrand, *A Muslim Principality in Crusader Times: The Early Artuqid State* [Istanbul, 1990], 34, 42, 109).

[17]Bahā’ al-Dīn ibn Shaddād, *The Life of Saladin, by Behâ ed-Dîn,* trans. C. W. Wilson and Lieutenant-Colonel Conder (London, 1897; reprint as *Saladin, or, What Befell Sultan Yusuf* [Lahore, 1976]), 15.

Anūshirvān.[18] Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn′s vizier was also the recipient of a work of *adab* that quoted the four-line Circle and attributed it to ʻAmr ibn al-ʻĀṣ.[19]

Other Ayyubid rulers do not seem to have shared Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn′s concern for justice; only once did the historian al-Maqrīzī mention any later sultan remitting taxes, even temporarily.[20] Still, the institutional mechanisms for delivering justice that were so highly developed under the Fatimids continued to operate under the Ayyubids. People presented petitions in ″Houses of Justice″ in Aleppo and Cairo which were constructed in imitation of the one previously built by Nūr al-Dīn Zangī in Damascus. Rulers handled petitions privately as well as in public, sometimes appointing others to preside over the public sessions. They considered cases with the aid of a panel of qadis, and their decrees were transmitted not by mere secretaries but by high court officials and religious scholars.[21] Documents were registered in the government offices before being issued, and governors and deputies, headmen and holders of *iqṭā*ʻs were required to enforce the sultan′s orders. The few decrees still extant convey the stress placed by Ayyubid administrators on the need ″to protect the subjects whose affairs were entrusted to us by God.″[22]

The Circle of Justice was disseminated more widely in the Mamluk period. Authors quoted it in a variety of different literary genres and contexts, perhaps as part of a broader effort to Islamize and acculturate their foreign-born rulers. The eight-line version appeared in a work on politics written by the jurist and qadi Ibn Jamāʻah. Although he was a jurist, Ibn Jamāʻah apparently saw no conflict between the Quran and the Circle of Justice. He wrote that ″justice is the cause of the increase of blessings and of the growth of prosperity, but that injustice and tyranny are the reason for the destruction of empires,″ and he expected the sultan to

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[18]ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Naṣr al-Shayzarī, *Al-Nahj al-Maslūk fī Siyāsat al-Mulūk* (Beirut, 1994), 248.

[19]Abū al-Faḍl Jaʻfar ibn Shams al-Khilāfah, *Kitāb al-Ādāb,* ed. Muḥammad Amīn al-Khānjī (Cairo, 1930), 27. This author′s source was probably *Al-ʻIqd al-Farīd,* which has the same form of the saying, also attributed to ʻAmr ibn al-ʻĀṣ.

[20]Al-Maqrīzī, *History of the Ayyubid Sultans,* 233.

[21]Yasser Tabbaa, ″Circles of Power: Palace, Citadel, and City in Ayyubid Aleppo,″ *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 182–83; idem, *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo* (University Park, PA, 1997), 63–66; S. M. Stern, ″Petitions from the Ayyūbid Period,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 27 (1964): 14–16. Ibn Shaddād himself waited on Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn for this purpose and was active in his administration of justice; in this way rulers could conveniently obey the counsel of advice writers to associate with religious scholars rather than courtiers and scribes whose faith might be less orthodox.

[22]S. M. Stern, ″Two Ayyūbid Decrees from Sinai,″ in *Documents from Islamic Chanceries,* ed. idem (Columbia, SC, 1965), 13; Geoffrey Khan, *Arabic Legal and Administrative Documents in the Cambridge Genizah Collections* (Cambridge, 1993), 23.

practice justice, since ″the justice of the king is the life of the subjects and the spirit of the realm.″[23] In exchange for obedience to the ruler, the people had the right to demand justice from him.[24] Ibn Jamāʻah even quoted the Circle, though in a garbled form:

> The kingdom is a building supported by the army. The army are soldiers assembled by money. Money is sustenance obtained from prosperity, and prosperity is an accomplishment brought about by justice. And the wise men say that the world is a garden whose wall is the state. The state is authority supported by the soldiers. The soldiers are an army assembled by money. Money is sustenance gathered by the subjects. The subjects are servants raised up by justice.[25]

Surprisingly, Ibn Jamāʻah′s opposite number, Ibn Taymīyah, who recommended a public policy based completely on the Quran and hadith, a *siyāsah sharʻīyah,* also held an understanding of the ruler′s tasks that incorporated aspects of this concept of justice. Like al-Māwardī, he awarded to the sultan the authority to administer justice, wage holy war, lead prayers, and relieve the oppressed, and on that account designated him as God′s Shadow on Earth. Without precisely defining justice, he quoted a hadith about the just ruler and likened him to a shepherd, responsible for the flock: ″he is the right ruler who gives to men what men need and never appropriates except what is lawful and decent.″ Government in his view had essentially two functions, fiscal and judicial, and its purpose was ″the improvement of the religious and material conditions of men.″[26]

Ibn Jamāʻah′s offhand quotation of the eight-line Circle suggests that the idea was familiar to many of his readers. This impression is strengthened by the fact that al-Waṭwaṭ introduced a section on justice in his book of ethics by paraphrasing

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[23]Quoted in Erwin I. J. Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam: An Introductory Outline* (Cambridge, 1962, reprint, Westport, CT, 1985), 50; Ann K. S. Lambton, *State and Government in Medieval Islam, An Introduction to the Study of Islamic Political Theory: The Jurists* (Oxford, 1981), 140.

[24]Irmeli Perho, ″The Sultan and the Common People,″ *Studia Orientalia* 82 (1997): 145.

[25]Hans Kofler, ″Handbuch des islamischen Staats- und Verwaltungsrechtes von Badr-al-Dīn ibn Ǧamāʻah,″ *Islamica* 6 (1934): 363; partially quoted in Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam*, 50; and in Lambton, *State and Government*, 143 and n. 16.

[26]Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah, *Ibn Taimiyya on Public and Private Law in Islam,* trans. Omar A. Farrukh (Beirut, 1966), 187–88, 33, 19, 71; see also Fauzi M. Najjar, ″*Siyasa* in Islamic Political Philosophy,″ in *Islamic Theology and Philosophy: Studies in Honor of George F. Hourani,* ed. Michael E. Marmura (Albany, 1984), 100.

the Circle′s last line, doubtless expecting his readers to recognize the quotation:

> For justice is the support of the world and the faith,
> And the cause of the health of all creation.[27]

Readers could have encountered the Circle in a new biography of Aristotle by the thirteenth-century Egyptian author Ibn Abī Usaybī'ah, found in his collection of medical biographies called *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*. Expanding upon Ibn Juljul′s earlier biographical collection, this book listed among the sayings of Aristotle the eight sentences, which he desired to be written at his death on the sides of his costly tomb. The eight sentences, carefully numbered, were marked on an abstract eight-sided diagram (of the tomb?).[28]

Other Mamluk authors and encyclopedists, whose books were accessible in private and public libraries throughout the city, wrote chapters on justice and injustice in which they liberally cited the Circle of Justice, most often in its four-line form. The administrator al-Nuwayrī, in his encyclopedic reference work of *adab* and history *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,* quoted the standard version and attributed it to 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ; Ibn Ya'qūb included it in a condensation of the Seljuk grammarian al-Zamakhsharī′s *adab* collection; and al-Ibshīhī, in his anthology of ″edifying discourses and wise maxims″ called *Al-Mustaṭraf fī Kull Fann Mustaẓraf,* gave it five terms, and traced it to Anūshirvān.[29] The eight-line version appeared in al-'Abbāsī′s *Āthār al-Uwal fī Tartīb al-Duwal,* introduced by the note that Alexander had had between his hands an eight-sided wheel or ball of gold which Aristotle had invented, on each side of which was a political sentence on which he was to act. It was also quoted in Ibn al-Azraq′s *Badā'i' al-Silk fī Ṭabā'i' al-Milk,* a work that drew on Ibn Khaldūn.[30]

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[27]Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yaḥyá al-Waṭwaṭ, *Ghurar al-Khaṣā'iṣ al-Wāḍiḥah wa-'Urar al-Naqā'iṣ al-Fāḍiḥah* (Būlāq, 1867), 33.

[28]Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās ibn Abī Usaybī'ah, *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā',* ed. Nizār Riḍā (Beirut, 1980), 102–3.

[29]Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1964), 6:35; Muḥammad ibn Qāsim ibn Ya'qūb, *Rawḍ al-Akhyār, al-Muntakhab min Rabī' al-Abrār fī 'Ilm al-Muḥāḍarāt fī Anwā' al-Muḥāwarāt min al-'Ulūm al-'Arabīyah wa-al-Funūn al-Adabīyah lil-Zamakhsharī* (Būlāq, 1862), 35–36; Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ibshīhī, *Al-Mustaṭraf fī Kull Fann Mustaẓraf* (Beirut, 1983), 1:228. On Cairo libraries see Otfried Weintritt, ″Concepts of History as Reflected in Arabic Historiographical Writing in Ottoman Syria and Egypt (1517–1700),″ in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 199–200.

[30]Ḥasan ibn 'Alī al-'Abbāsī, *Āthār al-Uwal fī Tartīb al-Duwal* (Beirut, 1989), 71. Sadan also mentions an unnamed sixteenth-century Egyptian author who described the eight sentences as being written on a wheel or ball which Aristotle turned to demonstrate their continuousness and

The history written by Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406), with its well-known *Introduction (Muqaddimah)* containing the author′s principles of analysis, was probably the most outstanding cultural product of the period. Ibn Khaldūn served as a *maẓālim* judge, qadi, and royal advisor, describing his work in the *maẓālim* court in his autobiography: ″I made the utmost effort to enforce God′s law, as I had been charged to do. . . . I considered the plaintiff and the accused equally, without any concern for their status or power in society; I gave assistance to any weaker party, to level out power inequalities; I refused mediation or petitions on either party′s behalf.″[31] In the *Muqaddimah* he quoted the Circle of Justice in three versions: the tale of Bahrām and the owls first told by al-Mas‘ūdī (d. 956), the four-line saying of Anūshirvān, and the eight sentences of Aristotle.[32] Unlike others who cited the Circle, Ibn Khaldūn did not consider it a mere literary gem or even a piece of good advice; to him it summarized the real nature of human association and formed the key to the science of civilization which he had been led by God to understand and set forth. He credited the author of the *Sirr al-Asrār* with the circular arrangement of the eight sentences but expressed his disapproval of all previous writers for not supporting this crucial statement with arguments or pursuing its historical implications, as he intended to do in his *Introduction:*

> These are eight sentences of political wisdom. They are connected with each other, the end of each one leading into the beginning of the next. They are held together in a circle with no definite beginning or end. The author was proud of what he had hit upon and made much of the significance of the sentences. When our discussion in the section on royal authority and dynasties has been studied and due critical attention given to it, it will be found to constitute an exhaustive, very clear, fully substantiated interpretation and detailed exposition of these sentences.[33]

Ibn Khaldūn felt that all others who had copied and relayed the Circle of

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interrelatedness; al-‘Abbāsī was perhaps this author′s source (Sadan, ″A ′Closed-Circuit′ Saying,″ 335 and n. 20). Abū ‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Azraq, *Badā’i‘ al-Silk fī Ṭabā’i‘ al-Milk,* ed. ‘Alī Sāmī al-Nashshār (Baghdad, 1977–78), 1:229.

[31]Ibn Khaldūn, *Le Voyage d′Occident et d′Orient,* trans. Abdesselam Cheddadi (Paris, 1980), 154–55; translated in Morimoto Kosei, ″What Ibn Khaldūn Saw: The Judiciary of Mamluk Egypt,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 112.

[32]Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History,* trans. Franz Rosenthal (New York, 1958), 1:80–82.

[33]Ibid., 81–82; abridgement, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, by N. J. Dawood (Princeton, 1967; hereafter cited as Ibn Khaldūn/Dawood), 40–41.

Justice had at best touched upon the problems he sought to analyze in depth; Ibn al-Muqaffaʻ merely mentioned them in passing, and al-Turtūshī presented illustrative stories without any analysis. Specialists in religious law such as al-Māwardī discussed the legal conditions under which rulers might assume power, but Ibn Khaldūn was investigating the nature of civilization and the requirements of human existence and therefore found the ruler′s behavior more significant than his origin or intentions. He saw the duties of a good ruler as protecting the community, restraining mutual hostility and attacks on property, supervising the market and enforcing contracts, issuing trustworthy coinage, and keeping the people satisfied with their lot in life. Royal authority, according to him, was a relationship with the ruled: ″A ruler is he who has subjects *(raʻāyā)* and subjects are persons who have a ruler. . . . If such rulership is good and beneficial, it will serve the interests of the subjects.″ Since civilization was prior to religion, the shariʻah should be seen not as a constitution for the state but as a measuring stick for rulers, who should employ it in combination with ethical-rational principles in a combination best described in the letter of advice by Ṭāhir Dhū al-Yamīnayn, which he quoted in full.[34] That letter described the governor as

> a watchman, and a shepherd; the people in your realm are only called ″your flock″ because you are their shepherd and their overseer; you take from them that which they hand over to you from their surplus income and subsistence means, and you expend it on things which will ensure their continued material well-being and spiritual welfare and which will alleviate their burdens. . . . As a consequence, charitable works will abound in your land and prosperity will be general in your territories. The land under your rule will burgeon with fertility, the yield from the land tax will increase, and your income in kind will be proportionately expanded. By this means you will be able to strengthen the bonds linking your army to you, and you will bring contentment to your people through the personal largess which you will be able to lavish upon them.[35]

According to Ibn Khaldūn, struggle for power did not in itself delegitimate kingship, but a king′s power could be dissipated by tyranny.[36] The ruler and his army were supported by the wealth of the conquered cities, and they returned the

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[34]Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah,* 1:383; 2:140–56.

[35]C. E. Bosworth, ″An Early Arabic Mirror for Princes: Ṭāhir Dhū′l-Yamīnain′s Epistle to His Son ʻAbdallāh (206/821),″ *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 29 (1970): 37–38.

[36]Lambton, *State and Government,* 163; Rosenthal, *Political Thought in Medieval Islam,* 92.

people′s taxes in the form of gifts and public works. In order to maintain their power, the powerful became personally involved in the production of wealth. They would be successful in this as long as they remained just, but as the level of luxury among the rulers increased so would the level of exploitation, and injustice soon produced division and ″the ruin of civilization.″[37] So insistent was Ibn Khaldūn on this point that in discussing the injurious effects of injustice on society he repeated in full the story of Bahrām and the owls, a cautionary tale in which Bahrām passed by a ruined village where two owls were hooting. On asking what they were saying, the king learned that the two owls were to be married, and that the female owl had demanded as a wedding present twenty ruined villages like that one so that she could hoot in them. The male owl responded that if the king continued in his unjust ways, he would easily be able to give her a thousand ruined villages.[38] Al-Mas‘ūdī′s retelling of the story ended by quoting the vizier′s advice from the Circle of Justice, from which Ibn Khaldūn drew the logical conclusion:

> ″O King, the might of royal authority materializes only through the religious law, obedience toward God, and compliance with His commands and prohibitions. The religious law persists only through royal authority. Mighty royal authority is achieved only through men. Men persist only with the help of property. The only way to property is through cultivation. The only way to cultivation is through justice. Justice is a balance set up among mankind. The Lord set it up and appointed an overseer of it, and that is the ruler. . . .″ The lesson this story teaches is that injustice ruins civilization. The ruin of civilization has as its consequence the complete destruction of the dynasty.[39]

In keeping with Ibn Khaldūn′s view of the Circle of Justice as an essential social mechanism, we will proceed to examine how this concept of justice appeared in actual Egyptian life and practice. Its long life and popularity cannot be attributed merely to the cleverness and pithiness of the forms in which it was stated. Rather,

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[37]Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah,* 1:284, 313, 340–41; 2:3, 5, 105, 139; Ibn Khaldūn/Dawood, 108, 134–35, 189–90, 238.

[38]Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah,* 2:104–5; see Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mas‘ūdī, *Les Prairies d′or,* trans. Barbier de Maynard and Pavet de Courteille, rev. and corr. Charles Pellat (Paris, 1962), 1:222–24; idem, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Ma‘ādin al-Jawhar,* ed. Barbier de Maynard and Pavet de Courteille, rev. and corr. Charles Pellat (Beirut, 1965–79), 1:293–94. Other authors transferred this story to Anūshirvān or another monarch.

[39]Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimah,* 2:104–6; Ibn Khaldūn/Dawood, 238–39.

it encapsulated elements of the political relationship that were valued by both the rulers and the ruled. First of all, it provided criteria for legitimating and praising the ruler. Many quotations could be cited; for example, in the fifteenth century a member of the ulama called attention to the rulers′ devotion of their lives to the defense of the believers, their protection of the helpless subjects against brigandage and robbery, and their maintenance of order in the cities.[40] The Mamluk rulers themselves adopted it as a standard of behavior; Sultan Qalāwūn′s instructions to his deputy stated that ″justice results in the cultivation of the land and financial profits which are the essential element, or basis, of the armies,″ and so he ordered his deputy to ″collect proper petitions from all the people to discuss them in order to preserve that golden age″ because ″the strong must not use their power to dominate the weak.″[41]

The Mamluk armies were supported by *iqṭā*ʿs, and it was in the allocation of *iqṭā*ʿs and the administration of taxes that the rural population felt the ruler′s justice or injustice most directly. Ordinarily government agents estimated taxation levels on the basis of the height of the Nile flood and made a more accurate assessment at the end of the growing season by surveying the actual area planted to crops. ″This,″ said al-Nuwayrī in his secretarial handbook, ″is justice and equity, and whoever departs from it has erred and done wrong.″ An earlier handbook by the late Ayyubid finance official al-Nābulusī had decreed ″failure to make a survey of all private and public property annually, by faithful and recognized assessors, together with honest and intelligent soldiers who are heedful, scribes who are expert in surveying, and two or three of the most faithful accountants, who fear for their honor″ to be ″amazing negligence.″[42] Under the Mamluks, however, the soldiers and administrators who received *iqṭā*ʿs were responsible for making the survey themselves, which left ample room for abuses.[43] Another type

[40]Ulrich Haarmann, ″Rather the Injustice of the Turks than the Righteousness of the Arabs—Changing ʿUlamāʾ Attitudes towards Mamluk Rule in the Late Fifteenth Century,″ *Studia Islamica* 68 (1988): 70.

[41]Linda S. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689A.H./1279–1290A.D.)* (Stuttgart, 1998), 257, 259–60; Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqtaʿs and Fallahun* (Leiden, 1997), 108–9.

[42]Quoted in Gladys Frantz-Murphy, *The Agrarian Administration of Egypt from the Arabs to the Ottomans*, Supplément aux Annales islamologiques, no. 9 (Cairo, 1986), 11–13, 52; and Charles A. Owen, ″Scandal in the Egyptian Treasury: A Portion of the *Lumaʿ al-Qawānīn* of ʿUthmān ibn Ibrāhīm al-Nābulusī,″ *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 14 (1955): 80.

[43]Frantz-Murphy, *Agrarian Administration,* 69–70. The historian al-Maqrīzī stated that in the early period a survey was performed every thirty years, or once a generation, to readjust the assessed amounts; this period coincided with the solar/lunar year cycle which generated an extra

of survey, a *rawk*, was made to allocate the *iqṭā'*s among their holders; the Mamluks made two of these surveys, in 1298 and 1315. They had the effect of centralizing landholding in the hands of the elite: the first took *iqṭā'*s from ordinary soldiers and redistributed them to Mamluk officers, while the second increased the number of *iqṭā'*s under the direct control of the sultan.[44] Despite this centralization, however, later Mamluk sultans were unable to maintain the irrigation works or to force the *iqṭā'* holders to do so, and demands for heightened revenue were not met by any improvement in production. The people responded to increasingly oppressive tax collection not with open rebellion but with foot-dragging and evasion, and finally by petitioning the *maẓālim* court.[45]

The *maẓālim* court, the court for the redress of wrongs, was described by the finance official al-Qalqashandī (d. 1418) as "rendering justice to the victim of a wrong against the one who committed it, delivering the right from the wrong, succoring the weak against the strong, assuring the observation of the rules of justice throughout the realm."[46] This institution goes back to ancient Mesopotamia, and the Mamluk rulers also maintained it. During times of political upheaval, however, the *maẓālim* court was not convened. Reopened when the crisis was under control, it symbolized the stability and order provided by a powerful sultan. As elsewhere in the Muslim lands, the *maẓālim* court heard cases against qadis, the great men of the realm, and the sultan himself. Under the Mamluks, however, the *maẓālim* court changed over time from an imitation of Ayyubid judicial practice to a ceremonial occasion renewing the ruler's legitimacy, and royal judicial activity was transferred to other locations.[47]

The Mamluks first heard *maẓālim* cases in the old Ayyubid House of Justice

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lunar year every thirty-three solar years; ibid., 56; Michael Brett, "The Way of the Peasant," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47 (1984): 51. It also coincided with the conjunction of the two unlucky planets Saturn and Mars in the sign of Cancer once every thirty years, presaging disturbances and poor conditions; Ibn Khaldūn/Dawood, 261.

[44]Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt, A.H. 564–741/A.D. 1169–1341* (London, 1972), 52–55; P. M. Holt, "The Sultanate of al-Manṣūr Lāchīn (696–9/1296–9)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 36 (1973): 527–29; Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341)* (Leiden, 1995), 31–53.

[45]Eliyahu Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1976), 315; Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994), 106.

[46]Al-Qalqashandī, quoted in Émile Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciaire en pays d'Islam,* Annales de l'Université de Lyon, ser. 3, fasc. 4 (Paris, 1938–43), 2:147.

[47]Perho, "The Sultan and the Common People," 148; P. M. Holt, "The Position and Power of the Mamlūk Sultan," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38 (1975): 247; Tyan, *Histoire,* 184–85, 194, 199.

in a Cairo madrasah. In 1262, to reinforce the independence of the Mamluk regime, Sultan Baybars built a new House of Justice near the Citadel. In 1315 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad built a second one inside the Citadel, with open sides to suggest the sultan's accessibility. He presided over its sessions in person, surrounding them with ceremonies courting popular support.[48] Greater attention to justice was possible during his reign because the threat from the Mongols and Crusaders was receding and the sultan was becoming less a military commander and more a head of state.[49] In 1387 Sultan Barqūq started hearing *maẓālim* cases in the Royal Stables below the Citadel. This was not degrading; in Turkish practice stables were often places of political sanctuary. The *maẓālim* sessions in the Royal Stables were preceded by a magnificent military procession down from the palace and featured the chief qadis, government officials, and military officers arrayed around the sultan in advisory positions.[50] The House of Justice in the Citadel then became the place where the sultan "held court" in the ceremonial sense, received ambassadors, announced state decisions, set prices and coinage values, received taxes, and distributed robes of honor.[51] Special *maẓālim* courts held at the enthronement of new sultans were ceremonies of legitimation, including the reception of petitioners from all over the country. The hearing of petitions was made a symbolic ornament to the ruler's power and lost some of its effectiveness as a complaint against governmental oppression, becoming a vehicle for the advancement of officials and the achievement of the sultans' political aims.[52]

In this situation, real complaints began to employ less formal but more effective channels, such as the sultan's wife or the bureaucracy.[53] According to al-Qalqashandī, the majority of petitions were handled through administrative channels. Mamluk

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[48]Jørgen S. Nielsen, *Secular Justice in an Islamic State: Maẓālim under the Baḥrī Mamlūks, 662/1264–789/1387* (Istanbul, 1985), 51; Nasser O. Rabbat, "The Ideological Significance of the *Dār al-ʿAdl* in the Medieval Islamic Orient," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 27 (1995): 14, 18; for diagrams of the locations of these buildings see ibid., 8–11.

[49]The role of the "vicegerent," who took charge while the sultan was away on campaign, declined in importance at just this time; P. M. Holt, "The Structure of Government in the Mamluk Sultanate," in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades,* ed. idem (Warminster, England, 1977), 53.

[50]Walther Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamschen Ägypten* (Hamburg, 1928), 115; Tyan, *Histoire,* 2:247–50; Nielsen, *Secular Justice,* 56–58.

[51]Nielsen, *Secular Justice,* p. 52; idem, "*Maẓālim* and *Dār al-ʿAdl* under the Early Mamluks," *Muslim World* 66 (1976): 130. For a description of these ceremonies see S. M. Stern, "Petitions from the Mamluk Period (Notes on the Mamluk Documents from Sinai)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 29 (1966): 265–66.

[52]Nielsen, *Secular Justice,* 61, 123.

[53]Nielsen, "*Maẓālim* and *Dār al-ʿAdl*," 120.

administration was highly developed, to judge by the flourishing genre of secretarial manuals, at least eight of which were produced during the Mamluk period. These manuals described bureaucratic methods and document production, transmitting the governing heritage of previous regimes as well as current modifications to it. The greatest of them, al-Qalqashandī's magisterial fourteen-volume *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá,* continued to be read by succeeding regimes as a summation of the best in administrative practice. Extant petitions, and decrees issued in response to them, show that the form of the petition and the procedures used to handle it modified Fatimid precedents only slightly.[54] The topics of complaint in surviving documents include such problems as interference with a poor man's palm trees, Bedouin raids on St. Catherine's monastery, and an *iqṭāʿ* holder's taking revenue to which he was not entitled.[55]

If the petition process became ineffective, the populace could resort to mass demonstrations. Because the rulers disapproved of popular political activity, however, they tried to maintain a certain level of responsiveness to petitions as a safety valve. The records show that when the authorities became too oppressive, the people did take their demands for justice to the streets.[56] An upsurge of crime, urban rioting, or Bedouin incursions was interpreted as a lapse in the ruler's ability to govern and a strike against his legitimacy. "Every grain crisis thus became a . . . political struggle."[57] In 1412 the sultan punished grocers who closed their shops in the wake of coinage inflation, because the people's inability to buy bread could be interpreted as the ruler's inability to feed his flock.[58] Mamluk sultans, to maintain the public order on which their power rested, dispensed free

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[54]Samir al-Droubi, *A Critical Edition of and Study on Ibn Faḍl Allāh's Manual of Secretaryship "Al-Taʿrīf bi-al-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf"* (al-Karak, Jordan, 1992), 68–79; J. S. Nielsen, "Maẓālim," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 6:933–35; Stern, "Petitions from the Mamluk Period," 240–41, 251.

[55]Stern, "Petitions from the Mamluk Period," 245, 250; D. S. Richards, "A Mamlūk Petition and a Report from the *Dīwān al-Jaysh*," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 40 (1977): 3.

[56]Perho, "The Sultan and the Common People," 148–49; Miura Toru, "The Structure of the Quarter and the Role of the Outlaws—The Ṣāliḥīya Quarter and the Zuʿr in the Mamluk Period," in *Urbanism in Islam: The Proceedings of the International Conference on Urbanism in Islam* (Tokyo, 1989), 3:420, 423–24; Boaz Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo* (Cambridge, 1993), 52, 54, 56.

[57]Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1967), 147; Boaz Shoshan, "Grain Riots and the 'Moral Economy': Cairo, 1350–1517," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 10 (1980): 461. For another food riot with political implications see Richard T. Mortel, "The Decline of Mamluk Civil Bureaucracy in the Fifteenth Century: The Career of Abū'l-Khayr al-Naḥḥās," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 6 (1995): 181.

[58]Shoshan, "Grain Riots and the 'Moral Economy'," 465.

grain to the poor, took steps to deal with plague or communal strife, and tried to control the violence of the mighty. There was no regular institutional mechanism for this kind of relief; it was thought to proceed directly from the personal justice of the ruler.[59] Sultan Qāytbāy used his judicial role in *maẓālim* to emphasize his solidarity with his subjects and to win their loyalty, intervening personally in cases of official dereliction and announcing his return to health after a riding accident by presiding over the *maẓālim* court. His successor Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī, in order to be seen as the fountain of justice, tore down the House of Justice and built a bigger and more magnificent one. He also restored the Nilometer, Egypt′s barometer of prosperity, and initiated popular festivities, acting as the bestower of the people′s well-being by praying for the annual flood. An advice book written for him, *Ṭaḥrīr al-Sulūk fī Tadbīr al-Mulūk,* was dedicated to the intricacies of judging *maẓālim* cases.[60]

According to the Egyptian historian Ibn Iyās, however, royal injustice was a key issue in the fall of the Mamluks. His narrative of their last days was couched in terms of the Circle of Justice and its absence. He told how Sultan al-Ghawrī′s preparations for war with the Ottomans included oppressive levies on peasant villages and extortion of money from women whose fathers had died and who sacrificed their dowries to pay. Those governing the city in his absence were all known tyrants, except for his regent Tūmānbāy, who heard petitions and was ″beloved by the people and the poor.″ In the first battle against the Ottomans, Sultan al-Ghawrī was killed and his body lost, never to be buried in the magnificent tomb for which he had squeezed so much money from the people. He was commemorated in a verse describing the disastrous effects of injustice:

> Look with wonder at al-Ashraf al-Ghuri,
> Who, after his tyranny had reached its height in Cairo,
> Lost his kingdom in an hour,
> Lost this world and the world to come.

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[59]Perho, ″The Sultan and the Common People,″ 149–50; Carl F. Petry, ″′Quis Custodiet Custodes?′ Revisited: the Prosecution of Crime in the Late Mamluk Sultanate,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 30; William Tucker, ″Environmental Hazards, Natural Disasters, Economic Loss, and Mortality in Mamluk Syria,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 122.

[60]Carl F. Petry, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (Seattle, 1993), 79, 106; idem, *Protectors or Praetorians?* 155–58, 164, 161; idem, ″Royal Justice in Mamluk Cairo: Contrasting Motives of Two Sultans,″ in *Saber Religioso y Poder Politico en el Islam* (Madrid, 1994), 197–211. For an interpretation of al-Ghawrī′s actions as resulting from piety see Robert Irwin, ″The Privatization of ′Justice′ under the Circassian Mamluks,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 69. Ibn al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-Wahhāb al-Aʻraj, *Ṭaḥrīr al-Sulūk fī Tadbīr al-Mulūk,* ed. Fu'ād ʻAbd al-Munʻim (Alexandria, 1982).

Tūmānbāy was chosen as his successor to ″abolish the tyrannical innovations of al-Ghuri.″ In an act heavy with symbolism, he tore down al-Ghawrī′s stone seat or throne and replaced it with a simple wooden dais. A poem on the occasion explained its meaning:

> The Dais of Justice has come back,
> The ″Mastabah″ of Injustice has been pulled down;
> Tuman Bai has become amongst the people
> As one who causes the wolf to live with the sheep in peace.
> Oh! what a King he is! his justice has become notorious
> Amongst Arabs, and people of other countries.

Besides making symbolic gestures, Tūmānbāy punished advisors who recommended oppressive measures, even to raise money for an army bonus, and he tried to enforce Islamic law. It was too little too late, though; in the last battle his troops fled, leaving him to defeat.[61]

To Ibn Iyās, and perhaps to most Egyptians in the Mamluk period, the Circle of Justice was more than a literary curiosity or a propaganda ploy of rulers. It also played a central role in the moral economy of medieval Egyptian peasants, soldiers, and even historians, encapsulating the people′s expectations of their rulers and providing a measuring rod for how well or poorly they met them. Rulers were well aware of these expectations and tried to live up to them, or at least to appear as if they did. The people′s obedience was carefully graded to match their estimate of the ruler′s justice, and they took advantage of the institutions of petitioning and the *maẓālim* court to register their complaints. Other popular actions, such as bread riots and the withholding of taxes, also played on the same understanding of an interdependence between the people′s welfare and the sultans′ power. Thus, the idea behind the Circle of Justice must be taken seriously as a political idea in the Egyptian context. It is clear that our image of Mamluk government as pure force, which we tend to derive from the notorious custom of Egyptian peasants not to pay their taxes until they were beaten to within an inch of their lives, has to be modified to include a calculus of justice based on the time-honored Circle, according to which the peasants′ ability to provide revenue was understood to be dependent on the ruler′s ability to provide justice and good administration.

[61]Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Iyās, *An Account of the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt in the Year A.H. 922 (A.D. 1516),* trans. W. H. Salmon (London, 1921; reprint, Westport, CT, 1981), 5–6, 10–11, 17–18, 26, 44, 51–53, 57, 58, 76, 78–80, 93–95, 112–13.

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Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah: His Life and Works*

There is hardly another Muslim Mamluk polymath of such standing who at the same time is best known as the student of someone else. Despite his own extraordinary scientific output, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah (1292–1350) was Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Taymīyah's (1263–1328) most famous and important student. Even centuries later, he is still primarily known and defined by his relation and service to his master, whose works he compiled and whose legal doctrines and hermeneutical and theological convictions he defended. While Ibn Taymīyah led a life characterized by conflict on several fronts, Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah—with the exception of a few incidents—was a rather bookish man who preferred pious scientific endeavors to confrontations of any kind.

Biographical Sketch

The full name of this scholar in the shadow is Abū ʻAbd Allāh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb ibn Saʻd ibn Ḥarīz ibn Makkī Zayn al-Dīn al-Zurʻī al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanbalī, known as Shams al-Dīn Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, or simply Ibn al-Qayyim. It is, however, wrong to say Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, since the element "Qayyim" is the first part of a genitive clause. Being in the *status constructus,* "Qayyim" takes no article.[1] Nevertheless, this is a frequent mistake. The article, however, returns when one uses the short version Ibn al-Qayyim. Ibn al-Qayyim's father, Abū Bakr, took care of the Damascene Jawzīyah madrasah, so that the term means nothing more than "son of the superintendent *(qayyim)* of the Jawzīyah."[2] There is no need to dwell in this article on the numerous other elements of his name.[3] Suffice it to mention his *nisbah* al-Zurʻī

*This article is a by-product of my splendid isolation in the stacks of Harvard's marvelous Widener Library. My research there in 2000–3 was made possible by the German Research Community, the "Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft" or DFG. I am indebted to the DFG and its anonymous expert advisors for a Heisenberg Grant, including two years abroad. I would also like to thank the students of my block seminar at Tübingen University in the winter term 2004/05 for providing a testing ground for this overview and discussing its principal ideas.

[1]Aḥmad Māhir Maḥmūd al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-ʻIlmīyah* (Beirut, 1984), 4.

[2]Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn Mufliḥ, *Al-Maqṣad al-Arshad fī Dhikr Aṣḥāb al-Imām Aḥmad,* ed. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Sulaymān al-Uthaymīn (Riyadh, 1990), 1:265.

[3]Minute details concerning his names are already given in Bakr ibn ʻAbd Allāh Abū Zayd, *Ibn*

(or al-Zarʻī), since we thereby ″know that his family originated from Zarʻa in the Ḥawrān″ (a coincidental parallel with Ibn Taymīyah, whose family was also ousted from Ḥarrān in that region). ″Most probably they fled the Mongolian invasions in the thirteenth century,″[4] so that his family headed to Damascus which was at that time ″the major academic center of the Ḥanbalite world.″[5] Al-Zarʻah itself is described as ″a small farming village fifty-five miles from Damascus,″[6] though by the time of Ibn al-Qayyim′s birth the family had already moved to Damascus.

This short introduction to what is basically an overview of Ibn al-Qayyim′s œuvre gives only rough biographical outlines.[7] The late medieval sources for biographical data on Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah are already diligently displayed in a number of modern Arabic books on this author and are also presented in the foreword of many editions of his books. Nevertheless, a critical biography of Ibn al-Qayyim in a Western language remains to be written. Entries in the vast biographical dictionaries are quite summary; they display a lot of name-dropping, do not offer much analysis, and copy profusely from one another. Obviously Ibn al-Qayyim′s life was quite humdrum judged from the sensationalist viewpoint of biographers and historical chroniclers. Of real importance, however, are the contributions by another Hanbali legal scholar, Ibn Rajab (d. 1397), and the Shafiʻi traditionalist and historian Ibn Kathīr (d. 1373).[8] These two were the most important of Ibn al-Qayyim′s pupils.[9] Ibn Rajab is also ″the last great representative of medieval Hanbalism.″[10] While the reception of Ibn al-Qayyim′s life and works

Qayyim al-Jawzīyah: Ḥayātuhu Āthāruhu Mawāriduh (Riyadh, 1412/1991–92), 17–36, 202–8. On Ibn al-Qayyim′s confusion with other authors see also ʻIwaḍ Allāh Jād Ḥijāzī, *Ibn al-Qayyim wa-Mawqifuhu min al-Tafkīr al-Islāmī* (Cairo, 1960), 26–27.

[4]Gino Schallenbergh, ″The Diseases of the Heart: A Spiritual Pathology by Ibn Qayyim al-Ğawzīya,″ in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras* (Proceedings of the 6th, 7th and 8th International Colloquium organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 1997, 1998 and 1999), ed. U. Vermeulen and J. van Steenbergen (Leuven, 2001), 3:421.

[5]Michael Cook, ″On the Origins of Wahhābism,″ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* 3d ser., 2, no. 2 (1992): 193.

[6]*Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya on the Invocation of God: Al-Wābil al-Ṣayyib min al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib,* trans. Michael Abdurrahman Fitzgerald and Moulay Youssef Slitine (Cambridge, 2000), xi.

[7]For biographical details see Livnat Holtzmann, ″Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya,″ in *Arabic Culture 1350–1830,* ed. D. Stewart and J. E. Lowry, Dictionary of Literary Biography (forthcoming); and idem, ″Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya,″ in *Medieval Islamic Civilization: an Encyclopedia,* ed. Josef W. Meri (New York, 2005).

[8]Ḥijāzī, *Ibn al-Qayyim wa-Mawqifuhu min al-Tafkīr al-Islāmī,* 4. The work is a Ph.D. dissertation from al-Azhar University from 1947. There is a 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1972), with a revised introduction.

[9]On such students see Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 179–83. Another important student is the Shafiʻi scholar Muḥammad al-Dhahabī.

[10]Henri Laoust, ″Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 3:822.

in later centuries certainly deserves more exploration, his rediscovery and enthusiastic propagation by modern Salafi authors also calls for closer analysis. A comparable revival and hailing by such reformers was offered not only to Ibn Taymīyah, his co-Hanbali or *the* neo-Hanbali par excellence, but also, for instance, to the Maliki scholar Muḥammad al-Shāṭibī (d. 1388) and the Shafiʻi ʻIzz al-Dīn Ibn ʻAbd al-Salām (d. 1262). But before we can examine the ongoing interest in Ibn al-Qayyim's œuvre, we need to get a better idea of the scope and variety of this reservoir beyond merely rattling off book titles. Since about the second half of the twentieth century, a considerable number of monographs written in Arabic on Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah have been published. These works are often the outcome of dissertations and other academic writing from faculties of religion, shariʻah law, or literature from the Near East. Many of them are not found in Western libraries or are not even officially published.[11] This study refers to at least some of them, but does not have the scope to fully present their major findings.

To give but a short biographical overview,[12] Ibn al-Qayyim was born on 7 Ṣafar 691/29 January 1292 in Damascus, the city where he also died. His father was a religious scholar who excelled notably in inheritance law *(al-farāʼiḍ)*. From him Ibn al-Qayyim received his initial scientific education[13] and took over the responsibility for the Jawzīyah madrasah. This madrasah also "served as a court of law for the Hanbali *ḳāḍī al-ḳuḍāt* of Damascus."[14] His education "was particularly wide and sound."[15] The subjects of his education, and especially the names of his teachers, are extensively listed in the biographical dictionaries.[16] Among them are Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Hindī,[17] an opponent of Ibn Taymīyah, Ibn Taymīyah himself, and Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʻah. Al-Ṣafadī in particular not only mentions the names of his teachers but also lists the titles of certain books Ibn al-Qayyim read with them.[18] According to the Shafiʻi scholar al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505),

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[11]Some such works are mentioned in Rāshid ibn ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Ḥamd's introduction to his edition of Ibn al-Qayyim, *Al-Kalām ʻalá Masʼalat al-Samāʻ* (Riyadh, 1409/1988–89), 14.

[12]Cf. *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya on the Invocation of God,* xi–xiii; Schallenbergh, "The Diseases of the Heart," 421.

[13]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 37, provides information on some close relatives, 38–41.

[14]Laoust, "Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya," 821.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Given in full detail in Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 49–50, 159–78; cf. Ḥijāzī, *Ibn al-Qayyim wa-Mawqifuhu min al-Tafkīr al-Islāmī,* 31–33; Ibn al-Qayyim, *Al-Kalām ʻalá Masʼalat al-Samāʻ,* ed. al-Ḥamd, 24–28, followed by a list of his students, 28–30.

[17]Sayyid Ahsan, *Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab* (Aligarh, 1988), 32.

[18]Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt* (Istanbul, n.d.), 2:271.

> he wrote *(ṣannafa),* debated *(nāẓara),* practiced legal development *(ijtahada),* and became one of the great authorities *(al-a'immah al-kibār)* in Quran commentary, hadith, practical jurisprudence, both roots [i.e., Quran and *sunnah*], and Arabic.

He then lists fourteen of Ibn al-Qayyim's important works.[19] Ibn Rajab mentions that he was likewise versed in "the science of proper conduct, and the terminology, allusions, and subtleties of the Sufis" *('ilm al-sulūk, wa-kalām ahl al-taṣawwuf, wa-ishārātihim wa-daqā'iqihim).*[20] He is described as outstanding not only for his erudition, but also for his level of piety. Ibn Kathīr says, "I do not know in this world in our time someone who is more dedicated to acts of devotion" *(akthar 'ibādah minhu),* and reports as an eyewitness that Ibn al-Qayyim had a manner of conducting the ritual prayer by which he very much prolonged it, stretching out its bowing and prostration, while turning a deaf ear to any critique thereof.[21] And Ibn Rajab adds that:

> he was extremely *(ilá al-ghāyah al-quṣwá)* dedicated to divine devotion *('ibādah),* spending the night in prayer *(tahajjud)* as well as prolonging ritual prayer, and he invoked the name of God *(ta'allaha),* was eager to recall him *(lahija bi-al-dhikr),* articulated affection, repentance, and petitions of forgiveness and longing directed to God *(shaffafa bi-al-maḥabbah, wa-al-inābah wa-al-istighfār, wa-al-iftiqār ilá Allāh),* and expressed that he could be broken by him *(wa-al-inkisār lahu)* and that he is cast into his hands *(wa-al-iṭrāḥ bayna yadayhi),* [all] while entering or leaving prayer *('alá 'atabat 'ubūdīyatihi)*—to which I never witnessed anything comparable therein [the prayer] *(lam ushāhid mithlahu fī dhālik).*[22]

The Hanbali scholar must have been so peculiar in his pious exaggerations, as some see it, that he caused bewilderment even among the inhabitants of Mecca. Ibn Rajab further relates:

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[19]Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb Bughyat al-Wu'āh fī Ṭabaqāt al-Lughawiyīn wa-al-Nuḥāh,* ed. Muḥammad Amīn al-Khānjī (Cairo, 1326/1908–9), 4.

[20]'Abd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad Ibn Rajab, *Kitāb al-Dhayl 'alá Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī (Cairo, 1372/1953), 2:448.

[21]Abū al-Fidā' Ismā'īl ibn 'Umar Ibn Kathīr al-Qurashī, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* (Beirut, n.d.), 14:253.

[22]Ibn Rajab, *Kitāb al-Dhayl 'alá Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* 2:448; cf. the translation in *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya on the Invocation of God,* xiii.

> He often *(marrāt kathīrah)* performed the pilgrimage and dwelled in the holy vicinity *(jāwara)* in Mecca. The people of Mecca, however, remember him because of his intense devotion *(shiddat al-ʻibādah)* and multiple circumambulations of the Kaaba *(kathrat al-ṭawāf),* which was regarded as astonishing.[23]

Although Ibn al-Qayyim made several pilgrimages to Mecca and spent some time there, he is not recorded for any other *ṭalab al-ʻilm* activities. His modern chronicler Abū Zayd takes some pains to dispel the impression of a travel-shy, stay-at-home scholar, pointing out that many eminent religious scholars were already on hand in Damascus so that he did not need to head for other places. The old patterns of *ṭalab al-ʻilm* cannot be applied, he says, arguing:

> this is not unusual for his epoch, because the cities at that time used to be jam-packed with expert scholars of Islam, outstanding Quran memorizers, and well-versed writers, especially in Damascus.[24]

When Ibn Taymīyah returned from Egypt to Damascus in 712/1313 after an absence of six years, Ibn al-Qayyim, at that time aged twenty-one, joined him immediately as a student and remained so until the former's death in 1328. The companionship with this extraordinary scholar and, from the viewpoint of influential circles, notorious troublemaker, was an experience that shaped Ibn al-Qayyim's life like no other.[25] In 1318, however, the sultan "forbade Ibn Taymīyah to issue fatwas regarding repudiation (*ṭalāq*) contrary to the prevailing Hanbali doctrine." Ibn Taymīyah landed in prison for five years but kept receiving visitors, as well as publishing and issuing fatwas. Only after his last arrest in 1326, prompted by a critical treatise on the visitation of graves, was he finally denied the possibility to write, a serious deprivation that lasted until his death in 1328.[26] During this period, Ibn al-Qayyim was likewise held captive in the citadel of Damascus, accused of prohibiting visits to the grave of Abraham *(ziyārat qabr al-Khalīl).* Ibn Ḥajar

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[23]Ibn Rajab, *Kitāb al-Dhayl ʻalá Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* 2:448.

[24]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 54, cf. 55–57; similarly, al-Ḥamd's introduction to his edition of Ibn al-Qayyim, *Al-Kalām ʻalá Mas'alat al-Samāʻ,* 22.

[25]*Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya on the Invocation of God,* xi.

[26]Ahsan, *Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab,* 18. On Ibn Taymīyah's various detentions, see Sherman A. Jackson, "Ibn Taymiyyah on Trial in Damascus," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 39, no. 1 (1994): 41–85; Donald Little, "Significance of the Detention of Ibn Taymiyya," 311–27; Hasan Qasim Murad, "Ibn Taymiyya on Trial: A Narrative Account of his Miḥan," *Islamic Studies* 18, no. 1 (1979): 1–32.

al-ʻAsqalānī recounts: ″He was arrested together with Ibn Taymīyah in the Citadel after he was humiliated *(uhīna)* and paraded around (*ṭīfa bi-hi*) on a camel.″[27] Delivering fatwas in line with the convictions of Ibn Taymīyah had brought about this treatment and the ensuing arrest, but since Ibn al-Qayyim was ″the most devoted disciple of his mentor, he was especially marked for humiliation.″[28] He would have been shown more leniency and been spared this sojourn in prison had he switched legal doctrines. In the eyes of many followers, however, this self-imposed fate had nothing to do with social stain and stigmatization; on the contrary, as Ibn Rajab reports:

> He underwent inquisition *(umtuḥina),* and was repeatedly harmed *(ūdhá)* and jailed *(ḥubisa)* together with Ibn Taymīyah in the Citadel, but separated from him, and was only released from there after the death of the shaykh.[29]

The verb *umtuḥina* already recalls the ″*miḥnah*″ of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal[30] and—in this great tradition of sacrifice in the name of wholehearted dedication to the holy sources—the subsequent multiple *miḥan* of Ibn Taymīyah. By undergoing his own ″mini-*miḥnah*,″ Ibn al-Qayyim impressed certain people, while repulsing others. Even after the death of Ibn Taymīyah, Ibn al-Qayyim ″suffered distress *(umtuḥina)* once again because of the fatwas of Ibn Taymīyah.″[31] In 1345 he ″experienced *miḥan* with the judges″ *(jarat lahu miḥan maʻa al-quḍāh),* namely Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 1378), the Shafiʻi chief judge of Damascus, ″because of his fatwa on the permissibility of a shooting contest *(musābaqah)* without a third competitor *(muḥallil).″*[32] In 1349, a second conflict arose with al-Subkī because of Ibn al-Qayyim′s stubborn adherence to Ibn Taymīyah′s fatwas, this time concerning the much-debated issue of repudiation (*ṭalāq*).[33] Before it escalated, however, a conciliation *(ṣulḥ)* was reached between the two with the help of the amir Sayf

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[27]Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʻyān al-Mi'ah al-Thāminah,* ed. Muḥammad Rashīd Jād al-Ḥaqq (Cairo, 1966–67), 4:22.

[28]Ahsan, *Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab,* 33.

[29]Ibn Rajab, *Kitāb al-Dhayl ʻalá Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* 2:448.

[30]Walter M. Patton, *Aḥmed Ibn Ḥanbal and the Miḥna: A Biography of the Imâm Including an Account of the Moḥammedan Inquisition Called the Miḥna, 218–234 A. H.* (Leiden, 1897).

[31]Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 4:22.

[32]Ibid., 23; Sayyid Ahsan, ″Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah,″ *Islam and the Modern Age* 12 (1981): 245; idem, *Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab,* 34.

[33]Ahsan, ″Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah,″ 245; Ahsan, *Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab,* 34. The fatwas that prompted his imprisonment are mentioned by Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 69–71.

al-Dīn ibn Faḍl in al-Subkī′s garden.[34] Compared with his scientific skills, Ibn al-Qayyim′s ″career was modest, and was hampered by the opposition that the neo-Ḥanbalism of Ibn Taymiyya encountered in the governmental circles of the Mamlūk state.″[35] But when Ibn al-Qayyim died in 1350 at the age of sixty,[36] his burial attracted huge crowds of people.[37] He was buried beside his mother in the Bāb al-Ṣaghīr cemetery. One of his three sons, ʻAbd Allāh (d. 1355), succeeded him at the Ṣadrīyah madrasah.[38] The main feature that ultimately distinguishes Ibn al-Qayyim from Ibn Taymīyah seems to be his general mood and attitude toward the world. According to a modern Damascus-based shariʻah commentator, Wahbah al-Zuḥaylī, their ″modes of thinking″ *(al-minhaj al-fikrī)* differ in that Ibn Taymīyah is ″hot-blooded″ *(ḥādd al-mizāj),* whereas Ibn al-Qayyim is ″mild-tempered″ *(raqīq al-uslūb).*[39] While his master is often described in situations revealing his choleric rage, notorious impatience, uncompromising stance, aggressiveness, and sarcastic rejoinders, Ibn al-Qayyim is perceived as a profoundly different, rather sanguine individual. Ibn Kathīr, who claims to have belonged to the inner circle of this scholar, reports that Ibn al-Qayyim′s behavior easily won sympathy, because he never envied others or caused harm to them, never blamed anybody, or harbored hatred or grudges.[40] Conflicts simply for the sake of dispute did not suit his personality. He preserved this attitude even in jail:

> During his imprisonment he was busy reciting the Quran, contemplating, and meditating. Thereupon many good things were disclosed to him *(fa-futiḥa ʻalayhi min dhālik khayr kathīr)* and he gained a large portion of the right senses and sentiments *(al-adhwāq wa-al-mawājīd al-ṣaḥīḥah).* As a consequence, he mastered the

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[34]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:232. For Ibn al-Qayyim′s supporters *(anṣār)* and enemies see Ḥijāzī, *Ibn al-Qayyim wa-Mawqifuhu min al-Tafkīr al-Islāmī,* 38 f.; ʻAbd al-ʻAẓīm Sharaf al-Dīn, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah*: *ʻAṣruhu wa-Manhajuhu wa-Ārā'uhu fī al-Fiqh wa-al-ʻAqā'id wa-al-Taṣawwuf* (Cairo, 1967), 72–73.

[35]Laoust, ″Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya,″ 822.

[36]For a discussion of the exact date see Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 4:23; Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1348–92/1929–72), 10:249; Ḥijāzī, *Ibn al-Qayyim wa-Mawqifuhu min al-Tafkīr al-Islāmī,* 31; Sharaf al-Dīn, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 68–70.

[37]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 311 f.

[38]Ahsan, *Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab,* 35. The other two were named Ibrāhīm and Sharaf al-Dīn (*Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya on the Invocation of God,* xii).

[39]*Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn wa-Bāb al-Saʻādatayn,* ed. Yūsuf ʻAlī Budaywī (Damascus and Beirut, 1993), 14.

[40]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:253.

> discourse of the sciences of the people of [mystical] experiences *(ahl al-maʿārif)* and gained access to their concealed issues *(wa-al-dukhūl fī ghawāmiḍihim),* and his writings are full of that.[41]

His modern admirers feel obliged to point out

> that he felt longings and affection that captivated his heart, not in the manner of the extreme Sufis, but of the venerable forefathers" *(lā ʿalá manhaj al-mutaṣawwifa al-ghulāh bal ʿalá ṭarīq al-salaf al-ṣāliḥ).*[42]

Ibn Rajab, who is very famous himself, confessed, "I never saw anybody with a broader knowledge than him."[43] A modern editor praises Ibn al-Qayyim as "the very learned and encyclopedic" *(al-ʿallāmah al-mawsūʿī).*[44] He was indeed outstanding *(bāriʿ)* in several sciences, such as Quran commentary *(tafsīr),* jurisprudence, Arabic, grammar, and hadith.[45] Ibn al-Qayyim also possessed an impressive library, since he purchased more manuscripts than anybody else,[46] and devoted much time to studying them. This is apparent after reading only a single example of his writings.[47] This is not to say that he diligently quoted from his sources; as a matter of fact, he seldom explicitly quoted anything but Quran and *sunnah*—a deplorable habit that makes an assessment of his original contributions all the more difficult.[48] He was such an enthusiastic collector of books "that he obtained an unquantifiable number of them, while his children for a long period after his death used to sell out of this what they did not finish."[49] His whole life was rooted in religious sciences. He served as imam at the Jawzīyah, and after 1342 he also taught at the Ṣadrīyah and other institutions. Further, he issued fatwas and wrote books and treatises. Al-Ṣafadī informs us that

> he worked a lot, disputed, carried out legal development, bent to

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[41]Ibn Rajab, *Kitāb al-Dhayl ʿalá Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* 2:448.

[42]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 45.

[43]Ibn Rajab, *Kitāb al-Dhayl ʿalá Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* 2:448.

[44]In the introduction to *Miftāḥ Dār al-Saʿādah wa-Manshūr Wilāyat al-ʿIlm wa-al-Irādah,* ed. Ḥassān ʿAbd al-Mannān al-Ṭībī and ʿIṣām Fāris al-Ḥarastānī (Beirut, 1994), 5.

[45]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 249.

[46]Ibn Rajab, *Kitāb al-Dhayl ʿalá Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* 2:449.

[47]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 61.

[48]Al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-ʿIlmīyah,* 60.

[49]Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 4:22.

> the quest [for knowledge], composed, and became one of the great leading figures in the science of Quran commentary, hadith, legal and theological hermeneutics, jurisprudence, and Arabic.[50]

The sources convey the impression of a workaholic.[51] His fields of expertise can hardly be enumerated, because

> the sciences he learned and in which he distinguished himself encompass nearly all the sciences of the holy law and God″ *(takādu taʿummu ʿulūm al-sharīʿah wa-ʿulūm al-ālihah).*[52]

One would expect that a scholar of his standing would have had a brilliant career in the relevant institutions of higher learning. This, however, did not happen, although he did have some moderate success. Three reasons account for this. First, his œuvre provides no easy reading. The scope of his erudition and eloquence could not make up for his long-windedness and tedious focus on the whole range of minutia related to any problem.[53] Second, his loyalty to Ibn Taymīyah, even after his death, proved to be a persistent impediment to achieving higher aspirations: ″Ibn Qayyim had a decent career, but since he represented and propagated Ibn Taymīyah′s thoughts, he was at times hampered by the same circle which opposed his master.″[54] As a consequence, his writings quickly fell into oblivion: ″A majority of his works have become extinct since in the early periods no care was taken to preserve them.″[55] Already in Ibn Rajab′s time, Ibn al-Qayyim′s works were largely forgotten.[56] Abū Zayd discusses this ″concealed reason why many of the writings of Ibn al-Qayyim disappeared from the Islamic library″ *(al-sirr fī ikhtifāʾ al-kathīr min kutub Ibn al-Qayyim ʿan al-maktabah al-islāmīyah).*[57] He answers his own question by referring to the widespread indignation *(sakhṭ)* and quarreling *(khiṣām)* instigated by the activities of Ibn Taymīyah, which continued well beyond the latter′s death. Finally, ″the enemies of this Salafi call″ *(daʿwah)* embarked upon

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[50]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* 2:271; for a collection of such reports, see Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 51–53.

[51]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:253.

[52]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 51.

[53]Cf. the critical remarks in Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 4:22.

[54]Ahsan, *Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab,* 33.

[55]Ibid., 35.

[56]Moshe Perlmann, ″Ibn Qayyim and the Devil,″ in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida* (Rome, 1956), 2:330.

[57]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 309.

the collection and burning of his books and those of his master Ibn Taymīyah.[58] Even today, the accusation against Ibn Taymīyah that he was the ″father of Islamic fundamentalism″[59] rarely includes Ibn al-Qayyim explicitly, but it does cast a certain suspicion on him. A third reason is the repression of Hanbalism with the advent of Ottoman supremacy, which basically favored Hanafism.[60] The development of Hanbalism has barely been studied for the period before the eighteenth century,[61] when the importance of neo-Hanbali authors reappears as a sort of *deus ex machina* in the time of Muḥammad Ibn ʻAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 1792) in what today constitutes the kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

While this introduction is intended to point out areas of needed research, rather than filling existing gaps, the main part of this article is dedicated to an attempt to outline and categorize Ibn al-Qayyim′s works. We first need to know what is available before addressing the other serious problems of insufficient research. The methodology chosen for the second and main part of this article therefore differs from that of the previous two projects in this long-term series on the ″great Mamluk polymaths.″[62]

WORKS OF IBN AL-QAYYIM

Introductions to editions of Ibn al-Qayyim′s works usually present only a number of various book titles to acquaint the reader with his literary output.[63] Such a mere enumeration of doubtlessly important titles is of little help in getting an idea of the character and composition of his œuvre.[64] Even those who do try to somehow

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[58]Ibid., 310.

[59]Birgit Krawietz, ″Ibn Taymiyya, Vater des islamischen Fundamentalismus?: Zur westlichen Rezeption eines mittelalterlichen Schariatsgelehrten,″ in *Theorie des Rechts und der Gesellschaft*, ed. Manuel Atienza et al. (Berlin, 2003), 39–62.

[60]Ignaz Goldziher, ″Zur Geschichte der ḥanbalitischen Bewegungen,″ *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 62 (1908): 28; Ahsan, *Life and Thoughts of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab,* 30.

[61]Michael Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge, 2000), 158–63.

[62]Marlis J. Saleh, ″Al-Suyūṭī and His Works: Their Place in Islamic Scholarship from Mamluk Times to the Present,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5 (2001): 73–89; Stephan Conermann, ″Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 955/1548): Life and Works,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8 (2004): 115–39.

[63]For instance, 57 titles in *Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmīyah fī al-Siyāsah al-Sharʻīyah,* ed. Aḥmad al-Zaʻbī (Beirut, 1999), 22–24, or 20 ″most important and renowned of his books″ in *Shifāʼ al-ʻAlīl fī Masāʼil al-Qaḍāʼ wa-al-Qadar wa-al-Ḥikmah wa-al-Taʻlīl,* 2nd ed. Muṣṭafá Abū Naṣr al-Shalabī (Jeddah, 1415/1995), 1:13–14. Cf. for pre-modern voices Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 192–97.

[64]The article ″Ḥanābila″ by Henri Laoust, in *EI*^{2}, 3:161, mentions only four titles; likewise his article ″Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya,″ 822. Much more detailed are the ones by Najīb Māyil Haravī,

categorize his writings still feel compelled to deliver some remarks on the general difficulty of analyzing his scientific output on the basis of clear-cut categories. One editor, for instance, in his long introduction quotes from Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ′s preliminary remarks to his edition of *Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah* to make the observation:

> At times, it is difficult for the researcher to consider something from the writings of Ibn al-Qayyim under a specific category *(ism mawḍūʻī khāṣṣ)*, . . . because what he wrote on theology *(kalām)* is not devoid of legal aspects as well as of exhortations that refine the hearts (*al-mawāʻiẓ al-muraqqiqah lil-qulūb),* and what he wrote on practical jurisprudence and on the principles of legal reasoning is also not free from theological studies and exhortations.[65]

Given this multi-layered character and departure from familiar genres, it is no coincidence that many an editor or scholar has shied away from such a task or stopped short of any further inquiry by simply reverting to a list of titles, or by reducing the state of the art to broad generalizations. No wonder that Western secondary literature has also failed to come up with any remedy in this regard, providing only bits and pieces.[66] The relevant Western secondary literature on Ibn al-Qayyim is cited throughout this article.

Therefore, it has proven necessary to try a somewhat different approach here. To begin with, the present overview makes no attempt to recommend a definitive way to finally pinpoint Ibn al-Qayyim′s numerous writings under familiar genre labels. It calls for a heightened awareness that any classification can be used only loosely, since most of his writings defy easy categorization and—as a rule—transcend familiar boundaries. That is to say, the majority of Ibn al-Qayyim′s writings could also legitimately be categorized differently. Nevertheless, the present study does not seek recourse to overly broad, catch-all categories, such as cramming several titles under one simple term, for instance ″religious doctrine″ *(al-ʻaqīdah),* to cope with this inherent ambiguity. Instead, the aim is to convey a sense of

″Ibn-i Qayyim-i Jawzīyah, ″in *Dā'irat al-Maʻārif-i Buzurg-i Islāmī* (Tehran, n.d.), 4:498–504 (in Persian), and especially Yusuf Şevki Yavuz, ″İbn Kayyim el-Cevziyye,″ in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul, 1999), 20:109–27 (in Turkish).

[65]*Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah,* ed. Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ (Damascus, 1961), editor′s introduction, 1:70; *Hidāyat al-Ḥayārá fī Ajwibat al-Yahūd wa-al-Naṣārá,* ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Ḥājj (Damascus, 1996), 80. The categorization of al-Ḥājj is highly problematic anyway and does not really address the critical issues, 81–102.

[66]An exception is Schallenbergh, ″The Diseases of the Heart,″ 421–28, who analyzed a number of his writings.

certain common threads in the author's interest and output. With a bird's-eye view, but occasionally with a more focused look at specific writings or parts of them, Ibn al-Qayyim's publications available in print[67] are grouped under certain headings and their characteristics identified. His most important works will be discussed in the context of these subdivisions of his religious-scientific output. For the sake of lucidity, not every small tract attributed to him shall be recorded.[68] Nor is any chronology of his many writings an option here. The same applies to an analysis of Ibn al-Qayyim's sources and his indebtedness to certain authors, especially to Ibn Taymīyah, although the latter's influence is sporadically traced. The authenticity of a substantial percentage of Ibn al-Qayyim's work is contested, and much that appears in modern publications is of little help to the critical reader who seeks the precise original work. This is an issue that will be demonstrated for a variety of writings in this survey which proceeds along the following divisions:

(1) Inner-Islamic religious polemics
(2) Intercommunal polemics with Jews and Christians
(3) Eschatology
(4) Quranic studies
(5) Hadith
(6) Legal methodology
(7) Practical jurisprudence
(8) Moral psychology
(9) Pervasion of everyday life

On a second level, the intricate complex of modern perception, transformation, and distortion of Ibn al-Qayyim's œuvre by a plethora of compilations will be exposed to a certain degree. This includes a discussion of the considerable confusion about the original format of his writings.

(1) Inner-Islamic Religious Polemics

As an ardent follower of Ibn Taymīyah, it is not surprising to find Ibn al-Qayyim engaged in religious polemics. Committed to a literal understanding of the holy sources, he unwaveringly promotes religious truth as he sees it. Various intra-communal Muslim polemics aim to address familiar Hanbali hot spots. A voluminous

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[67]For manuscripts of Ibn al-Qayyim's writings see 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Alī al-Shibl, *Al-Thabat: Fīhi Qawā'im bi-Ba'ḍ Makhṭūṭāt Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad Ibn Taymīyah wa-ma'ahu Mulḥaq bi-Ba'ḍ Makhṭūṭāt al-'Allāmah Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah* (Riyadh, 1417/1996–97), 177–221.

[68]The most detailed account of titles attributed to Ibn al-Qayyim or referred to by himself is Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 201–309.

opus is *Al-Ṣawāʾiq al-Mursalah ʿalá al-Jahmīyah wa-al-Muʿaṭṭilah*.[69] This edition is the fruit of a dissertation from Saudi Arabia. Its editor writes in his introduction that "Ibn al-Qayyim lived in a century to a certain degree similar to the century we live in today," since an awakened Islamic community of believers returned to its Creator, "after it had suffered from defeats and losses of vigor."[70] People in the author's time were divided into several factions, while books on Sufism, philosophy, and speculative theology *(ʿilm al-kalām)* were widespread and "the people were tempted *(futina)* by them, like they are tempted today by Western patterns of thinking, so that truth and void get mixed" in the minds of many Muslims. Ibn al-Qayyim is given credit for laying down "the most important principal deviations *(uṣūl al-inḥirāfāt)* of the Jahmites, if not of many sects *(firaq)*." Things turned bad because reason *(ʿaql),* desire *(shahwah),* personal judgement *(raʾy),* caprice *(hawá),* politics *(siyāsah),* and personal taste *(dhawq)* had taken precedence over revelation (*waḥy*).[71]

A smaller but better known work is his *Ijtimāʿ al-Juyūsh al-Islāmīyah ʿalá Ghazw al-Muʿaṭṭilah wa-al-Jahmīyah*, which is also known under the title *Al-ʿUlūw wa-al-Istiwāʾ* (Highness and sitting), or simply *al-Istiwāʾ*. It is a tract that pinpoints the literalistic criticism of Jahmites. It speaks out against denying God all attributes *(taʿṭīl)* by dealing with the Quranic information that God, for instance, "sat" on a throne *(al-raḥmān ʿalá al-ʿarsh istawá)*.[72] The attributes of God *(ṣifāt Allāh)* are an old and fiercely debated issue with manifold hermeneutical implications.[73] The title of the epistle *(risālah)* in question could be translated as "Gathering the Islamic troops to fight the *muʿaṭṭilah* and the *jahmīyah*." The "troops" Ibn al-Qayyim claims to have assembled therein are utterings taken from the Quran, dicta of the Prophet's companions and their followers, renowned traditionalists, leading

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[69]Ed. ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Dakhīl Allāh, 4 vols. (Riyadh, 1412/1991–92). An early short version *(mukhtaṣar)* by Muḥammad Ibn al-Mawṣilī already dates from Cairo 1348/1929–30, repr. 1370/1950–51. Ahsan, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah," 247, renders the work incorrectly as "Al-Ṣawāʾiq al-Munazzalah ʿalá al-Jahmīyah wa-al-Muʾaṭṭalah."

[70]*Al-Ṣawāʾiq al-Mursalah ʿalá al-Jahmīyah wa-al-Muʿaṭṭilah,* ed. al-Dakhīl Allāh, 1:5.

[71]Ibid., 1:6.

[72]*Ijtimāʿ al-Juyūsh al-Islāmīyah ʿalá Ghazw al-Muʿaṭṭilah wa-al-Jahmīyah: Wa-huwa al-Risālah al-Musammá bi-"al-Istiwāʾ,"* ed. Riḍwān Jāmiʿ Riḍwān (Mecca and Riyadh, 1415/1995), 5–7. Early editions include one in Amritsar, India, in 1314/1896–97 and in Cairo in 1350/1931–32 (Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 201; Ahsan, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah," 246). On Ibn Ḥanbal and *istiwāʾ* see al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-ʿIlmīyah,* 74–78.

[73]Cf. Daniel Gimaret, *Les noms divins en islam: Exégèse lexicographique et théologique* (Paris, 1988); ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī, *A Medieval Critique of Anthropomorphism: Ibn al-Jawzī's* Kitāb Akhbār al-Ṣifāt, a critical edition of the Arabic text with translation, introduction, and notes by Merlin Swartz (Leiden, 2002).

interpreters of the Quran *(a'immat al-tafsīr),* Sufis and ascetics, theologians, poets, even one or the other philosopher, jinn and ants—as enshrined in the cherished reservoir of early Islamic texts.[74]

A third theological tract of importance is *Shifā' al-'Alīl fī Masā'il al-Qaḍā' wa-al-Qadar wa-al-Ḥikmah wa-al-Ta'līl* (Cure of the ill concerning questions of divine ordinance, predestination, underlying reason, and finding explanations).[75] The title is an example of Ibn al-Qayyim's penchant for medical metaphors when discussing—to his mind—necessary normative orientations. This time, his arguments are basically directed against the ideas of, on the one hand, the fatalistic Islamic school of the Jabarīyah, and on the other, the Qadarīyah, perceived as extreme proponents of man's free will.[76] The cluster of theological problems in question is not a mere academic exercise for Ibn al-Qayyim, but relates to his inner conviction of man's accountability for his deeds, of which freedom of choice is the essential precondition. He therefore stands up against all charges of blurring the boundaries between good and evil or—to be more precise—between certain and uncertain as well as between permitted and forbidden. According to him, an allegation of fatalism is averse to the logic of divine legislation, the sending of prophets, and reward or punishment in the hereafter.[77] The same applies, on the other hand, to self-important behavior of man when confronted with God's demands. Today, as well, self-appointed agents of the Islamic heritage *(turāth)* underline the necessity of "the authentic method for an understanding of religious doctrine" *(al-manhaj al-ṣaḥīḥ fī fahm al-'aqīdah)* which they claim to have found in Ibn al-Qayyim's theological works.[78]

Also to be mentioned under the rubric of religious polemics is the booklet *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah fī al-Intiṣār lil-Firqah al-Nājiyah* (The Sufficient and salutary concerning the triumph of the rescued group).[79] It is better known as

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[74]*Ijtimā' al-Juyūsh al-Islāmīyah,* 7.

[75]*Shifā' al-'Alīl,* 2nd ed. al-Shalabī, with information on previous editions, 1:8. The first edition was printed in 1323/1905–6 and published by Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn Abū Farrās al-Na'sānī al-Ḥalabī (Cairo). On the latter's shortcomings, see *Shifā' al-'Alīl,* ed. al-Ḥassānī Ḥasan 'Abd Allāh (Cairo, ca. 1975), 645–46.

[76]*Shifā' al-'Alīl,* ed. Khālid 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Sab' al-'Alamī (Beirut, 1995).

[77]*Mukhtaṣar Shifā' al-'Alīl fī Masā'il al-Qaḍā' wa-al-Qadar wa-al-Ḥikmah wa-al-Ta'līl,* ed. Khālid ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Akk (Beirut, 1996), 5.

[78]*Shifā' al-'Alīl,* ed. al-Sab' al-'Alamī, 5. A translation into Urdu, printed in Lahore as *Kitāb al-Taqdīr,* is mentioned by Ahsan, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah," 246.

[79]Hüseyin Avni Çelik,, "İbn Kayyim el-Cevziyye ve Ma'āni el-Edevāt ve'l-Hurūf adlı eseri," *Atatürk Üniversitesi İlāhiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 8 (1988): 152. There is an Arabic edition published by the Suhail Academy in 1976 in Lahore (Pakistan). An early one appeared already in Cairo in 1319/1901–2. It is reminiscent of Ibn Taymīyah's *Al-Waṣīyah al-Kubrá fī 'Aqīdat Ahl al-Sunnah*

Al-Qaṣīdah al-Nūnīyah (Ode rhyming in the letter ″n″). It comprises important tenets of faith in the form of a didactic poem or mnemonic manual.[80] It further fueled fierce discussions of old disputes over the divine attributes, etc., that were launched by various commentaries and which prompted a famous refutation from Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 1355), namely *Al-Sayf al-Saqīl fī al-Radd ʻalá Ibn Zafīl* (The Burnished sword in refuting Ibn Zafīl), i.e, Ibn al-Qayyim.[81] During the lifetime of its author the *Nūnīyah* could only be transmitted in secret.[82]

(2) INTERCOMMUNAL POLEMICS WITH JEWS AND CHRISTIANS

Hidāyat al-Ḥayārá fī Ajwibat al-Yahūd wa-al-Naṣārá (Guidance for the confused: answers to Jews and Christians) has been variously published. A first edition appeared already in 1323/1905–6 in Egypt.[83] Of special importance for any future analysis is a Saudi Arabian dissertation from the Islamic Muḥammad Ibn Saʻūd University which was published in 1416/1996. It provides not only an important critical edition,[84] but also has an introduction of more than 200 pages. Concerning the context of his engagement, this Saudi Arabian editor informs his readers:

> The Jews and Christians used to carry the banner of enmity against the Muslim community *(ummah)* in the course of the centuries. Their deceit *(kayd)* is endless, not restricted to one means, but they fight against Muslims with all the means available to them. At times, they oppose them with strength and combat *(qitāl),* if they find a way to do so; at others, they take recourse to deceit and conspiracies or they defame by suspicions *(qadhf al-shubuhāt),* trying to fill Muslims with scepticism toward their [own] doctrinal beliefs *(tashkīk al-muslimīn bi-ʻaqīdatihim)*.

The book at hand is therefore presented as a reaction to such endeavors and allegations from non-Muslim religious communities.[85] It basically deals with seven

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wa-al-Firqah al-Nājiyah: al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-ʻIlmīyah,* 153.

80Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 288, counted nearly 6,000 verses. For Ibn al-Qayyim as a poet see al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-ʻIlmīyah,* 147–53.

81Cf. the *sharḥ* by Muḥammad Khalīl al-Harrās (Miṣr, n.d.). See also <http://www.sunnah.org/history/Innovators/ibn_al_qayyim_al-jawziyya.htm> (accessed Jan. 2, 2005), with a modern repetition of neo-Hanbali bashing of anthropomorphism by G. F. Haddad, 1. On the agnomen Ibn Zafīl see Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 31–36.

82Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 288.

83*Kitāb Hidāyat al-Ḥayārá* (Miṣr, 1323/1905).

84*Hidāyat al-Ḥayārá,* ed. al-Ḥājj, 7, 141–42.

85Ibid., 6.

key theoretical issues raised by distortions of Islam by Jews and Christians, such as their questioning of the prophethood of Muḥammad.[86] The editor not only discusses the monograph′s relation and independent value in comparison with Ibn Taymīyah′s *Al-Jawāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ li-Man Baddala Dīn al-Masīḥ,* but also of two similar earlier works—one by Abū al-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī (d. 1085) and the other by Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazzālī (d. 1111).[87] Finally, the editor not only claims a great portion of originality for Ibn al-Qayyim′s piece and sees his endeavors as complementary to Ibn Taymīyah, but also stresses that the tone of the former is very different from that of his teacher:

> I found that Ibn al-Qayyim did not believe in the manner of harshness *('unf)* and abuse *(shatm)* in responding to his adversary *(khaṣm).* Rather, he believed in the principle of dispelling doubt *(shubhah)* with arguments *(bi-al-ḥujjah)* and proof *(burhān)*.[88]

While his tone and strategies in making counter-arguments may differ from Ibn Taymīyah′s, Ibn al-Qayyim, like his master, nevertheless does not hesitate to directly address all the touchy issues. However, a proper comparison of their style and content, as well as a comparison with other writings, is still awaited.

(3) Eschatology

With two outstanding monographs of wide circulation, eschatology is one of Ibn al-Qayyim′s influential areas of activity. Of these two, the ″Book of the Soul,″ *Kitāb al-Rūḥ,*[89] is the more popular. It is a real best seller[90] and gained him a reputation even in circles opposed to him in other ways.[91] Less polemical, but definitely rooted in his literalist text interpretation, are his efforts concerning Islamic eschatology. Although the Quran declares the question of the human soul to be unexplorable, for instance in 17:85, no other author has presented such a diligent investigation of the holy sources and statements on the various aspects of

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[86]The seven main topics are, for instance, listed ibid., 131–32.

[87]Ibid., 161–68. Cf. *A Muslim Theologian′s Response to Christianity: Ibn Taymiyya′s* al-Jawab al-Sahih, ed. and trans. Thomas F. Michel (Delmar, NY, 1984).

[88]*Hidāyat al-Ḥayārá,* ed. al-Ḥājj, 595.

[89]The subtitle is often rendered in the following form as *Al-Rūḥ: Fī al-Kalām 'alá Arwāḥ al-Amwāt wa-al-Aḥyā' bi-al-Dalā'il min al-Kitāb wa-al-Sunnah wa-al-Āthār wa-Aqwāl al-'Ulamā',* cf. for instance the 3rd ed. (Miṣr, 1966). All sorts of blends are available. For details of this work see Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 253–58.

[90]To mention here only one other edition of *Al-Rūḥ,* ed. 'Iṣām al-Ṣabābiṭī (Cairo, 1415/1994).

[91]<http://www.sunnah.org/history/Innovators/ibn_al_qayyim_al-jawziyya.htm> (accessed Jan. 2, 2005), 2.

the soul, especially of its whereabouts after death but before resurrection.[92] The work itself was written in response to requests for clarification, since the question of the createdness and essence of the soul, etc., had always stirred discussions.

A bit less famous, but also widely circulating in many editions is his *Ḥādī al-Arwāḥ ilá Bilād al-Afrāḥ* (Guide for the souls to the realm of ultimate joy), also known under the title *Kitāb Ṣifat al-Jannah* (Book on the quality of paradise).[93] What the *Kitāb al-Rūḥ* provides for the knowledge of the soul, the ″Guide for the Souls″ offers with regard to Paradise. Such aspects as its ″gardens, fruits, castles, black-eyed maidens, food, clothes, attire, adornment, jewelry, and the rivers therein″ are so vividly described by direct quotations from the hadith and Quran that the reader is motivated to strive for them.[94] Striking are the most blatant, down-to-earth accounts of what can be awaited. Such descriptions are a necessary outcome of Ibn al-Qayyim′s non-metaphorical understanding of the holy texts. Since it comprises some five hundred pages in Arabic and suffers from ″too much information on chains of authorities *(kathrat al-ʻanʻanah),* burden of some topics, and multitude of linguistic details,″ several short versions have been arranged.[95] Ibn al-Qayyim did not come up with a comparable compilation for the other option for the soul (and body), i.e., hell, although the latter is also an important topic in the sources. Because Muslims are not supposed to stay in hell eternally, Ibn al-Qayyim prefers not to frighten people about the hereafter *(tarhīb).* There is no famous independent *tarhīb* work in Ibn al-Qayyim′s literary output on the torments awaiting sinners in the world to come. Probably such an approach did not match his personal inclinations and preaching habits, as shall be demonstrated in the section on his moral theology.

(4) QURANIC STUDIES

Ibn al-Qayyim did not leave behind a complete commentary on the Quran *(tafsīr)* or undertake to write one, as might be expected from a scholar of his standing.

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[92]Cf. Timothy J. Gianotti, *Al-Ghazālī′s Unspeakable Doctrine of the Soul: Unveiling the Esoteric Psychology and Eschatology of the* Iḥyāʼ (Leiden, 2001), which also contains a good selection of relevant secondary literature.

[93]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 240.

[94]*Ḥādī al-Arwāḥ ilá Bilād al-Afrāḥ*, ed. ʻIṣām al-Ṣabābiṭī (Cairo, 1992), 5. There is no need to deal with the various editions here. Cf. Soubhi el-Saleh, *La vie future selon le Coran* (Paris, 1971), 15–18, 25–43 and passim.

[95]*Tahdhīb Ḥādī al-Arwāḥ ilá Bilād al-Afrāḥ*, ed. Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad al-Būrīnī (Amman, 2000), 5. Another one bears the title *Rūḥ wa-Rayḥān min Naʻīm al-Jinān: al-Mukhtaṣar al-Ṣaḥīḥ min Ḥādī al-Arwāḥ li-Ibn al-Qayyim,* ed. ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd Aḥmad al-Dukhānjī (Alexandria, 1990). A similarly shortened French version is also available, namely *Le paradis:le rapprochement des âmes dans le monde des merveilles=Hadi el arwah ila biladi el Afrah,* ed. Fdal Haja, trans. Hébri Bousserouel (Paris, 1996), 1.

Although he drew heavily on the Quran, he usually combined Quranic interpretation with other aspects throughout his writing. He seems to have been more dedicated to the demonstration of certain ideas or perspectives than to an abstract goal of general commentary. Given his penchant for long-windedness even on the most minute topics, an official *tafsīr* work would have exceeded all reasonable measures anyhow. Instead, we find him concentrating on the interpretation of certain passages of the Quran. In this sense he produced a limited number of sporadic, but clear-cut *tafsīr* units. His extensive use of Quran interpretation in the course of general writing on the holy sources could be called commentary in a secondary sense, but is as such difficult to specify. Of special importance in the overall understanding of Ibn al-Qayyim's *tafsīr* are his remarks on the very beginning and some final parts of the Quran: the very first chapter, namely "The Opening" Surah *(al-Fātiḥah),* and the likewise short chapters at its end, namely Surah 109, "The Unbelievers" *(al-Kāfirūn),* as well as Surahs 113, "The Twilight" (*al-Falaq*), and 114, "The People" *(al-Nās).* The modern book market offers in monographic form a *Tafsīr Sūrat al-Fātiḥah,* a *Tafsīr al-Mu'awwidhatayn,*[96] i.e., a commentary on the last two surahs, numbers 113 and 114, and a *Tafsīr Suwar al-Kāfirūn wa-al-Mu'awwidhatayn*.[97] A closer look at the first of these three books, *Tafsīr Sūrat al-Fātiḥah,* reveals that it has simply been taken from the first part of the compendium *Madārij al-Sālikīn*.[98] In his opening words Ibn al-Qayyim nevertheless describes the *fātiḥah* as the bearer of the most central names of God.[99] The editor concedes this fact only by quoting the relevant part of the *Madārij* in his very last footnote.[100] The second separately published commentary booklet, *Tafsīr al-Mu'awwidhatayn,* is also taken from one of the huge compendia, namely *Badā'i' al-Fawā'id*.[101] It draws attention to Ibn al-Qayyim's attachment to spiritual healing and white magic,[102] i.e., to counter-measures against evil by reference to specifically strong passages of the Quran, notably the last two surahs. The author himself announces:

> The aim is to discuss these two surahs and to show that they are

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[96]*Tafsīr al-Mu'awwidhatayn*, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1392/1972).

[97]*Tafsīr Suwar al-Kāfirūn wa-al-Mu'awwidhatayn,* ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī (Beirut, ca. 1974).

[98]*Madārij al-Sālikīn bayna Manāzil Iyyāka Na'budu wa-Iyyāka Nasta'īn,* ed. Riḍwān Jāmi' Riḍwān (Cairo, 2001), 1:21–113, corresponds to the above-mentioned *Tafsīr Sūrat al-Fātiḥah*. *Madārij al-Sālikīn* is dealt with in this article in section eight on moral theology.

[99]*Tafsīr Sūrat al-Fātiḥah,* ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī (Cairo, ca. 1979), 3.

[100]*Tafsīr Sūrat al-Fātiḥah,* 107.

[101]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 233.

[102]On magic see below the part on "medicine of the Prophet" *(ṭibb al-nabī)* in section 9.

> tremendously useful, that people strongly benefit from, if not need them, that no one is able to dispense with them, that they both have a specific effect on the repulsion of sorcery *(siḥr),* the evil eye *(al-ʿayn),* and other evils *(shurūr),* and that man′s need to seek God′s protection *(istiʿādhah)* through these two surahs is more pressing than his need for breath, food, drink, and clothes.[103]

To further illustrate this, Ibn al-Qayyim follows up on some incomplete and less impassioned comments of his teacher Ibn Taymīyah. The tracts of both authors were also patched together for publication in Bombay.[104] The special interest in this issue in the Indian subcontinent is further indicated by the fact that an Urdu translation of Ibn al-Qayyim′s commentary on the *muʿawwidhatān* had already been prepared in 1927 in Lahore.[105]

On top of that, it was an Indian follower who initiated the most ambitious project and compiled a sort of all-encompassing *tafsīr* of Ibn al-Qayyim that was—to the disappointment of his admirers—not authentic. A graduate of Nadwat al-ʿUlamāʾ in Lucknow, Muḥammad Uways al-Nadwī, browsed through the works of Ibn al-Qayyim, sorting out their *tafsīr* sections in order to cut-and-paste them into a single compendium of 631 pages. As its title he chose ″The Precious Commentary″ (*Al-Tafsīr al-Qayyim),*[106] insinuating that these were the authentic words of the late medieval Hanbali scholar. Its editor in 1949, Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī, however, leaves no doubt in his concluding remark that he had to do much more than just straighten out some slips in Uways′ concoction.[107] Successive projects to set up a mega-*tafsīr* were carried out in the 1990s. They undertook to eliminate the many remaining deficiencies and also to broaden the scope of writings reviewed. One of these hails all the works of Ibn al-Qayyim as being ″gardens full of fruit and rivers with fresh water,″[108] while another characterizes its task as

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[103]*Tafsīr al-Muʿawwidhatayn,* ed. Maḥmūd Ghānim Ghayth, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1392/1972), 5.

[104]Ibn Taymīyah and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Tafsīr al-Muʿawwidhatayn,* ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ḥāmid, 2nd ed. (Bombay, 1987), editor′s introduction, 5.

[105]By someone named ʿAbd al-Rahīm, according to Ahsan, ″Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah,″ 247.

[106]*Al-Tafsīr al-Qayyim lil-Imām Ibn al-Qayyim,* compiled—as indicated on the title page—by ″the meticulous Salafi″ Muḥammad Uways al-Nadwī, ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī (Cairo, 1368/1949), ″with the support of the distinguished traders and Mecca-based Salafis ʿAbd Allāh and ʿUbayd Allāh Dihlawī.″ Al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-ʿIlmīyah,* 219, assures his readers that Ibn al-Qayyim did wish to write a *tafsīr* and dedicates a large section to its description and reconstruction, 219–80, 288.

[107]*Al-Tafsīr al-Qayyim lil-Imām Ibn al-Qayyim,* 631. For more criticism see Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 232.

[108]*Badāʾiʿ al-Tafsīr: al-Jāmiʿ li-Tafsīr al-Imām Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* ed. Yusrī al-Sayyid

uncovering a ″hidden treasure″ *(kanz madfūn)*.[109] However, both authors of these reviews deserve credit for not listing Ibn al-Qayyim as the official author, as is often done, and indicating on the title page that they had put together *(jamaʻa)* the amalgamation contained therein themselves. Such an announcement is welcome these days. Devices to attract the customer by creating fancy titles recalling familiar works of an author are, nevertheless, widespread. In this case, the title of the newly created *Badāʼiʻ al-Tafsīr* seems to suggest the authentic *Badāʼiʻ al-Fawāʼid.*

This *Badāʼiʻ al-Fawāʼid* (Amazing benefits) is a voluminous work not easily categorized.[110] Al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505) describes it as having ″many benefits, the majority of which concern questions of grammar″ *(huwa kathīr al-fawāʼid aktharuhu masāʼil naḥwīyah)*.[111] Various other lessons derived from Quran and *sunnah* are also assembled in this work, which transcends genre categories. Wahbah al-Zuḥaylī, in his introduction to one edition, characterizes it as a unique combination of

> general principles in law and legal methodology, explication of the underlying reasons for the Holy Law *(asrār al-sharīʻah),* detailed description of eloquence, purity of expression, ease of style, clarity of purpose and intention, and power of persuasion by bringing forward manifold and comprehensive proofs, by subtlety and precision, renewal *(tajdīd)* and creative development *(ijtihād),* so that it belongs to the core of general books on the shariʻah.[112]

For the sake of convenience, we consider the ″Amazing Benefits″ here within the section on Quranic studies, also in order to distinguish it from other writings in this field—be they real or synthetic. *Badāʼiʻ al-Fawāʼid* should not be confused with *Al-Fawāʼid,* another authentic work by Ibn al-Qayyim that is presented in our section eight on moral psychology. Neither does it have anything to do with *Kitāb al-Fawāʼid al-Mushawwiq ilá ʻUlūm al-Qurʼān wa-ʻIlm al-Bayān*[113] (The

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Muḥammad (al-Dammām, Saudi Arabia, 1414/1993), 1:13.

[109] *Al-Ḍawʼ al-Munīr ʻalá al-Tafsīr,* selected by ʻAlī al-Ḥamad al-Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥī from the works of Ibn al-Qayyim (Dakhna, Saudi Arabia, in collaboration with Riyadh, 1995–99), 1:5.

[110] *Badāʼiʻ al-Fawāʼid*, ed. Markaz al-Dirāsāt wa-al-Buḥūth, 2nd ed. (Mecca and Riyadh, 1998), which contains, by the way, Ibn al-Qayyim′s *tafsīr* on the Muʻawwidhatān, 2:424–500. There are also earlier editions from Cairo.

[111] Al-Suyūṭī, *Kitāb Bughyat al-Wuʻāh,* 25.

[112] *Badāʼiʻ al-Fawāʼid,* ed. Maʻrūf Muṣṭafá Zurayq et al. (Beirut, 1994), 1, introduction of Wahbah al-Zuḥaylī.

[113] *Al-Fawāʼid,* ed. Salīm ibn ʻUbayd al-Hilālī (Riyadh, 1422/2001), see the foreword by al-Hilālī, 18–19. For criticism regarding its ascription to Ibn al-Qayyim see Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 291–92.

Benefits which arouse interest in the sciences of the Quran and of eloquence). The latter is often ascribed to Ibn al-Qayyim and has appeared as such on the book market.[114] An Arabic edition from Pakistan warmly recommends it for didactic purposes in a direct address to prospective readers.[115] This, however, proved to be a wrong ascription, because its real author is the scholar Ibn al-Naqīb.[116] To set the record straight, a recent edition printed a warning under the subtitle on the front page which reads ″printed wrongly under the title *Al-Fawā'id al-Mushawwiq ilá 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān wa-'Ilm al-Bayān* of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah.″[117] Certain parts of the huge *Badā'i' al-Fawā'id,* as happened with several of Ibn al-Qayyim′s compendia, have been published separately.[118] Some such partial publications tend to be blended with other writings by Ibn al-Qayyim. In short, whether spurred on by pious engagement or the rules of the market, there is a huge number of creative compilers, extractors, condensers, and synthesizers who have a share in the current confusion about the scholar′s œuvre.[119]

To conclude this section on his studies immediately related to the Quran we must include a separate,[120] authentic tract by Ibn al-Qayyim, the monograph *Al-Tibyān fī Aqsām al-Qur'ān* (The Exposition on oaths in the Quran). It is ″a commentary on Quranic verses such as ′By the sun and its radiance.′″[121] It is described in one of the introductions as an absolutely unequaled and unique source on the topic.[122] The medieval scholar diligently identifies instances of oaths in the holy book, revealing their background and offering erudite musings. Especially the passage that ″Muhammad was the only prophet of God, from among numerous

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[114][Pseudo-] Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Kitāb al-Fawā'id al-Mushawwiq ilá 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān wa-'Ilm al-Bayān,* ed. Muḥammad 'Uthmān al-Khusht (Cairo, 1994), with criticism of previous editions, 11.

[115]Printed in Gujranwala (Pakistan), 1394/1974.

[116]For a detailed analysis and evaluation see *Badā'i' al-Tafsīr,* 1:64–75.

[117]*Muqaddimat Tafsīr Ibn al-Naqīb: Fī 'Ilm al-Bayān wa-al-Ma'ānī wa-al-Badī' wa-I'jāz al-Qur'ān,* ed. Zakarīyā Sa'īd 'Alī (Cairo, 1415/1995).

[118]For instance, *Dhamm al-Ḥasad wa-Ahlihi,* ed. 'Alī Ḥasan 'Alī 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (Amman, 1986); *Irshād al-Qur'ān wa-al-Sunnah ilá Ṭarīq al-Munāẓarah wa-Taṣḥīḥihā,* ed. Ayman 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Shawwā (Beirut and Damascus, 1417/1996).

[119]This does not mean, of course, that there are not also many examples of serious secondary literature in Arabic exploring important aspects of Ibn al-Qayyim′s work, e.g., 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Lāshīn, *Ibn al-Qayyim wa-Ḥissuhu al-Balāghī fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān* (Beirut, 1982), to name but one example for the realm of *tafsīr*.

[120]Against the claim that this is merely part of a book see *Al-Tibyān fī Aqsām al-Qur'ān*, ed. 'Iṣām Fāris al-Ḥarastānī and Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Zaghlī (Beirut, 1994), 5.

[121]*Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya on the Invocation of God,* xv.

[122]*Al-Tibyān fī Aqsām al-Qur'ān,* ed. Fawwāz Aḥmad Zamarlī (Beirut, 1994), 18–19.

others by whose life Allāh has sworn, so dearly beloved was he to him,″ is taken as another indicator of his privileged status.[123] Besides dogmatic insight, obtaining everyday spiritual benefits seems to be the overarching focus of Ibn al-Qayyim′s musings on the Quran. He is not interested in making predominantly technical contributions.

(5) HADITH

Although Ibn al-Qayyim drew upon the vast corpus of hadith as hardly anyone else, his immediate engagement in traditional hadith sciences appears to be quite meagre. He wrote an emendation *(tahdhīb)* on al-Mundhirī′s (d. 1258) abridgement *(mukhtaṣar)* of Abū Dāwūd al-Sijistānī′s *Sunan*. The latter is widely known as one of the canonized ″six books″ that contain the core corpus of early Islamic tradition *(sunnah)*. This *Tahdhīb Mukhtaṣar Sunan Abī Dāwūd* was composed by Ibn al-Qayyim during a stay in Mecca; it apparently took him about four months to complete it.[124] The work is also published alongside other *Sunan* revisions, which is the reason for some different titles on the book market.[125] His further contributions to the field of hadith sciences address from a different angle the range and limits of hadith as a source of knowledge. Ibn al-Qayyim studied reported traditions in their strongest and weakest forms, from the so-called ″holy hadith″ *(ḥadīth al-qudsī)* in which God himself is said to speak, to the weak *(ḍaʻīf)* hadith at the other end of the spectrum. In the slim tract *Al-Farq bayna al-Qur'ān al-Karīm wa-al-Ḥadīth al-Qudsī*[126] (The Difference between the noble Quran and the holy hadith), he analyzes their functional, hierarchical, and ritual differences. In *Al-Manār al-Munīf fī al-Ṣaḥīḥ wa-al-Ḍaʻīf* (The Tall lighthouse for correct and weak reports),[127] however, the focus is on spurious reports. There are variants of its title; it is, for instance, also called simply *Al-Manār* or *Naqd al-Manqūl wa-al-Miḥakk al-Mumayyiz bayna al-Mardūd wa-al-Maqbūl* (Criticism

[123]Haji Abdul Karim Germanus, ″Some Unknown Masterpieces of Arabic Literature,″ *Islamic Culture* 26 (1952): 98.

[124]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 235.

[125]For instance, *Mukhtaṣar Sunan Abī Dāwūd lil-Ḥāfiẓ al-Mundhirī wa-Maʻālim al-Sunan li-Abī Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī wa-Tahdhīb al-Imām Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir and Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī (Cairo, 1369/1950, repr. Beirut 1400/1980), or *ʻAwn al-Maʻbūd: Sharḥ Sunan Abī Dāwūd lil-ʻAllāmah al-ʻAẓīm Ābādī maʻa Sharḥ al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* ed. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ʻUthmān, 2nd ed. (Medina, 1377/1968).

[126]Ed. Nāyif ibn Qublān al-ʻUtaybī (Mecca, 1418/1997–98).

[127]*Al-Manār al-Munīf fī al-Ṣaḥīḥ wa-al-Ḍaʻīf*, ed. ʻAbd al-Fattāḥ Abū Ghuddah (Aleppo, 1970), or ed. ʻAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Yaḥyá al-Muʻallimī and Manṣūr ibn ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Samārī (Riyadh, 1996).

of the transmitted and touchstone distinguishing the rejected and the acceptable).[128] According to the latter's editor, Ibn al-Qayyim "did not intend a thorough examination of the false hadith, but laid down the regulations and principles by which false hadith can be identified."[129] Such an analysis makes a great difference, since weak traditions, in contrast to spurious ones, are cherished inasmuch as Hanbali doctrine —based on its hierarchy of the law sources—accords them preference over rational arguments.

(6) LEGAL METHODOLOGY

I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn 'an Rabb al-'Ālamīn (Instructing those in charge about the master of the two worlds) is a heavy-weight compendium on the principles of Islamic jurisprudence. It ranks among a distinguished group of about half a dozen *uṣūl al-fiqh* monographs that represent the best and most important pre-modern Islamic contributions to the field.[130] Within Hanbali writing, it surpasses works like Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāmah's[131] (d. 1233) *Rawḍat al-Nāẓir wa-Jannat al-Munāẓir* and Ibn 'Aqīl's (d. 1199) *Al-Wāḍiḥ fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*. Modern manuals on Islamic legal methodology regularly refer their students to Ibn al-Qayyim's towering work—discussing its positions on a broad range of issues, such as the genesis of Islamic law, analogical reasoning, the reprehensibility of *taqlīd* and *ḥiyal,* or the fatwas of the Prophet and his companions.[132] An early expression of this esteem in modern times is the fact that the very first edition of *I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn* was published in India.[133] The extent and depth of Ibn al-Qayyim's treatment of the means of legal development *(ijtihād)* is not surprising, since by his time "virtually all Muslims became semi-rationalists in jurisprudence."[134] This

[128]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 302–4. However, the edition *Naqd al-Manqūl wa-al-Miḥakk al-Mumayyiz bayna al-Mardūd wa-al-Maqbūl: Wa-huwa al-Kitāb alladhī Ṭubi'a bi-Ism "Al-Manār al-Munīf fī al-Ṣaḥīḥ wa-al-Ḍa'īf,"* ed. Ḥasan al-Samāḥī Suwaydān (Beirut, 1990), is quite explicit in its subtitle.

[129]*Naqd al-Manqūl wa-al-Miḥakk al-Mumayyiz bayna al-Mardūd wa-al-Maqbūl,* 9.

[130]In this sense it could be compared to, for example, Sāṭibī's *Muwāfaqāt.*

[131]On Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn Qudāmah see Henri Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Baṭṭa (Traditionniste et jurisconsulte musulman d'école hanbalite mort en Irak à 'Ukbarâ en 387/997)* (Damascus, 1958), cxxxiii–cxxxv.

[132]Birgit Krawietz, *Hierarchie der Rechtsquellen im tradierten sunnitischen Islam* (Berlin, 2002), 456.

[133]Published in three volumes by al-Maṭba'ah al-Niẓāmīyah, India, 1298 [1880/81]: Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 209, n. 3 and 4. According to Ahsan, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah," 246, it was brought out in two volumes in Delhi in 1313–14/1885–86 and there is an "Urdu translation entitled *Dīn-i-Muḥammadī.*"

[134]Christopher Melchert, "The Adversaries of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal," *Arabica* 47 (1997): 253.

was particularly true for neo-Hanbali authors who propagated the dire need for *ijtihād*. His indebtedness to the trail-blazing thoughts of Ibn Taymīyah in particular is uncontested, although the latter himself never wrote a comprehensive work on *uṣūl al-fiqh*,[135] a format that did not suit his personality and approach. The core section of *I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn* is to be found towards its very end. It consists of a broad collection of the Prophetic fatwas, i.e., Muḥammad's transmitted legal or doctrinal decisions, as requested by his followers, which were not directly fueled by divine inspiration *(waḥy)*.[136] Such a minute presentation of the Prophet's normative decisions referred to in *sunnah* and the Quran, although not surprising for Ibn al-Qayyim, is quite unusual in the framework of a book on the principles of legal methodology. This ambiguity can be clarified by a deeper look at the exact structure and apparent genesis of this work. The decisive clue is offered in its title, "Instructing Those in Charge about the Master of the Two Worlds."[137] While the second part, without any doubt, refers to God, the first part refers directly to the authorities, that is to say those who are entitled to sign (in Arabic: *waqqa'a*). Here Ibn al-Qayyim addresses legal scholars in their function as *muftī*s and *mujtahid*s, i.e., those who write down their answers to questions and who seek to develop a solution consistent with the holy sources and the legitimate methodological means derived from them. To outline this task, the Hanbali scholar takes early Islamic proto-*iftā'* as the starting point and eternal model. In his exploration of the various aspects of the correct behavior for the *muftī* and questioner *(mustaftī),* this work, initially devoted to the relationship between *muftī* and *mustaftī,*[138] grew into an encompassing compendium covering, in the end, a whole range of issues relating to *uṣūl al-fiqh*.[139] Specifically *adab al-muftī* problems are dealt with in the section preceding the Prophetic fatwas.[140] The comprehensive character of *I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn* turned it into a convenient reservoir for all sorts of separate, often paperback publications that offer its subtopics piecemeal. Out of this "quarry" which, in its complete form, is published in several volumes, parts hitherto selected

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[135]Cf. Henri Laoust, *Contribution à une étude de la méthodologie canonique de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Taimīya* (Cairo, 1939), 9.

[136]Birgit Krawietz, "Der Prophet Muḥammad als Muftī und Muǧtahid," in *Beiträge zum Islamischen Recht,* ed. Hans-Georg Ebert and Thoralf Hanstein (Frankfurt am Main, 2003), 3:58–59. For the fatwas themselves see Ibn al-Qayyim, *I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn 'an Rabb al-'Ālamīn* (Beirut, 1418/1997), 2:486–612.

[137]For discussions about the title see Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 210–17.

[138]On this genre, see Birgit Krawietz, "Der Mufti und sein Fatwa: Verfahrenstheorie und Verfahrenspraxis nach islamischem Recht," *Die Welt des Orients* 26 (1995): 161–80, esp. 163.

[139]Krawietz, "Der Prophet Muḥammad als Muftī und Muǧtahid," 60–61.

[140]*I'lām al-Muwaqqi'īn,* 2:407–86.

for separate publication include those about *taqlīd,*[141] *qiyās,*[142] the authority of fatwas of the companions of the Prophet,[143] and, of course, Muḥammad′s fatwas themselves.[144] The latter became especially popular in the modern era when the qadi was gradually supplanted by the *muftī* as the most central figure of Islamic legal thinking.[145] In general, the decades-delayed exploration in Western languages of the Hanbali school of law has also gained impetus lately with regard to Ibn al-Qayyim′s conception of the principles of Islamic jurisprudence.[146]

(7) PRACTICAL JURISPRUDENCE

In spite of the fact that he is frequently referred to as ″the legal scholar″ *(al-faqīh)* and in spite of his above-mentioned leading role in the field of *uṣūl al-fiqh,* Ibn al-Qayyim did not write a comprehensive *furūʿ al-fiqh* manual, nor did he comment upon one. Instead, a number of legal writings on more specific topics are attributed to him. To start with, it would be excessive to claim that, in these monographs on practical jurisprudence, he was primarily concerned with penal law.[147] Nevertheless, he is the author of some larger tracts on Islamic jurisprudence that are, though not exclusively, also important from the standpoint of criminal law, namely *Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah, Al-Ṣalāh wa-Ḥukm Tārikihā, Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmīyah fī al-Siyāsah al-Sharʿīyah,* and *Kashf al-Ghiṭāʾ ʿan Ḥukm al-Samāʿ wa-al-Ghināʾ*. All four of these works were written in response to fatwa requests. Since they are *responsa*

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[141]Ibid., 1:416–82, as compared with Ibn al-Qayyim, *Risālat al-Taqlīd,* ed. Muḥammad ʿAfifī (Beirut and Riyadh, 1983).

[142]Introduction by Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb in *Al-Qiyās fī al-Sharʿ al-Islāmī: Yaḥtawī ʿalá Risālat al-Qiyās li-Ibn Taymīyah wa-Fuṣūl fī al-Qiyās li-Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 2nd ed. (Beirut, 1975), 6.

[143]*Iʿlām al-Muwaqqiʿīn,* 2:379–407, as compared with *Al-Bayyināt al-Salafīyah ʿalá anna Aqwāl al-Ṣaḥābah Ḥujjah Sharʿīyah fī Iʿlām al-Imām Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* commented upon and expanded by Aḥmad Salām (Beirut, 1974).

[144]*Fatāwá Rasūl Allāh*, ed. Sulaymān Salīm al-Bawwāb (Damascus, 1404/1984).

[145]Krawietz, ″Der Prophet Muḥammad als Muftī und Muǧtahid,″ 55.

[146]Cf., for instance, Satoe Horii, *Die gesetzlichen Umgehungen im islamischen Recht (ḥiyal): Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ǧannat al-aḥkām wa-ǧunnat al-ḫuṣṣām des Ḥanafīten Saʿīd b. ʿAlī as-Samarqandī (gest. 12. Jhdt.)* (Berlin, 2001), 53–66 and passim.

[147]A study such as Bakr Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Abū Zayd, *Aḥkām al-Jināyah ʿalá al-Nafs wa-mā Dūnahā ʿinda Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah* (Beirut, 1416/1996), might convey the wrong impression that penal law is one of Ibn al-Qayyim′s central areas of interest. In fact, his relevant utterances had to be assembled from a variety of his writings, 12, but had attracted Abū Zayd′s attention because of their insistence on the inherent wisdom of Islamic legislation *(tashrīʿ)* as against claims of ″the orientalists″ directed against the allegedly savage character of Islamic penal law, 13. Abū Zayd offers a comparative perspective on the various law schools using them as a frame for selected remarks taken from Ibn al-Qayyim.

and, as such, originally often did not bear an official title, the usual confusion about Ibn al-Qayyim's book titles here allows for an even greater range of different versions. The monographs mentioned here are widely read and discussed—well beyond the more limited realm of specifically Hanbali jurisprudence.

Outstanding are his *Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah* (Regulations for the people of the covenant), i.e., Jews and Christians, with whom he was concerned not only in the sphere of theology. This *furūʿ al-fiqh* work is usually published in two volumes.[148] It is one of the most prominent works of Ibn al-Qayyim in general and the most important of his writings in practical jurisprudence in particular. In fact, it has to be regarded as the main late medieval reference concerning the status of minorities in Islamic law. No wonder that—once again—the well-known Salafi scholar Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ prepared the pioneering edition.[149] Of special importance is the long introduction by al-Ṣāliḥ himself[150] and an introduction to Muslim international law *(muqaddimah fī ʿilm al-siyar)* by Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh.[151] The editor praises this book as

> surpassing all earlier works in regard to diligence, depth, and comprehensiveness, and it was the first complete compilation on its topic *(imtāza ʿan kull mā sabaqahu bi-al-diqqah wa-al-ʿumq wa-al-shumūl, fa-kāna awwal kitāb jāmiʿ fī bābihi).*[152]

The point of departure was a fatwa request on the poll-tax *(jizyah)* and its imposition on more or less wealthy *dhimmī*s.[153] The very last part of the *Aḥkām* on the "conditions of ʿUmar," i.e., of the (fictitious) pact between ʿUmar and the Christians of Syria, has attracted specific attention. The editor of the famous 1961 version of the *Aḥkām* also edited and commented upon them separately that same year. He even recommends this detached part as an instructive and concise account of regulations for *dhimmī*s.[154] He characterizes it as an appendix on the one hand, but also as a separable and independent entity on the other. In due course, al-Ṣāliḥ

148Cf. ed. Ṭāhā ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Saʿd (Beirut:, 1995), or ed. Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad al-Bakrī and Shākir ibn Tawfīq al-ʿĀrūrī (al-Dammām, Saudi Arabia, 1997).

149*Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah,* ed. Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ (Damascus, 1961).

150Ibid., 1:1–46, and a description of the originally sole copy of the manuscript in Madras, India, on 47–66, followed by a presentation of Ibn al-Qayyim on 67–73.

151Ibid., 74–95. On *siyar* regulations see Hilmar Krüger, *Fetwa und Siyar* (Wiesbaden, 1968), 31–37.

152*Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah,* ed. al-Ṣāliḥ, 1:6.

153Ibid., 7.

154*Sharḥ al-Shurūṭ al-ʿUmarīyah: Mujarrad min Kitāb Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah,* ed. Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ (Damascus, 1961), introduction, 5–6; likewise *Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah,* ed. al-Ṣāliḥ, 1:14–15.

qualifies this last quarter of the text as its real ″center of gravity″ *(markaz al-thaqal),*[155] which is a frequent feature in Ibn al-Qayyim′s writings.[156]

The much smaller *Kitāb al-Ṣalāh wa-Ḥukm Tārikihā* (Book on the ritual prayer and those who neglect it) was edited in 1376/1956 by the important Salafi scholar Quṣayy Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb.[157] Since this legal tract is not very long and is well established as a topic of specific Hanbali (and later also Wahhabi) concern, some editions patch it together with other statements from this school, especially those of its alleged founding father Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.[158] This work of Ibn al-Qayyim is a compound fatwa answering ten questions, all related to the problem of neglecting the duty of prayer. The basic question is whether such a disregard for one′s religious duties has to be treated as unbelief *(kufr)* or not. The scholar′s harsh reaction to skipping this duty is relevant because it offers an opportunity for sanctions in public space. It is worth mentioning that this time Ibn Taymīyah does not take the lead. Instead, it is Ibn al-Qayyim and it seems a relevant tract of Ibn Taymīyah has been unearthed and published separately only against the background of Ibn al-Qayyim′s writing.[159] It has been drawn *(istikhrāj)* from his *Majmūʿ al-Fatāwá*[160] and was obviously only recently printed separately for the first time as an ″independent epistle″ *(risālah mustaqillah)*.[161] The latter was put together with a lengthy introduction, various indices, and extensive footnotes in the epistle itself, that is to say, it had to be substantially edited to publish it along the lines of Ibn al-Qayyim′s monograph.[162]

Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmīyah fī al-Siyāsah al-Sharʿīyah (Legal ways of shariʿah-conforming governance) not only addresses legal issues, such as the judiciary, but also aspects of economics, politics, and administration.[163] It is presented as ″a

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[155] *Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah,* ed. al-Ṣāliḥ, 1:18.

[156] Cf., for instance, the above-mentioned collection of Prophetic fatwas in his *Iʿlām al-Muwaqqiʿīn*.

[157] Other editions and reprints are available. Al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-ʿIlmīyah,* 136, on Ibn al-Qayyim′s understanding of the term *siyāsah*.

[158] Cf. *Al-Risālah al-Sunnīyah fī al-Ṣalāh wa-mā Yalzam fīhā li-Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal wa-Yalīhi Kitāb al-Ṣalāh wa-Aḥkām Tārikihā* (Miṣr, 1964); *Kitāb al-Ṣalāh wa-mā Yalzam fīhā li-Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal wa-Yalīhi Kitāb al-Ṣalāh wa-Aḥkām Tārikihā* (Miṣr, 1347/1928–29).

[159] Ibn Taymīyah, *Ḥukm Tārik al-Ṣalāh,* ed. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Nuʿmānī al-Atharī (Beirut, 1421/2000).

[160] *Majmūʿ Fatāwá Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad Ibn Taymīyah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Qāsim al-ʿĀṣimī al-Najdī al-Ḥanbalī with the help of his son Muḥammad (Riyadh, 1381/1961–62), 22:40–63.

[161] Ibid., 82–83.

[162] Ibid., with the tract bearing extensive footnotes, 89–136.

[163] *Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmīyah fī al-Siyāsah al-Sharʿīyah*, ed. Aḥmad al-Zaʿbī [?] (Beirut, 1999), introduction, 2.

treatise of public law built around a theory of proof."[164] It relies heavily on Ibn Taymīyah's *Al-Ḥisbah fī al-Islām* as well as on *Kitāb al-Siyāsah al-Shar'īyah fī Iṣlāh al-Rā'ī wa-al-Ra'īyah,*[165] but has received less attention in Western secondary literature. Also in its economic aspects, Ibn al-Qayyim very much followed the ideas of his master.[166] On the level of political jurisprudence, however, the monograph has to be viewed in comparison with a series of other works, such as Abū al-Ḥasan al-Māwardī's (d. 1058) famous *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah*. Masud pointed out that in its political fine-tuning, Ibn al-Qayyim's understanding of *siyāsah shar'īyah* possesses a flavor distinct from Ibn Taymīyah's harsh stance.[167]

With *Kashf al-Ghiṭā' 'an Ḥukm Samā' al-Ghinā'*[168] (Lifting the veil: judgement on listening to singing) a chord is struck that is again strongly reminiscent of Ibn Taymīyah and his criticism that Sufi practices lack respect for the demands of the shari'ah.[169] Although the topic of music is dealt with in other writings of Ibn al-Qayyim as well, such as *Madārij al-Sālikīn* and *Ighāthat al-Lahfān,* this monograph is the special product of a fatwa request that was answered by eight late medieval legal scholars; Ibn al-Qayyim was the one who provided the longest and most detailed answer by far.[170]

In his surviving legal responses, Ibn al-Qayyim often confronted problems of public space. While his famous longer fatwas acquired the format of full-fledged monographs, as has been demonstrated, it has to be assumed that many of his shorter ones did not survive the test of time. Some of these, however, are in wider circulation because they caused a great stir and prompted refutations, such as his counseling on repudiation *(ṭalāq)* or the visitation of graves *(ziyārat al-qubūr),* along the lines of his stubborn master Ibn Taymīyah.[171] Taylor even speaks of the

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[164] Laoust, "Ḥanābila," 161. Likewise Çelik, "İbn Kayyim el-Cevziyye ve Ma'āni el-Edevāt ve'l-Hurūf adlı eseri," 152. On the core issue of proofs see Baber Johansen, "Signs as Evidence: The Doctrine of Ibn Taymiyya (1263–1328) and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 1351) [sic] on Proof," *Islamic Law and Society* 9 (2002): 158–93.

[165] Laoust, "Ibn Ḳayyim al-Djawziyya," 822.

[166] Abdul Azim Islahi, *Economic Thought of Ibn al Qayyim (1292-1350 A.D.)*, Research Series in English 20 (Jeddah, 1984), 19.

[167] Muhammad Khalid Masud, "The Doctrine of *Siyasa* in Islamic Law," *Recht van de Islam* 18 (2001): 12–13.

[168] Ed. Rabī' Ibn Aḥmad Khalaf (Beirut, 1412/1992).

[169] Cf. Jean R. Michot, *Musique et danse selon Ibn Taymiyya: Le livre du* Samâ' *et de la danse* (Kitāb al- Samâ' wa l-Raqṣ) *compilé par le shaykh Muḥammad al-Manbijî,* ed. Jean R. Michot (Paris, 1991).

[170] *Kashf al-Ghiṭā'*, ed. Khalaf, 5, the answer of Ibn al-Qayyim alone covers the pages 47–295.

[171] Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Mashrū'īyat Ziyārat al-Qubūr,* ed. 'Izzat al-'Aṭṭār al-Ḥusaynī (Cairo, 1375/1955). The editor remarks that Ibn al-Qayyim "was so overwhelmed with love for his master

″inflammatory, revisionist, and radically anti-ziyāra rhetoric of Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya.″[172] The publication of later refutations may also unearth some of this material. It is further likely that Ibn al-Qayyim incorporated several smaller *responsa* into his other writings, especially the ethical compendia, with their broad range of topics. Those shall be presented in the next section. At present, however, it is not possible to give a more comprehensive list of his legal publications—a problem that is closely related to the much-needed chronology of his works.

(8) MORAL THEOLOGY

Ibn al-Qayyim is depicted as belonging to ″the scholars of the hearts″ *(ʿulamāʾ al-qulūb)*[173] and his pathology in the Sufi tradition has already been described by Schallenbergh.[174] His concern for a ″treatment of the heart″ *(ṭibb al-qulūb)* stems from profoundly mystical influences on moral theology and a deeper understanding of the shariʿah. As opposed to mere lip–service and letter-of-the-law-obedience, this powerful trend directly addresses the conscience of the believer, calls for his internalization of norms, and encourages an enhanced awareness of their necessary application by the responsible individual. The latter, in his daily life—and not merely as a matter of pious seclusion—has to equip himself with sufficient knowledge and insight to monitor his spiritual development and outward behavior within the legal framework of the shariʿah. In this sense, Ibn al-Qayyim can indeed be called a ″Sufi-Hanbalite.″[175] It is primarily for this type of deep pious concern that Ibn al-Qayyim is nowadays mostly appreciated far beyond the Hanbali inner circles of the Near East. In this field he produced the greatest bulk of his writings, namely *Madārij al-Sālikīn, Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn, Al-Dāʾ wa-al-Dawāʾ,* and *Ighāthat al-Lahfān.*[176] Under his writings on Sufism are further listed *Rawḍat*

Ibn Taymīyah that he did not transgress any of his dicta,″ 5, an allegation that should, however, be more critically tested.

[172]Christopher S. Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous:* Ziyāra *and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt* (Leiden, 1999), 211. For Ibn al-Qayyim′s attitude towards *ziyārah,* see Josef W. Meri, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford and New York, 2002), 34–135 and passim.

[173]*Risālat Ibn al-Qayyim ilá Aḥad Ikhwānih,* introduced by Bakr ibn ʿAbd Allāh Abū Zayd, ed. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Mudayfir (Riyadh, 1420/1999–2000), 3.

[174]Schallenbergh, ″The Diseases of the Heart,″ 421–28.

[175]George Makdisi, ″Hanbalite Islam,″ in *Studies on Islam*, trans. and ed. Merlin L. Swartz (New York and Oxford, 1981), 247.

[176]According to the editor Bakr ibn ʿAbd Allāh Abū Zayd in his introduction to *Risālat Ibn al-Qayyim ilá Aḥad Ikhwānih,* 3.

al-Muḥibbīn, ʻUddat al-Ṣābirīn, and *Al-Fawāʼid.*[177] The contents of these works shall be roughly presented and characterized here to allow for some closer analysis of Ibn al-Qayyim as an author of religious ethics.

Madārij al-Sālikīn bayna Manāzil "Iyyāka Naʻbudu wa-Iyyāka Nastaʻīn" (Stages of the travelers between "Thee alone we worship and in thee alone do we seek help)[178] is a voluminous commentary on the Sufi manual *Manāzil as-Sāʼirīn* (Way stations of the wayfarers)[179] of the Herati mystic and Hanbali preacher Abū Ismāʻīl ʻAbd Allāh al-Anṣārī al-Harawī (d. 1089).[180] The latter has often been commented upon,[181] but Ibn al-Qayyim, with his diligent approach and special concentration on the issue of repentance *(tawbah)* at the beginning of the work, has probably produced the most popular and widespread Anṣārī commentary in circulation today. It is no wonder that various short versions are also available.[182] In addition to that, the section on *tawbah* has been singled out and printed separately.[183] *Madārij al-Sālikīn* is widely regarded as Ibn al-Qayyim's finest piece on theological psychology and an eminent example of Hanbali Sufism.

Ibn al-Qayyim's book titles could be a topic in their own right. *Al-Dāʼ wa-al-Dawāʼ* (The Malady and the remedy), for instance, is likewise known and published under *Al-Jawāb al-Kāfī li-Man Saʼala ʻan al-Dawāʼ al-Shāfī* (Sufficient answers on medication).[184] The medicinal metaphor is reminiscent of his already-mentioned theological treatise *Shifāʼ al-ʻAlīl*. It starts out with remarks on the blessings of invocation *(duʻāʼ)* and remembrance of God *(dhikr),* provides information on sins

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177 Çelik, "İbn Kayyim el-Cevziyye ve Maʻāni el-Edevāt ve'l-Hurūf adlı eseri," 152.

178 Notice should be taken of an important early edition, namely *Madārij al-Sālikīn bayna Manāzil "Iyyāka Naʻbudu wa-Iyyāka Nastaʻīn,"* since it was "printed with the support of a group of excellent Arabs in Kuwait, India, and Egypt," ed. Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍá (Cairo, 1333/1915). Ahsan, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah," 246, informs us that vol. 1 was already printed in 1331/1912.

179 For information on this work and its commentators see Anṣārī al-Harawī, *Chemin de Dieu: Trois traités spirituels,* trans. and ed. Serge de Laugier de Beaurecueil, 45–77.

180 For his place within Hanbalism see A. G. Ravan Farhadi, *Abdullah Ansari of Herat: An Early Sufi Master* (Richmond, UK, 1996), 14.

181 For example, *Manāzil al-Sāʼirīn ilá al-Ḥaqq al-Mubīn li-Abī Ismāʻīl al-Harawī: Sharḥ ʻAfīf al-Dīn Sulaymān Ibn ʻAlī al-Tilimsānī (d. 1291),* ed. ʻAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ Manṣūr (Tunis, 1989).

182 *Mukhtaṣar Madārij al-Sālikīn*, ed. Khālid ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʻAkk (Beirut [and others], 1996), or *Tahdhīb Madārij al-Sālikīn,* ed. ʻAbd al-Munʻim Ṣāliḥ al-ʻAlī al-ʻIzzī (Dubai, 1981).

183 Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Kitāb al-Tawbah,* ed. Ṣābir al-Baṭāwī (Cairo, 1990).

184 Schallenbergh, "The Diseases of the Heart," 422. Another translation is given by Germanus, "Some Unknown Masterpieces of Arabic Literature," 97: "The answer given to him who asked for a curing medicine." There are several editions under each of the two titles. Some editions alternatively offer both titles, such as *Al-Dāʼ wa-al-Dawāʼ aw al-Jawāb al-Kāfī li-man Saʼala ʻan al-Dawāʼ al-Shāfī,* ed. Muḥammad Jumayyil Ghāzī (Cairo, 1978). Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 233–45, found no reference to it by the author himself.

(al-ma'āṣī), distinguishing for instance healthy love *(ḥubb)* from excessive passion *('ishq).* The compendium is also quite specific on certain aberrations such as polytheism and homosexuality.

Ighāthat al-Lahfān min Maṣāyid al-Shayṭān is composed—as the title reveals—for "Rescuing the Distressed from Satan's Snares." Perlmann[185] has already narrated a sort of rough outline based on the critical edition of al-Fiqī.[186] Schallenbergh renders it as "Assistance for Those Who Seek Refuge From Satan's Entrapments."[187] The voluminous work provides interesting reading material insofar as it not only deals with regulations for mastering the straight path to God, but also focuses on sins in all their richness and variety. Two issues in particular dealt with in this monograph were singled out for publication as a separate booklet. The first one is "devilish delusion" *(al-waswās al-khannās* or *waswasah).*[188] In this context, the literary impact of both Ibn al-Jawzī's (d. 1200) famous *Talbīs Iblīs,*[189] and of Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāmah (d. 1223)[190] still needs to be investigated.[191] The second topic of special interest as expressed in various editions is the contested question of triple divorce (*ṭalāq al-ghaḍbān,* "divorce of the angry"), i.e., to effect a divorce by pronouncing *ṭalaq* three times in immediate succession. This procedure was contested by neo-Hanbali legal scholars—notably in a famous fatwa of Ibn Taymīyah.[192] Ibn al-Qayyim backed his position with the consequence of

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[185]Perlmann, "Ibn Qayyim and the Devil," 330–37.

[186]Ed. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī (Cairo, 1939). Among the various editions available there is again the name Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī (Cairo, ca. 1969).

[187]Schallenbergh, "The Diseases of the Heart," 422.

[188]Printed separately as *Al-Waswās al-Khannās* (Cairo, 1984), or as *Subul al-Khalāṣ min al-Waswās al-Khannās,* ed. Nūr Sa'īd (Beirut, 1992).

[189]For instance 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Jawzī, *Talbīs Iblīs,* ed. Ayman Ṣāliḥ (Cairo, 1422/2001). Cf. the translation by D. S. Margoliouth, "*The Devil's Delusion* by Ibn al-Jauzī," *Islamic Culture* 9–12, 19–22 (1935–38, 1945–48).

[190]Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāmah, *Risālat Dhamm al-Waswasah,* ed. Aḥmad 'Adnān Ṣāliḥ (Baghdad, n.d.).

[191]This is all the more necessary since there is a booklet claiming to be Ibn al-Qayyim's adaptation of the Ibn Qudāmah version, namely Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Makā'id al-Shayāṭīn fī al-Waswasah wa-Dhamm al-Muwaswisīn: Sharḥ Kitāb Dhamm al-Muwaswisīn wa-al-Taḥzīr min al-Waswasah lil-Imām al-Faqīh Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanbalī* (Cairo, 1401/1981), or the Beirut, 1402/1986, edition.

[192]Yossef Rapoport, "Ibn Taymiyya on Divorce Oaths," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society,* ed. Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni (Leiden and Boston, 2004), 191–217; Henri Laoust, "Une *risāla* d'Ibn Taimīya sur le serment de répudation," *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales* 7–8 (1937–38): 215–36.

imprisonment, as previously mentioned.[193] *Ighāthat al-Lahfān* is not only a very popular treatise on theological psychology concerning all sorts of pitfalls in life (including lengthy remarks on doctrinal errors of Christians and Jews) with a presentation of remedies, such as formally seeking God's protection *(isti'ādhah),* but is also relevant for legal doctrine. It deals with challenges for the believer in the context of ritual purity, prayer, visitation of graves,[194] dance, music, singing, polytheism, adultery, and homosexuality. In addition, it contains various reflections on the character of legal tricks *(ḥiyal)* and unorthodox innovations *(bida').*

In *'Uddat al-Ṣābirīn wa-Dhakhīrat al-Shākirīn* (Implements for the patient and provisions for the grateful) Ibn al-Qayyim pursues the Sufi topics of patience and gratitude, which are seen as the two halves of faith. He thereby presents "a complete pedagogic encyclopedia,"[195] i.e., he "combines *ṣabr* with all aspects of life."[196] This book is tremendously popular. Its essence also reappears in other writings attributed to Ibn al-Qayyim.[197] There is a shortened version in English that assures its readers in the translator's afterword that, despite "a constant struggle to reassert our Islam in the face of overwhelming pressure from Western media and technology," the Islamic heritage still has "a great deal to say about the human condition."[198] Nowadays, even economists claim Ibn al-Qayyim's assistance, since in the course of this book he also explores the concepts of poverty *(faqr)* and wealth *(ghiná),* but without proposing strict asceticism:

> Against the background of widespread influence of Sufism which promotes self-denial and pauperism, Ibn al Qayyim has tried to

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[193]Ibn al-Qayyim, *Ighāthat al-Lahfān fī Ḥukm Ṭalāq al-Ghaḍbān* was printed separately in 1327/1909–10 and edited by the Salafi scholar Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qāsimī in the Egyptian Maṭba'at al-Manār. *Ighāthat al-Lahfān min Maṣā'id al-Shayṭān,* ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Kīlānī, 7, refers to an even earlier edition (Cairo, 1320/1902–3)—just to mention such early efforts. Some authors refer to it as *Al-Ighāthah al-Ṣughrá,* Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 220.

[194]Cf. the extract version *Ziyārat al-Qubūr al-Shar'īyah wa-al-Shirkīyah* by Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Birkawī, Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 219.

[195]*'Uddat al-Ṣābirīn,* ed. Abū Usāmah Salīm Ibn 'Īd al-Hilālī (Jeddah and Riyadh, 1420/1999), with criticism of previous editions, 5–8.

[196]*'Uddat al-Ṣābirīn,* ed. 'Iṣām Fāris al-Ḥarastānī (Beirut, 1998), 2.

[197]For example the booklet *Maṭāli' al-Sa'd bi-Kashf Mawā'iq al-Ḥamd,* ed. Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-'Askar (Riyadh, 1993), 13–15, which claims to be a fatwa of Ibn al-Qayyim on the issue of praise *(ḥamd)* for God.

[198]*Patience and Gratitude: An Abridged Translation of* 'Uddat as-Sabirin wa-Dhakhirat ash-Shakirin, trans. Nasiruddin al-Khattab, ed. 'Abdassamad Clarke (London, 1997), 71.

bring out the balanced teachings of Islam with regard to poverty and riches.[199]

It may seem strange that two of the most notorious literalists could produce such outstanding works on love, namely Ibn al-Qayyim′s *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn wa-Nuzhat al-Mushtāqīn* (The Garden of lovers and the pleasance of yearning souls) and Ibn Ḥazm (d. 1064) with his *Ṭawq al-Ḥamāmah* (The Ring of the dove). This paradox is also reflected in an article which—despite its obscure title—conveniently presents and summarizes in English the chapter contents of the *Rawḍah,* which all deal with the ″psychology and metaphysics″ of earthly love as created by God.[200] Hence, there is no need to reproduce them here. It should only be added that this work—more than most other writings by Ibn al-Qayyim—quotes a good deal of poetry.[201] Besides short versions of the *Rawḍah,*[202] parts of this monograph have been edited separately—especially chapter 29 on illegitimate desire *(hawá)*.[203] One editor cites many readers′ ignorance of the exact contents of the great compendia *(al-muṣannafāt al-kabīrah)* as the very reason for publishing parts of them as separate tracts. The chapter on *hawá* is the very last one of the book.[204] Frequently Ibn al-Qayyim provides essential information near the end of his books.[205] This very chapter of the *Rawḍah* has also been translated into English.[206] Another method to exploit the wealth of this or other writings of

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199 Islahi, *Economic Thought of Ibn al Qayyim,* 6.

200 Germanus, ″Some Unknown Masterpieces of Arabic Literature,″ 92. The standard account of Ibn al-Qayyim′s writings on love is J. N. Bell, *Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam* (Albany, 1979), 92–181.

201 See *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn wa-Nuzhat al-Mushtāqīn*, ed. Muḥyī al-Dīn Dīb Mastū (?) (Beirut and Damascus, 1997), or any of the manifold editions.

202 For example *Al-Ḥubb fī al-Islām: Mukhtaṣar Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn wa-Nuzhat al-Mushtāqīn,* ed. Ṣāliḥ ibn ʻUthmān al-Laḥḥām (Amman, 1994).

203 Ibn al-Qayyim, *Dhamm al-Hawá wa-Ittibāʻihi,* ed. ʻAlī Ḥasan ʻAlī ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd (Amman, 1988). It would have to be analyzed against the background of previous writings, such as Ibn al-Jawzī′s (d. 1200) ″Censure of Passion″ *(Dhamm al-Hawá);* Bell, *Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam,* 11–45, 99–100, and Stefan Leder, *Ibn al-Ǧauzi und seine Kompilation wider die Leidenschaft: der Traditionalist in gelehrter Überlieferung und originärer Lehre* (Beirut, 1984). Another example is the chapter on glances and gazing that was separately published as *Aḥkām al-Naẓar,* ed. Aḥmad ʻUbayd (Damascus, 1348/1929–30), but this at least admits already on the title page to being a ″section isolated from″ *(nubdhah mujarradah)* the *Rawḍah*. On *naẓar* cf. Bell, *Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam,* 125–47.

204 *Dhamm al-Hawá wa-Ittibāʻihi,* 4.

205 Cf. the fatwas of the Prophet Muḥammad in Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Iʻlām al-Muwaqqiʻīn ʻan Rabb al-ʻĀlamīn,* ed. Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Salām al-Zuʻbī (Beirut, 1418/1997), 2:486–612.

206 *From the Treasures of Ibnul Qayyim: A Chapter on The Dispraise of al-Hawaa (Desire):*

Ibn al-Qayyim is to assemble information on a certain topic from his various books—in this case, for instance, on the love for God—and to present it in a newly arranged shape while still naming the late medieval scholar as author of the new booklet, thus contributing even more to the widespread confusion about his œuvre.[207]

One might also expect to find under the topic of love Ibn al-Qayyim's "Reports on Women," *Akhbār al-Nisā'*, that is often attributed to him.[208] Häemen-Anttila[209] perceives this work as an "*adab*-monograph," so that it would not fit into our category of Sufi moral theology,[210] but he deliberately leaves the question of its authorship aside. For reasons that space does not permit us to present here, this work cannot be regarded as a product of Ibn al-Qayyim.[211] As a matter of irony, though, this is one of the very few works of Ibn al-Qayyim which has been translated into a Western language by a non-Muslim scholar of Islamic sciences.[212]

In *Miftāḥ Dār al-Sa'ādah wa-Manshūr Wilāyat al-'Ilm wa-al-Irādah* (The Key to the abode of happiness and proclamation to generate knowledge and will power) Ibn al-Qayyim, who is labeled "the very learned encyclopedic" *(al-'allāmah al-mawsū'ī),* takes his readers once again on a journey of self-realization.[213] He guides them through the panoramic landscapes of his religious-spiritual outlook and worldview. God has arranged everything in the best of all manners. Man is

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Appended with Warning the Muslims Against Deviant Creeds and Methodologies (Including those of Nuh Ha Mim Keller), prepared by Saleh As-Saleh (Buraidah, Saudi Arabia, 1418/1998).

207Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Maḥabbat Allāh 'Azza wa-Jalla,* ed. Yūsuf 'Alī Budaywī (Damascus and Beirut, 1421/2000), 15, where he mentions an earlier work of his from the same fabrication, namely *Asmā' Allāh al-Ḥusná* as attributed to Ibn al-Qayyim, ed. Yūsuf 'Alī Budaywī and Ayman 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Shawwā (Damascus and Beirut, 1418/1997), and threatens to be already preparing another one.

208For instance Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Akhbār al-Nisā'* (Beirut, 1979).

209Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, "Some Notes on Women in Classical Arabic Literary Tradition," in *Proceedings of the 14th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants,* ed. A. Fodor, part 2, Budapest, 29 August–3 September 1988, published in *The Arabist Budapest Studies in Arabic* 15–16 (1995): 133.

210For Çelik, "İbn Kayyim el-Cevziyye," 153, *Akhbār al-Nisā'* belongs to the genre of history. Others mention it under the rubric "history and social life" *(al-tārīkh wa-al-ijtimā'), Ḥādī al-Arwāḥ ilá Bilād al-Afrāḥ,* ed 'Ādil 'Abd al-Mun'im Abū al-'Abbās (Cairo, 1988), 6.

211Cf. Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 202–8.

212Although the German orientalist Bellmann in [Pseudo-] Ibn al-Qayyim, *Über die Frauen: Liebeshistorien und Liebeserfahrung aus dem arabischen Mittelalter,* ed. Dieter Bellmann (Munich, 1986), admits the dubiousness of its attribution, he does not refrain from smug remarks: 449, 463–65.

213*Miftāḥ Dār al-Sa'ādah wa-Manshūr Wilāyat al-'Ilm wa-al-Irādah*, 1:5. Leaving aside other recent editions, there remain to be mentioned an early one from Cairo in 1323–25/1905–7 and an

created with a natural inclination toward paradise and a quest for the religious knowledge *(ʿilm)* necessary to get there. Against this background, it is up to every Muslim to consciously remedy the deficiencies of his soul *(amrāḍ al-qalb)*. In a somewhat patchwork-like manner, Ibn al-Qayyim also includes musings on phenomena of the physical and animated world, detecting all sorts of hidden wisdoms behind them, and underlines the necessity of the shariʿah while castigating astrology *(ʿilm al-nujūm)* and other pseudo-sciences.[214]

Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn wa-Bāb al-Saʿādatayn (Path of the two migrations and gate to the two happinesses) is even more varied. The Syrian legal scholar al-Zuḥaylī identifies four central topics as this book's core issues: first, "the treasures of faith and their meanings," i.e., the basic tenets of faith, including ones disputed by other groups, who have a different approach to good and evil; second, "exposition of the ways of moderate Sufism *(al-taṣawwuf al-muʿtadil)* in accordance with Quran and *sunnah;*" third, reflections on good and evil; and fourth, a clarification of terms.[215] Again, we find Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb as one of the early editors of this work.[216] The title of the book is understood as referring to the migration to God by complying with his will, and to his prophet Muḥammad by following the Prophet's normative example.[217] With its reference to the abode of happiness and allusion to the metaphor of door and key, the title recalls the above-mentioned *Miftāḥ Dār al-Saʿādah.*

Ibn al-Qayyim's *Al-Fawāʾid* (The Benefits) is the most patchwork-like of the writings in this section—if not in his entire œuvre. Its very general title refers the reader to Quran, *sunnah,* and early Islamic testimonies which provide him with a broad range of information. It fits less neatly than the above-mentioned monographs under the rubric of moral theology, since it contains elements of virtually every aspect of the author's broad literary production. One editor says that this book is equally relevant for hadith scholars, Quran interpreters, grammarians, rhetoricians, Sufis, theologians, experts of practical jurisprudence and of its methodology, or

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Indian edition from 1329/1911, Ahsan, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah," 247.

[214]John W. Livingston, "Science and the Occult in the Thinking of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 112 (1992): 599; idem, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya: A Fourteenth Century Defense Against Astrological Divination and Alchemical Transmutation," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 91 (1971): 96–103. Cf. Yahya Michot, "Ibn Taymiyya on Astrology: Annotated Translation of Three Fatwas," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 11, no. 2 (2000): 147–208.

[215]*Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn wa-Bāb al-Saʿādatayn,* ed. Wahbah al-Zuḥaylī and Usāmah Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Majīd (Damascus and Beirut, 1419/1996), 5–7.

[216]*Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn wa-Bāb al-Saʿādatayn,* ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1394/1974–75) (1st ed. 1375/1955–56).

[217]*Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn wa-Bāb al-Saʿādatayn*, ed. Budaywī, 6, listing alternative titles, 15. In that sense already the introduction of al-Khaṭīb in his edition, 4.

poets, and that it attracts beginners as well as teachers.[218] Under a newly created title *Fawā'id al-Fawā'id* (Benefits of the benefits) an adept has reshaped and rearranged the contents of the authentic *Al-Fawā'id,* presented according to the useful lessons of the various religious branches. As this editor informs us, in the original presentation ″it is difficult to pick the fruit from the tree of its benefits.″[219] Uncertainty about the identity of *Al-Fawā'id* does not stop here. On the one hand, it should not be confused with *Badā'i' al-Fawā'id,*[220] although this does not mean that the two exhibit no overlap in content. On the other hand, there is also no connection between Ibn al-Qayyim′s *Al-Fawā'id* and the wrongly attributed *Al-Fawā'id al-Mushawwiq ilá 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān wa-'Ilm al-Bayān,* also mentioned in section four.

On balance, while perusing Ibn al-Qayyim′s writings on moral theology, the reader is struck by the repetition of familiar sub-topics. On the one hand, one recognizes specific emphases or angles of an explorative scientific character that call for a complete assembly of the relevant holy sources. Whereas *Madārij al-Sālikīn* takes the form of a commentary on the spiritual journey of the Sufi, and most dearly recommends repentance *(tawbah), Ighāthat al-Lahfān* concentrates on the diverse aspects of sin and its manifold pitfalls in the cosmos of human life. At least two works explore specific Sufi attitudes or, originally, stations of the mystic path, such as love in *Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn,* or patience in *'Uddat al-Ṣābirīn*. On the other hand, the majority of their respective elements reappear in multiple combinations and modified variations. More or less general religious outlooks organizing one′s smooth transit from this world to the next are found in *Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn, Al-Dā' wa-al-Dawā'*, and *Miftāḥ Dār al-Sa'ādah*. They, as well as *Al-Fawā'id*, do not even seem to need a specific marker. Their repeated composition seems to bear some sort of ritualistic character, so that one might even think of writing as a devout practice. Many readers perceive this similarly. One editor confesses in his preliminary remarks:

> It became evident to me by hearing, witnessing, and personal experience that the books of Ibn al-Qayyim in general and this book [i.e., *Al-Fawā'id*] and the like in particular soothe the spirit while reading them, open the breast while studying them, and while reciting them delight the heart that turns to God in joy and longing.

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[218]*Al-Fawā'id,* ed. Abū Khālid al-Ḥusayn Ayt Sa'īd (Beirut, 1993), 7–8.

[219]Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Fawā'id al-Fawā'id: Murattabah Mubawwabah,* ed. 'Alī Ibn Ḥasan al-Ḥalabī al-Atharī (Riyadh [and others], 1417/1996), 6.

[220]*Al-Fawā'id* (Miṣr, 1344/1925–26), 2. *Badā'i' al-Fawā'id* is dealt with above in the fourth rubric on Quranic sciences.

> So if the reader is in a state of distress God dispels it with the blessing of sincere devotion" *(adhhabahu Allāh bi-barakat ikhlāṣ)*.[221]

In this sphere of religious ethics, Ibn al-Qayyim's criticism of deviating Muslims and People of the Book, which is familiar from his quite polemical inter- and intra-communal theological writings, vanishes—though not completely, as can be seen in the most striking exception *Ighāthat al-Lahfān*. In this sense, Muslim and Western Islamic studies are correct to frequently state that the Hanbali scholar is "more a preacher than a polemist"[222]—undoubtedly in contrast to his famous teacher Ibn Taymīyah.

What is more, this highest degree of genre-hybridization in the rubric of moral theology in all of Ibn al-Qayyim's works has consequences for the scientific assessment of such sources and for future analytical studies of his other writings. Since theology, Quran commentary, and legal doctrines are variously interwoven, any diligent analysis of Ibn al-Qayyim would also have to take into account about half a dozen such Sufi tracts on internalizing correct behavior. This is especially true of *Ighāthat al-Lahfān*. A consideration merely of his obvious legal writings dealt with above under the rubric of *furū'* or *uṣūl al-fiqh* would be too shortsighted and would unduly blur a correct appreciation of his role in Islamic jurisprudence. With good reason, it can be assumed that a similar situation also holds true for other fields.

(9) ENACTING THE PROPHET'S ORIENTATIONS IN EVERYDAY LIFE

Their devotion to early Islamic sources inspired the traditionalists in general and the Hanbalis in particular to deduce from them normative religious examples even for spheres one might regard as everyday and, to a certain degree, secular. This retrospective commitment and expanded normativity seeks to pervade society in a variety of ways. The proclaimed hegemony of so-called early Islamic practices left no stone of the corpus of this tradition unturned in a renewed quest to find models for orientation. It is best described by a fictitious book title ascribed to Ibn al-Qayyim: *Fiqh al-Sīrah* (The Comprehension of the prophetic conduct).[223] We need not discuss here the specific historical reasons why the range of meaningful religious action was once again considerably broadened under the Mamluks and fused with exemplary procedures from the golden age of Islam. In the case of Ibn al-Qayyim, this trend expresses itself notably in the pious regulation of daily

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[221] *Al-Fawā'id,* ed. Zakarīyā 'Alī Yūsuf (Cairo, ca. 1967), 2.

[222] Laoust, "Ḥanābila," 161.

[223] Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Fiqh al-Sīrah,* ed. 'Umar al-Faramāwī (Cairo, 1417/1997), 4, without any reflection about its provenance.

speech habits, in the field of medicine including occult practices, and further in a discussion of sports, contests, and pedagogical doctrines. The treatment of such areas as God-willed applications of meaningful Prophetic behavior is, to a certain degree, connected to the related fields of Quran commentary, the science of hadith, of jurisprudence, and of moral psychology. Nevertheless, none of these can be considered as clearly dominating our author′s scientific approach here—apart from perhaps hadith. In this article, however, part five on hadith discusses only his contributions to either the corpus or to the status of hadith within the hierarchy of the normative sources, but not writings that simply make excessive use of hadith, because this would create an overly broad, and thus not instructive, category. Therefore, a separate section seemed necessary, in order to explore this dimension of Ibn al-Qayyim′s literary activities.

With *Jalā' al-Afhām fī al-Ṣalāh wa-al-Salām 'alá Khayr al-Anām*[224] (Clarification of understandings concerning the prayer and invoking blessings on the best of mankind) Ibn al-Qayyim reserved a complete study solely for the bliss, background, and correct manner of the *taṣliyah,* the invocation of blessings on Muḥammad before and after ritual prayer.[225] This is, of course, nothing one would imagine the Prophet himself imposing on his followers. Nevertheless, such rituals became part of the Prophetic *sunnah* insofar as hadith put relevant recommendations into the mouth of Muḥammad himself, as well as the mouths of his companions and later generations. Ibn al-Qayyim displays the relevant source material concerning this topic with unprecedented diligence and explores its applicability to various situations in daily life.

Another, even slimmer treatise, *Al-Wābil al-Ṣayyib min al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib* (The Heavy shower of good utterances), deals, more generally, with all sorts of invocation *(dhikr)* and supplication *(du'ā').* It is much less specific than *Jalā' al-Afhām* in that it offers divinely sanctioned elements of speech for a broad variety of social contexts. Its promoters compare the blissful effect of such expressions to the ″heavy shower″ that revives waste land, causing a stimulation of the hearts and opening the breasts.[226] The tract takes up and complements a work by Ibn Taymīyah with the title *Al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib*.[227] It seems that Ibn

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[224]Ed. Nizār Muṣṭafá al-Bāz (Mecca and Riyadh, 1417/1996).

[225]Fritz Meier, ″Invoking Blessings on Muḥammad in Prayers of Supplication and When Making Requests,″ in idem, *Essays on Islamic Piety and Mysticism,* trans. John O′Kane, with editorial assistance by Bernd Radtke (Leiden [and others], 1999), 550. Cf. the Maliki author Khalaf Ibn 'Abd al-Malik Ibn Bashkuwāl (d. 1183), *Kitāb al-Qurbah ilá Rabb al-'Ālamīn: El acercamiento a Dios,* ed. and trans. into Spanish by Cristina de la Puente (Madrid, 1995), 39–57 and passim.

[226]*Al-Wābil al-Ṣayyib min al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib,* ed. Muḥammad 'Alī Abū al-'Abbās (Cairo, 1989), 3.

[227]See especially the edition Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Taymīyah, *Al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib,* ed. Muḥammad Nāṣir

al-Qayyim′s expanded version became the more popular one. Its publication history is characterized by several important features, common to widely accepted religious tracts in Arabic today. Its famous Salafi editor,[228] multiple editions, circulation on the Indian book market,[229] and even presentation in a complete English translation,[230] all leave no doubt of its extraordinary popularity.

The most voluminous and famous of Ibn al-Qayyim′s writings in this section of reenactment of the Prophetic *sīrah,* however, is his *Zād al-Maʻād ʻalá Hady Khayr al-ʻIbād* (Provision for the life to come with the teachings of the best of God′s servants). Once again, the Indian subcontinent is important for some editions.[231] *Zād al-Maʻād* is one of Ibn al-Qayyim′s thickest extant monographs. As one editor remarks, this compendium comprehensively exposes all aspects of the Prophet′s behavior in ″the most minute details of his life″ and in a hitherto unprecedented fashion *(bi-shakl wa-uslūb lam yasbiqhu ilayhi aḥad)*.[232] Another one adds that this even includes aspects such as Muḥammad′s favorite colors and exactly how he used to drink, pointing out that hardly anybody else′s life was ever so minutely recorded.[233] Some scholars perceive this work as being one of Hanbali jurisprudence *(al-fiqh al-ḥanbalī)*.[234] Muranyi sees it as a collection of Ibn al-Qayyim′s legal doctrines, following Ibn Taymīyah in his strictness concerning ritual questions, but displaying leniency in matters of mutual legal relations.[235] It

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al-Dīn al-Albānī (Ṭanṭā, 1406/1985).

[228]*Al-Wābil al-Ṣayyib min al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib,* ed. Quṣayy Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1394/1974) (1st ed. 1376/1956–57). There is an even earlier one from Egypt: *Al-Wābil al-Ṣayyib min al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib* (Miṣr, 1357/1938).

[229]As *Dhikr-i-Ilāhī*, published in Tandalyanwala (Pakistan); Ahsan, ″Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah,″ 247. According to *Al-Wābil al-Ṣayyib min al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib,* ed. Abū al-ʻAbbās, 8, it was published in 1895 in Delhi.

[230]*Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya on the Invocation of God.*

[231]Most editions comprise four or five volumes, such as *Zād al-Maʻād ʻalá Hady Khayr al-ʻIbād,* ed. Ṭāhā ʻAbd al-Raʼūf Ṭāhā (Cairo, 1390/1970), or the edition by Shuʻayb al-Arnaʼūṭ and ʻAbd al-Qādir al-Arnaʼūṭ (Kuwait and Beirut, 1979). There are very early editions from Kanpur/Kānfūr (?) in India from 1298/1880–81 or Cairo 1324/1906–7 as well as 1347/1928–29, which was translated in 1962 by Raʼīs Aḥmad Jaʻfarī into Urdu and published in Lahore; Ahsan, ″Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyah,″ 246; Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 260.

[232]*Zād al-Maʻād ʻalá Hady Khayr al-ʻIbād,* ed. Muṣṭafá ʻAbd al-Qādir ʻAṭā (Beirut, 1998), 1:6.

[233]*Zād al-Maʻād ʻalá Hady Khayr al-ʻIbād*, ed. al-Arnaʼūṭ and al-Arnaʼūṭ, 1:6, with criticism of previous editions, 7.

[234]For instance, according to Wahbah al-Zuḥaylī, *Āthār al-Ḥarb fī al-Fiqh al-Islāmī* (Beirut, 1981), who lists it alongside *Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmīyah, Iʻlām al-Muwaqqiʻīn,* and *Aḥkām Ahl al-Dhimmah* in one rubric.

[235]Miklos Muranyi, ″Die Ḥanbalīya,″ in *Grundriß der Arabischen Philologie*, ed. Helmut Gätje, vol. 2: Literaturwissenschaft (Wiesbaden, 1987), 321–22.

is, however, different as well in its impetus and range of topics, since it frequently transcends the familiar *furū‘ al-fiqh* pattern. *Zād al-Ma‘ād* is definitely not *the* compendium of practical jurisprudence which is otherwise missing in Ibn al-Qayyim's œuvre. Instead, it is a genuine "mixture containing the biography and what branches out from it, like jurisprudence, good manners *(ādāb),* and Prophetic instructions."[236] Abū Zayd speaks of "this amazing encyclopedia of various sciences such as *sīrah,* jurisprudence, profession of the unity of God, theology, the subtleties in *tafsīr,* hadith, language, grammar, etc."[237]

Many scholars condensed this package of wisdom into a convenient short version; Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1792) is the most prominent of these.[238] The most highly cherished part of *Zād al-Ma‘ād,* the section in its last quarter on Prophetic medicine *(al-ṭibb al-nabawī, ṭibb al-nabī),* came to be appreciated as a sort of separate book.[239] Many people are familiar with this section, but have no clue that it was originally only a cluster of topics pertaining to a larger compendium. In recent decades it has perhaps become the most popular publication on Islamic medicine of all—even supplanting al-Suyūṭī's (d. 1505) version. Notably, both are available in an English translation.[240] In addition, Prophetic medicine is the one aspect of Ibn al-Qayyim's work most intensely researched by Western scholars of Islamic sciences.[241] Its merits have definitely not been underestimated, although the extent to which Ibn al-Qayyim is indebted to the writings of other scholars is only now gradually becoming discernible. Typically, this field is concerned with the illness *(maraḍ)* of hearts *(qulūb)* as well as the illness of bodies *(abdān).*[242] Nevertheless, in this context, Ibn al-Qayyim deals

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[236]*Mukhtaṣar Zād al-Ma‘ād fī Hady Khayr al-‘Ibād,* abridged by Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, ed. ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Mahdī (Beirut, 1995), editor's introduction, 5.

[237]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 261.

[238]Others are *Hady al-Rasūl: Mukhtaṣar min Zād al-Ma‘ād,* ed. Muḥammad Abū Zayd (Cairo, [before 1960]), and *Thamar al-Wadād: Mukhtaṣar Zād al-Ma‘ād fī Hady Khayr al-‘Ibād,* ed. Muṣṭafá Muḥammad ‘Ammārah (Cairo, 1952). Cf. Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 262.

[239]Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 270–71, came across a very early manuscript that dates back only 73 years after the death of Ibn al-Qayyim.

[240]Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Medicine of the Prophet,* trans. Penelope Johnstone (Cambridge, 1998). The second is al-Suyūṭī, *As-Suyuti's* Medicine of the Prophet, ed. Ahmad Thompson (London, 1414/1994), strongly relying on the translation prepared by Cyril Elgood.

[241]Especially Irmeli Perho, "The Prophet's Medicine: A Creation of the Muslim Traditionalist Scholars," *Studia Orientalia* (Helsinki) 74 (1995), published as a monograph, 40–42 and passim; idem, "Medicine and the Qur'ān," in *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān,* ed. Jane Dammen McAuliffe, (Leiden and Boston, 2001–), 3:349–67.

[242]Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Al-Ṭibb al-Nabawī,* ed. Shu‘ayb al-Arna'ūṭ and ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Arna'ūṭ (Beirut, 1980), 5; Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Medicine of the Prophet,* 3.

predominantly with bodily diseases. Noteworthy is the high percentage of occult practices,[243] especially the evil eye[244]—obviously the heritage of many Near Eastern sources, which Ibn al-Qayyim often does not quote by name and title. This is part of a general problem: in his eagerness to present the authentic early Islamic picture, he often fails to mention his more recent scholarly sources.

A topic very dear to the heart of the Mamluk aristocracy must have been Ibn al-Qayyim's monograph *Al-Furūsīyah* (Horsemanship),[245] which assembles traditions on various sports, especially riding and different contests *(sibāq, musābaqah)*. They are related to the military tradition of Islam, but also include mere leisure activities. Noteworthy are the introductory remarks of one apparently Saudi Arabian edition published around 1970. The editor suggests that Islamic sport clubs replace their official self-designation as places for "physical education" *(riyāḍah badanīyah)* with "Islamic *furūsīyah,*" in keeping with correct historical precedent, since the Europeans, in full ignorance, nowadays regard familiar types of sports as their own developments.[246]

A last concern is the raising of children and the treatment of infants in various stages of their development. *Tuḥfat al-Mawdūd bi-Aḥkām al-Mawlūd* (A Present for the beloved on the rules concerning the treatment of infants)[247] comprises legal rulings and advice for the correct behavior of pregnant women, the treatment of their newborn infants, and the raising of children at certain stages of life. Taking this work as a starting point, a German dissertation—supervised by Annemarie Schimmel—deals with the prescriptions for small children, but leaves aside some of the aspects Ibn al-Qayyim treated.[248] Giladi describes the book as "typically combining medical and religious elements"[249] and presents it as "a remarkable instance of how Islamic writings could weave popularized medical theories into

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243Schallenbergh, "The Diseases of the Heart," 422–23.

244Birgit Krawietz, "Islamic Conceptions of the Evil Eye," *Medicine and Law* 21 (2002): 339–55.

245On the topic in general, see David Ayalon, "Notes on the *Furusiyya:* Exercises and Games in the Mamluk Sultanate," in idem, *The Mamluk Military Society* (London, 1979), 2:31–62; Shihab al-Sarraf, "Mamluk *Furūsīyah* Literature and Its Antecedents," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 1 (2004): 141–200. For a discussion of the title see Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 280–81.

246*Al-Furūsīyah,* ed. ʻIzzat al-ʻAṭṭār al-Ḥusaynī (Beirut, ca. 1970), introduction, 2.

247Translation according to Avner Giladi, *Infants, Parents and Wet Nurses: Medieval Islamic Views on Breastfeeding and their Social Implications* (Leiden [and others], 1999), 43.

248Gerhard Adamek, "Das Kleinkind in Glaube und Sitte der Araber im Mittelalter" (Ph.D. diss., Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn, 1968), 6–7. It normatively complements Franz Rosenthal, "Child Psychology in Islam," *Islamic Culture* 26 (1952): 1–22.

249Giladi, *Infants, Parents and Wet Nurses,* 63.

legal discussions."[250] Again, the existence of shortened versions[251] and editions from the South Asian market[252] are indicative of a wider distribution and interest beyond the smaller ideological community, since legal contents, interpretations of Quran and *sunnah,* religious ethics, and profane information are blended. A "medical appendix" *(mulḥaq ṭibbī)* at the end of one modern edition of the *Tuḥfah* includes photographic material and presents scientific knowledge of exclusively Western, specifically American, provenance.[253]

Such phenomena seem to be part of a broader trend in the modern book market in recent decades. Secular scholars, whether in medicine, psychology, pedagogy, or other fields, generate publications presenting odd mixtures of scientific manuals and quotations from the holy sources as well as relevant tracts of traditionalist authors. In the relevant bibliography, university textbooks and religious literature are, quite frequently, listed side by side—probably to show the harmony between the wisdom of the Islamic heritage and modern science.

CONCLUSION

Unlike Ibn Taymīyah, his pupil Ibn al-Qayyim did not spend his life fighting on several fronts. The latter's mini-*miḥnah* in prison and ensuing social criticism in giving fatwas and defending theological stances in line with his famous teacher's fiercely debated positions elevated him in the eyes of his admirers to the ranks of heroic resistance and moral courage. Taken as a whole, however, his life was one very much spent in writing. Ibn al-Qayyim is described as being well aware of the brevity of man's lifetime and as therefore working incessantly[254]—even when separated from his private hometown library. One of the main scientific *desiderata* remains a systematic chronology of his writings.[255] He wrote some books, such as *Zād al-Maʿād, Rawḍat al-Muḥibbīn,* and *Badāʾiʿ al-Fawāʾid,* while traveling.[256] Certain phases and influences dominating his works have to be identified. According to Bell, "the various shifts in stress or disciplinary framework discernible in the

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[250]Ibid., 43.

[251]For instance, *Awlādunā fī Ādāb al-Islām: Mukhtaṣar min "Tuḥfat al-Mawdūd bi-Aḥkām al-Mawlūd"; wa-Yalīhi Fitnat al-Kabad ilá Naṣīḥat al-Walad li-Ibn al-Jawzī,* ed. Quṣayy Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb (Miṣr, 1394/1974).

[252]Ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥakīm Sharaf al-Dīn (Bombay, 1961). Ahsan, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah," 246, refers to one edition (Lahore, 1329/1911–12).

[253]*Tuḥfat al-Mawdūd bi-Aḥkām al-Mawlūd,* ed. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Āl Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Fawāʿīr (Amman, 1988), 8, 269–322.

[254]Al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-ʿIlmīyah,* 142.

[255]Cf. Holtzmann (see n. 7 above).

[256]*Zād al-Maʿād ʿalá Hady Khayr al-ʿIbād*, ed. al-Arnaʾūṭ and al-Arnaʾūṭ, 1:6; Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 60, 222, 252, 261.

writings of Ibn al-Qayyim correspond to fairly distinct periods in his career."[257] Although he often refrained from giving an exact title, Ibn al-Qayyim, with several explicit self-references, gives many indications of the chronology of his works, which Abū Zayd diligently registered.[258] Nevertheless, they have not yet been tied together in a convenient overview. The Hanbali is described as a bibliophile scholar and a devoted, if not compulsive, author who derives intense spiritual blessing from the procedure of pious writing as such. He must have worked as much as circumstances permitted even during his travels, thus creating for himself the air of his Damascene study. For these reasons, this article focuses on his œuvre and only to a lesser degree on his biography as important keys to his ideas about Islam. The limited path chosen for our study is first of all based on a hands-on approach to available books and booklets. The Internet proved unsuitable for a reliable initial survey, but has to come into play afterwards in a separate study.[259] Even their contemporaries were perplexed about the huge literary output of Ibn Taymīyah and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah. At the request of a group of such people, Ibn al-Qayyim himself compiled an inventory of his master's works.[260] Unfortunately, no pre-modern adept ventured a comparable service for Ibn al-Qayyim. The cause of and extent to which neo-Hanbali doctrines fell into oblivion under Ottoman supremacy still have to be explored for the period from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century. The approach to Ibn al-Qayyim's œuvre chosen for this article, however, is a different one. Since the difficulties of demarcating and categorizing his works are tremendous, we chose here to approach them with regard to their reception in modern times. "Reception" is herein understood in the narrowest sense, because the history of the exact neo-Hanbali impact on important figures, such as Ibn ʻAbd al-Wahhāb, Shawkānī, Mawdūdī, Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān, and the various Near Eastern Salafis like Rashīd Riḍá, has yet to be written.[261] Nevertheless, this article shows the special role of Salafi scholars such as Subḥī al-Ṣāliḥ and Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb, as well as of Salafi printing houses in Egypt and India. The Indian market and its scholars' attachment to Arabian libraries often blazed a trail. It seemed useful, in order to gain some access and familiarity, to focus first of all on printed works by Ibn al-Qayyim, and to follow to a certain degree the ways in which Muslims have (re)discovered this author. This methodology and the reading of introductory passages inserted by his modern

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[257]Bell, *Love Theory in Later Hanbalite Islam,* 101.

[258]See especially Abū Zayd, *Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* 199–309.

[259]Among the almost 4,000 hits for "Ibn Qayyim" there are of course many useful sites, such as <http://arabic.islamicweb.com/Books/taimiya.asp> (accessed Jan. 5, 2005).

[260]*Asmā' Mu'allafāt Ibn Taymīyah,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Damascus, 1372/1952–53).

[261]Little information is given by al-Baqarī, *Ibn al-Qayyim min Āthārihi al-ʻIlmīyah,* 145–46.

editors permit some sort of overview and provides clues for a categorization that are often missing, both from the few articles on this author in Western languages, as well as from a certain number of button-counting modern studies in Arabic. It must, however, be acknowledged that especially Saudi Arabian dissertations and academic writing have done much to enhance the level of research.

What, then, does the modern book market offer? Obviously, Ibn al-Qayyim "catered to all the branches of Islamic science."[262] As al-Zuḥaylī sums up, the scholar's activities "comprise religious knowledge *(ʻilm),* jurisprudence *(fiqh),* and legal development *(ijtihād),* and he is also the person of reference for those interested in transcendental questions *(imām ahl al-rūḥ),* in moderate Sufism *(al-taṣawwuf al-muʻtadil),* sound spiritual radiance *(al-ishrāq al-nafsī al-sawī),* forceful remembrance of God, and for those who are eager to fulfill his duties and recommendations."[263]

The problem is that such trends are often dealt with all together. His huge compendia embody an ongoing process of synthesizing the diverse elements in multiple variations and rearrangements. Genre boundaries are constantly transgressed and deliberately blurred. As a consequence, whoever researches a certain topic in Ibn al-Qayyim's œuvre has to take a broad range of partially parallel publications into account. This is certainly important for his writings with legal relevance.

Ibn al-Qayyim is a great recycler in that any of his contributions can be expected to show up in a more or less transformed shape somewhere else in his writings. The scope of this article is not broad enough to determine the degree to which he recycles not only his own ideas but also those of previous authors. However, it is very likely that an œuvre of such vast dimensions could have been produced only by borrowing on a large scale. This is not to say that Ibn al-Qayyim lacked originality, which would be missing the point. Apart from the fact that in medieval religious sciences the concept of authorship and "copyright" was quite different from our understanding, his personal originality seems to lie elsewhere: in his extraordinary capacity to create a synthesis of floating data, his overarching aim of internalizing Islamic norms on an educational and self-referential level, and his creation of comprehensive books either in the from of compendia or of monographs on highly specific topics, about which previous scholars had written merely a passage, a chapter, or a small treatise. Further, he plays an important role in the self-emancipation of Hanbali Sufism and tradition-oriented inwardness. Although his writings have been marginalized for centuries, he produced—especially from the viewpoint of twentieth-century publications—an

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[262] <www.pearlpublishing.com/medjawziya.shtml> (accessed Jan. 2, 2005).

[263] *Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn wa-Bāb al-Saʻādatayn,* ed. al-Zuḥaylī and ʻAbd al-Majid, 8.

extraordinary number of standard works that are in line with many reformers′ reinvigorated interest in the early Islamic heritage.

Current editions, however, not only make Ibn al-Qayyim′s works much more accessible than in the dispersed manuscripts of previous times, and allow for helpful insights, but they also contribute greatly to the already existing obscurity and confusion. Since the voluminous compendia seem to be too overwhelming for ordinary readers, the modern book market offers them in the form of single chapters, piecemeal selections, shortened versions, and collections containing also the works of other authors. While such editors often congratulate themselves for the service they provide to religious knowledge, these truncated publications are confusing to specialists and general readers alike. Many a twentieth-century soulmate even fuses his own musings or his leftover university textbooks with quotations from Ibn al-Qayyim. There is a rising flood of publications, including many paperbacks, most of which claim Ibn al-Qayyim as their official author. One scholar, though, counts only three smaller epistles as authentic writings of Ibn al-Qayyim among these available, in the range of 50–100 pages.[264] As a consequence, the authenticity of the contents of the shorter publications in particular, but also of several larger synthetic works, have to be thoroughly tested. At times, pious compilers dress them up with fancy titles that deliberately recall famous, authentic works of Ibn al-Qayyim; or they fall back on titles reminiscent of generally familiar topics, such as ″The Beautiful Names of God″ *(asmā' Allāh al-ḥusná),*[265] to give but one final example. However, as a rule of thumb, these and other publications cannot be discarded, since many shorter fatwas and epistles in particular may still be uncovered and prepared for publication. Dissertations and similar studies from Arab countries play a pioneering role in this field. For Western readers it is not very easy to gain access. There may be various reasons for this: Ibn al-Qayyim′s Arabic is of medium difficulty and he uses a highly technical language. Nor do his extremely frequent quotations from the Quran and *sunnah* make for easy reading. Only a few translations into Western languages are apparently available, and these are basically addressed to pious Muslims. Ironically, Bellmann picked the wrong author. It seems at any rate that a certain mood of devoted piety is a sort of precondition to fully appreciate the bulk of Ibn al-Qayyim′s writings. Ardent readers often seek a profound elevation of spirit. Religiosity sells and Ibn al-Qayyim′s presentations in particular obviously help Muslims feel good about themselves and proud of their religion. The gap in taste between Muslim and non-Muslim readers may also explain the lack of studies by Western scholars of

[264] Yusrī al-Sayyid Muḥammad in *Badā'i' al-Tafsīr,* 62.

[265] Ed. Budaywī and al-Shawwā. This appears even in a series called ″Publications *(mu'allafāt)* of Ibn al-Qayyim.″

Islamic sciences. The comparably small number of decent studies on Ibn al-Qayyim and possibly even other religious ″polymaths″ might also have to do with the fact that modern Western scholars are not sufficiently equipped or are too one-sided in their approach—while great medieval scholars, as a rule, were not.

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Coptic Conversion and the Islamization of Egypt

Articles by Gaston Wiet in the 1920s, M. Perlmann in 1942, and Donald Little in 1976 have encouraged the perception that the first century of the Mamluk period marked a turning-point in the history of Coptic conversion to Islam. According to Wiet in his article on the Copts in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam:* ″The government of the Mamluks gave the *coup de grâce* to Christianity in Egypt,″ and he goes on, ″It can be estimated that by the 8th century [that is, the fourteenth century], the Christians were barely, as in our times, a tenth of the total population of Egypt.″ Perlmann echoes, ″The Mamluk empire contributed decisively to the crushing of the Copt element in Egypt,″ and ″The power of the Copts as a community was crushed.″ Donald Little believes that his findings ″tend to support Wiet′s generalization.″[1]

Chronological and demographic questions interested Wiet and his followers: when did the Copts become a minority in Egypt and the Muslims a majority, and what were the main stages in this process? To begin, they assumed that Coptic conversion to Islam was the main cause of demographic change in Egypt: Egyptian Muslims are thus mostly of Coptic ethnic origin. Next, they supposed that the Copts had converted in two waves—the first in the ninth century and the second in the fourteenth. Therefore, while heavily emphasizing the importance of the Mamluk period, they did not claim that the Islamization of Egypt occurred during this period alone.

Most recently, Tamer el-Leithy has made a comprehensive study of Coptic conversion during the Mamluk period.[2] In length and depth, this still-unpublished work eclipses the preceding article-length studies. Its subject is focused on conversion among the Coptic upper class in Cairo during the fourteenth century, on which there is much detailed evidence in unpublished Coptic material and in the Mamluk-period histories of al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī. El-Leithy explores in depth the motives for conversion, classifies various forms of conversion, and

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[1]Gaston Wiet, ″Ḳibt,″ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st ed., 2:996 f.; M. Perlmann, ″Notes on Anti-Christian Propaganda in the Mamlūk Empire,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 10 (1942): 843–61; Donald Little, ″Coptic Conversion to Islam under the Bahrī Mamlūks, 692–755/1293–1354,″ *BSOAS* 39 (1976): 552–69.

[2]Tamer el-Leithy, ″Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo, 1293–1524 A.D.,″ Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2004.

analyzes the reaction to Coptic converts on the part of Muslims, especially among the ulama class. In the relatively little space he allows for the questions when and how Islamization took place in Egypt, el-Leithy agrees with Wiet that conversion was the main factor of change. Thus, in the last sentence of his work, he refers to ″[t]he pervasive (and to this day, persistent) illusion that Egyptian Muslims are all of Arab stock—rather than converted Copts. . . .″[3] Yet, he goes farther than Wiet by arguing that no conversion wave had occurred in the ninth century: this was an erroneous idea, which arose from a misinterpretation of al-Maqrīzī′s report. For el-Leithy, the fourteenth century alone marks the decisive sociological transformation of Egypt, as the only period during which the Copts converted to Islam en masse.

Wherein lies the evidence that the early Mamluk period was so decisive for the Islamization of Egypt through Coptic conversion? Wiet and his followers quote extensively from the historian al-Maqrīzī, whose *Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ,* compiled from the 1420s, records a series of eight assaults against the Copts during the early Mamluk period from 1250 to 1354. They occurred in 1259, 1264, 1279, 1283, 1293, 1301, 1321, and 1354.[4] As described, these assaults took the form of violent outbreaks by the Muslim populace or *ʻāmmah,* especially the lowest elements in Cairo and throughout the countryside. They also took the form of government measures variously prohibiting the public employment of Copts, renewing the traditional laws that restricted and humiliated Christians, and confiscating Coptic *waqf*s. The typical pattern would see a minor incident triggering a popular outbreak in Cairo, spreading sometimes to the provinces, and then quickly followed by government measures that punished the Copts but whose main intention was to placate the Muslim populace.

Perhaps most important is al-Maqrīzī′s comment following his description of the last anti-Copt assault in 1354. This assault combined both popular riots against the Christians and their churches with government decrees forbidding the employment of Copts in public service. Such decrees had been promulgated many times before, but the difference this time was that the prohibition also covered Copts who had nominally converted to Islam. The government was now responsive to accusations that such converts were crypto-Christians who undermined the government and oppressed Muslims with impunity. Finally, the government confiscated all *waqf* land belonging to Coptic institutions. Al-Maqrīzī′s comment suggests that this persecution was the last straw for the Copts:

> In all the provinces of Egypt, both north and south, no church

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[3]Ibid., 479.

[4]Little, ″Coptic Conversion to Islam under the Bahrī Mamluks,″ 553.

> remained that had not been razed; on many of these sites, mosques were constructed. For when the Christians′ affliction grew great and their incomes small, they decided to embrace Islam. Thus Islam spread among the Christians of Egypt, and in the town of Qalyub alone, 450 persons were converted to Islam in a single day. Many people attributed this to Christian cunning, so repugnant did the populace find them. But this was a momentous event in Egyptian history. From that time on, lineages became mixed in Egypt.[5]

So concludes al-Maqrīzī′s description of the series of anti-Coptic outbreaks, which constitutes the main support for the view that the early Mamluk period marked a decisive advance in the Islamization of Egypt through large-scale Coptic conversion. From this passage, for example, Donald Little draws the following conclusion:

> The Copts must have realized in significant numbers that their social and economic welfare lay thereafter in Islam. In this sense the year 755/1354, some seven centuries after the Muslim conquest of Egypt, may be regarded as a turning-point in Egyptian religious history, as the point in time when the second great transformation of Egyptian religion became virtually complete, as complete, at any rate, as it was to be for the next six-and-a-half-centuries.[6]

In other words, the Islamization of Egypt reached its maximum point by 1354. After that date, the proportion between Muslims and Christians in Egypt remained unchanged at about 90% to 10%, in Wiet′s estimate. Moreover, the early Mamluk period, culminating in 1354, was responsible for a significant part of the process by which the Coptic population was reduced to only 10%. This conclusion has been widely accepted. Certainly, its plausibility is reinforced by the critical military and political context of the early Mamluk period to 1300 and by the increased intensity of Muslim polemical literature against Christianity and Christians, which becomes noticeable from about 1250 and for long afterwards.[7]

Nevertheless, al-Maqrīzī′s statement does not constitute firm evidence for Little′s conclusion, even when taken in conjunction with his previous reports of anti-Coptic pressure. It exaggerates, of course, in stating that no church was left standing throughout the Egyptian countryside, and that the Christians as a whole decided to embrace Islam. Furthermore, the single example given, the mass

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[5]Quoted ibid., 568.

[6]Ibid., 569.

[7]Perlmann, ″Notes on Anti-Christian Propaganda in the Mamluk Empire,″ 842, 845.

conversion in the town of Qalyub, is insufficient support for the preceding generalization that Islam now spread among the Copts throughout the country. Yet, statistics on conversion are almost absent from the corpus of the Islamic literary-historical tradition, and the standard of required evidence cannot be pushed so high as to exclude valuable reports like that of al-Maqrīzī. We may accept his statement that 1354 marked ″a momentous event in Egyptian history,″ the culmination of a Coptic conversion wave that had begun in the late thirteenth century. Indeed, there is plausibility in Wiet´s suggestion that the Copts formed only 10% of Egypt´s population after 1354. For the Copts as a community did not suffer any serious blow from the late Mamluk period until the first census in 1846. This and later censuses consistently estimated the Coptic element of the population at about 8%, which may be raised to 10%, given the tendency of the Copts to underestimate their numbers to census-takers.[8]

But when and how were the Copts reduced to the proportion of 10% by the later fourteenth century? A range of possibilities appears. As to when, the reduction could have occurred mainly in the fourteenth century (el-Leithy´s position); or in two roughly equal phases, the first in the ninth century and the second in the fourteenth century (the view of Wiet and his followers); or, as argued below, mainly throughout the early Islamic period (seventh–tenth centuries). As to how, the reduction of the Coptic proportion could have occurred mainly through conversion, which seems to be the view of all modern writers on the subject. However, a more important role may have been assumed by a combination of other factors: Arab-Muslim immigration and marriage with Coptic women, together with Coptic demographic decline following the failure of repeated revolts against Muslim rule. These factors have been given relatively little consideration in historical studies of Islamic Egypt. Yet, Arab-Muslim immigration to Egypt from 641 onwards is well documented, as is the outbreak and severe repression of repeated Coptic revolts. Such factors should therefore be borne in mind as a counterpoint to the factor of Coptic conversion.[9]

Returning to the question as to when, the Islamization of Egypt may have been practically completed long before Mamluk rule began in 1250. In other words, by the eleventh century or even earlier, the proportion of Christians in Egypt may have already fallen to not much more than the 10% given by Wiet (it

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[8]No documentary evidence exists until the first censuses of 1846 and 1882, which recorded the Copts as 8% of the population. But European travellers over the previous century had estimated similarly: Youssef Courbage and Philippe Fargues, *Christians and Jews under Islam* (London, 1997), 64.

[9]Khalīl ʻAthāminah, ″Arab Settlement during the Umayyad Caliphate,″ *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 8 (1986): 200–4.

would be unwise to advance percentages other than this one, which at least has a tenuous basis in nineteenth-century censuses[10]). Further reduction occurred under the early Mamluks from 1250 to 1354, but this was not significant in the wider picture. The historical evidence is too scanty to allow a decisive case for the early and rapid Islamization of Egypt. But we can reasonably argue that this is what occurred.

The main piece of evidence for this view comes from al-Maqrīzī again. He recounts the last Coptic uprising against Islamic rule, the so-called Bashmurite revolt, which took place in the Egyptian Delta in 831, during the rule of the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mūn. The revolt was crushed by the caliph himself, and al-Maqrīzī adds:

> From that time, the Copts were subjugated throughout the whole length of Egypt, and none of them dared to revolt against the sultan, *and the Muslims began to prevail in number in most of the villages*, so they turned from armed opposition to trickery and the use of guile, ruses, and deception of the Muslims.[11]

On the face of it, this important quotation informs us that the Islamization of Egypt began early and was accelerated by the failed revolt of the Copts. However, we must examine al-Maqrīzī's crucial statement more carefully because controversy has arisen over the historian's exact meaning. Al-Maqrīzī wrote:

> wa-min ḥīna'idhin dhallat al-qibṭ . . . wa-lam yaqdir aḥad minhum baʿda dhālika ʿalá al-khurūj ʿalá al-sulṭān *wa-ghalabahum al-muslimūn ʿalá ʿāmmat al-qurá* fa-rajaʿū min al-muḥārabah ilá al-mukāyadah wa-istiʿmāl al-makr wa-al-ḥīlah wa-mukāyadat al-muslimīn.

The key phrase *wa-ghalabahum al-muslimūn ʿalá ʿāmmat al-qurá* was interpreted by Wiet and Antoine Fattal as having a numerical sense—that the Muslims now came to outnumber the Copts in the villages. But more recently, Yohannan Friedman has interpreted the phrase as meaning that the Muslims "regained control over the rebellious villages [and presumably resumed the collection of taxes]."[12] As used

[10]El-Leithy, "Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo," 26.

[11]Quoted in Antoine Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-musulmans en pays d'islam* (Beirut, 1958), 282.

[12]Yohannan Friedman, "A Note on the Conversion of Egypt to Islam," *JSAI* 3 (1981): 238–40, cited in el-Leithy, "Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo," 19–20.

here, the verb *ghalabahum ʿalá* thus means simply ″to overcome them in (the villages)″ in a political and military sense: it has no numerical reference. El-Leithy stressed this interpretation in order to disprove the hypothesis of a ninth-century Coptic conversion wave, which had been advanced by Wiet and his followers.

However, *ghalabahum ʿalá* can also have the meaning ″to prevail over them in something,″ ″to be preponderant over them in something,″ that is, in a numerical sense.[13] Wiet and Fattal supposed this to be al-Maqrīzī′s intended meaning, and its context here suggests that they were right. The preceding phrase already states that ″the Copts were subjugated throughout the whole length of Egypt,″ so that to interpret *ghalabahum* as ″to overcome [the Copts]″ would be an incongruous repetition. And secondly, the succeeding phrase, *ʿalá ʿāmmat al-qurá,* means literally ″in the *generality* of the villages,″ that is, ″in *most* of the villages.″ But to say that ″the Muslims overcame the Copts (in a military and political sense only) in *most* of the villages″ is surely a case of *non sequitur*. In crushing the Coptic revolt of 831, the Muslims necessarily overcame the Copts, militarily and politically, in *all* the villages, not most of them (to put it the other way, overcoming the Copts in most of the villages would mean, strictly speaking, that the revolt was unsubdued). It seems, therefore, that al-Maqrīzī used the phrase *wa-ghalabahum al-muslimūn ʿalá ʿāmmat al-qurá* in the numerical sense. He meant that the Muslims began to outnumber the Copts in most Egyptian villages after the revolt of 831. That meaning sensibly completes the sequence of events: first, the Copts were subjugated; second, they were reduced to a minority in their villages; and finally, in consequence of this, they turned forever from open revolt to the use of trickery and guile. For the Copts had rebelled previously in 725 and 739; had they remained in a majority after their last effort in 831, would they not have rebelled again eventually?

On balance, then, it seems that the interpretations of Wiet and Fattal were correct. Al-Maqrīzī states that the Muslims became a majority in Egypt during the ninth century, following the last Coptic revolt of 831. This is an extremely valuable piece of information as regards when Islamization occurred. Yet, it immediately raises the question as to how. For al-Maqrīzī does not confirm in this passage or anywhere else that the process of Islamization took place mainly through Coptic conversion. In fact, the only occasion where he mentions Coptic conversion without ambiguity is in the context of the anti-Coptic measures of 1354, quoted above, where he says, ″For when the Christians′ affliction grew great and their incomes

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[13]Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab* (Beirut, 1955–56), 1:651–53, leaves no doubt that the sense of numerical predominance is included in the general meaning of ″overcoming″ that is attached to *ghalaba.* He cites the obsolete verbal form *ighlawlaba,* meaning ″to be abundant″ *(ighlawlaba al-qawm idhā katharū),* and the feminine adjective *ghalbāʾ*, meaning ″luxuriant″ *(shajarah ghalbāʾ idhā kānat ghalīzah).* The modern derivations *aghlabīyah* and *ghālibīyah* both mean ″majority″ (Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* [Wiesbaden, 1961], 680).

small, they decided to embrace Islam. Thus Islam spread among the Christians of Egypt. . . ."[14] Perhaps al-Maqrīzī did not mention Coptic conversion previously, especially in his account of the failed revolt of 831, precisely because it was not the main factor of Islamization in Egypt until the fourteenth century. El-Leithy implicitly concurs, holding firmly that the Copts converted more slowly than any other people conquered by early Islam: he points out that had the Copts converted as rapidly as the Persians, for example, they would also have preserved their language within Islamic culture. Instead, the Copts became entirely Arabized long before mass conversions took place.[15]

This is a convincing observation, but the Copts' late conversion does not necessarily signify Egypt's late Islamization: the tenacity of Coptic Christianity does not necessarily preclude the early spread of Islam in Egypt. Indeed, from the contrast between al-Maqrīzī's descriptions of the revolt of 831 and the anti-Copt measures of 1354, we may infer that Islamization was indeed advancing in Egypt during the early Islamic centuries, but not primarily through Coptic conversion. For in his account of the Bashmurite revolt and its aftermath, al-Maqrīzī does not state that *Islam* prevailed throughout the Egyptian countryside, which would be the natural phrase to use in the case of mass conversion of a single ethnic group from one religion to another. Instead, he refers to two separate ethnic groups, the Muslims and the Copts, and states that the Muslims came to prevail over the Copts numerically in most of the Egyptian countryside after the crushing of the revolt. He does not say how this happened. But if not primarily through conversion, then it must have occurred, on the one hand, through the widespread rural settlement of Muslim Arabs and their marriage with Coptic women; and on the other hand, through Coptic demographic decline brought about by the crushing of their revolts and the severe fiscal and other repressive measures that followed.[16]

There is evidence in the earliest Egyptian Arab writers of Arab-Muslim settlement in Egypt from the time of the conquest in 641–42. Arab tribal immigrants

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[14]A little after his description of the Bashmurite revolt, al-Maqrīzī makes the statement, "No other nation is known to have converted in such a short time as the Copts." However, following Yohannan Friedman, el-Leithy points out that this statement has no reference whatsoever to the Islamic period: it refers instead to the Copts' supposed conversion to Islam following the miracles performed by Moses before Pharaoh: "Here the 'Islam' to which the Egyptians (Copts) converted was Moses' religion. The phrase has been violently wrenched out of context when applied to conversion to Islam" ("Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo," 20, n. 52).

[15]Ibid., 8, 25, 458.

[16]These measures are described at first hand by Patriarch Dionysius of Tell Mahré (818–45), who visited the caliph al-Ma'mūn in Egypt at the time of the Bashmurite revolt: his account is preserved in Michael the Syrian's history (*Chronique,* ed. and tr. Jean Baptiste Chabot [Paris, 1899–1910], 3:62–64).

were dispatched to Egypt in the 640s to reinforce the initial army of conquest. At this time, it is said, one third of the Quḍā'ah or Kalbite tribal group was transplanted from Syria to Egypt with the aim of increasing the Arab population of Egypt and reducing tribal tensions in Syria. Evidence for the increase of Muslim Arabs in Egypt comes from the Egyptian military lists *(diwān),* preserved in al-Kindī´s history, which show a constant and rapid rise in the number of soldiers enrolled. These were settled at first in the garrison center of al-Fusṭāṭ, and during Mu'āwiyah´s rule, a second large garrison of some 27,000 soldiers was established at Alexandria. But Arab-Muslim settlers were not confined to al-Fusṭāṭ and Alexandria. From the start, they were permitted ″to leave al-Fusṭāṭ in the spring . . . leading their flocks and horses to the grazing lands in the countryside.″ They were supposed to return to the garrison center in summer, but in practice, many settled permanently in the countryside: the Mudlij and other Himyarite tribes are cited as examples. Here, it seems, is a glimpse into the informal process by which Arab-Muslim soldiers *(muqātilah)* gradually turned into farmers and traders and spread throughout the Egyptian countryside.[17]

Especially well recorded is the settlement of 5,000 Qaysī families in the eastern Nile Delta, starting in 727. Their case was unusual in that they were settled by direct order of the caliph Hishām at the request of his Egyptian governor, Ibn Ḥabḥāb. Although registered in the *diwān,* the Qaysīs were allowed to practice agriculture, to breed horses, and to monopolize the export trade from Egypt to Hijaz through the Red Sea port of al-Qulzum. As a result, they soon became wealthy, building large houses for themselves in the region allotted to them. Their descendants long preserved a Qaysī tribal identity: al-Mutanabbī describes them in his visit to Egypt in the mid-tenth century.[18]

The Qaysīs´ widespread settlement in the eastern Delta only two years after the first Coptic revolt in 725 suggests that they were granted lands previously occupied by Copts but now lying abandoned because of the revolt and its repression. To judge by the example of the Qaysīs in 727, it was probably the standard policy of the Islamic state to take advantage of the failed Coptic revolts of 725, 739, and 831 by settling large numbers of Muslim Arabs in the Egyptian countryside, especially in the Delta. If we add this to the evidence that Arabs were informally spreading throughout the countryside from an early date, and that the Copts themselves were subject to early and thorough Arabization—then we can dimly discern the process by which Lower Egypt at least was transformed into an ethnically mixed region where Muslims, many of them descended from Copts on the female side, prevailed numerically in most of the villages by the mid-ninth century.

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[17]'Athāminah, ″Arab Settlement during the Umayyad Caliphate,″ 201–2.
[18]Ibid., 203.

Coptic conversion may not have been the primary factor in the Islamization of Egypt during the early Islamic period. But it was nonetheless significant, especially after ʻUmar II (717–20) adopted a systematic campaign of Islamization among the subject Christians.[19] According to the historian Ibn Saʻd, ʻUmar reproached his governor in Egypt, who had warned that the caliph's measures to promote conversion could lead to a reduction in revenue, with the words "God sent Muḥammad to preach the faith, not to collect taxes."[20] The Coptic revolt in 725 had been triggered by a census, after which the governor Ibn Ḥabḥāb raised taxes and promised converts exemption from the poll-tax. The Coptic *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria,* compiled in the eleventh century from records written mostly in the eighth century, states that in 727, the year of the Qaysī settlement, 24,000 Copts converted to Islam in order to escape the *jizyah.*[21] In 750, the first Abbasid governor of Egypt promised to lift the *jizyah* on converts, and, according to the same Coptic source, "because of the heavy taxes and the burdens imposed upon them, many rich and poor denied the religion of Christ."[22]

ʻUmar II initiated a radical change of policy by actively promoting the conversion of conquered subjects. But significant Coptic conversion is recorded even beforehand. The *History of the Patriarchs* states that about 700, the Egyptian governor al-Aṣbagh forced many people to become Muslims, including Coptic government officials and an innumerable group of peasants.[23] And John of Nikiu, a Coptic historian and probable eyewitness of the Muslim conquest of Egypt, states that many false Christians converted at that time and afterwards.[24] One of the earliest Islamic monuments, a tombstone from Aswan dated 71 A.H. (691 A.D.), commemorates the death of ʻAbbāsah bint Guraig, whose Christian patronymic suggests that she was a Coptic convert.[25]

Separately, the first Christian apologetic works, defending the Christian religion against Islamic accusations of polytheism and image-worship, appeared soon after 750, which suggests that conversion to Islam by subject Christians was then

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[19]ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Dūrī, *The Historical Formation of the Arab Nation,* tr. Lawrence Conrad (London, 1987), 64.

[20]Quoted in H. A. R. Gibb, "The Fiscal Rescript of ʻUmar II," *Arabica* 2 (1955): 8.

[21]Fattal, *Le statut légal des non-musulmans en pays d'islam,* 341–42.

[22]*History of the Patriarchs,* 189, quoted in Daniel Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll-Tax in Early Islam* (Cambridge, MA, 1950), 86.

[23]Ibid.

[24]John Moorhead, "The Monophysite Response to the Arab Invasions," *Byzantion* 51 (1981): 588; Demetrios J. Constantelos, "The Moslem Conquests of the Near East as Revealed in the Greek Sources of the Seventh and Eighth Centuries," *Byzantion* 42 (1972): 337–38.

[25]Hassan El-Hawary, "The Second Oldest Islamic Monument Known: Dated A.H. 71 (A.D. 691)," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1932): 289–93.

becoming widespread in Syria and Iraq. At least half a century earlier, Christian apocalyptic works were implying the same. The most important, the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius,* originating in northern Syria or Jazira not later than the 690s, describes the rule of Islam as a ″testing furnace for all Christians″; it continues:

> For the blessed apostle said: not all of Israel are Israel. Also, all who are called Christians are not Christians, for 7000 only were left over from the Israelites in the days of the prophet Elijah. . . . Thus also in the time of punishment of these tyrants, few from many will be left over who are Christians, as our Saviour showed us in the Holy Gospel, saying: when the Son of Man cometh, will he find faith on earth? Behold also . . . the multitude of the clergy will deny the true faith of the Christians and the Holy Cross and the mysteries of power. And without compulsion, blows, and wounds, they will deny Christ and will associate with the unbelievers.[26]

A similar work, the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Athanasius,* originated in Egypt about the time of the first Coptic revolt, corroborating the source evidence of significant conversion at that time. Clearly, Coptic conversion was not a negligible phenomenon, even in the early Islamic period.

As noted above, el-Leithy contrasted the slowness of Coptic conversion with the speed of Iranian conversion, evidenced by the successful transformation of Persian into a language of Islamic culture. It is worth considering how fast the process of Islamization took place in Iran. Richard Bulliet′s well-known study of this question examined the relative frequency of Muslim and non-Muslim names in recorded literature over different periods.[27] Although the field of evidence is limited to the urban ulama class and the study is based on questionable assumptions, his work remains valuable in the absence of documentary material. Bulliet constructed a graphed curve to show that the Muslim population of Iran rose steadily from zero at the start of the Islamic conquest in the 640s to at least 80% by the 960s. The rise occurred in three stages: a slow rate of increase until about 720, when the Muslim population had reached about 10% of the total; then a rapid increase until the 890s; finally, a progressive slowing again as the Muslim population

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[26]Quoted in Paul Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley, 1985), 46–47.

[27]Richard W. Bulliet, ″Conversion to Islam and the Emergence of a Muslim Society in Iran,″ in *Conversion to Islam,* ed. Nehemiah Levtzion (New York, 1979), 31. See also el-Leithy, ″Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo,″ 21–22. Bulliet attempted a similar investigation for other countries, including Egypt, using a smaller sample of names and with less positive results.

reached and surpassed the 80% mark. Of course, the curve ignores important events that accelerated, slowed, or temporarily reversed the process of Islamization. But the conclusion remains that Iran became overwhelmingly Muslim in just over three centuries.

Ottoman documentary records for the period 1520–35 reveal that the population of Anatolia during this period, about five million, was more than 92% Muslim and only 8% Christian.[28] Thus, the evidence from both Iran and Anatolia indicates a process of Islamization up to an overwhelming majority of 80–90%. The process took about 300 years in Iran and at least 400 years in Anatolia, taking the starting-point as the initial Turkish invasion in the later eleventh century. It involved the set of powerful and interlocking social mechanisms that we have discerned at work in Egypt: Muslim migration and settlement, marriage with non-Muslim native women, and conversions from among the native population. The relative importance of these factors differed in each country—conversion, for example, was especially important in Iran, whereas Turkish settlement, combined with intermarriage, was probably the main factor in Anatolia.[29] In each case, however, the process worked inexorably, with a snowballing effect, to achieve the Islamization of Iran and Anatolia within three to four centuries.

Adding these results to the evidence that Arab-Muslim immigration and Coptic conversion both took place in Egypt from an early date, and to the specific attestation by al-Maqrīzī that Muslims had achieved a majority in most Egyptian villages during the ninth century, we conclude that the Islamization of Egypt to the order of at least 80% was achieved well within the six centuries that elapsed from the Islamic conquest of Egypt to the Mamluk seizure of power in 1250. Several writers are of this opinion, although they all assume that Islamization was achieved mainly by conversion and ignore the factors of Arab-Muslim settlement, intermarriage, and Coptic demographic decline. Thus, according to ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Dūrī: ″By the dawn of the third century [830] Islam had spread on a wide scale in the [Egyptian] countryside . . . and became the religion of the majority of the

[28]V. L. Menage, ″The Islamization of Anatolia,″ in *Conversion to Islam*, ed. Levtzion, 53–59. See also Courbage and Fargues, *Christians and Jews under Islam,* 92: ″In *Le Livre des Merveilles,* Marco Polo recounted how, 200 years after the battle of Mantzikert [1071], the Turks were still a minority in a country which remained Greek and Armenian.″ Pointing somewhat in the opposite direction, however, the following page reads: ″it is estimated that . . . in 1200, 43 percent of the inhabitants of Anatolia were still Christian.″

[29]Speros Vryonis, *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor and the Process of Islamization from the Eleventh through the Fourteenth Centuries* (Berkeley, 1971). For the controversy among Turkish historians over the ethnic composition of the modern Turkish population, see Menage, ″The Islamization of Anatolia,″ 53–59.

[Egyptian] population in the fourth century [tenth century].″[30] G. R. Hawting thinks that Islamization in Egypt was slower than in Syria and Iraq, ″and that it was not until after the [Umayyad] dynasty had been overthrown that Islam became the religion of the majority.″[31] Garth Fowden considers that Iran converted more rapidly than any other conquered country, its population being over 90% Muslim by about 950. He continues: ″Iraq, Syria, North Africa, and Egypt lagged behind this very rapid conversion rate, but the result was the same—an almost entirely Muslim population by the 11th century.″[32] Daniel C. Dennett and the demographer Josiah C. Russell both concur that Egypt was 80% Muslim by the time of the Bashmurite revolt in 831.[33]

In the study of Egypt´s Islamization, the factor that perhaps requires more consideration than any other is that of Coptic demographic decline during the early Islamic period. The topic can be introduced here by referring to the recent demographic study of Youssef Courbage and Philippe Fargues, based on Josiah Russell´s work. Regarding Egypt, the authors take a radical stance, tentatively concluding that fully half the Egyptian population converted from Christianity to Islam within a few decades of the Islamic conquest, and that the Muslim element approached 80% as early as 800.[34] They reach this conclusion from Islamic source-historical evidence that the annual Egyptian revenue, the *jizyah,* fell precipitately from the conquest of Egypt in 641–42 to the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn (809–13): from about twelve million dinars immediately after the conquest, the Egyptian *jizyah* fell to nine million in 660, five million in 680, four million in 743, and three million in 813, remaining roughly stable thereafter.[35] Converts to Islam were exempted from paying poll-tax, which is the strict interpretation of the term *jizyah*

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[30]Al-Dūrī, *The Historical Formation of the Arab Nation,* 64.

[31]G. R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam: the Umayyad Caliphate A.D. 661–750* (London, 1986), 9.

[32]Garth Fowden, *Empire to Commonwealth: Consequences of Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 1993), 162.

[33]Courbage and Fargues, *Christians and Jews under Islam,* 28.

[34]Ibid., 15–16.

[35]Ibid., 23; they quote the figures in dirhams, but dinars, the currency of Islamic Egypt, is surely meant. Al-Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum no. 7 (Leiden, 1892), 339, records different figures within the same trend of rapid fall followed by relative stability: 10–12 million dinars per annum in 640–56, 4 million in 735, 4.3 million in 830, 4 million in ca. 880, 3.4 million in ca. 980, and 2.8 million in ca. 1080. See also A. S. Tritton, ″Islam and the Protected Religions,″ *JRAS* (1928): 506–7. In contrast, however, al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1866), 216–18, states that the first governor of Egypt, 'Amr (642–46), raised only two million dinars per annum and the second governor, Ibn Sa'd (646–56), only four million

in Islamic law; consequently, Courbage and Fargues attribute the decline of the *jizyah* entirely to massive Coptic conversion during the first century of Islam in Egypt.

But this interpretation is problematic. If massive Coptic conversion during the period 641–813 explains both the *jizyah*'s large fall during that period and its stability thereafter (once Islamization was practically completed), then one is forced to suppose that the total population of Egypt remained relatively stable during the entire Islamic period. Therefore, since Egypt's population was quite reliably estimated at 2.5 million by the French in 1798, Courbage and Fargues suppose that, leaving aside temporary fluctuations, this was also the case going back to the Islamic conquest in 641: Egypt's population, then, was only 2.5 million at the end of Roman rule in 641, having declined from a peak of 4.5 million at the time of Augustus. Yet, this population estimate for Egypt in 641 seems too low compared to the estimates Courbage and Fargues give for Syria and Iraq (4 million and 9 million) and to other estimates of Egypt's population at that time;[36] it also contradicts traditional Islamic reports of Egypt's wealth during the early Umayyad period—according to al-Ṭabarī, for example, Mu'āwiyah "hoped that if he won control over Egypt, he would also be victorious in the war against 'Alī on account of the huge sum that was raised from its kharāj."[37]

But there is an alternative explanation for the apparently rapid fall of the Egyptian *jizyah* during the seventh and eighth centuries. The treaty reports relating to the conquest of Egypt, as well as the fiscal documents contained in the Aphrodito papyri from Upper Egypt, dating 700–20, reveal that the term *jizyah* was used generally to mean *all* regular annual revenues paid by local communities to the central administration in al-Fusṭāṭ. That is, *jizyah* included not only poll-tax (*diagraphon* in the papyri), payable only by adult male non-Muslims, but also land-tax (*dēmosia* in the papyri), payable by all land-owners including converts.[38] Therefore, the steady fall of the annual Egyptian *jizyah* from ten–twelve million dinars to three million during the period 641–813 would not reflect massive

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[36]Peter Charanis, "Observations on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire," *Proceedings of the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford, 1967), 454. The tenth-century Egyptian Melkite writer Eutychius states, with great exaggeration, that Egypt had six million adult males at the start of Islamic rule: Gilbert Dagron and Vincent Déroche, "Juifs et chretiens dans l'Orient du VIIe siècle," *Travaux et Mémoires* 11 (1991): 244–45.

[37]Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-al-Mulūk,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1879–1901), ser. 1, 6:3396; tr. E. Yarshater et al. (Albany, NY, 1987–89).

[38]Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam,* 90–98; Jørgen Bæk Simonsen, *Studies in the Genesis and Early Development of the Caliphal Taxation System* (Copenhagen, 1988), 81–129 passim; Tritton, "Islam and the Protected Religions," 494; H. I. Bell, "The Administration of Egypt under the Umayyad Khalifs," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 28 (1928): 282–83.

conversion because Muslims too paid *jizyah* in early Islamic Egypt. Instead, however, it ought to reflect a real decline in the total population of Egypt from the conquest onwards.[39] And this conclusion would seem to fit the picture of the demographic decline of the native Coptic population, still the great majority during this early period but caught in a cycle of repression, failed revolts, and aggravated repression—and, on the other hand, the spread and settlement of Arab-Muslim migrants throughout rural Egypt. Islamization in Egypt was achieved within three centuries—on the one hand by the shrinking of Coptic numbers; and on the other, by the introduction of a Muslim element that was small at first but grew quickly, both in absolute terms and relative to the declining native population. Coptic conversion had a significant part in the growth of this Muslim element, but it was not the primary factor.

The Islamization of Egypt was thus achieved by the ninth century, but the early Mamluk period may be seen as a long-delayed conclusion to it, since it gave rise to the last and most important in an intermittent series of Coptic conversion-waves. This was partly due to the unusually severe measures introduced by the Mamluk state against the Copts—notably the rule imposing conversion upon the wife of a convert (which practically ensured that the family´s wealth would pass out of the Coptic community), the banning of traditional Coptic festivals, and the wholesale confiscation of Coptic *waqf*s.[40] But perhaps the main cause was the decline of morale among the Copts in the early fourteenth century, possibly prompted by external factors—especially the recent conquest of Monophysite Christian Nubia by Arab tribes at that time. Their direct connection to Ethiopia now severed, the Copts were reduced into a sealed pocket community with little hope of support from the outside.

But this is not to say that the early Mamluk period was a decisive turning-point in the Islamization of Egypt. Indeed, al-Maqrīzī´s account of anti-Copt agitation and government pressure from 1290 to 1354 suggests that the Copts were by now a relatively small and weak minority in Egypt. For example, following the mass riots in 1321 that destroyed sixty churches and monasteries across the whole country, a group of monks armed with naphtha set fire to the mosques of Cairo, setting off blazes that burned for days. The sultan, according to al-Maqrīzī, refused to believe that the Christians were responsible: as he claimed, ″they did not have

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[39]Dennett, *Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam,* 97; Simonsen, *Studies in the Genesis and Early Development of the Caliphal Taxation System,* 89, 107, 127–29.

[40]El-Leithy, ″Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo,″ 96, 117–24. However, a much earlier example of severe fiscal pressure, fully justified by appeal to tradition, is minutely recorded in the Zuqnin Chronicle´s eyewitness account of events in al-Jazira in 772–74: J.-B. Chabot, ed., *Chronique de Denys de Tell Mahré, quatrième partie* (Paris, 1895), 122 f..

sufficient strength and boldness to embark upon an enterprise of such magnitude.″ And in the last anti-Copt episode of 1354, the government confiscated all the lands in Egypt held as *waqf*s by Christian churches and monasteries. These lands were the main source of revenue for Christian institutions, yet they amounted to only 25,000 feddans—that is, a few hundred square kilometers in a country possessing at least 25,000 square kilometers of cultivated land.[41]

[41]Little, ″Coptic Conversion to Islam under the Bahrī Mamlūks,″ 564, 568; el-Leithy, ″Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo,″ 124. The feddan is taken to be roughly equivalent to the acre.

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Maqriziana I: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method Description: Section 2

The present article is a continuation of the first section published in this journal in 2003.[1] As discussed previously, al-Maqrīzī filled the blanks he left at the end of his resumés with numerous notes which became scattered with the passage of time. This article presents another aspect of his working method: cards which he organized to produce the first stages of his books. A complete description of these notes will be given here, following the system used in the first section of ″Maqriziana I,″ by which material is presented in its physical order, keeping in mind that some material may have been rearranged. Since the publication of the first article, I have been able to trace other works back to their original source. At the end of the article, the reader will find addenda where identification or confirmation of these sources is provided. This will end my description of the contents of al-Maqrīzī′s notebook. The analysis of his working method, based on elements discussed throughout these articles, will be dealt with in a forthcoming study.[2]

B. THE SCATTERED NOTES

XXIII. (fol. 31v[3])
Title on same fol., lines 13–14: *Mukhtār min Kitāb Rāḥat al-ʿAql*/Ḥamīd al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Dāʿī.
مختار من كتاب راحة العقل، تأليف حميد الدين أحمد بن عبد الله الداعي بجزيرة العراق وما والاها

[1]Frédéric Bauden, ″Maqriziana I: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method: Description: Section 1,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, no. 2 (2003), 21–68. In the meanwhile, the following articles, mentioned as under press in that article, have finally come out: ″Maqriziana IV: Le carnet de notes d′al-Maqrīzī: l′apport de la codicologie à une meilleure compréhension de sa constitution,″ *Manuscripta orientalia* 9 (2003): 24–36; ″The Recovery of Mamluk Chancery Documents in an Unsuspected Place,″ in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society,* ed. Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni (Leiden, 2004), 59–76.
[2]″Maqriziana II: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method: Analysis,″ to appear in a forthcoming issue of this journal.
[3]See reproduction in ″Maqriziana IV,″ 26.

من جهة الإمام الحاكم بأمر الله أمير المؤمنين. ألفه في سنة إحدى عشرة وأربعمائة بالعراق وموضوع هذا الكتاب بيان علم التوحيد.

Incipit (fol. 31v, line 16):

الشيء إذا أخذ من طريقه تيسر وإذا طلب من غير سبيله تعسر [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 31v, line 19):

[. . .] ولا يدفع عنه تلك الرذائل إلا الشريعة وأحكامها.

Commentary:

This very small excerpt (7 lines), which occupies the space left blank at the end (last quire) of resumé I (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘ah, *‘Uyūn al-Anbā’ fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā’*), was taken by al-Maqrīzī from the work of one of the foremost figures of Ismaili thought, the *Kitāb Rāḥat al-‘Aql,* Ḥamīd al-Dīn **al-Kirmānī**'s *opus magnum*. Very little is known about the life of this propagandist *(dā‘ī)*[4] with the exception of what he revealed about himself in his books. We learn that he composed this book in Iraq, where he acted as a propagandist for the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥākim, in the year 411/1020, the year in which this caliph mysteriously disappeared. It is clear that al-Maqrīzī selected all the useful material for a biography of this person (full name, role, position, year of composition of the book, its subject, and an explanation of its aim), although no biography of al-Kirmānī was found in any of al-Maqrīzī's extant books, not even in *Al-Muqaffá*.[5] Nevertheless, it would be strange if he did not devote some space in it to this important representative of the Fatimid period, given the information available to him in the notebook. But the presence of such an excerpt from a book written under al-Ḥākim's rule by an Ismaili thinker suffices here to confirm, unequivocally, that al-Maqrīzī had access to it and could take notes from it. A comparison of these 7 lines with the original

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[4]On al-Kirmānī, see Paul E. Walker, *Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī: Ismaili Thought in the Age of al-Ḥākim* (London-New York, 1999); Hamid Haji, *A Distinguished Dā‘ī Under the Shade of the Fāṭimids: Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. circa 411/1020) and His Epistles* (London, 1419/1998). The *Kitāb Rāḥat al-‘Aql* has been the object of a detailed study by Daniel De Smet, *La Quiétude de l'intellect: Néoplatonisme et gnose ismaélienne dans l'œuvre de Ḥamīd ad-Dīn al-Kirmānī (Xe/XIe s.)* (Leuven, 1995), and has been translated into Russian by A. V. Smirnov (Moscow, 1995).

[5]However, only part of *Al-Muqaffá* has come down to us, representing roughly 9.6 volumes of the 16 al-Maqrīzī managed to complete before his death, far fewer than the 80 volumes he announced. See Jan Just Witkam, "Les Autographes d'al-Maqrīzī," in *Le Manuscrit arabe et la codicologie,* ed. Ahmed-Chouqui Binebine (Rabat, 1994), 96. Furthermore, the only available edition of this work (ed. Muḥammad al-Ya‘lāwī, Beirut, 1411/1991, 8 vols.) does not appear to be complete in the light of the preserved autograph manuscripts. This will be the subject of "Maqriziana X." In any case, al-Kirmānī's name is absent from these supplementary biographies.

book[6] definitely proves that it did not come from a second-hand source.[7] More importantly, it implies that al-Maqrīzī was speaking truthfully when he declared that he had access to Ismaili literature,[8] even though the great Fatimid libraries had been looted, sold, or destroyed two centuries before his birth, and the Ismaili believers had left Egypt *en masse* in the decades that followed the end of the Fatimid caliphate.[9] It does not solve, unfortunately, the mystery of how and where he consulted the so jealously guarded manuscripts of the Ismailis.

XXIV. (fol. 32r–32v[10])

Title on fol. 32r, line 1: *Faṣl* [containing a formula of salutation].

Incipit (fol. 32r, lines 2–3):

وإذا حييتم بتحية فحيوا بأحسن منها أو ردوها وهو على جمعهم إذا يشاء قدير وما ذلك على الله بعزيز [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 32v, line 8):

[. . .] إذا ركبوا زانوا المواكب هيبة وإن جلسوا كانوا صدور المجالس.

Commentary:

This short text covers the two sides of one folio which immediately follows excerpt XXIII in the same quire, showing that it was written after it. Nonetheless, it does not seem to be related at all to the *Kitāb Rāḥat al-ʿAql* or to be of Ismaili provenance. It deals with a formula of salutation and ends with a selection of poetry. So far, I have not been able to trace this text back to a source, or to any of al-Maqrīzī's surviving books.

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[6]Reference is made here to the first edition (ed. Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn and Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ḥilmī, Cairo, 1953), where the various passages were found on pages 16, 17, 20, and 24. Some discrepancies in the readings were confirmed by the *apparatus criticus*. Another edition was published by M. Ghālib, Beirut, 1967 (2nd ed., 1983); see pp. 100, 101–2, 106, 111.

[7]See "Maqriziana II" for this comparison.

[8]Cf. in his *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:395 (unless otherwise stated, reference is always made to the Būlāq ed.) (*"wa-lahum fī dhālika muṣannafāt kathīrah minhā ikhtaṣartu mā taqaddama dhikruhu"* [and they have, in this matter, many works from which I have excerpted what precedes]). Note that this sentence does not appear in his *musawwadah,* where the same passage is quoted, however. See al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadat Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār,* ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid (London, 1416/1995), 106.

[9]On the small Ismaili communities that survived in Upper Egypt, apparently still in the first quarter of the eighth/fourteenth century, see Farhad Daftary, *The Isma'ilis: Their History and Doctrines* (Cambridge, 1990), 274–75.

[10]See reproduction of fol. 32r in "Maqriziana IV," 26.

XXV. (fol. 32v)
Title on fol. 32v, lines 9–10: *Faṣl* [dealing with the wealth and personal estate which Ibn Ṭūlūn left upon his death].
Incipit (fol. 32v):

فصل : خلف الأمير أحمد بن طولون ذهبا مصريا عشرة آلاف ألف دينار وسبعة آلاف مملوك [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 32v, lines 16–17):

[. . .] وعلى حصن الجزيرة ثمانين ألف دينار وعلى القصر والميدان خمسين ألف ومائة ألف دينار.
(السيرة، ص ٣٤٩–٣٥١)

Commentary:
Placed at the end of XXIV, on the same folio, but written in the other direction, i.e., perpendicularly, this excerpt, containing a small passage related to Ibn Ṭūlūn, was reused word for word by al-Maqrīzī in the biography he wrote of him in *Al-Muqaffá* (1:429), without referring to any source. It was found in the main source for the Tulunid period in al-Maqrīzī's time as well as in ours: *Sīrat Āl Ṭūlūn* or *Al-Sīrah al-Ṭūlūnīyah* by Abū Muḥammad ʻAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad **al-Balawī** (d. after 330/942).[11] Al-Maqrīzī must have dedicated some lines to this important author in the lost section of his *Al-Muqaffá*.[12] However, in his other works, he never refers to him by name, but instead refers to the title of his book, sometimes quoted as *"jāmiʻ al-sīrah al-ṭūlūnīyah"* or *"jāmiʻ sīrat (Aḥmad) Ibn Ṭūlūn."*[13] Other excerpts which derive from this source will be found under notes XXXIV, XLVII, and XLV, all regarding Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn. From this and the other material gleaned from al-Balawī's book by al-Maqrīzī and inserted in his works,[14] it can be conjectured that he had at his disposal, already in his time, the part of the book dealing with Ibn Ṭūlūn only, and not the part dealing with his descendants. Furthermore, he must have relied heavily on it for the first part of his triptych on Egyptian history: *ʻIqd Jawāhir al-Aṣfāṭ min Akhbār Madīnat al-Fusṭāṭ*. This work is now considered lost, but must have been finished by the time al-Maqrīzī

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[11]Reference is made here to al-Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn,* ed. Muḥammad Kurd ʻAlī (Damascus, 1358/[1939–40]). The actual passage is to be found on pages 349–51.

[12]A small part of the book dealing with individuals whose *ism* began with an *ʻayn* (mostly ʻAlī) was identified in the autograph copy of *Durar al-ʻUqūd al-Farīdah* (Forschungsbibliothek, Gotha, MS A1771) by M. al-Yaʻlāwī, who published these biographies at the end of vol. 8 of his edition of *Al-Muqaffá*.

[13]See A. R. Guest, "A List of Writers, Books, and other Authorities mentioned by El Maqrīzī in his Khiṭaṭ," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1902): 112; A. ʻAbd al-Majīd Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr* (Cairo, 1983), 2:86–87; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* ed. A. F. Sayyid (London, 1423/2002), 2:23.*

[14]Till now, the material has been traced back in *Al-Muqaffá, Al-Khiṭaṭ,* and *Shudhūr al-ʻUqūd*.

began to write his other books, where he refers to it.[15]

XXVI. (fols. 32v–33r[16])

No title: *Faṣl* consisting of the quotation of a story regarding ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and a Coptic ritual performed to ensure the flooding of the Nile.

Incipit (fol. 32v, lines 17–19):

قصر مد النيل في زمن عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه وكان عادتهم في الجاهلية أن يأخذوا بنتا بكرا من قومهم يغرقونها في النيل [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 33r, lines 3–6):

[. . .] فلما قذفها فيه غلق في ذلك اليوم ما كان يزيده في طول السنة.

Commentary:

This note seems to have been written in the same direction immediately after the previous one, as no change of color in the ink is discernible, although it is not connected with the subject of al-Balawī´s book. The last lines end on the following folio. The original source was not identified. The same event is reported in different words by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam in his *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-Akhbārihā*.[17] As we have seen,[18] the notebook contains a resumé of this work which ends abruptly with this very story. The last lines found in the *Futūḥ Miṣr* are missing there, while the entire story which came from Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam is found in his *Khiṭaṭ* (1:58). The wording is identical, which means that al-Maqrīzī did not quote from his incomplete abstract, but rather returned to the original source. The reason why he decided not to quote the version found on this folio, which differs from Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam´s version in its wording, remains unknown.

XXVII. (fol. 33r)

No title: Quotation dealing with the city of Barzah, taken from *[Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq?]* by Ibn ʿAsākir.

Incipit (fol. 33r, lines 7–8):

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[15]See *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:212; *Ittiʿāẓ al-Ḥunafāʾ*, ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1967), 1:4; *Al-Sulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1956), 1:9; *Ḍawʾ al-Sārī fī Khabar Tamīm al-Dārī,* ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1392/1972), 31.

[16]A large band of paper, representing about the third of the folio, has been cut horizontally from fol. 33.

[17]See Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *The History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain Known as the Futūḥ Miṣr of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam,* ed. Charles C. Torrey (New Haven, 1922; Leiden, 1920), 150–51. For a folkloric interpretation of the whole story, see S. Mahdihassan, ″A Legend Attributed to Calif Omar and Its Chinese Basis,″ *Abr-Nahrain* 16 (1975–76): 115–18.

[18]″Maqriziana I/1,″ resumé II, 33–35.

برزة قرية بظاهر دمشق فيها معبد يعرف بالمقام [. . .]

Explicit (same fol., lines 14–17):

[. . .] وقيل إن أمه كانت تخبؤه في كهف بقرية برزة في الموضع الذي يعرف بمقام إبراهيم إلى اليوم. ذكره ابن عساكر.

Commentary:

The source, mentioned explicitly by al-Maqrīzī at the end of the note, is **Ibn ʻAsākir**.[19] As the passage refers to a place located in the vicinity of Damascus, it is reasonable to think that it was taken from his *opus magnum,* the *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq,* notwithstanding the fact that this data is not found in it. There is indeed a chapter devoted to the *Maqām Ibrāhīm*[20] situated in Barzah, but the stories differ from what is found in the notebook. Besides this discrepancy, it is hardly probable that al-Maqrīzī took this note from another source based on Ibn ʻAsākir, where the source was clearly indicated by the author. It remains puzzling that this note differs from the original text and that no other works among those compiled by Ibn ʻAsākir, except the *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq,* could better fit with this excerpt. Furthermore, al-Maqrīzī does not seem to have used it in any of his published books.

XXVIII. (fol. 33v)

Title on same fol., line 1: *Mukhtār min al-Muyāwamāt*/al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil.

مختار من مياومات القاضي الفاضل.

Incipit (fol. 33v, lines 2–3):

سنة سبع وسبعين وخمسمائة جمادى الأولى مستهله فيه ركب الملك الناصر صلاح الدين يوسف لفتح نحو ابن أبي المنجى [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 33v, lines 9–10):

[. . .] وأمر المجلس العادلي بوضع يده فيه والاستخدام من قبله.

Commentary:

Written on the back of fol. 33, with the title in red ink, this extract stems from a

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[19]Other excerpts from this source will be found under numbers LXIII and LXVII. The author and his work are quoted thrice in the *Khiṭaṭ* (see Guest, ″A List of Writers,″ 109; Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 1:279 and 2:76), under the title *Tārīkh Dimashq,* but he undoubtedly used it for other works, like *Al-Muqaffá, Imtāʻ al-Asmāʻ, al-Khabar ʻan al-Bashar,* and some of his opuscules.

[20]I am referring here to the following edition: ed. Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū Saʻīd ʻUmar ibn Gharāmah al-ʻAmrawī (Beirut, 1415/1995, 80 vols.), 2:323–41 *(bāb dhikr faḍl al-masājid al-maqṣūdah bi-al-ziyārah ka-al-rabwah wa-maqām Ibrāhīm wa-kahf Jibrīl wa-al-maqābir).*

work mentioned in my previous article, where the title was not given.[21] The author, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ibn ʿAlī al-Baysānī, better known by his title al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200), had worked for the Fatimid administration and was put in charge of the Egyptian chancery under Saladin. Apart from his important epistolary output, he is also the author of a diary whose title, as provided by al-Maqrīzī, varies greatly, from *Taʿlīq al-Mutajaddidāt* to *Mutajaddidāt al-Ḥawādith* or *al-Muyāwamāt.* The latter is quoted here, preceded by the word *mukhtār* (extract). This passage clearly shows that the diary was organized by year, and within each year by month, etc. Al-Maqrīzī apparently managed to get an autograph copy of this work, as he confirms in several places with the words *min khaṭṭihi naqaltu,*[22] though this probably happened at a later stage in his writing process as it became necessary.[23] This can be surmised thanks to a draft (2 vols.) of his *Khiṭaṭ,* where all the quotations deriving from al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil's diary were jotted down in the margins or on slips of paper glued in places where they were to be inserted. From these quotations, it can be deduced that this historical book covered broadly the period between 566 (earliest citation in the *Khiṭaṭ*) and his death, making it a substantial source for the end of the Fatimid period and the transition to the Ayyubid regime.

The actual excerpt reports events dated to the year 577, opening with the first day of Jumādá I, then proceeding to the 11th of the same month. Al-Maqrīzī took complete advantage of it in *Al-Sulūk* (1:73 and 107–8), but he also quoted parts of it in the draft of his *Khiṭaṭ*.[24] Here it was written on a small piece of paper and glued in the margin (Topkapı Sarayı MS 1472, fol. 122). It was inserted among other data originating from the same source and dealing with events which occurred between 577 and 587, though all this did not find its way into the final version of the book.[25] From this, we may surmise that he made various cards while composing the *Khiṭaṭ* which he collected on a slip of paper and later introduced to *Al-Sulūk* where he deemed appropriate. Some striking discrepancies in the dating of some events are conspicuous between the notebook, *Al-Sulūk,* and the draft of the *Khiṭaṭ*. Clearly, this exemplifies another aspect of his working method.

XXIX. (fol. 34r)

No title: Biographies of four Egyptians who died in the sixth and seventh centuries.

١) عثمان بن عمر بن أبي بكر بن يونس الدَوِيني أبو عمرو جمال الدين بن الحاجب الإسنائي المصري

[21]See "Maqriziana I/1," 37.

[22]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* ed. Sayyid, 2:34.*

[23]These are *Al-Khiṭaṭ, Al-Muqaffá,* and *Al-Sulūk.*

[24]Al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadah,* 299–300.

[25]The source is indicated there as al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, *Taʿlīq al-Mutajaddidāt.*

المالكي (ت ٦٤٦)
٢) أحمد بن عبد الوهاب بن خلف بن محمود بن أبي بدر اللخمي العَلاَمي (ت ٦٩٩)
٣) محمد بن محمد بن محمد بن بُنان أبو طاهر (ت ٥٩٦)
٤) محمد بن مشكور شرف الدين أبو عبد الله (ت ٦٧٤)

Commentary:
These four biographies of men who all died in Egypt, mainly during the seventh century, seem to have been written at the same time, as shown by the color of the ink and the style of script, which means that they probably come from the same source. In all cases, the first *ism* has been written in red ink, and the placement of the biographies varies according to the space left blank while al-Maqrīzī was writing his notes, ensuring that each of them would be easily visible. This explains why the first occupies the upper right quarter, beginning from the bottom towards the top of the page, the second the upper left quarter, from right to left, and the last two the lower half of the page, from top to bottom, beginning from left to right. Two of them have been mentioned in *Al-Muqaffá* (no. 2 = 1:519–21 [no. 507]; no. 3 = 7:154–57 [no. 3258]), where parts of the material in the notebook have been used. No. 4 should also have been included in this work, given that his profile corresponded to the goals established by al-Maqrīzī for the compiling of this dictionary.[26] The original source (or sources) has not been identified so far. Considering the order in which they were written, the source surely did not consist of an alphabetically-organized dictionary, nor an annalistic history. Furthermore, in none of the sources quoted by al-Maqrīzī for the biography of no. 3 in *Al-Muqaffá* does the text match the one found here.[27] The same is true for no. 2, whose biography appears in seven sources composed prior to 845.[28]

XXX. (fols. 34v–37r, 36v)
No title: Biography of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Mudabbir.

[26]I.e., all the Egyptians from the beginning of Islam, except his contemporaries to whom he devoted another biographical dictionary entitled *Durar al-ʻUqūd al-Farīdah.* By Egyptian, he meant all those who were born in Egypt, or those who were born elsewhere but eventually established themselves in Egypt. There probably is a gap between Muḥammad ibn al-Musayyab and Muḥammad ibn Muṣṭafá in the surviving sections of *Al-Muqaffá*. However, no. 4 does not appear in the unpublished sections that I have identified, nor in the list of lost biographies established by the editor (8:669–75) on the basis of cross-references made by al-Maqrīzī in his book.

[27]Ibn al-Dubaythī, al-Mundhirī, and al-ʻImād al-Iṣfahānī.

[28]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī;* idem, *Aʻyān al-ʻAṣr;* Ibn Ḥabīb, *Durrat al-Aslāk;* idem, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh;* Ibn al-Ṣuqāʻī, *Tālī Kitāb al-Wafayāt;* al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʻīyah;* Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*.

Incipit (fol. 34v, lines 1–2):

أحمد بن محمد بن مدبر. كان من دهاة الناس وشياطين الكتاب والعمال الأجلاء [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 36v, lines 12–13):

[. . .] فقالت يآبا الحسن وجدنا الدواء كما وصفت فبكى وبكى كل من كان حوله.

Commentary:

This rather long biography closes quire III, connecting it with the following one.[29] The person whose life is portrayed here was one of the most emblematic rulers of Egypt, i.e., Ibn Mudabbir, governor in the name of the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad, who was eventually challenged by Ibn Ṭūlūn. Quite strangely, Ibn Mudabbir′s life is not included in *Al-Muqaffá,* although this is another example of the state in which this important work has reached us. It is, however, found in an autograph copy of the *Muqaffá* containing letters *alif* to *khā',* which came to light in the eighties of the last century and is now held by the University Library of Leiden (the Netherlands, MS 14.533, fols. 1v–2v, 20r–v). The material found in the notebook was reused by al-Maqrīzī in the *Muqaffá,* particularly Ibn Ṭūlūn′s biography (*Al-Muqaffá,* 1:420–22), as well as in other places. Other passages found on fols. 34v–35v in the notebook were inserted in the *Khiṭaṭ* where Ibn Mudabbir was the subject of the section (*Khiṭaṭ,* 1:314–15 and 316). Unfortunately, the source of the material found in the notebook remains unidentified, and possibly lost.

XXXI. (fols. 55r–55v[30])

Title on fol. 55r, line 30: [Three quotations from] *Murūj al-Dhahab*/al-Mas'ūdī dealing with the definition of *al-baqṭ, al-barbar, al-nāranj,* and *al-utrujj al-mudawwar.*

List of the quotations:

١) البقط هو الضريبة التي تحمل في كل سنة من ملك النوبة إلى مصر وهي على ما ذكر المسعودي (مروج، ج ٢، ص ١٣٠) [. . .].(fol. 55r)

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[29]Fol. 36 is a small piece of paper pasted in the margin. The recto is blank. All this proves that text XXX, and consequently all the preceding notes, were written after the quires of resumés I and II were assembled. When al-Maqrīzī reached the end of fol. 37r., he could not go on writing on the verso of the same folio which corresponded to the beginning of text II. So, he added a scrap of paper in order to finish note XXX. On top of it, he wrote بقية خبر بن مدبر, to avoid misunderstanding in the arrangement of the folios. The text is written normally on the verso of fols. 34 and 35, while it is written vertically on the recto of fols. 35 and 37, beginning on the spine side, from bottom to top.

[30]See reproduction of fol. 55r in ″Maqriziana IV,″ 28.

٢) البربر أرض البربر كانت أرض فلسطين من بلاد الشام وملكهم كان جالوت [. . .]. من كتاب مروج الذهب (مروج، ج ٢،ص ٢٤٥).(fol. 55r)

٣) قال المسعودي في كتاب مروج الذهب : النارنج والأترج المدور حمل من أرض الهند [. . .] (مروج، ج ٢، ص ١٠٨). (fol. 55v)

Commentary:
Quire VI, which opens with fol. 55, is placed just in the middle of resumé II (Ibn ʻAbd al-Ḥakam′s *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-Akhbārihā*). It opens with the end of *dhikr bināʼ al-Iskandarīyah*[31] which al-Maqrīzī began on fol. 52r of the preceding quire. Strangely, fol. 55r bears only three lines and fol. 56r eight lines, the remaining part on the recto and the entire verso of both folios having been left blank by al-Maqrīzī, as if he intended to complete these passages with others missing in his original copy. These blank spaces were further used to scribble notes (XXXI–XXXIV) starting, as it seems, from fol. 56v backwards with XXXIV, indicating that the source in note XXXIV was undoubtedly consulted prior to those of the following notes. In this way, we are able to know in which chronological order al-Maqrīzī consulted these sources. Obviously, notes XXXI–XXXIII were written after note XXXIV, to fill in the gap. The actual note is composed of three excerpts originating from a common source, which is indicated very carefully in the three cases, i.e., the *Murūj al-Dhahab* of **al-Masʻūdī** (d. 346/956). A close examination of their placement on the folio reveals that they were jotted down in the order given here: the first one occupies the space located near the spine, written vertically from bottom to top, while the second was placed horizontally, at its side. In both cases, red ink was used for the first word to mark it as a catchword. The third extract, on the verso, is written on the right, filling the space left blank after the end of note XXXIV. Al-Masʻūdī represents an important source for al-Maqrīzī, who used his *Murūj al-Dhahab*, *Akhbār al-Zamān,* and *Al-Tanbīh wa-al-Ishrāf*.[32] The actual extracts in the notebook, together with one other (see XXXV), all come from the first book. They deal with the tax *(baqṭ)* paid by Nubia in agreement with the truce concluded in 31/652, the origin of the Berbers, and the introduction of bitter orange and citron to the Middle East. Each of them was found in the original source[33] and was incorporated into al-Maqrīzī′s works. The first as well as the third are to be found throughout the *Khiṭaṭ* (1:201 and 1:28),

[31]This end is lacking in the edition based on several manuscripts (ed. Torrey). On this, see ″Maqriziana V″ (forthcoming).

[32]For the *Khiṭaṭ,* see Guest, ″A List of Writers,″ 115; Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 1:277.

[33]Reference is made here to the following edition: Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, rev. and corrected by Ch. Pellat (Beirut, 1966), vol. 2.

where the source is clearly indicated, although, for the second, reference is made to a more generic title: *Al-Tārīkh*.[34] The second extract *(al-Barbar)* was not used in the *Khiṭaṭ*, although it could have found a place in the *Dhikr al-Bujah wa-Yuqāl innahum min al-Barbar* (1:194). However, it inspired al-Maqrīzī for another purpose, as it was identified in his opuscule on the Arab tribes in Egypt *(Al-Bayān wa-al-I'rāb 'amman fī Arḍ Miṣr min Qabā'il al-A'rāb)*.[35]

XXXII. (fol. 55v)

No title: Biography of a Damascene who died in the 6th c.

أبو البيان بنان بن محمد بن محفوظ بن أحمد القرشي المعروف بابن الحوراني الشافعي (ت ٥٥١).

Commentary:

This very short biography (10 lines) occupies the space left below the third extract of the preceding note. In this case too, the beginning (here the *kunyah*) has been written in red ink, and the text has been placed upside down. It is interesting to note that this individual was the founder of a mystical order in Damascus and Syria, called the *Bayānīyah,* of which disciples were still active more than a century after his death. Al-Maqrīzī does not seem to have made use of the data found here, but he mentioned one of its disciples (d. 675/1277), called *shaykh al-bayānīyah* of Ḥamāh, in his *Al-Muqaffá* (1:161). The source of this note has not been identified so far.

XXXIII. (fol. 55v)

No title: Quotation of a verse by Muḥammad ibn Tūmart.

من شعر محمد بن تومرت الثائر بالمغرب

Verse:

تجرد من الدنيا فإنك إنما　　　خرجت إلى الدنيا وأنت مجرد

Commentary:

Al-Maqrīzī did not devote a biography to the *mahdī* Ibn Tūmart (d. 524/1130) in *Al-Muqaffá,* even though he did pass through Alexandria, thus satisfying the

[34]Strangely, in his recent edition, A. F. Sayyid (1:75, n. 4) has indicated that this quotation was not found in *Murūj al-Dhahab, Akhbār al-Zamān,* or *Al-Tanbīh wa-al-Ishrāf.*

[35]Ed. Ramaḍān al-Bakrī and Aḥmad Muṣṭafá Qāsim, in *Rasā'il al-Maqrīzī* (Cairo, 1419/1998), 145. It had previously been quoted by F. Wüstenfeld in *Macrizi's Geschichte der Copten, aus den Handschriften zu Gotha und Wien mit Übersetzung und Anmerkungen* (Göttingen, 1847), 63 (of the Arabic text) and 11–12 (n. 6 of the translation).

prerequisite for inclusion in this biographical dictionary.[36] The presence of this verse in the margin of the notebook shows that he was interested in this individual, despite the fact that it does not appear in any of al-Maqrīzī′s extant works. Thus, it might be considered only as a note of interest to al-Maqrīzī, who did not intend to reuse it, an attitude that is confirmed in the case of other notes as well. The authors who mentioned this verse in Ibn Tūmart′s biography repeatedly say that the *mahdī* used to recite it frequently *(kāna yunshidu kathīran)*.[37] In earlier works, it is attributed to Abū al-ʻAtāhiyah.[38] Al-Maqrīzī neglected to mention the source from which he took this verse. Various possibilities may be imagined,[39] such as al-Ṣafadī, who appears in this notebook in connection with an abstract (V) from *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafāyāt,* but al-Maqrīzī more likely took it from *Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib* by Ibn Saʻīd (ʻAlī ibn Mūsá, d. 685/1286), clearly given by al-Ṣafadī as his source in this particular case. Ibn Saʻīd was also an important source from whom al-Maqrīzī benefited, and excerpts from two of his works appear later in the notebook (LVII, LX, LXI).[40]

XXXIV. (fols. 56v–55v)
No title: Quotation dealing with Ibn Ṭūlūn and the discovery of a treasure.
Incipit (fol. 56v, line 1):

من خبر مصر. لما ورد على أحمد بن طولون كتاب المعتمد بما استدعاه من رد الخراج بمصر إليه [. . .] (السيرة، ص ٧٤–٧٧)

Explicit (fol. 55v, line 7):

[. . .] وألزمهم أشياء ضجوا منها فقبض عليه وأخذ ماله وحبسه فمات في حبسه.

Commentary:
As for most of the extracts dealing with the period of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn (see XXV), this particular one also comes from the source already identified, although never mentioned explicitly in the notebook. It is referred to generally by al-Maqrīzī as the *Jāmiʻ al-Sīrah al-Ṭūlūnīyah,* and more commonly known by the name of its

[36]He made only a short reference to his leaving Egypt in 511 in *Ittiʻāẓ al-Ḥunafāʼ,* ed. Muḥammad Ḥilmī Muḥammad Aḥmad (Cairo, 1393/1973), 3:56.

[37]Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʻyān,* ed. Muḥyī al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo, 1948), 4:145; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʻlām al-Nubalāʼ,* ed. Shuʻayb al-Arnaʼūṭ (Beirut, 1417/1996), 19:551; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* ed. S. Dedering (Damascus, 1953), 3:327.

[38]See for instance Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, *Al-Aghānī* (Beirut, 1955), 4:102.

[39]See n. 37.

[40]His books are quoted in *Al-Muqaffá,* 1:390, 3:412, 6:112; and *Al-Khiṭaṭ*. See Guest, ″A List of Writers,″ 118; Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 1:27; and Sayyid′s ed., 5:967 and 989.

author, **al-Balawī**. The passage quoted here was found in the only available edition.[41] The text, written backwards starting from fol. 56v, is simply introduced by the words *"min khabar Miṣr"* in red ink, and recounts the events that took place when the Abbasid caliph demanded that Ibn Ṭūlūn give him the *kharāj* of Egypt and the accidental discovery he made of a treasure in the desert. This text was reused verbatim by al-Maqrīzī in both versions of his *Khiṭaṭ* (the draft[42] and the final text (2:266–67)), under the heading *"ḥadīth al-kanz."* This proves that the passage in the notebook was already considered by al-Maqrīzī to be the final version to be included in his work. Also noteworthy is the fact that the text in the notebook is a verbatim quotation, implying that he did not change anything.

XXXV. (fol. 82r)

Title on fol. 82r, line 1: *Faṣl fī Nīrān al-'Arab*

فصل في نيران العرب

Incipit (fol. 82r, line 1):

وهي أربعة عشر نارا : نار المزدلفة توقد ليراها من دفع من عرفة [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 82r, line 17):

[. . .] ويرفعونها لمن يلتمس القرى كلما كانت أضخم وموضعها أرفع كان أفخر وهم يتمادحون بها.

Commentary:

This extract initiates a series of notes placed at the end of quire VIII, where the aforementioned resumé II ends. Those notes occupy the last three folios (82r–86v) which were left blank. Two slips of paper were added to complete some of them (fols. 83–84). The section dealing with the fires of the Arabs occupies all of fol. 82r, being placed vertically, starting from the spine. As usual, the first word was written in red ink, and strokes in the same color over the name of the various fires help to easily differentiate them. No source is indicated, but it can be assumed that the text comes from **al-Nuwayrī** (d. 733/1333), *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,* since the fires are organized in the same way and the wording is almost identical.[43] However, al-Nuwayrī mainly relied on another source, i.e., al-Jāḥiẓ's *Kitāb al-*

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[41]Al-Balawī, *Sīrah,* 74–77.

[42]Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi MS 1405, fols. 73v–75r. It is worth mentioning that the name of one of the protagonists in this passage is vocalized in one occurrence in the notebook as Ibn al-D?suwamah. In the draft, this is not the case, but the ductus is identical. Thus, the reading that appears in A. F. Sayyid's edition of the *Khiṭaṭ* (Ibn al-Dashshūmah) must be corrected accordingly.

[43]This work was already considered as a possible source of resumé IV/6. The actual passage is to be found in vol. 1:103–29.

Ḥayawān,[44] adding original data taken from other books. Al-Maqrīzī utilized the extract he scribbled in his notebook for his book dealing with pre-Islamic times, *Al-Khabar ʻan al-Bashar,* a work that remains unpublished despite its vast amount of material gathered from many lost and extant sources.[45] In the *Dhikr Nīrān al-ʻArab,*[46] the author has interspersed the information he collected in al-Nuwayrī´s work, but the most interesting feature is the fact that he went back to al-Nuwayrī´s original source (al-Jāḥiẓ), from which he quotes extensively, while also adding new material to both of them. This trait illustrates al-Maqrīzī´s insistence on going back to older texts.

XXXVI. (fols. 82v–83r)

No title: *Faṣl* [regarding the tribe of Shuʻayb and their genealogy, taken from] al-Masʻūdī.

Incipit (fol. 82v, lines 1–2):

فصل. قال المسعودي : وقد تنازع أهل الشرائع في قوم شعيب بن نوفل بن رعويل بن مرا بن عنقاء بن مدين بن إبراهيم الخليل صلى الله عليه [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 83r, lines 5–6):

[. . .] ولهؤلاء الملوك أخبار عجيبة من حروب وسير وكيفية تغلبهم على هذه الممالك وتملكهم عليها وإبادتهم من كان فيها وعليها قبلهم من الأمم.

Commentary:

The name of the author helps to establish the source of this extract. We have seen elsewhere in the notebook (see XXXI) that quotations from this author came from the *Murūj al-Dhahab,* which must still be identified as the source in this case (2:281–83). Considering the fact that al-Maqrīzī probably wrote both of them at the same time, and given the place of this note in the quire (just after the extract from al-Nuwayrī) and that of the other extract (XXXI, in the middle of a quire, to fill the blank spaces), it may be presumed that he had access to this source after

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[44]Ed. ʻAbd al-Salām M. Hārūn (Cairo, 1385/1966), 4:461–92 and 5:5–148. See also more generally T. Fahd, ″Le Feu chez les anciens Arabes,″ in *Le Feu dans le Proche-Orient antique: Aspects linguistiques, archéologiques, technologiques, littéraires: Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg (9 et 10 juin 1972)*, Travaux du Centre de recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce antiques (Leiden, 1973), 43–61 (based on al-Jāḥiẓ and al-Nuwayrī).

[45]For a description of the manuscripts held in Istanbul libraries, some of which are autographs, see F. Tauer, ″Zu al-Maqrīzī´s Schrift *al-Ḫabar ʻan al-Bašar*,″ *Islamica* 1 (1925): 357–64; for an appraisal of the work´s importance, see M. Lecker, ″Idol Worship in Pre-Islamic Medina (Yathrib),″ *Le Muséon* 106 (1993): 331–46.

[46]Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi MS Fatih 4339 (autograph), fols. 66r–74v (particularly 69r–71v).

having consulted al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-Arab*. When he obtained a copy of the *Murūj al-Dhahab,* he first jotted down his notes in the remaining space on fol. 55, then went on to the next blank pages in the notebook, i.e., fols. 82–83. We have already seen that such a chronological classification could be proposed for text XXXIV (see under XXXI). The entire text was later integrated into the *Khiṭaṭ* (1:187), without any modification in the phrasing.

XXXVII. (fol. 83r[47])

No title: Two biographies of persons who died in Cairo in the fourth and seventh centuries.

١) إبراهيم بن عبد الله أبو إسحاق البغدادي النحوي الكاتب النجيرمي (ت ٣٤٣).

٢) إبراهيم بن عبد الرحمن بن علي بن عبد العزيز بن علي بن قريش بن علي بن محمد بن أحمد بن سلامة بن الحسن بن سليمان بن خالد بن الوليد أبو إسحاق القرشي المخزومي المصري الكاتب شرف الدين (ت ٦٤٣).

Commentary:

The preceding note ended on fol. 83r, with only 6 lines occupying the upper part, leaving the rest of the folio available for further notes. Al-Maqrīzī used this space for two biographies. The first one was written vertically, from top to bottom, on the left, while the second occupies the right side, horizontally. Red ink was used for the first *ism*. Both of them were obviously taken from the same source, which is not cited. This source probably consisted of a comprehensive biographical dictionary. This can be inferred from the names, which follow in alphabetical order, and from the death dates, which are not contemporaneous with each other. This source has not been identified so far. The material was partly reused for *Al-Muqaffá,* where a biography has been devoted to both of them (1:239–41 [no. 274]; 1:213–14 [no. 238]). Furthermore, the second one is mentioned in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (2:93), where the text exactly matches the one in the notebook! But al-Maqrīzī intended to include both of them in his other book dedicated to the secretaries of the chancery entitled *Khulāṣat al-Tibr fī Akhbār Kuttāb al-Sirr,*[48] considered lost.

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[47]Fol. 83 is a little bit smaller than the other folios in the quire, missing a small strip of paper horizontally and vertically. It was added to the quire by al-Maqrīzī when he saw that he needed a place to complete the notes. See "Maqriziana IV," 27 (n. 13).

[48]See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (Sayyid ed.), 1:45*, and also LXXI below.

XXXVIII. (fol. 82bis r–82bis v[49])

No title: Text describing the sessions of wisdom held by the *dāʻī* in the Fatimid period.

Incipit (fol. 82bis r, lines 1–3):

كان الداعي يواصل الجلوس بالقصر لقراءة ما يقرأ على الأولياء والدعاة والمتصلة [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 82bis v, lines 10–11):

[. . .] وكتب آخر بقطع مجالس الحكم التي تقرأ على الأولياء يوم الخميس والجمعة.

Commentary:

The short text appears on a very small loose slip of paper which was never bound to the notebook. It is to be found throughout *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (1:391), where the source is given as **al-Musabbiḥī**, i.e., al-Mukhtār Muḥammad ibn ʻUbayd Allāh (d. 420/1030). His main work consisted of a history of Egypt and was entitled *Akhbār Miṣr* in its shorter form. Al-Maqrīzī depended heavily upon it for several of his books.[50] The unicum of vol. 40 dealing with the last months of the year 414 and the greater part of 415, now held in the Escorial in Spain, bears witness to the fact that he had access to at least that volume,[51] but there is no reason to believe that he did not have access to other volumes as well. In fact, another excerpt from this source, concerning the year 396, will be found under LXV (fol. 145v). As in that case, the actual loose leaf played the role of a card, which al-Maqrīzī could attach to the relevant subject in the preliminary stage of redaction. Indeed, beside the actual evidence, the same text can be read both in the final version of the *Khiṭaṭ* as well as in *Al-Muqaffá* (3:627–28, biography of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʻmān [al-Ḥusayn ibn ʻAlī ibn al-Nuʻmān]) and in *Ittiʻāẓ al-Ḥunafāʼ* (2:82). It is interesting to notice that the notebook also contains a biography of al-Musabbiḥī, which al-Maqrīzī picked up from a hitherto unidentified source (see LVI, no. 13). At the end of the biographical data, a small—in comparison with what is found in other sources—list of al-Musabbiḥī's works is provided, ending with the following: "*wa-lahu ʻiddah taṣānīf ghayrahu* wa-qad dhakartuhā ʻinda dhikr mā intaqaytuhu min tārīkhihi"!

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[49]This folio, which was found between fols. 82–83 unfoliated, is a loose scrap of paper. It appears to be a card, as I will try to demonstrate in "Maqriziana II."

[50]For the *Khiṭaṭ,* see Guest, "A List of Writers," 116; Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 1:260.

[51]The manuscript has been the object of two complete editions: W. J. Milward, *Akhbār Miṣr fī Sanatay 414–415 h.* (Cairo, 1980); Th. Bianquis and A. F. Sayyid, *Al-Juzʼ al-Arbaʻūn min Akhbār Miṣr* (*al-Qism al-Tārīkhī)* (Cairo, 1978); Ḥ. Naṣṣār, *Al-Juzʼ al-Arbaʻūn min Akhbār Miṣr (al-Qism al-Adabī)* (Cairo, 1984). For the reading note in the handwriting of al-Maqrīzī, see the reproduction of the title page in the Bianquis and Sayyid edition. Other passages originating in volumes now lost and found in various sources were gathered by A. F. Sayyid, "Nuṣūṣ Ḍāʼiʻah min Akhbār Miṣr," *Annales islamologiques* 17 (1981): 1–54.

The last words should probably be attributed to al-Maqrīzī,[52] rather than to the author from which he extracted this biography. In this way, al-Maqrīzī confirmed that he had made a selection *(intiqā')* of the *Tārīkh* of al-Musabbiḥī, a fact that is corroborated by his working method.[53] Apart from al-Maqrīzī, another author also seems to have completed a selection of this work, although he has been ignored until now. Ḥājjī Khalīfah mentioned it mistakenly,[54] yet the author was never identified as being Rashīd al-Dīn al-Mundhirī (Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd al-ʻAẓīm ibn ʻAbd al-Qawī, d. 643/1245–46).[55] This was confirmed by the quotations made by the Meccan historian Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī (d. 832/1429) in his *Shifā' al-Gharām,*[56] establishing that the *Mukhtaṣar* was still available in Mecca at that time, in al-Maqrīzī's lifetime.

XXXIX. (fols. 83v–84v[57])

No title: Text containing obituaries for the year 761 and a historical report of the persons who were in charge of the *ḥisbah* between 737 and 745/Ibn al-Naqqāsh.

Incipit (fol. 83v, lines 1–2):

ذي الحجة سنة إحدى وستين وسبعمائة توفي فيه القاضي ضياء الدين يوسف بن أبي بكر بن محمد الشهير بابن خطيب بيت الآبار [. . .]

Other names mentioned:

وفي سلخه توفي الملك الصالح صالح بن محمد بن قلاون في محبسه [. . .] (fol. 83v)

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[52]See the reasons invoked under LVII. However, unsurprisingly, al-Maqrīzī did not refer to this resumé in the biography he gave of al-Musabbiḥī in *Al-Muqaffá* (6:163–65, no. 2632).

[53]See "Maqriziana II."

[54]Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* (ed. Sh. Yaltakya and R. Bilge, Istanbul, 1360/1941), 1:304: *"wa-ikhtaṣarahu Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī."* He probably meant that al-Fāsī used al-Mundhirī's *Mukhtaṣar*. See also A. F. Sayyid, "Lumières sur quelques sources de l'histoire fatimide en Egypte," *Annales islamologiques* 13 (1977): 14.

[55]Al-Maqrīzī does not mention this resumé or his books in the biography he gave for al-Mundhirī in *Al-Muqaffá,* 6: 91–92. Note also that the date of his death is mentioned in other sources as being 644. Al-Mundhirī is known to have written a *Tārīkh Miṣr* which has not been preserved (see Sayyid, "Lumières," 32–33). An edition *(takhrīj)* he made of the *Mashyakhat al-Naʻʻāl al-Baghdādī Ṣā'in al-Dīn al-Anjab* has been preserved and was published in Baghdad in 1975 (ed. Bashshār ʻAwwād Maʻrūf and Nājī Maʻrūf). His father is better known than him for his book *Al-Takmilah li-Wafayāt al-Naqalah.*

[56]Ed. Saʻīd ʻAbd al-Fattāḥ (Mecca-Riyadh, 1417/1996), *Shifā' al-Gharām,* 1: 203: *ʻalá mā dhakara al-Musabbiḥī fī Tārīkhihi ʻalá mā wajadtu bi-khaṭṭ al-ḥāfiẓ Rashīd al-Dīn ibn al-ḥāfiẓ Zakī al-Dīn al-Mundhirī fī ikhtiṣārihi li-Tārīkh al-Musabbiḥī;* 1:233: *naqaltu dhālika min khaṭṭ al-Rashīd al-Mundhirī fī ikhtiṣārihi li-Tārīkh al-Musabbiḥī.*

[57]Fol. 84 is somewhat smaller than fol. 83 and was also added by al-Maqrīzī for the same reason invoked for fol. 83. See n. 47.

خليل بن عثمان الزولي جمال الدين الشافعي أولا ثم الحنفي ثانيا التيمي [. . .] (fol. 83v)

قال ابن النقاش وممن توفي في هذا الوبأ أيضا صاحبنا الفاضل المتقن العلامة جمال الدين عبد الله بن الزيلعي الحنفي المحدث [. . .] (fol. 83v)

The office of *muḥtasib* (fol. 84r):

وكانت ولاية الحسبة في ثمان عشر جمادى الأولى سنة سبع وثلاثين وسبعمائة بعد موت نجم الدين محمد الإسعردي في يوم الجمعة خامس عشرة وكان قد سعى في الحسبة أحمد بن الحاج علي طباخ السلطان بالأمير قوصون والأمير بشتاك [. . .]

Explicit (fols. 84r, line 18–84v, lines 1–2):

[. . .] وتولى نظر الدولة علم الدين بن سهلول بدله وعاد الضياء إلى وظيفة نظر المارستان.

Commentary:

The name of the author is found at the beginning of a note placed at the bottom of fol. 83v. Here the name of a person who died during the plague that struck Cairo in 761, which is discussed in the text covering most of the folio, is given. Attributing the whole text to Ibn al-Naqqāsh on the sole basis of this coincidence would have been presumptuous. Fortunately, some data found in the upper anonymous part (fol. 83v, lines 13–15) was inserted by al-Maqrīzī in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (2:279), where he explicitly quoted the source: Ibn al-Naqqāsh. It thus can be assumed that excerpt XXXIX comes entirely from this source, which is also mentioned under LI. There, an obituary from the same year, but dated to the month Dhū al-Qaʻdah (i.e., just before the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah reported here), demonstrates that it was written prior to this one. The title of the book is also given there fully as *Al-ʻIbar fī Man Maḍá wa-Ghabar,* a work composed by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī ibn ʻAbd al-Wāḥid **Ibn al-Naqqāsh** al-Maghribī al-Dukkālī (d. 763/1362).[58] From the citations gleaned from al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ,*[59] it can be deduced that it consisted of

[58]For al-Dukkālī, see Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (Weimar and Leiden, 1898–1949), 2:247; S2:95. The title of this book is not mentioned in the sources where his biography is given. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* ed. Sayyid, 4:1:118 (n. 1).

[59]See Guest, "A List of Writers," 116; Harīdī, *Fihrist Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 1:346 and 2:91; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* ed. Sayyid, 5:987. This editor is not sure that the Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Naqqāsh mentioned in the *Khiṭaṭ* (ed. Būlāq, 2:279 = ed. Sayyid, 4:1:118) is the same one who died in 763/1362. However, the passage quoted there, which also appears in the notebook, refers to the destruction of al-Hirmās's house built in front of al-Ḥākim's mosque. Al-Hirmās appears in the events recorded by the historians with regard to Ibn al-Naqqāsh's life (see, among others, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* ed. M. M. Amīn [Cairo, 1423/2003], 10:221–22). The second quotation indicated in Sayyid's index (5:981) refers to another individual whose name is given by al-Maqrīzī as Zayn al-Dīn Abū Hurayrah ʻAbd al-Raḥmān. That passage appears only in the

an obituary arranged according to the day and month of death. The analogy with al-Dhahabī´s *Al-'Ibar fī Khabar Man Ghabar* might suggest that the book was similar in its organization. The data gleaned here was reused, as indicated earlier, in the *Khiṭaṭ* as well as in *Al-Sulūk,* where the name of the source is never given.

XL. (fols. 85r–86v)
No title: Text relating the events which took place after 446 between al-Basāsīrī and the caliph al-Qā'im bi-Amr Allāh until his death in 451.
Incipit (fol. 85r, lines 1–3):

البساسيري : في سنة ست وأربعين وأربعمائة ابتدأت الوحشة بين الخليفة القائم بأمر الله وبين البساسيري بسبب أنه طلب من الخليفة أن يسلم إليه أبا الغنائم وأبا سعد ابني المحلبان صاحبي قريش [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 86v, lines 21–22):

[. . .] وأطلق لها في كل يوم أربعة أرطال لحم واثنين وعشرين رطلا خبزا.

Commentary:
The excerpt is introduced by the name of the protagonist written in red ink. The text presents itself as a digest of al-Basāsīrī´s career at the end of his life, and particularly the role he played in Baghdad and the region in the service of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustanṣir. No source is indicated here, nor in the works where the material was interspersed (*Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā'*, 2: 232–33; *Al-Muqaffá,* 3: 389–93 [biography of al-Basāsīrī]; *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 1:356). It can hardly be identified, since most of the preserved sources for the given period do contain some parts of it.[60] Ibn al-Jawzī´s *Al-Muntaẓam* seems most likely, as it is the one source consulted that gives two pronouncements by the Abbasid caliph al-Qā'im bi-Amr Allāh on that occasion, and is also present in the notebook. Notwithstanding this fact, the *Muntaẓam* can not be considered the original source of the present extract, because other elements from it do not appear in Ibn al-Jawzī´s work. On the other hand, we cannot regard it as a preliminary stage of redaction in al-Maqrīzī´s handwriting, as the text reveals erasures demonstrating that he was summarizing while reading, as usual.[61] A striking feature might convince us to consider Ibn Muyassar (d. 677/1278) as a potential candidate. Ibn Muyassar´s *Tārīkh* has reached us only in

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Musawwadah and was not meant to find its way into the final version of the *Khiṭaṭ*.

[60]Under the years 446–51 Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam;* Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh;* al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab;* Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-Ṭalab;* idem, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab;* al-Bundārī, *Zubdat al-Nuṣrah;* al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Tārīkh Baghdād;* Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Dimashq;* anonymous, *Al-Fakhrī;* al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām;* Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah.*

[61]See "Maqriziana II."

a summary made by al-Maqrīzī himself.[62] The abstract opens with 4 lines dealing with al-Basāsīrī's activity in Iraq under the year 447.[63] This text opens with the exact words found in the notebook (*"ibtada'at al-waḥshah bayna"*), except that the following names have been put in a different order and the date is different.[64] The comparison ends here: the excerpt in the notebook is far longer than what is found in that resumé, and some details differ, such as the origin of al-Basāsīrī's *nisbah*. However, let us remember that the *Muntaqá min Akhbār Miṣr li-Ibn Muyassar* is nothing more than a memorandum, and that al-Maqrīzī usually went back to the original text when he had to quote a passage, which explains why passages absent in an abstract in the notebook may be found in al-Maqrīzī's books.[65] In the present stage, the source of this extract remains to be identified.

XLI. (fol. 96v)

No title: Quotation of two events which occurred in 501 at Baghdad and in 508 at Ghaznah.

Incipit of first event (fol. 96v, lines 18–21):

في سنة إحدى وخمسمائة قد ظهر ببغداد صبية عمياء تتكلم على أسرار الناس فاجتهدوا في تعرف حالها فلم تلعم. قال ابن عقيل : وأشكل امرها على [. . .]

Explicit of first event (fol. 96v, lines 29–30):

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[62]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muntaqá min Akhbār Miṣr li-Ibn Muyassar,* ed. A. F. Sayyid (Cairo, 1981). The resumé, which only covers the second part of Ibn Muyassar's *Tārīkh,* is not preserved in al-Maqrīzī's hand. An interesting feature is al-Maqrīzī's indication of the date he finished his resumé ("the evening of Saturday, six days before the end of the month of Rabī' I of the year 814"). The unique manuscript (Paris, Bibliothèque National Ar. 1688) consists of a copy made from the autograph. The editor, A. F. Sayyid, in his introduction (p. *mīm*) was convinced that the copyist discovered al-Maqrīzī's cards *(biṭāqāt)* regarding Ibn Muyassar's *Tārīkh* and that he put them in the order now found in the Paris manuscript. In comparison with the Liège manuscript, it is clear that the copyist of the Paris manuscript found only a part of one of al-Maqrīzī's notebooks, and surely not cards, as we can see in all resumés studied in "Maqriziana I/1." This is corroborated by the presence, in the Paris manuscript, of excerpts originating from other sources, which Cl. Cahen ("Ibn Muyassar," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 3:894) identified as being al-Musabbiḥī and Ibn Zūlāq. Furthemore, the manuscript ends with a biography of a person also present in the Liège manuscript (see below, under LV, no, 5), but with different content. This was probably added by al-Maqrīzī at the end of the abstract, where he found blank space, a practice confirmed by the notebook.

[63]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muntaqá,* 14. Other passages dealing with al-Basāsīrī will be found on pp. 20–21.

[64]In the notebook, this event is said to have occurred in 446. Al-Maqrīzī sometimes made mistakes in copying dates (see "Maqriziana II," regarding excerpt LXIV/LXV [fol. 145]).

[65]See an unambiguous example in "Maqriziana V."

[. . .] وثبت بالتواتر أن جميع ما تتكلم به بتفاصيل لا يدركها البصر.

Incipit of second event (fol. 96v, line 31):

[. . .] ولما ملك السلطان سنجر في سنة ثمان وخمسمائة مدينة غزنة حصل لأصحابه من المال ما لا يحصى [. . .]

Explicit of second event (fol. 96v, lines 44–46):

[. . .] وسبعة عشر سريرا من الذهب والفضة.

Commentary:

This quotation was added in the lower margin and written from the spine towards the right margin. It is composed of two reports without any separation, indicating that they both come from the same source. Trying to identify both of them in historical works, I have found the first one, in the same words, in Ibn al-Jawzī's *Al-Muntaẓam.* This is confirmed by the fact that the name of Ibn ʿAqīl is quoted here, as can be seen in the incipit. Ibn ʿAqīl was one of the many sources used by Ibn al-Jawzī.[66] Accordingly, it could be considered the source of this extract. Unfortunately, the second event is not reported in this work, but was found in Ibn al-Athīr's *Al-Kāmil,* where the first event is lacking. This puzzling situation will probably be solved in the future with the discovery of an additional source. In any case, this material was not incorporated into any of the extant works of al-Maqrīzī, which is not surprising, considering that the first one tells the strange story of a blind girl who, despite her disability, could see better than anyone else, while the second deals with the city of Ghaznah and the treasures seized by Sanjar and his troops. Both must have piqued al-Maqrīzī's curiosity, which pushed him to scribble them down in his notebook.

XLII. (fol. 122v)

Title on fol. 122v, line 1: [Quotation from] *Al-Mutajaddidāt*/al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil.

Text (fol. 122v, lines 1–2):

رأيت بخط القاضي الفاضل من جملة المتجددات في سنة ٥٧٧ أن رجلا من أهل حماة زرع اثني عشر مدا فحمل منها مائة وخمسين حملا.

Commentary:

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[66]However, Joseph de Somogyi does not list him among the authorities of this book ("The 'Kitāb al-muntaẓam' of Ibn al-Jauzī," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* [1932]: 49–76). On Abū al-Wafāʾ ʿAlī ibn ʿAqīl al-Baghdādī al-Ẓafarī (d. 513/1119), see George Makdisi, *Ibn ʿAqīl et la résurgence de l'islam traditionaliste au XI^e siècle (V^e siècle de l'Hégire)* (Damascus, 1963). Ibn al-Jawzī probably used his *Kitāb al-Funūn,* of which he is known to have prepared a resumé entitled *Muntakhab al-Funūn.* See ibid., 510–11.

Fol. 122, which is now a fly-leaf, contains several notes taken from various sources, regarding events mostly from the Ayyubid and Fatimid periods. The equivalent of the actual verso appears in a particularly bad state and hinders easy reading. Having been removed from the codex, it was paginated as it was found, but a thorough analysis of various extracts from it has revealed that what is now considered the recto was originally the verso. This explains why the study of the notes begins with this side. Chronologically, on the basis of their arrangement on the page, the various notes were presumably copied in the following order: XLII, XLIII, XLIV, XLV, XLVII, XLVI, XLVIII, XLIX, L.

This one, which consists of two lines written in red ink, clearly indicates the source, which has been previously identified (see XXVIII): **al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil**, *Al-Mutajaddidāt,* a title that underwent great variations in the notebook and in al-Maqrīzī's works.[67] The report may be classified as one of the curious phenomena that amazed al-Maqrīzī, though he did not use it in *Al-Sulūk* (under the year 577), the more appropriate book for this, or anywhere else.

XLIII. (fol. 122v)
No title: Biography of an Egyptian.
Incipit (fol. 122v, lines 3–4):

شهاب الدين أبو يوسف يعقوب بن محمد بن علي بن محمد بن المجاور [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 122v, line 5):

[. . .] فيما يتعلق بأمر الوزارة وقوانينها عشر مجلدات.

Commentary:
A short biography of an individual who composed a book in ten volumes on the vizierate and its rules. He is mentioned here as having particularly praised a vizier of the Ayyubid period, Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī Ibn Shukr (d. 622/1225). This author has not been identified in the sources so far. Consequently, the origin of the excerpt found here remains unknown. It was probably meant to be included in his biography in the missing part of *Al-Muqaffá.*

XLIV. (fol. 122v)
No title: Extract dealing with al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾiʿ ibn Ruzzīk.
Incipit (fol. 122v, lines 6–7):

غنى مطرب في مجلس الصالح بن رزيك : لا خيل عندك تهديها ولا مال فغضب [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 122v, line 12):

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[67]See "Maqriziana I/1," 37.

[. . .] لكن تفآلت والأقدار غالبة والله يبسط إما لا فينبسط.

Commentary:
Al-Maqrīzī scribbled on this folio several verses exemplified by the circumstances in which they were pronounced, and among which the present one is an example. Another feature found on this folio regards the source: in only two cases did he take pains to indicate it clearly. Here it is impossible to know its origin, since these verses have not yet been identified in any source consulted, nor in any of al-Maqrīzī´s writings. However, al-Maqrīzī undoubtedly reused this passage because a symbol indicating this can be found at the beginning.[68] It was probably intended for Ibn Ruzzīk´s biography in *Al-Muqaffá,* from which only a few entries have come down to us for the letter *ṭā'*.

XLV. (fol. 122v)
No title: Three quotations regarding Ibn Ṭūlūn and 1) his attitude towards his emissaries, 2) economic problems, and 3) a secretary named Andūnah.
Incipit of first quotation (fol. 122v):

كان أحمد بن طولون إذا أنفذ رسولا في حاجة برسالة قال له أعد علي ما قلت [. . .] (السيرة، ١٠٠–١٠١)

Incipit of second quotation (fol. 122v):

[. . .] زاد السعر في زمن أحمد بن طولون واضطرب البلاء [. . .]

Incipit of third quotation (fol. 122v):

أندونة كاتب أحمد المدائني صاحب موسى بن بغا [. . .] (السيرة، ٨٨–٨٩)

Commentary:
Once again, the material dealing with Ibn Ṭūlūn stems from **al-Balawī**, *Sīrat Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn,* from which other excerpts have already been identified (see XXV, XXXIV above, and XLVII below). It is very interesting to notice that all these notes were included in the notebook. The first and third were traced back to their source, but the second one is lacking in the text. It is also missing in al-Maqrīzī´s works, but the other two were identified in two different books.[69]

XLVI. (fol. 122v)
Title on fol. 122v: [Quotation regarding Tamīm ibn al-Mu'izz ibn Bādīs taken

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[68]See ″Maqriziana II.″

[69]The first one was placed in Ibn Ṭūlūn´s biography in *Al-Muqaffá,* 1:443 and 447, while the second is present in *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 1:208 *(dhikr minyat Andūnah).*

from] *Jinān al-Janān*/Ibn al-Zubayr.
Incipit (fol. 122v):

قال ابن الزبير في كتاب جنان الجنان إن الطبول ضربت يوما على عقلة في قصر السلطان تميم بن المعز بن باديس [. . .]

Commentary:
The note occupies the space in the lower margin and was clearly added after the preceding passages. In this particular case, al-Maqrīzī indicated the source as being *Jinān al-Janān* by Ibn al-Zubayr. He is to be identified as **al-Rashīd ibn al-Zubayr** (d. 562/1166) and the full title of his book is *Jinān al-Janān wa-Riyāḍ al-Adhhān*.[70] This is one of the sources al-Maqrīzī relied upon for the Fatimid period, and essentially for *Al-Muqaffá,* as it dealt with the poets and writers up until his own time.[71] It was relied upon heavily by later authors like al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī in his *Kharīdat al-Qaṣr,* Ibn Khallikān in his *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān,* and Ibn Saʿīd in his *Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib* (the parts regarding Fusṭāṭ and al-Qāhirah),[72] sources which were also used by al-Maqrīzī. However, as his working method reveals, he was always eager to go back to contemporaneous sources, and from the quotations in *Al-Muqaffá,* one understands that he had access to a copy of Ibn al-Zubayr's book. This note on an event which occurred in al-Mahdīyah doubtlessly found its way into many of al-Maqrīzī's books, given that it concerns the Zirid Tamīm ibn al-Muʿizz, even though his name appears in *Ittiʿāẓ al-Ḥunafā'*.

XLVII. (fol. 122r)
No title: Extract which concerns the secretaries of Ibn Ṭūlūn.
Incipit (fol. 122r, line 1):

ما خلت دار أحمد بن طولون قط من كاتب خفي الشخص يقف عنده يعرف بكاتب السر [. . .] (السيرة، ص ٢١٠)

Explicit (fol. 122r, lines 3–4):

[. . .] فإن كان فيه شيء يحتاج إلى تغيير أو زيادة تقدم في ذلك بما يمتثل.

Commentary:
This passage, which was scribbled down at the same time as XLV, was found in

[70]Al-Maqrīzī gives the title in the biography he wrote on Ibn al-Zubayr as *Al-Jinān wa-Riyāḍ al-Adhhān* (*Al-Muqaffá,* 1:534–35).
[71]See 8: 573.
[72]See Sayyid, "Lumières," 24, n. 3.

al-Balawī´s book on Ibn Ṭūlūn.[73] Al-Maqrīzī integrated it into Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn´s biography in *Al-Muqaffá,*[74] although it differs slightly from al-Balawī´s wording.

XLVIII. (fol. 122r)
No title: Quotation regarding the fact that the witnesses *(ʻudūl)* in the Fatimid period used to wear their turban with the end tied under their chin in order to differentiate themselves.
Incipit (fol. 122r, line 7):

كان العدول في زمن المصريين بالدولة الفاطمية يتحنكون ولا يفعل ذلك إلا العدول ليتميزوا بذلك عن غيرهم [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 122r, line 12):

شاهد الحسن في محياك عدل كيف لا وهو بالموزار محنك

Commentary:
This note was written just below the previous one. Al-Maqrīzī used a symbol in red ink to attract attention *(qif)* and differentiate it. The poet whose verses are quoted here, Ibn Qalāqis (d. 567/1172),[75] played a role in Fatimid diplomacy as a cultural envoy to Sicily and Yemen.[76] The source is not indicated and could not be identified,[77] but could be the same as one considered for the next entry.[78] The material was not found in the works of al-Maqrīzī, who probably devoted a biography to this poet in the lost part of *Al-Muqaffá*.

XLIX. (fol. 122r)
No title: Report of an event dealing with the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ and the poet Tilmīdh Ibn Sābiq (d. 536/1141–42).
Incipit (fol. 122r, line 13):

اجتمع الشعراء بباب الحافظ فتناهوا في القول [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 122r, line 19):

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[73] Al-Balawī, *Al-Sīrah,* 210.

[74] *Al-Muqaffá,* 1:452 (biography of Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn).

[75] On Ibn Qalāqis, see U. Rizzitano, ″Ibn Ḳalāḳis,″ *EI*², 3:814.

[76] See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muntaqá,* 135.

[77] These verses are not quoted in his biography in al-ʻImād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-Qaṣr wa-Jarīdat al-ʻAṣr*: *Qism Shuʻarāʼ Miṣr,* ed. A. Amīn, Sh. Ḍayf and I. ʻAbbās (Cairo, 1951), 1:145–65. His *Dīwān* (ed. Kh. Muṭrān, Cairo, 1905) was not available to me.

[78] I have some doubt that Ibn al-Zubayr (d. 562/1166) would have included verses from one of his contemporaries who passed away after him.

فأمروا بالعود إلى ما كانوا عليه.

Commentary:
The position, just below the preceding note, the script, and the color of the ink would imply that this report comes from the same source. In this case, fortunately, the passage has been identified in several sources. In chronological order, they are: al-ʻImād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-Qaṣr,*[79] Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār Miṣr,*[80] and Ibn Saʻīd, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah.*[81] Ibn Muyassar looks like the most plausible source for al-Maqrīzī, because he provides the introduction to Tilmīdh ibn Sābiq′s verses in detail, as given here. However, regarding the wording, there is a slight difference. On the other hand, in the biography al-Maqrīzī devoted to this poet,[82] he quoted a similar passage citing his source as al-Rashīd ibn al-Zubayr′s *Jinān al-Janān!* There, the verses are very briefly introduced and one wonders if the *qāla* that precedes them really means that al-Maqrīzī is quoting verbatim. An analysis of the sources mentioned earlier will help to clear up this confusion. Al-ʻImād al-Iṣfahānī and Ibn Saʻīd both admit that they rely on the *Jinān al-Janān.*[83] Even if the latter added that this poet is among those mentioned by al-ʻImād al-Iṣfahānī, there is no doubt that he quoted the verses directly from Ibn al-Zubayr′s work, as he supplied information not found in the *Kharīdah* in the introduction to the poem. Turning to Ibn Muyassar, one must presume that he also relied on the same source. In this case, he did not summarize, but surely changed the words.[84] Strikingly, the passage found in al-Maqrīzī′s *Muntaqá min Akhbār Miṣr* was copied, almost verbatim, in his *Ittiʻāẓ al-Ḥunafāʼ*,[85] although he quoted the present excerpt in *Al-Muqaffá.* It proves that he could not manage his many notes and cards as he would have liked to. Another decisive argument for considering Ibn al-Zubayr can be found in note XLVI (see above), on the same folio (122v), where his name and the title of his book are explicitly given. Its position in the lower margin, just after extract XLV, which was followed on the recto by XLVII

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[79]Al-ʻImād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-Qaṣr,* 2:64.

[80]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muntaqá,* 134.

[81]Ibn Saʻīd, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Ḥulá Ḥaḍrat al-Qāhirah,* ed. Ḥ. Naṣṣār (Cairo, 1970), 328–29.

[82]*Al-Muqaffá,* 1:668.

[83]Al-ʻImād al-Iṣfahānī, *Kharīdat al-Qaṣr,* 64 *(dhakara Ibn al-Zubayr fī al-Jinān);* Ibn Saʻīd, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 329 *(anshada lahu ṣāḥib al-Jinān qawlahu).*

[84]Unless this is due to al-Maqrīzī, given that we only have his resumé of Ibn Muyassar′s *Akhbār Miṣr.* There is no reason to believe that he did not proceed in this case as with the other excerpts. A. F. Sayyid already noticed that passages attributed to Ibn Muyassar in the *Khiṭaṭ* are not found in the *Muntaqá* made by al-Maqrīzī. See Sayyid, ″Lumières,″ 36.

[85]Ed. M. Ḥilmī M. Aḥmad (Cairo, 1393/1973), 3:176.

(same source) and XLVIII (which may also come from Ibn al-Zubayr), shows that he continued to take notes from Ibn al-Zubayr′s book, where he could find enough blank space. Based on this and what has been said, Ibn al-Zubayr′s *Jinān al-Janān* must be considered the most likely source for this passage (see also the next entry, no. 1). From a chronological point of view, this means that he had access to this source after *Al-Sīrah al-Ṭūlūnīyah* of al-Balawī.

L. (fol. 122r)
No title: Three biographies not linked to one another.

١) علي بن جعفر بن الحسن أبو القاسم بن البوين التنوخي المعري
٢) أحمد بن عثمان بن هبة الله بن أحمد بن عقيل فتح الدين أبو الفتح المعروف بابن أبي الجواهر القيسي (ت ٦٥٧)
٣) جحي يحيى بن عبد الله أبو زكرياء مولى عثمان بن عفان

Commentary:
The three biographies occupy two different spaces on the page: the first is on the right side which was left blank after al-Maqrīzī copied the preceding entry, while the other two were placed in the left margin, beginning from the edge of the page. It is clear that no. 1 was written before the other two. Moreover, these appear to have been written at a later date (the first *ism* is written very carefully for both of them, while this is not the case for no. 1). Consequently, the first one possibly comes from a source which differs from the other two. No. 1 could stem from Ibn al-Zubayr′s *Jinān al-Janān* for these reasons and those mentioned for the previous entry. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the subject of the biography lived during the vizierate of al-Afḍal (d. 515/1121), the presence of poetic verse, and a passage found in the biography: *″min al-ṭāri'īn ʻalá Miṣr″* (among those who came unexpectedly to Egypt), which echoes the definition given for the *Jinān al-Janān.* The information is untraceable not only in *Al-Muqaffá* and *Ittiʻāẓ al-Ḥunafā',* but also in other sources for the same period.[86] No. 2, as well as no. 3,

[86]In the indexes to Ibn al-ʻAdīm, *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab*, ed. S. Zakkār (Damascus, 1408/1988), 11:5209, an ʻAlī ibn Jaʻfar ibn Buwayn al-Maʻarrī is mentioned as appearing on pp. 1831–35. This is a mistake due to a shift in the page numbers. He appears in fact in 10:4545. There the author reports facts concerning Abū al-ʻAlā' ibn Buwayn al-Maʻarrī, said to be a relative of Abū al-Ḥasan ʻAlī ibn Jaʻfar ibn Buwayn al-Maʻarrī, the famous poet. Ibn al-ʻAdīm managed to obtain two verses of this Abū al-ʻAlā' through Abū Jaʻfar Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Bayān Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī al-Tanūkhī al-Maʻarrī. He also transmits two verses through al-Silafī. In the chain of transmitters, we find once again this Abū Jaʻfar (with another name appended, ″Ibn al-Jawārī″) who says that he heard these two verses when they were recited to his father in Egypt by his relative who, afterwards, requested a diploma *(ijāzah)* for them. From this it appears that his

obviously come from another source, due to the dates and their style. The first appears in several sources of the Mamluk period, but the text in the notebook does not match them exactly, giving additional or different information. An interesting feature appears in the addition by al-Maqrīzī, just at the end of it: *″yudhkar fī Khiṭaṭ Miṣr.″* He must have completed this since the mark symbolizing the accomplishment of this task is also found over the first *ism* of this person.[87] In fact, in the section dealing with the *Ḥammām Ibn Abī al-Ḥawāfir,* a short identification of the builder is provided, where the date is more complete, corresponding to what is found in al-Nuwayrī.[88] The day of his death has been corrected, for example, but the wording is al-Nuwayrī′s. He also added some of the data from the notebook. The third biography was also reused with the same mark, but was not located. Perhaps it is in the missing part of *Al-Muqaffá.*

LI. (fols. 198v–199r)

Title on fol. 198v: [Quotation regarding an obituary taken from] *Kitāb al-ʻIbar fī Akhbār Man Maḍá wa-Ghabar*/Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Naqqāsh.

Incipit (fol. 198v):

قال العلامة شمس الدين محمد بن النقاش في كتاب العبر في أخبار من مضى وغبر يوم الثلثاء ثاني ذي القعدة سنة ٧٦١ توفي الشيخ العلامة الفاضل البليغ المتضلع الإمام في العربية والنحو جمال الدين عبد الله بن يوسف بن هشام المصري [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 199r):

[. . .] للقاضي الحنبلي وإحسانه إليه فقال ولد سنة ٧٠٨.

Commentary:

The biography begins in the lower margin of the page and then runs onto the other folio, along the spine. It is found in the quire containing the resumé of al-Ṣafadī′s *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafāyāt.* The source is clearly indicated as being **Ibn al-Naqqāsh**′s *Kitāb al-ʻIbar fī Akhbār Man Maḍá wa-Ghabar.* (See entry XXXIX, where quotations from the same source appear, some also dealing with obituaries of the year 761). The subject of the biography is the famous grammarian Ibn Hishām (d. 761/1360), author of *Mughnī al-Labīb ʻan Kutub al-Aʻārīb*. Al-Maqrīzī undoubtedly devoted some space to him in his *Al-Muqaffá,* but it is missing in the extant manuscripts. One can see evidence of this in Ibn Taghrībirdī′s biography of this

father was probably the same person whose biography is given in the notebook, even though the *kunyah* is different (Abū al-Bayān). However, individuals could have more than one *kunyah*.

[87]See above, XLIV.

[88]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab* (ed. M. Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-Rayyis, Cairo, 1992), 29:470.

scholar.[89] At the end, he added a statement different from that of his master about the date of his death: *"wa qāla al-Maqrīzī: fī yawm al-thulathā' thānī dhī al-qa'dah min al-sanah."* It agrees exactly with the date mentioned in the notebook. This could mean that Ibn Taghrībirdī had access to this manuscript, as Ibn Ḥajar did,[90] although it is also conceivable that he referred in fact to *Al-Muqaffá*.

LII. (fol. 204v)

No title: Quotation of an event regarding the sultan Berk-yaruq and Maḥmūd ibn Sebüktigin.

Incipit (fol. 204v, lines 12–16):

بعث السلطان برقياروق أبا الحسن الطبري الملقب بإلكيا إلى محمود بن سبكتكين. قال : فدخلت عليه وهو جالس في طارمة عظيمة [. . .] (المنتظم، مج ١٧، ص ٤٩)

Explicit (fol. 204v, lines 27–28):

[. . .] رويت له الخبر عن النبي عليه السلام لمناديل سعد بن معاذ في الجنة أحسن من هذا فبكى.

Commentary:

With fol. 204v, the resumé al-Maqrīzī decided to make from al-Ṣafadī's *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafāyāt* ends abruptly with an *Aḥmad*. Some space remained (about one quarter) that was later filled in with the present note, which belongs to a series of moralistic reports: after having been shown the treasuries of the Sultan of Ghaznah, the visitor concludes his visit with a hadith reminding him of the vanity of terrestrial wealth. Dealing exclusively with events that occurred in the eastern part of the Islamic empire, it must have been selected from a book written by a well-informed scholar from that region. Indeed, the note was identified as corresponding, almost word for word, to Ibn al-Jawzī's *Al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-al-Umam.*[91] There is a substantial difference: in the note, al-Maqrīzī connected the event to Maḥmūd ibn Sebüktigin, while Ibn al-Jawzī connected it to Ibrāhīm ibn Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd ibn Sebüktigin, which is of course correct.[92] Notwithstanding, *Al-Muntaẓam* must be considered the source, which is confirmed by another entry (LV) that contains data identified in the same text. Thanks to the position of this excerpt and the other connected with it (LV), we can postulate that al-Maqrīzī

[89]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá ba'da al-Wāfī*, ed. M. M. Amīn (Cairo, 1993), 7:132.

[90]See "Maqriziana I/1," 25.

[91]Ed. M. 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā and M. 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā (Beirut, 1412/1992), 17:49.

[92]Ibn Kathīr also made a mistake by giving his name as Ibrāhīm ibn Maḥmūd ibn Mas'ūd ibn Maḥmūd ibn Sebüktigin. See Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* (Cairo, n.d.), 12:157 (under year 492).

first had access to the source where he wrote entry LIII, placed in between, and only then to *Al-Muntaẓam*. Once again, the notebook provides precious information on the chronological order in which this historian consulted his sources, and consequently will help to reconstruct the chronological order in which he composed his books. Unfortunately, in this particular case, the material of this note was apparently not reused by al-Maqrīzī.

LIII. (fols. 204r–123r)
No title: A *faṣl* whose subject is the sky.
Incipit (fol. 204r, lines 1–2):

فصل : قال عبد الله بن المعتز في وصف السماء
كان سماؤنا لما تجلت خلال نجومها عند الصباح [. . .] (نهاية الأرب، مج ١، ص ٣٣-٣٩)

Explicit (fol. 123r, line 13):

[. . .] فهذا الارتداد شبه التحير.

Commentary:
The recto of the folio was later covered with passages dealing exclusively with the sky and the planets. Defined by al-Maqrīzī himself as a section (*faṣl*—this word written in red ink), it can be divided into several parts: 1) some verses of poets like Ibn al-Muʿtazz, Ẓāfir al-Ḥaddād, Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī, and al-Buḥturī, 2) a commentary on the Quran 81:15–16, and 3) an explanation of the meaning of the names of the planets. The latter two found their way in the same order and with almost the same wording into *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (1:5–6), where the source is not given.[93] The whole could be identified as coming from **al-Nuwayrī**´s *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*.[94] The distance between no. 1 and 2–3 explains why they were organized in a different manner on the folio: the first lies in the first two thirds of it, while the second and the third begin beneath it, running horizontally from the margin towards the spine, and then in the same direction on fol. 123r. Despite the fact that al-Maqrīzī reused nos. 2 and 3 in his *grand œuvre,* he neglected the first one containing only poetry.[95]

LIV. (fol. 123r)
No title: A *faṣl* dealing with the shifting of the year of reference for the *kharāj.*
Incipit (fol. 123r, lines 14–17):

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[93]It was not identified by A. F. Sayyid in his edition (1:11–13).
[94](Cairo, 1342/1923), 1:33–35 (passage no. 1), 38 and 39 (passages 2–3).
[95]Neither al-Nuwayrī´s name nor the title of his book appear in *Al-Khiṭaṭ*.

فصل تحويل السنة الخراجية بديار مصر لا يكون إلا بأمر السلطان [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 123r, lines 32–33):

[. . .] يحولون السنة الخراجية إلى الهلالية والله أعلم.

Commentary:

In *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (1:273), al-Maqrīzī dedicated a section to this particular subject which he entitled *″dhikr taḥwīl al-sanah al-kharājīyah al-qibṭīyah ilá al-sanah al-hilālīyah al-ʻarabīyah wa-kayfa ʻumila dhālik fī al-islām.″* It would have been strange if he did not insert the data found here, which is also the subject of a section (called here *faṣl,* written in red ink). And indeed, the first half of it was introduced at the beginning. Curiously, the end of this small excerpt, which gives an explanation for the use of the word *″taḥwīl,″* was not deemed by al-Maqrīzī important enough to be included there or anywhere else. The source from which he selected the data is not indicated and could not be identified. Its position, at the end of the preceding entry, which has been identified as originating in al-Nuwayrī′s *Nihāyat al-Arab,* might suggest that it is of the same origin, but this is not the case.[96]

LV. (fol. 123v)

No title: Five biographies of individuals who died in Baghdad in the fifth century.

List of the biographies:

١) أبو جعفر مسعود بن المحسن بن الحسن بن عبد الرزاق البياضي الشاعر (ت ٤٦٨) (المنتظم، مج ١٦، ص ١٧٥-١٧٦، رقم ٣٤٥٩)

٢) محمد بن الحسن بن عبد الله بن أحمد بن يوسف بن الشبل الشاعر (ت ٤٧٣) (المنتظم، مج ١٦، ص ٢١٣-٢١٤، رقم ٣٥١١)

٣) عبد السلام بن محمد بن يوسف بن بندار أبو يوسف القزويني (ت ٤٨٨) (المنتظم، مج ١٧، ص ٢١-٢٢، رقم ٣٦٥١)

٤) يحيى بن عيسى بن جزلة الطبيب (ت ٤٩٣) (المنتظم، مج ١٧، ص ٦١، رقم ٣٧٠٦)

٥) أبو سعد العلاء بن الحسن بن وهب بن موصلايا الكاتب (ت ٤٩٧) (المنتظم، مج ١٧، ص ٨٩، رقم ٣٧٤٧)

Commentary:

These biographies completely cover the folio. A mark in red ink, already examined in other circumstances *(qif),* has been placed over the first part of their names in

[96]This observation is also valid for the other encyclopedias like al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá* (13:54 ff.), or books dealing with the *kharāj* like al-Makhzūmī, *Al-Minhāj.*

order to separate them distinctly. A close examination of the dates of death reveals that they were taken from a book in the chronicle or *ṭabaqāt* genre. Moreover, their Baghdad origin means that the book focused mainly on that region. Proper identification is facilitated by al-Maqrīzī´s habit of relying on original or the most contemporary biographical data available. In this case, the five biographies were located in Ibn al-Jawzī´s *Al-Muntaẓam,* already identified as the source of no. LII. It is interesting to note that no. LII pertained to the year 492, which means that al-Maqrīzī came across it after biography no. 3 here. He decided to scribble it down elsewhere in the notebook, presumably because it was not related to his purpose of taking notes on biographies. No common link could be established between all the biographies, except their origin which normally should have excluded them from al-Maqrīzī´s interest. In fact, none of them was found mentioned in his works, and surely not in *Al-Muqaffá,* although one of the subjects (no. 3) lived for 40 years in Egypt, which should have ensured a place for him in the dictionary.[97] The last one, a secretary under three Abbasid caliphs for no less than 65 years, might have caught his attention for his book on secretaries.[98] This is confirmed by the presence of another biography of this same individual found at the end of the resumé al-Maqrīzī wrote of Ibn Muyassar´s *Akhbār Miṣr*.[99] The copyist, who relied on al-Maqrīzī´s autograph, probably found it at the end of the resumé or on a slip of paper and decided to place it at the end of the abstract, just after al-Maqrīzī´s colophon. The text is different from what we read in the notebook, indicating that this biography comes from another source, but it is intriguing that al-Maqrīzī was interested in this individual for the purpose mentioned earlier. What appears as a double entry is nothing else than two excerpts regarding one person, taken from two different sources.

LVI. (fols. 125v–130v)

No title: Biographies of men, mostly Egyptians, who died mainly in the seventh and eighth centuries.

List of the biographies:

١) محمد [بياض] بن عين الدولة أبو المكارم (ت ٦٣٩) (fol. 125v) (المغرب، ص ٢٥٦–٢٥٧)

٢) محمد بن سعد القرطي (ت قرن ٦) (fol. 125v) (المغرب، ص ٢٦٧–٢٦٨)

٣) محمد بن عبد العزيز بن عبد الرحيم بن عمر بن سلمان الإدريسي الشريف الحسني أبو عبد الله وأبو جعفر الفاوي المصري (ت ٦٤٤) (fol. 126r)

[97]He may have been included in the now-missing part of *Al-Muqaffá*.

[98]See above, XXXVII.

[99]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muntaqá,* 158 and plate 6.

٤) محمد بن عبد المجيد بن عبد الكريم بن علوان بن خروف بن نجم بن أحمد بن علي بن جعفر بن يحيى بن عمر بن سليمان بن عبد الله بن الحارث بن هشام بن المغيرة بن عبد الله بن عمر بن مخزوم أبو عبد الله القرشي المخزومي شرف الدين بن الخطباء (ت ٦٨٦) (fol. 126r)

٥) محمد بن عبد المحسن بن عبد الكريم بن علوان بن خروف أبو عبد الله بن الخطباء (ت ٦٨٩) (fol. 126r)

٦) محمد بن عبد المنعم بن محمد بن يوسف بن أحمد أبو عبد الله الأنصاري اليمني المصري (ت ٦٨٥) (fol. 126r)

٧) محمد بن عبد الوهاب بن منصور بن عبد الوهاب أبو عبد الله شمس الدين الحراني الحنبلي (ت ٦٧٤) (fol. 126v)

٨) محمد بن عثمان بن علكان أبو عبد الله الأمير سيف الدين بن الأمير شجاع الدين الكردي (ت ٦٣٧) (fol. 126v)

٩) أحمد بن عمر بن محمد بن عبد الله أبو الجناب نجم الدين الصوفي الخوقي المعروف بالنجم الكبراء الخوارزمي (ت ٦١٨) (fol. 126v)

١٠) إسماعيل بن محمد بن عبيد الله أبو الطاهر المنصور بنصر الله بن القائم بن المهدي (ت ٣٤١) (fol. 3r)

١١) محمد بن علي بن إبراهيم بن شداد بن خليفة بن شداد أبو عبد الله عز الدين الأنصاري الحلبي (ت ٦٨٤) (fol. 3r)

١٢) محمد بن علي بن مقاتل أبو بكر الكاتب (ت ٣٥٠) (fol. 3r)

١٣) محمد بن عبيد الله بن أحمد بن إسماعيل بن عبد العزيز أبو عبد الله الحراني المصري الكاتب المعروف بالمسبحي الملقب بالمختار (ت ٤٢٠) (fol. 127r)

١٤) محمد بن عثمان بن أبي الحسن بن عبد الوهاب أبو عبد الله الأنصاري الدمشقي المعروف بابن الحريري (ت ٧٢٨) (fol. 127r)

١٥) محمد بن عثمان بن أبي الرجاء بن أبي الزهر شمس الدين بن السلعوس (ت ٦٩٣) (fol. 127r)

١٦) محمد بن علي بن حرمي بن مكارم مُهيى بن علي أبو بكر المنعوت بالعماد الدمياطي الشافعي (ت ٧٤٩) (fol. 127v)

١٧) محمد بن علي بن محمد بن أحمد بن عبد الله أبو عبد الله بن العربي محيي الدين الطائي الحاتمي المغربي الأندلسي الصوفي (ت ٦٣٨) (fol. 127v)

١٨) محمد بن علي بن همام بن راجي الله بن ناصر بن داود أبو عبد الله العسقلاني الشافعي (ت ٧١٣) (fol. 127v)

١٩) محمد بن الوليد بن محمد بن خلف بن سليمان بن أيوب أبو بكر الفهري القرشي الأندلسي الطرطوشي المالكي المعروف بابن أبي رندقة (ت ٥٢٠) (fol. 128r)

٢٠) محمد بن موسى بن عبد العزيز أبو بكر بن أبي عمران الكندي المصري الصيرفي الفصيح المعروف بابن الجبي يلقب بسيبويه (ت ٣٥٨) (fol. 128v)

٢١) محمد بن ناماور بن عبد الملك بن زنجلين أبو عبد الله أفضل الدين الخونجي الشافعي (ت ٦٤٦) (fol. 128v)

٢٢) محمد بن نصر الله بن عبد الوهاب علاء الدين الجوجري (ت ٧٣٦) (fol. 128v)

٢٣) محمد بن هبة الله بن أحمد بن شكر أبو البركات نفيس الدين بن القاضي المخلص بن كمال الدين أبي السعادات (ت ٦٨٠) (fol. 128v)

٢٤) محمد بن يحيى بن الخضر بن حاتم بن سلطان بن طولون أبو عبد الله الأنصاري القليوبي (ت ٧٠٥) (fol. 128v)

٢٥) محمد بن يحيى بن الفضل بن يحيى بن عبد الله بن القاسم بن المظفر محيي الدين الشهرزوري الموصلي (ت ٦٧٣) (fol. 128v)

٢٦) إبراهيم بن أحمد بن محمد بن إسماعيل بن القاسم الرسي بن إبراهيم طباطبا بن إسماعيل بن إبراهيم بن الحسن بن الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب أبو إسماعيل بن أبي القاسم الرسي (ت ٣٦٩) (fol. 129r)

٢٧) إبراهيم بن إسماعيل بن سعيد بن أبي بكر محمد بن سليمان العباسي الهاشمي (ت ٥٨٩) (fol. 129r)

٢٨) إبراهيم بن الحسن بن محمد بن الحسين بن جعفر بن موسى بن إسماعيل بن موسى بن جعفر بن محمد بن علي بن الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب أبو الفضل الحسيني الكلثمي الموسوي (ت ٥٢٩) (fol. 129r)

٢٩) إبراهيم بن سعيد بن عبد الله أبو إسحاق الحبال المصري (ت ٤٨٢) (fol. 129r)

٣٠) إبراهيم بن سلطان أبو إسحاق القليبي (ت ؟) (fol. 129r)

٣١) محمد بن أحمد وقيل أحمد بن محمد أبو عبد الله الواسطي (ت بعد ٢٧١) (fol. 129v)

٣٢) محمد بن أحمد أبو عبد الله الجرجرائي (ت قرن ٥) (fol. 129v)

٣٣) محمد بن الحسين بن عمر بن حفص بن موسى بن عبد الرحمن أبو عبد الله اليمني التنوخي المصري (ت ٤٠٠) (fol. 129v)

٣٤) محمد بن الحسين بن محمد بن الحسين بن زيد بن الحسن بن ظفر الأحول أبو عبد الله الحسيني الأرموي (ت ٦٥٠) (fol. 129v)

٣٥) محمد بن سعيد بن حماد بن تحسن بن عبد الله بن حياني الصنهاجي (ت ٦٩٥) (fol. 130r)

٣٦) وحيد الحبشي (ت بعد ٣٩٠) (fol. 130r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٢، ص ٤٢٢-٤٢٣ ، رقم ٧٩٦٥)

٣٧) وردان أبو عبيد وقيل أبو عثمان مولى عمرو بن العاص (ت ٥٣) (fol. 130r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٢ ، ص ٤٢٨-٤٣٤ ، رقم ٧٩٦٨)

٣٨) محمد بن عبد الله المعروف بابن عبد (ت ؟) (fol. 130v)

٣٩) محمد بن عبد الله بن محمد بن أحمد بن خالد بن محمد بن نصر بن صغير بن داغر بن عبد الرحمن شرف الدين أبو الفتح ابن القيسراني الحلبي المخزومي (ت ٧٠٧) (fol. 130v)

٤٠) محمد بن إبراهيم بن عبد الواحد بن علي بن سرور بن رافع بن حسن بن جعفر أبو بكر وأبو عبد الله المقدسي الجماعيلي الصالحي الحنبلي (ت ٦٧٦) (fol. 130v)

٤١) محمد بن إبراهيم بن محمد بن أبي نصر أبو عبد الله بهاء الدين بن النحاس الحلبي (ت ٦٩٨) (fol. 130v)

٤٢) محمد بن أحمد بن علي أبو عبد الله الأزدي عرف بابن جاره (ت ٦٤١) (fol. 130v)

Commentary:

The fourteenth quire of the notebook opens with two sections *(faṣl)* on juridical matters.[100] Only two folios were used for this purpose, which means that the remaining parts of the quire, to which was probably added what is now fol. 3, were available for further notes. The space was used for 42 biographies and other unrelated notations, scribbled in all directions. An examination of this list reveals that it can be divided into several groups alphabetically. These biographies follow the traditional system of ordering in biographical dictionaries, which begins with individuals named Muḥammad, and then proceeds to those whose first name began with *hamzah,* etc. Al-Maqrīzī took great pains to write the first *ism,* in all cases, in red ink, to better catch his attention. Nonetheless, there are gaps in the sequence of the biographies. For instance, nos. 9–12 do not fit in the sequence of the first group represented by nos. 3 to 30, as well as nos. 36–37 in the second group (nos. 31 to 39). For nos. 10–12, an explanation can be found in the fact that they all figure on fol. 3, now a fly-leaf, which was not there initially. No. 9, instead, is written on fol. 126v, in a script different from the other two found on the same folio, showing that it was jotted down at a different time. Finally, from this long list, six groups may be identified: the first one is represented by nos. 1–2, the second by nos. 3–8 and 13–30, the third by nos. 9–12, the fourth by nos. 31–35 and 38–39, the fifth by nos. 36–37, and the sixth by nos. 40–42. My hypothesis is that each group comes from a different source. It is partly confirmed

[100]See "Maqriziana I/1," resumé VI, 46–48.

by groups 1 and 5. Group 1 is found only on fol. 125v, together with two other notes with a historical content (see below LVII, LVIII). As is shown under LVII, the source indicated there, *Kitāb al-Kamā'im,* is quoted indirectly by al-Maqrīzī from **Ibn Sa'īd**'s *Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib,* where the passage could be precisely located. A quick search in the same book demonstrates that both biographies share the same origin with note LVII.[101] The text is clearly the same, even though al-Maqrīzī simplifies Ibn Sa'īd's ornate style. It is not surprising that other notes from Ibn Sa'īd's books appear in the same quire (those indicated above and also LX[102] and LXI). For group 5, both biographies were taken from **Ibn 'Asākir**'s *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq,* which is stated as the source of LXIII and LXVII.[103]

As for groups 2–3–4–6, the subject (or subjects) conform to the classic organization of the biographical dictionaries: first *Muḥammad*s, followed by other *ism*s in alphabetical order. Considering the dates of death (the earliest 358, the latest 749), research to find their origin should focus on a biographical dictionary with a large temporal scope,[104] such as al-Ṣafadī's *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafāyāt.* As already noticed, the notebook contains a summary of some parts of this book (see V), corresponding exactly to the letters represented in this group.[105] In fact some of them can be found in this work, but it would be illogical to consider that al-Maqrīzī prepared an epitome, and that he later reconsidered, choosing other biographies from *Al-Wāfī* and writing them elsewhere in the notebook. Besides the fact that not all the biographies in it were identified, this claim is also supported by the material evidence. Biography no. 21 already appears in the resumé of *al-Wāfī*,[106] and both differ from each other, in terms of the information they provide. A collation with several books of the genre considered yielded no result, nor did a study of the internal evidence in the notebook or in al-Maqrīzī's works where the data was introduced.[107] For instance, one can read a statement of al-Yaghmūrī (d.

[101]Ibn Sa'īd's *Al-Ightibāṭ fī Ḥulá Madīnat al-Fusṭāṭ (min Kitāb al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib),* ed. Zakī Muḥammad Ḥasan, Shawqī Ḍayf, and Sayyidah Kāshif (Cairo, 1953), 256–57 (no. 1), 267–68 (no. 2).

[102]This was placed on fol. 3, which explains why this fly-leaf was replaced in that quire.

[103]Al-Maqrīzī cites Wardān in *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:190, which explains the presence of his biography in the notebook.

[104]The geographical link between all these biographies (all these individuals were born, lived, or passed away in Egypt) would be too restrictive. What appears as a common link in the notebook could be nothing more than the result of al-Maqrīzī's selection in a biographical dictionary with a broader geographical scope.

[105]*Muḥammad*s, then names beginning with *hamzah* up to Aydamur.

[106]See "Maqriziana I/1," 42 (no. 26).

[107]Most of them will be found in *Al-Muqaffá,* but some parts also appear in *Al-Sulūk* and *Al-Khiṭaṭ*.

673/1274, see below LIX) regarding the reliability of the subject of biography no. 27 on hadith matters. This statement was not found in any of the sources where a biography of this scholar was identified,[108] and more curiously not even in *Al-Muqaffá* where al-Maqrīzī kept silent on it.[109] No. 3 (al-Idrīsī) constitutes another interesting example of this kind of cross-reference work. He is the author of a book on the Pyramids,[110] quoted in his biography in the notebook. He has not been the subject of many reports in the works that have been preserved.[111] In his notice in *Al-Muqaffá,* al-Maqrīzī quotes Ibn Musdī[112] (d. 663/1265), who composed a *Muʿjam* in three volumes, again demonstrating his ability to find contemporary sources. None of the sources preceding al-Maqrīzī match the biography in the notebook. For instance, the date of his death appears in the notebook and in *Al-Muqaffá* as being 644, although the year 648 is recorded in the other sources.[113] No. 33 can also be studied in this way. Al-Maqrīzī mentioned his sources in the biography he wrote about him in *Al-Muqaffá* (5:594–95, no. 2144). These sources were al-Qifṭī's *Tārīkh al-Nuḥāt* and al-Musabbiḥī. A comparison with these data in the notebook reveals that some of the information came from both of these sources, but that the quotations are more complete in *Al-Muqaffá.* From this, it must be understood that the biographical dictionary from which the actual biography has been summarized in the notebook relied on both these sources and that al-Maqrīzī later had access to them. In fact, he always tried to discover more reliable or direct sources.

Notwithstanding all this, the ultimate source of these biographies remains to be discovered. Meanwhile, the data provided will enlarge our knowledge of Egyptian historiography, as many of the subjects of these biographies were historians, and all the data was not reused by al-Maqrīzī in *Al-Muqaffá*. A good example is no. 13, which consists of a biography of al-Musabbiḥī. The notice contains a very interesting passage already quoted.[114] The question arises whether this is a statement made by the author of this biography or by al-Maqrīzī himself. A *Muntaqá Tārīkh al-Musabbiḥī* is registered, but Rashīd al-Dīn al-Mundhirī (d. 643/1245–46 or 644/1246–47) cannot be considered the author of this statement because it does

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[108] Al-Mundhirī, *Al-Takmilah li-Wafayāt al-Naqalah,* ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf (Beirut, 1401/1981), 1:185 (no. 193).

[109] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 1:104 (no. 54).

[110] See al-Idrīsī, *Anwār ʿUlwī al-Ajrām fī al-Kashf ʿan Asrār al-Ahrām,* ed. U. Haarmann (Beirut, 1991).

[111] See Haarmann's introduction, ibid., 66. The sources preceding al-Maqrīzī are but a few: al-Udfuwī, *Al-Ṭāliʿ al-Saʿīd;* Ibn Saʿīd, *Al-Mughrib;* Yāqūt, *Irshād al-Arīb.*

[112] Or Masdī. See for the proper vocalization al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 5:516–17 (no. 3618).

[113] See Haarmann's introduction, al-Idrīsī, *Anwār ʿUlwī al-Ajrām.*

[114] See above, XXXVIII.

not belong with the other biographies. As I have tried to demonstrate, these other biographies came from a single source. Moreover, some of them deal with individuals who died well after al-Mundhirī.[115] The fact that al-Maqrīzī prepared a resumé of al-Musabbiḥī´s *Tārīkh* proves, however, his interest in historical matters, particularly from the Fatimid period. Thus, the only answer that can be put forward is that the statement is al-Maqrīzī´s, and that he added this personal information in the middle of a biography he summarized.

LVII. (fol. 125v)

Title on fol. 125v (lines 6–7): [Quotation from] *Kitāb al-Kamāʾim.*

من خبر مصر. قال في الكمائم : وأما فسطاط مصر فإن مبانيها كانت في القديم متصلة بمباني عين الشمس وجاء الإسلام وبها مبنى يعرف بالقصر حوله مساكن.

Commentary:

As argued above (see preceding entry), this short quotation is found on a folio where biographies were identified as coming from **Ibn Saʿīd**´s *Al-Mughrib*. This conclusion is partly thanks to the mention of the indirect source from which al-Maqrīzī said he took it: *Al-Kamāʾim*. This book was written by al-Bayhaqī (ʿAlī ibn Zayd, d. 565/1169[116]), and is exclusively cited on several occasions by Ibn Saʿīd in his own work. Indeed, the passage is found in the second book of *Al-Mughrib* dealing with the history of Fusṭāṭ: *Al-Ightibāṭ fī Ḥulá Madīnat al-Fusṭāṭ*.[117] In *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (1:40), where it was reused, al-Maqrīzī indicated the direct source *(Al-Mughrib)* from which he took it, although he did not indicate this source in the notebook. This is probably due to the fact that he knew that all excerpts he took from *Al-Kamāʾim* were taken only from this source. Ibn Saʿīd´s books appear later in the notebook (see LX, LXI).

LVIII. (fol. 125v)

No title: Quotation of a passage regarding the plunder that took place during al-Mustanṣir´s reign (460–61).

Incipit (fol. 125v, lines 22–24):

من خبر المستنصر : بيعت البيضة في غلاء المستنصر بعشرة قراريط والراوية الماء بدينار وخرج من خزانة السلاح أحد عشر ألف درع [. . .] (المنتظم، مج ١٦، ١١٦–١١٧)

Explicit (fol. 125v, line 29):

115His lost *Tārīkh Miṣr* might have contained data regarding al-Musabbiḥī.

116On Bayhaqī, see *GAL* S1:557–58.

117Ibn Saʿīd´s *Al-Ightibāṭ,* 1.

[. . .] اشتري بها أقل من كارة دقيق.

Commentary:
The excerpt is introduced by an indicative title written in red ink: *"min khabar al-Mustanṣir."* It was placed in front of the preceding entry, and logically one could conclude that it shares the same origin as the other items on the folio. However, this is contradicted by the color of the red ink which differs from the ink used elsewhere on this folio, which indicates that it was jotted down at a later date. These notes deal with horrific events that happened during the famine which struck the entire country during the years 460–61, events he treated comprehensively in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* and *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā'*. A positive event from this period was the extraction of treasures from the *khizānat al-silāḥ*. In *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* he devoted a section to the *khazā'in al-silāḥ* (1:417–18) where the same subject is scrutinized on the basis of *Al-Dhakhā'ir wa-al-Tuḥaf,* the well-known treatise on treasures, mostly those plundered in al-Mustanṣir's reign.[118] Unfortunately, the data in the notebook was not used there. However, it is found verbatim in *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā'* (2:296 [ll. 3–6] and 296–97 [ll. 15–1]). It is interesting to note that al-Maqrīzī provides crucial information there for the identification of the data, as he introduces it thus: *"wa-waṣala ilá Baghdād 'alá yad al-tujjār mimmā khurrija min al-qaṣr,* 'alá mā waqaftu fī tārīkh ba'ḍ al-baghdādīyīn." One wonders why he did not give the name of this *History* composed by a scholar from Baghdad! There could have been many potential candidates with such a vague indication, but, as already proven in several cases, it is better to consider a source already mentioned in the notebook for the given period. This leads us unequivocally to **Ibn al-Jawzī**'s *Al-Muntaẓam*. Under the year 462 (16:116–17) he recalls some events that happened in Egypt during that year through the testimonies of Egyptians who fled from the country to find relief in other areas. Among these is the passage excerpted by al-Maqrīzī. The order as well as the wording leave no doubt that *Al-Muntaẓam* was the source in this case too.

LIX. (fol. 3v)
No title: Excerpt from a book by al-Yaghmūrī.
Incipit (fol. 3v, line 1):

رأيت بخط الحافظ اليغموري ما مثاله : قرأت بخط العلامة أبي محمد عبد اللطيف بن يوسف بن محمد البغدادي قال : كان السوق يعني في عسكر صلاح الدين [. . .]

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[118]Falsely attributed to al-Rashīd ibn al-Zubayr. Ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh (Kuwait, 1959) on the basis of a resumé made by al-Awḥadī. See Sayyid, "Lumières," 23–25. Trans. Ghādah al-Ḥijjāwī al-Qaddūmī, *Book of Gifts and Rarities* (Cambridge, MA, 1996).

Explicit (fol. 3v, lines 9–10):

[. . .] وصار حماما يغسل الرجل رأسه بدرهم وأكثر وندم صلاح الدين على خراب عسقلان وأبقى عكاء.

Commentary:

The excerpt occupies half of the page and was written from bottom to top, from the spine toward the middle of the page. The source is given as **al-Yaghmūrī** (Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-Asadī, d. 673/1274),[119] who is quoted, almost always for personal testimonies, on several occasions in *Al-Muqaffá*[120] and *Al-Khiṭaṭ*.[121] Al-Maqrīzī explains how he became acquainted with it in this excerpt and in *Al-Muqaffá:*[122] he managed to obtain an autograph copy of al-Yaghmūrī´s book. In this particular case, the author himself relied on an autograph copy of al-Baghdādī´s work. He is to be identified as ʿAbd al-Laṭīf ibn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad al-Baghdādī (d. 629/1231), the author of *Al-Ifādah wa-al-Iʿtibār fī al-Umūr al-Mushāhadah wa-al-Ḥawādith al-Muʿāyanah bi-Arḍ Miṣr,*[123] also cited as a direct source by al-Maqrīzī in *Al-Khiṭaṭ*.[124] But obviously, al-Maqrīzī deemed al-Yaghmūrī´s work valuable for the first part of *Al-Sulūk,* because it is there that

[119]On al-Yaghmūrī, see R. Sellheim, *Die Gelehretenbiographien des Abū ʿUbaidallāh al-Marzubānī in der Rezension des Ḥāfiẓ al-Yaġmūrī,* part 1 (Wiesbaden, 1964), 8 ff.; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Iʿlān bi-al-Tawbīkh,* in F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography,* 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1968), 322, 422, 467. Quotations from this source can also be found in Ibn Ṣaṣrá, *Al-Durrah al-Muḍīʾah fī al-Dawlah al-Ẓāhirīyah,* ed. W. Brinner as *A Chronicle of Damascus, 1389–1397* (Berkeley, 1963).

[120]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 7:160 *(qāla al-ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad al-Yaghmūrī: wa-akhbaranī al-shaykh . . .);* 6:122 *(wa-qāla al-ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn al-Yaghmūrī: anshadanī al-shaykh . . .);* 5:131 *(wa-qāla al-ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Yaghmūrī wa-min khaṭṭihi naqaltu: qāla lī al-shaykh . . .);* 3:442 *(wa-qāla al-ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad al-Yaghmūrī: wajadtu bi-khaṭṭ al-sharīf . . .).*

[121]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 2:25 *(wa-qāla al-ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Asadī al-Dimashqī al-maʿrūf bi-al-Yaghmūrī: anshadanī al-imām . . .);* 2:87 *(wa-qāla al-ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd al-Yaghmūrī: samiʿtu al-amīr al-kabīr . . .);* 2:183 *(qāla al-ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-Asadī al-shahīr bi-al-Yaghmūrī: samiʿtu al-amīr al-kabīr . . .).* For other impersonal quotations, see ibid., 1:7 and 496–97.

[122]See the third extract given in n. 119 above.

[123]Ed. Aḥmad Ghassān Sabānū (Damascus, 1403/1983). Since the note found in the notebook concerns ʿAkkā, the city near which Saladin established his camp, and which was visited by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī in 587/1191, it is no surprise that it does not appear in his book entitled *Al-Ifādah wa-al-Iʿtibār* in which he recorded his stay in Egypt during the years 588–89.

[124]See Guest, ″A List of Writers,″ 120; Harīdī, *Fihris Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 1:408; Sayyid ed., 5:972.

this passage is found.[125] The wording is exactly the same,[126] with a considerable difference: in *Al-Sulūk,* al-Yaghmūrī's name is omitted, as if he wanted to imply that al-Baghdādī was his direct source in this case. Be that as it may, he did not dare to quote al-Yaghmūrī's words *(ra'aytu bi-khaṭṭ . . .),* but replaced them with a more pragmatic *"qāla."*

LX. (fol. 3v)

Title on fol. 3 v, lines 32–33: [Quotation of] *Al-Muḥallá bi-al-Ash'ār*/Ibn Sa'īd.

[. . .] نقلته من كتاب المحلى بالأشعار لابن سعيد.

Incipit (fol. 3v, lines 11–14):

غانة من بلاد السودان في المغرب الأقصى عزا ملكها وهو من ولد صالح بن عبد الله بن الحسين بن الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 3v, lines 31–32):

[. . .] وأوسعها متجرا وأهلها مسلمون.

Commentary:

The second half of fol. 3v was later covered with a quotation extracted from **Ibn Sa'īd**'s *Al-Muḥallá bi-al-Ash'ār,* al-Maqrīzī being very precise in this case (*"naqaltuhu"*). From a chronological point of view, it means that he had access to this work of Ibn Sa'īd after al-Yaghmūrī's book. *Al-Muḥallá bi-al-Ash'ār* is attested for the first and last time in the notebook: al-Maqrīzī rather exploited Ibn Sa'īd's other book entitled *Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib* (see XXXIII, LVI, LVII, LXI), at least the part dealing with Egypt. The content of this passage is interesting in that it contains an indirect quotation of the *Kitāb Ujār* [or better *Rujār*], better known under its full title *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fī Ikhtirāq al-Āfāq,* compiled by al-Idrīsī (Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, d. 560/1164). These few lines do not appear in this source,[127] and this is not surprising: two other excerpts known to come from this book in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* were not found in the version that reached us. The first one[128] is mentioned by al-Maqrīzī through al-Nuwayrī, who probably borrowed it from al-Waṭwāṭ (see below under LXX), while the second[129] came through Ibn Sa'īd's *Al-Mughrib*. The interesting point concerns the first of these because it deals with the Nile and how it divides various areas in Nubia and beyond, with

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[125] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1934), 1:94.

[126] Except that the last sentence in the notebook is not cited there.

[127] Italian ed. (Rome, 1970–84), in 9 parts.

[128] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 1:53 (quoted with its full title).

[129] Ibid., 1:341 (quoted as *Kitāb Ujār*).

specific mention of the Ghana river. Here in the notebook, information is precisely provided on the king of Ghana and the palace he built on the Nile in 510. There is also a description of his habits. Al-Maqrīzī does not seem to have taken advantage of any part of this note, either in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* or in *Itti‘āẓ al-Ḥunafā’*.[130]

As for *Al-Muḥallá bi-al-Ash‘ār,* al-Maqrīzī used it in two other cases,[131] in which another indirect source appears: al-Qurṭī (see LVI, no. 2), who makes reference to the *Thousand and One Nights*. On this basis, Z. M. Ḥasan[132] refuted C. Brockelmann′s view[133] that *Al-Muḥallá* was identical with *Al-Qidḥ al-Mu‘allá fī al-Tārīkh al-Muḥallá,* another item of Ibn Sa‘īd′s production. For Ḥasan, this attribution could be inaccurate, since the latter deals exclusively with Andalusian poets, while *Al-Muḥallá*, as we know thanks to the quotations taken from it by al-Maqrīzī, also deals with Egypt. Ḥasan′s view is confirmed by this passage in the notebook, demonstrating that Ibn Sa‘īd also took into account the sources on the Nile.

LXI. (fol. 130v)

Title on fol. 130v, line 1: [Quotation from] *Al-Mughrib*/Ibn Sa‘īd.

قال ابن سعيد في المغرب.

Text (fol. 130v, lines 1–2):

القرافة. قال ابن سعيد في المغرب : وهي في شرقها بها منازل لأعيان الفسطاط والقاهرة وقبور عليها.

Commentary:

The first word was written in a red ink similar to the other excerpts taken from Ibn Sa‘īd′s *Al-Mughrib.* Fol. 130 is the last of quire XIV in which several of these have been identified. Here, the inscription lies in the upper part of the page. The source is clearly indicated and the material can be read in the section on Fusṭāṭ where it appears with the same wording.[134] Al-Maqrīzī reused it in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (2:444), illustrating another aspect of his working method: while the excerpt in the notebook consisted of two lines selected from a paragraph of ten in the printed text, the passage quoted in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* contains the whole paragraph. In this case, al-Maqrīzī went back to his source to enlarge the quotation.

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[130]For the year 510, the autograph contained three blank folios. See al-Maqrīzī, *Itti‘āẓ al-Ḥunafā’,* 3:56.

[131]*Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 1:485 and 2:181.

[132]Ibn Sa‘īd, *Al-Ightibāṭ,* 23m.

[133]*GAL* 1:337.

[134]Ibn Sa‘īd, *Al-Ightibāṭ,* 10.

LXII. (fol. 142r)

No title: Various quotations of events and biographies regarding the fifth century.
List of the events and the biographies:

١) سنة سبع وأربعين وأربعمائة فيها ظهر باليمن أبو كامل علي بن محمد الصليحي ودعا للمستنصر [. . .]

٢) علي بن الحسن بن أحمد بن عمر بن المسلمة أبو القاسم (ت ٤٥٠)

٣) سنة اثنتين وخمسين وأربعمائة فيها حصر محمود بن شبل الدولة بن صالح بن مرداس [. . .]

٤) قريش بن بدران صاحب الموصل ونصيبين (ت ٤٥٣)

٥) شكر العلوي أمير مكة (ت ٤٥٣)

Commentary:

Folio 142 is part of a quire (no. XVI) composed of two bi-folios which were added by al-Maqrīzī to conclude resumé no. VII. The unused portion (from fol. 142r, where only five lines of the abstract were neatly written, to 144v) was later covered with notes from two different sources. Here, al-Maqrīzī included some events which took place between 447 and 453. From its arrangement, it can be deduced that he borrowed them from a chronicle or another kind of historical book. Because they treat events which mainly took place in the East, although linked to the Fatimid state, it is more reasonable to consider an eastern author. We have seen with other excerpts (LII, LV, LVIII) dealing with the same period and region that al-Maqrīzī primarily used Ibn al-Jawzī's *Al-Muntaẓam*. In this case, however, one must consider another possibility, given that the texts do not match each other. Some parts of it were identified in Ibn al-Athīr's *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh,* a chronicle al-Maqrīzī knew and used.[135] Notwithstanding the parallels that could be drawn, the notebook contains data absent in *Al-Kāmil*. This means that both authors relied on a common source which has not been identified so far. Some of what is found here was used by al-Maqrīzī in some of his works.[136]

LXIII. (fols. 144v–142v)

Title on fol. 144v, line 1: [Biographies and events from] *Tārīkh Dimashq*/Ibn ʿAsākir.

أنشد ابن عساكر في تأريخ دمشق [. . .]

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[135]See his judgment on the Oriental historians regarding the Fatimid state in *Ittiʿāẓ,* 3:346. A list of those he knew is given there.

[136]*Ittiʿāẓ,* 2:230–64 (the years under consideration, and particularly 261); *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 1:356.

List of the biographies:

١) سودة بنت عمارة الهمدانية (fol. 144v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٩، ص ٢٢٦، رقم ٩٣٦٣)

٢) عاتكة بنت عبد الله بن يزيد بن معاوية (fol. 144v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٩، ص ٢٤٥، رقم ٩٣٧٦)

٣) عائشة بنت طلحة بن عبيد الله (fol. 144v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٩، ص ٢٥٠، رقم ٩٣٧٩)

٤) عبدة بنت عبد الله بن يزيد بن معاوية (fol. 144v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٩، ص ٢٦٥، رقم ٩٣٨٤)

٥) فاختة بنت قرظة بن عبد عمرو بن نوفل بن عبد مناف بن قصي (fol. 144r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ٦، رقم ٩٣٩٧)

٦) فاطمة بنت الحسين بن علي (fol. 144r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ١٠، رقم ٩٤٠٠)

٧) فاطمة بنت عبد الملك بن مروان (fol. 144r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ٢٨، رقم ٩٤٠٦)

٨) مؤمنة بنت بهلول (fol. 143v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ١٢٨، رقم ٩٤٣٠)

٩) ميسون بنت بجدل الكلبية (fol. 143v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ١٣٠، رقم ٩٤٣٢)

١٠) نائلة بنت عمارة الكلبية (fol. 143v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ١٣٥، رقم ٩٤٣٤)

١١) أم الدرداء (fol. 143v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ٢٣٧، رقم ٩٤٦٦)

١٢) هند بنت المهلب بن أبي صفرة (fol. 143r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ١٨٩، رقم ٩٤٤٦)

١٣) أم هارون الخراسانية[137] (fol. 143 r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٠، ص ٢٦٥، رقم ٩٤٨٥)

١٤) يوسف بن القاسم بن يوسف بن فارس بن سوار أبو بكر الميانجي الشافعي (fol.142v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٤، ص ٢٥٥، رقم ١٠١٩٩)

١٥) يوسف بن ياروح القائد ابن زوجة الامير شهم الدولة ساتكين (fol. 142v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٧٤، ص ٢٦٤، رقم ١٠٢١٠)

١٦) محمد بن بزال أبو عبد الله الملقب قائد الجيوش (fol. 142v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٥٢، ص ١٤٨، رقم ٦١٣١)

Commentary:

These notes were written from fol. 144v onward. This means that al-Maqrīzī wrote the beginning of these notes at the end of the quire going backward until the end of the resumé, which stopped in the middle of it, on fol. 142r. The source is identified by al-Maqrīzī himself who opened the notes with the formula *"anshada Ibn ʿAsākir fī Tārīkh Dimashq."* The *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq* by **Ibn ʿAsākir**

[137]Fols. 143r–142v contain various historical reports dealing with the Umayyads.

(ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥasan, d. 571/1176)[138] is quoted several times in *Al-Khiṭaṭ,*[139] mostly for hadiths. The material preserved here shows that al-Maqrīzī was also interested in facts dealing with the Umayyad period. This is confirmed by examples of his own production, such as *Al-Nizāʿ wa-al-Takhāṣum fīmā bayna Banī Umayyah wa-Banī Hāshim*.[140] Here, his interest mainly centered upon poetry recited by or about these women. The last numbers represent men of later periods, which he found in other volumes.[141] The entry is connected with LXVII, where biographies were selected from the same source, but from previous volumes. This implies that he had access to several parts of this monumental work, either in Cairo,[142] or during one of his stays in Mecca. The data found here was partially reused, as no. 16 appears in *Al-Muqaffá* (5:433–34), where sentences from the notebook can be read. Nos. 14–16 probably also found their way into the now lost sections of this biographical dictionary.

LXIV. (fol. 145r)

Title on fol. 145r, line 1: [Excerpt from] *Al-Tārīkh*/Ibn al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī.

قال ابن المأمون البطائحي في تأريخه في سنة اثنتي عشرة وخمسمائة [. . .]

Incipit (fol. 145r, lines 2–3):

[. . .] وفي يوم عاشوراء عبئ السماط بمجلس العطايا يعني من دار الأفضل بن أمير الجيوش وهو السماط المختص بعاشوراء [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 145r, line 18):

[. . .] والوعاظ والشعراء وغيرهم على ما جرت به عادتهم.

Commentary:

This text and the one following it are written on a smaller piece of paper which was pasted on a narrow strip, in order to attach it to the manuscript. This was made at a later date, by one of the most recent owners of the manuscript. An almost invisible inscription (three words) appearing on the recto indicates that the

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[138]Reference is made to the new complete edition, though not as critical as the one published in Damascusby the Arab Academy: ed. ʿAlī Shīrī (Damascus, 1415–21/1995–2000), 80 vols.

[139]See Guest, ″A List of Writers,″ 109; Harīdī, *Fihris Khiṭaṭ Miṣr,* 1:279, 2:76; Sayyid′s ed., 5:973.

[140]Ed. Ḥusayn Muʾnis (Cairo, 1988).

[141]No. 16 was added at a later date, as suggested by the color of the ink and its position on the page, as well as by its location in a volume which corresponds, in print, to vol. 52. The other biographies were selected mainly in what are now vols. 69–70 and 74. The passages in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* appear in volumes other than those represented here.

[142]See an interesting reference, in *Al-Muqaffá* (7:392), to a transmitter of more than 200 *juz*ʾs of the *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq* directly from the author, who stayed in Egypt.

paper had been previously used for another purpose, i.e., a chancery note. The excerpts found on both sides deal with the etiquette observed for the feast of *'Āshūrā'* during al-Afḍal's vizierate. The recto contains two passages referring to the years 512 (to be corrected to 513) and 516 and coming from **Ibn al-Ma'mūn**'s *Tārīkh*. As previously mentioned,[143] the first of these passages can also be read literally in a short resumé of this source by al-Maqrīzī (XVIII, fols. 158b, line 16–159a, line 3). Due to the nature of this folio (a small, originally loose piece of paper), the similar subject of the notes, and the chronological order,[144] it can be identified as a notecard, as I will try to demonstrate in "Maqriziana II." Besides the appearance of the first passage in the abstract of the original source, both passages were also identified in *Al-Khiṭaṭ*.[145] We can thus follow the evolution of the text through no less than four versions!

LXV. (fol. 145v)
No title: [Quotation taken from *Al-Tārīkh*]/al-Musabbiḥī.

قال المسبحي في حوادث سنة ٣٩٦ [. . .]

Incipit (fol. 145v, lines 2–3):

[. . .] وفي يوم عاشوراء جرى الأمر فيه على ما يجري كل عام من تعطيل الأسواق وخروج المنشدين [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 145v, line 12):

[. . .] وسبوا السلف وقدم الرجل بعد النداء فضربت عنقه.

Commentary:
Closely linked to the previous excerpt, this quotation, as we are told by al-Maqrīzī himself, has been taken from **al-Musabbiḥī**'s *Tārīkh*. In this case, he drew it from the volume covering the year 396, which is now lost.[146] This passage was inserted by al-Maqrīzī at the appropriate place in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (1:431), where it precedes the previous excerpt chronologically, which naturally implies that the actual leaf was later bound incorrectly. It also found its way into the draft version of *Al-Khiṭaṭ*[147] at the same place as the preceding one, confirming the status of this leaf.

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[143]See "Maqriziana I/1," 63.

[144]What appears to be the recto was in fact the verso.

[145]Al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadah,* 315–16; idem, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 1:431.

[146]See above, XXXVIII.

[147]Al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadah,* 315.

LXVI. (fol. 156v)

No title: Excerpt of events regarding the *khuṭbah* in Mecca, Damascus, and Jerusalem, which took place mainly during the reign of al-Mustanṣir (years 462, 465, 468, 470, 472, 478, 490, 491, 492).

Incipit (fol. 156v, lines 4–6):

سنة اثنتين وستين وأربعمائة قطعت دعوة المستنصر صاحب مصر من مكة ودعي بها للقائم العباسي وللسلطان عضد الدولة ألب أرسلان [. . .]

Explicit (fol. 156v, lines 20–21):

[. . .] وقتل في المسجد الأقصى ما يزيد على سبعين ألف من المسلمين.

Commentary:

Quire XVIII was added by al-Maqrīzī to complete the resumé (XVII[148]) he began on the last folio of the preceding quire. Apparently, he was reluctant to start a new resumé on the basis of a different source at the end of the preceding one, though it occupies only two lines. Thus he decided to leave the remaining part blank for further notes, and commenced his new resumé (XVIII) on the next folio. The blank space was indeed not spared. Notes reporting events that occurred in various cities under Fatimid rule and where the name of the caliph was pronounced during the Friday prayer were placed perpendicularly starting from the lower margin. They are preceded by the following phrase in red ink: *″yunqal bi-khabar al-Qāhirah.″* No source is indicated in this case, but the material was indeed introduced, although not literally, in some places of *Itti‘āẓ al-Ḥunafā’*.[149] Several soundings have been made in various chronicles, based on the order of the reports, in order to identify the source, but without satisfying results. Some reports correspond to *Al-Muntaẓam* of Ibn al-Jawzī. This is the case for the inscription on the minbar sent by the Abbasid caliph to Mecca in 470, which does not appear in many sources. But, alas, this is surely not valid for the whole excerpt. This means that Ibn al-Jawzī relied on the same source al-Maqrīzī later summarized in his notebook. Another possibility concerns Atzız′s surname, given here as al-Aqsīs (probably the Arabic form of his name). Al-Maqrīzī mentioned it in *Itti‘āẓ al-Ḥunafā’* (2:315) on the basis of this excerpt, and Ibn al-Athīr explains that this form is given by *″al-Shāmīyūn,″*[150] indicating the Syrian historiographers. Unfortunately, I did not reach any conclusion after searching published works. It thus remains to be identified.

148For the identification of the source of this resumé, see the addendum at the end of this article.

149*Itti‘āẓ al-Ḥunafā’*, vol. 2, *passim* (under the years mentioned).

150See the editor′s note in the preceding reference.

LXVII. (fols. 160v, 163v–164r)

Title on fols. 160v and 164r: [Biographies of various persons taken from] *Tārīkh Dimashq*/Ibn ʿAsākir.

[. . .] ذكره ابن عساكر في تاريخ دمشق.

قال ابن عساكر في تاريخ دمشق [. . .]

List of the biographies:

١) أبو معين الحسن الطيركي (fol. 160v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٧، ص ٢٤٧، رقم ٨٨٥٠)

٢) أبو المنجى يقال فيه عبد الله بن علي بن المنجى من وجوه أصحاب أبي علي الحسن بن أحمد بن الحسن بن بهرام القرمطي المعروف بالأعصم (fol. 163v) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٧، ص ٢٥٤، رقم ٨٨٥٤)

٣) قال أبو المهاصر: كنت رسول عمر بن عبد العزيز إلى عماله [. . .] (fol. 164r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٧، ص ٢٦٠، رقم ٨٨٦٢)

٤) أبو نصر البرمكي (fol. 164r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٧، ص ٢٦٤، رقم ٨٨٧٥)

٥) يحيى بن زيد بن يحيى بن علي بن محمد بن أحمد بن عيسى بن زيد بن علي بن الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب أبو الحسن الحسيني الزيدي (fol. 164r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٤، ص ٢٢٩، رقم ٨١٤٠)

٦) أبو منصور سديد الدولة (fol. 164r) (تاريخ مدينة دمشق، مج ٦٧، ص ٢٥٤، رقم ٨٨٥٦)

Commentary:

Quire XVIII contains three resumés made from two different sources.[151] Some folios (163–65), left blank, were later utilized for several notes. Among these, one finds what must be considered the first in the chronological order, i.e., another excerpt from Ibn ʿAsākir′s *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq.* All these biographies follow an alphabetical order, a succession confirmed by the printed edition of this source. But al-Maqrīzī did not begin his note-taking on a plain blank folio, as can be seen. Rather, he wrote the first note at the end of the second resumé, in the lower margin, where some space remained. Then he moved forward to the end of the next resumé, once again exploiting the blank space at the bottom, and finally placed all the other biographies on fol. 164, where the full page was available for notes. From this, it can be understood that he did not consider the *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq* important enough to prepare a resumé of it, but it can also be inferred that he had access to this text after 831, as this is the date at which he could

[151]See ″Maqriziana I/1″ (XVII–XIX) and the addendum at the end of this article for the identification of the source of XVII.

consult the source of summaries XVII and XIX.[152] Additionally, given that no. 5 was selected from what is now vol. 64, we can say that he did not consult the volumes in numerical order.[153] This is confirmed by entry LXIII, where biographies were found in vols. 69–70, 74, and 52, whether they were scribbled down before or after these. These notes were reused primarily in *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā'*[154] as well as in *Al-Muqaffá*.[155]

LXVIII. (fols. 164v–165v, 175v, 184r, 185v, 192r[156])

No title: Biographies of persons who died mainly in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries.

List of the biographies:

١) محمد بن إسماعيل بن القاسم الرسي بن إبراهيم طباطباء بن إسماعيل الديباج بن إبراهيم بن الحسن بن الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب المدني المعروف بالشعراني (ت ٣١٥) (fol. 164v)

٢) العكبري المنجم (ت ؟) (fol. 164v)

٣) محمد بن أبي بكر بن عيسى بن بدران أبو عبد الله تقي الدين الإخنائي المالكي (ت ٧٥٠) (fol. 165r)

٤) محمد بن أبي بكر بن عيسى بن بدران أبو عبد الله علم الدين الإخنائي الشافعي (ت ٧٣٢) (fol. 165r)

٥) محمد بن أبي بكر بن محمد بن محمد بن حسن أبو عبد الله شمس الدين الفارسي الأيكي (ت ٦٩٧) (fol. 165r)

٦) محمد بن بركات بن هلال بن عبد الواحد وقيل محمد بن بركات بن علي بن هلال بن عبد الواحد أبو عبد الله المصري السعيدي النحوي (ت ٥٢٠) (fol. 165r)

٧) محمد بن أسعد بن علي بن المعمر بن عمر بن علي بن أبي هاشم الحسين نسابة بغداد بن أحمد نسابة بغداد بن علي نسابة الكوفة بن إبرهيم بن محمد بن الحسين بن محمد الجواني بن عبيد الله الزاهد بن الحسين بن علي بن الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب أبو علي بن أبي البركات الحسيني العبيدلي الجواني النسابة المالكي (ت ٥٨٨) (fol. 165v)

٨) محمد بن إسماعيل بن أحمد بن علي بن منصور بن محمد بن الحسين أبو عبد الله شمس الدين الصاحب الوزير بن الصاحب المؤرخ شرف الدين الأمدي ابن التيتي (ت ٧٠٤) (fol. 165v)

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[152]See below, no. XVII in addendum.

[153]No. 6, which is found in vol. 67 like all the others, was written in the margin, near the spine. Thus, no. 5 was surely written prior to no. 6.

[154]For instance, no. 5 (*Itti'āẓ,* 2:268 [read *al-Ḥusaynī* instead of *al-Ḥasanī!*]).

[155]For instance, no. 2 (*Al-Muqaffá,* 4:616–18).

[156]See reproduction of fol. 184r in "Maqriziana IV," 25.

٩) محمد بن محمد بن إبراهيم بن الحسين بن سراقة أبو القاسم وأبو بكر وأبو عبد الله الأنصاري الشاطبي المالكي (ت ٦٦٢) (fol. 175v)

١٠) محمد بن محمد بن أسعد بن علي بن معمر بن عمر بن علي أبو عبد الله الحسيني الجواني (ت ٦١٦) (fol. 175v)

١١) محمد بن محمد بن محمد أبو عبد الله الوهراني (ت ٥٧٥) (fol. 175v)

١٢) إبراهيم بن جعفر أبو محمود الكتامي (ت ٣٧٠) (fol. 184r)

١٣) محمد بن يوسف بن إبراهيم بن عبد الرحمان بن علي بن عبد العزيز بن علي بن قريش أبو عبد الله المخزومي المصري (ت قرن ٧ ؟) (fol. 185v)

١٤) محمد الشيخي تاج الدين (ت ٧٠٤) (fol. 185v)

١٥) محمد بن الحسن بن سعيد عز الدين الحميدي (ت ٦٤٦) (fol. 192r)

١٦) محمد بن الحسين بن الحسن أبو عبد الله المرتضى المعروف بالمحنك الطرابلسي (ت ٥٤٩) (fol. 192r)

١٧) محمد بن خاص بك بن عمر وهو بزغش بن كحت بن شيرك أبو عبد الله بن الأمير أبي سعيد الشوباشي العزيزي (ت ٦٥٣) (fol. 192r)

Commentary:
As with LVI, this long list of biographies, organized in alphabetical order and divided in several groups, cover many folios. However, here the biographies are sometimes separated by large gaps corresponding to resumés. Clearly, once again, al-Maqrīzī has taken utmost advantage of the blank spaces. In this case, some biographies can be attributed to different sources, such as no. 2 and no. 12, as confirmed by the script and their location on the page. Apart from these, we note names starting with *Muḥammad,* then followed by another *ism* beginning with *hamzah* and continuing in alphabetical order. The classification is respected until no. 6, followed by another group from nos. 7 to 13, and then another group of four, respecting the order, but going backward somewhat with respect to the previous ones. These three groups (nos. 1–6 [less 2], 7–13 [less 12], and 14–17) might indicate three different sources. The span of time evidenced by the death dates demonstrates that one must look for biographical dictionaries organized alphabetically, but nonetheless respecting the priority of Muḥammad´s name. Such a dictionary or dictionaries must have been written by a scholar or scholars of the eighth century. In this case, as with LVI, which consisted of a similar list, the system of cross-references has yielded no positive result in my attempt to identify the source(s). Nos. 1 to 8, for instance, appear in al-Ṣafadī´s *Al-Wāfī*, but the collation of both texts ended in failure. One must thus look in other directions. A

search in *Al-Muqaffá* revealed that al-Maqrīzī transferred half of these notes to the respective biographies, where he hardly quoted his sources. Yet, for no. 16 (the Fatimid historian al-Muḥannak[157]), he indicated[158] that he relied on Ibn Muyassar, which is confirmed by the resumé he made of it.[159] His biography in the notebook corresponds to what is found in that source, but it cannot be regarded as the source on which he based the biography appearing in the notebook. Instead, he relied on a biographical dictionary, a genre to which Ibn Muyassar's *Tārīkh* does not belong. In this matter, he probably relied on an intermediary source whose author had access to Ibn Muyassar's book. This hypothesis is corroborated by no. 6 (another author of the Fatimid period who is known as the writer of a book on the *Khiṭaṭ* of Egypt). In *Al-Muqaffá* (5:431), al-Maqrīzī mentioned this fact through Ibn Muyassar in the following words: *"wa-lahu Kitāb fī Khiṭaṭ Miṣr ajāda fīhi."*[160] Unfortunately, Ibn Muyassar's *Tārīkh* in the summary made by al-Maqrīzī does not contain any data regarding this person. The same sentence can be read in his biography in the notebook. Once again, this means that Ibn Muyassar must not be considered the source; instead, it must have come from another book relying on it. Proceeding further with no. 7 (the historian al-Jawwānī[161]), one can see that the source used by al-Maqrīzī here was also common to al-Mundhirī:[162] they share the same explanation for his *nisbah* and other details, but the notebook is far more comprehensive, with 19 lines devoted to this person. So far, none of the sources investigated perfectly corresponds with the information found in the notebook.

LXIX. (fol. 184r)

No title: Some verses by Abū al-ʿAtāhiyah and Ḥunayn.

Incipit (fol. 184r, lines 9–10):

أبو العتاهية : نادت بوشك رحيلك الأيام أفلست تسمع أم بك استصمام

Explicit (fol. 184r, line 17):

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[157]One can only be astonished by the number of biographies regarding authors of books on the *Khiṭaṭ* or history that appear in this list, as well as in LVI.

[158]*Al-Muqaffá,* 5:578.

[159]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muntaqá,* 153.

[160]Al-Maqrīzī added the following sentence after this: *"wa-lam aqif ʿalayhi,"* to which he appended later: *"waqaftu ʿalayhi bi-khaṭṭ Muḥammad ibn Asʿad ibn al-Jawwānī."* This last addition is found in the margin of *Al-Muqaffá* (Leiden Ms. 1366, fol. 136b), indicating that he found that manuscript after he drafted the author's biography. In the edition, there is no indication of this, giving the impression that these statements come from Ibn Muyassar.

[161]A biography of his son will be found under no. 10. In the biography of the father (*Al-Muqaffá,* 5:306–8), al-Maqrīzī refered to the biography of his son, which belongs to the now lost section of this work.

[162]Al-Mundhirī, *Al-Takmilah li-Wafayāt al-Naqalah,* 1:177–78.

[. . .] من رأيت المنون خلدن أم من ذا عليه من أن يضام خفير.

Commentary:
These verses were written by al-Maqrīzī at the end of epitome XXI. They do not originate in a *dīwān,* since two poets are concerned here. Thus, research must be done in anthologies or encyclopedias. In this case, the verses have been found in several sources, including some used by al-Maqrīzī, which complicates the work of properly identifying them. But considering the author of the source identified for the next resumé that closes the quire, I would be inclined to regard it as the one from which al-Maqrīzī selected the verses. Al-Nuwayrī´s *Nihāyat al-Arab* (4:310 and 288) offers indeed a similar text, but I am still doubtful because the ink and the script differ from those in the following resumé. In any case, al-Maqrīzī did not take advantage of them.

LXX. (fols. 186v–184v[163])
Title on fol. 186v, line 1, and fol. 185r, line 1: *Dhikr A'yād al-Qibṭ bi-Miṣr* and *A'yād al-Yahūd.*

ذكر أعياد القبط بمصر [. . .]، أعياد اليهود التي نطقت بها التوراة خمسة [. . .]

Commentary:
The section in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (2:472–501) devoted to the non-Muslim communities has been considered since the nineteenth century as one of the best sources for this subject, although this appreciation is now tempered by the discovery of other sources unknown at that time,[164] which include al-Maqrīzī´s own sources. Given his efforts to render as comprehensively as possible the complexity of Egypt´s different religions, it is not surprising to find some notes here dealing with the feasts celebrated by the Copts and the Jews. Each entry is highlighted by an outline in red ink, with the stroke intentionally elongated by al-Maqrīzī between the *yā'* and the *dāl* of the word *'īd*, which introduces each feast. No source is indicated here, nor in *Al-Khiṭaṭ*[165] where the data was reused verbatim and in the same order. He undoubtedly relied on **al-Nuwayrī**´s *Nihāyat al-Arab* (1:191–97), as confirmed by the phrasing and the order in which the feasts are detailed. Al-Nuwayrī did not quote his source, but it can be identified as al-Waṭwāṭ al-Kutubī´s (Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm, d. 718/1318) *Manāhij al-Fikar wa-Mabāhij*

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[163]These notes were written from fol. 186v. onward. This system has already been observed for no. LXIII.

[164]Wüstenfeld, *Macrizi´s Geschichte der Copten;* al-Maqrīzī, *Tārīkh al-Yahūd wa-Āthāruhum fī Miṣr,* ed. 'Abd al-Majīd Diyāb (Cairo, 1997) [from *Al-Khiṭaṭ*].

[165]*Al-Khiṭaṭ,* 1:264–67 and 2:501 for the Copts; 2:473–74 and 479 for the Jews.

al-'Ibar:[166] The parallelism between the two texts cannot be a coincidence.

LXXI. (fols. 191v–195bis v,[167] 1v)

Titles on fols. 191v, 192r, 192v: Four *faṣl*s dealing with the fact that history sometimes repeats itself, as well as persons who held authority despite their young age, and finally with those who were secretaries in Egypt.

List of the *faṣl*s:

١) فصل من الاتفاقات الغريبة : كل قائم بدولة يخرج الملك عن عقبه واعتبر ذلك : معاوية بن أبي سفيان خرج الملك عن عقبه إلى بني مروان [. . .] (fol. 191v)

٢) فصل ما قامت دولة باسم ملك إلا انقرضت بمثل ذلك الاسم الذي قامت به :بنو حرب أولهم معاوية بن أبي سفيان آخرهم معاوية بن يزيد [. . .] (fol. 192r)

٣) فصل فيمن رأس وهو صغير السن : أسامة بن زيد ولاه النبي عليه السلام على حشر فيه كبار الصحابة وهو دون العشرين سنة [. . .] (fol. 192v)

٤) فصل فيه تراجم من ولي كتابة السر بمصر (fol. 192v)

١) عبد الوهاب بن فضل الله العدوي شرف الدين (ت ٧١٧)

٢) علي بن أحمد بن سعيد بن الأثير القاضي علاء الدين بن تاج الدين الحلبي (٧٣٠)

٣) يحيى بن فضل الله بن مجلي محيي الدين بن محمد بن جمال الدين العمري (٧٣٨)

٤) فتح الدين محمد بن محيي الدين عبد الله بن عبد الظاهر بن نشوان بن عبد الظاهر (ت ٦٩١)

٥) أحمد بن علي بن أحمد بن خيران أبو محمد (ت ٤٣٢)

٦) علي بن منجب بن سليمان أبو القاسم المعروف بابن الصيرفي (٥٤٢)

٧) علي بن يحيى بن الحسن بن الحسين بن علي بن محمد الأسدي الحلي أبو الحسن نجم الدين (ت ٦٤٢)

٨) حسين بن جوهر أبو عبد الله (ت ٤٠١)

٩) علي بن محمد بن كاسيبويه أبو الحسين المؤتمن المصري وقيل علي بن أحمد (ت ٥٨٨)

١٠) محمد بن الحسين بن إبراهيم بن المسلم بن محمد بن عبد الله بن يوسف بن سلاح أبو عبد الله الفهري (ت ٥١٥)

١١) محمود بن عبد الله الكلستاني التركي بدر الدين الحنفي (ت ٨٠١)

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[166]See the facsimile edition of the Istanbul Ms. Fatih 4116 produced by F. Sezgin (Frankfurt, 1990), 1:214–16 (Copts) and 216–18 (Jews).

[167]Fol. 195bis is another sample of a card added by al-Maqrīzī at a place where it coincided with the main text.

Commentary:
The remaining space at the end of quire XXI was filled later on with four sections written at the same time, at least for the first three and the beginning of the fourth, as indicated by the color of the ink and the general style of the script. This could suggest that al-Maqrīzī was once again copying from a source, although I am more disposed to consider these sections to be the result of his own reflection on history. The following statement found at the end of the first section could confirm this impression: after having listed the various dynasties which originated with a founder whose power was passed on to his descendants, he gives a final contemporaneous example, saying ″Barqūq awwal qā'im min mulūk al-jarākisah intaqala al-mulk 'an 'aqibihi ilá mamlūkihi al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh wa-naḥnu al-ān fī zamanihi.″ On this basis and assuming that this is really al-Maqrīzī′s own statement, this passage constitutes an important clue for dating this part of the notebook (between 815/1412 and 824/1421).

The first three sections must be considered together as far as the theme is concerned: it is announced in the first section only, but the following two undoubtedly belong to it. The coincidences *(ittifāqāt)* noticed in history amazed Muslim historians who regularly stressed these in their books.[168] In this case, however, complete lists are given rather than individual cases, showing al-Maqrīzī′s process of systemization. Nonetheless, he does not seem to have proceeded further in this direction in any of his books. It should remind us, however, of al-Maqrīzī′s personal relation with Ibn Khaldūn during his stay in Cairo and the influence the latter must have had on his younger colleague.

The fourth section is completely different as it gathers several biographies of secretaries in Egypt, from the Fatimid to the Mamluk period. No chronological or alphabetical order is respected in this section. This indicates that al-Maqrīzī, at different dates as confirmed by the variation of the ink, added data, which he acquired from his readings. No doubt it was intended for his work on secretaries entitled *Khulāṣat al-Tibr fī Akhbār Kuttāb al-Sirr*.[169]

C. ADDENDUM

Since the publication of the first section of this article, I have been able to identify the source of some abstracts dealt with there, or to verify some of my hypotheses.

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[168]See Barbara Langner, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Volkskunde Ägyptens nach mamlukischen Quellen* (Berlin, 1983), 111–12, where the author points out several samples collected in various histories written by later historians (Ibn al-Dawādārī, Ibn Taghrībirdī, and Ibn Iyās), but pertaining to earlier periods such as the Fatimid period. She studied them in a section entitled *″gharā'ib al-ittifāq.″* To these, one may add the following one found in Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam,* 16:54, where the author concluded saying: *″wa-hādhā min al-ittifāqāt al-ẓarīfah.″*

[169]See above, XXXVII.

The progressive study of many other sources will probably lead to further identification of the sources of other resumés, excerpts, and notes listed in both sections of this article which remain unknown.

No. VII (″Maqriziana I/1,″ 48–52), entitled *Faṣl fī Manāfi' al-Ḥayawān,* is very close to Ibn Zuhr′s *Khawāṣṣ al-Ḥayawān,* although the order in which the animals are listed differs. I concluded that al-Maqrīzī probably relied on an intermediate source which reordered Ibn Zuhr′s data. The source was finally found to be **Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī**′s *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār,* of which volume 20 is dedicated to animals and plants.[170] The resumé made by al-Maqrīzī exactly matches the text both in its wording and order.

No. XVII (″Maqriziana I/1,″ 60–62) contains excerpts dealing with numismatics and metrology of the eastern parts of the Muslim world. I made no proposal for the source of this excerpt, but since the publication of the article I ascertained that one of the most well-informed sources for this matter outside the areas concerned was **Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī**′s *Masālik al-Abṣār,* which must be considered al-Maqrīzī′s primary source for many matters. The data found in the resumé corresponds to what one can read on this subject in this encyclopedia.[171] As already noted, al-Maqrīzī had access to this source precisely in 831,[172] meaning that this part of the notebook can be dated accordingly. But another conclusion can be made: no. XIX was already identified as a resumé of another part of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī′s *opera omnia,* and together with no. XVII now clearly identified as coming from the same source, we can determine that no. XVIII (a resumé of Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī′s *Sīrat al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī*), which is inserted in the same quire, was consequently written at the same date. This is extremely important for the dating of the redaction of some portions of *Al-Khiṭaṭ* and *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā'*.

No. XX (″Maqriziana I/1,″ 64–65) consisted of several *faṣl*s dealing with juridical matters. The first of these regarded problems of metrology and I surmised that it could have been taken from a work written by Ibn al-Rif'ah (d. 710/1310), entitled *Al-Īḍāḥ wa-al-Tibyān fī Ma'rifat al-Mikyāl,* on the basis of the appearance of his

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[170]Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār: Al-Juz' al-'Ishrūn Khāṣṣ bi-al-Ḥayawān wa-al-Nabāt,* ed. Muḥammad Nāyif al-Dulaymī (Beirut, 1419/1999).

[171]See Etienne Quatremère, ″Notices sur l′ouvrage qui a pour titre: *Mesalek alabsar fi memalek alamsar, Voyage des yeux dans les royaumes des différentes contrées* (Manuscrit arabe de la Bibliothèque du Roi, no. 583),″ *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque du Roi et autres bibliothèques* 13 (1838): 151–384, particularly 210–12, 223. For more details, see ″Maqriziana VI: Numismatics and Metrology in al-Maqrīzī′s Notebook″ (forthcoming).

[172]See ″Maqriziana I/1,″ 64.

name in the resumé for a personal statement and the collation made by one editor of al-Maqrīzī's *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd* with the original text. Since that time, I have obtained a copy of the edition of Ibn al-Rif'ah's work[173] and can confirm that it corresponds literally to the resumé found in the notebook. The problem of the source of the first *faṣl* is thus solved, and there remains to be determined whether the other parts of these sections come from Ibn al-Rif'ah's commentary on al-Shīrāzī's *Al-Tanbīh,* as I suggested.

No. XXII ("Maqriziana I/1," 66–68) occupies the majority of the last quire found in the notebook. It differs slightly from all the other resumés as it contains a long biography of a Mamluk amir who was al-Maqrīzī's contemporary (d. 812). At that time, I concluded that al-Maqrīzī devoted a biography to him in his biographical dictionary of his contemporaries, *Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-A'yān al-Mufīdah,* although the complete manuscript of this text was unavailable to researchers. Since then, an edition prepared by its owner has appeared on the market.[174] The biography of this amir can be found in the last volume (3:562–72). My conviction was that the text present in the notebook was nothing other than a preliminary stage of redaction for that work. Now that a collation can be made between both texts, one notices that the final version found in *Durar al-'Uqūd* is more elaborate, although some passages appear verbatim in the notebook. Al-Maqrīzī also added some personal information not found in the notebook to complete the portrait. Considering the material facts stressed earlier (the impression of rapid writing, numerous marginal additions and cancellations), I am confident that the version in the notebook is not the result of a summarizing process, but rather is actually a preliminary version of what became *Durar al-'Uqūd*.

D. LIST OF THE SOURCES[175]

Entry no.	Author	Title
I	Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah	*'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā'*
II	Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam	*Futūḥ Miṣr wa-Akhbārihā*
III	[Ibn Mammātī]	*[Qawānīn al-Dawāwīn]*
IV/1–5, 7	[Ibn al-Kindī]	*[Faḍā'il Miṣr]*
IV/6	[Qudāmah ibn Ja'far]	*[Al-Kharāj]* (?)

[173]Ed. M. Aḥmad Ismā'īl al-Khārūf (Mecca, 1980).

[174]Ed. Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī (Beirut, 2002), 4 vols. (vol. 4: indexes).

[175]Square brackets indicate that the name of the author and/or the title of the source are not given by al-Maqrīzī, but were identified through various methods as being his source without a doubt. If there is any doubt concerning this attribution, the name and/or title are followed by a question mark.

IV/8	al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil	*[Ta'līq al-Mutajaddidāt]*
V	al-Ṣafadī	*Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafāyāt*
VI	?	?
VII	[Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī]	*[Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār]*
VIII	?	?
IX	Ibn al-Mutawwaj	*Al-Khiṭaṭ*
X	[al-Gharnāṭī]	*[Tuḥfat al-Albāb]*
XI	?	?
XII	Ibn Naẓīf	*[Al-Tārīkh al-Manṣūrī]*
XIII	Ibn Naẓīf	*[al-Kashf wa-al-Bayān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān]*
XIV	?	?
XV	Wakī'	*Al-Danānīr wa-al-Darāhim*
XVI	?	?
XVII	[Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī]	*[Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār]*
XVIII	Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī	*Sīrat al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī*
XIX	[Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī]	*[Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār]*
XX/1	[Ibn al-Rif'ah]	*[Al-Īḍāḥ wa-al-Tibyān fī Ma'rifat al-Mikyāl]*
XXI	[al-Zamakhsharī]	*[al-Kashshāf 'an Ḥaqā'iq al-Tanzīl]*
XXII	[al-Maqrīzī]	*[Durar al-'Uqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-A'yān al-Mufīdah]*
XXIII	al-Kirmānī	*Rāḥat al-'Aql*
XXIV	?	?
XXV	[al-Balawī]	*[Al-Sīrah al-Ṭūlūnīyah]*
XXVI	?	?
XXVII	Ibn 'Asākir	*[Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq]* (?)
XXVIII	al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil	*Ta'līq al-Mutajaddidāt*
XXIX	?	?
XXX	?	?
XXXI	al-Mas'ūdī	*Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Ma'ādin al-Jawhar*
XXXII	?	?
XXXIII	[Ibn Sa'īd]	*[Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib]* (?)
XXXIV	[al-Balawī]	*[Al-Sīrah al-Ṭūlūnīyah]*
XXXV	[al-Nuwayrī]	*[Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab]*
XXXVI	al-Mas'ūdī	*[Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Ma'ādin al-Jawhar]*
XXXVII	?	?
XXXVIII	[al-Musabbiḥī]	*[Akhbār Miṣr]*

XXXIX	Ibn al-Naqqāsh	*[Al-ʻIbar fī Man Maḍá wa-Ghabar]*
XL	?	?
XLI	?	?
XLII	al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil	*Taʻlīq al-Mutajaddidāt*
XLIII	?	?
XLIV	?	?
XLV	[al-Balawī]	[*Al-Sīrah al-Ṭūlūnīyah*]
XLVI	al-Rashīd ibn al-Zubayr	*Jinān al-Janān wa-Riyāḍ al-Adhhān*
XLVII	[al-Balawī]	*[Al-Sīrah al-Ṭūlūnīyah]*
XLVIII	[al-Rashīd ibn al-Zubayr] (?)	*[Jinān al-Janān wa-Riyāḍ al-Adhhān]* (?)
XLIX	[al-Rashīd ibn al-Zubayr]	*[Jinān al-Janān wa-Riyāḍ al-Adhhān]*
L/1	[al-Rashīd ibn al-Zubayr] (?)	*[Jinān al-Janān wa-Riyāḍ al-Adhhān]* (?)
L/2–3	?	?
LI	Ibn al-Naqqāsh	*Al-ʻIbar fī Man Maḍá wa-Ghabar*
LII	[Ibn al-Jawzī]	*[Al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-al-Umam]*
LIII	[al-Nuwayrī]	*[Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab]*
LIV	?	?
LV	[Ibn al-Jawzī]	*[Al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-al-Umam]*
LVI/1–2	[Ibn Saʻīd]	*[Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib]*
LVI/3–35, 38–42	?	?
LVI/36–37	[Ibn ʻAsākir]	*[Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq]*
LVII	[Ibn Saʻīd]	*[Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib]*
LVIII	[Ibn al-Jawzī]	*[Al-Muntaẓam fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wa-al-Umam]*
LIX	al-Yaghmūrī	?
LX	Ibn Saʻīd	*Al-Muḥallá bi-al-Ashʻār*
LXI	Ibn Saʻīd	*Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib*
LXII	?	?
LXIII	Ibn ʻAsākir	*Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*
LXIV	Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī	*Sīrat al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī*
LXV	al-Musabbiḥī	*Akhbār Miṣr*
LXVI	?	?
LXVII	Ibn ʻAsākir	*Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*
LXVIII	?	?
LXIX	[al-Nuwayrī] (?)	*[Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab]* (?)

LXX	[al-Nuwayrī]	*[Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab]*
LXXI	al-Maqrīzī (?)	—

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Crime in Mamluk Historiography: A Fraud Case Depicted by Ibn Taghrībirdī

Fraud and crimes related to corrupt fiscal practices figured prominently among references to criminal activity as chroniclers of the Mamluk period reported such episodes. A crime, as distinct from other categories of violence, may be defined as an act deemed by its recorder(s) as worthy of investigation, apprehension, prosecution, and retribution.

Of roughly 1,100 cases discerned in a group of prominent Mamluk-era histories, fraud-related crimes constituted some fifteen percent (167 incidents).[1] Included in this broad category were cases involving manipulation of *waqf* properties, fiscal extortion, generalized corruption (the largest group with 60 incidents), embezzlement, false witness, forgery, and fraud itself (defined as a crime linked specifically to mendacity). The range of actions the chroniclers described, and the diversity of their contexts, were truly multifarious. While the majority of incidents touched upon the laundering or other misappropriation of fiscal assets (but not larceny or theft, which constituted a separate category), fraud-related crimes included sale of defective goods, faking weights and measures, forcing purchases of otherwise unsalable goods, hoarding and price fixing, racketeering through connivance with gangs, falsification of accounts, spreading of rumors deliberately to stimulate civic unrest, and a host of elaborate con schemes.

I am still in the process of collating these crimes among their various types, since few incidents fit neatly into one category and most can be considered in several. I have also discovered that generalizations about classification of criminal acts offer few insights unless they are closely tied to discrete incidents as illustrations. I therefore have selected one well-documented case of fraud for discussion, as an example of the kind of activity that attracted the notice of historians active during the Mamluk period. It emerged as perhaps the most interesting scheme by a con artist that I have encountered.

The incident was recorded by only one chronicler, albeit among the best

[1]The collection of criminal cases was conducted to support a study, ongoing at the present time, of crime and its social context in Mamluk Cairo and Damascus. The incident discussed here is indicative of the nuanced detail frequently included in the narratives presented by contemporary chroniclers such as Ibn Taghrībirdī.

known: Ibn Taghrībirdī, in his *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr*.[2] The incident, or at least its prosecution, occurred during the month of Shawwāl 858/September–October 1455. The case involved an individual of the *awlād al-nās* (descendants of first-generation Mamluk soldiers) named Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī ibn Īnāl (no relation to the sultan of that name). Ibn Taghrībirdī initiated his discussion by stating that this Muḥammad went into hiding when a princess *(khawand),* daughter of the former sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (815–24/1412–21), brought suit against him after he had instigated the demolition of a belvedere, or *manẓarah,* known as al-Tāj, the Crown, with Five Sides (i.e., a pentagon, although some described it with seven sides or a septagon) and his expropriation of its materials for resale.

Ibn Taghrībirdī described this person as ″one repugnant″ to the sultan, al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq (842–57/1438–53). The latter had raised Muḥammad from childhood since the ruler had shared a bond of camaraderie with his father. Indeed, Jaqmaq had begun his career in the father′s service, prior to his own promotion by Sultan Barqūq (two reigns: 784–801/1382–99). Jaqmaq as an amir had placed Muḥammad in his own company of mamluks. But this Muḥammad had other ideas about his future, apparently, since he abandoned soldiering for the path of an itinerant Sufi. Ibn Taghrībirdī described him, contemptuously, as adopting the guise of a mendicant or *faqīr* who solicited (more bluntly, begged, *sa'ala*) alms from the populace. Ibn Taghrībirdī claimed that this individual was lazy, lethargic, and quite content with his chosen agenda, until Jaqmaq was enthroned as sultan. He then summoned Muḥammad and ordered him to resume his military garb. But Muḥammad refused his patron′s demand, unlike his brother Aḥmad, who conformed to behavior more appropriate to his class.

When Jaqmaq promoted the brother Aḥmad to the rank of amir of ten, Muḥammad was ″consumed with envy″ but still refused to conform. Instead, he became even more audacious with his solicitation, and took to riding a donkey up to the citadel where he collected alms from the elite stationed there. Muḥammad displayed unique skills in his calling, it would seem, since he gained status among the influential, abandoned his donkey for a horse, and ultimately won the post of court audiencer *(amīr shakkār)*. He attained his brother′s rank as amir of ten that he had coveted. Ibn Taghrībirdī noted that he was awarded several allotments *(iqṭāʻāt)* set aside for the *ḥalqah* reserve corps.

But none of this satisfied Muḥammad′s ambition, and it is at this stage of the narrative that Ibn Taghrībirdī noted his cross-over into crime. Muḥammad alleged to Sultan Jaqmaq that frequenters of the Tāj belvedere were committing ″fornication and other shocking acts″ on the premises. ″Its demolition would thus be meritorious.″

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[2](Beirut, 1994), 2:500, line 16; ed. William Popper, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, vol. 8, pts. 1–4 (Berkeley, 1930–42), pt. 2:216, line 1.

Ibn Taghrībirdī emphatically dismissed this claim. He described the belvedere as ″one of the loveliest buildings in Miṣr—and one of the most respectable.″ He mentioned that its resident shaykh, by the name of Ḥaydar, was ″among the worthiest of persons, religious, pious, and righteous.″ Indeed, the populace came to him with their supplications, presumably for his intercession with the Divine on their behalf. Shaykh Ḥaydar had established a *zāwiyah* at the site and had attracted a devout community of mystics.

Ibn Taghrībirdī went on to note that the belvedere, located in the vicinity of Kawm al-Rīsh outside al-Qāhirah, had deteriorated prior to the sultanate of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh. The latter had intervened to invest 20,000 dinars in its restoration. The sultan developed a special affinity for the site, and visited it on numerous occasions after its restoration. Subsequently, Sultan Barsbāy (825–41/1422–38) established the shaykh Ḥaydar, now described more precisely as a Rifā'ī, in the belvedere. The shaykh had founded the *zāwiyah* in the *ṭarīqah* of this order. Sultan Barsbāy granted the shaykh a stipend for this purpose, and Ḥaydar had presided over his *zāwiyah* for three decades, with all due propriety—before this Muḥammad impugned his reputation. Ibn Taghrībirdī was himself a close friend of the shaykh Ḥaydar, noting that he was ″decent and upright with regard to what the riffraff of Persians cast at him.″

Yet despite his unsavory past, Muḥammad managed to persuade Sultan Jaqmaq about the veracity of his allegation. The sultan ordered the belvedere razed—under Muḥammad′s supervision. He appropriated all of its material (whether known to Jaqmaq is unclear), which he sold. Ibn Taghrībirdī mentioned ″an exorbitant quantity of building stones, wood, iron window fixtures, and other items beyond calculation.″ The belvedere became ″a ruin inhabited by mendicants.″ The audacious Muḥammad actually used some of the razed materials to build a structure at the Hill of the New Quarter *(kawm al-qanṭarah al-jadīdah)*. Ibn Taghrībirdī stated that the locals mockingly dubbed it ″the wanton″ (*al-makhlū'ah*). ″Hashish users and others steeped in depravity repaired to it.″ The populace were profoundly grieved over the demolition of the lovely belvedere.

Ibn Taghrībirdī now digressed into a detailed description of the sordid Muḥammad. He was tall, long of beard, bushy of mustache, reckless in speech. As for his dress, he wore the cloth headgear of (common) marketeers, and a mantle with wide sleeves—in the guise of the Bedouin from al-Buḥayrah. He rode on a Bedouin-style saddle, in the fashion of the *'Arab* also. On occasion, he held a hunting falcon on his arm. This individual was indeed so adept in altering his appearance that he often went unrecognized in the streets. Ibn Taghrībirdī did not admire his skill at image transformation, however, since he found his demeanor ″repulsive and ridiculous,″ even comical—his bearing ″indicative of triviality of mind, (proof that) insanity appears in diverse forms.″ Nonetheless, Muḥammad

continued on his trajectory of schemes and depravity with success until al-Ashraf Īnāl (857–65/1453–61) succeeded Jaqmaq. He immediately stripped Muḥammad of his amir′s rank and dismissed him as court audiencer. His status declined until al-Mu'ayyad′s daughter formally denounced him. In suit, she demanded the value of materials expropriated from the demolished belvedere her father had built—presumably as an inheritance due her (possibly under *waqf* trust). Ibn Taghrībirdī stated that the accused remained in custody for several days, yielded up a fraction of the value of the expropriated materials—less than 1,000 dinars—and then went into hiding until the *khawand* expired (no date given, but other data suggest a lengthy seclusion). He eventually reappeared and took to his house. The entry terminated without further disclosure.

So, what to make of this intriguing affair? First of all, Ibn Taghrībirdī lavished far more detail on Muḥammad′s deviance from the stance of a respectable member of the *awlād al-nās* and their *ḥalqah* corps, entitled to a comfortable if not profligate living from his allotments, than he did on particulars of the fraud case itself. Perhaps he knew nothing more about its facts, but no chronicler was better informed of court intrigues than Ibn Taghrībirdī. Ibn Taghrībirdī was particularly incensed by Muḥammad′s smirching of Shaykh Ḥaydar′s reputation. Quite possibly, his vitriolic denunciation masked a rivalry between two sharply contrasting representatives of Sufi activism in Cairo. Ibn Taghrībirdī loathed the heterodox life-style of the mendicant Sufis, who disdained the shari'ah-oriented strictures of the more conventional *ṭarīqah*s, and indulged in drug use and other practices castigated by the formal religious establishment but appealing to many elements of the commons.

But for whatever reason, Ibn Taghrībirdī disclosed little about the actual nature of the suit and its litigation, presumably in the appeals *(maẓālim)* court presided over by Sultan Īnāl. The substantive facts warranting the suit were only two: 1) that Muḥammad had allegedly lied to Sultan Jaqmaq about sordid, possibly illegal, acts occurring on the premises of the belvedere, and 2) that the daughter of the belvedere′s founder, al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, could put a lien on the materials removed from the belvedere upon its demolition that Muḥammad had sold.

With regard to the first, Ibn Taghrībirdī made clear his own revulsion over behavior exhibited by visitors (he would describe as revelers, by inference, fornicators) to the belvedere. But despite his choler, it is possible to envisage some debate at a court hearing over the illegality of such behavior. And in any case, Ibn Taghrībirdī provided no details about whether such acts were formally attested by sworn witnesses. As noted above, Ibn Taghrībirdī′s denunciation of these acts, and his defense of Shaykh Ḥaydar, likely conceal a long-standing tension between the shaykh and Muḥammad—and more broadly, over opposing orientations within Sufi life-styles. But whatever rancor existed between the two

over their contrasting Sufi paths, Ibn Taghrībirdī's assertions remain allegations unsupported by description of the litigious proceedings themselves. We have his word only about Muḥammad's character. Indeed, Muḥammad's personal decisions about his abandonment of a soldier's career as a *walad nās* in the *ḥalqah* corps for the life of a mendicant, his solicitation of influential persons for alms, or his adoption of peculiar modes of dress that effectively disguised him may have sullied Ibn Taghrībirdī's own standard of conduct (recall that he too was a *walad nās*). But there was nothing intrinsically illegal about these decisions—unless they could be tied to specific malfeasance.

In fact, this Muḥammad, considered objectively, comes across as an imaginative figure who elected to cross boundaries that defined behavioral norms considered appropriate to class conduct and fixed by time-honored tradition. And more relevant to this case, he got away with crossing them and prospered accordingly. An incident that relies solely on one observer's version does not allow for the offender's voice to be heard. So, we do not have any indication of Muḥammad's perspective on these events.

With regard to the second fact, supporting details are sparse. The daughter of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh is not named, but simply referred to as the princess or *al-khawand.* Although her death date cannot be ascertained from Ibn Taghrībirdī's account, she may not have died in 858/1455 or soon after the events of this case. Al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh produced several children who lived beyond infancy, including two sons and at least three daughters whose deaths can be dated. One of the sons, Aḥmad, would briefly succeed Shaykh upon his demise in 824/1421, as Sayf al-Dīn Abū al-Sa'ādāt. Deposed within months, at less than two years of age, Aḥmad would be imprisoned in Alexandria along with his surviving brother, Ibrāhīm. Both would die by the plague nine years later. I raise this issue because of its possible relevance to the daughter's claim. No male heirs survived to 858/1455 and thus could not demand right of precedence in any legal proceeding. With regard to the daughter, this individual seems somewhat elusive. A check of relevant biographical sources (Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī and al-Sakhāwī), and obituaries at the end of year logs in relevant chronicles turned up three females fathered by al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh. Two of these individuals died in 816/1413 and 842/1438–39 respectively.[3] I also found obituaries of two women: one described as Khawand Āsīyah, wife of the prominent *dawādār* Yashbak al-Faqīh, and Shaykh's last surviving child. She died in Shawwāl of 891/September–October 1486.[4] The other was listed as Shaykh's granddaughter, and thus was the probable child of this

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[3]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi' fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Tāsi'* (Cairo, 1353/1934), 12:163, nos. 1022, 1023.

[4]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr* (Cairo and Wiesbaden, 1960–63), 3:234.

Khawand Āsīyah. She died in 918/1512.[5] While her mother was not named in the obituary, her father was the same Grand *Dawādār,* Yashbak al-Faqīh. Al-Sakhāwī mentioned a husband for only one of the two daughters he listed (the first died at the age of nine and was unmarried), and this was one Qurqmās. So Āsīyah, deceased in 891 according to Ibn Iyās, was likely the *khawand* noted here by Ibn Taghrībirdī. (If Āsīyah was indeed the relevant individual, then she would not appear in obituaries listed in the *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr*, which terminates in 873/1469.)

Returning to the lien claimed by the *khawand,* Ibn Taghrībirdī makes no mention of the property′s legal status. The term *waqf* appears nowhere in the entry, nor do any details about the belvedere′s heritability. The possibility of the belvedere′s inclusion among Shaykh′s *waqf* properties is strong, but cannot be ascertained pending an examination of his *waqf* deed. The possibility is bolstered by the properties listed at the end of Shaykh′s biography in the *Ḍaw'*.[6] The belvedere is noted prominently, and may have represented the second most costly site among Shaykh′s endowments, following the sultan′s tomb mosque at the Bāb Zuwaylah. If the belvedere did belong to the properties protected by Shaykh′s trust, then, on the assumption that *waqf* provisos granted its heirs perpetual access to at least some of its proceeds following any sale, this *khawand* had a legal case.

Other possible circumstances must be considered. For example, an anomaly is apparent in this incident. Ibn Taghrībirdī claims that Sultan Jaqmaq had been discomfited for years about his ward′s rejection of a soldier′s duties and his subsequent behavior. Yet when Muḥammad raised his allegations about heinous acts occurring at the belvedere, the sultan accepted them at face value. How probable would this be, unless other circumstances influenced his decision? The possibility of collusion between the sultan and mendicant for mutual profit cannot be discounted here. Plundering materials from existing structures is well known as a practice widespread during the Circassian period, when the economy was stagnating and cash flows available to the elites for new construction were depleted. But such expedients, especially if they involved properties shielded under *waqf,* were usually restricted to the sultan himself. Note that it was Jaqmaq who endorsed the demolition. But did he endorse Muḥammad′s subsequent sale of the razed materials? While this is unclear, collusion for mutual profit is a plausible scenario.

Also note that when Īnāl was enthroned, he reviewed acts of nepotism by his predecessor, and stripped Muḥammad of his sinecures. Only then did the *khawand* file her claim. Ibn Taghrībirdī stated that she received less than 1,000 dinars, a fraction of the original expenditure by her father decades earlier—even discounting for inflation. Ibn Taghrībirdī claimed that Muḥammad went on to build a structure

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[5]Ibid., 4:258.

[6]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmi',* 3:308, no. 1190; see p. 310 bottom.

that was popularly derided as a den of iniquity. But he makes no mention of Īnāl demolishing it to provide restitution. Presumably, Shaykh Ḥaydar's Rifā'ī *zāwiyah* did not survive the belvedere's demolition. But the entry concludes with Muḥammad re-emerging and seeking seclusion in his house. If Khawand Āsīyah was actually the instigator of the suit, then Muḥammad remained a recluse for more than thirty years. Could he have resumed his old tricks after so long an interval? Did he do so clandestinely while in hiding? Did his disguises aid him in this endeavor? Who knows? Ibn Taghrībirdī asserted that Muḥammad's personal depravity would indeed be assessed and retribution imposed—but only by the All-High on Judgment Day *(yawm al-qiyāmah).*

APPENDIX I: Translation of the Original Entry

Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr* (1994 edition), 2:500, line 16; (1932 Popper edition), 8:216, line 1
In these days (Shawwāl 858), Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī ibn Īnāl fled *(haraba),* and no one knew where he had gone. The reason for his retreat *(tasaḥḥubihi):* the *khawand,* daughter of al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad, complained about him due to his demolition of the observatory/belvedere *(manẓarah)* of five sides *(al-khams wujūh)* known as al-Tāj, and seven sides. Also, his expropriation of its debris/material *(anqāḍihi).*

line 20: This Muḥammad was one of those offensive/repugnant *(musī')* to al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq. He had raised him while young *(rabbāhu ṣaghīran),* because al-Ẓāhir, prior to his arrival [in the service of] al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, was a mamluk of the amir ʻAlī, father of the aforementioned Muḥammad. In consequence of that, he [al-Ẓāhir] took custody of him and raised him. Then, he placed him *(jaʻalahu)* in his company *(jumlah)* of mamluks when he grew up *(kabara)*. He continued this way for several years. Then, it seemed appropriate for him to cease soldiering *(yatraku zayy al-jund)* and dress as a mendicant (Sufi) person *(faqīrī)*. He became a mendicant *(tafaqqara)* and begged *(sa'ala)* from the populace. He became lethargic *(tukhūmila),* and continued like that for a time *(dāma ʻalá dhalika dahran),* until al-Malik al-Ẓāhir became sultan. He [then] summoned him and ordered him to dress as he had done initially. He refused to do so, and persisted as he was. His brother Aḥmad was also in the service of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq.

p. 501, line 1: Aḥmad was the elder. They were carefree *(ghayr ashqā')*. Al-Malik al-Ẓāhir promoted his brother Aḥmad to the rank of amir of ten. When Muḥammad noted what had befallen his brother Aḥmad, envy consumed him. He remained unwilling to return to soldiering. He opened another door of soliciting *(fataḥa bāban ākhir min al-sawā'il),* begging *(ṭalab),* and extortion *(balṣ)*. Yet he was not satisfied/content *(ṣāra la yaqnaʻu)* with what was in the treasury *(bayt al-māl)* from al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq. He persisted in riding a donkey, ascended to the Citadel, and frequented *(yataraddadu ilá)* prominent persons *(al-akābir)* and solicited them *(yas'aluhum)* properly and illegally *(ṭayyibatan wa-ghaṣban)*. He behaved *(aẓhara)* in repulsive ways *(min qabīḥ al-khiṣāl),* and with gross greed *(ʻiẓam al-ṭamaʻ),* as will be related about him on the Day of Judgment *(yawm al-qiyāmah).* Then, after a while he rode a horse and assumed [the rank of] amir audiencer *(shakkāran)*. Subsequently, he was promoted amir of ten. That was after he assumed *(akhadha)* several allotments *(iqṭāʻāt)* of the *ḥalqah* reserve corps.

None of this satisfied him so that he alleged/disclosed *(anhá)* to al-Malik al-Ẓāhir that in al-Tāj fornication *(fawāḥish)* and horrendous acts *(umūr ʻaẓīmah)* were occurring on the part of the observers/spectators *(mutafarrijīn).* Its demolition [therefore] would be highly meritorious *(min akbar al-maṣāliḥ).* There was no truth to his speech. For indeed, this site was one of the loveliest buildings in Miṣr and the most respectable *(anzahuhā)*. As for the shaykh Ḥaydar who was dwelling there, he was one of the worthiest of people, religious, pious, and righteous *(ʻiffah).* He was among those of whom supplications were solicited. A mihrab had been built there [or he did so] and was called none other than the *zāwiyah*.

line 14: Altogether *(bi-al-jumlah),* the Tāj was one of the handsomest [of structures] in the world. It was one of the old buildings near Kawm al-Rīsh outside Cairo. Its structure had deteriorated [literally, disrupted, *tashaʻʻaba*] and it was demolished. Al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, may God praise him, restored it, and spent on it [literally, indemnified it, *gharama ʻalayhi*] approximately 20,000 dinars. He descended to it from the Citadel several times. He resided there and held a review *(khidmah)* there. He wished to build up *(ʻamara)* its surroundings, and his desire was fulfilled [literally, Fortune overtook him, *adrakathu al-manīyah*]. Then, when al-Malik al-Ashraf Barsbāy was enthroned, he established this Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥaydar al-Rifāʻī and his brotherhood [there]. He [Barsbāy] granted him a stipend *(rizqah)* near to it. The aforementioned Ḥaydar dwelled there some thirty years. There was a firm friendship *(ṣuḥbah akīdah)* between me and him. He was among the singular *(al-afrād)* in his qualities *(maʻanāhu)*—religious, decent, upright *(ʻafīfan)* in what the riffraff of Persians [Sufis?] *(awbāsh al-ʻajam)* cast at him. May God the All-High have mercy on him.

line 22: When al-Malik al-Ẓāhir heard this Muḥammad′s speech, he believed it and ordered its [the belvedere′s] demolition. This Muḥammad supervised its razing and appropriated *(istawlá)* all its debris/material, which he sold—an exorbitant quantity *(bi-jumal mustaktharah)* of stones, wood, windows *(shabābīk)* of iron, and [many] other items, impossible to calculate *(la tudkhalu taḥt ḥaṣr).* The aforementioned al-Tāj became a ruin of the mendicants *(kharāb al-fuqarā')*. He [Muḥammad] was not satisfied with the demolition of al-Tāj until he built with some of its debris *(anqāḍihi)* a locality *(mawḍiʻan)* on the Hill of the New Quarter *(kawm al-qanṭarah al-jadīdah),* which the commons named the wanton *(al-makhlūʻah).* Hashish users and depraved ones repaired to it. All the people were sorrowed by the demolition of the aforementioned al-Tāj—to the extreme.

p. 502, line 1: The appearance *(hay'ah)* of this Muḥammad: he was a tall man, long of beard *(liḥyah)* and mustaches *(shawārib),* reckless *(ahwaj)* in his speech.

As for his dress, he wore on his head a piece of cloth *(shāsh)* like the common marketeers. He wore a mantle *(thiyāb)* with wide sleeves *(akmām kubār),* in the guise of the Bedouin *(ʻarab)* of al-Buḥayrah. He rode on a saddle of Bedouin type, in the style of the Arabs also. Then, on some occasions he held in his hand a bird of prey *(ṭayr al-jawāriḥ)* [falcon]. He walked in the streets in this guise. When one looked at him, one did not recognize him due to the changeability of his bearing *(amrihi)* and varied costume. His demeanor was repulsive and ridiculous/comical *(muhawwilah muḍḥikah)*. All that [indicating] one of the trivial of mind *(khiffat al-ʻaql),* [proof that] insanity appears in diverse forms *(wa-al-junūn funūn)*. He continued in this way until al-Malik al-Ashraf Īnāl became sultan. He stripped him of his officer′s rank and forbade him the [office of] amir audiencer *(shakkārīyah).* His status *(amruhu)* began to diminish until the daughter of al-Mu'ayyad denounced/brought suit against him. She demanded of him the price/value of what he had sold of the material from al-Tāj. He remained in custody for several days and yielded up some money—less than 1,000 dinars. Then he fled, where no one knew, until the time when she expired. Some days later he reappeared and took to his house.

APPENDIX II: AUTHOR OF THE SOURCE

Ibn Taghrībirdī (813–74/1411–69) was an admiring, but on occasion critical, disciple of the eminent historian al-Maqrīzī. Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf stood in awe of his mentor′s formidable intellect and moral integrity. Yet he was aware of al-Maqrīzī′s inner turmoil over ideological controversies, and endemic bitterness over his stalled career. Ibn Taghrībirdī appreciated the effect such emotions could have on his predecessor′s depiction of events. More relevant to issues at hand, he applied this realization to his own scholarship.

Ibn Taghrībirdī envisioned his second historiographical work, in which the preceding incident was discerned, as an extension of the detailed coverage and rigors of analysis maintained by al-Maqrīzī. *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr* (Episodes of the epoch that pass in days and months) begins where al-Maqrīzī′s *Kitāb al-Sulūk* left off, with the year 845/1441. It continues to 873/1469. More compact chronologically than its predecessor, the *Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* the *Ḥawādith* deals with events contemporaneous to its author. It focuses almost exclusively on incidents in Cairo. Although intrigues in the sultanic court loom with predictable prominence, the *Ḥawādith* offers myriad glimpses of life in the city′s teeming streets. Crimes committed at all levels of society, from members of the sultan′s household to unruly gangs of urban riffraff or *zuʿar,* are reported frequently, their depiction marked by the sobriety and thoroughness characteristic of al-Maqrīzī′s methodology. Ibn Taghrībirdī rarely let an incident pass without comment on motives, often followed by condemnation of moral laxity or falsification of evidence. Ibn Taghrībirdī did not confine his castigations to the lower orders. He reserved his intense vituperations for those at the apex of the ruling class. As a *walad nās* and son of a former amir, Ibn Taghrībirdī exploited his connections at court to fulminate against the excesses of its most exalted residents. His descriptions of their crimes were among the most gripping narratives noted in these texts. Overall, the *Ḥawādith* ranked among the most productive sources consulted for the larger study. The appearance of the preceding case is therefore consistent with the author′s objectives.

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The Making of a Sufi: al-Nuwayrī´s Account of the Origin of Genghis Khan

Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333), an administrator and historian in the reign of the Bahri Mamluk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (r. 693–94/1293–94, 698–708/1299–1309, 709–41/1310–41), authored the monumental encyclopedia and history entitled *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* between the years 714/1314 and 731/1330.[1] The fifth book of al-Nuwayrī´s gigantic work contains his dynastic histories, including a significant section on the history of the Mongols.[2] Reuven Amitai noted that this section on the Mongols has been largely overlooked by historians, describing it as ″*terra incognita* for virtually all scholars of the Mongol Empire in general.″[3] Amitai selects six episodes in al-Nuwayrī´s history of the Mongols to evaluate, comparing them briefly with other source materials. Among the six episodes is the account of the rise of Genghis Khan.

Al-Nuwayrī introduces his section on the Mongols by stating that he has gleaned his information from multiple sources, two of which are written histories: al-Nasawī´s (d. 638/1241) *Sīrat al-Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Mankubirtī*[4] and Ibn al-Athīr´s (d. 630/1233) *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*.[5] In addition to these, he claims to have compiled other information ″which was transmitted to us by their envoys who arrived at our rulers´ court from their direction, and others who came from their land.″[6] Amitai notes that the account of Genghis Khan´s rise to prominence is not found in either of the written sources and therefore appears to have been an

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[1]M. Chapoutot-Remadi, "Al-Nuwayrī," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 8:158.

[2]Volume 27 of the edition contains the dynastic history of the Mongols and is the source for this article. See Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,* vol. 27, ed. Saʿīd ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1975), 300–420.

[3]Reuven Amitai, "Al-Nuwayrī as a Historian of the Mongols," in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800),* ed. Hugh Kennedy (Leiden, 2001), 25.

[4]See al-Nasawī, *Histoire du Sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankobirti, prince du Kharezm,* ed. Octave V. Houdas (Paris, 1891–95).

[5]See Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salīm Tadmurī (Beirut, 1997).

[6]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 27:300; cf. translation in Amitai, "Al-Nuwayrī," 27, and Chapoutot-Remadi, "Al-Nuwayrī," 159.

addition of al-Nuwayrī.[7] Amitai has correctly evaluated this passage as apocryphal; however, he appears to have misinterpreted the historiographical intent of the episode. He has read the account as an attempt to describe Genghis Khan's Mongolian nomadic origins. This, however, does not seem to be the paradigm within which al-Nuwayrī is working. On the contrary, as will be shown below, this episode is apocryphal in the sense that it projects a fourteenth-century image of a Sufi ascetic upon the figure of Genghis Khan. It is from this perspective that al-Nuwayrī's account of the origin and rise of Genghis Khan is important, for it provides an example of Mamluk historiography concerning the history of the Mongols.

Al-Nuwayrī relates that Genghis Khan, early in his life, asked a Jew why Moses, Jesus, and Muḥammad had attained such an exalted station and great fame. The Jew replied by saying that they loved God and had consecrated themselves to him, and thus God granted them their exalted positions. Genghis Khan asked the Jew, "And if I love God and consecrate myself to him, will God give this to me?" The Jew said, "Yes, and I must also tell you that our books state that you will have a dynasty." So Genghis Khan left his work, which al-Nuwayrī says was a blacksmith, *ḥaddād,* for according to "their language" the *nisbah* Timurchi refers to the blacksmith,[8] and practiced asceticism, *tazahhada*. He withdrew from his people and his tribe and sought refuge in the mountain where he would eat those things which were permissible, *mubāḥāt*.

As a result of his ascetic practices, Genghis Khan's fame spread abroad. Groups from his tribe would go out to visit him but he would not speak with them. He would indicate to them to clap their hands. They would then say, "O God, O God, he is good" *(yā Allāh yā Allāh yakhshidir)*. They would continue this clapping and chanting while Genghis Khan danced.

Al-Nuwayrī closes this episode of Genghis Khan's life by mentioning that this practice was his routine with those who visited him. Even though he engaged in these practices, Genghis Khan is said to have not held to a particular religion or to have embraced a particular faith. Instead of affiliating with a religion, he devoted himself solely to the love of God *(maḥabbat Allāh)*. He dwelt in this state of isolation from his society as long as God desired for him to remain so.

The above episode presents multiple challenges for the interpreter. Amitai perceives that al-Nuwayrī's addition of this episode is intended to portray the Turkish and shamanistic roots of Genghis Khan. He states that this passage "appears to reflect several motifs in early Mongolian imperial history and culture."[9] While

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[7]Amitai, "Al-Nuwayrī," 27.

[8]وقد اختلف في نسبة جنكزخان الى التمرجى فقال قوم إنه كان حدادا والتمرجى بلغتهم هو الحداد (Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah*, 27:301).

[9]Amitai, "Al-Nuwayrī," 28.

some of the elements of the account could be understood in this manner, the preponderance of evidence indicates that al-Nuwayrī's objective is not to write the story of the rise of Genghis Khan according to "Mongolian imperial history and culture" but instead to strike him in the mold of a Sufi ascetic who manifests an honest spiritual desire for God in spite of his non-Islamic heritage. By doing so, al-Nuwayrī may be offering nominal religious justification for the success of Genghis Khan and the Mongols. This episode, therefore, must be interpreted in light of the Sufi terminology and themes evident within the account.

From the outset, al-Nuwayrī attempts to formulate the rise of Genghis Khan according to traditional motifs as indicated in his conversation with the Jew. The fact that Genghis Khan is made to ask about the success of Moses, Jesus, and Muḥammad establishes a foundation for the religious tropes that pervade the episode. Firstly, the importance of these figures within the Islamic tradition, they being the primary figures of their respective religious traditions of which Islam is the culmination, is undeniable. By placing the names of the primary figures of this monotheistic continuum on the lips of Genghis Khan, al-Nuwayrī attests to Genghis Khan's awareness of these men and his recognition of their superiority in the history of mankind. Amitai understands the reference to these religious figures as "an expression of the equanimity which the Mongols showed to different religions, what some scholars have called 'religious tolerance.'"[10] It is more likely, however, that the presence of these men in the account is an attempt to affiliate Genghis Khan with these men and to present him as a sympathetic, if not enthusiastic, seeker of the divine sanction enjoyed by these leaders. In fact, this reading of the encounter is confirmed later by his question to the Jew, "And if I love God and consecrate myself to him, will God give this [exalted station] to me?"

Moreover, the fact that Genghis Khan's discussant is a Jew and not a Christian or Muslim, and that this Jew mentions that his book refers to Genghis Khan and his future success, is most obviously an allusion to the Muslim claim that there are references to Muḥammad in the previous scriptures. In this regard, Amitai has adroitly assessed the text, "we may have here an echo of Muslim claims that the Jews had in their bible passages referring to the appearance of the prophet Muḥammad."[11] Later, Amitai implies that the reference to the future success of Genghis Khan as the leader of an empire is "an echo of the heavenly mandate to rule the world which Chingiss Khan and his descendants claimed."[12] Yet this text should not be read as a justification of Mongol power in the sense of validating belief in the heavenly mandate, but as an explanation to a Muslim community of

[10]Ibid.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Ibid, 28–29.

the reasons for the rise of these infidels.[13] Thus, these statements are not intended to reflect Mongol imperial ideology but to explain the great success of the Mongols to the Muslim community. Additionally, the inclusion of divine sanction upon the progenitor of the Mongol empire may reflect an indictment by al-Nuwayrī of his masters, the Mamluks. By stating that Genghis Khan enjoyed a degree of heavenly approval, our author may be implying that the rise of the Mongols is a divine judgment upon the decadence of the current Mamluk ruling elite. In any case, it is clear that from the beginning of this episode al-Nuwayrī's intention is to portray Genghis Khan in terms that would be understandable to his Muslim audience. His interest in the major figures of the monotheistic tradition is inserted to indicate a seminal affinity for Islam and its history.

After establishing this religio-ideological connection between Genghis Khan and the Islamic tradition, al-Nuwayrī proceeds to describe Genghis Khan's pursuit of God and those blessings that have been prophesied for him in manifestly Sufi terminology. He states that Genghis Khan practiced asceticism, *tazahhada,* utilizing a term that by the fourteenth century was employed with its technical meaning for the practice of Sufi orders.[14] As evidence of his ascetic pursuits, Genghis Khan withdrew from society and dwelt in the mountains. Once again, the insertion of this act conjures up a Sufi motif of the denial of the world with its concomitant isolation from society. In addition, al-Nuwayrī states that Genghis Khan ate food that was permissible according to Islamic law *(mubāḥāt)*.[15] By attributing to Genghis Khan foods that were acceptable, al-Nuwayrī affirms that Genghis Khan, though not a Muslim in the truest sense of the term, lived according to the strictures of Islamic law and thus did not defile himself by eating forbidden foods.

Al-Nuwayrī then relates one of the more interesting aspects of this episode. He states that Genghis Khan's fame spread abroad and that people from his tribe would travel to the mountains to visit him. When they arrived, Genghis Khan would not speak to them, *fa-lā yukallimuhum*. Instead he would indicate to them to clap their hands together and to chant, "O God, O God, he is good," *wa-yushīru*

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[13]The justification of foreign domination over Muslim lands was not uncommon in the literary productions of the Mamluk period as indicated by Ibn al-Nafīs' *Al-Risālah al-Kāmilīyah*. See Remke Kruk, "History and Apocalypse: Ibn al-Nafīs' Justification of Mamluk Rule," *Der Islam* 72, no. 2 (1995): 324–37.

[14]For a medieval discussion of the terms *zuhd* and *taṣawwuf* and their use as both general terms referring to asceticism in the early period of Islam and in connection to organized Sufi orders in the medieval period, see Ibn al-Jawzī's *Kitāb Ṣifat al-Ṣafwah* (Hyderabad, 1968), 1:4.

[15]For discussions on foods that are permissible and forbidden and the variations within the different sects of Islam, see M. Rodinson, "Ghidhā'," *EI*², 2:1057–72, and C. Pellat, "Ḥayawān," *EI*², 3:304–9.

ilayhim an yuṣaffiqū bi-akuffihim wa-yaqūlū: yā Allāh yā Allāh yakhshidir.[16] Al-Nuwayrī says that his visitors would perform this act for him while he danced, *fa-yafʿalūna dhalika wa-yuwaqqaʿūna lahu wa-huwa yarquṣu.*[17] It seems clear that al-Nuwayrī is describing a Sufi *dhikr* and projecting this form of spiritual devotion back onto Genghis Khan. The assembly of a crowd clapping their hands and chanting while Genghis Khan danced is certainly indicative of Sufi practice and, contrary to Amitai, should not be interpreted as ″some type of shamanistic ritual.″[18] Amitai states, ″it is known that Chinggis Khan himself had acted in a shamanist capacity early in his career, although apparently not in such a demonstrative capacity.″[19] Here, Amitai notes the unusual nature of this episode when compared to the traditional view of Genghis Khan′s early shamanistic tendencies but fails to recognize that this episode is not intended to be descriptive of Genghis Khan′s shamanism but of fourteenth-century Sufism.

When the text is interpreted according to a proper understanding of al-Nuwayrī′s historiography, other unusual aspects of the text become clearer. This is the case with the *dhikr* that is chanted by the tribal members.[20] The repetition of the phrase *yā Allāh* presents no interpretative challenges. However, the ensuing phrase is of particular interest. Amitai interprets this phrase by editing the text and claiming that the word *yakhshī* should be read *bakhshī*, a reference to a Buddhist lama.[21] He includes a transliteration of the root of this word in his footnotes but dismisses it as incorrect.[22] He implies that since the term *bakhshī* is used among later pro-Mongolian sources its inclusion in the text indicates that al-Nuwayrī was drawing his information from later sources.[23] However, he does not address the significance or meaning of the *d-r* which follows *yakhshī*. By failing to recognize al-Nuwayrī′s objectives in this episode, Amitai has confused the meaning of this phrase.

The phrase *y-kh-sh-y-d-r* must be read as a Turkish phrase meaning, ″he is good.″[24] The phrase cannot be read correctly in Arabic without the addition of an *alif* as a seat for the *tanwīn fatḥah* after the *d-r*, which would make the word *darr* function grammatically in the accusative, *mansūb*. This addition would allow for

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[16]The Arabic text reads: يشير إليهم أن يصفقوا بأكفهم، ويقولوا: يا الله يا الله يخشى در (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 27:302).

[17]The Arabic text reads: فيفعلون ذلك ويوقعون له وهو يرقص (ibid.).

[18]Amitai, "Al-Nuwayrī," 28.

[19] Ibid.

[20]The Arabic text reads: يا الله يا الله يخشى در (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 27:302).

[21]On the meaning of the term *bakhshī,* see P. Jackson, "Bak̲šī," *Encyclopaedia Iranica,* 3:535–36.

[22]See Amitai, "Al-Nuwayrī," 28, n. 20.

[23]Amitai, "Al-Nuwayrī," 29; Jackson, "Bak̲šī," 3:535–36.

[24]See Sir James W. Redhouse, *A Turkish-English Lexicon,* 2199.

the possible reading of *yakhshá darran,* meaning ″he fears bounty.″[25] While this reading could support the thematic emphasis upon asceticism, it does not incorporate the true sense of the phrase as is contained by rendering it in Turkish. In addition, a Turkish reading would seem to indicate that the phrase is used in reference to God in contrast to Amitai′s edition of the text which places the focus upon Genghis Khan as the *bakhshī.* As a result, when read as a Turkish phrase, it carries a clear and obvious meaning and does not need to be edited away. It also functions extremely well in the general tenor of the passage by maintaining the connections to Sufi terminology and practice. Thus, when taken as a whole, this *dhikr* must be interpreted as al-Nuwayrī′s utilization of a Sufi ritual to describe the spiritual pursuits of Genghis Khan and as having no relation to Buddhist lamas or authentic shamanistic practices.

According to al-Nuwayrī, the *dhikr* in which Genghis Khan participated was his normal practice when people came to visit him. He describes it as part of ″his habit,″ *da'bahu,* and ″his manner,″ *ṭarīqatahu*. It is noteworthy that al-Nuwayrī reinforces the term *da'b* with a synonym, a practice common in Arabic literature, which could also be interpreted in a technical sense meaning a Sufi order, *ṭarīqah.*[26] He follows this by stating that Genghis Khan did not espouse a particular religion, *diyānah,* nor did he embrace a certain faith, *millah,* but rather he devoted himself solely to the love of God, *bal mujarrada maḥabbat Allāh*. He closes this episode in Genghis Khan′s life with the statement that he dwelt in this state as long as God desired for him to remain there.

This last section is carefully constructed by al-Nuwayrī. The passage would appear to have conjured up in the mind of a fourteenth-century reader the concrete images of traditional Sufi practices. The implication of course would be that one may draw the connection between these practices and Genghis Khan being a proto-Muslim, as Amitai has said, ″a sort of Chingissid hanifism.″[27] By emphasizing that Genghis Khan was not an adherent to any formal religion, al-Nuwayrī refutes any such interpretation from his readers that his practices indicate he was a Muslim. Yet at the same time, he does not disparage Genghis Khan for his faith. On the contrary, he commends him as a genuine seeker of God who had devoted himself to loving God in the manner in which he knew how. Sufi asceticism seems to have offered al-Nuwayrī the most logical template from which to construct such an image of the great Mongol ruler.

The fact that this incident in the life of Genghis Khan has not yet been located

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[25]The term *darr* literally means "milk" though by extension it carries the connotation of "wealth," "beneficence," "bounty," etc. See Edward William Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon,* 3:863.

[26]See E. Geoffroy, "Ṭarīḳa," *EI*[2], 10:243–46.

[27]Amitai, "Al-Nuwayrī," 29.

in other sources and that it therefore may very well have been a construct of al-Nuwayrī´s literary mind should not lead one to demean his *Nihāyah* as an historical source. Al-Nuwayrī himself states that his work is not solely a work of history but it also a literary work: ″our work is not based on history only; it is a book of *adab*.″[28] As a result, the inclusion of fictional accounts such as the above account of the early life of Genghis Khan should be understood as one component of al-Nuwayrī´s work. In this case, the lack of information for the rise of one of the great conquerors of the world lies as a *tabula rasa* for an inquisitive mind and prolific writer of the stature of al-Nuwayrī. Therefore, accounts of this nature must be studied not for their value as accurate history nor as a description of the apocryphal histories of those Mongols with whom al-Nuwayrī came in contact, but as a reflection of the historiography of the author and of the current status of affairs in fourteenth-century Cairo. This apparently fictional account can consequently be interpreted as a medieval template for the rise of a world conqueror. In other words, al-Nuwayrī´s account seems to indicate that truly epic figures in world history, such as Moses, Jesus, and Muḥammad, have all attained that position by virtue of a seminal form of submission and devotion to God demonstrated by a period of seclusion from the rest of civilization, a form of purging in preparation for the task at hand.

In addition, a thorough evaluation of this passage must consider its use as justification for the growing strength of and constant opposition of the Mongols on the borders of the Mamluk empire. Al-Nuwayrī´s history could be read as an attempt to justify the rise of an infidel army which has taken Baghdad, removed the caliph, and remains an ever-present threat to the existence of the Islamic world. An apocalyptic reading of this section could easily accommodate the religious aspects of Genghis Khan´s early life by revealing a degree of divine sanction upon the leader which could, at the very least, offer a theological justification for this growing threat. Other texts of Mamluk Egypt, such as Ibn Nafīs´ *Al-Risālah al-Kāmilīyah,* appear also to use apocalyptic motifs to justify the rise and eventual fall of the Mamluk sultanate. This passage, therefore, may be the initial piece in al-Nuwayrī´s attempt to describe the Mongols as tools in the hand of God for correcting the failures of the current leaders of the Islamic empire. As an influential administrator in the Mamluk sultanate, al-Nuwayrī may not have felt capable of directly confronting the Mamluk regime. While as a religious scholar intimately connected with both the ulama and the Sufis, he may be explaining the reasons for the rise of the Mongols and the ultimate fall of the Mamluks.[29]

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[28]Chapoutot-Remadi, "Al-Nuwayrī," 159.

[29]M. Chapoutot-Remadi described al-Nuwayrī as being "acquainted with Ṣūfī *shaykhs.*" These connections may have influenced his fictionalization of Genghis Khan's origins. M. Chapoutot-

The above analysis of this passage in al-Nuwayrī´s history of the Mongols has revealed that our author has not attempted to present an accurate account of the rise of Genghis Khan but has attempted to create out of the great leader a man who, from his earliest years, had spiritual desires and pursuits. For an Egyptian writer in fourteenth-century Cairo who was most definitely familiar with and quite possibly directly affiliated with Sufi practices, the most logical model for expressing these character traits seems to have been that of a Sufi mystic. Amitai is correct in viewing this section as important for historians of the Mongol empire. Yet, it does not appear to be beneficial as a projection of Mongol imperial ideology but rather as an expression of how the Mongols were viewed by the Mamluk Sultanate and, quite possibly, of how a powerful insider within the Mamluk administration may have utilized a work of history as an indictment of his patrons.

Remadi, "Al-Nuwayrī," 158.

Hani Hamza

The Turbah of Tankizbughā

Turbah: A New Interpretation

The *turbah* developed in the Mamluk period from a simple tomb or mausoleum into an independent multifunctional complex consisting of several architectural units. The building of large *turbah*s became widespread and popular due to the vital role they played in Mamluk society. The *turbah* not only provided a place for burial and tomb visitation, but also became a focal point for many other activities. Religiously, it served as a place for worship, the reading of the Quran and hadith, and Sufi rituals such as *dhikr* and *ḥuḍūr*. On the social level it was the venue for charitable and philanthropic acts serving the community by providing free water, food, clothing, and education for orphan children. Politically, it served as a monument for the commemoration of the Mamluk elite, a phenomenon hitherto reserved only for the Prophet, his family and companions, and other religious figures. Such commemoration of the elite was justified on the grounds that they served to protect Islam against attack, while at the same time upholding Sunnism and the shari‘ah internally. Finally, the *turbah* served an important economic function through the institution of *waqf,* a means of transmitting wealth and protecting it from the threat of confiscation. This was particularly important in a society known for meteoric changes in the fortunes of the elite, which often led to the seizure of private property by those in power.

The architectural form of the *turbah* reflected these functions, and thus consisted of several units. These included a courtyard as a burial place for the founder′s dependents; a grand portal which sometimes included a minaret; a dome and a *maqṣūrah* (pavilion) for burial of the founder and other religious rituals; and often a *sabīl* (public fountain) and *kuttāb* (elementary Quranic school) which served charitable functions. A residential section and the *maq‘ad* (loggia) provided the setting for tomb visitation and served as living quarters for the *turbah* residents.

The *turbah* of Tankizbughā is a prime example of such a multi-functional building complex, as will be shown in the present article.[1] The remains of Turbat Tankizbughā,[2] known also as Tankizīyah, are located in the south-east of the

[1]This new interpretation of the *turbah* and most of the research here were part of my unpublished Ph.D. dissertation presented to the Faculty of Archaeology of Cairo University in January 2004.

[2]Survey of Egypt, *Index to Mohammedan Monuments in Cairo* (Cairo, 1951), 85, 764/1362. Many contemporary sources refer to it as a *khānqāh* but I will refer to it as a *turbah* in line with the foundation inscription.

Northern Cemetery outside its boundaries on an outcrop at the foot of the Muqaṭṭam Hill. Early photos taken at the beginning of the twentieth century show it as a solitary building in a deserted area (fig. 2). Today it is completely surrounded by the buildings and workshops of the slum of Manshi'at Nāṣir that sprang up at the beginning of the 1970s.

The significance of this *turbah* lies in its unique plan and architectural features as well as the ambiguity of its function. The plan is unusual for having a dome in the middle of an *īwān* and two side enclosures which were added to the *turbah* proper at a later date. The presence of a large minaret and the combination of innovative decorative methods on the dome and the minaret are in contrast with the traditional zones of transition and the upper part of the minaret. The building site is curious and its functions are not clear; in addition to its isolated location we do not know who was buried there, or if it was a *khānqāh* as well as a *turbah*. It could also have been used for military and surveillance purposes. Who completed the building after the early death of the founder and why?

DATE AND FOUNDER

The foundation inscription that flanks the portal reads as follows:

> Bismillāh . . . this blessed *turbah* is constructed by the order of the poor slave of God almighty Tankizbughā *amīr majlis al-aḥkām,* may God surround him with his mercy on the date of Rabīʿ I, the year 764.[3]

In spite of its brevity, the inscription provides all the data we need to date and identify the building. We learn the name of the founder was Tankizbughā[4] and that he served as *amīr majlis*.[5] The request for the mercy *(raḥmah)* of God for the founder indicates that the monument was built or at least finished after his death. It gives the date of foundation as Rabīʿ I 764/1362–63. Most importantly, it defines the building as a *turbah,* a distinct architectural form.

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[3]Max Van Berchem, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum: Égypte* (Paris, 1894–1903), 1:273.

[4]It consists of two parts: Tankiz, which means ″sea″ in Turkish, and Bughā, which means ″bull″ and can connote ″big″ or ″strong.″ See: J. Sauvaget, ″Noms et Surnoms de Mamlouks,″ *Journal Asiatique* 238 (1950): 45.

[5]Amir of the council chamber, which was one of the highest positions in the Mamluk hierarchy. His functions were to guard and supervise the sultan′s council chamber, as well as to control and direct the court′s physicians, surgeons, and oculists. See: William Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans, 1382–1468 A.D.: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrîbirdî′s Chronicles of Egypt* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1955–57), 16:92.

WHO WAS TANKIZBUGHĀ?

Amir Tankizbughā Sayf al-Dīn ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Mārdīnī was *shādd al-sharābkhānah* (superintendent of the buttery or store of the court potables)[6] during the first reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (748–52/1347–51).[7] He was one the sultan′s favorites and became amir of the first rank in the second reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan. He was appointed *amīr majlis* in 758/1357[8] and was married to the sultan′s sister.[9] Tankizbughā was appointed *nāʾib al-shām* but he refused the appointment. He fell sick and died shortly afterwards in Ramaḍān 759/1358. He was one of the state elite, known to be wise, shrewd, and efficient.[10] Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī succeeded Tankizbughā as *amīr majlis* and received his *iqṭāʿ*.[11]

Tankizbughā died in 759/1358, four years before the date of the foundation inscription. Who financed and completed the construction of this large monument? Was it his wife, the sultan′s sister, or his successor Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī? The contemporary sources did not deal with this issue, but we will come back to this point at the end of this article.

DESCRIPTION OF THE *TURBAH*

The *turbah* plan is a rough rectangular figure (fig. 1) with two parallel sides to the east and west and the two other longer sides to the north and south. It consists of six parts: the portal and minaret, the residential area (both occupying the main western façade), a courtyard *(ḥawsh)* behind the residential area, a large *qiblah īwān* to the east, a dome within the *īwān,* and what I will call a *ziyādah* occupying the north and south sides of the *turbah*. A *ziyādah* is an enclosure or space added around a mosque, serving a function complementary to the main function of the mosque.

The portal and the minaret occupy the southwest corner of the *turbah* and are

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[6]Ibid., 95.

[7]Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah* (Beirut, n.d.), 1:520.

[8]Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* vols. 1–2, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1958); vols. 3–4, ed. Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1972), 3:35.

[9]Ibid., 3:45.

[10]Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah*, vols. 1–12 (Cairo, 1929–56); vols. 13–14, ed. Fahīm Shaltūt (Cairo, 1970); vol. 15, ed. Ibrāhīm ʿAlī Tarkhān (Cairo, 1971); vol. 16, ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl and Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Cairo, 1972), 10:331.

[11]Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 1982–84), 1:1:568.

made of bare stone. The portal has a pointed arched recess containing the only entrance to the *turbah,* rectangular in shape and flanked by two stone benches *(maksalah).* The foundation inscription is written above it, and below a rectangular window. A roofless vestibule *(dirkah)* lies behind the entrance and is now filled completely with rubbish and debris (fig. 3). The northern wall of the vestibule has an arched doorway which leads into the adjacent residential area. The eastern wall, opposite the entrance, is completely covered by debris. However, Christel Kessler′s plan, which I consulted at the Rare Books and Special Collections Library of the American University in Cairo, shows a door leading to a chamber, now completely hidden under the debris (fig. 4). The northern and eastern walls of the first story of the minaret occupy the south side of the vestibule.

The stone minaret is composed of a square shaft and an octagonal pavilion *(jawsaq)*. The stonework of the minaret and portal walls is integrated. There is an obvious gap between the minaret walls and the adjacent wall of the southern *ziyādah.* The square part of the minaret consists of two stories with an internal spiral staircase leading to the pavilion. The lower story is the same height as the portal. The main entrance of the minaret is at the eastern wall and there is an arrow slit in the southern wall. The upper story has an opening at the eastern side overlooking the inside of the *turbah,* most probably intended for the call to prayer *(adhān),* and an arrow slit at the north wall for lighting and ventilation of the staircase. The remaining walls of the minaret are solid with no openings or ornamentation.

The top of the square section is a platform with *muqarnas* (squinches) supporting the octagonal pavilion which has arched windows on all the eight sides except the eastern side, where the entrance to the pavilion is located. It is topped by a *mabkharah,* the latest example of its kind.[12] The *mabkharah* rests on a platform with three tiers of *muqarnas* and a peculiar stone motif consisting of protruding triangles forming a saw-tooth pattern.[13] The height of the minaret and the fact that the *turbah* is built on high ground allows a wide view of the surrounding area and the towers of the Citadel, a point that will be discussed.

The minaret has an octagonal band under the *mabkharah* with an inscription of Quran 24:37, ending with ″for the remembrance of Allah″ *(ʻan dhikr Allāh)*.[14]

The residential quarters (figs. 9 and 10) lie to the north of the portal and can

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[12]Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *The Minarets of Cairo* (Cairo, 1985), 101.

[13]A similar motif appears earlier at the top of the transition zone of the dome of Tankizbughā (*Index* 298, 760/1359).

[14]Bernard O′Kane, *Documentation of the Inscriptions in the Historic Zone in Cairo, Prepared for the Egyptian Antiquities Project of the American Research Center in Egypt, Inc. (ARCE)* (forthcoming), inscription no. 85.5.

be entered through the door at the portal vestibule which leads to a stone cross-vaulted vestibule with two recesses in the western and northern walls and a door at the eastern wall. The door leads to a roofless passage parallel to the façade and to another door leading to the courtyard *(ḥawsh).*

This roofless passage divides the residential area into two parts. The western part has the remains of five vaulted cells (fig. 9) (the northern three have a long narrow window similar to an arrow slit for lighting and ventilation) and the eastern part has the remains of walls of several rooms which are now covered under layers of debris. The northern side of the residential part has a two-storied wall with a window at each floor overlooking the area to the north of the *turbah*. We can conclude that it consisted of two apartments *(riwāq)*.

The passage′s eastern door leads to the courtyard which is an open rectangular area (fig. 5). A water well is now hidden under debris. The courtyard′s ground level is the same as that of the residential area.

A large roofless *īwān* (a space enclosed on three sides) lies at the eastern side of the courtyard (fig. 7); the *īwān*′s ground level is slightly higher than that of the courtyard. The *īwān* walls are thick, made up of rubble lined by dressed stone on both sides. The outer side of the eastern wall is the eastern façade of the *turbah,* now overlooking a street with modest modern buildings and workshops. The outer wall is smoothed with no decoration and reveals the outward projection of the mihrab. The other two sides probably overlooked the area around the *turbah* before the addition of the two *ziyādah*s, the walls of which are thinner and of a different material than that of the *īwān,* which indicates that they were built at different dates.

The inner eastern *(qiblah)* wall of the *īwān* has a mihrab in its middle (fig. 6). The mihrab consists of a semi-cylindrical niche flanked by two engaged columns, now lost, and a conch in the form of a semi-dome with a pointed arch profile. The conch has two layers of *muqarnas* at the base and a ribbed shell-like motif on top. It is covered by plaster painted with arabesque designs obviously added at a later stage.

The *īwān* walls are all covered by smooth plaster and have no decoration. There is a slightly recessed horizontal band running around the three sides of the *īwān.* The band is of the same width as the first layer of *muqarnas* on the mihrab and at the same level. The recessed band has nail holes indicating that the band once bore wooden panels, probably with inscriptions, which have disappeared. The *īwān* is roofless at present but it could well have had a wooden roof that was dismantled when the dome was built.

A stone domed cube stands in the middle of the *īwān* (fig. 7); its east-west axis passes through the mihrab at the eastern wall of the *īwān.* The dome consists of the three traditional sides of a cubic base, transitional zone, and domed roof.

The cubic base has four thick walls with the same height as the walls of the *īwān* and is of the open type (canopy),[15] as each of its four walls has a large pointed arched opening. The inside and outside walls of the cube are smooth with no decoration or recesses. An inscription runs along the top part of the four walls of the cube. It begins with Quran 2:255–56, and then reads, ″This blessed dome was completed on the first of the month of Rabīʻ I in the year 764/19 December 1362.″[16]

The transition zone on the inside (fig. 8) is octagonal consisting of four corner *muqarnas* alternating with four recesses, each with two windows in a horseshoe arch. The transition zone thus transforms the square shape of the cube into the cylindrical base carrying the dome roof. The lower part of the base has eight keel-arched windows. Above these is an inscription of Quran 3:191–92.[17]

The outer transition zone is simple, consisting of a square base supporting the octagonal transition zone with eight openings corresponding to the inner windows mentioned above. The outside of the cylindrical base of the dome consists of two parts; the lower part has eight keel-arched openings corresponding to the eight inner windows alternating with eight similar blind keel arches. The upper part features an inscription of Quran 2:255–56 and 258, ending with ″each one who believes in Allah″ *(kull man āmin billāh)*.[18]

The roof has the typical Mamluk keel-arched profile, bare on the inside except for an inscription of Quran 3:190–93. Verse 3:193 is not complete and ends with ″Believe you in your Lord, so we believed″ *(an āminū bi-rabbikum fa-āmannā)*. The dome apex has a circular Quranic inscription which starts with the continuation of verse 3:193 mentioned earlier, reading ″Our Lord! Therefore forgive us″ *(rabbanā fa-ighfir lanā)*, and verse 3:194 until ″by thy messengers″ *(ʻalá rusulika)*.[19]

The most striking feature of the dome is the outer ribbing of the roof which was an innovation in its time, where convex ribs alternated with concave flutings.[20]

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[15]The open-type domes are not common in Mamluk Cairo. We know of only two other examples. One is the dome built by al-Ashraf Barsbāy for his brother Yashbak (d. 833/1429) at his *turbah* in the Northern Cemetery (*Index* 121, 835/1432). The other is that of Ilbāz al-Ashhab built at the rear courtyard of the *turbah* of Khayrbik in Bāb al-Wazīr street (*Index* 248, 908/1502–3), which has an octagonal plan rather than the traditional square plan.

[16]O′Kane, *Documentation of the Inscriptions in the Historic Zone in Cairo,* inscription no. 85.1. The Quranic verses are quoted from the monument′s file no. 85 at the archives of the Supreme Council of Antiquities at the Citadel of Cairo.

[17]These verses are recorded in the monument′s file no. 85 at the archives of the Supreme Council of Antiquities at the Citadel of Cairo.

[18]O′Kane, *Documentation of the Inscriptions in the Historic Zone in Cairo,* inscription no. 85.4.

[19]Ibid., inscription no. 85.3.

[20]The same technique was used shortly before at the dome of the same Tankizbughā in the

This technique adds an aesthetic impact created by the play of light and shade when light is reflected on the ribbed dome′s undulating surface.

The most controversial parts of the *turbah* are the enclosures flanking the central part of the *turbah* to the north and south which we will call *ziyādah* for reasons to be discussed shortly (fig. 11). These parts are obvious additions to the main part; they are made of different material, with obvious gaps at the points of contact with the outer walls of the central part.

The northern *ziyādah* is a rectangular enclosure adjacent to the *īwān* and the courtyard to the north. Its eastern wall is an extension, with a gap, of the eastern wall of the *īwān*.

The northern and western walls now constitute the outer walls of the *turbah*. The *ziyādah* has a large rectangular room to the east, adjacent to the *īwān*. The southern wall of this room is the north wall of the *īwān*. This room was barrel vaulted as indicated by its arched eastern wall and opens onto the courtyard through a door at the western wall. Without a *waqfīyah* or excavation it is hard to determine the function of the room. It is unlikely to have been a mosque since it has no mihrab.

The remaining part is covered up with debris. However, the upper part of a vaulted roof made of bricks protrudes from the debris. We can conclude therefore that this part consisted of windowless vaulted cells. We can distinguish the remains of a wall between the courtyard and the northern *ziyādah* that has since disappeared, giving the wrong impression that the *ziyādah* is an integral part of the *turbah* proper.

The walls of the southern *ziyādah* are also made of material different from that of the main part of the *turbah*. It is aligned with the stone façade of the *turbah* to the west and the *īwān* wall to the east, yet not integrated with either of them. The eastern part is an oblong enclosure with a recess at the short eastern side that could have served as a mihrab since the enclosure could well have been a mosque. The remaining part extends to the west adjacent to the courtyard and is totally covered by dirt and debris. Thus, without an excavation, any attempt to recreate a detailed plan or understand its function would be pure conjecture.

WHY *ZIYĀDAH*?

Generally speaking the term *ziyādah* traditionally denotes a space (roofed or open to the sky) added to a mosque, intended to serve a function different from the main function of the mosque.[21] The most famous *ziyādah*s outside Egypt were

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Mamluk Qarāfah (*Index* 298, 760/1359). See C. Kessler, *The Carved Masonry Domes of Mediaeval Cairo* (Cairo, 1976), 9.

[21]Creswell limited the function of the *ziyādah* to isolating and sheltering the mosque from its surroundings. See: K. A. C. Creswell and J. Allan, *A Short Account of Early Moslem Architecture*

found at the Great Mosque of Samarra (third/ninth century),[22] the mosque of Abū Dulaf (245/859–60), also in Samarra,[23] and the *ziyādah* added to the Great Mosque of Sūsah in Tunisia (236/850–51).[24] In Egypt several examples of *ziyādah*s are known but all vanished except that of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn. It is well known that the al-Azhar and al-Ḥākim mosques also had *ziyādah*s; however, the oldest *ziyādah* in Egypt was that of the Mosque of ʻAmr. We will discuss it here in more detail since it will help us to understand the *ziyādah* of Tankizbughā.

At the outset we have to distinguish between an addition or an extension and the *ziyādah* as defined above; for example the addition of an arcade *(riwāq),* a dome,[25] a mihrab, a *maqṣūrah,*[26] a minaret,[27] or even a madrasah[28] is not considered a *ziyādah* but an extension.

In the case of the mosque of Amr, the *ziyādah* does not refer to the extensive additions started by Musālamah ibn Mukhālad, the Umayyad governor of Egypt, in 53/672–73 and completed under ʻAbd Allāh ibn Ṭāhir, the Abbasid governor, in 212/827, which doubled the area of the original mosque built by ʻAmr.[29] Rather, we mean here the *raḥbah* that was suggested by Bernard O´Kane and was defined by al-Maqrīzī as a spacious area.[30] The Mamluk documents used the term *raḥbah* to mean a spacious area within a house, a mosque, or in front of a building,

(Cairo, 1989), 395–96.

22Ibid., 361–62.

23Ibid., 369, 373.

24Ibid., 355.

25The most striking examples are the four arcades and the dome added to the courtyard *(ṣaḥn)* of the Azhar mosque by the Fatimid caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ during the years 524–44/1129–49. See ʻAbd al-Wahhāb Ḥasan, *Tārīkh al-Masājid al-Atharīyah* (Cairo, 1994), 51.

26The governor of Egypt, Qurrah ibn Sharīk, added a mihrab and a *maqṣūrah* to the mosque of ʻAmr on the orders of the Umayyad caliph al-Walīd ibn ʻAbd al-Malik in 94/712. See: ibid., 24; Aḥmad Fikrī, *Masājid al-Qāhirah wa-Madārisuhā: al-Madkhal* (Cairo, 1961), 69.

27Musālamah ibn Mukhalad al-Anṣārī, governor of Egypt under the Umayyad Caliph Muʻāwiyah, added four minarets to the mosque of ʻAmr in 53/672. See: Fikrī, *Masājid al-Qāhirah,* 68. Two minarets were also added to al-Azhar mosque by the Mamluk sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy in 873/1468 and al-Ashraf Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in 915/1510.

28Three madrasahs were added to al-Azhar mosque; al-Ṭaybarṣīyah (*Index* 97, 709/1309), al-Aqbughāwīyah (*Index* 97, 740/1340), and al-Jawharīyah (*Index* 97, 844/1440).

29For details of such works refer to: Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat ʻIqd al-Amṣār* (Beirut, n.d.), 59–74; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1854), 2:247–50; ʻAbd al-Wahhāb, *Tārīkh al-Masājid al-Atharīyah,* 24–25; Fikrī, *Masājid al-Qāhirah,* 67–73.

30Bernard O´Kane, ″The Ziyada of the Mosque of Al-Hakim,″ in *L´Egypte fatimide: son art et son histoire,* ed. Marianne Barrucand (Paris, 1999).

generally without a roof but sometimes totally or partially covered by a roof.[31] Since the *raḥbah*s in question have vanished, Bernard O´Kane depended mainly on al-Maqrīzī´s (d. 845/1442) account in his *Khiṭaṭ* and did not refer to Ibn Duqmāq´s (d. 809/1407)[32] account in his *Intiṣār*. Obviously, both of the Mamluk historians were quoting Ibn al-Mutawwaj (d. 730/1329–30), as acknowledged by al-Maqrīzī but not by Ibn Duqmāq. I will therefore use here Ibn Duqmāq´s *Intiṣār,* since it is the older and more detailed of the two accounts.

As a word of caution we should note that Ibn Duqmāq used the term *ziyādah* interchangeably to mean an extension as well as in the more restricted sense we outlined above. However, he uses the term *raḥbah* when he refers to the *ziyādah* in this strict sense rather than as an extension. Within his general description of the mosque, Ibn Duqmāq mentions specifically that the mosque had three *ziyādah*s at the western (opposite the qiblah) and southern façades of the mosque.[33]

The oldest of these was the *raḥbah* added to the south façade in 175/791–92 by Mūsá ibn ʿĪsá, the Abbasid governor of Egypt.[34] It had a door opening to the street and leading to the interior of the mosque, and was covered by a ceiling supported by fifteen columns.[35] It was designated for the court of the chief judge which convened there twice a week.[36]

The second *ziyādah* was built in 258/871–72 by Abū Ayyūb, the tax collector *(ṣāḥib al-kharāj)* for Ibn Ṭūlūn. It occupied the remaining part of the southern façade as an extension to the *raḥbah* of Mūsá.[37] It had two doors opening to the

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[31]Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Laila Ibrahim, *Architectural Terms in Mamluk Documents (648–923 H/1250–1517 M)* (Cairo, 1990), 53.

[32]Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍaw' al-Lāmiʿ fī Aʿyān al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Beirut, 1966), 1:145; Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʿd al-Wāfī,* vols. 1–2, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1984); vol. 3, ed. Nabīl Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (Cairo, 1989); vol. 4, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1986); vol. 5, ed. Nabīl Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (Cairo, 1987); vol. 6, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1990); vol. 7, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1993); vol. 8, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1999); vol. 9, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 2002); vol. 10, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 2003); vol. 11, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 2005), 1:140. This date is also given by several other contemporary historians. However, al-Suyūṭī, the late Mamluk historian, mentions that Ibn Duqmāq died in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 790/1388: Jalāl al-Dīn ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah fī Akhbār Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah*, ed. Khalīl al-Manṣūr (Beirut, 1997), 1:454. See: J. Pedersen, ˝Ibn Duḳmaḳ,˝ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 3:756.

[33]Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Intiṣār,* 61.

[34]Ibid., 65.

[35]Ibid., 61.

[36]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:253.

[37]Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Intiṣār,* 66–67.

street and two doors leading to the interior of the mosque. It was also covered by a ceiling supported by forty-two columns and divided into two sections. One section was assigned to the court of the Shafiʿi judge and the other was assigned to the Maliki judge. Each section had its own mihrab flanked by two columns.[38]

The third *ziyādah* is the *raḥbah* occupying the northern part of the western façade, built by Ibn al-Ḥārith who became the chief judge of Egypt in 237/851–52. He built the *raḥbah* in the same year to give additional space for the congregation. It was also used for trading on Fridays.[39] It had three doors leading to the outside and two doors to the mosque interior. It was covered by a roof supported by twenty-four columns and a mihrab flanked by two columns.[40] Almost 120 years later, in 357/967–68, al-Khāzin added an arcade *(riwāq)* connected to the *raḥbah* of Ibn al-Ḥārith as an eastern extension.[41] This arcade is not considered a *ziyādah* in the strict sense, but as an extension to the mosque proper. Ibn Duqmāq described it as a *riwāq* and not as a *raḥbah,* as was the case in the three previous examples.[42]

We conclude from these accounts that a *ziyādah* could also be a roofed addition to the outer façades of a building in the form of a *raḥbah,* built at a later date than the original structure. Normally it could have doors (opening to the outside as well as to the inside of the building), windows, and mihrabs. The functions of the *ziyādah* are normally different from the functions of the building proper, as we have seen in the case of the three *ziyādah*s of the mosque of ʿAmr outlined above. Obviously they were different from those of the mosque proper whose main functions were the Friday prayer, teaching, and housing the public treasury *(bayt al-māl).*

The purpose of this long digression is to show that the features of the two enclosures added to the *turbah* of Tankizbughā are very similar to those of the three *ziyādah*s of the mosque of ʿAmr. They were built after the *turbah* proper as evidenced by the obvious separation of the walls and the use of different construction materials. They take the form of roofed *raḥbah*s added along the external façade, with doors leading to the interior of the *turbah*. The only exception is that they do

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[38]Ibid., 61.

[39]Ibid., 66.

[40]Ibid., 61.

[41]Ibid., 68.

[42]Bernard O´Kane mentions also *ziyādah*s for the mosque based on the account of al-Maqrīzī, who was quoting Ibn al-Muttawaj, but O´Kane combined the *raḥbah*s of Mūsá and Abū Ayyūb and considered them as a single *ziyādah* added to the western façade opposite the qiblah side. He also combined the *raḥbah* of al-Ḥārith with the arcade of al-Khāzin and considered them as the second *ziyādah* added to the southern façade of the mosque. He assumed therefore the presence of a third anonymous *ziyādah* added to the northern façade. See O´Kane, ″The Ziyada of the Mosque of Al-Hakim,″ 153.

not appear to have had doors opening to the outside like the *ziyādah*s of the mosque of Amr. This was no doubt for security reasons in what was then an isolated location that dictated the use of only one entrance to the *turbah*.

I therefore have called this part a *ziyādah.* Identifying a specific function for the *ziyādah*s of Tankizbughā, in the absence of *waqf* documents and with the highly dilapidated state of the *turbah,* would be sheer speculation. It suffices to say that it provided an additional space serving part of the functions of the *turbah,* as will be discussed later.

FUNCTIONS OF THE *TURBAH*

The main function of any *turbah* is to provide a burial place for the founder, and his family and dependents. The burial courtyard and the dome served this function but it is highly unlikely that the founder himself was buried here. The *turbah* proper and the dome in particular were finished, according to the foundation inscription, in Rabīʿ I 764/1362–63, while Tankizbughā had died four years earlier, in Ramaḍān 759/1358. The sources do not mention his burial place but it is likely that he was buried in another domed mausoleum in the Mamluk Qarāfah, which is also attributed to him.[43] Otherwise we have no clue as to who is buried in this *turbah*.

The large residential area indicates that a reasonably large community lived on the premises, most likely to perform the normal religious, social, and administrative services for the inhabitants of the *turbah*. The religious tasks included prayer, Sufi rituals, reading of the Quran, recitation of hadith, invocation of blessings, and teaching. The social services included charitable works such as the dispensation of water, and the distribution of alms, clothes, or food. The administrative tasks were those related to the management of the establishment, including its endowed property, financial resources, and expenditures, by a hierarchy of administrators headed by the superintendent *(nāẓir* or *shaykh al-turbah).* Finally, maintenance related to cleaning and guarding the building and its facilities was carried out by a staff of servants and janitors *(farrāsh)*.

An outline of the general tasks that could have been performed is only tentative due to the absence of an endowment deed or contemporary sources dealing with this subject. However, the architectural units of the *turbah* could have conveniently supported many if not all the activities mentioned. There was a vast residential area, a minaret for the call to prayer, a *qiblah īwān* with a mihrab for prayer, several halls *(qāʿah),* two *ziyādah*s for Sufi practices or teaching functions, a water well, and a large courtyard for the convenient movement of the residents among the various units of the *turbah*.

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[43]*Index* 298, 760/1359.

Another unconventional function can be suggested for this *turbah* based on the political circumstances at the time of its foundation, its location, and its architectural features. Tankizbughā, as we have seen, died four years before the completion the *turbah,* leaving us to wonder who finished it and why. Two individuals are the most likely contenders for such a task: his wife, the sister of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan and scion of the wealthy Qalawunid family, or Yalbughā al-ʻUmarī, who succeeded Tankizbughā as *amīr majlis* and was awarded his *iqṭāʻ* upon his death in 759/1358.[44] It is unlikely that such a relatively small and simple structure would have taken four years to be completed, which would suggest that his wife must have taken a long time to mourn him after his death. Such prolonged periods of mourning were not common among the Mamluks.[45] Thus, Yalbughā al-ʻUmarī is the more likely person to have completed the building since he was assigned his *iqṭāʻ,* which probably included the *waqf* of the *turbah*. This was no doubt an act of piety and devotion, although worldly motives cannot be discounted.

The second reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (755–62/1354–61) was stormy and full of political strife. Like his father al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, he eliminated members of the elite and gradually replaced them with his own mamluks. He banished from Cairo Amir Tāz, the favorite amir of Sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ (brother and predecessor of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan during the interregnum of 752–55/1351–54) by appointing him, against his will, viceroy *(nāʼib)* of Aleppo in 755/1354.[46] In 758/1357 the *amīr kabīr* Shaykhū was conveniently murdered by a minor amir over a petty complaint. The sultan denied any knowledge of the crime but quickly rounded up all the senior amirs loyal to Shaykhū and promoted his own, including Yalbughā al-ʻUmarī.[47] Finally the last of the great amirs, Sarghatmush, was arrested, exiled to Alexandria, and murdered there in 759/1358.[48]

In the same year that Tankizbughā died, Yalbughā was promoted to the highest military rank, *amīr majlis,* replacing Tankizbughā, and was granted his *iqṭāʻ*. He became the most influential figure in the state after the sultan himself, a situation which led to an inevitable confrontation. Before long, each started to distrust the other and wait for a chance to get rid of his rival. Finally, Yalbughā prevailed and the sultan was murdered in 762/1361.[49] Yalbughā appointed a new puppet sultan,

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[44]Please refer to the biography of Tankizbughā outlined above.

[45]Yalbughā al-ʻUmarī killed his master and sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan on Jumādá I 762/Mar–Apr 1361 and married his widow Khūnd Ṭūlūbīyah in Muḥarram 763/Nov 1361, less than a year after his crime. See: al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 7:60, 73.

[46]Ibid., 3–4.

[47]Ibid., 33–35.

[48]Ibid., 41–42, 44.

[49]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:311–14.

al-Manṣūr Muḥammad from the Qalawunid family, and became the ruler in fact if not in name.[50] The following seven years saw more internal struggle between Yalbughā and the rival amirs till finally he was murdered by his own mamluks in 768/1366–67.[51]

Under these circumstances and given the constant threat to his authority, security issues must have been of primary concern to Yalbughā. The area around the *turbah*, known as the *sharā'*[52] in the Mamluk period, was of strategic importance as it dominated the route to Syria, *al-darb al-sulṭānī*. The area was spacious with sparse population, representing the last line of defense of the citadel against invasion from Syria, while also providing ample space for military maneuvers among warring mamluk factions. During the Bahri Mamluk period the area was the theater of many important political events.[53]

The first threat to the authority of Yalbughā after the murder of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan came from Baydamur, the *nā'ib al-shām*. Thus, an invasion from Syria was a serious possibility.[54] Yalbughā was in the habit of visiting and staying in the *turbah*s of his lieutenants. For example, he was at the *turbah* of Maliktamur al-Mārdīnī when he received the news that Taybughā al-Ṭawīl, *amīr silāḥ* and the most influential of his amirs, was plotting rebellion in protest of his transfer to Damascus in 767/1365–66.[55] The ensuing military confrontation that took place between them was at the Northern Cemetery, not far from the *turbah* of Tankizbughā.[56]

It would not be unreasonable therefore to suggest here that Yalbughā, setting piety and loyalty to a deceased colleague aside, completed the *turbah* after the death of Tankizbughā to be used for surveillance and as a base for military operations. That it was used for both of these functions is further evidenced by its site and many architectural features.

The *turbah* was built on an outcrop near the Muqaṭṭam Hill, dominating the nearby strategic route to the north. Building a tall minaret on an already high site is not justified by the simple needs of the call to prayer in this isolated area. The open pavilion on top of the minaret provided a perfect setting for watching the road and communicating with the Citadel. An individual standing at the pavilion

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[50]Ibid., 11:3–4.

[51]For the turbulent events of those years see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 7:65–137; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 11:4–40.

[52]Now called the Northern Cemetery of Cairo.

[53]Hani Hamza, *The Northern Cemetery of Cairo* (Costa Mesa, CA, 2001), 53.

[54]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 7:66; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 11:4.

[55]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 7:115. The contemporary sources are silent about the site of the *turbah*.

[56]Ibid., 155–56; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 11:30–31.

could easily see and communicate by signals with the two eastern towers of the Citadel: Burj al-Ramlah and Burj al-Ḥaddād. The size of the residential area and the addition of the *ziyādah* could have provided ample space for a garrison barracks. The *turbah* has high walls with a limited number of small windows and only one entrance that could be easily defended from the minaret roof and the arrow slits.

The use of religious buildings for military functions was known, though not very common in Cairo. Farid Shafei suggested such functions for Mashhad al-Juyūshī on the Muqaṭṭam Hill.[57]

Peculiar *Turbah?*

The analysis of Mamluk or any other type of buildings must consider three intersecting aspects. An interactive matrix of utilitarian, expressive, and formal considerations all work together within a framework of the prevailing socioeconomic conditions and technology.

The changing utilitarian functions of the *turbah* of Tankizbughā influenced its formal and expressive aspects. The religious and charitable functions intended by the founder soon gave way to the propaganda and security needs of his ambitious successor, Yalbughā. The roof of the *qiblah īwān* was thus dismantled and an unusual dome erected overhead, creating an internal visual focus, a change which infused a new vitality into a dull sanctuary and signalled the profound changes to come. A tall and formidable minaret, which went beyond the needs of the call to prayer in this secluded place, must have been added at this time together with the solitary portal, as evidenced by the foundation inscription. Both represent a response to increasing security needs in a turbulent time. The *ziyādah* was added to meet the needs of increased Sufi activity and to serve as a garrison.

The *turbah* here, more than any other, is both an expression of religious functions and military might, typical of the Mamluk character. The decorations are scarce and subdued but innovative, best suiting a funerary, religious building which was also constructed with worldly considerations. Walls are bare, thick, imposing, with no fenestration, inspiring awe and providing security.

The richest and most popular expressive medium in the Islamic context is Quranic epigraphy. Here it was employed with discretion, as a statement and as a decorative tool to punctuate spaces. The so-called Throne Verse (2:255–56) is depicted twice on the dome. This verse is the most widely used in Islamic monumental epigraphy.[58] The verse 24:36–37 on the minaret is utilitarian and

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[57]*Index* 304, 478/1085. Farid Shafei, "The Mashhad al-Juyushi (Archaeological Notes and Studies)," in *Studies in Islamic Art and Architecture in Honor of Professor K. A. C. Creswell* (Cairo, 1965), 237–52.

[58]Erica Dodd and Shereen Khairallah, *The Image of the Word: A Study of Quranic Verses in*

common on minarets and mosque portals as it encourages people to perform prayers and pay alms *(zakāt).*

Finally, formal analysis of the *turbah* shows some odd characteristics, in plan, form, and decoration. A glance at the plan, in addition to the rare *ziyādah,* shows that the placement of the dome at the middle of the *qiblah īwān* is unusual. Normally domes are either attached to a part of the complex or placed over the courtyard. We have demonstrated before that the eastern part of the *turbah* is an *īwān* and not part of the courtyard. It could well be that the *īwān* roof was taken off to give way to the dome. This was perhaps carried out by Yalbughā as the dome was built, which, according to its foundation inscription, was four years after the death of Tankizbughā. It is likely that Tankizbughā was content to build the *īwān* without a dome, since he had another similar dome at Qarāfat al-Mamālīk.

In form and decoration there is quite an unusual mix of the old and the new. The use of the traditional squinches on the internal zone of transition, common in the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods but not in the Mamluk era, stands out in contrast to the outer ribbing of the dome which was an innovation at the time.

The minaret consisting of a square base supporting a pavilion topped by a *mabkharah,* the latest existing example of its kind, is definitely a throw-back, yet it has a stone motif consisting of protruding triangles forming a saw-tooth formation. Again this formation was an innovation at the time sharply in contrast with the traditional shape of the minaret.

Islamic Architecture (Beirut, 1981), 1:64, 2:10–17.

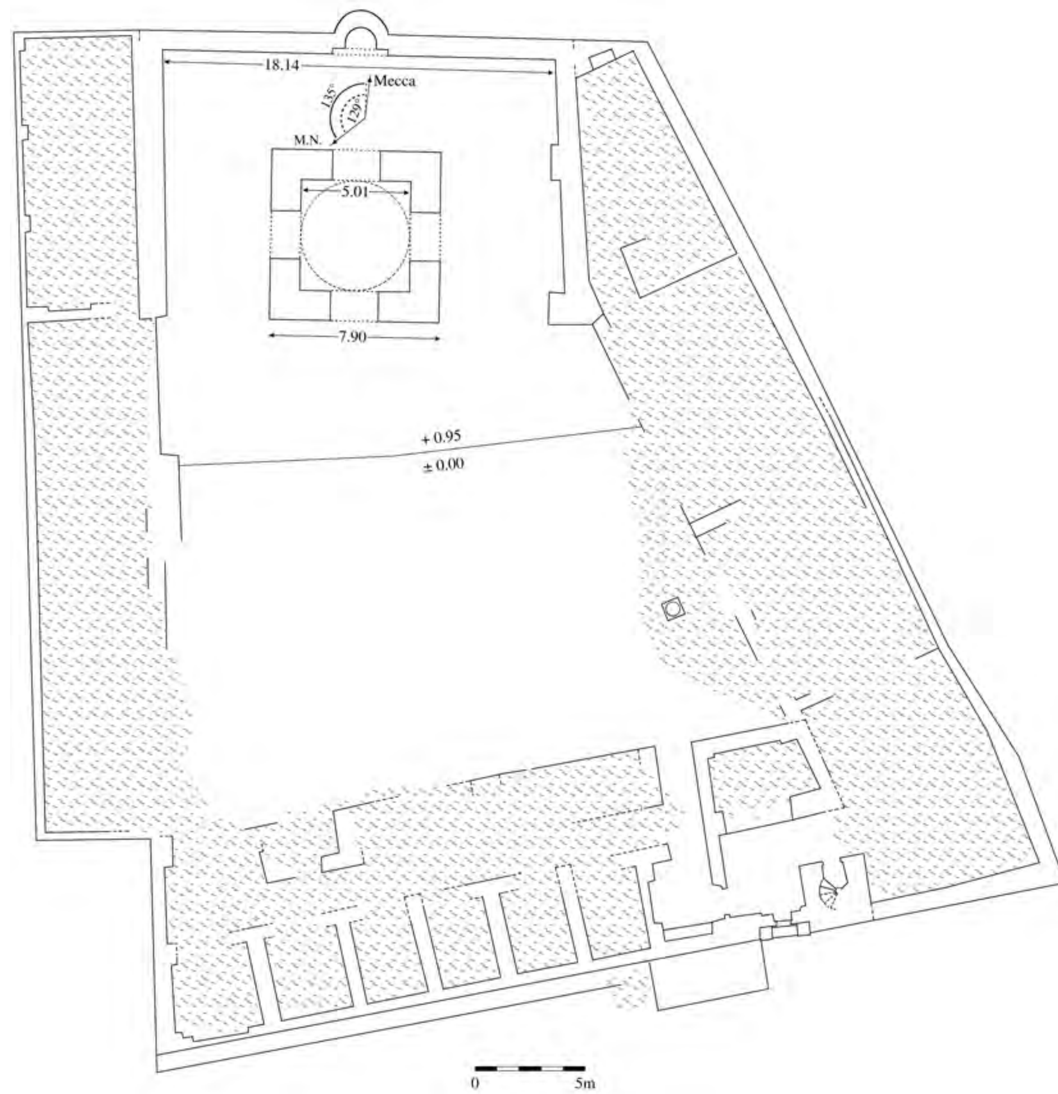


Fig. 1. Plan of the *turbah* of Tankizbughā (after Kessler)



Fig. 2. *Turbah* of Tankizbughā at the beginning of the twentieth century (from the archives of the Egyptian Supreme Council for Antiquities)



Fig. 3. Entrance and the vestibule from inside



Fig. 4. The minaret and a room east of the vestibule (from the archives of the Egyptian Supreme Council for Antiquities)



Fig. 5. The court *(ḥawsh)*



Fig. 6. The *miḥrab*



Fig. 7. The dome within the *īwān*



Fig. 8. Transition zone from the inside



Fig. 9. Remains of the residential area



Fig. 10. Cell *(khilwah)*



Fig. 11. The southern *ziyadah*

Book Reviews

ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl, *Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal*, edited by ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut: al-Maktabah al-ʿAṣrīyah, 2002). 9 vols.

Reviewed by Boaz Shoshan, Ben Gurion University of the Negev

This edition is based on the Oxford MS Huntington 610 and 685, which covers the *hijrī* years 744–896. The author, who—as his *nisbah* al-Malaṭī indicates—was born in 844/1440 in the Anatolian town of Malatia, where his father, Khalīl ibn Shāhīn, a Mamluk administrator and somewhat of a scholar, known for his *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik,* served at the time as the local *nāʾib*. Moving from there due to the requirements of his father's career, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ was educated in Tripoli and, as a young man, settled in Cairo. He spent the rest of his life in the Mamluk capital and died in 920/1515.

Of his numerous works, the most important is his still-unpublished chronicle *Al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim fī Ḥawādith al-ʿUmr wa-al-Tarājim,* which covers the years 844–90 and is extant in a single, incomplete, Vatican manuscript. What we have before us is arguably ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ's less important historical work. What is its value for modern historians?

In his introduction Tadmurī, the editor, claims that ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ was an unacknowledged source for Ibn Iyās, the author of the essential *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*. This claim is questionable, given the fact that one can find Ibn Iyās, on occasion, narrating events in a more complete form than ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ does in the *Nayl.* Tadmurī also points out that ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ travelled to Syria, Anatolia, the Maghreb and Spain, as opposed to Ibn Iyās, who hardly left Cairo. This fact, however, bears only marginally on content of the chronicle.

As already observed by scholars, contrary to expectations, with the exception of Ibn al-Dawādārī and Ibn Taghrībirdī, chroniclers who belonged to the Mamluk caste, and there are a few of them, hardly used their social origin to the benefit of shining light on the Mamluk elite. This seems to apply to our chronicler as well. As noted by the editor, for the major part of the *Nayl,* in other words, the first one hundred years up to the 840s, ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ relies on al-Maqrīzī's, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's, and other standard chronicles, and thus adds almost nothing to the available information.

As for the second half of the ninth *hijrī* century, it can tentatively be suggested that for the 850s–870s the *Nayl* and Ibn Taghrībirdī's *Ḥawādith,* although to a large extent similar, must be used together, for each provides information that is

not always to be found in the other. This is the case also as regards al-Jawharī's *Inbā' al-Haṣr,* which covers the 870s. Only when it comes to the closing decades of the century does the *Nayl* largely supersede Ibn Iyās, although it must be stressed that the additional material that ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ provides is of secondary importance and is unlikely to change our basic knowledge of the end of the Mamluk era. His additions are minor and extremely variegated: price data, notes on diseases, or piquancies such as the birth of a deformed child or the conversion of a Jew, curious material devoid of major significance. On the other hand, sometimes ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ does not include information that one may find in the *Badā'iʻ,* a lack the significance of which is not easy to ascertain, however. For example, in the obituary of Amir Qānṣawh al-Khasīf al-Aynālī (d. 892/1487), only the *Badā'iʻ* includes information about his dispute with Sultan Qāytbāy. Did ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ apply here censorship because of political calculation?

Tadmurī, the editor, presents the reader with a fine edition, which he prefaces with a comprehensive biography of our relatively unknown chronicler and a list of his (mostly lost) works. An additional merit of the edition is a systematic collation of each of ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ's reports with the other available sources, indicating which of the *Nayl*'s data are unique. The editor also includes in the eighth and the entire ninth volume a variety of useful indexes.

Angus Donal Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks: War and Diplomacy during the Reigns of Hetʻum II (1289–1307)* (Leiden: Brill, 2001). Pp. 215. Includes genealogical chart, photographs of castles, and map.

Reviewed by Patrick Wing, University of Chicago

The Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia and its steady decline under military pressure from the Mamluk Sultanate in the late thirteenth century is the subject of Angus Donal Stewart's *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks.* Stewart's stated aim is to address an aspect of scholarship on the Armenian Kingdom which neglects the wider political context in the Middle East, and ascribes a leadership role to the Armenians, arguing that, in fact, they were more often the subject of larger regional powers. The author's solution to this problem is to make use of the rich historiographical tradition written in Arabic under the Mamluks in order to understand the relations between the Cilician Kingdom and the Mamluk Sultanate. The result is a thorough, highly detailed analysis, focused on the period of Hetʻum II, in which the Cilician Kingdom was weakened by Mamluk military campaigns,

a lack of consistent support from the Mongol Ilkhanate, and internal instability and conflict among the Armenian royal family.

In his Introduction, Stewart identifies the failure to use Arabic sources by scholars of Armenia and the Crusades as one of the major shortcomings in the field. This weakness has limited the view of previous studies on the Armenian Kingdom, which does not reflect an adequate understanding of the non-Christian powers, particularly the Mamluks and Ilkhans. An exception is Marius Canard′s article ″Le royaume d′Arménie-Cilicie et les Mamlouks jusqu′au traité de 1285,″[1] whose methodology Stewart cites as a model and inspiration for his own work. In his discussion of sources, Stewart emphasizes his goal to demonstrate the potential value of the Arabic sources for the history of the Armenian Kingdom. Limiting his survey to ″widely available printed editions,″ he cites al-ʻAynī′s *ʻIqd al-Jumān,* al-Maqrīzī′s *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* and Abū al-Fidā'′s *Mukhtaṣar* among his primary sources. For sources from the Armenian point of view, the author relies foremost upon Hayton of Gorigos′ 1307 work *La Flor des Estoires de la Terre d′Orient,* originally written in French for Pope Clement V. The *Chronicle of Smpad* (d. 1276), brother of King Hetʻum I, and the *Gestes des Chiprois,* composed in Cyprus in the fourteenth century, also reflect an Armenian perspective. The Introduction concludes with a survey of the geography of the Armenian Kingdom.

The main body of the book is divided into two parts. Part One on the Historical Background begins with a chapter on the origins of the four principal political groups active in the eastern Mediterranean in the thirteenth century: the Armenians, Mamluks, Mongols, and Franks. Chapter Two traces the history of relations between the Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluk Sultanate, from the rise of the Mamluks until the truce of 1285, in which King Lewon II was forced to accept a tributary status in the face of military pressure. Stewart analyzes the truce of 1285 in the context of Armenian isolation due to the fall of the Frankish state at Antioch to Baybars in 1268, and the lack of support from the Ilkhans, who were engulfed in a succession struggle following the death of Abāghā Khān in 1282.

The paradigm of gradual Armenian political decline, due to unreliable support from the Mongols and growing Mamluk military pressure, shapes Stewart′s description and analysis in Part Two. This section comprises the bulk of the work, and consists of one long chapter on the reigns of King Hetʻum II, from his accession after Lewon II′s death in 1289 until his murder by a Mongol garrison commander in 1307. The focus is on Mamluk military activity in Cilicia in an attempt to take Armenian castles, force the payment of tribute, and punish the Armenian king for his alliance with the Mongols. Stewart deals extensively with Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl′s conquests in Cilicia in 1292 and 1293, as well as the

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[1] *Revue des études arméniennes,* n.s., 4 (1967): 217–59.

campaign led by Sultan al-Manṣūr Lāchīn in the summer of 1298. These discussions combine a thorough treatment of the Mamluk histories with a precise knowledge of the physical geography of the region.

Stewart does not neglect the internal politics of the Armenian royal house, and ascribes some of the weakness of the Cilician kingdom in this period to Het‘um′s vacillations between kingship and a cloistered life as a monk, and the related disputes among his brothers for the throne. Consideration is also given to the role of the Armenian kingdom in the continuation of the war between the Mamluks and Ilkhans during the reign of Ghāzān. Stewart emphasizes the participation of Het‘um II in Ghāzān′s Syrian campaigns between 1299 and 1303 as motivation for Mamluk reprisals in Cilicia after the Ilkhans had withdrawn. The attention given to the Mongol-Mamluk conflict after the 1281 Battle of Homs provides a useful companion to Reuven Amitai′s *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260–1281*. Although Stewart relies on secondary interpretations and translations of Persian sources, he does address the issues in the conflict in the period after that covered by Amitai.

In the Epilogue, a brief summary of the Kingdom of Cilicia is given up to the year 1375, when King Lewon V was captured by the Mamluks and the region was left to the Türkmen of the Ramazan Oğulları. Stewart concludes that the turn of the fourteenth century was a period of decline for the Cilician Kingdom due to Mamluk pressure after the disappearance of the Frankish Crusader states and a lack of sustained support from the Ilkhanate.

Stewart succeeds in his aim to demonstrate the significance of Arabic sources for the history of the Cilician Kingdom of Armenia, while at the same time drawing the attention of Mamluk scholars to the ways in which the internal developments of the Sultanate related to its policy toward the Armenians. In addition, attention to developments within the Ilkhanate and its military operations in Syria help to emphasize the difficult diplomatic position of the Cilician Kingdom as a subject state between two larger polities. Overall, this work stands as a useful contribution to the history of the Christian eastern Mediterranean, as well as the Mamluk Sultanate.

ʿALĀʾ ṬĀHĀ RIZQ ḤUSAYN, *Al-Sujūn wa-al-ʿUqūbāt fī Miṣr: ʿAṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk* (Cairo: ʿAyn lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Buḥūth al-Insānīyah wa-al-Ijtimāʿīyah, 2002). Pp. 193.

REVIEWED BY CARL F. PETRY, Northwestern University

This monograph (likely a revised doctoral dissertation, although unspecified by the author) surveys the proliferation of prisons and diversity of their functions during the independent Mamluk period in Egypt. The author, on the faculty of history in the Teachers′ College of Dumyāṭ, Manṣūrah University, initiates his study with a discussion of primary sources consulted. While Ḥusayn pays lip service to the significance of Quranic, hadith, and literary texts for relevant legal theory or criminal images, his emphasis on narratives compiled by on-site historians of the Mamluk period underscores their centrality as repositories of the concrete evidence on which a credible analysis must rely. Predictably, the eminent but acerbic chronicler Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī emerges as the authority of first rank. Ḥusayn confirms the primacy of his *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk* for reportage of specific criminal episodes, and his *Khiṭaṭ* for its detailed description of jails, background to their construction, and conditions endured by their inmates. The author lists al-Maqrīzī′s disciple and self-styled successor, Ibn Taghrībirdī, next in order of prominence, but dwells on his voluminous yet diffuse *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* and biographical dictionary, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī* (largely unquoted in the text), while passing over his more focused *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr,* which the historian compiled as a continuation of al-Maqrīzī′s *Sulūk* (Ḥusayn refers to the California edition of the *Ḥawādith* edited by W. Popper in the bibliography, but does not mention it among the ″encyclopedic″ *[mawsūʿīyah]* sources most replete with relevant data). The author goes on to note the works of Ibn al-Ṣayrafī *(Nuzhat al-Nufūs, Inbāʾ al-Ḥaṣr)* and al-Qalqashandī *(Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá)* but does not acknowledge Ibn Iyās′s chronicle *(Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr),* although he mines it frequently throughout the study (he does list it in the bibliography).

Among the sources the author finds less important are al-Maqrīzī′s treatise on economic and fiscal decline *(Kitāb Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah),* al-Subkī′s *Muʿīd al-Niʿam wa-Mubīd al-Niqam,* useful for its details on judges and court officials, Abū Yūsuf′s *Kitāb al-Kharāj* for its information on jails and criminal penalties, al-Māwardī′s *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah,* Ibn Taymīyah′s *Al-Siyāsah al-Sharʿīyah,* and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah′s *Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmīyah* for their transcriptions of fatwas and classifications of criminal offenses. Ḥusayn then briefly credits Ibn Khaldūn′s *Muqaddimah fī-al-Tārīkh* for its description of criminal procedures in court, such popular literary sources as the *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars* and *Alf Laylah wa-Laylah* for their picaresque portrayal of felons, and the *Hazz*

al-Quḥūf fī Sharḥ Qaṣīdat Abī Shādūf for its depiction of rural violence in local villages. None of these works assume a prominent role among sources actually utilized by the author.

Ḥusayn does dwell on modern scholars who have addressed the topic of criminality in medieval Egypt, broadly considered. While limited largely to twentieth-century historians in Egypt, his remarks about their findings are illustrative both for the insights they disclose, and the glaring lack of cognizance among Western authorities of their contributions. First among these Ḥusayn ranks M. Muṣṭafá Ziyādah, who wrote an extensive article on jails published over 1943–44 in three parts ("Al-Sujūn fī Miṣr fī-al-'Uṣūr al-Wusṭá," *Majallat al-Thiqāfah* 260, 262, 279). Since Ziyādah edited the first two volumes of al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk,* he drew most of his data from that work, and presumably the *Khiṭaṭ*. Ḥusayn acknowledges one foreign scholar among the significant analysts of Egypt's unsettled economy during the Circassian Mamluk period: (Eliyahu) Ashtor, depicted here as an "Austrian" historian (p. 13). Ashtor's *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* is referenced in its Arabic translation periodically, albeit the author does not list the original in the bibliography. Several other Egyptians have explored the topic of crime and punishment in Mamluk Egypt, with whose assertions Ḥusayn sporadically disagrees.

Ḥusayn's introduction lists verses from the Quran that refer to criminal activity: reciprocal killing for murder (al-Baqarah, v. 178, al-Mā'idah, v. 45), condemnation of homicide except in retaliation (al-Mā'idah, v. 32), exhortation to base legal judgments on divine revelation (al-Mā'idah, v. 44, 47), and the exercise of patience before imposing punishment (al-Mā'idah, v. 39, al-Naḥl, v. 126) (pp. 16–18). The author subsequently quotes hadith transmitted by al-Tirmidhī and al-Bukhārī that emphasize clemency and repentance over harsh penalties (pp. 18–19). He then proceeds to a short statement on the establishment of shari'ah courts in Egypt following the Arab conquest, emergence of the prefect *(wālī)* as chief of police, the earliest references to prisons by chroniclers during the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods, and the marked increase of data on crime in narrative sources during the second half of the Mamluk era. Having set the stage for his first chapter, on prisons and their variants, the author distinguishes two types: houses of detention administered by judges and prefects *(ḥubūs, tarāsīm, sujūn al-ḥukm),* and "prisons more generalized" *(al-sujūn al-'āmmah)*. Of the latter, Ḥusayn notes four categories: 1) prisons reserved for eminent members of the military elite, primarily amirs and offspring of sultans, such as the Armory *(al-Zardkhānah)* in the Cairo Citadel, or the *Sijn al-Thaghr* in Alexandria; 2) prisons for political criminals from the military caste or civil notables: the *Sijn al-Abrāj al-Qal'ah*, *Khizānat al-Bunūd*, *Sijn al-Raḥbah*; 3) prisons for violent felons, primarily civilians or Bedouins: *Khizānat al-Shamā'il*, *al-Maqsharah*, *Sijn al-Daylam*—all in Cairo; and 4) a jail for women:

the *Sijn al-Ḥajarah*, also in Cairo. Ḥusayn relies primarily on the descriptions listed for these sites by al-Maqrīzī in his *Khiṭaṭ*. The author, while quoting extensively from al-Maqrīzī's comments on several prisons notorious for the inhumane conditions suffered by their inmates, offers an interesting hypothesis behind the chronicler's ambivalence over their efficacy. Ḥusayn (pp. 46–47) speculates that the covert source of al-Maqrīzī's anger was his animosity toward Sultan Barqūq's controversial son and successor, al-Nāṣir Faraj (801–15/1399–1412, with interregnum). Ḥusayn argues that al-Maqrīzī regarded Faraj as an offender far more heinous than many of the hapless officers and notables he incarcerated, frequently without sustainable proof. Ḥusayn notes that al-Maqrīzī counted more than four hundred Mamluk amirs and soldiers detained by Faraj unfairly under dreadful conditions. In an article I wrote on al-Maqrīzī's description of jails (*Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, no. 2 [2003]: 137–44), I mused about al-Maqrīzī's ire over these harsh conditions endured by inmates, but could identify no specific reason behind his anger. Ḥusayn has provided a plausible explanation. Ḥusayn concludes this chapter with the admittedly sparse references he has gleaned on the detention of women (primarily for adultery, debt, and prostitution), exile as an alternative to imprisonment in Cairo, and the responses of inmates desperate over their suffering: attacks on prison guards, self-mutilation, attempts at escape, and suicide. The author acknowledges the infrequency of data on the behavior of jailed prisoners, but claims that its occurrence, however rare in the sources, yields an indication of the individual's capacity to survive in the face of unbearable odds.

Ḥusayn's second chapter considers the "state" *(dawlah)* of prison inmates, under which term he includes the contrasts in status demarcating criminal classes, variations in circumstances of their confinement, and the underlying motives of the authorities who imposed these circumstances. The author claims that, despite the obvious inducement to crime brought on by the flawed trajectory of the economy during the later Mamluk era, its defects nonetheless provided the ruling establishment with multiple opportunities for reaping quick profits. Persons who thwarted these opportunities, in the name of upholding justice and equity, were equally subject to incarceration as repeating felons. Ḥusayn observes that debtors, otherwise guiltless, were often exposed to procedures such as torture, formally reserved for accused embezzlers or convicted brigands concealing their illicit gains—to compel their disclosure. The author links this violation of shari'ah principles to a broader tendency of the sultanate to exploit imprisonment as an expedient for enhancement of its revenues. He sees a clear connection between this tendency and the rise in harsh treatment meted out to inmates, often for allegations unproved in a court of law. Ḥusayn thus reaches the conclusion that imprisonment failed to rectify the growing trend toward lawlessness that plagued

the sultanate in its latter decades. Yet since such rectification was not the sultanate's prime goal, jails proliferated as a symbol of its asserted authority to bypass licit procedures and aggrandize its power. But withal, Ḥusayn claims that the narratives are filled with references to inmates of many stations maintaining a semblance of their social interactions, even under straitened conditions.

The study's third chapter deals with the authorities presiding over criminal prosecution and imposition of penalties. Much of the text treats matters widely studied in the field: officials such as the prefect *(wālī),* market inspector *(muḥtasib),* district inspector *(kāshif),* or judge *(qāḍī)* and their formal duties, or the distinction between shariʻah and appeals *(maẓālim)* courts. Few original details emerge in this discussion, although the author differentiates between appeals courts open to civilians, those reserved for militarists, and those convened for foreigners. Whether these categories of plaintiffs were consistently recognized in actual practice the author does not demonstrate. But Ḥusayn does dwell on the connection between the final, irrefutable quality of a ruling in the *maẓālim* court and the sultan's growing reliance on it as a means of curtailing the *sharʻī* judges' authority while advancing his own. Ḥusayn considers this trend particularly ominous, a prime reason behind the inexorable corruption of criminal proceedings under the late sultanate. He observes that over time judges were less able to shape criminal justice, their authority insidiously eroded by the sultan and senior amirs. As a corollary, judges were progressively subjected to brutality as a means of coercion toward following the regime's party line. And the civilian masses, largely ignorant of legal theory but street-wise in the ways of power politics, did not challenge the regime's usurpation of judicial authority, but rather emulated those who held the power to influence their fate.

The monograph's final chapter elaborates on typologies of punishments and means of their infliction. Most of the text is taken up with the bland penalties sanctioned by law, in contrast with lurid depictions of punishments meted out as reprisals for violent crimes, treason, or vengeance; devices to force disclosure of assets; or means of settling vendettas between rival troop factions. Ḥusayn's description of bisection *(tawsīṭ)* (pp. 151–53) is the most graphic I have encountered. Ḥusayn concludes (p. 165) that the frequency of harsh penalties paralleled the growing politicization of criminal prosecution, at the expense of humane treatment mandated by the shariʻah. Yet statistically, incarceration remained the penalty of choice from the regime's perspective, useful for isolating (and thus neutralizing) potential adversaries or rivals, and detaining client officials whose release could be offered as a reward for revealing hidden assets. Ḥusayn discerns an interesting tension between sultans seeking to ameliorate their reputations through periodic proclamations of amnesty or clemency, and senior amirs, subordinates ideally but rivals in fact, who deliberately defied them by callously abusing the prison

population. Overall, augmentation of cruel penalties failed to stem the steady rise in crime rates tarnishing the late sultanate. But, as Ḥusayn argues, the regime′s overarching goal was to aggrandize its power in tense times rather than to improve its subjects′ lot.

Professor Ḥusayn has produced a worthy, if succinct, study. This writer wishes to close with an observation all too characteristic of the divide between scholarship generated in Arab countries and Western states at present. A cursory glance at this monograph′s bibliography will reveal the almost complete dearth of articles and books written in Western languages (those few included are marred by printing errors) that deal with criminality in the Islamic world—not to mention the vast literature on the subject as it evolved in medieval and Renaissance Europe. Yet this deficiency is no less evident in the bibliographies of Western authors. I counted no fewer than fourteen individuals listed among Ḥusayn′s secondary sources who have studied crime but write in Arabic. Four of them were known to me prior to my perusal of this monograph, and for topics other than the one at hand. Whatever the strengths and weaknesses of a body of scholarship, its merits or defects cannot be ascertained if it remains unread by colleagues from different societies who examine the same phenomena. Our common enterprise of historical research is ill-served.

ALBRECHT FUESS, *Verbranntes Ufer: Auswirkungen mamlukischer Seepolitik auf Beirut und die syro-palästinensische Küste (1250–1517),* Islamic History and Civilization, vol. 39 (Leiden: Brill, 2001). Pp xiv + 520.

REVIEWED BY PATRICK FRANKE, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg

When Sultan Baybars in 1265 captured the Palestinian towns of Caesarea, Haifa, and Arsuf from the Crusaders, he ordered the destruction of their fortresses. Instead of the coastal line of fortifications, which was completely demolished, he established a new line of defence along the foothills deep in the country, more defensible by the Muslim forces. In order to make it impossible for the Franks to effect a new landing, Baybars in 1270 levelled also the last vestiges of Ashkelon, filling the harbor with trees and rubble. It is this successful strategy of ″scorched shore″ (in German: *Verbranntes Ufer*) to which Albrecht Fuess alludes with the title of his book. Later on in the Mamluk period, the military strategy was transformed into a general policy: as a precaution against a return by the Crusaders, the Mamluks kept the Syro-Palestine coast in a state of devastation.

In an article published in 1967, David Ayalon had argued that the main reason for the destruction of the Levantine coast by the Mamluks was their naval weakness. It is for this reason that Fuess devotes the first chapter of his book to a general discussion of Mamluk naval policy. He emphasizes that the naval weakness of the Mamluks was not primarily caused by the lack of timber and iron. The fact that in the beginning of the fifteenth century the Mamluks were able to build up a short-lived fleet for their military expeditions against Cyprus and Rhodes shows in his view the general availability of both of these raw materials. Nor was it the lack of maritime expertise that hindered the Mamluks from pursuing a powerful naval policy. The existence of a manual on sea warfare written by a Mamluk officer together with the Mamluk tradition of navigation on the Red Sea proves for Fuess that the theoretical and practical knowledge of seafaring the Mamluk rulers had at their disposal would have been sufficient to serve as a base for a successful naval policy also on the Mediterranean had there only been the political will to pursue such a policy. But since the Mamluk rulers had preference for warfare on horseback rather than in galleys they did not use this naval knowledge, but chose to secure their Mediterranean flank through a policy of alliances with trading European sea powers, at the same time devastating the Syro-Palestinian shoreline in order to make it unattractive for future invaders.

In chapter 2 Fuess discusses the negative effects of this policy for the Levantine coast and the coastal populations. Since the line of defence was moved into the interior of the country, the formerly illustrious harbor towns of the Syro-Palestinian shoreline were left unarmed against attacks and piracy activities of European freebooters. Almost all of them were downgraded to a peripheral political and administrative status. While they still played an important role in the international trade, it was not they who benefited from the revenues of this business, but the towns of the hinterland such as Damascus, Aleppo, and Cairo where the Mamluk decision-makers resided. The only town on the Levantine coast which was able to gain a certain political importance during the Mamluk period was the provincial capital Tripoli, but since this city had been moved into the interior of the country by Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn in 1289, when he took it over from the Crusaders, it could not be counted as a classical harbor town anymore.

Notwithstanding the general neglect to which the Levantine coast was exposed during the whole Mamluk era a certain flavor of normality returned to the coastal cities in the second half of this period. This is what Fuess exemplifies by a thorough study of the local situation in Beirut. After its surrender to the Mamluks in 1291, the number of Muslims living in this city gradually increased. As in the rest of the Mamluk empire, daily life in Beirut was characterized by quarrels between local notables and by the repetitive occurrence of epidemics and minor natural catastrophes. A special problem of the shoreline were the recurrent raids

of European corsairs. In spite of these sufferings, the inhabitants of Mamluk Beirut had also some little pleasures, as for instance the annual river festival *(ʿīd al-nahr),* which was celebrated harmoniously by Muslims and Christians. The revival of international commerce during the fifteenth century which was conducted mainly by the Venetian trading fleet led also to a detente in the greater conflict between Mamluks and Europeans.

For more than 200 pages of his book, Fuess discusses topics concerning the history of Beirut during the Mamluk period: he deals with the administrative structures (ch. 3), the urban topography (ch. 4), the demographic situation and some details of popular culture (ch. 5), as well as the presence of Europeans of different sort (traders, missionaries, pilgrims) in this city (ch. 6). It is regrettable that he has missed the opportunity to expand these parts of his book into a proper history of Mamluk Beirut. A detailed and source-oriented monograph focussing on this little-studied subject could have brought him much more credit than his ″combined history,″ which packs together three different subjects (Mamluk naval policy, Levantine coastal history, local history of Beirut) and by this becomes a kind of grocery store. In his introduction, Fuess justifies his combined description of the different subjects by stating that they are strongly interlaced with each other (p. 6). Undoubtedly Mamluk naval policy had certain effects on the situation in the Syro-Palestinian coastal towns, but was there also an influence in reverse? And, another question, is it really necessary to discuss Mamluk naval policy in its totality, when it was only a detail, the strategy of ″scorched shore,″ which had an impact on the Levantine coast?

In its individual chapters, Fuess′s study supplies the reader with a lot of interesting and exciting information. For the inner coherence of the whole book, however, it would have been of great benefit if the author had maintained a stricter adherence to one (e.g., local) perspective. The reviewer cannot help feeling that Fuess, who prepared his study while staying in Beirut, extended it to the other two subjects because he considered the source material for Mamluk Beirut itself too meager for a Ph.D. thesis. A compensation of this meagerness, however, could have been accomplished much better by an enlargement of the theoretical and methodological base of the study and a more profound source criticism than by the strategy of thematic dispersion of which the author has made use.

Helena Hallenberg, *Ibrahim al-Dasuqi (1255–1296): a Saint Invented* (Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, 2005). Pp. 293, three appendices, index.

Reviewed by Richard McGregor, Vanderbilt University

Several studies relating to Mamluk-era Sufism have appeared over the last decade. Among the most notable are monographs by Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen and Eric Geoffroy, and edited collections by Chih and Grill, as well as McGregor and Sabra. Mayeur-Jaouen's *Al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Badawi: un grand saint de l'Islam égyptien* (Cairo: IFAO, 1994) functions as an important precursor to the monograph under review. Hallenberg adopts a similar descriptive approach, one that is heavy on details and light on analysis. At its best, this style can be quite illuminating, bringing much new material to light. The downside, signaled by a dense four-page table of contents, is a disjointed structure that jumps from sub-section to sub-section.

As a contribution to our knowledge of an elusive but very popular Egyptian Sufi figure, this monograph is quite welcome. In scope it surpasses everything done on the topic to date. I will not summarize here the seventy-five or so sub-sections of the book, but will briefly describe the contents of the five chapters. First, however, are the author's forward and introductory comments, in need of an English-language editor, laying out the trajectory of the book. Here and in chapter one she tells us she has chosen the theme "invention" to reflect the variations and evolution in the biography of al-Dasūqī, allowing her to move away from an approach that seeks to reconstruct the original historical figure. The development of the saint's order, the Burhāmīyah, and analyses of his teachings and writings (the few that exist) are not of primary concern to Hallenberg. Her aim in this book is to carefully sort through the biographical material.

The second chapter surveys the available historical material for the life of al-Dasūqī. We learn that the earliest mention of him in written sources does not occur until 787/1385, thanks to Ibn al-Mulaqqin. Another reference is made to al-Dasūqī and his grave, by al-Maqrīzī. Hallenberg will later identify this short passage in *Kitāb al-Sulūk* as the earliest mention of pilgrimage *(mazārah)* to the saint's tomb (p. 139). (I should note here an additional source that likely predates al-Maqrīzī, though not by much. This is Abū al-Laṭā'if, hagiographer to Muḥammad Wafā' and his son ʻAlī [d. 807/1405]. In *Al-Minaḥ al-Ilāhīyah,* written around the year 830/1426, he relates an episode in which ʻAlī travels to al-Dasūqī's grave.) In addition to a *waqf* document identifying Sultan Qāytbāy as a patron of al-Dasūqī's shrine, Hallenberg wades through a variety of biographical sources, historical and devotional, extending into the twentieth century. An important part of this task is to untangle, as much as is possible, the confusion between three different Ibrāhīm

al-Dasūqīs—individuals from the seventh/thirteenth, eighth/fourteenth, and tenth/sixteenth centuries.

Chapter three presents a synthesis of the saint′s hagiography, organized according to typical themes such as miracles associated with his birth and death, and his esoteric knowledge. Of interest also are accounts relating his opposition to Crusaders, Mongols, and Egyptian tyrants, although most of these seem to be of later origin. Drawing further from the hagiographies, using a similar synthetic approach, the fourth chapter describes al-Dasūqī′s lofty spiritual status as evidenced by his miracles and gnostic insights. His position as one of the four saintly ″poles″ is significant, as it is in the hagiographies of other early medieval saints such as al-Rifāʿī and al-Badawī.

Chapter five attempts analysis of a number of key themes and events relating to the veneration of al-Dasūqī. A discussion of his *mūlid,* or saint day, addresses problems in dating and its parallel and likely competition with the much better known *mūlid* of al-Badawī. Hallenberg′s analysis here is rather unconvincing. She points to the possible connections between the *mūlid* of al-Badawī and Coptic antecedents—although she notes Mayeur-Jaouen has found no sound evidence for this. The implication here is that perhaps this is relevant to al-Dasūqī′s case (p. 216); a few mythical themes are then presented from al-Dasūqī′s miraculous life, and related in passing to Coptic art. These connections are not developed, and left quite tentative. On page 223 the quotation from Gilsenan on the tension between the ulama and Sufis flies in the face of the subsequent description of al-Dasūqī as ″an ideal Muslim scholar.″ Hallenberg is on more solid ground when she describes the evolution of al-Dasūqī′s image. In brief, the seventeenth-century writers underline the saintly miracle worker, writers in the eighteenth century show him primarily as a learned author, the nineteenth-century sources refine his cosmic position as one of the ″poles,″ and the latest material stresses al-Dasūqī as the opponent of injustice and a defender of Islam. In support of this schema, appendix C presents a useful chronology of texts and themes. (On the expansion of the Burhāmīyah order outside of Egypt in the twentieth century, see the recent article by Michael Frishkopf, ″Changing Modalities in the Globalization of Islamic Saint Veneration and Mysticism: Sidi Ibrahim al-Dasuqi, Shaykh Muhammad ʿUthman al-Burhani, and their Sufi Orders,″ *Religious Studies and Theology* [2001]: 20, I and II.) Appendix B is an exhaustive list and description of the writings attributed to al-Dasūqī.

Hallenberg has given us the first comprehensive treatment of the life of Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī. The descriptive approach adopted, one that is admittedly less concerned with the historical retrieval of the real Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī, allows us to skip across time periods following the hagiographical portrait as it evolves. Hallenberg has overcome a paucity of sources for the early period, and managed to disentangle

several strands of textual tradition in the later centuries. Although the resulting monograph suffers from a certain disjointedness, and is weak in sustained analysis, we owe the author thanks for presenting us with an impressive collection of relevant materials. She has put all future studies al-Dasūqī on a firmer foundation.

Making Cairo Medieval, edited by Nezar AlSayyad, A. Irene Bierman, and Nasser Rabbat (Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, Oxford: Lexington Books, 2005). Pp. 266.

REVIEWED BY JOHN RODENBECK

This collection of eleven essays originated as a series of papers delivered during a one-day conference sponsored by the Misr Research Group at Berkeley in 2004. Although its major focus is on Cairo in the nineteenth century, Mamlukologists and other folk concerned with the history of al-Maḥrūsah will find it provocative. The most impressive contributions, moreover, are probably Nairy Hempikian's on Bāb Zuwaylah and the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe (1881–1961), otherwise known as the Comité, without which there would have been little left of Mamluk Cairo, and Nasser Rabbat's on al-Maqrīzī, the great Mamluk-era topologist, a brilliantly expanded version of an essay that appeared in *The Cairo Heritage,* the Festschrift published in 2000 to honor Laila Ali Ibrahim.

As I observed in that same volume, a major element in Laila's formidability was her strategic vision, her "insistence upon regarding the whole city as an evolving ensemble, rather than as a haphazard agglomeration that someone has arbitrarily divided into a modern/'Western' metropolis and an old/'Oriental' madinah, the latter architecturally characterized by its incidental possession of a piecemeal accumulation of 'monuments.'" Such an understanding by no means denies the real historical division of late-nineteenth-century Cairo into "Eastern" and "Western" cities, but urges instead an effort to accommodate these two realities to each other without discomfiture to either. The same division is likewise the chief persistent theme throughout this collection, where it is treated with varying degrees of finesse, acuity, and historical awareness.

A "Prologue" asserts, for example, that "Europeans, through representations of architecture and urban spaces . . . constructed dualities like East/West and modern/medieval which remain with us today." This declaration implies that such a distinction is merely an Idealist or Foucaultian abstraction with no basis in physical reality. Its physical basis is presumed to be real, however, by André

Raymond, the foremost historian of the city, and is the very pivot of Janet Abu Lughod's *Cairo* (1971), which the editors correctly describe as "the classic work in the field." The central section of Abu Lughod's book is actually called "A Tale of Two Cities" and the five chapters within it (pp. 83–166) deal with an inescapable physical and historical fact. But abstract conceptions and brute realities can change places in this collection willy-nilly according to political or rhetorical whim. Raymond and Abu Lughod are thus somehow exempted from the recurrent recrimination of "Europeans," "Westerners," "colonialists," or a generalized "West" for having observed the same physical distinction that both of these authorities in fact not only accept, but treat at length.

Irene Bierman's opening essay, "Disciplining the Eye: Perceiving Medieval Cairo," introduces several alleged agents of perception that will appear in later chapters: the *Description de l'Égypte* (1810–29), E. W. Lane, ʿAlī Mubārak, the Exposition Universelle (Paris) of 1867, the Comité des Monuments de l'Art Arabe, the World's Columbian Exposition (Chicago) of 1893. Like most commentators, she exaggerates the influence of the *Description* and its illustrations. Fewer than 2000 copies of both editions of the *Description* were printed, only 1490 were ever sold, and there was plenty of competition. The superb graphic collections of Shaw, Norden, Pococke, Luigi Mayer, and Vivant Denon, for example, were all published before the *Description* and were widely owned and perused. Denon's two-volume *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute Égypte,* for example, with its 141 large plates, some of them half-elephant size, went through more than 40 editions, translations, and adaptations and was quite possibly the most popular Egyptological book ever written. After the publication of the *Description* came the magnificent collections of Coste, Hay, Roberts, Owen Jones, and Prisse d'Avennes, compared with which the *Description*'s renderings were inaccurate, their reproduction technically backward. What the *Description* lacked, of course, was the advantage of two significant inventions that had arrived on the scene during its twenty-year gestation and been ignored: Wollaston's camera lucida and the process of lithography. It might also be noted that ʿAlī Mubārak was not born until 1823, a year after the publication of the first (incomplete) edition of the *Description,* and that he therefore certainly does not belong, as Bierman says, "to these same years." Neither did the Comité, despite using French for its deliberations, ever use the outdated proto-Disneyesque interventionist methods of Viollet-le-Duc, now on display at sites like the Cité at Carcassonne, which I see from my house in Languedoc. Nor is there any evidence that tourism entered into the Comité's considerations. Bierman rightly deplores, though, the use of the term "Islamic Cairo."

Nasser Rabbat's chapter, an analytic survey of the life, career, and vision of the indispensable al-Maqrīzī, is suavely impeccable, the more useful and impressive

in that it adduces recent Egyptian scholarship and recent Egyptian literature, concluding with an analysis of al-Maqrīzī's influence on two contemporary novelists, Gamal al-Ghitani and Khayri Shalabi. Such an analysis could be extended into the work of Naguib Mahfouz, whose Cairene cityscape—in *Zuqāq Midāq,* for example, or *Al-Liṣṣ wa-al-Kilāb*—has a moral meaning that al-Maqrīzī would obviously have understood.

Nezar AlSayyad's chapter on ʿAlī Mubārak, composer of the next most important Egyptian *khiṭaṭ* after al-Maqrīzī's, describes him as "the central character in our story" and treats him with sensitivity and candor. Paralleling "The Modern Vision of ʿAli Mubarak," the ground-breaking paper delivered by B. F. Musallem at the colloquium on the Islamic city held at Cambridge in 1976, it provides the sole instance in this collection of the use of the word "positivist," which defines more concisely than any other Mubārak's background, training, and vision. If Mubārak had had his own positivist way, of course, the entire historic zone would have been leveled, a handful of approved architectural examples being spared solely "for educational purposes." He must have been a thorn in the side of the Comité, of which he was a member from its second year until his death.

Derek Gregorys's "Performing Cairo: Orientalism and the City of the Arabian Nights" focuses on E. W. Lane and his ethnographic masterpiece, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians,* the definitive 1860 edition of which, edited by Jason Thompson, was republished in 2003. Mustering a mass of theory, Gregory attempts to show that Lane's equation of Cairene life in 1835 with the social background of the Arabian Nights became a fixture among nineteenth-century European travelers and tourists, who thus arrived in al-Maḥrūsah expecting to find the Baghdad of Hārūn al-Rashīd. If so, however, these wandering naïfs must have skipped over Lane's remarks in the last chapter of all editions of *Manners and Customs:*

> European customs have not yet begun to spread among the Egyptians themselves; but they probably will ere long; and in the expectation that this will soon be case, I have been most anxious to become well acquainted (before it is too late to make the attempt) with a state of society which has existed, and excited a high degree of interest, for many centuries, and which many persons have deemed immutable.

Nor had they read the observations of Edward Stanley Poole, Lane's nephew, in his editor's preface to the 1860 edition, published sixteen years before Lane's death: "To continue [the ethnographic record] would be only to chronicle the gradual disuse of their national and characteristic customs and the adoption of

Western habits that must mark a new era in their history as a nation.″

Countering calumniators (Edward Said and Rana Kabbani) who allege that Lane suffered from pathological sexual repression, Gregory suggests that Lane′s robust description of his own participation in a *mawlid* exaggerates its licentious atmosphere and thus indicates an undue degree of sexual susceptibility. Even contemporary Cairo, however, bears out Lane′s objectivity, as any woman could testify who ever rode alone in a crowded car during the nine decades before the Metro afforded separate accommodation for females. Certain large-scale *mawlid*s—those of Sayyidah Zaynab, for example, and Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī in Tanta—still have well-deserved reputations for unleashed libido of which daintily bred non-participant bourgeois Egyptians may well remain quite unaware, as they apparently did until recently of female circumcision.

Much of this collection is less about Cairo than about European attitudes towards Cairo, a subject that demands as much acquaintance with the history of European taste and culture as with the history of al-Maḥrūsah. Caroline Williams′ ″Nineteenth-Century Images of Cairo: From the Real to the Interpretative″ rests on solid ground in both respects, offers rewarding analysis with minimal theory or speculation, and supplies a consciously aesthetic dimension that is otherwise virtually absent from this collection. She concentrates upon a handful of the most distinguished Orientalist depictors of Cairo: Coste, Hay, Lane, Roberts, Frith (whose photography necessarily excluded human subjects), Lewis, Gérôme, and Deutsch. Her thesis—that artists before 1860 sought to make an accurate visual record, while those afterward created capriccios uniting authentic materials in fanciful and anachronistic ways—is neatly sustained and is perfectly conformable with historical fact: the manners and customs that Lane recorded in 1835 indeed no longer existed in 1860.

Williams′ illustrations aptly tell the tale: the reproduction of Deutsch′s ″Le Tribut″ (1898), for example, gives us an accurately detailed study of the portico of Sultan Ḥasan, but adorns it, as Williams points out, with some superfluous Turkish tiles and peoples it with personnel wearing the Ottoman costume of more than seventy years earlier. Two small observations: the caption of the reproduction of a print from the *Description* calls it a ″lithograph″ and Roberts is said to have intended his own work as a corrective to the *Description*′s ″views.″ None of the illustrative plates in the *Description* is in fact a lithograph (see above) and Roberts′s remark about their inadequacy, quoted here, was made only after he had already been in Egypt for nearly three months. The motives that had brought him to Egypt in the first place obviously remained primary and had nothing to do with mere rivalry over verisimilitude.

David Preziosi′s ″The Museum of What You Shall Have Been″ bristles with ideas, but many of them are slightly suspect. His guesses as to the motives of the

Comité and his linking it directly with the Egyptian Museum remain particularly unconvincing. Henri Pieron—the same passage from an article of his published in a popular French-language Egyptian magazine in 1911 is quoted as an epigraph later in this collection—may well represent a particular view of the morphology of Arab cities held during that era by certain empire-oriented Frenchmen, probably positivists, whose chief experience was in North Africa, but he can hardly represent the whole of ″the colonial order,″ as Preziosi claims, and certainly not the views of the Comité or even of the three Frenchmen in it (out of some sixteen members at the time, nine of them Egyptian). The French-North-African urban paradigm—a walled medieval Arab *madīnah* separated from a modern French ville by a *cordon sanitaire*—has had occasional official proponents in Cairo, but they have been Egyptian, rather than European: the Arab Bureau of Design, for example, a public-sector architectural firm, proposed exactly such a model for radical intervention in the historic zone as recently as 1980.

There are also mistakes based on legend and hearsay. The Khedivial Opera House, for example, was not built for the premier of *Aida,* but for the celebration of the opening of the Suez Canal, in the autumn of 1869. (The libretto for *Aida* was not delivered to Verdi until the following year and the opera premiered in Cairo on 24 December 1871.) And what is ″the Christian quarter″ that is mentioned two or three times? Preziosi′s text suggests that he means Miṣr al-Qadīmah, but in fact al-Maḥrūsah has several other quarters that have long been traditionally Christian, including neighborhoods in Azbakīyah, Shubrā, al-Muskī, al-Jamalīyah, al-Waylī, Rawḍ al-Faraj, and elsewhere.

Heba Farouk Ahmed′s chapter, ″Nineteenth Century Cairo: a Dual City?″ is burdened with a shaky and ill-defined thesis. Material is squeezed for dubious generalizations, which lead to misreadings, anachronisms, or irresolvable contradictions. One of her illustrations, for example, is a picture dating from 1877 showing an elaborately invented Ottoman doorway and a dim figure seated within who apparently offers something unidentifiable for sale. Her caption refers to ″[Western] interest in contemporary Cairenes and their everyday life—a new phenomenon in the nineteenth century.″ Such a reading, however, ignores both the far more informative illustrations in the ″Arts et Métiers″ section of the *Description de l′Égypte,* published shortly after the beginning of the century, but also the fact that the *Description* itself, a classic Enlightenment project, was the last major example of an encyclopædic tradition that had already achieved its finest flower in the great French *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts, et des métiers* (1751–80). What the uninformative picture of the invented doorway thus demonstrates, if anything, is that by 1877 Western interest in Cairene everyday life had dwindled remarkably, as Caroline Williams′s survey (above) very clearly shows.

On the next page Ahmed declares that ″among the best known early [sic] European travel writers [sic] were Edward William Lane and David Roberts. Both were inspired to visit Egypt,″ she goes on to say, ″after reading the mammoth Napoleonic Description de l′Égypte″ [9500 pages of text? 1000 plates?]—a piece of misinformation which she owes, I′m afraid, to Tim Mitchell′s *Colonising Egypt* (1988, p. 29). Two pages later she reproduces a sensational illustration from a 1913 American edition of Lane′s *Arabian Nights* in the apparent belief that it was actually penned by Lane himself, who died a full generation earlier. (The illustrator even for Lane′s own ″standard″ edition was not himself. but William Darbey.) On the following page, in a paragraph summarizing the career of the historian Stanley Lane-Poole, Lane′s grandnephew, every statement is untrue. One could point to further errors. It must also be observed that, having been compelled by her thesis to deal with Western subjects, Ahmed was thus condemned to play down far more promising material about Egyptian subjects—al-Ṭahṭāwī, ʻAlī Mubārak, and al-Muwayliḥī—which is buried in her footnotes. One will look for something better from this scholar.

In his ″Modernizing Cairo: A Revisionist Narrative,″ Khaled Fahmy gives us the sort of tour de force we have come to expect from this scholarly virtuoso, a skilled and gratifyingly readable overview of the legal and bureaucratic apparatus that was so busily transforming al-Maḥrūsah before 1882. His punctilious reliance on archival material leads to at least one strange statement, however, an assertion that the cemetery of Sayyidah Nafīsah″ stopped receiving bodies for burial in the 1870s″ and ″was replaced by the Imamein cemetery south of the Aqueduct.″ In reality, interments at the Sayyidah Nafīsah cemetery continued—I myself saw several between 1964 and 2002—and the Qarāfat al-Imamayn, otherwise known as the Southern Cemetery, had already been a burial ground since the Abbasid era.

His narrative in general, however, is a star performance, well written, rousing, and sound. He does not embark upon it, though, without setting up a straw horse or two—the idea that ″modern″ Cairo was the creation of Ismāʻīl and that the entire inspiration for it came from his and ʻAlī Mubārak′s visit to Haussmann′s Paris in 1867—then cunningly knocking them down. Unfairly, he ascribes such notions to Janet Abu Lughod. But no serious historian of al-Maḥrūsah, including Abu Lughod, has ever believed that ″modernization″ commenced only with Ismāʻīl; and Haussmann′s influence is patent in the ″ambitious thirty-four article plan″ that was submitted to Ismāʻīl by ʻAlī Mubārak, as Fahmy himself observes, immediately after the latter′s return from Paris. Even if very little of the plan was actually subsequently implemented, it is clear that both Ismāʻīl and Mubārak found the speed and style of Haussmann′s transformations exciting. Both, after all, had known Paris in the 1840s, when much of the Ville Lumière was still composed of

fœtid medieval warrens as yet without such urban amenities as sewerage or abattoirs, a city walled (newly, under the Thiers government), but otherwise by no means unlike Cairo.

The major difference would have been in provision for wheeled traffic. No essay in this book notes that when the French landed in 1798, Egypt was a country virtually without wheels or the fact that every major intervention in the historic zone from the reign of Muḥammad ʻAlī to that of Fu'ād was primarily intended to facilitate the movement of wheeled traffic. These interventions included the shift, by seven meters (not thirty, as Bierman says), of the *zāwiyah* of Faraj ibn Barqūq to the south side of what is now Sh. Aḥmad Māhir.

Nairy Hempikian's magisterial chapter, "Medievalization of the Old City as an Ingredient of Cairo's Modernization: The Case of Bab Zuwayla," examines this move in due course during her analysis of the Comité's work at Bāb Zuwaylah, an analysis informed by her own labors there and elsewhere in the historic zone as an architectural conservationist. Exemplary in nearly all respects, even Hempikian can misread evidence at hand. The fact that the "Palais d'Egypte" at the Paris Exposition of 1900 included Pharaonic elements for the first time at any such an event does not show that European interest in Ancient Egypt was being replaced by interest in contemporary life, but rather the reverse. As Cairene life became more Westernized and less "exotic" (see above), Western tourists became increasingly more interested in Pharaonic monuments than in local culture. This trend, given a big boost by King Tut in 1922, has of course continued; and thanks to "packaging" and a shortage of parking lots for buses, very few Western tourists now see anything of Cairo's historic zone, while multitudes go gawking in Luxor and Aswan or content themselves with beach resorts. What is also in question here, of course, is the motives for architectural preservation. In Europe this question need never even be asked. In Egypt since the demise of the Comité, however, except among architects and historians, the only motive one usually hears for preserving Cairo's historic zone—a unique medieval urban complex almost the size of Venice—is Tourism.

Hempikian's survey of the Comité's work at Bāb Zuwaylah, which rightly ignores this motive, is authoritative and refreshingly concrete. Her study was intended, as she says, to counter "hasty conceptual and political judgments on its activities," judgments or prejudices of the sort, in fact, that lurk in the background of other chapters in this collection, which have a heavy ideological coloring. The Bulletins of the Comité, as she points out, are a treasure-house of accurate information. (The complete series is now available on-line, but unindexed.) "The love and care," she says, moreover. which was transmitted to these monuments through the work of the Comité, the meticulous professionalism by which its members worked, and their sincerity is often under-appreciated. Furthermore, the

seriousness with which these people approached their work is only apparent when one follows its line of thinking with regard to a single structure over a number of years.

She is critical, needless to say, of the insistence of the Comité on restoring monuments to their *aspect primitif*—an aim despised in current conservationist theory—but applauds the Comité for the rest of its program, especially its documentation. Under Ismāʿīl it necessarily employed strategies that paralleled those of Mubārak′s Ministry of Public Works in other parts of Cairo. but its standards and practices were far ahead of the norms pertaining generally in Europe and America.

The final chapter, May el-Ibrashy′s ″The Cemeteries of Cairo and the Comité de Conservation,″ looks at the Comité from a slightly different angle. Apart from the curious convictions that it was founded only after ″extensive lobbying . . . by the European community″ (whatever that may have been) and that its major motive was to encourage European tourism, her essay is solid and workmanlike. She corrects, for example, Khaled Fahmy′s comment on the Sayyidah Nafīsah and Imamayn cemeteries (see above) with information about what actually happened both on and under the ground. The cemeteries have, of course, always been lived in and have been traditional sites of periodical festivities, as cemeteries normally were in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds and in Romanized Europe down to at least the thirteenth century. What this fact means is that the present relative crowdedness in the old cemeteries of Cairo is not due to a poor and under-housed populace being suddenly forced to find new habitation in strange places, but to sheer steady population growth, which has also increased the number of the dead, the richer of whom wanted to be interred in large walled permanent structures that occupied more and more of what had formerly been open space. El-Ibrashy discusses some of the differences between shrines—few of which, having been constantly refurbished, possess any architectural beauty and many of which are not now in any cemetery—and other kinds of monuments, but omits mention of funerary structures such as the Ḥawsh al-Bāshā, the mausoleum of Tawfiq Pasha, or the tomb of Sulayman Pasha, which are not shrines and are not aesthetically distinguished, but possess extraordinary historic and technical interest.

This book is as remarkable for what is left out as for what it contains. Wheeled traffic is one important missing item. (The so-called ″traditional″ crafts of wheel-making and cart-making in Egypt were entirely nineteenth-century creations, based upon models imported from Turkey, France, England, and Austria. The high-wheeled cart used for moving stone is still referred to locally as a *faransawī*.) One also wonders why the most obvious and important of all recent colonialist ventures in Egypt—the British Occupation—is never even alluded to. I′d have liked to see a specific consideration of the Mamluk inheritance, not only the remnants of the

historic zone, but also the neo-Mamluk architectural style that became the signature of the Muḥammad ʻAlī dynasty. And although the Comité comes in for a certain amount of post-colonialist *afrangī*-bashing, inspired largely by Donald Malcolm Reid, no one touches upon the high-handed depredations that instantly ensued after the Comité was dissolved and that continue to this day: future historians will find it very difficult in relation to many other architectural complexes to duplicate Nairy Hempikian's history of Bāb Zuwaylah because the necessary documentation will be missing and the physical record will have been altered beyond recuperation. The paradoxical fixation in much of this book on what are supposed to be European attitudes, finally, as if they possessed some sort of validating secret for good or for ill, is bemusing. The attitudes in question are not always well defined or understood, for one thing, and obsession with them excludes much of what Cairenes themselves have had to say, quite often passionately and intelligently (e.g., al-Maqrīzī), about their city.

KHALĪL IBN AYBAK AL-ṢAFADĪ, *Ikhtirāʻ al-Khurāʻ*, edited by Fārūq Aslīm (Damascus: Ittiḥad al-Kuttāb al-ʻArab, 2000). Pp. 142.

REVIEWED BY VANESSA DE GIFIS, University of Chicago

THE PRIMARY WORK

Al-Ṣafadī is perhaps best known for his massive biographical dictionary, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* but he also wrote extensively in other literary genres, such as rhetoric and poetry.[1] His *Ikhtirāʻ al-Khurāʻ* belongs in this last category, and, as Brockelmann has indicated, is a tongue-in-cheek parody of poetical analysis.[2] *Ikhtirāʻ* can mean inventing, breaking, and deceiving, among other possibilities; *khurāʻ* means madness, or a disease that afflicts a camel whereby she collapses. Both words share the root *kh-r-ʻ*, which has the sense of limpness or laxity. Combining these various connotative elements, we are faced with a title that foreshadows the playful mood of the work.

The premise of *Ikhtirāʻ al-Khurāʻ* is an imagined *majlis* in which someone composes two absurd verses of poetry, which are then analyzed. The resulting

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[1]For example, *Jinān al-Jinās fī ʻIlm al-Badīʻ; Faḍḍ al-Khitām ʻan al-Tawriyah wa-al-Istikhdām; Al-Kashf wa-al-Tanbīh ʻalá al-Waṣf wa-al-Tashbīh.*

[2]Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (Weimar and Leiden, 1898–1949), S2:29; rev. ed., 2:33.

sharḥ is divided into six topics: 1) language *(lughah),* 2) parsing *(iʿrāb),* 3) meaning/syntax *(maʿná),* 4) style *(badīʿ),* 5) meter *(ʿarūḍ),* and 6) rhyme *(qāfiyah).* Through this concocted *sharḥ,* al-Ṣafadī parodies contemporary commentary on poetry. His parody targets scholars of Arabic grammar, figurative rhetoric, meter, and rhyme, and incorporates jokes about historians, philosophers, physicians, and politicians.

Clever parody and wordplay pervade every part of *Ikhtirāʿ al-Khurāʿ*. Even the opening formula is a play on the *basmalah: bismihi subḥānahu ʿazza sha'nuh* (p. 27). Then the name of the man al-Ṣafadī imagines as the narrator of this *sharḥ* is hilarious: Abū Khurāfah al-Hudhā' means ″the father of superstition, delirium.″ This name suggests al-Ṣafadī′s estimation of the pedantic intellectualism for which this character appears to be a satirical personification. Other names that appear in the text are also occasions for comedy, e.g., Naṣīr al-Dīn Abū al-Hazā'im, ″the helper of religion, father of defeats″ (p. 28), the components of which (help and defeat) seem incompatible. Also, formulae following names are humorous, e.g., ″the commentator, may God forgive him *(ʿafá Allāh ʿanhu),* said . . .″ (p. 30).

Al-Ṣafadī deliberately confuses historical figures (e.g., his saying that ″al-Saffāḥ [was] the first of the caliphs of the Umayyads″ [p. 73], while in fact he was the first of the Abbasids), as well as authors (e.g., his claiming that Ibn Miskawayh wrote *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ* and Ibn Jinnī wrote *Kitāb al-Fawz al-Akbar* [p. 51], while in fact the reverse is true).

Al-Ṣafadī justifies false statements with further false statements or impertinent true ones, demonstrating how erroneous information and reasoning can be made to seem sound if presented in a consistent manner or woven into an apparently obvious argument. For example, in parsing the preposition *fī* (in), al-Ṣafadī contradicts the rules of grammar by explaining that it is a noun, and he proceeds to furnish examples of how this ″noun″ may be used with the definite article, with *tanwīn,* and in an *iḍāfah* (pp. 54–55). In another example, he defines a word by adding inappropriate information to the right definition: ″[a mirror] is that in which one sees his own face if [the mirror] is in his pocket″ (pp. 31–32). While the reflective nature of a mirror is correctly described, the additional criterion that it is in a pocket is not a definitive feature of a mirror, and so the proper definition of mirror is falsely qualified.[3]

This combination of truth and falsehood, soundness and absurdity, is the basic thrust of the work as a whole. Given absurd verses, a commentator can apply a

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[3]The inclusion of this discussion of a mirror is inappropriate in itself, for it is introduced in the context of the word *mar'ah* (woman), which al-Ṣafadī relates to the word *mir'āh* (mirror). Though these two words appear at first glance to share the same root, they do not. The root of *mar'ah* is *m-r-'*, while the root of *mir'āh* is *r-'-y*.

sound analytical method to arrive at an appropriately absurd commentary, wherein the contents and conclusions of the analysis, though nonsensical, take on a respectable image thanks to the methodical presentation. Intellectual propriety lends an air of legitimacy to the absurd. Yet this does not read like a somber critique on scholarship; rather, it is a light-hearted jab at pedantry. Since al-Ṣafadī has, in other works, dealt seriously with the science that he parodies here, we are assured that the analytical method itself is not being totally debunked; rather, we see that a respected method is playfully employed in the service of comedy. Al-Ṣafadī is aware of his ridiculous activity and aims precisely for such ridiculousness as an achievement in cleverness. Indeed, in the opening section, al-Ṣafadī writes: ″[these two verses] require a commentary to join them in strangeness″ (p. 28). In other words, the goal of the work is to create a commentary of equal absurdity to the verses themselves. Just like the verses, the commentary comes in the form of a legitimate art/science, while the content is in fact nonsense.

The scenario he has constructed seems like the kind of thing we can imagine a group of scholars doing for a good laugh, having a bit of fun with their skills. Rather than being a mockery of a serious undertaking, we are witnessing a deliberately joking endeavor that is undertaken with full knowledge of the ridiculousness of the task and its results. In light of such absurdity, the fun itself justifies the exercise. It is really a self-parody on the part of the invented *majlis,* and indeed on the part of al-Ṣafadī himself, who is the real voice represented in the *majlis*. Elaborating on the absurd as if on something serious reflects the impulse of the expert to do what he does best. As al-Ṣafadī says, ″the bow is given to him who knows how to shape it″ (p. 28).

Parodying scholarly method requires serious knowledge of the method parodied. Al-Ṣafadī possesses this knowledge, as his other, more sober, literary works attest. Yet even the less educated can enjoy *Ikhtirāʿ al-Khurāʿ*. Although some of the information with which al-Ṣafadī plays is specialized, a good deal of the subjects, such as lexical items and popular historical figures, are well known to a wider audience; therefore, the jokes played with them can be readily identified. For example, al-Ṣafadī defines the word *layl* (night) as the time between the rising and the setting of the sun (p. 39), which is, of course, the opposite of its real definition. One need not be a learned littérateur to understand and appreciate this and similar jokes. It is possible that al-Ṣafadī intended his audience to consist of scholars and non-scholars alike, and so wrote this work with something for everyone.

Al-Ṣafadī′s precision in parodying grammar, semantics, logical argumentation, all in the context of poetical composition, is possible only because he is well trained in these practices and he is intimately familiar with those who also engage in it and their methods and attitudes. His own poetic skill makes his play on the discipline of poetical criticism all the more effective. The parody pokes fun at

literary analysts, and therefore equally targets al-Ṣafadī himself, who is a willful participant in such analysis. It is this implicit self-parody that most tickles the reader. This short book is a delightful testimony to al-Ṣafadī´s erudition, his intellectual independence, his critical insight into formal scholarship, and above all his clever sense of humor.

THE EDITORIAL WORK

This edition of *Ikhtirāʿ al-Khurāʿ* is based on two photocopied manuscripts. One is at the National Library in Tunis, MS 3742, and is complete. The other is at the Chester Beatty Library, MS 5200, and has three sizable lacunae. The former is dated 1167 A.H., while the latter lacks dating. Through an analysis of the marginal notes, which elaborate upon some of the more subtle and obscure satirical remarks, Aslīm concludes that these two manuscripts are either both derived from a shared source, or that one of them is derived from the other. Aslīm treats MS 3742 as the *aṣl* on account of its completeness. At the end of his introduction, Aslīm provides some photocopy images of both manuscripts.

In the introduction, the editor provides a brief biography of al-Ṣafadī, gathering biographical information from modern secondary works on the author, as well as from primary sources, including some of al-Ṣafadī´s own writings. Aslīm lists al-Ṣafadī´s teachers in poetry, language, *fiqh,* and political and prophetic history. He points out that al-Ṣafadī had a reputation for attacking the writings of his contemporaries (p. 7). This point is appropriate in light of the nature of *Ikhtirāʿ al-Khurāʿ,* which pokes fun at contemporary scholarly treatments of poetry. At the same time, al-Ṣafadī was accused of having pilfered the poetry of his teacher Ibn Nubātah.

Although Aslīm mentions al-Ṣafadī´s teachers, he does not give any details about the relationships he had with them. Moreover, he does not orient al-Ṣafadī´s work in the larger context of Mamluk literary activity, so we do not get an idea of how innovative a work like *Ikhtirāʿ al-Khurāʿ* may have been when it was composed. Joking and wordplay were not unique to al-Ṣafadī, but Aslīm does not give any indication of such activity among al-Ṣafadī´s contemporaries.

Aslīm´s list of the works of al-Ṣafadī that have been edited and published numbers seventeen; his list of the unpublished works numbers twenty-three. This list of works, though not entirely comprehensive, clearly reflects the diverse interests of al-Ṣafadī, which included poetry, epigrams, rhetoric, linguistics, and *adab.* Listed as unpublished is *Al-Tanbīh ʿalá al-Tashbīh,* which, as Everett Rowson has noted, must be either the *Kashf* that Rowson reviews or an earlier version thereof.[4]

[4]Everett K. Rowson, review of *Al-Kashf wa-al-Tanbīh ʿalá al-Waṣf wa-al-Tashbīh*, ed. Hilāl Nājī and Walīd ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 1

The *Kashf* was published in 1999, a year earlier than *Ikhtirāʿ al-Khurāʿ,* which is recent enough to excuse Aslīm for not acknowledging its publication in his own edition. *Rumūz al-Shajarah al-Nuʿmānīyah* is listed here, although Franz Rosenthal has pointed out that the attribution of this work to al-Ṣafadī is false.[5] Not listed is al-Ṣafadī's *Tawshīʿ al-Tawshīḥ*, a *muwashshaḥāt* work, which would have been a suitable addition to the list for illustrating al-Ṣafadī's poetical activity.

Aslīm confirms the authorship of *Ikhtirāʿ al-Khurāʿ* with Ḥājjī Khalīfah (pp. 9–10). He does not, however, confirm this with any indication to internal evidence in the text itself. Nonetheless, it is widely accepted that this is indeed a work of al-Ṣafadī.

Aslīm contrasts the satire of al-Ṣafadī to that of al-Maʿarrī (d. 449), saying that while both men are steeped in intellectual culture and rely on a rich literary heritage, al-Ṣafadī is not as serious as al-Maʿarrī in his satire, opting to take a more humorous approach to mocking contemporary intellectual production (p. 11). I agree with this observation. *Ikhtirāʿ al-Khurāʿ* does not exude the pessimistic misanthropy that we sense in the works of al-Maʿarrī.

The edition of the work is well executed. There are copious footnotes, in which Aslīm indicates variations and marginal glosses in the manuscripts and explains many of al-Ṣafadī's jokes. Many of the marginal notes in the manuscripts identify historical figures, define lexical items, and attribute poetic citations to the correct composers. The editor provides his own glosses in the absence of marginal notes, or to supplement or correct marginalia. These glosses offer valuable information that is necessary to fully appreciate the irony and mockery of al-Ṣafadī's jokes. Also in the footnotes are occasional references to other primary sources, such as biographical dictionaries and literary works.

The end matter consists of a bibliography and indices for individuals, groups, places, books, and poetry. The bibliography is arranged alphabetically by title, and includes primary and secondary sources in a single list. The index of names includes real people as well as those whom al-Ṣafadī invents; the invented names are marked with an asterisk. Most names are listed according to the given name or *nisbah,*[6] and cross-listings are provided when necessary. Death dates are not provided. The index of books is arranged by title, followed by the author's name. The index of poetry includes the opening words of a verse, the *qāfiyah,* the number of lines, and the names of both the actual poet and the person to whom the poetry is attributed, when applicable.

(2004): 321.

[5]Franz Rosenthal, "Al-Ṣafadī," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 8:759–60.

[6]"Abū" and "Ibn" are ignored in alphabetization.

ʿALĪ ḤAYDAR, *Madkhal ilá Dirāsat al-Taṣawwuf: al-Shiʿr al-Ṣūfī fī al-Qarn al-Sābiʿ al-Hijrī wa-al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī wa-al-ʿAṣr al-ʿUthmānī* (Damascus: Dār al-Shamūs, 1999). Pp. 269.

REVIEWED BY PETER HEATH, The American University of Beirut

This is an interesting and useful book, within the rather significant limitations that its author, a professor of Mamluk and Ottoman literature at Tishrīn University in Syria, himself acknowledges. It would be more fitting if the two parts of the title were reversed, since the intent of the book is to study the corpus of prominent Sufi poets from late Ayyubid, Mamluk, and Ottoman times and through these works to offer an introduction to their theories of mysticism. The utility of this study is that rather than present these theories as derived from prose texts of these and other authors, the book at least attempts to study them as presented in their poetry first and to refer to prose works secondarily. This approach may be expected in the case of a poet such as Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 1235/632), but it is less common among students of his contemporary Ibn ʿArabī (d. 1240/638), whose ideas are usually studied based mainly on his prose works. In addition to these two writers, the book focuses on three others: al-ʿAfīf al-Tilimsānī (father of the poet Ibn al-ʿAfīf; d. 1291/690), al-Būṣīrī (d. 1297/697), and ʿAbd al-Ghānī al-Nabulusī (d. 1143/1731). Other poets and mystics from these periods are mentioned but more in passing than in detail.

The book is perhaps more a series of linked essays than a cohesive study. Individual sections are dedicated to presenting and analyzing the poetry of the five poets mentioned above. These sections are framed by rather general sketches of Sufism as practiced at the time, mention of secondary poets, and some analysis of such important poetic motifs as wine or praise of the prophet Muḥammad. As such the book does provide introductory accounts of the poetry and the ideas of these major writers, but its scope does not extend beyond this. As the author himself admits in his preface, this work is only an "initial preparatory study" *(tawṭiʾah)*.

While there are advantages to starting with poetry rather than with prose compositions, the more inquiring or ambitious reader is left unfulfilled. For one thing, although the book relies on primary sources it hardly refers to any secondary study, in Arabic or a Western language, on any of these writers. The author, it seems, is either working in an intellectual vacuum or assumes from his readers prior acquaintance with secondary sources. Second, each of the major poets presented easily deserves full-length individual study that more thoroughly examines his poetry and how the ideas presented therein relate to his theories or the ideas of others. Finally, with the exception of an excursus on the motif of wine, there is

little literary analysis of any kind, traditional or contemporary, in this book. Hence, poetry is reduced to representation of theory rather than as a mode of expression in itself.

With these caveats, which will be major or minor depending on the level of knowledge of the reader, the book does serve its introductory purpose. Nonetheless, it also whets one′s appetite for a more penetrating analysis of mystical poets from these neglected ages.

Fahmī ʻAbd al-ʻAlīm, *Al-ʻImārah al-Islāmīyah fī ʻAṣr al-Mamālīk al-Zharākisah: ʻAṣr al-Sulṭān al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh* (Cairo: Wizārat al-Thaqāfah, al-Majlis al-Aʻlá lil-Āthār, 2003). Pp. 388.

Reviewed by Nasser Rabbat, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

This book is a monograph dealing with the architectural oeuvres built in Cairo (plus one industrial building in al-Ashmunin) during the reign of the Circassian Mamluk sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (1412–21). It surveys twenty-six structures, ranging from the monumental Mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh to two sultanic *basātīn* (sing. *bustān,* i.e., a large garden). Three madrasahs among the surveyed structures were built by officials in the court of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh: Amir Qānī Bay al-Muḥammadī, Amir Fakhr al-Dīn ibn ʻAbd al-Ghanī, and the qadi (judge) ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl. The sultan himself presumably endowed the rest of the structures since they are all, with one exception, listed in his *waqf* document. They consist of two mosques, one *khānqāh,* one *bīmāristān,* two *ṣihrīj*s (water tank, or possibly *sabīl-kuttāb* complex), one *ḥammām,* one *wikālah,* one *ṭibāq* (residential units) above the Zuwayla Gate, a series of shops, and a sugar factory, in addition to five items identified as *makān* (place) and four as *binā'* (construction). Only the non-extant Manzarat al-Tāj wa-al-Khams Wujūh (Belvedere of the Crown and the Five Faces), rebuilt by al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh in 1420, is not listed in the *waqf.* The author extracted its description from al-Maqrīzī′s and ʻAlī Mubārak′s *Khiṭaṭ*s.

The survey is followed by two comparative and typologically-organized studies: one on the architectural elements and another on the decorative patterns of the structures of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh. In both studies, ʻAbd al-ʻAlīm extends his purview to famous examples in Islamic history. His main concern is to establish provenance, precedence, and development of the elements he identifies as characteristic of the Circassian Mamluk architecture of the age of al-Mu'ayyad

Shaykh. His knowledge of these structures is amply displayed: he is clearly someone who has examined their minutest details very thoroughly and had access to those upper parts and closed spaces in them that are usually unavailable to other visitors. The most valuable section in this chapter is the one that lists the inscriptions in the four main monuments examined: the Mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh and the madrasahs of Amir Qānī Bay, Amir Fakhr al-Dīn ibn ʻAbd al-Ghanī, and Qadi ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ. One drawback, however, is that no attempt is made to illustrate any of these inscriptions, nor is any explanation offered for the choice or the significance of their content.

The next chapter is perhaps the most interesting to Mamluk historians. It contains the entire text of the general *waqf* of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, redacted during his lifetime in 1420, minus the substantial part on the *waqf*s in Syria (135 lines out of a total of 954 lines), which ʻAbd al-ʻAlīm unfortunately excluded because it falls outside the scope of his study. The *waqf* text is followed by several glossaries: first, of the architectural terms in the *waqf;* second, of titles and offices; third, of *waqf* terms; fourth, place names; fifth, measures and scales; and sixth, names of cities and villages. The value of this section is less in its new or historically precise readings of the terms and more in its grouping of these terms in the context of one document. The book closes with a bibliography of both Arabic and English sources, 150 relatively clear black and white illustrations, and a hodgepodge of badly reproduced line drawings of plans, sections, and maps copied from various sources and left in their variegated scales and techniques of representation. The drawings are in fact mostly unusable, even in the case of the maps, which are supposed to offer new information on the location of some no-longer-extant structures of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh.

Fahmī ʻAbd al-ʻAlīm worked for many years in the Egyptian Supreme Council of Antiquities, first as inspector and finally as director in the Section of the Islamic and Coptic Antiquities of Cairo. This has lent him a great familiarity with the monuments of Cairo and a hands-on knowledge of their recent past and current status, especially after the frenzy of restoration that swept the city in the last ten years and irretrievably changed the appearance of many of its premier structures. ʻAbd al-ʻAlīm had also written an unpublished master's thesis on the Mosque of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh in 1975 (no doctorate is mentioned although he is identified as Dr.). This indicates that his interest in the architectural work of this sultan is long-lasting and that he has had the time to revise and fine-tune his student-days observations on al-Mu'ayyad's masterpiece. Only some of these expectations are met in the book under review, which was published in 2003, namely the detailed descriptions of the monuments and their present topographical surroundings, while others are strangely missing or only perfunctorily mentioned. The most glaring lack is in the English-language bibliography, which, besides

being severely incomplete, seems to stop in 1970 (the only exception is Doris Behrens-Abouseif's book on the minarets of Cairo, published in 1985). The Arabic bibliography is only slightly better. It includes a few entries from the 1980s, but nothing later, although a large number of monographs on the Mamluk monuments of Cairo have been published in the last decade, of which the book under review is but one example.

In fact, *Al-'Imārah al-Islāmīyah fī 'Aṣr al-Mamālīk al-Zharākisah* thoroughly exhibits three main conceptual problems encountered in a contemporary type of Egyptian scholarship on Islamic architecture, so that we can use it to illustrate them here. The first is that, notwithstanding the inclusion of photos and line drawings, the study of buildings is primarily textual and is reminiscent of the medieval method and language of historical and *khiṭaṭ* tracts. No use is made of the figures to comprehend or question an aspect of a building. They play an illustrative role to the descriptive passages in the strictest sense and add no information on their own. The second is that architectural history, whether it be presented synchronically as in this book or diachronically as in many other studies, is depicted essentially as an endogenous development suffused with self-conscious nationalism (sometimes expressed as pan-Islamism), which unfolds over time with minimal interaction with the outside world. The third drawback is the absence of critical interpretation that would contextualize the architecture and use it to throw some light on the social, intellectual, economic, political, or ideological factors that contributed to its production and were in turn affected by it. The short (8 pages) introduction of the book under review purports to address these connections, but ends up only repeating some banal, and hugely debated, remarks on the Mamluk class structure and the economic and artisanal basis of the country's wealth.

This is very different from what we expect from a contemporary study on architectural history in Western academe. Why is this so?[1] And how did this difference obtain, especially given that art and architectural history as fields of study were introduced to Egypt and the rest of the Islamic world by Western scholars and via Western academic training and influence? Many explanations can be proposed, but the most important one in my opinion is the rising intellectual split in Islamic studies (and scholarship in general) between the Islamic world and the West that has been intensifying in recent years. Analyzing this situation, a

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[1]This is not the first time that reviewers for *MSR* have confronted these issues when reviewing contemporary Mamluk studies published in Egypt. Two examples are: Stephan Conermann's review of N. Maḥmūd Muṣṭafá, *Al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī min Taṣfiyat al-Wujūd al-Ṣalībī ilá Bidāyat al-Hajmah al-Ūrubbīyah al-Thāniyah, MSR* 4 (2000): 257-60, and Nasser Rabbat's review of Ḥusnī M. Nuwaysar, *Al-'Imārah al-Islāmīyah fī Miṣr: 'Aṣr al-Ayyūbīyīn wa-al-Mamālīk, MSR* 5 (2001): 205-8.

tempting and pressing endeavor indeed, does not belong in this short review. It requires grounding the argument within the larger issue of an Orientalist predicament loaded with overtones of elitism, cultural and religious misgivings, and a perverse nostalgia for the colonial age, which is countered by reciprocally hostile attitudes in the Islamic world.[2] Suffice it to say that both sides are the poorer on account of this state of affairs, with the scholars in the Islamic world missing much more simply because of the top heavy censorship and the shortage in academic books, journals, and funds for research they must endure.

[2]The predicament of the Arab intellectual in general has been a subject of great concern in progressive contemporary Arabic debates. A sample of recent books is: Samāḥ Idrīs, *Al-Muthaqqaf al-ʻArabī wa-al-Sulṭah: Baḥth fī Riwāyat al-Tajribah al-Nāṣirīyah* (Beirut, 1992); ʻAzīz al-ʻAẓmah, *Dunyā al-Dīn fī Ḥāḍir al-ʻArab* (Beirut, 1996); Muṣṭafá Murtaḍá ʻAlī Maḥmūd, *Al-Muthaqqaf wa-al-Sulṭah: Dirāsah Taḥlīlīyah li-Waḍʻ al-Muthaqqaf al-Miṣrī fī al-Fatrah min 1970-1995* (Cairo, 1998). For a devastating and gratuitously cynical indictment of modern Arab intellectuals, see Fouad Ajami, *The Dream Palace of the Arabs: a Generation´s Odyssey* (New York, 1998).

List of Recent Publications

Āl Shalash, ʻAdnān ibn Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd Allāh. *Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyah Muḥaddithan.* Amman: Dār al-Nafāʼis lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʻ, 2005. Pp. 655.

ʻAlāʼī, Khalīl ibn Kaykaldī. *Ithārat al-Fawāʼid al-Majmūʻah fī al-Ishārah ilá al-Farāʼid al-Masmūʻah*. Edited by Marzūq ibn Hayyās Āl Marzūq al-Zahrānī. Medina: Maktabat al-ʻUlūm wa-al-Ḥikam, 2004. 2 vols.

ʻAlī, Walīd ibn Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd Allāh. *Juhūd al-Imām Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah fī Taqrīr Tawḥīd al-Asmāʼ wa-al-Ṣifāt.* Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʼir al-Islāmīyah lil-Ṭibāʻah wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʻ, 2004. 3 vols.

Bulqīnī, ʻUmar ibn Raslān. *Turjumān Shuʻab al-Īmān*. Edited by Saʻūd ibn ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz Daʻjān. Medina: Maktabat al-ʻUlūm wa-al-Ḥikam, 2004. Pp. 162.

Buraykān, Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn ʻAbd Allāh. *Manhaj Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyah fī Taqrīr ʻAqīdat al-Tawḥīd*. Riyadh: Dār Ibn al-Qayyim lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʻ, 2004. 2 vols.

Dhahabī, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. *Jāmiʻ Akhbār al-Nisāʼ min Siyar Aʻlām al-Nubalāʼ: maʻa Tarājim al-Juzʻ al-Mafqūd min al-Siyar*. Edited by Khālid ibn Ḥusayn ibn ʻAbd al-Raḥmān. Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd Nāshirūn, 2004. Pp. 526.

Dhahabī, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. *Ṭibb al-Nabawī: wa-bi-Ākhirihi Faṣl al-Samāʻ*. Edited by Muḥammad ʻAbd al-Raḥmān al-Marʻashlī. Beirut: Dār al-Nafāʼis lil-Ṭibāʻah wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʻ, 2004. Pp. 383.

Gharāyibah, Muḥammad Ḥamad. *Al-Imām Sulaymān al-Ṭūfī al-Ḥanbalī: Uṣūlīyan wa-Faqīhan, 657–716 H/1257–1316 M.* Amman: Dār al-Ḥāmid lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʻ, 2005. Pp. 335.

Ibn al-Ḥājj, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad. *Madkhal li-Ibn al-Ḥājj*. Edited by Ḥasan Aḥmad ʻAbd al-ʻĀl. Beirut: al-Maktabah al-ʻAṣrīyah, 2005. 2 vols.

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī. *Bulūgh al-Marām min Adillat al-Aḥkām*. Edited by Aḥmad ibn Sulaymān. Beirut: Maktabat al-Rushd, 2005. Pp. 560.

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ء	ʼ	خ	kh	ش	sh	غ	gh	م	m
ب	b	د	d	ص	ṣ	ف	f	ن	n
ت	t	ذ	dh	ض	ḍ	ق	q	ه	h
ث	th	ر	r	ط	ṭ	ك	k	و	w
ج	j	ز	z	ظ	ẓ	ل	l	ي	y
ح	ḥ	س	s	ع	ʻ				
		ة	h, t (in construct)			ال	al-		

ـَ	a	ـُ	u	ـِ	i
ـً	an	ـٌ	un	ـٍ	in
آ	ā	ُو	ū	ِي	ī
اَ	ā	ُوّ	ūw	ـِيّـ	īy (medial), ī (final)
ى	á	َو	aw	َي	ay
				َيّ	ayy

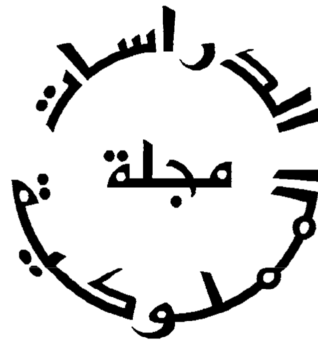
Capitalization in romanized Arabic follows the conventions of American English; the definite article is always lower case, except when it is the first word in an English sentence. The *hamzah* is not represented when beginning a word, following a prefixed preposition or conjunction, or following the definite article. Assimilation of the *lām* of the definite article before ″sun″ letters is disregarded. Final inflections of verbs are retained, except in pausal form; final inflections of nouns and adjectives are not represented, except preceding suffixes and except when verse is romanized. Vocalic endings of pronouns, demonstratives, prepositions, and conjunctions are represented. The hyphen is used with the definite article, conjunctions, inseparable prepositions, and other prefixes. Note the exceptional treatment of the preposition *li-* followed by the article, as in *lil-sulṭān*. Note also the following exceptional spellings: Allāh, billāh, lillāh, bismillāh, miʼah, ibn (for both initial and medial forms). Words not requiring diacritical marks, though following the conventions outlined above, include all Islamic dynasties, as well as the following terms: Quran, sultan, amir, imam, shaykh, Sunni, Shiʻi, Sufi. Common place-names should take the common spelling in American English. Names of archaeological sites should follow the convention of the excavator.





MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW

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Middle East Documentation Center (MEDOC)
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Mamlūk Studies Review is a biannual refereed journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648–922/1250–1517). It appears in January and July. The goals of *Mamlūk Studies Review* are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, nurture communication within the field, and promote further research by encouraging the critical discussion of all aspects of this important medieval Islamic polity. The journal includes both articles and reviews of recent books. Submissions of original work on any aspect of the field are welcome, although the editorial board will periodically issue volumes devoted to specific topics and themes. *Mamlūk Studies Review* also solicits edited texts and translations of shorter Arabic source materials (*waqf* deeds, letters, *fatāwá* and the like), and encourages discussions of Mamluk era artifacts (pottery, coins, etc.) that place these resources in wider contexts. Transliterated Middle Eastern languages should conform to the system utilized by the Library of Congress. All questions regarding style should be resolved through reference to *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th edition. Submissions should be composed with current word-processing software, and if possible should use a Unicode font, such as Charis SIL (see the website below for further information). Submissions may be made via email, but authors must also send a printed copy and a labeled CD-ROM which includes the article, all figures and illustrations, and any special fonts used. Articles which diverge widely from format and style guidelines may not be accepted, and illustrations which do not meet the requirements set forth by the editors may not be usable.

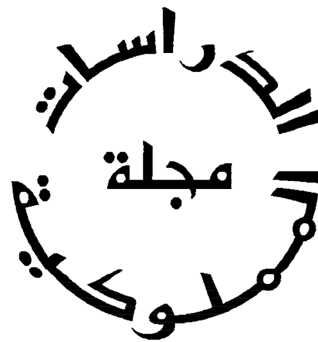
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2005: Zayde G. Antrim, Harvard University, "Place and Belonging in Medieval Syria, $6^{th}/12^{th}$ to $8^{th}/14^{th}$ Centuries."

Preface

This volume of *Mamlūk Studies Review* is dedicated to the Mamluk provinces, highlighting the rich and diverse lines of inquiry currently being used by scholars working in Bilād al-Shām. While the methodologies and source material used by the authors of the articles in this issue vary considerably, they all share an appreciation for the rural dimension, particularly that of the imperial frontier, and emphasize local and regional cultures and identities. Collectively they suggest ways in which ″the imperial″ alternatively conflicted with and complemented ″the local,″ on the political, economic, administrative, and cultural levels.

The authors represent a variety of disciplines—diplomatic history, art and architectural history, archaeology, and social and economic history—and pull together a wide range of written and material sources underutilized in more traditional, and Egypt-based, Mamluk studies. The cross-disciplinary approach of all the essays suggests alternative venues for future study of the Mamluk empire.

I would like to thank Bruce Craig for the invitation, and challenge, to put together this special theme volume and each of the authors for their contributions.

Bethany J. Walker
Guest Editor

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ZAYDE ANTRIM
TRINITY COLLEGE

Making Syria Mamluk: Ibn Shaddād's *Al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah*

The consolidation of the Mamluk Empire in Egypt and Syria in the second half of the seventh/thirteenth century provided a new context for what I have called a "discourse of place" among Syrian intellectuals.[1] Representations of Syria and Syrian cities in the Arabic written record, the earliest extant examples of which date back to the geographical literature of the third/ninth century, had proliferated by the turn of the seventh/thirteenth century. This proliferation marked the maturation of a discourse, or an established area of scholarly inquiry characterized by intertextuality and a set of common, if changing, terms and conventions, about "place." The concept of place has been subject to increasing scrutiny in the past few decades in the fields of geography, anthropology, and literary criticism, a scrutiny that has generated complex and varied theoretical frameworks for understanding the human relationship to physical, economic, social, political, and cultural environments.[2] In this article, however, place is defined simply as a locality, most often a town or region, represented in writing. Since representations are, by their very nature, constructed and contingent, this definition of place implies a relationship between the representer and the locality being represented. In other words, some type of belonging, often but not limited to that of the resident or native, is always tied up with the representation of a locality. To participate in the discourse of place in and about medieval Syria, therefore, was to evoke various categories of belonging by composing geographies, topographies, local histories, or other works from established genres of Arabic literature that treated the locality as their prime focus.[3]

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[1]See my "Place and Belonging in Medieval Syria, 6th/12th–8th/14th Centuries" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2005).

[2]See, for examples, Erica Carter, James Donald, and Judith Squires, eds., *Space & Place: Theories of Identity and Location* (London, 1993); James Duncan and David Ley, eds., *Place/Culture/Representation* (London, 1993); Steven Feld and Keith H. Basso, eds., *Senses of Place* (Santa Fe, 1996); Paul C. Adams, Steven Hoelscher, and Karen E. Till, eds., *Textures of Place: Exploring Humanist Geographies* (Minneapolis, 2001); and David Jacobson, *Place and Belonging in America* (Baltimore, 2002).

[3]The other genre of Arabic writing most commonly used by participants in the discourse of place was a branch of literary anthology listing the *faḍā'il* ("merits") of a town or region. For more on *faḍā'il* literature in general, see R. Sellheim, "Faḍīla," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 2:728; and Ernst August Gruber, *Verdienst und Rang: Die Faḍā'il als literarisches und gesellschaftliches*

Appearing after a period of more than a century distinguished by the active production of written representations of Syria and Syrian cities, the multi-volume historical topography *Al-Aʻlāq al-Khaṭīrah fī Dhikr Umarāʼ al-Shām wa-al-Jazīrah* (Valuable and important things on the subject of the princes of Syria and the Jazīrah), composed by the Aleppan scholar ʻIzz al-Dīn ibn Shaddād, marked a major shift in the discourse of place. Ibn Shaddād's work subsumed the territorial referents for belonging evoked by earlier participants in the discourse, such as Ibn ʻAsākir's Damascus or Ibn al-ʻAdīm's northern Syria, into a new territorial referent for belonging, a unified "al-Shām" increasingly integrated into the broader geopolitical context of Mamluk rule.[4] What made the *Aʻlāq al-Khaṭīrah* unique in the discourse of place up to its time was that it represented the region of Syria through topographies of *both* of its major cities, Damascus and Aleppo, as well as through descriptions of its secondary towns and rural areas, while making its author's loyalty to a regime based in Cairo explicit throughout. Thus, the political and military history of the first decades of Mamluk rule in Syria is inseparable from the new direction in which Ibn Shaddād's *Al-Aʻlāq al-Khaṭīrah* took the discourse. It was Mamluk rule that made Ibn Shaddād's representation of Syria possible, and it was Ibn Shaddād's representation that, at least in the discursive sense, made Syria Mamluk.

The Historical Context

By the second half of the seventh/thirteenth century, the experience of decades of Ayyubid infighting, persistent Crusader aggression, and a devastating Mongol invasion had created an increasing sense of vulnerability among Syrians, many of whom must have looked to the early Mamluk sultans, despite their origins as slave-born usurpers, for relief. Indeed, after sacking Baghdad and killing the Abbasid caliph, a Mongol army under the leadership of Hülegü, grandson of Genghis Khan, marched into northern Syria in the winter of 658/1259–60 and occupied Aleppo. Having negotiated secret deals with several remaining Syrian Ayyubids, including an off-and-on relationship with al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, prince of Aleppo and Damascus, the Mongol advance southward in Syria met little resistance. Over the next six months, the Mongols set up a skeleton occupation of Damascus and embarked upon a mission of looting and terror in the districts of Palestine and Jordan. The Mamluk sultan in Cairo, Quṭuz, after reconciling with his rival and commander of the formidable Baḥrīyah faction, Baybars, mobilized an army to

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Problem in Islam, Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, vol. 35 (Freiburg, 1975).

[4]See the introductory volumes of the *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq* by Abū al-Qāsim ʻAlī ibn ʻAsākir (d. 571/1176) and of the *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab* by Kamāl al-Dīn ʻUmar ibn al-ʻAdīm (d. 660/1262). Various published editions of both works exist.

confront the Mongols in Syria. The historic confrontation occurred at a Palestinian site called ʿAyn Jālūt in the fall of 658/1260, and the resounding Mamluk victory carried symbolic significance far beyond its practical repercussions. Syria would be harassed for another half century by Mongol forces and, even in the short run, would see violent confrontations between Mongols, Mamluks, and Crusaders on its soil. Nevertheless, the Battle of ʿAyn Jālūt proved for the first time that the Mongols were not unstoppable and helped portray the Mamluk regime as the defender of Syria and of Islam.

When Baybars took over the sultanate soon thereafter, he prioritized the development of a top-notch military machine to keep the Mongols at bay and initiated the renovation and repair of Syrian fortifications and urban infrastructure destroyed by the Mongols. At the same time, he sought to strengthen the regime's legitimacy in the eyes of its Muslim subjects through the installation of an Abbasid puppet caliph in Cairo and the adoption of hard-line rhetoric targeting infidels, both Mongol and Crusader, as its enemies. Under his successors Syria would be stabilized and divided into administrative provinces of a centralized, bureaucratic Mamluk state with its capital in Cairo. By the early eighth/fourteenth century, the last Crusaders would be definitively expelled from the Syrian coast, and the Mongol threat on Syria's eastern borders eliminated for the foreseeable future. It is not difficult to see why many Syrian Muslims welcomed this new "Pax Mamlukia," some like Ibn Shaddād actively pledging their loyalty to the Mamluk sultans by entering their service.

Ibn Shaddād had spent the early part of his career serving the last Ayyubid prince of Aleppo, al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, in administrative posts that required him to travel him all over Syria and to undertake financial and diplomatic missions to the Jazīrah. He even conducted negotiations on behalf of his Ayyubid patron with the Mongols when they occupied Mayyāfāriqīn shortly before invading northern Syria. However, after the Mongol occupation of Aleppo, Ibn Shaddād fled to Egypt and quickly found employment with the new Mamluk sultan Baybars. He returned to Syria again in 669/1271 in the company of the sultan and spent most of the following decade composing the *Aʿlāq al-Khaṭīrah.* When Baybars died unexpectedly in 676/1277, Ibn Shaddād served his successors until his own death in Cairo in 684/1285. Thus, the *Aʿlāq al-Khaṭīrah* was not only among the earliest compositions of the Mamluk era, but it was also the first representation of Syria dating after the Battle of ʿAyn Jālūt.[5]

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[5]Although, like Ibn Shaddād, Ibn al-ʿAdīm had been in the service of the Ayyubid rulers of Aleppo until he fled to Cairo after the Mongol invasion, where he lived until his death in 660/1262, Ibn al-ʿAdīm's representation of northern Syria, in the form of the topographical introduction to the *Bughyat al-Ṭalab,* was composed in Ayyubid Aleppo and completed by 655/1257 (see David Morray, *An Ayyubid Notable and his World* [Leiden, 1994], 169).

IBN SHADDĀD´S ˝AL-SHĀM˝

As its full title implies, Ibn Shaddād´s *Al-Aʿlāq al-Khaṭīrah* took the territories known by the toponyms ˝al-Shām˝ and ˝al-Jazīrah˝ as the subjects of its representation. When the classical geographers of the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries divided the Islamic world by region, or *iqlīm,* both ˝al-Shām˝ and ˝al-Jazīrah˝ figured among the twenty or so regions considered.[6] According to them, the region of ˝al-Shām,˝ often referred to as ˝Greater Syria,˝ ˝Geographical Syria,˝ or the ˝Bilād al-Shām˝ in secondary scholarship but translated here simply as ˝Syria,˝ was bound in the west by the Mediterranean Sea, in the north by the Byzantine Empire, in the north-east by the Euphrates River, in the east and south by the Arabian desert, and in the south-west by the region of Egypt.[7] The early geographers treated the territory to the east of the Euphrates, an ˝island˝ of land lying among its tributaries in north-western Mesopotamia, as a separate region called ˝al-Jazīrah.˝ Though the neighboring Jazīrah would be frequently associated with Syria in the discourse of place, later authors tended to follow the classical geographers in treating the two regions as distinct, if related, territorial entities. In the context of the shifting allegiances and movements of people that characterized the late Ayyubid period, the Jazīrah formed a key corridor connecting northern Syria to the lands and peoples to the east and the north, a corridor that had been featured prominently, for instance, in Ibn al-ʿAdīm´s writing. However, Ibn Shaddād consistently distinguished ˝al-Jazīrah˝ from ˝al-Shām,˝ and there is no sense that the eastern bank of the Euphrates formed a sub-district of Syria in his representation. In fact, as will be discussed below, the *Aʿlāq al-Khaṭīrah* suggested a fundamental shift in the representation of northern Syria, from an orientation toward the Jazīrah to an orientation toward southern Syria as its primary political partner.

At the most basic level, Ibn Shaddād´s *Al-Aʿlāq al-Khaṭīrah* may be distinguished from earlier works in the discourse of place by the detail and balance with which it represented the territory of Syria and its internal divisions. The work is divided into three major sections of more or less equal length and detail: the first dealing with Aleppo and northern Syria,[8] the second with Damascus and southern

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[6]For an overview of classical Arabic geographical literature, see S. Maqbul Ahmad, ˝Djughrāfiyā,˝ *EI*², 2:575–90; for the intellectual origins of these divisions, see André Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11e siècle* (reprint edition; Paris, 2001), 1:81–82.

[7]For English translations of the early geographers´ descriptions of Syria, see Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems: A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650 to 1500 Translated from the Works by the Mediaeval Arab Geographers* (Boston and New York, 1890).

[8]See the following published editions and translations: Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Aʿlāq al-Khaṭīrah*, vol. 1, pt. 1, ed. Dominique Sourdel (Damascus, 1953) [on Aleppo; hereafter referred to as ˝Ibn Shaddād (Aleppo)˝]; idem, *Al-Aʿlāq al-Khaṭīrah*, vol. 1, pts. 1–2, ed. Yaḥyá Zakarīyā ʿAbbārah (Damascus, 1991) [pt. 1 on Aleppo and pt. 2 on northern Syria; pt. 2 will be referred to hereafter as ˝Ibn

Syria,[9] and the third with the Jazīrah.[10] The first two parts of the *A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah,* on Aleppo and northern Syria and on Damascus and southern Syria respectively, may be characterized as the first representation of "al-Shām" that neither situated it in the greater context of the Islamic world nor reflected the perceived or aspired-for regional dominance of Damascus or Aleppo. Instead, despite his Aleppan roots, Ibn Shaddād featured both cities as key focal points of the region of Syria, not as rivals, but as complementary urban nodes. Furthermore, he established the territory surrounding each city as an immediately relevant and integral component of the greater regional entity. In fact, Ibn Shaddād was one of the first authors in the discourse of place to use the terms "bilād al-Shām" and "al-bilād al-shāmīyah," as well as the simple toponym "al-Shām," regularly, underscoring his conception of Syria as a conglomerate of territories and localities. As such, Syria was not reduced to two urban landmarks on which abstract region-wide descriptions or generalizations were superimposed, but was represented as a collectivity of interrelated territorial entities—cities, towns, villages, mountains, and rivers—that together made Syria a comprehensive and inclusive (geographically, if not necessarily socially) referent for belonging.

In the preface to the work as a whole, Ibn Shaddād presented four hadith-based tributes to "al-Shām." Together the first three constituted what can only be described as a gesture toward the deep reservoir of hadith material tapped extensively by authors in the Syrian branch of the discourse of place up to his time.[11] The fourth, however, made explicit the geographical parameters within which Ibn Shaddād conceived the subject of his representation in the *A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah*. Commenting on a hadith from Ibn al-'Adīm's *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab* in which the Prophet defined the land God blessed as that stretching between al-'Arīsh and the

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Shaddād (northern Syria)"]; idem, *Description de la Syrie du Nord,* trans. Anne-Marie Eddé-Terrasse (Damascus, 1984) [French translation of Ibn Shaddād on northern Syria]. See also the translator's corresponding Arabic edition: Anne-Marie Eddé, ed., "La description de la Syrie du Nord de 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 32–33 (1980–81): 265–402; and the following Arabic edition of the chapters on the 'Awāṣim from this section: Charles Ledit, "Al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīra li-''Izz al-Dīn b. Shaddād," *Al-Mashriq* 33 (1935): 161–223.

[9]See the following published editions: Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq,* ed. Sāmī al-Dahhān (Damascus, 1956) [hereafter referred to as "Ibn Shaddād (Damascus)"]; idem, *Tārīkh Lubnān wa-al-Urdun wa-Filasṭīn,* ed. Sāmī al-Dahhān (Damascus, 1963) [hereafter referred to as "Ibn Shaddād (southern Syria)"].

[10]Ibn Shaddād, *Al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah,* vol. 3, pts. 1–2, ed. Yaḥyá Zakarīyā 'Abbārah (Damascus, 1978) [hereafter referred to as "Ibn Shaddād (al-Jazīrah)"]. See also Muḥammad Sa'īd Raḥnā, "Ibn Shaddād fī Kitābat *Al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah* 'Qism al-Jazīrah,'" *Majallat al-Mu'arrikh al-'Arabī* 14 (1980): 124–204; and Claude Cahen, "La Djazira au milieu du treizième siècle d'après 'Izz al-Din Ibn Chaddad," *Revue des études islamiques* 8 (1934): 109–28.

[11]Ibn Shaddād (Aleppo), 5–8.

Euphrates, an exegetical tradition as good as ubiquitous in earlier representations of Syria, Ibn Shaddād clarified the location of the region's borders in all four directions: "Those who pay close attention to the delimitation of 'routes and realms' specify that [Syria's] southern border is al-'Arīsh, in the direction of Egypt; its northern border is the territory of the Byzantines; its eastern border is the desert from Aylah[12] to the Euphrates; and its western border is the Mediterranean Sea." [13] This description of Syria's borders was reminiscent of that provided by the classical geographers and defined Syrian territory with more specificity than had, for example, Ibn al-'Adīm or Ibn 'Asākir.[14]

Next, Ibn Shaddād drew from al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh* and Qudāmah ibn Ja'far's *Kitāb al-Kharāj* to sketch a brief history of the division of Syria during the caliphate of Abū Bakr into four *ajnād* (sg. *jund*).[15] The term *ajnād,* which can be translated as "armies," came to refer directly to the geographic districts in which the original armies of conquest had been based, i.e. Homs, Damascus, Jordan, and Palestine, the former two districts taking their names from their principal cities.[16] Likewise, the fifth *jund,* Qinnasrīn, created under the Umayyad caliph al-Yazīd, and the sixth *jund,* the 'Awāṣim, created under the Abbasid caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, initially owed their existence to the exigencies of military conflict with the Byzantine Empire but quickly came to signify, particularly in the case of Qinnasrīn, the extension and consolidation of the political and economic administration of Syria in the second/eighth century. The *jund* of the 'Awāṣim, often associated with a further set of frontier outposts, the Thughūr, as in the oft-repeated phrase "al-'Awāṣim wa-al-Thughūr," retained its military purpose and remained more loosely administratively integrated into Syria until much later than the rest of the *ajnād.*[17] By the Saljuq period, however, the Syrian *ajnād* were no longer a political or military reality, and Syrian territory was divided according to the shifting spheres

[12]Modern-day Eilat.

[13]Ibn Shaddād (Aleppo), 8.

[14]The Ayyubid-era geographer/gazetteer Yāqūt al-Rūmī (d. 626/1229), in his entry on "al-Shām" also provided a more specific description of Syria's borders than those found in works since the great geographical treatises of the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries: Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, (Beirut, 1957–95), 3:312.

[15]Ibn Shaddād (Aleppo), 8–9.

[16]For two different views on the origins of the *ajnād,* see Irfan Shahid, "The Jund System in Bilād al-Shām: Its Origin," in *Bilād al-Shām fī al-'Ahd al-Bīzanṭī,* vol. 2, ed. Muḥammad 'Adnān al-Bakhīt and Muḥammad 'Aṣfūr (Amman, 1986), 45–52; and John Haldon, "Seventh-Century Continuities: the *Ajnād* and the 'Thematic Myth,'" in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East*, vol. 3, *States, Resources and Armies,* ed. Averil Cameron (Princeton, 1995), 379–423.

[17]For more on the emergence of this frontier zone, see Michael Bonner, *Aristocratic Violence and Holy War: Studies in the Jihad and the Arab-Byzantine Frontier* (New Haven, 1996).

of influence of a succession of sovereigns. Syrian cities served as centers of *mamālik* (sg. *mamlakah*), here best translated as ″kingdoms″ or ″principalities,″ and the Ayyubid period saw an increased regularization of the Syrian *mamlakah* system. In the Mamluk period, the *mamlakah* divisions of the empire′s Syrian territories became more systematized and the structures of provincial government more consistent.[18]

During the first decades of Mamluk rule, however, as the last Ayyubids were being divested of their Syrian holdings, the Mamluk system for Syrian provincial administration was not yet solidified. Thus, Ibn Shaddād′s highlighting of the origins of the *jund* system and his subsequent use of the *ajnād* to organize his representations of northern and southern Syria could be seen as an early Mamluk-era attempt to bring some sort of order to a region that was in marked disorder.[19] This is not to say that Ibn Shaddād′s use of the *ajnād* to organize the *A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah* acted as a policy recommendation for the Mamluk sultans, but it seems possible that Ibn Shaddād aspired to discursive order in making Syria Mamluk, even if the only ordering system at hand was the admittedly archaic *ajnād*. Furthermore, in the absence of contemporary administrative divisions by which to proceed in his representation, Ibn Shaddād′s chapters cataloguing the towns, citadels, and rural areas associated with each of the six *ajnād* allowed him to provide a counterweight to the lengthy stand-alone representations he devoted to the cities of Aleppo and Damascus.[20] Thus, Ibn Shaddād established the geographical parameters and internal structure of the *A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah,* geographical parameters that explicitly demarcated Syria′s borders and an internal structure that used the *jund* system to address each constituent part of the region systematically.

PERSONAL LOSS AND POLITICAL LOYALTY

The second major difference between Ibn Shaddād′s representation of Syria and those prevalent in the discourse of place up to his time lies in the preface to the *A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah* in which Ibn Shaddād personalized his relationship to his native country and highlighted nostalgia as a prime motivation for his composition of the work. Juxtaposed with this evocation of nostalgia was a panegyric to his newfound Mamluk patron in Cairo, Sultan Baybars. Ibn Shaddād′s firsthand experience of

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[18]For more on the Mamluk ″*mamlakah* system,″ see Nicola A. Ziadeh, *Urban Life in Syria under the Early Mamluks* (Beirut, 1953), 11–24; and Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems,* 24–43.

[19]It must be said here, however, that Ibn Shaddād was not the first participant in the discourse of place to feature the obsolete *ajnād* in his representation of Syria. See, for instance, Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, 3:311–15.

[20]No manuscripts survive of his chapter on the *jund* of Homs, and it may never have been completed, but mention of it occurs in the table of contents Ibn Shaddād supplied at the beginning of the volume on northern Syria. See Ibn Shaddād (northern Syria), 7; and idem, *Description,* 1.

Mongol aggression, which coincided for most Syrians with the shift from the decentralization and instability of Ayyubid rule to the centralization and militancy of Mamluk rule, infused the *A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah* with a sense of personal vulnerability mitigated by political optimism.

Although Syrian authors in the past had composed poetic representations of their hometowns that evoked feelings of nostalgia or homesickness, prose representations of Syrian localities had not generally communicated such explicitly personal perspectives.[21] One exception was Usāmah ibn Munqidh's preface to his monumental anthology of poetry dedicated to loss and place, *Kitāb al-Manāzil wa-al-Diyār,* in which he described his decision to collect such poetry as a strategy for dealing with his own grief after the loss of his hometown of Shayzar in an earthquake in 552/1157.[22] Not unlike Usāmah, Ibn Shaddād explained that the *A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah* was inspired by the destruction of his hometown of Aleppo. However, unlike Usāmah's Shayzar, lost to a natural disaster, Ibn Shaddād's Aleppo—and with it most of Syria—was lost to a political and military enemy against whom retaliation was possible. Consequently, Ibn Shaddād combined nostalgia with a strong statement of political loyalty to Baybars, whose aggressive response to the Mongol occupation restored strong and legitimate Islamic rule to Syria.

On the subject of the sultan, Ibn Shaddād gushed:

> I pastured among his flocks from rainy season to dry season, and I swaggered in the garments of his beneficence. And I made peace with my fate, now that it smiles upon me after the period of its scowling.[23]

However, clearly Ibn Shaddād had not forgotten his previously scowling fate, as

[21]Like Ibn Shaddād, Ibn al-'Adīm fled Aleppo after the Mongol invasion and settled in Cairo. He did return once to Aleppo before his death in Cairo in 660/1262, and on that occasion he composed a poem mourning the Mongols' destruction of his hometown preserved in the as yet incompletely published *'Iqd al-Jumān* of the ninth/fifteenth-century Egyptian historian al-'Aynī. For the manuscript reference and an excerpt from the elegy, see the editor's introduction in Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab min Tārīkh Ḥalab*, ed. Sāmī al-Dahhān (Damascus, 1951–68), 1:37–38. However, unlike the *A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah,* neither the *Bughyat al-Ṭalab* nor the *Zubdat al-Ḥalab* features nostalgia or the Mongol invasion in their representations of Aleppo and northern Syria. For earlier Crusader-era examples of nostalgic poetic representations of Syrian cities, see the poems cited in Emmanuel Sivan, "Réfugiés Syro-Palestiniens au temps des Croisades," *Revue des études islamiques* 35 (1967): 135–47.

[22]Usāmah ibn Munqidh, *Kitāb al-Manāzil wa-al-Diyār,* ed. Muṣṭafá Ḥijāzī (Cairo, 1992), 3–4.

[23]Ibn Shaddād (Aleppo), 2.

he continued:

> The reason for my leaving a country in which I passed my childhood and in which I had brothers and friends, a country that I will never forget, even with the passing of time, and the name of which will continue to be repeated by the mouths of inkwells and the tongues of pens, was the entry of the God-forsaken Mongols into my country and their rupturing of the union of Muslims inhabiting it.[24]

Thus, Ibn Shaddād identified Syria with childhood memories, never to be recovered, and the Mongol invasion with the disappearance of Muslim unity in Syrian territories.

After explaining that his composition of a history and topography of Syria sprang from his appreciation for the patronage of the Mamluk sultan, Ibn Shaddād switched back to a nostalgic note, adding that another motivation for his work was the love and longing he felt for his hometown of Aleppo and homeland of Syria. Anthologizing material on the subject of *al-ḥanīn ilá al-awṭān,* or ″longing for homelands,″ had been a conventional practice in the early centuries of Arabic belletristic writing.[25] Harking back to this material, Ibn Shaddād justified his decision to open the *A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah* with a volume dedicated to the topography of Aleppo by quoting 'Abd al-Malik ibn Qurayb al-Aṣma'ī, a philologist of early third/ninth-century Baghdad:

> I have heard a Bedouin say that if you want to know a man, look at the manner of his showing love for his homeland, the manner of his longing for his brothers, and the manner of his crying for what has passed of his days.[26]

Then Ibn Shaddād described his own manner of longing:

> If it were not for the beneficence of the sultan and what God Almighty has made possible for him, I would spend all my time yearning for my homeland, and my soul would have become bewildered. But there is in his benefaction that which makes the

[24]Ibid.

[25]See Albert Arazi, ″*Al-ḥanīn ilā al-awṭān*: Entre la Ǧāhiliyya et l′Islam: Le Bédouin et le citadin reconciliés,″ *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* 143, no. 2 (1993): 287–327; and Kathrin Müller, ″*Al-Ḥanīn ilā l-awṭān* in Early *Adab* Literature,″ in *Myths, Historical Archetypes and Symbolic Figures in Arabic Literature,* ed. Angelika Neuwirth et al. (Beirut, 1999): 33–58.

[26]Ibn Shaddād (Aleppo), 3.

> émigré forget his homeland and that which returns one to the prime of his youth.[27]

Ibn Shaddād′s representation of Aleppo as his hometown and Syria as his homeland, a representation infused with nostalgia as well as political aspirations and hopes for the future, revealed a sense of belonging to a territorial entity at once local and increasingly translocal. Ibn Shaddād was, in effect, explaining that he was growing out of his former category of belonging, that of hometown and homeland, and growing into his new category of belonging, that of the Mamluk Empire.

Throughout the rest of the work Ibn Shaddād reinforced the dual motivations for composing the *A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah*, memorializing the losses imposed upon Syria by the Mongols and celebrating the future of Syria as part of a Mamluk state under Baybars. The volume on Aleppo is full of premonitions and portents of the city′s destruction by Mongol armies in 658/1260. In one passage a prominent Aleppan Shi'i remembers an ancient prophecy foretelling the ruin of his city:

> When the sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf began to rebuild the walls and towers of the city of Aleppo and to restore the two markets that had been constructed on the eastern side of Aleppo′s Great Mosque, transferring the silk merchants to one of them and the coppersmiths to the other, one of the notables, chief men, and bigwigs of Aleppo, Bahā' al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'īd ibn al-Khashshāb al-Ḥalabī, said to me: ″I am afraid that this prince is the one who settles in [Aleppo], renovates its walls, and restores its markets, only to have it all taken away.″ And that is exactly what happened, as predicted, in the year 658 [1259–60].[28]

Ibn Shaddād′s many descriptions of the destruction wreaked by the Mongols in Syria are often followed by accounts of Baybars′ subsequent rehabilitation of the landscape, as in the following example dealing with the citadel of Damascus:

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[27]Ibid., 4.

[28]Ibid., 14. Although the skepticism of the Ayyubid prince of Aleppo, al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, implied by the recounting of this prophecy may have been prompted by Bahā' al-Dīn ibn al-Khashshāb′s position as a Shi'i, according to his biography in Ibn al-'Adīm′s *Bughyat al-Ṭalab* he enjoyed warm relations with al-Nāṣir Yūsuf′s grandfather, al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, who appointed him supervisor of the Mashhad al-Ḥusayn, a Shi'i shrine dating from the Ayyubid period in Aleppo. See Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār (Beirut, n.d.), 5:2247; Morray, *An Ayyubid Notable*, 72; and Yasser Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo* (University Park, 1997), 112.

> When the Mongols seized the country and occupied Damascus, they destroyed its battlements, tore down its towers, and demolished a lot of it. Then when our patron Sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir took possession of the citadel of Damascus, he renovated it, rebuilt it, and repaired what the cursed Mongols had destroyed of it.[29]

In juxtaposing the devastation visited upon Syria, particularly upon its urban infrastructure, with the restoration and renovation for which Syrians had the Mamluk sultan Baybars to thank, Ibn Shaddād represented Syria as simultaneously lost to the Mongols and won to the Mamluk Empire.

Ibn Shaddād did not, however, associate depictions of the Mongol invasion with images of salvation and rehabilitation in his representation of the Jazīrah. By the time the *A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah* was written in the mid to late 670s/1270s, Syria had been rid of Mongol occupation for over a decade, but the lands east of the Euphrates were either under Mongol suzerainty or were deserted no-man's-lands that hosted border skirmishes between Mamluks and Mongols through the first decades of the eighth/fourteenth century. Though Ibn Shaddād's Syria, once lost, found itself rescued, his al-Jazīrah remained lost. Ibn Shaddād opened the section on the Jazīrah with the following explanation:

> In what has preceded of our book we have presented an account of Syria and the passing down of its towns from the hands of one king or prince to another. Here, we are awakening sympathy for [Syria] with an account of the Jazīrah and its first and last rulers until the time of its passing out of the hands of Muslims into the hands of the Mongols, may God deliver it from them.[30]

Ibn Shaddād's representation of the Jazīrah in the *A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah,* therefore, was intended as an admonition, a cautionary tale meant to inspire continued vigilance along Syria's eastern borders. Consequently, he portrayed the Jazīrah as a corridor that had been effectively closed off for northern Syria, forcing Aleppo and its surroundings to look elsewhere—namely to the rest of Syria, Egypt, and the Mamluk Sultanate—for sustenance.

HISTORICAL TOPOGRAPHY

In emphasizing the rehabilitation of the Syrian landscape and redemption of the

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[29]Ibn Shaddād (Damascus), 40.

[30]Ibn Shaddād (al-Jazīrah), 1:3–4.

Syrian people by the Mamluk sultans, Ibn Shaddād produced what may be the first fully integrated historical topography of Syria—in other words, the first detailed physical description of Syria blended with a political and institutional history. The structure and organization of the *A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah* strongly suggest that Ibn Shaddād considered the way Syria ″looked″ a function of its recent history, particularly the history of the architectural patronage of its rulers.[31] A comparison with Ibn 'Asākir′s *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq* and Ibn al-'Adīm′s *Bughyat al-Ṭalab* will clarify Ibn Shaddād′s contribution to the discourse of place in terms of historical topography. Whereas both Ibn 'Asākir and Ibn al-'Adīm followed their topographical descriptions of Damascus and Aleppo with voluminous biographical dictionaries of the religious scholars and notables of each city, Ibn Shaddād embedded prosopography and a paean to each city′s scholarly tradition in the topographical description itself through his innovative madrasah chapters; and whereas Ibn al-'Adīm dedicated a separate work, the *Zubdat al-Ḥalab min Tārīkh Ḥalab,* to the recent political history of northern Syria and Ibn 'Asākir satisfied his historiographical impulse with a lengthy chronicle of the early Islamic history of Syria in his introductory volume, Ibn Shaddād combined historiography and topography by explicitly tying political patronage to transformations of the urban and rural landscapes. Furthermore, though neither section survives, evidence from the extant manuscripts of the *A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah* indicates that Ibn Shaddād appended or intended to append lists of the Islamic rulers of Damascus and Aleppo to their topographies.[32] Thus, as the full title of the work, *Al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah fī Dhikr Umarā' al-Shām wa-al-Jazīrah,* implies, Ibn Shaddād saw places and princes as inextricably linked.

Ibn Shaddād′s volumes on the cities of Damascus and Aleppo make explicit their large debt to the earlier works by Ibn 'Asākir and Ibn al-'Adīm, thus reinforcing the importance of intertextual authority in producing and reproducing a discourse of place in and about Syria, but reflect an increased attention to the architectural patronage of each city′s elites during Ibn Shaddād′s lifetime, particularly the last Ayyubids and the first Mamluks. Ibn Shaddād opened these volumes with short chapters on the etymology of the toponyms ″Dimashq″ and ″Ḥalab,″ précis of the ancient settlement of the sites, quick enumerations of their gates, and short descriptions of the construction and significance of their citadels. The citadel of Aleppo, commanding such a central position in that city′s topography and playing such an important role as both military fortification and royal habitation,

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[31]For more on Ibn Shaddād′s interest in architecture, see Nasser Rabbat, ″Perception of Architecture in Mamluk Sources,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 155–76.

[32]See Ibn Shaddād, *Description*, xiv–xv; idem (Damascus), 10.

understandably received a longer treatment than that of Damascus.[33] In this treatment, Ibn Shaddād demonstrated the close association of architectural patronage and urban topography that dominated the work as a whole, detailing the building projects initiated at the citadel complex by the Ayyubid prince of Aleppo al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī and his son al-ʿAzīz. These projects included both the renovation of military fortifications and the expansion and elaboration of the palace complex within the citadel, in addition to repairs and improvements made after a fire in 609/1212, until the Mongols′ destruction of the citadel in 658/1260.[34]

From the citadel sections, both topographies move immediately to accounts of the Great Mosques of Aleppo and Damascus and then enumerations of all the other mosques both inside and outside the walls of the two cities. The volume on Damascus reproduces Ibn ʿAsākir′s famous history of the construction of the Umayyad Mosque, as well as his inventories of the other mosques of Damascus, to which Ibn Shaddād simply appended brief enumerations of the mosques constructed since Ibn ʿAsākir′s time.[35] Ibn Shaddād′s main addition to this information was a chapter on the renovations and other building projects sponsored by the Ayyubid princes of Damascus and then by Baybars, including the *awqāf* established by the Mamluk sultan to support scholarly and socioeconomic activities in and around the Umayyad Mosque.[36] He also described four new Friday mosques constructed in the immediate suburbs of the city during the Ayyubid period, testifying to the urban sprawl associated with the influx of immigrants and refugees to Damascus during this period.[37] The chapter on the Great Mosque of Aleppo cobbles together similar information, relying mostly on material supplied by Ibn al-ʿAdīm.[38] However, as the *Bughyat al-Ṭalab* provides no comprehensive list of Aleppo′s mosques in the manner of the *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*, Ibn Shaddād′s mosque list for Aleppo, which consists merely of the name of each mosque, was probably based on his personal familiarity with the city.[39]

The centerpieces of Ibn Shaddād′s urban topographies, however, are without a doubt their chapters on the madrasahs. These chapters, which may have been the first of their kind in the discourse of place, divide the madrasahs of Aleppo and

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[33]See Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power,* 53–96.

[34]Ibn Shaddād (Aleppo), 24–27.

[35]Ibn Shaddād (Damascus), 127–31, 157–66.

[36]Ibid., 75–81.

[37]Ibid., 86–88.

[38]Ibn Shaddād (Aleppo), 30–42. Since the *Aʿlāq al-Khaṭīrah* was composed after Ibn Shaddād′s emigration from his hometown, his mosque list for Aleppo may have been compiled primarily from memory.

[39]Ibid., 59–93.

Damascus by school of law and then provide for each entry the name of the founder and the chief ulama active in the madrasah from the date of its foundation up to and, especially for Damascus, beyond the Mongol invasion of Syria in 658/1259–60.[40] In the *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq,* Ibn ʻAsākir mentioned those madrasahs housed in or connected to one of the mosques he inventoried, but furnished no other detail about their foundation or function. The three Madrasah al-Nūrīyahs that made it into Ibn ʻAsākir′s mosque inventory, however, substantiate the conclusion reached in recent secondary scholarship that the reign of Nūr al-Dīn in Damascus marked the start of an efflorescence of the madrasah in Syrian cities.[41] Ibn Shaddād′s lists reinforce this conclusion and capture the subsequent development of the madrasah system in Syria′s two major cities.

Out of some ninety madrasahs Ibn Shaddād listed for Damascus, only a handful date from before Nūr al-Dīn′s reign,[42] and only one of the approximately fifty listed for Aleppo predate the Zangid prince.[43] The vast majority of the madrasahs Ibn Shaddād described in both cities carried endowments established during the Ayyubid period, and, unlike his other topographical chapters, the madrasah chapters feature no building projects either carrying a new endowment or expanding an older one that date from the Mamluk period. Thus, these chapters celebrate the architectural legacy of the Ayyubid era, both the princely patronage of madrasahs and the increasing frequency of private patronage of such structures among both cities′ civilian elites.[44] In fact, the nearly equal numbers of Shafiʻi and Hanafi madrasahs—and a significant number of Hanbali madrasahs in Damascus—endowed between the reign of Saladin and that of al-Nāṣir Yūsuf testify to the varied sources of such patronage in this period.

Ibn Shaddād did not order the madrasahs he listed for Aleppo and Damascus

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[40]Ibid., 96–122; idem (Damascus), 199–266. See also the following partial translation and commentary on Ibn Shaddād′s chapter on Aleppo′s madrasahs: Dominique Sourdel, ″Les professeurs de madrasa à Alep aux XIIe–XIIIe siècles,″ *Bulletin d′études orientales* 13 (1949–51): 85–115.

[41]For the history of the madrasah as an institution, see J. Pedersen (G. Makdisi), ″Madrasa,″ *EI*^{2}, 5:1123–54; and George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges* (Edinburgh, 1981). For a study of architectural patronage, of which the madrasah formed a significant part, in Ayyubid Damascus, see R. Stephen Humphreys, ″Politics and Architectural Patronage in Ayyubid Damascus,″ in *The Islamic World from Classical to Modern Times,* ed. C. E. Bosworth et al. (Princeton, 1989), 151–74. For the architectural innovations and symbolic meanings of madrasahs in Ayyubid Aleppo, see Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power,* 123–61.

[42]Ibn Shaddād (Damascus), 199–203 (nos. 1–3), 229–32 (nos. 35–37), 246–47 (no. 64).

[43]Ibn Shaddād (Aleppo), 96–98.

[44]This is a topic addressed in Humphreys, ″Politics and Architectural Patronage″; and in Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (Cambridge, 1994), 27–90.

in terms of their physical layout in the city, and consequently the role the lists played in the representation of the two cities rested much more on their inscription of a scholarly tradition into an urban landscape than on their ordering of that landscape. Similarly, despite his interest in architectural detail manifested in frequent descriptions of recent building projects sponsored by, in particular, the last major Syrian Ayyubid al-Nāṣir Yūsuf and the Mamluk Baybars, Ibn Shaddād′s chapters on the madrasahs include very few descriptions of the structures themselves, apart from mentioning mausoleums, gardens, or other physical additions to their endowments.[45] The text under each entry in Ibn Shaddād′s lists, rather, was devoted almost completely to the ulama assigned to teach in the madrasahs. Some entries furnished detailed biographical information about these scholars, including birthplace, education, travels, accomplishments, relationship to the founder, and teaching posts occupied earlier or concurrently.

Thus, these lists functioned in much the same way, though on a smaller scale, as did the biographical volumes of the *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq* and the *Bughyat al-Ṭalab,* representing the city through its human heritage of Islamic scholarship. What was different about the *A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah,* however, was that it embedded this human heritage in the urban topography, rather than appending it to an introductory topography. Ibn Shaddād′s madrasah lists represented Damascus and Aleppo by plotting their scholarly elites directly onto a prose map of the city. Furthermore, the distinctive features of these prose maps, particularly the madrasahs, reflected the very recent past, specifically the Ayyubid period, rather than any perceived former apex of Islamic learning or civilization, such as that suggested by the attention Ibn 'Asākir lavished on the construction of the Umayyad Mosque. Ibn Shaddād′s madrasah chapters, therefore, exemplified his approach to representing cities by integrating recent history, biography, and topography and highlighting the human role, particularly the elite role, in defining place through architectural patronage and religious scholarship.

As mentioned above, however, Ibn Shaddād did not reduce his representation of Syria to its two urban centers and their immediate hinterlands. The *A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah* also represented the towns, villages, and, to a certain extent, the rural landscape of Syria in volumes that divided the region by *jund* and furnished micro-historical topographies for each site mentioned. In these sections, Ibn Shaddād devoted more space to the social, economic, and political status of the towns and villages that made up Syria than to basic topography.[46] In the cases of the sizable towns, however, the building projects endowed by a succession of princes remained

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[45]See Rabbat, ″Perception of Architecture,″ 168–70.

[46]For an exception, see his chapter on the mountains of the *jund* of Damascus: Ibn Shaddād (southern Syria), 35–38.

chief components of Ibn Shaddād's representations of localities, representations that, as we have seen, married architectural and political history.[47]

Ibn Shaddād's treatment of northern Syria took the topographical information supplied by the introduction to Ibn al-ʻAdīm's *Bughyat al-Ṭalab* and some of the historical material from his *Zubdat al-Ḥalab* and brought it up to date, recording military and political events of note for the sites listed in each *jund* through the reign of Sultan Baybars.[48] The chapter on the Thughūr, while starting like the previous chapter on the *jund* of Qinnasrīn with a site-by-site inventory, ends with a chronicle of the military campaigns conducted by the armies of Islamic regimes in the district as a whole, starting with the conquest period and listing the campaigns by year, and then vaulting forward in history through the Hamdanid period and beyond. These later sections convey the gradual loss of territory in the region and a waning zeal for confrontations along this frontier.[49] The length of this chronicle testifies to Ibn Shaddād's emphasis on historiography within a topographical framework and suggests his preoccupation with the contested status of the land of Syria, an undisputable reality as well as a touchstone for the collective memory of Syrians during his lifetime.

One of the discursive innovations of the *Aʻlāq al-Khaṭīrah* was not simply that Ibn Shaddād subjected Syria's towns, villages, and rural areas to both historical and topographical study, but that in presenting a systematic geography of southern Syria at all he was undertaking a relatively new enterprise, as, to my knowledge, no one had performed for southern Syria what Ibn al-ʻAdīm had for northern Syria since the time of the third/ninth- and fourth/tenth-century geographers.[50] Ibn Shaddād's volume on southern Syria reflected an even more recent historical perspective than did that on northern Syria, presumably because Ibn Shaddād was active in Baybars' retinue in southern Syria throughout the 670s/1270s. While he carried the histories of most of the northern Syrian localities up through 674/1275, he recorded events for most of the southern Syrian localities through 678/1279. It was in these chapters that Ibn Shaddād displayed his abiding interest in the building and renovation projects sponsored by Baybars in the aftermath of Mongol

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[47]See Rabbat, "Perception of Architecture," 168–70.

[48]Another new feature of these chapters is his inclusion of information on the revenues of certain towns and districts, starting with Aleppo, information to which he had access as a financial inspector for the Ayyubid al-Nāṣir Yūsuf. See, for instance, Ibn Shaddād (Aleppo), 150–53; idem (northern Syria), 26–28, 470–71.

[49]Ibn Shaddād (northern Syria), 196–349.

[50]The inventory of pilgrimage sites for southern Syria presented in ʻAlī al-Harawī's early seventh/thirteenth-century *Kitāb al-Ishārāt ilá Maʻrifat al-Ziyārāt* could be seen as a specialized exception.

depredations in Palestine and Jordan.[51] Ibn Shaddād also paid particular attention in these chapters to the citadels and urban fortifications of southern Syria and their role in the conflicts of the era, including their destruction and refortification by successive rulers.[52] As in the volume on northern Syria, Ibn Shaddād, like Ibn al-ʻAdīm before him, included towns and areas not under Muslim control in his topographical inventory; however, unlike Ibn al-ʻAdīm, Ibn Shaddād provided detailed information on and histories of these localities despite their having yet to reenter the Muslim fold.[53] The representation of these localities suggests Ibn Shaddād's optimistic outlook, a confidence in the Mamluk Empire as the reigning power in Syria, if not quite yet in all of its constituent parts.

MAKING SYRIA MAMLUK

In a recent article, Yehoshuʻa Frenkel examines evidence from epigraphical, documentary, and literary sources to argue that Baybars vigorously endowed *awqāf* to construct shrines, mosques, and Sufi lodges throughout the Syrian countryside, associating new territories with Islam in general and with Mamluk rule and patronage in particular.[54] In so doing, Baybars was not only "Islamizing" the Syrian landscape by superimposing Islamic institutions and memorials on existing sites commemorating pre-Islamic figures but also integrating rural areas into the newly consolidated Syrian provinces of the Mamluk Empire through construction projects that had been confined in earlier periods primarily to urban areas. Though Frenkel uses the *Aʻlāq al-Khaṭīrah* in his study, the literary sources upon which he relies most heavily are two biographies of Baybars, one of which was written by Ibn Shaddād, the other by an Egyptian contemporary of his, Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir.[55] These works take Baybars himself as the object of representation and his architectural patronage in Syria as one aspect of that representation. The *Aʻlāq al-Khaṭīrah,* on the other hand, takes Syria as the object of its representation and the architectural

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[51]For one example, see Ibn Shaddād (southern Syria), 237.

[52]For examples, see ibid., 53–54 (Baalbek), 55–64 (citadel of Ṣarkhad), 69–81 (al-Karak and al-Shawbak), 83–91 (al-Ṣalt and ʻAjlūn), 115–20 (Ḥiṣn al-Akrād "Crac des Chevaliers"), and 146–51 (Ṣafad).

[53]See, for instance, ibid., 113–20. While Ibn al-ʻAdīm indicated when and how various northern Syrian towns or strongholds fell into the hands of the Crusaders or Armenians, he did so in an almost perfunctory manner and then proceeded to describe the sites using material dating from before the non-Muslim occupation, as if to gloss over the reality of that occupation.

[54]Yehoshuʻa Frenkel, "Baybars and the Sacred Geography of *Bilād al-Shām:* A Chapter in the Islamization of Syria's Landscape," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2002): 153–70.

[55]Ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ (Wiesbaden, 1983); Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir (d. 691/1292), *Al-Rawḍ al-Ẓāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* ed. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz al-Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1976).

patronage of its rulers as one aspect, albeit a central one, of that representation.

Thus, Frenkel has amassed considerable evidence of an ″Islamization″ of the Syrian countryside that was intended to legitimize Baybars′ rule in the provinces—in a political and physical sense, to make Syria Mamluk. Ibn Shaddād′s *Al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah* can be seen as the discursive corollary to this political and physical campaign. Drawing on a centuries-old discourse of place, Ibn Shaddād constructed a historical topography that integrated recent political history and architectural patronage with site-by-site inventories of Syrian cities and countryside. He self-consciously relied on his predecessors in the discourse of place, notably Ibn 'Asākir and Ibn al-'Adīm, to fill out his representations of Damascus, Aleppo, and northern Syria, but furnished new information throughout the work, though especially on southern Syria, to bring his representation up to date, reflecting the most recent transformations of the Syrian landscape initiated by Mamluk sultans.

Though its timing, explicit dedication to Baybars, and details of Mamluk-sponsored construction projects in Syria rendered the *A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah* a discursive corollary to what Frenkel describes as Baybars′ ″Islamization″ of Syria, the strong presence of Ayyubid patronage in the work suggests significant continuities between the Ayyubid and Mamluk period in terms of Ibn Shaddād′s aforementioned association of princes and place. Particularly in the chapters dealing with northern Syria and those on the madrasahs of Damascus and Aleppo, Ayyubids appear as often as—if not more often than—Mamluks as founders, endowers, and patrons of the built environment. Though it was composed after the Ayyubid period had all but drawn to a close, the relationship between the Ayyubid princes and Syrian topography is much more explicit in the *A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah* than it is even in the introduction to Ibn al-'Adīm′s *Bughyat al-Ṭalab,* a product of Ayyubid-era Aleppo. Nonetheless, it was Baybars who was, in Ibn Shaddād′s frequent formulation, ″Ṣāḥib al-Diyār al-Miṣrīyah wa-al-Shāmīyah″ (Lord of the Egyptian and Syrian Districts), uniting Egypt and Syria as separate but equal—and equally Mamluk—territorial entities. And it is the presence of Baybars throughout the *A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah* that evokes its dominant category of belonging: that of the Mamluk Empire.

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Fiscal Administration in Syria during the Reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad

As Claude Cahen has suggested in his well-known article on the taxation system in Syria,[1] very few sources remain for the fiscal administration of this province during the medieval period, while we find relatively ample sources on the subject for Egypt. Cahen's article examines some unique information on the *kharāj* tax in Syria provided by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333) in his *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab.*[2] The article is quite useful for understanding the economic and fiscal circumstances in Mamluk Syria, but the content is far too general, and the French translation of the text suffers from several omissions and careless mistakes. Then there is the work of Mounira Chapoutot-Remadi, which gives a general description of agriculture in Egypt and Syria during the Mamluk period based on the *Nihāyat al-Arab,* but emphasizes likewise the situation in Egypt.[3] Yehoshua Frenkel's recent article,[4] although discussing the *iqṭā'* and agrarian taxation systems in Syria during the Mamluk period, curiously does not refer to al-Nuwayrī. When I was studying agricultural production and rural life in Egypt from the twelfth to the fourteenth century,[5] I also found a comparison with Syria difficult due to the scarcity of Syrian sources on the subject.

Consequently, the present article first takes up al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-Arab,* translating the original text into English and annotating the terms related to Syrian agriculture and its taxation system during the early Mamluk period. An attempt is then made to describe innovations in the agrarian taxation system by examining the results of cadastral surveys (*rawk*s) in Syria carried out during the third reign

[1]Claude Cahen, "Aperçu sur les impôts du sol en Syrie au moyen âge," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 18 (1975): 233–44.

[2]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1954–97).

[3]Mounira Chapoutot-Remadi, "L'agriculture dans l'empire Mamluk au moyen âge d'après al-Nuwayri," *Les Cahiers de Tunisie* 22 (1974): 23–45.

[4]Yehoshua Frenkel, "Agriculture, Land-Tenure and Peasants in Palestine during the Mamluk Period," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras III,* ed. U. Vermeulen and J. van Steenbergen (Leuven, 2001), 193–208.

[5]Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta's and Fallahun* (Leiden, 1997), 177–233.

of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (709–741/1310–41).[6]

THE TAXATION SYSTEM IN SYRIA AS DESCRIBED BY AL-NUWAYRĪ

Since he held the post of *nāẓir al-jaysh* in the Syrian coastal town of Tripoli during the years 710–12/1311–13, al-Nuwayrī should have had ample knowledge of the agrarian taxation system in Syria during the early Mamluk period. He began to write the *Nihāyat al-Arab,* his main treatise, just after he returned to Cairo from Tripoli in 712/1313.[7] In one chapter of volume eight, he attempts to explain the *kharāj* tax in Syria as follows:

> [THE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION OF *AL-WASMĪ*][8]
> Concerning the *kharāj* tax in Syria and the duties of officials *(mubāshir).* The fiscal tradition *(qānūn)* in Syria has been formed according to the natural condition of rainfall, the beginning of the rainy season, and the season requiring rainfall. The *wasmī* rain means literally ″spring rain,″ but it is actually rain that falls in the autumn. As soon as it begins to rain, fields are plowed and sown. The seed is then covered with soil to prevent birds from eating it. When the second rain comes [pp. 255/256], the seed sprouts, and buds appear on the ground. The sprouts are called ″dark green″ *(aḥwā).* They continue to be irrigated by rain until it turns the ground into a rapid stream. When the last rains *(al-maṭar al-fāṭim)* come—mostly during the month of Nisan [April]—it bears fruit and comes to an end according to the cultivation cycle. This is the mode of production called ″*al-wasmī*.″

Al-ʻUmarī (701–49/1301–49) also relates that in Syria most of the crops are cultivated in accordance with a regimen determined by seasonal rainfall, while fields irrigated by rivers are few.[9] It is interesting to find that the annual cycle of

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[6]On the cadastral surveys in Mamluk Egypt and Syria, see Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 122–61; Heinz Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern* (Wiesbaden, 1979), 1:17–30; Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt A.H. 564–741/A.D. 1169–1341* (London, 1972), 52–56. Aziz S. Atiya edited the Arabic text of the decree by Sultan al-Nāṣir for the cadastral survey in 715/1315 (″A Mamlūk ′Magna Carta,′″ in *Arab Civilization: Challenges and Responses: Studies in Honor of Constantine K. Zurayk,* ed. George N. Atiyeh and Ibrahim M. Oweiss [Albany, 1988], 128–39).

[7]Amīnah Muḥammad Jamāl al-Dīn, *Al-Nuwayrī wa-Kitābuhu Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1984), 64–72.

[8][ ] indicates a heading to the quotation added by the present author.

[9]Al-ʻUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār,* ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (Cairo, 1985), 25.

agricultural production is closely related also with the weaning rain of April. However, as the next paragraph shows, the peasants in Syria did not enjoy the *wasmī* rain every year, which forced them to cultivate only half of their fields on a rotating basis.

> [THE TWO-FIELD SYSTEM]
> Within Syria there are some districts where the *wasmī* rain is delayed and people have to sow dry fields. That is to say, they have to plant before the rain comes and then wait anxiously for its arrival. When they seed in this way and it does not rain, the seed remains ungerminated in the earth until the next year. Disappointed, people resorted to planting on the half of their field left fallow the year before. . . . The whole area of Syria follows the custom of every peasant *(fallāḥ)*[10] dividing his arable land in half and cultivating one half only. The fallow part is plowed to receive sunshine, but planted the next year. The cultivated field this year is to be left fallow the next year. This is the custom in Syria, which is different from Egypt, where all arable land is cultivated every year.[11] . . . Even in Syria, when it does rain, both fields are cultivated and produce double yields, but it is extremely rare [pp. 256/257].

According to this citation, most Syrian peasants cultivated their land on the basis of a ″two field system″ in order to maintain fertility. Al-Nuwayrī points out the difference from Egypt, where arable land was cultivated every year thanks to the annual inundation from the Nile for winter crops and a highly developed irrigation system for summer crops.[12]

> [WINTER CROPS AND SUMMER CROPS]
> In Syria there are some fields irrigated by rivers[13] and springs,

[10]Al-Nuwayrī calls the Syrian peasant *″fallāḥ,″* except for *muzāriʿ dhimmī* (*dhimmī* cultivator) (*Nihāyat al-Arab,* 8:256, 259), while calling the Egyptian peasant both *fallāḥ* and *muzāriʿ* (*Nihāyat al-Arab,* 8:245, 246, 251).

[11]On Egyptian agriculture during the medieval ages, see Gladys Frantz-Murphy, *The Agrarian Administration of Egypt from the Arabs to the Ottomans* (Cairo, 1986); Hassanein Rabie, ″Some Technical Aspects of Agriculture in Medieval Egypt,″ in *The Islamic Middle East, 700–1900,* ed. Abraham C. Udovitch (Princeton, 1981), 59–90; Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 177–233.

[12]On the irrigation system in Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt, see Hassanein Rabie, ″Some Technical Aspects,″ 59–90; Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 220–33.

[13]In Syria water wheels powered by rivers were called *nāʿūrah* (pl. *nawāʿīr*), while in Egypt water wheels driven by oxen were called *maḥāl* (al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 8:254; Chapoutot-Remadi,

> where the rate of the sharecrop *(muqāsamah)* and the price of privately-held land *(qīmat al-amlāk)* are higher than those of arable land irrigated by rainfall. This is common in lowlands *(al-arāḍī al-mustafilah)*. Allah knows best.
>
> The collectors of the kharāj tax *(mubāshir al-kharāj)* have the following duties: they first order the village heads *(ra'īs al-balad)*[14] to classify their fields into cultivated *(zirā'ah)* and fallow *(kirāb),* for which they use the terms "red" *(aḥmar)* and "green" *(akhḍar)*. In the case of both winter crops *(shatawī)* and summer crops *(ṣayfī),* red means a fallow field and green a cultivated one. Winter crops are wheat *(qamḥ),* barley *(sha'īr),* oats *(shūfān),* broad beans *(fūl),* chick-peas *(ḥimmiṣ),* lentils *('adas),* vetches *(kirsinnah),*[15] grass peas *(julubbān)*[16] and another kind of pea *(bistīlīyah)*.[17] The last one is called *bisillī* in Egypt and *ḥālbah* in the coastal region of Tripoli.[18] Summer crops are sorghum *(dhurah),* pearl millet *(dukhn),* sesame *(simsim),* rice *(aruzz),* black sorghum *(ḥabbah sawdā'),* coriander *(kusbarah),* cucumbers *(maqāthī'),* indigo *(wasmah),* saffron *(qirṭam),*[19] cotton *(quṭn),* and hemp *(qinnab).*

Ibn Mammātī (d. 606/1209), a clerk from a well-known Coptic family, cites other winter crops in Egypt in addition to the ones described above: flax *(kattān),* trefoil *(qurṭ),* onions *(baṣal),* garlic *(thūm),* and lupine *(turmus)*.[20] Winter crops not cited by Ibn Mammātī are vetch and the "other kind of pea." As for summer crops, Ibn Mammātī cites other Egyptian crops as cumin *(kammūn),* caraway *(karawyā),* turnips *(saljam),* melons *(baṭṭīkh),* green beans *(lūbiyā),* sugar cane *(qaṣab al-sukkar),* taro *(qulqās),* eggplant *(bādhinjān),* Nile sesame *(simsim nīlī),* lettuce *(khaṣṣ),* cabbage *(kurunb),* and onions *(baṣal)*. Summer crops not cited by Ibn Mammātī are sorghum, pearl millet, black sorghum, coriander, cucumbers, saffron,

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"L'agriculture," 25; Rabie, "Some Technological Aspects," 71).

[14]In Syria, as well as in Egypt, *balad* was often used to mean an administrative village, a unit for calculating the annual revenue, while *qaryah* usually indicated a village formed naturally. See Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 179. Accordingly, *ra'īs al-balad* should be translated as "village head," although Cahen explains it as "notables du pays," ("Aperçu," 236).

[15]Cahen mistransliterates it as *"kirsīnah."* ("Aperçu," 236).

[16]This term is omitted in Cahen's translation (ibid.).

[17]This term is omitted in Cahen's translation (ibid.).

[18]This passage reflects al-Nuwayrī's experience living in Tripoli for about two years.

[19]This term is omitted in Cahen's translation ("Aperçu," 236).

[20]Ibn Mammātī, *Kitāb Qawānīn al-Dawāwīn,* ed. A. S. Atiya (Cairo, 1943), 258–64. See Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 198.

and hemp. According to al-ʻUmarī, Syrian summer crop vegetables include yellow and green melons *(baṭṭīkh aṣfar wa-akhḍar),* cucumbers *(khiyār, qiththāʼ),* squash *(yaqṭīn),* turnips *(lift),* carrots *(jazar),* cauliflower *(qunnabīṭ),* asparagus *(hilyawn),* eggplant *(bādhinjān),* Jew's mallow *(mulūkhīyah),* Yemenite herbs *(baqlah yamanīyah),* purslane *(rijlah),* etc.[21] As we will discuss later, sugar cane was also cultivated in the southern coastal region of Syria on a smaller scale than in Egypt.

> [*MUQĀSAMAH*]
> Then, *mubāshir*s write notices *(mashārīḥ)* to the village heads[22] directing them not to allow peasants to let their lands lie fallow, for if they do, fines will be levied on them for their negligence. When the fields are cultivated, the crops are progressing satisfactorily, and broad beans begin to be harvested, agents *(wakīl)*[23] go to the fields to protect the crops against damage and direct the peasants to harvest and carry the crops to the threshing floors *(baydar).* At this time, orders are given to secure the crops carried to the threshing floors. When the peasants finish threshing the crops, the threshing floors are cleaned and nothing is left except the chaff *(midhran)*.… The winnowing is done as follows. Agents order the awns to be separated from the chaff, leaving clean awns on the threshing floors. Agents *(wālī al-ʻamal)* and *mubāshir*s come and divide the crops on the threshing floors according to the local taxation systems, and the tradition of sharecropping *(muqāsamah),* the government's share being determined at the following rates: 1/2 in the case of the irrigated fields, 1/3 or 1/4 in most of the districts, 1/5 or 1/6 for fields where there are no tenant farmers *(mustakrin)* to cultivate them, 1/7 and 1/8 in the coastal lands and the regions adjacent to hostile countries.

Frenkel explains[24] that the *kharāj* tax was also called *muqāsamah* in Mamluk Syria. The above citation shows precisely how *muqāsamah* was levied on the threshing floors and how the government's share was determined, depending on the various conditions of the cultivated fields. Cahen relates that the government's

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[21]Al-ʻUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār,* 25.

[22]Cahen translates this passage as follows: "Et on leur (aux paysans) écrit les états détaillés *masharih*" ("Aperçu," 236). However, "leur" probably indicates "village heads" rather than "peasants" (paysans).

[23]The term *wakīl* probably indicates the agents of the *mubāshir*.

[24]Frenkel, "Agriculture, Land-tenure and Peasants," 203.

share varied from 1/2 to 1/8 according to field conditions;[25] however, it should be emphasized that the *kharāj* rates of 1/3 and 1/4 were levied ″in most districts″ during the Mamluk period. In Upper Egypt under the Mamluks, the *kharāj* was levied in kind, either 2 or 3 *ardabb*s per feddan, the former for wheat and the latter for barley. Estimating the average yield per feddan as 10 *ardabb*s of wheat, 2–3 *ardabb*s implies rates of 2/10–3/10,[26] which are similar to those applied in Syria.

> [The Peasants′ Share and the ʻ*Ushr*]
> After the harvest, the *mubāshir*s take the share proper for the government (*dīwān*). Then crops *(ghallah),* awns *(qaṣal),* straw remains, and chaff are approximated. The government′s share is to be divided according to the *muqāsamah,* while the peasants *(fallāḥ)* are granted their portion according to each local taxation system. In some districts the portion is half of the crops *(muwāsaṭah),* which is set aside for them. After miscellaneous taxes *(rusūm)* are deducted from the peasants′ share *(ḥāṣil al-fallāḥ),* the tithe *(ʻushr)* is levied on the remainder. However, this is not uniformly practiced in every district, because the *ʻushr* is not levied on *waqf* or land allocated as charity *(birr),* except the fields on which levying tax is legal. In the districts of the sultan′s domains *(khāṣṣah)* and the *iqṭā*ʻs, one part in ten[27] is levied on the peasant′s share, the assessed amount of which deceases or increases. Furthermore, in some districts *ʻushr* is not levied on *dhimmī* cultivators *(al-muzāriʻūn al-dhimmīyah).*[28] As for the *iqṭā*ʻs and privately owned land *(milk)* where *ʻushr* is levied for the government, in some districts the estimated rate of tax is levied every year regardless of whether the harvest is abundant or poor, while in other districts trusted persons visit to estimate the amount of produce and the amount of *ʻushr*. The estimate is done prior to threshing, while the crops are still standing in the fields or during harvesting. After that, the peasants [pp. 259/260] pay back the amount of their seed *(taqāwī)* and other loans *(qurḍ)*. This payment is set aside to be used for seed the following year.

[25]Cahen, ″Aperçu,″ 238.

[26]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 148–49, 198.

[27]The reason why this is not called *ʻushr* escapes me.

[28]Cahen translates *al-muzāriʻūn al-dhimmīyah* as only *dhimmī* (″Aperçu,″ 237) for some reason.

The above text tells us that peasants were given their portion, which was half of the crops in some districts, after the *mubāshir*s took the government′s share; then miscellaneous taxes were first deducted from that portion and the *ʿushr* was levied on the remainder in some districts. As for *taqāwī* in Mamluk Egypt, al-Nuwayrī also relates, ″the *mubāshir* registers the total amount of revenue in cash and crops, and adds to it the *taqāwī,* loan *(qurḍ),* tithe *(ʿushr),* and surcharge for every peasant′s name.″[29] He adds, ″In some districts, one takes one hundred and eleven for every hundred lent. Recently such a usurious *taqāwī* has become widespread.″[30] However, al-Nuwayrī does not make clear whether or not the Syrian *taqāwī* was to be returned with the *ʿushr* and surcharge.

> [LEDGER (*MAKHZŪMAH*)]
> Then every kind of crop is estimated in *kayl,*[31] the unit of measure common to each district. A ledger *(makhzūmah)* is customarily made to record peasant names, the rates of *muqāsamah,* miscellaneous taxes, the *ʿushr,* and the *taqāwī* and *qurḍ* to be repaid. The districts *(nāḥiyah)* are classified in each administrative province *(ʿamal),* and on each ledger the income *(mutaḥaṣṣil)* from every kind of crop is recorded, which will be explained later. These are the duties to be performed by the *mubāshir*s.

Cahen understands the *makhzūmah* in Egypt to be a ledger that certifies the taxes to be paid by peasants.[32] The *mutaḥaṣṣil* implies the gross amount of village or *iqṭāʿ* income in cash *(ʿayn)* and kind *(ghallah)*. It formed the basis for calculating the *ʿibrah,* or the annual revenue of a village, town, or *iqṭāʿ,* estimated in cash by the government in medieval Egypt and Syria.[33]

> [NUT TREES AND OTHER CROPS]
> Carob *(kharrūb),* olives *(zaytūn),* cotton *(quṭn),* sumac *(summāq),* pistachios *(fustuq),* walnuts *(jawz),* almonds *(lawz),* and rice *(aruzz)* are managed by agents *(wakīl)* until the harvest season, and estimated into *mutaḥaṣṣil* after they are taxed. . . . In some districts of Syria, the work is entrusted to their owners separately *(mafṣūlan)*. At

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[29]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 8:252. See Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 204.

[30]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 8:252.

[31]In Damascus 1 *kayl* was equal to about 22 liters and in Aleppo 6.56 liters (Walther Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte* [Leiden, 1955], 40).

[32]Claude Cahen, *Makhzūmiyyāt* (Leiden, 1977), 50.

[33]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 245, 253.

> harvest time, the tax is levied in ways other than collection by a *wakīl (tawkīl),* or sharecropping *(muqāsamah).* This is equivalent to the rent system *(muta'ajjirāt)* [pp. 260/261] in Egypt. Incidentally, the term *faṣal* in Syria originates from a Frankish term [vassal]. *Faṣal* has been practiced customarily in the coastal regions recovered from the Franks.

The crops cited above are various nut trees and specific summer crops, like carob, cotton, and rice. Sumac, pistachio, walnut, and almond trees are peculiar to the mountainous region of Syria and are not found on the Egyptian plain. Al-'Umarī provides us with further information on Syrian plants bearing figs *(tīn),* grapes *('inab),* pomegranates *(rummān),* quince *(safarjal),* apples *(tuffāḥ),* pears *(kummithrā, ijjāṣ),* plums *(qarāṣiyā),* mulberries *(tūt),* mulberry trees *(qirṣād),*[34] apricots *(mishmish),* medlar *(zu'rūr),* and plums *(khawkh).*[35] As for the *tawkīl* (tax collection by agent), Cahen seems to mistake it for ″measurer,″[36] which he considers to originate probably from measure *(kayl)*. However, the Arabic text does not read *kayl,* but rather *tawkīl*. Also, al-Nuwayrī′s final comment on *faṣal* seems to refer to his previous expression, *″mafṣūlan″* (separately).

FISCAL INNOVATION THROUGH CADASTRAL SURVEYS

The excerpt above entitled [The Peasants′ Share and the *'Ushr*] reflects the variety of legal land categories in Syria under Mamluk rule. These included land managed by the government *(dīwān)* and *waqf,* the sultan′s domain *(khāṣṣah), iqṭā',* and privately owned land *(milk)*. Among these land holdings, *iqṭā'* assignments granted by sultans to *mamlūk* and *ḥalqah* (free born) cavalrymen[37] were crucial in the formation of the state order in Egypt and Syria during the twelfth to fifteenth centuries. The amirs and soldiers who were granted *iqṭā'*s were obliged to provide military service to the sultan and were granted authority to levy taxes on peasants and local townspeople.[38] Thus, they were always eager to acquire better *iqṭā'*s,

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[34]The term *qirṣād* is unknown. *Qirṣād* should be read as *firṣād* (mulberry-tree). See al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār,* 17.

[35]Ibid., 25.

[36]Cahen, ″Aperçu,″ 238.

[37]During the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, *″ḥalqah″* denoted a free-born cavalryman, like a Kurd, an Arab, or a son of a mamluk *(awlād al-nās)*. On the *ḥalqah* cavalry, see David Ayalon, ″Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army, II,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15 (1953): 449–76; Ulrich Haarmann, ″The Sons of Mamluks as Fief-Holders in Late Medieval Egypt,″ in *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East,* ed. T. Khalidi (Beirut, 1984), 141–68.

[38]On the *iqṭā'* system, see Claude Cahen, ″L′évolution de l′iqṭā' du IXe au XIIIe siècle,″ *Annales,*

and consequently, in the course of time, the *iqṭāʿ* also came to be called *khubz* (bread), in reference to the necessity it represented in a cavalryman′s everyday life.[39]

In order to adjust the taxes to be levied, the rulers in Egypt had conducted intermittent cadastral surveys *(rawk)* since the early Islamic period.[40] The Mamluk sultans also carried out cadastres, like *al-Rawk al-Ḥusāmī* in Egypt under Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn (reign 696–98/1296–99) in 697/1298 and *al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī* in Egypt and Syria by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (693–694/1293–94, 698–708/1299–1309, 709–741/1310–41) in 713/1313 (Syria), 715/1315 (Egypt), 717/1317 (Tripoli) and 725/1325 (Aleppo).[41] The Syrian cadastre covered the regions of Damascus, Hims, Baalbek, Gaza, Ṣafad, and Sidon, but excluded the regions of Tripoli and Aleppo.[42] Here I would like to take up the three cadastres of Syria, Tripoli, and Aleppo and discuss the innovation that was made in the agrarian taxation system there as a result. Following al-Nuwayrī,[43] they are known as *Rawk al-Iqṭāʿāt bi-al-Shām* (Syria), *Rawk al-Mamlakah al-Ṭarābulusīyah* (Tripoli), and *Rawk al-Iqṭāʿāt bi-al-Mamlakah al-Ḥalabīyah* (Aleppo).

Rawk al-Iqṭāʿāt bi-al-Shām in 713/1313: Syria

The person who proposed to Sultan al-Nāṣir that *rawk*s should be conducted in Egypt and Syria was a Coptic convert to Islam *(Muslimānī al-Qibṭ)* by the name of Asʿad al-Shaqī (d. 716/1316), who had inherited the position of *nāẓir al-dawlah* (superintendent of the central administration) from Tāj al-Ṭawīl (d. 711/1312), another ex-Coptic Christian Muslim who proposed the *al-Rawk al-Ḥusāmī* in

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économies, sociétés, civilisations 8 (1953): 25–52; Ibrāhīm ʿAlī Ṭarkhān, *Al-Nuẓum al-Iqṭāʿīyah fī al-Sharq al-Awsaṭ fī al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭá* (Cairo, 1963); Ann K. S. Lambton, ″Reflections on the IQṬĀʿ,″ in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb,* ed. George Makdisi (Leiden, 1965), 358–76; Sayyid al-Bāz al-ʿArīnī, *Al-Iqṭāʿ al-Ḥarbī bi-Miṣr Zaman Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk* (Cairo, 1966); ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dūrī, ″The Origins of Iqṭāʿ in Islam,″ *Al-Abḥāth* 22 (1969): 3–22; Rabie, *The Financial System,* 26–72; Robert Irwin, ″Iqṭāʿ and the End of the Crusader States,″ in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades,* ed. Peter M. Holt (Warminster, 1977), 62–77; Sato, *State and Rural Society.*

[39]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 46, 85, 93–94, 101, 132, 147. Michael Chamberlain states that *mansab*s (stipendiary posts) became objects of a social struggle among the *aʿyān* in the same manner as *iqṭāʿ* became prizes of competition among amirs *(Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* [Cambridge, 1994], 24–25).

[40]Rabie, *The Financial System,* 49–56, suggests that the *rawk* was an established Egyptian custom, possibly dating back to the days of the Pharaohs.

[41]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 124–61.

[42]Ibid., 136.

[43]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 32:205–6, 255–60; 33:182–83.

Egypt.[44] The Syrian *rawk* was conducted from around the beginning of 713/mid-1313 until Ramaḍān 713/January 1314.[45] Sultan al-Nāṣir himself went to Damascus on the way back from a Meccan pilgrimage in Muḥarram 713/May 1313 and appointed the amir ʻAlam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Jāwalī, *nāʼib* of Gaza, to head the cadastre.[46] Sanjar al-Jāwalī then mobilized the officials in the departments of military affairs *(mubāshirū dīwān al-juyūsh)* of Egypt and Syria and all the troops stationed in Damascus and Gaza to carry it out.[47] Since the survey documents *(awrāq al-rawk)* have apparently not survived to the present day, it is extremely difficult to know their actual content; but many Mamluk historians mention it, and al-Maqrīzī gives the most detailed account:

> [Sanjar] al-Jāwalī went to Damascus and remained there with Amir Tankiz, *nāʼib [al-Shām],* until documents were drawn up for every village, detailing the total annual revenue in cash *(ʻibrah),* gross income in cash and kind *(mutaḥaṣṣil),* as well as revenue from *iqṭāʻ, waqf,* and privately owned land *(milk).* When the work was finished in the month of Dhū al-Ḥijjah [713], the *kharāj* year was changed from 712 to 713,[48] and the documents *(awrāq)* were presented to the sultan [in Cairo].[49]

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[44]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr,* ed. Muḥammad al-Yaʻlāwī (Beirut, 1991), 2:76–78. Concerning who proposed the *rawk,* see Sato Tsugitaka, "The Proposers and Supervisors of *al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī* in Mamluk Egypt," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 74–77.

[45]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 135.

[46]Ibn Bahādur, "Kitāb Futūḥ al-Naṣr fī Tārīkh Mulūk Miṣr," Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 2399 *tārīkh,* fol. 232; Aḥmad al-Fayyūmī, "Nathr al-Jumān fī Tarājim al-Aʻyān," Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah MS 1746 *tārīkh,* 3: fol. 102r–v; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʻyān al-Miʼah al-Thāminah,* ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Jād al-Ḥaqq (Cairo, 1966–67), 2:266–67.

[47]Ibn Iyās, "ʻUqūd al-Jumān fī Waqāʼiʻ al-Azmān," Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi MS Ayasofya 3311, fol. 45r–v; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 32:205–6; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʻrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Ziyādah and Saʻīd ʻAbd al-Fattāḥ ʻĀshūr (Cairo, 1939–73), 2:127; Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 136.

[48]This adjustment was called in Arabic *"taḥwīl," "izdilāf,"* or *"izdilāq."* See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʻshá fī Ṣināʻat al-Inshāʼ* (Cairo, 1963), 2:398; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawāʻiẓ wa-al-Iʻtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Būlāq, 1270 H.; repr. Baghdad, 1970), 1:273. In order to correct the discrepancy between the solar *(kharājī)* and lunar *(hilālī* or *hijrī)* calendars, it was customary to advance the solar calendar one year every 33 years of the hijrah calendar. See also S. H. Taqizade, "Various Eras and Calendars Used in the Countries of Islam," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 9 (1937–39), 10 (1940–42); Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 60 n. 2, 62.

[49]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 2:127.

To repeat, *'ibrah* indicates the annual income of a village or *iqṭā'* estimated in cash based on the *mutaḥaṣṣil,* which was the gross income in cash and kind. The cadastre apparently involved ascertaining the annual revenue within village units, after which separate investigations were made into the *iqṭā', waqf,* and *milk* within each village. The survey documents drawn up in Syria were sent to Cairo, where Sultan al-Nāṣir issued new authorizations for *iqṭā'* grants *(mithāl)* based on them. Qāḍī Quṭb al-Dīn Ibn Shaykh, who was appointed head of Syrian military affairs *(nāẓir jaysh al-Shām),* carried these authorization documents to Damascus, assigning them to each cavalryman in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 713/April 1314.[50] According to *Tārīkh Bayrūt,* written by Ṣāliḥ Ibn Yaḥyá (ninth/fifteenth century), as a result of the *rawk* of 713/1313, apart from *milk, waqf,* and *al-mawārīth al-ḥashrīyah* (property without heirs), Syrian territory was distributed as *iqṭā' darbastah,*[51] or "complete *iqṭā'*s," the holders of which had the right to all tax revenue from them, including the poll tax, tribute goods *(ḍiyāfah),* and other levies.[52]

One innovation that was introduced into the Syrian taxation system involved the abolition of miscellaneous taxes for the Syrian people in Muḥarram 714/April 1314, about which al-Maqrīzī relates:

> The order *(mithāl)* to exempt the amount in arrears *(bāqī)*[53] was sent to Damascus and read from the minbar of the Umayyad Mosque on Muḥarram 10. Then another order followed abolishing such miscellaneous duties as the tax imposed on prisoners *(muqarrar 'alá al-sujūn),* corvée on peasants *(sukhrah),* the sugar cane tax *(muqarrar al-aqṣāb),* the bow-making tax *(muqarrar ḍamān al-qawwāsīn),* and taxes levied by the officials and governors *(rusūm al-shādd wa-al-wilāyah).* These taxes were to be abolished totally in all Syrian provinces.[54]

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[50]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 32:206. As to Amir Sanjar, who headed the Syrian cadastre, he was arrested in 720/1320 for allegedly abusing his authority in granting favorable *iqṭā'*s to his mamluks and himself at the time of the cadastre (Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 136).

[51]Ṣāliḥ Ibn Yaḥyá, *Tārīkh Bayrūt*, ed. Francis Hours and Kamal Suleiman al-Salibi (Beirut, 1969), 87.

[52]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 49, 69, 157–58. Al-Qalqashandī defines the term *karbastā* (probably *darbastah*) as the right to levy all taxes, not excluding any levies from the granted villages (*Ṣubḥ,* 13:156).

[53]At this time the unpaid amount from the beginning of the year 698 to the end of the year 713 was exempted for the people of Syria as a benevolent gesture by Sultan al-Nāṣir. See al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 2:136, 153; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963–72), 9:49.

[54]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 2:136–37.

It is noteworthy that after the re-assignment of new *iqṭā*ʿs, the taxes based on *ḍiyāfat al-rawk* were abolished together with the above-mentioned miscellaneous taxes.[55] The *ḍiyāfah* in Egypt during the Mamluk period signified tribute goods to be presented to the *iqṭā*ʿ holders *(muqṭaʿ)* by their peasants, like grain, fowl, goats, clover, dough, cakes, etc.;[56] and the *ḍiyāfah* in Mamluk Syria was probably the same. However, *ḍiyāfat al-rawk* literally means the *ḍiyāfah* levied based on a cadastral survey, but its real meaning will become clear by examining the results of other Syrian *rawk*s.

Rawk al-Mamlakah al-Ṭarābulusīyah in 717/1317: Tripoli

After the Egyptian *rawk* of 715/1315,[57] the *rawk* of Tripoli was conducted in 717/1317. For that purpose, Sultan al-Nāṣir appointed Qāḍī Sharaf al-Dīn Yaʿqūb al-Ḥamawī, chief of the military department of Aleppo *(nāẓir al-mamlakah al-ḥalabīyah),* to head the cadastre.[58] Sharaf al-Dīn went to Tripoli and surveyed the region of al-Mamlakah al-Ṭarābulusīyah, the surrounding areas *(aʿmāl),* strongholds *(qalʿah, ḥiṣn),* and the frontier zones *(thughūr)*.[59] When the cadastre was concluded, Sharaf al-Dīn went to Cairo with the documentation *(awrāq al-rawk),* which again became the basis on which to allocate *iqṭā*ʿs. As a result of this *rawk, iqṭā*ʿs were allotted to six amirs of forty *(amīr ṭablkhānah),* three amirs of ten *(amīr ʿasharah),* as well as fifty Bahri mamluks and *ḥalqah* cavalrymen.[60] With the conclusion of the *rawk* in Ramaḍān 717/November 1317, the *kharāj* year was changed from 716 to 717 and miscellaneous taxes amounting to an annual sum of 110,000 dirhams were abolished. The sultan's decree regarding this tax exemption is cited by al-Nuwayrī as follows:[61]

> Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir ordered that the following miscellaneous taxes *(muʿāmalah)*[62] be abolished in the region of Tripoli.

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[55]Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Jawhar al-Thamīn fī Siyar al-Mulūk wa-al-Salāṭīn,* ed. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī (Beirut, 1985), 2:153.

[56]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:88. See also Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 141, 149.

[57]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 138–43.

[58]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 32:255; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 2:176–77; Ibn Bahādur, "Futūḥ al-Naṣr," fol. 239.

[59]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 32:255; al-ʿAynī, "ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān," Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi MS Haci Beşir Ağa 457, fol. 329r.

[60]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 2:177; idem, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:171; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 32:255.

[61]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 32:260–61. See also al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 13:33–34. The numbers have been added for the sake of convenience.

[62]The term *muʿāmalāt* usually means "transactions," but here it indicates "miscellaneous taxes."

1) The tax on celebrations *(afrāḥ*[63] *maḥdhūrah)* held in newly conquered territory requiring security. This does not pertain, however, to the tax on celebrations in areas not requiring the provision of security *(ḍamān al-faraḥ al-khayr)*. The amount is 70,000 dirhams.

2) The prisoner tax *(sujūn)* in al-Mamlakah al-Ṭarābulusīyah, except that in Tripoli, which was abolished by a previous order. The amount is 10,000 dirhams.

3) The peasants in the district of Tripoli were exempted from forced labor (corvée) in the sugar cane fields belonging to the government. Instead, a tax in kind equal to 2,000 dirhams was levied on them.

4) Tax on the sugar cane of amirs *(aqṣāb al-umarā')*. Some amirs who managed districts where sugar cane was cultivated had extracted labor from their peasants in lieu of taxes or had imposed a labor rent *(ujrat al-'amal)* tax, the amount of which is 3,000 dirhams.

5) The governor's tax *('ifāyat al-niyābah)* in the regions of Tripoli, Anafa and al-Batharūn.[64] The governors (*nā'ib*s) used to reside at administrative centers on the coast, and when those centers were filled with victorious soldiers *(al-'asākir al-manṣūrah),* six dirhams would be levied on each resident. The total amount is 10,000 dirhams.

6) The government tax *(ḥaqq al-dīwān)* levied on persons engaged in the tax evaluation *(ḥāṣī)*[65] in the districts of Ṣahyūn and Balāṭunus.[66] The amount of revenue is 3,000 dirhams.

7) Tax on the threshing floor *(hibat al-bayādir)* in the regions of Kahf.[67] This was a new tax of three dirhams per feddan. The total amount of revenue is 1,000 dirhams.

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[63]Previously I have translated *afrāḥ* (pl. of *faraḥ*) as fowl (Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 170), but in that case it was read as *"afrākh."* According to the decree of Sultan al-Nāṣir in 715/1315, *faraḥ* in Egypt means the celebration of weddings, engagements, or circumcisions (Atiya, "A Mamlūk 'Magna Carta,'" 133–34, 138).

[64]Anafa was a small town on the Syrian coast (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān* [Beirut, 1955–57], 1:271), and Batharūn was a citadel between Jubayl and Anafah on the Syrian coast (ibid., 338).

[65]*Ḥāṣī* seems to be used synonymously with *iḥṣā'* (tax evaluation).

[66]Ṣahyūn was located east of Latakia, and Balāṭunus was a fortress facing Latakia (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān,* 1:478; 3:436).

[67]Kahf was a citadel located near Maṣyāf (Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* [London, 1890; repr. Beirut, 1965], 507).

> 8) Tax on the harvest *(ḍamān al-mustaghall)* in Tripoli that was at first for the *dīwān al-niyābah,* then for the principal *dīwān (al-dīwān al-ma'mūr)* during the months of 716. The amount is 4,000 dirhams.
>
> 9) The arbitrary taxes levied anew on peasants in several amirs′ *iqṭā'*s, consisting of grass *(ḥashīsh),* salt *(milḥ),* and tribute goods *(ḍiyāfah).* The value is 6,000 dirhams.
>
> All of the above are to be abolished in the course of time by the Day of Resurrection, neither demanded, nor claimed, in order not to bring the Devil into our midst. This decree is to be read from the pulpits in order to disseminate it and to procure good wishes for us as a gracious gift from God.

The total exemption for the nine items listed comes to 109,000 dirhams annually, approximating the 110,000 dirhams al-Nuwayrī mentioned elsewhere.[68] Here I would like to discuss items 3), 4), and 9).

Items 3) and 4) are closely related to sugar cane cultivation around Tripoli during the early fourteenth century. According to Andrew M. Watson,[69] sugar cane was introduced to southern Iraq from southwestern Iran and spread further to the Jordan valley and the Syrian coast during the tenth century. Arab geographers like al-Muqaddasī (fourth/tenth century), al-Idrīsī (d. 560/1165), Yāqūt (d. 626/1229), and al-'Umarī (d. 749/1349) relate that sugar cane was cultivated in such areas as Filasṭīn, Ṭabarīyah, Jabal Lubnān, Ghawr (Jordan valley), Bayrūt, Ṣūr, Ṭarābulus, Marqab, and Bāniyās.[70] According to Yāqūt,[71] most of the crop grown in Baysān in the Ghawr area, in particular, was sugar cane. However, while the above geographers give only sketchy accounts of sugar cane cultivation in Syria, items 3) and 4) indicate clearly that in Tripoli the imposition of a corvée had provided the labor necessary to produce sugar cane *(sukhrat al-aqṣāb),* both

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[68]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 32:255–56.

[69]Andrew M. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World* (Cambridge, 1983), 26–28.

[70]Al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm,* ed. M. J. De Goeje (Leiden, 1906), 161, 176, 180–81, 188; al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Al-Masālik wa-al-Mamālik,* ed. M. J. al-Ḥaynī (Cairo, 1961), 46; al-Idrīsī, *Kitāb Nuzhat al-Mushtāq fī Ikhtirāq al-Āfāq* (Naples and Rome, 1970–84), 4:372; Ibn Sa'īd al-Maghribī, *Kitāb al-Jughrāfiyā,* ed. Ismā'īl al-'Arabī (Beirut, 1970), 152; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān,* 4:217; Ibn Shaddād, *Al-A'lāq al-Khaṭīrah fī Dhikr Umarā' al-Shām wa-al-Jazīrah: Lubnān,* ed. Sāmī al-Dahhān (Damascus, 1963), 92, 104; al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-Bilād wa-Akhbār al-'Ibād* (Beirut, 1960), 142; Abū al-Fidā', *Taqwīm al-Buldān,* ed. M. Reinaud (Paris, 1840), 253, 255; al-'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār,* 25, 132.

[71]Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān,* 4:217.

in the fields managed by the government and those of the amirs, until this practice was abolished by Sultan al-Nāṣir′s decree in 717/1317.

Regarding item 9), consisting of recent levies demanding grasses, salt, and tribute goods *(ḍiyāfah)* on several amirs′ *iqṭā*ʻs, this *ḍiyāfah* is clearly different from the *ḍiyāfat al-rawk* (tribute goods temporarily levied at the *rawk*) based on the Syrian cadastre of 713/1313. It is *ḍiyāfah* that may possibly lead us to a better understanding of the innovative taxation system that was introduced into Syria by the cadastral surveys.

Rawk al-Iqṭāʻāt bi-al-Mamlakah al-Ḥalabīyah in 725/1325: Aleppo

The Aleppo cadastre in northern Syria was undertaken in Jumādá II 725/June 1325. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Muqri' al-Fayyūmī (d. after 770/1368) has this to say about it:

> In this year the *iqṭā*ʻs in the region of Aleppo were surveyed. The sultan [al-Nāṣir] ordered the *rawk* of al-Mamlakah al-Ḥalabīyah because there remained no region except Aleppo unsurveyed. On 20 Jumādá II 725/4 June 1325, Amir Jamāl al-Dīn Mughulṭāy al-Jamālī al-Nāṣirī, an official of the state *(mudīr al-mamlakah),* left [Cairo] to conduct the survey with Makīn al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Qarawīnah, a chief financial official *(mustawfī al-ṣuḥbah)*. He returned on Tuesday, 16 Ramaḍān/27 August, after which the survey documents were released in order to assign *iqṭā*ʻs to a group of *al-mamālīk al-sulṭānīyah* and *ḥalqah* cavalrymen.[72]

According to this account, the cadastre was concluded in the span of about eighty days, and as a result, *iqṭā*ʻs were assigned to a group of the royal mamluks and the *ḥalqah* cavalry.[73] No further details are known about the content of the work, but Ibn Iyās (d. ca. 930/1524), a later Mamluk historian, provides us with the following important information:

> One amir of ten[74] went with a group of officials *(mubāshir)* to conduct the survey. They went from Cairo to Aleppo and carried out the *rawk* there by the same method as in Syria. Consequently,

[72]Al-Fayyūmī, ″Nathr al-Jumān,″ 3: fol. 190r; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 2:264.

[73]See also Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 144–45.

[74]This amir is the above-mentioned Mughulṭāy al-Jamālī, who held the offices of *ustādār* and vizier at the time of the cadastre (Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 145).

> all the provinces of Egypt, Syria, and Aleppo are now included in *al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī.*[75]

From this account, we may assume that the same methods were used for all four Syrian and Egyptian surveys, and it is this uniformity that constitutes the major fiscal innovation brought about by the *rawk*s.

To begin with, the *rawk* of 713/1313 in Syria resulted in the distribution of "complete *iqṭā*'s" *(iqṭā' darbastah)* to amirs and soldiers. Concerning the Egyptian *rawk* of 715/1315, al-Nuwayrī states:

> Sultan [al-Nāṣir] sat down in order to issue the authorizations *(mithāl)* placed before him. He assigned to each amir a fixed number of villages, and added to the allotment all the items in those villages, like royal soldiers *(al-juyūsh al-sulṭānīyah),* the poll tax *(jawālī),* and so on. As a result of this assignment, the *muqṭa*'s gained control over their villages completely *(darbastan)*.[76]

However, al-Nuwayrī's account is baffling, since he does not explain what "all the items in those villages like royal soldiers" means. Concerning the same assignment, al-Maqrīzī is more explicit:

> The sultan ordered his officials to write documents *(waraqah)* for the sultan's domains *(al-khāṣṣ al-sulṭānī)* and amirs' *iqṭā*'s. At this time he added to the *'ibrah* of each village the tribute goods *(ḍiyāfah)* for which the peasants *(fallāḥūn)* were assessed and the poll tax *(jawālī)* of each village. Previously, before the *rawk,* an independent *dīwān,* attached to the sultan, had been set up for the *jawālī*. But at this time, the *jawālī* of each village was added to its *kharāj* (land tax) revenue.[77]

The *'ibrah* indicates the annual revenue of a village estimated in cash (*dīnār* or *dīnār jayshī*[78]). According to al-Maqrīzī, to this *'ibrah,* which had hitherto been

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[75]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden, 1960–75), 1:164.

[76]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 32:226.

[77]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 2:150. See also idem, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:88; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 9:50.

[78]The term *dīnār jayshī* was a unit expressing the amount of *iqṭā'* revenue in the Mamluk period, while during the Ayyubid period it was called *dīnār jundī.* The dirham exchange rate differed

calculated on the basis of the *kharāj,* were now added the *ḍiyāfah* and *jawālī,* suggesting a completely new method for calculating the *'ibrah* under the *iqṭā'* system.[79] In his *Khiṭaṭ,* al-Maqrīzī suggests that the sultan gave authorizations for *iqṭā'*s to his soldiers on this principle *(ḥukm).*[80] This is what I refer to as "the survey method common to the *rawk*s in Egypt and Syria." In other words, the new *iqṭā'*s reassigned after the conclusion of the cadastres were called *iqṭā' darbastah,* in which its holder (*muqṭa'*) had the right to all tax revenues, including the *ḍiyāfah, jawālī,* and other taxes.

However, there is another problem to be solved. Although new *iqṭā'*s were assigned to amirs and soldiers as *"iqṭā' darbastah"* after the cadastres in Egypt and Syria, Sultan al-Nāṣir then issued decrees abolishing *ḍiyāfah* both in the Egyptian *rawk* of 715/1315 and the Syrian *rawk* of 717/1317. These decrees read as follows:

1) The Egyptian *rawk* of 715/1315

In the year of the blessed *rawk,* we hereby exempt from a group of peasants *(jamā'at al-fallāḥīn)* the *ḍiyāfah* to be paid on the occasion of the transfer of an *iqṭā' (intiqālāt al-iqṭā'āt).*[81]

2) The Syrian *rawk* of 717/1317

Sultan al-Nāṣir abolished the following miscellaneous taxes in the region of Tripoli: the unscheduled taxes levied anew on peasants in several amirs' *iqṭā'*s, consisting of grass *(ḥashīsh),* salt *(milḥ),* and tribute goods *(ḍiyāfah).*[82]

However, in both cases we should note the fact that the orders abolishing miscellaneous taxes were given after the introduction of the new method of calculating the *'ibrah,* to which *ḍiyāfah* and *jawālī* had already been added to the main *kharāj* tax. Therefore, ordinary *ḍiyāfah* continued to be levied on peasants, not in kind but in cash.

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according to the type of cavalryman; that is, higher ranking cavalrymen were granted *iqṭā'*s on the basis of higher exchange rates (Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 152–55, 243).

[79]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 142.

[80]Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:88.

[81]Atiya, "A Mamlūk 'Magna Carta,'" 134–35. In this article, Atiya explains the sentence as follows: "Farmers should be relieved from billeting or forced hospitality imposed on them by itinerant functionaries in this year of land surveying *(rūk)*" (ibid., 138). However, *intiqālāt al-iqṭā'āt* means not the itinerary between *iqṭā'*s by functionaries, but the transfer of *iqṭā'*s by order of the sultan. See Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 159.

[82]Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 32:261.

Historically, the fiscal innovation created through these cadastres and the reallocation of *iqṭā'*s resulted in the establishment of a system that persisted up to the founding of the Burji Mamluk dynasty. As to the effect of *al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī* in Egypt and Syria, al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) concludes, "*Al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī* helped establish the basis of an empire *(qā'idat al-mamlakah)* that continued up until the end of the dynasty of Sultan Ashraf Sha'bān (764–78/1363–77)."[83]

The Qalāwūnid dynasty came to an end when al-Ashraf Sha'bān was deposed by al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (784–91/1382–89, 792–801/1390–99) in 784/1382. As al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) relates:

> The new system brought into being by Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir through this *rawk* persisted until the end of the rule of the house of Qalāwūn with the enthronement of Sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barqūq in Ramaḍān 784/November 1382. And even thereafter, this system continued until the many changes made to it in the wake of the occurrences *(ḥadīth)* and disasters *(miḥnah)* of 806/1404–5.[84]

On the other hand, Ibn Khalīl al-Asadī (d. 854/1450), a Syrian scholar, writes:

> When al-Malik al-Manṣūr Lājīn (696–98/1296–99) took power, there appeared a deficiency within local provinces, a decrease in revenues *(irtifā')* and an interruption in administration for prosperity *('imārah)*. . . . Since pious and acute people petitioned him to conduct a *rawk* in order to attain the welfare *(maṣlaḥah)* of worshippers, Lājīn ordered the *rawk*s of Egypt, Syria, and other provinces.[85] The order was implemented, but not completed. When al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad returned to the throne, he ordered that *rawk*s be conducted as Lājīn had directed. . . . The *'ibrah* of the Syrian province was found to be equal to that of the Egyptian province in the *al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī,* and the number of cavalrymen

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[83] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 4:14.

[84] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:91. According to al-Maqrīzī, in 806/1403 the rise of the Nile ceased and conditions deteriorated. Prices increased to the extent that one *ardabb* of wheat cost 400 dirhams. This was applied to everything purchased: food, drink, and clothing (*Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Shayyāl [Cairo, 1940], 42).

[85] This cadastre was called *al-Rawk al-Ḥusāmī,* which was conducted in Egypt in 698/1298 for the purpose of assessing the actual situation regarding tax revenue. However, soon after its conclusion, Sultan Lājīn and his deputy Mankūtamur were assassinated by amirs who were discontented with the resulting *iqṭā'* assignments (Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 124–34).

> in each province amounted to 24,000.[86]

I have my doubts about the *rawk*s resulting in the *'ibrah* of the Syrian province becoming equal to that of the Egyptian province; however, Ibn Khalīl gives another interesting account that *al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī* brought about much welfare *(maṣlaḥah jammah)* and prosperity in the rural areas *('imārat al-bilād)*.[87] What we may conclude from these accounts is that *al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī* helped establish the basis of an empire based on the *iqṭā'* system, which led to prosperity in the rural societies of Egypt and Syria for an extended period of time.

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[86]Ibn Khalīl al-Asadī, *Al-Taysīr wa-al-I'tibār wa-al-Taḥrīr fīmā Yajibu min Ḥusn al-Tadbīr,* ed. 'Abd al-Qādir Aḥmad Ṭulaymāt (Cairo, 1968), 75–76.

[87]Ibid., 74. See also Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn* (Leiden, 1995), 143–44.

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Public Projection of Power in Mamluk Bilād al-Shām

The institutions and courtly protocols that supported the Mamluk sultan and legitimized and projected his power have been investigated in previous scholarship.[1] Such work emphasizes the formalities of relations between the sultan and his amirs and with society at large. Royal etiquette guided the sultan′s manners while he was at court[2] as well as during travel,[3] and was designed to distance him from his peers. According to the protocols of the day, for example, only the highest ranking amirs were allowed to enter the central hall *(dihlīz)*.[4] Upon approaching the sultan they were instructed to prostrate themselves in front of him *(kharr)*.[5] Social distance was maintained not only in physical terms but also in the realm of political prerogatives. Mamluk political philosophy recognized three domains in which the sultan′s name was publicly proclaimed: his title *(laqab sulṭānī),* being mentioned by name at Friday noon prayer *(khuṭbah),* and minting coins *(sikkah)*.[6]

When the sultan nominated viceroys, the royal chancellery issued letters of appointment that were accompanied by symbolic gifts, which articulated the relationship between the ruler and his appointee.[7] The sultan customarily awarded

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[1]P. M. Holt, ″The Position and Power of the Mamluk Sultan,″ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38 (1975): 237–49; idem, ″The Structure of Government in the Mamluk Sultanate,″ in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades,* ed. P. M. Holt (Warminster, 1977), 44–61; idem, ″The Sultan as Ideal Ruler: Ayyubid and Mamluk Prototypes,″ in *Suleyman the Magnificent and his Age: The Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World,* ed. Metin Kunt and Christine Woodhead (London, 1995), 122–37.

[2]Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr fī Waqā'i' al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 1982–84), 4:81.

[3]For a description of the archetype of the sultan′s camp during a hunting expedition, see Qaraṭāy al-'Izzī Khaznadārī, *Tārīkh Majmū' al-Nawādir mimmā Jará lil-Awā'il wa-al-Awākhir, 616–694 H,* ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 2005), 198.

[4]'Alī ibn Dāwūd al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-'Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970–94), 1:114.

[5]Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1934–73), 4:608–9.

[6]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 4:572, 569.

[7]The symbolic role of gift exchanges and their function in facilitating relations between parties has been studied by Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies,* trans. Ian Cunnison (London, 1966).

the viceroys a robe of honor *(khilʿah),* a horse-blanket *(kanbash)* made of silk embroidered with gold and silver *(zarkash),* saddles *(surūj),* and furs.[8] Additionally, the sultan and his viceroys exchanged presents and governors bestowed riding animals, linens *(qumāsh),* garments *(thiyāb),* and other textiles, in addition to cash.[9]

However, to consolidate his position, the sultan had to address a wider circle than his military intimates. Syrian sources of the period attest to the energy and resources sultans devoted to propaganda and projecting their royal persona among the civil population. Considerable sums were dedicated to public relations.[10] Poets, musicians, and preachers were paid to cultivate and promote the sultan′s public image.[11]

Yet, the interaction between the Mamluk sultans and their subjects was not restricted to verbal exchanges. Literary and archeological sources demonstrate the considerable resources the sultan and ruling elite allocated for the construction of public and private buildings.[12] By these projects they hoped to promote several agendas: 1) to make their presence known; 2) to fashion an environment that would reflect their desired images; 3) to establish communication with their subjects. Needless to say, this policy demanded heavy taxation. The willingness of the Mamluk administrators to risk public backlash against harsh levies demonstrates

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[8]Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,* ed. ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Qarmūṭ (Cairo, 1985), 1:125; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Anbāʾ al-ʿUmr,* ed. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Bukhārī (Hyderabad, 1985), 8:1; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:79.

[9]Abū al-Maḥāsin Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Cairo, 1990), 1:96, 108, 112, 164. Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq, *Al-Taʿlīq: Yawmīyāt Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Ṭawq; Mudhakkirāt Kutibat bi-Dimashq fī Awākhir al-ʿAhd al-Mamlūkī, 885-908 H,* ed. Jaʿfar al-Muhājir (Damascus, 2000), 1:217; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān,* 1:255, 300–2, 315, 375; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 4:571.

[10]The idea of political legitimacy was not foreign to the sultans. Rebelling amirs claimed al-Malik al-Saʿīd ibn Baybars was unfit to rule. They told him: ″A king should not spend time in vigorous pursuit of games or amusements. These are not appropriate entertainments.″ (Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* [Beirut, 2001],13:288.)

[11]Ṣārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Aydamar Ibn Duqmāq al-ʿAlāʾī, *Al-Nafḥah al-Miskīyah fī al-Dawlah al-Turkīyah: min Kitāb al-Thamīn fī Siyar al-Khulafāʾ wa-al-Salāṭīn,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Sidon, 1999), 67; al-Khaznadārī, *Tārīkh Majmūʿ al-Nawādir*, 258; Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, ″Du bon gouvernement d′après la hadiyat al-ʿAbd al-Qasir ila al-Malik al-Nasir de ʿAbd al-Samad al-Salihi,″ *Annales islamologiques* 34 (2000): 312 (2), 300–1 (13–14).

[12]Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Anbāʾihi wa-Wafāyāt al-Akābir wa-al-Aʿyān min Abnāʾihi al-Maʿrūf bi-Tārīkh Ibn al-Jazarī*, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām al-Tadmurī (Beirut, 1998), 1:423.

the importance they assigned to construction projects.[13] In the following my aim is to broadly outline the Mamluk policy for shaping the public sphere in Syria by focusing on documented examples from Damascus and other Syrian cities, relying on a broad range of local sources of the period.

CREATING PUBLIC SPACE IN BILĀD AL-SHĀM

The Mamluk elite constructed numerous and varied public structures in Syria: mosques,[14] tombs,[15] schools,[16] Sufi lodges,[17] hospitals,[18] caravanserais,[19] gates,[20] canals,[21] public fountains,[22] bridges,[23] and walls.[24] Moreover, the Mamluk patrons did not limit their investments to new edifices;[25] they also devoted considerable

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[13]Ibid., 2:331.

[14]*Repertoire chronologique d'épigraphie Arabe* (Cairo, 1931–91) (hereafter *RCEA*), 12:176 (no. 4662 Hims 671/1272–73); 13:205 (no. 5100) and 263 (no. 5190); 14:266 (no. 5587 Gaza 730/1329); 15:24–25 (no. 5637 Aleppo). Heinz Gaube, *Arabische Inscriften aus Syrien* (Beirut, 1978), 26 (no. 35) and 45 (no. 76).

[15]*RCEA,* 12:75 (no. 4504), 176 (no. 4663), and 182 (no. 4673); 13:75 (no. 4909) and 186 (no. 5065 Tripoli 698/1298); 14:24 (no. 5636), 33 (no. 5251), 113 (no. 5777), 165 (no. 5449 Damascus 721/1321), 181 (no. 5473 Damascus 722/1322), 193 (no. 5486 Damascus 723/1323), and 194 (no. 5487 Ḥamāh 723/1323); 15:201 (no. 5926 Ṣafad 741/1341) and 199 (no. 6290 Jerusalem 759/1359); 16:85 (no. 6119), 121 (no. 6181), and 215–16 (no. 6324 Tripoli 760/1359); 18:129 (no. 792007), 127 (no. 792005), 170 (no. 795007), 200 (no. 797009), and 202 (no. 797012). Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,*13:280; Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Al-Durrah al-Mudī'ah fī al-Dawlah al-Zāhirīyah* (Berkeley, 1963), 172; Muḥammad ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *'Uyūn al-Tawārīkh al-Sanawāt 688–699 A.H.,* ed. Nabīlah 'Abd al-Mun'im Dāwūd (Baghdad, 1991), 129; Anne-Marie Eddé, *La principauté Ayyoubide d'Alep: (579/1183–658/1260)* (Stuttgart, 1999), 448–49.

[16]*RCEA,* 15:199 (no. 5923 Jerusalem 741/1340); Gaube, *Arabische Inscriften,* 70 (no. 129) and 82 (no. 156); George Makdisi, "Autograph Diary of an Eleventh-Century Historian of Baghdad," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 19 (1957): 288.

[17]*RCEA,* 13:163–64 (no. 5033) and 15:200 (no. 5924 the Ṣalāḥīyah in Jerusalem in 741/1341).

[18]Ibid., 16:147 (no. 6220 Aleppo 755/1345); Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Nafḥah al-Miskīyah,* 79.

[19]*RCEA,* 13:98–99 (no. 4946); 14:22–23, 118 (no. 5235, 5385, 5418 Aleppo 719/1319), and 141 (no. 5590); 15:236 (no. 5971). Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Al-Durrah al-Mudī'ah,* 169.

[20]*RCEA,* 15:35 (no. 5706); Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Nafḥah al-Miskīyah,* 196.

[21]*RCEA,* 18:179 (no. 796001); Gaube, *Arabische Inscriften,* 113 (no. 204); Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 2:256.

[22]*RCEA,* 12:140 (no. 4611); 13:250 (no. 5171); 14:148 (no. 5427 Jerusalem); 15:74 (no. 5708); 16:12 (no. 6015 Aleppo 746/1345) and 123 (no. 6185). Gaube, *Arabische Inscriften,* 17 (no. 11: a *sabīl* built in 915/1508 by Khā'ir Bek, the governor of Aleppo); Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Al-Durrah al-Mudī'ah,* 188.

[23]*RCEA,* 12:174–75 (no. 4660, 4661); 15:48 (no. 5670).

[24]Ibid., 13:204 (no. 5099 Majdal 700/1300).

[25]Ibid., 12:68 (no. 4530 Gaza); 18:197 (no. 797004 Gaza).

efforts to refurbishing citadels[26] and sacred shrines,[27] including renovations of the Great Mosque of Damascus. Since Mamluk governors were fully aware of the role such structures played in public image-making, it is not surprising to come across reports of orders to demolish standing structures,[28] an act that was aimed at obliterating the memory of their adversaries and reshaping the environment to their own benefit.[29]

The sheer volume of references in Syrian sources to urban projects strongly supports the view that the Mamluks focused their building initiatives in the cities. Three criteria set urban centers apart from rural communities, dictating appropriate types of investment by the state and its officials:

1) Urban communities were complex societies composed of a range of occupations and economic-cultural strata.

2) Cities were economic hubs. In order to house merchants and artisans, commercial and handicrafts complexes *(wakālah; qaysārīyah),* as well as markets, were built.[30]

3) Urban residents paid taxes on private properties, and their urban plots were not classified as *iqṭā‘* land, although they kept gardens.

In addition to these economic, legal, and social criteria, architectural features distinguished the Mamluk cities. As in Egypt, communal buildings, such as cathedral mosques *(jāmi‘),*[31] hospitals, and schools, influenced the layout of neighborhoods and streets in Syrian cities. From time to time the Mamluks made efforts to enforce ″Islamic″ values and norms on the city dwellers. The inspector of the markets was instructed to impose bans on alcohol, prostitution, and other forbidden activities. These policies were often aimed at women.[32]

As administrative centers, cities also served as residences of amirs and civilian officials, and where amirs met regularly with bureaucrats and religious dignitaries.

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[26]Ibid., 18:30 (no. 786006 Aleppo 786/1385).

[27]Ibid., 18:3 (no. 784004 a mosque in Damascus). Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 2:318–19.

[28]On one occasion (in 690/1291) the viceroy of Damascus ordered the destruction of houses, shops, and workshops. Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 1:60.

[29]Upon regaining control of Damascus in 1398, Barqūq had structures demolished that the rebel Minṭāsh may have built. Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Al-Durrah al-Mudī‘ah,* 74/104.

[30]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 4:620.

[31]Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Kawkab al-Rawḍah fī Tārīkh al-Nīl wa-Jazīrat al-Rawḍah,* ed. Muḥammad al-Shishtāwī (Cairo, 2002), 104.

[32]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* ed. ‘Adnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1977), 1:266; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 1:120–21 and 2:95; al-‘Aynī, ‘*Iqd al-Jumān,* 2:371; Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Inbā’ al-Ghumr,* 1:101; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk,* ed. Najwá Muṣṭafá Kāmil and Labībah Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 2002), 1:54.

The ruling elite strove to construct an urban environment that would be commensurate with their status and image and would facilitate their daily activities.[33] The Green Hippodrome *(al-Maydān al-Akhḍar)* in Damascus, built to serve the ruling Mamluk army, and the construction of a small market *(suwayqah)* nearby, are only a couple of examples of this concern for image and utility.[34]

The inauguration of new projects was lavishly celebrated.[35] Food was served in great quantities; gifts and awards were bestowed on officials and builders *(mi'mārīyah)*.[36] At the completion of a canal in Aleppo in 731/1330–31, the viceroy called for a pubic celebration. The Syrian historian al-Birzālī (1267–1339) described the gathering of army commanders, notables, and commoners, stressing that the puritanical governor banned musicians *(muṭribūn)* from participating in the event.[37] The following panegyric by Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan ibn ʻAlī al-Kātib captures one part of public reaction to Mamluk construction activity:

> We prostrate ourselves and kiss the ground. Our master′s realm is the best *(ghurrah)* amongst the nations, almighty God made it shine. . . . Our sultan′s generosity directed him to construct mosques and places of prayer, to build mausolea and shrines. Roads were paved to help travelers arriving and departing. After falling into disrepair, canals were renovated. The great mosque of Damascus was refurbished and regained its splendor, its decorations and marbles restored. The candelabra were multiplied. Many places acquired new looks, and the worshipers′ hearts became full of joy.[38]

Yet, it should be emphasized that Mamluk amirs did not refrain from building mosques in the countryside, where the vast majority of the sultanate′s subjects dwelled and labored on the *iqṭāʻ* lands. Mamluk mosques are still visible in Syrian villages today.[39]

The policy of construction promoted by the Mamluks also aimed at strengthening the hold of Islam on a territory believed to be under constant threat. While illusory threats of imminent invasions by Franks and Mongols haunted the Muslim

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[33]*RCEA,* 18:203 and 204 (nos. 797013, 797014).

[34]Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 1:60; 2:327, 329, 330, 455–56, 467.

[35]Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Al-Durrah al-Mudīʻah,* 116, 133–35.

[36]Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Nafḥah al-Miskīyah,* 123, 244; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 2:258–59.

[37]Aleppo 731/1330–31. Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 2:455.

[38]Ibid., 389–90. For the formula of kissing the white hand, see ibid., 441.

[39]*RCEA,* 13:53–55 (nos. 4880–82).

population, the building initiative provided society with a sense of security and stability. Sultans and governors invested considerable resources in developing Muslim shrines and other holy sites that attracted large numbers of visitors. These edifices amplified the ruler′s image and defined the structure and borders of Mamluk sacred topography. Tombs of biblical prophets such as Noah,[40] Moses,[41] and Abraham[42] were renovated or enlarged, as were the tombs of the Prophet Muḥammad′s close companions. Baybars started this policy by erecting a sanctuary east of the Jordan River, said to be the burial ground *(mazār)* of Abū ʻUbaydah.[43] In southern Palestine a Roman structure was identified as Abū Ḥurayrah′s tomb.[44] Not far away from this location is the shrine *(mashhad)* of Salmān al-Fārisī.[45] In central Syria the shrine of Khālid ibn al-Walīd was renovated.[46] In Aleppo builders constructed the shrine of Saʻd ibn Ayyūb al-Anṣārī.[47] Another area of investment was the renewal of Latin (Crusader) and Ayyubid fortifications, which delineated the Mamluks′ political domain. Inscriptions from Shawbak in southwestern Jordan to Ḥiṣn al-Akrād (Krak des Chevaliers) in central Syria attest to this initiative.[48]

Conspicuously sacred and military structures as these often bore inscriptions appropriate to Syria′s role as imperial frontier and holy land. As ″public text″ they name the founder and announce his self-asserted achievements and titles.[49] Baybars′

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[40]Janine Sourdel-Thomine, ″Inscriptions arabes de Karak Nuh,″ *Bulletin d′études orientales* 13 (1951): 82.

[41]*RCEA,* 12:142 (no. 4612).

[42]Ibid., 13:51–53 (nos. 4876–77); and later renovations: 13:95–96 and 194 (no. 4943, 5079); 18:179 (no. 796001).

[43]Ibid., 12:208–9 (no. 4714); 13:70 (no. 4901).

[44]Ibid., 12:191 (no. 4686); 13:115 (no. 4965).

[45]Ibid., 12:134 (no. 4600).

[46]Ibid., 12:104–5 (no. 4556, 4557) and 128–29 (no. 4593); although some Muslim authors doubt this identification. Al-Khaznadārī, *Tārīkh Majmūʻ al-Nawādir,* 277–79.

[47]Gaube, *Arabische Inscriften,* 23–25; Eddé, *Alep,* 431.

[48]*RCEA,* 12:148–51 (nos. 4623–26 Ḥiṣn al-Akrād) and 222–24 (nos. 4733–34 Karak); 13:58–59 (no. 4886 Ḥiṣn al-Akrād) and 176–78 (nos. 5048–51 Shawbak). Reuven Amitai, ″An Arabic Inscription at al-Subayba (Qalʻat Namrud) from the Reign of Sultan Baybars,″ *The al-Subayba (Nimrod) Fortress: Towers 11 and 9,* ed. Moshe Hartal (Jerusalem, 2001), 109–23.

[49]Epigraphic data constitute historical sources, generally contemporary with the construction of the buildings. *RCEA,* 12:124 (no. 4588 Baybars in Ramlah 666/1268), 125 (no. 4589 Ṣafad), and 210 (no. 4715 Damascus); 13:41–42 (no. 4859, 4860 Aleppo 684/1284); 14:58 (no. 5291 Damascus 711/1311), 59–60 (nos. 5292–94 Aleppo 711/1311); 77 (no. 5323 Jerusalem 713/1314), 88 (no. 5339 Gaza 714/1315), 89–90 (nos. 5340–42 Ramlah 714/1314), 101 (no. 5358 Tripoli 715/1315), 105–6 (no. 4956 Khalīl in Hims 691/1292), 118–19 (no. 5386 Baalbek 717/1317), 127 (no. 5400 Gaza 718/1318), 128 (no. 5401 Ramlah 718/1318), and 129 (no. 5403 Aleppo 718/1318); 15:4–5 (nos. 5606–7 Jerusalem al-Aqsa mosque); 16:7–8 (nos. 6009–10 Jerusalem al-Aqsa mosque

name, for example, is accompanied by a long list of royal titles: ″our sultan, the victorious king, judicious, righteous, warrior, master of kings and sultans, ruler of the two *qiblah*s [Mecca and Jerusalem], servant of the holy places, partner of the caliph, the commander of the faithful, Alexander of our days.″[50] Qalāwūn′s titulature included additional titles, such as: ″the greatest sultan, king of kings *(shāhanshāh al-mu'aẓẓam),* the monarch who holds the nations by their necks, the king supported by heaven *(mu'ayyad)*.″[51] In addition to insignia and regalia,[52] inscriptions are informative about financial investments and assert the role of religious endowment *(waqf)* in building or maintaining a specific institution.[53] In other instances architectural inscriptions were believed to have a protective quality, shielding property from mismanagement or seizure.[54] In addition, inscriptions occasionally document the abolition of taxes and limitations on tariffs.[55]

The development of the public sphere was not restricted to stone and marble. To capture the viewers′ attention the governing elite shaped the urban space by staging events.[56] Cities were decorated to celebrate military victories, investitures of sultans, proclamations of royal births, recovery of the sultan′s health, or the accession of a new governor.[57] In a manner resembling an outdoor performance,[58]

746/1345), and 9–10 (no. 6013 Tripoli 746/1345). Also Mūsá ibn Muḥammad al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir'āt al Zamān* (Hyderabad, 1957), 1:198.

[50]*RCEA*, 12:57–58 (nos. 4476–77), 103 (no. 4554), 193 (no. 4690), 195 (no. 4692), and 226 (no. 4738).

[51]Ibid., 12:196 (4693); 13:9 (no. 4815 Baalbek), 15–16 (nos. 4823–24), 36 (no. 4852 Cairo), 40–41 (nos. 4857–58), and 225 (no. 5135); 14:136–41 (nos. 5412–17).

[52]Ibid., 18:4 (no. 784005, 784006 Damascus 784/1382) and 155 (no. 794003 Damascus 794/1392 by Sultan Barqūq).

[53]Ibid., 18:6 (no. 784008 Masjid Ḥaydar al-'Askarī in Damascus) and 91 (no. 788054 covered market in Jerusalem 788/1386).

[54]Ibid., 18:29 (no. 786005 Aleppo 786/1385).

[55]Ibid., 18:1 (no. 784001 Cairo), 126 (no. 792003 Karak 792/1390), 154 (no. 794002 Karak Nūḥ 794/1392), 169 (no. 795006 Jerusalem 795/1393), 171 (no. 795009), 181 (no. 796002 donations to support the holy tomb of the prophet Nūḥ), 195 (no. 797002 Idfū [Edfou]), and 200 (no. 797009 Baalbek).

[56]Al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān,* 1:256, describes acrobats (*min funūn al-bahlawān* [pahlavan]) walking on a strong rope held between two minarets.

[57]Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jazarī, *Al-Mukhtār min Tārīkh Ibn al-Jazarī al-Musammá Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Anbā'ihi wa-Wafāyāt al-Akābir wa-al-A'yān min Abnā'ihi,* ed. Khudayyir 'Abbās al-Munshidāwī (Beirut, 1988), 305 (680/1281), 364, 372 (695/1295), and 388 (the recovery of the sultan Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn); Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Al-Durrah al-Mudī'ah,* 19, 20, and 112; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:112.

[58]On references to whitewashing *(tabyīḍ)* house walls, see Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 2:526; 'Abd

the rulers staged parades, public ceremonies, and festivities.[59] Cavalry and infantry marched, drums were beaten, jugglers preformed,[60] and emblems of state were put on display.[61] Streets and squares were also decorated with textiles, colors, and lights.[62] On the occasion of the sultan's recovery from illness, the people of Damascus were ordered to decorate the streets with ornaments and pieces of brocade embroidered with gold and silver. The drums played loudly in the citadel and palaces, and the viceroy put on the royal robe of honor in a public ceremony.[63] When Altunbughā al-Jubānī reentered Damascus and took up his post as viceroy, candles were lit and the imam of the Great Mosque invoked blessings for the sultan.[64]

The decoration and lighting of the streets was only one element in the staging of these political performances. With lights came sounds.[65] Bands of drummers *(ṭablkhānah)* played to publicly announce important events.[66] The rhythm of drums on these occasions differed from the music played by tambourines or the beating of the drums during fighting.[67] The account of the victorious return of Sultan Barqūq to the throne in 792/1390 preserves the joyful scene at the welcoming reception:

> At dawn al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Sayf al-Islām Abū Sa'īd Barqūq arrived at Raydānīyah. A mission from Cairo proceeded to meet him: the descendants of the Prophet, the Sufis carrying banners *(sanājiq),* army battalions dressed for combat and armed with weapons, Jews carrying candelabra and the Torah, Christians holding candles and

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al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl Ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal,* ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 2002), 2:43–44.

[59]Al-Kutubī, *'Uyūn al-Tawārīkh,* 107 (on the vizier Ibn al-Sal'ūs's visit to Damascus in 691/1292).

[60]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhira fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963–72), 9:7; Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 4:59–61, 70, and 72; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:267 and 273; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 1:141.

[61]Ibn Faḍl Allāh Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyá al-'Umarī, *Al-Ta'rīf bi-al-Muṣṭalah al-Sharīf,* ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 1988), 273–75.

[62]Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt,* ed. Qusṭanṭīn Zurayq (Beirut, 1942), 7:187; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn, *I'lām al-Wará bi-Man Wulliya Nā'iban min al-Atrāk bi-Dimashq al-Shām al-Kubrá,* ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān (Damascus, 1984), 116; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 13:293.

[63]Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 2:389 (730/1330).

[64]Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Al-Durrah al-Mudī'ah,* 63.

[65]Al-'Umarī, *Al-Ta'rīf,* 103; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 10:22.

[66]The beating of drums also proclaimed the end of fasting during the month of Ramaḍān (Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 2:77).

> Bibles, and the masses. They chanted blessings, and the women trilled.[68]

The decorated streets and buildings were intended by the ruling Mamluk elite as a backdrop to their striking costumes and to gain the admiration of the viewing public *(washshaḥa al-madīnah ba'da an zuyyinat)*.[69] Official parades and ceremonies marked particularly important events in great splendor *(fī ubbahah 'aẓīmah)*.[70] On the arrival of al-Malik al-Sa'īd ibn Baybars to Damascus in 677/1279 the city was decorated. Domed pavilions *(qibāb)* were erected, and people packed the streets. On the day of the Great Feast *('Īd al-Nahr)* they prayed together at the hippodrome with the sultan. This mass gathering was followed by a more modest event inside the citadel, where a welcoming reception took place.[71] On another occasion, in 741/1341, an ailing sultan ordered the release of all prisoners. In reaction to this gratifying news people came out carrying burning candles, beating drums, and holding Bibles (Jews) and Gospels (Christians) in their hands.[72]

Victory parades were staged to arouse hopes for stability and peace, in addition to demonstrating authority and strength.[73] Riding in front of their troops army commanders entered the cities′ gates and led processions along crowded streets.[74] Returning victorious from a battle against the Mongols, Qalāwūn ceremoniously crossed Damascus with his soldiers and twelve wagons full of prisoners of war.[75] Several days after Qalāwūn′s defeat of the Franks and his capture of Tripoli, a carrier pigeon landed in the Damascus citadel and brought the news. The garrison force played drums, and the streets were decorated.[76]

A similar event was staged following the conquest of Acre by al-Ashraf Khalīl

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[67]Ibid., 1:53 and 391; Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* 58, 76, 79, 80, 139, and 140; Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Nafḥah al-Miskīyah,* 208.

[68]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 9:199.

[69]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:682 (he traversed the decorated city); al-Kutubī, *'Uyūn al-Tawārīkh,* 108; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,* ed. Fu'ād M. Shaltūt (Cairo, 1998), 31:35; al-Fatḥ ibn 'Alī al-Bundārī, *Sanā al-Barq al-Shāmī,* ed. Fatḥīyah Nabarāwī (Cairo, 1979), 30, 81.

[70]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 13:301 (the entrance of Qalāwūn into Damascus 682/1283–84); Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd wa-al-Durr al-Farīd fīmā ba'da Tārīkh Ibn al-'Amīd,* ed. Edgar Blochet (Paris, 1911), 67, 68, 151, 156, and 318.

[71]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 13:280.

[72]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:129.

[73]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 7:103 and 104.

[74]Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah,* 71, 74, 76, 93–96, 100, 115, and 126.

[75]Li Guo, *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography: al-Yūnīnī′s Dhayl Mir'āt al Zamān* (Leiden, 1998), 67 (Arabic). Ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd,* 300 and 332–33.

in 1291. Damascus was elaborately adorned *(wa-zuyyinat ajmal zīnah)*. Riding ahead of his cavalry, the sultan resembled ″the full moon surrounded by shining stars″ *(ka-al-badr bayna kawkabihi)*.[77] Comparable was the reaction to al-Ashraf Khalīl′s victory over the Armenians and the capture of Qal'at al-Rūm. Damascus was decorated, the citadel, streets, and palaces festooned. Leading his soldiers, the victorious sultan rode through the city′s streets. In the course of the military parade Armenian captives were exhibited. The chronicles report on the joyful audience crowding the squares.[78]

Other occasions for public celebration included the inauguration of a new sultan or viceroy.[79] For these events the audience cheered and blessed the new leader,[80] as was the case for the coronation of al-Malik al-Afḍal, the ruler of al-Ḥamāh.[81] Upon the investiture of the minor prince al-Malik al-Naṣr Faraj ibn Barqūq in 801/1399, a long black cloak *(franjīyah)* embroidered with gold thread was draped over the child′s shoulders and a golden turban *('imāmah)* placed on his head. The royal procession in Cairo crossed the city and ascended to the citadel, where the new sultan sat on the throne *(dast)*.[82] Similar performances marked political insurgencies in the provinces. During the revolt of al-Malik al-Kāmil al-Ashqar Sanqar against Qalāwūn, the rebel declared the severing of contact between Damascus and Cairo. This declaration was echoed by a parade joined by cavalry, men of religion, and notables. Leading his forces, Sanqar descended from the citadel and rode towards Damascus′ hippodrome. There he inspected the forces and honored their commander with robes of honor.[83]

These events provided an entertaining spectacle for the public. Many accounts of celebrations *(yawm mashhūr)* depict large crowds flooding the streets carrying candles and joining the procession, as if they were actors in a play.[84] On one occasion the merchants of Damascus were ordered to stand outside the city wall when al-Ashraf Khalīl was entering the city. Joining them were artisans led by their master *('arīf);* all were holding candles. As the sultan′s convoy drew closer

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[76]Al-Kutubī, *'Uyūn al-Tawārīkh,* 15; Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Nafḥah al-Miskīyah,* 113–14; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 7:152.

[77]Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Dawādār al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah,* ed. Zubaydah Muḥammad 'Aṭā (Cairo, 2001), 263.

[78]Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 1:110. Another example is the report on the arrival of Barqūq to Damascus and his meeting with the viceroy Yālbughā al-Nāṣirī in 793/1391 (al-Kutubī, *'Uyūn al-Tawārīkh,* 131).

[79]Al-'Aynī, *'Iqd al-Jumān,* 2:266.

[80]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:663–64; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, 31:17.

[81]Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 2:519.

[82]Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 2:5–6.

to the gate they lit their candles. The majestic entourage advanced along an illuminated route from Bāb al-Naṣr to al-Qadam mosque.[85] On another occasion, as the troops fighting Minṭāsh advanced towards Damascus, many Damascenes came out of the city holding candles and listening to singers accompanied by tambourines.[86]

When Sultan Barqūq entered Damascus in 793/1391, the official ceremony was said to be "according to the fashion of the kings." The governor Yālbughā al-Nāṣirī bore the royal parasol *(al-qubbah wa-al-ṭayr)* over his head, candles were lit, and girls sang. The people spread pieces of cloth along the streets that the sultan passed on his way to the citadel. Men called out blessings to the sultan, and women gave shrill cries. The citadel's commander had rebuilt, whitewashed, and furnished most of the citadel's structures. Sitting high on his horse Barqūq reviewed the dismounted cavalry. This gesture reflected the distance between royal authority and subordinates. The ceremony ended with the sultan bestowing robes of honor on the amirs "as was the custom of the kings."[87] These were not low-cost events, and the local population was occasionally asked to bear the financial burden of hosting them.[88] No wonder, then, that public reaction was sometimes hostile.[89]

Parades were used by the authorities to display *(ashhara)* those who were declared enemies of the public order. In order to humiliate them, they were exhibited to the public, occasionally tied back-to-back on a beast of burden, sometimes fastened with nails to a board *(tasmīr)*. In one instance the sultan ordered rebellious soldiers to be put on display. As the camels were led along the streets, the soldiers' wives, their faces unveiled and exposed, dashed around them.[90] A similar situation was reported in Damascus in 792/1390. The guards beat drums as Ibn Hanash was brought to the city. Soldiers with drawn swords in their hands marched at the column's head, while the prisoners, tied to the backs of beasts of burden, were shown to the public.[91] For three days the heads of two executed amirs were hung in Cairo, first at the citadel gate, then at the town gate. During these days the

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[83]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 13:290; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 1:289.

[84]Ibn al-Jazarī, *Mukhtār Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 353.

[85]Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 1:118–19.

[86]Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʻAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʻAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʻyān al-Mi'ah al-Thāminah,* ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Jād al-Ḥaqq (Cairo, 1973), 1:52.

[87]Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Al-Durrah al-Mudīʻah,* 93–96, 128–31, and 151.

[88]Ibn al-Jazarī, *Mukhtār Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 391; idem, *Tārīkh,* 1:46 and 52. On one occasion an encampment of twelve tents was erected.

[89]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Iʻlām al-Wará,* 204 and 218.

[90]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:270 and 285; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 1:128 and 130.

[91]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:329–30.

military bands continuously beat small drums.[92]

Dār al-Sa'ādah palace in Damascus served as a place of assembly where the influential men *(ahl al-ḥall wa-al-'aqd)* congregated to pay homage *(bay'ah)* to the new viceroy nominated by the sultan. The first stage in the formal procedure was the reading of the letter of appointment by the light of candles. This was accompanied with the bestowal of a robe of honor. From Dār al-Sa'ādah the incoming viceroy proceeded to the citadel, where the second stage of the ceremony took place. Arriving there the viceroy bowed and kissed the gate's doorstep *('atabah)* and entered the hall. With this he commenced his term of office.[93] Other ceremonies marked the end of service and the departure of officials. They also included the exchange of gifts.[94]

Outside of political functions, the streets of Mamluk cities were also used for religious ceremonies. All strata of society celebrated communal feasts together and participated in mass gatherings. The chronicles report on the departure and return of the hajj caravan and on religious festivals to commemorate Muslim holidays. Worshipers commemorated other occasions, such as the completion of the recital of the entire Quran *(khatmah)* or the end of a yearly cycle of hadith recitation.[95] The nomination of Ibn Khallikān, the well-known jurist and historian, to a teaching position at the Ẓāhirīyah madrasah in Damascus in 677/1278 was celebrated by a gathering of political and religious dignitaries.[96] On his visit to Damascus in 696/1296, Sultan Kitbughā followed the pilgrims' steps. He paid a visit to the Umayyad Mosque and inspected a precious manuscript said to be the Quran of 'Uthmān. He then proceeded to the mosque's southern wall and prayed at the tomb of Nabī Hūd. At Friday prayer he invited members of the congregation to write him and personally collected their petitions *(qiṣṣah)*.[97]

Public ceremonies and rituals did not always take place outdoors. Some were held within the walls of religious or governmental buildings. Mosques and shrines served as common loci for public encounters with the rulers. During Friday noon prayers the preacher blessed the sultan, a transparently political gesture. When Barqūq succeeded in taking control of Damascus, a celebratory ritual took place

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[92]Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 2:56.

[93]Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Al-Durrah al-Mudī'ah,* 24, 25 and 69; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 289. Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn 'Abd al-Ẓāhir, *Tashrīf al-Ayyām wa-al-'Uṣūr fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Manṣūr,* ed. Murād Kāmil (Cairo, 1961), 61. See also the account of Lājīn's nomination in Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 7:176.

[94]Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 1:151.

[95]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 4:88; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Mukhtār Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 388.

[96]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 13:279.

[97]Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 1:291 and 292; idem, *Mukhtār Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 380.

in the Umayyad Mosque. Candles were lit, and the preacher, standing on the top step of the pulpit, invoked blessings for the sultan, who stood on a lower step.[98] Following the recovery of Badr al-Dīn Baydarah from an illness, a communal gathering took place in Damascus′ Grand Mosque. Candles illuminated the building, as was the practice on mid-Shaʿbān nights. Readers recited short chapters from the Quran, and Baydarah distributed considerable sums of alms *(ṣadaqah)*.[99] After the dismissal of Tankiz, the powerful viceroy of Damascus, in 741/1340, the new governor prayed at the rulers′ stall *(maqṣūrah)* in the Grand Mosque. In order to denigrate his predecessor, the new governor listed Tankiz′s faults and promised to introduce reforms in taxation and administration.[100]

The audiences at these events were not passive spectators. They participated in, and reacted to, the public displays and performances. They crowded the streets, their rising voices heard from every corner of the city. Occasionally they carried candles and even copies of the Quran.[101] At least during one occasion of alms distribution, in ʿĀshūrāʾ 912/1506, several people were crushed as the crowd forced its way toward the sultan, who was throwing coins to the poor from horseback.[102] Crowded conditions are plainly illustrated by a report from Damascus. When a procession with an elephant reached a bridge, the poor animal became so terrified that he tumbled over the side of the bridge and died.[103]

It is appropriate to mention here that streets and squares were not used only for prayers and parades. Sultans and commanders used such public spaces for their private rites of passage and invited rich and poor to participate. During ceremonies such as weddings *(zaffah)* and circumcisions *(khitān)* participants dined, listened to bands and poets, and exchanged gifts,[104] as was the case in Damascus for an event sponsored by the local governor in 801/1399. To accommodate the numerous guests, tents were erected, and eleven bowls of sugar were cooked. The governor′s son was seated on a horse and accompanied by guests and musicians to the palace where his circumcision took place.[105] At a party given by the sultan in 837/1434, forty boys were circumcised alongside the royal prince. He was presented

[98]Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Al-Durrah al-Mudīʿah,* 63.

[99]Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 1:11.

[100]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:123.

[101]Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Al-Durrah al-Mudīʿah,* 68, 69, 74, 75, 101, 126, and 133.

[102]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:94.

[103]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 4:264.

[104]Al-Khaznadārī, *Tārīkh Majmūʿ al-Nawādir,* 63; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 7:7; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 2:398; Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Nafḥah al-Miskīyah,* 215; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 9:101; al-Kutubī, *ʿUyūn al-Tawārīkh,* 132; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 1:93–94; 2:34 and 116.

[105]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 4:28–29.

with gifts, jewelry, and sweets. Food and drinks were served to all.[106]

Funerals were another opportunity for public relations. An inscription on the wall of the Ẓāhirīyah madrasah in Damascus reads: ″our master Sultan Muḥammad Berke ordered the construction of this blessed mausoleum and the two schools. He had built it to inter his father and himself; one day he will join him. Hence this tomb will contain two mighty kings, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir and al-Malik al-Saʿīd.″[107] The coffin of Ibrāhīm ibn Aybak was transferred in 645/1247–48 from Cairo to the tomb that he had built for himself in Damascus.[108] Citizens were summoned from the minarets to take part in funeral processions that traversed the city. Shops were closed, and women exposed their hair as a sign of mourning.[109] In 730/1330 the body of Sayf al-Dīn Bahdar was taken first to the Great Mosque in Damascus. From there the funeral procession *(janāzah)* proceeded to the cemetery. Notables, heads of local government, and the religious establishment participated in the ceremony. All the mourners walked on foot; not a single person was seen on horseback.[110] In the services commemorating the end of the first year after the death of Qalāwūn, a customary meal *(simāṭ)* was served in Cairo and Damascus. The population of Damascus gathered at the Green Hippodrome, north of the old city. Its gates were unlocked. From midday until midnight Quranic verses were recited, and preachers *(wuʿʿāẓ)* related stories from the sultan′s life.[111]

The manipulation of the urban topography of the city and its public spaces for official image-making by the Mamluks was as true for Damascus, and cities of Bilād al-Shām, as it was for Cairo. Building projects, the inscriptions that covered those buildings, and the public performances staged inside and outside their walls combined to fortify and to disseminate the image of Mamluk sultans and viceroys as unquestioned rulers. Various actors participated in those performances, engaging both representatives of the state and the civilian urban population. It was in these urban, public spaces that sultans, commanders, jurists, Sufis, civil servants, merchants, and the masses *(ʿāmmah)* encountered one another and participated together in the construction of official imagery. Occasionally during these events gifts and awards were bestowed. The exchange of gifts, the distribution of alms,

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[106]Anonymous *[mu'arrikh shāmī majhūl], Ḥawlīyāt Dimashqīyah 834–839/1430–35,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1968), 98.

[107]*RCEA*, 13:57 (no. 4884 Damascus).

[108]Al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir'āt al Zamān,* 1:16.

[109]Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn Ayyūb, Das *Kitāb ar-rauḍ al-ʿāṭir des Ibn Aiyūb,* ed. Ahmet Halil Güneş (Berlin, 1981), 17; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:677; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 1:16, 19, 71, 134; 2:307. Also al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mir'āt al Zamān,* 1:177.

[110]Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 2:410.

[111]Ibn Iyās, *Badā'iʿ,* 4:29; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Mukhtār Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 342; idem, *Tārīkh,* 1:58.

communal prayer, and the blessings of the governors merged in an inspiring political ritual.

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The Use of Fortification as a Political Instrument by the Ayyubids and the Mamluks in Bilād al-Shām and in Egypt (Twelfth-Thirteenth Centuries)

Introduction

Fortification played a major role in the management of conflicts between Franks and Muslims in Bilād al-Shām at the time of the Crusades. In addition to protecting the borders, fortifications preserved the local *iqṭāʻ*-based economy. Between the end of the twelfth and the end of the thirteenth centuries, Ayyubid and Mamluk rulers used fortification to consolidate their power in Muslim and former Frankish territory. This political use of Islamic fortification knew three distinct stages of development between the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, parallel with the technical evolution of Islamic military architecture and contemporary with political changes in Bilād al-Shām and Egypt (fig. 1).

Stage One: The Defensive Policy of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn at the End of the Twelfth Century

Beginning in 1170/1171, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn built fortifications as the Fatimid vizier of Egypt. His considerations were primarily defensive in this period, following the Frankish campaign of 1168 that led to the siege of Cairo, and the Frankish-Byzantine naval expedition against Damietta in 1169. Thus, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ordered the restoration of the Fatimid walls of Cairo, conquered the castle of Ayla on the Red Sea, and made improvements to the fortifications of Alexandria.[1]

The launch of the fortification program of Cairo in 1176 by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn not only symbolized his will to affirm his independence from the dying Nurid power in the Bilād al-Shām, but also to put an end to the Fatimid power in Egypt. This defensive program represented the first step toward the political and military supremacy of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn at the end of the twelfth century. Until that time, Cairo had been the capital of the Fatimid Caliphate, founded in 969 to the north of the city of al-Fusṭāṭ. Thus, the city had been subject to careful works of fortification,

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[1] J. M. Mouton and Sami ʻAbd al-Malik, "La forteresse de l'île de Graye (Qal'at Ayla) à l'époque de Salah al-Din: Etude épigraphique et historique," *Annales Islamologiques* 29 (1995): 85; Nasser O. Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo*: *A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden, 1995), 6–7.

comprising two defensive walls. The first was built from brick in 971, and the second from stone masonry in front of it between the years 1088 and 1092.[2]

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn entrusted the amir Qarāqūsh with the supervision of a fortification program unequalled in the former Fatimid capital. This program led to the construction of a citadel at the top of a hill to the southeast of Cairo (fig. 2), and a twenty-kilometer-long wall surrounding the whole city (fig. 3).[3] Used both as the residence of the new sovereign and as a law court, the citadel symbolized the political preeminence of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and of the Ayyubids over the Fatimid city. It became, moreover, the physical base of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's power in Egypt: it was above all a fortified complex in which Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, his relatives, and his mamluk troops could take refuge in case of an invasion of Cairo by the Franks or a revolt in the city against the new sovereign. The construction of the citadel was part of a larger building program aimed at creating a Muslim counterpoint to Crusader Jerusalem. The Ayyubid capital would thus be able to compete with the Frankish capital by virtue of its defensive system. It validated the political transition between the Fatimids and the Ayyubids, which did not represent a total rejection of the pre-existing fortifications, as the defensive walls built around Cairo by the Fatimids were preserved and surrounded by the Ayyubid ramparts.[4] Therefore, the defensive pragmatism extolled by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn came with the political transition. The extension of the defensive policy to the rest of Egypt, with fortification programs applied to the main coastal positions and on the primary communication routes of the Sinai, symbolized the extension of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's power to the entire former Fatimid province and the emergence of a competitive Muslim territory in the turmoil of the Crusades.

Nonetheless, in Bilād al-Shām, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn did not undertake a fortification policy similar to the one developed in Egypt, mainly due to a difference in the management of power. After having unified almost all of the former Nurid provinces in Bilād al-Shām with the taking of Aleppo in 1183, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn delegated his authority to his most faithful amirs and to his family members. He entrusted former Saljuq and Frankish territories to them as *iqṭā‘* and also delegated to them, as *muqṭa*‘s (*iqṭā‘* holders), the responsibility for the defence of these lands. Thus, delegation of power was accompanied by a delegation of defensive decision-making in which Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who was occupied primarily with the military expeditions

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[2] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawā‘iẓ wa-al-I‘tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār fī Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* trans. Paul Casanova, *Description historique et topographique de l'Egypte* (Cairo, 1920), 4:81, 87.

[3] ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Fayḥ al-Qussī fī al-Fatḥ al-Qudsī (583/1187–589/1193),* ed. M. Maḥmūd Ṣabāḥ (Cairo, 1975), 209.

[4] Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo,* 6–7.

he led against the Franks in the region, only rarely interfered.[5]

Therefore, as for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in Egypt a decade earlier, the fortifications erected by the *muqṭa*ʿs in Bilād al-Shām served to affirm their authority and power over a territory recently subjugated and provided the key to semi-autonomy from the Egyptian central power; indeed, the castles became the residence of the *muqṭaʿ,* received the taxes in coin or in kind, and could shelter the locals in case of threats. A good example of this provincial policy is the *iqṭāʿ* of the Mengüverish amirs, located on the northern Syrian coast. The amirs, who were granted a vast territory by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 1188, reigned for more than eighty years in semi-autonomy and launched private fortification programs through the main castles that protected the borders of their *iqṭā*ʿs, i.e., Ṣahyūn, capital of the *iqṭāʿ ,* Balāṭunus, and Burzayh.[6]

One observes at the end of the twelfth century two facets of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn′s power bound closely to two defensive policies. In Egypt, the Ayyubid conquest of the Fatimid state was followed by a large fortification program in Cairo and in the main strategic zones supervised largely by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. In Bilād al-Shām, the system of *iqṭāʿ* applied on a large scale to the territories taken from the Franks and the Nurids generated private and individual fortification programs led by the *muqṭa*ʿs, who sought military and financial autonomy.

Stage Two: The Crucial Role of Fortification in the Internal Struggles between the Successors of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn during the First Half of the Thirteenth Century

This period saw tensions between Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn′s successors for their supremacy as leaders of the vast Ayyubid empire. Two main centers emerged and remained rivals during the first half of the thirteenth century: the principality of Aleppo, controlled by al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, and the principality of Damascus/Cairo, under the authority of al-ʿĀdil.[7]

The war against the Franks was relegated to the background during this period because of numerous truces and peace treaties; the attention of the two main Ayyubid sovereigns was therefore focused on the development of their own territories within the Ayyubid empire. In this regard, they led policies of centralization of the *iqṭā*ʿs granted at the time of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn that aimed to territorially and politically unify these two main poles of the empire, in order to limit their dissensions and their defensive weaknesses.

Fortification played a major role in these centralization policies of the two

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[5]Anne-Marie Eddé, *La principauté ayyoubide d′Alep (1183–1260)* (Stuttgart, 1999), 279 ff.

[6]Ibid., 266–67.

[7]Ibid., 235.

main Ayyubid princes, insofar as control of the *iqṭā*ʻs was generally symbolized on the ground by the implementation of fortification programs ″sponsored″ by Aleppo, Damascus, or Cairo. These aimed at improving the defensive system of a region, developing the defensive network of the principality, and affirming the sovereign′s power in even the most distant provinces of their territories.

Thus, this empire-wide defensive system appeared mainly as the competition between the two princes of Aleppo and Damascus/Cairo to outdo their respective rival in the quality of a regional defensive system that had to be sufficiently effective in preventing any attack from a neighboring family member. Political and military rivalries generated this defensive emulation, a defensive race internal to the Ayyubid world that encouraged the development of Islamic fortification during this period.

The sites affected by these fortification policies were numerous in Bilād al-Shām: one can mention Aleppo (fig. 4), Ḥārim, Qalʻat Najm, Qalʻat Jaʻbar, al-Shughr-Bakās, Apamea, and Shayzar (fig. 5) for the principality of Aleppo and Damascus, and Bosra, Ṣalkhad, ʻAjlūn, Shawbak, Karak, and Cairo for the principalities of Damascus/Cairo. The Ayyubid princes were quite careful in the execution of these fortification projects, sometimes personally inspecting the progress of work. The supervision of these fortification programs by the princes led to the emergence of standardized characteristics for this maturing practice of Islamic fortification. The sovereigns in particular turned their attention to the main towns of their principalities, Aleppo, Damascus, and Cairo, whose citadels became their place of residence. There they coupled the fortification works with palatial architectural works intended to change these defensive sites into fortified palaces reflecting both their military and political might.

The castle of al-Shughr-Bakās, located in northeast coastal Syria (fig. 6), experienced the ″princely″ defensive policies of this period.[8] Conquered by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn from the Franks in 1188 and granted as an *iqṭā*ʻ to an amir, the site was recovered by the prince of Aleppo, al-Zāhir Ghāzī, shortly after the sultan′s death and after the rebellion of the sons of the amir in 1194. The prince of Aleppo ordered immediately the execution of a major fortification program on the site: from the defensive point of view, the upgrading of the castle by the prince of Aleppo ensured direct control of one of the main roads linking the Ayyubid principality of Aleppo to the Crusader principality of Antioch. From the political point of view, the fortification program increased the power of the prince of Aleppo in the region. Indeed, the improved castle symbolized the authority of the

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[8]Max van Berchem and Edmond Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie* (Cairo, 1914–15), 1:251–59; Paul Deschamps, *Les châteaux des croisés en Terre-Sainte,* vol. 3, *La défense du comté de Tripoli et de la principauté d′Antioche* (Paris, 1973), pt. 1, 349–50.

prince in a region which had been semi-autonomous since its conquest by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 1188.

Some Ayyubid *iqṭā*ʻs and principalities remained in the margins of the policies of the main successors during the first half of the thirteenth century and developed their own defensive programs to strengthen their local power. This was the case in the principalities of Hims and Ḥamāh, in the territory of the Ismaʻilis and in the *iqṭā*ʻ of the Mengüverish amirs on the northern Syrian coast around Ṣahyūn castle. This castle, located around thirty kilometers to the north-east of Latakia, was transformed by the amirs into a scaled-down imitation of the citadel of Aleppo, notably with the building of a palace similar to that built in the citadel of Aleppo by the prince al-Zāhir Ghāzī at the beginning of the thirteenth century (fig. 7).[9]

Stage Three: Mamluk Fortification as the Reflection of Military Supremacy at the End of the Thirteenth Century

The advent of the Mamluks in the second half of the thirteenth century represented the last main turning point of the Crusades with the emergence of a power that took responsibility for subduing the Latin States on the shores of Bilād al-Shām. Following the example of their Ayyubid predecessors, the Mamluks used fortification as a means to establish their power in the provinces of Bilād al-Shām that remained faithful to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's successors and in the regions progressively conquered at the expense of the Crusaders.

In the former Ayyubid territories of Bilād al-Shām and Egypt, the Mamluks sought to recover the former *iqṭā*ʻs and principalities, and gradually replace the *muqṭa*ʻ at his death with a governor, as was the case with the *iqṭā*ʻ of the Mengüverish amirs. Other *iqṭā*ʻs, such as those of the amir of Karak and the Shawbak castles of Jordan, were recovered after military expeditions. This system was also applied to the last Frankish territories and castles conquered during this period, such as Krak des Chevaliers.

The castles served as residences for the Mamluk governors and centralized the political, economic, and military life of the region, as in the Ayyubid period, but the Mamluk sultans were not able to launch fortification programs similar in extent to those of their predecessors. One notable exception was Cairo, where the citadel was re-fortified at the end of the thirteenth century. The main reason for this situation was that the Mamluks generally recovered castles and citadels in good condition, since they tried to conquer them while inflicting as little damage as possible. Dismantling these Ayyubid and Frankish defensive works and eventually replacing them in face of the threat of a Crusader counteroffensive would have

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[9]Yasser Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo* (University Park, PA, 1997), 89–91.

required a heavy investment of time and money. Therefore, the sultans could not symbolize their new authority by building numerous towers and palaces *ex nihilo,* but had to adapt their works to the pre-existing fortifications.

The Mamluks, thus did restore and make defensive improvements to these castles, both to strengthen the sites against a potential threat and to symbolize to the locals the fall of the Ayyubids and the beginning of their own rule. These works were characterized by monumentality and ostentation; they built towers and curtain-walls surpassing the size and defensive efficienty of pre-existing towers, such as in Krak des Chevaliers, Aleppo, and Marqab (fig. 8).

Finally, they demonstrated their political and military superiority by displaying in an ostentatious way the progressive transformation of these castles into palatial residences that had been initiated during Ayyubid times: epigraphical registers with floral and animal-shaped patterns were used liberally on castle walls, in addition to decorative designs around such defensive devices as loopholes and box machicolations (ex. Cairo, Krak des Chevaliers, Marqab) (figs. 9 and 10).[10]

In conclusion, one can observe, between the end of the twelfth and the end of the thirteenth centuries, a significant evolution in the role of fortification as a major political instrument used by the Ayyubids and the Mamluks. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn used fortification as a precious tool in the affirmation of his power in Egypt. In Bilād al-Shām, it allowed him to rely, politically and militarily, on his faithful amirs and relatives while he was occupied with the struggle against the Franks. During the first half of the thirteenth century, fortification was used as a chessboard in a game played between the two main poles of the Ayyubid empire for their own supremacy over Bilād al-Shām and Egypt: every castle or citadel put under the control of a prince was a pawn in this game and, thanks to the improvement of their defensive systems at that time, could be useful both for the protection of the ″king″ and for the acquisition of territory. Finally, for the first Mamluks of the second half of the thirteenth century, fortification was essentially used in support of defensive ingenuity at its apogee and of an artistic expression that went beyond the mere military functionality of the castles. They became strong symbols of a military and political power that spread in progressive and inexorable ways over the whole Bilād al-Shām and Egypt at the end of the Crusades.

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[10]Jean Mesqui, *Quatre châteaux des Hospitaliers: Le Crac des Chevaliers: Le château haut: première et seconde enceinte* (Paris, 2004), 21, 25–26; idem, *Quatre châteaux des Hospitaliers: Qal'at Marqab: Le château* (Paris, 2004), 3.



Fig. 1. Main fortified sites in Bilād al-Shām during the Crusades



Fig. 2. Citadel of Cairo: Al-Ramlah and al-Ḥaddād Ayyubid towers on the eastern front



Fig. 3. Ayyubid wall of Cairo: Al-Maḥrūq tower near the north-eastern side of the wall



Fig. 4. Citadel of Aleppo: Ayyubid gate-tower (Mamluk upper part)



Fig. 5. Citadel of Shayzar: Ayyubid and Mamluk keep



Fig. 6. Al-Shughr-Bakās castle: Western view of the Ayyubid castle of Bakās



Fig. 7. Ṣahyūn castle: Portal of the Ayyubid palace



Fig. 8. Marqab castle: Mamluk tower on the southern front

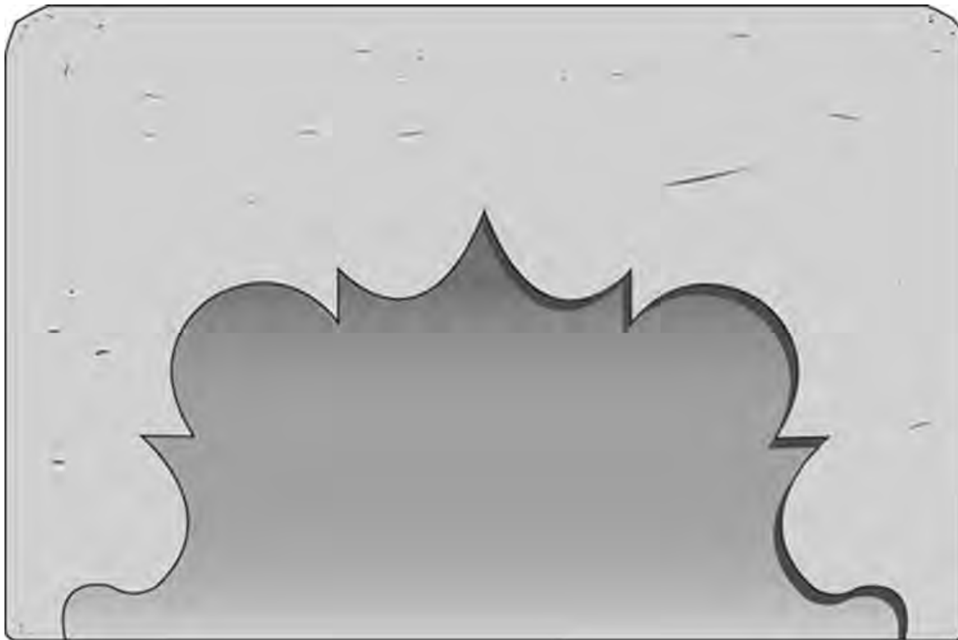


Fig. 9. Krak des Chevaliers: Arabesque pattern engraved on the upper lintels of the Mamluk loopholes



Fig. 10. Marqab castle: Decorative alternation of basalt and limestone courses on the facing of the Mamluk box machicolations

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Practice and Reform in Fourteenth-Century Damascene Madrasahs

Prior to the Mamluk period, Damascus suffered a series of political and economic crises which underscored its already diminished status. It had been an object of contention between the Fatimids in Cairo and the Abbasids in Baghdad, each seeing the city as an advance post against the other. The insertion of the Saljuq Turks and the Crusaders into this equation did not make matters any easier for Damascus and its inhabitants. Relative stability and prosperity, however, were slowly regained with the arrival of Nūr al-Dīn Zangī who made Damascus the capital of his realm in 1154. And despite minor setbacks during the following century, when the Ayyubids ruled Egypt and Syria, Damascus continued to grow in importance in the cultural life of the region, especially after the fall of Baghdad (1258), as a center for Sunni (and Sufi) education with its ever expanding number of madrasahs and *khānqāh*s. This role was further enhanced during the Mamluk period as these sultans relied on an Arabic-speaking bureaucracy. During the Mamluk period, Damascus became the capital of the province, and as the most important city in Syria, it played a crucial role in the formulation of post-Abbasid culture.[1]

Although by no means the only venue to transmit knowledge, the madrasah became an important cultural institution whose role went beyond that of a place for higher education. Recent literature suggests different social and political roles and raises further questions that need to be answered in an effort to fully comprehend the role the madrasah played during the medieval period.[2] While preparing an edition of *Tārīkh al-Jazarī* comprised of all available fragments,[3] I came upon,

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[1]This is one of a series of pieces that I will undertake based on *Tārīkh al-Jazarī*. I am grateful to the National Endowment for the Humanities and the ARCE for the fellowship that allowed me to do this research during 2004/5. For the importance of the Mamluks to Arabic and Arab culture, see Linda Northrup, "The Bahri Mamluk Sultanate, 1250–1390," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt,* vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt 640–1517,* ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 254 f.

[2]For a critical assessment of the role of the madrasah in Damascus, see Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (Cambridge, 1994). See also Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton, 1992). A history of the institution may be found in George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh, 1981).

[3]Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Anbā'ihi wa-Wafāyāt al-Akābir wa-al-A'yān min Abnā'ihi.* I am working with five fragments of the manuscript: Gotha

among other things, continuous reference in the narrative of events and in the obituaries of some noteworthy individuals to madrasahs in Damascus, their teachers, when they were appointed or were transferred, and who replaced whom, among other relevant information that might shed further light on the institution, at least during the years covered by the remaining fragments. At this time, only selected reports will be highlighted that refer to practices related to the madrasah institution and mention attempts to reform some abuses that were associated with it.

New Institutions

While Pouzet could count 94 madrasahs in Damascus by 1300,[4] more were built after that. What remains of al-Jazarī´s manuscript unfortunately does not cover the first twenty-five years of the fourteenth century but only the years from 1325 to 1338 (725–38 A.H.). Al-Jazarī tells of the dedication of several madrasahs and mausolea. One madrasah was a modest establishment and the others more grand. Inaugurated on 14 Dhū al-Qaʻdah 726, the Madrasah Ḥimṣīyah, not to be confused with the venerable Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ḥimṣīyah, was a small one. It was located opposite the Shāmīyah Juwwānīyah and came into being barely four months after the death of the person who endowed it. One teacher, Muḥyī al-Dīn, known as Qāḍī ʻAkkār, began teaching there.[5]

The founder of Dār al-Qur'ān al-Sinjārīyah, the well-to-do merchant ʻAlā' al-Dīn ʻAlī al-Sinjārī, died suddenly on Thursday, 13 Jumādá II 735, while in Cairo. He had earlier established the Madrasah Sinjārīyah in Damascus, opposite the Bāb al-Naṭṭāfīn, one of the northern gates of the Umayyad Mosque. The endowment provided for a group of Quran reciters and students as well as for the teaching of hadith.[6]

Another madrasah is Dār al-Qur'ān wa-al-Ḥadīth, established, built, and endowed by *(ansha'ahā wa-ʻammarahā wa-waqafahā)* Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Harrānī, known as Ibn al-Ṣabbāb. He was a wealthy traveling merchant *(tājir saffār)*. This madrasah was sufficiently endowed to have a hadith

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MSS A1559, A1560; and A1561; Bibliothèque Nationale MS A6739; Köprülü Zadeh MS 1037. There has been a recent edition of the manuscript by ʻUmar Tadmurī (*Tārīkh Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Anbā'ihi wa-Wafāyāt al-Akābir wa-al-Aʻyān min Abnā'ihi al-Maʻrūf bi-Tārīkh Ibn al-Jazarī: Juz' fīhi [min Wafāyāt Sanat 689 ḥattá Ḥawādith Sanat 699 H]* [Beirut, 1998]), but he does not incorporate the Gotha fragments. However, citations to al-Jazarī in this article will be made to Tadmurī´s edition as a more readily available reference.

[4]Louis Pouzet, *Damas au VIIe–XIIIe siècle: vie et structures religieuses d'une métropole islamique* (Beirut, 1988), 426.

[5]Al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān*, 2:122. Al-Nuʻaymī has it opposite the Shāmīyah Barrānīyah (*Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris,* ed. Ibrāhīm Shams al-Dīn [Beirut, 1990], 1:174).

[6]Al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān*, 3:804.

scholar and students *(shaykh li-samā' al-ḥadīth wa-mustami'ūn)*. The five prayers as well as the special *tarāwīḥ* prayers were to be performed there. It was located opposite the Madrasah 'Ādilīyah al-Kabīrah and its inauguration was on Tuesday, 1 Ramaḍān 738.[7]

The mausoleum *(turbah)* had developed, as an institution supported by *waqf,* during the Mamluk period and referred to a complex structure that housed the tomb and included a mosque and facilities for the staff. Some included a Sufi convent. Often, a *turbah* could also include a madrasah. The size and facilities attached to the *turbah* depended on the station of the benefactor and the size and purpose of the endowment. Thus, a *turbah,* in its manifold manifestations, was among the various types of institutions where knowledge was exchanged. The following reports found in al-Jazarī illustrate the construction of some mausolea in Damascus.

A mausoleum was built by the merchant Amīn al-Dīn 'Uthmān ibn 'Umar, known also as al-Buṣṣ, who died on 7 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 731. The mausoleum was outside the Jābiyah Gate on the site of an older mosque that was knocked down and rebuilt with a minaret and a burial room next to it. Attached to the walls of the mosque, he built upper chambers and shops *('alālī wa-ḥawānīt)* and made their income *waqf* for the mosque. He also endowed a chair for the teaching of hadith. Amīn al-Dīn 'Uthmān also built a *khān* (or inn) in al-Muzayrib (a village in the Ḥawrān, south of Damascus) with a mosque and a minaret. A prayer leader and a caretaker, among others, were to take care of the place and the travelers who stayed there for the night. They were to light ten candles for each boarder. The total cost of Amīn al-Dīn's endowment was about 250,000 dirhams.[8]

Another mausoleum was built for the Mamluk amir Sayf al-Dīn Balabān, also known as Ṭurnā. He died on 21 Rabī' I 734 and left a great deal of money, of which 30,000 dirhams were set aside for the building of the *turbah* and the attached mosque and to buy whatever was needed for them. The imam of the mosque was to receive 30 dirhams, the muezzin 30 dirhams, and the caretaker 30 dirhams. The mausoleum and the mosque each had windows made of iron that opened to the street and were inside the city walls, near the Umayyad Mosque. They were adjacent to his former residence.[9]

A friend and a neighbor of al-Jazarī when he lived near Bāb al-Khawwāṣīn, Najm al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Raḥbī was a very wealthy merchant. He died on Wednesday, 27 Jumādá II 735. He built a mausoleum and a mosque in the area of Mazzah, where his endowment supported a group of residents and caretakers. One

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[7]Ibid., 1027.

[8]Ibid., 2:508.

[9]Ibid., 3:698.

third of his wealth (50,000 dirhams) went to buy property whose income was designated for charity.[10]

MEDICINE AND THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES

It is thought that the madrasah institution was specifically established for the teaching of religious sciences, and especially *fiqh* (law). While that might be true of some institutions, in others subjects such as medicine were taught alongside the religious sciences, often by the same individuals. Also, just as in the teaching of religious sciences, the approach to the teaching of physical sciences was similarly varied to include the formal and the informal types of education practiced at the time. Al-Jazarī provides the following reports which illustrate this complexity. ʻImād al-Dīn Abū Bakr ʻUthmān al-Ḥanafī, known as ʻImād al-Ḥayawān, was a physician at the Bīmāristān al-Ṣāliḥīyah as well as the Bīmāristān al-Nūrī. He also taught Hanafi law in the Hanafi schools.[11] ʻIzz al-Dīn Abū ʻAlī ibn Zufar, from Irbil, was a physician by training and experience who studied and worked in Baghdad, Tabriz, and other cities in the east. He came to Damascus in 692 and became a Sufi. He must have passed certain requirements for he was recommended to the authorities and he was finally given permission to practice medicine *(thumma innahu zukkiya wa-udhina lahu fī mubasharat al-ṭibb)*. He, however, was in a quandary and could not take off his Sufi garb and decided to forsake his profession.[12] Najm al-Dīn ʻAbd al-Raḥīm ibn al-Raḥmān, known as Ibn al-Shaḥḥām, passed away in the Madrasah Jārūkhīyah[13] on Tuesday, Rabīʻ II 730. This Shafiʻi scholar, originally from Mosul, left his home town as a youth and traveled around before he settled in Baghdad in pursuit of knowledge *(wa-aqāma bi-Baghdād yashtaghilu bi-al-ʻilm).* He then ″stayed awhile″ in the Sarāy Madrasah of Uzbek Khan. Najm al-Dīn came to Damascus in 724. He must have been well known by then for he was immediately given the *tadrīs* (teaching assignment) in the Madrasah Ẓāhirīyah, which is outside the city wall. The *mashyakhah* of the Palace Khānqāh and the *tadrīs* in the Madrasah Jārūkhīyah were added later to his duties.[14] Najm al-Dīn′s obituary indicates that he was an expert in law and medicine, in keeping with the traditions of the school. This madrasah was built for Abū al-Qāsim Maḥmūd ibn al-Mubārak, known as al-Mujīr al-Wāsiṭī al-Baghdādī, who studied *fiqh* at the Niẓāmīyah of Baghdad with Abū Manṣūr ibn al-Razzāz. He was also the *muʻīd* (teaching assistant) for al-Imām Abū al-Najīb al-Suhrawardī. Where or with whom

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[10] Ibid., 805.

[11] Ibid., 2:347–48.

[12] Ibid., 146.

[13] Al-Nuʻaymī, *Tārīkh al-Madāris,* 2:169.

[14] Al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 2:414.

he studied medicine, al-Jazarī does not say, but after Abū al-Qāsim came to Damascus and took over the Jārūkhīyah, he seems to have taught medicine in the school *(wa-nashara bihā al-ṭibb)*. Medicine, in addition, was also taught at the Madrasah Dunaysirīyah, right next to the Bīmāristān al-Nūrī (the main Damascene hospital), at the Labbūdīyah Nijmīyah, and at the Madrasah Dakhwārīyah whose founder was the teacher of such medical experts as Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah and Ibn al-Nafīs.[15]

The teaching of hard sciences or professional training related to medical practice was not always done in a madrasah. It was done also by apprenticeship. Badr al-Dīn Abū ʿAlī al-Kaḥḥāl came from a family of oculists. His father and grandfather were both oculists *(kaḥḥāl)*. Badr al-Dīn, who passed away on Friday, 3 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 726, also had knowledge of surgery. Naturally enough, when Badr al-Dīn grew old (he lived to be a hundred) and his hand became unsteady, his son Muḥammad began to practice the profession under the supervision of his father *(fa-kāna waladuhu Muḥammad yukaḥḥil wa-yudāwī al-jarḥá wa-al-marḍá bi-ḥuḍūrihi wa-ishāratihi)*. It would be natural to assume that Muḥammad also read medical books with his father. Other students, al-Jazarī says, ″read and apprenticed″ with Badr al-Dīn, among them *(mimman qaraʾa ʿalayhi wa-ishtaghala ʿindahu)* Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, the head oculist and surgeon *(raʾīs al-kaḥḥālīn wa-al-jarāʾihīyah)*. His son, Jamāl al-Dīn, was then the chief of physicians *(raʾīs al-aṭṭibbāʾ)* in Damascus.[16]

Another near-contemporary oculist passed away four years later on Saturday, 15 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 730. Zayn al-Dīn Ayyūb ibn Niʿmah al-Nābulsī resided, presumably as a student, in the Madrasah Shāmīyah that was outside the city walls *(al-Barrānīyah)*, where he ″memorized *Kitāb al-Luqṭah fī al-Tanbih*″ and audited *(samiʿa) Kitāb al-Adab* of al-Bayhaqī. But when he saw his neighbor, Ismāʿīl ibn al-ʿAbbādī al-Kaḥḥāl, practicing his profession, Zayn al-Dīn liked what he saw and decided to become a *kaḥḥāl* himself. So he studied with yet another oculist, Muḥyī al-Dīn Ṭāhir al-Kaḥḥāl, among others, for a ″short period″ before he started his own practice. He seems to have done well and grew rich as a result. But when Ghāzān Khān attacked Damascus in 700, he fled, with many others including al-Jazarī himself, to Cairo, where he stayed for twenty-two years. His fame and fortune increased there due to the demand for his profession *(wa-nafaqa sūquhu wa-ḥaṣala lahu ḥaẓẓ fī ṣināʿatihi)*. He served the sultan and accompanied him on the hunt. When he returned to Damascus his reputation had already been enhanced and the students flocked to study with him *(wa-qaṣadahu al-ṭalabah*

[15]Al-Nuʿaymī, *Tārīkh al-Madāris,* 2:100–8.

[16]Al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 2:167–68.

wa-akhadhū ʻanhu).[17]

Al-Jazarī provides the following reports regarding the teaching of other sciences. ʻAlā' al-Dīn ʻAlī ibn ʻUthmān, known as al-Ṭuyūrī al-Ḥāsib, was a professional witness specializing in assessing property values *(yashhadu fī qiyam al-amlāk)* who started out teaching in a *maktab* but eventually had a study circle *(ḥalqah)* in the Umayyad Mosque. A group of students benefited from ʻAlā' al-Dīn's extensive knowledge *(al-yad al-ṭūlá)* in calculus, algebra, *muqābalah* (collating, equations), and geometry *(wa-ishtaghala ʻalayhi jamāʻah fī al-ḥisāb wa-al-jabr wa-al-muqābalah wa-al-handasah, wa-kāna lahu maktab fī awwal amrihi wa-baʻdu ṣāra lahu ḥalqah bi-jāmiʻ Dimashq).*[18] Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʻAlī, the muezzin and *muwaqqit* (time-keeper) in Karīm mosque in the Qubaybāt, was an expert astrologer, astronomer, and maker of astrolabes. He studied astronomy with Zayn al-Dīn ibn al-Muraḥḥil (a deputy Shafiʻi judge, see below). In turn, Quṭb al-Dīn taught many students these same subjects.[19]

Movement

It is not unusual to read in the obituaries that someone died while a resident in a madrasah. Al-Nuwayrī (d. 732), author of *Nihāyat al-Arab,* for example, reports that his father was born in one madrasah and died in another. He passed away while in the Maliki lecture hall of the Najmīyah Madrasah in Cairo. But although some positions seem to be assigned for life, there was also a considerable movement of scholars from one madrasah to another. And it is worthwhile to notice that the authorities responsible for these appointments took special care not to leave a post vacant in case of death or transfer. Al-Jazarī usually says *wa-aʻṭū* (they gave, or they assigned), yet he does not make clear who "they" refers to. (However, the authorities in this instance would usually consist of officials who administer the endowments, each of the chief judges or their deputies, and other relevant government officials.) Some of these appointments could be considered lateral moves, others seem to be promotions.

When al-Jazarī died on Friday, 7 Jumādá II 729, in his residence at the Madrasah Badrā'īyah, he was replaced by Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-ʻAbbās Ibn Jahbal, who inaugurated his own lectures there a week later on Monday, 15 Jumādá II. Ibn Jahbal, a scion of a family of learning, vacated his post at the Madrasah Ẓāhirīyah. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Dhahabī took his place there and inaugurated his own lectures two days later, on Wednesday, 17 Jumādá II. This lecture was attended by the chief Shafiʻi judge of Damascus, ʻAlā' al-Dīn al-Qūnawī,

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[17]Ibid., 444–45.

[18]Ibid., 156.

[19]Ibid., 370.

and a group of hadith and law scholars. Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Dhahabī (a Shafiʻi himself) had been a preacher *(khaṭīb)* in the mosque of Kafar Baṭná for nearly twenty-six years, having been appointed there in Ṣafar 703. To take over his duties in Kafar Baṭná, Jamāl al-Dīn ibn al-Masallātī, a Maliki, was appointed. He assumed his duties on Friday, 19 Jumādá II, in the presence of a group of judges and other notables who attended his inaugural sermon. A division of duties was agreed upon in this instance where the sons of Ibn al-Dhahabī occupied the post of leading the prayer *(imāmah)* while Ibn al-Masallātī assumed the duty of preaching only.[20] Ibn al-Masallātī was soon after appointed shaykh of the Khānqāh al-Shihābīyah when the previous shaykh died and the post became vacant.

The chief Shafiʻi judge al-Qūnawī passed away on 14 Dhū al-Qaʻdah 729. One of his posts, that of *mashyakhat al-shuyūkh,* was assigned to Sharaf al-Dīn al-Hamdanī, who assumed his post at the Khānqāh al-Sumaysaṭīyah. However, the new chief judge, ʻAlam al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ikhnāʼī, was transferred from Alexandria. He journeyed to Damascus and assumed his new post in less than two months, on Friday, 1 Ṣafar 730. Two days later, al-Ikhnāʼī inaugurated his lectures at two locations, at the Madrasah Ghazālīyah and the Madrasah ʻĀdilīyah. As usual in such cases, deputies or substitutes were appointed. One was Zayn al-Dīn Ibn al-Muraḥḥil, known also as Ibn Wakīl Bayt al-Māl; he had been at the Madrasah ʻAdhrāwīyah ever since 6 Shaʻbān 725, when he came from Cairo to replace the departing Ibn al-Zamalkānī who had been promoted to chief Shafiʻi judge of Aleppo and thus had to leave several posts behind. Another of his posts at the Madrasah Masrūrīyah was filled by Jamāl al-Dīn ibn al-Sharīshī. To take Ibn al-Sharīshī's place at the Ribāṭ al-Nāṣirī, Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥasan was transferred from Tripoli.[21]

Another deputy appointed by al-Ikhnāʼī was Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-ʻAbbās Aḥmad al-ʻUthmānī. He, however, died very soon afterward. Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn Jahbal, nephew of the above-mentioned Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Jahbal, was then appointed deputy and assumed his duties on Wednesday, 29 Jumādá I 730.[22] Chief Judge al-Ikhnāʼī was soon to assume a teaching post at another school. When two of the teachers at the Madrasah Ṣārimīyah, Najm al-Dīn Hāshim al-Tanūkhī al-Baʻlbakī and Najm al-Dīn Hāshim al-Taʻlīlī, died, the one in Jumādá II and the other in Rajab, al-Ikhnāʼī took over their duties as a supervisor and a teacher, respectively.[23]

Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Jumlah was appointed chief Shafiʻi judge in Rabīʻ I 733 and

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[20]Ibid., 325.

[21]Ibid., 75, 78.

[22]Ibid., 378 f.

[23]Ibid., 464, 493.

the letter of appointment arrived fifteen days later. On the following Sunday, it was read in the governor's residence in the presence of other judges. Everyone then went to the Madrasah ʻĀdilīyah, where the letter of appointment was read again *(quriʻa taqlīduhu thānī marratan)*. As part of the duties of the chief Shafiʻi judge, Ibn Jumlah taught at the Madrasah ʻĀdilīyah and the Madrasah Ghazālīyah. His post as *muʻīd* (teaching assistant) at the Madrasah Qaymarīyah (or Qaymāzīyah) was taken over by his nephew Maḥmūd. Ibn Jumlah appointed (or confirmed) Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn Jahbal as his deputy *(nā'ib al-ḥukm)* which meant that he taught at the Madrasah Atabakīyah. But within six months Muḥyī al-Dīn was promoted and sent to Tripoli to become its chief Shafiʻi judge. Ibn Jumlah took over the teaching duties at the Atabakīyah, presumably until the new deputy, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Kāmil al-Tadmurī, arrived from Hebron where he had had the duties of preaching and leading the prayers.[24] Ibn Jumlah remained in his post for nearly a year and a half when he became embroiled in a bribery scandal, after which he was stripped of his position and imprisoned in the Madrasah ʻAdhrāwīyah (Shawwāl 734; more on this incident below). His duties as chief judge and teacher at the ʻĀdilīyah, Ghazālīyah, and Atabakīyah were assigned to Shihāb al-Dīn ibn ʻAbd Allāh, who retained his own teaching post at the Madrasah Iqbālīyah because it was his place of original residence. Accordingly, the new Shafiʻi chief judge had teaching posts at four schools. In the meanwhile, Ibn Jumlah was transferred to the Citadel, where he remained in prison until 13 Ṣafar 736. When Ibn Jumlah was released, he joined his family, which had been residing all the while at the Madrasah Masrūrīyah.[25]

There are other examples of this movement from one madrasah to another. ʻImād al-Dīn ibn al-Ṭarsūsī began teaching at the Madrasah Muqaddamīyah on Sunday, 23 Rabīʻ I 738. He vacated his post at the Madrasah Qaymāzīyah, which was filled by ʻAlā' al-Dīn ibn al-ʻIzz al-Ḥanafī, who had been the preacher at the Afram Mosque. ʻAlā' al-Dīn was also previously a teacher at the Madrasah Qillījīyah, a post which he left to be filled by another ʻAlā' al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, a Hanafi, Sufi shaykh (not to be confused with the deceased chief judge). All this movement took place within three days.[26]

Death and transfer were not the only causes of replacement. Quick appointments to the vacant posts were made here also. When the celebrated Hanbali scholar Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Taymīyah was arrested, his teaching post at the Madrasah Ḥanbalīyah was assigned to Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad, known as Ibn al-Jābī. He is said to have acquitted himself well in his inaugural lecture, which

[24]Ibid., 3:592, 600, 602–3.

[25]Ibid., 591, 674, 855.

[26]Ibid., 1016, 1017.

was attended by a number of qadis and notables.[27] In another instance, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Miṣrī had been in Aleppo when he was recalled due to his name being associated with a financial scandal. He arrived back on Thursday, 10 Jumādá I 738, and the very next day he was arrested, stripped of his posts at the Madrasah ʻĀdilīyah and the Dawlaʻīyah. He was accused of participating in a shady sugar deal that became known after the head of the chancery *(kātib al-sirr),* ʻAlam al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Quṭb, was arrested on accusations of embezzlement. It was rumored that the sugar could be found in the residence of Fakhr al-Dīn at the Madrasah ʻĀdilīyah. Thereupon, his residence was searched *(wa-kabasū baytahu)* but the sugar did not turn up. Unlike in the case of Ibn Jumlah′s family, the authorities ordered Fakhr al-Dīn′s family out of the residence, sealed it, and sealed all of his other properties. With Ibn al-Quṭb in prison and Fakhr al-Dīn in disgrace, a third individual was sought. Al-Amīn al-Sukkārī admitted that they had bought *qand* for the amount of 12 thousand dirhams and they processed it into sugar *(ishtarayna qand bi-ithnay ʻasharah alf dirham, wa-ʻamilnāhu sukkar)*. He further stated that one third was to go to him, one third to Ibn al-Quṭb, and one third to Fakhr al-Dīn. At that, Ibn al-Quṭb was beaten and jailed in the Citadel, while Fakhr al-Dīn was imprisoned in the Madrasah ʻAdhrāwīyah, where other ″scholars″ had been held prisoner at the same time. Fakhr al-Dīn′s post at the ʻĀdilīyah was assigned to Ibn al-Naqīb, while the post at the Dawlaʻīyah was assigned to the rehabilitated Ibn Jumlah. Fakhr al-Dīn was finally released after 100 days of confinement and only after an order for his release came from the sultan in Cairo. There is no word that he recovered his posts. We are told, however, that he lived in a house that was loaned to him *(aʻārahu iyyāhu)* by a teacher at the Madrasah Nāṣirīyah.[28]

The movement from one post to another did not stop here. Ibn Jumlah, who was assigned to the Madrasah Dawlaʻīyah after his rehabilitation, was soon transferred to the Madrasah Shāmīyah Barrānīyah (outside the city walls). The imam of Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ashrafīyah, Shams al-Dīn al-Yamanī was appointed in Ibn Jumlah′s place at the Dawlaʻīyah. Zayn al-Dīn ibn al-Muraḥḥil, whose death necessitated the transfer of Ibn Jumlah in the first place, left a young son who was presumed to take over the teaching duties at yet another school, the Madrasah ʻAdhrāwīyah. As the boy was too young and unqualified for the post, Nūr al-Dīn al-Ardabīlī was appointed to the post until the boy grew up and acquired the qualifications necessary for teaching *(ilá ḥaythu yakbar wa-yata'ahhal lil-tadrīs)*.[29]

While the son of Ibn al-Muraḥḥil inherited only one of his father′s assigned

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[27]Ibid., 2:122.

[28]Ibid., 3:1018, 1020, 1027, 1030.

[29]Ibid., 1018–20, 1026, 1032.

posts, sometimes several posts, as well as the governmental appointments that originated the entitlement, were kept in the family. Just as the position of chief Shafiʻi judge entitled the position holder to teach at the Madrasah ʻĀdilīyah and the Madrasah Ghazālīyah, it seems that other positions had their associated posts as well. Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad, scion of the Damascene Ibn al-Qalānisī family, came from a long line of Shafiʻi notables. He studied hadith, together with our author al-Jazarī, under Ibn al-Bukhārī, among other scholars of the day. He also studied *fiqh* with Tāj al-Dīn al-Farkah and grammar with his own brother Sharaf al-Dīn. He was employed in the chancery for a time. Later, he was appointed treasurer *(wakīl bayt al-māl)* of Damascus as well as *qāḍī askar,* a dual post usually held simultaneously by a Shafiʻi and a Hanafi scholar. Jamāl al-Dīn ibn al-Qalānisī taught at the Madrasah Asadīyah, the Madrasah Ẓāhirīyah, the Madrasah Amīnīyah, and the Madrasah ʻAsrūnīyah.[30] Jamāl al-Dīn passed away on Monday, 28 Dhū al-Qaʻdah 731. Within a month, a *marsūm* (an official letter of appointment) arrived with the post on Tuesday, 26 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 731, appointing ʻAlā' al-Dīn ibn al-Qalānisī, brother of the deceased, to all of his vacated official as well as teaching posts *(jamīʻ manāsib akhīhi Jamāl al-Dīn . . . wikālat bayt al-māl, wa-qaḍā' al ʻasākir al-manṣūrah, wa-tadrīs al-madrasah al-Amīnīyah, wa-al-Ẓāhirīyah wa-al-madrasah al-ʻAsrūnīyah, wa-ghayrihā).* This same ʻAlā' al-Dīn ibn al-Qalānisī had been appointed to several positions a few months earlier, such as the supervision of the Bīmāristān al-Nūrī. Thus, by the end of the year ʻAlā' al-Dīn came to hold several sensitive official and associated teaching posts. The continuity of the Ibn al-Qalānisī line in government and madrasah positions is secured not only by having a family *waqf,* but also by incorporating younger members of the family into this structure. As an example, ʻAlā' al-Dīn declined at least two posts in favor of his nephew: teaching at the Madrasah ʻAṣrūnīyah and the management of the wealth of the sons al-Ẓāhir Baybars *(nazala li-ibn akhīhi al-ṣadr Amīn al-Dīn ibn Jamāl al-Dīn ʻan tadrīs al-madrasah al-ʻAsrūnīyah wa-ʻan naẓar tirkat awlād al-Sulṭān al-Mālik al-Ẓāhir).* Amīn al-Dīn inaugurated his own lectures *(dhakara al-dars)* at the Madrasah ʻAṣrūnīyah on Wednesday, 6 Muḥarram 732.[31]

Reform Initiatives

By the eighth/fourteenth century, the institution of the madrasah had seen over three hundred years of growth and development. An enormous amount of energy and resources were dedicated to its maintenance and also to insure that the benefits continued to reach society. As we have seen, by the middle of the fourteenth

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[30]Ibid., 507, 508.

[31]Ibid., 2:457, 472, 507, 515.

century there were nearly a hundred madrasahs in Damascus, large and small. Al-Nuʿaymī (d. 978/1570) lists 152 madrasahs in Damascus, other than the 500 or so mosques and the numerous *ribāṭ*s and *khānqāh*s, where instruction, usually of a Sufi orientation, also took place. The greater majority of these institutions were founded in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. That the institution had become so ubiquitous in the Islamic world is indicated by al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), who lists 73 madrasahs on the Cairo street known as Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, the site of the old Fatimid palace.[32] Abuses were bound to crop up due to the large number of institutions, personnel, and amount of money dedicated to this institution. We have seen how the position could be abused as in the cases of Ibn Jumlah and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Miṣrī. George Makdisi reports on several practices such as divisibility of posts and multiplicity of posts. Makdisi refers to Ibn Taymīyah who criticized these practices in the form of *fatwá*s. Makdisi also sites Abū Shāmah (d. 665/1268), who wrote a long poem denouncing some of the abuses that had become prevalent even earlier in his day.[33] The following cases related by al-Jazarī shed further light on this issue and explain some of the steps taken to correct these abuses.

Sayf al-Dīn Tankiz al-Nāṣirī, the governor of Damascus *(nā'ib al-sulṭān),* was visiting the Madrasah Qillījīyah, which was next to his residence, during the early days of Rabīʿ I 729 when he saw iron locks on several rooms (*buyūt,* lit. houses). He asked the supervisors of the madrasah if such rooms belonged to the teachers of law *(fuqahā')* at the school itself. One replied that the rooms belonged to Fakhr al-Dīn ibn Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī. He continued by saying that they stored in them cloth *(qimāsh)* and other wares *(ḥawā'ij)*. Fakhr al-Dīn was summoned and was criticized for his actions as they were taking away rooms from the *fuqahā'* of the school, given that he owned other places around the city for storage *(wa-ankara ʿalayhi li-kawn lahum qāʿah wa-mawāḍiʿ).* It turned out that Fakhr al-Dīn was not alone. The governor then issued an order to the inspector of endowments *(mushidd al-awqāf)* to demand rent from everyone who had a (store) room in a madrasah in which he was not a *faqīh.* Rent was to be assessed from the day each room was occupied. Honorable and highly-regarded assessors *(ʿudūl al-qīmah)* were assembled to estimate the value and on Wednesday, 26 Rabīʿ I 729 it was decreed *(rasamū)* that the following should pay what the assessors had determined: Shams al-Dīn ibn Ḥumayd, who was the colleague of Fakhr al-Dīn in the Dīwān al-Jaysh, 600 dirhams; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn al-Muhadhdhib, 630 dirhams; the sons of ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Ḥanafī, 400 dirhams; Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn al-Qaṣṣāʿ, 400 dirhams; al-Khallāṭī, 400 dirhams. All of these individuals were found in the Madrasah

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[32]Al-Nuʿaymī, *Tārīkh al-Madāris,* index.

[33]Makdisi, *Rise of Colleges,* 161–71. On Abū Shāmah and his poem, see ibid., 171.

ʻAzīzīyah. Unfortunately, al-Jazarī does not mention what happened to Fakhr al-Dīn and his colleagues at the Qillījīyah. However, he says that some rooms and adjacent structures were knocked down to create a long covered and carpeted walkway *(dihlīz)* from the madrasah to the Umayyad Mosque. It is not clear how this would help prevent the abuse from recurring, except maybe in creating a large and continuous space instead of compartments: students could come and go unhindered. The authorities followed up with others in similar circumstances *(tatabbaʻū bāqī al-nās alladhīna hum sukkān al-madāris).* Although the effort seemed extensive, al-Jazarī mentions one more name in particular, Muḥammad al-Khashshāb, known also as al-Bahlawān, who had to pay 100 dirhams.[34]

Another reform came in response to an order from the sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad himself. A *marsūm* arrived in Damascus in early Dhū al-Ḥijjah 727. Shortly thereafter, on Friday, 6 Dhū al-Ḥijjah, the governor assembled the four chief judges, other teachers, and Sufis, and had the sultan′s letter read to the gathering. The letter asked that the deed document *(waqfīyah)* of each madrasah, inside and outside of the Damascus city walls, must be examined to make sure that the madrasah functioned exactly as stipulated in the document. Anyone who did not meet the qualifications *(shurūṭ)* stipulated by the benefactor must be dismissed. Only those who met the stipulations, including those who held non-teaching positions, could be retained. A ″committee″ made up of the four chief judges, the treasurer *(wakīl bayt al-māl),* the supervisor and the inspector of the endowments *(nāẓir al-awqāf wa-mushidduhā),* the accounts controller *(mustawfī),* and a group of *fuqahā'* and teachers began a systematic reading of all the *waqfīyah*s, an activity that took place everyday between the noon prayer and the afternoon prayer until the month of Ṣafar the following year (nearly the two months of Dhū al-Ḥijjah and Muḥarram).

The first madrasah that was examined was al-ʻĀdilīyah and then al-Ghazālīyah (the madrasahs of the Shafiʻi chief judge), but nothing untoward was found there. The deed document of the Madrasah Shāmīyah Juwwānīyah stipulated that the law professor must board in the school *(sharṭuhā al-mabīt)* and the condition was made that all the teachers must sleep in the school if they were to remain employed. The deed document of the Shāmīyah Juwwānīyah stipulated the employment of 20 professors, in addition to other teaching posts, such as teaching assistants, and non-teaching functions such as prayer leader and the one who calls to prayer. The committee found 190 *faqīh*s and thus had to dismiss a total of 130. Leaving 60 behind did not comply with the conditions of the *waqfīyah,* but it must have been a difficult compromise because there was a great deal of commotion and unhappiness as a result of this action.

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[34]Al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 2:320–21.

Three of the Hanafi schools that were examined also stipulated boarding. These were the Madrasah Khātūnīyah Barrānīyah, the Madrasah Muqadamīyah inside the Farādīs Gate, and the Madrasah Khātūnīyah which is inside the city walls. In addition to boarding, the deeds stipulated that additional prayers must be performed on top of the five ordinary prayers. Al-Jazarī says that as a result of this examination many teachers were dismissed. Only 30 professors remained in these madrasahs where once they had 200, or 150, etc.[35]

Local self-initiated reform attempts were also reported by al-Jazarī. On Wednesday, 22 Jumādá II 725 the chief Shafi'i judge, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, presided over a committee made up of the *nāẓir al-awqāf* (Shams al-Dīn al-Harrānī), the *mushidd al-awqāf* (Nāṣir al-Dīn Bakr), and the *mustawfī*. Apparently, there have been several complaints from the unhappy trustees of the madrasahs because the *waqf* income was insufficient, due to low prices and presumably meager profits. Some even expressed their complaints by writing to the sultan in Cairo and to the governor in Damascus. Perhaps to forestall government interference, al-Jazarī says that the Shafi'is surveyed the schools and inspected them *(arākūhā [rawk] wa-kashafū 'alayhim)*. They found lecturers with thirteen posts, others with twelve, eleven, or ten, and more or less *(wa-qalīl wa-kathīr)*. The committee called all the Shafi'is who had been assigned residence in the various madrasahs *(wa-ḥaḍara fuqahā' al-shāfi'īyah al-munazzalūna fī al-madāris)*. They gathered nearly 600 individuals. The decision was taken to reduce the number of posts held by an individual to three or four posts and to base the salary on the total of stipends gathered from each *(wa-yakūn bi-al-mablūm alladhī yatanāwalahu fī al-majmū')*. Al-Jazarī says that what was said and discussed at this unhappy occasion was too much to explain *(wa-jāra fuṣūl yaṭūl sharḥuhā)* and no one was happy with the outcome *(wa-infaṣala al-jamī' wa-kulluhum ghayr rāḍin)*.[36]

There were other instances when lecturers were dismissed from their posts based on local initiative as indicated by the following account, although this time it seems that the dismissal was unilateral and the implication is that the action was unjust. Al-Jazarī, furthermore, does not report the circumstances or why the lecturers were dismissed. The chief Shafi'i judge Jamāl al-Dīn ibn Jumlah was appointed to his post in Ṣafar 733, as we have seen earlier. By the middle of Shawwāl 734, nearly a year and a half later, Ibn Jumlah was dismissed due to complaints that he exceeded the law and that he lied under oath when accusations of bribery against him surfaced. These charges involved him and others, such as Ẓāhir al-Dīn al-Rūmī, Rukn al-Dīn al-Ṣūfī, and Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Duwaydār. A person by the name of Abū Riyāḥ testified in the presence of the governor Tankiz, with the Maliki chief

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[35]Ibid., 197–98.

[36]Ibid., 73–74.

judge presiding over a council made up of the other two chief judges, amongst others, that Ibn Jumlah exceeded the law. The Maliki chief judge then ordered his imprisonment in the Madrasah ʿAdhrāwīyah. Confirmation of the finding and the judgment finally came from Cairo on Saturday, 23 Shawwāl. To replace the disgraced Ibn Jumlah, the sultan sent an order to appoint, as mentioned earlier, Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Majd al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh. The letter was read in the presence of an assembly by none other than ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Birzālī, al-Jazarī's mentor and teacher and the source of much of the information for the latter parts of the *Tārīkh*. Shihāb al-Dīn, it will be recalled, took over the posts at the two madrasahs of the chief qadi (al-Ghazālīyah and al-ʿĀdilīyah) and at the Atabakīyah, in addition to his own post at the Madrasah Iqbālīyah. Most people expressed satisfaction at this turn of events and felt that Ibn Jumlah got what he deserved, especially for stirring up the earlier case against Ibn Taymīyah. But what is important here is that Shihāb al-Dīn immediately took a reverse course from that of his predecessor. He showed a great deal of generosity in distributing charity, giving twenty to thirty dirhams (and no less than ten) to all those in need. In addition, he hired back all the lecturers that had been dismissed during the last year and a half by Ibn Jumlah. These were about fifty, some of whom had become nearly destitute. He also restored the stipends *(jāmikīyah)* to what they had been before Ibn Jumlah had reduced them.[37]

Conclusion

These reports, culled as they were from one source only, in no way provide a full picture of the madrasah institution. But to the extent that they allow us any conclusion, they give us a glimpse at the institution as it functioned in its dual role: as a place of residence and as a center for education. The Madrasah ʿAdhrāwīyah has the added distinction of being some sort of jail, or a half-way house, to punish those who were guilty of serious transgressions. Aḥmad Fikrī, in his study of Cairo's madrasahs and mosques during the Ayyubid period, says that it was then that the madrasah finally began to perform its main function as a place of residence for the *fuqahā'*.[38] This much could be seen in various reports, especially in the cases of the 600 Shafiʿis (and no doubt others like them) who were *munazzalūn* (given residence) in the various madrasahs. But the madrasah was not simply a *manzil* where one resides; it was also an educational institution, although these reports do not specifically describe a formal curriculum. The often-repeated phrase is *wa-dhakara al-dars*. As we have seen also, transfer from one madrasah to another did not necessarily entail relocation of residence, and having posts at

[37]Ibid., 3:674–76, 679–81.

[38]Aḥmad Fikrī, *Masājid al-Qāhirah wa-Madārisuhā* (Cairo, 1969), 2:160.

several madrasahs did not entail multiple residences. The urgency to fill the vacancies must be seen in the importance of the function of *dhikr al-dars* (giving the lesson), as the madrasahs became a more pervasive and regulated institution where imparting of knowledge of various fields took place. And in imparting knowledge, in this knowledge industry, the physical sciences were no different from the religious sciences in that they were equally taught formally and informally. ″Quality control″ could be exercised, on the one hand, by manuals of *ḥisbah* and other professional checks, and on the other by the assignment/reassignment of these *fuqahā'*/*mudarrisūn* who constituted the pool of candidates for promotion to higher posts. Other conclusions could be drawn from these reports, especially when seen in their wider context. Also, it would be interesting to speculate about the relationship of the state to the judiciary when the movement of teachers in one city is charted, and when the transfer of judges (and other related positions) from one city to another is mapped out.

Ellen Kenney

A Mamluk Monument "Restored": The *Dār al-Qur'ān wa-al-Ḥadīth* of Tankiz al-Nāṣirī in Damascus

Introduction

Sayf al-Dīn Tankiz al-Nāṣirī governed the province of Syria and played a central role in the polity of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn throughout most of the sultan's lengthy third reign.[1] Installed as *nā'ib al-shām* in 712/1312–13, Tankiz remained in this post until his deposition in 741/1340. An active architectural patron, Tankiz initiated numerous restoration projects, infrastructural endeavors, and new buildings throughout the Syrian province.[2] The pattern of his patronage has shown him to be not only a prolific builder, but also a sophisticated planner whose individual projects were predicated on long-range urban development schemes. This building program constituted one of the primary tools in the construction of the patron's public image. Moreover, Tankiz's patronage played a significant role in the development of Mamluk urban and architectural design. However, the corpus of Tankiz al-Nāṣirī's architectural work is represented today by only a few, geographically dispersed fragments in varying states of preservation. Some of his commissions survived into the last century and were documented—at least in part—by photographs or drawings. Others are known only through inscriptions or references in geographical texts, historical chronicles, or biographical compilations. In some instances, the only physical remnants of his commissions consist of *ex situ* fragments, sometimes re-used in later architecture. In a few cases, the patron's buildings still stand, although altered over time. This article will deal with one such case: a *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* erected by Tankiz in Damascus, between 728/1327–28 and 739/1338–39. It will investigate the extent to which the original building can be reconstructed hypothetically, situate the

[1]Sources for Tankiz's biography include: Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* ed. Hellmut Ritter et al. (Wiesbaden, 1962–), 10:420 ff; Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah et al. (Cairo, 1934–72), 2:509 ff. Summaries of his career are found in S. Conermann, "Tankiz," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 10:185b; L. A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry* (Oxford, 1953), 218–19; Michael H. Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem, an Architectural Study* (London, 1987), 223; Ḥayāt N. Ḥajjī, "Al-Amīr Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī Nā'ib al-Shām fī al-Fatrah 712–741 H/1312–1340M," in *Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh Salṭanat al-Mamālīk fī Miṣr wa-al-Shām* (Kuwait, 1986), 199–283.

[2]On the subject of Tankiz's architectural and urban patronage, see Ellen Kenney, "Power and Patronage in Mamluk Syria: The Architecture and Urban Works of Tankiz al-Nasiri, 1312–1340" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2004).

reconstructed building in the corpus of Mamluk architecture, and explore aspects of the foundation′s social and political context.

Not surprisingly, of all the cities in the province, it was Damascus—the seat of the *niyābah*—to which Tankiz devoted the most attention over the longest period of time. His civil engineering and infrastructure projects included extensive repairs to the city′s canalization system and revitalization of the agricultural zone to its south-east; reconstruction of sections of the city wall and at least one of its gates; numerous street widening and clearing campaigns, both inside and outside the city walls; and the rebuilding of at least one of the city′s bridges.[3] Among the commercial projects Tankiz commissioned in Damascus are the construction of two *qaysārīyah* buildings and a *khān,* as well as the renovation of Khān al-Ẓāhir.[4] He carried out major restoration projects at the Umayyad Mosque, and also renovated other historic mosques in the city.[5] His new monumental commissions include a congregational mosque and mausoleum, a bath, at least one new palace, a mausoleum for his wife, and the *dār al-qur' ān wa-al-ḥadīth* under discussion here.[6] However, the priority that Tankiz gave to developing Damascus is not reflected in the city′s

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[3]On the canalization project, see Ismā'īl ibn 'Umar Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah fī al-Tārīkh* (Cairo, 1932–39), 14:144 ff., and al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:289. For the patron′s works in the Ghūṭah, see Muḥammad Farīd Kurd 'Alī, *Ghūṭat Dimashq,* rev. ed. (Damascus, 1952), 86. References to his repairs of the city walls include Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍā'il, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd wa-al-Durr al-Farīd,* ed. and trans. Samira Kortantamer (Freiburg, 1973), 18 and 86, and Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah,* 14:157. On his rebuilding of Bāb Tūmah, see ibid., 165; Zayn al-Dīn 'Umar Ibn al-Wardī, *Tatimmat al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar,* ed. Aḥmad Rif'at al-Badrāwī (Beirut, 1970), 2:436; and Gaston Wiet et al., *Répertoire Chronologique d′Épigraphie Arabe* (Cairo, 1931–82), 15:35, cat. #5650. Tankiz′s rebuilding of a bridge over the Turah River is documented in an inscription published in Wiet et al., *Répertoire,* 15:48, cat. #5670.

[4]Sources for Tankiz′s commercial works include Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah,* 14:74, 156, 157; Wiet et al., *Répertoire,* 14:108, cat. #5368; and Jean Sauvaget, ″Caravansérais syriens du Moyen-Age,″ *Ars Islamica* 7 (1940): 4.

[5]On the restorations at the Umayyad Mosque during Tankiz′s governorship, see Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah,* 14:92, 128, 133 ff., 148; 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ al-'Ilmawī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Ṭālib wa-Irshād al-Dāris,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Damascus, 1947), 270; H. Sauvaire, ″Description de Damas,″ *Journal Asiatique,* 9th ser., no. 7 (1896): 214; K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture,* rev. ed. (Oxford, 1969), 1:1:161, n. 3. On his restorations at other Damascus mosques, see Michael Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien* (Gluckstadt, 1992), 2:132, cat. #9C/135 and 185, cat. #9C/404.

[6]References to Tankiz′s *jāmi'*, *turbah,* and *ḥammām* are found in Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah,* 14:81, 88; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:184; 'Abd al-Qādir Ibn Muḥammad al-Nu'aymī, *Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris,* ed. Ja'far al-Ḥasanī (Cairo, 1988), 2:425–26; al-'Ilmawī, *Mukhtaṣar,* 228; Sauvaire, ″Description,″ 237 ff. On his intramural palace, see Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah,* 14:133 and al-Nu'aymī, *Dāris,* 1:123. On his wife′s mausoleum, see Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah,* 14:151; al-Nu'aymī, *Dāris,* 2:274; and Wiet et al., *Répertoire,* 14:267–68, cat. #5589.

extant architecture. His works either have disappeared altogether or survive in poor or fragmentary condition.

In the following pages, I will outline the history of this *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth,* review its modern historiography, situate the building in its urban framework, and describe its architectural characteristics based on a preliminary survey conducted in 1997.[7] In the next section, I will synthesize this information to re-assess the preservation status of the building, to evaluate its role in the patronage program of Tankiz, and to analyze its place in the wider context of Mamluk architectural history.

Architectural History

Ibn Kathīr first mentions Tankiz's *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* in his entry for the year 728/1327–28. That year, the *nā'ib* made one of his almost annual visits to Cairo to visit al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who lavished him with gifts and honors. While in Cairo, Tankiz purchased some real estate in Damascus, including a house known as Dār al-Fulūs near Sūq al-Buzūrīyīn—a market located south of the Umayyad Mosque in a quarter sometimes referred to as al-Khaḍrā'. After reporting Tankiz's transformation of the old house into a new palace called Dār al-Dhahab, Ibn Kathīr continues: "and he demolished Ḥammām al-Suwayd near it [i.e., Dār al-Dhahab] and he made it into a *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* of the utmost beauty. He provided it with endowments and organized its shaykhs and students as will be described."[8] Later in his chronicle, under the entry for the year 739/1338–39, he states:

> Among the events of this year was the completion of Dār al-Ḥadīth "al-Sukarīyah."[9] Shaykh al-Imām al-Ḥāfiẓ Mu'arrikh al-Islām Muḥammad ibn Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Dhahabī took over as shaykh of hadith in it. Thirty were appointed as traditionists *(muḥaddith),* each of whom were provided rations *(jirāyah)* and pay *(jāmiqīyah)* every month of seven dirhams and half a *raṭl* of bread. For the shaykh, thirty dirhams and one *raṭl* of bread were assigned. Thirty persons were assigned to read the Quran, with one shaykh for every ten [of them]. For every one of the readers there was a counterpart among the traditionists. A prayer

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[7]I am grateful to the administration, faculty, and students at the Kāmilīyah School for their assistance and forbearance with this survey.

[8]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah,* 14:133.

[9]Akram al-'Ulabī considers this term a scribal error for "Tankizīyah" (*Khiṭaṭ Dimashq* [Damascus, 1989], 61).

> leader *(imām),* a hadith reciter, and substitutes *(nawāb)* were appointed, and twenty dirhams and eight *awāq* of bread were provided for the hadith reciter. It turned out to be very beautiful in its appearance and construction. It is located in the direction of Dār al-Dhahab, which was commissioned by the founder, amir Tankiz. He endowed upon it many places, among them Sūq al-Qashāshīn in Bāb al-Faraj. Its length was twenty *dhirā‘* from east to west. He registered it in the *waqf* document, along with Bandar Zaydīn and the old *ḥammām* in Hims. He also endowed on it shares from other villages. However, he struggled with everything other than al-Qashāshīn and Bandar Zaydīn and Ḥammām Ḥimṣ.″ [10]

Ibn Kathīr′s organization of this information suggests that the project began in 728/1327–28 at the same time as the start of the Dār al-Dhahab rebuilding. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, in his obituary for Tankiz, is more explicit in dating the construction to that year: ″in the year 28, he built Dār al-Dhahab and opposite it he built a *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth.″* [11] It appears, however, that construction was not carried out promptly, but took nearly eleven years to finish. To extrapolate from Ibn Kathīr′s remarks, the bath property, which served as the site for the new building, may have been acquired at the same time as the palace property, during the patron′s visit to Cairo. However, no specifics are provided: did Tankiz purchase this property, did he receive it as a gift, or was it obtained through a confiscation? Who was its former owner? About the exact dimensions and boundaries of the property nothing is mentioned, nor is there any indication whether the bath was operational or defunct, and what its physical condition was at the time of acquisition. An earlier topography of the city counts Ḥammām al-Suwayd among the baths of Damascus, but only says that it was located next to the house of a certain Ibn Munẓū.[12]

Several years later, in 739/1338–39, the construction of the new *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* was finished. This completion date, chronicled by Ibn Kathīr, is corroborated in the inscription on the lintel of its entrance (fig. 6):

> In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate. This blessed school *(madrasah)* was founded and endowed for the mendicants *(fuqarā')* occupied with the Glorious Quran and the scholars *(fuqahā')* and the listeners *(masma‘īn)* of the Prophetic Traditions,

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[10]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah,* 14:184.

[11]Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* ed. Adnan Darwich (Damascus, 1977–94), 2:146.

[12]Nikita Eliséef, trans., *La Description de Damas d′Ibn Asakir* (Damascus, 1959), 279, #15.

> by His Most Noble Excellency Sayf al-Dīn Tankiz al-Nāṣirī, Guardian of the Noble Provinces of Syria, the Well-Protected, in the year 739, at the behest of *(bi-mubāsharah)* the poor slave Aydamur al-Mu'īnī.[13]

From the mid-fourteenth century until the mid-nineteenth century, the only explicit references in literary sources to the Tankizīyah that I have found refer to personnel at the institution, rather than physical changes to its structure.[14] Undoubtedly, during this long period the building underwent alterations. It is unlikely that it would have remained unscathed throughout the chronology of destructive events in the subsequent history of Damascus, including the revolts of the late fourteenth century, Timur's invasion of 803/1400, and a series of natural disasters, notably the earthquake of 1173/1759.[15] The latter was responsible for the collapse of the domes on an adjacent building, the Khān Asad Bāshā. In the normal course of events, the building would have been subjected to periods of poor upkeep, subsequent restorations, and possibly the depredations of later architectural patrons, who were known to have quarried old buildings for valuable materials.[16]

As late as 1129/1717, the institution was still running.[17] By 1271/1855, however, Tankiz's *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* was being used as a private residence.[18] 'Abd al-Qādir Badrān, writing around 1330/1912, blames this shift to residential use on mismanagement of the foundation over time, which led to the gradual decline of the institution.[19] He also includes a narrative about an intervention that prevented the owners from tearing down the portal, and ultimately resulted in the re-

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[13]Wiet et al., *Répertoire,* 15:115, #5780.

[14]For example, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:156, 510, 581; Muḥammad ibn 'Īsá Ibn Kannān, *Yawmīyāt Shāmīyah,* ed. Akram al-'Ulabī (Damascus, 1994), 287.

[15]A description of the political unrest in Damascus of the late eighth/fourteenth century is found in Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Al-Durrah al-Muḍī'ah fī al-Dawlah al-Ẓāhirīyah [A Chronicle of Damascus, 1389–1397],* ed. and trans. William M. Brinner (Berkeley, 1963). On the damage to the city's urban and architectural fabric during the occupation by Timur's army, see a translation of Ibn Iyās's account in D. S. Margoliouth, *Cairo, Jerusalem and Damascus* (London, 1907), 269–74. The damage from the earthquake of 1173/1759 is assessed in a report excerpted in Muḥammad A. Duhmān, *Fī Riḥāb Dimashq* (Damascus, 1982), 193–217, and in Mustapha A. Taher, "Textes d'historiens damascènes sur les tremblements de terre," *Bulletin des études orientales* 27 (1974): 105. A new edition of the report is forthcoming from Verena Daiber.

[16]Asad Bāshā, the patron of two monuments in the same neighborhood as the Tankizīyah, a palace and a *khān,* was known for this practice (Shafīq Imām, *Musée des Arts et Traditions Populaires, Palais Azem-Damas* [Damas, n.d.], 10).

[17]Ibn Kannān, *Yawmīyāt Shāmīyah,* 287.

[18]A. von Kremer, *Topographie von Damascus* (Vienna, 1853), 6.

[19]*Munādamat al-Aṭlāl wa-Musāmarat al-Hayāl* (Damascus, 1960), 64.

establishment of a school in the building. Badrān reports that under the superintendency of Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ḥalawānī, the interior was ″improved.″ More extensive renovation took place under al-Ḥalawānī′s successor, Shaykh Kāmil al-Qaṣāb in 1329/1911, as is commemorated in a second inscription on the portal.[20] Shaykh Kāmil restored the building and installed ″upper and lower structures″ in it, according to Badrān. The precise nature of these structures is not entirely clear. No early photographs of any portion of the building other than the portal have come to light. Along with alterations to the building′s physical structure came changes to its moniker: still called the Tankizīyah in the early eighteenth century, it became known as the Osmanīyah in the nineteenth century, and as the Kāmilīyah in the early twentieth century. The *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* was registered as a historic monument in 1367/1948.

Modern Sources

Although the Tankizīyah has never been the subject of a detailed monographic analysis, it is mentioned in a number of publications cataloging the architectural and urban history of Damascus. In his mid-nineteenth century topographical survey of Damascus, A. von Kremer includes a very short notice on the building.[21] He identifies it as a former madrasah, which in his day was being used as a private residence, and remarks on its beautiful stalactite portal and fine ashlar masonry. However, his incomplete reading of the foundation inscription led him to misattribute and misdate the building.[22] In 1330/1912, Badrān published a survey correctly identifying the *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* and providing some detail about its recent history.[23] On the subject of its architecture, he praises its portal and claims that the walls of the building retain some of their original construction. Badrān also reports that the building had undergone two phases of reconstruction in the period since von Kremer′s publication.

Subsequent references to the *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* tend to take more minimalist views of its preservation. The building is mentioned briefly in the topographical study on the city published by Wulzinger and Watzinger in 1924.

[20] Ibn ʻAbd al-Hādī, *Thimār al-Maqāṣid fī Dhikr al-Masājid,* ed. M. A. Ṭalas (Beirut, 1943), 215; al-ʻUlabī, *Khiṭaṭ Dimashq,* 61; Muḥammad A. Duhmān, *Wulāt Dimashq fī ʻAhd al-Mamālīk* (Damascus, 1981), 172.

[21] *Topographie,* 7.

[22] His transcription differs substantially from that published by Wiet. It leaves off after the term ″*al-nabawī*″ and resumes with ″*bi-mubāsharah*″—thereby omitting the name and title of Tankiz and the date of the foundation. As a consequence, von Kremer erroneously attributes the foundation to ″Aidemir-el-Muini,″ whom he identifies as a figure who died in the year 667/1268 (*Topographie,* 2:7, n. 2).

[23] *Munādamat,* 64–68.

They provide the dates of its construction and of the later restoration, and then continue: ″Inneres ganz verändert, Portalnische mit Stalaktiten.″[24] The equally telegraphic entry in Jean Sauvaget′s concise guide to the historical monuments of Damascus published roughly a decade later simply states: ″Ecole de tradition prophétique bâti en 1338–39 par Tingiz. Beau *portail* à stalactities; intérieur remanié.″[25] Muḥammad Ṭalas, in the appendix to his 1336/1943 edition of Ibn ʻAbd al-Hādī′s *Thimār al-Maqāṣid fī Dhikr al-Masājid,* includes a note on this building saying that it has a façade and decorated portal. He mentions the renovation of its upper level, and praises the building′s masonry, ornamentation, and beautiful mihrab—but does not speculate about the dates for these elements.[26] An unnamed inspector from the Department of Antiquities leans toward the interpretation of Wulzinger and Watzinger and Sauvaget in his 1952 report, which claims that the façade and portal were all that remained of the original building.[27] Muḥammad Duhmān′s 1963 study of Damascus in the Mamluk period states vaguely that the school still exists and retains much of its design.[28] Dorothée Sack′s 1989 publication on the urban structure and development of Damascus mentions the building and echoes the Wulzinger-Watzinger/Sauvaget view: ″teilweise abgetragen; Teile der Aussenwände und Portal erhalten.″[29] Akram al-ʻUlabī′s topographical history of the city, published in the same year, reports that in his day the building was functioning as a children′s school and retained its beautiful façade.[30] Michael Meinecke also treats the building very summarily in his catalog of Mamluk architecture, although he includes the portal and façade in a wider discussion related to architectural style.[31]

As this review of modern literature on Tankiz′s *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* reveals, it is generally accepted that the remains of the Mamluk building consist of a portal and façade, the rest of the present structure belonging to a series of later reconstructions. On the basis of these studies, the initial goal of my field research at the Tankizīyah was to examine and photograph the façade of the building. Presumably, the interior would be of interest only insofar as it might

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[24]Karl Wulzinger and Carl Watzinger, *Damaskus, die Islamische Stadt* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1924), 75.

[25]Jean Sauvaget, *Les Monuments Historiques de Damas* (Beirut, 1932), 69, #44.

[26]*Thimār,* 215.

[27]Archive, Department of Antiquities and Museums, Damascus.

[28]*Wulāt Dimashq,* 172.

[29]*Damaskus: Entwicklung und Struktur einer Orientalisch-islamischen Stadt* (Mainz am Rhein, 1989), 104, #3.44.

[30]*Khiṭaṭ Dimashq,* 61.

[31]*Mamlukische Architektur,* 1:87, 182, and 2:180, cat. #9C/380.

represent a sampling of turn-of-the-century architectural remodeling in Damascus. However, the site inspection suggested that the building′s stratigraphy was not as straightforward as the literature indicated, and that its analysis would require a close reading not only of the façade, but also of the other external wall and of the building′s interior. What follows is a description of the building based on this survey.

DESCRIPTION

The Tankizīyah is located inside the city walls in the area south of the Umayyad mosque (fig. 1). It is situated on a block outlined by Sūq al-Buzūrīyīn to the west, Darb Ibn Matrud to the north, Darb al-Rayhān to the east, and Zuqāq al-Durr to the south (fig. 2). This block is immediately south of the former location of Dār al-Dhahab, the patron′s new palace, at the present site of the Qaṣr al-ʻAẓam. To the south lies the long commercial street, known in the Mamluk period as Sūq al-Kabīr, which runs east-west through the walled city. According to Ibn Kathīr, the *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* replaced a pre-existing bath building known as Ḥammām al-Suwayd, which the patron apparently purchased and then demolished.[32] The property occupies the north-east corner of the block. The north-west corner of the block houses another bath building, which predated Tankiz′s construction: the large Ḥammām of Nūr al-Dīn (567/1171–72).[33] There appears to have been a narrow plot between the back of Ḥammām al-Nūrī and the east boundary of the *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* site, which is filled today by a building. Whether this plot was built-up or unoccupied at the time of Tankiz′s construction is uncertain. Al-ʻIlmawī′s information, which locates the Tankizīyah ″to the east of Ḥammām Nūr al-Dīn al-Shahīd, below Dār al-Dhahab, behind Sūq al-Buzūrīyīn″ could either suggest that there was no other building between it and Ḥammām al-Nūrī, or that what did exist there was unimportant, compared with these landmark buildings.[34] It is also possible that this plot formerly belonged to the property of one or the other of these two buildings, from which it was alienated subsequently. The plot south of the Tankizīyah is currently occupied by the Khān Asad Bāshā, constructed in 1166/1753. The sources are silent about this site in Tankiz′s day, but reportedly two caravanserais, as well as several houses and shops were demolished to make way for the Ottoman *khān*.[35]

The north façade of the Tankizīyah consists of the portal, situated at the west

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[32]Eliséef, *Description,* 279, #15.

[33]This bath is also known as Ḥammām al-Buzūrīyīn.

[34]Al-ʻIlmawī, *Mukhtaṣar,* 21.

[35]Al-ʻUlabī, *Khiṭaṭ Dimashq,* 447; ʻAbd al-Qādir al-Riḥāwī, ″Khānāt Madīnat Dimashq,″ *Les Annales archéologiques de Syrie* 25 (1975): 64.

end of the building, and a wall of finely dressed stone, stretching eastward (fig. 4). To the east of the portal, two windows pierce the wall at the street level. Two projecting stories, constructed of plastered brick and timber, surmount the lower masonry wall. Around the corner, along the east façade, the same arrangement is found: a lower wall of stone surmounted by two projecting stories. A molding of carved stone forms a rectangular frame surrounding the finely dressed masonry of the monumental portal, although now the molding is lost in its lower segments. The portal consists of a deeply recessed rectangular niche, at the back of which opens the entrance to the building′s interior (fig. 5). A flat arch, inscribed with a cartouche bearing the foundation inscription, surmounts the entrance (fig. 6). Above the inscription, a band of joggled *ablaq* revetment spans across and flanks the portal recess. Slightly above this band is an oculus, surrounded by a radial arrangement of joggled *ablaq* voussoirs, which together are outlined by a molding of deeply carved stone. The stone course at the base of this oculus bears the inscription commemorating the nineteenth-century renovations referred to above. Three courses of *muqarnas* form the transition zone from the rectangular niche to the semi-dome of the portal hood. The carvings of the hood represent a conch outlined by a zigzag pattern. Inscribed in the finely dressed masonry above the semi-dome and below the top of the molding frame is a long, recessed cartouche. It is unadorned, but may have been intended to receive an inscription.

East of the portal, another rectangular frame of stone encloses a pair of large rectangular windows. The masonry inside the frame, surrounding the windows, is finely dressed, like that of the portal. Both windows have been partially filled-in with cement, but their lower limits can be discerned one masonry-course above the bottom part of the frame. Flat lintels with relieving arches surmount the windows. Behind modern screens that have been installed in the remaining window portions, there are iron grills. Below the window frames, two and a half courses of unfinished masonry can be seen. In the area east of the window frame, five courses of masonry are visible, above which the wall is thickly plastered. While this masonry differs in quality from that inside the frames of the windows and the portal, it courses through precisely with the more finely dressed masonry. This suggests that all of the elements on the north façade of the building—the portal, the pair of windows, and the east extension of the wall—are contemporary with each other.

Around the corner, on the east side of the building, the same division of the elevation is found (fig. 7). Two tall upper stories project from the lower wall. The lower wall consists of six courses of exposed stone construction, surmounted by a thickly plastered wall. At the south end of the wall, fallen plaster reveals three additional courses of stone. About two-thirds of the way down the wall to the south is another large rectangular window surrounded by a rectangular frame of

stone molding (fig. 8). As on the north façade, the masonry within the molding is finely dressed. Here, too, the window is partially filled-in with cement. To the north of this window is another small opening, in the plastered section of the wall. Unlike the other windows, this one does not appear to have once been any larger than it is today. There is no evidence of in-fill in the masonry courses below it, nor is there any indication of the finely dressed masonry and molding frame that surrounds the large window to the south. The continuity of masonry courses between the north and east façades and the similarities in the treatment of the framed window compositions between the two sides indicate that the east façade is contemporaneous with the north.

Inside, the entrance leads into a vestibule space, which opens up into an *īwān.* The floor plan of the present building consists of four *īwān*s arranged around a central court with corner rooms in three of the four corners (fig. 3). The entrance vestibule occupies the northwest corner of the building in place of a corner room. On the west side of this vestibule rises a narrow wooden staircase. It is enclosed behind a plastered wall above its first several steps, which are built of stone. The vestibule leads into the west *īwān,* the back of which contains a built-in wooden cupboard constructed beneath part of the staircase and a tall rectangular recess in the wall. The west *īwān* opens onto the central court, which is uncovered. The walls of the interior are covered entirely with plaster which is coated with paint in the lower section. The *īwāns* on the east and west of the court are considerably shallower than those on the north and south. All four *īwān*s are covered with flat ceilings of timber.

The *qiblah* wall of the south *īwān* contains a large mihrab niche, also heavily coated with plaster and paint (fig. 9). Two engaged octagonal colonnettes flank the niche. Their square bases are chamfered at the upper corners to create a transition to the octagonal shafts. The capitals also correspond to the octagonal shafts, each face decorated with a shield-shaped *muqarnas* unit upon which is carved in relief a smaller *muqarnas* form and a tear-drop shape. The unity of the three elements—capital, shaft and base—suggests that they may have been conceived together. In the east and west walls of the *qiblah īwān,* doors lead into the south-east and south-west corner rooms, respectively.

The back wall of the north *īwān* is pierced by the two large windows on the north façade (fig. 10). On its east wall, a door leads into the north-east room. Corresponding to this door on the west wall of the north *īwān* is a recessed wall niche. In the east *īwān,* a broad staircase of stone construction lines the south side (fig. 11). It leads to a landing from which it continues in reinforced concrete to the upper story. Along the back wall of the east *īwān,* a row of faucets and a drainage basin have been installed. The large window on the east façade opens onto the east *īwān,* but it is partly blocked by the staircase.

The pavement of the *īwān*s is level with the court, rather than raised. There is no fountain or basin in the courtyard, nor are there channels for the collection and drainage of rainwater. The pavement is composed of a striking combination of black and creamy-colored stone. In the central court, the bi-chromatic stones are arranged in a striped pattern, while in the north and south *īwān*s, black stones create a rectangular outline of the space. In the west *īwān,* a similar outline of black stone traces around the staircase. The pavement of the east *īwān* is partially covered with modern tiles, and no black stones are in use there. The staircases in the east and west *īwān*s lead to a gallery in the second story of the building. This gallery runs around the central court, on the north, east, and west sides. It is lined by doors leading into rooms on all three sides. A third story of rooms surmounts this level. On the south side, the façade of the *qiblah īwān* rises up to the gallery level and the balcony does not run across it. Above the arch of the *qiblah īwān,* rooms corresponding to the third story have been erected. All of these upper story constructions are built of wood and plastered brick.

ARCHITECTURAL ANALYSIS

The similarity of the upper stories of the Tankizīyah to Damascus architecture of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and their correspondence with the building history described by Badrān, support their attribution to the period of Shaykh Kāmil's rebuilding.[36] Clearly, the portal of the building dates to the original Mamluk construction. The similarity between the framing zone of this portal and that of the paired windows east of it—as well as the continuity of the stone courses along this wall—indicate that the entire north façade belongs to the same construction phase. In light of the homogeneity of masonry on both the north and east exterior walls, the east façade can be considered contemporaneous with the north façade and its portal. Therefore, it, too, can be identified as an original element of the building. Of the four windows piercing these two walls, three clearly date to the initial construction period, although they have subsequently been partially in-filled. Their iron grills also represent typical fenestration details of Mamluk architecture in Syria.[37] The date of the fourth window is more ambiguous.

The exterior of Tankiz's *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* is rather austere. Its masonry

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[36]On the characteristics of turn-of-the-century Damascus architecture, see Gérard Robine, *Palais et demeures de Damas au XVIII* (Damascus, 1990); Yves Roujon, *Le Midan: Actualité d'un Faubourg ancien de Damas* (Damascus, 1997); Brigid Keenan, *Damascus, Hidden Treasures of the Old City* (New York, 2000); Annie-Christine Daskalakis, "Damascus Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century Houses in the Ablaq-Ajami Style of Decoration: Local and International Significance" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2004).

[37]Numerous examples of typical Mamluk-period iron grill windows can be found in Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem;* in particular, see pp. 93–95.

is monochrome, with the exception of some details around the portal, and is articulated only by the moldings that frame the portal and windows.[38] In this respect, the *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* relates to the mausoleum and *ribāṭ* structure which Tankiz erected nearby on behalf of his wife, Sutaytah, at around the same time (730/1330). Like the portal at this *turbah,* the *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* portal is stylistically conservative. Absent are such distinctive features as the dramatic *ablaq* masonry that stretched along the façade of Tankiz′s congregational mosque in Damascus, or the fan motif that graces that mosque′s two portals, as well as the portal of his madrasah in Jerusalem. The façade of the Turbah al-Takrītīyah in the Ṣāliḥīyah district of Damascus (erected by 698/1299) provides a close stylistic comparison to the Tankizīyah façade, although its composition is different. There, the portal is more squat than that at the Tankizīyah, but its *muqarnas* hood is almost identical. The Takrītīyah portal is flanked on each side by a pair of windows, whereas at the Tankizīyah the arrangement is asymmetrical. An even closer analogy can be found in the façade of the mausoleum of Uljaybughā, located outside the walls of Damascus to the south-west. It has the same asymmetrical disposition of the portal with paired windows to one side and its portal bears an almost identical *muqarnas* hood. The façade of the mausoleum of Uljaybughā also has an oculus very similar to that at the Tankizīyah, composed of radial *ablaq* voussoirs surrounded by heavy molding. The main difference between these two façade compositions is the placement of the oculus: on the former it is situated over the paired windows; at the latter, it makes up part of the portal decoration. This building is undated (its patron died in 754/1353), but, on the basis of its similarity to the Tankizīyah, Meinecke posits that it may have been constructed around 740/1339–40.[39]

Regarding the interior of Tankiz′s *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth,* is it ″ganz verändert″? Some elements of the interior are unquestionably modern, most obviously the plumbing works and modern pavement in the east *īwān.* Regarding the staircase in the east *īwān,* the upper portion is clearly recent. Furthermore, the awkward relationship between the staircase and the original window suggests that the lower section also belongs to a later phase. As for the staircase in the entrance vestibule, its position and narrow proportions are more compatible with *comparanda* from the Mamluk period.[40] The first few steps might represent traces of an original staircase, but all of the rest—including the wooden constructions around and

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[38]Meinecke relates the absence of *ablaq* masonry in this building, and others dating slightly earlier and later, to the absence from Damascus of the workshop specializing in the technique (*Mamlukische Architektur,* 2:87).

[39]Ibid., 182.

[40]See, for example, Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem,* 90, 161, 303, and 345–46.

below it—appear to be later. The timber ceilings of the four *īwān*s appear to be relatively new, and the balcony and all of the upper-story rooms belong to the turn-of-the-century renovations.

The general layout of the ground floor, on the other hand, is not necessarily due to one of the later renovations. The floor plan corresponds to a Syrian building type, featuring a central court flanked by *īwān*-like spaces or lateral prayer halls—a building tradition which spans over two centuries.[41] These central-court buildings vary considerably in several respects: the nature of the spaces opening up off the courts, the number and depth of their *īwān*s, the disposition of the entrance vestibules, and the superstructures of the courts. In some instances, domes or vaults covered the central courts, while in others the courts were open. While the Syrian central court plan was applied most often to madrasah architecture, its use was not restricted according to building category. Tankiz′s builders could have drawn on numerous local variations of this building type, such as the madrasah of Rabīʻah Khātūn (also called Madrasah Ṣāḥibah), ca. 643/1245, located in the Ṣāliḥīyah quarter of the city.[42] There, *īwān*s flank the central court on three sides and an axial entrance vestibule occupies the fourth. As at the Tankizīyah, corner rooms are arranged between the *īwān*s, although their disposition is a little different. Another Damascus building that shares the general design found at the Tankizīyah is the Turbah al-Ḥāfiẓīyah (also known as the Turbah of Bakhtī Khātūn), which dates to ca. 648/1250.[43] There wide *īwān*s and a lateral prayer hall open off a square central court, which was originally covered with cross-vaults. As in the later building, the entrance does not open directly into the court but rather through a lateral vestibule. However, the overall arrangement of the Ḥāfiẓīyah is considerably less symmetrical than that of the Tankizīyah. The madrasah of Afrīdūn al-ʻAjamī (744/1343–44), constructed in Damascus about five years after the completion of the Tankizīyah, presents an even closer parallel to the Tankizīyah floor plan.[44] A lateral entrance vestibule in the north-west corner of the building leads into one of four *īwān*s disposed around a central court, while small rooms occupy the other three corners.

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[41]For broader discussions of Syrian central court buildings, see Meinecke, ″Rückschlüss auf die Form der seldschukischen Madrasa in Iran,″ *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 3 (1985): 190 ff.; idem, ″Der Hammam Mangak und die Islamische Architektur von Busra,″ *Berytus* 32 (1984): 186–90; Yasser Tabbaa, *Constructions of Power and Piety in Medieval Aleppo* (University Park, 1997), 84–93 and 129–34.

[42]Ernst Herzfeld, ″Damascus, Studies in Architecture, III,″ *Ars Islamica* 11–12 (1946): 9–15, fig. 10. See also Tabbaa, *Constructions,* fig. 111.

[43]Herzfeld, ″Damascus, Studies in Architecture, III,″ 63–64, and fig. 149; Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 1:79–80, fig. 62.

[44]Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 1:109 fig. 70, and 2:199 #16/15; Sauvaget, *Monuments Historiques de Damas,* 70.

Although the central court buildings of Syria sometimes feature four *īwān*s, they evolved as something quite distinct from the ″four-*īwān* madrasah″ building type that came to be prevalent in the architecture of Mamluk Cairo, such as the madrasah of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (695 to 703/1295–96 to 1303–4) or the *khānqāh* of Baybars al-Jāshankīr (707 to 709/1307–8 to 1310).[45] The scale of the latter is generally much larger, with *īwān*s averaging almost twice the square footage of those in the Syrian examples, courtyards measuring up to four times as large, and elevations reaching considerably higher proportions. Their courtyards are usually rectangular rather than square, and their lateral *īwān*s are usually centrally placed on a long façade, flanked by rows of small chambers. However, by the second decade of the fourteenth century, the Syrian style of central court building can already be found in Cairo. In particular, two Cairo buildings—both constructed within the decade preceding Tankiz′s *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth*—resemble the Damascus Tankizīyah quite closely, at least with respect to their floor plans: the madrasah of Al-Malik al-Jūkandār (719/1319–20) and the madrasah of Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf (725/1325).[46] Both relatively small-scale by Cairene standards, they feature the same broad-*īwān,* cruciform plan as the Damascus building. Similarly, the mosque of Aḥmad al-Mihmandār in Cairo, which also dates to 725/1325, shares the overall cruciform plan.[47] Thus, not only was this central court format firmly rooted in the building tradition of the Syrian province, it also had become fashionable—relatively recently—in the architecture of the capital.

As these comparisons demonstrate, the general floor plan of the *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* building as it survives today fits well within the architectural vocabulary of its time and place. The main difference between it and its antecedents in Damascus is that the Tankizīyah is slightly more symmetrical than the other examples of its type. For Ayyubid Aleppo, Yasser Tabbaa argues that the regularity

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[45]The question of the four-*īwān* madrasah type is discussed in K. A. C. Creswell, *The Origin of the Cruciform Plan of Cairene Madrasas* (Cairo, 1922); idem, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt* (Oxford, 1952–59), 2:132; L. Hautecoeur and Gaston Wiet, *Les Mosquées du Caire* (Paris, 1932), 311 ff.; Ernst Herzfeld, ″Damascus, Studies in Architecture, II,″ *Ars Islamica* 10 (1953): 13–29; Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 1:64 f. Very useful reviews of these discussions can be found in Tabbaa, *Constructions,* 84–93 and 129–34; and Abdallah Kahil, ″The Sultan Hasan Complex in Cairo″ (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2002), 79–85.

[46]On the madrasah of Al-Malik al-Jūkandār, see Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt,* 2:270–72, fig. 149, plates 103a–c and 114b; and Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 2:124 and 1:64, fig. 36, plates 47b and 52b. On the madrasah of Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf, which apparently incorporated an earlier mausoleum (ca. 697/1297–98) into its south-west corner, see Laila Ali Ibrahim, ″The Zawiya of Saih Zain ad-Din Yusuf in Cairo,″ *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 30 (1974): 79–110; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo* (Leiden, 1989), 111, fig. 23 and plate 78; and Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 2:85–86, 139.

[47]Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 1:64, fig. 37 and 2:139.

of such building plans is a function of patronage: buildings constructed by more elevated patrons tend to be more symmetrical than those of lower level patrons.[48] This explanation applies just as aptly to Mamluk Damascus, where Tankiz had the wealth and clout to obtain a sizeable property—even in the built-up section of the intramural city. There, his architects could apply a relatively symmetrical plan without the constraints imposed by less expansive building sites. The fact that the present plan of Tankiz′s *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* compares so closely with typical madrasah floor plans is consistent with what little is known about *dār al-ḥadīth* architecture in Syria. Sauvaget has demonstrated that there was little difference architecturally between the two building types.[49]

Not only does the floor plan of Tankiz′s *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* conform to a local building type found in Damascus both before and after the original construction date, it also has a close parallel in the corpus of Tankiz′s own commissions: the Madrasah al-Tankizīyah in Jerusalem.[50] Its endowment deed survives in the form of a copy transcribed into an Ottoman court document, and provides additional information about the structure, including a description of sections of the upper story that no longer survive.[51] The foundation encompassed multiple functions, including a madrasah for legal studies, a *khānqāh* of Sufi devotions, a *dār al-ḥadīth* for transmission of Prophetic tradition, and—across the square in a separate building—a *ribāṭ* for women. Tankiz ordered the construction of both the Damascus building and the Jerusalem building in the same year. The Jerusalem Tankizīyah is well preserved in its lower story. It retains much of its original superstructure and some of its upper story. Its portal leads through a cross-vaulted vestibule into the north *īwān,* and then into a spacious court furnished with a central fountain and deep *īwāns* on all sides. Corner rooms occupy the spaces between the ″cross arms″ of the cruciform floor plan created by the four *īwān*s.

The fact that the Jerusalem madrasah—built almost concurrently with the *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* in Damascus and commissioned by the same patron—shares so many features with the extant floor plan of the Damascus building supports the attribution of the latter to the original Mamluk construction phase, at least in its general layout. Working in the other direction, moreover, the better-preserved Jerusalem madrasah provides a model from which to hypothesize about original aspects of the Damascus building that no longer survive. For example, in the Jerusalem madrasah, as well as in other central-court buildings in Damascus and

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[48]Tabbaa, *Constructions,* 134.

[49]*Les Monuments Ayyoubides de Damas* (Paris, 1938), 1:15–25.

[50]Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem,* 223–39.

[51]Kāmil al-'Asalī, *Wathā'iq Maqdisīyah Tārīkhīyah* (Amman, 1983), 105–24.

elsewhere, the pavement of the lateral *īwān*s or chambers is elevated in relation to the central court. However, the current pavement of the *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* in Damascus is level throughout. Also, the absence in the Damascus building of any kind of basin or fountain at the center of the court distinguishes it from most other buildings of its type in the region. Presumably, there would have been ample infrastructure for such a water installation, since the site formerly housed a *ḥammām*. These inconsistencies suggest that the pavement was re-done at some point in the building′s history, eliminating original raised *īwān*-floors and perhaps a central basin or fountain also. The fact that the black flagstones of the west *īwān* form an outline around the staircase and cupboard, features that probably post-date the original building phase, supports this idea. The bi-chrome pavement itself sheds little light on the issue, since this feature had a very long currency in the region.

The question of the original superstructure poses another dilemma. While the external walls and the internal divisions of space can be attributed to the initial construction phase of the building, they provide no evidence about how the building was roofed-over. Were the *īwān*s originally vaulted, or were they covered with flat ceilings of wood? Both ceiling types are found in local *comparanda,* and both are present in the Jerusalem Tankizīyah. Was the central court originally covered, or was it open, as it is today? Either possibility is plausible. In Jerusalem, the court is covered. Interestingly, its roofing system can be considered something of a trademark of Tankiz′s buildings and represented an innovation in the architectural history of the city, newly introduced to Syria from the Anatolian region. It is a type of cross-vault in which the groins are incised, sometimes referred to as a ″folded cross-vault.″[52] The fact that this vaulting device was being employed by the patron elsewhere in Damascus contemporaneously is demonstrated by its presence in the mausoleum of Sutaytah. Might the same vaulting device have been employed at the *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth?* This question remains open. However, one feature of the floor plan may hold a clue. The central court forms an ″inscribed square″—that is, instead of right angles formed by the adjoining *īwān* walls protruding into the court, one finds inverted angles (except in the north-west corner). Certainly, not all cross-vaulted spaces of the period share this feature. However, in the contexts in which the inscribed-square plan is found—more often than not—there is a cross-vault, usually a folded cross-vault.[53] Such

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[52]For a discussion of this vaulting device and its connection with Tankiz′s patronage, see Kenney, ″Power,″ 420–23. On the development of the folded-cross vault, see Hautecoeur and Wiet, *Les Mosquées du Caire,* 277; Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem,* 90; Hayat Salam-Leibich, *The Architecture of the Mamluk City of Tripoli* (Cambridge, MA, 1983), 102–6; and Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 1:145.

[53]See, for instance, the Madrasah al-Nūrīyah in Tripoli (Salam-Leibich, *Mamluk Tripoli,* 122–23),

configurations originally may have been designed to help absorb the pressure created by the vault above.

A theory of the patronage process behind the construction of the Damascus Tankizīyah might go something like this: by 728/1327–28, Tankiz had decided to commission a number of projects, including two institutions: a *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* in Damascus and a multi-purpose foundation in Jerusalem. A general plan was drawn up that would be applied to both buildings. This plan was somewhat familiar to the Damascus setting, having a number of antecedents there and in other towns of northern Syria, and had recently been adopted in Cairo. In Jerusalem, on the other hand, it was novel, and its introduction there demonstrates the complex nature of the regional transfer of architectural design in the early Mamluk period.[54] Interestingly, this floor plan—once introduced into the Jerusalem repertoire—became very popular there.[55]

In his chronicle, Ibn Kathīr explicitly praises the beauty of Tankiz's *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* (see above). Presumably, the finished building would have been embellished with some kind of decorative program, but there are no remains of such features in evidence at the building today. It is tempting to imagine the *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* decorated with the elements employed in many of Tankiz's other constructions: polychrome bands of marble paneling, intricate patterns of marble mosaic, gilded friezes of marble or stucco bearing scrolls or epigraphy—all of which were broadly characteristic of mural decoration in monumental architecture of the early Mamluk period. Perhaps the program also included the etched-marble medallion panels or the glass mosaic with which the patron was more specifically associated.[56] It may be that once the decoration specialists were done with Tankiz's other projects, they were available to put the finishing touches on the interior of patron's *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth*. Interestingly, the characteristic work of these specialists begins to appear in a series of buildings in Cairo, not immediately after its last dated use in Tankiz's other Syrian commissions but several years later—at

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or the numerous examples in Jerusalem: the Madrasah al-Arghūnīyah (759/1358), the Madrasah al-Lu'lu'īyah (775/1373–74), the Madrasah al-Ṭashtamurīyah (784/1382–83), and the Dār al-Sitt Ṭunshuq (Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem,* 360, 425, 462–63, and 495).

[54]On this phenomenon in general, see Meinecke, "Mamluk Architecture—Regional Architectural Traditions: Evolution and Interrelations," *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 2 (1985): 163–75.

[55]Variations of this plan can be found in Jerusalem at the three madrasahs cited in note 53, as well as the Madrasah al-Baladīyah (782/1380). See Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem,* 443–55.

[56]On Tankiz's connection with these decorative elements, see Kenney, "Power," 436–53; Caroline Williams, "The Mosque of Sitt Hadaq," *Muqarnas* 11 (1994): 55–64; Finbarr Barry Flood, "Umayyad Survivals and Mamluk Revivals: Qalawunid Architecture and the Great Mosque of Damascus," *Muqarnas* 14 (1997): 57–79; Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 1:95–99, plate 60.

around the same time that the Damascus Tankizīyah was completed.[57]

Endowment

Considering that the *waqfīyah* of the Damascus Tankizīyah has not been found, we are fortunate to have some fragmentary information about endowment for the institution from Ibn Kathīr and al-Nu'aymī.[58] Although Ibn Kathīr makes no claims to have consulted the original records on the institution, the details that he provides are so specific (albeit incomplete), that he probably did so. Al-Nu'aymī, on the other hand, explicitly cites a *waqf* record. However, it seems that his record was an amended version of the institution′s *waqfīyah,* reflecting changes in the property holdings, the positions provided, and the salaries allocated. Both authors limit their discussions about the *waqfīyah*s to the categories of endowments and staffing, whereas the original *waqfīyah* would probably have included other topics as well, such as a description of the building′s location, site, and infrastructure, a description of the building itself including materials used in its construction and decoration, specifications for the particular functions of its various spaces, allocations of funding for the necessary furnishings (such as oil, lamps, candles, and floor coverings), stipulations about the qualifications of people who could study and work there, and detailed job descriptions of the personnel.[59]

Ibn Kathīr acknowledges that the properties he enumerates represent only a few of the places Tankiz endowed for the *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth.* Al-Nu'aymī also lists only a few properties, but does not indicate that it is a partial account. Both historians include Sūq al-Qashāshīn at Bāb al-Faraj, the north-west gate of the city bordering the citadel and leading out to the important extramural zone known as Taḥt al-Qal'ah. Ibn Kathīr provides the dimensions of the *sūq* as being twenty *dhirā'* in length from east to west, while al-Nu'aymī describes its components: nineteen shops on the interior of the *sūq* and eighteen on the exterior. Tankiz owned a number of other shops in the vicinity of Bāb al-Faraj, the total value of which amounted to 85,000 dirhams, as reported in the inventory of the patron′s holdings that were confiscated after his arrest and execution in 741/1340.[60] The next property on Ibn Kathīr′s list is called simply ″Bandar Zaydīn.″ Al-Nu'aymī′s version clarifies this entry: ″and the *kharājī* [property subject to land

[57]Mosque of Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī, 738/1338 (Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 2:178, #9C/373); the foundation of Aqbughā 'Abd al-Wāḥid, 740/1339–40 (ibid., 186, #9C/412); mosque of Sitt Ḥadaq, 740/1339–40 (ibid., 183, #9C/395).

[58]For Ibn Kathīr′s passage on the endowment, see above; al-Nu'aymī, *Dāris,* 1:123–26. See also Badrān, *Munādamat,* 64–65.

[59]Cf. the patron′s *waqfīyah* for his Jerusalem foundation (see note 51 above).

[60]For the confiscation inventory, see al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī,* 10:429.

tax] was a garden known as al-Bandar in Zaydīn.″ Zaydīn can be identified as a village in the Ghūṭah, a verdant agricultural district east of Damascus, where the patron owned additional property and a decade earlier had overseen an extensive public-works project and installed a pleasure garden.[61] Al-Nuʿaymī lists no other properties, while Ibn Kathīr includes a bath in the town of Hims (which he designates as the ″Old Bath″), and the proceeds from ″other villages.″ The confiscation inventory lists a number of other holdings in Hims belonging to Tankiz. It is intriguing to note Ibn Kathīr′s remark about the ″struggle″ that the patron had with the endowments other than those listed. What was the nature of the difficulty? Was the income that these properties yielded insufficient? Was their ownership disputed?

PERSONNEL

Ibn Kathīr provides a list of positions established at the Tankizīyah, but only mentions the salaries of a few of them. According to his information, Tankiz provided for thirty traditionists *(muḥaddithīn)* and thirty Quran students.[62] He established one position for a hadith shaykh and three for Quran shaykhs. Also on the staff were one prayer leader, one hadith reciter, and an unspecified number of substitutes. The shaykh′s salary was to be thirty dirhams and one *raṭl* of bread per month, the hadith reader was to earn twenty dirhams and eight *awāq* of bread per month, and the *muḥaddithīn* were paid seven dirhams and half a *raṭl* of bread per month. Ibn Kathīr mentions no staff for the maintenance of the building and its revenues. Some of the terminology employed in the foundation inscription of the Damascus Tankizīyah is at odds with that found in the accounts of Ibn Kathīr and al-Nuʿaymī. In the inscription, the institution is referred to as a madrasah rather than a *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth.* Interestingly, the hadith scholars are referred to as *fuqahā',* a term more commonly used for students of law at a madrasah, and *masmaʿīn.*[63]

At the *dār al-ḥadīth* established as part of Tankiz′s multi-purpose institution

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[61]On Tankiz′s other properties in the Ghūṭah, see al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī,* 10:429; on his projects there, see Kurd ʿAlī, *Ghūṭat Dimashq,* 86, n. 1.

[62]The first individual to be appointed as shaykh of the Tankizīyah was none other than the famous scholar and prolific author Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī. Earlier, Tankiz had appointed him to a position at the madrasah and turbah of Umm al-Ṣāliḥ. Not long after that, the *nā'ib* promoted him to the Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Ẓāhirīyah, and then gave him an additional post at the Nafīsīyah. Al-Dhahabī retained the post at the Tankizīyah until his death in 748/1348. Interestingly, Tankiz′s patronage of al-Dhahabī did not guarantee a favorable epitaph from the scholar (Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, 2:155; M. Bencheneb, ″al-Dhahabī,″ *EI*^{2}*,* 2:214–16).

[63]This usage is discussed in Gary Leiser, ″The Endowment of the al-Zahiriyya in Damascus,″ *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 2, no. 1 (1984): 47–48.

in Jerusalem, the *waqf* provided for twenty traditionists, who were given seven and a half dirhams and a half *raṭl* of bread; one hadith shaykh, paid forty dirhams and one *raṭl* of bread; one assistant whose salary seems to be omitted; and one reader, paid twenty dirhams and a half *raṭl* of bread.[64] The Jerusalem *waqfīyah* also supported several staffers. Thus, the faculty-to-student ratios and the salaries allocated at the two institutions appear to have been comparable, except for the shaykh′s salary, which was higher in Jerusalem than in Damascus. There is no indication that the Damascus foundation was meant to be residential. The *dār al-ḥadīth* component of the Jerusalem institution was not.

In the *waqfīyah* consulted by al-Nu‘aymī, the student-staff ratio had changed considerably. The faculty positions included a shaykh for recital *(mashyakhat al-iqrā’),* whose salary goes unmentioned;[65] a prayer leader (*imām*), who was to paid 120 dirhams monthly;[66] three hadith shaykhs, each of whom earned fifteen dirhams per month;[67] and one *kātib al-ghaybah,* who was paid ten dirhams monthly. This *waqfīyah* also provided for a large staff to perform a variety of duties. Forty dirhams per month were provided for a muezzin, a doorman, and an unspecified number of caretakers. A *dīwān* representative *(ṣaḥābat al-dīwān),* a supervisor *(musharrif),* and a bookkeeper *(‘āmil)* were also on the payroll, each at forty dirhams per month. The position of revenue collector *(jabāyah)* was allocated fifty dirhams monthly, while the positions of overseer of property *(shahādat al-‘imārah)* and the inspector of property *(mashadd al-‘imārah)* paid twenty-five dirhams each. The *waqf* also provided for a builder/architect′s post *(mi‘mārīyah),* to be paid fifteen dirhams monthly. Moreover, the staff included a superintendent *(nāẓir)* and a lieutenant-superintendent *(nā’ib al-nāẓir)*. As for the student body, al-Nu‘aymī mentions only twelve Quran students *(al-mushtaghalūn bi-al-qur’ān al-‘aẓīm),* each of whom would be given seven and a half dirhams per month, and five hadith ″listeners″ *(mustam‘ūn),* each of whom earned seven and a half dirhams per month. It should be noted that while the student stipend had not changed, the provision covered fewer than half the Quran students and only a quarter of the traditionists originally supported.

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[64]Al-‘Asalī, *Wathā’iq,* 113–16.

[65]According to al-Nu‘aymī′s source, this post was designated for an individual by the name of al-Burhān al-Irbidī (*Dāris,* 1:127). I have yet to identify this figure.

[66]The version of the *Dāris* excerpted by Badrān lists a Quran shaykh (*Munādamat,* 64), but the Cairo edition does not.

[67]These posts were also designated for specific individuals: one was held by al-Burhān Ibn al-Taqī; another was assigned to the son of the shaykh; and the third was for al-Shams al-Armawī. Again, I have no firm identification yet for these individuals.

PATRONAGE AND THE PAST

As the historical sources cited above suggest, the construction of the *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* appears to have extended over a prolonged period of around eleven years, beginning in 728/1327–28 and ending in 739/1338–39. This timing is interesting in light of the broad patterns of Tankiz's patronage activity.[68] It coincides with a building boom that included projects in a number of cities throughout the *niyābah,* as well as Damascus. Prior to the start-up of this *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* project, Tankiz's nearest-dated monumental construction in Damascus had been his congregational mosque, finished around a decade earlier. After the completion of that project, there is a hiatus of over five years in dated building works sponsored by Tankiz. This hiatus was followed by a sudden surge in the patron's building activity. The projects he undertook in Damascus concurrent with this 728/1327–28 to 739/1338–39 time-span of the *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* construction include: ongoing repairs to the waterways (727/1326–27 and 729/1328–29); intramural street widenings at Bāb al-Barīd (east of the Umayyad Mosque) and in the market area between the south-west of the Umayyad Mosque and the area of Sūq al-Buzūrīyīn (728/1327–28 to 729/1328–29); several extramural street widenings (729/1328–29 to 732/1331–32); ongoing restoration work at the Umayyad Mosque (727/1326 to 730/1329); the new palace mentioned above; the mausoleum and *ribāṭ* of the patron's wife (730/1330); repair of one of the city gates, Bāb Tūmah (734/1333); rebuilding of a bridge over the Turah River (735/1335).[69]

Outside of Damascus, the patron was equally active during this period, sponsoring a major ongoing project in Jerusalem, which included work on the city's canalization (727/1326–27 to 728/1327–28), the madrasah, *khānqāh, dār al-ḥadīth,* and *ribāṭ* foundation (729/1329), two baths, a *qaysārīyah,* and a number of restorations on behalf of the sultan at the Ḥaram al-Sharīf.[70] Tankiz also undertook restoration work at the Ḥaram al-Khalīl in Hebron (732/1332); construction and restoration in Ajlun (728/1328); alterations at the congregational mosque of Gaza (729/1330); and the rebuilding of Qal'at Ja'bar (733/1332–33 to 736/1335–36).[71] The fact that Tankiz had so many commissions underway concurrently could account for the unusually long delay in completion of the *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth.* The difficulties that he encountered with the institution's endowments, reported by Ibn Kathīr (see above), might also have contributed to the delay.

The significance of the physical setting for Tankiz's *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* must not be overlooked. At a time when the majority of new architectural

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[68]On these patterns, see Kenney, "Power," Chapter Six.

[69]Sources for these works are cited above.

[70]Kenney, "Power," Chapter Three. See also Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem,* 223–48 and 273–98.

[71]Kenney, "Power," 281–315 and 347–59.

commissions were situated outside the city walls, Tankiz erected his structure at the heart of the walled city. The fact that he was able to construct three of his new commissions in Damascus at such plum intramural sites demonstrates the patron′s purchasing power and political strength. An incident involving Sanjar al-Jawilī suggests the risk involved in refusing to cooperate with Tankiz′s schemes of property acquisition. According to al-Maqrīzī, Tankiz wanted to purchase a house owned by Sanjar located in the vicinity of the Jāmi‘ Tankiz. Sanjar refused to sell, so Tankiz took the matter before the sultan. Sanjar ended up in prison for eight years.[72]

The site of the *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* had other characteristics to recommend it, in addition to its intramural location. Its proximity to the Umayyad Mosque to the north, Sūq al-Kabīr to the south, and important markets streets to the west, guaranteed a steady stream of pedestrian traffic in its neighborhood. Passersby would be reminded of the patron′s generosity by seeing the building and by hearing the patron′s name included in the prayers conducted there.[73] This district south-west of the Umayyad Mosque became something of a focal point for Tankiz′s *intra muros* architectural and urban patronage. It was in this zone that he erected his magnificent new palace and his wife′s mausoleum, as well as his *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth.* Tankiz was responsible for refashioning this area in other ways as well. Around the same time that his *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* construction commenced, Tankiz began a major overhaul at the Umayyad Mosque. This renovation included the reopening of the south-west gate of the mosque, Bāb al-Ziyādah, which had long been closed.[74] Bāb al-Ziyādah led to a network of market streets south of the mosque, which Tankiz also reshaped. In 729/1328–29, he widened Sūq al-Silāḥ, a market street located on the north-south artery leading to the newly opened Bāb al-Ziyādah.[75] In the same year he ordered the clearing of encroachments and the widening of Sūq al-Nashābiyīn, the bowmakers′ market, which ran east-west linking Sūq al-Silāḥ and Sūq al-Buzūrīyīn.[76] In a zone farther

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[72]*Al-Mawā‘iẓ wa-al-I‘tibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1853), 2:389.

[73]According to al-Asyūṭī′s model for the ideal *dār al-qur'ān,* lessons were to be preceded by ″supplications for divine rewards for the endower, his family, and the Muslim dead in general.″ (Donald P. Little, ″Notes on Mamluk Madrasahs,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 [2002]: 14). In the *waqfīyah* of the Jerusalem Tankizīyah, this requirement was made explicit in the curricula for the traditionists, the law students, and the Sufis, as were the locations in specific *īwān*s of the building for their instructional and devotional activities (al-‘Asalī, *Wathā'iq,* 113–16).

[74]Flood demonstrates that the new gate was installed slightly to the east of the original one (*The Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies on the Makings of an Umayyad Visual Culture* [Leiden, 2001], 142).

[75]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah,* 14:144 f.

[76]Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1967), 262, n. 55.

to the west between the city gates, Bāb al-Naṣr and Bāb al-Jābiyah, he had shops demolished, benches removed from the streets, and even a mosque torn down and rebuilt in a different location (735/1335).[77] The following year, Tankiz ordered further clearing work in the coppersmiths′ market, located next to the Umayyad Mosque.[78] A number of the patron′s commercial properties were found in this area south of the Umayyad Mosque, as well. On the western end, at Bāb al-Jābiyah, there was one known as Khān al-ʻArāsah. At the southeast corner of the Umayyad Mosque was another, known as Sūq al-Dahshah. A third, Khān al-Bayḍ, was located on the north side of Sūq al-Kabīr.[79]

This zone south and west of the Umayyad Mosque was rich in historic associations. In Tankiz′s day, part of it was still called al-Khaḍrā', a reference to the Qaṣr al-Khaḍrā', the Umayyad palace that had once stood there.[80] It was in this zone that a cluster of monuments erected by Nūr al-Dīn was also to be found: the famous *bimāristān,* the funerary madrasah, and—on the plot next to the one Tankiz chose for his *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth*—the bath which supported Nūr al-Dīn′s madrasah endowment. Tankiz′s choice of building type may be related to an interest in creating associative links between himself and renowned rulers of the city′s past. Supposedly, it was Nūr al-Dīn who founded the first independent *dār al-ḥadīth* institution, which he erected in Damascus. [81] Prior to this development, hadith study had generally taken place under the aegis of other religious institutions or at the residences of the instructors. Nūr al-Dīn′s model was immediately adopted by other patrons and appears to have been particularly popular in Damascus. One of the characteristics of Tankiz as a builder was his astute manipulation of architecture, space and history—of the ″iconography of architecture″—to promote the construction of his own image.[82] By obtaining a property in this historically charged location for his new foundation, the patron was able to make his mark in history—quite literally. Just as he situated his building in physical proximity to

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[77]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah,* 14:171.

[78]Sauvaire, ″Description (Conclusion),″ 204.

[79]Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah,* 14:74; Riḥāwī, ″Khānāt,″ 53–54.

[80]See, for example, the description of this neighborhood in Ibn Baṭṭūṭah′s account (Guy Le Strange, *Palestine Under the Moslems: A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from AD 650 to 1500* [London, 1890], 270).

[81]Fuat Sezgin, ″Dār al-Ḥadīth,″ *EI*^{2}, 2:125–26.

[82]For an innovative application of Richard Krautheimer′s theory of the iconography of architecture (″Introduction to an ′Iconography of Medieval Architecture,′″ *Journal of the Warburg and Courtald Institutes* 5 [1942]: 1–33) to Mamluk references to the Umayyad past, see Flood, ″Umayyad Survivals,″ 57–79; on this theme, see also Bethany Walker, ″Commemorating the Sacred Spaces of the Past: The Mamluks and the Umayyad Mosque at Damascus,″ *Near Eastern Archaeology* 67, no. 1 (2004): 26–39.

important monuments of the past, he positioned himself relative to their illustrious founders.

Furthermore, it is interesting to note that Tankiz introduced an additional element to Nūr al-Dīn′s concept, by combining a Quran school with the *dār al-ḥadīth*. In fact, Tankiz has been credited with innovating this particular type of dual-purpose foundation.[83] However, it is not entirely certain that this was, in fact, an innovation; nor is it clear how significant such a distinction of function was at the time. Part of the problem lies with the slippery terminology, which confounds the taxonomies and chronologies of historians, both medieval and modern. For example, at the much earlier *dār al-ḥadīth* founded by Ibn Shaddād in Aleppo (618/1221), the foundation inscription specifically labels the building as a *dār al-ḥadīth*, but then goes on to state that the endowment was to provide instruction in Quran studies as well as hadith.[84] Al-Nu‘aymī′s list of *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth*s in Damascus puts the Tankizīyah as the earliest such institution. Yet, as pointed out above, the building′s foundation inscription contains no mention of the term *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth*, but rather refers to the building as a madrasah.[85] With such variability of institutional nomenclature and function, it is difficult to claim that Tankiz′s foundation represents a distinct innovation and that such an innovation would have had significance in the patron′s own time. In any case, as a dual-purpose building type, the *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth* does not appear to have attained the popularity among subsequent building patrons that Nūr al-Dīn′s *dār al-ḥadīth* did. Al-Nu‘aymī′s survey of institutions in Damascus lists only three *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth*s, as opposed to thirteen *dār al-ḥadīth*s and seven *dār al-qur'ān*s.

Conclusion

In light of the centrality of Tankiz in the political arena of his day, the impact of his building works on Mamluk architectural development, and the interest of his commissions for the study of architectural and urban patronage, it is important for the extent of his works to be understood as well as possible. In the case of the patron′s *dār al-qur'ān wa-al-ḥadīth,* the remains of the original building appear to

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[83]Sezgin, ″Dār al-Ḥadīth,″ 126.

[84]Tabbaa, *Constructions,* 43–44.

[85]The inscription also raises another intriguing point. What exactly was the role of Aydamur al-Mu‘īnī, at whose behest the building was constructed, according to the text? I have not arrived at a satisfactory identification for this figure. He clearly is not who von Kremer supposed him to be: an individual who died in the year 667/1268. Von Kremer erroneously attributes the building to that Aydamur and dates the building according to his death date (*Topographie,* 2:7). Also intriguing is the physical composition of this part of the inscription: it is inserted in two parts outside the frame of the cartouche bearing the foundation information. Was it an afterthought, or perhaps a later addition? Or did the engravers simply run out of space within the cartouche?

be under-represented in the scholarship on the architectural history of Damascus. It seems likely that the alterations to the interior mentioned by Wulzinger and Watzinger, Sauvaget, and others are not as comprehensive as these authors suggest. The turn-of-the-century revisions undertaken by Shaykh Kāmil probably correspond primarily to the elements of wood, brick, and plaster construction—the stairways, ceilings, balconies, and upper-story rooms. The lower level, with its solid construction of large stone masonry and its classic floor plan of four *īwān*s and corner rooms surrounding a central court, could very well belong to the original building and could provide at least a general outline of its configuration. The renovations appear to have been more additive than transformative in nature. In effect, the original building, which has been reduced over the course of the centuries architecturally through a succession of alterations, has been further diminished through a process of scholarly transmission. "Restoring" what remains of the original building to the corpus of Mamluk architecture of Damascus contributes to a clearer understanding of the architectural chronology of the region and of broader issues about Mamluk architectural patronage.

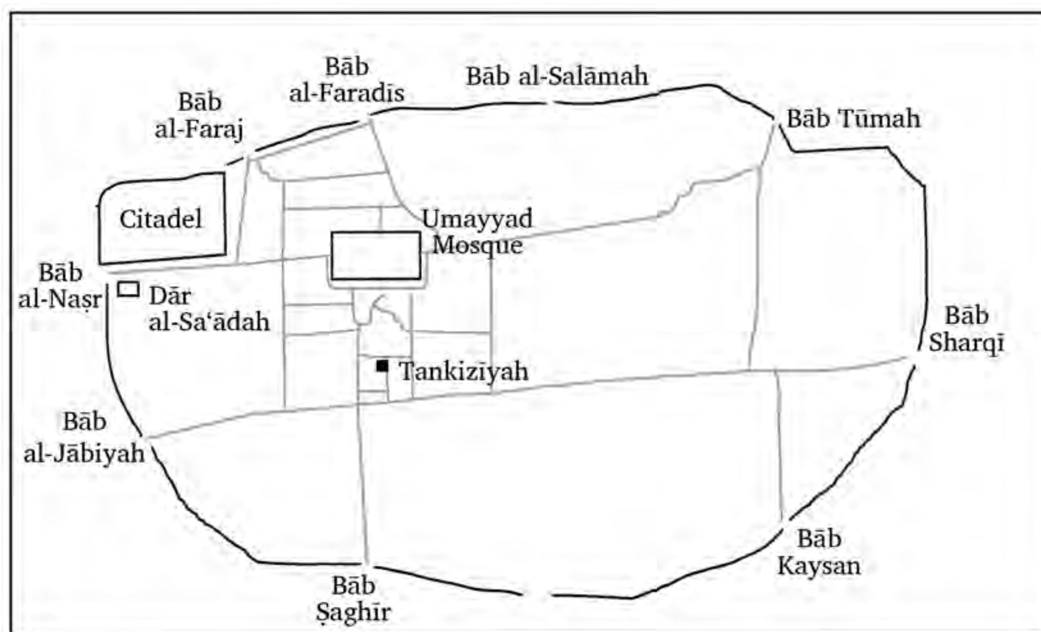


Fig. 1. Damascus, Tankizīyah: location map (not to scale)

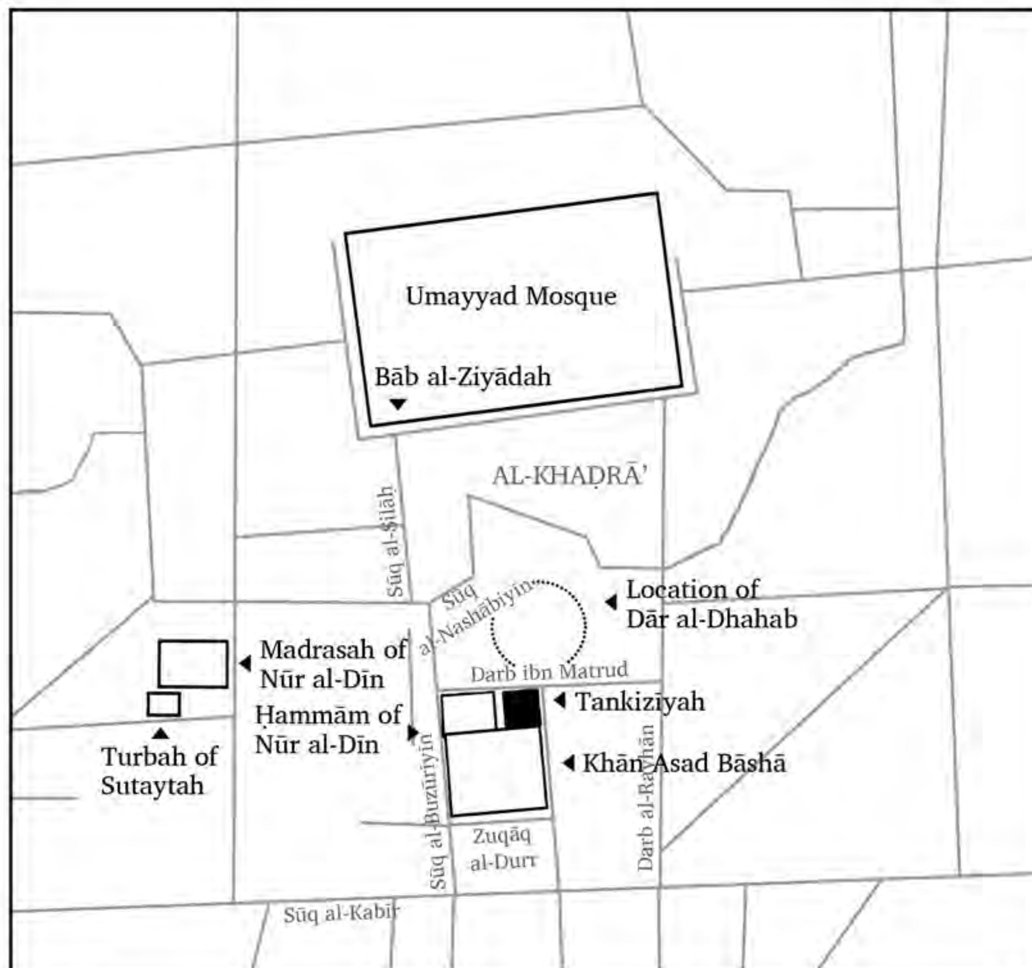


Fig. 2. Damascus, Tankizīyah: site map (not to scale)

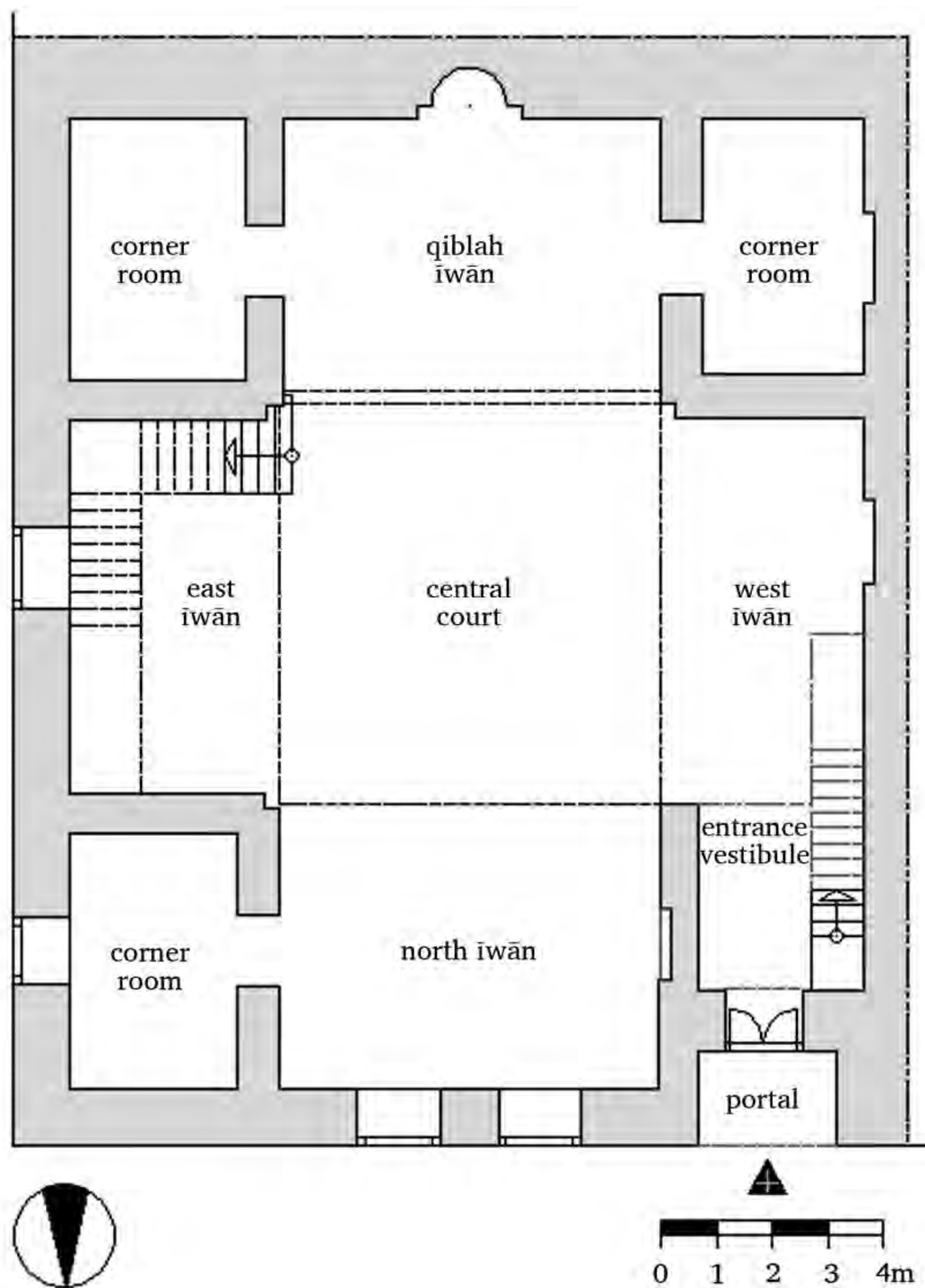


Fig. 3. Damascus, Tankizīyah: floor plan (S. Poschmann)



Fig. 4. Damascus, Tankizīyah: north façade

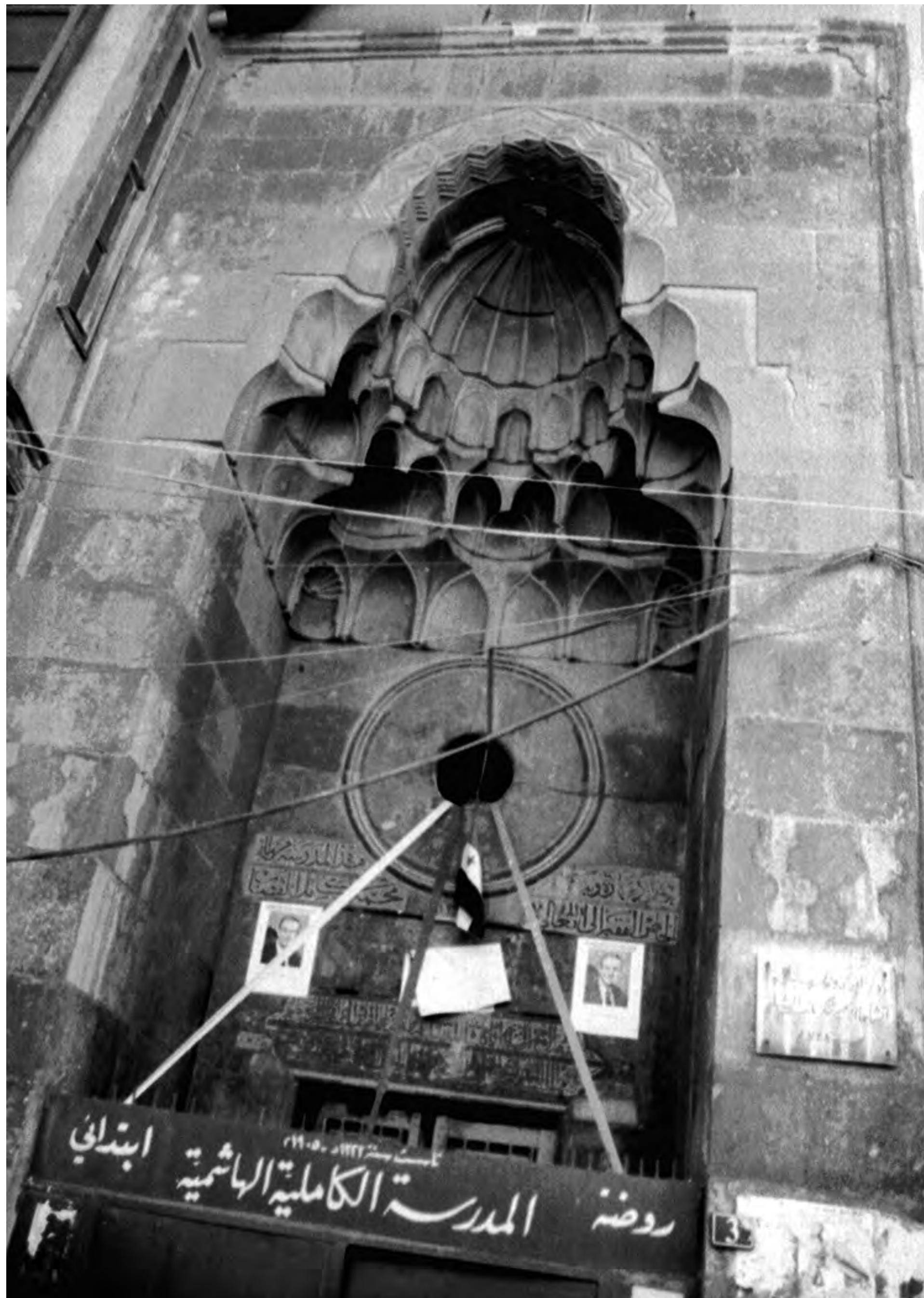


Fig. 5. Damascus, Tankizīyah: portal



Fig. 6. Damascus, Tankizīyah: foundation inscription



Fig. 7. Damascus, Tankizīyah: east façade



Fig. 8. Damascus, Tankizīyah: east façade, large window



Fig. 9. Damascus, Tankizīyah: interior, view of south *īwān*



Fig. 10. Damascus, Tankizīyah: interior, view of north and west *īwān*s



Fig. 11. Damascus, Tankizīyah: interior, view of east *īwān*

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Faḥl during the Early Mamluk Period: Archaeological Perspectives

The Jordan Valley in Mamluk Archaeology

The hot and fertile Jordan Rift Valley, copiously provided with water by the many springs and waterway systems it embraces, has featured prominently in the archaeology of Mamluk southern Bilād al-Shām since the mid-twentieth century (fig. 1). The information generated by a number of early surveys and excavations in the valley was interpreted as evidence for renewed prosperity from the thirteenth century, brought about by widespread resettlement and a rejuvenated rural economy based on the cultivation of sugar cane. The evidence was also seen as suggesting that this prosperity suddenly ended in the mid to late fourteenth century due to the collapse of the sugar industry, abandonment of the land, and growing nomad infiltrations. In pioneering archaeological work undertaken on the floor of the broader eastern side of the valley, site occupation datable to Mamluk times was especially easy to identify due to the distinctive glazed, industrial and hand-made painted ceramics typical of the period, while many prominent hydraulic installations were likewise effortless to detect and record.

Seminal amongst the early survey work in the valley was the comprehensive archaeological survey undertaken in two parts during early spring in 1975 and 1976 between the Yarmuk River and the Dead Sea on the east bank of the Jordan Valley.[1] A total of 224 sites were explored, of which 107 revealed evidence of ″Ayyubid/Mamluk″ occupation—that is, almost half of the sites surveyed. That impressive statistic encouraged Ibrahim, Sauer, and Yassine to remark: ″the epoch that was introduced with the Ayyubid/Mamluk witnessed a transformation of the Jordan Valley far beyond the scope of any that had occurred previously.″[2] They

[1]Mo‘awiyah Ibrahim, James A. Sauer, and Khair Yassine, ″The East Jordan Valley Survey, 1975 (Part One),″ *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 222 (1976): 41–66; Khair Yassine, James A. Sauer, and Mo‘awiyah Ibrahim, ″The East Jordan Valley Survey, 1976 (Part Two),″ in *Archaeology of Jordan: Essays and Reports,* ed. Khair Yassine (Amman, 1988), 189–207; and the publication of the Ayyubid to Ottoman ceramics from the survey in Jum‘a M. H. Kareem, *The Settlement Patterns in the Jordan Valley in the Mid- to Late Islamic Period,* BAR International Series, no. 877 (Oxford, 2000), 66–80.

[2]Yassine, Sauer, and Ibrahim, ″East Jordan Valley Survey, 1976 (Part Two),″ 203.

concluded that many new sites were founded, and sugar mills established at water sources. "Ayyubid/Mamluk" occupation was especially easy to identify in the valley through the ubiquitous presence of sugar pots.

The perceived rapid increase, near explosion, of settlement profiles in Mamluk times has been commonly associated with the agricultural development of the valley by land-owning amirs and especially the estate-style cultivation of sugar cane using servile labor.[3] While recent studies have moved towards presenting more complicated explanations for settlement development and change for all Jordan during the middle ages, there is little doubt that the Mamluk period is a significant one in the social and economic history of the rift valley.

Contributing to an understanding of settlement profiles in the Jordan Valley during Mamluk times are the results of excavations undertaken in the early 1980s at Ṭabaqat Faḥl by team members from the Sydney component of the Sydney-Wooster Excavations at Pella (fig. 1). Work on the main archaeological mound in particular exposed significant Mamluk-period settlement at the site, including a mosque, occupational levels belonging to an adjacent settlement, and a large cemetery at the eastern end of the mound. This article focuses on the results of that work, including new ceramic studies undertaken by McPhillips, and reviews the insights these excavations offer for understanding the nature of human settlement in the Jordan Valley during the Mamluk period.

Faḥl within the *Mamlakah* of Damascus

Ṭabaqat Faḥl, more simply known as Faḥl into early Ottoman times,[4] did not escape the notice of Islamic geographers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Noted in both the geographical compilation of al-Dimashqī (d. ca. 1327) and the exhaustive study of al-Qalqashandī (d. 1418), the *Iqlīm Faḥl* was one of the many districts that formed the extensive Mamlakat Dimashq in Bilād al-Shām during the Mamluk period (1250–1517).[5] In Jordan the territory of the Mamlakat Dimashq

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[3]Generally on investment in sugar by Mamluk amirs, see E. Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ, 1983), 206–8; idem, "Levantine Sugar Industry in the Late Middle Ages: a Case of Technological Decline," in *The Islamic Middle East, 700–1900,* ed. A. L. Udovitch (Princeton, NJ, 1981), 91–112.

[4]Initially named Fiḥl in Umayyad and Abbasid times, the name transmuted into Faḥl at some point between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, probably because the original name was meaningless in Arabic, as noted by al-Ya'qūbī (Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Abī Ya'qūb ibn Ja'far al- Ya'qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān,* trans. M. J. De Goeje, Bibliotheca Geographicorum Arabicorum, vol. 7 [Leiden, 1892], 327, l. 55). The village name of Faḥl persists in the early Ottoman *daftar*s, for which see W. D. Hütteroth and K. Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography of Palestine, Trans-Jordan and South Syria in the Late 16th Century* (Erlangen, 1977), 167.

[5]Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Dimashqī, a Syrian, died in Ṣafad in 727/1327; D. M. Dunlop,

encompassed all of the territory north of the dramatically deep gorge of Wādī Mūjib, and was partitioned into five main regions.[6] While arrangements were fluid, these regions were in general:

1) the Balqā' region, which included the towns of al-Salṭ, Amman, and al-Zarqā', all fortified under the Ayyubids;[7] also Ḥisbān, a town of sufficient importance to be the capital of the Balqā' for a period;[8]

2) the Jabal 'Awf region including the fortified town of 'Ajlūn, the castle of which was built between 1188 and 1192 and extended in 1214–15;[9]

3) the Sawād (used specifically to designate an area under cultivation), and in particular the district *(iqlīm)* of Bayt Rās and that of Faḥl;[10]

4) the upper Ghawr (properly the floor of the Jordan Valley) with its principal town of al-Quṣayr, modern North Shūnah, seemingly equipped with a small fort (as the name would suggest);

5) the middle Ghawr around the town of 'Amatah (modern Abū 'Ubaydah), the burial place of the supreme commander of the Muslim forces in Bilād al-Shām and one of the Companions of the Prophet.

Hence the boundary between the Mamlakat Dimashq and the Mamlakat al-Karak was positioned along the Wādī Mūjib/Wādī Wālah catchment, which placed the southern Ghawr in Karak. Zīzah (modern Jīzah) in the Balqā' seemingly functioned as a forward post on the Karak road, as it was equipped with a water reservoir and a solid fort.[11]

"Al-Dimashḳī," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 2:291; Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās al-Qalqashandī, an Egyptian, was an accomplished Mamluk bureaucrat who died in 821/1418; C. Edmund Bosworth, "Al-Ḳalḳashandī," *EI*^{2}, 4:509–11. Both works, while essentially authoritative, incorporated much material drawn from other sources, some early.

[6]For a recent synopsis of modern scholarship on Mamluk administrative divisions in Jordan, see Bethany J. Walker, "Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilad al-Sham in the Eighth/Fourteenth Century: the Case of Hisban," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 62, no. 4 (2003): 241–43.

[7]Salṭ: M. Adnan Bakhit, "Al-Salṭ," *EI*^{2}, 8:999–1000; J. Garrow Duncan, "Es-Salt," *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (1928): 28–100; Amman: A. Ostrasz, "The Citadel of Amman: The Conservation and Restoration of the Ayyubid Tower," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 41 (1997): 395–402; Jason Wood, "The Fortifications," in *Studies on Roman and Islamic 'Amman,* ed. Alastair Northedge (Oxford, 1992), 105–113–14, 125; al-Zarqā': Andrew Petersen, "Two Forts on the Medieval Hajj Route in Jordan," *ADAJ* 35 (1991): 347–50.

[8]Walker, "Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilad al-Sham," 249–50.

[9]C. N. Johns, "Medieval 'Ajlun," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine* 1 (1932): 21–33; R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: the Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193–1260* (New York, 1977), 77.

[10]Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Dimashqī, *Nukhbat al-Dahr fī 'Ajā'ib al-Barr wa-al-Baḥr,* trans. A. Mehren, Collectio Editionum Rariorum Orientalium (Leipzig, 1923), 201, l. 3.

[11]David Kennedy, *The Roman Army in Jordan* (London, 2000), 123–24; Petersen, "Two Forts on

Within the *Iqlīm Faḥl* and giving the district its name was the settlement of Faḥl, an ancient place continuously occupied since before 6000 B.C.E. due to the presence of fertile lands and multiple springheads, the latter creating the second most powerful water source in the Jordan Valley between Lake Tiberias and the Dead Sea.[12] The middle Islamic name of Faḥl can be traced back to the ancient Semitic name ″Pahil,″[13] and the continuity of this name over four millennia is indicative of the site′s long history of settlement. The historical significance of Faḥl was partly strategic, partly resource-based. In addition to abundant water and good soils, Faḥl served as a traditional ″gateway″ location between the coastal routes of Palestine and the highland roads that traversed the Jordan highlands. Although in most of the Mamluk period the main lateral road from east to west passed north of Faḥl over the Jisr al-Mujāmiʻah, which joined Baysān with al-Quṣayr, the site retained a strategic importance as it lay between the fortified settlements of al-Quṣayr in the upper Jordan valley and ʻAjlūn, positioned high in the Jabal ʻAwf region to the south-east.

The Archaeology of Mamluk Faḥl

The occupational history of Faḥl in middle Islamic times received scant attention until the Sydney University team commenced archaeological investigations on the main *tall* of Ṭabaqat Faḥl in the 1980s.[14] While recent excavations have uncovered more Mamluk levels on the southern edge of the *tall,* as described below, the investigations are still limited to the mosque, small areas of the settlement, and part of the cemetery.

The first attention to Islamic-period occupation at Faḥl, albeit only modest, came out of a reasonably detailed survey of the site undertaken by John Richmond

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the Medieval Hajj Route,″ 350–55.

[12]Water Resources Development Directorate—Water Quality and Pollution Control Division, *Water Quality in Jordan, Part 1: Springs* (Amman, 1979), ″Tabaqat Fahil″ with a mean discharge of 1391.32 cubic meters per hour as recorded in 1972 and 1975; Department of Water Resources Development, *Spring Flow Data in Jordan Prior to October 1985,* Technical Paper No. 51 (Amman, 1986), with a median flow of 1130 cubic meters per hour as recorded in 1972–74 and 1983–86. Peak flow was between April and September, the summer growing and autumn processing seasons.

[13]Or ″Pahila,″ transliterated to ″Pahir″ in Egyptian and first attested ca. 1800 B.C.E.; Robert H. Smith, *Pella of the Decapolis Volume 1: The 1967 Season of the College of Wooster Expedition to Pella* (Wooster, OH, 1973), 24–25.

[14]Names continue to be transformed by events at Ṭabaqat Faḥl. Today the archaeological *tall* is locally referred to as ″Bella,″ whereas Ṭabaqat Faḥl is the official name for the village on the plain to the west of the antiquities site.

in the 1930s.[15] His published description focuses on the visible tombs and architecture, noting early churches and the absence of "Crusader work."[16] Structures on the flat top of the mound are ignored, even though "Arab" ruins are labeled on the accompanying map along with the limits of a new village (fig. 2), in existence until bombed during the War of Attrition (1967–70) and still in ruins when first visited by Walmsley in 1977 (fig. 3).[17] The map also shows the clear outline of a rectangular building next to an "Arab Cemetery" on the southern edge of the mound, but only incidentally does Richmond identify this building as a mosque in a caption to a photograph (fig. 4). Further observations of Islamic medieval ceramics were made by Nelson Glueck in a 1942 visit,[18] and then in 1958 the first real indication of the extent of Middle Islamic occupation at Faḥl came about from work in one of two exploratory soundings undertaken by R. W. Funk and H. N. Richardson on the main mound at Faḥl.[19] Here they initially encountered some two meters of "Medieval and early Arab occupation," but about which very little else was said except that "the strata were not clearly defined for the most part."[20] With the 1967 excavations of Robert Smith, which focused on the West Church and tombs, a corpus of Middle Islamic pottery was recovered from tomb overburden in Area II, the tombs east of the main mound (fig. 5).[21] Tomb 2 produced ceramics of Middle Islamic date mixed with fragmentary human bone, but unlikely from a burial.[22] Tomb 7, which had collapsed into an underlying tomb (8), had significant Middle Islamic material, including sheep, goat, camel, and cattle bones (the latter

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[15]John Richmond, "Khirbet Fahil," *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 66, no. 1 (1934): 18–31.

[16]Ibid., 29.

[17]This village features prominently in the photographs on the endpapers of Smith's publication of his 1967 season of excavations, and is accompanied by a vivid first-hand account of the June War and the damage that was subsequently inflicted on Ṭabaqat Faḥl and its village; Smith, *Pella of the Decapolis 1,* 21–22.

[18]Nelson Glueck, *Explorations in Eastern Palestine IV,* Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 25/28 (New Haven, CT, 1951), 254–57.

[19]Nine days were devoted to digging, for which forty laborers from the village were hired "including about half women and girls who proved to be excellent workers"; R. W. Funk and H. N. Richardson, "The 1958 Sounding at Pella," *Biblical Archaeologist* 21 (1958): 82.

[20]Ibid., 88–89. There is no doubt that the levels associated with the Mamluk settlement of Faḥl are archaeologically challenging, but Funk and Richardson betray their disinterest in the Islamic periods elsewhere in their account. In their brief report, they devote two pages to outlining ancient historical references to Faḥl and nearly four to its Graeco-Roman and early Christian history, but no mention is made of Islamic references to the site although these had already been made available 75 years earlier in Guy Le Strange, "Account of a Short Journey East of the Jordan," *PEQ* 16 (1885): 157–80.

[21]Smith, *Pella of the Decapolis 1,* 168–95.

[22]Ibid., 177.

suggesting sedentary life) either dumped or washed in, or both.[23] The ceramics ranged from glazed wares, mostly local slipped-glazed but also blue-black underglazed frit ware and glazed relief ware, to the ubiquitous Hand-Made Geometric Painted wares (HMGPW), sugar pots and basins, and coarse cooking wares.[24]

Accordingly with the commencement of the University of Sydney′s excavations in 1979 on the main mound, some knowledge of Middle Islamic settlement at Faḥl had already been retrieved from earlier work, but none of this gave useful details about the nature of that settlement or its geographical and chronological extent. The first encounter was with an extensive cemetery in the south-eastern corner of the mound, located over an area of Byzantine-Umayyad housing destroyed in the earthquake of 749 C.E. (fig. 5, Area IV).[25] Attention was subsequently directed towards the mosque (Area XVII), the outline of which was still clearly visible on the top of the mound next to the cemetery of the modern village, the burial ground still being in use at the time (fig. 6).[26] In an at times harsh winter of 1982, Ghazi Bisheh as the Departmental Representative supervised the excavation of the mosque, uncovering a rectangular building made of reused stone blocks. A third area of Mamluk occupation on the mound at Faḥl was uncovered with the opening of two rectangular excavation units to the east and west of the reopened Square 1 of Funk and Richardson, where significant Hellenistic deposits had been found in the 1958 sounding and more were hoped for (fig. 5, Area XXIII).[27] Little architecture of Mamluk date was uncovered in this area; rather, thin interweaved courtyard levels were encountered instead. The complexities of the strata called for meticulous excavation, yet were rich with discarded material culture. More recently further Middle Islamic material was uncovered through the excavations of S. Bourke in Area XXXII, located immediately south of the mosque. In spite of

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[23]Ibid., 193–95.

[24]Ibid., 236–43. That Smith retrieved and published this material is commendable, while his reluctance to place plain wheel-made wares after the Abbasid period can be excused given the poor state of knowledge at the time.

[25]Stephen Bourke, ″First Preliminary Report on the Excavation and Study of Human Remains at Pella,″ in *Pella in Jordan 2: The Second Interim Report of the Joint University of Sydney and College of Wooster Excavations at Pella 1982–1985,* ed. A. W. McNicoll, J. Hanbury-Tenison, et al. (Sydney, 1992), 225–26; also Christopher Browne, ″Palaeopathological Survey of the Human Remains from Pella,″ in *Pella in Jordan 2,* 227–29; Christopher Browne, ″Arthritis in Antiquity,″ *Patient Management* (1991): 29–34.

[26]Fuller details in Alan Walmsley, ″Settled Life in Mamluk Jordan: Views of the Jordan Valley from Faḥl (Pella),″ *ARAM* 10 (1998): 1–15; see also idem, ″The Islamic Period: the Later Islamic Periods,″ in *Pella in Jordan 2,* 190–92, but now dated.

[27]Walmsley, ″Settled Life in Mamluk Jordan,″ 192–93.

its limitations, the material from these four discrete areas provide a more detailed insight into the settlement of Faḥl in Mamluk times, including its place in the cultural and economic life of the Jordan Valley.

The Mosque at Faḥl

The Faḥl mosque was built on open land towards the southern edge of the main mound, with the settlement located to its north and west (fig. 2, ″Arab″ ruins). Given its open location there was no restriction on the mosque′s plan, which conformed to the shape of a plain rectangle measuring some 19 by 9.5 meters (fig. 7). A niche (mihrab) projecting some 1.8 meters was placed mid-point in the long south (qiblah) wall, and emphasized internally by the incorporation of two short columns on either side of the niche. To its right (west) the remains of three stone steps were uncovered, which clearly belonged to a minbar (fig. 8). The only doorway into the building was placed axially opposite the mihrab in the north wall of the mosque, either side of which were three evenly-spaced vertical windows, making six in total. The northern wall faced part of the settlement, and to separate the mosque from the cemetery to the east a wall extended out northwards from the north-east corner of the hall. No evidence for a porch was found in front of the entrance wall.

Internally, the hall of the mosque, measuring ca. 7.25 by 14.5 meters, was divided into three lateral aisles by two rows of four low-set columns positioned some 4.25 meters apart. The columns once carried six high-pointed arches, the voussoirs of which were found between the columns in a tumbled but orderly line upon the earth floor. At either end of the rows the columns were buttressed by a small wall against the short east and west walls, surely to carry the outward thrust of the colonnades. The remains of thin walls between the end columns suggest that all six recesses formed by the buttresses were made into benches and/or screened off from the body of the hall, more than likely with drapes. As the floor area of the hall measured ca. 105 square meters, it could have supported a congregation of up to 85–100 persons, and the presence of a minbar indicates a resident imam at some time in the mosque′s history.

Construction of the mosque was of stone throughout, except probably for the roof. Much of the building stone came from reused material, especially the columns, one of which was of Troad grey granite, and the well-squared overlapping blocks at the wall corners. All the walls were built in 0.35 meter-deep foundation trenches with the exception of the qiblah wall, where it was built almost directly on the ground surface. The columns inside the hall were sunk from a half to three-quarters of a meter below the floor surface. The floor as found was essentially compacted earth, although remnants of a plaster surface were found in front of the mihrab. Mats made out of reeds, once copious in the Wādī Jirm, were probably used to

cover the floor. The roof was almost certainly flat, built from a traditional construct of wood beams, cane, and matting sealed over with earth.[28]

Architectural Context of the Mosque

The Faḥl mosque is not a unique structure in the architectural heritage of Mamluk Jordan. Since its unearthing a number of other Mamluk-period mosques have been located, and some excavated, in the region, many of which conform to the style of the Faḥl mosque.[29]

Two prominent mosques clearly belong to the same architectural tradition as the example at Faḥl. The first and perhaps earlier of the two is the small mosque in the Ayyubid-period fort at Azraq. This building, the result of a major reconstruction of an earlier Roman-period fort, is dated to 1236–37 by an inscription over the entrance doorway, and attributes its construction to ʻIzz al-Dīn Aybak, Lord of Ṣalkhad. The mosque, probably part of ʻIzz al-Dīn's building program, is a free-standing structure of basalt placed in the center of the fort's courtyard. In plan the mosque is essentially rectangular, with its long axis running parallel to the qiblah wall. The hall features a double, laterally-oriented line of high-pointed arches that spring from deeply buried columns (fig. 9). The roof is flat and of stone, although rebuilt. However, the Azraq mosque is not as wide as the example at Faḥl, with two instead of three arches per row, while the arches terminate on pilasters, not engaged pillars. Also different is the location of the doorway, which is in the short east wall, as is the inclusion of only two windows, one either side of the mihrab high up in the qiblah wall.

The second mosque stands in front of the Cave of the Sleepers (al-Kahf wa-al-Raqīm), located south-east of Amman. Tradition holds this is the cave mentioned in the Quran in which a group of youths hide with their dog Qiṭmīr, sleeping, for 300 or 309 years to preserve their faith (Quran 18:9–26, "al-Kahf"). In later times the site was venerated by the construction of two mosques; one above the cave, perhaps Umayyad, and a second in front of the cave, either later Ayyubid or Mamluk. This latter mosque had a doorway in the short west wall,

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[28]After excavation the partially collapsed south wall was restored. Subsequently, the mosque walls were partially and sympathetically rebuilt in a traditional style by the Ministry of Religious Affairs.

[29]Editor's note: In addition to the structures described below, a contemporary mosque of nearly identical scale, construction, and plan was recently surveyed in the village of Ḥubrāṣ, roughly 22 kilometers northeast of Faḥl (Bethany J. Walker, "The Northern Jordan Survey 2003—Agriculture in Late Islamic Malka and Hubras Villages: A Preliminary Report on the First Season," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 339 [2005]: 76–77). It is currently being excavated and restored by Grand Valley State University, with the collaboration of the Jordanian Department of Antiquities and the Ministry of Religious Endowments.

which led to an irregular courtyard positioned between the qiblah wall of the mosque and the cut rock face containing the tomb entrance. A second, blocked doorway in the west wall might suggest the mosque was an adaptation of an earlier building, maybe a church. From the court, entry to the mosque was through three broad openings in the north wall each ca. 2.37 meters wide, probably originally arched and left permanently open. In the center of the south wall a two-meter deep mihrab was located and, to the right (west), a minbar built of stone blocks with four steps remaining. Given the considerable thickness of the walls, the al-Kahf mosque may have been roofed with a stone vault.

Community mosques of a similar style were also built in other towns and villages in Jordan as part of a general program of cultural and political restructuring to counteract Shiʿite-Fatimid and Crusader influence in the region. The village of Sūf, northwest of Jarash, was equipped with a mosque of rectangular shape with lateral colonnades, while a number of long-room mosques each with a deep, horseshoe-shaped mihrab have been identified in the ʿAjlūn area, some of which have been excavated in recent years.[30]

The Cemetery

An extensive cemetery belonging to the Mamluk settlement has been identified on the south-eastern quadrant of the main mound, probably starting to the east of the mosque where a modern cemetery, no longer in use but protected, is located. The excavation of the eastern sector of the Mamluk cemetery was coincidental to the principal intention of the work in Area IV, which was to investigate the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine settlement of Pella over an extended area.[31] Between 1979 and 1982, over 250 individuals were disinterred, consisting of 110 adults and 142 children and adolescents. All were buried in ovoid pits measuring 1.5 to 1.75 meters in length and about 0.5 meters wide. Each body was laid in a pit on its right side, extended, with the head pointing east and the face turned to the south

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[30] Yūsuf Ghawānimah, *Al-Masājid al-Islāmīyah al-Qadīmah fī Minṭiqat ʿAjlūn* (Irbid, 1986); Neil D. MacKenzie, "Ayyubid/Mamluk Archaeology of the ʿAjlun Area: A Preliminary Typology," *ADAJ* 46 (2002): 615–20.

[31] Interim reports in P. Watson, "The Byzantine Period: Byzantine Domestic Occupation in Areas III and IV," in *Pella in Jordan 2,* 163–81; Anthony McNicoll, Robert H. Smith, and Alan Walmsley, "Chapter 7: The Umayyad Period," in *Pella in Jordan 1. An Interim Report on the Joint University of Sydney and The College of Wooster Excavations at Pella 1979–1981,* ed. Anthony McNicoll, Robert H. Smith, and Basil Hennessy (Canberra, 1982), 123–41; A. W. McNicoll, "Chapter 6: The Hellenistic Period," in *Pella in Jordan 2,* 103–18; a more recent assessment of the Umayyad houses in Alan Walmsley, "Households at Pella, Jordan: the Domestic Destruction Deposits of the Mid-Eighth Century," in *Objects in Context, Objects in Use: The Archaeology of Everyday Life,* ed. Adam Gutteridge, Ellen Swift, and Mattia Guidetti, Late Antique Archaeology (Leiden, in press).

(the qiblah). In some instances rough field stones were laid along the pit flanking the body. Grave goods were scarce, mostly personal jewelry such as finger rings, earrings, and bracelets in glass and copper.[32]

As a result of a study of the skeletal material by Stephen Bourke,[33] it was concluded that the average life span of the Mamluk population was 30 to 35 years, perhaps a little lower than in earlier periods but nevertheless close to a standard pre-industrial life expectancy. The absence of any trauma to the bones would suggest that the principal cause of death was acute infection. Female lifespan was slightly less than males, probably due to the hazards of childbirth. Bourke noted that small changes in the morphology of the Mamluk population could be observed when compared to the earlier Roman-period population at Faḥl, which were suggestive of the introduction of Negroid and Asiatic (Turkic?) groups into the local population. Overall, however, this shift was only minor; rather, the evidence was for ″significant biological continuity from Roman through to Mamluk times.″[34] In other words, the Mamluk population of Faḥl was genetically little separated from their Roman-Byzantine predecessors, indicating Mamluk Faḥl was inhabited by people drawn from the local population, and not predominantly by outsiders such as imported labor.

A pathological study of the Mamluk skeletal material by C. D. Browne has identified compelling evidence for degenerative spinal disease and osteoarthritis of peripheral joints in the population of Faḥl.[35] These are degenerative joint diseases caused by hard work. While infant mortality levels were high, as common in pre-industrial societies, the stature of the population, bone mineralization, dental features, and the absence of skeletal deformities was suggestive of generally good levels of nutrition.

The Mamluk Settlement

The Mamluk-period settlement of Faḥl was in two sections, located to the north and east of the mosque. A rough outline of ruins corresponding to the settlement is given on Richmond′s fold-out plan,[36] and in the 1980s could still be easily

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[32]On glass bracelets in the Jordan Valley, see Margreet Steiner, ″Glass Bracelets from Tall Abu Sarbut,″ in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* (Amman, 1995), 5:537–39.

[33]Stephen Bourke and Karen Hendrix, ″Twenty Years of Australian Physical Anthropology in Jordan: Retrospects and Prospects,″ in *Australians Uncovering Ancient Jordan: Fifty Years of Middle Eastern Archaeology,* ed. Alan Walmsley (Sydney/Amman, 2001), 77–88; Bourke, ″Excavation and Study of Human Remains at Pella,″ 221 and 225–26.

[34]Bourke and Hendrix, ″Twenty Years of Australian Physical Anthropology in Jordan,″ 86.

[35]Browne, ″Palaeopathological Survey of the Human Remains from Pella″; idem, ″Arthritis in Antiquity.″

[36]Richmond, ″Khirbet Fahil,″ pl. V; see fig. 2 of this article.

traced by a spread of truncated stone walls and pottery scatter. The remains were visible in two parts: over an area of approximately 110 by 80 meters north of the mosque on the summit of the mound and a smaller area of 35 by 20 meters to the west of the mosque, in total about one hectare. The descriptions provided in the first European travelers´ accounts, especially that of G. Schumacher,[37] record that the collapsed house walls of the settlement still stood to considerable height in the nineteenth century, but by the time of Richmond´s visit in 1933 he could observe that ″no walls remain above ground level.″[38] The walls had, it seems, been removed in the first decades of the twentieth century to build the village of Ṭabaqat Faḥl, just as the West Church was being quarried for its stone by the villagers at the time of Richmond´s visit.[39] Nevertheless, surviving surface remains in the 1980s indicated that each domestic unit of the Mamluk settlement consisted of rooms facing out onto an open courtyard and surrounded by an enclosure wall.

Modest excavations during the 1988 season either side of Funk and Richardson´s 1950s´ sounding in the center of the mound (designated Area XXIII) exposed finely stratified layers belonging to a courtyard, consisting of a complex sequence of accumulated deposits consisting of interleaved black ash and yellow clay lenses.[40] Although conducted on a small scale, the excavations succeeded in producing an excellent sequence of ceramics from the early Mamluk period, firmly dated by coins, and forms part of McPhillips´ study that follows.

Mamluk Pottery from Faḥl

Ceramics from Faḥl broadly datable to the Mamluk period represent a distinct corpus of wares that can be clearly differentiated from the early and pre-Islamic material culture of the site. The following report focuses on a representative selection of ceramic material recovered by the University of Sydney team in 1988 from two excavation plots, each of which measured five by ten meters, located in the center of the main archaeological tell of Khirbat Faḥl to the west (plot XXIIID) and east (plot XXIIIE) of Funk and Richardson´s original 1958 sounding.[41] These excavations revealed evidence of courtyard residential compounds constructed in stone and mud brick walls and beaten earth floors.[42] The structures were associated

[37]Gottlieb Schumacher, *Pella* (London, 1888).

[38]Richmond, ″Khirbet Fahil,″ 30

[39]Ibid., 26.

[40]First reported in Walmsley, ″The Islamic Period: the Later Islamic Periods,″ 192–93.

[41]Ibid., 192.

[42]In 1999, excavations directed by Stephen Bourke brought to light more Middle Islamic material, in association with courtyard housing units divided by what is probably a street (pers. comm., Stephen Bourke). This material has been studied by McPhillips and will be included in the final

with at least nine Mamluk-period stratigraphic sequences of occupation and other deposits, while eleven copper alloy coins minted between 1341 and the final decade of the fourteenth century have been identified from Area XXIII, providing some elements for the creation of a relative chronology for the accompanying pottery corpus.[43]

The Mamluk sequences represent a single period of Middle Islamic occupation and are superposed directly over Byzantine and early Islamic occupation, recognized by a sharp break in the material culture: there is no evidence available to suggest occupation in this zone in the intervening Islamic centuries or later than the fifteenth century.[44] This interim report is not intended to be definitive, nor does it include the full range of comparative published data, but rather it brings up to date the current state of knowledge of the ceramics from the site based on a study of the Area XXIII pottery undertaken by McPhillips in the spring of 2000.[45] A total of 1726 vessel fragments from the 1988 Area XXIII excavations have been assigned to twelve categories of ware and to a more detailed typology according to form.[46] The following discussion presents an overview of this material with an indication of its importance relative to the rest of the assemblage. The catalogue number of the featured specimens is given in parentheses.

HAND-MADE WARES

HAND-MADE GEOMETRIC PAINTED WARE (324, FIG. 10)

Often referred to by the acronym HMGPW,[47] this ware is constantly present in

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publication on Mamluk Faḥl.

[43]Alan Walmsley, ″Islamic Coins,″ in *Pella in Jordan 1979–1990: The Coins,* ed. Kenneth A. Sheedy, Robert Carson, and Alan Walmsley, Adapa Monograph Series, v. 1 (Sydney, 2001), 63–66, 152–53.

[44]The uppermost deposits in this area of the tell did see major perturbation after 1967, yet diagnostic Ottoman or later wares are not seen in surface or other deposits.

[45]Mamluk pottery has been published previously from Faḥl as follows: from Tomb 2 and Tomb 7 in Smith, *Pella of the Decapolis 1,* 236–43, pls. 70–77, 86, and 93–94; and a preliminary publication of the Area XXIII material in Walmsley, ″The Islamic Period: the Later Islamic Periods,″ 193–98, pls 125–27; and idem, ″Settled Life in Mamluk Jordan,″ 138–41, figs. 9–10. The present author has also presented a concise description with photographs in Stephen McPhillips, ″Ceramics from Middle Islamic Fahl,″ in *Australians Uncovering Ancient Jordan: Fifty Years of Middle Eastern Archaeology,* ed. Alan Walmsley (Sydney/Amman, 2001), 271–78.

[46]A much larger quantity of non-diagnostic pottery was examined by the current author, but this has not been added to the quantification given here as its value is affected by the discard of body sherds of unspecified wares at the time of excavation.

[47]See Jeremy Johns, ″The Rise of Middle Islamic Hand-Made Geometrically-Painted Ware in Bilad al-Sham (11th–13th Centuries A.D.),″ in *Colloque international d′archéologie islamique,* ed. Roland-Pierre Gayraud, IFAO, Textes arabes et études islamiques, vol. 36 (Cairo, 1998), 65–93.

non-elite sites in Bilād al-Shām from the twelfth century on through to the twentieth century.[48] At Faḥl it is the second most represented category of Mamluk pottery, and consists primarily of jars, bowls, and basins. Geometric decoration in black, brown, purple, or red paint is usually applied to the greater part of the surface over a thick coat of white slip. Several of the larger open forms in this ware also have applied bands with finger impressions on the exterior surface. The finished surface is often highly burnished, which contrasts with the often thickly and irregularly made character of this ware, which was produced in village bonfire kilns. There is considerable variation in the fabrics within the Faḥl assemblage, but they are always coarse and gritty, with abundant vegetal inclusions. A number of the examples possess textile impressions on the interior surface, indicating the use of a simple mold manufacturing technique.[49] Taken in combination with the two subsequent wares below, 31.2% of the assemblage consists of hand-made material.

Red Painted Hand-made Ware

Six pieces of a burnished ware with a thinly applied red painted exterior decoration occur in this assemblage. A similar ware has elsewhere been suggested as a possible precursor to the more common HMGPW in Jordan.[50]

Hand-made Coarse Ware (209, Fig. 11)

This sizeable group of pottery consists of jars with large horizontal loop handles, jugs, and bowls in a thick walled ware containing abundant coarse crystalline and other inclusions. The exterior surface of this type is frequently slipped and burnished. These were clearly used as cooking pots, for there is evidence of burning on the interior or exterior surfaces of some of the Faḥl examples. This class of ceramic is common throughout Middle Islamic Bilād al-Shām in the Mamluk period.[51]

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[48]At the Damascus Citadel excavations this ware is notable by its near absence; see Stephen McPhillips, "Twelfth Century Pottery from the Citadel of Damascus," in "Études et travaux à la citadelle de Damas 2000–2001: un premier bilan," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 53–54, Supplément: Citadelle de Damas, ed. Sophie Berthier and Edmond Al-Ajji (2001–2): 139–55.

[49]For examples excavated at Faḥl, see Smith, *Pella of the Decapolis 1,* pl. 86.

[50]Johns, "The Rise of Middle Islamic Hand-Made Geometrically-Painted Ware in Bilad al-Sham," 66; Robin M. Brown, "A 12th Century A.D. Sequence from Southern Transjordan: Crusader and Ayyubid Occupation at Al-Wu'eira," *ADAJ* 31 (1987): 284; idem, "Late Islamic Ceramic Production and Distribution in the Southern Levant: A Socio-Economic and Political Interpretation" (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York, 1992), 245–46.

[51]For discussion of distribution, see Brown, "Late Islamic Ceramic Production and Distribution in the Southern Levant," 256–59. Similar jars are published from Jerusalem: G. J. Wightman, *The Damascus Gate, Jerusalem: Excavations by Crystal-M. Bennett and Basil Hennessy at the Damascus*

WHEEL-MADE UNGLAZED WARES

SUGAR POT WARE (186, FIG. 12)

More than ten percent of the Mamluk pottery from the Faḥl assemblage belongs to this ware, which consists solely of large ribbed jars and straight-sided bowls in a uniformly soft yellow fabric with some fine inclusions.[52] Although not connected directly to the sugar manufacturing process, these jars have been identified as containers for the finished product at a number of other sugar producing sites.[53] It is likely that sugar cane cultivation and production took place in the Wādī Jirm immediately south of Khirbat Faḥl, explaining perhaps the presence of such a quantity of this ware in domestic contexts on the tell. Nineteenth century visitors to Ṭabaqat Faḥl refer to recently abandoned mills in the Wādī Jirm,[54] and water mills are mentioned in the vicinity of Faḥl in the Ottoman *daftar*s of the sixteenth century.[55] The Jordan Valley was a major sugar cane growing and refining area in the Mamluk period.[56]

PLAIN UNGLAZED WARE (95, FIG. 13)

This group consists of bowls, jars, and jugs. The closed forms have looped handles

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Gate, Jerusalem, 1964–66, BAR International Series no. 519 (1989), pl. 61:8, and have recently been published from Rāfiqah (Raqqah) in northern Syria; Marcus Milwright, ″Ceramics from the Recent Excavations near the Eastern Wall of Rafiqa (Raqqa), Syria,″ *Levant* 37 (2005): 197–219. Fine walled wheel-made cooking wares with interior glazing are absent from the Faḥl assemblage.

[52]Sugar pots from Tombs 2 and 7 at Faḥl had been initially dated to the Abbasid period: Smith, *Pella of the Decapolis 1,* 237. This group has also been referred to as ″Plain Ware″ at Faḥl: Walmsley, ″The Islamic Period: the Later Islamic Periods,″ 193–94.

[53]Tell Abū Sạrbūṭ and Dhra' al-Khān both provide local comparative material in the Jordan Valley: Kareem, *Settlement Patterns in the Jordan Valley,* 66–80; Margreet Steiner, ″The Excavations at Tell Abu Sarbut, A Mamluk Village in the Jordan Valley,″ *ARAM* 9–10 (1998): 145–51; H. E. LaGro, ″Sugar Pots: A Preliminary Study of Technological Aspects of a Class of Medieval Industrial Pottery from Tell Abu Sarbut, Jordan,″ *Newsletter of the Department of Pottery Technology, University of Leiden* 7/8 (1989–90): 7–20; H. E. LaGro and H. de Haas, ″Announcing a Study of Islamic Pottery from Tell Abu Sarbut,″ *Newsletter of the Department of Pottery Technology* 6 (1988): 89–96, and idem, ″Syrup Jars and Sugar Pots: A Preliminary Study of a Class of Medieval Industrial Pottery from Tell Abu Sarbut, Jordan, Part II,″ *Newsletter of the Department of Pottery Technology* 9–10 (1991–1992): 55–68; H. J. Franken and J. Kalsbeek, *Potters of a Medieval Village in the Jordan Valley: Excavations at Tell Deir 'Alla: A Medieval Tell, Tell Abu Gourdan, Jordan* (Amsterdam/Oxford, 1975), 143–54.

[54]Schumacher, *Pella,* 33–34, 51.

[55]Hütteroth and Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography of Palestine, Jordan and Southern Syria in the Late 16th Century,* 167. However, there is no mention of sugar production in this period.

[56]Ashtor, ″Levantine Sugar Production in the Late Middle Ages,″ 92–93; J. H. Galloway, *The Sugar Cane Industry, An Historical Geography from its Origins to 1914* (Cambridge, 1989), 31–35, 43.

and a few examples show elongated and thickened cylindrical necks with internal filters. They are close in fabric to the "thin painted ware," although the only secondary surface treatment is an occasional whitish slip. Parallels are provided by several regional sites, the most extensively published being those from Tall Qaymūn (Tall Yoqne'am).[57] In the south of Jordan similar "cream wares" have been excavated in both urban and rural contexts and are well represented at sites such as Khirbat Fāris.[58]

RED WARE (113, FIG. 14)

This is a hard dense ceramic which is pale or dark reddish to gray in color and is thrown in a well-levigated siliceous clay. The main forms are medium to large bowls and jars with thickened rounded rims and comparatively thin walls. Published parallels exist from Jerusalem and Tall Qaymūn.[59]

THIN PAINTED WARE (49, FIG. 15)

This is a fine ware fired reddish yellow to pink with reddish brown or black painted decoration sometimes over a white or yellowish slip. The most common shapes are jars and jugs with vertical loop handles. In both its decorative technique and its fabric, it is reminiscent of earlier Islamic pottery from the site.[60]

WHEEL-MADE GLAZED WARES

MONOCHROME GLAZED WARE (541, FIG. 16)

Monochrome glazed wares are the most frequently occurring Mamluk ceramic from the Faḥl excavations.[61] Forms represented are overwhelmingly footed bowls with incurving or everted rims. The uniformly thick lead glaze is green, yellow, or sometimes brown in color and always applied over a thick white slip, often spilling over onto the exterior surface. The fabric is hard yellowish red to pale

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[57]Miriam Avissar, "The Medieval Pottery," in *Yoqne'am I, The Late Periods,* ed. A. Ben-Tor, M. Avissar, and Y. Portugali, Qedem Reports, vol. 3 (Jerusalem, 1996), 151–55, 167–68.

[58]Mads Sarley Pontin, "The Pottery," in A. M. McQuitty, M. Sarley Pontin, M. Khoury, M. P. Charles, and C. F. Hoppe, "Mamluk Khirbat Faris," *ARAM* 9–10 (1997–98): 189.

[59]A. D. Tushingham, *Excavations in Jerusalem 1961–1967* (Toronto, 1985), 1:142–51, pls. 34–43; Avissar, "Medieval Pottery," 128–29, 151–53. Very close forms in a similar ware dating to the Mamluk period have been catalogued in the Damascus Citadel excavations (pers. comm., Véronique François).

[60]Alan Walmsley, "Tradition, Innovation, and Imitation in the Material Culture of Islamic Jordan," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* (Amman, 1995), 5:661 (Walmsley's Ware 8). See comments in Walmsley, "The Islamic Period: the Later Islamic Periods," 194 (Type 2).

[61]It is probable that the presence of glazed wares in the assemblage has been somewhat exaggerated due to their high visibility during excavation.

yellow, and is well-levigated with small quantities of fine inclusions. There are a few fragments from closed forms from the site, and only one lamp. This prominence of monochrome glazed wares is not unusual at a site in the Jordan Valley,[62] but at Faḥl it represents a larger proportion of the pottery repertoire than at other village sites in Northern Jordan, resembling more the situation at rural Palestinian sites, to which it was more accessible in this period.[63]

Slip Painted Ware (79, Fig. 17)

Underglaze slip painted ware is the second most frequent glazed pottery in the assemblage. In fabric it is fine and a consistent brittle red with few visible inclusions. The principal form at Faḥl is a carinated bowl with an incurving thickened rim. This is a ware well known at many sites in Bilād al-Shām, but generally occurs less frequently in Jordan than in Syria and Palestine.[64] The carinated form is dated at Burj al-Aḥmar to after 1265.[65] A single sherd from the Faḥl group is green glazed.

Glazed Incised Ware (43, Fig. 18)

Lead glazed wares with decoration incised into the underlying white slip are represented at Faḥl, but owing to the highly fragmentary and somewhat limited

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[62]Brown, ″Late Islamic Ceramic Production and Distribution in the Southern Levant,″ 456.

[63]As is the case at Ḥisbān, for example, Bethany J. Walker and Øystein S. LaBianca, ″The Islamic Qusur of Tall Hisban: Preliminary Report on the 1998 and 2001 Seasons,″ *ADAJ* 47 (2003): 443–71. A recent survey in northern Jordan has revealed a situation closer to that at Faḥl, with high proportions of monochrome glazed bowls: Bethany J. Walker, ″The Northern Jordan Survey 2003,″ 79. Palestinian sites that include abundant material include Belmont Castle: Richard P. Harper and Denys Pringle, *Belmont Castle: The Excavation of a Crusader Stronghold in the Kingdom of Jerusalem,* British Academy Monographs in Archaeology no. 10 (London, 2000), esp. the sections by Anthony Grey, ″The Unglazed Pottery,″ 87–100, and Katherine Knowles, ″The Glazed Pottery,″ 101–16; Tall Qaymūn (Tel Yoqne‘am), Avissar, ″The Medieval Pottery,″ 96ff.; and Za‘rin, Anthony Grey, ″The Pottery of the Late Periods from Tel Jezreel: an Interim Report,″ *Levant* 26 (1994): 60.

[64]Marcus Milwright, ″Trade and Patronage in Middle Islamic Jordan: the Ceramics from Karak Castle″ (D.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 1999), 170. Comparanda are too numerous to list here; this ware is well attested in Bilād al-Shām and further afield from the twelfth century, continuing at many sites well into the Mamluk period. In the Damascus Citadel excavations there is a locally distinctive development of this ware from the twelfth century through the Mamluk period: Stephen McPhillips, ″Pottery of the Ninth to Thirteenth Centuries from the Citadel of Damascus″ (Ph.D. diss., University of Sydney, 2004), 241–42, 251–52; Véronique François, pers. comm.

[65]Denys Pringle, *The Red Tower (al-Burj al-Ahmar): Settlement in the Plain of Sharon at the Time of the Crusaders and Mamluks, A.D. 1099–1516* (London, 1986), 149–50, fig. 50.

nature of the material, it has not been possible to divide this group into more detailed categories present at sites where it is more common.[66] The majority of this group possess simple geometric patterns incised into a white slip under a green or yellow glaze,[67] with a smaller number having much broader incised lines (gouged ware) or large areas without slip at all (reserve slipped ware). A few sherds exhibit more than one glaze color, and may be considered as part of the ″splashed glazed″ family. Incised ware fabrics are not readily distinguishable from those of the slipped glazed group, and indeed it is probable that incised vessels have been registered with the monochrome group as large parts of incised ware bowls were left undecorated.

STONEPASTE WARES (48, FIG. 19)

Stonepaste or fritware pottery is characterized by a siliceous white or off-white pottery body with a make-up of ten parts quartz, one part glass frit or glass fragments, and one part fine white clay.[68] It occurs infrequently within the Area XXIII assemblage and consists entirely of fine bowls and a small number of small jars. The white body is covered by a transparent alkaline glaze, colored by mineral additions, such as copper for turquoise in the case of the pottery of this group from Faḥl, which otherwise have a colorless glaze. A slip was not required as a base for applying painted decoration, as the stonepaste body itself fulfilled this function and reflected light through the glaze to highlight its color and any underglaze decoration. The Faḥl stonepaste pottery is highly fragmentary, but geometric or

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[66]At Za'rin (Tall Jezreel), a site of similar size to Faḥl in the Marj ibn ʻĀmir (Jezreel Valley), a range of incised wares are represented: Grey, ″Pottery of the Late Periods from Tel Jezreel,″ 57–59. It is interesting to note that the author observes a relatively limited presence of glazed incised material in relation to monochrome glazed pottery at Tall Qaymūn (Tel Yoqne'am) during the Mamluk reoccupation of the site from the beginning of the fourteenth century; Avissar, ″Medieval Pottery,″ 96.

[67]In the Damascus Citadel excavations, this material is typical of the Mamluk period; twelfth-century and earlier incised lead glazed wares are both finer walled and possess a more lightly applied incised decoration; McPhillips, ″Pottery of the Ninth to Thirteenth Centuries from the Citadel of Damascus,″ 251–52; Véronique François, pers. comm. Tushingham has suggested a similar distinction at the Armenian Garden in Jerusalem; Tushingham, *Excavations in Jerusalem,* 143.

[68]See James Allan, ″Abu 'l-Qasim′s Treatise on Ceramics,″ *Iran* 11 (1973): 113–14. James Allan, L. R. Llewellyn, and F. Schweizer, ″The History of So-called Egyptian Faience in Islamic Persia: Investigations into Abu 'l-Qasim′s Treatise,″ *Archaeometry* 15, no. 2 (1973): 165–73; Alan Caiger-Smith, *Lustre Pottery: Technique, Tradition, and Innovation in Islam and the Western World* (London, 1985), 199; Robert Mason and Michael Tite, ″The Beginnings of Islamic Stonepaste Technology,″ *Archaeometry* 36 (1994): 77–78. The treatise of Abū al-Qāsim, written in Iran at the beginning of the fourteenth century, is of interest owing to its descriptions of the manufacture of fritwares and techniques of underglaze painting.

vegetal painted decoration is discernible in several combinations of color: black, cobalt blue or turquoise under a colorless glaze, and black or cobalt blue under a turquoise glaze. The fabric is consistently granular and off-white in color. The sherds of this ware are often considerably degraded or very small due to their fragile nature. There are good parallels for this material, particularly at urban sites in Bilād al-Shām, with production probably occurring at Damascus and in central and northern Syria. The range of stonepaste exhibited in the Faḥl group is consistent with Syrian wares of the Mamluk period.[69]

MOLDED WARES

RELIEF MOLDED GLAZED WARE (FIG. 20)

Five sherds of this ware were catalogued, all from bowls with pronounced incurving rims and epigraphic relief molded decoration on the exterior surface. The glazes are glassy, thick, and generally made to a higher standard than those of other lead-glazed ceramics above. In color they are yellow, green, and brown, while in section they are pale red and fine. This ware is likely to have been produced at Jerusalem,[70] and is relatively prominent at certain urban sites in southern Bilād al-Shām such as Karak and Tell Ḥisbān,[71] but is rarer elsewhere.

CONCLUSION ON THE CERAMICS

The range of pottery excavated in Area XXIII at Faḥl offers a reflection of the socioeconomic realities at an agricultural settlement in the Jordan Valley that also served as a local hub and transit point in the early Mamluk period. At a time when the Jordan Valley had become a highly developed area of large-scale agriculture, Faḥl—with its abundant water resources, fertile soils and strategic location—was well positioned to play a role in the massively expanded economic activity of the area during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The association of a significant

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[69]Archaeological evidence for the dating of these families of stonepaste wares to within the Mamluk period is provided by the Damascus Citadel excavations (pers. comm., Véronique François) and by work in northern Syria, such as at Qal'at Ja'bar: Cristina Tonghini, *Qal'at Ja'bar Pottery: A Study of a Syrian Fortified Site of the Late 11th–14th Centuries,* British Academy Monographs in Archaeology, vol. 11 (London, 1998), 52–55. Similar material to that from Faḥl can be found from a range of published Mamluk contexts in the southern Bilād al-Shām, such as at Tall Qaymūn (Tel Yoqne'am): Avissar "The Medieval Pottery," 113–16, and at al-Burj al-Aḥmar: Pringle, *The Red Tower,* 150–53. For a thorough survey of the distribution of Mamluk stonepaste wares, see Tonghini, *Qal'at Ja'bar Pottery,* 52–55 (fritware 3).

[70]Avissar, "Medieval Pottery," 102; Nahman Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem* (Jerusalem, 1980), 255, fig. 302.

[71]Milwright, "Trade and Patronage in Middle Islamic Jordan," 184; Walker and LaBianca, "Islamic Qusur of Tall Hisban," 464–66.

proportion of the pottery with the manufacture of sugar has been remarked on above.[72] Furthermore, the range of ceramics in the corpus can be paralleled to those of other rural sites in Palestine and northern Jordan, but less so to rural sites further to the south.[73] The presence of a considerable proportion of glazed wares that are well-documented in the wider region also underlines the full integration of Faḥl into the economy of the region. Unglazed wheel-made wares and monochrome lead glazed pottery, along with the slip painted and incised sub-groups, are well known at Palestinian and larger Jordanian sites, to which Faḥl was readily accessible owing to its location near the intersection of two valleys, the Jordan and the Marj ibn ʻĀmir (Jezreel), at a point where coastal and highland routes met. The stonepaste and relief glazed wares found at Faḥl are likely to have been imported from Damascus and Jerusalem respectively, and are a reminder of the position of the village close to the road between these two cities where it crossed the Jordan river. The hand-made wares from Faḥl are similarly well-represented at other rural sites in Bilād al-Shām, but are more likely to have been manufactured in closer proximity to the site. It is interesting to note that all ceramic cooking vessels belong to this group. Studies of the Ottoman *daftar*s, although from the sixteenth century, provide some parallel indicators of the nature of the local economy and population in the immediate proximity of Faḥl.[74]

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[72]Mamluk or Middle Islamic sites have been identified in the vicinity of Ṭabaqat Faḥl, particularly the sugar production sites in the Jordan Valley such as Khirbat al-Maḥrūqāt at the base of the Wādī al-Yābis: Jonathan Mabry and Gaetano Palumbo, "Survey in the Wadi el-Yabis (Irbid District, Jordan), 1987," *Syria* 65 (1988): 425–27; idem, "The 1987 Wadi el Yabis Survey," *ADAJ* 32 (1988): 296–302; and a large number of other sites on the valley floor: Kareem, *The Settlement Patterns in the Jordan Valley,* 181–204; Cherie Lenzen, Jumʻa M. H. Kareem, and S. Thorpe, "Jisr Sheikh Hussain Regional Survey," in *The Archaeology of Jordan II.1,* ed. Denyse Homès-Fredericq and Basil Hennessy (Leuven, 1989), 66–67; Ibrahim, Sauer, and Yassine, "East Jordan Valley Survey, 1975 (Part One)," 41–66; Yassine, Sauer, and Ibrahim, "East Jordan Valley Survey, 1976 (Part Two)." Further Middle Islamic sites have been identified higher up the eastern side of the Jordan Valley from Faḥl: S. Mittmann, *Beiträge zur Siedlungs- und Territorialgeschichte des Nördlichen Ostjordanlandes* (Wiesbaden, 1970), 39–94, as well as the better known Baysān: G. M. Fitzgerald, *The Beth Shan Excavations, 1921–23, The Arab and Byzantine Levels* (Philadelphia, 1931) and al-Himmeh: Adrian Boas, "Late Ceramic Typology," in *The Roman Baths of Hammat Gader,* ed. Yizhar Hirschfeld (Jerusalem, 1997), 382–95.

[73]Hand-made wares, including HMGPW, represented the majority of the wares collected in the rural settlements of the Arḍ al-Karak (the agricultural lands around Karak) of the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, which contrasts strikingly with the situation inside the castle itself; Brown, "Late Islamic Ceramic Production and Distribution in the Southern Levant," 240–41.

[74]Taxes were levied on wheat, barley, sesame, goats, honey, and watermills; nine heads of family (or bachelors) are recorded as residing here at this later era: Hütteroth and Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography of Palestine, Jordan and Southern Syria in the Late 16th Century,* 167. The *Faḥl al-Taḥta* referred to in the *daftars* may correspond either to Ṭabaqat Faḥl or to another settlement

There is no firm evidence in this corpus for pottery from periods immediately prior or posterior to the Mamluk centuries, except the possible late twelfth- to early thirteenth-century (Ayyubid) Red Painted Hand-made Ware, represented by only a few sherds in the corpus. Otherwise, both the dates of the excavated coins, even taking into account fluctuating supply levels over the period, and the range of wares represented within this group of pottery indicate that it is consistent with an interpretation of a date from around the middle part of the thirteenth century to the first part of the fifteenth century. The absence of Ottoman material is in line with Schumacher's observation that there was no permanent settlement on the tell in the late Ottoman period, with the pre-1967 village being built no earlier than the start of the twentieth century.[75]

AL-DIMASHQĪ, AL-QALQASHANDĪ, AND ARCHAEOLOGY

The social and economic reconstruction of Jordan, resolutely pursued by the Ayyubid and especially Bahri Mamluk elites following the Crusader interregnum, included an active program of mosque and shrine building among other activities, especially at sites of particular religious significance such as Mu'tah, Māzar, al-Kahf, ʻAmatah (Abū ʻUbaydah), and Jabal Hārūn. Faḥl, surely remembered for the decisive Battle of Fiḥl that drove a wedge between Jerusalem and Damascus in 635, may have been a beneficiary of this policy, bringing advantages in addition to its administrative role in the Mamluk province of Dimashq. The archaeological evidence points to the existence of a settlement of some note during Mamluk times, and a community honored by the erection of a mosque equipped with a minbar. As the ceramics also indicate, the presence of glazed wares in some numbers, including Relief Molded Glazed Ware from Jerusalem and stonepaste wares from Damascus or further north, suggest Faḥl was something more than an isolated agricultural settlement in early Mamluk times, with contacts that extended outside the immediate area. Likewise, the coins show Faḥl's involvement in a broader monetary economy, and together the finds could be taken to suggest that Faḥl was one of the more important sites in the Jordan Valley during early Mamluk times. It may have functioned as a focal point for the local community and served as a way station on east-west routes from the valley into the Jordanian mountains, especially the ʻAjlūn road.

Can these discoveries assist in understanding al-Dimashqī as a source, even in

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at the base of the valley, perhaps in the vicinity of modern al-Masharia‘: Walmsley, "Settled Life in Mamluk Jordan," 142.

[75]In the early nineteenth century two British naval commanders visited "Tabathat Fahkil" during a journey through the region, and described the ruins of a village on the tell, clearly corresponding to Khirbat Faḥl: C. L. Irby and J. Mangles, *Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria and Asia Minor; During the Years 1817 and 1818* (London, 1823), 304; see also Schumacher, *Pella,* 51.

the smallest way? Generally, al-Dimashqī has been judged as a less than critical scholar who incorporated earlier material in his work without exercising any rigorous editorial control.[76] The contradictions found in his geographical work would seem to confirm this, for instance by placing Amman, al-Salṭ, al-Zarqā', and the Balqā' in both Karak and Dimashq provinces. However, the extensive archaeological evidence from Mamluk Faḥl would indicate that al-Dimashqī's sources were rooted in an historical reality, and that the inclusion of Fiḥl as an *iqlīm* in Dimashq was not an historical relic of much earlier times, but reflected a current, or near-contemporary, situation.[77] Hence archaeology may serve to confirm the usefulness of al-Dimashqī as a source on the geography of early Mamluk Bilād al-Shām.

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[76]Dunlop, "Al-Dimashḳī."

[77]If this reasoning is correct Bayt Rās, also listed by al-Dimashqī as another *iqlīm* of Dimashq, should reveal evidence for significant Mamluk-period occupation, including a mosque.

APPENDIX: INVENTORY OF CERAMICS: FIGURES 10 TO 20

Figure 10. Hand-Made Geometric Painted Ware

1. Jar, Cat. No. 16903, Area XXIIIE 7.8; core 7.5YR 5/1, surface 10YR 6/1; brown paint 2.5YR 4/2; gray fabric with infrequent fine red, white, and gray grits and organic temper
2. Bowl, Cat. No. 16910, Area XXIIIE 8.2; slipped and burnished interior surface; core 7.5YR 7/6, surface 7.5YR 8/2 and 7.5YR 8/4; dark brown paint 5YR 3/2; reddish yellow fabric with abundant coarse white grits and organic tempering, some finer red and gray inclusions
3. Bowl, Cat. No. 16628, Area XXIIID 1.4; burnished interior and exterior surface; core 7.5YR 7/4, int. surface 2.5YR 7/8, ext. 2.5YR 6/6 and 5YR 7/4; dark red paint 7.5R 4/3; pink fabric with infrequent gray, red, and white grits and some organic temper

Figure 11. Hand-Made Coarse Ware

1. Lid, Cat. No. 16672, Area XXIIID 1.14; core 10YR 7/3, surface 10YR 8/2; pale brown fabric with gray, red, and white grits
2. Bowl, Cat. No. 16658, Area XXIIID 1.8; self-slipped; core 10YR 8/3, surface 10YR 8/2, 10YR 8/4 and 5YR 7/4; pale brown fabric with white and gray grits and organic temper
3. Cooking Jar, Cat. No. 16645, Area XXIIID 1.5; self-slipped with traces of burnishing exterior; core 10YR 4/1, surface 10YR 6/2 and 10YR 8/2; pale brown fabric with abundant mineral inclusions (quartz?) and organic temper

Figure 12. Sugar Pot Ware

1. Jar, Cat. No. 16775, Area XXIIID 6.46; core 2.5YR 6/8, ext. surface 2.5YR 6/6 and 10YR 8/3, int. surface 2.5YR 6/6 and 5YR 6/8; dense light red fabric with gray and white grits and abundant chaff
2. Jar, Cat. No. 16841, Area XXIIIE 3.4; core 10YR 7/4, ext. surface 5YR 8/4 and 7.5YR 8/4, int. surface 5YR 6/3 and 7.5YR 8/4; pale brown soft lightweight fabric with gray grits and organic tempering

Figure 13. Plain Unglazed Ware

1. Jug or jar with neck filter, Cat. No. 16403, Area XXIIIE 3.9; core 5YR 7/6, ext. surface 2.5Y 8/3 and 10YR 8/3, int. surface 7.5YR 8/4; light red fabric with very fine gray, white, and red grits
2. Jar, Cat. No. 16604, Area XXIIID 1.3; core 10YR 8/4, surface 7.5YR 8/4; porous pale brown fabric with prominent white grits
3. Jar, Cat. No.16632, Area XXIIID 1.4; core 7.5YR 5/1, ext. surface 10YR 8/3,

int. surface 5YR 6/4; porous pale brown fabric with reddish brown, gray, and white grits
4. Bowl, Cat. No. 16431, Area XXIIIE 3.11; core 10YR 5/1, margins and surface 7.5YR 8/4; fabric as Fig. 13.3

Figure 14. Red Ware
1. Jug, Cat. No. 16967, Area XXIIIE 1.9; core 2.5YR 5/6, surface 5YR 5/4; dense red fabric with infrequent fine grits
2. Jar, Cat. No. 16972, Area XXIIID 6.46; core 2.5YR 5/6, surface 5YR 5/4; fabric as Fig. 14.1
3. Basin, Cat. No. 16948, Area XXIIID 6.20; core 10YR 7/2, surface 10YR 6/1; fabric as Fig. 14.1, although pale gray in color

Figure 15. Thin Painted Ware
1. Closed form, Cat. No. 16457, Area XXIIID 6.26; core 10YR 7/4, surface 2.5YR 8/3; parallel diagonal lines of black paint exterior (7.5YR 5/1); fine pale brown fabric with frequent fine gray and white grits
2. Jar, Cat. No. 16425, Area XXIIID 100.2; core 10YR 5/1, surface 7.5YR 8/4; dribbles of black paint exterior (7.5YR 5/1); fine porous light gray fabric with reddish brown, gray, and white grits
3. Jar, Cat. No. 16419, Area XXIIID 7.13; core 2.5YR 6/6, surface 2.5YR 8/4 and 10YR 8/2; dribbles of black and dark red paint exterior (7.5YR 5/1); fine light gray fabric with gray and white grits

Figure 16. Monochrome Glazed Ware
1. Bowl, Cat. No. 16704, Area XXIIID 1.34; creamy white slip interior and to ca. 40mm below exterior lip, dark green glaze interior and dribbles exterior, dark brown in color where it has dripped over unslipped surface; core 5YR 6/6, surface 2.5YR 4/4; fine reddish yellow fabric with occasional mineral grits
2. Bowl, Cat. No. 16570, Area XXIIID 5.28; pale yellow slip over interior surface and to ca. 27mm below exterior rim, covered by thick mustard glaze; glaze drips exterior; core 10YR 7/4, ext. surface 2.5Y 8/2 and 7.5YR 7/3; hard pale brown fabric with frequent rounded black, gray, and white grits
3. Bowl, Cat. No. 16815, Area XXIIIE 1.10; yellow glaze with black speckling on exterior foot, spots of very pale brown slip exterior and some glaze drips interior foot; core 7.5YR 8/4, ext. surface 7.5YR 6/4 and 10YR 8/3; fabric as Fig. 16.2

Figure 17. Slip Painted Ware
1. Bowl, Cat. No. 16819, Area XXIIIE 2.1; pale yellow glaze exterior, appears

pale yellow over slip and light red on remaining surface; core 2.5YR 4/4, surface 2.5YR 4/4; fine light red fabric with occasional mineral grits

2. Bowl, Cat. No. 16627, Area XXIIID 1.4; green glaze over a white slip producing crosshatched motif; core 2.5YR 6/6, surface 2.5YR 7/6; fabric as Fig. 17.1

Figure 18. Glazed Incised Ware

1. Bowl, Cat. No. 16920, Area XXIIIE 101.3; pale yellow glaze to rim, green glaze splashed on rim and interior, horizontal incised bands and areas in reserve incised into cream slip on interior surface; core 2.5YR 6/6, surface 2.5Y 8/3; fine light red fabric with occasional mineral grits
2. Bowl, Cat. No. 16935, Area XXIIIE 100.2; green glaze and white slip interior and dripped on lower exterior surface, incised floral motif interior; core and surface: 7.5YR 7/2; fine pinkish gray fabric with occasional white and red grits
3. Bowl, Cat. No. 16829, Area XXIIIE 2.2; yellow glaze with splashes of pea green glaze and white slip interior, unslipped (reserve) zones appear reddish brown; core and surface: 2.5YR 6/8; fine light red fabric with occasional white and red grits

Figure 19. Stonepaste Ceramics

1. Ledge rimmed bowl, Cat. No. 16727, Area XXIIID 5.16; turquoise glaze entire surface over black underglaze painted geometric motif interior and pairs of parallel stripes exterior; core 10YR 8/2; friable off white stonepaste fabric
2. Ledge rimmed bowl, Cat. No. 16882, Area XXIIIE 4.10 and 6.3; colorless glaze entire surface over black underglaze painted geometric motif interior and pairs of parallel stripes and band at rim exterior; core 10YR 8/2; friable off white stonepaste fabric
3. Small bowl, Cat. No. 16682, Area XXIIID 1.24; colorless glaze entire surface over black and cobalt blue underglaze painted geometric motif interior and cross-hatched black bands exterior; core 10YR 8/2; friable off-white stonepaste fabric
4. Jar, Cat. No. 16696, Area XXIIID 1.32; thick turquoise glaze exterior, dripped to foot, colorless glaze interior surface; core 10YR 8/2; friable off white stonepaste fabric

Figure 20. Relief Molded Glazed Ware

1. Bowl, Cat. No. 16925, Area XXIIIE 102.8; thick dark green glaze entire surface, relief molded vegetal motif exterior; core 5Y 7/1; soft light gray fabric with very fine white and black grits
2. Bowl, Cat. No. 16928, Area XXIIID 100.2; thick dark green glaze exterior

surface, yellow interior; sharp molded fluting exterior; core 7.5YR 8/6; soft reddish yellow fabric with very fine white and black grits

Thanks to Judith Sellers for original pencil drawings of the hand-made and glazed vessels with surface decoration.

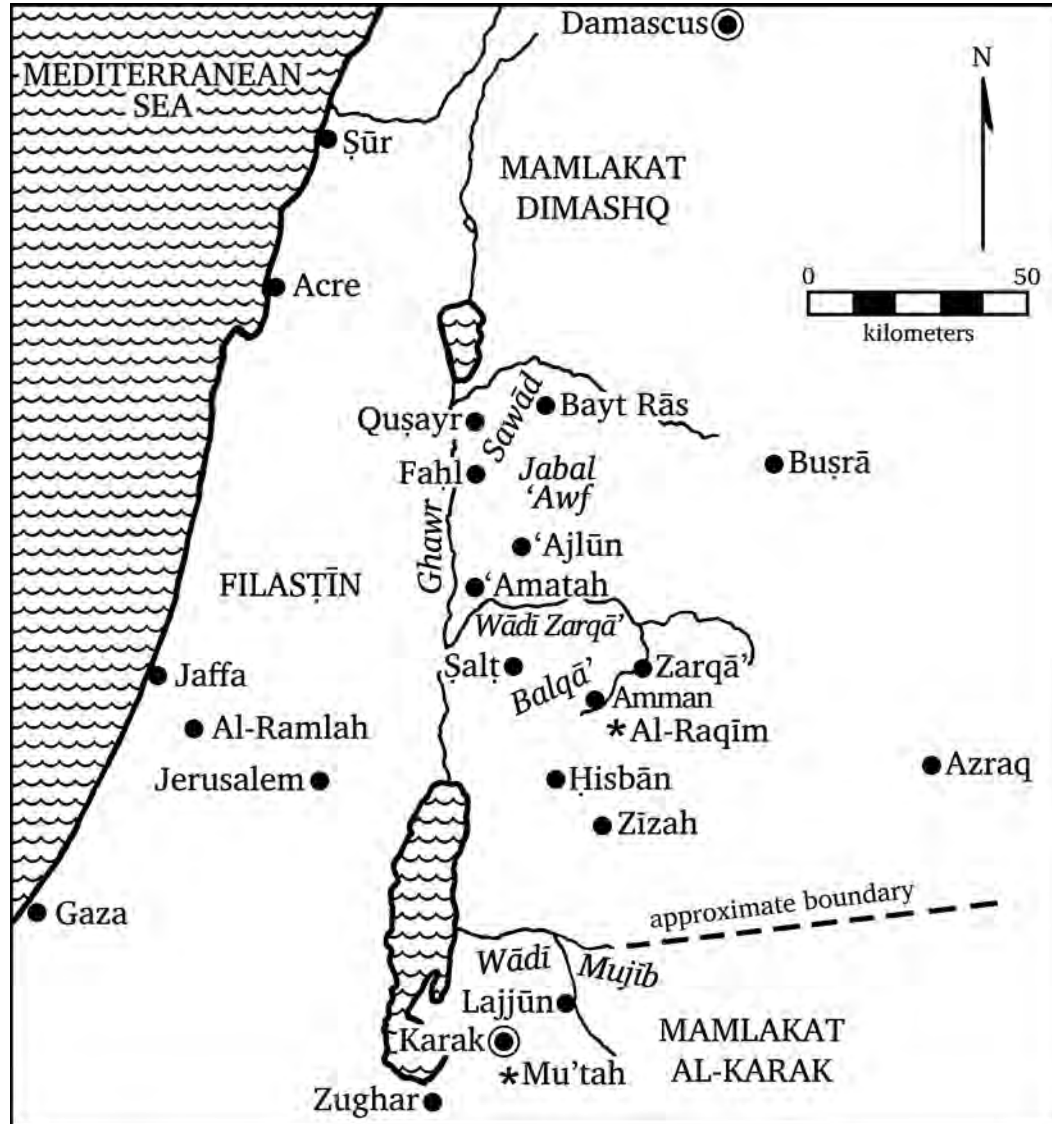


Fig. 1. Generalized map of Jordan and Palestine in Mamluk times

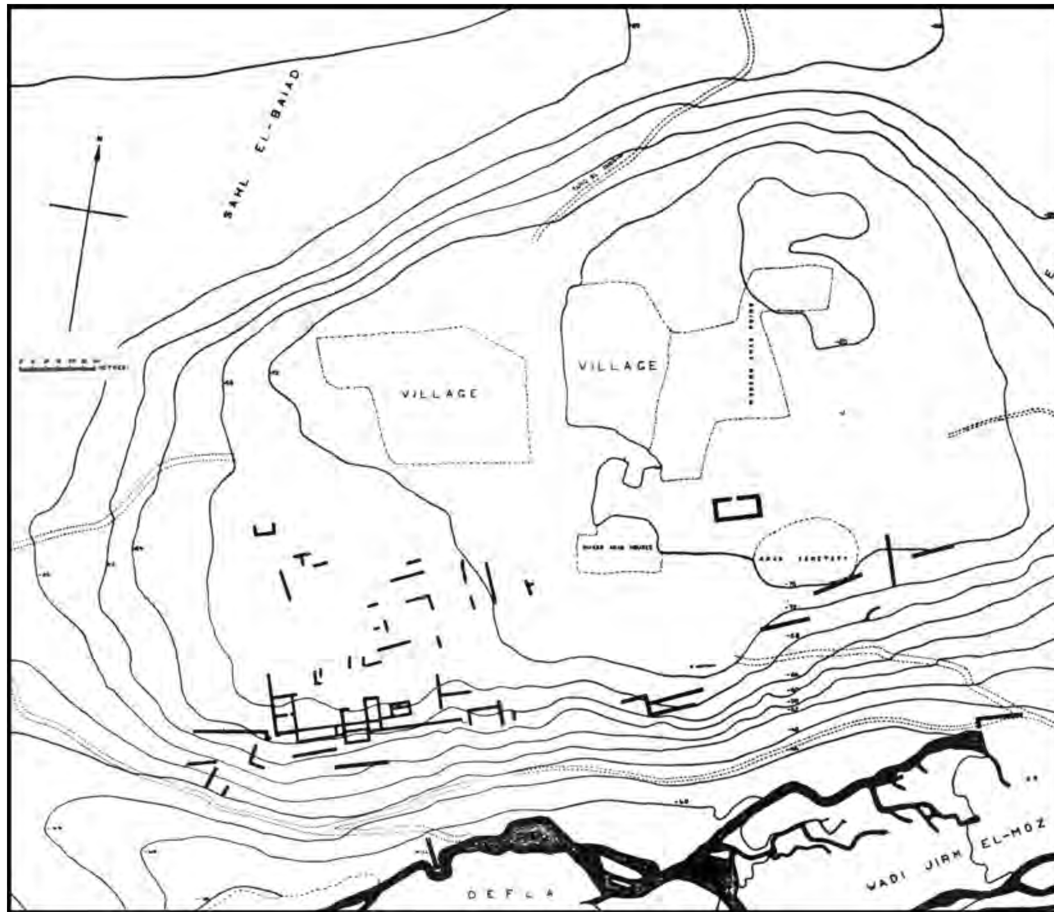


Fig. 2. The main mound at Faḥl as depicted in the map of Richmond, ″Khirbet Fahil,″ pl. 5



Fig. 3. View of the top of the main mound at Faḥl in 1977 (Walmsley)



Fig. 4. Photograph of a lintel from Richmond described as ″reused in abandoned mosque. Summit of Khirbat″ (Richmond, ″Khirbet Fahil,″ pl. 3 fig. 2)

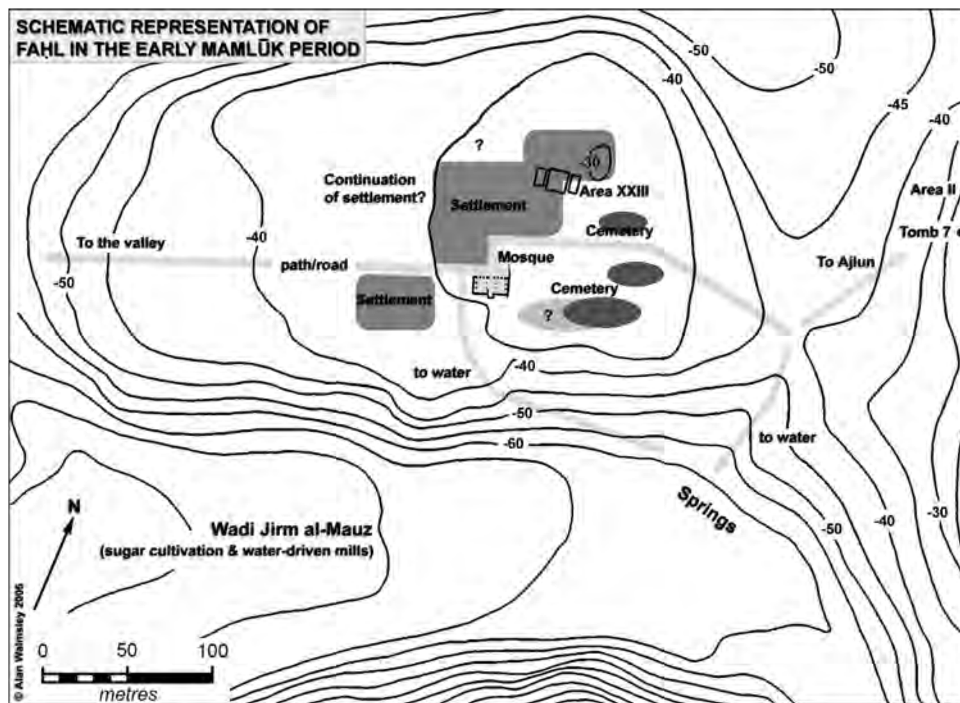


Fig. 5. Reconstructed plan of Faḥl in early Mamluk times



Fig. 6. View of the Mamluk mosque before excavation (Walmsley 1981)

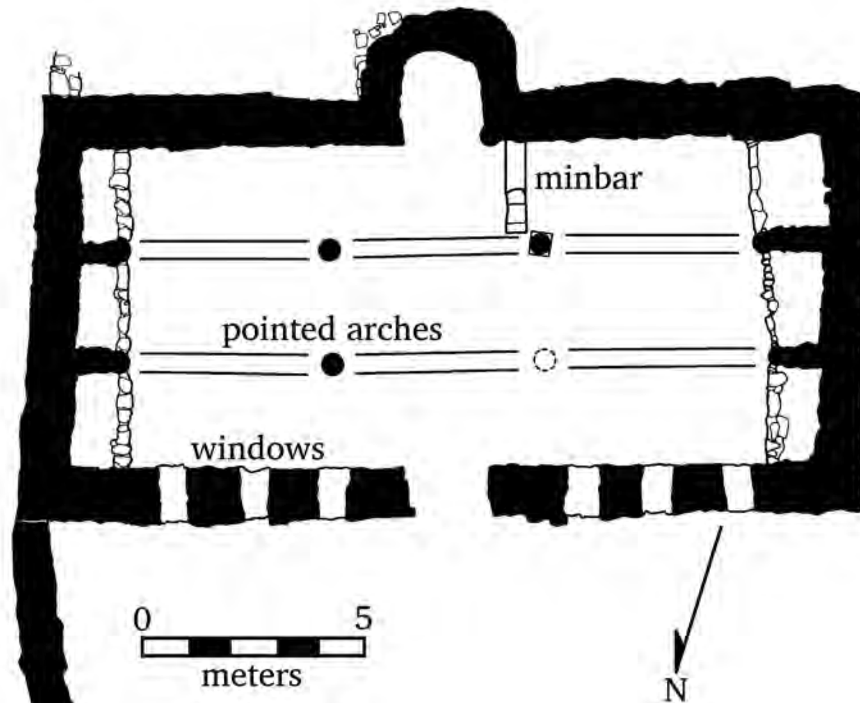


Fig. 7. Plan of the Mamluk mosque of Faḥl (T. Hart)



Fig. 8. View of the mihrab and minbar following excavation (Pella Project 1982)



Fig. 9. The hall of the Azraq mosque, after 1236, showing the arcades and mihrab. Photograph by T. E. Lawrence, courtesy of The Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London

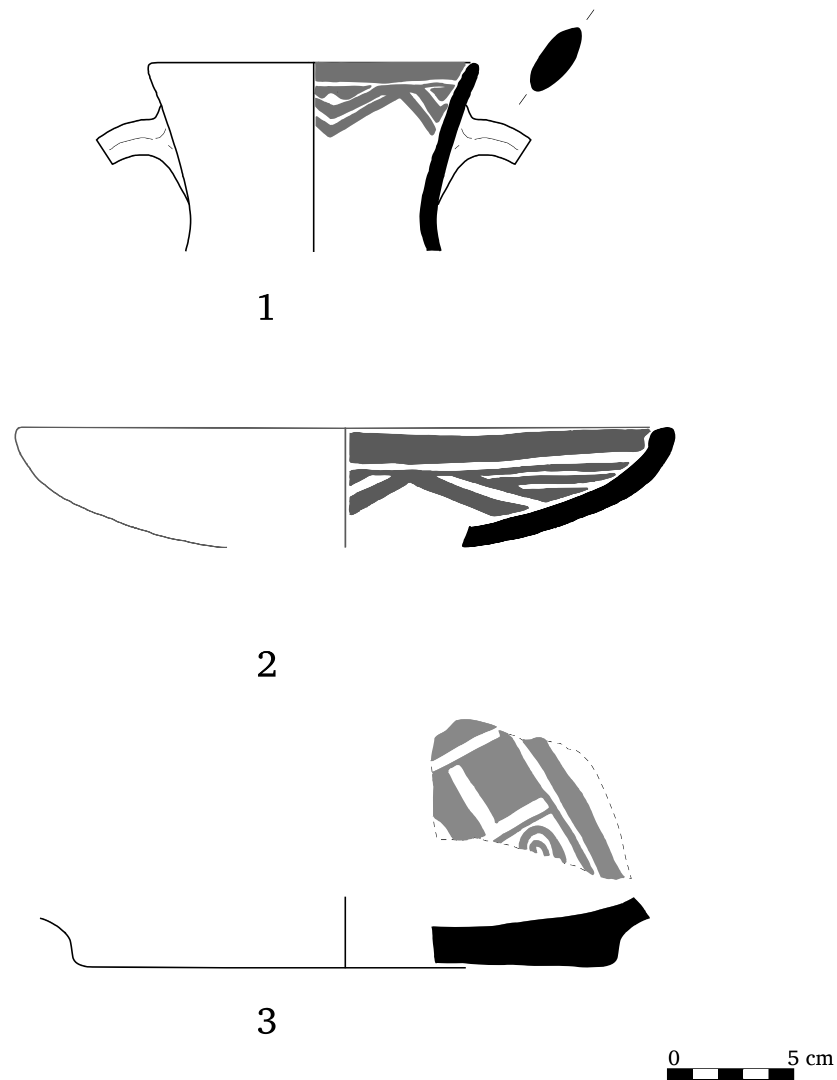


Fig. 10. Hand-Made Geometric Painted Ware: jar (1) and bowls (2–3)

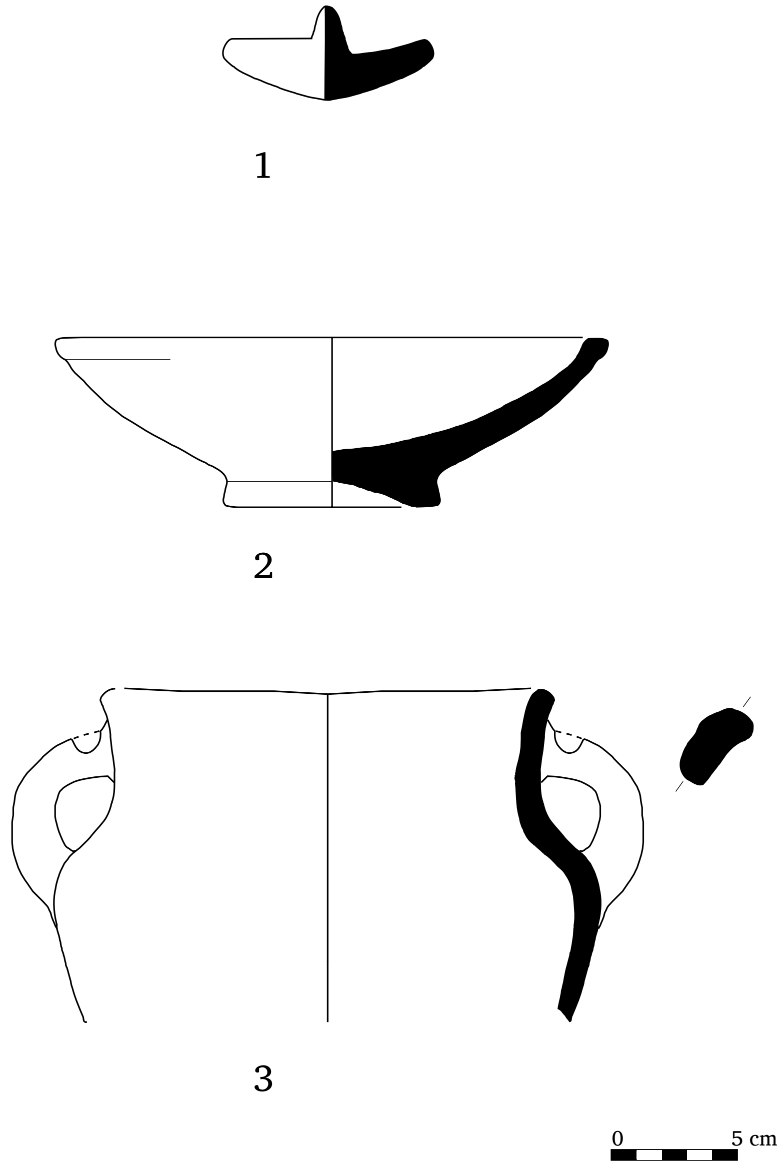


Fig. 11. Hand-Made Coarse Ware: lid (1), bowl (2), and cooking jar (3)

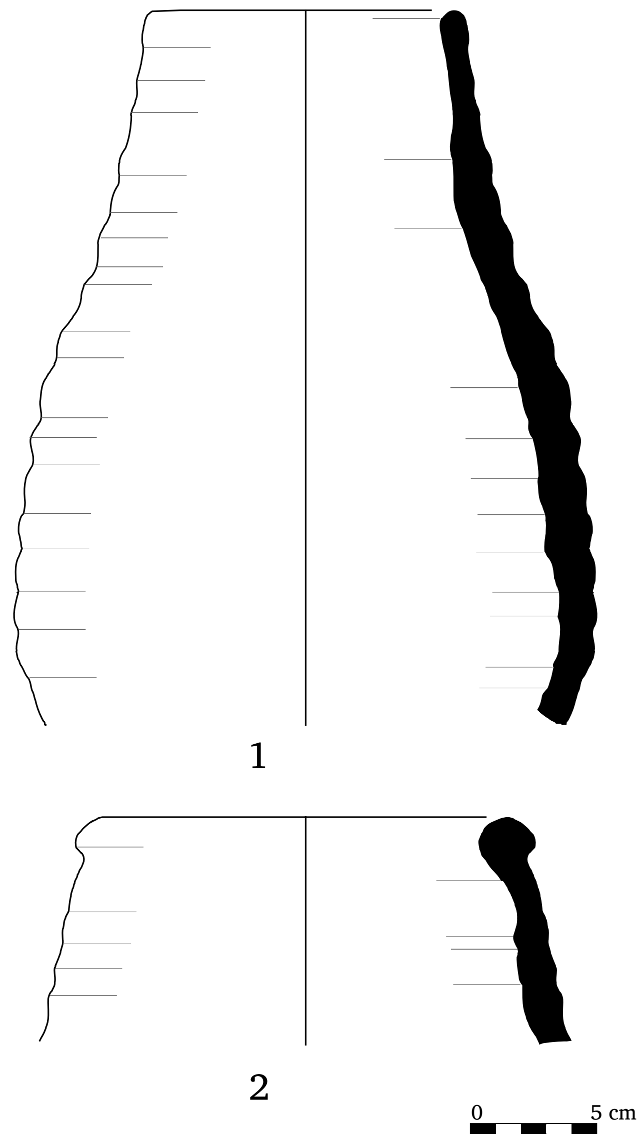


Fig. 12. Sugar Pot Ware: jars (1–2)

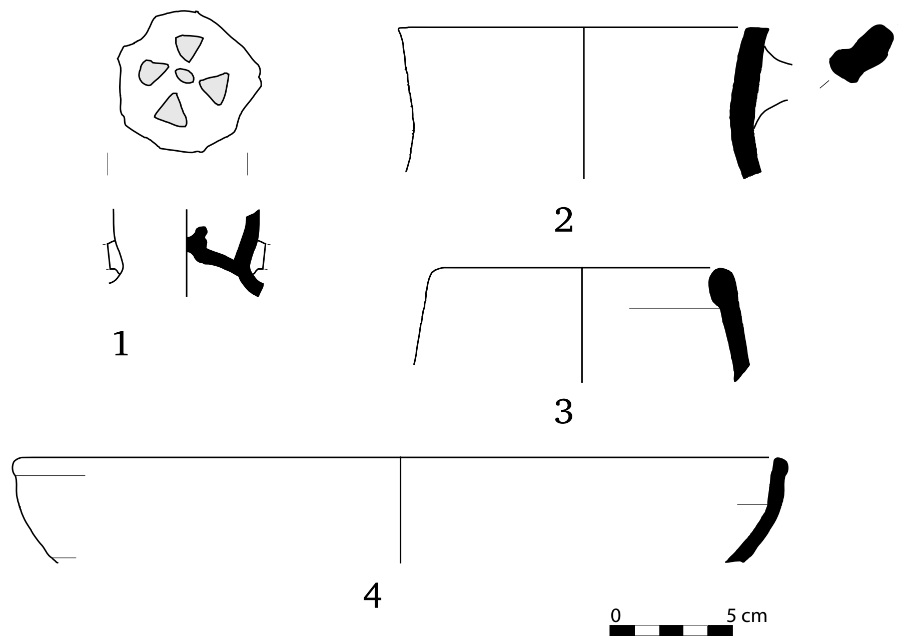


Fig. 13. Plain Unglazed Ware: closed forms (1–3) and bowl (4)

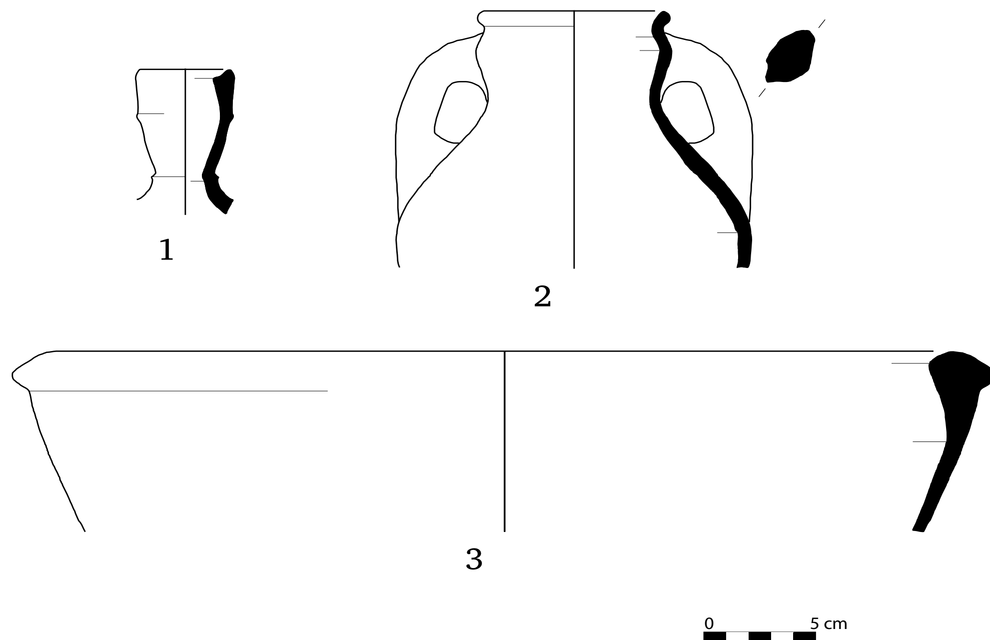


Fig. 14. Red Ware: closed forms (1–2) and basin (3)

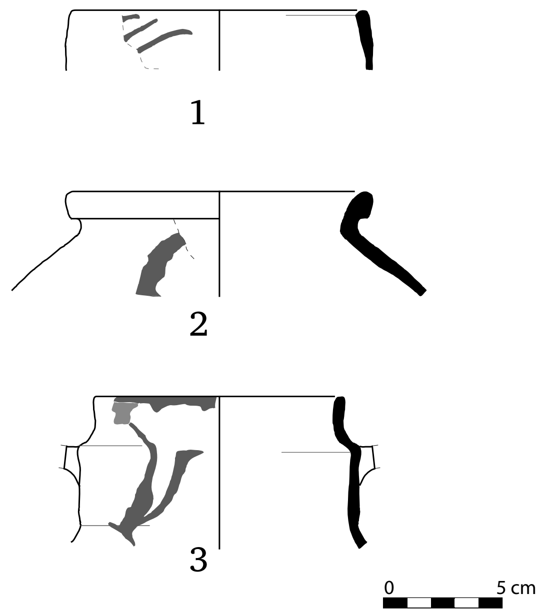


Fig. 15. Thin Painted Ware: jars (1–3)

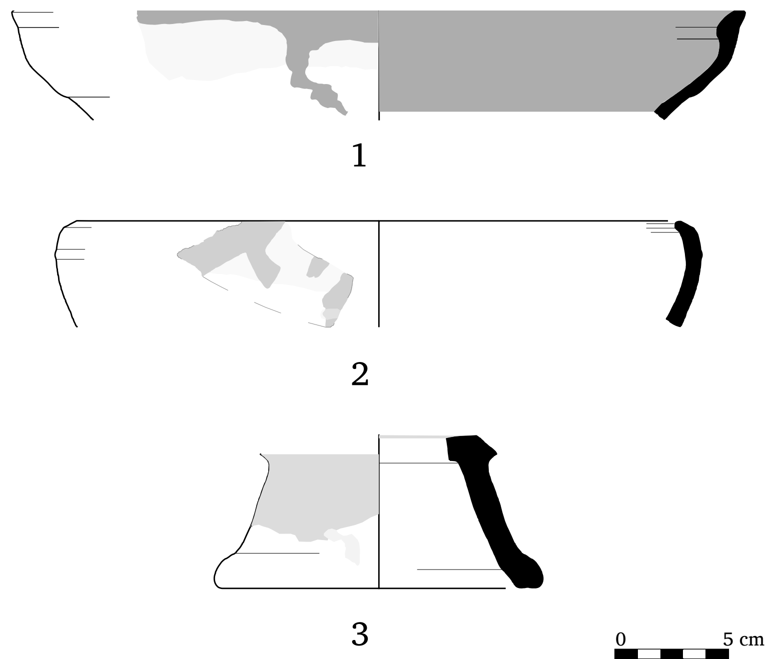


Fig. 16. Monochrome Glazed Ware: bowls (1–3)

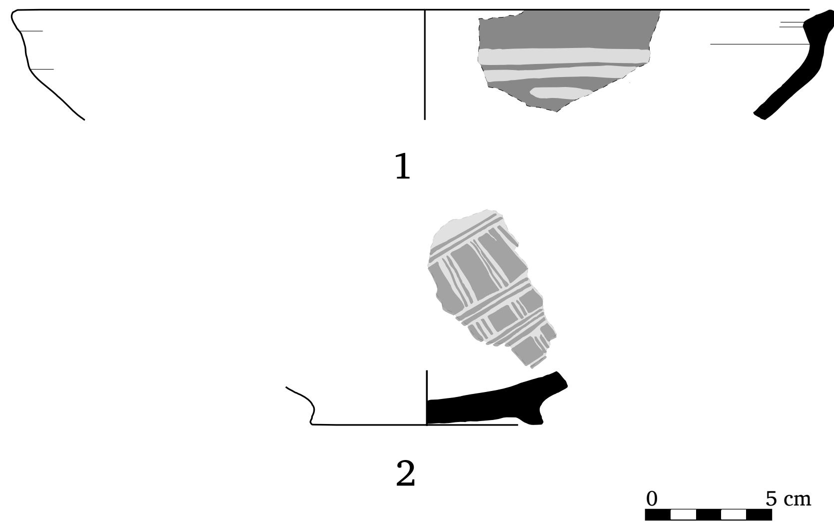


Fig. 17. Slip Painted Ware: bowls (1–2)

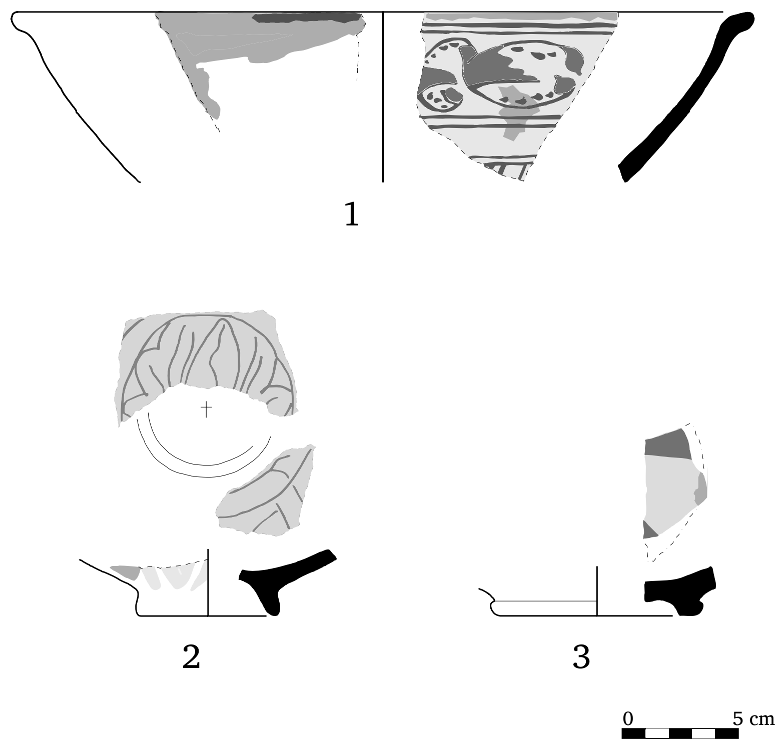


Fig. 18. Glazed Incised Ware: bowls (1–3)

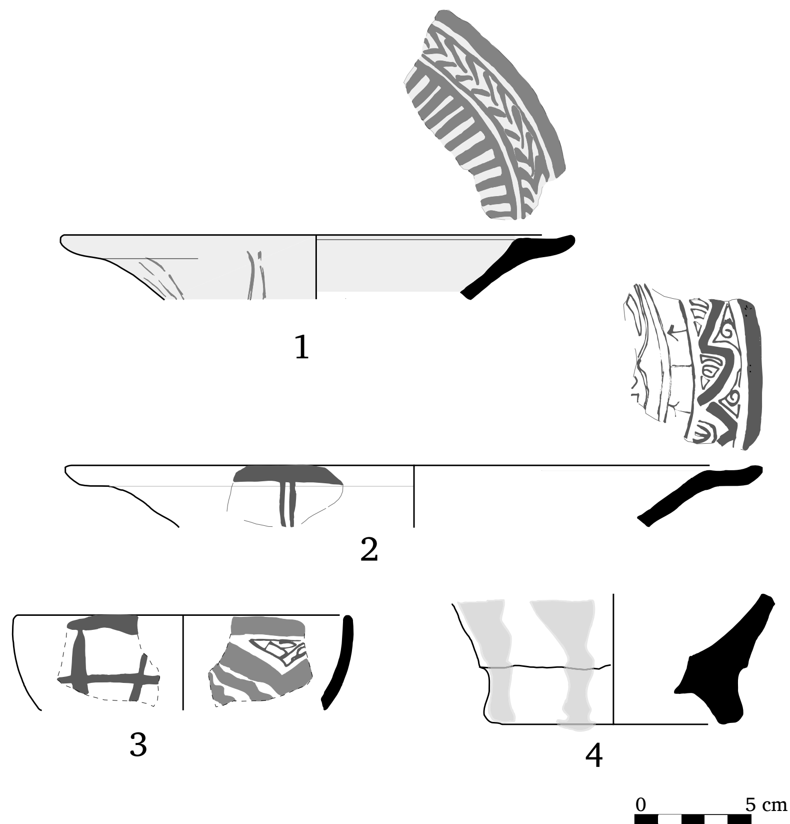


Fig. 19. Stonepaste Ceramic: bowls (1–3) and jar (4)

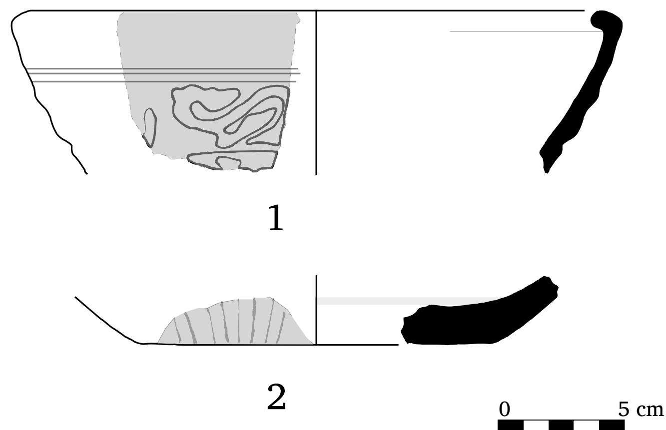


Fig. 20. Relief Molded Glazed Ware: bowls (1–2)

ALISON MCQUITTY

Khirbat Fāris:
Vernacular Architecture on the Karak Plateau, Jordan

For periods when historical documentation is available, it is tempting to ignore the contribution that archaeology can make to a more rounded picture of the past. In addition, the results of archaeological excavation can often raise issues that are absent from the historical record. This is particularly true of marginal subjects in marginal areas. Such a subject is rural vernacular architecture.

During the Early and Middle Islamic periods, written sources indicate a prosperous rural economy on the Karak Plateau supporting a network of villages lasting through to the sixteenth century. This was punctuated by episodes rather than centuries of disruption.[1] One such village was probably Khirbat Fāris, although its earlier name of Tadun does not appear in the histories and geographies of this period.[2] Nor does it appear in the sixteenth-century Ottoman cadastral records, *daftar-i mufaṣṣal,* when the site was possibly recorded as a *mazrāʻah*.[3] The term *mazrāʻah* is usually translated as an agricultural area with no settlement that was dependent on a permanently occupied village. However, several authors have suggested that the term should be interpreted as defining the type of agricultural

This article is based on the results of excavations carried out at Khirbat Fāris 1988–94 under the direction of the author and Dr. Jeremy Johns. I would like to thank Dr. Bethany Walker for her encouragement in submitting this contribution and also Dr. Marcus Milwright, who provided invaluable bibliographic assistance and an unpublished manuscript of his research on Karak and environs in the Middle Islamic period.

[1]For a full discussion of the historical accounts of this period and earlier see Jeremy Johns, "The *Longue Durée:* State and Settlement Strategies in Southern Transjordan Across the Islamic Centuries," in *Village, Steppe and State: The Social Origins of Modern Jordan,* ed. Eugene L. Rogan and Tariq Tell (London, 1994), 1–31.

[2]The name is recent: in 1987 when the excavation directors were prospecting for a site to excavate they met several of the landowners from the family of Fāris Majālī, who was buried on the site at the end of the nineteenth century. In response to the question "what is this site called?" the landowners replied "Khirbat Fāris." The name that appears on maps is Khirbat Tadun. Thus archaeology gives legitimacy to land-ownership!

[3]These surveys are generally accepted as based on the earlier Mamluk fiscal landscape and are used extensively by archaeologists as well as historians for providing social and economic information relevant to the Middle Islamic period. The edition used here is Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth and Kamal Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late 16th Century* (Erlangen, 1977).

produce, that is grain, rather than the type of occupation.[4] As the description below reveals, this fits well with the evidence from Khirbat Fāris: the architectural remains for the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries are considerable and show parallels to historically testified village settlement.

Historians and geographers of the Mamluk and earlier periods refer to architecture in general and even detail construction methods.[5] However, their primary interest, and that of their audience, did not lie in detailing provincial domestic housing. The same is true of Mamluk *waqfīyāt,* which, while being a rich source of information about agriculture, climate, and crops, are not concerned with the physicality of the village houses and farmsteads. Such things did not produce revenue.[6] In the absence of historical records, the evidence from Khirbat Fāris offers an opportunity to examine trends and changes in Middle Islamic rural life. In the following discussion considerable use is made of ethnographic analogy. Although such houses have been noted archaeologically, there is little in the available historical and archaeological literature describing these types in detail. This is despite the wealth of ethnographic information regarding their construction and use—at least in the late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries.

Khirbat Fāris is located just west of the King′s Highway approximately seventeen kilometers north of the Crusader, Mamluk, and later stronghold of Karak, the Mamluk administrative center of the province[7] (fig. 1). The site is situated on the northern edge of the Wādī Ibn Ḥammād where the plateau falls steeply away to the wadi below. As an agricultural settlement it was in a favorable position: the vast arable expanses of the plateau still support harvests of wheat, barley, and pulses while the wadi flanks are cultivated with more labor-intensive crops:

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[4]This discussion relates to the later Ottoman period but the issues raised may be relevant for this preceding period. See Abdul-Karem Rafeq, ″Land Tenure Problems and Their Social Impact in Syria around the Middle of the Nineteenth Century,″ in *Land Tenure and Social Transformations in the Middle East,* ed. Tarif Khalidi (Beirut, 1984), 371–96; Linda Schilcher, ″The Grain Economy of Late Ottoman Syria and the Issue of Large-Scale Commercialization,″ in *Landholding and Commercial Agriculture in the Middle East* , ed. Çagler Keyder and Faruk Tabak (Albany, 1991), 173–228.

[5]E.g., al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Maʻrifat al-Aqālīm,* trans. André Miquel as *La meilleure répartition pour la connaissance des provinces* (Damascus, 1963), 227. Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah,* trans. Franz Rosenthal (London, 1958), 2:357–63. See Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Laila ′Ali Ibrahim, *Architectural Terms in Mamluk Documents (648–923H/(1250–1517M)* (Cairo, 1990), for the rich vocabulary used in these descriptions. However, this vocabulary is focused on Egyptian documents.

[6]Bethany J. Walker, ″Mamluk Investment in Transjordan: a ″Boom and Bust″ Economy,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (2004): 119–47.

[7]Muḥammad ʻAdnān Bakhīt, *Das Königreich von al-Karak in der mamlukischen Zeit* (Berlin, 1992).

nowadays tomatoes and in the past, according to al-Muqaddasī, almonds, fruit trees, and grapes .[8] The botanical remains from the excavation show a preponderance of grain, both wheat and barley, and also pulses, figs, olives, and grapes. From the thirteenth century onwards a few exotic crops such as cotton, sorghum, watermelon, pistachio, and citrus fruits start to appear. These required irrigation and were probably grown in the Jordan Valley although there is also evidence for more local irrigation.[9] This landscape is currently shared with semi-nomads and Bedouin who practise animal husbandry. Animal husbandry is also a very important part of the mixed farming economy of village communities. The excavated faunal remains reflect this with an overwhelming majority coming from sheep and goat with a significant amount of cattle bones in later periods.[10] In order to gain subsistence or even surplus from a marginal area such as the Karak Plateau, this would undoubtedly have been the case in the past.[11] Indeed, some of the buildings at Khirbat Fāris, e.g., the nineteenth century ″barns,″ are interpreted as the structures of semi-nomadic communities rather than settled village communities. Other settlements of similar appearance, namely scattered, ruined stone structures, and surface pottery scatters of the distinctive thirteenth/fourteenth-century hand-made pottery (fig. 2) share the same location and one can talk of a pattern of these settlements at five-kilometer intervals fringing the western edge of the Karak Plateau.

The excavations have shown that the site has been occupied for over 4,000 years, and it may indeed have an earlier origin. However, the main research concentration has been on the post-first century settlement while this article focuses particularly on the twelfth–sixteenth-century architectural and material remains. Calendar dates are chosen over historical terminology: vernacular architecture and functional artifacts are inherently conservative, and distinctions in their typology do not fall conveniently into dynastic divisions.[12] Before excavation started two

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[8]Al-Muqaddasī, trans. Miquel, *La meilleure répartition,* 211.

[9]Chantelle Hoppé, ″A Thousand Years of Farming: Agricultural Practices from the Byzantine to Early Ottoman Period at Khirbet Faris, the Kerak Plateau, Jordan″ (Ph.D. diss., University of Sheffield, 1999). M. P. Charles and C. F. Hoppé, ″The Archaeobotanical Remains,″ in ″Mamluk Khirbat Faris,″ *ARAM* 9–10 (1997–98): 181–226.

[10]Lisa Yeomans, ″The Mammalian and Bird Bone from Khirbat Faris,″ unpublished archive report.

[11]The Faris Project includes as one of its aims the characterization of this complex land-use from the Late Antique period onwards. Recent research focused more directly on the Middle Islamic period is reported in Alexandrine Guérin, ″Architecture villageoise et tribu nomade: Définition d′un peuplement dans le Laǧā à la période islamique (Syrie méridionale),″ *Berytus* 44 (1999–2000): 79–108.

[12]For further discussion of this topic see A. McQuitty, ″The Rural Landscape of Jordan in the Seventh–Nineteenth Centuries AD: the Kerak Plateau,″ *Antiquity* 79 (2005): 327–38.

nineteenth-century barns (fig. 3), previously termed Mamluk farmsteads,[13] a first to sixth-century vaulted structure, and Fāris′ tomb were visible (fig. 4).

Fāris Majālī′s grave seems to have been placed on top of an earlier Muslim shrine. In 1851 the French traveller de Saulcy stopped at Khirbat Fāris/Tadun and recorded a structure sounding remarkably akin to the remains surviving on the site.[14] He described a square building with walls standing two meters high and approached by steps. He noted a massive lintel into which the formula *bismillāh* was scratched; this lintel still survives. The building was obviously already ruined but it does not sound as if the small ″tower″ associated today with Fāris Majālī′s grave had been erected on these ruins. De Saulcy suggests that while at first it was probably a pagan temple it was converted to a Christian church and then to a mosque. Here it is suggested that the structure was in fact the domed shrine of a *walī* or local holy man. Often such shrines became the focus for cemeteries. The obviously visible graves at Khirbat Fāris are those of the descendants of Fāris Majālī around whose tomb they congregate but there are also traces of earlier examples. There was no folk-memory of an earlier shrine and, if so, for whom it had been built. Equally, without excavation it is impossible to give a date to the structure. However, as part of the push to recover the Islamic character of the region following the Crusader interregnum, there was a burgeoning of shrine construction in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which may be the construction date for this shrine.[15]

Excavations revealed several houses of various forms. A nucleus of barrel-vaulted rooms surrounding a central courtyard and connected to the settlement beyond by winding alleys was uncovered at the western edge of the site (fig. 5). The date of this complex appears to be thirteenth–sixteenth centuries based on coin, ceramic, and stratigraphic evidence. It is very likely that the complex continued to be used into the seventeenth century.[16] In addition, several early twentieth-century examples of such buildings were recorded at Ḥumūd, a village thirteen kilometers east of Khirbat Fāris; their construction informs the following discussion. The houses in Ḥumūd were built by people from Karak rather than the ″villagers″

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[13]Udo F. C. Worschech, *Northwest Ard el-Kerak 1983 and 1984: A Preliminary Report* (Munich, 1985).

[14]Félicien de Saulcy, *Voyage autour de la mer Morte et dans les terres bibliques: exécuté de décembre 1850 à avril 1851* (Paris, 1853).

[15]Alan Walmsley, ″Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Jordan and the Crusader Interlude,″ in *The Archaeology of Jordan,* ed. Burton MacDonald, Russell Adams, and Piotr Bienkowski (Sheffield, 2001), 533.

[16]Given the lack of historical records referring specifically to Khirbat Fāris and a continuing lack of knowledge concerning seventeenth-century village ceramics on the Karak Plateau, it is hard to be more precise.

themselves. In fact these houses were used as part of the cycle of permanent resettlement of the land by Christian tribes in the nineteenth century. One was originally used as a *maḍāfah* (guest-house) for the tribe when they came from Karak with their flocks on a seasonal basis, in spring and late summer. The flocks were stabled in nearby caves. In the spring grain was planted and the flocks grazed on the spring growth while in late summer the same grain was harvested and the flocks grazed on the stubble. Ultimately the seasonal settlement became a permanent settlement in the early twentieth century.[17]

The individual buildings at Khirbat Fāris and Ḥumūd are characterized by their relatively small dimensions (average: internal measurements 4.00x3.00 meters and height 2.00 meters) and massive side-walls (average: 1.00 meter thick) which either re-use earlier walls or are constructed from two skins of stones with an in-fill of rubble and mud mortar. The ground plan is often trapezoidal with the wider end being at the entrance. The entrance-wall was not bonded to the vault itself, and in the Ḥumūd examples a rectangular antechamber roofed with reeds and branches marked the entrance. The wall stones are roughly shaped and squared although those for the vault itself are singularly shaped, almost like (European!) loaves of bread. These show no signs of working. Huge amounts of mortar were used to secure the vault which was built over a form of sacks that were later removed. The end walls, being non-weight-bearing, are less substantial. One example from Khirbat Fāris featured an end wall that was merely slapped-up against a pre-existing earth ″wall.″ The roof was flat and consisted of substantial layers of earth and brushwood nearly a meter thick, sealed by a final layer of mud-plaster. In short, the construction seems to have been haphazard. Traces of a much larger and longer barrel-vaulted building were detected on the surface just to the east of the excavated area. A cistern was excavated nearby and its contents of a fine fourteenth-century marvered glass bowl (fig. 6), and several wheel-made water jugs or *ibrīq,* are interpreted as being associated with this larger barrel-vault.[18]

Parallels to this type of architecture are mainly confined to Jordan. At Ḥisbān a residential complex of similar-sized barrel-vaulted structures including a *ḥammām* and *īwān* surrounding a central courtyard has been dated to the fourteenth century.[19] This complex is located on the summit of the citadel of Ḥisbān. Adjacent to this suite of rooms is a long barrel-vaulted structure that is interpreted as being the

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[17]Pierre Medebielle, *Madaba et son histoire chrétienne* (Jerusalem, 1987), 301.

[18]M. A. Sarley Pontin, ″The Pottery, ″ and M. Khoury, ″The Glass,″ in ″Mamluk Khirbat Faris,″ 181–226.

[19]Bethany J. Walker, ″Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilad al-Sham in the Eighth/Fourteenth Century: the Case of Hisban,″ *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 62, no. 4 (2003): 251.

storeroom of the governor′s residence.[20] In the fourteenth century Ḥisbān had been made administrative capital of the Balqā'.[21] The Ḥisbān examples offer extremely close parallels to Khirbat Fāris in terms of construction details. In earlier excavation reports there are references to ″many low-ceilinged vaults″ and a vaulted room with plastered *masṭabah* and window; this is mirrored at Khirbat Fāris[22] (fig. 7). The nature of the material found in the storeroom associated with this complex is remarkable, including ″serving vessels monumental in size and bearing lengthy dedicatory inscriptions to unnamed amirs″ and lamps, including fragments of a fine glass mosque lamp. This and the similarities of the plan to that of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s palace inside Karak castle have led the excavators to conclude that the barrel-vaulted complex was the residence of the governor of the Balqā'.[23] The architecture is strikingly similar to Khirbat Fāris; the difference lies in the location of the complex within the site, the nature of the associated material, and the general historical background.

Parallels for the smaller barrel-vaulted buildings also come from further afield. A thirteenth-fourteenth–century example from Horvat Berechot in the Hebron hills has been excavated.[24] Many of the houses surrounding the better-known town and churches of Umm al-Raṣaṣ on the Mādabah Plains are of this type but are not arranged around courtyards. These are probably nineteenth century in date. A nearly complete barrel-vaulted structure containing late Ottoman artifacts was uncovered at Ra's al-Qabub in northern Jordan.[25] Such barrel-vaulted houses were a common sight in Jordanian and Palestinian villages of the recent past, when they were used as animal stables or oven-houses.[26] At the present state of knowledge it would appear that such barrel-vaulted houses fall within the late thirteenth–mid-twentieth-century date-range and are distributed throughout Jordan and the hills of Palestine. Needless to say, this distribution probably has more to do with our state of knowledge than past reality.

At Khirbat Fāris, this architecture is totally different from that of the preceding periods. At the beginning of the twelfth century new houses were built using but modifying the surviving structures of the sixth century. Where the stone roof-rafters

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[20]Walker, ″Mamluk Investment in Transjordan,″ 133.

[21]Walker, ″Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilad al-Sham,″ 251.

[22]Phyllis A. Bird in *Heshbon 1968,* ed. Roger S. Boraas and Siegrief H. Horn (Berrien Springs, 1969), 200–2.

[23]Walker, ″Mamluk Investment in Transjordan,″ 132.

[24]Yizhar Hirschfeld, *The Palestinian Dwelling* (Jerusalem, 1995), 43–44.

[25]Edward B. Banning et al., ″Wadi Ziqlab Project 1987: A Preliminary Report,″ *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 33 (1989): 54.

[26]Ammar Khammash, *Notes on Village Architecture in Jordan* (Lafayette, LA, 1986), 43.

were missing, wooden beams were used to support the flat roof. However, these houses differed in detail from their antecedents. Here the newly-built arches spring from arch-walls, effectively acting as buttresses, or from the base of the house-wall rather than being bonded *into* the house-wall. The space between the arch-walls is used for *rawīyāt*/grain-bins[27] for storing the household′s harvest. The *rawīyah* was filled through a hole in the roof and taken out through a hole at the base. Apart from the grain-bins there are generally few built-in features, mainly various shaped niches recessed into the thick walls. The entrance is almost always parallel to the arches. This, the so-called ″Transverse-Arch House,″ was also the most common rural house throughout Jordan during the nineteenth and early twentieth century[28] (fig. 9).

As pointed out in the introduction, during the periods under discussion, twelfth–sixteenth centuries, the Karak Plateau was known as a fertile and arable land scattered with villages. The area was also well-known for its livestock, including sheep, goats, cattle, camels, and horses, that were raised by the Bedouin tribes and sold to the governments of the time for use by their armies. In particular, the Mamluk state prized the horses of the *bādiyah* tribes.[29] Within the time-frame under consideration there was a noticeable change in the type of architecture seen in one of these villages, Khirbat Fāris. What was the impetus behind these startlingly different types of construction? It is the direct interest of the Mamluk state that seems to coincide with the observed change in architecture.[30]

One possible effect of this that can be seen in the architecture is the changing provision for storage of agricultural produce.[31] In the earlier twelfth-century ″Transverse-Arch House,″ agricultural storage seems to have been carried out at the household level within each dwelling-unit. By contrast, the later barrel-vaulted houses at Khirbat Fāris exhibited no provision for agricultural storage and were used simply for residence. Storage of crops may have occurred off-site in caves and cisterns as has been suggested for earlier periods and occurred later when produce was hidden from Ottoman tax-collectors.[32] Storage may have been centralized on a community level and have taken place in large barrel-vaulted

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[27]*Rawīyah* is a vernacular term in use in Jordan and Palestine.

[28]McQuitty, ″The Rural Landscape of Jordan.″

[29]Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: the Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* (Beckenham, 1986), 115.

[30]See Walker for detailing of this investment.

[31]For further discussion of this topic see Ruba Kana'an and Alison McQuitty, ″The Architecture of al-Qasr on the Kerak Plateau: an Essay in the Chronology of Vernacular Architecture,″ *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 126 (1994): 127–51.

[32]Øystein LaBianca, *Sedentarization and Nomadization* (Berrien Springs, 1990), 194.

structures like the one still buried at Khirbat Fāris or excavated as the ″governor′s storeroom″ at Ḥisbān. Alternatively taxation was direct and was taken in kind at the threshing-floor: there was little need for large-scale storage.

Various reasons for this architectural change can be suggested. It is tempting to assume that as in the case of early twentieth-century Ḥumūd, these barrel-vaulted houses represent the process of sedentarization. More state investment was put into agriculture in the atmosphere of increased security that the Mamluks offered after the turmoil of the Crusader interregnum. Communities were encouraged ″to settle down″ in villages. However, as both historical records and archaeology have shown, there were rural settlements on the Karak Plateau in the centuries immediately before the Mamluks stamped their authority on the region. A more nuanced interpretation may be that a change in the agricultural administration of the landscape resulted in a change in the control of the surplus produce. What had once been for the family and tribe was now for the state.

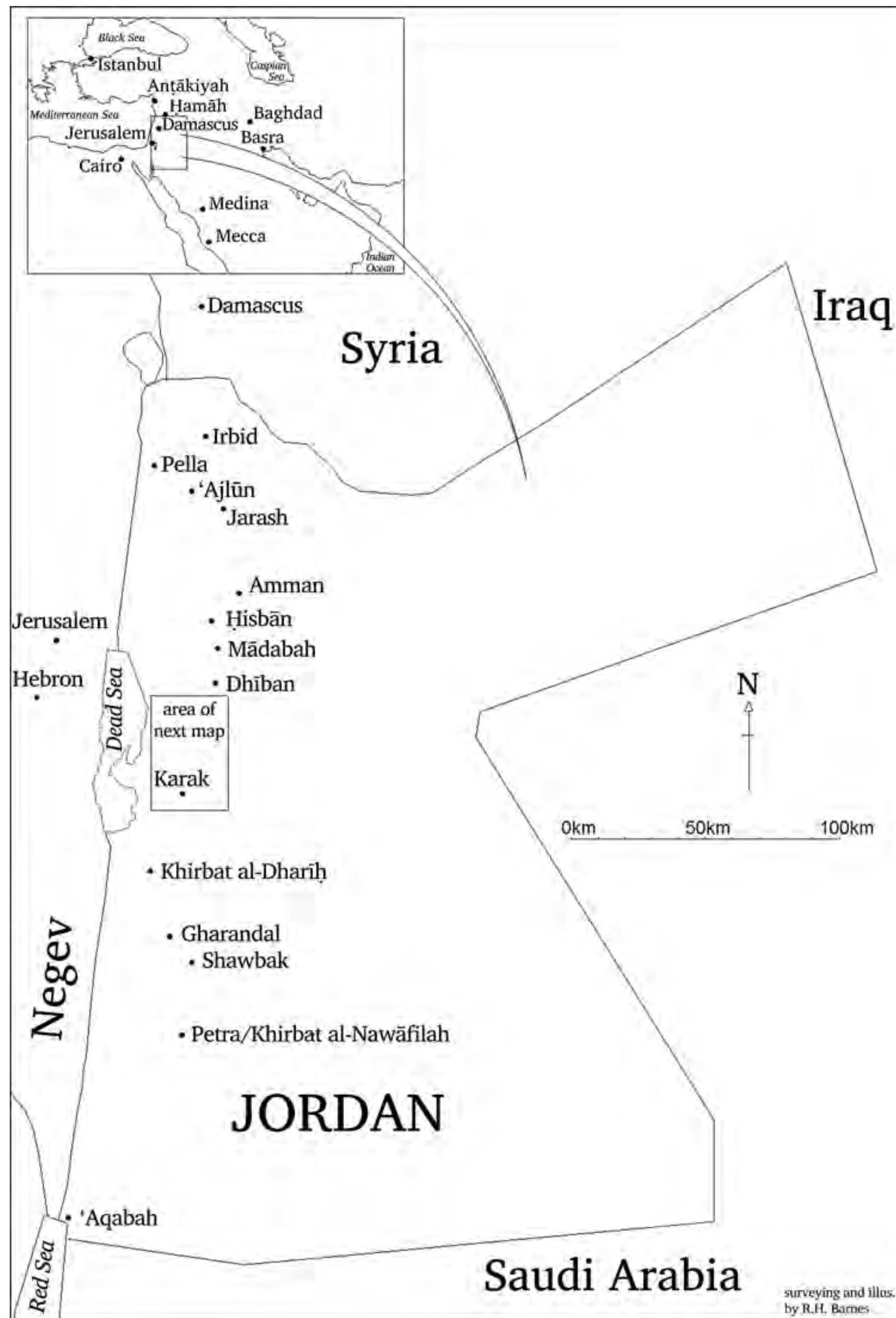


Fig. 1a. Map to show location of Khirbat Fāris

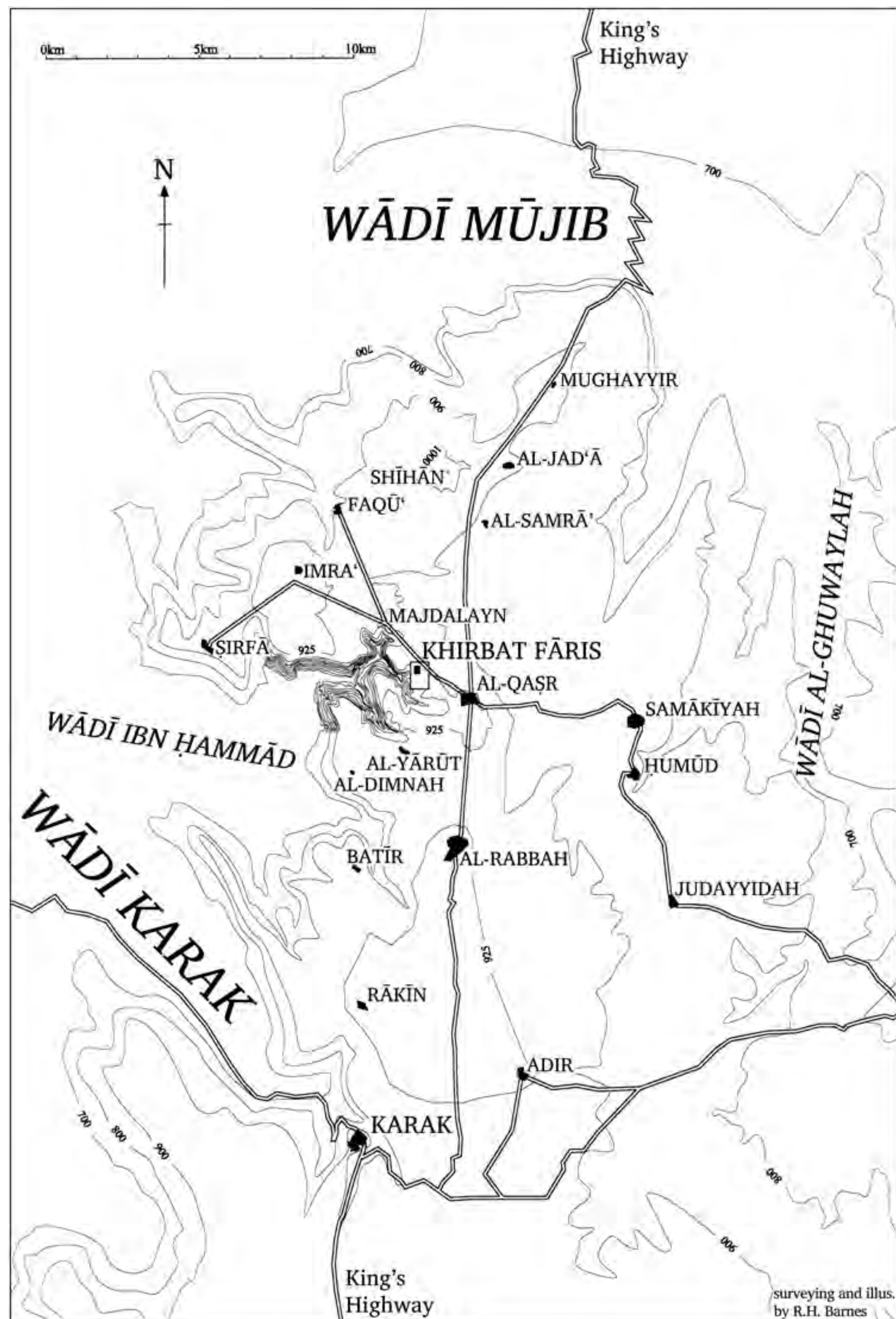


Fig. 1b. Map to show location of Khirbat Fāris



Fig. 2. Fourteenth-century hand-made pottery from Khirbat Fāris



Fig. 3. Nineteenth-century "barn" at Khirbat Fāris



Fig. 4. View to show possible shrine on right on which Fāris' tomb, the small tower, is constructed. The tomb on the left belongs to Shilash, Fāris' son.



Fig. 5. View of complex of barrel-vaulted houses at Khirbat Fāris

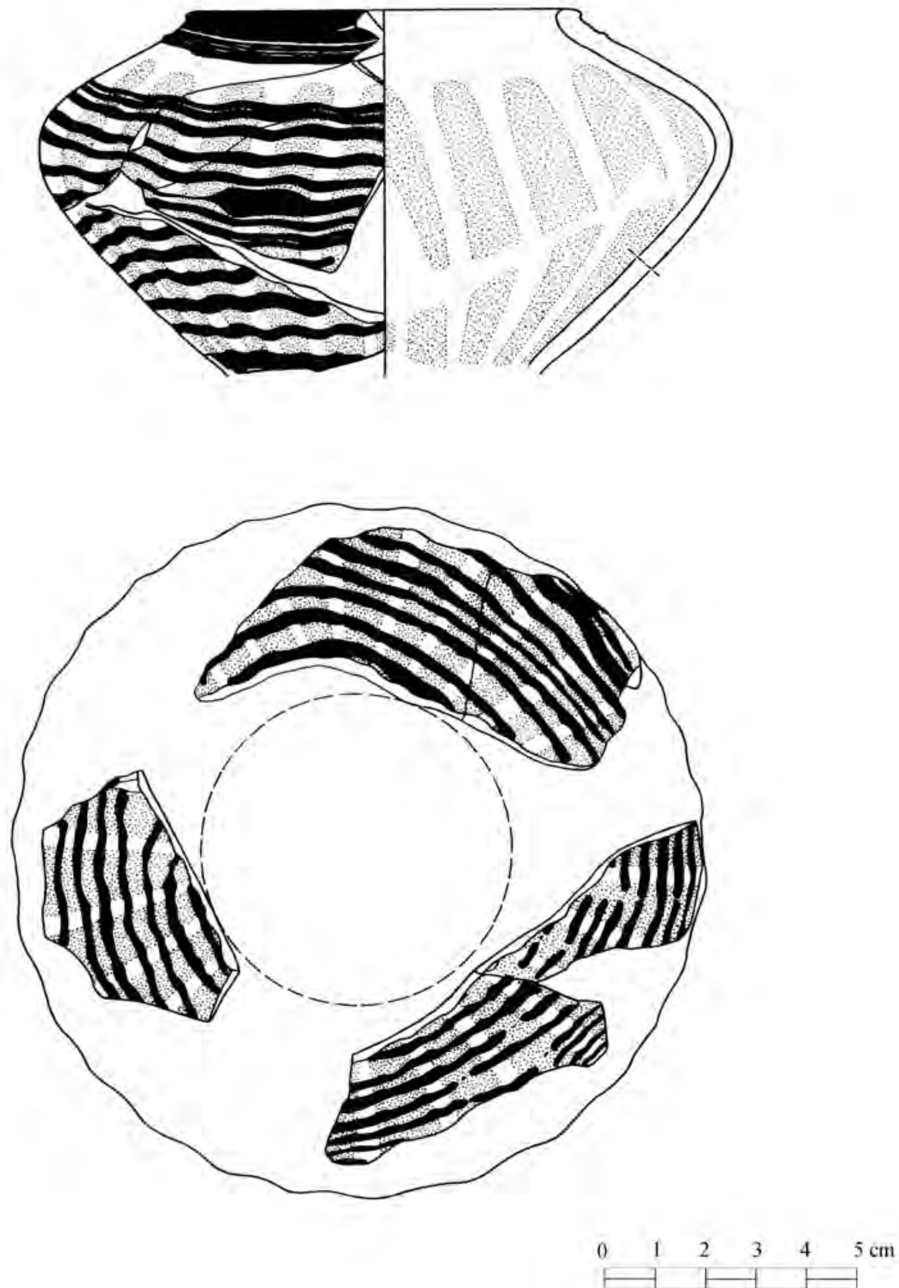


Fig. 6. A fourteenth-century marvered glass bowl

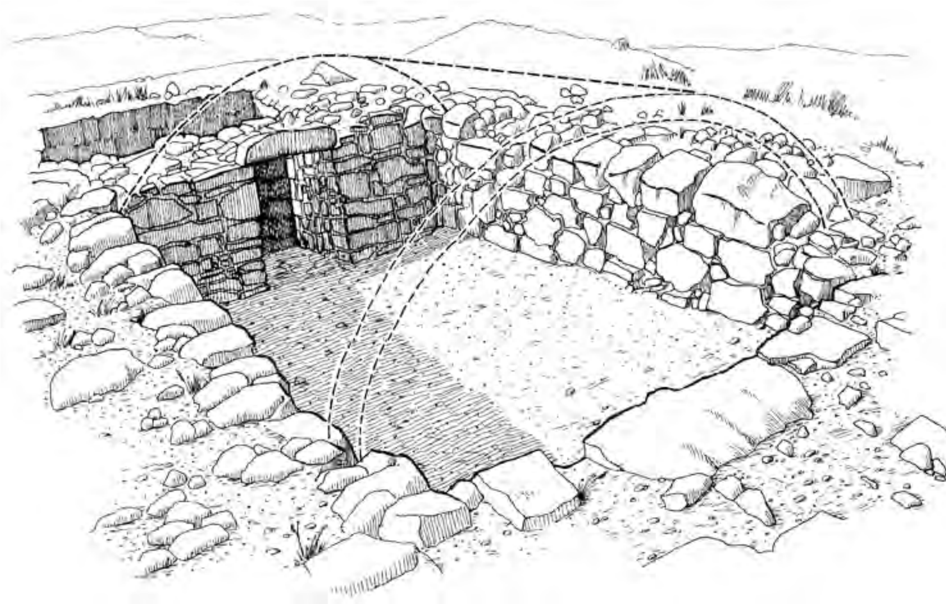


Fig. 7. A reconstruction drawing of one of the barrel-vaulted houses



Fig. 8. *Rawiyat* in a nineteenth-century house

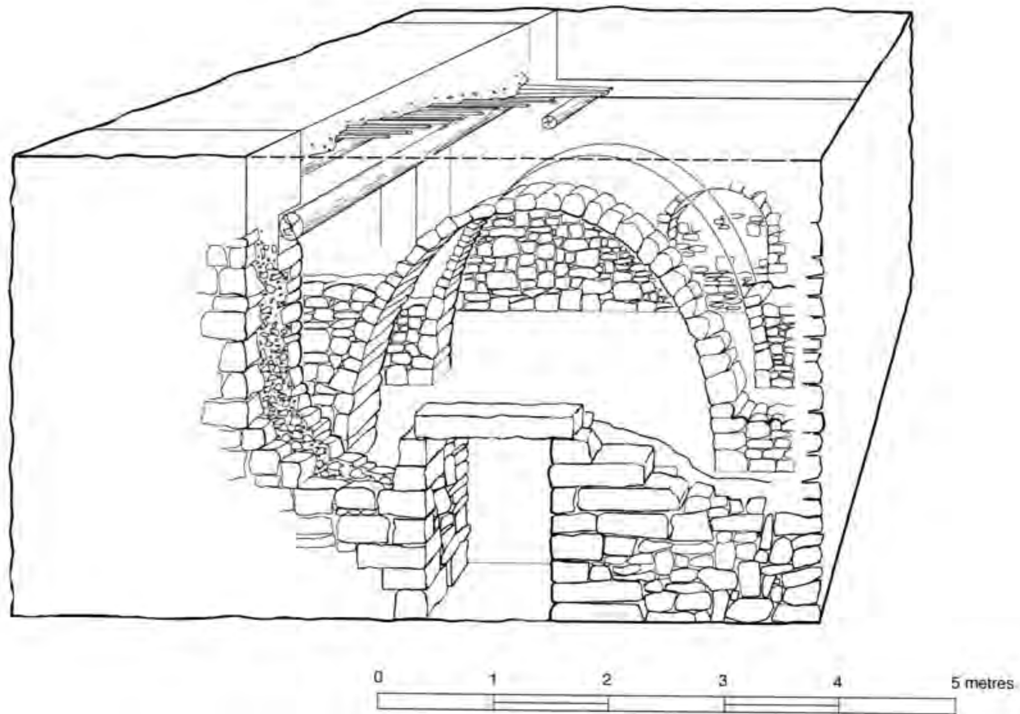


Fig. 9. A reconstruction drawing of a ″Transverse-Arch House″

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Sowing the Seeds of Rural Decline?: Agriculture as an Economic Barometer for Late Mamluk Jordan

The 1995 publication of Amalia Levanoni′s *A Turning Point in Mamluk History* challenged historians of the Mamluk period to define and account for the political, social, and economic shifts that accompanied the Bahri-Burji transition. The ten years since have produced a growing corpus of studies on what has come to be known as ″Mamluk decline″; this scholarship has been wide-ranging, making use of a variety of written (chronicles and, recently, *waqfīyāt*) and art historical (minor objects and archaeology) sources. The recent interest in rural endowments *(waqf)* illustrates well the new and exciting directions research on this topic has taken. An analysis of rural properties and proprietorship has revealed nuanced developments in social relations, in addition to political structure and economics, and suggests that more complex processes were at work than a model of ″decline″ can describe. Land was the basis of political, economic, and social relations in the Middle Ages. Significant shifts, then, in the way land was controlled, whether through usufruct or full ownership on one level, or dictating cropping strategies on another, resulted in what we now consider ″transformations″ of Egyptian society, a more neutral assessment of the fifteenth century than was possible ten years ago.

Such is the perspective of the state. What is missing, however, from such debates are the voices of the peasants themselves. What impact did these transformations have on the countryside, on village life, on rural markets, and on the peasantry that did not directly participate in political decision-making? Considering the political, economic, and social shifts of the period from the vantage point of the non-Egyptian provinces has the benefits of some degree of political distance; analysis of different, but complementary, sources of data; and demographic and economic diversity that one does not get from a reading of Egyptian written sources alone.

Today′s Jordan, which the Mamluks administered as the Province of Karak and the southernmost districts of Damascus Province, provides us with a unique opportunity to analyze state-peasant relations and reassess the developments of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. An intense and broad-based investment by Cairo in Jordanian agriculture through most of the fourteenth century suggests a concern for long-term objectives. Jordan was, for Cairo, the physical

communications corridor to Syria, a mediator in political relations with the Syrian amirs, and a ″cash cow,″ so to speak, through exploitation of its agricultural markets.[1] Its decline in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, is discernible on many levels: villages are abandoned, agricultural production is reduced, particular industries collapse (such as sugar production), and there are marked demographic losses. Traditionally, historians and archaeologists (who have been gradually coordinating their research efforts) have identified the factors behind these developments as local amiral rebellions;[2] natural and demographic disasters, such as drought, earthquakes, and plague;[3] overt withdrawal of state monies;[4] and climatic change.[5] Such factors alone betray a provincial viewpoint and differ in emphasis from Egyptian-based scholarship, which emphasizes political and economic developments in the capital and is largely the result of different historiographies. Significantly, concurrent with these events were the large-scale purchase of rural lands from the Bayt al-Māl and their endowment as *waqf* by sultans, phenomena documented a good fifty years earlier than in Egypt that will be discussed in detail below.

This article explores the transformations of the Jordanian countryside in the fifteenth century in terms of these rural *awqāf,* settlement and demographic shifts, and traditional and state-sponsored planting strategies, and considers them in relation to the larger political and economic challenges of the late Mamluk period. In addition, the long-term environmental impact of Jordanian and Mamluk land management practices will also be considered. The agricultural regime of Jordan

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[1]Bethany J. Walker, ″Mamluk Investment in the Transjordan: A ′Boom and Bust′ Economy,″ *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (2004): 119–47.

[2]Shawkat R. Ḥujjah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī li-Minṭaqat Sharq al-Urdun (min Janūb al-Shām) fī ʻAṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Thāniyah* (Irbid, 2002).

[3]Yūsuf Ghawānimah, ″Al-Ṭāʻūn wa-al-Jafāf wa-Atharuhumā ʻalá al-Bīʼah fī Janūb al-Shām (al-Urdun wa-Filasṭīn) fī al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī,″ *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 2 (1985): 315–22.

[4]Bethany J. Walker, ″Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilād al-Shām in the Eighth/Fourteenth Century: The Case of Ḥisbān,″ *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 62, no. 4 (2003): 241–61; idem, ″Mamluk Investment in the Transjordan.″

[5]Nicole Shehadeh, ″The Climate of Jordan in the Past and Present,″ *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 2 (1985): 25–28; A. M. Frumkin, M. Margaritz, I. Carmi, and I. Zak, ″The Holocene Climatic Record of the Salt Caves of Mount Sedom, Israel,″ *The Holocene* 1, no. 3 (1991): 181–200; Christopher Heim, Norbort R. Nowaczyk, and Jörg F. W. Negendank, ″Near East Desertification: Evidence from the Dead Sea,″ *Naturwissenschaften* 84 (1997): 398–401; Bernhard Lucke, Michael Schmidt, Ziad al-Saad, Oliver Bens, and Reinhard F. Hüttl, ″The Abandonment of the Decapolis Region in Northern Jordan—Forced by Environmental Change?″ *Quaternary International* 135, no. 1 (2005): 65–82.

is, thus, used as a barometer for transformations of late Mamluk society in southern Bilād al-Shām.

REVIEW OF SOURCES

Jordanian historiography for the late Mamluk period relies on a set of sources not generally consulted by other Mamluk scholars. Because the Ottomans continued Mamluk administrative practices here until the mid-sixteenth century, when the first large-scale censuses were taken in the region, early Ottoman tax registers (*defter*s) are an excellent, and widely used, source for late Mamluk economics, agriculture, land use, and demographics in Jordan.[6] While these registers are far from complete, they do present a wide range of data that includes population estimates (numbers of Muslim and non-Muslim households/*khāneh* and ″bachelors″/*mufrad*); status of rural property defined by degree of permanent settlement and cultivation (permanently settled village/*qaryah,* cultivated plot isolated from a settlement/*mazrā'ah,* untaxed ruins/*kharāb,* small plot of cultivated land/*qiṭ'ah*); ownership or usufruct status (private estate of the sultan or provincial amir/*khāṣṣ,* amir as tax recipient/*timār* or *zi'āmat,* charitable or family endowment/*waqf*); estimated annual revenues, in *akche*s (the Ottomans′ smallest silver coin), with taxes on each crop, livestock, and industry type specified; and, occasionally, incidental information, such as how the estate was acquired and access to water. *Awqāf* figure prominently in these registers, and many of them are Mamluk in date. For this reason, scholarship on late Mamluk Jordan has long been steeped in *waqf* studies.

The Ottomans levied the *'ushr* tax on *awqāf,* itemizing them individually as sources of revenue, along with crops, livestock, and industries. All endowed properties, including those supporting most mosques and madrasahs, were subject to taxation, with the exception of properties financing al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharafayn, the Khalīl al-Raḥmān mosque in Hebron, and the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.[7] The Ottoman state, moreover, generally maintained the integrity of the largest of

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[6]Muḥammad 'Adnān al-Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah (Shamālī al-Urdun) fī al-'Aṣr al-'Āshir al-Hijrī/al-Sādis 'Āshir al-Milādī* (Amman, 1989); idem, *Tapu Defteri No. 275, Detailed Register of the Private-Khass of the Governor in the Province of Damascus 958 A.H./1551–2 A.D.* (Amman 1989); Muḥammad 'Adnān al-Bakhīt and Nūfān Rajā Ḥammūd, *The Detailed Defter of Liwā' 'Ajlūn (The District of Ajlun) Tapu Defteri No. 970, Istanbul* (Amman, 1989); idem, *The Detailed Defter of Liwā' 'Ajlūn (The District of Ajlun) Tapu Defteri No. 185, Ankara 1005 A.H./1596 A.D.* (Amman, 1991); Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth and Kamal Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late 16th Century* (Erlangen, 1977).

[7]Muḥammad 'Adnān al-Bakhīt, ″Awqaf During the Late Mamluk Period and the Early Ottoman Times in Palestine and Jordan,″ in *Urbanism in Islam*, ed. Editorial Committee of the Research Project ″Urbanism in Islam, a Comparative Study,″ 1994 (Tokyo, 1990), 188.

the Mamluk *awqāf,* keeping former sultanic endowments together as a unit and assigning their *'ushr* revenue to the governor *(mīr)* of Liwā' 'Ajlūn or as *khāṣṣ shāhī* for the sultan himself.[8] Such estates may have represented a financially stable institution for the Ottoman state and, thus, a reliable source of revenue. The longevity of some of these private, rural estates suggests that the Mamluks had achieved some degree of financial success in at least one area of their agricultural investments.

The results of archaeological fieldwork in Jordan the last fifteen years have produced an extensive database on patterns of settlement, including the emergence of new administrative centers and the abandonment of once thriving villages; the location of industrial and marketing centers and trade routes; and corpuses of small finds with economic significance (coins, imported pottery and glass, textiles).[9] Analyses of such fieldwork's historical value has been previously published and do not need to be discussed in detail here.[10] In recent years archaeological research has employed environmentally-focused data collection, such as soil and water analysis.[11] The implications of such scientific work, combined with the more traditional research on administrative documents described above, are significant and allow us to make preliminary statements about developments in the Jordanian agricultural regime and how they relate to the larger issue of Mamluk "decline."

Outside of the Ottoman *defter*s and archaeological reports, however, there have been precious few other sources of information on rural life in Mamluk Jordan. Contemporary written sources, including chronicles and administrative manuals, give only a spotty picture of the Jordanian agricultural regime. Many Jordanian towns and villages become visible in the Arabic sources only in the fourteenth century. Three villages, for example, in which I have been doing intensive fieldwork—Ḥisbān, Malkā, and Ḥubrāṣ—attract local historians' attention at this

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[8]Al-Bakhīt and Ḥammūd, *Tapu Defteri No. 185,* 52.

[9]The impact of the political and economic trends examined in this article on the standard of living of Jordanians in the late Mamluk period is dealt with in my forthcoming *Life on the Mamluk Frontier: Transjordan, 1250–1517 A.D.,* which relies on such archaeological and ethnographic data.

[10]Walker, "Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilād al-Shām," 249–61; idem, "Mamluk Investment in the Transjordan"; idem, "The Northern Jordan Survey 2003—Agriculture in Late Islamic Malka and Hubras Villages: A Preliminary Report of the First Season," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 339 (2005): 67–111; idem, "Regional Markets and their Impact on Agriculture in Mamluk and Ottoman Transjordan," in *On the Fringe of Society: Archaeological and Ethnoarchaeological Perspectives on Pastoral and Agricultural Societies*, Symposium hosted by the Albright Institute in Jerusalem, June 3, 2004, ed. Eveline van der Steen and Benjamin Saidel (Jerusalem, 2006, in press).

[11]Lucke et al., "The Abandonment of the Decapolis Region."

point, perhaps because of their political or economic importance during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s third reign. Although settled as a village on and off since the Iron Age, Ḥisbān in central Jordan was made the administrative capital of the Balqā' district around 710/1310.[12] According to the results of recent archaeological investigations, it was also a redistribution point, at this time, for refined cane sugar, grown and processed in the Jordan River Valley, and housed a small garrison of a half dozen soldiers.[13] Isolated references in the early thirteenth century aside, it is not mentioned regularly by either Syrian or Egyptian historians until early in the fourteenth century.[14] The same is true for two contemporary villages in northern Jordan: Ḥubrāṣ and Malkā. Ḥubrāṣ, occupied since the Byzantine period, may have had two mosques in the thirteenth century; by the sixteenth century it was one of the largest villages in the region.[15] The farmers of Malkā were productive enough in 796/1393 for Sultan Barqūq to endow the village for his madrasah-mausoleum complex in Cairo; Malkā′s population doubled over the course of the sixteenth century.[16] All three villages were, moreover, known for their marketplaces and their residents for their level of education: the *nisbah*s al-Ḥisbānī, al-Ḥubrāṣī, and al-Malkāwī were prominent in biographical dictionaries of Syrian scholars.[17] The majority, by far, of historical references to these villages are fourteenth-century in date.

The absence of such villages from earlier Mamluk sources, however, may merely reflect the problems of Syrian historiography. Several key Syrian sources simply do not cover the chronological transition from the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. Published and edited excerpts from al-Yūnīnī′s chronicle, *Dhayl Mir'āt al-Zamān,* do not extend beyond 701/1301–2. Likewise, entries for the years

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[12]Walker, ″Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilād al-Shām,″ 249–50.

[13]Bethany J. Walker, ″The Late Ottoman Cemetery in Field L, Tall Hisban,″ *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 322 (2001): 1–19; idem, ″Mamluk Administration of Transjordan: Recent Findings from Tall Hisban,″ *Al-'Uṣūr al-Wusṭá* 13, no. 2 (2001): 29–33; idem, ″Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilād al-Shām,″ 254, 258; Bethany J. Walker and Øystein S. LaBianca, ″The Islamic *Quṣūr* of Tall Hisban: Preliminary Report on the 1998 and 2001 Seasons,″ *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 47 (2003): 443–71.

[14]Ibn Shaddād, in his biography of Salāḥ al-Dīn completed in 1228 *(Al-Nawādir al-Sulṭānīyah wa-al-Maḥāsin al-Yūsufīyah),* mentions that Salāḥ al-Dīn withdrew his forces to Ḥisbān after a failed attempt to take the Crusader fortress at Karak (cited in Malcolm Russell, ″Hesban during the Arab Period: A.D. 635 to the Present,″ in *Historical Foundations: Studies of Literary References to Hesban and Vicinity*, Hesban 3, ed. Larry Geraty and Leona G. Running [Berrien Springs, 1989], 28).

[15]Walker, ″Mamluk Investment in the Transjordan,″ 129–30.

[16]Ibid., 130–31.

[17]Walker, ″Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilād al-Shām,″ 250; idem, ″Mamluk Investment in the Transjordan,″ 130–31.

711–39/1311–38 in al-Jazarī's *Ḥawādith al-Zamān* are no longer extant.[18] While the Egyptian historian al-ʻAynī, in his *ʻIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,* does preserve some of the sections missing from these two sources, his chronicle after 701/1301 is only available in manuscript form.[19] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, who is a rich, albeit inconsistent, source of information regarding agriculture and village life in southern Bilād al-Shām, begins his chronicle only in 741/1340.[20] Mamluk officials serving in the region, such as the amir Baybars al-Manṣūrī who was governor of Karak in 680–85/1281–86, show little interest in rural events and the state of local agriculture in their written narratives.[21]

Nothing illustrates these trends more clearly than the coverage of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's cadastral survey *(rawk)* of southern Bilād al-Shām in 713/1313 by both Syrian and Egyptian sources. There is no equivalent for Syria of Ibn al-Jīʻān's *Kitāb al-Tuḥfah al-Sanīyah bi-Asmā' al-Bilād al-Miṣrīyah* or Ibn Duqmāq's *Kitāb al-Intiṣār li-Wāṣiṭat ʻIqd al-Amṣār,* which summarize the results of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's subsequent survey of Egyptian land in 715/1315.[22] The historian of Mamluk Egypt can mine a wealth of information from Ibn al-Jīʻān's account, including a catalogue of village names and their location, the amount of cultivatable land attached to each village (recorded in feddans), the annual estimated fiscal yield (cash equivalent in dinars), in whose name the land was and now is registered, the status of that registration (as *iqṭāʻ, mulk, waqf,* etc.), soil types and access to water, and suitability for food and cash crops.[23] The surveys of southern Syria (that is Damascus Province, Hims, Baalbek, Ṣafad, and Gaza), Egypt, Tripoli (in 717/1317), and Aleppo (in 725/1325) are briefly described by al-Nuwayrī and al-Maqrīzī. Like al-Maqrīzī, whose narrative is the more detailed of the two, al-Nuwayrī, in his *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,* is more concerned with personnel and procedure than the results of the surveys. The only comment he makes about the local reception of the 715/1315 survey was that "upon the distribution of the *iqṭāʻ* documents there were disagreements and conflicts" (*wa-*

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[18]Walker, "Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilād al-Shām," 246.

[19]Donald P. Little, *An Introduction to Mamluk Historiography: An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Mālik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn* (Montreal, 1970), 80–87.

[20]Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr Aḥmad Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah*, ed. ʻAdnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1994), 2:8.

[21]Walker, "Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilād al-Shām," 247.

[22]Sato Tsugitaka, "Historical Character of *al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī* in Mamluk Syria," in *Proceedings of the First International Conference on Bilād al-Shām*, Amman, Jordan, 20–25 April 1974 (Amman, 1984), 224.

[23]Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyá Ibn al-Jīʻān, *Kitāb al-Tuḥfah al-Sanīyah bi-Asmā' al-Bilād al-Miṣrīyah* (Cairo, 1898).

ḥaṣala fī tafrīqihā [al-amthilah] ikhtilāf wa-iḍṭirāb).[24] A contemporary in Ḥamāh, Abū al-Fidā', surprisingly makes no mention of any of the three cadastral surveys in Syria carried out by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. He does, however, make reference to the Nāṣirī revolt in Tripoli that al-Nuwayrī, by combining his description of the two events in the same narrative, implicitly ties to the survey of that city in 717/1317.[25] Likewise, Ibn al-Dawādārī, an important source for events in Syria in the first half of the fourteenth century, makes no reference at all to any of the Syrian surveys, only the Egyptian one (described as the *rawk mubārak*), which he suggests was one of the most important events of the year 715/1315, along with the campaign in Malta.[26] This is all the more surprising since he describes the passing of his father, an amir, in 713/1313, while on a tour of Syrian fortresses (perhaps in connection with the 713/1313 survey), and since throughout his chronicle Ibn al-Dawādārī expresses concern for the condition of Syrian *iqṭā'*s.[27] An event that should have had a real impact on the Syrian countryside is not worth mentioning by some of the local sources of the period. The implications of the 713/1313 survey for rural developments in Jordan will be considered shortly.

While copies of the 713/1313 survey are no longer extant, we do have important economic documents related to Jordanian agriculture in this period at our disposal, though finding them is the proverbial "looking for a needle in the haystack." Moreover, one has to be intimately familiar with the local geography and topography to recognize them for what they are. The Dār al-Wathā'iq and Wizārat al-Awqāf in Cairo and the archives of St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai preserve copies, in various forms, of *waqfīyāt* recording the endowment of Jordanian farmland for charitable purposes during the late fourteenth century. One has been published and analyzed in part: the endowment of the village of 'Adar, near Karak, in 777/1375 by Sultan Sha'bān.[28] A second has been analyzed in a couple of recent publications and will be published shortly: the endowment of the village of Malkā in northern Jordan by Sultan Barqūq in 796/1393 for his madrasah-mausoleum

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[24]Shihāb al-Dīn ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Niḥāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1997), 32:206.

[25]Malik al-Mu'ayyad 'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'īl Abū al-Fidā', *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar,* ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn (Cairo, 1999), 4:98; al-Nuwayrī, *Niḥāyat al-Arab*, 32:255–60.

[26]Abū Bakr ibn 'Abd Allāh ibn Aybak ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa Jāmi' al-Ghurar* (Cairo, 1960), 9:286–87.

[27]Ibid., 266.

[28]Waqfīyah 8/49, Dār al-Wathā'iq, Cairo, in Yūsuf Ghawānimah, *Tārīkh Sharqī al-Urdun fī 'Aṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Ūlá (al-Qism al-Ḥaḍarī)* (Amman, 1979), 243–44, and idem, "Al-Qaryah fī Janūb al-Shām (al-Urdun wa-Filasṭīn) fī al-'Aṣr al-Mamlūkī fī Ḍaw' Waqfīyāt 'Adar," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 1 (1982): 363–71.

complex on the Bayn al-Qaṣrayn in Cairo.[29] In addition to these are references in unpublished, contemporary *waqfīyāt* to a village on the outskirts of Karak (its name is not preserved in the fragmentary manuscript),[30] for the same complex in Cairo, and other rural land in the vicinity of Karak for Sultan Ḥasan′s monumental madrasah complex in Cairo (endowed in 762/1360–1).[31]

All other references to large, endowed estates in Jordan are either summarized in the early Ottoman *defter*s[32] or contemporary chronicles. These Ottoman documents describe landed estates in terms of their physical extent, local topography and water sources, roads, quality of the land, agricultural installations of various sorts, neighboring villages, previously endowed properties within the village, and buildings or plots of land that have been abandoned or otherwise fallen out of use. They are coming under renewed scrutiny for their potential contribution to settlement cycles and agricultural and environmental history.[33]

For documentation for the late Mamluk period we are more fortunate. Biographical dictionaries (Ibn al-Jīʻān′s *Al-Qawl al-Mustaẓraf,* Ibn Ṭūlūn′s *Mufākahāt al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* and Ibn Iyās′ *Badāʼiʻ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʼiʻ al-Duhūr*), biographies of Burji Mamluk sultans (Ibn Ṣaṣrā′s *Kitāb al-Durrah al-Muḍīʻah fī al-Dawlah al-Ẓāhirīyah*), and the products of contemporary, local historians (ʻAbd al-Bāsiṭ′s *Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal*) are available, largely in manuscript form, for research on fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Jordan and the region. They have been used, with much success, by Shawkat Ramaḍān Ḥujjah, in his recent monograph on Burji Mamluk Jordan.[34] However, provincial capitals (such as Karak) and the largest administrative centers, towns, and villages (ʻAjlūn, for example) are the most visible in these sources, making research on less politically important villages and their hinterland very difficult.

While my research on agriculture in Mamluk Jordan is ongoing, and I have not yet examined the manuscripts of the sources described above other than *waqfīyāt,* I believe—on the basis of the Ottoman *defter*s; Mamluk-period *waqfīyāt*; a variety of published, primarily Syrian, sources; and archaeological and geological data—that some trends are emerging which suggest the following:

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[29]Waqfīyah 9/51, Dār al-Wathāʼiq, Cairo, in Walker, ″Mamluk Investment in the Transjordan,″ 130; idem, ″The Northern Jordan Survey″; idem, ″Regional Markets.″

[30]Waqfīyah 49, microfilm 15, fols. 1–4, Dār al-Wathāʼiq, Cairo.

[31]Waqfīyah 40, microfilm 15, fols. 1–3, Dār al-Wathāʼiq, Cairo.

[32]Mehmed İpşirli and Muḥammad Dāwūd al-Tamīmī, *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn* (Istanbul, 1982); al-Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah,* and idem, *Tapu Defteri No. 275;* Bakhīt and Ḥammūd, *Tapu Defteri No. 970,* and idem, *Tapu Defteri No. 185*.

[33]Walker, ″The Northern Jordan Survey.″

[34]Ḥujjah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī*; see my review in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (2004): 219–23.

1. The Mamluk state, from the beginning, was actively investing in the infrastructure of southern Bilād al-Shām. While much of this investment was initially security-driven, it certainly benefited regional agricultural markets, through the construction of roads, storage facilities, and caravanserais and *wikālah*s.

2. During the third quarter of the fourteenth century, Mamluk sultans were purchasing entire villages in Jordan from the Bayt al-Māl and were already endowing them as *waqf* for institutions, primarily madrasahs, located outside Jordan. Most of this rural property was located in the Jordan River Valley, the rich agricultural regions of the Yarmouk River riparian, and the Karak Plateau, on which there had already developed an extensive system of land ownership by local families, both Muslim and Christian.[35] Much of the land around Karak was, moreover, already tied up in earlier endowments for Sufi shrines and Christian monasteries.[36]

3. The fifteenth century witnessed what initially appears to be a withdrawal of state monies from Jordan: garrisons are abandoned, there are no new public building projects, the local tribesmen no longer receive ″security monies.″ The effects of this process, however it is defined, were made worse by drought and the insecurity of the main transport routes for agricultural surplus. As a result, some, but far from all, sectors of the local agrarian regime went into decline, particularly labor-intensive projects such as sugar cane production and processing. Villages in particular regions of Jordan were abandoned, with a general resettlement in the well-watered highlands.

4. On the eve of the Ottoman conquest, two different pictures of rural Jordan emerge. On the one hand, villages have resorted to traditional patterns of land tenure, agricultural production, and marketing—namely communally-owned lands, largely cultivated on a subsistence basis, with limited specialized production for local markets and traditional trading partners. This pattern remained in place through the Ottoman period and was adapted to the requirements of the Tanzimat in the nineteenth century. On the other hand, the largest *waqf* estates remained intact through at least the sixteenth century and maintained their prosperity well into the Ottoman period. The Ottomans exploited both categories of land to create a broad and diverse tax base that contrasted with the seemingly specialized agricultural markets of the Mamluk period.

5. Mamluk-period land management in Jordan, while opening up new markets temporarily, did lead, in the long run, to environmental degradation, particularly in terms of soil exhaustion and exacerbating the process of deforestation begun in earlier periods.

We will examine each of these points in turn.

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[35]Waqfīyah 49, fols. 1–4, Dār al-Wathā'iq, Cairo.

[36]Ibid.

Transformation of the Jordanian Agricultural Regime

At the beginning of the Mamluk period Transjordan represented a security concern; Ayyubid princes still maintained castles there, and the principle hajj route from Damascus to Mecca ran through the middle of the region. Sultan Baybars initiated an ambitious defensive project that involved reinforcing the citadel walls and towers at former Ayyubid castles, such as Karak and Shobak, and building new fortifications at what would become rural capitals, such as Ḥisbān and Salṭ.[37] He also built and leveled roads and reorganized the *barīd* system that would, by the eighth/fourteenth century, blossom into a comprehensive communications network of postal centers *(marākiz),* pigeon and fire towers, and caravan and pilgrim stops. Several of the stops on the hajj route—ʻAjlūn, Zarqā, Salṭ, and ʻAqabah were among the largest—maintained seasonal markets *(aswāq mawsimīyah)* that catered to pilgrims.[38] Amirs and sultans from the thirteenth through the sixteenth century invested in these markets, providing endowments for caravanserais and building new markets within these towns.[39] By combining the hajj route with state-sponsored market institutions, the Mamluks merely formalized a relationship between pilgrimage and business that had been part of Islam from the time of the Prophet.[40] Such investments indirectly benefited the local agricultural sector. While the initial objectives of infrastructure development were defensive, the networks and facilities that grew out of it facilitated the transport of agricultural goods from fields to markets and on to ports.[41]

The state′s overarching concern for defense (against both foreign and domestic enemies) also impacted the structure of administration in the region. Mamluk administration of southern Bilād al-Shām was particularly fluid, with periodic shifts in administrative borders and district *(ṣafaqah)* capitals (*niyābah*s or *wilāyah*s) and the combination or division of districts.[42] The promotion of a previously undistinguished village to a district capital, for example, served to solidify relations

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[37]Walker, ″Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilād al-Shām,″ 243.

[38]Yūsuf Ghawānimah, ″Al-Tijārah al-Dawlīyah fī al-Urdun fī al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī,″ *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 3 (1987): 323–30; Faysal ʻAbd Allāh Muḥammad Banī Ḥamad, ″Al-Aswāq al-Shāmīyah fī al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī″ (M.A. thesis, Yarmouk University, 1992); Saʻīd Ṣāliḥ Mūsá Khalīl, ″Al-Tijārah al-Dākhilīyah fī Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Thānīyah (784–922 A.H./1382–1516 A.D.)″ (Ph.D. diss., University of Jordan, 1992), 51–52; Ḥujjah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī,* 252–57.

[39]Ghawānimah, ″Al-Tijārah al-Dawlīyah,″ 326–27.

[40]Bethany J. Walker, ″The Globalizing Effects of *Ḥājj* in the Medieval and Modern Eras,″ in *Connectivity in Antiquity: Globalizing as Long Term Historical Process*, ed. Øystein S. LaBianca and Sandra Schram (London, 2005), 68.

[41]Walker, ″Regional Markets.″

[42]Walker, ″Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilād al-Shām,″ 241–46.

between the sultan and the powerful local tribes of Transjordan in the power struggles among the Mamluk elite throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Two examples from the Balqā' district of central Jordan illustrate this well. As noted earlier, the small village of Ḥisbān came to prominence in the fourteenth century when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad made it the capital of the Balqā' *(Wilāyat Balqā'),* as a reward, the written sources lead us to believe, for the loyalty of its local tribes during his periods of exile in Karak.[43] After an earthquake destroyed the Ḥisbān citadel in mid-century, the capital of the Balqā' was then moved to Amman, a move that, according to Ibn Qāḍī Shuḥbah, served the financial interests of Mamluk amirs who had investments there.[44] In a similar vein, the previously independent Province of Karak was merged, first with the districts of 'Ajlūn and Salṭ in the third quarter of the eighth/fifteenth century, and then with the Province of Damascus in the early tenth/sixteenth century. Contemporary sources attribute this change to an attempt by the state to eliminate the independence of the Karak governors and quell the amiral rebellions there that rocked Jordan in the late Mamluk period.[45] Such administrative shifts had an important impact on local society. Money followed the movement of centers of political power. For some fifty years Ḥisbān served as a district capital with a governor *(wālī);* a small garrison of perhaps a half dozen mamluks; and a large storage facility and redistribution point for processed cane sugar, an industry monopolized by the Mamluk elite.[46] When the capital was moved to Amman in 1356, the judiciary, governorship, and most of the district markets were transferred from Ḥisbān.[47] There is little archaeological evidence for the sugar industry in Ḥisbān after this, and the village was gradually abandoned.[48] By the late sixteenth century there was no permanent settlement at the site, although local Bedouin continued to pay a tax to the Ottoman government for seasonal cultivation of small plots of land there.[49] Similarly, there is significant archaeological evidence for the abandonment of the central Karak Plateau for the isolated southwest rim at the time of the amiral

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[43]Ibid., 245.

[44]Ibn Qāḍī Shuḥbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:550.

[45]Ḥujjah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī,* 185–87.

[46]Walker, "The Late Ottoman Cemetery"; idem, "Mamluk Administration"; Walker and LaBianca, "The Islamic *Quṣūr.*"

[47]Walker, "Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilād al-Shām," 245.

[48]Walker, "Mamluk Administration," and idem, "Tall Ḥisbān, 2004—An Investigation in Medieval Rural History," *Newsletter of the American Center of Oriental Research* 16, no. 2 (2004): 1–3.

[49]Al-Bakhīt and Ḥammūd, *Tapu Defteri No. 185,* 149; Hütteroth and Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography,* 169.

revolts and administrative changes of the late Mamluk period.[50]

A third factor that had an effect on the agricultural regime of Jordan was al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s cadastral survey of southern Bilād al-Shām in 713/1313. This was the first of four surveys ordered by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, which collectively laid the economic foundations for Mamluk society by reallocating *iqṭā*ʻs among the sultan, amirs, and members of the *ḥalqah*. Most of the scholarly studies of these surveys have focused on the Egyptian one of 715/1315 and its political and economic ramifications.[51] It is more difficult to do the same for Syria. There are no records, either in original or summary form, of any of the three Syrian surveys, and, as discussed earlier, there are very few references to them by Syrian historians. The surveys, thus, do not appear to attract the notice or interest of contemporaries. Nonetheless, a few suggestions may be made about the possible structural impact of the 713/1313 *rawk* on agricultural production, land tenure, and markets in Jordan.

The immediate results of the survey were to fragment land, assigning smaller, non-contiguous, and often widely dispersed, shares to the *muqṭā*ʻs, and to give more control over land to the sultan himself. How this affected agricultural production and village life in general would have depended on several factors: the types of crops traditionally grown there, the nature of traditional crop rotation, how water was distributed, and how and when taxes were paid and collected. Describing these factors first requires an understanding of how the *iqṭā*ʻ system functioned economically and socially, that is what the relationships were between *muqṭā*ʻs and *fallāḥūn*. In the absence of written sources dealing directly with southern Syria on such matters, we have to depend on Egyptian sources, taking into account that Egyptian and Syrian societies were organized differently, that there were differences in access to and sharing of water, and a different history of land proprietorship. Hassanein Rabie and Sato Tsugitaka′s monographs on rural Egypt are suggestive in this regard. Relying largely on the accounts of the management and planting cycles of Egyptian agricultural land by al-Makhzūmī, Ibn Mammātī, al-Nābulsī, and al-Nuwayrī, they conclude the following:

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[50]Robin Brown, ″Late Islamic Ceramic Production and Distribution in the Southern Levant: A Socio-Economic and Political Interpretation″ (Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Binghamton, 1992), 440–41.

[51]Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta*ʻ*s, and Fallahun* (Leiden, 1997), 138–43; Carl F. Petry, ″Fractionalized Estates in a Centralized Regime: The Holdings of al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī According to their Waqf Deeds,″ *Journal of the Social and Economic History of the Orient* 41, no. 1 (1998): 96–117. A single article by Sato in the 1980s is one notable exception (Sato Tsugitaka, ″Historical Character of *al-Rawk al-Nāṣirī* in Mamluk Syria,″ in *Proceedings of the First International Conference on Bilād al-Shām,* ed. University of Jordan [Amman, 1984], 223–25).

1. The *muqṭā‘* was responsible for digging canals, building dams, and maintaining both. He relied on peasants for most of these activities but could use corvée labor and his own soldiers when needed. By and large he did not reside on his *iqṭā‘;* he generally relied on his own agents (*wakīl*s) to estimate local taxes and collect them on his behalf.[52] Because the *iqṭā‘āt* were fractured, one *muqṭā‘* could hire as many as four or five *wakīl*s for these purposes.[53]

2. *Muqṭā‘*s rarely interfered in the internal operations of the planting and harvests. It was the *fallāḥūn* themselves who decided what to plant, on what schedule to rotate crops, and how to share water. In other words, local custom generally prevailed in matters of cropping, harvest, and processing. One notable exception is sugar production, which was more closely monitored by the *muqṭā‘*, who in Jordan tended to be the sultan himself. On ″sugar estates″ the cropping of the sugar plant took precedence over other crops and customary water sharing agreements, interrupting crop rotation and the planting of summer crops.[54]

3. Taxes on grains *(kharāj al-zirā‘ah)* were generally paid in kind in Egypt.[55] The presence of grain storage facilities throughout Jordan by the fourteenth century suggests that grain was stored on the *iqṭā‘āt* that produced the grain and at transport depots on main roads. Grain surplus could be used for times of need, which was often exploited by the state through forced purchases *(ṭarḥ),* or to provide provisions for agricultural laborers who supplemented the labor on sugar estates.[56]

While Jordanian agriculture was broad-based and produced a variety of grains, fruits, and vegetables for the region, the staple here, as in Egypt, was wheat. Wheat is a winter crop that requires adequate rainfall during the growing season (200–300 centimeters per year in Jordan) and dry storage. It is grown in all of the country, but the largest fields are on the open plains of central and southern Jordan. Because Jordan′s *wādī*s run with water only seasonally and are not generally navigable, local farmers had no major river, like the Nile, on which to rely for transport of grains to major storage facilities. Therefore, much transport from threshing floors to granaries *(shuwan)* must have been done overland, on the extensive road system developed in the early Mamluk period. The granaries took two forms: formally built *shūnah*s, which is a common enough place name in the Jordan Valley, and reused cisterns, which are ubiquitous in the country′s soft

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[52]Sugar tax is one notable exception: *muqṭā‘*s, who were generally the sultans themselves, often personally supervised the collection of tax on sugar.

[53]Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt: A.H. 564–741/A.D. 1169–1341* (London, 1972), 65.

[54]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 212 and 233.

[55]Rabie, *Financial System,* 74–76.

[56]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 201.

limestone beds and can preserve grains for up to two years.[57] Both facilities required regular maintenance through cleaning and plastering. Because of Jordan's special hydrological conditions and infrastructure, its grain industry was highly vulnerable to drought and the security of the road system. As for cropping patterns, the *fallāḥūn* of Jordan traditionally practiced a two-crop rotation on most cultivated land, including the Jordan Valley. Land tenure, where there was private ownership, has historically been communal, with a division of revenues among villagers after the harvest according to shares, known today as *mushā'* and very similar to the pattern of shares adopted by the *muqṭā*'s.[58]

Given these factors, but in the unfortunate absence of written sources for verification, one can cautiously propose that the *rawk* of 713/1313 impacted Jordanian agriculture in multiple ways. To begin with, the fragmentation of *iqṭā'āt* may have produced a more complex system of tax collection and transportation, particularly of grains, under the supervision of the agents of multiple *muqṭā*'s. It is not clear at this point whether there was any coordination of efforts on the part of these agents or if tax revenues (in kind or in cash) were simply divided by the *muqṭā*'s shares of the revenues after the harvest or sale and conversion of crops to currency. Regardless, the multiplication of *muqṭā*'s meant heavier traffic on the road system and made more vital than ever the security of these transportation corridors for the purposes of tax collection.

On a second note, the concentration of *iqṭā'āt* in the hands of the sultan led to the development of large estates based on the production of specialized cash crops, such as sugar cane and olive oil, for export markets. These "plantations" transformed traditional cropping, water sharing, and labor organization. The sugar plantations in the Jordan Valley and on the tributaries of the Jordan River best illustrate these patterns. Cane sugar production requires a soft, well-drained soil, high temperatures, extensive irrigation, and a large labor force.[59] In addition to

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[57]J. M. H. Kareem, *The Settlement Patterns in the Jordan Valley in the Mid- to Late Islamic Period* (Oxford, 2000), 10; Carol Palmer, "'Following the Plow': the Agricultural Environment of Northern Jordan," *Levant* 30 (1998): 155.

[58]Communal land ownership was the pattern in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and is also suggested by early Ottoman tax registers. It remains to be documented with certainty that this was the traditional pattern in the Mamluk period, however. In her historical-anthropological analysis of late Ottoman *mushā'*, Carol Palmer suggests ways to identify communal land tenure in historical periods archaeologically (Carol Palmer, "Whose Land Is It Anyway? An Historical Examination of Land Tenure and Agriculture in Northern Jordan," in *The Prehistory of Food: Appetites for Change,* ed. Chris Gosden and Jon Hather (London, 1999), 300–2. The private ownership of land by individual families is documented for the Karak region (see note 34), but so far this pattern seems to be unique for Jordan as a whole.

[59]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 216; Kareem, *Settlement Patterns,* 13.

resident *fallāḥūn,* seasonal, migrant workers assisted in some of the heaviest labor tasks associated with sugar processing, and there is some evidence for the use of slaves, as well.[60] The soil requirements, the long period of cultivation (ten months), and the labor intensive activities associated with pre-sowing land preparation and maintenance make it impossible to grow other summer crops, namely vegetables, that tend to bring in large revenues, or to maintain the traditional two-crop rotation.[61] Moreover, growing sugar cane requires the diversion of irrigation water from other crops.[62]

The concentration of land in the hands of a single *muqṭā',* as in the case of the sultanic sugar estates, was certainly conducive to plantation-style production. What impact, however, the fragmentation of the largely grain-producing plains had on annual yields and tax revenues in general has yet to be determined. The nineteenth-century grain boom of Palestine and Transjordan would not have been possible without the development of large landed estates after the implementation of the Ottomans′ 1858 Land Law. There was a significant shift at that time from subsistence farming and limited production for local markets to surplus production for export to Europe.[63] Ottoman tax registers, as well, indicate that large estates brought in more tax revenue for the state than family or village-owned farms, explaining their conversion to taxable units by Ottoman authorities. In the absence of a comparison of grain yields between the pre- and post-*rawk* periods, which is not yet possible, such patterns do suggest that fragmentation of grain lands is more expensive, in the end, to administer.

In summary, all of these developments required more from the *muqṭā*'s, in terms of maintenance of irrigation canals and storage facilities, than before al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s survey, diverted Jordanian agriculture from a diversified to a specialized and export regime, and was profit-driven. It altered labor organization, local market, and traditional cropping and water distribution practices. Such a transformation of the local regime was certainly profitable, as the Ottoman *defter*s demonstrate; however, it required a strong state and demanded safe transport and storage. Security was a particular concern for grain production, which was concentrated on the open plains and was particularly susceptible to disruption during times of political unrest. As the linchpin of the Mamluk economy, problems in the grain sector had serious ramifications to the state′s economy as a whole.

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[60]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 185; Kareem, *Settlement Patterns,* 11.

[61]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 217 and 220.

[62]Ibid., 212.

[63]Linda Schilcher, ″The Grain Economy of Late Ottoman Syria and the Issue of Large-Scale Commercialization,″ in *Landholding and Commercial Agriculture in the Middle East,* ed. Çaglar Keyder and Faruk Tabak (Albany, 1991), 173–95.

WAQFĪYĀT AND LAND MANAGEMENT

The sultanic estates of Mamluk Jordan were, in part, the result of the gradual transformation of *iqṭāʿāt* into *khāṣṣ,* or crown lands, by purchase from the Bayt al-Māl, as is verified in the original *waqf* documents. They were then endowed as *waqf* for charitable institutions, the majority of which were sultanic madrasah complexes in Cairo. The alienation of state land has been recently examined for fifteenth-century Egypt, where the process is documented with sales and purchase writs and deeds from the late Mamluk and early Ottoman period.[64] Petry has described the process as an investment strategy for later Mamluk sultans.[65] According to his estimates, some 1000 *waqfīyāt* of the pre-Ottoman period are extant in Cairo′s archives, most of these are Mamluk in date, and 30% of these date to the reign of Sultan al-Ghawrī.[66] Most of the land in these endowments was acquired piecemeal, through shares of rural land or villages, the kind of fragmentation produced by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad′s cadastral surveys.[67] In the case of al-Ghawrī′s endowments, Petry has demonstrated that revenues from rural estates far exceeded the expenses required to maintain the endowment proper, in some cases resulting in a 90% surplus, a large revenue not accounted for by any documented expenditure.[68] Petry suggests in his studies that these were, thus, a form of ″clandestine investment″ that, on one hand, resulted in the erosion of the *iqṭāʿ* system, but on the other created significant asset-building in the form of private property.[69]

Abū Ghāzī′s recent monograph on land tenure in late Mamluk Egypt has received much attention for its statistical analysis of the same phenomenon.[70] His data largely supports the conclusions of Petry in the 1990s: 1) 95.79% of all documented land sales from the Bayt al-Māl in the pre-Ottoman period date to the Burji Mamluk period;[71] 2) most of these purchases were of former *iqṭāʿāt;*[72] and 3) the majority of these purchases took place during the reigns of Īnāl, Khushqadam,

[64]Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt′s Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994), 196–210; idem, ″Waqf as an Instrument of Investment in the Mamluk Sultanate: Security vs. Profit?″ in *Slave Elites in the Middle East and Africa: A Comparative Study,* ed. Miura Toru and John Edward Philips (New York, 2000), 99–115; ʿImād Badr al-Dīn Abū Ghāzī, *Taṭawwur al-Ḥiyāzah al-Zirāʿīyah fī Miṣr Zaman al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah* (Cairo, 2000).

[65]Petry, ″Waqf as an Instrument.″

[66]Ibid.

[67]Ibid., 103.

[68]Ibid., 104.

[69]Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?* 210.

[70]Abū Ghāzī, *Taṭawwur al-Ḥiyāzah.*

[71]Ibid., 16.

[72]Ibid., 18.

Qāytbāy, and al-Ghawrī (the highest at 64.5%).[73] He further suggests that by the time of the Ottoman conquest one half of former state land was now in private hands;[74] that the Bayt al-Māl was, for all intents and purposes, empty;[75] and that some 88.89% of Egypt's agricultural land was tied up in *waqf*.[76] Of the three social groups that purchased state lands (the Mamluk elite, amirs' families and retainers, and Egyptian civilians), the largest land owners were the Mamluk elite (sultans and amirs), at 43.1% of all documented purchases from the Bayt al-Māl.[77] Abū Ghāzī states, furthermore, that in some cases entire villages were, indeed, purchased as complete units,[78] an observation that would not have been possible without reading the available Ottoman land sales files.

Abū Ghāzī's conclusions are justifiably conservative: that we cannot know for certain what the real objectives were for this rush to purchase and endow former state lands at the end of the Mamluk period. He dismisses the point of view of Arab contemporaries, who cite financial and security (that is military) crises for which liquidation of public lands was necessary. Certainly, the process led to the creation, for better or worse, of newly-propertied classes, who now could dispose of land as they saw fit. This is, of course, another way of describing social transformations that cannot be said to be purely "decline" or "development." Perhaps the most intriguing of his conclusions was that by broadening the base of private ownership, the agricultural base of the Mamluk economy could be revived.[79] By his own admission, the author has no evidence for such a claim, but offers it only as a final thought in his study.

As for Jordan, the same process occurred here, but there were some important differences. The largest documented sultanic endowments date to the reign of Barqūq and were concentrated in the Jordan Valley and the Sawād of the northern hill country (some of the richest farmland in the region); the earliest recorded endowments consisted of entire villages, not merely shares. The documented examples are few:

1. Sultan Baybars—two shares of the village Bayt Rāmah in the Jordan Valley, for his madrasah complex in Cairo, no date given.[80]

2. Sultan Sha'bān—the village of 'Adar near Karak, in its entirety, for an

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[73]Ibid., 28.
[74]Ibid., 105.
[75]Ibid., 83.
[76]Ibid., 66.
[77]Ibid., 110.
[78]Ibid., 104.
[79]Ibid., 125.
[80]Al-Bakhīt and Ḥammūd, *Tapu Defteri No. 185,* 32.

unnamed recipient, in 777/1375.[81]

3. Sultan Barqūq—the Jordan Valley villages of Nimrīn, Kafrīn, and Zarā'ah, in their entirety, for his madrasah-mausoleum complex in Cairo, no date given;[82] the village of Malkā in the Sawād, in its entirety, for the same complex, in 796/1393.[83]

4. Sultan Khushqadam—three shares each of the Sawād villages of Marw and Harhār, for his madrasah complex in Cairo, no date given;[84] twelve shares of an unnamed *mazrā'ah* (isolated farm) in the Jordan Valley for the same complex, no date given.[85]

The lands described are located in the most fertile regions of Jordan and fall into three categories: grain fields of the plains, sugar plantations of the Jordan Valley, and the orchards of the Sawād (which produced high quality olive oil, as they do today). Wheat, sugar, and olive oil—these were the staples of the average man's diet in this period, and were, thus, excellent commodities to control by enterprising entrepreneurs. The revenues collected from these estates, which remained intact through the sixteenth century, are recorded in the Ottoman *defter*s. However, to give an idea about the scale of production and the possible revenues to the *mawqūf* at the time of endowment, I will rely on recent archaeological data that continues to supplement the archival work for this study.

CASE STUDY: FINANCIAL RETURNS FROM ḤISBĀN SUGAR AND MALKĀ OLIVE OIL

Ḥisbān was an administrative center, and there is no evidence that any of its land was made *waqf* during the Mamluk period. However, its role in the transport and redistribution of processed cane sugar has been documented by recent archaeological investigations, which also indicate the scale of the sugar produced in the region. During the 1998, 2001, and 2004 field seasons, the southern end of a domestic complex, identified as the residence of the *wālī al-Balqā',* was excavated.[86] A long and narrow, barrel-vaulted storeroom, approximately 8 meters long and 2 meters wide, defined this space. On the basis of pottery and coins recovered from floor levels, it has been dated to the fourteenth century. The storeroom was full of mendable ceramic vessels, including sugar jars, which were hour-glass in shape

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[81]Ghawānimah, *Tārīkh Sharqī al-Urdun,* 243–44; idem, "Al-Qaryah fī Janūb al-Shām."

[82]İpşirli and al-Tamīmī, *Awqāf wa-Amlāk,* 94; al-Bakhīt and Ḥammūd, *Tapu Defteri No. 185,* 32.

[83]Waqfīyah 9/51, Dār al-Wathā'iq, Cairo; Walker, "The Northern Jordan Survey"; idem, "Mamluk Investment in the Transjordan," 130.

[84]Al-Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah,* 38 and 45.

[85]Al-Bakhīt and Ḥammūd, *Tapu Defteri No. 185,* 32.

[86]Walker, "Late Ottoman Cemetery"; idem, "Mamluk Administration of Transjordan"; Walker and LaBianca, "The Islamic *Quṣūr*"; Walker, "Tall Ḥisbān, 2004."

and built for overland transport. The sugar jars were originally placed directly on the floor, along both sides of the room, while other vessels were stored on wooden shelves along the walls. The destruction of this complex by earthquake and fire in mid-century preserved much of its contents.

A rough estimate of the carrying capacity of this storeroom is 94 store jars, each holding some 6750 cubic cm of raw sugar. Using modern calculations for the density of processed cane sugar, the weight of the contents of each jar would have been 6.075 kg, or a total of 571 kg for all the jars in storeroom, if filled to capacity. To determine the market value of the sugar stored here in fourteenth-century currency, I adopt the price scheme developed by Ashtor, which he bases on Italian price lists recorded by weight of product in Damascus *qinṭār*s.[87] The Ḥisbān storeroom would, thus, at full capacity have held some 3.1 *qanāṭīr* of processed cane sugar, which, if the end product was raw sugar, would have been worth 3875 dirhams or 194 dinars by the third quarter of the fourteenth century.[88] While this seems a modest amount, it alone would have contributed 10% of a cargo of sugar carried on a Venetian galley in the fourteenth century.[89]

Archaeological surveys in the *wādī*s surrounding Tall Ḥisbān have identified many water mills, but their date and function are still uncertain. If the sugar stored at Ḥisbān was not a local product (and this has still not been established), it may have been transported there from the Jordan Valley, 15 kilometers to the west, where there is written and archaeological evidence for extensive sugar production at this time. Ḥisbān, like other administrative centers in Palestine and Transjordan, served double-duty as a storage and transport depot for agricultural products en route to regional markets and ports. In short, if the Ḥisbān sugar was grown and processed locally, it was en route to Mediterranean ports for export to Europe; if a product of the Jordan Valley, it may have been on its way to Egypt or local markets.

Malkā is today one of the largest and most prosperous villages in northern

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[87]Eliyahu Ashtor, "Levantine Sugar Industry in the Later Middle Ages—An Example of Technological Decline," *Israel Oriental Studies* 7 (1977): 252. Considerations of vacillating exchange rates of the dinar and its relation to the dirham, while currently debated in Mamluk scholarship, are well beyond the scope of this article. Prices are presented merely to suggest scale of production.

[88]The carrying capacity of the storeroom is based on my own field notes and a published floor plan (Walker and LaBianca, "The Islamic *Quṣūr*," Fig. 5) and my own ceramic profile drawings and one published photo (Walker, "Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilād al-Shām," 255, Fig. 3). Price estimates are based on Ashtor, "Levantine Sugar Industry," 252, Table 252 (price entry for Nov. 1379 C.E.) and Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 243. I have relied on an internet source for current calculations on the density of processed sugar, which is 900 kg per each cubic meter: www.sugartech.co.za/density/index.php.

[89]Ashtor, "Levantine Sugar Industry," 236.

Jordan, known for its high-quality olive oil. It must have given the Mamluk state considerable income, as well, in the late fourteenth century, because, as we have already discussed, Sultan Barqūq endowed the entire village, among other rural and urban properties in Egypt and Syria, in financial support of his madrasah complex on the Bayn al-Qaṣrayn. According to the original *waqfīyah,* now housed at the Dār al-Wathā'iq in Cairo, olive orchards and presses *(ma'āṣīr)* are listed as important parts of the estate.[90]

An archaeological survey in 2003 revealed evidence of the olive oil industry that is described in this document. It is possible to cautiously estimate production of this single factory, while keeping in mind that other presses were in operation at the same time, elsewhere in the medieval village. The group of presses surveyed was located in a cave (Cave 12) that had been used for olive oil production since the Byzantine period. It contained a half dozen shafts cut into the natural cave walls to hold press arms, as well as two ceiling holes for screw-and-weight presses. In addition, the remnants of a basalt grinding stone were left in the cave interior. According to calculations made for similar weighted lever plants at Hellenistic Maresha, and assuming that all six presses were in use in this period and operating simultaneously, six hectares of olive groves would have supported this single plant at Malkā and could have produced 13,000–27,000 liters of olive oil annually. Of this amount, over 10,000 liters were surplus, exceeding the needs of local consumption, and were thus available for sale in local markets or export.[91]

As for the value of such surplus in fourteenth-century currency, we once again rely on Ashtor. Today a liter of olive oil weighs 9/10 of a kilogram; the 10,000 liters surplus from this single plant at Malkā would have weighed a total of 9000

[90]Waqfīyah 51/9, Dār al-Wathā'iq, Cairo.

[91]Nahum Sagiv and Amos Kloner, "Maresha Underground Olive Oil Production in the Hellenistic Period," in *Olive Oil in Antiquity: Israel and Neighbouring Countries from the Neolithic to the Early Arab Period,* ed. D. Eitam and M. Heltzer (Padova, 1996), 276–77. This is based on a conservative population estimate of 150 people, arrived at by using figures from an Ottoman land register *(Tapu Tahrir Defterleri)* of 1596–97. The census records 27 families *(khāneh)* and 15 bachelors *(mufrad)* (al-Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah,* 22, Table I). A peasant family, for the purposes of Ottoman tax registers, consisted of a nuclear family (mother, father, and children) (Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300–1600* [London, 1994, reprint], 144). Our modest estimate is deliberately low at a five-member household. (Such numbers should be used with caution, however. For criticisms of calculating population size on the basis of Ottoman tax surveys, see Bekir Kemal Ataman, "Ottoman Demographic History (14th–17th Centuries): Some Considerations," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 35 (1992): 187–98, and Heath W. Lowry, "The Ottoman *Tahrir Defterleri* as a Source for Social and Economic History: Pitfalls and Limitations," in idem, *Studies in Defterology: Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Istanbul, 1992), 3–18.

kg, which was the equivalent of 482 Syrian *qinṭār*s.[92] Ashtor, citing Ibn Kathīr, records an export price in the year 1347 of 4.5 dirhams per Damascus *raṭl* of oil, which was 9 dinars per Syrian *qinṭār*.[93] In the mid-fourteenth century, then, this plant could have produced a profit of 440 dinars annually. This is, of course, assuming the same end product, which was soap. If the oil was of a higher quality and sold as table oil, it would have been worth considerably more. Regardless, this was no negligible profit: it would have represented, for example, over 30% of the cost of a shipment of 2790 jars of Spanish olive oil to Alexandria in 1405.[94]

Clearly, profit could be made from such specialized production, even when the scale of production at a single site was modest. But was profit the primary rationale for land purchases from the Bayt al-Māl, as we presume these to be, and for their subsequent endowment during the late fourteenth and throughout the fifteenth centuries? Contemporaries commented on and lamented the abuses of rural land by Mamluk amirs but, apparently, had nothing to say about the alienation of state lands in Jordan. Nonetheless, the Ottoman tax registers describe the development of these estates in the sixteenth century and are rather instructive about the financial longevity of the endowments. I will summarize the contents of these registers as regards the villages described above:

1. ʿAdar—The village was no longer settled on a permanent basis by 945/1538 and had devolved into a *mazrāʿah* (isolated farm), administered, and perhaps cultivated, by Karak town.[95] ʿAdar produced an annual revenue of 100 *akche*s,[96] which belonged to the sultan's *khāṣṣ*.[97] Barqūq's endowment had, apparently, been dissolved.

2. Nimrīn—In the years following the Ottoman invasion this village had dwindled in size but rebounded by the close of the century. In 945/1538 it was a very small village of five households that controlled only 5 feddans of cultivated land, which produced wheat, barley, sorghum, cotton, and sesame;[98] sugar cane

[92]My estimates for modern weight and volume calculations were retrieved on-line at: www.olivebusiness.com/oliveHandbook/GrowingOlives/oliv e_balance_sheet.htm.

[93]Eliyahu Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaries dans l'orient médiéval* (Paris, 1969), 407.

[94]Notarial records in the Vatican record a shipment of olive oil from Seville to Alexandria in 1405, when the Mamluk state was now importing large quantities of oil from Europe; the shipment was worth 1400 dinars at the time (Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* [Princeton, 1983], 214). While there is a fifty-year difference between this shipment and the price estimate used above, and we are not certain from the data provided about the quality of the oils and how they compare, the comparison in profits is, nonetheless, informative for the scale.

[95]Al-Bakhīt and Ḥammūd, *Tapu Defteri No. 970,* 152.

[96]Al-Bakhīt and Ḥammūd, *Tapu Defteri No. 185,* 75.

[97]Ibid., 306.

[98]Al-Bakhīt and Ḥammūd, *Tapu Defteri 970*, 102.

was not grown any more. The tax registers make reference to Barqūq's original endowment but suggest that part of the revenues from this village once earmarked for his madrasah in Cairo were now being used, along with the villages of Kafrīn and Zarā'ah, to support the Mūsá shrine (arguably a local shrine in Wādī Mūsá). Annual taxable revenues totaled 3659 *akche*s. By 1005/1596 there were six households, still small for a village of the time in the Jordan Valley, controlling 20 feddans of cultivated land. Annual revenues from this land came to 3470 *akche*s.[99] Of this, 695 *achke*s were set aside for the Mūsá *zāwiyah* and 2756 *akche*s for Barqūq's Cairo complex; the *'ushr* tax on both of these endowments belonged to the sultan as his private fisc *(khāṣṣ)*.[100]

3. Kafrīn—The fate of Kafrīn mirrored that of nearby Nimrīn. In 945/1538 the village had an imam and consisted of 37 households, which cultivated 10 feddans of land. Taxable crops included wheat, barley, sorghum, cotton, and sesame and brought 6900 *akche*s in taxable revenues a year, which were divided among two endowments (those of Nabī Mūsá *zāwiyah* and Barqūq's Cairo complex) and the sultan's *khāṣṣ*. According to the register for 1005/1596 the population had grown to 43 households (the largest in the Jordan Valley at the time) and cultivated land had doubled, producing some of the highest yields in the province.[101] Both endowments were retained, that of Barqūq receiving 12665 *akche*s/year (17921/year with Nimrīn and Zarā'ah combined) and Mūsá shrine a modest 665 *akche*s/year.[102] As with the Nimrīn, there is no mention of sugar production in the register entries.

4. Zarā'ah—Likewise, in 945/1538 Zarā'ah constituted 11 households, one imam, and cultivated 10 feddans, which produced some 7150 *akche*s in annual revenue.[103] It produced the same crops as Nimrīn and Kafrīn. At this point, however, it seems that the village was separated from Barqūq's original estate and specifically earmarked as a *timār* for one Maḥmūd Jawūsh.[104] By 1005/1596 the population grew to 17 households that controlled less land (6 feddans), shared water from Wādī Zarqā, and paid taxes on presses *(ma'āṣir)*, presumably olive presses.

5. Malkā—This village experienced notable growth throughout the sixteenth century. By mid-century it had its own mosque, and by 1005/1596–97 its population had doubled.[105] Its annual revenues in summer crops and olives were among the

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[99]Al-Bakhīt and Ḥammūd, *Tapu Defteri No. 185,* 43.

[100]Ibid., 125.

[101]Ibid., 25 and 43.

[102]Ibid., 126.

[103]Al-Bakhīt and Ḥammūd, *Tapu Defteri No. 970,* 112.

[104]Ibid.

[105]Hütteroth and Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography,* 202.

highest in the region by the century′s close.[106]

6. Marw and Harhār—The agricultural production of these villages has long been focused on wheat. By 941/1534 Harhār was the largest wheat-producer in northern Jordan. Khushqadam′s endowment continued to be recognized by the Ottoman state, although it was now taxed. All tax revenue now went to the provincial governor as his private estate *(khāṣṣ)*.[107]

7. Bayt Rāmah—By 1005/1595–96, when the registers were compiled in a final form, this village had been abandoned *(khālī)*. It did, nonetheless, pay 2400 *akche*s annually in taxes to a sultanic endowment.[108] The farmland of Bayt Rāmah was probably cultivated by the residents of a nearby village.

These former sultanic endowments in the sixteenth century follow the general pattern of growth (in terms of population and revenues) and agricultural diversification that characterizes early Ottoman Jordan. The largest of the pre-Ottoman endowments were, by and large, retained, and taxed at 10%; those tax revenues then became the *khāṣṣ* of the Ottoman sultan or provincial governor. On the other hand, agricultural land that was not endowed seems to have fragmented even further into small hamlets or communally-held land, cultivated and tax-paying but, in many cases, no longer permanently settled. Much of central Jordan falls into this category, including Ḥisbān, the former capital of the Balqā', which was fully abandoned by the end of the century and paying only a pastoral tax, presumably by semi-nomadic tribes that camped there on a seasonal basis.[109] The regional pattern of growth and decline that emerges for late Mamluk and early Ottoman Jordan suggests, perhaps, that endowment was the key to preserving the financial solvency of agricultural estates, particularly in times of political turmoil.

Local Perspectives on the State′s Rural Policies

Contemporaries, of course, had their own ideas about the economic health of the Mamluk state in the fifteenth century. Al-Maqrīzī was one of the most vocal critics of fiscal practices. His *Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah* is a well-structured critique of what he believed to be the worst of these practices and describes the damage they have done to the Egyptian economy: inflated prices and forced purchases *(ṭarḥ)*, bribery (particularly damaging when financial offices are purchased in this manner), high taxes, and an unstable and inflated currency. According to al-Maqrīzī, one natural factor lay behind such practices: drought,

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[106]Ibid.; al-Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah,* 88 and 162.

[107]Al-Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah,* 45.

[108]Hütteroth and Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography,* 167, entry #P43.

[109]Al-Bakhīt and Ḥammūd, *Tapu Defteri No. 185,* 149; Hütteroth and Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography,* 169.

which ultimately led to grain shortages.[110]

The point of view of Syrian historians was comparable, in that they identified drought as the single most important factor behind the financial and political decline of Bilād al-Shām and the regional political struggles that flowed from it. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, who often commented on agricultural conditions throughout Syria, discussed the problems of Jordanian agriculture in his obituary of Iyās al-Jarkashī, who was the Supervisor of the Jordan Valley *(Mushadd al-Aghwār)* during Barqūq's reign and died in prison in 799/1396. Contemporaries condemned Iyās for causing the economic collapse of the Jordan Valley in this period by diverting shared water to his own plantations, forcing sales of his own sugar on local residents at inflated prices *(ṭarḥ),* and terrorizing peasants by cutting the hands off accused thieves.[111] After receiving complaints from local peasants and administrators alike for his abuses, Sultan Barqūq had Iyās arrested and executed that year. Ibn Ṣaṣrā records the events that followed: the former viceroy in Damascus was named to replace Iyās as *Mushadd al-Aghwār*. Once he took up his new post, he began buying up wheat from the markets in the Jordan Valley at low prices, hoarding them, and reselling at inflated ones during the height of a famine.[112]

Throughout the events of this year, contemporaries recognized the sultan's active role in addressing rural grievances and responding to drought and famine. Al-Maqrīzī, in his *Ighāthat al-Ummah,* mentions the grain shortages of 796/1393–94 as illustrating a rare instance when the government acted responsibly to avoid famine. For al-Maqrīzī, there was no famine that year, in spite of drought and grain shortages, because Barqūq invested so much money in charitable endowments.[113] This intriguing statement suggests that, in the eyes of contemporaries, the endowment of rural lands, even while creating vast private estates for the elite, resulted in good things for the people. Moreover, it was a response to natural crises, such as drought, grain shortages, and famine—all the result of rainfall of insufficient levels to support an adequate grain harvest.

Jordanian agriculture is particularly susceptible to drought. Many regions of the country receive just enough rainfall to support the cropping of grains without irrigation; even today, the wheat crop fails one out of every five years from insufficient rainfall.[114] Historical, palynological, sedimentological, and

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[110]Adel Allouche, *Mamluk Economics: A Study and Translation of al-Maqrīzī's Ighāthah* (Salt Lake City, 1994), 50–54.

[111]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:630–31.

[112]Ibn Ṣaṣrā as recorded in Ḥujjah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī,* 81.

[113]Allouche, *Mamluk Economics,* 53.

[114]Palmer, "Following the Plow," 132. Here is where Jordan ecologically differs the most from Egypt: unlike the Nile (before the building of the Aswan Dam), the Jordan River has no annual

dendrochronological analyses have all indicated that the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries witnessed several cycles of drought in the region and a general trend towards desertification: higher temperatures, reduced rainfall, and abandonment of once cultivated fields.[115] Such processes coincided with cycles of settlement abatement (and in many cases whole-scale abandonment of villages), which are documented by archaeological surveys. So, too, are the local soils vulnerable, particularly to mismanagement of the land. Sugar cultivation is especially hard on soil, depleting it of mineral resources and water; sugar cane must be planted on land that has been left fallow for at least four years.[116] After two years′ of harvest, the land must once again be left fallow or crops other than sugar should be planted. According to Ibn Mammātī, land on which sugar was planted was taxed at a lower rate after the first year, thus losing value over time.[117] Sugar processing is, moreover, ecologically demanding, in terms of fuels and minerals.[118] Deforestation is, thus, a potential correlate of sugar production, leading to further environmental challenges. With the gradual removal of forested areas, soil cover erodes and what remains is depleted of its constituent minerals; recent soil analyses have identified such patterns for the historical periods in Jordan.[119] Written sources and soil science

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flood. In other words, Egyptian agriculture traditionally relied on flood-basin irrigation, whereas Jordanian farmers depended on regular rainfall for their largely dry-farming grains regimen. Thus, ″drought″ for Egyptian historians meant that the Nile did not reach plenitude a given year, resulting in lower grain yields, whereas for the Syrian historian local drought meant rainfall too low to support the minimum grain yield on which the local population depended for survival. (For a recent analysis of drought from an Egyptian perspective, see Stuart J. Borsch, *The Black Death in Egypt and England: A Comparative Study* (Austin, 2005): 34–39.)

[115]Alan Horowitz, ″Preliminary Palynological Indications as to the Climate of Israel during the Last 6000 Years,″ *Paleorient* 2, no. 2 (1974): 407–14; Ghawānimah, ″Al-Ṭā‘ūn wa-al-Jafāf″; Shehadeh, ″Climate of Jordan″; W. van Zeist, ″Past and Present Environments of the Jordan Valley,″ *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 2 (1985): 199–204; Heim et al., ″Near East Desertification″; Lucke et al., ″Abandonment of the Decapolis.″

[116]Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 216.

[117]Rabie, *Financial System of Egypt,* 75.

[118]Effie Photos-Jones, Konstantinos D. Politis, Heather F. James, Alan J. Hall, Richard E. Jones, and Jerry Hamer, ″The Sugar Industry in the Southern Jordan Valley: An Interim Report on the Pilot Season of Excavations, Geophysical and Geological Surveys at Tawahin as-Sukkar and Khirbat ash-Shaykh ‘Isa, in Ghawr as-Safi,″ *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 46 (2002): 591–614.

[119]B. Lucke, Z. al-Saad, M. Schmidt, R. Bäumler, S.-O. Lorenz, P. Udluft, K.-U. Heussner, and B. J. Walker, ″Soils and Land Use in the Decapolis Region (Northern Jordan): Implications for Landscape Development and the Impact of Climate Change,″ *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (forthcoming); Øystein S. LaBianca, ″A Forest that Refuses to Disappear: Cycles of Environmental Degeneration and Regeneration in Jordan,″ Report to the National Geographic Society, Research Grant Number 5758–96, www.casa.arizona.edu/MPP/ngs_report/ngs_rep.html. There is

analyses suggest, then, that reduced rainfall and cash crop farming together may have contributed, in the long term, to environmental degradation and crop failures.

The abandonment of villages and fields also contributes to desertification, as long-term fallow land is vulnerable to erosion.[120] While in the long run climatic shifts may account for this abandonment, the immediate causes in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries in Jordan, according to contemporary sources, were the armed conflicts among amirs posted there and their poor (short-sighted) administration of the lands under their supervision. These rebellions seem to have peaked during Faraj′s reign and were worst in the region around Karak.[121] There are, thus, dialectical and complex relations among political turmoil, settlement decline, and environmental decline.

Agricultural History from a Soil Science Perspective

Archaeological surveys verify the general decline of Jordan during the fifteenth century, which is characterized ″on the ground″ by marked demographic decline. It is a striking characteristic of the period from an archaeological perspective that the rapid growth of villages and intensive water use during the fourteenth century (on a scale unparalleled since the Byzantine period) is followed in the fifteenth by abandonment of villages in some parts of the country and a marked reduction in population in those villages that continued to be occupied through the sixteenth century.

The Northern Jordan Project, one of two archaeological projects I direct in the country, was launched in 2003 to identify the human and climatic factors behind the demographic fluctuations of the period.[122] The project began a research collaboration last summer with soil specialists and palaeobotanists from Germany, Jordan, and the U.K. with the goal of measuring soil development (and specifically

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still no archaeological or soil scientist consensus on the factors behind deforestation in Jordan. It may have been the combined result of overexploitation of timber for fuel and industrial activities (most notable in the Iron Age and Roman periods) and possible clearance of forests to create olive orchards and grain fields, along with climate change and irregular rainfall, which militated against regeneration of forests. For discussions on the relationships between olive cultivation and deciduous forests, see U. Baruch, ″The Late Holocene Vegetational History of Lake Kinneret (Sea of Galilee), Israel,″ *Paléorient* 12, no. 2 (1986): 37–47, and Reinder Neef, ″Introduction, Development and Environmental Implications of Olive Culture: The Evidence from Jordan,″ in *Man′s Role in the Shaping of the Eastern Mediterranean Landscape,* ed. S. Botteme, G. Entjes-Nieborg, and W. van Zeist (Rotterdam 1990), 303–5.

[120]Carlos Cordova, ″Pollen Samples from Malkā, Jordan: Preliminary Report,″ unpublished lab report, Northern Jordan Survey project files, 2004; Lucke et al., ″The Abandonment of the Decapolis.″

[121]Walker, ″Review of Ḥujjah,″ 221–22; Ḥujjah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī,* 250 ff.

[122]Walker, ″Northern Jordan Survey.″

erosion), in combination with archival research (primarily *waqfīyāt*) and archaeological survey and excavation, to identify changes in crops grown and climatic conditions and their relationship, if any, with the political circumstances of the day.[123] Preliminary results of these seasons suggest that the combined effect of drought and political instability damaged the agricultural sector in the geographically exposed lowlands and plateaus and that demographic decline was far from universal for the region.

CONCLUSIONS—DECLINE OR TRANSFORMATION?

"Decline" is in the eye of the beholder. From the vantage point of Jordan, what characterizes the fifteenth century is not urban violence, high taxes on industry, changing trade routes, and confiscation of property—the conditions traditionally cited for Egypt—but climatic and political conditions that made it difficult to farm and to maintain traditional village life. Drought and civil unrest, caused by the amiral conflicts in Karak, seem to have the greatest negative impact on village life and the economy in general in southern Bilād al-Shām. The endowment of the most productive estates in the region during this period may have staved off the worst consequences of both, by allowing for centralized control (and a consistent land management policy), creating security (political, military, and economic), and providing a venue for financial investment in the region (in irrigation canals and dams, roads, storage facilities, etc.) While such endowments did rob the Bayt al-Māl of important tax revenues, it also funneled them into what may have been more effective financial channels. That these were successful enterprises is indicated by their administration in the early Ottoman period: it was more lucrative for the Ottoman state to keep these estates intact than to break them into much smaller *timār*s or *zi'āmet*s. While the evidence is thus far meager, what sources we do have at our disposal suggest that the process of creating rural *awqāf* from former state lands may have been a form of land development, sponsored by the state to respond to and recover from agricultural crises, such as drought, famines, and plague. Seen in this light, the fifteenth century was more a period of rural transformations than decline of the state.

[123]Lucke et al., "Soils and Land Use."

Book Reviews

The Dīwān of Ibn al-Fāriḍ: Readings of its Text Throughout History, edited by Giuseppe Scattolin (Cairo: Institut Français d´Archéologie Orientale, 2004). Pp. 276.

REVIEWED BY TH. EMIL HOMERIN, University of Rochester

After years of painstaking research Dr. Giuseppe Scattolin has at last published his critical edition of Ibn al-Fāriḍ´s *Dīwān*. While Ibn al-Fāriḍ lived during the Ayyubid period, his verse was a dominant influence on later Arabic poetry composed under the Mamluks. Moreover, his verse and mystical ideas were, at times, sources of contention among factions of ulama during Mamluk rule, while Mamluk amirs endowed the grave and shrine of this poet whom they venerated as a saint.[1]

Prior to Scattolin, many editions of Ibn al-Fāriḍ´s *Dīwān* were published during the twentieth century, yet all, excepting the edition by A. J. Arberry, lacked careful editing or were flawed in some way. As for Arberry´s edition, it was based on the Chester Beatty manuscript that was independent of the main line of transmission from Ibn al-Fāriḍ´s grandson, ʻAlī, and so it lacked ʻAlī´s hagiographical introduction and appendix of additional, probably spurious verse, ascribed to Ibn al-Fāriḍ.[2] Now, Scattolin has joined these separate lines of transmission in his meticulous edition of the *Dīwān*.

Adding to this work´s importance is Scattolin´s re-discovery during his research of several old manuscripts of the *Dīwān,* including one in Konya dating from between 1242 and 1274, making it the oldest known manuscript. Similar to the Chester Beatty manuscript, it is independent of ʻAlī´s transmission and contains the same fifteen major poems, in addition to a few quatrains and riddles. Scattolin used the Konya manuscript as his primary text to which he then added material from other manuscripts, including those representing ʻAlī´s line of transmission. In his introduction, Scattolin enumerates and describes the eight manuscripts and thirteen earlier printed editions whose readings and variants appear in the notes to the poems. Scattolin then carefully walks the reader through the critical apparatus of his own edition, which is followed by a ″basic bibliography,″ and illustrations of some of the most important manuscripts (pp. 12–28).

Scattolin precedes this important textual information with some brief

[1]See Th. Emil Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, His Verse, and His Shrine*, 2nd rev. ed. (New York, 2001).

[2]A. J. Arberry, *The Mystical Poems of Ibn al-Fāriḍ* (Dublin, 1952, 1956).

speculations on the stages of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's life (pp. 1–4). He states that during his last years in Cairo, Ibn al-Fāriḍ chose "to live in seclusion," though we have no evidence to support this. Given that Ibn al-Fāriḍ was married, had at least three children, and a number of students, this seems unlikely. Further, when discussing Ibn al-Fāriḍ's shrine, Scattolin claims that it was "in time enlarged and embellished by many sultans" (p. 3). In fact, to my knowledge, the shrine was never formally endowed by a Mamluk or Ottoman sultan, though they may have attended activities there and given donations. For the most part, the shrine was supported by a *waqf* established by two Mamluk amirs, Tīmūr al-Ibrāhīmī and his protégé Barqūq al-Nāṣirī (d. 877/1472).[3]

As in his previous studies of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Scattolin reads the poet's verse, particularly the *Al-Tā'īyah al-Kubrá,* as an autobiographical account of the poet's mystical experience, in this case of "separation" *(farq)* from God, "absolute unity" *(al-ittiḥad)* with God, and "universal, all-comprehensive union . . . the synthesis of the One and the Many" *(al-jam')* (pp. 5–6). Scattolin then notes the importance of love to Ibn al-Fāriḍ as a catalyst to his mystical transformation to the "Perfect Man." Despite Scattolin's use of Ibn al-'Arabī's terminology to describe this mystical apotheosis, he is careful to distinguish between some of the ideas of these two contemporaries (pp. 7–11). Scattolin ends this section by offering a partitioning of the *Al-Tā'īyah al-Kubrá* into ten sections "to help the reader to better understand Ibn al-Fāriḍ's mystical experience expressed in his great mystical poem" (pp. 11–12).

Throughout his introduction, Scattolin makes scarcely any mention of the classical Arabic poetic tradition of which Ibn al-Fāriḍ is a part. Addressing this slightly is the preface by a French translator of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Jean-Yves L'Hôpital (pp. ix–xx). There L'Hôpital touches upon the difficult and, at times, obscure poetic language of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, his use of alliteration for its musical qualities, and the appearance of place names and pilgrimage stops in his verse. L'Hôpital also draws attention to Ibn al-Fāriḍ's use of the "fawn" or "gazelle" to represent his beloved, whom the poet also identifies by the name Laylá and the names of other famous Arab beauties. Like Scattolin, L'Hôpital ends with a short discussion of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's monistic ideas and experience. While both discussions of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's verse and mystical life are limited, Scattolin's critical Arabic edition of the *Dīwān of Ibn al-Fāriḍ* is of immense value, and he is to be commended for his substantive contribution to the study of Sufism and Arabic literature.

[3]Homerin, *Arab Poet,* 60–62, and idem, "The Domed Shrine of Ibn al-Fāriḍ," *Annales islamologiques* 25 (1990): 133–38.

STUART J. BORSCH, *The Black Death in Egypt and England: A Comparative Study* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005). Pp. 195.

REVIEWED BY RALPH S. HATTOX, Hampden-Sydney College

The potential reader of this comparison of the effects of the fourteenth-century visitation of the Plague in Egypt with those in England should know from the beginning that this is by no means a comprehensive examination of all aspects—social, intellectual, psychological, institutional—of that calamity. It compares, rather, the dramatically different economic consequences of the Black Death on the two areas.

Borsch points out for the potential generalist that the sources for the economic history of Mamluk Egypt are by no means as vast or as accessible as those available for late-medieval Western Europe. He mines the usual archival and literary sources: *waqfīyāt,* chronicles, administrative handbooks, and the like. For his raw economic data for pre- and post-Plague Egypt, he relies on a land survey of 1315 and an Ottoman survey from the end of the sixteenth century. In order to exploit the former effectively and to extrapolate from it data which could be compared to the later survey, he had to establish the value of the *dīnār jayshī,* used in the 1315 survey. He devotes an entire chapter to this discussion of establishing meaningful currency equivalents.

Borsch is aware of the methodological questions that are raised by comparing two such seemingly disparate regions as England and Egypt, and, if he doesn′t manage to eliminate all potential objections, he does make a good case for his approach. He points out the similarities of the two: relatively equivalent populations, similarities in the decentralized relationship of the ″nobility″ and the sovereign, the relative insularity of both, and their similar agriculturally-based economies. He is perhaps a bit too quick to summarily dismiss as an ″Orientalist trap″ consideration of non-economic cultural factors, and their inherent differences, as having some economic impact. Still, by the end of Borsch′s discussion the reader is willing to allow that England and Egypt, if not identical, were near-analogues in their respective regions.

Why, then, were the economic consequences of the calamity so different for the two lands? In England there was the well-known economic benefit for those who survived: wages rose, rents fell, as did the prices of foodstuffs. In Egypt, by contrast, Borsch′s comparison from his pre-and post-Plague data sets demonstrates that wages dropped, rents and prices of foodstuffs rose.

The answer Borsch provides is multifaceted, and based on institutional and social factors. There is first and foremost the dramatic difference in patterns of landholding. While both states treated land and the revenues derived from

agricultural activity as the source of support for a warrior aristocracy, the relationship of each aristocracy to the land and its tenants diverged radically. In Egypt the members of the Mamluk institution were supported by *iqṭā*ʻs, uninheritable and alienable grants of land, supplying revenue for an individual Mamluk or amir, which were administered by civil servants. Since tenure in any particular holding might be short, there was great incentive to milk them for all possible short-term gains, and little incentive to make long-term improvements. The beneficiaries neither lived on their estates, nor did they have more than minimal familiarity with their holdings or tenants; actual physical visits to one′s holdings, if they occurred at all, were limited to participation in expeditions to deal with revolts, Bedouin incursions, or other sources of peril. In these expeditions Mamluks reflected an understanding that, their constant infighting and jockeying for power notwithstanding, they had a common interest in keeping the countryside in line.

This solidarity is cited by Borsch as one of the chief factors in the economic collapse that followed the Plague. When faced with a post-Plague economic crisis in which market forces would have tended to drive up wages and drive down rents and revenues, he sees the Mamluk landholders as making common cause, presenting ″a united front in the face of rural labor demands,″ by not breaking ranks; they profited as well from state decrees which regularly raised the ceiling on rents that could be charged. While in England there were similar acts by the Crown and Parliament to mitigate the economic ″hardships″ of landholders as a result of the dramatic shrinkage of the supply of labor, in the end these failed, and market forces prevailed. Here each member of the landholding aristocracy was in effect competing in the marketplace with all the others for the services of labor. The long term results saw a rise in wages and a decrease in rents.

For the Egyptian peasant and for the economy of Egypt as a whole, the calamity was compounded by the dramatic deterioration of the complex irrigation system by which the annual cycles of the Nile were put to productive use. It took not only manpower but money to do the yearly maintenance chores required to keep the system functioning, and both were in short supply. Not only were there smaller revenues coming in from agricultural lands, but civil administrators, working in the interest of their individual Mamluk clients, diverted monies that would have gone to irrigation maintenance to meet the continuing revenue needs of the urban elite. More land became uncultivable, with the consequent effect on the price of foodstuffs. As their situation became dire, peasants with increasing frequency sought the perceived security of urban life; their lands, at the same time, more and more were claimed by Bedouin, a process that further exacerbated the economic collapse.

One might at first be tempted to criticize Borsch′s work as in one sense uneven: rather than being a full and detailed original study of both the Egyptian

and English economies, it is more a study of the Egyptian economy, and how his findings compare with those of earlier historians concerning England; his use of primary sources is limited entirely to the Egyptian side of the equation. This is hardly a serious flaw, since it would take an almost impossibly versatile historian to be able to pursue both lines with equal skill. In weaving together material extracted from a variety of sources and shedding light on how, starting from a roughly equivalent point, the economic fate of two societies could so dramatically diverge owing to such factors as land tenure and institutional structures, Stuart Borsch has taken us one step closer to an understanding of how the modern world, starting from one near-universal Eurasian calamity, emerged as it did. As he points out, such studies as his, focusing on other societies, could profitably be taken up. The work at hand provides a solid, if not flawless, paradigm.

AḤMAD ṢUBḤĪ MANṢŪR, *Al-'Aqā'id al-Dīnīyah fī Miṣr al-Mamlūkīyah bayna al-Islām wa-al-Taṣawwuf* (Cairo: al-Hay'ah al-Miṣrīyah al-'Āmmah lil-Kitāb, 2000). Pp. 404.

REVIEWED BY RICHARD MCGREGOR, Vanderbilt University

This book aims to set things straight regarding the nature of Sufism. Under a thin veneer of historiographical terminology, at base the author′s position is that Sufism is un-Islamic. In short, the author holds that Sufism arose as a deviant practice among Muslims, while in contrast Islam (as reducible to the author′s Quranic quotations) is unchanging, and thus pure, ahistorical, and monolithic. The book is not concerned with the medieval debates over various Sufi concepts or practices, but is rather a long lesson for the reader in how Mamluk era Sufism is not compatible with the author′s own (unexamined) understanding of Islamic religion. The methodological flaws run deep. The point is even made that one of the duties of the historian is to identify and warn contemporary readers against ″mistakes″ like Sufism. It does not seem to bother the author that this methodology is utterly untenable when it turns to material outside the researcher′s own cultural sphere. Coptic religious history, or say that in China under the Ming dynasty, are thus beyond the horizon of this historian.

The first part of the introduction provides a discussion of the nature and goals of Sufism, followed by sections on its origins and relation to asceticism *(zuhd)*. The reader is told that a detailed treatment of Sufi terminology is impossible here because Sufis are inconsistent and utterly subjective in their use of terminology

(pp. 15, 41). The impossibility of a religious tradition sustaining itself while its participants cannot communicate with one another, or those who come after them, does not arise. In reality, there is plenty to say about the evolution of Sufi terminology (or, for example, theological or legal terms), but the fact that vocabulary shifts in meaning over time is surely not proof that it is subjective. The author builds on this ″subjectivity,″ tying the Sufi idea of *dhawq* (tasting) to the Quranic idea of *hawā*' (desire, selfish passion). The aim here is to conflate mystical epistemology with the Quranic condemnation of ″him who takes his own passion as a god. . . .″ (Quran 25:43). The origin of Sufism is predictably Christian and Jewish, although no historical evidence is provided. Instead, a Quranic quotation to the effect that it itself is the perfection of religion is taken as proof that Sufism could thus have nothing to add or be of any use (p. 22). The entire premise that any religious inspiration *(waḥy)* could occur after the revelation of the Quran is rejected (p. 23). The ascetics are superior to the Sufis because they are diligent in their prescribed prayers, but asceticism is finally also rejected as fundamentally superfluous (pp. 26–28).

The second part of the introduction asserts that Sufism was behind an intellectual decline among the ulama of the Mamluk period. Evidence for this decline is the proliferation of commentaries and epitomes, although no details are provided. This correlation between intellectual decline and the production of commentaries is adopted without question. The only heroes fighting this decadence were the *mujtahid*s, like Ibn Taymīyah. The introduction ends with a concise summary of the author′s approach and ultimate conclusion, one that denies any historicity to Islam, reducing it to an abstract theological statement that takes it out of the realm of human history. We are told that, ″. . . in the end Sufism is simply the sum of the opinions of those who follow it . . . and what disgraces Sufis disgraces Sufism; but Islam is different, it is the rule of God over humanity. It is unaffected by the faults of Muslims″ (p. 41). Logically, what is said here about Sufism would also apply to the elaboration of *kalām* or Islamic law, but that goes unsaid.

The body of the study takes up figures such as al-Ghazālī, Ibn ʻArabī, and Ibn Taymīyah. Critics of Ibn ʻArabī such as al-Baqāʻī are touched upon, as is his defender al-Shaʻrānī. A few lesser but more colorful Sufis of the period are singled out as examples of the poison fruit of Sufism. These include al-Bājirbaqī, Ibn Baqaqī, and Ibn Labbān, each of whom held beliefs accepted only by his followers. A long description is then provided of the figure of the *walī,* his veneration by his followers, and the un-Islamic nature of it all. There is no analysis, historical or otherwise, in this treatment.

The author picks from the historical chronicles familiar to all historians of Mamluk Egypt. However, the bibliography does provide brief annotations to eighty-eight manuscripts (most of them hagiographical documents) found in the Egyptian

National Library. The concluding section restates the assertion that this study ″makes clear the gap between the religion of Islam and the beliefs of many Muslims in the Mamluk period″ (p. 359). Sufism has been a mistaken path taken by many. The author deduces from this the root of an intellectual decline in the Islamic world, one that would later open the door to European invasion and domination (p. 373). The author asserts finally that Sufism, like Wahhabism, is an extreme best avoided.

This book offers young academics in Egypt and elsewhere a poor model for critical or stimulating research. Viewing history as a soapbox from which to expound one′s own religious beliefs has no place in a multi-religious global village. Perhaps even worse, this approach tempts the researcher with short cuts out of difficult historical complexities, be they methodological or fact-based. Tendentiousness, religious or otherwise, smooths over the difficulties that writing history should embrace, and even seek out.

ANNE-MARIE EDDÉ, *La principauté Ayyoubide d′Alep (579/1183–658/1260)* Freiburger Islamstudien, vol. 21 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999). Pp. 727.

REVIEWED BY BETHANY J. WALKER, Grand Valley State University

Anne-Marie Eddé′s *opus magnum,* a seven-hundred page tome on the Ayyubid Principality of Aleppo, is based on her doctoral dissertation, written under the supervision of Dominique Sourdel and submitted to the Sorbonne in 1995. The author, who is now Director of the Institut de Recherche et d′Histoire des Textes at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris, worked closely with the leading French and German scholars of the Ayyubid and Crusader Levant, including Jean-Claude Garcin, Jean Richard, Heinz Halm, and Hans Mayer, and the author′s debt to these scholars is duly acknowledged throughout the volume. This formidable monograph is the most synthetic, detailed, and exhaustive textual study of Ayyubid Aleppo now available. Much more than another analysis of the Ayyubid city, Eddé′s work is a finely-tuned analysis of the principality and the role of the city within it during a brief eighty-year period.[1] Building on the textual

[1]Previous works on Ayyubid Aleppo include: Muḥammad Rāghib al-Ṭabbākh, *I'lām al-Nubalā' bi-Tārīkh Ḥalab al-Shahbā'* (Aleppo, 1923–26); J. Sauvaget, *Alep, essai sur le développement d′une grande ville syrienne, des origines au milieu du XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1941); D. Sourdel,

and theoretical foundations laid by Jean Sauvaget in his 1941 monograph,[2] Eddé spins his short chapter on the Ayyubid city into an encyclopedic compendium and analysis of written sources relevant to the principality as whole when it was at its height, through an evaluation of Aleppo's political, economic, religious, and social institutions. The work offers a sophisticated model of textual criticism that is applicable to any period of research.

The goals of Eddé's study, described in detail in her Introduction, are to present a synthesis of the data available on Ayyubid Aleppo, culled entirely from the textual sources, and to situate the city in the context of its principality and the principality in a larger political context (p. 16). She deliberately eschews theoretical works and non text-based studies in favor of a purely textual approach to the topic, in spite of the availability of a wealth of art historical, archaeological, and anthropological sources. She is, moreover, careful to cite only those secondary sources whose focus areas are geographically close to and roughly contemporary with hers: comparisons with Ayyubid Egypt are kept to a minimum, there are practically no references to scholarship on medieval Europe, and Mamluk sources are carefully selected for their relevance to twelfth- and thirteenth-century northern Syria. She justifies such an approach to her topic, accepting the pitfalls in rejecting other forms of supporting scholarship, in these terms:

> Nous avons voulu au contraire rester au contact des sources au risqué d'apparaître parfois trop analytique. L'intérêt d'une telle étude n'était pas de faire correspondre des connaissances générales acquises sur d'autres terrains à la situation en Syrie du Nord, mais bien au contraire de partir des données éparpillées et fragmentées qui apparaissent dans nos sources pour aboutir à une synthèse régionale qui offer, malgré ses imperfections, sa propre originalité (p. 586).

While her selection is focused, the sources she adopts for her study are extensive, combining chronicles, biographical dictionaries, geographies, royal decrees, treaties, and coins (limited to a coin catalogue and one numismatic study in article form) and epigraphy (however to a limited degree). The Arabic sources include Ibn Shaddād, ʻImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn al-ʻAdīm, and Ibn Wāṣil,

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"Esquisse topographique d'Alep intro-muros à l'époche ayyoubide," *Annales archéologiques de Syrie* 2 (1952): 109–33; H. Gaube and E. Wirth, *Aleppo: Historische und geographische Beiträge zur baulichen Gestaltung, zur sozialen Organisation, und zur wirtschaftlichen Dynamik einer vorderasiatichen Fernhandelsmetropole* (Wiesbaden, 1984).

[2]Sauvaget, *Alep.*

among the chroniclers; the biographical dictionaries of Ibn al-Qifṭī and Ibn al-ʿAdīm *(Bughyat al-Ṭālib fī Tārīkh al-Ḥalab);* the topographies of al-Ḥarawī, Yāqūt, and Ibn Shaddād *(Al-Aʿlāq al-Khaṭīrah fī Dhikr Umarāʾ al-Shām wa-al-Jazīrah);* and a variety of Mamluk sources that incorporate earlier, Ayyubid material (al-Nuwayrī, al-Dhahabī, al-Qalqashandī, al-Yūnīnī, Ibn Kathīr, Ibn Khallikān, al-Ṣafadī, Ibn al-ʿImād, al-Dimyāṭī, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, and Abū al-Fidāʾ, among others). Eddé also makes use of several sources in Persian (Ibn Bībī, for the Seljuks of Rum, and Rashīd al-Dīn, for the Il Khanids), Syriac (Michael the Syrian and Bar Hebraeus), Armenian (many brief accounts), and Latin (largely secondary sources on the Crusader states), all in French translation. Much of the quantitative (prices, salaries, revenues), enumerative (lists of settlements and public buildings), and demographic (family trees, charts of *nisbah*s and professions) data are culled with care from these sources and are tabulated in convenient forms in the many appendices that are included at the back of the monograph.

In terms of its structure, *La principauté Ayyoubide d'Alep* consciously mirrors that of the Ayyubid chapter in Sauvaget's monograph,[3] which was divided into a historical survey; an analysis of urban development; and descriptions of the archaeological remains of the city, its basic characteristics, and its physical development. Eddé divides her study into two parts: political and social history. Part One largely expands on Sauvaget's historical summary, focusing on the reigns of al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī (579–613/1183–1216), al-ʿAzīz (613–34/1216–36), and al-Nāṣir Yūsuf II (634–58/1236–60). Each chapter is subdivided into multiple sections, based on the outstanding characteristics or developments of each reign, such as the diplomatic relations of the principality under al-Ẓāhir, an assessment of Tughril's regency, a comparison of the early and later years of al-Nāṣir's reign and a description of his diplomatic and strategic failures; and the events leading up to the Mongol invasion. Eddé's unique contribution in this section is diplomatic history, a topic on which she had already published extensively. On this topic she writes a nuanced and thoroughly documented assessment of the Aleppan sultans' diplomatic relations with other Ayyubid states, the Seljuks of Anatolia, the Armenians of Cilicia, the Crusaders, and Italian mercantile states. She concludes Part One with a sobering evaluation of the collapse of Ayyubid Syria, which she suggests was due as much to structural failures (Ayyubid rivalries, al-Nāṣir's political and diplomatic inexperience, the ethnic heterogeneity of Aleppo's army) as to the Mongol invasion of 658/1260 (pp. 191–92).

Part Two is dedicated to social and administrative history in a broad sense and more fully explores themes that were merely summarized in Sauvaget. It is subdivided into three sections: administrative history (the institutions and power

[3]Ibid., 129–54.

of the state), social history (the religious and cultural life of Aleppo), and what the author calls ″the activities of the countryside and towns″ (in short, the hinterland). Section One aims at identifying the different levels and forms of power in thirteenth-century Aleppo (political, economic, and social), their institutional forms, and how they interact and intersect on the levels of officialdom and civilian society.[4] Eddé considers the institution of *iqṭāʿ* a central component in the multi-faceted power structure binding the state to its officials and the general population. The author traces the development of *iqṭāʿ* in the principality and offers promising lines of inquiry for evaluating political, economic, and social relations in the process. She suggests that as part of the process towards centralization, Sultan al-Ẓāhir strengthened the hand of the state over the powerful amirs by reassigning their *iqṭā*ʿs, which were largely important towns and fortresses, to governors (*wālī*s) or their lieutenants (*nāʾib*s), compensating amirs with *iqṭā*ʿs consisting of villages (or shares thereof) and agricultural land (pp. 281–82). In this way strategic centers came under the direct control of the sultan and agricultural land was essentially farmed out to amirs and occasionally rotated, foreshadowing the Mamluk *iqṭāʿ* system of the fourteenth century. This analysis is followed by a description of Aleppo′s defensives and a highly readable and entertaining narrative of Ayyubid warfare (pp. 291–310). Her suggestions about the long-term environmental impact of siege warfare, based entirely on written sources, may be supported by archaeological and environmental research and warrant further consideration by specialists in these fields. Military presence was not always detrimental to the countryside, however. For the author, fortresses were the expression of the power of the Ayyubid state in all its forms: they were not merely military centers but were also integral to the economic life of the countryside by generating development. Citing written sources, she claims that village markets thrived under the economic stimulus of castles nearby and that their markets often collapsed and the villages declined or were abandoned once a fortress was abandoned or destroyed (p. 298). Again, such patterns are confirmed by the archaeological record, which illustrates in sometimes vivid ways how closely garrison and village economies were intertwined in the Ayyubid and Mamluk-period Levant.[5]

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[4]This theme has recently been the focus of a three-year joint research initiative of the French and American institutes in Cairo, called ″Exercising Power in the Age of the Sultanates″ (www.arce.org/ifao/ifao.html). The proceedings of a bi-lingual conference launched by this project and held in Amman in May, 2005, is being published by l′Institut Français du Proche Orient in Damascus and Amman (*L′Exercise du pouvoir à l′age des sultanats: Bilad al Shām et l′Iran*, ed. B. J. Walker and J-F. Salles [in press]).

[5]To cite only one example, it appears that the village of Ḥisbān in central Jordan was gradually abandoned after the relocation of the Mamluk citadel to nearby Amman in the mid-fourteenth century. The village likely supplied the garrison with foodstuffs and played a role in the processing

Eddé devotes her second section of Part Two to Aleppo's religious and cultural life, for which she relies heavily on biographical dictionaries and such entries included in chronicles in reconstructing social classes, power relations, economic activity, and demographic change.[6] One of the most interesting themes to emerge from this section is that the revival of Sunni Islam under the Ayyubids did not necessarily eradicate Shi'ism.[7] Aleppo retained its religious diversity, even while numerous madrasahs were built to promote "orthodox" Islam and the sultan ordered from time to time an attack on local Shi'ah communities. Eddé cites three different Shi'ah communities in Aleppo, all of which maintained a presence in the city throughout the period and are attested in the written sources: the *ashrāf* (direct descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad), the Imamis (Twelver Shi'is), and the assimilated Ismailis (a holdover from the period of Fatimid control of the region) (pp. 436–37).

The final section is the most innovative of the monograph and should have the most to offer social historians. It deals with what is often called the "hinterland," that is rural society and the physical landscape and resources of the countryside. Maintaining her concern with power relations throughout, Eddé carefully combs the texts for references to the countryside and the fellahin.[8] She describes the overwhelming concern for water in the sources and the methods used to capture, transport, and store it. She describes the natural resources of the countryside, including agricultural products, timber, salt, and minerals, and the exploitation of these resources by the state and *muqṭa*'s.[9] Unfortunately, many of these descriptions take the form of lists, which is often all the original texts had to offer on such subjects. Eddé also attempts to describe village-Bedouin relations (p. 500) and the ranking of settlements (pp. 570–73) through the written sources. Here, however,

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and distribution of cane sugar for the state official stationed there. See B. J. Walker, "Mamluk Administration of Transjordan: Recent Findings from Tall Hisban," *Al-'Uṣūr al-Wusṭá* 13, no. 2 (2001): 29–33; B. J. Walker and Ø. S. LaBianca, "The Islamic *Qusur* of Tall Hisban: Preliminary Report on the 1998 and 2001 Seasons," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 47 (2003): 443–71; and B. J. Walker, "Mamluk Investment in Southern *Bilād al-Shām* in the Fourteenth Century: The Case of Hisban", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 62, no. 3 (2003): 241–61.

[6]The author identifies twelve amirs and over 344 names of the civilian elite in the biographical entries for this study (p. 18).

[7]In this she disagrees with Sauvaget, who asserts that the madrasahs succeeded to such a degree in their proselytizing functions that Shi'i Islam survived merely as the doctrine of a weak and disappearing community that played no active role in Aleppan society (Sauvaget, *Alep,* 137).

[8]Her primary sources in this respect are Ibn al-'Adīm, Ibn Shihnah, Ibn Shaddād, and Yāqūt.

[9]The medieval texts, once again, offer tantalizing information on contemporary assessments about environmental decline. Deforestation, for example, is attributed by the Arab sources to the construction of new homes and to siege warfare (p. 497). Eddé makes the most of references, as few of them as there are, to generate a meaningful narrative.

is where over-reliance on the medieval texts and refusing to incorporate the results of archaeological and anthropological research (which has an extensive literature on the subject) weaken the narrative: the author has little to say about village or nomadic life in general, admitting that the sources are largely silent about such matters. In short, one cannot discuss the ″hinterland″ in any depth without recourse to the archaeological literature.

Her written sources, however, are strong when it comes to numbers: Eddé exerts much effort in reconstructing price lists of agricultural commodities and assessing price fluctuations of the same (pp. 554–58). Her population estimates illustrate the most creative and rigorous use of the textual material at her disposal (pp. 558–65). Eddé arrives at an estimate of 50,000–80,000 people living in Aleppo on the eve of the Mongol invasion, a number at which she arrives using a variety of methods adopted in earlier studies on Islamic cities, based on: the number of baths in the city (one bath servicing 3,000–5,000 people), the number of *masjid*s, city density calculated at 200 people/hectare (applied in studies on Nishapur, among other cities), the number and size of houses, and the size of the city′s Great Mosque. Eddé uses a combination of all of these and checks them against numbers provided by the texts, which she admits are probably exaggerated by the Arab historians.

In her intensive and extensive, I should say exhaustive, use of the available textual material Eddé is to be congratulated. It is a gargantuan task, and she makes the most of her source material to write a coherent and ambitious narrative. It is also in the exclusive use of these sources that she is to be criticized. Although Eddé justifies her methodology in her Introduction, and indeed reminds her reader of this throughout the monograph, the ″grand narrative″ suffers in places, nonetheless, because there has been no recourse to the rich scholarly literature generated by art historians, archaeologists, anthropologists, and environmental historians.[10] The treatment of Ayyubid Aleppo is, thus, uneven, with strengths in the analysis of political and economic history but a weakness in cultural history. To her credit, the author is more than aware of such deficits,[11] acknowledging throughout where her sources fail and presenting her work as only a first stage in a synthesis of available written sources on the topic (p. 15). In this regard, it is the questions that emerge from her reading of the more limited sources that are the most interesting

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[10]The author does cite a few art historical sources, but they are out-of-date and do not reflect the best of the literature available for her study.

[11]Her goal is ultimately synthesis of the fractured written record and to let that record speak for itself: ″L′intérêt d′une telle etude n′était pas de faire correspondre des connaissances générales acquises sur d′autres terrains à la situation en Syrie du Nord, mais bien au contraire de partir des données éparpillées et fragmentées qui apparaissent dans nos sources pour aboutir à une synthèse régionale qui offer, malgré ses imperfections, sa propre originalité″ (p. 586).

and should generate scholarly research in this field for years to come. Such questions as the role of the *muqṭa'* in planting decisions, what accounts for village abandonment, how to describe political actors and action, what was the relationship between central and regional powers, and how to define Aleppo as a ″city″ are promising lines of inquiry across the disciplines.

These criticisms aside, Eddé′s monograph offers one of the best models for textual criticism in modern Islamic historiography and is the best description available to us today of Ayyubid Aleppo; it is beautifully written, exhaustive in its textual synthesis and analysis, and a truly excellent reference for the period. Mamluk scholars will benefit from the work′s holistic portrait of the principality on the eve of Mamluk annexation, which describes the institutions, personnel, settlement network, land management systems, and defensive network that were passed on to the Cairo-based sultanate. The author appropriately concludes her study with what she believes was, ultimately, the character of Ayyubid Aleppo: there was social mobility (merchants were religious scholars, scholars were soldiers, soldiers were poets), ethnic diversity and tolerance (urban neighborhoods were not segregated), and religious diversity (Christians and Shi'is were active members of their mixed communities), and the foundations were laid there for the future economic prosperity of northern Syria (through its trade with Europe) (pp. 582–86). Although the Mongol invasion dealt Aleppo a terrible blow, it was the society described by Eddé that experienced a renaissance in the fourteenth century, this time under the Mamluks (p. 586).

SHAMS AL-DĪN ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD IBN ABĪ BAKR IBN QAYYIM AL-JAWZĪYAH, *Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmīyah fī al-Siyāsah al-Shar'īyah, aw, Al-Firāsah al-Marḍīyah fī Aḥkām al-Siyāsah al-Shar'īyah,* edited by Sayyid 'Umrān (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1323/2002). Pp. 286.

REVIEWED BY JON HOOVER, Near East School of Theology, Beirut

By the Mamluk era, much of the Muslim religious establishment had made peace with the political impotency of the caliphate, and it was widely accepted that the military rulers and their *maẓālim* courts performed necessary public functions that fell outside the jurisdiction of the qadi and the jurists′ *fiqh.* While not challenging the fundamental order of the Mamluk government, Ibn Taymīyah (d. 1328) and his student Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah (d. 1350) contested this limitation of religious law in a number of works on *al-siyāsah al-shar'īyah* (governance in accord with

the shari'ah). These writings reconceive the *fiqh* to encompass the offices of public administration, endow the non-caliphal ruler with religious authority, and make the overall welfare of Muslim society the aim of the shari'ah.

A key work in the genre of *al-siyāsah al-shar'īyah* is Ibn al-Qayyim's *Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmīyah.* This is dedicated primarily to the evaluation of evidence in court cases. In the formalistic judicial procedure of classical *fiqh,* the qadi could take only verbal testimony of reputable witnesses (and sometimes circumstantial evidence) into account. It was thus difficult to attain convictions, leading to the notion that Islamic law was inadequate in itself to maintain civil order. Rejecting these limitations, Ibn al-Qayyim draws all manner of evidence, including testimony extracted through judicial torture, into a religious framework devoted to public justice. This serves both to inform *maẓālim* procedures with religious legitimacy and guidance and to challenge the qadis to expand their range of admissible evidence.

The interest of such ideas to modern Muslims seeking comprehensive Islamicization of the political sphere is apparent. This helps explain the proliferation of editions and printings of Ibn Taymīyah's and Ibn al-Qayyim's works on *siyāsah*. The edition of Ibn al-Qayyim's *Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmīyah* under review was prepared by Sayyid 'Umrān. As for text critical matters, 'Umrān tells us only that he relied on two copies (unidentified), one of which was already edited. The printing contains a number of unfortunate errors not found in previous editions (p. 9 l. 15 *hādhihi* for *hal;* p. 107 l. 15 a stray *alif* after *idhā;* p. 182 l. 3 *al-ḥukm* spelled *al-ḥukkm,* etc.), but footnotes helpfully define terms and give Quran and hadith references. In short, this text gives access to Ibn al-Qayyim's thought, but it is little more than a trade edition, and not a very good one at that. Rather than comment further on 'Umrān's work, I have judged it more useful to compile a history of the printing of Ibn al-Qayyim's text to draw attention to the numerous versions available and encourage someone to assemble a serious critical edition of this important work.

Ibn al-Qayyim's text has come into the hands of at least eight editors since 1900. Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Fiqī's edition (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sunnah al-Muḥammadīyah, 1372/1953) is based on two late manuscripts. Although undated, al-Fiqī reckons that the first was copied in the late nineteenth century at the earliest. The second was copied in 1338/1919–20.

Al-Fiqī notes that the company Shirkat Ṭab' al-Kutub al-'Arabīyah—which, he adds, was established and run by Muḥammad 'Abduh—also made Ibn al-Qayyim's text available, but he regrets that it seems to have been based on a corrupt source full of omissions. The edition in question was printed at the Maṭba'at al-Ādāb wa-al-Mu'ayyad in Egypt in 1317/1899–1900. Unfortunately, it does not include any mention of its editor or manuscript source. It differs from al-Fiqī's text at many points and suffers a large omission on p. 121 corresponding to

al-Fiqī pp. 122–38 and ʻUmrān pp. 105–19.

An edition by Aḥmad ʻAbd al-Ḥalīm al-ʻAskarī (Cairo: Al-Mu'assasah al-ʻArabīyah lil-Ṭibāʻah wa-al-Nashr, 1380/1961) gives no indication of its textual sources. Perhaps al-ʻAskarī had resort to al-Fiqī's text since comparison of the first three pages in the two editions shows only very minor differences.

Muḥammad Jamīl Ghāzī's edition appeared in both Jedda (Dār al-Madanī lil-Ṭibāʻah wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʻ, no date) and Cairo (Maṭbaʻat al-Madanī, no date). Although paginated and typeset differently, these two printings may have come out about the same time. Both include an introduction by Ghāzī dated 29 Dhū al-Qaʻdah 1397/November 10, 1977. In the preface to the Cairo printing, the publisher Maḥmūd ʻAlī al-Madanī briefly honors the passing of his father during Ramaḍān 1398/1978. This note is absent from the otherwise identical preface to the Jedda version. Ghāzī bases his text on a photograph—in the possession of a certain Muḥammad Naṣīf—of a complete manuscript in the Baghdad library Maktabat al-Awqāf al-ʻĀmmah dated Dhū al-Ḥijjah 811/1409. Ghāzī notes that this manuscript is better than the defective sources used by ʻAskarī and al-Fiqī, and Ghāzī's text does in fact differ from these two at many points.

A printing by Ibrāhīm Ramaḍān (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Lubnānī, 1991) does not indicate its source. However, information in footnotes on the first three pages referring to "the printed text" (unidentified) and to textual variants mentioned by "the editor" (again unidentified) correspond to what we find in al-Fiqī's edition.

ʻIṣām Fāris al-Ḥarastānī, another editor of Ibn al-Qayyim's text (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1998), criticizes the poor quality of earlier editions, but regrettably he fails to note his sources. The text itself is clearly printed and is accompanied by notes defining terms and providing hadith references. There is also a hadith index. While this edition provides hadith collections and numbers, the references in ʻUmrān are more helpful in that they also indicate the books *(kitāb)* and sections *(bāb)* in the respective collections.

Coming out in the same year as ʻUmrān's work, the text of Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad al-Shāmī (Beirut: Al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1423/2002) is drawn from al-Fiqī and an edition by Bashīr Muḥammad ʻUyūn, which I was unable to locate. Al-Shāmī provides no publication information for ʻUyūn's edition and tells us only that the latter based his text on a number of earlier printings of Ibn al-Qayyim's work. Al-Shāmī's primary contribution is sustained attention to the structure and rational division of the text.

Also worth mentioning is the English translation of Ibn al-Qayyim's work by Ala'eddin Kharofa, *The Legal Methods of Islamic Administration* (Kuala Lumpur: International Law Book Services, 2000). The translation is serviceable if somewhat free, and it follows variously the Arabic of Ghāzī (Jedda), al-ʻAskarī, and al-Fiqī (in an undated printing by Dār al-Kutub al-ʻIlmīyah in Beirut). Kharofa's division

of the work into ten chapters is not found in the Arabic and sometimes obscures the flow of Ibn al-Qayyim's argument.

To conclude, substantial effort has been given over the last several decades to making Ibn al-Qayyim's *Al-Ṭuruq al-Ḥukmīyah* readily accessible. From a scholarly point of view, however, the situation is chaotic. Pagination varies widely from printing to printing. Very little progress has been made toward a critical edition, and no one available version is of such distinguished quality that it might serve as the reference standard until such time as there is a proper critical edition. The time is thus ripe for a disciplined attempt at a critical text.

ʻĀMIR NAJĪB MŪSÁ NĀṢIR, *Al-Ḥayāh al-Iqtiṣādīyah fī Miṣr fī al-ʻAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Cairo: Dār al-Shurūq lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʻ, 2003). Pp. 390.

REVIEWED BY STUART BORSCH, Assumption College

For any scholar in search of an up-to-date survey of the Mamluk economy, this book serves as a valuable resource. Its scale and scope cover a wide panorama of factors that drove and influenced the Mamluk economy. The title is slightly misleading, as the book is really a study of the agrarian, not urban side of the economy. However, this misnomer is a pleasant surprise for scholars, as the rural facets of Egypt's economy still remain neglected compared to the urban ones.

The first chapter is devoted to geography and offers fresh material for those interested in the subdivisions and routes of major canals in Egypt's agrarian system. It also provides a detailed survey of population levels during the Mamluk period. It also provides a very well-documented examination of plague deaths in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The second chapter explores the variations in landholding. It extensively details the function and operation of that enigmatic and elusively complicated structure: the *iqṭāʻ* system. Although not the last word in exploring this subject, the book is very helpful in outlining and clarifying areas of this method of tax farming. The book then describes the agrarian side of pious endowments *(waqf),* relating the ways in which funds were channeled from donor to tax farmer and tax farmer to the endowment. The nature of *rizq* as well as *milk* lands are also discussed here.

The third chapter is devoted to the organization of agrarian life, a subject that has been relatively ignored in previous studies. The use of specific agricultural tools is described here, as well as the way in which labor was applied to different applications. The all-important irrigation system is studied in careful detail, a

systematic if not novel approach to the structure of wet-farming in the delta and valley of the Nile. This chapter also includes a very engaging exploration of the social conflicts and problems associated with the systems of *iqṭāʿ* and *waqf*.

Chapter four serves as an encyclopedia of the different plants and animals raised in the agrarian economy of Egypt. The author provides a separate description and series of tables on the various kinds of crops grown for proto-industry and urban consumption. It also covers, in some depth, the use of animals for traction and pasture in the rural life of Egypt.

Chapter five examines, minutely, the kinds of rents or taxes imposed on peasants. Some of this is a repeat of details that can be found in other sources, but it serves well as a general outline of the organization of *kharāj, ʿushr, jizyah,* and *mukūs*. For a reader approaching these subjects for the first time, this is a valuable source of reference information.

The final chapter is perhaps the best and most original in the book. The author takes on the difficult task of describing peasant life in Mamluk Egypt. This is a very difficult area due to a paucity of sources but the author is able to extract enough information to provide a fresh and cogent look at this too-often ignored arena of life in the Mamluk Sultanate.

This book provides a valuable reference for scholars, as well as keen insight into otherwise obscure areas of Egyptian life.

ḤASAN AḤMAD JAGHĀM, *Al-Jins fī Aʿmāl al-Imām Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī* (Sūsah: Dār al-Maʿārif lil-Ṭibāʿah wa-al-Nashr, 2001). Pp. 395.

REVIEWED BY SYRINX VON HEES, Universität Bonn

The work under review claims to present examples of al-Suyūṭī's writings on matters of sexual life. In the introduction the author states his aim in writing this book: "I consider it our obligation—we, the people of this age—to re-establish connection to and better understanding of what our grandfathers left us in the form of literary and scientific heritage. We did not comprehend all the dimensions of this legacy. In many cases we did not even look at it. I hope, that (through this book) we will undermine the wall of indifference which separates the cultivated among us from the pioneers of Arab civilization, who were more tenacious than ourselves" (pp. 18–19). The author attributes special tenacity to Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, especially in his writings on sexuality. Jaghām claims that al-Suyūṭī's books on erotica, characterized by the usage of explicit sexual diction, were until

now ignored in studies on al-Suyūṭī and his works (p. 25). He accuses modern scholars interested in al-Suyūṭī either of deliberately ignoring these works or of denying that these works were written by al-Suyūṭī. He argues that modern Arab scholars′ avoiding work on these books stems from religious conservatism and apparent piety, which is a late development in Arab culture (pp. 69–78). However, in the introduction he undermines his own argument by presenting the reader with a quotation from al-Jāḥiẓ criticizing his contemporary colleagues for avoiding explicit sexual terminology (pp. 23–24).

The author has used most of the studies and bibliographical works on al-Suyūṭī written in Arabic only. He points out, that in certain bibliographies, the names of some of these books were altered and others were not mentioned at all, due to the fear that they might offend the modesty of the readers (p. 69).

After the introduction, he presents the readers with a summery of al-Suyūṭī′s biography. In it he most probably overlooked a minor mistake, claiming that al-Suyūṭī lived for 92 years (p. 33). In a subchapter he gives the characteristics of al-Suyūṭī′s writings on sexuality, stating that al-Suyūṭī used the most explicit and sometimes vernacular words so as to reach the broadest public possible (pp. 63–64). He gives a typology of al-Suyūṭī′s erotic literature, saying that ″since al-Suyūṭī was an imam and a *faqīh,*″ he wrote his works according to the following schema: first Quranic testimony, second exegesis of the Quran, followed by hadith, linguistics, anecdotes and historical events, and finally poetry (p. 52). However, this typology does not apply at least to one of the books cited in this work, namely *Rashf al-Zulāl min al-Siḥr al-Ḥalāl*.

The excerpts from fourteen of al-Suyūṭī′s works start on page 81, thus comprising the main bulk of this book. Six works are completely devoted to ″the science of coitus″: *Shaqā'iq al-Utrunj fī Raqīq al-Ghunj* (pp. 81–102); *Nuzhat al-Muta'ammil wa-Murshad al-Muta'ahhil fī al-Khaṭīb wa-al-Mutazawwaj* (pp. 103-27); *Rashf al-Zulāl min al-Siḥr al-Ḥalāl* (pp. 129–63); *Al-Īḍāḥ fī 'Ilm al-Nikāḥ* (pp. 165–91); *Al-Wishāḥ fī Fawā'id al-Nikāh* (pp. 193–228); *Al-Ayk fī Ma'rifat al-Nayk* (pp. 229–39). In another part, Jaghām selects quotations on sexual life from eight works by al-Suyūṭī dealing with various subjects: *Nuzhat al-Julasā' fī Ash'ār al-Nisā'* (pp. 243–49); *Al-Mustaẓraf fī Akhbār al-Jawārī* (pp. 251–59); *Nuzhat al-'Umr fī al-Tafḍīl bayna al-Bīḍ wa-al-Sūd wa-al-Sumr* (pp. 261–66); *Kitāb al-Raḥmah fī al-Ṭibb wa-al-Ḥikmah* (pp. 267–91); *Ghāyat al-Iḥsān fī Khalq al-Insān* (pp. 293–307); *Laqṭ al-Murjān fī Aḥkām al-Jānn* (pp. 309–22); *Al-Kanz al-Madfūn wa-al-Falak al-Mashḥūn* (pp. 323–41); *Al-Muzhir fī 'Ulūm al-Lughah wa-Anwā'ihā* (pp. 343–50).

In this main part of Jaghām′s book the author does not specify the reason for selecting certain extracts and omitting others. Most of the works from which Jaghām extracted his selections were edited recently, as he mentions himself, and

the rest were printed in the nineteenth century, mainly in Egypt. In some cases, he criticizes the editors and corrects their work without referring to any original manuscript (for example, p. 95). It is evident from the footnotes that he did not use original manuscripts. His footnotes are not systematic and precise. In many cases he does not provide page numbers of the secondary literature he is citing, nor any information on the editions of primary sources he is using. Due to the lack of proper usage of quotation marks and footnotes it is sometimes impossible to distinguish between the comments of the author and the original text of al-Suyūṭī.

A work which is reproduced in toto is *Rashf al-Zulāl min al-Siḥr al Ḥalāl*. In the introductory comment on this work the author argues that al-Suyūṭī's intention in writing this book was to fight the widespread homosexual behavior of his contemporaries. This is the interpretation of Jaghām, who also claims that showing homosexuals the delights of heterosexual life is a proven cure for homosexuality in our days (p. 133). Such an interpretation and such a statement are definitely questionable. The author projected his own opinion onto al-Suyūṭī's book, which belongs to the *maqāmāt* genre; its language and message are not at all pedantic.

Jaghām, without referring to any manuscript, tries to reconstruct a work attributed to al-Suyūṭī, namely *Al-Ayk fī Maʿrifat al-Nayk.* His reconstruction of al-Suyūṭī's work is very dubious, because the excerpts he uses are derived from another book by Niʿmat Allāh al-Jazāʾirī, where the latter does not at all indicate that this material belongs to al-Suyūṭī (pp. 229–39).

Jaghām states that the medical work of al-Suyūṭī is disappointing because it is full of descriptions of superstitious practices (pp. 268–69 and 272–73). In footnotes he tries to explain to the reader the names of some spices used in medical prescriptions. However, he fails in a number of cases, as for example his fantastic explanations for *dār ṣīnī* and *qāqūlah,* which are simply cinnamon and cardamom (p. 274).

In the final analysis this work is not a scholarly contribution to our knowledge of al-Suyūṭī and his writings on erotica.

AḤMAD ḤUṬAYṬ, *Qaḍāyā min Tārīkh al-Mamālīk al-Siyāsī wa-al-Ḥaḍārī (648–923 H/1250–1517 M)* (Beirut: al-Furāt lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 2003). Pp. 295.

REVIEWED BY AMALIA LEVANONI, University of Haifa

This volume is a selection of Ḥuṭayṭ's articles on important issues in the history of the Mamluk Sultanate (648–923/1250–1517). It is divided into two parts consisting

of eleven chapters, which have previously been published individually as articles. The first includes four chapters dealing with contemporary historiography, both Mamluk and European, while the second contains seven chapters on internal issues in the Mamluk Sultanate and its foreign relations with the Mongol Ilkhanate and the Crusaders. The book also includes an introduction, index, and a short biography of the author.

Part One of the book begins with a chapter on the reign of al-Ẓāhir Baybars (r. 658–76/1260–77) and one on the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (710–41/1310–41). These are followed by two chapters on the treaties signed during Baybars′ reign, which coordinated land use, commercial activity, and security between the Mamluks and the Franks.

Chapters in Part Two deal with a variety of political, religious, and economic issues. These include chapters on the Mamluk Sultanate′s relations with the Kasrawānī hillmen, Cyprus, and the Kārimī merchants. Other chapters deal with issues of religious institutions under the Mamluks, such as the role of the Abbasid Caliphate and the construction and maintenance of mosques and madrasahs by the elite. The book ends with a chapter devoted to the biases of contemporary Western historiography on the Mamluks.

The rationale behind dividing the book into two parts is not clear. If a division in such a volume is necessary at all, then all chapters dealing with documents and historiography should have been systematically included in one part, and the rest, which discuss Mamluk institutions and historical events, in another. This volume relies heavily on and, in fact, summarizes Western and French research in particular, up until the late 1970s. Only rarely is a recent study mentioned and therefore the book′s contribution to the present state of Mamluk research is small. Moreover, the preface offers a promise that new data is included in the volume in addition to the chapters already published by Ḥuṭayṭ. Unfortunately, the reprinted chapters do not appear in their original format nor is any indication given as to where and when they were previously published. Thus, even the difficult task of going back to Ḥuṭayṭ′s original publications in order to discover the book′s new contributions has been rendered impossible. Despite these drawbacks, this volume serves as a testament to the author′s broad research activity. Indeed, to the present reviewer′s mind, it might have been more appropriate had this book appeared as a variorum volume in honor of Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ as one of the leading Arab scholars of Mamluk history.

ṢUBḤĪ ʻABD AL-MUNʻIM, *Al-Mughūl wa-al-Mamālīk: al-Siyāsah wa-al-Sirāʻ* (Cairo: al-ʻArabī lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʻ, 2001). Pp. 135.

REVIEWED BY ANNE F. BROADBRIDGE, University of Massachusetts at Amherst

In this short work Ṣubḥī ʻAbd al-Munʻim discusses three aspects of Mongol-Mamluk interaction during the Ilkhanate in Iran (1258–1335): the period of hostility and warfare (1258–1317), the period of peaceful relations (1317–35), and cultural and social cooperation during this latter period. A secondary interest for ʻAbd al-Munʻim is the role that Christians played as military allies of the Mongols during the period of hostility, but this theme disappears in the two later sections. ʻAbd al-Munʻim used Arabic sources, and contemporary works either in Arabic or translated from other languages. Although he consulted neither Persian nor Armenian sources directly, he did rely on works based on them. Nevertheless this leads to a certain weakness in the analysis, for both the Armenian and Persian sources must themselves be read for proper treatment of Mamluk-Ilkhanid relations. ʻAbd al-Munʻim′s Arabic sources include all the usual chronicles, but no biographical dictionaries, which is unfortunate; nor did he include a single work by Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʻAbd al-Ẓāhir, the official biographer for Baybars, Qalāwūn, and Khalīl, for no reason that I can understand.

I found the work to be creative, interesting, and thoughtful, although I did not always agree with the author′s conclusions. It does, however, have some flaws. First, it suffers from a certain simplification of the role played by religion: ʻAbd al-Munʻim′s discussion of cooperation between the Ilkhans and Christian rulers, for example, is full of interesting detail about Christian Mongols and their effect on historical events; however, he does not take into account the power discrepancy between the two sides, or the differences among types of Christians. Thus he never explains what it meant to be a vassal to the Mongols, nor does he distinguish between the Armenians (who were vassals), and the popes (who were not). Similarly he claims that unity in religion caused al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to be on splendid terms with both Abū Saʻīd and Choban, yet never explains why Muḥammad refused all of Abū Saʻīd′s attempts at a marriage alliance even though he had plenty of eligible daughters, and forbid Choban from being be buried in his own tomb in Medina. At times ʻAbd al-Munʻim also seems to tweak his historical evidence to glorify Muslims more than appropriate: he says that the Mamluks defeated the Mongols at ʻAyn Jālūt and ″saved Islam,″ after which the Ilkhan Hulegu died, but fails to mention that Hulegu was not even at ʻAyn Jālūt, or that his death was five full years later. Likewise when discussing the Ilkhanid invasions of Mamluk Syria, ʻAbd al-Munʻim makes the Mamluks look like undefeated heroes by mentioning only their victory at Marj al-Ṣuffār in 702/1303, and not the

two previous invasions (699/1299–1300, 700/1300–1), during one of which the Mamluks themselves were routed (at Wādī al-Khaznadār), while during the other no battle occurred. Surely such details should be included in a serious historical work, even though they paint a less favorable picture of the Mamluks.

A greater flaw is that ʻAbd al-Munʻim has not read extensively in the Western literature. This is an ongoing problem for Western and Middle Eastern scholars, since neither side reads enough of the other′s work (and yes, this historian includes herself). It seems sometimes that there are two parallel literatures developing, which is a shame. Here this kept the author from gaining familiarity with major ideas that would have contributed greatly to his argument. ʻAbd al-Munʻim could have benefited from the work of Charles Melville (on the Assassins, the Hijaz, and Ghazan′s conversion); Adel Allouche (Ahmad Teguder′s hostile, not friendly, intentions towards the Mamluks); Reuven Amitai (on the Cold War, Ahmad Teguder′s conversion, and many other topics), and David Ayalon (on demographics). Nor has the author read sufficiently in Mongol history, which leads to omissions or misinterpretations: he describes the center of the empire in the 1290s as Mongolia, not China, ignores the effect of Möngke′s death on the battle of ʻAyn Jālūt, and omits the Ilkhanid rebellion of 1319 when explaining why it took several years to arrange a peace between al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and Abū Saʻīd.

But despite these flaws, I still appreciated the book: I liked ʻAbd al-Munʻim′s smooth and coherent combination of topical and chronological approaches, his choice of precise historical detail, and most of all the sense this book gave me of a lively mind at work. For example, ʻAbd al-Munʻim argued that Ghazan′s attacks on the Mamluks were influenced by no fewer than six interesting factors: the flight of rebel Oirats to Egypt, the rebellion of Ghazan′s governor Sülemish, a Mamluk desire to retake Baghdad, Ghazan′s own desire to transfer the Abbasid caliphate to Baghdad, Ilkhanid disdain for the Mamluks, and finally Ghazan′s attempt to increase his separation from the Great Khan in China, with whom he had broken politically. Although I myself would offer a different interpretation for the same set of events, I finished the book feeling that Ṣubḥī ʻAbd al-Munʻim is an author with whom I would like to engage in spirited discussion.

ʿIMĀD ABŪ GHĀZĪ, *Ṭūmān Bāy: al-Sulṭān al-Shahīd* (Cairo: Mīrīt, 1999). Pp. 96.

REVIEWED BY RALPH S. HATTOX, Hampden-Sydney College

Al-Ashraf Ṭūmānbāy is one of those unfortunates who, owing to the circumstances of their public careers, get less attention than they deserve. It is easy to view his reign as something of an anti-climax, to believe that the conquest of Egypt and Syria by the Ottomans was inevitable after (perhaps even before) Marj Dābiq and the death of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī in August 1516, and that the battles of al-Raydaniya and Giza were merely epilogues to a drama that had been played out months earlier. Ṭūmānbāy, if we give him much thought at all, is seen as at best a transitional leader, a Dönitz, whose role it was merely to hold things together until the new masters arrived.

The work at hand reminds us that that view is not entirely universal, and, if it does not contribute anything profound to our understanding of the period, it does give us a glimpse at the place this Circassian holds in the Egyptian national consciousness. ʿImād Abū Ghāzī is the editor of *Wathāʾiq al-Sulṭān al-Ashraf Ṭūmān Bāy: Dirāsah wa-Taḥqīq wa-Nashr li-Baʿḍ Wathāʾiq al-Waqf wa-al-Bayʿ wa-al-Istibdāl*. The work at hand is not, nor is it meant to be, an in-depth examination of Ṭūmānbāy's sultanate; it is rather a short summary of the events of his life, one volume in the publisher's "National Heritage: Personalities" series. This is telling, for one of the author's desires is to convey Ṭūmānbāy's importance, despite his foreign origins, as an Egyptian hero.

Abū Ghāzī begins his narrative with the scene of Ṭūmānbāy's execution; far from being a mere dramatic device, it underscores the fact that perhaps nothing in al-Ashraf Ṭūmānbāy's life was quite as important as the manner and circumstances of his death. It was in this that he became, rather than a forgettable bridge between one regime and another, *al-sulṭān al-shahīd,* a martyr not for the faith, but for an independent Egypt.

A nephew of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī, Ṭūmānbāy was given by his uncle as a gift to Qāytbāy. He was manumitted during the brief reign of Muḥammad ibn Qāytbāy, and began his rapid ascent through the ranks when his uncle became sultan. By 1505–6 he was already commander of a thousand, and two years later he was promoted to the *dawādārīyah al-kubrá*. In this capacity he became Qānṣawh's right-hand man, overseeing collection of taxes in the Ṣaʿīd and elsewhere, acting as an intermediary with various segments of the political and religious hierarchy as well as with the populace. When his uncle left Cairo in 1516 for what was to be his final confrontation with the Ottomans, Ṭūmānbāy was the obvious choice for *nāʾib al-ghaybah* at Cairo.

For the author all this is clearly prelude to Ṭūmānbāy's months of glory, when

following Marj Dābiq he assumed the mantle of a dauntless fighter for a lost cause. This was no Dönitz, merely overseeing the surrender and transfer of power. Nor was he a Talleyrand, smoothly adjusting to and serving the new order. Indeed, when Selim offered him terms in return for his cooperation, he staunchly refused. The picture that Abū Ghāzī paints for us is that of a worthy man who rejects offers for position and power until he becomes convinced that his duty lay in assuming the sultanate and organizing resistance to the new order, not for the sake of his Mamluk comrades, but for the sake of the Egyptian people.

Of course many of the subordinates that thrust the sultanate upon Ṭūmānbāy would prove uncooperative in the coming months. Discontent and even treachery in the ranks, as well as monumental difficulties in raising the funds needed for further resistance, made an already daunting task a hopeless one. Ṭūmānbāy's fellow amirs insisted on falling back on al-Raydaniya to make their stand. This resulted, of course, in defeat, in part owing to deliberate treachery by those who sought to secure their futures through collaboration.

Ṭūmānbāy's determination to resist the Ottomans, or at least his sense that some duty obliged him to do so, went unabated following the rout. He organized resistance at Cairo where, for a short time, he and some seven thousand loyal troops, along with some dauntless Cairenes, managed briefly to eject the Ottomans. When the city was retaken, Selim's revenge on the town was frightful. Ṭūmānbāy himself eluded capture and fled south, where for some time, in the company of rebellious native elements as well as remnants of the Mamluk army, he conducted a somewhat effective guerrilla campaign. In the end, however, he decided on one last battle at Giza, and, defeated once again, fled to the Buḥayrah. He ultimately fell into Ottoman hands, either through betrayal by tribesmen, the relentless pursuit by Selim's agents, or his own decision to surrender. Abū Ghāzī discusses the circumstances of his captivity, and the question of whether he was tortured or well-treated by Selim. He concurs with those Arabic sources which maintain that Ṭūmānbāy was rather well-treated, and that Selim was even inclined towards clemency. In the end practical political policy dictated Selim's actions: he was convinced by renegade amirs that as long as Ṭūmānbāy lived he would be the focus of continued opposition to Ottoman rule.

Abū Ghāzī clearly feels something of a partisanship towards his subject. Ṭūmānbāy, he tells us, was revered in the memory of Egyptians for his qualities of kindness and humility, as well as for his courage on the battlefield. He does concede that Ṭūmānbāy had his faults, among which were some fairly brutal measures towards rebellious nomads and peasants in the Ṣa'īd when he was his uncle's henchman, and turning a blind eye to the corruption of those around him. But this work is clearly not one intended to demonstrate Ṭūmānbāy's shortcomings,

but rather to discuss his place in the national consciousness of Egypt in subsequent centuries.

There is little new that this book has to offer to the specialist concerning the last few decades of the Mamluk sultanate. It is in large part based on Ibn Iyās and Ibn Zunbul, and while it does incorporate some documentary material and later Egyptian sources and European travellers′ accounts, there is no systematic use of contemporary or modern Turkish sources. But Abū Ghāzī′s treatment of his subject offers a valuable glimpse at the reverence with which at least some modern Egyptians regard this last Mamluk sultan. To Abū Ghāzī Ṭūmānbāy was less of a Mamluk hero than an Egyptian one, who, in spite of his Circassian origins, was embraced by Egyptian public sentiment both immediately after his death and in the coming decades and centuries as a symbol of resistance to foreign occupation.

DAMIEN COULON, *Barcelone et le grand commerce d′orient au moyen âge: un siècle de relations avec l′Égypte et la Syrie-Palestine, ca. 1330–ca. 1430,* Bibliothèque de la Casa Velásquez, vol. 27 (Madrid: Casa de Velásquez, Barcelona: Institut Europeu de la Mediterrània, 2004). Pp. 933.

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What is generally called the ″Levant trade,″ a term reflecting the Eurocentric character of relevant studies, has for many years attracted considerable interest among historians. This also applies to its late medieval phase, when all territories of that ″Levant″ were ruled by the Mamluks. The three most important studies on this period are Wilhelm Heyd′s old, but still useful, two-volume study of the Levant trade in the Middle Ages, published in 1885–86, and essentially based on Western sources; Subhi Labib′s book on Egyptian trade in the later Middle Ages (1965), the first serious study integrating Arabic with Western sources, but with rather limited use of European archival documents; and Eliyahu Ashtor′s book (1983), in which Arabic and Western sources were used as well, this time, however, including an impressive amount of unpublished material from a great variety of European archives.[1]

Venice and Genoa, the main protagonists of this trade, have been for decades

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[1]Wilhelm Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge* (Leipzig, 1885–86); Subhi Y. Labib, *Handelsgeschichte Ägyptens im Spätmittelalter (1171–1517)* (Wiesbaden, 1965); Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983).

the favored subjects of many articles, chapters, short monographs, and publications of sources dedicated to the commercial exchange between Christian Europe and the Islamic Levant. A few other monographs were dedicated to the commercial history of single cities, such as Marseilles or Montpellier, but these were not exclusively focused on relations with the Mamluk territories. This is also the case of Carrère′s important study of Barcelona′s economy in the later Middle Ages and of Del Treppo′s classic work on the commercial expansion of Catalonia in the fifteenth century.[2] It is probably the richness of the source material, a great part of which still remains unpublished, which until now has deterred scholars from writing extensive syntheses centered on the main participants in this trade. The present volume, which focuses on Barcelona′s trade with Egypt and Syria-Palestine between 1330 and 1430, can therefore be considered, despite the rich historiography already dealing with the Levant trade, as an important breakthrough. As a matter of fact, this monumental book is the most detailed, thorough, and voluminous monograph hitherto published on the history of the Levant trade of one of the major trading centers of southern Europe in the late Middle Ages.

This impressive study is essentially based on archival material gleaned from different collections in Barcelona, particularly notarial documents and account books of private commercial firms, as well as official registers of the royal administration and of the city of Barcelona. These are supplemented by published sources, mainly Aragonese and, to a certain extent, Arabic as well, particularly those available in translation into Western languages.

The book is divided into three parts: the first deals with the infrastructure of trade in the wider sense of this term, including both institutional and technical factors. The discussion opens with an examination of the role of the Church and the papacy. With the idea of a Crusade still in vogue, trade with the Mamluks was officially banned by the Church, but tolerated in practice, in exchange for licenses sold by the papacy, and often resold to merchants directly involved in this activity.

The discussion then turns to the attitude of the Aragonese crown to commercial relations with the Mamluks and its relevant diplomatic interventions, with special attention to the change resulting from the rise to the throne of Alfonso V (1416–44). Probably because he was a bitter enemy of the papacy, this king tried to prove his loyalty to Christendom by allying himself with the Hospitallers of Rhodes, and by encouraging piracy in the eastern Mediterranean, all of which had negative repercussions on Catalan trade with the Mamluks. On the other hand, the king derived profits by issuing licenses to trade with the Muslims and by collecting

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[2]Claude Carrère, *Barcelone, centre économique à l′époque des difficultés, 1380–1462* (Paris, 1967); Mario Del Treppo, *I mercanti catalani e l′espansione della Corona d′Aragona nel secolo XV* (Naples, 1972).

customs imposed on this activity. These two opposing interests were reflected in great instability in the commercial relations with the Mamluks, as if the crisis caused by the pepper monopoly imposed by the Mamluk sultan were not enough.

The city of Barcelona constituted another institutional factor influencing the development of trading relations with the Islamic Levant. It had much to gain from the Levant trade, and supported it by nominating Catalan consuls in Alexandria and Damascus. These consuls are the subject of a detailed examination, including their social and professional profile, their functions and prerogatives. The Catalan capital derived income from this trade through customs dues, and was often at loggerheads with the Crown concerning the right to collect dues on the goods imported to and exported from the city.

Ships constitute the last subject treated in this first part of the book. A database including all ships mentioned in the sources as operating between Barcelona and the Levant allows Coulon to draw a large picture of commercial shipping during the century under examination. Like their Genoese rivals, the Catalans preferred using round ships rather than galleys in their trade with the Levant, although the latter were occasionally used as well. Ship owners, shipmasters, and seamen then come under Coulon's close scrutiny, to be followed by an analysis of the vicissitudes of maritime traffic, the seasons of navigation, the routes followed, the organization of convoys and the duration of crossings. The last chapter of this part concerns piracy, an important factor in the activities of Catalans in the eastern Mediterranean.

The second part of this study deals with the mechanisms and objects of Barcelona's Levant trade: commercial techniques, the use of capital, and the goods imported and exported. It is mainly based on a serial and quantitative analysis of a large amount of notarial contracts preserved in the historical archives of Barcelona. Noteworthy is the preponderant role still occupied by the *commenda* contract, which was by then already in decline in other major centers of the Mediterranean trade, such as Venice, as a consequence of structural changes in the organization of international trade. The fact that this was also exceptional in Barcelona's trade with other regions suggests that it must have resulted from the conditions peculiar to its trade with the Mamluk Sultanate. According to Coulon, one cause of such conservatism was the absence of substantial colonies of Catalan merchants in Egypt or Syria, which forced merchants to continue in the old ways of pooling funds from different investors back home and accompanying their goods on their way to and from the Levant. This somewhat archaic pattern of commercial practices was also reflected in the field of maritime insurance. Premium insurance reached Barcelona's Levant trade relatively late, and its functions were partly covered by *cambium marittimun* (maritime exchange) contracts, which combined credit with an element of insurance. However, when premium insurance did become widespread in Barcelona's Levant trade in the 1420s, it must have constituted one of the

factors that brought profits derived from this activity to unprecedented levels. Further explanations for this relative conservatism include the low level of support offered to the merchants of Barcelona by the state, compared to the situation in Venice, Florence, and Genoa, as well as the lack of any infrastructure in the eastern Mediterranean, which meant that Venetian and Genoese merchants enjoyed intrinsic advantages over their commercial rivals.

The abundance of extant commercial contracts from the century between 1330 and 1430 allows the author to reconstruct the long-term trends of Barcelona´s Levant trade, partly influenced by more general developments, such as the Black Death, and partly by political circumstances in both the Iberian Peninsula and the Mamluk Sultanate. The grave commercial crisis caused by the Plague in the mid-fourteenth century was prolonged owing to the exhaustion of the Aragonese silver mines in Sardinia, conflicts between Aragon and Castile (1356–75). and the sack of Alexandria by King Peter I of Cyprus in 1365. The evidence on investments and on shipping is unequivocal in this regard. However, from the 1370s onwards, the author has traced a slow recovery which, according to him, by the turn of the century brought the scope of investments in this trade to its pre-Plague level, and by the 1420s, to well above this level. The new crisis of the 1430s was again consequent upon political developments, namely the conquest of the Kingdom of Naples by Alfonso V and its repercussion on the maritime milieu. Trade began to revive in the 1450s, but finally collapsed owing to the civil war that started in Barcelona in 1462.

The goods normally exchanged between Barcelona and the Mamluk Sultanate were similar to those which traveled on board Venetian or Genoese ships, namely various textiles, metals, dyes, furs, and foodstuff travelling eastwards, and spices, drugs, and different dyestuff that were shipped westwards. The trade in these commodities is subject to a close examination, partly incorporating data derived from studies based on Italian sources. The impact of political developments on trade in specific goods is brought to the fore. Thus, the conquest of Famagusta by the Genoese, the great rival of the Catalans, pushed the merchants of Barcelona to trade in Syria, which had an impact on the sort of goods traded by them—more ginger at the expense of pepper (1373–1415). After 1415, Rhodes, ruled by the Knights of St. John, became a key center for Catalan trade, and pepper, brought there from Alexandria, again became the prime object of the Catalan spice trade.

The changing roles of precious products exported to Mamluk lands in exchange for spices and drugs are also exposed with great clarity in this study. In the earlier period, silver mining in Sardinia provided Catalan merchants with precious metal that could be exchanged for expensive goods imported from Egypt and Syria, but when this resource had been exhausted, a substitute was found by extracting and exporting coral and coral products from the western basin of the Mediterranean.

Since most of Coulon's data on commodities moving between Barcelona and the Levant are gleaned from contracts signed in Barcelona, the book is more informative on goods travelling eastwards than on those exported from the Levant. Nevertheless a detailed discussion of the various spices, their different types, their prices, and, as much as possible, the trends characterizing the trade in these costly products between the mid-fourteenth and the early fifteenth century are also provided.

The book's third part deals with the human factor, examining the identity of the people involved in this commercial current, and the changes characterizing Barcelona's mercantile milieu during the period under consideration. A quantitative approach is here combined with individual and family histories, offering an interesting panorama of the human aspects of this trade. According to Coulon, in the earlier phases, Barcelona's Levant trade attracted a wide variety of investors, including not only big merchants, but also women, Jews (before the 1391 pogroms), *Conversos,* inhabitants of other Catalonian towns, and even foreigners, such as Genoese and Florentines. By the end of the period, however, this trade was concentrated in the hands of a restricted group of big Barcelonese merchants. Yet, the latter were unable to use their wealth to acquire political power, since the government of the city continued to be controlled by the relatively closed oligarchy of the *honrats.* The growing tensions between these two elites finally brought about the civil war of 1462–72, which also ended the prosperity of Barcelona's Levant trade.

The book is accompanied by many tables, maps, and diagrams, three appendices covering some 200 pages (pp. 673–873), three résumés (in French, Catalan, and English), and a very useful index, including personal names, toponyms, and subjects.

His thorough reconstruction of this long-term commercial activity allows Coulon to propose several new interpretations. The author discards the earlier image of this period of Barcelona's economic history as "a period of difficulties," a term coined by Cl. Carrère. According to Coulon, although the Levant trade gradually became concentrated in a few hands, its key role as an economic engine must have positively influenced Barcelona's general economic situation, particularly between 1370 and 1430.

Another interpretative contribution is Coulon's use of the Braudelian concept of "world-economy." The term was originally coined to characterize a model of economic structure of the early modern period, namely "an economically autonomous section of the planet able to provide for most of its own needs, a section to which internal links and exchanges give a certain organic unity." According to Braudel such "world-economies" always had a "center of gravity," called by him "a world-city," and sometimes several such centers which were competing

with one another for supremacy.[3] Coulon claims that the same model can be used to describe the Mediterranean economy of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with Barcelona functioning, at least for a time, as one of its three main economic centers, together with Venice and Genoa. Seen from the perspective of each of the competing economic capitals, this ″world-economy″ had different colors and components, but they all contended for the domination of the lucrative spice trade with the Mamluk Sultanate. The role of the latter was essential in this system, but to a great extent passive. The Mamluk Sultanate was integrated into the world systems of the Western commercial powers and largely dependent on them. This late-medieval ″world-economy″ was, according to Coulon, a kind of laboratory, preparing the world-economies of the early modern period.

That being said, Coulon admits that Barcelona never reached the level of involvement in Levantine trade attained by its two main rivals, Venice and Genoa. According to the author, there was no continuous presence of Catalan merchants in Egypt and Syria, commercial practices employed in this trade were outdated, and the number of ships involved and the amount of capital invested was lower than those of the two leading powers. This relative weakness resulted, according to Coulon, from the status of Barcelona′s merchants in their own city as well as from Barcelona′s subordinate status in the Aragonese kingdom. Unlike the two Italian republics, Barcelona remained dependent upon the policies of a crown that did not always consider the interests of Barcelona′s merchants as paramount.

The size of the book and its great interest are my only excuses for the lengthy presentation of its content. What follows are a few critical remarks, which in no way are meant to diminish my admiration and esteem for this impressive and solid work. It is only natural that many of the following observations are inspired by E. Ashtor′s book on the Levant trade in the later Middle Ages, where Catalans, and specifically the merchants of Barcelona, occupy a central position, and with whom Coulon is occasionally conducting a dialogue, sometimes agreeing with and sometimes arguing against Ashtor′s claims. In fact it was Ashtor who already pointed to the importance of Catalan trade with the Mamluk territories during the last decade of the fourteenth century and the first decade of the fifteenth. Like Coulon, he also considered the Catalans, alongside the Venetians and Genoese, as a major trading power, distinguishing between these three and the ″smaller trading nations.″[4]

Our remarks will start with a question: is it useful to invest so much effort in investigating one commercial aspect of a single city, important as it may have

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[3]Fernand Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century,* vol. 3, *The Perspective of the World,* trans. S. Reynolds (London, 1979), 22, 25–26.

[4]Ashtor, *Levant Trade,* 199, 233, 236.

been? The answer, I believe, is in the affirmative for two main reasons: firstly, only in this way can one appreciate the scope, intensity, and dynamism of Barcelona's commercial contacts with the Mamluk Sultanate. The second reason is connected to Coulon's findings, according to which Barcelona was one of the centers contending for the Braudelian title of a "world-city," and that Barcelona's Levant trade was an essential component in assuring Barcelona's economic prosperity. Yet, even according to Coulon, the trade with Mamluk territories, although occupying a central place in this "world-economy," was not even the most important component of its foreign trade as measured by the capital invested and the intensity of commercial shipping. Luckily, however, Coulon is aware of this fact, and, like him, we have now to reconsider his findings in the light of studies that have dealt with the economy of Barcelona in a wider perspective. But even in a more restricted discussion, dealing with Barcelona's Levant trade, there is more to be said about the role played by other Aragonese territories in this system, especially Sicily. Some of Ashtor's remarks and his discoveries in Sicilian archives could serve as a starting point for elaborating on this issue.[5]

Not unrelated to the above is the problem of the sources. This book is mainly based on materials found in the archives and libraries of Barcelona. The use of Arabic sources is rather limited, and no use at all is made of archival material outside of Barcelona. Moreover, the extensive work carried out by Ashtor, although often cited and used throughout Coulon's book, is not always fully utilized. To give one example: apparently, no Catalan notaries were active either in Alexandria or Damascus during the period under consideration. However, Venetian notaries who were active in the Mamluk Levant also served non-Venetian clients, including Catalans. Coulon's claim that there were no colonies of Catalan merchants established in Alexandria and Damascus in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, on which he partly bases his explanation of the continued use of *commenda* contracts, contradicts evidence from the same period presented by Ashtor on the basis of Venetian notarial documents and Western travelogues.[6] In fact, using non-Barcelonese sources could have been very useful to bridge lacunae in the archives of the Catalan capital. This can be exemplified with respect to Coulon's discussion of goods exchanged between the Mamluk Levant and Barcelona. The author's examination of this subject is essentially founded on *commenda* contracts from the registers of Barcelonese notaries. He openly admits that this fact constitutes one of the weaknesses of his data base, since goods shipped from the Levant westward would often not be recorded in these contracts. Yet we have learned from the studies of Melis, Ashtor, and others how richly documented are the lists

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[5]E.g., ibid., 139–40, 222, 235.

[6]Ibid., 147–48, 222–23, 232–33, 236, 340.

of ship cargoes and price lists of commodities found in the Datini archives at Prato.[7] The integration of such material would have served Coulon well.

Another observation concerns the author's calling into question Ashtor's famous thesis regarding the technological decline of Middle Eastern industries in the later Middle Ages, and more specifically, the discussion of this theme in relation to the sugar industry.[8] Great quantities of sugar were imported from the Levant to Barcelona until 1370, when imports of this product began to decline and finally disappear from the documentation. Although it is not quite clear where this sugar originated, especially since many ships stopped over in Cyprus (which was already a major sugar producer), Coulon uses this material to question Ashtor's thesis. According to Coulon, rather than any technological decline of Oriental sugar production, it was the Genoese conquest of Famagusta in 1370 that encouraged other Western powers to embark on a "second wave" of sugar plantations in Sicily and Spain. Yet such a claim is problematic, since it is based on the assumption that most of the sugar imported to Barcelona came from Cyprus (i.e., where the Genoese intervention took place), rather than from Mamluk territories, where Catalan trading activities were rising in the 1370s. Ashtor did not claim that Cyprus suffered from technological decline—quite the contrary, he mentioned Cyprus as part of the Western enterprises that were more advanced in their sugar-producing techniques than those of Egypt and Syria. The Catalans might have renounced buying Cypriot sugar after 1370, but this is not an argument that contradicts Ashtor's thesis.

Relatively little is said in this book about Catalan contacts with Egyptians and Syrians, or their relations with rival trading nations present in the Mamluk Levant. It is indeed an important chapter in the economic and social history of Barcelona, and consequently, the Mamluks and the commercial milieus of their cities occupy only a marginal place in this book. This is not to say that the author has not fulfilled his task. The book is already long enough as it is, and some work must be left for future studies. Coulon has produced an excellent study, which will long serve scholars who continue to be attracted by the fascinating world of the Levant trade.

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[7]Ibid., 149–50, 194–98.

[8]Eliyahu Ashtor, "Levantine Sugar Industry in the Later Middle Ages: A Case of Technological Decline," in *The Islamic Middle East, 700–1900: Studies in Economic and Social History,* ed. Abraham L. Udovich (Princeton, 1981), 91–132. An earlier version was published as "Levantine Sugar Industry in the Later Middle Ages—An Example of Technological Decline," *Israel Oriental Studies* 7 (1977): 226–80, reprinted in his *Technology, Industry and Trade: The Levant versus Europe, 1250–1500,* ed. B. Z. Kedar (Aldershot, 1992), article 3.

SHAMS AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD IBN ḤASAN AL-NAWĀJĪ, *Kitāb al-Shifā' fī Badī' al-Iktifā',* edited by Ḥasan Muḥammad 'Abd al-Hādī (Amman: Dār al-Yanābī' lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzī', 2004). Pp. 424.

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The Cairene writer al-Nawājī (d. 859/1455) is known chiefly as the author of the Bacchic anthology *Ḥalbat al-Kumayt*. Among other works of his that have been edited in modern times are an anthology of strophic poems, *'Uqūd al-La'āl fī al-Muwashshaḥāt wa-al-Azjāl,* and a short, essayistic treatise on the poetics of verse and prose, *Muqaddimah fī Ṣinā'at al-Naẓm wa-al-Nathr*. Many more titles are known to have been written by him and some are preserved in manuscripts. Ḥasan 'Abd al-Hādī has devoted himself to publishing some of these, such as *Al-Maṭāli' al-Shamsīyah fī al-Madā'iḥ al-Nabawīyah*[1] and *Ṣaḥā'if al-Ḥasanāt fī Waṣf al-Khāl*.[2] Another edition is the work under review. It has been edited before, by Maḥmūd Ḥasan Abū Nājī,[3] but the present editor seems to be unaware of this. His edition is of an altogether different order. The earlier edition is based on a single manuscript; it is only lightly and superficially annotated, and it lacks an index. In contrast, Ḥasan 'Abd al-Hādī lists 29 manuscripts, 25 of which he has been able to use. In addition, he provides a critical apparatus that has swelled the book to a size some four times as large as its predecessor. In spite of its size and its merits the edition leaves something to be desired. The various manuscripts are described but their relationships are not discussed; presumably the manuscript listed as no. 1, from the Escorial (erroneously said to be in Madrid), was used as the basis for the edition, but this is nowhere stated. There is an appendix (pp. 303–36) with variant readings. There are indexes of persons, books mentioned, technical terms, places, peoples and nations, months (one questions the use of references to Dhū al-Ḥijjah or Sha'bān), and rhymes.

Al-Shifā' fī Badī' al-Iktifā' (a somewhat flippant paraphrase would be "Quenching the thirst that on everybody's lips is: on poetic ellipsis") is a rather short treatise-cum-anthology devoted to a poetic device that was incorporated by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 749/1349) in his seminal *Badī'īyah;* Pierre Cachia translates it as "truncation."[4] The first example al-Ḥillī provides in his own commentary, *Sharḥ al-Kāfīyah al-Badī'īyah,*[5] is a verse by Ibn Maṭrūḥ (d. 649/1251): "I shall

[1]Amman, 1999.

[2]Amman, 2000.

[3]Beirut: Maktabat al-Ḥayāt, A.H. 1403, 108 pp.

[4]*The Arch Rhetorician* (Wiesbaden, 1998), 54).

[5]Ed. Nasīb al-Nashāwī (Damascus, 1982), 105.

not stop, renounce, give in / as long as I′m alive, or even when (. . . *wa-la idhā*).″ The words ″I′m dead″ are easily supplied by the attentive listener and therefore no longer needed. Al-Nawājī′s older contemporary, Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434), quotes many more examples in his work on *badī‘, Khizānat al-Adab,*[6] and distinguishes between two kinds: ellipsis of a whole word, and ellipsis of part of a word, the latter being more difficult but also more attractive. Among his examples (and those of al-Nawājī, see p. 172) is an epigram by Ibn Makānis (d. 794/1392):

That lovely fawn! He came to visit me
shyly, at night, seeking a place to dwell [reading
mustawṭinan, with Ibn Ḥijjah].
Yet he stayed only long enough for me
to say to him, ″Come in! You′re very wel-″
(ahlan wa-sahlan wa-mar).

Arab grammarians and rhetoricians studied ellipsis in its various forms and usually called it *ḥadhf*. The term *iktifā’, ″*sufficiency,″ was used by Ibn Rashīq in his *Al-‘Umdah*[7] in the chapter on *ījāz, ″*brevity,″ as is duly mentioned by al-Nawājī; it has little to do with *iktifā’* as it was introduced into *badī‘* by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī. Nevertheless, al-Nawājī tries to deal with both kinds of ellipsis in his book, devoting an introductory and somewhat perfunctory chapter to cases of *ḥadhf* in the Quran (e.g., the standard example Quran 12:82, *wa-is’ali al-qaryata ″*ask the town,″ meaning ″ask the people of the town″). As for the Ḥillian sense of *iktifā’,* neither al-Nawājī nor, strangely, the two modern editors seem to have been aware that Ibn Rashīq discusses precisely this phenomenon elsewhere, in the chapter on *ishārah.*[8] Calling it a form of *ḥadhf,* he quotes some odd verses, such as the anonymous *bi-al-khayri khayrātin* [thus, not *khayran*] *wa-in sharran fā / wa-lā urīdu al-sharra illā an tā*, where *fā* stands for *fa-sharr* and *tā* for *tashā’*. These and similar verses are old: they are quoted by Sībawayh[9] and many subsequent grammarians, who had to cope with these and similar extreme distortions practised by early *rajaz* poets when in a jocular mood. No doubt to a poet and critic from the Mamluk period such whimsical use of language would have been merely a disfigurement, a form of barely acceptable poetic license, certainly not part of refined *badī‘,* and therefore to be ignored.

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[6]Bulāq, A.H. 1291, 157–64.

[7]Ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd (repr. Beirut, 1972), 1:252–53.

[8]Ibid., 310–11.

[9]*Kitāb Sībawayh* (Bulāq, A.H. 1316), 2:62, section ″Indicating a word by means of one letter.″

Ibn Rashīq also discusses a yet more extreme form of ellipsis: three lines attributed to Abū Nuwās in which the rhyme words are replaced by gestures indicating a kiss, ″no, no!″ and ″go away!″, respectively; the lines are also found in Ibn Dāwūd al-Iṣbahānī, *Al-Zahrah,*[10] but not in Abū Nuwās′s *Dīwān*. Again, it is disappointing to see that neither al-Nawājī nor his editors were aware of this unique case of unrhymed verse.

Al-Nawājī makes some further distinctions, between forms of *iktifā'* with or without other forms of *badī'* such as *tawriyah* (double entendre). A charming but untranslatable example of the latter, again by Ibn Makānis, is the punch line of a distich in praise of his own poetry:[11] ″Say, when those who taste it find it sweet: / This is, by God! sweet magic!″ The last words, *siḥrun ḥalā,* would immediately evoke the very common expression *siḥrun ḥalāl,* ″licit magic,, said of particularly eloquent speech. Al-Nawājī′s presentation of *iktifā'* does not make any significant improvement on that of his one-time friend (and subsequent enemy) Ibn Ḥijjah, apart from arranging his material more systematically and giving more examples. Ibn Ḥijjah, too, had pointed out that the figure could fruitfully be combined with his favorite device, double entendre. Indeed, the verse quoted above, ending in ″… to say to him: ′Come in, you′re very wel-,′″ is an illustration of this, for it could also be rendered as ″to say to him: ′Come in!′ And he went *(wa-marr)*.″

The edition is very richly annotated, with numerous references given for most of the verses quoted by al-Nawājī. Some 87 pages are filled with information on every person mentioned in the text, arranged chronologically. Much of this is rather superfluous: anyone worth his salt in Arabic studies can find information on well-known persons of the early centuries; we do not need a whole page of references for al-Bukhārī or al-Mutanabbī. However, the information on persons from the Mamluk era is by no means useless, as long as important poets such as Ibn Makānis are absent from reference works (he has no entry either in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* or in the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*).

[10]Ed. Ibrāhīm al-Sāmarrā'ī (Beirut, 1985), 789.

[11]*Kitāb al-Shifā',* 181.

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Arabic Transliteration System

Romanized Arabic in *Mamlūk Studies Review* follows the Library of Congress conventions, briefly outlined below. A more thorough discussion may be found in *American Library Association-Library of Congress Romanization Tables* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1991).

ء	’	خ	kh	ش	sh	غ	gh	م	m
ب	b	د	d	ص	ṣ	ف	f	ن	n
ت	t	ذ	dh	ض	ḍ	ق	q	ه	h
ث	th	ر	r	ط	ṭ	ك	k	و	w
ج	j	ز	z	ظ	ẓ	ل	l	ي	y
ح	ḥ	س	s	ع	‘				
		ة	h, t (in construct)			ال	al-		

ـَ	a	ـُ	u	ـِ	i
ـً	an	ـٌ	un	ـٍ	in
آ	ā	ـُو	ū	ـِي	ī
اَ	ā	ـُوّ	ūw	ـِيّـ	īy (medial), ī (final)
ى	á	ـَو	aw	ـَي	ay
				ـَيّ	ayy

Capitalization in romanized Arabic follows the conventions of American English; the definite article is always lower case, except when it is the first word in an English sentence. The *hamzah* is not represented when beginning a word, following a prefixed preposition or conjunction, or following the definite article. Assimilation of the *lām* of the definite article before ″sun″ letters is disregarded. Final inflections of verbs are retained, except in pausal form; final inflections of nouns and adjectives are not represented, except preceding suffixes and except when verse is romanized. Vocalic endings of pronouns, demonstratives, prepositions, and conjunctions are represented. The hyphen is used with the definite article, conjunctions, inseparable prepositions, and other prefixes. Note the exceptional treatment of the preposition *li-* followed by the article, as in *lil-sulṭān*. Note also the following exceptional spellings: Allāh, billāh, lillāh, bismillāh, mi’ah, ibn (for both initial and medial forms). Words not requiring diacritical marks, though following the conventions outlined above, include all Islamic dynasties, as well as the following terms: Quran, sultan, amir, imam, shaykh, Sunni, Shi‘i, Sufi. Common place-names should take the common spelling in American English. Names of archaeological sites should follow the convention of the excavator.

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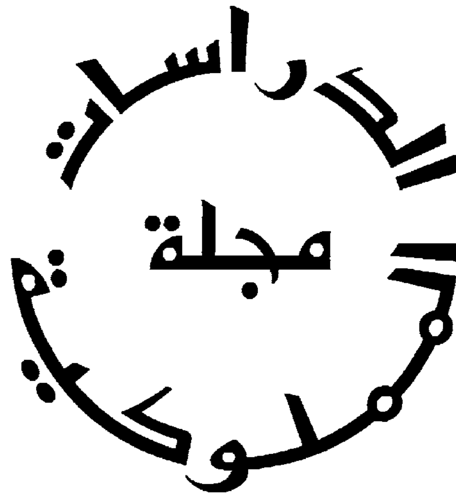
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REVIEW

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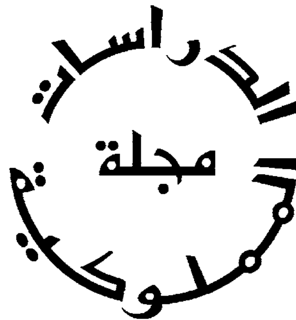
Mamlūk Studies Review is a biannual refereed journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648–922/1250–1517). It appears in January and July. The goals of *Mamlūk Studies Review* are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, nurture communication within the field, and promote further research by encouraging the critical discussion of all aspects of this important medieval Islamic polity. The journal includes both articles and reviews of recent books. Submissions of original work on any aspect of the field are welcome, although the editorial board will periodically issue volumes devoted to specific topics and themes. *Mamlūk Studies Review* also solicits edited texts and translations of shorter Arabic source materials (*waqf* deeds, letters, *fatāwá* and the like), and encourages discussions of Mamluk era artifacts (pottery, coins, etc.) that place these resources in wider contexts. Transliterated Middle Eastern languages should conform to the system utilized by the Library of Congress. All questions regarding style should be resolved through reference to *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th edition. Submissions should be composed with current word-processing software, and if possible should use a Unicode font, such as Charis SIL (see the website below for further information). Submissions may be made via email, but authors must also send a printed copy and a labeled CD-ROM which includes the article, all figures and illustrations, and any special fonts used. Articles which diverge widely from format and style guidelines may not be accepted, and illustrations which do not meet the requirements set forth by the editors may not be usable.

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The Bruce D. Craig Prize for Mamluk Studies

The Prize Committee is pleased to announce that Nahyan A. G. Fancy (Ph.D., University of Notre Dame) has been named the recipient of the 2006 Bruce D. Craig Prize for Mamluk Studies for his dissertation:

"Pulmonary Transit and Bodily Resurrection: The Interaction of Medicine, Philosophy and Religion in the Works of Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 1288)"

The Committee was impressed by Fancy's thorough and careful reading of the Nafisi corpus in its context—that of the multifaceted interests of a thirteenth-century alim. His work is a brilliant example of how a dedicated effort to understand an historical actor's own categories of analysis—as opposed to the anachronistic imposition of later paradigms—can lead to real insight. The Committee believes that this is an extremely important and indeed pathbreaking work that provides the basis for thinking about the Mamluk period in a new light and contributes to the ongoing efforts to revise and correct the dominant view of the roles of Muslims in the history of science.

The Bruce D. Craig Prize, carrying a cash award of $1,000, is given annually by *Mamlūk Studies Review* for the best dissertation on a topic related to the Mamluk Sultanate submitted to an American or Canadian university during the preceding calendar year. In the event no dissertations are submitted, or none is deemed to merit the prize, no prize will be awarded. To be considered for the 2007 Prize, dissertations must be defended by December 31, 2007, and submitted to the Prize Committee by January 31, 2008. Submissions should be sent to:

Chair, Prize Committee
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The Prize Committee for 2006 consisted of Marlis J. Saleh (University of Chicago); Linda S. Northrup (University of Toronto): and Warren C. Schultz (DePaul University).

Previous Prize Winners:

2004: Tamar el-Leithy, Princeton University, "Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo: 1293-1524."

2005: Zayde G. Antrim, Harvard University, "Place and Belonging in Medieval Syria, 6th/12th to 8th/14th Centuries."

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Yossef Rapoport
University of Oxford

Women and Gender in Mamluk Society: An Overview

On the evening of Saturday, 5 Shawwāl 919 (4 December 1513), Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl, a Cairene Hanafi deputy qadi, left home for a night vigil at the Qarāfah cemetery in Cairo.[1] His wife, expecting her husband to be absent for the entire night, sent for her lover, a certain Nūr al-Dīn al-Mashālī, himself a Shafiʿi deputy judge. Unfortunately for the two, a neighbor gave notice to the husband, who immediately rode over and found the door locked. When he broke in he found his wife and al-Mashālī in bed, embracing each other under the blanket. According to the account of Ibn Iyās, the lovers tried to settle the matter quietly by filling the husband's purse. Al-Mashālī offered the husband a thousand dinars to keep his mouth shut, while the wife offered all the household goods that belonged to her, i.e., her trousseau, in return for his discretion. But the angry husband was not tempted by gold or silver; he locked them both in the house and went over to the court of the military chamberlain to lodge a complaint. When brought before this military judge, al-Mashālī confessed to the charge of adultery, and the chamberlain ordered that al-Mashālī should be stripped, and had both of them beaten severely. The two were then led through the city, facing backwards on the backs of donkeys. Finally, they were fined 100 dinars each. But then came a bizarre twist to this story; as the woman claimed that she was penniless, the officers of the chamberlain, perhaps following standard procedure a bit too rigidly, ordered the husband to pay the fine for his wife's adultery; when he refused, he was put under arrest.

When this semi-comic sequence of events reached the ears of an infuriated Sultan Qānṣūh, he convened his council and blamed the qadis for appointing immoral deputies like al-Mashālī, and demanded that the adulterers be punished in the way prescribed by Islamic law, that is, by stoning. It was an unusual order; no stoning had taken place for many years, and apparently never during Qānṣūh's long reign.[2] But, while the sultan, representing secular authority, was pushing

[1]The following account is based Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr,* ed. M. Muṣṭafá, H. Roemer, and H. Ritter (Cairo and Wiesbaden, 1960–63), 4:340–50. A short version is given by the Syrian historian Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Wafayāt al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān* (Sidon, 1999), 2:252. See also the summary in Carl Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994), 149–51.

[2]It is possible that no stoning took place for at least half a century, or even more. Executions for adultery were generally rare. In a study of criminal acts reported in the chronicles during the

for an Islamic punishment, several jurists issued a fatwa invalidating the verdict, arguing that al-Mashālī had in the meantime retracted his confession. In an overt struggle over the right to interpret the law, the jurists argued that the sultan was bound to act according to the Islamic law of evidence; execution would be a criminal offence, and the sultan liable for the blood money. At this point the sultan called them all senseless fools, telling one of the jurists: "God willing, I hope you go home and find someone doing to your wife what al-Mashālī did to the wife of Khalīl." Then Qānṣūh dismissed all four chief qadis, paralyzing all legal and economic activity in Cairo for three days. On Wednesday, 7 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (3 January), Nūr al-Dīn and his lover were hanged at the gate of the house of one of the jurists who objected to the death sentence. The two lovers were tied to the same rope, facing each other. Their bodies remained on the gallows for two days, until the sultan gave permission to bury them.

The account of the love and the death of the two adulterers is a good medieval story, and an excellent starting point for a survey of women and gender in the Mamluk period, if only because it serves to correct some common assumptions about the subject. One is that the study of women and gender, naturally a "private" topic, has little to offer for someone interested in politics or economics. It should not come as a surprise that a mundane love affair could turn into a constitutional crisis, pitting the sultan and the judicial elite against each other over the fundamental privilege of interpreting the law. This was not the first time issues of public morality, regulation of households, and gender boundaries were at the forefront of Mamluk politics—the reign of Shajar al-Durr, the periodic royal campaigns against vice, the processions of royal trousseaux, and the arrest of Ibn Taymīyah for his views on divorce are a few examples. Michael Chamberlain has done much to focus our attention on the elite household as the basic unit of social and political action.[3] But an analysis of gender distinctions *within* households offers an equally engaging perspective on Mamluk political and economic history.

Another common cliché is that medieval Arab authors were reluctant to speak about women, and that the domestic history of the Mamluk period will therefore always remain inaccessible. In fact, there are many Mamluk authors who speak very freely about their wives, daughters, and concubines, as well as about the wives, daughters, and concubines of friends, acquaintances, and relatives. Such descriptions are usually found in works devoted explicitly to the self-representation

reign of Qāytbāy, Petry found only one such case, when a Circassian female slave in the sultan's household was hanged for having an affair with a soldier (Petry, "Disruptive 'Others' as Depicted in the Chronicles of the Late Mamlūk Period," in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt,* ed. Hugh Kennedy [Leiden, 2000], 187).

[3] Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (Cambridge, 1994).

of the author, an unusually large number of which were produced in the Mamluk period.[4] This trend is already evident in the works of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Syrian historians like Abū Shāmah (d. 665/1268), who includes in his work a poem he recited for his wife, al-Jazarī (d. 739/1338) in his *Tārīkh,* and al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) in *Aʿwān al-Naṣr*.[5] The blurring of lines between history and autobiography, and hence the increasing representation of the domestic, is even more striking in some fifteenth-century works. The example of al-Sakhāwī's extraordinary comprehensive collection of the biographies of contemporary women is well-known.[6] Historians like Ibn Iyās (d. 930/1524) or Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546) composed chronicles that are also semi-memoirs. Finally, the so-called chronicles of some late fifteenth-century authors, like al-Biqāʿī (885/1480) or Ibn Ṭawq (d. 915/1509), are, for all practical purposes, diaries.[7] Surprisingly, the last two works were in manuscript form until the last decade, and even now are not fully published. The perceived inhibitions of medieval authors with regard to women may be, paradoxically, due to a *modern* lack of interest in editing and publishing works that are short on political violence but strong on trivial, mundane private lives.

[4] Dwight F. Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self: Autobiography in the Arabic Literary Tradition* (Berkeley, 2001), 52–71; Li Guo, "Mamluk Historiographic Studies: The State of the Art," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 15–43; Donald Little, "Historiography of the Ayyūbid and the Mamlūk Epochs," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt,* vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517* (Cambridge, 1998), 421–32.

[5] Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Shāmah, *Tarājim Rijāl al-Qarnayn al-Sādis wa-al-Sābiʿ al-Maʿrūf bi-al-Dhayl ʿalá al-Rawḍatayn*, ed. M. Zāhid al-Kawtharī (Cairo, 1947); al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Anbāʾihi wa-Wafayāt al-Akābir wa-al-Aʿyān min Abnāʾihi, al-Maʿrūf bi-Tārīkh Ibn al-Jazarī,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Sidon, 1998); Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr wa-Aʿwān al-Naṣr*, ed. ʿAlī Abū Zayd et al. (Damascus, 1998). On Abū Shāmah's poem to his wife see L. Pouzet, "Vision populaire de la femme en Syrie aux VIe et VIIe/XIIe et XIIIe siècles," in *Proceedings of the 14th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants, Budapest, 29 August–3 September 1988* (Budapest, 1995), pt. 1, 295–304.

[6] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ,* ed. Ḥusām al-Qudsī (Cairo, 1934–36); idem, *Wajīz al-Kalām fī al-Dhayl ʿalá Duwal al-Islām,* ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, ʿIṣām Fāris al-Ḥarastānī, and Aḥmad al-Khutaymī (Beirut, 1995). Secondary sources include: Huda Lutfi, "Al-Sakhāwī's *Kitāb al-Nisāʾ* as a Source for the Social and Economic History of Muslim Women during the Fifteenth Century AD," *Muslim World* 71 (1981): 104–24; Basim Musallam, "The Ordering of Muslim Societies," in *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the Islamic World,* ed. F. Robinson (Cambridge, 1996), 186–97; R. Roded, *Women in the Islamic Biographical Dictionaries: From Ibn Saʿd to Who's Who* (Boulder, 1994); Y. Rapoport, "Divorce and the Elite Household in Late Medieval Cairo," *Continuity and Change* 16, no. 2 (August 2001): 201–18.

[7] Li Guo, "Tales of a Medieval Cairene Harem: Domestic Life in al-Biqāʿī's Autobiographical Chronicle," *MSR* 9, no. 1 (2005): 101–21; Ibn Ṭawq, *Al-Taʿlīq: Yawmīyāt Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq (834/1430–915/1509): Mudhakkirāt Kutibat bi-Dimashq fī Awākhir al-ʿAhd al-Mamlūkī, 885/1480–908/1502,* vol. 1, *(885/1480–890/1485),* ed. Jaʿfar al-Muhājir (Damascus, 2000).

Given that Mamluk chronicles and biographical dictionaries have so much to say about women, it is not surprising that there are by now quite a few studies devoted to Mamluk women, beginning with Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Rāziq's *La femme au temps des Mamlouks en Égypte*.[8] Biographical dictionaries in particular were used to assess the scholarly, religious, and literary activities of Mamluk women.[9] Documentary sources were also used by historians of women, although there is still much to be done. The Ḥaram collection is very useful in giving a sense of gender relations in a particular time and place, and has been used in this way by Donald Little and, especially, Huda Lutfi, who paid unusual attention to questions of gender.[10] Endowment deeds, mainly from late fifteenth-century Cairo, are very useful in illustrating the economic participation of elite women in the economy, and are the subject of several articles by Carl Petry.[11] On the provincial level, the references to the economic activity of women in the Ayyubid documents from al-Quṣayr are also useful.[12] About a dozen Muslim marriage contracts from the Mamluk period were found in the Egyptian countryside.[13] The wide variety of

[8] Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Rāziq, *La femme au temps des Mamlouks en Égypte* (Cairo, 1973). For a review, see N. Keddie, "Problems in the Study of Middle Eastern Women," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 10 (1979): 225–40.

[9] Jonathan Berkey, "Women and Islamic Education in the Mamluk Period," in *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender,* ed. N. Keddie and B. Baron (New Haven, 1992), 143–57; Asma Sayeed, "Women and Hadith Transmission: Two Case Studies from Mamluk Damascus," *Studia Islamica* 95 (2004): 71–94; Omaima Abou-Bakr, "Teaching the Words of the Prophet: Women Instructors of the Hadith (Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries)," *Hawwa* 1, no. 3 (2003): 306–28.

[10] Donald Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from al-Ḥaram aš-Šarīf in Jerusalem* (Beirut and Wiesbaden, 1984); idem, "A Fourteenth-Century Jerusalem Court Record of a Divorce Hearing: A Case Study," in *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in Honour of Michael Winter*, ed. David J. Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon (London and New York, 2006), 67–85; Huda Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya: A History of Mamlûk Jerusalem Based on the Ḥaram Documents* (Berlin, 1985); idem, "A Study of Six Fourteenth-Century *Iqrār*s from al-Quds Relating to Muslim Women," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 26 (1983): 246–94.

[11] Carl Petry, "Class Solidarity versus Gender Gain: Women as Custodians of Property in Later Medieval Egypt," in *Women in Middle Eastern History,* ed. Keddie and Baron, 122–42; idem, "The Estate of al-Khuwand Fāṭima al-Khāṣṣbakiyya: Royal Spouse, Autonomous Investor," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and History,* ed. Amalia Levanoni and Michael Winter (Leiden, 2004), 277–94.

[12] Li Guo, *Commerce, Culture, and Community in a Red Sea Port in the Thirteenth Century: The Arabic Documents from Quseir* (Leiden, 2004).

[13] Suʿād Māhir, *Al-Nasīj al-Islāmī* (Cairo, 1977); idem, "ʿUqūd al-Zawāj ʿalá al-Mansūjāt al-Atharīyah," in *Al-Kitāb al-Dhahabī lil-Iḥtifāl al-Khamsīnī bi-al-Dirāsāt al-Atharīyah bi-Jāmiʿat al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1978), 1:39–54; Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Rāziq, "Un document concernant le mariage des esclaves au temps des mamlūks," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 13 (1970): 309–14; idem, "ʿAqdā Nikāḥ min ʿAṣr al-Mamālīk al-Baḥrīyah," *Al-Majallah al-ʿArabīyah*

Jewish marriage contracts, divorce litigation, and other evidence from the Geniza mostly predate the Mamluk period, but serve as an essential background for comparison.

Alongside the documentary evidence, there other types of legal sources from the Mamluk period which provide access to the gender dynamics within households. These include compilations of *responsa* by contemporary *muftī*s, mostly dealing with real-life cases; and descriptions of judicial proceedings in chronicles, some of which were composed by court officials. Special attention should also be given to legal manuals that reproduce models of common documents for the use of notaries.[14] Gender issues are also discussed by the authors of prescriptive treatises, with the *Madkhal* of the Cairene Maliki jurist Ibn al-Ḥājj (d. 737/1336–37) the best known example, thanks mainly to Huda Lutfi's often-cited and articulate discussion.[15] In all these types of legal sources women occupy a prominent place, as family law (along with commercial law) were the primary responsibilities of qadis and *muftī*s.

What follows here is a survey of those aspects of the social history of women, and the social dimensions of gender distinctions between men and women, that have already been studied by Mamluk historians. The goal is to identify basic social and legal structures that appear crucial to the understanding of gender practices in urban Mamluk society. These include, in the following order: slave-girls and concubines; women in the urban economy; marriage, divorce and polygamy; educational and religious activities.[16] I will attempt, as much as possible, to cover all classes of urban society, from the royal palace to the poor, as obviously men and women interacted differently at different levels of society. I will also highlight

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lil-ʿUlūm al-Insānīyah (Kuwait) 6 (1986): 68–88; A. Grohmann, "Einige arabische Ostraka und ein Ehevertrag aus der Oase Baḥriya," in *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni* (Milan, 1957), 2:499–509; A. Dietrich, "Eine arabische Eheurkunde aus der Aiyūbidenzeit," in *Documenta Islamica Inedita,* ed. J. Fück (Berlin, 1952), 121–54; W. Diem, "Vier arabische Rechtsurkunden aus Ägypten des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts," *Der Islam* 72 (1994): 193–257.

[14] The most important are Gabriela Guellil, *Damaszener Akten des 8./14. Jahrhunderts nach at-Tarsusis Kitāb al-Iʿlām, Eine Studie zum arabischen Justizwesen* (Bamberg, 1985); al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿUqūd wa-Muʿīn al-Quḍāh wa-al-Muwaqqiʿīn wa-al-Shuhūd* (Cairo, 1955); Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥasanī al-Jarawānī, "Mawāhib al-Ilāhīyah wa-al-Qawāʿid al-Mālikīyah," Chester Beatty MS 3401.

[15] Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Al-Madkhal ilá Tanmiyat al-Aʿmāl bi-Taḥsīn al-Niyyāt* (Cairo, 1929–32); Huda Lutfi, "Manners and Customs of Fourteenth-Century Cairene Women: Female Anarchy versus Male Sharʿī Order in Muslim Prescriptive Treatises," in *Women in Middle Eastern History,* ed. Keddie and Baron, 99–121.

[16] Some of these subjects, such as marriage (but not polygamy), divorce, and the economic activities of women, are discussed in far greater detail, and from a considerably different perspective, in my *Marriage, Money and Divorce in Medieval Islamic Society* (Cambridge, 2005).

changes in the course of Mamluk history, suggesting that gender institutions underwent radical transformations during the fifteenth century.

As our opening story suggests, it is not only possible to write a history of women and gender for the Mamluk period, it may even be possible to get into the Mamluk bedroom. Mamluk authors produced quite an extensive literature on sex and erotica, which has not received sufficient attention.[17] As Robert Irwin rightly warns us, literary sexual topoi do not reflect actual sexual practices in Mamluk society, and there is definitely an element of stylization in Ibn Iyās' account. But a thorough scrutiny of the chronicles and the *fatāwá* collections will probably draw a distinction between sexual fantasies (interesting in themselves) and sexual practices. A connection between virginity and asceticism, or religious piety, crops up in a variety of contexts, and suggests that a "Christian" attitude with regard to the religious value of the sexual act may have had more influence than commonly assumed.[18] The frequent and extensive references to homosexuality in Mamluk sources have received some attention.[19] In this regard, Khaled El-Rouayheb's recent book on homosexual practices in the Ottoman period should prompt a similar project for the Mamluk period. In particular, El-Rouayheb's rejection of a "homosexual identity" in favor of social distinctions between active and passive sexual roles seems to be a useful framework of analysis for the medieval period as well.[20] Eunuchs have been studied as a social group and as symbolic mediators between spheres, not only male and female, but also the sacred and the profane.[21] A recent study of Mamluk attitudes towards hermaphrodites, another revealing

[17] Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Rāziq, "Al-Mar'ah fī Kitābat al-Suyūṭī," in *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī,* ed. al-Majlis al-Aʿlá li-Riʿāyat al-Funūn wa-al-Ādāb wa-al-ʿUlūm al-Ijtimāʿīyah (Cairo, 1978), 195–219; Abdelwahab Bouhdiba, *Sexuality in Islam,* translated from the French by Alan Sheridan (London, 1985).

[18] Christopher Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous: Ziyāra and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt* (Leiden, 1998), 95; Y. Michot, "Un célibataire endurci et sa maman: Ibn Taymiyya (m. 728/1328) et les femmes," in *La femme dans les civilisations orientales et miscellanea aegyptologica: Christiane Desroches Noblecourt in honorem,* ed. Christian Cannuyer (Brussels, 2001), 165–90.

[19] Everett Rowson, "Two Homoerotic Narratives from Mamluk Literature: al-Ṣafadī's *Lawʿat al-Shākī* and Ibn Dāniyāl's *Mutayyam,*" in *Homoeroticism in Classical Arabic Literature,* ed. J. W. Wright and E. Rowson (New York, 1997), 158–91. For a less scholarly approach, see Stephen O. Murray, "Male Homosexuality, Inheritance Rules and the Status of Women in Medieval Egypt: The Case of the Mamluks," in S. Murray and W. Roscoe, *Islamic Homosexualities: Culture, History and Literature* (New York, 1997), 161–73.

[20] Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality in the Arab-Islamic World, 1500–1800* (Chicago and London, 2005).

[21] Shaun Marmon, *Eunuchs and Sacred Boundaries in Islamic Society* (Oxford, 1995); David Ayalon, *Eunuchs, Caliphs and Sultans: A Study in Power Relationships* (Jerusalem, 1999).

border case of ambiguous sexuality, shows a surprising development over time. While in the early Mamluk period the transformation of girls into boys is a cause for public celebrations, there are later cases in which courts are asked to confirm a female sexual identity for persons who, by all outer appearances, were physically male.[22] All in all, a history of Mamluk sexual attitudes and practices is yet to be done, probably feasible, and certainly exciting.

This essay will have comparatively little to say about material culture, although there are a few studies of objects made for, and used by, Mamluk women. The surviving artifacts of Mamluk trousseaux have been surveyed by ʿAbd al-Rāziq and in a recent extensive monograph by al-Wakīl.[23] Both could serve as a good basis for a study that explores the specific social meanings attached to these artifacts. The studies of female attire by Mayer, and more recently, by Stillman, have drawn attention to the social significance of the fashion of urban women, and the state attempts to regulate it.[24] The best known example is the very long-sleeved chemise, which was prohibited in the aftermath of the Black Death, and again by the end of the fourteenth century. The motivations for the extensive sumptuary laws of the Mamluk regime are yet to be fully explained—was it a moral reaction to luxurious consumption or immodest and seductive clothes; was it an attempt to preserve class distinction; or was it fear of cross-dressing, as Mamluk women adopted the male-style *ṭāqīyah* headdress, or the *bughluṭāq* military coat? The Mamluk sumptuary regulation is remarkably similar to that attempted in the Italian towns of the Renaissance, and has potential as a fascinating research topic.

Finally, the literary representation of women in the Mamluk period has received much scholarly attention. There are some very insightful studies on the representation of gender in medieval Arabic literature, and studies of the *Arabian Nights* occupy several shelves at most research libraries.[25] Representations of

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[22] Tamer el-Leithy, "Of Bodies Chang'd to Various Forms . . .: Hermaphrodites and Transsexuals in Mamluk Society" (unpublished paper, Princeton University, 2001).

[23] ʿAbd al-Rāziq, *La femme;* Fāyizah al-Wakīl, *Al-Shiwār: Jihāz al-ʿArūs fī Miṣr fī ʿAṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk* (Cairo, 2001); see review by Vanessa De Gifis, *MSR* 7, no. 2 (2003): 247–50.

[24] L. A. Mayer, "Costumes of Mamluk Women," *Islamic Culture* 17 (1943): 293–303; Yedida Kalfon Stillman, *Arab Dress, A Short History: From the Dawn of Islam to Modern Times,* ed. Norman A. Stillman (Leiden, 2000), 75–83.

[25] Fedwa Malti-Douglas, *Woman's Body, Woman's Word: Gender and Discourse in Arabo-Islamic Writing* (Princeton, 1991); H. Kilpatrick, "Some Late ʿAbbasid and Mamluk Books about Women: A Literary Historical Approach," *Arabica* 42 (1995): 56–78; Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, "Some Notes on Women in Classical Arabic Literary Tradition," in *Proceedings of the 14th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants,* pt. 2, 133–41; Asma Afsaruddin, "Reconstituting Women's Lives: Gender and the Poetics of Narrative in Medieval Biographical Collections," *The Muslim World* 92 (2002): 461–80; H. Lutfi, "The Construction of Gender Symbolism in Ibn Sīrīn's and Ibn Shāhīn's Medieval Arabic Dream Texts," *MSR* 9, no. 1 (2005): 123–61.

women in Mamluk visual arts, on the other hand, have been far less explored. We have no explanation, for example, as to why Mamluk illuminations tend to show women fully wrapped and veiled, while contemporary illuminations from the eastern Islamic world mostly show unveiled women. But the study of the representation of women, whether in literature or in the visual arts, is still hampered by a lack of a coherent, specific historical context to which literary and art history studies could relate. This essay, I hope, will fill that gap.

Slave-Girls and Concubines

It is only appropriate to start our survey of Mamluk slave-girls with Shajar al-Durr, the only female ruler in Egypt's medieval history and the most famous woman from the Mamluk period. Scholarly accounts of Shajar al-Durr—of which there are quite a few, in considerable disproportion to the study of Mamluk women in general—have tended to follow conflicting modern agendas.[26] Feminist historians, such as Fatima Mernissi, have taken Shajar al-Durr as a symbol of women's independence and courage against male privilege, and, in particular, brought to the foreground her murder of Aybak as a female response to a polygamous marriage. More traditionalist historians have relegated her to the background, arguing that she was a mere puppet at the hands of the Mamluk officers, her value derived ultimately from her sexual liaison with al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb. Others have stressed her ethnic Turkish background, and used Shajar al-Durr's success to draw a line between an egalitarian Turkish and nomadic tradition which accepted female rulers, and a patriarchal Arab and Middle Eastern tradition which rejected them.[27] By subjecting Shajar al-Durr's historical figure to such ideological narratives, modern historians have followed the footsteps of their medieval counterparts. The later medieval chroniclers embellished Shajar al-Durr's image and added gory details (who can forget the maids who murder their victim with the famous wooden clogs?), so as to transform her story into a more universal parable of domestic strife; story-tellers recast Shajar al-Durr as a noble princess, ensuring her posthumous fame in the Romance of Baybars.[28]

From the perspective of the social historian, Shajar al-Durr's extraordinary career cannot be fully understood without looking at the institution of female slavery as a necessary complement to male slavery, which was equally integral

[26] David J. Duncan, "Scholarly Views of Shajarat al-Durr: A Need for Consensus," *Arab Studies Quarterly* 22 (2000): 51–69 (with a good bibliography).

[27] See also Amalia Levanoni, "Šagar ad-Durr: A Case of Female Sultanate in Medieval Islam," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras,* vol. 3, *Proceedings of the 6th, 7th and 8th International Colloquium,* ed. U. Vermeulen and J. Van Steenbergen (Leuven, 2001), 209–18.

[28] G. Schregle, *Die Sultanin von Ägypten: Šağarat ad-Durr in der arabischen Geschichtsschreibung und Literatur* (Wiesbaden, 1961).

to the working of the Mamluk military elite in its heyday. Among the military elite, female slaves and male slaves, like Shajar al-Durr and Baybars, did have quite a lot in common. Both Shajar al-Durr and Baybars were skillful political operators whose rise to power was, however, ultimately due to their place in the late sultan's household. In fact, both were among the select few who accompanied al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb to his imprisonment in Karak. Both were products of the same household system of slave recruitment and training, although men and women were, naturally, expected to fulfill different functions within these households, those of warriors and those of courtesans. What was unique about Shajar al-Durr's case—and in this perspective her career is unique, and deserves further study—was that she was allowed to cross the gender division within households, and to publicly take on political leadership in a way that was denied to later generations of concubines.

The recruitment of slave-girls in general, and of concubines in particular, was integral to the structure of the Mamluk military households. There are good indications that the number of female slaves in elite households was always at least as high as, and probably much higher than, the number of male slaves, and it would make sense to view Mamluk slavery as a primarily female phenomenon. Just as a select group of male slaves was trained in the military profession, a select group of slave-girls was trained to become courtesans. Tankiz, governor of Damascus for most of the first half of the fourteenth century, employed an agent in the lands of the Mongols who sought beautiful slave-girls for him. After their arrival in Damascus, some were placed in the care of Ibrāhīm Ṣārim, a famous musician, who taught the girls to play the lute.[29] These slaves were probably later enlisted in the household's musical band *(jūkah),* since during the fourteenth century every leading amir kept a band of ten to fifteen slave-girls.[30] The other slave-girls, presumably, had become concubines. Tankiz had at some point as many as nine slave concubines, each with her private retinue.[31]

The military elite regarded concubines, first and foremost, as a means to overcome the high rates of child mortality. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad himself is probably the most outstanding example, being survived by fifteen sons.[32] The households of amirs were modeled on that of the sultan, and the role of concubines there was

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[29] See al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 1:82 (for the musician), 2:300 (for the agent, Ḥamzah al-Turkumānī).

[30] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1929–72), 11:380; cited by ʿAbd al-Rāziq, *La femme,* 55.

[31] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 2:565.

[32] P. M. Holt, "An-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (684–741/1285–1341): His Ancestry, Kindred and Affinity," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras,* vol. 1, *Proceedings of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd International Colloquium,* ed. Vermeulen and Van Steenbergen (Leuven, 1995), 313–24.

similar. Sunqur al-Nūrī (d. 736/1335), a governor of several towns in northern Syria, had as many as sixty concubines. When he died he left twenty-one children.[33] A similar number of concubines were found in Qawsūn's mansion in Cairo in 742/1341.[34] Many of the amirs' wives were themselves manumitted slave-girls. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad used to marry off his slave-girls to leading officers as means of consolidating their loyalty. There is no indication that children born of free women did better than children of concubines, and it is clear that all of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's progeny, whether born of free women or slave-girls, were eligible to become sultans.

An anecdote regarding the household of the Amir Baktimur al-Sāqī (d. 733/1332) illustrates the parallels between the recruitment of male and female slaves. At the height of his career, Baktimur spent 10,000 dinars on the most renowned lute player of the time, a slave by the name of Khūbī. He lodged Khūbī in his mansion on the banks of Birkat al-Fīl, away from his wife, herself a former slave of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. When the wife heard about the new and expensive concubine, she asked permission to go and meet her. In preparation for the encounter, Khūbī dressed up in white and took off all her jewelry and make-up. When the wife asked for her name, Khūbī, instead of answering, started playing the lute. As she heard the music, the lady recognized Khūbī and embraced her, explaining to the attendant slave-girls that Khūbī was her *khushdāshah.*[35] The story itself is almost certainly apocryphal.[36] The important aspect is the reference to a bond of *khushdāshīyah* among female slaves who were trained together, mirroring the more famous bonds among male military slaves.

The career of Ittifāq, concubine and wife of three consecutive sultans around the middle of the fourteenth-century, is an exceptional success story, but is also instructive with regard to the opportunities open to a slave-girl in a military household. Ittifāq's starting point was inauspicious. She was a second-generation black slave who was not considered to be strikingly beautiful. She was trained in

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[33] Al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 3:920.

[34] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1977–94), 2:229.

[35] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 2:338. Following Baktimur's death, Khūbī was sold to Bashtāk for the extraordinary price of 6,000 dinars, but al-Ṣafadī noted that her jewelry and clothes were worth more than her price. Bashtāk did not treat her as kindly, and married her off to one of his mamluks.

[36] In its main features, the story bears a suspicious similarity to an anecdote concerning Zubaydah, wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd. Zubaydah was jealous of Hārūn's favorite singer. Hārūn then asked some of his wife's relatives to come and hear his new slave singer, so as to assure Zubaydah that Hārūn was only enjoying her artistic skills. As a token of apology for her unfounded jealousy, Zubaydah sent her husband ten concubines (Nabia Abbott, *Two Queens of Baghdad: Mother and Wife of Harun al-Rashid* [Chicago, 1946], 139; Leila Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate* [New Haven, 1992], 84).

the provincial town of Bilbays by the local female Head of the Singers *(ḍāminat al-maghānī)* who sold her to the *ḍāminat al-maghānī* of Cairo for the unexceptional sum of 400 dirhams. In Cairo she studied with a renowned lute player, and was then presented to the royal household of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, where she acquired fame for her wonderful voice. Moreover, the sultan's son and future successor, al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, fell in love with her and married her (the chroniclers say that he had a weakness for black slave-girls). After his deposition, she was married to his brother and heir, al-Kāmil Shaʿbān. The next sultan, al-Muẓaffar Ḥājjī, initially confiscated her property and banished her from the Citadel. Later, however, he too decided to marry her. After his death she married a civilian government official, and was eventually married off to a Marinid sultan who passed through Cairo.[37] Like a male mamluk who could hope to become sultan, a female slave of humble origins could hope to become a sultan's wife.

The possession of concubines was not restricted to the military elite, but was also rather widespread in other segments of urban society, especially in the first half of the fourteenth century. Al-Ṣafadī speaks with admiration about his friend the jurist Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad al-Zarʿī (d. 741/1342), who on Fridays would alternately frequent the slave market and the book market, thus cultivating the pleasures of both body and mind. His association with Turkish slave-girls was such that he learned to speak their language.[38] ʿAbd al-Laṭīf ibn ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Subkī (d. 788/1386), a nephew of Taqī al-Dīn, was also known to have a weakness for slave-girls. He is said to have had sex with more than one thousand.[39] In most reports on concubinage among the civilian elite, it is the sexual aspect that is emphasized.[40] The wealthier members of this class, like ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (d. 743/1342–43), kept a constant stock of concubines; he had four slaves who bore him children and acquired the status of *ummahāt awlād*, as well as six transient concubines, whom he would exchange in the slave market every now and then.[41]

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[37] Ittifāq has already attracted the attention of Robert Irwin, who described her as "the Lola Montez of her age" (*The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate, 1250–1382* [London, 1986]), 130, 133). See also ʿAbd al-Rāziq, *La femme,* 285, and the sources cited there.

[38] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 1:45; literally, al-Ṣafadī says that his friend combined the pleasure of the pearl with that of the stars *(al-durr wa-al-darārī)*.

[39] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr* (Beirut, 1967–75), 2:239.

[40] Shihāb al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Salām Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn (d. ca. 631/1234), a Syrian bureaucrat and jurist, had more than twenty concubines. We are told that "his limbs dried up from excessive sexual intercourse" (Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān* [Hyderabad, 1951–52], 8:692). Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd, chief Shafiʿi qadi at the end of the thirteenth century, was also known to be fond of slave concubines (al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 4:582).

[41] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 2:726.

Many of these slave concubines would have been of Muslim origin. In a query sent to Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, an anonymous questioner expressed doubts about the legality of purchasing concubines. He states that "in our days, everyone, including the scholars and the virtuous, take slave-girls as concubines." But these men are committing a crime, for "they all know with certitude that these slave-girls must have been Muslims in their countries of origin." Al-Subkī's answer was informed by his perception of social realities. First, he noted that sale of Muslim slave-girls is legal as long as there is even the slightest possibility of them being the descendants of slaves, Muslim or non-Muslim. (In Islamic law, a freeborn Muslim could not be enslaved, but servile status is passed on in inheritance.) But his final and most decisive argument is based on the interests of the slave-girl herself. It is she who needs maintenance and protection, and if we do not allow her to be enslaved and sold, she would starve.[42] Whether many female slaves, if any, subscribed to this view, we do not know.

It should also be emphasized that not all slave-girls were concubines. In fact, concubines must have formed only a minority among the thousands of slave-girls that were sold on the markets of Cairo and Damascus. Many slave-girls served as personal attendants to female mistresses.[43] Others were employed as domestics. Al-Sakhāwī devoted a short biographical entry to Abrak al-Sinīn, his domestic servant, from her purchase in 872/1467–68 until her death in 893/1488.[44] Some were skilled professionals. Among the hundreds of slave-girls in the possession of Fahkr al-Dīn Mājid Ibn Khaṣīb (d. 762/1360), two were famous chefs.[45] The slave-girls destined for sexual services were easily distinguishable from the rest. Unlike other slave-girls, custom required that concubines should be veiled when they appeared in public; and while most slave-girls were probably black, a disproportionate number of concubines were of Turkish origins.[46]

[42] Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Kitāb al-Fatāwá* (Cairo, 1937), 2:281–85.

[43] In 1483, Felix Fabri met in Gaza a couple of aristocratic Turkish ladies, each accompanied by an Ethiopian female attendant (*The Wanderings of Felix Fabri,* trans. Aubrey Stewart, The Library of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, vols. 7–10 [London, 1897], 9:444). The role of slave-girls as attendants is also evident in the Cairo Geniza. See S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Geniza* (Berkeley, 1967–93), 1:130–47.

[44] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 12:5 (no. 24).

[45] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1934–72), 3:59. In 661/1263, Baybars sent two female chefs as a gift to Berke Khan of the Golden Horde (al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān: ʿAṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn [Cairo, 1987–], 1:362; cited by ʿAbd al-Rāziq, *La femme,* 55).

[46] Ibn Taymīyah explains that, due to the corruption of society, one cannot allow beautiful Turkish slave-girls to go around unveiled (*Fatāwá al-Nisā' lil-Shaykh al-Imām Aḥmad Ibn Taymīyah,* ed.

DECLINE OF FEMALE SLAVERY?

In contrast to the first half of the fourteenth century, when the supply of slave-girls to Near Eastern cities appears to have reached a peak, the number of concubines in military households steadily decreased in the fifteenth century. By the end of the Mamluk period no one—not even the sultans—kept concubines in numbers that were even close to those mentioned for the early fourteenth century. In a study of Syrian amirs' endowment deeds from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Michael Winter found no one who had more than one *umm walad*. Again, some of the amirs' wives were their former slave-girls.[47] The royal household underwent a dramatic shift in the latter half of the fifteenth century. Sultan Īnāl (r. 1453–61) had no concubines at all, or at least none that bore him children.[48] Qāytbāy did not have any concubines until the last years of his life. He started to take concubines when he faced a problem that no former Mamluk sultan had ever encountered: as a direct result of his marital policy, Qāytbāy found himself with no surviving children.[49]

As far as we can rely on our sources for demographic trends, there is good reason to believe that the supply of slave-girls was severely affected by the recurrences of the Black Death from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards. Al-Maqrīzī cites the records of the Bureau of Escheat for the Plague outbreak in Cairo in 822/1419, which show that slave-girls were hit more severely than any other group except children. According to the numbers cited by al-Maqrīzī, 1,369 female slaves died in Cairo during the three months of the Plague, compared with 544 male slaves; taken together, more slaves died in Cairo during this period than free adult Muslims.[50] While these numbers again indicate that female slaves were far more common than male slaves, they also affirm Ayalon's point that slaves, like all foreigners, were more vulnerable to the Plague than the native population.[51]

Aḥmad al-Sāʾiḥ [Cairo, 1988], 79). See also Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Iʿlām al-Muwaqqiʿīn ʿan Rabb al-ʿĀlamīn,* ed. Ṭāhā ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Saʿd (Beirut, 1964), 2:80.

47 Michael Winter, "Mamluks and Their Households in Late Mamluk Damascus: A *Waqf* Study," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and History,* ed. Levanoni and Winter, 297–316.

48 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 2:368, 3:156; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 12:44 (no. 261).

49 The last of Qāytbāy's children from his wife Fāṭimah died in 873/1469 (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. William Popper [Berkeley, 1932], 8:705).

50 According to al-Maqrīzī, 1,734 free adult Muslims died in the three months of the Plague (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:492; cited by Michael Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* [Princeton, 1977], 178).

51 David Ayalon, "The Plague and Its Effects upon the Mamluk Army," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1946): 67–73; Dols, *The Black Death,* 185–89. For similar conclusions about the effects of the Plague on the supply of slaves in the Eastern Mediterranean, see Kate Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade in the Early Ottoman State: The Merchants of Genoa and Turkey* (Cambridge, 1999),

There are some indications of a shortage of female slaves, although these are inconclusive. The musical bands of slave-girls, a status symbol for fourteenth-century military households, disappeared. Ibn Taghrībirdī, writing in the latter half of the fifteenth century, had to explain to his readers that musical bands of slave-girls existed in the previous century.[52] In the late fifteenth century one encounters musical bands composed of Arab—that is, freeborn—singers.[53] In fact, from the second half of the fourteenth century, campaigns against rebellious Bedouin tribes often ended with the enslavement of their womenfolk and children.[54] This practice was condemned by scholars, but most probably allowed to go on because of the demands of the slave markets. White, or Turkish, female slaves became especially dear. The wars with the Ottomans may have resulted in a real shortage of non-African slaves in the last decades of the century.[55] When Burhān al-Dīn Ibn Abī Sharīf, a native of Jerusalem, came to Damascus in 904/1498–99, he had to make do with a black slave-girl.[56]

The prices of slave-girls appear to have been fairly stable, except for a possible rise at the end of the fifteenth century. The Ḥaram documents show that at the end of the fourteenth century one could still buy an Ethiopian female slave for a mere 300 dirhams (about 12 dinars), while the highest price mentioned is 550 dirhams (about 22 dinars).[57] These prices are slightly lower than those quoted for the first half of the century.[58] The evidence for the fifteenth century is too scanty

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[52] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 11:380.

[53] Al-Sakhāwī says that during the 1470s, the amir Yashbak min Mahdī tried to prevent provincial governors from hiring bands *(ajwāq)* of Bedouin singers (*Ḍaw',* 10:272).

[54] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:673 (a campaign by the governor of Gaza, 750/1349); al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:396 (campaign in Upper Egypt, 820/1417); Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 3:240 (campaign in Upper Egypt, 892/1487). On peasant families in Upper Egypt selling their children into slavery during the famine of 1402–4, see Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1517* (Cambridge, 2000), 168. See also ʿAbd al-Rāziq, *La femme,* 50, for Arab female slaves sold in Cairo in 923/1516.

[55] The Ottomans imposed an embargo on the traffic in slaves during the war of 1485–91 (Shai Har-El, *Struggle for Domination in the Middle East: The Ottoman-Mamluk War, 1485–91* [Leiden, 1995], 198; cites Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 3:206).

[56] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-Khilān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān* (Cairo, 1962–64), 1:212.

[57] Donald Little, "Two Fourteenth-Century Court Records from Jerusalem Concerning the Disposition of Slaves by Minors," *Arabica* 29 (1982): 16–49; idem, "Six Fourteenth-Century Purchase Deeds for Slaves from al-Ḥaram Aš-Šarīf," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 131 (1981): 297–337. All these records refer to African slave-girls.

[58] A female slave-girl, who was the concubine of a murder victim, was sold in 730/1330 for 800 dirhams (40 dinars) (al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 3:287). As noted above, Ittifāq was sold to the Head of the Singers in Cairo for 400 dirhams (20 dinars). In two Geniza documents dating from the early Mamluk period, the prices mentioned for an African slave-girl are 260 dirhams *nuqrah* (20 dinars)

to allow definitive conclusions.[59] Al-Zawāwī, a Maghribi mystic visiting Cairo, of whom more is said below, agreed to buy a Turkish slave-girl, supposedly a virgin, for 85 dinars. [60] Von Harff, as late as 1497, states that male and female Christian slaves are sold for 15 to 30 ducats.[61] Around the same time, a price of almost 40 dinars is mentioned in a question put to a jurist.[62] All in all, and in view of the prices paid for slaves in fifteenth-century Italian and Anatolian cities, it is likely that prices in Egypt and Syria had gone up.[63]

Fifteenth-century literary sources indicate that men of modest background kept a concubine as a *substitute* for a wife. ʿAlī al-Manūfī (d. 896/1491), for example, a poor tailor and mosque attendant, had three children from a slave.[64] ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ḥasanī (d. 870/1465), a mathematician of apparently modest income, never married but took a slave as a concubine.[65] The dream diaries of the fifteenth-century Maghribi mystic Al-Zawāwī reveal his preference for a concubine over a wife. When al-Zawāwī considers the prospect of marriage, the Prophet tells him in his dream that in marriage he would become a slave to his bride. The Prophet later suggested that al-Zawāwī should purchase an Ethiopian slave-girl, because the Ethiopians tend to be kinder and better companions, but al-Zawāwī was fixed on a Turkish slave, reputedly better at child-bearing, and a marker of status. When he finally made up his mind, he found an opportunity to purchase a pretty Turkish slave, who was allegedly a virgin, for an exorbitant price of 85 dinars. As is common in al-Zawāwī's diary, his long dithering came to nothing, and the sale never went through.[66]

In the fifteenth century, the attitude towards concubines had also changed, and they were—like wives—respected more for their skills and piety than for

and 25 dinars (Eliyahu Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* [Berkeley, 1976], 360–61; ʿAbd al-Rāziq, *La femme,* 49).

[59] Ashtor's assertion that there was no increase in the price of male and female slaves, apart from military slaves, seems to be based on very thin evidence (Ashtor, *Social and Economic History,* 361).

[60] Jonathan G. Katz, *Dreams, Sufism, and Sainthood: The Visionary Career of Muhammad al-Zawâwî* (Leiden, 1996), 119.

[61] Arnold von Harff, *The Pilgrimage of the Knight Arnold von Harff,* trans. M. Letts (London, 1946), 79.

[62] Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī, *Al-Iʿlām wa-al-Ihtimām bi-Jamʿ Fatāwá Shaykh al-Islām Abī Yaḥyá Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī,* ed. Aḥmad ʿUbayd (Beirut, 1984), 124.

[63] See Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade,* 39–45, 147–49; Halil İnalcık, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914* (Cambridge, 1994), 1:284; Ashtor, *Social and Economic History,* 498–504.

[64] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 6:48 (no. 131).

[65] Ibid., 5:243.

[66] Katz, *Dreams,* 117–20.

their looks and voice. Al-Maqrīzī went to buy a concubine when he was single. He ended up purchasing a fifteen-year-old slave-girl who had been brought up in the royal household. Al-Maqrīzī taught the girl, whom he named Sūl, to read and write and even to compose poetry. Apparently, she never bore him children. He later freed her, and she traveled to Mecca where she died at the age of forty.[67] Another striking example of this change in attitude towards concubines is the biography of Bulbul (Nightingale), a slave-girl of the Damascene scholar Yūsuf Ibn al-Mibrad. Her biography is known to us from a short work Ibn al-Mibrad composed in her memory, entitled *Laqaṭ al-Sunbul fī Akhbār al-Bulbul* (Gleanings from the life of the nightingale).[68] Ibn al-Mibrad depicts Bulbul as a virtuous, modest, and learned woman. Even when Ibn al-Mibrad's brother personally invited her to his wedding, she refused to go, claiming that she swore never to leave the house. She refused to wear an expensive *sinjāb* fur that Ibn al-Mibrad bought her as a gift, citing her master's own legal opinions against the use of this material.[69] We know that Ibn al-Mibrad often read for her, as her name appears on most of his surviving autograph manuscripts.[70] She died in 883/1479, after spending ten years with Ibn al-Mibrad and bearing him a boy and a girl.

If Shajar al-Durr or Ittifāq, singer and royal concubine of three sultans, are emblematic of successful slave-girls in the earlier period, Bulbul's biography projects very different attitudes. The ideal slave-girl was no more the beautiful and witty courtesan, but rather the pious and industrious housewife.

Women and the Economy

In his biography of his slave-girl Bulbul, Ibn al-Mibrad notes that her last act of charity was to leave a bequest for the poor, the money coming from the profits she gained as a spinner. By working as a spinner and spending her earnings as she saw fit, Bulbul resembled many free women in Mamluk urban society, who worked for wages regardless of their marital status. Medieval sources, written by and for men, do not pay adequate attention to the economic activities of women, and often leave us with a distorted image—not only of women's financial independence, but of the functioning of the economy as a whole. This was partly because the contributions of women were often carried out within exclusively female economic spheres. In the framework of a heavily gendered economy, the

[67] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw᾽,* 12:66 (no. 404).

[68] Included in Ibn al-Mibrad, *Akhbār al-Nisā᾽ al-Musammá al-Rusá lil-Ṣāliḥāt min al-Nisā᾽,* ed. Māhir Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir (Homs, 1993), 17 ff.

[69] On the legal debate over this squirrel fur, see Elizabeth M. Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: Biography and Background* (Cambridge, 1975), 1:202, n. 11; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw᾽,* 8:97 (no. 197).

[70] See the remarks by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Sulaymān al-ʿUthaymīn in his introduction to Ibn al-Mibrad*, Al-Jawhar al-Munaḍḍad fī Ṭabaqāt Muta᾽akhkhirī Aṣḥāb Aḥmad* (Cairo, 1987), 37.

boundary between economic roles was quite rigid: artisan women spun, artisan men wove; rich daughters received trousseaux, while the sons of the elite acquired positions in public institutions. As the circumstances of elite women were very different from those of women of the lower classes, the following survey will treat the two groups separately.

ELITE WOMEN, LAND, AND TROUSSEAUX[71]

In contrast to the preceding Ayyubid period, Mamluk political institutions were distinguished by the exclusion of elite women from landed revenue. Female members of the Ayyubid family received hereditary appanages as late as the middle of the thirteenth century,[72] and Ayyubid women's unusual prominence among patrons of public institutions was a tangible result of this direct access to landed property.[73] During the second half of the thirteenth century, however, the Mamluk sultans confiscated or bought much of the privately owned land and then distributed it as *iqṭāʿ*. As revenue from land was increasingly tied to military service, elite women were marginalized. The career of Khātūn, daughter of the Ayyubid ruler of Damascus al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsá, illustrates the way Ayyubid women were stripped of their landed assets.[74] In 685/1286, when Khātūn was in her seventies, officials in the Syrian administration went to court and claimed that she had been in a state of mental incompetence *(sifh)* when she sold her lands in several villages near Damascus thirty years earlier. The proofs brought by the state's representatives were accepted, Khātūn was deemed to be unqualified to dispose of her property, and the sale was retroactively invalidated.

As more and more land was alienated in favor of the state, and as the economic activity of elite women was subject to increasing controls, the number of public institutions founded by women fell dramatically. Against the twenty-six religious and charitable institutions women established during less than a century of Ayyubid rule in Damascus, only four were founded in the following century. In Cairo the womenfolk of the royal court had more of a chance to contribute to the city's landscape, especially in the days of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Urdutekin

[71] See also Rapoport, *Marriage, Money and Divorce,* 12–30.

[72] R. S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1977), 371–5, 415; H. Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt, AH 564–741/1169–1341* (Oxford University Press, 1972), 42–3.

[73] R. Stephen Humphreys, "Women as Patrons of Religious Architecture in Ayyubid Damascus," *Muqarnas* 11 (1994): 35–54. See also Yasser Tabbaa, "Ḍayfa Khātūn, Regent Queen and Architectural Patron," in *Women, Patronage and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies,* ed. D. Fairchild Ruggles (Albany, 2000).

[74] Jacqueline Sublet, "La folie de la princesse Bint al-Ašraf (un scandale financier sous les mamelouks bahris)," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 27 (1974): 45–50.

bint Nogāy, the Mongol wife of the sultan, funded the establishment of a tomb for her son by endowing tenement houses, a covered market, two bathhouses, and agricultural land.[75] Sitt Ḥadaq, a slave and wet-nurse who became the senior governess in al-Nāṣir's court, established a mosque that has survived to our day.[76] Overall, however, women's representation among the patrons of public buildings in Cairo remained low.

While elite women were excluded from control over land, they still had a claim to a share in their parents' wealth, mainly in the form of trousseaux, "personal items," or heirlooms. These trousseaux (or dowries) functioned as a form of pre-mortem inheritance reserved exclusively for daughters, through a devolutionist mechanism.[77] The trousseau was primarily a transaction between parents and daughters, not between bride and groom. Once it was donated by the bride's parents, it remained under the woman's exclusive ownership and control throughout marriage, and then again through widowhood and divorce. The absolute separation of property between husbands and wives, enshrined by Islamic law, meant that husbands had no formal right over their wives' trousseaux. The high value of these trousseaux is evident from the beginning of the fourteenth century, and should not be underestimated; for many elite women large trousseaux did mean financial security, and in some cases it was the husband who depended on his wife's trousseau rather than the other way around.[78]

A series of Ḥaram documents provides a very explicit illustration of workings of the devolutionist model in Mamluk society. When Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī, a wealthy merchant from Jerusalem, became terminally ill in 788/1386, he acknowledged a gift of 10,000 dirhams to his adolescent son, Muḥammad. At the same time, Nāṣir al-Dīn also acknowledged that he had endowed his daughter Fāṭimah with a trousseau, also in the value of 10,000 dirhams. Nāṣir al-Dīn noted that the money was spent on personal effects, as is the custom in trousseaux *(dhālika ḥawāʾij ʿalá ʿādat al-jihāz)*. Fāṭimah received her dowry in the form of a trousseau—"personal effects," such as copper utensils, furniture, and clothing.

[75] Howyda al-Harithy, "Female Patronage of Mamluk Architecture in Cairo," *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 1 (1994): 157–59.

[76] Caroline Williams, "The Mosque of Sitt Ḥadaq," *Muqarnas* 11 (1994): 55–64; ʿAbd al-Rāziq, "Trois fondations féminines dans l'Égypte mamelouke," *Revue d'études islamiques* 41 (1973): 97–126.

[77] J. Goody, "Bridewealth and Dowry in Africa and Euroasia," in *Bridewealth and Dowry,* ed. Goody and Tambiah (Cambridge, 1973). See also M. Botticini and Aloysius Siow, "Why Dowries?" *American Economic Review* 93, no. 4 (2003): 1385–98.

[78] Fāyizah al-Wakīl, *Al-Shiwār: Jihāz al-ʿArūs fī Miṣr fī ʿAṣr al-Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk* (Cairo, 2001); see review by Vanessa de Gifis, *MSR* 7, no. 2 (2003): 247–250. For a list of royal trousseaux see ʿAbd al-Rāziq, *La femme,* 150–51.

But the value of her trousseau, or dowry, was exactly equal to the cash gift given to her brother.[79]

Trousseaux and grants of *iqṭāʿ* were also seen as two complementary gender-specific mechanisms of transmitting property, as is seen in the following anecdote regarding the re-distribution of *iqṭāʿ* following the outbreak of the Plague. Faced with high mortality rates among the *iqṭāʿ* holders, the vice-regent of Egypt handed over the *iqṭāʿ* of deceased soldiers to one of their surviving sons. When a soldier's widow prostrated before the vice-regent and told him that her husband left her with only two daughters, the vice-regent sold the deceased soldier's *iqṭāʿ* to another officer for 12,000 dirhams. He then gave the money to the widow, telling her to use it to provide trousseaux for her two daughters.[80]

This pattern of dividing the patrimony along gender lines between daughters and sons was common among Mamluk military and religious urban elites. Giving a trousseau to a daughter was one side of the coin, for at the same time daughters were not allowed to inherit other parts of a family's patrimony, reserved exclusively for sons. Male members of the military elite had a right to hold an *iqṭāʿ* in return for their services. Among the religious elite, sons had a similar right to inherit office from their fathers.[81] The many examples of *nuzūl,* or "handing down," of offices from fathers to sons that are found in the Mamluk sources demonstrate the gender-specific mechanism of inheritance among the elite. While the trousseau was, by definition, reserved exclusively for daughters, the right to hold office was fundamentally the prerogative of sons.

In the second half of the fourteenth century, however, the link between service and control of land began to loosen, and towards the end of the fifteenth century women appear again as major landholders. First, the Plague caused an inheritance windfall effect, benefiting those daughters of military and civilian elite households who survived. A treatise written in Damascus immediately following the first outbreak reveals an anxiety about the sudden surge in wealthy young heiresses.[82] The following decades saw a revival in female patronage of religious buildings, part of a general spate of building activity.[83] In Jerusalem, after a long

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[79] Some of the documents were published by Kāmil al-ʿAṣalī, *Wathāʾiq Maqdisīyah Tārīkhīyah* (Amman, 1983–85), 2:83 (no. 25), 120 (no. 44); Little, *Catalogue,* 309. For an assessment of the documents relating to Nāṣir al-Dīn and his financial affairs, see ibid., 18; idem, "Six Fourteenth-Century Purchase Deeds."

[80] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 2:86.

[81] Al-Subkī, *Fatāwá,* 2:224. See also the discussion in Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice,* 94 ff.

[82] Al-Ṭarsūsī, *Kitāb Tuḥfat al-Turk,* ed. M. Minasri (Damascus, 1997), 20.

[83] Dols, *The Black Death,* 270; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Patterns of Urban Patronage in Cairo: A Comparison between the Mamluk and the Ottoman Periods," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics*

hiatus, women established at least three madrasahs.[84] In Cairo, female members of the military elite founded as many religious institutions in two decades as they had in the preceding century. These include Madrasat Umm al-Sulṭān, the most remarkable achievement of female patronage in Mamluk Cairo, established by the concubine mother of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān in 770/1368.[85]

A more long-term development was the re-entry of elite women into the land market. By and large, women were still excluded from holding official positions and collecting the tax revenues that came with them (although even this happened towards the end of the fifteenth century, when a widow of a Sufi shaykh was elected to head his *zāwiyah*).[86] Yet, the share of agricultural surplus that was channeled to these positions was gradually decreasing. More and more land was alienated to support endowments that were for the most part private or familial, although charitable in appearance.[87] The rapid growth of family endowment at the expense of *iqṭāʿ* allowed elite women greater access to landed revenue; they could—and did—become beneficiaries, administrators, and founders.

As beneficiaries, women profited from the establishment of endowments more often than not. Although many of the endowment deeds preserved in the legal literature explicitly state that males should receive twice the share of females,[88] some family endowments were intentionally designed to circumvent the Islamic inheritance law in order to improve the lot of daughters. Michael Winter concluded, based on a sample of preserved endowment deeds from late fifteenth-century Damascus, that the portions of what women obtained as beneficiaries are explicitly higher than what they would have received by the Quranic laws of inheritance. The reverse did occur, but is considerably rarer.[89]

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and Society, ed. Phillip and Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 229.

84 See Mujīr al-Dīn al-ʿUlaymī, *Al-Uns al-Jalīl fī Tārīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl* (Najaf, 1969), 2:36, 43. The endowment deed for the al-Bārūdīyah madrasah, established by Sufrā Khātūn bint Sharaf al-Dīn al-Bārūdī in 768/1367, has survived (Ḥaram no. 76; discussed in Little, "The Haram Documents as Sources for the Arts and Architecture of the Mamluk Period," *Muqarnas* 2 [1984]: 69).

85 ʿAbd al-Rāziq, *La femme,* 22–23; al-Harithy, "Female Patronage," 161–67.

86 Berkey, "Women and Islamic Education," 145. On the unusual appointment of a widow as shaykhah, see Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:233.

87 See Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimāʿīyah fī Miṣr, 648–923 H./1250–1517 M.* (Cairo, 1980); Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?* 190–219; J.-C. Garcin and M. A. Taher, "Enquête sur le financement d'un *waqf* Égyptien du XVe siècle: Les comptes de Jawhār Lālā," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 38 (1995): 262–304.

88 For examples of endowment deeds in which males receive twice the share of daughters, see al-Subkī, *Fatāwá,* 1:475, 484, 494, 500, 501, 511, 517; 2:9, 10, 29, 40, 50, 50, 72, 167, 168, 177, 183, 187; al-Anṣārī, *Al-Iʿlām,* 164, 165, 167, 168, 171, 175, 182, 185, 187, 189, 191.

89 Winter, "Mamluks and Their Households," 297–316. For similar conclusions regarding endowment deeds in contemporary North Africa, see D. Powers, "The Mālikī Family Endowment:

By the latter half of the fifteenth century, elite women were often nominated as administrators of their families' endowments. It is possible to identify thirty-eight individual women who served as administrators of family endowments in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Cairo, representing one-fifth of the total number of known administrators.[90] One leading example is Shaqrāʾ, daughter of the former sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj, who brought a lawsuit against an amir who refused to pay the rent on agricultural lands he had leased from her.[91] The same Shaqrāʾ also contested the control of the family's endowment with her sister's daughter Āsīyah.[92] There are many more examples from the late Mamluk period, clearly demonstrating that women were now trusted to manage family property. It should be emphasized that this phenomenon was not limited to the military elite, and therefore should not be seen as a response to political instability. It was rather a result of the general disassociation of landed revenue and service to the state, which meant that elite women were much more on an equal footing with regard to management of agricultural estates.

Fifteenth-century elite women were not only beneficiaries and administrators of endowments, but also a sizeable minority among the founders. Carl Petry has highlighted the economic career of the lifelong wife of Sultan Qāytbāy, Fāṭimah bint ʿAlī Ibn Khāṣṣbak (d. 909/1504). Fāṭimah started acquiring real estate in 878/1473, when she bought ten units of urban property and six agricultural tracts located in the Delta provinces of al-Gharbīyah, al-Sharqīyah, and al-Qalyūbīyah. According to the purchase deed, all of the six units had originally been held in the Army Bureau for distribution as *iqṭāʿ*. In the next thirty years Fāṭimah constantly bought urban and rural real estate, and continued to invest at the same rate even after the death of her husband—a clear indication that her hold over this property was real. The agricultural units formed between one third and one half of her overall investments, estimated to be several tens of thousands of dinars.[93]

Female founders of endowments appear to constitute about 15–20% of the total

Legal Norms and Social Practices," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 25 (1993): 379–406.

[90] The data was collected from Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Fihrist Wathāʾiq al-Qāhirah ḥattá Nihāyat ʿAṣr Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk* (Cairo, 1981). The name of an endowment's administrator appears routinely in the documents, mainly in connection with sale of endowed property through *istibdāl*. Carl Petry estimated that women constituted almost 30% of the endowment administrators in this period ("Class Solidarity," 133).

[91] Petry, "Class Solidarity," 130; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿAṣr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970), 471.

[92] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 3:79.

[93] Petry, "The Estate of al-Khuwand Faṭima al-Khāṣṣbakiyya."

number of known founders in fifteenth-century Cairo.[94] As opposed to the grand institutions built following the first outbreak of the Plague, fifteenth-century elite women endowed relatively small family tombs and neighborhood mosques, of which little survived.[95] While married couples established only a small proportion of fifteenth-century endowments,[96] their mere existence demonstrates the changes that had occurred in the gender division of property among the elite. In contrast to the early Mamluk period, the lines dividing "male" and "female" types of property had become sufficiently blurred during the fifteenth century as to allow some husbands and wives to merge their assets into one marital fund.

Artisan Women[97]

The contribution of women to the urban economy has been largely marginalized by medieval and modern scholars. Most studies to date note the role of women in providing a limited range of gender-specific services.[98] We often read about women who performed services directly related to female life, such as midwives,[99] hairdressers,[100] washers of the dead,[101] and female attendants in baths and hospitals.[102] Female and male barbers performed a variety of services, like bloodletting, cleansing and whitening teeth, or removing excessive hair, mainly for women.[103] Some of these professions were considered quite profitable, and there is evidence that midwives and hairdressers were paid generously.[104] Free

[94] For a statistical analysis of late Mamluk endowment deeds preserved in Dār al-Wathā'iq in Cairo, see S. Denoix, "Pour une exploitation d'ensemble d'un corpus: Les Waqf mamelouks du Caire," in *Le Waqf dans l'espace islamique: outil de pouvoir socio-politique,* ed. R. Deguilhem (Damascus, 1995), 29–44.

[95] Al-Harithy, "Female Patronage," 159.

[96] See Amīn, *Fihrist,* nos. 163, 194, 247, 254, 389, 403–5, 428, 525, 526, 527, 529, 557, 560, 561.

[97] See also Rapoport, *Marriage, Money and Divorce,* 32–38.

[98] Goitein, *Mediterranean Society,* 1:127–30; Maya Shatzmiller, *Labour in the Medieval Islamic World* (Leiden, 1994), 347–68.

[99] Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Al-Madkhal,* 3:290; anonymous ninth/fifteenth-century Shafiʿi treatise on marriage, Chester Beatty MS 4665, fols. 28a–29b. See also ʿAbd al-Rāziq, *La femme,* 62, 83.

[100] ʿAbd al-Rāziq, *La femme,* 82, and the sources cited there.

[101] Ibid., 81; Lutfi, "Manners," 106; Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Al-Madkhal,* 2:172, 3:246; Ibn al-Ukhūwah, *Maʿālim al-Qurbah fī Aḥkām al-Ḥisbah,* ed. R. Levy (Cambridge, 1938), 101–2.

[102] Female orderlies *(farrāshāt)* were employed in the hospital of Qalāwūn in the beginning of the fourteenth century (Sabra, *Poverty,* 76). On bath-attendants, see ʿAbd al-Rāziq, *La femme,* 44.

[103] Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Al-Madkhal,* 4:105–7; ʿAbd al-Rāziq, *La femme,* 75, and the sources cited there.

[104] On the career of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's midwife, see al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 3:701. In one case, we are told that a hairdresser employed a slave-girl as her assistant (ibid., 3:939; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:521).

women who provided non-skilled services, such as wet-nurses, had to compete with the unsalaried services of slave-girls.[105] Unlike later Ottoman households, there existed no class of salaried, free, domestic servants.[106] Prostitutes, who are frequently mentioned in Mamluk sources but not yet sufficiently studied, appear to have also been mostly recruited from the ranks of slaves brought to Mamluk cities. Ibn Dāniyāl's description of a Cairene procuress has been frequently translated and cited, and justly so, as it projects a very vivid image of the profession.[107]

Far less, however, has been written on the vast majority of women who worked in the production of textiles, traditionally "the main field of female remunerative occupation."[108] Spinning and embroidery were the female professions par excellence, as demonstrated in an anecdote told by the historian Ibn Kathīr. During a visit to Baalbek in 754/1353–54, Ibn Kathīr met a hermaphrodite who was brought up as a girl until the age of fifteen. Then a tiny penis appeared, and the local governor gave orders to celebrate the transformation of the girl into a man by bestowing upon him a military uniform. The young soldier boasted before Ibn Kathīr that he was "skilled in all the professions of women, including spinning, decorating with *ṭirāz* bands, and embroidery with gold and silver threads *(zarkāsh)*."[109] Girls were taught spinning and embroidery at a young age. Al-Jazarī mourns with sadness and pride two of his young nieces, who were not only beautiful and pious, but also excelled in the arts of embroidery and sewing.[110]

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[105] For a comprehensive study of wet-nurses in medieval Islam, see Avner Giladi, *Infants, Parents and Wet Nurses: Medieval Islamic Views on Breastfeeding and Their Social Implications* (Leiden, 1999). See also ʿAbd al-Rāziq, *La femme,* 83–85; Maya Shatzmiller, "Women and Wage Labour in the Medieval Islamic West," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 40 (1997): 183–88.

[106] See the important contribution by Madeline Zilfi, "Servants, Slaves and the Domestic Order in the Ottoman Middle East," *Hawwa* 2, no. 1 (2004): 1–33.

[107] On prostitutes, see ʿAbd al-Rāziq, *La femme,* 45 ff. For Ibn Dāniyāl and his representation of the archetypical procuress, see Ibn Dāniyāl, *Kitāb Ṭayf al-Khayāl,* ed. Paul Kahle, with a critical apparatus by D. Hopwood (Cambridge, 1992), 22ff; Paul Kahle, "A Gypsy Woman in Egypt in the Thirteenth Century A.D.," *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* 29 (1950): 11–15; Francesca M. Corrao, "Women Stories in the Mamluk Age: Loves and Struggles to Survive," in *Proceedings of the Arabic and Islamic Sections of the 35th International Congress of Asian and North African Studies (ICANAS),* ed. A. Fodor (Budapest, 1999), pt. 2, 101–10; Amila Buturović, "The Shadow Play in Mamluk Egypt," *MSR* 7, [no. 1] (2003): 169–71. See also Ibn Baydakīn al-Turkumānī, *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ fī al-Ḥawādith wa-al-Bidaʿ,* ed. Ṣubḥī Labīb (Wiesbaden, 1986), 163.

[108] Goitein, *Mediterranean Society,* 1:128. See also Shatzmiller, *Labour,* 352.

[109] Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* ed. Aḥmad Abū Mulḥim et al. (Beirut, 1994), 14:198. On the social reaction to hermaphrodites see Tamer al-Leithy, "Of bodies chang'd to various forms."

[110] The two sisters followed each other to the grave in 737/1336–37 (al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 3:976, 980).

While most women spun at home, they did have to go out of the house to buy raw material and sell the finished product. Women congregated in front of the cotton and flax traders' shops, waiting for the carding process to be finished, and later sold the threads directly to the yarn trader, who weighed the finished product.[111] Alternatively, women brought their yarn to mosques, where they negotiated the prices with a male broker acting as their agent. The need of working women to go out was recognized by contemporary jurists. Widows and divorcées in their waiting period retained the right to leave their homes during the day in order to purchase raw material or sell the finished threads. At night these women were also allowed to go to neighbors' houses to spin together and chat.[112]

The Ḥaram documents, as studied by Huda Lutfi, are a rare indication of the extent of working women's contribution to the textile economy. While scribes identified nearly all men by their profession, they did so for only six women (about two percent), including two female water-carriers and one bath-attendant. The small ratio of women carrying occupational titles, however, is more an indication of cultural attitudes than an indication of the actual contribution of women to the workforce.[113] Lutfi tackled the problem of identifying women's occupations by examining ownership of tools, raw materials, or commercial quantities of finished products at the time of death. Even this categorization tends to underestimate female participation in the workforce, since women and men on their deathbed tended to pass on some of their possessions to relatives and friends.

Lutfi's survey shows that a large proportion of all women, maybe even the majority, were employed in the textile industry. Spinning tools, or remnants of crude or spun cotton and flax, were found in the estate inventories of 82 women, about 30 percent of all women. Some of these women owned spindles *(mirdan* or *mighzalah),* but the most frequently mentioned spinning tool was the spinning wheel (*dūlāb ghazl* or *rikkah*). This is a rare indication of the use of spinning wheels in the Mamluk period. It also shows the importance of spinning to poor

[111] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Naṣr al-Shayzarī, *Nihāyat al-Rutbah fī Ṭalab al-Ḥisbah,* ed. al-Sayyid al-Bāz al-ʿArīnī (Cairo, 1946), 69, 70; Ibn al-Ukhūwah, *Maʿālim al-Qurbah,* 225. Ibn al-Ukhūwah notes that spindle makers and flax traders have dealings mainly with women (*Maʿālim al-Qurbah,* 279).

[112] ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad al-Rāfiʿī, *Al-ʿAzīz Sharḥ al-Wajīz,* ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad Muʿawwaḍ and ʿĀdil Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Mawjūd (Beirut, 1997), 9:510; al-Subkī, *Fatāwá,* 2:314–20. According to the established doctrine, the permission is only granted to single women who are not entitled to marital support.

[113] The small ratio of women identified by profession is comparable with the evidence from the comprehensive Florentine Catasto of 1427. The Catasto, a census of both rural and urban population, lists about 7,000 female-headed households. But only 270 of these women carry a professional title of any sort, mainly domestic servants, religious women, or beggars (D. Herlihy, *Opera Muliebri: Women and Work in Medieval Europe* [New York, 1990], 158–62). See also, for the Ottoman period, Zilfi, "Servants, Slaves and the Domestic Order."

women, as the purchase of a spinning wheel appears to have been a substantial investment. According to a record of the sale of one poor woman's chattels, a spinning wheel, together with small quantities of wheat, cotton, and yarn, fetched 20 dirhams. All her other assets put together, that is her utensils and clothes, were sold for a similar amount.[114]

The Ḥaram documents suggest that the great majority of women worked for wages. Rather than being on the margins of the urban economy, women formed the majority of the textile industry's workforce, supplying most of the unskilled labor at the early stages of production. In the Ḥaram documents we find more than three female spinners for every male weaver, and this is most probably an underestimate. In the contemporary European textile industry, which was at a comparable technological level, one weaver required up to fifteen spinners to supply him with threads.[115]

All in all, Mamluk sources reveal widespread participation of women in the labor force, and a normative attitude towards women who worked to earn their living. The same is true for the Jewish community of the Geniza, where women's remunerative work became more widespread during the Mamluk period, eventually becoming the norm.[116] The explanation for the normative attitude towards female labor, among both Muslims and Jews, may be sought in the expansion and technological innovation of the contemporary textile industry. The volume of textile production significantly increased in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[117] This was also a period of technological innovation. The introduction of the draw-loom in the middle of the thirteenth century facilitated the weaving of repeat patterns, large figures, and inscriptions.[118] The introduction of Asiatic spinning wheels, which represented a limited technical improvement

[114] Lutfi, *Al-Quds,* 64–67.

[115] Claudia Opitz, "Life in the Late Middle Ages," in *A History of Women in the West,* ed. Georges Duby and Michelle Perrot (Cambridge, MA, 1992), vol. 2, *Silences of the Middle Ages,* 304. Another study puts the number of carders and spinners required to supply thread to one weaver at twenty (M. Wiesner, "Spinsters and Seamstresses: Women in Cloth and Clothing Production," in *Rewriting the Renaissance: the Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe,* ed. Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers [Chicago, 1986], 194).

[116] Goitein, *Mediterranean Society,* 3:132–35.

[117] For general summary, see Bethany J. Walker, "Rethinking Mamluk Textiles," *MSR* 4 (2000): 167–95.

[118] Ibid., 174 ff. L. Mackie, "Towards an Understanding of Mamluk Silks: National and International Considerations," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 127–46. For a reference to the use of the draw-loom in the Dār al-Ṭirāz in Alexandria in 770/1369, see Muḥammad Ibn al-Qāsim al-Nuwayrī, *Kitāb al-Ilmām bi-al-Iʿlām fīmā Jarat bihi al-Aḥkām wa-al-Umūr al-Muqḍīyah fī Waqʿat al-Iskandrīyah,* ed. A. S. Atiyya (Hyderabad, 1968–76), 6:4; cited by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Marzūq, *History of Textile Industry in Alexandria, 331 BC–1517 AD* [Alexandria, 1955], 65–67).

over the spindle, may also have contributed to an expansion in the production of textiles.[119] Since the vast majority of working women participated in the production of textiles, the expansion of the industry and the introduction of the spinning wheel may have meant working women had more opportunities to participate in the urban economy.

Marriage, Polygamy, and Divorce

Ṣadāq and Nafaqah[120]

Contrary to popular conceptions of marriage in traditional Muslim societies, and in spite of the emphasis placed in Islamic law on the gifts of the groom, Mamluk society was a dotal society, i.e., a society where the dowry, or trousseau, brought by the bride was the substantial gift at marriage.[121] The significance of these trousseaux for elite women has been discussed above. The grooms were required to pledge a marriage gift (*mahr* or *ṣadāq*), but it was much smaller than the dowry, and for the most part deferred as a security for divorcées and widows. The groom's marriage gifts were normally specified in cash, and divided into advance and deferred portions, with the advance payments almost always smaller than the deferred portion.[122] By the thirteenth century it had become common to divide the deferred portion into yearly installments. These methods of payment and others appear together in various combinations. Each marriage contract was different, and the parties to the contract were at liberty to choose the financial arrangements as they saw fit.

Of particular importance are marriage contracts, more common in the later Mamluk period, which designated a portion of the marriage gift as due debt *(ḥall)* "payable upon demand." This term is found in documents and legal literature from the second half of the thirteenth century.[123] By the middle of the fourteenth century it was standard practice in Damascus to designate part of the marriage

[119] Lutfi, *Al-Quds,* 297. A woman working with a spinning wheel appears in a thirteenth-century illustration of the *Maqāmāt* (Ahmed Y. al-Hassan and Donald R. Hill, *Islamic Technology: an Illustrated History* [Cambridge, 1986], 186). There are no references to spinning wheels in the Geniza (Goitein, *Mediterranean Society,* 1:99). Ibn al-Ukhūwah, writing in the beginning of the fourteenth century, discusses the proper manufacture of a spindle *(mirdan),* but does not refer to spinning wheels (*Maʿālim al-Qurbah,* 279).

[120] See also Rapoport, *Marriage, Money and Divorce,* 51–68.

[121] For dotal regimes in medieval Europe, see Martha Howell, *The Marriage Exchange: Property, Social Place and Gender in Cities of the Low Countries, 1300–1500* (Chicago, 1998), 197–212, and the references cited there.

[122] This was true also for Jewish marriage contracts. See Goitein, *Mediterranean Society,* 3:122.

[123] The earliest mention of the term comes from an Egyptian marriage contract dated 677/1278, where the *ṣadāq* is divided into a due portion of 100 dirhams and ten yearly installments of 40 dirhams (ʿAbd al-Rāziq, "ʿAqdā Nikāḥ").

gifts as payable upon demand.[124] This new feature of marriage contracts attracted the attention of Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭarsūsī (d. 758/1357), the chief Hanafi qadi of the city, who devoted a treatise to the interpretation of the clause. According to his view, a "payable upon demand" stipulation allows the wife to demand payment at any time during the marriage, and the qadi should send the husband to jail if he refuses to pay up.[125]

The other financial obligation of husbands was marital support, the husband's primary duty during marriage, and the way this obligation was fulfilled underwent significant change during the Mamluk period. Up to the end of the thirteenth century, husbands supported their wives by buying food in the market and, quite literally, putting bread on the table. From the beginning of the fourteenth century, however, we find some husbands paying cash allowances to their wives. The Egyptian moralist Ibn al-Ḥājj criticizes husbands who leave money with their wives in order to allow them to buy flax or water from peddlers.[126] Ibn al-Ḥājj also reports that wives often demand a small payment from their husband before going to bed with them, a payment which he calls a bed-fee.[127] Legal manuals from this period specifically approve of cash allowances as a permissible form of marital support.[128] The Italian merchant Frescobaldi, visiting Egypt in 1384, notes that spouses reach an agreement on a daily allowance for the wife's support. The amounts of this allowance vary according to social position, from three to one dirham a day, and less than that among the poor.[129] A century later, von Harff refers to cash payment of marital support as "the law of the country."[130]

By the fifteenth century, marital support had come to consist of a variety of cash payments. Formal settlements with regard to payments in lieu of clothing were registered before a qadi and were effectively an integral part of the marriage contract.[131] The annual payments for clothing could reach substantial sums. In a case from the end of the century, a husband paid for his wife's clothing by transferring

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[124] Guellil, *Damaszener Akten,* 169–70.

[125] Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭarsūsī, *Al-Fatāwá al-Ṭarsūsīyah aw Anfaʿ al-Wasāʾil ilá Taḥrīr al-Masāʾil,* ed. Muṣṭafá Muḥammad Khafājī (Cairo, 1926), 29–34.

[126] Lutfi, "Manners," 104; Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Al-Madkhal,* 4:103.

[127] Lutfi, "Manners," 107–8; Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Al-Madkhal,* 2:169.

[128] See late fourteenth-century Shafiʿi jurists such as al-ʿUthmānī, "Kifāyat al-Muftīyīn wa-al-Ḥukkām fī al-Fatāwá wa-al-Aḥkām," Chester Beatty MS 4666, fols. 49b–50a; al-Aqfahsī, "Tawqīf al-Ḥukkām ʿalá Ghawāmiḍ al-Aḥkām," Chester Beatty MS 3328, fol. 106b.

[129] Leonardo Frescobaldi, Giorgio Gucci, and Simone Sigoli, *Visit to the Holy Places of Egypt, Sinai, Palestine, and Syria in 1384*, trans. T. Bellorini and E. Hoade (Jerusalem, 1948), 49 (cited by Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'Orient médiéval* [Paris, 1969], 367).

[130] Von Harff, *Pilgrimage,* 112.

[131] Al-Anṣārī, *Al-Iʿlām,* 269. For a model document, see al-Asyūṭī , *Jawāhir al-ʿUqūd,* 2:221–22.

to her name an item of real estate.[132] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī acknowledged in his will that he still owed his wife 300 gold dinars for undelivered clothing.[133] A Jewish reference is again illuminating. Rabbi David ibn Zekharya, writing in the early sixteenth century, notes that Jewish wives in Egypt and Palestine ask their husbands for cash instead of clothing, and thus make small savings. The women then buy second-hand clothes, or otherwise clothes of lesser value, and invest the remaining sum in interest-bearing loans.[134]

The spread of cash payments and allowances amounted to a significant monetization and formalization of marriage, which was characteristic of fifteenth-century marriages. A fifteenth-century husband would have usually owed his wife the deferred part of the marriage gift, an annual payment for her clothing, a daily allowance, and perhaps the rent for living in her house. In addition, she may have been entitled to demand a due portion of the marriage gift at any point during the marriage. The best illustration for the variety of debts burdening a fifteenth-century husband comes from an Egyptian document dated 861/1456, which records a matrimonial financial settlement. The husband, an artisan by the name of Mūsá al-Bardanūhī, acknowledges that he owes his wife, Umm al-Ḥasan, a total of 3,900 copper dirhams (about 13 gold dinars). These include 600 copper dirhams for the due portion of his marriage gift; 800 for the postponed portion of his marriage gift, i.e., the yearly installments; 1,500 in lieu of clothing undelivered for the past two years; and 1,000 for the sale price of textile items that belonged to her. Mūsá undertakes, in front of the qadi and witnesses, to pay the remainder of the *ṣadāq* in ten annual installments, as well as a monthly payment of 60 copper dirhams towards the other outstanding debts.[135] There is no indication that this document was drawn up as part of a divorce settlement. The couple, it seems, were expecting to continue living together, with Mūsá gradually paying off his debts to his wife.

Polygamy

The issue of polygamy appears to be one of the more sensitive subjects in the history of women and gender in medieval Islam, and the conflicting approaches to the issue are reflected, for example, in the study of polygamy in the Jewish Geniza society. In his *Mediterranean Society* Goitein claimed that "by custom, albeit not

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[132] Al-Anṣārī, *Al-Iʿlām,* 242.

[133] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar fī Tarjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar,* ed. Ibrāhīm Bājis ʿAbd al-Majīd (Beirut, 1999), 3:1203.

[134] Ruth Lamdan, *A Separate People: Jewish Women in Palestine, Syria, and Egypt in the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden, 2000), 121.

[135] W. Diem, "Vier arabische Rechtsurkunden aus Ägypten des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts," *Der Islam* 72 (1995): 206–27.

by law, the Geniza society was essentially monogamous."[136] Mordechai Friedman, who studied the known cases of polygamy from the Geniza in far more detail, pointed out that the phenomenon was not limited to the upper classes. More often than not, the husbands were members of the lower classes of the Jewish community. Although a quantitative estimate is very difficult, Friedman argues that one cannot brush off polygamy in the Geniza society as marginal.[137]

It is even harder to say how widespread polygamy was in medieval urban Muslim society. The estate inventories of the Ḥaram are the only window through which we can have a rough impression of the extent of polygamy in a given community, and they suggest that Goitein's minimalist estimate of polygamy is closer to the mark. Out of 123 men who were married at the time of their death, only three husbands died leaving two wives. One of these men was a soldier and a resident of Jerusalem.[138] Another was an Anatolian curiosity dealer. One of his two wives bore the same geographical *nisbah* as her husband, and she is likely to have been the senior wife, since he appointed her as executrix of his estate.[139] The Ḥaram documents suggest that polygamy had to do with wealth, and that, in demographic terms, polygamy was a marginal institution in late fourteenth-century Jerusalem.

We do know, on the other hand, that polygamy was widely practiced by traveling merchants and scholars. An itinerant merchant would not expect his wife to travel with him, and upon arriving alone in a town where he might spend several months he was in need of a female consort. He needed someone to care for him—to clean the house and wash his clothes. Without some form of legal relationship, either marriage or slavery, hiring a female domestic servant would have been difficult. The account of the travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah is a well-studied example. During thirty years of travel, after leaving Tangiers in 1325, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah married at least ten times. In Damascus he left a pregnant wife, and learned that she had borne him a son only after arriving in India. In the Maldives he married four local women simultaneously as means of obtaining family connections that helped him in the local court. While the legal wives remained behind, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah rarely traveled without a slave-girl, and he regularly mentions purchasing them. All in all, five children are mentioned in the travelogue. None of them came back with him to North Africa.[140]

[136] Goitein, *Mediterranean Society,* 3:205.

[137] M. A. Friedman, *Ribūy Nashīm be-Yisrael: Mekorot Ḥadashīm mi-Genīzat Kahīr* (Jerusalem, 1986), 4.

[138] Ḥaram no. 284.

[139] Lutfi, *Al-Quds,* 256 (note that the two documents concern the same person); Little, "Six Fourteenth-Century Purchase Deeds," 325 ff; al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq*, 2:149 (no. 53).

[140] R. Kruk, "Ibn Baṭṭuṭah: Travel, Family Life and Chronology: How Seriously Do We Take a Father?" *al-Qanṭara* 16 (1995): 369–84. Kruk argues that Ibn Baṭṭūṭah's account of his wives,

As with slave concubinage, the fifteenth century appears to signal a decline in the institution of polygamy. One of the most striking developments in the late Mamluk period was the transformation of the royal household from a polygamous to a monogamous institution, based on long-lasting marriages. Starting with Sultan Īnāl, Mamluk sultans had only one wife at a time, in stark contrast to the marital policy of previous sultans. Zaynab bint Badr al-Dīn Ibn Khāṣṣbak bore all of Īnāl's children, and we are told that he never married any other wife. Al-Sakhāwī specifically says that Īnāl's monogamy set him apart from previous rulers.[141] Al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam (r. 1461–67) married Shukurbāy al-Aḥmadīyah, a manumitted slave-girl of a previous sultan, when he was still a junior officer. He had concubines, but did not marry any other wife until her death in 870/1465. He then married Surbāy, one of his concubines, who was also the mother of his eldest daughter.[142] Qāytbāy (r. 1468–95) was married to Fāṭimah bint ʿAlī Ibn Khaṣṣ Bak, who was his first and only wife.[143] He entertained no concubines after their marriage in 1458, and started taking them only towards the end of his life, because he had no male heirs.[144] These "first and only wives" were also increasingly visible on the public scene, as was demonstrated in a recent study of the ceremonies associated with their pilgrimage.[145]

There is some evidence that changes in the royal household reflected general changes in fifteenth-century Mamluk society. One such change was a more restrictive attitude towards polygamy, as women often appear to actively try to prevent their husbands from taking a second wife. Restrictions on men's ability to contract new marriages or to purchase concubines were not new to Mamluk society, nor to Muslim society in general.[146] In the fourteenth century, however, stipulations against polygamy appear to have been quite rare.[147] Most of the

concubines, and children is probably one of the more reliable aspects of the travelogue.

[141] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 12:44 (no. 261); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith,* 8:793; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 2:368, 3:156. See also K. Johnson, "Royal Pilgrims: Mamlūk Accounts of the Pilgrimage to Mecca of the Khawand al-Kubrā (Senior Wife of the Sultan)," *Studia Islamica* 91 (2000): 114–19.

[142] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 12:68 (no. 417); Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 2:435; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith,* 8:584, 593. See also Johnson, "Royal Pilgrims," 119–21.

[143] See Petry, "The Estate of al-Khuwand Fāṭima al-Khāṣṣbakiyya"; Johnson, "Royal Pilgrims," 121–23.

[144] Ibn Taghrībirdī and Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, both writing in the 1470s, report that Qāytbāy had no other wives or concubines (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith,* 8:630, 705; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 60). He changed this policy later in his reign. His heir, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, was born to a concubine in 887/1482–83 (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:197, 288).

[145] Johnson, "Royal Pilgrims," 111–14.

[146] Adolf Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library* (Cairo, 1934–62), vol. 1, nos. 38, 39, 41; idem, "Arabische Papyri aus den Staatlische Museen zu Berlin," *Der Islam* 22 (1935): no. 8.

[147] Ibn Taymīyah had to refer his readers to the "old Maghribi marriage contracts," where these

references to restrictions on polygamy come from fifteenth-century sources, such as the diary of the Damascene notary Ibn Ṭawq. In one example, Ibn Ṭawq reports that when Badr al-Dīn ibn al-Yāsūfī married the daughter of a certain Ibn Nabhān as a second wife in 886/1482, he promised her to divorce his first wife and to reside in her house. But since he was unable to divorce his first wife, the marriage was dissolved the next day. Eventually, the couple married again eleven days later, with the bride consenting to a polygamous arrangement. This time Ibn al-Yāsūfī promised, in the presence of the bride's father, not to marry a third wife and not to lodge the two wives in the same house.[148]

Polygamy was definitely a frequent reason for divorce in fifteenth-century Cairo. Najm al-Dīn Ibn Ḥijjī preferred not to consummate his marriage with his young bride and relative, Fāṭimah bint ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Bāriẓī (d. 899/1494), because he had married a second and more mature woman. Al-Sakhāwī tells us that his second wife "took hold of his heart," and convinced him to divorce his cousin.[149] The fifteenth-century scholar al-Biqāʿī provides a rich personal description of his marriage breaking up because of his polygamy, an account recently studied by Li Guo. After marrying Saʿādāt bint Nūr al-Dīn al-Būshī, the daughter of a Sufi shaykh with a handsome position, al-Biqāʿī went on a long journey to Syria. There he contracted a marriage with a local woman, as was common practice for traveling merchants and scholars, and divorced her before his journey home. But that was not acceptable, at least not in the eyes of the young wife and her mother. The couple was divorced soon afterwards.[150]

That some wives felt they had a right to prevent their husbands from taking another wife is indicated by an intriguing incident that occurred in 876/1471, when a common woman appeared before Sultan Qāytbāy himself in order to complain that her husband had taken another wife. At the time Qāytbāy was holding sessions for the petitions of commoners, as part of an experiment in royal justice.[151] Ibn Iyās tells us that this particular petition convinced the sultan that the experiment was a waste of time.[152] Did Qāytbāy dismiss the petition because

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stipulations were to be found (Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿ Fatāwá Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad Ibn Taymīyah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-ʿĀṣimī al-Najdī [Riyadh, 1381–86/1961–66], 32:164–65). It is interesting to note that in the Geniza the stipulation against polygamy was known as the Qayrawanese, i.e., the North African, condition (Goitein, *Mediterranean Society,* 3:149).

[148] Ibn Ṭawq, *Al-Taʿlīq*, 1:114, 121. See also ibid., 1:198, 402.

[149] For the second wife, Fāṭimah bint Kamāl al-Dīn al-Adhruʿī, see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 12:100 (no. 629). For the first wife, see ibid., 94 (no. 589).

[150] Guo, "Tales of a Medieval Cairene Harem," 103–9.

[151] Petry, *Protectors,* 151–55.

[152] Al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 391. According to another version, the husband did not take another wife, but rather had sex with his slave-girl (Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:63).

the woman had no legal cause, or because it was petty and unworthy of his attention? In any case, the fact that a common woman had the nerve to approach the sultan on the issue of polygamy is striking. She, at least, must have believed in her right to a monogamous marriage.

A final indication of a change in the attitude to polygamy in the fifteenth century was the institutionalization of clandestine marriages *(nikāḥ al-sirr)*. According to a model document provided in a manual for notaries, a clandestine marriage contract is like any other except that it is never made public. The presence of witnesses is required, but they take it upon themselves to keep the marriage secret *(kitmān al-nikāḥ)*. The author explains that men have recourse to clandestine marriages when they are taking a second wife.[153] Evidently, it was not always easy to keep such a secret. ʿAzīzah bint ʿAlī al-Zayyādī (d. 879/1475), the daughter of a Cairene scholar, married the Meccan ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Ījī when he visited Cairo. This marriage was kept secret from his first wife and paternal cousin, Ḥabībat Allāh bint ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, who remained in Mecca. But when the Cairene wife accompanied her husband to Mecca, ʿAfīf al-Dīn was forced to divorce her by the pressure of the first wife.[154]

Divorce[155]

As is well known, Islamic marriage law allows for a husband to pronounce a unilateral repudiation, while a wife needs either the husband's consent for divorce or the intervention of the courts. But, in spite of the simplicity of the legal act of repudiation, arbitrary unilateral repudiations were not as common as one might expect. Most husbands were deterred, first and foremost, by the financial costs of divorce. Upon unilateral repudiation husbands were expected to pay all their remaining financial obligations, including the late and due portions of their marriage gift, any arrears in payments of support and clothing, and other debts they may have incurred during the marriage. On top of these payments, husbands were also required to pay a compensation gift *(mutʿah)* to their divorcées. The divorcée had a right to this compensation as long as she did not forfeit this right in her divorce settlement, and when the divorce was not her fault.[156]

Rather than being a major mechanism of actual divorce, repudiation was more often used as a threat against a disobedient wife. Islamic Sunni law accords special

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[153] He also notes that all schools accept the validity of this marriage, except the Malikis (al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿUqūd,* 2:89).

[154] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 12:82 (no. 505) (second wife); 12:19 (no. 102) (first wife). See also Lutfi, "Al-Sakhāwī's *Kitāb al-Nisāʾ*," 114; Musallam, "The Ordering of Muslim Societies," 193–94.

[155] See also Rapoport, *Marriage, Money and Divorce,* 69–110.

[156] On the payment of *mutʿah* in a court record from Jerusalem, see Little, "A Fourteenth-Century Jerusalem Court Record of a Divorce Hearing."

status to threats of repudiation, which are usually called divorce oaths. These oaths are considered conditional phrases, the act of divorce being contingent on the fulfillment of the condition. For example, a husband would threaten a divorce if his wife were to leave home without his permission. Threats of divorce were also used in order to deter wives from visiting a neighbor or from divulging a family secret.[157] A husband who suspected his wife of pilfering his money threatened divorce if the money was not returned.[158] Strained relations with the mother-in-law were also a common reason for pronouncing divorce oaths.[159]

By extension, divorce oaths were often used as pledges for commitments which went far beyond the domestic sphere, and had nothing to do with the wife's behavior.[160] Divorce oaths were incorporated into the oath of allegiance *(bayʿah)* used by the Mamluk sultans. Moreover, they gradually became prevalent among all classes of society, and were used in all sorts of financial, social, and familial contexts. Under certain circumstances, men were even compelled to undertake divorce oaths as part of the judicial process. The central role of divorce oaths to Mamluk society is highlighted by the challenge posed by Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Taymīyah to the validity of these oaths. Ibn Taymīyah argued that violation of a divorce oath requires an act of atonement, not the actual dissolution of marriage. After having been prohibited twice from issuing fatwas on this subject, Ibn Taymīyah was eventually arrested. The debate over Ibn Taymīyah's doctrines on divorce oaths reflects the importance of divorce as a public, and not merely private, institution.

The legal form of the majority of actual divorces in Mamluk society was consensual separation *(khulʿ),* although the formalities of divorce deeds concealed an interplay of various legal and extralegal forces. Consensual separations meant that the wife gave up her financial rights, and in particular her claim to the late marriage gift, in return for a divorce. According to the legal phrasing of the divorce documents, it was always the wives who initiated the consensual divorces; they ask for the divorce and give up their financial rights in return. But jurists sometimes expressed concern as to whether women who entered consensual separation were acting voluntarily.[161] It is clear that husbands could extract favorable divorce settlements by playing the card of custody. In Islamic

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[157] Ibn Taymīyah, *Fatāwá al-Nisāʾ,* 253, 255; idem, *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 33:162, 226–27.

[158] Ibn Taymīyah, *Fatāwá al-Nisāʾ,* 253; idem, *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 33:163, 229; al-Subkī, *Fatāwá,* 311.

[159] Al-Nawawī, *Fatāwá al-Imām al-Nawawī al-Musammá bi-al-Masāʾil al-Manthūrah,* ed. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār (Beirut, 1982), 140; Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 33:112, 164–68.

[160] See a fuller discussion in my "Ibn Taymiyya on Divorce Oaths," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and History,* ed. Levanoni and Winter, 191–217.

[161] Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 32:355, 358–61; al-Subkī, *Fatāwá,* 2:297.

law divorced mothers lose their right of custody over their children as soon as they remarry. Mamluk *fatāwá* reveal that mothers could also lose custody if the father wanted to take the child to another locality,[162] to provide him or her with better education or living standards,[163] or if the father could demonstrate neglect on the part of the mother.[164] Divorcees could secure custody only by accepting divorce settlements in which they undertook to pay for the upkeep of the child. A common settlement of consensual separation allowed the mother to have custody for a fixed period of time (even if she re-married), and in return agreed to pay part of the child support during that period.[165]

Most divorce negotiations were informal, and the role of the courts was mainly confined to putting an official stamp on the settlements brought before them. Judicial divorce *(faskh),* the most drastic sanction a wife could hope for from the courts, was generally reserved for grass widows. But even in cases of absentee husbands, many separations were settled without recourse to such judicial intervention, since husbands often deposited with their wives a conditional bill of divorce before going on a journey. Conditional bills of divorce appear very often in the Geniza,[166] and were widely used among the Muslim majority. In such a bill, the husband made the divorce of his wife contingent on his absence for a certain period of time. If the husband was not to return, the wife had the right to confirm the divorce in court.[167]

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[162] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Fatāwá wa-Masāʾil Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ,* ed. ʿAbd al-Muʿṭī Qalʿajī (Beirut, 1986), 462–63 (no. 429); Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Iʿlām al-Muwaqqiʿīn,* 3:295. See also detailed accounts of custody cases put before the thirteenth-century Syrian jurist al-Fazārī. Contrary to the majority of his contemporary jurists, al-Fazārī argued that that the interests of the child's education and safety override the father's right to relocate the child (ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Firkāḥ al-Fazārī, "Fatāwá al-Fazārī," Chester Beatty MS 3330, fols. 98a, 99b–101b).

[163] Ibn Taymīyah, *Fatāwá al-Nisāʾ,* 289 (a merchant takes his child on a business trip to the Red Sea); Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Fatāwá,* 463 (no. 431) (a father takes his child from the village to the city because of the better quality of education in the city).

[164] In order to demonstrate neglect, neighbors were asked to testify that they had heard the baby crying when left alone in the house (al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿUqūd,* 2:239–40).

[165] Al-Fazārī, "Fatāwá," fol. 93b (wife agrees to support the child for two years); al-Ṭarsūsī, *Anfaʿ al-Wasāʾil,* 44, 47 (in return for custody rights, a wife forfeits her *ṣadāq,* support during the waiting period, and child support for seven years). For model documents, see al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿUqūd,* 2:228, 240–41, 247–48.

[166] Goitein, *Mediterranean Society,* 3:155, 189–205.

[167] Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Fatāwá,* 444 (no. 398), 450 (no. 411). In cases from the fifteenth century, the conditional divorce was to come into effect after a very short absence of two months or even ten days (al-Anṣārī, *Al-Iʿlām,* 267; al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Ḥāwī lil-Fatāwá fī al-Fiqh wa-ʿUlūm al-Tafsīr wa-al-Ḥadīth wa-al-Uṣūl wa-al-Naḥw wa-al-Iʿrāb wa-Sāʾir al-Funūn* [Cairo, 1352/1933], 1:267).

Divorce settlements, like so many other aspects of gender, changed in the course of the fifteenth century, especially as a result of the expanding jurisdiction of the *maẓālim* courts headed by government officials. The military courts were more resolute when dealing with husbands who failed to provide for their wives, and in general were far more interventionist in the domestic sphere. The difference of approach between the religious and the military courts is well illustrated in a tragic case of child marriage, for which we have firsthand testimony of a legal official. In 875/1470 the chronicler Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, who was employed as a deputy Hanafi qadi, received a petition from the maternal aunt of a twelve-year-old girl, whose parents were absent from the city. The aunt asked the Hanafi deputy to save the girl from poverty by marrying her off to a suitable husband. In accordance with the request, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī married the girl to a soldier in the service of one of the royal mamluks, negotiating a marriage gift of seven gold dinars, and inserting a clause forbidding the man to consummate the marriage until the girl attained puberty. Despite this stipulation, the soldier raped the girl. He continued to beat her until she accepted a consensual divorce in which she forfeited her marriage gift. The husband even lodged a complaint against the girl with the police (*naqīb*s), and she was fined a gold dinar for her supposed insubordination. When the girl returned home, her maternal aunt appealed to the *dawādār* Yashbak min Mahdī. The *dawādār* ordered the soldier to be flogged, and asked the chief Hanafi qadi, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's superior, to invalidate the divorce settlement. The soldier also had to pay the girl four dinars, about half of the promised marriage gift.[168] It seems that in this case, the more aggressive and interventionist approach of the military court was also the more just.

The most striking aspect of Mamluk divorce, at least in the fifteenth century, was its frequency. Thanks to al-Sakhāwī's *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ* we can speculate about the rate of divorce in fifteenth-century Cairo.[169] Al-Sakhāwī records the marital history of 168 fifteenth-century Cairene women, mentioning 287 marriages concluded by these women.[170] This is an average of almost two marriages per

[168] Al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 226–29. See translation and analysis by Carl Petry, "Conjugal Rights versus Class Prerogatives: A Divorce Case in Mamlūk Cairo," in *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, Piety,* ed. G. Hambly (London, 1999), 227–40. My interpretation of the text is substantially different from Petry's, both in its details and its overall significance. According to Petry, the case demonstrates the prerogatives of the military elite.

[169] A point made by Musallam, "The Ordering of Muslim Societies," 186–97. See also Lutfi, "Al-Sakhāwī's *Kitāb al-Nisāʾ*"; Berkey, "Women and Islamic Education."

[170] Included in the sample are only women who were born in Egypt after 790/1388, or, if the date of birth is unknown, died after 853/1450 (including those still living when the final draft of the work was completed, shortly before the author's death in 902/1497). It excludes entries copied from earlier historical works, such as the hundreds of entries for Hijazi women drawn from the biographical dictionaries composed by al-Fāsī (d. 832/1428) and Ibn Fahd (d. 885/1480).

woman, although some were married four, five, and six times. When al-Sakhāwī mentions the cause of dissolution (in 171 marriages), three out of ten ended with divorce. It is probable that the actual rate of divorce among the general population of Cairo was higher. Al-Sakhāwī was not aware of all the marriages going on in the city, and some short-term unions may have escaped his attention. It is also probable that the rate of divorce among the lower classes was higher than among the elite, as was the case in the Jewish Geniza society. The prevalence of divorce is even more remarkable if we keep in mind the high mortality rate, augmented in this period by the Plague. Death and divorce meant that marriage tended to be a much shorter affair than it is today.

Al-Sakhāwī's biographical dictionary offers quite a few examples of wives pursuing a divorce against the wishes of their husbands. When his own brother, Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, became so ill as to be confined to his bed, his wife refused to accompany him to his family's quarters and kept asking for divorce. In return she forgave him any debts and even gave him financial compensation.[171] Zaynab, daughter of the chief qadi Muḥibb al-Dīn ibn al-Shiḥnah, "was not satisfied [with her husband] and they were divorced." The verb is used in the dual form, indicating a mutual action.[172] Another Zaynab, a descendant of the Banū al-Bārizī dynasty of civilian administrators, was widowed in 850/1446. She avoided remarriage for several years, until, at the request of her son, she concluded a marriage alliance with a senior government official. But she later pleaded with her new husband and he divorced her.[173]

A final observation is that for al-Sakhāwī divorce is almost always a decision taken by the couple, not by their extended families. The intervention of in-laws is rarely mentioned. The mother and brother of Qurrat al-ʿAyn bint Abū Bakr al-Sakhāwī, the orphaned minor niece of al-Sakhāwī, were influential in causing her divorce from the husband chosen for her by al-Sakhāwī himself.[174] But al-Sakhāwī generally prefers to talk about divorces caused by the absence of passion, as well as love-marriages. After her divorce from her first husband and paternal cousin, the daughter of the chief Shafiʿi qadi Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī went on to marry an amir nicknamed ʿAddād al-Ghanam (Sheep Counter). Her first husband tried to talk her into coming back, but to no avail, as she fell "desperately in love" with

[171] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 11:46.

[172] Text: *lam taḥṣul ʿalá ṭāʾil wa-fāraqā* (ibid., 12:49–50 [no. 292]; 10:264 [no. 1064]).

[173] Ibid., 12, 49 (no. 291) (Zaynab); 10:252 (no. 1050) (Najm al-Dīn). See also Lutfi, "Al-Sakhāwī's *Kitāb al-Nisāʾ*," 114.

[174] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 12:116 (no. 704). In a case from Syria, a marriage alliance of the Banū al-Shiḥnah and Banū al-Ṣawwāf did not materialize because of a fight between the womenfolk of the two households (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith,* 8:570; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 3:113–14).

her new husband.[175] Other women chose to marry their social inferiors. Fāṭimah bint Abī al-Khayr, widow of the renowned jurist Ibn al-Humām, married one of the porters on board a ship heading to Mecca in 898/1493. Al-Sakhāwī malignly adds that it seems she was unable to control her desire and married him simply for sex.[176]

WOMEN AND RELIGION

A recurring theme of this survey is that most aspects of Mamluk society were gendered, with both men and women contributing to economic and political life, but doing so in largely separate spheres of activity. The same is true for women's participation in religious life. Because so few religious texts composed by Mamluk women have survived, it is easy to imagine Mamluk Islam as an exclusively male endeavor. But there is now sufficient evidence to show that, outside the formal and all-male madrasah system, women played a far from marginal role in religious life. They were of course recipients of religious knowledge and exhortations, through oral preaching and recitation, and, among the traditionalist Sunni elite, through reading and study of religious literature. But women were also active participants and contributors to religious life. In the transmission of hadith, a popular and non-professional pious activity, women were on equal footing with men, their prominence dependent solely on their literacy and longevity. Outside the literate and traditionalist classes, the growth of the organized mystical movements in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries cannot be fully understood without taking into account the phenomenal spread of exclusively female Sufi institutions known as *ribāṭ*s, which are probably the most distinctively Mamluk form of female religiosity.

WOMEN AND LITERACY

The evidence for the spread of literacy among elite women is quite extensive. While a few prescriptive texts call for putting a limit on the education of girls, they do so in a context of an education system in which girls were taught by male and female instructors.[177] Moreover, these statements appear to have had no impact on actual practice among scholarly families, who took pride in teaching their daughters to read and write. Nuḍār (d. 730/1330), the daughter of the Muslim philologist Ibn Ḥayyān, copied her father's works in several volumes, and so did Fāṭimah

[175] Text: *tatahālaku fī al-tarāmī ʿalayhi* (al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 12:41 [no. 243]). See also ibid., 2:188 (Walī al-Dīn); 2:240 (ʿAddād al-Ghanam).

[176] Text: *li-qaṣd al-mukhālaṭah wa-ʿadam imkān al-taḥarruz* (al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 12:91 [no. 567]).

[177] Shatzmiller, *Labour,* 355; A. Giladi, "Gender Differences in Child Rearing and Education: Some Preliminary Observations with Reference to Medieval Muslim Thought," *Al-Qantara* 16 (1995): 291–308.

(d. 731/1331), daughter of the historian al-Birzālī.[178] Fāṭimah bint Kamāl al-Dīn al-Maghribī (d. 728/1328) was known for her superb handwriting.[179] Jonathan Berkey has found 411 examples of fifteenth-century literate elite women who are mentioned by al-Sakhāwī in his biographical dictionary. These women are said to have memorized the Quran, received an *ijāzah* to transmit a tradition, and studied basic works of grammar or al-Būṣīrī's ode to the Prophet.[180] In the Geniza we find private letters written by Jewish women, and there is no apparent reason to believe that Muslim women did not do the same.[181]

The problem is, of course, that nearly the entire corpus of surviving Mamluk texts has been written by men. There are a few verse fragments scattered in historical works, like al-Sakhāwī's correspondence with his neighbor Fāṭimah (b. 855/1451), daughter of Kamāl al-Dīn Maḥmūd. He quotes lines of her poetry addressed to him personally and gives titles of her poems. She sent him an elegy of 31 lines to console him for the loss of two of his brothers.[182] But for most of the Mamluk period, we have no female authors who speak to us in their own voice.[183] The absence of female authors was not simply for want of literate women; rather, the forms and the extent of female literary expression were subject to social restrictions. In a society that attached high value to texts, authorship was an empowering act.[184] When we examine the few surviving texts that were written by women, they not only show great skill, but also that the authors were very well

[178] Both died in the prime of their youth, and we owe their biographies to their mourning fathers. On Nuḍār see Th. Emil Homerin, "'I've Stayed by the Grave': A Nasīb for Nuḍār," in *Literary Heritage of Classical Islam: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of James A. Bellamy,* ed. Mustansir Mir (Princeton, 1993), 107–18; Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self,* 77. On Fāṭimah bint ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Birzālī, see al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 2:477; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 4:30.

[179] Al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 2:297.

[180] Berkey, "Women and Islamic Education," 147–49; Lutfi, "Al-Sakhāwī's *Kitāb al-Nisāʾ,*" 119–21; Roded, *Women in Islamic Biographical Dictionaries,* 69.

[181] J. Kramer, "Women's Letters from the Cairo Genizah: A Preliminary Study" (in Hebrew), in *Eshnav le-Ḥayehen shel Nashīm be-Ḥevrōt Yehūdiyōt,* ed. Yael Atzmon (Jerusalem, 1995), 161–81.

[182] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 12:107–12 (no. 674); Abou Bakr, "Teaching the Words of the Prophet," 321 ff.

[183] Al-Suyūṭī, who compiled a collection of women's poetry from the classical sources, fails to mention even one poetess from the Mamluk period (Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Nuzhat al-Julasāʾ fī Ashʿār al-Nisāʾ,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid [Beirut, 1958]).

[184] For a general survey of female authors in medieval Islam, see Marlé Hammond, "Literature: 9th to 15th Century," in *Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures,* vol. 1, *Methodologies, Paradigms and Sources* (Leiden, 2003), 42–50. See also Dana al-Sajdi, "Trespassing the Male Domain: The Qaṣīdah of Laylā al-Akhyaliyya," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 31 (2000): 121–46. In Sung China one finds a similar gap between the spread of literacy among elite women and the few remains of their literary production (P. Ebrey, *The Inner Quarter: Marriage and the Lives of Chinese Women in the Sung Period* [Berkeley, 1993], 120–24).

versed in the Islamic tradition—further suggesting that female education, unlike female authorship, was not restricted.

Given all the other changes in gender relations towards the end of the Mamluk period, it may not be a coincidence that the foremost female author lived at the turn of the sixteenth century. Like other literate women in the Mamluk period, ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah (d. 922/1516) was member of a scholarly family, whose members held high positions in the religious hierarchy of Damascus. Not unusually for her class, she studied poetry, hadith, mysticism, and jurisprudence. But unlike most other Mamluk women, ʿĀʾishah was also a prolific author, and she has left us more Arabic works than any other woman prior to the modern period. Her work is underlined by a belief in the mystical quality of praising the Prophet, and motivated by a vision of the Prophet during her pilgrimage to Mecca in 880/1475. In her most famous poem, an ode to the Prophet, every verse contains an example of a rhetorical device—a literary form that required extensive knowledge of Arabic language and literature. Her Sufi compendium, a collection of insights into the mystical themes of penance, sincerity, *dhikr,* and love, suggests a very wide knowledge of Sufi literature, Quran, and hadith. Although some of her love poetry conveys an all-consuming passion towards God, ʿĀʾishah's femininity is not necessarily the defining aspect of her literary legacy. Rather, she should be seen as a well-read and active participant in the religious and literary world of her time, further indication that men and women did partake in the same religious discourses. [185]

Women and Hadith

The main venue for religious activity among the literate women of the traditionalist, and especially Hanbali, elite was transmission of hadith. This was not a marginal phenomenon; hundreds of female hadith transmitters are mentioned in the biographical dictionaries, and women were major authorities for some of the most famous scholars of the Mamluk period, such as Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, al-Dhahabī, and al-Suyūṭī. In a recent study, Asma Sayeed has found that a disproportionate number of these transmitters came from the Hanbali circles of al-Ṣāliḥīyah suburb of Damascus, where a traditionalist ethos of the cultivation of the prophetic Sunnah was dominant. Like their brothers, women were brought as infants, often still in arms, to receive certificates in the hope that they would reach old age, and would be celebrated for their transmissions. Indeed, those women who did become famous owe it to their longevity; the most famous, such as Zaynab bint al-Kamāl (646–740/1248–1339) and ʿĀʾishah bint Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī

[185] For ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah and her poetry, see Th. Emil Homerin, "Living Love: The Mystical Writings of ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah (d. 922/1516)," *MSR* 7, [no. 1] (2003): 211–34; see also Reynolds, *Interpreting the Self,* 8.

(723–816/1323–1413), lived to their nineties, and became famous only in their sixties.

Women's study and transmission of hadith was done outside the formal madrasah system. Although they founded madrasahs, and sometimes acted as their administrators, they were always excluded from receiving a salaried position or pursuing formal studies. The evidence of *samāʿāt* (certificates of oral transmission) shows that the female transmitters held assemblies both at their own houses and at the houses of others. In these informal assemblies women and men participated alongside each other, with no formal segregation. As expected, women are the primary transmitters when they grow older, but there is evidence of continuous participation of women in the study of tradition. Although only the octogenarians made it to biographical dictionaries, women participated in the study and recitation of traditions throughout their lives.

The study of hadith, contrary to law or theology, allowed women an almost equal footing with men. Since the Prophet's wife ʿĀʾishah appears so prominently as transmitter of tradition from the Prophet, women were not at any disadvantage with regard to their trustworthiness. They were considered as reliable as men in the relation of hadith; unlike testimony in court, it did not put them in a position of power over men. For women, as well as for other pious Muslims who were not formally trained, prophetic traditions were thus the most appealing of the Islamic sciences; at an elementary level, even lay people could memorize short, popular collections. Prophetic traditions were recited in informal gatherings, especially in the Hanbali circles of Damascus, in order to make God and his Word more accessible. As we have seen, elite women were able to read extensively in other branches of religious knowledge, including history, poetry, mysticism, and even law. Informal study of hadith gave these literate women a venue to reflect and discuss their approach to religion.[186]

It should also be emphasized that the memorization itself was of secondary importance, as in this period transmission was no longer about the actual authentication of texts. Authority did not really lie with the transmitter but rather with the written text which was reproduced, and the system of *ijāzah* developed precisely when the veracity of the hadith collection was guaranteed. The prize in the transmission of hadith was the shortest possible chain of transmission achieved by old men and women who heard traditions when they were infants. It carried with it not a guarantee of authenticity but, like the visitation of tombs and the relics of saints, another kind of *barakah.*[187] For the Sunni traditionalist families, a

[186] A point made by Abou Bakr, "Teaching the Words of the Prophet," 315.

[187] Eerik Dickinson, "Ibn al-Ṣalaḥ al-Shahrazūrī and the Isnād," *The Journal of the American Oriental Society* 7, no. 1 (2002); discussed in this context by Asma Sayeed, "Women and Ḥadith Transmission in Islamic History" (Ph.D. diss, Princeton University, 2005).

text carried the kind of proximity to God other groups sought by venerating saints or visiting tombs.

The ideal of the pious woman who faithfully transmits the words of the Prophet harks back, of course, to ʿĀʾishah herself, and Mamluk male authors show in fact an unprecedented interest in celebrating her biography. This trend reached its peak in the fourteenth century, with the composition of specialized works dealing with ʿĀʾishah's criticisms of transmissions by male Companions of the Prophet. Al-Zarkashī (d. 795/1392) is the most prominent example of enhancing the religious prestige of ʿĀʾishah as the most reliable and useful critic of prophetic traditions, including those transmitted on the authority of the first four caliphs. Unlike earlier Sunni writers, whose works he expands, al-Zarkashī defines ʿĀʾishah's unique attributes not only as a wife and a daughter, but in terms of her religious devotion, generosity, and asceticism. The Mamluk works dealing with ʿĀʾishah emphasize her hadith transmission as well as a symbol of Sunni—as against Shiʿi—communal memory and solidarity.[188]

Women and Mysticism[189]

Outside of the Hanbali circles of Damascus and their traditionalist, anti-Sufi allies, women largely expressed their religiosity through mystical institutions. Women are often mentioned in connection with the visitation of graves, especially by the moralists who wanted them to abstain from wailing or dressing immodestly.[190] The criticisms voiced by moralists have tainted these activities as less than purely spiritual, but visitation probably represented for women a real spiritual undertaking in its own right, as much as it did for men, although the venues were often separate. The visitation of tombs was incorporated into poor women's weekly schedule, alongside their domestic chores and textile production. A few particularly vivid accounts come from the pen of the Damascene Ibn Ṭūlūn, who reports that women congregated every Wednesday near the tomb associated with the Biblical figure King Ṭālūt outside Damascus, where they listen to blind men recite the accounts of saints. The Grotto of Hunger near Mt. Qāsiyūn was the site of a similar female congregation every Friday, following the noon prayer.[191]

The most distinctive expression of the mystical activities and aspirations of Mamluk women was the exclusively female religious house, usually known as

[188] D. Spellberg, *Politics, Gender, and the Islamic Past : the Legacy of ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr* (New York, 1994), 25, 54–58, 86–95, 194.

[189] See also Rapoport, *Marriage, Money and Divorce,* 38–44.

[190] Lutfi, "Manners," 114–15.

[191] Josef W. Meri, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford, 2002), 168–71.

ribāṭ. The *ribāṭ* came to be identified with female piety during the Fatimid period.[192] Along with the *zāwiyah* and the *khānqāh,* the *ribāṭ* was associated with the Sufi mystical movement, but the functions of these institutions became differentiated during the Mamluk period. While the *zāwiyah* was usually linked to a specific Sufi order and the *khānqāh* to prayers for the dead, the *ribāṭ* emerged as a hospice for the needy, with social welfare as its main goal.[193] In principle, *ribāṭ*s could also be either male or female, and there were some *ribāṭ*s for men in the Mamluk period. It seems, however, that women came to be considered the natural recipients of the *ribāṭ*'s charitable role.

The establishment of *ribāṭ*s in all Mamluk urban centers reached a peak in the latter half of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth. The Ribāṭ al-Baghdādīyah, established in Cairo in 684/1285, was the most famous *ribāṭ* devoted exclusively to women. The daughter of Sultan Baybars, Tidhkārbāy Khātūn, endowed the institution for the benefit of a female mystic called Zaynab al-Baghdādīyah, after whom it was named. Zaynab had already acquired a large following among the women of Damascus when Tidhkārbāy invited her to come to Cairo. The *ribāṭ* was located next to Baybars' *khānqāh,* and was probably intended as a sister institution.[194] At least eight additional *ribāṭ*s for widows and old women existed in Cairo during the first half of the fourteenth century.[195]

Syrian cities had an even larger number of women's religious houses. Six were established in Aleppo during the thirteenth century, although there they were called *khānqāhs* rather than *ribāṭ*s. An inscription on one of the *khānqāhs*, erected by an Ayyubid princess in the first half of the century, said that it was built "for the poor women who wish to reside in it, so that they would perform the five daily prayers and sleep there."[196] In Damascus the term *ribāṭ* had come to mean a specifically female place of worship. A Damascene author, Ibn Zufar al-Irbilī (d. 726/1326), remarks that a *ribāṭ* is a *khānqāh* devoted exclusively to women *(al-rubuṭ hiya al-khawāniq allatī takhtaṣṣu bi-al-nisāʾ)*. He then enumerates

[192] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-Āthār al-Maʿrūf bi-al-Khiṭaṭ al-Maqrīzīyah,* ed. Muḥammad Zaynhum and Madīḥah al-Sharqāwī (Cairo, 1998), 3:652.

[193] Th. Emil Homerin, "Saving Muslim Souls: The *Khānqāh* and the Sufi Duty in Mamluk Lands," *MSR* 3 (1999): 67. For a somewhat different view, see D. Little, "The Nature of *Khānqāhs*, *Ribāṭ*s and *Zāwiyas* under the Mamlūks," in *Islamic Studies Presented to Charles J. Adams,* ed. W. Hallaq and D. Little (Leiden, 1991), 91–107; Sabra, *Poverty,* 25.

[194] On Ribāṭ al-Baghdādīyah, see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 2:181; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:602–3; Sabra, *Poverty,* 84.

[195] Leonor Fernandes, *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt: the Khanqah* (Berlin, 1988), 11; Berkey, "Women and Islamic Education," 150.

[196] Anne-Marie Eddé, *La principauté ayyoubide d'Alep (579/1183–658/1260)* (Stuttgart, 1999), 428.

twenty such institutions, fifteen within the city itself and an additional five in its suburbs.[197] Some of the money for these institutions came from the pockets of the womenfolk of the Damascene elite. In 730/1330, the wife of the governor of Damascus endowed the largest female *ribāṭ* in the city, next to her own tomb.[198]

The female *ribāṭ*s should be considered indications of the spread of the mystical orders during the thirteenth century. Al-Maqrīzī dwells on the authoritarian element in the Ribāṭ al-Baghdādīyah, where widows and divorcées were sometimes forced to stay during their waiting period so as to protect them from forbidden sexual contacts. But reducing the female *ribāṭ*s to their authoritarian aspects does injustice to the spiritual aspirations of medieval Muslim women. Some of the founders were female, and quite a few elite women appear to have chosen to spend their widowhood years there. Rather, women must have been moved by the same ideals of asceticism and inner reflection as men, but were not integrated into the exclusively male institutions. It is interesting to note that not all the women who took the mystical path resided in *ribāṭ*s. Ibn al-Ḥājj, writing in the first half of the fourteenth century, notes the growth of exclusively female Sufi groups in Cairo, but does not mention any association with an institution or establishment.[199] In the case of Zaynab al-Baghdādīyah, and most probably in others, the establishment of a *ribāṭ* was intended to support an already existing group of pious women.

Besides their spiritual functions, the female *ribāṭ*s catered to the needs of poor single women who were excluded from other Sufi foundations. The dual nature of the Sufi institutions that provided men both with spiritual space and with lodging options, held true for the female *ribāṭ*s. The use of the term poverty is confusing for, as demonstrated by Adam Sabra, the medieval sources do not make a clear distinction between poverty as a social phenomenon and poverty as a religious ideal.[200] A man finding himself in a strange town, or in a sudden state of destitution, could go to one of the Sufi hospices and hope to receive a bed and a meal. But these institutions were meant to accommodate men only. When a lonely woman squatted in a room of a *zāwiyah,* she was thrown out. Ibn Taymīyah, who ruled in her case, explained that her sex made her ineligible.[201] In an anecdote about a fourteenth-century Damascene scholar, it is told that he used to live near

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[197] Al-Irbilī, *Madāris Dimashq wa-Rubuṭihā wa-Jawāmiʿuhā wa-Ḥammāmatihā*, ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān (Damascus, 1947), 11, cited by Louis Pouzet, *Damas au VIIe/XIIIe siècle: Vie et structures religieuses d'une métropole islamique* (Beirut, 1988), 211.

[198] Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah,* 14:121; al-Nuʿaymī, *Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris*, ed. Jaʿfar al-Ḥusaynī (Damascus, 1948-51), 2:274–75.

[199] Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Al-Madkhal*, 2:141; Lutfi, "Manners," 116.

[200] Sabra, *Poverty*, 31.

[201] Ibn Taymīyah, *Fatāwá al-Nisāʾ,* 189.

the Ribāṭ al-ʿAjāʾiz (of the Old Women), which functioned as a washing place for poor women and their children. Whenever a woman needed soda-ash for bodily washing, or soap for laundry, she received some from the scholar's family.[202]

There was one common denominator among practically all the women who stayed in *ribāṭ*s, and that was freedom from matrimonial obligations. A woman who wanted to join a *ribāṭ* was not necessarily poor; but she almost certainly had to be single. This was true even for the women mystics who were not affiliated with a *ribāṭ*. Ibn al-Ḥājj describes pious women who choose to remain unmarried.[203] Ibn Baydakīn, a thirteenth-century author, similarly rebukes women who refrain from marriage out of misguided piety.[204] This was not about virginity in the Christian sense, although, as noted above, virginity had a certain saintly value in popular culture. Prior marriages did not pose an obstacle in the spiritual path taken by Sufi women. All contemporary sources agree that the residents of *ribāṭ*s were widows or divorcées—that is, women who were *no longer* married.

The institution appears to have fallen out of favor in the fifteenth century, when female hospices appear fewer and smaller compared with their predecessors. By the end of the fifteenth century, Damascus still had at least five female *ribāṭ*s.[205] But al-Sakhāwī tells of women, including his own mother, who used to open their private houses to widows and divorcées.[206] The reliance on this form of neighborhood charity suggests a decline in the importance of hospices. So does the late fifteenth-century account of Felix Fabri, who describes poor women lying, and even giving birth, in the streets of Cairo.[207] The prominence of the all-women *ribāṭ* was a uniquely Mamluk phenomenon; while Sufi institutions for men survived well beyond the beginning of the sixteenth century, virtually none of their sister institutions survived into the Ottoman period.

The rise and decline of the female *ribāṭ*s bear intriguing similarities to the fate of the female religious houses, especially those of the Beguines, which dotted

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[202] Ibn al-Mibrad, *Al-Jawhar al-Munaḍḍad*, 174.

[203] Ibn al-Ḥājj, *Al-Madkhal*, 2:141.

[204] Ibn al-Baydakīn, *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ,* 144.

[205] Al-Nuʿaymī, *Al-Dāris,* 2:193–95. His contemporary Ibn al-Mibrad mentions only one single women's *ribāṭ* in the city, established in the first half of the fourteenth century (*Thimār al-Maqāṣid fī Dhikr al-Masājid,* ed. Muḥammad Asʿad Talas [Beirut, 1943], 124). Obadiah, who visited Jerusalem in 1488, noted the existence of several community houses for Jewish widows (*Jewish Travelers,* ed. E. Adler [London, 1930], 235; Obadiah Betinoro, *Me-Italyah li-Yerushalayim: Igrōtav shel R. Ovadyah mi-Bartenura me-Erets Yisrael,* ed. A. David and M. Hartom [Ramat Gan, Israel, 1997], 65, 69).

[206] On open houses for widows and poor women, see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 12:131, 148; Lutfi, "Al-Sakhāwī's *Kitāb al-Nisāʾ*," 119.

[207] Sabra, *Poverty*, 108.

Western European cities in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[208] Like the Beguinages, the foundation of *ribāṭs* presupposes a large number of single women in the cities, and, as a necessary corollary, a normative attitude to female labor. Judging by the sheer number of *ribāṭs* founded during the thirteenth century, most of their residents must have come from the lower classes. In either case, these single women did not want, or were not able, to return to their natal families or to find a new husband. Instead, they found in the *ribāṭ* a sheltered female space, and a parallel, gendered, form of mysticism.

CONCLUSION

The primary purpose of this survey was to draw a picture of the gender boundaries in Mamluk urban society, and to suggest that the gendered spheres of women were complementary, rather than subordinate, to those of men. This was true in most political, economic, and social aspects of public life. The importation of slave-girls to be trained as courtesans paralleled that of male slaves intended for the military, and there is even a reference to a parallel female *khushdāshīyah* network. The trousseaux given at the weddings of female members of these elite households were not merely a token of affection, nor gifts meant to placate the groom, but a mechanism of pre-mortem inheritance, in direct parallel to the grant of *iqṭā*ʿ or the inheritance of office. In textile production, the most important urban industry, the contributions of female spinners were no less important than those of the male weavers, and disregarding this runs the risk of misunderstanding the urban economy as a whole. The growth of the mystical Sufi orders in the thirteenth century saw the rise not only of *zāwiyahs* for men, but also of *ribāṭs* for women, who were as actively engaged in the spiritual quest that characterized religious life of the period.

The notion of female dependence and passivity as a mark of medieval Muslim society in general, and Mamluk society in particular, flies against the evidence of the medieval sources. The principle of strict separation of property between spouses, enshrined in Islamic law but also generally accepted in practice, meant that women of all classes had a certain degree of financial independence during their marriage, whether by investing their trousseaux, lending them on interest, or, most commonly, by working for wages. In turn, this strict separation of property and female financial independence allowed for extraordinarily high rates of divorce, which were the most distinctive aspect of domestic life in the Mamluk period. High divorce rates, along with high mortality rates, meant that the reality

[208] On the Beguines, see S. Murk-Jansen, *Brides in the Desert: The Spirituality of the Beguines* (Maryknoll, NY, 1998); C. Neel, "The Origins of the Beguines," in *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages,* ed. Judith M. Bennett, Elisabeth A. Clark, Jean F. O'Barr, B. Anne Vilen, and Sarah Westpahl-Wihl (Chicago, 1989), 240–60.

of family life was far from any notion of domestic haven. The custody of children was often contested, and courts were often asked to enforce divorce settlements and extract arrears in maintenance payments.

A second purpose of this survey was to point out the developments in the history of women and gender during the Mamluk period. In terms of economic access, the gender division of property appears to have become less rigid in the fifteenth century. As a result of the expansion of *waqf* family endowments at the expense of *iqṭāʿ,* the link between service and landed revenue loosened, allowing many upper class women to actively participate in the real estate market. In the sphere of domestic relations, the fifteenth century marks a significant shift towards the monetization of marriage. Instead of putting bread on their wives' tables, fifteenth-century husbands often paid their wives with cash, in the form of daily stipends and clothing allowances. The pattern of polygamy also shifted, most clearly indicated by the essentially monogamous nature of the royal household in the late fifteenth century. Finally, the apparent decline in the supply of slave-girls, following a peak in the first half of the fourteenth century, meant that fifteenth-century amirs no longer boasted of dozens of concubines residing in their harems. As slave-girls became more of a rarity, attitudes towards them also changed, and they were now more often appreciated for their piety than for their beauty or their voice.

These economic and social developments are accompanied by cultural shifts. While many medieval scholars talked about women quite often, fifteenth-century authors tend to blabber about them. Any reticence about exposing the women of one's own household, as well as those of other households, completely disappears from the semi-chronicles, semi-diaries of al-Sakhāwī, al-Biqāʿī, and Ibn Ṭawq, to name just the most explicitly personal of the late fifteenth-century authors. Even the objection to female authorship appears to give way, as least in the case of ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah, whose mystical prose and poetry demonstrates the depth of this woman's reading and education.

Do these changes relate to more general changes in Mamluk society during the fifteenth century? It is perhaps premature to draw firm conclusions, as long as both the study of women and gender and the study of Mamluk society have yet to exhaust the rich literary and documentary sources. But one may still note that Mamluk political authority was closely related, in its symbolism, to the domestic authority enjoined by heads of households over their women and their slaves. The early Mamluk period witnessed a sharp distinction between the private and the public. The male heads of households enjoyed a great degree of autonomous power in their own households, and monopolized public power and access to landed revenue by virtue of their official positions. Relations within the domestic unit were clearly differentiated from those governing the market economy; cash

exchanged hands only at marriage's points of entry and exit. By the fifteenth century, on the other hand, the relationship between the public and the private, the Mamluk state and the households it governed, had changed. The blurring of gender distinctions within households, the increasing monetization of domestic relationships, the decline in polygamy and concubinage, all made households less autonomous, less hierarchical, and less isolated. As the autonomy of the head of the household gave way, the courts, both military and religious, adapted an increasingly interventionist approach—which had contradictory results. On the one hand, fifteenth-century wives found it easier to obtain a judicial divorce; on the other hand, the state authorities now saw it as their role to discipline disobedient wives.

The tragic tale of the two adulterous lovers which began this survey is a remarkable indication of these changes. The cuckolded husband, who, instead of seeking either private revenge or the concealment of his wife's infidelity, chooses to go over to the police station and report a crime, is definitely a product of the fifteenth century; a fourteenth-century husband would have found this behavior astounding. Before the middle of the fifteenth century it is practically impossible to find any husband who asked religious or secular courts for help in disciplining his wife. But in the fifteenth century this was a common practice, with husbands lodging public complaints about a wife who ran away from home, or about an affair she was having. It seems that the traditional mechanisms of patriarchy, like a threat of repudiation or physical violence, were now seen as less effective. The account of this adulterous relationship is so striking because it indicates the shifts—nothing less than dramatic—in the power relations within households during the Mamluk period, as well as the eventual affirmation of the role of the state in regulating the private sphere.

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The Four Madrasahs in the Complex of Sultan Ḥasan (1356–61): The Complete Survey

The Complex of Sultan Ḥasan in Cairo is one of the most celebrated works of Mamluk architecture. Since the publication of the monograph entitled *Mosquée du Sultan Hassan au Caire* by Max Herz Pasha[1] in 1899,[2] several studies have addressed the building in terms of its typology, stylistic influence, patronage, and meaning. However, the monograph and the studies that followed remain without a complete survey of the four madrasahs attached to the complex. The ground floor plan of the complex, documented by the early monograph, reveals their essence and relationship to the main building but does not fully document the madrasahs as independent spatial units. This survey focuses on the four madrasahs and presents the results of a field survey with complete documentation of their floor plans and sections, published here for the first time (Figs. 1–20).[3] The drawings are supplemented in this introduction by a brief analysis and information pertaining to the assigned functions and personnel for the madrasahs provided by the *waqf* document of Sultan Ḥasan.[4]

The complex had an elaborate functional program, with a *bīmāristān,* a *sabīl-kuttāb,* a congregational mosque, four madrasahs, and a mausoleum. Its plan follows the cruciform four-*īwān* type. Four great tunnel-vaulted *īwāns* flank the main *ṣaḥn* and constitute the major order of the complex. The four madrasahs are

[1] Max Herz Pasha (1856–1919) was a Hungarian architect. He was in Egypt between 1880 and 1914. He worked for the Technical Bureau of the Ministry of Awqaf until 1890 when he joined the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe, which he later headed. The complex of Sultan Ḥasan was one of the many monuments the Comité restored during his twenty-five years of service.

[2] See Max Herz, *La Mosquée du Sultan Hasan au Caire* (Cairo, 1899).

[3] The initial survey and documentation were conducted as part of my dissertation field research in 1991 in Cairo. See Howayda Al-Harithy, "Urban Form and Meaning in Mamluk Architecture" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1992).

[4] Dār al-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmīyah in Cairo possesses two documents for the *waqf* with which Sultan Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn endowed his great complex in al-Rumaylah near the Citadel. The first (no. 40/6) is the original *waqfīyah* drawn up for Sultan Ḥasan. It is written on parchment, but most of it has been lost or is damaged. The second (no. 365/85) is a contemporary bound manuscript copy and a more complete document preserving the content of the original. It is this version that is fully published. See *The Waqf Document of Sultan Al-Nasir Hasan b. Muhammad b. Qalawun for his Complex in Al-Rumaila,* ed. Howayda Al-Harithy (Berlin/Beirut, 2001).

of the single-*īwān* type and occupy the corners created by the cruciform plan. These constitute the minor order in the spatial organization of the complex. Although the four-*īwān* building type has roots in Cairo going back to its introduction by the Ayyubids, none of its predecessors utilize the type with such originality. By the time the complex was built in 1356, the type had matured and was widely used in a variety of religious buildings including madrasahs, *khānqāh*s, and *zāwiyah*s. Examples include the madrasah of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on al-Muʿizz Street (1295), its neighbor the madrasah of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (1384–86), the *khānqāh* of Baybars al-Jāshnikīr (1307–10), and the *zāwiyah* of Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf (1295–1325). The plan of the complex uses a monumental version of the four-*īwān* plan in combination with the single-*īwān* type. It is therefore a masterful combination and a unique interpretation of the four-*īwān* plan. By inserting a single-*īwān* madrasah in each of the four corners as a minor order to the major cruciform one, the plan distinguishes the public zone from the private zone of each of the madrasah units and adjusts scale and accessibility. The public zone includes the *jāmiʿ,* the major teaching *īwān*s, and the mausoleum, while the madrasahs and their living units remain separate and private.

The madrasahs are dedicated to the teachings of the four Sunni schools. According to the *waqf* document, dated Saturday, 15 Rabīʿ II 760 (1359), and Thursday, 2 Rajab 760 (1359),[5] the largest of the major *īwān*s, that of the qiblah, is dedicated to the Friday *khuṭbah,* the reading of the Quran, and the meetings of the Shafiʿi students with their professor to conduct their general public lectures. The remaining three major *īwān*s are approximately equal in size. The southwestern *īwān* was dedicated to the sessions of the Hanbali School, the northwestern to the Hanafi School and the northeastern to the Maliki School.

> . . . He also dedicated the *qiblī īwān* to the delivery of the *khuṭbah,* the reading of the blessed Quran, and the meeting of the Shafiʿis with their professor to conduct their public lecture in it . . . and dedicated the *baḥrī īwān* as well to the meeting of the Hanafis with their professor to conduct their public lecture in it, and dedicated the eastern *īwān* as well to the meeting of the Malikis with their professor to conduct their public lecture in it, and dedicated the western *īwān* as well to the meeting of the Hanbalis with their professor to conduct their public lecture in it. . . . as to the place east of the mentioned *qiblī īwān,* he endowed the *īwān,* at the end of which lies the mihrab, as a mosque for God almighty where prayers are to be held, worship is to be performed, the Quran to be read, good deeds are to be offered, and noble education is to

[5] Published in its entirety in 2001; see *The Waqf Document of Sultan Al-Nasir,* ed. Al-Harithy.

> be conducted. He endowed the rest of the mentioned place as a madrasah for the pursuit of education in accordance with the *madhhab* of al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī, may God bless him, and for the lodging of the fifty individuals assigned to live in it . . . twenty five individuals from the seniors and twenty five individuals from the juniors.[6]

According to the *waqf* document,[7] all four madrasahs are treated equally in terms of personnel assigned, salaries, number of students, and their stipends.[8] Each madrasah is assigned a professor, three teaching assistants, a supervisor, and one hundred students, fifty of whom are residents. "A professor, who is a Hanafi jurist known for his piety, is to conduct the teaching of Hanafi *fiqh* in the *baḥrī īwān* designated for him above; three assistants are to be assigned to him who have the same qualifications as those required of the Shafiʿi assistants, and a hundred students from his *madhhab,* on the condition that the professor, assistants, and students conduct themselves as required of the Shafiʿis and in accordance with the restrictions and conditions outlined above. . . ."[9] Besides their stipends, the *waqf* provided students with seasonal gifts and medical care. "The measure of two head of camels, twenty head of cattle, and ten head of sheep are to be slaughtered during ʿĪd al-Aḍḥá and divided in half. One half is to be distributed to the residents of the aforementioned places, including students and staff, as the *nāẓir* sees fit. The second half is to be distributed to the orphans, tutors, supervisors, and the poor and needy outside the aforementioned places, both neighbors and strangers."[10]

Though the design of the four madrasahs is a variation of the single-*īwān* plan, they vary a great deal in size and interior organization of living units. Each madrasah has a private teaching *īwān*, a courtyard with a fountain, latrines, living units, and a large room above the *īwān* that may have served as a library (figs. 21–25). The living units range in size. The average room has an area of 10 square meters. The Ḥanafīyah Madrasah has 56 living units, the Shāfiʿīyah has 52, and the Mālikīyah has 44, while the Ḥanbalīyah has only 22 living units. Its *īwān* has an area of 30 square meters compared to the *īwān* of the Ḥanafīyah, which

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[6] Ibid., 149–50.

[7] Ibid., 148–75.

[8] For details on the salaries and stipends, see Muḥammad M. Amīn, "Maṣārīf Awqāf al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ʿalá Maṣāliḥ al-Qubbah wa-al-Jāmiʿ wa-al-Madāris wa-Maktab al-Sabīl bi-al-Qāhirah," in Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh* (Cairo, 1986), 3:341–449.

[9] *The Waqf Document of Sultan Al-Nasir,* ed. Al-Harithy, 151.

[10] Ibid., 172–73.

has an area of 67.5 square meters. It is clear that though the *waqf* document treated the four madrasahs equally, the design seems to have accommodated the site conditions and the sizes of the madrasahs in a more hierarchical fashion that responded more to the actual following of the four madrasahs in Egypt. The Ḥanafīyah was most popular and the Ḥanbalīyah was the least popular at the time.

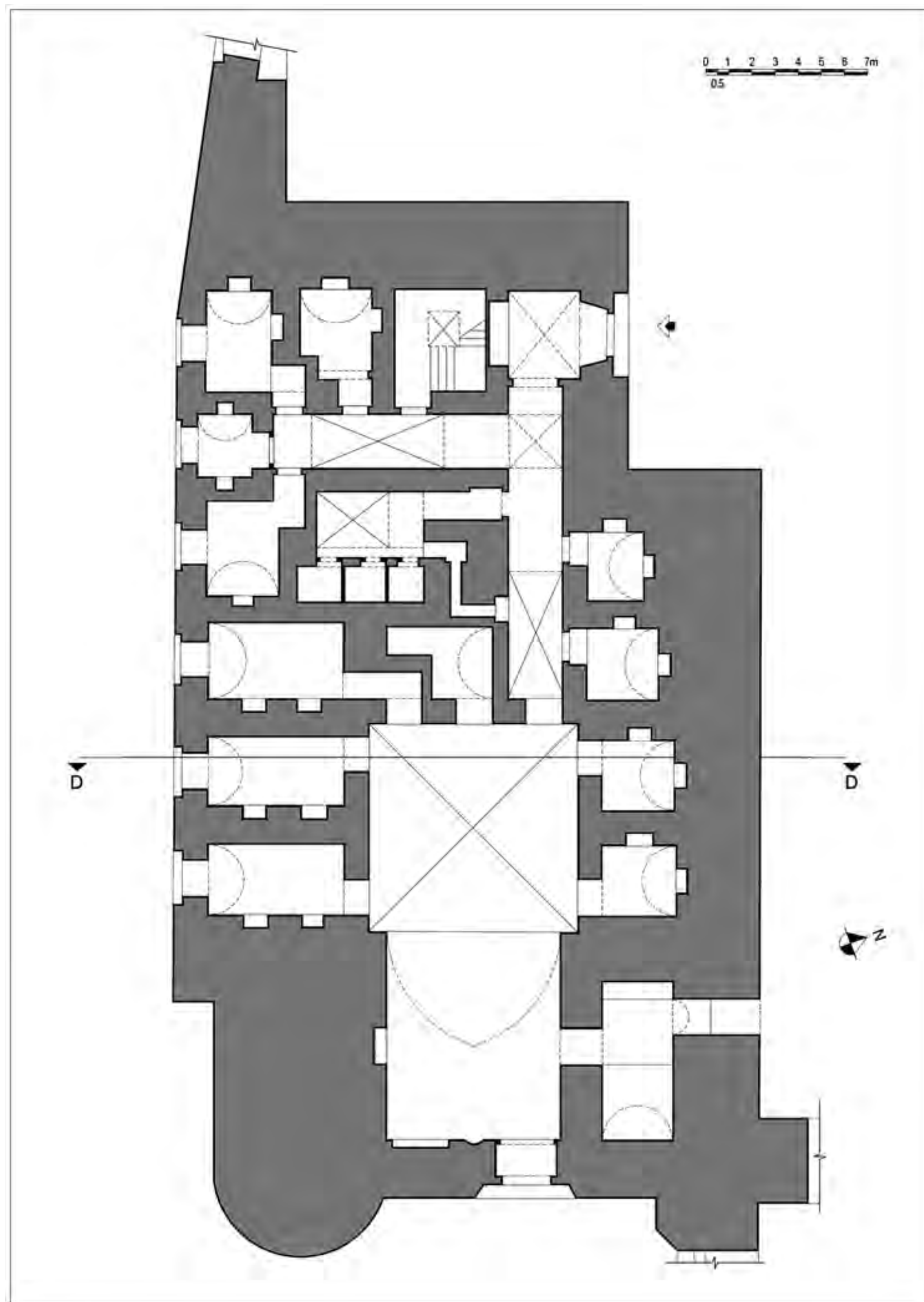


Fig. 1. Ḥanafīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo, ground floor plan (H. Al-Harithy)

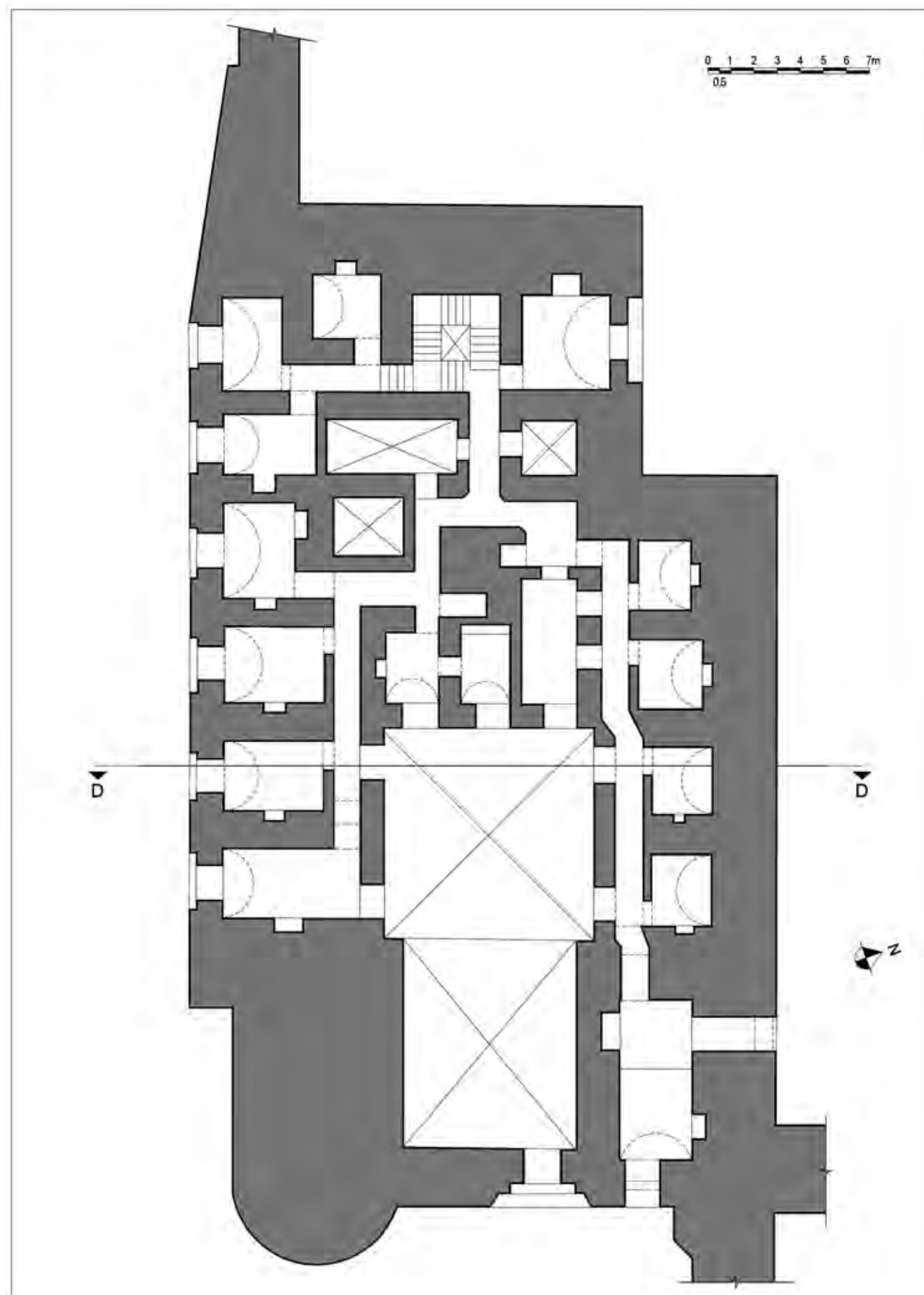


Fig. 2. Ḥanafīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo, second floor plan (H. Al-Harithy)

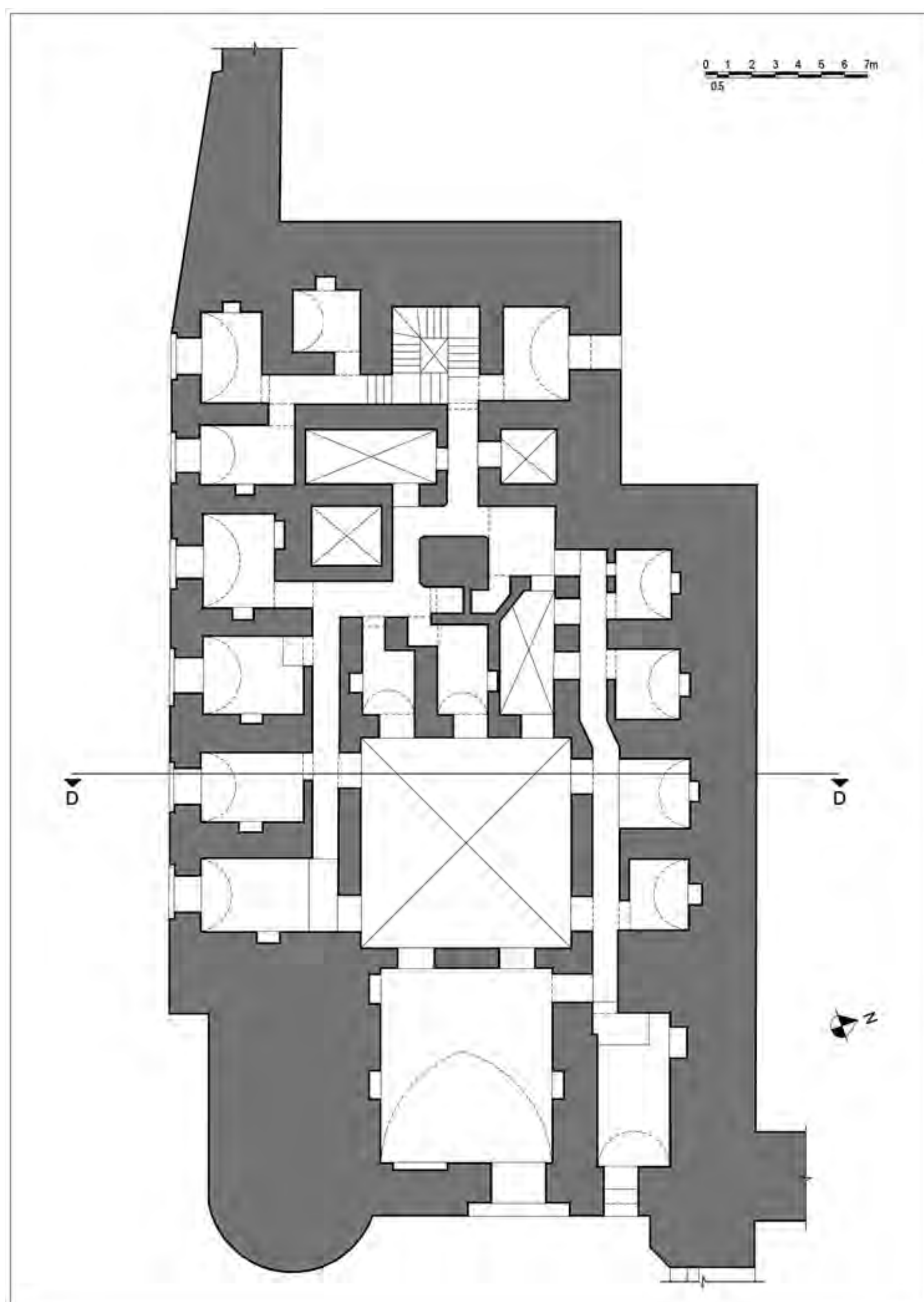


Fig. 3. Ḥanafīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo, third floor plan (H. Al-Harithy)

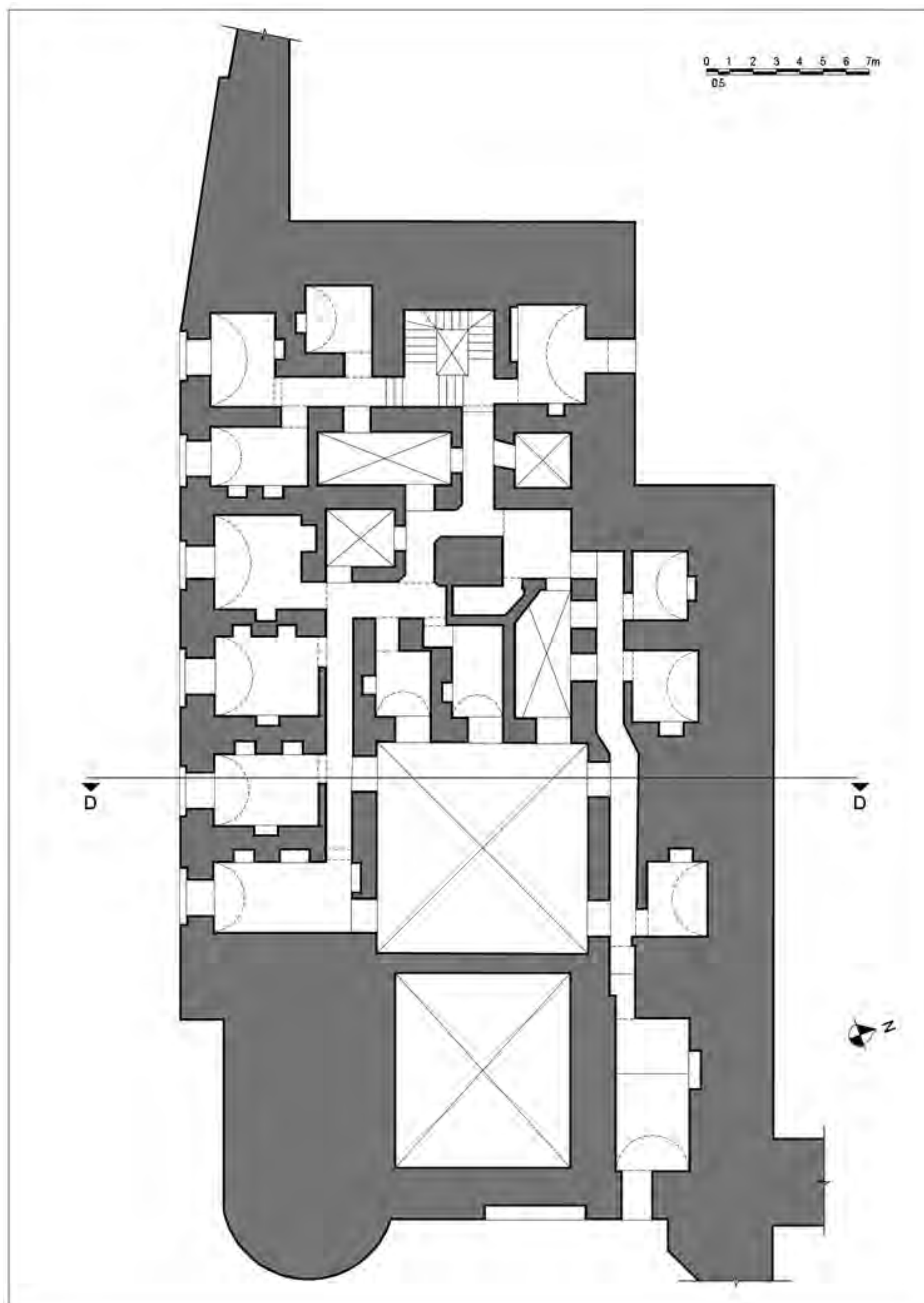


Fig. 4. Ḥanafīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo, fourth floor plan (H. Al-Harithy)

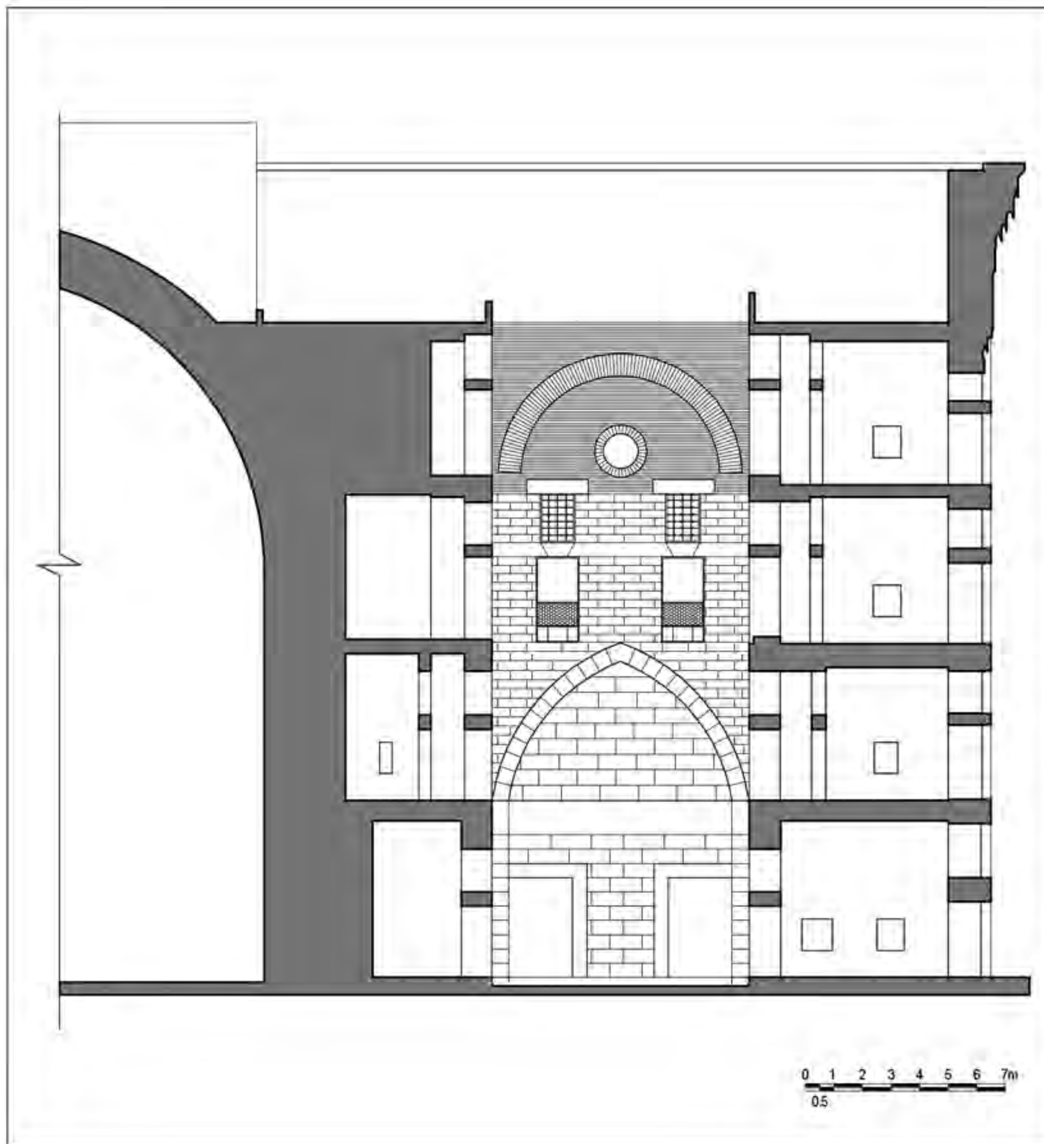


Fig. 5. Ḥanafīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo, section DD
(H. Al-Harithy)

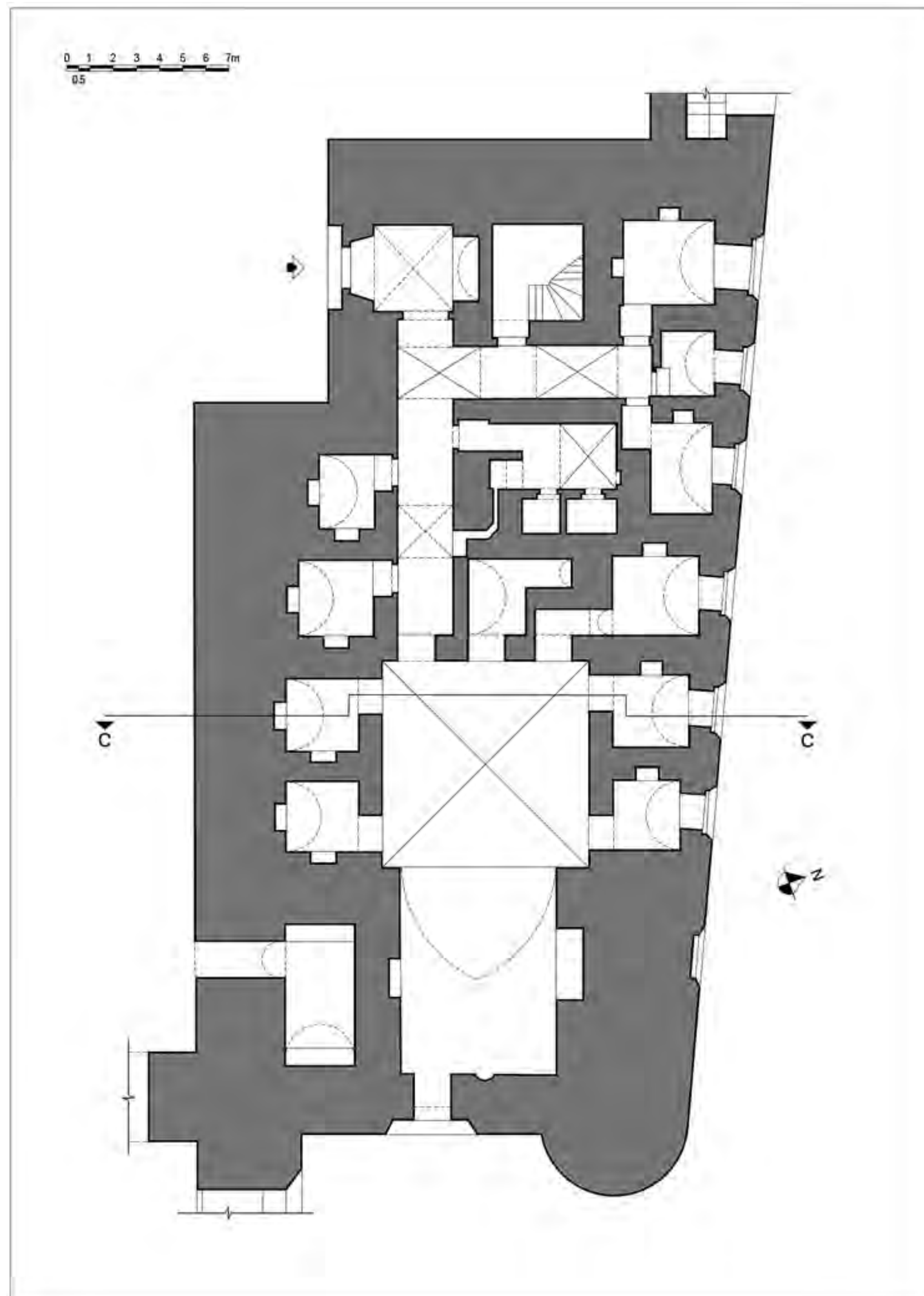


Fig. 6. Shāfiʿīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo, ground floor plan (H. Al-Harithy)

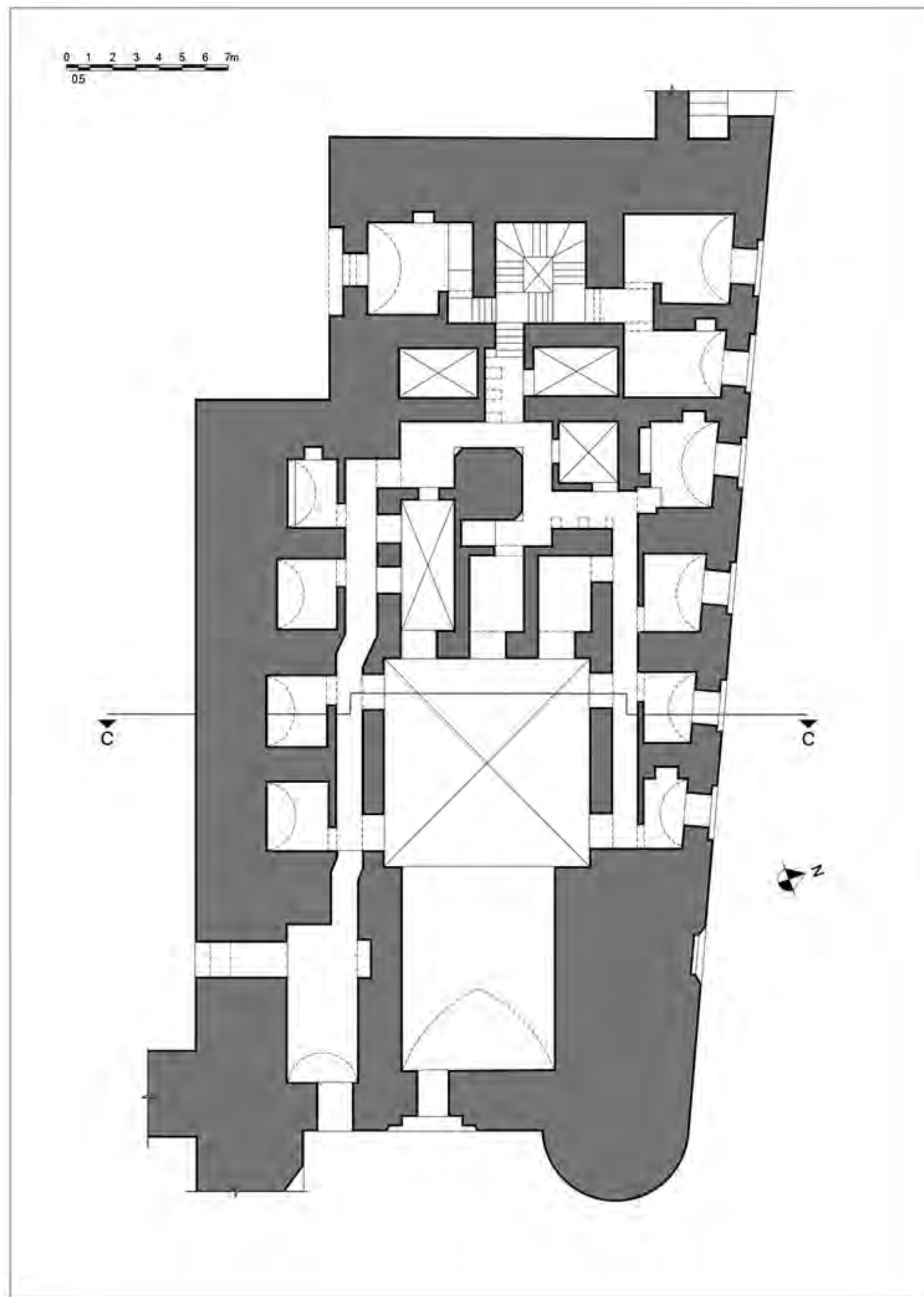


Fig. 7. Shāfiʿīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo, second floor plan (H. Al-Harithy)

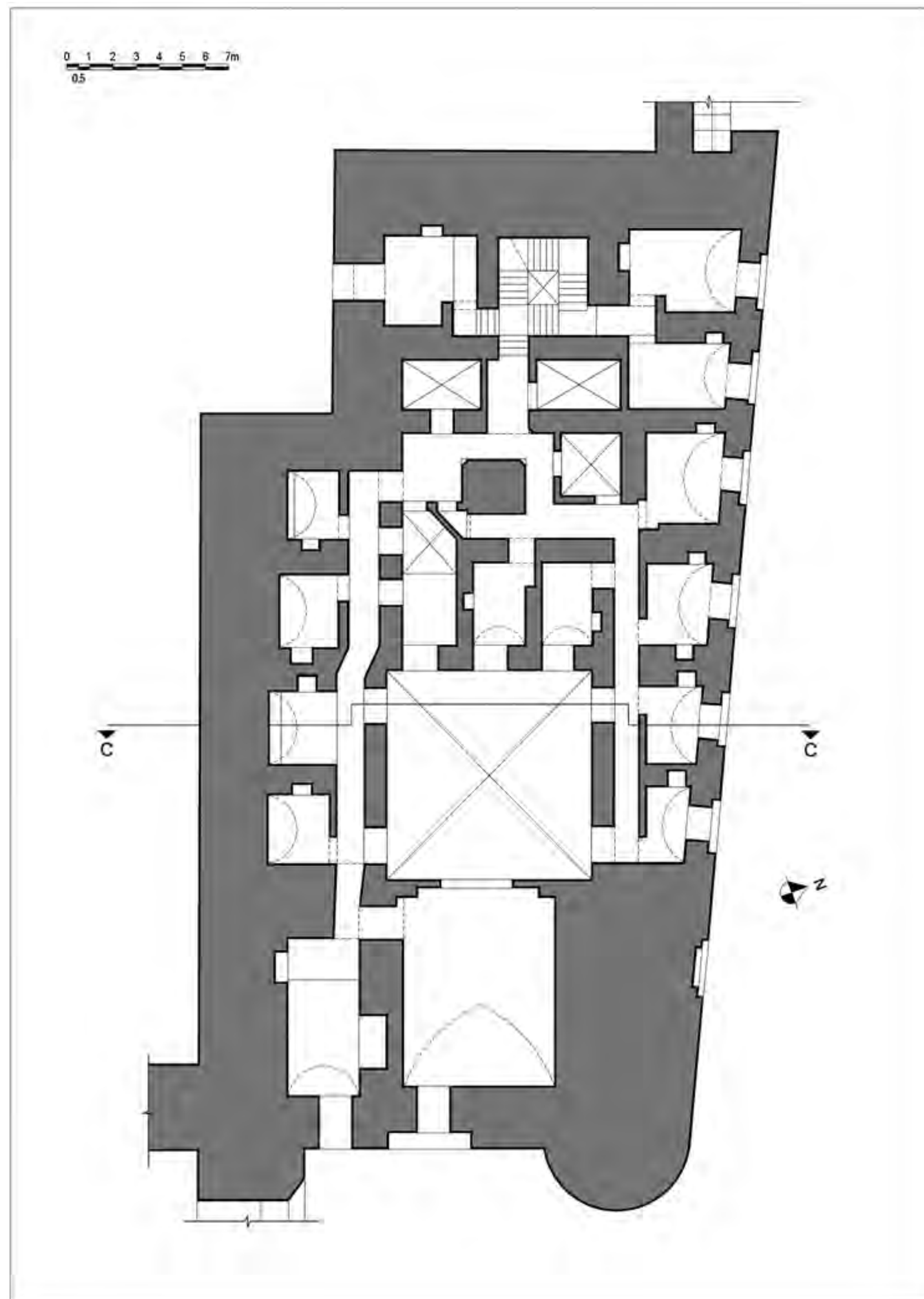


Fig. 8. Shāfiʿīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo, third floor plan (H. Al-Harithy)

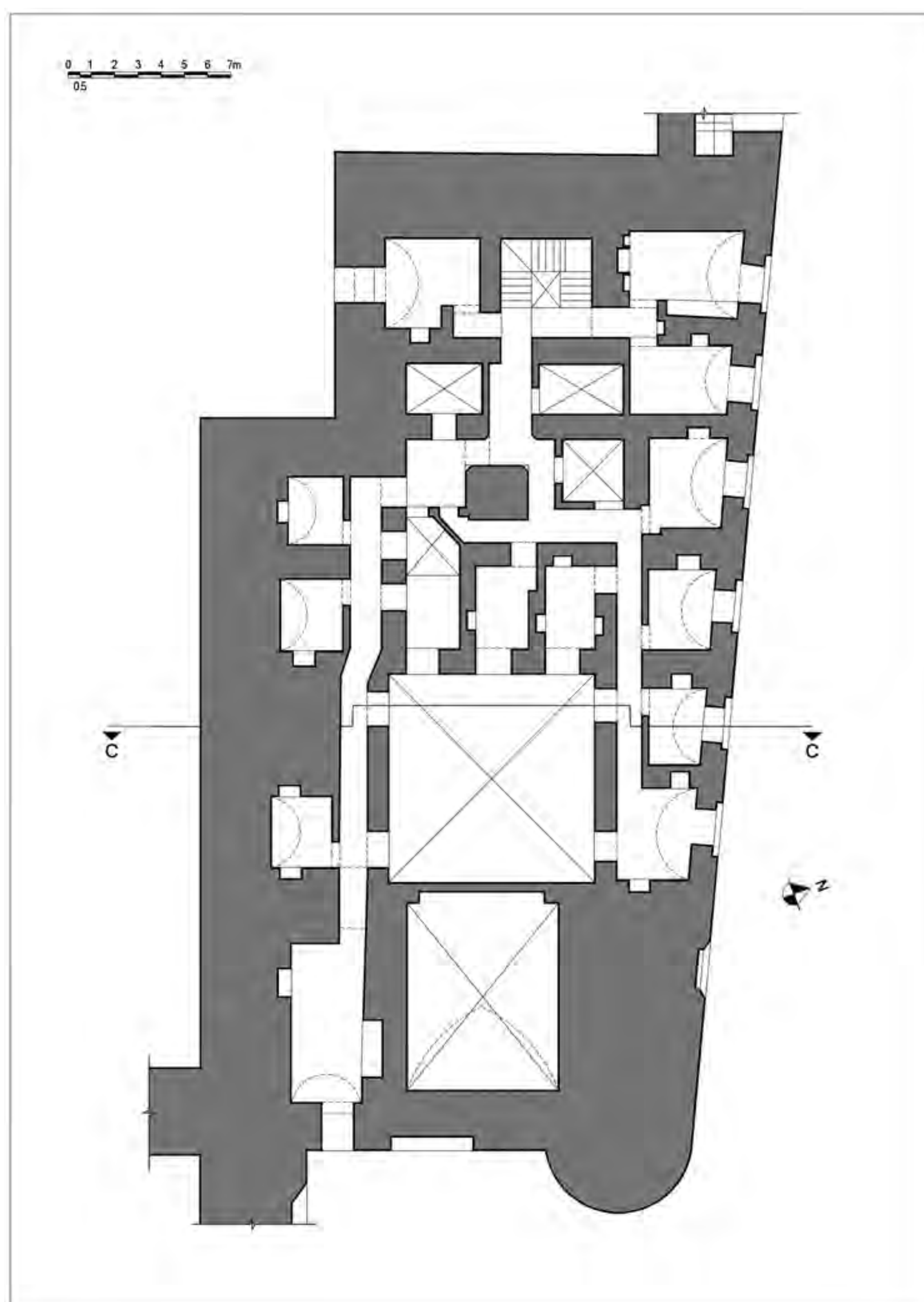


Fig. 9. Shāfiʿīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo, fourth floor plan (H. Al-Harithy)

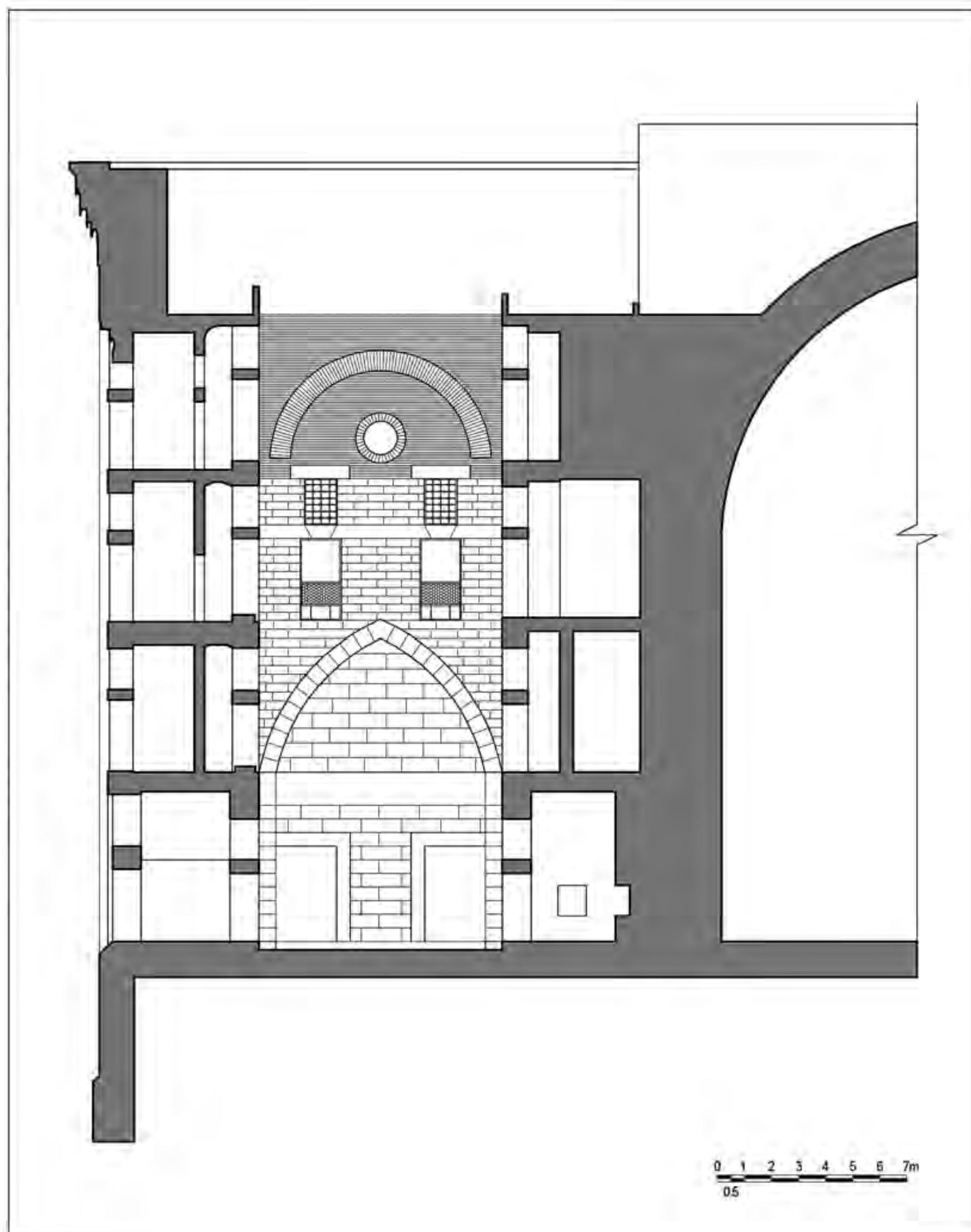


Fig. 10. Shāfiʿīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo, section CC (H. Al-Harithy)

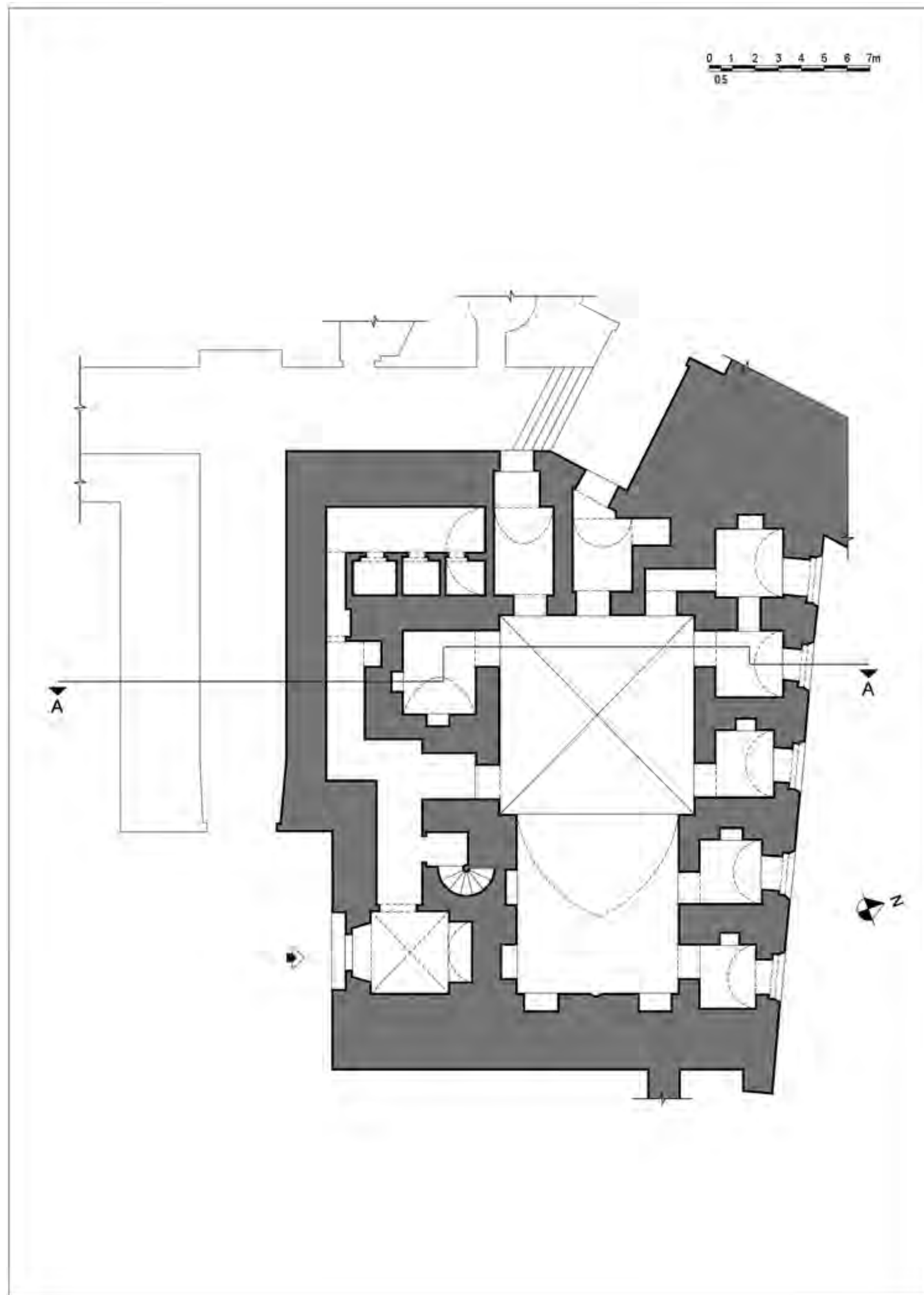


Fig. 11. Mālikīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo, ground floor plan (H. Al-Harithy)

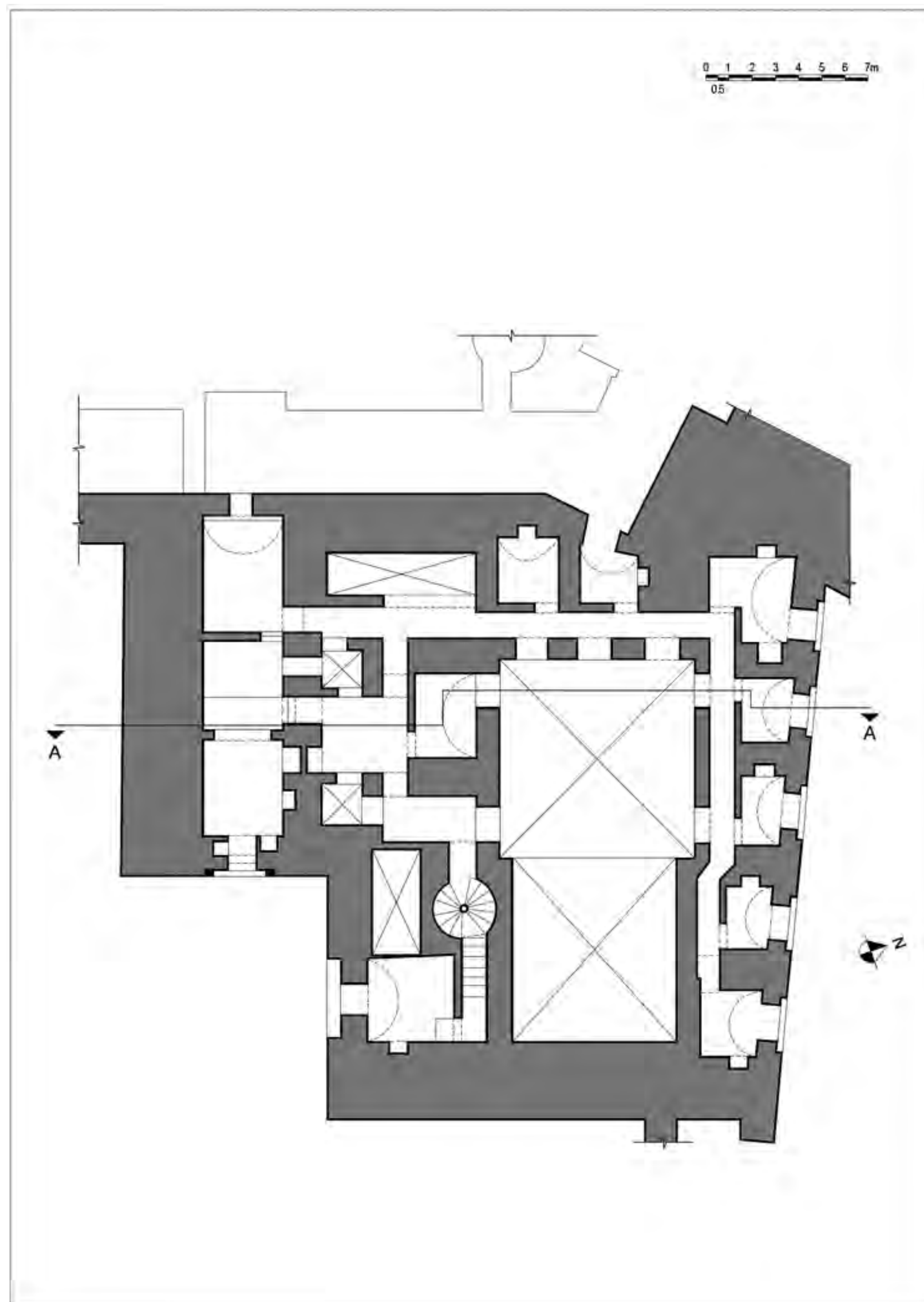


Fig. 12. Mālikīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo, second floor plan (H. Al-Harithy)

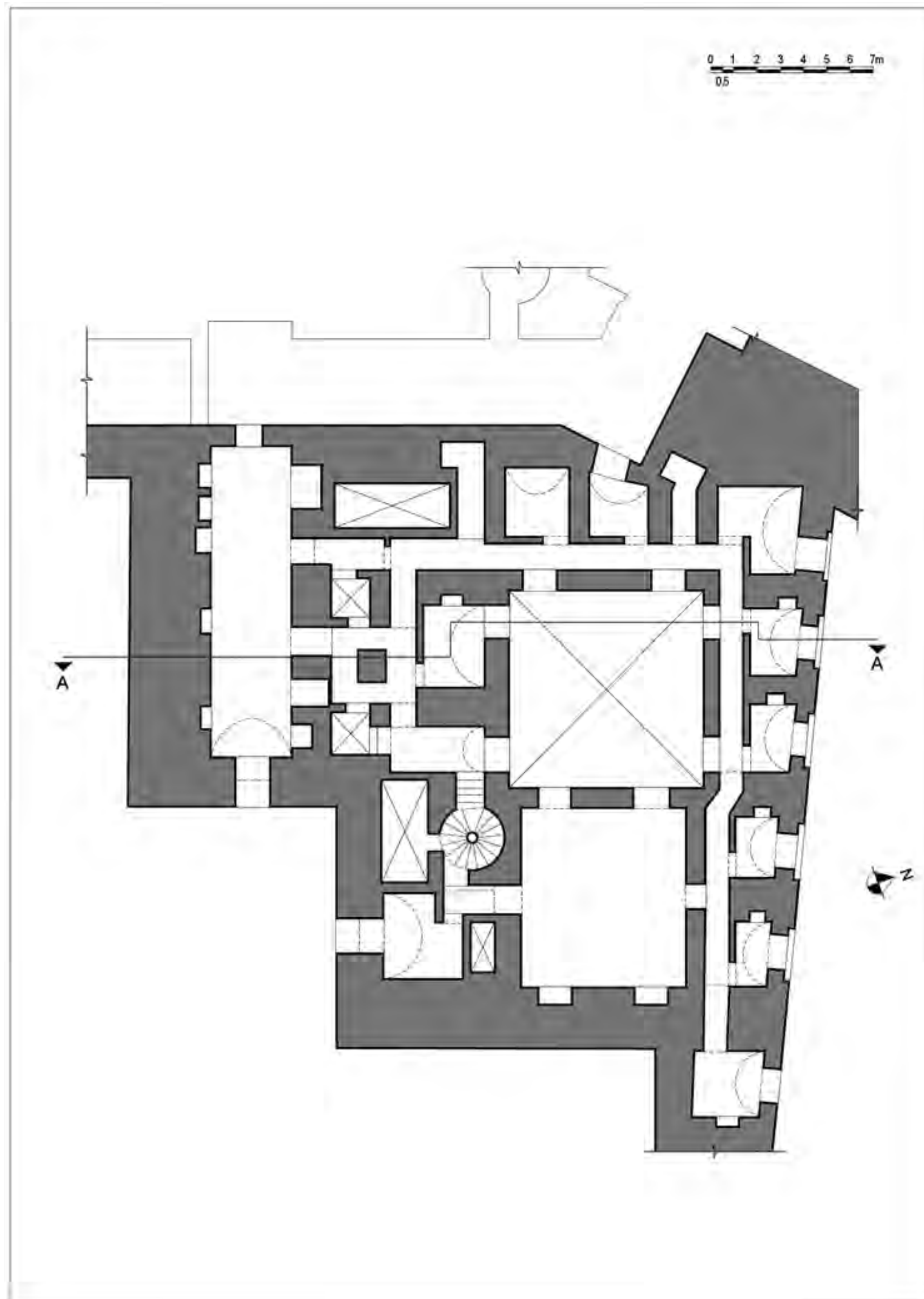


Fig. 13. Mālikīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo, third floor plan (H. Al-Harithy)

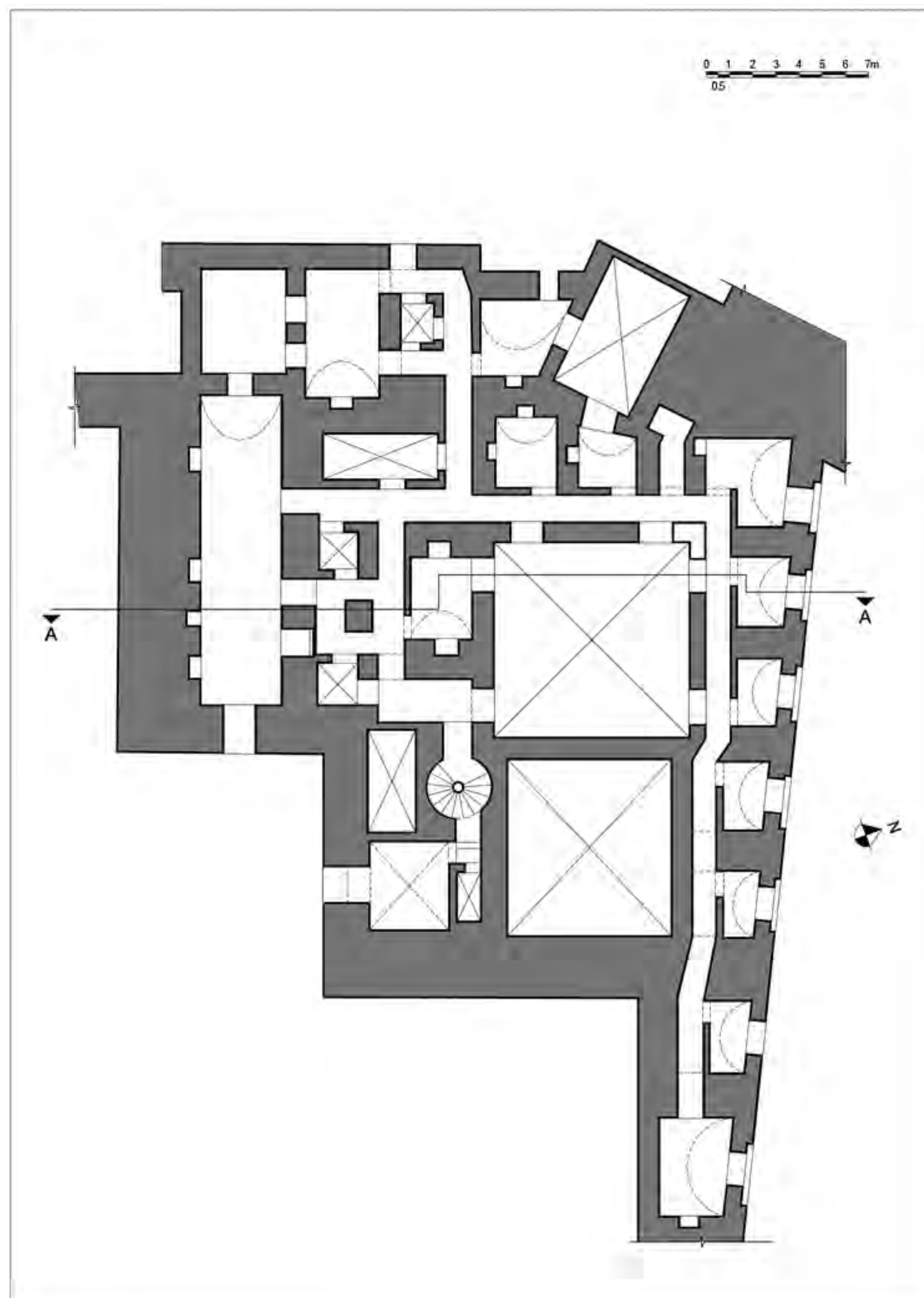


Fig. 14. Mālikīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo, fourth floor plan (H. Al-Harithy)

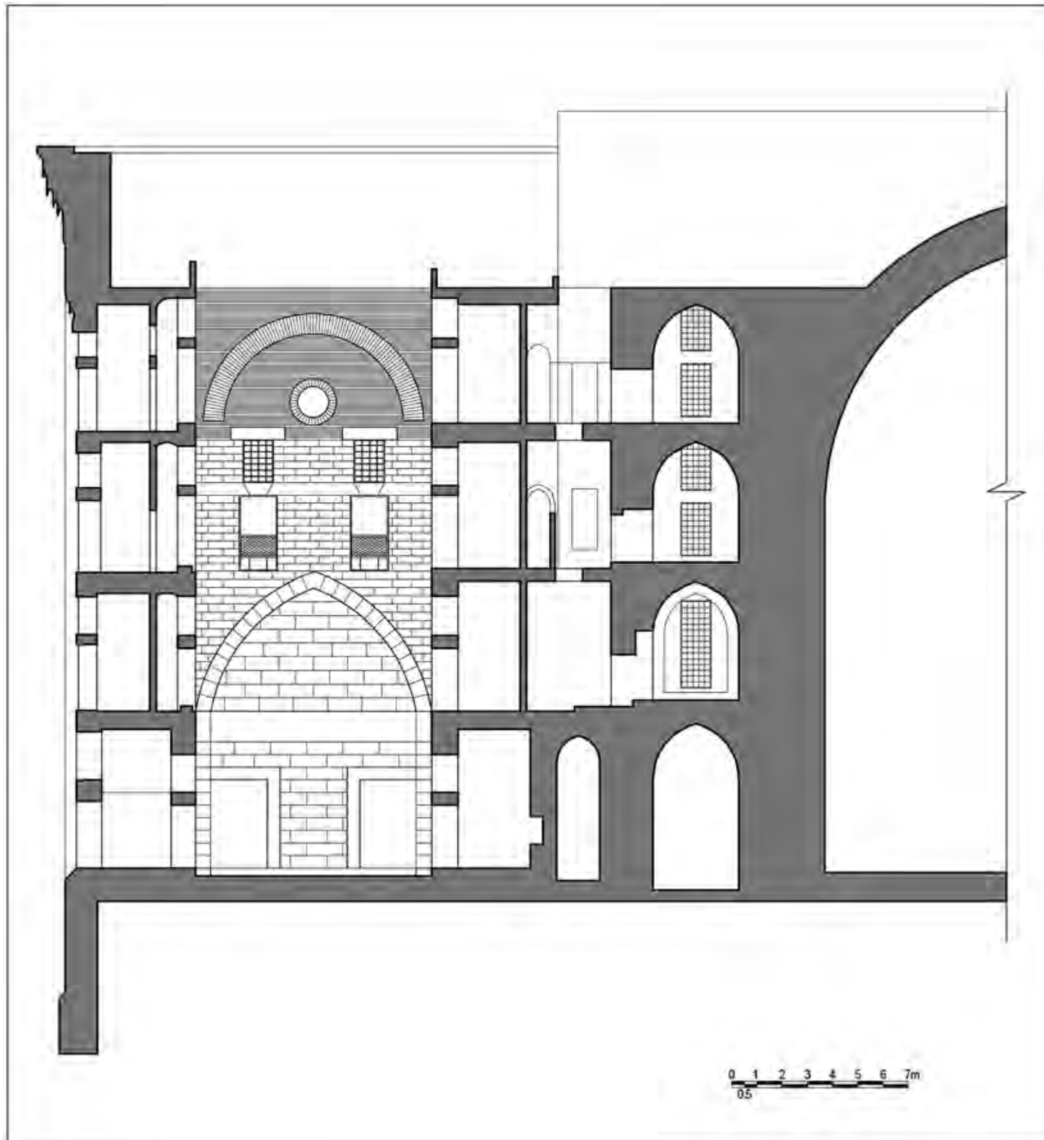


Fig. 15. Mālikīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo, section AA (H. Al-Harithy)

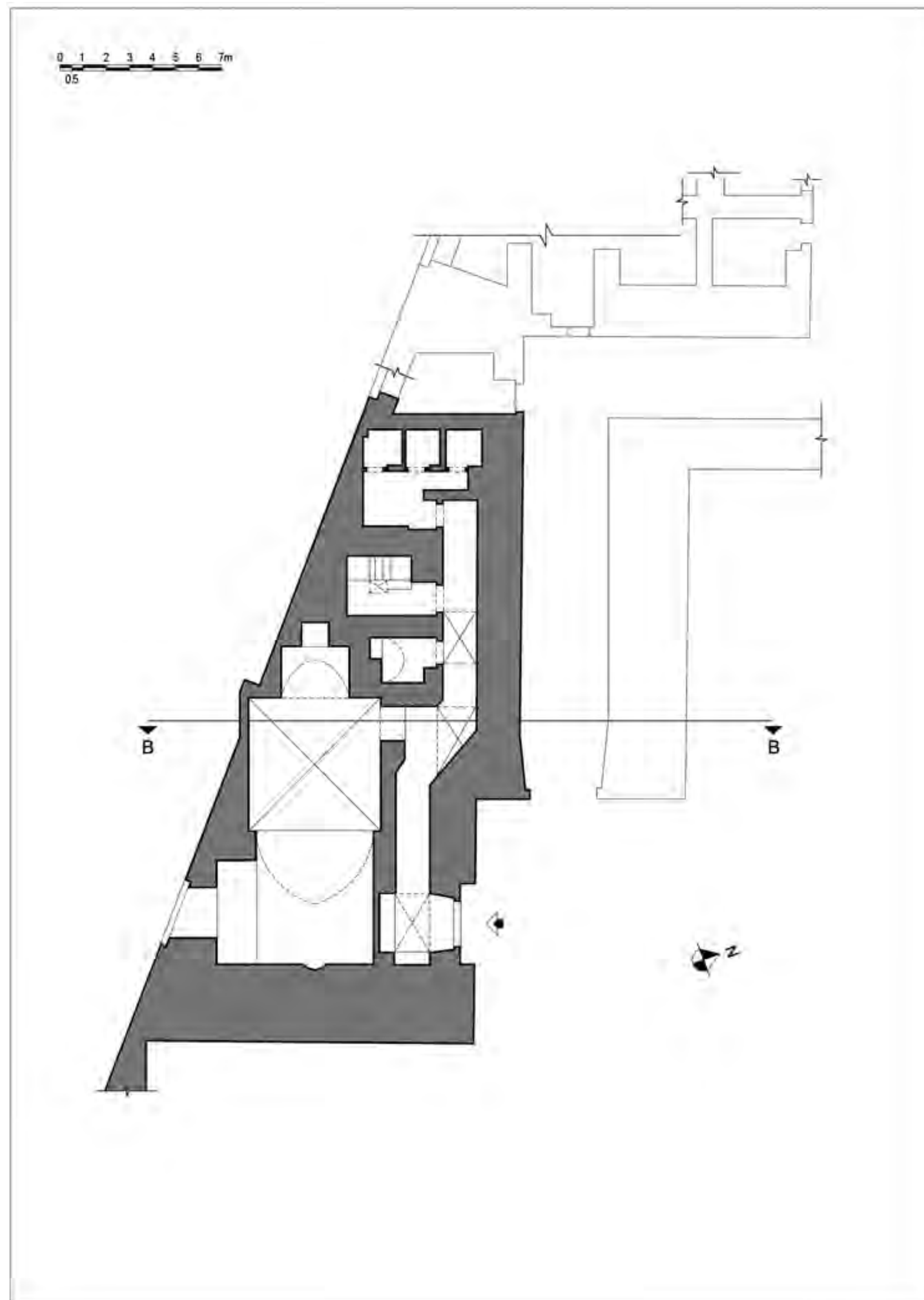


Fig. 16. Ḥanbalīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, ground floor plan (H. Al-Harithy)

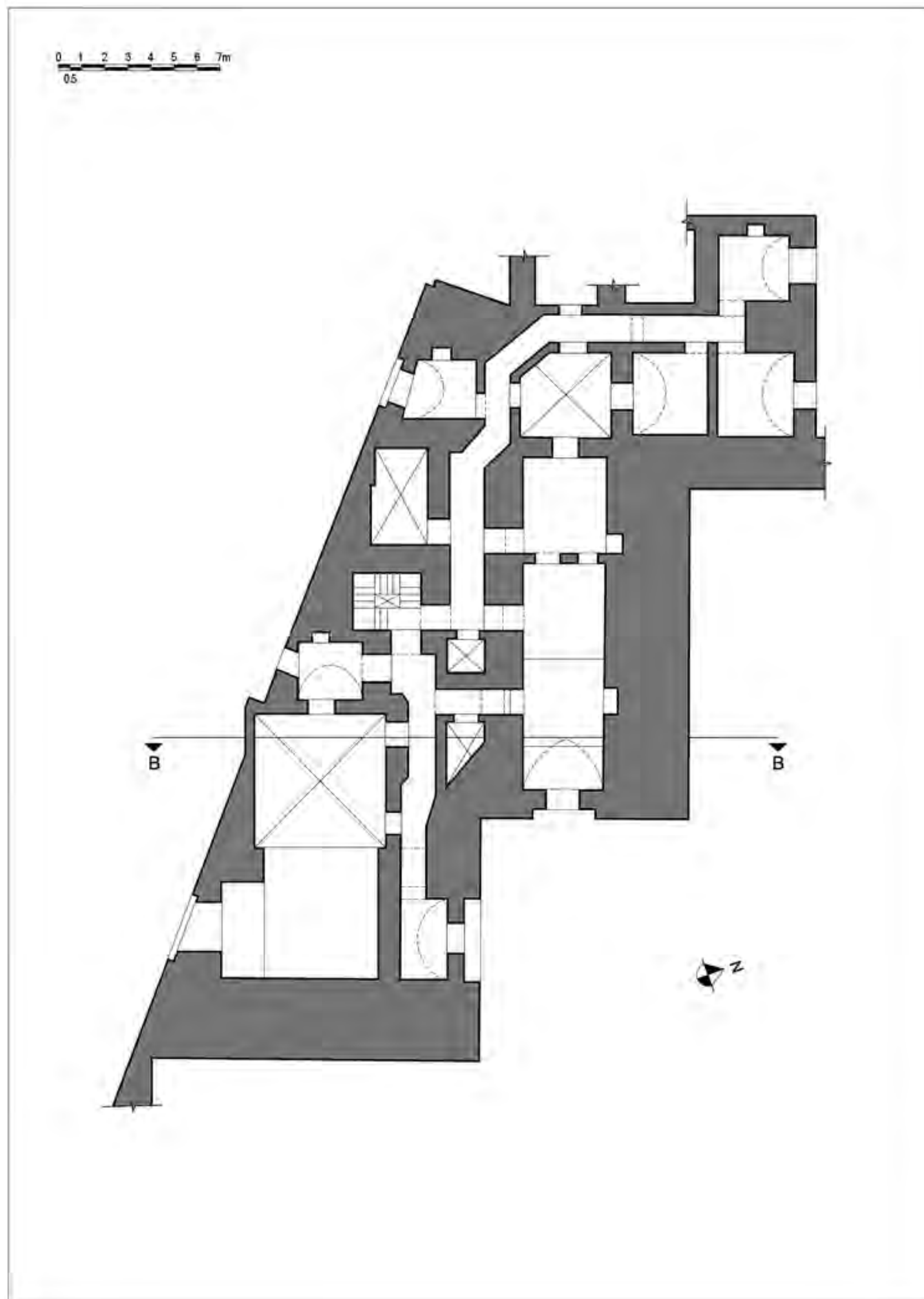


Fig. 17. Ḥanbalīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, second floor plan (H. Al-Harithy)

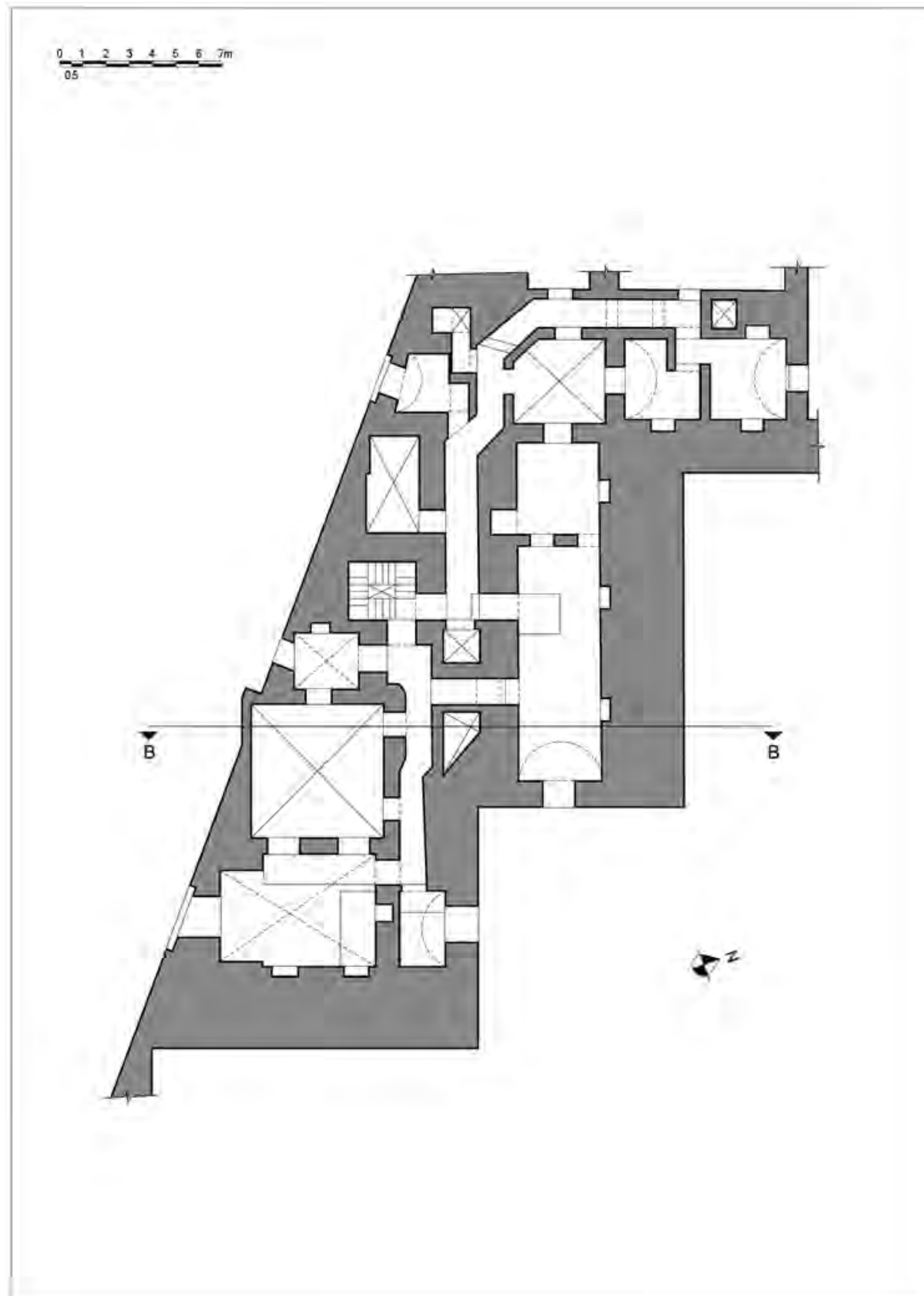


Fig. 18. Ḥanbalīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo, third floor plan (H. Al-Harithy)

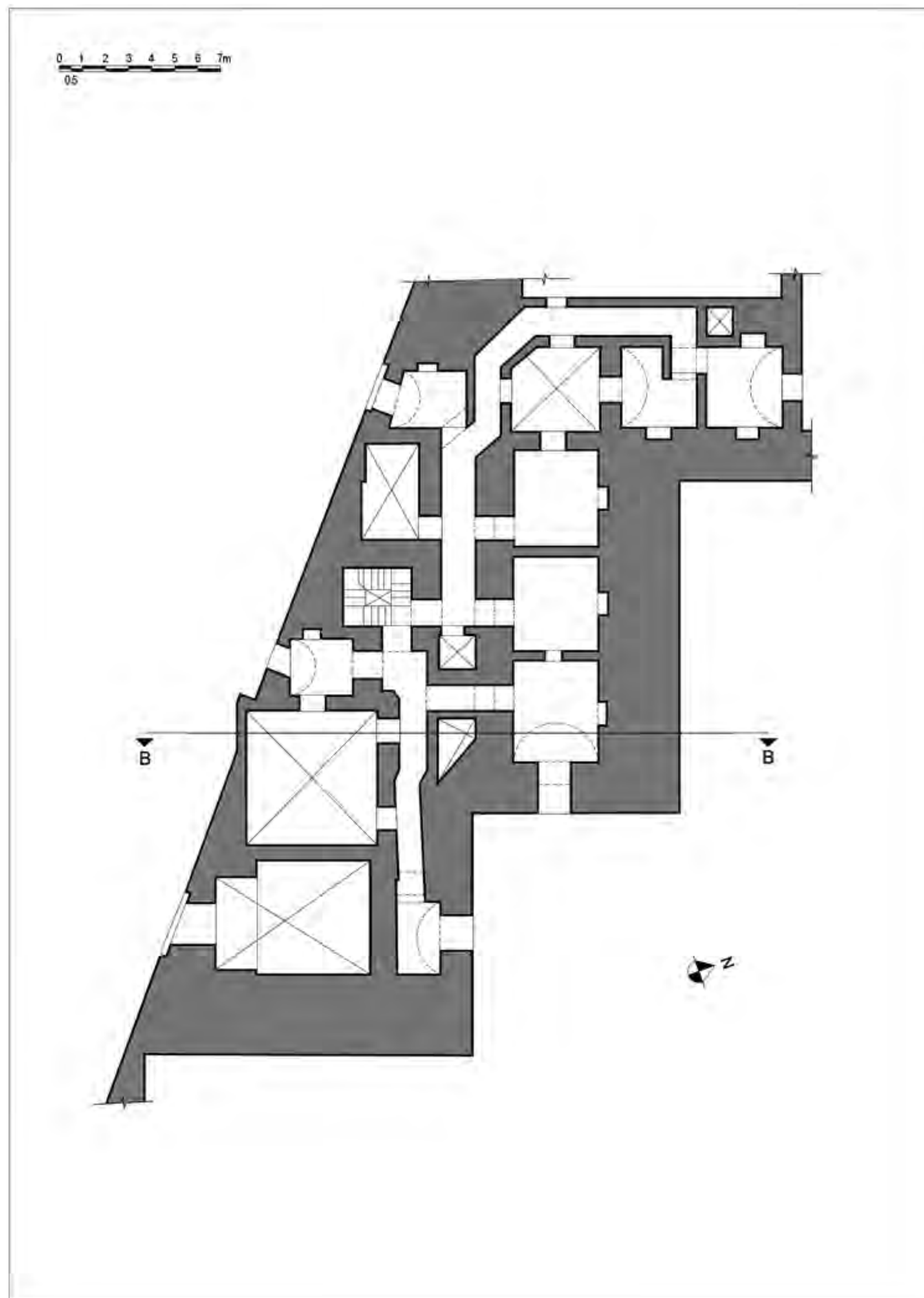


Fig. 19. Ḥanbalīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, fourth floor plan (H. Al-Harithy)

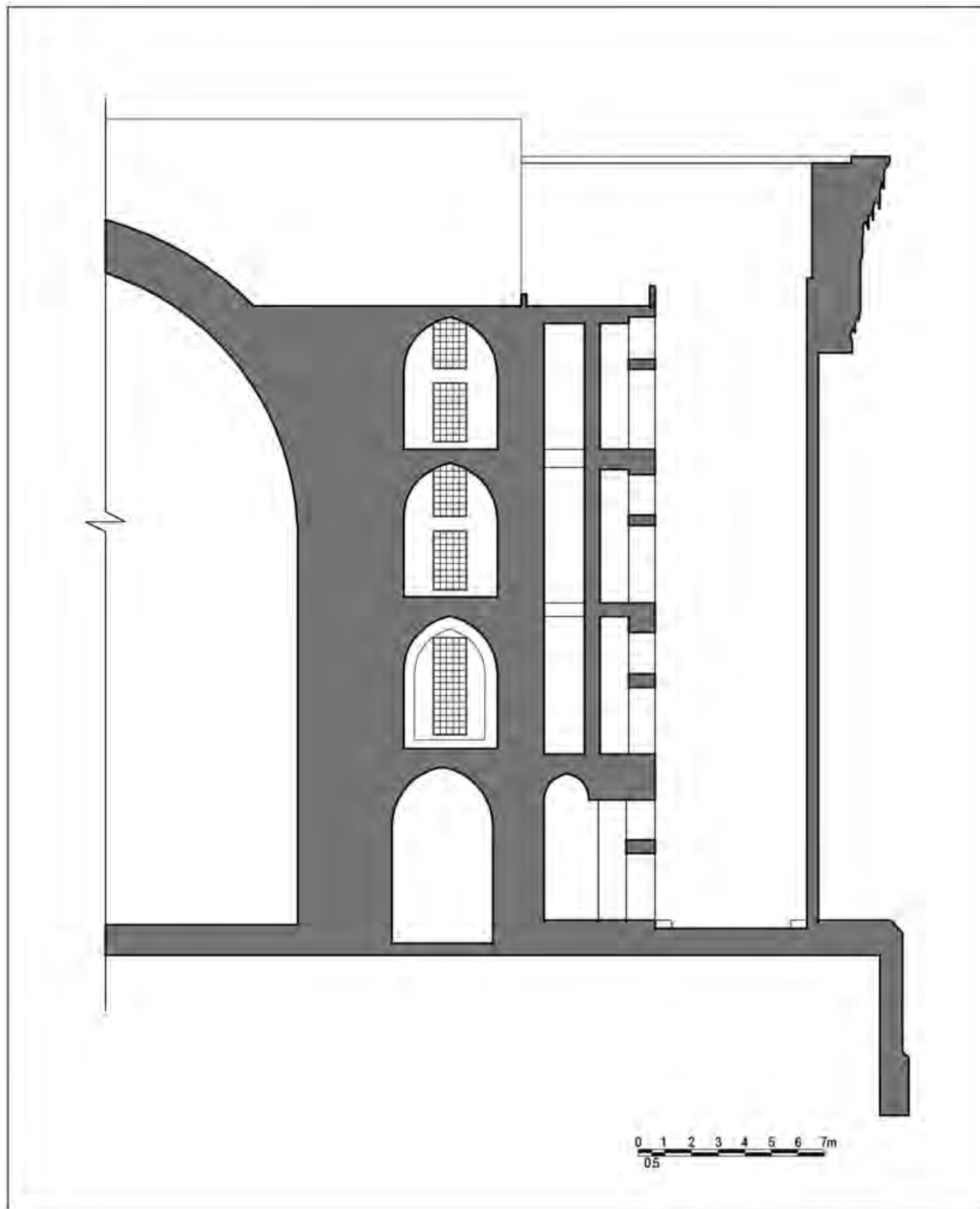


Fig. 20. Ḥanbalīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo, section BB (H. Al-Harithy)



Fig. 21. Ḥanafīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo, interior view of courtyard (H. Al-Harithy)



Fig. 22. Ḥanafīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo, interior view of *īwān* (H. Al-Harithy)



Fig. 23. Ḥanafīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo, interior view of living unit (H. Al-Harithy)



Fig. 24a. Ḥanafīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo, interior view from living units (H. Al-Harithy)



Fig. 24b. Ḥanafīyah Madrasah, Complex of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo, interior view from living units (H. Al-Harithy)

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The Decline of the Ilkhanate and the Mamluk Sultanate's Eastern Frontier

In the period following the death of the last Mongol Ilkhan ruler Abū Saʿīd in 736/1335, the region east of the Mamluk Sultanate, from the Euphrates to the Oxus, was thrown into political upheaval. The Ilkhanate had been ruled by a dynastic line descended from Hülegü Khan, which, although witness to occasional succession disputes, had continued to provide undisputed leadership in the region since 656/1258. By the fourteenth century, dynastic succession had been settled in one branch of the Hülegüid family, through Hülegü's son Abaqa, and Abaqa's son Arghun. While this pattern helped to prevent the kind of succession crises that had occurred in the thirteenth century, it created a new problem of uncertainty when Abū Saʿīd Bahādur Khan died without an heir in 736/1335. The uncertainty of legitimate succession left several factions from among the state's military elite scrambling to maintain their privileged positions. Various families of amirs and local notables entered into alliances with each other as well as with members of peripheral lines of the Ilkhanid royal family in an attempt to enhance their prestige and legitimize their claims to authority. In particular, the military governors in the western Ilkhanid provinces, in roughly the area from Baghdad north to Mosul, Diyarbakr, and Erzurum, which formed the traditional border zone with the Mamluk state, sought aid and recognition from the sultan in Cairo. Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad welcomed such overtures as an opportunity to both secure the Mamluk northeast frontier, as well as extend the authority of the state beyond the Euphrates. For a brief period, it seemed as if this had been achieved, and the name of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was read in the *khuṭbah* in the mosques of Baghdad, Mosul, and Diyarbakr. This article is an attempt to untangle the often confusing web of political networks and allegiances in this frontier zone and to analyze the factors that led to the recognition of Mamluk authority east of the Euphrates River, as well as the breakdown in relations and the eventual reversion to the *status quo ante,* with the Euphrates dividing the Mamluk domains and the lands which would continue to look to the legacy of the Ilkhanate as a model for its geographical and political orientation.

The Ilkhanid Western Provinces

Following the second wave of Mongol migration to Iran as part of Hülegü's campaign against the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs and the Abbasid caliph in the 650s/1250s, the territory of Arab Iraq, Diyarbakr, and the Lake Van region came to form the western frontier of the newly founded Mongol state. This state, known as the Ilkhanate, extended from the Oxus to Euphrates, with its center in the province of Azarbayjan and the urban center of Tabriz. Hülegü's army of conquest, which formed the basis of this migration, included several different tribal contingents, some of which represented older groups that had lived in Mongolia in the time of Chinggis Khan, as well as some newer, non-tribal military units. From among the older tribal groups, the Oyrat came to occupy the territory on the western edge of the Ilkhanate, adopting seasonal migration routes between summer pastures in eastern Anatolia and winter pastures in the area around Mosul.[1] These migration routes corresponded territorially with the Ilkhanid military governorship of Diyarbakr, centered in Mosul.

These provinces were overseen by amirs appointed by the Ilkhanid central authority. They were charged with maintaining security on the frontier, and keeping order among the Oyrats. However, due to the Oyrats' own internal leadership, this was not always possible. In 695/1296, the Tatar Ilkhanid governor of Diyarbakr, Mūlāy Noyan, was faced with a migration of several Oyrat military units and their households under the leadership of their chief, Ṭarqāy Gūrgān. Mūlāy confronted the Oyrats, but was defeated and could not prevent them from resettling in Mamluk Syria.[2] The frontier with the Mamluks was quite fluid, and such examples of Mongol *wāfidīyah* to Syria and Egypt were not uncommon.[3] For the purposes of this article, it is important to recognize a fundamental tension in the Diyarbakr province, which was home to large numbers of a single tribal group, the Oyrats, under the nominal authority of a non-Oyrat imperial appointee. The breakdown in central authority in the Ilkhanate after 736/1335 would lead to a parallel breakdown of this pattern of frontier administration, leading to instability and the opportunity for the Mamluk Sultanate to extend its influence in the region.

In addition to the Ilkhanid governor at Mosul, there were two other important political and military posts on the western frontier. To the northeast of Diyarbakr was the governorate of Ahlat, in the region around Lake Van.[4] In addition, the amir of the "right hand" of the Ilkhanid army, also known as the commander of

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[1]Faruk Sümer, *Kara Koyunlular (Başlangıçtan Cihanşah'a kadar)* (Ankara, 1962), 1:33.

[2]Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Hamadānī, *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh,* ed. Muḥammad Rawshan and Muṣṭafa Mūsavī (Tehran, 1994), 1262.

[3]See David Ayalon, "The Wafidiya in the Mamluk Kingdom," *Islamic Culture* 25 (1951): 89–104.

[4]Sümer, *Kara Koyunlular,* 33.

Anatolia *(amīr-i rūm)* resided in this region, west of Tabriz. It is at the intersection of these three Ilkhanid posts (Diyarbakr, Ahlat, Rūm) and three prominent political families that we will examine the role of the Mamluk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in the events on the Ilkhan frontier after 736/1335.

THE FAMILY OF AMIR SŪTĀY AND THE OYRATS

Mūlāy Noyan died in 712/1312, and his position was given to a certain Amīr Sūtāy.[5] Although Sūtāy's background is not certain, it is clear that he was not a member of the Oyrat tribe.[6] He was a stable master (*aqṭajī* [=*akhtājī*][7]), and claimed to have been present at the conquest of Baghdad in 656/1258. Al-Ṣafadī writes that he was over one hundred years old when he died in 732/1331–32.[8] During the reign of Abū Saʿīd (717-36/1317–35) he governed Diyarbakr while his three sons governed Ahlat.[9] However, when Sūtāy died, his position in Diyarbakr passed to the Oyrat amir ʿAlī Pādshāh.[10] His promotion to this post was likely related to the fact that he was Abū Saʿīd's uncle, the brother of his mother Ḥājī Khātūn.[11] ʿAlī Pādshāh came into control of the entire upper Tigris region, from Baghdad to Diyarbakr, including its large population of his fellow Oyrat tribesmen. The three sons of Sūtāy, who had served in Ahlat, opposed ʿAlī Pādshāh's authority, no doubt stung that their father's assignment had not gone to a member of the family. In particular, Sūtāy's son Ḥājī Ṭaghāy clashed with the Oyrat chief, but was initially defeated. He would have to wait three more years for the breakup of the Ilkhanate to provide him an opportunity to reclaim Diyarbakr for the descendants of Sūtāy.

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[5]Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Dhayl-i Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh,* ed. Khānbābā Bayānī (Tehran, 1317 [1939]), 54; Sümer, *Kara Koyunlular,* 33.

[6]Claude Cahen has characterized Sūtāy's son, Ḥājī Ṭaghāy, as the chief Oyrat who represented the principal surviving military force of the Mongol regime in upper Mesopotamia in the 730s/1330s. See Claude Cahen, "Contribution à l'histoire du Diyār Bakr au quatorzième siècle," *Journal Asiatique* 243 (1955): 76. However, his conflict with ʿAlī Pādshāh and the Oyrats, according to Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, was based on the "ancient hatred *(kīnah)* which he held in his heart for Amīr ʿAlī Pādshāh and the Oyrat tribe." Because of this, he "raised his head in opposition to them. He committed all of his efforts to eradicating that tribe." See Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Dhayl,* 152. Due to this conflict of Ḥājī Ṭaghāy with the Oyrat tribe, and based on this reason given by Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, it seems safe to say that Ḥājī Ṭaghāy, and hence his father Sūtāy, were not of the Oyrat tribe.

[7]Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen* (Wiesbaden, 1963), 1:117–18.

[8]Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr wa-Aʿwān al-Naṣr* (Beirut and Damascus, 1998), 2:486.

[9]Sümer, *Kara Koyunlular,* 33–34.

[10]Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,* 2:486.

[11]Dāvūd ibn Muḥammad Banākatī, *Tārīkh-i Banākatī: Rawḍat Ūlā al-Albāb fī Maʿrifat al-Tavārīkh va-al-Ansāb,* ed. Jaʿfar Shiʿār (Tehran, 1348 [1969]), 473.

The Chubanids

The Chubanids' eponym, Amīr Chūpān, was a member of the Suldus tribe. He ruled the Ilkhanate virtually independently after the death of Öljeytü Khan in 716/1316, and was grooming his son, Dimashq Khvājah, to follow in his place.[12] Reaction from the other amirs and from a maturing Abū Saʿīd came in the form of a purge of Amīr Chūpān and his children in 727/1327. Dimashq Khvājah was executed after being accused of having an affair with Ṭughā Khātūn, the former wife of Öljeytü[13] while Amīr Chūpān was on campaign in the east. Upon receiving word of his son's death, Amīr Chūpān took refuge with Malik Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kart in Herat. Amīr Chūpān's other son, Tīmūr Tāsh, was the Ilkhanid military governor in Anatolia, where he had claimed to be the *mahdī.*[14] After his brother was killed in 727/1327, he fled to the south and entered Mamluk territory under the protection of the amir Sayf al-Dīn Aytmish.[15] His arrogant posturing, as well as his ostentatious dispersal of riches to the other Mamluk amirs, drew the ire of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.[16] When Amīr Chūpān was executed in Herat, Abū Saʿīd demanded that the Mamluk sultan send Tīmūr Tāsh back to the Ilkhanid court. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad thus had his chance to be rid of Tīmūr Tāsh, and in the summer of 728/1328, Tīmūr Tāsh was strangled in Cairo.[17]

Abū Saʿīd was thus able to take greater personal control over the affairs of the Ilkhanate. Although the Chubanids were temporarily neutralized, Tīmūr Tāsh's son Shaykh Ḥasan (known as *kūchak,* "the small," or "the younger") would renew the fortunes of his family by claiming that his father was still alive and had come back after a long pilgrimage journey.[18] Shaykh Ḥasan and his brother Malik Ashraf

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[12]An illustration of Dimashq Khvājah's position in the state is provided by Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, who arrived in Baghdad in 727/1327, coinciding with a visit by Abū Saʿīd to the city. He saw the khan and his vizier, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad, on a boat on the Tigris. In front of them was Dimashq Khvājah who, Ibn Baṭṭūṭah wrote, held mastery over Abū Saʿīd. See Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, A.D. 1325–1354,* trans. H. A. R. Gibb (Cambridge, 1971), 336–37. For the details of Amīr Chūpān's role in the Ilkhanate, see Charles Melville, *The Fall of Amir Chupan and the Decline of the Ilkhanate, 1327–1337: A Decade of Discord in Iran* (Bloomington, 1999); idem, "Abū Saʿīd and the Revolt of the Amirs in 1319," in *L'Iran Face à la Domination Mongole: Études reunites et présentées par Denise Aigle* (Tehran, 1997), 89–120; idem, "Wolf or Shepherd? Amir Chupan's Attitude to Government," in *The Court of the Ilkhans, 1290–1340,* ed. Julian Raby and Teresa Fitzherbert (Oxford, 1996), 79–93.

[13]Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Travels,* 337.

[14]Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,* 2:111; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Wārith Muḥammad ʿAlī (Beirut, 1977), 1:307.

[15]Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,* 2:113.

[16]Ibid.

[17]Ibid., 115.

[18]Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Dhayl,* 156.

would establish Chubanid authority in the former Ilkhanid center of Azarbayjan in the 740s/1340s and 750s/1350s. However, in the immediate aftermath of Abū Saʿīd's purge of the Chubanids, the fortunes of a different Shaykh Ḥasan began to rise.

SHAYKH ḤASAN JALAYIR

Tīmūr Tāsh's position in Anatolia passed to Shaykh Ḥasan (known as *buzurg,* "the large," or "the elder"), a descendant of one of Hülegü's high-ranking Jalayir amirs. His mother was Öljetey Sulṭān, the sister of the Ilkhanid rulers Ghazan and Öljeytü.[19] Shaykh Ḥasan was married to Amīr Chūpān's daughter Baghdād Khātūn, although Abū Saʿīd forced Shaykh Ḥasan to divorce her and then married her himself after Amīr Chūpān's execution. Shaykh Ḥasan thus had close family ties with the Chubanids and the Ilkhanid royal house, which had ensured him of a high status in the state. With the fall of the Chubanids, he became the commander-in-chief *(amīr-i ulūs)* of the Ilkhanid forces, with his base of operations in eastern Anatolia. In these last years of the Ilkhanate, Shaykh Ḥasan was in close contact with the Mamluk state. As early as 729/1328–29, after taking over Tīmūr Tāsh's position in Anatolia, his own envoys started to arrive at the court of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.[20] Al-Maqrīzī describes Shaykh Ḥasan as the deputy (*nāʾib*[21]) of Abū Saʿīd, although they each sent separate diplomatic dispatches to Cairo. Until Abū Saʿīd's death, both sides were eager to maintain the friendly relations that had been established since the end of Mongol-Mamluk hostilities in 723/1323.[22]

THE END OF THE ILKHANATE AND UNCERTAINTY ON THE WESTERN FRONTIER

When Abū Saʿīd Bahādur Khan died on 13 Rabīʿ II 736/30 November 1335, in the words of Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, "the kingdom without a sultan became like a body without a soul and a flock without a shepherd."[23] Abū Saʿīd had no living male children. The only hope for the uncontested continuation of the dynasty was the unborn child of his wife Dilshād Khātūn. She was the daughter of Dimashq Khvājah ibn Amīr Chūpān, and had become the favorite of Abū Saʿīd in the later years of his reign. Her child would not be born until the following May, and in the intervening

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[19]Abū Bakr al-Quṭbī al-Ahrī, *Taʾrīkh-i Shaikh Uwais (A History of Shaikh Uwais): An Important Source for the History of Ādharbaijān in the Fourteenth Century,* trans. J. B. Van Loon ('s-Gravenhage, 1954), 83.

[20]Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1934), 1:310.

[21]Ibid., 320.

[22]Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamlūk-Īlkhānid War, 1260–1281* (Cambridge, 1995).

[23]Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Dhayl,* 143.

months various factions maneuvered for position in the political vacuum. One of these factions was led by Abū Saʿīd's vizier, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad, who enthroned Arpā, a descendant of Hülegü's brother, Ariq Böke.[24] Opposition to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad and Arpā Khan came from the Oyrat amirs, led by ʿAlī Pādshāh. Not only did ʿAlī Pādshāh have the military advantage of his tribal following, but he also had a symbolic advantage as the guardian of Abū Saʿīd's unborn child, after Dilshād Khātūn had sought his protection in Baghdad.[25] It seems likely that ʿAlī Pādshāh assumed that if she gave birth to a son, he would have an undisputed claim to the Ilkhanid throne. However, before the birth, ʿAlī Pādshāh and the Oyrats raised their own Chinggisid protégé as their symbolic leader, a descendant of Baydu Khan named Mūsá.

On 27 Ramaḍān 736/9 May 1336, the two sides joined in battle at the Jaghatu River. Although the forces of Arpā and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad greatly outnumbered the Oyrats, ʿAlī Pādshāh emerged victorious after two of Arpā's amirs defected, and after concocting a ruse which convinced both Arpā and Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad that the other had been defeated.[26] They were both eventually executed, and ʿAlī Pādshāh emerged as the apparent heir to Ilkhanid power in Tabriz. Nine days after the battle, Dilshād Khātūn gave birth to a girl, and ended the hope that a succession crisis could be forestalled by the birth of a commonly recognized male heir. ʿAlī Pādshāh attempted to rule through his Chinggisid protégé Mūsá Khan and his vizier, Jamāl Ḥājī ibn Tāj al-Dīn ʿAlī Shīrvānī, but opposition to his regime soon emerged, finding a focus in Anatolia with Shaykh Ḥasan Jalayir and the sons of Amīr Sūtāy. The end of the Ilkhanid dynasty gave rise to conflict among these representatives of the military elite who could no longer rely on a strong authority at the center to maintain the balance among their various interests, which included the Sutayid claims to Diyarbakr. It was in these subsequent conflicts that these Ilkhanid military elites looked to the Mamluks as a source of political and symbolic support, in a period when a commonly recognized ruler no longer existed to provide the political and symbolic basis for the Ilkhanid state.

The Mamluk Connection

The Mamluk view of the events in the years following Abū Saʿīd's death can be traced through the diplomatic missions and reports that reached Cairo from the east which were recorded by al-Maqrīzī in his *Kitāb al-Sulūk*. Just a week after the Oyrats' victory at the Jaghatu River, envoys representing ʿAlī Pādshāh and Mūsá

[24]Ibid., 145.

[25]Ibid., 148.

[26]Ibid., 149.

Khan arrived in the Mamluk capital. They were well received, and presented with great wealth. Two days later, the day that Dilshād Khātūn's daughter was born, the envoys rode out from the Citadel and visited the tombs of al-Shāfiʿī, Sayyidah Nafīsah, and Sultan Qalāwūn.[27] After describing the envoys' visit, al-Maqrīzī digresses to provide the background to their arrival. He explains that ʿAlī Pādshāh had persuaded the sons of Sūtāy (Sūntāy) to join with him, while at the same time promising to turn Baghdad over to Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, in return for the sultan's help against the sons of Sūtāy. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was delighted at this, and raised several military units to aid ʿAlī Pādshāh.[28] Meanwhile, the sons of Sūtāy had joined with Shaykh Ḥasan Jalayir in Anatolia.[29] After the battle, al-Maqrīzī writes, ʿAlī Pādshāh stood alone in charge of the *urdū,* and raised Mūsá to the royal throne.[30]

Thus, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had entered into an alliance with ʿAlī Pādshāh, who had agreed to govern Baghdad in the name of the Mamluks in exchange for support against his rivals, the sons of Sūtāy. Following the battle at the Jaghatu River, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's Oyrat ally ʿAlī Pādshāh enthroned a new Ilkhan, who was essentially his puppet. The Sutayids had been neutralized, and it seemed as if Mesopotamia had become, if not a province of the Mamluk Sultanate, at least a friendly vassal.

ʿAlī Pādshāh's success was short lived, however. Sūtāy's son Ḥājī Ṭaghāy turned to Shaykh Ḥasan Jalayir for help in driving ʿAlī Pādshāh out of Diyarbakr. Shaykh Ḥasan agreed, summoning a Hülegüid prince named Muḥammad from Tabriz, whom he crowned as khan, in opposition to Mūsá Khan. After entrusting Anatolia to his deputy Eretna,[31] Shaykh Ḥasan set out for Tabriz with his following of amirs and the army of Rum to confront ʿAlī Pādshāh.[32] For Shaykh Ḥasan, however, the main issue may not have been a matter of seizing power for himself, but rather a desire to limit the personal power of ʿAlī Pādshāh and ensure consensus among the amirs. Before confronting ʿAlī Pādshāh in battle, Shaykh Ḥasan called on ʿAlī Pādshāh to give up his power and allow a sultan to be named by all the amirs. He appealed to the custom of their ancestors, and their background in a common (Ilkhanid) *ulūs*. Ḥāfiẓ Abrū relates Shaykh Ḥasan's message to ʿAlī Pādshāh:

> We have all been in one *ulūs* and we know one another. The

[27] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 1:397.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid., 398; Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Dhayl,* 152.

[30] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 1:398.

[31] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu, Karakoyunlu Devletleri* (Ankara, 1988), 156.

[32] Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Dhayl,* 152.

> custom of the fathers and ancestors is clear. It is better that we all agree and seat a padishah on the throne who is deserving of the sultanate, and everyone stays on his own path and custom. Since that which you seek is that which brings discord throughout the land, in order that unlawful *(nā-ḥaqq)* blood does not flow and the country remains flourishing and inhabited, the condition we give you is to either heed my words or suffer.[33]

ʿAlī Pādshāh did not receive this ultimatum. Instead, the other Oyrat amirs replied that, "we have taken the kingdom by the power of our own hands. . . . [Shaykh Ḥasan] cannot deceive us with these fables *(afsānhā)*."[34] The Oyrat position was that their rule was justified merely by the military force they were able to command. Contrary to this was Shaykh Ḥasan's appeal to the tradition of consensus and election of the ruler by all members of the military elite. The convention of political acclamation *(quriltay)* was a tradition of nomadic steppe politics, and had precedent in the Mongol empire going back to the *quriltay* which named Chinggis Khan the ruler of all Mongols in 602/1206. Although more often than not, a *quriltay* was a symbolic confirmation of a single dominant contender for the throne, rather than an election among several candidates, it was an occasion for members of the royal family and the amirs to gather and assert their voice in the collective political enterprise. The fact that a major *quriltay* had not been held for either Arpā or Mūsá Khan meant that Shaykh Ḥasan, the *amīr-i ulūs*, had not consented to these choices for political leadership, and was asserting what he assumed to be his traditional right to take part in the process of enthroning the new khan.

With the Oyrats' refusal to compromise, both sides prepared for military conflict. In the ensuing battle at Qarā Durrah, near Ālādāgh, on 14 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 736/24 July 1336, Shaykh Ḥasan's forces, referred to by Ḥāfiẓ Abrū as the Anatolians *(rūmī),* and the supporters of Muḥammad Khan *(muḥammadīyān),* defeated ʿAlī Pādshāh and the Oyrat army.[35] Shaykh Ḥasan and Muḥammad Khan occupied Tabriz, the Ilkhanate's urban capital. Now in control of eastern Anatolia and Azarbayjan, Shaykh Ḥasan had assumed the paramount position in the Ilkhanid domains.

The defeat of ʿAlī Pādshāh meant that Ḥājī Ṭaghāy ibn Sūtāy had regained control of his father's province of Diyarbakr. Once again, his family governed both Mosul and Ahlat, while the remaining Oyrat troops came under the leadership of Shaykh Ḥasan, who established his authority in Baghdad. For the moment, it

[33]Ibid.

[34]Ibid., 152–53.

[35]Ibid., 153.

seemed as if the Mamluks had lost their influence east of the Euphrates. Initially, neither Shaykh Ḥasan nor the Sutayids made promises to govern in the name of the Mamluk sultan. Shaykh Ḥasan's nominal allegiance was to the newly enthroned Muḥammad Khan, although, in reality, Shaykh Ḥasan himself represented the real authority in the region from Baghdad to Tabriz. However, the Jalayirid amir did maintain friendly relations with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, sending an envoy and a gift to the sultan after his victory at Ālādāgh.[36]

Shaykh Ḥasan's campaign against ʿAlī Pādshāh, and his subsequent occupation in Azarbayjan and Iraq, meant that his former post in eastern Anatolia was vacant. Shaykh Ḥasan had left his deputy Eretna in charge there before heading east, and Eretna was eager to assert his own authority. He did this in part by seeking official recognition as the ***nāʾib*** of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in Anatolia in return for including the sultan's name on his coins and in the Friday prayer.[37] Al-Maqrīzī writes that this support from the Mamluks frightened Shaykh Ḥasan, who, later in the same year (738/1337–38), sent a messenger to the sultan requesting peace.[38] Soon after, in 740/1339–40, Shaykh Ḥasan again appealed to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, this time asking him to send the Mamluk army to take over Baghdad, Mosul, and Persian Iraq.

At first glance, such a request seems hard to believe. Why would Shaykh Ḥasan invite the intervention of a foreign army? However, when we examine the challenges and setbacks Shaykh Ḥasan had faced since Ālādāgh in 736/1336, it seems plausible that an allied Mamluk military presence would be a welcome source of support. Shaykh Ḥasan had lost a large portion of his troops to the Chubanid amir Shaykh Ḥasan-i Kūchak. As mentioned earlier, Shaykh Ḥasan-i Kūchak claimed that his father Tīmūr Tāsh was still alive, and that he had returned from Egypt and the hajj pilgrimage to claim the rights of the Chubanids in the Ilkhanate. Although "Tīmūr Tāsh" was a Turkish former deputy of the real Tīmūr Tāsh, named Qarā Jūrī, all of Shaykh Ḥasan-i Buzurg's Chubanid and Oyrat forces left him to join Shaykh Ḥasan-i Kūchak when the false Tīmūr Tāsh appeared.[39] Shaykh Ḥasan-i Buzurg was driven out of Azarbayjan, and after an unsuccessful attempt to seek support from Khurasan in 739/1339,[40] he turned to the Mamluks. He also sought to renew his alliance with Ḥājī Ṭaghāy ibn Sūtāy, and requested that the Mamluks broker a peace between them.[41] Although it does

[36]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 1:421.

[37]Ibid., 445; Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu,* 156.

[38]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 1:446.

[39]Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Dhayl,* 157.

[40]Ibid., 159–61.

[41]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 1:489.

not seem that the Mamluk army took up Shaykh Ḥasan-i Buzurg's invitation to come to Baghdad, Mosul, and Persian Iraq, the Mamluk amir Aḥmad Sāqī did negotiate a peace agreement between the Jalayirid and Ḥājī Ṭaghāy.[42]

It is likely that the Mamluks hoped to win over Ḥājī Ṭaghāy and Shaykh Ḥasan-i Buzurg as their new frontier allies. With the re-emergence of the Chubanids, Tīmūr Tāsh's son Malik Ashraf had come to power in Anatolia. Eretna, who had governed that region in the name of the Mamluks, was marginalized, but would establish his own independent principality in Kayseri.[43] Having lost their vassal in Anatolia, the Mamluks looked to Diyarbakr and Iraq to secure their frontier against the Chubanids. In 741/1340–41, the Mamluk amir Aḥmad Sāqī rode to Sultaniyya on behalf of the sultan and demanded oaths of allegiance from Ḥājī Ṭaghāy and Shaykh Ḥasan-i Buzurg. They again requested that the sultan send the army to take over the eastern lands *(bilād al-sharq)*. The Mamluk amir insisted that they each send their sons as security of their pledge of allegiance to the Mamluks. Ḥājī Ṭaghāy sent his son Barhashīn, while Shaykh Ḥasan sent Ḥājī Ṭaghāy's nephew, Ibrāhīm Shāh, to Aleppo.[44] From Aleppo, these two traveled on to Egypt and arrived in Cairo on 6 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 741/23 May 1341. Two days later, they had an audience with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Barhashīn and Ibrāhīm Shāh had brought with them the qadis of Baghdad, Mosul, and Diyarbakr, and presented the oaths of Ḥājī Ṭaghāy and Shaykh Ḥasan, as well as the amirs and soldiers, who pledged to be obedient to the Mamluk sultan. They also reported that the *khuṭbah* had been said in the sultan's name in Baghdad, Mosul, and Diyarbakr. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad then indicated that the army should be discharged to them.[45]

Thus, at the end of the third and final reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 741/1341, the Mamluk Sultanate had established its authority in Arab Iraq and Diyarbakr. With the instability arising from the end of the Ilkhan dynasty, as well as the end of effective Oyrat leadership following the defeat of ʿAlī Pādshāh, the Sutayids had reclaimed the territory they had governed for the Ilkhans. However, without Ilkhanid dynastic authority, they aligned themselves with Shaykh Ḥasan-i Buzurg Jalayir and the Mamluks to ensure their position and security. The Mamluks, having first recognized ʿAlī Pādshāh, and then Eretna as their vassals on the eastern frontier, had finally found what they must have hoped to be a more stable arrangement. The Mamluk army would march east, and from Iraq and Diyarbakr, extend their reach against the Chubanids in the very heartland of the Ilkhanate.

Such a campaign did not take place, however. Soon after Barhashīn and Ibrāhīm

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[42]Ibid.

[43]Uzunçarşılı, *Anadolu Beylikleri ve Akkoyunlu,* 156.

[44]Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 1:517.

[45]Ibid., 519–20.

Shāh met with the sultan, a message arrived in Cairo from the Artuqid governor of Mardin, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ. It informed the sultan that when the Chubanids went to fight Shaykh Ḥasan and Ḥājī Ṭaghāy, they pressed for peace, and took an oath to watch over the Euphrates for them. Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ added that there was no longer any use in sending the Mamluk army to the east.[46] Shortly thereafter, another message arrived from Aleppo, confirming that Shaykh Ḥasan and Ḥājī Ṭaghāy had made peace with the Chubanids. Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī both report that this so agitated al-Nāṣir Muḥammad that he was afflicted with bloody diarrhea.[47]

Al-Maqrīzī attributes the failure of the sultan to send the army to the east in support of Shaykh Ḥasan and Ḥājī Ṭaghāy to a truce they made with the Chubanids. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's agitation came when he realized that he would have no support from these amirs in the campaign. Such a truce is not mentioned by either the Jalayirid historian Ahrī, nor by the Timurid historian Ḥāfiẓ Abrū. Ahrī writes that the Chubanids fought an inconclusive battle with Shaykh Ḥasan-i Buzurg. The Jalayirid amir fell back to Baghdad, while the Chubanids devastated Persian Iraq.[48] According to Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, the Chubanids attacked the Sutayids in Diyarbakr, then Shaykh Ḥasan-i Buzurg in Baghdad. He was able to repel them and hold on to Arab Iraq, while Shaykh Ḥasan-i Kūchak withdrew to Erzurum, where they destroyed a city held by the Sutayids, and even defiled the grave of Ḥājī Ṭaghāy's son.[49] Thus, it is difficult to recreate a precise picture of what actually took place among these various factions. We can conclude, however, that the contacts between the Jalayirids and Sutayids, and the Mamluks were significantly disrupted by the Chubanids. The Mamluk state faced its own internal disorder following al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death. He was succeeded by a series of short-lived sons and grandsons, most of whom ruled only nominally, with various amiral factions competing for actual power.[50] Instability within the Mamluk state, combined with a relative stability in the former Ilkhanid territory after 741/1341 led to an end to the co-optation of frontier governors which had been attempted under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The Chubanids under Shaykh Ḥasan-i Kūchak, and then under his brother Malik Ashraf, were able to control the center of the Ilkhanid state in Azarbayjan, and the strategic urban centers of Tabriz and Sultaniyya.

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[46] Ibid., 521.

[47] Ibid., 522; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1929–72), 9:162. In fact, the sultan had been ill for some time, and died a few days later, on 18 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 741/4 June 1341.

[48] Ahrī, *Taʾrīkh-i Shaikh Uwais,* 68.

[49] Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Dhayl,* 165.

[50] Linda Northrup, "The Baḥrī Mamlūk Sultanate, 1250–1390," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt,* vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517* (Cambridge, 1998), 287.

Their authority there would continue until an invasion from the Golden Horde led by Jānī Beg Khan in 758/1357. The Jalayirid amir Shaykh Ḥasan-i Buzurg maintained his authority in the traditionally Oyrat territory of Arab Iraq and Diyarbakr. His son and successor Shaykh Uvays would take advantage of the instability following the Golden Horde's invasion of Azarbayjan, and reunite Tabriz and Baghdad in 759/1358, establishing an independent Jalayirid dynasty which lasted until the fifteenth century.

Further research remains to be done in order to understand the complex political dynamics in play between the Mamluk Sultanate and the successor states to the Ilkhanate. Relations continued to be maintained across the frontier, but as the dust began to settle in the years after 736/1335, it became clear that the political center of gravity east of the Euphrates remained Azarbayjan. Especially after Shaykh Uvays' re-conquest of Tabriz in 759/1358, there was little room for maneuvering on the frontier, since the provinces of Arab Iraq and Diyarbakr were more firmly tied to the center in Tabriz under Jalayirid rule. Thus, conditions more closely resembling the period of Öljeytü and Abū Saʿīd were established, leading to a more stabilized relationship between Cairo and Tabriz. Overt claims to Mamluk sovereignty in Iraq, Diyarbakr, and eastern Anatolia were no longer possible without the kind of fluidity and uncertainty that had existed in these regions immediately after the collapse of the Ilkhan dynasty.

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The Mongol Invasions of Bilād al-Shām by Ghāzān Khān and Ibn Taymīyah's Three "Anti-Mongol" Fatwas

Introduction and Historical Background

The anti-Mongol fatwas of Ibn Taymīyah (d. 728/1328) belong to a precise historic context, that of the various attempts made by the Ilkhans to gain control of Syria (Bilād al-Shām) in the period following the fall of Baghdad in 656/1258 and the abolition of the Abbasid caliphate.[1] Between 658/1260 and 712/1312, the Mongol rulers of Persia would launch six separate campaigns in the region. On the two occasions when they succeeded in briefly occupying Syria, in 658/1260 and 699/1299–1300, the Ilkhans laid the foundations of an administrative system, indicating a longer-term project of incorporating the region into their empire.[2] The first invasion, led by Hülegü (r. 1256–65), was halted by the Mamluk sultan Quṭuz and the amir Baybars on 25 Ramaḍān 658/3 September 1260 at ʿAyn Jālūt.[3] This defeat did not put an end to the Ilkhans' military initiatives, but it did establish the spheres of influence of the two rival powers. The Mamluks dominated the countries of the Levant, while on the far side of the Syrian desert the Ilkhans held Mesopotamia and the Iranian plateau. No official peace having been agreed upon, the deployment of spies *(jāsūs),* skirmishes, and periodic raids by both sides kept hostilities between the two states alive.[4] In 1281,

Thanks to Jean-Claude Garcin for his comments on the draft of this paper.

[1]The literature concerning the life and works of Ibn Taymīyah is very extensive. The most comprehensive general books about this Hanbali scholar are: Henri Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Taymīya, canoniste hanbalite né à Ḥarrān en 661/1262, mort à Damas en 728/1328* (Cairo, 1939); Victor Makari, *Ibn Taymiyyah's Ethics: The Social Factor,* American Academy of Religion Academy Series no. 34 (Chicago, 1983); H. Laoust, "La biographie d'Ibn Taimīya d'après Ibn Kaṯīr," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 9 (1943): 115–62; Alfred Morabia, "Ibn Taymiyya, le dernier grand théoricien du *ğihād* médiéval," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 30 (1978): 85–100. Ibn Taymīyah was a native of Ḥarrān, a city considered to be a Sabian city. Their presence made the city a Hanbali center. On the Sabians, see Michel Tardieu, "Ṣābiens coraniques et 'Ṣābiens' de Ḥarrān," *Journal asiatique* 274, nos. 1–2 (1986): 44.

[2]Reuven Amitai-Preiss, "Mongol Imperial Ideology and the Ilkhanid War against the Mamluks," in *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy*, ed. Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David Morgan (Leiden, 1999), 58.

[3]See Reuven Amitai-Preiss, "In the Aftermath of ʿAyn Jālūt: The Beginnings of the Mamlūk-Īlkhānid Cold War," *Al-Masāq* 10 (1990): 1–21; idem, "ʿAyn Jālūt Revisited," *Tarih* 2 (1992): 119–50.

[4]Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamlūk-Īlkhānid War, 1260–1281* (Cambridge, 1995).

Hülegü's successor Abāqā (r. 663–80/1265–82) took the initiative of launching a new attack. It came to an end with the victory of the Mamluk sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn (r. 678–89/1279–90) at Ḥimṣ.[5] The latent state of war between the two rival powers was not ended by the conversion of the Ilkhans to Islam, despite the attempts at conciliation made by Tegüder Aḥmad (r. 680–83/1281–84), who, having converted to Islam,[6] sent two embassies to Qalāwūn to announce his desire to end hostilities.[7] Indeed, Ghāzān Khān (r. 694–703/1295–1304), who had also converted to Islam just before his enthronement,[8] led three major offensives against Syria. The first took place in the winter of 699/1299–1300.[9] The second, which began in the autumn of 700/1300–1, ended that winter without any confrontation having taken place between the Mongol and Mamluk forces. Ghāzān Khān's third attempt to wrest Syria from the Mamluks began in spring 702/1303 and ended with the Mamluk victory at Marj al-Ṣuffār on 2 Ramaḍān 702/20 April 1303. The last Mongol invasion of Mamluk territory was undertaken in 712/1312 by Öljeitü (r. 703–17/1304–17), who was also a Muslim. These last four Ilkhanid invasions were repelled by the Mamluk sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, in the last two periods of his reign (698–708/1299–1309 and 709–41/1310–41).[10]

The Ilkhans' ambitions of dominating Syria are attested by the many missions they sent to the Latin West to seek an alliance with the papacy and the Christian

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[5]On this invasion, see Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks,* 179–201; Linda Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamlūk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689 A.H./1279–1290 A.D.)* (Stuttgart, 1998), 108–12.

[6]On the conversion of Tegüder Aḥmad, see Reuven Amitai, "The Conversion of Tegüder Ilkhan to Islam," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001): 15–43.

[7]On these embassies, see Peter M. Holt, "The Ilkhān Aḥmad's Embassies to Qalāwūn: Two Contemporary Accounts," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 49, no. 1 (1986): 128–32. In 681/1282–83 Tegüder Aḥmad wrote a letter to Qalāwūn in which he complained that Mamluk spies disguised as *faqīr*s had been captured by a Mongol patrol. Although they should have been killed, they had instead been sent back to the sultan as a sign of good will; see Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks,* 147.

[8]On Ghāzān Khān's conversion to Islam, see Charles Melville, "*Pādishāh-i islām*: The Conversion of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghāzān Khān," *Pembroke Papers* 1 (1990): 159–77.

[9]There is a very good description of this campaign by Reuven Amitai, "Whither the Īlkhanid Army? Ghāzān's First Campaign into Syria (1299–1300)" in *Warfare in Inner Asian History (500–1800),* ed. Nicola Di Cosmo (Leiden, 2002): description of the campaign: 225–53; composition of the armies: 239–44; on the bibliography dealing with previous studies on Ghāzān Khān's incursions in Syria: 222, n. 7.

[10]At the time of Ghāzān Khān's first invasion of Syria, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (second reign, 1299–1309) was at the head of the Mamluk armies. He was only fifteen years old. The sultan's power rested in the hands of the great amirs: Salār *(nāʾib al-salṭanah)* and Baybars al-Jashnakīr *(ustādār);* see Amitai, "Whither the Īlkhanid Army?" 226–27.

kings against the Mamluk sultanate.[11] Abāqā sent several embassies, notably at the time of the Lateran council of 1274.[12] Arghūn in turn sent several missions to the West, the most important of which was headed by the Nestorian monk Rabban Ṣawmā in 1287.[13] In 1299 he sent two letters, in Mongolian and Latin, to the papacy[14] and to King Philip IV of France.[15] Before his campaign of 1299–1300, Ghāzān Khān contacted the king of Cyprus, Henri II de Lusignan, in the hope of obtaining military assistance.[16] After his return to Persia without having

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[11]On the relations between the Ilkhans and the West, see Jean Richard, "Le début des relations entre la papauté et les Mongols de Perse," *Journal asiatique* 237 (1949): 291–97, reprinted in *Les relations entre l'Orient et l'Occident au Moyen Age: Etudes et documents* (London, 1977); idem, "D'Älǧigidaï à Gazan: la continuité d'une politique franque chez les Mongols d'Iran," in *L'Iran face à la domination mongole,* ed. Denise Aigle (Tehran, 1997), 57–69, reprinted in *Francs et Orientaux dans le monde des croisades* (London, 2003); idem, "La politique orientale de Saint Louis: La croisade de 1248," in *Septième centenaire de Saint Louis: Actes des colloques de Royaumont et de Paris (17–21 mai 1970)* (Paris, 1976), 197–207, reprinted in *Les relations entre l'Orient et l'Occident au Moyen Age*. For a survey of Ilkhanid-European relations, see John A. Boyle, "The Il-Khans of Persia and the Princes of Europe," *Central Asiatic Journal* 20 (1976): 25–40; Karl Ernst Lupprian, *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschernein 13. Jahrhundert anhand ihres Briefwechsels,* Studi e testi no. 291 (Vatican City, 1981), 67–82. For Hülegü's letter of 1262, see Paul Meyvaert, "An Unknown Letter of Hulagu, Il-Khan of Persia, to King Louis IX of France," *Viator* 11 (1980): 245–59; Denise Aigle, "The Letters of Eljigidei, Hülegü and Abaqa: Mongol Overtures or Christian Ventriloquism?" *Inner Asia* 7, no. 2 (2005): 143–62.

[12]See Jean Richard, "Chrétiens et Mongols au concile: la papauté et les Mongols de Perse dans la seconde moitié du XIIIe siècle," in *1274, année charnière, mutations et continuités, Lyon-Paris, 30 septembre–5 octobre 1974,* Colloques internationaux du CNRS, no. 558 (Paris, 1977), 30–44; Aigle, "The Letters of Eljigidei, Hülegü and Abaqa," 152–54.

[13]On Rabban Ṣawmā's embassy, see Morris Rossabi, *Voyager from Xanadu: Rabban Sauma and the First Journey from China to the West* (Tokyo/New York/London, 1992). Syriac narrative on this mission in: *Histoire de Mar Jab-Alaha, Patriarche et de Raban Sauma,* ed. Paul Bedjan (Leipzig, 1895); French translation by J.- B. Chabot, *Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III, Patriarche des Nestoriens (1281–1317) et du moine Rabban Çauma, Ambassadeur du roi Argoun en Occident (1287)* (Paris, 1895). There is now an Italian translation with commentaries by Pier Giorgio Borbone, *Storia di Mar Yahballaha e di Rabban Sauma: un orientale in Occidente ai tempi di Marco Polo* (Turin, 2000).

[14]Arghūn sent a letter in Latin, dated 18 May 1285 in Tabriz, to Pope Honorius IV. It is reproduced in Lupprian, *Die Beziehungen der Päpste zu islamischen und mongolischen Herrschern,* 244–46. A letter in Mongol, dated the fifth of the new moon of the first month of the Year of the Tiger (14 May 1290) in Urmiya, was sent to Pope Nicholas IV. It has been published and translated with a commentary by Antoine Mostaert and Francis W. Cleaves, "Trois documents mongols des Archives Secrètes du Vatican," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 15, no. 3–4 (1952): 445–67.

[15]Text and commentaries in *Les lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhans Argun et Öljeitü à Philippe le Bel,* ed. Antoine Mostaert and Francis W. Cleaves (Cambridge, MA, 1962), 17–53. Arghūn's letter was an answer to a promise made by the king of France to send an army should the Ilkhan launch a war against the Mamluks.

[16]After the fall of Acre and the loss of their last possessions in the Holy Land in 690/1291, the

as much as made contact with the Mamluk army, the Ilkhan exchanged letters and embassies with Pope Boniface VIII with the objective of forming a united front against the Mamluks.[17] Öljeitü too, in 1305, long before his invasion of Syria in 1312, sent a letter in Mongolian to the kings of France and England with the same purpose in mind.[18]

As can be seen, Ghāzān Khān's reign did not by any means inaugurate an era of peace. In fact, immediately after converting to Islam, he adopted the title *Pādishāh al-Islām* (king of Islam), thus making plain his ambition to assume the leadership of the Muslim world. The Ilkhan advanced religious justifications for his invasion of Bilād al-Shām in December 699/1299.[19] He accused the Mamluks of having invaded Ilkhanid territory at Mardīn, where they were supposed to have committed various acts of moral turpitude *(afʿāl-i makrūh)*. Amongst the misdeeds ascribed to them were orgies with the daughters of Muslims *(dukhtarān-i musalmānān)* and drinking sessions in mosques, all during the month of Ramaḍān.[20] A fatwa of "the imams of the faith and the ulama of Islam"[21] had entrusted Ghāzān Khān with

Franks had withdrawn to Cyprus.

[17]In spring 1302, Ghāzān Khān sent a letter to this pope in Mongol script. Text and commentaries in Mostaert and Cleaves, "Trois documents mongols," 467–78.

[18]Text and commentaries in *Les lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhans Argun et Öljeitü à Philippe le Bel,* 55–85. In parallel with this pursuit of an alliance with the Christian West, the Ilkhans sent a series of letters and embassies to the Mamluk sultans inviting them to submit: Hülegü to Quṭuz in 1260; Abāqā to Baybars in 1268 and 1277; Geikhetü to al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl in 1293. Ghāzān Khān in turn wrote to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn in 1300 and 1302, again ordering the Mamluks to submit. On these letters, see Reuven Amitai-Preiss, "An Exchange of Letters in Arabic between Abaga Īlkhān and Sultan Baybars (A.H. 667/A.D. 1268–69)," *Central Asiatic Journal* 38, no. 1 (1994): 11–33; idem, "Mongol Imperial Ideology," 57–72, where several of these letters are the subject of a commentary.

[19]Beyond Reuven Amitai's studies cited in the notes above, on Ghāzān Khān's campaigns in Syria, see Angus D. Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks* (Leiden, 2001), 136–46. The author emphasizes the role played by the Armenians.

[20]Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī,* ed. Karl Jahn (s'-Gravenhague, 1957), 124. This information is confirmed by Abū al-Fidāʾ, who writes that this Mamluk incursion provided Ghāzān Khān with the pretext to invade Syria; see *Memoirs of a Syrian Prince*: *Abuʾl-Fidāʾ, Sultan of Ḥamāh (672–732/1273–1331),* translated with an introduction by Peter M. Holt (Wiesbaden, 1983), 35.

[21]Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī,* 125. The following year, in his correspondence with al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Ghāzān Khān once more condemned the Mamluk atrocities against Mardīn and its region, and affirmed that this was his reason for invading Syria; see *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography: Al-Yūnīnī's Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān,* ed. and trans. Li Guo (Leiden and Boston, 1998), vol. 1 (English translation), vol. 2 (Arabic text), 1:181–84, 2:212–14 (Ghāzān Khān's letter); 1:194–98, 2:243–47 (al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reply) (hereafter cited as Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī); Mufaḍḍal Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd wa-al-Durr al-Farīd fīmā baʿda Ibn al-ʿAmīd,* ed. and trans. E. Blochet as *Histoire des sultans mamluks,* Patrologia Orientalis, vol. 12, fasc. 3, vol. 14, fasc. 3, vol. 20, fasc. 1 (Paris, 1919–29), 20:1:549–54 (Ghāzān Khān's letter); 571–80 (al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's

his mission against the perpetrators of these offences. The Ilkhan thus presented himself as the protector of Islam. It should be emphasized that his conversion had caused a considerable stir in the Muslim East,[22] and the population of Damascus, which had suffered from the exactions of the Mamluk ruling class, was ready to come to terms with the Mongols, particularly after the *amān* that Ghāzān Khān had caused to be read in the Umayyad Mosque on 8 Rabīʿ II 699/2 January 1300, some days after his victory at Wādī al-Khaznadār on 27 Rabīʿ I 699/22 December 1299.[23]

Bilād al-Shām was not the only front that Ghāzān Khān's conversion opened in the hostilities between the two rival powers; repercussions were also felt in the Hijaz. In 702/1303, when Ghāzān Khān was in the Najaf region, just before his last invasion of Syria, he issued a decree in support of the sayyids and guardians of the Kaʿbah in which he declared his attachment to the two holy cities. He planned to organize a caravan under the protection of the amir Quṭlugh-Shāh[24] and a thousand horsemen, which would bear a cover *(sitr)* for the Kaʿbah and a decorated *maḥmal* in his name. Twelve gold tomans were to be distributed to the governors of Mecca and Medina as well as to the Arab notables and tribal shaykhs.[25] Quṭlugh-Shāh's defeat at Marj al-Ṣuffār in April 702/1303, however, obliged Ghāzān Khān to renounce these plans. The Ilkhan's death in 703/May 1304 finally put an end to his ambitions.

Ghāzān Khān, having officially converted to Islam in 1295, attacked Syria three times. His first invasion, during the winter of 699/1299–1300, was to some extent a success, as he temporarily occupied Syria. The occupation of Damascus resulted in a crisis in the city which illuminates a number of aspects of social solidarities there, as has been demonstrated by Reuven Amitai in an article published in 2004.[26] In the present article, I propose to analyze the three so-called

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reply).

[22]The account of Ghāzān Khān's conversion is reported by al-Jazarī, on the authority of ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Birzālī, in his "Jawāhīr al-Sulūk" (Bibliothèque nationale MS arabe 6739, fols. 155v–157v), and by the Persian sources, particularly Rashīd al-Dīn, who gives a very different version; see Melville, "*Pādishāh-i islām,*" 159–77.

[23]See the discussion on this confrontation in Amitai, "Whither the Īlkhanid Army?" 221–64 (see also the bibliography, note 7).

[24]In the sources, this person's name appears in two forms: Quṭlugh-Shāh or Quṭlū-Shāh. In this article I have adopted the former, which corresponds to his exact title.

[25]Charles Melville, "'The Year of the Elephant' Mamuk-Mongol Rivalry in the Hejaz in the Reign of Abū Saʿīd (1317–1335)," *Studia Iranica* 21 (1992): 207.

[26]Reuven Amitai, "The Mongol Occupation of Damascus in 1300: A Study of Mamluk Loyalties," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society,* ed. Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni (Leiden and Boston, 2004), 21–39. The author studies the cases of the Mamluk amir Sayf al-Dīn Qipchāq, Arjuwāsh, the governor of the citadel, and a major religious authority of the city, Ibn

"anti-Mongol" fatwas issued by Ibn Taymīyah. When read in the context of the historic circumstances in which they were written, these fatwas inform us as to Ibn Taymīyah's attitude in face of the danger represented by the Mongol attempts to gain control of Bilād al-Shām. They reveal the great Hanbali scholar's view of the Mongol regime as well as his position regarding Shiʿism and certain religious communities in Bilād al-Shām, whom he considered dissidents from Sunni Islam; in other words, these fatwas acquaint us with Ibn Taymīyah's thinking at a crucial point in the region's history. In order to properly understand the argument that Ibn Taymīyah develops in these texts, they must be read, not only in the light of the events that took place in the region as we know them from the historical sources, but also in relation to the terms of the *amān* that Ghāzān Khān caused to be read to Damascus's population in the Umayyad Mosque. By means of that *amān,* Ghāzān Khān expressed his vision of the role that the Persian Ilkhanate should play in the Muslim East.

Sources and studies

There is no critical edition of Ibn Taymīyah's fatwas. The Riyadh edition, published in thirty volumes, is regarded as authoritative today.[27] The three fatwas in question are to be found in volume 28 *(Kitāb al-Jihād).*[28] They differ considerably in length. The first is seven pages long,[29] the second is unusually long for a document of this kind at thirty-five pages,[30] and the third is eight pages long.[31] It is possible, on the basis of the content of the fatwas, which includes numerous references to historic events attested in the chronicles, as well as the names of persons and places, to give an approximate date for the three documents. As is shown below, the order in which they appear in the Riyadh edition does not correspond to the chronological order in which they were issued.

Despite their historic interest, these three fatwas have not been the subject of many studies. The first reference to Ibn Taymīyah's anti-Mongol fatwas appears in Henri Laoust's *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Taymīya,* published in 1939.[32] Laoust uses various passages from the fatwas to

Taymīyah.

[27] *Majmūʿ Fatāwá Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Qāsim al-Najdī al-Ḥanbalī (Riyadh/Mecca, 1381–86/1961–67, repr. 1417/1995). Old edition, also not critical: Ibn Taymīyah, *Kitāb Majmūʿ al-Fatāwá* (Cairo, 1326–29/1908–11). In this edition, the anti-Mongol fatwas are located in vol. 4, *Kitāb al-Jihād,* 289–302.

[28] *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 28:501–52.

[29] Ibid., 501–8.

[30] Ibid., 509–43.

[31] Ibid., 544–51.

[32] Henri Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Taymīya, canoniste*

illustrate the thinking of their author, but without engaging in a systematic study of them.[33] Thomas Raff's short monograph,[34] published in a very limited edition, dates from 1973. The writer presents the historic context in which Ibn Taymīyah's action took place, and then proposes an analysis of the second fatwa, long extracts from which he translates into English. Thomas Raff assumes that the fatwa was issued shortly before the battle of Marj al-Ṣuffār (2 Ramaḍān 702/20 April 1303): "Ibn Taimiya devoted his efforts to inciting the fanaticism of Mamluk troops for the crucial day, i.e. the Battle of Marj as-Ṣuffār, by making exhortations to them and even participating in the combat himself."[35] Thomas Raff's analysis, which is not thematically structured, is at times somewhat confused. In addition, he commits some errors of interpretation regarding the Mongol culture and political regime that Ibn Taymīyah denounces. His study's principal aim is to present the Hanbali scholar as a fervent partisan of jihad, when in fact, as we shall see, his position was a far more subtle one, arising from the circumstances the people of Damascus were faced with due to the state of war. Jean Michot addressed the issue of these fatwas, especially the second one, in his translation of Ibn Taymīyah's *Lettre à un roi croisé,* and in a twenty-page article, both published in 1995.[36] Paradoxically, he does not study the legal arguments deployed by Ibn Taymīyah. While Jean Michot's two publications are founded on an immense erudition, they essentially seek to highlight the role played by the Hanbali scholar their author terms "the great Damascene teacher"[37] during this time of crisis, when Muslims of the city came to seek his advice on how to face aggressors who had converted to Islam. We are, nevertheless, indebted to Michot for having established the correct reading of a defective spelling, something Thomas Raff had failed to do. This reading allows us to understand a passage of the second fatwa which had until then remained obscure: "*aḥkām al-mushrikīn—kanāʾisan—wa-jankhiskhān malik.*" Jean Michot demonstrates that the word *kanāʾisan* is in fact a corruption of *ka-yāsā,* the manuscript form of which is very similar.[38] This

hanbalite né à Ḥarrān en 661/1262, mort à Damas en 728/1328 (Cairo, 1939).

[33]Henri Laoust, *Essai,* 63–65 (the Mongol danger); 117–23 (the struggle against the Tatars); 368–69 (the jihad).

[34]Thomas Raff, *Remarks on an Anti-Mongol Fatwā by Ibn Taimīya* (Leiden, 1973).

[35]Ibid., 4.

[36]Ibn Taymīyah, *Lettre à un roi croisé*, ed. and trans. Jean Michot, Sagesses musulmanes, no. 2 (Louvain-la-Neuve and Lyon, 1995); idem, "Un important témoin de l'histoire et de la société mameloukes à l'époque des Ilkhans et de la fin des croisades: Ibn Taymiyya," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras,* ed. U. Vermeulen and D. de Smet (Louvain, 1995), 335–53.

[37]Ibn Taymīyah, *Lettre à un roi croisé,* 9.

[38]See the clever reading of this passage in Michot, "Un important témoin," 346.

renders the phrase comprehensible: "that which, of the rules of the associationists *(aḥkām al-mushrikīn)*—such as the *yāsā (ka-yāsā)* of Chinggis Khan, king of the polytheists—is most gravely contrary to the religion of Islam."[39] This reference to the *yāsā* enables us to understand Ibn Taymīyah's argument when he refutes the political regime of the Mongols and their version of Islam.

In addition to Ibn Taymīyah's fatwas, this article will analyze the text of the *amān* to Damascus's population issued by Ghāzān Khān and the letters exchanged between the latter and sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. These texts have been transmitted to us by a number of Mamluk chronicles, some contemporary with the events and some slightly later.[40] It is, however, the historians of the Syrian school who are richest in detail concerning the occupation of Damascus. The principal source for the period is al-Birzālī, but the text is not very accessible.[41] For this reason I have relied here on the *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān* of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī (d. 726/1325–26), whose authorities for the events of the period in question are al-Birzālī (d. 739/1338–39) and al-Jazarī (d. 739/1338–39).[42] In all the sources, the text of the *amān* appears to have been faithfully transmitted, with few divergences.

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[39] *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 28:530.

[40] The historical sources dealing with this period are rich and plentiful. They have been analyzed by Donald P. Little in his work *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography: An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāʾūn,* Freiburger Islamstudien, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1970). The text of the *amān* has been transmitted by Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmiʿ al-Ghurar,* vol. 9, *Al-Durr al-Fākhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir,* ed. Hans R. Roemer (Freiburg and Cairo, 1960), 20–23 (hereafter cited as *Kanz*); an anonymous chronicle published by K. V. Zetterstéen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensultanane in den Jahren 690–741 der higra nach arabischen Handschriften* (Leiden, 1919), 66–68 (hereafter cited as *Beiträge*); Mufaḍḍal Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd,* 14:3:476–81 (hereafter cited as Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil).

[41] Al-Birzālī, "Muqtafá li-Tārīkh al-Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Abī Shāmah," Topkapı Sarayı MS Ahmet III 2951/1–2; on the poor state of the manuscript, see Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography,* 46–47, and Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan,* 41. On the events of 699/1299–1300, see Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī, 1:132–65, 2:97–127. See also J. Somogyi, "Adh-dhahabīs Record of the Destruction of Damascus by the Mongols in 699–700/1299–1301," in *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume,* ed. S. Löwinger and J. Somogy (Budapest, 1948), 2:353–86 (hereafter cited as al-Dhahabī). As Reuven Amitai points out ("The Mongol Occupation of Damascus," 26, n. 22), the translation of al-Dhahabī's *Tārīkh al-Islām* is not always an exact translation of the manuscript in the British Library (MS Or. 1540, fols. 123a–131a). The sources for the events in question here have been analyzed in Little, *An Introduction to Mamluk Historiography,* chapter 1, and in Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī, 1:54–80.

[42] Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī, 1:139–41, 2:102–4. It seems that Ibn al-Dawādārī and *Beiträge*'s author did not utilize Quṭb al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī, but rather his source, al-Jazarī.

The Mongols, the new dissidents of Islam

The fatwas and the status of the combatants

The context is one of war. The principal objective of Ibn Taymīyah's three fatwas is, *a priori,* to determine the status of the soldiers who were fighting, at the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth, in the armies of the two sides. In 658/1260, when Hülegü had attempted to seize Syria, fighting his soldiers did not pose any particular legal problem as the Mongols were at that time considered infidels. It was a question of repelling invaders who, like the Christian Franks, sought to capture a part of the Islamic territory, the *dār al-islām*. Jihad against the invaders was entirely legitimate. But when, forty years later, Ghāzān Khān attacked Bilād al-Shām, most of his soldiers were converts to Islam like himself. The Muslims who came to Ibn Taymīyah in search of a legal opinion did not know what stance to adopt towards this new kind of aggressor: what did the imams have to say about these Tatars (i.e., the Mongols) who were advancing towards Syria, given that they had pronounced the two declarations of faith *(shahādatayn),* claimed to follow Islam, and had forsaken the unbelief *(al-kufr)* which they had initially professed? In their ranks were Mamluk prisoners who fought against their Muslim brothers under duress; what was to be done? The Tatars were Muslims like the Mamluks; what was the status of the Mamluk soldier who refused to fight? What was the status of the Mamluk soldiers who had voluntarily joined the ranks of the Tatars?

Ibn Taymīyah was well aware of the danger that Ghāzān Khān's attacks represented, not just from the military point of view but, most of all, because many Muslims did not understand why they should fight against Muslim armies whose leader enjoyed great prestige. He had officially converted to Sunni Islam before becoming Ilkhan, he treated his Persian subjects well, and he was coming to Syria in order to put an end to the tyrannical rule of a military caste. Ibn Taymīyah's fears were also expressed by the sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in his reply in Muḥarram 701/September 1301 to a letter that Ghāzān Khān had sent him in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 700/August 1301.[43] The sultan accused his correspondent of stressing his conversion to Islam only to gain a tactical advantage, and lamented that the majority of the heroic troops (that is, the Mamluks) believed his conversion was sincere, and thus refused to fight him.[44]

Ibn Taymīyah's answer to those who sought his opinion on the matter was decisive: the Mongols must be fought, just like all the groups whom it is lawful to fight. He defines these groups in his three fatwas. All of Ibn Taymīyah's arguments are aimed at bringing the Mongols within the scope of one of these categories.

[43]Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī, 1:181-84, 2:212; Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, 20:1:571-80.

[44]Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī, 1:195, 2:224; Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, 20:1:574.

Some of the groups that must be fought are classified as *bughāh,* a term which in the early years of Islam designated those who rebelled against legitimate authority.[45] Ibn Taymīyah also includes in the category of groups to be fought those who fail to perform any one of the requirements of Islam, such as the performance of the five canonical prayers, the payment of legally-required tax *(al-zakāt),* fasting *(al-ṣawm),* and the pilgrimage to Mecca *(al-ḥājj)*. Those who do not take part in jihad against the infidels *(al-kuffār)*[46] in order to make them submit and pay the poll-tax *(al-jizyah)* must also be fought. Those who engage in adultery *(al-ziná)* and the consumption of fermented drinks *(al-khamar)* must be harshly repressed as they contravene the divine order. These last two acts fall into the category of offences canonically disapproved in the Quran *(ḥudūd Allāh)*. Also amongst the groups that must be fought are those who do not order good and forbid evil *(al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf wa-al-nahy ʿan al-munkar),* since for Ibn Taymīyah this duty is another form of jihad.[47] In the second fatwa, Ibn Taymīyah includes in the category of groups that must be fought those who deny the free will of God *(al-qadar),*[48] his decree *(al-qaḍāʾ),* his names and his attributes, as well as those who display innovation *(al-bidʿah)* contrary to the Quran and Sunnah, those who do not follow the path of the pious forebears *(al-salaf),* and an entire assemblage of Muslim religious movements which Ibn Taymīyah considered deviant with regard to scriptures and to the consensus *(al-ijmāʿ)* of scholars in the religious sciences. As can be seen, this definition of the groups to be fought is a very broad one. Ibn Taymīyah takes the view that every community which is a cause of disorder on the earth[49] must be fought, on the basis of the principle that disorder is more to be

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[45]The term *bughāh* also refers to those who overstep the limits in following their own interpretations of the canonical texts. It is not permitted to fight them without having first attempted to bring them back to the straight and narrow. According to Ibn Kathīr, at the time of Ghāzān Khān's third attempt to conquer Syria, the feelings of Damascus' population towards the Mongols were the same. People asked themselves: why fight them? The Mongols were Muslims; they were not rebels *(bughāh)* against al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's authority since they had acknowledged his power. See Laoust, "La biographie d'Ibn Taimīya d'après Ibn Katīr," 131.

[46]In the Quran, the term *kāfir* (plural, *kuffār*) designates: "Those who disbelieve in that which We have given to them" *(li-yakfurū bi-mā ataynahum);* see Quran 30:34. A more general use of the word to mean "infidel" subsequently became very common. Generally speaking, a *kāfir* is one who rejects a true message although knowing it to be true, whether he is polytheist, Jewish, Christian, or indeed Muslim; see W. Björhman, "Kāfir," *Encyclopédie de l'Islam,* 2nd ed., 4:425–27.

[47]In his theory of jihad Ibn Taymīyah notes that the Kharijites called themselves *ahl al-daʿwah;* see Laoust, *Essai,* 362–63.

[48]This refers to theologians who proclaim the principle of God's free will; see Josef van Ess, "Ḳadiriyya," *Encyclopédie de l'Islam,* 2nd ed., 4:384–88.

[49]On Ibn Taymīyah's conception of grievous sin *(fisq)*, see Laoust, *Essai,* 190, 260, 313, 421, 455, n. 4.

feared than death; the public manifestation of heresy is thus to be more rigorously fought against and punished than silent heresy.[50]

The composition of Ghāzān Khān's armies particularly inspired Ibn Taymīyah's anger. In their ranks, he writes, fight infidels *(al-kuffār),* polytheists *(al-mushrikūn),* and Christians. The Mongol armies were indeed made up of elements of diverse origins. They included Christians such as the Armenians and Georgians, as well as Muslim soldiers who, serving local sovereigns (the sultans of Rūm and Bilād al-Shām's principalities), had no choice but to join the Mongol war machine. Reuven Amitai, however, has shown that these forces played only a secondary role in comparison to that of the original Turco-Mongol troops from Inner Asia.[51] Ibn Taymīyah criticizes the make-up of armies for what was, in his eyes, an even more serious reason. Side by side with the Mongol soldiers fought Mamluk amirs and troops who had voluntarily joined the ranks of the invaders. Ibn Taymīyah considered them apostates who must be made to pay the prescribed penalty.[52]

The Mongol ranks included a certain number of renegade Mamluks *(al-munazzifūn),* led by the former governor of Damascus, Sayf al-Dīn Qipchāq al-Manṣūrī (d. 701/1310–11).[53] In 1298, at the end of the reign of Sultan al-Manṣūr Lāchīn (1296–99),[54] news of a new Mongol attack on Syria reached Cairo. A group of high-ranking Mamluk amirs, led by Sayf al-Dīn Qipchāq, fled along with their men to the Persian Ilkhanate, hoping thereby to escape the order for their arrest issued by Mengü-Temür al-Ḥusāmī, Sultan al-Manṣūr Lāchīn's *nāʾib* in Damascus.[55] Sayf al-Dīn Qipchāq and his amirs were well received on their arrival in Ilkhanid territory, and were immediately sent to Ghāzān Khān's court (the *ordo*) where the

[50]Laoust, *Essai,* 364, n. 2.

[51]See Amitai, "Whither the Īlkhanid Army?" 223–25.

[52]Thomas Raff (*Remarks,* 50) writes that Ibn Taymīyah considered the Rāfiḍī (i.e., the Shiʿites) apostates, but the Hanbali scholar does not use the term *al-murtadd* for any Shiʿite. He criticizes the Shiʿites for helping the polytheists, Jews, and Christians to fight the Muslims and compares them to the Kharijites. However, the Jews and Christians seem not to have been considered apostates by Ibn Taymīyah. See *Majmūʿ Fatāwá* (Riyadh/Mecca), 28:530.

[53]Sayf al-Dīn Qipchāq had been captured in the battle of Elbistan in 1276, and was subsequently enlisted among the mamluks of Qalāwūn; see Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks,* 174, n. 68. He was governor of Damascus from 697/1297 to 698/1298; see his biography in Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah* (Hyderabad, 1348–50/1929–32), no. 612, 3:213–15.

[54]On al-Manṣūr Lāchīn's reign, see P. M. Holt, "The Sultanate of Manṣūr Lāchīn (696–8/1296–9)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 3, no. 6 (1973): 521–32.

[55]In Cairo, at the same time, a conspiracy of amirs ended the rule of al-Manṣūr Lāchīn, who was killed along with his *nāʾib*. When Sayf al-Dīn Qipchāq and his amirs came to know of this, they realized that their desertion had served no purpose; see Amitai, "The Mongol Occupation of Damascus," 22–23.

Ilkhan received them in person. Sums of money were paid to them in accordance with their military rank, and they were given Mongol women in marriage. Sayf al-Dīn Qipchāq married the sister of one of Ghāzān Khān's wives.[56] At the battle of Wādī al-Khaznadār, the Mongol troops were led by Sayf al-Dīn Qipchāq and the Mongol amir Quṭlugh-Shāh (d. 707/1307).[57] The new Mamluk soldiers helped Ghāzān Khān gain victory on 27 Rabīʿ I 699/22 December 1299.[58] At the beginning of Rabīʿ II 699/late December 1299, shortly before the Mongol armies entered Damascus, Ibn Taymīyah went to meet Ghāzān Khān with a delegation of Damascene notables. There he saw the Mamluk renegades in the enemy army, which may explain his resentment towards them.

In the second fatwa, the list of those who must be fought due to their collusion with the Mongols is longer and somewhat different. Apart from non-believers of all kinds (*al-kuffār*, *al-mushrikūn*, *al-fussāq*, etc.) and the Mamluk renegades, he cites various categories which do not appear in the other two fatwas. He denounces persons ranking amongst "the worst of the innovators", such as the Rāfiḍī (i.e., the Twelver Shiʿites), whose heresies had been influenced by those who are amongst "the worst of all creatures: the freethinkers (*al-zindīq,* plural *al-zanādiqah*), hypocrites, who do not inwardly believe in Islam."[59] Ibn Taymīyah considered that the *zanādiqah* weakened Sunni Islam by divulging the heresies uttered by the Shiʿites.[60] Amongst the dissenting Muslims who must be fought, Ibn Taymīyah cites the extremist Shiʿites *(ghulāt al-shīʿah),* in other words the

[56]Sayf al-Dīn Qipchāq was accompanied by ten amirs and his entourage of some 500 soldiers; see Amitai, "The Mongol Occupation of Damascus," 23–24.

[57]See his biography in Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Durar al-Kāminah,* no. 648, 3:225; see also David Morgan, "Ḳuṭlugh-Shāh Noyan," *Encyclopédie de l'Islam,* 2nd ed., 5:559.

[58]On the ambiguous role Sayf al-Dīn Qipchāq played during this battle, see Amitai, "The Mongol Occupation of Damascus," 25.

[59]*Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 28:520.

[60]Laoust, *Essai,* 366.

Ismāʿīlīyah and Nuṣayrīyah of Syria,[61] the Jahmīyah,[62] the Ittiḥādīyah, believers in mystic union *(waḥdat al-wujūd),* and disciples of Ibn ʿArabī and Ibn Sabʿīn,[63] designated as *ahl al-bidʿah.* In this second fatwa, the Ilkhan's Christian allies are omitted from the list of groups to be fought although they are denounced in the other two fatwas. It may be supposed that in drawing up this long fatwa, Ibn Taymīyah's objective was to set out his view of the Mongol regime, which he saw as undermined by Shiʿah subversion, and to denounce Syria's Muslim sects, against whom he was engaged in a relentless struggle because he considered them a danger to Sunni Islam.

JIHAD AGAINST THE MONGOLS FROM THE LEGAL POINT OF VIEW

Ibn Taymīyah, in order to justify the practice of jihad against Muslim invaders, relies on the Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet, but he also sought out historic events from the early years of Islam which could serve as paradigms to support his argument. A case in point was the reign of the fourth caliph, ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib (656–61). It was during this period that the first great sedition *(al-fitnah)* in the history of the Islamic community took place: the Battle of the Camel in November/December 656 and the Battle of Ṣiffīn in July 657, which in turn led to the emergence of the Kharijites.[64] The precedents established by these famous battles enabled the Hanbali scholar to draw a distinction between different kinds

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[61] This was an extreme Shiʿite sect in Syria and southern Turkey, named after Muḥammad ibn Nuṣayr al-Fihrī al-Numayrī, a disciple of the tenth or eleventh Twelver imam; see Shahrastānī, *Le livre de religions et des sectes,* trans. Daniel Gimaret and Guy Monnot (Paris, 1986), 542, n. 255. Laoust (*Essai,* 124–25) refers to this text. This fatwa was edited and translated into French by M. S. Guyard, "Le fetwa d'Ibn Tamiyyah sur les Nosairis," *Journal asiatique* 18 (1871): 158–98. It was issued after the raid by Baybars (d. 676/1277) on the Ismāʿīlīyah fortresses in Syria; see H. Halm, "Nuṣayriyya," *Encyclopédie de l'Islam,* 2nd ed., 8:148–50. As Yaron Friedman points out, Ibn Taymīyah confuses the Nuṣayrīyah and the Ismāʿīlīyah in this fatwa, no doubt because in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Nizārī branch of the Ismāʿīlīyah had taken over a number of fortresses in the mountains where the Nuṣayrīyah lived, the Jabal Anṣarīyah; see Yaron Friedman, "Ibn Taymiyya's *Fatāwá* against the Nuṣari-ʿAlawī Sect," *Der Islam* 82, no. 2 (2005): 353. It is the only branch of the *ghulāt* still in existence; see Kais M. Firro, "The ʿAlawīs in Modern Syria: From Nuṣayrīya to Islam via ʿAlawīya," *Der Islam* 82, no. 1 (2005): 1–31.

[62] Jahm ibn Safwān (d. 128/746) is the presumed founder of the Jahmīyah sect. From the doctrinal point of view, they held that the Quran had been created, and denied the existence of the attributes of God. They are known primarily from the works of their critics, such as the Hanbalis, foremost among them Ibn Taymīyah, who associates them with the Qādirīyah and the Muʿtazilah; see W. Montgomery Watt, "Djahmiyya," *Encyclopédie de l'Islam,* 2nd ed., 2:398–99.

[63] On this personage, see A. Faure, "Ibn Sabʿīn," *Encyclopédie de l'Islam,* 2nd ed., 3:945–46.

[64] On ʿAlī's caliphate, see H. A. R. Gibb, "ʿAlī," *Encyclopédie de l'Islam,* 2nd ed., 1:392–97; E. Kohlberg, "ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib," *Encyclopaedia Iranica,* 1:843–45. On the Kharijites, see G. Levi Della Vida, "Khārijites," *Encyclopédie de l'Islam,* 2nd ed., 4:1106–9.

of rebellion against the authority of the caliph.

Ibn Taymīyah links those rebels, who introduced sedition into the Islamic community in its early years, with the events taking place in his time. Islam, after six centuries of undivided supremacy, was being shaken by these new Muslims whose political ideology permitted them to strike deals with Christians, the heretical sects of Islam, and the Shiʿah. Ibn Taymīyah's principal grievance with the Mongols of Iran was their collusion with—in his view—all these infidels. He uses this as the basis for justifying jihad against those who declare that it is permitted "to kill the best of the Muslims."[65] Since Bilād al-Shām was the scene of a new *fitnah,* he reasons, the Quranic prescription must be followed: "And fight them until persecution is no more, and religion is for Allāh."[66]

The battles which took place during ʿAlī's reign allowed Ibn Taymīyah to draw a distinction between the different internal conflicts suffered by the young Muslim community. Scholars in the field of religious science had not come to any consensus *(al-ijmāʿ)* as to the position to take regarding the adversaries in the battles of the Camel and Ṣiffīn. The believers were free to side with either camp. The Battle of the Camel, which set ʿAlī against ʿAʾīshah, had seen several of the Companions of the Prophet, including Ṭalḥah and al-Zubayr, take the side of his widow and as it happened, the battle came to an end with the death of those two Companions. At the moment of confrontation between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiyah, there were those who protested against human arbitration between the two parties, citing the Quranic verse: "And if two parties of believers fall to fighting, then make peace between them. And if one party of them doeth wrong *(baghat)* to the other, fight that which doeth wrong *(allatī tabghī)* till it return unto the ordinance of Allāh."[67] Conversely, Ibn Taymīyah states, there was indeed consensus among the believers to support ʿAlī in his struggle against the Kharijites. Among their ranks there was no Companion of the Prophet. Since they called for obedience to the prescriptions of the Quran, they could not be excluded from the Islamic community. However, they asserted what was not permitted, that part of the Sunnah of the Prophet contradicted the Book of God. Ibn Taymīyah's reasoning is straightforward: since the *ijmāʿ* of the scholars called for the Kharijites to be fought, it was all the more legitimate to pursue jihad against the Mongols who, while adhering to the laws of Islam, continued to follow the precepts of Chinggis Khan.

At the top of the hierarchy of the groups to be fought within the army of Ghāzān Khān are the Mamluk renegades *(al-munazzifūn)*. Ibn Taymīyah relies

[65] *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 28:505.

[66] Quran 2:193.

[67] Quran 49:9.

on the position of the pious forebears *(al-salaf),* who at the beginning of Abū Bakr's caliphate (632–34) termed those who refused to pay the *zakāt* (the legally-mandated alms) apostates, even though they fasted, prayed, and did not fight against the Muslim community. Ibn Taymīyah recalls that according to the Sunnah of the Prophet, the penalty set out for the apostate *(al-murtadd)* is harsher than that which applies to those who are unbelievers *(al-kāfir al-aṣlī)*. The apostate must be put to death, even if he is incapable of fighting, whereas many jurisconsults do not decree the execution of the unbeliever.[68]

The question of the Mamluk prisoners who were forced to fight in Ghāzān Khān's army was a delicate point for Ibn Taymīyah. Many Muslims were unsure as to whether it was justifiable to kill Mongol soldiers who were Muslims, or worse still, their Mamluk brothers who had been taken prisoner and impressed into the enemy army. Here too, Ibn Taymīyah has recourse to the outstanding events of the first centuries of Islam. He uses the Prophet's first great battle against the Meccans, that of Badr in 624, to justify jihad against Ghāzān Khān's soldiers. During that famous battle, a Companion of the Prophet and several of his followers had been taken prisoner. Ibn Taymīyah considers that if, as at Badr, the Mamluk prisoners fighting in the Mongol army are killed in the battle they will be considered martyrs for God's cause.

As can be seen, Ibn Taymīyah uses the classic procedure of reasoning by analogy in his argument to justify jihad against the Muslim Mongols, transposing to his own time the known cases of *fitnah* that had pitted different groups of Muslims against one another. By virtue of this relatively simple argumentation, the Hanbali sage establishes a typology of the sorts of *bughāh* that must be fought, in order to convince those Muslims who were still hesitating to take up arms to repel Ghāzān Khān's armies. The Mongols are likened to the Kharijites, while the renegade Mamluks, the *munazzifūn,* are relegated to an even worse status, that of apostates *(ahl al-riddah).*

A Tract against the Mongol Regime

Ibn Taymīyah had numerous contacts with the Mongol authorities, which he reports in his fatwas. His claims are borne out by the historic sources, which give many details on the matter. These contacts are undoubtedly the source of his information on the Ilkhanid political regime and various aspects of Mongol culture. Ibn Taymīyah did not have the opportunity to have a long conversation with Ghāzān Khān; he met the Ilkhan briefly when, accompanied by a group of religious figures from Damascus, he went to meet him on 7 Rabīʿ II 699/1 January 1300 to ask him to spare the lives of the city's civilian population (that is, to

[68] *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 28:534.

grant them his *amān*).[69] Contemporary historiography has until now maintained that this was the only occasion on which Ibn Taymīyah met Ghāzān Khān.[70] Jean Michot, in 1995, drew attention to the fact that the two might have met again subsequently and suggested that the question deserved to be studied.[71] He based this on the evidence of the Ilkhan's minister Rashīd al-Dīn, who reports a meeting between them which supposedly took place on 9 Rabīʿ II 699/3 January 1300 at the Ilkhan's encampment at Marj al-Rāhiṭ.[72] The Mongol sovereign asked his visitors: "Who am I?" They replied as one voice, listing his genealogy as far back as Chinggis Khan. In reply to his question as to the name of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's father, they said, "al-Alfī".[73] The Mongol sovereign then asked them the name of the father of "al-Alfī," a question which the Damascene notables were unable to answer. Ghāzān Khān's noble lineage thus could not be compared with the ancestry of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Alfī, that is, the son of a Turkish slave, with no noble lineage.[74] By establishing Ghāzān Khān's prestigious *nasab* in contrast to that of the Mamluk sultan, Rashīd al-Dīn clearly sought to elevate the Ilkhan's prestige in the eyes of the Damascene delegation. This lack of lineage was proof that the Mamluk regime was a mere product of chance, devoid of any right to rule.[75] Given that the Mamluk sources do not mention this meeting between Ghāzān Khān and Ibn Taymīyah, one may question whether it in fact took place. Rashīd al-Dīn might have confused Ibn Taymīyah's meeting with Ghāzān Khān with the discussions the scholar held with various Ilkhanid authorities, such as his interview with the great amir Quṭlugh-Shāh which took place after Ghāzān Khān's withdrawal from Damascus. Indeed, in his second fatwa, Ibn Taymīyah remarks that a Mongol leader addressed him, saying, "Our king is the son of a king, the son of seven generations of kings, while your

[69]The interview took place in the village of Nabk, near the Ilkhan's camp at Marj al-Rāhiṭ; see Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī, 1:138–39, 2:101–2; *Kanz,* 20; *Beiträge,* 66. A detailed account of the meeting is given in Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, 14:3:475. The interpreter reported Ghāzān Khān's words to the delegation of notables, informing them that the *amān* they had come to ask for had already been sent to Damascus before their request.

[70]Laoust, *Essai,* 117–20; Raff, *Remarks,* 20–24.

[71]Michot, *Lettre à un roi croisé,* 75, n. 125.

[72]Rashīd al-Dīn speaks of a delegation of notables from Damascus (Ibn Taymīyah's name is not mentioned), received by the Ilkhan on 6 Rabīʿ II 699/31 December 1299. He specifies that the notables had come to meet the Mongol army in order to make their submission *(īlī kardand);* see Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī,* 128.

[73]Ibid.

[74]The term "al-Alfī" refers to the fact that the sultan Qalāwūn had been bought for a sum of one thousand dinars. Rashīd al-Dīn thus emphasizes that the Mamluk sultans, of servile origin, had in the beginning been mere chattel.

[75]Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 128.

king is the son of a client."[76]

Jean Michot assumed that the bulk of the exchanges between Ibn Taymīyah and Ghāzān Khān occurred in the course of the interview Rashīd al-Dīn recounts between these two great figures of the age. He based his hypothesis on a later writer, Ibn Yūsuf al-Karamī al-Marī (d. 1033/1624), who reports the explicit evidence given by the Syrian historian Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347–48) to the effect that the Hanbali scholar had two meetings with the Ilkhan.[77] But the second meeting Michot refers to in this regard does not appear to have happened at the time of Ghāzān Khān's first invasion of Bilād al-Shām, but rather during his third and final incursion into the region.

Caterina Bori has recently edited and translated a short biography of Ibn Taymīyah which had hitherto remained unpublished.[78] This work, written by Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī, clearly states that Ibn Taymīyah met the Ilkhan a second time: "at the time of Ghāzān Khān, he (i.e., Ibn Taymīyah) was very active. . . . He met the king twice *(ijtamaʿa bi-al-malik marratayn)*."[79] As Bori notes, Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī's remarks as to Ibn Taymīyah's activity refer to the third invasion of Syria and the famous battle of Shaqḥab (2 Ramaḍān 702/20 April 1303) in which Ghāzān Khān and his army were defeated.[80] Ibn Taymīyah took part in this battle, bearing arms and urging the combatants to engage in jihad. During the fighting he issued a fatwa exempting the Mamluk soldiers from the ritual fast during the month of Ramaḍān.[81] Given the circumstances of Ibn Taymīyah's meetings with Ghāzān Khān, he can hardly have had the opportunity to engage in a long conversation which could be the basis of his knowledge of the Mongol regime. Ibn Taymīyah did, however, have closer contacts with Ghāzān Khān's two great amirs, Quṭlugh-Shāh (d. 707/1307) and Mulāy (d. 707/1307),[82] and with

[76] *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 28:542.

[77] Michot, *Lettre à un roi croisé,* 75–76, n. 125, citing Ibn Yūsuf al-Marī, *Al-Shahādah al-Zakīyah fī Thanāʾ al-Aʾimmah ʿalá Ibn Taymīyah,* ed. Najm ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khalaf (Amman and Beirut, 1404/1983), 42.

[78] Caterina Bori, "A New Source for the Biography of Ibn Taymiyya," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 67, no. 3 (2004): 321–48. The manuscript is preserved in the Maktabat al-Asad in Damascus (*Majmūʿ* 3128) and is identified, on the basis of its incipit: *hādhihi nubdhah min sīrat shaykh al-islām Taqī al-Dīn ibn Taymīyah.* See ibid, 321.

[79] "Nubdhah," fol. 72r.

[80] Bori, "A New Source for the Biography of Ibn Taymiyya," 343, n. 29.

[81] The fast had begun on 1 Ramaḍān 702/19 April 1303, on the eve of the battle. Ibn Taymīyah relied on a hadith of the Prophet dating from the year of the conquest of Mecca to excuse the combatants from the ritual fast; see Laoust, "La biographie d'Ibn Taymīya d'après Ibn Katīr," 132.

[82] The name of this figure appears in different forms in the Arab sources consulted. Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī gives it in the form Būlāhim or Būlāy, 1:163–64, 2:124; *Beiträge,* 78–79 (Būlay); *Kanz,* 36

various major figures of the Ilkhanid state, including the viziers Saʿd al-Dīn and Rashīd al-Dīn and other important persons[83] such as the Armenian king of Sīs.[84] The historical sources report many details of Ibn Taymīyah's encounters with Quṭlugh-Shāh, which took place on 21 Jumādá I 699/14 February 1300,[85] and the amir Mulāy, when Ibn Taymīyah visited him in his tent and negotiated the release of numerous prisoners.[86] On this occasion he had a discussion with the amir about the murder of al-Ḥusayn, the grandson of the Prophet, by Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiyah on 10 Muḥarram 61/10 October 680. Not wishing to displease Mulāy, Ibn Taymīyah was reserved in giving his views on this topic.[87] Ibn Taymīyah's information on the Mongol regime was undoubtedly based on the discussions he had with important figures in the Ilkhanid state rather than on the conversations he may have had with Ghāzān Khān.

From a reading of these fatwas, it appears that Ibn Taymīyah was well-informed as to the political views of the Ilkhans, but he interprets them according to his own interpretive system—that of the rigorist Islam he symbolized—and from a polemical perspective. Ghāzān Khān, in his three attacks on Syria, was continuing the policy of his predecessors Hülegü and Abāqā, but he portrayed his arrival in Bilād al-Shām as being in the name of Islam. Before analyzing the way Ibn Taymīyah describes the Mongol regime in his second fatwa, it is necessary to consider the *amān* Ghāzān Khān caused to be read in the Great Umayyad Mosque on 8 Rabīʿ II 699/2 January 1300, before the entry of his troops into Damascus.[88]

Ghāzān Khān, Leader of the Muslim World

Following his official conversion to Islam, Ghāzān Khān wished to present himself as leader of the eastern Muslim world. Some Persian sources adopt millenarian motifs in dealing with his conversion.[89] He is depicted as renewing Islam, while

(Bulāy); Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, 14:3:504–5 (Mūlāy); Rashīd al-Dīn, *Tārīkh-i Mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, 130 (Mūlāy).

[83]According to Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī (1:158, 2:119), those present included: the treasurer Sharīf Quṭb al-Dīn and his secretary *(al-mukātib)* Ṣadr al-Dīn, Najīb al-Kaḥḥāl al-Yahūdī, the *shaykh al-mashāʾikh* Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd, and the *nāẓir al-awqāf* Aṣīl al-Dīn ibn Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī.

[84]On this interview, see Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī (1:157–58, 2:119).

[85]ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Birzālī recorded the testimony of Ibn Taymīyah on 25 Jumādá 699/18 February 1300; see Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī (1:157, 2:119).

[86]He went to his camp on 2 Rajab 699/24 March 1300 and returned to Damascus on 4 Rajab/26 March; see Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī, 1:163–64, 2:124; al-Dhahabī, 377.

[87]Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī, 1:163–64, 2:124; *Kanz,* 36; *Beiträge,* 78–79; al-Dhahabī, 379; Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, 14:3:668–69.

[88]The decree had been promulgated on 5 Rabīʿ II 699/30 December 1299, just before the delegation's mission to Nabk on 7 Rabīʿ II 699/ January 1300. Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī, 1:142, 2:104.

[89]Melville, "*Pādshāh-i islām,*" 170.

his great amir Nawrūz, who had encouraged him to convert, is described as a second Abū Muslim.[90] After the Abbasid conquest of Syria and Egypt, Abū Muslim had wanted to put an end to the curses uttered against the family of the Prophet.[91] The famous Iranian theologian Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Bayḍāwī in his *Niẓām al-Tawārīkh*[92] also highlights the figure of the Ilkhan after his conversion to Islam: "Ghāzān Khān has rendered obsolete the bravery of Rūstam [the legendary champion of Iran], the generosity of Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī [the epitome of magnanimity in pre-Islamic Arabia],[93] and the justice of Anūshirvān [one of the outstanding pre-Islamic Iranian monarchs]." As Charles Melville quite rightly notes, "Ghāzān Khān puts a seal on these separate strands of Irano-Islamic history."[94] Ghāzān Khān also had black banners made, resembling those of the Abbasid caliphs, and made Christians and Jews pay the poll tax *(al-jizyah),* from which they had been free since the abolition of the caliphate at Baghdad.[95] The Ilkhan intended, by this series of symbolic actions, to pose as leader of the Muslim community. One can even see in the coupling of Ghāzān Khān and the amir Nawrūz a desire to present the Ilkhanid Islamic regime as successor to the Abbasid caliphate. By denouncing, as we have seen, the misdeeds committed by the Mamluks at Mardīn, he based the legitimacy of his Syrian campaign on Islam. Ghāzān Khān's position as "king of Islam" *(pādishāh al-islām)* is clearly visible in the text of his *amān* to the population of Damascus, which is laden with Quranic quotations cited in support of his claims.[96]

The text of the *amān* starts with a preamble quite similar to those that open the letters the khans sent to the popes and to Western and Muslim rulers. It begins by praising God: "By the power of God Almighty,"[97] followed by the names of

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[90] Melville, "*Pādshāh-i islām,*" 170.

[91] Jean Calmard, "Le chiisme imamite sous les Ilkhans," in *L'Iran face à la domination mongole,* ed. Denise Aigle, Bibliothèque iranienne 45 (Tehran, 1997), 281.

[92] It is a universal history. Three sets of manuscript versions exist, which have been studied by Charles Melville, who shows that the second set was drawn up by al-Bayḍāwī himself at the beginning of the reign of Ghāzān Khān. Al-Bayḍāwī was undoubtedly in Tabriz and witnessed the events himself; see Charles Melville, "From Adam to Abaqa," *Studia Iranica* 30, no. 1 (2001): 70. On the different versions, see idem, "From Adam to Abaqa: Qāḍī Baiḍāwī's Rearrangement of History, Part II," *Studia Iranica* 35, no. 1 (2007), in press.

[93] C. Van Arendonk, "Ḥātim al-Ṭāʾī," *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, 2nd ed., 3:282–83.

[94] Melville, "From Adam to Abaqa: Qadi Baidawi's rearrangement of history, Part II."

[95] Melville, "*Pādshāh-i islām,*" 164–70; Calmard, "Le chiisme imamite sous les Ilhans," 281.

[96] Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī, 1:139–42, 2:102–4; *Kanz,* 20–23; *Beiträge,* 66–68; Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, 14: 3:476–81.

[97] Despite its clearly Islamic tone, the text of the *amān* is in line with the documents of Mongol chancelleries. *Beiträge*'s author and Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī, who transmit the text in its entirety, differ only in a few minor details. Conversely, in the text transmitted by Ibn al-Dawādārī and Ibn Abī

the addressees: "The amirs of ten thousand *(umarāʾ al-tūmān),* of one thousand, of one hundred, and all our victorious troops: Mongols, Persians,[98] Armenians, Georgians, as well as all those who have come under the yoke of our obedience (*ṭāʿatnā)* should be informed."[99] There then follows Ghāzān Khān's declaration, divided into three parts.

The first part is dedicated to recalling the great event for the Islamic world that was represented by the Ilkhan's official conversion to Islam just before his enthronement. Shaykh Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Saʿd al-Dīn Muḥammad, who had heard his profession of faith, had recounted it five years earlier on his return from the pilgrimage, in the Ribāṭ al-Sumaysāṭī beside the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. The text of the *amān* emphasizes that Ghāzān Khān had been chosen by God, who had illuminated his heart with the light of Islam. This claim is illustrated with a Quranic quotation: "Is he whose breast God has expanded unto Islam, so he walks in a light from his Lord?[100] But woe to those whose hearts are hardened against the remembrance of God! Those are in the manifest error."[101]

Ghāzān Khān then denounces the Mamluk regime whose governors *(al-ḥukkām)*[102] had left the way of Islam *(khārijūna ʿan ṭarīq al-islām):* they are no longer tied to the commandments of Islam *(bi-ḥukm al-islām).* By their lack of faithfulness to each other, they sow disorder among the population.[103] This last claim is also illustrated by a Quranic quotation: "When one of them turns his back, he would hasten about the earth, to do corruption there and to destroy the tillage and the

al-Faḍāʾil the eulogy of God which opens the text of the *amān* includes the additional sentence fragment: "Through the power of God Almighty and the good fortune of the reign of the sultan Maḥmūd Ghāzān" *(bi-quwwat Allāh taʿālá wa-iqbāl dawlat sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghāzān).* This second part of the eulogy could be described as a calque of the preambles of the letters sent by the Mongol khans. The Mongolian equivalent of the introduction of Ghāzān Khān's *amān* would be *möngke tenggri küčündür qaʾan-u süü-dür* (with the force of Eternal Heaven, with the good fortune of the great khan). Here the great khan is replaced by Ghāzān Khān himself.

[98]Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī, 2:102 *(al-bārik),* perhaps for *al-tājīk; Beiträge,* 62, and *Kanz,* 20 *(al-tatār);* Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, 14:3:477 *(al-tāzīk).*

[99]Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī, 1:139–40, 2:102; *Beiträge,* 62; *Kanz,* 21; Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, 14:3:476.

[100]This sentence implies: "Is it he who has remained a non-believer?"

[101]Quran 39:22.

[102]The term used in the sources is neither *al-malik* nor *al-sulṭān,* terms which designated the supreme holder of power in the Mamluk state; *al-ḥukkām* (Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī, 1:102; *Beiträge,* 62; *Kanz,* 21; and Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, 14:3:476) is a term which rather alludes to the governors appointed by the Mamluk sultans. Blochet's translation is thus not entirely accurate. But it may be possible that Ghāzān Khān employes this term to testify to the superiority of the Ilkhanid regime compared to that of the Mamluks.

[103]Ghāzān Khān here denounces the rivalries and treachery between the various amirs and their houses of mamluks, which led to considerable instability in the power structure.

stock, and God loves not the corruption!"[104] Ghāzān Khān alludes here to the instability of power in the Mamluk state at the time, notably due to the youth of the sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.[105] He also criticizes the Mamluks for violating the wives of the Muslims and their goods: justice and equity were absent from the kingdom. Ghāzān Khān's aim is to justify his Syrian campaign: "our fervor for Islam has urged us to march against this land with a host of soldiers in order to put this aggression to an end and pull this tyranny away."[106] A further Quranic quotation is enlisted to support this claim: "Surely God bids to justice and good-doing and giving to kinsmen; and He forbids indecency, dishonor, and insolence, admonishing you, so that haply you will remember."[107] He had come to spread justice *(al-ʿadl)* and charity *(al-iḥsān),* an assertion illustrated by a prophetic hadith saying that those who render justice with equity (*al-muqṣitūn*) will enjoy God's favor.[108]

The text of the *amān* presents Ghāzān Khān as a sovereign boasting all the qualities of the ideal prince portrayed in the Islamic "mirrors for princes" genre. As his resounding victory over the rebellious enemy *(al-ʿadūw al-ṭāghīyah)* shows, he is aided by God: "tore them utterly to pieces"[109] and then "the truth *(al-ḥaqq)* has come, and falsehood *(al-bāṭil)* has vanished away; surely falsehood is ever certain to vanish."[110] Ghāzān Khān is thus presented as the protector of his new subjects, the Muslim populations of Bilād al-Shām. Here we again find the image, presented in both the "mirrors" literature and the prophetic traditions, of the sovereign as shepherd of his flock. It is the duty of the Ilkhan to punish those of his soldiers who had carried out reprehensible acts against the population: "In the confusion, some soldiers engaged in pillage; they have been killed as an example, so that they may cause no harm to the men who practice different religions *(ahl al-adyān),* under the pretext that their beliefs are different from theirs, whether Jewish, Christian, or Sabean,[111] as since they pay the poll tax *(al-jizyah),* defending them is one of the legal obligations *(al-waẓāʾif al-sharʿīyah)*."[112] In this case, the authority invoked in support of this declaration is a hadith of the

[104]Quran 2:205.

[105]On the lack of sultan's authority, see Peter M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East From the Eleventh Century to 1517* (London, 1986), 107–13.

[106]Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī, 1:140, 2:103; *Beiträge,* 62; *Kanz,* 21; Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, 14:3:477.

[107]Quran 16:90.

[108]Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī, 1:140, 2:103; *Beiträge,* 62; *Kanz,* 21; Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, 14:3:477.

[109]Quran 39:19.

[110]Quran 17:81.

[111]Here the term Sabians perhaps is an allusion to the Sabians of Ḥarrān; see Tardieu, "Ṣābiens coraniques et 'Ṣābiens' de Ḥarrān."

[112]Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī, 1:141, 2:103; *Beiträge,* 62; *Kanz,* 22–23; Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, 14:3:480.

Prophet: "The imam in charge of people is their shepherd, and every shepherd is responsible for the flock he has under his command."[113] As can be seen, Ghāzān Khān in this *amān* follows the Mongol tradition that puts all religions on the same footing, all the more important since there were Christians amongst his soldiers and he undoubtedly hoped to win the Christian populations of Bilād al-Shām over to his cause.

Although he is not mentioned by name in the sources,[114] it would appear that Ibn Taymīyah was one of the group of religious figures who attended the reading of this *amān,* as well as the official proclamation, also at the Umayyad Mosque, of the *firmān* naming Sayf al-Dīn Qipchāq representative *(al-nāʾib)* of Ghāzān Khān in Syria and governor of Damascus, a position he had held before fleeing to Ilkhanid territory. The aim of these texts was to convince the people of Damascus that the Ilkhan had come to Syria to protect the civilian populations, victims of the Mamluk regime. Ibn Taymīyah's second fatwa is to some extent a response to the Ilkhanid political ideology, as he saw it through his personal contacts with various Mongol authorities. The official texts which had been read in public during the brief occupation of Damascus in 1300 confirmed for Ibn Taymīyah the danger posed to Islam should Syria come under the control of the Mongols, despite the fact that the latter were themselves Muslims. The letter Ghāzān Khān addressed to al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, some months later, doubtless reinforced Ibn Taymīyah's beliefs in this regard.[115] On 16 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 700/20 August 1301 a meeting took place in the Citadel of Cairo between the envoys of Ghāzān Khān, including the qadi Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad, a descendant of the Prophet, and the great Mamluk amirs. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad made a short speech, studded with Quranic citations, about peace and consensus between Muslims. It was well received by those present. The qadi prayed for the sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and then for Ghāzān Khān. The envoys then presented a letter from the Ilkhan sealed with his seal. On 18 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 700/23 August 1301, the letter was read before al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, the great amirs, and the rank-and-file Mamluk soldiery.[116] In it, Ghāzān Khān recalled that all that had passed between him and the Mamluk sultan was nothing other than the application of the decree of God

[113]Al-Bukhārī, *Al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (Bulaq, 1311–13/1893–95), Aḥkām, 1, Istiqrāḍ, 20; Muslim, *Al-Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (Istanbul, 1334/1916), Imārah, 20; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Al-Musnad* (Cairo, 1313/1896), 54, 111.

[114]Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī, 1:139; *Kanz,* 20; *Beiträge,* 62; Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, 14:3:476.

[115]On these events and the letter see Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī, vol. 1; *Kanz;* Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, 20:1: 547–54. According to Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, the letter was in Mongol script; see ibid., 549. The text of this letter sometimes differs slightly from al-Yūnīnī's version. We use here the account of this Syrian historian.

[116]Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī, 1:181, 2:243.

and of his free will *(qaḍāʾ Allāh wa-qadarihi)*.[117] The Ilkhan reminded the Egyptian sovereign that the basis of the confrontation between the two parties was the Mardīn affair which had taken place during the month of Ramaḍān the previous year, when Satan had entered the city.[118] Once again, a Quranic verse was used to support Ghāzān Khān's statements: "[They, i.e., the Mamluks] entered the city, at a time when its people were unheeding."[119] Ghāzān Khān added: "It was the rule of Islam [to be understood as he who directs the *ummah*] to fight against rebels *(ḥukm al-islām fī qitāl al-bughāh)*."[120] For Ghāzān Khān, the rebels in question were the Mamluk soldiers, who were to blame for the disturbances in Mardīn.

THE MONGOL POLITICAL ORDER AS SEEN BY IBN TAYMĪYAH

Ghāzān Khān's arguments against the Mamluks are a mirror image of the criticisms Ibn Taymīyah levels against the Mongols; here, the *bughāh* are the Mamluks themselves. For the Hanbali scholar, the danger was pressing, and in the fatwa he therefore presents the Egyptian sultans as the true champions of Islam. According to Ibn Taymīyah, they are part of the group made victorious whom the Prophet referred to when saying: "A group of my community will never cease to show their support for the victory of right, and neither those who oppose them nor those who betray them shall cause them any harm, until the hour passes."[121] From Yemen to Andalusia, Ibn Taymīyah observes, the Muslim world was weakened by disunity, the poor participation in jihad against the Franks, Tartars, and sectarian religious movements. Worse still, those who were in authority in Yemen had sent a message of submission and obedience to the Ilkhans.[122] Similarly, in the Hijaz, the people were straying and the believers were being degraded, all the more so since Shiʿism was gaining the upper hand.[123] Ibn Taymīyah here refers to the difficulties the Mamluks had encountered in imposing their rule in the cities of the Hijaz and Yemen, a region with a long tradition of Zaydī Shiʿism. Since the conquest of Yemen in 569/1174 by Saladin's son Tūrān-Shāh, it had been the duty of the "Sultan of Islam" to protect the holy places of the Hijaz and settle succession disputes between the *sharīf*s (descendants of the Prophet) of Mecca and Medina. Ibn Taymīyah saw Ghāzān Khān's claims over the holy places, as well as those of Öljeitü at a later stage, as a grave danger for Sunni Islam, and for

[117] Ibid., 1:181, 2:212.

[118] Ibid., 1:182, 2:212.

[119] Quran 28:15.

[120] Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī, 1:182–83, 2:213.

[121] *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 28:531.

[122] Ibid., 533

[123] Ibid.

this reason he argued in favor of the Mamluk regime. The Mongols looked down on al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Alfī's lack of noble lineage. But in a polemical spirit, Ibn Taymīyah retorted that Ghāzān Khān's ancestors were without doubt all sons of kings, but they were all sons of infidel kings. There was nothing to be proud of about being the son of an infidel king; a Muslim Mamluk is better than an infidel king.[124] In Ibn Taymīyah's view, the Mongol dynasty of Iran is thus personified by infidel kings and impious Muslims.

Through his contacts with a number of high-ranking figures in the Ilkhanid state, Ibn Taymīyah gained information about the Mongol political ideology. The Hanbali scholar reproaches the Ilkhans for not fighting on behalf of Islam, but rather in order to gain the submission of peoples, whoever they might be: "Whoever enters into their obedience of the Age of Ignorance *(al-jāhilīyah)* and into their infidel way *(al-kufrīyah)* is their friend *(ṣadīquhum),* even if he is an infidel *(al-kāfir),* a Jew, or a Christian. Whoever refuses to submit is their enemy *(ʿadūwuhum),* even if he were to be one of the prophets of God."[125]

This second fatwa, indeed, represents the world order as the Mongols imagined it: they were invested with the mandate of eternal Heaven *(möngke tenggeri)*. The realization of this world order involved drawing a distinction between peoples "in harmony" *(il)* and those in a "state of rebellion" *(bulgha)*.[126] In 1246 the great khan Güyük had sent a letter to Pope Innocent IV, of which we have a Persian copy. He wrote, "By divine power *(bi-quvvat-i khudāy),*[127] from the rising to the setting of the sun, all territories have been granted to us. . . . You must now say, with a sincere heart, 'We are in harmony with you *(īlī)*' . . ., then we will know of your submission. . . . And if you do not observe God's order, and contravene our orders, you will be our enemies *(yāghī)*."[128]

The Ilkhans adopted for themselves the idea of the heavenly mandate enunciated by the great khans. In a letter in Arabic which Hülegü addressed to the Ayyubid ruler of Syria, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, inviting the latter to join his forces with Hülegü's, he wrote: "We have conquered Damascus by the sword

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[124] Ibid., 542.

[125] Ibid., 525. Giovanni de Plano Carpini, citing the laws and ordinances *(leges et statuta)* of Chinggis Khan, was one of the first writers to mention this obligation of submission; see Iohannes de Plano Carpini, *Ystoria Mongalorum*, vol. 1 of *Sinica Franciscana*, ed. P. Anastasius Van den Wyngaert (Quarrachi-Firenze, 1929), 64.

[126] On these two terms see Gerhard Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen* (Wiesbaden, 1963–75), vol. 2, no. 768 and no. 653.

[127] The original Mongolian text probably included the formula *möngke tenggeri küncündür* (with the force of Eternal Heaven), the Turkish equivalent of which appears in the preamble to the letter: *mängü tängri küncündä* (in the Latin version: *dei fortitudo*).

[128] Here the term *yāghī* is an equivalent to classical Mongol *bulgha*.

of God *(fataḥnāhā bi-sayf Allāh),* we are the army of God *(naḥnu jund Allāh)*."[129] As the letter was addressed to a Muslim sovereign, the term *Allāh* replaced the Mongolian *tenggeri* so as to make sense in the addressee's culture. The intention is to affirm that the Mongols enjoyed a divine mandate.

The concept of Eternal Heaven was readily understood by the Christians, and by the Muslims, as a metaphor for a personalized God. But the *tenggeri* of the mediaeval Mongols referred as much to the physical sky as to the supernatural entities that might reside there, and was not worshipped at all. As for the term *möngke,* it does not evoke the Christian idea of an eternity with neither beginning nor end, but rather solidity and durability.[130] In the *Secret History of the Mongols,*[131] the influence of this concept is clearer from the reign of Chinggis Khan's successor Ögödei on, and we subsequently find the formula repeatedly used to indicate that the ruler enjoyed the protection of the *tenggeri*.[132]

This Mongol political theocracy was, of course, sharply rejected by Ibn Taymīyah who found in it a weighty argument against Ilkhanid Islam. The Tatars may have pronounced the Muslim declaration of faith, he writes, but they have deviated from the laws of Islam *(khārijūn ʿan sharāʾiʿ al-islām)* by keeping their ancient beliefs from the Age of Ignorance. One observes that Ibn Taymīyah is addressing the same reproaches to the Ilkhans that Ghāzān Khān levelled against the Mamluks in his *amān*. The Hanbali scholar explains the deviant theology of the Mongols as follows: "It is that the Tatars believe grave things about Chinggis

[129]Bar Hebraeus, *Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar al-Duwal,* ed. A. Ṣāliḥānī (Beirut, 1890), 277. On this letter see also Hein Horst, "Hülagüs Unterwerfungsbriefe an die Machthaber Syrien und Ägyptens," *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 150, no. 2 (2000): 429–34.

[130]Françoise Aubin, "Some Characteristics of Penal Legislation among the Mongols (13th–21st Centuries)" (paper presented at the conference Central Asian Law: An Historical Overview, Leiden, October 2003). In his *Tʿatʿaracʿ Patmutʿiwnkʿ* (History of the Tatars), the Armenian historian Grigor Akancʿi (d. 1335) wrote: "When they [i.e., the Mongols] unexpectedly came to realize their position, being much oppressed by their miserable and poor life, they invoked the aid of God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and they made a great covenant with him to abide by his commands . . . These are the precepts of God which he imposed on them and which they themselves call *yasax*"; see "History of the Nation of the Archers," ed. and trans. Robert P. Blake and Richard N. Frye, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 12, nos. 3–4 (1949): 289–91.

[131]This text is the first to have been written in Mongolian. It is the bearer of Mongol identity and includes much information on Mongol social and political organization; see Igor de Rachewiltz, "Some Remarks on the Dating of *The Secret History of the Mongols*," *Monumenta Serica* 24 (1965): 185–205; William Hung, "The Transmission of the Book known as *The Secret History of the Mongols*," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 14 (1951): 433–92; Larry Moses, "The Quarreling Sons in the *Secret History of the Mongols*," *Journal of American Folklore* 100 (1987): 63–68; idem, "Epic Themes in the 'Secret History of the Mongols,'" *Folklore* 99 (1988): 170–73.

[132]See Marie-Lise Beffa, "*Le concept de* tänggäri, '*ciel*' *dans l'*Histoire secrète des Mongols," *Études mongoles et sibériennes* 24 (1993): 215–36.

Khan. They believe that he is the son of God, similar to what the Christians believe about the Messiah *(al-masīḥ)*. The sun, they say, impregnated his mother . . ., he was a bastard *(walad ziná),* despite which they hold him to be the greatest messenger of God."[133]

The reference to Chinggis Khan as the son of God is based on the Mongols' legend of their origin. According to that legend, Alan-Qʾoa, their mythical ancestor, gave birth to three sons after the death of her husband. A being with "pale yellow" skin had crept into her tent three times and its light had penetrated her stomach.[134] Since the *tenggeri* was seen by Christians and Muslims as a personalized God, there was only one step needed to consider Chinggis Khan the son of God. This, for Ibn Taymīyah, was a grave heresy. But, worse yet in the eyes of the Hanbali scholar, since the Mongols considered Chinggis Khan son of God, they elevated him to the rank of a law-giving prophet. Thus the greatest of their leaders in Syria, writes Ibn Taymīyah, when he addressed the Muslim envoys and was trying to find common ground with them declared, "Behold two very great signs *(āyah)* come from God: Muḥammad and Chinggis Khan."[135]

The information Ibn Taymīyah relied on in denouncing Mongol Islam was based on his interview with the Mongol amir Quṭlugh-Shāh, converted to Islam under the name Bahāʾ al-Dīn.[136] He declared to Ibn Taymīyah he was a descendant of Chinggis Khan and that his illustrious ancestor had been a Muslim *(kāna musliman)*.[137] He also said that God had sealed the line of prophets with Muḥammad and Chinggis Khan, the king of the earth *(malik al-basīṭah);* anyone who did not obey him was

[133]*Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 28:521–22.

[134]The Mamluk historian al-ʿUmarī (d. 1349) reports this legend, which undoubtedly circulated orally in the Muslim East and whose origin is to be found in the *Secret History of the Mongols;* see al-ʿUmarī, *Das Mongolische Weltreich: al-ʿUmarī's Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk Masālik al-abṣār wa mamālik al-amṣār,* ed. Klaus Lech (Wiesbaden, 1968), Arabic text: 2–3. Thomas Raff sees in this legend the concept of the immaculate conception, which exists in both Christianity and Islam and would on this basis be present also in the Genghiskhanian tradition. This analysis is not quite accurate, as Raff (*Remarks,* 46–47) repeats the point of view of the Muslim authors themselves. The present writer has shown elsewhere that this legend is part of a wider context of miraculous births attributed to heros in the East since antiquity. The legend was subsequently Islamized by the Timurid historical tradition, since Timur was presented as the descendant of Chinggis Khan. On the development of this myth, see Denise Aigle, "Les transformations d'un mythe d'origine: l'exemple de Gengis Khan et de Tamerlan," in *Figures mythiques de l'Orient musulman,* ed. D. Aigle, Revue des Mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée 89–90 (2000): 151–68. Ibn Taymīyah muddles Alan-Qʾoa, the mythic ancestor of the Mongols, with Chinggis Khan's mother.

[135]*Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 28:521.

[136]According to Thomas Raff (*Remarks*, 46), the leader here is Ghāzān Khān himself at the time of the interview at Nabk.

[137]*Beiträge,* 76; *Kanz,* 32. According to Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī (1:157, 2:119) Chinggis Khan was not a Muslim.

considered a rebel *(man kharaja min ṭāʿatihi fa-huwa khārijī)*.[138] Here again one notes that Ibn Taymīyah's arguments against the Mongols are the same as those used by Ghāzān Khān to denounce the Mamluk regime.

Religious tolerance, or rather the Mongol khans' pragmatism displayed in dealing with the various religious communities of their empire, was another basis for polemics against the Mongols. All the sources are indeed unanimous that Chinggis Khan made it a rule not to give any religion pre-eminence over any other and granted tax immunity for the churchmen if they accepted Mongolian authority.[139] Ibn Taymīyah describes the Ilkhanid regime in the following terms: "Every person who lays claim to a branch of learning or to a religion, they consider him a scholar, whether the jurist *(al-faqīh),* the ascetic *(al-zāhid),* the priest *(al-qisīs)* and the monk *(al-rāhib),* the rabbi *(danān al-yahūd),* the astrologer *(al-munajjim),* the magician *(al-sāḥir),* the physician *(al-ṭabīb),* the secretary *(al-kātib),* or the keeper of the accounts *(al-ḥāsib)*. They also include the guardian of the idols *(sādin al-aṣnām)*."[140]

In the categories listed by Ibn Taymīyah we find the representative authorities of the three monotheistic religions found in the Ilkhanid empire, but also representatives of important positions in every princely court: administrative officials, physicians, and those charged with determining whether the conjunction of the stars favored the prince in his political and other actions. The reference to the guardian of the idols has a polemic function here. Ibn Taymīyah emphasized the Mongols did not make any distinction between believers who had been granted a divine book and others.

Ibn Taymīyah issues fatwas to construct a typology of religious matters *(ʿibadāt wa-sāʾir al-maʾmūr)* amongst Adam's progeny *(min Banī Ādam)*.[141] He considers that every act of worship whose origin is a divine order includes three categories *(aqsām):* the rational *(ʿaqlī),* the confessional *(millī),* and the legal *(sharʿī)*.[142] He considers the rational to be "what the followers of reason among the sons of Adam agree on, whether they have been granted a book or not."[143] The confessional is "what the believers of varied religious confessions *(ahl al-milal)* granted a divine book agree upon," in other words both Muslims and Quranic People of the Book

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[138] Li Guo/al-Yūnīnī, 1:158, 2:119; *Beiträge,* 76; *Kanz,* 32.

[139] There is a good discussion of the origin of this policy in Yao Tao-chung, "Chʾiu Chʾu-chi and Chinggis Khan," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 46 (1986): 201–19. Thanks to Thomas Allsen for this reference.

[140] *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 28:525.

[141] Ibid., 20:66 *(Kitāb Uṣūl al-Fiqh)*. On these fatwas, see also Michot, "Un important témoin," 351–52.

[142] *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 20:66.

[143] Ibid.

(ahl al-kitāb).[144] The legal is "what is exclusive to the followers of Quranic law."[145] Lastly, Ibn Taymīyah deals with the question of royal politics *(siyāsāt al-malakīyah)* which come not under a confession or a divine book, but in which the rational and the legal are necessary.[146] To illustrate this type of government, the Hanbali scholar gives the example of the Chinggiskhanid regime.[147]

Chinggis Khan had conceived a law, the *yāsā,* according to "his reason *(ʿaqlihi)* and his own opinion *(dhihnihi)*."[148] On this basis Ibn Taymīyah develops an argument that the Mongols were guilty of blameworthy innovation *(al-bidʿah):* "He has caused men to leave the ways of the prophets in order to take up that which he has innovated: his way of the Age of Ignorance *(sunnat al-jāhilīyah)* and his infidel law *(sharīʿatihi al-kufrīyah)*."[149] With this reasoning, Ibn Taymīyah argues against the Mongols' political system. The Ilkhans' Islam, according to Ibn Taymīyah, exposes the Muslim religion to a grave risk because in it the rational *(al-ʿaqlī)* had replaced the legal *(al-sharʿī)*.[150]

The Mongols of Iran were promoting a modern Islam: they advocated religious freedom and claimed to follow the *yāsā*, the law established by Chinggis Khan. In other words, although they had converted to Islam, the Mongols did not comply with the principles of Islamic law. Ibn Taymīyah denounces a form of Islam where the authority of the *yāsā* perpetuates submission to an indeterminate divinity, the *tenggeri,* at the cost of strict obedience to the shariʿah.

As we can see, this second fatwa goes far beyond a normal fatwa. It is an outright condemnation of the politico-Islamic order founded by the Ilkhans. The Hanbali scholar seems to synthesize all the information which he can gather on

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[144]The Quran and Islamic tradition thus designate the Jews and Christians, holders of an ancient book. The designation was later applied to the Sabeans (Ṣābiʿūn) of the Quran (the Sabeans of Ḥarrān were considered star-worshippers) and to the Zoroastrians; see G. Vajda, "Ahl al-Kitāb," *Encyclopédie de l'Islam,* 2nd ed., 1:272–74.

[145]*Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 20:66.

[146]Ibid.

[147]Ibid., 67.

[148]This information regarding the manner of legislating on the basis of Chinggis Khan's reason is only to be found in the Islamic sources, evidence that Muslim authors saw in the *yāsā* the equivalent of religious law, contrary to the shariʿah; see David O. Morgan, "The 'Great *Yāsā* of Chingiz Khan' and Mongol Law in the Īlkhānate," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 49, no. 1 (1986): 163–76; Denise Aigle, "Le 'grand *yasa*' de Gengis-khan, l'Empire, la culture mongole et la *sharīʿa*," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 47, no. 1 (2004): 31–79; idem, "Loi mongole *vs* loi islamique: Entre mythe et réalité," *Annales, Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 5, no. 6 (2005): 971–96.

[149]*Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 28:523.

[150]Jean Michot, risking anachronism, speaks of "secularization through Genghiskhanian rationalism"; see Michot, *Lettre à un roi croisé,* 66; idem, "Un important témoin," 252–53.

the Mongols. In these fatwas, Ibn Taymīyah refers to persons of high rank and events attested in the historical chronicles. This information allows us to give an approximate dating to these three texts.

ATTEMPTING TO DATE THE FATWAS AND CONCLUSION

The first and third fatwas are clearly fatwas that seek to define the status of the combatants in the armies of the two sides. The first fatwa, whose content regarding the Mongols is not as virulent as that of the second, may well have been issued after the Mamluk defeat at Wādī al-Khaznadār, at the time of the occupation of Damascus by the Ilkhanid troops, when Ibn Taymīyah was acting as an intermediary between the local population and the Mongol authorities. This fatwa takes a more conciliatory tone towards the Mongols soldiers. Ibn Taymīyah recognizes that the fact that they are Muslims must be taken into account. While they must be fought, they first must be called to respect the prescriptions of Islam; the *kuffār* who are amongst their ranks must be invited to convert.[151] The third fatwa is dedicated to considering the status of the Mamluks who fought, under duress or willingly, in the Mongol armies. It may have been issued at the time of the battle of Wādī al-Khaznadār which was won partly due to their presence in the Mongol ranks.

The "second" fatwa, on the other hand, unusually long, is an outright condemnation of the Ilkhanid regime and Shiʿism. It addresses the problem posed by the Mongols and their conversion to Islam, but goes far beyond this topic since Ibn Taymīyah also brings up many religious sects in Bilād al-Shām, such as the Ismāʿīlīyah, the Nuṣayrīyah, and Ibn ʿArabī's followers, religious tendencies against which Ibn Taymīyah fought incessantly throughout his life.

Nevertheless, this criticism of the Mongol regime, accused of being under the influence of major Shiʿite figures, is the essential topic of the fatwa. Thomas Raff cites the absence of any reference to Ghāzān Khān's third invasion of Syria, on 12 Rajab 702/2 March 1303, or to the Mamluk victory at Marj al-Ṣuffār on 2 Ramaḍān 702/20 April 1303, and on this basis concludes that the fatwa was undoubtedly proclaimed in Rajab or Shaʿbān 702/1303, just before that battle. However, as Jean Michot points out in his translation of Ibn Taymīyah's *Lettre à un roi croisé,*[152] Thomas Raff missed a clear allusion in the fatwa to Öljeitü's conversion from Sunni Islam to Twelver Shiʿism. The king of these Tatars has now been won over to Rāfiḍism, writes Ibn Taymīyah; the Hijaz, if they capture it, will be "entirely corrupted."[153] Öljeitü's conversion to Shiʿism probably took

[151] *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 28:404.

[152] Michot, *Lettre à un roi croisé,* 74, n. 125.

[153] *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 28:533.

place at the end of 708/1308 or the beginning of 709/1309.[154] The fatwa cannot, therefore, have been written before this date. It may have been written in Cairo, where Ibn Taymīyah was staying, just before the new Mongol threat on Bilād al-Shām in 1312 led by the Ilkhan Öljeitü. At that point Ibn Taymīyah left Cairo to support the jihad in Syria.[155]

Troubled by the establishment of a new political system in a large part of the Muslim world, Ibn Taymīyah denounces the theocratic conception of power based on a law created through the reason of one man, Chinggis Khan. According to the Hanbali scholar, Ghāzān Khān, despite his conversion to Islam, had remained faithful to the Mongol *yāsā,* raising the danger that malign innovations could be introduced into legalistic, shariʿah-based Islam. The Mongols of Iran, even after their conversion to Islam, had not perpetrated any religious persecutions. They had not made their Islam a "state religion." Ibn Taymīyah, as a militant Hanbali scholar, was deeply convinced that religion and state were inextricably linked; without the discipline imposed by revealed law, the state would become tyrannical. Ghāzān Khān's form of Islam, based on the rational *(ʿaqlī),* risked competing with the true religion *(dīn al-ḥaqq),*[156] which was based on the legal *(sharīʿah)*. Viewed in this light, Ilkhanid Islam was the bearer of a conception of power that did not accept the Quran and the interpretation thereof as its sole source of political legitimacy.

However, Ibn Taymīyah's "second fatwa" can only be understood in the historical context in which it was written. This was the time of Öljeitü's conversion from Sunni Islam to Shiʿism in 709/1309 and his moves to gain control over the Hijaz and the holy places of Islam. For Ibn Taymīyah, the Ilkhanid regime was perverted by Shiʿite tendencies from the time of its establishment. These began after the fall of Baghdad with the intrigues of Muʾayyad al-Dīn ibn al-ʿAlqamī (d. 656/1258), minister of the last Abbasid caliph, al-Mustaʿṣim.[157] As far as Ibn

[154]The Ilkhan's conversion to Shiʿism was followed by the mass conversion of his amirs, with the exception of the two most powerful, Saʿīd Chūpān and Isen Quṭlugh. From this date forward, the *khuṭbah* was given in the name of the Shiʿite imams, and coins struck in their name. See Judith Pfeiffer, "Conversion Versions: Sultan Öljeytü's Conversion to Shiʿism (709/1309) in Muslim Narrative Sources," *Mongolian Studies* 22 (1999): 41. As Jean Calmard ("Le chiisme imamite sous les Ilkhans," 283) points out, the proclamation of Shiʿism aroused violent opposition in Sunni strongholds in Iran (Iṣfahān, Qazwīn, and Shīrāz), despite the fact that the *khuṭbah* did not include any execration of the Sunnism of the first caliphs.

[155]He returned to Damascus on 1 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 712/28 February 1313, after a brief stay in Jerusalem; see Henri Laoust, "Ibn Taymiyya," *Encyclopédie de l'Islam,* 2nd ed., 3:977.

[156]Quran 9:59.

[157]*Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 28:528. He corresponded with the Mongols prior to their attack on Baghdad and contributed to Hülegü's victory over the caliph's army; see John A. Boyle, "Ibn al-ʿAlqamī," *Encyclopédie de l'Islam,* 2nd ed., 3:724.

Taymīyah was concerned, this Shiʿite perversion could only lead to a complete Shiʿite takeover of the Ilkhanid regime, a takeover that was consummated with the conversion of the "king of the Tatars to Rāfiḍism." Although he is not named, this assertion relates to Öljeitü. Ilkhanid Rāfiḍism was for Ibn Taymīyah an even greater danger than the Chinggiskhanian rationalism of Ghāzān Khān, for it could spread throughout *Dār al-Islām*, and most of all to the Hijaz. The Mamluk regime was the only bastion against this menace. The situation in Mecca provided the Ilkhan with the opportunity to intervene and to widen the influence of Ilkhanid Shiʿite Islam. Since the death of Abū Numayy, head of the Zaydī Shiʿite Banū Qatādah family, in 701/1302, the struggle for power between his four sons had affected the stability of the holy city.[158] As a result, the Mamluks had considerable difficulty in retaining their influence there. In 705/1306, Öljeitü sent an Iraqi caravan with a *maḥmal*[159] to Mecca, just as Ghāzān Khān had tried to do in 702/1303 shortly before his death. In 710/1310, Öljeitü proclaimed his Shiʿite profession of faith on his future mausoleum at Sulṭānīyah, then capital of the Persian Ilkhanate.[160] In the foundation inscription on the mausoleum, he styles himself "*sharīf al-islām wa-al-muslimīn*," a play on words alluding to his control of the Hijaz through his domination of the *sharīf*s of Mecca.[161] A number of inscriptions engraved on this Sulṭānīyah mausoleum, such as "may God give him victory" and "may God spread his shadow and glorify his lands"[162] clearly refer to the Ilkhan's desire to extend his domain, and by implication to dominate Bilād al-Shām. In Ibn Taymīyah's view, Shiʿism was once again a real danger in the region, all the more so as there were already present numerous Shiʿite sects who were ready to strike deals with the enemy. In this "second fatwa," the virulence of his attacks against the Ilkhanid regime is a response to the Ilkhans' attempts, since their conversion to Islam, to present themselves as leaders of the Muslim world. Öljeitü's future mausoleum in Sulṭānīyah—built with certain parallels with the Kaʿbah in Mecca—and its epigraphic program symbolized the Shiʿite Ilkhan's desire to occupy the position of protector of the holy places of Islam, hitherto held by the Mamluks.

In drawing up this fatwa, Ibn Taymīyah was highly conscious of the danger that the Ilkhans' Shiʿite Islam represented for the Sunni Muslim *ummah*. Öljeitü's claims to Syria were to bear no fruit, however: his campaign, launched in 712/1312, would spend a month besieging Raḥbah and never crossed the Euphrates.[163] His

[158]Melville, "'The Year of the Elephant,'" 199.

[159]Ibid.

[160]Sheila Blair, "The Epigraphic Program of the Tomb of Uljaytu at Sultaniyya: Meaning in Mongol Architecture," *Islamic Art* 2 (1987): 61.

[161]Ibid., 73.

[162]Ibid.

[163]Melville, "'The Year of the Elephant,'" 199.

claims to the holy places also came to nothing. His great amir Ḥājjī al-Dilqandī was sent at the head of a thousand troops to the aid of Ḥumayḍah ibn Abī Numayy, who had come to the Ilkhan's court in 716/1316 requesting military assistance against his brother so as to establish his authority in Mecca. News reached Ḥājjī al-Dilqandī on the road that on 30 Ramaḍān 706/16 December 1316 the Ilkhan had departed from this world.[164] As Jean Calmard emphasizes, Öljeitü's religious policy had aroused considerable fears in the Sunni world Ibn Taymīyah so fervently defended. It is in this context that this long fatwa must be read. It is one of the numerous texts that the Hanbali polemicist drew up at the request of the Mamluk authorities, notably in opposition to the great Shiʿite *ʿālim* Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, to whom the Shiʿite sources attribute the credit for Öljeitü's conversion to Twelver Shiʿism.[165] Finally, while the first and third fatwas are clearly juridical texts, the "second fatwa" is a text that, taking into account the other sources and its markedly polemical character, we might describe as being of a historical nature.

[164]Ibid., 200. It was reported that Ḥājjī al-Dilqandī had been given orders by Öljeitü to exhume the bodies of the first caliphs Abū Bakr and ʿUmar from their place alongside the Prophet Muḥammad; see ibid. Moreover, Öljeitü had in mind to transfer the mortal remains of ʿAlī and al-Ḥusayn to his future mausoleum at Sulṭānīyah; see Calmard, "Le chiisme imamite sous les Ilkhans," 284.

[165]See Calmard, "Le chiisme imamite sous les Ilkhans," 282–83.

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Some Remarks on Ibn Ṭawq's (d. 915/1509) Journal *Al-Taʿlīq*, vol. 1 (885/1480 to 890/1485)

I

On our table lies the first volume of a four-volume journal or diary *(Al-Taʿlīq)* that Ibn Ṭawq, a native of Jarūd (near Damascus, today Jayrūd), wrote some five hundred years ago. With its customary thoroughness and high quality, the Institut Français d'Études Arabes de Damas (IFEAD) has published the first 555 pages of a work in which one finds the everyday notes of a little-known Damascene court clerk covering the years from 885/1480 up to 908/1502. The edition is based on the autograph manuscript held by the Maktabat al-Ẓāhirīyah (Asad National Library Ms. 4533).

The story of how this text was published is just as remarkable as the manuscript itself: The Shiʿite qadi of Baalbek, al-Shaykh Jaʿfar al-Muhājir, who is known as the author of several historical works on the Shiʿites in Bilād al-Shām,[1] came to IFEAD with the manuscript in 1996. He had worked intensively on the text from 1977 to 1982. When he decided to leave Beirut with his family and settle in Baalbek because of the Lebanese civil war, his attention was directed to the *Taʿlīq* by Thurayyā Kurd ʿAlī, who was in charge of the manuscripts of the Ẓāhirīyah library at that time. During the war, he spent several hours every day at his desk deciphering the difficult script. In this way, little by little, a bundle of papers with the transcription of the whole text emerged, around 1,800 pages all together. Sarab Atassi, the secrétaire scientifique at IFEAD, took care of the manuscript and promised to publish it in the following years. Jaʿfar al-Muhājir had done excellent work, considering that Ibn Ṭawq frequently uses the vernacular to express himself and it is well known that there are only a few preliminary studies in this field.[2]

Edited by Jaʿfar al-Muhājir (Damascus: Institut Français d'Études Arabes de Damas, 2000). Pp. 555. This is an extended review of the first volume. The second and third volumes have now also been published. We would like to express our thanks for useful hints and help to Frédéric Bauden, Lutz Berger, Tarif Khalidi, Hilary Kilpatrick, Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, Florian Schwarz, and Dana Sajdi.

[1] See, for example, his *Al-Hijrah al-ʿĀmilīyah ilá Īrān fī al-ʿAṣr al-Ṣafawī* (Beirut, 1989), *Sittat Fuqahāʾ Abṭāl* (Beirut, 1994), and *Jabal ʿĀmil taḥta al-Iḥtilāl al-Ṣalībī* (Beirut, 2001).

[2] Cf. the bibliography in Joshua Blau's excellent *Handbook of Early Middle Arabic* (Jerusalem, 2002). Information on the spoken Arabic of the Mamluk period can be found in Clifford Edmund

Furthermore the author's handwriting is extremely difficult to read, particularly since the diacritics are almost completely missing (as is shown by the facsimile printed at the end of volume 1). In the printed version, the original text is left almost unchanged. To make it more understandable, minor modifications were made in some places which are always marked and in many cases commented upon.

The journal itself is quite unusual. It contains much information about all strata of society, i.e., about the different circles of ulama, the professors of the madrasahs, the shopkeepers, rural society, and the local population. Ibn Ṭawq primarily focuses on the groups at the fringe of urban society who usually are not the main subjects of Arabic historical literature. He writes about the business of the simple man, everyday economic life, public festivals, protests against the encroachments of the authorities, and about organized gangs who made the streets insecure. Ibn Ṭawq describes things in his *Taʿlīq* which he has witnessed or about which he has been informed firsthand. He himself was from a rural family and earned his living as a minor court clerk *(shāhid-kātib)*. He had a special relationship with the Shafiʿi qadi and *shaykh al-islām* Qāḍī ʿAjlūn (Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbd Allāh, d. 928/1521), and whenever he was off duty, Ibn Ṭawq joined the sessions of this scholar. In the shade of the Qāḍī ʿAjlūn, he wrote his own work that was actually intended as a sort of local chronicle but also was meant to contain some of the author's personal experiences (*baʿḍ mā yataʿallaqu bi-kātibihi,* as is expressly stated in the second sentence of the chapter devoted to the year 888).

II

One could end the review of the first volume of Ibn Ṭawq's *Taʿlīq* with that. But perhaps it makes sense to put the text in a broader context by suggesting at least one path for further research. We would like to draw attention to a group of texts which can to varying degrees be called "diaries" or "journals" as well. What they have in common is that they convey information about events which happened during the authors' lifetime in chronological order, i.e., proceeding from day to day, from month to month, and from year to year. This is, of course, something they have in common with many works belonging to the annalistic branch of Arabic historical writing. But they differ in that they do not focus only on political events and the lives and deaths of prominent personalities but also provide details and commentary on mundane topics of everyday occurrences and on personal matters, or both. Even so, a clear demarcation of what can be called

Bosworth, *The Medieval Islamic Underworld: The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature* (Leiden, 1976); Paul Kahle, "Eine Zunftsprache der ägyptischen Schattenspieler," *Islamica* 2 (1926): 313–22; and Karl Vilhelm Zetterstéen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensultane in den Jahren 690–741 der Higra nach arabischen Handschriften* (Leiden, 1919), 1–33.

a diary and what should rather be considered a political journal remains a matter of opinion.

Furthermore, one can ask whether or not certain parts of voluminous works such as *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr* by Ibn Iyās (d. ca. 930/1524)[3] should be included in the group of diaries in this sense as well. Ibn Iyās also describes many events of his own era in a diary-like style, where festivities, scandals, petty crimes, and the gossip of the day figure prominently. And one last point: even though our scope goes beyond the Mamluk area and time, dynastic changes cannot divide a literary genre that develops and flourishes over the centuries.

The year 1985 may be considered as signaling a new interest in the history of everyday life, at least in Germany, manifesting itself in universities as well as in exhibitions. In that year, but probably completely independent of that fashionable novelty, Annemarie Schimmel's book *Alltagsnotizen eines ägyptischen Bürgers* (An Egyptian citizen's notes on everyday life) was published,[4] being an extract from volumes 4 and 5 of Ibn Iyās' above-mentioned work *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*. And even decades before Schimmel's work appeared, everyday life in the medieval Islamic world was considered an interesting topic, a prominent example being Adam Mez' *Die Renaissance des Islams,* which was published in 1922.[5] Since then, many publications have in passing made some contribution to the history of everyday life in medieval Islam,[6] but an attempt to give an encyclopaedic survey has, to our knowledge, not so far been made.

III

Some works will probably be familiar already. The first chronicle which, without too much discussion, can be included within the genre of Arabic diaries is al-Musabbiḥī's (d. 420/1029) *Akhbār Miṣr wa-Faḍāʾiluhā,* of which only the last of its forty volumes has been preserved.[7] This volume treats parts of the years 414 and 415 Hijrah which correspond to the years 1023 to 1024 A.D., that is, some years after al-Ḥākim's reign (r. 386–411/996–1021). Some of the first volumes seem to

[3]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhur*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Beirut and Wiesbaden, 1960–84).

[4]Annemarie Schimmel, *Alltagsnotizen eines ägyptischen Bürgers* (Stuttgart, 1985).

[5]Adam Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams* (Heidelberg, 1922).

[6]Cf. *Patterns of Everyday Life,* ed. David Waines (Ashgate, 2002).

[7]Ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid and Thierry Bianquis, *Tome quarantième de la Chronique de l'Égypte de Musabbiḥī* (Cairo, 1987). This edition is based on the unique manuscript preserved in the Escorial. 80 pages of poetry are not included in the printed text but have been published separately: *Al-Juzʾ al-Arbaʿīn min Akhbār Miṣr,* ed. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār (Cairo, 1984). Al-Musabbiḥī is said to have written 28 books, which, with two exceptions, are all devoted to *adab.* See Thierry Bianquis, "Al-Musabbiḥī," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 7:650–52.

have dealt with periods long before the author's own lifetime. The preserved last part, which quotes from official documents, is an important source for political history and court intrigues, but also is a gold mine for facts about everyday life. We hear about a dog who enters a mosque and is killed as a consequence, a boy drowning in the Nile, a hippopotamus which found its way to Cairo, three "yellow" Indians curing eye diseases, a bear causing panic, a convert to Islam who had only pretended to undergo circumcision (which becomes obvious only after his death), about people recovering the corpses of persons drowned in the Nile and demanding money from the relatives, and much more. As with many of the diarists, al-Musabbiḥī had a peculiar thematic preoccupation: he was especially interested in crimes in his native quarter al-Fusṭāṭ, and it seems that he had access to the log of the local police station. His reports are useful for gaining a picture of the *practice* of law enforcement, which is much less well known than the rules of *fiqh* manuals, handbooks for judges, and fatwa collections.[8] He writes about his own activities in several instances, for example when he had participated in audiences at the caliph's court or in one of the caliph's public appearances. Once he tells us that he was unable to attend a festivity due to severe pains. Among the many obituaries, there are several persons mentioned from his own circle of friends or acquaintances without any political significance. A slave girl with whom al-Musabbiḥī has a child suddenly dies, and he expresses his deep grief in moving words which sound much more authentic than most of the many elegies we know from Arabic poetry.[9]

Then we have the autograph diary of Ibn al-Bannāʾ, an eleventh-century Hanbali doctor of Baghdad. His text deals with the period from 1 Shawwāl 461/3 August 1068 until 14 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 461/4 September 1069, but originally his notes seem to have been continued for nine more years.[10] Like al-Musabbiḥī, he is said to have been a prolific author, but his diary, unlike his Egyptian colleague's work, seems not to have been meant for the eyes of the public. Its main topics are the social, political, and religious affairs in Baghdad in which Ibn al-Bannāʾ took part. He records his own activities in this sphere, for example, his delivery of the Friday *khuṭbah* in the palace mosque or cathedral mosque, or a funeral oration, or

[8]Al-Musabbiḥī was the main source for Yaacov Lev, "The Suppression of Crime, the Supervision of Markets, and Urban Society in the Egyptian Capital during the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 3 (1988): 71–95. For some more aspects of criminal justice drawn from al-Musabbiḥī, see Tilman Seidensticker, *On Crucification in Medieval Islam* (forthcoming).

[9]Al-Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār*, 16, lines 9–10 (*wa-nālanī ʿalayhā min al-wajdi mā lā ajidu lahu kāshifan illā Allāh*).

[10]George Makdisi, "Autograph Diary of an Eleventh-Century Historian of Baghdad," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 18 (1956): 9–31 (= part 1), 239–60 (= part 2); 19 (1957): 13–48 (= part 3), 281–303 (= part 4), 426–43 (= part 5).

his visit to an ill colleague. All in all, he includes himself and his own activities in his book much more than al-Musabbiḥī, but everyday life is seldom mentioned, with the exception of some miraculous incidents and the information that he had his blood drawn together with a number of others from his family on 17 Rajab 461/11 May 1069.[11] Instead of al-Musabbiḥī's passion for crime, Ibn al-Bannāʾ devotes special attention to dreams, both his own and those which were reported to him by others. This happened many times because he was considered an expert in the interpretation of dreams. During the 13 months which are covered by the fragment, 26 dreams are reported, the length of which are between a few lines and a whole page. Some are just recorded, others briefly commented upon, and still others are subject to extensive interpretation. The author's own dreams give, voluntarily or involuntarily, some insight into his ambitions and longings. Besides the dreams, there are about half a dozen remarks of a personal character. To give just one example: "A woman with a baby girl came to my door. The family and a maid-servant of ours saw her. They said, 'She has two heads.' But I could not bear to look at her *(mā ṭāba qalbī anẓur ilayhā)*. We gave her mother something, and she went away."[12]

Like his forerunners al-Musabbiḥī and Ibn al-Bannāʾ, Ibn Ṭawq has a particular interest: he is obsessed with weather. With the help of his *Taʿlīq,* we are able to write a nearly uninterrupted history of the meteorologic phenomena in Damascus for more than two decades. This fact can best be explained by his rural background, because he shares this predilection with two authors of another diary who were farmers: the father and son al-Rukaynī from the Jabal ʿĀmil in the eighteenth/nineteenth centuries (see below). He tells us about the direction of the wind, changes in the weather, differences in the appearance of clouds, about cold, heat, frost, and snow. Typical of the almost affectionate manner in which the topic is treated is what he says about 18 Muḥarram 888: *wa-fī laylatihi ʿinda al-tasbīḥi ḥaṣala bakhākhu maṭarin wa-istamarra ilá ākhirihi lam tura al-shamsu wa-al-maṭaru ʿammālun bi-sukūnin wa-ḥaṣala bi-hi khayrun kathīrun wa-lillāhi al-ḥamd* ("in the night, at the time we said *subḥāna Allāh,* a drizzle began and continued until the end of that day; the sun was not seen all day long, and the rain did its work quite calmly, and caused much benefit, praised be the Lord!").[13] In comparison to his two forerunners, Ibn Ṭawq devotes even more attention to everyday life than al-Musabbiḥī; the *Taʿlīq* allows a reconstruction of all aspects of life in Damascus in the last decades of the Mamluk period.

To give just a few examples from a random selection of about 60 pages (*Al-Taʿlīq*

[11] Ibid., part 4, 290 § 143 (Arabic text) = 302 (English translation).

[12] Ibid., Part 2, 246 § 34 (Arabic text) = 258 (English translation).

[13] Ibn Ṭawq, *Al-Taʿlīq,* 1:232, ll. 9–10.

23–63 and 224–41): his master Qāḍī ʿAjlūn has a severe marital row *(ghayẓ kabīr jiddan)* with his Egyptian wife (25, lines 11–12); a farmer's wife and a stranger are struck dead by a dilapidated wall somewhere in the gardens and the wife is not buried properly due to the dubious circumstances of her death (29, ll. 9–12); in a garden, two men are caught together with a strange woman; their wine is poured out, and one of the men manages to flee, while the other one is punished with 40 lashes, and the woman is imprisoned (58, ll. 2–6); the caretaker of the al-Saqīfah mosque does illicit things *(al-makrūh)* in the mosque with the slave girl of a shaykh's wife, and after they are caught, he flees by throwing himself in the river, while the girl is struck with a sword and wounded (61, ll. 15–18); a tavern is closed (29, l. 2); wine is poured out (36, ll. 14–15; 233, l. 13; 236, l. 19–237, l. 2); two Muslims drink wine, and someone informs Qāḍī ʿAjlūn (239, ll. 6–9); some poor people force their way into a Christian's house where some Muslims are drinking wine together with beardless boys (240, ll. 11–13); the collapse of a ceiling of a building kills six persons, two survive (36, ll. 5–7); forty poor farmers attack three shops owned by Christians (48, ll. 4–10).

Ibn Ṭawq devotes even more space to his personal life than Ibn al-Bannāʾ. On a Monday, his wife and children visit the Turkish bath, and the sums of money given to the staff are enumerated in detail: *lil-dāyah hibat ashrafī, lil-ḥammāmīyah 20, al-nāṭūrah wa-ummuhā 12, al-waqqād 2* (35, ll. 2–3). On the occasion of the pilgrims' return, the author buys two sheep and has them cooked (45, ll. 7–8). When Ibn Jumʿah's wife gives birth to a dead girl, he sends her three chickens (233, ll. 17–18). He mentions that he caught a cold accompanied by a shivering fit and fever (29, ll. 7–8), and he tells us that a room called *al-murabbaʿ* is covered (with mattresses) and that the family sleeps in this room on the next night (35, ll. 16–17). A visit to the flowering gardens of Zamlakā and Daqqānīyah with five friends is reported (36, ll. 8–9); several days later Ibn Ṭawq notes that the flowers and blossoms are extremely beautiful (*fī ghāyat al-ḥusn,* 39, l. 14), and even the picking of some flowers is considered worth mentioning (*qaṭaftu min saṭrā baʿḍ ward,* 235, l. 2). The author's wife has, on 15 Rabīʿ I 888/23 April 1483, her brother sell a brooch made of gold to buy a copy of the Quran with the money (237, ll. 8–9). Value judgements are not very frequent, but they exist: a book written by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Iʿzāzī is generously assessed as "not bad, for him" (*wa-hiya kitābah bi-al-nisbah ilayhi lā baʾsah bihā,* 32, ll. 13–14), and the transfer of the *muqaddam Dimashq* to Ṭarṭūs is warmly welcomed (*wa-hādhihī nafyah wa-lillāh al-ḥamd,* 43, ll. 3–4).

IV

After this comparison between Ibn Ṭawq and his two predecessors, we would like to conclude our contribution with a list of later works that have some affinity with

the "diary" genre. In some cases we can only adduce the authors, titles, and dates, while in other instances we give some additional information. There is a certain overlap with the authors treated by Dana Sajdi in her doctoral dissertation on contemporary chronicles written by commoners in the eighteenth-century Levant.[14] Our list does not, of course, claim to be exhaustive. We did not include authors who died after the year 1800 A.D., with the exception of the Rukaynīs' chronicle, because al-Rukaynī senior wrote his part prior to 1778.[15]

1. About one generation after Ibn Ṭawq, Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546) wrote his *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* which treats Damascus up to 951/1544; for the years before the author's adulthood, Ibn Ṭawq and other historians such as al-Buṣrawī (see below) are used as sources.[16] "The importance of Ibn Ṭūlūn's history—which is a contemporary chronicle written as *dhayl* to the contemporary chronicle of Ibn Ṭūlūn's teacher, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Nuʿaymī (d. 1521)—may be seen in the fact that it was among the most widely circulated history books in Damascus during the two centuries after his death. . . . Ibn Ṭūlūn, an *ʿālim par excellence,* was acutely conscious of being a member of a scholarly community . . . [but:] In other words, Ibn Ṭūlūn's chronicle is less about the *ʿulamāʾ* and more about the suffering of 'the people.'"[17]

2. In 1099/1687, Yaḥyá Ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Qāsim, author of the *Bahjat al-Zaman fī Ḥawādith al-Yaman,* died.[18] This work, devoted to the history of the Yemen, and above all of Ṣanʿāʾ, is also mainly restricted to the five decades which the author himself witnessed. The author turns out to be especially fond of repeating second-hand horror stories and fairy tales.

3. Ismāʿīl ibn Tāj al-Dīn al-Maḥāsinī (d. 1102/1691), preacher of the Umayyad

[14]Dana Sajdi, "Peripheral Visions: The World and Worldviews of Commoner Chroniclers in the 18th Century Ottoman Levant" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2002).

[15]Ibid., 126–28.

[16]Ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 1962–64) and Aḥmad Aybash (Damascus, 2002, under the title *Ḥawādith Dimashq al-Yawmīyah Ghadāt al-Ghazw al-ʿUthmānī lil-Shām 926–951: Ṣafaḥāt Mafqūdah Tunsharu lil-Marrah al-Ūlá min Kitāb "Mufākahat al-Khillān ilkh."*). The Cairo edition contains the preserved parts of the first volume, covering roughly the years from 884/1479 to 926/1519, based on the unique manuscript (autograph) of the Tübingen University Library. The Damascus edition is a reconstruction of the second volume with the help of quotations in later works.

[17]Sajdi, "Peripheral Visions," 479–80.

[18]Ed. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥabashī as *Yawmīyāt Ṣanʿāʾ* (Abu Dhabi, 1996). This text is based on the author's *musawwadah* from the library of the Friday mosque in Ṣanʿāʾ. It is not a complete edition but a selection of parts considered important for social history. The manuscript has three volumes with altogether 1,459 pages of 20 to 22 lines. This means that the edition is shortened to a third of the size of the manuscript. On Yaḥyá ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Qāsim, see ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥabashī's introduction, containing a long list of his works (5–16, 122 titles).

mosque in Damascus, wrote his account of the time between Ṣafar 1077/August–September 1666 and Jumādá I 1100/February–March 1689 on the empty space in a volume of Arabic poetry. These notes, spread throughout all 325 pages, were extracted from that scrapbook *(kunnāsh)* by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid.[19] There are many remarks on everyday matters and the author's personal life.[20]

4. Muḥammad al-Makkī, author of a *Tārīkh Ḥimṣ,*[21] died in 1135/1722 and also concentrates on the three decades before his own death, mainly in the region of Hims and its environs. "All of the above factors lead us to conclude that al-Makkī must have had an intimate professional involvement with the *maḥkamah* of Ḥimṣ, similar in function to that of a court clerk; what exactly that function was, however, we are unable to identify. . . . The fact of al-Makkī's occupation is reflected in the writing and content of his chronicle. Just like a court *sijill,* his chronicle records deeds and transactions in summary form, with a minimum of narrative, external context, and authorial interjection. . . . Al-Makkī is remarkably eclectic about who or what he reports: his news ranges from the comings and goings of the town notables, to the death of a garbage collector, to the marriage of a barber, to a water-bearer's murder of his mother-in-law, to the death of the neighbor of the author's daughter. . . . Muḥammad al-Makkī was a court clerk with more than a touch of opportunism."[22] Al-Makkī does not talk too much about himself, but everyday life is one of his favorite topics. His style shows a peculiar fondness for nominal expressions instead of verbs, a sort of "officialese" *(nuzūl al-bard, islām dhimmī, majīʾ fulān, wuqūʿ fulān fī al-ʿĀṣī).*

5. Another author from the Bilād al-Shām is Muḥammad ibn Kannān (d. 1153/1740) who, in his *Al-Ḥawādith al-Yawmīyah min Tārīkh ʿAsharah Alf wa-Miʾah,* covers the time from 1111 to 1153 (1699 to 1740), all of which he witnessed himself.[23] The autograph is preserved in two manuscripts in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (nos. 9479 and 9480 Ahlwardt). On him and his work, Dana Sajdi writes: "Perhaps unexpectedly of a bookish man, Ibn Kannān was also a socially active fellow. He spent much [of] his time paying social visits and going to engagement

[19] "Ṣafaḥāt fī Tārīkh Dimashq fī al-Qarn al-Ḥādiyah ʿAsharah al-Hijrī Mustakhrajah min Kunnāsh Ismāʿīl al-Maḥāsinī," *Majallat Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabīyah* 6 (1960): 77–160.

[20] Sajdi, "Peripheral Visions," 28, n. 82, states that al-Maḥāsinī is dealt with by Naila Takieddine Kaidbey, "Historiography in Bilad al-Sham: the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" (Ph.D. diss., American University of Beirut, 1995), 387–96.

[21] Ed. ʿUmar Najīb al-ʿUmar (Damascus, 1987). Al-Makkī is one of the seven chroniclers dealt with in Sajdi, "Peripheral Visions"; on his biography, cf. the section "Muhammad Ibn Kannān: Struggling for Tenure in the Damascene Academy," 91–113.

[22] Sajdi, "Peripheral Visions," 85–86, 91.

[23] Ed. Akram Ḥasan al-ʿUlabī under the title *Yawmīyāt Shāmīyah* (Damascus, 1994). The author is another one of the seven chroniclers dealt with in Sajdi, "Peripheral Visions."

parties, weddings, and circumcision celebrations. His favorite pastime, however, was picnicking. Ibn Kannān loved the gardens and parks of Damascus, and it was there that he spent most of his springs and summers, particularly toward the end of his life. . . . Ibn Kannān's enchantment with nature is not only illustrated by his interest in botany (reflected in a very large section of *Al-Mawākib al-Islāmīyah*) but also in the fact that he marked time according to the seasonal fruits and flowers: 'in the days of the apple,' 'in the days of the attack of the roses *(fī hujūm al-ward),*' 'in the days of the apricot,' and 'in the days of grapes and figs.' Often, these picnics functioned as scholarly salons. It was in the fresh air, surrounded by flowers, and sitting by the water, that Ibn Kannān and his fellow teachers exchanged knowledge and discussed topics outside their teaching curricula."[24]

6. Thirty years later, another Syrian author, Aḥmad al-Budayrī al-Ḥallāq (d. 1175/1762), wrote his *Ḥawādith Dimashq al-Yawmīyah,* treating the years 1154–75/1741–62, again as an eyewitness. Al-Budayrī's "Daily Events of Damascus" is surely one of the most fascinating documents of eighteenth-century Bilād al-Shām. This collection of current events, observations, and comments, arranged in the form of annals written by an obscure Damascene barber, provides a much-needed corrective and supplement to the indispensable but often dry and monotonous biographical and historical works of the time. Al-Budayrī's precious text, which is remarkably close to the vernacular, has a complex history. It is even possible that the folios of the original manuscript had been used as wrapping paper in the *sūq.* But somehow the importance of the work had ever been forgotten. The man who used al-Budayrī's diary as a historical source was in any case Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Qāsimī (d. 1317/1900), who is justly famous for his work on the crafts and guilds of Damascus.[25] He changed the wording of the original text by rewriting it. Al-Budayrī had written his diary in a language which al-Qāsimī found too close to the colloquial and therefore repulsive, so he changed the wording wherever he deemed necessary, and in an unspecified number of places omitted passages which he found long-winded or otherwise superfluous. The revised form of the diary in the redaction of al-Qāsimī is preserved in the family library of the Qāsimīs in Damascus under the title *Tanqīḥ al-Shaykh Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Qāsimī li-Ḥawādith Dimashq al-Yawmīyah.* The book was edited in 1959 by Aḥmad ʿIzz al-Dīn in Cairo.[26] The barber's original work is preserved in a unique manuscript in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (no. 3551/2, autograph?). Dana Sajdi is currently editing this manuscript. The original version omits the *nisbah* al-Budayrī

[24] Sajdi, "Peripheral Visions," 99.

[25] *Qāmūs al-Ṣināʿāt al-Shāmīyah,* ed. Ẓāfir al-Qāsimī (Paris, 1960).

[26] Muḥammad Jamīl Sulṭān published a second edition together with a short study on the author and his work (Damascus, 1997).

for which reason Sajdi refers to him as Ibn Budayr.[27] Ibn Budayr's diary faithfully reflects the shop-talk of his time. He has a lot to say on this subject, especially, for example, on prostitutes. In a barber's talk with his customers, conversation would naturally also turn to gossip and scandals involving "honor," mistreatment or unacceptable behavior of women, and the like. The author writes about the everyday problems of people of his class and social standing, elucidating many details. He was not in anyone's service and was therefore in a position to praise and criticise freely whatever he felt merited praise or criticism.

7. Ḥaydar Riḍā al-Rukaynī and his unnamed son left a diary which was first published in an incomplete edition of the subsequently lost unique manuscript in the Shiᶜite journal *Al-ᶜIrfān* in 1938–39.[28] "The chronicle begun by the Shīᶜī farmer Ḥaydar Riḍā al-Rukaynī (henceforth al-Rukaynī Sr.) and completed by his unnamed son (henceforth al-Rukaynī Jr.) records events in rural Jabal ᶜĀmil in the years 1163/1749 to 1247/1832. While neither father nor son informs us exactly where they live in southern Lebanon, the events of the chronicle take place overwhelmingly in that region, and end with al-Rukaynī Jr.'s migration to Damascus. . . . This is the first contemporary chronicle in the Shīᶜī tradition of Jabal ᶜĀmil, and the only chronicle in Arabic-Islamic history known to have been written by farmers. . . . These novel spheres are reflected in the content of the Rukaynīs' chronicle: for example, the agriculturalists' overriding concern with the weather, on the one hand; and the ᶜĀmilī Shīᶜī's iteration of a strong sense of regional and communal identity on the other."[29]

V

As stated above, our knowledge of the history of everyday life in medieval Muslim times is still in its beginnings, and this is even more evident if we widen the somewhat vague notion of "everyday life" to include mentality, "Lebensgefühl," perceptions and emotions of the individual. It is true that some promising beginnings have been made, e.g., the study of Thomas Bauer on love (especially

[27] On Ibn Budayr, another one of the chroniclers treated by Sajdi, cf. "Peripheral Visions," 66–80, and idem, "A Room of His Own: the 'History' of the Barber of Damascus," *MIT Electronic Journal of Middle East Studies* 3 (2003): 19–35. See also George Haddad, "The Interests of an Eighteenth Century Chronicler of Damascus," *Der Islam* 38 (1963): 258–73, and Antonino Pellitteri, "Imagine Donna in *Hawadith Dimashq al-Yawmiyya* (1741–1762) di Ahmad al-Budayri al-Hallaq," in *Verse and the Fair Sex: Studies in Arabic Poetry and in the Representations of Women in Arabic Literature,* ed. Frederick de Jong (Utrecht, 1993), 153–70.

[28] More recent editions based in part on the *ᶜIrfān* printing, entitled *Jabal ᶜĀmil fī Qarn, 1163–1274 H/1749–1832 M,* have been published by Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ (Beirut, 1997) and Ḥasan Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ (Beirut, 1998).

[29] Sajdi, "Peripheral Visions," 40–41, 505. The Rukaynīs' book is again one of the chronicles dealt with by Sajdi, ibid., where the authors and their diary are introduced on pp. 125–39.

homosexual and homoerotic, and concentrating mainly—but not exclusively—on early Abbasid times)[30] and three articles by Bernadette Martel-Thoumian on crime, suicide, illicit pleasure, and punishment in Mamluk times.[31] For all these questions our diaries are one important source, but of course ample information can be found in other types of documentary evidence. Within the last few years historians with a focus on Europe have been occupied with similar sources and invented the technical term "ego documents."[32] Originally, this phrase was coined by the Dutch historians Jacques Presser and Rudolph Dekker in the 1950s. Their main field was the analysis of memoirs, travel stories, letters, and diaries. All of them had one thing in common: an author who reports in the first person "about his own behavior and feeling and about topics and events that concern him personally." This approach was then picked up and developed further at a workshop organized by Winfried Schulze in 1992.[33] The participants came to a comprehensive definition:

> All texts which can be typified as ego documents should have one thing in common: you should find in them rudimentary or explicit statements made by an individual about his perception of social phenomena like family, community, country, group or tribe or about his reflection on his relations with these societal systems and their changes. These statements should justify individual behavior, reveal fears, manifest values and norms, and reflect a personal conception of and an outlook upon life.[34]

This definition significantly broadens the scope of our sources. Now we have to

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[30] *Liebe und Liebesdichtung in der arabischen Welt des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1998).

[31] "Voleurs et assassins à Damas et au Caire (fin IXe/XVe–début Xe/XVIe siècle)," *Annales islamologiques* 35 (2001): 193–240; "La mort volontaire: le traitement de suicide et du suicidé dans les chroniques mamloukes tardives," *Annales islamologiques* 38 (2004): 405–35; and "Plaisirs illicites et châtiments dans les sources mamloukes (fin IXe/XVe–début Xe/XVe siècle)," *Annales islamologiques* 39 (2005): 275–323.

[32] Andreas Rutz, "Ego-*Dokumente* oder Ich-*Konstruktion*? Selbstzeugnisse als Quellen zur Erforschung des frühneuzeitlichen Menschen," *zeitenblicke* 1, 2 (2002) <www.zeitenblicke.historicum.net/2002/02/rutz/index.html> (7 March 2006). On the problem of the perception of the subject, see Stefan Elit, "'Ich' war einmal: Literaturwissenschaftliche Problemhorizonte bei Subjektivität in Texten," ibid. (7 March 2005). After being declared dead some time ago, the author has now been resurrected: *Rückkehr des Autors: Zur Erneuerung eines umstrittenen Begriffs,* ed. Fotis Jannidis, Gerhard Lauer, Matias Martinez, and Simone Winko (Tübingen, 1999).

[33] Winfried Schulze, "Ego-Dokumente: Annäherung an den Menschen in der Geschichte? Vorüberlegungen für die Tagung 'EGO-DOKUMENTE,'" in *Ego-Dokumente: Annäherung an den Menschen in der Geschichte,* ed. Winfried Schulze (Berlin, 1996), 11–30.

[34] Ibid., 28.

take into consideration not only the above-mentioned autobiographical or semi-autobiographical works but all texts in which information about an individual are given indirectly, i.e., non-intentionally and non-purposefully: wills, tax records, criminal case files, merchant and invoice books, interrogation protocols, photographs, or other documents of a non-literary character.

For the first corpus, the so-called autobiographical genre, the term "Selbstzeugnisse" has been established.[35] In a pathbreaking essay, Benigna von Krusenstjern comes to the conclusion that, on the one hand, "Selbstzeugnisse" include a "Selbstthematisierung durch ein explizites Selbst" and, on the other hand, they are "selbst verfaßt, in der Regel auch selbst geschrieben (zumindest diktiert) sowie aus eigenem Antrieb, also 'von sich aus,' 'von selbst' entstanden."[36] Furthermore, she distinguishes four categories of "Selbstzeugnisse":[37] (1) "egocentric" reports in which the reference to the speaker is central and forms the greater part of the work; (2) texts, in which the speaker speaks about himself but also about his interests, emotions, and concerns. In the third category, material things ("die Anteile von Welt") are the main theme of the narration. The world of the speaker has to stay in the background. The fourth variant hardly refers to the "Selbstzeugnisse" since there is no explicit individual speaking. Instead of a speaker we hear an implicit narrator, for example in the form of a chronicler.

Today, ego documents, "Selbstzeugnisse," and their categorization are well known among historians. They are a fertile field of research so that within the last fifteen years numerous monographs, collective volumes, and articles have been published.[38] This phenomenon is closely connected with the historical-anthropological turn within the humanities which itself has been initiated by a concentration on micro-historical and "alltagsgeschichtliche" approaches.[39] What

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[35]Benigna von Krusenstjern, "Was sind Selbstzeugnisse? Begriffskritische und quellenkundliche Überlegungen anhand von Beispielen aus dem 17. Jahrhundert," *Historische Anthropologie* 2 (1994): 462–71.

[36]Ibid., 463.

[37]Ibid., 470.

[38]Up to now, research on ego documents seems to have been a European field of study. By far the greater part of the literature is in German. Cf., for example, Benigna von Krusenstjern, *Selbstzeugnisse der Zeit des Dreißigjährigen Krieges: Beschreibendes Verzeichnis* (Berlin, 1997); Harald Tersch, *Österreichische Selbstzeugnisse des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit (1400–1650)* (Vienna, 1998); *Das dargestellte Ich: Studien zu Selbstzeugnissen des späteren Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit,* ed. Klaus Arnold, Sabine Schmolinsky, and Urs Martin Zahnd (Bochum, 1999); *Das Strafgericht Gottes: Kriegserfahrungen und Religion im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nationen im Zeitalter des Dreißigjährigen Krieges,* ed. Matthias Asche (Münster, 2001); *Von der dargestellten Person zum erinnerten Ich: Europäische Selbstzeugnisse als historische Quellen (1500–1850),* ed. Kaspar von Greyerz, Hans Medick, and Patrice Veit (Cologne, 2001).

[39]See Dirk van Laak, "Alltagsgeschichte," in *Neue Themen und Methoden der Geschichtswissenschaft,*

we can see is a reconsideration of the (historical) individual and the epistemological circumstances of his socialization.[40] The central questions can be: What did a pre-modern person think of faith, religion, sexuality, power, society? How did he experience war, violence, childhood, aging? What was his relationship to his own body? What can we say about his feelings and emotions?[41]

If Mamlukologists are going to work with categories like ego documents and "Selbstzeugnisse," we obviously have to find new material. A number of different kinds of sources can be added to our diaries. By way of example, some works from the Mamluk era can be listed, such as memoirs: Ibn Iyās' *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr;* reports of diplomatic missions: Ibn Ājā's (d. 881/1476) *Tārīkh al-Amīr Yashbak al-Ẓāhirī;*[42] autobiographies: Ibn Khaldūn's (d. 808/1406) *Kitāb al-Taʿrīf bi-Ibn Khaldūn wa-Riḥlatuhu Gharban wa-Sharqan,*[43] Ibn Ṭūlūn's *Al-Fulk al-Mashḥūn fī Aḥwāl Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn,*[44] al-Suyūṭī's (d. 911/1505) *Al-Taḥadduth bi-Niʿmat*

ed. Michael Maurer (Stuttgart, 2003), 14–78; Hans Medick, "Quo vadis Historische Anthropologie? Geschichtsforschung zwischen Historischer Kulturwissenschaft und Mikro-Historie," *Historische Anthropologie* 9 (2001): 78–92; Alf Lüdtke, "Alltagsgeschichte, Mikro-Historie, historische Anthropologie," in *Geschichte: Ein Grundkurs,* ed. Hans-Jürgen Goertz (Reinbek, 1998), 557–78; *Alltagsgeschichte: Zur Rekonstruktion historischer Erfahrungen und Lebensweisen,* ed. Hans-Jürgen Goertz (Frankfurt and New York, 1989); *Sozialgeschichte, Alltagsgeschichte, Mikrohistorie,* ed. Winfried Schulze (Göttingen, 1994).

[40]Cf. Michael Maurer, "Historische Anthropologie," in *Neue Themen und Methoden der Geschichtswissenschaft,* ed. Maurer, 294–387; Gert Dressel, *Historische Anthropologie: Eine Einführung* (Vienna, 1996); Richard van Dülmen, *Historische Anthropologie: Entwicklung, Probleme, Aufgaben* (Cologne, 2000).

[41]On these topics, see also the articles in *Islamwissenschaft als Kulturwissenschaft: Mentalitätsgeschichte: Ansätze und Möglichkeiten,* ed. Stephan Conermann and Syrinx von Hees (Schenefeld, 2007).

[42]On this text, see Stephan Conermann, "Ibn Aǧās (st. 881/1476) 'Taʾrīḫ al-Amīr Yašbak aẓ-Ẓahirī'—Biographie, Autobiographie, Tagebuch oder Chronik?" in *Die Mamluken: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur: Zum Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann (1942–1999),* ed. Stephan Conermann and Anja Pistor-Hatam (Schenefeld, 2003), 123–79.

[43]Cairo, 1979. On Mamluk autobiographies, see Stephan Conermann, "Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 955/1548): Life and Works," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 1 (2004): 115–40.

[44]Damascus, 1929.

Allāh;[45] private letters;[46] travel literature;[47] *bidʿah* works;[48] *waqfīyāt;*[49] and last but not least, chronicles.[50]

It is no easy task for Mamlukologists to identify the world view, experiences, and emotions of individuals, because our sources are much scantier than their European counterparts. Nevertheless, we are convinced that we are in a good position for further studies in this field. To track down the independent and creative element of men and women during the Mamluk era seems to be a promising task. It would help to understand power as a form of social practice, and the constructed experience of the self, as well as the outlines of a self-image, can be one way to

[45]Ed. Elizabeth M. Sartain (Cambridge, 1975).

[46]See, for example, al-Ṣafadī's (d. 764/1363) "Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ min al-Nādī wa-al-Rājiʿ," Berlin MS 8631. An introduction to the analysis of such texts is Stephan Conermann, "Arabische Privatbriefe des 13./19. Jahrhunderts: Ego-Dokumente, Selbstzeugnisse und historisch-anthropologische Quelle," in Ulrich Haarmann, *Briefe aus der Wüste: Privatpapiere der in Gadamis ansässigen Yušaʿ-Familie aus dem 19. Jahrhundert,* aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Stephan Conermann (Schenefeld, 2006), 1–40.

[47]One could name al-Qāsim ibn Yūsuf al-Tujībī's (d. 730/1329) *Mustafād al-Riḥlah wa-al-Ightirāb,* ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Manṣūr (Tunis, 1981), and Abū Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Qalṣādī al-Andalusī's (d. 891/1486) *Riḥlah,* ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Ajfān (Tunis, 1985). Both of them spent a long time in Egypt on their pilgrimage. On Arabic travel literature, see now Ralf Elger, "Der Raum als Zeichen göttlicher Macht und des Wirkens der Zeit im Libanon-Reisebericht *al-Manāzil al-maḥāsiniyya fī r-riḥla at-Ṭarābulusiyya* des Yaḥyā al-Maḥāsinī (st. 1053/1643)," in *Erzählter Raum in Literaturen der islamischen Welt,* ed. Roxane Haag-Higuchi and Christian Szyska (Wiesbaden, 2001), 69–80; idem, "Adab and Historical Memory: The Andalusian Poet/Politician Ibn al-Khaṭīb as Presented in Aḥmad al-Maqqarī (986/1577–1041/1632), *Nafḥ aṭ-ṭīb*," *Die Welt des Islams* 42 (2002): 289–306; idem, "Selbstdarstellungen aus Bilâd ash-Shâm: Überlegungen zur Innovation in der arabischen autobiographischen Literatur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," in *Eigene und fremde Frühe Neuzeit: Genese und Geltung eines Epochenbegriffs,* ed. Renate Dürr, Gisela Engel, and Johannes Süßmann (Munich, 2003), 123–37; idem, "Individualität und Kulturkritik in arabisch-muslimischen Ego-Dokumenten, 15.–18. Jahrhundert," *Periplus (*2003): 30–50; and idem, "Narrheiten und Heldentaten: Die merkwürdigen Reisen des Muṣṭafâ al-Laṭîfî (1602–1711)," in *Erkundung und Beschreibung der Welt: Zur Poetik der Reise- und Länderberichte,* ed. Xenja von Ertzdorff and Gerhard Giesemann (Amsterdam and New York, 2003), 267–87.

[48]Typical works of this genre are al-Turkumānī's (fl. at the end of the eighth/fourteenth and at the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century) *Kitāb al-Lumaʿ fī al-Ḥawādith wa-al-Bidaʿ,* ed. Subhi Labib (Cairo and Wiesbaden, 1986), Ibn Taymīyah's (d. 728/1328) *Kitāb al-Iqtiḍāʾ al-Ṣiraʿāṭ al-Mustaqīm Mukhālafat Aṣḥāb al-Jaḥīm,* ed. Muḥammad al-Ḥāmid al-Fiqī (Cairo, 1950), and Ibn al-Ḥājj's (d. 737/1336) *Al-Madkhal* (Cairo, 1929).

[49]For an overview of this material, see Stephan Conermann and Lucian Reinfandt, "Anmerkungen zu einer mamlukischen *waqf*-Urkunde aus dem 9/15. Jahrhundert," in *Die Mamluken,* ed. Conermann and Pistor-Hatam, 179–238, esp. 179–90.

[50]Konrad Hirschler, in his *Medieval Arabic Historiography: Authors as Actors* (London, 2006), presents a fresh and original theoretical approach to Ayyubid/Mamluk historiography.

approach that notion. If the layers of the different discourses can be removed, it would be possible to reveal Mamluk individuals. In the last analysis, we would like to find new ways to describe the process of individualization in terms other than the common European ones.[51]

[51]On the concept of European individuality, see *Entdeckung des Ich: Die Geschichte der Individualisierung vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart,* ed. Richard van Dülmen (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna, 2001), and Martin Scheutz and Harald Tersch, "Individualisierungsprozesse in der Frühen Neuzeit? Anmerkungen zu einem Konzept," *Wiener Zeitschrift zur Geschichte der Neuzeit* 1 (2001): 38–59.

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In Search of "Post-Classical Literature": A Review Article

Readers interested in Arabic history have waited a long time for a history of Arabic literature during the Mamluk and Ottoman periods that would provide an outline, both comprehensive and concise, of this much-neglected field. Finally, a volume of the Cambridge History of Arabic Literature has appeared that promises to fill the gap. All too soon, however, the reader interested in Mamluk and Ottoman literature will realize that the wait is not over. Whereas some of the articles are of high quality (others are of much lower quality), the volume as a whole does not give an overall impression of the period in question, because its concept is marred by a highly Eurocentric approach. First of all, it treats Mamluk and Ottoman literature under the heading "post-classical." Second, it is divided into the categories poetry-prose-drama; and third, poetry and prose are each subdivided according to a characterization as elite or popular. In the following, I will address these three major points as they relate to the book in general without treating each article individually. In a last section I will deal especially with Salma Jayyusi's opening article on Mamluk poetry. As is often the case with reviews, aspects that discomfited and even angered the reviewer are dealt with in more detail than those that satisfied him. Therefore I found it more useful to focus on the problematic points of the book than to praise individual authors for their new insights, of which there are many. Further, I will focus on the topics especially relevant to the present journal and treat articles on the Ottoman period rather briefly.

1. "Post-Classical"

The term "postclassical" is a relative one. In order to define the postclassical, it is necessary to know what the classical is. The term "classical," however, has no indigenous counterpart, and its meaning is not given *a priori*. Since the editors do not even touch the issue, it has to be dealt with here in more detail because it is the central issue in the perception of Arabic literature and culture as a whole, as we shall see.

As for the term "classical literature," it is a European term coined to designate the literature of classical antiquity. Subsequently, literature that shared certain

A review of *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period,* edited by Roger Allen and D. S. Richards (Cambridge, 2006). Pp 481.

characteristics with the literature of Greece and Rome was also termed "classical." These characteristics may have been of either form or content, such as harmony, clarity, and simplicity. In another respect, just as Greek and Latin literatures were considered models for several periods of European literature, a literary corpus that was considered a model for future generations was called classical. In this last respect, "classical" has always been a stamp of quality implying that the "classical" is something exemplary, good, and excellent, whereas the non-classical is not.

Since the reference to classical antiquity cannot possibly be a major point for defining Arabic "classical" literature, what else can?

There exists a sense of "antique, old" when, during most of pre-modern Arabic literature, authors used to distinguish between the *mutaqaddimūn* and the *mutaʾakhkhirūn.* But this distinction between "the ancients and the moderns" is too vague and varies too much over the centuries to be of great help. In most periods of Arabic-Islamic culture, continuity was considered a major virtue. It is no wonder, then, that many a litterateur paid lip-service to the achievements of the ancients, though considering contemporary authors more captivating and interesting than the old stuff, as countless anthologies of the Mamluk period clearly demonstrate. Even Ibn Ḥijjah does not hesitate to pronounce proudly the superiority in the field of the *tawriyah* in his own time.[1] However, he would never have gone as far as to denounce the older literature as outdated and worthless and to consider it as something against which one has to rebel, as was often the case in European literary history. Instead, a statement like that of al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1832), who wrote that Ibn Nubātah was an "excellent and creative poet, who, in all kinds of poetry, surpassed his contemporaries, all those who came after them, and even most of those who lived before him,"[2] not only proves the high esteem in which Ibn Nubātah was held (see below), but articulates a strong perception of literary continuity that makes it rather improbable that "classical" and "postclassical" are adequate equivalents of *mutaqaddimūn* and *mutaʾakhkhirūn.*

A similar problem with the use of the term "classical" becomes obvious when we observe the fate of the term "neoclassical" in the scholarship of Arabic literary history. The term was coined in Western scholarship to designate poets of the third/ninth century such as Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī[3] since their *qaṣāʾid* seemed to follow the model of the pre- and early Islamic *qaṣīdah,* the most obvious equivalent to the "classical" (in the sense of "antique") literature of the West. As it became clear, however, that the poets of the "neoclassical" *qaṣīdah* did not aim at imitating

[1] Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī, *Khizānat al-Adab wa-Ghāyat al-Arab,* ed. Kawkab Diyāb, 2nd ed. (Beirut, 1425/2005), 3:185–93.

[2] Al-Shawkānī, *Al-Badr al-Ṭāliʿ bi-Maḥāsin Man baʿda al-Qarn al-Sābiʿ* (Beirut, 1418/1998), 2:131.

[3] See, e.g., Charles Pellat, "Al-Buḥturī," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd. ed., 1:1289–90.

the pre-Islamic *qaṣīdah,* the term was rendered inappropriate in the view of most contemporary scholars. But it may still serve as an illustration of the confusion that can be caused by the terms "classic" and "classical." For if we accept the term "neoclassical" in this sense, we can hardly accept the existence of a "postclassical" literature *after* the "neoclassical" because the "neo" has to come *after* the "post." According to that logic, Mamluk poetry should be labeled "postneoclassical," and consequently, the poets of the nineteenth century who continued in the vein of Ibn Nubātah, such as Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī, should be termed neopostneoclassical poets, and Aḥmad Shawqī, rather than simply calling him neoclassical, as is generally done, should therefore be called a neoneopostneoclassical poet!

Since the reference to an allegedly "classical" (in the sense of antique) period leads us nowhere, let us try the criterion of "noble simplicity and quiet grandeur."[4] Arabists tried to apply this notion by contrasting "mannerism" and "classicism" in the tradition of Curtius.[5] But whereas one may differentiate between a classical and a mannerist *style,* the dichotomy does not yield a period. There is no classical *period* as opposed to a period of mannerism. Instead, both styles coexist during nearly all periods of Arabic literature. There were mannerist poets already in the Umayyad period (to mention only al-Ṭirimmāḥ, d. 110/728) and the style of Abbasid poets ranged from the simple and unsophisticated to the highly stylized and contrived, changing often from poem to poem.[6] This plurality of style is also obvious in the Mamluk period, to mention only Ibn Nubātah's poems to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ibn Faḍl Allāh as an example for the *maṣnūʿ* style and his hunting *urjūzah* as an example of the *maṭbūʿ* style, considered a model for unmannered poetry by Mamluk critics.[7] Given this permanent stylistic plurality, the criterion of "classical" style is unsuitable for periodization and does not provide us with a classical or a post-classical period.

So the last possibility to find a classical period is to look for what has been considered as exemplary and taken as a model. Again, the result varies a great deal over the centuries. Whereas it may be possible to speak of a "canonization

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[4] Winckelmann's characterization of Greek sculpture, which became a guiding principle of German classical literature: "Kennzeichen der griechischen Meisterstücke ist endlich eine edle Einfalt und eine stille Größe so wohl in der Stellung als im Ausdruck," first in *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst* (Dresden, 1755).

[5] See Wolfhart Heinrichs, "'Manierismus' in der arabischen Literatur," *Islamwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen: Fritz Meier zum sechzigsten Geburtstag,* ed. Richard Gramlich (Wiesbaden, 1974), 118–28; see also Stefan Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic Poetry* (Cambridge, 1989).

[6] See Thomas Bauer, *Liebe und Liebesdichtung in der arabischen Welt des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1998), 106–49.

[7] See Geert Jan van Gelder, "Poetry for Easy Listening: *Insijām* and Related Concepts in Ibn Ḥijjah's *Khizānat al-Adab,*" *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, [no. 1] (2003): 31–48.

of the *jāhiliyyah*,"[8] this does not constitute a classical period, since it soon lost its function as a model. For Mamluk poets, *jāhilī* poetry was something old and distant, a noble heritage learned at school and alluded to from time to time, but not considered as *the* classical period of Arabic literature, just as Beowulf and contemporary Old English poetry can hardly be said to constitute the classical period of English literature.

In any case, the editors of the book under review who use the term "postclassical Arabic literature" seem to have something else in mind. To call a period "from approximately 1150 till 1850" (p. 8) a postclassical period implies that Arabic literature had a classical period from approximately 500 to 1150, i.e., for six and a half centuries! This stands in marked contrast to the few decades of classical French, German, or English literature! Is there any sound argument that can justify the existence of a classical period of 650 years? And is there any sound argument that can explain why an author of the eleventh century should be in any way more classical than an author of the thirteenth?

The notion "classical" in the sense "exemplary, providing the standards" cannot be applied to more than half a millennium. It makes sense, however, in respect to singling out authors or works. Certainly Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī were "classical" authors of *madīḥ* poems (rather than "neoclassical") in providing models much admired and followed for centuries. In the same sense, it is justified to speak about the "classical *maqāma*" as Steward does on p. 148, having in mind the *maqāmāt* of al-Hamadhānī and al-Ḥarīrī. In the same sense it is an undeniable fact that the letters of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596/1200), "mannered" as they may be, are a most "classical" work, admired and emulated far into the Ottoman period. In the same sense, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 750/1350) is the author of the classical *badīʿīyah* and Ibn Dāniyāl (d. 710/1310) the author of the classical shadow play. For al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1832) Ibn Nubātah (d. 768/1366) was a classical author par excellence, as we have seen above.

This might be one possibility for the use of the word "classic" in the context of Arabic literature in a meaningful way. But to try to construct monstrous periods of "classical" and "postclassical" literature leads to the most ridiculous results. So Rosella Dorigo Ceccato, forced to adhere to the senseless terminology of the volume, divides her (excellent) article on drama into two parts: "Origins" (pp. 348–56) and "Post-Classical Drama" (pp. 356–68). Shouldn't there be something "classical" in between? Did the Arabs really tumble immediately from "semi-dramatic texts" (p. 356) into the "postclassical"?

It becomes clear, therefore, that the word "classical" can only by applied to Arabic literature in two ways. First, it has become customary to differentiate

[8] See Heinrichs, *Manierismus,* 121.

between "classical Arabic literature" as opposed to "modern Arabic literature." I can see no reason to object to this usage, since "classical Arabic literature" in this sense does not refer to a certain period, but to a continuous though manifold and heterogeneous literary tradition based on the classical Arabic language (though not exclusively composed in it). Second, it can be applied to certain authors or works that gained "classical" status in the course of literary history. This, however, happened repeatedly and at any time, and what was "classical" in one time was not necessarily so in another. Only this notion can do justice to the dynamic nature of the history of Arabic literature.

The way the terms "classical" and "postclassical Arabic literature" are used in the present volume has the opposite effect: It *denies* this very dynamic nature of Arabic literature, *denigrates* its history of one and a half millennia, *disregards* its manifold developments, and *squeezes* it into the corset of the imperialist "decline and fall" model. Since none of the meanings of "classical" discussed above can be reconciled with the assumption of the existence of a postclassical period between 1150 and 1850, it becomes obvious that the designation "postclassical" is nothing but a euphemism for "decadence," and the title of the book nothing but a polite English version of *ʿaṣr al-inḥiṭāṭ*. In the introduction it is further suggested that one should distinguish a postclassical period from a premodern period (esp. p. 21). But a foolish idea does not become better when it is elaborated. Just the opposite. It is not only illogical in itself, since every period that was before the modern period is a premodern period, but displays even more clearly the teleological concept that is behind a terminology of this kind.

The idea of a "postclassical" period is a concept heavily dependent on the philosophical ideas of Hegel, who presupposed that the whole of human history is a process of steady progress of mankind that gradually advances to self-knowledge. In this process, the different cultures of mankind contribute their own share and thus help to attain the overall progress of the human race. But as soon as they have done their bit, they have fulfilled their purpose and are prone to vanish in the general stream of progress, which, destined to reach a single goal, cannot be a manifold one. Though there may be a little disagreement about the telos of mankind (the Prussian monarchy, Victorian civilization, communist society, or Western democracy), Hegelian teleological thinking is the background as well of the idea of the "white man's burden," of Fukuyama's "end of history," of the current extinction of the cultural plurality of the world in the wake of "globalization"—and also of a concept like "postclassical literature" or the thoughtless application of the notion "Middle Ages" to the world of Islam.

Terms like "Islamic Middle Ages" and "Arabic postclassical literature" are not as harmless as they seem, but inevitably carry a strong political connotation.

According to the Hegelian teleological worldview that is behind them, Islamic culture has to fulfill one single important task, that is, to bring classical thinking (here: science and philosophy of antiquity) to the West during the "dark" Middle Ages. A nice formulation of this task is given by Léon Gauthier, who wrote in 1948:

> Dès la fin de ce XIIe siècle, le [sic] tâche principale, bien qu'inconsciente, de l'Islâm est accomplie, qui était de transmettre à l'Europe . . . l'inestimable trésor de la science et de la philosophie grecque. Désormais, la pensée arabe ne produit plus dans l'ordre des sciences physiques ou métaphysiques un seul ouvrage vraiment digne d'attention, Ibn Rochd avait été, pour la pensée spéculative gréco-arabe, comme le bouquet final d'un brillant feu d'artifice.[9]

Salma Jayyusi's introductory remarks to her article, in which she strives to expose the decadence and worthlessness of "postclassical" poetry, are an echo of this world view: "The history of the Arab world in medieval times was one of great effervescence; a truly brilliant civilization was forged and served as a link between the older Mediterranean cultures and the European Renaissance" (pp. 25–26)—but then things went wrong.

In the world of the eastern Mediterrenean, the urban culture of the (Eastern) Roman Empire was not destroyed, but gradually transformed. The cultural milieu of Aleppo at the time of al-Mutanabbī was not essentially different from that of the Roman Empire, whereas those of Rome, Cologne, and Paris were. Recently, Gotthard Strohmaier again stressed that one cannot speak of a "reception" of antiquity in Islam, because there was no crossing of boundaries and the creation of something completely new, which is the essence of reception, but rather the continuation of something given, adapted to new circumstances, i.e., as Rosenthal has called it, a "Fortleben der Antike im Islam."[10] In the absence of a cultural break between antiquity and the Middle Ages as in the West, it makes no sense to speak about the "Islamic Middle Ages." Nevertheless, the expression is still current and repeatedly used in the volume under review. The expression "Islamic Middle Ages," however, clearly reflects the teleological, Eurocentric view exposed above, since it makes no sense to speak about Middle Ages when Europe is not the reference. There was obviously no "medieval culture of the Pueblo Indians" and there were no "Aztec Middle Ages." Islam, instead, had to fulfill its single task in

[9] Léon Gauthier, *Ibn Rochd (Averroès)* (Paris, 1948), 11; see also Anna Akasoy, "A Baghdad Court in Constantinople/Istanbul," *Das Mittelalter* 10 (2005): 136–47, here 138.

[10] See Gotthard Strohmaier, "Das Bild und die Funktion vorchristlicher griechischer Religion bei arabischen Autoren des Mittelalters," in *Reflections on Reflections: Near Eastern Writers Reading Literature,* ed. Angelika Neuwirth and Andreas Christian Islebe (Wiesbaden, 2006), 181–90.

the history of human progress, i.e., to enlighten the dark Middle Ages. According to this ideology, Islamic culture must necessarily be a phenomenon of the Middle Ages, since it was in the Middle Ages when it had to fulfill its duty for the human race. Because this notion posits a single history of the Weltgeist, the entire human race lived in the Middle Ages at this time. Therefore, only a few scholars (most prominently Mez and Hodgson) came to doubt the very existence of an Islamic Middle Ages. As has been realized repeatedly, the mentality of the people of these "Middle Ages" was anything but "medieval," rather more akin to the mentality of Renaissance and baroque Europe.[11] The inevitable connotation of the construction of "Islamic Middle Ages" is to deny Islam's own history, and to derive its history exclusively from a European point of view.

For reasons probably better sought in European history than in the history of Islam, the second half of the twelfth century seems to be a key date in the Hegelian historiography of Islam: note the exact coincidence of Gauthier's date for the accomplishment of Islam's principal task for world (i.e., Western) history and the onset of Allen's period of "postclassical" literature! At that time Islam had fulfilled its duty, and, consequently, lost the right to exist as a culture in its own right. From then on, only Europe (and later North America) had a history, whereas the Orient lay in a deep motionless sleep awaiting the moment to be awakened by well-meaning European imperialists, whose mission it was "den Neuaraber . . . in die Hallen moderner europäischer Gesittung einzuführen," as Alfred von Kremer put it in 1871.[12] Having fulfilled its task for the Middle Ages, Islam had nothing to do other than await the onset of modernity, generously brought to the Orient by the colonial powers. According to this imperialist ideology, Islamic history of the period after the fulfillment of Islam's task to the Weltgeist can only be "post-" and "pre-," since Islam has no right to persist as a culture of its own, a culture that has the right to set its own "post-s" and "pre-s." The echoes of this kind of thought can be heard clearly enough in contemporary political discourse, and even, I would dare to say, in the sound of the bombs exploding at this very moment in Iraq and other Islamic countries.

I have not the slightest doubt that Roger Allen, the co-editor and writer of the introduction, had no thought in mind of subscribing to this ideology. Nevertheless, "bien qu'inconsciente," to use Gauthier's words, he contributed to it with all his "pre-s" and "post-s." His introduction to the volume ("The Post-Classical Period:

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[11] See Adam Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islam* (Heidelberg, 1922), English transl. *The Renaissance of Islam* (London, 1937), and Bauer, *Liebe*, 93–98.

[12] Alfred von Kremer, "Nâṣîf aljâziǧî," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 25 (1871): 243–47, here 245; see also Thomas Bauer, "Die *badīʿiyya* des Nāṣīf al-Yāziǧī und das Problem der spätosmanischen arabischen Literatur," in *Reflections on Reflections,* ed. Neuwirth and Islebe, 49–118.

Parameters and Preliminaries," pp. 1–21) is puzzling enough, since beside his "pre-" and "post-" ideas, Allen severely criticizes the notion of "decadence," subscribes to Hodgson's critique of the notion "Islamic Middle Ages," and encourages efforts to achieve a new perspective on the period in question. Reading these lines, one cannot help but feel that the editor is criticizing the foundational concept of his own volume rather than justifying it. Unfortunately, the fact remains that the volume *is* called *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period,* and that the series title "Cambridge History of . . ." ascribes authority to a designation which does not designate anything but a colonialist Western concept that denies more than half a millennium of Arabic literature its own right. As Samir Kassir has recently pointed out, the concept of "Golden Age" and subsequent "decadence" has done much harm to the Arabs and still prevents them from rethinking their own history.[13] It goes without saying that an editor of a volume in such a prestigious series as the Cambridge History has a responsibility not to use terms that do more harm than good. The present editors, though obviously not unaware of the problematic, failed to assume this responsibility. In the introduction, the reader comes across a quotation of Abdelfattah Kilito that says (p. 20):

> To us it seems more appropriate to regard Arabic poetics on its own terms and to avoid treating the subject as a kind of deviation from a model realized in other times and under other skies. The governing principles should be derived from characteristics that are intrinsic to it, not those of works from some other poetics. . . . To be sure, the negative approach can also be fruitful, but only when, in studying what a culture has not done, it manages to identify what it has done and not what it ought to have done.

How true this is, but how strange it is to find this quote in a book whose title conveys a notion that is nothing but a derogatory term for six hundred years of Arabic literature that failed to live up to Western standards!

Previous volumes of CHAL that dealt with the centuries prior to 1150 were named after the ruling dynasties ("Umayyad" and "ʿAbbasid"). While it is true, as Allen complains, that a periodization along dynastic lines means "to categorize the literary output from without rather than within" (p. 5), it has the great advantage that, after all, the dynasties *existed,* whereas a phantom such as a "postclassical period" did not. A term used for periodization has no other task than to delimit a certain time span. It is futile to search for a term that can sufficiently characterize a literary epoch. A single term can never do justice to a whole period, and interpretations of literary periods vary greatly. Therefore, instead of interpreting

[13] Samir Kassir, *Considérations sur le malheur arabe* (Paris, 2004).

a period in order to label it, the procedure should be the opposite, i.e., to delimit the period by some external feature and only then to interpret it. Italians are completely satisfied with sorting their literature according to centuries. After all, the *cinquecento* is as undeniable a fact as is the Mamluk period. The image of the period may change, and it may turn out that the turn of centuries or the change of dynasties did not correspond to literary changes. To find this out is the task of the literary historian, who has to give his own interpretations but must not be hampered by senseless concepts such as "medieval" or "postclassical." Since it is a Herculean task to fight against such concepts once they are established, their creation is not a contribution to the progress of scholarship. Therefore I strongly advocate "Saljuq," "Ayyubid," "Mamluk," and "Ottoman" as terms for the periodization of Arabic literature. It is true that they do not say much about the literature of the time. But this is an advantage rather than a handicap because it provides for the possibility of changing interpretations without being burdened with a prejudicial terminology. Further, dynastic terms are quite precise. Whether to ascribe the years of Shajar al-Durr's reign to the Ayyubid or Mamluk dynasty is a very minor problem compared to the task of delimiting the Islamic "Middle Ages" or the phantom of a "postclassical" period. And, of course, there are a number of dynasties that can serve for periodization rather than only a single "postclassical" period, and a period that bears the name of a dynasty will not be mistaken for a given reality of literary history.

Several contributions to the book do in fact take periods as a given reality and do not shrink from a plain reification, if not personification, of "the period." The article on "Criticism in the Post-Classical Period: A Survey" by William Smyth (chapter 19, pp. 387–417) may serve as an example. Smyth's article is especially strong on Ibn al-Athīr, but a bit cursory on other authors and fields. Yet it may pass as a good article, though I cannot help the impression that it would have been a better article if the author were less infected with the idea of a postclassical period. Smyth uses formulations according to which the period becomes an actor in itself, as when he says that "the post-classical period is mainly concerned with organizing the heritage of the classical" (p. 417). Besides the fact that the statement is patently incorrect, it displays a view according to which a period is not a tentative abstraction derived from a careful examination of the works created during a certain span of time, but rather an entity that has a character in itself, which is imprinted on everything created during this period just as the genetic code is imprinted on one's offspring. According to this concept, which again owes much to German idealism, Smyth can say that Ibn Maʿṣūm's *Anwār al-Rabīʿ* "demonstrates the level of artificiality and elaboration that scholars and poets regarded as aesthetically satisfying in the post-classical period." The text is taken as an offspring of its period, the existence of which is

simply taken for granted. The geographical background of its author (India and the Yemen), his social position, his interesting biography, his particular character, the target audience of the work—all this seems to be irrelevant to understanding the text, since it was shaped by the character of the *period*. The text is believed to necessarily embody the "genetic code" of the mother period. Therefore, its characteristics can be generalized without hesitation, since the text cannot do other than display the characteristics of the period, and since all texts bear the stamp of the mother period, they can hardly display different characteristics. This procedure, however, does not do justice to the plurality of a period, which in this case is not acknowledged at all. As for Ibn Maʿṣūm's *Anwār,* it is one of only four large *badīʿīyah*-cum-commentary-cum-anthology works that were composed between Ibn Ḥijjah (d. 837/1434) and Muṣṭafá al-Ṣalāḥī (d. 1265/1849).[14] With an average of one per century, one may ask how characteristic these works actually are. On the other hand, we have the genre of the hunting *urjūzah,* which displays a very low level of "artificiality and elaboration," written, however, by authors who were also producers of highly artificial prose.[15] Given Smyth's statement, one wonders if these texts were either not conceived as "aesthetically satisfying," or if the mother period gave birth to monsters.

One of the consequences of this approach is the obsession with the question of what is *new* in this period. According to Smyth, everything that has any sort of predecessor is not new. Therefore, neither al-Sakkākī nor Ibn al-Athīr nor al-Qarṭājannī produced anything really new, because they had predecessors. "In the post-classical period, the disciplines that deal with criticism are largely a continuation of the subjects and methods established in the previous five centuries" (p. 387). Well, this is the nature of scholarship. What would be the benefit of disregarding everything that had been written in the previous five centuries simply to produce something completely new? Smyth's article itself presents hardly anything that is new. This does not diminish its value. Smyth's obsession with innovation, however, prevents him from recognizing what really was new. To take one example, he writes in quite a deprecating way about al-Ṣafadī's book on the *tawriyah* ("There was very little by way of real analysis," p. 407). He forgets, however, that this was the first treatise ever written about the subject, and that it was considerably improved upon by Ibn Ḥijjah's treatment of the same subject. He is also unaware of the simple fact that there is no theory of double entendre in modern Western stylistics whatsoever. Ibn Ḥijjah's book, therefore, is not only the best book ever written on the double entendre, but is still *state of the art!* But for Smyth, for whom periods are closed entities, it is perhaps inconceivable that

[14] See Bauer, "Die *badīʿiyya* des Nāṣīf al-Yāziǧī."

[15] See Bauer, "The Dawādār's Hunting Party: A Mamluk *Muzdawija Ṭardiyya*, probably by Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍlallāh," forthcoming in *Festschrift Remke Kruk*.

a work written more than five hundred years ago in another culture can have any immediate relevance for the present.

It is quite obvious that the volume was not a labor of love for the editors. As Allen realizes quite clearly, the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods on the one hand, and the Ottoman period on the other hand, are periods quite different in nature and character, and each of them would have deserved a volume of its own. But the deprecatory nature of the whole enterprise becomes clear already in the first line of the introduction, which says that the present volume is "probably the last" of the CHAL. We thus learn that the Mamluk and Ottoman periods are not deemed worthy of two volumes, while the Abbasid period was granted a volume dedicated to literature and another one dedicated to "religion, learning and science" (Cambridge, 1990). Obviously the publishers think that there was no "religion, learning and science" during this time about which a Western public needs to be informed. Could there be a clearer expression of the Hegelian worldview described above?

Not only will there be no volume on Mamluk and Ottoman learning and science, but the volume under review is also marred by several disturbing lacunae. The volume is not called "Arabic literature of the Mamluk and Ottoman *empires,*" but "Arabic literature in the post-classical *period.*" Therefore it should cover the whole of the literature written in the Arabic language irrespective of the country in which it was written. But this is not the case. The chapter on Mamluk historiography is limited exactly to the historiography of the Mamluk empire. Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb is not mentioned, and the author even apologizes for mentioning the Tūnis-born Ibn Khaldūn (p. 166). In the whole volume, the name al-Maqqarī does not appear once. Despite its title, the chapter on historiography of the Ottoman period is not limited to the Ottoman *period,* but to the Ottoman *empire*. Consequently, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-ʿAydarūs and his *Nūr al-Sāfir* are not mentioned (despite its importance for our knowledge of the history of Egypt and Syria in the tenth/sixteenth century), nor is any other of the many Yemeni historiographic works. In the entire volume, the Yemen is only mentioned in Larkin's article on popular poetry, while the extremely rich *fuṣḥá* literature of this important part of the Arabic world is completely disregarded in all other chapters. The quite remarkable bloom of Arabic literature in India during the eighteenth century is either completely unknown to the editors or deemed, for whatever reason, unworthy of mention. Its most famous protagonist, Āzād al-Bilgrāmī (1116–99/1704–84), however, is still today venerated and studied intensively in Pakistan and India. By neglecting authors like him—not to mention those of Oman or sub-Saharan Africa—an important aspect of the later Ottoman period is obscured, i.e., its tendency to a specific form of cultural "globalization" of the Islamic world.

Two further general critical remarks may be allowed here. First, the nearly complete disregard of French, German, and Italian scholarship in many articles is a sad sign of the increasing provincialism of Arabic studies. This provincialism is further manifested in several contributions due to their being, as a Mamluk author would have put it, "bare of the clothes of literary theory." Only if terms and concepts are applied with the same diligence and theoretical knowledge as is the practice in fields dealing with Western literatures will Arabic studies become a discipline on an equal footing with its more progressive neighbors and, due to the wealth of its material, be able to inspire these disciplines instead of stumbling on mired in the prejudices and ill-defined concepts of the nineteenth century.

2. Poetry–Prose–Drama

As we have already seen in the case of the term "postclassical," the editors scarcely discuss the central notions of the book and its basic principles of organization. The first of these principles was to organize the articles in sections on poetry, prose, and drama, and to add an article on criticism. Poetry and prose (but not drama) are again split into two parts, one dedicated to elite poetry/prose, the other to popular poetry/prose. Is this organization, which is not explained with a single word, really as plausible as the editors obviously assume? The three categories "poetry," "prose," and "drama" obviously were applied because the editors wanted to avoid the more usual Western classification "epic/narrative," "lyric," and "drama," and they were right to do so since this partition is no longer the state of the art of literary scholarship, and it obviously does not fit Arabic literature at all. For example, *inshāʾ* is not epic and a lot of Arabic poetry is not really lyrical. Nevertheless, to substitute "prose" for "epic" and "poetry" for "lyric" does not make things any better. First, the three notions are now no longer on the same level, for what else could a drama be than either poetry or prose? And second, even these notions cannot deny their Western origin and they prevent the reader from conceiving of Mamluk and Ottoman literature under categories other than established Western ones. Inconsistencies resulting from this classification become obvious all too soon. The *maqāmah* is discussed at length both in the prose section and in the drama section. The fact that *maqāmāt,* shadow plays, chancellery letters, the *Sīrat ʿAntar,* and the *Thousand and One Nights* consist of a mixture of poetry and prose is obscured by this division, and so is the fact that poetry and prose so often interacted in a single act of communication. A letter of praise, congratulation, or condolence often comprised both a *qaṣīdah* and a prose text referring to it. Still, in the case of Ibn Nubātah, we find the *qaṣīdah* in the *Dīwān* and the corresponding letter in one of his prose collections. But later Mamluk authors gave up this formal division between poetry and prose. The *Dīwān* of al-Qīrāṭī, to take only one example, comprises both prose and poetry

and no longer separates the *qaṣīdah* and its accompanying prose letter.[16] These developments are necessarily obscured by the division into prose, poetry, and drama, a concept that runs contrary to the indigenous development. This becomes very clear in the instructive article "The Role of the Pre-Modern: the Generic Characteristics of the *Band*" by ʿAbdallah[17] Ibrahim (chapter 4, pp. 87–98), where Ibrahim argues convincingly that the *band,* despite its rhythmic structure, is rather to be considered prose. But the editors found it not prosaic enough and put the article in the poetry section.

The concept of dividing the book into chapters dedicated to prose, poetry, and drama meets its final collapse in the section "popular prose." Here we find all the chapters dealing with the popular epics. It is only reasonable to unite these chapters under a common heading, but the heading cannot be "prose," since the *Sīrat Banī Hilāl* is a work of oral poetry, its formal aspects being so excellently presented in Reynolds' article (see pp. 314–18) that the editors should have understood that this *sīrah* is not a work of prose, and therefore does not belong in the "popular prose" section. It would have belonged in an "epic" section, but most of the other prose chapters would not. Therefore we see, as so often, that the application of modern Western categories and the disregard of indigenous categories can never do justice to any other culture than the Western. Ibn Sūdūn was wiser in not separating prose and poetry in his *Muḍḥik al-ʿAbūs.* Instead of separating prose and poetry, he separates *jidd* and *hazl,* which, by the way, would have been an indigenous concept that could have been of more use for a volume of this kind (it is only touched upon accidentally on p. 138). The same is true for many other indigenous concepts. But there are no chapters on anthologies, epigrams, chronograms, *badīʿīyāt,* travelogues, *muṭāraḥāt, taqārīẓ,* and so on; all these are forms or genres that were of exceeding importance for Ayyubid, Mamluk, and Ottoman authors and readers, but of no importance to the editors of this book, who prefer to apply modern (though partially dated) Western concepts instead. This does not mean that there are no Western terms and concepts that do fit. A particularly fitting one is the term *prosimetrum,* a Latin term for a literary piece that is made up of alternating passages of prose and poetry. It is only too obvious that many literary genres of Arabic literature such as the *maqāmah* are far more adequately described as *prosimetrum* than as prose or poetry. The term *prosimetrum* has already been applied successfully to Arabic literature and other Near Eastern literatures, but is not taken into account in the volume under review.[18]

[16] See al-Qīrāṭī, "Kitāb Maṭlaʿ al-Nayyirayn," Istanbul, MS Fātiḥ 3861.

[17] Or ʿAbdullah, as on pp. v and viii.

[18] *Prosimetrum: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Narrative in Prose and Verse,* ed. Joseph Harris and Karl Reichl (Cambridge, 1997). See especially the contributions by Wolfhart Heinrichs ("Prosimetrical Genres in Classical Arabic Literature," pp. 249–75) and Dwight Reynolds ("Prosimetrum in

Instead, we get a whole section on "drama," comprising an article by Rosella Dorigo Ceccato (chapter 17, "Drama in the Post-Classical Period: a Survey," pp. 347–68) and a second one by Philip Sadgrove (chapter 18, "Pre-Modern Drama," pp. 369–83). These two articles complement each other. While Ceccato focuses on the *maqāmah* genre and the traditional ("classical"?) shadow play, Sadgrove treats forms of drama attested mainly in a later period such as the Karagöz, the marionette theater, masquerades, burlesques, and other forms of popular entertainment. Both articles are highly informative. Nevertheless they raise doubts as to whether it is really justified to devote a separate section to "drama." *Maqāmāt* are "semi-dramatic texts" (p. 356) and not drama, and the early shadow plays are still very close to the vulgar *maqāmah*. The performative aspect of these genres—all of them *prosimetric* genres—is high, just as is that of the recitation of the *sīrahs* (mentioned p. 367), but a performative aspect does not make a text a drama in the Western sense of the word (and there is no other sense). Sadgrove's article is, to my knowledge, the best existing summary of popular dramatic enterprises in the Arabic world, though I hesitate to accept the heading "pre-modern drama" since the main part of his article talks about the nineteenth and even the twentieth century. The heading thus creates the impression (certainly unintended by Sadgrove, who is probably not responsible for the title) that "modernity" is a property of enlightened intellectual (i.e., Western) culture, and the popular is a residuum of the unenlightened past. Further, problematic as the category "popular" is, it cannot be justified that the dramatic or semi-dramatic texts dealt with in Sadgrove's article do not bear the word "popular" in their heading and are treated separately from popular poetry and prose, though they are nothing other than popular poetry and prose and do not even differ in their performative character from most of the other popular poetic, prosaic, and prosimetric genres.

Despite the quality of these articles, the expectations of a reader not familiar with Arabic literary history will be rather disappointed by the drama section. Instead of finding something like Euripides, Molière, and Shakespeare, he is confronted with semi-dramatic forms such as the *maqāmah* on the one hand and popular dramatic representations that were not regarded as high literature on the other. This will not convince the reader that there was a "real" dramatic culture in the Arabic world. But what else could one expect? In most cases when a non-Western phenomenon is measured against a Western concept, the difference comes out as a deficit, even if this is not the aim of the author. Drama is a good example. Since Shmuel Moreh tried to refute the common prejudice according to which pre-modern Arabic literature did not know drama, it has become *en vogue* to argue the opposite. However, the two chapters on drama in this volume,

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Nineteeth- and Twentieth-Century Arabic Literature," pp. 277–94).

good as they are, rather corroborate the prejudice than correct it. But why do we have to prove that there was "real" pre-modern drama in the Arabic world? Has anybody ever questioned the value of English literature on account of its failure to develop the genres of *maqāmah* and *badīʿīyah*? Why then do we have a separate section on drama, separating texts from the genres and forms to which they were felt to belong when they were created, and crowd them together under a concept that did not play a decisive role in the minds of the creaters of these texts and their audiences? In pre-modern Arabic literature, the property of being dramatic did not necessarily create a different genre. Just as there were *muwashshaḥāt* that were composed as song texts and others that were never sung nor intended to be, there were texts with a minimal performative potential and others with a great one. Some of these texts could be performed by more than one person, and some implied the use of masks or puppets. Thus they are drama in the full sense of the word, but this did not set them apart from related non-dramatic genres in a way similar to the way "drama" is separated from "lyric" and "epic" in the traditional Western conception. Though there was drama, for pre-modern Arabic literature the notion of "drama" can only be of heuristic value, since it was hardly perceived as a separate category of texts. The structure of the book, dividing Arabic literature into the three categories poetry, prose, and drama, therefore means nothing but to squeeze Arabic literature into the Procrustean bed of a Western concept that can only present Arabic literary history in a distorted form.

A further shortcoming of the book is the fact that there are no articles on the indigenous conceptions mentioned above with the exception of the *band,* certainly not the most important of them. And while there are no separate chapters on the different poetic genres like love, praise, description, or satire (and some of the more important ones such as hunting and chronograms do not receive a single word), there is again one exception, Emil Homerin's article on "Arabic Religious Poetry, 1200–1800" (chapter 3, pp. 74–86). It is, of course, a futile attempt to exhaust six hundred years of flourishing religious poetry (both Muslim and Christian) in a mere thirteen pages. But thanks to Homerin's gift as a translator these pages are among the most enjoyable in the volume.

3. Elite versus Popular

What is true for the genre division is also true for the division into the parameters "elite" vs. "popular." As usual, the editors have little to say about it. Allen at first seems to be aware of the problem and quotes Heath's all too true statement that "warns the researcher against establishing the concepts of elite and popular as static monoliths" (p. 19). But this did not prevent Allen from making this dichotomy one of the guiding principles of the volume. His own expositions are not very helpful. They focus on the equation standard language = elite vs.

vernacular = popular, which is very problematic, as we will see. In any case, the authors of the individual contributions must have felt abandoned by the editors and left to escape as best they could. Let us take the section "popular prose," which comprises six contributions, all of them good, some of them excellent.

Dwight F. Reynolds opens this part with a summary article (chapter 11, "Popular Prose in the Post-Classical Period," pp. 245–69). The same author tells the story of "*A Thousand and One Nights*," especially the story of its reception, which, in this case, is to a certain extent also the story of its genesis (chapter 12, pp. 270–91). A lively picture of the "*Sīrat ʿAntar ibn Shaddād*" is drawn by Remke Kruk (chapter 13, pp. 292–306). Especially remarkable is her elaboration of the "feminist" aspect of the epic. Equally informative is the article on "*Sīrat Banī Hilāl*," again by Reynolds (chapter 14, pp. 307–18). Peter Heath's "Other Sīras and Popular Narratives," especially strong on bringing out a typology of the different epics, could well have served as an introduction to the whole *sīrah* section. Some overlapping could have been avoided, but the principle of editorial minimalism proved stronger (chapter 15, pp. 319–29). Though one would miss Kamal Abdel-Malek's chapter on "Popular Religious Narratives," its connection to the period in question and the section "popular prose" remains somewhat vague (chapter 16, pp. 330–44). A chapter on the popular anthology, important as it is for an understanding of the intellectual world of the middle classes, is missing.[19]

Six good articles, but the whole is not more than the sum of its parts, because no conclusive picture about the social place of a distinct literary phenomenon emerges. This is mainly due to the lack of a consistent concept of "popular" and "elite" that could serve as a basis for all the articles. Let us see how the authors tried to help themselves out of the dilemma.

At first, one would assume that "popular literature" should be "popular" in a certain way. However, in Reynolds' article on the *Nights* we read that "the *Nights* was neither a highly regarded nor even a particularly popular work during these centuries." Given the small number of manuscripts and references to it, Reynolds is certainly right. But this confronts us with the remarkable phenomenon of "unpopular popular literature." Obviously, the term "popular" is not as self-evident as the editors seem to suppose. Similar to Allen's introductory remarks, Reynolds tries a definition according to linguistic criteria. According to him, popular texts of the pre-modern period are those "that preserve or imitate to varying degrees a colloquial aesthetic" (p. 246)—"colloquial" in the sense of "colloquial Arabic" (ibid.).

[19] See Thomas Bauer, "Literarische Anthologien der Mamlukenzeit," *Die Mamluken: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur: Zum Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann (1942–1999),* ed. Stephan Conermann and Anja Pistor-Hatam (Hamburg, 2003), 71–122, esp. 98–106, and Giovanni Canova, "Una pagina di *al-Kanz al-madfūn* sugli uomini più illustri," *Ultra mare: Mélanges de langue arabe et d'islamologie offerts à Aubert Martin,* ed. Frédéric Bauden (Louvain, 2004), 93–107.

Though the point is important, it is not enough for a definition of the "popular." If it were, Abdel-Malek's contribution would have no place in this section because none of the texts treated by him display any elements of colloquial language. On the other hand, the historiographic writings of Ibn Duqmāq (d. 809/1496), one of the *awlād al-nās* and certainly a member of the social elite, display a reasonable amount of colloquial influence. Ibn Ḥajar, who drew heavily on Ibn Duqmāq's writings, cannot help stating that Ibn Duqmāq, "despite his passion for literature and history, was bare of the clothes of the Arabic language, and his speech was vulgar (*ʿāmmī al-ʿibārah*)."[20] Should one, then, establish a new category "popular historiography"? (Note that the name of Ibn Duqmāq is not mentioned in the book under review).

The colloquial element is central in the poetry of the *zajal*. In the east, the *zajal* first flourished at the turn of the seventh–eighth/thirteenth–fourteenth centuries. Its most important early representative was al-Maḥḥār (d. 711/1311). His *dīwān* contains the remarkable number of 37 *azjāl*, which represent a major corpus of the eastern *zajal* in its earlier period. Of middle class origin, he soon became the court poet of the Ayyubid branch that still reigned in the province of Ḥamāh in the Mamluk era. Some of his *azjāl* display a definite middle-class flavor,[21] but he used this form also to praise ulama and members of the ruling dynasty (note that the name of al-Maḥḥār is not mentioned in the book under review). It is obvious that the *zajal* tradition became firmly rooted in the courtly milieu of Ḥamāh, which is not a "popular" milieu at all. Still Ibn Nubātah, the most elite poet of the period, found it inevitable to compose—however reluctantly—a panegyric *zajal* on Abū al-Fidāʾ, then ruler of Ḥamāh known by his regnal title al-Malik al-Muʾayyad.[22] An elite poet, addressing a panegyric poem to an author of several scholarly books who happens to be at the same time a most distinguished governor of a province, bearing the title of a sultan—if this is not elite, what is? It is only too obvious, therefore, that the linguistic form of a work of literature is not enough to serve as a shibboleth between elite and popular literature.

Obviously, the social background of Mamluk literature is different from the expectations of the editors. Allen's statement that "we have a . . . representative sample of the literary productions of the elite, often centered around the court" (p. 19) reflects the idea of a modern Western intellectual about how "medieval" literature should be. But it has little to do with reality. Instead, the court (which court?) did not play a major role in Mamluk literature any more, since there were

[20] See *MSR* 7, [no. 1] (2003): 257–62.

[21] See *MSR* 10, no. 1 (2006): 211–13.

[22] Ibn Nubātah published it in his *Muntakhab al-Hadīyah;* and it is quoted in nearly all manuscripts of his *Dīwān*, but not in the printed version; see my "The Works of Ibn Nubātah," forthcoming in this journal.

few courts left in which Arabic poetry played a role. The major exceptions were courts in areas not addressed in this volume (Maghrib, Yemen), and the short-lived court of the Ayyubids in Ḥamāh, mentioned above. But precisely this court was a center of vernacular poetry! Allen fails to notice that Mamluk literature (and probably Ottoman literature as well), as it has come down to us, is mainly a bourgeois phenomenon. The ulama did not compose poetry for a court, but for other members of their own social group, and the standards of ulama poetry were adopted to a large extent even by members of the artisan middle class, as the poetry of al-Miʿmār and other craftsmen shows.[23] The ulama elite was not in principle against "popular" literature, but since mastery of flawless classical Arabic was one of their main means of distinction, they hesitated to produce texts in the vernacular. Yet there are some, and, more important, elite ulama were among the readers and admirers of vernacular poetry. Thus it is no wonder that a secretary of the chancellery and elite poet like ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Mawṣilī (d. 789/1387) "adorned," as he says, the *dīwān* of the popular poet al-Miʿmār with a pompous preface.[24] The contrast between ʿIzz al-Dīn's sophisticated rhymed prose and the vernacular *azjāl* on sex and drugs in the later part of al-Miʿmār's *dīwān* could hardly be greater, nor could there be any more instructive proof that there was no clear-cut boundary between the popular and the elite in Mamluk times. Instead, there was a continuum that reached from the *mawwāl* of the illiterate, the poetry—partly in the vernacular, partly in often deviant standard language—of the artisans, the *muṭāraḥāt* of ulama who cultivated poetry as a pastime and a means of presenting themselves as a perfect "gentilhuomo," to the extreme end of the highly sophisticated creations of the professional *udabāʾ*. All these creations, however, belonged to a single poetic world, that was governed by a set of similar aesthetic norms and subtle social mechanisms that determined which sort of literary text was to be produced or read/heard at which social occasion and in which linguistic form. This issue, which is not only central to the history of Mamluk literature, but also essential for the understanding of Mamluk society as a whole, has hardly been touched upon in scholarship so far. The arrangement of the book under review even fosters the notion of a dichotomy between "elite" and "popular" and thus impedes scholarly progress rather than encouraging it.

While "popular prose" received six chapters, the section "popular poetry" has only one, albeit long and important: "Popular Poetry in the Post-Classical Period, 1150–1850" by Margaret Larkin (chapter 10, pp. 191–242). In her article, Larkin discusses many of the features mentioned above. She is well aware of

[23] See Thomas Bauer, "Ibrāhīm al-Miʿmār: Ein dichtender Handwerker aus Ägyptens Mamlukenzeit," *ZDMG* 152 (2002): 63–93. There is a strange preoccupation with courts in this volume. On p. 83 even the stonecutter and architect al-Miʿmār is labelled a "court poet."

[24] See "Dīwān al-Miʿmār," Dār al-Kutub MS 673 Shiʿr Taymūr, fols. 1v–2r.

the difficulties in defining the popular and the elite and stresses several times that there is no clear-cut division between them. She is right in emphasizing the fact that members of different social layers "shared much in the way of cultural paradigms and life experience, including the use of colloquial language in their everyday lives" and that members of the elite often enjoyed popular poetry in non-standard form (p. 193). As one of the reasons for the fact that the Mamluk era was "the heyday of popular Arabic literature" she identifies a "blossoming of the middle strata of society, including craftsmen and shopkeepers" (p. 220). For this group, in which literacy must have been quite widespread (p. 220), she uses the felicitous term "petite bourgeoisie" (pp. 194, 219, 222). While I completely agree with her sociological analysis, Larkin perhaps overestimates the role of patronage for Mamluk literature. There were hardly any professional poets in this period, who depended entirely on poetry for their livelihood. Most poetry was composed by persons who made their living mainly as secretaries, religious scholars, traders, or craftsmen. On the other hand, one must not overlook the fact that there was a flourishing book market in the Mamluk period, which provided a more secure income than patronage for an *adīb*. The poet al-Bashtakī derived his entire income working as a scribe and "editor" of books,[25] and with his many popular anthologies, the *adīb* al-Nawājī achieved financial success in the book market.

After general considerations about the nature and background of "popular" poetry, Larkin gives a profound survey of the history and the different forms of strophic poetry in which she happily also includes the Maghrib, Sudan, and the Yemen. Two subsections are dedicated to a more detailed presentation of Mamluk and Ottoman popular poetry. Since her article will become a standard text on its subject, some additions and corrections may be in place here: the poet mentioned on p. 211, line 6, is known as al-Shihāb al-Ḥijāzī rather than as al-Ḥijāzī al-Anṣārī. Ibrāhīm al-Miʿmār "the architect" (mentioned pp. 211, 212) was also known as al-Ḥajjār, "the stone-cutter." Probably he started as a stone-cutter and acquired more sophisticated skills in the building crafts later. He was never a weaver. Instead, al-Ṣafadī mixed him up with a different person named Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥāʾik in his *Wāfī*, but corrected his error later in his *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ*.[26] Unfortunately,

[25] See Bauer, "The Works of Ibn Nubātah, Part 2," forthcoming in *MSR*.

[26] See Bauer, "Ibrāhīm al-Miʿmār," 63–93; see also idem, "Die Leiden eines ägyptischen Müllers: Die Mühlen-Maqāme des Ibrāhīm al-Miʿmār (st. 749/1348)," *Ägypten–Münster: Kulturwissenschaftliche Studien zu Ägypten, dem Vorderen Orient und verwandten Gebieten (Festschrift Erhart Graefe),* ed. Anke Ilona Blöbaum et al. (Wiesbaden, 2003), 1–16; and idem, "Das Nilzağal des Ibrāhīm al-Miʿmār: Ein Lied zur Feier des Nilschwellenfestes," in *Alltagsleben und materielle Kultur in der arabischen Sprache und Literatur (Festschrift Heinz Grotzfeld),* ed. Ulrike Stehli-Werbeck and Th. Bauer (Wiesbaden, 2004), 69–88.

Brockelmann chose al-Ḥāʾik as the main part of the poet's name. Nevertheless, he should not be called something other than al-Miʿmār, a name he repeatedly uses himself in his poetry. His *dīwān* does not contain a *kān wa-kān* poem (p. 212), but rather thirty-four *mawwāliyā* and twelve *azjāl* and *balālīq*, in addition to about five hundred epigrams in *fuṣḥá* (or what al-Miʿmār considered to be *fuṣḥá*). This case shows clearly that the epigram, which is completely ignored in the volume under review, was also an important form of popular literature. Ibn Nubātah composed at least eighteen *muwashshaḥāt*, but was not a "*zajal* specialist" (p. 217). There is only the one above-mentioned *zajal* on Abū al-Fidāʾ and a *bullayq* in the autograph manuscript of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānīʾs additions to Ibn Nubātah's *dīwān,*[27] which nicely corroborates the interest of the elite in vernacular poetry. The bowdlerized edition of al-Nawājī's *ʿUqūd al-Laʾālī* (p. 218) is superseded now by the much better edition by Aḥmad Muḥammad ʿAṭā (Cairo, 1999). Ibn Sūdūn did not acquire sufficient religious education to "equip him for a life as . . . [a] religious scholar" (p. 227).[28] Instead, we must reckon the lower-level personnel of madrasahs and mosques such as lamp-lighters, muezzins, and imams as part of the petite bourgeoisie. Many of them may not have had any more religious knowledge than the butcher next door. The existence of this group again demonstrates the continuum between middle class and high-brow ulama. At the present, it is still difficult to assess how much popular poetry has been preserved (p. 231). There may be more than expected. I refer only to the still unpublished text presented by Madeleine Voegeli: "*Manṣūbat Ṣafā l-ʿaiš*–ein volkstümliches, ägyptisch-arabisches Zağal aus dem 17. Jahrhundert," *Asiatische Studien* 50 (1996): 463–78.

A few words on the five chapters dealing with "elite prose" shall conclude this section.

Muhsin al-Musawi's survey article on "Pre-Modern Belletristic Prose" (chapter 5, pp. 101–33) is certainly one of the best contributions in this volume. The author is familiar with the enormous output of the prose literature of the Ayyubid, Mamluk, and Ottoman period and its multifariousness, which does not fail to impress him: "The sheer variety of prose-writing surveyed in this chapter attests to the existence of a dynamic culture characterized by the active involvement of littérateurs, widespread networks and a magnanimous devotion to the world of writing" (p. 132). More than most other contributors he succeeds in putting the literary works into their proper social context. He does not look for nonexistent courts, but points to the overwhelming importance of the chancellery and other learned milieus for the literature of the period. These findings enable him to

[27] Göttingen, 8o Cod. Ms. arab. 179, fols. 59r–v.

[28] See *MSR* 7, [no. 1] (2003): 267–72.

explain the stylistic properties of different genres in an unprejudiced way. Contrary to Salma Jayyusi, who complains about a "lack of virility" (see below), al-Musawi appreciates the stylist's "quest for elegance" (p. 109) and notices the broad stylistic range of the texts of this period. This literature's "variety, richness and energy defy sweeping generalizations. Indeed it calls for a more serious and careful analysis. . . ." (p. 133). Would that all editors and contributors had followed this maxim!

The chapters on "The Essay and Debate (*al-Risāla and al-Munāẓara*)" by Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila (chapter 6, pp. 134–44) and on "The *Maqāma*" by Devin Stewart (chapter 7, pp. 145–58) are too short to give a comprehensive idea of the rich output in these fields. It turns out further that it is hard to distinguish between *risālah*, *maqāmah*, and *munāẓarah* without doing injustice to the autochthonous understanding of these notions. Stewart's concept of the *maqāmah* is focused too strongly on the Ḥarīrian *maqāmah*. The wealth of forms and subjects of the latter *maqāmāt* appears as a deviation from the classical model rather than as an enrichment. Both contributions are hampered by the fact that the contributors do not treat texts that are still in manuscript, which, however, is the case for the majority of the texts relevant to these chapters.

The inadequate short chapter on "Mamluk History and Historians" (chapter 8, pp. 159–70) by Robert Irwin can hardly be called a scholarly contribution. Its last sentence, according to which the "Mamluk age was obsessed by the past and we cannot mention here all who ventured to write history" (p. 170), true as it may be, is a weak excuse for the lack of any discernable concept. Sometimes one cannot help but feel that Irwin followed the method of one of the historiographers which he, for whatever reason, chose to mention at the expense of more important ones. "When Qirṭāy was bored or short of information, he made things up and his chronicle contains the most fantastic misinformation" (p. 164). Let us take a paragraph from page 162. Here we read the following sentences, none of which can go unchallenged: "Al-Kutubī . . . and Ibn Kathīr . . . were the last prominent representatives of the Syrian *ʿulamāʾ* school of historiography." What about Ibn Ḥabīb and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah? "Al-Ṣafadī . . . believed in history as a vehicle for moral uplift." What gave Irwin that idea? ". . . [Y]et he wrote no chronicle. Instead he produced . . . the *Wāfī*. . . . He also produced two smaller biographical compendia, on blind persons and on contemporaries." There is another one on one-eyed persons and another on the rulers and governors of Damascus. Irwin continues by saying that al-Ṣafadī "produced, among other things, a *maqāma* on wine." I know of no such *maqāmah*; perhaps he misunderstood the title *Rashf al-Raḥīq fī Waṣf al-Ḥarīq*—"a quantity of pederastic verse"; perhaps he means the *Lawʿat al-Shākī*, which is a *maqāmah* and, in any case, quite mislabeled as being

"pederastic verse,"[29] ". . . and a famous poem on the beauty spot (*khāl*)." Famous the text is indeed, but not to Irwin who otherwise would have realized that it is an anthology of epigrams written by many different authors. Irwin goes on: "He also interested himself in occult matters and wrote on alchemy as well as on *malāḥim* (disasters prefiguring the end of the world)." As a matter of fact, al-Ṣafadī never wrote on *malāḥim* or any related subject, and he was an outspoken opponent of alchemy. In his *Al-Ghayth al-Musajjam*, which is an anthology ordered in the form of a commentary on al-Ṭughrāʾī's *Lāmīyat al-ʿAjam*, al-Ṣafadī starts with a biography of al-Ṭughrāʾī. Since al-Ṭughrāʾī was an alchemist, al-Ṣafadī takes up the subject, discusses the pros and cons, and comes to reject it vehemently. But since alchemy provides a lot of nice concepts for love poetry, the literary side of alchemy becomes the main aspect of al-Ṣafadī's chapter.[30] This grave misunderstanding of al-Ṣafadī would have been reason enough for the editors to intervene, as is also the strange fact that, of all articles, an article on history and historiography does not give the hijrah dates.

More carefully written is Michael Winter's contribution on "Historiography in Arabic during the Ottoman period" (chapter 9, pp. 171–88). It is a detailed presentation of Ottoman period historiography in the central Arab lands (Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq). In a volume on literature, more information about the literary aspects of the chronicles mentioned would have been desirable. The diaries, such as the sensational *Al-Taʿlīq* by Ibn Ṭawq (874–915/1430–1509), are not mentioned. The original version of the chronicle written by the barber Ibn Budayr is not lost (p. 182), but preserved in a Chester Beatty manuscript.[31]

The lack of a uniform system of dating is symptomatic of the carelessness with which the book as a whole was produced. To give but two more examples: on p. 123, Ibn Ḥabīb is mentioned for the first time. The dates of his birth and death are given correctly. For whatever reason, the index refers to this page calling him Ibn Ḥabīb al-Dimashqī (p. 123). On pp. 144 and 158 he is called by his more common *nisbah* Ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥalabī. Though on p. 144 the date of his death (but not of his birth) is given, we are surprised to read on p. 158 "death date unknown." In the index, Ibn Ḥabīb is split into two persons, a Dimashqī and a Ḥalabī. Al-Khafājī is subjected to a similar schizophrenization (p. 469).

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[29] On the work see Everett K. Rowson, "Two Homoerotic Narratives from Mamlūk Literature: al-Ṣafadī's *Lawʿat al-shākī* and Ibn Dānyāl's *al-Mutayyam*," in *Homoeroticism in Classical Arabic Literature,* ed. J. W. Wright, Jr., and Everett K. Rowson (New York, 1997), 158–91.

[30] Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Ghayth al-Musajjam fī Sharḥ Lāmīyat al-ʿAjam* (Beirut, 1411/1990), esp. 1:22.

[31] See Dana Sajdi, "A Room of His Own: The 'History' of the Barber of Damascus (fl. 1762)," *The MIT Electronic Journal of Middle East Studies* 3 (2003): 19–35.

4. Mamluk Poetry: Forgotten by the Universal Spirit?

The article by Salma Jayyusi prompts two questions: First, why does a scholar who has earned indubitable merit in several fields of Arabic literary history choose to write about one on which she is poorly informed and for which she displays a disquieting lack of empathy? And second, why do the editors publish an article that falls far short of scholarly standards?

We have to deal with this article in more detail for several reasons. First, its position as the first chapter of the book and its title "Arabic Poetry in the Post-Classical Age" (pp. 25–59) suggest that it is meant to be one of the central articles of the volume. Second, it is an aggregation of virtually all common prejudices against Mamluk and Ottoman literature.[32]

The first phenomenon that strikes the reader is Jayyusi's concept of literature, which is completely ahistoric. It is inconceivable to her that the perception of a literary period is necessarily shaped by the literary background and the value system of the critic. These factors are subject to change and therefore the perception of whole periods of art are constantly undergoing change. One need only point to the term "gothic," which was coined as a derogatory term, while the Gothic period is considered nowadays one of the greatest periods of European art history. In a similar way, the term "baroque" was created to denounce the art of a whole period, and not too much time has elapsed since the time when baroque literature (quite similar to much of Arabic poetry) had been considered a senseless aggregation of silly word-play, and baroque opera as the most idle thing that has ever appeared on the stage. In the meantime, Gryphius, Marino, and Donne have taken their proper places in the history of literature again, and many opera lovers are of the not-entirely-unjustified opinion that the revival of baroque opera was one of the most exciting occurrences on the stage during the last fifty years. For any historian of art and literature who deserves this name, it has become commonplace not to rely blindly on personal taste, but to critically question the standards she/he is applying to the object of research. Not so for Salma Jayyusi. While the Arab critics of the period in question were quite aware of the fact that the taste of the audience changes through the centuries and that to appeal to a certain taste is not yet enough to qualify a text as good or bad, Jayyusi does not consider such changes significant, and thus neglects a significant aspect of the way modern scholarship has come to consider literary history. Instead, literature is the manifestation of an essence that is not subject to historic change. Jayyusi does not ask about the background of a poetic text. Her only concern is if the text is part of "the poetic"—Jayyusi uses the word with the definite article—or rather,

[32] It is amazing how exactly Jayyusi's article corroborates the list of prejudices against Mamluk poetry that I drew up in my article "Mamluk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches," *MSR* 9, no. 2 (2005): 105–32.

"the genuinely poetic" (p. 57). In her essentialist conception, it is "the essence of poetry" (p. 29) or the "poetic essence" (p. 41), imbued with "the essence of a free Arab spirit" (p. 38) to capture the "human essence" (p. 29), "the essence of life" (p. 29).

According to this conception, the history of poetry is simply the history of the realization of the immutable "poetic essence." Consequently, the expectations and reactions of contemporary audiences are of no importance whatsoever. Thus Jayyusi can say in her critique of Ibn ʿUnayn's style with its alleged "use of new and still unidiomatic words and the coining of new derivatives" that "such a technique manages only to shock the reader's sensibility with its alien effect, stunting any possible achievement of emotional and rhythmic fulfillment in the poem" (p. 44). But what if Ibn ʿUnayn's readers were not shocked? What if they considered the poem perfectly emotionally and rhythmically fulfilled (whatever "rhythmic fulfillment" may mean exactly)? For Jayyusi this would make no difference at all, because the audience of this decadent age, estranged as it was from "the poetic essence," had no ability to judge what is shocking and what is not. Even worse, this very audience prevented the "poetic essence" from coming to light. Unnoticed by this audience, however, there was something great and unchangeable in the background, something like "the broad, ever living memory of Arabic poetry" (p. 51). "Ever living"? Obviously not, since the sentence in which this phrase occurs deals with poems by al-Shābb al-Ẓarīf that even Jayyusi finds "gentle and musical." However, she asks, "one wonders why the poems in question failed to enter the broad, ever living memory of Arabic poetry" (p. 51). But how can she know how actively al-Shābb al-Ẓarīf's poems were memorized during the Mamluk period? Judging by the many quotations of his poems in anthologies, I would guess that they were memorized for well over several centuries. Even though it may have been memorized by thousands of people over several centuries, all this is of no relevance whatsoever to the author, who evaluates the poetry of this period against the standard of an unchanging "poetic essence." Stating that there was "no single poetic genius" during the period in question, Jayyusi then proceeds to modify this statement in a most revealing way: "Many such were surely born, and yet the development of their talents was hampered by the standards and expectations in vogue during their lifetime" (p. 39). Poetry, in this conception, has nothing to do with its time and audience, but is an unchangeable entity that incarnates itself in poetic geniuses. Society's only role in this model is to help or to hinder the poetic essence in its natural growth in its genius.

Jayyusi arrogates for herself the competence to define the aesthetic criteria according to which all poetry of all periods must be measured. This is not only contrary to the established premises and methods of literary scholarship, but, even more, the criteria applied by Jayyusi sometimes seem bizarre. So we read in

a short passage on p. 27, headlined "An unstable world," that pre-Islamic Arabia was a stable world, whereas the advent of Islam with its "unique capacity to maintain an a-racial attitude" shattered this very stability and planted the seeds of instability. "Once converted, a new Muslim was accepted into the community of believers without undue regard for origin, race or color. But while this may be regarded as a superior quality in Islam, it was not conducive to a continuation of the old stability." (p. 27) Re-reading the passage time after time, I cannot help but read as its central message that in principle, it is the racial egalitarianism of Islam that brought about the mess of the "period of decadence." This basis of Jayyusi's conception of literature helps us to find the place where, according to this conception, the "poetic essence" and the "ever living memory" of Arabic poetry has been situated all this time, concealed, but still present: it is in the Arab race itself, in which there has always been the "enduring latent power of a once great poetry" (p. 59), though this could not manifest itself in times of "extraneous linguistic intrusions" (p. 37), and therefore "its vigour diminished . . . hemmed in by the circumstances of Arab life" (ibid.). Little surprise then that it is the pre-Islamic period against which the Mamluk and Ottoman poets have to be measured, because this was the only period in which "a free Arab spirit, linking creative expression to the roots of the soul and imbuing it with the vision and meaning of life and living" (p. 38) could unfold. The author goes on to portray a picture of the pre-Islamic Arabs that is similar to the way the pure and heroic ancestors were portrayed during the many outbreaks of ideological madness during the European twentieth century: "How estranged had the Arabs of the urban centuries become from the values of the Arabs . . . who had aestheticized their contradictions through the eloquent sayings of the poets . . . tenderness, devotion and selflessness towards women and love, but also a defiant and boastful self-centredness in tribal hostilities . . ., generosity and hospitality, but also a relentless aggression bent on plunder and the use of force for survival? This was the law of the desert, of scarcity and aridity, and it organized their life, gave it shape and challenge, and filled it with nostalgia, a constant sense of loss, a perennial craving for the impossible, for a constantly receding point of anchor, for a love that will be never requited . . ." (p. 38).

So there we are, with the pure Arab spirit of the *jāhilīyah,* which was revived to a certain degree by al-Mutanabbī to yield a second climax of Arabic literature (p. 27), and to be destroyed by the foreign intruders of the period of decadence. But the "true poetic spirit" lived on in the Arab race. Blinded by her nationalist ideology, Jayyusi claims in an amazingly anachronistic way that even in the dark times of decadence there "was a basic concept of Arab literary identity . . ., and it made poetry and literature not a regional but rather a national cultural output" (p. 39). Thanks to this everlasting Arab spirit, poetry could be revived by "the great

neoclassicist" "Aḥmad Shawqī . . . and the poetry of some leading modernists such as Adūnīs . . ." (p. 38), totally irrelevant as all this is to a history of the literature between the Abbasid and the modern period. In her article on poetry of the Mamluk and Ottoman period, Jayyusi mentions more poets from the periods before and after than from the period in question itself. She praises al-Akhṭal, Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī, al-Mutanabbī, al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (p. 33); she hails Shawqī, Gibrān Khalīl Gibrān, Badawī al-Jabal, Adūnīs, Badr Shākir al-Sayyāb, Maḥmūd Darwīsh (p. 38), but does not mention al-Maḥḥār, al-Shihāb al-Ḥijāzī, al-Āthārī, al-Damāmīnī, al-Ḥājirī, Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Ḥammāmī, al-Qīrāṭī, al-Tallaʿfarī, al-ʿAzāzī, Ibn Maṭrūḥ, Ibn Qurnāṣ, ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Mawṣilī, or Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī, to mention only a few major Mamluk poets that are treated nowhere in the volume.

Instead we learn that the "universal poetic spirit" is embodied in the Arab race and manifested itself in the poetry of the *jāhilīyah* and the few centuries during which its "power" still lasted. But already the Umayyad period (on which Jayyusi has made some lucid notes in her contribution in the Cambridge History of Arabic Literature *'Abbasid Belles-Lettres* volume) is marred by the "ʿUmar ibn Abī Rabīʿah . . . syndrome" (p. 49), an abominable degeneration that consists of enjoying one's life without feeling guilt. In the typical schizophrenia that characterizes many pro-Western intellectuals of the Arab world, who hail Western liberal modernity and at the same time are stuck in puritan Victorian morality, she complains: ". . . rarely do we encounter a genuine spiritual conflict in poems where the poet describes wine drinking and frolicking. On the contrary, the treatment of the subject is often lighthearted, and the notion of sin and punishment is not usually a disturbing, heart-wrenching experience" (p. 29). Again and again she laments the "failure of the era to uphold moral ideals" (p. 43) and grumbles about the "poets of decadent morality *(mujūn)* with whom the age abounded" (p. 47). And indeed, a period during which people enjoyed life, sex without guilt, and racial harmony—what a horrible world this must have been!

This urban, tolerant, and cosmopolitan culture, a culture of refinement, sophistication, and elegance, a culture of friendship, love of beauty, and wit, is not Jayyusi's world. She yearns for a culture of primitive heroism ("poems pulsating with life and pregnant with the vision of glory and infallibility," p. 27), of puritanism and sexual guilt, in which a fascination with beauty has to be rejected for not being "a decisive avowal of an exclusive emotion" (p. 51). Love is a "universal experience" (pp. 48, 51) the true nature of which is as unchangeable as the "poetic essence." For all times and cultures it is true that it "is always the particularity and exclusivity of love, its transcendence of beauty and physical qualities, that really matters. The whole period, it must be said, exhibits this deficit, the love it offers being more dependent on physical passion and desire than on any absorbing and abiding attachment" (p. 51). Throughout the article,

Jayyusi displays a strange obsession with the subject of sexuality, which is raised in half of the pages of the chapter; see pp. 29 ("sex"), 35 ("homosexuality," "promiscuity," "sexual satiety"), 38 ("perverse and graphic sexual depictions"), 39 ("homosexual poetry"), 41 ("heterosexual and homosexual"), 42 ("homosexual," "sexual promiscuity"), 43 ("sexual imagery of a graphic and repellent quality"), 44 ("reckless sexual escapades"), 47 ("decadent morality"), 48 ("erotic encounters," "addiction to pleasure"), 51 ("physical passion and desire"), 53 ("homosexuality," "polygamous outlook on love and sexuality"), 54 ("homosexual and heterosexual"). Jayyusi does not consider the social and mental history of love and sexuality, and ignores studies that have been written on this subject in recent years. Instead, the subject of sexuality is raised mainly to defame the period as morally decadent and to contrast it with her prudish concept of heroism. This heroism is "virile" but asexual. It is revealing that whereas sexuality is only mentioned in a degrading way, "virility" is seen as the main quality of poetry. The words "virility" and "virile" occur five times throughout the article (pp. 26, 29, 31, 40, 41). "Virility," however, was not a goal sought by Mamluk and Ottoman Arabic authors, whereas "elegance" was. However, the word "elegance" does not appear even once in Jayyusi's article.

Given this attitude towards her subject, an impartial scholarly treatment of any of its aspects cannot be expected. Her only concern is to draw as negative a picture of the period in question as possible. Therefore, there is little point in trying to refute her attacks against Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk (too much "sexual promiscuity" and therefore—?—too many "intricate figures of speech," p. 42), Ibn ʿUnayn ("reckless sexual escapades," p. 44), al-Bahāʾ Zuhayr ("lacks a vision of life or of the future," p. 48), al-Shābb al-Ẓarīf ("lacks the necessary immediacy," p. 51), al-Ḥillī (considers "wine drinking and homosexuality . . . a source of amazement," p. 53), and Ibn Nubātah ("senses little depth or philosophy of life," p. 56). For every one of them Jayyusi manages to find a criterion according to which the poet in question cuts a poor figure. Further, to depreciate the later Mamluk and Ottoman poets, she states that "ʿUmar Mūsā Bāshā, the scholar best known for his specialization on the Syrian poets of this era, closes his study with al-Shābb al-Ẓarīf." Did this great scholar, the indefatigable fighter against prejudice and the protagonist of a revaluation of the Mamluk and Ottoman period, deserve this treatment? Did he deserve to be mentioned as a crown-witness for the feeble state of Ottoman literature while his pioneering work on ʿUmar al-Yāfī[33] is not mentioned a single time in the whole volume? His is, by the way, the only book-length study known to me that is dedicated to an Arabic poet of the Ottoman period, and since it is furthermore a good study, it should be a central point in

[33] ʿUmar Mūsá Bāshā, *Quṭb al-ʿAṣr ʿUmar al-Yāfī* (Damascus, 1996).

every discussion of Ottoman Arabic poetry. In the entire volume under review, however, ***neither*** al-Yāfī ***nor*** ʿUmar Mūsá's study on him are mentioned even once! And what is true for ʿUmar Mūsá's study on al-Yāfī is also true for his groundbreaking study on Ibn Nubātah, [34] perhaps the best contribution to the history of Mamluk literature in the Arabic language, which Jayyusi ignores. Since I cannot believe that a person writing about Mamluk literature who knows the name of ʿUmar Mūsá has never heard of this scholar's principal work, which first appeared in 1963 and is available now in a third edition, I can only conclude that she does not mention it on purpose because it contradicts her thesis. Thus, the most important monograph ever written on a poet of the Mamluk period is in all probability *purposely omitted* from this volume, which claims to be a standard work on this period!

It is quite clear by now that Jayyusi tries to portray everything in the darkest possible colors, and everything that cannot be portrayed in an outright negative fashion is nevertheless seen against a negative background. So nature poetry is not a sign of the love of nature or a new, individualistic, and completely non-medieval perspective on nature, but only an "escape . . . from tiresome external demands" (p. 36), "a refuge from the burden of eulogy" (p. 37), and we learn that flower poems (p. 36: read *zahrīyāt* instead of *zuhrīyāt*) "lacked any active communication with the human condition" (p. 37). Though I do not know exactly what "to actively communicate with the human condition" means, it is clear enough to me that it probably cannot be accomplished by flower poems or Chopin waltzes. But I cannot see how this speaks against them. I, for my part, do not play Chopin waltzes in order to communicate with the human condition but to find a charming entertainment, and I read flower poems to enjoy poetic imagination and to be surprised by a pointed literary conceit. It is, after all, not the task of a work of art to communicate with the human condition or the world spirit, but with the audience.

It is Jayyusi's practice to prescribe for every theme, form, and genre what it *should* do in order to be able to criticize the poets for not having done exactly that. Jayyusi never asks what the poets themselves wanted to accomplish, which, of course, is the only standard according to which they can be measured. For just as one cannot blame Chopin for not having composed Beethoven's ninth symphony, one cannot blame Ibn Qurnāṣ for not having composed al-Mutanabbī's ode on al-Ḥadath. Ibn Qurnāṣ, by the way, is the author of some of the most charming nature epigrams of the period. His name does not appear anywhere in the volume under review. His *Dīwān* is unpublished, but al-Ṣafadī, who held him in great esteem, quotes him quite often in his *Al-Kashf wa-al-Tanbīh ʿalá Waṣf al-Tashbīh,* ed. Hilāl

[34] ʿUmar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī: Amīr Shuʿarāʾ al-Mashriq* (Cairo, 1963, 3rd ed. 1992).

Nājī (Leeds, 1420/1999), which is a rich source of Mamluk nature poetry, and is not mentioned by Jayyusi.

Let us have a brief look at what Jayyusi has to say about nature poetry. In her enthusiasm for *jāhilī* virility, Jayyusi cannot find much worth in Abbasid descriptive poetry. Though "fully artistic, fully inventive," it was nothing but "a solution for poets who had reached the end of their tolerance of the age of poetic utilitarianism" (p. 37). It is not easy to make sense out of this utterance. At least it is clear that, according to its author, descriptive poetry of the Abbasid period is not of great value. But if it is so in Abbasid times, it must be even worse in Mamluk times. Therefore Jayyusi continues: "During the period under study, poets continued to compose such miniatures with inventive, though often dispassionate, skill." What makes her assume that Ibn Qurnāṣ felt less passion towards dewdrops than al-Ṣanawbarī did? Jayyusi continues: "Yet the search for novelty did not abate, as these purely descriptive examples were independent of other themes." On p. 30, this literature is disparaged for its "repetition," and now it is faulted for its "search for novelty"—what could these poets have done to satisfy Salma Jayyusi? What, after all, is wrong with descriptive poetry that is descriptive? And the rest of the sentence is simply wrong, for among the most impressive longer nature descriptions of the Mamluk period were the introductory parts of hunting poems and letters. Different from Abbasid hunting literature, a Mamluk hunting *urjūzah* or a *risālah ṭardīyah* inevitably started with a long description of the breaking of dawn and the awaking of nature, until the hunting party set forth on their hunt. Here description is not at all "independent of other themes." Jayyusi, however, does not treat Mamluk hunting literature. And so she continues: "As greater affectation seeped in and the impact of external forces became overriding, poets became increasingly preoccupied with linguistic devices applicable to all themes. Gradually a greater artificiality can be seen in the use of poetic conceits and the vast array of figures of speech fashionable at the time" (p. 37). Even granted that by "linguistic devices" she means "stylistic devices," the sentence does not become much clearer. As we have known since antiquity, stylistic devises are used to bring about a certain effect on the audience. The theory of rhetoric, however, has no "overriding external forces" or "inseeping affectations" on its agenda. But even if the reader tries to make some sense out of this statement, it is still wrong, since al-Ṣafadī's, Ibn Nubātah's, and Ibn Qurnāṣ's descriptive poetry is by no means more mannered and loaded with stylistic devices than that of the Abbasid period. On the contrary, while young Ibn Ḥabīb tried to show off by imitating the Abbasid metaphor-based concetto (simply to demonstrate that he could do this as well),[35] most other authors used a simpler style or used *tawriyah*

[35] See Thomas Bauer, "'Was kann aus dem Jungen noch werden!' Das poetische Erstlingswerk des Historikers Ibn Ḥabīb im Spiegel seiner Zeitgenossen," in *Festschrift Hartmut Bobzin,* forthcoming.

to please the audience with the intelligent use of *double entendre,* which, by the way, was not an idle play on words unrelated to the "human condition," but in very direct and immediate relation to the world view of the time.[36]

In the course of her discussion of descriptive poetry Jayyusi gives a fragmentary and wrong (*uqḥuwān* does not mean "daisies") translation of a poem ascribed to Ibn al-Muʿtazz (p. 36). It is surprising that Jayyusi, who mostly quotes Mamluk poetry second hand on the basis of al-Farrūkh's *Tārīkh al-Adab al-ʿArabī,* fails here also to check this Abbasid poem in the *Dīwān* of Ibn al-Muʿtazz. Had she done this, she would have noticed that the lines quoted start with a motif of love poetry (and therefore are not independent of other themes), and that the lines occur there in a different order.[37]

So we see that all the reader of the chapter on "descriptive poetry" in the article on "postclassical poetry" gains is some pseudo-psychological considerations about descriptive poetry as a means to escape a (nonexistent) constraint on panegyric poetry, two mistranslated lines taken randomly from a poem by an author who does not belong to the period in question, and a lot of erroneous and disparaging remarks about a form of poetry of which the author is clearly not well informed. But a reader of the volume, who wants to learn more about Mamluk and Ottoman Arabic literature, has a right to get an answer to questions like: Who were the protagonists of descriptive poetry during the period in question? What themes and motifs did they use? What did they describe? Is there a difference between the role of nature poetry in Syria and in Egypt (indeed there is)? Was there a continuation of the flourishing nature poetry of the Mamluk period in the Ottoman period? As to the last question, Jayyusi has not the slightest idea. Neither do I, having read nothing but a few nature poems by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿAydarūs (1135–93/1722–78), another poet, well known and highly regarded in his time, who goes completely unmentioned in the volume under review.[38] But instead of telling the readers that Ottoman descriptive poetry, which seems to have produced some interesting specimens in the field of nature poetry, has not yet been studied enough to allow further judgment, Jayyusi announces her verdict that all of this literature is worthless.

It seems obvious by now that Jayyusi has never read the most important texts of the period and does not value the secondary literature about it in whatever language. Since she clearly does not know much about Mamluk and Ottoman

[36] I attempted some preliminary considerations in my article "Ibn Ḥajar and the Arabic Ghazal of the Mamluk Age," in *Ghazal as World Literature I: Transformations of a Literary Genre,* ed. Thomas Bauer and Angelika Neuwirth (Beirut, 2005), 35–55, esp. 44–48, but the whole topic needs more study.

[37] See *Dīwān Shiʿr Ibn al-Muʿtazz,* ed. Yūnus A. al-Sāmarrāʾī (Beirut, 1997), 2:594–95.

[38] *Dīwān al-ʿAydarūs al-Musammá Tarwīḥ al-Bāl wa-Tahyīj al-Balbāl* (Cairo, 1418/1998).

society, her chapter on eulogy (pp. 32–34) lacks substance, and to declare that the "postclassical" poet was "a mere pawn at the mercy of princes and leaders who controlled his livelihood" (p. 36) reveals her lack of knowledge about the social role of poetry during these periods. Surprisingly, she considers Ibn Ḥijjah's *Khizānat* (sic, instead of *Khazānat*) *al-Adab* "a study of the poetic art of al-Sharaf al-Anṣārī" (p. 50). Her translations are at best whimsical, sometimes wrong. The only poem she quotes in the section on Ibn Nubātah is an epigram in which the poet asks for a pair of earrings. The epigram is quoted for no other reason than to disparage Ibn Nubātah and to show that he "was dedicated to the act of asking, sometimes shedding part of his dignity" (p. 56). But here she is quoting a poem she does not understand. Every experienced reader of Mamluk poetry will realize immediately that this two-line epigram has a point at the end of the second line that consists of a double entendre. Clear as this is, the point of the epigram is not easy to understand in this case. There may be an obscenity behind it. In any case, the humorous nature of the epigram is corroborated by the fact that the poem is the first poem of the section *al-mudāʿabah wa-al-mujūn* in Ibn Nubātah's collection of epigrams entitled *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī.*[39] The whole poem, therefore, is nothing but a joke. Whereas I am ignorant of the double meaning of the last words, Jayyusi is even ignorant of her ignorance.

Jayyusi opines that her "study has been primarily devoted to a process of degeneration" (p. 59), but her contribution, with its arguably racist and homophobic overtones, is an example of the degeneration of Arabic studies. The same is true for Muhammad Lutfi al-Yousfi's article on "Poetic Creativity in the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries" (chapter 2, pp. 60–73), which I will pass over in silence not only because it treats the Ottoman period, but also because to claim that the process of decadence started with the advent of Islam is simply absurd, and to publish this rubbish is an academic scandal. These two articles are a slap in the face of every serious scholar in the field of Mamluk and Ottoman poetry. In the blurb (p. i) we read that this book will be "a unique resource for students and scholars of Arabic literature for many years to come." Let us hope that this threat will not come true!

[39] Bibliothèque Nationale MS 2234, fol. 179r–v.

Book Reviews

Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār li-Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Maqrīzī. Edited by Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid. Vols. 1–2 (London: Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 1422/2002).

Reviewed by Frédéric Bauden, Université de Liège

In the field of historiography, the Egyptian scholar al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) is one of the most renowned and esteemed representatives together with his master and friend, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406). Despite the charges of plagiarism often leveled against him and the assertion that he was a mere compiler, his works are considered to be invaluable for the history of Egypt from the beginning of the Islamic conquest until his time. The most frequently advanced reason for this appraisal lies in the numerous sources, most of which are now considered lost, that were summarized and abridged by al-Maqrīzī in his works. His masterpiece *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār,* truly original in its conception and plan, the main subject of which is the topographical history of the city of Cairo, remains the unequalled source for historians dealing with Egypt and more particularly Cairo. Acclaimed by his contemporaries, its importance was quickly recognized and it is for this reason that it was among the early texts printed by the nascent Bulāq press. This edition, published in 1853 in 2 volumes, has remained for more than 150 years the standard text, despite its defects and shortcomings. Reprinted several times and the basis of new editions (!)[1] that multiplied its mistakes, the Bulāq version was obviously unsatisfactory and several scholars of the early twentieth century called for a critical edition of this fundamental text. One of them, Gaston Wiet, answered the call and tried to produce a text meeting the standards of critical editing prevailing at that time (i.e., derived from those long established in the field of Classical studies). He produced an edition (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1911–27), praised not only for its scientific method (several manuscripts were collected and collated, the result of which was conscientiously indicated in footnotes) but also as a technical achievement. Five volumes, covering pages 1–322 of the Bulāq edition, were issued. However, this edition, although representing an improvement in comparison to the Bulāq edition, still contained many mistakes (which is confirmed by the numerous *errata* added at the end of each volume) and Wiet decided to put an abrupt end to his

[1]See, for the last of these (ed. Muḥammad Zaynuhum and Madīḥah al-Sharqāwī, Cairo, 1998, 3 vols.), my review in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 1 (2004): 299.

project once he discovered that more than 170 manuscripts of this work were preserved in libraries around the world. He claimed that it was impossible for a single man to proceed further and that this should be a collective work involving specialists for the various periods covered by the book. This was in 1927 and for the last 75 years nobody has taken up such a project, although similar enterprises were launched (for instance al-Ṣafadī's *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafāyāt,* now coming to an end after more than 60 years, al-Balādhurī's *Ansāb al-Ashrāf,* and Ibn ʿAsākir's *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq*).

Finally, Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid decided to make that effort alone. Sayyid opines (vol. 1, introduction p. 4) that, although he is aware of the difficulties one would encounter working alone on such a text, projects involving several scholars, all the more so in the Orient, rarely succeed in producing anything good,[2] and suggests moreover that in his mind this kind of text must be edited by a single individual having a clear and harmonized idea of the whole.[3] But if it is true that collective projects require more time than individual ones, they generally produce an excellent result because of the involvement of several specialists with the same text. Furthermore, the second argument could be valid if the edited text would have represented the expression of the author's reflection on a particular subject (philosophical, juridical, or scientific), requiring from the editor an understanding of the author's overall concept. This is not the case with the *Khiṭaṭ,* which has always been defined as an accumulation of facts compiled by the author from various sources and organized in a very lucid way. In some ways, it is comparable to the work required in the edition of a biographical dictionary or a chronicle. Clearly, some collaboration would have benefitted the final result, as we shall see.

Sayyid is probably the best specialist on Muslim Egypt, especially of the Fatimid period. His many studies and critical editions of important historical sources plainly show that his interests focus on this subject. No one in the Orient was better prepared to undertake such a project. During the past twenty years, he has mainly published sources which were used by al-Maqrīzī in his numerous works and this has placed him in a good position to undertake a critical edition of the *Khiṭaṭ*. He planned to publish the whole text in four volumes together with a final volume consisting of various indexes. At the time we are writing this review, volumes 3 (788 pages) and 4 (1,089 pages in two parts) have already been published, which means that in the space of two years 3,263 pages of critical text have been produced. This implies that the text has not only been published,

[2] ". . . fa-istaqarra fī yaqīnī anna al-aʿmāl al-jamāʿīyah—wa-ʿalá al-akhaṣṣ fī al-sharq—nādiran mā yuktab la-hā al-najāḥ."

[3] ". . . amā anna taḥqīq kitāb mithla al-mawāʿiẓ wa-al-iʿtibār yajib an yatimma min qibali shakhṣ wāḥid ḥattá yasūda ḍabṭihi [sic] wa-ikhrājihi [sic] fikr muwaḥḥad munsajim dūna tanāquḍāt."

but also critically edited, as it clearly appears that the editor has been working on each volume in succession, and that while he was preparing the next volume for publication he was reading at the same time the proofs of the preceding one. In conclusion, each volume was produced in six months, probably a world record in the discipline! We could legitimately fear that the editor has botched his work, but this is definitely not the case. However, it is clear that mistakes, omissions, and shortcomings still exist and that a careful proofreading would have avoided[4] most of them. Nevertheless, the whole is nicely produced and will remain for years the standard edition for this text.

The question that immediately arises in the reader's mind is whether or not this edition may be considered to be a critical and definitive edition of this important work. Before stating our opinion, we would like to describe Sayyid's working method. The editor had at his disposal two volumes of the draft *(musawwadah)*—the second and fourth part of it—covering respectively the contents of volume 2 and the beginning of volume 3, and of the end of volume 3 and volume 4. He had already prepared a critical edition of the second part of the draft, but not of the fourth, which, he says (vol. 1, introduction p. 109), he discovered *(ʿathartu ʿalayhā)* during a visit to Istanbul in 2001.[5] In addition, he collected copies of several manuscripts containing various parts of the text. According to him, the number of these manuscripts exceeds 180. Wiet had already gathered information about 170 manuscripts at the beginning of the twentieth century and the number must have increased since then, with the discovery of new holdings and the publication of catalogues that has known an extraordinary development in the past decades. Unfortunately, the author gives no list of these manuscripts, declaring that this is useless for the reader *(lā yufīd minhā al-qāriʾ)*. The reader would probably have preferred to decide whether it was useful or not. That is a pity, since this would have been the very first census of all the manuscripts of the *Khiṭaṭ* in the world! Sayyid surely did not have adequate information about all of them and this is clear in the introduction to volume 2, where new manuscripts are mentioned. In fact, they are all to be found in Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* and reference is made to old catalogues, so that one wonders why they were not described in the first volume, and why these and not others. During several stays in Istanbul, Paris, and Leiden, Sayyid was able to consult a great number of these manuscripts and was able to identify several copies made

[4]For instance, we could give the following omission: on page 124 of the introduction of volume 1, the number of folios of a manuscript is not given and the space is occupied by several dots, indicating that the editor was supposed to fill this space with the information.

[5]Although this same manuscript, as well as the other part of the draft, is mentioned in F. E. Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi Arapça Yazmalar Kataloğu* (Istanbul, 1962–69). See 3:588.

from a copy in the author's own handwriting. To these, another one must be added: preserved in the Maktabat al-Asad (MS 3437) in Damascus, it represents a copy of a part of the draft and must be placed together with the two parts of the autograph draft preserved in Istanbul (TK Hazine 1472 and TK Emane 1405). Unfortunately, no stemma, which would have helped the reader to understand the choices made by the editor and the relationships of the different manuscripts, is provided.

Among these manuscripts, Sayyid decided to use a group of five manuscripts based on al-Maqrīzī's copy, prefering Aya Sofya MS 3475 (refered to as *al-aṣl*) for volume 1 and another group of five manuscripts, with a preference for Aya Sofya MS 3483 (refered to as *al-aṣl*) for volume 2, together with part 2 of the draft (TK Hazine 1472) and Maktabat al-Asad MS 3437 copied on the draft. As he acknowledges himself (vol. 1, introduction p. 8), the only acceptable way to prepare a critical edition of the *Khiṭaṭ* presupposes publication of the draft, a task he himself performed. But why then did he not follow the same method with the fourth part of the draft he consulted in 2001? We know that al-Maqrīzī's preserved drafts represent an early stage of his writing, that he modified the plan, and that at that time he recorded a lot of data which do not appear in the final version. Due to the subsequent disappearance of most of his sources, these are the only accounts we have of these lost texts and the data, in many cases, cannot be found elsewhere. The best way would have been to publish first this new part of the draft, completing the edition he gave of the second part. One must keep in mind, however, that this version does not really reflect the image of the author's conception of the book. It can help in reading some words difficult to identify in copies of the final version, but parts of the drafts can surely not be integrated into the edition of the final version, because the author chose not to include them after careful consideration. At least, discrepancies, additions, or corrections offered by the draft can be added in footnotes to enlighten the reader. Nevertheless, Sayyid sometimes adds sentences, words taken from the draft (e.g., vol. 2, p. 245) not appearing in the manuscripts of the final version. More serious is the following dealing with al-Maqrīzī's notebook which the present writer discovered and identified among the holdings of the University of Liège (Belgium).[6] We responded to Sayyid's request for a copy of some folios which allowed him to ascertain exactly the contents of some of the abstracts it contains. One can see that he decided to add, from these fragmentary folios, passages not found in the final version of the *Khiṭaṭ* just on the basis that it was the source of al-Maqrīzī for

[6]A critical edition of this notebook is in preparation by the present writer. See Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana I: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of his Working Method—Description: Section 1," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, no. 2 (2003): 21-68.

that given passage.[7] Here and there, he also refers to the Liège manuscript, saying that a summary of al-Maqrīzī's source for a given passage is to be found in it, without refering to the folio numbers. The question is why Sayyid decided to refer to this particular manuscript and to use some fragmentary parts without having a complete knowledge of its contents and a precise description of it.

The *apparatus criticus* is limited to the discrepancies noticed between the Bulāq edition and the manuscript used as a basis. The editor explains this decision by the fact that given the existence of two parts of the draft and several manuscripts copied on the basis of al-Maqrīzī's manuscript of the final version in his own handwriting, it is useless to indicate the various readings offered by these manuscripts. If there are discrepancies, they are due to the copyists. Once again, this is a strange bias that deprives the reader of the possibility to freely choose what he might consider a better reading. The result is that we only have in the footnotes the result of the collation with the Bulāq printed text, although this collation is not always properly done. A comparison of the first pages of volume 1 has produced the following results: p. 7, l. 8 (*mimmā allafahu wa-jamaʿahu*. Bulāq: the two verbs are inverted, not indicated); l. 10 (*anbiyāʾ Allāh wa-rusulihi*. According to Sayyid, the word *Allāh* does not appear in Bulāq. Bulāq reads: *anbiyāʾihi wa-rusulihi*); ibid. (*Allāh taʿalá*. The second word appears in Bulāq); l. 15 (*akhbār maʿrūfah ʿindahum*. Bulāq has: *akhbār ʿindahum maʿrūfah*. Not indicated); l. 18 (*al-qudrah al-basharīyah*. The last word is in Bulāq contrary to what Sayyid says); p. 8, l. 10 (*mashyakhah*. Bulāq has *shaykhah* [sic]. Not indicated); l. 22 (*maqnaʿ*. According to Sayyid, Bulāq has *matāʿ,* but one reads *qanaʿ*). Of course, these mistakes have no importance for the edited text, since they refer to the Bulāq edition, but since the editor went to great pains to collate both and to indicate in the footnotes the result of this, one should expect it to be accurate.

Sometimes, he also indicates in the footnotes the different readings of the Maktabat al-Asad manuscript and the draft. Notes that were found in the margin in the author's hand by the copyists who used al-Maqrīzī's manuscript of the final version were copied in the same way (i.e., in the margin with the letter *ḥāʾ* used as a symbol over the note to indicate *ḥāshiyah* [commentary], sometimes with the words *bi-khaṭṭihi* [in his handwriting]). The editor decided to place them in the critical apparatus. We know that al-Maqrīzī added notes to his works almost until the last days of his life. Therefore, the marginal notes that were found by the copyists in his final version were meant to be placed in the text itself. Al-Maqrīzī did not do it because it was too difficult to make a new clean copy *(mubayyaḍah)* just for small additions. Thus Sayyid should have integrated them where indicated

[7]For instance, vol. 1, p. 756, where he relies on the beginning of a resumé dealing with Ibn al-Maʾmūn's history. No reference to the folio in the Liège manuscript is given. A copy of only the recto of this folio was communicated to Sayyid, who thus did not see the end of this resumé.

by al-Maqrīzī. However, the editor must be commended for having collated, when it was possible, the text with the sources al-Maqrīzī exploited. He indicates in the footnotes where a passage is to be found if the original text has been preserved and printed and he gives the result of the collation in the critical apparatus. Here again, unfortunately, he could not refrain from adding or correcting words on the basis of what is to be found in the original source (e.g., vol. 2. p. 151, from Ibn Ḥawqal). It would be strange that all the five different manuscripts based on the author's final copy would have discrepancies of this sort. Moreover it is not even certain that the edition of the source used by al-Maqrīzī is to be trusted. For instance, in vol. 1, p. 179 (l. 4), the text reads: *nafaʿa min wajaʿ al-qalb wa-al-kulyatayn,* while the manuscript of reference *(aṣl)* and the Bulāq text give *al-ṣulb* instead of *al-qalb*. The correction is made on the basis of the source, Ibn al-Bayṭār, and in spite of the manuscripts used. The reading they provide, however, is confirmed by Ibn Abī al-Ḥawāfir, "Badāʾiʿ al-Akwān fī Manāfiʿ al-Ḥayawān" (Dublin, Chester Beatty MS 4352, fol. 38r): *fa-yanfaʿu min wajaʿ al-kulá wa-al-ṣulb!* It is clear that it designates the region situated between the kidneys *(kulyah)* and the spinal column *(ṣulb)*.

The text is also abundantly vocalized, which helps in the reading of some difficult words. Nevertheless, the vocalization is sometimes not strictly necessary (*fatḥah* over the letter preceeding a *tāʾ marbūṭah,* for instance), or superfluous (words easy to read are fully provided with vowels while other more difficult ones are not), or even inaccurate (p. 7, l. 9: *ʿurifata;* p. 8, l. 1: *jumalin akhbār;* p. 8, l. 5: *adraktu,* read *adrakat*, . . .).

A positive point regards the annotation, profusely provided and always accurate with its context, which enlightens the reader on the subject touched upon in the text. A clear identification of most of the individuals, place names, technical words, etc., appearing in the text is supplied and is very helpful. It is a pity that the references to publications in Latin characters are often misspelled. Both volumes contain several plates illustrating the manuscripts used, buildings preserved in Cairo, or plans proposing a reconstruction of lost structures on the basis of the description given by al-Maqrīzī, the quality of which is unfortunately not always of the required standard.

The first volume is preceded by a long introduction, most of it taken, almost word for word, from the introduction published with the edition of the draft in 1995. In it, Sayyid comments on the book itself and its subject with a detailed survey of the books written on the same theme by previous and subsequent authors up until the nineteenth century (introduction pp. 8–30). He then places al-Maqrīzī in the historical context in which he lived, providing a detailed biography (pp. 30–39, entitled *tarjamah jadīdah lil-Maqrīzī* as in the 1995 edition of the draft) and bibliography (pp. 40–53). This latter is, however, incomplete and sometimes

inaccurate.[8] Undoubtedly, we are still lacking a thorough analysis of al-Maqrīzī's life and a detailed enumeration of all his works citing the manuscripts and the editions.

Sayyid proceeds on pages 53–68 with an analysis of the writing process of the *Khiṭaṭ*. Many interesting conclusions may be drawn from this part of the introduction. The editor clarifies the problem of the charge of plagiarism made by al-Sakhāwī against al-Maqrīzī. According to al-Sakhāwī's master, Ibn Ḥajar, al-Maqrīzī plagiarized al-Awḥadī's book on the *Khiṭaṭ* of Cairo in a major way. This al-Awḥadī, who died in 811/1408, was al-Maqrīzī's neighbor and colleague and he used to allow him to consult his library as well as his own writings. At his death, al-Maqrīzī inherited his book on the *Khiṭaṭ,* which was not finished and was mostly still in draft form. Although he made great use of this draft, al-Maqrīzī never mentions al-Awḥadī in his own book, but he acknowledges him in his biographical dictionary of his contemporaries *(Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah)*. For Sayyid (p. 64), this suffices to exonerate al-Maqrīzī from the charge of plagiarism. The present writer has recently identified part of al-Awḥadī's draft and will be able to prove that al-Maqrīzī was not so innocent. The most useful part of this introduction (pp. 69–98) deals with the sources of al-Maqrīzī in the first volume. Since R. Guest, no attempt has been made to study this aspect of the book, which is not unimportant as we have already noted. Not only based on the authors and titles given by al-Maqrīzī, the study also supplies a list of sources identified thanks to the original texts through which it can be deduced what part was taken from it by the author. We now have a detailed account for almost every passage of the text which will open possibilities for further research in this field. This introduction concludes with a description of the most important editions of the book, the most useful studies of it, and finally of the manuscripts (unfortunately not complete) and the technique used to critically edit this text.

The introduction in volume 2 is almost as long as the one in the first volume. Here again, the most interesting part of it deals with the sources used by the author in this second volume (pp. 19–49). The remaining part is filled with a description of al-Maqrīzī's autographs of his other works. We learn that the editor, during a stay in Paris, had the opportunity to visit Leiden where he was able to consult al-Maqrīzī's autographs. On this basis, he provides us with a complete and accurate description of them, even if the link with the *Khiṭaṭ* is not immediately

[8]For example, the short treatise entitled *Al-Bayān al-Mufīd fī al-Farq bayna al-Tawḥīd wa-al-Talḥīd* is not a work composed by al-Maqrīzī. It was copied by him from a manuscript he found in Damascus in 813. This false attribution goes back to G. C. Anawati, who published it in 1969. See G. C. Anawati, "Un aspect de la lutte contre l'hérésie au XVème siècle d'après un inédit attribué à Maqrīzī (le *Kitāb al-bayān al-mufīd fī al-farq bayn al-tawḥīd wa-al-talḥīd*)," in *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire (27 mars-5 avril 1969)* (Cairo, n.d.), 23–36.

obvious. In any case, the Leiden MS Or. 14533 (part of *al-Muqaffá*) had already been described by J. J. Witkam and the same can also be said of MS Or. 560 which, as early as 1851, was very precisely analyzed by de Goeje (the latter not cited).

To conclude, Sayyid must be commended for having undertaken the task of editing the *Khiṭaṭ,* a task that nobody else felt up to until now. In achieving it, he managed to collect the best manuscripts, and to produce a readable text, full of scientific annotations and illustrations which help the reader to better understand al-Maqrīzī's text, probably better than ever. However, for the reasons I have given, we clearly cannot consider his work a critical edition, as it is defined nowadays, or a definitive one. It is to be hoped that in the near future he will be able to produce a second edition closer to the version of the *Khiṭaṭ* as al-Maqrīzī wrote it and giving full satisfaction to the reader from a critical point of view.

ʿAlī ibn Dāwūd al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Ḥasr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿAṣr,* 2nd ed. Edited by Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo: al-Ḥayʾah al-Miṣrīyah al-ʿĀmmah lil-Kitāb, 2002). Pp. 22, 562.

Reviewed by Stephan Conermann, *Universität Bonn*

This printed version of the *Inbāʾ al-Ḥasr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿAṣr* is a so-called second edition of a text which was first published in 1970. In fact, it is simply a reprint of the first edition. The chronicle was written by a certain Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Dāwūd al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī (819–900/1416–95). This man was the son of a money-changer in the *dīwān* of the sultan in Cairo, who supplemented his meagre income by trading in the jewellers' market. Although al-Ṣayrafī enjoyed quite a good education, he could never get rid of a strong awareness of his father's low social standing.

After a while al-Ṣayrafī attracted the attention of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449). This eminent and influential scholar encouraged his promising disciple to try his luck as an historian. At the same time, al-Ṣayrafī applied for a position as a Hanafi qadi in the capital. But all his endeavours to find good employment failed. Only once, in 871/1466, was he granted the opportunity to stand in for the Hanafi *qāḍī al-quḍāh* Ibn al-Shihnah (d. 890/1485). For some time, al-Ṣayrafī worked as imam at the Ẓāhirīyah mosque. To earn his living, he

had to make copies of all sorts of manuscripts. His favorite texts were the works of his teachers Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470), and al-Kāfiyajī (d. 879/1474) to which he usually added his own remarks and commentaries. Unfortunately, fame and glory were denied him, as he was overshadowed by such erudite contemporaries as al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1451), al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), and Ibn Iyās (d. ca. 930/1524).

It is said that al-Ṣayrafī's efforts to become a professional historian produced nothing but scornful laughter among his colleagues. They reproached him for having a very boring and long-winded style and for writing unfounded works by ignoring the known sources. Al-Sakhāwī, whom our author obviously knew personally, complains in a spiteful biography in his *Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* that he had absolutely no understanding of the historical sciences. These defamatory remarks by a well-known and highly respected alim show the arrogance and the conceit of Mamluk scholarly circles. Perhaps they are also a sign of uncertainty among the established historians about their social status faced with a substantial growth of historical writing among the lower classes during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A great number of people from society's lower strata joined the traditional circles of theologians, *muḥaddithūn,* and *munshī*s who normally held a monopoly on historiography. Examples of this development include the anonymous soldier who wrote the first volume of the chronicle that has been published by Zetterstéen, the humble Turkish army officer Ibn al-Dawādārī (d. after 736/1335), who struggled all his life to establish his reputation as a scholar, Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī (d. 888/1483), a reader of hadith works who was always looking for a better job, or, of course, our al-Ṣayrafī.[1]

The *Inbāʾ al-Ḥasr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿAṣr* treats in a panegyrical way the reign of Qāytbāy during the years 873–86/1468–81. The work represents a typical "Widmungsschrift" (eulogy). Al-Ṣayrafī wanted to present the sultan his small text in the hope of being rewarded with a position at court. Unfortunately, his desires were not fulfilled. Al-Ṣayrafī's *Inbāʾ al-Ḥasr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿAṣr* may be grouped with similar "opportunistic texts" ("Zweckschriften") in which a high representative of the ruling class is praised to the skies.[2] For example, one could cite Ibn Abī

[1] See Ulrich Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit* (Freiburg, 1969).

[2] On this quite popular genre, see Otfried Weintritt, *Formen spätmitelalterlicher islamischer Geschichtsdarstellung: Untersuchungen zu an-Nuwairī al-Iskandarānīs Kitāb al-Ilmām und verwandten zeitgenössischen Texten* (Beirut, 1992), 183–200; Peter M. Holt, "Literary Offerings: A Genre of Courtly Literature," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 3–16; Rudolph Veselý, "Ibn Nāhiḍ's *As-Sīra aš-Šaykhīya* (Eine Lebensgeschichte des Sultans al-Muʾayyad Šayḫ): Ein Beitrag zur Sīra-Literatur, *Archív Orientální* 67 (1999): 149–220; Henning Sievert, *Der Herrscherwechsel im Mamlukensultanat: Historische und historiographische Untersuchungen zu Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī und Ibn Taġrībirdī* (Berlin, 2003).

Ḥajalah's (d. 776/1375) *Kitāb Sukkardān al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir,*[3] al-ʿAynī's *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Ṭaṭar*[4] and *Al-Sayf al-Muhannad fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Muʾayyad Shaykh al-Maḥmūdī,*[5] Muḥammad Ibn Nāhiḍ al-Juhānī al-Kurdī's (d. 841/1438) *Al-Sīrah al-Shaykhīyah,*[6] or Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī's *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Ashraf Qāytbāy.*[7]

This edition of the *Inbāʾ al-Ḥasr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿAṣr* is based on the only known manuscript, located in the Czech National Library in Prague. Ḥasan Ḥabashī has done a very good job. The printed text is nearly flawless and provides helpful commentaries. But we should keep in mind that the merits of the editor have been well-known for twenty years. Instead of going into that in more detail it seems more worthwhile to say something about al-Ṣayrafī's two other preserved chronicles.

His *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān* covers the years from 784/1382 to 842/1438.[8] It is a normal dynastic history in which Mamluk politics are analyzed by analogy to the hagiographical description of the Prophet's acting as a statesman in Medina. Al-Ṣayrafī uses an annalistic approach that was common practice in his time: he subdivides his text into days, months, and years. At the end of every year, one finds necrologies not only of Egyptians but also of prominent figures from all Islamic countries. Al-Ṣayrafī's style has a closeness to spoken Arabic and on some occasions the grammar is not congruent with *fuṣḥá*. Although it is focused on a chronologically fixed period, the *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān* is an Islamic universal history which starts with the creation of the world and with the prophet Adam and ends in the lifetime of the author. The first part of the chronicle which bears a special title ("*al-Jawharīyah*") is dedicated to the history and genealogies of God's messengers up to Muḥammad. With Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī, al-Ṣayrafī shares the bad habit of copying unscrupulously from al-Maqrīzī's *Al-Sulūk*.

A third work by al-Ṣayrafī is called *Al-Durr (al-Thāmin) al-Manẓūm fīmā Warada fī Miṣr wa-Ahluhā (wa-ʿAmaluhā) min Mawjūd wa-Maʿdūm bi-al-Khuṣūṣ wa-al-ʿUmūm* ("The string of precious pearls: the traditional general and specific knowledge on Egypt and her provinces").[9] This is a typical *faḍāʾil* work. The author tells us that his *Al-Durr (al-Thāmin) al-Manẓūm* contains a description of all the beauties,

[3](Būlāq, 1871).

[4]Ed. Hans Ernst (Cairo, 1962).

[5]Ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Cairo, 1987).

[6]Ed. by Veselý in his *Ibn Nāhiḍ's As-Sīra aš-Šaykhīya*, 172–220.

[7]Unedited, but see Sievert, *Herrscherwechsel.*

[8]Ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970–73).

[9]Unedited. For manuscripts, see Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden, 1949), S2:41.

merits, and miracles that can be found in Egypt. The reader learns everything that the Quran, the Sunnah, and the Muslim scholars, historians, and philosophers have to say on this topic. It seems to be more than a remarkable coincidence that we can, in this respect, draw a parallel to Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī, whom the guild of Mamluk ulama discredited as being as lousy as al-Ṣayrafī. Like our chronicler, he tried his hand at writing panegyrical prose about his native country. But his *Al-Faḍāʾil al-Bāhirah fī Maḥāsin Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah*[10] was not much of a success. Nevertheless, a comparison of both scholars would be just as worthwhile as a detailed analysis of the three works we have received from al-Ṣayrafī.

ROBERT IRWIN, *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and Their Enemies* (London: Allen Lane, 2006). Pp. 376 + index.

REVIEWED BY JOHN RODENBECK

Robert Irwin remarks in his introduction that the subject of his latest book "is neither very important nor very glamorous—still less actually sinister" and observes that he would never have written it except for Edward W. Said's *Orientalism* (1978), to which it is a rejoinder. Orientalists in general, he points out, have had very few readers and little influence. One might observe here that the current celebrity in the White House of an Orientalist academic like Bernard Lewis is unprecedented in Orientalism since its beginnings 450 years ago and is in any case due not to his scholarship, but to his elaboration from 1990 onward of a myth that has been found useful by the engineers of the Bush regime's Middle Eastern policies.

Irwin need hardly point out that the title Said chose for *Orientalism* is a misnomer or that the polemic for which Said is famous is directed not against Orientalists in general, but almost exclusively against Western Arabists, all of whom Said blames for perennially sustaining, inculcating, and encouraging innumerable prejudices in Europe and America, which have somehow led in turn to imperialism and a host of other wicked follies. It is thanks to Said, in fact, that since 1978 the word *orientalist* has come colloquially to function chiefly as a code word for "anti-Arab."

[10]Unedited. However, for this text consult Stephan Conermann, "Lebensspender, Stätte der Erinnerung, Gedächtnisort: Der Nil während der Mamlukenzeit (1250-1517)," in *Wasser—Lebensmittel, Kulturgut, politische Waffe,* ed. Ulrich Hübner and Antje Richter (Schenefeld, 2004), 15–60, esp. 48–50.

"I have no significant disagreement," Irwin says, "with what Said has written about Palestine, Israel, Kipling's *Kim,* or Glenn Gould's piano playing." Said's *Orientalism,* however, Irwin sees as an ignorant, irrational, and frequently dishonest polemic based upon a radical over-estimation of the power of literature. While adhering to the Marxist-Foucaultian notion that any verbal representation of something is inevitably skewed by the cultural matrix from which it comes, Said makes no distinction between the literal and the figurative or between what is physical and what is verbal and appears to believe that mere discourse about something actually has at least the weight, value, and ultimate import, for good or ill, of the real thing to which it refers.

One upshot of such curious attitudes is to deny all the past and much of the present their own reality. Said's blanket condemnation of all past or present Western scholarship, moreover, which he condemns for its ineluctable Westernness, leads to the conclusion that the only significant qualification for doing research on the Arabic language or literature or the Arab world is a genetic one: no non-Arab, dead or alive, need ever apply. Taken together, these convictions amount to a declaration that history (as well as, say, archaeology, linguistics, cultural anthropology, or travel-writing) is really impossible, a conclusion that might explain why a sense of history—except as fiction or myth—is so absent from everything Said himself ever wrote.

Whatever its original value as an alarum, Irwin observes, the long-term influence of Said's polemic has been largely malign. And the present situation, when an entire tradition of scholarship has been discredited and a whole generation of Arabists have been not only dispirited, but placed under multiple suspicion, cries out for redress. As Irwin has seen it, the publication of a true history of Orientalism—as true as one could make it—was a moral necessity.

Mamlukologists may recognize his title as an allusion to *The Golden Journey to Samarkand* (1913), lines that took the following form in the last act of Flecker's posthumously produced play *Hassan* (1922):

> We travel not for trafficking alone;
> By hotter winds our fiery hearts are fanned:
> For lust of knowing what should not be known.

(These same lines also supplied the title for the memoirs [1988] of a charming polyglot American spy who worked in the Middle East, Archie Roosevelt [1918–1990]—by no means to be confused with another American spy who worked in the Middle East, his first cousin Kermit [1916–2000], mastermind of the coup that in August 1953 felled Iran's first democratically elected government.)

Irwin's first chapter deals with Said's claim that what he monolithically styles "The West" has been perennially and viscerally anti-Middle-Eastern since classical

times, the days of Herodotus or of Sophocles, Aeschylus, and especially Euripides. Irwin looks at the actual texts of the *Histories* and *The Bacchae,* however, and points to a plentiful scholarly literature that settled this question some time ago. To demonstrate the baselessness of charges that in Rome under the empire Arabs were regarded as Alien Others, Irwin reminds us that Septimius Severus married an Arab lady, Julia Domna, who became not only the mother of Caracalla, but also in her own right the most powerful politician in Rome. Meanwhile her elder sister Julia Maesa, married to a Syrian noble, had two daughters, Julia Soaemias and Julia Mamaea, who became respectively the mothers of the emperors Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus. Irwin also draws our attention to yet a fourth Roman emperor, Philip, who was known as "Philip the Arab" (244–49).

The next chapter takes up the period from the foundation of Islam to the beginning of the fourteenth century, an era in Europe illuminated much less by "ancient Greek science and technology transmitted via Arabic renditions translated into bad Latin" than by the direct acquisition of techniques, knowledge, and skills developed more recently among the Persians and Arabs themselves. Irwin here points to the likes of Ibn al-Haytham (Alhazen), al-Khwārizmī (Algoritmi), Ibn Rushd (Averroes), and Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna). Capable European Arabists included William of Tripoli, Ricoldo da Monte Croce, and, of course, Raymond Lull, all of whom were Christian missionaries. The Councils of Vienne (1311–12) and Basel (1341) decreed that chairs of Arabic should be established at Avignon, Bologna, Oxford, Paris, and Salamanca, but by that time the medieval vogue for Arabic had passed and in fact these decrees came to nothing.

In the third chapter, "Renaissance Orientalism," Irwin deals first with the term *Renaissance,* which he understands in the ordinary sense recognized as primary by the OED: "The great revival of art and letters under the influence of classical models which began in Italy in the 14th century and continued during the 15th and 16th." Since the Arabs demonstrably had no positive interest in Greek art, architecture, poetry, or drama and not even a negative interest in Latin, the suggestion that they were somehow responsible for the European Renaissance is absurd. In fact, as Irwin demonstrates, there was a general flight from Arabic and Arabic learning during this period, exemplified first in Petrarch (1304–74), who may justly be said to have founded the Renaissance, and his attack on Averroism, which signalized a reaction against earlier Arab intellectual influence and the Aristotelian attitudes to which it was linked.

Irwin ascribes the beginnings of Orientalism to a much later early-modern figure, the mad Guillaume Postel (1510–81), who held the first chair of Arabic at what became the Collège de France (1539) and whose career coincided not only with the rise of travel and travel literature, but also with much diplomatic activity surrounding the long-enduring naval and military alliance between France and the

Ottoman Empire. Said mentions Postel twice in *Orientalism,* but not his peculiar and entertaining beliefs, among which was the attractive idea that "almost everything in Asia was superior to almost everything in Christendom." The great Huguenot scholars Julius Caesar Scaliger (1540–1609) and Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614) were interested in Arabic, but never achieved Postel's mastery of the language. Irwin notes (p. 110) that the lack of Orientalists specialized in Turkish studies has persisted into the twentieth century.

The next three chapters provide a meticulous history of Orientalism as it arose out of sixteenth-century France to reach full maturity in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* the first volume of which, in English, French, and German, was completed in 1913. All the great figures, including the elder Pococke—whose name Said misspells even in the indexes of both editions of *Orientalism*—are treated at fair length; and for most Mamlukologists a rehearsal here would be superfluous. Apart from the men—with the possible exceptions of Gertrude Bell and Annemarie Schimmel, there appears never to have been any outstanding lady Orientalists, a fact that some might construe as a tribute to the level-headedness of the fair sex—institutions and major projects are also discussed. In each chapter Irwin makes the necessary corrections to Said's narrative, which tends to elevate the unimportant or the irrelevant (e.g., Flaubert) to prime status while ignoring the greatest schools of Orientalist learning. Most notably excluded by Said, as he himself vaguely acknowledges in his introduction to *Orientalism,* are the Germans, who dominated the field for a century and a half. But Said also omits any mention of the Italians, who have had an important Orientalist tradition from Marracci onward, and the Russians, whose Kazan University was the backbone of an ambitious and successful imperialist agenda and actually employed Arabs, Turks, Persians, and Afghans as professors. Irwin, by contrast, gives us the full story.

Chapter Seven is devoted to giants—Goldziher (designated by Irwin "the greatest of the Orientalists"), Nöldeke, Snouck Hurgronje, Caetani, E. G. Browne, Margoliouth, Massignon, Kratchkovsky, Brockelmann, and others—and describes the beginnings of SOAS. Chapter Eight treats the rise, thanks largely to the destruction of German institutions in two world wars and the flight of German intellect in between, of British Orientalism and the beginnings of Orientalism in the U.S. A concluding paragraph here reflects on problems peculiar to British academia, which are in some ways the reverse of difficulties in the U.S. and elsewhere. Chapter Nine, titled "An Enquiry into the Nature of a Certain Twentieth-Century Polemic," confronts Said head-on, concluding that "on the whole . . . the good qualities of *Orientalism* are those of a good novel. It is exciting, it is packed with lots of sinister villains, as well as an outnumbered band of goodies, and the picture that it presents to the world is richly imagined, but essentially fictional."

The last chapter considers various Muslim attacks on Orientalism, including

those of Kurd ʿAli and A. L. Tibawi, the secular critiques of Abdallah Laroui and Anouar Abdel-Malek, and finally the just resentment of certain attitudes apt to appear in Western Orientalist works—arrogance in particular—expressed by two distinguished Oriental scholars, Fazlur Rahman and my friend and neighbor in Languedoc, Muhsin Mahdi. The fact that he gives them the last word indicates the degree to which Irwin has sought to remain scrupulously just and honest, as well as deeply informed. This book is not a defense of Orientalism, but something much better: a conscientiously straightforward history of the subject.

Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybarṣ ḥasb al-Riwāyah al-Shāmīyah. Edited by Jūrj Būhās and Kātyā Zakharīyā (Damascus: al-Maʿhad al-Fransī lil-Dirāsāt al-ʿArabīyah bi-Dimashq, 2000–4). 5 vols.

REVIEWED BY LI GUO, University of Notre Dame

Yes, you read it right: that *is* the way the protagonist's name is spelled—with a *ṣād,* instead of a *sīn*—a literary device used by the anonymous authors apparently aimed at distancing themselves from the risky business of art imitating life. Hereby hangs the tale of the Syrian version of the *Romance of Baybars,* one of the few surviving pre-modern Arabic popular tales. Riding on the tide of the hugely successful 10- volume French translation, *Roman de Baïbars* (1986–98), by Georges Bohas, the coeditor of the volumes under review, and Jean-Patrick Guillaume, the state of the study of this monumental work has never been in better shape. The publication of the "Syrian" text, as opposed to the more familiar Egyptian versions, should thus be considered a milestone in this collective enterprise.[1]

Like other Arab folktales, such as the *Arabian Nights* and the *Sīrat ʿAntarah,* the history of the manuscripts of the *Sīrat Baybars* has its share of twists and surprises. The oldest manuscript, the Vatican MS, goes back as far as the sixteenth century, and the subsequent modern prints one finds everywhere in street bookstalls all over the Arab world today are mostly cut-and-paste renditions of the manuscripts

[1]On the French translation and the related publishing activity around it, see Robert Irwin's review of *Lectures du Roman de Baybars,* ed. Jean-Claude Garcin (Marseille: Editions Parenthèses, 2003), in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 67, no. 3 (2004): 395–96; also see the three special issues of *Arabica,* 51, nos. 1–2, 3 (2004), guest edited by Jean-Claude Garcin, dedicated to this subject.

now housed in various libraries, mostly in Europe. Thomas Herzog discovered a manuscript in the possession of a storyteller *(ḥikawātī)* in Aleppo. Through the teamwork by mostly Arab scholars, a hand copy was made in 1949 under the auspices of the French Institute. Actually originating in Damascus, this "Aleppo codex" is very close to the version handed down through another Damascene *ḥikawātī*. The merit of the Aleppo codex, in the coeditors' own words, is the fact that it is "complete," in the sense that the original quires are intact and the imagined life and career of Baybars/Baybarṣ is brought to a grand finale. Given the remarkable fact that the uncut, un-sanitized edition is being published in Damascus, of all places, in the present day, the editors seem to have been compelled, in the Introduction, to bring up two rather sensitive issues, in addition to the usual information about the manuscripts and the editorial policies: first, that the Baybars dealt with here is a fictionalized figure (as in "any resemblances to the actual person are purely coincidental"); second, the retaining of the "dirty" stuff, namely sexually explicit material, contained in the original text is justified on the grounds of "legitimate academic reasons" (vol. 1, pp. 13–16).

This is a long text. The part published so far covers only half of it. To facilitate the reading, each volume begins with an Introduction (repeated), and, starting from Volume Two, a cumulative synopsis of the story line and plots covered in the previous volume(s).

Volume One (pp. 334) starts off with a dream al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb had: that a wonder boy will eventually rise to lead the Mamluks to eternal triumph. A Damascene merchant is sent to marketplaces, in Syria, to purchase young boys to be brought up as soldiers. Among them is a sick orphan named Maḥmūd and two boys who would eventually become "big shots" themselves: Qalāwūn and Aydamur. Out of jealousy, Qalāwūn bullies the orphan while Aydamur acts as his protector. On their way back to Cairo via Aleppo, the boy, in fact the scion of a king, is abandoned in a hospital, thanks to a trap set by Qalāwūn. After some more twists, he is adopted by a Syrian woman, Sitt al-Shām, under whose care he learns, and perfects, the arts of *furūsīyah*. Sitt al-Shām names the boy Baybarṣ, after her deceased son.

The boy is then brought to Cairo to be presented to al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ and his wife Shajarat al-Durr. On his way, he saves the life of a lad who was about to be buried alive by his own father, a member of the Ismāʿīlī militia who had known, all along, the future of the wonder boy through the divination *(jafr)* of their imam. At Baybarṣ' urging, Ibrāhīm, the lad, pledges to sever his ties with his family and gives up his name to become Ḍāʾiʿ al-Ism, or Nameless. He is to become Baybarṣ' confidant and right-hand man. Villains do their best to battle the hero along the way: in addition to the arch rival Qalāwūn, there is an even more dangerous enemy, a Christian named John, disguised as a Muslim qadi, who

had assassinated al-Ṣāliḥ's chief judge in order to become his replacement. His goal is to thwart Baybarṣ, whom he saw in an epiphany as the ultimate threat to Christendom. Minor villains consist of a legion of the "evil vizier" type, those who work for, or are associated with, the establishment; and all of them hold some grudge against the hero. Good Muslims they are not: chief among them are a "sissy" pedophile *(al-shaykh al-mukhannath),* a homosexual *(lūṭī),* and a gangster *(qāʾid ʿayyārīn)*. And then there is a Jewish *kātib,* who steals money from Baybarṣ' estate. (By the way, he also runs a successful real-estate business on the side.) The stage is set for high drama, with a full cast, historical and fictional.

Volume Two (pp. 340) follows up Baybarṣ' quick rise to power: from a low ranking officer *(shāwīsh al-dīwān),* to the governor of Egypt, then Commander of the Left Wing Brigade *(silāḥ-dār muyassarah),* and finally the most important post, Commander of the Right Wing Brigade *(silāḥ-dār muyammanah),* replacing Qalāwūn, further fueling the latter's resentment and jealousy. Baybarṣ' triumphs over the Franks and the Mongols are described with great fanfare. Battlefield scenes, in Antioch, Jerusalem, Constantinople, the Bilād al-Shām, and Alexandria, are interwoven with garden variety cloak-and-dagger sabotage attempts staged by the hero's inner-circle enemies to do him in. Diplomatic negotiations between Baybarṣ and the Franks in Alexandria and Genoa show his savvy. And his solicitation of aid—from the Ismāʿīlī *Fidāʾiyīn* militia (through the connection of Nameless), the sympathetic Mamluk rank-and-file, and the civic elite—to form a loose alliance, demonstrates his maturity and readiness for bigger things. Here the plot involving the clandestine Christian qadi as the main villain gets even more tricky: al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ designates Baybarṣ to succeed him, a development that further enrages John, who in turn incites the rebellion of the governor of Syria, ʿĪsá al-Nāṣir, and secretly invites the Frankish army to occupy the Syrian lands. Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ thus leads his last, and fatal, expedition to Syria, over the course of which he dies suddenly. Some have suspected Baybarṣ' involvement in the sultan's death.

Volume Three (pp. 379) begins with the ensuing power struggle after al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ's death. His son ʿĪsá, who is "fond of drinking and pretty boys," is named al-Malik al-Ghāzī and has an immediate clash with Baybarṣ, who declines to take over despite al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ's will. A series of bloody court intrigues take place and Baybarṣ is stripped of power. And then, under mysterious circumstances, al-Malik al-Ghāzī, "the queer and alcoholic" *(lūṭī wa-sikkīr)* boy king is found dead, wine cup in hand. His brother Khalīl, the son of Shajarat al-Durr, is enthroned with the regnal title al-Malik al-Ashraf. Accompanied by Baybarṣ, who has since been brought back on account of the pressing Frankish threat on the border, the young sultan dies on an expedition to Syria. Again, Baybarṣ is accused by his enemies, among them Aybak, an ambitious general, and the disgruntled Kurds.

Aybak marries Shajarat al-Durr and is made the sultan, with the title al-Malik al-Muʿizz. Fearing for his safety and avoiding the potential *fitnah,* Baybarṣ goes East again, to Syria, where he prospers and overcomes a series of attempts on his life and finally confronts Aybak in battle and wins.

In Syria, Baybarṣ is approached by Berke-Khan, the brother of Hülegü, who claims that he and his daughter Tāj Bakht have converted to Islam. Berke-Khan and his troops are killed by heavy snows in Syria. Baybarṣ brings the surviving Tāj Bakht back to Damascus, and, with the blessing of his adoptive Syrian mother, marries the Mongolian princess. He declares himself to be the ruler of Syria, with the title al-Malik al-ʿĀdil. Defeated and a political lame duck, Aybak returns to Cairo and is soon assassinated, in the bath, by a jealous Shajarat al-Durr, who then jumps from the balcony to her own death. Once again, Baybarṣ declines the throne, and Uṭuz is elected, only to be immediately killed by his own Mamluks. With the repeated urgings by the power brokers (*al-aʿyān*), Baybarṣ is finally declared the sultan, with the regnal title al-Malik al-Ẓāhir.

The new sultan immediately faces a new round of sabotage, set up by John the Christian, who has poisoned the water sources in Jerusalem and nearly kills Baybarṣ, who has come to safeguard Muslims in the city. Baybarṣ is helped by Nameless, by now known as Siyāj al-ʿAdhārá, or Virgins' Keeper, a nickname bestowed upon him by Tāj Bakht, for having rescued her and her young son Saʿīd during a raid in al-ʿArīsh on their way from Syria to Egypt. The Queen has also adopted the young man as her brother. Baybarṣ appoints his old friend, and new brother-in-law, Commander of the Right Wing Brigade. The volume ends with the sultan's conquest of Antioch and his negotiations with the dissenting Ismāʿīlīs in the Syrian highlands.

After this, the narrative gets fuzzy. Volume Four (pp. 332) and Volume Five (pp. 368) read like an epic in its true sense: a combination of a road map, of the hero's endless military victories, and a thriller, full of suspense and over-the-top plot developments. This is by far, for better or worse, the most entertaining and fantastic portion of the tale. Some of the highlights include a spy operation in Constantinople to win the release of some 800 Muslim prisoners of war, the capture of Baybarṣ in al-Shaqīf castle and his miraculous rescue by Ibrāhīm/Nameless/Siyāj al-ʿAdhārá, and another assassination attempt plotted by Hülegü's men in Damascus. Topping this all off is an episode of conspiracy with seduction wrought, again, by John the Christian, who has tricked Marina, the beautiful daughter of a Frankish general in Macedonia, to send an invitation to Baybarṣ to witness her conversion to Islam with the help of a beautiful Muslim woman, Sharīfah al-Maghribīyah. Off the hero goes, but manages to escape again, and brings the two women back to Muslim territory. Marina is to marry Saʿīd, Baybarṣ' son, and the Maghribī girl is to become the wife of Qalāwūn. The sultan finally has made

it back to Cairo, along with the entire entourage and the newlyweds, including Ibrāhīm, who is also given a royal lineage by marrying the daughter of the Persian Shah, whom he has convinced to convert to Islam.

The hero's next triumphal act is on the international stage. Baybarṣ first successfully defends Tripoli against the Franks and then, in a swirl of seemingly ridiculous plots, negotiates a truce with the Mongols led by Timur, the uncle of his wife, who has come to Cairo to pay tribute. This part of the text is the stuff of pulp-fiction, with a story line that goes like this: Timur has conspired to kidnap Baybarṣ and gain control through manipulating the young and naïve al-Saʿīd; Ibrāhīm, the unsung hero, discovers the plot but becomes caught in a rivalry with al-Saʿīd and his mother, Tāj Bakht, Timur's niece. Timur then dispatches the captured Baybarṣ and his son, in a trunk, to Aleppo, in the hope that by this gesture he would win the favor of his brother Hülegü to give him the land of Syria as a gift. With the help of Ibrāhīm and the Ismāʿīlī *Fidāʾī* militia, Baybarṣ manages to escape and returns to Cairo.

There are more battles for the hero to win against the enemies: the plotters and conspirators, the Franks, and the Mongols. Fights have broken out in Tripoli and then extended to Europe. The Mamluk army, led by Ibrāhīm, wins decisively near Lombardi (Arabic: *jisr al-inkibār,* "Bridge of Defeat"), in northern Italy. Replete with panegyrics, which come in handy for storytelling performance, Volume Five ends with the Mamluk victory over Genoa.

So far as storytelling goes, the historicity of such a tall tale can easily be challenged. The text is known to have been produced at a much later time, in the sixteenth century, to be precise, and the "red flag" is all over the place: people's habit of sipping coffee (which would have been unheard of in Baybars' time) being one, and the Mamluk army's use of the cannons *(al-midfaʿīyah)* by Baybars' troops another. (The editors state that cannons were not introduced to the Mamluks until the early sixteenth century [vol. 4, p. 32, n. 46]; however, based on a description in Ibn Menglī's *Al-Aḥkām al-Mulūkīyah,* a *furūsīyah* treatise, the use of cannons by the Mamluks can be dated at least as early as the reign of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān [1363–76], which was, of course, still nearly a century later than Baybars' time.) In essence, what we have here is an Ottoman text telling a Mamluk tale. Going through the text, one cannot help but marvel at the rich details of the hitherto little known aspects of *mamlūkīyāt:* how boys were purchased and trained to be Mamluks, what soldiers wore on the battlefield, what they ate, how they entertained themselves in leisure times, and the frequent references to homosexual activities, and tendencies, among them. Whether these descriptions reflect historical reality or educated imagination is a matter for further exploration. I, for one, would like to think that the truth lies somewhere in between. There is no denial that the documentation is rooted in the traditional narrative repertoire and collective

memory, which are worthy of serious study in their own right. Aside from the genre-related paradigm—that of good vs. evil, good Muslims beating up the bad guys, and the royal lineages, and intrinsic virtues, of all the heroes involved—there is a striking dimension of this particular version: the Syrian context of the hero's background and success it duly adds to the commonplace narrative. In this representation, Baybars is not only portrayed as the adopted son of Lady Syria, Sitt al-Shām, but is also being helped along the way by an alter ego, Ibrāhīm, with strong ties to the Ismāʿīlīs. Equally fascinating for me is the way the Syrian storytellers take sides in the Qalāwūnids vs. Ẓāhirids scheme, which was long a bone of contention in Mamluk historiography. This text is full of such intrigues, both in the materials it presents and in the way they are presented.

And then there are other materials that any student of pre-modern Arab culture would savor: the language (a blend of the classical and "Middle Arabic," proverbs and jokes, idioms and slang, multilingual—Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Frankish—features), food and drink (preparation, descriptions, recipes), scenes of daily life (marketplace, wedding, health care, housekeeping, hygiene and beautification, attire, dream interpretation), entertainment (music, dance, games), and much, much more.

The editors are to be commended for providing us with a well-executed edition. It is based on the Damascene manuscript, and collated with the "Aleppo codex" for missing folios and variants. The reader is thankful for the profuse footnotes that tackle a wide range of problems—historical, lexicographical, linguistic, and literary. For me, especially useful are the notes on the Syrian vernacular as well as the Persian and Turkish loanwords that pepper the text. (Which raises another issue for today's Mamluk scholars: the importance of acquiring a working proficiency of Persian and Turkish.) Some footnotes are repeated, perhaps for the convenience of the reader, so he/she needs not go back to Volume One for an explanation of a rare word in Volume Five. For a text so long, some inconsistencies in execution are unavoidable. There are some redundancies: on "Christian" (vol. 4, p. 214, n. 33) and on al-Mutanabbī (vol. 4, p. 246, n. 45), for example. Some notes fail to catch the words in their first appearance: the word *kindī/jundī*, for example, is seen in Volume One, but is only footnoted in Volume Two (p. 33); *al-jarīd,* a sort of fencing game, appears in Volume One, but waits till Volume Three to be explained (p. 95). The typography is adequate, with very few errors. Speaking of which, I do have one quibble, with the editors' tendency to alter the text in order to "correct" its Middle Arabic features, by adding the *nūn* suffix to the imperfect plural, and the *alif al-wiqāyah* to the perfect plural. Insofar as the characteristics of the Middle Arabic are valuable for scholastic purposes in their own right, this kind of scrupulous editorial touch seems to me to be unnecessary, and impossible: while some of the "irregular" features are being corrected, many, many others are

not. (There is a long list of them; I will not dwell on them in detail due to space concerns.) In any case, the "fuṣḥáfication" of a profusely Middle Arabic oriented text simply does not work. That said, the achievement of the editors is enormous and the completion of the full text is eagerly awaited. A volume of index and glossary would be icing on the cake.

ṢĀʾIB ʿABD AL-ḤAMĪD, *ʿIlm al-Tārīkh wa-Manāhij al-Muʾarrikhīn: fī ʿIlm al-Tārīkh Nashʾatan wa-Tadwīnan wa-Naqdan wa-Falsafatan wa-Manāhij Kibār Muʾarrikhī al-Islām* (Beirut: al-Ghadīr, 2001). Pp. 312.

REVIEWED BY JUNE DAHY, University of Copenhagen

This historiographical work seeks to introduce classical and modern approaches to the writing of history, as well as the main classical Arabic historians. It is written as a manual for students and introduces them to the critical reading of history. The content is organized systematically, divided into three main sections, each of which is divided into smaller chapters. The first section is entitled "The Science of History and Historical Research." The second is devoted to "Historical Schools and Philosophy of History." The third, and longest, section is reserved for the book's main focus, the presentation of classical Islamic historical writings, and simply called "The Discourses of the Historians."

In the first section history as a science and the job of the historian are defined. It also contains the genesis of historical writing in ancient Europe, and history writing in Europe of the Middle Ages and in modern Europe until 1955. A short, but very informative chapter on modern Islamic historians is also included, illustrating how national historical writing overtook historiography in its Islamic framework. The central chapter of the introductory section deals with methods of historical criticism, and stresses the importance for students to question the motives, goals, and biases of the historian, as well as the political context in which the text was written.

In the second section, the importance of historical criticism amongst the historians of the classical Islamic era is addressed. In the Islamic era, historical criticism went beyond simply testing the *isnād,* which had been dispensed with by historians as early as al-Yaʿqūbī (d. after 292/905) and al-Masʿūdī (346/956). *ʿAql,* or reason, was also a very early criterion for the selection of material. Even a

sound *isnād* was not enough to ensure the inclusion of fantastic or "untrustworthy" material in historical writing. In addition, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd illustrates the ways in which early Islamic historians, including al-Masʿūdī, Ibn Miskawayh (d. 421/1030), and Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā (d. 701/1302), expressed their own vision of the proper aims and scope of historical writing.

Philosophy of the science of history is the topic of the second section. The student is introduced to the classical European philosophers such as Machiavelli, Rousseau, and Voltaire, as well as later modern philosophers such as Hegel. In addition, the classical Arabic and Islamic theorists are introduced. These include of course Ibn Khaldūn and several modern theorists. The chapter on the theory of history is primarily concerned with defining the elements that create complex civilizations and cultures. Both Ibn Khaldūn and the modern religious philosophers are presented as "Islamic"; however, a more nuanced discussion taking into account the differences in their presuppositions and historical contexts would have been appropriate here. It seems that Ibn Khaldūn is labelled "Islamic" because he flourished in classical Islamic times, whereas the modern Islamic theorist ʿImād al-Dīn Khalīl is called so because he takes the Quran as his point of departure for understanding history.

The presentation of this section only aims at presenting the individual philosopher, and ignores the historical currents or trends that impacted the philosophers as a group, be they European or Islamic. The absence of historiographical perspective also characterizes the presentation of the historians and their works. Although this has been accomplished by historians such as ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Dūrī and Tarif Khalidi, their works are not included in the references of this book.

The book's third section, entitled "The Discourses of the Historians" *(Manāhij al-Muʾarrikhīn),* is devoted to the introduction of several classical historians. It begins with a survey of the different genres within Islamic historical writing, including local histories, annals, universal histories, etc. Artistic or poetic exposition of historical matter is also included, though characterized as unfit for serious history writing.

Following this are systematic introductions to individual historians, divided into three groups, listing several historians in each, but giving special attention to the most important:

1. The *sīrah-maghāzī* literature: Ibn Isḥāq, Aban Ibn ʿUmar al-Aḥmar, and al-Wāqidī (d. 207/822)

2. Early universal history writing comprising al-Yaʿqūbī (d. after 292/905), al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923), and al-Masʿūdī (d. 346/956).

3. Discourses of the later universal historians: Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233), Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), and Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406).

A general point of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's investigation is how individual historians

treated the early Islamic era and the emergence of the Shiʿi schism. Generally, he also focuses on the historian's personal relationship with Shiʿism. This could be understood as a reflection of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's own sectarian sympathies, and might lead the reader to question his criticism of both Shiʿi and Sunni sources. On the other hand, this does not undermine his analysis, which is an excellent point of departure for further reading of the sources.

The presentation of the historians follows a rough scheme, where each historian is examined with respect to the conditions in which he wrote, use of sources, use of Isrāʾīlīyāt, and an evaluation of his importance for later historians.

The second chapter of this section on the exposure of historians is occupied by introductions to al-Yaʿqūbī, al-Ṭabarī, and al-Masʿūdī. Al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 292/905) and al-Masʿūdī (d. 346/956) are clearly the favorites of the author. Al-Yaʿqūbī is presented as a scientific historian, who leaves out all kinds of myths and fabulous material. He could do this because of his own wide knowledge of other nations, acquired during his own travels. Al-Yaʿqūbī was also the first to recognize the relation between geography and history, a discourse developed by al-Masʿūdī, who explicitly stipulates the importance of travelling and collection of information about peoples where they live. Al-Masʿūdī's travels served as a supplement to his written sources and he is often seen as a geographer as well as a historian. Al-Yaʿqūbī is also distinguished for being the first historian to record the years of the deaths of the members of the House of the Prophet, thereby introducing the new discipline of obituaries, or *wafayāt*.

The author's main objection to al-Ṭabarī's method is that al-Ṭabarī chooses the sources he prefers before choosing the accounts of events. Al-Ṭabarī then registers all accounts available in the chosen sources and presents them uncritically and as having the same value. Al-Ṭabarī is also criticized for not leaving out mythical and fabulous material, a step al-Yaʿqūbī was able to take, and for concentrating exclusively on political history. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd is also critical of al-Ṭabarī for limiting himself to a single source—Sayf ibn ʿUmar al-Tamīmī—for the period of the Shiʿi schism in Islam, and for leaving out Muʿāwiyah's correspondence with Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr. Drawing attention to these observations is of great importance because of al-Ṭabarī's overwhelming influence. Al-Ṭabarī is still the main source for early Islamic history. In fact, al-Ṭabarī's influence and popularity were so great that his own sources were not preserved, since they were no longer needed after al-Ṭabarī. This in particular led to an uncritical reading of al-Ṭabarī, since later historians did not research his sources, and thus failed to fulfil their obligations as professional historians.

The chapter "The Later Universal Historians" gives special attention to the three best-known historians of the later Islamic era: Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn Kathīr, and Ibn Khaldūn. The historian of the Crusades, Ibn al-Athīr, is examined in terms

of his sources and methods. Once rid of al-Ṭabarī as his main source, he shows more independence and often tends to combine his sources into one narrative. Ibn al-Athīr's critical attitude toward Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, different from other historians, is examined and examples of this are thoroughly presented. Ibn al-Athīr also introduced a system of references that serves to avoid repetition of *akhbār*. Ibn al-Athīr is further distinguished as a historian who linked the history of various Islamic lands, thus incorporating the sources for the history of the Maghrib or the western part of the Islamic world. In doing this he succeeds in presenting the beginning of the Reconquista and the Crusades as one historical movement.

Ibn Kathīr (700–74/1300–73), described as "the historian of the Mamluks," was heavily influenced by his contemporary, the Hanbali Ibn Taymīyah, leading him to write in a way that revealed his ideology or *madhhab*. No doubt ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd finds this approach unsuitable for history writing. Ibn Kathīr's work *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* is also shown to be rather uneven. The end of the Buwayhid era, the Seljuks, the Fatimids, and the Ayyubids are treated together in one of the work's fourteen volumes, whereas the Mamluk era, up until the year 767, of which Ibn Kathīr was a contemporary, takes up one whole volume, sometimes taking the shape of a diary. This way of reading Ibn Kathīr, however, fails to see his value as a source for his own age. The observation that he was influenced by his *madhhab,* which though originally Shafiʿi is often labelled neo-Hanbali, could have been further elaborated. In the context of Mamluk religious policy this *madhhab* was strongly ideological and reflects the first Mamluks' anti-Mongol and anti-Shiʿi mobilization. This in fact makes Ibn Kathīr an excellent source for the early Mamluk period.

The last historian to be examined is Ibn Khaldūn, best known for his sociological theories about the nature of human society. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd shows how Ibn Khaldūn used this theory of *ʿaṣabīyah,* or tribal solidarity, to explain how Muʿāwiyah became powerful within the Quraysh and thus was able to seize power in the early Islamic community. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd also observes that Ibn Khaldūn mentions al-Masʿūdī several times and even calls him the imam of the historians. This has led ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd to a most interesting examination of al-Masʿūdī as a source for Ibn Khaldūn. He has actually found several instances of nearly identical headings concerning government and leadership of the state, and the role played by religion in state building. Obviously Ibn Khaldūn was inspired by al-Masʿūdī, who lived more than 450 years before him. But it is the accomplishment of Ibn Khaldūn that he voiced his theory for the benefit of generations.

In his concluding chapter, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd acquaints the reader with three interesting Shiʿi historians who represent special points of departure for historical investigations. The first of these three is Ibn Miskawayh (d. 421/1030), who developed a method he called *tajārib*, or experience, by which he singled out only

those events from which mankind is supposed to gain knowledge and wisdom. Events over which mankind has no control, such as divine or prophetic actions, are left out. Ibn Miskawayh is very precise in describing his method but too harsh, in ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's view, on the prophet's *sīrah,* leaving out too many events important to Islam. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd next treats the lesser known historian al-Ṭabarsī, who specialized in the *siyar* of the twelve Shiʿi imams, and finally Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā and his fourteenth-century work *Kitāb al-Fakhrī.*

Stiftungen in Christentum, Judentum und Islam vor der Moderne: Auf der Suche nach ihren Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschieden in religiösen Grundlagen, praktischen Zwecken und historischen Transformationen. Edited by Michael Borgolte (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005). Pp 297.

REVIEWED BY ALBRECHT FUESS, Universität Erfurt

Universal history is certainly in vogue these days and "foundations are a phenomenon of Universal history," as Borgolte emphasizes in his introduction. Therefore one wonders why a comparative conference on foundations has not taken place earlier. Prof. Dr. Michael Borgolte (Medieval History at the Humboldt University, Berlin) and Dr. Johannes Pahlitzsch (Seminar for Arabic and Semitics, Freie Universität Berlin) therefore deserve much credit for organizing such a worthwhile inquiry.

This edited volume is the fruit of the conference: "Foundations in the Great Cultures of Old Europe," which took place in June of 2003 at the Humboldt University in Berlin. Now one could argue whether the term "great" is really appropriate in this context, but maybe this was meant as a response to Rumsfeld's definition of "old" and "new" in the European context at that time. However, the actual title of the proceedings, which translates as: "Foundations in Christianity, Judaism and Islam before modernity: Searching for commonalities and differences in religious principles, practical aims and historical transformations," describes more precisely the intention of the editor, i.e., to present a comparative point of view on the history of foundations with a special stress on the ways they were used to raise revenue according to the principles of the three Abrahamic religions.

This collected volume contains eight English and six German articles. Out of the fourteen contributions, two are on Mamluk history, while two others speak about foundations in other periods of Islamic history. Five focus on foundations

in Christianity, with the Byzantine era well represented in three articles. Two discuss Jewish practice (with strong references to Islamic practice), while two more synthesize the themes at the beginning and the end of the volume. Another contribution stands somewhat apart as it addresses pious foundations during the time of the Roman Emperor Augustus.

The book is divided into the three thematic fields: "*memoria* as motive," "*charity* as duty," and "state and society as field of operation." In his German introduction Borgolte broadly examines foundations and their founders. Foundations, he says, serve a higher purpose than to preserve a good memory *(memoria)* of the founder. Often the founder would like to see his endowment be given as charity *(caritas)* which serves the society through feeding the poor, student scholarships, and the like. In other cases the founder acts as patron for science and art (Einleitung, p. 12). Not all foundations are completely altruistic though, since foundations may serve as well to preserve private money from being taken by the tax collector, as happens for example in the case of the Islamic pious foundation, the *waqf*. Although Borgolte elaborates his initial thoughts on the role of foundations in society, this section of the introduction remains rather short and one would have liked him to link the chapters more systematically under thematic headings, maybe by providing a bit more of an analytical hypothesis about what he sees as commonalities and differences, instead of merely describing the contents of the following chapters.

The book then continues with the contribution of Susanne Pickert, who argues that in ancient Rome foundations were quite often used by former slaves and social climbers *(homines novi)* to ensure they were remembered, while the members of the old nobility used other ways to preserve their legacy. Ralf Lusiardi opens the door to the medieval period with his overview of foundations in the monotheistic religions of medieval Europe. Giving to charity in medieval Europe was apparently always linked to receiving a positive or negative reward in the afterlife, especially in Christianity, which has been characterized in this context by experts as "Religion der Angst" (p. 67). The concept of purgatory, which was introduced by the Catholic church around the thirteenth century, then further enhanced the importance of the practice of *memoria* and foundations. One of the shortcomings of this article is that while the Christian practice of endowment is well described, the discussion concerning the other two monotheistic religions, especially Islam, remains rather shallow, thereby devaluing the insights in the rest of the paper.

The "Islamic" part of the book begins with a German introduction by Johannes Pahlitzsch on the aspect of *memoria* in Islamic foundations from the early times until the Mamluk period. Actually, it is this kind of introductory and comprehensive survey that the reviewer would have liked to read for the Christian and the

Jewish side as well. Pahlitzsch explains how the idea of *memoria* in the Islamic realm overcame the early Islamic theological objection against tomb cults until it became an integral part of Islam, culminating in the emergence of the institution of the *turbah-madrasah* from the eleventh century onwards. With the *turbah-madrasah* the Islamic pious foundation *(waqf)* witnessed a remarkable increase of popularity. *Waqf* played a key role from then on in Muslim memorial culture and it became a common concept that the memory of the founder lived on through his pious deeds. A *waqf* document which was issued for the foundation of the grave of the Prophet Moses by the Mamluk Sultan Baybars in 1270 reads as follows: "it [the foundation] keeps alive the memory of the founder, . . . whereby he receives a second life" (p. 92). Adam Sabra then elaborates the ambivalent character of Islamic foundations between private charity and public policy in the Mamluk period. He especially draws attention to the fact that the land which the Mamluk military elite used to establish foundations was quite often initially *iqṭāʿ* (fief)-land, which should have theoretically paid the armies and should not have been used by pious foundations; moreover, in many cases they contributed more to the relatives of the founder than to the general public. However, attempts to abolish the *awqāf,* as happened in 1378 when Sultan Barqūq attempted to convert it back into public land to benefit the army, were unsuccessful, as this practice had been too widespread among the Mamluk elite. Sabra further advocates reconsidering the classical dichotomy of *waqf khayrī* (charitable foundation) and *waqf ahlī* (family foundation), because "historians of Islamic foundations now realize that many *awqāf* served both groups" (p. 101). Ana Maria Carbeilleira-Debasa in her chapter describes the positive effects of the institution of foundations in Islamic Spain, which is called *ḥubs* in the Maghrebi context. This is followed by three articles on endowment practices in Christian Byzantium (John Thomas on aspirations of Byzantine founders, Peregrine Horden on motives of Byzantine philanthropists, and Dionysios Ch. Stathkopoulos on foundations of hospitals in the late Byzantine period). Ludwig Steindorf then presents a valuable introduction to the system of foundations in the period of the Kievan Rus' in Ukraine and Russia.

Of more direct interest for the Mamluk scholar might be Mark Cohen's study on foundations and charity among Jews in medieval Egypt. The study makes explicit use of the Geniza documents of medieval Cairo and states that only 10% of the revenue from Jewish foundations (sing. *heqdesh*) went to direct charity, i.e., feeding the poor, whereas 76.3% was given as salaries to Jewish scholars and officials and about 14% went to the maintenance of synagogues. In the contemporary European Jewish *heqdesh* system it was apparently the opposite; most of the proceeds from foundations went directly to the poor. Cohen explains this on one hand by the fact that in Egypt Jews were very much influenced by the Islamic *waqf* system, which also contained many aspects of indirect charity

distribution, and that on the other hand in Egypt there were more direct charities available for Jews, which could be financed, for example, by intercommunity taxes, than in the more restricted life in the European ghettoes.

Judah Galinsky discerns differences in foundation practices in the Jewish community of Germany and Spain in the fifteenth century, whereby the Islamic example in Spain apparently had a decisive impact in creating such distinctions. Benjamin Scheller then applies a modified Weberian approach to the connection between foundations and political power in the Occident and how studying this question can help us to understand the history of nation building in pre-modern Europe. This is followed by Suraiya Faroqhi's description of the state of the art of modern scholarship concerning pious foundations of the Ottoman Empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The final contribution of the volume is reserved for the late doyen of *waqf* studies, Gabriel Baer. The article, which is here printed posthumously, was first delivered as a lecture in 1981 and is published in this book with the help of Miriam Hoexter, another very important and influential scholar of Muslim *waqf* studies. The paper is titled "The Muslim *waqf* and similar institutions in other civilizations." Baer's intention was "to find out the particular characteristics of the Muslim *waqf,* and to derive from these findings some more general conclusions" (p. 258), but it seems to me he has not succeeded. He correctly describes the success story of the *waqf;* how it became one of the most long-lasting foundations in the history of mankind and how it developed into the principle way to circumvent the rules of succession and inheritance in the Quran, while still being considered religiously acceptable. Nevertheless, there are some shortcomings in the argumentation once Baer leaves the Judeo-Islamic aspects of his analysis. To be honest, I did not really understand the relevance of comparing *waqf* to Hindu religious and charitable trust and endowment practices in early modern Nepal. Such comparisons are bound to be lopsided, simply because the scholar draws on one side (here from the side of Islam) from primary sources and on the other side only relies on secondary sources.

My main critique of this volume would follow the same direction. If you really want a comparative work, then you have to make it more comparative. First of all, a glossary containing all technical terms used in the volume and their detailed explanation could be a start. The outer framework of the topic could be outlined more stringently, so that contributions might be more intertwined or focused on the same questions. For any comparative chapters my suggestions would be to bring scholars from different fields together to write such papers. There are very good articles in this book but as they stand now, they lack an inner cohesion.

Having said all this, I am well aware that these points are easier to posit than to fulfill. In any case, one has to acknowledge that a very important step in universal foundation studies has been achieved by the participating scholars and especially

the organizers of the conference, and that there are certainly more exciting studies in this field to come.

Noble Ideals and Bloody Realities: Warfare in the Middle Ages. Edited by Niall Christie and Maya Yazigi. History of Warfare, vol. 37 (Leiden, New York: Brill, 2006). Pp. 269.

REVIEWED BY WALTER E. KAEGI, The University of Chicago

This collective volume is, on balance, a useful contribution to the understanding of medieval warfare even though the papers are disconnected and of uneven quality. Overall quality, despite some lapses, is good. These are materials or explorations of topics towards writing a history of medieval warfare, without any comprehensive synthesis. Most of these diverse papers were originally part of a program of a medieval workshop at the University of British Columbia in late 2003.

The papers fall into three explicit categories: (1) Noble Ideals: Perceptions of Warfare, (2) Bloody Realities: War In Practice, and (3) Unto the Breach: Re-examining Issues in Medieval and Modern Military Historiography.

The Crusades are prominent within this collection of essays even though the Crusades are not the subject of every contribution. But there are unexplicable and major gaps. For the readers of this journal conspicuously absent are the Mamluks, who appear only briefly in an allusion on page 93. The very regrettable omission of the Mamluks is even more striking because many of the actual papers discuss thirteenth- and fourteenth-century military topics. Although the fate of Crusading states is interlinked with their warfare and diplomacy with the Mamluks, none of that is found in this volume. The best Islamic history paper is that of Hugh Kennedy on "The Military Revolution and the Early Islamic State," pp. 197–208. It is a valuable contribution with many insights concerning Turkish soldiers in ninth- and tenth-century Iraq. Likewise of special interest is the essay by Niall Christie, "'Religious Campaign or War of Conquest? Muslim Views of the Motives of the First Crusade," pp. 57–72, who wisely consulted with Paul M. Cobb of the University of Notre Dame concerning particulars of the Arabic texts. Christie explores fragmented Muslim reactions and notes the relatively modest claim, within Muslim sources, for Frankish motivations for holy war. A third essay of special interest is Piers D. Mitchell, "The Torture of Military Captives in the

Crusades to the Medieval Middle East," pp 97–118. He does not discuss any cases of torture in Mamluk-Crusader warfare.

Treadgold's essay "Byzantium, the Reluctant Warrior," pp. 209–34, rightly rejects, as I have, the concept of holy war for Byzantium (pp. 210–12), but with qualifications. He then discusses what he calls Byzantine "civil wars," on pp. 224 ff. He criticizes the coverage of civil wars in my *Byzantine Military Unrest* (1981); however, its subject was never intended to be what he calls "civil wars." Instead its explicit subject was military seditions, conspiracies, intrigues, rivalries, and expressions of grievances between 471 and 843 C. E. These are not synonymous with civil wars. This is a false categorization. His critique of my work is erroneous. There is nothing wrong with Treadgold's listing, cataloging, and commenting on Byzantine civil wars, but civil wars were not my chosen subject. Treadgold omits citation and use of the important and lengthy monograph by Catherine Holmes on the civil war-ridden reign of Basil II: *Basil II and the Governance of Empire* (Oxford, 2005). Readers should exercise caution with respect to Treadgold's numbers for Byzantine armies and his criticisms of John Haldon; among others, see the English-language review by Wolfram Brandes, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 95 (2002): 716–25, and the review by J.-M. Carrié and S. Janniard, "L'Armée romaine tardive dans quelques travaux récents: 1ere partie: L'Institution militaire et les modes de combat," *Antiquité Tardive* 8 (2000): 321–41.

David J. Hay offers a useful collection and review of instances of civilian casualties and suffering in his paper "'Collateral Damage?' Civilian Casualties in the Early Ideologies of Chivalry and Crusade," pp. 3–25. He concentrates on the period of the earliest Crusades.

John France, "Thinking about Crusader Strategy," pp. 75–96, revisits some of his previous conclusions about the Crusades, most notably the First Crusade. In his words, it was "a papal strategy to achieve survival and perhaps dominance in a changing Europe" (p. 93). He stresses the papal and Crusaders' need for a Byzantine alliance and of course the importance of Jerusalem.

What readers will not find are histories of operational warfare, with the possible exception of Milwright's essay. Fascinating but undocumented speculations abound in his paper, "Reynaud of Châtillon and the Red Sea Expedition of 1182–83," pp. 235–60, concerning possible objectives in this failed raid. According to him, the objectives of the expedition may have included seizure and removal of physical remains of Muhammad and other eminent Muslims from Medina.

Kelly DeVries, "Medieval Warfare and the Value of a Human Life," pp. 27–55, argues provocatively that changes in later medieval warfare resulted in the reduction of the value of human life from that of the early and high middle ages. He challenges some generalizations about the history of warfare that appear in recent surveys.

Deborah Gerish, "Holy War, Royal Wives, and Equivocation in Twelfth-Century Jerusalem," pp. 119–44, explores aspects of gender theory and royal identity. Her essay would have profited from consulting the valuable art historical dissertation of Cecily J. Hilsdale, "Diplomacy by Design: Rhetorical Strategies of the Byzantine Gift" (University of Chicago, 2003), and especially her important article on twelfth-century royal identity in the eastern Mediterranean: "Constructing a Byzantine Augusta: A Greek Book for a French Bride," *Art Bulletin* 87 (2005): 458–83.

Papers do not concentrate exclusively on the eastern Mediterranean. One investigates conditions in Spain: Paula D. Stiles, "Arming the Enemy: Non-Christians' Roles in the Military Culture of the Crown of Aragon during the *Reconquista*," pp. 145–61. She investigates the policies towards Muslims and Jews in recently conquered regions in the twelfth through fourteenth centuries, especially in the Ebro valley. Two papers refer to aspects of warfare in medieval England: David G. Sylvester, "Communal Piracy in Medieval England's Cinque Ports," pp. 163–76, and Ilana Krug, "Wartime Corruption and Complaints of the English Peasantry," pp. 177–93, an instructive, acute, and revealing investigation of military finance and grievances with special attention to the reigns of Edward I and Edward III.

These are essays worth reading and absorbing. Some are stimulating as well as informative. No coherent picture emerges, but the collective volume has a place in any bibliography on medieval and Crusading warfare. There is a short index, but it lacks maps or figures or a comprehensive bibliography. It belongs in libraries on the history of warfare, medieval military history, medieval history, Byzantium, medieval Islam, and the medieval eastern Mediterranean.

Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in Honour of Michael Winter. Edited by David J. Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon. Routledge Studies in Middle Eastern History, vol. 5 (London and New York: Routledge, 2006). Pp. 258, figures, tables, and a list of publications.

REVIEWED BY W. W. CLIFFORD, The University of Chicago

This volume, in English, is one of two published simultaneously to commemorate the retirement of Professor Michael Winter from the department of Middle Eastern and African History at Tel Aviv University after more than three decades

of distinguished academic service. The second volume, in Hebrew, is said by the editors to be concerned with religious and educational matters less historically embedded, presumably, than the present collection of articles. Dr. Winter, it should be noted, was for some years before taking up his post at Tel Aviv University an inspector in the Arab section of the Israeli Ministry of Education.

The "leitmotif" of this volume, as of Dr. Winter's scholarship generally, is the mutual historical interdependence of Mamluk and Ottoman Egypt, and the editors are quite unapologetic in their rejection of "that epochal date of 1516/1517" with its anachronistic "implications of closure and rupture" as a watershed in Egyptian history. Indeed, these contributions have been groomed to reflect this "crossover" in the "historical experience of Arabic-speaking societies in Egypt and the Fertile Crescent during the period from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries."

As with many *Festschriften,* however, some contributions are more germane to the editors' purposes than others. Particularly apposite is Daniel Crecelius's study of the financial administration of Damietta's *zāwiyah*s, mosques, and madrasahs during the last half of the eighteenth century, which provides an overview of the gradual impoverishment of religious institutions in the Delta following their heyday in the late Mamluk period. The *sijillāt* reveal clearly that many of these smaller religious centers "could barely sustain their function" over time, and while some larger ones enjoyed relatively greater and more stable incomes—the result of more numerous and profitable, long-term, commercial leaseholds—they too were steadily falling prey to inflation and physical decay. Even the once illustrious Muʾayyadīyah mosque, one of many tributes to Sultan Qāytbāy's pious profligacy, was barely a going concern on the eve of Napoleon's invasion.

Miri Shefer of Tel Aviv University has profiled continuities and changes in the profession of court medicine between the late Mamluk and early Ottoman periods. Ottoman sultans had long been interested in acquiring Mamluk medical experts for their relatively unsophisticated courts and the conquest gave them an unqualified opportunity to gratify this cultural desire. A case in point, the Qaysunizades, a family of Cairene physicians who had served the late Mamluk court, were recruited to tend not only Yavuz Selim, but a whole succession of Ottoman sultans down to the early seventeenth century. Yet, in spite of the dramatic medical brain-drain from Cairo to Istanbul in the aftermath of the conquest, the post of court physician in the Ottoman period was generally more likely to be filled by Anatolian than Egyptian medical experts. Increasingly absent, too, by the seventeenth century, Shefer contends, were court physicians of *dhimmī* origin. This was so, despite the fact that the medical profession under the Ottomans remained an open occupation circumscribed only by the acquisition of medical *ʿilm* and remained still one of the few paths to great wealth and position open to non-Muslims, unlike in the Mamluk period.

Rachel Milstein of Hebrew University, through a close comparison of illustrated hajj certificates with the illuminated *Fuṭūh al-Ḥaramayn* of Muḥyī al-Dīn Lārī, has detected in their stylized representations certain actual changes in the urban landscape of Mecca and Medina from the Mamluk through the early Ottoman periods. These include such things as modifications to the archways and roofs of the Haram, the fountains by the Maʾlah cemetery, even the novel erection of coffeehouses near the Jabal ʿArafat. Her research has not only revealed Mecca as an "intense" center of book production but suggested the evolution from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries of a discernible "Meccan school" of manuscript illumination among the *mujāwirūn* in the Holy City.

Amnon Cohen, also of Hebrew University, has seen equally no "watershed in the popular customs and habits" of Palestinians relative to the annual religious festival centered around the Maqām Nabī Mūsá in the Judean Desert near Jericho. A walled complex of some note by the end of the Mamluk epoch, the *maqām* continued to thrive during the early Ottoman period, supported both by private endowment and public monies commensurate with its increasingly blended role as a shrine, rest stop, and security post for travelers diverting to Jerusalem off the main Damascus–Mecca Pilgrimage route. Coincidentally, in this same volume, Reuven Amitai has shed new light on the foundation of the Nabī Mūsá complex in the early Mamluk period through his analysis of an inscription of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars on the mosque. In this volume, too, Hanna Taragan has further embedded these observations on Maqām Nabī Mūsá and other Mamluk religious sites in a general consideration of the psychology of Baybars' architectural usages. Whether through the incorporation of the cushion voussoir in portal arches, the revival of the hypostyle mosque, or even just the salvage of historic building materials, Baybars sought to "visually reflect the power struggle between the two religions [Islam and Christianity]" in medieval Syro-Egypt.

Boaz Shoshan of Ben Gurion University has drawn attention to a clutch of instructional Sufi sermons, *Al-Rawḍ al-Fāʾiq fī al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Raqāʾiq,* to contemplate the increasing integration of Sufic knowledge into mainstream Islamic culture during this Mamluk-Ottoman "crossover." Though little known and of uncertain authorship, such scarce examples of *mawāʿiẓ* literature, Shoshan believes, are vitally important in shedding light not on the organizational but rather ideational structure of late medieval Egyptian culture.

Daphna Efrat of Open University has reiterated that theme in her contribution, noting that the ostensible divide between popular and elite religious practices was visibly "bridgeable" in late medieval Syria as well. This is particularly noticeable in the social consolidation of public veneration of the *walī Allāh* in Mamluk Jerusalem and Hebron, both already prolific centers of pilgrimage, saintly tombs, and lodges.

A few contributions are perhaps inevitably wide of the mark paced off by the editors. Some are temporally displaced. Articles, for instance, by Ursula Wokoeck of Tel Aviv University on the expropriation of the Egyptian peasantry and Gabriel Warburg of the University of Haifa concerning the role of the Sufi *tarīqah* in the Islamization of the Sudan are considerations of chiefly nineteenth-century history. Other contributions are geographically displaced. The joint study by Minna Rozen and Benjamin Arbel of the University of Haifa and Tel Aviv University, respectively, concerning the Istanbul fire of 1569, based principally on the letters of the Venetian *bailo* Marcantonio Barbaro, certainly sheds new light on the problems of urban renewal in Istanbul, but not Cairo. The survey by Amy Singer, also of Tel Aviv University, of the Ottoman *ʿimaret* institution in the early seventeenth century, derived from Evliya Çelebi's *Seyahatname,* is similarly devoid of any references to Egypt, despite the fact that Çelebi not only took in the sights but resided there some years writing up his travel notes.

Singer's conclusion that the *ʿimaret* system, geared especially for the needs of travelers, "established a shared culture across the Ottoman Empire" is nevertheless insightful. Puzzling, though, is her contention that the "genesis of the ʿimaret is as yet untraced" and without any "parallel in Middle Eastern . . . history in the pre-modern period." If there is no antecedent in the Mamluk period, there is one certainly in the Byzantine. With its roots in classical antiquity, the *xenon* (hospice) emerged in the early medieval period as part of an administrative effort, both public and private, to dispense *philanthropia* at the diocesan and eparchic level. *Xenones* served travelers of every description, especially indigent pilgrims and refugees. Primarily centers of food distribution, they sometimes also provided temporary housing, quartermaster, medical, and even burial services. While often annexed to churches, monasteries, and shrines, there were numerous independent urban *xenones* as well as those posted out along the highways that crisscrossed the Byzantine Empire. Indeed, many of the cities listed by Singer as possessing *ʿimaret*s in the Ottoman period correspond to already well-known centers of industrialized philanthropy in the Byzantine period. Though likely in decline during the last century and a half of its existence, the Byzantine *evage systemata* surely informed the inception of the Ottoman *ʿimaret* system.

Even a contribution with seemingly greater temporal and geographic relevance such as Jane Hathaway's observations on the "prelude" to Ottoman rule in the Yemen touches on Egypt only tangentially. Moreover, her contention that the acquisition of the Yemen "loomed large" in Ottoman strategic thinking as a means of forestalling a "Portuguese . . . reconquest of Jerusalem" seems far-fetched. At the turn of the sixteenth century, the Ottomans were far more absorbed by the strategic problem of protecting Anatolia from Safavid Iran than Palestine from Portugal.

In sum, scholars generally will find much of interest in this *Festschrift*. Mamlukists in particular will discover a bonus in three additional contributions to fourteenth-century Syro-Egyptian history. Donald P. Little has reproduced and interpreted yet another important Haram collection document concerning a divorce proceeding in Jerusalem; Carl F. Petry has brought to light a bizarre criminal incident in Cairo replete with interesting sociological implications; and Amalia Levanoni has tied the increasing military employment of the *awlād al-nās* to a revolutionary attempt by the Qalawunids to establish "a new political nobility in the Mamluk army," to offset the declining importation of *mamālīk* of Turkish origin over the course of that century. Finally, the *Festschrift* provides an interesting cross-section of current, younger Israeli scholarship, particularly at Tel Aviv University, centered around Winter's unitary vision of late medieval/early modern Near Eastern history.

NICHOLAS WARNER, *The True Description of Cairo: A Sixteenth-Century Venetian View* (London: The Arcadian Library; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). Vol. I, pp. 216; vol. II, pp. 237 + topographic key; vol. III, 1 map.

REVIEWED BY JOHN RODENBECK

These days it is probably Nicholas Warner who knows more about the physical fabric of Mamluk Cairo than anyone else alive. He has done restoration and conservation in the city's historic zone, and his stunning *Monuments of Historic Cairo: A Map and Descriptive Catalogue,* published in 2005, is as complete a survey of what is known about its monuments and their current state as we are ever likely to have. His elegant three-volume *True Description of Cairo* succeeds in a complementary task, evoking with unparalleled thoroughness the physical reality of the city as it was near the end of the Mamluk era. It rests on the story of one particular Venetian map of Cairo, which Warner describes as "the first great surviving representation of the city of Cairo in the Renaissance tradition of the aerial oblique view": *La Vera Descritione de la Gran Cità del Caiero* [sic], which was drawn on wood blocks by the Greek artist Giovanni Domenico Zorzi of Malvasia and printed with an accompanying commentary in booklet form by Matteo Pagano of Venice. Both map and commentary were published in or before 1549, but obviously drew upon material dating back as far as the 1490s.

The chief subject of the legends and vignettes printed on the map is the capture of the city by Selim the Grim in 1517. The legends, which are in Venetian, are the basis of the commentary, which is in Latin. The most probable author of the commentary, Guillaume Postel (1510–81), identified by Robert Irwin as the first Orientalist, probably never visited Cairo and thus likewise drew upon earlier material. This view/map survives in only two impressions (one in the Arcadian Library, the other in the Kupferstichkabinett und Sammlung der Zeichnungen in Berlin), the commentary in only three known copies (in the British Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Kunstbibliothek in Berlin).

The first volume of Warner's trilogy begins with a consideration of medieval and early modern European visions of al-Maḥrūsah—sometimes quite fanciful—then moves on to an analysis that contains the following: (1) A chapter surveying all the surviving and known images of Cairo from the early fourteenth century to the mid- or late-seventeenth, with an illustration of each. Of special interest here are a sketch (held in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana) and a watercolor map or view (held in the Archivio di Stato di Torino) of Cairo as seen and rendered at first hand from the height of the Muqaṭṭam by Pellegrino Brocardo of Liguria. Painter, musician, traveller, pilgrim, and priest, Brocardo visited the city in 1556. Like most of the other materials in this chapter, neither the sketch nor the map has been published before. (2) A chapter on Pagano, Zorzi, and Postel, their sources and aims, and the techniques involved in producing such an enormous piece of work. (3) A chapter on the cultural and economic context of sixteenth-century Venice, which enjoyed both commercial and cultural ties with Egypt stretching back over several centuries. (4) An appendix demonstrating the subsequent persistence of Pagano's image of Cairo throughout the following century and a half. (5) A second appendix consisting of extracts from the well-known letter addressed by Brocardo to Antonio Gigante da Fossombone, secretary to Ludovico Beccadelli, bishop of Ragusa, who became Brocardo's patron. Dated 1557 and first published in 1803, it describes what Brocardo had seen in Cairo the previous summer, including such major public events as the opening of the dam at the head of the Khalīj al-Miṣrī during the annual flood of the Nile and the departure of the caravan bearing the *maḥmal* to Mecca, with its enormous escort of Ottoman troops. Of all important travelers' accounts surviving from this period Brocardo's is the only one composed so shortly after the events it describes. (6) A bibliography of relevant works in English, French, Italian, German, and Latin. (7) An index to volumes I and II.

The second volume consists of (1) A facsimile of *Descriptio Alcahirae,* Postel's three-chapter Latin commentary on the map, followed by (2) Warner's own detailed commentary on Postel and (3) A series of 32 addenda in which Warner takes up items in the map that range from Pagano's business address to the depiction of monuments and several unlabeled vignettes ignored by Postel.

Of the three chapters in Postel's *Descriptio,* the first and second are generally deluded, wrong, or negligible, and serve chiefly to remind us that Postel came to entertain ideas that were very bizarre even by the standards of his own era and, indeed, spent the last 19 years of his life in a madhouse. Postel's third chapter, however, containing his commentary on the 34 legends printed on the map, owes a great deal to sound earlier sources, such as Leo Africanus. Here Warner brings to bear on Postel the results of an enormous amount of research among primary and secondary sources, providing a kind of compendium of available scholarship. Continuing in this same vein with 32 addenda of his own, independent of Postel, Warner then offers a wonderful collection of accurate and detailed historical insights drawn from secondary sources, much of which has the additional virtue of being attached to real physical objects—the buildings of Mamluk al-Maḥrūsah—most of them still extant. Others of Warner's addenda consider in detail some of the unlabeled vignettes printed on the map. Many of them are amusing; and they range in subject matter from palm trees and camels to a stout citizen defecating into the Nile, a vision that suggests someone's first-hand observation.

The map itself, finally, on heavy paper and measuring more than two meters long and a meter and a quarter wide, constitutes the third volume. It comes folded and slip-cased to match the first two volumes and does somehow succeed in giving an impression of the majesty of the Mamluks' imperial capital. Though there are many obvious omissions and errors, there are also many touches of authenticity.

As Warner observes, for example, not one Christian church is shown, though there were—and are—many. The aqueduct is placed south of Old Cairo, a major error copied repeatedly by subsequent plagiarists and thence mistakenly taken as a valid clue by archaeologists, who have looked in vain for physical evidence of an aqueduct in that location. What the absence thereof shows instead is the degree to which European depictions of al-Maḥrūsah became traditional, rather than being based on observation. Unlike earlier images, on the other hand, Pagano's map shows Cairene houses correctly as flat-roofed; and the city's mosques, which are identified as Cairene even down to this day by their characteristic pairing of dome and minaret, have all been supplied both with domes of various kinds and recognizably Mamluk minarets. Pagano's map thus has an overall flavor that is familiar and curiously right.

These three volumes have already been described by Robert Irwin in a review in *Times Literary Supplement* as "fit for the shelves of scholar princes." They are a triumph of modern book design and printing and binding technology. I have suggested elsewhere that Nicholas Warner and the Arcadian Library should be celebrated, Mamluk-style, with lights, music, acrobatics, and feats of horsemanship.

Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Kawkab al-Rawḍah fī Tārīkh al-Nīl wa-Jazīrat al-Rawḍah.* Edited by Muḥammad al-Shishtāwī (Cairo: Dār al-Āfāq al-ʿArabīyah, 2002). Pp. 620.

Reviewed by Stephan Conermann, Universität Bonn

For this recently published edition of the work *Kawkab al-Rawḍah fī Tārīkh al-Nīl wa-Jazīrat al-Rawḍah* from the pen of the well known Muslim scholar, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), the editor Muḥammad al-Shishtāwī has collated seven manuscripts. Six of them are preserved in the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah and the last one in al-Azhar. As al-Shishtāwī himself admits, none of these manuscripts are the best ones available. They are neither very reliable nor of good quality. Apparently, the selection principle was more due to the location of the holding libraries than to research criteria. In any case, in his preface to the text, al-Shishtāwī gives us no further editorial principles. But faced with the fact that we have knowledge of a large number of accessible manuscripts of al-Suyūṭī's text, this seems to be a rather unsatisfactory way of proceeding. So while we are pleased to have a printed version of this remarkable text, strictly speaking this is no feat of scholarship. At best it is a good *editio princeps*.

And yet the contents of the work are quite interesting. It is part of the Mamluk literature about the Nile which, up to now, has only been partly analyzed by Mamlukologists. From a comparatist's point of view, various questions might suggest themselves. One could, for example, ask what genre the *Kawkab al-Rawḍah fī Tārīkh al-Nīl wa-Jazīrat al-Rawḍah* represents? How can we categorize pre-modern Arabic texts that focus more or less exclusively on the Nile and its island al-Rawḍah? What are the specific literary characteristics of these works? In a pioneering article, Thomas Bauer has edited, translated, and interpreted a *zajal* on the Nile written by Ibrāhīm al-Miʿmār (d. 749/1348).[1] Thomas Bauer points out that it is surprisingly rare for Egyptian Mamluk poets to write about the great river and its life-giving floods. Besides the above-mentioned *zajal,* there also exists an epigram of Ibn Nubātah (d. 768/1366) and some verses from Ibn Sūdūn's (d. 868/1464) *Dīwān*—but what else do we have? Fortunately, you find more when you look at the *maqāmah* literature. Even our author, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, composed a *maqāmah* dedicated entirely to the Nile flood: *Al-Maqāmah al-Baḥrīyah (aw al-Nīlīyah) fī al-Rakhāʾ*

[1] See Thomas Bauer, "Das Nilzağal des Ibrāhīm al-Miʿmār: Ein Lied zur Feier des Nilschwellenfestes," in *Alltagsleben und materielle Kultur in der arabischen Sprache und Literatur: Festschrift für Heinz Grotzfeld zum 70. Geburtstag,* ed. Thomas Bauer and Ulrike Stehli-Werbeck (Wiesbaden, 2005), 69–88.

wa-al-Ghalāʾ.[2] Another epos which bears the title *Bulbul al-Rawḍah* deals only with the famous island, on which al-Suyūṭī lived and worked for many years.[3] This work contains the same verses we find included in his *Kawkab al-Rawḍah fī Tārīkh al-Nīl wa-Jazīrat al-Rawḍah* (pp. 344–50).

Al-Suyūṭī says that he took the first part of the title, which means "The star (i.e., the abundance of flowers) of the island Rawḍah," from the *Ṣiḥāḥ* of the lexicographer al-Jawharī (d. ca. 397/1006–7).[4] He wants, al-Suyūṭī continues, to present the reader with a beautiful and edifying book about "the history of the Nile and the island al-Rawḍah." Concerning the genre, one could probably say that his work is representative of the so-called *faḍāʾil*-literature[5] which was very popular during the time of Mamluk rule in Egypt and Syria. A characteristic trait of these texts is the compilation of known and unknown historical events, occurrences, legends, poems, marvels, wonders *(ʿajāʾib)* and traditions in praise of persons, locations, books, tribes, and other things. This genre is linked with geographic descriptions as well as with pure *ʿajāʾib* works in which the producer of the texts tells about marvellous things as they exist in reality or fantasy. The narration is meant to evoke general astonishment in the recipient's mind at the wonder of God's creation. So, if we find in many treatises implausible and dubious as well as realistic and scientifically accepted *ʿajāʾib* side by side, the authors actually are aware of the difference between the two categories.[6] A good example is Ibn Iyās' (d. 930/1524) "Nashq al-Azhār fī ʿAjāʾib al-Aqṭār" (MS Gotha 1518), which is about the description of the Wonders of the World with the focus on Egypt and the Nile.

Additional books from the Mamluk epoch in which the Nile is praised are Jalāl al-Dīn Maḥallī's (d. 864/1459) "Al-Qawl al-Mufīd fī al-Nīl al-Saʿīd" (MSS Paris 2259 and 2260) and al-Aqfahsī ibn al-ʿImād's (d. 808/1405) "Risalah fī al-Nīl wa-Ahrāmihā" (MS Berlin 6115). Neither of them has hitherto been the subject of scholarly analysis. Al-Suyūṭī's *Kawkab al-Rawḍah fī Tārīkh al-Nīl wa-Jazīrat al-Rawḍah* is just another typical *faḍāʾil* work. We should read it as a supplement

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[2]Ed. in *Maqāmāt al-Suyūṭī al-Adabīyah al-Ṭibbīyah,* ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Salīm (Cairo, 1988), 161–80.

[3]Ed. in ibid., 181–93, and by Nabīl Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Aḥmar (Cairo, 1981).

[4]Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Kawkab al-Rawḍah fī Tārīkh al-Nīl wa-Jazīrat al-Rawḍah,* ed. Muḥammad al-Shishtāwī (Cairo, 2002), 16.

[5]See Stephan Conermann, "Der Nil während der Mamlūkenzeit (1250–1517)," in *Wasser—Lebensmittel, Kulturgut, politische Waffe: Historische und zeitgenössische Probleme und Perspektiven in asiatischen und Afrikanischen Gesellschaften,* ed. Ulrich Hübner and Antje Richter (Schenefeld, 2004), 15–60, esp. 46–53.

[6]On this topic, see Syrinx von Hees, "The Astonishing: A Critique and Re-reading of ʿAǧāʾib Literature," *Middle East Literatures* 8, no. 2 (2005): 101–20.

to his *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah fī Tārīkh Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah*[7] which, like Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī's (d. 888/1438) *Al-Faḍāʾil al-Bāhirah fī Maḥāsin Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,*[8] puts the main emphasis on the description of Cairo and the Nile.

Another quite remarkable text is a sermon on the Nile *(khuṭbah fī al-Nīl)* which can be found in ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn Nubātah's (d. 374/984–85) *Dīwān al-Khuṭab al-Minbarīyah*. But serious doubts have been raised as to whether these pages are really from his hand or whether someone else incorporated them into this collection much later.[9]

How is a representative *faḍāʾil* work structured? What can be said about its constituent elements? Let's take al-Suyūṭī's *Kawkab al-Rawḍah fī Tārīkh al-Nīl wa-Jazīrat al-Rawḍah* as an example: after having quoted the related verses from the Quran and the traditions, the author explains the word "Rawḍah." Then he continues with a description of the island's fortifications, buildings, palaces, mosques, and bridges. Then follows a survey of the Nile and the wonders connected with it like the rising and falling of the floods and the Nilometer. The next things al-Suyūṭī finds interesting enough to speak of are the flowers, plants, and fruits on al-Rawḍah. After a detailed analysis of these things he quite suddenly turns to the history of his subject: all rulers who did something for the glory and reputation of the island are mentioned. Poems and verses, including his own, are added to the facts. Finally he gives the reader a list of all the sultans who visited al-Rawḍah.

By and large, this kind of *faḍāʾil* literature can be seen as a very clever and skillful compilation of sayings, myths, verses, and historical information about the Nile taken from the works of many Muslim scholars and writers. Against this backdrop, it is quite normal that al-Suyūṭī quotes extensively from the books of Ibn Bayṭār (d. 646/1248), Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (d. 257/871), Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449), Ibn Ḥawqal (d. after 378/988), Ibn Wardī (d. 749/1349), al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956), al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), and above all from al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442). In addition to this, he includes numerous passages from his own treatises in his new work. For a modern scholar this whole procedure seems to be neither honest nor creative, but we should keep in mind that the technique of compilation which we can find in many pre-modern literatures should not be mentioned in connection with what is nowadays called plagiarism. A compilation is an innovative and original work which in general belongs to a different genre than source materials.[10] We should direct our thoughts about al-Suyūṭī's *Kawkab*

[7]Ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1967).

[8]Ed. Muṣṭafá al-Saqqá and Kāmil al-Muhandis (Cairo, 1969).

[9]See Sabine Dorpmüller, "'Und Er goß aus das Wasser in Strömen . . .' Eine Nilpredigt von Ibn Nubāta al-Haṭīb?" in *Alltagsleben und materielle Kultur,* ed. Bauer and Stehli-Werbeck, 137–62.

[10]On the art of compilation, see Kurt Franz, *Kompilation in arabischen Chroniken: Die Überlieferung*

al-Rawḍah fī Tārīkh al-Nīl wa-Jazīrat al-Rawḍah (and about *faḍāʾil* literature in general) more in this direction, if we want to come to a better understanding of his interesting text(s).

vom Austand der Zang zwischen Geschichtlichkeit und Intertextualität vom 9. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert (Berlin, 2004).

List of Recent Publications

Anṣārī, Zakarīyā ibn Muḥammad. *Tuḥfat al-Bārī bi-Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. Edited by Sulaymān ibn Durayʿ al-ʿĀzimī. Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd Nāshirūn, 2005. 10 vols.

Baʿlī, Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Fatḥ. *Talkhīṣ Rawḍat al-Nāẓir wa-Jannat al-Munāẓir fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh: ʿalá Madhhab al-Imām Abī ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*. Edited by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Sirāj. Riyadh: Dār al-Tadmurīyah, 2005. 2 vols.

Dhahabī, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ*. Edited by Muḥammad Ayman. Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 2006. 18 vols.

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Ghazzī, Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad. *Al-Maṭāliʿ al-Badrīyah fī al-Manāzil al-Rūmīyah, 1499–1577*. Edited by al-Mahdī ʿĪd al-Rawāḍīyah. Beirut: al-Muʾassasah al-ʿArabīyah lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Nashr, 2004. Pp. 365.

Ibn al-Jazarī, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad. *Al-Maṣʿad al-Aḥmad fī Khatm Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad*. Edited by Muḥammad ibn Nāṣir al-ʿAjamī. Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir al-Islāmīyah lil-Ṭibāʿah wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 2006. Pp. 88.

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Ibn al-Mibrad, Yūsuf ibn al-Ḥasan. *Al-Ightirāb fī Aḥkām al-Kilāb*. Edited by Muḥammad Ḥasan Muḥammad Ḥasan Ismāʿīl. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 2006. Pp. 152.

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Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī. *Anīs al-Sārī fī Takhrīj wa-Taḥqīq al-Aḥādīth allatī Dhakarahā al-Ḥāfiẓ ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī fī Fatḥ al-Bārī*. Edited by Nabīl ibn Manṣūr ibn Yaʿqūb al-Baṣārah. Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Rayyān lil-Ṭibāʿah wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 2005. 11 vols.

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Ibn Kathīr, Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar. *Badʾ al-Khalq, Khalq al-ʿArsh, wa-al-Kursī, wa-al-Samawāt wa-al-Arḍīn, wa-mā fīhinna, wa-mā baynahunna, min al-Malāʾikah wa-al-Jānn, wa-al-Shayāṭīn, wa-Kayfīyat Khalq Ādam ʿalayhi al-Salām*. Riyadh: Dār ʿĀlam al-Kutub lil-Ṭibāʿah wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 2006. Pp. 275.

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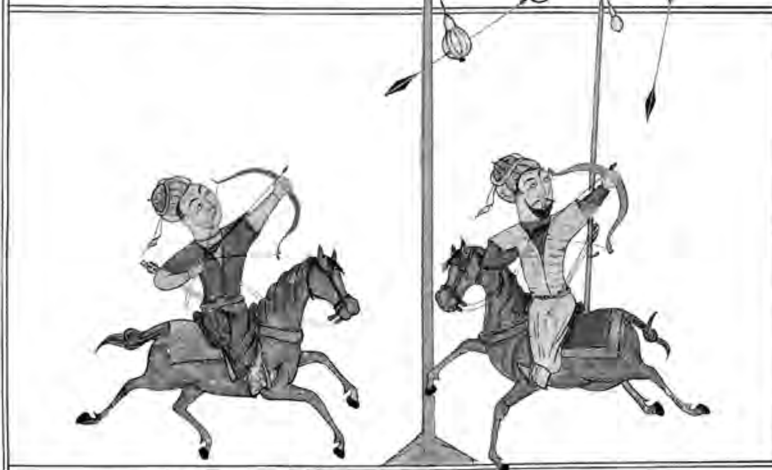
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ء	ʼ	خ	kh	ش	sh	غ	gh	م	m
ب	b	د	d	ص	ṣ	ف	f	ن	n
ت	t	ذ	dh	ض	ḍ	ق	q	ه	h
ث	th	ر	r	ط	ṭ	ك	k	و	w
ج	j	ز	z	ظ	ẓ	ل	l	ي	y
ح	ḥ	س	s	ع	ʻ				
		ة	h, t (in construct)			ال	al-		

ـَ	a	ـُ	u	ـِ	i
ـً	an	ـٌ	un	ـٍ	in
آ	ā	ـُو	ū	ـِي	ī
ـَا	ā	ـُوّ	ūw	ـِيّ	īy (medial), ī (final)
ى	á	ـَو	aw	ـَي	ay
				ـَيّ	ayy

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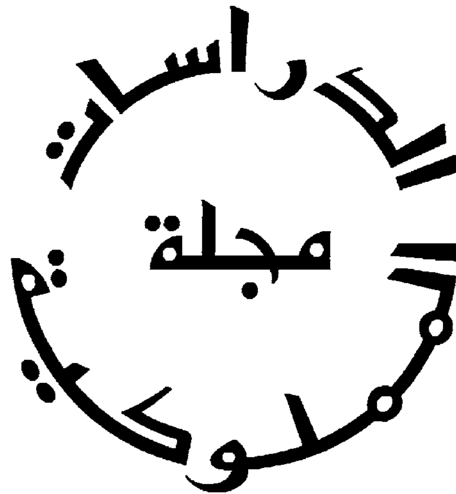
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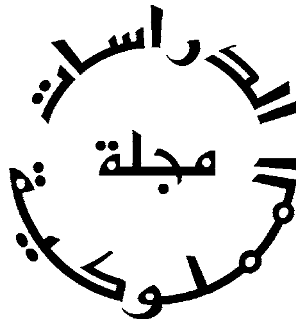
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Thomas Bauer
Universität Münster

Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī (686–768/1287–1366): Life and Works Part I: The Life of Ibn Nubātah

1. "The Solitaire of the Age"

"If anyone in our century tried to equal Ibn Nubātah in poetry, prose, or handwriting, he would attempt something impossible and aspire to something that will in no way occur."[1] These are the words of the scholar Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, who was well acquainted with Ibn Nubātah. The historian Ibn Ḥabīb, another acquaintance of his, sums up Ibn Nubātah's accomplishments as follows: *wa-bi-al-jumlah fa-kāna uʿjūbat al-zamān wa-nādirat al-waqt wa-farīd al-awān* "On the whole, he was the wonder of the era, the prodigy of this time, the solitaire of the age."[2] The hadith scholar Walī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿIrāqī boasted of Ibn Nubātah a generation later: "Ibn Nubātah distinguished himself in the field of *adab* and reached in it everything that can be desired; he surpassed his contemporaries, transcended the people of his epoch, and ended up peerless and as the solitary leader in the field. His poetry reached the acme of perfection, and I do not think that the whole eighth century produced sweeter poetry than his."[3]

For al-Ṣafadī, however, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī was the greatest poet of the age for perhaps two reasons. First, al-Ṣafadī's style, characterized by his love for *jinās,* was more akin to that of al-Ḥillī than to that of Ibn Nubātah. Second, al-Ṣafadī's relationship with Ibn Nubātah was a troubled one. On the one hand, al-Ṣafadī struggled throughout his life to escape the shadow of his master, Ibn Nubātah, who doubtlessly was the greater poet; on the other hand, al-Ṣafadī was a much more outgoing personality than the rather taciturn Ibn Nubātah and therefore gained more worldly success. In their relationship, periods of friendship alternated with periods of animosity. Nevertheless, al-Ṣafadī finds enthusiastic words for Ibn Nubātah. As a poet, al-Ṣafadī remarks, Ibn Nubātah "is unique in the elegance of his verse-making, the sweetness of his expressions, the excellence of his poetic compositions, the astonishing quality of his topics, the clarity of his language, and

[1] Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah al-Kubrá* (Beirut, 1420/1999), 5:111 (art. Ibn al-Zamlakānī).

[2] Badr al-Dīn Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh,* ed. Muḥammad M. Amīn (Cairo, 1976–86), 3:305.

[3] Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ibn al-ʿIrāqī, *Al-Dhayl ʿalá al-ʿIbar fī Khabar Man ʿAbar,* ed. Ṣāliḥ Mahdī ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1409/1989), 1:221.

the fluency in his writing."[4] But al-Ṣafadī is even more impressed by Ibn Nubātah as a prose author: "But his prose constitutes the summit of eloquence. He followed the manner of [al-Qāḍī] al-Fāḍil and adopted his style, and he extinguished the light of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir and left no favored position for him in the hearts of the people."[5]

In al-Nawājī's anthology *Taʾhīl al-Gharīb,* only two poets are granted honorific titles. Whereas Ibn al-Fāriḍ is the *Imām al-ʿUshshāq,* Ibn Nubātah is called the *Malik al-Shuʿarāʾ,* the *Malik al-Mutaʾaddibīn,* and the *Imām al-Udabāʾ,* at the same time being an *ʿAllāmah.*[6]

These are only five of many examples that attest to the fame that Ibn Nubātah enjoyed among his contemporaries and in following generations. Apart from the famous Sufi poets (Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Ibn ʿArabī, ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī) there was no other Arabic poet between the time of al-Mutanabbī and the modern period who enjoyed a greater reputation than Ibn Nubātah. Even at the beginning of the nineteenth century, al-Shawkānī (1173–1250/1760–1832) characterized Ibn Nubātah as "the famous, excellent, and creative poet, who in all kinds of poetry surpassed his contemporaries, all those who came after them, and even most of those who lived before him."[7]

It becomes quite clear that it is impossible to understand the literature and the culture of the Mamluk and the Ottoman periods without a thorough knowledge of the works of Ibn Nubātah. Unfortunately, however, Ibn Nubātah has fared worse than other Mamluk authors among twentieth-century scholars. During the whole of that century, only a single monograph that can claim scholarly standing was published.[8] Even now, most of Ibn Nubātah's works remain in manuscript.

There are several reasons for this deplorable state of affairs. The most important is the wide-spread negative attitude towards Mamluk literature in the still mentally colonialized Arab world.[9] Another reason is the fact that Ibn Nubātah is generally perceived exclusively as a poet. His achievements as a prose writer are largely either neglected or unknown. Many contemporary scholars are unable to appreciate the aesthetic qualities of the sophisticated prose style of *inshāʾ,* of which Ibn Nubātah was an acclaimed master. Some of Ibn Nubātah's prose works

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[4]Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* ed. Helmut Ritter et al. (Wiesbaden, Beirut, 1962–), 1:311–12.

[5]Ibid., 312.

[6]Shams al-Dīn al-Nawājī, *Taʾhīl al-Gharīb,* ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad ʿAṭāʾ (Cairo, 2004), 78, 91, 116, 128, 171, 175, 183, etc.

[7]Al-Shawkānī, *Al-Badr al-Ṭāliʿ bi-Maḥāsin Man baʿda al-Qarn al-Sābiʿ* (Beirut, 1418/1998), 2:131.

[8]ʿUmar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī: Amīr Shuʿarāʾ al-Mashriq* (Cairo, 1963, 3rd ed., 1992).

[9]See my article "Mamluk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9, no. 2 (2005): 105–32.

are among the most important *inshāʾ* works of pre-modern Islam, but they have yet to be edited.

For an appreciation of Ibn Nubātah as a poet, the edition of his *Dīwān*[10] has done as much harm as good. The *Dīwān Ibn Nubātah,* edited by a certain Muḥammad al-Qalqīlī, was published in Cairo in 1323/1905. From then on, readers took it for granted that this book represented the *Dīwān* of Ibn Nubātah and contained all his poetry in its original form. Nobody, including myself, ever questioned the philological basis of this "edition." A closer examination, however, reveals that this *Dīwān* is only a distorted version of a questionable collection of Ibn Nubātah's poetry made by his pupil al-Bashtakī. All studies of Ibn Nubātah's poetry are based on this source, and the confidence that was placed in this "edition" made it seem superfluous to direct any efforts towards an edition of the poetic collections assembled by Ibn Nubātah himself. Thus, we must realize that we still lack a proper foundation for the study of Ibn Nubātah's poetry.

The purpose of this article is to provide a basis for further research about Ibn Nubātah and the literary culture of the Mamluk period. It will list all the works of Ibn Nubātah known so far and try to elucidate their purpose, their biographical context, and their place in the literary culture of the epoch. Though I have used a fair number of manuscripts and library catalogues for this study, it cannot claim to be exhaustive. I will start with a chart that gives preliminary information on the titles of Ibn Nubātah's works, their character, and the date of their composition. A survey of the main sources for Ibn Nubātah's life is then given in the same section. A rather detailed chronology of Ibn Nubātah's life follows. Section 4 presents Ibn Nubātah's known autograph manuscripts. Section 5 will demonstrate the way Ibn Nubātah constantly revised his own works. As a consequence of Ibn Nubātah's consideration of his own œuvre as a "work in progress," the necessity for establishing a sound philological basis becomes even more obvious. A reconstruction of the history of Ibn Nubātah's *Dīwān* will be the subject of the following section. Section 7 deals with all known works of Ibn Nubātah and those erroneously ascribed to him. They will be treated in the sequence given in the chart below. Due to its length, this article will appear in three parts over subsequent issues of *Mamlūk Studies Review*.

2. Sources

The main sources for Ibn Nubātah's life are his own works. They reveal his social relationships and his place in the network of *udabāʾ* and ulama (and, to a lesser extent, *umarāʾ*) that shaped intellectual life in Syria and Cairo during the greater part of the eighth/fourteenth century. The known works of Ibn Nubātah are listed

[10] I use the word *Dīwān,* starting with a capital letter, if the word refers to a "collection of poetry," in contrast to *dīwān* (= *dīwān al-inshāʾ*) in the sense of "state chancellery."

in the following chart. For easier reference, I assign a number to each. This number is also used throughout the article, where it is added in square brackets whenever one of these titles is mentioned (with the exception of the *Dīwān*).

In the chart, titles that are lost (or not yet found) are marked with an asterisk. If the content of the book can be reconstructed more or less by means of other sources, the asterisk is put in brackets. The chart demonstrates that it is not sufficient to characterize Ibn Nubātah only as a poet, since a great part of his oeuvre consists of prose. His own compilations of poetry and prose anthologies of past and contemporary authors make up another important part of his oeuvre. Ibn Nubātah wrote in several genres, covering the wide spectrum of *adab* literature. The only exception is theory, a field that seems not to have aroused his interest.

The Works of Ibn Nubātah

No.	Title	Date	own poetry	own prose	others' poetry	others' prose
1a	*Dīwān al-Aṣl*	several versions	■			
1b	al-Bashtakī: *Dīwān Ibn Nubātah*	773	■			
1c	Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī: *Ziyādāt ʿalá Dīwān Ibn Nubātah*	800 and shortly after	■			
2	*Maṭlaʿ al-Fawāʾid wa-Majmaʿ al-Farāʾid*	718	■	■	■	■
3	*Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq*	719	■	■	■	■
4	*Sarḥ al-ʿUyūn fī Sharḥ Risālat Ibn Zaydūn*	between 719 and 730			■	■
5	*Muntakhab al-Hadīyah min al-Madāʾiḥ al-Muʾayyadīyah*	shortly after 719	■			
6	*al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī*	around 725	■			
7	*Farāʾid al-Sulūk fī Masāʾid al-Mulūk*	around 728	■			
8	(*) *al-Muntakhab al-Manṣūrī*	before 732	■			
9	Examination of the *kuttāb* (letter to al-Shihāb Maḥmūd)	725 or shortly before		■		
10	*al-Mufākharah bayna al-Sayf wa-al-Qalam*	729		■		
11	Collection of letters (Esc. 548)	around 729		■		
12	*Zahr al-Manthūr*	730		■		
13	*Ijāzah* for al-Ṣafadī	730		■		
14	*Taqrīẓ* for Badr al-Dīn Ibn Ḥabīb	730		■		
15	**Ibrāz al-Akhbār* (?)	before 730		?		
16	*Ḥaẓīrat al-Uns ilá Ḥaḍrat al-Quds*	735		■		

17	**al-Naḥlah al-Insīyah fī al-Riḥlah al-Qudsīyah* (?)	after 735?		?		
18	*al-Fāḍil min Inshāʾ al-Fāḍil*	between 719 and 730				
19	*Sulūk Duwal al-Mulūk*	before 742?				
20	**Shaʿāʾir al-Bayt al-Taqawī*	730 or shortly after				?
21	*al-Mukhtār min Shiʿr Ibn al-Rūmī*	before 730				
22	*al-Mukhtār min Shiʿr Ibn Qalāqis*	?				
23	*Talṭīf al-Mizāj min Shiʿr Ibn Ḥajjāj*	?				
24	**al-Mukhtār min Shiʿr Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk*	?				
25	*Mukhtār Dīwān al-Ṣāḥib Sharaf al-Dīn al-Anṣārī*	754				
26	*Taʿlīq al-Dīwān 743*	743				
27	*Taʿlīq al-Dīwān 744*	744				
28	Letters in al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá*	various dates				
29	*Sūq al-Raqīq*	750s?				
30	(*) *Khubz al-Shaʿīr*	?				
31	(*) *al-Sabʿah al-Sayyārah*	760s?				
32	(*) *Ṭarāʾif al-Ziyādah*	?				
33	(*) *Julāsat al-Qaṭr*	?				
34	(*) *Ṭāliʿ al-Sanah* (?)	?				

Corresponding to his importance and popularity, Ibn Nubātah is treated in a great number of bio-bibliographical works. These sources are of uneven value. Therefore it is useful to briefly comment on the more important of them. The texts are mentioned in chronological order.

(1) The *Ijāzah*. In the year 729 al-Ṣafadī asked Ibn Nubātah to grant him an *ijāzah* to transmit his writings and to give him information about his life and works. Ibn Nubātah's answer probably dates from the following year. It is the most important autobiographical document of Ibn Nubātah, who otherwise was more reluctant to talk about himself and his motives than most of his contemporaries. Of special relevance for this study is the list of works Ibn Nubātah had composed to that point, which is, of course, the most reliable list of Ibn Nubātah's works. It is also important for establishing a chronology of Ibn Nubātah's works since all works mentioned in it can be dated to, or before, 730. The text was considered important enough to be included in several sources. It can be found in al-Ṣafadī's *Wāfī* and in his *Alḥān,* in Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī's *Khizānat al-Adab,* and in Ibn Taghrībirdī's *Manhal*. In the following, I will quote the *Ijāzah* according to the text in al-Ṣafadī's notice on Ibn Nubātah in his *Wāfī.*[11]

(2) Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī.* After quoting the *Ijāzah,* al-Ṣafadī mentions several other

[11] Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* 1:311–31; the *Ijāzah* is on pages 314–19.

titles of works by Ibn Nubātah, some of which he had heard from Ibn Nubātah himself. The notice on Ibn Nubātah in al-Ṣafadī's *Wāfī* is the basis for most later sources.

(3) *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ*. For whatever reason, there is no notice on Ibn Nubātah in al-Ṣafadī's *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,*[12] though other ulama still alive during the composition of the book are included. Perhaps the book was written during one of the periods in which their personal relationship had cooled. At the time of al-Ṣafadī's last biographical enterprise, *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ bayna al-Bādiʾ wa-al-Murājiʿ,* their relationship must have improved again somewhat. This collection of letters and poems exchanged between al-Ṣafadī and his famous contemporaries not only follows a model created by Ibn Nubātah *(Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq),* but Ibn Nubātah is also granted by far the longest entry of all. There is no list of works in the text, but the documents published by al-Ṣafadī provide much valuable information. In the following, I will quote the edition by Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ,[13] though it is marred by the fact that the editor failed to use al-Ṣafadī's autograph manuscript, Berlin MS 8631.

(4) Ibn Ḥabīb: The *adīb* and historian Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan ibn ʿUmar Ibn Ḥabīb (710–79/1310–77) was a great admirer of Ibn Nubātah. In his youth he composed a *dīwān* of epigrams modeled after Ibn Nubātah's *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī*. The young Ibn Ḥabīb even dared to ask the most famous poets of his time, Ibn Nubātah and Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, to write words of praise in the form of a *taqrīẓ* in his book, and both complied with his request.[14] Ibn Ḥabīb immortalized this most memorable event of his life in his *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh,* in which we find an excerpt of Ibn Nubātah's *taqrīẓ* among the memorable events of the year 730 and a biography of Ibn Nubātah, including a short list of his works, among the *wafayāt* of the year 768.[15] The information given by Ibn Ḥabīb can claim utmost authenticity, since he met his role model Ibn Nubātah several times during his life and the two men enjoyed an untroubled friendship.

(5) Another personal acquaintance of Ibn Nubātah's was Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī (728–71/1327–70), to whom Ibn Nubātah dedicated a few *qasīdahs* and a number of seven-liners. Al-Subkī in turn mentioned Ibn Nubātah in his biography of Shafiʿi scholars,[16] and we also find an entry for him in the dictionary of al-Subkī's

[12] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr wa-Aʿwān al-Nāṣr,* ed. ʿAlī Abū Zayd et al. (Damascus, 1418–19/1998).

[13] Al-Ṣafadī, *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ bayna al-Bādiʾ wa-al-Murājiʿ,* ed. Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ (Damascus, 1425/2004), 2:180–268; the text of Ibn Nubātah's *Ijāzah* is on pages 186–90.

[14] See Thomas Bauer, "'Was kann aus dem Jungen noch werden!' Das poetische Erstlingswerk des Historikers Ibn Ḥabīb im Spiegel seiner Zeitgenossen," in *Festschrift Hartmut Bobzin* (forthcoming, 2007).

[15] See Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh,* 2:203–4 and 3:304–9, resp.

[16] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah al-Kubrá,* 5:153 (= ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Ḥulw and Maḥmūd al-

teachers.[17] Both entries are short and do not contain a list of works. Instead, they reveal some details of Ibn Nubātah's activities in the field of hadith. Other hadith scholars mention Ibn Nubātah as well, but these entries only confirm Ibn Nubātah's role as a hadith transmitter and have little to add to our knowledge of Ibn Nubātah's life.[18]

(6) Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (751–79/1377–1448) does not add substantially to the other sources. His *Tārīkh* contains a comparatively short article on Ibn Nubātah, in which he lists only the most popular of Ibn Nubātah's works.[19] Instead, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah is often the most important source for all those to whom Ibn Nubātah addressed his poems and letters. His detailed and sometimes tedious habit of registering all the holders of administrative offices and madrasah professorships helps considerably in dating Ibn Nubātah's poems and reconstructing his social relationships, especially after the year 741.

(7) The longest notice in *Al-Dhayl ʿalā al-ʿIbar* by Ibn al-ʿIrāqī (762–826/1360–1423) is the article on Ibn Nubātah.[20] His father had known Ibn Nubātah in person. Thanks to this association, Ibn al-ʿIrāqī is able to provide some information absent in other sources.

(8) Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī (767–837/1336–1434), who saw himself as an *adīb* in the mold of Ibn Nubātah, quotes Ibn Nubātah prominently in his *Khizānat al-Adab*.[21] This book is also the only source for Ibn Nubātah's *Khubz al-Shaʿīr* [30].

(9) Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (773–852/1372–1449) treats Ibn Nubātah in his *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,*[22] but this notice, which contains hardly any new information, does not reflect at all the importance of Ibn Nubātah for the *shaykh al-islām* Ibn Ḥajar, whose father had been an acquaintance of Ibn Nubātah.[23] We will deal with this relationship later in the section on the *Dīwān Ibn Nubātah*.

(10) Ibn Taghrībirdī (b. ca. 812/1409–10, d. 874/1470) was an ardent admirer

Ṭanāḥī, 2nd ed. [Cairo, 1413/1992], 9:273).

[17]Al-Subkī, *Muʿjam al-Shuyūkh, Takhrīj Ibn Saʿd al-Ḥanbalī*, ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf et al. (Beirut, 2004), 459–62.

[18]Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Rāfiʿ, *Al-Wafayāt*, ed. Ṣāliḥ Mahdī ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1402/1982), 2:311–12; Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Fāsī, *Dhayl al-Taqyīd fī Ruwāt al-Sunan wa-al-Masānīd*, ed. Kamāl Yūsuf al-Ḥūt (Beirut, 1410/1990), 1:250; al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam Shuyūkh al-Dhahabī*, ed. Rūḥīyah ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūfī (Beirut, 1410/1990), 567–68.

[19]*Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah*, ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1977–97), 3:304–5.

[20]Ibn al-ʿIrāqī, *Dhayl al-ʿIbar*, 1:219–23.

[21]Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī, *Khizānat al-Adab wa-Ghāyat al-Arab*, ed. Kawkab Diyāb (Beirut, 2001/1421). Ibn Nubātah's *Ijāzah* is quoted in 3:326–34. For further quotations see index, 5:296.

[22]Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah* (Hyderabad, 1929–31), 5:485–91.

[23]See Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān et al. (Hyderabad, 1387–96/1967–76), 1:174.

of the poetry of Ibn Nubātah. This is reflected in the length of the notices in which he treats Ibn Nubātah, though he does not offer much information not already given in earlier sources. Ibn Taghrībirdī devoted a long notice to Ibn Nubātah in his *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* in which he cites Ibn Nubātah's *Farāʾid al-Sulūk* [7] and other poems.[24] Ibn Taghrībirdī's notice on al-Ṣafadī in the same work contains more information about Ibn Nubātah than about al-Ṣafadī, since the aforementioned *Ijāzah* is quoted in its entirety in this entry.[25] The notice on Ibn Nubātah in *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah* is shorter and can be ignored.[26]

(11) Despite its late date, the chronicle of Ibn Iyās has some additional details, not so much in the obituary,[27] but scattered throughout the first volume.

(12) The entry on Ibn Nubātah in al-Shawkānī's *Al-Badr al-Ṭāliʿ* is important for an understanding of the reputation of Ibn Nubātah immediately before the onset of colonialism, but does not provide us with any otherwise unknown facts about the life and work of our author. The same is true for many other sources, both from contemporaries of Ibn Nubātah as well as from authors in later times.[28]

(13) ʿUmar Mūsá Bāshā's study *Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī* from 1963 is the only book-length scholarly monograph on Ibn Nubātah to date.[29] It is especially valuable for

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[24]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʿda al-Wāfī*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn et al. (Cairo, 1984–). The notice on Ibn Nubātah is in vol. 11 (Cairo, 2005), 93–106.

[25]Ibid., vol. 6 (Cairo, 1990), 241–57; the *Ijāzah* is on pages 246–54.

[26]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah, Vol. V* (746–800 *A.H.*), ed. William Popper (Berkeley, 1936), 248–50. See also idem, *Al-Dalīl al-Shāfī ʿalá al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī*, ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Cairo, 1998), 700.

[27]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden, 1960–75), 1:2:61–63.

[28]Al-Shawkānī, *Al-Badr al-Ṭāliʿ*, 2:131. Other sources: Ibn Kathīr (d. 774), *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* (Cairo, 1351/1932), 14:322; Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī (d. 832), *Taʿrīf Dhawī al-ʿUlā bi-man lam Yadhkuruhu al-Dhahabī min al-Nubalā*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Arnāʾūṭ and Akram al-Būshī (Beirut, 1998), 169–78; Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī (d. 845), *Kitāb al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Yaʿlāwī (Beirut, 1411/1991), 7:103–5; idem, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-Aʿyān al-Mufīdah*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī (Beirut, 1423/2002), 3:221–23; idem, *Al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah et al. (Cairo, 1934–72), 3:147; al-Suyūṭī (d. 911), *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah fī Akhbār Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah*, ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1387/1967–68), 1:571; Zayn al-Dīn Ibn Shāhīn (d. 920), *Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal*, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 1422/2002), 1:394; Ḥājjī Khalīfah (d. 1067/1657), *Kashf al-Ẓunūn ʿan Asāmī al-Kutub wa-al-Funūn*, (Beirut, 1414/1994), 6:131; Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1089/1679), *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Beirut, n.d.), 6:212 [a terrible mess; he mixed up Ibn Nubātah, his father, and his son]; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *Al-Aʿlām* (Damascus, 1373–78/1954–59), 7:268–69.

[29]The book by Maḥmūd Sālim Muḥammad, *Ibn Nubātah*: *Shāʿir al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Damascus, 1420/1999), is worthless and cannot be considered a serious scholarly contribution. See my review in *MSR* 6 (2002): 219–24. J. Rikabi's entry in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd. ed., 3:900–1 is marred by many mistakes and a complete misjudgment of Ibn Nubātah's poetry. Julie Scott

its unprejudiced approach towards Ibn Nubātah's poetry. ʿUmar Mūsá's book is a pioneering work and shows all the strengths and weaknesses of a work of this kind. It is high time for an update.

3. The Life of Ibn Nubātah

It is obvious that the works of Ibn Nubātah, both his poems as well as his letters and other prose texts, cannot be adequately understood if we ignore their historic and biographical context. In the following section I organize the main facts of Ibn Nubātah by year.[30] Due to the nature of the sources, the story of Ibn Nubātah's life appears mainly as the story of his social relations.

Amirs of the highest rank play a role twice in his life. In his first Syrian period, the princes of Ḥamāh, al-Malik al-Muʾayyad and his son al-Afḍal, act as his patrons, and towards the end of his life the sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan would become the only sultan of immediate importance to him. But despite the enormous influence of al-Muʾayyad on Ibn Nubātah's work, the main focus of Ibn Nubātah's life is the chancellery. Both the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* in Damascus as well as that in Cairo receive his attention from the very beginning of his literary activity. Even the chancellery of Aleppo is of some significance for him. Besides al-Malik al-Muʾayyad, Ibn Nubātah's most important acquaintances are the *kuttāb al-sirr* of Damascus and Cairo, especially al-Shihāb Maḥmūd and the Ibn Faḍl Allāh brothers. Next in importance to the *kuttāb* are religious scholars with a more than passing interest in poetry, such as Ibn Ṣaṣrā at the beginning, and Nūr al-Dīn Ibn Ḥajar at the end of Ibn Nubātah's career. Another group, which was mainly the object of his epigrams, are higher officials connected with the chancelleries, such as viziers and *dawādār*s.

Personal relationships were often part of an association with a whole family. It seems as if the powerful families of the Mamluk empire took the place of caliphs, princes, and governors as patrons of literature. Therefore, a poet could give attention to even less important members of a family. The best examples are the

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Meisami's entry in the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, ed. J. S. Meisami and Paul Starkey (London, New York, 1998), 1:357–58, is also not free from errors. It was not Ibn Nubātah who "developed an interest in mysticism," but his patron al-Malik al-Afḍal. Both articles claim that Ibn Nubātah led an itinerant life during his second Syrian period. This is also not true. Three studies that appeared in the year 2003 and treat different aspects of the works of Ibn Nubātah deserve to be mentioned: ʿAwaḍ al-Ghubārī, "Al-Tanāṣṣ fī Shiʿr Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī," in idem, *Dirāsah fī Adab Miṣr al-Islāmīyah* (Cairo, 2003), 149–230; Thomas Bauer, "Communication and Emotion: The Case of Ibn Nubātah's *Kindertotenlieder*," *MSR* 7, no. 1 (2003): 49–95; Everett K. Rowson, "An Alexandrian Age in Fourteenth-Century Damascus: Twin Commentaries on Two Celebrated Arabic Epistles," in ibid., 97–110.

[30] A more narrative summary of Ibn Nubātah's life will be given in *Dictionary of Literary Biography*: *Arabic Literary Culture* 1350–1830 *C.E.*, ed. Joseph Lowry and Devin Steward (forthcoming).

Banū Faḍl Allāh. Ibn Nubātah had a close personal relationship with Shihāb al-Dīn and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh. Yet Ibn Nubātah did not limit himself to addressing these two, but also eulogized other members of the family and congratulated them on diverse occasions of minor importance. Other families, of which several members became the object of Ibn Nubātah's attention, were the offspring of Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd, the Banū al-Athīr, the Ibn Shaykh al-Salāmīyah family, Sharaf al-Dīn Yaʿqūb and his family, the Subkīs, and the Ibn Qarawīnah brothers. Next to the Banū Faḍl Allāh, the Subkīs were the most important of them. Their patronage even survived Ibn Nubātah. His pupil al-Qīrāṭī seems to have been a kind of house poet to the Subkīs.[31]

Ibn Nubātah's relationship to contemporary poets may have been more extensive than the following section suggests. There are a few of them among his teachers (al-Ḥammāmī, al-Warrāq) and a few more among his colleagues or rivals (Ibn al-Wardī, al-Ḥillī, al-Ḍifdiʿ, Ibn Abī Ḥajalah; al-Ṣafadī may be included rather among the *kuttāb*). Among his disciples, al-Qīrāṭī gained greatest fame. In sum, Ibn Nubātah's life is part of a network that is representative of the culture of the *kuttāb* of the Bahri Mamluk period.

I. First Cairene Period (686–716/1287–1316)

686 *(0)*[32]

Rabīʿ I/April 1287: Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Fāriqī al-Miṣrī is born in Cairo in the Zuqāq al-Qanādīl, the son of a hadith scholar and author of a history of the caliphs. He is a direct, tenth-generation descendant of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn Nubātah (d. 374/984–85), Sayf al-Dawlah's famous preacher. The *nisbah* al-Fāriqī refers to this famous ancestor, who was born in Mayyāfāriqīn, the ancestral home of the Ibn Nubātah family. The *nisbah* al-Miṣrī helps to distinguish him from the preacher and from another famous, more distant relative, the poet Ibn Nubātah al-Saʿdī (327–405/939–1014).[33] Some sources also mention the *nisbah* al-Ḥudhāqī, which refers to a branch of the tribe Iyād, to which the Ibn Nubātah family traced its origin. Jamāl al-Dīn had inherited this *nisbah* from his ancestor, but made hardly any use of it.[34] Of the several

[31] Ibn al-ʿIrāqī, *Dhayl al-ʿIbar*, 490; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 1:12.

[32] Numbers in parentheses indicate Ibn Nubātah's age at the time.

[33] *Dīwān Ibn Nubātah al-Saʿdī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Amīr Mahdī Ḥabīb al-Ṭāʾī (Baghdad, 1397/1977).

[34] See Ibn Rāfiʿ, *Wafayāt*, 2:312 and the explanation of the editor in footnote 2, and Ibn al-ʿIrāqī, *Dhayl al-ʿIbar*, 220, with footnote 1. The correct form is also given in al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 1:311; idem, *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ*, 2:180; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh*, 3:304. "Al-Judhāmī" (see al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah*, 1:571; Rikabi, *EI2*, 3:900, with additional inappropriate explanations; and several other late sources) and "al-Ḥamdānī," (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal*, 11:94) are obvious mistakes. The explicit testimony of those who knew Ibn Nubātah is more convincing than the geographical

kunyahs Ibn Nubātah used during his life,[35] Abū Bakr became the most famous.

689 *(3)*
The small child is brought by his father to attend hadith sessions. Though he did not become a professional hadith scholar, he never ceased to occupy himself with hadith and to attend hadith sessions. Consequently, his name is recorded in several dictionaries of hadith transmitters.

690 *(4)*
Ghāzī al-Ḥalāwī, Ibn Nubātah's first hadith teacher, dies at the age of about 95.[36] Ibn Nubātah had heard from him two parts of the *Ghaylānīyāt* and was eventually to become the sole transmitter of the work in al-Ḥalāwī's *riwāyah*.

692 *(6)*
Death of Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, the famous *kātib al-sirr* of the chancellery in Cairo and the most accomplished prose stylist of the age.[37] Ibn Nubātah mentions him among his teachers in his *Ijāzah,* but he cannot have learned much from him, given his young age. However, he did meet Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, who became a model as a prose stylist for Ibn Nubātah. According to al-Ṣafadī, Ibn Nubātah "extinguished the light of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir and left no favored position for him in the hearts of the people."[38]

695 *(9)*
Death of Sirāj al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Warrāq, an extraordinarily productive poet. He is considered the greatest Egyptian poet of his time and a master of the *tawriyah*. Al-Ṣafadī produces an anthology of the seven volumes of al-Warrāq's *Dīwān*.[39] Ibn Nubātah had met him and heard him recite an epigram.[40]

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arguments brought forward by ʿUmar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah*, 117–20.

[35] Ibn al-ʿIrāqī, *Dhayl al-ʿIbar*, 219: *dhū al-kuná*: *Abū Bakr wa-Abū ʿAbd Allāh wa-Abū al-Fatḥ wa-Abū al-Faḍāʾil.*

[36] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām*, vol. 52, *Ḥawādith wa-Wafayāt* 691–700, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 1421/2000), 430–31.

[37] J. Pedersen, "Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir," *EI*2, 3:679–80.

[38] Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 1:312 = al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffá*, 7:104.

[39] Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, vol. 19, *Baqīyat Shuʿarāʾ Miṣr*, ed. Yūnis Aḥmad al-Sāmarrāʾī (Abu Dhabi, 1424/2003), 15–305; Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (Weimar and Leiden, 1898–1949), 1:267; Ibn Ḥijjah, *Khizānat al-Adab*, 3:198–210.

[40] Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 1:318.

698 *(12)*
Death of Egypt's leading grammarian of the time, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Naḥḥās, "who never married . . . and never ate grapes,"[41] and whom Ibn Nubātah mentions among his teachers.[42]

700 *(14)*
Ibn Nubātah started to compose poetry before the turn of the century.[43] However, the only poems that can be dated with certainty to the first Cairene period are a two-line epigram on the Nile flood and a few epigrams on his early teachers and a few other celebrities.[44]

701 *(15)*
The famous hadith scholar and teacher of al-Dhahabī, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Abarqūhī[45] (b. 615), dies while on pilgrimage in Mecca. In his old age, Ibn Nubātah was sought after as the sole transmitter of the *Sīrah* of Ibn Isḥāq/Ibn Hishām in the *riwāyah* of al-Abarqūhī.

702 *(16)*
Death of Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd (625–702/1228–1302), one of the most renowned religious scholars of the time, considered by many as the *mujaddid* of the eighth century. As with many religious scholars, he was also an *adīb* and poet. Al-Ṣafadī compiled a short selection of his poetry.[46] Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd was an acquaintance of Ibn Nubātah's father, and he must have exerted considerable influence on his son. However, the person whom Ibn Nubātah mentions as his main teacher in *adab,* a certain ʿAlam al-Dīn Qays ibn Sulṭān al-Ḍarīr from Munyat Banī Khaṣīb,[47] is an otherwise unknown person.

704 *(18)*
Ibn al-Tītī, former *nāʾib dār al-ʿadl,* falls from his horse and dies.[48] He was a man with scholarly and literary interests and obviously an acquaintance of the Ibn Nubātah family. At a time when Ibn Nubātah had not yet reached puberty, Ibn al-Tītī suggested that he compose an epigram on the Nile flood. Ibn Nubātah records

[41] Ibid., 2:12.
[42] Ibid., 1:318, 2:10–15; *GAL*, S1:527.
[43] Ibn al-ʿIrāqī, *Dhayl al-ʿIbar*, 221.
[44] Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 1:318–19.
[45] Ibid., 6:242 f.; idem, *Aʿyān*, 1:171 f.
[46] ʿAlī Ṣāfī Ḥusayn, *Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd*: *Ḥayātuhū wa-Dīwānuhū* (Cairo, 1960).
[47] Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 1:318.
[48] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:330–32.

this event in his *Ijāzah*[49] and includes the epigram in his own poetic collections.[50] Like other poets, Ibn Nubātah was obviously proud of his early achievements. Since there is not a single longer *qasīdah* that can be assigned to these years, there is no reason to assume that Ibn Nubātah was already a prolific poet in his first Cairene period, as ʿUmar Mūsá does.[51] Had Ibn Nubātah ever considered one of his early long poems (if there were any) worthy of preservation, he would have spared no effort to publish it and to note the occasion of its composition.

705 *(19)*
Trial of Ibn Taymīyah in Damascus. Ibn Nubātah would become an acquaintance of two of the four judges, Najm al-Dīn Ibn Ṣaṣrā and Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Zamlakānī. The other two judges were already dead when Ibn Nubātah arrived in Damascus.[52]

707 *(21)*
Besides the names of his teachers there is not much recorded for Ibn Nubātah's early Cairene years. ʿUmar Mūsá, however, makes the year 707 the starting point of a second period in the life of Ibn Nubātah without presenting any compelling reason for this. According to him, this period is marked by Ibn Nubātah's first panegyric poems, addressed, above all, to Badr al-Dīn and Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh, as well as to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr. Contrary to ʿUmar Mūsá's contention, however, we have no indication whatsoever that Ibn Nubātah ever tried to make a living as a panegyrist in Cairo. Though he may have composed poems in praise of Cairene scholars, none has been preserved. The fact that Ibn Nubātah composed an elegy on the death of Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh in 717, when he was already in Damascus, does not preclude the possibility that he had composed panegyrics for him while still in Egypt.[53] Elegies are not composed for the sake of the deceased, but for the bereaved. This elegy has to be seen in the context of Ibn Nubātah's attempt to establish relations with the Banū Faḍl Allāh *after* his arrival in Syria in 716. The same is true for Ibn Nubātah's poems on Badr al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh, who

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[49]Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 1:318.

[50]In the *Proto-Dīwān*, see Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, 19:614; on the epigram see also Th. Bauer, "Das Nilzağal des Ibrāhīm al-Miʿmār," in *Alltagsleben und materielle Kultur in der arabischen Sprache und Literatur*: *Festschrift für Heinz Grotzfeld*, ed. Th. Bauer and U. Stehli-Werbeck (Wiesbaden, 2005), 73.

[51]ʿUmar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah*, 137–49.

[52]See Sherman A. Jackson, "Ibn Taymiyyah on Trial in Damascus," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 39 (1994): 41–85.

[53]ʿUmar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah*, 144–45; neither the *Dīwān* nor any other source contains a poem or document that was addressed to Sharaf al-Dīn during his lifetime.

is not, as ʿUmar Mūsá believes, Sharaf al-Dīn's brother Badr al-Dīn the Elder, but the son of Sharaf al-Dīn's brother Muḥyī al-Dīn, Badr al-Dīn the Younger, brother of Shihāb al-Dīn and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn. The third person mentioned by ʿUmar Mūsá as an addressee of Ibn Nubātah's poems written in Cairo is ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr.[54] He lived from 680 to 730 and was *kātib al-sirr* in Cairo between 709 and 729. We have several odes and epigrams that Ibn Nubātah composed for ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ibn al-Athīr, as well as a letter he wrote to him. Again, this is a family story. The Banū al-Athīr and the Banū Faḍl Allāh alternated in holding the leading positions in the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* in Cairo and in Damascus. From his Damascene home Ibn Nubātah remained in contact not only with the members of these families who stayed in Syria, but also those who were in Cairo. A letter to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn that is preserved in *Zahr al-Manthūr* [12] and in El Escorial MS árabe 584 (fols. 106v–107r), and the rather small number of only three (albeit important) poems speak in favor of a relationship that consisted of the exchange of letters while Ibn Nubātah was in Syria. In sum, there is no justification for establishing a second Cairene period of the years 707–16. We can only assume that during these years Ibn Nubātah perfected his knowledge and his literary skill and composed his first poetry.

708 *(22)*

Possible date of the death of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ḥammāmī (b. 669),[55] although 704 and 712 are also given.[56] He exchanged poems with Ibn Nubātah. The bath attendant al-Ḥammāmī was a popular poet, composing mainly strophic poetry and riddles, which he exchanged with Sirāj al-Dīn al-Warrāq. The three poets (and friends) al-Jazzār (601–79), al-Ḥammāmī, and al-Warrāq are the main representatives of Egyptian poetry in the generation before Ibn Nubātah. By mentioning two of them in his *Ijāzah,*[57] Ibn Nubātah places himself in this tradition, but at the same time strives to transcend it by composing denser and more sophisticated verses.

710 *(24)*

The Ayyubid dynasty of Ḥamāh had come to an end with the death of the unloved Sultan al-Malik al-Muẓaffar III, patron of the *washshāḥ* al-Maḥḥār, in 698. For the next twelve years, Ḥamāh was ruled by Mamluk governors. Dissatisfied with their conduct, Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad appoints his friend Abū al-Fidāʾ ʿImād al-Dīn Ismāʿīl governor of Ḥamāh and awards him the honorific title al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ.

[54] ʿUmar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah,* 145–49.

[55] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 6:159–61.

[56] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 5:503–20; Otfried Weintritt, "An-Nāṣir al-Ḥammāmī (gest. 712/1312): Dichter und Bademeister in Kairo," in Bauer and Stehli-Werbeck, eds., *Alltagsleben und materielle Kultur,* 381–90.

[57] Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* 1:318–19.

In 720, he would be renamed al-Malik al-Muʾayyad. He was the cousin of the last Ayyubid ruler of Ḥamāh. Abū al-Fidāʾ was a man of learning and literature, a poet and patron of poets and scholars. Today he is mainly known for his geographical work, *Taqwīm al-Buldān,* and his history, *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Tārīkh al-Bashar,* which Ibn Nubātah praised with an epigram.[58]

714 *(28)*
The sultan appoints Karīm al-Dīn Ibn al-Sadīd (d. 724) as the first *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*. An epigram written to him by Ibn Nubātah may have been composed on this occasion.[59] When Ibn al-Sadīd became ill, many poets composed poems wishing him well and were each rewarded with two hundred dirhams. Among them was Ibn Nubātah, who contributed an epigram.[60] This is one of the few poems that can be dated to his Cairene period.

715 *(29)*
Thirty years was the appropriate age to venture onto the public stage as an *adīb.*[61] Ibn Nubātah prepared for this step carefully. He collected material to be included in an anthology that, at the same time, was a manifesto of the importance of the *adīb* for contemporary scholarly society. In this book, the *Maṭlaʿ al-Fawāʾid* [1], Ibn Nubātah presented himself both as a scholarly expert on language and *adab,* as well as a legitimate heir to the grand tradition of Arabic poetry and prose. But was Cairo the right place to publish this book? The master of prose style, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, was dead, and his successor as master *munshiʾ,* Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd, directed the chancellery in Damascus. In Cairo, popular poetry flourished, but if Ibn Nubātah wanted to realize his project of a literature of sophistication and refinement, he had to address all those people who happened to live in Damascus or in other places in Syria at that time. Though deeply in love with his hometown and always proud to present himself as Ibn Nubātah "the Egyptian," there was little that could hold him in Cairo. Contrary to ʿUmar Mūsá, I do not believe that the reason for Ibn Nubātah's departure from Cairo was economic failure as a panegyrist (for which there is no evidence), but rather his aspiration to join the ranks of the greatest *udabāʾ* of the time. He could find them in the chancelleries

[58]*Dīwān*, 171 (in general, I will only note the page on which the poem begins). On Abū al-Fidāʾ see H. A. R. Gibb, "Abū ʿl Fidā," *EI*2, 1:118–19; Robert Irwin, "Abū al-Fidā," *EAL*, 1:32; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh*, 2:321–25; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal*, 2:399–408.

[59]*Dīwān*, 478; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr,* 1:1:444–45, 453–54; see also W. M. Brinner, "Ibn al-Sadīd," *EI*2, 3:923–24; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 3:142–54.

[60]*Dīwān*, 546; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 1:1:454; both epigrams also appear in *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī* (nos. 22, 173).

[61]See Bauer, "Ibn Ḥabīb."

of Damascus and Aleppo, in their madrasahs and the Umayyad mosque, or in al-Muʾayyad's palace in Ḥamāh. Besides, his father had already left Cairo some time before to occupy a professorship in hadith at Damascus.

II. First Syrian Period (716–42/1316–41)

716 *(30)*

In the heat of summer, Ibn Nubātah travels from Cairo to Damascus, only to find himself trapped in snow and ice the following winter. These meteorological annoyances are among the subjects of his extensive correspondence with the leading ulama of Syria, among them al-Shihāb Maḥmūd and his son Jamāl al-Dīn, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, and the other ulama, who appear in *Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq* [3]. He also directs poems and letters to Abū al-Fidāʾ, the ruler of Ḥamāh, then still bearing the title al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ. Death of the poet al-Wadāʿī. Ibn Nubātah copied many of his ideas, especially in the field of *tawriyah.*[62]

717 *(31)*

Ibn Nubātah publishes his programmatic work *Maṭlaʿ al-Fawāʾid* [1]. He dedicates the book to the prince of Ḥamāh and sends copies of it to the leading ulama, asking for a *taqrīẓ* to be published in a second book. After the death of Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh, whom Ibn Nubātah commemorates with a dirge,[63] Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd (often referred to as Ibn Fahd in Western literature) is appointed *kātib al-sirr* in Damascus. This celebrated *munshiʾ* was the venerated model for a whole generation of prose stylists.[64] His proficiency in poetry and prose and his influence as head of the chancellery made him Ibn Nubātah's most important acquaintance during his first years in Damascus. He contributed to Ibn Nubātah's *Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq* [3] and defended him when the *kuttāb* of the *dīwān* plotted against him, whereupon Ibn Nubātah directed a long letter of examination to him and his clerks [9]. At least five long odes in the *Dīwān* are addressed to him, and a letter to him is preserved in Ibn Nubātah's own hand.[65] ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, grandson of the legendary Muḥyī al-Dīn and himself a *munshiʾ* of rank, dies in Cairo. His death is commemorated by Ibn Nubātah, who had previously addressed several artful letters to him.[66]

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[62] *GAL*, 2:9, S2:2 (wrong date of death); al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 22:199–213; Ibn Ḥijjah, *Khizānat al-Adab*, 3:291-310; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 1:1:447–48.

[63] *Dīwān*, 233. On Sharaf al-Dīn see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 19:317–24; idem, *Aʿyān*, 3:191–99.

[64] See Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, vol. 12, *Kuttāb al-Inshāʾ Sharqan*, ed. Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ (Abu Dhabi, 1423/2002), 397–447.

[65] See *Dīwān*, 152, 153, 284, 363, 438; El Escorial MS árabe 567, fol. 160r.

[66] The *marthiyah* is in Ibn Ḥajar's additions to the *Dīwān*, Göttingen MS arab. 179, fols. 43v–44r; the letters are in El Escorial MS árabe 548. On ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 3:487–96.

718 *(32)*
Ibn Nubātah writes two letters to Amīn al-Dīn al-Qibṭī Ibn Tāj al-Riʾāsah on the occasion of the latter's appointment as *nāẓir* of Ṭarābulus.[67] This is the first recorded contact between Ibn Nubātah and the vizier Amīn al-Dīn.[68] Ibn Nubātah congratulates ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Shaykh al-Salāmīyah (d. 730) on his marriage to the daughter of the vizier Shams al-Dīn Ghibriyāl.[69] The *nāẓir al-jaysh* of Aleppo, Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Rayyān (663–749), is transferred to a post in Ṣafad. He will hold his former office and several other similar offices in Aleppo and other places in Syria several times. Ibn Nubātah addresses a number of long odes and epigrams to him, most (or all) of them during Ibn Rayyān's years in Aleppo.[70]

719 *(33)*
Ibn Nubātah is able to assemble *taqārīẓ* from twelve leading ulama and *kuttāb* on his *Maṭlaʿ al-Fawāʾid*. Together with some additional texts, they come to form *Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq* [3], one of Ibn al-Nubātah's most successful books and one of the most characteristic documents for the culture of the Mamluk *kuttāb*. Ibn Nubātah congratulates Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn Shaykh al-Salāmīyah on his appointment as *muḥtasib* of Damascus.[71]

720 *(34)*
The Sultan awards the title al-Malik al-Muʾayyad to Abū al-Fidāʾ of Ḥamāh. During this period, Ibn Nubātah visits Ḥamāh regularly at least once a year. He is granted a pension of 600 dirhams per year, but receives additional presents on different occasions. The court of Ḥamāh offers Ibn Nubātah the opportunity to meet other poets such as Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī. Several of his works are dedicated to the prince, among them *Sarḥ al-ʿUyūn* [4] and a selection of passages from letters and documents written by al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, Ibn Nubātah's model for prose style. Above all, Ibn Nubātah assembles *qasīdahs*, *muwashshaḥāt,* a *zajal,* and epigrams addressed to al-Muʾayyad and publishes them under the title *Muntakhab al-Hadīyah* [5]. Ibn Nubātah's nearly forty *qasīdahs* in praise of Abū al-Fidāʾ are the most important examples of panegyric poetry addressed to a ruler in post-Ayyubid, pre-modern Arabic literature. Ibn Nubātah writes a *taqrīẓ* on a *jīmīyah* by the poet

[67] El Escorial MS árabe 548, fols. 105r, 119r.

[68] See the years 733 and 735. On Amīn al-Dīn see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:658–70.

[69] *Dīwān*, 112; a dirge on his death, ibid., 112; on ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 5:670.

[70] *Dīwān*, 112, 269, 394, 398, 401, 530; on Ibn Rayyān see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:426–33. An epigram by Ibn Nubātah that is dedicated to Jamāl al-Dīn's son Bahāʾ al-Dīn is quoted in Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 1:2:61.

[71] *Dīwān*, 47 = *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī*, no. 31.

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Khayyāṭ, known as al-Ḍifdiʿ, "the Frog"[72] (693–756). He was a prolific poet who left a *Dīwān* of six volumes. His relationship to Ibn Nubātah, which is only attested by a few texts, may have been a troubled one, since al-Ḍifdiʿ was prone to satire and nobody escaped his sharp tongue. According to al-Ṣafadī, who seems to be quite amused by their quarrels, Ibn Nubātah and al-Ḍifdiʿ "were the Farazdaq and Jarīr of their age."[73] Death of Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm, the first Hanafi qadi of Aleppo. An important *madīḥ* poem on him by Ibn Nubātah is preserved in different versions.[74]

721 *(35)*
Rithāʾ on the Cairene *munshiʾ* Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr,[75] to whom Ibn Nubātah had already directed several epigrams preserved in *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī* [6].

722 *(36)*
Death of the goldsmith Shams al-Dīn al-Ṣāʾigh, a leading *adīb* and specialist in metrics. His connection to Ibn Nubātah is attested by a long *qasīdah.*[76] Further, al-Ṣāʾigh was a protege of Quṭb al-Dīn Ibn Shaykh al-Salāmīyah (661–732), who was also an acquaintance of Ibn Nubātah.[77]

723 *(37)*
Rithāʾ on Najm al-Dīn Ibn Ṣaṣrā, who had been chief Shafiʿi qadi of Damascus for 21 years. He was one of the contributors to *Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq* [3] and an important acquaintance of Ibn Nubātah during his early Damascene years. This is reflected in many poems and epigrams in the *Dīwān* and in *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī* [6], among them an *urjūzah* of 169 rajaz verses.[78] For his first meeting with Ibn Ṣaṣrā, Ibn Nubātah had prepared not only a *madīḥ,* but also a satire in case Ibn Ṣaṣrā did not

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[72] *Zahr al-Manthūr* [12], Chester Beatty MS 5161, fols. 42v, 39r–v; see also al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 5:353–63; *GAL*, 2:10, S2: 3.

[73] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 5:358.

[74] *Dīwān*, 436, compare Chester Beatty MS 3813, fols. 29v–30v; a short poem, *Dīwān*, 525; on Kamāl al-Dīn see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 4:201–2; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal*, 8:299.

[75] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:333–37.

[76] *Dīwān*, 340; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 2:361–63; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:239. Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:397–400, dates his death to the year 720; still another date is given in *GAL*, 2:9.

[77] See *Dīwān*, 330, perhaps also p. 40; a dirge on his son ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn p. 112. On Quṭb al-Dīn see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 5:469–72.

[78] *Dīwān*, 508–11; see also *Dīwān*, 80, 168, 173, 270, 367 (*rithāʾ*), 370, 431, 439, 444, 454, 459, 540, and *Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq* [3]; see also ʿUmar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah*, 175–78; Muḥammad ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1973–74), 1:125–27; W. M. Brinner, "Ibn Ṣaṣrā," *EI*2, 3:931b.

welcome him properly. When he entered, Ibn Nubātah mistakenly handed him the satire. Ibn Ṣaṣrā not only forgave Ibn Nubātah this faux pas, but even kept it a secret.[79] At the request of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī collects his poetry into a thematically arranged *Dīwān.*[80] It documents part of the poetic exchange between him and Ibn Nubātah.[81] Additional poems and epigrams addressed to al-Ḥillī are preserved.[82] The two poets met several times in Ḥamāh, and despite their very different stylistic approach, Ibn Nubātah held al-Ḥillī in great esteem and called him "the best poet of his time."[83] Whereas al-Ḥillī inspired Ibn Nubātah to write *Muntakhab al-Hadīyah* [3], Ibn Nubātah inspired al-Ḥillī to collect his epigrams in a separate *Dīwān* [see 5].

724 *(38)*
Jalāl al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī is called to Cairo, honored by the sultan, and appointed chief Shafiʿi judge of Damascus.[84] Ibn Nubātah congratulates him with a *qasīdah.*[85] Al-Qazwīnī (666–739) is known as Khaṭīb Dimashq because he was chief preacher of the Umayyad mosque. He was one of the contributors to *Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq* and one of Ibn Nubātah's first acquaintances in Damascus. Several letters to him are preserved, as are a number of *qasīdahs* and epigrams written for him.[86] Al-Qazwīnī's fame rests mainly on his *Talkhīṣ al-Miftāḥ,* a handbook of Arabic rhetoric. There is hardly a more frequently cited book in all of Arabic literature. Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Zamlakānī is appointed chief qadi of Aleppo. He takes up his new office reluctantly. Ibn Nubātah congratulates him with an epigram.[87]

725 *(39)*
The death of three celebrities of Damascus induces Ibn Nubātah to compose three elegies. At the beginning of the year, the Sufi Ibn al-Ṣayyāḥ is mourned by an

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[79] Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffá*, 1:715.

[80] W. Heinrichs, "Ṣāfī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī," *EI*2, 8:802.

[81] See *Dīwān Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥawwar (Beirut, 2000), no. 208, and Ibn Nubātah, *Dīwān*, 72.

[82] *Dīwān*, 50, 72, 235, 344, 478, 426, 543 (see Ibn Ḥijjah, *Khizānat al-Adab*, 1:323).

[83] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:595; see also Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 5:97–98.

[84] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:254, 439–42; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:492–99; ʿUmar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah*, 178–82; *GAL*, 1:295–96, 2:22, S1:516–19, S2:15–16; S. A. Bonebakker, "Al-Ḳazwīnī," *EI*2, 4:863–64; W. P. Heinrichs, "Al-Khaṭīb al-Qazwīnī," *EAL*, 2:439–40.

[85] *Dīwān*, 198.

[86] Ibid., 161, 198, 323, 432, 495, 552; Ayasofya MS 2352, fol. 198v (a *wāwīyah* of 40 lines).

[87] *Dīwān*, 277–78, cf. Sibṭ Ibn al-ʿAjamī, *Kunūz al-Dhahab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab*, ed. Shawqī Shaghth and Fāliḥ al-Bakkūr (Aleppo, 1417/1997), 1:326, and al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:632.

elegy, which is quoted in its entirety by al-Ṣafadī.[88] A death of more consequence for Ibn Nubātah occurs in Shaʿbān, when Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd dies. Ibn Nubātah writes a dirge.[89] As head of the chancellery, Shihāb al-Dīn's successor is his son Shams al-Dīn, who had already assisted his father in this office in previous years. Badr al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, son of the famous *munshiʾ* Kamāl al-Dīn (d. 702), *adīb* and holder of several administrative offices, dies in Dhū al-Qaʿdah.[90] Ibn Nubātah composes another elegy. Badr al-Dīn was one of the contributors to *Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq* [3], where Ibn Nubātah also quotes a long ode and several shorter poems he had addressed to him.[91]

726 *(40)*
During his first fifteen years in Damascus, Ibn Nubātah visits the court of Ḥamāh every year, but—contrary to ʿUmar Mūsá's assumption—keeps Damascus as his main residence. Ibn Nubātah writes quite a number of works, each of them a milestone of its kind, to prove himself a universal master of *adab*. Most of his works in this period are dedicated to the prince of Ḥamāh, but meant to be read and appreciated by all of the *udabāʾ* and *kuttāb,* especially those of Syria. Among the works that appear before 730, but cannot be dated more precisely, is *Sarḥ al-ʿUyūn fī Sharḥ Risālat Ibn Zaydūn* [4], a pioneering work that combined the form of a commentary with that of an anthology.[92] Besides Damascus and Ḥamāh, Aleppo is the third important place for Ibn Nubātah in Syria. The *nāẓir al-awqāf* Ibn Ṣaqr, who dies in this year, is one of the prominent men of Aleppo to whom Ibn Nubātah dedicates his poems.[93]

727 *(41)*
Rithāʾ on the death of Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Zamlakānī, famous scholar and influential office holder in Damascus and Aleppo, one of the dignitaries who contributed a *taqrīẓ* to *Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq* [3]. Additional poems about him are to be found in the *Dīwān* and in *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī* [5]. Ibn Nubātah recites his *rithāʾ* on Kamāl al-Dīn to al-Ṣafadī, who is highly impressed.[94] After only two years in office, Shams al-

[88] *Dīwān*, 220; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 1:61–63.

[89] *Dīwān*, 155.

[90] See al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:240–41; idem, *Wāfī*, 30:272–73. On Kamāl al-Dīn see Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik*, 12:365–92.

[91] *Dīwān*, 44 (*rithāʾ*), 149, 277; most epigrams from *Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq* are not in the printed *Dīwān*.

[92] See Rowson, "An Alexandrian Age."

[93] *Dīwān*, 39 (?), 57, 233. On Ibn Ṣaqr see al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 2:200–1; idem, *Aʿyān*, 4:317–19; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh*, 2:163–64.

[94] Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 4:219–20; see also Ibn Nubātah, *Dīwān*, 67, 76, 172, 297, 405 (*rithāʾ*), 494, 505;

Dīn ibn Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd dies. Ibn Nubātah's dirge for him is quoted by al-Ṣafadī.[95] He is replaced as *kātib al-sirr* by Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn Faḍl Allāh (645–738), the father of Shihāb al-Dīn, Badr al-Dīn, and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn.

728 *(42)*
The son of al-Muʾayyad, who still bears the title al-Malik al-Manṣūr, was fond of hunting, a passion he shared with the governor of Syria, Tankiz. One of these hunting parties, which must have taken place around this year, is made the subject of Ibn Nubātah's *Farāʾid al-Sulūk fī Maṣāʾid al-Mulūk* [7]. With 193 *rajaz* couplets, it is the longest hunting *urjūzah* in Arabic literature and the most important contribution to hunting poetry after Abū Firās.

729 *(43)*
Al-Ṣafadī writes from Cairo via Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh asking Ibn Nubātah for an *ijāzah* to transmit his works. Ibn Nubātah's answer probably dates from the following year. This *Ijāzah* is the most important source for Ibn Nubātah's early years and the chronology of his works. Still in 729, al-Ṣafadī and Ibn Nubātah meet in Damascus and Ibn Nubātah transmits to al-Ṣafadī some of his works in the Umayyad Mosque (*Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī* [6], *Muntakhab al-Hadīyah* [5], *Farāʾid al-Sulūk* [7], *Al-Mufākharah bayna al-Sayf wa-al-Qalam* [10]).[96] Ibn Nubātah sends his *Mufākharah bayna al-Sayf wa-al-Qalam* to the *dawādār* Nāṣir al-Dīn (see the year 734). The head of the chancellery of Cairo, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, falls ill. Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh is transferred to Cairo to replace him. His place in Damascus is taken by Sharaf al-Dīn ibn Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Shihāb Maḥmūd,[97] who will change places with Muḥyī al-Dīn for eight months in 732–33 and return for a second term in office for one and a half years in the beginning of 733. While Ibn Nubātah's connection to Muḥyī al-Dīn is well established,[98] so far no text addressed to al-Shihāb Maḥmūd's grandson has been found.

730 *(44)*
Ibn Nubātah publishes *Zahr al-Manthūr* [12], a collection of epistolary excerpts. With this book Ibn Nubātah establishes himself as the leading prose stylist of his time. Since he did not hold a position in the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* (and probably did not yet aspire to one), he had to draw largely on his private correspondence. A large

but several epigrams from *Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq* are missing in the printed *Dīwān*.

[95] *Dīwān*, 221; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 5:13–14; idem, *Aʿyān*, 5:255–56.

[96] Al-Ṣafadī, *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ*, 2:180–92; idem, *Wāfī*, 1:312–19.

[97] See al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 10:259–64; idem, *Aʿyān*, 2:12–25.

[98] Two long odes in the *Dīwān*, 100, 564, and a few shorter poems.

number of letters and gifts are exchanged between al-Ṣafadī, who is in al-Raḥbah, and Ibn Nubātah.[99] ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr dies and Ibn Nubātah "laments his death with a celebrated elegy."[100] During his lifetime, Ibn Nubātah had written poems and letters to him. They show that Ibn Nubātah kept in contact not only with the chancellery of Damascus, but also with that of Cairo. Ibn Nubātah spends time in Aleppo. The young *adīb* and later historian Ibn Ḥabīb presents to him a newly-written collection of epigrams, in which he emulated Ibn Nubātah's *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī*. Ibn Nubātah praises the work of the young aspirant with a rhetorically brilliant *taqrīẓ*. In the following year, Ibn Ḥabīb is able to obtain a *taqrīẓ* by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī. He will never cease to be proud of this achievement at such an early age.[101] Ibn Nubātah writes a *rithāʾ* on the death of the young Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ibn Shaykh al-Salāmīyah, who was a member of the family to whom Ibn Nubātah dedicated poems.[102]

731 *(45)*
On 8 Rabīʿ I, al-Ṣafadī enters the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* in Damascus.[103] On his arrival in Damascus he receives a present from Ibn Nubātah and thanks him with an epigram.[104] The *adīb* and historian Tāj al-Dīn al-Makhzūmī spends time in Damascus and meets al-Ṣafadī. His visit to Ibn Nubātah may have occurred in the same year. On this occasion, he composed an epigram on the many ants that he saw in Ibn Nubātah's house.[105]

732 *(46)*
Death of al-Malik al-Muʾayyad of Ḥamāh. With the help of Tankiz, the mighty governor of Syria, his son al-Malik al-Manṣūr Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad is nominated as his successor and awarded the title al-Malik al-Afḍal.[106] The poem in which Ibn Nubātah comforts al-Afḍal on the death of his father and simultaneously congratulates him on his nomination as the new sultan of Ḥamāh is praised

[99] Al-Ṣafadī, *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ*, 2:192–224.

[100] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 4:15–18; further texts in *Dīwān*, 83, 107, 212, El Escorial MS árabe 548, fol. 106v (also in *Zahr al-Manthūr* [12]). See also ʿUmar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah*, 145–49; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 3:264–70.

[101] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh*, 2:203–4; see also Bauer, "Ibn Ḥabīb."

[102] *Dīwān*, 112, the poems p. 40 and p. 330 probably to his father, Quṭb al-Dīn Mūsá (see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 5:469–72), two poems p. 46 probably to ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn Mūsá (see Ibn al-ʿIrāqī, *Dhayl al-ʿIbar*, 267–68).

[103] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:257.

[104] Al-Ṣafadī, *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ*, 2:225.

[105] Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 18:26–27. On al-Makhzūmī see also *GAL*, S2:220.

[106] Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 2:224–27; idem, *Aʿyān*, 4:322–30; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal*, 9:322–24.

as an outstanding example of *iftinān,* the combination of different genres in a single text.[107] On 9 Rabīʿ II, the *adīb* Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Nāhiḍ (d. 761), imam of the madrasah and mosque al-Firdaws in Aleppo, finishes a copy of *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī* [6]. Ibn Nubātah knew Ibn Nāhiḍ personally and had visited him in al-Firdaws.[108] Ibn Nubātah writes a letter to al-Ṣafadī, who is in Cairo.[109]

733 *(47)*

Al-Ṣafadī answers Ibn Nubātah's letter.[110] Amīn al-Dīn Ibn Tāj al-Riʾāsah is appointed to his last vizierate of Damascus (733–40). This is the most probable occasion for a long congratulatory poem.[111] During this year and the following years, Ibn Nubātah regularly visits Ḥamāh and composes poems on al-Afḍal. For several years, al-Afḍal is still interested in literature and acts as a patron to poets. After some more years in office—the exact date cannot be fixed—al-Afḍal starts to retreat from worldly affairs and becomes a pious *zāhid*. Ibn Nubātah first reacts by no longer beginning his *qasīdah*s with love poetry, but with ascetic themes instead.[112] But after a while, al-Afḍal comes to loathe even this sort of poetry and stops the regular stipends paid to Ibn Nubātah. He also neglects his administrative duties, which leads to a bedouinization of the vicinities of Ḥamāh and to al-Afḍal's deposition in 742. In all, Ibn Nubātah composes more than twenty poems, most of them long *qasīdah*s, to eulogize al-Afḍal.

734 *(48)*

Death of Ibn Nubātah's son ʿAbd al-Raḥīm.[113] Ibn Nubātah's private life was overshadowed by the death of most of his children. Though infant death was a common experience in those times, Ibn Nubātah lost many children who were older, after having developed an intense emotional relationship with them. According to al-Ṣafadī, Ibn Nubātah had to bury about sixteen sons, all aged between five and seven.[114] Ibn Nubātah confronted his pain by composing poetry. Just like Friedrich Rückert, Ibn Nubātah composed a series of "Kindertotenlieder" on the death of his children, most of them on the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥīm,[115] who may have been Ibn Nubātah's favorite son. Note that he bore the name of his

[107] *Dīwān*, 429; Ibn Ḥijjah, *Khizānat al-Adab*, 2:43–45.

[108] Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh*, 3:239.

[109] Al-Ṣafadī, *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ*, 2:230–32.

[110] Ibid., 232–37.

[111] *Dīwān*, 502 (27 lines; the poem has 53 lines in Ibn Duqmāq's manuscript of the *Dīwān*).

[112] See for example *Dīwān*, 139.

[113] See *Ḥaẓīrat al-Uns* [16].

[114] Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 1:312.

[115] See Bauer, "Communication and Emotion."

famous ancestor, the preacher of Sayf al-Dawlah. The career of the *dawādār* Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Kawandak came to a tragic end. Since 712, Nāṣir al-Dīn had been the dearest friend of the governor Tankiz and the most powerful man in the office of the *dawādār*. "People never saw a *dawādār* like him."[116] Ibn Nubātah dedicated to him his "Debate between Sword and Pen," [10] after he had already dedicated it to al-Malik al-Muʾayyad. The subject was most suitable for a man in a position between the civil and military elite.

735 *(49)*
Ibn Nubātah accompanies Amīn al-Dīn Ibn Tāj al-Riʾāsah on his journey to Jerusalem and al-Khalīl. Ibn Nubātah describes this journey in his *Ḥaẓīrat al-Uns ilō Ḥaḍrat al-Quds* [16]. Perhaps there was a connection between this journey and Ibn Nubātah's appointment to the office of the *nāẓir al-qumāmah,* the keeper of the key of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher.[117]

736 *(50)*
The Syrian governor Tankiz is so enamored of ʿAlam al-Dīn Ibn al-Quṭb that he appoints him *kātib al-sirr* of Damascus, much to the disappointment of al-Shihāb Ibn Faḍl Allāh, who had expected to get the post himself.[118] Ibn Nubātah was a close friend of Shihāb al-Dīn and the Faḍl Allāh family. Therefore he did not dare to extend his contacts with Ibn al-Quṭb, and his relations with the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* declined. This may have occurred at a time in which Ibn Nubātah needed employment in the *dīwān* more urgently than before, since the patronage of the prince of Ḥamāh had become more and more uncertain.

737 *(51)*
ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh takes up his duties in the chancellery of Cairo, first as deputy for his sick father, and then, after his death in the following year, as *kātib al-sirr* himself. He would hold this office for 33 (lunar) years, longer than anybody else, until his death in Ramaḍān 769/1368. More than forty poems addressed to him are preserved in Ibn Nubātah's *Dīwān,* among them a number of seven-liners [31]. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn was a man of literary taste and great stylistic competence. He was also an active and engaged patron of poets, among them al-Qīrāṭī and the popular poet al-Miʿmār. In Ibn Nubātah's later years, ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn played a role similar to that of al-Muʾayyad during his early years. There is no other person to whom Ibn Nubātah ever dedicated as many poems as he did to these two. In

[116] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 5:105.
[117] See *Dīwān,* 465; see also ʿUmar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah,* 198–202, and al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 1:212.
[118] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:304–10.

his poems to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, Ibn Nubātah perfected his *tawriyah* style. These poems differ remarkably from his earlier poems and represent the main achievement of his later work. Most of Ibn Nubātah's poems to him date from his second Syrian and second Cairene period. Death of the prominent *kātib* ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Ghānim, who had contributed to *Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq* [3].[119] Ibn Nubātah also knew his son Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh (721–44), whose promising career was ended by his premature death.[120]

738 *(52)*
After a year and eight months in office, the *kātib al-sirr* Ibn al-Quṭb is arrested, his property is confiscated, and he is put under house arrest until Tankiz's removal from office. His successor is Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyá ibn Ismāʿīlī Ibn al-Qaysarānī,[121] Tankiz's new favorite. Al-Ṣafadī congratulates him immediately,[122] but Ibn Nubātah, who once had praised Yaḥyá's father,[123] was in a worse situation. Perhaps the poem *Dīwān,* 400 was an attempt to ingratiate himself with the chancellery again. It obviously was not successful. He may have been too closely associated with al-Shihāb Ibn Faḍl Allāh. Shihāb al-Dīn, however, often criticized the state of the chancellery of Damascus. This angered the sultan, who imprisoned him.

739 *(53)*
Tāj al-Dīn Ibn al-Zayn Khaḍir, *kātib al-sirr* of Aleppo since 733, is deposed and retreats to Cairo.[124] He would return to Syria as successor to Badr al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh as *kātib al-sirr* of Damascus in 746, eight months before his own death. Ibn Nubātah dedicates several long odes to him, perhaps most of them during Tāj al-Dīn's Aleppo period.[125] Aleppo obviously was always an important place for Ibn Nubātah. Ibn Nubātah laments the death of al-Qazwīnī with a *marthiyah.*[126]

740 *(54)*
Tankiz, the mighty governor of Syria, had aroused the suspicion of Sultan al-Nāṣir

[119] *Dīwān*, 235, 320, 448, further texts in *Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq* [3]; see also al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 22:33–38; idem, *Aʿyān*, 3:496–502; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, 3:78–84.

[120] Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 17:351–62.

[121] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 5:550–60.

[122] Ibid., 557–58.

[123] *Dīwān*, 463.

[124] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 4:420–21; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh*, 3:96; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 2:498–99.

[125] *Dīwān*, 87, 110, 154, 223 (*rithāʾ*), 366; it is not always possible to decide if a *Tājīyah* was directed to him or to Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī.

[126] Ibid., 404.

and he is arrested, taken to Alexandria, and executed.[127] With the death of Tankiz, many of his favorites are dismissed from office. Ibn Nubātah had fared well with the Tankiz administration, though he had not been employed by the *dīwān al-inshā*ʾ during the last years. He might have viewed this development with mixed feelings.

741 *(55)*
After his imprisonment in the Cairene Citadel (Shaʿbān 739 to Rabīʿ I 740), al-Shihāb Ibn Faḍl Allāh regains favor and is finally appointed *kātib al-sirr* of Damascus.[128] Shihāb al-Dīn, a good poet and extraordinary prose stylist, is the most important person in Ibn Nubātah's life besides Abū al-Fidāʾ and al-Shihāb's brother ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn. The dozen *Shihābīyāt* in Ibn Nubātah's *Dīwān* give an imperfect picture of the importance of this relationship, as do the few preserved prose texts, such as Ibn Nubātah's *taqrīẓ* on Shihāb al-Dīn's extract of *Qalāʾid al-ʿIqyān* included in *Zahr al-Manthūr* [12]. Ibn Nubātah also dedicates his *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī* [6] to Shihāb al-Dīn. Amīn al-Dīn Ibn Tāj al-Riʾāsah is executed in Cairo after he had been dismissed from the vizierate the year before.[129]

742 *(56)*
In Rabīʿ II, al-Afḍal is deposed as governor of Ḥamāh and transferred to Damascus as an *amīr miʾah,* but he dies in the same month. Ibn Nubātah composes an elegy, which laments his death, the end of the Ayyubid dynasty, and the closing of an important chapter in his own life.[130] Sultan al-Nāṣir Aḥmad appoints Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh (710–60) to the rank of an *amīr ʿasharah.* This Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, brother of Shihāb al-Dīn and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, is the rare case of an offspring of a family of ulama who went to Cairo in Turkish attire to make a career among the *umarāʾ*.[131] The seven-liner *Dīwān,* 117, may have been dedicated to him. Death of Badr al-Dīn Ibn Makkī, *kātib* and holder of several offices in Tripoli. He and Ibn Nubātah had been on good terms, but their friendship suffered a crisis that resulted in an exchange of epigrams.[132]

III. Second Syrian Period (743–61/1342–60)
743 *(57)*

[127] See S. Conermann, "Tankiz," *EI*2, 10:185–86.
[128] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 2:571.
[129] Ibid., 163.
[130] *Dīwān*, 99.
[131] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 5:491–92. Another amir of this family is Nāṣir al-Dīn; see the year 764.
[132] *Dīwān*, 333, also in *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī* [6] and Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 6:17–18.

Ibn Nubātah enters the *dīwān al-inshāʾ*. His financial situation had become increasingly difficult, especially after the loss of his Ḥamāh stipend. It seems that at this time he relied to a degree on the support of his father.[133] Therefore, to seek a position in the *dīwān* was the most obvious thing for him to do. He had established close contact with the chancellery since coming to Syria, but the last years were not favorable for Ibn Nubātah, who was a partisan of Ibn Faḍl Allāh. His friend Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh had finally become the head of the *dīwān,* and it was he who took Ibn Nubātah with him into the chancellery. Ibn Nubātah started to work immediately, but it was only after some time had elapsed that he received his appointment decree, which was drawn up by al-Ṣafadī.[134] Advanced in age as he was, and having acquired the reputation of a great stylist, his situation as a "beginner" in the *dīwān* must not have been easy for him. He met the pressure to succeed by publishing a collection of documents and official letters produced in his first year under the title *Taʿlīq al-Dīwān* [26]. Still in the same year, Shihāb al-Dīn is dismissed and replaced by his brother Badr al-Dīn. Shihāb al-Dīn spends his time in the following years writing his encyclopedia *Masālik al-Abṣār,* which contains an early version of the *Dīwān Ibn Nubātah.*

744 *(58)*
Ibn al-Quṭb's star is rising again. After two unsuccessful years as vizier in Damascus, he is appointed inspector of the army of Damascus. He would hold this office for sixteen years. It is only now that Ibn Nubātah addresses a few lines to him.[135] Ibn Nubātah publishes this year's output as a *muwaqqiʿ* in the chancellery as a sequel to his *Taʿlīq al-Dīwān* [27].

745 *(59)*
The new vizier (=*nāẓir al-dawāwīn*) Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Marājil arrives in Dhū al-Ḥijjah.[136] If I understand al-Maqrīzī correctly, he cut the wages of many secretaries of the Damascene chancellery, among them prominent members, including Ibn Nubātah.[137] On the other hand, Ibn Nubātah welcomed Ibn Marājil with an epigram, and hailed the vizier with two long *qasīdah*s, in which he thanks him for the many favors he had bestowed on him.[138]

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[133] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 5:192; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 5:437.

[134] Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 1:330–31.

[135] *Dīwān*, 470.

[136] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 2:414–16, 449–50, 3:230.

[137] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 2:671. Contrary to ʿUmar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah*, 207, I do not think that *qaṭaʿa* in this context means "remove from office."

[138] *Dīwān*, 147, 208; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh*, 3:260.

746 *(60)*
Death of Badr al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh. Ibn Nubātah writes a dirge and transforms a poem intended to be addressed to Badr al-Dīn into a poem on his brother Shihāb al-Dīn.[139] Due to his early death at the age of 36, Badr al-Dīn left a smaller trace than his brothers in the œuvre of Ibn Nubātah. There is only a single long ode to him in Ibn Nubātah's *Dīwān,* but Ibn Nubātah was also the author of Badr al-Dīn's marriage contract.[140]

747 *(61)*
For a few months the vizierate of Damascus is held by the 24-year-old Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Hilāl. Ibn Nubātah congratulates him with an epigram that he recited to al-Ṣafadī, who criticized it.[141] Ibn Nubātah composes a dirge on the death of Tāj al-Dīn Ibn al-Zayn Khaḍir, Badr al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh's short-term successor as *kātib al-sirr* of Damascus.[142] Tāj al-Dīn's successor Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn al-Ṣāḥib Yaʿqūb would enjoy a longer period in office (until 763). Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Shihāb Maḥmūd (676–760) is appointed *kātib al-sirr* of Aleppo, an office he had already held for sixteen years until 733. He would be dismissed two years later, but would return for a third term from 752 to 759. His successor is al-Ṣafadī.[143] Besides his father, Jamāl al-Dīn was the most important member of the family for Ibn Nubātah, who addresses letters and a large number of poems to him. At least two odes composed for him are missing in the printed *Dīwān.*[144]

748 *(62)*
From Jumādá I to the beginning of the following year, Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Tāj Isḥāq (d. 771) is appointed to the vizierate of Damascus for the first time. Ibn Nubātah dedicates to him at least two long *qasīdah*s (one on this occasion) and an epigram.[145] The Marinid ruler Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī establishes a *waqf* in Damascus for which Ibn Nubātah writes the *tawqīʿ*.[146] Execution of the amir al-Ḥājj Baydamur

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[139]*Dīwān*, 460, 211; ʿUmar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah*, 139–44, confuses this Badr al-Dīn with his uncle, the brother of his father Muḥyī al-Dīn.

[140]Included in *Zahr al-Manthūr* [12]. The ode is in *Dīwān*, 365, shorter poems ibid., 56, 78, 234.

[141]*Dīwān*, 414; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 6:406; idem, *Aʿyān*, 1:219; al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffá*, 1:391.

[142]*Dīwān*, 223.

[143]Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 6:143–45; idem, *Aʿyān*, 1:127–32; idem, *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ*, 1:47–51.

[144]*Dīwān*, 11, 108, 109, 216, 396, 399, 438, 466, 554; see also Berlin MS 7861, fol. 129r and "the famous *qasīdah*» mentioned by Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah*, 5:171 f; letters in El Escorial MS árabe 548.

[145]*Dīwān*, 260, 269, 302; on Ibn al-Tāj see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 2:504, 541, 3:378–79.

[146]Ibn al-Wardī, *Tārīkh* (Beirut, 1417/1996), 2:336–37. See also ʿUmar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah*, 207–8.

al-Badrī, the former governor of Aleppo, to whom Ibn Nubātah had dedicated one of his few long odes addressed to an amir.[147] Death of the *muḥaddith al-ʿaṣr,* al-Dhahabī, who reckoned Ibn Nubātah among his *shuyūkh.*[148]

749 *(63)*
Year of the Black Death. Many friends and colleagues of Ibn Nubātah die, including the poets Zayn al-Dīn Ibn al-Wardī (who calls Ibn Nubātah *ṣāḥibunā*)[149] and al-Miʿmār. For Ibn Nubātah, the heaviest loss may have been Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh. Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Jumlah is appointed preacher at the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus. He will hold this office until his death in 764. He was the successor of Tāj al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, to whose father Ibn Nubātah had turned when he came to Damascus. Ibn Nubātah's connection to Ibn Jumlah is attested by at least two long odes.[150] It seems as if the Great Mosque of Damascus was the most important religious institution with which Ibn Nubātah maintained close contact. Some documents even suggest that he held some sort of position in its *dīwān* for a while.

750 *(64)*
Ibn Nubātah's father Shams al-Dīn dies in Damascus at the age of 84 (lunar) years and is buried at the foot of Jabal Qāsiyūn.[151] He had reached the pinnacle of his career only the year before, when he had been appointed shaykh of the Nūrīyah madrasah in Damascus as successor to Zayn al-Dīn al-Mizzī, the son of the famous hadith scholar and previous shaykh of the Nūrīyah, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Mizzī (654–742).[152] Ibn Nubātah is appointed successor to his father as notary *(shāhid al-qasam)* of Dārayyā and Dūmah, two places in the Ghūṭah. Again he asks al-Ṣafadī to issue his appointment decree.[153] Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī dies in Baghdad.[154]

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[147] *Dīwān*, 362; see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:98 f.

[148] Al-Dhahabī, *Muʿjam Shuyūkh al-Dhahabī*, ed. Rūḥīyah ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Suyūfī (Beirut, 1410/1990): 567–68.

[149] Ibn al-Wardī, *Tārīkh*, 2:336.

[150] *Dīwān*, 304, 403; on Ibn Jumlah see *GAL*, S2:77; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 2:553, 3:221, 240–41.

[151] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 2:705–6.

[152] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal*, 11:83; on al-Mizzī see G. H. A. Juynboll, "Al-Mizzī," *EI*2, 7:212–13.

[153] Al-Ṣafadī, *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ*, 2:254–56.

[154] The date 749 is given by al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 18:482, but since al-Ṣafadī corrected this date later in his *Aʿyān*, 3:70, it is likely incorrect. The date 752 given in the *Aʿyān*, however, is most certainly too late. Therefore, the date 750 is the most probable. It is given by Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh*, 3:138, who was a close acquaintance and great admirer of al-Ḥillī. It is corroborated by al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, 2:350; see also Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 2:595: "Baghdad, end of 750."

751 *(65)*
Bahā᾽ al-Dīn Abū al-Baqā᾽ al-Subkī is given a professorship at the Madrasah al-Rawāḥīyah in Damascus.[155] Ibn Nubātah had dedicated a poem to him already in his *Dīwān al-Aṣl,*[156] which indicates his early and strong connection to the Subkī family. Another Bahā᾽ al-Dīn al-Subkī, Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, the son of Taqī al-Dīn and author of *ʿArūs al-Afrāḥ,* an ingenious manual on rhetoric, may also have been the object of poems by Ibn Nubātah. It is not always possible to determine which of them is the addressee.[157]

752 *(66)*
ʿIzz al-Dīn Ṭuqṭāy (d. 760) is appointed *dawādār* and is at the height of his power, which lasts until 758. At least two epigrams attest to Ibn Nubātah's (if only marginal) relationship to this amir.[158]

753 *(67)*
At the beginning of the year, prices for foodstuffs in Damascus rise considerably.[159] We do not know if this caused problems for Ibn Nubātah and his family, but a review of Ibn Nubātah's life must note his repeated complaints about his miserable financial situation.[160] The sources agree that Ibn Nubātah never achieved worldly riches. Not every complaint should be taken as a sign of extreme poverty, though. To ask other people for gifts was also a way to make contact with them and to honor them. Further, I cannot help but feel that wealth was not a major ambition of Ibn Nubātah. Rather than risk exaggerating Ibn Nubātah's poverty, one should carefully study the attitudes towards money and wealth in this period and the role of gifts in the establishment and preservation of social relationships.

754 *(68)*
Ibn Nubātah produces a selection of the poetry of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Anṣārī [25]. This is one of four selections of poetry he made that have survived. The others are dedicated to the poems of Ibn al-Rūmī [21], Ibn Qalāqis [22], and Ibn al-Ḥajjāj

[155]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:10; on Bahā᾽ al-Dīn see ibid., 3:499–501, and al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 3:310–14.

[156]*Dīwān*, 288 (see Ayasofya MS 3891, fols. 22v–23r), 343, 446, and see *Dīwān*, 50 and Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 1:2:12.

[157]The seven-liner, *Dīwān*, 159 is probably addressed to Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī.

[158]*Dīwān*, 261–62; see the headlines in Ayasofya MS 2352, fol. 94r.

[159]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:33.

[160]For example, al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 1:330; ʿUmar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah*, records many instances of this kind throughout his book.

[23]. His selection of the poetry of Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk [24] seems to have been lost.

755 *(69)*
Beginning of the second reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, who was interested in Ibn Nubātah's poetry. He ordered production of a copy of Ibn Nubātah's *Dīwān* and eventually invited him to Egypt. If Ibn Iyās is right, Ibn Nubātah congratulated the sultan on this occasion with an epigram that is only a slight revision of an epigram he had composed on a different occasion many years before and included in his *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī* [6].[161]

756 *(70)*
Death of Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, the prolific scholar, qadi, and preacher. Ibn Nubātah dedicated to him at least three *qasīdah*s and several shorter poems. A first-rank literary joke is Ibn Nubātah's transformation of al-Ḥarīrī's didactic poem on syntax, the *Mulḥat al-Iʿrāb*, into a panegyric *urjūzah*. Ibn Nubātah composes a long elegy on his death, as did al-Ṣafadī, al-Qīrāṭī, and others, and sends it from Damascus to Taqī al-Dīn's son Tāj al-Dīn in Cairo.[162]

757 *(71)*
Ibn Nubātah exchanges letters with the poet and prolific writer Ibn Abī Ḥajalah (725–76), who is also the addressee of at least one of Ibn Nubātah's seven-liners.[163]

758 *(72)*
In all probability, Ibn Nubātah's *Sūq al-Raqīq* [29] was written during the late fifties, though no exact date can be given. In this book, the poet collected the *nasīb* of many of his *qasīdah*s to create a book of love poetry. The text, which is preserved in Ibn Nubātah's own hand, shows that the poet had thoroughly revised many poems since their creation.

[161] See *Dīwān*, 531, and Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 1:1:553.

[162] The *qasīdahs Dīwān*, 8, 264, 273, the shorter poems ibid., 94, 237, 241, 349, 415, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub MS adab Ṭalʿat 4658, fols. 22r–v; the r*ajaz* poem *Dīwān*, 582; the *rithāʾ* ibid., 41; see also Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah*, 5:305–407, esp. 397–400, and Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr*, 1:1:556–57. See also *GAL*, 2:86–88, S2:102–4; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 3:417–55.

[163] Ibn Abī Ḥajalah, *Sukkardān al-Sulṭān*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar (Cairo, 2000), 10–11; on Ibn Abī Ḥajalah see *GAL*, 2:12–13, S2:5–6; J. Robson, U. Rizzitano, "Ibn Abī Ḥadjala," *EI*2, 3:686; T. Seidensticker, "Ibn Abī Ḥajala," *EAL*, 1:305. Ibn Nubātah's seven-liner, *Dīwān*, 227.

759 *(73)*
The famous scholar Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī,[164] son of the aforementioned Taqī al-Dīn, is dismissed from office as chief Shafiʿi qadi of Damascus in Shaʿbān but reinstated a month later. On this latter occasion, al-Ṣafadī congratulates him with a long poem,[165] and in all probability Ibn Nubātah's poem *Dīwān,* 141–43, was composed on the same occasion. Tāj al-Dīn was one of the closest acquaintances of Ibn Nubātah during his last years. They exchanged many poems and shared (together with al-Ṣafadī) a passion for riddles. A few more long *qasīdah*s and about a dozen of Ibn Nubātah's seven-liners are addressed to Tāj al-Dīn.[166]

760 *(74)*
The *kātib al-sirr* Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn Yaʿqūb is transferred to Aleppo as the successor to al-Ṣafadī, who, in turn, becomes Nāṣir al-Dīn's successor as *wakīl bayt al-māl* and *muwaqqiʿ al-dast* in Damascus. The new head of the chancellery is Amīn al-Dīn Ibn al-Qalānisī,[167] to whom Ibn Nubātah seems to have had no close ties and in whose biographies epithets or praise are conspicuously missing. He will be dismissed two years later, and Nāṣir al-Dīn returns for a few months. It must remain speculation whether these developments contributed to Ibn Nubātah's decision to go to Egypt despite his advanced age.

IV. Second Cairene Period (761–68/1360–66)
761 *(75)*
At the invitation of Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, Ibn Nubātah returns to Cairo in Rabīʿ I, 44 years after he had left. He is appointed *muwaqqiʿ al-dast* in the Cairene chancellery. Due to his poor health, he cannot work regularly, but is paid his wages nonetheless. This office may have been meant as a sinecure for the renowned aging *adīb* rather than a real job. Ibn Nubātah stays in a house that is lent to him by the merchant Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar (d. 777/1375), a legal scholar and man of letters, to whom Ibn Nubātah addresses many of his seven-liners. Some of them mention a quarrel about the house, which would end their friendship. Nūr al-Dīn's son, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, would profit from Ibn Nubātah's manuscripts which he inherited from his father.[168]

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[164] *GAL*, 2:89–90, S2:105–7; J. Schacht, C. E. Bosworth, "Al-Subkī," *EI*2, 9:744–45; al-Ṣafadī, *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ*, 1:392–424.

[165] Al-Ṣafadī, *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ*, 1:402–4; on the event see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:133–34.

[166] *Dīwān*, 48, 77, 92, 158, 159, 226, 309, 314, 349, 457, 469, 470, 574.

[167] On Nāṣir al-Dīn see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 5:311–18; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:145–46, 186, 214–15; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 6:42–44. On Amīn al-Dīn see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 4:310–12; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 5:96–97.

[168] See part II of this article; poems addressed to Nūr al-Dīn in *Dīwān*, 74, 75, 158, 228, 230, 240,

762 *(76)*
Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan is put to death on 9 Jumādá I.[169] Most contemporaries and historians do not say much in favor of this sultan, besides his building the beautiful madrasah-mosque that bears his name. As is easily understandable, Ibn Nubātah saw things differently. He praised the sultan with four *qasīdah*s, a *takhmīṣ,* and several seven-liners.[170] Al-Nāṣir Ḥasan was the only sultan eulogized by Ibn Nubātah. We do not know anything about the relationship between Ibn Nubātah and al-Ḥasan's successors al-Manṣūr Muḥammad (762–64) and al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (764–78). Fakhr al-Dīn Mājid Ibn Khaṭīb is dismissed from office as vizier in Cairo.[171] After ten months in office as vizier in Damascus, the recently converted Copt Fakhr al-Dīn Mājid Ibn Qarawīnah is transferred to Cairo to replace his namesake as vizier and *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*.[172] He administers his offices very successfully, but judgments of his personality are controversial.[173] After the overthrow of Yalbughā in 768, he was tortured to death three months after Ibn Nubātah's death. He was one of three brothers (the others were ʿAlam al-Dīn Ibrāhīm and Saʿd al-Dīn),[174] to whom Ibn Nubātah addressed several of his seven-liners. The Ibn Qarawīnah family was probably the last family that came to play a role in Ibn Nubātah's life. Since Ibn Nubātah had already dedicated poems to Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn Khaṭīb, it is not always easy to avoid confusion over who is addressed.[175]

763 *(77)*
Death of Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn Yaʿqūb, *kātib al-sirr* of Damascus since 747, with the exception of two years in Aleppo (760–62). He is praised as a pious man, well versed in the religious sciences, and a bibliophile, who was interested in literature and composed poetry himself. Ibn Nubātah had addressed many poems to him, among them a dirge on the death of his mother.[176] He had already addressed his father Sharaf al-Dīn Yaʿqūb (d. 729), who had been *nāẓir* of Aleppo for many

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242, 271, 309; see also 229.

[169]P. M. Holt, "Al-Nāṣir," *EI2*, 7:992–93; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 2:247–52.

[170]*Dīwān*, 15, 115, 195, 331, 380, 381, 491, 519, 521, 579.

[171]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:51; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:179–80.

[172]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:180, 301–2; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal*, 9:185; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:60, 147–48 (erroneously قنيوزة).

[173]See al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:147–48, and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal*, 9:185; Ibn al-ʿIrāqī, *Dhayl al-ʿIbar*, 216–17.

[174]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, 3:140.

[175]On Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn Khaṭīb see *Dīwān*, 47, 520, and the *qasīdah* p. 389; on Fakhr al-Dīn Ibn Qarawīnah: ibid., 166 (?) and 468; on Saʿd al-Dīn: ibid., 240, 268, 468–69, 525; on ʿAlam al-Dīn: ibid., 461 (?).

[176]*Dīwān*, 306, other poems ibid., 16 (?), 62, 209, 243, 253, 327, 349, 390.

years, and written a poem of condolence when he lost his uncle.[177]

764 *(78)*
Al-Ṣafadī dies. His relationship to Ibn Nubātah began as that of a pupil, after which they became friends and exchanged poems and presents. In the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* in Damascus they were colleagues and al-Ṣafadī issued several documents for Ibn Nubātah. But their friendship was not untroubled. Al-Ṣafadī emulated Ibn Nubātah's work to a degree that Ibn Nubātah regarded as plagiarism. Their quarrels culminated with Ibn Nubātah's *Khubz al-Shaʿīr* [30]. This may have been a reason for al-Ṣafadī to concentrate more on the theoretical side of *adab,* which was not Ibn Nubātah's domain. Later, there seems to have been a reconciliation. In al-Ṣafadī's *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ,* Ibn Nubātah is granted by far the longest chapter. It comprises almost a hundred pages and contains poems and letters exchanged between them.[178] Al-Ṣafadī opines that Ibn Nubātah never reached the rank among the *kuttāb* that he deserved.[179] This was probably due to Ibn Nubātah's very late decision to enter the *dīwān al-inshāʾ*. In addition, his character seems not to have been without a certain stubbornness, which made it difficult for him to navigate the intrigues of the chancellery. But even the more amiable and successful al-Ṣafadī did not reach the highest possible positions. In his case, it was his increasing deafness that got in the way.[180] Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh, the grandson of Sharaf al-Dīn, dies in Adana. He and his father are two more examples of members of the Faḍl Allāh family who pursued a military career. Ibn Nubātah had addressed poems to him.[181] Death of al-Kutubī, who had known Ibn Nubātah.[182]

765 *(79)*
Perhaps as his last work, Ibn Nubātah assembles his miniature *qasīdah*s of seven lines in a separate *Dīwān* entitled *Al-Sabʿah al-Sayyārah* [31]. An exact date cannot be given, but the book cannot have been finished earlier than during the Cairene years (if it was ever finished at all).

766 *(80)*
The poet and prose stylist Burhān al-Dīn al-Qīrāṭī (726–81) returns to Cairo.[183] He

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[177]Ibid., 43, other poems ibid., 12, 345; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh*, 2:196.

[178]Al-Ṣafadī, *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ*, 2:180–268.

[179]Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 1:312.

[180]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:228.

[181]*Dīwān*, 237 (= Ibn Ḥijjah, *Khizānat al-Adab*, 3:353), 242; see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh*, 3:239; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 5:222.

[182]See al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt*, 3:159.

[183]The date 766 is given by Brockelmann, *GAL*, 1:14, but I could not find it in the sources accessible

and Ibn Nubātah enjoy boat trips on the Nile. Several of Ibn Nubātah's seven-liners directed to al-Qīrāṭī date from these years. When Ibn Nubātah was still in Damascus, al-Qīrāṭī had written a letter of praise of "extreme length and beauty" to Ibn Nubātah, which is counted among al-Qīrāṭī's major works.[184] Ibn Nubātah was al-Qīrāṭī's model, and, according to Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Qīrāṭī is the best poet of the age next to Ibn Nubātah, and the poet who comes closest to him.[185]

767 *(81)*
Birth of the poet, prose stylist, and literary critic Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī (d. 837), a great admirer of Ibn Nubātah, who lauded Ibn Nubātah's achievements, especially in the field of the *tawriyah,* in his *Kashf al-Lithām ʿan Wajh al-Tawriyah wa-al-Istikhdām* and in his *Khizānat al-Adab,* in which several otherwise lost texts by Ibn Nubātah are preserved. Death of Burhān al-Dīn al-Zuraʿī, the son of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah. He had once been Ibn Nubātah's travelling companion and gave Ibn Nubātah reason to compose a humorous epigram.[186]

768 *(82)*
7 Ṣafar (13 October 1366): At the age of 82 lunar (79 solar) years, Ibn Nubātah dies in the hospital that had been built by al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn. He is buried at the so-called Cemetery of the Sufis north of Bāb al-Naṣr. He leaves behind a son named Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. after 790), a mediocre *adīb,* who earned his living as copyist.[187] This is one of the many parallels between Ibn Nubātah and Ibn Ḥajar. Both hoped for a son who would continue their enterprises. When, after many setbacks, they became fathers to sons who survived infancy, the sons proved unable to meet the expectations of their fathers. Ibn Ḥajar had his pupil al-Sakhāwī to step in. Ibn Nubātah's "Sakhāwī" was al-Bashtakī, who re-edited Ibn Nubātah's *Dīwān* in the year 773, though in a rather questionable way. But Ibn Nubātah's poems and prose texts survived and helped to shape Arabic literature for centuries to come.

To be continued

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to me.

[184]Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, 1:312, see also *GAL*, 2:14, S2:7; Ibn al-ʿIrāqī, *Dhayl al-ʿIbar*, 488–90; Ibn Nubātah, *Dīwān*, 16, 75. A boat trip on the Nile is reported in "Taḥrīr al-Qīrāṭī," Berlin MS 7870, fol. 22r.

[185]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal*, 1:90.

[186]"Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī," Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS 2234, fols. 186v–187v.

[187]Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar*, 5:498.

ROBERT IRWIN

The Political Thinking of the "Virtuous Ruler," Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī

What follows is an essay on the politics of high culture. Historians have tended to present the politics of the Mamluk Sultanate and in particular its factional fighting, as ideology free. Apart from a commitment to Islam and the jihad, the Mamluks seem curiously bereft of any form of idealism, role models, or political programs. Modern historians often portray the political strategies and goals of the Mamluk sultans as being almost invariably driven by hunger for power, greed, arrogance, and, in some cases, fear. They have been encouraged in such cynical readings of Mamluk politics by the way in which the medieval ulama, who were effectively the custodians of Mamluk historiography, wrote about the sultans and amirs. Generalizing very broadly, their narratives tended towards the positivist and uninterpretative. But it seems worth considering whether there was at least the pretence of ideology and idealism on the part of the ruling elite.

Most of the ulama did not frequent the court, and consequently they were not party to the way decisions were made and the reasons for those decisions. Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās (1448–ca. 1524) is a case in point. Despite being the grandson of a mamluk, his chronicle, the *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr,* is effectively an outsider's chronicle, based on public proclamations, gossip, and personal sightings of processions and departing military expeditions. While he is prepared to concede that the Mamluk sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī had some good qualities, nevertheless his account of that sultan's reign (906–22/1501–16) is a hostile one and, in his obituary of the sultan, he condemns him for his injustice, confiscations, and greed.[1] Obviously the *Badāʾiʿ* is not a neutral source. Ibn Iyās, a student of al-Suyūṭī's, was an Egyptian *ʿālim* who shared the hostility of the ulama toward the favor shown by Qānṣūh to immigrant Persian and Turkish scholars. (Prominent amongst the incoming Turks was the heterodox Khalwatī Sufi, Shaykh Ibrāhīm Gulshanī.) Ibn Iyās disapproved of the favor shown by the sultan to certain Sufis and the sultan's alleged sympathy for the ideas of the Ḥurūfī poet, Nasīmī, who had been flayed alive for heresy in 820/1417.[2] When the Ottoman prince Qorqud turned up as a refugee at the Mamluk court, Ibn Iyās also seems to have regarded the honor with which that prince was treated as excessive.

As the grandson of a mamluk and son of a member of the *awlād al-nās,* Ibn Iyās resented Qānṣūh's contempt for this increasingly redundant and notional military

[1] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden-Cairo, 1961–75), 5:85–93.

[2] Ibid., 86.

group. Qānṣūh treated them merely as a fiscal resource.[3] Though no soldier, Ibn Iyās had inherited an *iqṭāʿ* from his father, and when the sultan confiscated this *iqṭāʿ,* Ibn Iyās had a long fight in the courts to reclaim it.[4] And, despite his Mamluk descent, Ibn Iyās shared the fairly general ulama prejudice against the Mamluks. With his traditional cast of mind he disapproved also of Qānṣūh's raising of the Fifth Regiment of musketeers. Moreover, it seems that as a civilian, Ibn Iyās was not fully aware of the growing military threats posed to the Mamluk regime by the Portuguese, Safavids, and Ottomans, and consequently he regarded all the sultan's emergency exactions as being driven by personal greed, rather than by harsh military necessity. Furthermore, it is plausible that his account of Qānṣūh's reign is colored by hindsight and Ibn Iyās's knowledge that that sultan had led the Mamluks to defeat at the hands of the Ottomans at Marj Dābiq.[5]

Though Ibn Iyās was not a neutral observer and his deficiencies as a historian are clear, it must be admitted that we have scarcely any other sources on what was going on in Egypt during the reign of Qānṣūh. However, two literary sources from the time have survived that shed some light, however dim, flickering, and partial, on the culture and thinking of the sultan. The first of these is the *Nafāʾis al-Majālis al-Sulṭānīyah.* This is a record of the sultan's *majlis*es or soirees during 910/1505. It was compiled by the Iranian Turkophone Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, also known as Sharīf. In the *Nafāʾis* he logs some of the people who attended and gives an account of the highlights of the evening's debate, which was usually opened by the sultan posing a question. The matters debated included religious, literary, political, and social issues and there were also riddles, jokes, and mathematical problems. The debates, which took place several evenings a week, were normally held in the Duhayshah, a hall within the Cairo Citadel. Quite a few of the ulama seem to have attended.

The second source, the *Kawkab al-Durrī,* completed in 919/1513–14 by an unknown hand, is similar but different, in that it is record of what was said at various *majlis*es of the sultan, but it is organized according to subject matter, rather than chronologically. Qorqud, an Ottoman prince in exile, attended several

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[3] On the collection of substitute money from the *awlād al-nās,* see Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (New York, 1994), 86–87.

[4] Ibid., 7.

[5] On Ibn Iyās, see Eliyahu Ashtor, "Etude sur quelques chroniques mamloukes," *Israel Oriental Studies* 1 (1971): 272–97; David J. Wasserstein, "Tradition manuscrite, authenticité, chronologie et développement de l'oeuvre littéraire d'Ibn Iyas," *Journal Asiatique* 280 (1992): 81–114; William Brinner, "Ibn Iyās," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 3:812–13; Carl Petry, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamluk Sultans al-Ashraf Qaytbay and Qansuh al-Ghawri in Egypt* (Seattle and London, 1993), 9–10.

of these sessions. Here are some of the topics covered in both these sources, to give a sense of their diversity: Was Adam the first man to speak Arabic? How can prayers and fasting be managed in the land of the Bulgars where there is no sunset or sunrise? Can one recite the *fātiḥah* in Persian? Why do people avoid wearing red or yellow? Who built the pyramids? Why do people beat on cups when there is an eclipse? What is the function of the *maṣdar* in grammar? How old is the world? And there are also chess anecdotes, mathematical problems, jokes about Kurds, a joke featuring Naṣr al-Dīn Khwājah, stories about thieves, the beauty of Joseph, the death of the poet Mutanabbī, praise for the narcissus, and the story of the commissioning of the *Shāhnāmah* and how Firdawsī was rewarded.[6]

Qānṣūh was famous (or notorious) for the favor he showed to Persian and Persian-speaking religious figures and literati.[7] Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī was only one of several Persians who received patronage from him. Moreover, Persian was one of the several languages in which Qānṣūh was fluent.[8] In 906/1500–1 he commissioned a translation of Firdawsī's *Shāhnāmah* into Turkish, not for his own benefit, as he could read the original, but for his Turkish-speaking amirs. The manuscript was illustrated in the Turkman style of the courts of Baghdad and Shiraz. (The vast project took ten years.)[9] Qānṣūh himself composed poetry in Persian as well as Turkish.[10] The early Mamluk sultans did not compose poetry (and very likely they would have thought the practice sissy), but Qāytbāy, Yashbak min Mahdī, and Qānṣūh did, as did several of the Ottoman sultans as well as the Timurid princes Bāysunghur and Iskandar in Fars. By the fifteenth

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[6] The *Nafāʾis* and the *Kawkab* were edited and published together (with independent pagination) by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām under the title *Majālis al-Sulṭān al-Ghawrī: Ṣafaḥāt min Tārīkh Miṣr fī Qarn al-ʿĀshir Hijrī* (Cairo, 1941). On these books, see Mohammed Awad, "Sultan al-Ghawri: His Place in Literature and Learning (Three Books Written under His Patronage)," *Actes du XXe Congrès des Orientalistes, Bruxelles, 1938* (Louvain, 1940), 321–22; Barbara Flemming, "Aus den Nachtgesprächen Sultan Ġauris," in *Folia Rara: Festschrift für Wolfgang Voigt,* ed. Herbert Franke, Walther Heissig, and Wolfgang Treue (Wiesbaden, 1967), 22–28; Robert Irwin, "Mamluk Literature," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, no. 1 (2003): 28.

[7] Barbara Flemming, "Šerif, Sultan Ġavri und die 'Perser,'" *Der Islam* 45 (1969): 81–93.

[8] Al-Ḥusaynī, *Nafāʾis,* 132–33.

[9] Awad, "Sultan al-Ghawri," 321–22; Nurhan Atasoy, "Un Manuscrit Mamluk Illustré du Šahnama," *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 37 (1969): 151–58; Mohammed Mostafa, "Miniature Paintings in Some Mamluk Manuscripts," *Bulletin de l'Institut de l'Egypte* 52 (1971): 5–15; Esin Atıl, *The Renaissance of Islam* (Washington, 1981), 264–65; on the cultural patronage of the sultan more generally, see Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Sultan al-Ghawrī and the Arts," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 71–94.

[10] *The Dîvân of Qânsûh al-Ghûrî,* ed. Mehmet Yalçın (Istanbul, 2002); *Kansu Gavrîʾnin Türkçe Dîvânı,* ed. Orhan Yavuz (Konya, 2002). For a review of both of these editions, see Robert Dankoff, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (2004): 303–7.

century the composition of poetry was seen as a desirable accomplishment for a prince. Incidentally Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī had previously been in the entourage of the fugitive Ottoman prince Jem.[11] It is possible that, during his time at the Mamluk court in the reign of the sultan Qāytbāy, Jem had been instrumental in introducing various Turkish and Persian cultural activities.[12]

There is little precedent for the holding of soirees in Mamluk cultural history, though in the early fifteenth century Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, the son of the Sultan Jaqmaq, presided over soirees.[13] It seems likely that in holding such cultural soirees, Qānṣūh was inspired not by the past practice of earlier Mamluk sultans, but by literary and philosophical sessions presided over by the Timurids and by the various successor regimes that were established as the Timurid empire fell apart.

Qānṣūh's court culture was a Persianate one, and it looked East for most of its role models—to Shiraz, Baghdad, Tabriz, Samarkand, and Herat. The court of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā (r. 873/1469–70, 875–911/1470–1506) had enormous prestige. The sultan presided over *majlis*es in a garden pavilion outside Herat, where courtiers mingled with singers, poets, and musicians.[14] Subsequently Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā's rule and patronage were idealized and taken as models by the Uzbeks. Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā was fond of the *muʿammah,* those who posed riddles, and, to judge by his sessions, Qānṣūh was similarly fond of riddling. Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā also held *majlis*es in Herat and a record of these, the *Badāyiʿ al-Vaqāyiʿ,* was made by Zayn al-Dīn Vāṣifī. When the Uzbek Muḥammad Shībānī Khan took over Herat, he presided over *majlis*es, which were mostly devoted to poetry, though the riddling craze continued. Later the Persian writer Vāṣifī gave the Uzbek Kildī Muḥammad tutorials on the model rulers of past centuries. These included Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā, Bāysunghur, Anūshirvān, Ulugh Beg, Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna, and Sultan Ismāʿīl Sāmānī. Like Qānṣūh, Muḥammad Shībānī Khan commissioned a translation of the *Shāhnāmah* into Turkish.[15] In Muzaffarid Shiraz, the prince posed questions such as whether *ʿaql* or *ʿishq* came first? Or who was Burāq? His scholars wrote letters giving their replies.[16]

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[11] Al-ʿAzzām, *Majālis,* introduction (separately paginated), 43.

[12] Flemming, "Aus den Nachtgesprächen," 23.

[13] Irwin, "Mamluk Literature," 27–28.

[14] Maria E. Subtelny, "Scenes from the Literary Life of Timurid Herat," in *Logos Islamikos: Studia Islamica in Honorem Goergi Michaelis Wickens,* ed. Roger M. Savory and Dionysius Agius (Toronto, 1984), 143–44.

[15] Maria E. Subtelny, "Art and Politics in early 16th Century Central Asia," *Central Asiatic Journal* 27 (1983): 124–35, 139–42; Thomas Lentz and Glenn D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision: Persian Art and Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles and Washington), 256–58.

[16] Jean Aubin, "Le Mécénat Timouride à Chiraz," *Studia Islamica* 8 (1957): 78.

Qānṣūh's preoccupation with his magnificent garden also had Timurid, Aqqoyunlu, and Ottoman precedents. Timur had held court in a series of elaborately planned gardens in Samarkand and these gardens were later rivalled by those established by Shāhrukh in Herat. Later in 1470 Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā began laying out the Bāgh-i Jahān-Ārā, "the World-Adorning Garden," also in Herat. Mehmed II's "paradise-like" gardens and Chinli Kiosk were derived from Timurid prototypes.[17] Josafo Barbaro has described Uzun Ḥasan's garden, the Hasht Bihisht ("Eight Paradises") outside Tabriz.[18] As Doris Behrens-Abouseif has observed, Qānṣūh "worked carefully at constructing his image as poet and scholar and a patron of the secular arts, pursuing the kind of princely image that was cultivated by the Timurid, Safavid, and Ottoman princes, but was unfamiliar in the culture of the Mamluk court. Moreover, there is an undeniable Iranian flair to al-Ghawrī's cultural life, which is evident in his entourage of *aʿjam* and his preoccupation with the *Shāhnāmah*."[19]

Qānṣūh, like Qāytbāy and Yashbak min Mahdī before him, wrote poetry and he presided over a literary court culture. At some of his soirees young mamluks were brought before the sultan so that they could be tested on their reading.[20] On another occasion young mamluks were brought in to be taught singing and poetry by a certain Ibn Ifrīt.[21] There is evidence from elsewhere that young mamluks were also assigned exercises in copying manuscripts.[22]

Apart from commissioning a Turkish version of the *Shāhnāmah,* Qānṣūh had several Persian versions of it in his library. The *Shāhnāmah* was an epic romance celebrating the ancient Persian kings and heroes, but it "was also a political treatise, as it addressed deeply rooted conceptions of honor, morality and legitimacy." It "reflected the attempts of various dynasties to assimilate themselves into the Iranian monarchical tradition."[23] Qānṣūh was no exception and the translated version of the *Shāhnāmah* that he commissioned was given an extended addendum with a discussion of important later sultans, beginning with Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna and ending with Qānṣūh, whose court, soirees, palaces, and madrasahs

[17] Lentz and Lowry, *Timur,* 38, 108, 257, 317.

[18] Barbaro in *Il Nuovo Ramusio VII: I Viaggi in Persia degli Ambasciatori Veneti Barbaro e Contarini,* ed. L. Lockhart, R. Morozzo della Rocca, and M. F. Tiepolo (Rome, 1973), 120–21.

[19] Behrens-Abouseif, "Sultan al-Ghawrī," 84–85.

[20] Al-Ḥusaynī, *Nafāʾis,* 107, 116.

[21] Ibid., 63.

[22] Barbara Flemming, "Literary Activities in Mamluk Halls and Barracks," in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet,* ed. Myriam Rosen-Ayalon (Jerusalem, 1977), 249–60.

[23] Lentz and Lowry, *Timur,* 126. See also on political messages in the text and illustrations of the *Shāhnāmah,* Oleg Grabar and Sheila Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol* Shahnama (Chicago, 1980), 15–17, 19–20.

were all lavishly praised.[24]

Political theory produced by the ulama in the Mamluk period was sparse, sententious, and uninspiring. It was also somewhat pusillanimous. Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Jamāʿah (639–733/1241–1333) has been described by Henri Laoust as "the theoretician of the Mamluk state."[25] According to Ibn Jamāʿah, "the tyranny of a sultan is preferable to the flock being left without a master for a single hour." Ibn Jamāʿah adjusted the preoccupations and vocabulary of earlier political thinkers who had flourished under the Abbasid Caliphate to fit the realities of the early Mamluk regime. He stressed the role of the ulama in advising the sultan and the sultan's duty to protect the ulama. The Muslim people must be led by an imam, but the imamate could be acquired by force (implicitly therefore by a Mamluk sultan). Such an imamate, acquired by force, could obviously be lost by force. Even if the imam was a sinful man, it was generally preferable to obey him, for fear of the anarchy that might ensue if obedience was withdrawn.[26] Ibn Taymīyah (661–728/1262–1328) echoed Ibn Jamāʿah when he stated that "Sixty years with an unjust imam is better than one night without a sultan." He denied that it was necessary for a Muslim community to be governed by a caliph, and he rejected the idea that the imam must be of Qurayshī lineage.[27] According to Ibn Taymīyah, people are enjoined to "patient endurance of the injustice and tyranny of leaders."[28] He accepted the de facto situation in which the military authority had usurped for its own jurisdiction a large number of criminal cases.[29]

In contrast, as we shall see, the kind of material produced by and for the sultan at his soirees belongs in the category of what Patricia Crone has termed *naṣīḥah,* or advice literature.[30] Much of it can also be categorized as mirrors-for-princes. The advice offered was essentially secular, and expedient justice took precedence over the shariʿah. The literature focused on kings and how they could maintain their rule and administer justice, and was Persian in origin (where it went under the name of *andarz*).[31] Often the precepts were delivered in the guise of a last will and testament, a *waṣīyah,* which offered guidance to the succeeding son. A manuscript full of *naṣīḥāt* entitled *A Book Containing Wise Sayings and Literary*

[24] Atıl, *Renaissance,* 264–65.

[25] Henri Laoust, "Le Hanbalisme sous les Mamlouks Bahrides," *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 28 (1960): 21.

[26] Ann K. S. Lambton, *State and Government in Medieval Islam* (Oxford, 1981), 139–43.

[27] Ibid., 143–51.

[28] Ibn Taymīyah, *Public Duties in Islam: The Institute of the Hisba,* tr. Muhtar Holland (Leicester, 1982), 125.

[29] Ibid., 25.

[30] Patricia Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought* (Edinburgh, 2004), 149–64.

[31] S. Shaked and Z. Safar, "Andarz," *Encyclopaedia Iranica,* 2:11–22.

Anecdotes has survived in a copy made for Qānṣūh's library.[32]

So now to the actual content of the *Nafāʾis* and *Kawkab*. Right at the beginning of the *Nafāʾis* in the *muqaddimah,* or introduction to the records of the soirees, a political question is posed and answered in various ways: "Alexander was asked, 'What man is fit to be king?' 'Either a wise man *(ḥakīm)* who is king of wisdom, or a king seeking wisdom,' he replied." Then other ruler-sages, the Faghfur of China, the Caesar of Rome, the Fur of India, and so on, give their pronouncements on the importance of wisdom and the disgrace of ignorance and so on, ending up with Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna and Qānṣūh, who pronounces that "there is nothing better in the world than *adab* [which I take in this context to mean literature], as *adab* adorns wealthy men and conceals the poverty of the poor."[33] Recurrent reference throughout the *Nafāʾis* and the *Kawkab* is made to the gnomic sayings of the wise rulers of past centuries. Alexander is a favorite source of sagacious advice, but Anūshirvān (Chosroes) and Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna also feature frequently.

The Alexander who features in Qānṣūh's soirees is not the Macedonian world conqueror familiar to modern historians, but rather a half-Persian legendary seeker of knowledge and eternal life as portrayed in the *Shāhnāmah*. According to the *Nafāʾis,* "Alexander was asked, 'What is the best state of the people?' He said, 'When their king has a brilliant mind, sound judgement, and is knowledgeable about government.' He was asked, 'And the worst?' 'When their king lacks all these things.'" And al-Ḥusaynī goes on, of course, to add that, thank God, all these qualities are found in the sultan Qānṣūh.[34] Again, "Alexander said, 'The best of kings is he who keeps justice in his mind and whose excellent qualities inspire those who come after him,'" and once again al-Ḥusaynī is swift to point out that this characterization fits Qānṣūh perfectly.[35] There are many more (not particularly interesting) examples of Alexander's wisdom.

Perhaps such precepts derive from the *Naṣāʾiḥ-i Iskandar,* or "Counsels of Alexander," a manuscript of which had been copied for Bāysunghur. Or perhaps they come from Niẓāmī's treatment of the Alexander romance. Although Alexander features prominently in Firdawsī's *Shāhnāmah,* the *Shāhnāmah* does not seem to be the source for the precepts of Alexander as relayed in the soirees. For example, Firdawsī included a version in verse of the letter that Alexander wrote to his mother on his deathbed. The *Nafāʾis* also quotes a deathbed letter from Alexander to his mother in prose, but it is full of pietistic platitudes about the acceptance

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[32] Geza Féheravari and Yasin Safadi, *1400 Years of Arab Art: A Catalogue of the Khalili Collection* (London, 1981), 42.

[33] Al-Ḥusaynī, *Nafāʾis,* 3–4.

[34] Ibid., 30.

[35] Ibid., 55.

of death that are not found in Firdawsī.[36] Or, to take another example, according to the *Nafāʾis,* "Alexander was told that there were 300,000 men in the army of King Dārāb, but Alexander replied, 'So many sheep do not frighten the butchers.'"[37] Dārāb, Alexander's great foe, does feature prominently in the *Shāhnāmah,* but this particular exchange is not found in Firdawsī's poem.

Farīdūn, a king in ancient Persia who features in the *Shāhnāmah,* is quoted in the *Nafāʾis* to the effect that besides having all the virtues, the ideal ruler must have perfect physiognomy, great strength, and a loud voice. Happily again, Qānṣūh happened to have all these characteristics.[38] And here al-Ḥusaynī adds that Persians paint images of their kings and their battles on the walls of their houses so as to perpetuate the memory of those kings, before he goes on to lay out the shariʿah's stipulations for an imam. According to the shariʿah, it is preferable that the ideal imam should be of the Banū Ismāʿīl, or, if not from the Banū Ismāʿīl, then from the Persians or the Banū Isḥāq. Again it is fortunate that the Circassians are descended from the Banū Isḥāq.[39] Qānṣūh and his panegyrist subscribed to the legend that the Circassians descended from the Arab Ghassanids.[40] Incidentally the more orthodox Sunni position is narrower than that suggested by al-Ḥusaynī, as most medieval Sunnis held that the imam should be of Qurayshī descent.[41]

There are fewer allusions to previous Mamluk sultans, though al-Ḥusaynī records that at one *majlis* Shaykh Ibn ʿAmm Abī al-Ḥasan arrived with two books, one of which was the *Sīrah* of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars and the story of his invasion of the land of the Franks, which he proposed to read in its entirety, but al-Ḥusaynī argued against this, saying that if Baybars were alive today he would want to hear the story of the *majlis* of our Lord the Sultan.[42] Presumably the *Sīrah* in question was the history by Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, rather than the anonymous folk epic.

Later, when Qānṣūh was preoccupied with preparations for the hajj, the dispatch of an army down to the Hijaz, and the fortification of Jedda, he asked if the hajj was ever suspended. In answer a fairly lengthy account is given of the rivalry between Baybars and Hulagu for the control of Mecca and the hajj.[43]

At one point Qānṣūh tells a most curious story of Muḥammad Qalāwūn (*sic,* but presumably Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn is meant) summoning a group

[36] Ibid., 76.

[37] Ibid., 34.

[38] Ibid., 107–8.

[39] Ibid., 108.

[40] Ibid., 85.

[41] Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought,* 224–25.

[42] Al-Ḥusaynī, *Nafāʾis,* 16.

[43] Ibid., 73–74.

of his beloved and telling them that if they loved him they would throw themselves out of the palace, whereupon they said "*bismillāh*" and threw themselves from the first floor to the ground. As they lay there they shouted up to the sultan, "Our love for you extends this far, and he who can go further, let him be the favored one."[44]

Another story not featured in conventional history books is the story of the fate of an Ottoman fleet sent against the Mamluks during the reign of Qāytbāy. The *amīr kabīr* had advanced out of Egypt to counter the threat. He proposed to some of his retinue they recite the *fātiḥah*. They recited it that afternoon and all of the enemy were drowned by the decree of fate that night. In the morning the Mamluks sent out small ships to seek out those who had tried to save themselves by clinging to bits of wood and cut off their hands. This happy event was all due to the *fātiḥah.*[45] The reference here would be to the Ottoman fleet under the command of Hersek-oğlu Ahmed Pasha, many of whose ships were indeed sunk in a great storm in 893/1488. The *amīr kabīr* in question was the Atabeg Uzbek.[46]

On the one hand, secular and legendary Persian figures are used both to denounce tyranny and to justify kingship. For example, Bahrām ibn Bahrām said, "A lion that crushes everything he devours is better than an unjust king, and he in turn is better than persistent disorder."[47] But on the other hand, Qānṣūh's rule is also justified on religious grounds, for, according to a hadith, "The sultan is the shadow of God upon earth and he who is sincere before him is rightly guided, but he who deceives him errs."[48] The sultan's rule is preordained by fate and sanctioned by God. In one *majlis,* Shihāb al-Dīn al-Maḥallī relates a dream he has had in which a band of armored men looking like Turkmans advanced to invade Egypt, but the Prophet appeared flanked by Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, ʿUthmān and ʿAlī, and the Prophet declared himself the protector of Egypt. Al-Maḥallī's dream prompts the sultan to recall how thirty years previously, when he was just an amir, he entered the house of Yashbak the *dawādār,* where he encountered an amir who hailed him and told him that he had had a dream in which Qānṣūh had appeared with a ring of iron round his neck. He had taken this dream to Yashbak. They interpreted it as meaning that great power would come to Qānṣūh, and that it was inevitable that he should become sultan.[49] (This, in turn, leads to a silly story about a man who dreamt that Shāhrukh was wearing a pearl the size of a watermelon in his ear.)

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[44] Ibid., 24–25.

[45] Ibid., 57.

[46] Shai Har-El, *Struggle for Domination in the Middle East: The Ottoman-Mamluk War, 1485–1491* (Leiden, 1995), 181–82.

[47] Al-Ḥusaynī, *Nafāʾis,* 23.

[48] Ibid., 64.

[49] Ibid., 79.

The sultan should be generous. The story is told that Jahānshāh, the Qaraqoyunlu ruler of Tabriz, had very poor-quality black bread distributed at his madrasah, but when threatened by a *faqīr* with retribution in the afterlife, he repented. Qānṣūh claimed that he had resolved to be as generous as the repentant Jahānshāh.[50] The sultan should avoid behaving tyrannically and should offer redress to those who had suffered tyranny. The tale is told of a king of Hind who, when he became deaf, gave orders that plaintiffs who appeared before him who were victims of tyranny should wear red, so that he would not miss their complaints.[51]

At one point the legitimacy of a Mamluk regime is raised. In 890/1485 Qāytbāy had sent one of his closest associates, the amir Jānībak Ḥabīb al-ʿAlay al-Īnālī, on a placatory but ultimately unsuccessful mission to the Ottoman sultan Bayezid II.[52] According to the *Nafāʾis,* when Jānībak entered the Ottoman lands, the Ottomans tauntingly demanded to know by what right the Mamluks, who were sons of infidels, should govern the Bayt Allāh and the Ḥaram (in Mecca). That prerogative should surely belong to the Ottoman sultan, who is the son of a sultan, grandson of a sultan, and great-grandson of a sultan. But Jānībak retorted by pointing out that the father of Ibrāhīm was an infidel and so was the father of Muḥammad. Moreover, the nobility of a person depends upon knowledge and comportment *(adab),* not lineage and descent. Shaykh Kurānī (who was presumably in Jānībak's retinue) added that those present should not even discuss the legitimacy of the sultans of Egypt as they covered themselves with disgrace. Bayezid marvelled at this and he bestowed many precious gifts upon him.[53] Elsewhere in the *Nafāʾis,* ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib is quoted to the effect that a man's nobility, knowledge, and decorum are more important than his lineage and tribe, and it is soon after that the origins of the Circassians are discussed.[54]

In the *Kawkab al-Durrī* another, more minor clash with Bayezid II is mentioned, when Bayezid allegedly wrote to Qāytbāy wanting to know why the latter prefaced his decrees with the words *bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm.* Qāytbāy replied that he did so because any important enterprise was defective without the *basmalah*. Why did Bayezid not preface his decrees with a *basmalah*?[55]

In one *majlis* the sultan asked whether the sultan or the caliph took precedence in a funeral procession. Doubtless he was gratified to be told that the sultan did. This in turn led to reminiscences about the dispatch of robes of honor by the caliph

[50] Ibid., 69.

[51] Ibid., 70.

[52] Har-El, *The Struggle,* 128–30.

[53] Al-Ḥusaynī, *Nafāʾis,* 133–34.

[54] Ibid., 84–85.

[55] *Kawkab,* 7–8.

in Egypt to Jahānshāh ibn Qarā Yūsuf, the Qaraqoyunlu ruler from 837/1434 until 872/1467, and to the Ottoman sultan Mehmed, presumably Mehmed II. In Jahānshāh's case, when the caliph's emissary explained the gift, Jahānshāh said: "If you were not a stranger, I would have cut out your tongue." Then he made the emissary wear the robe and gave him three hundred dinars for having entered the royal presence. In Mehmed's case, after the emissary had explained the robe in the sultan's council, Mehmed declared that he was himself the Caliph of the World and that every sultan in the world should don the robe. Then he gave orders for it to be cut to pieces.[56]

On a separate occasion another aspect of the caliphate was debated. Did the glory of the sultan of Egypt derive from the fact the he was deputy of the caliph? Al-Ḥusaynī argued that this was not the case, since, if the sultan of the Yemen was independent and his status did not depend on his being the deputy of the caliph, *a fortiori* this must be true also of the sultan of Egypt and the two Holy Places. He was really only the deputy of the shariʿah law. Then al-Ḥusaynī was asked what was said about Baybars when he donned the caliph's robe. Al-Ḥusaynī replied that the caliph's glory derived from the sultan and not vice versa, whereupon one of al-Ḥusaynī's rivals and debating foils in the *majlis* observed that if al-Ḥusaynī had made such a remark in the days of Qāytbāy he would have had his head cut off. This talk of cutting off people's heads made the sultan angry.[57]

The *Kawkab* includes yet another debate on the question of the caliphate. This arose when the Safavid Shāh Ismāʿīl had sent Qānṣūh a book of Mongol history and in it there was an obituary of a certain Shāhīn-bak, where he was referred to as "Caliph of the Age." This raised the question whether it is ever permissible for a king to call himself Caliph. The verdict was that a king can be called Commander of the Faithful and Caliph of the Prophet, but it is not acceptable to call himself Caliph of God or Caliph of the Age.[58]

Occasionally strictly contemporaneous matters cropped up. On one occasion, as the sultan's oxen were being led out to clover, their keepers had run amuck looting shops in Cairo—the sort of thing that had allegedly happened frequently under earlier sultans like Baybars and Qalāwūn. Qānṣūh issued a proclamation banning this *bidʿah,* and he made arrangements through Zaynī Barakat, the *muḥtasib,* for the shopkeepers to be compensated. However, it would appear that during the disturbances some of the sultan's cattle were killed, and therefore four men were crucified and strangled and the rest were disgraced (Ibn Iyās does not mention this incident). In order to emphasize that this truly was royal justice,

[56] Al-Ḥusaynī, *Nafāʾis,* 101–2.

[57] Ibid., 111

[58] *Kawkab,* 73–74.

al-Ḥusaynī follows the mention of those executions with a tale about how Sultan Maḥmūd [of Ghazna], disguised as a *faqīr,* was wandering about at night when he was accosted by a sorrowful old woman. When he asked about the cause of her grief, she told him that a trooper *(jundī)* had fornicated with her daughter. Sultan Maḥmūd asked her to describe the man, which she did. Thereupon the sultan had the "trooper" killed, and only after that did he reveal that the executed man was his own son. The anecdote is then capped by a maxim from Anūshirvān to the effect that "rightness of judgement is better than many soldiers and kingship."[59]

The *Kawkab* includes a discussion of what could be done about Birkat al-Ratlī. The area round this Cairene pleasure lake had become a place of low repute where people were drinking alcohol and consuming drugs, and yet some important people, including several of the leading ulama, had acquired houses in the area. The sultan thought that this showed a lack of maturity *(murūwah)* on their part. The celebration of the mock marriage of the Birkah with the Khalīj al-Nāṣirī at the time of the Nile's flooding with the throwing of henna, halva, and other stuff was particularly reprehensible. The crowds included riffraff *(awbāsh),* veiled women, and loose women displaying themselves at windows or on rugs. What should be done about this? The author of the *Kawkab* offers several possibilities, such as filling up the Birkah, without saying what, if anything, the sultan decided.[60] However, Ibn Iyās reports that in 917/1511–12 a decree was issued that none of the civil functionaries should dwell on the banks of the Birkah on pain of severe penalties. So the area became sad and deserted and there were indeed rumors that the sultan was going to close it to boats.[61]

Other incidents from recent times cropped up. In one *majlis* the sultan teased the qadi Shams al-Dīn al-Ghazzī, saying that this man had a vulgar intellect. Here the sultan was alluding to the rebellion of the amir Dawlatbāy against the sultan. (This short-lived affair started in Tripoli in Jumādá II 910/November–December 1504.)[62] At that time the qadi had counselled Dawlatbāy against revolt, warning him that it would come to no good. Dawlatbāy angrily told him to shut up and declared that he had "a vulgar intellect." The qadi then fled from Dawlatbāy.[63]

The sort of political theorizing offered to Qānṣūh was, in its own way, just as sententious as the theorizing of ulama like Ibn Jamāʿah. As Crone puts it in her discussion of advice literature in *Medieval Islamic Political Thought:* "They often seem to be written on the assumption that political problems could be solved by

[59] Al-Ḥusaynī, *Nafāʾis,* 120–22.

[60] *Kawkab,* 64–66.

[61] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:234.

[62] Petry, *Protectors,* 37.

[63] Al-Ḥusaynī, *Nafāʾis,* 132.

moral precepts."[64] If the ruler is morally perfect there can be no problem. But Qānṣūh was not really perfect.

In these soirees Qānṣūh appears as a vain, pious, prissy, quite witty, scholarly man with wide literary and cultural interests. Contrary to the impression given by Ibn Iyās, he seems to have spent a lot of time listening to the opinions of the ulama. The above has been a selection from an idealized account of what went on at the soirees. Doubtless the questions that were unanswerable, the ums and ers, as well as examples of the sultan's stark ignorance and ugly spats between competitive courtiers, were erased from the record. The aim of both treatises was to glorify Qānṣūh. It may well be that the sultan only paid lip-service to the precepts of Ardashīr and Alexander or the example of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn Bāyqarā. But the point is that these were the models to which he thought he should be seen to be paying lip-service. This was Qānṣūh's self-presentation. It was perhaps not a true one, but it was the fashionable one. And perhaps the sultan himself was as much deceived by this façade of high-minded debate as his courtiers pretended to be. This was the language of despotism in the early decades of the sixteenth century. That story about the deaf Hindu king instructing victims of tyranny to wear red so that their complaints might properly be addressed must have seemed laughable, or rather something to weep over, to those who had witnessed Qānṣūh's licensing of brutal amirs like Qāyt Rajabī and professional torturers like Zaynī Barakat.

In 910/1504–5, the year of the sessions covered in the *Nafāʾis,* while Qānṣūh and his courtiers debated obscure points of shariʿah law and the literary merits of the *Shāhnāmah,* the qadi Badr al-Dīn Muzhir was subjected to prolonged and horrific torture under which he eventually died. The *nāẓir al-jaysh,* Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, had his carefully collected marble arbitrarily confiscated by the greedy sultan. Illegal taxes were levied. Extortion, torture, popular discontent, and threats of revolt were leitmotifs running throughout Qānṣūh's reign. Perhaps the reports of the soirees tell us very little about the real political thinking of Qānṣūh (much less so than the table-talk of Hitler tells us about the mentality of Hitler), but they tell us a great deal about the language of political panegyric and obfuscation that prevailed at the time.

[64] Crone, *Medieval Islamic Political Thought,* 161.

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Maqriziana II: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method Analysis

Towards an Archaeology of Scholarship

The process of writing in all its complexity, i. e., from the moment an author hits upon the idea of writing a book on a given subject until the work is published and distributed, is one of the least understood and studied concepts of scholarship, whatever the field, and as such certainly constitutes one of the most exciting challenges for the researcher. Where, when, and how did the author think of writing about such a topic? How did he collect the material? How did he organize it? How did he handle the sources? Did he gather abstracts and excerpts, and in what manner? Did he take notes on slips of paper? Did he work with note-cards? How did he arrange the material, and in whose words, his own or those of his sources? When and how was the book published and made available to the public? Was it possible for the author to correct mistakes after this point? Answers to these questions, however incomplete or conjectural, would help us understand how scholarship was undertaken in the past.

In the field of classical studies, this issue has been the subject of inquiry for a long time, but it has received much more attention since the eighties of the last century. In a pioneering book presenting the findings he has amassed during the last twenty years, Tiziano Dorandi[1] succeeds in providing answers to many of the above-mentioned questions. Because they deal with Greece and Rome, civilizations

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This research would have never reached this stage without the financial support of the Université de Liège, which gave me several research grants, and a fellowship of the Scaliger Institute (Universiteit van Leiden, June 2003).
[1] Tiziano Dorandi, *Le Stylet et la tablette: dans le secret des auteurs antiques* (Paris, 2000).

that have not left behind a large number of books, let alone autograph versions,[2] classicists struggle with either *(a)* rare quotations where the *modus operandi* of some authors is described, or *(b)* even rarer tangible evidence. The first group represents what could be called the "indirect tradition," in which either first- or second-hand testimonies of the working method of an author are found. In the second group, the evidence constitutes the "direct tradition," i.e., all the original documents (holograph and autograph manuscripts of the fair and draft versions, notebooks). Needless to say, classicists seldom are lucky enough to deal with items from the second group.

It is well established that Islam was a civilization of the book where the practice of scholarship and writing was undeniably given impetus by the introduction of a new writing material (paper).[3] Islamic civilization is more recent than Greek and Roman civilization, and thus more examples of Islamic books have survived. Furthermore, the quality of the material used for the publication and transmission of texts assured better preservation of the manuscripts, provided—of course—that the political situation permitted it. Thus, there is no reason to wonder why several million Islamic manuscripts have survived, mainly from after the sixth/twelfth century until the last century. Among them, the large number of autograph copies representing the final version of a work or another step of the writing process is quite impressive. If the researcher specializing in the field of Islamic studies has no reason to complain in comparison with his fellow classicist, who adheres to the adage "a little is better than nothing," it is also true that he is sometimes overwhelmed by the volume of the manuscripts preserved. Consequently, he concentrates his research on more directly palpable aspects, such as the text itself (i. e., the contents of the manuscript), and seldom considers the material approach. Despite the abundance of material, the field of Islamic studies is deficient in the analysis and explication of the working methods of writers. Some stimulating attempts, however, have been made, but to little avail. Worth mentioning is the landmark study of Franz Rosenthal,[4] published as early as 1947, in which he mainly addressed the problem of scholarship, his aim being "to find out what Muslims

[2]Alphonse Dain's words perfectly echo this situation: "À l'exception de quelques textes grecs ou latins du Moyen Age déjà avancé, aucun ouvrage ancien ne nous est parvenu sous forme d'original, exemplaire dû à l'auteur lui-même ou à son secrétaire. Nous n'avons pour ainsi dire jamais affaire à un livre *autographe*." Alphonse Dain, *Les Manuscrits,* 3rd ed. (Paris, 1975; reprint, 1997), 15. Since then, the "Papyrus of Herculanum" 1021 has been identified as a rare item of an authorial manuscript, i.e., a work written by an author, but not necessarily in his handwriting. See Dorandi, *Le Stylet,* 13.

[3]See François Déroche, *Le Livre manuscrit arabe: Préludes à un histoire* (Paris, 2004), 44.

[4]Franz Rosenthal, *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship* (Rome, 1947).

thought, and not how they acted."[5] Nevertheless, Rosenthal summarily tackled some technical aspects connected with the methods employed by authors to write their books.[6] His observations were exclusively based on the indirect tradition, i.e., the testimonies which the authors interspersed or hinted at in their works, or the clues they deliberately or unwittingly left. In the following decades, several books devoted to the methods to which an author had recourse in order to compose his book(s) have appeared.[7] Once again, these studies base themselves on a unique, somewhat biased, tradition: the evidence provided by the final stage of a work which, most of the time, survived in later manuscripts. Most of these deal with the peripheral problem of the sources *(Quellenuntersuchungen),* source criticism together with the relationship of the author to his sources (oral or written), and the quotation technique. Among these, the studies relying on books written in the classical period (pre-fifth/eleventh century) employing the traditional quotation technique *(isnād)* constitute the lion's share, because the underlying question of the trustworthiness of the information is foremost in the author's mind.[8] The recent contribution of Gregor Schoeler,[9] which represents the *lubb al-albāb* of his research in this direction for the last two decades, gathers some of the results reached by his predecessors. Moreover, it breaks new ground in giving, for the very first time, a clear view of the arduous procedure of the transmission of texts and the writing process in early Islam, as well as the problem of authorship in all fields of writing activity. The answers he suggests also enlighten us, although superficially, on the working method for the classical period.

More testimonies of the direct tradition survive from later periods, but at the same time interest in the working method of Muslim scholars diminishes. The

[5]Ibid., 1.

[6]The question of the taking of notes, the existence of note-cards, and the problem of the draft are all briefly dealt with.

[7]Arab authors seem to have been more interested in these themes, as the bibliography shows. One can cite, for example, the following references: Dāwūd Sallūm, *Dirāsāt Kitāb al-Aghānī wa-Manhaj Muʾallifihi,* 3rd (sic) ed. (Beirut, 1985); Muṣṭafá al-Shakʿah, *Manāhij al-Taʾlīf ʿinda al-ʿUlamāʾ al-ʿArab: Qism al-Adab,* 3rd ed. (Beirut, 1979 [1973]); Akram Ḍiyāʾ ʿUmarī, *Mawārid al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī fī Tārīkh Baghdād* (Damascus, 1395/1975); Maryam Muḥammad Khayr al-Dirʿ, *Mawārid Ibn al-ʿAdīm al-Tārīkhīyah wa-Manhajuhu fī Kitāb Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab* (Damascus, 1426/2005).

[8]Sebastian Günther, *Quellenuntersuchungen zu den »Maqātil aṭ-Ṭālibiyyīn« des Abū 'l-Faraǧ al-Iṣfahānī (gest. 356/967)* (Hildesheim, Zurich, and New York, 1991); idem, "Assessing the Sources of Classical Arabic Compilations: The Issue of Categories and Methodologies," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 32, no. 1 (2005): 75–98; idem, "*». . . nor have I learned it from any book of theirs«*: Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī: a Medieval Arabic Author at Work," in *Festschrift für Werner Ende zum 65. Geburtstag,* ed. Rainer Brunner et al. (Würzburg, 2002), 139–53.

[9]Gregor Schoeller, *Écrire et transmettre dans les débuts de l'islam* (Paris, 2002).

overwhelming number of manuscripts probably plays a role in this indifference along with the technical and administrative problems encountered by the researcher who would like to address this issue. No wonder if, here again, efforts have been directed to source criticism and all the correlative issues. For the Mamluk period, the works of Ulrich Haarmann and Donald Little are considered milestones.[10] Even though their aims are quite different from those implied in this article, their results could elucidate some interesting features pertaining to working method; as Little put it: [while] "what is proposed [. . . is more a] close study of the way in which each historian used his sources and the type of events which he chose to describe, it is also hoped that some insight will be gained into the principles and methodology of Muslim historiography of this period."[11] In these particular cases, the inquiry did not focus on a single author and one of his works, but rather on the comparison of several works which revealed the similarity and the confluence in the wording and details in the depiction of a given event.

So far, the only research conducted on the *modus operandi* of scholars is with regard to a very late author of the Ottoman period, Kātib Chelebi (a.k.a. Ḥājjī Khalīfah, d. 1067/1657). The autograph draft of the work which contributed to his fame more than any other *(Kashf al-Ẓunūn ʿan Asāmī al-Kutub wa-al-Funūn)* is full of slips of paper covered with notes to be added to the final text. As such, it illustrates Kātib Chelebī's method of working. Eleazar Birnbaum understood the value of this manuscript, and in his thorough study of it tried to discern how the author composed his book.[12]

All these studies have yielded results. However, they do not give answers to the whole set of questions we put forward at the beginning of this article. This is not surprising, considering the huge quantity of material from both the indirect and direct traditions required in order to tackle this complex issue in an exhaustive manner.

The indirect tradition, surveyed quite comprehensively by Rosenthal and Schoeller (although in the latter case within the limits of the periods considered), is of particular importance. In fact, it is usually the author who, speaking in the first person, gives valuable hints about his working method. While first- and

[10]Ulrich Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit* (Freiburg im Brisgau, 1969); Donald P. Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography: An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāʾūn* (Wiesbaden, 1970) The latest contribution to this field will be found in Sami Massoud, *The Chronicles and Annalistic Sources of the Early Mamluk Circassian Period* (Leiden, 2007).

[11]Ibid., 1.

[12]Eleazar Birnbaum, "Kātib Chelebi (1609–1657) and Alphabetization: A Methodological Investigation of the Autographs of His *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* and *Sullam al-Wuṣūl,*" in *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient,* ed. François Déroche and Francis Richard (Paris, 1997), 236–63.

second-hand testimonies are useful, they are also scarce. Indeed, several others are still waiting to be tracked down, as illustrated by the following description dated to the seventh/thirteenth century, probably the most detailed at our disposal, by Ibn Ṭāwūs (died 664/1266 in Baghdad). This Shiʿi figure, whose peculiar method of quotation has drawn the attention of Etan Kohlberg,[13] also provided, in two of his books, a very precise picture of how he composed books, differing, he says, from the traditional method. The various steps are summarized by Kohlberg as follows:

> IṬ [Ibn Ṭāwūs] explains that he was too busy with other matters to be able to work in the usual fashion. Instead he used the services of a copyist (who seems to have been incorporated into the household for the duration of the work: *kāna ʿindanā nāsikh*). The copyist was employed in the following manner: (a) IṬ would jot down his ideas on slips of paper *(ruqayʿāt)* which the *nāsikh* would copy at once; (b) when citing from written texts, IṬ would either dictate to the copyist from the original book or show him the passage which he wanted copied, and the copyist would write it down. This obviated the need for the initial draft. The individual folios produced by the copyist did not follow any particular order, and may be compared to index-cards. The next step was for IṬ to take each completed folio *(qāʾimah)* and copy its text into the appropriate place in the final version of the book (presumably with revisions).[14]

This passage is of particular importance for our purpose thanks to its detailed description. Not only does it establish that the author worked with the help of a copyist, but it also confirms what has been postulated for a long time: that authors used to have recourse to what corresponded to index cards, individual sheets of paper which could be organized according to the outline of the final work. Interestingly too, the process resembles Pliny the Elder's working method as described by his nephew, Pliny the Younger, for the composition of his *Naturalis Historia:*[15] apparently, Pliny the Elder read sources or had them read to him by a slave; he marked the passages he was interested in; he dictated those passages to have them copied in *pugillares* (notebooks); he then utilized these passages for the

[13]Etan Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Ṭāwūs and His Library* (Leiden, New York, and Cologne, 1992).

[14]Ibid., 86 (on the basis of the description provided by Ibn Ṭāwūs in his *Falāḥ al-Sāʾil wa-Najāḥ al-Masāʾil* and *Al-Iqbāl bi-al-Aʿmāl al-Ḥasanah*).

[15]See Dorandi, *Le Stylet,* 29-40. The passage in question has been the object of several interpretations due to the ambiguity of the terms used. The process given hereafter results from Dorandi's reading.

composition of his book. This example from antiquity is given here to show that, in this matter, the working method was a question of innate *modus operandi* which was to be formalized only in the Renaissance period.[16]

As for the direct tradition, the inquiry should rely on the material evidence, in the best cases that would have reached us, the ideal being:

a) manuscripts representing the final stage of a book *(mubayyaḍah, mubyaḍḍah);*
b) manuscripts of the draft version of a book *(musawwadah, muswaddah);*
c) manuscripts of the summaries and abstracts of the original sources used for the composition of a book (*mukhtaṣar, mukhtār, muntaqá*, etc);
d) manuscripts of the notebooks compiled by an author to write his book *(tadhkirah, majmūʿ, taʿlīq);*
e) original manuscripts of the sources used by an author with undeniable proof that these manuscripts were in his hands at a given time.

With the exception of (e), all of these should be holograph manuscripts of the author. Examples from each of these categories would make possible a serious study on the working method of a given scholar. Unfortunately, even though Islamic civilization has produced and preserved more manuscripts than any other, as already pointed out, it is unrealistic to assume that manuscripts fulfilling all these conditions are available. Various examples can undoubtedly be found for categories (a) and (c). As for (b) and (d), there are good reasons to believe that manuscripts of drafts and notebooks could only survive by chance. This is logical: a draft representing the intermediary stage of a book lost its usefulness once the finished version had been completed. Moreover, most of the works left unfinished by an author at his death either disappeared or were taken by another scholar who decided to polish them, sometimes to emend them, and in the end to publish them in the author's name or, more perfidiously, in his own name.[17] Notebooks, on the other hand, are made by the author only for his own benefit. They do not represent a finished version of a work. Here again, they rarely arouse the interest of others and were generally considered as the author's *nachlaß,* at a time when this genre of personal notes was considered at face value.

It remains that if several examples of categories (a) and (c) have been preserved, they do not necessarily come from the same author, and even in this case the picture of his *modus operandi* will be limited by the lack of additional

[16]See ibid., 3.

[17]Regarding al-Maqrīzī, for instance, see my forthcoming study: "Maqriziana IX: Should al-Maqrīzī Be Thrown Out With the Bathwater? The Question of His Plagiarism of Al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ* and the Documentary Evidence" (to be published in a forthcoming issue of this journal).

material evidence for the other categories. Still, there is an exception, an author for whom all the above-mentioned categories are represented by even more than one manuscript: al-Maqrīzī. Strangely, one of the most representative figures of Muslim scholarship, considering all periods, is precisely the one for whom more than twenty-three autograph manuscripts have been preserved (nearly 5,000 leaves)[18] together with several copies of the sources he consulted,[19] the whole covering all the categories regarded as necessary for an exhaustive study of his working method.[20] Thanks to this abundance of material evidence, it is possible not only to compare the final stages of his works to the draft versions, but also to the (preserved) sources he used (i.e., the original manuscripts he consulted), and to the preliminary work necessary for an author to prepare a book (abstracts, notebooks, note-cards). The discovery of one of his notebooks constitutes a unique opportunity not only for the reconstruction of his working method, but also, more generally, to contribute to the building of an archaeology of scholarship, as expressed by Thierry Bianquis as early as 1997. In his review[21] of an edition of one of al-Maqrīzī's drafts,[22] he recognized the value of these autograph manuscripts and adumbrated the results that could be obtained through their study as witnesses of the author's technique: "Quand j'avais travaillé sur ce texte à la BN [Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Ar. 2144, "Al-Tārīkh al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr"], j'avais pensé que toute une archéologie du savoir historique pourrait être reconstituée en analysant ce type d'écrit et en travaillant en même temps sur l'usage qu'avait fait al-Maqrīzī, dans l'*Ittiʿāẓ al-Ḥunafāʾ*, du manuscrit d'al-Musabbiḥī que nous avions publié et qui porte une mention de sa main en première page indiquant qu'il l'avait utilisé." This "archaeology of scholarship," historical scholarship in this case, echoes the title of Michel Foucault's book first published in 1969,[23] but it has a different scope. Foucault's vision was that of a philosopher and his work was epistemological. The archaeology of scholarship, as put forward by Bianquis, is closer to the technical meaning of the first term: it should aim at studying, digging up what amounts to the soil for the traditional

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[18]See Appendix I at the end of this article. Reference is made here to the numbers attributed to each manuscript in this appendix, with the exception of no. 18 (copy of the autograph) and no. 15 (partly autograph).

[19]See Appendix II at the end of this article.

[20]They can be divided in this manner (the letters refer to the categories): (a) 1–7, 15, 17; (b) 9–14, 16, 19, 21; (c) 8, 18, 22; (d) 20, 21, 23; (e) see Appendix II (18 manuscripts representing 6 sources).

[21]*Bulletin critique des Annales islamologiques* 13 (1997): 158.

[22]Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadat Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār,* ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid (London, 1995).

[23]Michel Foucault, *L'Archéologie du savoir* (Paris, 1969).

archaeologist, i.e., the manuscripts, in order to reconstruct the techniques, the methods followed by writers to compose their books; that is to say, in a few words, to try to deduce the writer's creative process.

As mentioned earlier, al-Maqrīzī constitutes a case study and a logical starting point.[24] The present article is conceived as a contribution to this new form of archaeology, keeping in mind two caveats:

It does not aim at reconstructing al-Maqrīzī's working method in all its complexity, for two reasons. Firstly, it is seen as a continuation of the preceding articles in which the notebook was comprehensively described. In the following pages, the analysis will be primarily based on this witness, although limited references will be made to the other autograph manuscripts. Consequently and secondly, it is implied that a study considering all the autograph manuscripts would take more time and space than is allowed for such an article.[25]

The conclusions drawn from the present study are by no means definitive, given the partial sample taken into consideration, and should not be regarded as applicable to every author. Although the working methods might have been identical, they probably differed according to the persons, the place, and the period considered. Only a more comprehensive analysis based on several authors of different periods could lead to such general conclusions.

The *Codex Leodiensis*: A Notebook?

Although some folios clearly give the impression that one is looking at a notebook, most of the parts appear, *prima facie,* as neatly copied texts. This raises the question whether the manuscript should really be identified as a notebook or not. The definition of a notebook, as provided by the *Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1989), is "a book reserved for or containing notes or memoranda." In this sense, a scholar's notebook is the place where he jots down information he is interested in for his own research and writing, but not unreservedly: he may be struck by an anecdote or a story without necessarily feeling the need to use it in

[24]Regarding al-Maqrīzī, some attempts have already been made, but all are sketchy. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid only touched on the subject in the following publications: Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, "Remarques sur la composition des *Ḫiṭaṭ* de Maqrīzī d'après un manuscrit autographe," in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron, 1927-1976*, vol. 2, *Égypte post-pharaonique* (Cairo, 1979), 231–58; idem, "Early Methods of Book Composition: al-Maqrīzī's Draft of the *Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ*," in *The Codicology of Islamic Manuscripts: Proceedings of the Second Conference of al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 4-5 December 1993,* ed. Yasin Dutton (London, 1995), 93–101. On the other hand, Muḥammad ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī followed the traditional method which concerns the question of the sources and the method of quotation, which brings some answers, however partial. See Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī, *Arbaʿat Muʾarrikhīn wa-Arbaʿat Muʾallafāt min Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah* (Cairo, 1992).

[25]It is the present writer's project to carry out this larger analysis.

the future. Thus the notebook plays the role of a memorandum, a book to which a scholar is able to refer when needed. Such a book will contain two kinds of information: first, personal observations and even oral testimonies, heard during the day and memorized, or already scribbled on slips of paper on the spot, with the intent to transfer them into the notebook later on, at the end of the day, for instance, or when it comes to mind again.[26] Second, during the reading of the sources, with a projected book in mind or not, the scholar writes down all the material he deems useful, which may consist of small notes. But if the mass of material is very important, he may rather make a summary in order to make the best use of this source. The summary might be faithful to the original, a word-by-word excerpt, or, on the contrary, paraphrased, depending on its usefulness and the ultimate scope of the finished work. Obviously, the notebook will also reflect the scholar's interests, depending on the period considered: his notes and excerpts based upon an eclectic range of works would be the result of his readings in a great variety of fields. The comprehensive description of the *codex leodiensis* has revealed the heterogeneous character of the texts collected (from history to zoology, from Quranic commentary to numismatics), as well as the diversity of the nature of these texts (from summaries to excerpts, from personal notes to short quotations). Furthermore, the question of authenticity is not problematic, given that the script may be compared without difficulty to the numerous other holograph manuscripts of al-Maqrīzī. Handwriting, together with style, could be affected by the very nature of the work accomplished by a scholar in his notebook. The scholar, concentrating on the task of condensing his source, might not be liable to devote his whole attention to his style, in which grammatical mistakes and aberrant orthographical features would be visible.[27] As for handwriting, one would expect a more cursive script than the one used for the writing of a book.[28] On the other hand, the scholar might wish to avoid, as often as possible, any

[26] If the notebook consists of only this kind of information, it should rather be considered a journal. Two exceptional witnesses of this genre have reached us, one from eleventh-century Baghdad and the other from fifth-century Damascus: Georges Makdisi, "Autograph Diary of an Eleventh-Century Historian of Baghdād," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 18 (1956): 9–31, 239–60; 19 (1957): 13–48, 281–303, 426–43; Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq, *Journal d'Aḥmad ibn Ṭawq (834/1430–915/1509) = Al-Taʿlīq: Yawmīyāt Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Ṭawq (834–915 H./1480–1502 M.)*, ed. Jaʿfar al-Muhājir (Damascus, 2000–4).

[27] Such features are conspicuous in al-Maqrīzī's notebook and have been inventoried in the forthcoming study: Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana VIII: Quelques remarques sur l'orthographe d'al-Maqrīzī (m. 845/1442) à partir de son carnet de notes : peut-on parler de moyen arabe?" in *Moyen arabe et variétés mixtes de l'arabe: Actes du Premier Colloque International (Louvain-la-Neuve, 10–14 Mai 2004),* ed. Jérôme Lentin and Jacques Grand'Henry (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2008), 21–38.

[28] Item XXII, which most probably represents the first stage of redaction of a biography by al-Maqrīzī, shares this characteristic.

ambiguity in the reading of passages which are not his own, in which case he might be unable to read his own handwriting correctly. This raises the problem of the neatly written texts found in the notebook, which give the impression that al-Maqrīzī copied what he had already condensed elsewhere. If this is the case, material evidence characteristic of the technique of copying would emerge, like homoioteleuton, for instance.[29] However, such a phenomenon is not observed in the manuscript. The question arises whether these neatly written summaries and excerpts were made on the spot, i.e., at the very moment when al-Maqrīzī was reading the source, or written later on in the notebook. An answer can only be found through the comparison of the results of this scholar's notes and the original sources, when preserved. Several examples will serve to give an unequivocal answer.

Definitely one of the most meticulously written texts, item II consists of a summary *(talkhīṣ)* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's *Kitāb Futūḥ Miṣr wa-Akhbārihā*. This and the following references to "items" refer to the organization of al-Maqrīzī's notebook set forth in my two previous articles in *Mamlūk Studies Review:* vol. 7, no. 2 (2003): 21–68, and vol. 10, no. 2 (2006): 81–139. The original work is composed of reports transmitted in the traditional way, i.e., as hadith and *khabar* supported by a chain of authorities. Given the nature of this historical data, the note-taker does not have the same discretion to summarize as he would with another genre of historical writing. As a traditionalist himself, al-Maqrīzī would be reluctant to distort the original. It is no surprise then to note that this summary is almost completely faithful to the original, although several additional notes and erasures visible in the margins indicate that some alterations nevertheless were made.

In the following example, the original text reads:[30]

. . . فملك مائة سنة وعشرين وهو الأعرج . . .

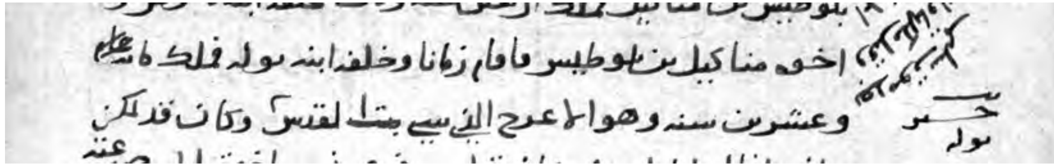
where a peculiar grammatical construction is discernible.[31]

If we turn to the notebook, we notice that al-Maqrīzī was obviously condensing the text while he was reading it, as he faithfully copied it, except that he changed the word "*sanah*" into "*ʿām.*" But when he got to the word "*ʿishrīn,*" the structure of the sentence appeared singular to him, and he decided to erase the word "*ʿām*" and to replace it at the end of the numerals by the word "*sanah*"!

[29]Dain, *Les Manuscrits,* 44.

[30]Abū al-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *The History of the Conquest of Egypt, North Africa and Spain Known as the Futūḥ Miṣr of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam,* ed. Charles C. Torrey (New Haven, 1922), 29.

[31]If the word "*sanah*" had been repeated after "*ʿishrīn,*" the construction would have been correct according to the rules. See William Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language,* 3rd ed. (Cambridge, 1896–98), vol. 2, § 104.



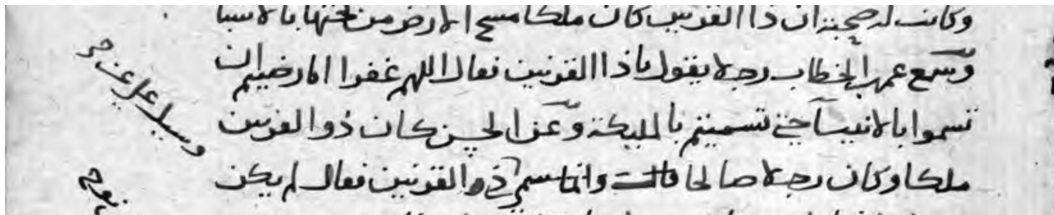
MS 2232, fol. 48b (Courtesy Université de Liège)

There is no other way to interpret the following passage but that al-Maqrīzī was truly condensing the source during the reading process. The passage reads as follows in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's *Futūḥ Miṣr* (pp. 39–40):

قال وإنّما سمّي ذا القرنين كما حدّثنا وثيمة حدّثنا سفيان بن عيينة عن ابن أبي حسين عن أبي الطفيل أن عليّا رضي الله عنه سئل عن ذي القرنين فقال لم يكن ملكا ولا نبيا. . . .

In the notebook, al-Maqrīzī once again wrote as he was reading, but with the intention to summarize. He thus read the beginning of the sentence, took note of it as he was interested in it, and did not change anything in the wording, except that he made a grammatical mistake *(dhū* instead of *dhā):*

قال وإنّما سمّي ذو القرنين. . . .



MS 2232, fol. 53a (Courtesy Université de Liège)

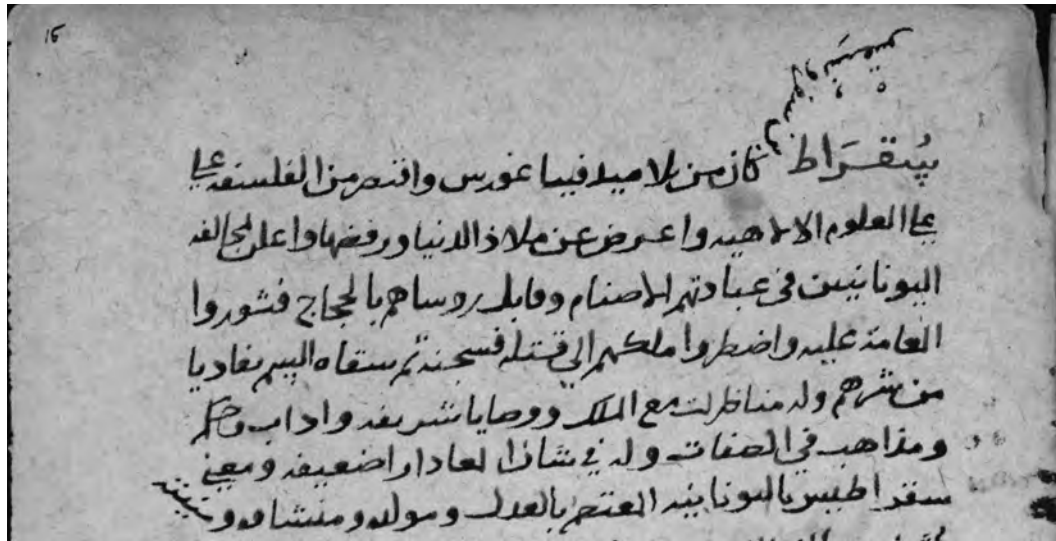
Once he had written down this passage, he proceeded further in the reading of the text and discovered that Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam quoted a *khabar* in support of this appellation, which introduced a redundancy with the previous words already quoted. Clearly, al-Maqrīzī did not consider the chain of transmitters in this summary, but he could not pass over the material provided by the *khabar*. He thus decided to strike out some of the words already written *(qāla wa-innamā summiya)* and added, in the margin, part of the following text found in *Futūḥ Miṣr,* slightly modifying the phraseology *(wa-suʾila ʿAlī ʿan)* and indicating in the text the exact point where this marginal addition should find its place. This caused him to erase the *wāw* of *dhū* and to replace it by a *yāʾ*. Consequently, the final result must be read thus:

وسئل علي عن ذي القرنين فقال لم يكن ملكا ولا نبيا. . . .

In order to establish that this process of epitomizing during the reading operation is typical of al-Maqrīzī's working technique, it is necessary to demonstrate that

similar features appear in the other summaries. It is obviously impossible to deal with all the abstracts present in the notebook and for which the original source has been preserved, but the three following examples regarding two of these abstracts should provide convincing proof.

As already noted, the notebook opens with an epitome of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah's *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbāʾ* (item I). On folio 16a, al-Maqrīzī started summarizing a new biography: Socrates. He wrote the name in red ink to catch the eye, and began to read the source and to condense it. There is, however, a marginal note just above the name, which was added later. It consists of the name of the philosopher's father (*ibn Sufrūnusiqs* [sic]).



MS 2232, fol. 16a (Courtesy Université de Liège)

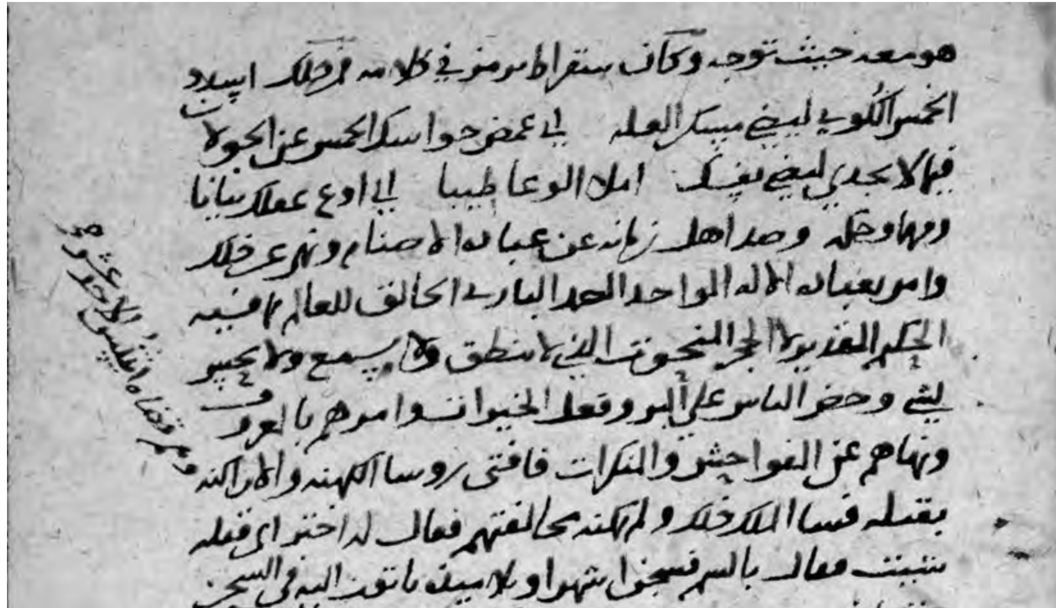
To understand why it appears there, it is necessary to turn back to the source[32] and to compare it to al-Maqrīzī's rendering:

ابن أبي أصيبعة	المقريزي
سقراط.	سُقرَاط بن سفرونُسِقْس.
قال القاضي صاعد في كتاب طبقات الأمم إن سقراط كان من تلاميذ	كان من تلاميذ
فيثاغورس. إقتصر من الفلسفة على العلوم الإلهية وأعرض عن ملاذ الدنيا	فيثاغورس واقتصر من الفلسفة على العلوم الإلاهية وأعرض عن ملاذ الدنيا
ورفضها وأعلن بمخالفة اليونانيين في عبادتهم الأصنام وقابل رؤساءهم	ورفضها وأعلن بمخالفة اليونانيين في عبادتهم الأصنام وقابل رؤساءهم
بالحجاج والأدلة فثوروا العامة عليه واضطروا ملكهم إلى قتله فأودعه الملك	بالحجاج فثوروا العامة عليه واضطروا ملكهم إلى قتله فسجنه
الحبس تحمدا إليهم ثم سقاه السم تفاديا من شرهم مع مناظرات جرت له مع	ثم سقاه السم تفاديا من شرهم وله مناظرات مع
الملك محفوظة وله وصايا شريفة وآداب فاضلة وحكم مشهورة ومذاهب	الملك ووصايا شريفة وآداب وحكم ومذاهب
في الصفات قريبة من مذاهب فيثاغورس وبندقليس إلا أن له في شأن المعاد	في الصفات وله في شأن المعاد
آراء ضعيفة بعيدة عن محض الفلسفة خارجة عن المذاهب المحققة.	آراء ضعيفة
وقال الأمير المبشر بن فاتك في كتاب مختار الحكم ومحاسن الكلم معنى	ومعنى
سقراطيس باليونانية المعتصم بالعدل وهو ابن سفرونسقس ومولده ومنشأه	سقراطيس باليونانية المعتصم بالعدل ومولده ومنشأه
ومنبته بأثينة. . . .	ومنبته بأثينة. . . .

The collation of both texts reveals that Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah is primarily interested in quoting his sources faithfully, apparently without reworking the wording or the plan. This explains why the biographical data regarding Socrates, such as his father's name and his birthplace, appear in the second quotation. Reading the source, al-Maqrīzī discovered his father's name several lines later, but his aim differs from Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah's: though summing up raw material, he is nevertheless trying to organize the material at this early stage and this is the reason why he placed the father's name in the margin, above Socrates' name, rather than leaving it in its original place in the source. This comparison, as shown, also allows several observations regarding other features of al-Maqrīzī's working method while composing a summary. It first shows that he completely disregarded the sources quoted by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, thereby attributing those words to him. Then, it illustrates his desire to be brief, as he left out superfluous words whose omission does not modify the meaning (adjectives as in line 6: *ādāb fāḍilah wa-ḥikam mashhūrah* → *ādāb wa-ḥikam*) or changed the wording to be more concise (as in lines 3–4: *fa-awdaʿahu al-malik al-ḥabs taḥammudan ilayhim* → *fa-sajanahu*).

[32]Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbāʾ*, ed. August (Imruʾ al-Qays ibn al-Ṭaḥḥān) Müller (Cairo/Königsberg, 1299/1882–84), 43.

A little bit further in the biography (fol. 17a/p. 45), another example corroborating the idea that the summarizing process takes place during the reading is provided.



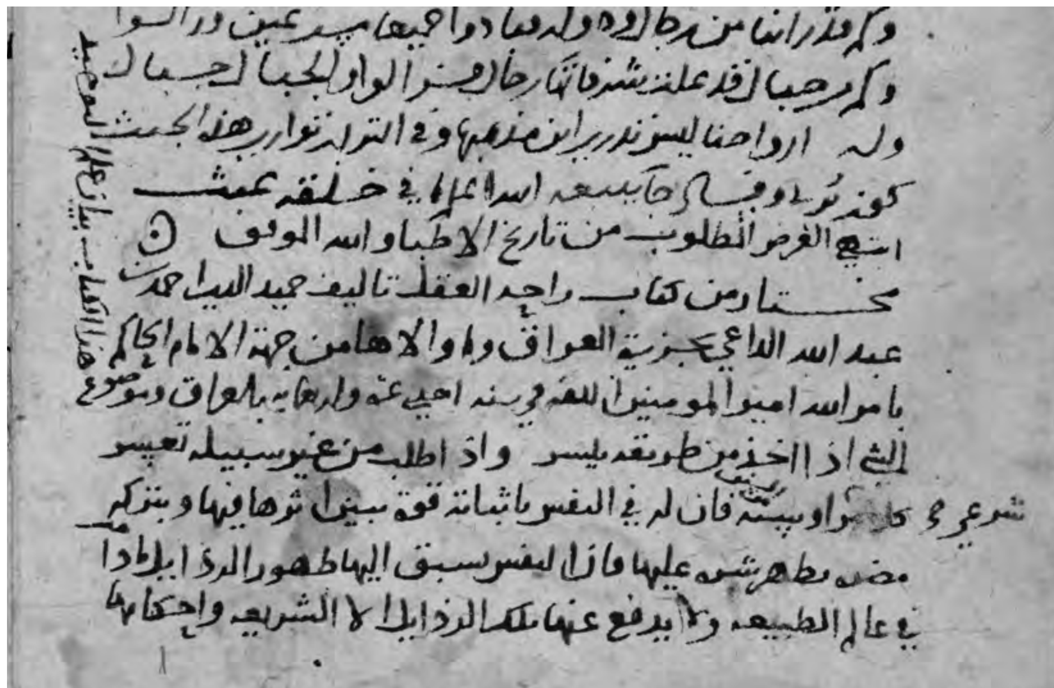
MS 2232, fol. 17a (Courtesy Université de Liège)

ابن أبي أصيبعة.	المقريزي.
فلما علم الرؤساء في وقته من الكهنة والأراكنة ما رامه من دعوته وأن رأيه	فأفتى رؤساء الكهنة والأراكنة وهم قضاة أثينُس الأحد عشر
نفي الأصنام ورد الناس عن عبادتها شهدوا عليه بوجوب القتل وكان	بقتله
الموجبون عليه القتل قضاة أثينس الأحد عشر وسقي السم الذي يقال له	
قونيون لأن الملك لما أوجب القضاة عليه القتل ساءه ذلك ولم يمكنه	فساء الملك ذلك ولم يمكنه
مخالفتهم. . . .	مخالفتهم. . . .

In this case, it is clearly established that al-Maqrīzī read a bigger part, i. e., the first two lines, before he started summarizing. He shows here his ability to extract the meaning of the whole sentence concisely, stated here in a nutshell (five words). Then, he discovered that those who were responsible for Socrates' death were the eleven judges of Athens. In his modified text, this part came at a better place to describe who those high priests and archons were, and so he added this information in the margin, opposite their mention. If he had read the whole passage on this affair, he would have had time to organize it then and would not have added the additional information in the margin. This passage demonstrates, if necessary, that the epitomizing process happened during the reading of a few words or of a whole phrase, but not more.

The last example considers a very short excerpt (item XXIII) appended to the previous abstract (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ*), which ends on fol. 31b. The space left blank (roughly one third of the leaf) was filled in with an excerpt of seven lines. There is no doubt that it ends there because al-Maqrīzī did not write a catchword, as he did for the previous abstract. On the other hand, fol. 31 lies in the third quire which is completed with fol. 35. All these folios, which were also blank, have been filled with various notes taken from different sources (items XXIV–XXX). This excerpt, as already indicated,[33] is remarkable by its very nature, as it was taken from a book of Ismaʿili literature: *Kitāb Rāḥat al-ʿAql* of Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī. Its mere presence in the notebook might reveal whether or not al-Maqrīzī truly had access to Ismaʿili sources, as he claimed. Several elements found in the excerpt reveal that, at least for this work, this statement was true.

A close look at the arrangement of the text in the notebook suggests that the content of the book has been partly added in the right margin.



MS 2232, fol. 31b (Courtesy Université de Liège)

[33]See Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana I: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method: Description: Section 2," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10, no. 2 (2006): 82–83.

In order to understand why this data is found there, it is necessary to turn to the original source and see how the material is organized there.[34]

الكرماني.	المقريزي.
١) فنقول إن كتابنا هذا كتاب راحة العقل (ص. ١٠٦\٢٠).	١) مختار من كتاب راحة العقل.
٢) ومؤلفه حميد الدين أحمد بن عبد الله الداعي بجزيرة العراق وما وليها[35] من جهة الإمام الحاكم بأمر الله أمير المؤمنين . . . ألفه في سنة إحدى عشرة وأربعمائة في ديار العراق (ص. ١٠٦\٢٠).	٢) تأليف حميد الدين أحمد بن عبد الله الداعي بجزيرة العراق وما والاها من جهة الإمام الحاكم بأمر الله أمير المؤمنين. ألفه[36] في سنة إحدى عشرة وأربعمائة بالعراق.
٣) لما كان الغرض المقصود في تأليف هذا الكتاب بيان علم التوحيد (ص. ١١١\٢٤).	٣) وموضوع هذا الكتاب بيان علم التوحيد.
٤) إذ الشيء إذا أخذ من طريقه تيسر وإذا طلب من غير طريقه تعسر (ص. ١٠٠\١٦).	٤) الشيء إذا أخذ من طريقه تيسر وإذا طلب من غير سبيله تعسر.
٥) إذ كل أمر من الأمور وسنة من السنن لها في النفس بإحيائها قوة يتبين أثرها فيها وبتركها مضرة يظهر شرها عليها ذلك بأن النفس بكونها في عالم الطبيعة ظهور الرذائل فيها أسبق إليها من سبق النار إلى النفط وليس يدفع عنها تلك الرذائل إلا الشريعة وأحكامها (ص. ١٠١\١٧–٢).	٥) كل ضر شرعي[37] أو سنة من السنن[38] فإن له في النفس بإثباته قوة يبين أثرها فيها وبتركه مضرة يظهر شره عليها فإن النفس يسبق إليها ظهور الرذائل ما دامت في عالم الطبيعة ولا يدفع عنها تلك الرذائل إلا الشريعة وأحكامها.

The comparison of both texts broadly hints that al-Maqrīzī is summarizing the original text, and not a secondary source. During the reading process, it is necessary to condense the ideas and al-Maqrīzī did not hesitate to state the material in his own words, particularly for passage no. 5. However, the arrangement of the material in al-Kirmānī's text is rather different from what one finds in the notebook. There, the various passages appear in the following order: 4, 5, 1, 2, 3, keeping in mind that 3 is located in the margin in the notebook. The *Rāḥat al-ʿAql* is quite peculiar in that it begins with a fairly long introduction and the reader must wait for several pages before reaching the point where the author gives his name and the title of his work.[39] A reader looking for this information must first go through those preliminary chapters. We notice that al-Maqrīzī did not take notes from these before reaching the title of the work and the name of its author, and, possibly, the date of composition. Once he had copied these, he did not proceed further in the book, but rather went back to the introductory chapters where he selected a phrase and a short passage. Only then did he complete the reading of

[34]Reference is made here to the following editions: Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn and Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ḥilmī (Cairo, 1953); Muṣṭafá Ghālib (Beirut, 1967).

[35]In one manuscript: والاها.

[36]In the manuscript: اللفه. See, on this mistake frequently displayed in the notebook, "Maqriziana VIII."

[37]شرعي : marginal addition.

[38]من السنن : interlinear addition.

[39]It appears in the second *mashraʿ*.

the following chapters, particularly the fourth *mashra*ʿ where the author explains the aim of the book.[40] In al-Maqrīzī's eyes, this was better placed between the historical and the philosophical material already selected by him and left at the end of passage no. 2 and the margin, where he could just write the first word (*wa-mawḍū*ʿ). This analysis definitely proves that al-Maqrīzī had access to a copy of this work, because he would never have been able to arrange the material in this way if he could not thumb through the book. It also resolves the question of his access to the works of Ismaʿili literature!

The preceding examples, selected from dozens, undoubtedly establish how the summarizing process took place and, bearing in mind the definition of "notebook" provided earlier, establishes that this particular manuscript is indeed a notebook.

Its Constitution over Time

Given its nature, the notebook in its present state is the result of an activity which spanned a long period of time, as confirmed by the evolution of the script, the great number of extracts of all kinds, and the numerous notes scattered throughout the manuscript. In this sense, the history of its constitution may be disclosed thanks to these internal elements as well as external ones. It thus helps us understand another aspect of al-Maqrīzī's working method, i.e., how he collected the abstracts and the notes.

While it is documented that authors of classical antiquity utilized, for the taking of notes and copying of their drafts, scrolls of papyrus *(volumen* or *rotulus)* rather than sheets of the same material assembled in scrolls later on,[41] the use of paper lent itself to another organization of the writing material: instead of the scroll, which is also attested in the Muslim world, but in a somewhat confined use,[42] paper allowed the creation of a quire made of several sheets folded in two. The multiple quires could then be sewn together and bound in order to protect the whole (codex).[43] The codex was a model of book already widespread in the

[40] "Al-mashraʿ al-rābiʿ fī al-gharaḍ al-maqṣūd fī tartīb aswār hādhā al-kitāb bi-mā nusawwiruhu min mashāriʿihi ʿalá mā ruttibat ʿalayhi."

[41] Evidence of this is provided by traces of script over the pasted strips of the sheets of papyrus put together to form a scroll. If the sheets had been independently copied and then pasted together, the strips resulting from this operation would be blank. See Dorandi, *Le Stylet,* 13–14. It seems, however, that quires of papyrus could be made for the copying of notes. See note 43.

[42] Scrolls made of sheets of paper glued together were used by the Muslim chanceries until the Ottoman period.

[43] Codices made of papyrus are also attested, but are quite late and rare. See for instance a blank papyrus codex later used for various notes (ca. 400 C.E., Chester Beatty Library, Pap. Ac. 1499) in Jonathan M. Bloom, *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven and London, 2001), 26. Papyrus was particularly unsuitable for this kind of book.

Middle East and the Mediterranean area in the first centuries of the common era and it ultimately outweighed all the others in these areas.[44] Quires, first of papyrus and parchment, then of paper, rather than loose leaves, were thus used for the taking of notes by Muslim scholars. Al-Maqrīzī's notebook shows this observation to be a certainty.[45] Physical analysis indicates that the notebook is composed of 21 quires, most of which (14) consist of five sheets. Some summaries are spread over several quires. This means that al-Maqrīzī had at his disposal a stock of such quires (most probably of five sheets each). When he saw that he would lack space to complete a summary, he had two options: either he inserted an intermediary sheet, thus modifying the structure of the quire (for instance, quire XIII has six sheets), or he continued on with a smaller one (two or three sheets, as in quire XVI, for example). In some cases, it happened that he finished a summary earlier in the quire, thus leaving several blank leaves. These leaves were later used for notes selected from different sources, which explains why they are sometimes scattered over several quires. However, when these notes fell at the intersection of two quires, they definitely linked these quires to one another. It thus establishes that those quires were in that order in al-Maqrīzī's lifetime. But we can further refine our understanding of this aspect of his working method by proceeding to another level of analysis. As already stated,[46] two different kinds of paper are found in the notebook: al-Maqrīzī utilized blank paper together with recycled paper, a feature which is not characteristic of this manuscript only, but of a large part of his autograph manuscripts. The recycled paper consists of chancery documents which were in the shape of scrolls *(rotulus)* and were cut into pieces, most probably by paper merchants.[47] It is reasonable to believe that, when such documents were cut, the sheets obtained through this process and pertaining to the same document were gathered to form quires. In this way, we should find sheets belonging to the same document in a quire of the notebook made of this kind of paper. If we look carefully at the distribution of documents I and II, among the five identified in the notebook and reconstructed afterwards, we notice that the first

[44]Déroche, *Le Livre manuscrit,* 16.

[45]The following remarks are summed up on the basis of the following publication: Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana IV: Le Carnet de notes d'al-Maqrīzī: l'apport de la codicologie à une meilleure compréhension de sa constitution," in *Scripts, Page Settings and Bindings of Middle-Eastern Manuscripts: Papers of the Third International Conference on Codicology and Paleography of Middle-Eastern Manuscripts (Bologna, 4–6 October, 2000), Part 2*, ed. François Déroche and Francis Richard, *Manuscripta orientalia* 9 (2003): 24–36.

[46]Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana I: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method: Description: Section 1," *MSR* 7, no. 2 (2003): 28.

[47]See Frédéric Bauden, "The Recovery of Mamlūk Chancery Documents in an Unsuspected Place," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society,* ed. Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni (Leiden, 2004), 59–76.

one is represented by quires IX and XII and that the second one constitutes quires I to III and XI. This corroborates the hypothesis that those recycled documents were cut up consecutively, and that the quires were also produced according to the same sequence.[48] It also raised the question whether or not the summaries scribbled on quires made of sheets belonging to the same document, such as quires I to III and XI (= document II), were written at approximately the same time. The answer can only be affirmative, because if al-Maqrīzī had recourse to recycled paper, it was for financial reasons: blank paper, at that particular period,[49] must have been too expensive for writings not meant to survive after his death, like abstracts, notes, and drafts. In this sense, he probably bought a stock of quires of this recycled paper and used it over several years for various applications, although mainly for the drafts and the notebooks.[50] The stock must have been quite impressive: among the 22 autograph manuscripts,[51] 13 contain 509 sheets of this recycled paper, more than 10% of the total number of sheets, but most of it was used during a short period, given that 83% is found in only 3 volumes.[52] Quire XIII provides evidence that corroborates the idea that al-Maqrīzī had at his disposal several quires of this recycled paper. That quire consists of six sheets of recycled paper, contrary to the five sheets usually found in the notebook and al-Maqrīzī's other autograph manuscripts. An analysis of the paper shows that five sheets belong to the same document (no. III in our reconstruction), while the extra sheet comes from document II! There is only one possible explanation: al-Maqrīzī realized that he would run short of paper to complete his epitome, but that he did not need a full quire, just a sheet. He thus added one sheet to quire XIII, but this additional sheet was taken from a quire composed of the recycled

[48] It is even possible to affirm that the production of the quires only took place once a complete document had been cut. There is no other way to explain the disorder of the text of the documents inside the quires. For instance, document I in quire XII is in the correct order if the sheets are arranged this way : fols. 113, 114, 112, 111, 115.

[49] At the present stage of the research, it is impossible to determine exactly when the purchase took place, except that it was prior to 811/1408 (see note 52). It is established that archival material from the chancery was sold in 791–92/1389–90, but it is difficult to ascertain if the recycled paper found in al-Maqrīzī's autographs corresponds to this archival material. See ibid., 74. It is important to note that he was not the only one in his milieu to exploit this kind of paper. See, for more details, "Maqriziana IX"; "Maqriziana VIII."

[50] This is confirmed by the actual distribution of this recycled paper in his autograph manuscripts. See the following note and Appendix II (last column, the number in parentheses).

[51] No. 18 is excluded from this figure since it is a copy of an autograph manuscript.

[52] The great majority is found in the notebook now in Liège and in the two preserved volumes of the draft of the *Khiṭaṭ* (comprehensively 420 sheets). With regard to the two volumes of the *Khiṭaṭ,* it is now established that they were written between 811/1408 and 816/1413. See "Maqriziana IX."

paper pertaining to document II. Moreover, if we look more closely at abstract V, which covers quires XI–XIII and IX, we notice that those quires are made of sheets belonging to documents I (quires XII and IX), II (quire XI and one sheet in quire XIII), and III (quire XIII). This distribution of the same extract, written during a short period of time, confirms that the quires of recycled paper were in disorder, if we consider the original documents. Al-Maqrīzī selected his recycled sheets regardless of their original order. But this also perfectly demonstrates that the summaries written on that kind of paper are contemporaneous, given that resumé no. I (quires I–III) is composed of the recycled paper of document II. However, there is a caveat. As shown by the actual organization of the notebook, which must be ascribed to al-Maqrīzī, as asserted earlier,[53] the quires made of recycled paper were ordered, at al-Maqrīzī's death, as follows: I–III, X–XIII, IX, XXI, while the quires in between consist only of originally blank paper, and, thus, were written later. What could then explain how the quires, and consequently the summaries they contain, became separated in the notebook by these intervening quires, and consequently their summaries copied at a later date? The answer is provided by indirect testimony found in the autograph manuscripts of *Al-Muqaffá*. In 844/1440, one of al-Maqrīzī's students managed not only to consult, but also to take notes from, with the author's approval, what seems to have been the complete text of *Al-Muqaffá* at that time.[54] To describe the manuscript, this student referred to the technical term ream *(rizmah),* indicating that this unfinished work, unlikely

[53] See p. 18. The only quire that was misplaced after al-Maqrīzī's death is quire IX, which should be replaced after quire XIII. See "Maqriziana I/1," 39 (n. 45).

[54] "Al-Muqaffá," Leiden MS Or. 14533, fol. 170b (see Jan J. Witkam, "Les Autographes d'al-Maqrīzī," in *Le Manuscrit arabe et la codicologie,* ed. Ahmed-Chouqui Binebine [Rabat, 1994], 88–98, 93–94):

الحمد لله طالع هذه الرزمة من أولها إلى هنا داعيا لمصنفها بطول حياته العبد محمد بن محمد بن الخيضري الدمشقي الشافعي غفر الله تعالى له آمين [not عفى الله تعالى الدائم as in ibid., 94] ونقل منها واستفاد في شعبان سنة ٨٤٤ بالقاهرة.

"Al-Muqaffá," fol. 457a (not mentioned by Witkam, "Les Autographes"):

. . . واستفاد محمد بن محمد الخيضري . . . الله تعالى.

"Al-Muqaffá," Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS Ar. 2144, fol. 41b (partly erased; not mentioned by Witkam, "Les Autographes"):

الحمد لله وسلام على عباده والذين اصطفى. انتهى العبد محمد بن محمد بن الخيضري الشافعي مطالعة هذه الرزمة ودعا لمصنفه بطول حياته بتاريخ شعبان سنة ٨٤٤ بالقاهرة والحمد لله على جميع نعمه.

The Damascene Ibn al-Khayḍarī arrived in Cairo in 843/1439–40, aged 22. There, he became an associate *(lāzama)* of Ibn Ḥajar, with whom he studied. He also studied with al-Maqrīzī until he went to the Holy City for the pilgrimage. See Najm al-Dīn ʿUmar [Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad] Ibn Fahd al-Hāshimī al-Makkī, *Muʿjam al-Shuyūkh,* ed. Muḥammad al-Zāhī and Ḥamad al-Jāsir (Riyadh, 1982), 389–90. Al-Maqrīzī died 13 months after the date of these study-notes, after a long illness. The invocation for a long life might be a reference to the state of al-Maqrīzī's health at that time.

to be completed given al-Maqrīzī's advanced age at that time, was in draft form as an unbound collection of several quires. The position of these reading notes additionally indicates that the actual distribution in the bound volumes differed from the original versions. Above all, this description helps to solve the question of the shifting of the quires in the notebook. If the draft of a work in progress, like the biographical dictionary entitled *Al-Muqaffá,* was unbound in order to allow the shifting of the biographies, there are good reasons to believe that the notebooks were in the same state. Consequently, the quires in the notebook were moved by al-Maqrīzī at a given time because each abstract formed a self-contained unit, the whole perhaps placed together within a cover, until he added additional notes and short extracts from other sources to fill in the blanks left at the end and within those summaries. The result was a volume which probably remained unbound. This explains why a quire (IX) could be misplaced later on, well after al-Maqrīzī's death.

While the preceding pages have helped us to reconstruct how the present notebook was compiled over time, and consequently to bring to light al-Maqrīzī's *modus operandi* during his reading and note taking, it remains to be established when the various parts were written. Dating the present notebook is a difficult, almost impossible task, given that al-Maqrīzī did not date any of the summaries or notes. Internal elements, however, offer valuable hints for the dating of some parts of the manuscript. This is the case with item XXII, which consists of a biography of a Mamluk who was contemporary with al-Maqrīzī. The text in the notebook appears to be a preliminary stage of redaction for the biographical dictionary of his contemporaries entitled *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-Aʿyān al-Mufīdah.*[55] This section is the result of al-Maqrīzī's activity as an author and not as a summarizer. If we consider that this person died in 812, we can reasonably conclude that this part of the notebook (quire XXI) was written later on. A *terminus ante quem* can also be fixed thanks to the notes which were written at the end of this biography to complete the blank part of the quire (fols. 191b–1b). As demonstrated,[56] these personal notes were undeniably written during al-Muʾayyad Shaykh's reign (815–24/1412–21). Obviously, the result is a quite lengthy span of time, but it is possible to narrow it by considering a material element together with the conclusions drawn earlier. Account must be taken of the fact that quire XXI is composed of recycled paper. We have arrived at the conclusion that the summaries written on this kind of paper were jotted down in a relatively short period of time, but we have been unable so far to date, even approximately, these summaries. A close look at the use made of this recycled paper in al-Maqrīzī's

[55] See "Maqriziana I/2," 136.

[56] See ibid., 134.

various autograph manuscripts revealed that 83% of this particular paper is to be found in three volumes: the notebook and the two extant volumes of the first draft of the *Khiṭaṭ*. As it has been established that the latter was written between 811 and 816,[57] it is reasonable to assume that the quires made of the same paper in the notebook must be dated before 816. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the biography in quire XXI was drafted after 812 and that the remaining notes in that quire were written between 815 and 824. Additionally, there is the fact that several parts of the notebook, some of which are written on recycled paper, contain information that was used by al-Maqrīzī in his *Khiṭaṭ,* and more importantly, already in the first draft of this work, where they can be identified.[58]

Other parts can be precisely dated thanks to external elements. It indeed seems that each time al-Maqrīzī borrowed a manuscript which he made use of, he felt the need to indicate this in a note he scribbled, most of the time on the title page, or less frequently elsewhere in the manuscript.[59] These reading notes, which coincide with category (e) in the previously mentioned list of sources for the reconstruction of the working method, offer us a good opportunity to understand how al-Maqrīzī read these manuscripts, since the date is generally appended to the notes. Such notes were found in no less than 25 volumes representing 7 works,[60] but only two of them are useful for the dating of the notebook, more precisely the relevant parts containing either a summary or scattered notes: Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī's ***Masālik al-Abṣār*** and Ibn Saʿīd's *Al-Mughrib*. The first source is preserved in several sets of numerous volumes, although just ten volumes of the set consulted by al-Maqrīzī have come down to us. On the title page of each of them,[61] he added a note of consultation which reads: "Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī made excerpts from it in the year 831, invoking [God's favors] on its lender." Therefore, we can conclude that al-Maqrīzī obviously managed to consult a whole set of this work at the same time, i.e., in the same year, and more importantly that he could make use of it with the utmost ease given that he had borrowed it from its owner. This is confirmed by the

[57]See, for the details of this dating, "Maqriziana IX."

[58]See, for instance, the third quotation of item XLV ("Maqriziana I/2," 103) in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāq ed. [1853], 1:208 = MS Topkapı Sarayı 1405, fol. 76).

[59]All these manuscripts were borrowed from private owners, and not from public libraries, like those of madrasahs. Al-Maqrīzī refers, in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāq ed., 2:395 = Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid ed. [London, 2002–], 4:2:592), to such a public library in the madrasah of Maḥmūd al-Ustādhdār, considered as one of the best for its holdings and renowned for its collection of autographs. He emphasizes that the books could not be taken out of the madrasah. On the lending of books in Islam, see Fuʾād Sayyid, "Naṣṣān Qadīmān fī Iʿārat al-Kutub," *Majallat Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabīyah/Revue de l'Institut des manuscrits arabes* 4 (1958): 125–36.

[60]See Appendix II.

[61]With the exception of vols. I and IV. The latter contains a marginal note in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting, however.

various marginal notes he added in different places.[62] The verb used by al-Maqrīzī is of particular significance for our purpose. By using "*intaqá*," he clearly indicated that he prepared a summary, probably not of the whole work, but rather selecting from among the multiple volumes.[63] This interpretation is corroborated by the evidence provided by the notebook: instead of a unique summary, more or less, equal to the mass of the original source, it is established that, among the 71 items inventoried, 3 correspond to summaries made on the basis of this source (VII, XVII, XIX), although al-Maqrīzī never mentioned Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī's name in any of these summaries.[64] Moreover, these three epitomes involve passages located in different volumes in the original source. The first of these covers quires XV–XVI, starting at the beginning of the first quire. From this, it can be inferred that al-Maqrīzī started the summary of the relevant section in the original source with a new quire and continued with another quire in order to complete it. The remaining part of quire XVI was left blank and filled with notes at a later date (items LXII–LXIII). The other two summaries are found in quires XVII–XVIII. The first starts on the last folio of quire XVII and ends on the verso of the first folio of the next quire. It therefore shows that al-Maqrīzī added quire XVIII in order to be able to finish this summary. However, the second summary based on *Masālik al-Abṣār* does not follow immediately, but rather is separated from the preceding one by another summary made on the basis of a different source (Ibn al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī). From this, it may be deduced that al-Maqrīzī consulted and summarized a manuscript of this source during the period in which he had access to the whole set of *Masālik al-Abṣār,* i.e., in 831! It helps to date the references to this section of Ibn al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī's work in al-Maqrīzī's books. This reasoning can also be applied to the references to the *Masālik al-Abṣār,* but additionally the related parts in the notebook can be dated accordingly.[65] Finally, the notes added by

[62]Reference is made here to the facsimile edition by Fuat Sezgin et al. (Frankfurt am Main, 1988–89), 4:72, 110; 5:8–9, 135, 143, 149, 165, 170, 218, 235, 300; 6:129, 192, 208, 297; 14:2, 152; 15:89, 252, 314; 17:2, 9, 34, 98; 19:234. Making marginal notes in a borrowed manuscript was not considered a reprehensible act, since it did not pertain to the content of the work. On this subject, see Rosenthal, *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship,* 17.

[63]As was the case with other multi-volume works like al-Ṣafadī's *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafāyāt* (resumé II) or Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah's *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ* (resumé I), or even his *Al-Muntaqá min Akhbār Miṣr* of Ibn Muyassar (completed in 814). On the contrary, his *Mukhtaṣar al-Kāmil fī al-Ḍuʿafāʾ li-Ibn ʿAdī* (completed in 795), is considered an independent resumé. For the analysis of the verbs used by al-Maqrīzī to describe his summarizing activity, see the next section below.

[64]For the identification, see "Maqriziana I/1," 63 and "Maqriziana I/2," 135. On the other hand, it should be noted that other resumés from this source must have been made by al-Maqrīzī, although they are not found in this notebook. This is evidenced by quotations from this source in al-Maqrīzī's works which are not the subject of the resumés present in the notebook.

[65]I.e., summaries VII, XVII–XIX.

al-Maqrīzī at a later date to fill up the blanks left at the end of these summaries can also be situated temporally: they were jotted down after 831. It must be added that this dating has an impact on other autograph manuscripts too, like the notebook preserved in Alexandria, and gives a hint as to the exact period when part of it was written and the related section in the final version of his books, like *Al-Khiṭaṭ.*[66]

Nevertheless, this kind of analysis must be applied with caution as regards the scattered brief notes, as illustrated by the following. Thanks to a note of consultation added to two volumes of Ibn Saʿīd's *Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib,* we know that al-Maqrīzī read both volumes and made excerpts *(istafāda)* from it in 803. Considering this dating together with the notes found in the notebook and identified as originating in this source (items XXXIII, LVI/1–2, LVII, LXI), the logical conclusion would lead to dating these notes to 803, which is quite early in comparison with the other datings suggested for several parts of the notebook. If we scrutinize one of these notes, for example item LXI, we notice that this note consists of just two lines which al-Maqrīzī utilized in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* where, however, the two lines became several.[67] A comparison with the original source reveals that the passage that appears in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* tallies with it, thus implying that al-Maqrīzī went back to the source to enlarge the quotation.

[66]Summary XIX in the notebook, which deals with Chingiz Khān from Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-Abṣār,* was partly reused by al-Maqrīzī for the section he devoted to the *yāsā* in *Al-Khiṭaṭ.* A first draft of this section meant for *Al-Khiṭaṭ* is to be found in the notebook kept in Alexandria. Hence, the intellectual process which drove al-Maqrīzī to distort Ibn Faḍl Allāh's words can be followed quite precisely from the original source to the final result through his summarizing and redrafting. Thanks to the reading note al-Maqrīzī put on the manuscript of this source, it is finally possible to determine exactly when in his lifetime it took place. See Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana VII: Al-Maqrīzī and the Yāsa: New Evidence of His Intellectual Dishonesty," in *Proceedings of the Conference "The Mamluk Sultanate: Political, Military, Social and Cultural Aspects," University of Haifa and Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 3–6 April 2006,* ed. Amalia Levanoni and Reuven Amitai (forthcoming).

[67]See "Maqriziana I/2," 122.

المقريزي (مخ. لياج، ١٣٠ب).	المقريزي، الخطط.[68]	ابن سعيد، المغرب.[70]
القرافة: قال ابن سعيد في المغرب:	وقال علي بن موسى بن محمد بن سعيد في كتاب المغرب في أخبار المغرب:	
وهي في شرقيها بها منازل لأعيان الفسطاط والقاهرة وقبور عليها.	وبت ليالي كثيرة بقرافة الفسطاط وهي في شرقيها بها منازل الأعيان بالفسطاط[69] والقاهرة وقبور عليها مبان معتنى بها وفيها القبة العالية العظيمة المزخرفة التي فيها قبر الإمام الشافعي رضي الله عنه وبها مسجد جامع وترب كثيرة عليها أوقاف للقراء ومدرسة كبيرة للشافعية ولا تكاد تخلو من طرب ولا سيما في الليالي المقمرة وهي معظم مجتمعات أهل مصر وأشهر متنزهاتهم وفيها أقول . . .	وبت ليالي كثيرة بقرافة الفسطاط وهي في شرقيها بها منازل لأعيان فسطاط والقاهرة وقبور عليها مبان معتنى بها وفيها القبة العظيمة العالية المزخرفة التي فيها قبر الإمام الشافعي رحمة الله عليه وبها مسجد جامع وترب كثيرة عليها أوقاف للقراء ومدرسة كبيرة للشافعية ولا تكاد تخلو من طرب ولا سيما في الليالي القمرية وهي معظم مجتمعات أهل مصر وأشهر متنزهاتهم وفيها أقول . . .

In this case, the manuscript must have been at his disposal during the composition of his opus magnum, though it will be established, as already mentioned,[71] that this work was not begun before or only shortly before 811. Given that the manuscript of *Al-Mughrib* belonged to someone else, as indicated by al-Maqrīzī himself,[72] how then could he gain access to it later on? The inscription indicates that he utilized it[73] in 803, but the word used *(istafāda)* refers here to more than this, as it was also used by al-Maqrīzī on several volumes of Ibn ʿAdī's *Al-Kāmil lil-Ḍuʿafāʾ*[74] of which he produced a *mukhtaṣar* dated to 795. If this term implies that he made a summary of *Al-Kāmil,* then it is clear that the same conclusion can be drawn for *Al-Mughrib*. This summary, however, is now lost and the very brief notes traceable to this source which are scattered in the notebook conspicuously do not represent

[68]Būlāq ed., 2:444; Sayyid ed., 4:849.

[69]This reading may be questioned, as both the extract in the notebook and the autograph of Ibn Saʿīd used by al-Maqrīzī give a common reading. The editor of the new edition probably followed the Būlāq edition. See also, for a similar conclusion, p. 53.

[70] Ed. Zakī Muḥammad Ḥasan et al. (Cairo, 1953), 10.

[71] See "Maqriziana IX."

[72]In his note of consultation, he invoked God's favor on the lender. See Appendix II.

[73]Al-Maqrīzī was preceded in this by several of his colleagues, some of whom were his contemporaries, such as al-Awḥadī in 802 *(ṭālaʿahu Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn* [*al-Ḥasan*] *ibn al-Awḥadī sanah 8*[*0*]*2),* and Ibn Duqmāq *(istafāda minhu dāʿiyan li-mālikihi Ibrāhīm ibn Duqmāq ʿafā Allāh ʿanhu wa-raḥimahu āmīn).* Al-Ṣafadī also benefitted from the text which he owned *(ṭālaʿahu wa-intaqá minhu mālikuhu Khalīl ibn Aybak ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṣafadī ʿafā Allāh ʿanhu)*. See reproduction of fol. 1a of *Al-Mughrib* (vol. 4, Cairo, Dār al-Kutub MS 103 Tārīkh Mīm) in B. Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography: A Collection of Arabic Texts from the First Century of the Hidjra till the Year 1000* (Cairo, 1905), 167.

[74]See Appendix II.

the result of the summarizing process. Rather, they must be regarded as extracts selected from the resumé in order to be reused afterwards. The fact that two of these notes found their way into *Al-Khiṭaṭ* corroborates this hypothesis.[75] In doing so, al-Maqrīzī probably went back either to his summary or to the original source[76] in order to be able to quote the given paragraph completely. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the notes taken from *Al-Mughrib* are not datable to 803, but to a later date.

Owing to an internal and external analysis of the notebook, together with the notes of consultation found on the manuscripts of the sources al-Maqrīzī had in hand, the dating of several parts can be proposed. The summaries written on the recycled paper were surely not jotted down before 816, while the others on blank paper must have been added later. In one case (the summaries based on Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-Abṣār*), a note of consultation even allows us to date them precisely to 831. As for the scattered notes, their position in the quire and on the leaf may reveal when they were jotted down.

What For?

The question might seem ingenuous. However, it raises many problems that will be dealt with and, together with the answers given, it will show that the question is far from being self-explanatory.

Since antiquity, notebooks have been produced by scholars who wished to preserve what their memory could not necessarily retain with the passing of time. Notes, summaries, and excerpts were written during the reading of sources or lectures. When referring to these notes/notebooks, classical authors used a great variety of terms, but the most frequently encountered term is *pugillares*.[77] The aim of these was twofold. First and foremost, they constituted an aid to the memory (hence the use of the term *hypomnēmata*/ὑπομνήματα).[78] Secondly, they represented the raw material from which the author could extract a given quotation or an idea. The following passage, in Aulus Gellius' *Attic Nights* (*præf*. 2–3), illustrates

[75]The remaining two must have been reused in *Al-Muqaffá* in the parts unfortunately now lost.

[76]The manuscript of *Al-Mughrib* entered, at some time, into al-Muʾayyad Shaykh's ownership, who then bequeathed it as *waqf* to the library annexed to his mosque. See Shawqī Ḍayf in Ibn Saʿīd, *Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib [Washy al-Ṭurus fī Ḥulá Jazīrat al-Andalus],* 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1964), 1:22. Al-Maqrīzī could have had access to the original as often as he needed once it entered the library of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh's mosque.

[77]In certain circumstances, the term also refers to the draft of an author. See on *pugillares* Dorandi, *Le Stylet,* 17–25.

[78]This border between personal notes and summaries is sometimes subtle. As a consequence, the term is also used to describe the preparatory notes intended for a personal work and even the draft version of this work. It is then opposed to the *syngrammata*/συγγράμματα See ibid., 77–101.

this perfectly: "For whenever I had taken in hand any Greek or Latin book, or had heard anything worth remembering, I used to jot down whatever took my fancy, of any and every kind, without any definite plan or order; and such notes I would lay away as *an aid to my memory,* like a kind of literary storehouse, so that when the need arose of a word or a subject which I chanced for the moment to have forgotten, and *the books from which I had taken it were not at hand,* I could readily find it and produce it."[79]

As for the milieu of traditional Islam, there is no reason to believe that things were different. Given the very prolific activity of Muslim scholars in ancient times, it is no surprise to remark that the *ars excerpendi,* "the art of condensing a book or treatise came to be considered one of the accomplishments of true scholarship,"[80] to such an extent that authors such as Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi considered that "condensing a work is more complicated than writing it."[81] The particularity of its educational system based on the oral, or more correctly aural,[82] transmission of texts gave birth to a great variety of notes: those prepared by a teacher for his lectures, those jotted down by a student during these lectures, and finally those taken by any one of them during their readings for their personal use. The first category corresponded, somewhat, to the first stage of an authorial work: the teacher had selected and organized the material and commented on it. It could eventually give birth to the publication of a book, either by the author himself, or, after his death, by a disciple who then put his master's notes in order or, when these were no longer available, his personal notes (second category).[83] The third category consisted of the personal notes resulting from reading of sources or any other kind of information gleaned by other means. The result of the three categories of activity could be found, either separately or altogether, in what was, in fact, a notebook. The evidence provided by al-Maqrīzī's specimen combined with the indirect tradition[84] shows that they contained summarized texts, short excerpts, personal testimonies, comments, and first sketches of small parts to be included in drafts later on, but the group of summaries by far surpasses the other categories. If notes played a mnemonic role in ancient Greece and Rome, they served the same purpose in Islamic civilization. Consequently, summaries were not only meant for

[79]*The Attic Nights of Aulus Gellius,* trans. John C. Rolfe (London and Cambridge [MA], 1954), xxvii. The French translation is quoted in ibid., 40. The italics are mine.

[80]Rosenthal, *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship,* 45.

[81]Aḥmad ibn Muhammad Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd,* ed. Muḥammad Saʿīd al-ʿAryān (Cairo, 1372/1953), 1:2 (واختيار الكلام أصعب من تأليفه).

[82]For the distinction, see Günther, "Assessing the Sources of Classical Arabic Compilations," 78 n. 10.

[83]See ibid., 78–79, and more particularly for the authorial question.

[84]See below the section entitled *Referring to the Notebook?*

didactic use or for the sake of offering quicker access to a voluminous work.[85] Here, a clear distinction must be made between two purposes. The first is represented by the summary intended as a handbook, an abridged manual, sometimes itself the object of commentaries, or a condensed version of a comprehensive work. This genre can easily be differentiated as the condenser produces what he considers an authorial work as confirmed by several common features: introduction where the condenser mentions his name and explains why he contemplated doing this work, cross- and internal references in the body of the text, and an epilogue. Generally speaking, all these characteristics indicate the condenser's intention to see his work published. Summaries may have another objective, however. Instead of being intended to serve others, they may be produced by a scholar who wants to take note of things he considers seminal for his reflection and useful for his own book production, since "he who condenses gets ideas."[86] In case of need, he would be able to go back to a passage of his summary he wants to quote or refresh his memory on a particular subject. It does not mean that this kind of summary will not be copied by someone else, after the author's death, and thus published, but then it goes beyond the author's initial intention. To illustrate this theoretical passage, the circumstances in which Ibn al-Athīr composed his *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* may be detailed. As Ibn al-Athīr explains in his introduction, he initially wanted to produce a book dealing with history where all the facts that could otherwise only be read in several books would be available. In that way, the result would have served him "as a *memorandum* which I could have consulted for fear of forgetting."[87] He started condensing al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh,* and then added what he found in other books, inserting them at the right place in his resumé. He proceeded this way, adding more and more material, making of his resumé a personal work, until a friend of his asked him to transmit it to him. After some hesitancy, he agreed. In this way, what started as a memorandum for his personal use became a work ready to be published to the world.[88]

The study of al-Maqrīzī's summarizing activity reveals that he produced both kinds of resumés. Considering first the three examples preserved outside the notebook,[89] we notice that two of them deal with hadith, while the third has to do with history. The first is a resumé *(mukhtaṣar)* of Ibn ʿAdī's *Al-Kāmil fī al-Ḍuʿafāʾ,* a book which criticizes transmitters and emphasizes the weaknesses of the traditions they transmitted. The text features the characteristics of a resumé

[85] A. Arazi and H. Ben-Shammay, "Mukhtaṣar," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd. ed., 7:536–39. This article is by far too restrictive, as it only considers the first purpose listed here.

[86] Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd,* 1:2 (وقد قالوا: اختيار الرجل وافد عقله).

[87] Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil* (Beirut, 1965–66), 1:5 *(li-yakūn tadhkirah lī urājiʿuhu khawf al-nisyān).*

[88] Ibid., 6.

[89] See Appendix I (nos. 8, 18, and 22).

produced to be published: the title, together with his full name, is written in his own hand on the title-page which consists of the recto;[90] it starts with a preface in which al-Maqrīzī states that he wanted to condense *(ulakhiṣṣ)* Ibn ʿAdī's work, focusing his attention on its substance. His main goal is to eliminate the superfluous chains of transmitters *(isnād)* as well as his criticism of the traditions, except those he thought it necessary to include.[91] Finally, it ends with a colophon where he repeats his goal and his name, and gives the date of completion.[92] The same characteristics are observed in the second resumé, once again entitled *mukhtaṣar,* which he made on the basis of three works ascribed to al-Marwazī,[93] though in this case he focused on deleting the traditions repeated by the author with a different chain of transmitters. But unlike what he did with Ibn ʿAdī's book, he quoted the traditions with their full *isnād,* omitting, on the other hand, the non-Prophetic traditions *(āthār)*.[94] As for the third, it consists of a resumé *(muntaqá)* of Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār Miṣr*. Unfortunately, only the second volume of it has been preserved.[95] While the two aforementioned resumés represent the holograph copy in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting, the *Muntaqá* is a copy made by a later scribe on

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[90]Istanbul, Murat Molla Kütüphanesi MS 569, fol. 1r:

كتاب مختصر الكامل لابن عدي اختصار فقير عفو الله احمد بن علي بن عبد القادر بن محمد بن إبرهيم بن محمد بن تميم [بن عبد الصمد بن أبي الحسن بن عبد الصمد بن تميم الشهير بالمقريزي الشافعي] سامحه الله بغفرانه وبوأه دار أمانة بمنه آمين.

[91]Ibid., fol. 1v = Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Al-Maqrīzī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Kāmil fī al-Ḍuʿafāʾ wa-ʿIlal al-Ḥadīth li-Ibn ʿAdī,* ed. Ayman ibn ʿĀrif al-Dimashqī (Cairo, 1415/1994), 39:

وبعد فإن الحافظ أبا أحمد عبد الله بن عدي سقى الله جدثه وصيب الغفران وبوأه بحبوحة دار الأمان قد أملى كتابة الكامل في علل الحديث وأسماء المجروحين من الرواة وأشحنه بكثرة الأسانيد فأحببت أن ألخص منه ما قيل في الرواة على سبيل الإنجاز وحذفت علل الحديث إلا إذا احتيج إليها وأضربت عن ذكر الأسانيد إلا أن تدعو الضرورة إليها والله تعالى [أسأل] أن يجعله عونا على امتثال أمره وسببا لإتباع السنة وبالله أعتصم.

[92]Murat Molla Kütüphanesi MS 569, fol. 215r–v = Dimashqī ed., 844:

انتهى وكمل ما دل رائد الاختيار عليه وقاد دليل الفكر إليه من الكامل في أسماء المجروحين من الرواة وعلل الحديث للحافظ أبي أحمد بن عدي على يد كاتبه أحمد بن علي بن عبد القادر بن محمد بن إبرهيم بن محمد بن تميم المقريزي بلغه الله آماله وأحسن في الدارين مآله بمنه وذلك عند غروب الشمس من يوم الاحد المبارك مفتتح عام ٧٩٥.

[93]These are: *Kitāb Qiyām al-Layl*; *Kitāb Qiyām Ramaḍān*; *Kitāb al-Witr*.

[94]*Mukhtaṣar Kitāb Qiyām al-Layl lil-Marwazī* (Lahore, 1320 H.), 2:

أما بعد فإني اختصرت في هذا الجزء كتاب قيام الليل تأليف أبي عبد الله محمد بن نصر المروزي رحمه الله على أني أحذف المكرر من الأحاديث المسندة والآثار وأورد جميع ما فيه من الأحاديث المسندة بأسانيدها وجميع الآثار مع حذف أسانيدها والله أسأل الإعانة على إتمامه والتوفيق للعمل به إنه قريب مجيب.

The colophon (p. 144) is placed at the end of the third resumé, where he indicated that he made the whole on a manuscript dated to 287:

وبآخر النسخة التي اختصرت منها ما مثاله وذلك في شهر ربيع الآخر لنصف منه من سنة سبع وثمانين ومائتين [...] وتم هذا المختصر على يد كاتبه أحمد بن علي بن عبد القادر بن محمد المقريزي في نصف يوم الخميس لثمان أن بقين من جمادى الآخرة سنة سبع وثمانيمائة ولله الحمد أولا وآخرا.

[95]The preface is thus lost. The second volume bears a less indicative title:

الجزء الثاني من أخبار مصر تأليف محمد بن ميسر بن يوسف بن جلب عفا الله عنه.

See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muntaqá min Akhbār Miṣr li-Ibn Muyassar*, ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid (Cairo, 1981), 1.

the basis of the autograph and its contents demonstrate that he had at his disposal what looks like a fragment of the notebooks. Evidence of this assumption lies in the fact that some portions are not part of Ibn Muyassar's *Tārīkh*, but are rather excerpts from two other sources al-Maqrīzī often relied on (Ibn Zūlāq and al-Musabbiḥī).[96] An interesting bit of information the copyist did not fail to mention is the colophon al-Maqrīzī added at the end of his resumé.[97] Nevertheless, this resumé is not of great help for our concern given that the features dealt with here (title page, preface) have been lost.

On the basis of the first two resumés, called *mukhtaṣar,* it is nonetheless possible to consider them as answering the first of the purposes mentioned earlier. The aim is to provide the reader with a less voluminous work, unburdened of all its repetitions and inconsequential elements. Their obvious function is to be useful to the condenser who also has in mind a potential general readership. The presence of the whole variety of characteristics typical of a work meant to be published reinforces this view, which is further strengthened by an examination of the other summaries in the notebook.

Among the numerous summaries found in the notebook, only three are introduced by a short preface, preceded by the *basmalah,* where al-Maqrīzī explained what motivated him to summarize them. The more complete one concerns Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's *Kitāb Futūḥ Miṣr.*[98] The condenser explains that his present aim *(fa-innī qāṣid)* is to summarize *(talkhīṣ)* the book, selecting the reports *(al-akhbār)* he needs and omitting what is unnecessary *at the moment (al-ān),* such as mention of houses and mosques which have fallen into oblivion and the chain of transmitters of the non-Prophetic traditions, and the like.[99] Of particular concern is the reference to "at the moment." Al-Maqrīzī's intention is clearly revealed: the summary is meant for his personal use only, and even limited in time, as he skipped over what he deemed unnecessary for his purpose *at that moment.* As already noted, the end of this summary is missing, or rather was never finished,[100] which is perfectly understandable given the introductory words. Be that as it may, al-Maqrīzī never intended to publish it, at least as it appears in the

[96] See "Maqriziana I/2," 100 (no. 62).

[97] See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muntaqá,* 157:
آخر المنتقى من الجزء الثاني من تاريخ مصر لابن ميسر. تم على يد أحمد بن علي المقريزي في مساء يوم السبت لست بقين من شهر ربيع الآخر سنة أربع عشرة وثمانمائة.

[98] See "Maqriziana I/1," no. II.

[99] Liège MS 2232, fol. 37v:
وبعد فإني قاصد تلخيص كتاب فتوح مصر وأخبارها من تأليف عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن عبد الحكم رحمه الله مع الاجتهاد في سرد ما حواه من الأخبار التي تدعو الحاجة إليها وترك ما لا يحتاج إليه الآن من ذلك كنحو ذكر الدور والمساجد التي دثرت وكذكر الأسانيد في الأخبار غير النبوية وشبه هذا والله أسأل تسيير ذلك بمنه وكرمه.

[100] See "Maqriziana I/1," 34–35, and "Maqriziana V" (forthcoming).

notebook.

The same conclusion may be applied to another summary, the one based on al-Ṣafadī's *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafāyāt.*[101] Here, the introductory section is even shorter: al-Maqrīzī is content with mentioning that the following are "useful notes" *(fawāʾid)* he selected *(iltaqaṭtuhā)* from al-Ṣafadī's book.[102] No reference is made to the elements looked for or omitted. This may be due to the fact that, contrary to all the previous resumés already studied, the contents of this source are not primarily based on hadith. As with the previous example quoted, the end of this summary is missing in the notebook as it has come down to us, but in this case it is highly probable that al-Maqrīzī went further than what is preserved.[103] Though it is unknown if he condensed the whole of *Al-Wāfī,* there is no reason to believe that the present summary was ever to be published: even though there is a preface, it is too concise to play that role, and furthermore his name never appears throughout the text. Whether he wrote a colophon or not, given that the end is wanting, is purely conjectural. Yet a hint may be found in the last example to be considered.

The summary he prepared of Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah's *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ* shares the same features with the previous one. The introductory words are once more striking in their brevity—he uses two verbs to describe his summarizing activity *(ikhtartu* and *intaqaytu)* and speaks of the result as "something" *(shayʾ)* and "words" *(kalim),*[104] but contrary to what we have for *Al-Wāfī,* al-Maqrīzī indicated, in a colophon, that he had reached the goal he had intended.[105] Nevertheless, the collation of this summary with the original source indicates that he did not condense the whole work, but stopped at an early stage in the book. In a way, al-Maqrīzī applied the same principle developed in his summary of *Al-Wāfī:* to condense what he needs at the moment of the reading. Compared with the other examples quoted above, this colophon does not offer any information about the authorship or the date when the summary was completed.

If we take account of another meaningful detail, the physical appearance of these epitomes, we will find another confirmation of their utility. Nos. II and V start on the verso of the first leaf of a quire, while no. I begins on the recto. The disposition of the first two is not problematic: a copyist will usually start writing

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[101] See "Maqriziana I/1," no. V.

[102] Liège MS 2232, fol. 101v:
وبعد فهذه فوائد التقطتها من كتاب الوافي بالوفيات تأليف العلامة صلاح الدين خليل بن أيبك الصفدي صرف الله وجهه عن النار وحشره مع الصفوة الأبرار.

[103] See "Maqriziana I/1," 46.

[104] Liège MS 2232, fol. 4r:
هذا شيء اخترته وكلم انتقيته من كتاب عيون الأنباء في طبقات الأطباء جمع أحمد بن أبي القاسم بن خليفة الخزرجي المتطبب رحمه الله.

[105] Ibid., fol. 31v: انتهى الغرض المطلوب من تاريخ الأطباء والله الموفق.

this way in order to protect the first page of the text from future damage. The recto is thus reserved for the title page.[106] No. I, on the other hand, constitutes an exception: al-Maqrīzī wrote his summary on the recto. This last example allows us to establish that it was meant to be part of a notebook; hence the reason why al-Maqrīzī did not deem it necessary to "protect" it. For the others, he must have felt that it was better to start on the verso because these resumés were perhaps considered as independent elements, given their volume (five quires for the first, four for the second). The analysis of the constitution of the notebook now held in Liège has revealed that these independent elements were gathered together at a given date, notes being scattered later in the spaces left blank, thus joining the whole.

As for the numerous other texts contained in the notebook, besides the scattered notes, their major characteristic mainly lies in their brevity (generally less than one quire). Additionally, none of them is preceded by a preface, except, in one case, by a *ḥamdalah;* the name of the author and the title of the work is given at the beginning or at the end, in some cases. They usually start on the recto of the first leaf of a quire and al-Maqrīzī rarely stated in a colophon that he had finished his work, except in two cases.[107] Another common feature regards the term used by al-Maqrīzī to describe his work: in five cases, he described the text as a *mukhtār*, to be understood as a selection made from a greater work, and definitely not as a complete resumé.[108] The remainder is sometimes preceded by the word *faṣl*.

To conclude, none of the resumés appearing in the notebook was intended for publication. They all correspond to the second type defined earlier: their function was primarily mnemonic, allowing al-Maqrīzī to use these notes in case he could not get access to the original source, or as a memorandum before returning to the source. Finally, their incomplete character reinforces this hypothesis. As a matter of fact, while the resumé of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's *Futūḥ Miṣr* ends abruptly in the middle of the story of the virgin thrown into the Nile by the Copts to encourage its flooding, the complete version of this anecdote can be read in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (1:58),

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[106] This convention is generally followed in Islamic manuscripts and al-Maqrīzī's fair copies respect it. The Leiden volume made of his many opuscules (MS Or. 560), copied by a scribe he presumably hired for this specific purpose, illustrates it: each opuscule starts on the verso, the recto being reserved for the title page on which al-Maqrīzī himself, in most of the cases, added the title later (sometimes the word *kitāb* has been written by the copyist, the real title being written by al-Maqrīzī afterwards). See, for instance, fol. 66r.

[107] At the end of nos. XIII (in the margin: انتهى المختار) and XV (لخصت ما قيل في الدرهم والدينار من مختار من كتاب الدنانير والدراهم تأليف أبي بكر محمد بن خلف بن حيان المعروف بوكيع ولم أقف على الأصل).

[108] See nos. XII, XIII, XVIII, XXIII, and XXVIII. No. XV is rather a *talkhīṣ* of a *mukhtār* made by someone else and al-Maqrīzī's words establish that he made the best of a bad job *(wa-lam aqif ʿalá al-aṣl)*.

where the text tallies exactly with the *Futūḥ Miṣr!*

Likewise, the study of the terminology might enlighten our understanding of al-Maqrīzī's intentions. Though it is hazardous to draw conclusions solely on the basis of the small sample under study, the consideration of other elements will support the following remarks. We have seen that al-Maqrīzī's notes of consultation placed on the manuscripts he had access to prove without a doubt that he made use of them *(istafāda),* meaning by this that he had made a resumé.[109] In some cases, he alludes to his summarizing activity in more direct terms: the term *intaqá* (to pick out) leaves no doubt that he took what he reckoned useful for his purposes.[110] While the term *mukhtaṣar* was probably reserved for a resumé meant to be published, in al-Maqrīzī's mind, the other terms might have referred to generally incomplete, summarized texts not fit for publication: hence the use of *talkhīṣ* for books composed of traditions,[111] and *muntaqá/mukhtār* for all the other kinds of books, simply differentiated one from the other by the extent of the selection. Such a classification can only be temporary, and if confirmed by other evidence, applicable to al-Maqrīzī alone. Nevertheless, the testimonies provided by the direct and indirect traditions tend to show that some of the preceding remarks are somewhat general for a given period and that these technical terms were not idiolects. Several examples may indeed be invoked regarding historians/traditionists.[112]

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[109]See previous section.

[110]See Appendix II. He uses the same term regarding his selections in al-Musabbiḥī's *Tārīkh*. See "Maqriziana I/2," 96–97 and 117.

[111]*Talkhīṣ* is applied twice to such works, both of them made up of traditions (Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's *Futūḥ Miṣr* and Wakīʿ's *Kitāb al-Danānīr wa-al-Darāhim*).

[112]These are only some examples: Rashīd al-Dīn al-Mundhirī (d. 643 or 644/1245–47), *Muntaqá Tārīkh al-Musabbiḥī* (see "Maqriziana I/2," 97); al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), an *Intiqāʾ* of Ibn Saʿīd's *Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib* (see n. 73); Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (d. 851/1448), *Muntaqāʾ Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt, Muntaqāʾ Tārīkh Ibn Duqmāq, Muntaqá Tārīkh al-Dhahabī, Muntaqá Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq, Muntaqá Nihāyat al-Arab* (see David C. Reisman, "A Holograph MS of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's '*Dhayl*'," *MSR* 2 (1998): 45), *Muntaqá al-ʿIbar lil-Dhahabī* (MS British Library Suppl. Ar. 460); al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) (see the list provided by Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf in *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ* [Beirut, 1996], 1:85–87). The connection with the traditionists is not innocent: most historians of the period considered still passed through the traditional education system and were first and foremost traditionists. The term *muntaqá* is found profusely in répertoires of texts based on hadith where it means that a disciple made a selection of the traditions transmitted by a master. See particularly *Al-Fihris al-Shāmil lil-Turāth al-ʿArabī al-Makhṭūṭ: al-Ḥadīth al-Nabawī al-Sharīf wa-ʿUlūmuhu wa-Rijāluhu* (Amman, 1991–92), s.v. *muntaqá*. In light of what has been said, the following words sound somewhat misplaced: "Furthermore, there appeared a new kind of writer who devoted his talents to compiling *mukhtaṣars*; al-Dhahabī constitutes an apt example: the majority of his output comprises abridgments of works by other authors" (Arazi and Ben- Shammay, "Mukhtaṣar," 537). Al-Dhahabī's numerous abridgments are of course linked to his authorial activity, and were

Finally, the analysis of the distribution of some scattered notes in the quires reveals that al-Maqrīzī did not prepare a resumé of all the sources he consulted. Some of these were less relevant for his purpose, such as the histories written by Eastern authors, who were less well informed of the events that happened in Egypt, al-Maqrīzī's main subject of study. In the notebook, several scattered notes have been identified as coming from Ibn al-Jawzī's *Al-Muntaẓam* and Ibn ʿAsākir's *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq,* two works belonging to this category. Al-Maqrīzī was obviously not interested in summarizing these multi-volume books and took note, during his readings, of only the most relevant information. If we first consider Ibn ʿAsākir, we notice that the material selected can be traced back in this source and that its placement in the published volumes reveals the progression of al-Maqrīzī's reading process in this work (excerpts LVI/36–37: vol. 62; LXIII: vols. 52, 69, 70, 74; LXVII: vols. 64, 67). Thanks to this arrangement of the data, we know precisely which parts he read and in which order. The same conclusion applies to Ibn al-Jawzī (excerpts LII: vol. 17; LV: vols. 16, 17; LVIII: vol. 16). These excerpts were clearly written backwards in the notebook, utilizing the spaces left blank. The volumes correspond to the end of the work, i.e., al-Maqrīzī consulted the parts contemporary with the author. This was another aspect of his working method: to consider works relating contemporary events to be the most reliable ones.[113]

Summarizing, Epitomizing, Excerpting vs. Quoting, Paraphrasing, Interpreting

Now that we can take for granted that the resumés and the scattered notes found in the notebook had a mnemonic role, that both occasionally functioned as a first sketch representing the redactional process, and that the whole served as raw material al-Maqrīzī could pick from when he needed it, we have to scrutinize several issues connected with the summarizing and writing processes: the psychological conditions of these activities, and the connection between summarizing the text and exploiting the summarized material.

The process of copying, in all its complexity, can be divided into four different tasks, which are not reducible to consecutive steps since they are all concomitant. Nonetheless, each operation can be differentiated from the others thanks to a series of alterations that affect the copied text and that are attributable to the given operation. These four operations are: the reading of the text, the comprehension of the text, the silent dictation, and finally the act of copying.[114] The first operation generally requires from the copyist various abilities like the decipherment of the

essentially made for his personal use.

[113]See also the forthcoming study Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana XI: al-Maqrīzī et al-Ṣafadī: Analyse de la (re)construction d'un récit biographique," in a forthcoming monographic volume of *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* devoted to the working method of classical Islamic historians.

[114]Dain, *Les Manuscrits,* 41.

text (in the case of Arabic, everyone knows the difficulties connected with the cursive script, the potential lack of diacritics and vowels), and the understanding of the meaning of the text, which requires knowledge in a great variety of fields, particularly of technical or archaic vocabulary. Thus, one cannot be content with just reproducing what he sees, though in some cases, this cannot be avoided. These four operations are characteristic of the act of copying. However, in the case of al-Maqrīzī, another operation, necessitated by the desire to summarize the text, must sometimes be added, then emphasizing, more than ever, the difficulties of the copyist's work. The study of the notebook reveals that al-Maqrīzī did not escape the vicissitudes inherent in the act of copying and found in every manuscript which was copied from another. One of the most interesting features imputable to the third operation listed above (the silent dictation) regards the idiosyncratic phonetic peculiarities of the copyist. While it is established that a Latin copyist of German origin will tend to write *suafis* instead of *suavis,*[115] in the case of Arabic, a copyist will probably be less influenced by his mispronunciation than by phonetic and grammatical traits of Middle Arabic. This is even more to be expected when the copyist is a scholar engaged in a summarizing activity, during which his main focus is the rendering of the meaning of the text. Of course, the more the text is condensed, the more he will make mistakes characteristic of the language he speaks daily. The question has been considered regarding al-Maqrīzī and his notebook, where such features are observed more than anywhere else. The preliminary results confirm that the notebook presents several peculiarities that can be characterized as pertaining to Middle Arabic (orthographical aberrations, morphological and syntactical mistakes), such as the doubling of *lām* in the word *allafa,* the presence of a *wāw* in the aorist (3rd sg.) in *verba tertiæ radicalis* و, and the use of a plural verb preceding the subject *(akalūnī al-barāghīth)*.[116] Such features will doubtless be identified in the autograph manuscripts of his books, once they have been scrutinized in that way.

Mistakes affecting numbers (ciphers and dates) are common in most manuscripts. In the notebook, these are written both in letters or with figures. Figures are less a source of mistakes than letters and their presence in the notebook, on several occasions, might be interpreted as a conscious effort to avoid mistakes in their writing. However, we shall see, in the next section, an example due to the lack of attention where al-Maqrīzī modified a date three times (513, 512, 515). Although the second date is presumably the result of absentmindedness, as it was written on a note-card, the third must rather be seen as an a posteriori correction made on the basis of another source. Other errors, or better, inaccuracies, are not always easily

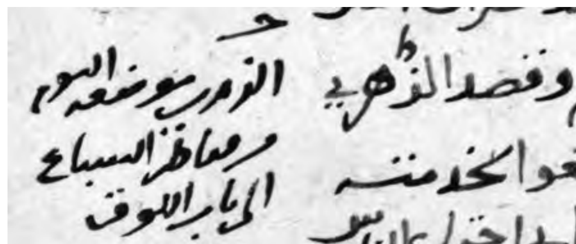
[115]Ibid., 44–45.

[116]See "Maqriziana VIII."

identifiable as such given that they could be imputed to the source rather than to al-Maqrīzī's lack of attention. Consequently, caution is always recommended when noticing such errors.[117]

The ability of the copyist to understand the text is also of particular importance. "Of concern as well is the intention of al-Maqrīzī. Is he quoting or paraphrasing? If he paraphrases material, it might contain a hint as to how he understands what he reports. One may presume in many cases that he knew best what his source was trying to say. A quotation indicates only what the actual words convey but the paraphrase may reveal more, particularly about what al-Maqrīzī perceived as the implication of the material he reported."[118] This quotation highlights the problem of understanding reused material, but we have seen that, prior to this phase, al-Maqrīzī summarized in most of the cases. Before considering this second phase, we should analyze al-Maqrīzī's understanding of the source on the basis of the resumé he prepared. Several examples could be chosen for this purpose, but a text dealing with an earlier era such as the Fatimid period represents an excellent starting point, as words, facts, and events pertaining to this period were not necessarily understood in the fifteenth century in the way they were expressed in a text written by a person who lived in the earlier period. The notebook containing a summary of Ibn al-Maʾmūn's *History* (no. XVIII) will serve as the basis of our analysis.

Although this summary is short, covering only four folios, a particular symbol is displayed in it more than anywhere else in the notebook. In each occurrence, al-Maqrīzī wrote it in red ink, as an additional means to attract his attention, over a word. Looking like a small *kāf* (probably standing for *kadhā,* i.e., *sic*), its function was to signify that al-Maqrīzī did not understand what the word meant. The following example will explain how it functioned.



MS 2232, fol. 159a (Courtesy Université de Liège)

The symbol is visible over a word which al-Maqrīzī obviously did not understand. It is only at a later date, as confirmed by the color of the ink and the character of

[117]See for instance item LII ("Maqriziana I/2," 109).

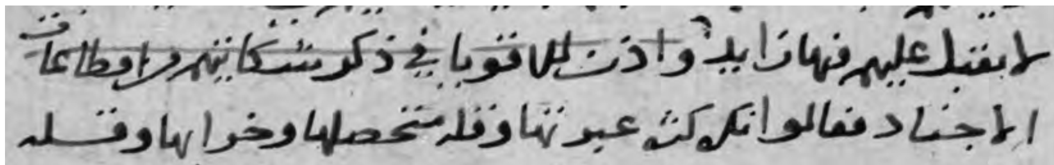
[118]Paul E. Walker, *Exploring an Islamic Empire: Fatimid History and its Sources* (London and New York, 2002), 222 n. 3.

the script, that he discovered what the word meant and added, in the margin, a gloss preceded by the letter *ḥā*ʾ (for *ḥāshiyah,* "gloss"). The text thus reads:

وقصد الذهري　　　حـ [حاشية] الذهري موضعه اليوم من قناطر السباع إلى باب اللوق

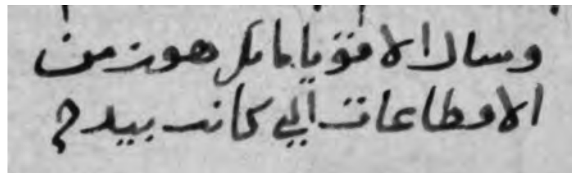
Other instances found in the same summary[119] allow us to confirm the meaning of the symbol used together with al-Maqrīzī's perplexity over several words appearing in this text. Consequently, it can be established that, for al-Maqrīzī, Ibn al-Maʾmūn's *History* represented a difficult source, due to the presence of several unknown words. It also shows that a text composed three centuries earlier could contain words which were no longer used and understood by a historian of the fifteenth century.

The problem of quotation and paraphrase, bearing in mind that we are dealing here only with a source and its summary, is obviously linked to the question of understanding, as already shown. In this case too, the notebook provides an answer as to whether al-Maqrīzī summarized a source without modifying the wording or whether he paraphrased it. In fact, he did both and both are attested even within the same summary. On this matter, the source considered above, Ibn al-Maʾmūn's *History,* provides another example. Though the original text is lost, it is possible to arrive at this conclusion through the following extract.



MS 2232, fol. 157a (Courtesy Université de Liège)

As can be observed, al-Maqrīzī cancelled almost a complete sentence with a red line, leaving only the last word *(al-ajnād)* untouched. To replace it, he wrote another sentence, vertically in the margin, indicating, through a sign (¬) that it had to be substituted for the cancelled one.



MS 2232, fol. 157a (Courtesy Université de Liège)

The whole can be illustrated thus:

لا يقبل عليهم فيها زائد ¬~~وأذن للأقوياء في ذكر شكايتهم من إقطاعات~~ الأجناد

119See next section.

وسأل الأقوياء ما يكرهون من الإقطاعات التي كانت بيد **صح**.
Thanks to this modification, we can safely infer that what al-Maqrīzī wrote corresponded to the words he read in the source, which implies that he is not paraphrasing it, but rather quoting it. The modified sentence does not say something different (the *aqwiyāʾ* could express their displeasure towards the land grants, *iqṭāʿāt,* of the soldiers), but is simplified. Nevertheless, al-Maqrīzī, of course, understood the ins and outs of the affair, and felt the need to modify the sentence in order to interpret it: instead of considering, as the source related, that they were allowed to complain about the *iqṭāʿāt* of the army, he preferred to let the text imply that they were asked what their complaint was.

In other circumstances, we already noted that al-Maqrīzī was able to get the most out of his source, paraphrasing, for example, a sentence of 50 words in just 15.[120] In each case, it has been established that this takes place during the reading of the source. Owing to the psychological conditions attendant to the copying process referred to earlier, it can be said that he could not read more than a limited number of words in order to be able to paraphrase or to quote, hence the modifications intervening in the margins or directly in the text.

Once the text had been summarized, faithfully or in paraphrase, it served al-Maqrīzī either as raw material which could be reused as such, or as a mnemonic support before returning to the source. In the latter case, it implies that he had at his disposal a copy of the work or that he could once again gain access to the manuscript he had consulted months or years before. An answer to the crucial question of whether he owned or had permanent access to a copy of the work cannot be given with certainty, but the evidence provided by the notebook suggests that there is no other solution. For instance, the notebook contains a biography of a physician taken from a so-far unidentified source.[121] Al-Maqrīzī devoted some space to him in *Al-Muqaffá,* where he quotes Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah among his sources for information about this person. However, al-Maqrīzī did not include him in the resumé he prepared of *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ,* and we have seen that he indicated at the end of this resumé that he had extracted all that he needed. How then could he quote Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah if the original text was not available to him, given that he had not taken note of the biography in his resumé? Beside that, it demonstrates that the mnemonic function of the resumé sometimes had limits.

Be that as it may, this leads us to consider how al-Maqrīzī reused the material found in the notebook: did he quote or paraphrase the resumé or the original source? Before the discovery of the notebook, a partial answer could be arrived at through a comparison between the assumed source used by al-Maqrīzī, particularly

[120]See above, p. 14.

[121]No. 21 of LVI.

when he did not quote its title or author, and the evidence provided by his books.[122] This procedure has revealed al-Maqrīzī's extraordinary capacity to extract the fundamental data and to combine it in a concise and well-constructed manner. But it has its pitfalls, in particular when the source cannot be identified with certainty. Thanks to the notebook and taking into consideration the autograph drafts of his works, this method of analysis can be refined in the best circumstances: in many cases, several versions can now be compared for a given source, whether or not it is extant. In the next section, for instance, a synoptical analysis of four versions of the same text is given, from the resumé up to the last version in the fair copy. It is thus possible to follow the evolution of al-Maqrīzī's intellectual activity from the very beginning up to the end of the process. Such analyses will not be detailed here for reasons of space:[123] only selected short instances will be dealt with.

A collation of the various resumés and the scattered notes with the material exploited by al-Maqrīzī in his books establishes that a concrete answer cannot be given to the question posed above, proving once more the complexity of his working method.

The material summarized can indeed be quoted verbatim, as is shown by the analysis of a quotation from Ibn al-Maʾmūn's *History* in the next section. In other circumstances, the material is slightly modified, tending toward a simplification or an extrapolation of the meaning of the text. This indicates that he considered the text he took note of as being already either a quotation, or a first sketch of what it should be in the final version. In this case, the paraphrase is made with an idea of its final destination already in mind.

The following example illustrates perfectly how it worked. The source of this biography has not yet been identified, which means that the analysis can only be made on the basis of al-Maqrīzī's words. In the reworked version, as provided by al-Maqrīzī in his *Khiṭaṭ,* the elements modified have been underlined.

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[122]See, more particularly, Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography,* 76–80; Reuven Amitai, "Al-Maqrīzī as a Historian of the Early Mamluk Sultanate (or: Is al-Maqrīzī an Unrecognized Historiographical Villain?)," *MSR* 7, no. 2 (2003): 99–118; Sami G. Massoud, "Al-Maqrīzī as a Historian of the Reign of Barqūq," ibid., 119–36.

[123]See the following forthcoming studies: "Maqriziana V: Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam et al-Maqrīzī," where the use of a source composed of *akhbār* and hadiths is studied; "Maqriziana VII: Al-Maqrīzī and the Yāsa: New Evidence of His Intellectual Dishonesty," where the problem of the interpretation and the deliberate modification of the source are detailed; "Maqriziana XI: al-Maqrīzī et al-Ṣafadī: Analyse de la (re)construction d'un récit biographique," where the analysis of the reworking of data found in a source is scrutinized through three of al-Maqrīzī's works.

المقريزي (مخ. لياج، ١٨٣أ).

إبراهيم بن عبد الرحمن بن علي بن عبد العزيز بن علي بن قريش بن علي بن محمد بن أحمد بن سلامة بن الحسن بن سليمان بن خالد بن الوليد أبو إسحاق القرشي المخزومي المصري الكاتب شرف الدين أحد الكتاب المجيدين خطا وإنشاء خدم في دولتي العادل والكامل وسمع الحديث بمكة ومصر وحدث وولد بالقاهرة مستهل ذي القعدة سنة اثنتين وسبعين وخمسمائة وقرأ القرآن وحفظ قطعة من المهذب واشتغل بالأ[د]ب وكتب بخطه ما يزيد على أربعمائة مجلد وتوفي في الخامس والعشر[ين] من جمادى الأولى سنة ثلاث وأربعين وستمائة.

المقريزي، الخطط.[124]

إبراهيم بن عبد الرحمن بن علي بن عبد العزيز بن علي بن قريش أبو إسحاق القرشي المخزومي المصري الكاتب شرف الدين أحد الكتاب المجيدين خطا وإنشاء خدم في دولة الملك أبي بكر بن أيوب وفي دولة ابنه الملك الكامل محمد بديوان الإنشاء وسمع الحديث بمكة ومصر وحدث وكانت ولادته بالقاهرة في أول يوم ذي القعدة سنة اثنتين وسبعين وخمسمائة وقرأ القرآن وحفظ كثيرا من كتاب المهذب في الفقه على مذهب الإمام الشافعي وبرع في الأدب وكتب بخطه ما يزيد على أربعمائة مجلد ومات في الخامس والعشرين من جمادى الأولى سنة ثلاث وأربعين وستمائة.

The comparison reveals, at first sight, that the text found in the notebook, though we do not know whether it is a paraphrase, a summary, or a quotation, already contained all the material al-Maqrīzī deemed necessary. Apart from several names of the subject's ancestors, the reworked version does not lack any of the information. Instead, it contains various additions which are all al-Maqrīzī's. These added parts do not provide anything new, but rather sum up the exact meaning of the text or place the data in context, and in certain cases reveal al-Maqrīzī's interpretation. A hint that al-Maqrīzī is probably paraphrasing some parts may be inferred by the grammatical mistake he made in the notebook regarding the two rulers under whose reigns the subject served. Whereas the notebook displays a *muḍāf* followed by two *muḍāf ilayhi (dawlatay al-ʿĀdil wa-al-Kāmil),* the text in *Al-Khiṭaṭ* has been corrected according to the correct grammatical rule. The names of the rulers have also been clarified as the data is out of context. On the other hand, the addition regarding the fact that the biographee worked in the state chancery *(dīwān al-inshāʾ)* is redundant due to the mention of his office *(kātib)* and his mastery of writing (script and composition). The modification affecting his date of birth, as well as the verb used to indicate his death, were also unnecessary and might reflect al-Maqrīzī's desire to modify slightly the phrasing of the source, although the reason which caused him to do so remains unknown. As for the book the subject memorized *(Al-Muhadhdhab),* al-Maqrīzī felt the addition was necessary, though anyone knowledgeable understood which book was referred to here. The last two differences are dependent on al-Maqrīzī's interpretation. His personal knowledge, reinforced by other readings for instance, could be invoked to explain why the piece *(qiṭʿah)* became a lot *(kathīran),* but the rather neutral *ishtaghala bi-al-adab* changed into a more biased *baraʿa fī al-adab* could be the result of his own understanding of the text or of his wish to embellish the subject's

[124]Būlāq ed., 2:93; Sayyid ed., 3:309.

achievement. In the end, the text has become al-Maqrīzī's rendering, through small, but effective additions.

Another feature of al-Maqrīzī's *modus operandi* relates to his desire to go back to the most ancient sources he identified in a later work. Dealing with fires and their functions in the pre-Islamic period, al-Maqrīzī synthesized the data provided by al-Nuwayrī in his encyclopedic work *Nihāyat al-Arab* (item XXXV), but when he utilized it in one of his books *(Al-Khabar ʿan al-Bashar),* he also quoted al-Nuwayrī's source for this subject, al-Jāḥiẓ's *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān,* demonstrating that he was not content with relying on a secondary source.[125] Obviously, he could only do this once he got access to a copy of al-Jāḥiẓ's work.

We have also seen that, in some cases, al-Maqrīzī did not quote an extract transcribed in the notebook, but rather turned back to the source from which he took the extract. In the example of Ibn Saʿīd's *Al-Mughrib,*[126] al-Maqrīzī selected just one sentence while, in *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* where the quotation fit better than anywhere else, the quotation tallies exactly with Ibn Saʿīd's text. This is interpreted as an indication of the existence of a comprehensive resumé, a fact confirmed by the note of consultation al-Maqrīzī wrote on the title page of the copy of Ibn Saʿīd's text he had in hand, and finally as a clue that this scattered note in the notebook served as a memorandum for future quotation.

WORKING WITH NOTE-CARDS

Among the manifold aspects of the *modus operandi* of an author, whatever the period and the civilization considered, the use of note-cards or file cards has been questioned. How may we conceive that an author could compose voluminous works, implying the handling of huge amounts of data, without an organizational system that provided the author with the possibility to arrange the data according to the evolutionary scheme of his work(s)? As early as 1930, W. K. Prentice postulated the use of such a system by the Greek historian Thucydides: "But how was it possible for Thucydides to be continually revising and enlarging his book, how could he have acquired certain 'documents gradually and stuck them in his manuscript to work up later,' if his manuscript was on papyrus rolls? Such a procedure can be imagined only if the author wrote on flat sheets, which he kept together in a bundle or in a box. And there is no reason whatever for rejecting such a supposition."[127] Prentice was deeply convinced that classical authors resorted to loose sheets of papyrus or parchment that they kept bundled or in boxes—the whole corresponding to an authorial manuscript—before organizing

[125]See "Maqriziana I/2," 93–94.

[126]See above, p. 25.

[127]W. K. Prentice, "How Thucydides Wrote His History," *Classical Philology* 25 (1930): 125, quoted by Dorandi, *Le Stylet,* 6.

them and copying the final version on papyrus rolls. Since then, classicists have moderated Prentice's views and generally consider that if note-cards were used, it was only in the first stage of the work: for the taking of notes, for excerpts, or for occasional additions to the final text.[128] As can be deduced, the problem resides in the transfer, the addition of data to a written text, and implicitly has to deal with the organization of the material. It is indeed quite difficult to move or to add information in a manuscript, be it a roll made of sheets pasted one to the other or a codex made of quires. If one is working, say, on a biographical dictionary alphabetically organized, he should ideally write each entry as an independent unit, so that it will be possible for him to move it according to the evolution of the work and the discovery of new material. Additional data pertaining to a biography could be added in the margins, if limited, or on a slip of paper inserted between two sheets with a cipher indicating where this addition must find its place. Once the author considers his work completed, a fair copy is produced. The note-card can thus be just a slip, a sheet, or even a quire, but the common feature is that it can be moved without requiring rewriting.

What about Islamic authors? Fortunately, the indirect tradition provides more examples than classicists could hope for. Some of them had already been collected by Rosenthal as early as 1947,[129] who showed that the terminology still remains to be investigated, according to the period and probably the area of origin of an author, as various terms are referred to in this study with the meaning of "notes." Indeed, a clear distinction must be made between the notes which resulted from the reading and summarizing activity of a scholar and the note-cards which are already the result of his composing activity. The first represents the raw material which he will perhaps reuse, while the latter corresponds to a later stage, being preliminary to final redaction. The quotation of Ibn Ṭāwūs' description of his personal working method, though precise,[130] provides another testimony to the use of note-cards. While the ones meant to keep his personal ideas are referred to as *ruqayʿāt* (slips of paper), the others containing the quotations from the secondary literature are defined as *qāʾimah/qawāʾim* (individual sheets of paper) which could be reorganized according to the scheme of the work. On the basis of these indirect witnesses, it can be ascertained that note-cards were one of the various techniques used by Muslim authors to compose their books. If the indirect tradition had long ago provided convincing evidence of the use of note-cards, there was still a lack of examples of the direct tradition. Once again, the unusual collection of direct witnesses of al-Maqrīzī's authorial activity helps to fill

[128]Ibid., 25.

[129]Rosenthal, *The Technique and Approach of Muslim Scholarship*, 6 ff.

[130]See above, p. 5.

this gap. Examples of note-cards, implying that card indexes must have existed, have been tentatively identified as such in *Al-Muqaffá*[131] and *Al-Khiṭaṭ,*[132] where biographies or details have been added on slips of paper inserted in the quires. In these particular cases, the note-cards seem to result from the necessity to add a biography or information at an already advanced stage of the work, hence the organization in quires, and in this sense these should be considered more as a technical solution, not necessarily implying the existence of a card index. Be that as it may, they correspond to what one can call note-cards: they were produced once a new source was discovered, read, and perhaps summarized; then the data was selected, organized, and quoted or paraphrased, and finally written on a slip of paper appended at the right place in the work in progress. In some cases, the material read could be directly transferred on a slip of paper. At the end, once the fair copy was made, the note-cards were intended to be discarded together with the draft. Nonetheless, an instance illustrating the whole process (summary, note-card, draft, fair copy), therefore confirming the status of the card, had never previously been discovered. It is only by chance that such a witness has survived in the notebook, given that it represents a *hapax*.[133]

[131] Witkam, "Les Autographes," 94.

[132] See Sayyid, "Remarques sur la composition des *Ḫiṭaṭ* de Maqrīzī."

[133] Item XXXVIII must have played the same role, but unfortunately one stage of the process (summary) is missing now.



MS 2232, fol. 145r (Courtesy Université de Liège)

MS 2232, fol. 145v (Courtesy Université de Liège)

Originally, fol. 145 (items LXIV–LXV) was a loose piece of paper which had been attached to the notebook by a narrow strip of paper by a later owner. It consists of two quotations from Fatimid sources, each one lying on one side of the leaf: al-Musabbiḥī on the recto and Ibn al-Maʾmūn on the verso.[134] Both deal with a similar subject (the etiquette observed at the Fatimid court on the occasion of the feast of ʿĀshūrāʾ), and together with the layout as well as the size of the slip (9.5 x 16 cm), it must be identified as a note-card. The following demonstration will corroborate this statement. In Ibn al-Maʾmūn's text found on the note-card, two quotations may be identified: the first one which, erroneously as we shall see, refers to the year 512 (read 513), and the other one, placed just at the end of the latter from which it is separated by "*wa-qāla*," which deals with a similar event that took place, once again mistakenly, in 416 (read 516). Physically, both quotations were rendered jointly as al-Maqrīzī did not indent a new line for the second quotation. It can only be differentiated thanks to the extended form of the introductory word "*wa-qāla*." Turning to what was considered by al-Maqrīzī as the recto, it can be observed that the quotation from al-Musabbiḥī is smaller and that it does not fill the whole space. From this, it can be deduced that al-Maqrīzī obviously wanted to separate the two sources although they spoke of a similar event. The result is a note-card with different sources on each side, but all dealing with the same event. If this interpretation is confirmed, it should mean that al-Maqrīzī made it while consulting the original sources or the resumés he made from them, at different intervals. Fortunately, the notebook preserves a short resumé of Ibn al-Maʾmūn's *Tārīkh,* now lost (no. XVIII). It specifically touches on events which took place between 501 and 515. On fols. 158v–159r, under the year 513, the text of the first quotation found on the note-card appears in almost exactly the same words. The comparison proves concretely that the aim of fol. 145 was to provide al-Maqrīzī with a tool to be used in one of his works, and this tool could only be a card. It remains that if it was really a card, we should find its text in one of al-Maqrīzī's works, and, why not, in an autograph copy of it. In this way, the demonstration would be complete and unquestionable. It happens that the text of the card found its way into his *Al-Khiṭaṭ* and, by chance, it appears in the preserved part of the autograph draft of this work too.

A thorough study of the autograph draft reveals a striking feature on fol. 130r. The title *(dhikr mā kāna yuʿmal fī yawm ʿāshūrāʾ),* written in red ink, was cancelled by al-Maqrīzī, while the text following it was maintained.

[134]Actually, this piece of paper is bound on the wrong side given that al-Musabbiḥī's quotation pertains to the year 396 while Ibn al-Maʾmūn's deals with the year 512 (to be corrected to 513).

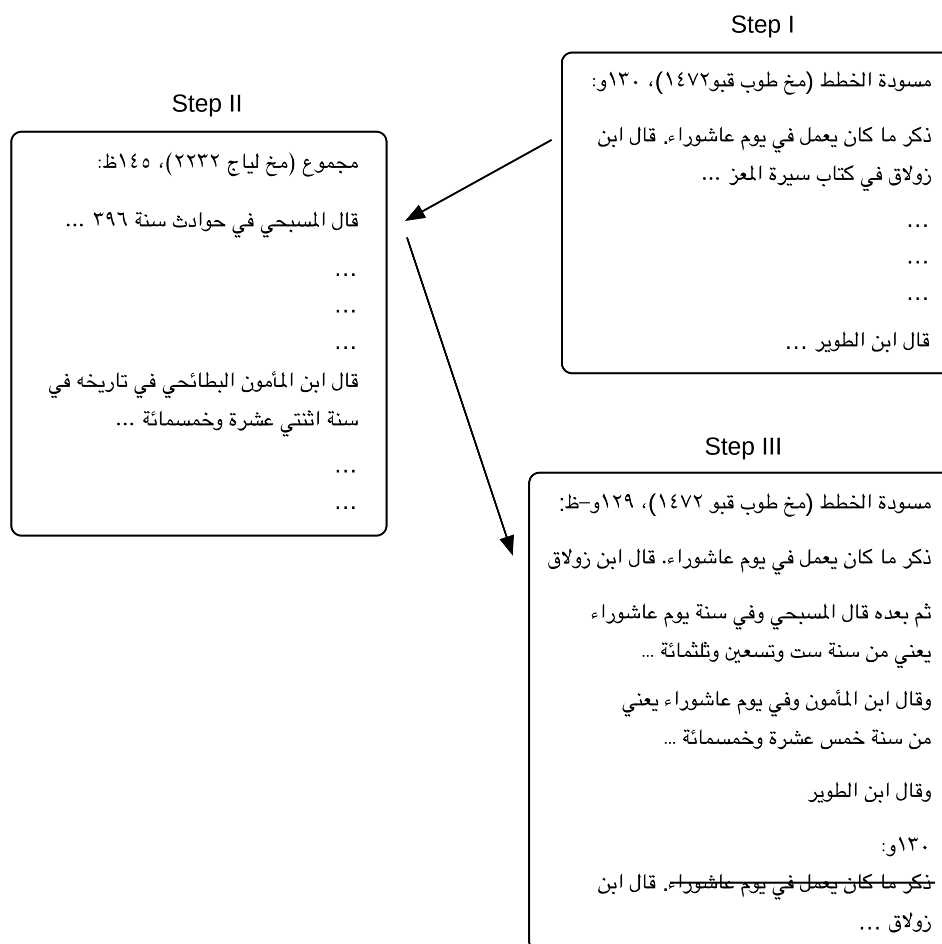


MS 1472, fols. 129v–130r (Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi)



MS 1472, fols. 128v–129r (Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi)

Turning to the immediately preceding folio (129r), one notices that it starts with the same title crossed out on fol. 130r and, even more strikingly, the title is followed by the introductory words of the first quotation found on fol. 130r *(qāla Ibn Zūlāq),* although the quotation is not found on fol. 129r. Instead, one reads "*thumma baʿdahu qāla al-Musabbiḥī.*" From this, it can be inferred that al-Maqrīzī wanted the text written on fol. 129 to be inserted after the quotation from Ibn Zūlāq found on fol. 130r. This is confirmed by the words added at the end of fol. 129v: "*wa-qāla Ibn al-Ṭuwayr,*" after which there follows a blank representing one third of the folio. Here again, al-Maqrīzī clearly indicated that, after this addition contained in fol. 129, the text had to proceed with the next quotation on fol. 130r, just after Ibn Zūlāq's text. In summary, the various steps may be represented in the following scheme.



First, al-Maqrīzī wrote a section dealing with the events that took place on the occasion of the feast of ʿ*āshūrā*ʾ during the Fatimid period. At that time, he only had access to two sources which addressed this event: Ibn Zūlāq and Ibn al-Ṭuwayr. Later on, he gained access to two other sources (al-Musabbiḥī and Ibn al-Maʾmūn), from which he made resumés[135] and, a second time, a note-card for this particular subject. The note-card was not inserted in the draft already prepared, although the additional text was meant to be inserted between the texts of Ibn Zūlāq and Ibn al-Ṭuwayr. Indeed, the chronological order had to be observed and, while Ibn Zūlāq spoke of an event that took place in 363, al-Musabbiḥī and Ibn al-Maʾmūn's texts dealt with the same event that happened later, but before Ibn al-Ṭuwayr's quotation. Instead of rewriting the whole quire, which represented a waste of time and paper, he preferred to add a leaf to the quire and indicate where the text had to be placed in the fair copy. He could not indicate it better than by cancelling the original title and rewriting it at the beginning of the additional text leaf. The question remains why al-Maqrīzī did not simply paste the note-card between fols. 128 and 130, as he did in many cases in several of his works. The answer is provided by the comparison of the text of the note-card with fol. 129 in the draft of *Al-Khiṭaṭ:* it reveals that both texts are identical, save some irrelevant discrepancies. However, this time, all the quotations follow each other, without physical separation. And more importantly, there is one additional quotation from Ibn al-Maʾmūn's *Tārīkh,* regarding the year 517, which was placed at the end of fol. 129v, before shifting to Ibn al-Ṭuwayr's text: it indicates that another note-card made for the same purpose existed and was copied here. Al-Maqrīzī probably felt uncomfortable pasting two note-cards in the same place, fearing that both could inadvertently be taken off or worked loose during the manipulation of the draft. Copying them anew seemed less risky to him. It is clear that al-Maqrīzī definitely worked with note-cards with the purpose of adding material to his books in embryo or already at an advanced stage and that he could organize them, in this particular case, according to chronological criteria.

There is more to say. We have come to the conclusion that the resumé of Ibn al-Maʾmūn's *Tārīkh* (no. XVIII) in the notebook could be dated through a *terminus post quem* to after 831.[136] On this basis, the note-card, and consequently fol. 129 in the draft of *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* must have been copied after that date. Thanks to this dating, it is now possible to postulate that a fair copy of that work was not produced before 831!

Of concern too is the comparison of the various versions. The source is

[135] This is now confirmed for al-Musabbiḥī, thanks to the reading note al-Maqrīzī added on the title page of vol. 40 (see Appendix II) and a note ascribable to him in the notebook (see "Maqriziana I/2," 96–97, 117–18 (last page, line 3, read "al-Mundhirī" instead of "al-Maqrīzī").

[136] See above, p. 23.

unfortunately lost, but no less than four different versions of Ibn al-Maʾmūn's two quotations have been preserved as shown by the following collation.[137] It offers a unique opportunity to scrutinize al-Maqrīzī at work in different circumstances: summarizing and excerpting in the notebook; quoting in the draft and the final version of his book. It will bring us closer to his uncertainties, his misunderstandings, his misapprehensions, and sometimes his ignorance. The analysis will also highlight some of the deficiencies of ecdotics nowadays.

المقريزي، مختار من سيرة المأمون البطائحي (مخ. لياج، ١٥٨ب-١٥٩أ).
. . . سنة ٥١٣ . . .
وفي يوم عاشوراء عبئ السماط بمجلس العطايا
وهو السماط المختص بيوم عاشوراء ويعبأ بغير
المكان الجاري به العادة في الأعياد ولا يعمل مدورة خشب بل سفرة كبيرة
أدم والسماط تلوها بغير مرافع نحاس وجميع الزبادي أجبان وسلائق[138]
ومخللات وجميع الخبز شعير وخرج الأفضل من باب فرد الكم فجلس
على بساط صوف من غير مسورة[139] واستفتح المقرئون واستدعيت
الأشراف على طبقاتهم فجمل بهم السماط وقدم الصحن الأول من الذي
بين يدي الأفضل إلى آخر السماط عدس أسود ثم بعده عدس مصفى إلى
آخر السماط ثم رفع وقدمت صحون جميعها عسل نحل.

المقريزي، رقيعة (مخ. لياج، ١٤٥أ).
. . . في سنة <ا>ثنتي عشرة وخمسما<ئة> . . .
وفي يوم عاشوراء عبئ السماط بمجلس العطايا يعني دار الأفضل بن أمير
الجيوش وهو السماط المختص بعاشوراء وهو يعبأ ~~بغير~~ في غير
المكان الجاري به العادة في الأعياد ولا يعمل مدورة خشب بل سفرة كبيرة
أدم والسماط تلوها من غير مرافع نحاس وجميع الزبادي أجبان وسلائق
ومخللات وجميع الخبز شعير وخرج الأفضل من باب فرد الكم جلس
على بساط صوف واستفتح المقرئون واستدعيت
الأشراف على طبقاتهم وجُمل السماط بهم وقدم الصحن الأول من الذي
بين يدي الأفضل إلى آخر السماط عدس أسود ثم بعده عدس مصفى[140] إلى
آخر السماط ثم رفع وقدمت صحون جميعها عسل نحل.

[137] For the sake of space, only the first of these is studied here.

[138] Al-Maqrīzī put a symbol over the word that looks like a ك [i.e., *kadhā*?, *sic*], indicating that it required an explanation of its meaning.

[139] Same remark as above.

[140] Written مصفا.

المقريزي، مسودة الخطط (مخ. طوب قبو سراي ١٤٧٢، ١٢٩أ).

وقال ابن المأمون: وفي يوم عاشوراء يعني من سنة خمس عشرة وخمسمائة عبئ السماط بمجلس العطايا يعني من دار الملك بمصر التي كانت سكن الأفضل بن أمير الجيوش وهو السماط المختص بعاشوراء وهو يعبأ في غير المكان الجاري به العادة في الأعياد ولا يعمل مدورة خشب بل سفرة كبيرة أدم والسماط تلوها[141] من غير مرافع نحاس وجميع الزبادي أجبان وسلائق ومخللات وجميع الخبز شعير وخرج الأفضل من باب فرد الكم وجلس على بساط صوف من غير مسوَرة[142] واستفتح المقرئون واستدعيت الأشراف على طبقاتهم وجُمل[143] السماط بهم[144] وقدم الصحن الأول من الذي بين يدي الأفضل إلى آخر السماط عدس أسود ثم بعده عدس مصفى إلى آخر السماط ثم رفع وقدمت صحون جميعها[145] عسل نحل.

المقريزي، الخطط (تحقيق أ. ف. سيد)، ٢:٤١٩.[146]

وقال ابن المأمون: وفي يوم عاشوراء يعني من سنة خمس عشرة وخمسمائة عبئ السماط بمجلس العطايا من دار الملك بمصر التي كان يسكنها الأفضل بن أمير الجيوش وهو السماط المختص بعاشوراء وهو يعبأ في غير المكان الجاري به العادة في الأعياد ولا يعمل مدورة خشب بل سفرة كبيرة من أدم والسماط يعلوها من غير مرافع نحاس وجميع الزبادي أجبان وسلائق ومخللات وجميع الخبز من شعير وخرج الأفضل من باب فرد الكم وجلس على بساط صوف من غير مِسوَرَة[147] واستفتح المقرئون واستدعيت الأشراف على طبقاتهم وحمل السماط لهم وقد عمل في الصحن الأول الذي بين يدي الأفضل إلى آخر السماط عدس أسود ثم بعده عدس مصفى إلى آخر السماط ثم رفع وقدمت صحون جميعها عسل نحل.

As stated earlier, the first quotation of Ibn al-Maʾmūn on the note-card was selected by al-Maqrīzī in the summary he prepared of this source. At a later stage, the text of the note-card was transferred into the draft of the *Khiṭaṭ* and later on to the fair copy which was produced on this basis. The quotation deals with the events that took place during the feast of *ʿāshūrāʾ* during the second decade of the sixth/twelfth century. According to Ibn al-Maʾmūn, on that day, a tablecloth *(simāṭ),* reserved for that purpose only, was laid in the council of the gifts *(majlis al-ʿaṭāyā)*.[148] He then proceeds to give details on the characteristics of this tablecloth, the dishes, and the etiquette followed on this occasion. The source being lost, it is obviously difficult to say whether al-Maqrīzī paraphrased the original text or not. The general impression is that he was summarizing without significantly modifying the source. A confirmation of this may be seen in the fact that the text is very descriptive and that al-Maqrīzī did not omit words he clearly did not understand. Two instances occur in the text. In both cases,

[141]Not يعلوها as in al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadat Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār,* 316.

[142]Not مشورة as in ibid. Over the word, al-Maqrīzī put a ك as in the resumé, indicating his perplexity towards this word and the necessity to explain it. See note 138 and p. 36 above.

[143]Not وحُمِل as in ibid.

[144]Not لهم as in ibid.

[145]جميعها is lacking in ibid.

[146]Būlāq ed., 1:431 = Ibn al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī, *Nuṣūṣ min Akhbār Miṣr,* ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid (Cairo, 1983), 15. The discrepancies between the Būlāq edition and Ibn al-Maʾmūn's text with Sayyid's edition of the *Khiṭaṭ* are not indicated here.

[147]The editor added a footnote on the basis of a marginal note found by the copyist in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting: المسور والمسورة بكسر الميم متّكأ من أدم وهي التي يقال لها في زمننا المدورة.

[148]On this council, instituted by the vizier al-Afḍal, see al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ* (Būlāq ed., 1:483 = Sayyid ed., 2:573–74).

al-Maqrīzī wrote the words as he read them, but indicated, through a symbol *(kāf? for kadhā?)*, his perplexity and the need to provide an explanation of both terms, something he was able to do at a later stage, as we shall see. A collation of the summarized text with the excerpt found on the note-card reveals several discrepancies. First of all, the handwriting is noticeably different in the sense that the note-card is the result of haste: it appears as if al-Maqrīzī is just copying the text in a hurry and that is understandable as he is preparing a note-card. It is clearly visible in the less numerous diacritics and also in the modification he brings to the text while reading and writing it: while the summary gave *bi-ghayr* (l. 3), he changed it to *fī ghayr* directly after he wrote the words in accordance with the source, deleting them with a stroke.[149] On the other hand, his haste might be the reason why he made a mistake in copying the date. In the summary, the date was indicated in ciphers, while on the note-card, he wrote it in letters. But instead of 513, he wrote 512. Another interesting feature lies in the exegesis supplied in the note-card. The quotation, taken out of context, required some explanation. The council of the gifts, which was mentioned and explained in the summary under the year 512 (fol. 158r),[150] now lacked clarity and al-Maqrīzī added the required data just after its mention *(yaʿnī min dār al-afḍal ibn amīr al-juyūsh)*. More interestingly, one of the two terms al-Maqrīzī marked as requiring further clarification is missing completely in the note-card *(min ghayr miswarah)*. Did he feel that he could not find the meaning and thus preferred to skip over it? In any case, he reconsidered his decision later on, given that it appears in the draft. Moving to the draft version, the changes made to the summary in the note-card all remain untouched. Nonetheless, other differences emerge: the date, mistaken in the note-card, here became 515 and this is the version to which al-Maqrīzī ultimately adhered since it is the one that is provided in the final version. The basis on which this modification in the dating was made is unclear, since the summary, presumably made on the basis of the source, indicates the year 513. If he changed it to the year 515, this means that he found a corroborative indication of this in another source. This happened between the time when he produced the note-card and when he inserted it in the draft. As for the portion he skipped in the note-card *(min ghayr miswarah),* it surfaces here again with the typical symbol[151] and a vowel.[152] Al-Maqrīzī thus returned to the summary and did not just copy the text of the note-card in this particular case. He probably remembered that he

[149]On l. 5, *bi-ghayr* is once again changed to *min ghayr,* this time directly during the writing process.

[150]In the margin: من جملة ما قرر من تعظيم المملكة وتفخيم أمر السلطنة أن المجلس الذي يجلس فيه الأفضل يسمى مجلس العطايا.

[151]This symbol did not attract the editor's attention and he neglected to mention it in a footnote. See the Arabic text above, note 142.

[152]*Fatḥah* on the *wāw* thus implying that the word had to be read *miswarah.*

passed over this passage and felt it necessary to insert it despite his ignorance at the moment. The symbol is there, however, to remind him that the term needed an explanation. The definition was found later by al-Maqrīzī, at a time when the fair copy had already been made. So he added it in the margin. Fortunately, the copyist who relied on the fair copy did not neglect to transcribe the marginal additions in the author's handwriting and we can now find the solution in the edition of Sayyid who provides it in a footnote: the *miswarah* was a round cushion made of leather on which one could lean. The equivalent given by al-Maqrīzī for his time *(mudawwarah)* indicates that the word was no longer understood in its technical meaning, hence his initial perplexity visible in all three stages.

Incidentally, the analysis of the four versions highlights the shortcomings of modern ecdotics. Each of the following examples selected in this very short excerpt will show that an editor should trust his text, especially if it is an autograph manuscript. The first one deals with the tablecloth. Ibn al-Maʾmūn explains that this cloth *(simāṭ)* was laid out on this special occasion and that a large dining table *(sufrah)* of leather was prepared for this, rather than a round table *(mudawwarah)* of wood. The text then specifies where the tablecloth was laid: the three autograph versions clearly supply the word *tīlwahā* (upon it).[153] The editor of the draft of *Al-Khiṭaṭ* however relied heavily, it would seem, on the Būlāq edition and preferred the reading *yaʿlūhā,* which does not change the meaning, but in the end the word is not al-Maqrīzī's. Again, in the new edition of *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* the same reading is provided, without referring to the correct reading in the draft. The same applies to the second example. In the three versions, one can read, thanks to a diacritic and a vowel, the whole in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting: *wa-jummila al-simāṭ bihim* (and the tablecloth was embellished by their [presence, i.e., the *ashrāf*]).[154] Both in the edition of the draft and of the final version, the editor has followed the Būlāq reading: *wa-ḥumila al-simāṭ lahum* (and the tablecloth was brought to them), which, this time, profoundly changes the meaning of the sentence. Last but not least, at the end of the quotation, the reader is confronted with a confusing phrase in the three autograph versions, which only becomes clear in the final version. The original text reads: *wa-quddima al-ṣaḥn al-awwal min alladhī bayna yaday al-Afḍal ilá ākhir al-simāṭ ʿadas aswad thumma baʿdahu ʿadas muṣaffan ilá ākhir al-simāṭ thumma rufiʿa wa-quddimat ṣuḥūn jamīʿuhā ʿasal naḥl.* One understands that, once everybody was seated around the tablecloth, the first dish, containing black lentils, was passed around starting from the one [the *sharīf*] who was facing al-Afḍal until the end of the tablecloth; then, it was followed by pureed lentils

[153]The text adds: "without brass stands" *(bi-ghayr/min ghayr marāfiʿ nuḥās),* i.e., the dining table, with the tablecloth upon it, was laid on the ground.

[154]The place of the *ḍammah* is unquestionable and can not be considered as being over the *mīm*, in which case the translation would have been: "and the tablecloth befitted them."

passed around until the end of the tablecloth. Thereupon, it was cleared and other dishes containing bee-honey were passed around. The problem lies in the structure of the sentence which is partly ungrammatical: *ʿadas aswad* is governed by nothing. Clearly, something is missing, although al-Maqrīzī apparently did not wince as he copied it thrice! The examination of the final version reveals that the meaning of the sentence has been completely modified through a subterfuge: the beginning has become *wa-qad ʿumila fī*, meaning that black lentils had been made in the first dish. Of course, *ʿadas aswad* is now the subject of the sentence, but does it tally with the manuscripts of the final version or the Būlāq edition? Unfortunately, the present writer did not have access to the manuscript used by the editor for his edition of the second volume of *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* but there is no reason to believe that, for the three cases studied, al-Maqrīzī wrote a word or a sentence three times and that he misread it in the final version of his book. Even though the third case presents a grammatical mistake, an editor should give the actual reading, especially if he is dealing with an autograph manuscript.

Referring to the Notebook?

As it is now established that notebooks were produced by al-Maqrīzī and that this was not peculiar to him, but that almost every scholar followed this practice, we may wonder whether or not he ever referred to his notebooks and if other scholars also made such references to his personal notebooks. The answer proposed to the first of these questions will help us to understand how al-Maqrīzī considered them, as we have seen that various terms were used by the scholars when they referred to their notes. At the present stage of this research, three unequivocal testimonies have been detected in al-Maqrīzī's preserved oeuvre.

The first one has been known since 1797, when the treatise on numismatics *(Shudhūr al-ʿUqūd)* was published for the first time.[155] In this opuscule composed at the request of Sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, after 818/1415,[156] al-Maqrīzī, while dealing with an aspect of metrology, added a very personal statement: *wa-qad dhakartu ṭuruq hādhā al-ḥadīth wa-al-kalām ʿalayhi fī majāmīʿī* ("I mentioned the ways of transmission of this tradition and the discussion of it in my miscellanies"). De Sacy thought, on the sole basis of this statement, that those miscellanies

[155]Antoine I. Silvestre de Sacy, *Traité des monnoies musulmanes* (Paris, 1797); *Historia monetæ Arabicæ,* ed. and trans O. G. Tychsen (Rostock, 1797).

[156]The author mentions the *dirham muʾayyadī* that appeared during that year. See Daniel Eustache, "Études de numismatique et de métrologie musulmanes II," *Hespéris Tamuda* 10 (1969): 132 (trans.) and 133 (Ar. text); John L. Meloy, "The Merits of Economic History: Re-Reading al-Maqrīzī's *Ighāthah* and *Shudhūr,*" *MSR* 7, no. 2 (2003): 197.

contained legal judgements.[157] He was followed in his interpretation by Eustache,[158] who went further, conjecturing that al-Maqrīzī collected in these volumes the quotations of the traditions dealing with matters he treated in his writings. He consequently could skip quoting some of these traditions in his opuscule, arguing that they were all available in those miscellanies. Eustache was not far from having solved the problem. The *majāmiᶜ* are undoubtedly to be identified with the notebooks where al-Maqrīzī summarized numerous sources he utilized in his writings. As already emphasized,[159] the *codex leodiensis* contains a resumé of Wakīᶜ's *Kitāb al-Danānīr wa-al-Darāhim*. On fol. 155r, the traditions quoted by al-Maqrīzī in his treaty can be read and the temptation to link the reference to the notebooks with this passage is great. However, the chains of transmitters are not provided in the resumé and, of course, no discussion of the question takes place, as it is not a personal work. Thus, the reference is obviously to another notebook. Yet it demonstrates that the notebooks were referred to as "miscellanies" by al-Maqrīzī and that they not only contained resumés, but also personal statements on certain matters.

The second reference also confirms the mnemonic function of the notebooks. At the end of the first volume of *Al-Sulūk,*[160] al-Maqrīzī jotted down some preparatory notes. On fol. 261r, he relates a story about ʻAlī's grandson through Ḥusayn, named ʻAlī, and the poem al-Farazdaq composed on that occasion. The first verse is quoted by al-Maqrīzī, who added just after it: *al-abyāt wa-ᶜiddatuhā thamāniyah wa-ᶜishrūn bayt qad dhakartuhā fī majāmiᶜī* ("the number of verses is twenty-eight which I mentioned in my miscellanies"). This example further establishes that the notebook contained resumés based on his reading, to which he referred in his personal notes. In this case, the story found at the end of the first volume of *Al-Sulūk* was read by al-Maqrīzī in a given source. He noted the story, but remembered that he had already taken note of al-Farazdaq's poetry on another occasion. It is likely that al-Maqrīzī had read the poetry in a different source, possibly out of context, and that he was satisfied with indicating the first verse only and referring to his notebooks for further reading.

Finally, the third attestation helps to clarify the contents of the notebooks. It appears in his *Durar al-ᶜUqūd al-Farīdah,* the biographical dictionary devoted to his contemporaries. Expounding on the merits of his colleague Ibn Duqmāq, he stated, with some rudeness, that: "Among this [negligence], there is the fact that

[157] Silvestre de Sacy, *Traité des monnoies musulmanes,* 11 n. 16.

[158] Eustache, "Études de numismatique et de métrologie musulmanes II," 152 n. 42.

[159] "Maqriziana I/2," 58–60.

[160] Istanbul MS Yeni Cami 887.

he borrowed my personal notebooks *(majāmīʿī)*.[161] When he died, my eyes fell on what he had written about the story of Tīmūrlank the Tyrant, and lo there he had copied a section on Tīmūr's seizing of Ḥalab that I had written in which I said: 'A trustworthy witness informed me that he saw . . .' He copied as he saw: 'A trustworthy witness informed me . . .,' making the reader believe that he was the author of this section. By God! He did not find this section except in my handwriting."[162] Besides the anecdotal side of this report, which has to deal with the concept of intellectual property and the question of plagiarism,[163] another reference to the notebooks is clearly made: they even could be lent to a colleague who could read them and benefit from them, provided, as al-Maqrīzī suggests, that he indicated his source for that information. It furthermore allows us to conclude that the notebooks also included pieces of personal redaction and that these presumably short pieces were called by al-Maqrīzī himself *juzʾ* (a section, but more likely a single-quire section).[164]

The use of the term *majmūʿ* as meaning notebook, miscellany of notes, personal or not, is attested in the literature and was even used by al-Maqrīzī, when he spoke of his colleague and friend al-Awḥadī (d. 811/1408): *wa-jamaʿa majāmīʿ* ("He compiled notebooks").[165] When describing al-Maqrīzī's activity in the field of history, his biographers had recourse to the same word: *wa-tawallaʿa bi-al-tārīkh fa-ḥafiẓa minhu kathīran wa-jamaʿa fīhi shayʾan kathīran wa-ṣannafa fīhi kutub ḥasanah mufīdah khuṣūṣan fī tārīkh al-Qāhirah* ("He was passionately fond of history. He memorized a lot of it, compiled a lot in [this field], and composed in it good and useful books, especially regarding the history of Cairo").[166] This quotation is of particular importance, because the word *jamaʿa* is used in context with the term *ṣannafa,* thus clarifying the meaning of the first: he did not compile a work, but rather notes taken from other sources.

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[161]The text says "my notebooks in my own handwriting." Al-Maqrīzī surely wants to differentiate them in order to state clearly to the reader that those were his personal notebooks and not those of others. This statement is important in view of the words that follow.

[162]Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-Aʿyān al-Mufīdah,* ed. Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī (Beirut, 2002), 1:102:

فمن ذلك أنه كان يستعير مجاميعي التي بخطي فلما مات وقفت على أخبار الطاغية تيمورلنك من خطه فإذا هو قد كتب فصلا في أخذ تيمور لحلب من خطي قد قلت فيه : أخبرني من لا أتهم أنه شاهد، فكتب هو كما رأى أخبرني من لا أتهم فصار يوهم الناظر أنه هو الراوي للجزء ولا والله وقف على ذلك الجزء إلا من خطي.

[163]See, for further investigation, "Maqriziana IX."

[164]For this meaning, see Adam Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography* (Leiden, 2001), 23 ("independent, small piece of writing, usually not more than a quire").

[165]Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr,* ed. Muḥammad Al-Yaʿlāwī (Beirut, 1411/1991), 1:513–14.

[166]Ibn Fahd al-Hāshimī al-Makkī, *Muʿjam al-Shuyūkh,* 66.

To conclude this section, it may be stated that al-Maqrīzī referred to his own notebooks with the word *majmūʿ,*[167] while other scholars preferred the term *tadhkirah* (memorandum) or *taʿlīq* (notebook). Though *taʿlīq* could also be applied to these kinds of texts,[168] it must still be demonstrated whether *tadhkirah* was also used by al-Maqrīzī to refer to his notebooks. A work of his is so titled.[169] It is unfortunately lost, but a later author could still consult it and make use of it.[170] The content of his introduction seems to indicate that *Al-Tadhkirah* is an independent work and not a notebook. Furthermore, a summary, prepared by the author himself *(Muntakhab al-Tadhkirah),* which has been partially preserved,[171] establishes that *Al-Tadhkirah* was considered by al-Maqrīzī as a work and not a notebook: *fa-hādhā kitāb . . . intakhabtuhu min kitābī al-musammá bi-al-Tadhkirah* ("This is a book . . . that I condensed from my book entitled *Al-Tadhkirah*").[172] The introduction clearly indicates that *Al-Tadhkirah* was a book on history, organized chronologically, starting from the pre-Islamic period, and that it was meant, in al-

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[167]When speaking of his master, Ibn Ḥajar, al-Sakhāwī explains that on one occasion he asked the latter for a copy of one of his many small treatises of traditions he heard and took note of. Ibn Ḥajar tore the requested piece from one of his notebooks *(majmūʿ min majāmīʿihi)*. See Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar fī Tarjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar,* ed. Ibrāhīm Bājas ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Beirut, 1419/1999), 3:1018.

[168]The following quotation shows that Ibn Fahd was also authorized to consult al-Maqrīzī's notebooks, during al-Maqrīzī's last stay in Mecca that ended in 839. There, the word used to describe the notebooks is *taʿlīq*. It also means that they accompanied al-Maqrīzī in this travel to the Holy City. See Najm al-Dīn ʿUmar [Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad] Ibn Fahd al-Hāshimī al-Makkī, *Itḥāf al-Wará bi-Akhbār Umm al-Qurá,* ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt et al. (Mecca and Cairo, 1404–10/1983–90), 1:4:

وقد رأيت بخط شيخنا الإمام العلامة المؤرخ الكبير تقي الدين أبي العباس أحمد بن علي بن عبد القادر المقريزي المصري تغمده الله برحمته في بعض تعاليقه ما نصه

("I have read in the hand of our master, the leader, the well-versed scholar, the great historian Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Maqrīzī—may God protect him with his grace—in one of his notebooks *(taʿālīq)* what follows . . .").

[169]ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī, *Arbaʿat Muʾarrikhīn,* 191 (no. 13). It consisted of about eighty volumes, according to Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʿd al-Wāfī* (Cairo, 1985–2005), 1:419, who, however, did not consider giving more detail about it.

[170]Abū al-Fidāʾ Qāsim Ibn Quṭlūbughā al-Sūdūnī, *Tāj al-Tarājim,* ed. Muḥammad Khayr Ramaḍān Yūsuf (Damascus, 1413/1992), 85:

وبعد فيقول العبد الضعيف قاسم بن قطلوبغا الحنفي : لما وقفت على تذكرة شيخنا . . . المقريزي . . . رأيت فيها ما كتبه من تراجم الأئمة الحنفية، فأحببت أن ألحق بكل اسم ما تيسر لي من تراجم من تسمى به منهم على نحو ما قصد من الاقتصار على ذكر من له تصنيف

("Now then, the modest servant [of God], Qāsim ibn Quṭlūbughā al-Ḥanafī said: When I fell on the *Tadhkirah* of our master . . . al-Maqrīzī . . . , I saw in it the biographies of the Hanafite imams he had written and I wanted to add to each name the biographies that I could of those who were named with it [this name], aiming, as he did, to concisely mention those who have composed a book").

[171]Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Ar. 1514. It corresponds to the first volume. The end is missing.

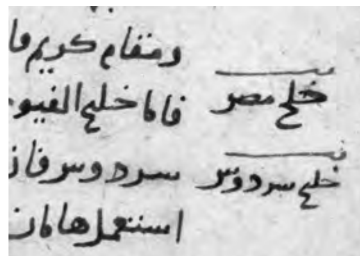
[172]Ibid., fol. 2v.

Maqrīzī's mind, as a memorandum.[173] Thus, it is impossible that al-Maqrīzī used the term *tadhkirah* for his notebooks.

Finding His Way in the Notebook?

Now that it has been established that several volumes consisting of notebooks and independent summaries were prepared by al-Maqrīzī, the question arises as to how he managed all the data collected in this voluminous compilation. Note-cards, as demonstrated, played an important role in this respect. It nevertheless remains that the vast number of sources which he summarized and from which he made quotations raises the problem of finding his way in the notebooks, of taking advantage of the data and of avoiding repetitions. Al-Maqrīzī must have developed and used several systems to minimize the potential confusion arising from his tremendous reading and summarizing activities. The *codex leodiensis,* together with the evidence provided by other autograph manuscripts, suggests several answers to these questions.

In one particular case,[174] al-Maqrīzī added in the margins, in front of the description of a given event, a heading indicating the content, the whole highlighted by a cipher in red ink, probably signifying *qif* ("pay attention").



MS. 2232, fol. 39v (Courtesy Université de Liège)[175]

Such a system was intended to attract his attention when he was searching for a particular passage he wanted to quote from this source. Thanks to it, he could get a general idea of the content of the page and proceed quickly through the whole resumé. The use of headings was limited however: besides the summary made on the basis of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's work,[176] they appear in summary XX (from fol. 173b to 174b). Apart from these examples, the only case where a heading is used pertains to scattered notes all connected with secretaries who worked within the

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[173]See, for a short analysis, ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī, *Arbaʿat Muʾarrikhīn,* 211–13. Cf Ibn al-Athīr's words, in his introduction to *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh,* 1:5:

فلما رأيت الأمر كذلك شرعت في تأليف تاريخ جامع لأخبار ملوك الشرق والغرب وما بينهما ليكون تذكرة لي أراجعه خوف النسيان.

[174]No. II: *Talkhīṣ Kitāb Futūḥ Miṣr wa-Akhbārihā* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam.

[175]The headlines read: *khuluj Miṣr* and *khalīj Sardūs.*

[176]Even in this case, the headlines disappear after fol. 54r, although the resumé ends on fol. 81v.

Egyptian chancery (fol. 130b: من الكتاب في الإنشاء, in red ink). On the basis of the scarcity of these headings, it can be concluded that headings were not usually used by al-Maqrīzī to orientate himself in the notebook.

Red ink, without doubt, played a role similar, although less useful, to headings. It is found throughout the notebook in various situations: it is employed for the symbol قف put over a given passage or at the beginning of a new sentence. The role of this symbol is to catch the eye and lead it to the starting words of a sentence in the course of a summary covering several pages. In this way, al-Maqrīzī could concentrate on only some points on the page and did not need to read, even quickly, the whole page. Red ink is also featured in keywords, where a stroke, in black ink, is overwritten in red.



MS 2232, fol. 167v (Courtesy Université de Liège)[177]

The titles of chapters and sections and the first name of a person given a biographical entry were generally indicated in the same way.

All that has been said has to do with the necessity of quickly finding something. Once a particular passage had been found and quoted, al-Maqrīzī had to avoid wasting time in reading, once again, the same passage, and more importantly to avoid repetitions. The best way to know whether he had already used something was to clearly indicate it in the notebook. Throughout the manuscript, usually in the margin, in front of a biography, or over the first word of a passage, a cipher looking like the numerals ٣ or ٢ has been added, indifferently in red or brown ink.



MS 2232, fol. 32v and fol. 122r[178]
(Courtesy Université de Liège)

[177]In this case, the horizontal stroke of the *lām* has been overwritten in red. The word *(qāla)* represents a break in the text that introduced another discourse, hence the necessity to indicate it with this system.

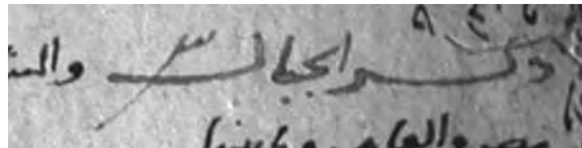
[178]In this case, both ciphers have been used.

These ciphers must have indicated that al-Maqrīzī had already used the data noted in this way. In order to know until what point he quoted the text, he needed to add another mark. It is regularly observed together with the previous cipher, but of course at the end of the portion of text quoted. This mark looks like a small إلى.



MS 2232, fol. 96v (Courtesy Université de Liège)

Whereas the latter can easily be interpreted as meaning "up to here," the first is more difficult to decipher. The solution is offered by some of the remaining autograph manuscripts. In the two volumes of the draft of *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* for instance, the same mark regularly appears:



MS 1472, fol. 13r (Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi)

However, in some rare cases, other words have been appended to it:



MS 1472, fol. 9r; MS 1405, fol. 21r; MS 1405, fol. 111r;[179]
and MS 1405, fol. 104v
(Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi)

In each of these cases, the additional words read respectively: *jamīʿuhu, illā yasīran, illā qalīlan,* and finally *min hunā*. Thanks to these words, it is clear that the cipher probably means that "the whole has been copied," or that "it has been copied nearly completely," or that "it has been copied from here." In this respect, it is very tempting to interpret the cipher as an abbreviation of the verb *nusikha,* which tallies exactly with the assumed meaning. In that case, the cipher would be a *sīn*. However, this hypothesis must be rejected because if this is supposed to be a *sīn* and a cipher, why would al-Maqrīzī take such care to trace the strokes that are clearly visible in each occurrence instead of a more cursive form? What might have remained a mystery was finally solved thanks to an almost unique witness.

[179]In this example, the greatest part of the cipher disappeared due to the trimming.

In an article published in 1986, Geoffrey Khan studied a copy of a decree dated to the Fatimid period.[180] This document is of particular importance given that it is not the original which was released to the beneficiary, but the copy that was filed in one of the registers held in the archives. One of the most interesting features of this document lies in the mark that crosses the whole text on the first page. This mark looks like a big three in Arabic[181] and it tallies exactly with the cipher used by al-Maqrīzī in his notebook and his drafts, confirming that this could not be a *sīn*. Instead, it clearly stands for the word *nuqila* ("it has been transcribed").[182] It is no surprise to see that al-Maqrīzī utilized a mark for which evidence is found on archival material. Part of his official career took place in the chancery, where he was employed for several years.[183] Consequently, he was knowledgeable in all the nuances of this practice. On the other hand, the fact that this mark was still in use in the Mamluk period demonstrates the durability of the conventions of the chancery bureaux. While this cipher worked as a check mark in al-Maqrīzī's notebook, indicating that a passage had been transcribed in one of his works, it meant, when used in his drafts, that a passage had been recopied in the new, either intermediary or final, version. As for the other mark, which looks like the Arabic numeral for 2, it is unlikely that it corresponds to a more cursive form of the preceding mark, because it is sometimes used together with the latter.[184] It could be interpreted as an indication that al-Maqrīzī had to quote the passage characterized in that way; hence the sporadic presence of an *ilá*, at the end of the text, and of the check mark as indicated above. If such was the case, this system

[180]Geoffrey Khan, "A Copy of a Decree from the Archives of the Fāṭimid Chancery in Egypt," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 49* (1986): 439–53.

[181]See the reproduction in ibid.

[182]On this meaning, see Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition,* 144. This interpretation is confirmed by other evidence studied below (see p. 62). The mark was tentatively interpreted by Khan as being the word *ṣaḥḥa,* a reading he was not happy with as he proposed later to rather consider it as "a checking mark that is not derived from any Arabic word." See Geoffrey Khan, *Arabic Legal and Administrative Documents in the Cambridge Genizah Collections* (Cambridge, 1993), 444. Another document bearing the same mark is studied by the same author (ibid., 491–92). The fact that a document had been registered or filed in the archives of the various bureaux was indicated on the original documents delivered to the beneficiaries by other words corresponding to an instruction: *athbata, nazzala, nasakha* ("to register") or *khallada* ("to file"). See, for the Fatimid period, Samuel Miklos Stern, *Fāṭimid Decrees: Original Documents from the Fāṭimid Chancery* (London, 1964), 166–69.

[183]Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī's conclusions (al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* 4:51–52), based on the data found in *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* according to which al-Maqrīzī worked in the chancery well after that date, and even almost until his death, totaling 50 years of service, must be taken with caution and require further investigation.

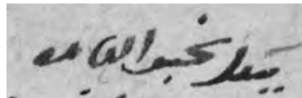
[184]See the instance given for fol. 122r above (it is in brown ink while the mark for *nuqila* stands in red ink).

did not indicate precisely where the quotation had to be transcribed. In some cases, al-Maqrīzī must have been aware of the place where he wished to use a given text, but this was probably not generally true. Evidence of this is provided by the existence of unambiguous references to the need to copy some parts in his books in embryo. At least two such references are found in the notebook. The first (fol. 122r)[185] was placed at the end of a biography and reads: *yudhkar fī Khiṭaṭ Miṣr* ("let it be mentioned[186] in the topography of Egypt").



MS 2232, fol. 122r (Courtesy Université de Liège)

The data is indeed found in *Al-Khiṭaṭ*[187] and the cipher *(nuqila)* is to show that the data had already been transferred, thus confirming its function. The second example (fol. 156v) shows that the indication could be quite elusive. The phrase must be deciphered as: *yunqal bi-khabar al-Qāhirah* ("let it be transcribed with the story of Cairo").



MS 2232, fol. 156v (Courtesy Université de Liège)

Given that the text deals with several historical facts spanning a period of thirty years, the passage could not logically have found its way *en bloc* into one of al-Maqrīzī's books. The mention of Cairo might be misleading, since one might expect to read this information in *Al-Khiṭaṭ*. Instead, it ended up in the history of Egypt under the Fatimid dynasty *(Ittiʿāẓ al-Ḥunafāʾ)*.[188] In this case, however, al-Maqrīzī did not use the check mark, showing that the system was not routine. On the other hand, the verb used by al-Maqrīzī in this example corroborates the decipherment of the check mark *(nuqila)*. In the end, all the systems dealt with in this section validate, once again, the identification of the *codex leodiensis* as a notebook.

Conclusion

[185]It is in regard to the first biography of the scattered notes found on this folio (no. L).

[186]It must be noted that what corresponds here to an order should be introduced by a *lām al-amr* (Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language,* 2:35). The documents where registration orders were written display a great majority of these orders beginning with this *lām*. In some cases, it has been omitted. See, for instance, Stern, *Fāṭimid Decrees*, 36–37. Other instances are mentioned for classical Arabic, but Wright *(Grammar)* considered the phenomenon rare.

[187]Būlāq ed., 2:85 = Sayyid ed., 3:282. See also "Maqriziana I/2," 108.

[188]See "Maqriziana I/2," 127.

The aim of this study was to present the preliminary results obtained through a thorough analysis of al-Maqrīzī's notebook pertaining to his working method. As shown in the first part of the study ("Maqriziana I"), the notebook is a heterogeneous manuscript reflecting al-Maqrīzī's complex *modus operandi*. The following conclusions may be drawn, although they still must be corroborated and clarified by further studies on the notebook and the other autograph manuscripts of this author. The richness of the surviving corpus of writings by al-Maqrīzī, as has been stressed, is of particular importance and represents an opportunity that cannot be overlooked. It is hoped that, in the future, these conclusions will be applicable to other scholars thanks to corroborating analyses.

This study has allowed us to establish that:

-the *codex leodiensis* corresponds to a notebook, a place where a scholar stored the raw material he selected during his readings;

-the notebook contains abstracts, scattered notes, and first drafts of al-Maqrīzī's personal production;

-the abstracts, excerpts, and notes were all produced during the reading process;

-the notebook, in its actual presentation, is the result of the evolution of al-Maqrīzī's reading process: quires were taken out of a pile made of recycled or blank paper; some voluminous abstracts covering more than a quire were considered as independent units which were gathered at a later date to form a volume; the blank spaces left at the end of the abstracts were covered with scattered notes which jointly fixed the order of the quires and their succession in the volume;

-thanks to several notes of consultation written by al-Maqrīzī on the manuscripts of the sources he consulted, it is possible to precisely date several abstracts, and consequently others through the analysis of their position in relation to the latter, and finally the parts in al-Maqrīzī's own works where the data originating from these sources are found;

-the function of the notebook was mainly mnemonic: the abstracts and the notes served al-Maqrīzī as a memorandum for the composition of his works;

-the abstracts might be faithful to the source, or consist of a paraphrase, but they did not necessarily imply that al-Maqrīzī quoted directly from them: sometimes he did; in other circumstances, he went back to the original source to make a faithful quotation;

-the notebook also features a unique example of a note-card, proving that this system was used by al-Maqrīzī in composing his books;

-the notebook allows a comparison of several versions of the same excerpt, in the best cases as many as four, from the source from which it was selected up to the fair copy of one of his books, passing through the resumé and the draft copy: it thus provides a unique opportunity to study al-Maqrīzī's intellectual process;

-al-Maqrīzī's notebooks were referred to by him as *majāmīʿ* (miscellanies);
-in order to find his way in the notebook, al-Maqrīzī utilized a series of techniques, one of which was characteristic of chancery practice.

APPENDIX I: AL-MAQRĪZĪ'S AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPTS

No.	*City*	*Library*	*Shelf-mark*	*Title*	*No. of lvs.*[189]
1	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Aya Sofya 3362	"Al-Khabar ʿan al-Bashar" (vol. 1)	245 (2)
2	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Fatih 4338	"Al-Khabar ʿan al-Bashar" (vol. 3, dated 844)	254 (0)
3	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Fatih 4339	"Al-Khabar ʿan al-Bashar" (vol. 4)	163 (0)
4	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Fatih 4340	"Al-Khabar ʿan al-Bashar" (vol. 5)	265 (15)
5	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Fatih 4341	"Al-Khabar ʿan al-Bashar" (vol. 6)	276 (0)
6	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Şehit Ali P. 1847	"Imtāʿ al-Asmāʿ bi-mā lil-Rasūl . . . (vol. 1)	211 (2)
7	Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Yeni Cami 887	"Al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk" (vol. 1)	257 (0)
8	Istanbul	Murat Molla Kütüphanesi	569	"Mukhtaṣar al-Kāmil li-Ibn ʿAdī" (dated 795)	215 (0)
9	Istanbul	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi	Ahmet III, Hazine 1472	"Musawwadat al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār" (vol. 1)	179 (158)
10	Istanbul	Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi	Ahmet III, Emanet Hazinesi 1405	"Musawwadat al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār" (vol. 2)	182 (177)
11	Leiden	Universiteits-bibliotheek	Or. 1366/a	"Al-Muqaffá"	226 (9)
12	Leiden	Universiteits-bibliotheek	Or. 1366/b	"Al-Muqaffá"	287 (5)
13	Leiden	Universiteits-bibliotheek	Or. 3075	"Al-Muqaffá"	252 (12)
14	Leiden	Universiteits-bibliotheek	Or. 14533	"Al-Muqaffá"	550 (25)
15	Leiden	Universiteits-bibliotheek	Or. 560	"Majmūʿah" (opuscules)[190] (dated 841–42)	214 (0)

[189] The number in parentheses refers to the number of leaves consisting of recycled paper (chancery documents).
[190] Mostly the work of a copyist hired by al-Maqrīzī, it nonetheless contains autograph additions and corrections. Fols. 1–14, 29–30, and 204–14 are completely in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting.

16	Gotha	Forschungs- und Landes-bibliothek	Ar. 1771	"Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah"	185 (3)
17	Gotha	Forschungs- und Landes-bibliothek	Ar. 1652	"Ittiʿāẓ al-Ḥunafāʾ"	58 (0)
18	Paris	Bibliothèque nationale	Ar. 1688	"Al-Muntaqá min Akhbār Miṣr li-Ibn Muyassar"[191] (dated 814)	94 (0)
19	Paris	Bibliothèque nationale	Ar. 2144	"Al-Muqaffá"	260 (14)
20	Alexan-dria	Bibliotheca Alexandrina[192]	*Tārīkh* 2125/d	Notebook	52 (0)
21	Damas-cus	Maktabat al-Asad	4805	"Dhikr Bināʾ al-Kaʿbah al-Bayt al-Ḥarām" + various notes	78 (2)
22	Hyder-abad	Oriental Manu-scripts Library and Research Institute	937	"Mukhtaṣar Qiyām al-Layl wa-Qiyām Ramaḍān wa-Kitāb al-Witr lil-Marwazī" (dated 807)	??? (?)
23	Liège	Bibliothèque universitaire	2232	Notebook	209 (85)
	Total		23 MSS		4714 (509)

[191] The manuscript is not, strictly speaking, an autograph, but a copy of the autograph which was dated 814. However, it remains useful as it faithfully mirrors the result of al-Maqrīzī's summarizing activity.

[192] Previously in al-Maktabah al-Baladīyah, Alexandria. See ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī, *Arbaʿat Muʾarrikhīn,* 214 (no. 39), who was the first to mention it.

APPENDIX II: AL-MAQRĪZĪ'S NOTES OF CONSULTATION ON MANUSCRIPTS

City	*Library*	*Shelf-mark*	*Author*	*Title*	*Date*
Cairo	Dār al-Kutub	Muṣṭalaḥ ḥadīth 94	Ibn ʿAdī	"Al-Kāmil lil-Ḍuʿafāʾ"	[795][193]
Cairo	Dār al-Kutub	Muṣṭalaḥ ḥadīth 95–96	Ibn ʿAdī	"Al-Kāmil lil-Ḍuʿafāʾ"	[795][194]
Manches-ter	J. Rylands Library	344	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī	"Masālik al-Abṣār" (vol. 20)	831[195]
Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Ayasofiya 3418, 3428, 3432, 3437	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī	"Masālik al-Abṣār" (vols. 5, 15, 19, 25)	831[196]
Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Laleli 1037	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī	"Masālik al-Abṣār" (vol. 6)	831
Istanbul	Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi	Yazma bağışlar 1917	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī	"Masālik al-Abṣār" (vol. 26)	831
London	British Library	Add. 9589	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī	"Masālik al-Abṣār" (vol. 14)	831
Paris	Bibliothèque nationale	Ar. 2327	Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī	"Masālik al-Abṣār" (vol. 17)	831
Rabat	al-Khizānah al-ʿĀmmah	240-241 qāf	Ibn al-Furāt	"Al-Tārīkh" (vol. 5)	818[197]

[193] Two volumes. The note, on two lines (fol. 1a), reads in each volume as follows: استفاد منه داعيا لمالكه أحمد بن علي لطفه الله. See *Fihrist al-Makhṭūṭāt: Al-Mujallad al-Awwal: Muṣṭalaḥ al-Ḥadīth* (Cairo, 1375/1956), 279. The date appears in the resumé he made of this text (Istanbul, Murat Molla Kütüphanesi MS 569, autograph, fol. 215b. See also al-Maqrīzī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Kāmil,* 844).
[194] Five volumes. The note, on two lines (fol. 1a), reads in each volume as follows: استفاد منه داعيا لمالكه أحمد بن علي لطفه الله. See *Fihrist al-Makhṭūṭāt (al-Ḥadīth)*, 279. For the date, see the preceding note.
[195] Part of the same partial set composed of ten volumes now scattered in various European libraries. The inscription, placed on the title page of each volume, reads: انتقاه داعيا لمعيره أحمد بن علي المقريزي سنة ٨٣١. See also al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* Sayyid ed., 1:198 n. 2.
[196] The inscription is equivalent to the one found in vol. 20. See preceding note. This is valid for all the other volumes of this set listed below.
[197] Part of the same set now scattered between Vienna, Rabat, and the Vatican (autograph manuscripts of Ibn al-Furāt). See ibid., 1:64 (of the introduction); Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, *Al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī al-Makhṭūṭ wa-ʿIlm al-Makhṭūṭāt* (Cairo, 1997), 2:341, where only the date is provided. The note must be similar to the one found on the volume in the Vatican Library (see next footnote).

Vatican	Biblioteca apostolica vaticana	Ar. 726	Ibn al-Furāt	"Al-Tārīkh"	818[198]
Vienna	Österreichische National-bibliothek	AF 123	Ibn al-Furāt	"Al-Tārīkh" (vol. 7)	819[199]
Dublin	Chester Beatty Library	Ar. 3315	Ibn al-Nadīm	"Al-Fihrist" (vol. 1)	824[200]
Cairo	Dār al-Kutub	Tārīkh 103 mīm	Ibn Saʿīd	"Al-Mughrib"	803[201]
Balaṣfūra (Sūhāj)	Private library	--	Ibn Saʿīd	"Al-Mughrib"	803[202]
Escorial	Library	534 (fols. 132–289)	al-Musabbiḥī	"Akhbār Miṣr" (vol. 40)	807[203]
Lost?			Ibn al-Khaṭīb	"Al-Iḥāṭah"	808[204]

[198] The note appears on fol. 291b and is almost illegible today: انتقاه داعيا لمالكه أحمد بن علي المقريزي في شهر ربيع الاول سنة ٨١٨. The month and the date are illegible, but were read, almost a century ago, by Eugenius Tisserant, *Specimina codicum orientalium* (Bonnae, 1914), p. XXXIII, who, however, was unable to read the second and the third words. See also Claude Cahen, "Quelques chroniques anciennes relatives aux derniers Fatimides," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 37 (1937): 15 n. 6.

[199] On fol. 95b: انتقاه داعيا لمالكه احمد بن علي المقريزي ففرغ منه في صفر سنة ٨١٩.

[200] Part of the same set in two volumes, the second being in Istanbul (Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi MS Şehid Ali Paşa 1934). The note, which appears on fol. 1a of volume 1 only, is difficult to read today: انتقاه . . . أحمد بن علي المقريزي سنة ٨٢٤. See Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq al-Nadīm, *Al-Fihrist,* ed. Riḍā Tajaddud (Tehran, 1971), *bāʾ* and pl. 1. The reading given by the editor in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* Sayyid ed., 1:89* (استفاد منه داعيا لمعيره أحمد بن علي المقريزي ٨١٣), is partly erroneous and conjectural given the actual state of this reading note.

[201] On fol. 132a of vol. 4: استفاد منه داعيا لمالكه أحمد بن علي المقريزي سنة ٨٠٣. See ʿAlī ibn Mūsá Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib: al-Juzʾ al-Awwal min al-Qism al-Khāṣṣ bi-Miṣr [al-Ightibāṭ fī Ḥulá Madīnat al-Fusṭāṭ],* ed. Zakī Muḥammad Ḥasan et al. (Cairo, 1953), 59 (of the introduction); and Moritz, *Arabic Palaeography,* 167.

[202] Part of the same set as the preceding one (autograph manuscript of Ibn Saʿīd), same note as above. A microfilm of this manuscript is held at the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah, Cairo (Tārīkh 103 mīm; see Fuʾād Sayyid, *Fihrist al-Makhṭūṭāt: Nashrah bi-al-Makhṭūṭāt allatī Iqtanathā al-Dār min Sanah 1936–1955* [Cairo, 1380–83/1961–63], 3:81).

[203] On fol. 132a: استفاد منه داعيا له أحمد بن علي المقريزي في سنة ٨٠٧.

[204] The reading note was noticed by al-Maqqarī, during a stay in Cairo, on the autograph copy sent by Ibn al-Khaṭīb. It read: انتقى منه داعيا لمؤلفه أحمد بن علي المقريزي في شهر ربيع [كذا] سنة ثمان وثمانمائة. See Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb min Ghuṣn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo, 1369/1949), 9:312.

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Mamluks of Mongol Origin and Their Role in Early Mamluk Political Life

It will come as no surprise to even a casual student of Mamluk history when I state that the Mongols were the major foreign policy concern of the Mamluk Sultanate during its first century of existence, certainly after 1260. Be it the war with the Ilkhanids in Iran and the surrounding countries, or the amicable relations with the Golden Horde, the leadership of the young sultanate devoted much thought and many resources to dealing with the Mongol danger from the east on the one hand, and co-opting the Mongols from the far north on the other. Even after the conclusion of peace with the Ilkhanate in the early 1320s, the Mongols remained a concern for the Mamluks, although perhaps without the same urgency. With the breakup of the Ilkhanid state after 1335, the Mamluks still had to take into account for several decades their relations with different Mongolian rump states on their eastern and northern frontiers. In short, one can scarcely comprehend the history of the early Mamluk Sultanate without considering the impact of its preoccupation with the Mongols.[1]

One aspect of Mamluk-Mongol relations is the question of Mongols in the Mamluk army, as soldiers and officers, and once even as a sultan. These could be Mamluks themselves or Mongol tribesmen who came as *wāfidīyah* or *mustaʾminūn,* i.e., refugees seeking sanctuary in the sultanate. This phenomenon of the *wāfidīyah,* Mongol and otherwise, received attention over half a century ago in a well-known article by the late David Ayalon,[2] who subsequently touched upon the phenomenon of Mamluks of Mongol origin in his wide-ranging series of papers on the *yāsā,*[3] as well as in his article "Mamlūk" in the *Encyclopaedia of*

[1]Some important general comments on Mongol-Mamluk relations are found in David Ayalon, "The Great Yāsa of Chingiz Khān: A Reexamination," *Studia Islamica,* Part C1, 36 (1972): 117. My own investigations into these relations have been published in *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260–1281* (Cambridge, 1984) and *The Mongols in the Islamic Lands: Studies in the History of the Ilkhanate* (Aldershot, 2007). These studies contain many references to other articles and books on the subject.

[2]David Ayalon, "The Wafidiya in the Mamluk Kingdom," *Islamic Culture* (1951): 91–104.

[3]Ayalon, "The Great Yāsa of Chingiz Khān," Part C1, 124–28. For the complete series of articles, see *Studia Islamica,* Part A, 33 (1971): 97–140; Part B, 34 (1971): 151–80; Part C1, 36 (1972): 113–58; Part C2 (1973): 107–56.

Islam.[4] Recently, Nakamachi Nobutaka[5] has written an interesting and innovative essay published in *Mamlūk Studies Review,* in which the status of the *wāfidīyah* in general, with some emphasis on the Mongol *wāfidīyah,* is reconsidered. I propose in the following article to look mainly at the "Mongol" Mamluks and their role in early Mamluk political life, without neglecting their possible connections with the Mongol *wāfidīyah.* I will end with some comments about the Mongol *wāfidīyah,* particularly in light of Nakamachi's article.

Finally, one small technical note: in the interest of brevity, in this article I will generally refer to Mamluks of Mongol provenance as Mongol-Mamluks. I hope that this shorthand will not prove confusing.

We have the names of several prominent Mongol-Mamluks who reached the sultanate in various ways. There were probably many more such Mamluks who remained nameless in the sources, reflecting their modest ranks and achievements. This is something that we could expect *a priori.* First, we could imagine that some Mongol youths would be caught up in the trade of young Qipchaq Turks from the realm of the Golden Horde (more about this below). This point has already been made by Ayalon.[6] Secondly, some young Mongols would have been among the captives from the battles and border warfare between the Mamluk Sultanate and the Ilkhanate, where the Mamluks almost invariably had the upper hand (some prominent examples are given below). Thus, it seems probable that the senior Mongol-Mamluk officers whose names we know were only the tip of an iceberg, made up of lower-ranking Mamluks of Mongol origin.

We are fortunate not to have to remain in the realm of speculation. As early as the reign of Qalawun (678–89/1279–90),[7] we learn that this sultan purchased 12,000 "Turkish, Mongol, and other Mamluks."[8] Of course, this gives us no idea of the relative or absolute size of this contingent of Mongol-Mamluks, but they were certainly significant enough to be mentioned after the Turks. Note that the Circassians, who—as is well known—were bought in large numbers by Qalawun,

[4]David Ayalon, "Mamlūk," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 6:314; cf. the longer version in idem, *Islam and the Abode of War* (Aldershot, 1994), art. II, 3.

[5]Nakamachi Nobutaka, "The Rank and Status of Military Refugees in the Mamluk Army: A Reconsideration of the *Wāfidīyah,*" *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10, no. 1 (2006): 55–81.

[6]Ayalon, "The Great Yāsa," Pt. C1, 126–27.

[7]In this paper I have striven to render the names of Mamluks and Mongols in a transliteration which I hope best approaches the way they themselves would have pronounced them. Those names which I am unable to provide in this way, I have given in the Arabic transliteration.

[8]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,* ed. Q. Zurayk and N. ʿIzz al-Dīn (Beirut, 1939), 8:97 (s.a. 689, as part of the summation of Qalawun's rule); cited in Ayalon, "The Great Yāsa," Pt. C1, 124–25.

are not mentioned in this passage.[9] Baybars al-Manṣūrī, in his entry for 699/1299–1300, reports that one of the results of the civil war in the Golden Horde between the Khan Toqta (<Toqtagha) and the army commander Noghai was that many Mamluks and slave girls were brought to the sultanate. We can assume that some of these Mamluks were Mongols.[10]

We have some indirect evidence that young Mongols were indeed caught up in this trade of Mamluks: Toqta attacked Genoese settlements in the Crimea in 707/1307–8 for various reasons, including retaliation for the capture of Mongol children *(awlād min al-tātār)* who were then sold to the Muslim countries, referring most probably to Egypt and Syria.[11] Even if the Mongol candidates to become Mamluks were not connected to the previously mentioned Toqta-Noghai war, this second passage shows that Mongol children were indeed part of the regular trade in young Mamluks, at least for a certain time.

This appears to have continued well into the eighth/fourteenth century. The mid-fourteenth-century encyclopedist Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī has this to say in his chapter on the Golden Horde in the section on the Mongols in *Masālik al-Abṣār:* The Mongols sold their own children on one hand, and on the other hand, the Qipchaqs themselves also kidnapped the children of their Mongol subjugators and sold them to slave-traders.[12] There is no mention of a particular time-frame for this information, and it is unclear if the author is referring to a general phenomenon or to one particular period. Al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442), however, is more specific. He writes that in the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalawun (1310–41), the Mongols of the Golden Horde competed with each other in selling their boys, girls, and relatives to the slave-merchants. The competition was so fierce among

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[9]David Ayalon, "The Circassians in the Mamlūk Kingdom," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 69 (1949): 137–38; Linda Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689 A.H./1279–1290 A.D.)* (Stuttgart, 1998), 191–92. I should mention here Robert Irwin's yet-unpublished paper, "How Circassian Were the Circassian Mamluks?" which was presented in April 2006 in Haifa.

[10]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah fī al-Dawlah al-Turkīyah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ṣāliḥ Ḥamdān (Beirut, 1407/1987), 159; idem, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah,* ed. D. S. Richards (Beirut and Berlin, 1998), 347.

[11]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 399; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923–97), 27:374. Toqta sent off an army to Kaffa, their headquarters, but the Genoese had advance notice of the attack and fled by boat. Toqta found some solace by expropriating the wealth of their compatriots in Saray.

[12]*Das Mongolische Weltreich: al-ʿUmarīs Darstellung der mongolischen Reiche in seinem Werk Masālik al-abṣār fi'l-mamālik al-amṣār,* ed. and trans. K. Lech, Asiatische Forschungen 14 (Wiesbaden, 1968), 72; cited by Ayalon, "Mamlūk," *EI²,* 314 ; cf. the longer version of this article in Ayalon, *Islam and the Abode of War,* art. II, 3.

those Mongols that it even marred their internal relations,[13] although what this means exactly is unclear. Perhaps it refers to some type of disruption of normal social relations, due to the outflow of young people and even depopulation.

Finally, we can note that young Mamluks also arrived, probably sporadically, from the territory of Qaidu (and his Chaghatayid allies) in Central Asia. Al-Nuwayrī reports in his section on the Mongols in *Nihāyat al-Arab* that after Qaidu defeated Nomughan, the son of the Great Khan Qubilai, ca. 1276, many women and children were taken captive and were exported by traders to Egypt (perhaps via the territory of the Golden Horde).[14] There are some problems with the description of these events in Central Asia,[15] but as the story of the young mamluks is told *en passant,* we can accept it at face value. It is, however, unclear, how often mamluks came from this region, in what quantities, and how many of them were actually Mongols. Still, some Mongols, it would seem, probably entered the Mamluk army from this relatively far-away region.

We see, then, that young Mongol boys (and girls for that matter) played some part in the trade in Mamluks conducted with the Golden Horde. We are now in a better position to examine the careers of prominent Mongol-Mamluks, and to see whether their advancement and behavior had anything to do with this Mongol-Mamluk milieu. I will begin with a brief review of the senior Mongol-Mamluks of whose name and identity we can be sure. I confess that I may have missed one or more individuals, and additional names will be welcome. The order is roughly chronological.

Zayn al-Dīn Kitbugha al-Manṣūrī

He was captured as a youth at the first battle of Homs (December 1260) and enrolled in the Mamluk unit of Qalawun,[16] already serving as an officer during his amirate. With Qalawun's death in 1290, Kitbugha also served al-Ashraf Khalīl, although he was somewhat estranged from him. After the latter's murder in 1293, he led the Qalawunid "loyalist" forces who fought and defeated the conspirators

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[13] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1934–73), 2:525, cited in Ayalon, "Mamlūk," *Islam and the Abode of War,* art. II, 3.

[14] Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 27:354–55.

[15] See the discussion in Michal Biran, *Qaidu and the Rise of the Independent Mongol State in Central Asia* (London, 1997), 62–63.

[16] Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah fī al-Tārīkh* (rpt., Beirut, 1977), 13:338–39; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* ed. H. Ritter et al. (Wiesbaden, 1931–), 24:318; idem, "Aʿyān," MS Aya Sofya 2967, fol. 47a; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (rpt., Cairo, n.d., of Cairo, 1930–56), 8:55. Cf. al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 29:475, and Ibn al-Ṣuqāʿī, *Tālī Kitāb Wafāyat al-Aʿyān,* ed. J. Sublet (Damascus, 1934), 131, who both say he was captured at ʿAyn Jālūt.

led by Baydara. Upon the accession of the boy-king al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Kitbugha became *nāʾib al-salṭanah* and one of the two strongmen of the state, the other being Sanjar al-Shujāʿī. Relations soon deteriorated between these two officers, and open fighting broke out in the streets of Cairo. This ended in Kitbugha's victory and his subsequent enthronement (1294). Taking the title al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, he ruled for some two years until deposed by a conspiracy led by Lachin (Lājīn), who replaced him. Kitbugha lived out his life as governor of Sarkhad and then Ḥamāh, dying in 1303. His reign was marked by a famine and the resulting crisis, as well as the arrival of an extremely large group of Mongol *wāfidīyah* in early 1296 from the Oirat tribe, from which he himself hailed. See below for how his Mongol affinities affected his policies and actions.[17]

SAYF AL-DĪN SALĀR AL-MANṢŪRĪ

He was captured at the battle of Abulustayn in 1277 and eventually became a Mamluk of Qalawun, although he started off as a Mamluk of his son al-Ṣāliḥ ʿAlī (d. 1288).[18] During the second reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (1299–1309), Salār, the *nāʾib al-salṭanah,* was one of the two most powerful amirs, together with Baybars al-Jashnakīr, also a Manṣūrī (albeit of Circassian origin) who enjoyed the support of the Burjīyah. Salār was also an Oirat Mongol and brought over two of his brothers and mother to the sultanate in 1305.[19] After al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's return to power for the third time in 1310, Salār was imprisoned and starved to death. His personal wealth and income were proverbial.[20]

SAYF AL-DĪN QIPCHAQ (QIBJAQ) AL-MANṢŪRĪ

He was also captured at the battle of Abulustayn, becoming a Mamluk of Qalawun after first serving his son al-Ṣāliḥ ʿAlī.[21] As governor of Damascus in Lachin's reign,

[17] Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* (London, 1986), 85; P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517* (London, 1986), 106–8; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 24:318–19 (who calls him al-Mughulī).

[18] Baybars, *Zubdah,* 155; Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks,* 174.

[19] Angus Donal Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks: War and Diplomacy during the Reigns of Het'um II (1289–1307)* (Leiden, 2001), 166, and n. 446. See Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmiʿ al-Ghurar,* ed. H. R. Roemer (Cairo, 1960), 9:131; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 385.

[20] Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages,* 70, 86, 92; Holt, *The Age of the Crusades,* 110–12; Ibn al-Ṣuqāʿī, *Tālī Kitāb Wafāyat al-Aʿyān (wa-kāna jinsuhu min al-tatār);* al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt,* ed. ʿA. M. Muʿawwaḍ and ʿA. A. ʿAbd al-Mawḥūd (Beirut, 2000/1421), 1:468–73 *(wa-huwa min al-tatār al-ūyrātīyah).*

[21] Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 155; Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks,* 174. Another Mongol who is mentioned as being captured at this time (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah*) and also becoming a Mamluk is Sayf al-Dīn Jāwurshī, about whom nothing else is known.

he fled to the Mongol court of Iran. There he found his father (named Toghril) and brothers, who hel prominent positions at court. Qipchaq was awarded the governorship of Hamadān, although it is doubtful that he actually took it up. He accompanied Ghazan on his successful campaign into Syria in 1299–1300. After the Mongol occupation of Damascus, he was appointed the Mongol governor of Syria, but in the aftermath of Ghazan's withdrawal from the city (followed by the retreat of the remaining Mongol troops), Qipchaq returned to the Mamluk fold. He was pardoned and was awarded the governorships of Shawbak and then Ḥamāh, dying in 1310.[22] According to al-Ṣafadī, "He spoke and wrote excellent Mongolian" *(wa-yujīd al-kalām wa-al-khaṭṭ bi-al-lughah al-mughulīyah),* and had been the scribe *(kātib)* to Ḥasan Taqu, one of the *noyan*s of the Mongols. His father had also been one of the leading scribes among the Mongols. Qipchaq said about the Mongolian language, comparing it to Arabic: "Like with you, there is proper and improper speech, so with us."[23]

Sayf al-Dīn Aytamish/Utamish al-Nāṣirī

Originally a Mamluk of al-Ashraf Khalīl, then of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Aytamish first comes to our notice as a trusted envoy of the latter during his exile in Karak (1309–10). He was named governor of Karak when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad left to regain the throne, remaining in this position until 1311. Subsequently, Aytamish became a loyal member of the sultan's inner circle, although never rising above the rank of an amir of forty; in this capacity he fulfilled a number of missions. Probably the height of his career was the series of embassies he led to the court of the Ilkhan Abū Saʿīd, both during the peace negotiations that led to the treaty of 1323 and the subsequent years. Al-Ṣafadī writes that he traveled to the Ilkhanate with his personal contingent *(ṭulb)* and musical band *(ṭablkhānah),* but I assume that if this was the case it was only in the aftermath of the peace treaty. Aytamish spoke and wrote Mongolian, and knew the customs of the Mongols *(ādāb al-mughulī)*. "He judged in the house of the sultan among the *khaṣṣākīyah* according to the *yāsāq* that Chinggis Khan established. He knew the biography of Chinggis Khan, explained it, and reviewed it. He was acquainted with the branches of the Mongols and their roots, and he knew by heart their histories and events." Aytamish answered letters in Mongolian for the sultan.[24] He died in Ṣafad in

[22]Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages,* 99–101, 105–6; Holt, *The Age of the Crusades,* 110–11, 113; Reuven Amitai, "The Mongol Occupation of Damascus in 1300: A Study of Mamluk Loyalties," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society,* ed. Amalia Levanoni and Michael Winter (Leiden, 2004), 21–41, esp. 22–25.

[23]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 24:178.

[24]In Aytamish's absence, he was replaced by the sultan's maternal uncle, Tayirbughā, who is mentioned at the end of this article.

737/1336, having received the governorship there a few months earlier, the previous incumbent being his brother Ariqtay (see below).[25]

SAYF AL-DĪN ARIQTAY

Ariqtay may have been the brother of the above-mentioned Aytamish (although it is probably more likely that this "brotherhood" *(ukhūwah)*[26] was metaphorical). Aytamish was buried in Ariqtay's *turbah,* near the "external" mosque (referring, it would seem, to the mosque outside of the citadel, in Ṣafad).[27] Early in al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third term he became *jāmdār*. For over twenty years Ariqtay was governor of Ṣafad, replaced in 1336 by Aytamish. In the post-al-Nāṣir Muḥammad period, Ariqtay had an illustrious career until his death in 750/1349.[28] Al-Ṣafadī notes that both Aytamish and Ariqtay spoke Turkish and Qipchaqi fluently *(wa-humā fī lisān al-turk wa-al-qibjāqī faṣīḥān)*. The latter term must refer to Mongolian, clearly that of the Golden Horde.[29]

SAYF AL-DĪN ALMALIK[30]

He was captured by the Mamluks at Abulustayn in 1277[31] and thus was presumably a Mongol, around the relatively advanced age of 20. Although originally bought by Qalawun, he was given to his son-in-law, Berke Khan, who thereupon gave him to Küvendik (who became *nāʾib al-salṭanah* after Berke's accession); the exact chronology is not clear. Eventually Almalik became the Mamluk of Qalawun's

[25]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 9:440; Ayalon, "The Great Yāsa," Pt. C2, 131–45; Donald P. Little, "Notes on Aitamiš, A Mongol Mamlūk," in *Der islamischen Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit,* ed. Ulrich Haarmann and P. Bachmann (Wiesbaden, 1979), 387–401; Reuven Amitai, "A Mongol Governor of al-Karak in Jordan?: A Re-examination of an Old Document in Mongolian and Arabic," forthcoming in *Zentralasiatische Studien.*

[26]See the important and succinct discussion of this term (although mainly referring to a later period) in Jo Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos: Patronage, Conflict and Mamluk Socio-Political Culture, 1341–1382* (Leiden, 2006), 86–88. See also David Ayalon, *L'esclavage du mamelouk,* Oriental Notes and Studies, no. 1 (Jerusalem, 1951), 36–37.

[27]On this site, see H. Taragan, "Doors that Open Meanings: Baybars's Red Mosque at Safed," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society,* ed. Winter and Levanoni, 3–20.

[28]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 8:361, 9:440; for a discussion of their "brotherhood," see Ayalon, "The Great Yāsa," Pt. C2, 138. For a different reading of the line about the languages, see ibid., 137.

[29]For Qipchaqi language as a synonym for Mongolian language, see Ayalon, "The Great Yāsa," Pt. C1, 133.

[30]For the vocalization of this name, see the editor's comments in his biography in al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 9:372, note.

[31]Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah* (Hyderabad, 1392–96/1972–76), 1:489.

son al-Ṣāliḥ ʿAlī.[32] During the time of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's second exile in Karak (1309–10), Almalik played an important role as an intermediary between him and the amirs in Cairo, and by 1312, two years after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's return to the sultanate, he was promoted to the rank of an amir of one hundred. Throughout al-Nāṣir's long reign he played an important role, as he did in the confused years after his death. He was arrested and executed in 1346, at the ripe old age of 90.[33]

We have thus a list of six prominent Mamluk officers, one who even became sultan, of Mongol origin. In four cases, they joined the Mamluk ranks as a result of being taken captive in battle. The way that the apparent brothers Aytamish and Ariqtay came to the sultanate is unknown: the slave trade and captivity are possibilities; if the former, then it is more feasible that they came from the Golden Horde and not from the Ilkhanate. The fact that they are said to know "Qipchaqi" (i.e., in this case, the Mongolian of the Golden Horde) indicates this also. Kitbugha and Salār are explicitly reported to have been Oirat Mongols, while the fluency of Qipchaq, Aytamish, and Ariqtay in Mongolian clearly indicates a Mongol provenance. Qipchaq is cited by al-Ṣafadī as using the first person plural when referring to the Mongolian language, so there is no doubt of his origins. Only Almalik may be of doubtful Mongolian birth: he was captured in the battle of Abulustayn, but it is conceivable that he may have hailed from among the Turkish troops who served the Mongols. Lacking clear evidence of this, I will continue to include him among the Mongol-Mamluks.

One personality who has not been included in this list is Küvendik[34] al-Sāqī, to whom some scholars have attributed a Mongol origin.[35] He had become ***nāʾib al-salṭanah*** of his old friend al-Saʿīd Berke Khan in 1277 after the death of Bilik al-Khaznadār and the short incumbency of Āqsunqur al-Fāriqān. Subsequently, he played an important role in the deposition of Berke Khan. Later, Küvendik was accused of leading a conspiracy against Qalawun (including corresponding with the Franks) and was executed by drowning in Lake Tiberias in May 1281.[36]

[32]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:723.

[33]For his biography, see Joseph Drory, "Aal-Malik [sic] and His Inscription," *Cathedra* 117 (2005): 75–80 [in Hebrew].

[34]Various transliterations of this name are given by scholars. According to G. Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (Oxford, 1972), 690, *küven-* means "to be happy, pleased," "to rejoice" in Qipchaq.

[35]Holt, *The Age of the Crusades,* 99; Irwin, *The Middle East,* 62. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan,* 189, also implies that Küvendik was a Mongol.

[36]Cf. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades,* 102: "Küvendik . . . was accused of heading a conspiracy of Mamluks of Mongol origin." See also Irwin, *The Middle East,* 71; Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan,* 188–89. Cf. Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks,* 186: the conspirators were composed mainly of

I confess, however, that I have not found clear evidence of Küvendik's Mongol origins. For example, in his death-notice in Ibn al-Furāt's chronicle (s.a. 681), there is no mention of his so-called Mongol provenance.[37] Given his particular, albeit short-lived, prominence, as well as the especially important role he played in the higher politics of the time, the matter of Küvendik's origins is perhaps not an insignificant point, and it involves more than just increasing our list from six to seven senior officers of Mongol heritage.

In order to facilitate the continuation of our investigation, and to provide some basis for comparison, let us look at the data for the leading Mongol *wāfidīyah,* i.e., those Mongols who left the territory of the Ilkhanate for various reasons, seeking refuge with the Mamluks. As I mentioned above, this subject was initially discussed systematically by Ayalon, and recently by Nakamachi Nobutaka. I must commend the latter for his exhaustive and comprehensive research, which culminates in his detailed and impressive list of 28 officers in the Mamluk army of *wāfidī* origin. This list can be divided into two parts: those who reached their greatest prominence before the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalawun (1310–41), and those—including some who had arrived earlier—who became senior officers (i.e., "amirs of one hundred/commanders of one thousand") later. I will briefly look at a few from the former category, while I will address the latter group at the end of this article. I should add that Nakamachi's meticulous work greatly facilitates a comparison of Mongol-Mamluk and Mongol *wāfidī* senior amirs.

The list contains thirteen individuals whose careers peaked before 1310 (nos. 1–11, 16–17 in Nakamachi's list). I am disregarding at this point those Mongol *wāfidīyah* who may have arrived before 1310 but were important only afterwards. Three of these were members of the Rum Seljuq elite (nos. 8, 9, and 11), and thus are not relevant to our discussion. Of the ten Mongols, I will mention the four most prominent; nos. 16 and 17 were leaders of the Oirat *wāfidīyah* who came in 1295 but were both eliminated by 1300. Perhaps the most important of these is Sayf al-Dīn Noghai/Nūkāy[38] al-Tatarī (no. 4 in Nakamachi's list), who came over in the group of Mongol deserters in 661/1263. He was arrested by Baybars, but later released and made an amir of one hundred by Qalawun. Noghai was killed

Ẓāhirīyah (i.e., the mamluks of Baybars). The Mongol *wāfidīyah* were evidently part of the group, but not its main component (see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:685–86, for how the *wāfidīyah* fled with coconspirators Aytamish al-Saʿīdī and others to Sunqur al-Ashqar in north Syria). In any event, there does not seem to be any justification in seeing the involvement of "Mamluks of Mongol origin."

[37] Ibn al- Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,* 7:239.

[38] Significantly, perhaps, not a Turkish name, but a Mongolian one (< *noghai,* "dog"). The other *wāfidīyah* at this time also have Mongol names.

in the battle of Wādī al-Khaznadār in 699/1300. He is the only *wāfidī* of this period to reach unequivocally the highest rank in the Mamluk hierarchy.[39] Yet, in spite of his high title and the fact that his three daughters married very well (one even wedding Baybars), Noghai apparently was not a member of the inner circle of sultanic intimates or one of the truly senior amirs, for he is hardly mentioned in the ongoing machinations that characterized the Sultanate in the 1290s. For that matter, in spite of having been appointed an amir of one hundred, he is not mentioned in the Mamluk order of battle at Wādī al-Khaznadār,[40] showing perhaps that he was not one of the more important amirs of one hundred, or perhaps that he had been demoted at some point.

Nakamachi suggests that Sayf al-Dīn Siraghan Āghā (no. 1 on his list), the leader of the first wave of Mongol *wāfidīyah* in 660/1262,[41] also received a commission of one hundred, based on the evidence given by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's *Rawḍ,* where it is written that Baybars "commissioned their leaders with [officer ranks] of one hundred horses and less."[42] I have written that the evidence for these appointments was "mere hyperbole."[43] Nakamachi demurs, writing "there is no logical reason for denying this appointment itself."[44] Well, I will stick to my guns: our friend Siraghan never appears again in the detailed records for the reign of Baybars, neither as an amir of one hundred nor in any other capacity, except to receive part of a village in the environs of Caesarea and Arsūf as *milk* in 1265.[45] One could wonder what kind of amir of one hundred he was that he is never mentioned in the sources during this period of incessant warfare. I have devoted some space to questioning Nakamachi's analysis of Siraghan's rank, since this directly impinges upon his analysis of the role and importance of the early Mongol *wāfidīyah.* I therefore see no reason to call into doubt Ayalon's statement: "Baybars' reign is also marked by the absence of a single appointment [of a *wāfidī*]

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[39]Nakamachi, "Military Refugees," 77. The fact that al-Yūnīnī (in Guo, *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography,* 72, cited in Nakamachi, "Military Refugees," 75) refers to him as a "Ẓāhirī" should not be given too much importance. This single attribution does not turn Noghai (spelled here Nukayh) into a mamluk of al-Ẓāhir Baybars, as implied by Nakamachi in note 104.

[40]See Reuven Amitai, "Whither the Ilkhanid Army? Ghazan's First Campaign into Syria (1299–1300)," in *Warfare in Inner Asian History,* ed. N. Di Cosmo (Leiden, 2002), 239–41.

[41]Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1396/1976), 180, when describing the second wave of Mongol *wāfidīyah,* states that Saraghan Āghā was the commander of the previous wave, i.e., the one that arrived in 660/1262.

[42]Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ,* 138.

[43]Reuven Amitai-Preiss, "The Mamluk Officer Class during the Reign of Sultan Baybars," in *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th–15th Centuries,* ed. Y. Lev (Leiden, 1997), 286.

[44]Nakamachi, "Military Refugees," 65.

[45]Amitai-Preiss, "The Mamluk Officer Class," 295 (no. 21). See note 96 for the vocalization of this name.

to the rank of Amir of One Hundred,"[46] as Nakamachi does.

Another important *wāfidī* Mongol personality was Sayf al-Dīn Geremün (no. 2 in Nakamachi's list, vocalized as Karmūn) al-Tatarī, who led the second group of Mongol *wāfidīyah* in 661/1263. He played noteworthy roles in the campaigns against Arsūf (1265) and Ṣafad (1266), but never seems to have risen above the rank of amir of forty.[47] We should also mention Sögetei (no. 10 in Nakamachi's list), who arrived from Rum (although he was a Mongol) in 675/1276 during the confused events preceding Baybars's campaign to Anatolia that culminated in the battle of Abulustayn. While his daughter Ashlun was married to Qalawun, and gave birth to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, we know nothing of Sögetei's eventual career. In the end, he was not destined for a senior role in Mamluk military and political life.

It appears that for the Sultanate's first half century or so, the *wāfidīyah* and their leaders, while perhaps of some importance from the perspective of military manpower and contributing something to the social and even political life of the ruling elite drawn from the military society, were on the whole far from the seats of power. I agree somewhat with Nakamachi that perhaps the lines between Mamluk society and the *wāfidī* grandees were not cut and dried,[48] but at the same time the latter did not have true entrée into the higher circles of the Sultanate, and it was clear where the monopoly of power lay. It will be interesting, however, to see how the *wāfidīyah* and the amirs drawn from them could be integrated into the political aspirations and activities of the senior Mongol-Mamluks. This will be examined below.

Let us look at the above-mentioned handful of senior Mongol-Mamluks who became movers and shakers of Mamluk politics at the beginning of the 1290s, and what role their Mongol origin played in their activities. Although three of these amirs are at the nexus of power from 1290 onward, all had been senior amirs already under Sultan Qalawun, perhaps even obtaining their first commissions while he was still an officer (albeit one of the leading officers under Baybars and his immediate successors).[49] The first to gain prominence was Kitbugha al-Manṣūrī, whose Mongol political connections have already been noted by several scholars and have been alluded to above. Because of his Mongol affinities, Kitbugha—then the *nāʾib al-salṭanah* in the short first reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad—was in

[46] Ayalon, "Wafidiya," 99.

[47] Amitai-Preiss, "The Mamluk Officer Class," 296 (no. 30); idem, *Mongols and Mamluks,* 108–9; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ,* 236; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān* (Hyderabad, 1954–61), 2:337–38; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 7:138–39.

[48] Nakamachi, "Military Refugees," 75–76.

[49] See Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 176–77, for a list of some forty Manṣūrīs who were in Qalawun's service while he was still an amir.

693/1293 given important information on Sanjar al-Shujāʿī's plans against him by the amir Sayf al-Dīn Qunghur/Qunqur, who had arrived with the *wāfidīyah* during the reign of Baybars, and "was of Kitbugha's race" *(wa-huwa min jins kitbughā)*. In spite of the fact that several of his sons were in al-Shujāʿī's service and he himself was among his associates, he gave the intelligence to Kitbugha because of a feeling of ethnic solidarity *(jinsīyah)*. This information prevented Kitbugha from being ambushed and enabled him to organize his forces and eventually to defeat his rival.[50] During the actual fighting, among the forces that joined Kitbugha's side were Mongol *wāfidīyah,* and it is possible that mutual feelings of ethnic solidarity played a role here.[51]

A few months later, Kitbugha had deposed the boy-sultan, and he took the throne as al-Malik al-ʿĀdil. One of the important events of his reign was the arrival of some 10,000 (sometimes given as 18,000) *wāfidīyah* of the Mongol Oirat tribe, which happened to be the same group from which Kitbugha himself hailed. Both 10,000 and 18,000 are enormous numbers, in relation to previous waves of Mongol refugees and to the total size of the Mamluk army. Again, this event has received some attention by scholars, from Ayalon onward. The reasons for the massive influx of these Mongol deserters will not concern us, but it has mostly to do with events in the Ilkhanate and the rise of Ghazan to its throne. Ironically, but perhaps not completely surprisingly, these refugees to the Sultanate had yet to be touched by the growing Islamization of the Mongols in the Ilkhanate; their pagan customs caused some averse comments in the Sultanate. As is well known, Kitbugha gave them a warm welcome, it would seem *inter alia* because of their common origin, but also since he appears to have believed that they would provide a bulwark against his opponents, not the least because of ethnic solidarity. The opposite was achieved: his inordinate support of this group and their leaders only contributed to the growing alienation of a significant number of senior and middle ranking amirs from him. This in turn developed into the *coup d'etat* led by Lachin in 1296, who in turn purged some of the Oirat officers.[52]

This is not the last that we are to hear of the Oirats. In the fall of 1299,

[50]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:798–79 (who also mentions one of Qunghur's sons, Jāwurjī); *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlūkensultane, ed.* K. Zetterstéen (Leiden, 1919), 29; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 8:42 (the two last mentioned cited by Donald P. Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography* [Wiesbaden, 1970], 126, who also cites al-Jazarī, "Jawāhir al-Sulūk fī al-Khulafāʾ al-Mulūk," Bibliothèque Nationale [Paris] MS Ar. 6379, fols. 215–16, which I was unable to inspect). Nakamachi does not mention Qunghur in his list.

[51]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:800.

[52]For the arrival of the Oirats, see Ayalon, "Wafidiya," 99–100; for the importance of Kitbugha's pro-Oirat policy in his deposition, see ibid., 91. In both places, abundant sources are cited. See also Nakamachi, "Military Refugees," 59, 65, 79–80.

having entered Palestine on the way to confront the Mongols under Ghazan in the campaign that culminated in the battle of Wādī al-Khaznadār, Oirats in the Mamluk army launched a rebellion under their leader Ulus (rehabilitated since the above-mentioned purge), ostensibly to put their "kinsman" Kitbugha back on the throne. We have here, then, another apparent expression of "ethnic solidarity." This rebellion was put down and Ulus and other leaders were executed. This incident certainly did not contribute to either the preparedness or the morale of the Mamluk army, and it was one of the reasons behind their defeat at the battle north of Homs at the end of the year.[53]

In short, the whole long episode of Kitbugha and the Oirats, lasting some seven years, is a clear example of the apparent role of ethnic solidarity, in this case of an Oirat Mongol variety, in Mamluk politics. Without this Mongol connection, we can scarcely understand Kitbugha's rise to power, his sultanate, his fall, and the ill-fated attempt to reinstate him (apparently without his knowledge or connivance). The role of ethnic solidarity—I prefer this to the older expression "racial solidarity," and not only because of the discredited political connotations—in Mamluk politics has been noted by several modern scholars,[54] "because"—as Donald Little has stated in a different context—"of the importance of ethnic affiliation in the complex system of Mamluk loyalties that provided cohesion to the Mamluk state."[55]

However, I do not want to go overboard by attributing too much importance to ethnic solidarity in the Sultanate's politics, at least among senior Mamluks of Mongol origin. There is nowhere else anything similar to the story of Kitbugha and the Oirats, either in its intensity and duration or with regard to its basic nature, elsewhere in the annals of early Mamluk history. Let us look at the stories of Salār and Qipchaq for illustrations of this point.

Salār, it should be remembered, was also of Oirat origin, and yet we see little evidence of ethnic solidarity on his part, neither *vis-à-vis* Kitbugha nor the Oirat *wāfidīyah*. We find him rising to some prominence early in the reign of Lachin, so he does not appear to have been a protégée or ally of the Oirat Kitbugha.[56] Both al-Kutubī and al-Ṣafadī note that Salār and Lachin were very close friends, and Salār was named *ustādār* when the new sultan reached Cairo.[57] Lachin, it should be

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[53]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:883; Ayalon, "Wafidiya," 100; Irwin, *The Middle East,* 100; Amitai, "Whither the Mongol Army?" 227.

[54]Irwin, *The Middle East,* 92; Holt, *The Age of the Crusades,* 110; Little, *Introduction,* 126; Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan,* 117, 189.

[55]Donald P. Little, review of *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century,* by Peter Thorau, trans. P. M. Holt, in *Journal of Semitic Studies* 38, no. 2 (1993): 342.

[56]Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:822.

[57]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 24:178–79; al-Kutubī, *Fawāt,* 1:468.

remembered, was apparently of Greek origin, so it is clear that "ethnic solidarity" played little role when Salār threw in his lot with Lachin and abandoned Kitbugha. For that matter, his friendship with Lachin did not stop Salār from participating in the conspiracy against him that resulted in his assassination and replacement by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalawun (his second reign).[58] Other considerations besides ethnic solidarity and friendship played a role in Salār's political calculations. Certainly the former was not a factor when Salār helped to lead the resistance to the attempted Oirat putsch in 1299 in Palestine.[59] Interestingly enough, the late Peter M. Holt describes Salār as later leading the "Turkish" faction as opposed to the Circassian "Burjī" faction headed by Baybars al-Jashnakīr.[60] This may well be the case, although further research is needed to establish the ethnic component of this rivalry and the larger political struggles of the second reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. I do not believe one should infer "ethnic solidarity" from the arrival of a couple hundred Mongols around 705/1305, who included the mother and two brothers of Salār himself. If anything, we have here a clear and interesting example of family solidarity, showing that contact with kin could be maintained for almost three decades over long distances and a distinctly hostile frontier.[61]

Mongolian family reunions are also seen in the story of Qipchaq al-Manṣūrī from the end of the 1290s. But first, some background: Qipchaq was part of the group of senior amirs who acclaimed Lachin sultan in 1296.[62] Whatever ethnic solidarity he might have had with Kitbugha was soon forgotten in the aftermath of his deposition. Qipchaq was appointed governor of Damascus by the new sultan, but relations soon soured, not the least because of the increasing power of the *nāʾib al-salṭanah* Mengü-Temür. Realizing that he was soon to be arrested, Qipchaq and some other amirs, along with their mamluks, fled the Sultanate in 1298 for the Ilkhanate. They were warmly welcomed at Ghazan's court. Qipchaq was reunited with his father (called in the Mamluk sources a *silāḥdār*) and his brothers, married to a Mongol lady, and given the governorship of Ḥamadan. At the end of 1299, he and his ex-Mamluk comrades joined Ghazan in his campaign into Syria, were

[58] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:856.

[59] Ibid., 1:883–84; Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom,* 166. Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 330, does not mention the role of Salār or any other amirs in putting down this rebellion.

[60] Holt, *Age of the Crusades,* 110; cf. Irwin, *The Middle East,* 92, who writes that Salār was supported by the aging Ṣāliḥī and Ẓāhirī amirs, "as well as Mongols who favoured Salar because he was a Mongol." It is unclear to me to which Mongols he is referring: the remnants of earlier *wāfidīyah* or unknown Mongol-Mamluks (regular troopers or amirs); he was certainly no friend of the Oirats. In any event, I am not sure that this Mongol support really existed.

[61] Besides the references in note 19 above, see Irwin, *The Middle East,* 101; Little, *Introduction,* 8, 16–17.

[62] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:822.

present at the Mongol victory at Wādī al-Khaznadār, and advanced with the triumphant Ilkhan to Damascus. Qipchaq was appointed titular "Mongol" governor of the city (and perhaps beyond) but seems to have exercised little authority beyond facilitating the collection of taxes and other tribute, mediating with the local notables, and trying to restrain some of the excesses of Mongol troops and to moderate demands from the local population. When the Mongols withdrew in the spring of 1300, instead of returning with them to the east, he traveled to the south, meeting the Mamluk leadership that was making its way from Egypt to Syria. His submission and excuses were accepted and he was permitted back in the Mamluk fold, although he never returned to his high position.[63]

I will summarize what I wrote in an article published in the volume edited by Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni in 2004.[64] Qipchaq had every reason to return with the retreating Mongols and end his days in honorable retirement, surrounded by family, enjoying a comfortable sinecure, and speaking his mother tongue. Qipchaq rejected all that, evidently motivated more by his Mamluk loyalties, developed since his youth. This, to my mind, shows the limits of Mongol ethnic solidarity in general, as well as the ultimate loyalty of mamluks of Mongol provenance.

I should mention an apparently apocryphal story found in some later sources, such as Ibn al-Furāt.[65] In the death notice of Qalawun (s.a. 689), it is told how much the sultan liked Qipchaq, but that he did not permit him to go to Syria (it is not clear if his intention was just to travel to Syria or to be appointed to a governorship or other office there) because he was afraid that he would flee to the Mongols and cause trouble. When Lachin became sultan, however, he made him governor of Damascus. Later, Qipchaq indeed fled to the Mongols and truly caused trouble when he instigated Ghazan's campaign to Syria. Personally, I have my doubts regarding the reliability of this anecdote, and to my mind it is likely that had Qipchaq never been compelled to take his trip to the east, this story would have never circulated. In any case, let us remember the next development, not related in the story: Qipchaq abandoned the Mongols to rejoin the Mamluks.

Robert Irwin has written: "[S]entiments of racial solidarity were inextricably involved in the struggle for political power between what may be termed the inner and the outer elites of the Mamluk armies."[66] I certainly agree with him, but I have tried to show above that we should be careful about seeing Mongol ethnic

[63]This is a summary of a somewhat detailed discussion, with references in Amitai, "The Mongol Occupation of Damascus," 22–26, 32–35, 37–40. I have found no evidence to support the statement in Irwin, *The Middle East,* 91, that Qipchaq fled to the Ilkhanate with other "Mongol mamluks."

[64]Reuven Amitai, "The Mongol Occupation of Damascus," 21–41.

[65]Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,* 8:94–95.

[66]Irwin, *The Middle East,* 92.

solidarity being a determinant factor every time the paths of two Mongol-Mamluks crossed, one of them came across some Mongol *wāfidīyah,* or the opportunity to flee to the Mongol enemy arose. Other determinants, including *khushdāshīyah* solidarity, loyalty to patron and sultan, and fidelity to Islam as they understood it, let alone rational decisions based on practical advantage, were still the dominant bases for political behavior among Mamluk officers and probably their inferiors as well.

In order to further explore the role of ethnic solidarity in Mamluk politics in a more general sense, I suggest that at least three further matters must be taken into consideration in future research. The first is the more theoretical question of ethnicity and national feeling in pre-modern societies around the world, not the least in the Middle East and Central Asia. As far as I am aware, we do not have comprehensive discussions of Turkish and Mongolian ethnic feelings in the period of the Mamluk Sultanate.[67] Without a study of how thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Mongols saw themselves as an ethnic collective of some type, hopefully free of modern anachronism, nationalistically inspired or otherwise, it is impossible to analyze fully the sense of ethnic solidarity among Mamluks and *wāfidīyah* of Mongol provenance in the Sultanate.

Secondly, we need more case studies of possible expressions of ethnic solidarity among other groups in the military society of the Sultanate, starting perhaps with the Circassians.[68] Are some groups more prone to ethnic-based solidarity than others? How often is this expressed? Is the solidarity among some groups more powerful than others? In short, in order to study comprehensively ethnicity and its role in Mamluk politics, we first need a series of case studies, which will provide a proper empirical basis for comparison and generalization.

Thirdly, we would gain a fuller picture were we to take into account the gender aspect of this story, not the least the role of the daughters of Mongol *wāfidī*

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[67]For some examples of ethnic solidarity, or at least affinity, between various groups of Turks in the Middle East in the eleventh century, see David Ayalon, "Aspects of the Mamlūk Phenomenon: The Importance of the Mamlūk Institution," *Der Islam* 53, no. 2 (1976): 210–11; for expressions of Turkish-Mongol solidarity, see idem, "The European-Asiatic Steppe: A Major Reservoir of Power for the Islamic World," in *Proceedings of the 25th Congress of Orientalists (Moscow 1960)* (Moscow, 1963), 2:48–49. Both articles were reprinted in idem, *The Mamlūk Society* (London, 1979), articles Xa and VIII, respectively.

[68]See, however, some prelimary comments in Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos,* 92–94, who also cites some other relevant comments in other studies. (I was unable to obtain what appears to be an important study by M. Chapoutet-Remadi, "Liens propres et identités séparées chez les Mamelouks bahrides," in *Valeur et distance: Identités et sociétés en Egypte,* ed. C. Décobert [Paris, 2000], 175–88.) Here I should note again Robert Irwin's provocative paper on the problems of studying the Circassians in the Sultanate, delivered in Haifa in 2006; see note 9 above.

amirs, as wives of the sultan and senior amirs.[69] Thus, the biographer of Baybars mentions five wives of the sultan, three of whom were the daughters of Mongol *wāfidī* amirs.[70] Qalawun also took some daughters of Mongol *wāfidī* as wives, including al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's mother, and married a few to his sons.[71] A full-fledged study of the gender and family aspects of higher Mamluk politics carried out with a sensitivity to ethnic networks and origins would certainly prove useful to a comprehensive discussion of the role of ethnicity and ethnic solidarity in Mamluk politics.

Before concluding, I would like to go back to the *wāfidī* amirs discussed by Nakamachi, this time looking at those from the post-1310 period, both those who arrived after this date and those who reached prominence only at this time. There are fifteen amirs in this category (nos. 12–28, minus nos. 16–17, who were the Oirat leaders who came in 1295 and by 1300 were dead). One of these was a Rum Seljuq officer who arrived in the Sultanate in 1276 (no. 12), two were descendents of another of these officers (nos. 13 and 14), and one was the mamluk of a Rumi amir (no. 15). Of the remainder, seven can be defined as Mongols (nos. 18–24). Three of these (nos. 20, 23, 24: Badr al-Dīn Jankālī ibn al-Bābā, Sayf al-Dīn Tayirbugha, and Temürtash, though the last for only a few months) indeed became amirs of one hundred between the years 1310 and 1341. This is noteworthy when compared to the fifty-year period before, although this is far from a *wāfidī* revolution (even with three other non-Mongol *wāfidīyah* who received this position, nos. 25, 26, and 28, the last in Damascus). Still, it is worth analyzing this development. To what can we attribute it? Nakamachi says that in al-Nāṣir's third reign, "the centralization of power was achieved, and the sultan no longer needed to depend on strong units of military refugees. He could advance his favorite retainers whether they were sultan's mamluks or not. Therefore, in this phase, several highly advanced *wāfidī* amirs emerged from *wāfidīyah* groups which had only a small number of personnel or which had collapsed and completely dissolved."[72]

[69] See the relevant comments in Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan,* 116–18; and for a later period: Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos,* 82–85, esp. 82, n. 117, for other relevant studies.

[70] Ibn Shaddād al-Ḥalabī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* ed. A. Ḥuṭayṭ (Wiesbaden, 1404/1983), 233.

[71] Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan,* 116–18; P. M. Holt, "An-Nasir Muhammad b. Qalawun (684–741/1285–1341): His Ancestry, Kindred, and Affinity," in *Proceedings of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd International Colloquium, Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras,* ed. U. Vermeulen and D. De Smet (Leuven, 1995), 313–24.

[72] Nakamachi, "Military Refugees," 75. I plan to discuss in a future paper some of the conclusions from this article, which, while being thought-provoking, are perhaps a bit far-fetched. For example, I am not convinced that early sultans had a need for "strong units of military refugees," and I am not sure that they existed.

Frankly, I do not concur with this explanation. I think that rather the answer is to be found in the nature of al-Nāṣir's personality, the nature of his rule, and the relations between him and his senior amirs. As has been pointed out briefly by Ayalon[73] and in greater detail by Amalia Levanoni,[74] al-Nāṣir Muḥammad wrought many changes in the way mamluks were educated and the whole military system was run. It should then not come as a surprise when we discern such a large presence of senior *wāfidī* amirs. At the same time, like his predecessors, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had built up a large unit of royal mamluks and surrounded himself with a large group of senior amirs from this formation. Yet, he remained fundamentally suspicious of all those around him, even from the group of his oldest personal mamluks. The fate of Tankiz in 1340 is a case in point. Robert Irwin has written that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was "a little paranoid in his treatment of those he had chosen."[75] This appraisal seems to me to be an understatement, and the picture drawn should be much starker. It could well be that the cultivation of a few *wāfidī* amirs, two of whom were Mongols, was designed to counterbalance the sultan's own mamluks and to prevent the concentration of too much power within one group. Since al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had already eliminated most of the veteran amirs from the Manṣūrīyah early in his reign,[76] he had no natural group with which he could balance his own mamluks, and thus he also favored *inter alia* two of the *wāfidī* amirs.

As far as I know, there was no extraordinary connection between these *wāfidī* amirs and the Mongol-Mamluks that we named above (Aytamish, Ariqtay, and Almalik), although Tayirbughā on occasion assisted Aytamish with translation work in Mongolian. Moreover, for all of their pride in their Mongol cultural heritage, and in Aytamish's case, ongoing direct contact with a Mongol regime, there is no indication that these Mongol-Mamluk amirs ever acted politically on the basis of ethnic solidarity.

Individual and group identities and their impact on political action can be fluid and multifarious, and the possibility of multiple identities existing concurrently cannot be discounted. When we deal with the Mongol identity of certain Mamluk amirs and its influence on politics, we should be wary of unbalanced attention to certain evidence and drawing too broad conclusions on the basis of one or two examples.

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[73]See, e.g., David Ayalon, "The Auxiliary Forces of the Mamlūk Sultanate," *Der Islam* 65 (1988): 33–35.

[74]Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341)* (Leiden, 1995).

[75]Irwin, *The Middle East,* 121.

[76]Reuven Amitai, "The Remaking of the Military Elite of Mamlūk Egypt by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad B. Qalāwūn," *Studia Islamica* 72 (1990): 145–63.

Postscript

As this article was going to press, I came upon the following relevant passage from Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī's *Al-Taʿrīf bi-al-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf:*[77]

> The form of correspondence to [Özbeg Khan of the Golden Horde]—if it is written in Arabic—is [the same] form as written to the ruler of Iran [i.e., the Ilkhan], as has been mentioned. But most of the time it is written in Mongolian (bi-al-mughulī), for which is responsible Aytamish al-Muḥammadī, Ṭayirbugha al-Nāṣirī, Arighadliq (?) the translator (*al-tarjumān*), and Qūṣūn al-Sāqī.

Aytamish and Ṭayirbugha are of course mentioned above. Arighadliq[78] may not have been a mamluk, given the nickname *al-tarjumān.* At this point he remains unidentified. Qūṣūn al-Sāqī is the famous amir who rose to prominence progressively towards the end of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign, briefly becoming the most powerful amir immediately after his patron's death.[79] I perhaps should have included Qūṣūn in my discussion above, due to his apparent Mongol origin, but his activities were connected mainly to a later period than the focus of this paper. I would like to note, however, that Qūṣūn's erstwhile protégé, Bashtak, had become his main enemy, in spite of the latter also hailing from the Golden Horde, and perhaps being of Mongol provenance as well.[80] This is another occurrence where ethnic solidarity among mamluks of seemingly Mongol origin is not evident.

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[77] Ed. M. Ḥ. Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 1408/1988), 70. See also al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá,* ed. M. Ḥ. Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 1407/1987), 7:316–17; Little, "Notes on Aitamiš," 393.

[78] The vocalization of the last three letters remains uncertain. I am grateful to Prof. Marcel Erdal (University of Frankfurt), who suggested to me in a private correspondence that this name might be composed of *arïgh* ("pure") and *adlïq* ("having a name"); see Clauson, *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteent-Century Turkish,* 32–33, 213.

[79] For him, see Jo Van Steenbergen, "The Amir Qawsun, Statesman or Courtier? (720–741 AH/1320–1341 AD)," in *Proceedings of the 6th, 7th and 8th International Colloquium, Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras,* ed. U. Vermeulen and J. Van Steenbergen (Leuven, 2001), 449–66. The vocalization of Qūṣūn is preferred over the frequently found Qawṣūn, as the word apparently derives from the Mongolian *qusu[n]* (modern *xus*), "birch tree"; F. D. Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960), 991.

[80] Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 10:132–34; Van Steenbergen, "The Amir Qawsun," 460–63.

Hani Hamza

Some Aspects of the Economic and Social Life of Ibn Taghrībirdī Based on an Examination of His Waqfīyah

The famous Mamluk historian Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī was born in Cairo in 812/1409–10 and died in 874/1470. His works and public life have been extensively researched and will not be dealt with here. Instead, Ibn Taghrībirdī's *waqfīyah* will be used to explore other aspects of his life. The text of the *waqfīyah* is given in an appendix to this article. First an attempt will be made to determine the location and the architectural layout of his *turbah,* built in the Northern Cemetery of Cairo. We have no trace of this once "huge" *turbah*[1] as it has totally disappeared. Secondly, the functions, personnel, and the maintenance cost of the *turbah* foundation will be summarized. Finally the *waqfīyah* will also be used to address the financial status of the founder, his family relations, and his sexuality, subjects seldom covered by traditional contemporary sources.

The contents and the formal characteristics of the *waqfīyah* were summarized in a lecture by ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm at a symposium marking the 500th anniversary of the death of Ibn Taghrībirdī in 1972.[2] Although this paper adopts a different approach to the study of the *waqfīyah,* some overlap and redundancies are unavoidable.

The Source: Description of the *Waqfīyah* Document

The *waqfīyah* is housed in the National Archives in Cairo, cataloged as no. 147 and dated 14 Shaʿbān 870/1465.[3] It is a paper roll 33 cm wide and 17.20 cm long written in black ink in legible handwriting and remains in generally good condition except for some disintegration in the left margins.

Turbah: A New Interpretation

Recent research has shown that the *turbah* developed under the Mamluks and functioned not only as a grave or mausoleum, as is commonly known, but also served other purposes.[4] The *turbah,* in general, consisted of units such as an inner

[1] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Beirut, 1966), 10:308.

[2] ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm, "Waqfīyat Ibn Taghrī Birdī," in *Al-Muʾarrikh Ibn Taghrī Birdī Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf 812–874 H* (Cairo, 1974), 182–222.

[3] The document we now have is a transcription of the original deed, but it is considered a legal document since it was authenticated by a notary and confirmed by witnesses. See ibid., 184.

[4] Hānī Ḥamzah, "Al-Turab al-Mamlūkīyah bi-Madīnat al-Qāhirah (648–923 AH/1250–1517 AD)"

court *(ḥawsh),* pavilion *(maqsūrah),* domed cube *(qubbah),* mosque, madrasah, *sabīl, kuttāb,* loggia *(maqʿad),* hall *(qāʿah),* residential areas, and stables. All these units were typically enclosed by a wall and entered through a portal within an elaborate façade, which included a minaret in some cases. This architectural setting served several expressive, socioeconomic, and religious objectives of the patrons who came mainly from the Mamluk ranks and the civilian elite.

A study of the remains of several buildings specifically designated by their foundation inscriptions and/or other contemporary sources as *turbah*s led to the formulation of the *turbah* model.[5] The exact layout and functions of the existing *turbah*s are subject to some confusion since many either disappeared or remain only partially standing with no known *waqfīyah*s to provide descriptions. This fact gives a particular significance to the *waqfīyah* of Ibn Taghrībirdī for enabling us to know precisely the typical architectural layout of a *turbah,*[6] and its functions and activities as stated by the founder himself and clearly spelled out in his *waqfīyah.*

Location of the *Turbah*

According to the *waqfīyah* the *turbah* was located outside Bāb al-Naṣr on the sultanic road (al-Darb al-Sulṭānī), the main route to Syria, in the direction of the *turbah* of al-Ẓāhir Abū Saʿīd and Shaykh Kahnafush.[7] The titles and *kunyah*

(Ph.D. diss., Cairo University, 2004), 3–4.

[5]The foundations included in this study are those of: Mankalī Bughā al-Fakhrī (unlisted monument, ca. second quarter of the eighth/fourteenth century); Tankizbughā (Index 85, 764/1362); Princess Tūlūbīyah (Index 80, 765/1364); Ṭaybughā al-Ṭawīl (Index 372, 768/1366); al-Ashraf Barsbāy (Index 121, 835/1432); al-Ashraf Īnāl (Index 158, 855–60/1451–56); Girbāsh Qāshiq (listed as part of the complex of al-Ashraf Īnāl, 853–56/1449–1452); Barsbāy al-Bajāsī (Index 124, 860/1456); Jānibik Nāʾib Jiddah (Index 171, 869/1465); Qāytbāy (Index 95/99/100/101, 877–79/1472–74); Azdamur (Index 90, 885/1480–81); Tikīyah of Abū Sayf (Index 111, end of ninth/fifteenth century), Azdamur min ʿAlī Bay (Index 174, 908/1502); Khayr Bik (Index 248, 908/1502–3); al-Ghūrī (Index 65, 909–10/1503–4); Qurqmās (Index 162, 911–13/1506–7). See *Index to Mohammedan Monuments in Cairo* (Cairo, 1951).

[6]Christel Kessler, who works on the funerary architecture of Cairo, has discussed their architectural features, plans, the decorative scheme of their domes, and their orientation, as well as their placement within the urban fabric of the city. However, she did not classify the *turbah* as a separate building genre and limited her studies to a formal architectural analysis of religious establishments with adjoining mausolea, mainly within the city proper. See Christel Kessler, "Funerary Architecture within the City," in *Colloque International sur l'Histoire du Caire (1969)* (Cairo, 1972), 257–67; idem, *The Carved Masonry Domes of Mediaeval Cairo* (Cairo, 1976); idem, "Mecca-Oriented Urban Architecture in Mamluk Cairo: The Madrasa-Mausoleum of Sultan Shaʿban II," in *In Quest of an Islamic Humanism: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Memory of Mohamed al-Nowaihli,* ed. A. H. Green (Cairo, 1984), 97–108.

[7]Dār al-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmīyah MS 147 Mamālīk, lines 46–47. ʿAlī Kahnafush, or Kahnabush

(epithet) of the sultan are given but his name has disappeared in the damaged margin of the document. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm assumed, obviously incorrectly, that the deceased sultan al-Ẓāhir Abū Saʿīd Jaqmaq was meant,[8] not al-Ẓāhir Abū Saʿīd Khushqadam, who was the reigning sultan of that time (r. 865–72/1461–67) and bore the same title and *kunyah.* The latter sultan is the correct choice for two reasons; first, the document includes a prayer for his long reign,[9] a phrase reserved naturally for a living sultan; second, the name of the sultan is not preceded by *al-shahīd* (martyr), which was customary when referring to a deceased sultan in official papers or monumental epigraphy. Contemporary sources indicate that al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam built a *turbah*/madrasah for himself at the northern part of the Northern Cemetery, which no longer exists,[10] in a rare, if not unique, case of the disappearance of a royal Mamluk monument under unknown circumstances.

The *waqfīyah* indicates that the main western façade (with the portal and the windows) faced al-Darb al-Sulṭānī, while the opposite eastern façade (the qiblah side) faced the desert, meaning empty space. The northern façade faced a side road while the southern façade faced the madrasah of al-Ashraf Īnāl, which still exists.[11] Thus we can determine with accuracy the site of the *turbah* as having been north of the madrasah of Īnāl across the main road (fig. 1). It was also near the *turbah* of al-Jamālī Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm, known as Ibn Kātib Jakam *nāẓir al-jaysh wa-al-khāṣṣ* (controller of the army and privy funds), who died in 862/1458.[12] This *turbah* no longer exists.

Plan and Architecture of the *Turbah*

The *turbah*, as described in the *waqfīyah*, is composed of 18 units as illustrated in the plan (fig. 2). Here is a brief description of their form and function:

1. The entrance (1) (lines 49–54):

Made of stone as part of the main western façade alongside the main road. A typical portal with the stairs leading to the door within an arched recess, flanked by two benches *(maksalah)* and two inscription bands (text not quoted).

according to other sources (d. 798/1398), had a *zāwiyah* built for him at the northern part of the Northern Cemetery. See Hani Hamza, *The Northern Cemetery of Cairo* (Costa Mesa, CA, 2001), 25.

[8]Ibrāhīm, "Waqfīyat Ibn Taghrī Birdī," 193.

[9]Dār al-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmīyah MS 147 Mamālīk, line 47.

[10]Hamza, *The Northern Cemetery,* 16, 29.

[11]Dār al-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmīyah MS 147 Mamālīk, lines 93–96.

[12]Hamza, *The Northern Cemetery*, 16.

2. The vestibule *(dirkah)* (2) (lines 55–57):

The portal leads to a vestibule which has a stone platform at its opposite side, and two recesses/cupboards *(kutbīyah)* for the storage of books or other objects topped by a window overlooking the *ḥawsh* (court). Two side doors lead to the *sabīl* and a corridor.

3. The drinking fountain *(al-sabīl)* (3) (lines 58–68):

This occupies the northern corner, with two perpendicular windows overlooking the street, making water available all day except during Ramaḍān. It has a cistern beneath the marble flooring and is covered by a shallow dome with an attached room for the *sabīl* keeper *(mazamalātī).*

4. The corridor (5) (lines 68–73):

An internal barrel-vaulted passage with doors leading to the *kuttāb* situated over the *sabīl* and undefined apartments *(ṭibāq)* through a staircase. Another door leads to the doorman's *(bawwāb)* room (6), and two more doors lead to the court.

5. The court *(ḥawsh)* (lines 73–75):

This is the internal heart of the *turbah* which connects the various units and is used for charity burial as decided by the founder and the *waqf* superintendent *(al-nāẓir)* after him.

6. The residential area (lines 75–86):

This is the largest unit of the *turbah,* located at the southern part and made up of two stories. The ground floor has a large room with no windows (7), which was not assigned any function, and four other parts all entered through doors in the court.

The first unit consists of a passage (8) with a kitchen (9) and a lavatory (10), both for the private use of the founder and his descendants, with a stairway to the upper floor. This passage leads to a large apartment which consists of an inner court *(durqāʿah)* (11) and then leads to an *īwān* (12) with shallow recesses and cupboards. Al-Sakhāwī had mentioned in his biography of Ibn Taghrībirdī that he kept his books and notes at his *turbah;* one can safely assume that they were kept in this part of the *turbah* in the recesses and cupboards, although this fact is not mentioned in the deed. Moreover, a librarian was mentioned in another part of the *waqfīyah* as part of the staff. The staircase leads to an L-shaped apartment with windows overlooking the main and side streets. This part is designated as the private residence of the founder and whomever he chooses, then his family after him, followed by any of the *turbah* staff members if no family members survive,

as chosen by *al-nāẓir*. No outsider is ever allowed to reside here.

The second unit is another windowless room *(khilwah)* (13) with a small apartment on top of it. The third unit has three lavatories (14) for the use of the *turbah* staff and visitors and the fourth part is a stable (15) with another apartment on top of it which was not finished at the time the *waqf* deed was written.

7. The side door *(bāb al-sirr)* (16) (lines 85–86):

This is a secondary door next to the stable leading to the side street, used for coffins being brought for burial, and for the entry of horses or other animals to the stable.

8. The *īwān* and the burial pavilion (17) (lines 86–93):

This is the most sacred part of the *turbah*, as usual occupying the qiblah (eastern) side of the *turbah*. Built of stone, it has four underground burial chambers *(fasqīyah)* and a stone floor most probably raised above the court ground level by two steps, as is common.

The *īwān* consists of five arcades; the middle one contained a mihrab and was used as a mosque for prayers. The other four arcades were not used for prayer, since they are positioned over the four burial chambers and prayers cannot be performed over the remains of the dead. The first *fasqīyah* was assigned for the burial of the amir Qulmiṭāy ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Isḥāqī (d. 877/1472),[13] the husband of the founder's niece ʿĀʾishah, his family, and his retinue. The second was assigned to his niece ʿĀʾishah bint Jānibik al-Bashmiqdār,[14] and her descendants and retinue. The third was assigned to another niece, Zaynab bint Ḥamzah ibn Taghrībirdī, and her family and retinue. The fourth was reserved for the founder himself and whomever else he chose. Following his burial, the *fasqīyah* was to be locked and sealed so no one else could be buried with him afterwards.[15]

One might wonder why the burial area was divided into four parts, the middle section being assigned as a mosque by the *waqfīyah*. Obviously Ibn Taghrībirdī wanted his own individual burial area as he did not have a wife or children. Each branch of the surviving family was assigned a separate area. The arcades provided the necessary roof or shelter customary on a *fasqīyah* and must have been used for all kinds of rituals including sublimations and reading the glorious Quran for the benefit of each individual family branch. We have to presume the nature of those activities, since the *waqfīyah* assigns a function for the middle arcade only

[13] A junior *amīr ʿasharah* (commander of ten soldiers). See al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ*, 6:224.

[14] A low-ranking mamluk in charge of carrying the footwear of the sultan or an amir during the prayer time or other occasions. See Ḥasan al-Bāshā, *Al-Funūn al-Islāmīyah wa-al-Waẓāʾif ʿalá al-Athār al-ʿArabīyah* (Cairo, n.d.), 1:304.

[15] Dār al-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmīyah MS 147 Mamālīk, lines 299–301.

but does not mention the flanking spaces.

Conclusions about the *turbah* model and structure will be incomplete without comparison to other examples. The margin of the *waqfīyah* of Abū Zakarīyā Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Mūsá (chief surgeon of al-Bīmāristān al-Manṣūrī),[16] dated 871/1466 and 885/1480,[17] gives a detailed description which enables us to draw a plan of the *turbah* (fig. 3). It consists of 16 units: entrance, vestibule, *sabīl*, stable, court, side entrance, burial *maqsūrah*, mosque, residential quarters, lavatories, and a kitchen. This plan is very similar to that of Ibn Taghrībirdī's *turbah,* which has the same units albeit arranged differently and with minor variations.

The Organization of the *Turbah* and Its Expenses

Table 1 summarizes the staff appointed to the *turbah* and its expenses (revenue sums are seldom mentioned precisely in a *waqf* deed).[18] The staff consisted of the administrator *(nāẓir),* twenty persons doing various jobs, and ten young orphans below the age of puberty.[19]

The administrative functions were carried out by a staff consisting of the *nāẓir* to oversee the *waqf* properties and the *turbah,* and another person simultaneously acting as *shāhid* (witness) to observe and authenticate the foundation's transactions, and as a librarian to maintain the books and notes that the founder deposited at the *turbah.*[20]

The religious and educational functions were carried out by a *faqīh* (jurist) who taught the young orphans at the *kuttāb,* two Quran readers, and ten Sufis to carry out various tasks.

The service functions were carried out by a *bawwāb* or doorkeeper, a *mazamalātī* or *sabīl* keeper, and four *farrāsh/waqqād* or janitors for cleaning; the *waqqād* handled the lighting and illumination of the *turbah.*

A stipend was allocated for the education of ten young orphans. In addition the

[16]Died in Rajab 888/1483. For his biography see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 10:230; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Fatḥ Allāh and Abū Zakariyya: Physicians Under the Mamluks* (Cairo, 1987), 21–25.

[17]The *waqfīyah* deed is housed in the National Archives in Cairo (Dār al-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmīyah), under no. 152 Mamālīk; the margin is dated 11 Shaʿbān 872/1468.

[18]The founder endowed several pieces of real estate to finance the *turbah,* comprising a house in Ḥarat Burjwān in Cairo, a plot of land in Būlāq, a minor share in three plots of farmland in Gharbīyah province, and part of a village *iqṭāʿ* in the Manūfīyah province. See Ibrāhīm, "Waqfīyat Ibn Taghrī Birdī," 201.

[19]In a sense, the ten orphans were more beneficiaries of the *waqfīyah* than staff members. However, in the *waqfīyah* they are included with the staff since they received a stipend on the condition that they attended the lessons. They were permanent members of the *turbah* like all other staff, except that they were replaced by younger boys when they reached puberty.

[20]Though this is not explicitly mentioned in the *waqfīyah* it is mentioned by al-Sakhāwī. See al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 10:308.

founder allocated various sums of money to procure water and equipment for the *sabīl* and maintenance of the *turbah* in general.[21]

The total monthly salaries, according to table 1, came to 7,200 trade *dirham min al-fulūs al-judud*[22] or *fulūs* (plural of *fals,* made out of copper, not silver) per month, which is 86,400 dirhams per year. The founder also allocated 3,900 dirhams yearly for other expenses. The total outlay would have been 90,300 dirhams*,* which seems a large amount, especially if we consider that the average income of a prominent scholar in a religious foundation ranged between 500 to 1,000 dirhams per month.

We can compare this with other foundations of the period. The *waqfīyah* of the complex of Barsbāy, built almost thirty years earlier, as stated by Fernandes,[23] shows a total yearly expense for wages of 15,600 trade dirhams and 7,230 *dirham nuqrah* (silver and copper). According to al-Maqrīzī, one *dirham nuqrah* equaled 20 trade dirhams in 826/1423.[24] Thus the total wages would amount to 160,200 trade dirhams per year; in addition he allocated a bread stipend of 32,100 loaves and 10 *irdabb*s of wheat per year. Al-Maqrīzī also gives the price of three loaves of bread from this period as 1 trade dirham and an *irdabb* of wheat as 80 trade dirhams,[25] which made a total bread stipend of 18,700 trade dirhams per year and a total expense of 179,900 trade dirhams per year.

The expenses of the *turbah* of Ibn Taghrībirdī would have been a little more than half that of the complex of Barsbāy, which is a hefty sum if we consider that the latter was the largest complex in the area, had a teaching function, and was the royal foundation of one of the richest sultans of the Burji period. This is a telling indication of how grand Ibn Taghrībirdī's *turbah* must have been.

As another example, the staff of the complex of al-Ashraf Qāytbāy, which was

[21] The staff functions, stipend, qualifications, and the various expenditure outlays were described in lines 353 to 415 of the *waqfīyah* and shown in more detail in table 1. See also Ibrāhīm, "Waqfīyat Ibn Taghrī Birdī," 206–14.

[22] Meaning "new dirham" and sometime called trade dirham. According to Schultz "this term, the subject of modern disagreement, is best understood as the amount of copper coins necessary to equal the value of a *dirham*'s worth of silver." See Warren C. Schultz, "Mamluk Monetary History: A Review Essay," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 188. For more details on the use of copper coinage in Mamluk Egypt, see idem, "Mamluk Egyptian Copper Coinage Before 759/1357–1358: A Preliminary Inquiry," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5 (2001): 25–43.

[23] Leonor Fernandes, "Three Sufi Foundations in a 15th Century Waqfiyya," *Annales Islamologiques* 17 (1981): 153–55.

[24] Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk bi-Maʿrifat al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,* vols. 1–2, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1958); vols. 3–4, ed. Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1973), 4:634.

[25] Ibid.

built in the same period, as summarized by Popper,[26] numbered 38 excluding the students and the orphans of the *kuttāb*. Its total yearly stipend was approximately 253,200 dirhams. The stipend for the forty students was 240,000 dirhams per year, and the stipend for the twenty orphans was 24,000 per year. In addition the deed assigns a daily bread ration of 250 loaves, which would have cost around 65,000 dirhams per year, based on the average price of a loaf of bread in that period, which Adam Sabra has suggested was 0.71 dirhams.[27] Thus, the total annual salary expenses at the *turbah* of Qāytbāy would have been approximately 569,000 dirhams.

The complex of Qāytbāy had a madrasah which represents more than half of the expenses, while the *turbah* of Ibn Taghrībirdī had no students or teaching functions.[28] This means that the expenses of both foundations, apart from those related to teaching, were similar, taking into consideration the relative size of each. In addition the former is the royal foundation of the greatest sultan of the Burji period and his complex, which still stands today, is considered to be one of the jewels of Mamluk architecture.

Financial Status of Ibn Taghrībirdī

These facts, in addition to the large sums spent on building the *turbah* itself, leave no doubt that Ibn Taghrībirdī was a rich man, but the question remains: how did he accumulate such wealth? His father Taghrībirdī al-Atabakī[29] was a high-

[26] William Popper, *Egypt and Syria Under the Circassian Sultans, 1382–1458 A.D.: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrî Birdî's Chronicles of Egypt,* University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, vols. 15–16 (Berkeley, 1955–1957), 16:120–21.

[27] Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1517,* Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge, 2000), 126.

[28] I distinguish between two systems of education in the Mamluk period; one took place in the *kuttāb* and included basic proper conduct *(adab),* study of the Quran, reading, and handwriting. The teacher in this case was called *muʾaddib* (teacher of conduct) or *faqīh* (jurisprudent), and his assistant was called *ʿārif*. In charitable *kuttāb*s the students were invariably drawn from among the poor and pre-pubescent orphans. This was not considered a formal education, but a basic introduction to the tenets of Islam and to proper conduct. Formal education, on the other hand, was conducted in madrasahs by qualified teachers, normally called shaykhs. The students, called *ṭalabah,* were adults. The *turbah* of Ibn Taghrībirdī provided for a *kuttāb* but not for formal education or a student stipend.

[29] Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʿd al-Wāfī*, vols. 1–2 ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1984); vol. 3 ed. Nabīl Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (Cairo, 1989); vol. 4 ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1986); vol. 5 ed. Nabīl Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (Cairo, 1987); vol. 6 ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1990); vol. 7 ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1993); vol. 8 ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1999); vol. 9 ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 2002); vol. 10 ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 2003), 4:35.

ranking state official during the turbulent reign of al-Nāṣir Faraj. Taghrībirdī died in Damascus as viceroy of Syria in 815/1412 when his son Abū al-Maḥāsin was only three years old. Taghrībirdī left a large fortune which was confiscated by al-Nāṣir Faraj and squandered in his last military campaign against rebel amirs shortly before his murder. Nothing of this large fortune passed on to Ibn Taghrībirdī or his family and they were left with no money or estate (as he himself testifies).[30] But we know from the *waqfīyah* that he had a house in Ḥarat Burjwān in Cairo, a piece of land in Būlāq, a minor share in three plots of farmland in the Gharbīyah province, and part of a village *iqṭāʿ* in the Manūfīyah province.

As one of the *awlād al-nās* he received a monthly salary and a stipend of fodder, meat, and bread from the government. However, this could not have been much, and we must look for other sources of his wealth.

Unlike many other historians, Ibn Taghrībirdī never held any administrative or military office despite belonging to the *awlād al-nās* and possessing skills in martial arts, as he and his biographers claimed. Perhaps this was because his father died when he was very young. Ibn Taghrībirdī devoted all of his time to scholarly work as well as playing and writing music, yet he possessed a charming character, was generous and modest, and thus enjoyed wide social relations.[31]

His father was *rūmī*, meaning that he most likely came from Greece or the Balkans, and was not a Circassian like most of the Mamluk elite of the time. The background of his mother is unknown. He spoke fluent Turkish, was well acquainted with the manners of the elite, and moved freely within the ruling circle.

Ibn Taghrībirdī had a network of family ties to the sultans al-Ẓāhir Barqūq and his son al-Nāṣir Faraj and the ruling elite; the cousin of his father, Shīrīn al-Rūmīyah, was a wife of the former sultan and the mother of the latter.[32] His father also married a divorcee of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, who bore him a daughter called Shaqrah. His sister Fāṭimah was married to al-Nāṣir Faraj.[33] His other sister ʿĀʾishah, also known as Shaqrah, was first married to a senior amir, Aqbughā al-Tamrazī (d. 843/1439–40), who was viceroy of Syria, and then was married to

[30] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 10:306; see also the biography written by Ibn Taghrībirdī's friend and disciple Aḥmad Ibn Ḥusayn al-Turkmānī, in Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* vols. 1–12 (Cairo, 1929–56); vols. 13–14 ed. Fahīm Shaltūt (Cairo, 1970); vol. 15 ed. Ibrāhīm ʿAlī Tarkhān (Cairo, 1971); vol. 16 ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl and Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Cairo, 1972), 1:16.

[31] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 10:306; see also al-Turkmānī's biography in Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 1:16.

[32] Aḥmad Darrāj, "Nashʾat Abī Al-Maḥāsin wa-Atharuhā fī Kitābatihi lil-Tārīkh," in *Al-Muʾarrikh Ibn Taghrī Birdī,* 62.

[33] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 4:42.

Sīdī[34] Khalīl, son of al-Nāṣir Faraj.[35] One of his nieces, a daughter of Shaqrah, was married to Muḥammad, the favorite son of al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq, who was a candidate for the sultanate but for his untimely death in 847/1443–44.[36] The oldest sister of Ibn Taghrībirdī, Bayram, was married to Yashbik Ibn Azdamur al-Ẓāhirī (d. 817/1414–15) when he was the viceroy of Aleppo.[37]

Ibn Taghrībirdī's status and lineage allowed him access to sultans; he went hunting with al-Ashraf Barsbāy and accompanied him on his military campaign against Amid in Anatolia. He was close to the court of al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq, as he was a friend of his son Muḥammad, the husband of Ibn Taghrībirdī's niece, as we have seen earlier. He attended a scholarly council held by the sultan every Friday at the Citadel and was a close friend of al-Qāḍī Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bārizī, *kātib al-sirr al-sharīf* (royal confidential secretary).[38]

Though he was not close to al-Ashraf Īnāl and seldom visited the Citadel during his reign, Ibn Taghrībirdī was still well connected to him through his close relationship with Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm Kātib Jakam (d. 862/1458), who was *nāẓir al-jaysh wa-al-khāṣṣ* (superintendent of the army and the privy council). He again became close to the court of al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam and particularly close to the most powerful amir of the time, Jānibik, *nāʾib* Jiddah (d. 867/1462).[39]

Both al-Sakhāwī and al-Jawharī, his contemporary and rival historians, alleged that Ibn Taghrībirdī used his origins and contacts with some of the powerful amirs to attract financial favors, including real estate and money, from the state. In their accounts, they also allege that he received gifts and money from members of the elite to write favorably about them in his chronicles.[40] These accusations were strictly denied by Ibn Taghrībirdī and his disciples.[41]

We cannot, therefore, accept those claims at face value, since both historians were professional rivals of Ibn Taghrībirdī and were notoriously jealous of him. However, we also cannot discount the possibility that he used his connections,

[34] *Sīdī,* singular of *al-asyād,* meaning the masters, is the title normally used to designate sons of Mamluk sultans who do not succeed to the sultanic throne.

[35] Marrying of widows and divorcees was very common in Mamluk society.

[36] Darrāj, "Nashʾat Abī al-Maḥāsin," 63.

[37] Ibid., 64.

[38] Ibid., 70.

[39] Ibid., 70–71.

[40] In particular they alluded to his close relationship with al-Ṣāḥib Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Kātib Jakim (d. 862/1458) and Jānibik *nāʾib* Jiddah (d. 867/1462). See al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 10:306; ʿAlī ibn Dāwūd al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿAṣr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970), 179–81.

[41] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 1:16.

social status, and scholarly prestige to augment his wealth.[42] On the other hand we know that he inherited an *iqṭāʿ* that he shared with his brother Qāsim,[43] and it is likely that he may also have inherited reasonable sums of money from his sister who was married to a rich qadi,[44] as well as other family members whom he survived.[45]

FAMILY RELATIONS

Ibn Taghrībirdī, following the practice of most Mamluk historians, did not write his autobiography. What we possess of his biography focuses on his education and works, hardly touching on his personal life. Most of the details we know about his family are derived from the biography he wrote of his father.[46]

Ibn Taghrībirdī was the youngest of ten children, all born to different mothers, except for himself and his full sister. The boys were Qāsim (b. 798/1395–96, d.?), Ḥamzah (b. 800/1397–98, d. 848/1444–45), Ibrāhīm (b. 808/1405–6, d. 826/1422–23), Muḥammad (b. 800/1397–98, d. 819/1416–17) and Ismāʿīl (b. 810/1407–8, d. 833/1429–30). The sisters were Khawānd Fāṭimah, who was married to the sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj (b. 795/1392–93, d. 846/1442–43), Bayram (b. 807/1404–5, d. 826/1422–23), Hājir, who was his only full sister (b. 807/1404–5, d. 846/1442–43), and ʿĀʾishah, also called Shaqrah. She was married to Khalīl, al-Nāṣir Faraj's son, and her mother was a former wife of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq.[47] As a boy, Ibn Taghrībirdī lived with his only full sister, Hājir. She was married to the chief Shafiʿi judge, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bulqīnī (d. 824/1420–

[42]For more detailed discussions of the properties of Ibn Taghrībirdī and the web of his social relations, as well as his relations with the ruling elite and the sultan, see Darrāj, "Nashʾat Abī Al-Maḥāsin," 64–73.

[43]Al-Jawharī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 179.

[44]His sister Hājir was married to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bulqīnī, who came from a rich family. It is worth noting here that Ibn Taghrībirdī refers to his sister as *karīmatī,* a term used in modern Arabic to designate a daughter, not a sister. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 7:200.

[45]In addition to the primary and secondary sources quoted above there exists a large corpus of secondary sources dedicated to the study of Ibn Taghrībirdī's private and public life. See Aḥmad ʿIzzat ʿAbd al-Karīm, "Al-Muʾarrikh al-Miṣrī Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin ibn Taghrībirdī," in *Al-Muʾarrikh Ibn Taghrī Birdī,* 11–18; Maḥmūd Ismāʿīl ʿAbd al-Rāziq, "Manhaj al-Muʾarrikh Ibn Taghrībirdī fī Kitābihi al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah," in ibid., 107–22; Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr, "Makānat Ibn Taghrībirdī bayna Muʾarrikhī Miṣr fī al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ al-Hijrī," in ibid., 87–106; Aḥmad Darrāj, "La vie d'Abū'l-Maḥāsin Ibn Tagrī Birdī et son oeuvre," *Annales Islamologiques* 11 (1972): 163–81; William Popper, "Abū'l-Maḥāsin Djamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Taghrī Birdī," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 1:137–38; Gaston Wiet, "L'Historien Abul-Maḥāsin," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 12 (1930): 89–105.

[46]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 4:31–43.

[47]Ibid., 41–42.

21), who tutored young Yūsuf. This prominent judge played a major role in his upbringing and education as attested by the historian himself.[48] Such kindness evidently influenced the character of Ibn Taghrībirdī, for he remained grateful and attached to his family all his life, as we can see from the *waqfīyah*.

By the time he drew up the *waqfīyah* in Shaʿbān 870/1465 all his brothers and sisters had died except Khawānd ʿĀʾishah Shaqrah. No children or spouses were mentioned in the *waqfīyah* as beneficiaries of any of its resources, which leads us to believe that he had none. This is confirmed in line 336 of the *waqfīyah* where property he owned is assigned to his "possible future" children. The *waqfīyah* was written when Ibn Taghrībirdī was 58 years old and he died four years later on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 874/1470. Ibn Taghrībirdī stopped writing his chronicles in 872/1468 after becoming very sick, and remained bedridden for the last two years of his life. The last modification in the deed, executed only a few weeks before his death, favored a protégé of his and does not mention a wife or children. Thus, we can safely conclude that he died with no children or wife surviving him.

One of the important functions of the *waqf* system was to transmit income to family members by allocating revenues in excess of the *waqf* expenses. This surplus would normally go to the founder in his lifetime and to his descendants upon his death. Having no children of his own, Ibn Taghrībirdī divided the revenue surplus after his death into three equal portions; one third went to his only surviving sister, Khawānd ʿĀʾishah Shaqrah (he did not assign a burial place to her as she was married to Khalīl ibn al-Nāṣir Faraj and was thus entitled to a royal burial at the *khānqah* of Faraj ibn Barqūq). The second third went to his niece ʿĀʾishah, and the remaining amount was to be equally distributed among Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Maghribī and his brother Badr al-Dīn Barakāt together with the surviving freed slaves of Ibn Taghrībirdī.[49] Zayn al-Dīn may have been his favorite young servant. Al-Jawharī maliciously claims that Ibn Taghrībirdī allocated to him his entire *turbah* and most of its jobs and revenue at the expense of his sisters and heirs.[50] This is a naked lie and a libel aimed at tarnishing the reputation of Ibn Taghrībirdī by his rival, since the *waqfīyah* allocated to him only a minor share of the surplus of revenues and a modest job.

The succession to the top job in the *waqfīyah, nāẓir al-waqf,* also shows Ibn Taghrībirdī's commitment and attachment to his family; after his death it would be passed on to his niece ʿĀʾishah, then to her husband Qulmiṭāy (and their descendants), his sister Shaqrah, his other niece Zaynab bint Ḥamzah, or their descendants, and then to Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad and his brother. If they were all

[48] Ibid., 7:200.

[49] Dār al-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmīyah MS 147 Mamālīk, lines 425–41.

[50] Al-Jawharī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 182.

deceased, it would then be left to a high-ranking state official.[51]

Ibn Taghrībirdī was wealthy and lived a long life by Mamluk standards, where it was very unusual for someone of his social status and age to have no wife, concubine, or children. The only person from outside the family of the founder who was given a share in the surplus revenue of the *turbah,* and was included in the succession to the position of *al-nāẓir* and exempted from some restrictions, was the aforementioned Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad. Al-Jawharī believed that Ibn Taghrībirdī willed him all his property at the expense of his sisters and relatives in violation of the inheritance rules set by the shariʿah. He referred to Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad as "*fatāh,*" meaning the boy or valet of Ibn Taghrībirdī, a term that may carry sexual connotations in the language of the time. Can this be taken as an indication of the sexual preference of Ibn Taghrībirdī in view of his unusual celibacy? Given the current state of our knowledge such a possibility is sheer conjecture; however, it is an interesting dimension that has never been addressed before.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the *waqfīyah* of Ibn Taghrībirdī is useful for investigating several architectural, economic, and social issues. It enables us to reconstruct an accurate layout of the *turbah,* its units, and functions, which suggests the development of the *turbah* from a simple mausoleum into a large complex during the Mamluk period. The analysis of the *turbah*'s financial outlay is a viable indicator of the wage levels at that time, and the financial and social status of the founder and of the *turbah* inhabitants. This study has also shed light on some personal aspects of Ibn Taghrībirdī's life, such as his family relations, his affiliations, and his generous and grateful disposition, and has shown the fallacy of some claims by his envious critics. Such issues are hardly dealt with in the more formal and politically-oriented contemporary biographies.

In conclusion, historiographers are mainly concerned with studying the method, concepts, and literary structure used by medieval historians and schools of historical thought. Such understanding is not possible without an analysis of the interplay between a historian's life, career, and the cultural currents that shaped his literary works.[52] Understanding the life of Ibn Taghrībirdī and his social and economic background is therefore essential for an accurate interpretation of his historical works and their proper context. The conclusions reached here and in similar studies can contribute to this contextualization and an independent interpretation of his historical works.

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[51] Dār al-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmīyah MS 147 Mamālīk, lines 478–92.

[52] R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry* (Cairo, 1992), 133–35.

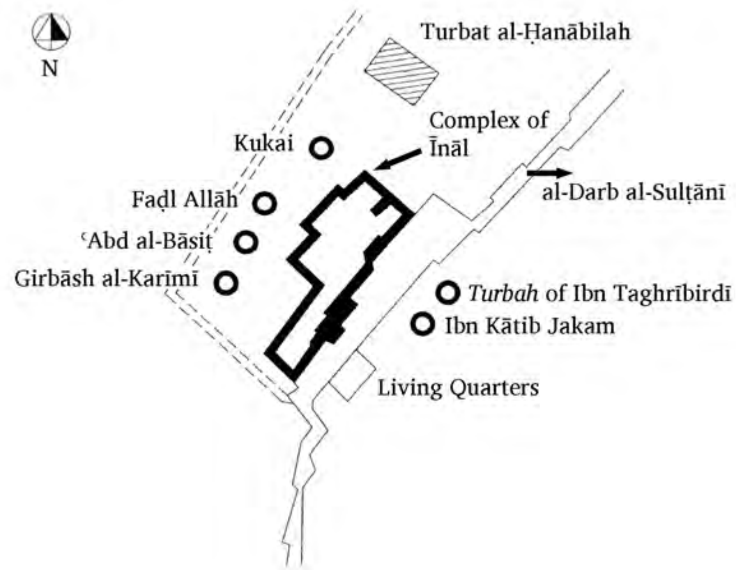


Fig. 1. Location of the *turbah* of Ibn Taghrībirdī and its surroundings

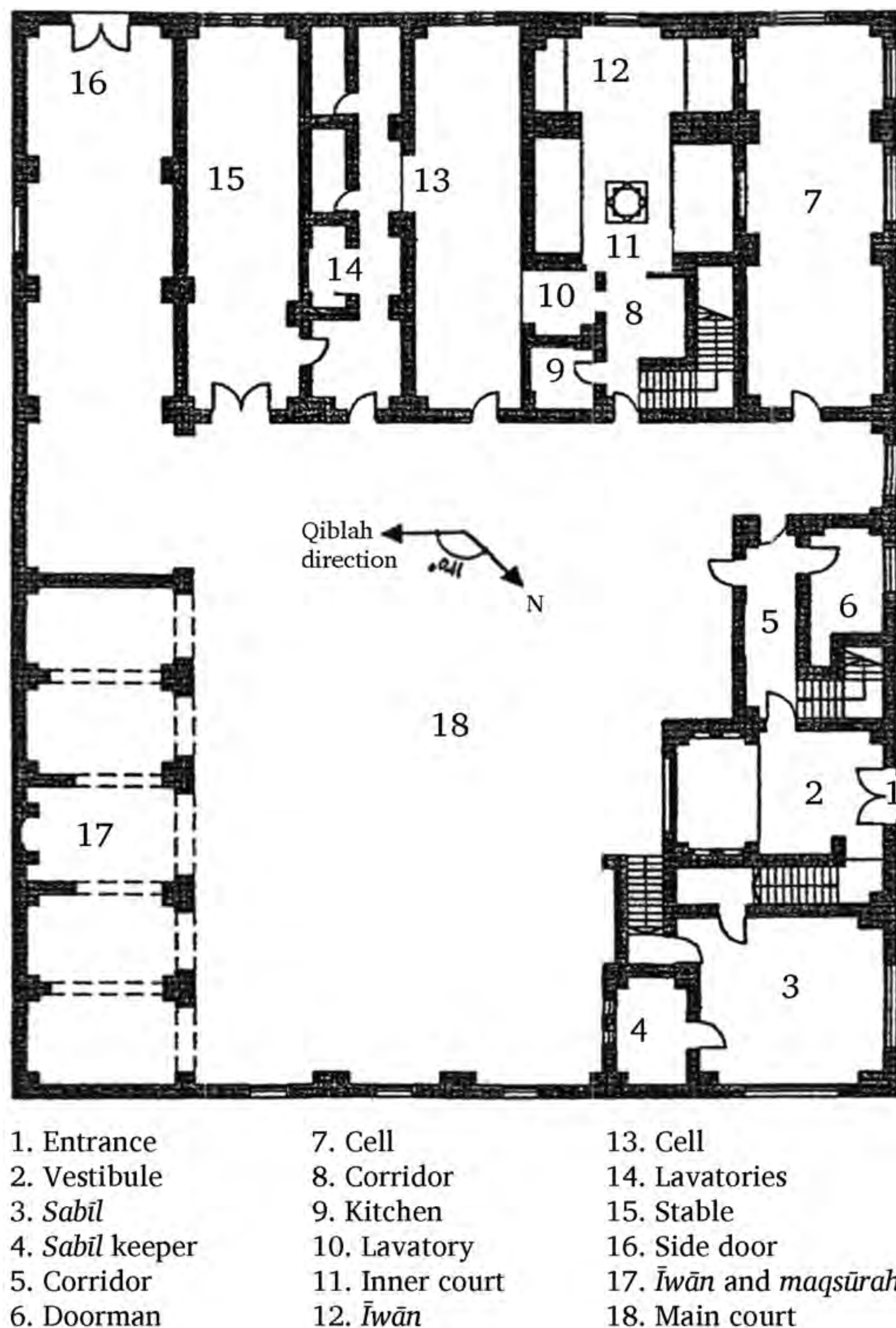


Fig. 2. Plan of the *turbah* of Ibn Taghrībirdī

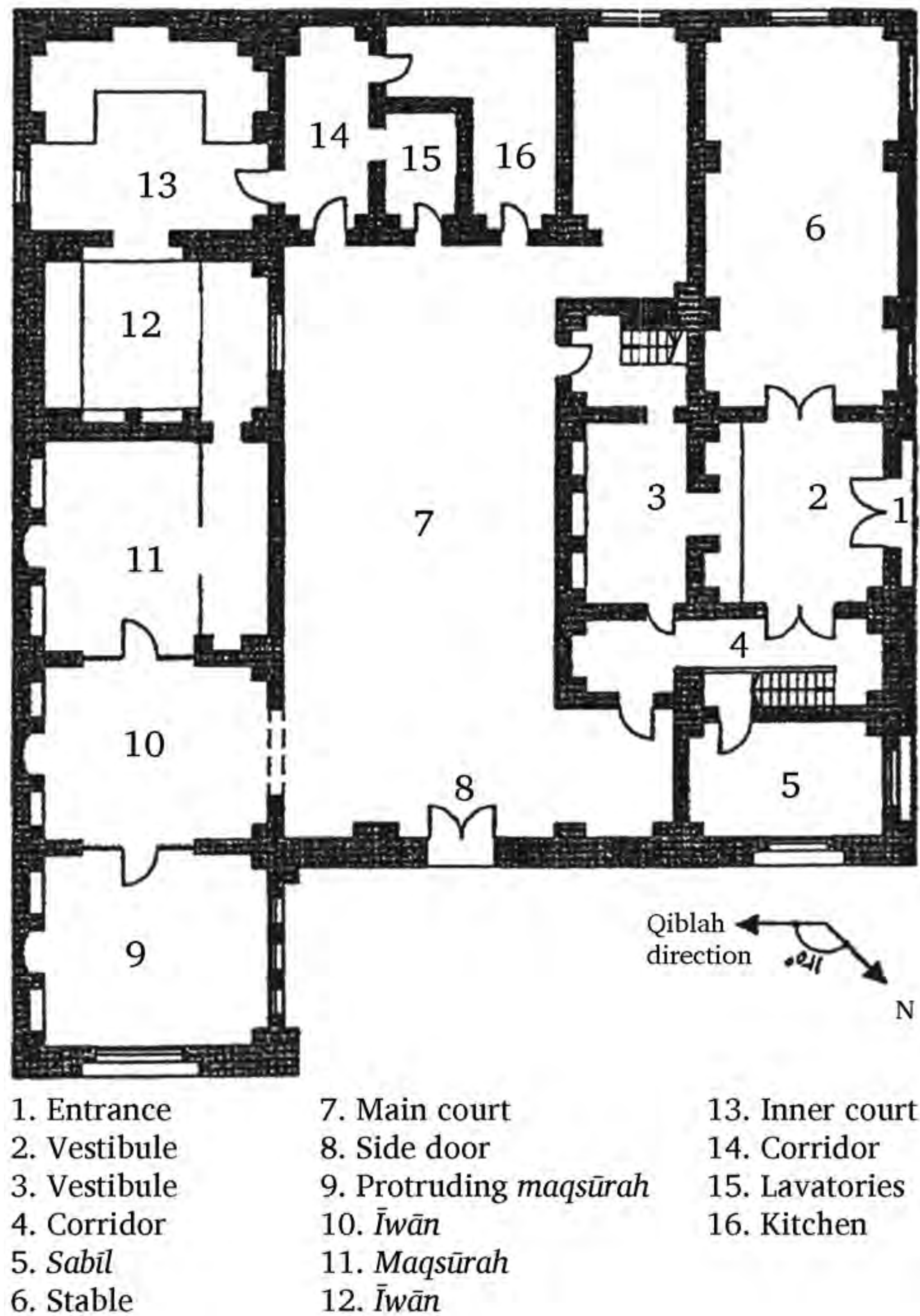


Fig. 3. Plan of the *turbah* of Abū Zakarīyā Ibn ʿAbd Allāh Mūsá

Table 1. The *turbah* organization and expenditure outlay as defined by the *waqfīyah* of Abū al-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī

	Job title	Number	Monthly salary*	Duties and qualifications	Reference (line #)
				Assignments and activities	
1	*Bawwāb* (doorman)	1	400	Duties: To reside at the *turbah* and leave it only in case of necessity.	353–59, 469–71
				Assignments and activities: To guard the *turbah,* open and close its doors, keep its keys, and remove intrusions on the façade along the sultanic highway.	
2	*Mazamalātī* (*sabīl* keeper)	1	300	Duties: To reside at the *turbah.*	357–63, 467
				Assignments and activities: To wash, clean, and fumigate the cistern every year. To fill up the *sabīl*'s water-dispensing mechanism. To tend the *sabīl*'s window every morning. To keep the tools of the *sabīl.* To clean and sweep the *sabīl.* To clean, fumigate, and hang the *sabīl* jugs after filling them with water for the benefit of the passers-by.	
3	*Farrāsh* (janitor) and *waqqād* (candle lighter)	4	500	Duties: To reside at the *turbah.*	370–77, 467
				Assignments and activities: To sweep the *turbah* and clean its floor mats. To pick up the wilted flowers from the graves and throw them outside the *turbah.* To light candles. To wash and clean the lanterns and to light and extinguish them.	
4	Students	10	150	Qualifications: Young orphans and children of the poor and needy to be selected by the *nāẓir.*	378–84
				Assignments and activities: To recite the glorious Quran and dedicate the accrued blessing to the founder, his siblings, parents, and Muslim residents of the *turbah.* The recitation is to be concluded daily by supplications to the Prophet except on Tuesdays, Fridays, feasts, and anniversaries.	

*In trade dirhams per person.

5	*Faqīh* (jurist)	1	300	Duties: To teach the students every day, except on Tuesdays, Fridays, feasts, and anniversaries.	385–86, 471
				Assignments and activities: To discipline the students and teach them reading and writing, as well as recitation of the glorious Quran daily, except on Tuesdays, Fridays, feasts, and anniversaries.	
6	Quran readers	2	150	Duties: To memorize the Quran and never interrupt reading unless sick, traveling on pilgrimage, or other legal excuse.	387–91, 472–74
				Assignments and activities: To recite collectively half of a *ḥizb* of the Quran after the morning prayer at the founder's grave and dedicate the blessing of the recitation to the Prophet, then to the founder, his siblings, parents, and Muslim residents of the *turbah.* The recitation is to be concluded by praying for the Prophet.	
7	*Shāhid* (notary) and *khāzin al-kutub* (librarian)	1	200 for each	Qualifications: Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Maghribī is assigned to this job, then his brother al-Saʿīd Rukn al-Dīn Abū al-Barakāt, then any of their sons, or someone to act for them if they are not of legal age or competent.	392–404
				Assignments and activities: No special tasks are mentioned, but from the designation we can conclude that the job of the notary is to authenticate all the financial and legal transactions of the foundation. The librarian's task is to look after the books and compilations of the founder.	

8	*Nāẓir* (super-intendent)	1	500	Qualifications: The founder himself, then his siblings by order of age, then his niece ʿĀʾishah, wife of Qulmiṭāy, then their siblings by order of age, then Qulmiṭāy himself, then ʿĀʾishah Shaqrah, sister of the founder, then his niece Zaynab, then al-Zaynī Muḥammad and his brother Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū al-Barakāt, then any of their siblings afterwards, then al-Dawādār al-Thānī in Egypt, then the *kātib al-sirr* (confidential secretary), then the sultan or whom he deputizes.	412–22, 476–90
				Assignments and activities: To utilize the foundation in legitimate activities. To disburse the revenue to the beneficiaries holding jobs at the foundation and according to the other expenditure outlay as specified in the *waqfīyah* deed. To distribute the revenue surplus as specified in the *waqfīyah* deed. In general, he is charged with the administration of the *turbah* and its workforce.	
9	Sufis	10	150	Qualifications: People of charitable and religious qualities who come to the *turbah* daily after sunrise.	438–47
				Assignments and activities: To recite ten parts of the glorious Quran. One of the Sufis is singled out as their shaykh, and he puts his Quran in front of him on a special *kursī* (stand) presented to him by the *khādim al-muṣḥaf* (servant of the Quran), who is also one of the ten Sufis. Two of them conclude the recitation by reading *Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ* (*sūrah* 112), *Al-Fātiḥah* (opening *sūrah* of the Quran), and supplications, all to be dedicated to the Prophet, his siblings, his household, and his companions, as well as to the founder, his siblings, the *turbah* residents dead and living, *the nāẓir,* and all Muslims. One of the Sufis is to be *mādiḥ* (panegyrist) of the qualities of the Prophet.	

*In trade dirhams per person.

Expense	**Monthly outlay***	**Explanation**	**Reference (line #)**
Fresh water	300 yearly	Clean fresh water totaling 300 *rāwiyahs* (water bags) in addition to the 200 *rāwiyahs* from the *waqf* foundation of ʿĀʾishah, wife of Qulmiṭāy. To fill up the cistern after its being washed, cleaned, and fumigated.	364–69
Miscellaneous	100	For the tools of the *sabīl* and the requirements of the southern *īwān,* such as floor mats, tools, glass, and drinking jugs.	405–6
Maintenance works	200	To repair fallen parts of the *turbah* or its *waqf* property, and to maintain its buildings. The surplus from this expense item is to be used for procuring real estate by the *nāẓir* to be added to the *turbah* property.	407–11
Surplus		The surplus of the revenues will go to the founder during his lifetime. If he dies without siblings, it will be divided into three equal parts. One third goes to ʿĀʾishah Shaqrah, sister of the founder; the second third goes to his niece ʿĀʾishah, wife of Qulmiṭāy during their lifetime; the last third is divided equally among the brothers Zayn al-Dīn and Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Abū al-Barakāt and the living freed slaves of the founder (but the two brothers get a double share). The share of each of the above will go to their siblings at their deaths. If all of the above expire, the surplus goes to the ten Sufis.	422–36

Text of the Waqfīyah of Ibn Taghrībirdī

The *waqfīyah* is kept at the National Archives in Cairo under no. 147 and dated 14 Sha'bān 870/1465 recto and verso.[53] It is a paper roll 33 cm wide and 17.20 m long, written in black ink in clear handwriting, and remains generally in good condition except for some disintegration in the left margin.

The following is a transcription[54] of the microfilm copy of the *waqfīyah*. The notarization sections with the standard legal formulae of attestation and certification by the chief judges in the recto and verso or margins of the *waqfīyah* have been omitted. Those notarization sections in many cases are either damaged or illegible and are not relevant to the context of this article.

The recto of the *waqfīyah* consists of 25 pages, of which pages 1 to 13 and 18 to 24 are notarization sections. The verso of the *waqfīyah* comprises the most important part, with brief notarization sections in the margins that are also omitted.

Recto:

اشهد على نفسه الكريمه المقر الكريم العال المولوي الآمري الكهفي السيدي السندي الإمامي العالمي الفريدي البليغي السليلي العريقي المربى الوحدى الفريدي البليغي المفوهي النهري الغوثي الحافظي الجمالي نسيب الملوك والسلاطين عمدة النقلة والمحدثين محب العلما والصالحين أوحد العلما فى العالمين أبو المحاسن يوسف بن مولانا المقر الأشرف الكريم العال المولوي الآمري الكريمي الأتابكي السيفي تغري بردي بن عبد الله من يشبغا كافل المملكتين الشاميه والحلبيه والده كان يغمده الله تعالى بالرحمة والرضوان وأسبغ ظلاله المقر المشار له أعلاه وأحسن إليه وأسبغ نعمه عليه وهو الواقف المشار باطنه شهوده اشهاداً ان وقف وحبس وأبد وتصدق بجميع الحصة الآتى ذكرها فيه فهى حصة كاملة من أصل ثمان حصص شائعا ذلك فى أراضى ناحية الحداد بالغربية وما هو معروف بها ومنسوب إليها ويحيط بكامل هذه الناحية ويحصرها حدود أربعة الحد القبلي ينتهي إلى أراضى ناحية برما والحد البحري ينتهي إلى أراضي ناحية [ترنشوان] والحد الشرقى ينتهى إلى ناحية شفا وقرون والحد الغربى ينتهى إلى أرض ناحية النحراربة يحد ذلك [؟] وحقوق وما يعرف به وينسب له من المعالم والرسوم والمنافع والحقوق خلا ما يستثنى شرعاً المعلوم [فيه] عند مولانا المقر الواقف المشار له اعلاه أدام الله تعالى علاه العلمي الشرعي النافي للجهاله ذلك بيد المقر الكريم العالي المولوي الجمالي الواقف المشار إليه باعلاه أدام الله تعالى معاليه وملكه وتصرفه وحيازته واختصاصه بذلك من جملة ما هو جار في ملكه بالتبايع الشرعي من بيت المال المعمور بمقتضى المكتوب الشرعي الورق الحموي المؤرخ بالتاس[ع] عشر من جمادى الآخر سنة تاريخه الثابت المحكوم به فى الشرع الشريف في مجلس الحكم القضائي الحاكمي العالمي الشيخي الأمامي الشمسي شرف العلما أوحد مفتي المسلمين أبي عبدالله محمد السنهوري الشافعي خليفة الحكم العزيز بالديار المصرية أعزه الله تعالى وأحسن إليه بدلالة إسجاله الكريم المسطر بظاهر المكتوب المذكور المؤرخ بخطه الكريم سادس عشرين من جمادى الآخرة سنه تاريخه اعلاه من سنه [كذا] تاريخه وخصم بمقتضى ذلك الخصم الشرعي

[53]The document we now have is a transcription of the original deed, but it is considered a legal document since it was authenticated by a notary and confirmed by witnesses. See n. 2 above.

[54]Transcription in general follows the orthography of the original except in a few cases. Words that are incomplete, illegible, or damaged are put between brackets.

بموافقة تاريخه وشهوده وقفاً صحيحاً شرعاً وحبساً صريحاً مرعياً لا يباع ولا يوهب ولا يورث ولا يملك و لايناقل به ولا ببعضه قائماً على أصوله محفوظا على شروطه التى تذكر فيه أنشأ الواقف المشار له أعلاه أدام الله عزه وعلاه وقفه هذا على ما يأتى ذكره مفصلا وشرحه مبيناً على أن الناظر على هذا الوقف والمتولى عليه يستغل الحصه الموقوفه أعلاه بأنواع الاستغلال الشرعي ويبدأ من ريع ذلك بإصلاح أراضيها وجسورها وما يعود نفعه على الحصة الموقوفة أعلاه والفاضل من ذلك يضيفه الناظر الشرعي على الوقف المذكور فيه على ريع الموقوف [؟] ويصرف ذلك على حكم المصارف المعينة باطنه فى مصالح التربه الموقوفه باطنه وأرباب الجوامك والوظائف وعلى الصهريج والأيتام والقراء والكسوة وثمن الخبز والعتقا وأولاد طرف الزيني زين الدين محمد وأخيه أبي البركات ومن ذكر إسمه باطنه وما عينه للصوفيه وشيخهم على الحكم المقر باطنه والشرط والترتيب المقر باطنه من مصارف ذلك لمن عن له الصرف المقر باطنه من الفقراء والمساكين على النص المبين باطنه يجرى الحال فى الله كذلك أبد الآبدين ودهر الداهرين حتى يرث الله جلا جلاله وتعددت أسماؤه الأرض ومن عليها وهو خير الوارثين وشرط مولانا المقر الجمالي الواقف المشار له المذكور وقّاه الله كل محذور فى وقفه هذا نظير المشروط المعينه باطنه على النص المعين باطنه من اشتراط النظر وغيره وأن يزيد فى وقفه هذا ما يرى زيادته وتغيير منه ما يرى تغبيره وينقص منه ما يشاء ويدخل فيه من يشاء ويخرج منه من أراد ويشترط من الشروط المخالفة لذلك ما يرى إشتراطه ويرجع فيه بما أحب يفعل ذلك كلما بدا له لا يتقيد ذلك بوقت ولا أوان ولا حين ولا زمان وأصل الوقف باق على حكمه وليس لأحد من بعده فعل غيره شيء من ذلك فقد تم هذا الوقف ولزم ونفذ حكمه وأنبرم وصار ذلك وقفاً شرعاً وحبسا مرعيا محرما محرمات الله الأكيده مدفوعاً عنه بقوة الله الشديدة فمن بدّله بعد ما سمعه فإنما إثمه على الذين يبدلونه ان الله سميع عليم ورفع مولانا وسيدنا الواقف المسمى أعلاه أدام الله علاه عن الحصة الموقومه يد ملكه وحيازته ووضع على [؟] ولايته وأشهد على نفسه الكريمة بالله وهو بحال الصحة والسلامه وبالتوكيل فى ثبوت ذلك وطلب الحكم به وسؤاله اشهاد وابدا الدافع وتقيه توكيلا بما في ذلك فى اليوم المبارك الثامن والعشرين من جمادى الآخر المبارك سنه احدى وسبعين وثمانمائه [وما لو يعملو كل] [ظهر الحجة–أول أحد واربعون سطراً غير مقروءة]

Verso: (first 41 lines are illegible)

وصار ما نبه على إيقافه أعلاه وقفاً على ما يأتي ذكره فيه ومن ذلك جميع ما أنشأه وعمره و من ما وصلت حاله إلى أن صار على الصفة الآتي ذكرها وما هو جميع المكان الكائن ظاهر القاهرة المحروسة خارج باب النصر بالصحرا بالقرب من تربة الجمالي ناظر الجيوش المنصورة والخواص الشريفة كان تغمده الله تعالى برحمته [على الدرب] السلطاني طالبا تربه مولانا السلطان الإمام الأعظم المالك الملك الظاهر أبي سعيد [خشقدم] خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه وتربة المرحوم الشيخ كهنفوش وغير ذلك [. . .] بدلالة المشاهدة على واجهات أربع مبنيات بالحجر الفص النحيت أحدها بالحد البحري وهي التي على ممر السالك بها [باب] مربع يصار إليه من سلم درج قصير وبسطه بها [مستطبتان] يمنه ويسره فيما بينهما الباب المذكور يعلو المسطبتان مكتوب طراز [. . .] . . . [ق] بالذهب والأزورد ويعلو الباب المذكور واجهه مصوقه بطراز [. . .] معقود واجهه الباب بالحجر النحيت الملون المنعم به عقد حجر مقرنص بطراز [. . .] وبالواجهه المذكورة شباك حديد معد للسبيل الآتي وصفه فيه يغلق على الباب المذكور فردة باب خشباً مصفح بالجميز والمسمار المفلس يدخل من الباب المذكور [إلى]

دركاة متسعة بصدرها مصطبة خلوة علو مفروش أرضها و أرض الدركاة [بالحجر] الكدان بالمسطبه المذكورة كتبيات أربعه يمنة ويسرة وبصدرها طاق [. . .] خشبا مطلة على الحوش الآتي ذكره فيه يغلق عليها فرده باب خشب وبالدركاة المذكورة [بابان] احدهما يصار اليه من درج يدخل منه الي السبيل المعد لتسبيل الماء علو الصهريج المبني في تخوم الأرض المعد لخزن الماء الحلو برسم تسبيله الذي أنشأه الواقف المشار اليه أعلاه مع التربة المذكورة يشمل السبيل المذكور على شباكين احدهما بالواجهة المقدم ذكرها والثانيه بالحد الشرقي كل من الشباكين معد لتسبيل الماء على المار من الجهتين المذكورتين في الأوقات الآتي ذكرها فيه على كل منهما فرده باب خشب معقود علو السبيل المذكور بالحجر الفص النحيت قبه مفروش أرضه بالرخام الملون وبأرضه خرزه رخاماً مركبه على فوة الصهريج المقدم ذكره ويصدر السبيل المذكور في الحد القبلي بابان على كل منهما فردة [. . .] ينزل من أحدهما بدرج إلى فضا التربة الآتي وصفها فيه والثاني يدخل منه إلى خلوة كبيره علو خلوه من حقوق الحوش الآتي ذكره فيه أعدها الواقف المشار فيه لمن يكون مزملاتيا بالسبيل المذكور لخزن آله التسبيل على العادة والباب الثاني في [الدركاة] المذكورة على يمنة الداخل منه دهليز مستطيل متسع الفنا معقود بالحجر على يمنه الداخل باب معقود لطيف يدخل منه الى سلم يصعد من عليه الى علو السبيل المقدم ذكره أعلاه وهو مكتب برسم تعليم الصبيان القرآن العظيم ذو وجهتين أحدهما بطاقات والثاني بدرابزين ويتوصل من السلم المذكور إلى حقوق وطباق ينتفع بها وبالدهليز المذكور باب لطيف معقود يدخل منه إلى خلوة متسعة برسم سكن بواب التربة المذكورة وخزن التي بأقصي الدهليز المذكور درجان ينزل منهما للحوش الكبير وهو فضا التربة [. . .] أعدها الواقف لموارات الأموات على ما يأتي بيانه فيه ويجاور آخر الدهليز المذكور من داخل الحوش المذكور على يمينه باب معقود لطيف يدخل منه الى خلوة كبيرة متسعة يعلوها منافع وطباق وغير ذلك و بفضا التربة في الحد الغربي أربعة أبواب أحدهما مربع عليه فردة باب يدخل منه إلى دهليز وسلم يأتي ذكره يتوصل من الدهليز المذكور إلى قاعة ذات إيوان ودور قاعه مسقفة دمساً و ذات السدلات والخرا[ستانات] والمنافع والحقوق وبالدهليز المذكور مطبخ ومستراح ويصعد من السلم الى رواق علو القاعة المذكورة وهو علو الواجهه البحريه بشابيك وطاقات ومنافع وحقوق والباب الثاني يدخل منه الى خلوه في [. . .] يعلوها طبقه لطيفه يتوصل إليها من السلم المقدم ذكره والثالث يدخل منه إلى دهليز به ثلاث مراحيض برسم الراحة وبه باب سر لطيف على يسرة الداخل للإسطبل الآتي ذكره فيه والرابع يخرج منه إلى إسطبل معد لربط الخيل وبه طوالة مسقف الإسطبل المذكور غشما يعلو الإسطبل المذكور طباق متجاورة لم تكمل عمارتها يكملها الواقف المذكور وقاه الله كل محذور وبالواجهة الغربية من الطريق باب يخرج منه إلى فضاء الطريق المعد وهو لدخول الأموات ويقابل الواجهة المقدم ذكرها وهي البحرية إيوان كبير في الحد القبلي مبني بالحجر الفص النحيت مفروش أرضه [بالبلاط] الكدان به أربع فساقي مبنية معقودة بالحجر الفص النحيت لكونها منزل معده الفساقي المذكورة لدفن الأموات على الحكم الآتي بيانه فيه بصدر الإيوان المذكور قبلة للصلاة معقود الإيوان المذكور بالطوب الآجر على خمس قناطر معقودة بالحجر الفص النحيت محمولة على أربع دعايم مبنية بالحجر الفص النحيت يعلو واجهه الإيوان من داخل الحوش المذكور شراريف حجر من ابتداء الحد الشرقي إلى الحد الغربي ويعلو واجهة الحد الشرقي حجر مهرم وذات الدعايم و [الحقوق] ويحيط بذلك حدود أربعه الحد القبلي ينتهي إلى الصحرا وقبة النصر والحد البحري ينتهي الى الطريق الدرب السلطاني و فيه الباب والشبابيك والحد

الشرقي ينتهي إلى الطريق بعضه وبعضه الى قبة النصر والحد الغربي ينتهي إلى طريق فاصله بين هذا المكان وبين تربه تعرف بزاوية الملك الأشرف إينال و فيه الباب ومن ذلك ما هو جار بيده وفي وقفه السابق على تاريخه الموعود بذكره أعلاه يشهد [؟] المكتوب الرق المخيط المؤرخ بيوم الأربعاء الثامن من جمادى الأولى عام ثمانية وستين وثمانمائة ثابت محكوم بموجبه وبصحة الوقف ولزومه لدى سيدنا العبد الفقير إلى الله تعالى الشيخ الإمام العالم العلامه نور الدين شرف العلما أوحد الفضلا مفتي المسلمين ولي أمير المؤمنين أبو الحسن علي الصوفي الحنفي خليفة الحكم العزيز بالديار المصرية أيد الله تعالى أحكامه وأحسنه بدلالة إسجاله الكريم المسطر بظاهر المكتوب المذكور بخطه الكريم بالرابع عشر من جمادى الأولى الشهر المذكور من السنة منفذ على السادة الموالى قضاه القضاه و[مشايخ] الإسلام ذوي المذاهب الأربع بدلالة إسجالاتهم لظاهر المكتوب المذكور وهو جميع المكان الكامل أرضا وبنا الآتى ذكر ذلك ووصفه وتحديده فيه خلا ربع الأرض الحامله له وذلك كما دل عليه كتاب أصله المعبر عنه فى كتاب بجميع الدار الكائن ذلك بخط رأس حارة أمير جوان بالقاهرة المحروسة بالقرب من حمام الرومى بجوار المسجد المعمور بذكر الله تعالى المعروف بمسجد الكويك ومعروف هذا المكان المذكور فيه قديماً بسيدنا الشيخ الامام العالم العلامة المرحوم زين الدين شيخ الاسلام والمسلمين أبى المناقب ابى بكر [القمني] الخزرجي الشافعي تغمده الله برحمته وأسكنه فسيح جنته ثم عرف بغيره ثم عرف بالواقف المشار له ادام الله نعمته عليه يشهد للواقف المذكور بإبتياع ذلك مكتوب التبايع الرق واصول لذلك المؤرخ باطنه مكتوب التبايع المذكور بالتاسع عشر من جمادى الآخر المبارك عام خمس وستين وثمانمائة ثابت ذلك فى الشرع الشريف محكوم فيه بالموجب بعد استيفاء الشرائط الشرعية والعلم بالحلاف فى ذلك من مجلس الحكم العزيز القضائي الشيخي الإمامي العالمي الجلالي أبي الفضل عبد الرحمن [ذي] الأمانة الأنصاري الشافعي خليفة الحكم العزيز بالديار المصرية وما أضيف إلى ذلك أيد الله تعالى أحكامه وأحسن له بدلالة إسجاله المسطر بظاهر المكتوب المذكور المؤرخ بخطه الكريم بيوم السبت الرابع عشر من شهر رجب الفرد من السنه المذكوره منفذ ذلك على مستنيبيه سيدنا ومولانا قاضى القضاة وشيخ الإسلام حافظ العصر عمدة المسلمين العلمي الكناني البلقيني الشافعي الناظر فى الاحكام الشرعية بالديار المصرية كان تغمده الله تعالى بالرحمة والرضوان وأسكنه فسيح الجنان بدلالة إسجاله المكتوب بظاهر المكتوب المذكور المؤرخ بخطه الكريم [يوم] الأحد الخامس عشر من شهر رجب الفرد المذكور الشهر المذكور من السنة المذكوره وخصم كل من ذلك الخصم الشرعى بموافقة تاريخه وشهوده مع أصوله السبعه وصفه ذلك على ما دل عليه كتاب أصله الرق وما استجد فيه مما جدده الواقف المشار له قديما قبل إيقافه وشمله الوقف وما جدده وأضافه الآن ووقفه فى تاريخه ودل على ذلك المشاهده انه يشتمل على واجهه مبنية بالحجر الفص النحيت بها باب مربع عليه فردة باب به خوخه بعتبه سفلى حجرا وعلوي حجر كدانا يعلوها روشن عليه حمل الغير يدخل من الباب المذكور فيه إلى دهليز مستطيل به باب مربع على يسر من دخل يغلق عليه زوجا باب يدخل منه إلى سلم به فسحه بجانبها سلم يتوصل منه إلى باب عليه فرده يدخل منه الى فسحه ثانية صغيرة بها قصبة قناة [يتوصل] منه الى باب بغير باب عليه يتوصل منه الى باب عليه زوج ابواب يدخل منه الى رواق يشتمل على إيوان ودورقاعة به طاقة مطله على الدهليز المذكور فيه يجاورها خزانه عليها زوج أبواب بها طاقه مطله على الدهليز المذكور ويجاور الرواق المذكور باب يغلق عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الى مطبخ صغير يعلوه طبقة صغيرة وبجانب ذلك رواق علو الدركاه المستجده مطل على الدهليز المبدو بذكره فيه يشتمل الرواق المذكور على إيوان ودورقاعة وخزانه نومية وسدله وخرستانات وباب بدورالقاعة المذكوره يتوصل منه الى السطح العالى على ذلك وهذا الرواق [؟] بذكره كان يصعد إليه من سلم من

داخل الحوش الصغير الكشف الذى هدمه الواقف واستجد للرواق المذكور باب من الدهليزالذي بالرواق المبدى بذكره وذات الاسطحه والمنافع والحقوق ثم يتوصل من بعض الدهليز المبدى بذكره إلى باب مستجد على يسر الداخل يأتى ذكره فيه يجاوره دركاه يعلوها قبواً حجراً مبنى ذلك بالطوب الأحمر وبها بابان أحدهما يغلق عليه زوجا باب يدخل منه الى دركاه صغيره بصدرها مسطبه يجاورها باب مقنطر عليه فرده باب يدخل منه إلى دهليز يتوصل منه إلى بيت ازيار ثم يتوصل من بعض الدهليز المذكور الى مطبخ صغير به حمام صغير وبالمطبخ المذكور مرحاض ونصبة كوانين وبالوعه بصدره من الناحية البحرية باب عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الى حوش كشف [؟] معين وسلم يصعد من عليه الى طبقة صغيرة يتوصل منها الى سطح وبالحوش المذكور فيه باب عليه فردة باب يدخل منه الى مخزن وسفله باب سر مقنطر صغير عليه فرده باب يتوصل منه الى قاعة حرمية والى مسجد هناك يجاور دهليز القاعة الصغرى المذكورة ثم يتوصل من بقية الدهليز المذكور الى باب عليه زوج ابواب يدخل منه الى قاعة ذات إيوانين ودور قاعة وبالإيوان الكبير ثلاث سدلاه إحداها يعلوها باذهنج وباحدى السدلاه باب عليه فرده باب يدخل منه إلى خزانه لطيفه يقابلها خرستانان وتجاه ذلك السدله الثالثة بها بابان احدهما خرستان والثانى خزانه عليها فرده باب يدخل من ذلك الى دهليز به كرسى مرحاض يجاوره سلم يتوصل منه الى إيوان القاعه المذكورة وبدورالقاعة المذكورة أربعة أبواب أحدهما باب الدخول والثاني به سلم يتوصل منه الى السطح العالي على ذلك والثالث به سلم إستجد به الواقف المشار له فيه باب سر للمقعد المربع المستجد الآتى ذكره فيه والباب الرابع يخرج منه الى الدور الآتى ذكره فيه وبه كرسي مرحاض برسم القاعة المذكورة وبالإيوان الصغير سدله صدرها خرستانان مجاور بها صفتان والباب الثانى بعتبة حجر صوان يعلوها حجر ما يغلق عليه زوج أبواب يدخل منه الى دهليز مستطيل يتوصل منه الى باب يدخل منه الى القاعة الحرمية الموعود بذكرها تشتمل على إيوانين متقابلين فيما بينهما دور قاعة بإيوانها الكبير خزانه نومية وخرستان وبدور القاعة المذكورة أربعه ابواب احدها باب الدخول والثانى والثالث خرستانات والباب الرابع يدخل منه الى كرسي مرحاض يتوصل منه الى سلم بجواره طبقه ثم يتوصل من السلم المذكور فيه إلى سلم آخر [؟] من عليه الى السطح العالي أعلى ذلك وتجاه باب الدخول باب يتوصل منه الى باب السر المقدم ذكره اعلاه المتوصل منه الى الحوش والقاعة المذكوره يجاوره دهليز مستطيل يتوصل منه الى المسجد المذكور أعلاه وبه محراب بصدره واما الباب المستجد الانشا الموعود بذكره أعلاه فهو باب مقنطر عليه فردة باب يعلوه شباك يدخل منه الى دركاه بها خزانة برسم البواب وبصدر الدركاه مسطبه كبرى يعلوها شباك مسقفه نقيا يتوصل منها إلى باب ثان يتوصل منه الى قبو به شباك خشب ثم يتوصل من ذلك الى الدوار الكشف الموعود بذكره كان به على يسره من دخل باب مقنطر يدخل منه الى حوش كشف صغير كان به السلم المتوصل منه الى الرواق الثانى الموصوف اعلاه وكان يجاور الباب المذكور باب يدخل منه إلى اسطبل صغير يجاور قبو به باب مسدود يعلوه الرواق المبدى بذكره هدمه الواقف المشار له أعلاه واجهة البابين المذكورين ومعالم الاسطبل والسلم واضافه لفضا الحوش وأنشأ به وبما يليه مما ملكه بعد تاريخ الوقف السابق على تاريخه المنبه عليه اعلاه قواصر على بوائك يعلوها بسائل وأخشاب بلح مسقف بالجريد وصار الدوار المذكور يشمل على ست قناطر معقوده بالبوائك من داخلها مجالات الخيول وطوالات فى الحدين القبلى والشرقى فيما بين ذلك مسطبه بها بير ما معين فوهتها مسدوده وذات الأبنيه المستجده والمنبر المبنى والدهليز المتوصل منه إلى باب مقنطر مستجد البنا عليه فرده باب يخرج منه الى الزقاق المعروف بالرماح تم عرف بالجوجرى وبالدهليز المذكور فيه الثلاث مخازن المشتمل كل منها على باب

يدخل منه الى مخزن مسقف بالعقد خارج عن أبنيه العلو وهو الربع والمخازن والمخازن التى من خارج درب الرماح فإن مولانا الواقف المشار له أعلاه أزال ذلك عن ملكه من قبل تاريخه بتبايع شرعي وصارت أبنيه الربع المذكور والمخازن علوا وسفلا خارجه عن حكم هذا الوقف وحق هذا الوقف الانتفاع بما هو محمول على أبنيته من أخشاب وبنا وغير ذلك وعلى مالك الأبنيه حفظ ما عليه حمله لهذا الوقف ويجاور الدركاه من داخل الدوار المذكور بابان على كل منهما فرده باب يدخل من احدهما الى شراب خانه والثانى مقنطر هو باب السر المتوصل منه الى القاعة الكبرى الموعود بذكره اعلاه يجاور هذا الباب سلم طرابلسي ثلاث درج وبسطه يتوصل منه الى باب عليه زوج أبواب بعتبه عليا منقوشه من الحجر الأحمر يدخل منه الى سلم يتوصل منه إلى باب آخر مربع عليه فرده باب يدخل منه إلى مقعد مربع به شباك كبير خشبا وبجانبيه أربع طاقات خشبا متطابقات مطل ذلك على الدوار المذكور به ستة أبواب أحدها باب الدخول والثاني يدخل منه الى دهليز كشف به باب عليه زوج أبواب يدخل منه الى مبيت به طاقه مطلة على الاسطبل الآتى ذكره وبداخله خزانة صغرى ورفوف دايره وبالدهليز المذكور كرسى مرحاض وباب بسلم ينزل منه الى القاعة الكبرى المقدم ذكرها اعلاه والثالث والرابع والخامس خرستانات والباب السادس يتوصل منه الى سطح المقعد المذكور اعلاه وبالمقعد المذكور أعلاه كتبيه كبرى موشق تجاه الشباك المذكور فيه بها أربعة أبواب يعلو ذلك قمريات زجاج ملونه عدتها عشرة لظاهرها زرد نحاسا ملوى مسقف المقعد المذكور فيه نقيا مدهون حريريا ملمع بأنواع الذهب والازورد وغير ذلك من أنواع الدهان مسبل الجدر بالبياض مفروش أرضي ذلك بالبلاط الكدان وسفل المقعد المذكور فيه بابان مقنطران احدهما به فردة باب يدخل منه الى طشت خانة بإيوان واحد ودور قاعه وبالوعه برفوف دايره والباب الثانى يأتى ذكره فيه مسقف الطشت خانة المذكوره فيه قبوا وهى سفلي المقعد المذكور فيه يعلو ذلك الواجهة الحجر المستجده الانشاء التى بها أبواب الشباك والطاقات المدهونه الموشق والواجهة المذكورة مبنيه بالحجر فى علوها أبيض والاحمر يعلو ذلك زرد ظاهر القمريات المذكورة فيه يعلو ذلك مقرنص سفله تاريخ ويعلو ذلك جميعه شراريف حجر أبيض والباب الثانى الموعود بذكره فيه هو باب مقنطرا يغلق عليه فرده باب يدخل منه الى دهليز بعضه معقود قبو وبعضه كشف يتوصل منه إلى إسطبل مقام سته من الخيول به كرسي مرحاض يعلوه سلم يتوصل منه الى ركاب خاناه بها طاقتان متطابقتان مطلتان على الاسطبل المذكور فيه سفل ذلك متبن مسقف الاسطبل المذكور فيه غشيما يعلوه المبيت الذى هو داخل المقعد المذكور فيه مسبل الجدر بالبياض مفروش أرض ذلك [بالبلاط] الكدان والقاعتان المذكورتان والدركاه التى بجانبهما والرواق المقدم ذكر ذلك جمعيه اعلاه سقف ذلك نقياً مدهون حريريا ملمع بأنواع الدهان مسبل الجدر بالبياض وذات المنافع والحقوق والمعالم والرسوم والاقصاب [؟] الخالصه لذلك والاسطحه العاليه على ذلك واصول الكرم والمكعب والتاريخ وغير ذلك ويحيط بذلك جميع ويحصره ويشتمل عليه وعلى سائر حقوقه ومعالمه ورسومه حدود أربعه الحد القبلي ينتهي إلى ربع يعرف قديما بالجوجرى ثم عرف بعد ذلك بالمرحوم سيدنا ومولانا قاضى القضاه ناصر الدين بن الملقن الشافعى تغمده الله برحمته والآن يجري فيه البنا فى ملك الفقير الى الله تعالى زين الدين بن محمد المصرى المشهور بخدمة مولانا المقر الجمالي المشار له وهو البنا المستثنى من الوقف المذكور الذى كان يجرى فى ملك الواقف المشار له بالتبايع الشرعي

وانتقل الى ملك الزينى محمد المذكور اعلاه من قبل تاريخه وفى هذا الحد البنا المستجد والمخازن والباب المستجد الذى هو من حقوق هذا الوقف الذى يخرج منه الى الدرب المعروف بالرماح وبقيه هذا الحد ينتهى الى اماكن تجري فى وقف اولاد بن عماد الدين ووقف المسجد بمصر المحروسه والى ادر تشرع أبوابها من درب الرماح المذكور وإلى الزقاق وفيه باب من أبواب ذلك هو الآن مسدود والحد البحرى ينتهى الى الزقاق وكان فيه أربعه ابواب قديماً والى دار المرحوم شمس الدين بن الصايغ والى اسطبل يعرف بالمرحوم العزى محمد الكويك رحمه الله تعالى والحد الشرقي ينتهي إلى البير المقدم ذكرها اعلاه المشتركه التى لها باب من الاسطبل المذكور فيه وإلى خربة هناك كانت وإلى المسجد الذى هناك وإلى الطريق المسلوك وفيه الواجهه والساباط والجدار الذى هو على يمنة الداخل من الباب المتوصل منه الى المكان المذكور فيه المنتقل من أصله من قبل تاريخه بالإبتياع الشرعي الى ملك سيدنا ومولانا قاضى القضاة الصلاحى الحكمي الشافعى الناظر فى الأحكام الشرعية بالديار المصرية أدام الله تعالى أيامه وأعز أحكامه وحمى بالصالحات أعماله وأحسن إليه وأسبغ نعمه فى الدارين عليه قديما والآن [يعرفها] عراف والحد الغربى ينتهى الى الادر التى تشرع ابوابها من درب الحصيرى وإلى الخربة التى هى مجاورة لصدر الاسطبل المذكور فيه الذى كان به الباب المسدود وهو المكان المستجد الإنشاء الموصوف فيه يحد ذلك كله وحدوده وحقوقه وما يعرف به وينسب اليه خلا المستثنى أعلاه الجارى ما استجده مولانا المقر الواقف المشار له أعلاه بالدوار المذكور اعلاه بيده وملكه وتصرفه وحيازته واختصاصه لذلك يشهد له بذلك مكتوب التبايع المؤرخ بالعشرين من جمادى الأول سنة ثمان وستين وثمانمائة الثابت المحكوم بموجبه فى الشرع الشريف فى مجلس سيدنا العبد الفقير الى الله تعالى الشيخي الامامي العلائي المعيتي الطرابلسي الحنفي خليفة الحكم العزيز بالديار المصرية أعلى الله تعالى احكامه وأحسن إليه بدلالة إسجاله بظاهر المكتوب المذكور المؤرخ بخطه الكريم بالسادس والعشرين من جمادى الأولى من السنة المذكورة الشاهد المقر الواقف المشار له فيه لإبتياع ذلك أرضا [؟] يشتمل على الباب المذكور فيه يدخل منه الى فندق معد لطبخ السكر به مخازن داثرة خراب يعلوها طباق ومسترقات [؟] هدم غالبه وأزال معالمه وأنشأ البوائك المذكوره والأبنية المستجده الموصوفة فيه على ماعن فيه ومن ذلك جميع البنا القائم على الأرض المحتكره الجاريه الأرض المذكور فى عقد اجارته الكائن ذلك بظاهر القاهرة المحروسة خارج باب البحر بخط بولاق بشاطىء البحر الأعظم والخليج المتوصل منه الى فم الخور الآتى ذكره ووصفه وتحديده فيه المعروف هذا البنا بالواقف المشار له اعلاه وانشائه وعمارته المشتمل على واجهات أربعة مبنيه بالحجر الفص النحيت وبعضه بالطوب بها باب مقنطر كبير يغلق عليه فرده باب خشب يدخل منه الى دركاه بها باب يدخل منه الى مجاز يتوصل منه الى حوش كبير به جنينه أصول ناريخ وجوز وغير ذلك وبير ما معين وبالحوش المذكور سلم يصعد من عليه الى باب يدخل منه الى دهليز به مرحاض وباب يدخل منه الى قصر يشتمل على شبابيك من الجهات الثلاثه مطلات على البحر الأعظم والخليج والطريق مسقف نقيا مدهون حريريا مفروش أرضه بالبلاط مسبل الجدر بالبياض وذات الكتيبيات والمنافع والحقوق وبالحوش المذكور باب كبير يدخل منه الى أسطبل مقام سته أروس خيول مسقف غشيما وذات الشراب خاناه والطب خانه والمخازن والطباق علو الواجهه القبلية على الطريق المار الى جامع الخطيرى والمنافع والمرافق والحقوق ويحيط بذلك ويحده حدود اربعه الحد القبلي ينتهى الى الطريق المار منها الى جامع الخطيرى [؟] طاقات أحد الطبقتان والحد البحرى ينتهى الى الطريق المسلوك الفاصل بين

هذا البنا وبين البحر الأعظم والخليج والحد الشرقى ينتهى الى الرواق الفاصل بين هذا البنا وبين بنا يعرف بالمقر صرغتمش والحد الغربى ينتهى الى الخليج والى الطريق وفيه الباب الكبير يحد ذلك كله وحدوده وحقوقه وما يعرف به وينسب إليه ومن ذلك جميع الحصة التى مبلغها حصة ونصف حصة من أصل ستة عشر حصة شائعا ذلك فى جميع أراضى ناحية سرد بالغربية بحقها وحقوقها وما هو معروف بها ومنسوب اليها خلا ما يستثنى منها ويحيط بكاملها حدود أربعة الحد القبلي ينتهي إلى أراضى مبنية [؟] وغيرها والحد البحرى ينتهي الى أراضى ناحية [خيول] والحناطه والحد الشرقى ينتهي إلى أراضى ناحية شبرا بلاله والحد الغربى ينتهي إلى أراضي كوم النجار وغيرها ومن ذلك جميع الحصة التى مبلغها حصة ونصف حصة من أصل عشرين حصة شائعاً ذلك في جميع أراضى ناحيه قليب بجزيرة بنى نصر وما هو معروف بها ومنسوب إليها خلا ما يستثنى شرعا ويحيط بكامله [؟] المذكورة حدود أربعة الحد القبلي ينتهي إلى أراضى ناحية [كرى] والحد البحرى ينتهى الى أراضي [مسلمية] والفرستق والحد الشرقي ينتهى الى بحر ابيار الفاصل بين اراضي الناحية المذكورة وبين اراضي النحرارية والحد الغربي ينتهي إلى أراضى بلشاى وغيرها يحد كل من ذلك وحدوده وحقوقه وما يعرف به وينسب إليه الجاري ذلك بيد مولانا المقر المشار له أعلاه وملكه وتصرفه وحيازته واختصاصه لذلك بمقتضى إبتياعه لذلك من بيت المال المعمور بمباشرة وكيل وكيل بيت المال المعمور يشهد له بذلك مكتوب التبايع الورق الحموي المؤرخ بالعشرين من جمادى الأول سنة تاريخه الثابت المحكوم بموجبه فى الشرع الشريف من مجلس الحكم العزيز القضائي الحاكمي الشيخي الشرفي ابن عمران موسى الخطيب المنوفي الشافعي خليفة الحكم العزيز بالديار المصرية أيد الله تعالى أحكامه وأحسن إليه بدلالة اسجاله المسطر بظاهر المكتوب المذكور المؤرخ بخطه الكريم بيوم الأحد الثاني من جمادى الآخر سنة تاريخه وخصم كل من المكاتيب المذكورة بمقتضى الوقف المذكور الخصم الشرعى بموافقة تاريخه وشهوده المعلوم ذلك عند الواقف المشار له أعلاه أدام الله تعالى علاه العلمى الشرعي وقفا صحيحا شرعيا وحبسا صريحا مرعيا لا يباع أصل ذلك ولا يوهب ولا يورث ولا يرهن ولا يستبدل به ولا بعضه ولا يناقل به ولا ببعضه قائما على أصوله محفوظاً على شروطه مسبلا سبله الآتى شرحها وبيانها فيه إلى أن يرث الله جل جلاله وتقدست أسماؤه الأرض ومن عليها وهو خير الوارثين إنشاء المقر الكريم العالى المولوى الجمالى يوسف الواقف المشار له ادام الله تعالى معاليه وقفه هذا على ما يأتى ذكره فيه معيناً أما إيوان التربة المذكورة أعلاه الذي هو بالحد القبلي فجعله مسجداً لله تعالى للصلوات والعباده محرماً بحرمات المساجد المعمورة وأذن بالصلاة فيه لكافة الخلق أجمعين من عباده الله المؤمنين في أوقات الصلاة وغيرها وأما الفساقي [. . .] فأرصدها الواقف المشار اليه أعلاه أدام الله تعالى علاه وقفا على ما يذكر فيه فواحدة منها ارصدها وقفا على الجناب الكريمي العال الأميري الكبيري السندي المالكي المخدومي السيفي قلمطاي بن عبدالله الاسحاقي راس نوبة الملكي الظاهري اعز الله أنصاره ينتفع بها لنفسه ولمن شاء من أولاده وذريته و أقاربه وأصهاره ومن يلوذ به والثانية من الفساقي المذكورة أرصدها وقفا على ابنة أخته الست المصونه الكبرى [المحصن] المرأة الكامل إبنة الجناب السيفي جاني بك البشمقدار جهة السيفي قلمطاي المشار اليه أعلاه صانها الله تعالى تتنتفع بها لنفسها ولمن شائت من أولادها وذريتها وأقاربها وأصهارها ومن يلوذ بها والثالثة من الفساقي المذكوره ارصدها الواقف المشار إليه أعلاه أدام الله تعالى علاه وقفا على الست المصونة الكبرى [المحصن] زينب المرأة الكامل إبنه أخي المقر الواقف المشار اليه أعلاه وهو الجناب المرحوم الشرفى حمزة بن المقر السيفى تغري بردي المشار إليه أعلاه رحمه الله تعالى وصانها تنتفع بها لنفسها ولمن

شائت من أولادها وذريتها وأقاربها وأصهارها ومن يلوذ بها والرابعة من الفساقي المذكورة جعلها الواقف المذكور لنفسه الكريمة رزقه الله تعالى أطول الأعمار وأحسنها ينتفع بها لمن يختاره في حال حياته ويدفن بها بعد وفاته ولا يدفن بها احد بعد وفاته كاين من كان ويبلط باب المنزل المعد للفسقية المذكورة على هيئة جميع الإيوان حتى يخفي باب المنزل فلا يعرف ولا يفتح أبداً وأما الحوش الكبير فضاء التربة المذكورة فيما بين الإيوان القبلي والحد البحري ومن الحد الشرقي إلى الغربي فارصده مولانا الواقف المشار إليه ضاعف الله له الأجور وحباه في [الجنات] بأعلا القصور وقفا للأموات من الذكور والإناث المالك والمملوك والغني والصعلوك والمسلم والمسلمات على مر الدهور والأوقات من القريب والبعيد ممن يسمح له الواقف [المشار إليه] أسبغ الله نعمه عليه مدة حياته الكريمة ثم من بعده الناظر الشرعي حسبما يراه في ذلك عاملا في ذلك بتقوى الله وطاعته في سره وعلانيته من غير مقابل لذلك ولا لشيء منه رغبه في ثواب الله تعالى ضاعف [الله] نعمة عليه دوالى واما القاعة والرواق حبسهما وقفاً شرعيا سكنا لنفسه الكريمة ينتفع بذلك مدة حياته في السكنى إن أختار وفي العطلة إذ احب وله ان يسكن من أقاربه وذريته من شا اذا شا ويمنعه اذا شا ثم من بعد وفاته احياه الله حياه طيبة يسكن بهما من ذريته وأقاربه الموجودين حينا بعد حين مدة حياتهم فأذا أنقرضوا بأجمعهم كان أمر [كاين من كان] في ذلك لمن يلي نظر التربة المذكورة فيه يسكن فيهما من شا من أرباب وظائف التربة المذكورة [والمستحقين فيها] ولا يسكنها لأجنبي كاين من كان أبدا بوجه من الوجوه أو يأذن لمن يكون بالتربة المذكورة دفن واقاربه واما المراحيض فجعلها برسم الراحة للسكان بالتربة المذكورة والقاطنين يسكن منهم من نختار السكنى بحيث يكون ممن شهر دينه وخيره كل ذلك بعد انقراض ذرية الواقف وأما الاسطبل المذكور فجعله وقفا مرصدا للانتفاع به لمن يسكن التربة المذكورة لربط الخيول والبهايم والمطبخ الذي بجانبه ينتفع به للطبخ ممن يكون ناظرا على التربة المذكورة من ذرية الواقف وأقاربه وغيرهم واما الطباق والخلاوي التي انشاها مولانا الواقف المشار اليه اعلاه بالتربة المذكورة وما سيكمله و ينشيه فجعل ذلك وقفا وارصد ذلك لسكنى أرباب وظائف التربة المذكورة والمستحقين على الحكم الآتي ذكره فيه حسبما يراه الناظر [ويؤدي] اليه اجتهاده على أن يسكن كل واحد في مكان يليق به على حسب حالهم وما يليق بهم وأما السبيل الذي بالواجهة المقدم ذكرها وهو ذو الشباكين الحديد في الحدين الشرقي والبحري فجعله وقفاً لتسبيل الماء على المارة ولسكان التربة المذكورة على ان تملأ أواني من الطشوت وغير ذلك من الآلات وتوضع بكل من الشباكين المذكورين ويوضع [ما يتناول] به الماء من كل الأواني التي بالشباكين المذكورين ليسقي منه المارة وغيرهم في كل يومٍ من الضحوة إلى مضي النهار ومن أول الليل إلى الضحوة بحيث لا ينقطع تسبيل المياه ليلا ولا نهاراً الا في نهار شهر رمضان خاصة وأما الصهريج المبني سفل السبيل المذكور فوقفه [. . .] لحرز الماء العذب من النيل المبارك في أيام زيادته و أما المكتب الذي هو علو السبيل المذكور فوقفه مسجداً لله تعالى معداً للصلاة والعبادة ولتعليم القرآن العظيم للأطفال من أولاد المسلمين في المكتب المذكور على ممر الدهور والايام والشهور والاعوام وأما المكان الموقوف قبل تاريخه الذي رجع مولانا الواقف المشار اليه أحسن الله تعالى إليه عن [مصاف] ريعه المعينة فيه الكائن بحارة أميرجوان وهي الدار الموصوفة المحدودة باعليه فإنها وقفاً شرعياً على مولانا المقر الأشرف الجمالي أدام الله له المعالي وهو الواقف المذكور وقاه الله كل محذور ينتفع بذلك وبما شاء منه في السكن والإسكان والغلة والاستغلال وساير وجود أنواع التصرفات الشرعية على الوجه [المرعي] أبدا ما عاش ودائما ما بقي رزقه الله تعالى أطول الأعمار بجاه سيدنا ونبينا محمد النبي المختار من غير شريك له في [ذلك] ولا معارض ولا مانع شرعي ثم من بعد وفاته يكون وقفا على من سيحدثه الله تعالى من الاولاد

في المستقبل الذكور والاناث في ذلك بالسوية بينهم لا يفضل ذكر منهم على أنثى ولا أنثى على ذكر ثم من بعد أولاده لأولاد أولاده ثم لأولاد أولاد أولاده ثم لذريته ونسله وعقبه الذكور والإناث في ذلك سواء من ولد الظهر والبطن يحجب الطبقة العليا منهم أبدا الطبقة السفلى ينفردن الواحد منهم ذكرا كان أو أنثى ويشترك فيه الإثنان فما فوقهما عند الاجتماع على أنه من توفي منهم وله ولد أو ولد ولد أو ولد ولد ولد أو أسفل من ذلك انتقل نصيبه إلى ولده ثم إلى ولد ولده وإن سفل ذكراً كان أو أنثى ومن مات منهم عن غير ولد ولا ولد ولد ولا أسفل من ذلك لا من ولد الظهر ولا [من] ولد البطن انتقل نصيبه من ذلك الى إخوته وأخواته المشاركين له في استحقاق هذا الوقت مضافا لما يستحقونه من ذلك وان لم يكن له أخوه و لا أخوات انتقل نصيبه من ذلك إلى من في درجته وذوي طبقته من الذكور والإناث من ولد الظهر والبطن فأن لم يكن [له] أحد في درجته ولا في ذوي طبقته انتقل نصيب من توفي منهم إلى أقرب الطبقات للمتوفي المذكور يتداولون ذلك فيما بينهم كذلك طبقة بعد طبقة ونسلا بعد نسل الى [حين] انقراضهم هذا لفظ نص كتاب الوقف السابق على تاريخه المنبه عليه أعلاه فإذا انقرضوا بأجمعهم وأبادهم الموت عن أخرهم ولم يبقى منهم أحد أو مات مولانا المقر الكريم الحمالي يوسف الواقف المسمى أعلاه زاد الله في علاه عن غير ولد ولا ذريه [يضيف] الناظر على الوقف المذكور فيه ريع [. . .] على أن الناظر على هذا الوقف والمتولي عليه يستغل الموقوف بسائر أنواع الاستغلال [. . .] الموقوفة أعلاه قسطا بقسط والأماكن شهرا بشهر و يصرف من ذلك لأرباب الوظائف [. . .] التي يقررها مولانا الواقف المشار إليه أعلاه أدام الله علاه بالتربة المذكورة أعلاه فما يصرفه لمن يكون بواباً بالتربة المذكورة أعلاه على أن يتولى حفظ التربة المذكورة وفتحها عند الاحتياج إلى ذلك وغلقها وصون مفاتيح إغلاقها ويتولى مصالح البوابة وفضائها وإزالة ما يتضرر به فضاء التربة المذكورة تجاه الواجهة بالطريق السلطانية وغير ذلك مما يلزم [أمثالة] من حفظ [التربة] ذلك في كل شهر من شهور الأهلة ما جملته من الفلوس الجدد معاملة تاريخه يومئذ أربعمائة دم [درهم] أو ما يقوم مقامهم من النقود ويصرف لمن يكون مزملاتيا بالسبيل المذكور أعلاه على أن يقوم بمصالح السبيل المقدم ذكره من غسل الصهريج في كل سنة وتنظيفه و بخوره وحفظ مائه وملأ الأواني التي تملأ برسم السبيل والجلوس بالشباك المسبل منه الماء وقت الحر وطرف النهار وحفظ آلة [السقي] [ونشل] الماء ومسح السبيل وتنظيفه وتبخير كيزانة وتعليق شوكة به برسم الكيزان يعلق بها كيزان نظافاً مملوءة من ماء الصهريج يسقى منها [روسا] المارة وغيرهم في كل شهر من شهور الأهلة ما جملته من الفلوس الجدد معاملة يومئذ بالقاهرة المحروسة ثلاثمائة دم أو ما يقوم مقامها من النقود ويصرف كل سنة من السنين العربية في ايام النيل المبارك من ريع الوقف المذكور ثمن ثلاثمائة راوية مملوءة من الماء العذب وتصب بقاع الصهريج المقدم ذكرة مضاف لما يصب في الصهريج المذكور من وقف الست عائشة زوجة السيفي قلمطاي المذكورة أعلاه وهو مائتا راوية مملوءة من الماء مجملها يصب بالصهريج المذكور في كل سنة من [الماء] العذب خمسمائة راوية مملؤة ماء وهي مليء الصهريج المذكور يسبل ذلك في طول كل سنة وعند تفريغ الصهريج المذكور من الماء يغسل وينظف ويبخر ويملؤه الناظر على الحكم المشروع اعلاه يصرف ذلك في كل سنة ثمن المثل حسبما يراه الناظر ويؤدي إليه اجتهاده ويصرف لمن يكون فراشا بالتربة المذكورة اعلاه على ان يتولى كنس التربة المذكورة [وتزعيفها] ونفض حصرها وفرشها وضم الريحان المرمية على قبور التربة المذكورة ورمية خارج التربة وان يقوم بإضاءة المصابيح المستضاء بها وعدتها أربعة احدها بواجهة الباب الذي بالشارع والآخر يصدر المحراب الذي بالايوان القبلي والثالث بآخر القبو الكبير والرابع على ضريح الواقف ويتولى غسل القناديل وتنظيفها واشعالها بالضوء وطفيها ويكون منهما قنديلان

[صبحيان] أحدهما الذي بواجهة الباب والآخر بالمحراب المذكور أعلاه بحيث يكون فراشا وقاداً في كل شهر من شهور الأهلة ما جملته من الفلوس الجدد معاملة تاريخه بالقاهرة المحروسة خمسمائة دم يصرف منها ثمن زيت الوقود في كل ليلة ثلاث أواق بالمصري و يصرف لماية أنفار من الأطفال الصغار والأيتام وأولاد الفقراء المحتاجين الذين يقررهم الناظر بالمكتب المذكور أعلاه لتعليم قراءة القرآن العظيم ولهم فقيه برسم تعليمهم الخط ولتعليم قرائتهم القرآن العظيم [. . .] على أن يحضروا في كل يوم من بكرة النهار إلى المكتب المذكور للتعليم والتأديب ويصرفهم الفقيه عصريته بعد قرائتهم مجتمعين ما تيسر من القرآن العظيم ويهدون ثواب قرائتهم للواقف وذريته ووالديه ومن حوته التربة من أموات المسلمين ويختمون دعائهم بالصلاة على النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم خلا يوم الثلاثاء ويوم الجمعة وايام الاعياد والمواسم ولجميعهم في كل شهر من شهور الاهلة الف وخمسمائة درهم فلوساً جدداً معاملة يومئذا وما يقوم مقامها من النقود لكل نفر منهم مائة وخمسون درهما من الفلوس المذكورة ويصرف للفقيه المذكور المتولي لتأديبهم وتعليمهم على الحكم المشروع أعلاه في كل شهر من شهور الأهلة ثلاثمائة دم فلوس جدداً معاملة القاهرة المحروسة أو ما يقوم مقامها من النقود ويصرف لقارئين لكتاب الله العزيز على أن يقرآن مجتمعان في كل يوم بعد صلاة الصبح على ضريح الواقف [مجهراً . . .] نصف حزب من القرآن العظيم ويهديان ثواب ذلك للنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ثم من [صحيفة] الواقف المشار إليه فيه ثم لوالديه ولذريته ولجميع المسلمين ومن حوته التربة المذكورة من أموات المسلمين ويختمان القراءة بالصلاة على رسول الله صلى الله عليه [وسلم] ويصرف لكل منهما في كل شهر من شهور الأهلة مائة دم وخمسون درهما فلوساً أو ما يقوم مقامها من النقود ويصرف لمن يكون شاهدا بالوقف المذكور وبعمارته وخازن كتب التربة المذكورة التي جعلها الواقف المشار اليه اعلاه بالتربة المذكورة في كل شهر من شهور الأهلة ما حملته من الفلوس الجدد معاملة يومئذ بالقاهرة المحروسة اربعمائة دم معلوم الشهادة مائتا دم فلوساً ولخزن الكتب مائتي دم فلوساً وقرر مولانا الواقف المسمى فيه بلغة الله ما يرتجيه الفقير الى الله تعالى زين الدين محمد المغربي المشهور بالجمالي مولانا المقر الواقف المشار اليه أمطر الله [سحائب] فضله عليه فيهما ثم من بعده لأخيه الولد السعيد الركن بدر الدين أبي البركات يستقل كل منهما بالوظيفتين المذكورتين عند ايلولهما اليه مضاف لما بيد كل منهما من الوظائف غير ذلك التي تقررها مولانا الواقف المنوه باسمه الكريم اعلاه ضاعف الله علاه من الوظائف بالتربة المذكورة وليس لأحد من ارباب الوظائف ولا لمستحقي ريع الوقف المذكور بالتربة المذكورة لأن يجمع بين وظيفتين فاكثر إلا من قرره الواقف المسمى فيه بلغة الله ما يرتجيه في حال حياته وليس لأحد من النظار الجمع بيد أحد من أرباب الوظائف بين وظيفتين كائ[نا من] كان ومن توفي من كل من زين الدين المسمى أعلاه وأخيه بدر الدين أبي البركات المذكورين أعلاه وكان له [. . .] ولد فأكثر استقر في وظائف والده في شهادة وغيرها هذا في [حقهما] خاصة وأن لم يكن فيهم أهلية [استناب] عنهم فيما بأيديهم ببعض معلومهم حسبما يراه الناظر ويؤدي له اجتهاده ويصرف الناظر في كل شهر من شهور الأهلة مائة دم فلوساً جدد أو ما يقوم مقامها من النقود يرسم آلة السبيل وما يحتاج إليه الايوان القبلي والبوابة من حصر وآلة وزجاج وكيزان يسقي منها ويرصد الناظر في كل شهر تحت [يده] من ريع الوقف المذكور من الفلوس الجدد معاملة يومئذ مائتي دم برسم ما يتهدم من التربة المذكورة ومن موقوفها وما يحتاج إليه بالتربة المذكورة والأبنية الموقوفة عليها من ترميم وإصلاح فإن استغني عنها وتحصل منه مبلغا له جرم يشتري به عقار ويوقفه الناظر على التربة المذكورة ويكون حكمه حكم هذا الوقف ويستمر المرصد في كل شهر على حكمه ومهما ارصد بعد ذلك من المبلغ المنبه عليه إرصاده أعلاه يصرف [في] العمارة الضرورية فإذا استغنى عنه وتحصل منه مبلغا يشتري به عقار كما ذكر أعلاه يجري الحال [فيه] كذلك ويصرف من ريع الوقف المذكور في كل شهر من شهور الأهلة ما جملته من الفلوس [. . .] خمسمائة دم أو ما يقوم مقامها من النقود للناظر على هذا الوقف معلوم نظرة على التربة المذكورة وعلى أوقافها على أن يتولى استغلال الوقف المذكور بوجوه الاستغلالات الشرعية ويصرفها على مستحيقها لريع الوقف المذكور أعلاه

على الوجة المقر اعلاه وعلى ان الناظر عند حضور المال الخراجي من الحصص الموقوفة اعلاه على حكم لاقساط فعند حضور القسط الأول يضيفه إلى ما تحصل من ريع [الأبنية] الموقوفة أعلاه ويصرف منه معلوم أرباب الوظائف والجوامك والمستحقين على الحكم المقر أعلاه وما عين من ثمن الماء والآلة وغير ذلك كما شرح أعلاه ومهما فضل من القسط الأول ومن ربع بقية الموقوف يرصده تحت يده باشهاد عليه مخلد بخزانة الكتب [. . .] المذكورة أعلاه وعند حضور القسط الثاني يفعل كفعله الأول من الإضافة والصرف على الحكم المقر أعلاه [مهما] فضل يضيفه إلى الفاضل السابق المرصد تحت يده ويشهد على نفسه في ذلك ويفعل كذلك عند حضور القسط الثالث والفاضل يضيفه الى ما تحت يده [. . .] عما تحصل من الشراء في الأراضي الموقوف [. . .] الحصة المعينة أعلاه وبعضها في السنة [المستقبلة] يفعل ذلك في كل سنة فإذا حانت أيام النيروز [ورويت] أرض الموقوف واستغنت أرباب استحقاق ريع المذكور بالوقف عن المبلغ المرصد في السنة [الماضية] لاستيفاء معاليمهم وما شرطه الواقف من المصارف والمرصد على حكم شرطه المقر أعلاه فيختص بذلك الواقف المشار له أعلاه إن كان حيا متعه الله بالعيش الطيب عيشاً هنيا ثم لأولاده وذريته على الحكم المقر أعلاه على النص والترتيب المشروح أعلاه فإن مات عن غير ولد ولا ولد ولد فرق الناظر الفائض المستغني عنة ثلاثة أثلاث ثلث يدفعه الناظر على هذا الوقف للسيدة المصونة الكبرى المحجبة عائشة المدعوة شقرا المرأة الكامل أخت مولانا المقر الجمالي الواقف المسمى فيه ضاعف الله معاليه لأبيه تختص بها أبدا ماعاشت ودائما ما بقيت والثلث الثاني يدفعه للست المصونة عائشة ابنه الأميري الكبيرى السيفي جاني بك البشمقدار جهة الجناب المقر قلمطاي المقدم ذكرها أعلا الله قدرها تختص به أبدا ما عاشت ودائما ما بقيت والثلث الأخير يدفعه للفقير إلى الله تعالى [زين الدين] محمد ولأخيه بدر الدين محمد أبي البركات المسمين أعلاه و لعتقاء الواقف المشار له بأعاليه الموجودين حين ذاك الذكور والإناث لكل واحد منهم جروا إلا الفقير إلى الله تعالى زين الدين محمد وأخيه بدر الدين محمد المسمين أعلاه فان لكل منهما جروان ومن توفى منهم انتقلت حصته لولده و لولد ولده ونسله وعقبه ومتى انقرضت ذريته منهم أو مات عن غير ولد انتقل نصيبه لمن بقي من ذريه الزيني محمد والبدري بركات وعتقاء الواقف وذريتهم المذكورين أعلاه فإذا انقرضوا بأسرهم وأبادهم الموت عن آخرهم صرف الناظر ما كان مصروفاً لمن ذكر أعلاه من أخت الواقف الست عائشة والست عائشة جهة السيفي قلمطاي والزيني محمد والبدري بركات والعتقاء لعشر أنفار من أهل الخير والدين [. . .] صوفية يحضرون في كل يوم مجتمعين بايوان التربة المذكورة اعلاه المقدم ذكره بعد طلوع الشمس ولهم شيخ يجلس يصدر الإيوان المذكور ويجتمعون حوله ويقرءون في عشرة أجزاء من القرآن العظيم لكل منهم جزءاً وينفرد شيخهم بمصحف شريف يوضع على كرسي أمامه يقدمه له خادم للمصحف الشريف وهو من جملة العشرة المذكورة ومنهم اثنان يختمان القراءة عند طبق شيخهم المصحف بقراءة سورة الإخلاص ثلاث و[المعوذتين] وفاتحة الكتاب يجهران بالقراءة ويختتمون قرائتهم بدعاء الداعي منهم ويهدي ثواب القراءة للنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ولذريته وآل بيته وأصحابه بمن في صحيفة الواقف المشار له أعلاه ولوالديه ولذريته ولسكان التربة من الأحياء والأموات وللناظر على الوقف المذكور ولجميع المسلمين ويكون أحد العشر صوفية مادحاً لصفات النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في كل شهر من شهور الأهلة ما جملته من الفلوس الجدد معاملة يومئذ بالقاهرة المحروسة ألف دم وخمسمائة لكل واحد منهم في الشهر مائة دم وخمسون درهما في كل شهر ثلاثمائة دم فلوسا أو ما يقوم مقامها من النقود وما فضل بعد ذلك يشتري به خبز قرصة ويفرق الناظر أو نائبه على الصوفية وشيخهم والقارئين والأيتام والفقيه والبواب والمقيم بالتربة المذكورة والشاهد حسبما يراه الناظر المذكور من تفضيل وتفصيل على ما يؤدي إليه اجتهاده يجري الحال في ذلك كذلك أبد الآبدين ودهر الداهرين حتي يرث الله جل جلاله وتقدست أسماؤه الأرض ومن عليها وهو خير الوارثين فإن تعذر الصرف والعياذ بالله تعالى لمن عن له الصرف أعلاه بوجه من وجوه التعذرات الشرعية صرف الناظر على الوقف المذكور ذلك للفقراء والمساكين أينما كانوا وحيث ما وجدوا فان عاد إمكان الصرف

إلى ما تعذر الصرف إليه صرفه الناظر إليه وقدمه على غيره وشرط الواقف المشار له أسبغ الله نعمة عليه في وقفة هذا شروطاً أكد عليها وجعل مرجع وقفة هذا إليها منها أن لا يؤجر الموقوف ولا شيء منه إلا سنة فما دونها بأجر المثل فما فوقها ولا يدخل عقد على عقد حتى ينقضي مدة العقد الأول ومنها أن لا يؤجر شيء من الموقوف لسيء المعاملة ولا من يخاف من سطوته وان يسكن بالأماكن الموقوفة من هو مشهور بالخير والدين وحسن المعاملة ومنها أن من رغب عن وظيفة من أرباب الوظائف المقررين بالتربة المذكورة أو نزل عنها لغيره بوجه من الوجوه كان حقه ساقطا من وظيفته [قبل] رغبته أو نزوله عنها ولا تعود إليه ويقرر الناظر من يختاره غيره ومنها أن لا يجمع بين وظيفتين بالوقف المذكور [باسم] واحد وحدة إلا الزيني محمد وأخيه بدر الدين محمد بركات المذكورين أعلاه وذريتهما خاصة ومنها انه شرط السكنى لأرباب الوظائف المقررين بالتربة المذكورة والمستحقين بها بالخلاوى والطباق التي بالتربة المذكورة خاصة خلا القاعة والرواق اللذين بها فإن حق السكنى فيهما لمن عن له أعلاه ومن أستغنى عن السكنى بالتربة المذكورة ولم يسكن بها سقط حقه من السكنى ويسكن الناظر في ذلك غيره ممن يقيم بالتربة المذكورة من أرباب الوظائف ومنها أن من انقطع عن مباشرة وظيفته بالتربة المذكورة وقت من الأوقات من غير عذر شرعي أخرج الناظر وظيفته لغيره ومنها أن بواب التربة يقيم بالتربة المذكورة ويسكن بها وان لا يخرج إلا لضرورة ويعود بسرعة وان اختار البواب المذكور عدم السكنى بالتربة المذكورة سقط حقه في وظيفته ولا تعود إليه ويقرر الناظر فيها غيره ومنها أن الفقيه لا ينقطع من تعليمه الصغار إلا يوم الثلاثاء والجمعة من كل جمعة خاصة ومنها أن لا يسامح أحد من الصوفية والقارئين عن الحضور عن وظيفته المقرر فيها إلا لضعف أو سفر لأداء الفرض أو عذر شرعي ومن سافر أو انقطع من غير عذر [أخرجت] وظيفته عنه ويقرر الناظر فيها غيره ومنها أن لا يحابى الناظر أحد من مستحقي ريع هذا الوقف وان فعل ذلك كان أثم المحاباة عليه يوم لا ينفع مال ولا بنون إلا من أتي الله بقلب سليم ومنها أن جعل النظر على وقفه هذا المقر أعلاه والولاية عليه لنفسه الكريمة متعة الله بالحياة السليمة مدة حياته أحياه الله حياة طيبة ورزقه أطول الأعمار وحشره في زمرة النبي المختار ينظر في ذلك كيف شاء على الوجه الشرعي ثم من بعده للأرشد فالأرشد من ذريته وعقبه ثم من بعدهم يكون النظر في ذلك للمصونة الست عائشة إبنة الأمير جاني بك البشمقدار جهة الجناب السيفي قلمطاي الإسحاقي [المشار] اليهما أعلاه من بعدها للأرشد فالأرشد من ذريتهما فإذا انقرضوا أو ماتت عن غير ذرية كان النظر على جميع هذا الوقف للجناب الكريمي العالي الأميري الكبيري السيفي قلمطاي المشار له أعلاه أعز الله أنصاره وضاعف إقتداره ولأولاده وذريته من بعده من الست عائشة المقدم ذكرها أعلاه فإن مات عن غير ذريه كان النظر على هذا الوقف لأخت مولانا المقر الكريمى العالي الجمالي أدام الله له [المعالي] وهو الواقف المشار له أعلاه هي الست المصونة الكبرى المدعوة عايشة شقرا المسماة أعلاه مدة حياتها ثم من بعد وفاتها يكون النظر على هذا الوقف للست المصونة زينب المرأة الكامل بنت الجناب الشرفي حمزة أخي مولانا الواقف المشار له أعلاه وهي المسماة أعلاه ولذريتها فإذا انقرضوا بأجمعهم كان النظر على التربة المذكورة وعلى أوقافها للفقير إلى الله تعالى زين الدين محمد ولأخيه بدر الدين محمد أبي البركات المسمين أعلاه ولذريتهما من بعدهما فإذا انقرضوا بأجمعهم كان النظر على التربة المذكورة لمن يكون دواداراً ثاني بالديار المصرية فإن تعذر كان النظر لمن يكون كاتب السر الشريف بالديار المصرية فان تعذر كان النظر على ذلك لولي الأمر الشرعي يوم ذاك ينظر فيه بنفسه ولمن يختاره ومنها [. . .] الكريمي العالي المولوي الأميري الكبيري الجمالي الواقف المسمى أعلاه بلغه الله في خير الدنيا والأخرة مرتجاة جعل لنفسه الكريمة أن يزيد في وقفه هذا ما يرى زيادته وينقص منه ما يرى تتنقيصه ويدخل في هذا الوقف من شاء ويخرج منه من أراد ويشترط لنفسه من الشرطة المخالفة لذلك ما يرى إشتراطه ويقرر فيه من الوظايف ما يري تقريره ويزيد من الزيادات ما يري زيادته وينقص من المعاليم ما

يرى تنقيصه ويشترط في السكنى لمن يختار ما يريد ويتصرف في وقفه هذا بساير وجوه التصرفات الشرعية يفعل ذلك كلما بدا له لا يتقيد ذلك بوقت ولا بزمان ولا بحين ولا بأوان وأصل الوقف المسطر أعلاه باقي على أصوله ليس لأحد بعده فعل شيء من ذلك ومنها أن شرط لنفسه أن يسند النظر على وقفه هذا ويوصي به ويفوضه لمن شاء فإن مات عن غير وصية ولا إسناد ولا تفويض أو وصى بالنظر على ذلك وأسنده وفوضه وتعذر النظر في ذلك للموصى له والمسند إليه والمفوض به [بوجه من الوجوه أو] بسبب من الأسباب كان النظر في ذلك لمن شرط له النظر كما بين اعلاه يجري الحال في ذلك [كذلك] وجودا وعدما وبعذرا وإمكاناً ونظرا واستحقاقا إلى أن يرث الله [تعالى جل جلاله وتقدست أسماؤه] الأرض ومن عليها وهو [خير] الوارثين

فقد تم هذا الوقف ولزم و نفذ حكمه وأبرم وصار وقفا صحيحا شرعيا محرما بحرمات الله الأكيدة مدفوعاً عنه بقوة الله الشديدة فلا يحل [لأحد يؤمن] بالله تعالى واليوم الآخر من أمير ومأمور [و]أمر أن يغير هذا الوقف ولا شيئا منه ولا يسعى في إبطاله ولا في إبطال شي منه فمن فعل ذلك أو شيئاً منه فالله تعالى طليبه وحسيبه ومجازيه بعمله ومؤاخذة بفعله يوم التناد يوم عطش الأكباد يوم يكون الله تعالى هو [الحاكم] بين العباد يوم يقوم الإشهاد يوم لا ينفع الظالمين معذرتهم ولهم اللعنة ولهم سوء الدار ومن أعان على ثبوتة [وبعد . . .] وتقريره في أيدي مستحقيه برد الله تعالى مضجعه وجعل إلى دار السلامة مآبه ومرجعه ولقنه حجته وكفر عنه ذنوبه وخطيئته وضاعف بره وحسناته ومحي عنه سيئاته وجعله من الآمنين الفرحين المستبشرين الذين لا خوف عليهم ولا هم يحزنون فمن بدله بعد ما سمعه فإنما إثمه على الذين يبدلونه إن الله سميع عليم ورفع مولانا الواقف المشار إليه أعلاه أدام الله عزه [ونجاه] وتقبل منه عمله واحسن له عن جميع الموقوف اعلاه يد ملكه ووضع على ذلك [. . .] واشهد عليه شهوده العارفون به انه عارف بما وقفه اعلاه المعرفة الشرعية [النافية للجهالة] ووقع الاشهاد عليه بذلك وبالتوكد فى ثبوته والدعوى به وطلب الحكم به فى سؤال الاشهاد [. . .] الدافع ونفيه التوكيل الشرعي في رابع عشر شعبان المكرم من شهور سنة سبعين وثمانماية

فيه مصلح على كشط على سواد [. . .] يدخل [. . .] ملكه منها من [ريعه] على [لكل] ملمع ومصلح على غير كشط بعضها بالطوب وفيه ملحق [تعالى] انشأه وعمره من ماله وصلت حاله إلى الرضا وعلى الصفة الآتى ذكرها وهو جميع ترمال [تعالى] جل جلاله وتقد ست اسماؤ [كان] الله صحح [. . .] في موضعه والحمد لله [وحده] وصلواته وسلامه على اشرف الخلق سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه والتابعين

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A Legal Instrument in the Service of People and Institutions: Endowments in Mamluk Jerusalem as Mirrored in the Ḥaram Documents

Religious endowments formed an important part of spiritual and legal life in the pre-modern Islamic world. Much has been written on the religious foundations for al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf by the sultan Saladin (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn) after his conquest of Jerusalem in 583/1187.[1] But his were only the first in a long tradition of endowments in her "Noble Holiness," al-Quds al-Sharīf, as the city was called in contemporary writings. From the seventh/thirteenth century onwards, Jerusalem was the place of numerous endowments by high-ranking Mamluk officials and ladies who founded mausoleums (sing. *turbah*), colleges (sing. *madrasah*), Sufi hospices (sing. *khānqāh*), and Sufi-convents (sing. *zāwiyah*). These buildings shaped the city and some still exist today.[2] As private institutions with their own sources of revenue, these foundations fulfilled social and religious functions, provided teaching posts for religious scholars, and paid for worship services both within their own confines and within the holy district, al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf, with its two sanctuaries, al-Masjid al-Aqṣá and the Dome of the Rock (Qubbat al-Ṣakhrah).[3] Some attention has been given to the founders of these endowments, the economic support they provided, and their history in the centuries after the Mamluk period.[4]

This article will take another angle and enquire into legal practice connected to endowments in Mamluk society. Several specimens from the so-called Ḥaram

[1]On the endowments of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī, see Y. Frenkel, "Political and Social Aspects of Islamic Religious Endowments *(Awqāf):* Saladin in Cairo (1169–73) and Jerusalem (1187–93)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 62 (1999): 1–20; and Johannes Pahlitzsch, "The Transformation of Latin Religious Institutions into Islamic Endowments by Saladin in Jerusalem," in *Governing the Holy City: The Interaction of Social Groups in Jerusalem between the Fatimid and the Ottoman Period,* ed. Johannes Pahlitzsch and Lorenz Korn (Wiesbaden, 2004), 47–69, with a new edition of the *waqfīyah* and a translation in ibid., 60–68.

[2]On this issue, see the excellent architectural overview in Michael Hamilton Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study: With Additional Historical Research by D. S. Richards* (Jerusalem, 1987); more general is Yūsuf Darwīsh Ghawānimah, *Tārīkh Niyābat Bayt al-Maqdis fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Amman, 1982), 107–11.

[3]See Richards in Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem,* esp. 70b–73b.

[4]Ibid., 66a–70b.

corpus, 900 documents from eighth/fourteenth-century Jerusalem,[5] concern various aspects of religious and private endowments. Little is known about the functioning of these foundations from the leaseholders' perspective, that is, the legal relations of shopkeepers and farmers on *waqf* land to the *waqf* administration. One of the first things we may learn from the Ḥaram documents is that the legal paperwork in Mamluk times was not restricted to the endowment deed by which a foundation had been established. In the following we will discuss a variety of documents that at various times were certified in court and attested to the existence of an endowment. These documents also demonstrate how some people used the legal instrument of "endowment" in ways quite different from Mamluk sultans and their officials.

Our first example is a deed from a citizen of Hebron from 26 Ṣafar 759/7 February 1358, which endowed a house *(dār)* in Jerusalem. The document describes the estate, and enumerates as beneficiaries the founder and his children, followed by their descendants.[6] Less than one month later, this deed was confirmed by the procedure of *thubūt* (establishing as legal fact).[7] For this, the judge summoned and questioned the witnesses, accepted their testimony as legally binding, and ratified the document with his *ʿalāmah* (official motto). Only then would he call upon his court witnesses to attest to the *thubūt* procedure in the form of a notarized *ishhād* on the verso of the document.[8] In terms of layout, this endowment deed resembles any other legal document in the Ḥaram collection with the exception of the phrase "*waqafa wa-ḥabbasa* . . ." (it has endowed and alienated . . .). The deed did not follow a specific decorative format of notarization, as we may find in marriage contracts written in columns with a wide blank space between two lines.[9]

The second endowment deed in our archives was drawn up on 5 Ṣafar 768/11 October 1366 and concerned a house *(dār)* in the Bāb al-ʿAmūd quarter

[5]See Donald P. Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from al-Ḥaram aš-Šharīf in Jerusalem,* Beiruter Texte und Studien 29 (Beirut/Wiesbaden, 1984).

[6]See Ḥaram document no. 617/1, lines 2ff. deal with the presence in court, lines 10ff. with the beneficiaries of the *waqf* (a part of this sentence remains undeciphered). Cf. also Little, *Catalogue,* 319. Only the registration on the verso names the city of Jerusalem as the location of the estate. As a convention, I indicate with a slash after the number of a Ḥaram document, here "617/1," one of several recordings on the same piece of paper or parchment, numbered in chronological order, which rarely corresponds with the layout given in the *Catalogue* by Little.

[7]See Ḥaram document no. 617/2 (verso) from 22 Rabīʿ I 759/4 March 1358; cf. Little, *Catalogue,* 319.

[8]On this procedure and subsequent notations on the documents see my analysis of the Ḥaram documents from a judicial and historical perspective, "Qāḍī-Gericht und Rechtsadministration in Jerusalem: Studie der mamlūkischen Dokumente des Ḥaram Sharīf" (forthcoming), here chapter IV, "Gerichtliche Verfahrensarten."

[9]Cf. Little, *Catalogue,* 301.

of Jerusalem. After the founder's death, the estate would pass to the Ṣalāḥīyah Hospice.[10] We note the same lack of formality in its notarization. This document does not bear any signs of a *thubūt* procedure in court, and we must assume that court confirmation was not indispensable for the validity of a foundation, unless there was a dispute. Was it the absence of any family heirs which made additional judicial procedure unnecessary for the Ṣalāḥīyah Hospice?

A third endowment deed was, once again, certified in court after some time, and in this case family members do appear as additional actors. On 25 Rabīʿ I 747/16 July 1346, Fāṭimah al-Marʾ (?) Saʿūd had it notarized that she had endowed from her personal property the renovated Roman vaulted gallery *(qabw)* next to her house in the Maghribī Quarter. The beneficiaries were the old Maghribī *fuqarāʾ* living in the rear of this gallery, probably in the Zāwiyat ʿUmar, which formed the northern boundary of the *waqf*. When the *fuqarāʾ* had perished, the place should pass to the *waqf* of the Maghribī Quarter.[11] As is made clear from the description, this vaulted gallery formed a street corner to its west and south, with the founder's house at its eastern side.

To challenge the endowment, claims would be made that Fāṭimah had not been full proprietor of the property, and that she did not have the legal capacity to make such an endowment. Unlike the first endowment cited above, here there occurred another step before court certification of the endowment was notarized: some weeks after the endowment deed was written, the founder's son, Masʿūd, present in court, was accused of having changed the parameters *(taḥyizat al-ʿimārah)* of the endowed building.[12] Finally, he acknowledged his mother's property rights on the gallery, and this was notarized in the same document on 9 Rabīʿ II 747/30 July 1346.[13] Again some weeks later, the two documents were "established as legal facts" *(thubūt)* by the Shafiʿi judge of the city.[14] After this, the son had no legal opportunity to overturn his mother's endowment.

Another document, dating from 6 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 778 (?)/16 April 1377 (?), contained the acknowledgement by Sitt al-Bintayn al-Bilbaysīyah of her endowment of an orchard *(karam)* with fig trees, grapes, and olives within described boundaries on land of the Khān Banī Saʿd in Jerusalem. She designated herself as beneficiary during her lifetime, followed by her brother ʿUmar and

[10]Ḥaram document no. 20, edited by Ghawānimah, *Tārīkh Niyābat Bayt al-Maqdis,* 194, no. 9, and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥīyah, "Min Wathāʾiq al-Ḥaram al-Qudsī al-Sharīf al-Mamlūkīyah," *Ḥawliyāt Kulliyat al-Ādāb* (Kuwait) 6 (1985): 49ff.

[11]Ḥaram document no. 833/1 (recto), cf. Little, *Catalogue,* 319; edited in Kāmil Jamīl al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq Maqdisīyah Tārīkhīyah* (Amman, 1983 and 1985), 1:235ff.

[12]Ḥaram document no. 833/2 (verso), ll. 3–4, not edited.

[13]Ibid.; cf. Little, *Catalogue,* 320.

[14]Ḥaram document no. 833/3 (4 Jumādá I 747/23 August 1346); Little, *Catalogue,* 320.

finally the Māristān Ṣalāḥīyah,[15] which benefitted the poor orphans of Jerusalem.[16] This is an example of an endowment of a plantation *(ghirās)* on *waqf* land.[17] No process of court certification took place in this case, to which we will return later. There is a slight, but historically important, difference between the document concerning Fāṭimah and this last one by Sitt al-Bintayn. In the first case, the act of endowment was notarized, and the witnesses attested to Fāṭimah's declaration, by which she made the endowment.[18] The second document attests to the fact that on such and such day, Sitt al-Bintayn declared having made an endowment. The act of endowment may have preceded the declaration by any period of time, whereas Fāṭimah made her endowment when the document was written.

The creation of an endowment demanded proof that the landowner held full property rights.[19] A house in Jerusalem is the subject of another Ḥaram document which demonstrates this point. In the last document in this series of attestations, a man acknowledged having endowed the house *(dār)* as *waqf* for himself and his wife as initial beneficiaries, followed by the Khānqāh Ṣalāḥīyah.[20] The first document on the recto, however, concerned the acknowledgment by an ill woman, ʿAmīrah/ʿUmayrah bint Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Qiramī, of the sale of her residence *(dār)* to Shaykh Aḥmad ibn Khaḍir al-Qiramī. Just one day later, on 13 Rajab 783/3 October 1381, this acknowledgment was certified in court,[21] followed less than three weeks later by the formal attestation of how ʿAmīrah herself had acquired the property by transfer *(intiqāl)* from the "register of the public treasury" *(dīwān bayt al-māl)* on 12 Shaʿbān 768/13 April 1367.[22] Taken together, these three legal documents attest to the transfer of property rights of this particular house that Shaykh Aḥmad had acknowledged he had converted into a *waqf*. The date of his acknowledgement attestation is ambiguous,[23] but as mentioned before, the date of

[15]The hospital founded by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 584/1187 in the Dibāghah Quarter; cf. Little, *Catalogue*, 203.

[16]Ḥaram document no. 204; I read "*khān*" for "*ḥārah*": the orchard was situated on "land of the Khān Banī Saʿd", not in the Ḥārat Banī Saʿd; cf. Little, *Catalogue,* 203.

[17]For details see below.

[18]See al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq,* 1:236, after line 13.

[19]See above the acknowledgement of Fāṭimah's son Masʿūd.

[20]Ḥaram document no. 58/4 verso right; cf. Little, *Catalogue,* 194.

[21] Ḥaram document no. 58/2 verso, 13 Rajab 783/3 October 1381; Little, *Catalogue,* 193.

[22]Ḥaram document no. 58/3 recto bottom, 2 Shaʿbān 783/22 October 1381; Little, *Catalogue,* 193.

[23]Whereas "8 Shawwāl" is perfectly readable, line 18 may very well be 783—which would be six days after the attestation of *intiqāl*—but the witness signature below on the right has a different year, possibly 784: Ḥaram document no. 58/4 verso right. Little, *Catalogue,* 194, reads "786?," which I cannot confirm.

the acknowledgement does not signify the creation of an endowment. The house might well have been endowed when Shaykh Aḥmad asked ʿAmīrah to attest to the sale, possibly in order to protect the endowment against other claims.

ʿAmīrah's written acknowledgement of her sale to Shaykh Aḥmad did not have the legal standing of a sales contract. It indicates neither the price for the house, the means of payment, nor the requirements for concluding the contract. Other sales contracts with added notarization of the property transfer to the seller have survived, however.[24] Therefore we may assume the original sales contract being lost, Shaykh Aḥmad turned to the sick ʿAmīrah, who could acknowledge the sale. After her death, a proof of this sale and the property rights to the endowment without the sales contract would turn out to be much more complicated. The fact that ʿAmīrah's written acknowledgement was immediately followed by court certification and the *intiqāl* attestation indicates the desire by one of the parties to use this attestation in current legal affairs. My point is not to establish the time when Shaykh Aḥmad in fact endowed his house, but rather to demonstrate how people made use of legal documents and court procedures to ensure their endowments. Obviously the buyer, Shaykh Aḥmad, and his wife had no children, otherwise he would have noted them as beneficiaries, before the Khānqāh Ṣalāḥīyah. Without children, the public treasury would inherit a portion of the shaykh's estate in addition to the widow's, which might have resulted in the public sale of the house. To avoid this risk and its adverse effect for his wife, good reasons existed for the creation of an endowment that guaranteed the use of the entire house within the couple's lifetime. This surviving document was probably held by the Khānqāh Ṣalāḥīyah after the death of Shaykh Aḥmad and his wife, as attestation of rights to a house, which the *khānqāh* administered. In such a context, ʿAmīrah's acknowledgement and the following attestations were even better suited than the endowment deed by Shaykh Aḥmad, which does not attest to how its founder acquired the property. As a matter of fact, this *waqf* deed was not preserved.

Another acknowledgement of an endowment was notarized for still other purposes. This document concerned the endowment by the noblewoman Sufrā Khātūn of a mausoleum *(turbah)* and college *(madrasah),* not the dwellings of a family. On 26 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 770/1 August 1369 Sufrā Khātūn, wife of the deceased ʿImād al-Dīn al-Bāwardī,[25] acknowledged the endowment of various commodities, including carpets and lamps, for the *turbah* and the madrasah she

[24] See, e.g., Ḥaram document no. 39/2 recto; Little, *Catalogue,* 278 (referred to as "B").

[25] Ḥaram document no. 76/1, l. 3.

had established in Jerusalem.[26] This document had been written in Jerusalem, as far as one can judge from the testifying witnesses.[27] Literary sources inform us that Sufrā founded the Madrasah al-Bāwardīyah in the year 768/1367,[28] two years before the present document. What then could be the use of this document, written two years after the initial endowment? Two things seem to be important: firstly, the items mentioned as endowment in the acknowledgement of 770/1369 concern the furnishings, not the establishing of the institution. These items should only be used by those who staffed the endowed buildings *(man lahu waẓīfah fī al-makān)* and should not be taken away.[29] Secondly, this written acknowledgement was obviously meant to be legally valid in a town other than Jerusalem.[30] This however necessitated a first court certification *(thubūt)* from the Shafiʿi judge in Jerusalem, given two and a half months after the acknowledgement, on 2 Rabīʿ I 771/4 October 1369.[31] Attached to the four signatures attesting to this *thubūt* procedure is the *tazkiyah* attestation of 22 Rabīʿ II 773/2 November 1371 concerning the *ʿadālah* of one of these witnesses.[32]

After court certification in Jerusalem, Sufrā's acknowledgement of her endowment could finally be accepted as a legally binding document in Damascus. On 29 Jumādá II 773/7 January 1372 the Shafiʿi deputy judge of Damascus certified the various documents,[33] more than two years after the initial acknowledgement. These court procedures certainly cost money, and we may imagine a dispute over

[26]Ḥaram document no. 76/1 (recto), not "790" as in Little, *Catalogue,* 194 (see below). The name in line 3 reads "Bāwardī" and not "Bārūdī," as it is given in Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem,* passim, and Little, *Catalogue,* 194, n. 13. On the *nisbah* Bāwardī see ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad al-Samʿānī, *Al-Ansāb* (Beirut, 1988), 1:274; cf. Mujīr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUlaymī, *Al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Tārīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl* (Najaf, 1388/1968), 2:43: al-Madrasah al-Bāwardīyah.

[27]We find the characteristic signature in the right position of Ḥaram document no. 76/1 (Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-. . .) on several other documents from Jerusalem between the years 765 to 776: Ḥaram document no. 38 (middle), no. 322 (middle), no. 352/1 (middle), no. 352/2 (first), no. 354/1 (middle right), and no. 714 (right).

[28]Mujīr al-Dīn, *Uns,* 2:43f., with her father being known as "al-Bāwardī" contrary to Ḥaram document no. 76/1. Cf. also Little, *Catalogue,* 194, n. 13.

[29]Ḥaram document no. 76/1, ll. 11–13.

[30]See court validation by the *nāʾib fī al-ḥukm* of Damascus in Ḥaram document no. 76/4 (verso, right side); for details see below. On the procedure for court certification see my "Qāḍī-Gericht," chapter IV.

[31]Ḥaram document no. 76/2 (verso left). The year cannot be "791," as in Little, *Catalogue,* 194, since the judge and his witnesses were active around 770. This excludes dates as given in ibid., 194f., in the 790s.

[32]Ḥaram document no. 76/3 (below no. 76/2); this attestation is not mentioned in Little, *Catalogue,* 194. "*ʿAdālah*" is the legal quality necessary for any legally binding testimony.

[33]Ḥaram document no. 76/4 (verso, right side); cf. Little, *Catalogue,* 195. However, it is not the *ḥākim,* but the *nāʾib fī al-ḥukm* of Damascus.

items left by the late Sufrā in Damascus, which required legal proof that they had been endowed for her mausoleum and college in Jerusalem. Of course, this explanation remains conjectural, but fits our documentary findings. It would even explain why the document was preserved in Jerusalem, in the hands of those persons who administered the Madrasah al-Bāwardīyah.

Up to this point, we have examined documents pertaining to the creation of endowments, mostly for the benefit of family members, but also, as in the last case, for religious purposes. The next two cases concern litigation within a family over the administration and distribution of revenues. Regulating inheritance between family members was common practice in Mamluk Jerusalem and did not concern only houses or orchards. A certain Ghāliyah bint ʿUthmān addresses a petition to the judge Sharaf al-Dīn (d. 797/1395) and alleges that her brother ʿUmar arrogated revenues from their common family endowment for himself.[34] From her undated petition, we learn that her father, ʿUthmān ibn Thuʿaylib, had created an endowment, immediately before his death, in favor of his descendants *(waqf ʿalá al-dhurrīyah)* and had ʿUmar installed as administrator *(mutawallī)*.[35] Then Ghāliyah complained that ʿUmar sold *laban* "for 20 [possibly dirhams]" daily, which he got from the 200 sheep *(raʾs ghanam)*. They also had an orchard *(karam)* in the Māmillah area with two houses, one of them inhabited by his brother-in-law *(ṣihruhu),* the other leased to him (?) for 20 years. In addition to this, her sister had made off with the *waqf* deed and sold one feddan for 800 dirhams. The petition continues on the right margin, where Ghāliyah states that her father had seen the judge before his death and explained that ʿUmar had no right to the sheep.[36]

From estate inventories drawn up for the deceased ʿUthmān during his lifetime, we know that he had endowed a house with five apartments *(masākin)* in the Jawālidah Quarter of Jerusalem on 9 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 795/16 September 1393, the same day he called upon witnesses to draw up the inventory.[37] The same documents notarize that "ʿUmar is the sole proprietor of 200 black sheep and the complete half of a plantation," with boundaries given. According to the estate

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[34] Ḥaram document no. 278; cf. Little, *Catalogue,* 43: the petitioner does not bear the *nisbah* Sharafī, this applies only to the judge. For the edition see al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq,* 1:217f., no. 25; emendations in Diem, "Philologisches zu Mamlūkischen Erlassen, Eingaben und Dienstschreiben des Jerusalemer al-Ḥaram ash-Sharīf," *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik* 33 (1997): 51–54, but with sometimes far-fetched "explanations."

[35] Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq,* 1:217, ll. 6–7.

[36] Ibid., ll. 12–16, text on right margin without line numbers.

[37] Of this estate inventory two copies exist, Ḥaram document no. 515 and Ḥaram document no. 626 (with clearer handwriting); cf. Little, *Catalogue,* 134 and 148.

inventories, three sisters and his wife were present and had confirmed ʿUthmān's statement. They had also acknowledged having no rights to the sheep and the plantation.[38] As Ghāliyah is mentioned among ʿUthmān's heirs together with her brother ʿUmar, two sisters, and ʿUthmān's wife, there is no doubt about her having drawn up the petition mentioned above.

How should one understand these different documents? The problem is to know whether the sheep and the plantation mentioned in Ghāliyah's petition to the judge are the same as those that are designated in the inventory of her father. Unfortunately, the description of the plantation only mentions the neighbors, not the area, and we cannot be sure that these were situated in the Māmillah region, as explained in the petition. The same number of 200 sheep in the inventory and in the petition is certainly significant, but no proof they constitute the same flock. Therefore two possibilities remain: The father had only endowed the house in the city, which would give ʿUmar every right to the houses within the plantation. In addition, if the 200 sheep mentioned in the inventory did not correspond to those mentioned in the petition, then Ghāliyah's complaint would have been unfounded. How then do we explain Ghāliyah's statement that her father had declared in front of the judge that ʿUmar had no right to the sheep?[39] Could it be that the inventory did not correspond to the father's expectation?

Or, as a second possibility, Ghāliyah was right to complain about an embezzlement of her father's endowment. One cannot exclude the possibility that the written inventory did not correspond to what had been explained to her. This could explain why she insisted that her father had seen the judge before his death. We will probably never resolve this case of family quarrels between brothers and sisters. Ghāliyah mentioned also that one sister had availed herself of the "*kitāb,*" the written form of her father's endowment,[40] and that her brother ʿUmar was found drunk the day of her father's death and could not assist at his funeral.[41] In any case, the qadi obviously did not respond to Ghāliyah's petition with an order *(marsūm)* to investigate the affair.[42] The accounting on the back of the petition dates from the year 797/1395 (line 1) and concerns "al-Ḥājj ʿUthmān," which may well be the father of the petitioner Ghāliyah on the recto.[43]

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[38] Inventories: Ḥaram documents no. 515 and no. 626.

[39] See above, with text on the right margin of Ḥaram document no. 278.

[40] Ibid., ll. 15–16.

[41] Ḥaram document no. 278, ll. 18f.

[42] Compare Ḥaram document no. 25/2 and below, for the qadi's order on the back of a similar petition; cf. also Ḥaram document no. 215/2, both edited by Donald Little in "Five Petitions and Consequential Decrees from Late Fourteenth-Century Jerusalem," *Al-Majallah al-ʿArabīyah lil-ʿUlūm al-Insānīyah* 14, no. 54 (1996): 348–94.

[43] Cf. Little, *Catalogue,* 43. The accounting is not edited.

In the next litigation the manner in which revenues from a *waqf* were distributed among family members became the subject of a court case. Apparently, this endowment had already functioned for a long period of time before the document in our hands was drawn up.[44] The petitioners[45] claim that the stipulation of an endowment made by one of their ancestors benefited only his male descendants and that they have been receiving income in accordance with this stipulation for an extended period of time. According to these petitioners, they possessed successive grants of approval[46] and a *maḥḍar* certified by judges, attesting to the validity of this regulation.[47] It seems, however, that this distribution of revenues had always been contested; otherwise neither legal permission *(ijāzah),* nor court documentation *(maḥḍar)*[48] would have existed. The petitioners explain that a person subsequently disputed this usage and claimed the endowment was intended for both male and female descendants, but that he had nothing to substantiate *(yadillu)* the validity of his claim *(daʿwāhu)*. Rather, he circulated this among persons, "by whose word nothing can be corroborated [legally]."[49] It seems from this, that a claim in court for equal distribution of the *waqf* revenues among both male and female descendants was ongoing. The petitioners ask their "Lord and Master, Judge of the Judges"[50] for a written decree *(marsūm)* to the judge in the district to consider their case in their favor.[51] The judge of Nablus, in an answer to this petition, wrote that he would "clarify the aforementioned case and settle the matter in accordance with the dictates of the stipulation of the endower."[52]

[44] Ḥaram document no. 25/1, edited by Little, "Five Petitions," 351–57.

[45] The translation "slaves" for "*mamlūk*," ibid., 353f., is misleading, since this was the expression used in any respectful correspondence or petition.

[46] Ḥaram document no. 25/1, l. 5, not "*ajāʾir mutawāfirah*" (ibid., 353), but "*ajāʾiz mutawātirah."*

[47] Ibid.

[48] A *maḥḍar* at that time was a *shahādah* document, written only on a judge's order. On this technical definition see my "Qāḍī-Gericht," chapter I.2.a.

[49] Little, "Five Petitions and Consequential Decrees," 354, ll. 7–10, here 10: "*lā yathbutu bi-qawlihi shayʾun*," which means that his word is not valid for *thubūt*, i.e., he does not have the quality of a witness, which is more precise than "who cannot corroborate his word in any way" (ibid.).

[50] This should be read as a very respectful salutation, not as an exact title like "Chief Judge," cf. ibid.

[51] Ibid., ll. 12–13.

[52] Contrary to Little's translation (ibid., 357, ll. 2–3), I do not think this is an order to the "Magistrate of Nablus" by the judge of Jerusalem (ibid., 356f.). Rather, Ḥaram document no. 25/2 consists of the statement by the qadi of Nablus "that the affair should be settled according to the founder's stipulations." Sharaf al-Dīn Abū al-Rūḥ, the judge in whose court the Ḥaram documents originate, later judge in Jerusalem between 793 and 797, was in 783 judge (and not deputy judge) of Nablus; cf. his court attestations: Ḥaram document no. 55/3 from 19 Shawwāl 782/16 January 1381 (cf. Little, *Catalogue,* 313, who reads for the year "781" instead of my "782") and Ḥaram document

With this we move to the administration of bigger foundations that were not endowed for the benefit of a single family. As we have seen, legal proof of an endowment could be achieved by means other than the original endowment deed. Bigger foundations were not always created by one act, but successively according to the will (and the means) of their founder. Then, there would exist various deeds, issued at different times and concerning different aspects of the same *waqf*. The administration of a big foundation on the basis of divergent endowment deeds may not have been easy. There were ways to reduce the complexity of various documents and to organize the major aspects of a *waqf* in a legally binding way.

One Ḥaram document is such a "synopsis of *waqf* purposes" *(talkhīṣ maqāṣid al-waqf)* that summarizes various documents concerning the same endowment of a mausoleum and a college. This *waqf* summary was issued on 21 Shawwāl 793/21 September 1391 and bears the signatures of three witnesses as well as a note in the right margin as follows: "I allowed this [document] to be transcribed and collated" *(adhantu naql dhālika wa-muqābalatahu)*.[53]

This *waqf* summary concerned the endowment of Muḥammad Beg, made between the years 748 and 751, in favor of a college that was known after him as al-Madrasah al-Muḥammadīyah.[54] Donald Richards has already given a summary of its content and analyzed it from various points of view.[55] The question to ask here is why was this document written when it was (42 years after the initial endowment), and for what purpose? The answers may tell us more about the functioning of such a religious foundation years after its establishment.

This Madrasah Muḥammadīyah was headed by a shaykh, whose function as administrator of the *waqf* and spiritual head was well defined in the *waqf* summary. He was supposed to be a person versed in the "ways of the Sufis," and it is clear from this and from other documents[56] that this foundation was not administered by a member of the founder's family, but by a religious scholar and Sufi. To answer the first question, why the summary was written in Shawwāl

no. 609/5 (6 Rajab 785/4 September 1383) (cf. Little, *Catalogue,* 257). In the Ḥaram documents, judges *(quḍāh)* are referred to as the "*ḥākim*" of a city. The distinction between qadi and *ḥākim,* as pointed out by Little, "Five Petitions," 356, is not valid for the Ḥaram documents in general, nor for the ways in which a judge was named in attestations of his own court procedures in particular; see my "Qāḍī-Gericht," chapter IV. Therefore we must assume that this document, Ḥaram document no. 25/1, was addressed to Sharaf al-Dīn, then qadi of Nablus, and stayed among his papers, not with "*al-ḥākim bi-al-nāḥiyah*" (contrary to Little, "Five Petitions," 356). As a result, it is impossible to conclude "that the Jerusalem judge had jurisdiction over the judge in Nablus" (ibid.).

[53]Ḥaram document no. 643; Little, *Catalogue,* 321.

[54]Cf. Mujīr al-Dīn, *Uns,* 2:44.

[55]See Richards in Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem,* 66a, 66b, 68a, 69b, 72b.

[56]See the acknowledgment of the shaykh of this *waqf* in Ḥaram document no. 210/1 (2 Rabīʿ II 791/31 March 1389), Little, *Catalogue,* 206.

793/September 1391, it is probably not a coincidence that the former shaykh, Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyá ibn Ḥusayn had recently died and his effects were sold in the following month, on 12 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 793/11 October 1391.[57] Obviously his wife had already died before him, and he had no heir.[58] We also know that the proceeds from the public auction went directly to Egypt, by order of the *ustādār* Maḥmūd, then a very influential Mamluk official.[59]

The *waqf* summary, Ḥaram document 643, was not meant to safeguard the validity of the act of endowment: no mention is made of the founder's will, the conversion of his own private property into a *waqf,* etc. On the contrary, this "*waqf* summary" gives detailed instructions on the quality of the shaykh as Sufi and his duties as a spiritual guide, as well as how to provide for the daily needs of the community living in the college and occasional passers-by. Also, explanations are given for the lease period for the *waqf* land (usually one year, only exceptionally up to three years),[60] those persons deciding on the next inspector,[61] and the property belonging to the foundation.[62] From this, the major interest of this document seems to be in describing the administration of the *waqf* in general—with special focus on the inspector's tasks and function. Any inspector would need this information in order to fulfill the founder's wishes, and I am inclined to think that this was a copy furnished to the newly nominated shaykh, or to those reviewing his nomination.

This summary however, was not just a simple copy of other documents. It was signed by three court witnesses,[63] and contained an official notarization that the summary had been meticulously compared to the documents on which it was based. The document therefore had legal significance, since its witnesses would attest to its content in court. We can go one step further by supposing that it was the judge himself who gave this permission: the writing of this notation in

[57]Ḥaram documents nos. 768a and 768b; Little, *Catalogue,* 343.

[58]On Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyá ibn Ḥusayn and his wife see their mutual acknowledgements from 2 Rabīʿ II 791/31 March 1389 (Ḥaram documents nos. 210/1 and 315/1), certified in court the following day (Ḥaram documents nos. 210/2 and 315/2) (Little, *Catalogue,* 206 and 209). The wife is not mentioned as heir in Ḥaram document no. 768a. See the edition of Ḥaram document no. 315/1 in Huda Lutfi, "A Study of Six Fourteenth Century Iqrārs from al-Quds Relating to Muslim Women," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 26 (1983): 278, and in al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq,* 2:118.

[59]Ḥaram document no. 768a. Other documents in this case are Ḥaram document no. 719/1 and following, as well as inventory no. 178. See my "Qāḍī-Gericht" on the context.

[60]Cf. Ḥaram document no. 643, and Richards in Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem,* 68a.

[61]Cf. Richards in Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem,* 72b.

[62]Ibid., 66a.

[63]We find their signatures on court documents of this period.

the right margin[64] corresponds exactly to other notations by the Shafiʿi judge of the time, Sharaf al-Dīn Abū al-Rūḥ ʿĪsá ibn Ghānim (d. 797/1395). In contrast to this legal document, the two *daftar* sheets of an endowment established by the sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (beginning of eighth/fourteenth century) do not bear witness signatures or the annotation of a court official.[65] As Donald Little supposes, these pages formed part of the copy (of a copy) of a large *waqf* document.[66]

If the *waqf* summary of the Madrasah Muḥammadīyah did not serve to guarantee the legal status of the endowment, how was the existence of *waqf* institutions in perpetuity insured in a legal system which did not grant to written documents the status of a proof? In order to guarantee the validity of oral witness testimony on the authenticity of a document, the judge summoned the witnesses of the original deed and had them testify orally in court. This *thubūt* procedure allowed the judge to consider the text of the document as a legally "established fact" and subject to his ratification by his *ʿalāmah*. As will be shown elsewhere in detail,[67] a ratified attestation of the *thubūt* procedure in the form of an *ishhād* on judicial procedure on the back of a legal document made a document valid over time and space even without oral testimony. These *ishhād* attestations of a qadi's court were legally binding on other judges, be they in another city or in a later time. In order to guarantee the judicial value of a document, like an endowment deed, over long time periods, we cite the renewing of court attestations at periodic intervals from several up to thirty years.[68]

One specimen of this kind figures among the Ḥaram documents: the endowment of seven shares of the village Bayt al-ʿAṭṭāb al-Fawqá and six shares of Bayt al-ʿAṭṭāb al-Suflá for the benefit of the *fuqarāʾ* (lit. "poor") of Jerusalem.[69] The document

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[64]Although called "*ʿalāmah* notation" by Little in his *Catalogue,* 321, it is in the place where the judge would place his *tawqīʿ* orders to his court witnesses, although here it is not such an order.

[65]Ḥaram documents nos. 77 and 306 (which contains a text beginning with the *basmalah*); see also Little, *Catalogue,* 374f.

[66]Ibid.

[67]See my "Qāḍī-Gericht," chapter VI.2.

[68]See, e.g., the *waqfīyah* of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (references in note 1), and court certifications edited by al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq*, 1:73–90 (from the year 590 to 791) and 98–100 (in the tenth/sixteenth century); however, there are many examples. A study on this long-term use of written documents is lacking.

[69]Ḥaram document no. 333; cf. Little, *Catalogue,* 320f. The term "*fuqarāʾ*" usually refers to persons that are "*faqīr ilá Allāh*" (needy of God), that is, religious scholars, not necessarily materially poor people.

opens with the endowment from the year 712/1312–13,[70] "transferred" *(untuqila)*[71] from "a copy in 12 chapters," which had been attested to by court procedure for the first time in the year 720/1320–21.[72] Then follow the enumeration of further court attestations in the years 727/1327,[73] 743/1343,[74] 746/1346,[75] 747/1346,[76] and finally in the year 754/1353.[77] Each court attestation mentions the exact day and the name of the judge,[78] a way to confirm whether the judge had been in office or not. This specific document does not bear witness signatures. It probably served as an aide-mémoire, not as a legal attestation. A filing notation on the verso mentions the shares of the endowed villages, which had obviously been sold by some of the founder's children.[79]

From a general point of view, this specimen shows that even minor endowments, not just the big imperial foundations like those of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, cited above, were the object of renewed court validation: in our case, it was obviously the *waqf* administration of Jerusalem in the name of the "*fuqarā*ʾ of Jerusalem" who had taken care of the repeated court validation. This system of repeated court validation could guarantee the legal standing of an endowment deed over a long time. However, without it, the deed loses the force of proof. Certainly no such renewal of a court validation was made when private endowments ceased to function and no longer provided substantial income. Then, after one or two generations, the original documents had lost any legal standing and the unvalidated *waqf* fell into disuse.

This brings us to our last point, the economic use of endowments by those persons who rented them and thus provided an income to the *waqf*. With regard to Jerusalem, Donald Richards has already pointed to the problem of leasing contracts of long duration that might alienate endowed property and thus bring the *waqf* to an end.[80] From an economic perspective, there are, however, various aspects to consider.

We have at our disposal several contracts of sale concerning "plantations"

[70] Ḥaram document no. 333, ll. 1–13.

[71] The same expression is used for the *waqf* summary Ḥaram document no. 643; see above.

[72] Ḥaram document no. 333, ll. 14f.

[73] Ibid., ll. 15f.

[74] Ibid., l. 16.

[75] Ibid., l. 17.

[76] Ibid., l. 16.

[77] Ibid., l. 18.

[78] Cf. Little, *Catalogue,* 320f., for the details.

[79] Ibid. On this see also Richards in Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem,* 68a.

[80] Ibid.

(ghirās) in vineyards and orchards within the city's limits. Like any sale of a dwelling *(dār),* these contracts delimit the object of the sale by its borders, the type of trees or plantations, its sale price, the conclusion of the contract, and the transfer of property to the buyer. Only the plantations are sold, however, not the land on which they are growing. This practice conforms to Shafiʿi law, allowing the sale of objects firmly rooted into the ground—without touching upon the legal status of the ground.[81]

In these cases, the land, the "basis" (*aṣl*, in legal terms), belonged either to a *waqf*[82] or was part of an *iqṭāʿ*.[83] All these sale contracts on plantations state at the end that "the buyer knows of the obligation to pay an annual ground rent *(ḥikr)* of a certain sum [between 5 and 15 dirhams per annum] to the endowment or to the *iqṭāʿ*." When, however, land *(arḍ)*[84] or a vegetable garden *(ḥākūrah)*[85] was sold, no mention of paying *ḥikr* was made. A similar sales contract concerned an apartment (*bayt*) within a family estate *(dār),* for which *ḥikr* was due to [the endowment of] the Madrasah al-Ṣalāḥīyah.[86]

This practice of selling immovable objects, but not the ground where they were rooted, was not restricted to agricultural land or to dwellings. Several shops *(ḥānūt,* pl. *ḥawānīt)* were sold in Ramaḍān 747/December 1346–January 1347 for 780 1/2 dirhams, and the buyer knew of his obligation to pay one dirham *ḥikr* each month to the endowment of the Ribāṭ al-Amīr ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Ruknī, on whose

[81]Cf. Ṣāliḥīyah, "Min Wathāʾiq al-Ḥaram al-Qudsī al-Sharīf," 62 (in commentary on Ḥaram document no. 326).

[82]Cf. Ḥaram document no. 318 (17 Jumādá I 789/5 June 1387) with Little, *Catalogue,* 283; several sales of the same piece of land in Ḥaram document no. 326/1 (recto) (30 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 758/14 November 1357), no. 326/2 (verso left) (10 Shawwāl 759/15 September 1358), and no. 326/3 (verso right) (23 Muḥarram 762/3 December 1360), all in Little, *Catalogue,* 284; several sales concerning the same land: Ḥaram document no. 354/1 (1 Shawwāl 771/28 April 1370) and no. 354/2 (5 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 772/21 May 1371), no. 354/6 (14 Muḥarram 781/2 May 1379), all cf. Little, *Catalogue,* 287; Ḥaram document no. 366 (22 Jumādá II 789/10 July 1387), Little, *Catalogue,* 288; Ḥaram document no. 614 (25 Shaʿbān 765/28 May 1364), Little, *Catalogue,* 292; Ḥaram document no. 658/1 (24 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 784/28 February 1383) and Ḥaram document no. 658/2 (12 Muḥarram 785/17 March 1383), Little, *Catalogue,* 294; Ḥaram document no. 834/1 (9 Muḥarram 756/24 January 1355), Little, *Catalogue,* 294; Ḥaram document no. 328 (3 Shawwāl 755/21 October 1354), Little, *Catalogue,* 285 (here *ḥikr* is not mentioned, only the amount to pay and that the land belongs to the Ṣalāḥīyah endowment).

[83]Only Ḥaram document no. 323/1 (12 Shawwāl 763/4 August 1362), Little, *Catalogue,* 283; resold within the same month, Ḥaram document no. 323/2 (16 Shawwāl 763/8 August 1362).

[84]Ḥaram document no. 370, from 1 Jumādá I 712/4 September 1312, cf. Little, *Catalogue,* 290.

[85]Cf. the various sales of parts *(sahm,* pl. *ashām)* from the same *ḥākūrah,* Ḥaram document no. 372/1, from 29 Ramaḍān 771/26 April 1370, and following contracts, Little, *Catalogue,* 290f.

[86]Ḥaram document no. 43, with line 4 on the payment of the *ḥikr.*

land the shops were situated.[87] These shops were the object of several attestations and court procedures,[88] and two of them were resold in the year 752/1351 for 300 dirhams, the *ḥikr* being one and a half dirhams per month.[89] Without going into the details of this complicated case,[90] we realize that these shops were subject to free commercial transaction, separate from the ground on which they stood. The only constraint was the payment of the *ḥikr* to the endowment that owned the land.[91] Unfortunately, sold objects varied from one contract to another, but the impression is that the *ḥikr* increased; from one dirham per month in the year 747/1347 for several shops to one and a half dirhams in the year 752/1351 for only two shops.

It is important to note that the obligation to pay *ḥikr* did not end with the death of a person. The duty "to pay *ḥikr* is transferred," as jurists would say, "to heirs and buyers."[92] The sale of two shops, mentioned above, was done "*waṣīyatan,*" that is, after the death of their proprietor.[93] Among the Ḥaram documents figures also the receipt of 75 dirhams annual *ḥikr* for the shop of a rich textile merchant, paid by the guardian of his minor heirs to the foundation of the Madrasah Ṣalāḥīyah in 790/1388.[94] From this, we may conclude that any investment made by the shop owner, or in any plantation, was for the benefit of his proprietor, who could sell freely his property, under the sole condition that the *ḥikr* be paid.[95]

[87]Ḥaram document no. 42/1, recto (6 Ramaḍān 747/21 December 1346), Little, *Catalogue,* 279. On the Ribāṭ see Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem*, 117–26.

[88]Ḥaram document no. 42/2, recto (14 Ramaḍān 747/29 December 1346): acknowledgement of "no rights;" Ḥaram document no. 42/3, verso (27 Ramaḍān 747/11 January 1347): court validation; and Ḥaram document no. 42/4 recto (5 Rabīʿ II 750/23 June 1349): court validation; Little, *Catalogue,* 279–80.

[89]Ḥaram document no. 42/5, verso (20 Rabīʿ II 752/16 June 1351), ll. 28 and 31. Cf. Little, *Catalogue,* 280. In the right margin of recto and verso two more sales of some of the same objects are mentioned, without any details however; see Ḥaram document no. 42/7 (verso) from 6 Shawwāl 754/4 November 1353, and no. 42/8 (recto) from 27 Ramaḍān 756/5 October 1355.

[90]See additionally the buyer's acknowledgement of having acted on behalf of a third person: Ḥaram document no. 42/9, recto (27 Ramaḍān 756/5 October 1355).

[91]Compare also Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Asyūṭī, *Jawāhir al-ʿUqūd wa-Muʿīn al-Quḍāh wa-al-Muwaqqiʿīn wa-al-Shuhūd,* ed. Musʿad ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Muḥammad al-Saʿdanī (Beirut, 1996), 1:69, with corresponding contractual clauses.

[92]For this phrase see the Hanbali jurist Muḥammad al-Maqdisī Ibn Mufliḥ (d. 763/1362) in his *Kitāb al-Furūʿ,* ed. Abū al-Zuhrā Ḥāzim al-Qāḍī (Beirut, 1418), 4:321. This corresponds exactly to the findings in the Ḥaram documents. Until now however, I have not found a similar Shafiʿi quotation.,

[93]Ḥaram document no. 42/5, l. 24.

[94]Ḥaram document no. 662 (16 Muḥarram 790/26 January 1388), Little, *Catalogue,* 329 (see above).

[95]I did not find any reference to a limitation of such a *ḥikr* contract to, for instance, 99 years.

These contracts of sale reflect an economic reality very different from that of the village headmen *(ruʾasāʾ al-qariyah)* who guaranteed the payment or delivery of harvested crops to the Ḥaram *waqf.*[96] In some cases, the obligation of the villagers to cultivate their land was enforced by a formal *qasāmah* oath, whose breach was considered perjury *(ḥinth)* and subject to high fines.[97] These villages were part of the Ḥaram endowment created by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī in the sixth/twelfth century. For the villagers, the obligation to deliver a part of their harvest to the *waqf* may have resembled a tax, which they paid for the previous year.[98] Apparently, farmers also paid individually to the *waqf* administration. One account of revenues from the village al-Quṣūr, which was part of the Ḥaram *waqf,* distinguished between revenues from the farmers *(fallāḥīn)* and revenues guaranteed by the village head *(ḍamān).*[99]

We can also identify cases in which individuals had rented land for agriculture from a *waqf* in an *ijārah* (rental) contract. The leaseholder paid *ujrah* (rent), not *ḥikr,* but the difference went beyond denominations. Unlike *ḥikr* land, which stayed in the possession of the heirs, the death of a leaseholder might have caused problems for his heirs, even with a long-term *ijārah* contract.

On 25 Shawwāl 794/14 September 1392 the Shafiʿi judge of Jerusalem, Taqī al-Dīn, gave his verdict to the claim of the Khānqāh Ṣalāḥīyah Foundation, represented by the Shaykh Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Ḥāmid, to terminate a lease of land in the Buqʿah area outside Jerusalem, because the leaseholder had died prior to its termination. The contract had been concluded in Shaʿbān 791/August 1389 for thirty years at an annual rent of 76 dirhams. The defendant, one of the leaseholder's heirs, insisted that the contract be continued, since its term had been set for 30 years and was not linked to the life of the original leaseholder. According to the defendant, there was no reason to terminate the contract

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[96]See Ḥaram documents nos. 19, 48, 110, 194, 202, 280, 348, and 459, all from the years 706/1306 to 708/1308, some of them mentioned by Richards in Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem,* 67.

[97]See Ḥaram documents nos. 293 and 697; cf. D. S. Richards, "The Qasāma in Mamlūk Society: Some Documents from the Ḥaram Collection in Jerusalem," *Annales Islamologiques* 25 (1991): 245–84.

[98]Cf. Ḥaram document no. 348, cf. Richards in Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem,* 67b. For the complexity of this phenomenon from a juridical point of view, see Baber Johansen, *The Islamic Law on Land Tax and Rent: The Peasants' Loss of Property Rights as Interpreted in the Hanafite Legal Literature of the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods* (London, 1988).

[99]See Ḥaram document no. 769a (for the years 792 and 793), recto, column A, first item: *faḍl al-ghallāt bi-ism al-fallāḥīn 2000 dirham;* second item: *ḍamān al-muʿallaq bi-ism al-ruʾasāʾ wa-al-fallāḥīn 9000 dirham.* Another document from the year 795, Ḥaram document no. 847, ed. Richards, "Qasāma," 267, has the elders of the village al-Quṣūr attest to having paid only *zakāt,* and not their taxes *(ḍarāʾib dīwānīyah),* for the last four years. I am not sure how to resolve this contradiction, if there is one.

since the claimants would receive all outstanding payments from the estate of the deceased. The qadi Taqī al-Dīn gave a judgement *(ḥukm)* in favour of the leaseholder's heirs and allowed the rent to be paid from the estate.[100] In this case, the heirs' interest in continuing the contract is obvious. The existing conditions suited them better than what they could have hoped to obtain in a new contract, whether another lease or a *ḥikr*.[101] The lease of arable land to farmers seemed to have been a common practice.[102] From Ḥaram document no. 629, we learn that endowments sometimes leased the plantations *(ghirās)* in their possession for a specified period; here it was for 10 years.[103]

As a result, we conclude that at least two types of contracts regulated the use of *waqf* property for commercial and agricultural activities: the lease of an object *(ujrah)* and the ground rent *(ḥikr)*. Since most of the surviving documents concern the estates of deceased persons, we have at our disposal two acquittals for payments vis-à-vis the Ḥaram endowment, made from the qadi's depository in the name of the heirs or from their *waṣīy*. One concerns the annual rent *(ujrah)* for a shop in the Sūq al-Wusṭānī amounting to 15 1/2 dirhams per month.[104] The other is the previously mentioned receipt of 75 dirhams annual *ḥikr* for the shop of a rich textile merchant, paid by the guardian of his minor heirs to the foundation of the Madrasah Ṣalāḥīyah in 790/1388.[105] Although any comparison without knowing the exact circumstances in each case is always problematic, the amount of the annual rent *(ujrah)* of 186 dirhams (15 1/2 x 12) being more than double that of the *ḥikr* may well be explained by the fact that the rented shop belonged to the endowment, contrary to the shop on *ḥikr* land.[106]

The interest of a *waqf* administration in transforming their assets into *ḥikr* was

[100] Ḥaram document no. 334, edited by al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq,* 2:22f. On a discussion of the *ḥukm* in this case see Christian Müller, "Settling Litigations without Judgment: The Importance of a *Ḥukm* in *Qadi*-Cases of Mamlūk Jerusalem," in *Dispensing Justice in Islam: Qadis and their Judgments,* ed. Muhammad Khalid Masud, Rudolph Peters, and David S. Powers (Leiden, 2006), 51–55.

[101] The qadi Sharaf al-Dīn was known for having transformed land in the Buqʿah area into *ḥikr* in the year 793/1391 (see below), one year before the verdict of Taqī al-Dīn. This "coincidence" may illustrate an ongoing pressure on farmers to change contracts.

[102] See Ḥaram document no. 640 from 7 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 796/3 September 1394, edited by al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq,* 2:62; cf. Little, *Catalogue,* 236. The land was leased by the Mamluk viceroy.

[103] Ḥaram document no. 629/1 (1 Shaʿbān 796/1 June 1394), Little, *Catalogue,* 299; cf. Richards in Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem,* 67.

[104] Ḥaram document no. 325 (12 Rabīʿ I 797/5 January 1395), Little, *Catalogue,* 210, rent to the "*waqf mabrūr*."

[105] Ḥaram document no. 662 (16 Muḥarram 790/26 January 1388), Little, *Catalogue,* 329 (see above).

[106] Compare also the sale of such shops and the *ḥikr* due in former years, above.

primarily to allow the development of land by private investors. They planted trees or built shops and houses, which became their private property. A citation by Mujīr al-Dīn in his chronicle of Jerusalem, *Al-Uns al-Jalīl,* mentions a case of the transfer of land to *ḥikr* in the period of the Ḥaram documents. The qadi of the city, and shaykh of al-Khānqāh al-Ṣalāḥīyah, Sharaf al-Dīn ʿĪsá ibn Ghānim (d. 797/1395)

> made the land of al-Biqʿah outside Jerusalem, which is included in the *waqf* of the aforementioned *khānqāh,* into *ḥikr* in the year 793. It was given over to vineyards *(kurūm)* whereby the revenue for the *waqf* grew, the people having developed a liking for this land and its utilization having increased since the time when it was sown land.[107]

Even before this date, the Khānqāh Ṣalāḥīyah possessed olive trees cultivated by wage laborers. See for this an account of the sale of olives including the payment of wages from the year 789/1387.[108] Already cited is the litigation between the Khānqāh Ṣalāḥīyah and the heirs of a leaseholder over the continuation of the *ijārah* contract.[109] The other documents concerning economic activity of this endowment, like the renting of shops or a bath, certainly merit a detailed study[110] that is beyond the scope of this article.

The Ḥaram documents provide insights into *waqf* as a legal institution on various levels of Mamluk society. The city of Jerusalem as a center of veneration and pilgrimage profited greatly from the influx of "foreign" capital that established endowments within the city for religious reasons. One should not underestimate its material help for religious scholars living in the city or on pilgrimage *(mujāwir),* in matters of food and housing. Endowments provided the material basis for religious services not only in the Holy Sanctuaries, but also in private Sufi convents. They paid the professors in colleges and gave shelter to their students.

Outside the world of learning and religion, the local economy was certainly stimulated by building and repair activities that were supported by the *waqf*s'

[107]Mujīr al-Dīn, *Uns,* 2:127, trans. D. Little, "Two Fourteenth-Century Court Records from Jerusalem Concerning the Disposition of Slaves by Minors," *Arabica* 29 (1982): 24.

[108]Ḥaram document no. 573 (20 Ramaḍān 789/4 October 1387), Little, *Catalogue,* 291.

[109]Ḥaram document no. 334.

[110]See Richards in Burgoyne, *Mamlūk Jerusalem,* 67a. To the documents cited by him, one may add other accounts of this endowment, such as Ḥaram documents nos. 775a, 775b, 775t, 775th and 775j.

founders and their administrators.[111] Certain endowments provided elementary teaching for children and material help for orphans. *Waqf* administrations were the landlords of numerous shops and buildings in the city, as well as the owners of orchards and arable land. Craftsmen and farmers were directly affected by the policy of *waqf* administrations, by the type of lease contract they had obtained, and by investment opportunities given through the *ḥikr* system. We should be cautious of generalities, such as the suggestion that too long a contract or the *ḥikr* alienated *waqf* property and led to its cessation. Long contracts were sometimes necessary to attract capital for investment to the benefit of both sides. Unfortunately, our documents do not furnish information about the duration of the *ḥikr* status. The documents at hand show perfectly how legal rights could be preserved over a long period of time. However, the legal status of documents in Islamic law made their court confirmation necessary within certain intervals. Only fairly reasonably managed *waqf* institutions would take the necessary steps and preserve their rights. This leads us to the various types of *waqf* foundations which in the case of Jerusalem went from the big administration of the Ḥaram *waqf* with its revenues from all over Palestine, to middle-sized religious foundations by individuals, to the endowing of property for the benefit of a family. At all levels of Mamluk society, the legal instrument "*waqf*" served men and women as a means to realize economic projects and to stabilize social situations. Prestigious religious and humanitarian institutions in the city, like the Ṣalāḥīyah Hospital[112] or the Ḥaram foundation, profited from the necessity in each endowment deed to name a final beneficiary in perpetuity. Over the centuries, they received the endowed property of families that had ceased to exist. In this way, the will of individuals finally merged into a communal project that helped to maintain traditional society.

[111] Compare also Ḥaram documents nos. 773a and 773b, Little, *Catalogue,* 352.

[112] Cf. Ḥaram documents nos. 20 and 204.

Book Reviews

Response to Thomas Bauer, review of *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period,* edited by Roger Allen and D. S. Richards, *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 2 (2007): 137–67.

Salma Khadra Jayyusi, East-West Nexus/PROTA

Thomas Bauer seems very much intent on discrediting my chapter on Mamluk and Ottoman poetry (in the Post-Classical Period volume of the *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*, edited by Roger Allen and D. S. Richards and published in 2006), which apparently contradicts the premises and ideas he himself had already put forward about this long period, one that happens to be his chosen area of specialization.

To this end he has resorted in his review article to an unseemly, incoherent, and unscholarly all-out attack on my ideas, my stance, and my work, even my person. The attack is unseemly because the personal slurs, innuendos, and insinuations generously distributed throughout his paper are unbefitting the tasks and objectives of genuine scholarship, and simply compromise their own source; incoherent because Bauer seems unable to stay the course of a single principle or standard of judgment in his rush to condemn my work and my stance; unscholarly because he builds his case on heavily decontextualized references, betrays a thorough ignorance of my corpus of work (and so my actual stance on particular issues of literature and culture), and critiques my translation of Arabic poetry in a manner that sadly betrays the weakness of his own grasp of the Arabic literary language and its idioms.

First of all, it needs to be acknowledged that there are obviously serious and deep-rooted differences in our assessment of the poetry of the period in question. Yet to slip from scholarly engagement with disagreement and alternative judgments to a vituperative lashing-out, filled with charges of all kinds, including insinuations which are meant to reflect on the person of the other, is beyond ordinary comprehension. Whereas a scholarly disagreement can be welcomed as a contribution to shaping or instigating a debate, this kind of inelegant and uncivil attack cannot be allowed to stand without challenge, although I admit to finding no pleasure whatsoever in having to respond to this level of writing.

Bauer has the audacity to heap personal invective on me simply for thinking differently from him, for not seeing in the poetry of this period the greatness and superior quality he himself sees. And yes, it is indeed true that I do not have a

high view of most of the poetry of this period, with the exception (as I said in my essay) of Sufi poetry, some of which is of a high order; of a certain number of other religious poems on account of their ardor and genuine sensibility; and of the work of a very few specific poets, notably al-Bahāʾ Zuhayr and Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī. I am not an easy admirer of anything that I do not find up to standard and I reiterate my unswerving lack of admiration for Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī, who seems to be Bauer's favorite poet of this period—viewed by him as one of the greatest poets of the Mamluk age, and on whom he has written with such high appreciation.

The Arab literary renaissance of the nineteenth century (on which I have written elsewhere[1]) reconnected directly and purposively with the earlier periods (at least seven centuries of them overall, beginning in the sixth century of the Christian era, if not earlier)—in other words, with those periods regarded as forming the golden or "classical" era of our verse, viewed almost unanimously by Arab scholars as the fountainhead of Arabic poetry. It was from the poetry of this period that the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century revivalists took their models, leaping over the Mamluk and Ottoman centuries. The overriding need in the nineteenth century was to inject into a weakened, imitative, and formulaic verse, inherited from those two periods, a strength of language and a well-built phraseology, to rid it of artificiality and what was deemed an absence of profundity or even worthwhile meaning. This leap back to older centuries was certainly an interruption in the course of a poetry that had spanned such a very long period. However, it was certainly also a welcome interruption to its direction, diction, imagery, and semantics. In fact, Arabic literature in both poetry and prose has witnessed several major interruptions, sometimes even arrests, to its steady course of evolution, but this leap back in the modern era to a much older kind of poetry is one of the most serious, and in my estimation, one of the most fortunate. It points to a direct indictment of the kind of poetry which the Mamluk and Ottoman eras had offered. The poet-revivalists, literary historians, and anthologists of the time were unanimous in their rejection of the poetry that directly preceded their times and in their decisive resort to the golden or classical period. They rejected the vacuity and serious aesthetic fatigue that had hampered the inherited poetry of their age, and knew instinctively that a continuity with the immediately previous poetry would lead them to an artistic dead end.[2] Their

[1] See "The Arab Literary Renaissance in the Nineteenth Century," in *Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry,* ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden, 1977), 1:15–45.

[2] See my description of the poetry inherited from the Ottoman period in my *Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry,* 1:25, where I say: "Arabic poetry in the earlier part of the nineteenth century was benighted in every meaning of the word. It had become a genre mainly concerned with amusement and politesse. . . . It was an exercise of the wits that revolved around itself in a

judgment, with which I fully agree, was that the poetry of these two periods had been moving overall towards banality, repetitiveness, and artificiality, mired in aesthetic clichés and formulaic descriptions. This was a trend which had its inception during the two periods in question, and the line of poetic decline had continued up to the modern Arab literary renaissance.

Bauer suggests (p. 159) that in taking this position, I simply "rely on blind [sic] personal taste," without questioning the standards I am "applying to the object of research." Yet it is clear that this assessment, and the choice of the Arab revivalists, was (as any contemporary history of the Arab literary renaissance would indicate) a matter of general and home-grown Arab consensus. Yet on this point, Bauer is inconsistent: while he ventures here that this judgment is based on my blind personal taste, he asserts, earlier on in his review, that this assessment is the outcome of a Eurocentric conceptualization derived from Orientalist sources, or expressing the Hegelian view of history, which he suggests was itself the foundation for many Orientalist accounts (see his many pages on this. pp. 141–44). It would be an extraordinary claim to make that this judgment was copied from the ideas of ill-intentioned Orientalists[3] or Hegelian theories—of whose very existence most Arab revivalists of the time were largely unaware. What connection is there between the considered judgment of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Arab poets, critics, anthologists, literary historians, and the huge Arab audience everywhere with Western conceptions of the Mamluk and Ottoman periods? Does Bauer seriously want to imply that the Arabs involved had no powers of independent thought or literary taste, that they were slaves to others outside their own culture? Is this his belittling view of the Arabs, and of their spontaneous judgment of their own poetic history?[4] Perhaps he should

vacuum. . . . [It] had become artificial, imitative and sham . . . [and] bore no relation to the best examples of Classical poetry." It would have been totally unsuccessful technically to try to draw strength for renewal from the Ottoman poetry preceding the revival.

[3] Bauer seems to believe that what he calls "prejudices" which have "for a long time prevented scholars in the Arab and Western world alike from appropriately assessing Mamluk and Ottoman literature" can "easily [sic] be discerned as originating in Western ideologies of this era." See his article, "Mamlūk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9, no. 2 (2005): 105, also 118. Western prejudices, however, were not really confined to this era, but indeed to the *entire* corpus of Arab literary and cultural history. It is indeed strange that Bauer should overlook this. In fact, even if an early Arab revivalist had come in contact with Western ideas on the subject, I cannot see that he would simply have acquiesced in the assumptions involved. I believe, on the contrary, that men like Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī, whom he gives as an example of one influenced by Western judgments on this literature (pp. 105–6 n.), had quite enough critical judgment themselves to be able to make choices of their own.

[4] If it were at all true, the Arab revivalists and the huge Arab audience at their heel would have shunned their most favorite poet, al-Mutanabbī, who is still regarded by Arabs as a supreme poet,

critically re-examine his own statements. This is precisely the substance of some modalities of Orientalist discourse: the denial to Arabs either of any intrinsic and independent judgment, grounded in their *own* relevances and needs, or any *value* to such judgment. Despite his overt attack on Orientalist thinking, he is perilously engaged in an equivalent figure of discourse. What reinforces this sense is precisely his inconsistency. Whilst in the introduction to his review, as we have seen, he objects stridently and at length to the premises, periodization, and conception of the volume as a whole (making special reference, of course, to my own article within this [p. 142]) as being Eurocentric and derived from Western imperial visions, he nevertheless equally lashes out against any descriptions of aspects of Arab literary or cultural heritage as evidencing any continuity, or shared concerns, vision, or style: for example, he objects strongly to the notion of an "Arab literary identity" (see p. 161), describing this as an "anachronistic" claim on my part, especially when applied to the period in question, and charging that it results from blind nationalism.

One cannot help reading in this an embodiment of the *newer* form of Orientalist discourse which insists on seeing in the region and its history nothing more than multiple, local, fragmented identities and projects. Certainly one can note a parallel between the structure of thinking and feeling fostered and championed by the contemporary imperial project and this kind of angry response to a stance that suggests that Arab civilization and culture had anything resembling unity to them. I shall return to this point later.

On a more specific level, Bauer needs to make up his mind: am I a Eurocentric subscriber to "Hegelian teleological thinking" (p. 142) which sees the sole function of Islamic culture as bringing "classical thinking . . . to the West" (p. 142), a writer "blinded" by my "nationalist ideology" (p. 161), or a "pro-Western" intellectual, one of those who "hail Western liberal modernity" (p. 162)? It strikes me that his attempt at discrediting my work aims to secure sympathy from a very wide range of practically opposed constituencies of opinion. But it really will not do for him to try to have his cake and eat it too. He needs to develop some consistency of approach and a convincing analysis, beyond simply that of seeking to discredit my work and person, not to mention the volume in question.

Let me turn now to the details of the specific critique Bauer makes of my paper. As part of his interest in discrediting my analysis of the poetry of the period in question, he resorts to accusing me of being ahistorical (p. 159) and essentialist (pp. 159–60). He writes (p. 160): "In her essentialist conception, it is 'the essence of poetry' (p. 29) or the 'poetic essence' (p. 41) imbued with 'the essence of a free Arab spirit' (p. 38) to capture the 'human essence' (p. 29), 'the essence of life' (p.

but who was misunderstood and, to put it mildly, treated lightly by Orientalists.

29)." What is noteworthy here is the manipulative use of *very short* quotes, taken out of context, and used *out of sequence,* in order to attribute a larger statement to me which I do not make, and which simply serves the purpose of maligning my work. The sinister part in all this is the suggestion, implicit in the way he relates all these short quotes, that it is wrong to use the word "essence" in any context. It is this which sets the stage for the next statement, namely that, according to my conception, "the history of poetry is simply the history of the realization of the *immutable* 'poetic essence'" (italics added). This betrays an ignorance (or intentional neglect) of the thrust and logic of my work on poetry; most notably relevant to this argument are my *Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry,* my chapter on Umayyad poetry—which he lightly mentions—and my chapters on Andalusi poetry.[5] But beyond that, it demonstrates a willful misreading of my own statements in this paper: the only place in my entire paper where I use the term "the essence of poetry" is in reference to what another critic had said, specifically the Andalusi Ḥāzim al-Qarṭājjanī (d. 456/1064) speaking of a poetry previous to his time which was already showing signs of some decline, and by this anticipating the systematic poetic decline during the following Mamluk and Ottoman periods. I write: "For two centuries, he [i.e., al-Qarṭājjanī] said, poets there had lacked all sense of the essence of poetry, and had not, in that time, produced a single *faḥl.*" Again the only place in my entire paper where I use the phrase "poetic essence" is when I say: "Yet, for all the continuity of the old traditions in these and some other poets, there was a relentless, ongoing change in style, strength of language and poetic essence. The parallel phenomena of change and continuity that are so evident in the poetry of the eleventh and twelfth centuries may be seen as clear illustrations of a process that would be repeated constantly throughout the ensuing period under discussion here. . . ."

Immutability? Indeed, Bauer singularly fails to provide the reader with the actual context and substance of my argument which emphasizes change in both the social context of literature and accordingly its content, form, and substance. I address this from the very beginning and throughout my paper. I conclude, for example (p. 58):

> What did this lengthy era, full of significant political and social developments, contribute to the course of Arabic poetry on the one hand, and, on the other, to the knowledge of poetry as a universal art form? First, it provides fertile ground for various studies in

[5] See "Umayyad Poetry," in *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period,* The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature (1983); and for the chapters on Andalusi poetry, see: "Andalusi Poetry: the Golden Period" and "Nature Poetry in al-Andalus and the Rise of Ibn Khafaja," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain.,* ed. Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden, 1992), 317–66 and 367–97, respectively.

> the theory of literature, showing many aspects of the nature of "change." It also illustrates the effect of tradition on art, the hold that it has on the imagination of creative writers, the struggle during periods of change between various idioms and also between those forces of resistance and surrender that are a continuous part of the very stuff of poetry.

Clearly, his short quotations, strung together in a contrived way, are grievously misleading, and violate the fundamental trust between critic and reader. Most of his short quotes from my work, which pepper his tirade, are decontextualized in the same mode, and manipulated in the same prejudicial manner in order to attribute to me something I have neither said, nor expressed in my corpus of work, nor ever thought of. This is an issue of *interpretive integrity,* and integrity of transmission. I would have thought that this kind of integrity was one of the fundamental standards of critical and scholarly work.

Which brings me directly to a related issue in Bauer's critique that follows from the above and has to do with the standards of judgment and critique (although it is uncertain after the above demonstration of Bauer's "standards" for critical work whether he can even resonate with the points I will raise). It also again raises the issue of the historical as opposed to an ahistorical approach. Bauer asserts that there are "established premises" of "literary scholarship," which I supposedly violate in my "essentialist" stance, arrogating for myself the "competence to define the aesthetic criteria according to which all poetry of all periods must be measured" (p. 160). Individual critics, however expert, however responsible, will work from the base of differing world views. There is simply no point in Bauer appealing to such "established premises," when responsible critical viewpoints and methodologies vary so widely in practice. Does Bauer view "established" premises as permanently frozen criteria, such that a critic with verve and originality like M. L. al-Yousfi (whom he so categorically maligns in his review) cannot be permitted his own "different" assessment of literary change and values? Should these established criteria hold an observer back from offering a new method of dealing with literary history, a new interpretation and an original treatment of a particular topic, of a literary period, or of an author—all the more so when he or she is dealing with a culture like Arabic culture, which, though highly rich, complex, and multi-faceted, remains for numerous reasons in major need of cogent study, analysis, and interpretation? For someone who speaks so strongly of the need for a historical approach in scholarship, Bauer seems to contradict himself. He has argued earlier (p. 159) that historical judgments change, that there cannot be timeless criteria by which to assess poetic quality. Yet now he talks of "established premises and methods." Can he perhaps be a little more precise?

However, perhaps these two positions can be harmonized, if one now sees that the source of standards and criteria which may be used, and any reassessments to be allowed within them, can never be home-grown or indigenous. This effectively is Bauer's implicit position. Standards and criteria engendered internally, including within and through the Arab revivalist movement, a whole generation of renewal and regeneration, which laid the foundations in the nineteenth and early twentieth century for the rich developments of modern Arabic poetry, are all illegitimate.

In fact, Bauer's judgment of poetry leaves much to be desired generally. "Jayyusi never asks," he says (p. 164), "what the poets themselves wanted to accomplish, which, *of course, is the only standard according to which they can be measured* [italics mine]." But is that really true? Leaving the personal slur aside, this is one of those resounding critical statements which will simply not stand up to close scrutiny. *The point is, of course, that it is not enough to accomplish what one aims to do. The aim must be worth striving for in the first place.* Whatever standards of poetic or literary assessment have been used, this cannot coherently or artistically be one of them. To begin with, how exactly do we judge what the poet "wanted to accomplish"? What is the criterion for this? Further, at what point, and by what criteria, do we in the first place judge that the poet has "accomplished" what he had wanted to? But let us suppose that we have the means unequivocally to determine what the poet wanted to accomplish and whether he did accomplish it, how then, by this measure, do we find ways of distinguishing between different levels of accomplishment among poets; where is the difference between great poetry and other verse? Or is this distinction no longer to be entertained? Bauer dismisses the idea that good poetry relates to profound issues of human life, and suggests that it is enough to "find a charming entertainment" in it (p. 164) or be "surprised by a pointed literary conceit" (p. 164). I fear Bauer diminishes the entire literary and artistic enterprise by such a "standard."

The point is, of course, that it is not enough to accomplish what one aims to do as a poet or artist: literary criticism classically articulates standards which also turn on the meaningfulness of the text and its substance, not merely its *artfulness*. Great poetry, I affirm, even just good poetry, does not depend primarily on the fulfilment of aim, and certainly does not depend on ornate diction, on elegance and an elaborate poetic style. It is not something remote and abstracted from experience. On the contrary, it is the profound, instinctive, intuitive expression of experience and of a major poet's vision of the world; and that is what gives it universality and permanent appeal. It is a poetry of genuine emotion, which brings out the profound secrets of existence shared by humanity everywhere and therefore belonging to all humanity. Otherwise, why translate any poetry to the world? It is the voice of the conscience, as W. B. Yeats once said, related to the conditions and predicaments of life, and its major lived encounters and

departures: love, death, hope, despair, pain, deep joy, the struggle for existence, wisdom as an expression of lived experience, and other existential encounters with which living in this world abounds. A poem that concentrates on aesthetics alone can be pleasing and interesting, and perhaps very skillful (as many of the nature poems in al-Andalus and elsewhere were); but to be a truly major poem, it must deal also with vision and experience, with at least some facet, however specific and however small, of the human condition. If we survey the history of poetry world wide, starting with the very first epic, Gilgamesh, it is hard not to acknowledge that the poetry *consistently* considered great, both within a culture and across cultures, has been deemed to have meaningfulness in relation to lived experience, that being another way of talking about the human condition; a depth of meaning, communicated in a profoundly creative way so that it touches the reader or listener. Bauer is, of course, welcome to differ, but he needs to make a better argument. Moreover, it is certainly not my solitary judgment that he will have to take on in such an endeavour

As for the reception by a poet's contemporaries of his or her poetry (see p. 160 of Bauer's review), this is no criterion either. Indeed, I refer again to his own statement earlier: "The perception of whole periods of art," he notes, "is constantly undergoing change" (p. 159). This point has in fact been clearly dealt with in the introduction to my *Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry* (see especially pp. 5–9). The perception of the audience during a certain period is no necessary determinant of a poet's contribution and its value. In the modern period poets from many parts of the Arab world have gained great reputation and popularity, not because they have written superior poetry but merely because they have written poetry on political and patriotic subjects which deals with pertinent issues with which the contemporary Arab audience is deeply concerned. Conversely, during the classical period, Dhū al-Rummah (696–735) was regarded as a secondary poet (in fact, one quarter of a poet, as the old critics said). Yet he has now begun to be seen as one of the greatest poets of the classical (golden) period. The quality of poetry is not dependent simply on the "taste" of the audience or of the literary historian, but on its own interior qualities of meaningfulness and stance, as well as poetic charge and literary structure. This is a complex area of creativity. Yet it is a recognized domain within literary assessment, and the history of all literatures shows how reputations, luminous in their time, can crumble, and others, misunderstood or dimmed in the eyes of their contemporaries, are brought back to life; how the best poets survive over centuries and many generations, and how others are left behind.

There are a series of other points which Bauer raises. He bewails my omission of a number of poets of the period. The period had indeed numerous poets. However, to write a literary history of a period does not mean writing about a

large number of its authors. Let us consider the writing on poets of the modern period. It would take many volumes to cover even one tenth of them. The Bābitain Poetry Organization in Kuwait is presently working on a new encyclopedia, due to come out in October 2008, of Arab poets who lived and died in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There are now already over nine thousand names.

In every age poets have abounded in the Arab world, but one can certainly write the literary history of the modern period, indeed of any period, without mentioning many of its poets. In writing the literary history of a period, especially in the frame of a single chapter, rather than a full-length book, paramount attention must be given not to the sheer *number* of authors, even of some good ones among them, but to those among them who best shaped its literary history.[6] A literary genre is developed, enhanced, moved into a new school, wrenched from its course, or arrested by some of its leading authors, working alone or in groups. It is these of whom a literary historian will speak.

Bauer also attacks me for my supposed attitude to nature poetry (pp. 164, 166). Here, once more, he betrays how little he has actually seen of my work on poetry. He is speaking from a lack of knowledge, unless (as I hope is not the case) he is wilfully ignoring what he knows with a view simply to malign. In my chapter on "Nature Poetry in al-Andalus and the Rise of Ibn Khafāja," [7] I gave a lengthy, positive, and (to the best of my knowledge) new description of this poetry and its aesthetic refinements, particularly the dehumanized[8] (to use Ortega y Gasset's description) poetry of many short poems of *al-wardīyāt, al-rabīʿīyāt, al-nawrīyāt,* etc., which mostly had no relation to human experience and hence to the human condition. This poetry, which began in the East,[9] developed widely in al-Andalus, and has subsequently drawn much admiration from Western moderns. Lorca,

[6] Unless of course one wants merely to give a tepid survey of who wrote during that period: this kind of survey, however, is more of a social science than a critical literary genre of writing. I fear Bauer confuses the two sorts of enterprises, as seen in his use of the method of statistical analysis of poetic output, which offers no critical insights into the literature he treats herein at all. For a single example, see Bauer, "Abū Tammām's Ghazal," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 27 (1996): 18–21.

[7] *The Legacy of Muslim Spain,* 367–79.

[8] See what Ortega y Gasset had to say about dehumanized poetry, i.e., the poetry that does not speak of direct human experience, in *The Dehumanization of Art and Other Essays on Art, Culture and Literature (*Princeton, 1972), 24.

[9] Although the particular kind of poetry concentrating on nature had been written by the pre-Islamic poets in their intricate and "dehumanized" descriptions of the horse and the she-camel, focus on flowers and nature and the seasons as such was introduced in a big way by Ibn al-Muʿtazz (861–908), the one-day caliph in Baghdad, and taken up in the next generation by the Syrian al-Ṣunawbarī and the Egyptian al-Tinnīsī and others, being already fully entrenched when it reached al-Andalus.

for example, was an admirer, and beautiful selections have been translated by three sets of fine translators in modern times.[10] This is all covered in my chapter.[11] Nevertheless, these poetic miniatures, no matter how perfected and chiselled they were, could never have a claim to be great poetry. Great poetry, not to belabour a point, has always been a poetry of human experience and vision, of the human condition, not simply of artistic and elaborate description. But this is a platitude, something known to every perceptive reader of poetry in any language. If Bauer disagrees, all very well: but he needs to provide a substantive argument; there is no profit in piling up accusations that will not stand the test of time or honest research. My work abounds in statements and interpretations that belie Bauer's aggressive claims.

In the interest of scholarly accuracy, incidentally, I should point out that my Umayyad chapter appeared not in the *Abbasid Belles Lettres* volume of the Cambridge History of Arabic Literature, as Bauer writes (p. 162), but in Volume One, titled *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period* (1983).

Some further corrections: *uqḥuwān* appears as "daisy" in more than one dictionary: see Wehr and *The Concise Oxford English-Arabic Dictionary*. Bauer attempts to critique my translations. But is he really competent to speak of my translation from the Arabic, or to make such high-handed judgments of it? Has he really mastered the language to this extent? In fact, when we look at a collection of his own translations (see his above-mentioned article on Abū Tammām), it appears that he does not understand the poetic idiom or is unable, at least, to deal with it in translation. His translations, to put it very mildly, leave much to be desired on account of the author's doggedly literal rendering of some passages in the poems he quotes, which betrays a serious lack of knowledge of the Arab poetic idiom as well as his poetic sensibility. His translations of excerpts from Abū Tammām's poetry, for example, are literal and flat; they betray an incapacity to understand the idiomatic meaning of the Arabic lines and the necessity of translating them without undue homage to the literal details (as is indeed the case with idioms in all languages). What poetic pleasure will a reader in English gain from Bauer's translation of some of the *ghazal* passages from Abū Tammām?

[10] See Cola Franzen's lovely translation of a selection of these poems, *Poems of Arab Andalusia* (San Francisco, 1989); James Bellamy and Patricia Owen Steiner, *Banner of the Champions, an Anthology of Medieval Arabic Poetry from Andalusia and Beyond (*Madison, 1989); and Christopher Middleton and Leticia Garza-Falcon, *Andalusian Poems* (Boston, 1992).

[11] Indeed, as I also said in my opening address at the conference on *qaṣīdah* poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa at the School of Oriental and African Studies in July 1993, "Let me say at the outset . . . that I am not a conventional lover of poetry. True lovers of poetry cannot fail to see the splendor of every aesthetic form: they are versatile, mobile, open to every kind of beautiful utterance, endlessly captivated by the poignant poetic passage in any language and in any form." See *Qaṣīda Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa,* ed. Stefan Sperl and Christopher Shackle (Leiden, 1995), 1:1.

What, for instance, does Abū Tammām (along with many other poets of the Classical Age) mean by *naqā*?[12] Just a heap of sand? Or one to compare to a part of the beloved's body? Her buttocks, in fact: rounded, ample, and white like a sandhill. Since a "sandhill" has no such connotations for an English reader, such a translation completely robs the verse of its poetic substance:

> Oh twig of a moringa tree of tender growth, upon a sandhill (oh twig)
> Of which the upper part sways (p. 15).

The poet's intention is simply to describe the slim waist of the beloved and her ample white buttocks.

Most of the translations included in this article are lacking in accuracy and, particularly, in poetic appeal; they render the phrases verbatim, disastrous in any translation.

I could embark on a long list pointing out the mistakes or infelicitous choices Bauer has made in translation. *Aḥshāʾ* (p. 14 of the same article) cannot be translated in English literally as "viscera" without a grotesquely misplaced connotative effect. The verb *alifa, yaʾlafu* is not to be translated as "acquainted with" but as "familiar with" (p. 17). And how can anyone offer the following in the same article as a good translation:

> Beauty prostrated itself before his face when it saw the perplexity
> of the minds brought on by his outstanding beauty (p. 16)!

In other words: "Beauty itself was in awe at the loveliness of his face when it saw all the wonder his beauty stirred."

Again, it is a well-known usage to say, when describing the tenderness of the beloved's skin, that, being so tender, even water scratches *(khamasha)* it (not as Bauer says: "makes smooth his skin") so that it becomes red, as if wearing a robe of embers (Bauer, pp. 16–17).

Then consider this:

> Separation had made me swallow the juice of colocynths, and separation has made me bereft of a son. (p. 17 of the same article).

What does all this mean when all the poet intends is that separation has made him suffer bitterly and feel bereft? The colocynth *(ḥanẓal)* is idiomatically understood, not just in poetry, but also in present-day prose and conversation, to denote bitterness of experience. Translated *literally* into English, it loses its meaning, and, like several of the other translations I have quoted, looks virtually

[12] See pp. 14–15 of "Abū Tammām's Ghazal."

comic. And *thakila* can also mean losing someone loved, not just losing one's child (see *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ* under *thakila*).

There are many similar renderings in Bauer's poetic translation, and indeed in his discourse. For example, how can he translate *mujūn* as "satire"?[13] *Mujūn* is the use of heavy, bad language, uncontrolled and impervious to social decorum. It was a sign of the age itself, and of its accepted ethics and culture—one that he describes as "a culture of refinement, sophistication, and elegance" (p. 162 of his review on our volume)—that the word *mujūn* was used openly by poets and was explicitly present as a section title in some of their *diwāns*. It would be quite impossible for poets to use it in their poetry now.

But in this context, Bauer accuses me of "prudishness." My objection to the poetry of this period that delved into mere sexual delineation is simply an objection to vulgarity, which is inimical to art and which is amply manifested in the poetry of this period.[14] By way of contrast, I refer the interested reader to a poem I have quoted elsewhere by the early Iraqi poet ʿAbd al-Ghaffār al-Akhras (1780–1863).[15] In this lively, spirited, and delightful poem, the poet speaks of lust and wine and of a gaiety dizzy with drink. The problem is not a content that includes some explicit sexuality-–as al-Akhras's poem in fact does-–but the triviality from which most of the sexually explicit poetry of the period under discussion suffered, a triviality whose legacy is a corpus of bad and vulgar verse.

I note, in this context, that Bauer presents me as deliberately maligning ʿUmar ibn Abī Rabīʿah (p. 162), stating that I have regarded the Umayyad period as "marred" by the ʿUmar ibn Abī Rabīʿah syndrome. He contrives the following phrase to describe it (to be understood presumably as reflecting my position): "an abominable degeneration that consists of enjoying one's life without feeling guilt." I have treated the issue of guilt and shame in Arabic culture elsewhere, and would note that the above statement, with its implications, is not in my essay on Umayyad poetry nor has it ever been in my thought.[16] How did Bauer come to invent such words and such an attitude? Authentic scholarship is a matter of hard-earned status, depending first and foremost on a reputation for veracity of research and honesty of interpretation. This kind of personal assault on another scholar, through innuendo, misquotation, and slur, is (to put it charitably) highly unusual.

And "homophobia" (a further implied censure)? In my chapters on Andalusi

[13] See "Mamlūk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches," 116.

[14] Ibn ʿUnayn was banished from Damascus on account of his harsh invective, full of wantonness and crudity.

[15] See *Trends and Movements,* 1:30–31.

[16] The reader can see what I wrote on ʿUmar in my chapter, "Umayyad Poetry" in *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period,* 422–24 and *passim.*

poetry, I spoke with genuine admiration of the anguish of a dying poet (Ibn Shuhayd), expressed in lovely and heart-rending verse, at parting with ʿAmr, a young man with whom he was deeply in love.[17] Yet again Bauer fails to provide the actual context for my discussion of sexuality and love (or for that matter my discussion of eulogy and almost every other matter I do address) in the period in question, preferring to enumerate the appearance of words and tiny phrases from that discussion, as though this was any kind of genuine critical assessment. The fact that I am addressing the ways that two of the major genres of Arabic poetry (love poetry/*ghazal* and eulogy) became transformed in response to radical transformations and changes in the historical, social, and institutional conditions of the time apparently is not an issue he deems worthy of serious engagement.

What is worse here, however, is his discreditable and defamatory charges of homophobia and racism, threading their way throughout his review in order to be explicitly presented at the end (p. 167). Indeed, perhaps what is particularly outrageous is his ill-concealed attempt to assimilate my descriptions of the pre-Islamic Arabs to the waves of fascism in Europe of the twentieth century (p. 161). Again, all he has to say is based on the same method of selective quotation and enumeration as I have already outlined. However, the contexts and ways in which he repeatedly brings up the phrase "the Arab race," a phrase I never used, in order to attribute to me ideas that I express neither implicitly nor explicitly, do raise a question about his own stance.

Why should it irk this writer so much if I posit a difference between the Arabs of old and the Arabs of the later urban centuries (p. 161)? And if I describe the old Arab way of life, so different from the urbanized and stylized way of life of the Mamluk and Ottoman periods? People may justifiably hold opposing views, but that is totally different from a mere assault on another in terms of multiple personal innuendo, defamation, and invective.

Why, too, this strange ire and rage (p. 161) because I see a basic concept of poetry common to all Arabic-speaking peoples, and a unified Arab poetic identity? This is a simple fact of literary history; it has been the case in the past and remains so now, throughout the Arab world. It would be extremely difficult, at the present time, to attribute an unsigned poem to a specific Arab country or region—more so, indeed, than in the period under discussion, when regional poetries exhibited certain differences of diction and tone. Changed means of communication, and the ubiquity of conferences and poetry festivals, have ensured that the poetry of the whole Arab world has now become to a high degree unified; and poetries are now distinguished rather through the known styles of certain poets than via local

[17] See my article "Andalusi Poetry: The Golden Period," in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain,* 339–40 and *passim.*

identities. This is an interesting point of literary history.[18] What does it have to do with some "nationalist ideology" that blinds judgment? Indeed, Bauer's ire betrays the nature of his own stance on what can be permissibly said about the Arabs, or permitted for them, a point that I have addressed earlier. Interestingly, although he has issues to raise with some of the other authors, his invective is reserved only for the Arab scholars he disagrees with in the volume. It feels like a new old story. M. L. al-Yousfi (whom Bauer also attacks with slurs) is one of the very finest critics of poetry and prose literature in contemporary Arabic. The author of a seminal three-volume work, *Fitnat al-Mutakhayyal* (Beirut, 2002), he is original, creative, and gives a much-needed new and cogent interpretation and a breath of fresh air to literary criticism in the Arab world.

It is not within the rules of decorum in scholarly criticism that a reviewer should (directly or by implication) accuse an author of such negative personal qualities as homophobia and blind national fanaticism, even racism. At best, this serves to betray Bauer's ignorance of my work and his remarkable capacity to leap to judgments which suit either his own preferences or his naive concept of poetry. Yet beyond that, and given the inconsistencies, contradictions, and manipulations as well as the ugliness of the accusations his "review" is replete with, one is left questioning what impulse actually informs this review. He has addressed none of the manifold and extended *technical* points I raise about the development of poetry during the period, nor the extensive social and historical discussion I provide that addresses the environment for the development of this poetry in its different forms, and the constant comparisons with the poetry that came before and after it (except either to outright deny any historical approach on my part, or to treat it in a very superficial and denigrating way when he wishes to make his unscrupulous charges of racism).

I have fervently dedicated myself over the last thirty years or so to serving the reputation and status of my beleaguered culture and literature, and of Arab/ Islamic civilization, through translations and studies. To this end, I founded East-West Nexus/*PROTA* with the vision and aim of providing the English-speaking

[18] A very telling example, which demonstrates my point perfectly, can be drawn from a recent public occasion: on September 7, 2007, Abu Dhabi Satellite Television broadcast (10:00 p.m. local time) an inter-Arab poetry contest for best poet. Thirty-five poets from all over the Arab world (including the Sudan and Mauritania, from which two of the five finalists were selected) competed in this. One of the activities performed, as part of the occasion, was a shared collective composition of a single Arabic poem. A poet would say one verse, in the two-hemistich form, and then a second poet would add another verse in the same meter and rhyme, attempting to develop the semantic element of the poem, until all of them had had their say. The difference in their rendering was only in poetic value and skill, but there was no trace in the wordings themselves to denote the diverse local identities of the poets. This suggests the vibrancy of a shared poetic language, style, and stance.

world, to the best of my ability, with some of the finest manifestations of Arab creative talent, past and present. If I had found in the poetry of the period in question the beauty and greatness which Bauer strives to intimate it has, I would most certainly have included it in my agenda. What could prevent me from further enriching the general work I have undertaken by bringing forward more fruits of original creativity in Arabic? In my work on this project, I have consistently enjoyed the companionship of some of the best world scholars in the field of Arabic and Islamic studies. Many, from literally across the world, have shared in the vision and its objectives, and the work of bringing it to life. There may well be a number of people who may, however, not have welcomed it. This is part of the territory of such attempts at contributing to the transformation of cultural discourses about various issues and regions in the world. But it would be a sad development indeed should the field of Arabic studies fall into the hands of one such as Thomas Bauer, to be expressed in terms of such crude and personal virulence of language, intention, and tone.

Critics, in any age, work responsibly but from an inevitably—indeed bracingly—wide variety of viewpoints; and it is for the reader to make an informed choice. I myself, while observing scholarly principles, always including a close study of historical background, make my assessments from a viewpoint of heartfelt artistic conviction. What is more, I do this openly and in a spirit of respect for my readers and their intelligence. If readers, having read what I have to say, disagree with my viewpoint, I can do nothing about it. If, on the other hand, they find themselves convinced or enthused, then all the Bauers in the world can do nothing to stop this happening.

The above will, I trust, suffice to show the many-sided flaws in Bauer's blind defense of his personal view of the age, and in his venomous attack on views that differ. The only answer to the differing views of others which Bauer should give in order to defend his point of view and to show the soundness of his judgment is not to rain slurs and vituperation on those who differ from him, but rather to put down a genuinely convincing argument about this age, and translate its poetry *poetically* and demonstrate its superiority.

Meanwhile literature and criticism move vigorously on.

DENISE AIGLE, *Le Fārs sous la domination Mongole: Politique et Fiscalité (XIIIe-XIVe s.)*. Studia Iranica, Cahier 31 (Paris: Association pour l'Avancement des Études Iraniennes, 2005). Pp. 246. Includes glossary, maps, and genealogical charts.

REVIEWED BY PATRICK WING, Tulane University

Recent scholarship devoted to the provinces of the Mamluk Sultanate has raised important issues regarding the relationship between imperial authority and the influence and interests of local notables. A recent issue of this journal (11, no. 1, 2007) was devoted entirely to Syria, demonstrating an awareness of the need to consider aspects of Mamluk history taking place outside the citadel in Cairo. Denise Aigle's recent book offers scholars of Mamluk history an opportunity to examine some of these same issues in the context of the Mongol Ilkhanate in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Aigle's *Le Fārs sous la domination Mongole* makes an important contribution to our understanding of the relations between the Ilkhan court, the Mongol administrative elite, and the local Persian notables through a study of the political, social, and economic aspects of Mongol rule in Fars. Aigle's attention to the dynamics of power between military, administrative, and religious elite owes much to the work of Jean Aubin, whom she credits for influencing her approach in this work. Her stated objective is to examine the modalities of Mongol rule in Fars from the first appearance of the Mongol armies in Iran until the end of the Injuid dynasty in 1357.

In the introduction, Aigle points out that the Salghurid rulers of Fars submitted to the Mongols, and thus did not suffer the direct shock and devastation of the Mongol invasion. In addition, the province did not receive a large immigration of Mongol tribes, as was the case in Khurasan, Azarbayjan, and Anatolia. Mongol rule in Fars was exercised in a fiscal manner, and it is in the networks between the local notables, the Salghurid ruling house, and the Mongol rulers at the *ordo* (the court-camp of the khan) that Aigle examines the patterns and impact of Mongol rule in Fars.

Central to Aigle's thesis is the notion that Mongol rule in Fars caused a break in traditional administrative patterns. Previously, financial and secretarial offices had been handed down, generation to generation, in established families. However, under the Mongols, a dual administrative system was set up, consisting of both Mongol and local personnel, directed from the *ordo*. This structure meant that the provincial notables expended great energy and resources to secure loyal clients among the amirs, courtiers, and royal relatives at the *ordo* in order to pursue their own personal interests. The political maneuvering at the royal court meant that Mongol officials serving in Fars could not rely on the local nobility to faithfully manage fiscal affairs in the province. This situation, combined with

weak Salghurid rulers, led the Ilkhans to take more direct control over fiscal and administrative affairs in Fars.

Aigle traces this process chronologically through the death of the last Ilkhan ruler, Abū Saʿīd, in 1335, after which Fars became an object of desire and conflict among the several factions of amirs who attempted to take control in Iran. Conflict in the two decades after the death of Abū Saʿīd was focused on the family of the Injuids, so-called because they had been assigned to administer the Ilkhanid crown holdings *(īnjū)* in Fars in the early fourteenth century, and the Muzaffarids, another local dynasty that had ruled Kirman and Yazd under the Ilkhans. Aigle attributes the eventual victory of the Muzaffarids to their ability to incorporate the local *pahlavān*s, members of youth organizations devoted to the arts of wrestling and archery. Aigle argues that the *pahlavān*s, with their personal bands of followers, greatly contributed to the Muzaffarids' military success. At the same time, the Muzaffarid amir Mubāriz al-Dīn Muḥammad's appeal to religion won him the support of the population of Shiraz. The combination of the *pahlavān*s and Islam enabled the Muzaffarids to take Shiraz in 1353 and execute the last Injuid leader in 1357.

A general issue which could have been addressed more directly in the book was the attitude of the Ilkhan rulers themselves toward Fars, which may help account for its historical development in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In other words, why was Fars spared the devastation of the initial Mongol conquest and the subsequent influx of Mongol tribesmen, in a way that Khurasan and Azarbayjan were not? I would suggest that the Ilkhans' concern with controlling commercial traffic from China and Central Asia to the Mediterranean and Black Seas had a direct impact on the political structure of Mongol Iran from the time of the first imperial governorates there in the 1230s and 1240s. The east-west trade route made direct control of cities like Tabriz and the foundation of the city of Sulṭānīyah an important part of the Ilkhanid political economy. Fars remained outside this economic pattern, and thus the Ilkhans were content to rely on the Salghurids, Injuids, and Muzaffarids to administer Fars, Kirman, and Yazd. However, as Aigle convincingly argues, contrary to common assertions, the Mongols did play an active role in the provincial administration. They did not simply leave the Persian personnel to manage the business of government. The value of this work is in Aigle's skillful analysis of the interests of the political elites, and the ways in which the political structure of the Ilkhanate provided opportunities for and limitations to those local political actors, from the Salghurid governors to the *pahlavān* youth organizations.

In *Le Fārs sous la domination Mongole,* Denise Aigle has not merely provided a "local history" of an Ilkhanid province, but has shown how local interests depended on and influenced the imperial center. As historians of the Mamluk Sultanate and

Mongol Ilkhanate continue to examine issues of imperial-provincial interaction, the possibility for more comparative studies becomes more realistic and more promising. Such comparisons of Mamluk and Ilkhanid provincial administration and economy would surely yield valuable new insights into both of these states and the relations between them.

Al-Taᶜlīq: Yawmīyāt Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq. Edited by Sheikh Jaafar al-Muhajer (Jaᶜfar al-Muhājir). Vol. II: 891/1486 to 896/1491 (text: pp. 577–1069), vol. III: 897/1492 to 902/1497 (text: pp. 1081–1517). (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 2002, 2004).

Reviewed by Li Guo, University of Notre Dame

Woody Allen once famously remarked that ninety per cent of life is about showing up. To illustrate the point, here we have a journal, by a Damascene court clerk in the fifteenth century, which is virtually a laundry list of his showings-up, and no shows, at countless appointments and events required by his job, his family, and his community. The trajectory and significance of Ibn Ṭawq's *Al-Taᶜlīq* have been discussed by Stephan Conermann and Tilman Seidensticker in their review article published earlier in this journal,[1] with an outline of the contents of volume I, the first of four. Volumes II and III, under review here, cover the final years of Sultan Qāytbāy (r. 872–901/1468–96) and the first half of his son Muḥammad's short reign (r. 901–3/1496–98). In the following I have lumped together notes from my preliminary reading of this spectacularly rich text, in an attempt to present a reader's digest of sorts. I will first comment on the compositional features of the text, then describe its main contents, situating the piecemeal diary-entry fragments into context. I will conclude with a categorized list of the materials contained in the text that may be of interest for future research.

I.

For anyone familiar with the modern conventions of a diary, the most notable aspect of Ibn Ṭawq's narrative is its hybrid format: a strange blend of a "public" text, in the format of *tārīkh* annals, and a "private" journal. A synopsis of the opening segment of the year 891/1486 exhibits the pattern (pp. 577–79). It begins with a list of the statesmen of the Mamluk Sultanate in Cairo. Then comes the diary proper, of the first day of the year, to be broken down into nine items:

[1] "Some Remarks on Ibn Ṭawq's (d. 915/1509) Journal *al-Taᶜlīq,* vol. 1 (885/1480 to 890/1485)," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 2 (2007): 121–35.

(1) The day fell on a Sunday. Cold weather.

(2) Banyan trees and almond trees began to blossom.

(3) Lesson of Arabic grammar took place at the mosque of the author's patron *(sayyidī),* the Shafiʿi judge Shaykh al-Islām (of whom little is known). Students in attendance and the textbooks used.

(4) A messenger arrived from Cairo, reporting the release of a group of Hanafi scholars from the Citadel.

(5) Lecture at the Grand Mosque ended up with a visiting scholar, ʿAlī al-Miknāsī al-Maghribī, accompanied by a "beardless lad" and others, being badly beaten by a man, also from the Maghrib. The skirmish was ignited when the visitor, a Shafiʿi, made fun of the assaulter, a Maliki.

(6) The *nāʾib* of Syria took off for the northern frontiers. Names of the generals in his entourage and those who stayed behind in Damascus.

(7) List of the four chief judges in Damascus.

(8) List of the civic officials in Damascus.

(9) Meeting with a local shaykh, Abū al-Faḍl, at the latter's request.

Here items 6–8, on local state affairs in Damascus, were recorded perhaps out of the necessity of stocktaking at the beginning of a new year. By and large, an overall concern for the Mamluk state runs throughout the text. The annual hajj processions, military campaigns in Bilād al-Shām, news from Egypt and the Hijaz, and so forth, all find their way into the diary. However, the thin coverage of state affairs amounts to nothing more than mostly secondhand hearsay, introduced with the phrase "I heard that *(samiʿtu* or *balaghanī)*. . . ." It is evident that the author's motivation and impulse for writing the diary lay in his consummate interest in the wellbeing of himself, his community (his family and a small circle of associates and neighbors), and his place: Damascus and its suburbs. It is this portion of the text that stands out as truly original and unique, and merits our attention.

The entries vary in length. There are long ones, and extremely terse ones. "There is nothing worth writing," is the usual explanation for leaving one day's record blank. Sometimes an entire day's entry consists of a single item. One entry reads "The 19th (Rabīʿ I, year 891), Saturday. It rained early in the day" (p. 602); "the 19th (Shawwāl, year 898), Friday. Bars and taverns (? *al-khammārāt wa-al-waqqāfāt*) have been on the rise" reads another (p. 1210). There are also a few unexplained lacunae: a long stretch from Shaʿbān to Dhū al-Ḥijjah of the year 892 (pp. 713–24); the last three weeks of the year 896 (pp. 1067–68); and the last week of the year 900 (p. 1366). All these lacunae occurred at the end of a given year when the author was perhaps preoccupied with some sort of end-of-the-year rush. When he was traveling, the entries tend to be short "due to fatigue," (for example, pp. 664–65, 787–90). On occasion, failing health was the cause for tardiness: resulting from an illness "of forty-three days," starting from the end of

the year 899, the second half of the first month of the ensuing year 900 remained unrecorded, and the entries of the first three months are accordingly sparse (pp. 1308–21), a rarity for this otherwise consistent and diligent diarist.

II.

Overall, the journal makes an intriguing read, in light of the idiosyncrasy of a "private" text, whose context was perhaps better known to the author alone. A case in point: the author mentions that he once "slept" on the bed of his patron's son, the soon-to-be-married Muḥammad (p. 580). The significance of this seemingly off-hand reference is that, according to an ancient Damascene custom (the editor supplemented this information in the footnote), it was considered preferable to have a pious person sleep in the bridal bed three nights prior to the wedding. The author's record of the nights he slept in the groom's house was thus a testimony to his status in his community and his closeness to his patron's family. But since the diary was perhaps never meant to be made public, this kind of scrupulousness can hardly be viewed as self-promotion, for he also kept a record of where he slept after the wedding, rotating between his own house, the residence of the shaykh at the mosque, and other places. Why was that an important issue, then?

It turned out that Ibn Ṭawq's concern for his own job performance was perhaps the *raison d'être* for writing the diary in the first place. The tireless accounts of his whereabouts—where he prayed for the day, where he spent the night, and where he went on those work-related trips—may have to do with the fact that he lived in the suburbs and had to "commute" to the city to report to work and somehow felt the need to record all of his movements. The ubiquitous phrases such as *ḥaḍartu al-Shāmīyah fī khidmat sayyidī* ("was present at the Shāmīyah mosque [or other places] to attend to business for the patron . . .), or *lam adkhul al-madīnah* ("did not come to the city today . . .") underline such functionality of the text. It is perhaps for a similar reason that the no-shows were recorded. Our court clerk was very mindful about his personal hygiene: "Didn't attend the session today; had to go to the bathhouse," is a frequent diary entry. If it was time to do laundry, he would take the day off as well.

As diaries go, tidbits of private life are inevitable. Ibn Ṭawq is candid about it. He describes his medical conditions, namely the pathological mood swings *(taghayyur mizāj)* he suffered (pp. 1362, 1421, 1427, 1449). He laments over family problems: "have had some difficulty," one entry reads, "with the relatives" (p. 1216); "wife has not been feeling well for two days. God have mercy," reads another (p. 1221). He complains about being short of cash from time to time: "have been in bad shape money-wise these days . . . " (p. 829); "deep in debt these days . . . " (p. 847); "have had a hard time [due to legal wrangling over money]" (pp. 1152–53). Nevertheless, he seemed to lead quite a good life. A

lifetime "foodie," his passion for well-prepared meals is unmistakable. We read about his anger over some "so-so quality smoked meat, pickles, and grape leaf wraps" (p. 910); his complaint that "meat was not to be had in Damascus for a week; I have not had meat for two days and two nights!" (p. 1101); and his description of the "six main dishes" presented at the dress rehearsal for his son's wedding banquet (pp. 1419, 1422). One may take note here that the where's-the-beef question was not only for the author's own gastronomic gratification, but was also related to the welfare of his community. "Meat was not available this week in the marketplace; only statesmen and notables *(al-dawlah wa-al-kibār min al-nās)* could have it. God have mercy! . . .," reads one entry (p. 1260); "wheat was sold at [such a high price] thanks to the unjust policy *(ẓulm)* of the governor of Syria!" reads another (p. 1238).

The intimate nature of the diary genre certainly allowed the liberty to divulge some strongly worded commentaries on his surroundings. For example, he was not too happy to see that in a Christian quarter "Muslims and Christians mingle . . . That's not right!" (p. 602). He is not hesitant in lashing out at some Mamluks, including one particular amir who was a "tyrant, unjust, and dead drunk . . ." (p. 1186). Nor does he hold back any thoughts on business transactions he helped to facilitate and finalize. On more than one occasion, he makes it clear that he "was not satisfied with the deal at all" (p. 725).

Ibn Ṭawq had a keen eye for the happenings around him and was fastidious in recording them. Stories of the good, the bad, and the ugly make for some side-bar tales, aside from his own affairs. In telling the tales, his attitudes are unmistakable. For example, the sporadic accounts of the Mamluk military movements are underlined by his awareness of the state of Mamluk rule in the twilight years, in that "the Ottoman advances" pepper his narrative. At one point he exclaims that "the [Mamluk] army collapsed!" (p. 1428). Scandals, especially sexual escapades, are fixtures in the diary, and they are not for entertainment value alone. As a career Shafiʿi, Ibn Ṭawq uses these scandals to point out the moral shortcomings of other *madhhab*s. We read stories, with pointed information, about a "Hanafi" scholar who had impregnated a girl during Ramaḍān and was castrated as a penalty (p. 667); a "Hanbali" who had too much to drink (p. 1103); another "Hanbali who disguised himself as a female to mingle with women" (pp. 1171–72); and, alas, more misbehavior by "some Hanafis" (p. 1180).

There are plenty of unpleasant stories to go around: a raid that involved a preacher *(khaṭīb),* alcohol, and two singing girls (p. 656); Sufis destroying bars in the Christian quarters (p. 1011); a hashish smuggling ring (p. 1141); and more narcotics raids (pp. 1007, 1426, 1515, 1516). Nearly every page contains some dramatic episode in the author's neighborhood: domestic abuse, slave girls running away, shouting matches and fist fights between neighbors, crimes (murder, theft,

prostitution, etc.), fires, riots in the city, and so forth. While most are matter-of-fact, some are quite gruesome, such as the coroner's report of a murder case in the back alleys (pp. 1476–77).

Speaking of neighborly behavior, Ibn Ṭawq obviously had some ax to grind, if only in his journal. Oddly enough, the dirty laundry of his patron's family—money problems (pp. 1378–79), the harem feuds *(nakd)* among two strong-willed wives and a husband in between (pp. 1462, 1515)—forms one of the main story lines. Looming in the background is the shaykh's difficult wife, referred to frequently as "that Egyptian woman," whose "evil deeds" are enumerated in the diary entries, making her *the* villain of all. We are told, for example, that at the wedding of the above-mentioned Muḥammad, the mother-in-law, in her double capacity as the groom's step-mother *and* the bride's birth mother (she had been married to Shaykh al-Islām's brother, whose daughter was to marry Muḥammad), failed to show up. The woman, as Ibn Ṭawq tells it, was "possessed by Satan" and mentally unstable. Ibn Ṭawq then goes on to report that the party went on without a hitch: "the female guests" were fed with a feast of "eight grilled sheep," various kinds of rice dishes, bread, dairy products, and dessert, to be washed down with refreshments; that he personally accompanied the groom to the pre-nuptial bath; that the newlyweds consummated their union at "the early minutes of two o'clock." At the end of the day, the "Egyptian woman's wicked tricks" were defeated by divine intervention (p. 581). Inquiring minds, however, may still want to know: why an account of the food for "female attendees" only? Why such bitter animosity against this particular woman?

One also finds records of birth, death, illness, marriage, divorce, circumcision, and so forth, in the diary entries. Particularly interesting are the accounts of several cases of abortion or miscarriage. The verb used here is *asqaṭat,* the implication of which is not altogether clear. The lexicographers' definition of "a pregnant female cast her young one, or fetus, abortively, or in an immature, or imperfect, state" (Lane, Hava) encompasses a wide range of possibilities: abortion, still birth, or miscarriage. Since most of the incidents involve baby girls—a girl "of two months" (conception? birth?) had been "cast" (p. 899); two girls had been "cast" two days in a row (p. 1325); another girl met the same fate (p. 1363)—one would be inclined to think that abortion was the case here. But we also have cases involving a girl and boy (p. 1047), the circumstances of which remain vague. Such, of course, are the limits of a text of this kind. On the other hand, it is exactly this kind of scrupulous, and intriguing, detail that make Ibn Ṭawq's diary a valuable source for the study of Mamluk history, society, and culture.

III.

Taken all together, Ibn Ṭawq's diary entries are straightforward and repetitive,

but never dry or dull. The journal is local, personal, and informative.

For the student of *environment and natural history,* Ibn Ṭawq's meticulous observations of climate variation and flora and fauna in the vicinity of Damascus stand out as one of the most consistent records of its kind. Attention to the environment and climate variation (solar and lunar eclipses, new moons, earthquakes, the position of the sun, migratory locusts, flooding rivers, etc.) has long been a hallmark of the Syrian historians. Ibn Ṭawq's documentation achieves a new standard in this arena.

For the historian of *architecture and urban development,* Ibn Ṭawq's detailed first-hand descriptions of the houses, mosques, alleys, residential quarters, and other properties are valuable. Certification and verification of measurements of the buildings constituted a large part of his job and he did it diligently. The journal is full of documented accounts about the buildings and grounds in Damascus and its suburbs.

For the study of the *history of the Arabic language,* especially Damascene colloquial, the text provides intimate raw material. Ibn Ṭawq had the tendency to quote people's dialogue, including some heated exchanges, in real situations; the result is a text full of local usage and slang. It is also in this particular area that the present edition has left something to be desired. Although some features of the "Middle Arabic" are noted on occasion, for example, the missing *ḥamzah* (p. 1090, n. 2, *juzayn* for *juzʾayn*) and the *ẓāʾ*/*ḍād* interchange (p. 1211, n. 3; p. 1258, n. 1), many others are not indicated at all, for example, *r-w-s*, for *ruʾūs*, which looks very odd. But overall, the editor did a superb job in transcribing the impossibly cursive handwritten manuscripts. For such a long text, typos and errors are surprisingly few (I spot only one: *aḥmar*an, p. 835). Particularly helpful are the cultural and sociolinguistic notes on all things Syrian or Damascene.

For the student of *social history* of the late Mamluk era, Ibn Ṭawq's snapshots—of the personnel changes in ulama circles, books he read, teaching sessions he attended, poems recited in his presence, and so forth—shed light on his intellectual environment. He was also very alert to the non-Muslim communities. His account of some measures imposed by the local officials on the *dhimmīs*—for example, when they go to the bathhouse, men should wear a rope around their waists and women a bell—is unique to his diary (p. 755, n. 2). As for the study of everyday life in Damascus, the diary is a mine of information. In addition to his aforesaid addictive enthusiasm for the meals he and his fellow Damascenes had savored, our author had a taste for other fine things. He loved his furs and cloth, evidenced by the care given to the detailed accounts of what he wore on a given day. He was also watchful of the fashion trends in his city as well. One entry, for example, notes that high-heeled shoes *(al-tasūmah)* were "hot" among the Damascene ladies, but were once banned (p. 643).

In the domain of social history, Ibn Ṭawq's journal is, in my opinion, most remarkable for its accounts of his daily activities in the capacity of court clerk *(shāhid, kātib),* and is therefore most valuable for the study of *economic life and related legal practices*. Yossef Rapoport's sensible reading, and successful use of the material contained in the journal in his excellent study of marriage and divorce in Mamluk society is but one good example.[2] And there is much more. A sampling of the cases Ibn Ṭawq personally oversaw in the first month of the year 891/1486 (pp. 580–90) is sufficient to give a glimpse of the kind of data the text contains and promises:

Day 4: a rental deal concerning a property near al-Bādiraʾīyah.

Day 7: a case of break-in in al-Ṣāliḥīyah.

Day 8: a dispute between Shafiʿi and Maliki fellows over a debt.

Day 11: a real estate transfer deal involving the author's patron; and prior to that, a property transfer deal involving the sultan's personal translator.

Day 15: a case of jewelry theft by the servant of a Mamluk soldier.

Day 17: a rental deal concerning a property near Bāb al-Barīd.

Day 19: a *waqf* lease; and disputes over a will.

Day 22: family feud with regard to property rights involving the author's patron.

Day 30: the closing of the above-mentioned deal involving the sultan's translator.

And this covers only one month's worth of Ibn Ṭawq's court-related work. Following are more of his job activities as recorded in the diary:

Notarizations *(shahidtu ʿalá),* marriage licenses *(ʿaqd),* case briefings *(infaṣalat al-qaḍīyah),* the description of which occupies most of the space in the text.

Verifications (pp. 736 *[thubūt],* 859 *[tarikah],* 999 *[qaṭīʿah],* 1007, 1264 [fake documents]).

Negotiations and settlements (pp. 584, 696, 758, 765–66, 789 [complaint by a Christian], 890 [mediation efforts, *al-iṣlāḥ*], 897 [crop harvest], 1450 [negotiation with fellahin over *kharāj*-revenues]).

Property inspection and appraisal: the commonly used verb is *ṭalaʿtu,* "I went to such-and-such place to inspect . . ." (pp. 605, 617, 623, 628, 630, 637, 647, 707, 759, 818, 862, 867, 877, 878, 882, 883, 884, 888, 927, 968, 989, 1018, 1041, 1082, 1118, 1119, 1162, 1204, 1261, 1264, 1366, 1375, 1466, 1514). Sometimes the inspection involved inventory after a house eviction or state-enforced confiscation (pp. 743, 795, 904, 1253), as well as crop inventory for tax farmers (pp. 955, 1050, 1139, 1143, 1192, 1345, 1357).

Document preparation: mostly *kitāb* (letters) *(passim),* but also other kinds of

[2] Yossef Rapoport, *Marriage, Money and Divorce in Medieval Islamic Society* (Cambridge, 2005).

documents, such as *waqf* papers (p. 1494); *shahādah* (certificate of properties) (pp. 921–22); *nuzūlāt* (residential certificate) (pp. 1014, 1088, 1132); *waraqah (*letter for the sultan) and *wuṣūl* (receipts) (p. 1375); *kharāj (*account) (pp. 1453, 1514). He tells many interesting trivial details. The letters between Egypt and Syria, for example, were collected and delivered in sealed/locked postal bags *(khirqah mukhayyaṭah, kīs);* important letters were written on a specific kind of paper and wrapped in blue handkerchiefs for delivery (p. 1209).

Document delivery: *kitāb* (letters), *waraqah* (decrees), *shahādah* (certificates) (pp. 587, 617, 671, 748, 771, 772, 826, 852, 855, 860, 864, 868–69, 886, 988); *taṣdīq* (pp. 638, 649); *fatwá* (pp. 710, 762, 828); secret documents (p. 814).

Payment collection and delivery: collecting (pp. 651, 652, 906, 1012, 1063–64); paying (pp. 665, 671, 828–29, 1010, 1045, 1046, 1254); collecting and paying (pp. 1126, 1145, 1212–13, 1236); money exchange (pp. 1212, 1217 [florin to dirham, for exporting goods from Europe]); and occasionally, returning (!) the money (p. 1213).

Ibn Ṭawq was very good with numbers and had, thankfully, the good habit of writing them down in his diary. Crunching numbers, after all, was his job. A typical case is an accounting session *(muḥāsabah)* with the senior accountant (*raʾīs al-ḥiṣṣah,* pp. 1165–66, 1381, 1382, 1514). Another major task was inventory *(ʿaddādah),* the documentation of which abounds (for example, pp. 1445–47). Other than that, the diary entries contain more numbers: the measurements of the properties (pp. 749–50); various inventories (pp. 842–43, of a *tarikah* [bequest]); expenses of military activities (p. 1228, for a spy network); salaries and compensation paid to the Mamluks and government employees (pp. 823, 875, 904, 1086, 1100); various currencies *(dhahab Ashrafī, fiḍḍah ʿadadīyah, fiḍḍah Shāmīyah, laffat Ḥamawīyah)* and exchange rates with foreign currencies ("single" florin *[iflūrin mufārid]* and "double" florin *[iflūrin muzāwij],* pp. 1217, 1220).

And then, there are lots of prices. Prices of foodstuffs are quoted on a nearly weekly basis. Other prices seldom seen in chronicles abound here, such as those for houses (pp. 915, 1285); farm and orchard leases (pp. 623, 950, 1194); rental/leasing rates (pp. 632, 638, 863–64, 1052 [the annual fees for the restaurant district, Dār al-Tuʿm, was 8,000 *fiḍḍah*], 1341 [a bath house's monthly lease was settled for 160 *fiḍḍah*], 1475–76); slave girls (a "flawed one with bad manners and weak sight" went for 1,230 dirhams [p. 594]; a black maid for 1,300 dirhams [p. 604]; a legally acquired one *[al-sharʿīyah al-mūjibah]* for a sum of 1,170 *fiḍḍah* [p. 730]; a "Muslim" maid of Ethiopian origins went as high as 42 *Ashrafīyah* gold, in cash [*ḥāllah*, p. 1148]; another for 12 gold [p. 1149]); horses (pp. 649, 1273), sheep (p. 760), and cattle (pp. 781, 917). By the way, the cost for causing the wrongful death of a boy was 600 gold, cash (p. 1364).

Such are the sundry facts one can learn from the diary of a fifteenth-century Damascene court clerk. The categorized list above is far from complete. And the text as a whole, as it stands, is far from being "private" as well. Perhaps this is the way Ibn Ṭawq wanted it, after all. He makes it clear that the diary served the purpose of getting the record straight, insofar as *fal-yuʿlam dhālika*, literally "let it be known," is a phrase frequently used by the author to conclude a business-related entry. In any case, modern students of Mamluk history should be thankful that the hard-working fellow not only showed up for work but also felt obliged to leave a record of it. What a record!

Hasan M. El-Shamy, *A Motif Index of The Thousand and One Nights* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2006). Pp. 680.

Reviewed by Robert Irwin

In the last five years or so there has been an explosion of academic interest in *The Arabian Nights*. In 2004 several conferences were held to mark the tercentenary of the publication of the first volume of Antoine Galland's French translation of *Alf Laylah wa-Laylah*. The Kyoto conference proceedings were published as *The Arabian Nights and Orientalism: Perspectives from East and West,* edited by Yuriko Yamanaka and Tetsuo Nishio. The Paris conference resulted in *Les Mille et Une Nuits en partage,* edited by Aboubakr Chraïbi. The papers given at Wolfenbüttel were published in special issues of *Fabula* and *Marvels and Tales: Journal of Fairy-Tale Studies*. Recent years have also seen the publication of Daniel Beaumont's *Slave of Desire: Sex, Love and Death in The 1001 Nights; New Perspectives on Arabian Nights: Ideological Variations and Narrative Horizons,* edited by Wen-Chin Ouyang and Geert Jan van Gelder; Margaret Sironval's *Album Mille et Une Nuits; The Arabian Nights Encyclopedia,* edited by Ulrich Marzolph and Richard van Leeuwen; and *The Arabian Nights Reader,* edited by Ulrich Marzolph. We also have a new German translation by Claudia Ott from the Arabic edition of Muhsin Mahdi and a French translation by Jamel Eddine Bencheikh and André Miquel of the Calcutta II printed text of the *Nights* (handsomely published as a three-volume set in a Pléiade edition). In 2008 Penguin will publish a new translation by Malcolm Lyons of the Calcutta II version of the *Nights,* the first translation into English of this version since Richard Burton's in the 1880s.

Hasan El-Shamy is a distinguished and widely published expert on Arab folklore. His previous works include *Folktales of Egypt* (1980) and *Folk Traditions of the Arab World: A Guide to Motif Classification,* (2 vols., 1995). Stith Thompson

published *The Motif-Index* between the years 1932 and 1936. This catalogued in a fairly systematic fashion the elements that could be combined to make up either a folktale or a more literary composition. Although Thompson aimed at global coverage, as El-Shamy pointed out in his *Folk Traditions of the Arab World,* Arabic folklore was badly underrepresented in Thompson's Eurocentric compilation. *A Motif Index of The Thousand and One Nights* represents a further attempt by El-Shamy to redress this imbalance. It is also a major step forward in the study of *The Arabian Nights,* as thousands of story-telling items are here systematically catalogued for the first time.

A Motif Index is a useful book, even if one is not interested in folklore and its categories, since the book can serve general readers as a partial index to the *Nights*. If, for example, one cannot remember which story has the protagonist spying on bird-maidens as they bathe, or which story has a succession of sorcerers who demand that they be tied up and thrown into a lake, then one may find the right story by judicious use of El-Shamy's catalogue, which consists of a huge index of motifs, broadly classified in the way Thompson had laid out. It also includes a shorter alphabetical index of motifs as well as a short register of tale-types laid out following a numerical classification. (El-Shamy has not just classified new material, but he has also added new motif types to Thompson's structure.) If one looks up "mamluke" in El-Shamy's alphabetical index, the first reference is to P.508.1, "Mamelukes expected to rise to high ranks" from the story of "Dalila the Swindler." The second reference is to K252.5, "free person attired like slave (mameluke) sold as slave" from the same story. However, *A Motif Index,* compiled according to folkloristic criteria, is only a partial index, and if, for example, one looks up "camel" in the alphabetical index, one finds only three references to camels (and one of those is to a lover's bite said to have been caused by a camel), whereas if one looks up "camel" in *The Arabian Nights Encyclopedia,* one finds many more very interesting references to these animals.

Each of El-Shamy's motifs (over 5,500 of them) is normally cross-referenced to an Arabic text of the *Nights*, to Burton's English translation, to Victor Chauvin's *Bibliograpie des ouvrages Arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1800 á 1885* (1892–1922), and to *The Arabian Nights Encyclopedia*. This is an admirable and formidable piece of work, except that the choice of Arabic text as a base of reference strikes me as problematic. The text chosen was published in four volumes, printed by the Maktabat al-Jumhūrīyah (Cairo, n.d.). One problem is that this text is not widely available in the West; for example, London University's School of Oriental and African Studies does not possess a copy of this edition (and neither do I). Secondly, the authenticity of this "folk edition of *Alf laylah wa laylah*" is asserted, rather than demonstrated. Among other things, it would be useful to know how much it differs from the Būlāq text. On a more general issue,

El-Shamy makes the following remark: "Most of the narratives constituting *Alf laylah wa laylah* in the Arabic language are literary representations of traditional folktales." This may well be so, but how many is "most"? And can we be sure that the folk version always precedes the literary one? Quite a few of the stories seem to have originated in the repertoire of *nudamāʾ* or in the compositions of moralists working with the theme of *faraj baʿd al-shiddah*.

However, there is much of interest in El-Shamy's short introduction to his index. Burton's translation comes in for some well-deserved criticism. El-Shamy is right to point out that, in the frame story, Sheherazade survives through total submission to the will of Shahriyar and that there is no suggestion that the sultan should be punished for having previously killed so many women. The feminist view of Sheherazade as someone who uses stories therapeutically in order to cure the sultan of his madness must be rejected as anachronistic and as something imposed upon the frame story rather than actually being found in it. More generally, El-Shamy claims, surely correctly, that the stories in his sample are thoroughly male in their orientation: "Women-bound tales are virtually non-existent in *Alf laylah*." To Mamlukists, mention of the word *inshāʾ* will summon memories of wading through the chancery treatises of al-ʿUmarī and al-Qalqashandī. But El-Shamy uses the word to refer to a literary style, signifying "a literary composition in classical academic Arabic, not in the vernacular." Folktales suffer distortion and elaboration when they are written up in the *inshāʾ* manner.

To judge by the bibliography, very little has been written about the folklore of the *Nights* except by El-Shamy. The value of the introduction would have been enhanced by reference to parallel or contrasting work on the *Nights* and on Arabic folk literature more generally. Not all the stories are timeless and lacking a historical context and Patrice Coussonet has done patient work in dating selected stories and giving them a historical context. Malcolm Lyons's magnificent work on Arabic folk epics might also have been mentioned.

Muslim Military Architecture in Greater Syria: From the Coming of Islam to the Ottoman Period. Edited by Hugh Kennedy. History of Warfare, vol. 35 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006). Pp. xix + 323.

Reviewed by Reuven Amitai, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

This beautifully produced book (with a price to match) contains many of the papers from a conference held in Aleppo in September 2003. As indicated by the title, the individual articles cover a wide chronological span, stretching before and

after the period usually covered by this journal, although Mamlukists—especially those with an interest in archaeology, historical geography, or military history—may find all of them of interest. The various approaches found in the articles reflect the training and methodologies of the authors: archaeology, architecture, history, and numismatics. Some authors, it is seen, clearly have read the Arabic sources closely in the original, while others are dependent on translations, many of which are quite old and perhaps outdated. Several papers are detailed technical discussions of individual sites, often provisional publications or summaries of works in progress. Other papers are *tours d'horizon,* giving an overview of a particular topic or area. These, to my mind, will be of particular interest for readers of *MSR*. Two archaeologically informed historians (Stefan Heidemann and Angus Stewart) have succeeded in presenting riveting accounts of a couple of sites, integrating historical and archaeological information (and in the former case, numismatic evidence). The inclusion of an author (John France) specializing in the Frankish view of warfare in the Levant is a welcome addition, and his article provides an interesting and significant perspective on the topic.

Actually, several of the papers, particularly at the beginning of the book, deal more with post-military architecture than sites with real defensive intent. The first two articles, by Denis Genequand and Ignacio Acre, are certainly of this kind. The former, writing about "Umayyad castles," shows that there had been a shift from the military architecture of late antiquity on the frontier with the desert, to a more palatial style. The round towers of Umayyad palaces may have been inspired by Roman models, but were no longer of a true military nature. Likewise, Acre's article on Qaṣr Ḥallabāt in Jordan shows a demilitarization of the site, the aim of which was to project grandeur and to show hospitality rather than to serve as a focus of defense. Donald Whitcomb, in his paper on the walls of early Ayla (chapter 5) takes up this issue, although the matter is not cut and dried here: the city represents a transitional form between the Roman legion camp and the Muslim *amṣār* (military camps that turned into cities). It is not clear how important its walls were, and perhaps they may have been more symbolic than functional.

The symbolic values of city or castle walls, projecting power perhaps more than actually providing it, is a matter that resurfaces elsewhere in the book. It comes up in the third chapter by Jan-Waalke Meyer, who discusses the early Abbasid Kharāb Sayyār to the southeast of Ḥarrān. Its weak wall had little military worth, and thus may have been symbolic like those Umayyad sites mentioned above. The situation of the nearby Ḥiṣn Maslamah, today Madīnat al-Fār, also has what can be described as weak city walls and thus appears to be similar (chapter 4 by Claus-Peter Haase). Perhaps a comment regarding the inclusion of these two sites in the volume is in order. "Greater Syria," the translation of Bilād al-Shām

as far as I understand it, means the territory between the eastern Mediterranean coast and the Euphrates River. East of the river is al-Jazīrah. The inclusion of these sites, deep within this last mentioned region, in the present volume may have more to do with present day political realities than the historical and geographical consciousness of the pre-modern residents of these regions. On the other hand, Qalʿat Simʿān, the subject of chapter 6 by Jean-Luc Biscop, is firmly in Syria, on the road between Antioch and Aleppo. Its fort, or "kastron," was apparently built in 966 along with a crude enclosure wall around the surrounding town under Byzantine auspices. Here, too, a strict application of the title of the book would preclude its inclusion, but it was in the general environs of Muslim rulers, and as the editor writes (p. 2), "it seemed . . . important and useful to present a scientific account of Byzantine fortification of tenth century Syria for purposes of comparison." The symbolic value rather than the military worth of the construction is also noted here by the author.

With the comprehensive article by Nasser Rabbat, "The Militarization of Taste in Medieval Bilād al-Shām" (chapter 7), we enter the portion of the book that will definitely interest students of Mamluk studies in particular and the pre-Ottoman history of the Turks in the Middle East in general. This article is an excellent review of expressions of legitimization and identity of the Turkish military class, be it of tribal or mamluk origins, particularly as found in construction projects of various types. First, we learn of the new-found importance of citadels under the Turks, which combined palace, audience halls, barracks, and stables, a process which appears to have begun before the arrival of the Saljuqs, but which gains real momentum in Syria and its environs with the Saljuqs and their various successors. Adornment, be it monumental inscription or zoomorphic ornamentation (dragons, large felines—not necessarily only lions, etc.), as well as military themes, are also found in abundance. This article is a very good starting point for the textual historian wanting to explore material aspects and expressions of Turkish rule in Syria, and can also serve as appropriate reading for students learning about Syria and its neighbors in the period between the first arrival of Turkish tribes in the eleventh century and the Ottoman conquest at the beginning of the sixteenth. I have just one point of possible disagreement: I am not convinced that the Mamluk military class was seeking or achieved a greater accommodation with their subjects in the fifteenth century. The sense that I get is actually a greater alienation between rulers and ruled, or at least the latter's growing dissatisfaction with the heavy-handed attitude and actions of the former.

The next chapter by Benjamin Michaudel, "The Development of Islamic Military Architecture during the Ayyubid and Mamluk Reconquests of Frankish Syria," is a laudable first attempt (to the best of my knowledge) to give an overview of this important topic. In spite of some important studies of specific

forts and some comments in the literature about Mamluk fortification policy, there is no comprehensive work on either this subject or the general approach of the Mamluks, let alone that of their Ayyubid predecessors, to fortification construction. This is a nice preliminary survey of mostly urban Ayyubid and Mamluk military architecture and I found the author's terse but systematic analysis of the development of military architecture cogent and easy to follow. On the other hand, the article does not really take into consideration either the role of the Mongols as generating a more serious Mamluk approach to fortifications or the Mamluk policy of destroying captured Frankish fortifications on the coast, while rebuilding those inland. Certain interesting Ayyubid forts in southwest Bilād al-Shām, such as Mt. Tabor and al-Ṣubaybah (the latter with important Mamluk additions) are not discussed. In short, this article is a very useful comparative, albeit preliminary, study, and it should be seen as a jumping off point for further comprehensive and comparative research on this hitherto ignored aspect of Ayyubid and Mamluk military history.

Stefan Heidemann's paper on "The Citadel of al-Raqqa and Fortifications in the Middle Euphrates Area" is to my mind an exemplary study combining historical, archaeological, and numismatic sources to provide a picture of one particular urban fortification within the regional context. The article also contains a pithy and useful definition of the roles of an urban citadel (p. 129), worthy of citation by those interested in this topic, and not only in the framework of late medieval Islamic military history. Heidemann's discussion of the increased construction of fortifications in the area complements that in Rabbat's article mentioned above. Initially, the citadel here and elsewhere in the region served garrisons and winter camps (for other troops I presume). Under the Ayyubids, it functioned more as a princely residence and lacked clear military value, a fact proved during the Mongol conquest of the region.

A more technical study is provided by Sophie Berthier on the citadel of Damascus (chapter 10: "Le citadelle de Damas: Les apports d'une étude archéologique"), reflecting the spate of excavations and other research at this site in recent years. This is a distillation of many studies and projects conducted by many scholars, not all of them published, providing archeologists and historians with much useful and interesting information, not the least of which is the detailed plan of the citadel (albeit without a scale or directional arrow). I personally found the information about the water supply system most fascinating, which helps to explain why the Mamluk defenders were able to hold out in the citadel during the three months of Mongol occupation of Damascus in early 1300, a fact that I should have taken into consideration in my previous work. In fact, I am glad that the role of the Mongols as destroyers of fortifications (and thus indirectly catalysts for further construction work) was noted here, as it was in the following

article by Julia Gonnella on Aleppo, the name of which ("The Citadel of Aleppo: Recent Studies") reveals its intent and scope. Gonnella's chapter is a nice review of studies, published and unpublished, from recent excavations, which should be of interest for archeologists and historians alike.

Aleppo is also the subject of the short but insightful paper by Yasser Tabbaa: "Defending Ayyubid Aleppo: The Fortifications of al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī (1186–1216)." This is a successful attempt to trace the development and implementation of a systematic fortification strategy of this dynamic ruler of north Syria, who—along with his descendents—was often at loggerheads with other Ayyubid princes, as well as other Muslim and Christian neighbors. The main objective of these forts was indeed to provide an answer to Ayyubid rivals and potential nomadic troublemakers, and not so much "serious" enemies such as the Franks, and the Mongols of the near future. The judicious use of resources to build and strengthen fortifications led in a period of three decades to an enlarged and consolidated principality, whose continued existence was thus facilitated after al-Ẓāhir's death, and provided the basis for al-Nāṣir Yūsuf's expansion to Damascus and much of Bilād al-Shām in 1250. I have, however, some reservations about the idea that al-Ẓāhir was attempting to create "defensible borders" (p. 180). I doubt if such a concept existed in the pre-modern period; in most cases the best one could hope for was an effective frontier system. Given technologies, geography, and the number of troops available, there was no such thing as an Ayyubid equivalent of a Maginot Line or anything close to it. I would suggest that al-Ẓāhir, by constructing and repairing these fortifications, was (1) attempting to make clear which territories were under his influence and power; and (2) creating a means to better control them.[1]

The next two chapters, by Sauro Gelichi ("The Citadel of Ḥārim") and Cristina Tonghini and Nadia Montevecchi ("The Castle of Shayzar: The Fortification of the Access System"), are both fairly technical, detailed descriptions of two medium-sized castles in north Syria (the former an urban citadel). Archaeologists will certainly find these papers of interest, but historians will also derive benefit from the verbal descriptions, the plans, and the photographs, as they will be able to imagine the size and grandeur of these places when they encounter them in the sources for both the Ayyubid and Mamluk period. Cyril Yovitchitch's article ("The Tower of Aybak in ʿAjlūn Castle") is a good, readable study looking at both the archaeology and history of the site, which also frequently appears in our sources. Here, too, it is suggested that the building of the fort had much to do with its symbolic value and was not only a military matter. My one reservation with this article was that the author cites (p. 226) without comment the pioneering work

[1] On the matter of medieval frontiers and castles in them, see the recent book by R. Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories* (Cambridge, 2007), chapters 8 and 9.

of C. N. Johns on the castle of ʿAjlūn that "arose as a direct retort to the new Latin castle of Belvoir . . . placed on the escarpment on the opposite side of the Jordan valley, between Tiberias and Baysan."[2] How a castle some forty miles from another as the crow flies can be a "retort" is beyond me. If that was the intent, I am sure that the Franks were not too perturbed.

Other names from the Arabic chronicles come alive in the next two chapters by Janusz Bylinski ("Exploratory Mission to Shumaymis—2002") and Balász Major ("Medieval Cave Fortifications of the Upper Orontes Valley"). The story of the cave fortifications was a real eye opener for me (I confess that I have not yet had the opportunity to tour the Upper Orontes region). True, the existence of these "forts" did not significantly shift the strategic balance in north Syria, but it does shed some light on the control of a rural area. I was impressed by this author's combined use of archaeological data (much of which he himself collected) and the evidence from the Arabic sources; he did not rely on older translations or summaries. Angus Stewart ("Qalʿat al-Rūm/Hṙomgla/Rumkale and the Mamluk Siege of 691 AH/1292 CE") does a fine job describing al-Ashraf Khalīl's campaign to take this castle, really a small fortified city, putting his narrative in both a larger historiographical and archaeological context. A stickler might say that this paper does not really belong in this volume, as it only tangentially deals with Muslim military architecture and the fortification under discussion is really not in Syria by just about any definition. True, but mention is made of the Mamluk and Ottoman phases of the construction, and the discussion of the Mamluk siege offers important insight into the defensive strategies employed against a Mamluk military offensive. It is fascinating to see the Mamluks here not only as patrons of military architecture, but also as those seeking to negate its advantages.

John France's essay ("Fortifications East and West," chapter 20) is in my opinion one of the most important and interesting contributions in the book, since it analytically surveys the "confrontation" between Western siege technologies and Muslim military architecture from the beginning of the Crusades, while comparing Frankish and Muslim fortifications in general and examining the question of influence, primarily the latter on the former. In general, the author does not see too much Eastern (not just Muslim, since Byzantium is included here too) influence on the fortification architecture of the Franks, and also does not see a great initial technological disparity between the two sides in this area. Perhaps this last claim is going too far. To my eye, the Norman Tower of London seems fairly modest compared to Antioch or even Jerusalem of this period, let alone the contemporary citadels in these cities. Muslim fortified cities took weeks if not months (and in some cases years and even decades) to be conquered by the first

[2] C. N. John, "Medieval ʿAjlûn," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine* 1 (1932): 23.

Crusaders. This not only reflects the social organization of the besieged population and its resolution, and conversely was not only a problem of logistics and faulty organization and discipline of the attackers, but shows *inter alia* the strength and sophistication of the fortifications that had to be taken. I also think that Dr. France underestimates the importance of the Frankish concentric fortification, found in such places as Belvoir (Kawkab al-Hawāʾ), Crac des Chevaliers (Ḥiṣn al-Akrād), Marqab, and elsewhere, a type of fortress that began to be developed in the mid-twelfth century. The point of this concentric plan was not only to provide covering fire to the outer wall from the higher inner one, but also to provide a platform for the firing of artillery. By raising the height of the firing platform, the trebuchets had a greater range than the attacker shooting from below.[3]

The volume concludes with two papers on Ottoman fortifications. The first, by Kay Prag ("Defensive Ditches in Ottoman Fortifications in Bilād al-Shām"), actually deals mainly with one ditch (or moat) in Jerusalem. This, by the way, is the only paper in the book to discuss Palestine, an integral part of medieval Bilād al-Shām. The final paper is by Andrew Petersen, and looks at "Ottoman Hajj Forts" in Transjordan, fortifications that are very different from those discussed elsewhere in the volume. Personally, I would have liked some more discussion of the dating of these structures, and the historical context in which they were constructed.

In spite of different emphases and methodologies, the papers are uniformly of high quality and interest. I must commend the general excellence of the plates: the color photographs are crisp and clear, and extremely evocative. I do, however, have some comments about some other technical aspects of the volume: while articles dealing with specific locations had plans or maps, not all were provided with a directional arrow or a scale. There was no map for the whole volume showing clearly and conveniently where all the sites discussed in the articles were located. Some of the papers use only translations of sources found in older, pioneering publications. I think it should be a must that the latest scientific editions and the full array of sources be used for researching a site, and archeologists should seek the cooperation of historians if necessary.

As mentioned above, a theme that emerges in many of the papers is the symbolic importance of fortifications, which project power and grandeur to the military-

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[3] In addition to R. Ellenblum's book cited above, see idem, "Frankish and Muslim Siege Warfare and the Construction of Frankish Concentric Castles," in *Dei gesta per Francos: Etudes sur les croisades dédiées Jean Richard/Crusade Studies in Honour of Jean Richard,* ed. M. Balard, B. Z. Kedar, and J. Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2001), 187–98; idem, "Three Generations of Frankish Castle-Building in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *Autour de la première croisade: actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East: Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995,* ed. M. Balard (Paris, 1996), 517–51.

political elite, the ruled population, and enemies. At the same time, some authors also address the military side of military architecture, looking at the advantages and disadvantages of a particular construction project or fortified spot, a complex of sites, or more general questions of fortification policy and technology. Taken all together, this collection certainly enriches our understanding of fortification planning, architecture, and construction, the roles of fortifications in military, political, social and cultural life, the actual maintenance and use of fortifications, and the attempts to negate their effectiveness by attackers, all in Greater Syria and neighboring lands from the advent of Islam until the early modern period.

At the beginning of the volume, it is written that the book "is dedicated to the people of Bilād al-Shām, both officials and ordinary folk," and this is indeed a worthy and honorable dedication. I hope that in the future, conditions will be such that conferences of this type will also include scholars from the southwest portion of Bilād al-Shām, for the benefit of all participants and perhaps even for scholarship in general.

LUCIAN REINFANDT, *Mamlukische Sultansstiftungen des 9./15. Jahrhunderts: Nach den Urkunden der Stifter al-Ašraf Īnāl und al-Muʾayyad Aḥmad Ibn Īnāl.* Islamkundliche Untersuchungen, vol. 257 (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2003). Pp. 469.

REVIEWED BY JOHANNES PAHLITZSCH, Freie Universität Berlin

The reign of the Mamluk sultan al-Ashraf Īnāl (r. 857–65/1453–61) has not attracted a great deal of attention. Thus Lucian Reinfandt's book, which is a revised version of his dissertation written under the supervision of the late Ulrich Haarmann and Monika Gronke at the Christian-Albrechts-University of Kiel, is most welcome. The main part of his book is an edition with translation and commentary of two parchment scrolls from the Dār al-Kutub al-Qawmīyah (no. 63 tārīkh = DK) and the Dār al-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmīyah (no. 51/346 = DW) in Cairo (part B, pp. 97–397). These scrolls contain various documents regarding the pious foundations *(waqf/awqāf)* of sultan Īnāl and his son and successor Aḥmad. In the first part Reinfandt gives a historical introduction to the reign of Īnāl, demonstrating the importance of Īnāl's foundations for understanding his reign.

To this end Reinfandt gives a stimulating description of the legal and financial means used by Īnāl and other sultans of the fifteenth century in the establishment of pious foundations. Public foundations *(waqf khayrī)* in particular were endowed with much more property than would have been necessary to finance their upkeep. In fact, Reinfandt calculates a surplus of 90% for Īnāl's foundation

of a madrasah, a *khānqāh,* and a mausoleum in the northern cemetery of Cairo. While a great part of this property was probably acquired illegally, for example by embezzling the funds of the state treasury, the surplus could be used by the founder at will. By the addition of further endowments this private reserve could be increased. Reinfandt scrutinizes the persons and strategies involved in creating this clandestine economy, although some aspects of it have to remain obscure due to the lack of sources. It is one of Reinfandt's main theses (following Carl Petry) that public foundations of Mamluk sultans served as their private banks which provided them with the necessary means to act independently despite a chronic budget deficit. Pious foundations were thus a means to stabilize not only their own rule but also the succession of their sons, although their hopes of creating dynasties were not fulfilled.

Of importance in this context is the flexibility of the *waqf* law. By means of *istibdāl,* i.e., the exchange of *waqf* property with property of another foundation, the *waqf* became a dynamic and adaptive economic instrument in the fifteenth century. Reinfandt's work is especially important for the study of "Stiftungswirklichkeit" (reality of foundations) since it illustrates how two specific foundations developed in real life after the founder had specified his intentions in the endowment deed.

After the death of Īnāl and the deposition of his son Aḥmad, the foundations of Īnāl's family were confiscated by the new sultan. However, they were not totally dissolved but continued to exist well into the Ottoman period. Reinfandt speculates that only the surplus, i.e., the bulk of the income, had been confiscated, leaving the institutions as such enough property to ensure their survival. Thus the mausoleum of Īnāl became not only the center of the sultan's family as a burial plot but also in economic terms, because of additional endowments of his descendants which provided income for the members of the family. In this sense Īnāl's establishment of his madrasah-mausoleum complex was crucial for the further development of his newly created family.

Reinfandt then gives a detailed description of the two main foundations of Īnāl including lists of the endowed property (pp. 59–96): the just-mentioned public foundation of a mausoleum, a madrasah, and a *khānqāh,* and his family foundation. Both foundations are documented respectively in scrolls DK and DW together with later additional foundations ("Zustiftungen"), various judicial authentications and certifications, testimonies, and *istibdāl* documents. All in all Reinfandt identifies 17 documents in DK and 9 documents in DW. His careful analysis of the different types of documents and of the composition of the scrolls as such is very helpful for further research on Arabic diplomatics (pp. 97–135).

In the edition of these two documents (pp. 137–255) Reinfandt follows clear editorial principles, publishing the text as written in the documents. Unfortunately, the reliability of Reinfandt's edition could not be checked since only one picture

of scroll DK is given. Especially for scholars interested in paleography and diplomatics it would have been desirable to have more pictures of both documents. The final part of Reinfandt's book is the translation of the documents (257–397). This translation together with its comprehensive historical, topographical, and diplomatic commentary is not only of importance for its content. With the glossary of legal, economic, or architectural terms, titles, measurements, and the like, given in the appendix (pp. 414–57), it is an important tool for anyone dealing with Arabic legal documents.

While the translation of such a large amount of legal documents with their very specific language is an admirable work as such, the method of a very literal line by line translation leads sometimes to unsatisfying results. For example, on p. 309, lines 9ff., a certain phrase in German referring to the enactment of a court ruling which is repeated several times in DK and DW is more or less incomprehensible because of the unclear syntax. A similar case is p. 378, line 859ff. Beside this, a few oversights can be detected which a careful final edit would have prevented, such as incomplete sentences (p. 376, note. 909), references to maps that are not included in the book (p. 135), and an incorrect numbering of pages in the index (one has to add 6 to the numbers given in the index).

Despite these minor shortcomings, the analysis and edition of sultan Īnāl's foundation documents represent a very valuable contribution to the study of the history of the late Mamluk period and shows once again the value of documents as historical sources.

List of Recent Publications

ʿAbd al-Mawjūd, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. *The Biography of Imam Ibn al-Qayyim.* Translated by Abdul-Raafi Adewale Imam. Riyadh: Dār al-Salām, 2006. Pp. 314.

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ء	’	خ	kh	ش	sh	غ	gh	م	m
ب	b	د	d	ص	ṣ	ف	f	ن	n
ت	t	ذ	dh	ض	ḍ	ق	q	ه	h
ث	th	ر	r	ط	ṭ	ك	k	و	w
ج	j	ز	z	ظ	ẓ	ل	l	ي	y
ح	ḥ	س	s	ع	‘				
		ة	h, t (in construct)			ال	al-		

ـَ	a	ـُ	u	ـِ	i
ـً	an	ـٌ	un	ـٍ	in
آ	ā	ُو	ū	ِي	ī
ـَا	ā	ُوّ	ūw	ـِيّـ	īy (medial), ī (final)
ى	á	َو	aw	َي	ay
				َيّ	ayy

Avoid using apostrophes or single quotation marks for ʿ*ayn* and *hamzah*. Instead use the Unicode characters ʿ (02BF) and ʾ (02BE).

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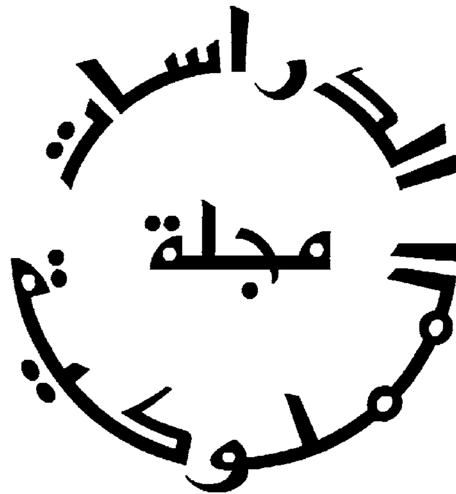
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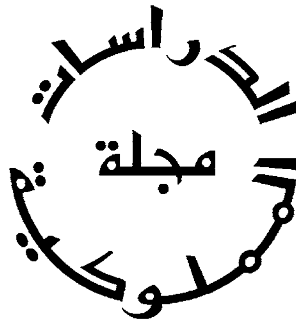
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Introduction

Many take Hayden White's "theory of narrativity" to be the beginning of a "change of paradigm," in the sense of Thomas Kuhn, that indicated the bankruptcy of mechanistic and organic models of truth and explanation. Historians could no longer believe in explanatory systems and monolithic visions of history.[1] From now on, they would prefer the formist or contextualist form of argument, which is more modest and fragmentary. It is thanks to "narrativity" that historians were reminded of their cognitive limits, which had been neglected by positivism and other historiographical trends, and it is thanks to White, and to his *Metahistory* in particular, that they were reminded of the importance of their medium, language, and of their dependence on the linguistic universe. With the appearance of White's much-disputed book, the exclusively interlinguistic debate on the so-called "linguistic turn" gained ground among historians. The literary theory which has been developed by Ferdinand de Saussure, Roland Barthes, and Mary Louise Pratt points out that history possesses neither an inherent unity nor an inherent coherence. Every understanding of history is a construct formed by linguistic means. The fact that a human being does not have a homogeneous personality without inherently profound contradictions leads to the inescapable conclusion that every text, as a product of the human imagination, must be read and interpreted in manifold ways: behind its reading and interpretation there is an unequivocal or unambiguous intention. In addition to this, Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida have referred to the political implications of language and to the hierarchy of power that is expressed by it. The contradictions of human life force the reader to deconstruct every text to lay open its ideological elements. Reality is not transported or mediated but constructed by language and discourse. Language may no longer be seen simply as an "innocent" medium, relatively or potentially transparent, for the representation or expression of a reality outside of

[1]For references and bibliographic details, see Stephan Conermann, "Einige allgemeine Überlegungen zum vormodernen 'Historischen Denken' der Araber," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 93, no. 2 (1998): 141–158; idem, *Historiographie als Sinnstiftung: Indo-persische Geschichtsschreibung während der Mogulzeit (932–1118/1526–1707)* (Wiesbaden, 2002), 1–33; and idem, *Die muslimische Sicht (13.–18. Jahrhundert),* vol. 2 of *Geschichtsdenken der Kulturen: Eine kommentierte Dokumentation,* ed. Jörn Rüsen and Sebastian Manhart (Frankfurt, 2002), 15–25.

itself. The "linguistic turn" has drawn the attention of historians to the important fact that the line between fact and fiction is no Iron Curtain. The single text is a web woven of "threads of discourses," which penetrate into it from the outside and which the scholar must unravel.

Whoever composes a historical narrative approaches elements of the past as objects of historiography through the medium of the language which he employs.[2] The way in which a writer, chronicler, or historiographer makes use of the linguistic categories and of the "literary canons" underlying every representation of history is decisive for the manner in which the past is told and construed in his text. Although there might be a strong will to find the truth and to put things—epistemologically speaking—into the right light, historiography cannot, as most of the older "Quellenkunde" suggest, free the sources from their inherent subjectivity, so that we can, somehow, examine the object as though through the objective medium of a clear magnifying glass. On the contrary, subjectivity stands for the fact that historiography, as a created and organized product of the imagination, is the work of a fallible individual and therefore necessarily reflects the attitude of the chronicler toward his object. The individual intention is embedded in mind sets or mentalities that depend as much on the personal situation of the author as on the overall political, local, material, or social conditions. One of the basic attitudes is surely the conviction that it is important to call attention to one single event or the whole past. In many cases, a writer has it in mind to show his contemporaries and all future generations the evil of past deeds as a caution and the goodness of others as exemplary actions that should be followed by everyone. This pattern is based on the second mind set which is typical for medieval historiography: history is the history of the human being that has been created by God. It is finite and embedded in God's will, which is recognized in revelation and which represents the normative values by which all human behavior is judged.

In analyzing what medieval Muslim historiography has produced, one might point out that its most important principle is didacticism, according to which accuracy as to "fact" was much less important than validity as to life vision.[3] "Facts" often served as the raw material of problem solving, or at least of problem raising. Accordingly, historians did not argue from the particular to the general;

[2]For a good introduction, see Elizabeth A. Clark, *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Cambridge, MA, 2004).

[3]An overview of studies on Mamluk historiography is given by Li Guo, "Mamluk Historiographic Studies: The State of the Art," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 15–44. An excellent study on Ibn Wardī's (d. 749/1349) chronicle is Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Arabic Historiography: Authors as Actors* (London, 2006). See also Sami G. Massoud, *The Chronicles and Annalistic Sources of the Early Mamluk Circassian Period* (Leiden, 2007).

rather they made particular events and people conform to traditional types or patterns. Since Muslim historiographers pursued the goal of showing the ideal nature of the Islamic community in all its manifestations, in the chronicles the gap between the ideal and the real is especially apparent. The explosive potential of historical writing lay in its ability to depict this gap, to reveal that whatever could be learned about elusive "historical reality" could contradict the ideals of the very pattern into which it was being pressed. Thus, on the one hand there is created in a chronicle a canonical picture of the world and a conventional portrayal of historical figures, while on the other hand, a chronicle is necessarily a compendium of original facts which are to a certain degree capable of destroying the ideal. Historiography played an important role in the politics of a traditional society dependent, as was medieval society, upon the past for legitimacy. It is only by appreciating how deeply this attitude of piety towards the past ran in medieval Muslim society that we can begin to understand the use made of history. It is not a question of the mindless repetition of tradition, of an inability to innovate or create, but of a compelling necessity to find in the past the means to explain and legitimize every deviation from tradition. In such a society, every deliberate modification of an existing type of activity must be based on a study of individual precedents. Every plan for the future is dependent on the pattern found in the past. What is important here is to recognize the fruitfulness of the medieval approach to the past. Medieval Muslim chroniclers often see the past as a school of moral instruction, a storehouse of examples of good and evil conduct which illuminate principles of behavior and teach men how to live. By their very adherence to the theory of the exemplary nature of history, Muslim chroniclers expressed the belief that history had a moral and political utility beyond mere description of past deeds. One result of this approach to history was a willingness to reduce the complexity of human experience into stereotypes according to "literary canons" which could be utilized easily to make a moral point.

To explain these "literary canons," it is useful to consider the method of literary criticism applied by the historian Dimitriĭ Likhachev to medieval Russian chronicles. Likhachev argues that the analysis of various stylistic phenomena in medieval literature should be based on distinctions between "literary cliché" (literaturnoe kliše) and "literary canon" (literaturnyj kanon)—a distinction for which he provides the following picturesque elucidation:

> "The same suit may be worn day after day. This will only make it soiled by wear but will not transform it into a formal outfit. A formal outfit, on the other hand, is worn only on those occasions when etiquette requires it. The shiny, threadbare suit represents literary cliché while the splendid formal attire which always has

> the same shape and appearance and is worn on the appropriate occasions represents literary canon. The author is the master of ceremonies who creates a gala procession. And we witness a festival, not the week-days of routine." [4]

While the medieval Muslim historian may have lacked a specifically modern sense of causation, he nevertheless operated from a set of assumptions about the relationship between past events and present reality which, for him, functioned much as modern theories of causality do for us. In order to understand this, it is necessary to return to the use of *exempla* and reinterpret their possible function in medieval historiography. By means of interpretation within "literary canon," the significance of the past is reaffirmed for the present: the past becomes a prophecy of the future and is predeterminant in the sense that its very existence determines the shape and interpretation of what comes later. With the aid of such "literary canons," the chroniclers could use past figures and events as explanations and modes of legitimizing present political life.

In the year 1969, at a time when the term "linguistic turn" became popular with the anthology *The Linguistic Turn: Essays in Philosophical Method* which the philosopher Richard Rorty edited in 1967, Ulrich Haarmann wrote in his Ph.D. thesis about a process of *Literarisierung* taking place in Arabic historiography during the last centuries of the Middle Ages.[5] Without knowing the philosophical debates on language as constructing reality, Haarmann shows in his study that Mamluk chronicles are in general works of fiction as much as of history. In my opinion, Mamlukologists should pursue this train of thought. By analyzing the biography which the scholar and historian al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363) wrote about the amir Tankiz ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusāmī (d. 740/1340), I would like to draw our attention again to this remarkable approach.

"Facts" about Tankiz

Tankiz ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusāmī al-Nāṣirī Amīr Sayf al-Dīn (d. 740/1340) was governor of the province of Damascus (712–40/1312–40) during the third reign of the Mamluk sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (709–41/1310–41).[6]

[4] Dmitriĭ Sergeevich Likhachev, *Poėtika drevnerusskoĭ literatury,* 2nd ed. (Leningrad, 1971), 139.

[5] Ulrich Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit* (Freiburg, 1969). On the discussion about Haarmann's hypothesis that there was a trend deviating from the classic medieval Islamic standard in Mamluk historical writing, see Guo, "Mamluk Historiographic Studies," 33–43.

[6] This is an extended version of my article on Tankiz in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 10:185–86. For good biographies of Tankiz, see Ellen Kenney, "Power and Patronage in Mamluk Syria: The Architecture and Urban Works of Tankiz al-Nasiri (1312–1340)" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2004), 19–32 and 396–403; and Ḥayāt Nāṣir al-Ḥajjī, *Al-Amīr Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī—Nāʾib al-Shām fī Fitrat 712–741/1312–1340* (Kuwait City, 1980).

Tankiz, whose name is an Arabic transcription of Old Turkish *teniz,* "sea, ocean," was bought, as a young man, by a certain al-Khwājah ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Sīwāsī. He was brought to Egypt, where he was eventually purchased by the future sultan Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn. After Lājīn's violent death in 698/1299 Tankiz became one of the bodyguards *(khāṣṣakīyah)* of Sultan al-Nāṣir. In al-Nāṣir's service he distinguished himself in several battles with Mongol forces. Before the sultan went into exile to al-Karak 708/1308–9, he raised him to the rank of *amīr ʿasharah*. From al-Karak, Tankiz was sent to Syria on some dangerous missions, and, because of the skill with which he fulfilled these tasks, al-Nāṣir appointed him *nāʾib al-salṭanah* of Damascus when he himself took over the Mamluk sultanate for the third time. In Rabīʿ II 712/August 1312 Tankiz arrived at his new headquarters.

Although some chroniclers claim that Tankiz suffered from hallucinations, that he had a mean and weak character, and that his punishments were sometimes unnecessarily cruel,[7] he was respected by the population because of his strong sense of justice. During his governorship, Tankiz maintained a strong personal relationship with the sultan so that he became extremely powerful: in 712/1312 al-Nāṣir gave orders to all governors of Syria not to contact him directly anymore but to send every message via Tankiz. With this appointment to the *niyābah* of al-Shām in 714/1314, Tankiz finally controlled all *nuwwāb* of the Syrian provinces. Almost every other year he travelled to Egypt to meet with al-Nāṣir, who normally received him with great honor and bestowed precious gifts on him. In 730/1331, al-Nāṣir raised Tankiz' son ʿAlī to the amirate and even welcomed the promotion of Tankiz' two other sons, Muḥammad and Aḥmad, as being useful for his own aims.[8] When in 737/1336 Tankiz came to the royal court for the wedding of al-Nāṣir's son to the daughter of Amīr Ṭuquzdamur, the sultan greeted him like a ruler of his own rank.[9] The climax of this kingly favor was reached with the honors that were granted to Tankiz during a visit on the occasion of his daughter's confinement, as she was married to al-Nāṣir. In the course of his meeting, the sultan also arranged the marriage between two of his daughters and the sons of his highly esteemed governor.[10]

During his governorship Tankiz also distinguished himself as an able commander-

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[7]Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* vol. 10, ed. Ali Amara and Jacqueline Sublet (Wiesbaden, 1980), 424; ʿUmar ibn al-Muẓaffar ibn al-Wardī, *Tatimmat al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar,* ed. Aḥmad Rifʿat al-Badrāwī (Beirut, 1970), 2:466ff.

[8]For references see Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nasir Muhammad Ibn Qalawun (1310–1341)* (Leiden, 1995), 48, n. 95.

[9]See Mūsá ibn Muḥammad al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Sīrat al-Nāṣir,* ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ (Beirut 1986), 363–64.

[10]See Shams al-Dīn al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī wa-Awlādihī,* ed. and trans. Barbara Schäfer (Wiesbaden, 1977–85), 42ff. (Arabic text), 63ff. (German trans.).

in-chief. At the end of the year 715/1315, the sultan sent several regiments from Egypt to Syria to join the Syrian troops and attack Malatya, a town that was allied with the Mongols. He entrusted Tankiz with the supreme command, and Tankiz succeeded not only in taking the town but also in accomplishing some effective raids on the neighboring areas of Lesser Armenia.[11]

The rapid expansion of the Mamluk capital under Sultan al-Nāṣir was followed by repercussions throughout the whole kingdom. The provincial governors displayed a remarkable building activity.[12] This is especially true of Tankiz, whose reconstructions and foundations changed the landscape of Damascus. Besides nine public bath houses and a large expansion of the communications network, he was responsible for the building of an impressive mosque that was named after him, for the extensive restoration of the Great Mosque, and for the rebuilding of the Dār al-Dhahab, which became his residence. In addition one should also mention the mausoleum of Sitt Sitītah, a double construction consisting of a mausoleum and a *ribāṭ* for women that was built for his wife Sitītah bint Amīr Kūkbāy al-Manṣūrī posthumously in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 730/September–October 1330.[13]

Over the course of time the wealth and authority of Tankiz steadily increased, so that the amirs at the court of Sultan al-Nāṣir began to fear his immense power. Tankiz even thought himself powerful enough to undermine the sultan's authority. For example, he sent back one of the envoys of Aratnā, the ruler of al-Rūm, when he arrived in Damascus with a message for the sultan. The insulted Aratnā complained to al-Nāṣir and demanded that he rebuke Tankiz for his improper behavior. Although the sultan kept the affair to himself, his ire rose when he sometime later learned that Tankiz had put one of the sultan's mamluks in prison and refused the ruler's request to release him.[14] In addition to this, Tankiz once again incurred the anger of the sultan when in 739/1340 he not only held back the taxes levied from Damascene Christians who had been accused of arson in the provincial capital but also punished them with inappropriate cruelty. As a result, the relations between the sultan, who was suspicious by nature, and his *nāʾib al-*

[11]See Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAlī, *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Tārīkh al-Bashar* (Cairo, 190–8), 4:74–76; P. M. Holt, *The Memoirs of a Syrian Prince* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 67ff.

[12]Cf. Kenney, "Power and Patronage," and idem, "A Mamluk Monument "Restored": The *Dār al-Qurʾān wa-al-Ḥadīth* of Tankiz al-Nāṣirī in Damascus," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 1 (2007): 85–118.

[13]See Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah fī al-Tārīkh* (Cairo, 1932–39), 14:151; ʿAbd al-Qādir ibn Muḥammad al-Nuʿaymī, *Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris,* ed. Jaʿfar al-Ḥasanī (Damascus, 1948–51), 2:274–75.

[14]See Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd wa-al-Durr al-Farīd fīmā baʿda Tārīkh Ibn al-ʿAmīd*, ed. and trans. Samira Kortantamer (Freiburg, 1973), 92–93 (Arabic text), 239–41 (German trans.).

salṭanah in Syria worsened even more, if one can trust al-Maqrīzī, who reports on Tankiz' intention to overthrow al-Nāṣir.[15]

When the sultan informed Tankiz of his decision to send some of his amirs, including Sayf al-Dīn Bashtāk, together with 350 of his mamluks to Damascus in order to accompany his two sons to their promised wives, Tankiz tried with sundry excuses to prevent them from coming. It seems that he now for his part mistrusted the sultan and had a strong suspicion that the real aim of this visit was his incarceration. His suspicions proved to be right, as al-Nāṣir did eventually give the order for his arrest. On 23 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 740/21 June 1340, Tankiz was put into prison by Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Ṭashtamur, the governor of Ṣafad. He was brought to Cairo in chains and later to Alexandria, where he was imprisoned and finally, on Dhū al-Ḥijjah 740/May–June 1340 or Muḥarram 741/June–July 1340, executed. His fortune and properties were confiscated and distributed among various high-ranking amirs. Two years after the death of Sultan al-Nāṣir (he died in 741/1341), Tankiz was buried in his mausoleum in Damascus.

THE STORY

The philologist, literary critic, litterateur, biographer, and all-around humanist Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī (696–764/1297–1363),[16] who served Tankiz as a chancery secretary in the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* from 731/1331 onward, writes of him in his *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt:*[17]

> Tankiz, the great and formidable amir Sayf al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd, the viceroy of Syria. He was brought to Egypt as a boy and grew up there. He had a light olive complexion, was lean of physique, and had beautiful, slightly grey hair and a slow growth of beard. He was of handsome build. It was al-Khwājah ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Sīwāsī who brought him and from whom the amir Ḥusām al-Dīn Lājīn bought him. When Lājīn was murdered during his reign, he became one of the sultan [al-Malik al-Nāṣir]'s bodyguards. He fought with him in the battle of Wādī al-Khazindār and at Shaqḥab. The judge Shihāb

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[15]See Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1930–73), 2:509.

[16]On him, see F. Rosenthal, "al-Ṣafadī," *EI²,* 8:759–60; Josef Van Ess, "Ṣafadī-Splitter," *Der Islam* 53 (1976): 242–66 and 54 (1977): 77–108; Donald P. Little, "Al-Ṣafadī as Biographer of his Contemporaries," in *Essays on Islamic Civilization Presented to Niyazi Berkes,* ed. idem (Leiden, 1976), 190–210, esp. 206–10.

[17]Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* 10:420–43. The text has been translated into German by Susanna Fischer in her M.A. thesis, "Ägypten und Syrien in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts: Vier ausgewählte Sultans- und Emirsviten aus dem biographischen Wörterbuch aṣ-Ṣafadīs (Übersetzung und Kommentar)" (University of Freiburg in Breisgau, 1991), 35–47.

al-Dīn ibn al-Qaysarānī told me [the following], saying:

"One day he told me he and the amir Sayf al-Dīn Ṭaynāl belonged to the mamluks of Malik al-Ashraf." He frequently listened to Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* [read] by Ibn al-Shiḥnah,[18] to al-Ṭahāwī's[19] work *Al-Āthār* and Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ;* he listened to [readings by] ʿĪsá al-Muṭʿim[20] and Abū Bakr ibn ʿAbd al-Dāyim,[21] studying the science of hadith. Al-Maqrīzī [i.e., Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Qādir ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Tamīm al-Maqrīzī al-Ḥanbalī,[22] the grandfather of Abū ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Qādir's father] read to him Bukhārī's *Thulāthīyāt* in the city of the Prophet [Medina].

Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir made him the amir of ten mamluks before going to al-Karak. He had left his *iqṭāʿ* in the care of the amir Ṣārim al-Dīn Ṣārūgā al-Muẓaffarī.[23] He [i.e., the sultan] was an *aga* to him [i.e., Tankiz], as the Turks would say. When he [i.e., the sultan] went to al-Karak, he was in the sultan's service. Once he sent him as a messenger to al-Afram in Damascus, who suspected him of carrying letters to the amirs of Syria with him. He [i.e., al-Afram] became very afraid of him. He was searched and threatened with punishment. When he returned to the sultan, he gave him news about this, and the sultan said to him: "When I assume power again, you will be governor of Damascus." When he came back from al-Karak, he installed the amir Sayf al-Dīn Arghūn al-Dawādār as viceroy of Egypt after capturing al-Jūkandār al-Kabīr and he said to Tankiz and Sūdī: "Be with Arghūn every day and learn from him to perform the duties of a governor and [also learn] the rules." They did so assiduously for a year. When they had gained experience, he sent Sayf al-Dīn Sūdī as governor to Aleppo and Sayf al-Dīn Tankiz as governor to Damascus. He, al-Ḥājj Sayf al-Dīn Ariqtāy,[24] and the amir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy al-Bashmaqdār[25] came [to Damascus]

[18]Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Niʿmah, called Ibn al-Shiḥnah, d. 730/1313. Gaston Wiet, *Les biographies du Manhal Safi* (Cairo, 1932), 46.

[19]On him, see Norman Calder, "al-Ṭahāwī," *EI²,* 10:101–2.

[20]Cf. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah,* ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Jād al-Ḥaqq (Hyderabad, 1966), 2:56.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Died 732/1332. Cf. Wiet, *Les biographies,* 210.

[23]Died 743/1343. Cf. ibid., 171.

[24]He successively held the offices of governor of Ṣafad, Tripoli, and Aleppo, viceroy of Egypt, governor of Aleppo, and Damascus; he died in 750/1349 aged 80. Cf. ibid., 54.

[25]Died 748/1347. Cf. ibid., 176.

using the messenger route. They arrived there in the month of Rabīʿ II 712/[August 1312]. He was a good governor. He led the troops to Malatya and conquered it. His reputation was great; the amirs and governors in Damascus treated him with reverence and the subjects felt safe under his rule. For fear of him, because of his scrupulousness and his severe punishments, neither an amir nor a man of high degree could oppress anybody, whether it was a *dhimmī* or another. He constantly rose in rank which doubled his *iqṭāʿ,* his presents, and his income in horses, fabric, birds, and birds of prey, so that he was given the title of *Aʿazz Allāh Anṣār al-Maqarr al-Karīm al-ʿĀlī al-Amīrī,* and among his courtesy titles was *al-Atābikī al-Zāhidī al-ʿĀbidī*. He was called *Muʿizz al-Islām wa-al-Muslimīn, Sayyid al-Umarāʾ fī al-ʿĀlamīn*. And it was not known to us that letters of a sultan can also be written by a governor or by someone who is not governor but has a different function or position. The sultan hardly took any steps without sending for and consulting with him.

Rarely was he denied a request he addressed to the sultan. Whatever he decided concerning the appointment of an amir, a governor, an official or a judge, the bestowal of an *iqṭāʿ,* and so forth, the sovereign's approving signature would be given forthwith. Neither I nor any other man has ever heard of him giving someone an *iqṭāʿ,* the position of an amir, or any other office, whether important or unimportant, and accepting a bribe for it. He was incorruptible and virtuous.

Sharaf al-Dīn al-Nashw told me: "What he was given as a present by the sultan in the year 733/[1332–33] added up to 1,050,000 dirhams in addition to the horses and saddles which he was [also] given, the money in cash, the yield of the crops, and the small livestock which he owned in Syria. Then I saw documents in his hand which showed his expenses. These were 23 registers of what he needed during his sovereignty. They included two falcon-drums made of pure gold that weighed 1,000 *mathāqīl,* as well as the dusty long-sleeved gown which he was wearing." At length al-Nashw told me: "It [i.e., the gown] was valued for the sultan at 2,000 or 1,500 Egyptian dinars."

After that he betook himself [to the sultan] four times, I think, and every time the presents he received were doubled. His power and his reputation increased until the Egyptian amirs who were the [sultan's] bodyguards dreaded him. The amir Sayf al-Dīn Qurmushī

al-Ḥājib told me that the sultan had said to him: "O Qurmushī, for 30 years I have been trying to make people understand what I want to do for the amir, and [yet] they haven't understood what I mean with that. The code of sovereignty keeps me from saying myself that I will not do anything for anyone unless it is on his request or intercession," and he wished him [i.e., Tankiz] a long life. This reached his ears, and he said: "For the sultan's life I will die." When the amir Sayf al-Dīn Qurmushī communicated this to the sultan he said to him: "Tell him, if he lives longer than me, then he will be of use for my children, wives, and relatives; if he dies before I do, what should I do with his children? They can't become anything higher than amirs, which they already are now, during his lifetime." This is about how he spoke.

He introduced something we haven't heard of anyone before, for he had a secretary who didn't have any other business than to calculate the wealth which he [i.e., Tankiz] gained and that which he actually possessed. When the year came to an end, he compiled documents about the *zakāt* he [i.e., Tankiz] had to pay. He ordered that [the money] should be taken and given to those who were rightfully entitled to it.

His capital and his private property increased. He built the mosque in Ḥikr al-Summāq in Damascus which was named after him. Next to it he built a tomb and a bath. He built a tomb for his wife next to al-Khawāṣīn and a madrasah next to his house, the Dār al-Dhahab. In Jerusalem he built a caravansary; he renewed Jerusalem, supplied [the city with] water and diverted it to the Ḥaram district right towards the doors of the Aqṣá Mosque. He built two bathhouses there and an extraordinarily beautiful covered bazaar. In Ṣafad he built the hospital which was named after him and renewed the canals in Damascus because their water had changed. He renovated mosques and madrasahs, broadened the paths there [i.e., in Damascus] and took care of issues [regarding the city]. He owned edifices, buildings, and properties all over Syria.

He was not devious and did not hide anything. He would not let anything pass and would not allow any injustice. Neither did he flatter the amirs nor did he pay any special attention to them. In his time people's properties and employment were safe. Each year he went hunting near the Euphrates with his troops. On some of his travels he crossed the Euphrates and stayed on the other side

for five days, hunting. The people fled from him into the cities of Tabriz and Sulṭānīyah, as well as to the cities of Mārdīn und Sīs.

His only aims were justice and its promotion, and to foster the application of the shariʿah. However, he suffered from a hallucination [clouding of the mind], which made him imagine things that were not real, but of which he was absolutely certain. Awestruck, nobody was able to open his eyes and tell him the truth about what he was doing, [even though] it was the cause of several people's deaths. When he was angry he could neither approve nor forgive. When he turned to violence he was immoderately cruel.[26] Even if the offence was inconsiderable and of little account, he magnified and exalted it and inflated it more and more, exceeding all limits.

I saw the following things in His Excellency: mostly, when he was seized by a fury against someone, this person would become so weak and miserable that he died. The judge Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn al-Shihāb Maḥmūd said: "By God, I was constantly worrying and afraid; I always expected something like this," until [eventually] he was arrested and died.

When he was infuriated with someone he would not forgive him. Qiwām al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Abī al-Fawāris al-Baghdādī told me [the following]: "Once I said to him: 'By God, O master, I have seen greater personalities and wealthier people than you.' When he heard these words, he got into a fury and said to me angrily: 'Whom have you seen that was greater and wealthier than me?' At this I said to him: 'Kharbandā,[27] Jūbān,[28] und Abū Saʿīd.'[29] When he heard that, his fury abated. Then I said to him: 'But [their] subjects did not love them as [yours love you], and they did not wish them any good, as your subjects wish for you. Their subjects did not live in this safety and justice.' At this he said to me: 'What joy could a sovereign have, whose subjects are not safe and sound?'"

About his love for justice [I can report the following]: One day one of his closest confidants, whose name I have forgotten, had

[26] An allusion to Quran 26:130.

[27] The person meant is Khudābandā, Qāzān's brother.

[28] Great Mongolian amir under Uljāytū and Abū Saʿīd. He was Abū Saʿīd's deputy and son-in-law. Cf. Samira Kortantamer, *Ägypten und Syrien zwischen 1317 und 1341 in der Chronik des Mufaḍḍal b. Abī l-Faḍāʾil* (Freiburg, 1973), 61.

[29] Ninth sovereign of the Ilkhanate (704–36/1305–35), ruled 716–36/1316–35. Cf. Paul Jackson, "Abū Saʿīd," *Encyclopaedia Iranica,* 1: 374–77.

a meal with him. He [i.e., Tankiz] looked at his bandaged finger and asked for the reason, but the man did not want to name it. However, he did not leave him any peace until he finally said: "O master, a bowyer tried to make an arch three times [without succeeding]. He made me angry and I hit him with my fist." When he heard what the man was saying, he turned away from his food and said: "Raise him." Then he hurled him to the ground and gave him the cane 400 times, as it is said. He stripped him of his *iqṭāʿ* and was angry with him for years, until someone put in a good word for him. Then he showed himself favorable to him again. Years after Tankiz's death, his secretary Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Kūndak told me: "By God, during the time I was in his service I have never seen him inattentive. I always saw him as if he stood in front of God, the Sublime. At nighttime he only prayed with a fresh ritual washing," so he said.

The Shaykh Ḥasan ibn Damurtāsh[30] was vexed with him [i.e., Tankiz] and dreaded him. It is said that he defamed him in front of the sultan and said to him: "He wanted to come to me and conspire against you." After this the sultan acted unapproachably [towards Tankiz]. This happened [just] when the amir Sayf al-Dīn Bashtāk, Sayf al-Dīn Yalbughā al-Yaḥyawī,[31] as well as twenty amirs from the [sovereign's] bodyguard were planning on coming to Damascus with two of the daughters of the sultan of Egypt, to marry them off to the two sons of the amir Sayf al-Dīn Tankiz. Thereupon [Tankiz] sent the following [message to the sultan]: "O master, what is the use of those noble amirs coming to Damascus? The coast lands are barren this year, [and] high expenses for the army are necessary. I will come to [your] palace together with my sons and the wedding will take place there."

At this, [the sultan] sent the amir Sayf al-Dīn Ṭājār al-Dawādār[32] to him, who told him: "The sultan is sending you his regards and says he is not asking you to come to Egypt any more; also he is not sending you a noble amir any more, so you do not need to worry." Thereupon he said: "I will go to him with you and my sons." The other said to him: "If you arrived in Bilbays he would send you back. I want to spare you this sorrow. In eight days I will

[30]Cf. Kortantamer, *Ägypten und Syrien,* 194.

[31]He successively became governor of Ḥamāh, Aleppo, and Damascus and died in 748/1347. Wiet, *Les biographies,* 403.

[32]A Mamluk amir, died 742/1341. Wiet, *Les biographies,* 174.

be with you again with a new certificate of appointment and new presents." With these words he convinced him. Had he gone to see the sultan it would have been better for him, but God decides what will be executed.[33]

In those times the inhabitants of Damascus had spread the rumor that he had decided to go to the country of the Mongols. This gossip came to the ears of Ṭājār al-Dawādār. Tankiz had treated him in an indecorous manner in those times, whereupon he angrily turned away from him. It seemed as if he had falsified a remark [of Tankiz], but God knows best. The sultan was very cross. He sent 5,000 or 10,000 horsemen, and Bashtāk was their commander. He made the entire Egyptian army swear [allegiance] because he was scared. He sent [an order] by way of a messenger to the amir Sayf al-Dīn Ṭashtamur, the governor of Ṣafad, commanding him to go to Damascus to arrest Tankiz. He wrote [orders] to the chamberlain, the amir Sayf al-Dīn Quṭlūbughā al-Fakhrī and the amirs [and commanded them] to arrest him, and he said: "If you can keep him from going [to the Mongols], then that is all I want. The troops will come to you from Egypt."

The amir Sayf al-Dīn Ṭashtamur reached al-Mizzah by noon and sent for the amir Sayf al-Dīn al-Fakhrī. His secretary had already arrived in the early morning of that day and had met the amirs. They had made an arrangement. The amir Sayf al-Dīn al-Lamash al-Ḥājib went to al-Qābūn and made the way [there] impassable. He threw pieces of wood on [the way], tethered camels [there], and [unloaded] bales of straw. He said to the people: "The enemy of the sultan will be passing you soon; stop him." The amirs rode off and gathered at the Bāb al-Naṣr.

All this happened while he [i.e., Tankiz] was awaiting the arrival of Ṭājār al-Dawādār, without having any notice of what was being planned against him. This day he had gone to the palace which he had built on [his] fief with his wives. The amir Sayf al-Dīn Qurmushī went to him and told him about the arrival of the amir Ṭashtamur. He was astonished and perplexed about that and said to him: "What am I supposed to do now?" [The other] said: "We are going into the Dār al-Saʿādah." Thereupon he went and entered the Dār al-Saʿādah, and the gates of the city were closed. He wanted to put on [his battle] dress and fight. Then he was told

[33]An allusion to Quran 8:42.

that the people were plundering and that Damascus was at war; upon this he preferred allaying the riot without drawing weapons. He was advised to leave. Thereupon he sent for the amir Sayf al-Dīn Ṭashtamur and had him told: "Why have you come [here]? Come in to see me." [The amir] said: "I have come as a messenger from your master; if you come outside to see me I will tell you what he told me to do. Even if you go to where the sun rises, I will follow you. I will not return unless one of us dies. [But] I will not enter the city."

Thereupon he went outside to them and realized that this was his end. So he surrendered. His sword was taken from him, and he was tied up behind the mosque al-Qadam; in the afternoon on 23 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 740/[21 June 1340] he was sent to the sultan, together with the amir Rukn al-Dīn Baybars, the armor-bearer. The inhabitants of Damascus pitied him. How long they pitied him! Hail to the one who can sweep away [all] wealth [at once], the one whose reign does not end, whose power is everlasting and who is not befallen by misfortunes.

I saw him myself in the year 739/[1338–39], when the sultan went to Biʾr al-Bayḍāʾ with his amirs and children to meet him. When he was close to him, he approached him by foot, kissed his head, embraced him, and honored him in an exaggerated way, after one amir after the other had already come to him, greeted him, and kissed his hand and his knee. The amir Sayf al-Dīn Qawṣūn came to the inn in al-Ṣāliḥīyah to welcome him. As for the presents with which he [i.e., the sultan] overwhelmed him daily in the year [739], until he went away for a period of almost fifty days, they were beyond all limits.

I saw him when he was hunting in Upper Egypt that year. The sultan came to him. In front of him came the amirs Malaktamur al-Ḥijāzī,[34] Yalbughā al-Yaḥyawī, Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī,[35] Āqsunqur, and another, whom I have now forgotten. On the hand of each of them sat a bird of prey. He [i.e., the sultan] said to him: "O officer, I am your hunting amir; those are your falcon-bearers and these are your birds." Then [Tankiz] wanted to dismount to kiss the earth, but [the sultan] kept him from it.

Then I saw him myself the day he was arrested and chained.

[34]A Mamluk amir, died 748/1347. Wiet, *Les biographies,* 380.

[35]A Mamluk amir and governor of the province of Ḥamāh and Aleppo; died 744/1343. Ibid., 77.

The blacksmith [who put him in irons] made him stand up and sit down again four times while the people stood in front of him. This was a clear warning to me. His income was confiscated, and Ṭughāy[36] and Janghāy,[37] his two mamluks, were held in the citadel. After a short while the amirs Sayf al-Dīn Bashtāk, Ṭājār al-Dawādār, al-Ḥājj Ariqṭāy, and seven more amirs arrived. They stayed at the palace al-Ablaq. At their arrival they made the amir swear [allegiance] and began to exhibit his income in public. They brought out his treasures and accumulated belongings.

Bashtāk went to Egypt; with him he had 336,000 Egyptian dinars from [Tankiz'] property, as well as 1,500,000 dirhams, jewels made of precious rubies, wonderful pieces, rare pearls, brocade fabrics, caps made of brocade, golden belts, silver containers inlaid with gold, and satin and other fabrics whose quantity added up to 800 *ḥiml*. He had left Barsbughā[38] in his place, who then went [after him] to Egypt carrying 40,000 dinars as well as 1,100,000 dirhams, after having extorted these from the people and the remaining property of Tankiz, and having taken his mamluks, [female] slaves, and valuable horses.

As for himself [i.e., Tankiz], he was sent to Alexandria. There he was held prisoner for a period of less than a month. Then God the Sublime decided on his case. It is said that the commandant Ibrāhīm ibn Ṣābir[39] went to him, and that this was the last thing ever to become known about him. He died and the inhabitants of Alexandria prayed for him. His grave is now visited and prayed at. May God the Sublime take pity on him. [In the meter *al-kāmil*]:

> "Like lightning, flaring up in the land, he vanished as if he had never shone."

Then the decree of the sultan was published [with the command] to list his property. This was done justly by experienced people and persons who knew how to estimate the value properly. Together with this [list] official statements came into the state chancellery to be sent to the sultan. From these I copied the following: [Here

[36]Died 741/1341. Ibid., 177.

[37]Died 741/1341. Ibid., 124.

[38]A close confidant of Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir. He died 742/1342. Kortantamer, *Ägypten und Syrien*, 160.

[39]As a *jandār*, he was responsible for torture and executions. After Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir's death, he himself was tortured until he died in 742/1341. Ibid., 236.

> follows a list of his properties in Syria and their values]. . . .
>
> All this [which has just been listed] is in addition to the properties and charitable institutions he owned in Ṣafad, ʿAjlūn, Jerusalem, Nābulus, al-Ramlah, Jaljūlyah, and Egypt. He built a beautiful hospital in Ṣafad, and this was also where he had some of his charitable foundations. In Jerusalem he built a hospice, two bath houses, and covered bazaars. He owned a very beautiful caravansary in Jaljūlyah, which I think is a charitable institution [foundation]. In al-Ramlah and in the Kāfūrīyah gardens in Cairo he owned a magnificent house, a bath, and several stores.
>
> At the beginning of Rajab 744/[middle of November 1343] his coffin was transferred from Alexandria to Damascus. He was laid to rest in his mausoleum next to his mosque, of which it is known that he had it built. May God take pity on him.

Facts or Fiction?

A typical feature of Mamluk historiography is the various narrative strategies the different chroniclers use in their biographical or annalistic texts to produce emotional effects on their readers.[40] They utilize, for example, tropes (metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and irony) or anecdotes, dialogues, and/or quotations from poems and from the Quran. In his description of Tankiz' life and career we find several of these literary elements:

Anecdotes

Al-Ṣafadī enriches his story with numerous little anecdotes *(nukat),* i.e., short tales narrating an interesting or amusing biographical incident. By giving variety and color to the text, they satisfy the taste of the audience. Ulrich Haarmann writes in his study on Mamluk historians that such anecdotes serve as a connection between history and literature. In general they should

> on the one hand, illustrate complex, dry, or very factual accounts to increase the readers' awareness of the historian's main issues. On the other hand, they can serve the author's interest in entertaining his readership as well. If this is the case, the anecdotes exclusively focus on those facts which are suited to telling a good story. At this point, it is no longer the question for the chronicler whether these textual fragments are important for the overall scheme of his work

[40] Cf. Haarmann, *Quellenstudien,* 167. For some of the following arguments, see also Fischer, "Vier ausgewählte Sultans- und Emirsviten," 66–76.

or not.[41]

Within al-Ṣafadī's *Wāfī* these short, entertaining, and amusing anecdotes have the function of emphasizing certain features and characteristics of historic figures. They illuminate special events in their curricula vitae. The annalistic framework of their narratives is punctuated by the inclusion of anecdotes, digressions which serve as commentary on the events of the present. Haarmann quotes Ibn al-Dawādārī (d. 713/1313), who recommends in his universal history *Kanz al-Durar* the use of stories as a rhetorical stylistic device:

> For this digression we have several good reasons. The first is the following: books whose story follows just one mode of narration are bound to be boring. Therefore, we tried to present our speech in an interesting and varied way by using odd and remarkable anecdotes.[42]

Two short anecdotes which al-Ṣafadī incorporates in his biography of Tankiz constitute a good example of this narrative strategy:

> When he was infuriated with someone he would not forgive him. Qiwām al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Abī al-Fawāris al-Baghdādī told me [the following]: "Once I said to him: 'By God, O master, I have seen greater personalities and wealthier people than you.' When he heard these words, he got into a fury and said to me angrily: 'Whom have you seen that was greater and wealthier than me?' On this I said to him: 'Kharbandā, Jūbān, and Abū Saʿīd.' When he heard that his fury abated. Then I said to him: 'But [their] subjects did not love them as [yours love you], and they did not wish them any good, as your subjects wish for you. Their subjects did not live in this safety and justice.' On this he said to me: 'What joy could a sovereign have, whose subjects are not safe and sound?'"
>
> About his love for justice [I can report the following]: One day one of his closest confidants, whose name I have forgotten, had a meal with him. He [i.e., Tankiz] looked at his bandaged finger and asked for the reason, but the man did not want to name it. However, he did not leave him any peace until he finally said: "O master, a bowyer tried to make an arch three times [without succeeding]. He made me angry and I hit him with my fist." When

[41] Haarmann, *Quellenstudien,* 167.

[42] Quoted from Ulrich Haarmann, "Auflösung und Bewahrung der klassischen Formen arabischer Geschichtsschreibung in der Zeit der Mamluken," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 121 (1971): 55–56.

> he heard what the man was saying, he turned away from his food and said: "Raise him." Then he hurled him to the ground and gave him the cane 400 times, as it is said. He stripped him of his *iqṭāʿ* and was angry with him for years, until someone put in a good word for him. Then he showed himself favorable to him again.

These insertions correspond to the aim and objective of anecdotes. On the one hand they give us information about al-Ṣafadī's idea of Tankiz' character. On the other hand they provide us with an interesting and entertaining biography of the governor.[43] In general, one should be very careful when it comes to reconstructing reality from this material. We never know whether the picture the author draws in his text is real or just the result of his imagination. One has to find really independent sources which tell the same story to be sure that the event described actually happened.

Dialogues

When reported or imitated in the narrative, dialogues constitute a form of literature used for purposes of rhetorical entertainment and instruction. In his biographies al-Ṣafadī often puts words into the mouths of people. Everything in these scenes, from their setting to the dramatis personae, can be an invention of the chronicler.[44] Normally, he just wants to bring out a very complex and complicated relationship between two or three persons:

> His power and his reputation increased until the Egyptian amirs who were the [sultan's] bodyguards dreaded him. The amir Sayf al-Dīn Qurmushī al-Ḥājib told me that the sultan had said to him: "O Qurmushī, for 30 years I have been trying to make people understand what I want to do for the amir, and [yet] they haven't understood what I mean with that. The code of sovereignty keeps me from saying myself that I will not do anything for anyone unless it is on his request or intercession," and he wished him [i.e., Tankiz] a long life. This reached his ears, and he said: "For the sultan's life I will die." When the amir Sayf al-Dīn Qurmushī communicated this to the sultan he said to him: "Tell him, if he lives longer than me, then he will be of use for my children, wives, and relatives; if he dies before I do, what should I do with his children? They can't

[43] Sometimes al-Ṣafadī includes in his *Wāfī* biographies in which we find only anecdotes and no concrete information about the person at all. Cf. Donald P. Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography: An Analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical Sources for the Reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāʾūn* (Wiesbaden, 1970), 104–5.

[44] Cf. Haarmann, "Auflösung," 57.

> become anything higher than amirs, which they already are now, during his lifetime." This is about how he spoke.
>
> All this happened while he [i.e., Tankiz] was awaiting the arrival of Ṭājār al-Dawādār, without having any notice of what was being planned against him. This day he had gone to the palace which he had built on [his] fief with his wives. The amir Sayf al-Dīn Qurmushī went to him and told him about the arrival of the amir Ṭashtamur. He was astonished and perplexed about that and said to him: "What am I supposed to do now?" [The other] said: "We are going into the Dār al-Saʿādah." Thereupon he went and entered the Dār al-Saʿādah, and the gates of the city were closed. He wanted to put on [his battle] dress and fight. Then he was told that the people were plundering and that Damascus was at war; upon this he preferred allaying the riot without drawing weapons. He was advised to leave. Thereupon he sent for the amir Sayf al-Dīn Ṭashtamur and had him told: "Why have you come [here]? Come in to see me." [The amir] said: "I have come as a messenger from your master; if you come outside to see me I will tell you what he told me to do. Even if you go to where the sun rises, I will follow you. I will not return unless one of us dies. [But] I will not enter the city."

Dialogue expresses the convolutions of human thought so spontaneously that it almost defies analysis. We should not trust it.

POEMS

Al-Ṣafadī had a predilection for poetry. In his *Wāfī,* he heaps very long and redundant *sajʿ* poems upon the reader. They don't refer to any event in the life of the main character but are only of rhetorical value. That is also true for the verses at the end of Tankiz' biography.[45] As a rule, the poems were not written by him. This does not mean that al-Ṣafadī wasn't a good poet. Quite the contrary, he belongs to the small group of outstanding, creative, and innovative poets of the Mamluk era.[46]

[45]Cf. al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī*, 432–35.

[46]On al-Ṣafadī as a remarkable poet, see Thomas Bauer, "Literarische Anthologien der Mamlūkenzeit, " in *Die Mamlūken: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur: Zum Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann (1942–1999),* ed. Stephan Conermann and Anja Pistor-Hatam (Schenefeld, 2003), 71–122. See also Bauer's "Mamluk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9, no. 2 (2005): 105–32.

Quranic Allusions

References to the Holy Book are a very important rhetorical element in historiographical texts. In Tankiz' biography al-Ṣafadī writes:

> His only aims were justice and its exercise, and to foster the application of the shariʿah. However, he suffered from a hallucination [clouding of the mind], which made him imagine things that were not real, but of which he was absolutely certain. Awestruck, nobody was able to open his eyes and tell him the truth about what he was doing, [even though] it was the cause of several people's deaths. When he was angry he could neither approve nor forgive. *When he turned to violence he was immoderately cruel.* Even if the offence was inconsiderable and of little account, he magnified and exalted it and inflated it more and more, exceeding all limits.
>
> At this, [the sultan] sent the amir Sayf al-Dīn Ṭājār al-Dawādār to him, who told him: "The sultan is sending you his regards and says he is not asking you to come to Egypt any more; also he is not sending you a noble amir any more, so you do not need to worry." Thereupon he said: "I will go to him with you and my sons." The other said to him: "If you arrived in Bilbays he would send you back. I want to spare you this sorrow. In eight days I will be with you again with a new certificate of appointment and new presents." With these words he convinced him. *Had he gone to see the sultan it would have been better for him, but God decides what will be executed.*

The italicized passages are allusions to Quran 26:130 ("And if you attack, you strike ruthlessly?") and to Quran 8:42 ("And had you planned for this meeting, you would have disagreed on its timing, but God was to enforce a command that was already done. So that He would destroy those to be destroyed with proof, and to let those who will live be alive with proof"). For us, it is very difficult, not to say nearly impossible, to supply proof of the truth of al-Ṣafadī's statements.

To sum up, a typical feature of Mamluk biographies is the fact that the personality of the person whom the author describes in his text seems not to be that important. The person as such is only of secondary importance. The biographer does not show any interest in describing the inner development or socialization of character. The traits of the heroes are very often presented in the form of short anecdotes. We get, for example, very meagre information about Tankiz. He is characterized by al-Ṣafadī as being cruel but just, violent-tempered, and unforgiving. At the same time, the author of the *Wāfī* says that he acted open-mindedly, honestly,

and cleverly. We learn nothing concrete about his childhood, his upbringing, his family, or his feeling. The biographies offer the reader nothing more than a list of certain characteristics. But these features are put so vaguely that they could fit every second historical personality.

Al-Ṣafadī is no exception among the Mamluk historians. Comparing his biographies to vitae written by other scholars, one must say that their inner structures always follow the same pattern: the biographer wants to emphasize the religious, political, or cultural contribution of the chosen person to the Muslim community.[47] Al-Ṣafadī deems Tankiz appropriate and worthy to be included in his *Wāfī* because he was not only an important amir but also a confidant of the sultan, a very successful military leader, and a respected and generous patron of architecture in Egypt and Syria.

Al-Ṣafadī was a man with literary ambitions. He knew all the literary strategies and rhetorical tricks. He was very interested in Abbasid poetry and had an excellent knowledge of the sources. As a Mamluk official he had a tendency to describe his peers. Al-Ṣafadī's method of working meets the expectations of the readership and complies with its demand for "stark literarisierten Werken der Popularitätsmethode."[48] Historical writing is as fictional as other forms of literary expression, being as Hayden White puts it, "a verbal structure in the form of a narrative prose discourse."[49]

Research Perspectives

The discussion of the relationship between "narrativity" and historiography, poetry and narration, language and textuality, fact and fiction has demonstrated that even after the imposition of the scientific method on all realms of knowledge which set in with the closing of the eighteenth century, there are more similarities than differences among historiography, poetry, and rhetoric. Recent studies across the field have shown the soundness of this hypothesis. Unfortunately, the overwhelming majority of modern theoreticians are only interested in European and Anglo-American historiography after 1800 and do not take into consideration other cultures or "premodern" historiographical works. This is, in my opinion, a culpable omission, because I think it a very interesting field of research for a historian not only to sort out basic facts and information about social phenomena from the chronicles but also to analyze how these works are composed. What does the author intend with his chronicle? What kind of narrative techniques does he use, and to what end? Which topoi, stereotypes, clichés, myths, archetypes, and/or

[47] Cf. Little, *Introduction,* 112.

[48] Cf. Haarmann, "Auflösung," 59.

[49] Hayden White, *Metahistory* (Baltimore, 1973), ix, quoted in Hirschler, *Medieval Arabic Historiography,* 4.

legends can we isolate? Is it possible to gain some insight into the "literary canon" and the "literary cliché," i.e., the two categories discussed by Likhachev? Can we distinguish prevailing cultural semiotic associations? What do we know about the historical consciousness that is expressed in the chronicles? Does the author try to make "sense" of the past? And if he does, what form does this "sense" take? What about linguistic and semantic connotations in the text?

Another field of research could be the representation and narratological translation of "historical thinking" in historiographical texts. Here are the main characteristics of "historical thinking": (1) Both happy and unhappy or fortunate and unfortunate events have to be explained. This is the more necessary if these events do not come up to the expectations one has in mind while doing something. Above all it is the realized or unrealized intention that leads to the desire to explain these events. This is true for individuals, groups, or communities, if they want to create an identity. (2) Experiences are always experiences in time. The "historical thinking" has to interpret and explain these experiences in time. (3) Although historiography must invariably be used for interpreting experiences in time, it is not the only form of "historical thinking." It is a fact that historiography normally tries to be nearer to the truth than other texts and tries to operate with chosen elements of "historical thinking," but in the end one shouldn't consider this approach or this sort of texts totally different from other approaches or texts. This is all the more the case if we proceed on the assumption that every text is part of the mental process we call "historical thinking." (4) "Historical thinking" produces sense or meaning out of time. Time in this context again means events which have taken place in time and which have to be explained, whereas sense or meaning stands for understanding all the connotations and epistemological facets the word "time" includes. If someone wants to understand what meaning the present time has for him, he has to refer to the experiences of the past. In addition to that, he can, for example, deduce the further course of development or future processes from comparable cases, which also occurred in the past. His expectations or hopes for the future exercise a strong influence on his acting in the present. They lay the foundation for his social, political, or individual behavior. In the final analysis "historical thinking" and historiography have only the task to make it possible for an individual, a group, or a community to master his or its life or—to say it in other words—to give an orientation in time. The essence of "historical thinking" and historiography is not necessarily its scientific claim. (5) Aside from this orientation in time, "historical thinking" achieves a reflection of the subject or the historical self on its own premises. One can say that action as well as writing as a consequence of thinking always leads to the idea a historical subject has of its own, if this subject understands itself as a planning and acting unity. Therefore, if an action upon which one has been reflecting does not achieve the

intended results, not only the understanding of the world but also the self-image, the conception of oneself is affected. The result is personal and extra-personal self-doubt, especially if we keep in mind that during a period of upheaval and change "historical thinking" gives meaning to our life *(Sinnstiftung)* and continuity to the individual or collective identity. In this manner the understanding of oneself is preserved or newly formulated and has repercussions on future actions, insofar as the historical agents want to be seen and judged by other subjects in the context of its self-image. (6) "Historical thinking" and historiography do not give and cannot give eternal verities or supertemporal answers. This statement seems the more true if we consider the fact that "historical thinking" has to give meaning to the world again and again. On the other hand, it is impossible to think of this task, i.e., giving meaning to the world, without the claim of being true. (7) Here we have the problem of what to consider true. In the field of "historical thinking" historiography or—generally speaking—occupation with the past in every scientific form is synonymous with the institutionalized public dealing with its own collective memory *(Erinnerungsarbeit),* what in the end is a problem of norms. If we ask for the intentions and motives for acting in the past, we have in the first place to reflect upon the current values of this past. Norms, i.e., value judgements on things, attitudes, ways of acting, tastes, etc., are part of the process which leads to the description of the past as history. We are obliged to decipher these norms, because the human past gives us no key to decode its events as a history which has any meaning for the present. The past as such makes no history. What transforms the past into a history is our interest in it, our desire to let the past explain who we are. (8) Today, historical science and historiography are bound to the necessity of being universally valid. This is of course a self-image that this so-called science can hardly ever fulfill. History as the result of historiography is basically in its fundamental structure, i.e., as a narration, not different from other narrations which are related without the claim of being scientific. This narrativity illustrates that history is a construct. It is not possible to give meaning to the world out of the knowledge of past events if we do not see the inner epistemological coherence of a text which becomes evident by its narrative pattern. (9) Considering the fact that we cannot separate historiography from other texts, we have to presume that we can find in historical texts the same narrative strategies as in other texts. Thus, we find for example the following three elements: (a) the claim of having been an eyewitness to the events *(empirical validity);* (b) the hint that the story is important for the reader, i.e., that it leads to a better understanding of the present (*normative validity*, because the choices the narrator makes are influenced by his norms, because he wants the reader to share his values); (c) the narration unites experiences and norms and wants to give meaning to the world *(narrative validity)*. (10) To understand the present in the

context of the past is not possible with isolated facts *(empirical validity)* or with values even if one agrees with these values *(normative validity)*. For this reason, the *narrative validity* is the specifically historical criterion of what is true. Through the applications of norms and values (what is interesting?), it turns the past into history and then draws out of that history conclusions for the present time by giving instructions for acting. This finally is essential for planning the future.

If we want to understand our chronicles better it might be a good idea to follow both of these tracks. At the least, there are some interesting and new questions. I am sure that the answers will broaden our horizon.

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Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī (686–768/1287–1366): Life and Works Part II: The *Dīwān* of Ibn Nubātah

4. Autograph Manuscripts

Ibn Nubātah's handwriting was considered to be exceptional. Nearly all of his biographers comment on it. Al-Ṣafadī, who cultivated his own, easily recognizable style of writing, praised the hand of his master and colleague. "As far as his handwriting is concerned, it is more precious than pearls," he writes.[1] Ibn Taghrībirdī praises the "extreme beauty of his handwriting."[2] More effusive is the statement of Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, who says:[3]

سبق الناس . . . إلى براعة الخطّ فما قدر معارض على أن يحكي له خطًّا أو يجاريه في أصول كتابته وانسجامها وجريانها

"He surpassed everyone . . . in his excellence of penmanship, so that no one who tried to vie with him succeeded in matching him in his script or keeping pace with him in the fundamentals of the art of writing or its harmony and fluency."

Al-Sakhāwī, the devoted pupil of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, praises his master's handwriting with the words: "He had nice handwriting in the style of Ibn Nubātah."[4] Since Ibn Nubātah was also Ibn Ḥajar's model in the field of poetry, it is probably not too farfetched to assume that he consciously tried to emulate Ibn Nubātah's style of writing. In fact, the similarity between his and Ibn Nubātah's handwriting can hardly be missed, as figure 5 shows.

As this unanimously enthusiastic judgment of Ibn Nubātah's handwriting shows, a study of his autographs is doubly important. First, these manuscripts shed light on the history of handwriting and the aesthetic principles prevailing at certain times in regard to the beauty of a script, and second, they allow us to reconstruct the history of Ibn Nubātah's work in an unusually detailed way.

Ibn Nubātah makes ample use of ligatures, but also of vowel signs and, at least

Continued from *MSR* 12, no. 1 (2008): 1–35. Bibliographical references given in footnotes nos. 1–29 of the first part are not repeated here in full.

[1] Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* 1:312; similarly al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffá,* 7:104.

[2] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 5:248–49.

[3] Al-Subkī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah,* 5:153.

[4] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar fī Tarjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar,* ed. Ibrāhīm Bājis ʿAbd al-Majīd (Beirut, 1419/1999), 1:287–88.

in some of his manuscripts, quite regularly provides *sīn* with three dots beneath in order to make clear that it is not an undotted *shīn*. Since I am not an expert in this field, I cannot precisely analyze the factors that make Ibn Nubātah's handwriting so distinctive. However, one can hardly fail to notice its elegance. Ibn Nubātah's handwriting obviously matches the sophistication of his texts. And just as his poetry and prose are not particularly easy to understand, his handwriting is not particularly easy to read. But both his literature and his handwriting are very distinctive and easily recognizable. The identification of manuscripts written by Ibn Nubātah is possible beyond any doubt even if the writer is not mentioned (as in El Escorial MS árabe 548). This helps in identifying additional manuscripts written by Ibn Nubātah, and perhaps also manuscripts of works other than his own. So far, the only published reproduction of an autograph manuscript can be found in al-Naṣṣār's edition of the poetry of Ibn al-Rūmī. The editor expresses doubts about its having been written by Ibn Nubātah, but these doubts are unfounded.[5]

So far, I have managed to identify five autograph manuscripts.[6] The principal facts are given in Table 1.

Only one manuscript is dated and provided with a carefully produced title page. The other four manuscripts are undated. Two of them lack a colophon altogether. We may attribute this lack to Ibn Nubātah's loathing of long prefaces, or conclude that these manuscripts were either created as Ibn Nubātah's personal records (though they seem not to be *musawwadāt*), or meant as presents for his friends and colleagues, who knew their writer anyway. As we will see, the text of most of these autograph manuscripts is not identical with the *textus receptus* of the corresponding works. This is due to Ibn Nubātah's habit of constantly revising and restructuring his own works. This working method of Ibn Nubātah causes major problems for the editors of his works, but it also gives us a singular opportunity to closely observe the creative process of a Mamluk artist. In some cases, passages of poems can even be compared in two different autograph versions. The next section will show how the existence of different versions of Ibn Nubātah's poems had an influence on the history of his *Dīwān*.

5. A Work in Progress

There are few pre-modern authors whose work can be observed as closely as that of Ibn Nubātah. Thanks to the wealth of sources and the number of autograph manuscripts, the process of creating many poems and prose texts can be

[5]See *Dīwān Ibn al-Rūmī*, ed. Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, 3rd ed. (Cairo, 1424/2003), 1:33–35 and the plates on pages 51 and 53.

[6]In addition, three leaves at the end of the *Dīwān* manuscript Köprülü MS 1249 (fols. 165–67) were doubtlessly written by Ibn Nubātah himself. Their presence in this (quite old) manuscript remains to be explained.

Table 1
Manuscripts Written by Ibn Nubātah

Manuscript	Work	Folios	Lines per page	Title	Colophon	Identification as Autograph
Istanbul, Ayasofya MS 4045	*Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq* [3]	77	11	كتاب/سَجع المُطوَّق/من قبل الإنشاء/ تصنيف العَبد الفقِير الى الله تعالى محمد بن الخطيب ابن نباته (written by the author himself)	وَنجز الكتابُ في سنه تسع عشره وسبعمايه وصَلى الله على سيدنا محمد/ وآله وصحبه الطيبين الطاهرين وسَلم تسليما كثيرا	title page, written by a third hand: بخط مؤلفه رحمة الله عليه
Istanbul, Köprülü MS 1397	*Muntakhab al-Hadīyah* [5]	74	8–9	منتخب الهَديَّه/في المَدائح المُؤيديَّه/نَظم الشيخ الامام العالم الأدِيب الفاضل جَمال الدين/أبي عبد الله محمد بن الشيخ الإمام المحدّث شمس الدين محمّد بن نباتَه/ادامَ الله فوايدَهُ (written by a third hand)	none	top left corner of the title page, written by another hand than the title: وهو بخط المصنف الشيخ جمال الدين رحمه الله/ . . .
El Escorial MS árabe 548	*Collection of Letters* [11]	147	10–12	مِنْ تَرسُّل/ابن نباته (probably written by a third hand)	الحمد لله وحده وصلوته على سَيدنا محمد وآله وصَحبه الطاهرين وسلام	no indication; so far not known to be an autograph
Istanbul, Ayasofya MS 4261	*Mukhtār Shiʿr Ibn al-Rūmī* [21]	137	11–13	مخُتَار شِعْر بن الرُّوميّ/لِابن نبَاته/ بخطه (written by the author himself)	الحمد لله وحده وصلوته على سَيدنا محمد وآله وصَحبه الطاهرين وسلام	indicated in the title
El Escorial MS árabe 449	*Sūq al-Raqīq* [29]	115	8–10	كتاب/سُوق الرقيق/من غَزل شِعر/ابن نباته المصري بخطه/عَفا الله عنهُ (left side of fol. 1v, probably written by the author himself)	هـ	indicated in the title

reconstructed in great detail. For these reasons, we are able to gain considerable insight into the history of Ibn Nubātah's works. The most important conclusion of such an inquiry is that Ibn Nubātah considered his poems and prose texts as "works in progress," which underwent constant revision and reworking. He reused verses in other poems, adapted texts dedicated to one person to another, reworded verses or passages in his *rasāʾil,* exchanged parts of his works, shortened or expanded texts in order to accommodate them to a new purpose, and so on.

As interesting as such findings are, they obviously make the editing of Ibn Nubātah's works more difficult. How do we deal, for example, with the fact that the autograph manuscript of *Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq* [3][7] contains a poem in praise of Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Zamlakānī different from all other manuscripts of the work? This poem, an *ʿaynīyah* that comprises 56 lines, appears in Ibn Nubātah's own early compilation of his *Dīwān* in a revised and shortened version of 27 lines.[8] Obviously, only after Ibn Nubātah realized that another poem, a *tāʾīyah* he had sent to Kamāl al-Dīn in the same year, had become a striking success, did he substitute this one for the *ʿaynīyah.* The new *qaṣīdah,* a poem of the extraordinary length of a hundred lines, is introduced with the words:

كتبتُ إليه هذه القصيدة التي كثر نظم شعراء العصر في رويّها ووزنها

"I sent him this *qaṣīdah,* which the poets of this time often imitated in its rhyme and meter."[9] Needless to say, Ibn Nubātah again revised the poem and included a shortened version of 64 lines in his early *Dīwān.*[10]

The first victim of this situation was al-Bashtakī, the compiler of Ibn Nubātah's *Dīwān* after the latter's death. The modern redactor of the printed version further aggravated this situation by several editorial decisions.

The first poem of the *Dīwān (khafīf/-āʾī)* after the initial poem in praise of the Prophet may serve as an illustration of the problem. In fact, this poem must have caused Ibn Nubātah many a headache, since he did not subject many others to such drastic revision. The reason for Ibn Nubātah's permanent discontent with the poem may be found in the fact that it is of an experimental nature. Obviously, it was one of Ibn Nubātah's first attempts to develop his *tawriyah* style, which he

[7]Numbers in brackets refer to the chart of the works of Ibn Nubātah found in part I of this article, pp. 4–5.

[8]See *Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq,* Ayasofya MS 4045, fols. 33v–36r; *Proto-Dīwān,* Berlin MS 7861, fol. 119r–v; *Dīwān,* 297–99.

[9]Cairo, Dār al-Kutub MS 170 *adab,* fol. 28r. See also al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah,* 5:108–11 (article on Ibn al-Zamlakānī).

[10]Berlin MS 7861, fols. 44v–46v; the version in *Dīwān,* 67–71, is a pastiche between the version in *Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq* and that in the *Proto-Dīwān.*

perfected only in the later phases of his life, especially in his poems dedicated to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh. But among his poems dedicated to the Ayyubid prince of Ḥamāh, the *Muʾayyadīyāt,* it is not typical and may create the impression of being somewhat contrived. His main artistic goal seems to have been to compose a poem that treats only a few themes that evoke many associations by a technique based on *tawriyah* (double entendre) and *ṭibāq* (antithesis). We will limit our investigation to the *nasīb,* which comprises 14 of 33 lines altogether (a remarkably high percentage) in the printed *Dīwān*. Line 15 is the *takhalluṣ* that leads from the *nasīb* to praise of Abū al-Fidāʾ, the Ayyubid prince. The *madīḥ* focuses nearly exclusively on the subject of generosity. The *nasīb* and the *takhalluṣ* are given in the *Dīwān* (p. 4) as in the left column of the following chart:

Table 2 Text according to *Dīwān,* p. 4 (meter *khafīf*)	(2) MH	(3) PD	(4) SR	(5) Bash
١ قام يرنُو بمقلةٍ كحلاء عَلَّمَتني الجُنُونَ بالسَوْداءِ	x	x	x	x
٢ رَشَأٌ دبَّ في سوالفه النملُ فهامت خواطرُ الشُعراءِ	x	x	x	x
٣ روضُ حُسنٍ غَنىَّ لنا فوقه الحلْيُ فأهلاً بالروضةِ الغنّاءِ	x			
٤ جائرُ الحُكْمِ قلبه لي صخرٌ وبكائي له بكى الخنساء			x	x
٥ عَذَلوني على هواه فأغرَوا فهواهُ نصبٌ على الإغراءِ	x	x	x	x
٦ مَن مُعِيني على رشاً صرت من ماء دموعي عليه مثل الرشاء			x	x
٧ مَن مُعِيني على لواعج حبّ تتلظّى مِن أدمُعي بالماء	x	x		x
٨ وحبيبٍ إليّ يفعل بالقلبِ فعال الأعداء بالأعداء	x	x		x
٩ ضيق العين إن رَنا واسنمحنا وعناء تسمّح البخلاء			x	x
٠١ ليت أعطافه ولو في منامٍ وعدتْ باستراقةٍ للقاء			x	x
١١ يتثنّى كقامة الغُصنِ اللدن ويعطو كالظبية الأدماءِ	x	x		x
٢١ يا شبيهَ الغُصون رفقا بصبٍّ نائح في الهوى مع الورقاء	x	x	x	x
٣١ يذكرُ العهدَ بالعقيق فيبكي لهواهُ بدمعةٍ حمراءِ	x	x	x	x
٤١ يا لها دمعةٌ على الخدّ حمراء بدت من سوداء في صفراء	x	x	x	x
٥١ فكأني حملتُ رنك ابن أيُّوب على وجنتي لفرط ولاء	x	x	x	x

As a matter of fact, the text given in the *Dīwān* does not contain a single word that is not by Ibn Nubātah himself, and there are only two clear mistakes in it, for in line 10, instead of *istirāqatin* one has to read *istirāqihī*, and in line 14 instead of *yā lahā damʿatun* one must read *yā lahā damʿatan*, as Ibn Nubātah clearly noted in both of his autograph manuscripts. Nevertheless, the text of the *Dīwān* is not

an authentic text, since the poem never existed in this form during the lifetime of Ibn Nubātah. Lines 3, 7, 8, and 11 never occurred together with lines 4, 6, 9, and 10, and in none of Ibn Nubātah's versions did the *nasīb* take such a large portion of the whole poem. Instead, Ibn Nubātah obviously cancelled line 3 and replaced lines 7, 8, and 11 with three other lines. In the chart above, the lines occurring in *Muntakhab al-Hadīyah* (= MH), the *Proto-Dīwān* (PD), and *Sūq al-Raqīq* (SR) are marked in columns 2 to 4 with an X. These are the three major versions that can be established to have existed during the poet's lifetime. The recension of al-Bashtakī (column 5) is nothing but a pastiche of all these versions. Line 3 is only reintroduced in a very late version of this recension. To reconstruct the history of the text, we must therefore have recourse to the manuscript material.

The earliest version of the poem available to us is found in the *Muntakhab al-Hadīyah* [5], Ibn Nubātah's collection of poems in praise of al-Malik al-Muʾayyad. The book was completed before 729, perhaps around the year 725, and is preserved in a number of manuscripts and early printed editions. The earliest document is an autograph manuscript (Köprülü MS 1397) the text of which is not always identical with the version presented by all other known sources (which, nevertheless, must also present an authentic version going back to the author himself). In the case of our *nasīb,* there are only a few variant readings between the two recensions. Therefore, I will give the version of the autograph manuscript (fols. 15v–16r), which is as authentic as a text can be:[11]

١ قامِ يرنُو بمقلةٍ كحلاء   عَلَّمَتني الجُنُونَ بالسَوْداءِ
٢ رَشأٌ دبَّ في سوالفه النملُ فحارتْ خواطرُ الشُعراءِ
٣ روضُ حُسنٍ غَنىَّ على قدّه الحلْيُ فأهلاً بالروضةِ الغنّاءِ
٤ عَذلوني علىَّ هواه فأغرَوا فهواهُ نصبٌ على الإغراءِ
٥ مَن مُعِيني على لواعج حبٍّ تتلظّى مِن أدمُعي بالماء
٦ وحبيبٍ لديّ يفعل بالقلبِ فعال الأعداء بالأعداء
٧ يتثنّى كقامة الغُصن الرطب ويعطو كالظبية الأدماءِ
٨ يا شِبيهَ الغُصون رفقا بصبٍّ نائح في الهوى مع الورقاء
٩ يذكُرُ العهدَ بالعقيق فيبكي من هواهُ بدمعةٍ حمراءِ
١٠ يا لها دمعةً على الخدّ حمراء بدت من سوداء في صفراء
١١ فكأني حملتُ رنك ابن أيُّوب على وجنتي لفرط ولائي

(1) He stood, gazing with dark eyes that taught me madness in consequence of *black (eyes)*/melancholia,[12]

[11]Since the poem is in the meter *khafīf,* in which the caesura between the hemistichs is less important than with other meters and often runs across single words, we will not mark it here.

[12]A *tawriyah* is noted in the translations in the following way: The primarily intended meaning is

(2) a young gazelle on the temples of whom ants were crawling so that the poets' minds were confounded.

(3) He is a garden of beauty; the jewelry on his body sings—welcome to the lush garden full of rustling/*garden of the singer!*

(4) They blamed me for my love for him and incited desire, so that the love for him became a banner/*accusative* marking incitement.

(5) Who can aid me against the ardor of a love that is aflame even in the water of my tears,

(6) and against a beloved who inflicts on my heart things that only enemies are used to inflicting on each other?

(7) He sways in the form of a tender bough and stretches his neck like a light-brown gazelle.

(8) O you, who resemble boughs: Have mercy on an ardent lover who, in his passion, moans with the dark gray doves,

(9) while he remembers the days of intimacy with al-ʿAqīq/*the cornelian,* so that he weeps a red tear out of love.

(10) Oh what a tear on the cheek: Red that appeared from the black [eyes] [and runs down] on a yellow cheek!

(11) It is as if I would bear the emblem of Ayyūb's scion on my cheek, so great is my devotion!

Let us try an interpretation of the *nasīb* in this form. The first observation is that the *nasīb* has to be interpreted from the perspective of the *takhalluṣ* (line 11). This line leads from the subject of love to the subject of praise by means of the emblem of the prince. Considering the small number of literary references to the *rank,*[13] the line is also not without historic interest. As we learn from lines 10 and 11, the *rank* of al-Muʾayyad was a tricolor bearing the same colors as

underlined, the secondarily suggested meaning written in italics. In reading aloud, the words in italics should be omitted.

[13]N. Rabbat, "Rank," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 8:431.

the Belgian or the German flag (in whatever sequence). These three colors are now introduced through themes of love poetry, until they serve as a very neat and astonishing *takhalluṣ* to the *madīḥ.* This is carried out in three steps, each comprising three lines.

The first step, lines 1–3, is to give an idea about the fascination felt by the lover for the beloved. One of the three colors, black, is already introduced in the first line. This is done in a complex way in the form of a *tawriyah* and by making "blackness" the rhyme word. In this way the subject of color is on the stage from the very beginning. One may also note that the very first rhyme word, i.e., the rhyme word at the end of the first hemistich *(kaḥlāʾ)* is also a color term, but a term only applicable to eyes. The sequence: (a) special color term *(akḥal)* → (b) generally applicable color term *(aswad)* given in the first line is echoed in an expanded form in lines 7–10: (a) special color terms in the rhymes of lines 7–8 (*admāʾ, awraq*) → general color terms in the rhymes of lines 9–10 *(aḥmar, aṣfar)*.

The second step, lines 4–6, can be read as an antithesis of the first one. Now the enemies of love, the faultfinders, enter the stage in line 4. As a consequence, the lover's love turns into a "banner." This motif anticipates the idea of the *rank,* but without mentioning any color. Further lines illustrate the reluctance and the cruelty of the beloved that are the reason for the lover's despair and will eventually engender the two colors red and yellow, which are not yet mentioned in the colorless passage. The theme of "color" now is the point of the third step presented in lines 7–9. The beloved is compared to a red-brown gazelle. He resembles a bough, and on boughs we find doves whose sad cooing is one of the most time-honored motifs of love poetry. A common word for doves is *warqāʾ*, which originally means "dark gray". So we have two lines that end with rhyme words that designate colors, *admāʾ* and *warqāʾ*. But they are not pure colors, but only color terms that can be applied to special categories of objects. As a climax, the third line of the passage concludes with a rhyme word which designates a pure color, i.e., red *(ḥamrāʾ),* which is introduced again in the complex way of a *tawriyah,* just as the color black had been in the first line. The color yellow is represented by the sallow cheeks of the pain-stricken lover as a natural consequence of what has been said in the second passage. This is a conventional topos of love poetry and need not be introduced separately to complete the tricolor. Instead, it forms the rhyme word of line 10, in which all three colors are now assembled. These are the colors of the *rank* of the sultan al-Muʾayyad, which the poet acquires through love just as the sultan had acquired them by rank and descent.

A few words may be in order to explain the rather dense stylistic construction, especially of the first section. Each of its three lines contains a *tawriyah,* the form of double entendre that was so popular in Ayyubid and Mamluk times that Ibn

Ḥijjah even called the whole period the "age of the *tawriyah,*" and Ibn Nubātah was unanimously considered the chief master of the *tawriyah* in his time. The *tawriyah* makes use of the fact that many words have more than one meaning, and it must be constructed in such a way that, though only one of its meanings is primarily intended, the hearer/reader is made aware of the other, non-intended meaning of the word. In the case of these three lines, we have no less than three different kinds of *tawriyah.* In the first line, the lyrical I is going mad on account of the black eyes of the beloved. However, *sawdāʾ* means also "black bile, melancholia," which enables a medical interpretation of the line. Since the context points to the primarily-intended meaning, we have a *tawriyah mubayyanah* before us. The situation in the next line is more complex. The "ants" that are creeping up the beloved's cheek are a simile for the downy beard, one of the main subjects of Arabic love poetry from the time of Abū Tammām onwards until the middle of the nineteenth century.[14] The comparison is not new at all, but Ibn Nubātah adds a *tawriyah* by stating that the downy beard "seizes the minds of the poets." By mentioning the word *shuʿarāʾ* the hearer becomes aware of the fact that *al-naml,* just like *al-shuʿarāʾ*, is the name of a *sūrah* of the Holy Quran. This form of *tawriyah,* which only becomes conspicuous by means of another *tawriyah,* is called *tawriyah muhayyaʾah.* The third line adds the acoustic dimension to the optic one. The beloved's face is a garden (a common image), but a garden is only perfect when birds sing in it. Instead of birds, the beloved's garden here is filled with the rustling of his adornment (probably his earring); therefore it is a *rawḍah ghannāʾ* which one can interpret as "a garden, a singer." But the intended meaning of *ghannāʾ* is not that derived from the root *gh-n-y*, but that from the root *gh-n-n. Ghannāʾ* can also be the feminine of *aghann* and means as an epithet a garden "abounding with herbs . . . in which the winds [murmur] by reason of the denseness of its . . . herbage."[15] It is an old Arabic expression for a *locus amoenus* just as is al-ʿAqīq in line 9. The *tawriyah* in this case is a *tawriyah murashshaḥah,* in which the context ("singing") points to the not-intended meaning ("singer").

The next three lines (lines 4–6) are stylistically less complicated. Line 4, which brings in society in the form of the faultfinders, takes up the old motif of blame that incites the lover even further. Its classical formulation is by Abū Nuwās.[16] The motif is turned into another *tawriyah,* which fits the profanation of love by the faultfinders, since *naṣb ʿalá al-ighrāʾ* (accusative of incitement) is simply a

[14]See Thomas Bauer, *Liebe und Liebesdichtung in der arabischen Welt des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1998), 225–80; on 264–65, references to further comparisons between the beard and ants in the love poetry of the ninth and tenth centuries.

[15] E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, Edinburgh, 1863–93), q.v.

[16]See *Dīwān Abī Nuwās,* 3rd part, ed. Ewald Wagner (Stuttgart, 1408/1988), 2: دَعْ عَنْكَ لَوْمي فإنّ اللَّوْمَ إغْرَاء

common grammatical term.[17] Lines 5 and 6 are marked by antitheses (fire-water; beloved-enemy) instead of *tawriyāt*. It is only in line 9 in the third section that the art of the *tawriyah* is perfected in the form of an *istikhdām*. It is presented by the word al-ʿAqīq, the name of a wadi in the Ḥijāz (and of several other places in the region), which at first seems out of place in Ibn Nubātah's poem. But its geographical place is completely irrelevant since in Arabic poetry it is not so much a real place as a motif, and as such "part of the poetic idea embodied in that peculiarly suggestive landscape that may be called pastoral, idyllic, or, in an archetypical way, a vestige of man's dream of the earth when it was good. It is a metaphor of sweetness, joy, and garden surroundings, too."[18] As such, it is in perfect harmony with the references to the Quran and the garden in lines 2 and 3. But at the same time the word *ʿaqīq* has to be taken to mean "cornelian" in order to serve as an object of comparison for the red (i.e., bloody) tears of the lover. If both significations of a word have to be actualized, theorists speak of an *istikhdām,* which, nevertheless, may be considered a type of *tawriyah*. Though Ibn Nubātah left theory to al-Ṣafadī,[19] it is quite clear that he was very well aware of the different kinds of *tawriyah,* and it is certainly no accident that he tried to assemble them in this very passage, each fulfilling a specific task in its specific place. Further, it is also striking to see how Ibn Nubātah combines motifs of the traditional form of the *nasīb* (for this is rather a *nasīb,* not a *ghazal*)[20] with "modern" content, for no doubt it is a homoerotic love poem. In the same way as Ibn Nubātah offers modernized tradition (conventional *nasīb* motifs in modern style and content), the Ayyubid prince combines a glorious dynastic past with his generous activities in modern Mamluk society.

Given the two poles, "crafted" *(maṣnūʿ)* and "natural" *(maṭbūʿ),* there is no doubt that Ibn Nubātah's lines are to be located at the very end of the "crafted" pole. A text containing a maximum of allusions and associations will inevitably end up on this side of the scale. Nevertheless, Ibn Nubātah must have felt a certain unease about his lines, or about some of them, and therefore decided to revise the poem.

Such changes had taken place already in the text of *Muntakhab al-Hadīyah*. The text of the other manuscripts and the nineteenth-century printed text of this work is not identical with the text of the autograph. Apparently, most differences go back to Ibn Nubātah himself, as the drastic changes (such as the exchange of whole poems) and the corroboration of some of these changes through later

[17] See W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language,* 3rd ed. (Cambridge, 1933), 2:74–75.

[18] J. Stetkevych, *The Zephyrs of Najd* (Chicago, 1993), 112.

[19] See al-Ṣafadī, *Faḍḍ al-Khitām ʿan al-Tawriyah wa-al-Istikhdām,* ed. al-Muḥammadī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ḥinnāwī (Cairo, 1399/1979).

[20] On this distinction see Bauer, *Liebe,* 185–97.

autograph sources show. In our case, there are only minor alterations. We find *hāmat* instead of *ḥārat* in line 2 (a variant reading corroborated by the autograph of *Sūq al-Raqīq*) and *ilayya* instead of *ladayya* in line 6. More important is Ibn Nubātah's attempt to improve line 3. The phrase *ʿalá qaddihī* "above his stature" must have disturbed Ibn Nubātah, perhaps as not being very precise. Therefore he replaced it with the phrase *lahū fawqahū* "for which above it." The reading of the printed *Dīwān*, *lanā fawqahū*, has no textual basis whatsoever. It owes its existence to the fact that the writer of the manuscript that forms the basis for the printed text, had omitted *lahū*. The word *lanā* was only later added above the line, perhaps by another hand and as a conjecture. There is no senseless "for us" in Ibn Nubātah's text and no "we" is addressed in the whole passage.

Another step of his revisions is represented by what I call Ibn Nubātah's "Proto-Dīwān." It is a collection of Ibn Nubātah's poetry, compiled by the poet himself, with which he answered requests for a *Dīwān* of his poetry during his Syrian years and which forms the basis for the *Dīwān al-Aṣl*. An early version of the *Proto-Dīwān* is included in Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh's *Masālik al-Abṣār* and therefore must be dated before 749. Further sources for the *Proto-Dīwān* are four manuscripts, one of which was written before Ibn Nubātah's death. Though the manuscripts do not depend upon each other, all five sources give an identical text of the poem, which differs in a few respects from the text given above. This version must be considered as another authentic version that can be traced back to Ibn Nubātah himself. It presents a text virtually identical with the autograph version of the *Muntakhab*. It still has *ḥārat* (line 2) and *ladayya* (line 6), but it reads *al-ghuṣn al-ladn* instead of *al-ghuṣn al-raṭb* in line 7 and *li-hawāhu* instead of *min hawāhu* in line 9. The most important change again concerns line 3, which is now entirely deleted. The poet had already marked it with a line in the autograph. The exact chronology of these modifications cannot be established. Perhaps Ibn Nubātah deleted the line first and tried to save it later for the *Muntakhab* by reformulating it in part, or he considered his attempt to improve it a failure and deleted it once and for all. As a matter of fact, the line does not turn up again in later versions of the poem, and it was not even included in the pastiche text compiled by al-Bashtakī. Copyists only added it subsequently, almost certainly from the *Muntakhab*.

Ibn Nubātah occupied himself with the poem for many years, as we see from the preceding, before he finally decided to rework it fundamentally. This new version is again preserved in an autograph manuscript. This is a manuscript of Ibn Nubātah's late work *Sūq al-Raqīq* [29], in which the author assembled a selection of the *nasīb* sections of his *qaṣīdah*s to create a work of love poetry. The *nasīb* is now not part of a longer poem, but stands alone. Nevertheless, in all probability the text was not changed on the occasion of its inclusion in *Sūq al-Raqīq*. Rather it

represents the form the *nasīb* had taken in the meantime in Ibn Nubātah's *Dīwān al-Aṣl,* i.e., in a revised and enlarged version of the *Proto-Dīwān*. This is corroborated by the Paris manuscript Bibliothèque Nationale MS 3362, which contains excerpts of Ibn Nubātah's *Dīwān* in a pre-Bashtakī recension (most certainly from the *Dīwān al-Aṣl*), and in which on fol. 98v a shortened version of our poem is given, which corresponds to the version given below. Further, the modifications made in this stage are obviously made to align the *nasīb* more closely to the main topic of the *madīḥ* instead of making it more erotic as one would expect from modifications undertaken for an anthology of love poetry.

This is the complete text of the poem in the autograph copy of *Sūq al-Raqīq* (Escorial MS árabe 449, fols. 2r–v):

١ قامِ يِرنُو بمقلةٍ كحلاء   أنِا منها المجنونُ بالسَوْداءِ
٢ رَشأٌ دبَّ فِي سوالفه النملُ فهامت خواطرُ الشُعراءِ
٣ جائِرُ الحُكْمِ قلبه لِيَ صَخْرٌ وبكائي له بكا الخنساءِ
٤ عَذَلوني على هواه فأغرَوا فهواهُ نصبٌ على الإغراءِ
٥ مَن مُعِيني على رشاً صرت من ماء دموعي عليه مثل الرَشاء
٦ ضيق العين إن رَنا واستمحنا وعناء تسمّح البخلاء
٧ ليت أعطافه ولو في منام وعدتْ باستراقه للقاء
٨ يا شبيهَ الغُصون رفقا بصَبٍّ نائح في الهوى مع الورقاء
٩ يذكرُ العهدَ بالعقيق وأهليه فيبكي بدمعةٍ حمراءِ
١٠ يا لها دمعةً على الخدّ حمراء بدت من سوداء في صفراء
١١ فكأني حملتُ رنك ابن أيُّوب على وجنتي لفرط ولائي

(1) He stood, gazing with dark eyes that left me mad with *black (eyes)*/melancholia,

(2) a young gazelle on the temples of whom ants were crawling so that the poets' minds were seized by the raptures of love.

(3) A tyrant, his heart is (hard as) stone/*Ṣakhr* to me, and my weeping for him is like the weeping of al-Khansāʾ!

(4) They blamed me for my love for him and incited desire, so that the love for him became a banner/*accusative* marking incitement.

(5) Who can aid me against a fawn that made me seem a well-rope, for so many tears did I weep for him,

(6) a fawn that gazes with small eyes when we ask a favor of him—
but it is distress to expect favors from misers!

(7) Would that his inclinations promised—and if only in a dream—
that he could be stolen away for a rendezvous!

(8) O you, who resemble boughs: Have mercy on an ardent lover
who, in his passion, moans with the dark gray doves,

(9) while he remembers the days of intimacy with al-ʿAqīq/*the cornelian* and its inhabitants, so that he weeps a red tear.

(10) Oh what a tear on the cheek: Red that appeared in consequence
of black on yellow!

(11) It is as if I would bear the emblem of Ayyūb's scion on my
cheek, so great is my devotion!

If we compare these lines with the corresponding lines in *Muntakhab al-Hadīyah,* we see that only four lines survived without change (lines 4, 8, 10, 11), four were replaced by completely different lines (lines 3, 5–7), and three lines were modified in a more moderate way (lines 1, 2, 9). The length of the poem and the sequence of the lines remain unchanged. This is clear evidence of the fact that the new lines were not meant as an addition, as it appears from the printed *Dīwān,* but as replacements for earlier verses.

Line 3 is a substitute for the "singing jewelry" line that had proven resistant to all attempts at improvement. Instead of stressing the beloved's beauty (to which little space is devoted in this revised version of the *nasīb*), the line complains about the reluctance and harshness of the beloved whose "heart is of stone *(ṣakhr),*" a very common theme of love poetry. As a result, the lover must weep, and the poet compares his weeping to that of the pre-Islamic poetess al-Khansāʾ who, according to tradition, spent many years composing elegies on the death of her beloved brother, whose name was Ṣakhr. Since the brother's name is clearly not intended by the word *ṣakhr* in the first hemistich, this is a *tawriyah murashshaḥah.*[21] The new line therefore provides for exactly the same type of *tawriyah* as the line it was meant to replace. Despite the many changes, the number of *tawriyāt* representing

[21] Instead of *wa-bukāʾī lahū bukā al-Khansāʾī,* the Paris MS reads *wa-bukāʾī ʿalayhi ka-al-Khansāʾī,* which should be considered an authentic and plausible alternative reading of the line, since it avoids the contrast between *bukāʾ* and *bukan,* and *bakā ʿalá* is the normal construction of the verb.

four different types remains unchanged. With Ṣakhr and al-Khansāʾ, two historical figures from old Arabic tradition have been introduced. As we have already seen, the confrontation between Arabic tradition and modern style and content is a specific trait of this poem. This tendency is underscored by the introduction of two additional figures of this kind. This helps to explain the transformation of line 1. While I do not think *ana minhā al-majnūnu* is necessarily better than *ʿallamatnī al-junūna,* through the word *majnūn* another figure of old Arabic lore is brought to the awareness of the hearer. In addition, juxtaposed to the word *al-majnūn,* the rhyme word *al-sawdāʾ* "black" strongly suggests the name of Laylá, the beloved of al-Majnūn, and thus completes the pair. This association was absent from the first version. By means of this transformation, the four *tawriyah* lines give the following sequence of historical allusions: Line 1 reminds the hearer of al-Majnūn, the hero of unrequited love in the *ʿudhrī* tradition, and his beloved Laylá. Line 2 recalls the Quran, and line 3 mentions in a more direct way another old Arabic hero and his sister, a model of sisterly love. The fourth *tawriyah* line, which introduces the "colors of the banner" passage, is line 9. In the original version, this line mentions al-ʿAqīq as a *locus amoenus* in the Arabian Peninsula and thus leads back to the scene of the first three verses. But there are no people in it. But by replacing *fa-yabkī min hawāhū* with *wa-ahlīhi fa-yabkī,* the place becomes populated and the line is in closer harmony with the first three lines. One may note also that in the first part of the *madīḥ* several historical figures are mentioned (al-Ayyūb, Kaʿb, Ismāʿīl). The allusion to figures and stories of the past, which is called *ʿunwān* in *badīʿ* theory, is thus a stylistic device that unites *nasīb* and *madīḥ*. This becomes much more obvious in the second version than in the first, though the new versions of the lines are not necessarily better than the old versions (with the exception of line 3, which is clearly improved in the second version).

Another attempt to thematically unify the poem was to strengthen the notion of avarice and refusal as opposed to generosity and liberality, which form the focus of the *madīḥ*. For this purpose, the beauty of the beloved was no longer signalled by the image of the bough, but by his "small eyes." In a time when the male beloved is often a Turkish soldier, small eyes were considered a mark of beauty. Whereas the ancients used to write love poems on those with wide eyes *(al-ʿuyūn al-nujalāʾ)* "the modern poets often write love poems on the small eyes *(al-ʿuyūn al-ḍayyiqah),* that is, the eyes of the Turks."[22] But in line 6 of our poem, the small eyes are not so much a mark of beauty, but rather a sign of the beloved's reticence. The only favor that can be hoped for from such a stingy beloved is a theft committed in a dream. This idea of line 7 forms the climax of the middle passage of the revised *nasīb,* which can now be structured in the

[22] Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Ghayth al-Musajjam fī Sharḥ Lāmīyat al-ʿAjam* (Beirut, 1411/1990), 2:19; see also Bauer, *Liebe,* 285–86.

following way: Lines 1–3: The beloved, who has to be conceived in a "modern" way as a young man, evokes memories of old Arabic and Islamic heritage. This ambiguous experience is expressed in the form of three *tawriyāt* of three different types. The stylistic device of the *tawriyah* is not only the device of ambiguity *par excellence,* but also the *modern* stylistic device *par excellence*. The reader is left with several associations and contradictions after this section. Line 4 brings in the poet's contemporaries who make him a banner of love parallel to the banner of the Ayyubid prince that has to be introduced in the course of this *nasīb,* as has been explained above. But at first the beloved is portrayed as the antipode of the prince, as the embodiment of avarice, just as the prince will be shown to be the embodiment of generosity. This is accomplished in the revised middle part, which starts with a line featuring the traditional stylistic device of the *jinās* (line 5: *rashan - rishāʾ*). A last part follows, in which the *tawriyah* style and the historic recollections of the first part are taken up again in line 9 and the poet's sufferings of the middle part in line 10, only to bring about a synthesis in the form of the colors of the *rank* of the Ayyubid prince, who turns out to be the antipode of the beloved.

This last revision was made several decades after al-Malik al-Muʾayyad's death in 732/1332 and even after the end of the Ayyubid dynasty of Ḥamāh (742/1341). No Ayyubid prince ever read the poem in this form. Obviously the poet's revisions were not made for the addressee, but for the general public. The same procedure of revising and polishing his texts can be observed with Ibn Nubātah's prose texts. In winter 716, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī received a letter from Ibn Nubātah, in which he complained about the cold and snow. The text that al-Qazwīnī received must have been more or less identical with that of the autograph manuscript El Escorial MS árabe 548, fols. 91r–92r. But already a few years later, when Ibn Nubātah compiled his *Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq* [3], he included a polished version, in which several cola were substituted for others. This new version is also documented in an autograph manuscript.[23] The new text was modified again, and a shortened version was prepared for its inclusion in *Zahr al-Manthūr*.[24] Al-Qazwīnī probably never read one of these revised versions of the letter that had once been addressed to him.

This process of revision demonstrates that Ibn Nubātah's poems and prose texts were occasional texts in so far as they were induced by certain circumstances, which also became part of their thematic content. As works of art, however, their communicative potential was not limited to the occasion. Their author considered them artistic creations the value of which was not bound to the circumstances of

[23] Ayasofya MS 4045, fols. 29r–30r.

[24] See Chester Beatty MS 5161, fol. 24r–v.

their creation or to the person to whom they were first addressed. Therefore, the process of creation did not end with the occasion or the death of the addressee, but only with the author's decision to consider his work finished.

The effort expended by the poet must be reciprocated by the modern interpreter devoting a comparable amount of care and attention to Ibn Nubātah's text. It is quite clear that the text of the poem discussed above as it is given in the printed version does not allow for an adequate interpretation of the lines. Whereas both the early and the late version of the *nasīb* make perfect sense, each in their own way, the pastiche given in the printed text is marred by senseless repetitions (esp. lines 6 and 7), thematic breaks and inconsistencies, and an unbalanced proportion between *nasīb* and *madīḥ*. One who reads only this text does not know Ibn Nubātah's poem. It was al-Bashtakī's ambition to collect every line ever written by Ibn Nubātah as completely as possible. He had no critical edition in mind. Ibn Nubātah's method of working, however, is exactly the kind that calls for a critical edition that elucidates the different stages of Ibn Nubātah's creations.

It is true that only a few of Ibn Nubātah's poems were subjected to a comparably fundamental revision as the poem discussed above. An impression of the degree of re-working may be given by a comparison between Ibn Nubātah's poems quoted in Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh's *Masālik al-Abṣār* and their counterparts in the printed *Dīwān*. As will be shown later, Ibn Faḍl Allāh simply copied Ibn Nubātah's *Proto-Dīwān* to compile his section on the poet in his encyclopaedia, without bothering with an introduction and without making any textual changes. This is corroborated by four additional manuscripts of this version of Ibn Nubātah's *Dīwān*. Whenever the number of lines of a poem in Ibn Faḍl Allāh's *Masālik* differs from the number of its lines in the printed *Dīwān,* this is not due to an abridgement carried out by Ibn Faḍl Allāh. Instead, the additional lines were either added by the poet later or they are the result of a blend between lines from different stages of revision, as was the case in the *nasīb* discussed above. In the *Masālik,* Ibn Faḍl Allāh included 37 poems by Ibn Nubātah that comprise more than twenty lines. Of these poems, only 14 contain the same number of lines in the *Dīwān* as they do in the *Masālik*. In one case the *Masālik* version is longer. In all other cases, the *Dīwān* provides more lines than the *Masālik,* i.e., Ibn Nubātah's *Proto-Dīwān*. As a whole, the difference is 204 lines. This means an average difference of 5.6 lines, or of 14.6 lines if we only regard the poems with different lengths. In most cases, the difference is one or two lines (six cases each), but in other cases the difference amounts to 18 (no. 694 in the *Masālik*), 42 (no. 685), 45 (no. 747), and 51 (no. 703) lines, respectively. These figures only capture the different lengths of the poems, but not the numerous variant readings. As we saw above, most variants have to be traced back to the poet himself and are not scribal errors. An example is the introductory line of no. 678, which is completely different in the *Dīwān* (p.

483). Our statistics do not capture, either, the many cases in which poems were trimmed to become two-line epigrams or expanded to become seven-liners to be included in *Al-Sabʿah al-Sayyārah* [31], and many similar cases. To mention only two examples, the congratulatory poem on p. 47 of the *Dīwān (mutaqārib/3bū)* comprises 9 lines. It has 6 lines in the *Proto-Dīwān* and was shortened to 4 in *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī* [6]. The two lines of no. 894 in the *Masālik* are the beginning of a poem of 24 lines in the *Proto-Dīwān,* which appears in the printed *Dīwān* with 41 lines (p. 448).

The situation is similar with Ibn Nubātah's prose texts. The *Mufākharah bayna al-Sayf wa-al-Qalam* [10] appears in several sources, but never in an identical form. Further, it was dedicated to two different persons at two different times. As we have seen above, letters were also revised and reworked, even after they had long fulfilled their immediate purpose, and even after the death of their addressee.

The story of Ibn Nubātah's works, therefore, is complicated and requires meticulous reconstruction. But it offers singular insight into the creative process of one of the major literary figures of the eighth/fourteenth century and the intellectual life of the period in general.

6. The *Dīwān Ibn Nubātah*

We are accustomed to accessing the works of the great poets, beginning with the Abbasid period, through their *dīwān*s. A *dīwān* in this sense is a more or less comprehensive collection of the poetic work of a poet. From the Umayyad poet Dhū al-Rummah onwards, many poets compiled their own *dīwān*. Many a *dīwān* was also arranged by philologists shortly after the death of a poet. The most famous case is that of Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī (d. ca. 335/946), who not only compiled the *dīwān* of Abū Nuwās, but also the *dīwān*s of Abū Tammām, Ibn al-Rūmī, and others. In principle, this practice was still common in the Mamluk period. Poets like Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī still compiled their own *dīwān*s, and a person like al-Bashtakī collected the *dīwān* of his teacher, Ibn Nubātah, whereas Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥijāzī collected that of al-Bashtakī. Nevertheless, to a certain extent, the *dīwān* had lost its former character as the central work of an *adīb*. Many *udabāʾ* such as al-Ṣafadī never had their poems collected in the form of a single *dīwān*. Other *dawāwīn* of this period present only selections of a person's poetry. Such "best ofs" may have been compiled by the poet himself (as in the case of Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī) or again by another person (for example, Ibn Ḥijjah's selection of the *dīwān* of Burhān al-Dīn al-Qīrāṭī, entitled *Taḥrīr al-Qīrāṭī*). Often poems that were composed for a certain occasion, or poems of a certain form or treating a specific subject, were compiled in the form of a small or medium-size book. Collections of this kind are also often called *dīwāns.* An example of a *dīwān* of this kind is Ibn Nubātah's

Muntakhab al-Hadīyah [5], which is often referred to as *Dīwān Ibn Nubātah* or *Al-Dīwān al-Ṣaghīr*. In a period when it was common to produce several smaller books, the compilation of a single, comprehensive *dīwān* was less common than it had been in the Abbasid period. Another factor that contributed to a decrease in importance of the traditional *dīwān* or to a modification of its form was the fact that many, if not most, *udabāʾ* of the Mamluk period gave as much weight to their prose texts as to their poems. Consequently, a *dīwān* of poetry represents only one facet of an *adīb*'s output in this period and is therefore less central than it was before. Alternatively, an *adīb* may compile a *dīwān* consisting of both poetry and prose. It seems as if this development occurred only in the generation after Ibn Nubātah. Ibn Nubātah's *dīwān* is still confined to poetry despite the overwhelming importance of his prose. From *udabāʾ* of the generations after Ibn Nubātah, several *dawāwīn* of the mixed kind have been preserved, for example the *dīwān*s of al-Qīrāṭī, Ibn Makānis, and Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī.

Accordingly, we can say that whereas the *Dīwān al-Mutanabbī* is al-Mutanabbī's life work, and to know the *Dīwān al-Mutanabbī* means to know all of his verse, to know the *Dīwān Ibn Nubātah* gives only a limited view of the literary universe of Ibn Nubātah, which should be accessed first through the works Ibn Nubātah intended for publication. The *Dīwān* contains neither Ibn Nubātah's copious production in prose, nor does it present the poems in their original context, when Ibn Nubātah first published them. Nevertheless, the *Dīwān* remains an indispensable source for our knowledge of Ibn Nubātah's poetic work since it contains many poems from collections otherwise lost (such as *Al-Sabʿah al-Sayyārah* [31]) as well as poems that were probably never part of a separate collection (such as the poems in praise of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh).

In the printed version at our disposal, the *Dīwān* can fulfill these functions only in a very limited way. The printed *Dīwān* represents one of al-Bashtakī's recensions of Ibn Nubātah's poetry, but it is marred by a number of arbitrary and capricious interventions so that we have to conclude that still no reliable text—much less a critical edition—of the *Dīwān Ibn Nubātah* is available. Several factors contributed to this unsatisfactory situation. First, the poet himself had the habit of constantly revising his own works so that even he could not arrive at definitive versions of his poems. Second, the compiler al-Bashtakī lacked the perseverance and diligence necessary to undertake a task like this. As a result, he did not compile a single, definitive version of the *Dīwān*. And third, the modern editor lacked philological training and did more harm than good by his whimsical approach to the text. Therefore, the printed *Dīwān* is the result of a sum of unfortunate circumstances and a rather entangled history, which we will try to unravel in this section.

The most interesting result of this research is, however, that we are able to reconstruct the pre-Bashtakī history of the *Dīwān*. As will be shown, we are in

possession of two different recensions of Ibn Nubātah's *Dīwān* that were compiled by the poet himself in two different periods of his life. The exploitation of these sources, together with the sources for the other poetic works of Ibn Nubātah, will allow us to reconstruct the history of many of his great poems in a more detailed way than is possible for the works of any other Arabic author. We will also be able to date many of Ibn Nubātah's poetic works quite exactly and to understand them in their specific biographical and historical contexts. This will also enhance our understanding of the history of this period and the personalities of the time.

(1) THE *PROTO-DĪWĀN*

The longest section in al-Ṣafadī's *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ* treats his correspondence with Ibn Nubātah. In this chapter, al-Ṣafadī tells us about all the works of Ibn Nubātah he had heard from him or for which he had received Ibn Nubātah's *ijāzah*. But still there was a source that did not fall into one of these categories, since he once mentions two lines Ibn Nubātah had written *ʿalá juzʾ ahdāhu min shiʿrihī* "on a fascicle of his poetry that he presented to me."[25] It is obvious that this *juzʾ* is not one of Ibn Nubātah's works provided with a title and preface and intended for a wider public, but a compilation of poetry that Ibn Nubātah used to hand out to his close friends when he was asked to do so, perhaps in exchange for other texts.

Another friend of Ibn Nubātah was Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh, who eventually brought Ibn Nubātah into the chancellery of Damascus. Ibn Nubātah's texts addressed to Shihāb al-Dīn (a dozen *qaṣīdahs* and a number of epigrams and letters) far outnumber those addressed to al-Ṣafadī. Given the close relationship between Shihāb al-Dīn and Ibn Nubātah and the latter's importance as a poet, it is only natural that Ibn Nubātah was accorded a privileged place in Shihāb al-Dīn's encyclopedia *Masālik al-Abṣār*. Volume 19 of the *Masālik* is dedicated to the younger Egyptian poets, among them Ibn Nubātah.[26] It is interesting that Ibn Nubātah, who lived in Syria for quite a long time, who had no family in Egypt after his father had moved to Damascus, and who was proud of his Syrian ancestors Ibn Nubātah al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Nubātah al-Saʿdī, still appears as an Egyptian. Most of the 24 poets from this volume are granted only a few pages. Two exceptions are Ibn Dāniyāl, given 27 pages in the printed edition, and al-ʿAzāzī, given 35. The first poet in the volume is Sirāj al-Dīn al-Warrāq (615–95/1218–96), the most popular late Ayyubid/early Mamluk poet of Egypt, who churned out poems in large quantities of uneven quality. Ibn Faḍl Allāh produced only a selection of his *dīwān* that still filled 292 pages.[27] Shihāb al-Dīn's *tarjamah* and *mukhtār*

[25] Al-Ṣafadī, *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ*, 2:192.

[26] Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, vol. 19, *Baqīyat Shuʿarāʾ Miṣr,* ed. Yūnis Aḥmad al-Sāmarrāʾī (Abu Dhabi, 1424/2003).

[27] Ibid., 15–306.

are so far our most important sources on this man. The counterpart at the end of the volume is the article on Ibn Nubātah that comprises 256 pages.[28] Taken together, the articles on al-Warrāq and Ibn Nubātah fill more than three quarters of the volume and obviously are its *raison d'être,* presenting the beginning of Mamluk Egyptian poetry and its contemporary end (however questionable Ibn Nubātah's Egyptianness may be). But there is one remarkable difference between the entries. Whereas the entry on al-Warrāq starts with the obligatory *tarjamah,* informing the reader about his life and praising his literary achievements, such a *tarjamah* is completely lacking in the case of Ibn Nubātah. The entry simply starts by mentioning his name and introduces the first poem by the formula *wa-qawluhū*. We are not informed about who chose the poems of this entry, either. But nothing suggests that Shihāb al-Dīn was responsible for the selection. Its first part consists of *qaṣīdah*s and epigrams on al-Malik al-Muʾayyad, followed by numerous epigrams on different subjects, interspersed with a few *qaṣīdah*s such as one on the *ʿālim* Ibn al-Zamlakānī and Ibn Nubātah's famous elegy on the death of his son. Most conspicuously, we find none of the poems that Ibn Nubātah had dedicated to the author of the encyclopedia. Obviously, the text was not adapted by Ibn Nubātah to be part of the *Masālik al-Abṣār,* and, considering the total absence of a *tarjamah* of Ibn Nubātah, we can only conclude that Shihāb al-Dīn had had no time to polish this entry before his premature death, at which time the *Masālik* was not yet finished. Therefore, it is most probable that the Ibn Nubātah entry in the *Masālik* is not more than, as al-Ṣafadī calls it, a *juzʾ ahdāhu min shiʿrihī,* a collection of his poetry that Ibn Nubātah used to give to his friends.

different manuscripts corroborate this, each of them representing a different line of transmission. They all bear the title *Dīwān Ibn Nubātah* and present a text that is virtually identical with that of the Ibn Nubātah section in *Masālik al-Abṣār*. In the first part, they contain the same poems, each poem comprising the same number of lines and the same version of each verse (usual variants apart). In the second part, most long *qaṣīdah*s that appear in the three manuscripts are missing in the *Masālik,* but the epigrams in between are all present in the same sequence. Whether it was Ibn Nubātah who had not yet included these *qaṣīdah*s in his collection, or if he had left them out purposely in his copy for Shihāb al-Dīn, or if Shihāb al-Dīn omitted them, cannot be ascertained and is of little importance for our purpose. More important is the fact that one of the three manuscripts—the Berlin manuscript—is dated in the year 761, but is not an autograph. Accordingly, it corroborates the existence of a pre-Bashtakī *dīwān* and shows that the *Masālik* version represents a compilation made by Ibn Nubātah himself that was circulated during the poet's lifetime. A comparison between this version of Ibn Nubātah's

[28]Ibid., 433–688.

poetry and autograph manuscripts of *Muntakhab al-Hadīyah* and *Sajʿ al-Muṭawwaq* on one hand, and the Bashtakī recensions on the other, show that differences between the printed *Dīwān* and the text in the *Masālik* are nearly always due to later revisions by Ibn Nubātah himself and a subsequent amalgamation of different versions by al-Bashtakī or even later redactors. This discovery gives a value to the *Masālik* section on Ibn Nubātah that the editor could hardly have foreseen. In fact, the version of the poems presented in this encyclopedia represent the only doubtlessly authentic poetic texts by Ibn Nubātah critically edited so far! Therefore, any scholar who desires to work on the early poetry of Ibn Nubātah, especially his *Muʾayyadīyāt,* without having recourse to manuscripts, should start with the text in the *Masālik*.

However, the text of this version was not meant by Ibn Nubātah to be a definitive version of his poetry. As we will see, it is not identical with what Ibn Nubātah called his *Dīwān al-Aṣl,* which is of a later date. Therefore, I will call it Ibn Nubātah's *Proto-Dīwān,* because it forms a preliminary stage of what would become the *Dīwān al-Aṣl*. Despite its preliminary character, the *Proto-Dīwān* survived long after al-Bashtakī's compilation had come to dominate the market. There is a sumptuous manuscript from the fifteenth century, in which the text is fully vocalized and the headings written in gold. There is a copy from the seventeenth century, which is carefully produced and must be considered a textual source of relevance despite its late date. The five sources are closely related to each other, but none of them is the immediate copy of one of the others. It seems as if quite a number of manuscripts of the *Proto-Dīwān* must have been in circulation during the poet's lifetime. The following chart summarizes the sources for the *Proto-Dīwān* that are known to me:

Table 3
Ibn Nubātah: *Proto-Dīwān*

Source	Date	Observations
Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh, *Masālik al-Abṣār,* 19:433–688	before 749/1349 (death of Shihāb al-Dīn)	many *qaṣīdah*s in the second half missing; no *arājīz* and *muwashshaḥāt*
Berlin MS 7861	12 Rajab 761/29 May 1360	one of the most important Ibn Nubātah manuscripts

Istanbul, Köprülü Kütüphanesi MS 1249	acquired by Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥusayn al-Makhzūmī,[29] 845/1441–42	a beautiful and carefully written manuscript; several folios in disorder; a most important source
Istanbul, Ayasofya MS 2292	end of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 854/January 1452	lavishly decorated *khizānah* manuscript; several additions at the end
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub MS 558 *adab*	29 Jumādá I 1064/17 April 1654	a fine, carefully produced manuscript

Though the *Proto-Dīwān* does not represent a fixed text, as additional poems at the end of the Berlin manuscript show, the text as it is represented by the five sources mentioned above can be dated with some precision. First, we observe that the *Muʾayyadīyāt* are represented in an even more complete form than in *Muntakhab al-Hadīyah.* There is also the famous ode composed after the death of al-Muʾayyad, in which Ibn Nubātah both expressed condolence to the prince al-Afḍal on the death of his father and at the same time congratulated him on his succession to the throne.[30] But most of Ibn Nubātah's eulogies on al-Afḍal are conspicuously missing. Therefore, the *Proto-Dīwān* must have been composed after 733, but several years before the death of al-Afḍal in 742, because, as we have seen, the prince was no longer interested in poetry during the last years of his reign. Consequently, the *qaṣīdah*s on al-Afḍal, which we find in other recensions of Ibn Nubātah's *Dīwān,* must have been composed before 740 or even earlier, which means that the *Proto-Dīwān* still must have been compiled some years before them. Further dates are furnished by elegies on *ʿulamāʾ*. Such elegies can be dated quite exactly. None of the elegies in the *Proto-Dīwān* date from the second half of the thirties or later. There are two poems, however, that were sent to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh, obviously immediately after his departure for Egypt and the beginning of his employment in the chancellery of Cairo.[31] ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn came to Cairo in 737 as a deputy for his father and became *kātib al-sirr* in 738. As far as I can tell, this date supplies the latest *terminus post quem.* We can conclude therefore that the *Proto-Dīwān,* as represented by the above-mentioned sources, assumed its final shape in the years 738 or 739, and, in any case, not later than 740.

Having established this date, we have at our disposal a tool to approximately date the many epigrams and *qaṣīdah*s in the *Proto-Dīwān* that do not give any further

[29] See al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 3:91.

[30] *Dīwān,* 429; Ibn Ḥijjah, *Khizānat al-Adab,* 2:43–45.

[31] See *Dīwān,* 30–32.

clue about the circumstances of their creation. An example will demonstrate the usefulness of such knowledge.

Among the *qaṣīdah*s of the *Proto-Dīwān* is a comparatively short panegyric, which bears the heading "*Kāmilīyah*" in the printed *Dīwān* (p. 397), but no heading in the manuscripts of the *Proto-Dīwān*. The eulogized person is addressed as *malik* and as *al-kāmil*. It is therefore natural to identify the addressee as the sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil Shaʿbān. This conclusion seems to be corroborated by the fact that Ibn Nubātah composed a two-line epigram on the occasion of al-Kāmil Shaʿbān's accession to the throne in Rabīʿ II 746/August 1345, making a pun on the words "Rabīʿ" and "Shaʿbān."[32] ʿUmar Mūsá Bāshā took this identification for granted and dedicated a short chapter to the relationship between Ibn Nubātah and al-Kāmil Shaʿbān.[33] However, there was no such relationship besides the epigram, which must not necessarily have been sent to the sultan himself.

The first fact that ought to have aroused suspicion is the brevity of the poem. Why did Ibn Nubātah send a poem to the sultan that was shorter and less ambitious than the poems he usually sent to the prince of Ḥamāh? Further, there are several allusions in the poem that do not readily correspond to the Cairene monarch. The addressee is praised for his great ancestors and for the fact that, thanks to him, the poet finds all that he hoped for from Syria more than fulfilled. Further, the last line lacks an understandable point. It reads: *lā jawra fī dahrin wa-fīhi mumaddaḥun washajat manābituhū bi-nabti al-ʿādilī*[34] "There can be no tyranny at a time in which we can praise a man whose roots are entangled with the sprouts of the Just." Ibn Nubātah, the master of lexical ambiguity, was not the poet to choose a word like *al-ʿādil* in such a prominent position of the poem without intending more than a simple, not very well-fitting meaning. We can be sure that not any just man is meant, but an ancestor who bore the name or title al-ʿĀdil. But there is no probable candidate in the sultan's ancestry. And finally, the poem is part of the *Proto-Dīwān* and must therefore have been written before 740, if our theory is right. But al-Kāmil Shaʿbān came to the throne only six years later. Therefore, we have to look for another al-Malik al-Kāmil.

Such a person does indeed exist. He is al-Malik al-Kāmil Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn al-Malik al-Saʿīd ibn al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl ibn al-Malik al-ʿĀdil ibn Najm al-Dīn

[32] *Dīwān,* 320; al-Ṣafadī found it charming and quotes it in *Aʿyān,* 2:523.

[33] ʿUmar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah,* 211–12.

[34] The reading *washaḥat* of *Dīwān,* 398 must be corrected to *washajat,* as all MSS read. There are a number of further variants; all MSS of the *Proto-Dīwān* suggest that the original reading of the last words of the line is *manāsibuhū bi-bayti al-ʿādilī*—see Berlin MS 7861, fol. 104v (slightly corrupted text); Ayasofya MS 2292, fol. 120v; Cairo, Dār al-Kutub MS 558 *adab,* p. 184. This reading points even more obviously to an ancestor named al-ʿĀdil.

Ayyūb,[35] an Ayyubid prince, who had served as an *amīr ṭablkhānāh* in Damascus. He was a distant relative of al-Muʾayyad and spent many years in Ḥamāh. His closest friend among the *ʿulamāʾ* was Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Zamlakānī, in his turn an elder friend of Ibn Nubātah. This al-Malik al-Kāmil was born in 653/1255 and died in 727/1327. All these facts fit perfectly with the person addressed in Ibn Nubātah's poem and its inclusion in the *Proto-Dīwān*. We can now understand the references to the glorious (Ayyubid) ancestors, the poet's gratitude for helping to make him a home in Syria, and the reference to the "sprout (or: house) of the Just," the "Just" being al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, the brother of Saladin and al-Kāmil's great-grandfather. If still another proof for the identity of this Ayyubid prince with the addressee of Ibn Nubātah's *qaṣīdah* should be needed, one could refer to the manuscripts of the recension *Bashtakī* α*,* where the prince is mentioned with full name and title.[36]

This example shows how important it is to follow a poem through its different recensions in order to avoid false conclusions. In this case, we can establish a connection between Ibn Nubātah and an elderly Ayyubid scion, who was an old man when Ibn Nubātah met him. Ibn Nubātah's poem may have been hardly more than a gesture of politeness and respect towards an old relative of his venerated patron, which gives a new starting point for an interpretation of the poem. Further, we learn that Ibn Nubātah, indeed, never directed a *qaṣīdah* to a Mamluk sultan prior to al-Nāṣir Ḥasan.

(2) The *Dīwān al-Aṣl*

A *Dīwān al-Aṣl* is mentioned as one of the sources of al-Bashtakī in the printed *Dīwān*. But we learn more about it in the longer preface of al-Bashtakī's recension (*Bashtakī* α*,* see below). In this version, instead of *wa-jamaʿtuhū min Dīwān al-Aṣl . . .,* we read: . . . *min dīwānihī alladhī sammāhu Dīwān al-Aṣl wa-huwa bi-khaṭṭ yadihī fī mujalladayn . . . mablaghuhū min hādhā al-Dīwān qadar al-thulth* "I collected it from his *Dīwān,* to which he had given the title *Dīwān al-Aṣl,* and which, in his own hand, fills two volumes. It amounts to about one third of the present collection." As we see from this formulation, *Dīwān al-Aṣl* is a title that was given by Ibn Nubātah himself to a compilation of his poetry. We also learn that it was of considerable size and therefore a "real" *dīwān* and more than an occasional collection. The *Proto-Dīwān* is not divided into two volumes, and none of the four sources makes any reference to the title *Dīwān al-Aṣl*. Further, it had been completed about thirty years before Ibn Nubātah's death. Too many poems must have been missing, therefore, to make it the main source for al-Bashtakī's

[35] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 4:550–55.

[36] Ayasofya MS 2352, fol. 141v; Cairo, Dār al-Kutub MS *adab Ṭalʿat* 4658, fol. 172v.

compilation.

There is a manuscript, however, that bears the title *Dīwān al-Aṣl*. The writer of the manuscript Oxford MS Marsh 273 informs us on the first page that the volume is "the second part of the poetry of Ibn Nubātah, the one that is called the *Dīwān al-Aṣl*." The beautiful volume is not the only copy written by the copyist, who must have been a proficient and professional scribe. A manuscript in the Ayasofya was written by the same copyist. The handwriting and the way in which verses are distributed on the page is absolutely identical. The Ayasofya manuscript is nearly complete. Only a few pages at the beginning and in the second part are missing. Consequently, we lack the title page, the preface, the first poem, which certainly was the poem in praise of the Prophet with which the Bashtakī version starts, and a few other poems, among them the poem on al-Muʾayyad we treated above. The second part, which starts with Ibn Nubātah's *munāẓarah* on Kaʿb's *Burdah,*[37] does not bear a heading, but the text is identical with that of the Oxford manuscript. Both manuscripts are undated and the copyist remains anonymous. There can be no doubt that these manuscripts represent a nearly complete text of the *Dīwān al-Aṣl*. Moreover, the style of the writing suggests a date not too long after the death of the poet.

Table 4
Ibn Nubātah: *Dīwān al-Aṣl*

Source	Date	Observations
Ayasofya MS 3891	undated	vol. 1 and 2; beginning missing; right order: fols. 1, 317–35, 2–316, 336–38; omission of 61 poems in vol. 2 (see fol. 292v and MS Marsh 273, fols. 74v–90v)
Oxford MS Marsh 273	undated; same hand	vol. 2 only; fol. 1r, by the copyist's hand: *al-juzʾ al-thānī min shiʿr Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī wa-huwa al-musammá bi-Dīwān al-Aṣl;* lacunae after fols. 8, 28, 102.

It is tempting to see a connection between Ibn Nubātah's compilation of the *Dīwān al-Aṣl* and the order of Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan to produce a copy of Ibn Nubātah's *Dīwān* (probably for his *khizānah*). Ibn Nubātah commemorates this event in one of his miniature *qaṣīdah*s that constitute his late *Al-Sabʿah al-Sayyārah* [31].[38] The poem, however, is not part of the *Dīwān al-Aṣl,* and neither are the four long odes on Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan,[39] nor are most of the seven-liners that

[37] See *Dīwān,* 428–29.

[38] *Dīwān,* 519; see also ʿUmar Mūsá Bāshā, *Ibn Nubātah,* 224.

[39] See *Dīwān,* 195, 380, 381, 491.

would become *Al-Sabʿah al-Sayyārah*. Most of these poems are even lacking in the recension *Bashtakī* α. The *rāʾīyah* on al-Ḥasan, probably Ibn Nubātah's first Cairene poem, found its way into *Bashtakī* α*,* but not into the *Dīwān al-Aṣl.* Thus we can conclude that the *Dīwān al-Aṣl* was composed in Damascus before Ibn Nubātah's departure for Cairo. This means that a great part of the many poems on ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh were not written in Cairo, but sent to him from Damascus just as were the two poems already in the *Proto-Dīwān*. On the other hand, the great number of poems on al-ʿAlāʾ Ibn Faḍl Allāh shows that the *Dīwān al-Aṣl* cannot have been composed long before Ibn Nubātah's departure for Cairo in 761/1360. It is a good guess, therefore, that the *Dīwān al-Aṣl* was composed around 760 and contains the greatest part of Ibn Nubātah's Syrian production.

The *Dīwān al-Aṣl* is obviously an expanded and revised version of the *Proto-Dīwān*, about twice its size. Its structure is a consequent development of the structure of the *Proto-Dīwān*. The *Proto-Dīwān* starts with a poem in praise of the Prophet, followed by the 37 *qaṣīdah*s on al-Malik al-Muʾayyad, followed by 27 epigrams on the same patron. After a dirge on al-Muʾayyad's death, there is an absence of any detectable principle of order. *Qaṣīdah*s and epigrams follow without chronological or alphabetical order, and poems directed to a certain addressee are no longer put together. The author never placed more than three *qaṣīdah*s next to each other without interrupting the sequence with some epigrams, and the number of epigrams following each other without an interrupting *qaṣīdah* rarely exceed ten. But any regular pattern is absent.

The revision of the *Proto-Dīwān* in the form of the *Dīwān al-Aṣl* proves that this was done consciously. In the *Dīwān al-Aṣl,* the principle of avoiding any detectable pattern of order is carried even further. Three poems on the Prophet are used to frame the text. There is one at the beginning of the first part, one at the beginning of the second part, and a third at the end of the *qarīḍ* poems. These are the only poems that owe their place to the person of their addressee. Most importantly, Ibn Nubātah saw no reason to uphold the special position given to al-Muʾayyad in the *Proto-Dīwān* any longer. Consequently he had to dissolve the cluster of *Muʾayyadīyāt* at its beginning. This was done by distributing the *Muʾayyadīyāt* between the two volumes. Most of them can now be found in the beginnings of the first and of the second volumes. Sometimes epigrams have been put between them. Occasionally, sequences of a few poems that display the same rhyme consonant appear. Since a similar phenomenon is encountered in the revised version of *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī* [6], we may conclude that Ibn Nubātah by now used to archive his poems in alphabetical order. He also applied the alphabetical principle to his late collection of the *nasīb*s of his *qaṣīdah*s, *Sūq al-Raqīq* [29], but for his *Dīwān al-Aṣl* he still chose the principle of avoiding monotony by eschewing order. Since al-Ṣafadī advocates a similar idea in his preface to *Al-Ghayth al-Musajjam* with direct

reference to al-Jāḥiẓ,[40] Ibn Nubātah seems to have been following conventions that were current during these years, though I know of no other *Dīwān* ordered (or rather disordered) in a similar way.

After having distributed his *Muʾayyadīyāt* to different parts of the *Dīwān,* he next added his new poems, i.e., the poems that were created after his *Proto-Dīwān,* in an order similar to that of the *Proto-Dīwān*. Here the high percentage of poems on al-ʿAlāʾ Ibn Faḍl Allāh and on members of the Subkī family is remarkable. As in the *Proto-Dīwān, qaṣīdah*s and epigrams alternate freely. The second volume of the *Dīwān al-Aṣl* starts with a poem in praise of the Prophet, followed by several *Muʾayyadīyāt,* interspersed with epigrams and *qaṣīdah*s of a later production. The greater part of the second volume is occupied by the *Proto-Dīwān*.[41] Besides a few transpositions of larger groups of poems, its text is put here without any remarkable changes. In a few cases, the poet himself fell victim to his conscious construction of disorder, since at least two poems appear twice.

The *Dīwān al-Aṣl* does not represent Ibn Nubātah's last word on his poems. Some of them were revised later, as becomes clear from *Sūq al-Raqīq* [29] and the Bashtakī recensions. Some of the poems already display their later forms, while others are as they were in the *Proto-Dīwān*. Remarkably, many of the *qaṣīdah*s are shorter than they were in the *Proto-Dīwān,* if only by one or two lines. If these abridgements were not made by the copyist (which is rather improbable), they display an increasingly critical attitude by Ibn Nubātah towards his own creations. In revising his *Dīwān,* he began to consider several of his lines dispensable. This approach of Ibn Nubātah towards his own poetry is fundamentally different from al-Bashtakī's method of accumulating as many verses as possible.

(3) THE BASHTAKĪ RECENSIONS

The Cairene *adīb* Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Bashtakī was born in the Khānqāh Bashtak (hence his *nisbah*) in 748/1347 and died eighty years later (830/1427) in the pool of a bathhouse.[42] He kept company with many famous poets and *udabāʾ* of his time, among them Ibn Abī Ḥajalah, Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh, Ibn Makānis, and al-Qīrāṭī. As soon as Ibn Nubātah came to Cairo, al-Bashtakī joined him and heard his *Dīwān*. Al-Bashtakī earned his livelihood as a copyist, and his ability in this profession was highly praised. He could write both quickly and accurately and used to spend the whole day and part of the night copying books with only a lunch break. When he was tired, he lay down on his side without interrupting his work. On Mondays and Thursdays he used to sell his manuscripts

[40] Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Ghayth al-Musajjam fī Sharḥ Lāmīyat al-ʿAjam* (Beirut, 1411/1990), 1:11–12.

[41] Ayasofya MS 3891, fols. 162–287.

[42] See Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 8:132–33; idem, *Dhayl al-Durar,* ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh (Cairo, 1412/1992), no. 608; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 6:277–79.

in the market. Later at night he went home to meet other *udabāʾ* to hear and recite poetry. He was a clever, quick-witted, and sharp-tongued man, but "the extensive copy work had a stupefying effect on his intellect."[43] He composed a lot of poetry himself, but did not collect it in a *dīwān*.

In the year 773/1371–72, al-Bashtakī could offer a new commodity on the book market, the *dīwān* of his master Ibn Nubātah, who had died five years before. As becomes obvious through a comparison of different manuscripts, al-Bashtakī produced not just one recension of the *Dīwān Ibn Nubātah,* but two. They not only differ in the arrangement of the poems, but also in their preface and in their content. Two manuscripts of the recension which I call *Bashtakī* α start with a preface that is considerably longer than the preface of the other recension. The shorter preface can be found in the printed *Dīwān*. Since it is unlikely that the *Bashtakī* α recension will ever be published separately, it seems appropriate to present the longer preface here based on the Cairo manuscript (Dār al-Kutub MS 4658 *adab Ṭalʿat*):

بسم الله الحمن الرحيم
أما بعد حمد الله المنفرد بالجمال * والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد جامع محاسن الكمال * وعلى آله وصحبه أفصح صحب وأفصح آل * وسلم ومجد وكرم * فيقول العبد الفقير إلى الله تعالى المستغني به عن من سواه محمد ابن ابراهيم ابن محمّد البشتكي تجاوز الله تعالى عن خطاه وعمده * وتداركه برحمة من عنده * إنني كنت في سنة ٧٧٣ جمعت شعر شيخنا ـــ القاضي الفاضل الإمام الحافظ جمال الدين محمد بن محمد بن محمد بن حسن بن الحسن بن صالح بن على بن يحيى بن طاهر بن محمد بن الخطيب بن عبد الرحيم بن نباتة ومولده في سنة ٦٨٦ بزقاق القناديل بمصر ووفاته بالبيمارستان المنصوري صبيحة يوم الثلاثاء من صفر سنة ٧٦٨ ودفن بمقبرة الصوفية خارج باب النصر بتربة الصوفية رحمه الله تعالى ورضي عنه ـــ من ديوانه الذي سماه ديوان الأصل وهو بخط يده في مجلدين ونسبته المنسوبة سعيد السعداء رضي الله عنه ورحم مبلغه من هذا الديوان قدر الثلث وطرائف الزيادة والمدائح المؤيدية والسوق الرقيق وديوان الخاص بالسبعة السيارة والقطر النباتي وجلاسة القطر وغالبها بخطه وأرجو أن لا يفوتني من شعره إلا النادر أو ما أسقطه هو ولا أدّعي الإحاطة فمن صحّ عنده شيء من شعره فليلحقه بتوفيته ونقلت من مسوداته ومبيضاته كل ما وقفت عليه من شعره مرتبا لكل ذلك على حروف المعجم ثم كتبت نسخة ثانية قدمت فيها القصائد المطولات على السباعيات ثم المثالث على المثاني[44] وكتب الناس من كل منهما عدة من النسخ هي فذلكة ذلك الجمع ومن ألذّ ما يقرع السمع ولا أدّعي الإحاطة بكل ما قال رحمه الله تعالى ولا يعرف قدر هذه النسخة إلا من طالع ما طالعتُ وجمع من كلامه ما جمعتُ والله تعالى بحسن الخاتمة كفيل * وهو حسبي ونعم الوكيل.

In this foreword, al-Bashtakī tells the whole story of his compiling of the *Dīwān Ibn Nubātah* and his revising his own compilation. Remarkably, this longer foreword is attached to the non-revised version of the compilation, i.e., *Bashtakī* α. We will have to solve the enigma of why al-Bashtakī tells the story of his revision in the preface to the non-revised edition, whereas it cannot be found in

[43] Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ,* 8:133.

[44] Both MSS (Cairo, Vienna) erroneously: الثالث على الثاني, correct in Tunis MS 8717.

most manuscripts of the revised edition.

In the version presented above, al-Bashtakī mentions the date of his compilation. The short account of Ibn Nubātah's life is part of both versions of the preface. Then al-Bashtakī mentions his sources. We learn that his main source was the *Dīwān al-Aṣl* in an autograph manuscript. The reference to the Khānqāh Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ[45] is enigmatic. In all probability, the passage from *nisbatuhū* to *raḥima* has to be deleted here. In the other versions of the preface, Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ is given as the place of Ibn Nubātah's burial. According to al-Bashtakī, the size of the *Dīwān al-Aṣl* "is a third of the present *Dīwān.*" This is a gross exaggeration. After all, al-Bashtakī earned his living by selling his manuscripts, and since other versions of Ibn Nubātah's *Dīwān* were still being sold, al-Bashtakī obviously expected to increase sales by this sort of advertising. According to my estimation, the *Dīwān al-Aṣl* is not one third, but rather three-quarters of the size of al-Bashtakī's recension. As a sample, I counted the longer poems (more than ten lines) in the section of poems with a rhyme on *lām* or *lām-alif* in the printed *Dīwān,* which represents *Bashtakī* β. In the printed *Dīwān* there are 30 long *lāmīyāt,* 22 of which had already found their way into the *Dīwān al-Aṣl* and 15 of which were already included in the *Proto-Dīwān*.

Al-Bashtakī then enumerates other works of Ibn Nubātah that he used as a source. This enumeration is of great value for our purpose. But al-Bashtakī's knowledge of most of these works did not contribute much to his recension of the *Dīwān*. All *Muʾayyadīyāt* and all (or at least most of) the epigrams of *Al-Qaṭr al-Nubātī* (and probably those of *Julāsat al-Qaṭr*) are already part of the *Dīwān al-Aṣl*. The same is true for *Sūq al-Raqīq,* which, however, displays later versions of many texts. Again, al-Bashtakī's main intention with this passage may have been to show off his intimate knowledge of the work of his master.

Al-Bashtakī then admits that his recension cannot claim to be exhaustive. This is a topos of modesty, but it may also reflect an uneasy feeling of the author, since the phrase is repeated a few lines later. This overtly apologetic tone is absent in the preface of *Bashtakī* β and provides an important hint to the understanding of the story of the recension. Al-Bashtakī closes his introduction with another bit of advertising, saying that nobody who does not share his extensive knowledge of Ibn Nubātah's poetry can properly assess his achievement.

As we see, al-Bashtakī did the following: (1) He rearranged the *Dīwān al-Aṣl* in alphabetical order; (2) he added poems from a few later books (perhaps *Ṭarāʾif al-Ziyādah* [32] was an important one); and (3) he inserted lines from different versions of a poem into the *Dīwān al-Aṣl* version. All in all, he contributed much less than he claimed in his preface, and not everything he did was to the benefit

[45] See S. Denoix, "Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ," *EI*², 8:861.

of the poems.

At first, it may seem rather strange that al-Bashtakī compiled two different versions. As he says, he first compiled an alphabetically arranged version, which he copied again, this time arranging the poems also according to their length: "First the long poems *(al-muṭawwalāt),* then the seven-liners, then the three-liners, and finally the two-liners. People copied numerous manuscripts from both versions." So far, I have been able to identify three manuscripts that represent the first recension, which I call *Bashtakī* α. They are presented in Table 5.

Table 5
Dīwān Ibn Nubātah: Bashtakī α

Source	Date	Observations
Istanbul, Ayasofya MS 2352	3 Rajab 878/24 November 1473	no preface; fol. 208v end of the *Dīwān* and beginning of a section of additions (the same as in 4658 *adab Ṭalʿat*). A very faulty manuscript.
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub MS 4658 *adab Ṭalʿat*	6 Jumādá I 1233/ 13 March 1818	long preface; fol. 239v end of the *Dīwān* and beginning of the additions
Vienna MS 483[46]	10 Muḥarram 1236/18 October 1820	long preface, no section of additions

As far as I can judge, the manuscripts in the following table represent the recension *Bashtakī* β. I have not had the opportunity to examine all of them, and the list is not complete:

[46] See Gustav Flügel, *Die arabischen, persischen und türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien* (Vienna, 1865–67), 1:472–74.

Table 6
Dīwān Ibn Nubātah: Bashtakī β

Source	Date	Observations
Dublin, Chester Beatty MS 3831	20 Shawwāl 803/3 June 1401	written during al-Bashtakī's lifetime by the *adīb* and historian Ibn Duqmāq; one of the most important MSS of the β recension; several additions by Ibn Duqmāq; second half only (from *fāʾ* onwards)
Berlin MS 7862	19 Ramaḍān 812/25 January 1410	another manuscript from al-Bashtakī's lifetime; unvoweled, sparingly dotted; second half only (from *ʿayn* onwards)
Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye MS 3802	date unreadable	written by a certain Aḥmad ibn Mubārakshāh al-Ḥanafī
Tunis MS 8717	Ṣafar 1174/ September 1760	lavishly decorated manuscript in Maghribī script, copied from a "very faulty" Bashtakī manuscript
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub MS 1018 *adab*	Rajab 1291 / Aug.–Nov. 1874	see the following entry
Cairo, Dār al-Kutub MS 2125 *adab*	11 Shaʿbān 1314/15 January 1897	copied from Dār al-Kutub MS 1018 *adab,* basis for the printed edition
Maṭbaʿat al-Tamaddun, ʿAbidīn, Cairo	1323/1905	printed under the direction of Muḥammad al-Qalqīlī on the basis of Dār al-Kutub MS 1018 *adab;* several additions, a few omissions, deliberate combination of readings that belong to different versions of a poem; many transpositions. The 1905 edition has been reprinted several times and forms the only basis for all studies on the poetry of Ibn Nubātah carried out so far.
further MSS		Cairo, Dār al-Kutub MS 30 *Muḥammad ʿAbduh zāy;* MS 923 *Shiʿr Taymūr;* MS 1264 *adab;* El Escorial MS 449; Gotha MS 2304; Leiden MS 734; London, Br. Museum MS 1086; Upsala MS 144; see also Brockelmann II, 11, Brockelmann Supplement II, 4.

As far as the arrangement of the poems is concerned, the main difference between the two recensions is not so much the separation between long and short poems, but the arrangement of epigrams according to length. Even in *Bashtakī* α, in general, the long odes precede the short poems, though there are a number of exceptions that were eliminated in *Bashtakī* β. In *Bashtakī* α, there is no further order as far as the epigrams are concerned. In his preface, al-Bashtakī mentions seven-liners because Ibn Nubātah had composed numerous miniature *qaṣīdah*s of seven lines, which he collected in his *Al-Sabʿah al-Sayyārah* [31]. The bulk of Ibn Nubātah's epigrams comprise two or three lines, as do most epigrams in this period. This is the reason why al-Bashtakī mentions three- and two-liners, but not four- or five-liners. The term *al-mathālith wa-al-mathānī* (or vice versa) had become a near synonym for "epigram" in this time.[47] Of course, poems of four, five, or six lines also exist, but only in comparatively small quantity. In all manuscripts of *Bashtakī* β, the epigrams are strictly sorted according to the number of lines. Exceptions are due to later additions or to al-Qalqīlī's re-arrangement in the printed text.

But these are not the only differences. In *Bashtakī* β, the long poems are again arranged in a certain order. Every chapter begins with (a) poems in praise of the Prophet (if there are any), then follows (b) poems on al-Malik al-Muʾayyad, (c) poems on al-Malik al-Afḍal and other *umarāʾ* (including the sultan), (d) poems on *ʿulamāʾ,* and (e) elegies. There is no such order in *Bashtakī* α. A further modification concerns poems with the rhyme *-lā*. Whereas in *Bashtakī* α they are included in the chapter of poems rhyming in *lām,* in *Bashtakī* β a separate chapter of poems rhyming in *-lā* is inserted between *wāw* and *yāʾ*. The idea is to define rhyme on the basis of rhyme *letters,* and since the ligature *lām-alif* was often counted as a letter of its own, one could argue that poems ending with the graphic sequence *lām-alif* form a separate category. This idea is incompatible with the Arabic rhyme system, and it is contrary to Ibn Nubātah's own perception of rhyme. Whenever Ibn Nubātah arranged poems alphabetically according to the rhyme consonant (in *Sūq al-Raqīq* [29] and some of his anthologies [21, 25]), poems rhyming in *-lā* are always grouped with the other *lāmīyāt*.

A closer comparison between *Bashtakī* α and early manuscripts of *Bashtakī* β is necessary to establish the extent to which al-Bashtakī added additional texts to his second version. The *nūnīyah* on Sultan Ḥasan,[48] to mention one example, is missing in *Bashtakī* α, whereas it can be found in Ibn Duqmāq's manuscript of *Bashtakī* β from the year 803. In any case, al-Bashtakī's achievement as a collector of Ibn Nubātah's poems is not very impressive, judging from the *Bashtakī* α manuscripts.

[47] Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī entitled his collection of epigrams *Dīwān al-Mathālith wa-al-Mathānī fī al-Maʿālī wa-al-Maʿānī;* see Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS 3341; the edition by Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Ḥimṣī (Damascus, 1419/1998) is insufficient.

[48] See *Dīwān,* 491.

Again, I checked the *qaṣīdah*s with the rhyme *lām,* and found only a single *qaṣīdah,* a poem on al-Afḍal,[49] which is neither in the *Proto-Dīwān* nor in the *Dīwān al-Aṣl*. A poem on al-ʿAlāʾ ibn Faḍl Allāh, which was included in the *Dīwān al-Aṣl,* can only be found in the additions to the *Dīwān* in the *Bashtakī* α recension. The existence of an appendix of this kind is disturbing anyway. This appendix follows after a full-fledged colophon and is identical in two of the three manuscripts (which are not dependant upon each other), but missing in the third. Therefore, I presume that these additions are the work of al-Bashtakī himself, who must have known the ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn poem from the *Dīwān al-Aṣl*. But even considering the appendix, al-Bashtakī's omissions are considerable. Four odes included in the printed *Dīwān* and in manuscripts of *Bashtakī* β are missing in *Bashtakī* α*,*[50] among them two panegyric odes to al-Nāṣir Ḥasan. Further, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī copied a *qaṣīdah* in the meter *ṭawīl* from Ibn Nubātah's autograph.[51] The poem starts with the line:

كَفَى أَلَماً أَنَّ النَسِيمَ رَسُولُ   أرُومُ شَفائي منه وهْو عَلِيلُ

This rather long ode of more than fifty lines is missing in all of al-Bashtakī's recensions and is not known from any source other than Ibn Ḥajar so far.

As this survey of the rhyme letter *lām* shows, the shortcomings of *Bashtakī* α are only too obvious. Consequently, people who already had a certain expertise on Ibn Nubātah must have started to complain (as Ibn Ḥajar actually did). Al-Bashtakī tried to meet this criticism by revising his original work. Though not everything he changed was a real improvement, he must have considered his new version better. But still the question remains as to why he continued to support his earlier version and provide it with a preface.

The key to the solution of this question is to be found in the fact that the manuscript Ayasofya MS 2352 does not have a preface (besides "this is the *Dīwān* of N."), though it is the oldest manuscript of this group and the rest of the text is the same as that of the other manuscripts of *Bashtakī* α*.* It shares not only the colophon with Dār al-Kutub MS 4658 *adab Ṭalʿat,* but also the rather large section of additions, which considerably distorts the original purpose of its composition. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that the copyist did *not* omit the original preface and substitute for it two short introductory lines, but that there was no longer a preface to the original version of *Bashtakī* α. Indeed, the preface given above is only understandable if it is understood as a later addition by the author

[49] Ibid., 551.

[50] Ibid., 380, 381, 389, 403.

[51] Göttingen, MS arab. 179, fols. 32r–v; see figure 5, *top*.

after he had completed the revised version of *Bashtakī* β. But why did al-Bashtakī continue to support his earlier recension, when he considered it inferior to his new one?

The only possible answer is that there were still copies of *Bashtakī* α left after he had already compiled *Bashtakī* β. Neither al-Bashtakī nor the brokers and booksellers that used to collaborate with him wanted to be left holding the manuscripts of the earlier version or to hear complaints about having sold an inferior product. Therefore al-Bashtakī had to add a preface in which he explains the differences between the two versions and states that the earlier version is still valid in its own right. This also explains the apologetic character of the text. After all, al-Bashtakī's compilation was first and foremost a commercial enterprise and not made for philological reasons as was Ibn Ḥajar's volume of additions to the *Dīwān*.

The manuscript that was the basis for the Tunis manuscript (Tunis MS 8717) was obviously written after al-Bashtakī had provided the manuscripts of *Bashtakī* α with a preface, since its preface corresponds to the short preface of the other manuscripts of *Bashtakī* β in the first part, but adds the story of the compilation and the concluding apologetic phrases from the longer preface. The story of the prefaces may thus be reconstructed as follows: Al-Bashtakī's first manuscripts of the *Dīwān Ibn Nubātah* had no preface at all. Complaints about the deficiencies of these manuscripts induced al-Bashtakī to produce a new, more complete recension. These manuscripts were introduced by a preface, the "short" preface. A longer, more apologetic preface was then added to the remaining copies of the first recension *(Bashtakī* α*)* to make them easier to sell. As a final step, parts of the longer preface were added to the old "short" preface in new manuscripts of *Bashtakī* β. At that time, al-Bashtakī must have sold a considerable number of manuscripts of Ibn Nubātah's *Dīwān* in two different recensions and with several versions of the preface. His manuscripts were not always of good quality. The writer of the Tunis manuscript complains about the many mistakes in the Bashtakī manuscript from which he had to copy his own manuscript. When we consider the profit al-Bashtakī must have made from selling copies of Ibn Nubātah's *Dīwān* under the pretense of being the greatest authority on his master's poetry, and his rather mediocre achievements in establishing a complete and correct text, we can hardly avoid characterizing al-Bashtakī's relationship to Ibn Nubātah as parasitic. But since a considerable part of the poetry of Ibn Nubātah is only accessible through the filter of al-Bashtakī, it is necessary to study carefully the different versions produced by Ibn Nubātah's business-minded disciple.

For the reconstruction of al-Bashtakī's efforts, the manuscripts of *Bashtakī* α are still important, since they represent a text that carries no signs of later modifications or additions. Therefore, they can be of help in assessing the amount

of al-Bashtakī's interference in the text of Ibn Nubātah. Manuscripts of *Bashtakī* β far outnumber manuscripts of *Bashtakī* α. For obvious reasons, *Bashtakī* β soon gained wider currency than *Bashtakī* α and it formed the basis for the printed text. Since al-Bashtakī's invitation to add further lines and poems by Ibn Nubātah did not go unheard, it is not always easy to determine the exact form of al-Bashtakī's original text. This can only be done by a careful comparison between its manuscripts and the other versions of Ibn Nubātah's poetry.

One of the first to make additions to the *Dīwān* was Ṣārim al-Dīn Ibn Duqmāq (b. between 740 and 750, d. 809/1496), who is mainly known as a historian today, but who was also a proficient *adīb*.[52] He wrote his manuscript of Ibn Nubātah's *Dīwān* thirty years after al-Bashtakī had compiled it. Al-Bashtakī was still alive then. Several poems in his manuscript, of which only the second part has been preserved, are not in the printed *Dīwān*, and a remark by Ibn Duqmāq shows that he was in possession of autograph drafts *(musawwadāt)* by Ibn Nubātah. He was certainly not the only one who could add to the corpus assembled by al-Bashtakī, and perhaps al-Bashtakī himself added newly discovered poems in different copies of his *Dīwān Ibn Nubātah*. Hence the story of *Bashtakī* β is a rather complicated one, and it cannot be reconstructed in complete detail on the basis of the manuscripts that are at my disposal.

(4) Ibn Ḥajar's Additions to the Bashtakī Recension

Whereas Ibn Duqmāq and others inserted their additions in their manuscripts of the recension *Bashtakī* β, others compiled separate volumes with their additions to the *Dīwān*. The most important supplement of this kind was written by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī. A second collection of this kind from the eleventh/seventeenth century was unavailable to me:

Table 7
Supplements to the *Dīwān Ibn Nubātah*

Source	Author and date	Observations
Ziyādāt ʿalá al-Dīwān, Göttingen, 8° Cod. MS arab. 179, fols. 21r–62v[53]	Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī	autograph; *musawwadah*
Ziyādāt Dīwān Ibn Nubātah, Damascus, Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhirīyah MS 7681 *Shiʿr Majmūʿ*	Ramaḍān ibn Mūsá al-ʿUṭayfī, 1046/1636–37	see ʿUmar Mūsá, *Ibn Nubātah,* 243

[52]See *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, [no. 1] (2003): 260–62.

[53]See Tilman Seidensticker, *Die Arabischen Handschriften Cod. Ms. arab. 136 bis 180 der*

What motivated the greatest hadith scholar of post-formative Islam to assemble a supplement to the *dīwān* of the greatest post-Mutanabbian Arabic poet? Ibn Ḥajar's relationship to Ibn Nubātah was threefold. First, there was an indirect personal relationship between them; second, Ibn Nubātah was also a hadith transmitter; and third, Ibn Nubātah was Ibn Ḥajar's model in the field of *adab* to such an extent that Ibn Ḥajar even emulated Ibn Nubātah's handwriting.

Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (773–852/1372–1449) was born five years after the death of Ibn Nubātah. But his father, Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar (d. Rajab 777/December 1375), a productive poet and trained *faqīh,* was a close acquaintance of Ibn Nubātah during Ibn Nubātah's last years. In those days, Ibn Nubātah lived in a house that Nūr al-Dīn had lent him. For some reason, a quarrel arose between them and Nūr al-Dīn asked for the key to the house back. Ibn Nubātah complained to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh about "a man of stone *(ḥajar)* in his descent and in his wrath."[54] The poet al-Qīrāṭī was asked to mediate between them. The story left a trace in a number of poems preserved in Ibn Nubātah's *Dīwān*. Most of them are miniature *qaṣīdah*s of seven lines.[55] Ibn Ḥajar junior ascribes the break-up of their friendship to Ibn Nubātah, who, according to him, used to behave in a whimsical manner in his friendships.[56] Shihāb al-Dīn cannot have heard this story directly from his father, nor can he have heard transmissions of Ibn Nubātah's poems by him, because Nūr al-Dīn died when his son was a boy of only four years. But he may have inherited a number of Ibn Nubātah autographs, which form the basis of his supplement to the *Dīwān*.

Another connection between the hadith scholar Ibn Ḥajar and Ibn Nubātah was the result of Ibn Nubātah's activities as a transmitter of hadith. Ibn Ḥajar had heard some of Ibn Nubātah's transmissions by one of Ibn Nubātah's transmitters. Therefore, Ibn Nubātah appears in Ibn Ḥajar's *Fahrasah*.[57]

A more important bond, however, was Ibn Ḥajar's interest in *adab*. Ibn Ḥajar was a poet of major importance himself and left a *dīwān* in different recensions.[58]

Niedersächsischen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen (Stuttgart, 2005), 154–57.

[54] *Dīwān,* 229.

[55] See ibid., 74, 75, 158, 228–30, 240, 242, 271, 309.

[56] See Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-ʿUmr,* 1:174.

[57] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Muʿjam al-Mufahras aw Tajrīd Asānīd al-Kutub al-Mashhūrah wa-al-Ajzāʾ al-Manthūrah,* ed. Muḥammad Shakkūr al-Mayādīnī (Beirut, 1418/1998), nos. 191 *(Sīrat Ibn Isḥāq-Ibn Hishām),* 356 (Abū ʿUbayd, *Faḍāʾil al-Qurʾān*), and 1942 (the *Dīwān*); the editor is unable to distinguish between Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Nubātah and his father Shams al-Dīn; most references in the index, p. 541, refer to Shams al-Dīn.

[58] See *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 219–24, and Thomas Bauer, "Ibn Ḥajar and the Arabic Ghazal of the Mamluk Age," in *Ghazal as World Literature,* vol. 1, *Transformations of a Literary Genre,* ed. Th. Bauer and A. Neuwirth (Beirut, 2005), 35–55.

In his poetry, he proved himself an adherent of Ibn Nubātah's *tawriyah* style. In his youth, Ibn Ḥajar even planned a career as an *adīb* before he turned to hadith. Perhaps the thoroughness with which Ibn Nubātah covered the whole field of *adab* influenced Ibn Ḥajar's decision to specialize in the field of hadith. Here he could do exactly what Ibn Nubātah had done in *adab*. In *adab,* Ibn Nubātah had written exemplary works in nearly all of its branches, and what he left undone was covered by al-Ṣafadī. Remarkably, this is exactly what Ibn Ḥajar did in the field of hadith, covering all of its fields and sub-disciplines with at least one comprehensive and exemplary work. As an *adīb* with this ambition, Ibn Ḥajar could not have escaped the shadow of Ibn Nubātah. As hadith scholar, he could become as epochal a figure as Ibn Nubātah was as an *adīb.*

Ibn Ḥajar was in possession of a number of manuscripts of the works of Ibn Nubātah, among them several autographs, and Ibn Ḥajar knew many *udabāʾ* who had known Ibn Nubātah. One of them was al-Bashtakī, with whom Ibn Ḥajar had a close relationship for twenty years from 791 onwards.[59] Al-Bashtakī heard hadith from Ibn Ḥajar, exchanged *muṭāraḥāt* with him, and dedicated to him an entry in his biographical dictionary of the poets of the age.[60] They had a common interest in the poetry of Ibn Nubātah. Whereas al-Bashtakī had the advantage of having known Ibn Nubātah himself, Ibn Ḥajar was a more diligent worker who felt that al-Bashtakī could have achieved more than he did. The introductory words of his supplementary volume are not without reproach. Though he does not mention the name al-Bashtakī, everybody knows to whom the following words allude:

> This is what [I could assemble] from what escaped the collector of the poetry of the leading figure among the literati of the modern age *(shaykh al-udabāʾ al-mutaʾakhkhirīn),* Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Nubātah. It includes texts that I found written by himself or by people who transmitted them from his manuscripts or who heard it from him. . . . [it is] astonishing how much it is, though he who had collected [Ibn Nubātah's poetry] before claimed comprehensiveness.[61]

This is not exactly true, since al-Bashtakī did not claim comprehensiveness but apologized for not being able to reach it. Nevertheless, Ibn Ḥajar's discontent with al-Bashtakī is certainly justified. In a similar vein, al-Sakhāwī states that al-Bashtakī "collected the poetry of his master Ibn Nubātah in two volumes. Though he had worked hard to obtain it, a portion of it escaped him in such a quantity that our master [Ibn Ḥajar] compiled a whole supplementary volume, which I have

[59] Ibn Ḥajar, *Dhayl al-Durar,* no. 608.

[60] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar,* 1:287–88, 486–92, 2:793.

[61] Arabic text: see Seidensticker, *Handschriften,* 154–55 = fol. 21r. I follow Seidensticker's reading; the text is extremely difficult to read.

also seen."[62] Al-Sakhāwī also mentions this volume in his list of Ibn Ḥajar's works, and he adds that he had seen both the *musawwadah* as well as the *mubayyaḍah* of the book.[63]

It is an important event for the study of both Ibn Ḥajar and Ibn Nubātah that this volume has now come to light. A copy of it has been found in Göttingen and is described in the catalogue.[64] The copy is a *musawwadah,* written by Ibn Ḥajar himself, perhaps the same copy that al-Sakhāwī refers to. It is very difficult to read and it will be impossible to edit the poems without another textual basis, but it gives a good impression of what is lacking in al-Bashtakī's recension. In whatever way, some of its poems and lines have found their way into manuscripts and the printed texts of the Bashtakī recensions. For other poems, among them the only *bullayq* Ibn Nubātah ever composed, Ibn Ḥajar's supplement is the only source. Contrary to the expectation raised by al-Sakhāwī, the volume is much smaller than a volume of the *Dīwān,* but is long enough to demonstrate again the insufficiency of the Bashtakī recensions.

(5) The Printed Text

A printed book is more accessible than a manuscript copy but no longer in a dynamic state. Very few printed books are revised and adapted after their author's death. The reader is now restricted to his role as receiver, whereas in a manuscript culture he can engage the text by adding marginal jottings, and the copyist can intervene by improving the text, by introducing additional materials available to him (among them marginal jottings by other readers), or by adding comments. Thus he can, however marginally, intrude on the role of the author. In the case of Ibn Nubātah, this was the usual practice for centuries. Long after the poet's death, the *Dīwān Ibn Nubātah* existed in many different versions and was still subjected to continuous modifications. In a print culture, the diversity of voices representing the voice of the poet has to be kept alive by the philologist who produces a critical edition that allows reconstruction of the range of diversity, which is inevitably lost as a consequence of his activity. Philological work of this kind, however, is necessary.

This was exactly what happened in the case of Ibn Nubātah. A late and unimportant manuscript representing an incomplete recension of Ibn Nubātah's *Dīwān* was subjected to arbitrary abridgements and senseless transpositions before it was converted into a sparsely voweled, unsightly printed book. But as a printed text, it enjoyed an authority that it would never have enjoyed as a manuscript

[62] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 6:277.

[63] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar,* 2:695 (no. 268).

[64] See Seidensticker, *Handschriften*, 154-57, and figure 5, *top*.

(though some surviving manuscripts are superior to it). For more than a century, nobody ever doubted that the book that was printed in 1323/1905 in the Maṭbaʿat al-Tamaddun in Cairo, and has been reprinted several times since, contained an authentic text of Ibn Nubātah's poetry.

This was not the first book of Ibn Nubātah's that was printed. During the last decades of the nineteenth century, Ibn Nubātah's *Muntakhab al-Hadīyah* [5] was printed in Cairo under the title *Dīwān Ibn Nubātah.* This text was reprinted by several printing houses in Beirut. Obviously, Ibn Nubātah still guaranteed commercial success. It was only natural that after the success of Ibn Nubātah's "small *Dīwān*," as *Muntakhab al-Hadīyah* is called already in some manuscripts, the "large *Dīwān*" would find a publisher. This was the case in 1323/1905, when the book was printed "in a short time"[65] in the Maṭbaʿat al-Tamaddun. The editor was a certain Muḥammad al-Qalqīlī.

The manuscript he used as the basis for his edition can be identified. It is the Dār al-Kutub MS 2125 *adab,* a manuscript completed only a few years before the printed text. This manuscript was in turn a copy of a manuscript written in 1291/1874. The manuscript 2125 *adab* carries numerous editorial remarks so that we are able to reconstruct in detail the process by which the *Dīwān* was converted to print. We can see that al-Qalqīlī compared parts of the text to another source. This was perhaps a printed text of *Muntakhab al-Hadīyah.* Often, the editor substituted the readings of *Muntakhab al-Hadīyah* for that of *Bashtakī* β. In this way, elements of a very early version of a poem have been inserted in a very late version. The main shortcoming of the Bashtakī recensions is that they present an amalgamation of different versions of a poem. This problem is further aggravated by al-Qalqīlī's arbitrary interference with the text.

When al-Qalqīlī started his work, he first planned to shorten the *Dīwān.* In chapter *alif,* a number of poems, among them several seven-liners, are omitted. From chapter *bāʾ* onwards, the editor changed his method. Instead of leaving out poems, he assembled them in a separate subsection under the heading *wa-min muqaṭṭaʿātihī.* In this subsection, poems do not have a heading but are separated by a line. All epigrams, which do not bear a more detailed heading in the manuscript, are relegated to this subsection, along with several longer poems that did not appeal to al-Qalqīlī. Among them is a *qaṣīdah* of 33 lines addressed to Quṭb al-Dīn Mūsá Ibn Shaykh al-Salāmīyah (d. 732/1332),[66] which now appears under the heading "epigrams." The heading is al-Qalqīlī's, and of course, Ibn Nubātah had never considered a poem like this an epigram. An original heading like *qāla fī al-sabʿah al-sayyārah* means that the following seven-liners are taken

[65] *Dīwān,* iii.

[66] *Dīwān,* 330–31; on Quṭb al-Dīn see *Aʿyān,* 5:469–72.

from the book of this name. The editor left the first poem in the first section, because it bears a heading, though the heading belongs not only to this poem, but also to the following seven-liners. These seven-liners, however, were transferred to the second subsection, where they do not have any heading now. The creation of this subsection in every chapter misleads the reader and violates al-Bashtakī's principle of arrangement.

Though al-Qalqīlī gave up his plan to shorten the *Dīwān,* even in latter chapters poems, mainly epigrams, have been removed. More often, single lines were deleted. Towards the end, omissions increase. In chapter *wāw,* a long ode on al-Qazwīnī (42 lines) and three shorter poems are missing. The concluding section containing Ibn Nubātah's *muwashshaḥāt* suffered the heaviest losses. Of fifteen *muwashshaḥāt* and a *zajal* present in the manuscript used by al-Qalqīlī, only four *muwashshaḥāt* found their way into the printed *Dīwān.*[67]

It is obvious that al-Qalqīlī's printed text is not a reliable source for the poetry of Ibn Nubātah. Nevertheless, it will still be used for a long time, since a new edition is unlikely. Therefore, it is necessary for every user to know the shortcomings of the printed text and to be aware of the changes made by its editor. Despite all the deficiencies of the printed text, I do not consider it a most urgent task to re-edit the Bashtakī version of Ibn Nubātah's poetry. Rather, the *Dīwān al-Aṣl* should be made the basis for a new edition, to which should be added the poems not in the *Dīwān al-Aṣl* in the form of a supplement, and the different texts of each poem when different versions exist should be carefully presented. But even more important is an edition of all those works which Ibn Nubātah himself considered worthy of publication. In this way, a great portion of the poems of the *Dīwān* will appear in their authentic context. These works will be the subject of the next part of this survey.

To be continued

[67] I know of eighteen *muwashshaḥāt* composed by Ibn Nubātah. Fourteen of them are edited in Aḥmad Muḥammad ʿAṭā, *Dīwān al-Muwashshaḥāt al-Mamlūkīyah fī Miṣr wa-al-Shām (al-Dawlah al-Ūlá* (Cairo, 1419/1999).

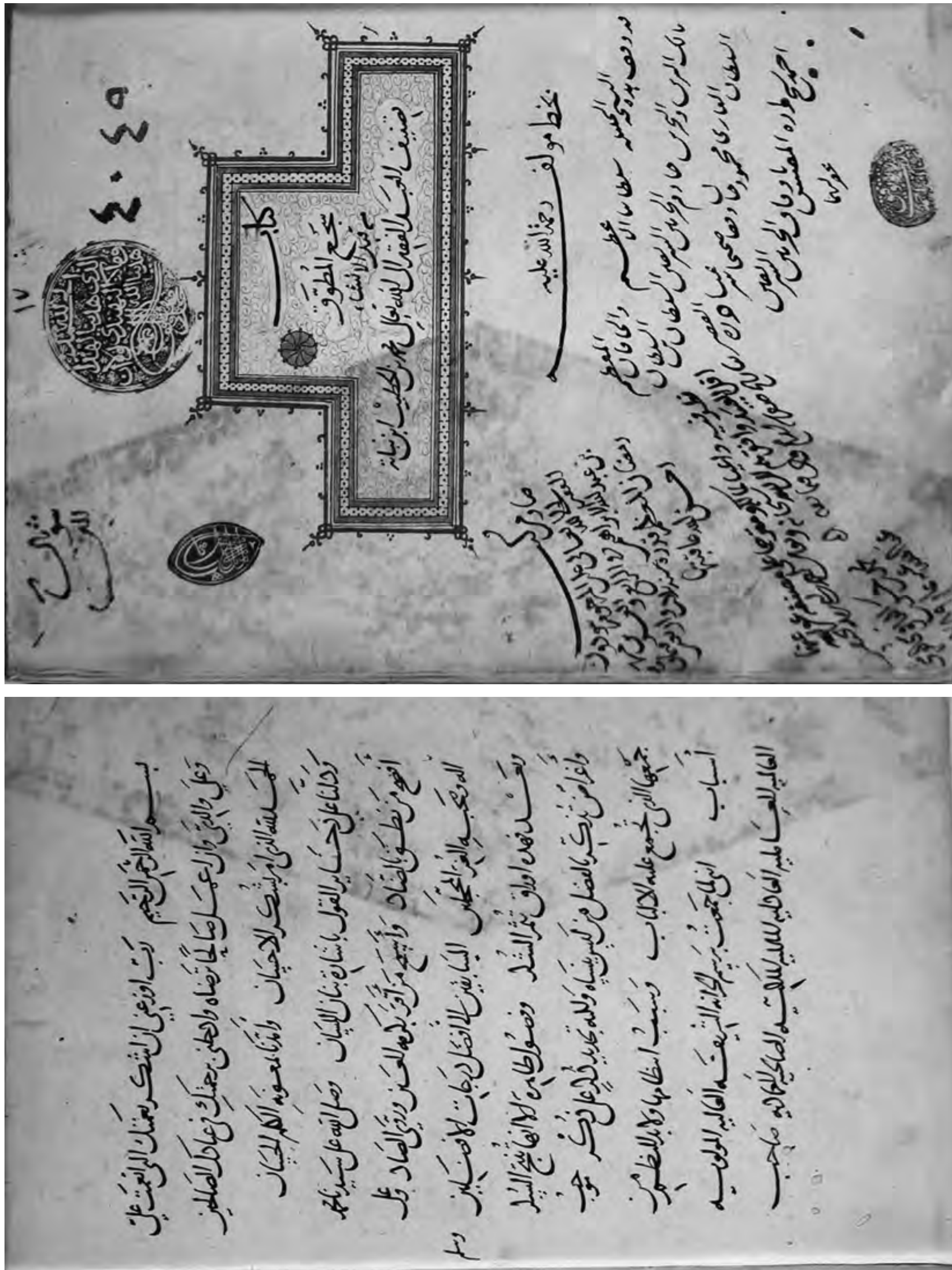


Fig. 1. Title and beginning of *Saj*ᶜ *al-Muṭawwaq* in the autograph manuscript Ayasofya MS 4045, fol. 1r–v

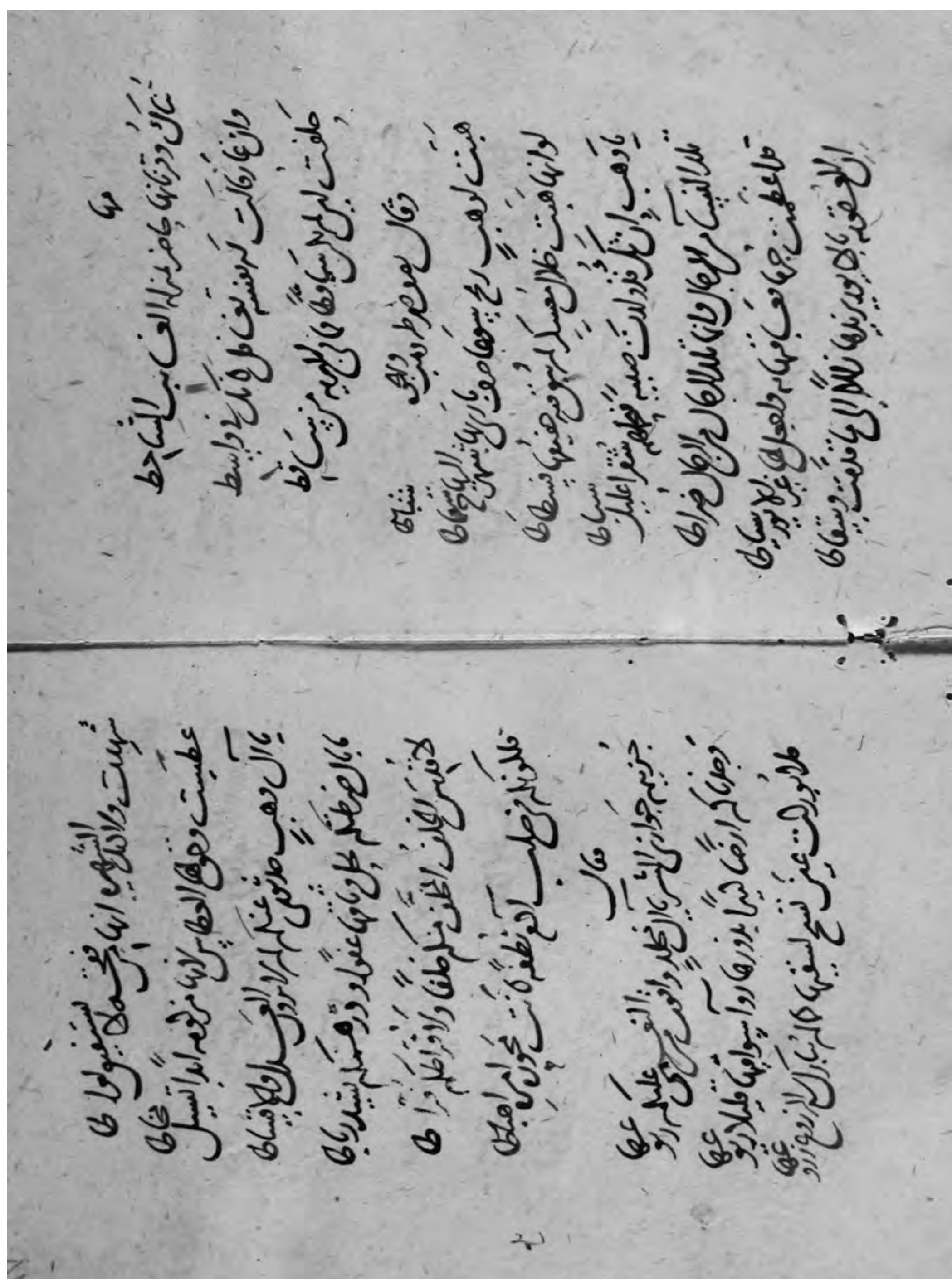


Fig. 2. Two pages from *Mukhtār Shiʿr Ibn al-Rūmī,* Ayasofya MS 4261, fols. 96r–97v

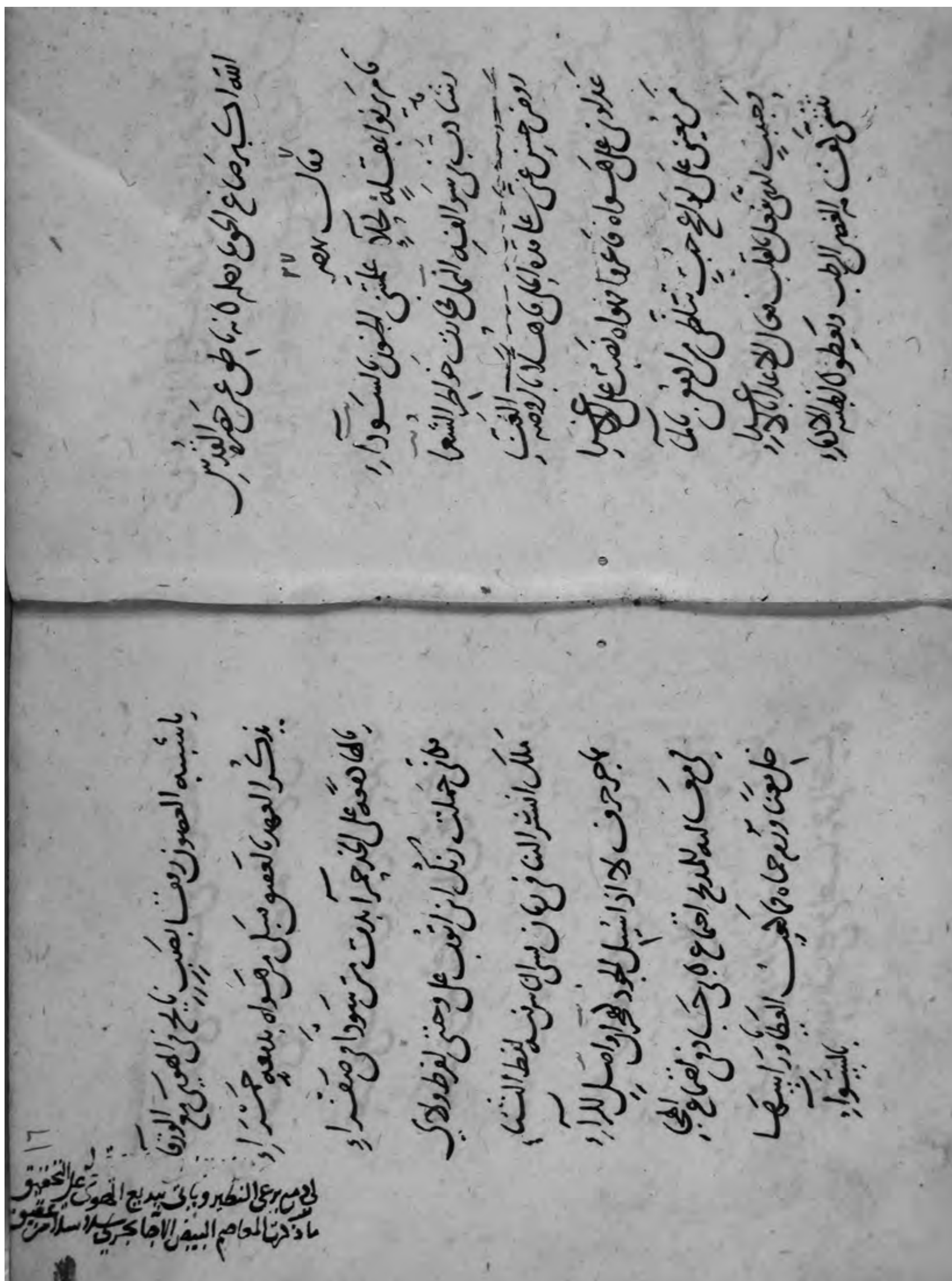


Fig. 3. Beginning of the *Muʾayyadīyah Khafīf/-āʾī* in the autograph manuscript of *Muntakhab al-Hadīyah,* Köprülü MS 1397, fols. 15r–16v

Fig. 4. The first lines of the same poem in the autograph manuscript of *Sūq al-Raqīq,* El Escorial MS árabe 449, fol. 2v

Fig. 5. *Bottom*, beginning of a letter to al-Muʾayyad, El Escorial MS árabe 548, fol. 15v; *top*, a *lāmīyah* missing in the *Dīwān*, from Ibn Ḥajar's autograph additions to the *Dīwān*, Göttingen MS 8º Cod. MS arab. 179, fol. 32v

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Sultans with Horns: The Political Significance of Headgear in the Mamluk Empire

Introduction

> When the number of Ottomans increased in Cairo [after the Ottoman conquest in Muḥarram 923/February 1517] they started to ask the *awlād al-nās*[1] whom they saw wearing the red *zamṭ* or the *takhfīfah* [both were distinctive Mamluk hats]: Are you a Circassian? And then they cut their heads off. Thereafter all the *awlād al-nās,* even the sons of the [high ranking] amirs and the sons of former sultans, quit wearing the *takhāfīf* and the *zumūṭ* in Egypt.[2]

Mamluks were apprehended by the Ottomans throughout Egypt in these early days of Ottoman rule and they were easily recognizable by their headgear. Therefore many of them and their sons got rid of their hats as they represented a potential threat to their lives. However, after the first impetus of the conquest had slowed down, Mamluks were allowed to wear the red *zamṭ* again for a while by the new Ottoman governor of Egypt, Khāyrbak, a former Mamluk amir himself. In the summer of 924/1518 this practice was then finally forbidden, but some Circassian Mamluks disobeyed the order and the governor reinstituted it in Shawwāl 927/September 1521, saying that anyone still wearing the red *zamṭ* after the announcement, whether Mamluk, son of a Mamluk, or even Ottoman, would be hanged without mercy.[3] Mamluk headgear thereafter disappeared from Egyptian heads as did the specific Turkish names of the Mamluks, which had marked their elite status for centuries. From now on, it was Ottoman turbans and Arabic names for the remaining Mamluks.[4]

One has to keep in mind, though, that the hats which disappeared at the end of the Mamluk Empire in the early sixteenth century bore little resemblance to

[1] "The sons of the people," i.e., the descendants of the Mamluk soldiers.

[2] Ibn Iyās (d. ca. 930/1524), *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden, 1961), 5:150.

[3] Ibid., 263, 407.

[4] For the continuity of the Mamluk element in Egypt after 1517 see: Michael Winter, "The Re-emergence of the Mamluks Following the Ottoman Conquest," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and* Society, ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 87–106.

the ones Mamluk officials had on their heads at the beginning of their reign in the mid-thirteenth century. The world of fashion has always been somehow fickle, and the *haute couture* of the Mamluk Empire was no exception to this rule. New trends concerning color, shape, and size of headgear were set in general by sultans or amirs. The latest fashion then travelled down the Mamluk hierarchy.

The aim of this article is to present the changing fashions of headgear of the ruling elite in the Mamluk Empire throughout their reign in Egypt and Syria, and to show how fashion and headgear functioned as markers of social differences in a medieval Islamic society. The emphasis lies therefore on official representative headgear and not on military helmets or veils for women.

The main historical sources for the article are the usual suspects of Mamluk historiography like al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442)[5] and Ibn Iyās (d. ca. 930/1524).[6] In these sources, the topic of headgear fashion is only a minor concern and consequently one must piece information together from several places. Only seldom has an author devoted a passage of his work especially to aspects of clothing like al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) does in his well-known secretarial manual *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá,* in which he describes the garments of Mamluk officials and ulama.[7] The secondary literature concerning Mamluk headgear is scarce. To my knowledge no books or articles have been devoted so far to this aspect of Mamluk history. Nevertheless, considerable information can be drawn from Mayer's general work on Mamluk costume and from Dozy's *Dictionaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes*.[8]

In addition to these works, the institutions of *tashrīf* and *khilʿah,* i.e., the receiving of robes and other apparel of honor by rulers, in the Islamic and Mamluk context has been the subject of two recent publications by Diem and Springberg-Hinsen, where information on ceremonial headgear is to be found.[9]

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[5] Al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār,* ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid (London, 2002–4); idem, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. M. Ziyādah and S. A. ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1934–73).

[6] Ibn Iyās (d. ca. 930/1524), *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden, 1960–75).

[7] Al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418), *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ* (Cairo, 1914), 4:39–43.

[8] L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume* (Geneva, 1952); Reinhart P. Dozy, *Dictionaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845). On the clothing section of al-Qalqashandī see Urbain Vermeulen, "La Tenue protocolaire à la Cour Mamlouke," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras IV: Proceedings of the 9th and 10th International Colloquium Organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 2000 and May 2001,* ed. idem and Jo van Steenbergen (Leuven, 2005), 491–96.

[9] Werner Diem, *Ehrendes Kleid und ehrendes Wort: Studien zu Tašrīf in mamlūkischer und vormamlūkischer Zeit,* Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, vol. 54, 2 (Würzburg, 2002); Monika Springberg-Hinsen, *Die Ḫilʿa: Studien zur Geschichte des geschenkten Gewandes im*

Besides written sources we possess images of Mamluk garments in contemporary Mamluk and Ottoman manuscripts. Unfortunately, there are not many of these and they do not provide much detail concerning the headgear of Mamluk dignitaries. Besides the manuscripts there are also images of Mamluk costume on metalwork.[10]

Especially during the second half of the fifteenth century, an increasing number of European pilgrims, merchants, diplomats, and artists traveled to the Mamluk Empire and some of their drawings provide us with a realistic impression of court scenes in the Mamluk context. As for the actual textiles, we have little left. There was apparently no tradition of keeping ceremonial or everyday clothing in the Mamluk Empire. The Ottoman invasion and the prohibition of Mamluk garments which accompanied it surely did not encourage the survival of Mamluk textiles. According to Mayer, all that has come down to us from Mamluk times are an undercoat, two pairs of trousers, a hat, and a few caps.[11]

THE MAMLUKS AND TEXTILES

It seems that, especially since Abbasid times and the introduction of a monumental court culture in Baghdad after 145/762, clothing, and more specifically luxury clothing, became increasingly popular. Early Islamic aversions to silks and satins, evidence of which can be found in the hadith literature, were consistently ignored by all but a pious few.[12] Clothes had been, even before that date and now even more so, a clear marker of social differences. Under the Fatimids, a costume supply house known as *dār al-kiswah* oversaw the supply of ceremonial costumes for public occasions from the caliph down to government clerks. The most striking fashion item of the caliph's attire was the so-called "noble crown" *(al-tāj al-sharīf)*. It consisted of an enormous turban, in which a headscarf *(mandīl)* was wound around a cap *(shāshīyah)* in a very unique manner in the shape of a myrobalan (cherry plum/*ihlīlajah*).[13] Therefore, it seems that oversized headdresses for rulers were not a Mamluk innovation.

The mode of dress of the military elite in the Middle East changed with the arrival of the Turks and the establishment of Turkish dynasties, starting with the Saljuq Empire in the eleventh century. The typical outer garment of this period is represented by their shirts. The Saljuqs and Ayyubids wore the "Turkish shirt" *(al-aqbīyah al-turkīyah),* in which the hem crossed the chest from right to left, whereas

islamischen Kulturkreis (Würzburg, 2000).

[10] Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* 8.

[11] Ibid., 11.

[12] Y. K. Stillman, "Libās," *The Encyclopedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 5:735, 737.

[13] Ibid., 738; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:468–69.

the Mamluks preferred the "Tartar shirt" *(al-aqbīyah al-tatarīyah)* with the hem crossing the other way around. Over this shirt, Mamluk dress consisted of the so-called *takalāwāt,* of which we know little. The Mamluks then wore the so-called *qabāʾ al-islāmī* ("Islamic shirt") as the last layer. This was tailored in the Arab style. Metal plaquettes *(ḥiyāsah)* or sashes *(band)* were worn over the garment. The sleeves of the coats were often indicative of rank and social status. Higher status was shown through longer and more ample sleeves.[14] In Circassian times, the Tartar coat with its tight sleeves was replaced by the *mallūṭah* loose shirt with broad sleeves, which became the standard fashion in the fifteenth century.[15]

In the Mamluk Empire social class was evident by one's outer appearance. Riding horses as well was almost exclusively limited to members of the ruling military elite.[16] The ulama had to content themselves with mules, although according to al-Qalqashandī, high ranking ulama rode mules of such quality that their price equaled that of horses.[17] Christians and Jews were only allowed to ride donkeys. Headgear also marked religious differences. A sultan's decree *(marsūm)* of the year 755/1354, which was announced in Damascus and reinforced the so-called regulations of the caliph ʿUmar (r. 12–22/634–44) *(al-shurūṭ al-ʿUmarīyah),* insisted that Christians had to wear blue and Jews yellow linen. Moreover, Christians had to wear one white and one black shoe. The turban of Christians and Jews was not to exceed 10 ells, which must be a reference to the length of the cloth taken to bind the turban, as otherwise the term restriction acquires a totally new sense.[18] Other surviving decrees of Mamluk officials hint at the fact that the color regulation applied only to the cloth of the turbans, i.e., blue for Christians and yellow for Jews, the rest of their clothes being the same as those of other Mamluk subjects[19] (fig. 1).

The frequent repetition of these discriminatory rules in Mamluk sources indicates that they were not enforced. It seems that Christians and Jews had the same tendency to enlarge their turbans as did the members of the Mamluk military and learned elite with their respective headgear.

The ulama were apparently distinguished by the size of their turban *(ʿimāmah)*

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[14] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 4:40; Stillman, "Libās," 739; Vermeulen, "La Tenue protocolaire," 492.

[15] Ibn Iyās (d. ca. 930/1524), *Alltagsnotizen eines ägyptischen Bürgers,* trans. Annemarie Schimmel (Stuttgart, 1985), 22 (introduction by Annemarie Schimmel.)

[16] David Ayalon, "The Muslim City and the Mamluk Military Aristocracy," in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 2, no. 14 (1968): 323. (Reprinted in idem, *Studies on the Mamlūks of Egypt [1250–1517]* [London, 1977]).

[17] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 4:42.

[18] Ibn Sibāṭ (d. after 926/1529), *Tārīkh Ibn Sibāṭ,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Tripoli, 1993), 2:711.

[19] Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* 65.

and therefore as a class were named *arbāb al-ʿamāʾim,* masters of the turbans. The wearing of turbans was not limited exclusively to the ulama, but for them it was much bigger, sometimes reaching abnormal sizes.[20] The expression "to enlarge one's turban" became a synonym for showing off.[21] The practice encountered criticism even among the ulama. When the eminent scholar of thirteenth-century Cairo, al-Sulamī, also known as *sulṭān al-ʿulamāʾ,* was asked if the wearing of an enlarged turban was an heretical innovation *(bidʿah)* he responded in a fatwa (legal opinion) that all kinds of exaggerations were to be condemned and that people should follow in general the example of the Prophet concerning their dress. Nevertheless, he saw nothing wrong in the idea that ulama should wear distinctive dress in order to be easily recognizable in case of the need to answer questions for the faithful.[22]

Forms of Official Headgear in the Mamluk Empire

Headgear of the Caliph: Ideally, the caliph would bestow ceremonial clothing on the sultan, but in the case of the Abbasid shadow caliph of Cairo it was in practice the other way around. Ibn Taghrībirdī reports a striking episode that illustrates this fact: "On Monday, 1 Shaʿbān [808/22 January 1406] Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir sent for Abū al-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās, son of the caliph al-Mutawakkil ʿalá Allāh Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad, and recognized him as caliph after the death of his father. The former then put on the *tashrīf* [ceremonial clothing], received the title of al-Mustaʿīn billāh and went back to his home."[23]

An integral part of the ceremonial clothing of the caliph was his turban. He sported a fine round specimen with a trailing two-feet-long and one-foot-wide endpiece at the back which covered the entire back of the turban.[24] The usual color of the caliph's clothes was black and so was his turban, over which was worn a black embroidered head shawl.[25] The reason for the black color was due to the fact that it always had been the color of the Abbasids. Unfortunately, there is no surviving image of a Mamluk caliph from Cairo. Their shadowy existence meant that caliphs were not in the public eye and therefore they neither figure in manuscript illustrations nor in drawings of European visitors, who would have

[20] Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* 49; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 4:42; al-Maqrīzī, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Égypte,* trans. M. Quatremère (Paris, 1847), 1:1:244, n. 119.

[21] Ibn Iyās, *Alltagsnotizen,* 22 (introduction by Annemarie Schimmel).

[22] Al-Sulamī (d. 660/1262), *Al-Fatāwá al-Mawṣilīyah,* ed. Iyyād Khālid al-Ṭabbāʿ (Damascus, 1999), 65–66.

[23] Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470), *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1970), 13:51; Diem, *Ehrendes Kleid,* 62.

[24] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 3:280; Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* 13.

[25] Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* 13.

hardly recognized their function anyway.

Headgear of the Sultan: During the ceremony of accession to office the Mamluk sultan received his official insignia: a black turban, a black robe, and a sword.[26] The black turban Sultan Baybars I (r. 658–76/1260–77) received for his coronation was apparently woven of gold material.[27] As already mentioned above, black represented the color of the Abbasids. The Mamluk sultans, having installed the Abbasid puppet caliph at the citadel, still upheld nominally the idea of an Abbasid caliphate. Mayer argues that the sultans wore these kinds of clothes exclusively for their inauguration ceremony, and that these clothes had more of an ecclesiastic character, as turbans of this type would not be worn by a Mamluk amir, and the black robe was usually observed only on shaykhs.[28]

On other public occasions Mamluk sultans would wear different kinds of headgear. In the early days of the Mamluk sultanate this could be the *sharbūsh,* a headgear that resembled, according to al-Maqrīzī, a triangular-shaped crown put on the head without a kerchief around it. In the early Mamluk period it was often bestowed on Mamluk amirs as well.[29] The *sharbūsh* seems to have been quite popular with Turkish rulers of the tenth to thirteenth centuries, and seems to have come with the Turks from the east (figs. 2 and 3).

In Egypt the *sharbūsh* was apparently introduced by the Ayyubids and its existence is confirmed until the time of the Bahri Mamluks. On the so-called Baptistère de Saint Louis, a large brass basin inlaid with silver and gold from the early Mamluk period, we can identify enthroned figures of a ruler apparently wearing the *sharbūsh.* Behrens-Abouseif has convincingly made the case that these figures represent Sultan Baybars, the great Mamluk hero and victor over the Mongols and Crusaders[30] (figs. 4 and 5).

Finally we learn from al-Maqrīzī (who does not provide us with any reason for this) that the wearing of the *sharbūsh* was abolished by the Circassian sultans.[31] Maybe the *sharbūsh* was too Turkish or Mongolian for them.

Since Ayyubid times, the alternative as official headgear had been the so-called *kallawtah or kallaftah* caps. These were small yellow caps that were worn without a turban wrapped around them (figs. 3 and 6).

The hair of the Mamluks at that time was worn long and fell down loosely on

[26] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:668.

[27] Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* 15.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:328.

[30] Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "The Baptistère de Saint Louis: A Reinterpretation," *Islamic Art* 3 (1989): 6.

[31] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:328.

their necks. Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl (r. 689–93/1290–93) then had the color of the *kallawtah* changed from yellow to red and ordered that a turban be wrapped around it. This remained the practice until his brother Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (r. 693, 698–708, 709–41/1293, 1299–1309, 1310–41) had his head completely shaved after he went on a pilgrimage in 732/1332. This new skinhead look was then immediately copied by his entourage. The loss of hair was compensated for by the fact that the *kallawtah* cap arrangement with the turban grew much bigger in size and of better quality in the second half of the fourteenth century.[32]

However, the most spectacular headgear of the Mamluk sultans ever has to be the so-called *takhfīfah,* i.e., the "lighter one." As the *kallawtah* caps with the wrapped turban around them grew larger and were hard to handle, on some occasions the Mamluks started to wear only a small, light turban, the *takhfīfah ṣaghīrah*. The first mention of it can be found in the writings of Ibn Iyās. Sultan Barqūq (r. 784–91, 792–801/1382–89, 1390–99) had a *takhfīfah ṣaghīrah* on his head when he appeared in public in the year 796/1394.[33] But this incidence did not trigger a completely new fashion wave. Apparently the *takhfīfah* started to become increasingly popular only after the mid-fifteenth century, as we do not find any mention of a *takhfīfah* in al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, which usually mentions all aspects of contemporary dress.

After the episode with Sultan Barqūq, Ibn Iyās does not mention another public sighting of the *takhfīfah ṣaghīrah* until the year 872/1467, when the *atābak* Yalbāy wore one at the gathering of amirs after the death of Sultan Khushqadam (r. 865–72/1461–67).[34] After the year 872/1467, the *takhfīfah ṣaghīrah* is mentioned on a more regular basis, and by the end of the fifteenth century it seems clearly established that it could be worn by Mamluk amirs at certain public outings, but it was not acceptable to wear it at very official occasions. When Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 901–4/1496–98), son of Sultan Qāytbāy (r. 872–901/1468–96), appeared in Muḥarram 902/September 1496 at the Friday prayer with a *takhfīfah ṣaghīrah* on his head instead of a *kallawtah (kallaftah),* Ibn Iyās disparaged it as a sort of youthful mindlessness. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was harshly criticized for this by leading amirs.[35]

On a woodcut that was made by the German pilgrim Arnold von Harff, Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad is depicted with a round turban, which might be identified as the *takhfīfah ṣaghīrah,* and no *kallawtah* cap is to be seen. The Mamluk dignitary to

[32] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 4:39–40.

[33] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 1:2 :467.

[34] Ibid., 2:455.

[35] Ibid., 3:339.

his left, called "Thodar" *(dawādār)* by von Harff, seems clearly to wear a *kallawtah* cap with a turban wrapped around it [36] (fig. 7). It seems that there were two kinds of the *takhfīfah ṣaghīrah*, i.e., the round one *(mudawwarah)* and the smooth one *(mumallasah)*. [37] Needless to say, these too started to increase in size over time.

At the end of the fifteenth century another type of *takhfīfah* increased in popularity among the fashion mavens of the Mamluk military elite, the *takhfīfah kabīrah* (the big *takhfīfah* turban). This kind of *takhfīfah,* worn for special occasions, was the result of the ongoing enlargement of the *takhfīfah ṣaghīrah.* The amirs even started to put horns on it. The largest version of this type was called *nāʿūrah* (waterwheel) and the Mamluk sultan wore it as a crown. Apparently it reached very impressive sizes. The Venetian ambassador Domenico Trevisan, who was received by Sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī (r. 906– 22/1501–16) in 1512, recalls that the sultan was sitting on his richly-decorated bench *(masṭabah)* wearing a great turban ("fez") with two horns which were the length of half an arm. [38]

The question remains why the Mamluks would put horns on their turbans after more than 200 years of rule. Ibn Iyās has the following story about the first appearance of the horned *takhfīfah kabīrah:* "And in this month [Ṣafar 902/ October 1496] the wearing of the *takhāfīf* with long horns by the amirs started and they exceeded any boundary. And this incident was commented on by some poets: 'Our amir told us why he started [wearing it]: "I was in the war and Dhū al-Qarnayn was calling me: 'I am a ram. When the sheep pass me by and try to go out then I push them with my horns.'"' [39] In another passage of his work Ibn Iyās explains the historical background of the *takhfīfah kabīrah* as follows: "It [the *nāʿūrah*] nowadays takes the place of the crown of the kings of Egypt; with it the Turks show their might. It was worn by the Persian kings before." [40]

If we take a close look at both of these quotations from Ibn Iyās, the reason the Mamluk amirs chose horns as a sign of legitimacy and power becomes quite evident. Dhū al-Qarnayn, the two-horned hero from the Quran (Surah 18:83–98),

[36] Arnold von Harff, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff von Cöln durch Italien, Syrien, Aegypten, Arabien, Aethiopien, Nubien, Palästina, die Türkei, Frankreich und Spanien, wie er sie in den Jahren 1496 bis 1499 vollendet, beschrieben und durch Zeichnungen erläutert hat,* ed. Eberhard von Groote (Hildesheim, 2004), 90. Sometimes this image is incorrectly identified as Sultan Qāytbāy (r. 872–901/1468–96), which is quite impossible as Harff left Cologne in November of 1496 and Qāytbāy had died in August of the same year. Harff even mentions the death of the former sultan (ibid., 87).

[37] Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* 15; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* index, 4:1:142.

[38] *Le Voyage d'outremer de Jean Thenaud (Gardien du couvent des Cordeliers d'Angoulême): Suivi de la relation de l'ambassade de Domenico Trevisan auprès du Soudan d'Égypte,* ed. Ch. Schefer (Frankfurt, 1995), 184. (Reprint of Paris, 1884).

[39] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:340.

[40] Ibid., 4:332.

is clearly to be identified as Iskandar[41] or Alexander the Great in the Muslim tradition.[42] Especially through the popular reception of the Alexander romance *(Iskandar Nāmah)* throughout the Muslim world, Alexander became "the model of the Muslim hero, the Iranian knight, through his own merits worthy of acceding to the rank of prophet of the One God."[43]

Alexander the Great was clearly seen as the prototype of a Muslim ruler. Therefore, he served as a role model for the Mamluk amirs when they took horns and affixed them on their turbans. Moreover, in the Egyptian context, Alexander the Great enjoys another connection with horns. He is said to have once visited the Oasis of Siwa in Western Egypt, home of a famous oracle in antiquity. Here Alexander was declared son of Zeus-Amun. The god Amun is often depicted as a ram-headed deity. Additional evidence for the fact that the Mamluks wore ram horns is that Ibn Iyās mentions on at least two occasions the word *kabash* (ram) in poems about the *takhfīfah kabīrah.*[44] This argumentation provides us with an insight as to the emotional motivation to choose horns as a sign of power, but let us now have a look at the political side of the emergence of the longhorn *takhfīfah kabīrah.*

We have to go back to the historical context of the year 901/1496. Sultan Qāytbāy died in Dhū al-Qaʿdah 901/August 1496. His fourteen-year-old son al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ascended the throne and he seemed determined to keep it. He seemed unwilling to stand idly by and wait for one of the powerful old amirs of his father to replace him and become the new sultan as was always the case in the history of Mamluk successions in the fifteenth century. *Al-mulk ʿaqīm* they say.[45] Regency has no children. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad tried to change this pattern and wanted to be the exception. We remember that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad appeared one month after the death of his father in Muḥarram of 902/September 1496 at the Friday prayer wearing only a *takhfīfah ṣaghīrah* on his head instead of the more official *kallawtah (kallaftah)* despite receiving harsh criticism[46] (fig. 7). Apparently he wanted to introduce a new order by making a clear political statement to the established powerful amirs. Their reaction was soon to follow. One month later in Ṣafar 902/October 1496 the amirs started wearing the *takhāfīf* with long

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[41] I would like to express my gratitude to Stefan Heidemann for valuable information concerning the Iskandar topic.

[42] W. Montgomery Watt, "al-Iskandar," *EI²,* 4:127.

[43] A. Abel, "Iskandar Nāma," *EI²,* 4:127.

[44] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:340; 4:138.

[45] Ulrich Haarmann, "Der arabische Osten im späten Mittelalter 1250–1517," in *Geschichte der arabischen Welt,* ed. idem (Munich, 2001), 229.

[46] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:339.

horns.[47] This gesture indicated that they were the ones entitled to power. They had more established rights than the young sultan, rights to power that went back to Alexander the Great.

The uneasy relationship between the two sides was to remain. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad endured a somewhat difficult reign over the next two years with frequent uprisings against him. He even tried to create a new military basis for his authority by the inauguration of a force of black slaves with firearms to get rid of the old amirs, only they got rid of him first. He was assassinated near Giza on 15 Rabīʿ I 904/31 October 1498. The ensuing power struggle went on among the high-ranking amirs until Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī emerged finally as sultan in 906/1501. With the victory of the old elite their political symbol, the *takhfīfah kabīrah* with long horns, became the official headgear of the sultan and the high-ranking Mamluks. Because of its peculiar shape, the *takhfīfah kabīrah* was nicknamed *nāʿūrah* (waterwheel). According to the Meccan author of the sixteenth century, Qutb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī (d. 990/1582), one's position in the Mamluk hierarchy was shown by the number of horns one was entitled to wear on his turban. The sultan had six horns, while the high ranking amirs of one hundred *(amīr miʾah wa-muqaddam alf)* wore four horns and the amirs of ten were permitted two horns.[48] The six-horn version was attested by contemporary European witnesses. In 1512 Jean Thenaud, the guardian of the Franciscan monastery of Angoulême, describes the clothing of Sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī during an official reception with the following statement: "Sa robe estoit de tafetas jaulne et avoit en sa teste une faciolle de fine toille d'Ynde moult haulte, laquelle faisoit six longues et larges cornes dont deux estoient sur le front, aultres deux à dextre, aultre à senestre."[49]

Fortunately we posses images of the *nāʿūrah* in European paintings. The most spectacular and seemingly the most realistic of these paintings is the so-called *Reception of the Ambassadors* by an anonymous painter, housed in the Louvre in Paris (fig. 8). According to the analysis of Raby, many details, such as the accurate drawing of the Umayyad mosque[50] and heraldic emblems,[51] give evidence that the artist must have visited Damascus, "taking his view of mosque and bath-house from an upper story of the Venetian *fondaco* which was situated inside the *suq*

[47] Ibid., 340.

[48] Al-Nahrawālī (d. 990/1582), *Kitāb al-Iʿlām bi-Aʿlām Bayt Allāh al-Ḥarām: Geschichte der Stadt Mekka und ihres Tempels,* ed. Ferdinand Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1857), 188.

[49] *Le Voyage d'outremer de Jean Thenaud,* 45.

[50] In 1488 the western minaret of the Umayyad Mosque was built and it appears on the extreme left of the painting.

[51] The emblem depicted in the *Reception* strikingly resembles the emblem of Qāytbāy; see Julian Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode* (London, 1982), 53.

to the south of the Great Mosque."[52] Apparently the painting arrived in Venice between 1496, the date high-ranking Mamluk amirs started to wear the *takhfīfah kabīrah* with long horns, and 1499, a date when other painters had already started to copy elements from the *Reception*.[53]

Therefore, the central Mamluk dignitary of the painting, sitting to the right of the city gate on a podium, might be a governor of Damascus, as he was high-ranking enough to wear the *takhfīfah kabīrah.* It is quite obvious how this headgear got its nickname "waterwheel" (fig. 8). It seems that the two persons beside him and the gentleman riding on a horse to the left wear as well forms of the *takhfīfah,* but without horns.

Another contemporary European image of Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī with the *nāʿūrah* on his head seems not as realistic as the reception but it clearly shows the horns (fig. 9). As can easily be guessed this headgear seems to be extremely heavy and was certainly not very comfortable. For example, in 917/1511 Sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī suffered from an abscess on his head and therefore he had to wear the light *takhfīfah* instead.[54]

We do possess as well a European image of the last Mamluk sultan, Ṭūmān Bāy (r. 922–23/1516–17). Here he does not wear the *takhfīfah kabīrah* (fig. 10). But it seems that the origin of this image dates back to the time when Ṭūmān Bāy still held the important office of *dawādār* ("bearer of the inkwell"), as that is how he is named on the drawing. It seems that he wears either a lighter form of the *takhfīfah* or, what is more likely, a special form of the *kallawtah,* as since the days of al-Maqrīzī the kerchief was wound around the *kallawtah* caps in order to form bumps *(ʿiwaj),* the so-called Circassian *kallawtah* hats which were introduced by Sultan Barqūq at the end of the fourteenth century.[55] But as we do not know how realistic this image is in its details, the question of which hat it is exactly is not easy to answer.

To conclude the discussion about the *takhfīfah kabīrah,* perhaps a voice from the common people from the year 914/1508 should be heard, which is reported by Ibn Iyās. The common people commented on the exclusive headgear of high-ranking Mamluks like this: "Every ram is wearing wool and also horns, and what horns! And I am happy to be in peace, without wool, without horns."[56]

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[52] Ibid., 55.

[53] Ibid., 62. During recent restorations, however, the date 1511 was discovered on the painting, but this must not necessarily be the actual date of the drawing; see Denise Howard, "Venise et les Mamlouks," in *Venise et l'Orient, 828–1797* (Paris, 2006), 84.

[54] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:212.

[55] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:328.

[56] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:138.

Headgear of amirs: Many kinds of headgear that the Mamluk amirs were entitled to wear have already been dealt with in the context of the caps and turbans of the sultans. The *sharbūsh* was apparently worn by amirs as well until it was abandoned by the Circassian Mamluks altogether. The early Mamluk sultans would ceremoniously bestow a *sharbūsh* upon amirs.[57] Circassian sultans would instead put an expensive *kallawtah* on the heads of their amirs to show their gratitude.[58] The *kallawtah* cap represents the constant factor in Mamluk headgear, although it changed color and size and a kerchief was wrapped around it during Mamluk times. It remains the only headgear which was worn by Mamluk officials throughout the more than 250 years of Mamluk rule in Egypt and Syria. Other headgear like the *takhfīfah ṣaghīrah* or the *takhfīfah kabīrah* with horns were latecomers compared to the *kallawtah.*

Another headgear that apparently gained popularity in the fifteenth century among ordinary Mamluks was the so-called *ṭāqīyah,* which was a cylindrical hat with a flat top. It used to be made in several sizes and colors and was one-sixth of an ell high. At the beginning of the fifteenth century it grew taller until it reached two-thirds of an ell and the upper part took the shape of a small dome. In this form it then became well known as the so-called "Circassian." At the end of the fifteenth century it was manufactured in a two-colored version. The lower part was apparently green and the upper part black.[59] In this form it appears in the *Reception* painting in the Louvre, where it is worn by the Mamluks standing on the porch (fig. 8).

During the late Circassian period the so-called *zamṭ* hat witnessed a breakthrough in Mamluk fashion. Originally it seems that it had been a headgear of the lower classes.[60] Then the Mamluks adopted it and made it exclusively theirs. In the year 840/1436 Sultan Barsbāy (r. 825–41/1422–38) forbade every *fallāh* (peasant) and every slave from wearing the red *zamṭ.*[61] But this decree apparently did not guarantee the necessary exclusivity for the Mamluks with respect to the red *zamṭ*. Therefore Mamluks rode through Cairo in 868/1464 beating everyone not entitled to wear the red *zamṭ,* especially eunuchs and servants.[62] Finally it became such a common and distinctive marker for an ordinary Mamluk soldier that the Ottomans pursued everyone wearing a red *zamṭ* on his head when they conquered Cairo, rightly thinking that only members of the Mamluk military elite would

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[57] Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* 27; Dozy, *Vêtements,* 200; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:328.

[58] Diem, *Ehrendes Kleid,* 13.

[59] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:343; Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* 31.

[60] Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* 32.

[61] Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i',* 2:172.

[62] Mayer, *Mamluk Costume,* 32.

wear such a headgear.[63] We are quite well informed about what the red *zamṭ* looked like. We have the eyewitness account of Dietrich von Schachten, a German traveller who journeyed to the Near East in 1491. He described it as red with finger-long tufts and with kerchiefs wrapped around them. Apparently he liked the arrangement, as he calls it beautiful. Then he states that no heathen [Arab] was allowed to wear it, but only a Mamluk.[64]

Another German visitor, Arnold von Harff, provides us with a good picture of the red *zamṭ* (fig. 11). Most people on the right-hand side of the Louvre *Reception* seem to wear it and fortunately we even have a surviving *zamṭ* hat in the Coptic Museum in Cairo (figs. 8 and 12).

CONCLUSION

Fashion is a social marker and headgear, with its very prominent position on the human body, even more so. Nevertheless, the present contribution has shown that even in a medieval society like Mamluk Egypt and Syria fashion set its own trends. New colors, new sizes, new shapes became en vogue, older styles had to go. When the Mamluk military upper class began to wear the red *zamṭ,* for example, the peasants and servants were forced to give up their headgear. A general trend that can be noted is the tendency to enlarge the size of the latest models almost to the point of being unwearable. When the maximum size is reached, then one starts with a new model all over again. This happened with the *takhfīfah,* which started off as the "lighter one" until someone put horns on it and transformed it into an immense "waterwheel." Putting on a distinctive hat could also be a clear political statement in Mamluk times, as could be seen during the struggle of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad with his opponents among the established amirs.

After the Ottoman conquest it was apparently difficult for the Mamluks to give up their specific dress and with it most of their former exclusive social status. After learning of the death of the Ottoman sultan Selīm in 926/1520, the Ottoman governor of Damascus, al-Ghazālī, a former Mamluk, revolted immediately. "And then the governor entered the Citadel and the Circassian dress appeared once again: the *takhfīfāt* and *kallawtāt.* The wearing of Ottoman turbans and kaftans was abolished," reports the contemporary author Ibn Ṭūlūn.[65] Nevertheless, the time of the old hats was definitely over, and the revolt was crushed only three months after it started in Ṣafar 927/February 1521. The bare heads of al-Ghazalī and his companions were cut off and sent to Istanbul[66] (fig. 13).

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[63] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ* 5:150.

[64] Reinhold Röhricht and Heinrich Meissner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem heiligen Lande* (Berlin, 1880), 191.

[65] Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546), *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 1964), 124.

[66] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 5:382.

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Figure 1. Syrian Christians (von den Syrern, die sich auch Christen nennen) Reproduced by permission from Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Die Reise ins heilige Land: Ein Reisebericht aus dem Jahre 1483, Mit 15 Holzschnitten, 2 Faltkarten und 6 Textseiten in Faksimilie,* ed. Elisabeth Geck (Wiesbaden: G. Pressler, 1961), 29.

Figure 2. Miniature in the manuscript of Rashīd al-Dīn's "Jāmiʿ al-Tawārīkh" in Edinburgh University Library representing Maḥmūd of Ghaznah donning a *khilʿah* sent by the caliph al-Qāhir in A.D. 1000. Reproduced by permission from Edinburgh University, Special Collections Department. Photo from: N. A. Stillman, "Khilʿa," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 5: Plate I.

Figure 3. North Iraq, ca. 1218–19: Ruler wearing a *qabāʾ turkī* with *ṭirāz* bands. On his head is a *sharbūsh*. His attendants also wear Turkish costumes. Most wear the cap known as *kallawtah.* From the frontispiece of the "Kitāb al-Aghānī" (Millet Kütüphanesi [Istanbul] MS Feyzullah Efendi 1566, fol. 1b). Photo from: Y. K. Stillman, "Libās," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 5: Plate XLI. (The ruler is generally identified with Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ, Atabeg of Mosul, who died in 657/1259. See Carole Hillenbrand, review of *Badr al-Din Luʾluʾ: Atabeg of Mosul, 1211–1259,* by Douglas Patton, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 24, no. 2 [1997]: 266.)

Figures 4 and 5. Inner medallions of the Baptistère de Saint Louis representing Sultan Baybars. From: Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "The Baptistère de Saint Louis: A Reinterpretation," *Islamic Art* 3 (1989): 13. (The Baptistère is in the possession of the Louvre in Paris.)

Figure 6. Mamluk wearing the *kallawtah* hunting a wild animal (*furūsīyah* manuscript, British Library MS Or. Add. 18866). Photo from: Ibn Iyās, *Alltagsnotizen eines ägyptischen Bürgers,* trans. Annemarie Schimmel (Stuttgart: Edition Erdmann, 1985), 74.

Figure 7. Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on his throne. Reproduced by permission from Arnold von Harff, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff von Cöln durch Italien, Syrien, Aegypten, Arabien, Aethiopien, Nubien, Palästina, die Türkei, Frankreich und Spanien, wie er sie in den Jahren 1496 bis 1499 vollendet, beschrieben und durch Zeichnungen erläutert hat,* ed. Eberhard von Groote (Hildesheim: Olms, 2004), 90.

Figure 8. *Reception of the Ambassadors*. Anonymous. Courtesy of the Louvre, Paris.

Figure 9. Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī with the *nāʿūrah.* Jean Jacques Boissard, *Abbildungen der Türckischen Kayser und Persischen Fürsten/so wol auch anderer Helden und Heldinnen: von dem Osman/biß auf den andern Mahomet; Auß den Metallen/in welchen sie abgebildet/genommen/und in gegenwertige Kupffer gebracht. Wie dann auch vorher eines jeden wandel kürtzlich mit Versen Beschrieben Durch Georg Greblinger alias Seladon von Regenspurg,* (Franckfurt, 1648), figure 20: Sultan Cansaves Gavris. Latin inscription reads: "Of what use is it that you bound Egypt to Syria, when the jealous destiny refuses to recognize you as sultan? Be aware that Achomenos [Shah Ismāʿīl?] defends the endangered frontiers, when Selymus will have taken your properties." (There exists as well an edition from 1596 [Frankfurt], but the images are not as well preserved.)

Figure 10. Ṭūmān Bāy. Boissard, *Abbildungen der Türckischen Kayser,* figure 21: Tomanbais VLV Duveidar. Latin inscription reads: "The affairs of Egypt are in doubt. Leave the scepter, which you cannot hold with a broken neck [Ṭūmān Bāy was hanged]. The affairs of the Circassians are of utmost importance for the faithful. You deserve great praise, even though destiny was against you."

Figure 11. Red *zamṭ.* Reproduced by permission from Arnold von Harff, *Pilgerfahrt,* 104.

Figure 12. *Zamṭ.* Courtesy of the Coptic Museum. Photo from: L. A. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume* (Geneva, 1952), XI/2.

Figure 13. Ottomans besieging the Mamluks in Damascus. "Selīm-nāma," ca. 1521–24, Istanbul Topkapi Sarayi Museum MS H. 15978, fol. 235r. Photo from: Julian Raby, *Venice, Dürer and the Oriental Mode* (London: Sotheby Publications, 1982), 50. (The difference in the style of headgear between Ottomans and Mamluks can clearly be noticed.)



Fig. 1. Syrian Christians



Fig. 2. Maḥmūd of Ghaznah donning a *khilʿah*



Fig. 3. Ruler wearing a *qabāʾ turkī* with *ṭirāz* bands



Fig. 4. Inner medallion of the Baptistère de Saint Louis



Fig. 5. Inner medallion of the Baptistère de Saint Louis



Fig. 6. Mamluk wearing the *kallawtah*



Fig. 7. Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on his throne



Fig. 8. *Reception of the Ambassadors*



Fig. 9. Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī with the *nāʿūrah*



Fig. 10. Ṭūmān Bāy



Fig. 11. Red *zamṭ*



Fig. 12. *Zamṭ*



Fig. 13. Ottomans besieging the Mamluks in Damascus

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The Formation of the Civilian Elite in the Syrian Province: The Case of Ayyubid and Early Mamluk Ḥamāh

Introduction

In recent decades our knowledge of urban history in northern Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt during the post-formative period has continuously increased.[1] Studies such as those by Douglas Patton on Zangid Mosul, Anne-Marie Eddé on Ayyubid Aleppo, Louis Pouzet on thirteenth-century Damascus, Michael Chamberlain on thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Damascus, Carl Petry on fifteenth-century Cairo, Bernadette Martel-Thoumian on the fifteenth-century Mamluk state, and others have added significantly to our knowledge of pre-modern Middle Eastern society.[2] A particular concern of these studies has been the section of the population that Petry termed the "civilian elite," i.e., the ulama and the non-military administrative personnel whom biographers regarded as notables.[3]

The present article further extends this stream of research by discussing the

[1] An early version of this paper was presented at the 15th Colloquium on the History of Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras, Leuven 2006. I wish to thank those present, especially Michael Brett (London), for their helpful comments. I would like to thank furthermore Stefan Heidemann (Jena) for commenting on a draft version of this article, and Stefan Conermann (Bonn) for the invitation to contribute to this volume.

[2] Douglas L. Patton, "A History of the Atabegs of Mosul and their Relations with the Ulama A.H. 521–660/A.D. 1127–1262" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1983); Anne-Marie Eddé, *La principauté Ayyoubide d'Alep (579/1183–658/1260)* (Stuttgart, 1999); Louis Pouzet, *Damas au VIIe/XIIIe siècle: Vie et structures religieuses dans une métropole islamique,* 2nd ed. (Beirut, 1991); Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (Cambridge, 1994); Carl F. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1981); Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration dans l'état militaire Mamlūk (IXe/XVe siècle)* (Damascus, 1992).

[3] Petry, *Civilian Elite,* 4 and 312–25. There are a number of individuals who crossed the boundary between the military and the civilian elite who do not fit into this simple differentiation. In the case of Ḥamāh this is illustrated by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Bulāʿī, who turned to the military profession after a career as religious scholar (Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Ḥasanayn al-Rabīʿ, and Saʿīd ʿĀshūr [Cairo, 1953–77], and for years 646–59 Bibliothèque Nationale MSS Arabe nos. 1702 and 1703; here published edition, 3:163), and the case of Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Quṭub, which is discussed below. For a detailed discussion of the vocabulary employed during this period for the different groups within the civilian elite cf. Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, "Les élites urbaines sous les Mamlouks Circassiens: quelques éléments de réflexion," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras III,* ed. U. Vermeulen and J. Van Steenbergen (Leuven, 2001), 271–308.

example of the middle-sized north Syrian town of Ḥamāh during the period from the late sixth/twelfth to the eighth/fourteenth centuries. This urban settlement, situated on the banks of the Orontes River and with a population of some 7,000[4] during the period considered here, tended to stand in the shadow of neighboring Aleppo and Damascus. In the late fourth/tenth century it was included within the Aleppan realms of the Hamdanid ruler Sayf al-Dawlah (d. 356/967). In the following century this status of dependency continued with Ḥamāh either in the Fatimid sphere of influence or subject to Bedouin, especially Mirdasid, domination typical of this period in northern Syria. With the Saljuq conquest of Aleppo in 479/1086 Ḥamāh became a bone of contention in conflicts between the autonomous Saljuq rulers in the Syrian lands. It changed hands repeatedly until the founder of the Burid dynasty in Damascus, Ṭughtigin (d. 522/1128), incorporated it into his realm in 517/1123.[5] This period ended with the conquest by the Zangids who in 530/1135 included the town in their emerging empire, which gradually extended into Syria and al-Jazīrah. During the Ayyubid period the princes of Ḥamāh gained some degree of independence within the Ayyubid family confederation after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had handed over the town to his nephew al-Malik al-Muẓaffar I ʿUmar (r. 574–87/1178–91). Al-Muẓaffar's descendants and other members of the Ayyubid family were able to rule the town, with short interruptions, well into the early Mamluk period when this last Syrian Ayyubid principality was finally absorbed into the Mamluk administrative system in the 730s/1330s.

From an economic perspective, Ḥamāh could draw on the fertile soil of the surrounding lands, ample water supplies, and its location on the main north-south trade axis linking Aleppo and Damascus.[6] However, while Egypt experienced economic prosperity during the fifth/eleventh century,[7] the northern Syrian towns, like their north Mesopotamian and Iraqi counterparts, experienced a period of urban stagnation or even decline. The weakening of fiscal institutions and the near-complete absence of building activities during this period was

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[4] According to Josiah C. Russel, "The Population of the Crusader States," in *A History of the Crusades,* ed. Kenneth M. Setton (Madison, 1985), 5:295–314, the population of the town was 6,750 in the beginning of the seventh/thirteenth century.

[5] For the pre-Zangid political history of northern Syria, cf. Thierry Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fatimide (359–468/969–1076): Essai d'interprétation de chroniques arabes médiévales* (Damascus, 1989), and specifically for Aleppo cf. Suhayl Zakkar, *The Emirate of Aleppo, 1004–1094* (Beirut, 1971).

[6] Thierry Bianquis, "Cités, territoires et province dans l'histoire Syrienne médiévale," *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales* 52 (2000): 207–8.

[7] Cf. Paula A. Sanders, "The Fāṭimid State, 969–1171," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt,* vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517,* ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 151–74.

characteristic of this decline. The predominant Bedouin rulers of northern Syria did little to support the region's urban network. With the establishment of Saljuq rule the towns of the region experienced a renaissance that continued during the Zangid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk periods. The Saljuqs' measures, especially those of the regional Atabeg dynasties, aimed at supporting their urban basis, most importantly through a reorganization of the fiscal system, and were accompanied by increased building activities.[8]

The disastrous Syrian earthquake in the year 552/1157 was a setback in the case of Ḥamāh's ascendancy. The epicenter was close to the town and further seismic shocks followed in subsequent months.[9] The destruction of the infrastructure must have been massive and the loss of human life considerable. The estimation of an Andalusian traveller who visited the town some fifteen years after the catastrophe, that of the purportedly 25,000 inhabitants of the town only 70 men survived, is certainly exaggerated.[10] However, the chronicles show that this earthquake was estimated to be among the most disastrous catastrophes in the Syrian lands during the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth century. Anecdotes played, as is typical in premodern historiography, a crucial role in structuring the earthquake narrative. For instance, the Zangid chronicler Ibn al-Athīr included a report on a teacher leaving the teaching premises shortly before the earthquake. Not only did all of his students perish, but their relatives who might have inquired in the following days about the children's fate also did not survive.[11] In the same vein, later topographical descriptions of Ḥamāh are centered on this event. The only diachronic passage in Ibn al-ʿAdīm's seventh/thirteenth-century description of the town, for instance, sets the earthquake at center stage, and mentions the castle's

[8] On the urban decline and renaissance in northern Syria cf. Stefan Heidemann, *Die Renaissance der Städte in Nordsyrien und Nordmesopotamien: Städtische Entwicklung und wirtschaftliche Bedingungen in ar-Raqqa and Ḥarrān von der Zeit der beduinischen Vorherrschaft bis zu den Seldschuken* (Leiden, 2002).

[9] Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Dhayl Tārīkh Dimashq* [History of Damascus, 363–555 a.h.: from the Bodleian Ms. Hunt. 125; being a continuation of the history of Hilâl al-Sâbi], ed. Henry Frederick Amedroz (Leiden, 1908), 337, 343–47, 351–52; Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Tārīkh al-Bāhir fī al-Dawlah al-Atābakīyah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir Aḥmad Ṭulaymāt (Cairo, 1963), 110; idem, *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh,* ed. Carolus Johannes Tornberg (Beirut, 1965–67) [reprint of 1851–71 edition with corrections and new pagination], 11:218; Abū Shāmah, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī Akhbār al-Dawlatayn al-Nūrīyah wa-al-Ṣalāḥīyah,* ed. Ibrāhīm al-Zībaq (Beirut, 1997), 1:332–39; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 1:128; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām wa-Wafayāt al-Mashāhīr wa-al-Aʿlām,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 2002–3), vol. 551–60:17–18.

[10] Binyāmîn Ben-Yôna 'Tudela,' *Syrien und Palästina nach dem Reisebericht des Benjamin von Tudela [Sēfer ham-massāʿôt],* trans. Hans-Peter Rüger (Wiesbaden, 1990), 64, who visited the town in the early 560s/late 1160s.

[11] Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Bāhir,* 110. This anecdote was to be included by most of the period's authors.

destruction and the following efforts at refortification.[12] The consequences for the civilian elite are reflected in references to scholars who either perished in the earthquake or left the town in its aftermath.[13] However, Ḥamāh soon recovered and continued to enjoy "[i]n the Ayyūbid period, and during the governorship of Abū 'l-Fidāʾ, . . . true prosperity."[14] This prosperity can be seen here, as elsewhere, in increased building activities, especially with regard to madrasahs, which will be discussed below.

The present article traces this urban renaissance in more detail by focusing on the civilian elite. The construction of a high number of endowed madrasahs provided the financial basis for a variety of civilian careers.[15] However, the source material currently available precludes a systematic examination of career patterns based on endowments in the case of a middle-sized town such as Ḥamāh. Consequently, the following discussion will focus on holders of judgeships and will be subsequently supplemented by the fragmentary material available on *khaṭīb*s, secretaries, and posts in madrasahs. This discussion will show the gradual formation of an indigenous civilian elite during this period that was increasingly able to monopolize the crucial civilian posts in the town.

The purpose of the present article in engaging with the case of the civilian elite in Ḥamāh is twofold. Firstly, it has a descriptive outlook, namely to give an overview of those names that appear repeatedly when studying the civilian elite of the town. In the course of the description it will become evident that the basic unit of the civilian elite organization was the elite household. In this sense the article describes how such families established themselves in a provincial town. Secondly, it puts forth the argument that the urban renaissance in northern Syria set the framework for the development of a strong civilian elite from the second half of the sixth/twelfth century onwards. Furthermore, this urban elite took on a

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[12] Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab,* ed. Suhayl Zakkār (Beirut, 1988), 1:149–50.

[13] Among its victims in Ḥamāh were for example the scholar ʿAlī Abū al-Ḥasan al-Tanūkhī (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, Sukaynah al-Shihābī, et al. [Damascus, 1951–], 51:227–31) and the poet ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Mudrak ibn ʿAlī al-Tanūkhī al-Maʿarrī, who died in a subsequent seismic shock in 553/1158 (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq,* 41:372–78; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 551–60:124; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* ed. Hellmut Ritter et al. [Istanbul, 1931–2004], 18:265–66). Among those who left the town after the disaster was for instance the hadith scholar and Quran reader Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Qaysī (d. 553/1158) (Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq,* ed. ʿUmar al-ʿAmrawī [Beirut, 1995–98], 7:112–13).

[14] Dominique Sourdel, "Ḥamāt," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed. CD-ROM (Leiden, 2003).

[15] Discussed for the case of Damascus by Stefan Leder, "Damaskus: Entwicklung einer islamischen Metropole (12.–14. Jh.) und ihre Grundlagen," in *Alltagsleben und materielle Kultur in der arabischen Sprache und Literatur: Festschrift für Heinz Grotzfeld zum 70. Geburtstag,* ed. Thomas Bauer and Ulrike Stheli-Werbeck (Wiesbaden, 2005), 233–50.

decisively local character during the seventh/thirteenth century and the first half of the eighth/fourteenth century.

Owing to the historiographical nature of the available sources, the focus is on chronicles and biographical dictionaries. The rise of historical writing from the seventh/thirteenth century allows the formation of the civilian elite, even in considering the case of a middle-sized town such as Ḥamāh, to be traced in some detail. This is because the prosperity enjoyed by the town also encouraged the publication of a multitude of historical works. Not only two rulers of the town, al-Malik al-Manṣūr I Muḥammad and Abū al-Fidāʾ, but also a number of scholars or administrators from the town, such as Ibn al-Naẓīf (d. after 634/1236–37), Ibn Abī al-Dam (d. 642/1244), the latter's relative Ibn Wāṣil (d. 697/1298), and ʿAlī al-Muẓaffarī Ibn al-Mughayzil (d. 701/1302), composed chronicles. Despite the fact that the royal chronicles are of rather limited interest for any inquiry into a field beyond politics, Ibn al-Naẓīf's work[16] is rather focused on the neighboring town of Homs, and most of Ibn Abī al-Dam's chronicle is lost,[17] these works, especially the chronicle of Ibn Wāṣil and its supplement by Ibn al-Mughayzil, allow insights into the town's development. Although these insights cannot be compared with those gained for major urban centers, such as Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo, the focus on this middle-sized town is a crucial addition to our understanding of urban society in the Syrian lands during the seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries.

Ḥamāh's Growing Prosperity: Madrasahs and the Civilian Elite

The considerable ascent of Ḥamāh after the earthquake setback in 552/1157 can be traced by turning to the building activities within the town, which are well illustrated by the number of endowed madrasahs. These testify to the dynamic development of the urban infrastructure during the late Zangid, Ayyubid, and early Mamluk periods. The starting point of this development in Ḥamāh was in the late Zangid period under the Sultan Nūr al-Dīn (d. 569/1174). Nūr al-Dīn initiated a considerable building project encompassing representative and functional buildings, not only in the major towns of his realms such as Damascus

[16] On the author and his work cf. Angelika Hartmann, "A Unique Manuscript in the Asian Museum, St. Petersburg: the Syrian Chronicle *al-Taʾrīḫ al-Manṣūrī* by Ibn Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī, from the 7th/13th Century," in *Egypt and Syria,* ed. Vermeulen and van Steenbergen, 89–100. Edition by Abū al-ʿĪd Dūdū (Damascus, 1981).

[17] The first part, covering the period from the Prophet Muḥammad until the late Umayyad era, has been edited by Ḥāmid Ziyān Ghānim Ziyān as *Al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī al-Maʿrūf bi-Ism al-Tārīkh al-Muẓaffarī* (Cairo, 1989). Passages from the final surviving part of the chronicle ending in 628/1230–31 have been edited and translated by Donald S. Richards, "The Crusade of Frederic II and the Ḥamāh Succession: Extracts from the Chronicle of Ibn Abī al-Damm," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 45 (1993): 183–206.

and Aleppo but also in middle-sized towns such as Baalbek and Ḥamāh.[18] In Ḥamāh he built two madrasahs, one Shafiʿi and one Hanafi, in addition to the mosque in the lower town with a hospital next to it.[19] The Shafiʿi madrasah, the ʿAṣrūnīyah, was built for Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn (d. 585/1189), who indeed taught there at least once.[20] It was situated, similarly to the Hanafi madrasah, in the market area of the lower town. Eminent scholars of the indigenous civilian elite, such as the town's *shaykh al-shuyūkh* Tāj al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn al-Mughayzil (d. 687/1288)[21] and the town's judge ʿImād al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim (d. 652/1254), taught there.[22]

In the following century, members of the ruling Ayyubid family endowed additional madrasahs. Al-Malik al-Manṣūr I Muḥammad (d. 617/1221) founded the Shafiʿi Madrasah al-Manṣūrīyah.[23] This madrasah proved attractive even to a prominent scholar from outside the town, Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī (d. 631/1233), its first teacher.[24] In the later Ayyubid period Muʾnisah Khātūn bint al-Malik al-Muẓaffar II Maḥmūd (d. 703/1303) endowed the Madrasah al-Khātūnīyah. She was the paternal aunt of the town's last Ayyubid ruler during the Mamluk period, Abū al-Fidāʾ (r. 710–32/1310–32). Having acted herself as attending authority *(musmiʿah)* in scholarly readings she provided this school with a generous endowment.[25] Abū al-Fidāʾ himself endowed the Madrasah al-Muʾayyadīyah (also known as al-Khaṭībīyah), in which members of grand Hamawian families such as ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ibn al-Mughayzil (d. 690/1291) and Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Bārizī (d. 875/1470)[26] taught.

The military elite formed the second group of madrasah founders. Sayf al-Dīn ʿAlī Ibn al-Mashṭūb (d. 588/1192), one of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's amirs, founded Madrasat Ibn al-Mashṭūb. A freedman of the town's first Ayyubid ruler, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar I ʿUmar, Abū Manṣūr Jaldak al-Muẓaffarī al-Taqawī (d. 628/1231), endowed the Madrasah al-Jaldakīyah.[27] Shujāʿ al-Dīn Murshid al-Ṭawāshī (d. 669/1270–71),

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[18] Cf. Yasser Ahmad Tabbaa, "The Architectural Patronage of Nūr al-Dīn (1146–1174)" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1983).

[19] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 1:282–83.

[20] Dominique Sourdel, "Sur quelques traditionnistes d'Alep au temps de Nur al-Din," *Arabica* 2 (1955): 354.

[21] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 681–90:290.

[22] Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat,* 10:4581.

[23] Also called Madrasat al-Turbah, as he had it built for the grave of his father.

[24] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:78, 80.

[25] Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanbalī, *Shifāʾ al-Qulūb fī Manāqib Banī Ayyūb,* ed. Nāẓim Rashīd (Baghdad, 1978), 447; Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar* (Cairo, 1907), 4:51; Murtaḍá al-Zabīdī, *Tarwīḥ al-Qulūb fī Dhikr Mulūk Banī Ayyūb,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Damascus, 1969), 81.

[26] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Cairo, 1934–36), 10:24–25.

[27] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 621–30:311–12; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 11:174.

a freedman of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar II Maḥmūd, set up the Hanafi Madrasah al-Ṭawāshīyah.[28] Finally, members of the civilian elite endowed a number of madrasahs, which illustrates the wealth of these families of notables. Among these civilian founders were Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ghuffār Ibn al-Mughayzil (d. 688/1289–90),[29] Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 659/1261), *khaṭīb* of the Great/Upper Mosque,[30] and Mukhliṣ al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn Qarnāṣ (d. 648/1248).[31]

This rise of the madrasah as an urban institution from the mid-sixth/twelfth century onwards was paralleled by the formation of an urban elite that was firmly entrenched within the town itself. In contrast, the sources are almost completely silent, typically for northern Syria, with regard to the civilian elite in Ḥamāh in the preceding period. This might be explained as a result of chronological distance in the case of the works composed during the seventh/thirteenth century, such as the chronicle *Mirʾāt al-Zamān* by Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī (d. 654/1256) or the biographical dictionaries *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān* by Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1281–82), *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ* by Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1229), and *Bughyat al-Ṭalab* by Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 660/1262), which rendered the events or persons linked to minor towns of limited significance.[32] However, even a contemporary work such as Ibn ʿAsākir's (d. 571/1176) *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq,* which covers the Syrian scholars well beyond the borders of the town of Damascus, has little to say about scholars originating from or being active in Ḥamāh—in contrast to those linked, for example, to neighboring Homs.[33] Even appointments to the most eminent position, the chief judgeship, can only be traced systematically starting with the late sixth/twelfth century.[34] This picture is not altered when taking into account

[28] ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Nūr al-Dīn Ibn al-Mughayzil, *Dhayl Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 2004), 74; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 661–70:297.

[29] Ibn al-Mughayzil, *Dhayl Mufarrij al-Kurūb,* 124.

[30] Ibn Wāṣil, "Mufarrij," BN MS 1703, fol. 170r–v; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān* (Hyderabad, 1954–61), 2:129; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 651–60:389.

[31] Mentioned in al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān,* 2:127–28. Further madrasahs founded by members of the civilian elite included, for example, the Madrasah al-Ṣihyawnīyah, founded by Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb Ibn Ṣihyawn. Among its teachers was Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥamawī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 649/1251) (cf. al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 641–50:413).

[32] In Ibn al-ʿAdīm's biographical dictionary of Aleppo *(Bughyat al-Ṭalab),* for instance, nineteen entries refer to individuals linked to Ḥamāh, of which five persons are only superficially connected to the town. Of the remaining fourteen, eight lived partly or mostly in the seventh/thirteenth century and only four in the sixth/twelfth century.

[33] In the only complete edition of the work (the commercial Dār al-Fikr edition) Ḥamāh is referred to 17 times, while neighboring Homs has some 700 entries. These numbers match my impression gained from the published volumes of the scholarly Majmaʿ al-Lughah edition.

[34] Similar to the case of al-Raqqah, where the names of the chief judges are only known from the mid-sixth/twelfth century onwards (Heidemann, *Renaissance,* 284–85).

the works produced in Ḥamāh: while chronicles such as those by Abū al-Fidāʾ or Ibn Wāṣil are indispensable in order to trace the civilian elite starting with the second half of the sixth/twelfth century, they have little to say about earlier periods.

Considering the civilian elite, a striking feature becomes apparent that parallels the rise of the madrasah and which hints again at the mid-late sixth/twelfth century as a decisive turning point in the urban history of the Syrian lands: the first relevant persons, in a sense the "founding fathers," of those families that came to dominate the civilian elite in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods in Ḥamāh were active during this period (Banū Rawāḥah, Banū al-Bahrānī, Banū Qarnāṣ) or in the following decades of the early seventh/thirteenth century (Banū al-Bārizī, Banū al-Mughayzil). The formation of this civilian elite, particularly the indigenous civilian elite, will be discussed in the following in three sections: First, appointments to the Shafiʿi judgeship, the crucial position in the town, are considered. This is followed by an analysis of the *khaṭīb*s, secretaries, and non-Shafiʿi judges. Finally, those grand scholarly families of the town that did not hold a large number of civilian posts will be discussed.

The Shafiʿi Judgeship: Locals and Cosmopolitans

Ḥamāh became, as was typical for the region, dominated by the Shafiʿi school of law and affiliation with it became one of the prerequisites for attaining prestigious religious posts during the Zangid and subsequent periods. All the grand local households discussed below were Shafiʿi. This *madhhab* was sponsored by the political elite, which furthered its dominant role. For instance, the town's last Ayyubid ruler, Abū al-Fidāʾ, and its Mamluk governor Sanjar were both themselves Shafiʿi jurisprudents[35] who supported the *madhhab*. This dominance is evident in the appointments to the town's judgeship during the early phase of the period considered here. The judgeship of Ḥamāh had initially not been explicitly restricted to any specific school of law. It was only with the introduction of the other *madhhab*s' judgeships in the late seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries that this judgeship became to be nominally attached to the Shafiʿi community. However, despite the theoretical possibility that a non-Shafiʿi scholar might be appointed before this introduction of *madhhab*-affiliated posts, the Shafiʿis were able, owing to their dominance, to monopolise the post entirely.

Appointments to the Shafiʿi judgeship (cf. fig. 1) followed, with regard to the geographical origin of the post holders, distinctively different patterns during the period considered here. While individuals from outside the town prevailed in the first stage until the early seventh/thirteenth century, the local elite dominated

[35] Heinz Halm, *Die Ausbreitung der šāfiʿitischen Rechtsschule von den Anfängen bis zum 8./14. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1974), 228.

this post in the following 150 years until the mid-eighth/fourteenth century. Thereupon, the post holders' provenance became significantly more varied and the dominance of the local elite started to vanish. These different patterns indicate two alternative career patterns—that changed in importance over time—which led to the post.

In the first and third phase, a "cosmopolitan" profile was decisive for the candidate's appointment.[36] It was crucial to belong to trans-regional networks of learning and/or political power. Many of the post holders, especially during the first phase, were distinguished scholars who had the prestige of having studied with the grand scholars of their time. In the third phase candidates belonged more often to the trans-regional Mamluk civilian elite. Owing to the integration of trans-regional networks, judges who left the post voluntarily or involuntarily during both phases frequently moved on to take up positions in other towns and regions.

In the second phase, in contrast, post holders typically had a "local" profile, i.e., they were closely integrated into the local network of influential families. Generally, they were born into one of the grand families and followed a career centered on the town, especially holding other (minor) posts before attaining the judgeship. In contrast to the preceding and following phases, judges often held the post until an advanced age or death. Those who left the post voluntarily or involuntarily tended to remain within the town, as it was here that they had networks that had been—and often continued to be—crucial for their career.

The Shafiʿi Judgeship from 559/1164 to 616/1219: The Cosmopolitans' Period

During the first sixty years of the period under discussion cosmopolitan scholars from outside the town played an important role in appointments to the judgeship. Initially these scholars originated in particular from the eastern lands, more specifically Mosul, the Zangid dynasty's first stronghold. In a sense the Zangids "imported" prestigious scholars from their possessions in the East to newly conquered towns such as Ḥamāh. These scholars tended to hold the post—typical for the cosmopolitan career pattern—only for a limited period and soon moved on to other urban centers.

The first judge, Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Anṣārī (d. 600/1203),[37] came from Mosul under the Zangid Nūr al-Dīn. He stayed in the post for eight years, but then moved on further west in order to settle in Egypt, where he was appointed

[36] The differentiation between "cosmopolitans" and "locals" is based on Merton's terminology; cf. his "Patterns of Influence: Local and Cosmopolitan Influentials," in Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure,* 3rd ed. (New York, 1968), 441–74.

[37] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 591–600:477–78; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 4:171; al-Asnawī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah,* ed. ʿAbd Allāh al-Jubūrī (Baghdad, 1971), 2:443; Sourdel, "Traditionnistes," 354.

to the judgeship of the Upper Egyptian town of Asyūṭ. The second judge, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Qāsim Ibn al-Shahrazūrī (d. 599/1203), held the judgeship twice: he had left Ḥamāh after his first appointment in order to move to Baghdad, where he was also appointed judge. However, after his deposition in Baghdad he had to return to Ḥamāh, where he filled the post again for some months until his death. Ibn al-Shahrazūrī belonged to a family which held high offices throughout the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth centuries in Syria and Iraq.[38] His paternal uncle, Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 576/1176), like al-Anṣārī, came from Mosul and had been appointed by Nūr al-Dīn to the judgeships of Damascus and Aleppo simultaneously.

That this family originated from Mosul and subsequently gained a great reputation within Syria parallels the shift of the Zangids' power base from the East westwards. This shift also became apparent in the nominations to the judgeship in Ḥamāh: after the first decades of Zangid rule, post holders were increasingly recruited from the Syrian lands. The early seventh/thirteenth-century judge Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn (d. 622/1225),[39] for instance, was the son of the aforementioned Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn, for whom Nūr al-Dīn had built the Shafiʿi madrasah of the town. Sharaf al-Dīn had succeeded Kamāl al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī in the position of the most eminent Shafiʿi scholar in the Syrian lands and more specifically he had taken over the judgeship in Damascus. It was the family's cosmopolitan prestige that allowed his son to hold office in Aleppo and Ḥamāh, where he was twice judge and also vizier. Najm al-Dīn is in this sense representative of a transition period: his family still had hardly any connections to the local elite of Ḥamāh, but it was already well-placed within the civilian elite of the Syrian lands.

In this early period there are already three cases which hint at the developing local elite, most importantly two judges belonging to the al-Bahrānī family (cf. fig. 2 with sources), Amīn al-Dawlah/Dīn al-Ḥusayn (d. 587/1191) and Aḥmad ibn Mudrak (d. 590/1194 or 591/1195). This family also continued to play a remarkable role in the following seventh/thirteenth century. Two additional members of the family, Muḥyī al-Dīn Ḥamzah (d. 663/1264–65)[40] and Muwaffaq al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 699/1300), were appointed judges in 642/1244–45 and

[38] On the al-Shahrazūrī family, cf. Eddé, *Alep,* 381–82. It seems that al-Anṣārī and al-Shahrazūrī for some time held the judgeship in Ḥamāh simultaneously (cf. Abū Shāmah, *Al-Rawḍatayn,* 2:158, and al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 571–80:105). On al-Qāsim cf. Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:79; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 591–600:407–8.

[39] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 621–30:63 and 115; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 18:164; Eddé, *Alep,* 382–83. On Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn as judge cf. Ibn Naẓīf, *Al-Manṣūrī,* 6 and 8.

[40] On the dates of Muḥyī al-Dīn's judgeship cf. Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 5:347, and idem, "Mufarrij," fol. 111r.

697/1298 respectively. Other members of the family focused on scholarship without attaining formal positions of importance, such as Muḥyī al-Dīn's wife Ṣafiyat (d. 646/1248), one of the grand female hadith scholars of her time; Muwaffaq al-Dīn Nabā/Muḥammad (d. 665/1267), a hadith scholar who was at least appointed repetitor *(muʿīd)* in Cairo; as well as ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad (d. 654/1256) and Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 688/1289), son and grandson of Ṣafiyat respectively.

The third relevant case—although he only briefly held office—is Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Raffāʾ (d. 617/1220), who originated from Kafarṭāb (some 40 km to the north of the town).[41] He moved on to take the judgeship of neighboring Bārīn (some 40 km southwest of the town). His son ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 662/1263)[42] was to become the *shaykh al-shuyūkh* of Ḥamāh and entered the networks of the Hamawian civilian elite by marrying his daughters to members of the influential al-Mughayzil family. However, it is significant that neither the indigenous al-Bahrānī family nor Ibn al-Raffāʾ were yet able to control the post more tightly. Both lost it to Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn, the outsider who was twice appointed to the post.

Tellingly, Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn's second office—the last of the cosmopolitan period—came to an end owing to his involvement in an event that had implications well beyond the confines of the town: the Ibn al-Mashṭūb revolt of 616–17/1219–20. ʿImād al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn al-Mashṭūb (d. 619/1225), a high-ranking Kurdish amir and son of the aforementioned madrasah founder Sayf al-Dīn Ibn al-Mashṭūb, had been exiled from Egypt after an attempted revolt against the sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil (r. 615–35/1218–38). He found refuge in Ḥamāh and subsequently entered the service of the strongman in northern Syria, al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsá (r. 607–17/1210–20 in Diyarbakr), whom he challenged soon after. Al-Malik al-Manṣūr I Muḥammad of Ḥamāh supported him financially and provided armed men. Furthermore, he authorised Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn, to whom Ibn al-Mashṭūb had promised an appointment as judge in the lands that were to be brought under his control, to resign and to participate in the endeavour.[43]

Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn was arrested after Ibn al-Mashṭūb's defeat and the entire correspondence with rulers of the region as well as copies of the oath of allegiance to be sworn by those allied with Ibn al-Mashṭūb were found in his possession. Nevertheless, in contrast to Ibn al-Mashṭūb, who perished in al-Ashraf's captivity, Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn was liberated owing to his family connections, which went well

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[41] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:273–74; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 611–20:317–18; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 4:26–28.

[42] Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar,* 3:215; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 661–70:101–4; Eddé, *Alep,* 428.

[43] The most detailed account of this revolt is in Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:28–31 and 70–77. For his biography cf. al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 611–20:442 (with further sources). On him cf. also Eddé, *Alep,* 92–93, 383.

beyond Ḥamāh. It was Fakhr al-Dīn ibn Shaykh al-Shuyūkh (d. 647/1250), the influential member of the Damascene Ḥamawayh family, which had intermarried with the Banū Abī ʿAṣrūn, who came as Egyptian envoy to al-Ashraf's court. He convinced al-Ashraf to release Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn, who returned to Ḥamāh without regaining a formal position of influence.[44]

The Shafiʿi Judgeship from 616/1219 to 764/1363: The Dominance of the Locals

With Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn's resignation in the early seventh/thirteenth century the second period in the recruitment pattern for the judgeship began. For some 150 years the judgeship was entirely monopolized by local scholars while cosmopolitan outsiders, be they from the neighboring large towns of Aleppo and Damascus or from Mosul, ceased to play an important role in Ḥamāh. In this period the urban renaissance began to bear fruit and a strong local civilian elite was able to gain complete control over the post. Particularly notable with regard to the judgeship were three of the town's grand families, the Banū Wāṣil, the Banū al-Bahrānī discussed above, and the Banū al-Bārizī.

The al-Bārizī family (cf. fig. 3)[45] was at the very core of the Hamawian civilian elite. It was able to monopolise the judgeship for some 120 years during the late seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries with only one interruption. The first notable individual of this family, Shams al-Dīn Ibrāhīm I (d. 669/1270),[46] specialised in jurisprudence, and taught and studied in various Syrian towns until he settled in his hometown. Here he taught, composed works, issued fatwas, and was finally appointed as the town's judge. He bequeathed this position upon his death to his deputy and son Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm I (d. 683/1284),[47] a multidisciplinary scholar. Najm al-Dīn was deposed after some ten years of holding office in favour of Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Wāṣil (see below), but this did not loosen the grip of the Banū al-Bārizī on the post. A member of the clan

[44] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:76–77.

[45] This family has been treated comprehensively by Martel-Thoumian, *Civils,* 249–66. The following remarks, centered on Ḥamāh, draw on the results of her study. The following individuals who are mentioned in figure 3 will not be discussed in the present section: Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad II (d. 776/1374–75) (mentioned in biography of his son Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad II: al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 9:137–38); Shams al-Dīn Ibrāhīm II (d. before 738/1337–38) (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 671–80:145; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah,* ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Jād al-Ḥaqq [Cairo, n.d., reprint of 1966–67 edition], 1:77 and 2:461–62); Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad II (d. 755/1354) (Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:188–89).

[46] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 571–80:324 and vol. 661–670:276; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 6:146. On the dates of his judgeship cf. Ibn Wāṣil, "Mufarrij," BN MS 1703, fol. 111r.

[47] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 681–90:149–52; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 18:317–20; al-Ḥasan ibn ʿUmar Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīh,* ed. Muḥammad Amīn and Saʿīd ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1976–86), 1:92–94. He is named "ʿAbd al-Raḥmān" in some sources.

was reappointed two years after Ibn Wāṣil's death and a short interlude by one of the Banū al-Bahrānī, Muwaffaq al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 699/1300).

This member was Sharaf al-Dīn Hibat Allāh I (d. 738/1338),[48] Najm al-Dīn's son, who was the most famous member of his family. He not only held the judgeship for forty years, but was also wealthy enough to dispense with the salary. Although he was offered the judgeship in Egypt, he preferred to stay within the confines of his hometown where he was embedded via his family into a tight network with members of the civilian elite. He passed the post on to his grandson and deputy Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm II (d. 764/1363),[49] whose death marked the end of the Banū al-Bārizī's grip on the judgeship. However, the influence of the family extended beyond the judgeship to other posts so that it was able to retain crucial influence in the town despite having lost control of the judgeship. Further civilian posts held by this family in Ḥamāh included the deputyship of the judge,[50] teaching positions,[51] and administrative positions (*kātib al-sirr*,[52] *wakīl bayt al-māl,*[53] and vizier[54]).

Members of the family were still appointed in the following decades to the judgeship. Now it was the second main line of al-Bārizīs in Ḥamāh—going back to Sharaf al-Dīn's brother Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad I (d. 698/1299)—that started to play a more prominent role.[55] However, the careers of Kamāl al-Dīn's descendants show that the al-Bārizīs had been transformed from a typical local family of Ḥamāh into one with a cosmopolitan outlook. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad II (d. 823/1420),[56] Kamāl al-Dīn's great-grandson, quickly abandoned the judgeship in

[48] Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar,* 4:124–27; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 27:290–91; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 5:174–76.

[49] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 2:461–62.

[50] Besides those who later became judge themselves, such as Najm al-Din ʿAbd al-Raḥīm I and Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm II, other members of the family remained deputies, such as Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar (mentioned in the biography of his grandson Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad III [d. 847/1443–44]: al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 10:69). Zayn al-Dīn deputized for his brother Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm II and for Fakhr al-Dīn ʿUthmān (d. 730/1330), who became judge in Aleppo and *khaṭīb* in Ḥamāh (Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar,* 4:100–1; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 661–70:274; idem, *Dhayl Tārīkh al-Islām wa-Wafayāt al-Mashāhīr wa-al-Aʿlām,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 2004), 275; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 19:466; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 3:50).

[51] Besides several judges of the family who obviously taught in addition to their juridical tasks, mention can be made of Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad I.

[52] Cf. Sharaf al-Dīn Hibat Allāh II (mentioned in the biography of his son Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad III: al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 10:69) and the aforementioned Sirāj al-Dīn ʿUmar.

[53] Cf. Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 733/1333) (Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 2:445–46).

[54] Cf. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad II.

[55] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 691–700:364–65; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 3:248.

[56] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr,* ed. Muḥammad al-Yaʿlāwī (Beirut, 1991), 7:71–72; Ibn

order to become secretary of the chancellery in Ḥamāh, judge in Aleppo, and finally secretary of the chancellery in Egypt. Here, his descendants attained positions in the Mamluk military and administrative elite.[57] His son Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad I (d. 822/1419),[58] who opted for a military career, rose to such high rank that the sultan al-Malik al-Muʾayyad (815–24/1412–21) attended his funeral. The other son, Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad III (d. 856/1452), succeeded his father in the post of *kātib al-sirr* in Egypt, which he held alternately with the same post in Damascus where he was also appointed chief judge for a while. He married into the sultan's family and the reigning sultan, al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq (842–57/1438–53), was present at his funeral.[59]

Back in Ḥamāh, Sharaf al-Dīn's great grandson Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad I (d. 812/1409–10)[60] reinstated the pivotal role of his family in the town's judgeship. Although the family was no longer able to monopolize the post, two more al-Bārizī judges in the ninth/fifteenth century, Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 875/1470)[61] and Sirāj al-Dīn ʿUmar (b. 844/1440),[62] are evidence of continuing influence. However, these appointments hint again at the transformation of the al-Bārizīs from a local to a cosmopolitan family. Appointments of family members in Ḥamāh now depended less on a local network than on the influence of the developing Egyptian al-Bārizī branch. For instance, it was Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad III who interceded with Sultan Jaqmaq in Egypt for the appointment of Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad to the judgeship of Ḥamāh.[63]

Another family, besides the Banū al-Bārizī and the Banū al-Bahrānī, that was of some importance for the judgeship was the Banū Wāṣil. This clan played a role in the civilian elite of Ḥamāh throughout the seventh/thirteenth century. Three members of the family were appointed judges: Sālim (d. 629/1232),[64] the

Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah,* ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm Khān (Hyderabad, 1978–79), 4:137–41; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* ed. Fahīm M. Shaltūt et al. (Cairo, 1963–72), 14:161; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 9:137–38. On his judgeship cf. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Al-Iʿlām bi-Tārīkh Ahl al-Islām,* ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1977–97), 1:504, 588, 613.

[57] Their integration into the Egyptian civilian and military elite is also evident in marriage patterns: such relations were established with the crucial civilian and military households. In the mid-ninth/fifteenth century the al-Bārizīs were one of the families with whom such alliances were regularly sought (cf. Martel-Thoumian, *Civils,* 258–60).

[58] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 14:159.

[59] Ibid., 16:13–18.

[60] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 8:236.

[61] Ibid., 10:24–25. Ṣadr al-Dīn taught also in the Madrasah al-Mukhliṣīyah that had been endowed by Mukhliṣ al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn Qarnāṣ (d. 648/1248).

[62] Ibid., 6:131.

[63] Ibid., 10:24–25.

[64] On the dates of Sālim's judgeship cf. Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:118.

historian Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad (deputized by his brother),[65] and Shihāb al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn Abī al-Dam,[66] who was linked to the Banū Wāṣil clan via Sālim's wife. Another son of Sālim was an intimate of the Hamawian ruler al-Malik al-Manṣūr II Muḥammad (d. 683/1284) and one of his nephews was physician at the Hamawian court. Jamāl al-Dīn's appointment shows that even during the period of local recruitment trans-regional networks were of benefit. The reasons for the deposition of his predecessor Najm al-Dīn al-Bārizī are not known, but one might assume that Jamāl al-Dīn's tight network within the military and civilian elite of late Ayyubid and early Mamluk society was instrumental in his appointment.[67] However, the influence of this family was in sum rather limited, as it was not able to monopolize specific posts and only rose to some prominence for two generations.

During the period of local recruitment to the judgeship in Ḥamāh some individuals who did not belong to the grand families of the town were appointed. These individuals were nevertheless part of the civilian networks of the town and had the local background that was typical of this period of recruitment. ʿImād al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim (d. 652/1254) held the judgeship twice but had to flee owing to the conflicts of his brother, Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Quṭub, with the town's ruler.[68] Shihāb al-Dīn had initially embarked on a civilian career, acting for example as Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī's repetitor *(muʿīd)* in the Madrasah al-Manṣūrīyah. However, he turned later to a military career and became an amir.[69] Although their family

[65] This brother was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 692/1293) (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 691–700:158).

[66] Ibn Naẓīf, *Al-Manṣūrī,* 39; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:174 and 5:346; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 641–50:112.

[67] On Ibn Wāṣil's network and the Banū Wāṣil in general cf. Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Arabic Historiography: Authors as Actors* (London, 2006), 18–28. The exact date of Ibn Wāṣil's appointment is curiously not identifiable as his nomination and Ibn al-Bārizī's deposition are not exactly dated. It is on al-Yūnīnī's statement (*Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān,* 4:218–23) that the latter was deposed "a few years" before his death, that my estimation "late 670s" is based.

[68] Ibn Naẓīf, *Al-Manṣūrī,* 39; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat,* 10:4581–82; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:87, 119, 173–74; idem, "Mufarrij," BN MS 1703, fols. 111v–112r; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 651–60:132 [ʿImād al-Dīn]; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 651–60:168–69 [Shihāb al-Dīn].

[69] This change from a civilian to a military career pattern was a consequence of Shihāb al-Dīn's close alliance with the younger son of Ḥamāh's ruler, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Qilij Arslan (r. 617–26/1221–29), who was to be installed on the throne against the explicit will of his father. Qilij Arslan granted Shihāb al-Dīn a considerable *iqṭāʿ,* so that he "took off the turban from his head, put on the *sharbūsh,* and wore the soldiers' garments. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir appointed him as governor of al-Maʿarrah [Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān]. He acted there just as the kings act in their lands." (Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:87–88) (The *sharbūsh* was the distinct headgear of the amirs; cf. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* [Leiden, 1881], 1:742.)

was of no great importance within the civilian elite,[70] their marriage connections secured them the necessary local backing. ʿImād al-Dīn's wife, for instance, was the daughter of a prominent member of the Banū Qarnāṣ, Mukhliṣ al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (d. 648/1248), discussed below.

ʿImād al-Dīn's predecessor, Ḥujjat al-Dīn Ibn Marājil (d. 617/1220),[71] also did not belong to one of the grand families. Nevertheless, his family, which was at least described as "a renowned household in Ḥamāh," had a somewhat prominent standing,[72] particularly due to its holding of administrative positions. Ḥujjat al-Dīn's nephew, ʿAfīf al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh, acted as envoy for the Ayyubid rulers of the town.[73] Isḥāq ibn ʿAlī Ibn Marājil (d. after 658/1260) was secretary of the chancellery under al-Malik al-Muẓaffar II Maḥmūd, before moving on to Cairo where he held the same position.[74] Members of the family also held administrative posts in other Syrian towns, such as Damascus and Aleppo.[75]

The dwindling grip of the indigenous elite on the Shafiʿi judgeship in the third period, that is from the death of Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm II in 764/1363 onwards, is evident in the much more varied background of those appointed to the post. Most importantly, judges tended to be recruited from cosmopolitan individuals who had, just like the judges in the first period of the judgeship, hardly any connections to the town. A case in point is Najm al-Dīn ʿUmar ibn al-Ḥijjī (d. 830/1427). During his career Najm al-Dīn was secretary of the chancellery in Egypt and judge in Damascus, Tripoli, and Ḥamāh without being linked to the local elite of the town.[76] This trend of cosmopolitan candidates

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[70] Their father was a rather minor jurisprudent. Although Ibn Wāṣil describes him as "eminent in scholarship and fatwas" (Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:87), biographical dictionaries refer to him only briefly (e.g., al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 611–20:98).

[71] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:118–19, who refers to him as "Ibn Marāḥil."

[72] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 6:359, in the biography of Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Marājil (d. 663/1264); cf. also al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 661–70:155.

[73] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:128 and 141.

[74] Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat,* 3:1489.

[75] ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn Marājil (d. 703/1304) was secretary (in Ḥamāh?) and held further unspecified administrative posts (al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 21:234–35; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 3:131). His father Shihāb al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm had been secretary in different functions in Aleppo and Damascus (al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 21:234–35). His son Taqī al-Dīn Sulaymān ibn ʿAlī (d. 764/1363) was employed in several *dīwāns*, held the trusteeship in the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, and moved on to Egypt to become vizier (Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 2:254–55; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 11:18).

[76] On him cf. al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 6:78; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt,* 4:122–27; Martel-Thoumian, *Civils,* 61, 88, 96, 452. On his judgeship in Ḥamāh: Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:23; 4:258, 269, and 311. The only traceable connections are marriage alliances that this family concluded with the Egyptian al-Bārizī branch (Martel-Thoumian, *Civils,* 367).

was accompanied by a significantly enhanced turnover. The average length for holding the judgeship now halved to under seven years, compared with more than thirteen years in the preceding period of local dominance. There were still some local scholars appointed to the post, such as Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ḥamawī (d. 776/1374–75).[77] However, the example of the Bārizī family—which could retain some influence over the judgeship only because it became a cosmopolitan family—shows that the period of the local scholars had definitely come to an end by the mid-eighth/fourteenth century.[78]

THE NON-SHAFIʿI JUDGESHIPS, *KHAṬĪB*S, AND OTHER POSTS

The case of the Shafiʿi judgeship exemplifies the rise of the local civilian elite during the Ayyubid period and its continuing influence well into the Mamluk Sultanate until it lost its monopoly to candidates with a more cosmopolitan background. A consideration of appointments to other judgeships presents nevertheless a more complex picture. The Hanafi judgeship was established in Ḥamāh during the rule of the Mamluk sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars (r. 658–76/1260–77). In the 660s/1260s Baybars introduced the ruling according to which—at least theoretically—each *madhhab* was to be represented by a judge in the empire's major centers. With regard to the judgeships for the other two *madhhab*s, Ḥamāh followed the normal course of affairs in provincial Syrian towns that only introduced them hesitantly:[79] both the first Maliki judge and the first Hanbali judge in Ḥamāh would be appointed only about a century after Baybars' decree.

THE HANAFI, MALIKI, AND HANBALI JUDGESHIPS

The Hanafi judgeship (cf. fig. 4) was monopolized after its introduction[80] for

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[77] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá al-Ziyādah et al. (Cairo, 1934–75), 3:1:243; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:190.

[78] Sources for those judges in figure 1 who are not discussed in the present section are as follows: no. 19: Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:244; no. 20: Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:216, Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 3:417–18 (d. 764/1363 [*sic*]); no. 21: Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:473 and 504; no. 23: Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:613 and 4:258; no. 26: Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt,* 4:141–42; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 10:129–31; no. 27: al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 10:129–31 (biography of no. 26); no. 28: al-Nuʿaymī, *Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris* (Beirut, 1990), 1:249 (al-Madrasah al-Ṣārimīyah); no. 29: al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 10:24–25 (biography of no. 30).

[79] Cf. Huda Lutfi, *Al-Quds al-Mamlûkiyya: A History of Mamlûk Jerusalem Based on the Ḥaram Documents* (Berlin, 1985), 192, for the case of Jerusalem where even the Hanafi judgeship was introduced only in 784/1382. Al-Qalqashandī describes for his time the status quo that had developed in the preceding periods: in Ḥamāh judges for each *madhhab,* in addition to a Hanafi *qāḍī ʿaskar,* were nominated (al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ* [Cairo, 1913–19], 4:238).

[80] Halm, *Ausbreitung,* 227, mentions Najm al-Dīn al-Khalīl ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥanafī (d. 641/1243) as an

some eighty years by the Banū al-ʿAdīm. The Hamawian Banū al-ʿAdīm branch retained its close links to Aleppo, where the Banū al-ʿAdīm were one of the most influential families within the civilian elite. For example, the deputy of the Hanafi judge Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh[81] was sent to Ḥamāh from Aleppo by order of the Aleppan Hanafi judge, Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar Ibn al-ʿAdīm (fl. 738/1337–38).[82] However, the period of the Banū al-ʿAdīm in the Hamawian office had, parallel to the development of the Shafiʿi judgeship, a distinctive local character. The first Hanafi judge in Ḥamāh, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 694/1295), not only settled in the town but became part of the local elite. He was buried in his *turbah* in the cemetery in ʿAqabah Naqīrīn, a village close to Ḥamāh where other Hamawian notables such as the Shafiʿi judge Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Wāṣil had their *turbahs* built.[83] Furthermore, he was able to establish a kind of indigenous Hamawian line of succession as his son and grandson, Najm al-Dīn ʿUmar (d. 734/1333)[84] and Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh, held the post too. ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn al-ʿAdīm (d. 711/1311), the second Hanafi judge of the town, was appointed as an outsider, but remained in the office for some forty years and died in Ḥamāh.[85] The local tradition established by the Banū al-ʿAdīm was continued by Taqī al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ibn al-Ḥakīm (d. 760/1359),[86] who belonged to a Hamawian family that had a *zāwiyah* in the town and a *muḥtasib* among its members.[87] With Taqī al-Dīn's death in 760/1359 this local tradition came to an

earlier judge, but I was not able to find evidence for a judgeship for this individual in Ḥamāh. Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān fī Tārīkh al-Aʿyān* (Hyderabad, 1951–52), 8:2:743; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat,* 7:3379–80; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 641–50:76; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 13:397; al-Qurashī, *Al-Jawāhir al-Muḍīyah fī Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyah* (Hyderabad, n.d.), vol. 1, no. 596; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 3:769; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 6:348.

[81] Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar,* 4:123, 136.

[82] The deputy was Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Muhājir (d. 739/1338–39). On him cf. Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar,* 4:129; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 7:136–38; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:194–95. His son Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 794/1391–92) turned Shafiʿi and became judge in Ḥamāh for a period not further defined (Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 3:417–18).

[83] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 691–700:227–28; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 4:263; al-Qurashī, *Al-Jawāhir,* vol. 2, no. 300; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirah,* 1:181; Eddé, *Alep,* 366f.

[84] Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar,* 4:110; al-Qurashī, *Al-Jawāhir,* vol. 1, no. 1098; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 3:265–66; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 9:302.

[85] Al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Tārīkh al-Islām,* 111; al-Qurashī, *Al-Jawāhir,* vol. 1, no. 857; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 2:492.

[86] His *shuhrah* is sometimes given as "Ibn al-Ḥakam." Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar,* 4:123, 136; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 5:105; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 10:332.

[87] For the *zāwiyah* cf. the entry on Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥakīm (d. 678/1279) in al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 671–80:305, and al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 17:583. The *muḥtasib* was Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn al-Ḥakīm (d. 711/1311–12), cf. al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Tārīkh al-Islām,* 114, and Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 3:15.

end. For instance, Amīn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Aḥmad (d. 768/1367), one of the subsequent judges, had no background in the town.[88] Thus, the role of the local background in appointments to the Hanafi judgeship started to disappear, similar to the Shafiʿi case, in the second half of the eighth/fourteenth century.

In this same period both the Maliki and the Hanbali judgeships were introduced. It is striking that in both cases local scholars from the outset played hardly any role, but that individuals with a cosmopolitan background dominated the list of post holders. The first Maliki judge in Ḥamāh (cf. fig. 5), Sharaf al-Dīn Ismāʿīl al-Gharnāṭī (d. 771/1369),[89] originated—as was typical for this *madhhab*—from the western Islamic lands. This predominance of post holders originating from the Maghrib or al-Andalus remained unchanged in the following decades: among them were Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Maghribī (d. 795/1392),[90] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Maghribī (d. 840/1437),[91] and, indirectly, Sharaf al-Dīn's son Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 828/1424).[92] Equally important was Damascus, with which the Maliki community of Ḥamāh entertained close links, as illustrated by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Dimashqī (d. 796/1394)[93] and ʿAlam al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn (d. 805/1402).[94] The latter was deposed and reappointed some ten times as judge in Damascus and filled some of the resulting intervals with appointments to the judgeship of Ḥamāh.

The same is valid for the Hanbali judgeship, which was introduced roughly in the same period as the Maliki post. Its first holder, Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mardāwī (d. 787/1385–86),[95] was born in Mardā, a village close to Nablus which produced a number of Hanbali scholars active in Syria and Egypt.[96] He moved first to Damascus and then to Ḥamāh, where he was appointed to the judgeship and

[88] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 3:37; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 11:92. A similar case of an outsider in the Hanafi judgeship is Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn ʿArab Shāh (d. 854/1450), who held a number of offices in Persia, Anatolia, Syria, and Egypt (J. Pedersen, "Ibn ʿArabshāh," *EI²* [CD-ROM]; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 15:549). Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad (d. 868/1463) descended from a Hamawian trader family and took for a while the Hanafi judgeship of the town, but moved on to Cairo where he was also appointed to the judgeship (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 16:326).

[89] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:406–7; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:368.

[90] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Anbāʾ al-ʿUmr*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān (Hyderabad, 1967–75), 3:186.

[91] Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ,* 8:447; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 10:26–27.

[92] Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ,* 8:91–92; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 7:142.

[93] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:359; idem, *Inbāʾ,* 3:224; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:527–28.

[94] Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ,* 5:122–23; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:516, 4:334.

[95] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:179.

[96] In Damascus the Mardāwīyūn cemetery was favored by the Hanafi milieu of the town (Pouzet, *Damas,* 235).

taught.[97] He was followed by his brother Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh,[98] and among the post holders of the following decades, such as ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī Ibn al-Maghlī (d. 828/1424–25),[99] Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn al-Rassām (d. 844/1441),[100] Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-ʿAbbāsī (d. 869/1464),[101] his grandson Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Qādir,[102] and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Kāzarūnī (d. 895/1489–90),[103] rarely can any specific link to Ḥamāh be detected.

This salience of outsiders in the case of the Maliki and the Hanbali judgeships cannot be directly linked to the shift from local to cosmopolitan post holders that was evident in the Shafiʿi case and to some degree also in the Hanafi case. Certainly, the introduction of the two former judgeships coincided with the period when the local elite also lost control over the Shafiʿi and the Hanafi judgeships to the benefit of individuals with a cosmopolitan background. However, the weak role of local families in appointments to the Maliki and the Hanbali judgeships can to a large degree be explained, as was the case in other towns,[104] by the quantitative weakness of these *madhhab*s in Ḥamāh. Arguably a similar quantitative weakness also explains the "importation" of the Hanafi Banū al-ʿAdīm judges from Aleppo. These *madhhab*s' weaknesses are apparent in the source material. The biographical dictionary by al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām,* for instance, shows hardly any entries for Hanafi, Maliki, and Hanbali scholars linked to Ḥamāh until the end of the seventh/thirteenth century. Similarly, *madhhab*-focused works, such as al-Qurashī's (d. 775/1373) biographical dictionary of Hanafi scholars *Al-Jawāhir al-Muḍīyah* and Ibn Rajab's (d. 795/1392) biographical dictionary of Hanbali scholars *Al-Dhayl ʿalá Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,*[105] are rather silent on Ḥamāh.

Similarly, no Maliki or Hanbali madrasah is mentioned with regard to Ḥamāh, while the Hanafis were represented by two madrasahs, one founded by Nūr al-Dīn and the Madrasah al-Ṭawāshīyah. However, the teaching staff in Nūr al-Dīn's madrasah was to a large extent comprised of scholars from outside the town. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Abyaḍ (d. 614/1217), for example, descended—

[97] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:179.

[98] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:140.

[99] Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ,* 8:86–88; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 4:262; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 15:126–28; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 6:34–36.

[100] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 4:262; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 1:249.

[101] Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Cairo, 1931–33), 7:309.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Ibid., 357.

[104] Cf. Petry, *Civilian Elite,* 315, for the example of Cairo, where many judges of the three "minority" *madhhab*s (Hanafi, Maliki, and Hanbali), possibly most of them, were outsiders to the town.

[105] Ibn Rajab, *Al-Dhayl ʿalá Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-ʿUthaymīn (Riyadh, 2005).

just like the Banū al-ʿAdīm—from an Aleppan Hanafi family. He had left Aleppo owing to conflicts with the central figure of the town's *madhhab,* Iftikhār al-Dīn al-Hāshimī, and taught in Ḥamāh in 609/1212–13 but then returned to his teaching post in Aleppo.[106] Another teacher in this school was ʿAlam al-Dīn Qayṣar (d. 649/1251),[107] who had to leave Egypt owing to misconduct in his administrative post.[108] The relatively weak stature of the *madhhab* in the town certainly contributed to al-Malik al-Muẓaffar II Maḥmūd's (r. 626–42/1229–44) decision to have this madrasah destroyed in 630/1232–33 during fortification works.[109]

*KHAṬĪB*S AND OTHER POSTS: THE RISE OF THE BANŪ AL-MUGHAYZIL

Turning to those positions that are less well-documented in the sources, i.e., *khaṭīb*ships and other civilian posts, a development similar to that illustrated above for the Shafiʿi and the Hanafi judgeships emerges: from the mid-sixth/late twelfth century onwards the number of post holders rose distinctively; these post holders were generally Shafiʿis and the majority belonged to the indigenous civilian elite. The *khaṭīb*ship especially, throughout the various locations (see fig. 6 with sources), was dominated by members of grand Hamawian families. Among these were names of families introduced previously such as the Banū al-Bahrānī and the Banū al-Bārizī.

Another name emerging from the list are the Banū al-Mughayzil (cf. fig. 7), a "grand household"[110] of the town whose members reappear frequently as *khaṭīb*s, especially in the central mosque of the upper town, the Great or Upper Mosque (*al-jāmiʿ al-kabīr/al-aʿlá*). The origins of this family are not clear, as they did not attract the interest of the authors of contemporary chronicles or biographical dictionaries. However, it is obvious that it was—or had recently become—an indigenous Hamawian family by the mid-seventh/thirteenth century. Family members rarely rose to prominence in other Syrian towns and focused their career patterns typically on Ḥamāh. The family's head, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr Allāh, was seemingly the *muḥtasib* of the town, although he is only mentioned in the biographies of his sons.[111] His sons started to rise to prominence in the late Ayyubid and early Mamluk period and Badr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf[112] (d. 690/1291),

[106] On him cf. al-Mundhirī, *Al-Takmilah li-Wafayāt al-Naqalah,* ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf, 4th ed. (Beirut, 1988), 2:408–9; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 7:495–96; Eddé, *Alep,* 369.

[107] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 5:343.

[108] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 641–50:429–30.

[109] Ibn Naẓīf, *Al-Manṣūrī,* 80.

[110] Al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Tārīkh al-Islām,* 229.

[111] Cf. the entry on his son ʿAbd al-Ghuffār in al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 19:27.

[112] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 681–90:418–19; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 19:117; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirah,* 1:148.

for instance, was nominated *khaṭīb* in the Upper Mosque. His two sons Muʿīn al-Dīn Abū Bakr[113] (d. 724/1324) and Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ṣamad[114] (d. 725/1325) followed respectively. Further *khaṭībs* emanating from this family are Badr al-Dīn's grandson Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf[115] (d. 719/1319), who was attached to a place that is not specified, and his nephew Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 699/1299)[116] in the Lower Mosque (*al-jāmiʿ al-asfal*), the central mosque of the lower town. Together with Badr al-Dīn's three brothers, the family was able to fill religious posts and offices in different branches of the town's civil administration to an impressive extent.

Tāj al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 687/1288),[117] the eldest of the four brothers, became the town's *shaykh al-shuyūkh*, i.e., the head of the mystical milieu of the town who represented its interests vis-à-vis the political elite. In general the *shaykh al-shuyūkh* was chosen from the grand families of a town (in Aleppo, for instance, the Banū al-ʿAjamī and in Damascus the Banū Ḥamawayh)[118] because his influence transcended the mystical milieu considerably. Tāj al-Dīn was able to pass the post on to his sons, which reflected also the active marriage policy of the al-Mughayzil family: his son Nāṣir al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm[119] (d. 707/1307) had been married to a daughter of Tāj al-Dīn's predecessor in this post, Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Anṣārī (d. 662/1263),[120] the son of Ibn al-Raffāʾ, the town's previous Shafiʿi judge, who is mentioned above.

Two other brothers of Badr al-Dīn chose careers in the town's civil administration. Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ghuffār[121] (d. 688/1289–90) became *kātib al-darj*, working for both al-Malik al-Manṣūr II Muḥammad and his son al-Malik al-Muẓaffar III Maḥmūd (d. 698/1299), and acquired sufficient wealth to set up

[113] Al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Tārīkh al-Islām,* 229; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:478.

[114] Al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Tārīkh al-Islām,* 229; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 2:477.

[115] Al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Tārīkh al-Islām,* 167; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 29:339; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 5:245: born 668.

[116] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* 691–700:407 and 440; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 8:124 ("Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad").

[117] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 681–90:290–91; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirah,* 1:119.

[118] For Aleppo cf. Eddé, *Alep,* 427–28, and for Damascus cf. Pouzet, *Damas*, 213–14.

[119] Ibn al-Mughayzil, *Dhayl Mufarrij al-Kurūb,* editor's introduction, 20.

[120] Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar,* 3:215; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 661–70:101-4; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 18:546–56. The political role of the *shaykh al-shuyūkh* in Ḥamāh is clearly reflected in his involvement in local and regional affairs: Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:273–74, 293, 303; 5:30, 69, 84, 94, 124, 307, 345, 383) as well as idem, "Mufarrij," BN MS 1703, fols. 98v, 102r, 157r.

[121] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 681–90:333; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 19:27; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirah,* 1:124–25.

several endowments. Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Karīm[122] (d. 697/1297) was appointed assistant to the treasurer (*wakīl bayt al-māl*). The administrative role of the family was continued by two individuals mentioned above: Badr al-Dīn's son Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, who was the vizier of the town and Nāṣir al-Dīn's son Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Muẓaffarī (d. 701/1301),[123] the author of the supplement to Ibn Wāṣil's *Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb*, who was appointed as *kātib al-dīwān* in 682/1283–4. After the early eighth/fourteenth century no member of the Banū al-Mughayzil held any further positions of importance in Ḥamāh and this local family ceased to play a prominent role.

Local Elite Families beyond Formal Positions

Not all the grand families that emerged in Ḥamāh during the late sixth/twelfth century and flourished from the early seventh/thirteenth century onwards necessarily occupied civilian posts in great number. However, the rise of these families was also a consequence of the urban renaissance that provided a framework for alternative ways to acquire a standing in the town. These alternatives were based on the usage of cultural and/or economic capital. In comparison to the families discussed hitherto, social capital in the sense of activating the networks of the town's civilian elite in order to acquire posts played only a secondary role.[124] A typical example of this are the Shafiʿi Banū Qarnāṣ (cf. fig. 8 with sources), a "renowned family,"[125] which possessed its *zāwiyah*[126] and whose members are called "grandee"[127] or "notable"[128] of the town. A number of them were renowned scholars, especially in the field of hadith, who never took any formal positions, such as Ṣafī al-Dīn Aḥmad (b. 510/1117), Muḥammad ibn Hibat Allāh (d. 637/1239), Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 654/1256–57), Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 662/1264), Muwaffaq al-Dīn Muḥammad (fl. 678/1279–80), and Shihāb al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (d. 700/1300–1). Only a few members held religious/civilian posts, such as Mukhliṣ al-Dīn Ismāʿīl (d. 659/1261), a teacher

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122 Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 691–700:331–32; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirah,* 1:208–9.

123 For details on his career cf. his *Dhayl Mufarrij al-Kurūb,* passim. Fig. 7 includes also Sayf al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (d. 690/1291), who died at a young age (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 681–90:427).

124 On these different forms of capital cf. Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook for Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education,* ed. J. G. Richardson (New York, 1986), 241–58.

125 Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 651–60:171; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 9:182.

126 Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 671–80:385.

127 Ibid., vol. 631–40:348–49 on Muḥammad ibn Hibat Allāh (d. 637/1239): "*kabīr baladihi.*"

128 Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 671–80:133 on Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī ʿAlī (d. 673/1274): "*min aʿyān baladihi.*"

both in the "Jāmiʿ Ḥamāh" and the Madrasah al-Mukhliṣīyah, and Fatḥ al-Dīn (d. 730/1329–30), who held the trusteeship *(naẓr)* in the central mosque of Ḥamāh.

The main exception to the family's focus on scholarly activities was Mukhliṣ al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (d. 648/1248), the founder of the Madrasah al-Mukhliṣīyah. He later played an active political role in Homs, which started in a somewhat unfortunate manner as he was imprisoned by the town's ruler al-Malik al-Mujāhid Asad al-Dīn (r. 581–637/1186–1240). The imprisonment of both him and other members of the Banū Qarnāṣ was a consequence of the aborted ruse by Sayf al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Hadhabānī, the strongman of Ḥamāh under al-Malik al-Muẓaffar II Maḥmūd. Al-Hadhabānī undertook with a number of Hamawian notables a feigned flight from Ḥamāh to Homs on the pretence of seeking the support of Asad al-Dīn. Asad al-Dīn saw through the stratagem and imprisoned al-Hadhabānī and his companions on the spot.[129] Nevertheless, Mukhliṣ al-Dīn was more fortunate than al-Hadhabānī and a number of notables who perished in captivity. Released by Asad al-Dīn's successor, al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm (r. 637–44/1240–46), he made a career in the town's administration. He became vizier and de facto regent of al-Manṣūr's son, al-Malik al-Ashraf Mūsá (r. 644–62/1246–63).[130]

The Banū Qarnāṣ did not base their role within the civilian elite exclusively on intensive scholarly activities, i.e., the activation of cultural capital, and occasional political involvement. Rather, they are a typical example of the families who also profited from the economic development of the town from the late sixth/twelfth century onwards. Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 673/1274), for instance, was only described as a "notable of his town" because he had an outstanding fortune at his disposal.[131] Owing to this wealth of the family, Zayn al-Dīn Ismāʿīl (d. between 635/1238 and 642/1244), one of the town's grand estate owners, played a central role in the conflict between the town's landed elite and its ruler al-Malik al-Nāṣir Qilij Arslān. When the latter came to power in 617/1221 he obliged the inhabitants of Ḥamāh to buy overpriced wheat. Zayn al-Dīn refused and fled to Egypt and al-Nāṣir had his house destroyed and his estates confiscated. Seemingly his family had, owing to weak integration into the town's administration, insufficient standing to settle the affair through local mechanisms of conflict resolution. Zayn al-Dīn was only able to recover his estates when al-Malik al-Kāmil of Egypt enthroned his candidate in the town, al-Nāṣir's brother al-Malik al-Muẓaffar II Maḥmūd. However, after al-Kāmil's death in 635/1238 Zayn al-Dīn

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[129] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 5:222–27.

[130] Ibid., 5:371–72. On his regency cf. Konrad Hirschler, "'He is a child and this land is a borderland of Islam': Under-Age Rule and the Quest for Political Stability in the Ayyūbid Period," *Al-Masāq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean* 19 (2007): 29–46.

[131] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 671–80:133.

was imprisoned, where he died.[132]

A second example of a grand family of the town that did not hold civilian posts in considerable number is the Banū Rawāḥah (cf. fig. 9),[133] who gained in strength starting in the mid-sixth/twelfth century. This family originated from Ḥamāh, but its members appear in a number of different Syrian and Egyptian towns. They display a focus on scholarship mixed with some commercial activities and involvement in administrative posts comparable to the profile of the Banū Qarnāṣ. The family started to rise to prominence with ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Rawāḥah (d. 561/1165), the renowned *khaṭīb* of Ḥamāh.[134] His son Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn (d. 585/1189–90) left the town for Damascus and Egypt where he studied hadith, was imprisoned for an extended period in Sicily, and finally died a martyr below the walls of Frankish Acre.[135] Jamāl al-Dīn's sons, ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh (d. 646/1248)[136] and Nafīs al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 642/1245),[137] both dwelled in Ḥamāh and were hadith scholars who were renowned well beyond the confines of their hometown. Nafīs al-Dīn's daughter Fāṭimah (d. 716/1316–17), who played a crucial role among the town's hadith scholars, subsequently continued this tradition of hadith scholarship.[138] Jamāl al-Dīn's brother Muḥammad (d. 631/1233)[139] and their nephew Zakī al-Dīn Hibat Allāh (d. 622/1225) exemplify the trading activities of the family.[140] Both seem to have left Ḥamāh and were active in Aleppo and Damascus where Zakī al-Dīn endowed madrasahs.[141] Mainly remembered for holding civil posts are Nūr al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 712/1312), *kātib al-inshāʾ* in Tripoli, who only returned to Ḥamāh shortly before his death,[142] and Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 722/1322–3), secretary in the Upper Egyptian

[132] Ibn Naẓīf, *Al-Manṣūrī,* 49; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat,* 4:1609–12.

[133] Not mentioned in this section on the family is Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 729/1329 in Cairo) (al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 6:523).

[134] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 561–70:79; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 17:142–44; Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān,* 8:1:263; Ibn ʿAsākir, *Tārīkh Madīnat Dimashq* (Damascus edition), 33:185.

[135] Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ: Irshād al-Arīb ilá Maʿrifat al-Adīb,* ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1993), 3:1087–90; al-Mundhirī, *al-Takmilah,* 1:116; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 2:300–2; al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 581–90:214–15; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 12:413–14; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 3:517–20.

[136] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 641–50:314–15; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 17:144–45; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 4:392; Eddé, *Alep,* 384.

[137] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 641–50:137; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 5:584.

[138] Al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Tārīkh al-Islām,* 145.

[139] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 631–40:77.

[140] Ibid., vol. 621–30:138–39.

[141] Cf. al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris,* 1:199–207 for the Madrasah al-Rawāḥīyah in Damascus.

[142] Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 6:56–57; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:176.

town of Asyūṭ.[143]

From the sixth/twelfth century onwards, the Banū Qarnāṣ and especially the Banū Rawāḥah rose beyond the confines of the town to a considerably larger extent than the families discussed above. Focusing on scholarly and trading activities they had to seek contacts in the Egyptian and Syrian lands. A middle-sized town such as Ḥamāh did not offer the family members sufficient opportunity to pursue their careers. As these families did not seek civilian posts—or were not able to attain them—they chose the more promising cosmopolitan outlook. Nevertheless, they were firmly grounded in the town that offered, owing to its cultural and economic development, ample resources from which they could draw. In this sense they complete the picture of the town's local elite during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods.

Conclusion

Two principal points emerge from the analysis of the Hamawian civilian elite in comparison with the development of the civilian elite in other towns during the period: the importance of the household in structuring the civilian elite and the ability of the Hamawian families to close their social universe to outsiders until the mid-eighth/fourteenth century.

Starting with Lapidus, the household has been increasingly defined as the basic unit for exercising power during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods.[144] Chamberlain in particular has stressed the household's role in the post-Saljuq states, which were characterized by a low number of state agencies and autonomous corporate or religious bodies in both rural regions and urban centers.[145] Military and civilian households alike took charge of most of the administrative functions that were still hardly specialized and often applied on an ad-hoc basis. The Hamawian civilian elite discussed in this article was, similar to that in the region's large cities, structured according to such households. Only those functions that were at the very core of political power, such as the vizierate, were generally beyond the reach of these households.[146] The Hamawian families tended to some kind of

[143] Al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Tārīkh al-Islām,* 201–2; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 18:145–46.

[144] Ira Marvin Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1967).

[145] Chamberlain, *Knowledge,* and idem, "The Crusader Era and the Ayyūbid Dynasty," in *Cambridge History of Egypt,* 211–41.

[146] Viziers in Ḥamāh who were not attached to the grand families of the town include for example: Shihāb al-Dīn Asʿad ibn Yaḥyá (d. 614/1217) (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 621–30:101–2 and 183–84; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 9:32–34); ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad (d. 674/1275) (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 671–80:164); Abū al-Ḥasan al-Ḥalabī, vizier under al-Malik al-Manṣūr II Muḥammad (d. 683/1284) (al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān,* 3:147–48); Ṣafī al-Dīn Naṣr Allāh ibn Muḥammad (d. 683/1284) (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 681–90:173 and al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt*

division of labor: the judgeship was largely the domain of the Banū al-Bahrānī, Wāṣil, and al-Bārizī; the Banū al-Mughayzil played a salient role in the *khaṭīb*ship; administrative posts that went to the grand families were dominated by the Banū al-Mughayzil and al-Bārizī; and finally the Banū Qarnāṣ and Rawāḥah were main actors in the transmission of knowledge.

It is not evident how these families put this division of labor into practice or, in other words, in which ways or by what means they conducted the struggle over posts and influence. The only indicators available to us are appointments to the judgeship. It has been shown above that the turnover in the post was relatively low during the period of the local elite. Also of relevance is whether new judges were appointed upon the death of the previous post holder or whether their predecessor was deposed. Between 617/1220 and 764/1363, i.e., the period of the local elite, the large majority of judges died in office and deposition was a rather rare occurrence. These two characteristics of appointments to the judgeship indicate that, compared with a town such as Damascus, the division of labor among the grand households secured a larger degree of social stability within the civilian elite.[147] Thus, we encounter in Ḥamāh the household as the typical basic unit of social organization, but the tight networks of this middle-sized town seem to have prevented social strife to a considerable extent.

The second point emerging from the comparison of Ḥamāh with other cities was the ability of the Hamawian families to close their social universe to outsiders during the period of the local elite. Studies of Cairo and Damascus have shown that scholars from outside the respective town played a considerable role within the civilian elites.[148] Yet in Ḥamāh cosmopolitans ceased to take a prominent position within the social fabric during the hegemony of the town's households in the local period. One explanation for the salience of local scholars is that a post in such a minor town was simply not prestigious enough for cosmopolitan scholars, especially those of greater standing. The case of the aforementioned judge Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Anṣārī, who later moved on to Egypt, shows that the judgeship of Ḥamāh was not necessarily perceived as the climax of one's

al-Zamān, 4:238); Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad (d. 696/1297) (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 691–700:310–11).

[147] On the *fitnah* among the civilian households in Damascus cf. Chamberlain, *Knowledge.* In Ḥamāh in the above-mentioned period Shafiʿi judges died in office on eight occasions (nos. 7a, 9a, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, and 17 in fig. 1) and were deposed on three occasions (nos. 9, 11, and 13 in fig. 1).

[148] Joan E. Gilbert, "The ʿUlamaʾ of Medieval Damascus and the International World of Islamic Scholarship" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1977), 40–42, estimates that about 50% of the senior religious scholars up to 1260 were outsiders. Petry, *Civilian Elite,* 313, shows for the case of Cairo that especially the jurist scholars were recruited from a wide variety of regional backgrounds.

career. His successor al-Qāsim Ibn al-Shahrazūrī was even criticized for "lack of ambition" for taking up a post in such a minor town.[149] Like the renowned Damascene scholar Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām (d. 660/1262), who refused the invitation of al-Malik al-Nāṣir (d. 656/1258) of al-Karak to join him at his court somewhat indignantly with the words "Your lands are too small for my knowledge" and moved on to Egypt,[150] many scholars from inside and outside the town preferred not to continue their careers in the province.[151] Whenever scholars of greater standing came to reside in the town for a longer period, they were mostly scholars of the rational sciences. These scholars found a particularly receptive climate for pursuing their careers in the town during the seventh/thirteenth century.[152]

However, while the comparatively low reputation of Ḥamāh might have facilitated the control of the town's posts by the local elite, this did not entirely exclude outside scholars, who played a role before and after this local period. In order to understand the local elite's capacity to dominate the distribution of the town's positions a further characteristic of Ḥamāh is of relevance: its prolonged status as a semi-autonomous principality, first within the Ayyubid family confederation and subsequently within the Mamluk Empire. The local elite flourished some decades after the town's first Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Muẓaffar I ʿUmar came to power in 574/1178. The economic ascent of the region, which was a prerequisite for the development of the local elite, took a decisively local turn with the consolidation of the town's autonomy. It was the following period of some 150 years of nearly uninterrupted autonomy that offered the local elite the political framework necessary for its development. The end of this local period followed the political development again with some delay: after the absorption of the Hamawian principality within the Mamluk Empire in the 730s/1330s, it took further decades until the dominance of the local elite on the town's posts was weakened. The local families either changed their profile to a cosmopolitan

[149] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 591–600:408.

[150] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah al-Kubrá,* ed. Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī and ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Ḥilw (Cairo, 1964–76), 8:210.

[151] A typical example of this is Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-ʿĀmirī al-Ḥamawī (d. 680/1281) who excelled in his hometown at the age of 18 years, was appointed professor in the Ashrafīyah in Damascus, and finally as chief judge in Cairo (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 671–80:365–67; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 3:18–19).

[152] On rational scholars in Ḥamāh (and al-Karak) cf. Hirschler, *Historiography*, 59–60. Typical examples of such scholars are ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Andalusī (d. 637/1239–40), an Andalusian scholar of rational sciences who, although criticized for his beliefs, stayed in Ḥamāh with the Banū al-Bārizī (al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 631–40:336–37; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 6:317) and the above-mentioned Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī, the first teacher in the Madrasah al-Manṣūrīyah. Al-Āmidī was a theologian with a brilliant reputation in the rational sciences who had to flee Egypt due to accusations of heresy (Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:78 and 80).

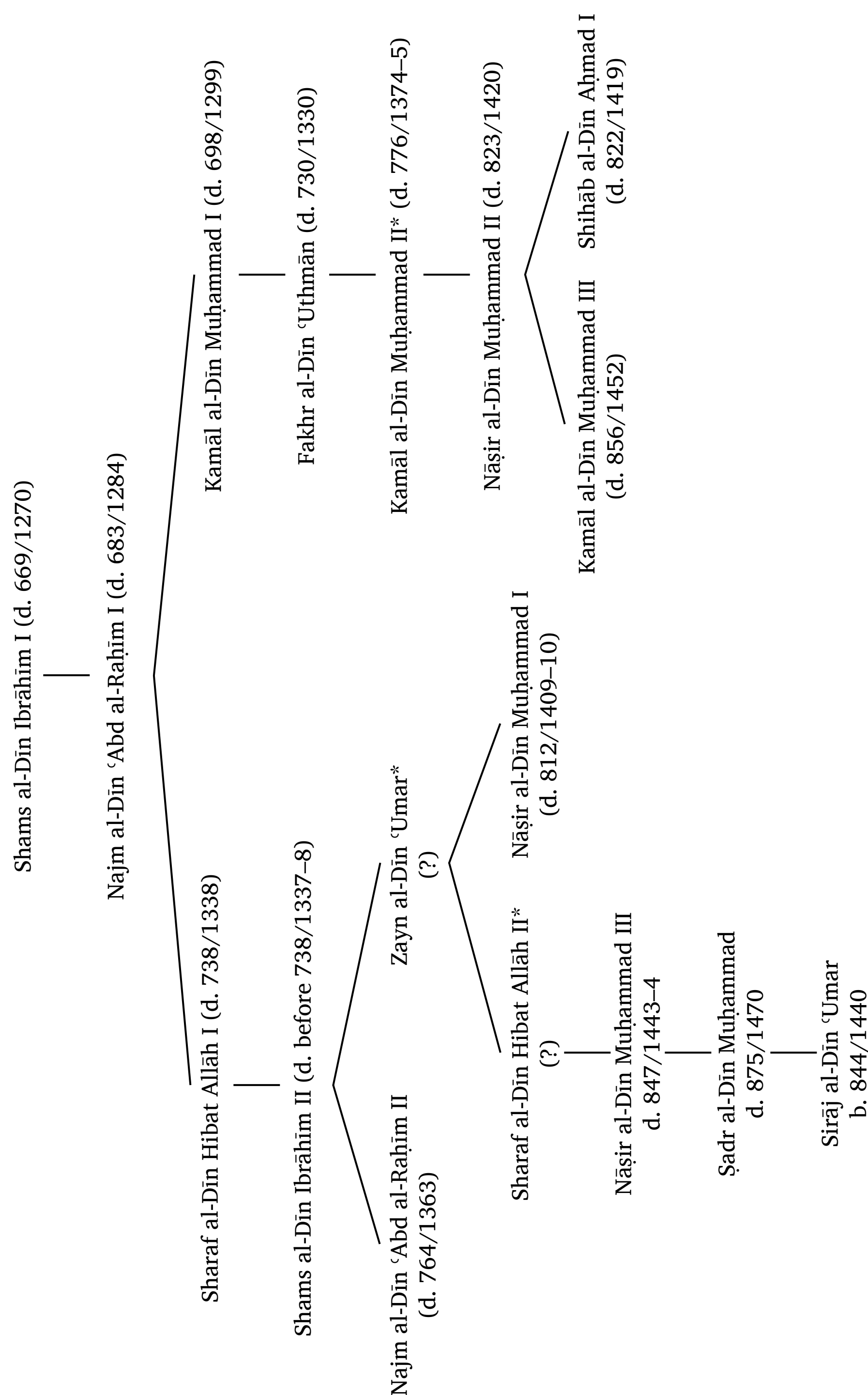
outlook during this gradual weakening of their position or they disappeared from the social fabric of the town, which came to be dominated by the trans-regional Mamluk civilian elite.

1	559–67	Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Anṣārī
2	550s/60s	Ibn al-Shahrazūrī, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Qāsim (1)
3	571–?	Ibn al-Bahrānī, Aḥmad ibn Mudrak
4	?–587	Ibn al-Bahrānī, Amīn al-Dawlah/Dīn al-Ḥusayn
5	?–598	Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn, Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (1)
2a	599	Ibn al-Shahrazūrī, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Qāsim (2)
6	599–ca. 600	Ibn al-Raffāʾ, Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad
5a	ca. 600–16	Ibn Abī ʿAṣrūn, Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (2)
7	616	Ibn Marājil Ḥujjat al-Dīn (1)
8	616	Ibn Wāṣil, Sālim
7a	616–17	Ibn Marājil Ḥujjat al-Dīn (2)
9	617–22	ʿImād al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim (1)
10	622–42	Ibn Abī al-Dam, Shihāb al-Dīn Ibrāhīm
11	642–52	Ibn al-Bahrānī, Muḥyī al-Dīn Ḥamzah
9a	652	ʿImād al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim (2)
12	652–69	Ibn al-Bārizī, Shams al-Dīn Ibrāhīm I
13	669–late 670s	Ibn al-Bārizī, Najm al-Din ʿAbd al-Raḥīm I
14	late 670s–697	Ibn Wāṣil, Jamāl al-Din Muḥammad
15	697–99	Ibn al-Bahrānī, Muwaffaq al-Dīn Muḥammad
16	699–738	Ibn al-Bārizī, Sharaf al-Dīn Hibat Allāh I
17	738–64	Ibn al-Bārizī, Najm al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm II
18	760s/770s	Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Ḥamawī
19	780s	Nāṣir al-Dīn, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad
25a/22b	?–789	Ibn al-Bārizī, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad I or II
20	789–?	Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, Ibn Muhājir
21	795–96	ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ibn Makkī al-Ḥamawī (1)
22	796–99	Ibn al-Bārizī, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad II (1)
23	799	Badr al-Dīn ibn al-Maʿarrī
22a	799–?	Ibn al-Bārizī, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad II (2)
21a	?–804	ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ibn Makkī al-Ḥamawī (2)
24	804–5	Ibn al-Ḥijjī, Najm al-Dīn ʿUmar
25	early 9th c.	Ibn al-Bārizī, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad I
26	ca. 815–26	Ibn Khaṭīb al-Dahshah, Maḥmūd
27	826–?	al-Zayn ibn al-Kharazī (1)
28	829–30	Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Khaṭīb Qārā
29	?–842	al-Shihāb al-Zuhrī
30	842–ca. 857	Ibn al-Bārizī, Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad
27a	ca. 857–?	al-Zayn ibn al-Kharazī (2)
31	late 9th c.	Ibn al-Bārizī, Sirāj al-Dīn ʿUmar

Fig. 1. Shafiʿi Judges in Ḥamāh

Name	Born	Died	Main Source(s)
Amīn al-Dawlah/Dīn al-Ḥusayn ibn Ḥamzah	?	587/ 1191	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 581–90:265, 290–91; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 2:377; Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Mirʾāt al-Zamān,* 8:1:412
Aḥmad ibn Mudrak	?	590/ 1194 or 591/ 1195	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 591–600:56–57; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat,* 3:1127–28
Ṣafiyat bint ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn ʿAlī	?	646/ 1248	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 641–50:310–11; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 4:361
ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad	?	654/ 1256	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 651–60:174
Muḥyī al-Dīn Ḥamzah ibn Muḥammad	?	663/ 1264–65	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 661–70:144–45; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān,* 2:326
Muwaffaq al-Dīn Nabā/ Muḥammad ibn Saʿd Allāh	577/ 1181–82	665/ 1267	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 661–70:208
Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Ḥamzah	621/ 1224–25	688/ 1289	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 681–90:334–35
Muwaffaq al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad	622/ 1225	699/ 1300	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 691–700:456–57; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 1:284–85
Jamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl ibn Muḥammad	642/ 1244–45	?	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 641–50:148
ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb	645/ 1247–48	?	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 641–50:304

Fig. 2. Banū al-Bahrānī



* No entry in biographical dictionaries; known only from *nasab* or short references in other entries.
Further members of the al-Bārizī family active in Ḥamāh who cannot be placed in this genealogy: Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿAlī ibn Yaḥyá ibn Ismāʿīl (d. 733/1333); Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad II ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm (d. 755/1354)

Fig. 3. Banū al-Bārizī (Ḥamāh)

after 658	Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad
ca. 671–711	Ibn al-ʿAdīm, ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz
711–21	?
721–34	Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Najm al-Dīn ʿUmar
?–738	Ibn al-Ḥakīm, Taqī al-Dīn Maḥmūd (1)
738–42	Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh
742–60	Ibn al-Ḥakīm, Taqī al-Dīn Maḥmūd (2)
760–62	Amīn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Aḥmad (1)
762–63	?
763–68	Amīn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Aḥmad (2)
early 9th century	Ibn ʿArab Shāh, Aḥmad
mid-9th century	Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad

Fig. 4. Hanafi Judges in Ḥamāh

760s–ca. 770	Sharaf al-Dīn Ismāʿīl al-Gharnāṭī
ca. 770–76	Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Gharnāṭī
776–84	Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Maghribī
784–89	Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Dimashqī
790s	ʿAlam al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn (1)
796	ʿAlam al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn (2)
early 9th century	Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Maghribī

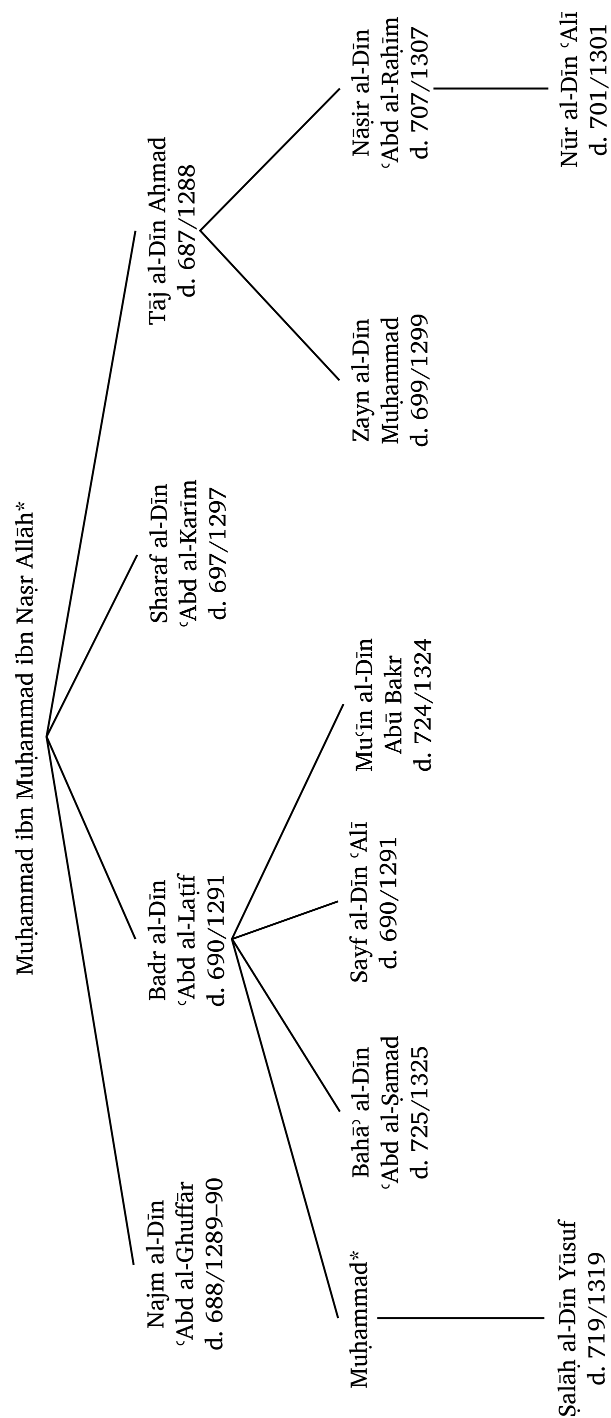
Fig. 5. Maliki Judges in Ḥamāh

Name	Place/Date	*Madhhab*	Source(s)	Further Posts in Ḥamāh
Ibn al-Bahrānī, Aḥmad (d. 590/1194 or 591/1195)	Ḥamāh	Shafiʿi	see fig. 2	judge
Ibn al-Bahrānī, Muwaffaq al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 699/1300)	Ḥamāh	Shafiʿi	see fig. 2	judge
Ibn al-Bārizī, Fakhr al-Dīn ʿUthmān (d. 730/1330)	Ḥamāh	Shafiʿi	see article	deputy judge
Ibn al-Mughayzil, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf (d. 719/1319)	Ḥamāh	Shafiʿi	see article	
Ibn Rawāḥah, ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 561/1165)	Ḥamāh	Shafiʿi	see article	
Ibn al-Mughayzil, Zayn ad-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 699/1299)	Lower Mosque	Shafiʿi	see article	
Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad (d. 659/1261)	Great/Upper Mosque	Shafiʿi	see article	
Ibn al-Mughayzil, Badr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Laṭīf (d. 690/1291)	Great/Upper Mosque (– 690)	Shafiʿi	see article	*mudarris*
Ibn al-Mughayzil, Muʿīn al-Dīn Abū Bakr (d. 724/1324)	Great/Upper Mosque (690–724)	Shafiʿi	see article	
Ibn al-Mughayzil, Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ṣamad (d. 725/1325)	Great/Upper Mosque (724–25)	Shafiʿi	see article	previously vizier

Fig. 6. *Khaṭībs* in Ḥamāh

Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad (d. 732/1332)	Great/Upper Mosque	Shafiʿi	Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar,* 4:107; al-Dhahabī, *Dhayl Tārīkh al-Islām,* 306–7; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 5:249–50; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 29:338–39	
Ibn al-Bārizī, Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 875/1470)	Great/Upper Mosque	Shafiʿi	see article	judge, *mudarris*
ʿAfīf al-Dīn Isḥāq ibn Khalīl (d. 672/1274)	Citadel	?	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 671–80:87; Ibn al-Mughayzil, *Dhayl Mufarrij al-Kurūb,* 87; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān,* 3:38; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 8:412	
Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar, Abū Bakr (d. after 620)	Citadel	Shafiʿi	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 621–30:422–23	

Note: "Ḥamāh" is given as place when no further specification is given in the sources.

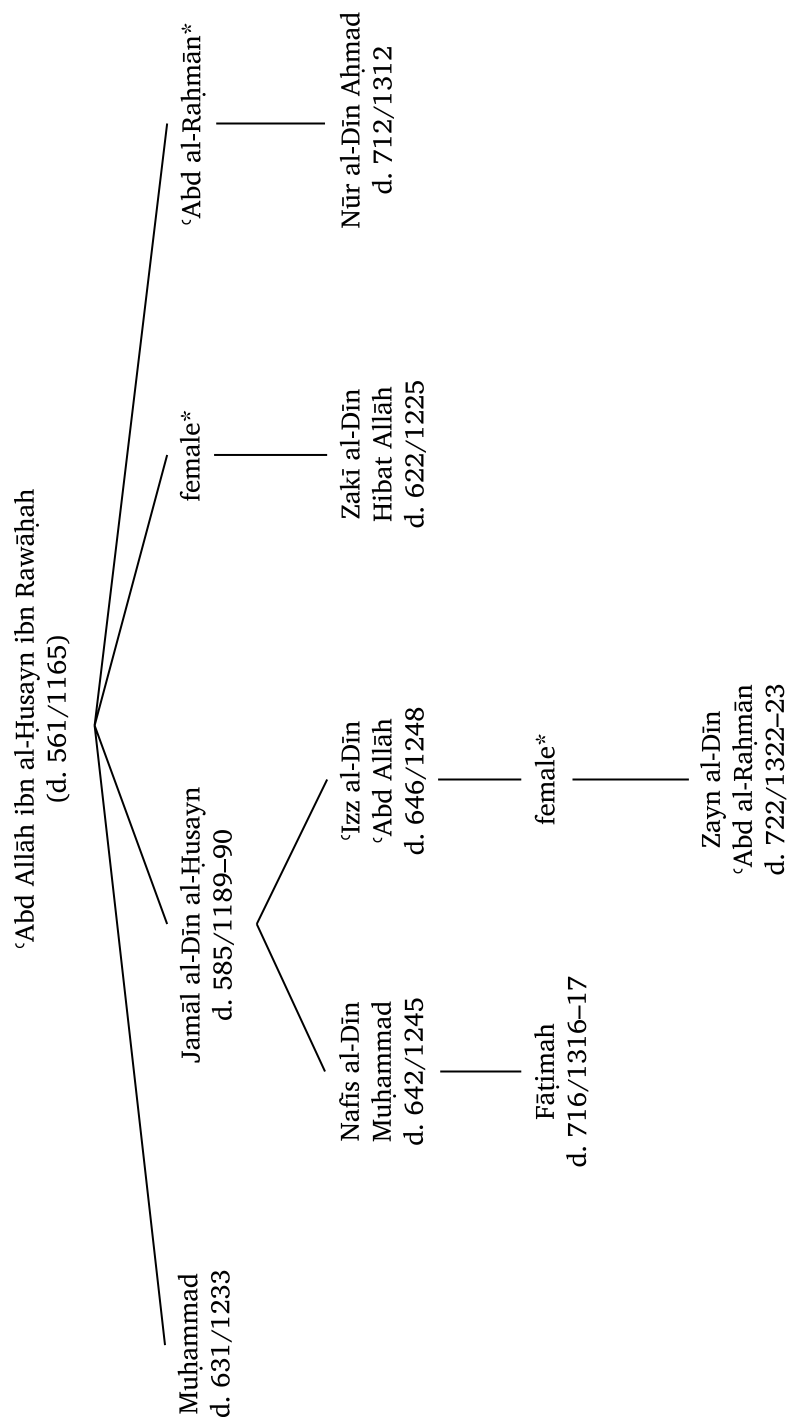


* No entry in biographical dictionaries; known only from *nasab* or short references in other entries.

Fig. 7. Banū al-Mughayzil

Name	Born	Died	Main Source(s)
Ṣafī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Hibat Allāh	510/1117	?	Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat,* 3:1204–6
Hibat Allāh ibn Aḥmad	?	?	mentioned in Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat,* 3:1205
Zayn al-Dīn Ismāʿīl ibn Ibrāhīm	?	635–42/ 1238–44	Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat,* 4:1609–12
Muḥammad ibn Hibat Allāh ibn Aḥmad	556/1161	637/1239	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 631–40:348–49
Mukhliṣ al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Ismāʿīl	?	648/1248	Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 5:371–72
Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān	588/1191–92 (?)	654/1256–57	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 651–60:170–71; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 18:519; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān,* 1:19–21
Mukhliṣ al-Dīn Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar	602/1205–6	659/1261	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 651–60:385–86; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 9:182; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān*, 2:127/8; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm*, 7:202; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughyat,* 4:1721/2
Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad	613/1216–7	662/1264	Al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān,* 2:307–8
Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī ʿAlī	?	673/1274	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 671–80:133
Muwaffaq al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī	604/1208	fl. 678/ 1279–80	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 671–80:385
Shihāb al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ibn Yaʿqūb	627/1229–30	700/1300–1	Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh,* vol. 691–700:481; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 6:366
Fatḥ al-Dīn	?	730/1329–30	Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar,* 4:100

Fig. 8. Banū Qarnāṣ



* No entry in biographical dictionaries; known only from *nasab* or short references in other entries.

Fig. 9. Banū Rawāḥah

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The Ayyubid and Mamluk Revaluation of the Hinterland and Western Historical Cartography

Considering that a "boom" has taken place in Mamluk studies particularly during the past three decades,[1] research on the spatial conditions of the Sultanate—society, economy, culture, and science—is markedly lagging behind. Contributions both to the geographical and cartographic sources, as well as to the historical geography and cartography of the period, date mostly from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as the *Chicago Online Bibliography of Mamluk Studies* shows.[2] Moreover, the lack of research reviews on these subjects shows that little has been added since.[3] Although the general efflorescence of Mamluk studies has coincided temporally with a refinement of the notions of spatiality, map, and landscape in the social and cultural sciences,[4] that development has not been responded to in a significant way.

This deficiency is even more conspicuous when we consider that the period of the

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[1]Stephan Conermann, "Es boomt! Die Mamlūkenforschung (1992–2002)," in *Die Mamlūken: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur,* ed. Stephan Conermann and Anja Pistor-Hatam (Schenefeld, 2003), 1–2.

[2]http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/su/mideast/mamluk (all websites were last accessed on 18 April 2007).

[3]Peter Thorau, "Zur Geschichte der Mamluken und ihrer Erforschung," *Die Welt des Orients* 20/21 (1989/90): 227–40; Ulrich Haarmann, "Mamlūk Studies: A Western Perspective," *Al-Majallah al-ʿArabīyah lil-ʿUlūm al-Insānīyah/Arab Journal for the Humanities* 51 (13th year) (1995): 328–47, but see 344, last paragraph; Li Guo, "Mamluk Historiographic Studies: The State of the Art," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 15–43; W. W. Clifford, "*Ubi sumus?* Social Theory and Mamluk Studies," in ibid., 45–62; Robert Irwin, "Under Western Eyes: A History of Mamluk Studies," *MSR* 4 (2000): 27–51; Conermann, "Es boomt!"; R. Stephen Humphreys, "The Politics of the Mamluk Sultanate: A Review Essay," *MSR* 9, no. 1 (2005): 221–31.

[4]A text of seminal importance to the recent discussion of socially constructed spaces is Edward W. Soja's *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London, 1988). Criticism of geo-deterministic ideas, however, was practiced before, notably by French historians. See for example Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le Monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (Paris, 1949), 295–304; Henri Lefebvre, *La production de l'espace* (Paris, 1974), 39–53.

Mamluks and, to a lesser degree, their Ayyubid predecessors holds a considerable potential for analysis in these regards. Following the Crusaders' and Mongols' intrusions, the Sultanate saw a rise in military, political, and infrastructural action which pertained to its spatial cohesion and operability. At the same time, men of letters created a more substantial body of space-related literature than was produced in Arabic either before or after. It may be asked which actions these were and to what extent they connected to each other, or perhaps even answered to an overarching scheme; how factual developments bore on space perceptions; and how the course of Mamluk history was in turn affected by modifications of spatial thinking.

Today this subject is almost a blank—and a challenge to the historian to whom the narrative, geographical, and administrative sources in particular provide a fair point of departure. To begin with, I will address space relations and perceptions in a certain field, viz. nomad-state interaction. I will argue that the Mamluks, on the shoulders of the Ayyubids, pursued a policy intended to lend territorial depth to their rule, for which purpose some sort of expansion into the Bedouin areas in the long-neglected hinterland was of prime importance. While such a policy should be well-suited to mapping, the under-development of historical geography and cartography in Mamluk studies requires that some consideration of its causes and its consequences be examined first. In fact these prolegomena occupy most of this article. The discussion will be concluded by looking ahead to an attempt of mine at historical cartography on this subject.[5]

A Grip on the Steppe

The Frankish state-building in the Levant prompted changes in Muslim territory, inter-regional communications, and the spatial pattern of government. While the reactions of the two subsequent sultanates are well known, they are not yet understood in terms of potential alignment. I dare say that they signify a change in the attitude toward the spatial extension of rule, adopted by the Ayyubids and continued in an intensified manner by the Kipchak Mamluks.

Particularly overturning the existing geographic order was the fact that the land bridge between the African and Asian hemispheres of Islam, the Sinai Peninsula, was successively sealed by the Kingdom of Jerusalem. First, the northern route

[5]The ongoing project "Bedouin Groups in Syria and Egypt: Interplays between Nomads and the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk State Systems" is part of the Collaborative Research Center "Difference and Integration." See http://www.nomadsed.de. My interest in nomad-state interaction is informed by my previous research in the center's framework, the results of which are included in my *Vom Beutezug zur Territorialherrschaft: Das lange Jahrhundert des Aufstiegs von Nomaden zur Vormacht in Syrien und Mesopotamien 286–420/889–1029: Beduinische Gruppen in mittelislamischer Zeit I* (Wiesbaden, 2007).

across the coastal desert through al-Jifār fell out of use. Second, expansion southward into the Bilād al-Sharāh under King Baldwin I led in 510/1116 to the seizure of ʿAqabat Aylah. Elim, or Helim as the Crusaders called it thereafter, was fortified, as was the close-by Jazīrat Firʿawn (then Île de Graye) off the Sinai coast. These were the final links in a chain of castles which connected Latin Palestine by the Lordship of Oultrejourdain to the Red Sea. Consequently the Syrian lands were cordoned off from Egypt.[6] The overland routes that had previously run through al-ʿAqabah were now altered to circumvent the Frankish reach. They were shifted up-country or replaced by maritime routes, which was conducive to Muslim sea transport.

In terms of perceived spaces, the century-old cultural designation of Bilād al-Shām, Greater Syria, was invalidated both as a basic constituent of the realm of Islam and as an entire framework of reference in itself (although that had been a reminiscence rather than a reality following the Ikhshidid-Hamdanid partition agreement some 180 years earlier). Muslim rule was reduced to a narrow strip of land between the Latin principalities to the west and south and the zone of Bedouin tribal domination to the east. Now that much of the arable land of Syria belonged to the Franks, the steppe areas in the hinterland deserved new attention. In fact, the term Bādiyat al-Shām (or Bādiyat al-Samāwah) had always signified that the area of predominantly nomadic use was adjacent to Syria (or to al-ʿIrāq) rather than forming part of it. Virtually squeezed in between the Latin principalities and the Bādiyah, the width of that strip was now, for the most part, only one day's journey on horseback, and access to Egypt and the Hijaz depended perforce more than before on transit through the autonomous sphere of the Bedouin.

The situation of al-ʿAqabah at the junction of the Egypt-to-Syria and Syria-to-Hijaz roads was of strategic value to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn when shaping a Syro-Egyptian polity. In fact, he occupied the town in 566/1170, i.e., the very year after he had seized power in Cairo. Thus, in the moment of its creation the Ayyubid Sultanate put an end to more than half a century of an exceptionally disjointed situation and restored the territorial continuity of Egypt, Syria, and the Hijaz. It was reasserted, after a Frankish interlude in the town, in 578/1183. The approximate synchronicity of political and territorial change suggests a background on which to conceive several measures of a new space-constituting quality not only in a rough chronological sequence, but also as causally related. At least six sets of actions come to mind. Since all of these are well known, I limit myself here to a brief outline.

1. Stress on the Bedouin population resulted in efforts to stabilize relations with

[6]On this fact and the eventual countermeasures, see Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin* (Albany, 1972), 82–83, 100; Jean-Michel Mouton, "Saladin et les Bédouins du Sinaï," in *Le Sinaï de la conquête arabe à nos jours*, ed. idem (Cairo, 2001), 197–206.

them instead of reiterating the policy of general neglect and sporadic repression to which all settled powers following the Umayyads had resorted. Shortly after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's reign, the institution of the *amīr al-ʿarab* or "Shaykh Superior of the (Syrian) Bedouin" was introduced.[7] Conceptually, the amir was to serve as an addressee to the government and as an arbitrator in cases of conflict. Practically, he was to ensure adequate levels of military service by his people in the sultan's army, as well as the safeguarding of the roads of the interior. As this arrangement was accompanied by subsidies and land grants for the amir, it produced frictions among competing tribal groups, which may have been a welcome side-effect. The Āl Faḍl ibn Rabīʿ of the Banū Ṭayyiʾ emerged as the dominant family under this system and further consolidated their position during Mamluk times. Although the institutionalization of the amirate could not secure the Bedouins' good conduct at all times, it largely fulfilled the objective of providing an interface with them. The impression that both dynasties pursued a systematic policy towards the Bedouin is further supported by the fact that the office of *mihmindār* was established at the court in Cairo.[8] Serving as counterpart to the *amīr al-ʿarab,* this official was responsible for receiving Bedouin representatives and regulating the Bedouin-state relations. For the first time in four centuries, the Bedouin were involved to some degree in state administration, and the Bādiyah became more closely linked to Syria proper (though in a still rudimentary way), thus essentially extending the territory of the Sultanate. The importance of the Bedouin even increased when the Mongols' first invasion of Syria in 657/1259 turned the Bādiyah into a buffer zone between Mamluk Syria and Il-Khanid al-ʿIrāq for three-quarters of a century—the Bedouins' supremacy over the steppe allowed them to adopt the role of the Mamluks' indispensable confederates, albeit rather unreliable ones.

2. A system of governmental postal communications, the *barīd,* was set up by Baybars I to serve again as the backbone of an all-regional intelligence network that had been defunct since the early Buyid period.[9] By means of this institution,

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[7]David Ayalon, "The Auxiliary Forces of the Mamlūk Sultanate," *Der Islam* 65 (1988): 23–24, 27 (written in 1945); Mustafa A. Hiyari, "The Origins and Development of the Amirate of the Arabs during the Seventh/Thirteenth and Eighth/Fourteenth Centuries," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38 (1975): 509–25; idem, *Al-Imārah al-Ṭāʾīyah fī Bilād al-Shām* (Amman, 1977).

[8]Abdel Hamid Saleh, "Mihmindār," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 7:2.

[9]Richard Hartmann, "Politische Geographie des Mamlūkenreiches: Kapitel 5 und 6 des Staatshandbuchs Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿOmarī's," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 70 (1916), especially 477–500; Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes: Description géographique, économique et administrative, précédée d'une introduction sur l'organisation gouvernementale* (Paris, 1923), 239–49; Jean Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des Mamelouks* (Paris, 1941); Donald S. Richards, "The Mamluk Barīd: Some Evidence from the Haram Documents," in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan*, vol. 3,

Egypt and Syria moved closer together than ever before. This instrument was particularly helpful in informing and enforcing governmental decisions and lent greater effectiveness to centralized rule. To say that the territorial extension of the Sultanate was made operable is to imply that the issue of space had been identified and properly addressed. The most precarious *barīd* routes passed through areas over which Bedouin groups held sway. Bridging these stretches—namely between Cairo and Gaza through al-Jifār, between Damascus and al-Raḥbah across the Palmyrena, and between al-Karak and al-Shawbak through al-Sharāh—was of utmost importance for the proper functioning of the system. There the Bedouins' influence was to be encountered, and their areas could not be allowed to remain extra-territorial, as they had been since the early Abbasid period. Securing the postal service called for the political appeasement of the Bedouin, if not control of them, or in other words, for an extension of state authority into the Bedouin habitat.

3. Already one century earlier the pigeon post *(ḥamām)* had been set up, or rather revitalized, by Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Zangī, and an optical signaling system by means of beacons *(manāwir)* was now also employed.[10] It may be presumed that these networks improved as the new postal service coincided with their routes for the most part, notably including the crossing of the Palmyrena towards al-Raḥbah. They were altogether instrumental for coping with the dimensions of the empire and allowed news to travel quickly. Although the pigeon post and the signaling system did not depend to the same extent on control of the terrain as did the postal system, the possibility of interference by the Bedouin could not be ruled out.

4. Another reiteration of Umayyad policies consisted in fortification works in a number of strategic places within the Bedouin sphere or within the zone of the nomads' contact with the agricultural area. Most notable among these are the constructions of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's uncle, Shirkūh I, and the Ayyubid prince of Hims, Shirkūh II, at Qalʿat Shirkūh above Palmyra (only in the eleventh/seventeenth century renamed Qalʿat Ibn Maʿn),[11] Qalʿat Shumaymis near Salamīyah,[12] and

ed. Adnan Hadidi (Amman, 1987), 205–9. The recent study by Adam J. Silverstein, *Postal Systems in the Pre-Modern Islamic World* (Cambridge, 2007), 165–85, especially 169–70, convincingly argues that Baybars' introduction of the *barīd* was informed by its potential to strengthen the Mamluks' horse-based military system and to allow affiliation of the Sultanate to the Abbasid caliphate, but little mention is made of its bearing on geopolitics.

[10]Hartmann, "Politische Geographie," 500–2, 503–7; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie,* 250–54, 258–61; Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux,* 36–41, 77; Silverstein, *Postal Systems,* 176–79.

[11]Janusz Bylinski, "Qalʿat Shirkuh at Palmyra: A Medieval Fortress Reinterpreted," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 51 (1999): 151–208, 318–19.

[12]It is not yet comprehensively studied, but see now Janusz Bylinski, "Exploratory Mission to

Qalʿat al-Raḥbah on the Euphrates.[13] These were still used or had been rebuilt in the time of the Kipchak Mamluks, namely by Baybars I. They belonged to an innovative sort of fortification (possibly adapted from the Crusaders), the free-standing hilltop castle, which is most significantly present in the Levantine coastal mountains.[14] These elevated structures were better suited to the supervision of their surroundings than the previous Islamic ground-level building traditions of the *qaṣr* (as a citadel and refuge inside a settlement) and the Umayyad "desert castles" (as hybrid structures with military functions and functions for agriculture and livestock breeding). Each new fortification occupied a position of strategic value above an important town in or at the fringe of the Bedouin habitat; this allowed the authorities to exercise control over Bedouin movement in a considerable radius. Furthermore, some caravanserais of the *barīd* were fortified[15] and, as a more general trend in architectural style, pseudo-fortification elements were applied to many non-military buildings.[16]

5. A number of Bedouin groups whose territory extended deep into the steppe or desert and was transected by a long-distance communication route were assigned the surveillance of the area along that route *(darak)*.[17] In such a precinct they acted as legitimate deputies of the sovereign and became agents of the state's expanded territorial authority.

6. Bedouin military service was a widespread practice, loyal groups being collectively referred to as "the obedient Bedouin" *(ʿarab al-ṭāʿah)*.[18] Moreover, the groups that inhabited Egypt's Western Desert and the Sinai Peninsula had a

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Shumaymis," in *Muslim Military Architecture in Greater Syria: From the Coming of Islam to the Ottoman Period*, ed. Hugh Kennedy (Leiden, 2005), 243–50, figs. 1–13. Its Zangid (re-)foundation in 628/1231 is mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon quod Perfectissimum inscribitur* [= *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*], ed. Carl Johan Tornberg (Uppsala, 1851/53, and Leiden, 1862–76), 12:329–30, reading *smyms*. A previous castle there had been demolished by an earthquake in 552/1157, as noted by Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab,* ed. Sāmī al-Dahhān (Damascus, 1954), 2:306.

[13]Marie-Odile Rousset, "La Ville de Raḥba–Mayādīn et sa région, IXe–XIVe siècle," *Bulletin d'études orientales* 52 (2000): 243–61.

[14]For example, see Andrew Petersen, "Two Medieval Castles and Their Position in the Military Architecture of Muslim Palestine," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras,* vol. 3, ed. Urbain Vermeulen and Jo van Steenbergen (Leuven, 2001), 383–406.

[15]Sauvaget, *La poste aux chevaux,* 63–67, pls. iv–vii; idem, "Un relais du barîd mamelouk," in *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes* (Cairo, 1935–45), 44, pls. i and ii.

[16]Nasser O. Rabbat, "The Militarization of Taste in Medieval Bilād al-Shām," in *Muslim Military Architecture in Greater Syria,* 84–105.

[17]Ayalon, "Auxiliary Forces," 23, with n. 55.

[18]Ibid., 14; Maḥmūd al-Sayyid, *Tārīkh ʿArab al-Shām fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Alexandria, 1997), 130–73; idem, *Tārīkh al-Qabāʾil al-ʿArabīyah fī ʿAṣr al-Dawlatayn al-Ayyūbīyah wa-al-Mamlūkīyah* (Alexandria, 1998), 77–118.

share in maintaining the postal system on a regular basis with mounts, fodder, and personnel, and they were thus called the "horse unit of the monthly service" (*khayl al-shihārah*).[19] In Egypt the Bedouin were more closely drawn into state interaction than in Syria, due to their greater dependence on agriculture and to the government's particularly tight control of the country.[20] The largest part of the nomadic population was compelled to seek the immediate proximity of the Nile Valley or the oases because the interior was considerably more inhospitable than the Syrian Bādiyah. It is clear from Jean-Claude Garcin's study of Qūṣ and its zone of influence that Bedouin involvement was a function of confined provincial locales.[21] However, no permanent pacification was accomplished, the political rationale of tribalism remaining largely intact in spite of the state's attempt to supersede it. At times the Bedouin even gained the upper hand.

Summing up these measures, it appears that in combination they contributed to an overarching trend in Ayyubid and Mamluk governance. Both sultanates surpassed the older pattern of a state that is content with rule over urban-rural continua within the sedentary sphere. Instead, they also aimed at controlling the sparsely inhabited hinterland which was the sphere of nomadic groups. Seen against the background of state conduct following the Umayyad period, this revaluation of the steppe areas and its Bedouin population is strikingly different from previous practice. We may refer to it as a change in the perception and organization of space towards a new characteristic of extensiveness and cohesion. This shift was effective by the time of the early Ayyubids, supposedly as a remedy to the experience of territorial disconnection during the Fatimid/Börid/Zangid period, and it became a continuous trend that was sustained and pushed still further under the Mamluks. It seems to harmonize with another, though negative, trend in their attitude towards space, i.e., the renunciation and even willful degradation of the coastal space and of maritime connections, which Albrecht Fuess has elucidated in his study on the Levantine "burnt shore."[22] Both trends indicate that the Mamluks were more at ease with controlling the interior, even a vast hinterland, than they were with controlling its contested borders.[23]

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[19] Hartmann, "Politische Geographie," 486. On the possible origin of this arrangement in the time of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, see Mouton, "Saladin et les Bédouins du Sinaï," 205.

[20] Ayalon, "Auxiliary Forces," 14, 24–26, 28–29.

[21] Jean-Claude Garcin, *Un centre musulman de la Haute-Égypte médiévale: Qūṣ* (Cairo, 1976), especially 359–410, 468–98, 574.

[22] Albrecht Fuess, *Verbranntes Ufer: Auswirkungen mamlukischer Seepolitik auf Beirut und die syro-palästinensische Küste (1250–1517)* (Leiden, 2001).

[23] A parallel process of spatial restructuring took place in Egypt alone, where an individual Egyptian totality had assumed shape since the fifth/eleventh century. It discontinued in the mid-eighth/fourteenth century (remarkably for some of the same reasons that undermined the permeation of

However, the Mamluk attempts at involving the Bādiyah waned from the early eighth/fourteenth century onward, when they abandoned the Syrian beacon and pigeon services, seemingly due to the cessation of Mamluk–Mongol hostilities in about 720/1320, and the *barīd* went into decline. Moreover, they reduced their presence in Upper Egypt, owing to the outbreak of the Black Death in 748/1347. Half a century later, the intelligence network in Syria finally collapsed under Tīmūr's invasion, and after his retreat in 803/1401 no attempt at renewing those mechanisms was made.[24]

These six sets of actions should have helped to generate and perpetuate a new sort of spatial organization. More evidence of development could be collected, but some reservations will better inform the upcoming discussion of the subject. While the *barīd,* the amirate of the Bedouin, and other elements are clearly highlighted in the sources, the grip on the steppe as such is hidden between the lines. It is yet to be determined whether the alignment of these elements worked with or without a deliberate plan. For the moment it seems appropriate to assume a confluence of various measures that were nonetheless effective as if having been designed to work together. With regard to the Bedouin as pivotal actors, it is evident that the amirate emerged from a decidedly invasive governmental scheme. It affected them deeply enough to be perpetuated as a mode of inter-tribal organization and representation to the outside well into the first century of Ottoman rule.

Another difficulty of interpretation arises from our insufficient understanding of spatial thinking in this period. Unfortunately, there is no work comparable to André Miquel's *Géographie humaine* (which ends a century before the rise of the Ayyubids).[25] Even central categories are rarely broached. Ralph W. Brauer's exposition of how boundaries and frontiers were conceived by geographers also centers on pre-Mamluk times. However, his finding, for instance, that they were inclined to measure a given area of land by its width and length but disregard

the steppe). See Jean-Claude Garcin's "Pour un recours à l'histoire de l'espace vécu dans l'étude de l'Égypte arabe," *Annales E. S. C.* 35 (1980), reprinted in his *Éspaces, pouvoirs et idéologies de l'Égypte médiévale* (London, 1987), pt. iii, 438, 442–45.

[24]Silverstein, *Postal Systems,* 179–85, also shows that the decline of the *barīd* ensued from its demilitarization and bureaucratization in the course of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reforms. A late effort to reorganize the *barīd* seems to be indicated by the construction of the *khāns* at Inqirātā (north of Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān) and Dannūn (south of Damascus) in the 770s/1370s. See Sauvaget, "Un relais du barîd mamelouk," 48. For Egypt and the effects of the plague, see Robert Lopez, Harry Miskimin, and Abraham Udovitch, "England to Egypt, 1350–1500: Long-Term Trends and Long-Distance Trade," in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East from the Rise of Islam to the Present Day,* ed. Michael A. Cook (London, 1970), especially 118–20 (Udovitch).

[25]André Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11e siècle,* 4 vols. (Paris and the Hague, 1967–88). The work of Sayyid Maqbul Ahmad, *A History of Arab-Islamic Geography, 9th–16th Century A.D.* (Mafraq, 1995), is no match.

surface areas and square measures[26] brings to mind the potential otherness of historical spatial notions and sheds light on the difficulty of reconstruction. While we must consider mental maps a historically embedded phenomenon, we still have to tease out how the Ayyubids and Mamluks "mapped" their dominion.[27]

NOTES ON HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY AND CARTOGRAPHY

Knowledge of spatial contexts is critical to the historian. In the process of making an argument, multiple references are inevitably made to places, routes, landscapes, and bodies of water, as well as to distances and proximities. It is not surprising, therefore, that many studies are accompanied by one or more maps, which usually display a number of labeled dots for cities, battles, etc., as well as some lines for coasts and streams, communications and borders, plus perhaps shadings which represent mountains or some other feature. Yet more often than not, there is no such visual aid. We are then required to recollect locations and regional settings from previous knowledge. Obviously, it is expected that each reader should have a mental map, and not just an individual but a generally shared one. Such an implicit requirement is in part acceptable, as we ought to be grateful each and every story does not begin with Adam and Eve—or a "Cairo" dot and a "Damascus" dot in a largely unvarying sort of base map. On the other hand, the lack of a detailed map in any given study is painfully felt as soon as either minor or remote places or complex formations are mentioned. All too often in such cases, that presumed mental map will prove deficient in both topographical and thematic respects. One must return after all to previous works of historical geography and cartographic materials.[28]

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[26]Ralph W. Brauer, *Boundaries and Frontiers in Medieval Muslim Geography* (Philadelphia, 1995), 36.

[27]Compare the term "géographie de l'attention" in Garcin, "Pour un recours à l'histoire de l'espace vécue," 438.

[28]Cartography as we know it, and as it was prefigured for the most part by medieval Islamic authors in growing contrast to Ptolemaic standards, postulates a central problem. The surface of a spherical/ellipsoid body—technically speaking, a topology of geographic features that have coordinates in a curved graticule of meridians and parallels—must be transferred on a plane according to one of many possible procedures of geometric projection. This implies that some distortion of the real is unavoidable, while the rules of each projection determine which particular properties of the three-dimensional body are preserved on the plane. The achievement may pertain to the equal representation of angle, distance, and/or area, but cannot possibly reconcile the three of them at the same time. Compliance to modern standards is signified to the map reader in three definite ways: one, through a verbal projection statement; two, through a scale statement, either numerical, verbal, or in the shape of a bar graph; and three, through a grid which is referenced to a prime meridian (not necessarily the circle of longitude of Greenwich) and a prime parallel (not necessarily the equator). It will be shown why maps that do not comply with these principles may rather be termed sketch maps.

Mamluk studies are not only short on such helpful works, but there is also no review of what has already been produced. The following attempt to outline the development of historical geography and cartography of the Middle East so far is certainly preliminary, for it must not claim to bridge the gap at once. Yet, in the absence of a better alternative,[29] it may be helpful for the time being to acknowledge certain gaps and possible future tasks. Therefore, the scarcity of Mamlukist contributions requires adopting a more general point of view than one of strict chronological periodization. I should also point out that this article relates primarily to Western mapping activities. While Arab and Ottoman specialists had been at the vanguard since the early Middle Ages,[30] they lagged behind the advancement of cartography which some European countries experienced during the eighteenth century. At the heart of this progress was geodetic triangulation, i.e., the measurement of distances between positioned points with the objective of forming a network of triangles, practiced first in France in the 1740s by César François Cassini de Thury. Beyond scientific and technical progress, I believe that the reversal of leadership was an outcome of the Europeans' increasingly practical application of cartography to governance, administration, warfare, and commerce, whereas the Arab-Ottoman tradition of cartography was hardly challenged. With Asia Minor attracting the greatest Ottoman attention, the Sublime Porte neglected the mapping of its Arab provinces. This subject merits a closer look which is beyond the scope of the present article. Here I rather wish to keep to Western mapping of the Middle East, arguing that it has seen four more or less sequential stages which have affected the opportunities of historical mapping in specific ways. The technical side of mapping will not be considered to the same extent as the relationship between historians—formerly, "Orientalists"—on the one hand and cartographers on the other.

1. Napoleon and After

During the opening stage of this cartographic advancement, the time of European exploration and colonial expansion, mapping was firmly tied to geodesy and served to document primary topographical stock-taking. For the first time, the terrain was to undergo systematic surveying so that points and linear objects, as a start, could

[29]Since 2006, the carto-bibliography of the region is being addressed country by country on a website under the direction of Jean-Luc Arnaud, *La cartothèque méditerranéenne,* http://cartomed.mmsh.univ-aix.fr. The focus is on French and British topographical map series produced after 1900. The site will soon expand its range and be renamed *CartoMundi.*

[30]This is demonstrated throughout the massive work of Fuat Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums,* vols. 10–12, *Mathematische Geographie und Kartographie im Islam und ihr Fortleben im Abendland* (Frankfurt am Main, 2000). For a starting point, see the introduction to the map volume, vi–xiii.

be positioned on geo-referenced gridded maps. The initial and most important single scheme was carried out by a colonial body *par excellence,* a detachment of the Napoleonic Egyptian expeditionary forces. Formed on the spot in 1798, the Service topographique de l'armée d'Égypte worked as a veritable survey authority, although understaffed and obstructed by many external imperfections. By 1801 it had achieved the first triangulation of some parts of the region. The survey resulted in the first map of the Middle East along modern principles. Forming part of the *Description de l'Égypte,* 47 sheets were printed on a scale of 1:100,000 showing the settled areas along the Nile, the Mediterranean coast of Sinai, and the Levant up to Sidon in great detail and expressive graphic style.[31]

This pioneering work was recommenced in Egypt only after the establishment of the Egyptian Survey Authority in 1878—the very year the British and French disempowered the Khedive.[32] Western Palestine saw an interlude from 1871 to 1878, when British military personnel mapped most of the area on behalf of the—specially founded—Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF),[33] before finally, in 1920, the British established the Survey of Palestine.[34] In Syria and Lebanon, large-

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[31]Field work was conducted from 1798 to 1801, and the engraving of the plates in Paris was completed in 1803. Put to press in 1808, the map was guarded as a state secret and published only ten years later, then entitled "Carte topographique de l'Égypte et de plusieurs parties des pays limitrophes levée pendant l'expédition de l'armée française . . . à l'échelle de 1 millimètre pour 1000 mètres." Together with a three-sheet version on a reduced scale, it constituted the *Atlas géographique,* ed. Pierre Jacotin (Paris, 1818), being part of the *Description de l'Égypte, ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française*, édition impériale. The reprint of the atlas (Paris, 1826) within the 2nd ed. or édition royale is now also accessible through the DVD edition of the corpus by the Bibliotheca Alexandrina (Alexandria, 2004). This includes Jacotin's "Mémoire sur la construction de la carte de l'Égypte," *Description de l'Égypte: État moderne,* 1st ed., vol. 2.2 (1822), 1–118 (=2nd ed., vol. 17 [1824], 436–652), and the "Index géographique, ou Liste générale des noms de lieux de l'Égypte . . .," in ibid., 787–846 (=2nd ed., vol. 18.3 [1830], 35–266). See Anne Godlewska, *The Napoleonic Survey of Egypt: A Masterpiece of Cartographic Compilation and Early Nineteenth-Century Fieldwork* (Toronto, 1988) = *Cartographica* 25 (1988), 1/2; Ghislaine Alleaume, "Entre l'inventaire du territoire et la construction de la mémoire: L'œuvre cartographique de l'expédition d'Égypte," in *L'expédition d'Égypte: Une entreprise des lumières 1798–1801,* ed. Patrice Bret ([Paris], 1999), 279–94.

[32]Its major mission to produce a cadastral survey did not progress well. Replaced by the Survey Department in 1898, activities regained momentum and resulted in a cadastral map series of more than 30,000 sheets on a scale of first 1:4,000, later 1:2,500 (Cairo, 1892–1918). See *La cartothèque méditerranéenne,* http://cartomed.mmsh.univ-aix.fr/mmsh/Egypte/series/G16.swf and ~/G98.swf.

[33]Claude Conder and Horatio Herbert Kitchener, *Map of Western Palestine in 26 Sheets from Surveys Conducted for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund . . . during the Years 1872–1877,* scale 1:63,360, one inch to the mile (London, 1880), indexed by *Arabic and English Name Lists,* ed. Edward Henry Palmer (London, 1881).

[34]Clifford W. Mugnier, "Grids and Datums: The State of Israel," *Photogrammetric Engineering and*

scale[35] mapping languished until in 1918 the same rush for mandatory institution-building impelled France to set up the Bureau topographique de l'Armée française du Levant.[36] One need not be a Foucauldian to notice that the cartography of the Middle East was thus deeply rooted in the European struggle for domination.

In the meantime, the agents of mapping projects were individuals, or at most tiny companies of scholars and/or adventurers, who traveled on behalf of an inquiring princely Maecenas, an academic society, or on their own behalf. Following the example of Carsten Niebuhr, most traveler-explorers in the Orient were trained in the use of astronomic and geodetic devices, as well as the scrutiny of textual sources. They supplemented the positioning of sites by asking how historical place names preserved in ancient and medieval literature ought to be identified against the background of recent toponymy. Consequently, large-scale maps of selected small regions were often produced together with an onomastic commentary and tentative historical geography.

The better of these mapping projects not only appealed to the Orientalist but were on the cutting edge of geography and cartography. Hence, it is not surprising that researchers and professional cartographers encouraged and supported each other. Alois Musil's map "Northern Arabia"—companion to his four volumes of topographical itinerary—lent the crowning glory to that map-cum-text genre,[37] but even though he was a highly-trained and untiring map maker,[38] he had the map drawn by the Militärkartographisches Institut in Vienna, one of the most advanced institutions of its kind at that time. Probably the most productive liaison

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Remote Sensing (abbr. *PE&RS*) 66 (2000): 915b; Dov Gavish, *A Survey of Palestine under the British Mandate, 1920–1948* (London, 2005), based on his *Qarqaʿ u-mapah: Me-hesder qarqaʿot le-mapat Erets Yisraʾel, 1920–1948* (Jerusalem, 1991).

[35] Even cartographers get confused once in a while about what is termed large and small. Thus it may be helpful to mention that scales are fractions; hence a scale of 1:10,000 (one ten-thousandth) is larger than a scale of 1:1,000,000 (one millionth).

[36] Clifford J. Mugnier, "Grids and Datums: The Syrian Arab Republic," *PE&RS* 67 (2001): 1000–3.

[37] Alois Musil, *Northern Arabia*, scale 1:1,000,000, on four sheets (New York, 1926), accompanying four of his monographs in the American Geographical Society's Oriental Explorations and Studies series, vols. 2–5 (previously published as *Karte von Nordarabien, nach eigenen Aufnahmen,* same scale [Vienna, no date]). Along the course of the Euphrates it adjoins the map "Southern Mesopotamia" on the same scale, attached to his *The Middle Euphrates: A Topographical Itinerary,* vol. 3 of the series (New York, 1927), while the southwestern sheet is elaborated by the map on a scale of 1:500,000 which is attached to his *The Northern Ḥeǧâz: A Topographical Itinerary,* vol. 1 of the series (New York, 1926).

[38] E.g., his journey of 1908–9 yielded no less than 61 manuscript maps on a scale of 1:300,000 of 37 × 35.5 cm each with an approximate 3,000 place names. See Musil's communication in the Viennese *Anzeiger der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philos.-hist. Kl.* 47 (1910): 188–89. The series merged in the map *Northern Arabia* (see n. 37).

across the disciplines was established between the distinguished geographers and cartographers Heinrich Kiepert (1818–99) and Richard Kiepert (1846–1915) and several scholarly explorers, among them Edward Robinson and Eli Smith, L. M. A. Linant de Bellefonds, Richard Lepsius, Johann Gottfried Wetzstein, Eduard Sachau, Carl Humann, and Max Freiherr von Oppenheim.[39] While the Kieperts regarded their reports and drafts as full-fledged sources, the ensuing maps of the Middle East helped define the state of the art in regional cartography and in return cleared the way for other explorers to come. Despite many inevitable shortcomings, the best of these maps remained in use for decades and served as a basis for later topographical studies until World War I.[40]

Understanding the contemporary topography was considered such an essential prerequisite to historical understanding that historiographic mapping itself was discouraged for most of the nineteenth century. As long as the determination of coordinates was the focus, stock-taking implied a tendency to absorb the remnants and toponymic substrata of different eras and blend them into area-specific maps. This has been demonstrated in the case of the Napoleonic scholars whose policy on toponymy was directed towards standardization.[41] Although mapping seemed urgent enough to leave nothing undone, several regions remained difficult to access and therefore survey, and were thus even more aptly subjected to historical reconstructions. Such conditions prevailed beyond the Nile Valley and the Fertile Crescent. It is for this reason that Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, who had neither been to the region nor considered doing so, could dare to combine a tentative geographical outline with place names derived from medieval Arabic historians and geographers. The first such map was lent credence by having been

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[39]E.g., Heinrich Kiepert, "A New Map of Palestine Including also Phœnicia and Cœlesyria," scale 1:600,000, on two sheets in Edward Robinson, Eli Smith, et al., *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and the Adjacent Regions: A Journal of Travels in the Year 1852* (London, 1856), following 664; H. Kiepert, eight maps on various scales in Richard Lepsius, *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien,* plate vol. 1 (Berlin, [1859]), pls. i–vi, some based on Linant de Bellefonds and Lepsius himself; H. Kiepert, "Die Landschaften im Osten von Damaskus (Ḥaurân und Trachonen)," scale 1:400,000, in Johann Gottfried Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran und die Trachonen nebst einem Anhange über die sabäischen Denkmäler in Ostsyrien* (Berlin, 1860), preceding p. i; H. Kiepert, two maps on a scale of 1:750,000, attached to Eduard Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien* (Leipzig, 1883); H. Kiepert, "Karte des nördlichsten Theiles von Syrien," scale 1:300,000, in Carl Humann and Otto Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien,* atlas (Berlin, 1890), preceding pl. i; Richard Kiepert, map on a scale of 1:850,000 on two sheets, attached to Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf durch den Ḥaurān, die Syrische Wüste und Mesopotamien* (Berlin, 1899/1900), also separately published (Berlin, [1915]).

[40]E.g., see Gavish, *A Survey of Palestine,* 12, 14–15.

[41]Alleaume, "Entre l'inventaire du territoire et la construction de la mémoire," 282–85.

executed by Heinrich Kiepert,[42] but as the successive maps bear only Wüstenfeld's name it is conceivable that the venture had proven unrewarding to the specialist.[43] After all, intense and fruitful cooperation between cartographers and historians, philologists, and others lasted only as long as the political situation on the ground did not allow for regular surveying along technical lines.

2. Diverging Paths

The turning point in the relationship between topography and historiographic mapping was reached when the example of Egypt was followed in the establishment of survey authorities all over the region at the beginning of the British and French mandatory administrations. A bifurcation took place. On the one hand, hosts of professional engineers, geodesists, and cartographers took up work in a field which was now pacified. At the same time, the heterogeneous national or mandatory mapping activities in the region began to adapt—due to the first internationally agreed-upon mapping scheme, the *Carte internationale du monde/International Map of the World*[44]—to a system of divisible metric scales and sheet lines.[45] The cartographers applied ever better scales and more sophisticated techniques to the areas previously mapped and set about filling in the blanks. Only part of the interior of the Arabian Peninsula retained for some time the air of

[42]Heinrich Kiepert, map on a scale of 6 cm to 150 *mīl* or 50 *farsakh* (i.e., ca. 1:5,000,000) in Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, "Die Strasse von Baçra nach Mekka mit der Landschaft Dharîja, nach arabischen Quellen bearbeitet," *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Hist.-philol. Cl.* (abbr. *AGWG*) 16 (1871): following 89.

[43]Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, map on a scale of 6.7 cm to 140 *mīl* (i.e., ca. 1:4,000,000) in his "Das Gebiet von Medina, nach arabischen Geographen beschrieben," *AGWG* 18 (1873): facing 86; idem, map not to scale in his "Baḥrein und Jemâma, nach arabischen Geographen beschrieben," *AGWG* 19 (1874): facing 222. Both maps as well as that in n. 42 were also included in the monographic offprints (Göttingen, 1871, 1873, and 1874).

[44]The framework of the World series on the millionth scale, published from 1913 on, sprung from a proposal of 1891 and was agreed upon by international conferences at London 1909, Paris 1913, and Cambridge 1928. It was projected under the combined aegis of national, colonial, and mandatory survey authorities and published accordingly by a multiplicity of bodies. The Middle East was the responsibility of Great Britain's Ordnance Survey, Southampton, except for Egypt which was covered by the Survey Department, later Survey of Egypt, Giza. Collaboration broke off during World War II at a state of about a sixth of the planned number of sheets; it was resumed in 1945 and continued from 1953 on under the auspices of the United Nations until it petered out in the mid-1980s while still less than half of the sheets had been achieved. The relative importance which was attributed to Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Iraq is illustrated by the fact that they counted among the well covered areas of the World series even before World War II.

[45]As the pace of integration was slow, the various grids (Egyptian quadrant/standard and kilometric/normal grids, Palestine grid, Lambert Levant grid, etc.) remained in use well into the mid-twentieth century.

terra incognita to the Western observer.[46] As now even many remote and sparsely settled areas could be surveyed, it became possible to expand the representation of the topography beyond the river valleys and densely populated areas onto the entire region. Only then did maps attain a fully two-dimensional quality. Furthermore, the replacement of old-style provisional hachures, form lines, and hillshades by contour lines and elevation coloring allowed map-makers for the first time to shape a consistent and reliable overall picture of the region's three-dimensionality. In the case of Egypt, coverage had proceeded so far as to allow the compilation of atlases.[47] As professional cartography outgrew its dependence on the contribution of semi-skilled enthusiasts, the physical aspect became dissociated from the historical.

On the other hand, specialization, as well as technical and organizational progress, could not leave the mapping activity of men of letters untouched. In fact, it suffered badly. The publication of Musil's map of Northern Arabia in 1926, though marking the apogee of the older one-man business, was belated, the basic inquiries having been conducted between one and almost two decades earlier. Consequently, it was also anachronistic in that it mirrored pre-World War I requirements of primary exploration.[48] Only in the field of historical geographies and gazetteers could advantage be taken of the European preeminence over the region in the period until the end of World War II. Several works of lasting value were compiled on that background, e.g., by René Dussaud on Syria and Lebanon[49] and by the British Naval Intelligence—for official use only—in its geographical handbook series on most of the region.[50] The way had been paved in pre-1900 Egypt by ʿAlī Bāshā Mubārak's geographical lexicon and the country's surveyors.[51]

[46]The first modern map series superior to the millionth scale, a work of collaboration between the U.S. Geological Survey and the Arabian American Oil Company, was executed only from the late 1950s on: *Geographic Map . . ., Kingdom of Saudi-Arabia,* scale 1:500,000, 21 maps (Washington, D.C., 1956–62), accompanied by *Arabian Peninsula: Official Standard Names Approved by the United States Board on Geographic Names* (Washington, D.C., 1961).

[47]*Atlas of Egypt*, scale 1:50,000, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1914); *Atlas of Egypt: A Series of Maps and Diagrams with Descriptive Text Illustrating the Orography, Geology, Meteorology and Economic Conditions,* scales 1:500,000 to 1:7,500,000 (Giza, 1928).

[48]For an exemplary description of his mapping method that also concedes various sources of inaccuracy see Alois Musil, *Arabia Deserta: A Topographical Itinerary* (New York, 1927), xiii–xvi.

[49]René Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (Paris, 1927).

[50]Originally, only a few classified copies were sent to press. They are now accessible through two series of reprints: *A Collection of First World War Military Handbooks of Arabia, 1913–1917,* 9 vols. (Farnham Common, 1988), and *The Middle East Intelligence Handbooks 1943–1946,* 5 vols. (Gerrards Cross, 1992).

[51]ʿAlī Bāshā Mubārak, *Al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīqīyah al-Jadīdah li-Miṣr al-Qāhirah wa-Mudunihā wa-Bilādihā al-Qadīmah wa-al-Shahīrah,* 20 vols. (Būlāq, 1887–89). A selection of the older Orientalist research

There, historical geography flourished so much that a voluminous special bibliography could be compiled as early as 1929.[52]

A special point must be made about Palestine as the initial focus of Western Middle East mapping. The country's special place as the Holy Land has nourished a prolific mutual relationship between men of letters and cartographers ever since the Middle Ages. Recalling that Palestine already formed part of the Napoleonic survey and that the 1880 PEF map of Western Palestine marked another ground-breaking step, it became virtually over-mapped in both topographical and historical regards, although Muslim affairs were dealt with far less than Biblical and Crusader matters. Accordingly, Palestine was also the first and only part of the region that attracted continuous carto-bibliography.[53]

Aside from the Holy Land, however, the individual scholarship of Orientalists could not maintain its importance opposite the advancement of surveys on a regional scale. The interest of Orientalists in mapping declined and simultaneously focused *nolens volens* on historical matters. As the status of cartography sank to the point that it was deemed an ancillary science, that which remained to be done was taken over by non-cartographers—a fact which proved detrimental to quality. It is not necessary to focus on any particular specimen of Orientalist (not to mention Mamlukist) research to illustrate this point, nor would it be fair to do

has been assembled in *Texts and Studies on the Historical Geography and Topography of Egypt,* 5 vols., ed. Fuat Sezgin (Frankfurt am Main, 1992). Besides, the constriction of Egypt to the banks of the Nile together with the intensity of cultivation there conditioned a cadastral—and thus chiefly contemporary—approach to geography. See *Dictionnaire des villes, villages, hameaux, etc. de l'Égypte* (Būlāq, 1881); [Albert Boinet], *Dictionnaire géographique de l'Égypte,* and its Arabic version, *Qāmūs Jughrāfī lil-Quṭr al-Miṣrī* (both Cairo, 1899); [idem], *Géographie économique et administrative de l'Égypte,* vol. 1 (Cairo, 1902, no more published). See also, in the historical field, Jean Maspero and Gaston Wiet, *Matériaux pour servir à la géographie de l'Égypte,* vol. 1 (Cairo, 1919, no more published).

[52]Henri Munier, *Bibliographie géographique de l'Égypte,* vol. 2, ed. Henri Lorin (Cairo, 1929). Carto-bibliography was as well restricted for a long time to either Palestine or Egypt. See n. 53 and Alfred L. Fontaine, *Monographie cartographique de l'isthme de Suez, de la péninsule du Sinaï, du nord de la Chaîne Arabique, suivi d'un catalogue raisonné sur les cartes de ces régions* (Cairo, 1955).

[53]Reinhold Röhricht, *Bibliotheca geographica Palaestina: Chronologisches Verzeichniss der auf die Geographie des Heiligen Landes bezüglichen Literatur von 333 bis 1878 und Versuch einer Cartographie* (Berlin, 1890), 2nd ed. procured by David H. K. Amiran (Jerusalem, 1963), especially 598–662. Materials published between 1878 and 1945 were recorded by Peter Thomsen, *Die Palästina-Literatur: Eine internationale Bibliographie in systematischer Ordnung mit Autoren- und Sachregister*, 5 vols. (Leipzig and Berlin, 1908–38), sections 4 and 5, and three posthumous supplementary volumes (Berlin, 1956–72). The quarterly Jewish (later, Israeli) national bibliography *Qiryat Sefer* has continued the report (Jerusalem, 1924/25–2003), first without a special rubric, later in section 14. It now works as an online resource, http://aleph500.huji.ac.il/F/?func=file&file_name=find-b&local_base=nnlqrs&con_lng=eng.

so, as any choice of cartography would display similar mapping tendencies.

As a rule, a map of Egypt or the Levant in a historical context was a monochrome line-drawing in an unskilled hand. Most probably it was page-sized and contained in a book. Owing to regular octavo and quarto formats, such a page-size map, if we use that term for the moment, typically would have a very small scale.[54] Moreover, it would have displayed a limited sample of features and a rudimentary symbology and legend, if any at all; it would have no relief, no grid,[55] and no mathematical descriptors. Only a scale statement or graph bar would usually maintain the map's geometrical foundation. Given projective distortion, neither of these two features alone allows for the satisfactory determination of distances and location of places. Hence, any two maps of this kind tend to be incompatible by cartographic standards. This does not mean that such maps are dysfunctional; it may be rightly assumed that the observer is able to perceive topologic constellations and to recognize them on another map thanks to spatial thinking. But a map that is vague enough to demand this ability and to evoke a variety of personal understandings casts doubts on whether or not it actually deserves to be called a map. Instead, it is advisable to speak of a sketch map whenever the extrinsic aspect of a cartographic specimen prevails over the intrinsic. Sketch maps, thus understood, work as diagrams rather than as maps.

The first general historical atlases of Islam, published in 1951, 1957, ca. 1960, and 1969, were drawn up with the help of cartographers and represented true maps, but they did little to improve the situation with regard to our period of concern. Although their broad claim made it inevitable that the Mamluk realm be treated, a look at the relevant plates—at best two or three per atlas[56]—betrays the perfunctory attitude towards the Mamluks which was so common before David

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[54]The elongated shape of both Egypt and the Levant, as well as the perpendicular axis of each—in the tradition of north-south oriented maps—seems to demand an upright map face such as would fit in an ordinary single-page layout. Thereby an unsatisfactory five millionth scale is suggested (1 cm to 50 km). An even more limited area such as the Sinai Peninsula allows at best for a two millionth scale. The larger formats of fold-outs and independently published map sheets could have resolved the inconvenience, but have been rarely utilized.

[55]Sometimes the grid is not shown but indicated by border ticks only. This method basically suits projections that represent the graticule in an orthogonal way. Yet, in contrast most maps of that kind are evidently based on a projection which produces a curved grid, so that figuring the position of some place without fully plotted grid lines relies on guesswork.

[56]Harry Williams Hazard, *Atlas of Islamic History* (Princeton, 1951), 21, 23, 25; Roelof Roolvink, *Historical Atlas of the Muslim Peoples* (Amsterdam, 1957), 21[a], 26[b], 27; ʿAbd al-Munʿim Mājid, *Al-Aṭlas al-Tārīkhī lil-ʿĀlam al-Islāmī fī al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭá* (Cairo, [ca. 1960], 2nd ed. 1967); Rolf Reichert, *Atlas histórico regional do mundo árabe (Mapas e resumo cronológico)/A Historical and Regional Atlas of the Arabic World (Maps and Chronological Survey)* (Salvador da Bahia, 1969), 82 map 26, 84 map 27.

Ayalon's time. Moreover, the map contents deserve criticism. While topographical minima were included, the relief and the composition of historical landscapes were left out. This, it seems, is due to a uniform preoccupation with the delineation of political entities on the state level (though not even the drawing of boundaries was consistently achieved).

Another characteristic of both the atlases and the maps contained in books and articles was—and still is—a disregard of the fact that natural environments change and are mutable under human influence. Almost as a rule, historical settlements are placed within recent topography and hydrography as borrowed tacitly from present-day cartography. The findings of earlier generations of scholars, regarding for example the hydrography of the Nile as studied by Prince Omar Toussoun,[57] are not always appropriately taken into account. A look into any of the more recently produced general atlases on Islamic history shows that the issue has not been addressed. Likewise, the majority of (sketch) maps in books and articles continue to be produced today along modest lines.

A last point shall be made about the distinction between maps and plans, as it answers to a prominent strand of Mamlukist research. For the sake of clarity, cartographic materials that show the ground-plan of a locality like a city, an archaeological site, or a battlefield may best be termed plans. Because they are drawn on a very large scale, say of 1:5,000, plans do not require a format beyond the regular page-size and still allow the depiction of a medieval city, for example, with expedient resolution. It is not surprising that these premises have favored the drawing up of a considerable number of city plans, given the fact that urban research, connected to the history of architecture, is prominent in Mamluk studies. Cairo, of course, figures first. Many of these plans depict certain historical issues, be they, for instance, shifts in demography and topography, professional and social composition, fortification and the architectural representation of power, or the distribution of religious institutions, thus counting among the best cartographic materials that we possess for the period.[58] However, disparities between plans and maps are such that more plans will not necessarily aid the progress of mapping on a more expanded topographical basis. This is again due to the implications of large scales. Plans, first of all, are in practice not subject to

[57]Omar Toussoun, *Mémoire sur les anciennes branches du Nil,* 2 pts. (Cairo, 1922/23); idem, *Mémoire sur l'histoire du Nil,* 3 pts. (Cairo, 1925); idem, *La géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque arabe,* pt. 1 (Cairo, 1926–36, no more published).

[58]E.g., see the plans in Susan Jane Staffa, *Conquest and Fusion: The Social Evolution of Cairo A.D. 642–1850* (Leiden, 1977), facing 12, 100, and 228; reworked in *An Historical Atlas of Islam/ Atlas historique de l'islam,* ed. Hugh Kennedy (Leiden, 2001), 30–31. On Damascus, Jerusalem, and Aleppo, plus Middle Eastern cities outside the Mamluk Empire (ibid., 17, 19, 26–28), see Kennedy's notes on map sources, xiv–xv.

projective distortion and thus do not require mathematical descriptors. Secondly, there is neither a need nor an opportunity to plot the graticule, lest the reader go astray amongst meaningless infinitesimal calculations. Thirdly, representation of the relief is mostly dispensed with. Only a scale statement reminds one of geometry. Notwithstanding the sound geometric sub-construction that is inherent in a good plan, plans as a genre facilitate comparatively quick production and forgive one technical flaw or another. As plans resemble sketch maps in these respects, it shows that, and explains why, historical maps take a middle position in between the extremes of either minimum-scale sketch maps or maximum-scale plans.

3. A Reconciliation

The next stage was initiated by the *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients,* an unrivalled corpus of regional maps acknowledged as a standard reference in many fields. Being a multidisciplinary research program conducted from 1969 to 1989 by the University of Tübingen, the *TAVO* constitutes a loose-leaf atlas, in German and English, that finally comprised 121 sheets in series A, natural sciences, and another 174 sheets in series B, humanities. This tremendous work met the most exacting technical standards of the time and is a study in aesthetic balance.[59] Among its historical maps, those on Islamic subjects figure prominently and provide the most sophisticated and variegated set of cartographic materials we have in the field of Islamic Studies. Leaving aside for a moment the achievements of any individual *TAVO* map, the main general improvements observed in the atlas are that, first, cartography was brought back into the purview of historians of Islam and collaboration with fully trained cartographers was reestablished. Second, thoroughly georeferenced topographical mapping and thematic mapping could thus be reconciled. As a result, the conventional limitation to cities and polities was overcome and attention was drawn to spatial formations such as confessional distribution, fortification patterns, juridical institutionalization, rural settlement, etc. Third, an unprecedented precision of content was achieved by manifold symbologies, carefully arranged legends, and the clear delimitation of each map's

[59]The atlas proper (Wiesbaden, 1977–93) is accompanied by two monograph series: *Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients* (abbr. Beihefte), series A and B, of hitherto 28 plus 98 volumes in altogether 161 parts (Wiesbaden, 1972 to date), and by the *Register zu den Karten/General Index,* ed. Horst Kopp and Wolfgang Röllig (Wiesbaden, 1994). The concluding volume *Von der Quelle zur Karte: Abschlußbuch des Sonderforschungsbereichs. . .*, ed. Wolfgang Röllig (Weinheim, 1991), 252–82, records the maps and volumes published until that year. The maps on Biblical history were recollected in an extra series as *Tübinger Bibelatlas, auf der Grundlage des Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients (TAVO/Tübingen Bible Atlas,* ed. Siegfried Mittmann and Götz Schmitt (Stuttgart and Wiesbaden, 2001). A comprehensive list of publications may be obtained from Reichert publishers.

temporal range. Of course, the comparatively large sheet format and thus large scale of the maps (here, up to a millionth) was critical to these achievements. Fourth, the premise of undertaking only such research as suits the objective of mapping effected, in some cases, the spelling out of methodology.[60] Moreover, the technical aspects of atlas cartography were explained.[61]

Although it must be said with regret that the Mamluk period does not constitute a focal concern of the atlas, two maps in particular touch upon the Ayyubid and Mamluk Sultanates. Heinz Halm mapped the distribution of Islamic law schools until the end of the Kipchak Mamluks[62] and, more relevant to the readership of this journal, the record of fiefdoms in Egypt as registered in 777/1376 by the military *dīwān* and preserved in the *Kitāb al-Tuḥfah al-Sanīyah bi-Asmāʾ al-Bilād al-Miṣrīyah* of Ibn al-Jīʿān (d. 885/1480).[63] The latter map also reflects the administrative divisions and the density of settlement and agriculture in the Nile Valley and the Delta during the time of al-Malik al-Ashraf Shaʿbān. Together with Halm's two-volume companion and the fifty basic location maps contained therein, the work can serve as a historical gazetteer of Egypt in the period of the Kipchak sultans in general and as a master index to its medieval and nineteenth-century sources.[64] Otherwise, Egypt and Syria are but superficially touched upon,[65]

[60] E.g., Heinz Gaube, "Die Quellen zur Karte B VII 6: 'Die Kernländer des ʿAbbāsidenreiches' und ihre Auswertung," in *Von der Quelle zur Karte,* 199–216.

[61] Wolfgang Denk, *Atlaskartographie: Theoretische und praktische Probleme dargestellt am Beispiel des "Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients (TAVO)"* (Wiesbaden, 1990).

[62] *TAVO* B VIII 16 = Heinz Halm, *Die islamischen Rechtsschulen: Palästina, Syrien und Ägypten/ Islamic Law Schools: Palestine, Syria and Egypt,* scale 1:4,000,000 (Wiesbaden, 1977).

[63] *TAVO* B VIII 13 = Heinz Halm, *Ägypten unter den Mamlūken/Egypt under the Mamlūks,* scale 1:1,000,000 (Wiesbaden, 1984).

[64] Heinz Halm, *Ägypten nach den mamlukischen Lehensregistern,* 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1979), including 50 monochrome maps on a scale of 1:200,000; see 1:35–36. Another convenient key to identify one of the anonymous smaller settlements of the map—and a proof of toponymic continuity—is his map of Egypt in an earlier period, based on the name list of Ibn Mammātī (d. 606/1209): *TAVO* B VII 13 = Heinz Halm, *Ägypten unter den Fāṭimiden (969–1171)/Egypt under the Fāṭimids (969–1171),* scale 1:1,000,000 (Wiesbaden, 1984).

[65] *TAVO* B VIII 1 = Heinz Halm and Verena Klemm, *Der Vordere Orient um 1200/The Middle East around 1200,* scale 1:8,000,000 (Wiesbaden, 1985), is an overview map of the wider region's political setting and must not be expected to offer local detail. *TAVO* B VIII 15 = Dorothea Krawulsky, *Īrān: Das Reich der Īlḫāne 656–736 h/1258–1336 n. Chr. (Westteil)/Īrān: The Īlḫānid Empire 656–736 h/1258–1336 A.C.,* scale 1:4,000,000, two sheets (Wiesbaden, 1984), also shows the itineraries of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah in Syria, Egypt, and the Hijaz with a fair number of cities and villages he passed through, but hardly anything beyond his path. As a gazetteer to the map including its Middle Eastern reaches, see idem, *Īrān–das Reich der Īlḫāne: Eine topographisch-historische Studie* (Wiesbaden, 1978), containing 11 monochrome location maps mostly on a scale of 7.1 cm to 100 km (i.e., ca. 1:1,400,000).

while maps of Oriental Christendom and of conflict with the Latin principalities and the Mongols are preponderant.[66] As these foci show, little is to be learned from the maps about the interior of the two sultanates.

While the factual results and appraisal of the *TAVO* are tremendous, it is noteworthy that it did not reverse the general attitude towards mapping. Since its newly established technical and heuristic standards have been difficult to meet, the *TAVO* has remained an exceptional case instead of encouraging further mapping activities in the field. For the most part, the drawing of piecemeal sketch maps, which was induced by the transition from the first to the second stage of development, is still going on. It is likely that there will be no cartographic endeavor of comparable magnitude and variety with relevance to Islamic studies for quite some time to come.

4. Recent Developments

Since the 1980s, the sciences and humanities have seen an intensification of spatial thinking and mapping activities which place Islamic and Mamluk studies in a changed intellectual environment. On the one hand, new concepts of social space, space perceptions, and mental maps are emanating from geography, sociology, cognitive psychology, and other fields.[67] Whether or not one is inclined to subscribe to the voguish labeling of a "spatial turn," it is apparent that these concepts have heralded a renunciation of the older, basically topographical, understanding of space and have instead promoted notions of a socially and culturally encoded space. This is illustrated for instance by a shift in archaeology from site towards landscape archaeology, part of which is *nota bene* a growing regard for the embedding of urban cultures in nomadic contexts.[68]

On the other hand, the information revolution since the 1990s has promoted spatial issues. Researchers are now confronted with an ever-expanding field of electronic spatial data, information retrieval and mapping tools, and opportunities

[66] On Christendom, see *TAVO* B VIII 2 and 5; on conflict with the Franks, B VIII 6, 8, 10, and 12; and on the invasion of Tīmūr, B VIII 6, 19.1, and 19.2.

[67] In addition to n. 4, special mention may be made of the collective volume *Image and Environment: Cognitive Mapping and Spatial Behavior,* ed. Roger M. Downs and David Stea (Chicago, 1973), and of Pierre Bourdieu, "Espace social et genèse de 'classe,'" *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 52/53 (1984): 3–14.

[68] Kurt F. Anschuetz, Richard H. Wilshusen, and Cherie L. Scheick, "An Archaeology of Landscapes: Perspectives and Directions," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 9 (2001): 157–211; Stefan R. Hauser, "Archaeological Approaches to Nomadism," in *The Visibility of Nomads and Seasonal Occupation in the Archaeological Record: Multi-Disciplinary Approaches to a Methodological Problem,* ed. idem (Wiesbaden, forthcoming) (for the time being, see his introduction to *Die Sichtbarkeit von Nomaden und saisonaler Besiedlung in der Archäologie: Multidisziplinäre Annäherungen an ein methodisches Problem,* ed. idem (Halle, 2006), 1–26).

to discuss, collaborate, and publish. Mainly for extra-scientific reasons, spatial data has become virtually ubiquitous because a plethora of maps, aerial photography, and space imagery that had been patronized for decades by the military and by military-associated companies was disclosed to the public, for the most part via the internet and other channels of electronic distribution.[69] Taking advantage of this, online 3-D-mapping earth viewers make topographical information available on both the global and local scale in previously unseen quantity and quality.[70] This has the effect, among others, that governments in the region can no longer hope to protect their territory from outsiders' eyes by concealing maps and survey data, now that access to georeferenced high-resolution imagery of any location from above has become technical child's play.[71] Hence, habits of spatial thinking and expectations in printed materials have undergone a radical change in all areas. Responding to this, specialized library map collections have begun to grant online access to their catalogues and holdings.

Rather than dwelling on the overwhelming range of services and tools, one may note that a basic operation such as determining the geographical location of some given place or learning which place names exist in the vicinity of a particular location meant considerable hardship one generation ago—whereas now online gazetteers, remote sensing data, and some historical maps allow one to check coordinates and toponymy in a short time. With regard to Egypt, for instance, one official U.S. online database alone puts 42,759 place names (including variants) plus coordinates at one's fingertips.[72]

Certainly, the technical side of innovation must not be overstressed, as it is not

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[69] Crucial to this is high-resolution space imagery generated through international cooperation on the basis of public funds which is therefore distributed freely, e.g., via NASA's *Global Land Cover Facility,* http://glcf.umiacs.umd.edu. Another source of "new" information is the dissemination of Soviet military maps some time after the end of the Cold War. By this, topographical maps on scales of 1:1,000,000 up to 1:50,000 that were quite timely, having been compiled mainly during the 1970s and 1980s, became available for almost the entire Middle East, be it in the print version or as electronic resources. Now the tide has ebbed away and libraries have reduced online access to these maps.

[70] *Google Earth,* http://earth.google.com; *NASA World Wind,* http://worldwind.arc.nasa.gov; *Microsoft Virtual Earth,* http://local.live.com.

[71] The Middle Eastern national survey and mapping authorities are still adapting to this change after a long period of secrecy, the forerunners being the Survey of Israel/ha-Merkaz le-Mipuy Yisraʾel and the Royal Jordanian Geographic Center/al-Markaz al-Jughrāfī al-Malikī al-Urdunnī.

[72] *Geographic Names Server,* hosted by the United States National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency, http://earth-info.nga.mil/gns/html. It incorporates and refreshes the inventories which before were furnished in the Gazetteer series of the United States Board on Geographic Names (Washington, D.C., 1955–97). The country file on Egypt referred to above was last modified in February 2007, ~/namefiles.htm. Note also the *Getty Thesaurus of Geographic Names Online* at http://www.getty.edu/research/conducting_research/vocabularies/tgn.

sufficient in itself. The abundance of new spatial data and methods of processing them could create a maelstrom unless appropriate research designs make use of them. Fortunately, this is what seems to have happened most recently. A multitude of electronic and often web-based scientific initiatives in the field of space relations are springing up everywhere. The *Chicago Online Encyclopedia of Mamluk Studies* is scheduled to be supplemented by a set of high-resolution "interactive online and freely printable maps of the Mamluk Sultanate and the wider region during the Mamluk period"—an intent which proves that a need for such material exists.[73] I understand that these will not be static but account for diachronic shifts in trade routes, etc. However, this is not yet nearing completion.

Besides, relevant activities may for the most part be found in neighboring branches of research. A few may be named here, without any criticism of the many that are omitted. A newly posted website on the anonymous fourth/tenth-century *Kitāb Gharāʾib al-Funūn wa-Mulaḥ al-ʿUyūn,* which surfaced only in 2000, is a study in the online presentation of a manuscript source that pertains through both maps and text to astronomy, cartography, and geography[74]—similar source digitizations of just a few years back prove to be comparatively unwieldy.[75] Classical scholars have recently published the *Historischer Atlas der antiken Welt,* English edition forthcoming.[76] Biblical scholars are collaborating on a *Digital Archaeology Atlas of the Holy Land,*[77] and in Central Asian studies an *Archaeological Information System of Central Asia* is being undertaken.[78] The *Electronic Cultural Atlas Initiative* aims to serve as a clearing house for projects that range, so far, between China and Egypt.[79] As already mentioned, *La cartothèque méditerranéenne* (soon becoming *CartoMundi*) explores the modern regional carto-bibliography,[80] and a promising attempt is now being made to register the modern literature

[73]For the announcement see http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/su/mideast/medoc.html.

[74]*Medieval Islamic Views of the Cosmos: The Book of Curiosities,* ed. and trans. Yossef Rapoport, Emilie Savage-Smith, and Jeremy Johns, http://cosmos.bodley.ox.ac.uk.

[75]See for example *La Géographie d'Idrîsî: Un atlas du monde au XIIe siècle,* CD-ROM (Paris, 2000). For a modern subject, see the DVD edition of Jacotin's atlas to the *Description de l'Égypte* (Alexandria, 2004), mentioned in n. 31.

[76]*Historischer Atlas der antiken Welt,* ed. Anne-Maria Wittke, Eckart Olshausen, and Richard Szydlak (Stuttgart, 2007) (= Der Neue Pauly; Supplemente, 3). The English edition by Brill Publishers is scheduled for 2010.

[77]The atlas is being prepared by the Levantine Archaeology Laboratory of the University of California, San Diego; see http://www.anthro.ucsd.edu/~tlevy/index_files/Digita_Arch.htm.

[78]*AISCA* is directed by Bernardo Rondelli and Sebastian Stride. For an abstract, see http://www.uam.es/otroscentros/asiriologiayegipto/5icaane/ws4_prog.html.

[79]*ECAI* is a community of affiliates hosted by the University of California, Berkeley, http://ecai.org.

[80]See n. 29.

on Islamic cartography.[81] Research in the scientific traditions of both Western and Islamic cartography is vital to an understanding of medieval perceptions of space and physical space relations and of how these may account for present-day biases.

Initiatives of this kind would equally hold that the visual items they produce are not mere reworkings of previous results. Instead, mapping is conceived as a heuristic means that allows one to address issues, if spatially related, along more suitable lines than textual treatment could. This is because maps can best take advantage of that potential which is specific to the visual sense, namely the perception of a multitude of distributed contents synoptically. Hence, maps may serve not only as a secondary visualization but as a clue to historical understanding in its own right. The requirements of mapping even modify the foregoing study of the sources. It is inherent in the two-dimensional nature of maps that they reveal their contents at once and betray blanks and inconsistencies to the observant reader in a pitiless manner. The observer of a map beholds its positive contents and at the same time interprets the vacant stretches in between, which impose themselves on him much more than gaps within a text would. Map-makers therefore need to exercise exhaustive and unequivocal criticism of content. They share the experience of having to decide whether a matter is appropriate to mapping at all, i.e., whether it is possible to represent it in all parts of the mapped area with similar meaningfulness—and to refrain from mapping when source evidence is too scant or too confined to one place. This caution is imperative in order for historical mapping to attain the value of cartography in showing the spatial condition of a certain matter. We should demand this care all the more as the necessities of localization and identification are widely realized, and as the way is open for considering more complex spatial issues.

A Thematic Atlas

The above notes are the prolegomena to a substantial undertaking: the making of a series of maps that shed light on the interaction of nomads and sedentary people in Syria and Egypt during the Ayyubid and Kipchak Mamluk periods. They are part of a study in the textual sources in progress.[82] This combined work aims at expounding the development, possible structure, and impact of that mutual relationship, thus highlighting a hitherto little-known period in the history of

[81] Tarek Kahlaoui, *Islamic Cartography: A Bibliography of Modern Literature,* http://islamic-cartography.blogspot.com, an offshoot of the author's still ongoing doctoral thesis, having proceeded to date to the letter *B*.

[82] See n. 5. The maps are drawn up by the cartographer Martin Grosch with the collaboration of the Institute for Geo Research (geo3) of the University of Applied Sciences, Berlin, and the Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography, Leipzig.

Middle Eastern nomadic-sedentary relations. It will perhaps also help in assessing the initial suggestion that both dynasties devised a new attitude toward space and adequately engaged in a heightened spatial organization that should have expanded over the hinterland and brought the Bedouin population under state supervision.

Drawing on lessons to be learned from the course of historical cartography, the work is characterized by the following properties. First, the separation of topographical and historical mapping has proven detrimental to the latter, and here they are merged again. Placing historical content on a topographical background will reveal the visual properties of the map. As the relief, bodies of water, etc., help to envision the setting of some historical matter on the ground, they moreover provide a yardstick as to whether there is relevance to space and thus whether it is appropriate to map a particular object. This is best achieved with large-scale colored maps which suggest folio size, except for the smallest regions.

Second, thematic mapping is needed, which takes the conventional geography of settlement and large political entities as a starting point and proceeds to focus on more specific issues. While some contexts require the static exposure of aspects in multiple synchronic maps, sequences of maps on a diachronic scale better highlight developments and changes over time. At the same time, relevant efforts of an older date, now often difficult to access or sunk into oblivion, deserve reassessment and mapping according to present-day standards, including historical topography and hydrography.

Third, a historico-critical approach is to be reintroduced after a long time in which mapping activity has failed to explicate its methodological foundations. This also basically holds true for those maps which accompany historical gazetteers, since even the most accurate reference to textual sources does not make it clear why some item was placed on a particular spot on the map. The two Kieperts, already mentioned, may serve as an example in that they often made detailed references to their source materials. They evaluated them, discussed their subtle decisions closely, and pointed out uncertainties.[83] This way, the reader's attention is drawn to the fact that maps are not bearers of positive facts to which they are secondary, but rather are constructs of the map-maker.

Last but not least, the profound change in cartographic techniques since the making of the *TAVO* seems to lend itself to thematic cartography, as it has an immediate impact on which spatial issues may be addressed and how. In

[83]E.g., H. Kiepert, "Zu den Karten," in Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien,* text volume, 407–12; R. Kiepert, "Zu den Karten," in Max von Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf,* 2:389–414. See also, though to a lesser extent, *An Historical Atlas of Islam,* ed. Kennedy, xi–xix.

fact, electronic mapping on the basis of georeferenced remote sensing data is invaluable for the achievement of a precise topography in which history can be embedded soundly. Speaking in general, combination with a digital elevation model (DEM) allows for a three-dimensional impression with a vast potential to fuel one's spatial imagination and is yet technically impeccable. Furthermore, the integration of electronic maps in a geographical information system (GIS) opens up unforeseen possibilities of thematic analysis, interpretation, and presentation.[84] Finally, distribution of the results in electronic form is a welcome opportunity to advance the recognition and further study of spatial contexts in history.

[84] See *Islamic Area Studies with Geographical Information Systems,* ed. Okabe Atsuyuki (London, 2004).

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The ʿAṭṭār Mosque in Tripoli

In the year 1112/1700 the scholar ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī[1] visited Tripoli in present-day Lebanon. In his travelogue *Al-Riḥlah al-Ṭarābulusīyah* he gives brief notices of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque,[2] reporting that the mosque is said to have been a church originally and that a perfume merchant had secretly paid to have it rebuilt as a mosque.[3] With this brief passage, al-Nābulusī is the first author to posit a connection between the ʿAṭṭār Mosque and a church. He can thus be seen as the originator of an idea that has influenced treatises on the architecture of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque ever since. Although al-Nābulusī did not supply any references for his statement that the ʿAṭṭār Mosque was formerly a church, the preponderance of research on the mosque is based upon this assumption, even though it is not confirmed by any other written source nor have investigations of the building itself specifically examined this question. The following article aims to take a closer look at this hypothesis by analyzing the ʿAṭṭār Mosque's integration into the urban and social spheres as well as its decorative scheme, and by suggesting

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This article is a summary of the results of my master's thesis, completed under Dr. Martina Müller-Wiener and Professor Dr. Stephan Conermann at the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-University in Bonn, 2004. I would like to thank the Orient-Institut in Beirut (OIB), who provided me with institutional assistance, accommodation, and access to their library and archives during my fieldwork in Lebanon in April/May 2004. I am indebted to them for their permission to publish photographs and drawings which evolved out of the Tripoli project which is hosted and financed by them. My special gratitude is extended to Dr. Stefan Weber of the OIB, who made my research in Beirut and Tripoli possible, and to Nathalie Chahine, who assisted me in Tripoli. I am especially grateful to Emily Schalk for her helping hand in translating this article into English and to Ulrike Siegel for her suggestions concerning questions about architectural research. Lastly, I would like to thank Dr. Robert Saliba, American University of Beirut, Department of Architecture and Design, for granting me permission to publish figure 1.

[1] ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Al-Tuhfah al-Nābulusīyah fī al-Riḥlah al-Ṭarābulusīyah (Die Reise des ʿAbd al-Ġanī al-Nābulusī durch den Libanon),* ed. Heribert Busse (Wiesbaden, 1971), 72–73.

[2] Michael Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien (648/1250 bis 923/1517)* (Glückstadt, 1992), 2:165, 9C/320, and 215, 19A/30, listed as "Moschee des Badr ad-Dīn al-ʿAṭṭār." In this article, in contrast, I shall use the designation "ʿAṭṭār Mosque," for the following reasons: the lack of a definite determination of the commissioner's name, the earliest reference to the mosque as the "jāmiʿ al-ʿAṭṭār," and the mention of the mosque by this name in Ottoman travelogues.

[3] "Qīla inna aṣlahu kanīsah, wa-qad ʿamarahu rajul kāna ʿaṭṭāran, wa-kāna yunfiqu ʿalayhi min al-ghayb fa-nusiba ilayhi" (al-Nābulusī, *al-Riḥlah al-Ṭarābulusīyah,* 72–73).

other interpretations for its special architectural features.

Description of the Building

The ʿAṭṭār Mosque was built during the eighth/fourteenth century in the middle of today's old city of Tripoli, which is still relatively well preserved. The nucleus of the mosque consists of a prayer hall, a vestibule in the east, and a minaret.[4] The prayer hall is situated longitudinally from south to north (fig. 1). A barrel vault takes up this axis and is interrupted in the northern section by a dome. To the north, west, and east of the area of the dome are the three entrances to the mosque.

Whereas the portal in the west opens directly into the prayer hall, the portal in the east opens into a vestibule leading to this room. The vestibule is flanked by a room for ablution in the north and by a further adjoining room in the south. Altogether, this group of rooms forms an eastern annex. To the east of the northern entrance arises the minaret.

The prayer hall is bordered to the south by the qiblah wall, which is distinguished by the minbar in the center and the mihrab in the east (fig. 2). Starting at the qiblah wall and extending as far as the dome, the east and west sides of the southern prayer hall are divided by three large niches, each of different size (fig. 3). The barrel vault and the wall division with niches[5] continue to the north of the area of the dome. Today this area is encompassed by a gallery (fig. 4).

Altogether, with the longitudinal direction of the prayer hall, the position of the mihrab in the east and the minbar in the middle of the qiblah wall,[6] the domed area, and the arrangement of the entrance and the annex in the east, the ʿAṭṭār Mosque displays architectural elements that do not permit a simple correlation

[4] In this article I shall focus primarily on the core structure of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque. The latrine, the inaccessible adjoining room F, the blocked up niche C 1, and a room adjoining A 2 are not the immediate subjects of this study.

[5] Whereas the eastern niche (C 2) is fully shaped, the western niche (C 1) seems to have been blocked up. This is indicated, on the one hand, by alterations in the course of the masonry and, on the other, by the similar front walls that are in both cases located above the gallery. A window blocks up the opening in the west (C 1), while the front wall continues in the vaulting of the niche in the east (C 2).

[6] In addition, it is noteworthy that the present-day direction of the qiblah does not correspond with the original qiblah and is modified by means of lines spanned across the floor. Basing his calculations on Mamluk astronomical writings, King is able to determine a qiblah-orientation of ca. 30 degrees southeast in Tripoli. Yet he notes that the direction of the qiblah in Mamluk mosques in Tripoli actually ranges from 15 degrees southeast to 10 degrees southwest (David A. King, "The Astronomy of the Mamluks: A Brief Overview," *Muqarnas* 2 [1984]: 82). Thus, the ʿAṭṭār Mosque does not present an exception in Tripoli with the "inexact" orientation of the qiblah.

with the otherwise common typology of mosques.[7]

A Crusader Church as Predecessor?

Various scholars have attempted to explain the peculiarities in the elevation and ground plan of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque with the hypothesis of a predecessor structure (often suggested to have been a church) located at the same site of the present-day mosque.[8] The aforementioned passage in al-Nābulusī's text and the history of the city of Tripoli are essential pieces of evidence used in the development of this hypothesis. The present-day old city of Tripoli emerged as a new creation of the Mamluks in the late seventh/thirteenth century, following Sultan al-Manṣur Qalāwūn's[9] conquest of and complete destruction of the old port city of Tripoli in 688/1289, which had been under Crusader rule since 1109. The new city, given the same name, was built a few kilometers farther inland[10] on the banks of the Abū ʿAlī river, at the site of a suburb *(mons peregrinus)*. The latter had already developed after the building of the citadel at the beginning of the twelfth century[11] and thus has given rise to speculation about possible previous structures from Crusader times that might still have been preserved.[12]

The first suggestion of a church as predecessor to the ʿAṭṭār Mosque is found in al-Nābulusī's writings, as mentioned above. This hypothesis was initially taken up by the scholar Kurd ʿAlī, who surmised that the ʿAṭṭār Mosque was preceded by a Crusader church.[13] Two lines of argument have developed in research, which

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[7] Cf. Hayat Salam-Liebich, *The Architecture of the Mamluk City of Tripoli* (Cambridge, MA, 1983), 76. For mosque typology, see, for example, Robert Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning* (Edinburgh, 1994).

[8] One exception is Meinecke, who views the present form as the enlargement of an "original" structure (Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 2:165 and 215).

[9] R. 678–93/1279–90.

[10] Al-Qalqashandī, *Kitāb Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ* (Cairo, 1914), 4:142–43.

[11] Salam-Liebich, *The Architecture,* 6.

[12] Cf. for example, the Great Mosque: Max van Berchem and Edmond Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie* (Cairo, 1914), 1:118–19; Camille Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem: Architecture religieuse et civile,* vol. 2 (Paris, 1928), 434; and the mosque of the governor Ṭaynāl al-Ashrafī: Nina Jidejian, *Tripoli through the Ages* (Beirut, 1980), 86–87; Berchem and Fatio, *Voyage en Syrie*, 1:120–21. In order to attain substantiated information about Crusader structures that still exist in the city, more archaeological investigations are necessary. Until now excavations have been conducted only by Salamé-Sarkis in the area of the citadel and in al-Mīna (Ḥassān Salamé-Sarkis, "Chronique archéologique du Liban-Nord II: 1973-1974," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 26 [1973]: 91–102; idem, "Tripoli: Textes et Fouilles," *Berytus* 31 [1983]: 129–49). Cf. Gunnar Lehmann, *Bibliographie der Archäologischen Fundstellen und Surveys in Syrien und Libanon* (Rahden/Westfalen, 2002), 561.

[13] Kurd ʿAlī notes that it was well known among the inhabitants of Tripoli that during the time of

unlike Kurd ʿAlī, maintain explicitly that a Crusader church is still evidenced in the structure of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque of today.[14] Whereas one view proposes that an original Crusader church was simply converted into a mosque,[15] the other has developed the theory of an original Crusader church that was destroyed, whereupon a mosque was built in the same place, making use of parts of the predecessor structure.[16]

The main proponent of this second theory is Tadmurī. He augments the remarks of al-Nābulusī and Kurd ʿAlī with the assertion that the southern part of the Crusader church remained standing, while the newly erected mosque was adjoined to the northern part.[17] Thereby Tadmurī makes the first attempt to support Kurd ʿAlī's reference to the common opinion of Tripoli's inhabitants about the mosque by providing arguments which he, however, presents only in the form of assertions without further facts or data; hence, his assumption of a cemetery[18] or the existence of objects from Crusader times (now missing).[19] Further, Tadmurī does not supply any arguments or references for his assumption that the former baptismal font forms the cupola of the present-day minbar.[20] Tadmurī's assertion

the Crusaders the ʿAṭṭār Mosque was a church and that after the conquest of Islam it was changed into a congregational mosque. Allegedly, after the structure had deteriorated, it was reconstructed (Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām* [Damascus, 1928], 6:54).

[14] Al-Nābulusī uses the phrase *wa-qad ʿamarahu,* which could be understood in this way if Herzfeld's reading of "ʿamara, ʿammara" is followed: "reconstruire, en conservant une assez grande partie de ce qui existait avant, et, dans la plupart des cas, moins que cel: reparer" (Ernst Herzfeld, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum: Deuxième Partie: Syrie du Nord: Inscriptions et Monuments d'Alep* [Cairo, 1954–55], 162).

[15] Al-Sayyid ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Sālim, *Ṭarābulus al-Shām fī al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī* (Alexandria, 1967), 414; Samīḥ Wajīh al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus Qadīman wa-Ḥadīthan* (Beirut, 1969), 423; Salam-Liebich, *The Architecture,* 78; Dick Doughty, "Tripoli: Lebanon's Mamluk monument," *Aramco World* 51, no. 3 (2000): 9.

[16] ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa-Āthār Masājid wa-Madāris Ṭarābulus fī ʿAṣr al-Mamālīk: Min al-Fatḥ al-Manṣūrī ḥattá al-Ān (688–1394H/1289-1974M)* (Tripoli, 1974), 194.

[17] Ibid., 194; idem, "Al-Āthār al-Islāmīyah fī Ṭarābulus al-Shām," *Al-Fikr al-ʿArabī* 9, no. 52 (1988): 212.

[18] Tadmurī, "Al-Āthār al-Islāmīyah," 212. Here he refers solely to the mosque keeper. With the lack of a thorough investigation in the area of the courtyard, which is paved with marble slabs, it can only be stated that today there are no signs of a cemetery.

[19] ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-Siyāsī wa-al-Ḥaḍārī ʿabra al-ʿUṣūr: ʿAṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk,* vol. 2, *Min al-Fatḥ al-Manṣūrī 688h/1289m ḥattá Suqūṭ Dawlat al-Mamālīk 922h/1516m* (Tripoli, 1981), 291.

[20] Here in comparison reference should be made to two baptismal fonts from Crusader times in Lebanon, which Enlart presents: one in the cathedral in Byblos and one in the monastery church in Belmont. They do not display any similarity with the cupola of the minbar (Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés,* vol. 1, atlas [Paris, 1926], pl. 38, fig. 128; ibid., vol. 1 [Paris, 1925], 163). On the

that the southern part of the roof does not look like an "Islamic building"[21] cannot be accepted due to the lack of any details.

The arguments made by Salam-Liebich in favor of a converted church, which are supported by Doughty,[22] al-Zayn, and Sālim,[23] are, however, based upon observations of the building. Salam-Liebich views the disposition of the ground plan (fig. 1), the later addition of an ablution room, and the mihrab set in the east of the qiblah wall as decisive arguments in support of the prior use of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque as a church.[24]

Salam-Liebich's observation that the ground plan of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque cannot be assigned to any known classification of mosque can be affirmed. Yet, neither does the plan correspond with a Crusader church which has been converted but still basically preserved in its original structure. Whereas the core structure of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque is in a north-south direction, that of the typical Crusader church was orientated towards the east.[25] Furthermore, the mihrab contradicts Salam-Liebich's argument in favor of a church. That is, the mihrab was integrated from the start into the present qiblah wall, as attested by the continuous masonry within the mihrab niche and the surrounding wall surface (fig. 5). Therefore, it must be seen as an original as well as fundamental endorsement of the building as a mosque. Even though accord must be given Salam-Liebich's note that an ablution room is essential for a mosque, its later addition is not a compelling

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contrary, the material, decoration, and technique of the minbar's cupola are comparable to other contemporary minbars, as will be dealt with in detail below.

[21] Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa-Āthār,* 194.

[22] Doughty, "Tripoli," 9.

[23] Although Sālim also refers to Kurd ʿAlī, he nevertheless reaches the conclusion—contrary to Tadmurī—that the ʿAṭṭār Mosque was converted from a church (Sālim, *Ṭarābulus al-Shām,* 414). Al-Zayn shares this opinion, with reference to Kurd ʿAlī (al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus,* 423).

[24] Salam-Liebich, *The Architecture,* 78.

[25] Cf. for example Denys Pringle, *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1998); Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés,* vol. 1, atlas; and Santino Langè, *Architettura delle crociate in Palestina* (Como, 1965), 129–74. Enlart emphasizes the orientation to the east again expressly (Enlart, *Les monuments des croisés*, 1:41–42). The possibility that a church might have stood there that was not built by the Crusaders can be dismissed, as both Maronite as well as early Christian churches in Syria are situated with the sanctuary towards the east (for Maronite churches, see Youhanna Sader, *Peintures murales dans des églises maronites médiévales* [Beirut, 1987]; for early Christian churches see Howard Crosby Butler, *Early Churches in Syria: Fourth to Seventh Centuries: Edited and Completed by E. Baldwin Smith: Part One: History,* ed. E. Baldwin Smith [1929; repr., Amsterdam, 1969], 182; for churches of the Byzantine, Armenian, and Syrian rites see Raymond Janin, *Les églises orientaux et les rites orientaux: Cinquième édition avec compléments bibliographiques par Sandrine Lerou et Philippe Escolan: Préface par Etienne Fouilloux* [Paris, 1997], 28, 313, 366).

argument for the building's former use as a church.[26]

Meinecke assumes as well that there was an "original structure," but, on the contrary, dates it to the Mamluk period; according to his theory, a predecessor structure was erected before 735/1334–35, to which the west portal might have belonged. Later, the eastern portal and the marble minbar, both dated through an inscription to 751/1350–51, were added to this complex.[27] This sequence in building phases, which is implied in Salam-Liebich's and Meinecke's assertion that the ablution room or the portal was added at a later time to a building that was already present (Crusader church, "original structure"), will be discussed in the following.

Relative Chronology of the Building Phases of the Core Structure

Clearly recognizable in the masonry are joints which a recent restoration of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque brought to light from beneath the plaster of the interior room.[28] These joints have made it possible to formulate a relative chronology of several building phases (fig. 1). Construction of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque began in the south (I), continued in the north (II), and culminated in the construction of an annex consisting of the ablution room, vestibule, and adjoining room in the east.

One distinct joint is located to the south of niches A3 and A6 and runs on both sides from the top of the vault down to the floor (fig. 5). The course of the stone layers to the south and to the north of the joint differ. Moreover, great differences are noticeable in the composition of the vaulting on both sides. Whereas in the south the stones are almost ashlar-like and the vertical and horizontal masonry relatively flat and more tightly applied, in the north the stones resemble quarry stones and the joints appear to be deeper and more spacious, so that the surface seems to be essentially more uneven. The vaulting in the entire prayer hall of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque was constructed in *Kufverband* (one horizontal row at a time) (fig. 3). This construction technique is characterized by regular horizontal layers with an uninterrupted course of horizontal joints and alternating vertical joints from the base to the top of the vaulting throughout its entire length.[29] This, however,

[26] There is a possibility that there were temporary facilities for washing; however, this must remain a hypothesis at present.

[27] Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 2:165 and 215.

[28] My hypotheses on the relative chronology of the building phases are based on observations of the masonry which I documented photographically during my field trip in preparation of my Master's thesis in April and May 2004. The exact date of restoration is unknown to me, but on older photographs, the plastered wall surface is still to be seen.

[29] For the construction technique of vaulting with the use of scaffolds and *Kufverband,* see Franz Hart, *Kunst und Technik der Wölbung* (Munich, 1965), 16; Otto Warth, *Die Konstruktionen in Stein* (1903; repr., Hannover, 1981), 177–78. For the technique of vaulting using the runner (German:

is not the case in the vaulting under study here; thus, it must have been built in two stages.

As the vaulting to the north of the joint is lower than that to the south, it may be deduced that the section in the north (II) was built after the section to the south (I) (fig. 4). The continuation of the vault was first adjusted towards the height of the older, already settled, part of the vault and ultimately was lower after the setting of the masonry upon completion.[30] The hypothesis of a later erection of the northern section is supported by the observation that despite the otherwise even course of masonry, this section is joined denticulately in the southern section.[31]

The later northern section (II) also displays an uneven surface in the vaulting to the north, east, and west of the dome (fig. 4). Building phase II is distinguished from building phase I through the molding on the front of the pillars that does not continue in building phase II and a pointed form of the front wall of the niches (II) instead of a round one (I) (figs. 3 and 4). Yet, structural characteristics such as the direction and the approximate height of the vaulting are maintained.

In a further building phase (III) the annex consisting of an ablution room, vestibule, and adjoining room was set before the prayer hall (I, II). The mostly uniform course of the masonry on the portal, the exterior wall of the ablution room,[32] and the adjoining room suggest that this building unit was erected all at one time.[33]

In the interior, this annex (III) is clearly separate from the interior of the prayer hall (I, II). The presumption that it is a later addition is supported by the fact that the west wall of the ablution room seems to be just superimposed to the east wall of the prayer hall (fig. 6).[34] Furthermore, a joint is quite distinct on the north

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Kufe), see Hans Koepf and Günther Binding, *Bildwörterbuch der Architektur* (Stuttgart, 1999), 291.

[30] I thank Dr. Stefan Weber for inviting me to the two international workshops of the German Lebanese Tripoli Project in 2002 and 2003 in Beirut/Tripoli, where this idea arose out of the discussion with different architectural historians.

[31] Cf. Warth, *Die Konstruktionen,* 56–57. The corbelling can be ascribed to the northern section; it was incorporated into the south masonry at a later time.

[32] In the lower area on the façade of the ablution room, the course of the masonry of the portal continues on the level of the window sill. Only beyond does the uncovered ashlar masonry begin.

[33] In addition, a corbelling of the portal frame extends into the façade of the ablution room, which would not have had a function without a planned adjoining building.

[34] This is suggested, on the one hand, by the stout jamb of the northern window and the door below in the west wall of the ablution room and east wall of the prayer hall. On the other, at this point a different course in the horizontal masonry can be recognized. Besides this, the arrangement of the west wall of the ablution room is adjusted to meet the features of the east wall of the prayer hall: the windows and the door in the back wall of the northern-most niche of the prayer hall (C 2) are integrated into the wall arrangement of the ablution room (fig. 6).

corner of the passage between the prayer hall (II) and the vestibule (III) (fig. 7),[35] and the eastern supporting pillar for the dome had to be modified (fig. 8) in order to permit access to the ablution room.

Thus, Salam-Liebich's and Meinecke's assumption of the later annexation of the ablution room or eastern portal is confirmed and can be expanded to include the south room as constituting building phase III. However, the possibility that the building (I, II), which was enlarged through the addition of the east complex (III), was originally a Crusader church is not supported, either typologically or by my analysis of the masonry. Instead, dating inscriptions and historiographic sources provide clues that the ʿAṭṭār Mosque was first erected in the seventh/fourteenth century and thus cannot be a Crusader church.

The Dating

The single inscription that dates the ʿAṭṭār Mosque is located above the entrance in the eastern portal[36] and denotes the year 751/1350–51.[37] Yet, another date

[35] One building joint is formed on the northern corner of the passage between the prayer hall (II) and vestibule (III), which the wall of the ablution room adjoins. The joint runs from the floor to the beginning of the vaulting of the vestibule (fig. 7).

[36] The building inscription in the western portal does not display a date, but rather the signature of a craftsman: *ʿamala Abū Bakr ibn al-Ṣīṣ.* The name of a craftsman is mentioned here, yet Tadmurī must refer to the *Tārīkh Bayrūt* of Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyá so that he can date the craftsman, and with him the portal as well, to the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century. In drawing upon Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyá, he does not read the latter's name as "Abū Bakr ibn al-Ṣīṣ," but as "Abū Bakr ibn al-Baṣīṣ (Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa-Āthār,* 195). Tadmurī presents the inscription in the first rendition in writing, but maintains that the "correct" name should be "Abū Bakr ibn al-Baṣīṣ" (Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa-Āthār,* 195, n. 1). This name is mentioned by Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyá, who writes about Abū Bakr ibn al-Baṣīṣ al-Baʿlabakī, an experienced engineer *(muhandis)* in coastal works who rebuilt a bridge over the Nahr al-Kalb and who undertook other important tasks in the region of Tripoli (Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyá, *Tārīkh Bayrūt: Récits des anciens de la famille de Buḥtur b. ʿAlī, Emir du Gharb de Beyrouth*, ed. Francis Hours and Kamal Salibi [Beirut, 1969], 103; L. A. Mayer, *Islamic Architects and Their Works* [Geneva, 1956], 37). Secondary literature since 1974 follows Tadmurī's reading of the craftsman's signature as "Abū Bakr ibn al-Baṣīṣ al-Baʿlabakī" (cf. for example Salam-Liebich, *The Architecture,* 71; Robert Saliba, ed., *Tripoli: The Old City: Monument Survey: Mosques and Madrasahs: A Sourcebook of Maps and Architectural Drawings* [Beirut, 1994], Monument Number 13; Muḥammad ʿAlī Ḍinnāwī, *ʿAwdat al-Dhākirah ilá Tārīkh Ṭarābulus wa-al-Minṭaqah* [Tripoli, 1998], 256 [Abū Bakr ibn Āl al-Balaʿbakī]; Muḥammad Kāmil Bābā, *Ṭarābulus fī al-Tārīkh* [Tripoli, 1995], 358). By contrast, only Meinecke takes into account the difference between the signature present on the structure and the name as interpreted by Tadmurī; he presents the name of the craftsman as "Abū Bakr ibn al-[Ba]ṣīṣ" (Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 2:165).

[37] "Bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm hādhā al-bāb al-mubārak wa-al-minbar ʿamal al-muʿallim Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-muhandis fī sanat iḥdá wa-khamsīn wa-sabʿi miʾah." Moritz Sobernheim, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum: Deuxième Partie: Syrie du Nord I: ʿAkkâr, Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, Tripoli* (Cairo, 1909), 105; Nikita Elisséeff, David Storm Rice, and Gaston

can be gained from the chronicle of Ibn al-Dawādārī,[38] *Kanz al-Durar.*[39] In his list of construction works during the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, Ibn al-Dawādārī mentions the foundation or beginning of the building of a mosque *(jāmiʿ anshaʾahu)* by one Badr al-Dīn ibn al-ʿAṭṭār in Tripoli. However, he does not supply an exact date for this undertaking. Thus, Ibn al-Dawādārī's information opens up a broad scope of interpretation regarding the date of the mosque's construction. On the basis of the chronicle, which ends with the year 735/1334–35 and the actual writing of which was completed in 736/1335–36,[40] the event described can be dated prior to 735–36/1334–36, during the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (first regnal period: 693–94/1293–94; second regnal period: 698–708/1299–1309; third regnal period: 709–41/1310–41). The verb "*anshaʾa*" that Ibn al-Dawādārī used in this reference implies a formal act of founding, that is, the foundation of a *waqf,* but also the actual beginning of construction of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque itself.[41]

Wiet, *Répertoire Chronologique d'Epigraphie Arabe,* vol. 16 (Cairo, 1964), 106, no. 6158; Amine Bizri, ed., *La calligraphie Arabe dans l'architecture: Les inscriptions dans les monument Islamiques de la ville de Tripoli à l'epoque mamelouke* (s.l., 1999), 99. The building inscription is engraved on a stone in the back wall of the portal; the stone is integrated into the masonry so that its coevalness with the portal can be assumed.

[38] Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmiʿ al-Ghurar,* pt. 9, *Al-Durr al-Fākhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir,* ed. Hans Robert Roemer (Wiesbaden, 1960), 391.

[39] Until Tadmurī's study in 1974, which introduces Ibn al-Dawādārī, the dating of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque was based primarily upon the building inscription in the eastern portal. Sobernheim first published the inscription on the eastern portal, noting that this inscribed date of 751/1350–51 could refer either to the foundation or to a restoration of the mosque (Sobernheim, *Matériaux,* 105). Sālim had already drawn upon Ibn al-Dawādārī's chronicle and, relying thereupon, arrived at the date of 751/1350 for the mosque, a date that Tadmurī explicitly contradicts (Sālim, *Ṭarābulus al-Shām,* 413). Tadmurī rejects the date 751/1350–51 with reference to Abū al-Fidāʾ and Ibn al-Wardī, according to whom the donor of the mosque had already died in 749/1348–49 (Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa-Āthār,* 190–91). While al-Qaṭṭār (Ilyās al-Qaṭṭār, *Niyābat Ṭarābulus fī ʿAhd al-Mamālīk [688–922 H/1289–1516 M]* [Beirut, 1998], 490) and Sharīf (Ḥikmat Bik Sharīf, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus al-Shām* [Tripoli, 1987], 184–85) follow Tadmurī in his opinion about the date 735/1334–35, Ḥimṣī (Nahdī Ṣubḥī Ḥimṣī, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus min khilāl Wathāʾiq al-Maḥkamah al-Sharʿīyah fī al-Niṣf al-Thānī min al-Qarn al-Sābiʿ ʿAshar al-Mīlādī* [Beirut, 1986], 68), al-Bakhīt (in Yaḥyá ibn Abī al-Ṣafāʾ Ibn Maḥāsin, *Al-Manāzil al-Maḥāsinīyah fī al-Riḥlah al-Ṭarābulusīyah,* ed. Muḥammad ʿAdnān al-Bakhīt [Beirut, 1981], 67), and Salam-Liebich (*The Architecture,* 69) support Sālim's date of 751/1350–51.

[40] From Ibn al-Dawādārī's introduction to the first volume, Roemer infers that the chronicle was begun in 709/1309–10, and, in view of the colophon in the ninth volume, that it was completed in 736/1335–36 (Roemer, ed., *Kanz al-Durar,* 14).

[41] See, for instance, Lane, who explains one of the meanings of "*anshaʾa*" as: "he founded or began to build a house." (q.v., E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*). Cf. Herzfeld, *Matériaux,* 119, and Sheila Blair, *Islamic Inscriptions* (New York, 1998), 32.

Hence, this results in two possibilities for the dating of the construction of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque. If Herzfeld's reading of the word "*anshaʾa*" as a formal founding act ("l'institution abstraite du sanctuaire") is followed,[42] then merely a *waqf* was established during the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn before 735–36/1334–36 and the actual construction began later. For this interpretation, attention should be drawn to Abū al-Fidāʾ and Ibn al-Wardī, who are to be dated before 749/1348–49, and who mention an endowment and do not refer expressly to the erection of a mosque.[43] Therefore, only the building inscription of 751/1350–51 can be viewed as a fixed date for the actual construction work.

On the contrary, if the verb "*anshaʾa*" is understood to denote the actual beginning of construction, then based upon the dates at hand the construction began during the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, yet before 735–36/1334–36, and was still going in 751/1350–51.[44] This relatively long time span can be viewed in association with the three phases of building. However, their precise temporal fixation and the duration of possible interruptions in building cannot be determined on the basis of the sources at hand and my analysis of the masonry. The postulated erection of the southern part of the prayer hall (I) prior to 735–36/1334–36 would, nevertheless, confirm the designation of the eastern annex with its inscribed date of 751/1350–51 as the latest section of the building. Therefore, Meinecke's assumption of an original structure that comprised the entire prayer hall that was erected before 735/1334–35 and that was later enlarged with an annex (III) can be expanded through the identification of a third building phase (II), so that the prayer hall was not erected in one single building phase, but in two (I, II).[45]

Following the theory that the southern part is the oldest section of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque, that its erection took place before or after 735–36/1334–36, and that the mihrab was originally integrated into the qiblah wall, it can be maintained that the building was initially a mosque. This is further supported by the chronicles of Ibn al-Dawādārī and Ibn al-Wardī and the travelogue of Ibn Maḥāsin, which are contemporaneous, and which in contrast to al-Nābulusī do not mention a

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[42] Herzfeld, *Matériaux,* 119.

[43] Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAlī, *Kitāb al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar* (Cairo, 1325/1907), 153; Zayn al-Dīn ʿUmar ibn al-Muẓaffar Ibn al-Wardī, *Tatimmat al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar (Tārīkh Ibn al-Wardī),* ed. Aḥmad Rifʿat al-Badrāwī (Beirut, 1970), 2:500.

[44] This seems unusually long when compared to other structures such as, for example, the madrasah of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan in Cairo, the construction of which began in 757/1356 and was completed after 761/1360, and which was considered to be exceedingly laborious and expensive (cf. Mayer, *Islamic Architects,* 23; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Muhandis, shad, muʿallim—Note on the Building Craft in the Mamluk Period," *Der Islam* 72, no. 2 (1995): 305.

[45] Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 2:165 and 215.

previous structure or a church as predecessor. All in all, they weaken Salam-Liebich's argument that the mosque is a converted Crusader church with the later addition of an ablution room, and also Tadmurī's suggestion that the southern part is the remnant of a Crusader church.

The Architecture of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque in Its Urban Setting

Since the analysis of the building of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque does not confirm the hypothesis of a present-day structure in which a (preceding) Crusader church can be recognized, al-Nābulusī can be assumed to be the creator of this particular topos. Yet, the "unusual" disposition of this mosque still remains unresolved. As an alternative hypothesis for explaining its atypical layout, the relationship of the mosque to its urban setting[46] will be considered here.[47] Thereby attention should be directed to other architectural features of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque that have not yet been noted, namely the incorporation of the dome and the remarkable situation of the passageways (fig. 1).

The ʿAṭṭār Mosque lies north of the citadel of Tripoli on the left bank of the Abū ʿAlī river.[48] It is located in the Bāb al-Ḥadīd quarter and enclosed by the Sūq al-Bāzirkān to the east and the Sūq al-Jadīd to the north.[49]

The immediate urban surroundings (fig. 9) seem to have developed at about the same time as the ʿAṭṭār Mosque. Both the Khān al-Miṣrīyīn to the south of the mosque and the Khān al-Khayyāṭīn adjoining in the east date from the eighth/fourteenth century.[50]

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[46] To date, the immediate urban environs of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque have not been investigated in detail, or the results have not been published. With all necessary caution, here an attempt will be made, departing from the present town's structure and by means of individual datable buildings, to determine the urban situation in the eighth/fourteenth century. Thereby, the possible interdependence of the mosque's architecture and the urban setting should be seen as a reciprocal interaction.

[47] Cf. in this regard Howayda Al-Harithy, "The Concept of Space in Mamluk Architecture," *Muqarnas* 18 (2001): 73–93. Hillenbrand points to the interaction of external and internal space in mosques, using the inward shift of the façade in the form of the qiblah as an example (Robert Hillenbrand, "Some Observations on the Use of Space in Medieval Islamic Buildings," in *Studies in Medieval Islamic Architecture* [London, 2001], 1:165). This interaction of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque with its urban setting can be seen as the example of an exception, if its ground plan and its integration into the urban landscape are compared to the Great Mosque, for instance. In its design as a court mosque, the latter interacts less with its surroundings; it displays a regular rectangular ground plan and no through passageways.

[48] Cf. a plan of the city in Paul Collart, Maurice Chehab, and Armando Dillon, *Liban: Aménagement de la Ville de Tripoli et du Site de Baalbek*: *Rapport de la mission envoyée par l'UNESCO en 1953, Paul Collart, Chef de Mission, Emir Maurice Chehab et Armando Dillon* (Paris, 1954), 11.

[49] Cf. Tadmurī, "Al-Āthār al-Islāmīyah," 212; Jidejian, *Tripoli,* 93.

[50] Nonetheless, the date of both khans is controversial. Luz views the Khān al-Miṣrīyīn and the

The ʿAṭṭār Mosque is closely integrated into this urban setting through the neighboring houses, surrounding passageways, and the course of streets. A street leads to each of the three entrances of the mosque. Thus, the northern portal of the mosque[51] is connected to the Zuqāq al-Tarbīʿah and the western portal to the Khān al-Jāwīsh.[52] In the east a small street leads on a slightly divergent line to the eastern portal of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque, so that all in all there is a distinct east-west axis in the network of streets.[53]

Likewise, the ʿAṭṭār Mosque interacts with its urban setting, especially with regard to the course of streets, through its architectural design and its decorative scheme. The streets running from the east, west, and north directly towards the entrances converge in the mosque's interior in the area of the dome (fig. 4). The dome distinctly marks this "intersection of streets" and "thoroughfare" situation in the interior and exterior of the mosque. This might be an explanation for the off-center position of the dome within the mosque, for which there are no parallels, either in Tripoli or in other cities. Domes of madrasahs and mosques in Tripoli emphasize the liturgically central places in front of the mihrab and the qiblah wall,[54] and in such buildings which vary the multi-*iwān* scheme, they mark the

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Khān al-Khayyāṭīn as endowments established prior to 750–51/1350 (Nimrod Luz, "Tripoli Reinvented: A Case of Mamluk Urbanization," *Towns and Material Culture in the Medieval Middle East,* ed. Yaacov Lev [Leiden, 2002], 66, map 5). This date for the Khān al-Khayyāṭīn can also be found in Salam-Liebich (Salam-Liebich, *The Architecture,* 178), Jidejian (Jidejian, *Tripoli*, 92), and Ḍinnāwī (Ḍinnāwī, *ʿAwdat al-Dhākirah,* 255), whereas Meinecke does not list it among the Mamluk structures. On the contrary, he agrees with the date of the Khān al-Miṣrīyīn to the mid-eight/fourteenth century (Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 2:226). This view is also held by Salam-Liebich (Salam-Liebich, *The Architecture,* 175) and Tadmurī (ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī, *Wathāʾiq Nādirah min Sijillāt al-Maḥkamah al-Sharʿīyah bi-Ṭarābulus: Dirāsah Taḥlīlīyah li-Ahamm al-Nuṣūṣ al-Tārīkhīyah [1666–1780m]* [Beirut, 2002], 39), while Scharabi dates the building to the sixteenth century (Mohamed Scharabi, *Der Bazar: Das traditionelle Stadtzentrum im Nahen Osten und seine Handelseinrichtungen* [Tübingen, 1985], 203).

[51] Tadmurī notes that the north entrance is of recent date (Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa-Āthār,* 195); Salam-Liebich makes no mention of this portal. My analysis of the masonry in the area of the northern entrance did indeed reveal irregularities there, which makes the later addition of this entrance a possibility.

[52] Tadmurī dates the building to the Ottoman period (Tadmurī, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus,* 290; idem, "Al-Āthār al-Islāmīyah," 212; idem, *Wathāʾiq,* 40. Cf. Jidejian, *Tripoli*, 92).

[53] At the eastern end of this small street there is a building with an inscription dating to Mamluk times, in which an Amir Sayf al-Dīn Ṭanṭash/Ṭunṭash is named (cf. Tadmurī, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus,* 290; Bizri, *La calligraphie Arabe,* 165–66, nos. 56–58).

[54] Examples to mention here are the Great Mosque, the Tawbah Mosque, the Madrasat al-Burṭāsī, the Ṭaynāl Mosque, the Madrasat Qarāṭāy al-Manṣūrī, and the Madrasah al-Khātūnīyah. For the use of the dome as a designation of central places, cf. Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture,* 53–54.

center.[55]

While the line of the street leading to the northern entrance ends at the qiblah wall in the prayer hall, the street from the west towards the portal diverges slightly from its course in the east. This "external" east-west axis in the street network is incorporated architecturally into the plan of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque through both of the opposite portals and the area of the dome as an "internal" east-west axis. Whereas the massiveness and verticality of the face of the barrel vault of the prayer hall to the north and south of the dome pose a boundary in these directions, the cap-like parts of the vault to the east and west of the dome (B 1, B 2) emphasize this way through the axis.

The entrances as crossing points between interior and exterior space likewise emphasize the way through the east-west axis. Correspondingly, the eastern and western portals are distinguished by ornamentation, while the northern entrance is not decorated. Thus, in contrast to the western portal, the eastern portal, with its essentially larger decorative scheme and size, is clearly marked as the main portal (figs. 10 and 11).[56] The prominence of the main portal is augmented by the integration of the entrance in the north and the portal in the west into (likely, formerly existing) vaulted passageways, so that there was no distant effect.[57]

The fact that the eastern entrance is distinguished with a free-standing high

[55] Examples are again the Madrasat al-Burṭāsī, the Ṭaynāl Mosque, the Madrasat Qarāṭāy al-Manṣūrī, and the Madrasah al-Qadirīyah. In addition, sepulchres can also be covered by a dome. Examples in Tripoli include the sepulchres of the Madrasat al-Burṭāsī, the Ṭaynāl Mosque, the Madrasah al-Nūrīyah, the Madrasah al-Khātūnīyah, and the Madrasah al-Qadirīyah, among others. For domes in sepulchres, cf. R. Stephen Humphreys, "The Expressive Intent of the Mamluk Architecture of Cairo: A Preliminary Essay," *Studia Islamica* 35 (1972): 113–14.

[56] The eastern portal can be divided into four zones, one above the other, of which the lowest two display *ablaq*. The first zone is defined by a door in the center of the back wall of the portal, which is flanked by two stone benches that fill almost the whole width of the portal. Above this is the second zone: above the relieving beam of the door is a lintel decorated with stylized lily motifs in marble incrustation. This zone is followed by the third zone: the aforementioned panel with the inscription and above this a square field with marble incrustation. The fourth zone is constituted by a section of four levels of *muqarnas,* which lead to the concluding calotte of the eastern portal. The design of the portal extends beyond the jamb and is incorporated into an encompassing framework. The decoration of the western portal is less elaborate. It is distinct from the accompanying masonry not through its height, but through its projection and the uncovered ashlary. The door is situated in the middle of the portal, and above it rises a three zoned frieze of *muqarnas*.

[57] The continuation of the roofing above the northern portal in a northerly direction is suggested by the consoles that are still preserved on both sides of the small street. Regarding the western portal, bases of vaults to the north and south indicate that this portal was vaulted. Furthermore, the western portal displays a rather flat *muqarnas* frieze, whose smaller size might be on account of the above vaulting (fig. 11).

portal and extensive decoration, as well as the fact that it draws attention to the east-west axis through the mosque, supports the reconstruction of the major street network in Mamluk Tripoli presented by Salamé-Sarkis.[58] In this reconstruction, he assumes the existence of a main street that runs south to north through the entire city, supposedly also passing by the ʿAṭṭār Mosque in the east.[59] The main street passed by the Great Mosque, the Khān al-Ṣābūn, the Khān al-Miṣrīyīn, and the Khān al-Khayyāṭīn to the ʿAṭṭār Mosque, farther to the Sūq al-Ḥarāj and the Khān al-ʿAskar, and ultimately led out of the city via the Jisr al-Jadīd or Jisr al-ʿAtīq.[60] The north-south direction of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque corresponds approximately with the course of this main street to its east and thereby blocks direct access to the street that leads to the Khān al-Jāwīsh (fig. 9) to its west. Nonetheless, a direct connection between the khan and the main street is provided by the portals of the mosque that lie opposite each other to the east and west and by the continuation of the street's course through the interior, which is emphasized by the architecturally distinct axis.[61]

Finally, the main street's course, which has not yet been ascertained conclusively, might help to explain the divergent position—in view of the setting of the entire mosque—of the eastern annex. Possibly the axis with the divergence in relation to the prayer hall was made in order to adjust the east part of the mosque to the main street's course and thus enable the outer façade to be clearly visible and as large as possible.[62]

[58] However, caution is advised when following this theory. Salamé-Sarkis reconstructs the network of streets based upon important buildings, so that the network deduced from a building might actually be the result of circular logic (Ḥassān Salamé-Sarkis, *Contribution à l'histoire de Tripoli et de sa région a l'époque des croisades: Problèmes d'histoires, d'architecture et de céramique* [Paris, 1980], map no. 4, legend).

[59] This assumption might possibly be confirmed if one accepts Al-Harithy's argument that the vestibules served as "transitional space" that provide a transition to the more "private" zone of the mosque, especially in the case of busy streets (Al-Harithy, "The Concept of Space," 85–86). By contrast, in the north and west there is no vestibule, but instead a direct entrance to the prayer hall.

[60] Thereby, the course of this street resembles that of the ancient street network, which was supposedly retained by the Crusaders (cf. Salamé-Sarkis' reconstruction of streets at the time of the Crusaders [Salamé-Sarkis, *Contribution à l'histoire de Tripoli,* 4, and map no. 3]; also Guy Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems: A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650 to 1500: Translated from the Works of Medieval Arab Geographers* [1890; repr., Beirut, 1965], 350–51).

[61] A further example of a dominant east-west axis is found in the nearby Khān al-Miṣrīyīn, whose entrances lie only in the east and west.

[62] Cf. also Humphreys, "The Expressive Intent," 98, and Al-Harithy "The Concept of Space," 87. Comparable examples of this can be found in Cairo as well as in Tripoli. In Cairo, cf. for instance the mosque of Amir Shaykhu (Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo: An Introduction* [Leiden, 1989], 117) and the Mosque of Amir Aqsunqur al-Nāṣirī (Meinecke, *Mamlukische*

THE JĀMIʿ AL-ʿAṬṬĀR: ITS POSITION BETWEEN FUNCTION AND INTENT

Yet another architectural peculiarity which led Salam-Liebich to presume a converted Crusader church is the placement of the mihrab in the east section and not in the center of the qiblah wall (fig. 2).[63] As could be discerned above, this positioning took place during the construction of the qiblah wall and, therefore, cannot be ascribed to a facility built at a later time, which for instance might have been necessary when converting a church into a mosque. Instead, the minbar is obviously interjoined in the center of the qiblah wall. In order to explicate this peculiarity, here the edifice will be examined according to its social and religious function as "*jāmiʿ al-ʿAṭṭār,*" which was built by a non-Mamluk person.

THE MOSQUE AND ITS COMMISSIONER

In determining the commissioner of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque, reference can be made to the name of the mosque, "*jāmiʿ al-ʿAṭṭār,*" as well as to the Mamluk chronicles and descriptions in Ottoman travelogues. The decree of 821/1418 inscribed in the northern jamb of the eastern portal confirms the historicity of the mosque's name of "*jāmiʿ al-ʿAṭṭār*." Although contemporary sources[64] report that the mosque was named after its donor, the absence of a name in any inscription on the building[65]

Architektur, 1:108, fig. 67). In Tripoli, cf. the Madrasat al-Burṭāsī, along whose northern façade the street via the Jisr al-ʿAtīq (today demolished) once ran (Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 1:75).

[63] Salam-Liebich, *The Architecture,* 78. Of almost the same age is the mausoleum of Amir Arāq al-Silāḥdār in Damascus (750/1349–50), where the mihrab was likewise built in the east of the qiblah wall (Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 2:213–14). The reason for the position of the mihrab seems be that a window (Karl Wulzinger and Carl Watzinger, *Damaskus, die islamische Stadt* [Berlin, 1924], 100, fig. 22) or a passageway (Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 1:111, fig. 71) was built into the qiblah wall instead of a mihrab.

[64] Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Kitāb al-Mukhtaṣar,* 153; Ibn al-Wardī, *Tatimmat al-Mukhtaṣar,* 2:500.

[65] Herzfeld and Allen suggest that the absence of a founder inscription is possibly due to the premature death of the founder (Herzfeld, *Matériaux,* 275). Allen points out that buildings often remained "uninscribed" at the time of death of the founder; further, it was the obligation of the founder's descendants not only to put the donated structure to use, but also to complete the decorative scheme with an inscription of the *waqfīyah.* This, however, was not always carried out (Terry Allen, "Madrasah al-Farrûkhshâhîyah," chap. 3 in *Ayyûbid Architecture,* 6th ed. [Occidental, CA, 1999], http://sonic.net/~tallen/palmtree/ayyarch/index.htm. See especially the sub-section entitled "Missing Inscriptions and Blank Places"). There Allen refers in particular to uninscribed *tabula-ansata* cartouches and lintels in Ayyubid architecture. Thus, the absence of an inscription naming the commissioner might be explained by the mention of the death of the commissioner in 749/1348–49, as reported by Ibn al-Wardī and Abū al-Fidāʾ. The death would have occurred two years before the erection of the eastern portal, which would have been the most appropriate place for the placement of his name (Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Kitāb al-Mukhtaṣar,* 153; Ibn al-Wardī, *Tatimmat al-Mukhtaṣar,* 2:500). Cf. the location of such inscriptions in the Great Mosque, the Madrasat al-

might help to explain al-Nābulusī's assumption that it was endowed in secret (*min al-ghayb*[66]). As far as the structure itself is concerned, only the name "*al-ʿAṭṭār*" in the inscription can be presumed to be a reference to a commissioner. Thus, the designation *al-ʿAṭṭār* affords several interpretative possibilities: literally "*al-ʿAṭṭār*" denotes the occupation of a perfume merchant and pharmacist.[67] As a component of the name *(laqab)* of a person, *al-ʿAṭṭār*—aside from the actual occupational designation of its bearer—can also be understood as a name which no longer connotes its original meaning.[68]

Sobernheim and Condé point to the first reading of "*al-ʿAṭṭār*" as solely an occupational designation and suggest the interpretation of the mosque's name according to the urban context that they reconstructed. Whereas the present-day ʿAṭṭār Sūq is in the vicinity of the Qarāṭāy al-Manṣūrī madrasah,[69] Sobernheim views its location in Mamluk times as being confirmed by inscriptions in the ʿAṭṭār Mosque and a nearby house.[70] Therefore, Sobernheim understands the ʿAṭṭār Mosque as the "mosque of the perfume merchant" (Mosqué du Parfumeur), and "*al-ʿAṭṭār*" not as the specific *laqab* of the commissioner.[71] Condé's translation of the mosque's name as "Perfumers' Mosque" corresponds with this theory as well.[72] Ibn Maḥāsin's travelogue confirms the theory of Sobernheim and Condé,

Burṭāsī, and the Ṭaynāl Mosque in Tripoli (for inscriptions, see Bizri, *La calligraphie arabe*).

[66] Al-Nābulusī, *Al-Riḥlah al-Ṭarābulusīyah,* 72–73.

[67] Cf. the dictionary entries in Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon,* and Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes;* and A. Dietrich, "al-ʿAṭṭār," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, CD-ROM,* edition v. 1.0 (Leiden, 1999), 1:751b–752b.

[68] Annemarie Schimmel, *Islamic Names* (Edinburgh, 1989), 54.

[69] Cf. Salam-Liebich, *The Architecture,* 117.

[70] Sobernheim, *Matériaux,* 107; cf. Gaston Wiet, "Répertoire des décrets mamlouks de Syrie," *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud par ses amis et ses élèves,* vol. 2 (Paris, 1939), 524; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa-Āthār,* 197–200. Tadmurī considers this assumption as being confirmed by Ottoman court documents (Tadmurī, *Wathāʾiq Nādirah,* 152, n. 4).

[71] Sobernheim further assumes that the mosque was a gathering place for the guild of the perfume merchants (Sobernheim, *Matériaux,* 104, n. 2).

[72] Condé (Bruce Condé, *Tripoli of Lebanon* [Beirut, 1961], 92–93) apparently considers that the ʿAṭṭār Mosque was the kind of mosque meant for a specific quarter in the city. The fact that "*al-ʿAṭṭār*" is a singular form argues against his translation of the mosque's name and its interpretation. An example of a mosque whose name is in the plural form ("*al-ʿAṭṭārīn,*" meaning "mosque of the perfume merchants"), and which is read by Müller-Wiener as "Moschee (des Viertel) der Drogisten" (mosque in the pharmacists' quarter), can be found in Alexandria (Martina Müller-Wiener, *Eine Stadtgeschichte Alexandrias von 564/1169 bis in die Mitte des 9./15. Jahrhunderts: Verwaltung und innerstädtische Organisationsformen* [Berlin, 1992], 269; cf. Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 2:182). Salam-Liebich argues against the location in the perfumers' suq as well as against Sobernheim's interpretation of the edifice as a mosque of the perfumers' guild and implicitly also Condé's interpretation of a mosque for an urban quarter. She instead propounds

insofar as the mosque must have stood in the perfume merchants' suq, at least in the eleventh/seventeenth century *(fī nafs sūq al-buzūriyīna),* yet Ibn Maḥāsin makes explicit mention of the person Shaykh al-ʿAṭṭār as commissioner.[73]

Nevertheless, the earliest chronicles pertaining to the ʿAṭṭār Mosque imply an association between the name of the mosque "Jāmiʿ al-ʿAṭṭār" and a commissioner with the *laqab* "al-ʿAṭṭār." Whereas Ibn al-Dawādārī mentions a person by the name of "Badr al-Dīn ibn al-ʿAṭṭār," who supposedly founded a mosque in Tripoli, Abū al-Fidāʾ and Ibn al-Wardī confirm a direct tie between a "Shaykh Nāṣir al-Dīn al-ʿAṭṭār," who endowed a congregational mosque in Tripoli, and the mosque's name, as this edifice had been named after him *(wa-huwa wāqifu al-jāmiʿ al-maʿrūf bihi bihā).*[74]

The mention by name of a commissioner with the *laqab* "al-ʿAṭṭār" in chronicles written around the time of the mosque's erection is supportive of the existence of a person known by name who endowed the ʿAṭṭār Mosque. Due to the limitations of the available written sources, this still does not answer the question as to whether the name of the commissioner was "Badr al-Dīn ibn al-ʿAṭṭār" or "Nāṣir al-Dīn al-ʿAṭṭār."[75] Nevertheless, the component of the mosque's name, "*al-ʿAṭṭār,*"

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that the name of the mosque should be ascribed to the *laqab* of a person named as commissioner in the chronicles. The person's name was al-ʿAṭṭār, who merely by coincidence was a perfume merchant, and the mosque was named after him (Salam-Liebich, *The Architecture,* 69). She thereby refers to Ibn al-Dawādārī's introduction in Sālim (Sālim, *Ṭarābulus al-Shām,* 413. Al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus,* 422, follows the passage almost precisely).

[73] Ibn Maḥāsin, *Al-Manāzil,* 82.

[74] Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Kitāb al-Mukhtaṣar,* 153; Ibn al-Wardī, *Tatimmat al-Mukhtaṣar,* 2:500.

[75] Various deliberations about the commissioner of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque, which are based upon these three Mamluk chronicles, have appeared in the secondary literature. One group of scholars maintain that either Shaykh Nāṣir al-Dīn al-ʿAṭṭār, mentioned by Ibn al-Wardī and Abū al-Fidāʾ (Bābā, *Ṭarābulus fī al-Tārīkh,* 358), or Shaykh Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn al-ʿAṭṭār (Sulaymān ʿAbd al-ʿAbd Allāh al-Kharābishah, *Niyābat Ṭarābulus fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī* [Amman, 1993], 156), or Badr al-Dīn ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, traceable to Ibn al-Dawādārī (Ḥimṣī, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus,* 200, n. 2; Sharīf, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus,* 174; al-Bakhīt, *Al-Manāzil al-Maḥāsinīyah,* 67; Ḍinnāwī, *ʿAwdat al-Dhākirah,* 256), is the commissioner. Other scholars prefer the reading of Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAṭṭār as found in Ibn al-Dawādārī, which is not documented and is presumably wrongly bequeathed. Whereas Salam-Liebich mentions both Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAṭṭār and Badr al-Dīn ibn al-ʿAṭṭār as commissioner (Salam-Liebich, *The Architecture,* 68–69), Meinecke and Saliba decided in favour of Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAṭṭār (Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 2:215, and 1:76; Saliba, *Tripoli*, Monument No. 13). Referring to three different variations, Tadmurī reflects the broadest scope of interpretations of the commissioner's name: Badr al-Dīn ibn al-ʿAṭṭār (Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa-Āthār,* 191–92), Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAṭṭār (idem, *Wathāʾiq Nādirah,* 105; idem, "Al-Āthār al-Islāmīyah," 212; idem, "The Plans of Tripoli Alsham and its Mamluk Architecture," *ARAM* 9–10 (1997–98): 476) and "undecided," Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAṭṭār, and Nāṣir al-Dīn al-ʿAṭṭār (idem, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus,* 291. Cf. also al-Qaṭṭār, *Niyābat Ṭarābulus,* 490).

is so closely tied to the specific personage of a commissioner that still in the eleventh/seventeenth century al-Nābulusī reported that the mosque was named after its commissioner, without supplying this person's full name.[76] Instead, he goes beyond the information of his contemporaries and identifies the person as a wealthy perfume merchant and therefore views the *laqab* "al-ʿAṭṭār" as denoting the person's occupation as well.[77]

Whether the commissioner was actually a merchant in perfumes, as the *laqab* and al-Nābulusī maintain, cannot be ascertained on the basis of the available source material. It can, however, be assumed that the person was likely wealthy in order to be able to endow the building of a mosque.[78] The first explicit reference to the endowment of the mosque *(waqf)* occurs in the mid-eighth/fourteenth century in the writings of Abū al-Fidāʾ and Ibn al-Wardī,[79] but the kind and extent of the *waqf* are not specified.[80] A *waqf* is also mentioned in the decree on the eastern portal of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque, so that an endowment can likewise be assumed in the ninth/fifteenth century. Al-Nābulusī writes in more detail about a *waqf* during the

[76] Al-Nābulusī, *Al-Riḥlah al-Ṭarābulusīyah,* 72–73.

[77] "Wa-qad ʿamarahu [jāmiʿ] rajul kāna ʿaṭṭāran, wa-kāna yunfiqu ʿalayhi min al-ghayb fa-nusiba ilayhi" (al-Nābulusī, *Al-Riḥlah al-Ṭarābulusīyah,* 72 f).

[78] Fernandes ascertained that anyone, regardless whether a member of the civil or military elite, could be a commissioner (Leonor Fernandes, "Mamluk Architecture and the Question of Patronage," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 [1997]: 108). The sole decisive criterion was the person's financial standing. Thus, Fernandes explicitly includes women and merchants in the group of commissioners.

[79] Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Kitāb al-Mukhtaṣar,* 153; Ibn al-Wardī, *Tatimmat al-Mukhtaṣar,* 2:500.

[80] Tadmurī attempts to connect the Madrasat Sibṭ al-ʿAṭṭār and a Ḥamām al-ʿAṭṭār and the commissioner of the mosque (Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa-Āthār,* 309; idem, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus,* 287–88; idem, "The Plans of Tripoli," 476–77; idem, *Wathāʾiq Nādirah,* 181). Although an inscription dated to 862/1457 has been documented in the Madrasat Sibṭ al-ʿAṭṭār (Sobernheim, *Matériaux,* 124–25; Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 2:381), and although both structures are named in Ottoman sources (cf. al-Nābulusī, *Al-Riḥlah al-Ṭarābulusīyah,* 73; *Sijillāt Maḥkamat Ṭarābulus al-Shām al-Sharīʿīyah, sijill* 2, p. 135 [Ḥimṣī, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus,* 271–73; Tadmurī, *Wathāʾiq Nādirah,* 112 ff.]), Tadmurī's assignment of this data to supposedly extant buildings as well as the relationship of the respective commissioners to the commissioner of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque—which Tadmurī assumes—must nevertheless be carefully thought about. Whereas at first view the inference of a connection between mosque, *ḥamām,* and madrasah by means of a name may seem reasonable, the subsequent assumption that therefore a connection must have existed between the commissioners is unfounded, based upon the sources at hand. Only one single tie can be reconstructed between the Ḥamām al-ʿAṭṭār and the Madrasat Sibṭ al-ʿAṭṭār: an Ottoman court document from the year 1079/1668 mentions that the Ḥamām al-ʿAṭṭār was connected with the madrasah through a *waqf* and located in its vicinity (*Sijillāt Maḥkamat Ṭarābulus al-Shām al-Sharīʿīyah, sijill* 2, p. 135; dated to the beginning of Rabīʿ II 1079/September–October 1668 [Ḥimṣī, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus,* 271–73; Tadmurī, *Wathāʾiq Nādirah,* 112 ff.]).

Ottoman period, naming teachers as beneficiaries for the first time.[81]

The mention of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque and the commissioner in chronicles and travelogues emphasizes the commissioner's performing a devout act in endowing a *jāmiʿ*. The mention of the name of the commissioner of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque in supra-regional Mamluk chronicles leads to the conclusion that the name seems to have been widely known, or it was meant to designate an important personage in the city. As an inscription containing his name is absent on the mosque itself, the chronicles serve to preserve his *memoria*. Thereby the chronicles determine the personage of al-ʿAṭṭār primarily as commissioner and founder of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque. The construction of the *jāmiʿ* is then cited as an attribute of the commissioner as a person, which underscores his outstanding achievement, his service and—over and above that—his devoutness.[82] At the same time the ʿAṭṭār Mosque gains widespread renown. In a list of construction projects carried out during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad,[83] Ibn al-Dawādārī cites the mosque, along with the madrasah of Qarāṭāy al-Manṣūrī (716–26/1316–26),[84] as the only *jāmiʿ* and the solitary edifice erected by a non-Mamluk in Tripoli.[85] This in turn could lead to deductions regarding the mosque's local prominence as a *jāmiʿ* and to the social status of its commissioner.

THE ʿAṬṬĀR MOSQUE AS *JĀMIʿ*

The ʿAṭṭār Mosque's function as a congregational mosque or *jāmiʿ* is documented in

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[81] Al-Nābulusī, *Al-Riḥlah al-Ṭarābulusīyah,* 72–73. That instruction was held in the ʿAṭṭār Mosque during the Ottoman period is confirmed by published court documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Tripoli (cf. Ḥimṣī, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus,* 200, with reference to *sijill* 1, p. 4 [from 1077/1667], in which the pay for a teacher in the *jāmiʿ al-ʿAṭṭār* is mentioned).

[82] Cf. Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1517* (Cambridge, 2000). Cf. also the religious as well as social significance of a *jāmiʿ* in Fernandes, "Mamluk Architecture," 113.

[83] Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar*, 9:391.

[84] Salam-Liebich, *The Architecture,* 107. Ibn al-Dawādārī refers to the Madrasat Qarāṭāy al-Manṣūrī as a *jāmiʿ,* but its use as such is unknown. The latter might be explained by the madrasah's location directly next to the Great Mosque.

[85] If the importance of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque during the Ottoman period were to be judged by its place in the sequence of Tripoli's mosques named in travelogues, then the picture becomes less clear. Accordingly, al-ʿUṭayfī mentions only the Great Mosque, the madrasah/mosque of al-Burṭāṣī, and the Tawbah and the Ṭaynāl Mosques (al-ʿUṭayfī, *Riḥlah min Dimashq al-Shām ilá Ṭarābulus al-Shām,* in *Riḥlatān ilá Lubnān, Taʾlīf ʿAbd al-Ghanī ibn Ismāʿīl al-Nābulusī wa-Ramaḍān ibn Mūsá al-ʿUṭayfī,* ed. Stefan Wild and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid [Wiesbaden, 1979], 21). Al-Nābulusī and Ibn Maḥāsin, on the other hand, deal with the ʿAṭṭār Mosque extensively. Ibn Maḥāsin lists it in fourth place (Ibn Maḥāsin, *Al-Manāzil,* 82). Although the mosque is only eighth in al-Nābulusī's sequence, compared with the other mosques mentioned it receives a relatively detailed description (al-Nābulusī, *Al-Riḥlah al-Ṭarābulusīyah,* 72–73).

the inscription on the building itself and further verified through its designation as "*jāmiʿ*" in Ottoman travelogues as well as through its name today. Contemporary chronicles and the building inscription on the eastern portal indicate this function as being the original one. Although the building inscription above the entrance in the eastern portal does not explicitly designate the ʿAṭṭār Mosque as a *jāmiʿ,* this function can be deduced indirectly through the allusion to the minbar, erected by Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm in 751/1350–51 (fig. 10). The Friday sermon *(khuṭbah),* part of the Friday prayers *(ṣalāt al-jumʿah)* conducted in a mosque and obligatory for every adult male Muslim, is delivered from the minbar. Thus, the minbar also serves as a characterizing element of the *jāmiʿ* as a mosque in which the Friday prayers are held.[86]

In addition to the inscription on the main portal that refers to the minbar, the minbar becomes the liturgical center of the prayer hall through its decorative presence in the otherwise (present-day) plain interior room as well as its placement in the middle of the qiblah wall (fig. 2). The role of the minbar as the place for the *khaṭīb* and the *mawʿiẓah* is declared by the inscription on the minbar.[87]

A hypothetical interpretation for this emphasis on the ʿAṭṭār Mosque as a *jāmiʿ* might be gained from the urban setting and the social position of the commissioner. Here it should be emphasized that the ʿAṭṭār Mosque is the only structure in the immediate vicinity that is designated expressly (by a decree) on the building as being a *jāmiʿ*. The Madrasat al-Burṭāsī, which is used for the Friday prayers, lies farther to the southeast;[88] the Tawbah Mosque *(jāmiʿ)* lies to the north.[89] Thus, in this developing economic center,[90] the ʿAṭṭār Mosque takes on a supportive function both ritually as well as socially for the population that lives and works there. It is the place where the congregation can attend daily prayers and Friday prayers, and hear the *khuṭbah.*[91]

The function of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque as the only *jāmiʿ* in the immediate urban

[86] J. Pedersen, "Masdjid," *EI, CD-ROM,* edition v. 1.0, 6:655.

[87] The inscription panel on the east flank of the minbar reads as follows: "Anā maraḍ li-khaṭīb wa-muʿadd lil-mawāʿiẓ" (I am the base for a *khaṭīb* and intended for sermons). Cf. Bizri's translation: "I am the threshhold [sic] for a speaker and a deviser of preachement [sic]" (Bizri, *La calligraphie arabe,* 102, no. 12). The inscription on the west flank reads: "Fa-iʿtabir fīya wa-fīnafsik talaqqá kull wāʿiẓ" (Contemplate upon me, and accept every preacher unto yourself). Cf. translation: "Take advice from me and in yourself consider every preacher" (Bizri, *La calligraphie arabe*, 102, no. 13).

[88] Cf. the building inscription that alludes to the building's twofold function as madrasah and place for Friday prayers (Salam-Liebich, *The Architecture,* 35).

[89] The exact date is unknown, but Tadmurī and Salam-Liebich reckon an approximate date between 693 and 715/1293–94 and 1315–16 (Salam-Liebich, *The Architecture,* 97).

[90] Cf. Luz, "Tripoli Reinvented," 56.

[91] Fernandes, "Mamluk Architecture," 109.

environs[92] is corroborated by its architectural layout, which is designed to enable easy access. This is provided in the first place by the three entrances and their interaction with the course of the streets. Further, the portals, the minaret, and the dome of the almost completely enclosed ʿAṭṭār Mosque serve as distinguishing features of the mosque in general[93] and of the entrances in particular. They thus act as a kind of guide in the urban setting.[94] While the east portal draws the attention of passers-by with its extensive decoration and its high visibility on the main street as reconstructed, and is thus easy to find, the minaret directs attention towards the adjacent northern portal. The minaret's function as a guide to the mosque relies upon its visibility from afar, as is shown in the decorative plan, which only begins in the third storey.[95]

Finally, the building of a *jāmiʿ* is likewise of political significance. On the one hand, the construction of a *jāmiʿ* in a certain area encourages further urban development.[96] In the case of the Mamluk reestablishment of Tripoli, this means of urbanization was applied by al-Ashraf Khalīl and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad—among others—with the Great Mosque in the city's center, and by Amir Ṭaynāl

[92] Cf. Baybars al-Manṣūrī's description, furnished by Fernandes, of the erection of the *jāmiʿ al-jadīd al-Nāṣirī* by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on the island of al-Rawda in Cairo. The *jāmiʿ* was built for the inhabitants of this *maḥallah,* who did not have their own *jāmiʿ* and who wanted one so that they would not have to attend Friday prayers in another mosque (Baybars al-Manṣūri, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah,* quoted in Fernandes, "Mamluk Architecture," 113).

[93] For the significance of these structural components and their effect upon the urban environment, see also Al-Harithy, "The Concept of Space," 89, who studied the effect of the dome and the minaret from near and afar, using the building complex of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn as an example. Humphreys, "The Expressive Intent," 111–12, notes that minarets would assume a kind of "advertising" function in an environment in which many smaller and anonymous buildings attempted to attract attention. Hillenbrand points in general to the association between densely populated urban areas, the lack of space, and the resultant limited size of mosques, which consequently led to an elaborate design of façades in order to attract the attention of passers-by (Hillenbrand, *Islamic Architecture,* 99).

[94] For the function of main portals, domes, and minarets as distinguishing signs of mosques, see Al-Harithy, "The Concept of Space," 87 ff.

[95] Although the lowest zone of the minaret (floors 1–2) takes up the largest surface, the minaret's emphasis through decoration starts only in the third floor with columns in the corners and twin arcades in the balcony above in the fourth floor. Correspondingly, the mouldings that separate the floors into the first and second stories are in a simple design, while the cornice between the second and third stories is decorated with tongued leaves and between the third and fourth floors—the balcony of the minaret—is supported by an expanding *muqarnas* cornice in two zones.

[96] Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and al-Ašraf Qāytbāy—Patrons of Urbanism," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras: Proceedings of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd International Colloquium organized at the Katholike Universiteit Leuven, May 92/93/94,* ed. Urbain Vermeulen and D. De Smet (Leuven, 1995), 268.

(736/1336) with the Ṭaynāl Mosque in the south of Tripoli.[97] On the other hand, the Friday prayers are held in the *jāmiʿ* in the name of the ruler, for which reason the erection of the *jāmiʿ* must be viewed as a privilege granted by the sultan and confirmed by religious scholars.[98] As can be seen from the examples above, this privilege was allotted foremost to members of the military elite at this time.[99] In this respect, no information could be gained from the available sources concerning the identification of the commissioner of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque, that is, whether or not he was a member of the Mamluk military elite.[100] Instead, it seems that the person was a civilian, whose influential position and/or wealth permitted him the privilege[101] of erecting the *jāmiʿ* and thus also of making a significant contribution towards the development of the infrastructure of the city.[102]

The Decorative Scheme of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque

The decorative scheme of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque proves to be a cosmopolitan assemblage. The form of the portal, the minbar, and the minaret have parallels in contemporary structures in Cairo, Jerusalem, Damascus, and Gaza. The question thus arises as to the mastermind(s) behind these decorative elements in the ʿAṭṭār Mosque. Meinecke explains the phenomenon of the appearance of the same decorative forms in different places based on his concept of itinerant craftsmen or workshops,[103] which he maintains were responsible for the exchange of forms in architecture and ornamentation between Cairo, the provinces of the Mamluk empire, and other dominions.[104] He follows the theory that itinerant craftsmen adopted formal and decorative elements characteristic of one locale and then carried them to new locales. Thus, the presumed "itinerant craftsmen" can be deduced on the basis of the appearance of similar design characteristics

[97] Cf. Luz, "Tripoli Reinvented," 56.

[98] Fernandes, "Mamluk Architecture," 109.

[99] The madrasat/*jāmiʿ* al-Burṭāsī was likewise donated by a member of the military elite, whose death date, 725/1325, provides an *ante quem* date for the mosque: ʿĪsá ibn ʿUmar ibn ʿĪsá, al-Amīr Sharaf al-Dīn ibn al-Burṭāsī al-Kurdī (cf. Salam-Liebich, *The Architecture,* 39). The Tawbah Mosque is associated with the Great Mosque by a *waqf;* Salam-Liebich and Tadmurī consider its commissioner to be one of the ruling elite (Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa-Āthār,* 135–38; Salam-Liebich, *The Architecture,* 97). Yet Meinecke does not list it among the Mamluk buildings.

[100] For names of Mamluks, see Schimmel, *Islamic Names,* 70–72.

[101] Cf. Fernandes, "Mamluk Architecture," 116.

[102] The position and prosperity of these commissioners, however, cannot be determined on the basis of the sources at hand.

[103] Cf. for example Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* vol. 1, and idem, *Patterns of Stylistic Changes in Islamic Architecture: Local Traditions versus Migrating Artists* (New York, 1996).

[104] Cf. Michael Meinecke, "Mamluk Architecture: Regional Architectural Traditions: Evolution and Interrelations," *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 2 (1985): 174–75.

in different localities. Meinecke sees an example of this in the signature of the craftsman, Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm, on the eastern portal, whose workmanship he (Meinecke) attempts to discern, to the limited extent that his overview of Mamluk architecture permits, through the comparison of decorations and motifs. However, Meinecke has no larger preliminary works on the stylistic assessment of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque within the local tradition in Tripoli and the Mamluk realm to which he can refer.[105] He sees parallels to the use of *ablaq* and the variations in the polychrome marble panel on the eastern portal of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque (fig. 10) in the madrasah of the merchant Afrīdūn al-ʿAjamī (744/1343–44) in Damascus.[106] Further, he considers the design of the minbar in the ʿAṭṭār Mosque as having been influenced by the minbars in Aleppo.

Meinecke's concept of itinerant craftsmen makes it possible for him to postulate an itinerary. Accordingly, the marble minbar of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque, "inspired" by Aleppo, would indicate that Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm originally belonged to a workshop in Aleppo. From there via Cairo he could have joined the workshops of the Madrasat al-ʿAjamī in Damascus,[107] which Meinecke attempts to prove with a comparison of the portal of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque and the Madrasat al-ʿAjamī.[108]

Meinecke's comparison of decoration and motifs found in the polychrome marble panel on the portal of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque and the Madrasat al-ʿAjamī[109] seems conclusive, but only at first glance. The number of parallels observed in

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[105] Stylistic comparisons of prominent decorative elements such as the eastern portal, the minaret, and the minbar are only implied and refer solely to Tripoli. Thus, Sālim, al-Zayn, and Ḍinnāwī merely make note of the similarity between the decorative scheme of the eastern portal and the Madrasat Qarāṭāy al-Manṣūrī (Sālim, *Ṭarābulus al-Shām,* 414; al-Zayn, *Tārīkh Ṭarābulus,* 423; Ḍinnāwī, *ʿAwdat al-Dhākirah,* 256). Regarding the minaret, note is only made that it can be considered as one of the most important and magnificent minarets in Tripoli (Salam-Liebich, *The Architecture,* 75; Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa-Āthār,* 201; Sālim, *Ṭarābulus al-Shām,* 414; Condé, *Tripoli,* 94). The minbar has also received little attention. Tadmurī notes at least that it is the only marble minbar in Tripoli from the Mamluk period (Tadmurī, *Tārīkh wa-Āthār,* 200).

[106] Cf. Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 1:109.

[107] Ibid., 112, n. 208.

[108] Ibid., 112.

[109] Both are square and display knots radiating out from a central circle and stylized lilies as well as colored marble incrustation. Whereas the center of the zone of patterns in the ʿAṭṭār Mosque is inscribed in three octagons, of which the outermost forms in parts the frame, the central circle of the panel of the Madrasat al-ʿAjamī is encircled by two squares standing on end, which are knotted with the frame by trefoils at the corners. Furthermore, as a whole the work on the portal of the Madrasat al-ʿAjamī displays finer workmanship. The vines have an additional darker framework and the lilies in the corners are clearly distinguished from the other blossoms. By contrast, compared with the vines, the blossoms in the panel on the ʿAṭṭār Mosque are not placed in the foreground. Finally, the ornamentation of the Madrasat al-ʿAjamī does not present the predominant triangular elements in decorative patterns as found in the ʿAṭṭār Mosque.

motifs and materials in the panels of the Madrasat al-ʿAjamī and the ʿAṭṭār Mosque, which initially seem so similar to one another, diminish when they are compared to other structures. For instance, the structure and motifs in panels found in the gate room of the northern portal of al-ʿUmarī congregational mosque in Gaza, built under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, show greater parallels to the ʿAṭṭār Mosque than does the Madrasat al-ʿAjamī.[110]

The Madrasat al-ʿAjamī may not be viewed as the sole example of the use of a particular model of polychrome marble panel and the *ablaq* technique at the same time.[111] This scheme can also be seen in the southern portal niche of the mosque of Aṣlam al-Bahāʾī al-Silāḥdār (746/1345)[112] in Cairo, where aside from the *ablaq,* a variation of the square panel—with a motif of knots and blossoms—is carried out in marble incrustation. Finally, with regard to the design of frames around entrances,[113] a fine example is offered in the portal of the *turbah* of Turkān Khātūn in Jerusalem (753/1352–53),[114] not the Madrasat al-ʿAjamī. When attempting to explain the motifs of the panel of marble incrustation and the simultaneous use of *ablaq* in the ʿAṭṭār Mosque, these examples indicate even more that in his works Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm was not oriented exclusively towards the Madrasat al-ʿAjamī nor was he necessarily employed there.

Likewise, the marble minbars in Aleppo need not have been the sole "inspiration"[115] for the design of the marble minbar in the ʿAṭṭār Mosque.[116] The

[110] Like the panel in the ʿAṭṭār Mosque, this field is organized around an octafoil, which however resembles a form of blossom and is not inscribed within a circle, as in the ʿAṭṭār Mosque, but in an octagon. As in the ʿAṭṭār Mosque, the three encircling octagons are formed by "triangular elements" with a central lily blossom (Mohamed-Moain Sadek, *Die mamlukische Architektur der Stadt Gaza* [Berlin, 1991], 54). Two later examples consist of ornamental panels on the exterior of the minbar in the mosque of Kātib Wilāyah, erected in the mid-fifteenth century (ibid., 133–34) and on the façade of the prayer hall of the congregational mosque al-Zufurdimrī, dated to 762/1360 (ibid., 152).

[111] The portal of the Madrasat Qarāṭāy al-Manṣūrī can be viewed as a local comparison displaying the use of both the knot pattern and *ablaq* at the same time.

[112] Chahinda Fahmi Karim, "The Mosque of Aṣlam al-Bahāʾī al-Silāḥdār (746/1345)," *Annales islamologiques* 24 (1988): 233.

[113] The frame of the portal of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque is decorated with a border composed of an astragal between two grooves, which is accompanied on the inner zone by a frieze. The latter consists of alternating positive and negative forms in relief that swell in volume below and gradually run out above; the crown is pointed.

[114] Michael Hamilton Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study* (Buckhurst, 1987), 321.

[115] Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur,* 112, n. 208.

[116] A local tradition of the marble minbar in the ʿAṭṭār Mosque can be ruled out on the basis of the Mamluk minbars preserved today. As Tadmurī ascertains (*Tārīkh wa-Āthār,* 200), the ʿAṭṭār Mosque's minbar represents a singular case among the Mamluk minbars found in Tripoli. The

decoration on Aleppo's minbars[117] differs essentially from that on the ʿAṭṭār Mosque's minbar. Compared to the latter, the minbars in Aleppo display marble incrustation over a greater surface area. The marble minbar[118] of the *jāmiʿ* Alṭunbughā al-ʿAlāʾī, which was erected in 718/1318, corresponds somewhat to this tendency.[119] Although this minbar may be the earliest preserved example in marble,[120] marble minbars are not a phenomenon that is restricted to Aleppo alone in the mid-eighth/fourteenth century. On the contrary, many examples that are similar in decoration, design, and technique are found outside of Aleppo.

The marble incrustation, used primarily on the cupola of the minbar in the ʿAṭṭār Mosque, can be compared with the fragmentary marble minbar of the Khaṭīrī Mosque[121] in Cairo (built in 736/1336), specifically with respect to the small-sized, geometrical decorative patterns. The minbar in the ʿAṭṭār Mosque, however, shares the same kind of small-sized, extensive decorative stone cutting

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other two examples that are of earlier date, the minbar in the Great Mosque (726/1326) and that in the Ṭaynāl Mosque (736/1336), are made of wood.

[117] Meinecke does not supply any concrete examples to support this idea, but only mentions Aleppo's minbars.

[118] Michael Meinecke, "Die Moschee des Amīrs Āqsunqur an-Nāṣirī in Kairo," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts in Kairo* 29, no. 1 (1973): 33.

[119] Jean Sauvaget, "Inventaire des monuments musulmans de la ville d'Alep," *Revue des études islamiques* 5 (1931): 88; cf. also Herzfeld, *Matériaux,* 1:324–25. The sides are taken up by a capacious marble incrustation, which displays a triangle composed of dark marble; this is encircled by a lighter-colored border and again by a darker stone. This generous use of marble incrustation technique differs decisively from the moderate marble incrustation in the ʿAṭṭār Mosque, for instance on the cupola of the minbar. Later examples of expansive use of marble incrustation are found on the minbar in the Mankalībughā al-Shamsī Mosque, founded in 763/1393–94 (Jean Sauvaget, *«Les Trésors d'or» de Sibṭ ibn al-ʿAjami: Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la ville d'Alep* [Beirut, 1950], 40), and in the Jāmiʿ Taghrībirdī (796/1393–94) (Herzfeld, *Matériaux,* 1:355). They as well exhibit the central triangle enclosed by more triangles, some in different colors, on the staircase.

[120] Meinecke, "Die Moschee des Amīrs Āqsunqur," 33.

[121] Islamic Museum in Cairo, Inv. No. 2983 (Gloria S. Karnouk, "Form and Ornament of the Cairene Baḥrī Minbar," *Annales islamologiques* 17 [1981]: 138). Only the sides of the minbar are preserved. They display a pattern that is based upon a star with twelve rays, which is made of stones of diverse colors and set in marble (ibid., 136; idem, "Cairene Bahri Mamluk Minbars: With a Provisional Typology and a Catalogue" [M.A. thesis, American University of Cairo, 1977], 125–27). Although other stars and geometric forms are also used here, it should be noted that the decorative pattern found in the ʿAṭṭār Mosque's minbar appears to be more clearly organized geometrically through its more angular forms than that of the minbar fragments in Cairo. The latter also contains round forms, in addition to the star-pattern and polygons. Karnouk therefore has doubts about the early date of the fragment. Round decorative elements do not appear on wooden minbars before the fifteenth century (ibid., 125–26).

as the minbar in the Mosque of Āqsunqur (dated 748/1347) in Cairo.[122] The cupola, baldachin, and banister of the Āqsunqur minbar exhibit decorative stone cutting; this technique is present on the portal and flanks of the minbar in the ʿAṭṭār Mosque. On the other hand, close parallels in the structure can be observed on the minbar in the Jāmiʿ Ibn Marwān in Gaza.[123]

Meinecke's concept of itinerant craftsmen as a medium for the transfer of different forms, insofar as it is applied to the ʿAṭṭār Mosque, must therefore be called into question. This model does not suffice to explain all of the similarities in decoration and motif found in the "work" of Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm or in reconstructing stations in his travels.[124] Only in the case of a very unlikely "itinerary" via Aleppo, Gaza, Cairo, Jerusalem, and Damascus, which could be enlarged with other stations, would further comparisons be found. The attempt to personalize the motifs and decorations as representing the signature of the craftsman is not sufficient for an understanding of the forms used to ornament the ʿAṭṭār Mosque.

Instead, here the function of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque as a *jāmiʿ* and the decisive role of its commissioner in the choice and objective of the decorative scheme should be asserted. This assertion concentrates on both central elements of the mosque within the townscape: the portal and the minaret. In the mosque's interior the marble minbar, which distinguishes the ʿAṭṭār Mosque as *jāmiʿ,* is accentuated by its decorative scheme. This restricted use of decoration only on exposed and significant elements might imply a purposeful choice of ornamental forms.

The ʿAṭṭār Mosque thus takes on both local and supra-regional features from buildings which were erected by Mamluk as well as non-Mamluk commissioners.[125]

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[122] Karnouk "Form and Ornament," 137; cf. also idem, "Cairene Bahri Mamluk Minbars," 41.

[123] Sadek dates it to the beginning of the eighth/fourteenth century on the basis of a donation inscription (Sadek, *Gaza*, 113). It resembles the squat form of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque's minbar. The baldachin of the Jāmiʿ Ibn Marwān is similar to that of the 'Attar Mosque, in that they both share octagonal and relatively thick columns, a hemispherical cupola, a similar proportional relationship between cupola and baldachin, and openings formed by round arches. Here, as in the minbar of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque, the baldachin and the cupola appear to have been well understood architecturally: the cupola is carried by pendentives and supported by arcades. A later example of this understanding of the construction of cupolas can be seen in the minbar in the Madrasah of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (Karnouk, "Cairene Bahri Mamluk Minbars," 27).

[124] The exclusive comparison of the minbar in the ʿAṭṭār Mosque with marble minbars in Aleppo does not suffice for its stylistic attribution, especially since both the decoration and the technique do not appear alone in a tradition that is restricted to Aleppo. Thus, the assignment of Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm to an "Aleppan workshop" based solely upon formal criteria of the minbar cannot be assumed.

[125] For instance, a Mamluk commissioner: Aṣlam al-Bahāʾī al-Silāḥdār; a non-Mamluk commissioner: the merchant Afrīdūn al-ʿAjamī.

The employment of similar decorative motifs might be viewed as the claim for equivalence in rank between these buildings and their commissioners.[126] The claim of the ʿAṭṭār Mosque can thus be based upon its being the first *jāmiʿ* in Tripoli that was commissioned by a non-Mamluk.

[126] Dieter Kimpel and Robert Suckale, review of *Bau und Überbau: Soziologie der mittelalterlichen Architektur nach den Schriftquellen,* by Martin Warnke, *Kritische Berichte* 4/5 (1977): 63–64.

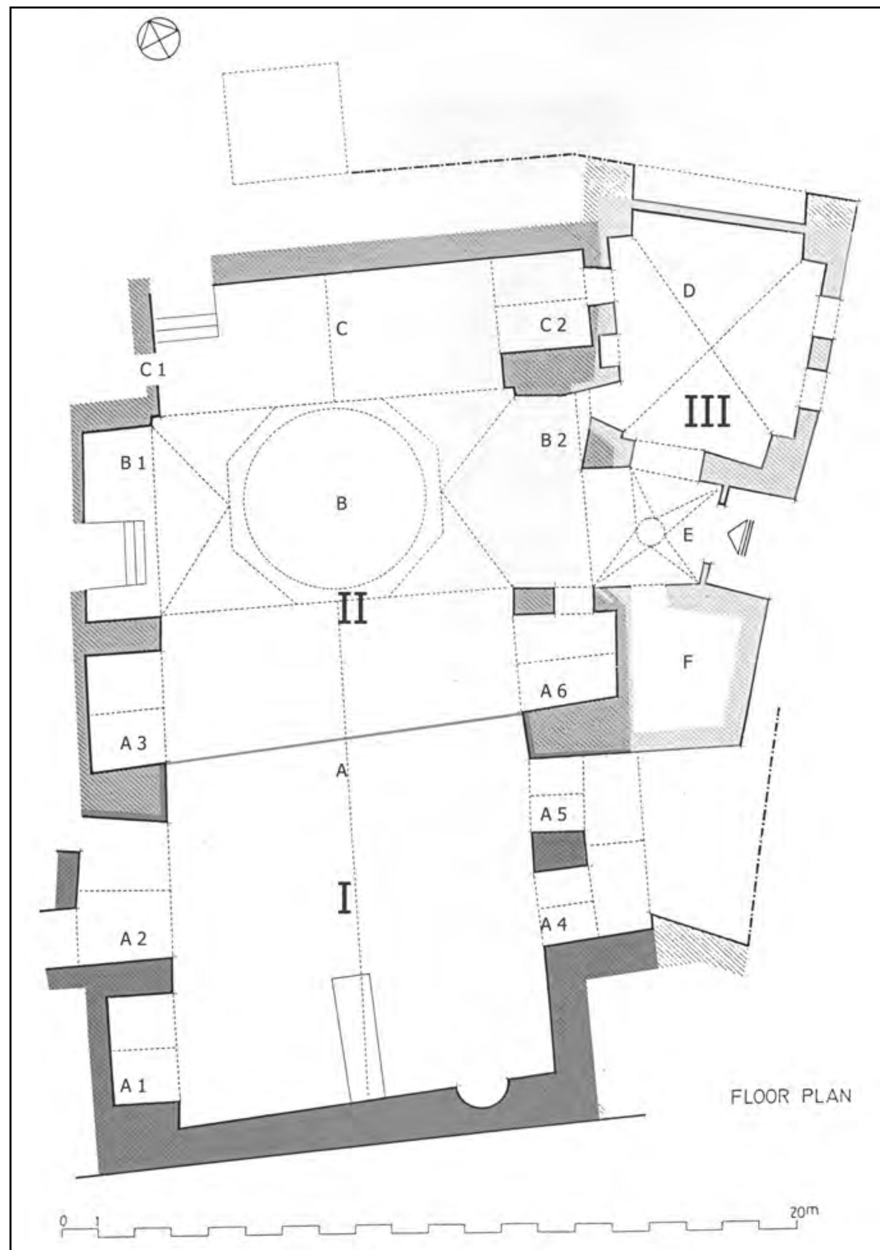


Fig. 1. Tripoli, ʿAṭṭār Mosque. Ground plan with a schematic division of the interior of the mosque (A–F) and a schematic suggestion for the reconstruction of the three building phases (I–III) (after R. Saliba et al., Tripoli, the Old City: Monument Survey—Mosques and Madrasas; A Sourcebook of Maps and Architectural Drawings [(Beirut): American University of Beirut, Department of Architecture, 1994], Monument No. 13).



Fig. 2. Tripoli, ʿAṭṭār Mosque. General view of the interior with the prayer hall: southern area (A) and qiblah. Photograph courtesy of Tripoli project of the Orient-Institute in Beirut: Zur Stadt und Architekturgeschichte von Tripoli/Libanon, Stefan Weber, 2003.



Fig. 3. Tripoli, ʿAṭṭār Mosque. View of the interior with the prayer hall, southern area (A): west wall with three niches (A 1, A 2, A 3). Photograph: Miriam Kühn, 2004.



Fig. 4. Tripoli, ʿAṭṭār Mosque. View of the interior with the prayer hall: area of the cupola (B) and the northern section (C). Photograph courtesy of Tripoli project of the Orient-Institute in Beirut: Zur Stadt und Architekturgeschichte von Tripoli/ Libanon, Stefan Weber, 2003.



Fig. 5. Tripoli, ʿAṭṭār Mosque. View of the interior with the prayer hall, southern area (A): qiblah wall with mihrab. Photograph courtesy of Sven Jentner, 2003.

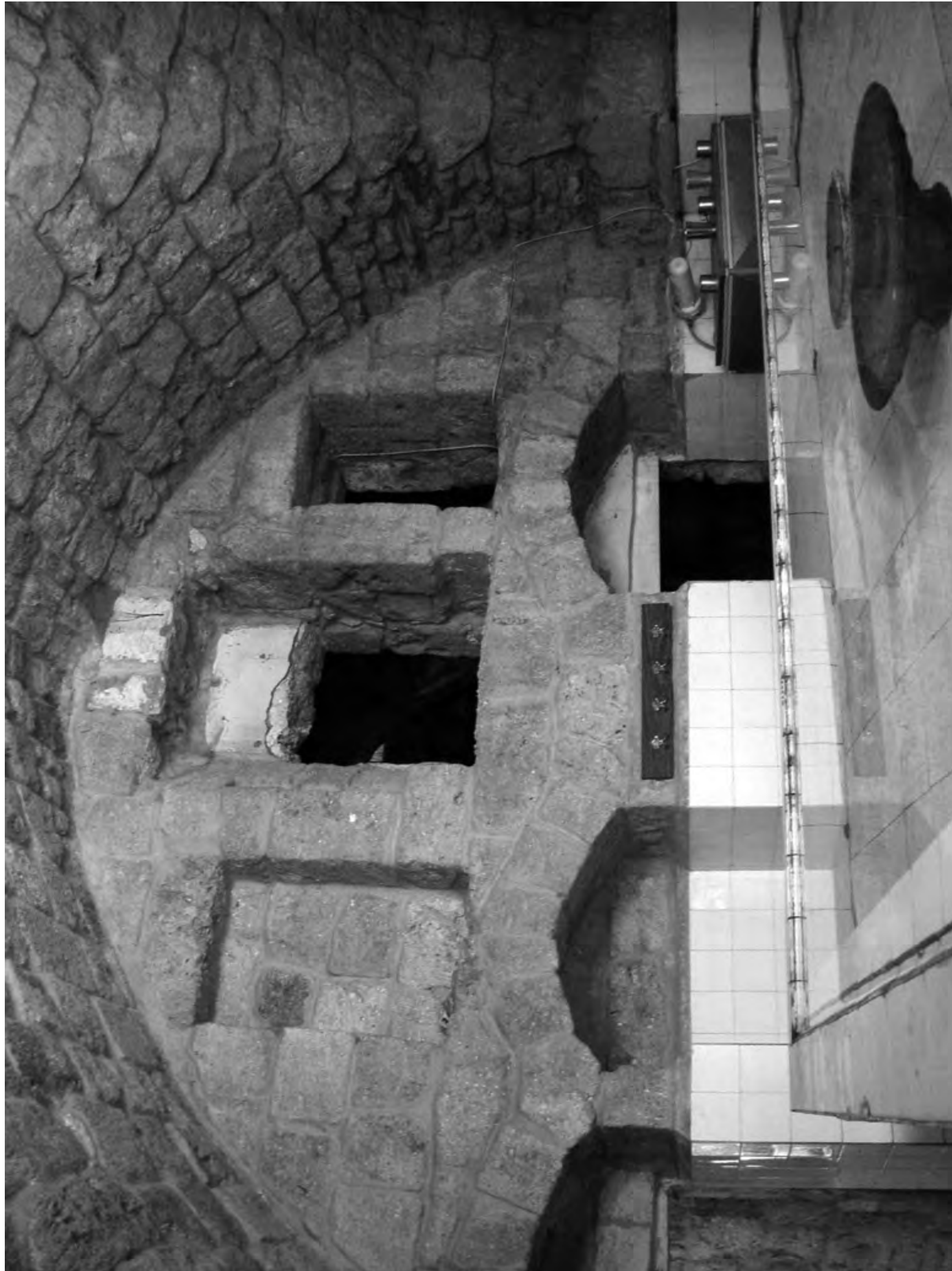


Fig. 6. Tripoli, ʿAṭṭār Mosque. View of the interior with the ablution room (D): west wall with entrances to the prayer hall. Photograph courtesy of Tripoli project of the Orient-Institute in Beirut, Zur Stadt und Architekturgeschichte von Tripoli/ Libanon, Team Weber, 2003.



Fig. 7. Tripoli, ʿAṭṭār Mosque. View of the interior with the vestibule (E): northwest corner to the prayer hall, southern entrance to the ablution room (D). Photograph: Miriam Kühn, 2004.



Fig. 8. Tripoli, ʿAṭṭār Mosque. View of the interior with the entrance to the ablution room from the prayer hall (B2): inserted muqarnas on the supporting pillar of the cupola. Photograph: Miriam Kühn, 2004.



Fig. 9. Tripoli, ʿAṭṭār Mosque–A. Ground plan: a–minaret; b–latrine; c–courtyard; d–room bordering to the southwest; e–enclosing passageways. B–Sūq al-Bāzirkān; C–Khān al-Miṣrīyīn; D–Khān al-Khayyāṭīn; E–Khān al-Jāwīsh; F–Zuqāq al-Tarbīʿah.
Courtesy of Tripoli project of the Orient-Institute in Beirut, Zur Stadt und Architekturgeschichte von Tripoli/Libanon, Team Weber, 2004.



Fig. 10. Tripoli, ʿAṭṭār Mosque. View of the exterior with the upper part of the eastern portal (detail). Photograph courtesy of Tripoli project of the Orient-Institute in Beirut, Zur Stadt und Architekturgeschichte von Tripoli/Libanon, Team Weber, 2003.

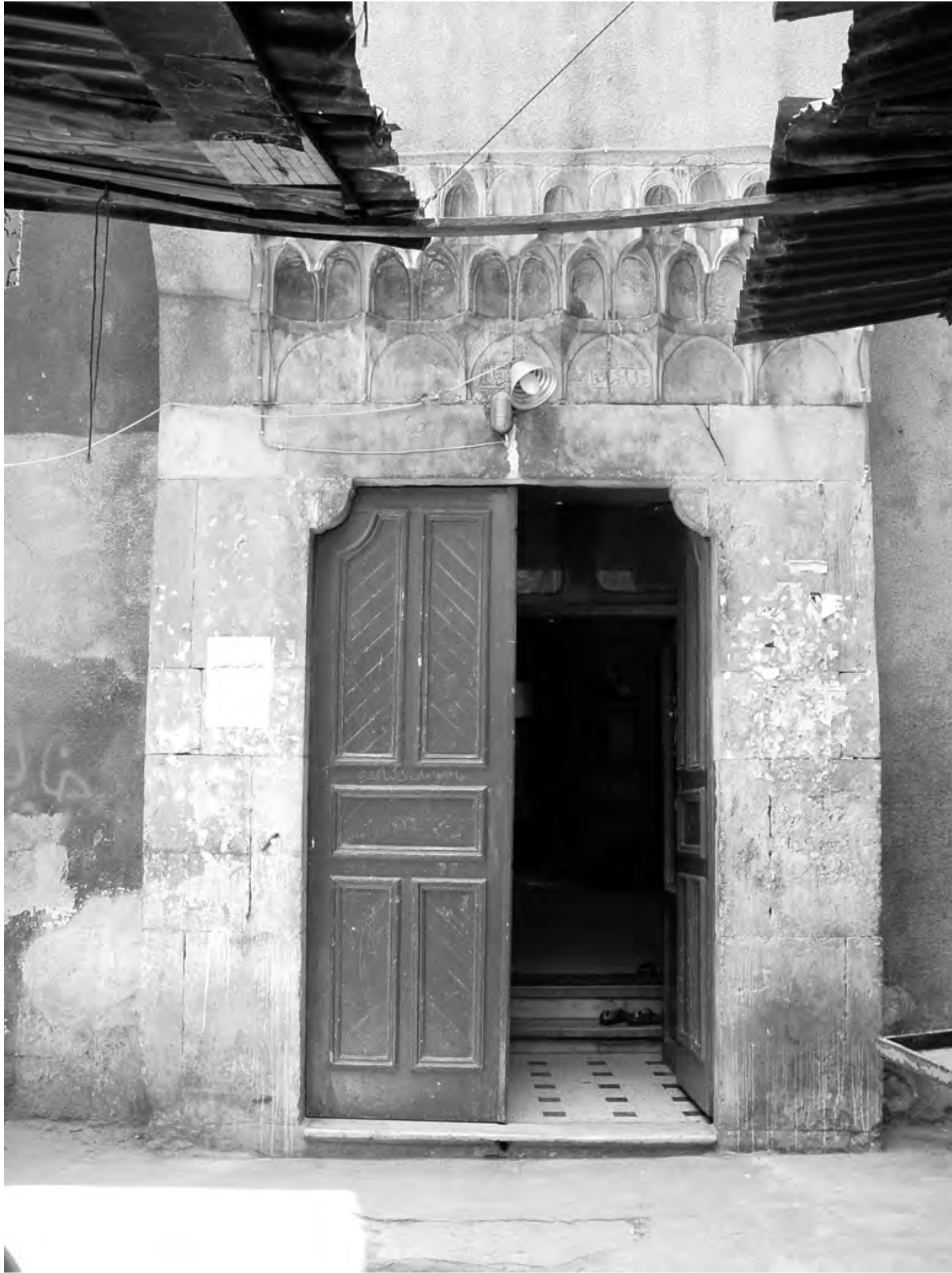


Fig. 11. Tripoli, ʿAṭṭār Mosque. Exterior, view of the entire western portal from the west. Photograph courtesy of Tripoli project of the Orient-Institute in Beirut, Zur Stadt und Architekturgeschichte von Tripoli/Libanon, Team Weber, 2003.

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The Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Madrasah in Cairo: Restoration and Archaeological Investigation

> Cairene architecture reached its heyday during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn. . . . A man of strict morals, keen intelligence, iron willpower, and boundless energy, yet vengeful and dishonest, al-Nāṣir was also a man of taste and culture, a patron of scholars, and friend of the historian Abu al-Fidā'.[1]

Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had three reigns altogether: as a child from 1293 to 1294, as an adolescent from 1299 to 1309, and, finally, as an adult from 1310 to 1341. The sultan's reigns were characterized less by warfare than by frenetic building activity; Michael Meinecke attributes no fewer than seventy-seven new buildings and renovations to his second reign. His third reign, which lasted for thirty-one years, saw four hundred and fifty new buildings and renovations. In the capital alone, for instance, the sultan endowed a madrasah, a mosque on the Nile (of which all traces have vanished), and the mosque named after him in the citadel.[2]

The Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Madrasah was the first building the ruler had anything to do with.[3] Begun sometime between 694/1294 and 696/1296 by Sultan al-ʿĀdil Kitbughā, it was finished in 703/1303 by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad during his second reign.[4]

[1] Oleg V. Volkoff, *1000 Jahre Kairo: Die Geschichte einer verzaubernden Stadt,* trans. Marguerite Haeny (Mainz, 1984), 154.

[2] Michael Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien (648/1250 bis 923/1517)*, part 2, *Chronologische Liste der mamlukischen Baumassnahmen* (Glückstadt, 1992), 88–103 and 107–93.

[3] On this madrasah, see K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt* (New York, 1978), 2:234–40, fig. 137 and pls. 85–89a, 111c, and 124d; Meinecke, *Mamlukische Architektur*, 88; Philipp Speiser, "Restaurierungsarbeiten an der al-Nasriyya Madrasa in Kairo," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* Suppl. 10 (1994): 527–40, pls. 1–4 and figs. 1–2; Wolfgang Mayer, Giorgio Nogara, and Philipp Speiser, "Archäologische Untersuchungen und Restaurierungsarbeiten an der Madrasa des Sultan an-Nasir Muhammad," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 57 (2001): 219–38, pls. 32–37.

[4] For the building activities of the sultan, see Viktoria Meinecke-Berg, "Quellen zur Topographie und Baugeschichte in Kairo unter Sultan an-Nasir Muhammad b. Qala'un," in *XIX. Deutscher*

Madrasah and Mausoleum of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad

On the western side of Shāriʿ Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh at Bayn al-Qasrayn, the al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Madrasah (694–96/1284–96, 703/1303, Index no. 44) occupies a roughly rectangular site sandwiched between two other Mamluk monuments, the slightly earlier Qalāwūn complex (683–84/1284–85, Index no. 43) and the later Barqūq complex (786–88/1384–86, Index no. 187).[5] Its façade on the main entrance side, overlooking Shāriʿ Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh, is aligned with the street and is thus oriented more or less north-south. It consists of an ashlar wall some ten meters high and twenty-one meters long, defined at the top by horizontal molding and stepped crenellation. A little over half-way up this wall, a wide horizontal inscription band running the full length of the façade gives the names and titles of Kitbughā, who began the building, and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, during whose second reign it was completed.

This inscription band is interrupted by the building's famous entrance portal, which divides the ashlar wall into two unequal segments. The southern segment, to the left as one faces the portal, measures 6.6 meters in length, and the northern segment, to the right, measures roughly ten meters. The portal is built around a marble doorway that formerly belonged to the church of St. Agnes in the Crusader-occupied town of Acre and was brought to Cairo by order of Sultan Ashraf Khalīl ibn Qalāwūn, an elder brother of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, after the Mamluk recovery of Acre in 1291.[6] The portal thus consists of concentric Gothic arches, echoing this doorway, framed by a rectangular molding which is a Mamluk addition, which rises to stop just short of the horizontal molding at the top of the wall. The doorway allows equal entrance to both the mausoleum and the madrasah.

Immediately on either side of the portal are tall vertical recesses, both of which have barred fenestration on the ground-floor level. Above the inscription band, these vertical recesses enter oblong spaces or panels created by molding that merges with the horizontal molding along the top of the ashlar wall. The recess on the left (south-eastern) side of the portal rises the full height of the wall and culminates in two lobes with carved decoration, which terminate with the horizontal molding at the top of the wall. The recess on the right (north-western)

Orientalistentag, vom 28. September bis 4. Oktober 1975 in Freiburg im Breisgau, ed. W. Voigt, *ZDMG* Suppl. 3, no. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1977), 538–50.

[5] The monument number refers to the *Index to Mohammedan Monuments in Cairo* (Cairo, 1952 and 1980), including a map of Cairo in two sheets (Cairo, 1950; Arabic version, Cairo, 1948).

[6] On the gate see Mayer, Nogara, and Speiser, "Archäologische Untersuchungen," 232–38, pls. 35–37*;* Viktoria Meinecke-Berg, "Spolien in der mittelalterlichen Architektur von Kairo," in *Ägytpen: Dauer und Wandel: Symposium anlässlich des 75 jährigen Bestehens des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts Kairo*, *MDAIK* Sonderschrift 18 (Mainz, 1985), 131–42, pls. 11–13.

side is slightly shorter. It is topped with three carved lobes, which stop short in the middle of the terminal oblong; and it makes a pair not with its taller companion on the left portal, but with a third recess five meters to the right at the far end of the façade. This third recess has a slightly narrower panel at the top, but is of the same height, two-lobed, and identically fenestrated. The windows set in both these two recesses open into the monument's mausoleum chamber.

Above a medallion in the inscription band midway between these two shorter vertical recesses is a deep round-arched niche. It makes a symmetrical pair with another round-arched niche above a medallion in the inscription band on the opposite side of the portal. Whatever their other purposes, these niches combine with the placement and scale of other elements to give the façade an air of noble and uncluttered mathematical balance, an effect achieved despite difficulties imposed by the site and by canonical requirements.

Above and behind the portal is the building's extraordinary minaret, which is built of fired brick with stucco decoration and girdled by two tiers of balconies; round faience elements are set into the upper part. Its base stands 15.2 meters tall and is topped by an octagonal segment of 8.5 meters and a wooden tip of Ottoman style. Immediately behind the portal, a passage with a high-coffered ceiling leads to the inner courtyard, at the center of which stands a rectangular water basin one meter in height.

At the south-east end of the court is the main *īwān* with a prayer niche; its semi-dome and the wall above it also boast elaborate stucco decoration. Across from it, the north-west side of the inner courtyard is taken up by an *īwān* of virtually identical dimensions, the back wall of which displays a very fine stucco relief. Two shallow niches finished at the top with pointed arches made of brick are set into the south-western outer wall (of the *īwān*) made of ashlar masonry. Their form and position suggest that the existing corridor was adorned with niches on either side, as exemplified by the Manṣūr Qalāwūn Madrasah.[7] Aligned with the central axis of the two long sides are two lateral *īwāns*, one on each side, with dormitory cells to the left and right of each; these are reconstructions dating from 1985–89, which were erected on existing foundations. The alignment of the inside rooms adjacent to the open courtyard and the *īwān*s is determined by the direction of Mecca, whereas the outer façade follows the course of the street or the site. This is a feature encountered particularly often in Cairo.

Function and Management

The al-Nāṣir Madrasah is regarded by Creswell as the earliest structure in Egypt

[7] The question arises as to whether they were matched on the opposite side originally, which might well have been the case because the present-day wall dates from the nineteenth or twentieth century.

with four *īwāns*.[8] According to the Mamluk historian al-Maqrīzī, a different law school taught in each of the *īwāns*: Maliki law in the main *īwān,* Hanbali in the south-western *īwān,* Hanafi in the north-eastern side *īwān,* and Shafiʿi in the rear *īwān.*[9] There was also a library in the madrasah, possibly between the main *īwān* and the mausoleum of Qalāwūn.[10] Al-Maqrīzī goes on to report that in the heyday of the complex, several eunuchs were stationed in the large entry passage to ensure that no unauthorized persons gained admittance. Sugar was distributed monthly to students, Quran readers, and other officials. The function of the building as a boarding school affected the architecture in that, in addition to the classrooms and the above-mentioned *īwāns*, accommodations for teachers and pupils as well as sanitary facilities fed by cisterns had to be provided on a sufficiently large scale. The cisterns were probably for the most part below the inner courtyard and the mausoleum, as well as behind the rear *īwān*. The living quarters were primarily housed in the upper floors, which disappeared long ago, with only a few on the ground floor, which were not reconstructed until 1987. It is not clear whether the madrasah also had a kitchen; no archaeological evidence for one has come to light.

Since the madrasah was expected to continue functioning after the sultan's death, it was endowed, according to al-Maqrīzī, by several *waqf*s, not from agricultural yields but from the revenue earned from rents paid for a storehouse, a *qaysārīyah,* and the apartment (Arabic: *rab*ʿ) above it, a complex known as al-Dahishah.[11] This complex originally belonged to one Amīn ʿAlī and was situated in the street of the makers of head-dresses *(sharībīshīyīn)*. He also endowed some shops located in the Bāb al-Zuhūmah street in Cairo and with the Dār Tam outside Damascus.[12] When his son Ānūk died in 1340, he was buried in the mausoleum and Amīn ʿAlī created a special endowment dedicated for readers of the Quran.[13]

Condition of the Monument before 1985

Before restoration work began on the madrasah in 1985, it was in poor condition. The elegant architectural ornament was full of gaps; most parts of the complex were damaged and only partially preserved, and the rooms grouped several storeys high along the long sides of the inner courtyard had for the most part vanished. The condition of the building as of 1985 was the result of gradual decay and is

[8] Creswell, *MAE,* 2:104–34, and figs. 50–68.

[9] Ibid.

[10] See ibid., 234.

[11] See ibid.

[12] On this gate, see Mayer, Nogara, and Speiser, "Archäologische Untersuchungen," 232–38, pls. 35–37.

[13] See Creswell, *MAE,* 2:234.

documented by a ground-plan (fig. 2) published by Creswell in 1959.[14] Julius Franz, who is known as the father of Egyptian Islamic monument conservation, described the madrasah as long ago as 1900 with the following words:

> As is also the case in the Māristān [of Sultan Qalāwūn], the mausoleum of the donor and the prayer hall lie on either side of the entrance along the eastern façade; both are in a bleak state of dilapidation. The dome above the tomb has long since collapsed, and we had not expected to find well-preserved characteristic plaster sculpture, reminiscent of the delicate ornamentation of Alhambra, in the decrepit prayer hall. In the background of the extensive complex, important remains of the walls with fragments of their erstwhile beautiful plaster sculpture still stand, between which storehouses, workshops, and run-down dwellings have been wedged.[15]

In fact three dwellings, which have in the meantime been demolished, were built on the ruined site in the nineteenth century. Interestingly, an illustration (in the work written by Franz) depicts a minbar (pulpit) next to the prayer niche. This must surely indicate that the complex, despite the dilapidation described, was still being used for religious purposes. That this was indeed the case in the first half of the nineteenth century is attested in a drawing by Prisse d'Avennes; he was in Egypt from 1827 until 1844. In it several worshippers are depicted in front of the prayer niche and below a metal chandelier.[16]

At the end of nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries, the Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe undertook fairly extensive reinforcement and reconstruction measures.[17] The ceiling beams of the two main *īwāns* were replaced and, although discussion about its original form ensued, the missing dome above the mausoleum was not reconstructed; instead, the opening was boarded up. The elevation of the rear *īwān* was reconstructed with red brick.

Restoration from 1985 to 1987

In 1985 the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo began the restoration of

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14 See Creswell, *MAE,* vol. 2, fig. 137.

15 Julius Franz, *Berühmte Kunststätten no. 21: Kairo* (Cairo and Leipzig, 1903), 55–56.

16 In 2003 the Ministry of Culture ordered a replica of the chandelier; see Prisse d'Avennes, *L'art arabe d'après les monuments du Caire depuis le VIIe jusqu'au XVIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1877), 235, pl. XIII.

17 Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe, exercice 1890, 45–46.

the madrasah. The work was finished to a large extent in 1987.[18] Following a careful survey of the complex and mapping of damage, a restoration program was developed. It focused on three areas of construction and undecorated sections:

1. Securing the masonry and replacing damaged and missing parts: this affected most parts of the complex and especially the south-west wall of the qiblah *īwān,* the street façade with its unrendered ashlar masonry, and the mausoleum masonry. The crown molding of the walls and some of the crenellation on the street side had to be rebuilt.

2. Repairing and replacing roofs and ceilings: all roofs had to be made watertight. The original coffered passage ceiling, which had only survived below the minaret, and the *muqarnas* cornices below it had to be reconstructed.

3. Reinforcing and replacing both fixed and movable parts of wood and metal: existing door panels were worked over and missing ones replaced. The same held for the inside shutters on the street side. The railings of the two-tiered balconies of the minaret, as well as the spiral staircase within it and the tip of the minaret (which dated from the Ottoman period) were all replaced. The missing metal grills across the windows were also replaced.

As has already been mentioned, the madrasah boasted particularly elegant architectural decoration of stucco, wood, and marble. Here, too, securing and cleaning what was left took priority. Replacement was only undertaken where it could be verified. The most important replacements are listed below:

• Stucco decoration: undoubtedly the largest decorated surfaces (covering many square meters) are on the minaret. In addition to very careful and time-consuming cleaning, removing later layers of plaster and securing the original structure, some parts had to be replaced. The restoration work that was carried out on the upper semi-dome of the prayer niche in the main *īwān* was particularly elaborate, since the semi-dome is clad with a complex relief in the repoussé technique. At the same time, the decorated field above the niche as well as an Ottoman decorative window were restored. Other elements of decoration that were preserved and restored are the mausoleum pendentives and the grills of high windows. The stucco rendering was also restored and completed in four window niches on the main *īwān* façade overlooking the courtyard.

• Wooden decoration: the complex boasts numerous ornamental appointments of carved and partially polychromed wood, for instance in the mausoleum and the entry passage. In the passage, the carved coffered ceiling had to be replaced (save for three sections) in addition to the wall moldings.[19] The wooden decoration of

[18] Under the auspices of the Historic Cairo restoration project carried out by the German Institute of Archaeology jointly with the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, restoration work funded by the Kulturhilfe des Auswärtigen Amtes der Bundesrepublik.

[19] Three original elements of the ceiling were preserved because they are located below the

the mausoleum was still largely intact; it was carefully cleaned and in some cases refitted.

Reconstruction

Since only part of the madrasah had survived, and especially since all the rooms grouped along the long sides were either in a fragmentary state or non-existent, the question arose as to whether reconstruction should be undertaken in part of the complex to at least give visitors some idea of what the original structure, as well as the archaeological remains, looked like. As archaeological investigation furnished reliable information on the course of the foundations of the rooms abutting the inner courtyard, we opted for rebuilding one *īwān* on each side with the adjacent single-storey dormitory cells, since survey measurements can be vouched for up to that level. Similarly, the water basin uncovered at the center of the inner courtyard was put in again as a significant element of the design.

The original entrance to the mausoleum is on the courtyard façade. From the standpoint of statics, it had been subjected to stresses at some unknown time, since one of the two marble columns supporting the lintel had broken below the capital. After the column was repaired, the doorway, which virtually corresponds to that of the roughly contemporary Qalāwūn Madrasah, was closed with a door of turned bobbins. All these measures were intended to secure the historic architecture and elements of decoration and, through restoration of part of the complex, make the fragmentary sequence of rooms more intelligible.

Archaeological Investigations

In the course of the restoration work already discussed, archaeological investigations were carried out in several places by means of trial trenches dug to shed light on the original ground-plan and on buildings that had previously existed at the site, and to gain general insights into the architectural history of the various sites. Five areas were studied: trial trenches A–D were made during restoration work in 1985–87 and 1989. Considerably more extensive investigations were conducted on the western corner (zone E) of the al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Madrasah site. They were made possible by generous funding from the Max Van Berchem Foundation (Geneva) in 1998, 1999, 2003, and 2004. The opportunity to excavate in Historic Cairo on this site, or at least near the Fatimid Western Palace, made the project particularly enticing. Unfortunately, however, it was soon discovered that groundwater and drainage seepage made it impossible to dig deeper than 1.5 meters below street level, so that the Fatimid strata could only be uncovered to a very limited extent.

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minaret.

Trial Trench A

It was hoped that excavating what had existed on the site before the mausoleum would uncover remains of a forecourt enclosed by arcades—as was indeed the case with the nearby Qalāwūn Mausoleum—especially since traces of stucco-clad niches are discernible on the exterior wall.[20] However, no remains of foundations were found. All that was encountered was the partly collapsed brick vault of a water cistern some 0.8 meters below the level of the forecourt.[21] The cistern is presumably Mamluk, since part of it lies beneath the mausoleum. Remains of floor flags, presumably from the above mentioned forecourt, were found immediately below the first visible course of the masonry of the outer wall of the adjacent Barqūq Madrasah. This same wall intersects with several barrel vaults from the side rooms of the al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Madrasah. Both circumstances indicate that by the time the Barqūq complex was built, nearly a century after the al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Madrasah, not much attention was being paid to the latter. This might mean that maintenance of the facility was considerably scaled down not long after the sultan's death in 1341 and that attempts at repair were not undertaken until the Ottoman period (from 1516). This conjecture is supported by al-Maqrīzī, who wrote in 1404: "All this is past and the mosque has lost its lustre, but it is still flourishing as one of the finest madrasas."[22]

Trial Trench B

This trial trench affects the part of the site immediately to the north-west of trial trench A, in which wall remains had been shown by an earlier investigation to be parts of the *īwān* on the north side. A modern storeroom abutted the north-west side, enclosed in the inner courtyard by a stretch of façade with two door apertures. On the north-east side is a cell with barrel vaulting, which, intriguingly, had an opening for ascending to the (now vanished) upper floor. The conclusion to be drawn from the unity of foundation and superstructure is that they most likely date from the Mamluk period. Their north-west wall, which is also the wall of the side *īwān,* still retains the historic spring of the vault in situ, which made it possible to reconstruct the pointed arch and barrel vaulting. When the side *īwān* foundation was uncovered, it was revealed that a wall niche had been set into its back wall. The two door openings mentioned above were slightly recessed from the uncovered threshold substructure, a clear indication that this was a historic reconstruction.

[20] For the floorplan of the Qalāwūn Mausoleum, see Creswell, *MAE,* vol. 2, fig. 108.

[21] According to Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) inspectors, several cisterns as well as a corridor were found below ground level. So far no plans or photos are available.

[22] Quoted in Creswell, *MAE,* 2:234.

TRIAL TRENCH C

After the removal of a layer of rubble more than one meter high in the inner courtyard, the remains of a rectangular water basin (3.75 by 2.9 meters) were revealed at its center.[23] The inner corners of the basin were rounded, a feature characteristic of the basins found in Fatimid layers in Fustat. The basin has a rim approximately one meter high of bonded brick, which was rendered inside with a water-resistant or waterproof lime mortar (an aggregate of brick dust or charcoal ash). It was finished off at the top with limestone slabs, of which, however, only a few pieces were found. At some time, the basin had been partly filled in with bricks. The fresh water needed to fill it was probably brought from one or more subterranean cisterns via a lined shaft sunk several meters deep under the courtyard. Since there are no traces of individual places for ablution with the usual drains, the water basin is unlikely to have been used originally for ablutions. Instead, the reflecting surface of the water was perhaps a design feature of the courtyard.[24] There are similar basins in the Nūr al-Dīn Madrasah and Māristān (built 567/1162) and the ʿĀdilīyah Madrasah (built 623/1219), both in Damascus.[25]

TRIAL TRENCH D

The south-west side of the inner courtyard was cleared of later additions, which were all in a precarious state, and partly excavated. This excavation made it possible to ascertain the Mamluk ground-plan to a large extent from the alignment of its foundations. It contained a side *īwān,* identical to the one on the opposite side, with three small rooms, most likely dormitory cells, on its left side. On the site of a demolished house, adjacent to the right (north-west) of the side *īwān,* the foundations of three more dormitory cells were uncovered, as well as remains of a linking passage running behind them, in which some of the limestone flag flooring has survived. Beneath two of the cells two sewage shafts were found, which are in part aligned with the inner courtyard. These shafts belong to a pre-Mamluk building phase and are part of an elaborate drainage system centered at some distance to the south-west.[26]

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[23] See Philipp Speiser, "Recherches archéologiques dans le Caire fatimide: Les éléments d'un puzzle," in *Colloque international d'Archéologie Islamique,* ed. Roland P. Gayraud (Cairo, 1993), 423–26, figs. 9–10.

[24] On basins in mosques, see Martin Frishman, "Die Ursprünge des Islam und die Gestalt der Moschee," in *Die Moscheen der Welt,* ed. Martin Frishman and Hasan-Uddin Khan (Frankfurt and New York, 1995), 39.

[25] Creswell, *MAE,* 2:109–12, figs. 56 and 59.

[26] On the design of the individual wastewater shafts, see Speiser, "Les éléments d'un puzzle," 434, fig. 11

Zone E

In the late 1990s the city government had another decrepit house demolished, and its removal made possible the excavation of a wider area (177 square meters) in the western corner of the site. The site is bounded on the south-west towards the Qalāwūn Madrasah by a modern brick wall, on the south-east by the reconstructed side *īwān* and dormitory cells, on the north-east by the rear *īwān,* and on the north-west by a neighboring building. This site is part of the area in which the Fatimid Western Palace is thought to have stood, although pottery finds have hitherto failed to furnish evidence for it.[27]

Within a jumble of wall remains (spoils from several damaged Mamluk and Ottoman structures which are beyond the scope of this work), a continuous, slightly trapezoidal complex showed up clearly. On each of three sides it has the remains of four identical cells or cubicles, all of which open on to what was probably an open courtyard measuring 5.5 by 5.5 meters.

The above-mentioned twelve cubicles are almost identical in form, and all have a surface area of almost 1.5 square meters. At the back, each has a seat built of two blocks of limestone. Between the two blocks of limestone is an opening that drains into the sewage system below. Each of the cubicles, most likely covered at one time by a vault or dome, enters onto the courtyard through a simple wooden door. Along the right-hand side wall of each cubicle runs an open water channel, which has a brickwork rim up to 0.4 meters high. It is unclear how the fresh-water channel was fed, since there are no indications of a cistern nearby; perhaps it was filled at its highest point from skin water bags or buckets. In two cubicles, remains of a floor from an earlier building phase were found about 0.3 meters deeper. An even earlier building phase was found beneath the north-eastern row of cubicles, where at least three cubicles were built on the demolished masonry superstructure of identical structures dating from the time the madrasah was built.[28]

The south-east side, the fourth side of the courtyard, sustained considerably more damage; all that remains is the substructure of three toilet cubicles on top of another sewer.[29] The approach, now vanished, to the small courtyard with its water basin must also have been on this side. Incidentally, a similar facility was found several years ago in the nearby Sultan al-Kāmil (626/1229) Madrasah, mentioned above.

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[27] Viktoria Meinecke-Berg, "Historische Topographie des Viertels," in *Die Restaurierung der Madrasa des Amīrs Sāqad-Din [sic] Mitqāl al-Ānūkī und die Sanierung des Darb Qirmiz in Kairo,* ed. Michael Meinecke (Mainz, 1980), 18–28, especially 24, nn. 58 and 59, figs. 1 and 2.

[28] The frequent rebuilding of sanitary installations is not surprising, due to the destructive effects of water.

[29] It seems logical to place toilets after washrooms, using their waste water to keep the sewers clean.

Virtually at the center of the courtyard, but one meter deeper than the level of the cubicles, is an octagonal water basin whose nine parts were later adapted to fit into a square rim. This represents an example of recycling, perhaps of an element from the Fatimid Western Palace. A coin that was found dates the recycling of the basin to the Ayyubid era. The structure was undoubtedly a sanitary facility. The presence of a continuous freshwater channel in most cubicles suggests they were used by the teachers and pupils for the purposes of physical hygiene.[30]

On the south-western outer wall of the washing facility, nine cells were excavated that were approximately 1.7 meters lower than the adjacent cubicles and were entered from the south-west. As clearly shown in a sketch from the first half of the nineteenth century, this was the outermost group of rooms in the adjacent Qalāwūn Māristān, in which the mentally ill were incarcerated and shackled under intolerable conditions in dark cells of only about four square meters.[31]

Conclusions

The excavations confirmed the conjecture that the ground-plan provided for four *īwāns*. However, stratigraphic analysis showed that cells and remains of secondary or minor *īwāns* visible before 1985 on the long side of the madrasah and marked on Creswell's plan as Mamluk likely date from the Ottoman period (1517–1798) and later.[32] The madrasah does not seem to have been properly maintained after the donor's death; to judge from the pottery finds, extensive restoration work was carried out in the sections along the long sides at a time that cannot be precisely ascertained. Further, the minaret was given a new tip and the mausoleum may have been topped with a wooden dome.

The sanitary installations featuring cubicles around an open courtyard, described above, were also rebuilt during the Ottoman period. The numerous brickwork sewers, some of which go back to the first phase of building in the Ayyubid period (564–667/1169–1249) were, interestingly, left in place despite several renovations and were simply adapted to the new conditions. Most of the sewers are probably linked with the earlier development on the site, which according to al-Maqrīzī, included a bath.[33] This might explain why there was such an elaborate sewage system.

The importance of superior hydraulic installations for architectural planning has hitherto been too little appreciated and studied. This may be due to the fact

[30] Given the absence of taps and proper drainage, except for one small hole, a system with running water seems most unlikely.

[31] See Creswell, *MAE,* vol. 2, fig. 124.

[32] Except for one Mamluk wall of the north-eastern side *īwān*.

[33] Creswell, *MAE,* 2:234.

that Cairo, unlike many other cities, did not have public water mains until well into the late nineteenth century and even today does not possess a sophisticated municipal sewage system. Nor have historic sanitary facilities in mosques and madrasahs been sufficiently studied; consequently, it is difficult to classify this unusually large facility with twelve cubicles for washing and four toilets. The introduction of public water mains into such historic facilities would have made their cisterns and cesspits obsolete.

The octagonal basin that has been dated to the Ayyubid period might well have been part of the previously mentioned bath. The theory that this might have been a room in the Fatimid Western Palace, on the other hand, is dubious, especially since its architectural connection with the adjacent Mamluk Māristān of Sultan Qalāwūn, which itself has Fatimid elements, has yet to be investigated.

Despite archaeological excavation of several ground-floor rooms or at least their foundations, the floor-plan of the al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Madrasah still has gaps. Two to three storeys can be reconstructed on the basis of the window niches in the rear façade of the main *īwān,* which faces the inner courtyard. However, it is because the vertical architectural elements such as stairwells, light shafts, etc., are missing without a trace that the madrasah remains incomplete. The only possibility, therefore, is comparison by function and ground-plan with similar facilities which still have upper floors. One example suitable for such comparison is the virtually contemporaneous Baybars al-Jāshnkīr Khānqāh (706–9/1306–10), situated nearby in the Shāriʿ al-Jamalīyah.

Conservation Measures

After the archaeological excavations had been finished, the sanitary installations and parts of the adjacent finds were preserved, and the excavated surfaces abutting the buildings of the two madrasahs were filled in with sand. The restored and partially rebuilt sanitary installations should be regarded as an "archaeological window" offering a glimpse of the earliest building stage in the Fatimid/Ayyubid era (tenth and twelfth centuries).



Fig. 1. Key map: no. 44, Madrasah of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad; no. 43, Madrasah of Manṣūr Qalāwūn; no. 187, Madrasah of Barqūq (drawing by N. Hampikian/Ph. Speiser)

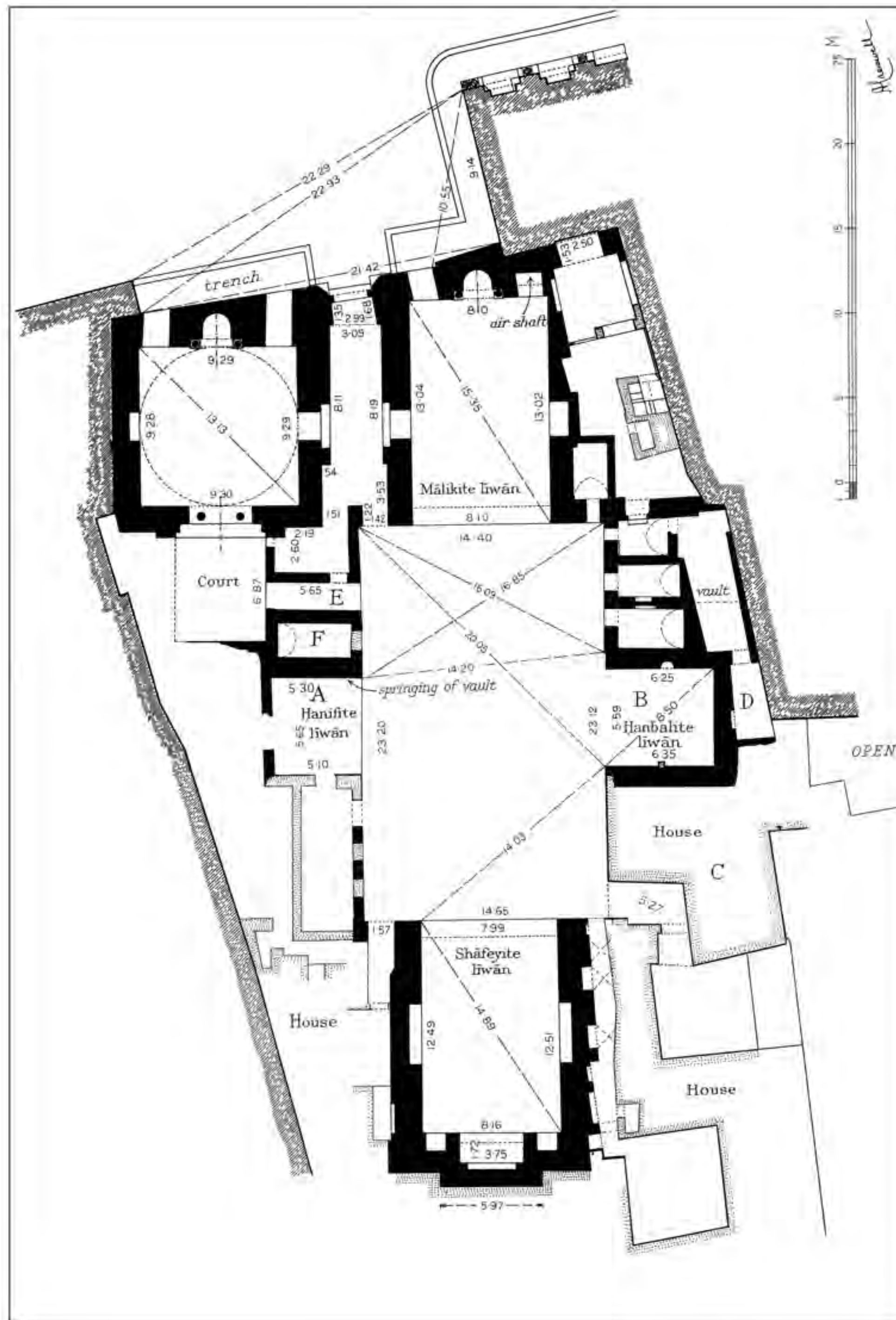


Fig. 2. Madrasah of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, ground plan, 1959 (by K. A. C. Creswell)

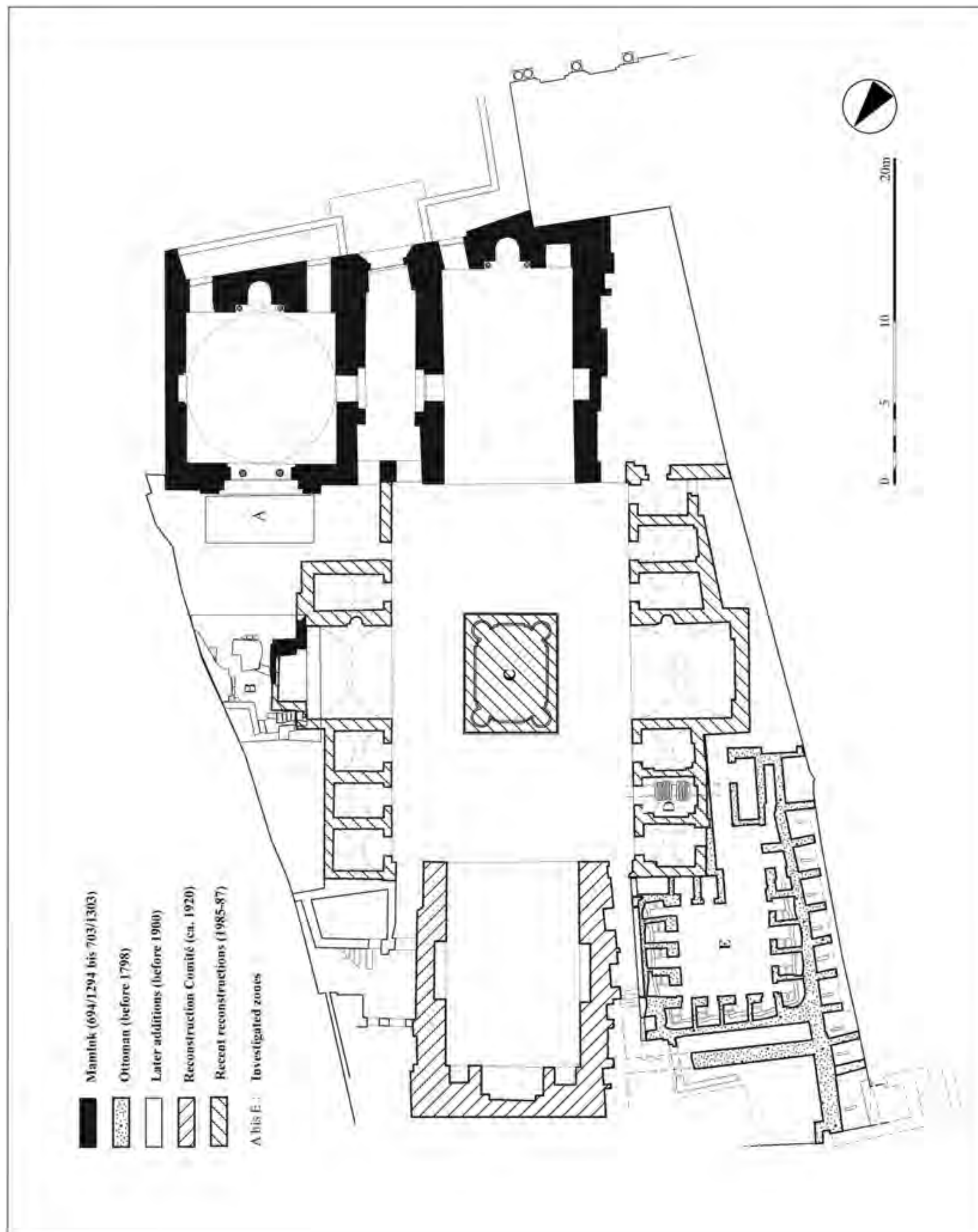


Fig. 3. Madrasah of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, ground plan after excavation in 1985–89 and 1998–2004 (by M. Lehner, Ph. Speiser, and G. Nogara)

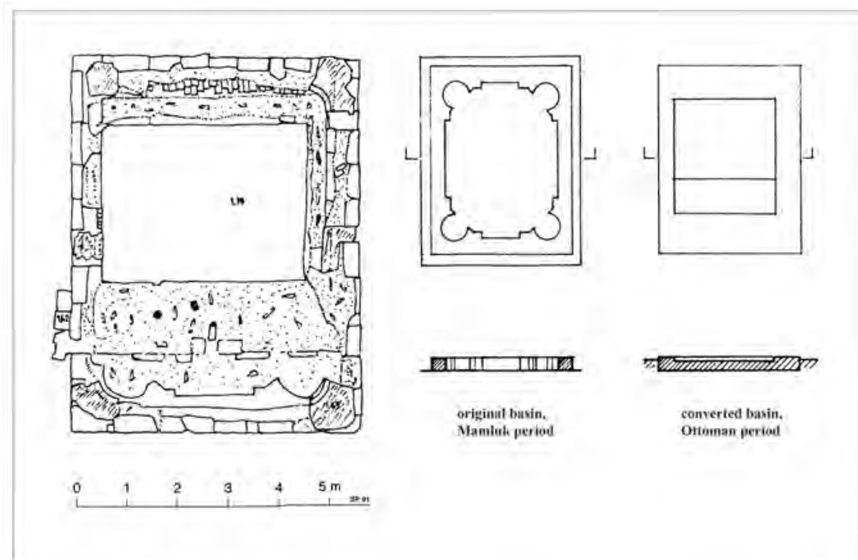


Fig. 4. Madrasah of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, zone C courtyard, fountain (by Ph. Speiser)

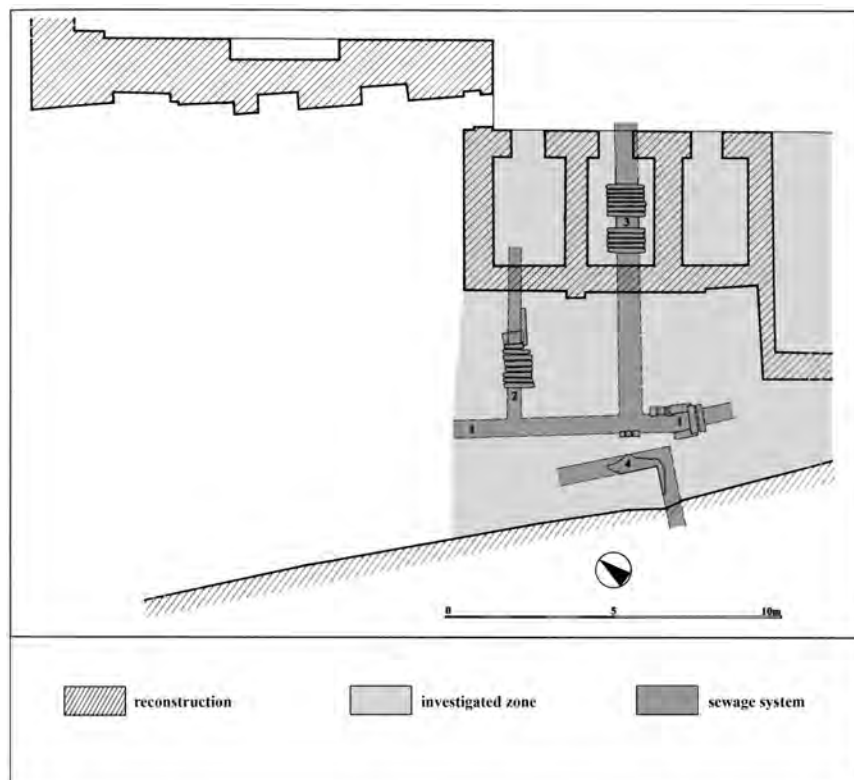


Fig. 5. Madrasah of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, zone D, phase 1 (by G. Nogara)

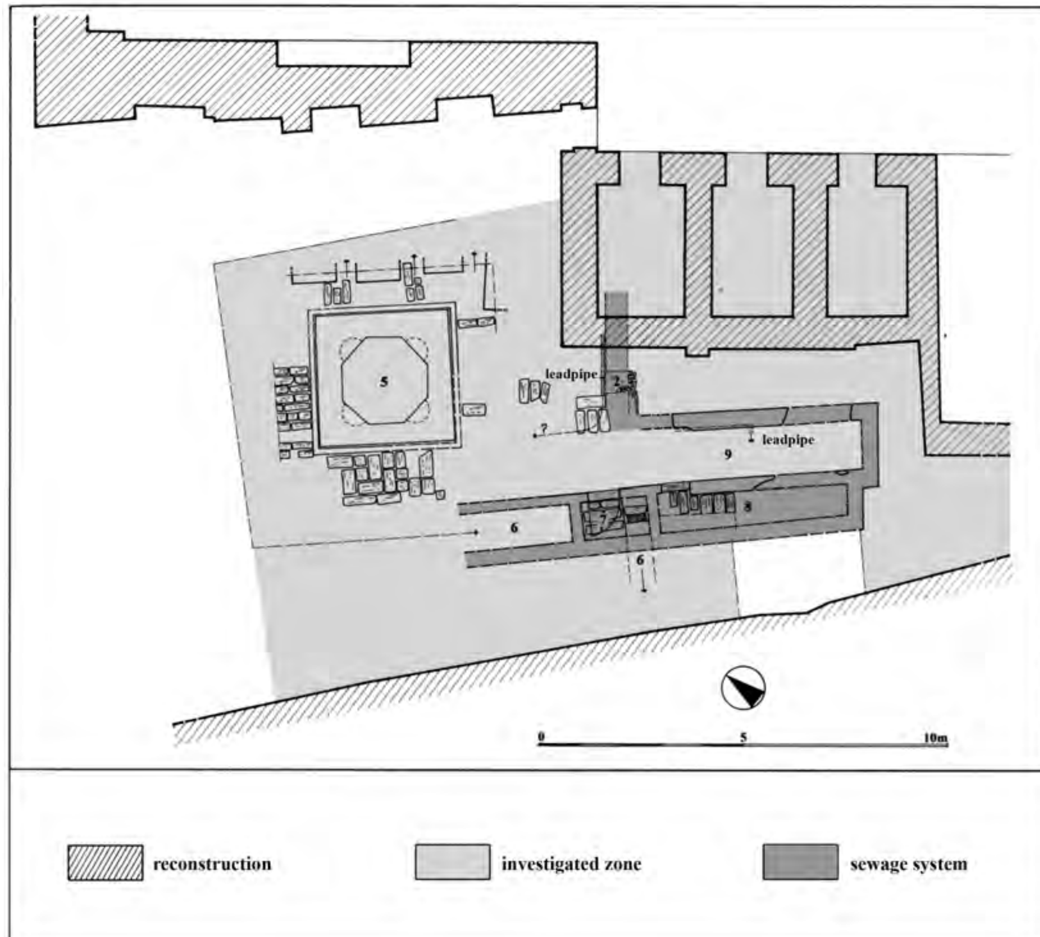


Fig. 6. Madrasah of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, zone D and E, phase 2 (by G. Nogara)

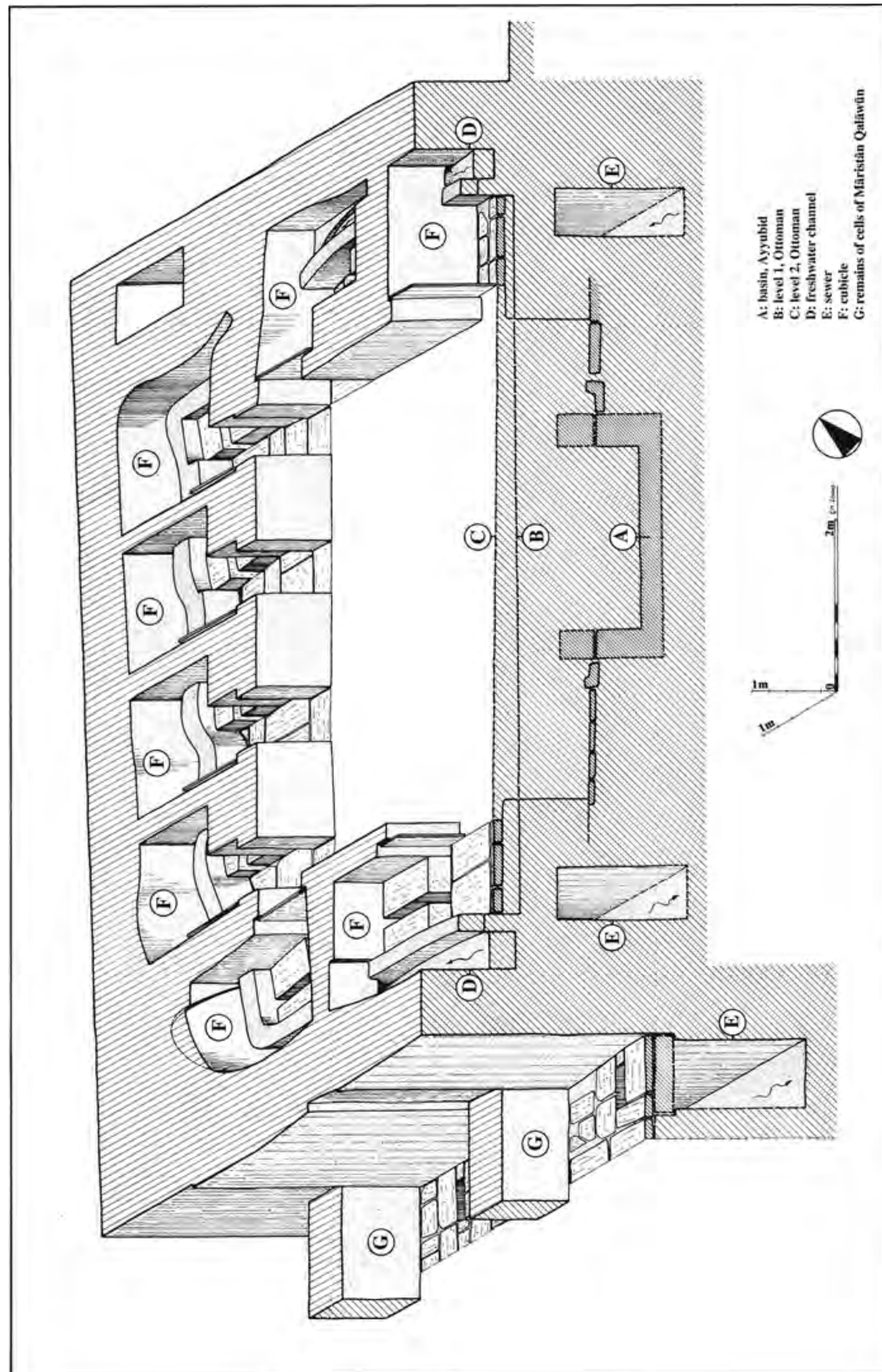


Fig. 7. Madrasah of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, sanitary installations, axonometric reconstruction (by G. Nogara)

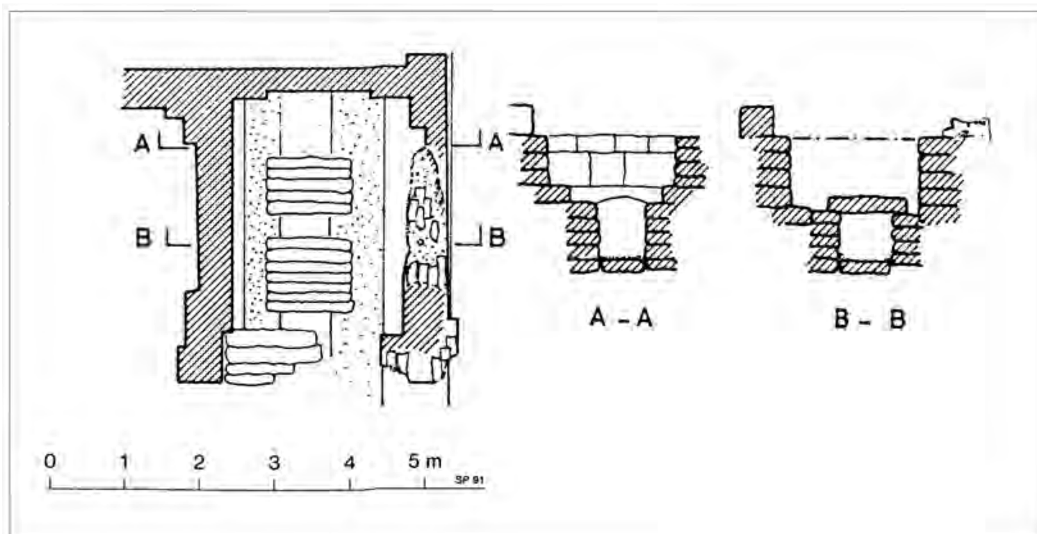


Fig. 8. Madrasah of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, zone D, sewer details (by Ph. Speiser)

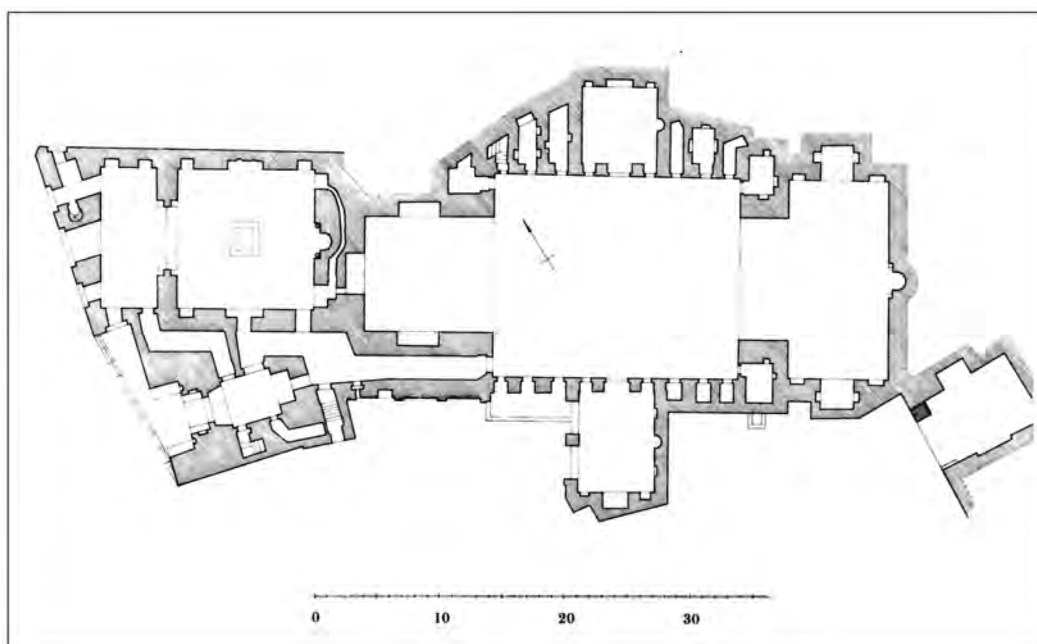


Fig. 9. Cairo, Khānqāh of Amir Baybars al-Jashnkīr (by M. Meinecke)



Fig. 10. Madrasah of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, street elevation during restoration, 1986 (Speiser)



Fig. 11. Madrasah of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, minaret, 1989 (Speiser)



Fig. 12. Madrasah of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, remains of northern īwān in front of the mausoleum, 1986 (Speiser)



Fig. 13. Madrasah of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, northern īwān during reconstruction in front of the mausoleum, 1987 (Speiser)

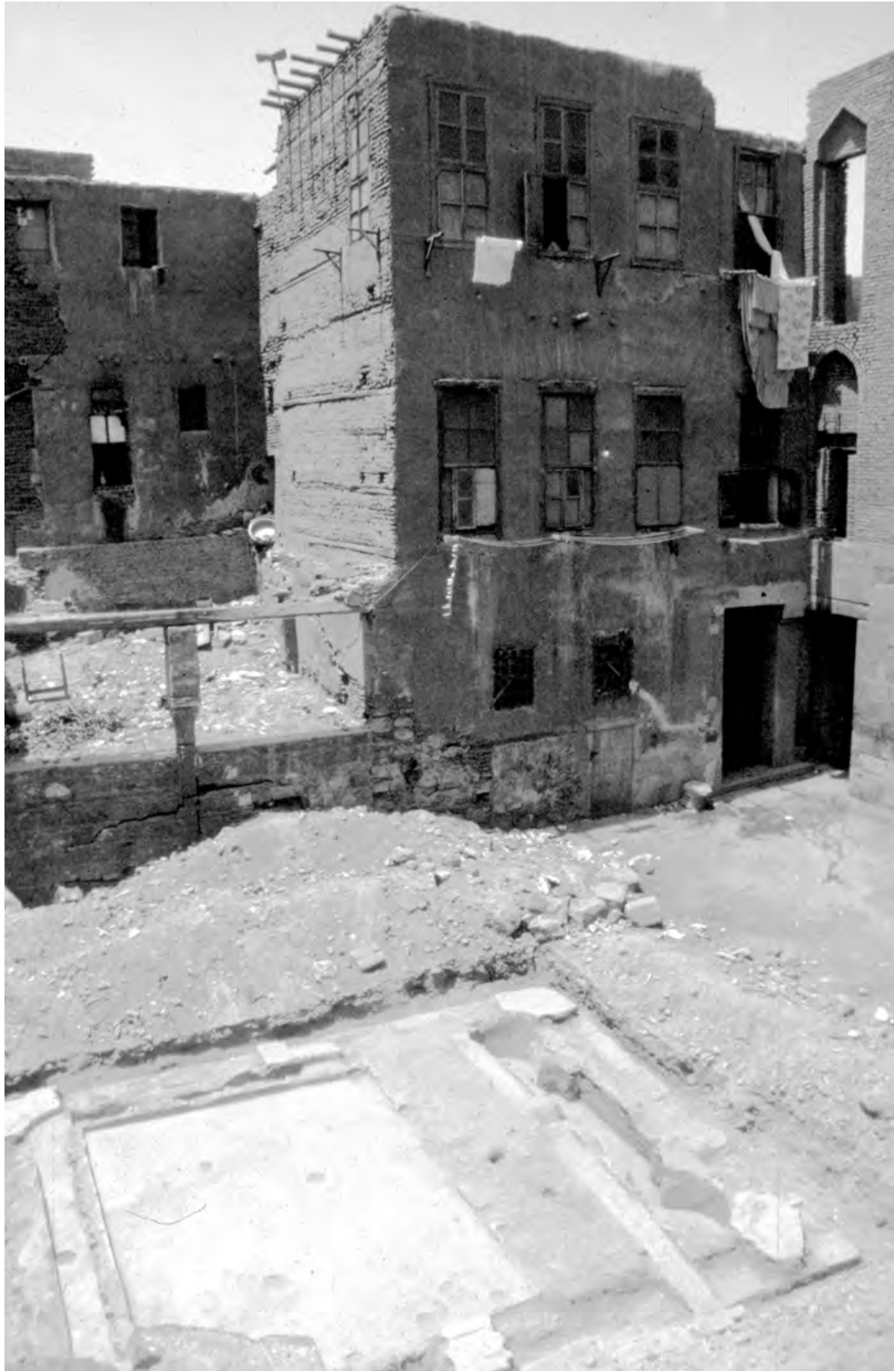


Fig. 14. Madrasah of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, 1985, excavated basin in the courtyard in front of a residential building from the nineteenth century, now demolished (Speiser)



Fig. 15. Madrasah of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, excavated Ottoman sanitary installations with Ayyubid basin in the center, 1998 (Speiser)

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When Is It Possible to Call Something Beautiful?: Some Observations about Aesthetics in Islamic Literature and Art

It often happens that a teacher must occupy himself with topics that are somewhat distant from his own field of research. I have encountered this situation several times in recent years in connection with Islamic art, which I greatly admire, despite not being an expert. In the Czech Republic, this situation results from a growing interest in the art of Islamic countries, the increasing number of collectors, and the need for experts at museums, galleries, and auction houses. The need for a proper presentation and interpretation of traditional Islamic art is made all the more pressing by the fact that even experts in the field of art and artists themselves express their opinion of it with surprising superficiality and ignorance. Many factors have induced me to search for aesthetic points of view and principles valid for understanding Islamic art: the need for insight into traditional Islamic creative arts, my own particular experience with the palaeography of Arabic script (connected closely with calligraphy, as well as with heraldry and other auxiliary historical sciences), some problems that have struck me while studying sources dealing with Islamic material culture, and questions I have been asked by my students. In my search for these aesthetic principles, I have hoped to move beyond the viewpoint of the Western observer or listener steeped in an environment of Christian art, aiming instead to discover those principles which guided the creators and original viewers of Islamic art.

"Western" aesthetic points of view are well-known, but it is possible that they do not always conform to Islamic ones. To find Islamic aesthetic viewpoints, we could turn to the works of Islamic philosophers, literary critics, and other thinkers. But this does not hold true absolutely. Although literary theory, especially in the field of poetry, is worked out in detail, information about music is limited and about creative arts almost non-existent. Even the work of specialists on the Middle East says nothing about how Islamic art has been perceived by its intended audience. There are various philological studies, historical studies of literature and its individual genres, general works on creative arts or treatises on their individual kinds, classifying surveys and catalogues for collectors, as well as some treatises on individual musical forms, instruments, etc. Thus, the three most important branches of Islamic art—literature, creative arts, and music—

are naturally detached and treated separately. When looking at how the original listeners of musical works, readers of literary works, and observers of artwork and other crafts perceived aspects that were decisive for their relationship to a work of art with which they came into contact, I found that this problem has never been treated by any orientalist. This gap in the comprehension of the mutual relationship of authentic users of "Islamic" art was finally bridged by Doris Behrens-Abouseif in her recent book *Schönheit in der arabischen Kunst.*[1] On the basis of examples collected from various works of classical Arabic authors and interpreted thoroughly, she has given a clear and nuanced answer to this question.

One of the reasons for writing this article was also a question which I encountered several times during the preparation of my edition of *Qahwat al-Inshā',* the book of Ibn Ḥijjah,[2] the poet and official *(munshiʾ)* of the chancery during the Mamluk period (1366–1434). In it I found not only some metaphors referring to an authentic and not "Western" classification of art, but also the explication of a way of perceiving some of its manifestations. The problem prompted me to skate on the thin ice of art and in a few words point out the questions raised by Ibn Ḥijjah. The facts that I try to deduce from his words could complement and support the conclusions reached by Doris Behrens-Abouseif.

In our "Western" point of view, "art" is usually defined as graphic or plastic. When speaking about the Islamic world, we are used to calling it "Islamic art," and we perceive it as a material one, starting with buildings and ending with jewels. Such art can be considered visual. Arabs, Persians, and Turks have always considered the arts of the word, i.e., poetry and fine prose, a separate branch named comprehensively "literature." This, along with music, can be considered an auditory art. Visual and auditory arts are brought together in dance and theatre. As for the latter, traditional Islamic society has never considered it an art.

Muslims have been active within all these vast fields of art, and as for created works, they either accepted or refused them. The question is: what was the reason for their acceptance or refusal? Why did the users of art take up a positive or a negative position towards it? What was "beautiful" and what was not? Many students have asked me what in Islamic art was considered beautiful and according to which aesthetic criteria was a work of art—auditory, visual, material, literary, or musical—evaluated. I have also asked my colleagues which criteria the critics apply or have applied for the evaluation of aesthetic and artistic aspects that make it possible to call any creation "a work of art." The result was not too satisfactory

[1]Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Schönheit in der arabischen Kunst* (Munich, 1998). Also available in an English translation, *Beauty in Arabic Culture* (Princeton, 1999).

[2]Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī, *Das Rauschgetränk der Stilkunst, oder Qahwat al-inšā',* ed. Rudolf Veselý (Beirut, 2005).

and related mostly to literature, especially poetry. I did not learn much about visual art, to say nothing of music.

There is a hadith that refers to the meaning of "the beautiful": *Inna Allāh jamīl wa-yuḥibb al-jamāl* (or *al-jamīl*) (God is beautiful and he loves the beautiful).[3] It could be a matter of principle for the Muslims. But it is known that in spite of this principle's existence, the Islamic thinkers—philosophers and theologians—have never drawn up any aesthetics, any comprehensive theory of the beautiful for which they could find a clue in the works of the philosophers of the classical and post-classical eras. It could be admitted that a Muslim should look for, find, and admire beauty because the beautiful and beauty-loving God had created the world in accordance with his will. That is why the world must be beautiful, and with respect to this fact it can be assumed that some criterion could be determined for its beauty. As far as I know, this has not happened—and if so, it has been very limited at best. Was it because nobody dared it, or because man had to respect the beauty of the world created by God as an indisputable fact without any clue for its evaluation? He could find the beautiful in his surroundings and use it for his own good. He found it useful and named it "beautiful." This related above all to material resources that were necessary for life and were therefore useful—either provided by nature or created by man. It is probable that Ibn Sīnā had these godsends and human creations in mind when he wanted a "beautiful" thing to be good, useful, and also usable.[4] To this effect he at least conceded man his right to evaluate the beautiful.

Did a Muslim who created anything multiply the beauty created by God? Was he entitled to do so? Was any human creation merely an act of rivalry with God? On the one hand, man could be charged with trying to imitate the creation of the "jealous" God, which he could consider an audacity or even a blasphemy that could result in his deserved retribution. On the other hand, one could argue that man has a chance to discover the perfect beauty of the creation of God and God himself by means of the imperfection of his own creation. Thus, the work of man can be considered a means to a more perfect comprehension of God, a form of worshiping him, an act of piety, and even—with some exaggeration—a divine

[3]A. J. Wensinck, *Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane* (Leiden, 1933–38), 1:373. This hadith is found in Ibn Ḥanbal and Ibn Mājah, not al-Bukhārī or other canonical compendia of hadiths. The fact that this hadith is included in the oldest collection of hadiths, i.e., *Al-Musnad* by Ibn Ḥanbal (which does not belong to the six "canonical" collections), as well as in Ibn Mājah's work, which was the last hadith collection to be declared "canonical" due to its inclusion of many "weak" hadiths (see Carl Brocklemann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* [Weimar, 1898–1902], 1:163), arouses a suspicion that this particular hadith is also "weak." Nevertheless, its contingent "weakness" has not influenced its importance as a hadith that supported the necessity to create "the beautiful."

[4]S. Kahwaji, "ʿIlm al-Djamāl," *Encyclopédie de l'Islam,* 2nd ed., 3:1162–63.

service. Man should comprehend that when he works, he utilizes both material and spiritual means with which he was provided by God.

It is well-known that this quandary, as well as the fear of idolatry, resulted in the fact that traditional Islamic arts—with the exception of some works from the first century—did not include the three-dimensional representation of human beings or animals, although no explicit prohibition ever existed. Also, the two-dimensional portrayal of human beings and animals was very limited. It was applied at most as a part of the decoration of objects assigned to private life, such as utensils and books. The decoration of public premises, i.e., buildings and their interior, consisted exclusively of a combination of calligraphy, geometry, and floral motifs. These ideological factors and practical considerations laid for creative or visual arts the foundations of a generally accepted tradition that was not defined by any clear rule or norm.

The position of auditory art—the art of the word and music—was different. It was Arabic poetry that followed up fully and continuously on its pre-Islamic ideal pattern. It is not necessary to remind us that on the one hand Arabic poetry influenced the poetries of non-Arabic Islamic countries and on the other was influenced by them. It is important that some innovations *(badāʾiʿ)* in the field of form, content, and lexicon have been applied as a reflection of the aesthetic demands of individual eras. As opposed to creative arts, poetry also formulated the aesthetics of physical beauty, especially female beauty.

In contrast to visual art, where the individuality of the creator was almost indistinguishable, every poetic work reflected the personality of its author. Musicians and singers expressed not only their skill, but also their immediate frame of mind and relation to a performed work. The freedom of poets and musicians was incomparably greater than that of graphic or plastic artists because they were not at risk of idolatry. At most, they had to satisfy the expectations of their readers and listeners.

Another important aspect of the different conception of visual and auditory art was the fact that visual art was connected inseparably with matter, while auditory art related to sound. A work made of matter—from a large mosque to a delicate piece of jewelry—can be perceived and admired at any time and is unchangeable because it was created once and for all. On the contrary, every sound of a work made of tones dies away after being heard, so that it was possible to call recitation, singing, or playing an instrument "the art of the moment." At the same time, it was possible to change any auditory—and especially musical—work as desired. Every presentation depended on a soloist, an instrumentalist or a singer. For example, in *Kitāb al-Aghānī* we find some remarks, headed by the word "*ṣawt*" ("voice, tune"), below the verses of poems, indicating that these verses were assigned for singing; these notes usually represent fingering for playing a lute. A composer determined

only a basic key in which the respective song and its accompaniment were to be performed. A melody depended on the singer. Players who accompanied him on musical instruments had to adapt themselves to him. Thus one song—or even one of its verses—could be presented again and again with a new melody and its corresponding accompaniment. This art necessitated a listener's concentration and experience, enabling him to identify and appreciate such variations. During the impromptu recitation of his verses, a poet could improvise freely like a musician or a singer. This variability of auditory art was practically unlimited. On the contrary, visual art made it possible to change a theme only within the artistic trends of the respective era. This can be compared to a gem that begins to glow with a new color when it is turned half-circle.

Changing these possibilities into reality required an active approach of a recipient to a given work of art, whether visual or auditory. At the same time, a reaction to a work of art was an individual act. The effect of a "seen" or "heard" work of art upon its recipient has always depended on his readiness to perceive it. The importance of this inward experience during the perception of a work of art was realized by al-Ghazālī, who stressed the close connection between a perceived object and a perceiving subject. The evaluation of an object depends on the sympathy of a subject for it. The spiritual perception of the beauty of an object that need not be perceived necessarily by sight has a much stronger effect than impressions formed during its observation.

Now, let us see which of these theories and assumptions are confirmed by Ibn Ḥijjah. In his *Qahwat al-Inshāʾ* a combination of two words occurs seven times. As usual in Ibn Ḥijjah's work, it is a metaphor: *al-mathānī wa-al-mathālith.* The first word of this pair is also used in connection with the number "seven."[5] There is no doubt that it is a metaphor for the Quran, or the seven verses of the surah *al-Fātiḥah,* or even other surahs. Nevertheless, in connection with the word "*al-mathālith*" this metaphor has no meaning. The dictionaries say that the word "*al-mathná*" (pl. *al-mathānī*) has inter alia the same meaning as the Persian word "*daw-baytī*" (distich), i.e., something that consists of two parts. With more imagination, which is a precondition for explicating the *tawriyāt*[6] of Ibn Ḥijjah, "*sabʿat mathānin*" could also mean "the seven Muʿallaqāt." The meaning of this word will become clear if we solve the problem of the word "*mathālith.*" The dictionary of Biberstein-Kazimirski says that "*mithlath*" (pl. *mathālith*) means "the third string on a lute."[7] It can be deduced from this that Ibn Ḥijjah applied the word "*al-mathānī*"—i.e., "distichs"—to a poem or to poetry as such, and the word

[5] "*Unzilat fī al-sabʿ al-mathānī*" (Ibn Ḥijjah, *Qahwah,* 131, line 6); "*ʿAwwadhat'hu al-raʿāyā bi-al-sabʿ al-mathānī*" (ibid., 207, line 3); "*ʿAwwadhat'hu bi-al-sabʿ al-mathānī*" (ibid., 385, lines 4–5).

[6] S. A. Bonebakker, "Tauriya," *EI*², 10:395.

[7] Albert de Biberstein-Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire Arabe-Français,* s.v. *mithlath.*

"*mathālith*" analogously to music.[8] It seems as if Ibn Ḥijjah presented music and poetry—i.e., auditory arts—as some special artistic form. The first of these arts, i.e., music, invites dancing *(raqṣ)* and is therefore *murqiṣ;* the second, i.e., poetry, along with the first brings a man into a state of exultation *(ṭarab)* and is therefore *muṭrib*. *Ṭarab* is an exultation that arises from a man's heart and is experienced by him.[9] This way of perceiving auditory art accords fully with al-Ghazālī's calling for individual inward experience with a work of art.

An impressive declaration of the love of poetry and music, as well as a remarkable summary of the objectives of art and how to achieve them, can also be found in the *taḥmīd* in the preface to Ibn Ḥijjah's *Dīwān*[10] which closes his *Qahwat al-Inshā*ʾ and, as one should say, crowns it. Here he thanks God, who riveted the attention of admirers of poetry and music *(ahl al-mathālith wa-al-maghānī)* and made accessible to their ears all that invites dancing *(murqiṣ)* and is emotionally moving *(muṭrib)*. He points out that the instruments for both arts have a common origin *(nasab)* because they both are made from reed *(qalam):* a pen is "a lute for words" *(mizmār al-maʿānī)* which "inflames hearts" *(yūliʿu bi-al-albāb),* while a musical instrument is a "lute for melody" *(mizmār al-maghānī)* that "entertains ears" *(yalʿabu bi-al-asmāʿ)*. Both arouse their listeners' exultation *(ṭarab).* Ibn Ḥijjah names both arts "*adab*" that he considers "a godsend" and "a good mediated by angels" *(hibah ilāhīyah wa-malkah malakīyah).* In his view, an art that can be declared "beautiful" is "an art of the moment," i.e., an art of changeable spoken or recited words and its musical accompaniment that every listener must perceive individually and allow to "penetrate to his heart." He himself says: "I have not heard yet any valuable work that would not have fascinated my inward mind and stricken my heart."[11] This declaration culminates with an aphorism that summarizes what has been said:

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[8]For instance: "*tughnī ʿan al-mathānī wa-al-mathālith*" (Ibn Ḥijjah, *Qahwah,* 45, lines 18–19); "*aghnat bishāratuhā ʿan ṭīb al-mathānī wa-al-mathālith*" (ibid., 251, line 4); "*yuṭribu tarjīʿu waṣfihā al-mufrad ʿalá al-mathānī wa-al-mathālith*" (ibid., 280, line 19); "*fa-aghná ʿan al-mathānī wa-al-mathālith*" (ibid., 332, line 13); "*wa-baṭula tashbīh hādhā al-yarāʿ ʿalá al-mathālith min sajaʿātihi wa-al-mathānī*" (ibid., 419, lines 8–9); "*ʿawwadhat'hā rabāʿīyatan bi-al-mathālith wa-al-mathānī*" (ibid., 487, line 14); "*ahl al-mathānī wa-al-mathālith*" (ibid., 497, line 16).

[9]J. Lambert, "Ṭarab," *EI²,* 10:210; Behrens-Abouseif, *Schönheit,* 81. As Yaseen Nourani proved recently, *ṭarab* was not always considered positive from the social point of view, because it could be connected with "*jahl*" (violent emotion in opposition to self-control), which could consequently lead to a sin (Yaseen Nourani, "Heterotopia and the Wine Poem," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 36 [2004]: 348).

[10]Ibn Ḥijjah, *Qahwah,* 497 ff.

[11]"*Wallāh uqsimu: mā samiʿtu shayʾan min ṭayyib al-adab illā khalaba lubbī wa-akhadha bi-majāmiʿ qalbī*" (ibid., 498, lines 3–4).

Wa-man ḥaḍara al-samāʿa bi-ghayri qalbin
Wa-lam yaṭrab fa-lā yalumi al-mughannī

(You won't be moved by music if your hearing is deaf,
This is but your mistake and not that singer's you now blame)

What more could we add to Ibn Ḥijjah's words? Probably only that he gives an intelligible answer to our initial question. He evidently prefers auditory over visual art because it arouses a listener's "*ṭarab*" resulting from his experience with the beautiful. In his view, this is the only mission of "genuine" art. On the other hand, for those Western observers—either professionals or amateurs—who become familiar with Islamic art and culture, it is material culture (i.e., visual art) that in accordance with their aesthetic criteria deserves to be named "Islamic art." For those whom this material culture served, it was no more than the products of handicrafts, the effect of which has never been comparable with that of the products of *adab*. These different attitudes of domestic and foreign creators and recipients towards auditory and visual art are an example of cultural variability. What some admired, others considered an integral part of everyday life, and it can be said with some sarcasm that what brought some to exultation—i.e., poetry and music—for others was often but a source for philological research or a simple sound track for "oriental" dances.

Book Reviews

Timothy May, *The Mongol Art of War: Chinggis Khan and the Mongol Military System* (Yardley: Westholme, 2007). Pp. 214. Includes maps, illustrations, photographs, and glossary.

Reviewed by Patrick Wing, University of Redlands

Warfare and military conquest have long been associated with the Mongol Empire of Chinggis Khan in historical literature. We need only to consider the titles of works such as Juvaynī's "History of the World Conqueror," or Grigor of Akanc''s "History of the Nation of Archers" to realize that the earliest encounters between the Mongols and their Eurasian neighbors were essentially encounters with the Mongol army. In our own time, books such as J. J. Saunders' *The History of the Mongol Conquests* and, more recently, Stephen Turnbull's *Genghis Khan and the Mongol Conquests, 1190-1400* have addressed the military aspects of the foundation and expansion of the Mongol Empire. However, for all the attention given to the Mongols as conquerors, there have been fewer attempts to provide a systematic and comprehensive overview of Mongol military organization, training, tactics, and leadership.[1] This is the goal of Timothy May's *The Mongol Art of War,* a valuable contribution to our understanding of the structure of the Mongol military and the reasons for the Mongols' success against almost all of their adversaries in the thirteenth century. For the readers of this journal, perhaps an even more pertinent question is why the Mongols were unable to conquer the Mamluk Sultanate, one for which May provides some insightful suggestions.

After an introductory chapter providing a general overview of Chinggis Khan's early life and career, as well as a narrative of the dynastic and political history of the Mongol Empire until the 1260s, May addresses several themes relating to the structure of the Mongol army. These include recruitment and organization, training and equipment, logistics and supply, espionage, tactics and strategy, and leadership. Two chapters discuss the Mongols' major military opponents, including the Jürchen Chin, the empire of the Khwarazmshah, and the Mamluks, as well as detailed accounts of specific campaigns and battles. A final chapter on the military legacy of the Mongols offers an assessment of the major strengths and weaknesses of the Mongol army, as well as an interesting summary of the ways in which Mongol tactics and strategy have impacted the history of warfare down to

[1] A general overview of Mongol military organization is provided by H. Desmond Martin, "The Mongol Army," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1943): 46–85.

the twentieth century.

For the specialist, there are few new revelations about the details of the Mongols' campaigns. May relies on standard contemporary sources, including the *Secret History of the Mongols,* Juvaynī's *Tārīkh-i Jahān-gushāy,* Nasawī's *Sīrat al-Sulṭān Jalāl al-Dīn Mankuburnī,* Rashīd al-Dīn's *Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh,* accounts of travelers from the Latin West, including Marco Polo, and many others. The value of this work is in the synthesis of the enormous amount of material relating to military matters in these sources, which enables the reader to comprehend the high degree of planning, organization, and strategy that accompanied the Mongols' campaigns of conquest. Of particular value is the way in which the author illustrates the correlation between military organization, leadership, and mobility, a combination which accounts for the Mongols' often overwhelming success on the battlefield. May illustrates how the *keshik,* the royal bodyguard of the khan, provided both a kind of military academy for Mongol commanders, as well as a proving ground where they could demonstrate their skill in the field while still under the control of the khan. Here May acknowledges the work of Thomas Allsen on the *keshik* as an institution of social control within the Mongol military and political system.[2] The experience gained in the *keshik* meant that when generals were given command of a mission, they came having had experience coordinating their actions with other units on the battlefield. Unlike many of their European enemies, Mongol commanders did not lead personal contingents, based on their own noble status. Instead, Mongol leadership was based on merit proven within the context of the royal bodyguard.

The quality of leadership that the *keshik* provided became most valuable when it was translated into coordinated movement. Superior mobility combined with discipline were the major strengths of the Mongol army, according to May. Coordinated maneuvers of the Mongol horse archers made them deadly against armies in the field. Mongol weapons technology was also developed to enhance the advantages of the mounted archer. May provides a fascinating discussion of the superiority of the Mongol composite bow, which had a range far greater than the Frankish Crusader crossbow. The Mongols preferred to shoot their enemies at a distance, and to avoid close combat if possible. However, Mongolian practices like the *nerge,* or group hunt, could be employed to take advantage of coordinated cavalry movement. The enemy would be surrounded and forced to the center of a gradually contracting circle of warriors, in the same way that wild game on the steppe would be corralled during a hunt.

May does address the Mamluk army, one of the few adversaries the Mongols could not conquer. The main reason for this was that the Mamluks fought like

[2] Thomas T. Allsen, "Guard and Government in the Reign of the Grand Qan Möngke, 1251-1259," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 46 (1986): 495–521.

the Mongols did, and, man for man, they did it better. The Mamluks represented an elite warrior caste, in which every individual was specifically chosen for specialized training and combat. The Mongols, on the other hand, while effective as a group, were individually not as talented as the Mamluks in all areas of warfare. In a compelling analysis, May compares the Mamluks to the Japanese samurai. Both the Mamluks and the samurai were elite warriors who, unlike the knights of Europe, had mastered archery, a major strength of the Mongols. The Mamluks' main weakness was that they did not have as many horses as the Mongols, and thus could not compete with the Mongols' mobility. However, the Mamluks compensated for this by carrying out scorched earth measures on the Syrian frontier, thus denying the invading Mongols adequate pasture for their usual number of horses. With the mobility of the Mongols restricted, the Mamluks' discipline and archery skill left little advantage to the Mongols in Syria.

In the final chapter on the long-term legacy of Mongol warfare, the impact of the Mongols on the development of Muscovite and Russian tactics and organization is analyzed. The princes of Moscow emulated the Mongols, and borrowed institutions like the postal system *(yam)*. May illustrates how enduring this experience was, pointing out that Mikhail Ivanin's 1846 publication *The Art of War of the Mongols and Central Asian Peoples* continued to be part of Russian and Soviet military academy curriculum until World War II. May also discusses the relationship between Mongol tactics and the use of gunpowder weapons. Although the impact of the Mongols on the diffusion of gunpowder technology has been discussed before, May argues that the degree to which gunpowder weapons were developed in Eurasia was related to the degree of conflict particular states and societies had with the Mongols and other steppe nomads. Early cannons and firearms were effective against heavy artillery and infantry, as was widespread in Central and Western Europe, in a way they were not against steppe nomads. For this reason, May suggests, states sharing frontiers with the steppe saw less development in gunpowder weapons before the seventeenth century, when field artillery became mobile enough to counter the movements of nomad armies.

The Mongol Art of War does not offer new interpretations of individual campaigns or battles, nor does it provide new perspectives on the familiar sources on which it relies. However, by providing a thorough, systematic analysis of several issues relating to the organization and projection of Mongol military power, Timothy May has produced a valuable contribution to our understanding of the Mongol Empire, its encounters with its neighbors and adversaries, and military history in general. For scholars of the Mamluk Sultanate, May's treatment of the Mamluks' military success against the Mongols is sure to stimulate positive discussion and debate within the field.

History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East: Studies in Honor of John E. Woods. Edited by Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn in collaboration with Ernest Tucker (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006). Pp. 604, tables and index.

Reviewed by Thomas T. Allsen

Like all such tributes to distinguished scholars, this volume collects essays from colleagues and former students, but unlike most endeavors of this sort, it has a "shape" which it sustains to a surprising degree. Thus, while many *Festschriften* are best described as "miscellanies," covering diverse and disconnected topics, this celebration of Woods' scholarly career takes on many of the attributes of a symposium volume arising from a research conference organized around a central theme, in this instance, Islamic historiography. The editors, contributors, and, ultimately, the honoree, deserve much credit for this uncommon result.

Grouped under a variety of chronological and geographical headings, the first set of essays, despite the title, is devoted to "The Mongol World Empire." Peter Jackson investigates their concept of a heavenly mandated universal dominion and concludes that it probably arose in the later stages of Chinggis Qan's life as the unprecedented success of their imperial venture became apparent. He also makes the important point that alongside their claims of world dominion, the Mongols frequently tried to trick or cajole foes into submission and often downplayed their ideological pretensions in order to gain allies, divide enemies, or make temporary peace. To this end, they used a host of intermediaries-—subordinate princes, merchants, and translators—recruited from across Eurasia. All this is persuasively argued on the basis of both Muslim and Latin sources, of which the latter are particularly enlightening on the Mongols' little-studied diplomatic techniques.

In his contribution, Devin DeWeese notes that while the Mongols visited great destruction on the Islamic world, Sufi orders adapted well to the new order and extended their influence. While many Sufi narratives explain these gains through conversion tales involving shaykhs and qans, others put forward the rather unexpected claim that it was Sufi leaders' guidance of Chinggis Qan that account for the success of the Mongols conquests, that is, God provided these alien forces with spiritual guides as a manifestation of his divine wrath, his disappointment with the failings of Muslim society. DeWeese points out, too, that such a narrative accords nicely with the Mongols' strong attraction to "holy men" of all stripes.

The early history of the Qongrat is carefully reconstructed by İsenbike Togan through a close analysis of Chinese and Persian sources and later tribal oral traditions. She finds that the Qongrat were divided into two major lineages, one in northeast Mongolia and another in the southeast abutting the agricultural lands

of the North China plain. The former, and most famous grouping, became allies and the consort clan of the Chinggisids, while the latter were later subdued by force. Her findings demonstrate the great potential of this kind of ethno-historical research for illuminating the past of the steppe zone.

The next three offerings focus on Anatolia. The late Zeki Validi Togan explores the correspondence of Rashīd al-Dīn as a source of data on the region, noting that it contains statistics on all kinds of products and commodities, agricultural lands, and a variety of building projects. In his introduction, Gary Leiser, who translated the article from Turkish, succinctly summarizes the ongoing controversy concerning the authenticity of these letters and argues that some of their purely economic information might still be of value if handled critically. Hopefully, Togan's article will stimulate further attempts to authenticate and retrieve specific categories of data embedded in the letters.

Halil İnalcik takes a long view of "Autonomous Enclaves in Islamic States," arguing that grants of royal land and immunity were characteristic of Muslim polities from the Abbasids to the Ottomans. Such enclaves originated in a number of bestowals—*mulk, vaqf, soyurgal,* etc.—that not only transferred land to favored retainers, officials, and commanders, but also granted freedom from administrative interference and from taxes, the highly desirable *tarkhan* status. Over time, he concludes, these grants constituted a persistent force for political decentralization.

Charles Melville investigates the principal Persian chronicles prepared in Anatolia during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, those of Ibn Bībī, Karīm al Dīn and the anonymous *Tārīkh Āl-i Saljūq*. He characterizes each, its sources, literary style, principles of organization, didactic purposes, and political allegiances. Lastly, he deftly situates these three sources into the larger framework of Ilkhanid historiography.

The second letter of the Ilkhan Amad Tegüder to the Mamluk sultan Qalāwūn in 1283 is examined in Judith Pfeiffer's article. She offers a detailed analysis of the context of their diplomatic exchanges and the first full translation and commentary on the letter in question. In so doing, she makes a substantial contribution to the interstate relations of the Mongolian era, which involved a multitude of players, and at the same time furthers our understanding of the internal history of Tegüder's reign.

The next section, "The Age of Timur," the field most closely associated with Woods' own interests and work, is well represented. Robert McChesney gives us an informative biographical study of Ibn ʿArabshāh, a major historian of the period, that reveals the sources of the author's extreme dislike of the famed conqueror. At the same time his treatment of Ibn ʿArabshāh's career richly illustrates the cosmopolitan and peripatetic nature of Muslim intellectual and cultural life in the

fifteenth century.

Surprisingly, there are still parts of Babur's manifold literary activities largely unexplored. Eiji Mano studies and compares Babur's Chaghatay Turkish translation of the *Vālidīyah,* a Persian mystical text composed by Khwājah Aḥrār, the famed Naqshbandīyah shaykh. This affords an opportunity for an informative discussion of other extant works of the Sufi leader long thought lost.

In another historiographical study, Beatrice Manz surveys fifteenth-century local chronicles of southern Iran, all by authors based in Yazd. She places the individual texts in their appropriate local and regional contexts, and identifies their sources of information, intended audiences, and ideological perspectives. Most impressively, she compares the chronicles written at Timurid courts with those from the south and shows that their discrepancies, no less than their areas of agreement, tell us much about the political dynamics between the center and the provinces.

Paul Losensky presents a convincing case that although overshadowed by the literary fame of Timurid Herat, the Aqquyunlu court at Tabriz also collected its own luminaries in the fifteenth century. He focuses on the highly esteemed poetry of Shahīdī of Qum, who, so characteristic of his age, began his career in Herat, moved on to Tabriz, and ended his days in India.

The next section, "The Safavids and their Legacy," has a pronounced historiographical emphasis. One of the more important sources on the origins of this dynasty is *Ṣafvat al-Ṣafā,* a history of the eponymous founder of the Safavid Sufi order written by a lieutenant, Ibn-i Bazzāz. Michel Mazzaoui discusses the available manuscripts and the complicated history surrounding attempts to produce a critical edition, and gives an evaluation, largely positive, to a newly published (1995) edition from Ardabil. Sholeh Quinn traces the evolution of Safavid coronation ceremonies from their austere beginnings to their more elaborate manifestations in the seventeenth century. By comparing the differing emphases of the chronicles, she charts the changing notions of kingship and legitimacy, and identifies the mix of Islamic and Iranian elements in the ceremony. Camron Michael Amin looks at the coverage of Safavid history in official textbooks and public discussion in twentieth-century Iran. He finds that although the rhetorical and ideological contexts differed, both the Pahlavi regime and the Islamic Republic extolled the Safavids for their creation of a "modern" Iranian national identity and for fending off the encroachments of foreign invaders.

In a somewhat different vein, Ernest Tucker studies the efforts of Nādir Shāh, the all-powerful Safavid general and founder of the Afshārid dynasty, to associate himself with Timur, who, faced with a similar situation, initially ruled through a series of Chinggisid figureheads. Nādir Shāh followed suit, found Safavid puppets and tried, unsuccessfully, to emulate Timur's vast conquests. This is an intriguing

example of historical memory and of the role of "models" in empire building, for Timur himself took Chinggis Qan as his model and, like Nādir Shāh, was unable in the end to duplicate his predecessor's record of expansion.

The section on "Mamlūk Studies" begins with Anne Broadbridge's revealing examination of the numerous apostasy trials held in Cairo in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, proceedings that shed considerable light on the relationship between the military and scholarly elites and on the Mamluk sultans' quest for legitimacy.

Li Guo pursues the interesting theme of the use of verse in chronicle writing, particularly that of Ibn Dāniyāl, whose poems were widely cited and presented as accurate descriptions of contemporary events. This he did with some regularity, but his satirical verses on Mamluk anti-vice campaigns, as Guo demonstrates, were recycled and placed in differing chronological frameworks and in different literary forms. This recycling, he argues cogently, is in itself a useful source for cultural history.

The annual *maḥmal* festival, held in Cairo during the month of Rajab, formally opened the Mamluks' pilgrimage to Mecca. But as John Meloy shows in his study of its origins and development, there was a sharp contrast between the institution's "solemn intent" and its public reception, which transformed the event into a carnival-like celebration. The resultant tension provides a useful window on the dynamic relationship between governmental policy and popular culture.

The famous pilgrimage of Mansa Mūsá, the ruler of Mali who passed through Cairo in 1324, is the subject of Warren Schultz's contribution, which compares the depiction of this event in the Arabic sources with its conventional treatment in world history texts. He convincingly shows that the textbook perception that the Malian ruler's gifts of gold were so vast that they depressed gold prices for decades is simply not true. What the sources do show is that his largesse produced one of the many short-term variations in the money market of medieval Cairo.

In the shortest section, "Historical Geography," the noted Persian scholar Īraj Afshār employs a close textual-philological approach to questions connected with the name and location of Damadan, a mountain mentioned in various sources from pre-Islamic times down to the Mongols. By way of methodological contrast, two Mongolian scholars, D. Bazargur and D. Enkhbayar, investigate, on the basis of toponymics and modern environmental studies, the geographical and natural worlds of the *Secret History*. Among their more interesting findings is that many migratory routes have been in continuous use since the days of Chinggis Qan.

In the final section, "Interregional Contacts and Cross-cultural Transmission," Abolala Soudavar examines the historiographical and publication activities of the Yuan Hanlin Academy, which he connects to similar efforts in the Ilkhan capital of Tabriz and to the rise of illustrated manuscript production in Iran. The Chinese

antecedents of this activity, expressed in official portraiture and book illustration, are well worth pursuing; such an investigation will need to take into account the vital importance of visual representation and its reproduction in the political culture of the Mongols and other steppe peoples.

Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam analyze the variable views of two seventeenth-century Safavid travelers on India and the Indians. While some of their differences, they argue, are attributable to personal characteristics, a full explanation of their divergent images must also take into consideration internal developments within Mughal India.

The spread of Persianate art to Istanbul is investigated by Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, who documents the importance of Tabriz as a cultural center and its influence on the Ottomans. This was exercised, in her view, through the forced removal of Tabrizi artists and artisans in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries following successful Ottoman military operations. This fine study points up again the significance of this kind of "technician transfer" in the circulation of culture.

The concluding essay by Douglas Streusand forcefully challenges H. A. R. Gibb's view that Islam alone engendered Islamic civilization, thereby ignoring and minimizing its composite character, which drew upon both ancient Near Eastern, mainly Old Iranian, and Greek-Byzantine elements.

Viewing the volume as a whole, and from the perspective of my own research interests, several other recurrent themes, besides that of historiography, emerge from this collective endeavor. First, is the peripatetic lives of so many artists and intellectuals; Muslim culture was highly mobile during the Chinggisid and Timurid eras. A second, and related, connecting thread is the importance of Tabriz, whose ample cultural resources were eagerly appropriated throughout this period by neighbors near and far.

This brings us back to the honoree, whose first major contribution to the field dealt with the Aqquyunlu and their capital, Tabriz. Indeed this collection nicely mirrors Woods' own research interests chronologically, geographically, and thematically, and many articles build upon and elaborate his work.

Lastly, the overall quality of the papers is uniformly high; there are no learned notes here, only carefully argued papers based on primary research of a kind one would normally expect to find in a serious professional journal. And, as an added bonus, there is an extensive analytical index! In all respects, this is an uncommon *Festschrift,* one well earned.

ADAM SILVERSTEIN, *Postal Systems in the Pre-Modern Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007). Pp. 190.

REVIEWED BY ELIZABETH URBAN, University of Chicago

This impressive book is easily the most comprehensive work on the Islamic *barīd* to date. Temporally, it ends with the arrival of modern postal techniques, namely the telegraph and the privatization of postal systems in the sixteenth century. Spatially, it is confined to "those regions that were 'Islamic' throughout the formative and classical periods of Islamic history" (p. 3), which excludes most of Africa, southeast Asia, and Europe. Within these expansive parameters, the book is divided into three parts. Part One, "The pre-Islamic background," deals mainly with the Roman *cursus publicus,* Persian postal systems as far back as the Achaemenid period, and the postal practices of pre-Islamic Arabia. Part Two, "Conquest and centralisation—the Arabs," covers the Umayyads, the Abbasids along with several of their autonomous successor states, and the Fatimids. Finally, Part Three, "Conquest and centralisation—the Mongols," includes the Il-Khan *yām* and Mamluk *barīd.* Throughout the book, Silverstein utilizes a staggering amount of primary and secondary source material, from Herodotus and the Babylonian Talmud to Islamic-era Greek papyri and studies on Chinese administrative history (though he of course did not consult every conceivable source, and this reviewer particularly noted the absence of such Syrian Islamic historians as Ibn ʿAsākir and Ibn al-Adīm).

More crucial than the impressive amount of material that Silverstein has collected in this book, however, are the insightful questions he asks and useful analysis he provides. That is, the purpose of the book is not merely to amass data and dryly describe the minutiae of the *barīd* institution, but rather to provide answers to such questions as, "What (if anything) makes an Islamic postal system 'Islamic'?" (p. 4). Indeed, the greatest strength of this book lies in its examination of the way various dynasties adapted the *barīd* to their particular circumstances; instead of focusing on one dynasty, geographical area, or time period, Silverstein traces the developments of the *barīd* institution across various times and places. As he eloquently puts it, the relatively simple idea of the *barīd* "was expressed and elaborated upon in manifestly different ways throughout Islamic history. The idiosyncratic ways in which different states chose to interpret the basic postal formula offer us rare insights into the political traditions of particular dynasties and rulers" (p. 188). For example, Silverstein describes the changes that occurred within the Abbasid *barīd* network in the turbulent periods of Zanj and Qarāmiṭah revolts (pp. 111–21), and how both the Samanids and Ghaznavids simultaneously preserved and altered parts of the Abbasid *barīd* model (pp. 125–31). He does not

frame these changes in terms of Abbasid "decline," but in terms of adapting to new circumstances.

The readership of this journal will be most interested in the book's fifth and shortest (at 22 pages) chapter, entitled "The Mamluk *barīd.*" Silverstein points out that the Mamluk *barīd* has received more scholarly attention than other Islamic postal systems, tipping his hat in particular to Jean Sauvaget's masterpiece *Poste aux cheveaux dans l'empire des Mamelouks*. Silverstein's work improves upon *Poste aux cheveaux* in two ways. First, he draws upon sources that were unavailable to Sauvaget, such as Baybars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādār's *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah* and ʻUmar ibn Ibrāhīm al-Anṣarī's *Tafrīj al-Kurūb fī Tadbīr al-Ḥurūb*. Secondly and more importantly, rather than attempting to supersede Sauvaget's work in detail, Silverstein aims to "contextualise the Mamluk *Barīd* in relation to previous and contemporary postal systems, a subject in which Sauvaget was uninterested" (p. 167, n. 12). He achieves this goal through a discerning comparison of the postal systems in Mamluk, Abbasid, Fatimid, and Il-Khan domains. First, he analyzes the very origins of the Mamluk *barīd,* asking why Baybars would have wanted to create a *barīd* given that the Fatimids and Ayyubids before him had thrived without one. Then, while acknowledging the significant impact of the Il-Khan *yām* on the Mamluk postal system (an idea first noted by Sauvaget and taken up by other scholars such as Gazagnadou), Silverstein also examines the ways the Mamluk *barīd* drew on models other than the *yām*. He notes that the Mamluk system differed from the Il-Khan system in several important ways, that the Mamluks inherited political traditions from many sources aside from the Mongols, and that the Mamluks themselves consciously (or self-consciously) attributed their *barīd* to the Abbasid caliphal model. Examining this claim of Abbasid legitimacy, Silverstein also details how the Mamluk *barīd* was distinct from the Abbasid model. Finally, Silverstein sees the decline of the Mamluk *barīd* in light of the peace achieved between the Mamluks and Mongols in the fourteenth century, as well as the reforms instituted by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. As a whole, Silverstein's assessment of the Mamluk *barīd* is enlightening and carefully argued. However, he does very occasionally verge on oversimplification or even cultural bias; a superficial reading of the book might lead some readers to think the Mamluks were military machines who could not maintain a purely bureaucratic institution, or that ethnic Turks were better suited to horsemanship than anything else (see especially p. 169). In the end, his analysis of the Mamluk *barīd* is actually much more nuanced than any pre-conditioned understanding of the Mamluks would permit, and these seemingly biased statements are often the result of blithe phrasing rather than misconception.

Unfortunately, there is one noticeable gap in the book's attempt to contextualize the Mamluk postal system. Silverstein mentions that the Mamluk *barīd* may have

been influenced by the Golden Horde (p. 185), a statement which he cannot elaborate upon because he does not include the Golden Horde's postal system in this book. This is partially justifiable, as the Golden Horde falls outside the parameters set in the Introduction; however, in this case the chosen parameters seem more cumbersome than helpful. It is understandable that Silverstein had to draw his limits somewhere, but to cover the Il-Khans and the Mamluks but not the Golden Horde seems unwise given the close (if not always friendly) contact between those three states.

As a final note, readers will be pleased with the book's flowing style and engaging mixture of primary source quotation and ensuing analysis. However, it does occasionally suffer from lack of clarity. For instance, when Silverstein claims that the Il-Khan *barīd* "became an 'Islamic' postal system" within a few decades of Hülegü's conquering Iran and Iraq (p. 153), he gives no immediate indication of what he means by this. This omission is especially frustrating as one of the stated goals in the Introduction is to discover what makes an Islamic postal system "Islamic." Eventually, Silverstein does explain the meaning of this statement, but it is not until the Conclusion of the book more than thirty pages later. Other examples of unclear writing could be cited, but in general his narrative is quite lively and readable. In the end, no amount of nitpicking about the occasional missed source or unclear sentence can decrease the importance of this book. Students of Islamic administrative history, whether or not they focus on the Mamluk period, will benefit greatly from Silverstein's perceptive analysis and fruitful comparisons of Islamic *barīd* systems throughout the pre-Modern period.

List of Recent Publications

ʿAbbāsī, al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAbd Allāh. *Mulūk Miṣr min al-Ṭūfān ilá al-Nāṣir ibn Qalāwūn, al-Musammá bi-Nuzhat al-Mālik wa-al-Mamlūk: fī Mukhtaṣar Sīrat man Waliya Miṣr min al-Mulūk*. Edited by Sayyid Muḥammad Sayyid ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 2007. Pp 504.

Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī. *Sharḥ Bulūgh al-Marām min Adillat al-Aḥkām*. Edited by Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ al-ʿUthaymīn. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 2007. 6 vols.

Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. *Al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn bi-Sharḥ al-Arbaʿīn*. Edited by Aḥmad Jāsim al-Muḥammad et al. Jiddah: Dār al-Minhāj lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 2008. Pp. 687.

Ibn Jamāʿah, Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm. *Mustanad al-Ajnād fī Ālāt al-Jihād wa-Mukhtaṣar fī Faḍl al-Jihād wa-Faḍāʾil al-Ramī fī Sabīl Allāh*. Compiled by Abū Yaʿqūb Isḥāq ibn Abī Isḥāq al-Qarāb al-Ḥāfiẓ. Edited by Usāmah Nāṣir al-Naqshabandī. Damascus: Dār al-Wathāʾiq lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Ṭabʿ wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 2008. Pp. 208.

Ibn Kathīr, Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar. *Bāʿith al-Ḥathīth Sharḥ Ikhtiṣār ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth*. Commentary by Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir. Sanaa: Al-Jīl al-Jadīd Nāshirūn, 2008. Pp. 232.

Ibn al-Najjār, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. *Sharḥ al-Kawkab al-Munīr, al-Musammá Mukhtaṣar al-Taḥrīr fī Uṣūl al-Fiqh*. Edited by Muḥammad Ḥasan Muḥammad Ḥasan Ismāʿīl. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 2007. Pp. 632.

Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, Abū Bakr ibn Aḥmad. *Tarājim Ṭabaqāt al-Nuḥāh wa-al-Lughawīyīn wa-al-Mufassirīn wa-al-Fuqahāʾ*. Edited by Muḥsin Ghayyāḍ. Beirut: Al-Dār al-ʿArabīyah lil-Mawsūʿāt, 2008. Pp. 231.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr. *Kitāb al-Furūsīyah*. Edited by Riḍwān Jāmiʿ Riḍwān. Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 2007. Pp. 328.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr. *The Soul: The Condition of the Souls of the Dead and the Living according to the Book, the Sunnah, the Traditions, and the Sayings of the Scholars (=al-Rūḥ)*. Translated by Ismail Abdus Salam. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 2008. Pp. 344.

Ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. *Muḥarrar fī al-Ḥadīth*. Edited by ʿĀdil al-Hadbā and Muḥammad ʿAllūsh. Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm lil-Ṭibāʿah wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 2008. Pp. 480.

Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad. *Sharḥ al-Tirmidhī: Al-Nafḥ al-Shadhī Sharḥ Jāmiʿ al-Tirmidhī*. Edited by Abū Jābir al-Anṣārī, et al. Riyadh: Dār al-Ṣamīʿī lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 2007. 4 vols.

Ibn Taymīyah, ʿAbd al-Salām ibn ʿAbd Allāh. *Muḥarrar, wa-maʿahu Al-Nukat wa-al-Fawāʾid al-Sanīyah ʿalá Mushkil al-Muḥarrar li-Ibn Mufliḥ*. Edited by ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī and Muḥammad Muʿtazz Karīm al-Dīn. Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah lil-Ṭibāʿah wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 2007. 3 vols.

Muḥammad, Yusrī al-Sayyid. *Mukhtār al-Fatāwá li-Ibn al-Qayyim*. Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifah lil-Ṭibāʿah wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 2007. 4 vols.

Ṣafadī, Khalīl ibn Aybak. *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt*. Volume 30. Under the direction of Helmut Ritter, Iḥsān ʿAbbās, et al. Beirut: Al-Maʿhad al-Almānī lil-Abḥāth al-Sharqīyah fī Bayrūt, 2007.

Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. *Nukat ʿalá al-Alfīyah wa-al-Kāfīyah wa-al-Shāfīyah wa-al-Shudhūr wa-al-Nuzhah*. Edited by Fākhir Jabr Maṭar. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 2007. 2 vols.

Arabic Transliteration System

Romanized Arabic in *Mamlūk Studies Review* follows the Library of Congress conventions, briefly outlined below. A more thorough discussion may be found in *American Library Association-Library of Congress Romanization Tables* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1991).

ء	ʾ	خ	kh	ش	sh	غ	gh	م	m
ب	b	د	d	ص	ṣ	ف	f	ن	n
ت	t	ذ	dh	ض	ḍ	ق	q	ه	h
ث	th	ر	r	ط	ṭ	ك	k	و	w
ج	j	ز	z	ظ	ẓ	ل	l	ي	y
ح	ḥ	س	s	ع	ʿ				
		ة	h, t (in construct)			ال	al-		

ـَ	a	ـُ	u	ـِ	i
ـً	an	ـٌ	un	ـٍ	in
آ	ā	ُو	ū	ِي	ī
ٰا	ā	ُوّ	ūw	ـِيّـ	īy (medial), ī (final)
ى	á	َو	aw	َي	ay
				َيّ	ayy

Avoid using apostrophes or single quotation marks for ʿ*ayn* and *hamzah*. Instead use the Unicode characters ʿ (02BF) and ʾ (02BE).

Capitalization in romanized Arabic follows the conventions of American English; the definite article is always lower case, except when it is the first word in an English sentence. The *hamzah* is not represented when beginning a word, following a prefixed preposition or conjunction, or following the definite article. Assimilation of the *lām* of the definite article before "sun" letters is disregarded. Final inflections of verbs are retained, except in pausal form; final inflections of nouns and adjectives are not represented, except preceding suffixes and except when verse is romanized. Vocalic endings of pronouns, demonstratives, prepositions, and conjunctions are represented. The hyphen is used with the definite article, conjunctions, inseparable prepositions, and other prefixes. Note the exceptional treatment of the preposition *li-* followed by the article, as in *lil-sulṭān*. Note also the following exceptional spellings: Allāh, billāh, lillāh, bismillāh, miʾah, and ibn (for both initial and medial forms). Words not requiring diacritical marks, though following the conventions outlined above, include all Islamic dynasties, as well as the following terms: Quran, sultan, amir, imam, shaykh, Sunni, Shiʿi, and Sufi. Common place-names should take the common spelling in American English. Names of archaeological sites should follow the convention of the excavator.

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MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW

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Mamlūk Studies Review is a biannual refereed journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648–922/1250–1517). It appears in January and July. Beginning with volume XIII, no. 1, *Mamlūk Studies Review* will no longer appear in conventional print format, but will continue as an open-access online publication. The goals of *Mamlūk Studies Review* are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, nurture communication within the field, and promote further research by encouraging the critical discussion of all aspects of this important medieval Islamic polity. The journal includes both articles and reviews of recent books. Submissions of original work on any aspect of the field are welcome, although the editorial board will periodically issue volumes devoted to specific topics and themes. *Mamlūk Studies Review* also solicits edited texts and translations of shorter Arabic source materials (*waqf* deeds, letters, *fatāwá* and the like), and encourages discussions of Mamluk era artifacts (pottery, coins, etc.) that place these resources in wider contexts. Transliterated Middle Eastern languages should conform to the system utilized by the Library of Congress. All questions regarding style should be resolved through reference to *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th edition. Submissions should be composed with current word-processing software, and if possible should use a Unicode font, such as Charis SIL (see the website below for further information). Submissions may be made via email, but authors must also send a printed copy and a labeled CD-ROM which includes the article, all figures and illustrations, and any special fonts used. Articles which diverge widely from format and style guidelines may not be accepted, and illustrations which do not meet the requirements set forth by the editors may not be usable.

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The Bruce D. Craig Prize, carrying a cash award of $1,000, is given annually by *Mamlūk Studies Review* for the best dissertation on a topic related to the Mamluk Sultanate submitted to an American or Canadian university during the preceding calendar year. In the event no dissertations are submitted, or none is deemed to merit the prize, no prize will be awarded. To be considered for the 2008 Prize, dissertations must be defended by December 31, 2008, and submitted to the Prize Committee by January 31, 2009. Submissions should be sent to:

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2006: Nahyan A. G. Fancy, University of Notre Dame, "Pulmonary Transit and Bodily Resurrection: The Interaction of Medicine, Philosophy and Religion in the Works of Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 1288)."

2007: No prize was awarded.

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Yaacov Lev
Bar Ilan University

Symbiotic Relations: Ulama and the Mamluk Sultans

Introduction: Issues and Methodology

The ulama played a vital role in the political and social life of the Mamluk state. Ira Marvin Lapidus, for example, makes the following observation about the urban society of the Mamluk period:

> In Mamlūk cities no central agency for coordination or administration of the affairs of the whole existed. There were no municipalities, nor communes, nor state bureaucracies for urban affairs. Rather the cohesion of the city depended not on any particular institutions but on patterns of social activity and organization which served to create a more broadly based community, and this community was built around the religious elites.

The "religious elites" referred to above are identified by Lapidus as ulama who, in his words, "were that part of the Muslim community learned in the literature, laws, and doctrines of Islam. They were judges, jurists, prayer-leaders, scholars, teachers, readers of Koran, reciters of traditions, Sufis, functionaries of mosques, and so on." The whole aim of the somewhat awkward phrase "that part of the Muslim community learned in" is to avoid the term "class" when referring to the ulama. Lapidus is very explicit about his perception of the ulama: "the *ʿulamāʾ* were not a distinct class, but a category of persons overlapping other classes and social divisions, permeating the whole of society."[1] I would argue that the ulama must be perceived as a class and not as a category. What distinguished ulama from other classes was their religious learning but, like other classes, they were divided according to wealth, status, and occupation. If we speak about merchants, administrators or the military in term of classes the same must be applied to the ulama.

Another approach has been adopted by Carl F. Petry, who perceives the social structure of Cairo, and by extension that of the Mamluk state, as based on a threefold division: the ruling military caste, "a civilian administrative elite, the majority of whom were designated *ʿulamāʾ*," and the masses. The term "civilian elite" is broader than ulama and also contains notables who were not necessarily ulama.[2] Petry's administrative elite, or "le milieu des administrateurs civils," is at

[1] Ira Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 107.

[2] Carl F. Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1981), 3–4.

the heart of Bernadette Martel-Thoumian's study of the Mamluk administration of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The professional administrators as typified by the *kātib* are extensively discussed by Martel-Thoumian, who makes the following observation: "Nous avons parlé de milieu civil par opposition aux milieux militaires et religieux. Ce sont donc essentiellement les personnages ayant fait carrière dans l'administration qui sont l'objet de cette étude, même s'il est arrivé à certains d'entre eux d'exercer des fonctions classées, par les recueils de chancellerie, comme militaires ou religieuses."[3] However, a neat distinction between ulama and people employed in the administration *(kuttāb)* is rather difficult to make.

With respect to the Mamluk political system, Petry poses three pertinent questions: were civilians able to exert influence on the rulers, and secondly, "did the *ʿulamāʾ* serve primarily as mediators between the Mamlūks and the general population . . . ?" Petry goes on by asking "does the concept of mediation fail to do justice to the complexities of civilian elite status during this period?"[4] The notion that the ulama acted as mediators between the Mamluk rulers and the population has gained wide acceptance among scholars.[5] However, in her study of Zangid-Ayyubid Syria, Daniella Talmon-Heller takes a step beyond the notion of ulama as mediators. She writes: "Rulers cooperated closely with ʿulamāʾ, bolstering their role as guardians of the religious law, and as propagators of Islamic norms in wider social circles."[6] I would like to go even farther by arguing that the relations between rulers and ulama were symbiotic.

Ulama and Rulers: A Short Historical Survey

During the two first centuries of Islam, as has been convincingly shown by Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds, the tendency for religious legitimization of political power was strong and persistent, and the Umayyad and early Abbasid caliphs adopted the evocative title *khalīfat Allāh* (deputy of God).[7] The full ramifications

[3] Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration dans l'etat militaire mamlūk (IXe/XVe siècle)* (Damascus, 1992), 11–12.

[4] Petry, *Civilian Elite,* 201.

[5] Linda S. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamlūk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689 A.H./1279–1290 A.D.)* (Stuttgart, 1998), 230; Stefan Leder, "Damaskus: Entwicklung einer islamischen Metropole (12.–14. Jh.) und ihre Grundlagen," in *Alltagsleben und materielle Kultur in der arabischen Sprache und Literatur,* ed. Thomas Bauer and others (Wiesbaden, 2005), 241 (I owe the reference to Leder's article to the kindness of Stefan Heidemann of the University of Jena).

[6] Daniella Talmon-Heller, "Religion in the Public Sphere: Rulers, Scholars, and Commoners in Syria Under the Zangid and Ayyubid Rule (1150–1260)" in *The Public Sphere in Muslim Societies,* ed. Miriam Hoexter and others (Jerusalem, 2002), 59.

[7] Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds, *God's Caliph* (Cambridge, 1986), 4, 6, 27, 80–83.

of the doctrine that the caliphs are God's deputies are discussed by Wadād al-Qāḍī.[8] On the practical level, it endowed the caliphs with a paramount role in the religious life of the state and implied that obedience to caliphal rule is God's command. The first three centuries of Islam also saw the emergence of the so-called "Arabic sciences," including jurisprudence, and the formation of the ulama class.[9] The jurists *(fuqahāʾ)* were an integral part of the ulama class, but they developed a professional distinction as experts in the intricacies of the law.[10] The relations between rulers and ulama were complex, and the issue of whether the ulama divested the caliphs of religious authority and left them with only political power is beyond the scope of the present article. Lapidus, for example, has argued that since the *miḥnah* of the ninth century religious and political life in medieval Islam developed separately.[11] In my discussion, I follow Muhammad Qasim Zaman's view that there was no separation between politics and religion in the early Abbasid period and that: "A difference of function between the caliphs and the *ʿulamāʾ* in and by itself does not necessarily signify a separation of state and religion." He, however, leaves open the question whether there was ever "a divorce of religion and the state."[12]

The basic meaning of the term *ʿilm* is knowledge. The ulama, therefore, were the possessors of *ʿilm*. The broad meaning of the term must not obscure the fact that when we speak about ulama of the Mamluk period we mean people versed in the Arabic religious sciences. When the political relations between the ulama and rulers are examined, not all groups of the ulama class are equally important.

[8]Wadād al-Qāḍī, "The Religious Foundation of Late Umayyad Ideology and Practice," in *Saber Religioso y Poder Político en el Islam* (Madrid, 1994), 231–73, esp. 241–56.

[9] By "Arabic sciences" I mean Arabic language-oriented sciences such as grammar, *tafsīr,* and jurisprudence, in contrast to medicine, which is referred to as the "science of the ancients" (i.e., the Greeks) and is written in both Arabic and Persian.

[10] The literature on these topics is vast, and my references go only to some of the most recent publications. Although the following references focus on *mawālī,* they also offer valuable insights into the development of the Arabic sciences. See John Nawas, "The Emergence of Fiqh as a Distinct Discipline and the Ethnic Identity of the Fuqahāʾ in Early and Classical Islam," in *Studies in Arabic and Islam,* ed. Stefan Leder and others (Leuven, 2002), 491–501; Monique Bernards, "The Contribution of Mawālī to the Arabic Linguistic Tradition," in *Patronate and Patronage in Early and Classical Islam,* ed. Monique Bernards and John Nawas (Leiden, 2005), 426–53; John Nawas, "A Profile of the Mawālī ʿUlamāʾ," in ibid., 454–85.

[11] Ira Lapidus "The Separation of State and Religion in the Development of Early Islamic Society," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 6 (1975): 364, 383. For a more complex approach, see Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph,* 97.

[12] Muhammad Qasim Zaman, "The Caliphs, the ʿUlamāʾ, and the Law: Defining the Role and Function of the Caliph in the Early Abbasid Period," *Islamic Law and Society* 4 (1997): 36; idem, *Religion and Politics Under the Early Abbasids* (Leiden, 1997), 213.

Quite obviously, grammarians, for example, were a more marginal group than jurists, while qadis, in contrast to what might be called academic jurists, stood at the very focal point of these relations. The relations between qadis and rulers were unique from the beginning, due to the centrality of law in all aspects of the private and communal life of medieval Muslims. The appointment of judges preceded the development of Muslim schools of law; early qadis implemented caliphal law and relied on their own judgment (*raʾy*).[13] From the early days of the Muslim state, it was clear that qadis were appointed, paid, and dismissed by the state. The development of Muslim sacred law (shariʿah) only enhanced the communal role of the qadis. Judging from the judicial history of eighth- and ninth-century Egypt, some of the qadis displayed great zeal in executing their task and greatly expanded the sphere of their responsibilities. For instance, the qadi ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muʿāwiyah, appointed as qadi in 86/705 in Fusṭāṭ, was the first to take over the control of orphans' money. He supplanted the tribal *ʿarīf*s as the managers of this sort of funds. Orphans' money also attracted the attention of the authorities, and the qadi Khayr ibn Nuʿaym yielded to the demand of the caliph al-Manṣūr (754–75) to transfer orphans' money to the Treasury. This intervention, however, set no precedent and failed. Qadis continue to play a key role in the management of orphans' money. In 118/736, another Egyptian qadi, Tawbah ibn Nimr, was the first to assume supervision of the revenues of pious endowments. He created a powerful and lasting precedent and, in many cases, qadis were responsible for the supervision of *waqf*s.[14] The definition of the qadi's sphere of judicial and managerial responsibilities was a two-way process. It came from below as a result of actions by some assertive qadis and from above in the form of letters of appointment issued by the rulers. The most powerful precedents were created during the Fatimid period when Ismaʿili qadis of the Nuʿmān family received wide judicial powers combined with administrative responsibilities and supervision over religious rites. The Fatimids envisaged the qadi as an official with executive authority, and this was symbolized by the sword a qadi carried during the investiture ceremony. During the Fatimid period another precedent was also created: the melding of judicial and vizierial authority. The Fatimids also paid the ulama. In 406/1015–16, jurists, Quran reciters, muezzins, and probably others as well received a total of 71,733 dinars. The Fatimid payroll included both Cairo and Fusṭāṭ, meaning Ismaʿili and Sunni ulama. The Fatimid imam al-Ḥākim abolished these payments, but his policies were idiosyncratic and it must have been only a temporary nullification.[15]

[13] For *raʾy,* see Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Kindī, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt,* ed. Rhuvon Guest (Leiden, 1912), 312–13. For caliphal law, see Crone and Hinds, *God's Caliph,* 44–45.

[14] Al-Kindī, *Governors and Judges,* 325, 346, 350, 383, 394–95.

[15] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāẓ al-Ḥunafāʾ bi-Akhbār al-Aʾimmah al-Fāṭimīyīn al-Khulafāʾ,* ed.

The impact of the Fatimid precedents on the Zangid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk periods is visible, though in an unsystematic way. Under Nūr al-Dīn members of the Shahruzūrī family occupied the key judicial posts in the state. Kamāl al-Dīn served as qadi of Damascus while his son served in Aleppo and other relatives served as qadis in Ḥamāh and Homs.[16] In a quite similar fashion, relations of trust and cooperation evolved between Saladin and the Kurdish qadi ʿĪsá ibn Dirbās (d. 605/1209). His first appointment as qadi took place in 566/1170–71 in Egypt. After 1174, as Saladin extended his rule over Syria and beyond, he was nominated as qadi of the Syrian towns and was responsible for the management of pious endowments; he executed his responsibilities by appointing many deputies. ʿĪsá ibn Dirbās' career under al-Malik al-ʿAzīz, Saladin's son, was marked by many ups and downs. However, when appointed, he was entrusted with supervisory responsibilities over the markets and the mint, as well as preaching at the mosques.[17] These appointments typified Fatimid policies. Whether all these cumulative precedents guided Baybars when he appointed Ibn Khallikān as the qadi of Syria in 659/1260–61 remains an open question. Ibn Khallikān (1211–82), the author of a famous biographical dictionary, was appointed as the qadi of Syria with responsibility stretching from the town of al-ʿArīsh in southern Palestine to Salamyah in the north. He was authorized to nominate deputies as he pleased, and he controlled the pious endowments of many mosques, charitable institutions, and law colleges. In addition, he was charged with teaching law in seven law colleges.[18] It remains unclear whether he was expected to teach in them or simply authorized to appoint teachers on his behalf. Whether guided by precedents or not, Baybars' nomination was in line with the traditional view of the qadi and his role in society. Long before the Mamluk period, the qadi came to be perceived as more than just a judge. He became responsible for the administration of various trust funds unconnected with state administration and, occasionally, was entrusted with additional supervisory powers.

Inevitably, there was also a political dimension to the relations between qadis and rulers, and critique of a regime by a qadi was taken seriously. Ibrāhīm ibn

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Muḥammad Aḥmad (Cairo, 1971), 2:112; Yaacov Lev, "The Qadi and the Urban Society: The Case Study of Medieval Egypt, 9th–12th Centuries," in *Towns and Material Culture in the Medieval Middle East,* ed. Yaacov Lev (Leiden, 2002), 98–99, 100–1.

[16] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ismāʿīl Abū Shāmah, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn fī Akhbār al-Dawlatayn,* ed. Ibrāhīm Zaybaq (Beirut, 1997), 2:157–58.

[17] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Rafʿ al-Iṣr ʿan Quḍāt Miṣr,* ed. Ḥāmid ʿAbd al-Majīd and others (Cairo, 1957–61), 2:368–70.

[18] Abū Shāmah, *Tarājim Rijāl al-Qarnayn al-Sādis wa-al-Sābiʿ* (Beirut, n.d.). He was dismissed from his post in 609/1212–13. See ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn Shaddād, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Ẓāhir*, ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ (Beirut, 1983), 236.

Isḥāq was an outspoken critic of the authorities. In 204/819, he was appointed as qadi with the responsibility for preaching by Sarī ibn al-Ḥakam, the governor of Egypt. Ibrāhīm ibn Isḥāq used to reprove the authorities by saying: "You punish for illicit sex while you yourself indulge in it, you execute a thief while you yourself steal, you put (people) to death because of wine while you yourself consume it." He was a severe judge who relinquished his post because of Sarī ibn al-Ḥakam's attempt to influence his judicial decisions. The governor asked him to resume his duties, but he refused by saying: "no intercession (is allowed) in the judicial process."[19] Any criticism of the authorities had political implications, but that of Ibrāhīm ibn Isḥāq was unfocused and couched in moral terms. The defiance of other qadis was overtly and unmistakably political. In 217/832, the Abbasid caliph al-Maʾmūn came to Egypt to suppress rural rebellions and to launch an investigation into their causes. The hearings took place in Fusṭāṭ at the Ancient Mosque where the qadi Ḥārith ibn Miskīn referred to the two tax collectors in Egypt as oppressors, using the strong term *ẓulm*. The hearing broke into an uproar and al-Maʾmūn, who was told that the qadi enjoyed popular support and that his view reflected that of the people, invited Ḥārith ibn Miskīn to a private session. The qadi was asked whether he had been in any way wronged by these two tax collectors and he said no. Then he was asked how he could accuse them of oppression. His answer touched at the very core of the debate about legitimization of political power. Ḥārith ibn Miskīn said that he had never met al-Maʾmūn but nevertheless testifies that he is the caliph; he had not participated in his raids (meaning apparently the summer raids on Byzantium), but he bears witness that they took place. He was immediately imprisoned and later exiled to Baghdad. The case of Ḥārith ibn Miskīn implies that when a regime presents itself as legitimate and pretends to rule properly it bears the burden of evidence. Legitimacy is not accorded but won, and a regime must earn it for itself in order to be beyond reproach. Rather surprisingly, in 237/851, the Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil re-appointed Ḥārith ibn Miskīn as judge in Fusṭāṭ. He proved to be as strict and unyielding as ever, even when the personal economic interests of the Abbasid family in Egypt were at stake. Eventually, he was dismissed for the second time.[20] Al-Mutawakkil's nomination of Ḥārith ibn Miskīn reflected a permanent dilemma of rulers as to whom to appoint to judgeships. On the one hand, the regime was interested in people of integrity who would be respected both personally and as

[19] Al-Kindī, *Governors and Judges,* 427; Ibn Ḥajar, *Rafʿ al-Iṣr,* 1:22.

[20] Ḥārith ibn Miskīn was also known for his extensive non-judicial activities. He was involved in the building of a congregational mosque, digging a water canal, and supervision of religious rites. Al-Kindī, *Governors and Judges,* 469–70, 472–73; Ibn Ḥajar, *Rafʿ al-Iṣr,* 1:168–69, 171–72. For the wider context of the ninth century rebellions and the Abbasid response, see Kosei Morimoto, *The Fiscal Administration of Egypt in the Early Islamic Period* (Kyoto, 1981), 158–63.

representatives of the regime. An honest judge meant an honest government, since such people were not easily manipulated.

Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn (868–84), the semi-independent ruler of Egypt, was faced with open defiance of his policies and political ambitions by the qadi Bakkār ibn Kutaybah. In 882, Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn suggested to the caliph al-Muʿtamid that he relocate the caliphate to Egypt in order to be free of the tutelage of his brother al-Muwaffaq. Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn ordered that al-Muwaffaq be cursed publicly and sought the approval of the qadis of Damascus and Fusṭāṭ who, with the exception of Bakkār ibn Kutaybah, yielded to his demand. Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn dismissed and imprisoned Bakkār ibn Kutaybah, but the conditions of his imprisonment were rather soft. By demanding that the qadi return the salary he had been paid, Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn revealed his complete lack of understanding of the complex relations between qadis and rulers. He received back 16,000 dinars, since the qadi had not used the 1,000 dinars paid to him annually as salary.[21] Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn should have known better. Among the ulama an ethos of independence from the corruptive powers of the government had evolved, and qadis of Ḥārith ibn Miskīn's or Bakkār ibn Kutaybah's stature could not be bought with money. This overview has direct relevance for the relations between the ulama and the rulers. I will argue that patterns typifying these relations had evolved long before the Mamluk period. For example, Mamluk sultans of the fourteenth century had many difficulties with the chief Shafiʿi qadi Burhān al-Dīn ibn Jamāʿah (d. 1388) and, in 1382, Barqūq dismissed him. No one, however, attempted to buy him off.[22] The evidence suggests that the Mamluk sultans had to come to terms with the ulama more than the ulama had to come to terms with the sultans.

The fusion between politics and religion brought about two parallel developments within the ulama class, one that advocated estrangement from the state and another that sought cooperation with it.[23] Although state intervention in

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[21] Al-Kindī, *Governors and Judges,* 477–78; Ibn Ḥajar, *Rafʿ al-Iṣr,* 1:151–52, 154.

[22] Joseph Drory, "Jerusalemites in Egyptian Society During the Mamlūk Period," in *Governing the Holy City,* ed. Johannes Pahlitzsch and Lorenz Korn (Wiesbaden, 2004), 110–13. For other aspects of jurists' relations with the rulers, see B. Jokisch, "Socio-Political Factor of Qaḍāʾ in Eight/Fourteenth Century Syria," *Al-Qanṭara* 20 (1999): 503–30, esp. 512–13.

[23] The literature dealing with the *miḥnah* is extensive. Nimrud Hurvitz, for example, perceives the *miḥnah* as a culmination of the struggle between the *mutakallimūn* and *muḥaddithūn*. See his "Who is the Accused? The Interrogation of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal," *Al-Qanṭara* 22 (2001): 359–73. For other views, see Michael Cooperson, "Two Abbasid Trials: Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Ḥunayn Ibn Isḥāq," *Al-Qanṭara* 22 (2001): 375–93; Tayeb el-Hibri, "The Image of the Caliph al-Wāthiq: A Riddle of Religious and Historical Significance," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 19 (2001): 41–60; John N. Nawas, "The Moral Imperative in Contemporary Islamic Movements: An Early Expression in the Structure of al-Maʾmūn's Inquisition (Miḥna), 833 C.E.," in *Strategies of Medieval Communal Identity: Judaism, Christianity and Islam,* ed. Wout J. van Bekkum and Paul M. Cobb (Leuven,

doctrinal disputes as it took place during the *miḥnah* was rare,[24] various Sunni and Shiʿi regimes declared certain doctrines as official creeds and conferred patronage on a chosen school of law. Furthermore, the ulama involved the state in their doctrinal disputes and expected the rulers to take firm action against those whom they labeled as deviating from orthodoxy or as heretics. People considered to be heretics were executed, but rulers, at the behest of the ulama, also intervened in disputes concerning religious rites and practices.

The emergence of the law college (madrasah) as a major educational institution also played a role in the creation of close relations between the state and the ulama. The role of the Seljuk vizier Niẓām al-Mulk (1040–92) in the spread of the madrasah as the educational institution that enjoyed the highest patronage was crucial and manifold. Niẓām al-Mulk established the Niẓāmīyah network of endowed law colleges, which were dedicated to the teaching of the Shafiʿi school of law. Niẓām al-Mulk's deeds were emulated by Nūr al-Dīn, who established many law colleges (if not an actual network thereof) in the Syrian towns under his rule.[25]

The spread of the madrasah in the Muslim Middle East from the eleventh century onwards was phenomenal. It opened many employment opportunities, especially for the jurists and transmitters of Prophetic traditions. Law colleges also offered teaching positions in the field of Arabic language, as well as other posts for religious functionaries such as prayer leaders, preachers, and Quran reciters. Students received stipends and food rations, and some law colleges became large institutions with hundreds of affiliated people, including manual workers, administrative staff, religious functionaries, teachers, and students. Joan E. Gilbert, who has studied medieval Damascus, points out that 121 religious-educational institutions, offering 400 positions, were set up in the town between 1076 and 1260. She perceives the years of Zangid-Ayyubid rule as the period when the integration of the ulama into the fabric of the state took place.[26] Michael

2004), 75–87. For the persecution of heretics in the Abbasid period, see Zaman, *Religion and Politics,* 63–69. For the involvement of the Zangid and Ayyubid rulers in religious disputes, see Talmon-Heller, "Religion in the Public Sphere," 49–63; Roxanne D. Marcotte, "Suhrawardī al-Maqtūl, the Martyr of Aleppo," *Al-Qanṭara* 22 (2001): 395–419. For the persecution of heretics in the Mamluk period, see Yossef Rapoport, "Legal Diversity in the Age of Taqlīd: The Four Chief Qadis Under the Mamlūks," *Islamic Law and Society* 10 (2003): 223–26.

[24] Christopher Melchert, for example, has pointed out that most of the ninth-century Abbasid caliphs ". . . were content to follow religious trends, not to set them." See his "Religious Policies of the Caliphs from al-Mutawakkil to al-Muqtadir (A.H. 232–295/A.D. 847–908)," *Islamic Law and Society* 3 (1996): 342.

[25] Yaacov Lev, "Politics, Education, and Medicine in Eleventh Century Samarkand: A Waqf Study," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 93 (2003): 130–34.

[26] See Joan E. Gilbert, "Institutionalization of Muslim Scholarship and Professionalization of the

Chamberlain makes the following observation: "By founding *madrasa*s, powerful households could insert themselves into the cultural, political, and social life of the city and turn existing practices and relationships to their own benefit. This was how charitable foundations became instruments of politics."[27]

Early madrasahs were built for one particular *madhhab,* but later on, madrasahs were built for two and eventually all four Sunni schools of law. The spread of the madrasah did not undermine the fact that the medieval Muslim world of learning, in and outside the madrasah system, was independent both in terms of its subject matter and in the fact that the ulama acted as a self-governing body. The topics that were at the heart of Muslim learning, such as the Quran and its exegeses, the transmission of Prophetic traditions, law, and Arabic language and poetry, embodied the development of a culture that was shared by the ulama and the rulers who acted as their patrons and of the literati. Even non-Arab rulers such as Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin adapted themselves to the culture of the ulama.[28]

Recently, Devin Stewart, elaborating upon earlier works by George Makdisi, has shown that the ulama of the Mamluk period regulated their academic affairs entirely independently of the regime. Academic certificates issued by them, especially the *ijāzat al-futyā wa-al-tadrīs* served "as a credential that established qualification for employment in judicial and teaching posts."[29] Stewart's findings tally with those of Leonor Fernandes and must be seen in the wider context of the ulama as a body that regulated its own affairs.[30] This phenomenon has a long history in medieval Islam. The debate about the qualifications of the mufti and who can serve as a mufti, for instance, began prior to the Mamluks and continued into the Mamluk period. To take another example, jurists of the Mamluk period discussed and defined their internal hierarchy, which was based on the scope

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ʿUlamāʾ in Medieval Damascus," *Studia Islamica* 52 (1980): 118, 127.

[27] See Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (Cambridge, 1994), 52.

[28] For the *ʿālim*-like image of some of the Abbasid caliphs, see Zaman, *Religion and Politics,* 120–21, 123, 128–30, 135–36. For Nūr al-Dīn's titles referring to *ʿilm,* see Nikita Elisséeff, "La titulature de Nūr al-Dīn d'après ses inscriptions," *Bulletin des Études Orientales* 14 (1952–54): 157–58. For Saladin's participation in hadith sessions, see Yaacov Lev, *Saladin in Egypt* (Leiden, 1999), 36. The evidence for the participation of mamluks in the world of learning is more complex. See Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo* (Princeton, 1992), 146–60; idem, "'Silver Threads Among the Coal': A Well Educated Mamlūk of the Ninth/Fifteenth Century," *Studia Islamica* 73 (1991): 109–35.

[29] See Devin Stewart, "The Doctorate of Islamic Law in Mamlūk Egypt and Syria," in *Law and Education in Medieval Islam: Studies in Memory of Professor George Makdisi,* ed. Joseph E. Lowry and others (London, 2004), 63.

[30] Leonor Fernandes, "Between Qadis and Muftis: To Whom Does the Mamluk Sultan Listen?" *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 96–99.

of the jurist's legal education.[31] Furthermore, in some cases during the Mamluk period, the ulama were those who defined the parameters of orthodoxy. Quite independently of the regime, they initiated hearings against heretics and sentenced them to death.[32]

The issue of whether madrasahs served as the institution for training administrative staff or, rather, madrasah graduates sought employment in state administration, is much debated. Although during the Zangid-Ayyubid period the career patterns of the ulama and bureaucrats remained largely separate, both classes, as has been pointed out by R. Stephen Humphreys, shared a common set of values.[33] The readiness of the ulama of the Zangid-Ayyubid period to unhesitatingly serve sultans such as Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin was a result of the convergence of attitudes between rulers and ulama. Both sultans are depicted as the embodiment of the Sunni orthodoxy of the age and defenders of Islam against external enemies and, therefore, rulers whom one could serve without demur. The realities of the Zangid-Ayyubid period have a direct relevance for our discussion, since they set the parameters of the relations between the ulama and rulers during the Mamluk period. Twelfth- and thirteenth-century ulama expected the rulers to defend Islam as a territorial and political entity *(dār al-Islām)* and as a social organism *(ummah)* and to adhere to the principles of Sunni Islam.

Sultan Baybars and the Ulama

The Ulama and the Islamic Content of the Mamluk State

The relations between the ulama and the early Mamluk sultans evolved in a period dominated by the Mamluk-Mongol war, when a vigorous defense of Islam was much needed. Following the Mamluk victory at the Battle of ʿAyn Jālūt, the ulama, typified by the qadis and chief qadi, played a crucial role in both providing legitimacy for Baybars' rule and shaping the Islamic identity of the Mamluk regime. Ibn Wāṣil (1208–98) was at that time on a diplomatic mission to Sicily, and his account is of limited value. More important is Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (1223–92) who, from 1259, served in the chancery and gained the confidence of Baybars. During 1263–64, he wrote several official letters on behalf of Baybars, and his history of Baybars' reign is considered to be an official biography. Some

[31] For the issue of mufti, see Wael B. Hallaq, "Iftāʾ and Ijtihād in Sunnī Legal Theory: A Developmental Account," in *Islamic Legal Interpretation,* ed. Muhammad Khalid Masud and others (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), 33–45; Norman Calder, "Al-Nawawī's Typology of Muftīs and its Significance for a General Theory of Islamic Law," *Islamic Law and Society* 3 (1996): 137–64.

[32] For a notable case, see Stefan S. Winter, "Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Makkī 'al-Shahīd al-Awwal' (d. 1384) and the Shiʿah of Syria," *MSR* 3 (1999): 149–83.

[33] See R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols* (Albany, 1977), 377–81.

of the documents quoted by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir are also reproduced by Baybars al-Manṣūrī (1247–1325).

The first report to be discussed deals with the arrival of Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, the future caliph al-Mustanṣir billāh, on 9 Rajab 659/8 June 1261, from Iraq to Cairo. The reasons behind Sultan Baybars' re-establishment of the Abbasid caliphate in Cairo are well known and need no elaboration. I would like to focus on the caliph's investiture ceremony and its meanings. After the arrival of Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad in Cairo, the leading military commanders, the vizier, the chief qadi and other judges, the jurists and ulama, the righteous, the leading mystics, the merchants, and civilians *(al-nās)* were assembled at the citadel for the verification of Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad's pedigree. This verification was necessary, as Baybars was eager to re-establish the caliphate, believing that prophetic qualities were perpetually passed on among the Abbasid offspring. Baybars' beliefs tallied well with the popular esteem for the caliphate. The question of whether Baybars was driven only by political considerations or whether his attitude reflected the mood of his time or was even directly inspired by it, remains unsolvable.[34]

The investiture ceremony took place after the identity of Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad was satisfactorily established and approved by the chief qadi. He was invested as caliph and designated Imām Aḥmad al-Mustanṣir billāh, and Baybars pledged his allegiance to him, stating his commitment to the Quran, the Prophetic tradition *(sunnah), al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf,* holy war, and the lawful collection of God's money and its expenditure among those entitled to it. Following Baybars' pledge of allegiance to the caliph, the latter appointed Baybars to rule the Muslim lands held by him and those he would conquer in the future from the unbelievers, with God's help. The ceremony was concluded with the people swearing allegiance to the caliph.[35]

The accounts dealing with Baybars' oath to the caliph reveal the Islamic content of the regime established by him. Although these accounts deal with the declarative level only, the oath was entirely in line with the political norms and ethical values of the Middle Eastern Muslim world of the high Middle Ages. The

[34] The popular admiration for the caliphate is epitomized by the account of Abū Shāmah (1203–68). Abū Shāmah lived in Damascus when the news about the re-establishment of the caliphate by Baybars was proclaimed in the city. He writes that the people rejoiced, and thank God for that (*Tarājim,* 213–14). There are a number of studies dealing with the establishment of the Abbasid caliphate in Mamluk Egypt. See, for example, Stefan Heidemann, *Das Aleppiner Kalifat (A.D. 1261)* (Leiden, 1994), esp. 91–104.

[35] Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah,* ed. Donald S. Richard (Beirut, 1998), 60–61; Ibn Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* ed. and translated into English by Fatima Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt* (Dacca, 1956), 35–36; Muḥammad ibn Sālim Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb,* vol. 6, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām al-Tadmurī (Beirut, 2004), 312–13.

references to the Quran and *sunnah* are self-explanatory and have a long tradition as political slogans in medieval Islam. Equally obvious is the reference to holy war, which must be seen against a twofold background. During the twelfth century the issue of holy war against the Franks came to dominate the political life of the Zangid and Ayyubid states, and the destruction of Baghdad by the Mongols added a new dimension to it. Baybars' achievements in fighting the Mongols were well known, and all were aware that the ceremony at the citadel was possible only thanks to the victory at ʿAyn Jālūt.

As the work of Michael Cook has shown, the maxim *al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf wa-al-nahy ʿan al-munkar,* commanding right and forbidding wrong, evolved into a doctrine that became deeply ingrained into Islamic thought and ethics. It was the great sage al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) who equated the doctrine of *al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf* and its implementation with the institution of *ḥisbah*. Ibn Tūmart (d. 1130), the founder of the Almohad state, personally practiced *al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf,* and it became part of the ideological make-up of the state.[36] In the words of Mercedes Garcia-Arenal, the adoption of the doctrine by the state meant that "the precept is no longer the engine of social reform, but acts as a mere reminder of prohibitions on wine, gambling, or musical instruments, suggesting that the *hisba* loses its radical character when it is exercised, or rather appropriated by the powerful. . . ."[37] The same can be argued for the Mamluk state and its adoption of *al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf* as a political manifesto.

The somewhat awkward phrase: "The lawful collection of God's money and its expenditure among those entitled to it" must be understood as referring to the issue of legal taxation. Abbasid caliphs and Zangid and Ayyubid sultans frequently abolished illegal taxes, and Baybars, so it seems, committed himself to the collection solely of taxes allowed by the law. The reference to the expenditure of the money "among those entitled to it" remains enigmatic. This aspect of the financial policy of medieval Muslim states was never fully clarified.

Whatever the Islamic education acquired by the young Mamluk cadets during their military training was, the shaping of their Muslim identity took place later in their lives when they lived within Muslim society and were exposed to its values and ethos.[38] Baybars' career before becoming a sultan was in the service of the Ayyubid rulers of Syria, where the notion of caliphal suzerainty was at the center of the political system. Ayyubid sultans, like their Zangid predecessors,

[36] Michael Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge, 2000), 427–50, esp. 447–50.

[37] Mercedes García-Arenal, *Messianism and Puritanical Reform,* translated into English by Martin Beagles (Leiden, 2006), 176.

[38] For a different view, see Donald P. Little, "Religion Under the Mamlūks," *The Muslim World* 73 (1983): 168, 174.

acknowledged Abbasid caliphs as their overall lords and sought letters of appointment from them. These letters were an essential element in a broader system of political legitimization that the Zangid and Ayyubid sultans created for themselves. Baybars' allegiance to the caliph is well attested by his title and the epigraphic evidence studied by Reuven Amitai.[39]

The events that followed the ceremony at the citadel were a conscious attempt to re-enact the Zangid-Ayyubid system of political legitimization. The name of the caliph was publicly proclaimed and inscribed on coins. On Friday 17 Rajab 659/16 June 1261, the caliph delivered a sermon at the congregational mosque in the citadel and, on 24 Shaʿbān/23 July, another ceremony took place at the Bustān al-Kabīr outside the citadel. Baybars, clad in the black Abbasid insignia, held a public audience and bestowed robes of honor on the amirs, the vizier, the chief qadi, and the chief of the chancery, and the caliphal letter of appointment *(taqlīd)* was publicly read. The ceremony at the Bustān al-Kabīr was concluded by a procession through the town with the *taqlīd* being publicly displayed. The *taqlīd* is a fascinating document but outside the scope of this article. It adds two significant points to Baybars' public pledge of allegiance to the caliph. The document states Baybars' commitment to *ʿadl,* justice, and *iḥsān,* good moral deeds or, in the narrower sense, charity. The *taqlīd* was written by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ibn ʿAbd al-Ṭāhir, a professional *kātib* entitled as *rāʾis* and the author of a number of official letters. He was not an *ʿālim* in the strict sense of the term, and his religious education is dismissed in a disparaging remark about his insufficient study of Prophetic tradition. Although he exemplifies the administrators studied by Martel-Thoumian, he also epitomizes Humphreys' observation that administrators and ulama shared a common set of values.[40] The significance of *ʿadl* and *iḥsān* as components of what constitutes good government was as clear to him as to any other *ʿālim.*[41]

On 2 Muḥarram 661/16 November 1262, following the killing of the caliph al-Mustanṣir during an expedition to Iraq, a new caliph, al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh, was installed. In this case, Ibn Wāṣil's account of these events proves to be detailed and valuable. Baybars swore to the caliph, expressing his commitment to the Quran, the *sunnah, al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf,* holy war, the lawful collection of God's money and its expenditure among those entitled to it, the execution of the penalties laid

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[39] See Reuven Amitai, "Some Remarks on the Inscription of Baybars at Maqām Nabi Musa," in *Mamlūks and Ottomans*: *Studies in Honour of Michael Winter,* ed. David J. Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon (London, 2006), 47–48, 50–51.

[40] See nn. 3 and 31 for these references.

[41] Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikrah,* 61–63; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* 36–41, esp. 38; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Wārith ʿAlī (Beirut, 1997), 3:64–65.

down by God *(ḥudūd),* the implementation of religious policy to which the imam is obliged, and the protection of Muslims.[42] This document shows a conscious evolution in defining the Islamic content of Baybars' state. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn inserted the commitment to *ʿadl* and *iḥsān* into the *taqlīd* document of 659/1261, while somebody else added the commitment to the holy law (shariʿah), meaning the implementation of the *ḥudūd,* and the protection of Muslims to Baybars' oath of allegiance to the caliph al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh. The accounts dealing with the investiture of the caliphs al-Mustanṣir and al-Ḥākim are invaluable for the topic under discussion, as they show that ulama were integrated into the fabric of the state and endowed it with its Islamic content, and having done so, they could serve the state without hesitation.

The Reform of the Judicial System

In 663/1264–65, Baybars introduced a major change in the administration of justice by appointing four chief qadis. This change is extensively discussed by both medieval chroniclers and modern scholars. Joseph H. Escovitz, for example, perceives Baybars' deed as the culmination of a process of change toward the recognition of the four Sunni schools of law as equal.[43] In Jorgen S. Nielsen's view, Baybars' action aimed at creating a better balance in the way the different legal schools were represented in the judicial system.[44] Sherman A. Jackson explains Baybars' deed as a response "to the exclusivist policies (i.e. Shāfiʿī preferences) of chief justice Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz." He also points out that Baybars secured the support of jurists of the other legal schools and that his policy tallied with their interests. Baybars, in his words, "showed himself to be the consummate Mamlūk politician."[45] Recently a significant contribution to the ongoing discussion of Baybars' judicial reforms has been made by Yossef Rapoport. He points out that, beginning with the twelfth century, the doctrine of *taqlīd* insisted that qadis belonging to a certain *madhhab* should adhere to the precedents of their school rather than exercise their own independent judgment *(ijtihād)*. Therefore, from the point of view of the public, the appointment of four chief qadis added flexibility to the judicial system and was welcomed by both the jurists and the people. Rapoport's conclusion is

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[42] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb,* ed. Tadmurī, 350–51; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikrah,* 78–79.

[43] Joseph H. Escovitz, "The Establishment of the Four Chief Judgeships in the Mamlūke Empire," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102 (1982): 53.

[44] Jorgen S. Nielsen, "Sultan Baybars and the Appointment of the Four Chief Qadis," *Studia Islamica* 60 (1984): 167–76.

[45] Sherman A. Jackson, "The Primacy of Domestic Politics: Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz and the Establishment of the Four Chief Judgeships in Mamlūk Egypt," *JAOS* 115 (1995): 57, 65.

powerfully stated: "The state and its jurists shared a common vision of the social good."[46]

One can agree with Jackson that the confrontation between Baybars and Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz was also a clash of personalities between a powerful sultan who was no stranger to violence and a stern self-made jurist. Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz came from a highly respected provincial ulama family. He lost his father at a young age and devoted his boyhood to study. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (1372–1449) characterizes him as a loner who had missed his childhood. He studied with the luminaries of his age and was certified to teach law and to issue legal opinions. Rather surprisingly for a scholar trained in the traditional sciences, Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz also studied the art of administrative writing *(kitābah)* and accounting *(ḥisāb)*. Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz was very much the product of the Ayyubid age and the cooperation between the ulama and the rulers. He owed his first appointment as a witness in the Treasury to his reputation as a person of integrity and, probably, to his study of accounting. Ibn Ḥajar claims that he tried to avoid this appointment, but this sounds like an unconvincing cliché. The sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb (1240–49) appointed him supervisor *(nāẓir)* of governmental offices *(dawāwīn)* and, in 654/1256, during the sultanate of Aybak, he received his first nomination as qadi. A year later, he was appointed vizier while the former vizier took over his judicial position. In 657/1259, Sultan Quṭuz dismissed him from his post, but Baybars re-appointed him (659/1261).

There was nothing exceptional in Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz's career. He was a local man who earned a name for himself and moved between judicial and administrative appointments, epitomizing the interdependence between the ulama and rulers. Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz is described as a just qadi who extended the authority of the shariʿah, firmly controlled the court witnesses, and successfully managed the pious endowments under his authority. A just and efficient qadi was an asset for the ruler who appointed him. As the glory of the qadi was projected onto the ruler, Baybars might have been very satisfied with the way Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz executed his office. However, the latter was an unyielding person who adhered strictly to the letter of the law and refused to give preferential treatment to either local notables *(akābir)* or Mamluk amirs. He also appeared to be a kind of protector of the local population against financial extortion by the rulers. As vizier he abolished the practice of taking the revenues of two months from property owners, which was done under the pretext that this money was needed to face the Mongol menace. But, from the point of view of the sultan, perhaps the greatest trouble with Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz was that he was a Shafiʿi zealot. Although the terms *mutaʿaṣṣib* (bigot) and *taʿaṣṣub* (fanatical adherence to one's legal school) are not mentioned

[46] Yossef Rapoport, "Legal Diversity in the Age of Taqlīd: The Four Chief Qadis Under the Mamlūks," *Islamic Law and Society* 10 (2003): 210–28, esp. 227.

when referring to Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz, he was in fact a Shafiʿi zealot who displayed disregard for other legal schools. *Taʿaṣṣub* and adherence to *taqlīd* of one's legal school were different manifestations of the same phenomenon which had a long history.[47]

In the Iranian world and the Middle East of the high and late Middle Ages, regimes favored the legal school of their choice. The Ghaznavids, for example, preferred the Shafiʿi school, while the Seljuk rulers adhered to the Hanafi *madhhab* and Ashʿari theology. In line with Seljuk policies, the Hanafis enjoyed preponderance under Nūr al-Dīn. This policy was reversed by Saladin, who backed the Shafiʿi school but continued to adhere to the Ashʿari doctrine. Saladin's policies, however, were far more balanced than those of the Seljuk rulers, including Nūr al-Dīn. Some Hanafi scholars maintained their positions, and Saladin also established law colleges for the Malikis and Hanafis. The Ayyubid rulers, with the exception of al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam (1218–27), adhered to the Shafiʿi legal school. Al-Malik al-Muʿaẓẓam was a Hanafi zealot who systematically favored the Hanafis. However, as the only Hanafi of the Ayyubid ruling family, he had to compromise to some extent. In Damascus he built two law colleges: one for the Hanafi *madhhab,* which also served as his family burial shrine, and one for the Shafiʿis, where his paternal grandmother was buried.[48]

In Egypt, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb adopted a different approach: the law college he established in 641/1243–44 in Cairo was dedicated to the teaching of the four Sunni schools of law. To what extent he was influenced by the establishment of al-Mustanṣirīyah law college in 1233 in Baghdad remains unknown—in al-Mustanṣirīyah all four schools of law were taught. On the other hand, one can regard al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's act as a culmination of a local tradition that began with Saladin, who built law colleges not only for the Shafiʿis but also for the Hanafis and Malikis, and continued with al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, who built a law college for both the Shafiʿis and Malikis in 580/1184–85. Al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, a former Fatimid administrator and a member of Saladin's inner circle, was an Egyptian in the full sense of the term who acknowledged the Maliki presence in Egypt and their role in the religious life of the country. During Aybak's reign, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's law college served as the seat for the court of complaints *(al-nāẓir fī maẓālim)*. More significantly, in 677/1278–79, during his short reign (1277–79), Baybars' son Berke Khān provided the madrasah with a rich endowment that supported

[47] Al-Subkī writing about the muftis is critical of both *taʿaṣṣub* and lack of commitment to any legal school. See Daniella Talmon-Heller, "Fidelity, Cohesion, and Conformity Within Madhhabs in Zangid and Ayyubid Syria," in *The Islamic School of Law: Evolution, Devolution, and Progress,* ed. Peri Bearman and others (Cambridge, Mass., 2005), 107.

[48] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb,* vol. 5, ed. Ḥasanayn Muḥammad Rabīʿ (Cairo, 1977), 211–12, 219–20; Lev, *Saladin,* 4, 131–32.

the four teachers of law and their assistants and students. Other beneficiaries of the endowment were the muezzins and imams of the law college. The overall supervision over Berke Khān's *waqf* was entrusted to the Shafiʿi chief qadi, but he appointed the Maliki chief qadi to be the actual manager of the endowment.[49] On the symbolic level, Berke Khān's deed meant to convey his commitment to continuing his father's ecumenical policies which, in the world of learning, had Ayyubid precedents.

Ibn Ḥajar writes that it was Baybars' prerogative to appoint a Hanafi, Maliki, and Hanbali qadi to serve as Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz's deputies. Eventually, Baybars nominated four chief qadis but maintained the privileged position of the Shafiʿi chief qadi, who supervised pious endowments and various funds and ratified legacies and pious endowment deeds. Ibn Ḥajar's remark highlights a completely different context against which Baybars' policy must be examined. Jonathan P. Berkey has dealt extensively with the question of the Muslim identity of the Mamluks and made the following observation: "There was nothing to prevent the Mamlūks, as well as any other social group, from participating in the dynamic process of constructing and reconstructing Islam."[50] When one argues that the ulama endowed Baybars' regime with Islamic content, one must not forget the power of the sultan—a foreign military slave—to define Islam and the way it was practiced. The appointment of four chief qadis was more than just a procedural innovation. It shaped intra-*fuqahāʾ* relations and the relations of the jurists and ulama with the state. In conclusion, Rapoport's statement that "the state and its jurists shared a common vision of the social good" reflects the fact that, as much as the ulama shaped the Islamic identity of the Mamluk state, it was also shaped by the deeds of the rulers.

Ulama as Spiritual Guides

In the Shadow of the Plague

The outbreak of the plague cast its grim shadow over the people's lives in the year 833/1429–30. On 4 Jumādá I/28 January 1430, the daily death toll in Cairo was as high as 1,200 people. In the second half of Jumādá II/March, as the plague intensified, Barsbāy convened a meeting with the ulama and asked for their opinions on how to ward off the plague. Earlier attempts had failed. These had

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[49] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār,* ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid (London, 2003), 4:2:490. For law colleges in Ayyubid Egypt, see Gary La Viere Leiser, "The Restoration of Sunnism in Egypt: Madrasas and Mudarrisūn 495–647/1101–1249 (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1976), 187–405, esp. 334–61.

[50] See "The Mamlūks as Muslims: The Military Elite and the Construction of Islam in Medieval Egypt," in *The Mamlūks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 173.

involved a three-day fast followed by public prayers in the desert on the fourth day. At the meeting, the sultan asked what kind of supplication prayers, *qunūt* or *duʿāʾ,* should be performed to end the plague, and what had been prescribed by the ulama of the earlier generations. They all agreed that *duʿāʾ* prayers, imploring of God, and repentance are legally suitable means for putting an end to the plague. However, repentance, the cessation of oppression *(maẓālim),* and the implementation of the dictum *al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf* take precedence over supplication prayers. They were divided, according to *madhhab* lines, about the *qunūt* prayers. The sultan, to whom the fatwa issued by the ulama was read, inquired about the reference to *maẓālim* and its meaning. Several grievances against government policy were mentioned, and the sultan declared that he would abolish innovations introduced after Barqūq's reign. At this point the meeting took an unexpected turn when the chief Shafiʿi qadi specifically referred to policies introduced by Barsbāy in 833/1429–30. He mentioned the compulsion of the Kārimī merchants to sell spices only to the sultan, the forced purchase *(ṭarḥ)* of natron, and the edict permitting the growing of sugar cane only on the lands of the sultan. Barsbāy, who was notorious for his monopolies, chose to ignore this remark but instructed the qadis and amirs to command people to repent and refrain from sinning. The meeting ended with one practical decision: to forbid women from appearing on the streets, on pain of death.

In 841/1437, a new outbreak of the plague took place, and Barsbāy again consulted the ulama, some of whom suggested that it was due to the spread of *zinā'*. Usually, the term refers to illicit sex, but in this context, it means the presence of women in the public space. The ulama explained that women adorn themselves and frequent the streets and markets day and night. In the ensuing discussion, it was hotly debated whether all women should be banned or just those who offend public morals by adorning themselves, and the sultan became obsessed with the idea that a total ban should be issued. Some exceptions were allowed: elderly women and maids and slave girls on urgent errands were allowed to use the streets. Ibn Shāhīn (1440–1514) writes that the ban was taken seriously by the women and obeyed.[51]

There is no church structure in Islam, and the ulama were not clergy able to grant absolution to sinners, but clearly their advice was sought on religious matters. In the cases discussed above, the ulama appear as interpreters of the spiritual dimension behind a cataclysm that had befallen humanity. In contrast to this approach stands Barsbāy's spurning of their advice concerning *maẓālim.* The evidence is too flimsy to discuss Barsbāy's inner religious world, but he was not irreligious. Quite the contrary, his religiosity reflected the mood of the time.

[51] See Abd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl Ibn Shāhīn, *Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 2002), 5:28.

In 833/1429–30, prior to his meeting with the ulama, Barsbāy distributed pure silver coins as charity for the recovery of his son. The notion that charity delivers one from death was deeply embedded in the minds of medieval people, and distribution of charity during sickness was widely practiced. In 841/1437–38, the sultan himself was sick (he suffered from colic), and he tried to cure himself by distributing charity and visiting holy sites in the Qarāfah cemetery. The sultan's sickness coincided with the outbreak of the plague, and it is possible that in his perception, the public calamity merged with his personal affliction. Probably his obsession with the need to ban women from the streets reflected his understanding that a moral reorientation was required both for his personal salvation and the well-being of the public. Barsbāy's conduct was not irreligious but pietistic. He, in contrast to the ulama, perceived no link between his economic policies and the plague. His world view differed only in details from that of the ulama. His thinking was dominated by the need to restore public morals and pietism or, to put it differently, by *al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf*. This was the proper response to afflictions at both the communal and personal level.[52]

Harmonizing Theology and Social Practice

When faced with calamities, rulers and ulama acted in unison. In 822/1419, two events took place: a solar eclipse and an outbreak of the plague. The solar eclipse occurred on 29 Ṣafar/27 March, and special prayers for its termination were performed at Azhar. The ulama knew exactly what should be done, and the prayers were conducted by the mosque's preacher, who admonished the people and mentioned the name of God. The *muḥtasib* (market supervisor, a post held in the Mamluk period by jurists) was responsible for bringing the people to the mosque to attend prayers. Al-Maqrīzī (1364–1442), who narrates these events, is quick to offer his own observation, commenting that when people came to the mosque in a state of humility and implored God for forgiveness, their prayers were answered. This was an affair handled solely by the ulama, though; in the fight against the plague, the involvement of the regime was necessary.

The efforts to stave off the plague took the form of a great public spectacle in which the *muḥtasib* was most instrumental. He proclaimed that the people should fast for three days and go with the sultan to perform supplication prayers in the desert on the fourth day. The call was obeyed, and on the fourth day a great crowd, led by the ulama, the jurists, the heads of the Sufi *khānqāhs*, and mystics, went to the mausoleum of Barqūq. The vizier and the *ustādār* made the preparations for the arrival of the sultan, who came dressed in woolen garments riding a horse with simple riding gear with no gold or silk adornments. The sultan

[52] Ibid., 5:19–20, 24–25.

was accompanied by the chief qadi, notables, ulama, and the caliph. He performed the supplication prayers and implored God for forgiveness. The high point of the event was the offering of sacrifices to God by the sultan, who slaughtered the animals himself. The sacrificial meat and bread were divided among mosques, Sufi *khānqāhs*, mausoleums, and the poor. Supplication prayers led by leading ulama were also performed in these places.

The three-day fast and the offering of sacrifices were preceded by the attempts of the *muḥtasib* to impose moral behavior in Cairo. Although al-Maqrīzī makes no connection between these two events, his account is highly suggestive. The *muḥtasib* was personally engaged in these actions: he destroyed jars of wine and forbade women to weep over the dead. Public consumption of hashish was prohibited, and prostitutes were banned from soliciting customers in the markets. Other steps were taken against non-Muslims, who were obliged to wear distinctive signs as prescribed by law. One cannot escape the impression that these deeds aimed at bringing society in line with a moralistic outlook of how society should conduct itself. Moral reorientation was a prerequisite for meaningful repentance and solicitation of God for the termination of the plague. Since the Mamluk state officially adopted the doctrine of *al-amr bi-al-maʿrūf,* the responsibility for imposing morals in the public domain fell on the regime. The sources are always evasive about the motives behind the attempts to impose morals in the public domain. In 664/1265–66, Baybars ordered a ban on alcohol and prostitution, but whether it was somehow related to his campaign against the Franks in Syria and Palestine remains unknown.[53]

Al-Maqrīzī refers to the supplication prayers and the sacrifices performed by the sultan as a memorable event, but he adds that it was in contrast to the conduct of the righteous ancestors. They perceived the plague as mercy from God and those who died in it as martyrs. Al-Maqrīzī refers to the famous tradition about the ʿAmawās plague which asserts that the plague was God's mercy, and he ends his account with a mild criticism of his contemporaries whose conduct was unlike that of the ancestors. Although he refrains from describing the events that took place as a *bidʿah,* a reprehensible innovation, his allusion to what appears to be a dissonance between theology and social practice is fascinating.[54]

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[53] Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikrah,* 102; Li Guo, "Paradise Lost: Ibn Dāniyāl's Response to Baybars' Campaign Against Vice in Cairo," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 121 (2001): 219–36, esp. 225. For Ibn Dāniyāl's influence on how these events were depicted by fifteenth-century Mamluk historiography, see Amila Buturović, "'Truly, This Land is Triumphant and its Accomplishment Evident!' Baybars's Cairo in Ibn Dāniyāl's Shadow Play," in *Writers and Rulers,* ed. Beatrice Gruendler and Louise Marlow (Wiesbaden, 2004), 149–69, esp. 157.

[54] For the tradition concerning the ʿAmawās plague, see Josef van Ess, "Text and Contexts: Heroes of the Plague," in *Text and Context in Islamic Societies,* ed. Irene A. Bierman (Reading, 2004),

The gap between theology and social practice was bridged by the ulama. As has been pointed out by Michael W. Dols, the notion that plague is a punishment from God was prevalent in Muslim thinking, but the social response at the personal and communal level was channeled toward pietistic behavior. The ulama shaped social conduct and co-opted the rulers to fall in with their vision of what should be done under such circumstances. The cooperation between the ulama and the rulers turned into a truly symbiotic relationship in which the ulama served as guides to both the rulers and people by interpreting the meaning of events and guiding the social response.[55]

Consultations Between Sultans and Ulama

In the Face of the Mongol Menace

Although relations between the ulama and the state were symbiotic, friction did occur, and such incidents are reported by the sources, especially in the context of consultations between the sultans and ulama. The first recorded consultation between a sultan and the ulama took place early in the history of the Mamluk state. In 657/1259, an emissary of the Ayyubid sultan of Damascus, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, arrived in Cairo, asking for help against the Mongols. Quṭuz consulted the jurists, qadis, and *aʿyān* (civilian notables) about the Mongol menace and the permissibility of taking money from the population for the "holy war against God's enemies." The two leading ulama present at the consultation were ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn ʿAbd al-Salām and the chief qadi of Egypt, Badr al-Dīn Yūsuf. ʿIzz al-Dīn presented a legal opinion that was supported by the ulama which permitted the taking of people's money, provided that the Treasury was exhausted and the rulers had sold their gold and luxury items. The same was demanded of the troops; they needed to sell their luxury items and to keep only their gear and arms. The troops and people had to share the financial burden of the holy war equally, and only then was the taking of people's money allowed.

ʿIzz al-Dīn's legal opinion is what one might have expected: cooperation with the regime in the face of grave external danger. What is more surprising is that it was a conditional cooperation. The language of the legal opinion holds the key to understanding the approach of the ulama. The text begins by saying: "When the enemy attacks Muslim territory, then it is the duty of every *ʿālim* to fight the enemy, and you are allowed to take the money of the people for your holy war. . . ."[56] ʿIzz al-Dīn's departure point is the legal injunction that when Muslim

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[55] Michael W. Dols, "The Comparative Communal Response to the Black Death in Muslim and Christian Societies," *Viator* 5 (1974): 275, 277, 279; idem, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, 1977), 244–54.

[56] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij al-Kurūb,* ed. Tadmurī, 262.

territory is attacked, the participation in the holy war becomes a personal duty and the ulama are not exempt. The most striking aspect of the text is, however, the dichotomy between "you," meaning "you the rulers," and the "people" (referred to in the text as *al-ʿāmmah* and *al-raʿīyah*), meaning "we the subjects." The ulama were part of "we the subjects," and their conditional cooperation was an outcome of their self-image as to which segment of society they belonged. Even if one might argue that the text is not a direct quotation but a paraphrase, it eloquently captures the deeply rooted distinction between rulers and subjects. Although this distinction evolved prior to the Mamluk period, it remained relevant and powerful throughout the whole span of the late Middle Ages. The division between rulers and subjects, and the ulama's perception of themselves as belonging to the subjects, did not preclude symbiotic relations between ulama and rulers, but it put much strain on them.[57]

The Struggle Over Pious Endowments

In 780/1379, the amir Barqūq, before becoming sultan, convened a meeting attended by qadis, ulama, and civilian notables and asked them about the possibility of nullifying the pious endowments of mosques, law colleges, and Sufi institutions and those dedicated to the sons of sultans and amirs. He also mentioned *al-rizaq al-aḥbāsīyah* and asked why it was legal to buy the tax-yielding agricultural lands of Egypt and Syria from the Treasury. In the course of the meeting, the deeds of *waqf*-supported institutions in Egypt and Syria were presented, and it became clear that vast revenues were tied up in these foundations. According to Ibn Ḥajar, Barqūq said: "The weakness of the Muslim army is only because of these pious endowments, and it is right to reclaim them." Akmal al-Dīn spoke with Barqūq and the amir Barakah in Turkish, and they got angry with him; Sirāj al-Dīn was asked for his opinion. His view was uncompromising: under no circumstances could the pious endowments for mosques, law colleges, and the Sufi institutions that benefit the ulama, the jurists, the muezzins, and the leaders of prayer be dissolved. Furthermore he claimed that: "If the rights (*ḥaqq*, meaning financial rights) of Muslims are not paid them, you should establish an office that will pay our rights until it will become clear to you that what we deserve exceeds what is endowed for us." Concerning the pious endowments of Fāṭimah and ʿĀ'ishah, Sirāj al-Dīn claimed that it must be established whether the endowed properties were bought legally from the Treasury and that nullification would be permitted only in case of illegal acquisition of properties from the Treasury.

Three sayings are attributed to the chief qadi Badr al-Dīn al-Biqāʿī, and they

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[57] For another perception of the relations between the ulama and rulers, based on a different type of sources, see Louis Marlow, "Kings, Prophets and the ʿUlamāʾ in the Mediaeval Islamic Advice Literature," *Studia Islamica* 81 (1995): 101–21.

reflect a completely different mood. He is quoted as saying: "O amirs, you have the power and authority," and: "The land belongs to the sultan and he can do with it whatever he wishes." Although he was sharply rebuked by Sirāj al-Dīn, he had his reasons and drew from experience to make the following observation: "O amirs, you appoint the qadis, and if they do not do what you instruct them, you dismiss them. So it was with Sharf al-Dīn ibn Manṣūr and al-Malik al-Ashraf (1363–77), who removed him when he did not do what he wanted." The meeting ended with no dramatic results, and only a few pious endowments were dissolved and the vacant land distributed as *iqṭāʿ* among the soldiers.[58]

In the Face of the Ottoman Menace

Following a humiliating defeat of the Mamluk army in 872/1468 by Shāh Suwār, the sultan convened an assembly that was attended by the caliph, the four chief qadis, Shaykh al-Islām Amīn al-Dīn al-Afṣarī, leading ulama, and the amirs. The sultan was represented by his *kātib al-sirr* (confidential secretary), who explained at length that the Treasury was empty. He referred to Shāh Suwār as an oppressor who conquered lands and killed the worshippers, emphasizing that an army must be sent to protect "the lands of the sultan," and that money was needed for this purpose. He pointed out that many people *(al-nās)* had surplus incomes and that pious endowments for mosques had multiplied. The *kātib al-sirr* said that the sultan was determined to leave enough funds for the proper running of the mosques but to transfer any surplus income to the Treasury. The qadis and the caliph, who earlier had been divested of some of his *iqṭāʿ* lands by the sultan, were inclined to approve this proposal, but Amīn al-Dīn strongly objected. He said that the sultan was allowed to take money from the people *(al-nās)* only by legal means and, in a case like this, money should be collected from the amirs, the troops, and women, who should give their jewelry (he meant apparently women of the Mamluk class i.e., daughters and wives of the Mamluks). Only if this collection were insufficient would the people *(al-muslimūn)* be assessed according to what the law allowed. Amīn al-Dīn went on by saying that this was God's religion *(dīn Allāh)* and, if the sultan obeyed, he would be rewarded by God. If not, the sultan could do whatever pleased him. In a somewhat defensive tone, Amīn al-Dīn declared that he was afraid of God asking him on the Day of Judgment why he neither forbade this nor explained to the sultan what was right. This semi-apologetic utterance was followed by the much more assertive question of why the sultan bothered

[58] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Anbāʾ al-ʿUmr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1969), 1:178–79; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr (Cairo, n.d.) 3:1:345–46. For other attempts to seize pious endowments, see Kosei Morimoto, "What Ibn Khaldūn Saw: The Judiciary of Mamluk Egypt," *MSR* 6 (2002): 114–19; Joseph H. Escovitz, *The Office of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt in Cairo Under the Baḥrī Mamlūks* (Berlin, 1984), 149–53.

to assemble them at all if he intended to act against the law. Amīn al-Dīn went on by declaring that God would protect them from this calamity through the supplication prayers of a humble, righteous man (Amīn al-Dīn was apparently referring to himself). The assembly dispersed, accomplishing nothing, but the people, including the amirs, were very grateful to Amīn al-Dīn.

In a meeting between the sultan and the qadis that took place in 873/1468, Qāytbāy informed them about his intention to stop paying salaries to old soldiers and women. The sultan complained sorely about the lack of funds, the destruction of the provinces, and his personal distress because of the situation. The possible causes for the deteriorating situation were discussed at length, but no practical conclusions were reached. In any case, the sultan carried out his intentions and arbitrarily stopped paying salaries to old soldiers, orphans, and women. It is quite clear that the sultan aimed his policy at the weaker segments of the Mamluk military society and, therefore, met no opposition from the qadis. They, it appears, regarded themselves as the protectors of the indigenous Muslim population and, of course, their own class interests.[59]

In a meeting that took place in 896/1491 between Qāytbāy and the qadis, he bitterly complained about hostile Ottoman intentions, the destruction of the Aleppo region, merchants abstaining from trading with Egypt, and the need to pay the *julbān* to avoid their violence in the capital. He emphasized that the army, which was to be dispatched to Aleppo, needed to be paid while the Treasury stood empty. Qāytbāy declared that he would take the yearly income generated by pious endowments and the income from properties such as bathhouses and mills, including ships in the capital. Following a discussion with the qadis, it was decided that income of only five months would be collected, since two months' income had already been taken by the state. In any case, during 896/1491, pious endowments and property owners lost seven months' income.[60]

Conclusions

The description of the ulama as mediators between the Mamluk regime and the local population is too narrow and diminishes their role. The relations between the state and the ulama were symbiotic. This symbiosis enabled the Mamluks to rule and endowed their regime with its Islamic content. To put it differently, the Mamluk rulers acculturated themselves to the religious-cultural world of the ulama, and having done so, they won the acceptance and cooperation of the ulama. The gains of the ulama were enormous. They preserved their position as the class that embodied Islam and defined and protected its values. The qadis

[59] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 1960–75), 3:12–14, 24.

[60] Ibid., 3:278–79.

applied Islamic law and maintained their position as judges and administrators of funds and pious endowments. The narrow class gains of the ulama preserved and perpetuated the Islamic identity of the society. On the other hand, the ulama were those who empowered the Mamluks to rule, and the ulama-Mamluk symbiosis made Mamluk rule religiously and culturally meaningful to the subjects.

The ulama-Mamluk symbiosis did not mean the obliteration of the separate identity of the ulama or of the frictions between ulama and rulers. These frictions concerned economic issues: taxation and control of pious endowments. The events of 657/1259 and 872/1468 indicate that, in issues pertaining to taxation, the ulama played the role of advocates/protectors of the subjects. The cases discussed in this article are too few to allow any sweeping conclusions as to what extent the ulama were successful in their endeavors. This issue needs further study, but it is clear that the ulama were unable to influence broad economic policies of the Mamluk rulers such as the monopoly system.

The issue of pious endowments was quite different. Here the narrow class interests of the ulama were involved, and their professional integrity was at stake too. Due to the phenomenal spread and success of the pious endowment system, many ulama and many religious and charitable institutions came to be dependent on the system. The Mamluk ruling establishment, sultans and amirs, created *waqf*s on a massive scale and, in order to procure land for new endowments, old *waqf*s had to be nullified. To do so, the laws of the *waqf* were bent, and the qadis and jurists found themselves in an impossible situation. Many qadis and jurists, but by no means all of them, cooperated with the rulers in the nullification and expropriation of old pious endowments and the creation of new ones. Undoubtedly, the jurists who cooperated were somehow rewarded for their efforts. These were simple cases in which the self-interests of both the Mamluk ruling establishment and the jurists tallied, and what was demanded from the jurists was some legal flexibility.

Far more serious were the cases when the jurists were asked to nullify pious endowments for the distribution of these lands as *iqṭāʿ* among the troops. Here state interests, and not just the narrow interests of the ruling establishment, were at stake. Ostensibly, the jurists had every reason to be sympathetic to these requests, since state interests tallied with those of society as a whole. However, matters were never that simple. The jurists had every reason to be suspicious of the rulers and their motives. Furthermore, the political interests of the Mamluk rulers did not always correspond to those of the subject population. I doubt if we can speak about a typical ulama response in such cases. It seems that it was a matter of circumstances and, to some extent at least, the personalities of the people involved.

The qadis, because of the social network within which they operated, were

able, if they so chose, to resist the rulers. The dismissal of a qadi did not mean the end of his career. Qadis also occupied other posts, and cases of reappointment of qadis took place frequently. Within the overall symbiotic scheme, the balance of power between Mamluks and ulama heavily tilted in favor of the rulers, but the ulama were not entirely powerless.

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The Financial Reforms of Sultan Qāytbāy

The expansion of the Ottoman Empire from the middle of the ninth/fifteenth century redrew the power map in northern Syria and eastern Anatolia, threatening the hegemony of the Mamluk sultanate over the region. It also threatened the security of the sultanate, which had traditionally employed a defensive strategy of subordinating local rulers under its authority to protect its border areas. Because of frequent military conflicts with the Dulkadir (Dhū al-Qādir), Aqquyunlu, and the Ottomans which arose after 870/1455–56, the Mamluk sultanate suffered from a massive manpower and fiscal burden. Accordingly, combined with the dysfunction of the superannuated governmental machinery, the Mamluk sultanate entered a period of profound crisis wherein constant structural, political, and economic instability ensued for half a century until the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 922/1517.[1]

Under these circumstances, al-Ashraf Qāytbāy (r. 872–901/1468–96) and al-Ashraf Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (r. 906–22/1501–16), two prominent sultans in the late Mamluk era, made persistent efforts to bolster the regime throughout their long reigns. They took two courses of action—reconstruction of the existing state machinery and adoption of new military and financial measures to overcome the crisis. Carl F. Petry's works have revealed the military innovation of introducing firearms and establishing *waqf*s (religious endowments) as financial resources sustaining the policy.[2] Miura Toru, who has studied Damascus in this period, suggests that the adoption of a new financial policy imposing taxes on private

[1]On the external affairs of the Mamluk sultanate at that time, see: Shai Har-El, *Struggle for Domination in the Middle East: The Ottoman-Mamluk War 1485–1491* (Leiden/New York/Cologne, 1995); Aḥmad Fuʾād Mutawallī, *Al-Fatḥ al-ʿUthmānī lil-Shām wa-Miṣr wa-Muqaddimātuhu min Wāqiʿ al-Wathāʾiq wa-al-Maṣādir al-Turkīyah wa-al-ʿArabīyah al-Muʿāṣirah Lahu* (Cairo, 1995); Ghaythāʾ Aḥmad Nāfiʿ, *Al-ʿAlāqāt al-ʿUthmānīyah–al-Mamlūkīyah 868–923/1464–1517* (Sidon and Beirut, 2005); Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?: The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994), Chap. 3; Muḥammad Aḥmad Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk bayna al-Mamālīk wa-al-ʿUthmānīyīn al-Atrāk maʿa Riḥlat al-Amīr Yashbak min Mahdī al-Dawādār* (Damascus, 1986); ʿAbd al-Rāziq al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Qarmūṭ, *Al-ʿAlāqāt al-Miṣrīyah al-ʿUthmānīyah* (Cairo, 1995).

[2]Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?,* Chap. 7; idem, "Fractionalized Estates in a Centralized Regime: The Holdings of al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī According to Their Waqf Deeds," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient (JESHO)* 41, no. 1 (1998); idem, "The Military Institution and Innovation in the Late Mamluk Period," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt,* vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517,* ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge, 1998).

and *waqf* properties in urban areas and the formation of a new army comprising non-Mamluk infantry equipped with firearms were characteristic features of the late Mamluks.[3]

Incidentally, as I have made clear in my previous articles, the financial history of the Circassian Mamluks before the enthronement of Qāytbāy can best be understood from the perspective of the constant financial difficulties caused mainly by the alienation of state lands *(amlāk bayt al-māl)* and the sultans' responses to this problem, which showed two major trends. The first resulted from the reorganization of government finances which followed upon the establishment of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad (the independent bureau) by al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, the first sultan of the Circassian Mamluks (r. 784–91, 792–801/1382–89, 1390–99), and the second resulted from the development of the sultanic fisc following Barqūq's establishment of the Dīwān al-Amlāk (the bureau of the sultan's private real estate).[4] I believe that the financial history of the late Mamluk era after Qāytbāy's enthronement should be reconsidered from the perspective of these two trends affecting the financial structure of the sultanate.

From this perspective, I approach the financial policies of Qāytbāy from two angles: first, the reconstruction of the state's finances initiated just after his enthronement in 872/1468; and second, his efforts, especially from around 880/1475, to accumulate money and property under his control, and the consequent expansion of the role of the sultanic fisc in the sphere of administration. Through this analysis, I will show that the financial system of the period followed the two aforementioned trends throughout the Circassian Mamluk period, and that the regime of the Mamluk sultanate itself was maintained based on the sultanic fisc, the relative importance of which was increasing in the period under consideration. I believe that this investigation can provide a new perspective on the overall picture of "decline" in this period, as well as illuminate the process by which the Mamluk regime was brought to an end.

The Financial Situation at the Time of Qāytbāy's Enthronement

In 788/1386, Sultan Barqūq established al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, a special bureau responsible for providing monthly wages *(jāmakīyah),* fodder *(ʿalīq),* clothing allowances *(kiswah),* and other essentials to the Royal Mamluks *(al-mamālīk al-sulṭānīyah)* from income derived from the *iqṭāʿ* land he had gained as an amir.

[3]Miura Toru, "Urban Society in Damascus as the Mamluk Era was Ending," *Mamlūk Studies Review (MSR)* 10, no. 1 (2006): 158–59.

[4]Igarashi Daisuke, "The Establishment and Development of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad: Its Background and Implications," *MSR* 10, no. 1 (2006); idem, "The Private Property and *Awqāf* of the Circassian Mamluk Sultans: The Case of Barqūq" [in Japanese], *Oriento (Bulletin of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan)* 47, no. 2 (2004); [in English], *Orient* 43 (2008).

Because of the increased importance of the Royal Mamluks, the payment of their stipends had been one of the most important ways for the rulers to maintain their regimes since the late Bahri Mamluk period (648–784/1250–1382). At the same time, the traditional state machinery based on state landholdings and the *iqṭāʿ* system was becoming dysfunctional because of the alienation of state lands through their sale as *milk* (private property) and the conversion of these lands into *waqf*s. Under such circumstances—giving priority to providing stipends to the Royal Mamluks—al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, a special bureau with an income separate from the state treasury, was established. Later, this *dīwān* grew in importance following the acquisition of large agricultural lands which provided its revenue. The state structure as a whole was reorganized around the newly established *dīwān*. Consequently, the financial affairs of the state that had hitherto been under the control of the vizier were divided among three independent *dīwān*s—Dīwān al-Wizārah (headed by the vizier), Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ (headed by the *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*), and al-Dīwān al-Mufrad (headed by the *ustādār al-sulṭān/ʿāliyah*). Each of them performed their functions with their own source of revenue, and al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, which became the most important financial bureau among them, acquired the greater portion of Egyptian *khāṣṣ* land (land in the government's domain) as its revenue source.[5]

On the one hand, a reorganization of the state's financial machinery was progressing in this way; on the other hand, the scale of financial resources put under the direct control of the sultan—independent of the state treasury—was gradually growing. In order to accumulate funds for a large purchase of slaves to replenish the sultan's power base and for rewards or gifts for acquiring and securing his political supporters, Barqūq made efforts to acquire private property and accumulated a huge amount of real estate as *milk* and *waqf* properties. Further, through the establishment of the Dīwān al-Amlāk in 797/1395 and its subsequent transformation into the Dīwān al-Amlāk wa-al-Awqāf wa-al-Dhakhīrah (the bureau of the sultan's *milk* and *waqf* properties and treasures), the sultan's private and *waqf* properties were managed more systematically as his personal revenue source. To secure resources and increase money entering directly into their own hands, the sultans after Barqūq also strove to accumulate agricultural lands in such forms as *milk, waqf,* and leased property *(mustaʾjarāt)*. Further, they applied more energy to the intervention and direct participation in the spice trade and other commercial activities in order to raise even more money.[6]

Incidentally, after the death of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq in 857/1453, the financial situation took a sharp turn for the worse. The financial bureaus were

[5]Igarashi, "Al-Dīwān al-Mufrad," 118–30.

[6]Igarashi, "Private Property and *Awqāf*."

confronted with enormous difficulties, and the delay of *jāmakīyah* payments and daily meat supplies caused frequent riots among the Royal Mamluks demanding them. The political instability of the times also accelerated this financial crisis. Especially following the death of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam in 872/1467, three sultans (al-Ẓāhir Yalbāy, al-Ẓāhir Timurbughā, Qāytbāy) came and went in rapid succession in one year. Without sufficient countermeasures, the financial situation was deteriorating significantly.

Let us now look closely at the causes of the financial difficulties at the time of Qāytbāy's accession to the sultanate. The first factor was the abnormal increase of regular and informal recipients of *jāmakīyah* and other remuneration distributed from al-Dīwān al-Mufrad and of meat distributed from Dīwān al-Wizārah beyond the *dīwāns*' capacity. Because the continuous process of the alienation, privatization, and "waqfization" of state lands reduced the amount of land that could be assigned as *iqṭāʿ*s, the *ḥalqah* troopers, especially the *awlād al-nās* (the sons of mamluks) who were affected most directly by the problem, came to be allotted *jāmakīyah*s instead of *iqṭāʿ*s. In addition, the number of mamluks who received *jāmakīyah*s instead of *iqṭāʿ*s was steadily increasing. Moreover, various groups became recipients of funds from the *dīwān*s because powerful amirs added their mamluks and other well-connected individuals to the *dīwān* register. In addition, the purchase and sale of status became widespread.[7]

The second problem was in the sphere of revenue. Various problems had arisen in rural areas, the main source of revenue for the state. The alienation of state lands, which decreased the government's taxable lands as well as the number of *iqṭāʿ*s, caused chronic financial difficulty for the government. Therefore, the *ustādār* (the chief of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad) who also held the viceroyalties of Lower and Upper Egypt and was invested with the authority to appoint and dismiss local governors *(wālī, kāshif),* started demanding large amounts of money from newly appointed local governors to cover the loss of income. Further, he obliged them to pay monthly tributes to the *dīwān*. These policies forced local governors to impose heavy taxes in their jurisdictions and thus impoverished the villages. As a result, Bedouin tribes hostile to the government grew in power in these areas, weakening the local administration represented by local governors and amirs of the Arabs *(amīr al-ʿarab)*.[8] Especially in 872/1467–68, along with the political instability

[7]Igarashi, "Al-Dīwān al-Mufrad," 132–37. On the alienation of state lands, see: ʿImād Badr al-Dīn Abū Ghāzī, *Taṭawwur al-Ḥiyāzah al-Zirāʿīyah Zaman al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah: Dirāsah fī Bayʿ Amlāk Bayt al-Māl* (Cairo, 2000). Cf. Adam Sabra, "The Rise of a New Class? Land Tenure in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: A Review Essay," *MSR* 8, no. 2 (2004).

[8]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. William Popper (Berkeley, 1930–42), 691–92 (hereafter cited as *Ḥawādith*). On the *ustādār*'s holding of the viceroyalties of Upper and Lower Egypt, see: Igarashi, "Al-Dīwān al-Mufrad," 128–29.

of the central government, disorder in rural areas grew more serious, caused by successive rebellions by Bedouin tribes and a subsequent decline in agricultural production and tax revenues.[9] In Dhū al-Qaʿdah 872/May–June 1468, all Bedouin shaykhs in the province of Buḥayrah in Lower Egypt rebelled against Mamluk rule. In an effort to suppress these rebellions, seven amirs of one hundred *(amīr miʾah muqaddam alf)* were dispatched to these regions.[10]

The issue directly relating to such an unstable situation in rural areas was that of *ḥimāyah* (private protection). To resist the oppression of local governors and disorder in local areas, *muqṭaʿ*s (*iqṭāʿ* holders) and peasants demanded protection from representatives of the central government in return for their payment of tribute. The expansion of *ḥimāyah* over rural areas further weakened the local administration and prevented tax collection from these areas.[11] These problems in the two spheres of income and expenditure contributed to the failure of the state's financial system. Consequently, after around 860/1442–43, the financial *dīwāns* of the state could not function properly without financial support from the sultanic resources (*dhakhīrah:* this is a question to be considered later).[12]

In addition to these domestic problems, a very tense international situation confronted Qāytbāy. In 870/1465, Shāh Budāgh, a monarch of Dulkadir whose enthronement was supported by the Mamluk government, was deposed by his brother Shāh Suwār with the help of the Ottomans. The new monarch extended his power over northern Syria, threatening the hegemony of the Mamluk sultanate in the area. At that time, a military conflict between Dulkadir and the Mamluk sultanate was unavoidable. However, because the dispatch of Egyptian troops was postponed due to the deteriorating health of the reigning sultan Khushqadam, in Rabīʿ I 872/October 1467, the Mamluk army, comprising the armies of the Syrian provinces and led by the viceroys of these provinces, was shamefully defeated by Dulkadir. Therefore, Qāytbāy began preparations for war as soon as he acceded to the sultanate in Rajab 872/February 1468. The next month, Shaʿbān/March, he dispatched the first expeditionary force against Dulkadir under the command of the *atābak al-ʿasākir* (commander-in-chief) Jānībak Qulqsīz.[13] However, in Dhū

[9]*Ḥawādith,* 651–56.

[10]Ibid., 631–32; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī, "Al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim fī Ḥawādith al-ʿUmr wa-al-Tarājim," Vaticano Arabo MS 729, fol. 181v (hereafter cited as *Rawḍ*); idem, *Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal* (Sidon and Beirut, 2002), 6:326–27 (hereafter cited as *Nayl*).

[11]On the *ḥimāyah,* see: al-Asadī, *Al-Taysīr wa-al-Iʿtibār wa-al-Taḥrīr wa-al-Ikhtibār fīmā Yajibu min Ḥusn al-Tadbīr wa-al-Taṣarruf wa-al-Ikhtiyār* (Cairo, 1968), 95–96, 135–36 (hereafter cited as *Taysīr*); John L. Meloy, "The Privatization of Protection: Extortion and the State in the Circassian Mamluk Period," *JESHO* 47, no. 2 (2004).

[12]Cf. Igarashi, "Al-Dīwān al-Mufrad," 137.

[13]This expeditionary force was composed of four amirs of one hundred, one amir of forty *(amīr*

al-Qaʿdah/June, the army was crushed in battle near Aintab. Many amirs and soldiers were killed, and the commander Jānībak Qulqsīz was taken prisoner.[14] This military defeat shook the Mamluk government severely. To recover its hegemony over the border area, the reconstruction of the army and raising of funds for expeditions became a matter of the greatest urgency.

Incidentally, a military expedition at that time was more costly than it had been previously because, in addition to bonuses *(nafaqah)* for going on expeditions, regular stipends such as *jāmakīyah, kiswah,* and *ʿalīq* were to be paid in advance to the mamluks joining the expedition.[15] The first prepayment of these regular stipends, to my knowledge, was made during the preparation of Qāytbāy's first expedition;[16] thereafter the prepayment of four-month *jāmakīyah* and *ʿalīq* and one-year *kiswah* was followed as a matter of regular practice for military expeditions. The establishment of the practice of prepayment shows that the soldiers' dependence on the stipends was growing. As a rule, although *nafaqah*s were distributed when a military expedition was undertaken, the soldiers were required to pay their own expenses with income from their *iqṭāʿ*s because military service *(khidmah)* was the primary duty of military men and the *iqṭāʿ*s were given as compensation for this duty. Nevertheless, as we have already seen, soldiers of relatively low rank, such as *ḥalqah* troopers and rank-and-file mamluks, relied increasingly on the stipends paid from the government *dīwān*s because of the reduction of *iqṭāʿ* lands, their original source of income. For that reason, if the soldiers joining an expedition could not receive these stipends when they were absent from Cairo during the campaign, their lives would be difficult. Therefore, the prepayment of the stipends became indispensable for dispatching an expeditionary force.[17]

To sum up, Qāytbāy was confronted with two urgent tasks: first, reorganization

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al-ṭablkhānāh), nineteen amirs of ten *(amīr ʿasharah),* and a thousand mamluk soldiers (anon., "Tārīkh al-Malik al-Ashraf Qāytbāy," British Library MS Or 3028, fol. 6r–v [hereafter cited as *Tārīkh Qāytbāy*]). This source has detailed information about the military expeditions in the early years of Qāytbāy's reign. Cf. David Ayalon, "The System of Payment in Mamluk Military Society," *JESHO* 1, nos. 1, 3 (1958): 292–94.

[14] *Ḥawādith,* 633–34; *Nayl,* 6:323–26; *Rawḍ,* fol. 182r–v; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr* (Wiesbaden, 1960–75), 3:12 (hereafter cited as *Badāʾiʿ*); idem, *Jawāhir al-Sulūk fī Amr al-Khulafāʾ wa-al-Mulūk* (Cairo, 2006), 354 (hereafter cited as *Jawāhir al-Sulūk*).

[15] Ayalon, "The System of Payment," 54, 58.

[16] *Ḥawādith,* 623, 625; *Rawḍ,* fol. 178v. The total amount of *nafaqah* paid on the expedition was 141,700 dinars, except the expenditures for prepaid *jāmakīyah*s, *kiswah*s, *ʿalīq*s, and costs for horses and camels (*Tārīkh Qāytbāy,* fol. 7r).

[17] In some cases, these stipends were distributed to expeditionary armies in towns where they were stationed [Ibn Ajā, *Tārīkh al-Amīr Yashbak al-Ẓāhirī* [Cairo, 1973], 72, 152). On the growing dependence of military men on the stipends, see: Igarashi, "Al-Dīwān al-Mufrad," 134–35, 137–38.

of the regular payment system that had collapsed because of structural problems in the financial and military systems; and second, raising funds for military expeditions in the midst of a tense international situation. We shall now examine how Qāytbāy tackled these problems.

THE FINANCIAL REORGANIZATION OF 873/1468–69

In Dhū al-Qaʿdah 872/June 1468, as soon as he received a report on the defeat of the first expeditionary army, Qāytbāy convened a conference *(majlis)* to discuss countermeasures. In this *majlis,* he argued the need for dispatching another military expedition and simultaneously brought up the obvious lack of funds for it. However, his plan for confiscating *milk* and *waqf* properties was blocked by strong opposition from the ulama;[18] thus, he explored other measures for raising money. In Ṣafar 873/August–September 1468, Qāytbāy suspended payment of *jāmakīyah*s to non-mamluks such as the *awlād al-nās, fuqahāʾ* (legal scholars), *mutaʿammimūn* (ulama, civilians), and "the people connected with influential men in the state *(muḍāfī kibār al-dawlah)*." At this point in time, he calmed their protests with a promise to provide them with the suspended wages until the following month, after the fulfillment of payments to the Royal Mamluks.[19] However, this was the starting point for further drastic reforms of the payment system. The next month, on 11 Rabīʿ I/28 September 1468, Qāytbāy tested the *awlād al-nās* on their military ability in the courtyard *(ḥawsh)* of the Citadel of Cairo *(qalʿat al-jabal)*. Although the *awlād al-nās*, who were originally military men belonging to the *ḥalqah* troops, had been enrolled in al-Dīwān al-Mufrad and had received, like the mamluks, *jāmakīyah*s and other remuneration since the reign of Jaqmaq, a large number of people with little military ability, such as women and children, were included among them. On this occasion, Qāytbāy prepared three bows, each with different string tensions, called out the names from the list of recipients one after another, and made them draw the bows. The names of the people who could draw the bows were entered in the list of soldiers joining the new expedition. The people who could not draw them were excused from the expedition in exchange for payment to the sultanic treasury *(khizānah)* according to the amount of *jāmakīyah*s they received—100 dinars for the recipients of 2,000 dirhams, 75 dinars for those who received 1,500 dirhams, and 50 dinars for those who received 1,000 dirhams. Judging from the fact that the disqualified people did not lose their rights to receive *jāmakīyah* but were only obliged to pay money as compensation, it is clear that Qāytbāy's primary intention with this test was to collect funds for the military expedition rather than to reorganize al-Dīwān al-Mufrad itself. Given

[18] *Ḥawādith,* 635–37; *Rawḍ,* fols. 182v–183v; *Nayl,* 6:328; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:13–14.

[19] *Ḥawādith,* 678; al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿAṣr* (Cairo, 1970), 16 (hereafter cited as *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr*); *Nayl,* 6:345; *Rawḍ,* fols. 203v–204r. Cf. *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:20–21.

that many people waived their rights to receive *jāmakīyah* to avoid the obligation to pay the money, Qāytbāy may have had another intention—to lead those who received the *jāmakīyah*s as a kind of "public assistance payment" into abandoning these rights by themselves. Through the test, Qāytbāy reminded those present that the original purpose of the *jāmakīyah*s was to reward military service.[20] In any case, this made it possible for Qāytbāy to distribute *nafaqah*s of 100 dinars per capita and four-month *jāmakīyah*s to the mamluks taking part in the campaign. In the next month, Rabīʿ II, he dispatched the second expeditionary force with 500 mamluks under the command of Amir Uzdamur al-Ībrāhīmī al-Ṭawīl.[21]

As its size shows, this expeditionary force was an advance party to defend Aleppo, which was exposed to imminent danger due to the previous defeat. In order to organize and dispatch a larger main force, a radical reform of the payment system was essential. Under the circumstances, a reconstruction of the system of meat supply was initiated prior to the *jāmakīyah* reforms. Similar to the payment of *jāmakīyah* from al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, the provision of daily meat supplies to mamluks and others—the responsibility of the Dīwān al-Wizārah—was in arrears. On 15 Rabīʿ I/2 October 1468, just after the military fitness test was implemented, Qāytbāy granted Yashbak min Mahdī, the *dawādār kabīr* (the executive secretary), a *khilʿah* (robe of honor) "that was equivalent to that of the *atābak al-ʿasākir*," and appointed him to additional posts as vizier and viceroy of all the Egyptian provinces (*kāshif al-kushshāf*). Qāytbāy's intention was to entrust the reform of the Dīwān al-Wizārah to Yashbak, whose position was strengthened by the fact that he held the rank just below the sultan, equivalent to the *atābak al-ʿasākir*, while Qāytbāy himself initiated a reform in the payment of *jāmakīyah* from al-Dīwān al-Mufrad. In other words, a total reconstruction of the overall payment system was intended through cooperation between the two. In consequence, Yashbak succeeded in cutting the supply of meat for everyone except the mamluks, such as the *awlād al-nās*, *mutaʿammimūn*, and women.[22] With this as the starting point, they embarked on a sweeping reform of the payment system for mamluks.

On 16 Rabīʿ II/2 November, just after the departure of the second expedition on the 6th of that month/23 October, Qāytbāy again summoned high government officials and the ulama to a second *majlis*. He complained in the *majlis* that the government was on the brink of total bankruptcy because of the enormous number of stipends. Nevertheless, the strong opposition of the ulama forced him to abandon

[20] *Ḥawādith,* 681–82; *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 20–21; *Rawḍ,* fol. 205r, v; *Nayl,* 6:348; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:22. Cf. Igarashi, "Al-Dīwān al-Mufrad," 135.

[21] *Ḥawādith,* 679, 685, 687; *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 30–31; *Nayl,* 6:347, 352; *Rawḍ,* fols. 204r, 208v; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:21, 24. The total cost of expenditures for this expedition was 87,000 dinars (*Tārīkh Qāytbāy,* fol. 7r–v).

[22] *Ḥawādith,* 682–83; *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 23–24; *Rawḍ,* fol. 205v; *Nayl,* 6:349; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:22–23.

his attempt to levy extraordinary taxes on *milk* and *waqf* properties yet again. He finally initiated reform of the payment system. Qāytbāy, together with Yashbak, mobilized the entire financial staff, such as *kātib al-mamālīk, muqaddam al-mamālīk,* and the scribes in charge of fodder or warehouses. Then, at the courtyard of the Citadel, Qāytbāy and Yashbak called out the recipients one by one according to the roster in order to review the provision of *jāmakīyah, ʿalīq,* and meat. Two reforms were undertaken as a result of the review. The first was the cutting of payments to those unqualified for military service, which was determined by another test on military ability. The test was carried out using bows, as in the previous month. The previous test had been mainly to select soldiers to join the expedition and to collect money from the people exempted from it; however, the second test was to cut the stipends of the people who were judged unfit for military service. Accordingly, a great number of the *mutaʿammimūn,* women, and children, for example, became subject to the stipend cut. Under the second reform, limiting payments to the specified amount was strictly observed. Because stipend-receiving status could be bought and sold, some powerful mamluks had received more than the specified stipend amount through purchase of additional stipend-receiving status. Through an inspection, if a mamluk had received more than the specified amount, i.e., a *jāmakīyah* of 2,000 dirhams, *ʿalīq* of three bowls, and daily meat of three *raṭls* for each rank-and-file mamluk (as for the *khāṣṣakīyah* [sing. *khāṣṣakī;* bodyguard],[23] the regular amount of *ʿalīq* was five bowls), the excess was eliminated. If a mamluk had received more than the specified amount through the purchase of others' stipend-receiving status, he was obliged to return it to the sellers.[24] Although preceding sultans who tried to reform the payment system had been forced to abandon their attempts because of strong opposition from amirs and mamluks, Qāytbāy succeeded by taking advantage of the terrible shock of the military defeat immediately after his enthronement. As a matter of course, some protests against his policy and interventions were made by powerful figures, but these did not develop into a movement to overthrow Qāytbāy.

As a result of the reform, al-Dīwān al-Mufrad and Dīwān al-Wizārah were revitalized to some extent. Because the sultans had hitherto met the deficit of the two *dīwān*s from the *Khizānah,* the revitalization of the *dīwān*s probably enabled Qāytbāy to use the money to support military expeditions. In addition, through the reduction of the amount paid as *jāmakīyah*s and the strict observance of its correct allotment, the total expenditure for a four-month prepaid salary was reduced. Furthermore, when the troops were reviewed for the third expedition in Jumādá

[23]On the *khāṣṣakīyah,* see: David Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army 1," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (BSOAS)* 15, no. 2 (1953): 213–16.

[24]*Ḥawādith,* 689–95; *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 33–43; *Nayl,* 6:353–54; *Rawḍ,* fols. 209r–211v; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:24. Cf. Igarashi, "Al-Dīwān al-Mufrad," 136–37.

II/January 1469, all the men exempted from the expedition, including the Royal Mamluks, were obliged to pay a fixed amount to the *Khizānah*—100 dinars in the case of *iqṭāʿ* holders or 20 dinars in the case of *jāmakīyah* recipients.[25] As a result of these policies, the problem of the shortfall in the military budget was resolved for the moment. On 24 Rajab/7 February, the four-month *jāmakīyahs* and one-year *kiswahs* were prepaid to the soldiers joining the third expedition, in addition to supplying draft camels.[26] Then the third expedition, comprising 1,500 mamluk cavalry, commanded by the *atābak al-ʿasākir* Uzbak min Ṭuṭukh, was dispatched on 9 Shaʿbān/22 February.

Incidentally, on 4 Shaʿbān/17 February, just after the completion of *nafaqah* payments to the third expeditionary army, Qāytbāy again appointed Yashbak to an additional post as *ustādār*. Yashbak was now serving concurrently as *dawādār,* vizier, *ustādār,* and viceroy of all the Egyptian provinces.[27] Accordingly, Yashbak assumed sole responsibility for a series of financial tasks, from collecting taxes on lands in the Egyptian provinces to providing all kinds of stipends for mamluks and other recipients, as a major part of the governmental domain in Egypt was assigned to al-Dīwān al-Mufrad and lands of some provinces were assigned to the Dīwān al-Wizārah. It seems reasonable to suppose that after succeeding in reducing *jāmakīyahs* for military men, which had been the hardest task, Qāytbāy transferred the management of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad to his confidant Yashbak and let him exercise direct and strict control over the system of payments. However, there is no doubt that the sultan exercised close supervision over the qualifications of recipients and the payment of correct amounts in view of the fact that he regularly attended the payment inspections of troops.[28] Rather than addressing the problems of disbursements, the appointment of Yashbak as *ustādār* was to address the following two problems having to do with the collection of revenue.

First, because the *dawādār,* one of the high-ranking military men who could mobilize their own mamluk soldiers, assumed the responsibility for the two *dīwāns* and the post of viceroy of all the Egyptian provinces, it became possible for him to collect taxes by force from rural areas, which had previously been subject to delay due to the aforementioned chaotic situation in these areas. He was also expected to suppress rebellious Bedouins by force and to restore order in the rural areas. From 873/1468–69 until 874/1469–70, Yashbak made repeated expeditions to various regions of Egypt. With the expedition to Upper Egypt in Jumādá I 873/November

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[25]*Ḥawādith,* 697–98; *Rawḍ,* fol. 213v. Cf. *Nayl,* 6:359; *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 48; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:26.

[26]*Ḥawādith,* 701; *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 54; *Rawḍ,* fol. 215v; *Nayl,* 6:361–62. The total expenditures on *nafaqahs*, *jāmakīyahs*, *ʿalīqs*, and rations for the third expedition amounted to 300,000 dinars, not including expenditure on horses, camels, and weapons [*Tārīkh Qāytbāy,* fol. 8r–v].

[27]*Ḥawādith,* 702; *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 56, 58; *Nayl,* 6:363; *Rawḍ,* fol. 217v; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:28–29.

[28]*Badāʾiʿ,* 3:331–32.

1468 as the start, he mounted expeditions against Buḥayrah from Shawwāl of that year until Muḥarram of the following year, and again against Upper Egypt as soon as he returned from Buḥayrah.[29] As is evident from the fact that Yashbak requisitioned crops and livestock from villages in addition to the suppression of Bedouin revolts, these expeditions were made not only for the restoration of order in the rural areas but also for the collection of overdue taxes in order to fund al-Dīwān al-Mufrad and Dīwān al-Wizārah.

Second, we should regard Yashbak's holding of such additional posts as a measure against *ḥimāyah,* which was another factor obstructing the government's tax collection in rural areas. The impact of *ḥimāyah* over a region was dependent on the patron's position in the central government, through which he could influence the *ustādār* or the vizier, i.e., the regional governor's superior officer.[30] Because al-Dīwān al-Mufrad and Dīwān al-Wizārah were put under the authority of Yashbak who was the *de facto* second-in-command in the government at that time, it became possible for these *dīwāns* to collect taxes from villages, even if they were under the *ḥimāyah* of powerful amirs, irrespective of their interventions. Accordingly, the collection of revenue and the overall financial situation were revitalized to some extent by virtue of these reforms; they enabled Qāytbāy to focus on the war against the Dulkadir. After a series of military campaigns, Shāh Suwār was finally captured and executed in 877/1472, and the Mamluk sultanate regained its hegemony over the area.[31]

Nevertheless, although these policies achieved a measure of success in resolving the current financial and military difficulties, it is hard to say that they brought about an ultimate solution to the problems. While Qāytbāy certainly reduced the total amount of payments more than the preceding sultans, interference from powerful figures and the enrollment of irregular recipients in the *dīwān* ledgers was not completely eliminated.[32] The external menace also continued; the military campaign against the Aqquyunlu was launched in 877/1472, just a few months after the victory over Shāh Suwār.[33] Furthermore, ʿAlāʾ al-Dawlah (ʿAlī Dawlāt), a

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[29]The expedition to Upper Egypt in 873/1468–69: *Ḥawādith,* 695–96; *Rawḍ,* fol. 212r; *Nayl,* 6:357; *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 44–45. The expedition to Buḥayrah: *Ḥawādith,* 707, 735; *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 64, 119; *Rawḍ,* fol. 220r. The second expedition to Upper Egypt in 874/1469: *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 123, 126, 131; *Rawḍ,* fol. 247r; *Nayl,* 6:392, 409; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:37, 43. Cf. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?,* 110.

[30]*Taysīr,* 136.

[31]Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk bayna al-Mamālīk wa-al-ʿUthmānīyīn,* 31–61.

[32]In 903/1498, two years after the death of Qāytbāy, the enrollment of a large number of amirs' mamluks as recipients of payments was regarded as a problem again (Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Wafayāt al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān* [Sidon and Beirut, 1999], 2:47 [hereafter cited as *Ḥawādith al-Zamān*]).

[33]*Nayl,* 7:49–50, 54; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:80–82; *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 483. Cf. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?,* 44–

prince of Dulkadir, revolted against the Mamluks with the support of the Ottomans. The war between the Mamluks and Dulkadir, which raged from 889/1484 until 896/1491, escalated into a direct conflict between the Mamluks and Ottomans.[34] Thus, sixteen military campaigns were undertaken during Qāytbāy's reign, and the total expenditures for *nafaqah* ran as high as 7,065,000 dinars.[35] Furthermore, the financial *dīwān*s of the government again fell into arrears with the *jāmakīyah* payments and meat supply after about 877/1472.[36] Although Yashbak resigned from the offices of *ustādār* and vizier[37] because he was often obliged to stay away from Egypt as commander on campaign, which interfered with his supervision over the two *dīwāns*, he ultimately continued to exercise general supervision over them.[38] Moreover, he was appointed to an additional post as *amīr silāḥ* (master of arms), one of the high-level military posts occupied by amirs of one hundred, enhancing his position even more and adding the *iqṭāʿ* belonging to its position as an additional income source to fund programs according to his own discretion.[39] The *dawādār*'s holding of offices such as *amīr silāḥ, ustādār,* vizier, and viceroy of all the Egyptian provinces, as well as his taking charge of the state's financial affairs and local administration in Egypt, continued under governments until the end of the Mamluk sultanate.[40]

49; Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk bayna al-Mamālīk wa-al-ʿUthmānīyīn,* 161–77; John E. Woods, *The Aqquyunlu: Clan, Confederation, Empire* (Salt Lake City, 1999), 116–17.

[34]Har-El, *Struggle for Domination,* 124–30; Nāfiʿ, *Al-ʿAlāqāt al-ʿUthmānīyah–al-Mamlūkīyah,* Chap. 2; Dahmān, *Al-ʿIrāk bayna al-Mamālīk wa-al-ʿUthmānīʾīn,* 179–200; al-Qarmūṭ, *Al-ʿAlāqāt al-Miṣrīyah al-ʿUthmānīyah,* Chap. 2; Carl F. Petry, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamluk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (Seattle and London, 1993), 88–103.

[35]*Badāʾiʿ,* 3:325. According to *Nayl,* the total amount of *nafaqah*s paid for the expeditionary armies during the period from Qāytbāy's enthronement until Rabīʿ II 894/February–March 1489 reached 7,165,000 dinars (*Nayl,* 8:149). According to *Tārīkh Qāytbāy,* the total expenditures for seven expeditions made during the period from Qāytbāy's enthronement to Shaʿbān 877/January 1473 amounted to 1,753,700 dinars (*Tārīkh Qāytbāy,* fols. 7r–v, 8v, 9v, 10v, 12v; Ayalon, "The System of Payment," 293–94).

[36]For examples of riots of the mamluks against Yashbak or his agents performing the works of *ustādār* and vizier, see the case in 877/1473: *Nayl,* 7:54; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:82. In 878/1474: *Nayl,* 7:90, 91. In 879/1474: *Nayl,* 7:100; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:96.

[37]*Nayl,* 7:82, 86, 106, 190; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:92, 93–94, 130.

[38]*Nayl,* 7:216; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:148. Although Khushqadam al-Aḥmadī officially assumed the vizierate in 879/1474, it seems that Yashbak kept the primary responsibility for the management of Dīwān al-Wizārah, in view of the fact that Khushqadam probably confronted Yashbak about the management policy of the *dīwān* (*Nayl,* 7:113; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:101) and that Yashbak kept the additional post of vizier (*Badāʾiʿ,* 3:149).

[39]*Nayl,* 7:219; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:149; *Jawāhir al-Sulūk,* 361.

[40]*Badāʾiʿ,* 3:357, 445; 4:4, 284; *Jawāhir al-Sulūk,* 365, 386.

The Sultanic Fisc: Measures to Increase Income for the Sultan's Exclusive Use

While Qāytbāy made efforts to rationalize the financial affairs of the government as we have seen, he also strove to increase his personal income, leading to an expansion of the role of the sultanic fisc in state affairs. As for his *waqf* properties, which formed part of his own revenue sources, his madrasah and primary *waqf* were established on 24 Jumādá II 879/5 November 1474.[41] This date corresponds with the time when the state's finances were worsening again. Additionally, especially during his reign, the sale of official offices and the confiscation of dismissed or deceased officials' property became widespread, and the money collected in this way seems to have been considered a kind of fine imposed upon all candidates for the posts.[42] Qāytbāy also enforced new tax policies in rural and urban areas, especially in the 890s/1485–94. On the principle that all tax revenues from an *iqṭāʿ* land were assigned to a mamluk or an amir holding the *iqṭāʿ,* in 893/1488 and 895/1490, he collected a fifth of the annual *kharāj* (land tax) from *iqṭāʿ* lands in al-Sharqīyah province through the governor of the province *(kāshif al-Sharqīyah)*.[43] In 894/1489, the cash equivalent of two months' rent was collected from the owners of *milk* and *waqf* properties in Fustat and Cairo, including amirs.[44] Similarly, five months' rent was collected in 896/1491.[45] He also charged Cairene merchants 40,000 dinars in 892/1487,[46] and confiscated the *dhimmīs*' properties twice during his reign.[47] Such circumstances were described by Ibn Ṭawq (in 894/1489) as follows: "All [the subjects of] the sultan's kingdom were under severe tyranny and the [yoke of] confiscation of the people's property."[48]

Qāytbāy's extra taxation policies, some of which he was forced to abandon in

[41] *Waqf* deed, Sultan al-Ashraf Qāytbāy, Wizārat al-Awqāf (WA), q886; L. A. Mayer, ed., *The Buildings of Qāytbāy as Described in His Endowment Deed* (London, 1938), 87.

[42] Miura Toru, "Administrative Networks in the Mamluk Period: Taxation, Legal Execution, and Bribery," in *Islamic Urbanism in Human History: Political Power and Social Networks,* ed. Sato Tsugitaka (London and New York, 1997), 44–55; Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration dans l'état militaire mamlūk (IXe/XVe siècle)* (Damascus, 1992), 88–92; idem, "The Sale of Office and Its Economic Consequences during the Rule of the Last Circassians (872–922/1468–1516)," *MSR* 9, no. 2 (2005); Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?,* 166–73.

[43] *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:253, 269. For another example of tax collection from *iqṭāʿ* lands: ibid., 331.

[44] *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:260–61; *Jawāhir al-Sulūk,* 367; *Nayl,* 8:141, 154; al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-Kalām fī al-Dhayl ʿalá Duwal al-Islām* (Beirut, 1995), 1081–82 (hereafter cited as *Wajīz*).

[45] *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:278–79; *Jawāhir al-Sulūk,* 368; *Nayl,* 8:217, 219; *Wajīz,* 1178. According to *Jawāhir al-Sulūk,* money was also collected on this occasion from the *waqf* properties of Manṣūrī hospital *(al-Bīmāristān al-Manṣūrī),* merchants, the Christians, and the Jews.

[46] *Nayl,* 8:73.

[47] *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:331.

[48] Ibn Ṭawq, *Al-Taʿlīq: Yawmīyāt Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Ṭawq* (Damascus, 2000–4), 845 (hereafter cited as *Taʿlīq*).

the early days of his reign, show that his efforts to revitalize the state's finances eventually proved abortive. Although these taxes were imposed on the pretext of being temporary emergency measures, the sultans succeeding Qāytbāy also imposed them and frequently imposed them especially as bonuses for amirs and mamluks for joining military campaigns or for pronouncing the *bayʿah* (oath of allegiance) to a newly enthroned sultan.

A key to understanding the sultanic finances of the times is the function of the *dhakhīrah*. *Al-dhakhīrah,* which originally meant "treasure" in Arabic, changed its meaning with the development of the sultanic fisc throughout the Circassian Mamluk period, and finally during Qāytbāy's reign, this term came to include various kinds of financial resources placed under the direct control of the sultan.[49] For instance, according to the sources, *al-Dhakhīrah* was considered the place where confiscated properties or the money paid for offices were to be delivered (in the same meaning as *khizānah*),[50] or as an agency taking charge of the spice trade.[51] In addition, "the lands of *al-Dhakhīrah (bilād al-dhakhīrah)*" meant the sultanic domains, i.e., lands designated as the sultan's exclusive financial resources.

The table below lists the tax districts *(nāḥiyah)* in Egypt belonging to *al-Dhakhīrah* around 885/1480 during the reign of Qāytbāy (according to *Tuḥfah*).[52] This table shows that the agricultural land of *al-Dhakhīrah* in Egypt was composed of forty-eight districts with annual revenues (*ʿibrah*) estimated at 208,193.2 *jayshī* dinars. These districts were, on the whole, spread across various parts of Egypt, although ten of them were concentrated in al-Sharqīyah province. Successive sultans tried to add various kinds of land (such as *milk*, *waqf*, and leased land) throughout Egypt and Syria to *al-Dhakhīrah* for the purpose of increasing their own property.[53] In addition, *iqṭāʿ* lands were also targeted for this purpose.[54] Finally,

[49]On *al-dhakhīrah,* see: Igarashi Daisuke, "A Study on *al-Dhakhīra*: The Sultan's Finance during the Circassian Mamluk Period" [in Japanese], *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 73 (2007).

[50]Al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abnān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān* (Cairo, 1970–94), 1:322, 372, 440; 3:177, 381, 398–99, 436; al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār al-ʿAṣr li-Asrār Ahl al-ʿAṣr* (Riyadh, 1992–93), 2:15 (hereafter cited as *Iẓhār*); *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 2:245–46.

[51]John Wansbrough, "A Mamluk Letter of 877/1473," *BSOAS* 24 (1961): 206, 211, n. 7; idem, "A Mamluk Ambassador to Venice in 913/1507," *BSOAS* 26 (1963): 528, n. 3; Horii Yutaka, "The Mamluk Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (1501–16) and the Venetians in Alexandria," *Orient* 38 (2003): 180–81; *Nayl,* 7:429.

[52]Ibn al-Jīʿān, *Kitāb al-Tuḥfah al-Sanīyah bi-Asmāʾ al-Bilād al-Miṣrīyah* (Cairo, 1898) (hereafter cited as *Tuḥfah*).

[53]*Iẓhār,* 1:211–12, 218; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Cairo, 1990), 1:300–1; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk* (Cairo, n.d.), 386; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:13–14.

[54]In 863/1459: *Iẓhār,* 3:94. In 865/1461: *Iẓhār,* 3:258. In 867/1463: *Ḥawādith,* 770. In 882/1477: Ibn al-Jīʿān, *Al-Qawl al-Mustaẓraf fī Safr Mawlānā al-Malik al-Ashraf* (Tripoli, 1984), 74–75.

Table: Distribution of Lands of *al-Dhakhīrah* (around 885/1480)

	Province *(iqlīm/aʿmāl)*	Number of *Nāḥiyahs*	*ʿIbrah (jayshī dinar)*
Lower Egypt	The Suburbs of Cairo	2	10,500
	Al-Qalyūbīyah	3	16,375
	Al-Sharqīyah	10	47,066.7 +
	Al-Daqahlīyah	0	0
	Ḍawāḥī Thaghr Dimyāṭ	0	0
	Al-Gharbīyah	7	35,462
	Al-Manūfīyah	4	19,625
	Abyār wa-Jazīrat Banī Naṣr	0	0
	Al-Buḥayrah	4	6,880 +
	Fūwah	1	3,500
	Nastarāwah	0	0
	Ḍawāḥī al-Iskandarīyah	0	0
	Total for Lower Egypt	**31**	**139,408.7 +**
Upper Egypt	Al-Jīzīyah	0	0
	Al-Iṭfīḥīyah	4	13,566
	Al-Fayyūmīyah	0	0
	Al-Bahnasāwīyah	7	35,875
	Al-Ushmūnayn	2	3,812.5
	Al-Manfalūṭīyah	2	7,500
	Al-Asyūṭīyah	0	0
	Al-Ikhmīmīyah	1	2,031
	Al-Qūṣīyah	1	6,000
	Total for Upper Egypt	**17**	**68,784.5**
	Total for Egypt	**48**	**208,193.2 +**
	Average *ʿIbrah*		**4,525.9**

* All figures were rounded off to one decimal place.

** If *al-Dhakhīrah* shared a *nāḥiyah* with other uses, the *ʿibrah* of *al-Dhakhīrah* was calculated by dividing the *ʿibrah* of the *nāḥiyah* under consideration equally, except in a case wherein the *ʿibrah* of each was specified.

by the time of Qāytbāy's death in 901/1496, the number of *iqṭāʿ*s included in *al-Dhakhīrah* had reached approximately one thousand.[55]

Qāytbāy tried to manage administrative and financial affairs by using his own money acquired through such financial policies.[56] In order to make this policy work, he systematized the sultanic financial management and organized a special staff for the service. The executive responsibility for the sultanic fisc usually rested with the chief *(ustādār)* of Dīwān al-Amlāk wa-al-Awqāf wa-al-Dhakhīrah in the period from the reign of Barqūq until that of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (815–24/1412–21), and then with the *zimām–khāzindār* (the chief-eunuch who acted as the sultan's treasurer) in the period from the reign of al-Ashraf Barsbāy (825–42/1422–38) until that of al-Ashraf Īnāl (857–65/1453–60).[57] Responsibility for the sultanic fisc seems to have been divided among people who were of relatively low rank in the government hierarchy but who had personal connections with the sultan, as we shall see in what follows. Such a manner of management suggests that Qāytbāy tightened his direct supervision and control over the sultanic fisc because of its growing size and importance.

One of the changes in the governmental bureaucracy caused by the development of the sultanic fisc was the functional metamorphosis of *wakīl bayt al-māl* (the agent of the public treasury) into an independent financial agent for the sultan. This was originally a religious post occupied by one of the ulama. Its function was to conduct sales of the state's property, which was unrelated to the financial administration itself.[58] However, during Qāytbāy's reign, the post assumed a new role as an official agent for the sultan's financial affairs, independent of the financial *dīwān*s of the government, and was regarded in the same light as *wakīl al-sulṭān,* the sultan's personal agent.[59] The case of Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-

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However, when the government was unsettled, the sultan was often obliged to distribute *iqṭāʿ*s from *al-Dhakhīrah* to attract support from mamluks and amirs. In 865/1461: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963–72), 16:258 (hereafter cited as *Nujūm*); *Nayl,* 6:118–19; *Badāʾiʿ,* 2:383. In 872/1467: *Nujūm*, 16:381. In 874/1470: *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 159–60. In 897/1492: *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:292. In 901/1496: *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:335; Ibn al-Shiḥnah, *Al-Badr al-Zāhir fī Nuṣrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qāytbāy* (Beirut, 1983), 51 (hereafter cited as *al-Badr al-Zāhir*). Cf. ʿĀmir Najīb Mūsá Nāṣir, *Al-Ḥayāh al-Iqtiṣādīyah fī Miṣr fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Amman, 2003), 116.

[55] *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:335; *al-Badr al-Zāhir,* 51.

[56] The total amount of expenditures disbursed from his *khizānah* for military expeditions, the purchase of mamluk slaves, weapons, and horses, buildings and repairs, charities and donations reached 3,770,000 dinars during the period from his enthronement to Shaʿbān 877/January 1473 (*Tārīkh Qāytbāy,* fol. 15r–v).

[57] Igarashi, "A Study on *al-Dhakhīra*," 140–42.

[58] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ* (Cairo, 1913–22), 4:36–37 (hereafter cited as *Ṣubḥ*).

[59] In the sources of the period, the appointees to the post of *wakīl bayt al-māl* were often referred

Nābulusī[60] and his son Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad is a good example of the role of the *wakīl* at the time. Burhān al-Dīn was appointed as *wakīl* of Damascus in 874/1469 and was engaged in collecting money, especially relating to the sale of offices and confiscation of officials' property.[61] Later, he was transferred to the post of *wakīl* of Egypt and took a more active political role.[62] He was often dispatched to the Syrian provinces, being assigned tasks relating to financial affairs such as the confiscation of estates. In 880/1475, he was sent to Tripoli and seized properties estimated at over 120,000 dinars from the viceroy of Tripoli, his *dawādār*, and the *nāẓir al-jaysh* (the chief of the Dīwān al-Jaysh; i.e., the bureau of military affairs).[63] Then he arrived in Damascus and collected 8,000 dinars from the *ḥājib* (chamberlain), Dawlātbāy al-Najmī, confiscated the *ḥājib*'s house, arrested the *nāẓir al-jaysh* and the Maliki judge (perhaps in order to seize their properties), and confiscated the Shafiʿi judge's property.[64] Burhān al-Dīn's son, Shihāb al-Dīn, arrived at Damascus in Shawwāl 880/February 1476, taking over his father's post as *wakīl* of Damascus with the additional posts of *nāẓir al-jaysh* and *nāẓir al-qalʿah* (the superintendent of the citadel; this will be discussed in detail later).[65] He collected a huge amount of money during his tenure.[66] Ibn al-Ḥimṣī describes him as follows:

> He ordered the seizure of the people's properties through [various] pretexts *(bi-al-ḥiyal)*. . . . He does not respect the viceroy, judges, ulama, or anyone. If it was said to a person "al-Nābulusī demanded you [to pay money]," he would die of fear.[67]

Qāytbāy also entrusted vassals and attendants close to him, especially low-ranking military men (such as the rank-and-file mamluks and amirs of ten), with the tasks of his financial affairs. The case of al-Ḥājj Ramaḍān, who was a courtier

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to as *wakīl al-sulṭān*.

[60] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Cairo, 1934–37), 1:10–11 (hereafter cited as *Ḍawʾ*); ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī, "Majmaʿ al-Mufannan bi-al-Muʿjam al-Muʿanwan," Maktabat Baladīyat al-Iskandarīyah MS 4448/800b musalsalah 5 Tārīkh, fol. 3r–v (hereafter cited as *Majmaʿ al-Mufannan*).

[61] Al-Buṣrawī, *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī* (Damascus, 1988), 39, 50 (hereafter cited as *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī*).

[62] *Nayl,* 7:87.

[63] *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 71.

[64] *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 72–73; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:110–11; *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 1:214; *Nayl,* 7:139.

[65] *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 74; *Majmaʿ al-Mufannan,* fols. 60v–61v.

[66] *Ḍawʾ,* 1:191–92.

[67] *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 1:212. A popular uprising against Shihāb al-Dīn surfaced in 881/776 because of his ruthless methods of money collection (*Majmaʿ al-Mufannan,* fol. 61r).

serving as *mihtār al-ṭashtkhānāh* (the keeper of the sultan's wardrobe,[68] a minor office of the royal court), is a notable example. He had served Qāytbāy since he was still a member of the *khāṣṣakīyah,* and then acquired power with his master's enthronement and assumed charge of "the sultan's resources *(jihāt al-sulṭān)*" in addition to the posts of *mihtār* and *nāẓir al-kiswah* (the controller of the Kiswah). He acted as an intermediary between applicants for offices and the sultan, taking advantage of his closeness to the sultan, and it was said that most appointments were made through his mediation.[69] As for Qāytbāy's *waqf*s, which formed a large part of his financial resources, the following military men close to Qāytbāy served as proxy for the official *waqf* administrator *(nāẓir),* i.e., Qāytbāy himself: Jānībak al-Ashqar, amir of ten, a member of the *dawādārīyah* (pen-box holders), and the *shādd* (rent-collector) of Qāytbāy's *waqf*. He was one of the sultan's favorites *(khawāṣṣ)* and was often dispatched by him to various regions on important missions.[70] He was followed by Barsbāy al-Maḥmūdī al-Ashrafī, amir of ten and *khāzindār thālith* (the third treasurer). He succeeded Jānībak (who died in Shaʿbān 880/December 1475) as the proxy of the *nāẓir* of Qāytbāy's *waqf* "because of his [Qāytbāy's] favor [to him]." He was also appointed as *ustādār al-amlāk* (the manager of the sultan's private land) and the keeper of Qāytbāy's warehouse *(ustādh al-shūnah al-Ashrafī),* taking charge of Qāytbāy's various resources in addition to his *milk* and *waqf* properties.[71] Finally there was Barsbāy al-Khāṣṣakī, a member of the *khāzindārīyah* (treasurers) and one of the favorites of Qāytbāy. He took over the management of a large part of the resources that had been the responsibility of Barsbāy al-Maḥmūdī after his death on 1 Ramaḍān 890/11 September 1485 in addition to the management of *waqf* properties dedicated to Medina.[72]

These measures were also applied to the financial administration of the government. Khushqadam al-Aḥmadī, a eunuch serving in the royal court as *raʾs nawbat al-suqāh* (the head of cup-bearers) and in other roles, was appointed to the vizierate in 879/1468 when Yashbak resigned from it. He increased his power when he was appointed to the posts of *zimām* and *khāzindār* in addition to the

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[68] *Ṣubḥ,* 4:10–11; William Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans 1382–1468: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrī Birdī's Chronicles of Egypt* (Berkeley and Los Angels, 1955–57), 1:95.

[69] *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:342–43. The successors to the post of *mihtār al-ṭashtkhānāh* continued to be close with the sultan under al-Ghawrī's reign and continued to take part in the financial affairs of the sultan (*Badāʾiʿ,* 4:182, 263, 442–43).

[70] *Waqf* deed, Sultan Qāytbāy, WA, q886: 142; Mayer, *The Buildings of Qāytbāy,* 75–76, 86; *Ḍawʾ,* 3:55; *Nayl,* 7:146-47. Cf. *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:113.

[71] *Majmaʿ al-Mufannan,* fols. 215v–216r; *Ḍawʾ,* 3:10. *Waqf* deed, Sultan Qāytbāy, WA, q886: 193–94 (219–20).

[72] *Majmaʿ al-Mufannan,* fol. 215v; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:287; *Ḍawʾ,* 3:8, 10; *Wajīz,* 1290.

vizierate in 882/1477.[73] Given that the *zimām–khāzindār* was the top officer of the royal court in charge of the *khizānah,* although this office had lost its former function as chief supervisor of the sultanic fisc, it seems reasonable to suppose that Dīwān al-Wizārah was put under the auspices of the sultanic fisc and was managed with its support. These measures of Qāytbāy also affected the power structure within the government, and as a result, some of these low-ranking individuals, as typified by al-Ḥājj Ramaḍān, acquired political importance.

THE FINANCIAL POLICY IN THE SYRIAN PROVINCES: THE CASE OF DAMASCUS

Such a financial policy was also applied to the Syrian provinces, and the consequence was the establishment of a new system for effectively concentrating wealth in Syria in the hands of the sultan in Egypt. Here I limit the discussion to the case of Damascus, the most important province in Syria. Similar to the *wakīl* of Egypt, the *wakīl* of Damascus developed into an independent financial officer directly involved with the sultanic fisc. We have already seen that the al-Nābulusī family, occupying the posts of *wakīl* in both Egypt and Damascus, played an important role in financial affairs during Qāytbāy's reign. The successive *wakīl*s of Damascus after the downfall of the al-Nābulusī family (in Ṣafar 882/May 1477) also participated in sultanic financial affairs, such as assisting in the confiscation of senior officials' estates,[74] and bearing witness to the audits of the Damascene citadel's coffers[75] (this will be discussed later). In view of the further fact that the *wakīl*s of Damascus had jurisdiction over the affairs concerning *al-Dhakhīrah* in the province,[76] we can say with fair certainty that most of the sultanic financial resources in the province were under the *wakīl*'s control.

In addition, the extra taxes that were frequently imposed in Egypt after 890/1485, as we have already seen, were also introduced in the Syrian provinces. As an example, when a tax was levied on merchants in Damascus in Jumādá I 896/March 1491 for the purpose of raising money for a military expedition, the same tax was also levied in Cairo, Alexandria, and Damietta.[77] Although Egyptian chronicles mention only a few remarkable cases of the extra taxations in Syria,[78] we can gather from Damascene sources that the sultan's decrees *(marsūm)* concerning the extra taxation frequently came from Cairo during the 880s/1475–84, and especially after 890/1485. These taxations were usually carried out by

[73] *Ḍawʾ,* 3:176–77; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:99, 130, 207, 267; *Nayl,* 7:107, 189, 374–75; 8:160–61.

[74] *Taʿlīq,* 109, 217, 285–86; *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 153; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān* (Cairo, 1962–64), 1:26 (hereafter cited as *Mufākahah*).

[75] *Taʿlīq,* 174, 678.

[76] *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 39, 116; *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 1:213.

[77] *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:281. For other examples: ibid., 3:280; 4:15.

[78] For example: *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:110–11.

the *khāṣṣakī*s on assignment from the sultan, acting under the authority of decrees authorizing the collection of the taxes. Taxes on *waqf*s, which were collected through the official audit *(kashf)* of *waqf*-financed institutions, were more frequently imposed in Damascus than in Cairo.[79] For instance, when a *khāṣṣakī* arrived in Damascus with the sultan's decree authorizing an audit of *waqf*s for *jāmiʿ*s, *masjid*s, madrasahs, and other institutions in Ramaḍān 892/August 1487, three chief judges and the ulama conferred and came to an agreement to pay 4,000 dinars from the *waqf*s to him.[80] However, it seems that this was not the only money he collected. Ibn Ṭūlūn relates that:

> He engaged in corruption *(ẓulm)* that cannot be expressed. He grabbed money from each *masjid* even though it was poor, and similarly from each mausoleum *(turbah)* and madrasah. He did not take the condition or welfare *(maṣāliḥ)* of these institutions into consideration, but [was only concerned about] his interests and those of the sultan.[81]

The *khāṣṣakī*s were also dispatched from Cairo to collect money from Damascene citizens, merchants, and *dhimmī*s.[82] Such taxations were sometimes carried out by the provincial viceroys according to the sultan's decrees, but were usually carried out by the *khāṣṣakī*s themselves.

It seems that the collection of money from the sale of offices and the confiscation of dismissed officials' estates was generally performed by the *wakīl* (mentioned earlier) or the governor of the citadel (*nāʾib al-qalʿah;* this will be discussed later); however, in some special cases, such as confiscations targeting several officials simultaneously, the *khāṣṣakī*s were assigned to Damascus for the task. On 6 Ṣafar 891/11 February 1486, Māmāy, a *khāṣṣakī,* arrived in Damascus for "collecting the money [being confiscated] from officials and others for the sultan" after confiscating the officials' estates in Jerusalem. He accosted Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-ʿAdawī, the *wakīl* of Damascus who had been obliged to pay 2,000 dinars to the

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[79]In 881/1477: *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 80. In 891/1486: *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 1:305. In 892/1487: *Taʿlīq,* 715; *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 120. In 894/1489: *Taʿlīq,* 881. In 898/1493: *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 1:342–44; *Taʿlīq,* 1163. As for cases in Jerusalem, see: al-ʿUlaymī, *Al-Uns al-Jalīl bi-Tārīkh al-Quds wa-al-Khalīl* (Amman, 1973), 2:338, 364–65 (hereafter cited as *Uns*).

[80]*Taʿlīq,* 715–16.

[81]*Mufākahah,* 1:78. He was being assigned to Syrian provinces such as Gaza, Jerusalem, Safad, Hamah, Tripoli, and Aleppo to collect taxes from these cities.

[82]In 891/1486: *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 1:305–6. In 892/1487: *Mufākahah,* 1:78. In 893/1488: *Mufākahah,* 1:91. In 894/1489: *Mufākahah,* 1:111; *Taʿlīq,* 903, 911. In Jumādá II 895/May 1490: *Mufākahah,* 1:124–25. In Ramaḍān 895/August 1490: *Mufākahah,* 1:128, 130; *Taʿlīq,* 972. In 897/1491: *Mufākahah,* 1:146.

sultan every year. Because he had been remiss in fulfilling this obligation, Māmāy confined him to the citadel *(qalʿah)* and confiscated 10,000 dinars from him to repay the sultan.[83] In Rabīʿ II/April, Māmāy confined ʿImād al-Dīn al-Nāṣirī, the Hanafi chief judge of Damascus, to the citadel and forced him to choose between paying 6,000 dinars or being sent to Cairo.[84] The *khāṣṣakī*s (or low-ranking amirs) were also appointed as estate collectors, referred to as *ḥawwāṭ,* in the event of the death of high officials. For example, when Qijmās al-Isḥāqī, the viceroy of Damascus, died in Shawwāl 892/September 1487, Qāytbāy dispatched Qānṣūh al-Alfī, *dawādār thānī* (the second executive secretary) of Egypt, to Damascus to collect his estate. On arrival in Damascus, he confined Qijmās's private staff to the citadel for the audit and confiscation of his estate.[85] Because the appointment and dismissal of most officials in the Syrian provinces were within the sultan's authority (especially in the case of high-ranking officers), the sale of offices and confiscations targeting them were the most lucrative sources of his income. In other words, through the appointment and dismissal of Syrian officials, the wealth accumulated by them in Syria would be funneled to the sultan in Cairo.[86]

The citadel of Damascus played an important role in such financial policies of the sultan. In each of the provincial capitals in Syria, a governor *(nāʾib)* was assigned directly by the sultan to the citadel, which was located in a corner of the provincial capital city as a stronghold for the city's defense, separate from the provincial viceroy *(nāʾib al-salṭanah)* who was head of the provincial administration.[87] Backed by his independence, military power, and direct connection with the sultan, the governor of the citadel kept an eye on the viceroy's activity to prevent him from revolting against the sultan; in fact, there were some instances when a governor of the citadel arrested the provincial viceroy in accordance with the sultan's

[83] *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 110; *Taʿlīq,* 591–92, 594; *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 1:305–6. On the confiscation he performed in Jerusalem, see: *Uns,* 2:335.

[84] *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 111; *Taʿlīq,* 597. For other examples: *Nayl,* 6:352; *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 32–33; *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 127; *Mufākahah,* 1:108, 138; *Taʿlīq,* 1417.

[85] *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 121–22; *Mufākahah,* 1:81–82; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Iʿlām al-Wará bi-Man Wulliya Nāʾiban min al-Atrāk bi-Dimashq al-Shām al-Kubrá* (Damascus, 1964), 99 (hereafter cited as *Iʿlām*). For another example: *Mufākahah,* 1:104.

[86] According to Martel-Thoumian, among the sales of office concluded in the late Mamluk period, the most numerous were the cases in Damascus (Martel-Thoumian, "The Sale of Office," 54). On the sales of office and confiscations in Damascus, see: Taha Thalji Tarawneh, "The Province of Damascus during the Second Mamluk Period (784/1382–922/1516)" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1987), 190–204.

[87] *Ṣubḥ,* 4:184–85. ʿAbd al-Qādir Rayḥāwī, *Qalʿat Dimashq: Tārīkh al-Qalʿah wa-Āthārhā wa-Funūnhā al-Miʿmārīyah* (Damascus, 1979), 103–4; Muḥammad Aḥmad Dahmān, *Wulāt Dimashq fī ʿAṣr al-Mamālīk* (Damascus, 1984), 24. The provincial government house, referred to as *Dār al-Saʿādah* or *Dār al-Niyābah,* was located outside the citadel.

secret order.[88] In other words, the citadels served as extensions of the sultan's authority in Syria. The citadel of Damascus assumed a new role in the sultanic finances during the period under consideration. As for the collection of money through confiscations and the sale of offices, the appointments to Damascene government posts—especially in the case of civilians and judicial officers—were frequently made in Cairo, and at that time, the appointees paid money for the posts to the sultan.[89] On the other hand, most confiscations of dismissed officials' estates were performed while they were confined in the citadel of Damascus.[90] The citadel was also involved in the seizure of deceased officials' estates. During the seizure of Qijmās's estate in 892/1487 (mentioned earlier), the clerk of his private treasury *(kātib khizānat al-nāʾib)* and his *dīwān*'s official were confined to the citadel.[91] Another example that can be cited is the confiscation of property left by a deceased official of the Dīwān al-Jaysh by the governor of the citadel in Muḥarram 897/September 1491.[92] Although the citadel had played such a role since the days before the enthronement of Qāytbāy, it grew in importance as its role in the collection of money for the sultanic fisc increased. The money that had been collected was removed from the jurisdiction of the provincial government as the sultan's money *(māl al-sulṭān)* and was kept in the citadel's coffers, referred to as *ṣundūq*.[93] This money was disbursed for the sultan's official or private use (such as the cost of repairs of mosques and financial assistance for the hajj caravans),[94] or was conveyed from the citadel to Cairo by the garrison troops.[95] As an illustration, in Muḥarram 902/September 1496, just after the death of Qāytbāy, 100,000 dinars in cash were conveyed from the citadel of Damascus to Cairo by one hundred cavalrymen and the governor of the citadel.[96]

[88]Dahmān, *Wulāt Dimashq,* 36; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah* (Damascus, 1977–97), 1:27, 330; *Iʿlām,* 80–83. For examples of the intervention of the governors of the citadel in the viceroys' activities: *Taʿlīq,* 1351; *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 161; *Mufākahah,* 1:164, 298–99. Accordingly, the provincial viceroy's unlawful occupation of the citadel by force was regarded as high treason (cf. Rayḥāwī, *Qalʿat Dimashq,* 114–19).

[89]For example: *Mufākahah,* 1:36–37, 39; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:119, 308–9.

[90]*Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 36, 51, 77, 81, 132–33, 139; *Taʿlīq,* 286, 304, 507, 608–9, 756, 767, 798, 911, 1409; *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 1:213, 220, 304; *Mufākahah,* 1:138.

[91]*Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 120–21.

[92]*Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 153. For other examples of the citadel's participation in assessment or confiscation of estates: *Taʿlīq,* 143, 217, 285–86, 1258, 1355.

[93]*Mufākahah,* 1:121, 170; *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 1:237, 355, 363–64; *Taʿlīq,* 174, 197, 678, 812, 1008, 1279, 1293.

[94]*Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 1:237, 355; *Taʿlīq,* 197; *Mufākahah,* 1:121.

[95]*Taʿlīq,* 656, 1435. For an example of the provincial viceroy's misappropriation of money preserved in the *ṣundūq,* see: *Taʿlīq,* 1008.

[96]*Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 187, 191; *Mufākahah,* 1:170; *Taʿlīq,* 1444.

As a matter of course, the citadel was required to have its own bureaucracy executing such financial tasks in addition to the military functionaries originally stationed there, such as the governor and his adjutant, *naqīb al-qalʿah.*[97] We can say with fair certainty that among the various civilian officials who are frequently mentioned in the sources in connection with the citadel, the *nāẓir al-qalʿah* was the chief financial administrator.[98] The first reference to the post, to my knowledge, was in 847/1443–44.[99] It seems reasonable to suppose that as a result of the citadel's growing importance in financial affairs from the mid-ninth/fifteenth century resulting from a systematization of the sultanic fisc and frequent sales of offices and confiscations, the post of *nāẓir al-qalʿah* was newly established or began to attract the chroniclers' attention for the first time. In view of the fact that many *wakīls* served concurrently as *nāẓir al-qalʿah* in Qāytbāy's reign, these two posts were closely related to each other as offices involved in sultanic financial affairs in Damascus.[100] In addition to the *nāẓir,* various civilian officials attached to the citadel are mentioned in the Damascene sources of the late Mamluk period, such as *dīwān al-qalʿah, ṣayrafī al-qalʿah,* and *ustādār al-qalʿah.*[101] It is not far from the truth to say that these officials composed a *dīwān* in the citadel and administered the sultanic fisc independently of the provincial government. Moreover, the fact that Qāytbāy often appointed "his own mamluk" or "his relative *(qarīb)*" as the governor of the citadel instead of Damascene amirs clearly indicates his intention of maintaining control over the citadel through the appointment of people close to him.[102]

CONCLUSION

To surmount the financial failure of the government and the urgency for military funds, Qāytbāy made various efforts to construct an effective mechanism for concentrating cash from all over Egypt and Syria in his own hands, as well as to

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[97] *Ṣubḥ,* 4:186.

[98] *Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 25, 49, 57, 58, 74, 126, 141, 188; *Mufākahah,* 1:36, 37, 39, 91, 125, 156; *Taʿlīq,* 49, 51, 54, 66, 770, 940, 952, 991; *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 1:309.

[99] Al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān* (Cairo, 1989), 598, 601.

[100] During the period from Qāytbāy's enthronement until the end of Mamluk rule, 10 men assumed the post of *nāẓir al-qalʿah* of Damascus on sixteen different occasions, and in 8 of the 16 cases, the *nāẓir al-qalʿah* concurrently held the post of *wakīl.*

[101] The *dīwān al-qalʿah: Tārīkh al-Buṣrawī,* 126, 136, 171, 191; *Mufākahah,* 1:9, 212; 2:19; *Taʿlīq,* 636, 990; *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 2:279. The *ṣayrafī al-qalʿah: Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 2:261. The *ustādār al-qalʿah: Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 2:205. The *shāhid al-qalʿah* and the *mubāshir al-qalʿah: Mufakahah,* 2:19.

[102] *Mufākahah,* 1:99, 114, 134, 146, 153. Such a tendency was also seen in Aleppo (*Badāʾiʿ,* 3:125; *Ḍawʾ,* 3:65). Cf. *Mufākahah,* 1:261.

reorganize the state's finances. Although his policies generally stood on a common foundation with those of his predecessors, the situation that prevailed during his reign required him to pursue these policies more radically. Consequently, the importance of the sultan's finances and the state's finances was reversed during his reign, with the former coming to play a pivotal role in the spheres of administration, finance, and military affairs in the late Mamluk period. Throughout the reign of al-Ghawrī, Qāytbāy's actual successor enthroned in 906/1501, the sultanic fisc saw substantial growth and increased importance amidst a deteriorating general financial situation. Al-Ghawrī employed various means for raising revenue—such as extra taxation, the sale of offices, and confiscation—more frequently.[103] However, as we shall see in what follows, his financial policies basically constituted an extension of those introduced by Qāytbāy.

In general, the *dawādār*'s control over the Dīwān al-Wizārah and al-Dīwān al-Mufrad continued throughout al-Ghawrī's reign. Al-Ghawrī's nephew, Ṭūmānbāy, who was the last Mamluk sultan, took the post and worked as al-Ghawrī's right-hand man. The Royal Mamluk corps often demonstrated and rioted, but until the very end of the Mamluk period their rioting seems rarely to have been caused by delays in the regular payment of *jāmakīyah* and daily meat supplies. Rather, they usually demonstrated to gain extra bonuses for participating in military expeditions or for pronouncing a *bayʿah* to a new sultan. This suggests that the regular disbursement of the two *dīwān*s was, on the whole, conducted smoothly under the supervision of the *dawādār*. Nevertheless, it should be noted that this was achieved with the help of the sultanic fisc, as well as by the maintenance of the payment system through the regularly held inspections of recipients following that of 873/1468.[104] Judging from the fact that al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, as described in 897/1492, continued to complete the payments with the financial support of *al-Dhakhīrah,*[105] which often covered the two *dīwāns*' deficits after 860/1455–56, Qāytbāy's financial restructuring made no radical change to the overall financial situation, wherein the paralysis of the state's finances was advancing and their operation was being sustained by the sultanic fisc. In addition to covering deficits, *al-Dhakhīrah* came to be used as a source of payment for the amirs. Many amirs, including some amirs of one hundred, came to receive *jāmakīyah*s and wheat supplies from *al-Dhakhīrah* instead of holding *iqṭāʿ*s.[106] *Al-Dhakhīrah* also started to

[103]For example: *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:149–50, 190, 442–43.

[104]In 896/1490: *Nayl,* 8:216; *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:277. In 907/1502: *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:25; *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 2:141.

[105]*Wajīz,* 1232.

[106]*Badāʾiʿ,* 4:100, 181, 338, 436. Some amirs received their stipends from the revenues of the weekly tax *(mujāmaʿah)* and the monthly tax *(mushāharah)* collected by a *muḥtasib* (market inspector) from markets (*Badāʾiʿ,* 5:19). The first reference to the amir receiving stipends from

take charge of granting pensions to retired military men[107] and sheep to mamluks and amirs for sacrifice on the occasion of *ʿĪd al-Aḍḥá.*[108] The financial crisis of the government and dysfunction of the *iqṭāʿ* system remained unresolved in a situation wherein the alienation of state lands was accelerating. It was inevitable that the sultanic finances, which were originally managed for the sultan himself without any specific administrative function, assumed such functions as the financial *dīwān*s of the government came to a standstill.

The financial staff for the sultanic fisc increasingly grew in importance during al-Ghawrī's reign, and thus some of them extended their authority and acquired broader powers.[109] The emergence of the sultan's *bardadār* in 907/1502 is a good example to illustrate the change in power structure within the government. The post of *bardadār,* which had been that of a minor official, was established during Qāytbāy's reign as a new office directly relating to the sultan, probably intended to collect money for the sultan more effectively.[110] Thereafter, the sultan's *bardadār* gained political influence by taking advantage of his strong connection to the sultan, and eventually assumed jurisdiction over the three major bureaus of the government, i.e., Dīwān al-Wizārah, Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ, and al-Dīwān al-Mufrad in 908/1502, although he had no official authority over them.[111] After 920/1514, the sultan's *bardadār* assumed executive responsibilities for the management of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad.[112] Finally, the dependence of the administration of the Mamluk regime on the sultanic fisc, which increased in Qāytbāy's reign, reached the *terminus ad quem* under al-Ghawrī as a necessary consequence of the reorganization of the state's finances and the development of the sultanic fisc that had advanced throughout the Circassian Mamluk period.

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al-Dhakhīrah was in 886/1481 under Qāytbāy's reign (*Badāʾiʿ,* 3:190).

[107]Ibid., 4:139.

[108]Ibid., 4:170, 429.

[109]For example, Ibn Abī al-Jūd, who served concurrently as *wakīl,* the sultan's *bardadār* (bailiff), *nāẓir al-awqāf* (the controller of religious endowments), etc., took charge of confiscations from foreign merchants (*Badāʾiʿ,* 4:29, 44–45; *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 2:170–71); Shams al-Dīn Ibn ʿAwad, who held the posts of *wakīl* and *ustādār al-dhakhīrah,* served as "the person in charge of a lot of financial resources of lands *(mutakallim ʿalá ʿiddat jihāt min al-bilād)*" for al-Ghawrī (*Badāʾiʿ,* 4:377, 387–388); al-Zaynī Barakāt, who succeeded these two people's jobs, took the responsibility for the management of al-Ghawrī's various income sources including land (*Badāʾiʿ,* 4:50, 75, 157–58, 197–98, 381, 397–98; 5:19, 46. Cf. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?,* 144–47).

[110]*Badāʾiʿ,* 4:29. Cf. Popper, *Systematic Notes,* 1:95, 100.

[111]*Badāʾiʿ,* 4:44.

[112]Ibid., 4:380–81, 390–91; 5:5, 67.

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The Sons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and the Politics of Puppets: Where Did It All Start?

بيت قلاوون سعاداته في عاجل كانت بلا آجل
حل على أملاكه للردى دين قد استوفاه بالكامل[1]

The period from al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death (741/1341) until the emergence of the Circassian dynasty under al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (784/1382) witnessed the unbridled succession to the throne of Egypt and Syria of the scions of that sultan, who ruled for 31 years during his third reign. These eight sons, two grandsons, and two great-grandsons are generally characterized as puppets whom the amirs enthroned as they wished. Their youth is usually identified as the reason why these sultans could be deposed as easily as they were put on the throne; their lack of experience, or perhaps more exactly of proper training, may have led them to behave in inappropriate ways or to make decisions not in accordance with those expected from a ruler. The rationales which the modern historian can invoke to try to understand how and why this situation continued for such a long period of time, particularly after the very long and successful reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, are numerous and can involve politics, sociology, and economics. As in many cases in history, it is probably a combination of several factors that played an undeniable role. From a historical point of view, it remains very tempting to try to generalize the whole period in that way, but the result necessarily offers a simplistic view of the events.

In the eyes of a later Mamluk historian such as al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418), this succession of reigns looked like a mere coincidence, albeit strange in its regularity; this is what Muslim historians called *gharāʾib al-ittifāq*.[2] On the basis of a comment made by al-Ṣūlī, who noticed that, from the beginning of Islam down to his time, every sixth holder of authority was dismissed, al-Qalqashandī completed the list provided by a predecessor (al-Ṣafadī) for the later periods, considering the

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[1] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr wa-Aʿwān al-Naṣr*, ed. ʿAlī Abū Zayd et al. (Beirut and Damascus, 1997), 2:524 (read *ḥalla* and not *ḥakka,* as in idem, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt* [Istanbul and Beirut, 1931–] 9:155).

[2] See Barbara Langner, *Untersuchungen zur historischen Volkskunde Ägyptens nach mamlukischen Quellen* (Berlin, 1983), 111–12.

Fatimids, the Ayyubids, and the Mamluks.[3] While al-Ṣafadī stopped his assessment with al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, the first ruler of a new series of six, al-Qalqashandī went further up to the reign of Baybars al-Jāshankīr, then started a new series with al-Manṣūr Abū Bakr (al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's first successor) up to al-Muẓaffar Ḥājjī, then from al-Nāṣir Ḥasan up to al-Ṣāliḥ Ḥājjī, and finally ending with the last series for which the first ruler was, rather opportunely, the founder of the Circassian regime, al-Ẓāhir Barqūq. Al-Qalqashandī compiled this list during the reign of Barqūq's successor, al-Nāṣir Faraj, the second ruler of this new series, and he concluded by saying: "God knows best who will be the sixth!"[4] In this rather schematic presentation, the involved historians did not bother to twist the truth (several depositions intervened in between the pattern of every sixth ruler), but it shows that they felt a need to explain the phenomenon.[5]

Modern scholarship, after having shown more interest in the reigns of great rulers, has finally felt it necessary to study the factors that could explain why and how al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's succession led to such a shift in power. Amalia Levanoni's studies have analyzed the role that the innovations and modifications introduced in the Mamluk system by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad may have played in this respect.[6] Recently, Jo Van Steenbergen focused his attention on the period that followed al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death up to Barqūq's accession to the sultanate.[7] The work of both scholars has helped to further our understanding of the processes that were taking place during the entire period. The aim of this article is not to provide another analysis of the political role played by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's successors; it is rather to explore al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's influence on his succession. In other words: did he prepare for his succession, and if so, in what manner? It is hoped that through the attempt to answer this question, some insight will be gained into the events that took place in the roughly forty years that followed his death before the rise of Barqūq.

[3] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá bi-Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ* (Cairo, 1913–19), 1:443–45.

[4] In his earlier work on the caliphate, *Maʾāthir al-Ināfah fī Maʿālim al-Khilāfah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Sattār Aḥmad Farrāj (Kuwait, 1985), 3:352–54, al-Qalqashandī made the same statement regarding the caliph ruling at that time, but given the subject of this book, he limited his remarks to the caliphate and made no comment on the sultanate.

[5] In one particular case, an attempt to circumvent this law of the series is documented by Ibn Nubātah. The Abbasid caliph al-Mustanṣir (r. 623–40/1226–42) received the oath of allegiance, but being the sixth of a series, he was deposed and then enthroned again for fear of this fate. See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá,* 1:444.

[6] Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341)* (Leiden, New York, and Cologne, 1995). See also idem, "The Mamluk Conception of the Sultanate," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 26 (1994): 373–92.

[7] Jo Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos: Patronage, Conflict and Mamluk Socio-Political Culture, 1341–1382* (Leiden and Boston, 2006).

"*Al-Mulk ʿAqīm*": Paving the Way for Succession

With the words "Kingship is childless *(al-mulk ʿaqīm),*" the Abbasid caliph al-Mustakfī I indicated that the authority conferred by him upon the sultan was by no means transferable to the offspring of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (who had just abdicated in 708/1309),[8] thus arguing that it could be bestowed on Baybars al-Jāshankīr, who had no genealogical link to the Qalāwūnids.[9] For lexicographers, this idiom represents the fact that no genealogical link is of use when it comes to political power, given that a ruler can kill his own son, brother, uncle, or the like in order to maintain his rule. In this way, authority is by no means inheritable.[10] This should have been all the more true in the case of the Mamluks, given that one's ability to rule was determined by several personal qualities.[11] Despite this factor, it remains that the hereditary, dynastic principle was strong throughout the Turkish period. Some historians have considered that dynasticism in this case was only the result of a "specious and misleading" impression: if the Qalāwūnids succeeded in monopolizing the throne, it was only for the sake of convenience, with the different sultans playing the role of under-aged puppets in the service of

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[8]By that date, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had at least two male children, presumably both by his wife Ardūkīn: al-Malik al-Manṣūr ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī, who was born in 703/1303–4 and died in 710/1310 (al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr [Cairo, 1934–73], 2:91; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah,* ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Jād al-Ḥaqq [Cairo, 1966–68], 3:190 [no. 2892]), and al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, who was born in 704/1304 (Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmiʿ al-Ghurar* [Cairo, 1960–92], 9:126). The date of his death is unknown, but we are told that when his brother ʿAlī died, he was al-Nāṣir's only son at that time, from which we may infer that al-Malik al-Muẓaffar died before that date. It is to be noted that this al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, whose name *(ism)* is never quoted in the sources, cannot be identified with Ḥājjī, as put forward by P. M. Holt, "The Position and Power of the Mamlūk Sultan," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38 (1975): 241, given that the latter was born in 732/1331–32 (al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafāyāt,* 11:237; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* ed. Muḥammad al-Yaʿlāwī [Beirut, 2006], 3:73).

[9]"I dismissed his predecessor [al-Nāṣir Muḥammad] after I came to know that he had abdicated. I regarded that as my duty, and the four judges delivered their judgment in favor of that. Know—may God have mercy upon you—that kingship is childless: it is not transmitted by inheritance to anyone, be it from a predecessor to a successor, or from an illustrious elder to a peer." These words are part of the deed of nomination drawn up on al-Mustakfī's behalf and meant for Baybars al-Jāshankīr. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:65.

[10]On this issue, see P. M. Holt, "Some Observations on the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate of Cairo," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47 (1984): 505–6; Ulrich Haarmann, "Regicide and the 'Law of the Turks,'" in *Intellectual Studies on Islam: Essays Written in Honor of Martin B. Dickson,* ed. Michel M. Mazzaoui and Vera B. Moreen (Salt Lake City, 1990), 130; Konrad Hirschler, "'He is a child and this land is a borderland of Islam': Under-age Rule and the Quest for Political Stability in the Ayyūbid Period," *Al-Masāq* 19 (2007): 39.

[11]See Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah's comment on this in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:65 (n. 4).

an oligarchy of amirs.[12] More recent research has demonstrated that, at least in the case of the Qalāwūnids, "a dynastic reflex was at work";[13] when the necessity to enthrone a new sultan was felt, it was always a scion of Qalāwūn, through his son Muḥammad, who was chosen. Moreover, in the great majority of the cases, it was the eldest surviving son who was chosen, suggesting that he was expected to play a greater role than that of a puppet. In some way, primogeniture forced itself upon the amirs once a choice had to be made.[14] By that time, the above-mentioned principle of the non-hereditary character of authority had been superseded, and it took decades before it could be invoked again, with the accession of Barqūq. Even in this case, it was only by pretending that none of the surviving descendants of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad could hold legitimate power that this genealogical link could be broken and power could pass to an amir who was not considered a usurper.[15]

Given that a dynastic principle was at work, together with some sort of primogeniture—if not in favor of the eldest son, then at least one of the eldest—during the Qalāwūnid period, it is legitimate to question whether the ruling sultan was likely to prepare for his succession, and if so, how this was done. Before considering the practical aspect of this preparation in the case of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, it is necessary to examine what was expected from a theoretical point of view. It is probably no coincidence that one of the latest treatises of the *Fürstenspiegel* genre is dated to that very period. Written by a scion of the Abbasid family, who started to compose it on Saturday 23 Shawwāl 708/5 April 1309, *The*

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[12]Holt, "The Position and Power of the Mamlūk Sultan," 240. See also Levanoni, "The Mamluk Conception," 379.

[13]Jo Van Steenbergen, "'Is anyone my guardian . . .?' Mamlūk Under-age Rule and the Later Qalāwūnids," *Al-Masāq* 19 (2007): 55. Cf. the words pronounced by Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Aḥmadī while al-Nāṣir Muḥammad expressed the wish, on his deathbed, to designate his successor: "Amirs! We are the mamluks of this family, and even if there only remained from our master's offspring a blind daughter, we should obey her until her death." Al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī wa-Awlādihi,* ed. Barbara Schäfer (Wiesbaden, 1977), 105.

[14]However, it must be kept in mind that the Mamluks always adopted a contradictory stance towards hereditary rule. Even though they selected an heir of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, their aim was mainly to ensure stability among the different factions. See Levanoni, "The Mamluk Conception," 382–83.

[15]Importantly, in this context, the last Qalāwūnid sultan, al-Ṣāliḥ Ḥājjī, who had been deposed by Barqūq in 784/1382, was restored to the throne in 791/1389 on the basis that "he had been overthrown by Barḳūḳ." See Amalia Levanoni, "Al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ḥādjdjī," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 9:987. Anne Broadbridge has recently established that the Qalāwūnids were fully aware that they were members of a royal ruling family, as is confirmed by some passages found in documents issued by these rulers and the frequent mention of their lineage up to their ancestor Qalāwūn on their coins. The chancellery may have played a decisive role in fostering the continuity of this ideology. See Anne Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol Worlds* (Cambridge, 2008), 147–48.

Remains of the Past Regarding the Organization of the States[16] aims at providing the usurper of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's throne, Baybars al-Jāshankīr, with a manual of rules and advice to administer the state. The third chapter of the third section of this book deals with the manners of children and relatives.[17] In the body of this chapter, the author touches upon the question of preparing the ruler's child to succeed him on the throne. Among its advice is that the ruler is encouraged to appoint to an office the son in whom he sees nobility and efficiency, so that he can be drilled and given practice and so that if authority should be bestowed upon him, he would thus be experienced. But the author acknowledges that, when the ruler feels that he can designate one of his sons or relatives as his heir to the throne, the decision must be taken after mature consideration and selection without neglecting the advice of others. If he is resolved in his choice, the deed of appointment should be written down and attested by those he usually consults on matters of state. Then, two options are available: either he keeps his decision secret, commanding those he consulted to act in the same way and leaving the deed of nomination in a secure place, or he reveals it and consequently enables his heir to administer freely, authorizing him to grant land tenure and money. In any case, the ruler is cautioned not to waver between these two options, for example by revealing his intention but prohibiting his heir from acting as such. This behavior could only lead to his son's resentment against him and his willingness to overthrow his father if the latter's life continues long thereafter.[18]

Despite the non-hereditary character of authority, the idea of preparing a ruler's son to succeed his father on the throne was nonetheless accepted, as is attested in this *Fürstenspiegel* which is contemporary with the events dealt with in this article. The advice provided, though theoretical, tallies with the factual elements which we will now consider.

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[16]Al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-ʿAbbāsī, *Āthār al-Uwal fī Tartīb al-Duwal* (Būlāq, 1878), 199. The starting date of composition (13 Shawwāl 708) is provided on the title page, on the basis of the manuscript used for preparing the edition. It appears to be erroneous, as the given date did not fall on a Saturday, but on a Wednesday. Moreover, it is established that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad left Cairo, presumably to fulfil the pilgrimage, on Sunday, 10 Shawwāl, and that Baybars al-Jāshankīr was put on the throne on Saturday, 23 Shawwāl. It is thus impossible that the author started his work for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who was away and already considered as having abdicated, but rather he did so in order to attract the new sultan's benevolence. In the light of this, it may be established that the author started his book on the 23rd of Shawwāl, a Saturday and the day of Baybars' enthronement (see al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:45). In the colophon (p. 198), the author mentioned the name of the ruling sultan, Baybars al-Jāshankīr, which means that he completed his work in a very short period of time. Be that as it may, the manual was not meant for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.

[17]Al-ʿAbbāsī, *Āthār al-Uwal,* 109–11 (*fī ādāb al-awlād wa-al-aqārib wa-ḥusn al-sīrah maʿahum*).

[18]Ibid., 110–11.

Laying Out the Family's Genealogical Tree

In order for the matter to become clear, it is crucial to understand who al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's offspring were and how many they were. Although much work has been done on this aspect of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's life,[19] it is hard to have a clear picture of his offspring and of the marital links arranged by him, and after his death, by his sons. In this respect, a genealogical tree is clearly needed.[20] Ideally, this tree should not be limited to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's offspring: it would rather take as its starting point the ancestor, Qalāwūn himself, and also consider the marriage policy that he developed, a policy that was continued over several decades by his scions. I have thus decided to meet this need in producing a genealogical tree of the Qalāwūnid family.[21] It must be kept in mind that this is a preliminary result of a few months of research into the sources. Indeed, to get a clearer picture of all the links, it is necessary to go through numerous contemporaneous and later sources for which indexes are not always available, meaning that some data is found either by chance, or through reading a considerable amount of material. While some of the persons considered performed an important role in the state, and were thus subjects of biographical entries in dictionaries or chronicles, it remains that the majority of them were rather unknown to historians, thus not deserving any particular mention. Data regarding these persons are found in rather unexpected places, as is the case with most women, whose names are seldom mentioned and whose existence is confirmed in the entries of their husbands. Another problem in establishing this genealogy lies in the identification of the mothers of these near-phantoms. In a genealogical tree, each person must be connected to both a father and a mother, hence the necessity to attribute all those for whom a mother is not mentioned in the sources to a unique unnamed mother. This is the case for a great number of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's daughters, but also for some of his sons. Hence, there is an unrealistically large number of daughters who could be identified

[19] See P. M. Holt, "An-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (684–741/1285–1341): His Ancestry, Kindred and Affinity," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras: Proceedings of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd International Colloquium Organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 1992, 1993 and 1994,* ed. Urbain Vermeulen and Daniel De Smet (Leuven, 1995), 313–24; Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History,* 48–49; Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos,* 82–85; idem, "Mamluk Elite on the Eve of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's Death (1341): A Look behind the Scenes of Mamluk Politics," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9, no. 2 (2005): 192–94; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "*Waqf* as Remuneration and the Family Affairs of al-Nasir Muhammad and Baktimur al-Saqi," in *The Cairo Heritage: Essays in Honor of Laila Ali Ibrahim,* ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Cairo and New York, 2000), 58–60.

[20] A first attempt was provided by Eduard de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam* (Hanover, 1927), 106.

[21] A preliminary version of the genealogical file on the basis of which the above-mentioned chart (see http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/su/mideast/qalawunids/qalawunid-pedigree.pdf) was created is available at the following address: http://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/su/mideast/qalawunids (The Qalāwunids: a pedigree).

only occasionally with persons mentioned as wives. It is hoped that, in pursuing this project and the analysis of the sources, greater precision will be gained. On the other hand, the continuity of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's lineage was ensured for more than a century: the last descendant known thus far from the sources died in 852/1448–49, but it is expected that later descendants will be discovered in the future.[22] A quite complete genealogy could thus be produced, despite the above-mentioned drawbacks, taking into account the various collateral links and the relative offspring.

Like Father, Like Son

Being himself the heir of a sultan, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad knew that advance planning for matters of succession was crucial. His father, Qalāwūn, had prepared for his own successor well in advance: he designated his favorite son, ʿAlī, as his heir to the throne and simultaneously appointed him joint sultan. ʿAlī eventually died before his father, in 687/1288, and Qalāwūn chose, rather reluctantly, his second-oldest son, Khalīl.[23] Although this designation was made public, the official deed of appointment was never signed by Qalāwūn, which demonstrates his reluctance regarding Khalīl, but the latter's accession to the throne, on his father's death, was not questioned.[24] In any case, the only other son available at that time, Muḥammad, was not of age (he was 5 when Qalāwūn died) and was still living in the harem. When, at the age of 9, he succeeded his elder brother, he was an inexperienced boy, and it was not long before a usurper removed him from the throne. His own experience with power had taught him that no ruler is able to maintain his authority unless he is prepared to do so. Setting up a dynastic principle had unexpected consequences, such as the tendency to "demilitarize" the ruler, who was unable to take part in battle or to lead an expedition. Although al-Nāṣir Muḥammad managed to impose himself in the end as an autocratic sultan, he was aware of the drawbacks of failing to prepare. The solutions he crafted were multifarious, as we will see, and regarded several of his sons.

Considering that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad could not determine with certainty which sons would survive him, such preparation had to involve several sons, but of course this did not preclude favoritism. The timeline chart below shows which sons were

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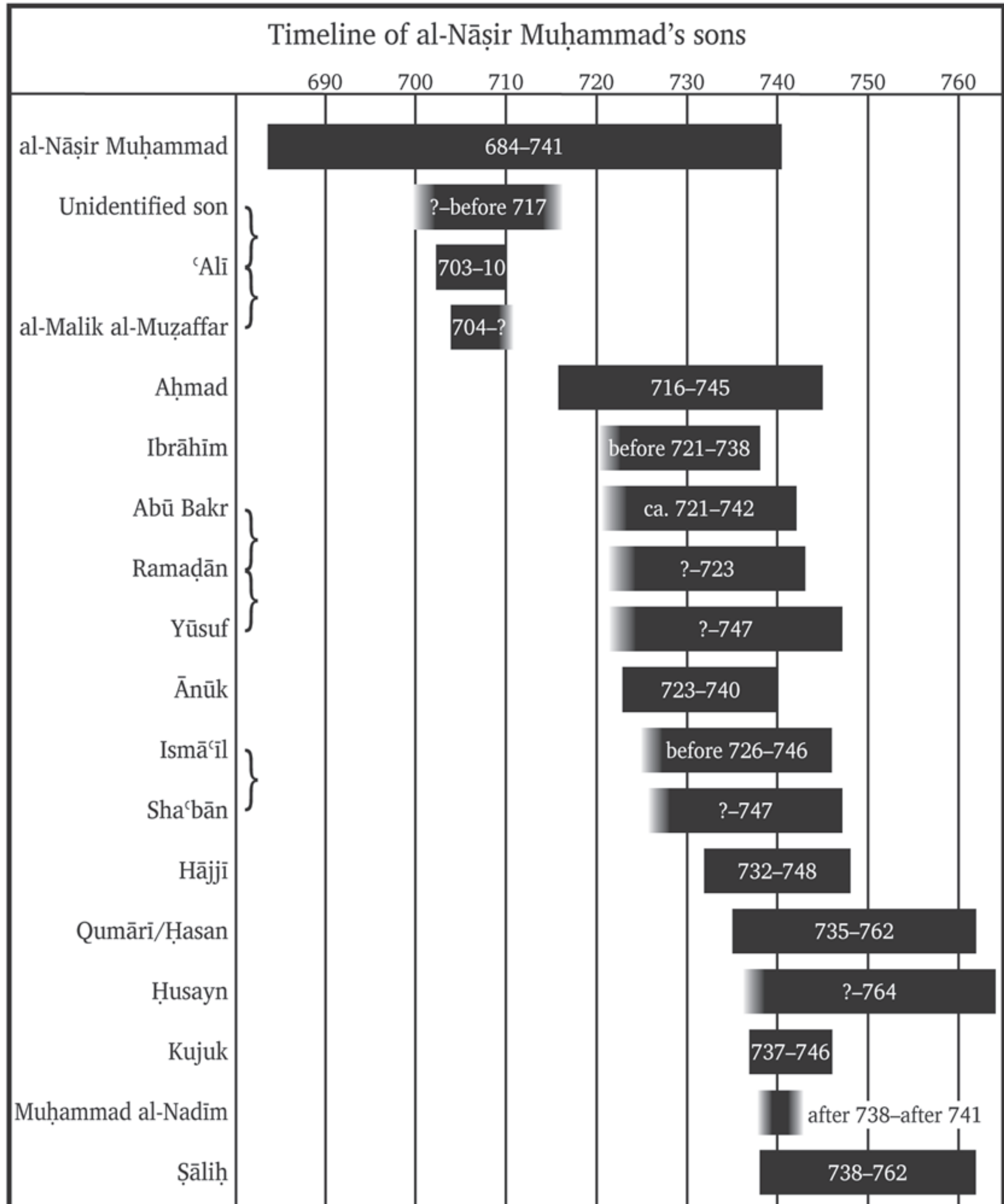
[22] Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Shaʿbān ibn al-Nāṣir Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (d. 852/1448–49). When he died, his parents were still living, and he left numerous children. He was one of Jaqmaq's courtiers. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʿd al-Wāfī,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1984–), 2:663–64 (no. 2280); al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Cairo, 1934–36), 8:184–85 (no. 470).

[23] Holt, "The Position and Power of the Mamlūk Sultan," 241.

[24] Holt, "An-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (684–741/1285–1341): His Ancestry, Kindred and Affinity," 314–15.

likely to succeed him on the throne and thus to receive an appropriate designation (disregarding whether they were favored for the succession in actuality).

On his deathbed, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad is reported to have gathered all his sons



Estimated dates of birth or death are indicated with shading. Full brothers are joined by braces.

(except Aḥmad, who was in al-Karak), in order to designate his heir to the throne; they were, in all, twelve at that time,[25] which tallies with the data provided by most of the sources.[26] Five sons had already died: three at an early stage of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign, and two shortly before his own death. The first three were apparently the sons he had with his first wife Ardūkīn, the widow of his brother Khalīl.[27] Little is known about them except that the two named sons received a *malik* title together with a *laqab:* al-Malik al-Manṣūr ʿAlī[28] and al-Malik al-Muẓaffar.[29] In naming his sons in such a way, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad respected a tradition going back to the Ayyubid period and adopted by Qalāwūn himself. Instead of being reserved for the ruling sultan, as was the custom in Mamluk rule, the *malik* title was given to some of his sons who were, perhaps, considered as future successors. That such a title could be given simultaneously to more than one son is evidenced by the mention of his two sons, ʿAlī and Khalīl, with their royal titles in an official document dated to 684/1285. On the other hand, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad himself is said to have received his royal title upon his birth.[30] Be that as it may, if al-Nāṣir Muḥammad followed this practice with the desire to see the two sons succeed him, his hopes were soon dashed with the premature deaths of both of these sons. He apparently no longer followed this practice for his younger sons. In subsequent years, no other son is reported to have been born, hence his divorce from Ardūkīn in 717/1317.[31] It was not before 716/1316–17 that his lineage was finally guaranteed: from that date to the end of his life, no less than fourteen sons were born, their mothers being either legal wives or concubines.

[25] Al-Shujāʿī, *Al-Tārīkh,* 110. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah provides only eleven names (*Al-Tārīkh,* ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh [Damascus, 1977–97], 2:133), while al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:546, leads us to believe that when al-Nāṣir died, he left *(taraka)* fourteen boys, including Muḥammad and ʿAlī. The latter had died by that date. See below.

[26] According to a pronouncement by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on his deathbed, he had fifteen sons. See Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd wa-al-Durr al-Farīd fīmā baʿd Tārīkh Ibn al-ʿAmīd,* ed. Samira Kortantamer (Freiburg, 1973), 264 = 105 (Ar. text). It might be that this figure is the result of a later reconstruction made by the author on the basis of the total number of sons al-Nāṣir had during his lifetime (seventeen in the chart).

[27] Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar is never said in the sources to have been the son of Ardūkīn, but it is highly probable that she was his mother, as at that time al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had no other official wife.

[28] He died at the age of six in 710/1310. In 709/1309, he was said to be al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's only child. Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,* 3:512; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:91; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:190 (no. 2892).

[29] His *ism* is unknown. He was already dead when his brother ʿAlī died. He thus lived less than six years. See Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar,* 9:126.

[30] See Holt, "The Position and Power of the Mamlūk Sultan," 241.

[31] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:177. In Rajab 719/August–September 1319, she was expelled from the citadel. Ibid., 195.

Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had six legal wives, of course not simultaneously. Aside from Ardūkīn, he also married, in 720/1320, Ṭulunbāy/Dulanbiya, the niece of Üzbek Khān;[32] in 721/1321, Ṭughāy,[33] a Turkish slave-girl he bought from Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī, his governor in Syria;[34] then in 734/1334, Quṭlūmalik,[35] Tankiz al-Ḥusāmī's daughter and Aḥmad ibn Baktamur al-Sāqī's widow.[36] At an unknown date, but before 740/1339, he married Zādū, the sister of Ṭūlū Qurṭaqā who was married to Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī,[37] and, also at an unknown date, he married the sister of Qawṣūn.[38] As for concubines, his love of them was proverbial,[39] but only six are known for sure to have borne him children, and among these only four are

[32]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:203–5; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar,* 9:302; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:329–30 (no. 2052, Ṭūlū). On the question of her genealogical link to Üzbek Khān, see Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology,* 132. She did not bear any children and was repudiated in 728/1328. She was successively married off, by al-Nāṣir himself, to three of his amirs. See Holt, "An-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (684–741/1285–1341): His Ancestry, Kindred and Affinity," 316–17. See al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir,* ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ (Beirut, 1986), 235, for the attestation of a forgery written by a judge in regard to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's declaration to Üzbek's envoy that she was dead, though she was still alive.

[33]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 16:447–48 (no. 381); Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:322 (no. 2025). She bore him Ānūk.

[34]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:232.

[35]Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar,* 9:380. She bore him Ṣāliḥ and a daughter.

[36]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:289.

[37]Ibid., 473. Yalbughā's wife gave birth on that date and Zādū is referred to as al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's wife. Zādū is not reported to have given birth to any children.

[38]Al-Shujāʿī, *Al-Tārīkh,* 160. No child reported.

[39]Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History,* 184.

named by the sources:[40] Narjis,[41] Bayāḍ,[42] Ardū,[43] and Kudā.[44]

In the end, it can be said that the sons who were the most liable to succeed him, given their dates of birth, were: Aḥmad, Abū Bakr, Ibrāhīm, Ramaḍān, Yūsuf, and Ānūk.[45] The remaining sons were born too late to be considered realistic successors by their father and, indeed, the former sons often appear in the sources regarding events that took place during their youth and linked to what could be considered education and training, while the latter sons are mainly mentioned after their father's death because it was only then that they finally played politically significant roles. The forthcoming comments will thus deal with four of the aforementioned six eldest sons, as Ramaḍān and Yūsuf are seldom mentioned in the sources with respect to events that took place during their father's lifetime.[46]

[40]The first of the two unnamed concubines was the mother of Ismāʿīl, Shaʿbān, and a daughter (married to Bahādur al-Damurdāshī). She was later married by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad to Arghūn al-ʿAlāʾī. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:756. The second unnamed concubine gave birth to Ḥājjī. She was later married to Lājīn al-ʿAlāʾī. The latter was compelled by al-Kāmil Shaʿbān, during his reign (746–47/1345–46), to divorce her. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 3:73; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:83. Other unnamed concubines probably bore him children. These are all classified under the same mother in the pedigree for the aforementioned reasons, but it does not reflect reality.

[41]Mother of Abū Bakr, Ramaḍān, and Yūsuf. Later, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad married her to Ṭuquzdamur al-Ḥamawī (who died in 746/1345; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:551). After the latter's death, she was married to Arghūn al-Ismāʿīlī (still living with him in 756/1356; al-Shujāʿī, *Al-Tārīkh,* 139).

[42]Mother of Aḥmad. A slave-girl and singer, she was set free by Bahādur Āṣ, the *raʾs nawbah,* and later married to Maliktamur al-Sarjuwānī (at least before 731/1331; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 3:384).

[43]She was a Tartar and the mother of Kujuk. After al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death, she was married to Āqsunqur al-Nāṣirī, in 743/1343, at the latter's request (al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:635), and finally to al-Kāmil Shaʿbān (before 746/1345; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:683).

[44]Mother of Qumārī/Ḥasan and Tatar. She died in Qumārī's infancy (al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:745).

[45]The youngest, Ānūk, was 17 years old when he died almost a year before his father.

[46]Their dates of birth are unknown, but they were born after Abū Bakr. Yūsuf was married in 738/1337 by his father to a daughter of his amir Badr al-Dīn Jankalī ibn al-Bābā, which means that he was probably born between 722–25/1323–26. He died in Rabīʿ II 747/July–August 1346, perhaps murdered on order of his brother Shaʿbān. See al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,* 5:99; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:436, 707; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 5:248 (no. 5160) and 2:83 (suspicion against his brother for his killing). Ramaḍān and Yūsuf were full-brothers of Abū Bakr, who had just been put to death (Jumādá II 742/November 1341); their mother was Narjis. No marriage is reported for Ramaḍān in the sources, and this might imply that he was younger than Yūsuf. In 743/1342, after the accession of Ismāʿīl, Ramaḍān attempted to rise against him, though he had no real support among the senior amirs. He had to flee to al-Karak, where he tried to join his brother Aḥmad, but he was killed before he could reach him. See al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,* 5:99; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 2:42; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:203 (no. 1726); Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Al-Tārīkh,* 2:326–27.

The order followed will be chronological, except that the youngest son, presented by the sources as the preferred son, will be treated first here.

The Paramount Son: Ānūk

Although the youngest of the brothers listed as the most likely to succeed their father, Ānūk[47] quite quickly began to hold an important place in his father's heart: his mother, Ṭughāy, had become his beloved and preferred wife because of her beauty, probably around 721/1321, after the dispassionate marriage to Ṭulunbāy.[48] Ānūk is also said to have been the dearest son to his father by reason of his handsomeness, in addition to his father's deep affection for his mother.[49] Once he left the harem, his father took charge of his fate. As early as 731/1331, when Ānūk was aged 8, he married him to the daughter of one of his senior amirs, Baktamur al-Sāqī:[50] the contract was concluded on 2 Ṣafar 732/4 November 1331[51] and by the end of the same month (23 Ṣafar/25 November), his father expressed the wish, in the presence of his amirs, to designate him as his heir to the throne *(walī ʿahd),* a wish to which they all adhered.[52] He consequently granted him an *imrah miʾah taqdimah alf,*[53] and it was issued by decree that a ceremony would take place to celebrate this designation; it was decreed that Ānūk would ride through the city, wearing the emblem of the sultanate *(shiʿār al-salṭanah),* surrounded by the other amirs. An unknown event made al-Nāṣir Muḥammad change his mind: he ordered that all the preparations for the ceremony of official designation be stopped and, in the end, decided that Ānūk would ride through the city just to celebrate his new function of amir of one hundred. Instead of wearing the emblem of the sultanate,

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[47]Sources are not unanimous in giving his date of birth: either 15 Jumādá 721/12 July 1321 (al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:242; idem, *Al-Muqaffá,* 2:175-76; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:322), or 30 Rabīʿ I 723/8 April 1323 (al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:231–32, who did not notice that he reported two different dates) or Rajab 723/July 1323 (Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:446). One of the two later dates is more probable as a contemporaneous chronicler (Ibn al-Dāwadārī, *Kanz al-Durar,* 9:309) mentioned his birth during that year.

[48]Ṭulunbāy did not please the sultan, who went out hunting the day after the consummation, which took place on the same day as the wedding (2 Rabīʿ II 720/12 May 1320). See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:205.

[49]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 9:431; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 2:176; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:176. He bore the same *laqab* as his father: Nāṣir al-Dīn, another sign of this preeminence (al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 2:175; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:343).

[50]On 15 Ramaḍān/22 June. See Ibn al-Dāwadārī, *Kanz al-Durar,* 9:358.

[51]A copy of the marriage contract *(ṣadāq)* is to be found in al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá,* 14:303.

[52]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:343. One can see in this decision al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's intent, at an early date, to perpetuate the dynastic system established by his father.

[53]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 9:431; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 2:176.

he decided to let his son wear the one of his grandfather, Qalāwūn.[54] The effect was obviously less impressive, and although it indicated Ānūk's preeminence over his elder brothers (who were only amirs of forty),[55] al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's final intent was nevertheless clear, but not definitive. His change of mind was perhaps induced by the fact that the official designation could have led to his own premature end.[56] Despite this step backward, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad went on showing favoritism to Ānūk. In the course of the same month, he gathered the various clerks working in the ministries to select the person who would be put in charge *(khāzindār)* of Ānūk's personal purse *(dīwān)*. His new title and function *(amīr miʾah-taqdimah alf)* brought him a large amount of money:[57] his purse is said to have reached a total of six thousand dinars—not *jayshī,* but cash—without taking into account business transactions *(matjar)*. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's choice fell on al-Nashw. A steward *(ustādhdār),* Alṭunqush al-Jamālī, was also appointed on the same occasion.[58] A few months later, on 11 Shaʿbān 732/8 May 1332, on the occasion of Ānūk's marriage *(ʿurs),* a stupendous feast was organized.[59] The

[54]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:343. Qalāwūn's mausoleum was repeatedly associated with such ceremonials dealing with the appointment of the sultan's sons to titles in the military hierarchy. See Jo Van Steenbergen's remark on its social implications, which were perhaps more symbolic than he suspects, in "'Is anyone my guardian . . .?' Mamlūk Under-age Rule and the Later Qalāwūnids," 62 (note 23). See particularly Mounira Chapoutot-Remadi, "Symbolisme et formalisme de l'élite mamluke: la cérémonie de l'accession à l'émirat," in *Genèse de l'État moderne en Méditerranée: approches anthropologiques des pratiques et des représentations,* ed. Henri Bresc (Rome, 1993), 61–79; idem, "Liens propres et identités séparées chez les Mamelouks bahrides," in *Valeur et distance: Identités et sociétés en Égypte,* ed. Christian Décobert (Paris, 2000), 181. This is confirmed by the following event: in 767/1366, amirs who received the honors of the sultan went down from the citadel to Qalāwūn's mausoleum (al-madrasah al-manṣūrīyah) where they fulfilled their oath as it was customary *(kamā hiya al-ʿādah)*. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:118.

[55]This fact rather impressed the historians who reported it as they all insisted on the lower status of the elder brothers, who were consequently considered inferior to him and had to dismount before him and to be at his service. See al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 2:432; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 2:177.

[56]See al-Shujāʿī's comment (*Al-Tārīkh,* 113) regarding al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's management of the state: "*wa-law takhayyala min wuldihi ahlakahu ḥifẓan li-mulkihi*" ("If he had been suspicious about one of his children['s bad intentions], he would have put him to death to preserve his rule").

[57]He was granted, on that occasion, the *iqṭāʿ* held by the late Mughulṭāy al-Jamālī. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:343.

[58]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 9:431; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:343–44. Alṭunqush was also the steward of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:674). Another person, Arghūn al-ʿAlāʾī, was Ānūk's *lālā*. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:492 (Arghūn was replaced by Ṭaybughā al-Majdī in 740/1339–40). As for his purse, al-Nashw was replaced by his own brother, al-Mukhliṣ, in 739/1339–40. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:469.

[59]The ceremony started at sunset on the given day, i.e., at the end of Thursday in our calendar. See al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 9:431; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:345–46; idem, *Al-Muqaffá,* 2:176.

apex was reached when his father stood at the door of the palace with his son standing in front of him with the same bearing, while the amirs approached one-by-one according to their rank and accompanied by their mamluks, bringing the lighted candles they had presented five days earlier during a similar ceremony. Each one kissed the ground before al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, then Ānūk, until they were relieved from respecting the ceremonial towards the son.[60] Such a ceremony reinforced Ānūk's preeminence over his elder brothers and confirmed the father's good intentions towards him.

A few months later, in Shawwāl 732/July 1332, Ānūk was still closely associated with his father's activities. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad decided to go to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage, and he took with him his beloved wife Ṭughāy and his son Ānūk. Two other sons were likely to join the convoy at al-ʿAqabah: Aḥmad and Abū Bakr were brought to the meeting point by Maliktamur al-Sarjuwānī, the governor of al-Karak, where they were both residing together with their brother Ibrāhīm. In the meantime, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had learned of the bad intentions that Baktamur al-Sāqī, who was Ānūk's stepfather, harbored towards him, and once al-Nāṣir had reached al-ʿAqabah, he pretended Ānūk had fallen ill and sent him back with his mother and the two brothers to al-Karak under the protection of Maliktamur al-Sarjuwānī. The sultan eventually succeeded in unmasking Baktamur's conspiracy and in getting rid of him, and Ānūk was later transferred safely with his mother to Cairo.[61] The event is interesting in that it shows al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's anxiety to protect the son who was most likely his heir, putting him in the protective hands of an amir who was closely related to him.[62]

With regard to Ānūk's later years, which must have been important for his development and education, the sources are silent, at least until 740/1339. The event which took place in that year might have been insignificant if its effects had not been so dramatic. Now a young man (17 years old) and married for eight years, Ānūk did not seem to be fond of his wife.[63] He would rather spend time with a young female singer named Zuhrah, with whom he fell deeply in love, and he spent his time in a house he had built near Birkat al-Ḥabash; since he was particularly keen on animals, there was also an enclosure for birds at this

[60] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 2:176. More than three thousand candles were presented on that occasion, which means the etiquette should have been respected by more than that same number of persons!

[61] Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 135–36; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:355.

[62] Maliktamur al-Sarjuwānī had married the sultan's concubine, Bayāḍ, who was the mother of the latter's son, Aḥmad, at an early date sometime before 731/1330–31, the date of Bayāḍ's death. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 3:384.

[63] When he died a few months later, she was still a virgin. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:683.

place.[64] When his father heard of his fondness for this girl and, more importantly, that he neglected his wife, he took measures against the entire class of female singers. Separated from Zuhrah, Ānūk felt resentment against his father, though the latter had made every arrangement to ensure that his son would not know that these measures had been decreed by him. Ānūk's reaction demonstrated the level of his anger: with the help of one of his personal mamluks, he plotted against his father, giving him the impression that two of his senior amirs were conspiring against him. The plot was soon unmasked, and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad would have beheaded his son were it not for the intercession of his mother and his female slaves.[65] Frightened, Ānūk is said to have stayed in bed until he died on 7 Rabīʿ I 741/31 August 1340, less than a year before his father. Despite al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reaction, his sorrow was deep[66] because his preferred son, in whom he had laid his trust, had perished and with him the plans for his succession, which had to be modified *in extremis*. We will see that, rather opportunely, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had prepared other sons for the succession as well.

"As for Aḥmad, Who Is in Al-Karak, Do Not Let Him Cross [the Soil of] Egypt!"

As of 719/1319–20, Aḥmad, who was born the previous year, was the only son of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. His mother, Bayāḍ, was a singer who had been set free by Bahādur Āṣ and perhaps offered to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. She does not seem to have borne him any other children, and this might explain why (although she had not been al-Nāṣir's legal wife) she was later married to an amir, who became Aḥmad's stepfather. This kind of marriage link appears to have been a common feature of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's Machiavellian management of the state.[67] It is unknown when the marriage took place, but Bayāḍ died in 731/1330–31. Aḥmad, in the meanwhile, had been sent to the fortress of al-Karak on 7 Jumādá I 726/11 April 1326; he was not yet 10 years old.[68] A contemporary historian considered this to be a young age,[69] but al-Nāṣir Muḥammad intended to provide the boy with a good education and a sound training both in hunting and horsemanship *(furūsīyah)* under the supervision of the new governor of al-Karak

[64] According to Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd,* 80–81, it was his father who had built a birdcage *(ḥawsh)* and a house *(dār)* for his son.

[65] See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:492; idem, *Al-Muqaffá,* 2:177.

[66] Al-Shujāʿī, *Al-Tārīkh,* 120.

[67] Providing in this way a tutor and substitute father-figure for the future. On this practice in the Mamluk political system, which led to a crossover of blood and biological ties, see Mounira Chapoutot-Remadi, "Liens propres et identités séparées," 178.

[68] Eight years old, according to al-Maqrīzī (*Al-Sulūk,* 2:272; *Al-Muqaffá,* 1:384).

[69] Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 8:86: *akhrajahu wāliduhu ilá al-Karak wa-huwa ṣaghīr laʿallahu yakūn ʿumruhu lam yablugh ʿashr sinīn.*

designated on that occasion, Bahādur al-Badrī.[70] To ensure that this plan went aright, a treasury, which had to be deposited in the fortress, accompanied the child. For the next five years, nothing is known of Aḥmad. However, in Shaʿbān 731/May 1331, he was called back to Cairo by his father who expressed the wish to see how he had grown up. On 16 Shaʿbān/25 May, he arrived at the capital brought by the governor of al-Karak, Bahādur al-Badrī, who had to be replaced by Maliktamur al-Sarjuwānī, Aḥmad's stepfather.[71] Maliktamur must have been widowed by that date, and the decision to give him the governorate of al-Karak, where al-Nāṣir Muḥammad regularly sent his sons Aḥmad, Abū Bakr, and Ibrāhīm to reside, may be seen as a consolation, or more probably, as an attempt to tie the stepfather more closely to his son Aḥmad. Two days later, at the age of 12, Aḥmad was circumcised.[72] This event, which took place rather late in the life of the boy, was to be followed by a joyful announcement: his father had decided to promote him and to grant him an amirate, a title he received on 26 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 731/30 September 1331, two months before his much younger brother Ānūk.[73] Festivities were organized to celebrate this promotion, and a retinue made up of the amirs and all the *khāṣṣakīyah* rode to Qalāwūn's mausoleum in the service of Aḥmad, who was wearing a *sharbūsh* and carrying a standard. The next day, he was sent back to al-Karak, where his stepfather welcomed him. Orders had been given to Maliktamur al-Sarjuwānī to see to his upbringing and education *(tarbiyah wa-taʾdīb)*.[74] Nothing is heard of Aḥmad until 738/1337, aside from the fact that he and his brother Abū Bakr went to al-ʿAqabah in 732/1332 to join their father, who was on his way to Mecca; al-Nāṣir Muḥammad then changed his mind and sent both of them, along with their brother Ānūk, back to al-Karak under the protection of the governor. However, in 738/1337 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad learned that Aḥmad was on intimate terms with the "riffraff" *(awbāsh)* of al-Karak and requested that he come to Cairo. His anger towards his son was tempered when he saw how handsome the boy had

[70] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:272 *(li-yaqūm bi-amrihi . . . bal yumarrinahu ʿalá al-ṣayd wa-al-furūsīyah);* idem, *Al-Muqaffá,* 1:384 *(li-yurabbiyahu wa-yumarrinahu ʿalá al-furūsīyah)*.

[71] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:332; idem, *Al-Muqaffá,* 1:384. Maliktamur officially received his new title and charge on 10 Ramaḍān/17 June and left for al-Karak on the same day, without Aḥmad. See idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:333. His deed of nomination is found in al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá,* 12:223–25 (read Maliktamur al-Nāṣirī instead of Tuluktamur al-Nāṣirī).

[72] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:333; idem, *Al-Muqaffá,* 1:384.

[73] Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar,* 9:357; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:334–35. Aḥmad's title at that date is not known, and from the quoted source, it might be inferred that he was made amir of ten, as al-Maqrīzī specifies that three amirs were promoted to this rank on the same day as Aḥmad. On the other hand, he was made amir of forty *(ṭablkhānah)* in 739/1339. See al-Shujāʿī, *Al-Tārīkh,* 1:49.

[74] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:335.

become, a fact from which it can be inferred that he had probably not seen him for a long time.[75] In an attempt to redress Aḥmad's leaning towards men, he married him to the daughter of one of his senior amirs, Ṭāyirbughā, whose health was declining. The contract was concluded on the same day as one for his brother Ibrāhīm.[76] The consummation took place a few weeks later, unusually without any special ceremony.[77] Aḥmad was sent back to al-Karak, burdened with a wife and gifts received from his father. Eventually, Aḥmad succeeded in regaining al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's favor: he protested against his stepfather, the governor of al-Karak, which demonstrates that their relations were far from cordial, or rather, that Aḥmad was able to manipulate his entourage. Maliktamur al-Sarjuwānī was discharged from his office and al-Karak was given to Aḥmad.[78] The unique source which reports this fact is not explicit and goes on to report that an amir was appointed as the mentor of Aḥmad in al-Karak.[79] From this, it might be inferred that this amir was the new governor, but it actually seems that Aḥmad was appointed as governor of al-Karak—a fact generally ignored—with an amir who received instructions to supervise Aḥmad. This is supported by the evidence provided in the copy of the "deed of appointment to the governorate of al-Karak written down on behalf of the Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn for his son al-Malik al-Nāṣir Aḥmad."[80] Once stripped of its rhetorical metaphors, the text is very informative about al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's feelings towards his son. The document stresses God's blessings that favored the family

[75] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:432; idem, *Al-Muqaffá,* 1:384.

[76] See al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 8:86. On 20 Rabīʿ I 738/16 October 1337, according to al-Maqrīzī (*Al-Muqaffá,* 1:384), or in Rabīʿ II 738/November 1337, according to al-Shujāʿī (*Al-Tārīkh,* 18) and al-Maqrīzī (*Al-Sulūk,* 2:432, who fixes it on the same day as in *Al-Muqaffá* (20 Rabīʿ II 738/15 November 1337). Ṭāyirbughā died a short time later (28 Jumādá I 738/22 December 1337). See al-Shujāʿī, *Al-Tārīkh,* 28. Ibrāhīm was married to the daughter of Jankalī ibn al-Bābā. See al-Shujāʿī, *Al-Tārīkh,* 18.

[77] On 4 Jumādá I 738/28 November 1337. See al-Shujāʿī, *Al-Tārīkh,* 18.

[78] It is not easy to understand whether this event took place on the same occasion of the marriage or during another visit to Cairo. Al-Shujāʿī (*Al-Tārīkh,* 18) doesn't say a word about the riffraff episode, but places his nomination on the occasion of his marriage. On the contrary, al-Ṣafadī (*Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,* 1:370–71) speaks of two visits for each event. He reports that things started to go wrong between Aḥmad and his stepfather and that they were both conveyed to Cairo. The sultan got annoyed with his son, and he let him reside in Cairo for a while until he sent him back alone to al-Karak, without any governor *(waḥdahu bi-lā nāʾib)*. This last element is in contradiction with the evidence provided in what follows.

[79] Al-Shujāʿī, *Al-Tārīkh,* 18: *wa-aʿṭá al-Karak li-Aḥmad wa-aʿṭá ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Ṭaybars al-Zumurrudī arbaʿīn fāris wa-jaʿalahu nāʾib Aḥmad bi-al-Karak.* Al-Zumurrudī was in fact his steward *(ustādhdār)*. See ibid., 47.

[80] Found in al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá,* 12:226–32. The text adds: "before he was made sultan." This is a later addition referring to his rule as sultan after the death of his father.

with rule,[81] securing it in the genealogical tree of Qalāwūn through his son Muḥammad.[82] Allusion is then made to Aḥmad through a pun on his *laqab* (Shihāb al-Dīn), where he is compared to a star *(shihāb)* equal in perfection and beauty to the moon. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's treatment of his son resulted from a divine order to behave kindly to the reverent son. Consequently, he decided to offer Aḥmad what God had granted al-Nāṣir himself: a place in which to rule.[83] By this act, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was following the righteous example of Abraham, who had worked together with his son Ismāʿīl to build the Temple. God had shown the sultan how lovely and commendable this design was, and this was why he settled Aḥmad in al-Karak during that period.[84] Now, the decision was taken to make him the ruler of this place with which he was familiar and whose population showed him their affection.[85] Thus, the order was decreed that he be appointed governor of al-Karak and al-Shawbak.[86] The sultan's intuition *(firāsah)* would have to be confirmed by the results, but how could it go wrong, given that Aḥmad was the son and the grandson of noble rulers, the one on whom hopes had been pinned to perfect the rulership before he would completely take charge of it?[87] The deed then goes on with recommendations and advice addressed to Aḥmad for good ruling practices as well as for good manners (undoubtedly an allusion to his preference for boys). The document is revealing in that, at that date, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad still had trust in Aḥmad: this appointment appears to have been a test which could have been decisive in case the succession had to be modified, i.e., if the preferred son, Ānūk, were to die in al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's lifetime. It seems that Aḥmad did not seize the opportunity, either because he failed to realize the importance of this test, or because he did not want to do it. Aḥmad behaved badly, at least in the eyes of his steward, al-Zumurrudī, and consequently in the eyes of his father. Al-Zumurrudī sent a letter to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad informing him that Aḥmad had

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[81] Ibid., 227: "*wa-wahabanā fī al-mulk al-nasab al-ʿalī al-ʿarīq wa-al-ḥasab alladhī huwa bi-al-taqdīm wa-al-taḥkīm ḥaqīq.*"

[82] Ibid.: "*fa-fayyaʾanā min shajarah hādhā al-bayt al-sharīf al-nāṣirī al-manṣūrī kull ghuṣn warīq.*"

[83] Ibid.: "*wa-awdaʿnā ladayhi mā awdaʿahu Allāh taʿālá ladaynā: mamlakah murtafiʿah muttasiʿah li-yartafiʿ maḥalluhu wa-yattasiʿ amaluhu wa-lā yaḍīq.*"

[84] Ibid., 228.

[85] Ibid., 229: "*ḥakkamnāhu fī hādhihi al-niyābah allatī alifahā wa-darrabahā wa-ʿarafa umūrahā wa-jarrabahā wa-istamāla khawāṭir ahlihā wa-istajlabahā.*"

[86] Both fortresses were part of this *mamlakah*. For its geographical limits, see Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes* (Paris, 1923), 125–34.

[87] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá,* 12:230: "*wa-firāsatunā talmaḥ natāʾij al-khayr min hādhā al-taqdīm wa-siyāsatunā tuṣliḥ mā qaruba minnā wa-mā baʿuda bi-taʿrīf aḥkām al-taḥkīm wa-kayfa lā wa-huwa al-karīm ibn al-karīm ibn al-karīm al-muʾammal li-tamām al-suʿdud qabla an yuʿqad ʿalayhi al-tamīm.*"

fallen in love with a young Bedouin boy named Shuhayb and that he spent most of his time with him, drinking and dressing like an Arab. Aḥmad was summoned to Cairo where he arrived, together with Shuhayb, in Shaʿbān 739/March 1339. He was coldly received by his father and then sent to the palace. Orders were given to imprison Shuhayb and to recover the amount of money that he and his father had received from Aḥmad. Aḥmad's reaction was to sequester himself in his room and refuse to eat. In the meanwhile, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had tried to dissuade his son from continuing his relationship with Shuhayb, his envoys in this delicate case being his two senior amirs Bashtāk and Qawṣūn. Both of them tried to convince the rebellious son, threatening him with warnings of his father's determination, but to no effect. Aḥmad preferred to stay with his boyfriend, even rejecting his father's proposal that he take one hundred of his own mamluks. In the end, conscious of Aḥmad's stubbornness, al-Nāṣir bowed to the arguments of his two senior amirs. Firm in his judgment that nothing good would come of this son, he decided to resign himself: Aḥmad was made an amir of forty, but he had to remain in Egypt, his brother Abū Bakr being sent to al-Karak in his place.[88]

For the next two years, Aḥmad seems to have kept a low profile, with Shuhayb still in his close entourage, until 741/1341, when the latter was involved in a conflict with a eunuch over a frivolous case of bird competition. Aḥmad championed his cause and the case reached the ears of the sultan, who confronted his son once again by means of Bashtāk and Qawṣūn. The mediation ended in the same way as in 739/1339: Aḥmad refused to abandon Shuhayb. He was thus exiled by his father to the fortress of Ṣarkhad,[89] but before he reached it, amirs, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's wives, and the harem spoke in his favor. Aḥmad was called back to Cairo, but in the meanwhile his father had ordered that his horses be sold, and in the end he decided to send him back to al-Karak with al-Sarjuwānī as governor.[90] Clearly, in al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's mind, Aḥmad was not to play any

[88]Al-Shujāʿī, *Al-Tārīkh,* 47–48; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 1:384–85. Although the sources remain silent about the appointment of Abū Bakr as governor of al-Karak on that occasion, it is highly probable that he took the place of Aḥmad not only as resident but also as governor. Both he and his brother Ibrāhīm had been amirs of forty since 738/1337–38, a year before Aḥmad. See below under Ibrāhīm and Abū Bakr.

[89]He was accompanied by Maliktamur al-Sarjuwānī, his stepfather, and al-Dāwūdī, his *lālā.* See al-Shujāʿī, *Al-Tārīkh,* 97; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 1:385. In another source, it is established that his father reached this decision because of indisputable evidence *(bayyināt)* he found; one must understand this to mean documents. Unfortunately, their nature is not explicated, but the prospect of a coup should not be rejected. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:515. By that time, Abū Bakr had already been nominated as heir to the throne (see below).

[90]At the beginning of 1 Ramaḍān 741/18 February 1341, according to al-Shujāʿī, *Al-Tārīkh,* 97, or in Ṣafar 741/August 1340, according to al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 1:385. Meanwhile, Abū Bakr had been called back to Cairo, hence the appointment of al-Sarjuwānī as new governor. Al-Maqrīzī,

future role, at least not in his own lifetime; the order was given not to let him make any decisions.[91] Aḥmad did not leave his place of exile, enjoying life with Shuhayb, not even when his father was at death's door.

On his deathbed, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was urged—according to the sources—by his amirs to designate his heir to the throne, as though he had not prepared his successor. On that occasion, he is said to have rejected any solution in favor of Aḥmad, though he was his eldest surviving son:[92] "As for Aḥmad, who is in al-Karak, do not let him cross [the soil of] Egypt; do not put him in charge of anything, because he would cause the ruin of the state!"[93] Whether by intuition or paternal feeling, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was convinced that Aḥmad would not be fit for the sultanate; on several occasions, he gave him opportunities to show his mettle and in each case he was found lacking.

Ibrāhīm the Prodigal[94]

Younger than Aḥmad and older than Abū Bakr,[95] Ibrāhīm was born between 719/1319 and 721/1320.[96] The sources remain silent on him until he reached his teens: in 731/1331, on 11 Rajab/11 July, he was sent by his father to al-Karak accompanied by some amirs, among them the newly appointed governor, Maliktamur al-Sarjuwānī.[97] Chroniclers are more laconic in his respect than with Aḥmad, as they do not explain why his father decided to send him there,[98] but it can be understood that his purpose was to provide Ibrāhīm with the same military training as Aḥmad. Ibrāhīm's younger brother, Abū Bakr, joined him some time later, and al-Ṣafadī indicates that the residence of the three brothers in al-Karak continued until they grew up *(taraʿraʿū)*.[99] In 735/1335, Ibrāhīm was

Al-Sulūk, 2:515.

[91] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:515: "*wa-awṣāhu al-sulṭān allā yadaʿ li-Aḥmad ḥadīth wa-lā ḥukm bayna ithnayn.*"

[92] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Al-Tārīkh,* 2:133. It was Bashtāk who pronounced Aḥmad's name. In some way, the competition between Bashtāk and Qawṣūn was already visible, each one having a favorite candidate.

[93] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 1:389: "*wa-ammā Aḥmad alladhī bi-al-Karak fa-lā tadaʿūhu yaʿbur Miṣr wa-lā tuwallūhu shayʾan fa-yakūn sabab li-kharāb al-mamlakah.*" See also Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:315. Al-Maqrīzī (ibid.) adds that the father's intuition *(firāsah)* was right and imputes to Aḥmad, when he was made sultan, the deterioration and the ruin of both the lands of Egypt and Syria.

[94] His prodigality, for which his father used to blame him, is reported by al-Shujāʿī, *Al-Tārīkh,* 34.

[95] Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 6:138.

[96] The name of his mother is ignored in the sources.

[97] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:332–33.

[98] Al-Maqrīzī, ibid., uses the verb "*aqarra*" (to establish).

[99] Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 6:138; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* 2:159. In 732/1332, when al-Nāṣir

conveyed to Cairo at his father's request.[100] It seems that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had decided that Ibrāhīm was to remain with him at the citadel, together with his brother Abū Bakr, who had also arrived in Cairo in the meanwhile, while Aḥmad had to remain alone in al-Karak.[101] A year later, on 9 Ramaḍān 736/21 April 1336, Ibrāhīm received the title of amir, and the two preferred amirs of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Qawṣūn and Bashtāk, organized the cortège and ceremony associated with such an appointment for a sultan's son.[102] In 737/1336, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad proceeded further with his policy of creating a web of relationships between his amirs and his children, both male and female. On 17 Muḥarram/26 August, a marriage contract was concluded between his son Ibrāhīm and Ṭuquzdamur al-Ḥamawī's daughter.[103] A year later, two similar contracts were made on the same day, one for his brother Aḥmad, and another for himself; this time, he was to get married to Jankalī ibn al-Bābā's daughter.[104] A few weeks after the consummation, his father decided that a third tie could be useful, and another marriage was arranged with another of Ṭāyirbughā's daughters.[105] Meanwhile, Ibrāhīm had just been promoted to the rank of amir of forty together with his brother Abū Bakr.[106] This promising career was suddenly interrupted by smallpox; isolated from his brothers for fear of contagion, and without a last visit from his father, he died on 25 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 738/14 June 1338.[107] With his death, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad lost a possible candidate to succeed him.[108]

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stopped in al-ʿAqabah on his way to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage, Ibrāhīm is not mentioned among the sons who were brought there by al-Sarjuwānī; only Aḥmad and Abū Bakr were meant to take part in the trip. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:355.

[100]Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 272; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:387. According to al-Maqrīzī, Ibrāhīm arrived in Cairo on Monday 3 Dhū al-Ḥijjah/25 July 1335, but this day fell on Tuesday, not Monday.

[101]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 6:138; al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 272; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:387.

[102]Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 290; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:392. He was probably made amir of ten at that time, because he received the higher rank (amir of forty) later.

[103]The marriage was consummated on 1 Rabīʿ I/8 October of the same year. See al-Shujāʿī, *Al-Tārīkh,* 3.

[104]In Rabīʿ II 738/October–November 1337 (consummated on 20 Shaʿbān 738/13 March 1338). See al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh,* 18 and 29. For Aḥmad, see above (the dates do not really tally). It is interesting to note that another of Ibrāhīm's brothers, Yūsuf, was married during the same year to another daughter of the same amir. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:436.

[105]The marriage, probably never consummated, took place just before Ibrāhīm died. See al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh,* 34 and 33.

[106]Ibid., 34.

[107]He was buried in his uncle al-Ashraf Khalīl's mausoleum. Ibid.; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 6:138; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:68.

[108]If the following words are to be trusted, Ibrāhīm was aware that he could have ruled at some

The Last Resort: Abū Bakr

When Abū Bakr was put on the throne, on 21 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 741/7 June 1341, it is said that he was about 20, from which it may be inferred that he was born around 721/1320. His mother, Narjis, gave her husband two other sons (Yūsuf and Ramaḍān) who were Abū Bakr's younger brothers. Nothing is known of his childhood, either in the harem or after he left it. However, in 732/1332, he was already in al-Karak with his brothers Aḥmad and Ibrāhīm, whom he probably joined in 731/1331 (the same year in which the latter arrived there). He thus left Cairo at the age of about 10 to receive the same military training as his brothers. These years are shrouded in mist; unless events that occurred there had an echo in the capital, as with Aḥmad's debacle for instance, chroniclers ignored what happened in this peripheral place. It seems that Abū Bakr's teenage years were different from those of his elder brother, as nothing is reported regarding him before 735/1334. On 4 Rabīʿ I/4 March, Abū Bakr, who like his brother Ibrāhīm had been brought back to Cairo, was granted the title of amir a year before the latter was to receive this title.[109] On that occasion, Qawṣūn led a procession from his stables up to the citadel, during which all the royal mamluks rode in attendance of Abū Bakr, who was wearing the *sharbūsh*. Apparently, Abū Bakr remained in Cairo with Ibrāhīm, at which point his father made another decision that would have an enormous impact on his career: he decided to marry him to Ṭuquzdamur al-Ḥamawī's daughter. This was indeed a profitable day for this amir, as the contract was concluded on the same day as Ibrāhīm's with Ṭuquzdamur's other daughter.[110] Incidentally, by that time, Ṭuquzdamur was probably already married to Abū Bakr's mother and one of his other wives was one of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's daughters.[111] The place where the contract was concluded (Qawṣūn's house) demonstrates once more that these marriages between the sultan's children and his amirs and their children had implications beyond what is generally believed. A few months later (12 Ramaḍān 737/14 April 1337), Abū Bakr was poised to play a significant part in an attack against al-Nashw which could have cost the latter his life. Abū Bakr's name is mentioned as one of the potential enemies engaged in the affair, but in the end, al-Nashw was not harassed.[112]

It has been noticed that Ibrāhīm and Abū Bakr had almost parallel careers in their appointments and relationships. This was again true when Ibrāhīm was

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time after his father: "*anā amūt qablak aw atamallak baʿdak.*" See al-Shujāʿī, *al-Tārīkh* 34.

[109]Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 236; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:379.

[110]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 10:252; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:407. For Ibrāhīm, see above.

[111]For the latter marriage, see al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:698.

[112]Ibid., 422. The name provided is Abū Bakr ibn al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad. See also Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History,* 75.

made amir of forty: Abū Bakr was promoted to the same rank in the same year (738/1337–38). During the following year (739/1339) al-Nāṣir Muḥammad lost any hope for Aḥmad; he had been called back to Cairo and admonished to abandon his boyfriend, but had refused and was ready to commit suicide if he was not left in peace. In view of this, his father made the decision not to waste any more time with this son and to send Abū Bakr in his place.[113] As had been the case with Aḥmad, this settlement in al-Karak, at a time when their father was already an old man, can be considered a test. Ānūk was still the first choice for succession, but he needed a backup. The experiment does not seem to have been concluded: in 740/1339, after his brother Ānūk had disappointed his father with his infatuation for a singing slave-girl, Abū Bakr was invited to visit al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. He brought along a gift of more than two hundred thousand dirhams, but it soon was discovered that this amount had been taken from the people of al-Karak in the form of an unrefusable loan—those who opposed it had been killed.[114] Later, Bashtāk was asked to bring Ānūk and Abū Bakr to al-ʿAbbāsah, where they all stayed a few days before coming back to the citadel: no reason is given for this retreat,[115] but in the end, Abū Bakr turned back to al-Karak, now his residence. He remained there until 20 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 740/17 July 1340, when he returned to Cairo at his father's request, and the latter gathered his amirs and asked them to take an oath in the form of a sworn covenant to support him *(ḥilf)* personally and his son Abū Bakr, after his death.[116] The oath was augmented by generous gifts of money to each amir according to his rank. The news of this official designation put the city in a state of agitation.[117] Interestingly, Ānūk was still alive at that time (he died a month and a half later), but it is reasonable to think that he was not in good health. Backed up by an official appointment, Abū Bakr rode back to his stronghold at al-Karak, expecting news of his brother's impending death. The order to present himself at the citadel of Cairo arrived in Rajab 741/January 1341; Abū Bakr's arrival, on the 24th/13th of the same month, was accompanied by another gift of one hundred thousand dirhams for his father. On that occasion, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad gave orders to bring Abū Bakr's units (his *ṭulb* and mamluks) from al-Karak to Cairo, as well as all the revenues held in al-Karak.[118] Aḥmad, on his

[113]Al-Shujāʿī, *Al-Tārīkh,* 49.

[114]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:492.

[115]Ibid., 2:493.

[116]On the oath as a form of designation in the Mamluk period, see Holt, "The Position and Power of the Mamlūk Sultan," 241. The case is quite different here, as it took place before the sultan's death and in presence of the army (the amirs first, then the soldiers). Moreover, as shown by the sources, they were paid for taking that oath.

[117]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:499.

[118]He also received the *iqṭāʿ* of a Mamluk whose charge had been modified (Bahāʾ al-Dīn Aṣlam

way to his exile in Ṣarkhad, was finally directed to al-Karak, where he was likely to remain quiescent under the supervision of Maliktamur al-Sarjuwānī, the newly appointed governor.[119] Clearly, Abū Bakr had to remain in residence in Cairo out of necessity, as his elder brother was not to play any role in the succession. The following months were marked by new signs of Abū Bakr's preparation to succeed his father: he was granted the fief of an amir, Bashtāk was asked to look after his interests and, consequently, the *wāfidīyah* of Aleppo were put in his service, along with other troops. The reason for all of this was clear: the old sultan wanted his son to be prepared to rule.[120] The effective nomination took place when al-Nāṣir became convinced that he would not survive his illness. On 18 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 741/4 June 1341, on his deathbed, al-Nāṣir convened his senior amirs and his royal mamluks and asked them to swear the covenant in favor of Abū Bakr. He gave him his grandfather's sword and conferred upon him the latter's *laqab* (al-Malik al-Manṣūr).[121] His last will was fulfilled three days later: the transfer of power went smoothly, to the greatest surprise of the populace.[122]

"I Am Aware That Not One of My Children Is Fit [for the Sultanate]"

The starting point of my investigation was to consider whether al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, who had a greater progeny than any other Mamluk sultan, consistently planned to prepare his sons to succeed him on the throne. Given that Qalāwūn himself was succeeded by two of his sons (without taking into account a nominated son who died well before he could rule), it is legitimate to ask whether al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ever thought of being succeeded by one of his sons, and if so, whether he did anything in order to facilitate his accession to the throne and to compel his own mamluks to accept an heir on the basis of genealogy.

Conscious of being the son of a mamluk himself, and thus a member of the *awlād al-nās* (sons of the elite), al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was fully aware that, in a self-defining non-hereditary system such as the Mamluk sultanate, where legitimacy lay more in merit than in genealogy, his desire to see one of his sons succeed him on the throne would remain a vain wish if he failed to plan carefully. Preparation, i.e., education and training (from a military point of view), but also the creation of a network of faithful supporters, could constitute a decisive element in this respect. Considering the biographical elements gleaned from what historians and

received the governorship of Ṣafad instead) on 18 Ramaḍān 741/7 March 1341. See al-Shujāʿī, *Al-Tārīkh,* 97.

[119]Ibid.; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk* 2:515.

[120]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:517. Interestingly, it must be noted that Abū Bakr also married Ānūk's widow during this period.

[121]Ibid., 2:523; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Al-Tārīkh,* 2:133; al-Shujāʿī, *Al-Tārīkh,* 104–5.

[122]Al-Shujāʿī, *Al-Tārīkh,* 107.

chroniclers have deemed worthy of mention, we notice that several concordant elements concern the sons who received such training (Aḥmad, Ibrāhīm, and Abū Bakr): residence in al-Karak, promotion, and marriages.

Ever since it was seized by the Ayyubids, the fortress of al-Karak had been linked to the ruling sultan in Egypt. In the Mamluk sultanate, during the Turkish period, this link was not weakened; on the contrary, several members of the Qalāwūnid family resided in the fortress on several occasions and under various circumstances. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad himself was well acquainted with it—he resided there on two occasions when his power was usurped by a rival. When he regained power the first time, he had spent most of his teens in that place, consolidating his ties with the inhabitants and the neighboring Bedouins, among others. It is thus no surprise that he decided to send the sons who were the most likely to succeed him to al-Karak, once they came out of the harem; their age was between 8 and 10 and their stay there, far from the court, the harem, and the intrigues, was meant as a formative exile during which each son must be trained in horsemanship and hunting, according to the sources, and also educated in the Mamluk way.[123] As *awlād al-nās,* they would always lack *khushdāshīyah,* the fraternal ties that characterized the mamluks raised in the barracks, but at least they could develop relationships with the mamluks put in their service. Among the three sons, the one who best succeeded in creating a network of relationships was Aḥmad. However, his network relied not on the mamluks, but on the Bedouins of the surrounding area: he dressed like them, he hunted with them, and he even loved one of them. His link with al-Karak was so strong that he even refused to leave it once he was chosen as sultan, and in the end, when he did leave it, it was for a short period of two months, before he went back to the place where he had grown up.[124] Instead of *khushdāshīyah,* Aḥmad had developed *ʿaṣabīyah*![125] This tribal network worked for several years, even after his deposition, but in this context, it was the wrong type of network.

During his long reign, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad is reputed to have introduced an innovation generally regarded as detrimental to the Mamluk system: promotion of

[123]This formative role played by al-Karak had already been noted in 1976 by Muḥammad ʿAdnān al-Bakhīt. The original work in Arabic was not available to me. The quote is from the German translation: Alexander Scheidt, *Das Königreich von al-Karak in der mamlūkischen Zeit* (Frankfurt, 1992), 84–85. On al-Karak, see now Marcus Milwright, *The Fortress of the Raven: Karak in the Middle Islamic Period (1100–1650)* (Leiden, 2008).

[124]Once deposed, he proposed to remain in al-Karak as governor, considering the fortress as a heritage received from his grandfather and father, where his brothers, sent in exile to Qūṣ by Qawṣūn, had to be sent in order to live with him. See al-Shujāʿī, *Al-Tārīkh,* 147 ("*inna hādhihi qalʿat al-Karak hiya wirāthah la-nā min abī wa-jaddī*").

[125]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 1:385 ("*fa-kathurat qālat al-Karakīyīn wa-tajammaʿū khawfan ʿalá Aḥmad wa-ʿaṣabīyatan ʿalayhi*").

the *awlād al-nās,* a rather new category in Mamluk society, in the army. Promotion regarding his own sons must thus not be considered an unusual practice. In each case, with the exception of his preferred son, Ānūk, who was presented as the designated heir and immediately made amir of one hundred, they started their career in the hierarchy at the lowest rank, i.e., amir of ten. They were then promoted to the intermediary rank of amir of forty, but never to the highest rank. These promotions must be seen in the light of the training mentioned earlier, but also as answering to the necessity to link the eldest sons to the army, the senior amirs, and the royal mamluks. The ceremonies that took place on each occasion were orchestrated by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's closest amirs (Qawṣūn and Bashtāk). In every instance, the sons wore a symbol of power, albeit one associated with a previous ruler: the emblem of the grandfather, Qalāwūn, whose mausoleum was always the meeting point for the procession through the city. On the other hand, it is reported that none of these four sons received a *malik* title. As a young father, at the beginning of his reign, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had followed his own father's practice in attributing such a title to more than one son; his first two sons were thus known to have received such titles. However, they died in infancy, and it seems that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad never applied this practice again. When a contemporary chronicler, al-Ṣafadī, mentioned that Abū Bakr and Ibrāhīm were made amirs of forty, he stressed that they received neither a *malik* title nor a *laqab*—they were just called "Sayyidī Ibrāhīm or Sayyidī Abū Bakr, the amirs."[126] From this, it may be inferred that, in the eyes of a contemporary witness who was fully acquainted with the Mamluk system by origin, a logical link existed between such a promotion and the attribution of such a title to a sultan's sons. The reason why al-Nāṣir Muḥammad no longer conferred the *malik* title is unknown, but it might be for fear of losing his own power, or out of superstition (as already stressed, two sons who received it died in infancy).

Marriages undoubtedly played another important part in preparing the way for his sons to succeed him. "Al-Malik al-Nāṣir's ingenious marriage policy, reminiscent of the dynastic manoeuvrings of the house of Habsburg in fifteenth century *Felix Austria,* created a network of dependencies and loyalties between the sultan and his sons and daughters, on the one hand, and the senior amirs and their offspring, on the other."[127] The effects of this marriage policy have been considered questionable because the fathers-in-law of his sons were "outsiders," and as such they were devoid of *khushdāshīyah* and thus unable to lead a faction

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[126]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 6:138: "*wa-lam yusamma aḥad minhumā bi-Malik wa-lā luqqiba bal kāna al-nās kulluhum yaqūlūna Sayyidī Ibrāhīm aw Sayyidī Abā Bakr al-umarāʾ.*"

[127]Ulrich Haarmann, "Joseph's Law—The Careers and Activities of Mamluk Descendants before the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 66.

powerful enough to impose itself on Mamluk politics.[128] Whatever these effects might have been if they were ever weighed, it remains that they created strong ties in most cases which proved beneficial after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death.[129] One can take the case of Ṭuquzdamur al-Ḥamawī, who crafted numerous links with the sultan; he was not only the husband of Narjis, the former concubine of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and mother of Abū Bakr,[130] but he later married a daughter of his master,[131] and two of his own daughters were married to the sultan's sons Abū Bakr (now his stepson),[132] and Ibrāhīm.[133] It is no wonder that he became Abū Bakr's *nāʾib al-salṭanah* when the latter was enthroned, as well as his strongest supporter. One may wonder, once again, if these ties were not created to strengthen the position of the sultan's sons and to substitute for the lack of links between these sons and the mamluks.[134]

What went wrong? On his deathbed, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad is said to have advised his mamluks to obey his designated heir Abū Bakr on the condition that he acted as a good ruler. If this proved not to be the case, they were urged to depose him and replace him with any of the surviving sons (referred to as minors, which they were), but under no circumstances should Aḥmad be brought to Egypt and put on the throne.[135] Though the historian must remain cautious with the sources, especially with alleged oral reports, it appears that in this particular case, the substance of this advice was more than likely part of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's last will. The fact that this advice was repeatedly followed by mamluks who were present on that occasion, when one of his sons had to be deposed, even twenty years later, corroborates its historicity.[136] In pronouncing these words, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad put in the mamluks' hands a double-edged sword. They were indeed authorized to depose those sons who disrespected the mores of proper rulership, but on the other hand, they were exhorted subsequently to enthrone

[128]Holt, "An-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn (684–741/1285–1341): His Ancestry, Kindred and Affinity," 320–23.

[129]See Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos,* 82–85.

[130]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:551.

[131]Ibid., 2:698. At al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death, eight of his daughters were already married. See al-Shujāʿī, *Al-Tārīkh,* 111.

[132]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 10:252; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:407.

[133]Al-Shujāʿī, *Al-Tārīkh,* 1:3.

[134]Later on, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's scions by his daughters could even be considered as eligible for rule. See Amalia Levanoni, "*Awlad al-nas* in the Mamluk Army during the Bahri Period," in *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in Honour of Michael Winter,* ed. David J. Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon (London and New York, 2006), 100.

[135]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Al-Tārīkh,* 2:133.

[136]Al-Shujāʿī, *Al-Tārīkh,* 163; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:709; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:289.

another son. It would take forty years for this cycle to be broken. Aside from the various reasons that could be invoked to try to explain why one faction could not prevail over another and consequently seize power to the detriment of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's scions, it must be acknowledged that his last decision was his most successful, the apex of a long and perhaps Machiavellian reign: he managed to keep power within his family. In most cases, when one of his descendants was deposed, whatever the reasons put forward, the mamluks routinely chose the elder rather than the younger candidate, thus demonstrating that they were hoping for a promising sultan rather than a puppet.[137] Moreover, for several decades, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's progeny supplied an almost endless reservoir of suitable candidates to the sultanate; among the *awlād al-nās,* they constituted a separate, privileged category, the *asyād,* the descendants of a sultan, the family of a ruler, the members of a *bayt,* who not only formed a special unit inside the *ḥalqah,*[138] but also had the right to reside at the citadel.[139] It was not until almost a century later, during Barsbāy's reign (in 836/1433), that al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's scions were finally ousted from the citadel, together with the idle mamluks.[140] Even in

[137]See Van Steenbergen, "'Is anyone my guardian . . .?' Mamlūk Under-age Rule and the Later Qalāwūnids." See also, for instance, al-Shujāʿī, *Al-Tārīkh,* 140 (Baybars al-Aḥmadī's reaction at the nomination of Kujuk, still a child: "*lā yaṣluḥ illā man yakūn rajul kabīr yaʿrif tadbīr al-mulk*").

[138]Ulrich Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage: Mamluks and Their Sons in the Intellectual Life of Fourteenth-Century Egypt and Syria," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 33 (1988): 103; idem, "Joseph's Law—The Careers and Activities of Mamluk Descendants before the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt," 64.

[139]See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 3:87, regarding Ḥājjī ibn al-Ashraf Shaʿbān: "*wa-amarahu bi-iqāmatihi fī dārihi bi-qalʿat al-jabal jaryan ʿalá ʿādat banī al-asyād.*" According to al-Maqrīzī, there were more than 600 of them living in the citadel in the twenties of the ninth/fifteenth century. They got revenues from various sources (salaries from the sultan and fiefs). See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. Maḥmūd Jalīlī (Beirut, 2002) 1:572–73 ("*wa-aqāma fīman aqāma min Banī Qalāwūn bi-qalʿat al-jabal wa-la-hum fuḍūl amwāl wa-murattabāt sulṭānīyah wa-iqṭāʿāt wa-kāna yuqāl la-hum al-asyād wa-balaghat ziyādatuhum ʿalā sitt miʾah fa-lam yazal ʿadaduhum yaqillu wa-māluhum yanquṣu wa-saʿduhum yadburu wa-jāhuhum yaḍmaḥillu ḥattá ṣārū ilá ḍīq baʿd jāh ʿarīḍ wa-dawālīb kathīrah li-iʿtiṣār qaṣab al-sukkar bi-bilād al-ṣaʿīd wa-maṭābikh lil-sukkar bi-madīnat Miṣr wa-khuddām ṭawāshīyah la-hum ʿadad kathīr wa-amwāl jammah wa-takhdimuhum ʿiddat mubāshirīn yuʿrafūn bi-mubāshirī al-asyād li-kull kabīr min al-asyād dīwān mufrad."*) Besides this, the *asyād* were awarded amirate ranks with suitable *iqṭāʿāt*. See Levanoni, "*Awlad al-nas,"* 100–1. The lands they held were reintroduced in the *iqṭāʿ* system when Barqūq instituted the *dīwān al-mufrad*. See Ulrich Haarmann, "The Sons of the Mamluks as Fief-Holders in Late Medieval Egypt," in *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East,* ed. Tarif Khalidi (Beirut, 1984), 142–44.

[140]See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 4:889–90 : "*wa-muniʿa man baqiya min al-asyād awlād al-mulūk min dhurrīyat al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn min sukná al-Qāhirah wa-ṭulūʿihā wa-ukhrijū min dūrihim bi-hā wa-kānū lammā muniʿū min sinīn sakana aktharuhum bi-al-Qāhirah wa-ẓawāhirihā fa-dhallū baʿd ʿizzihim wa-tabadhdhalū baʿd taḥajjubihim wa-baqiya min aʿyānihim ṭāʾifah muqīmah bi-al-Qalʿah wa-tanzil bi-al-Qāhirah li-ḥājātihā thumma taʿūd ilá dūrihā fa-ukhrijū bi-ajmaʿihim fī hādhihi al-ayyām*

801/1398–99, some of them had been granted a stipend by Barqūq on the sole basis that they were part of the late sultan's progeny.[141]

In conclusion, we have seen that the issue of succession inside the Qalāwūnid house had been considered by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad at a very early date. In order to prepare his most promising successors for the throne, he chose to adopt a series of measures that concerned most of these sons, measures mostly echoed by a "mirror for princes" written contemporarily with these events. The main motive for such preparation was the notion that, being sons of the ruler and thus *awlād al-nās,* they would lack relationships, ties, and links with the most powerful mamluks, a network of supporters, and qualities needed for rulership. If preparation was not a guarantee of success, it should have helped these sons in any case. What al-Nāṣir Muḥammad probably failed to realize was that experience was also required to be an effective ruler.

wa-muniʿū min al-qalʿah fa-tafarraqū shadhar madhar kamā faʿala abūhum al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn bi-awlād al-mulūk Banī Ayyūb wa-kadhālik faʿala Allāh bi-Banī Ayyūb kamā faʿala abūhum al-Kāmil Muḥammad ibn al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb bi-awlād al-Khulafāʾ al-Fāṭimīyīn 'wa-la yaẓlim rabbuka aḥadan' [*al-Kahf*, 49]." The reference to a previous partial expulsion must be dated to the end of 825/1422, at the beginning of Barsbāy's rule. See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 8:184.

[141] See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 7:216, regarding Muḥammad ibn Ḥājjī: "*ṣallá ʿalayhi al-Ẓāhir Barqūq bi-al-ḥawsh al-sulṭānī min al-qalʿah wa-qarrara li-awlādihi wa-hum ʿasharah rātiban.*"

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The Tribal Dimension in Mamluk-Jordanian Relations

A growing interest in provincial history is producing alternative understandings of Mamluk political culture, ones that recognize the contributions and influence of local actors.[1] Given the uniquely local perspective of Syrian sources, the frequency with which one encounters references to local families and their larger tribal networks is not surprising. Jordanian *nisbah*s are a staple of Syrian biographical dictionaries, *waqfīyāt,* and chronicles of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, indicating the degree to which the peoples of Transjordan participated in the cultural, intellectual, economic, and indeed political life of the time in southern Syria. Malkawis, Ḥisbānīs, and Ḥubrasis made academic careers in Damascus, Jerusalem, and Cairo and were active in Sufi organizations outside their home towns; Shobakis acquired land at an early stage in the development of private estates, endowing much of it as family and charitable *awqāf* at the turn of the ninth/fifteenth century; ʿAjlūnīs controlled markets and were successful in business; Kerakis were a constant challenge to the state in the fifteenth century, playing an active role in rebellions of myriad forms.[2] These teachers, businessmen, and rebels, regardless of where they were actually born and raised, traced their

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[1] Yūsuf Ghawānimah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Ḥaḍarī li-Sharq al-Urdunn fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Amman, 1982); idem, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī li-Sharq al-Urdunn fī ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī al-Awwal (al-Mamālīk al-Baḥrīyah)* (Amman, 1982); and idem, *Dimashq fī ʿAṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Thānīyah* (Amman, 2005); Taha Tarawneh [Tarāwinah], *The Province of Damascus during the Second Mamluk Period (784/1382–922/1516)* (Irbid, 1987); Alexandrine Guérin, "Terroirs, Territoire et Peuplement en Syrie Méridionale à la Période Islamique (VIIe siècle–XVIe siècle): Étude de Cas: le Village de Msayké et la Région du Lağa" (Ph.D. diss., University of Paris–Lyon II, 1997); Aḥmad al-Jawārinah, *Tārīkh al-Urdunn fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Amman, 1999); Yehoshua Frenkel, "Agriculture, Land-Tenure and Peasants in Palestine During the Mamluk Period," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras,* ed. Urbain Vermeulen and Jo van Steenbergen (Leuven, 2001), 193–208; Shawkat Ḥajjah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī li-Minṭaqat Sharq al-Urdunn (min Junūb al-Shām) fī ʿAṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Thānīyah* (Irbid, 2002); Zayde Antrim, "Place and Belonging in Medieval Syria, 6th/12th to 8th/14th Centuries" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 2005) and idem, "Making Syria Mamluk: Ibn Shaddad's *Al-Aʿlaq al-Khaṭīrah,*" *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 1 (2007): 1–18; Bethany Walker, "The Role of Agriculture in Mamluk-Jordanian Power Relations," in *Proceedings of Roundtable on the Age of the Sultanates,* ed. Bethany Walker and Jean-François Salles (Damascus, 2007), 77–96; and idem, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages: Transformation of the Mamluk Frontier,* forthcoming.

[2] For examples of entries of ulama with Jordanian *nisbah*s found in contemporary biographical dictionaries, see Ghawānimah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Ḥaḍarī,* 169–200.

roots to Jordan, the majority maintaining close ties with kin there.[3]

There was, of course, no "Jordan" in the Mamluk period—a province (Mamlakat Karak) and the southernmost district of another (Mamlakat Dimashq) comprised the territory of what is today's Hashemite Kingdom. The region was, in short, not an administrative unit. This is not the place to postulate whether, in spite of this, a "Jordanian" identity existed then—that belongs to another study. Nonetheless, there was, as there is today, a strong tribal dimension to Transjordanian society, a social cohesion created and reinforced by tribal ties and self-reference. Contemporary sources support this anthropological understanding of tribal society, as they describe the extent to which the Mamluk state tried at times to engage, at others break through, the complex tribal networks that permeated Jordanian societies. Economic life was, in part, structured by these networks, as were the relations that bound scholars in Damascus to ʿAjlūn and Kerak and Jerusalem. Moreover, political power here was channeled through such networks, on both the local and imperial levels. The Mamluk state could not avoid encounters and confrontations with Jordanian tribes and their wide-flung and complex web of political, social, and economic ties.

While Transjordan represented the eastern frontier of the Mamluk empire, it was not peripheral to the political and strategic interests of the state. Transjordan was a linchpin in the Mamluk state's defense against foreign invasion, as well as control over the peoples of Syria. At the beginning of the Mamluk period Transjordan represented a security concern; Ayyubid princes still maintained castles there, and the principle hajj route from Damascus to Mecca ran through the middle of the region. Sultan Baybars initiated an ambitious defensive project that involved reinforcing the citadel walls and towers at former Ayyubid castles, such as Kerak and Shobak, and building new fortifications at what would become rural capitals, such as Ḥisbān and Salṭ.[4] He also built and leveled roads and reorganized the *barīd* system that would, by the eighth/fourteenth century, blossom into a comprehensive communications network of postal centers *(marākiz),* pigeon and fire towers, and caravan and pilgrim stops. Local tribesmen, who maintained tight social networks and were well armed and mobile, represented an immediate threat to this infrastructure. To secure the eastern frontier required controlling a complex tribal society that was not fully understood, culturally marginal, and never wholly incorporated into the state structure.

Recent scholarship in political anthropology and post-colonial theory have demonstrated that peoples and places normally on the geographical and cultural

[3]The complex meanings of *nisbahs* in the Mamluk period is considered in David Ayalon, "Names, Titles, and 'Nisbas' of the Mamluks," *Israel Oriental Society* 4 (1975): 189–232.

[4]Bethany Walker, "Mamluk Investment in Southern *Bilād al-Shām* in the Fourteenth Century: The Case of Ḥisbān," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 62, no. 3 (2003): 243.

margins of the state emerge in times of political flux as critical to its maintenance or reform.[5] The "imperial margins" described in such work are places of partial belonging that have always demonstrated some degree of autonomy or are beyond complete state control; are often subjected to irregular administrative practices, administrative or economic experimentation, and sporadic political violence; and are frequently the locus of resistance. They provide an ideal vantage point from which to observe the instability of state power and the mechanisms of its transformation. Tribal societies, which are flexible in structure and tend to move in and out of imperial systems as sociopolitical conditions change, are natural "margins" through which to evaluate political change.[6] Rather than merely impassive subjects of imperial action, they can be political agents in their own right, impacting the state in important ways.

The following offers a few thoughts on ways to evaluate the exercise of political power by the Mamluk state in Transjordan at the turn of the fifteenth century. The central point of reference is the multiple relationships between the state and local tribes, considering not only the imposition of the imperial authority on local peoples, but also the ways in which the tribes helped to shape political culture in the region. It is a provincial perspective on Mamluk politics that pulls on textual and anthropological analysis and archaeological data to evaluate the ability of local actors to transform the imperial system during periods of political instability and turmoil.

Defining Jordanian Tribalism

Before we address the question of whether the Jordanian tribes were a political force at the turn of the fifteenth century, we must define what we mean by a "tribe." The anthropological definition is a group of people that claim descent from a common ancestor. The term usually reserved for this in contemporary sources is "*ʿashīr*" (pl. *ʿushrān*). Local clans and tribal confederations are collectively referred to as *ʿushrān*.[7] The term refers to a form of social organization and is not

[5]Veena Das and Deborah Poole, eds., *Anthropology in the Margins of the State* (Oxford, 2004); Thomas Hansen and Finn Stepputat, *Sovereign Bodies: Citizens, Migrants, and States in the Postcolonial World* (Princeton, 2005).

[6]Øystein LaBianca, "Indigenous Hardiness Structures and State Formation in Jordan: Towards a History of Jordan's Resident Arab Population," in *Ethnic Encounters and Change,* ed. Muhammad Sabour and Knut Vikør (London, 1997), 143–57.

[7]A comprehensive presentation on the individual tribes of Jordan is well beyond the scope of this article. The reader should consult one of several works available on the topic. Al-Ẓāhirī describes individual Transjordanian tribes in some detail (Ghars al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī, *Zoubdat kachf el-mamâlik: Tableau politique et administrative de l'Égypte, de la Syrie et du Hidjâz sous la domination des soultans mamloûks du XIII au XV siècle,* ed. Paul Ravaisse [Paris, 1894], 105ff). In the third chapter of his chancellery manual, *Kitāb Tathqīf,* Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh, an official of Sultan

specific to any economic strategy or settlement pattern: it can refer to peasants, herdsmen, villagers, nomads, or any combination of these.[8] The term is generally used in collective reference to the Muslims of Transjordan.[9] More often individual tribes or clans are named, in the context of specific events, such as targeted strikes on specific tribes by Mamluk amirs[10] or the hospitality shown by others towards a sultan.[11]

Among the *ʿushrān* of Jordan, Syrian sources differentiate between the *ʿurbān* and *ahl al-balad.*[12] The *ʿurbān* (s. *ʿarab*) appear with the most frequency on account of their attacks on state officials and villages and raids on trade and pilgrimage caravans.[13] The violence of this group is often cited by contemporaries as a

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Barqūq, describes the proper address for Arab amirs and tribal leaders in formal correspondence (Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-Taymī al-Ḥalabī al-Miṣrī ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh, *Kitāb Tathqīf al-Taʿrīf bi-al-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf,* ed. Rudolf Veselý (Cairo, 1987). Brief references to individual tribes and events, however, are found in most Arabic sources of the period. See also A. S. Tritton, "The Tribes of Syria in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 12 (1947): 567–73; Frederick Peake, *A History of Jordan and its Tribes* (Coral Gables, 1958); Ghawānimah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Ḥaḍarī,* 135–40; and Ḥajjah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī,* 211–17, for information regarding their political relationships to one another, territory under their control, and their impact on the local economy.

[8]For a discussion of the wide-ranging use of this term in a Jordanian context, see Ḥajjah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī,* 211–22. For an alternative understanding of the term, as semi-nomadic or sedentarized tribes, see Robert Irwin, "Tribal Feuding and Mamluk Factions in Medieval Syria," in *Texts, Documents, and Artefacts: Islamic Studies in Honour of D. S. Richards,* ed. Chase Robinson (Leiden, 2003), 256.

[9]Jordan has a significant Christian minority, historically concentrated in the larger towns of Kerak, Shobak, and ʿAjlūn. They are generally referred to as among *ahl al-Karak, ahl al-Shawbak,* and so on (Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages,* Ch. 2).

[10]The Banū al-Maghrāwī were singled out among the *ʿurbān* of ʿAjlūn District for their insolence and independence. In 807/1404 the governor of Syria seized their homes, money, crops, and other property and demanded from every clan *(kull ṭāʾif min al-ʿarab)* a number of camels to carry the grains to ʿAdhriʿāt (Taqī al-Dīn Abī Bakr ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh [Damascus, 1997], 4:397).

[11]For the hosting of Sultan Barqūq by the Beni Mahdi at Ḥisbān, see below.

[12]Ibn Ḥijjī occasionally differentiates villagers and farmers *(al-nās min arbāb al-qūrah wa-al-baṣaṭīn)* from the *ʿarab;* both, however are *ʿashīr* (see, for example, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās al-Saʿīdī al-Ḥasbānī ibn Ḥijjī al-Dimashqī, *Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī,* ed. Abū Yaḥyá ʿAbd Allāh al-Kundarī [Beirut, 2003], 2:769, 777).

[13]The most powerful and established tribes of the *ʿurbān* were the Banū Sakhr (and their clans), the Banū ʿUqbah (and their clans), and the Banū Lām (Muḥammad al-Bakhīt, "Mamlakat al-Karak fī al-ʿAhd al-Mamlūkī," as *Das Königreich von al-Karak in der mamlukischen Zeit,* ed. Alexander Scheidt [Frankfurt am Main, 1993], 31–32; Ḥajjah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī,* 211–30; Ghawānimah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Ḥaḍarī,* 135–40). The Banū Lām were arguably the greatest of the Transjordanian tribes, as well as the most ruthless. They are best known in Mamluk sources as the tribesmen who made

factor in the economic decline of Syria and the political collapse of the Mamluk provinces.[14] They also appear as part of the state apparatus as caravan guides and guards and are appeased, temporarily, through assignments of amirships and *iqṭāʿāt*. In addition, the Jordanian *ʿurbān* provided the Mamluk state with horses for the *barīd,* camels for transport of grain, and sheep, a staple of the Mamluk diet and a specialty of local herdsmen, then as today.[15] Although the term is used to denote a local Arab elite, it is not entirely clear what specific social, political, or economic groups belonged to it.[16] It is easier, however, to define what the *ʿurbān* were not: they were not Christians, local merchants, or town dwellers.[17] They do include armed groups of Muslims that lived on the desert periphery. According to al-ʿUmarī, the *ʿurbān* included Arabs who claimed descent from the nomads of the Arabian Peninsula, regardless of whether they continued the nomadic existence or had settled in villages.[18] While largely herdsmen, it is likely that many lived at least seasonally in small villages and did some farming.[19]

The term *ahl al-balad* refers to everyone else. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, one of our most important sources on Jordanian society in this period, uses the term in the broad sense of the people of a region,[20] but more frequently townsmen, villagers, and residents of dispersed hamlets, in other words people of an identifiable residence. They comprised both Muslims and Christians and included local officials and the intelligentsia, merchants, and tribal leaders who lived inside the town proper.[21]

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a living from attacking pilgrim caravans and killing those present.

[14]According to Ḥajjah, the local *ʿurbān* were a critical factor in the financial collapse of Transjordan in the fifteenth century. Their attacks on hajj caravans did considerable damage to the businesses that supported them, and their raids on Jordanian towns and villages destroyed local trade and agriculture, leading to demographic decline (Ḥajjah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Ḥaḍarī,* 229–30).

[15]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 4:397; Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqtaʿs and Fallahun* (Leiden, 1997), 98.

[16]Rapoport comes to a similar conclusion regarding the *ʿurbān* of contemporary Egypt (Yossef Rapoport, "Invisible Peasants, Marauding Nomads: Taxation, Tribalism, and Rebellion in Mamluk Egypt," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 2 [2004]: 1–22.).

[17]For a fuller discussion of this argument, see Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages,* Ch. 3.

[18]See discussion in Rapoport, "Invisible Peasants," 16–17.

[19]See note 23.

[20]In this sense, note, for example, an incident reported by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah: in a struggle over the governorship of Kerak in 802/1399, all the local people *(ahl al-balad)* supported the incumbent (Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 4:81).

[21]Occasionally the medieval historian will emphasize the presence of Christians among the "people" *(ahl)* of the town, particularly in cases of conflict with the local Muslim community, when their loyalty is in doubt. To cite one example, after executing his two top amirs, Alṭunbughā and Ṭashtamur, in 742/1342, Sultan al-Nāṣir Aḥmad ordered the people of Kerak *(ahl al-Karak),* "Christians and others," to take the widows and children of these amirs by force, an action strongly

Culturally, they were virtually indistinguishable from the *ʿurbān,* many of whom belonged to the same *ʿushrān*. Both groups were armed and shared the same customs, value system, and local identity: both the *ʿurbān* and *ahl al-balad* of Kerak were "Kerakis." Socially, however, *ahl al-balad* were distinguished from other tribesmen, as the Christians among them did not belong to the extensive tribal networks that comprised the *ʿushrān* proper. This is suggested, in part, by the formula "*al-ʿushrān wa-ahl al-balad,*" used by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah to indicate the participation of all local people in an event—Muslim and Christian.[22]

The ambiguity of these terms reflects in part an incomplete knowledge about Jordanian tribal society by the Mamluk state as well as its fluid structure and economic strategies. Traditional Jordanian society was always based on a mixed agricultural and pastoral economy. As a result, many individuals spent part of the year in permanently built stone houses in villages, while seasonally living in the fields to guard crops or tend to herds.[23] In addition, residents of large towns often owned land in the countryside, which family members tended and on which they resided seasonally.[24] We will examine this fluidity of residence, which is a survival strategy special to southern Syria, later in this article. Nonetheless, the scholars' demographic categories based on residence and subsistence may not accurately reflect the complexity and overlapping points of self-reference of Jordanians in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; neither did the terms used by contemporaries based in Damascus and Cairo. The terms *ʿurbān* and *ahl al-balad* reflect at best the ways state officials understood their engagement with local peoples: one of potential conflict with people in places not easily administered and one of mixed

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condemned by contemporaries (Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 4:81).

[22]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:107.

[23]A contemporary description of these village houses is reproduced from a fourteenth-century *waqfīyah* in Yūsuf Ghawānimah, "Al-Qaryah fī Junūb al-Shām (al-Urdunn wa-Filisṭīn) fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī fī Ḍawʾ Waqfīyat Ādar," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 1 (1982): 363–71. For archaeological reports and architectural analyses of Mamluk-period domestic ruins, see Bāsim al-Maḥāmīd, "Ḥufriyāt Tall Dhibān al-Āthārī Mawsim 2002," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 47 (2003): 71–76 (Dhibān); Alison McQuitty, "The Rural Landscape of Jordan in the Seventh-Nineteenth Centuries AD: the Kerak Plateau," *Antiquity* 79 (2005): 327–38, and idem, "Khirbat Fāris: Vernacular Architecture on the Kerak Plateau, Jordan," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 1 (2007): 157–71 (Khirbat Fāris—Kerak Plateau); Bethany Walker and Øystein LaBianca, "Tall Ḥisbān, 2004 Season," *American Journal of Archaeology* 109, no. 3 (2005): 536–39 (Ḥisbān); Bethany Walker, "Northern Jordan Project, 2006 Season: Preliminary Report on Fieldwork in Sahm and Ḥubrāṣ," in "Archaeology in Jordan," ed. C. Tuttle and B. Porter, *American Journal of Archaeology* 111, no. 3 (2007): in print (Sahm and Ḥubrāṣ).

[24]Poliak's observation about the half-sedentary lifestyle of the *ʿurbān* reflects this phenomenon (A. N. Poliak, "Les révoltes populaires en Égypte à l'époque des Mamelouks," *Révue des études islamiques* 8 [1934]: 258).

benefit with places under direct control of the state. In short, such terms stand for two categories of place the state authorities could easily recognize and that fell into two different administrative categories: the walled town (with its village satellites and agricultural hinterland) versus the open countryside.[25]

Perceptions of "the Other"

How did the state engage local tribes and upon what assumptions? Did the cultural distance between urban Cairo and rural Transjordan contribute to misunderstandings or exacerbate political tensions? Kerak emerges from contemporary sources as the ultimate symbol of Jordanian tribalism. The language used to describe the place and its people alternates from disregard to respect and fear, reflecting the political challenges this semi-autonomous provincial capital presented to the state. While certainly unique among administrative and defensive centers in Jordan for its size and political importance, official images of the place are suggestive of the ways local society was at times tamed, at others considered a political threat.

The physical and perceived political and cultural distance of Kerak from Cairo is behind many of the derogatory literary devices used to describe life in Kerak Castle.[26] Written sources present a rather unflattering image of life in the castle, which probably reinforced the belief that the lifestyle adopted by royal exiles here was frivolous and the place politically non-threatening. Here is where a sultan's son would go to drink, meet women (and men), and waste his time; it was a land beyond the legal and cultural norms of Egyptian society; here was freedom from official duties and responsibilities. This is exactly where the perceptions of the capital failed to grasp the political realities of the province. Desert lands are not

[25]The imprecision of nomenclature in reference to local tribes is echoed in the sliding tax scale used by the Ottomans in the sixteenth century to reflect degree of control over the local population (Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth, "Ottoman Administration of the Desert Frontier in the Sixteenth Century," *Asian and African Studies* 19 (1985): 145–55). For example, the tax categories of the *mezrāʿah* were ambiguous and could refer to a hamlet, an isolated (grain) field, or a tribe (ibid., 151–52; see also use of term in the Arabic commentaries on the tax registers of Liwāʾ ʿAjlūn in Muḥammad al-Bakhīt and Noufan Hmoud, *The Detailed Defter of Liwāʾ ʿAjlūn (The District of Ajlun) Tapu Defteri No. 970* (Amman, 1989), and idem, *The Detailed Defter of Liwāʾ ʿAjlūn (The District of Ajlun) Tapu Defteri No. 185, Ankara 1005 A.H./1596 A.D.* (Amman, 1991).

[26]Under normal circumstances, the journey from Cairo to Kerak should have taken a couple of weeks. However, Sultan Baybars in 675/1276 made that trip in only eleven days (Fawzi Zayadine, "Caravan Routes Between Egypt and Nabataea and the Voyage of Sultan Baibars to Petra in 1276," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 2 [1985]: 171). This was an unexpectedly fast trip, as the sultan was on campaign. Sultan Aḥmad in 742/1342, anxious to return to a city to which he had a special attachment, accomplished the same in a mere six days (Joseph Drory, "The Prince Who Favored the Desert: Fragmentary Biography of al-Nāṣir Aḥmad [d. 745/1344]," in *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in Honour of Michael Winter,* ed. David Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon [New York, 2006], 27).

necessarily isolated or apolitical, nor are tribal societies without structure and cultural norms. Criticisms of local society and the "laxity" residence here produced in privileged exiles, such as sultans' sons, illustrate a cultural condescension that underestimated its political potential. That is not to say that local tribesmen were not paid off when needed—they certainly were—but there was never a coherent policy to fully incorporate them into the state through marriage alliances, long-term residence, or some degree of assimilation, strategies with cultural currency then and today.[27] Three notable exceptions are found in the practices of Sultans al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, his son Aḥmad, and Barqūq, who made frequent trips to, and occasionally resided in, local towns and "Bedouin" encampments and were familiar with the local culture and its norms.

Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad felt a particular obligation to the people of Kerak, who had played a critical role militarily in returning him to the throne for his third reign and in whose company the sultan often travelled when in Syria. He was exiled twice to Kerak: the first time in 697–99/1297–99 as a child (deposed by his amirs) and then again in 709–10/1309–10, a self-imposed exile, which bought him time and opportunity to build an army and regain the throne. He had developed an attachment to Kerak and had developed political and social ties with its people. This sultan had a special respect for the tribal society of Kerak and its culture. He considered Kerak a kind of wet nurse, a healthy place for future sultans to grow up and grow tough. He sent his own sons there to be trained in martial techniques, utilizing the new *maydān* there for this purpose, and to acquire *furūsīyah.*[28] His sons Aḥmad, Ibrāhīm, Abū Bakr, and Ramaḍān were, essentially, raised there, with the hope that they would acquire the best qualities of tribal culture and would gain the love and respect of the local people.

The language used in two *taqlīds* sent to the amir Maliktamur describes Kerak in terms of "homeland" and its people as the sultan's "flock." In this first document, Maliktamur is assigned the governorship of Kerak and made responsible for the well-being of the sultan's son. The text, preserved by al-Qalqashandī, expresses the sultan's sentiments towards "a land that has become for us a home, whose virtues are in our hearts from love for its people *(min ḥubb al-waṭn),* and where our sons continue to live." Not long afterwards, and shortly before his death, the sultan issued a second *taqlīd,* in which he promotes his son Aḥmad to the governorship but retains Maliktamur's services there to assist him. Here the sultan expresses a patron's care in tribal terms, as he reminds his amir that "these are

[27]While one does read of the occasional marriage between Mamluk and tribal families, they are exceptional. Note, for example, the marriage of Amir Minṭāsh to a daughter of Nuʿayr ibn Ḥayyār ibn Muhannaʾ, the great Arab amir of Barqūq's reign. The alliance meant to be solidified by this union, however, failed (Irwin, "Tribal Feuding and Mamluk Factions," 260).

[28]Ghawānimah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī,* 195–96; Drory, "The Prince Who Favored the Desert," 19.

our dependants, in your care, and our flock, belonging to us and you. Shield them with your wings, and indulge them."[29] In these documents the sultan adopted culturally appropriate terms to describe his relationship with this province, which was pastoral and tribal.

Thus, the Jordanian *ʿushrān* were imagined simultaneously as a people of particular martial qualities and skills, a flock in need of a shepherd, and a society without structure or discipline. What were Jordanian perceptions of the Mamluk state? It is difficult to identify the particular perspective of the *ʿushrān* in Syrian sources. Such abstractions as cultural perceptions and preferences are not easily retrieved from the archaeological record, either, which is otherwise quite informative about local society—its subsistence, consumption, and standards of living. Nevertheless, formal complaints against local officials by Jordanian villages, which are recorded with greater frequency from the mid-fourteenth century, do articulate the kinds of expectations people had about the state and what practices they found the most exploitative, culturally insensitive, and short-sighted.

In his recent book on Damascus in the Circassian period, the Jordanian historian Yūsuf Ghawānimah spares no words of criticism in his evaluation of the impact of Mamluk policies on rural society. On the basis of polemics by Damascus-based historians, Ghawānimah essentially describes *iqṭāʿ* holders and local officials as exploitative colonists, who were violent and uninterested in the well-being of local people: they "were particularly tyrannical to the peasants, harsh and arbitrary in their dealings, assaulting their honor and property."[30] The critiques of villagers echo these sentiments. The people of the Jordan River Valley (the Ghūr) filed numerous complaints against officials posted there at the turn of the fifteenth century, largely in response to illegal diversion of shared water, forced labor on sugar plantations, physical violence, inability to react to local crises, and inappropriate use of the land.[31] It is in the language used to describe the reception of popular officials, however, that popular images of the state are clarified: Amir Zayn al-Dīn Zubālah (d. 784/1382), *Bāshir al-Aghwār,* "loved the people;"[32] Amir Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Dīn (d. 784/1382), another *Bāshir al-Aghwār,* was "meritorious" *(min mashkūrīn);*[33] and Amir Sayf al-Dīn Baydamar (d. 789/1388), *Bāshir al-Aghwār,* "was known for his good [administrative] practice

[29] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ* (Cairo, 1963), 12:226–32; Ghawānimah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī,* 196.

[30] Ghawānimah, *Dimashq,* 31 (translation mine).

[31] For a fuller discussion of these themes, see Walker, "The Role of Agriculture," and idem, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages,* Ch. 2.

[32] Ibn Ḥijjī, in Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:97.

[33] Ibn Ḥijjī, in ibid., 102.

(ishtahara bi-ḥusn al-mubāshirah) and good reputation."[34] Expectations ran low among the people of the Ghūr, however, after surviving a series of corrupt and violent administrators, so that they cautiously awaited the arrival of each new official. This cynicism is reflected in Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's assessment of Amir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Tālik (d. 799/1396), *Mutakallim al-Ghūr,* of whom he claims "there is no doubt about it, he was better than most!"[35] Apathy, greed, and ineptitude were to some degree expected from local officials, who were often the only point of contact between rural communities and the state.

The ambiguities of such cultural perceptions exacerbated tensions and created irregularities in practice and in responses it elicited. In the period of intense clientage that followed the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, state officials tried to manipulate local tribal networks as they did the urban networks of Cairo, but with less facility.[36] Likewise, local societies saw the state as both a necessary evil in moderating tribal conflicts, as well as a foreign, and usually unwelcome and exploitative, presence, whose ignorance about local resources and peoples caused damage in the long term. Disdain and distrust characterize the images of "the other" that occasionally emerge from the texts, modelling the ways in which both parties engaged the other. The state tried three strategies to control local tribes, each informed by assumptions about Jordanian society held by the Mamluk elite: selective cultural assimilation, clientage, and confrontation through military force. The response of Jordanian tribes to these efforts was effective at times in preventing further imperial penetration of the area but, more importantly, also transformed, in subtle ways, the Mamluks' administrative and political culture.

Assimilation

As a show of military force was financially and politically costly, and risky, the Mamluk state generally attempted first to neutralize the potential of political opposition from local tribes through co-option. The "softest" strategies involved a kind of selective assimilation, through the partial adoption of local customs for political purposes, and cultivating ties with local tribal networks, through occasional residence or repeated visitation. The irregular reign of Sultan Aḥmad best illustrates the former trend. Although the story of his residence in Kerak is well known to Mamluk historians, a review of some salient points about his cultural transformation there is relevant here.[37]

[34]Ibid., 226.

[35]Ibid., 639.

[36]For the social and political maneuvering of the Mamluk elite during this period, see Jo Van Steenbergen, *Order out of Chaos: Patronage, Conflict and Mamluk Socio-Political Culture, 1341–1382* (Leiden, 2006), Ch. 2.

[37]The following summarizes the account presented by Shams al-Dīn al-Shujāʿī, who was a

Al-Nāṣir Aḥmad spent more time at Kerak than he did in Cairo: through a complex series of events, he essentially became "Jordanian" and no longer felt comfortable in Cairene Mamluk society. Aḥmad's first trip to Kerak was in 726/1325, when his father, the reigning sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, sent him there, to be joined later by his brothers, to be raised, educated, and disciplined.[38] Aḥmad was eight years old at the time. The boys were eventually called home to Cairo by their father; Aḥmad did not stay long, though, as his father sent him back to Kerak soon afterwards. In 731/1330 al-Nāṣir Muḥammad once again called his son to Cairo, this time for his circumcision; Aḥmad had the surgery and returned to Kerak. Seven years later, he was summoned home for a third time, on this occasion to marry. At this point the reason for Aḥmad's reluctance to marry and remain in Cairo for any length of time was revealed to the sultan, either as a rumor or an official report: he had fallen in love with a Keraki boy, whom he showered with gifts. Moreover, the sultan learned, his son spent his time in Kerak drinking and occasionally left the citadel wearing Keraki shoes.[39] The implication that he had "gone native" was enough to infuriate his father and insist that he stay in Cairo: the ties he was developing with Kerak smacked of rebellion and shame.

His father died later that year, and Aḥmad used the opportunity to free himself of Cairo, he believed, once and for all. He withdrew to Kerak, which he now claimed as his territory through his father's *taqlīd,* and his brother Abū Bakr, the *wālī ʿahd,* was put on the throne. After Abū Bakr's arrest and exile to (and later execution in) Qūṣ in Upper Egypt, Aḥmad was declared sultan and eventually forced to return to Cairo to take the throne, which he did in 741/1342, in the company of a small group of Keraki intimates and clad in Bedouin dress *(zayy al-ʿurbān).*[40] His return to Cairo was, however, brief, as he went back to Kerak only 51 days later, serving a mere two days in the Dār al-ʿAdl. He meant for this move to be permanent: Sultan Aḥmad took the imperial Treasury with him, along with stocks of food and various supplies; it appears he meant to move the capital to Kerak. His amirs could not comprehend such an act and sincerely feared what

contemporary of these events (as *Tārīkh al-Mālik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī wa-Awlādihi,* ed. and tr. Barbara Schäfer [Wiesbaden, 1985], 35, 69–71, 250–53, 278–80), and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, who borrows largely from al-Shujāʿī and Ibn Kathīr (Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:125–421).

[38] See al-Maqrīzī's account of the same, where young Aḥmad is disciplined in *furūsīyah* (Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk*, ed. Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Saʿīd ʿĀshūr [Cairo, 1956], 2:272).

[39] Al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh,* 69; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:421.

[40] Drory, "The Prince Who Favored the Desert," 24, citing Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* and al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*.

such a move would do to the stability of the state.[41] Al-Shujāʿī describes this pivotal event in terms of a physical transformation of the sultan, as Aḥmad left the Cairo citadel and headed towards Kerak:

> The sultan got down [off his horse], took off his garments [of state], and put on luxurious Arab dress and was draped in two veils *(wa-daraba lahu li-thamayn)*. The Kerakis came to his side, and he mounted a camel and rode this way on the open road to Kerak.[42]

The amirs begged the sultan to return to Cairo. Once again, Sultan Aḥmad's response is indicative of his attitude towards his office, and his image of Kerak's position in the empire:

> Syria is mine, and Egypt is mine, and Kerak is mine, and any place important to me where I have resided. You don't bother to visit me, so I am under no restrictions of yours.[43]

The amirs were furious and, after repeated pleas for his return to Cairo and the return of the Treasury, put his brother on the throne. The winter of that year (743/1344), two years after Sultan Aḥmad left Cairo for good, and after seven or eight campaigns, the armies of Egypt and Syria met at Kerak, took the citadel, with the help of a *muqaddam* of local *ʿurbān* foot soldiers, Bāligh ibn Yūsuf ibn Tayyiʾ,[44] captured Aḥmad and assassinated him, decapitating him, cutting off his arms, and burying the body (minus the head) where it belonged, in the soil of Kerak.

Sultan Aḥmad's assimilation to Jordanian culture was sharply criticized by contemporaries, who cited it as an example of personal folly, suggesting that it threatened the stability of the state.[45] While I know of no comparable instances of

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[41] One of the sultan's closest advisors tried to talk him out of this move: "O lord, what is so important that you must go [to Kerak]? Once you leave we will devour each other *(naʾkulu baʿḍunā baʿḍan),* and the crops will be destroyed, [at this time], during the harvest" (Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:246; in a slightly different form in al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh,* 250).

[42] Al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh,* 253; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:247.

[43] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:296.

[44] He is described as the "ornament of the tribes and the support of the kings and the sultans" *(zayn al-qabāʾil . . . ʿumdat al-mulūk wa-al-salāṭīn)* in a *manshūr* granting him an *iqṭāʿ* for his services to the state in this event (preserved by al-Maqrīzī and published by Frédéric Bauden, "The Recovery of Mamluk Chancery Documents in an Unsuspected Place," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society*, ed. Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni [Leiden, 2004], 59–76).

[45] Ibn Iyās called him a "crazy teacher" *(muʿallim majnūn);* al-ʿAsqalānī accused him of mismanagement and preoccupation with his own personal pleasures; for al-Ṣafadī he caused social and spiritual harm to the people; to Ibn Taghrībirdī he was frivolous and thoughtless; and to al-Maqrīzī "the ruin of the monarchy *(sabab li-kharab al-mamlakah)* (Drory, "The Prince Who

cultural assimilation among the Mamluk elite, there are hints in Syrian sources of attempts by sultans and their representatives to present themselves in culturally acceptable forms. Visiting local communities, for example, was a more subtle form of cultural engagement that required from the representative of the state some knowledge of local cultural norms and tribal structure. The visits of two sultans to the town of Ḥisbān and their temporary, and fully voluntary, residence there are suggestive of the ways targeted visitation was put to political use.

On a strategic hilltop location some 25 kilometers south of Amman, overlooking the grain fields of the Madaba Plains and the northeast corner of the Dead Sea, the town of Ḥisbān was a very old settlement of Byzantine, Roman, and Moabite foundations. Its importance in the Islamic period was tied to its location, which made it a convenient stop on the pilgrimage caravans to Mecca and Jerusalem.[46] Ḥisbān was already a substantial settlement with its own qadi, madrasah, market, citadel,[47] and extensive fields and orchards[48] and was made the capital *(wilāyah)* of the Balqā (the southernmost district of Damascus Province) for a while, likely replacing the town of Salṭ, on the eve of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign.[49] A relatively minor town from the imperial perspective, and a rural administrative center of less than fifty years, Ḥisbān was privileged with sultanic visits on three occasions: twice by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and at least once by Barqūq. It is worth examining in some detail these visits for the light they shed on imperial-tribal relations in the fourteenth century.

The documented visits of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad took place in 709/1309, during a tour of Syria to garner support for his return to the throne, and again in 717/1317, when he visited only Ḥisbān. On the first occasion he sat in audience in the local citadel, presumably meeting with tribal leaders from the region and his amirs, bringing an "iron, Chinese throne" from Kerak for the purpose.[50] On the second

Favored the Desert," 29).

[46]Ḥisbān was a node in the interior pigeon route through Syria, was a stop on the *barīd* route, and was not far from the hajj road from Damascus.

[47]The entrance to the citadel, the upper courses of the fortification walls, and the southwestern tower (which was rebuilt at twice the scale of the other three) appear to be early Mamluk constructions. This work may be attributed to Sultan Baybars, who did similar work at Kerak and Salṭ, strengthening damaged towers by rebuilding them bigger and with higher walls (Walker, "Mamluk Investment in Southern *Bilād al-Shām*," 243; Robin Brown, "Excavation in the 14th Century AD Mamluk Palace at Kerak," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 33 [1989]: 290; Peake, *A History of Jordan and its Tribes,* 80; Ghawānimah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī,* 74, 77).

[48]It was said to have controlled an agricultural area of over 300 villages (al-Ẓāhirī, *Zoubdat Kachf el-Mamalik,* 46).

[49]According to al-ʿAynī, there was already a *walī* serving at Ḥisbān at the beginning of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign, when he visited the site (Ghawānimah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Ḥaḍarī,* 48–49).

[50]Ghawānimah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Ḥaḍarī,* 116, citing al-ʿAynī. The excavators believe the large, vaulted

visit, the sultan left Cairo specifically to visit Ḥisbān and check on its affairs.[51] There he met with his Syrian amirs, including the governor of Syria, thereafter returning to Cairo without traveling on to Damascus.[52] The latter trip took the sultan 12 days from Cairo, a not insignificant period to visit a single town.[53]

During Barqūq's sojourn at Ḥisbān, which in many respects resembled that of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 709/1309, the town was no longer the capital of the Balqā and retained no official importance.[54] Nevertheless, as part of his attempt to return to power in 791/1389, after a year's exile (and house arrest) in Kerak Castle, Barqūq stopped at Ḥisbān en route to Damascus. He stayed for a while with his mamluks and a group of Kerakis who had accompanied him there. From his temporary camp at Ḥisbān, Barqūq corresponded with the governors, qadis, and amirs in Syria, in an effort to confirm the alliances in Syria and to form a new army to march on Cairo.[55]

Where did Barqūq reside during the roughly two weeks he was in Ḥisbān?[56] Most of the citadel was in ruins, with only sporadic or seasonal occupation of individual rooms after an earthquake destroyed the citadel a generation earlier.[57] Although he left Kerak in the company of 500 mamluks and 1000

room to the west of the central courtyard of the governor's residence, the "*dīwān*," was the location of formal meetings with tribal leaders and amirs (Bethany Walker, "Mamluk Administration of Transjordan: Recent Findings from Tall Ḥisbān," *al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭá* 13, no. 2 [2001]: 29–33; idem, "Mamluk Investment in Southern *Bilād al-Shām*," 251; Bethany Walker and Øystein LaBianca, "The Islamic *Quṣūr* of Tall Ḥisbān: Preliminary Report on the 1998 and 2001 Seasons," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 47 [2003]: 447, 449, Fig. 5).

[51] Ghawānimah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī,* 194; full account is provided by al-Nuwayrī.

[52] As governor of Ḥamāh, Abū al-Fidāʾ should have attended this meeting and offered to do so, but the sultan excused him from the long journey, accepting a gift of horses in return (al-Mālik al-Muʾayyad ʿImād al-Dīn Abū al-Fidāʾ, *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar,* as *Tārīkh Abī al-Fidāʾ,* ed. Muḥammad Dayyub [Beirut, 1997], 4:97–98).

[53] Ibid., 428.

[54] Ḥisbān remained the district capital until 757/1356, when the governor *(wālī)* was transferred to Amman. The sources are silent about the rationale for the promotion of Ḥisbān to *wilāyat Balqā,* but as for its demotion in 757/1356, there are indications that the move to Amman served the financial interests of Amir Ṣarghatmish. It is also possible that the Ḥisbān citadel was not usable at this point, as there is archaeological evidence for a mid-century earthquake at the site (Walker, "Mamluk Investment in Southern *Bilād al-Shām,* 254; Walker and LaBianca, "Tall Ḥisbān, 2004 Season," 451).

[55] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:294.

[56] According to Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, Barqūq arrived in Ḥisbān on Thursday, 20 Shawwāl, then left and reached Adhraʿāt and then Zarqah on 3 Dhū al-Qaʿdah (Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:293–95).

[57] See note 54.

Kerakis,[58] he came to Ḥisbān with a small retainer.[59] Upon his arrival in Ḥisbān, he enjoyed the hospitality of the Beni Mahdi.[60] Given the relatively small number of his forces, the circumstances of his residence there, and the physical state of the citadel, he likely stayed in the plains around the citadel, in the camps of the Beni Mahdi.[61] Using modern Jordanian tribal practice as a gauge, it is likely that Barqūq was given quarter with them and shared a large and elaborate *mansef*[62] (eaten communally with the tribal elite). He would have been in the constant company of the Beni Mahdi, who would have had ample opportunity to scrutinize his behavior. There was some political risk involved in accepting hospitality of this sort. Barqūq, who had spent a lengthy exile in Kerak, had become familiar enough with Jordanian tribal customs to successfully fulfill his role as guest among them.

Mamluk culture did not, apparently, hold the same attraction for Jordanians as their tribal culture did for some sultans. I have not identified any evidence in either written or archaeological sources for an attempt to assimilate the Jordanian tribes or any process of acculturation on the part of the *ʿushrān*. There is, on the other hand, some evidence for the cultural assimilation, whether deliberate or not, of the non-Mamluk population of Cairo—a militarization of civilians that is expressed in some consumer goods, such as housewares, textiles, and dress.[63]

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[58]Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt,* ed. Custantin Zurayq (Beirut, 1936), 9:1:125. While the numbers are likely exaggerations on the part of Ibn al-Furāt, it is clear that a large force was traveling with Barqūq, whose lodging could only be provided outside villages and towns.

[59]Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:294.

[60]The Benu Mahdi were one of the most important tribes of the central plateaus, together controlling, with the Beni ʿUqbah, the important hajj route to ʿAqabah and authorized, through assignment of *iqṭāʿāt,* to command a thousand horsemen (Ghawānimah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Ḥaḍarī,* 137; Ḥajjah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī,* 221). Their traditional grazing lands were the Balqā region, including the erstwhile administrative centers of Salṭ, Ḥisbān, and Amman.

[61]Citing once again Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, we learn that the Beni Mahdi put him up in their camp: *wa-dayyafahu ʿArab Banū Mahdī wa-anzalūhu* (*Tārīkh,* 1:294).

[62]The *mansef* is the national dish of Jordan: rice and boiled lamb (or sheep and goat) served in a heavy yoghurt sauce on a large tray. It is often mentioned in Mamluk-period sources in the context of entertaining by and for tribal shaykhs and amirs.

[63]For evidence of the "militarization" of Cairo's civilian population in matters of dress, see Bethany Walker, "The Social Implications of Textile Development in Fourteenth-Century Egypt," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 4 (2000): 167–217, and in housewares, idem, "Ceramic Evidence for Political Transformations in Early Mamluk Egypt," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 1 (2004): 1–114. There is, as well, growing evidence for the popularization of military titles, inscriptions, and blazons in a Syrian ware, called "Glazed Relief Ware" in archaeological circles. Produced in Jerusalem, and likely elsewhere in Syria, bowls in this style are found throughout Palestine and Transjordan in fourteenth-century village sites associated with administrative centers and large

While this phenomenon may be the result of the opening up of the amiral class in the second half of the fourteenth century,[64] the granting of numerous amirships and *iqṭāʿāt* to local tribal leaders in Jordan for the purposes of pacification and road security did not produce a market for "militarized" goods there. The aping of Mamluk culture that appears in Cairo, Jerusalem, Damascus, and other large administrative centers is quite limited in Kerak, Shobak, ʿAjlūn, or any of the other district capitals. If anything, the material culture of Mamluk-period sites in Jordan suggests just the opposite: that Mamluk amirs and soldiers stationed in Transjordan adjusted to local conditions of housing, diet, and consumerism.[65]

Clientage

The immediate effect of sultanic visits was to build on and benefit from ties of clientage that had developed with local tribes. There were defensive and overtly political objectives in these personalized visits, which frequently coincided with changes in local administration. The state's overarching concern for defense (against both foreign and domestic enemies) impacted the structure of administration in the region, which in southern Bilād al-Shām was particularly fluid, with periodic shifts in administrative borders and district *(safaqah)* capitals (*niyābahs* or *wilāyahs*) and the combination or division of districts.[66] The promotion of a previously undistinguished village to a district capital, for example, served to solidify relations between the sultan and the powerful local tribes of Transjordan in the power struggles among the Mamluk elite throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

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iqṭāʿāt. (Idem, "Militarization to Nomadization: The Middle and Late Islamic Periods," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 64, no. 4 [1999]: 220–21; idem, "Mamluk Administration of Transjordan"; idem, "Mamluk Investment in Southern *Bilād al-Shām*"; and idem, "The Northern Jordan Survey 2003—Agriculture in Late Islamic Malka and Ḥubrāṣ Villages: A Preliminary Report of the First Season," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental* Research 339 [2005]: 67–111; Walker and LaBianca, "The Islamic *Quṣūr* of Tall Ḥisbān," 466; Marcus Milwright, "Modest Luxuries: Decorated Lead-Glazed Pottery in the South of Bilād al-Shām [Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries]," *Muqarnas* 20 [2003]: 85–111).

[64]In his recent book, Van Steenbergen suggests the awarding of amirships to non-mamluks in the post-Nasirid period accounts for the spread of special privileges, such as dress (Van Steenbergen, *Order out of Chaos,* 20).

[65]For cultural analyses of ceramic assemblages in Mamluk citadels in Jordan, see Brown, "Excavation in the 14th Century AD Mamluk Palace at Kerak," and idem, "Karak Castle/Qalʿat Karak" (www.lib.uchicago/e/su/mideast/encyclopedia/index2.html, forthcoming) for Kerak; Marcus Milwright, *Fortress of the Raven: Karak in the Middle Islamic Period (1100–1650)* (Leiden, 2008) for Kerak; and Walker and LaBianca, "The Islamic *Quṣūr* of Tall Ḥisbān," 464–66, and idem, "Tall Ḥisbān, 2004 Season," for Ḥisbān.

[66]Walker, "Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilād al-Shām," 241–46.

While contemporary sources reveal little about the rationale behind the irregular administrative structure, they do intimate that rivalries among officers, uprisings and revolts, and tribal relations may have influenced a sultan's or amir's decision to promote one administrative center over another.[67] In his account of the revolt of Khadar al-Mālik al-Masʿūd, the son of Sultan Baybars, in Kerak in 678/1279, Baybars al-Dawādārī, the Mamluk officer then serving at the Kerak citadel, related that Sultan Qalāwūn temporarily promoted the capital of the Balqā at the time, Salṭ, which was formerly a *wilāyah,* to the status of a *niyābah,* appointing an *amīr jandār* to its governorship.[68] Ghawānimah suggests that the sultan may have done so for strategic reasons, to block the movement north of al-Mālik al-Masʿūd's troops;[69] the administrative promotion of Salṭ meant the assignment of a higher-ranking garrison commander and, thus, a stronger and larger garrison. Administrative restructuring could occur on the provincial level: the previously independent Province of Kerak was merged, first with the districts of ʿAjlūn and Salṭ in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, and then absorbed in its entirety by the Province of Damascus in the early sixteenth. Contemporary sources attribute this change to an attempt by the state to eliminate the independence of the Kerak governors and quell the amiral rebellions there that rocked Jordan in the late Mamluk period.[70]

While administrative restructuring was used to control local rebellions, so too was the manipulation of tribal networks. For example, through choice and coercion and as the result of inter-tribal rivalries, Kerakis (of all walks of life) were pulled into conflicts between officials throughout the Mamluk period and directly into the amiral rebellions that raged on the Kerak Plateau at the turn of the fifteenth century. Historical rivalries, such as those that existed between the Qaysis and Yemenis, could be easily exploited and turned to political advantage, although with unexpected results. This was the case during the rebellion of the governor of Kerak, Amir Sudūn, against Sultan al-Faraj in 802/1399. During this conflict, the sultan sent his official, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, to Kerak to kill the governor. The arrival of the sultan's agent divided the tribes of Kerak, who willingly participated by

[67] On a variation of this theme, Tarawneh suggests that the complexities and vacillations of Syrian administration were due to the intramilitary patronage practices of the sultans (Tarawneh, *The Province of Damascus,* 26).

[68] Ghawānimah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Ḥaḍarī,* 48. A brief survey of the uprising, from a military perspective, can be found in Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Manṣūrī al-Dawādārī, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah,* ed. D. S. Richards (Beirut, 1998), 180. Eventually becoming governor *(nāʾib)* of Kerak, for a while, and later imprisoned there, Baybars al-Dawādārī was an eyewitness to, and participant in, the vagaries of Mamluk rule in Jordan.

[69] Ghawānimah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Ḥaḍarī,* 48.

[70] Ḥajjah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī,* 185–87.

supporting, with arms, one amir or the other: the Keraki Yemenis, led by the local *ḥājib,* defended the governor, as the Qaysis, following the *qāḍī al-quḍāh* in Kerak, threw their support behind Amir al-Muḥtār. The result was civil war, with the violence spreading even to the Ghūr.[71]

More often than not, tribal rivalries were an immediate liability to the state, as they could prevent the smooth running of official business. When Amir Batkhāṣ was named governor of Kerak later that year, he tried to enter the city in the company of members of the local Qaysi confederation. Members of the rival Yemeni clans were offended, rebelled against him, and locked the gates of the city, preventing his entry. The people of Kerak wrote a letter of complaint to the sultan, asking for Batkhāṣ's dismissal and his replacement with Amir Jarkās. Unwilling to witness further turmoil in the region, the sultan agreed, sending Batkhāṣ to Aleppo and Jarkās on to Kerak.[72] Al-Maqrīzī credits inter-tribal conflicts for the Kerakis' decision to support Barqūq in 791/1388. Tribal politics could have even greater consequences for the state. Amir Minṭāsh, then in power in Cairo, made the decision to execute Barqūq, who was imprisoned in Kerak Castle. He sent his amir, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Barīdī, to Kerak to fulfil this mission. Al-Barīdī was originally from Kerak, but he had become a *persona non gratis* there following his dishonorable divorce from the daughter of a popular judge. The people of Kerak never forgave him for slighting this family. When he arrived in Kerak, and news got out of his plan to murder Barqūq, the previously neutral population decided to help rescue Barqūq and pledge him their allegiance, because of their hatred for al-Barīdī. A group of Kerakis made their way into the citadel one night and murdered al-Barīdī before he could finish his task. The following day, the governor opened the gates of the citadel, and Barqūq walked free.[73]

In all of these cases, inadequate knowledge of tribal disputes exacerbated existing tensions between the executors of Mamluk policy and local peoples. Effectively building clientage networks is time-consuming, however, requires knowledge of current tribal alliances, and does not offer immediate results. An alternative way of garnering tribal support, and neutralizing opposition, was through awards—both cash and employment. The state knew just how restless and variable the region could be politically and was prepared to bribe local tribes for their support, or minimally, for their non-interference. This was the case in 802/1399, during a rebellion against the sultan by the governor of Kerak, described above. The sultan's agent wisely arrived with money and letters of appointment to

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[71] Ibid., 115.

[72] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:107.

[73] Summarized from *Kitāb al-Sulūk* in Ḥajjah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī,* 72–73.

distribute among the ʿ*urbān,* winning the support of some.[74] In a similar fashion, after Sultan al-Nāṣir Aḥmad's return to Kerak in 741/1342, local tribesmen were paid to ravage the countryside and the leader of the Āl al-Faḍl[75] paid to block the roads in order to create disorder and force the sultan to leave his hilltop fortress.[76] The capture of Kerak Castle and arrest of Aḥmad two years later would not have been possible without the financial incentives offered to Keraki tribesmen, which included both cash and *iqṭāʿāt.*[77]

The distribution of cash awards was, however, a risky and short-term solution to local conflict; moreover, it could never guarantee tribal compliance. On the other hand, the employment of tribal leadership through state service had the benefit of merging official and local interests on the long-term, as well as co-opting tribal networks. The ʿ*urbān* penetrated Mamluk administration as amirs. In this capacity, they received titles[78] and *iqṭāʿāt* and collaborated with the state in matters of road maintenance and security, guiding and granting safe passage to the hajj caravan, providing state officials with information about rebellions, and serving militarily as auxiliary forces. The judgment of contemporaries about these tribes is mixed. On the one hand, the ʿ*urbān* of Kerak were politically loyal to the point of sacrificing their own lives; they were among the Kerakis who gave their wives their *ṣadaqah* and paid in full their debts before leaving with Barqūq for Damascus, knowing they may never see Kerak again.[79] On the other hand, they could be rapacious and cruel: in the fifteenth century, in a medieval form of "highway robbery," the ʿ*urbān* of Kerak and Shobak attacked countless hajj caravans, leaving pilgrims—without transport, money, food, or water—to die in the wilderness.[80] Collectively, they represented the greatest support locally to the state, when the state was strong, as well as one of the greatest political threats, in times of imperial weakness.[81]

[74] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 4:81.

[75] This tribe was among the largest (according to al-Ẓāhirī, 24,000 strong) and most influential in Syria (Tritton, "The Tribes of Syria," 572).

[76] Al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh,* 278; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:207ff.

[77] Al-Maqrīzī, the partially published *manshūr* cited earlier; Bauden, "The Recovery of Mamluk Chancery Documents;" al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyan al-ʿAṣr;* Drory, "The Prince Who Favored the Desert," 28.

[78] A formal system of title and address for tribal amirs was developed in the fourteenth century and described in detail by Ibn Nāẓir al-Jaysh (d. 786/1384), in his *Tathqīf al-Taʿrīf bi-al-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf*. For an analysis of this document, see Ḥajjah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī,* 218; for the introduction of the tribal amirates, see M. A. Hiyari, "The Origins and Development of the Amirate of the Arabs During the Seventh/Thirteenth and Eighth/Fourteenth Centuries," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 36 (1975): 509–24.

[79] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:292.

[80] Ḥajjah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī*, 226.

[81] This is the point of view, as well, of the Jordanian historian Ḥajjah, who contrasts Mamluk rule

Confrontation

The "soft" approaches of selective assimilation and clientage, however, frequently failed, particularly during times of environmental stress and political turmoil, which destroyed crops and led to the abandonment of villages. Poor administration by local officials, who put an extra strain on limited local resources (especially water),[82] made life particularly difficult for peasants and herders alike under these circumstances and was one of the most common flashpoints of conflict between Jordanians and the state.[83] Armed confrontation was usually the result. The effective, however temporary, resistance of the *ʿushrān* during these crises was due to several factors: their socioeconomic and residential flexibility, physical mobility, the unique topography of the Jordanian interior, and their martial skills and access to arms.

Flexible subsistence was one strategy for survival during droughts, wars, and times of political insecurity.[84] The opposition between the "desert and the sown" is an artificial one, as mixed farming has always been the subsistence foundation of the country: nearly everyone, regardless of where they lived, had family members engaged in both farming and herding. Ottoman tax authorities, who built on Mamluk practice in the region, recognized this sliding scale between the fully sedentary and the nomadic by assigning special categories for "Bedouin" who maintained small plots, taxing them on both harvest and flocks.[85] There has, thus, always been a range of subsistence and residential choices available, from village-based farming to nomadic pastoralism, options that allowed local communities to survive as sociopolitical conditions changed. The demographic decline and disappearance of villages in fifteenth-century Jordan so hotly debated by archaeologists today suggests that many farmers adopted a semi-sedentary or semi-nomadic lifestyle when attacks on villages made residence there untenable.

The traditional mobility of Jordanian tribes, documented archaeologically and ethnographically, functioned much the same way. For much of the Ottoman period Jordanians used the natural, and ubiquitous, caves in the limestone escarpments

in Jordan in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Ḥajjah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī,* 217).

[82]Modern Jordan is notoriously limited in natural water sources and today suffers from extreme water shortages during the summer months. Rainfall today in Jordan ranges from 600 mm a year in the northern hill country to 200 mm in the southern and eastern steppes; 300 mm annual rainfall is needed for dry farming. Because so much of the country received barely enough rain for dry farming, and because grains (the staple of Jordanian agriculture) are generally not irrigated, the wheat crop today fails on the average of once out of every five years (Carol Palmer, "'Following the Plough': The Agricultural Environment of Northern Jordan," *Levant* 30 [1998]: 132).

[83]Walker, "The Role of Agriculture."

[84]This is a central theme of LaBianca, "Indigenous Hardiness Structures."

[85]See note 25.

domestically, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries adding stone structures to the entrance.[86] "Cave villages," the ruins of which dot the Jordanian countryside, often escaped the attention of Ottoman tax collectors.[87] The ability of villagers to move to the desert, of "Bedouin" to live in a village, and the use of caves by both to escape notice, would have been very effective strategies for outmaneuvering Mamluk officials, one not articulated in Mamluk-period sources but amply attested archaeologically, ethnographically, and in Ottoman-period travelers accounts.

In short, the mobility of the local *ʿushrān,* both *ʿurbān* and full-time villagers, owes much to the unique topography of Jordan. Most of Transjordan is occupied by a rough plateau dissected by deep valleys bordered by hills and mountains, with elevations ranging from 400 meters below sea level (the Dead Sea) to 1700 meters above sea level (Jebel Rūm, near Petra). In periods of political insecurity, the plains and plateaus have been abandoned for the hill country, where villages were secure from "marauding Bedouin" and, generally, the political violence of the state.[88] This is the general demographic pattern emerging from archaeological surveys and one that seems to be connected to the repeated rebellions by local people and amirs alike. The desert, as well, offered the opportunity for escape for the economically and politically persecuted. The romantic vision of the political independence of the hills and mountains[89] so lovingly painted by French social historians such as Braudel and Le Roy Ladurie for the late medieval Mediterranean resonates for fifteenth-century Jordan.[90] Here, too, hill villages suffered less from direct state violence and "feudal" control than those in the valleys and plains. The great grain fields of the Madaba Plains and the Kerak Plateau fell under the jurisdiction of *muqṭāʿ*s, while the smaller orchards of the northern hills gradually

[86]This kind of architecture has come under archaeological scrutiny in recent years. The domestic use of caves in the Mamluk period is also suggested by recent excavations at Tall Ḥisbān.

[87]The village of Shammākh near Shobak is one of these villages (L. Noca, *Smakieh: Un village de Jordanie* [Lyon, 1985]; Walker, "Militarization to Nomadization," 215). Extensive ruins can also be seen at Ḥisbān, across the Wādī Ḥisbān from the tell. Ethnographic interviews with residents at Ḥisbān document the use of caves under the oldest houses for hiding goods from tax collectors a century ago (MPP–Tall Ḥisbān Excavation project archives, 2001 and 2004).

[88]Walker, "Mamluk Investment in Southern *Bilād al-Shām,*" 248.

[89]Braudel differentiates between "hills" (which lay at an altitude of 400 meters above sea level or less) and "mountains" (which are higher than that) (Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* [New York, 1972], 1:55). The only true mountains, by this definition, in Jordan are the seats of Crusader, Ayyubid, and Mamluk castles: Kerak, Shobak, Habis, ʿAjlūn. I am referring here to Jordan's numerous "hills" that rim the central plateaus and border Irbid in the north.

[90]Ibid., 25–60; Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error* (New York, 1978), 3–23, 69–88.

became, over the course of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, *waqf,* communally-held land (today we would use the term *mushaʾ*), or private estates.[91] While the hill country was not entirely inaccessible physically to state officials, invading armies, and the *ʿurbān,* the longevity of these communities through the troubled fifteenth century—with their populations increasing while much of the rest of the country's declined—bears witness to the security and hope for escape that these regions offered.

Most importantly, Jordanian tribesmen were armed—on this point the sources are clear. As early as Qalāwūn's reign, there was an attempt to disarm the *ʿurbān* in the provinces.[92] Villagers and townsmen were armed, as well, and could be used as local militias or auxiliary forces when needed. This was the case, when at the conclusion of his exile and imprisonment in Kerak in 791/1388, Barqūq raised troops among both the *ʿurbān* (specifically the Beni ʿUqba, Āl Faḍl, and ʿArab Jarm) and the "troops of Kerak and Shobak" *(ahl al-Karak wa-al-Shawbak wa-ajnādihā)*.[93] Armed resistance by peasants is described in both the Syrian and Egyptian countrysides as either a collaboration with the *ʿurbān* or as occurring at the same time as "Bedouin" attacks against villages.[94] Either way, the victims were other villages and officials in transit or on patrol. Inter-village violence is also recorded: the political turmoil surrounding the rebellions against Barqūq in 801/1389 encouraged peasants to plunder crops, apparently their neighbors'.[95] The sources do not fully explain the background of rebellions or raids, but one can surmise in many cases that many were perpetrated by displaced peasants, forced to leave their villages and homes because of armed conflict or drought. Incidences of this sort increased in northern Jordan immediately after Tīmūr's

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[91]This is addressed in Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages,* Ch. 5.

[92]Both Ibn Furāt and al-Qalqashandī reproduce a memorandum *(tadhkīrah)* that was supposed to have been written by Sultan Qalāwūn for his vice-sultan Kitbughā in 679/1281. In it, the provincial and district governors are to "notify the *ʿurbān* not to carry swords, spears and weapons of any other kind. They are to be prohibited from purchasing them in Cairo. Those who flout this order and travel with weapons from village to village will have them confiscated and will be punished." (Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 113–14).

[93]Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *Al-Durrah al-Mudīʾah fī al-Dawlah al-Ẓāhirīyah,* as *A Chronicle of Damascus 1389–1397,* ed. William Brinner (Los Angeles, 1963), 25. According to a European merchant living at the time in Damascus, Bertrando de Mignanelli, Barqūq relied on armed peasants from Kerak during his march to Damascus ("*Ascensus Barcoch*: A Latin Biography of the Mamluk Sultan Barqūq of Egypt [d. 1399], Written by B. de Mignanelli," *Arabica* 6 [1959]: 155ff).

[94]For a clear example of collaboration, see Ibn Ṣaṣrā, *A Chronicle of Damascus,* 42.

[95]Ibid., 24. For parallels from Egypt, see Stuart Borsch, *The Black Death in Egypt and England: A Comparative Study* (Austin, 2005), 49.

invasion and are attested even five to six years afterwards.[96] Much of the violence of the fifteenth century in Jordan can be attributed to the arming of a wide cross-section of the population.

Conclusions

In conclusion we return to two questions introduced at the beginning of this essay: were the tribes of Jordan a political force, and if so, in what ways did they mold Mamluk political culture in the troubled period at the turn of the fifteenth century? I would suggest that the *ʿushrān* acted politically and asserted themselves through institutional, military, and diplomatic means throughout the Mamluk period. The Mamluk state was forced to take account of tribal networks and local power structures and to recognize the potential military threat the *ʿurbān,* in particular, presented to regional security. Mamluk-tribal relations in Jordan resembled in many respects the relations between post-colonial states and their "margins"—the fluid and inconsistent administration of these regions, the level of political violence, and the ability of local communities to force accommodation in policy and practice. In these terms, Mamluk political culture was molded locally by tribal structures and politics. Whether this was a uniquely Jordanian situation or characterized provincial administration as a whole is an important issue that belongs to another study.

[96] Ibn Ḥijjī, *Tārīkh,* 2:769. It is not clear whether these were actions of desperation or concerted attacks on the state, however.

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An Unpublished Anthology of the Mamluk Period on Generosity and Generous Men

Scholars are aware that the amount of unpublished—and sometimes unknown—works of Arabic literature is sizeable indeed. As Thomas Bauer recently emphasized, the Mamluk period in particular, with its flourishing cultural life, is still awaiting a complete evaluation of its literary production.[1] With this article I hope to make a small contribution to the catalogue of this literature.

Among the manuscripts preserved in the library of the University of Liège, which houses still more undiscovered treasures for Arabists, a work entitled "Ḥilyat al-Kuramāʾ wa-Bahjat al-Nudamāʾ" (The ornament of generous people and the joy of the boon-companions)[2] attracted my attention. The title announced that kind of monothematic *adab* anthology dedicated to a specific theme or to a specific category of persons: in this particular case, the theme of generosity, certainly one of the most valued in the ethics of classical Arabic culture, and the category of generous people.

The sabbatical year I spent at the University of Liège allowed me to see the manuscript and to make a quick study of the text. It turned out that not only is the work still unpublished,[3] but more interestingly, that the identity of its author seemed dubious and the text itself was problematic as far as the contents of the chapters and order of the narratives contained therein are concerned. If this title is to be added to the list of the Mamluk anthologies recently compiled by Thomas Bauer,[4] the issues raised by its authorship and the form of the text preserved in

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A first draft of this article was read at the Sixteenth Colloquium on the History of Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras (10th–15th centuries), University of Ghent (Belgium), 10–12 May 2007.

[1] Thomas Bauer, "Mamluk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9, no. 2 (2005): 105–32.

[2] The catalogue of the Arabic and Oriental manuscripts of this library is still in progress. I thank Frédéric Bauden, who is preparing it, for having pointed out this title to me.

[3] It does not appear among the titles mentioned by Reinhard Weipert, *Classical Arabic Philology and Poetry: A Bibliographical Handbook of Important Editions from 1960 to 2000*, Handbook of Oriental Studies 63 (Leiden, 2002), nor in the catalogues of the most important libraries of Middle East studies.

[4] Thomas Bauer, "Literarische Anthologien des Mamlūkenzeit," in *Die Mamlūken: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur: Zum Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann (1942–1999),* ed. Stephan Conermann and Anja Pistor-Hatam (Hamburg, 2003), 71–122. In this connection Bauer states: "This list can

the manuscript tradition call for a further inquiry.

Identification of the Author

The Liège manuscript of "Ḥilyat al-Kuramāʾ wa-Bahjat al-Nudamāʾ," which I took as my point of departure, made no mention of the author's name. To learn more, I looked at *Kashf al-Ẓunūn* of Ḥajjī Khalīfah: the title "Ḥilyat al-Kuramāʾ" was in fact mentioned. The work was attributed to Ibn Abī al-ʿĪd al-Mālikī.[5] He is certainly not a well-known author in the history of Arabic literature. I checked in Brockelmann's *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur,* and the book was mentioned twice, but—to my surprise—with two different attributions. In fact, Brockelmann mentions ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ibn Muḥammad al-Shubrāwī al-Mālikī ibn Abī Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd as the writer who composed this anthology, and he refers to two manuscripts, one preserved in the library of Gotha and the second one in the Princeton University library.[6] Nevertheless, shortly thereafter, the same title is assigned to a certain al-Shaykh Isḥāq,[7] a person about whom no biographical details are known. Only a manuscript of the work, preserved in Algiers, is mentioned in relation to this quite unknown author. Up to this point I had entertained the following hypothesis: (a) two different works having the same title, but not the same author; or (b) one single work with a double attribution. But the question turned out to be still more confusing when I discovered a third possible attribution for this same title. George Vajda, in a note dated 1952 correcting some errors in the magnum opus of Brockelmann, points to the existence of another manuscript of the "Ḥilyat al-Kuramāʾ" unaccounted for in *GAL*. This "new" manuscript was preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, but the name of the author given by Vajda was not ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ibn Muḥammad al-Shubrāwī al-Mālikī ibn Abī Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd or al-Shaykh Isḥāq but instead Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Khālidī. In any case, George Vajda noticed that "quoi qu'il en soit de la question de l'auteur, les deux notices de Brockelmann doivent être fondues en une seule."[8] The matter then seemed a little less nebulous, even if the issue of the authorship remained to be cleared up: apparently there was only one work entitled "Ḥilyat

easily be augmented, but it may provide a first orientation for future efforts. What we need most urgently given the present state of our knowledge are preliminary studies of as many of these anthologies as possible." ("Mamluk Literature," 124). This article is then intended as a small contribution to answer the call.

[5]Ḥajjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn fī Asāmī al-Kutub wa-al-Funūn,* ed. Sharaf al-Dīn Yāltaqāyā and Rifʿat Bīlkah al-Kalīsī (Beirut, 1982, reprint of Istanbul, 1941), vol. 1, col. 690.

[6]Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (Leiden, 1943–49), S2:905, ch. 2, n. 3.

[7]*GAL,* S2:909, n. 44.

[8]George Vajda, "Notes sur la Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur," *Journal Asiatique* 240 (1952): 19.

al-Kuramāʾ," but once the additional information given by Vajda was taken into account, the possibilities for the name of the author rose to three.

The only way to clarify the issue was to consult all the manuscripts mentioned in the bibliographies and the catalogues of manuscripts in connection with this title. The number of known manuscripts that I could trace amounted to seven, three dated and four undated. Apart from the Liège manuscript, I found two preserved in Princeton, one in Paris, one in Algiers, one in Gotha, and one at al-Azhar library in Cairo.[9] The perusal of six of these seven (the Algiers copy being inaccessible to me) confirmed that the matter of authorship was rather muddled. Some manuscripts mentioned the name of the writer, but in inconsistent forms, while others left it out.

Four manuscripts mention the author's name. The first one is Princeton, Yahuda Collection 847, undated (but probably copied in the eleventh/seventeenth century): at fol. 1 a certain al-Sakhāwī is mentioned, but as this was a widespread *nisbah* in Egypt in the Mamluk period, no further light is shed on the matter. The manuscript of Gotha, undated but in any case earlier than 1807 (which is the date of acquisition), at fol. 1a cites ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ibn Muḥammad al-Shubrāwī al-Mālikī as the author. A further reference in the form "Ibn Abī al-ʿĪd al-Mālikī" has been added in a different handwriting, no doubt on the basis of the attribution given by Ḥajjī Khalīfah, who is also mentioned on the same page. An analogous case is that of the manuscript of al-Azhar, recent and defective: at fol. 1b this one also mentions the attribution to Ibn Abī al-ʿĪd al-Mālikī, but in this case too we are dealing with a later addition made in a different handwriting, on the basis of the information given by Ḥajjī Khalīfah. Therefore, the al-Azhar manuscript is of no use in solving the problem of authorship.

The last manuscript which mentions the author's name is the Algiers one. Unfortunately, since it remained inaccessible to me, I had to content myself with the accurate description made by E. Fagnan in his catalogue. Following the details given by the French scholar, the name that is cited in this manuscript (undated, but copied probably in the tenth/sixteenth century) is that of al-Shaykh Isḥāq, the one related by Carl Brockelmann.

The second manuscript of Princeton (Garrett 157H) and the one preserved in Liège do not mention the name of the writer and therefore they are of no help in shedding light on the authorship of the book.

A case apart is that of the Paris manuscript, copied in Cairo in 1169/1755. In his note Vajda suggested the authorship of an unknown writer, Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Khālidī, which was rather puzzling. A closer examination of the manuscript revealed that this hypothesis was based both on a mistaken reading

[9]Princeton MS Garrett 157H 1112/1700; Paris MS ar 3476(2); Liège MS 5300/1; Algiers MS 1880 (fols. 157–338r); Princeton MS Yahuda 847; Gotha MS Pertsch 1232; Azhar MS Abāẓa 7034.

and a misinterpretation. In fact the name on the colophon is that of Muḥammad Zayn al-Dīn, but this name identifies the copyist, not the author of the book as Vajda surmised.[10] So, the Paris copy must also be discarded in connection with the issue of authorship.

Obviously, in order to clear up the matter, the manuscripts bearing the author's name as a later addition based on the reference of Ḥajjī Khalīfah were to be disregarded; I could then only base my investigation on three manuscripts, namely those bearing the name of the author in the very same handwriting as the copyist. I obtained the following forms for the identity of the writer: ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ibn Muḥammad al-Shubrāwī al-Mālikī (Gotha), al-Sakhāwī (Princeton Yahuda 847) and al-Shaykh Isḥāq (Algiers). Excepting the last eccentric form, inconsistent with the others and with the data of Ḥajjī Khalīfah, I had then to deal with the following: ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ibn Muḥammad al-Shubrāwī al-Mālikī and al-Sakhāwī, for both of whom the *nisbahs* clearly reveal an Egyptian origin.

The name mentioned by Brockelmann, namely ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ibn Muḥammad al-Shubrāwī al-Mālikī ibn Abī Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd, rests in fact on the combination of the forms given by the manuscript of Gotha (ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ibn Muḥammad al-Shubrāwī) and that given by Ḥajjī Khalīfah (Ibn Abī al-ʿAbd al-Mālikī),[11] but contains a further onomastic element (ibn Abī Muḥammad) of unknown origin. It needs nevertheless a minor correction: Ibn al-ʿAbd is the form based on a misreading of the Flügel edition of *Kashf al-Ẓunūn,*[12] which gives ʿAbd instead of the correct ʿĪd. With such a nebulous description of the identity of the writer, in order to establish the authorship it was necessary to look in the biographies for more information about writers whose name could match, at least in part, the aforementioned one and whose life and intellectual activity could provide useful clues about the authorship of the "Ḥilyat al-Kuramāʾ." The works of a much better known al-Sakhāwī, the historian Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Shams al-Dīn, are the sources that could shed some light on the matter. Two entries seemed particularly interesting in this connection, the first one contained in his *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ*[13] and the second one, a little more detailed, in his *Al-Tuḥfah al-Laṭīfah fī Tārīkh al-Madīnah al-Sharīfah.*[14]

[10]The name of both the owner and the copyist that figures on the title page is instead Muḥammad ibn al-marḥūm al-ḥājj Ḥusayn Zayn al-Dīn.

[11]Vajda, "Notes," 18.

[12]Repr. New York and London 1964, 3:112, n. 4633.

[13]Cairo, n.d., vol. 7, notice n. 243, 110–11.

[14]Cairo n.d., vol. 3, notice n. 3647, 508–11. The author's life and the role he and his family played in Medina are also discussed in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Mudayris, *Al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī (648–923 h./1250–1517 m.)*: *Dirāsah Tārīkhīyah* (Riyadh, 2001), 173 and passim, but only on the basis of the information given by al-Sakhāwī.

Bio-bibliographical Information

The author of "Ḥilyat al-Kuramāʾ" must be identified as Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Mūsá ibn Abī Bakr ibn Abī al-ʿĪd, al-Shams Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Sakhāwī, *thumma* al-Qāhirī al-Mālikī,[15] also known as Ibn al-Qaṣabī, al-Sakhāwī, and earlier as Ibn Abī al-ʿĪd, qadi and *nazīl* of Ṭaybah, "the perfumed one," i.e., Medina. His renown is certainly not universal, and therefore it could be useful to give some details about his life, his intellectual activities, and his (scarce) bibliography.

He was born in Sakhā, in the Nile Delta, in 819/1416–17. After having studied in his native town, in 831/1427 he went to Cairo, where he stayed for more than seven years, attending the lectures of famous teachers. In 840/1436 he went on the pilgrimage and afterwards he came back to his native town, where he stayed until 859/1454. In that year, he returned to Cairo for the second time, where he dedicated himself to the study of law under the guidance of the representatives of the four legal schools, first alone and then with his son. Prior to his appointment in Medina, in order to earn his living he held the offices of witness and deputy judge. The biographies say that he was also a panegyrist and he gained his living from this activity, which also brought him wide renown. Thanks to some influential acquaintances, he was eventually appointed qadi of Medina in 860/1455, a fact to which he owes his *nisbah* of al-Madanī. There he carried out his duties with the utmost dignity and showed every virtue, much to his subjects' satisfaction. He also attained a remarkable degree of power. After more than three decades he suffered a stroke leading to partial paralysis and, due to the progressive decline in his health, in 892/1486 he was succeeded by one of his two sons, Khayr al-Dīn Muḥammad.[16] This succession was a happy one, since—as the sources tell us—his son Muḥammad was even wiser and more virtuous than his father. Ibn Abī al-ʿĪd died 5 Muḥarram 895/29 November 1489.

Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, the author of *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* reports that on several occasions he had been in touch with him. He first met him at Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's house, referring to al-ʿAsqalānī as *shaykhunā* (our master). He then met him again in Miná and went to visit him in Medina, where Ibn Abī al-ʿĪd (already afflicted by his infirmity) showed him hospitality. Al-Sakhāwī also informs us that they shared intellectual interests and exchanged poetry: on several occasions al-Sakhāwī transmitted his poems to Ibn Abī al-ʿĪd and received his poems in return, which he copied in a quire *(kurrāsah)*. Nevertheless, al-Sakhāwī fails to mention the literary skills of our author in the field of prose, and therefore no hint of the

[15] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Cairo, n.d.), 7:110; idem, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Laṭīfah fī Tārīkh al-Madīnah al-Sharīfah* (Cairo, n. d.), 508 has also "*thumma* al-Madanī."

[16] Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Mūsá ibn Abī Bakr ibn Abī al-ʿĪd: al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 7:47–48, notice n. 124.

writing of literary anthologies or *adab* books is to be found in relation to our qadi. On the contrary, he speaks well of both prose and poetry composed by his son Muḥammad. The little anthology that I present here is unaccounted for in the bibliography of Ibn Abī al-ʿĪd al-Mālikī as it is given in his biography.

As far as the personality of our author is concerned, the portrait sketched by his biographer is overwhelmingly positive. Al-Sakhāwī highly praises his character; in particular he expresses his appreciation for his modesty, his cheerfulness, his integrity and—more pertinent to the argument of this article—his generosity. Concerning this, he specifies that Ibn Abī al-ʿĪd gave a warm welcome to all those who came to see him and that he showed a great liberality towards all the poor people who addressed him: he gave them food and other means of subsistence.[17] These character traits, as well as his manners and behavior, are especially consistent with the choice of the subject treated in "Ḥilyat al-Kuramāʾ" and are well represented in the text of this anthology. In fact, a substantial part of the material presented in the "Ḥilyat al-Kuramāʾ" deals with hospitality and its duties, and the carrying out of charitable deeds is also stressed. As a matter of fact, one passage is especially revealing of the charitable attitude of Ibn Abī al-ʿĪd and speaks of his inclination to Sufism, if not of his open adherence to a Sufi confraternity. At the end of the first chapter, dedicated to the concept of generosity and to the characteristics of generous men, the author mentions two of his masters and recalls their acts of charity, namely the act of offering food to needy people.[18] The two masters are Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-Ghamrī (d. 849/1445)[19] and Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Shādhilī al-Taymī (d. 847/1443).[20] The close master-disciple relationship revealed by the mention of these two personalities in the "Ḥilyat al-Kuramāʾ" and the pious words which follow their names also receives an external confirmation in the biographical sketches by al-Sakhāwī: according to this source, these two Sufis figure among the saintly men *(sādāt)* that Ibn Abī al-ʿĪd met in his life.[21] The first one, Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar

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[17]Al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah,* 510: *wa-rassá kathīran min al-qādimīn bi-sīmāʾ al-ḍuʿafāʾ bi-al-ṭaʿām wa-naḥwahu.*

[18]On charity see Yaacov Lev, *Charity, Endowments, and Charitable Institutions in the Medieval Islam* (Gainesville, Florida, 2005), 18 passim for food distribution to the poor, and 104ff. for the world of mystics.

[19]*GAL* S2:150, notice 15a; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *Al-Aʿlām* (Beirut, 1989), 6:315; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1994–98), 4:243; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 7:238–40, n. 641; ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Aḥmad al-Shaʿrānī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrá, al-Musammá bi-Lawāqih al-Anwār fī Ṭabaqāt al-Akhyār,* wa-bi-hāmishihi *Kitāb al-Anwār al-Qudsīyah fī Bayān Adab al-ʿUbūdīyah* (Cairo , n.d.), 2:80–81.

[20]*GAL* S2:150, notice 17; al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām,* 6:88; al-Shaʿrānī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 2:81ff.

[21]Al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfah*, 3:510.

al-Ghamrī, lived a life of poverty among the poor (and was reproached for this lifestyle by Ibn Ḥajar, among others[22]) and dedicated himself to the building and restoration of mosques. The second one, Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Shādhilī al-Taymī, a Hanafi, was a member of the Shādhilīyah confraternity and was known for some stories concerning him and the sultan Faraj ibn Barqūq. The tone of speech Ibn Abī al-ʿĪd uses when he mentions both of them removes any doubt about the influence they had on him; it also shows how deeply he had been marked by their teachings and the example they set when he met them during his stay in Cairo in his youth.

The Text

As far as I know, the text of "Ḥilyat al-Kuramāʾ wa-Bahjat al-Nudamāʾ" has been preserved in seven manuscripts, which testifies to the wide circulation of this work. Six of them have been copied in *naskhī* writing, and only one of them in *maghribī,* which suggests that its circulation was relatively minor in the western part of the Muslim world. Out of these six, three are closely connected with Egypt, and more specifically Cairo. They are: (a) the Paris manuscript, which was copied in Cairo in 1169/1755; (b) the Gotha manuscript, which was bought in Cairo in 1807 by Setzen; (c) the al-Azhar manuscript, which is still preserved in al-Azhar library. We can thus deduce that the book was mostly circulating in the region of origin of its author. This would entitle us to put forward a hypothesis about the place where this anthology was composed, which could have been Egypt, and most probably Cairo, before its author's departure to Medina.

As concerns the chronology, the extant manuscripts are dated between the tenth/sixteenth century and the thirteenth/nineteenth century (the al-Azhar manuscript, dated in the fourteenth/twentieth, is defective). This means that the oldest manuscript (Algiers) was probably copied one century after the death of the author.

Out of the six manuscripts I have been able to consult, two contain an incomplete text. In particular, the Liège manuscript seems to be a summarized version with some interpolations: some passages are missing, and the fifth and final chapter does not correspond at all to its counterpart in the other manuscripts. Furthermore, after this last chapter, the copyist who drew up the Liège manuscript added a completely new section with a pious tone which does not figure in any of the other manuscripts. This copy is therefore of little use for the reconstitution of the text of "Ḥilyat al-Kuramāʾ." The same goes for the al-Azhar manuscript, which stops abruptly in the middle of the fourth chapter despite the declaration made by the copyist on the title page (probably for commercial reasons) that the

[22]See Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ*, 4:243.

manuscript contains the text "in its totality" *(ʿalá al-tamām wa-al-kamāl)*.

Apart from these two cases, as far as it can be assessed on the basis of the four manuscripts which are seemingly complete, the text is far from being unequivocal. Two areas are rather problematic: the end of the second chapter and the entire fifth chapter. The end of the second chapter poses some difficulty: the three manuscripts that usually agree on the rest (Princeton Garrett, Gotha, Paris) and which constitute the most plausible basis for the edition of the text that I am preparing, present some important fluctuations in the type and order of the materials between chapter two and chapter three, while in the fourth manuscript (Princeton Yahuda) many anecdotes are simply missing. Chapter five in principle should contain some pieces of advice *(waṣāyā),* as it is announced in its title: "On the recommendations which are useful to the intelligent man and are a warning to the careless man." As a matter of fact, the chapter's content is consistent with its title only in one manuscript out of four, the Princeton Yahuda, where chapter five consists of a series of aphorisms arranged in alphabetical order. On the contrary, in the others (Princeton Garrett, Gotha, Paris) the number of aphorisms is much smaller and a short section of a zoological character is appended to the paremiological section.

Obviously the copyists tinkered with the text in more than one way and at more than one point. This is a rather common phenomenon considering the composite character of these anthologies; as they are made up of independent textual units (anecdotes, aphorisms, short narratives, poems) arranged in intermediate units (the chapters), it is easy to shift, remove, add, or replace each textual unit, and so change the text. This is also more likely when the copyist has before him a corrupted or defective copy, as could have been the case with our text: the temptation to complete the corrupted passages, to offer a better version of an anecdote, or to adapt the contents of a chapter to its title must have been very difficult, if not impossible, to overcome.

Description of the Work

Following the established conventions of the anthologies of the period, "Ḥilyat al-Kuramāʾ" is composed of miscellaneous materials, both in prose and poetry: Quranic verses, hadith, poetry, aphorisms, and a good number of anecdotes and stories, organized in five chapters preceded by an introduction. All these materials are arranged in the hierarchical order which is usual in *adab* works: both in the introduction and in the following sections Quranic verses, if present, come first, followed by traditions, pious anecdotes, and worldly anecdotes or aphorisms.

The theme of generosity has a long tradition going back to the beginnings of Arabo-Islamic literature: it was among the preferred subjects that scholars treated in both monothematic works and in specific sections of works of a more

encyclopedic nature. Among the most popular books of Arabic literature dedicated to this subject, I shall limit myself to the mention of *Al-Mustajād min Faʿālāt al-Ajwād,* which has long been attributed to al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994). *Adab* encyclopedias also often include generosity in the range of the themes they deal with, as is the case with *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd* by Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d. 328/940). Generosity (and the generous: *karam, karīm,* and the synonymous *jūd/jawād,* etc.) as well as its antonym, meanness, were then part and parcel of the range of topics treated in canonical *adab* works, which is also demonstrated by the substantial list of titles which mention a word for generosity.[23] Our anthology, "Ḥilyat al-Kuramāʾ wa-Bahjat al-Udabāʾ," is thus the heir of a long tradition, from the point of view both of theme and organizational scheme.

The following is the list of contents found in the introductory section.

Introduction: on the intellect and the legal rules that originate in it and are established on its basis

Chapter one: on generosity and its features, and on those who bear its signs

Chapter two: on doing good deeds and the assistance of those who have suffered injustice

Chapter three: on the lives of the sovereigns, the ancients, and the histories of outstanding civil servants

Chapter four: on the state of women and men, and on their habits in all conditions

Chapter five: on the recommendations which are useful to the intelligent man and are a warning to the careless man

The introduction is mostly made up of Quranic verses and hadith, but also of short poems and anecdotal material concerning the creation of the intellect *(ʿaql)* and its substance. The division of the faculty of the intellect into that which originates from experience *(al-ʿaql al-tajribī)* and that which is an innate faculty is also briefly sketched, along with a list of signs typical of the intelligent man. It is a subject which is often treated in anthologies and in *adab* encyclopedias[24] of the Arabic literary tradition, especially in their introductions, and virtually forms a kind of standard opening for this type of text. What is noticeable, on the contrary, is the absence of the lexicographical section which is so common in the literary anthologies and in the monothematic *adab* works of the Abbasid period. In fact, these normally begin with a presentation of the keyword identifying the theme of the literary composition (e.g., *karam,* as in this case) and related terms: the

[23]A catalogue for the Abbasid period, with a brief introduction to the topic and a presentation of the lexical issues, in Mohsen Zakeri, ed. and trans., *Persian Wisdom in Arabic Garb: ʿAlī b. ʿUbayda al-Rayḥānī (d. 219/834) and his* "*Jawāhir al-kilam wa-farāʾid al-ḥikam*" (Leiden, 2006), 1:285–91.

[24]See, e.g., Antonella Ghersetti, "La conception d'intellect dans le *Kitāb al-aḏkiyāʾ* par Ibn al-Ǧawzī," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 10 (1992): 63–73, and bibliography.

etymology, meaning, and use of each term is explained and discussed. In the case under consideration, there is no lexicographical treatment of the terms *karam, karīm,* or related ones. The substantial presence of hadith and the conceptual treatment of the subject in philosophical terms indicate a normative and dogmatic tone, which points to the ethical concerns and hortatory purposes which must have inspired the author. This can no doubt be taken as a sign of the shift of interest from the aesthetic aspect of the anthologies to their practical function and content, and to the role played by the ulama in the intellectual life of this time.[25] This one could be a typical case: the *forma mentis* of the qadi Ibn Abī al-ʿĪd was that of a man of law and a pious Muslim, and his concern was more for legal and ethical issues than for philological ones.

Chapter one, the longest of all, treats generosity and its signs. It opens with some traditions in which the Prophet praises hospitality, urges the believers to share their food, and prescribes the rules concerning meals *(ādāb al-akl)*. These, hospitality and food, are two themes so often associated with generosity and so profoundly intermingled that they constitute a kind of canonical thematic network.[26] What is clearly hinted at by the choice of the traditions related in the very beginning of the first chapter is thus the concept of generosity: to be generous means first of all to share food. This, by the way, also seems to be the essence of hospitality: hospitality substantially consists of offering food and drink.[27] This triplet (generosity, food, and hospitality) can be tracked down elsewhere in the "Ḥilyat al-Kuramāʾ"; to be more precise, almost all the contents of this anthology pivot around it. After the normative section composed by hadith, the chapter continues with many anecdotes that feature high-ranking figures such as Hārūn al-Rashīd or the Barmakids, scholars such as al-Shāfiʿī or Anas ibn Mālik, venerated personalities such as Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, and ʿAlī, but also some unknown people. The common trait is of course their exceeding generosity and their liberal behavior.

Chapter two, dedicated to the support due to needy people, clearly continues the theme of food. Strangely enough, here we find a refined man *(ẓarīf)* presenting a list of the shortcomings of the bad table companion. This would sound rather eccentric in connection with the main subject of the chapter, but can easily be

[25]The authors of Mamluk anthologies were first of all historians or jurists, and only secondly men of letters; in this sense the ulama replaced the *kuttāb* of the Abbasid period. See Bauer, "Literarische Anthologien," esp. 79ff.

[26]The fourth pillar of this thematic network being the antonym of generosity, meanness *(bukhl),* a theme which is in fact treated further in this anthology.

[27]On this concept and on the thematic network mentioned above see my "À la recherche de nourriture: étude des thèmes liés aux pique-assiettes *(ṭufayliyyūn)* dans la littérature d'adab," *Al-Qantara* 25 (2004): 433–62.

explained if we keep in mind the close association linking food and table manners. In a sense, table manners had already been hinted at in the prophetic traditions of the preceding chapter pertaining to *ādāb al-akl*. The list of epithets is followed by a section on meanness *(bukhl),* a feature that is criticized as the worst vice, in accordance once more with the encyclopedia of the ethical values of Arab civilization. This part also contains, obviously in hierarchical order, Quranic verses, traditions, and anecdotes on mean people, all aiming at criticizing this kind of behavior. The purpose of the section devoted to avarice is to emphasize the following exhortation to feed poor people, and in order to support this call, a series of exemplary stories is presented. Here, too, historical and high-ranking figures such as Muʿāwiyah, ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Zubayr, and al-Mahdī feature in the anecdotes, as well as unknown and common people.

Chapter three, on the sovereigns, the ancients, and high-ranking officers, is fairly interesting. Moving from the assumption that men are remembered for their good deeds, the author states that if common people must practice virtue and avoid vice, sovereigns must do this all the more. Thus, intelligent people must take the stories of just and generous kings as paragons of virtue and be guided by their good example. That is why the author gives a series of anecdotes on exemplary kings. In the introductory part of the chapter, he also states that people owe obedience to the sovereign *(al-sulṭān)* because power has been given to him by God, and he reports some prophetic traditions about the proper conduct of the powerful. In this connection, the distinction between the just sovereign *(al-sulṭān al-ʿādil)* and the unjust one *(al-sulṭān al-ẓālim)* is also outlined, and it is specified that the kingdom of the latter is destined to perish. The rest of this chapter is rich in anecdotes, sometimes separated by a gnomic break, on historical personalities: Persian and Indian kings, caliphs of both the Umayyad and Abbasid periods, as well as the orthodox caliphs. ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Muʿāwiyah, Hārūn al-Rashīd, al-Manṣūr, and al-Mahdī are among the most important characters. The series is closed by a story about Alexander the Great. Apart from anecdotes with a strong historical flavor coming from "high literature," some stories of clearly folkloric origin are found, such as the story of the fisher set among the Banū Isrāʾīl.

Chapter four, which treats men and women with no additional qualification, contains a fair number of anecdotes and many aphorisms, but no discursive material. The pre-eminent place, in terms of quantity, is given to stories about poetry and music, wherein the main characters are caliphs or noblemen, together with singers or poets. Thus, they feature, e.g., ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Jaʿfar, Hārūn al-Rashīd, or al-Maʾmūn, and talented singing-girls who often constitute the object of royal generosity. In accordance with this setting, the quantity of poetic verses mentioned in this chapter is far more substantial than that mentioned in the rest of the anthology. What is remarkable, or eccentric to

be more precise, in this section is a curious catalogue of the defects commonly attributed to women. However, the author must not be accused of misogyny: the sexes are treated equally, since immediately after this list he gives a woman leave to speak. Of course, this wise woman *(imraʾah ʿāqilah)* does not hesitate to address a list of the defects of men. Furthermore, to dispel any doubt about the gifts that distinguish cultivated ladies, a series of anecdotes on witty and eloquent women "whose mention cannot be omitted" is included. Curiously enough, in this chapter the stress seems to be laid more on eloquence and musical ability than on generosity, a theme that often remains in the background.

Chapter five is very short (between 1 and 3 folios) in all the manuscripts taken into consideration that contain it (namely Princeton Garrett, Gotha, Paris, and Liège), except in the Princeton Yahuda, where it is longer (7 folios), but where its contents are also completely different. In the three manuscripts which agree on the contents (Princeton Garrett, Gotha, and Paris, as Liège has a completely different text), it opens with some aphorisms on the most varied subjects, including women, but it suddenly continues with a list of the characteristics of certain animals.

At this point, though I am waiting to prepare a more thorough study to be published with the edition of the text, I am nevertheless in a position to make some general remarks on the "Ḥilyat al-Kuramāʾ." First of all, it is arranged in narrative units which, as is usual in *adab* anthologies, are grouped together on the basis of affinity of both contents and structure. What is more noteworthy in this case is the frequency of authorial interventions, i.e., notes revealing the author's voice that serve to clarify the affinity or relevance of the textual units or, in some cases, the differences in style and narrative effect. For instance, there are definitions such as *mā huwa fī al-maʿná qarīban wa-aqwá himmatan wa-uslūban* or *ḥikāyah tantaẓim fī silkihā wa-tandamij fī sabkihā,* obviously aiming at evaluating the significance and construction of the anecdotes. Another typical use of the author's voice is his habit of stressing the demarcation of the units composing the text: every anecdote is in fact preceded by a heading which identifies the narrative typology or the tone of the story. We thus find phrases such as: *ḥikāyah jāmiʿah wa-ḥaqīqah māniʿah*, *ḥikāyah gharībah ʿajībah*, *ḥikāyah laṭīfat al-maʿānī wa-ʿadhbat al-majānī*, *ḥikāyah laṭīfah wa-innahā khafīfah*, *ḥikāyah wajīzah wa-nuktah ʿazīzah.* The terms used to define the narrative units are *ḥikāyah, jawharah,* and *nādirah,* apparently without indicating any difference in the structure of the narrative; the word *fāʾidah* is preferred for aphorisms or sections devoid of any narrative character.

The stories and anecdotes never contain any indication of their origin, not to speak of *isnād*s, which are almost completely absent even in their most embryonic form. One exception I came across is a story in the fourth chapter, reported on the authority of Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī; it is in fact preceded by an *isnād* composed

in a proper way, which qualifies it as a "scholarly *isnād*." [28]

As to the sources of the materials assembled in this anthology, the author only very vaguely indicates the provenance of the information used in his compilation: in the introduction he confines himself to hinting at the type of sources, rather than identifying them precisely. He claims to draw his materials from the "helpful books of the scholars" *(kutub al-ʿulamāʾ al-muʿtabarah)* as well as from "their clear and well-known speeches that were preserved" *(aqwāluhum al-muḥrazah al-wāḍiḥah al-mashhūrah)*. In any case, some anecdotes can be easily traced back to well-known *adab* works of the Abbasid period such as *Murūj al-Dhahab* and *Al-ʿIqd al-Farīd*[29] or of the Mamluk period such as *Al-Mustaṭraf fī Kull Fann Mustaẓraf* of al-Ibshīhī.[30]

The author's vague statements qualifying his sources as exemplary confirm the edifying purpose of the book, which obviously had not been conceived only as a literary exercise, but also and first of all as an act of "militant charity"[31] with the aim of urging the readers to generosity, charity, and assistance of poor people, just as the author was taught by his two masters, Muḥammad al-Ghamrī and Muḥammad al-Shādhilī al-Taymī, and just as he did throughout his long life.

Conclusions

It is now time to draw some conclusions. First of all, concerning the authorship: all the identities proposed in the secondary literature must be discarded, except that of Ibn Abī al-ʿĪd. The author of "Ḥilyat al-Kuramāʾ" is definitely Muḥammad ibn [Abī] Aḥmad ibn Mūsá ibn Abī Bakr ibn Abī al-ʿĪd, al-Shams Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Sakhāwī, *thumma* al-Qāhirī *thumma* al-Madanī al-Mālikī,[32] also known as Ibn al-Qaṣabī, al-Sakhāwī, and previously as Ibn Abī al-ʿĪd. This is demonstrated both by external elements, namely the quotation of Ḥājjī Khalīfah, and by internal

[28] As Julia Ashtiany Bray would call it (for types of *isnāds*, see her "Isnāds and Model of Heroes: Abū Zubayd al-Ṭāʾī, Tanūkhī's sundered lovers and Abū ʾl-ʿAnbas al-Ṣaymarī," *Arabic and Middle Eastern Literatures* 1 [1998]: 7–30).

[29] Among others, the anthology contains (in chapter four) a story on Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mahdī which had a wide circulation in Arabic literature and the most ancient versions of which are found in *Murūj* and *ʿIqd* (see my "L'anecdote-accordéon ou comment adapter le sens du récit au contexte narrative," in *Le répertoire narratif arabe médiéval: transmission et ouverture: Actes du colloque international qui s'est tenu à l'Université de Liège 15–17 septembre 2005,* ed. Frédéric Bauden, Aboubakr Chraïbi, and Antonella Ghersetti (Liège, 2008), 15–17.

[30] Al-Ibshihī, *Al-Mustaṭraf fī Kull Fann Mustaẓraf* (Beirut, 1986), 1:397.

[31] This was a common phenomenon in the Mamluk period since, as Bauer says ("Literarische Anthologien," 109), the structure and contents of literary anthologies so often go arm in arm with paraenesis.

[32] The form given is derived from the combination of information from al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* and idem, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Laṭīfah.*

elements, namely the mention in the "Ḥilyat al-Kuramāʾ" of the two personalities (Muḥammad al-Ghamrī and Muḥammad al-Shādhilī al-Taymī) who were actually the masters of Ibn Abī al-ʿĪd. Among the internal elements, it is also worth noting a more general feature, i.e., the relevance of tone and contents of the anthology to the attitude, beliefs, and lifestyle of the author.

I can also suggest a hypothesis for the place and date of composition of this work, on the basis of the internal elements as well as of codicological ones. As for the place of composition, the area of diffusion of the manuscripts hints at Cairo, or in any case Egypt, most probably the village of Sakhā, the native town of our author where he lived for nearly twenty years after his first stay in Cairo. This assumption is corroborated by other internal elements more relevant to the date of composition, namely the mention of Ibn Abī al-ʿĪd's masters and the eulogies following their names. The terms *naffaʿanī* (or, according to a different reading, *mattaʿanā*) *Allāhu bi-ḥayātihi* (or, according to a different reading, *nafaḥātihi) wa-aʿāda ʿalaynā min barakātihi* and *adāma Allāhu qaṣdahu* are in fact used to refer to persons still alive and not to somebody who is deceased. The writing of the "Ḥilyat al-Kuramāʾ" would then have taken place before the death of the two saintly men, who died shortly thereafter (Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Shādhilī al-Taymī died in 847/1443 and Muḥammad al-Ghamrī in 848/1444). As to the date of composition, I would then propose as a *terminus ante quem* the date of 847/1443, well before Ibn Abī al-ʿĪd's departure to Medina.

This anthology is an interesting example of the thematic anthologies that were such a flourishing genre in the Mamluk period. It also represents a sample, if one is needed, of the intense cultural and literary activity practiced by the scholars (ulama) of that period, even outside the circles of literati and philologists *stricto sensu,* which is a feature very typical of Mamluk cultural life. In this sense, it could even be considered an emblematic case of the shift of the primacy in the cultural debate from the *kātib* to the *ʿālim.*[33] This work also testifies to the continuity of the themes and of the organization schemes of composition of *adab* anthologies since the golden age of this genre, i.e., the Abbasid period. Notwithstanding this formal continuity, the Mamluk authors were able to express in a very effective way their own purposes. In this particular case, the main purpose of Ibn Abī al-ʿĪd no doubt corresponds to what has been defined as ethical *adab,* i.e., instructing the readers and urging them to virtuous behavior by showing them apt examples in the form of narratives. Charity was exactly that virtuous behavior which our author was taught by his masters, which he practiced all his life, and which he persistently urged upon the readers of his anthology.

[33]See Bauer, "Literarische Anthologien," esp. 72, 110.

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Ẓulm by *Maẓālim?* The Political Implications of the Use of *Maẓālim* Jurisdiction by the Mamluk Sultans

Introduction

> "Maẓlūm, it's unfair, by the people and by God, it's unfair," the man muttered in a weak voice when he was taken away into the holding cell. A stomach pump had just brought to light a considerable piece of hashish out of his intestines. The doctor and the police officer who had brought the drug user into the hospital were clearly convinced that the poor man would be punished for this crime. Both had been annoyed at first by the incident because they had been heavily smoking hashish themselves that evening before being interrupted by the call to duty. But now the officer's pink eyes filled with joy. The crime was proven and the evidence was secured.[1]

Although this episode, taken from a short story by the modern Egyptian author Yūsuf Idrīs (d. 1991), is purely fictional and surely non-Mamluk, it clearly illustrates the ambiguity of the terms justice *(ʿadl)* and injustice *(ẓulm or maẓālim)*. Whether or not you are served and treated well often depends upon which side of the law you are standing on. Muslim societies have recognized from an early stage that there is a high probability of legal abuse by state officials. This was demonstrated by constant appeals for Muslim rulers to be just and wise. In addition to these exhortations, however, the institution of *maẓālim* courts emerged, where ideally those who were usually at the receiving end could complain about official wrongdoers. If one was prepared to take risks or was tired of life, one could even complain about the sultan himself at the *maẓālim* courts. However, the problem in the system lay in the fact that the *maẓālim* court sessions were run by public officials, i.e., the very people whose abuses one wanted to protest. Therefore legal complaints sometimes had to be carefully prepared using the rivalries between different factions at the Mamluk court. Finally, it depended on the willingness of the sultan to pursue the matter, and therefore the outcome was often unpredictable and arbitrary. In many cases, however, justice was served, and this upheld the image of Mamluk sultans as just rulers among their subjects. This was an ideal

[1] Yūsuf Idrīs, *Arkhaṣ Layālī* (Cairo, n.d., first published in 1954), 186.

image that no Mamluk ruler was prepared to give up, and the *maẓālim* court sessions became an integral part of the Mamluk approach to governance.

The Just Ruler and *Maẓālim* in the Mamluk Context

Maẓālim denotes literally unjust or oppressive actions. From an early stage in the formation of Islamic institutions it became known, as Jørgen Nielsen puts it, as "the structure through which the temporal authorities took direct responsibility for dispensing justice."[2] Initially the Prophet and the early caliphs had combined in themselves the roles of judge and ruler. Later on, the growth of the Muslim community led to the need for caliphs to delegate their judicial functions to specially appointed qadis. From the second/eighth century onwards the development of the shariʿah law system, with the qadi in the center, established the religious scholars (the ulama) as legal authorities and rivals of the Muslim rulers in judicial affairs. There are hints that even the Umayyad caliphs started to hear *maẓālim* petitions from their subjects. It is more certain, however, that the Abbasid caliphs al-Mahdī (r. 158–69/775–85) and al-Hādī (r. 169–70/785–86) did arrange for regular *maẓālim* sessions under the supervision of the vizier. However, the institution remained controversial—the ulama in particular saw it as a rival to their shariʿah jurisdiction.[3]

Nevertheless, holding these appeal sessions thereafter became a hallmark of a just ruler. The Abbasid author al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058) therefore included a long chapter on *maẓālim* jurisdiction in his book on the ordinances of government *(al-aḥkām al-sulṭānīyah)*. There he states:

> the redress of wrongs involves persuading the contending parties by the awesome presence and dignity of the person in office to accept an equitable settlement and end their dispute. The official concerned must, therefore, be majestic, authoritative, and imposing, as well as manifestly honest, free of avarice, and eminently pious. Since his office calls for a combination of the charisma of those in power with the serenity of judges, he must enjoy the qualities proper to both categories, and show by his courtliness the ability to command the obedience due to each.[4]

Subsequent treatises on the duties of *maẓālim* follow more or less the outline drawn by al-Māwardī and do not add anything substantially new. It was now

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[2]Jørgen Nielsen, "Maẓālim," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 7:933.

[3]Ibid., 933–34.

[4]ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Māwardī, *The Ordinances of Government: A Translation of al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyya wʾ al-Wilāyāt al-Dīniyya,* trans. Wafaa H. Wahba (Reading, UK, 1996), 87; al-Māwardī, *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ʿUmayrah (Cairo, 1994), 1:194.

clearly established that hearing *maẓālim* cases was part of the definition of a Muslim ruler. Ibn Shaddād (d. 632/1235), the biographer of the famous Ayyubid sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (r. 567–89/1171–93), praises him with the following words regarding his *maẓālim* practice: "Everyone who had a grievance was admitted—great and small, aged women and feeble men, . . . and he always received with his own hand the petitions that were presented to him, and did his utmost to put an end to every form of oppression that was reported."[5]

Mamluk rulers continued this long-standing legacy. Their rise to power was not undisputed, as they had been slaves before. Al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) quotes an Arab Bedouin shaykh who commented in the year 651/1253 about the rise to power of the Mamluks: "We are the lords of the land. We are more worthy to rule than the Mamluks. It was enough to serve the Ayyubids, who were outlaws and took the land by force, and the Mamluks are only the slaves of these outlaws."[6]

Mamluk sultans therefore had an interest in appearing as just and ideal rulers. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (d. 692/1292), who wrote a biography of Sultan Baybars I (r. 658–76/1260–77), describes him in several chapters as the ideal ruler who restored the *dār al-ʿadl* (Palace of Justice), abolished uncanonical taxes, and helped the oppressed. In one instance Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir reports how Baybars allowed a *maẓālim* case against himself to be heard. The background of the story was that Baybars had started the building of a well when he was still just an amir. He could not finish the work, though, because he went into exile for a time. The well was then completed by an ordinary soldier who demanded as compensation for his work the ownership of the well from Baybars, who meanwhile had risen to the office of sultan. Baybars set up a public legal process before the chief judge. When the soldier appeared, "the *atābak* [commander-in-chief] said to the sultan, 'Let my lord betake himself to the Holy Law.' So the sultan rose, ungirt his sword, and placed himself on an equal level with his opponent, standing before the chief judge, who was seated." Finally, the legal decision stated that Baybars was still the owner of the well but should pay the soldier for his efforts in the construction work.[7]

The hearing of *maẓālim* cases became an integral part of the Mamluk system

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[5]Bahāʾ al-Dīn ibn Shaddād, *The Life of Saladin, by Behâ ad-Dīn,* trans. C. W. Wilson and Lieutenant-Colonel Conder (London, 1897), 15; here cited after Linda T. Darling, "Medieval Egyptian Society and the Concept of the Circle of Justice," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10, no. 2 (2006): 5.

[6]Al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1934–73), 1:386; Peter M. Holt, "The Sultan as Ideal Ruler: Ayyubid and Mamluk Prototypes," in *Sülayman the Magnificent and His Age: The Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World,* ed. Metin Kurt and Christine Woodhead (London, 1995), 130.

[7]Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Ẓāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1976), 84–86; Holt, "Sultan," 132.

of government in the following years, and it was clear that it was the sultan's prerogative to decide how a case should be classified and that he had the last word in judicial matters. In a memorandum of Sultan Qalāwūn (r. 678–89/1279–90) for his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ on how to govern Egypt during the absence of his father on campaign, it states: "The Prince knows that justice is the profitable capital of the kings and an act that brings them success. . . . If the case be of religious nature, he sends it back to the judges whom We have appointed to separate between the lawful and the forbidden. If the case concerns maliciousness, the Prince himself exacts punishment, for He is a man of pertinent thought and clever mind. . . . If a judgement is delivered on a man of importance and high rank in favour of someone weak or insignificant, let the Prince give the wronged the fullest redress against the wrongs, for the Sultan was created to make a weak one win over his oppressor and to strengthen the hand of the poor and powerless against his litigant."[8]

The Venues of *Maẓālim* Courts

In order to hear *maẓālim* cases, one needed a venue. Often this would be the place where the presiding official already conducted his general duties.[9] But sometimes special structures were built to serve this purpose. Inside the palace of the Abbasid caliphs in Samarra was situated the Dome of Complaints *(qubbat al-maẓālim),* where the caliph al-Muhtadī (r. 255–56/869–70) tried to revive older traditions of public access to the ruler in 256/870.[10] Still, it does not seem that this was common practice, and therefore it apparently was considered an innovation when Nūr al-Dīn Zankī (r. 541–69/1146–74) established a special house of justice *(dār al-ʿadl),* sometimes also known as *dār kashf al-maẓālim* (house of *maẓālim*'s inquest) around 558/1163 in Damascus in order to provide a specific setting for his bi-weekly *maẓālim* sessions.[11] The Ayyubids took this innovation further and built two additional *dār al-ʿadls*, one in Aleppo in 585/1189 by al-Ẓāhir Ghāzī, the son of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, and one by al-Kāmil Muḥammad at the citadel of Cairo

[8]Paulina Lewicka, "What a King Should Care About: Two Memoranda of the Mamluk Sultan on Running the State's Affairs," *Studia Arabistyczne I Islamistyczne* 6 (1998): 13, 15 (English text), 12, 14 (Arabic text).

[9]Nielsen, "Maẓālim," 934.

[10]Hugh Kennedy, *The Court of the Caliphs: The Rise and Fall of Islam's Greatest Dynasty* (London, 2004), 146.

[11]Nasser O. Rabbat, "The Ideological Significance of the Dār al-ʿAdl in the Medieval Islamic Orient," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 27, no. 1 (1995): 3, 6, 7; for the *dār al-ʿadl* in Damascus, see also William M. Brinner, "Dar al-Saʿada and Dar al-ʿAdl in Mamluk Damascus," in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet,* ed. Myriam Rosen-Ayalon (Jerusalem, 1977), 235–47.

around 603/1207.[12] Rabbat has argued that these Ayyubid *dār al-ʿadls* represented an "original innovation of an extraordinary time." He sets them in the context of the Islamic ideological revival which accompanied the counter crusade against the Franks and the threat of the Mongols in the thirteenth century. In this period rulers had to appear as just rulers who adhered to proper Islamic codes. Once the immediate threat had dissipated in the fourteenth century, th*e dar al-ʿadls* were no longer used in their primary function.[13] I might agree with the first part of his reasoning, but as we will see the *maẓālim* sessions did not stop in the fourteenth century. Only the venue of the sessions in the citadel changed, but this might have been a matter of the individual taste of the rulers rather than the end of an ideological approach to proper Islamic rule.

However, after the Ayyubids, Sultan Baybars I decided to install his own *dār al-ʿadl* just below the citadel in 662/1264. He used it for holding *maẓālim* sessions and for inspecting the Mamluk army. The structure became known later as the *dār al-ʿadl al-qadīmah* (the old *dār al-ʿadl*) and by the time of al-Maqrīzī in the fifteenth century it was used as a performance venue for the military band *(ṭablkhānah)*.[14] It seems that the successors of Baybars I found this building not representative enough, and therefore its function as *dār al-ʿadl* was apparently moved inside the citadel by Sultan Qalāwūn (r. 678–89/1279–90) to the *īwān,* a large columned room used as the principal audience hall, which he had rebuilt. His son Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl (r. 689–93/1290–93) renovated this structure, before finally his brother, another son of Qalāwūn, Sultan al-Naṣīr Muḥammad (r. 693, 698–708, 709–41/1293, 1299–1309, 1310–41), had the building torn down and built his impressive *īwān/dār al-ʿadl* in the citadel, whose remains were still encountered by European visitors of the early nineteenth century.[15] (See figs. 2 and 3.)

At first, al-Naṣīr Muḥammad held his *maẓālim* sessions in his new *dār al-ʿadl* once a week on Mondays, before he switched to a bi-weekly scheme on Mondays and Thursdays.[16] During the time of his weak Qalāwūnid successors, the *dār al-ʿadl* retained mainly representational functions, as the real powers were with the high-ranking Mamluk amirs. Al-Shujāʿī (d. after 756/1356) reports how the amirs sat before Sultan al-Nāṣir Aḥmad (r. 742/1342) and told him what to do. He said to them: "Do things as you understand them. Whatever you think is right, I

[12] Rabbat, "Ideological Significance," 3.

[13] Ibid., 4.

[14] Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ,* 182; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār,* ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid (London, 2002), 3:655; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:236.

[15] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:659; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:107; Rabbat, "Ideological Significance," 13.

[16] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:660, 665; idem, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:103.

consent."[17] However, this might have been a trick. To great general astonishment, he summoned a surprise *maẓālim* session for the first time in his reign in Dhū al-Qaʿdah 742/May 1342 in the *dār al-ʿadl,* where he heard petitions and signed documents. He then ordered the selling of some of his own cattle in order to collect the money awarded to deserving plaintiffs, before he went into exile at al-Karak some days later.[18]

By this time, however, holding *maẓālim* sessions in the *dār al-ʿadl* seems to have been exceptional; in the second half of the fourteenth century *maẓālim* sessions were usually held at the palace of the powerful viceroys, the *dār al-niyābah,* in the citadel. The viceroys had the power to administer justice among the people at a barred stand *(shubbāk)* at their palace.[19]

Once Sultan Barqūq (r. 784–91, 792–801/1382–89, 1390–99) had restored the authority of the Mamluk sultanate, it seems that at first he revived the *maẓālim* sessions in the *dār al-ʿadl īwān,* but in order to underline the uniqueness of his sultanate, he then transferred the hearing of the petitions to some place in the royal stables in 789/1387 (see fig. 4). Moreover, the bi-weekly sessions were switched to Sundays and Wednesdays and some time later changed to Tuesday, Saturday, and Friday afternoons.[20] According to Linda Darling the new setting was not degrading, as "in Turkish practice stables were often places of political sanctuary."[21]

It seems that Barqūq occasionally did administer justice on the *maydān* below the citadel, as happened in 792/1390, but the royal stable represented the usual place for the wronged to go even after Barqūq's reign.[22] The *dār al-ʿadl/īwān* was still in use, but no longer for *maẓālim* sessions. Crowds would gather there for very formal events, like the reception of foreign guests. However, some occasional judicial sessions still took place there. Sultan Barsbāy (r. 825–41/1422–38) held one there in 831/1428; Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470) notes that that had not happened for a very long time.[23]

The royal stable apparently represented the main *maẓālim* venue before a new location was introduced in the time following Barsbāy, the so-called *dikkah* (platform) in the sultan's park *(ḥawsh)*. It was a wooden platform with an imperial

[17] Al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī wa-Awlādihī,* ed. and trans. Barbara Schäfer (Wiesbaden, 1985), 1:205 (Arabic text), 2:241 (German translation).

[18] Ibid., 1:217 (Arabic text), 2:252 (German translation).

[19] Ibid., 1:255 (Arabic text), 2:288 (German translation); al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:696.

[20] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:662, 666.

[21] Darling, "Circle of Justice," 14.

[22] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* ed. William Popper (Berkeley, 1936), 5:520; William Popper, *History of Egypt 1382–1469 A.D* (Berkeley, 1954), 1:115.

[23] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 6:632; Popper, *History of Egypt,* 4:55.

tent above it. Ibn Taghrībirdī reports for the year 871/1466: "[In this year] the sultan [Khushqadam (r. 865–72/1461–67)] began to hold Saturday and Tuesday sessions in the sultan's stable to adjudicate cases among men as had been the custom of the rulers of the past. This had not occurred since the day he became sultan; for the sultans of our time have sat on the platform of the sultan's park in the citadel and dispensed justice there among men."[24] Apparently the platform had been in use long before that date. This means that, at least from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards, it had become the usual location to hear petitions. In any case, the former locations were still held in high esteem. Sultan Qāytbāy (r. 872–901/1468–96) apparently invested a large amount of money in the restoration of the *īwān* in order to use it like in the old days.[25] It does not seem, however, that he really used it for *maẓālim* sessions. It is more probable that he continued to sit in the park, where he had a special throne erected beside the *dikkah.*[26]

Qāytbāy is also reported to have administered the usual legal hearings in the royal stable in Rajab 876/December 1471.[27] Therefore it is likely that the royal stable was used during the winter months and the *dikkah* in the park during the rest of the year in the time of Qāytbāy.

The arrangements around the *dikkah* in the park seem to have been very impressive for foreign visitors. The German pilgrim Arnold von Harff, who visited Cairo in 1496, tells us that he came through eight doors before he was brought to a large square. He saw 16,000 men standing there, all of whom had to come there three times a week with the full sun on their necks. The sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 901–4/1496–98) himself sat high on a platform on nice carpets and he had his legs crossed like tailors in Germany. In this manner he would sit there three times a week to hear complaints of his subjects and to dispense justice.[28] (See fig. 5.)

As one might assume, the wooden *dikkah* was not going to last. Sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī (r. 906–22/1501–16) had it removed in 916/1511. Instead he erected

[24] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 7:745; Popper, *History of Egypt,* 7:71.

[25] Finally the roof and the *qubbah* of the *īwān* were set on fire at the beginning of 923/1517 by the Ottomans shortly after the conquest, under the pretext that Sultan Ṭūmān Bāy had been there during the war. This led to the collapse of the *qubbah* in 928/1522, and it was never restored. Ibn Iyās (d. around 930/1524), *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden, 1963), 5:155, 441.

[26] Ibid., 3:60 ,61; al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿAṣr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970), 295, 339.

[27] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:66; al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ,* 391.

[28] Arnold von Harff, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff von Cöln durch Italien, Syrien, Aegypten, Arabien, Aethiopien, Nubien, Palästina, die Türkei, Frankreich und Spanien, wie er sie in den Jahren 1496 bis 1499 vollendet, beschrieben und durch Zeichnungen erläutert hat,* ed. Eberhard von Groote (Hildesheim, 2004), 89, 90.

a richly decorated marble platform *(maṣṭabah)* at the same site. According to Ibn Iyās the people were sad that the *dikkah* was gone, as so many kings had sat on it—its removal was perceived as a bad omen.[29]

It seems that Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī very much liked the *maẓālim* proceedings to be public. Some of his *maẓālim* sessions were held on the racecourse *(maydān)* just underneath the citadel, maybe following the example set by Barqūq, but Qānṣawh even ordered the building of a special throne and a house on the racecourse in 909/1503 in order to administer justice there.[30]

One reason for this could be that more people could attend to witness the justice of the ruler on the *maydān*. In Shawwāl 921/November 1515 he summoned a Jewish merchant, who originally came from the lands of the Franks but had already stayed for a while in the Mamluk Empire, to the *maydān* and had him tortured right in front of him because the Jew apparently had stolen a considerable amount of money. Asked about the whereabouts of the money, the merchant would not divulge its location, but instead he recited aloud the *shahādah* to show that he had become a Muslim. The crowd started to shout *Allāhu akbar,* but the sultan ordered further torture, saying: "There are many Muslims and Islam does not need this one."[31]

After Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī had died in battle in Syria, his ill-fated nephew Sultan Ṭūmān Bāy (r. 922–23/1516–17) tried to revive flagging Mamluk spirits and, despising al-Ghawrī's theatrical opulence, he had the stone *maṣṭabah* in the park destroyed and replaced with the wooden *dikkah* of Qāytbāy. Ibn Iyās remarked: "The *dikkah* of justice came back and the *maṣṭabah* of injustice was destroyed."[32] It did not really save Ṭūmān Bāy, who was hanged after the Ottoman conquest in 923/1517.

What can be stated in general about the *maẓālim* venues is that the shifting of the locations all around the citadel throughout the Mamluk period provided an individual Mamluk sultan with the opportunity to reinvent himself in matters of representation and leave his particular stamp on the administration, while still adhering to the general notion of the just ruler who caters to the wronged in *maẓālim* sessions.

LEGAL PROCEDURES IN THE *MAẒĀLIM* COURT

The procedures of the *maẓālim* sessions were highly formalized. An account of the court ceremonies is given by Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349), who served

[29] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:203.

[30] Ibid., 4:56.

[31] Ibid., 4:481.

[32] Ibid., 5:107.

as an official in the chancery of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. This source is only slightly modified in the famous chancery manual of al-Qalqashandī. According to these descriptions, the sultan came to the *dār al-ʿadl/īwān* in the citadel on Monday mornings (except in Ramaḍān) to hear petitions. He sat on a seat so high his feet barely touched the ground, to the side of the royal throne which resembled a *minbar* (pulpit). The eschewing of the royal throne during the sessions symbolized that the sultan was almost equal to the rest of the society. The slightly higher seat, though, meant that he still had a slightly higher standing. To his right were seated the four chief judges *(quḍāt al-quḍāt)* of the four law schools, who were accompanied later in the fourteenth century by newly created officials, the special *muftī*s (legal counsellors) of the *dār al-ʿadl* for each law school. Behind the ulama sat the controller of the treasury *(wakīl bayt al-māl)* and then the market inspector *(muḥtasib)* of Cairo. To the sultan's left were seated his privy secretary *(kātib al-sirr),* followed by the army supervisor *(nāẓir al-jaysh)*. The circle was completed by the scribes of the bench *(kuttāb al-dast),* who wrote down the proceedings. If a vizier was in office he would stand between the sultan and the *kātib al-sirr*. Behind the seats of the circle on the side of the sultan there were special guards *(silāḥdārīyah)*. On the left and the right side of the hall behind the circle were places reserved for the eminent Mamluk amirs. In front of the circle stood the chamberlains *(ḥujjāb)* and the *dawādār*s (the so-called bearers of the inkwell) in order to receive written petitions *(qiṣaṣ)* from the plaintiffs among the people. The petitions then were read to the sultan and he decided who should deal with them. If he thought it should be the qadis, they received it. Matters concerning the army were brought to the attention of the chamberlains and the privy secretary, and so on.[33]

Of course, this arrangement must have impressed the ordinary citizen, and even more so as the proceedings were highly formalized and contained theatrical elements. We have already heard of the incident when Sultan Baybars I left his throne during a session in order to go down to the level of a man who complained about him.[34] In 879/1475 Sultan Qāytbāy was holding a court session in the royal stable where the petitions were being read to him by the *kātib al-sirr,* when a man entered and complained about Yashbak the *dawādār*. The sultan ordered that Yashbak should go down to the man and stand in front of him and stay there as

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[33]Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār, Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Ulá,* ed. Dorothea Krawulsky (Beirut, 1986), 100–2; al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418), *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ,* ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 2000), 4:45–47; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:666–68; see also Rabbat, "Ideological Significance," 15–18, and S. M. Stern, "Petitions from the Mamlūk Period: Notes on the Mamlūk Documents from Sinai," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 29, no. 2 (1966): 265–66.

[34]Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ,* 84–86; Holt, "Sultan," 132.

long as it would take to reach a verdict. The same happened when another man complained about another dignitary.[35]

The *maẓālim* sessions not only provided the sultan with an opportunity to excel as a just ruler, but moreover they helped him to control his entourage and to keep them busy at least twice a week. In the memorandum of Sultan Qalāwūn for his son, it therefore states that the prince should preside over the sessions, provide justice to the wronged, and especially take care that everybody who should be there was indeed there. "Nobody presents a petition directly to the Prince and nobody participates in handling the petitions, if it is not his customary duty. Nobody talks on matters that do not concern him; nobody stands in a place other than his own; and nobody stands by the Sultan's side, if it is not his customary duty. Everyone who participates in the court session performs his duties in a place and location assigned to him. Let the Prince's eyes be open for this and His thoughts concerning those important matters [be] pertinent."[36] Absentees certainly should have a good legal excuse.[37] Assembling the amirs at a certain time in the week in the *dār al-ʿadl* could come in very handy. In 786/1384 Sultan Barqūq sat in the *dar al-ʿadl* and bestowed robes of honor on some amirs while he had others taken away and imprisoned in the same session.[38]

The sultan and the amirs went to *dār al-ʿadl* sessions in public procession *(mawkib),* and after hearing the cases an official banquet *(simāṭ)* followed, and the whole ceremony became known as *khidmah* (service).[39] In a matter of time it seems that the two parts of the ceremony, i.e., the hearing of complaints and the formal audience, were sometimes separated from each other. The *dār al-ʿadl/īwān* continued to be used occasionally for formal events like receiving foreign guests, whereas the location of the *maẓālim* sessions moved to different locations within the citadel.

In contrast to the ideal, we have to observe that during the time of the Mamluk sultanate the bi-weekly aspect of the sessions was not always strictly upheld. First of all, there were of course usually no sessions in Ramaḍān*,* and in troubled times they were cancelled altogether. However, Mamluk historians clearly note the suspension of *maẓālim* sessions, for instance when they praise Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad for restarting the sessions in 710/1310, after his power was firmly established.[40] In 871/1466 Sultan Khushqadam (r. 865–72/1461–67) held *maẓālim*

[35]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:102.

[36]Paulina Lewicka, "What a King Should Care About," (English text) 19, 21, (Arabic text) 16, 18.

[37]Ibid., (English text) 31, (Arabic text) 30.

[38]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:768.

[39]Nielsen, "Maẓālim," 935.

[40]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:103.

sessions for the first time after six years in office. Criers went through the streets to invite the wronged to come on Saturdays and Tuesdays to the citadel. Apparently people had to be reminded about the *maẓālim* session. Ibn Iyās, however, states that this was the last sign of justice displayed by this sultan, as he died a year later.[41]

In any case, sessions were held most of the time throughout the Mamluk period, and the written petition *(qiṣṣah)* played a central role.[42] Al-Qalqashandī describes six ways in which such a petition should be presented to the authorities.[43] The first way would be to come on a normal day to the citadel and leave it there. If the sultan decided on it, then the clerks would issue a decree. How successful such a "petition by chance" was, is hard to say, but sultans were given petitions on a regular basis once they descended from the citadel.[44] In the memorandum of Qalāwūn for his son it states that: "If petitions were presented to Him while riding (on processions outside the citadel), let Him help the one who presents them, treat him justly and give redress against the wrongs. He should investigate the injustice personally and not entrust the case to those who delays things."[45]

The second possibility was to address the petition to the chancery, where it would be decided if the sultan should hear the case or not. The third way was to present oneself on the *maẓālim* days in the *dār al-ʿadl* and give the petition to the *kātib al-sirr,* who would then read a selection to the sultan. The fourth way was to present it to a high representative of the sultan, called the plenipotentiary governor *(al-nāʾib al-kāfil)* by al-Qalqashandī. This might be a representative of the sultan when he was away. The fifth way consisted of the presentation of the petition to the army commander, the *atābak*. This was especially the case if the sultan was a minor. Finally, contacting a chamberlain directly constituted the last of the possibilities.

It seems quite clear that it certainly helped a request if one knew someone within the system, as the petitions seldom reached the sultan directly, and even if they did, Mamluk sultans were not exactly known for their Arabic reading skills. Therefore the assistance of government officials could certainly help even when the petitioner lived in a remote province. When in 713/1313 a new cadastral survey *(rawk)* would have meant considerable financial losses for the local family of the Buḥturids, who lived in the mountains south of Beirut, a leading representative of

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41 Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 2:444, 471.

42 For details about the few surviving petitions, see: Stern, "Petitions from the Mamlūk Period," 233–76; Hans Ernst, *Die mamlukischen Sultansurkunden des Sinai-Klosters* (Wiesbaden, 1960).

43 Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 196–200; Jørgen Nielsen, *Secular Justice in an Islamic State: Maẓālim under the Baḥrī Mamlūks 662/1264–789/1387* (Istanbul, 1387), 65–70.

44 Nielsen, *Secular Justice,* 66.

45 Lewicka, "What a King Should Care About," 35, 37 (English text), 36 (Arabic text).

the family went to Tankiz, the governor of Damascus, who intervened on behalf of the Buḥturids at the sultan's court in Cairo. There he obtained a decree of the sultan which exempted the Buḥturids from the survey because of their role in fighting the Crusaders.[46]

Another key element of the procedures of *maẓālim* jurisdiction was the relationship between the sultan and the judges of the four law schools, who had to be present at every session. As has been shown, the sultan decided whether a case should be looked at by the judges in shariʿah affairs or by other Mamluk officials if worldly matters and civil administration *(sīyāsah)* were concerned. However, the claim of al-Maqrīzī that in the latter cases the so-called Mongol Yāsa was used as the basis of the law can be discounted.[47] There is simply no evidence to substantiate such a claim. Maybe this accusation resulted from the frustration of a scholar who knew that the actual independence of the judges in the *maẓālim* court was quite limited even in matters of so-called religious affairs. In any case, the decrees which the sultan and his officials issued regarding worldly matters were certainly not meant to contradict the shariʿah. Moreover, the attendance of the judges at each session demonstrated that the sultan and his institution based their decisions on an underlying religious intent, or at least they wanted it to appear that way.

For the religious scholars, though, it was not highly recommended to disagree with the sultan on legal issues. In 723/1323 the sultan had a judge imprisoned in order to obtain his *waqf* property, but the judges would not give it to him. The sultan therefore bribed witnesses in order to achieve his goal.[48] Another event concerning *waqf* properties occurred in 780/1378. Before becoming sultan, the already powerful amir Barqūq wanted to confiscate *waqf* properties. The scholars objected and one scholar tried to explain the matter to Barqūq in Turkish until Barqūq became very angry and asked Shaykh al-Bulqīnī why he had remained silent. Al-Bulqīnī said that he had not been asked to speak, but he would rule against Barqūq. Another scholar, Ibn Abī al-Biqāʾī, then apologized for al-Bulqīnī and said to the amirs: "You are the masters of complaints; in the end, you decide." Al-Bulqīnī then remarked: "O amirs, you order us to give our legal opinion, but

[46] Ṣāliḥ ibn Yaḥyá, *Tārīkh Bayrūt: Akhbār al-Salaf min Dhurrīyat Buḥtur ibn ʿAlī Amīr al-Gharb bi-Bayrūt,* ed. Francis Hours and Kamal Salibi (Beirut, 1969), 86–87.

[47] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 712–18; Nielsen: "Maẓālim," 935; on the Mongol Yāsa, see David O. Morgan, "The 'Great "Yasa" of Chingiz Khan' and Mongol Law in the Ilkhanate," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 49, no. 1 (1986): 163–76; Robert Irwin, "What the Partridge Told the Eagle: A Neglected Arabic Source on Chingis Khan and the Early History of the Mongols," in *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy,* ed. Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David Morgan (Leiden, 1999), 5–11.

[48] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:243–44.

if we do not carry out matters your way, you dismiss us."[49] Even worse was the outcome for the judges in the following story, which concerns a famous case of adultery. An auxiliary Hanafi judge by the name of Khalīl had a beautiful wife who betrayed him with his Shafiʿi colleague Nūr al-Dīn. Khalīl found them together in his house and went to the grand chamberlain to launch an official legal complaint. The Shafiʿi auxiliary judge Nūr al-Dīn then wrote down a written legal confession of his crime. The chamberlain had the couple taken into custody and severely beaten. Then they were seated facing backwards on donkeys and paraded through the streets. The chamberlain then wanted the wife to pay an indemnity of 100 dinars, which she could not; the chamberlain ordered the betrayed husband Khalīl to pay. He refused and was imprisoned himself. By coincidence, the son of Khalīl did know someone near to the sultan, and Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī got interested in the case. He summoned the four chief judges and together they decided that the couple should be stoned. After the decision another Shafiʿi auxiliary judge named al-Zankalūnī raised the question of whether the couple could still legally be stoned if the written confession was withdrawn. The sultan became furious and asked the judges how something could be withdrawn if it was already confessed. The judges told him that this was an existing legal concept. But the sultan replied: "Is it not up to me to decide? I have the right in this matter." He then dismissed the four *quḍāt al-quḍāt*. The Shafiʿi auxiliary judge al-Zankalūnī, who had given the legal opinion about the withdrawal of the confession, was brought to a legal session at the racecourse where the sultan told him: "O al-Zankalūnī, is it really your decision which counts and not mine?" Then the sultan had him beaten to death. The cheating couple was hanged at the door of another judge who had disobeyed the sultan.[50]

Despite this obvious case of injustice, it seems that the legal practice of the Mamluks did impress foreign visitors. The Irish friar Symonis Semeonis who visited Cairo in 1324 remarked that: "In Cairo as in all Egypt and India (Ethiopia) the administration of justice and equity is of so high a standard that nobles and peasants, youths and old men, and foreigners of whatever creed or condition, with no possibility of bribery, are subject to the infliction of the same penalties, and this especially when it is a case of capital punishment, death being inflicted by crucifixion, decapitation, or cutting in two with swords."[51] The Venetian merchant Emmanuel Piloti, who lived in Egypt at the beginning of the fifteenth century, remarked, apparently astonished, about the regular law sessions of the

[49] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:345–46; Leonor Fernandes, "Between Qadis and Muftis: To Whom Does the Mamluk Sultan Listen?" *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 100.

[50] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:340–47.

[51] *Itinerarium symonis Semeonis ab Hybernia ad Terram Sanctam,* ed. Mario Esposito (Dublin, 1960), 81.

Mamluks: "Quant le souldain donne l'audience, tousjours commence au femmes, et à celles donne premiers espacement."[52]

DANGER IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE: VIOLENCE DURING *MAẒĀLIM* SESSIONS

Even though many armed guards were present at *maẓālim* sessions, they still constituted a public event with accompanying dangers. In the year 664/1266 the *nāʾib al-salṭanah* amir ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥullī (?) acted for a while as the deputy of Sultan Baybars in the *dār al-ʿadl* and held legal sessions. A man appeared with a written petition in his hand and was brought before the amir. The man suddenly produced a knife which was hidden under his clothes, attacked the amir and stabbed him in the throat. The amir managed to get hold of the hand of the assailant and kicked him down with his feet. In the ensuing struggle the attacker killed an amir before he himself finally succumbed to sword strokes. It was said that this madman belonged to the ones who constantly ate hashish to foster their madness.[53] When a messenger informed the absent sultan about the incident, he apparently cried out: "I could cope with the death of my son Berke but not al-Ḥullī." News finally arrived that al-Ḥullī had recovered, and the sultan was relieved.[54]

More common, though, were apparently fatal disputes among Mamluks themselves at the public sessions, as they could plot their attacks beforehand. An attempt on the life of Amīr Sayf al-Dīn Qawṣūn during the *maẓālim* sessions is reported by al-Shujāʿī for the year 742/1342. As usual, Qawṣūn led the parade *(rakaba al-mawkib)* towards the citadel, but he did not participate in the session itself because he had been warned of the coup. From a safe place he announced that the eight leading conspirators should be taken into custody. They refused and went out to fight, but finally had to admit their defeat.[55]

Another violent incident occurred in 758/1357, when the Mamluk soldier Quṭlūbughā handed a written petition to Amir Shaykhū asking for his promotion from a monthly-salaried Mamluk to that of a Mamluk holding an *iqṭāʿ*. After his promotion had been refused, Quṭlūbughā murdered Shaykhū on the spot in the *dār al-ʿadl.*[56] In 801/1398 a strange episode occurred, when a Persian dressed in Sufi garb presented a petition in the royal stables. He went up to Sultan Barqūq, grabbed his beard, and insulted him with great vehemence. By the sultan's order

[52]Emmanuel Piloti, *L'Égypte au commencement du quinzième siècle d'après le traité d'Emmanuel Piloti de Crète (Incipit 1420),* ed. P.-H. Dopp (Cairo, 1950), 109.

[53]On this, see: Bernard Lewis, *The Assassins: A Radical Sect in Islam* (New York, 1968).

[54]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:550–51.

[55]Al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir,* 1:149–54 (Arabic text), 2:186–91 (German translation).

[56]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:33–34.

he was then subjected to corporal punishment.[57] Given these incidents, it is no wonder that Sultan Qalāwūn told his son in his memorandum to watch his back carefully and never leave the prescribed route on public outings.[58]

During the period of the outdoor *maẓālim* sessions on the *dikkah* in the park in the fifteenth century some other unexpected dangers arose, as Ibn Iyās reports: "In this month [Rabīʿ II 893/March 1488] the sultan [Qāytbāy] sat on the *dikkah* in the park as usual to hold a public session. Suddenly a storm began. It was the strongest storm which had ever occurred in the park. It wounded several amirs and the grand chamberlain was hurt in the face. . . . The turbans of the scholars and the *takhfīfah* hats of the Mamluks were blown all over the place. The sultan stood up and was blown into the pond. His servants fled and left him alone; even the army fled, as they thought the day of judgement had come. And the weather really created great injustice (*wa-qad aẓlama al-jaww ẓulmatan.*)"[59]

Maẓālim in the *Dar al-ʿAdl* Period (648–789/1250–1387)

The first ninety years of this period were dominated by the more or less stable reigns of the three sultans: Baybars I (r. 658–76/1260–77), Sultan Qalāwūn (r. 678–89/1279–90), and Sultan al-Naṣīr Muḥammad (r. 693, 698–708, 709–41/1293, 1299–1309, 1310–41). Jørgen Nielsen underlines the fact that these sultans had highly formalized the procedures in the *khidmah* and *maẓālim* ceremonies in order to emphasize their role as just rulers. In doing so they had supplanted the jurisdiction of the qadis, and it had become difficult to distinguish their actual jurisdiction from other governmental functions, as everything had been centralized under them.[60] On the other hand, it might be this centralization which ensured the actual holding of these *maẓālim* sessions and the sultan's active interest in the affairs of his subjects.

Jørgen Nielsen has collected 63 *maẓālim* cases from various sources for this period. If we discount the 21 surviving decrees which were issued in favor of St. Catherine's Monastery and deal mainly with the protection of the rights of the monastery and condemn Bedouin raids against it,[61] then there are still 42 *maẓālim* cases. Out of these, 30 were directly dealt with in Cairo's *dār al-ʿadl* or adjacent institutions. Nearly 50% of them deal with matters of land/*waqf* property and inheritance. What is very remarkable for this period is that we can find at least

[57] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 13:169.

[58] Lewicka, "What a King Should Care About," 35, 37 (English text), 34, 36 (Arabic text).

[59] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:249–50.

[60] Nielsen, *Secular Justice,* 135.

[61] Stern, "Petitions from the Mamlūk Period," 233–76; Ernst, *Die mamlukischen Sultansurkunden des Sinai-Klosters.*

nine cases where complaints against abuses of power by Mamluk officials are raised.[62]

At the beginning of the period, the Mamluks restructured the organization of the legal establishment in Cairo. In the year 663/1265 Sultan Baybars ordered the creation of four chief judgeships because he had become angry with the Shafiʿi chief judge, Tāj al-Dīn Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz, who had held this position alone. According to al-Maqrīzī, this came after the complaint of the daughters of an Ayyubid prince. The women explained to the sultan that they had bought a house from the former Shafiʿi chief judge Badr al-Dīn al-Sinjārī. But now that the judge had died, the heirs of al-Sinjārī argued that the house was actually a religious endowment *(waqf)* and therefore could not have been sold in the first place. The sultan turned to Tāj al-Dīn Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz and asked why judges would act in that manner. Tāj al-Dīn ignored the issue by stating that the women should be financially compensated. "What if the heirs have no money for the compensation?" the sultan asked. The judge replied that if there was no money, there was no compensation, as the *waqf* had to remain inviolate. The sultan was not pleased with the answer, and after some other dubious rulings by Tāj al-Dīn, he decided to install four chief judges representing all four law schools to bring more legal opinions into play.[63]

During the reign of Sultan al-Naṣīr Muḥammad, complaints against officials had a good chance of success. In 739/1338 the qadi of Ḥamāh arrived in Cairo to complain about the injustice of his overlord, the governor al-Malik al-Afḍal. The sultan had al-Malik al-Afḍal come to Cairo and spoke to him in the *dār al-ʿadl*: "I have brought you here to the *dār al-ʿadl* so the judges can witness what is discussed. I have heard a lot (of evil things) about you. . . . If you do it again, you will harm your family tremendously."[64] On the other hand, the hearing of complaints against officials could also backfire against the sultan. Twice in 735/1334 and 737/1336 he successfully dismissed allegations of abuse of power against his favorite, al-Nashw, the *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ,* i.e., the inspector of the sultan's treasury, but this could not save al-Nashw in the end. Finally the sultan had to consent to al-Nashw's arrest and execution by torture because of pressure from the Mamluks and the public. This caused a week-long celebration in Cairo.[65]

For the rest of the *dār al-ʿadl* period, the time of the mostly powerless successors of Sultan al-Naṣīr Muḥammad, we notice the total absence of complaints against

[62]Nielsen, *Secular Justice,* 140–53.

[63]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:538–39; Joseph H. Escovitz, *The Office of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt in Cairo under the Baḥrī Mamlūks* (Berlin, 1984), 20.

[64]Al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad,* 1:60–61 (Arabic text), 2:39–40 (German translation).

[65]Nielsen, *Secular Justice,* 140–53; for the complete story, see Amalia Levanoni, "The al-Nashw Episode: A Case Study of 'Moral Economy'," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9, no. 1 (2005): 207–20.

abuse of power. Nielsen counts only 16 cases throughout the period 741–84/1341–82 that can be clearly linked to the *maẓālim* jurisdiction.

Recently Jo von Steenbergen has shown that in order to survive and prosper during these confusing and chaotic times, one needed functioning personal networks.[66] The legal system was certainly no exception. In 753/1352 a group of Persian merchants was thrown into prison by the Hanafi chief qadi for failing to pay import dues. The chief chamberlain had them released and gave them indemnities.[67] We might assume that money was involved to build up this network. The following legal decision, though, was certainly based on a purely male network and male complaints. In 750/1350 the vizier Manjaq and the judges met in the *dār al-ʿadl* while the minor sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (748–52, 755–62/1354–61, 1347–51) was present. The legal council then decided to ban certain women's clothing. The popular long-sleeved shirt that reached the ground and fetched a price of 1000 dirhams was forbidden, as were the so-called Baghdadī silk buttons for 1000 dirhams each and expensive shoes. All agreed that this was a matter of honor and action was needed. Soldiers started to go into the brothels to confiscate the illegal apparel. Mamluks searched shops and patrolled the streets looking for this kind of clothing. When they found a woman still wearing it, they tore her clothes to pieces; some women were taken into custody. At the gates of Cairo officials erected dressed wooden puppets to show the women which kind of dress was suitable and legal. The prices of Baghdadī buttons plummeted to 80 dirhams but nobody would dare to buy one.[68]

However, more frequent than complaints against women's clothing in the *dār al-ʿadl* were allegations of misbehavior by Christians. After such complaints increased significantly in 755/1354, the *dār al-ʿadl* council issued a decree reinforcing the discriminatory legal regulations concerning the *ahl al-dhimmah*. The Christian patriarch and the leader of the Jewish community were present and had to consent. But instead of cooling down the atmosphere, the decision led to riots against Christians and Jews in Cairo which lasted for several days.[69]

Maẓālim during the Royal Stables and *Dikkah* Period 789–923/1387–1517

During this period *maẓālim* cases were mainly heard at the royal stables, but sometimes at the *maydān,* and especially after the mid-fifteenth century, cases were usually heard on the *dikkah* platform in the royal park in the citadel. This period once again witnessed stable sultanates, and complaints against abuses of

[66] Jo van Steenbergen, *Order out of Chaos: Patronage, Conflict and Mamluk Socio-Political Culture, 1341–1382* (Leiden, 2006), 169–70.

[67] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:717–18.

[68] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:810.

[69] Ibid., 2:921–28

power were heard again at *maẓālim* court sessions after the time of weak rule by the Qalāwūnids. Therefore, *maẓālim* sessions reappear as a sultan's regular duty at the turn of the century. It might have been to show that a traditional institution was renewed that Sultan Barqūq had the sessions transferred to the royal stables. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (d. 851/1448) remarked about this re-introduction: "Everywhere in Cairo and Egypt was uttered loudly the invitation that the one who has been wronged could come to the sultan's stables. And when somebody came and said: 'Can I present my case to the judge or to the chamberlain?' and the sultan said no, then the man was beaten and thrown outside. But if the sultan said: 'Yes, the case is accepted,' then the sultan ordered the man's opponent in the legal case to present himself, and he rendered justice between the two."[70]

In 821/1418 Sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (r. 816–24/1413–21) had Ibn Ṭablāwī, the *wālī* of Cairo, whipped at the regular *maẓālim* session in the stables. The reason for this had been that a poor man did not have enough money to pay for the burial of his drowned son, for which the *wālī* had imposed five dinars. The father therefore had to dump the cadaver beside the Nile, where dogs started to eat the corpse. A complaint reached the sultan who decided to punish the *wālī.*[71]

Staging regular legal sessions was upheld after the death of al-Muʾayyad. The grand amir Ṭaṭar, who was in charge of state affairs for al-Muʾayyad's two-year-old son, summoned the amirs and judges ten days after the death of al-Muʾayyad in Muḥarram 824/January 1421 to the first *maẓālim* session: "Proclamation was made that grand amir Ṭaṭar would sit for judgement among the men. When the Friday prayer was over the grand amir took his seat in the reception hall of the royal stables as al-Malik al-Muʾayyad used to sit there, except that Ṭaṭar sat at the left of the throne not upon it. He decided cases between people and settled the affairs of men most judiciously, for he was a man of outstanding ability, alert and intelligent, and had a good knowledge of jurisprudence and other subjects; he loved to study especially the teachings of the Hanafite masters, for he held them in high honor."[72]

Ṭaṭar, who might have made a very just ruler, even reached the sultanate this year but suddenly died in the same year. In times when the sultan was a minor, the *maẓālim* sessions were apparently supervised by the grand amir. Grand amir Barsbāy, who shortly thereafter became Sultan Barsbāy (r. 825–41/1422–38), held *maẓālim* sessions on a regular basis before attaining the sultanate: after some complaints from the public, he had the money changers come to the royal stables in 825/1422. There he ordered that the Muʾayyadī dirhams should be weighed

[70] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1977), 221.

[71] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 2:40.

[72] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 6:484; Popper, *History of Egypt,* 3:126.

when accepted for payments rather than being counted, as apparently the dirhams had suffered a strong diet regime in the hands of the money changers, who had reduced their weight by almost half.[73]

Another example of a Mamluk who was actively involved in the *maẓālim* jurisdiction is found in Amir Sūdūn, who served as chamberlain during the reign of Barsbāy. He seemed to be almost obsessed with favoring the weak over the strong during *maẓālim* sessions. Even when a Mamluk had a substantial legal case against a peasant, Sūdūn would favor the peasant. No wonder he fell into disgrace and was exiled to Jerusalem.[74]

It seems that the proper functioning of the *maẓālim* system depended to a large extent on the will of the reigning sultan or other strong men of the sultanate to enforce it. It could certainly not work well when the sultan was openly corrupt. Sultan Jaqmaq (r. 842–57/1438–53) apparently had this reputation, and Petry has recently shown how the daughter of Sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh had waited with her legal complaint about a property dispute until after the death of Jaqmaq because the accused in the case was the sultan's favorite. When she filed her suit, presumably through the *maẓālim* jurisdiction, it came at the right time, as Sultan Īnāl (r. 857–65/1453–61) was reviewing acts of nepotism by his predecessor and she was granted a financial indemnity.[75]

This brings us near to the end of the Mamluk sultanate as a whole, to the "Twilight of Majesty."[76] This period was dominated, if we follow the contemporary sources, by the rule of the good and just sultan Qāytbāy (r. 872–901/1468–96) and the bad and unjust sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī (r. 906–22/1501–16).[77] Qāytbāy was especially well known for his interventions against officials. In 876/1471 for example, he had the controller of his privy funds *(nāẓir al-khāṣṣ)* flogged for cheating three plaintiffs during a bi-weekly *maẓālim* session in the royal stables.[78] There were other similar stories about him, but often they contained a certain "show off" element and staid symbolism.[79] Carl Petry remarks in this context that "the sultan did frequently uphold the rights of legitimate petitioners. His

[73]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 6:536; Popper, *History of Egypt,* 3:165.

[74]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 7:267ff; Popper, *History of Egypt,* 5:176.

[75]Carl F. Petry, "Crime in Mamluk Historiography: A Fraud Case Depicted by Ibn Taghrībirdī," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10, no. 2 (2006): 141–51.

[76]Carl F. Petry, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qanṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (Seattle, 1993).

[77]Carl F. Petry, "Royal Justice in Mamlūk Cairo: Contrasting Motives of Two Sulṭāns," in *Saber religioso y poder politico en el Islam: Actas del simposio international (Granada, 15–18. octubre 1991)* (Madrid, 1994), 197–211.

[78]Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:66; al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ,* 391.

[79]Petry, "Royal Justice," 199, 202.

reputation as a defender of orphans, widows and the helpless was not without merit. Yet, adjudicating their grievances usually involved petty sums, restoration of which cost him little. Public acclamation for protection of the lowly's claims was cheaply bought."[80]

In contrast to Qāytbāy, Sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī did not even bother with such symbolic gestures, but we have to acknowledge that our main historical source, Ibn Iyās, is not very friendly towards him. However, stories about his unjust behavior abound, and some have been mentioned here already. It is hard to find a positive story about him. Maybe this one will do: in 915/1509 he asked Qurqmās al-Muqrī, an amir of ten, to refund money which he had taken from the people of his quarter. Apparently 1000 dinars had been stolen from the house of al-Muqrī. As al-Muqrī could not find the thief, he forced his neighbors to pay him the sum. Finally, the real thief was caught in Mecca, but al-Muqrī still did not refund the money. His neighbors therefore went with a written petition *(qiṣṣah)* up to the sultan, who decided against al-Muqrī. But Ibn Iyās had to add that Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī did this because he already had mixed feelings towards al-Muqrī.[81]

It looks like it had been almost impossible to file a suit against a favorite of al-Ghawrī. When the murder of a young boy was committed by a man in the service of al-Ghawrī's nephew Ṭūmān Bāy, the case could not be tried, as no witnesses dared to present themselves.[82] Another instance of unjust jurisdiction occurred when Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī had the chief judges examine the family tree of the descendents of the Prophet in order to eliminate them from the state's payroll if they could not prove their ancestry.[83]

However, the worst injustice of his reign is that apparently many crimes were not examined at all, but simply ignored. This negligence on the part of the head of state frustrated the public. Therefore Qānṣawh's reign certainly constituted the heyday of the phenomenon of privatization of justice in the Mamluk period.[84] Illegal "legal platforms" *(dikak)* popped up almost all over the city in front of houses of influential persons. In this legal "black market," complaints were accepted and pursued by semi-official doormen *(nuqabāʾ)* in the service of influential people.

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[80] Ibid., 203.

[81] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 4:162, 180.

[82] Ibid., 4:168.

[83] Ibid., 4:260.

[84] For a discussion of the phenomenon of privatization of law in the Mamluk period, see John Meloy, "The Privatization of Protection: Extortion and the State in the Circassian Mamluk Period," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 47/2 (2004): 195–212; Robert Irwin, "The Privatization of 'Justice' Under the Circassian Mamluks," *Mamluk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 63–70.

Especially towards the end of his reign it seems that Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī strongly disapproved of this practice, as numerous official orders were issued in 919/1513 to forbid officials from erecting these *dikak* in front of their houses and using them to dispense legal rulings.[85] Finally he re-allowed the *dikak* in Jumādá I 919/July 1513, with the restriction that the *nuqabāʾ* should not impose excessive financial penalties on the accused parties. Apparently the amirs, who naturally did not want to lose this income, had convinced the sultan by saying: "If the sultan does not provide justice and the amirs do not provide justice, then the rights of the people will be lost."[86] The people could now choose where to take their legal complaints, either to the public sector and the *dikkah* in the sultan's park or to the private sector and the *dikak* in the streets of Cairo.

Conclusion

After the fall of Mamluk Empire, the Mamluk *maẓālim* jurisdiction disappeared. The Ottoman sultan Selīm I (r. 918–26/1512–20) apparently did not wish to pursue such forms of public display. "When Ibn ʿUthmān went up to the Citadel he hid from the people and did not show himself to anyone. He did not sit for public hearings on the *dikkah* in the park in order to help the wronged against the oppressor. On the contrary, the people increasingly told stories about new injustices *(maẓlamah)* committed by him and his officials," remarked Ibn Iyās about the end of a legal institution which had shaped Egypt's and Syria's legal history throughout the Mamluk period.[87]

How can we sum up this institution? It functioned right to the very end of the Mamluk era; it was used by the sultans to enforce their images as just rulers and to fulfil the legal obligations which they had as Muslim rulers. In doing so, they followed the system which had been laid out by the Ayyubids, although the Mamluks had made some adjustments. They certainly formalized the procedure to an extent that it might be asked whether the legal decisions given during these sessions were sometimes merely a by-product of the general public representation of the sultan. Some sultans, though, took their legal obligations more seriously and apparently really tried to help the poor against the powerful. Still, there were limits to this when personal interests of the sultan or the empire were at stake.

To answer the question posed in the heading of my paper: was there *ẓulm* (injustice) done by the *maẓālim* procedure? Well, there was a lot of *ẓulm* perpetrated in and through *maẓālim* sessions, yet there was no injustice automatically built into the system. The aim of it was clearly to provide a forum for appeals against

[85] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:76, 302, 312, 318, 320; Irwin, "Privatization," 69.

[86] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:320.

[87] Ibid., 5:162.

legal decisions of state officials and to put overall control of all matters of the state, including the judiciary, into the hands of the sultan. The *maẓālim* jurisdiction enforced the image of the good ruler who, though he might have bad advisers, would stand up for his subjects if needed. Of course this was not always the case, but in times of stable rule the *maẓālim* jurisdiction could really be an effective tool against legal abuses. It was perceived by all layers of Mamluk society as an indispensable part of the legitimacy of Mamluk sultans—the institution as such was never questioned.

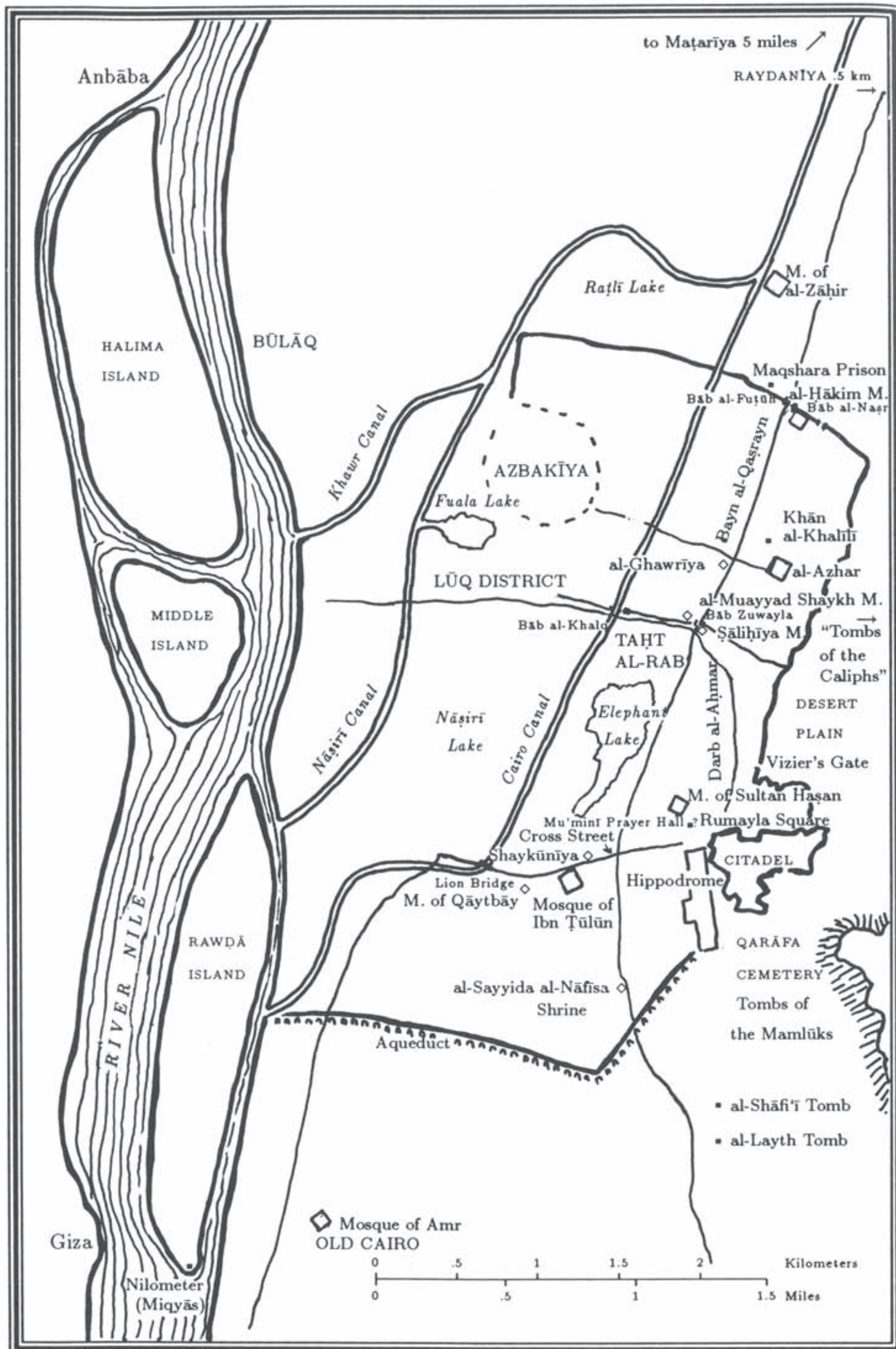


Fig. 1. Cairo in Mamluk times (Carl Petry, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy in Egypt* [Seattle, 1993], xii. Courtesy of Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington.)

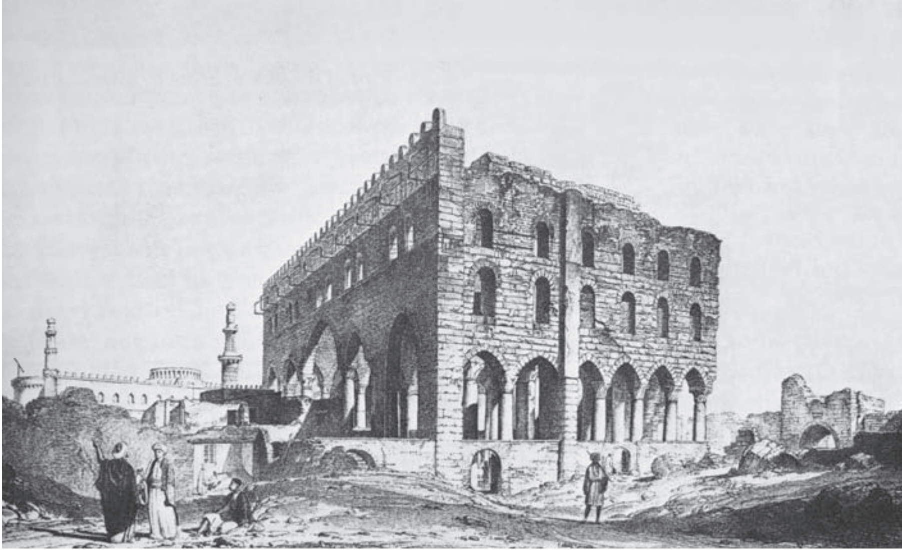




Fig. 2. *Īwān* of the Citadel. (From Robert Hay, *Illustrations of Cairo* [London, 1840] and *Description de l'Egypte*.)

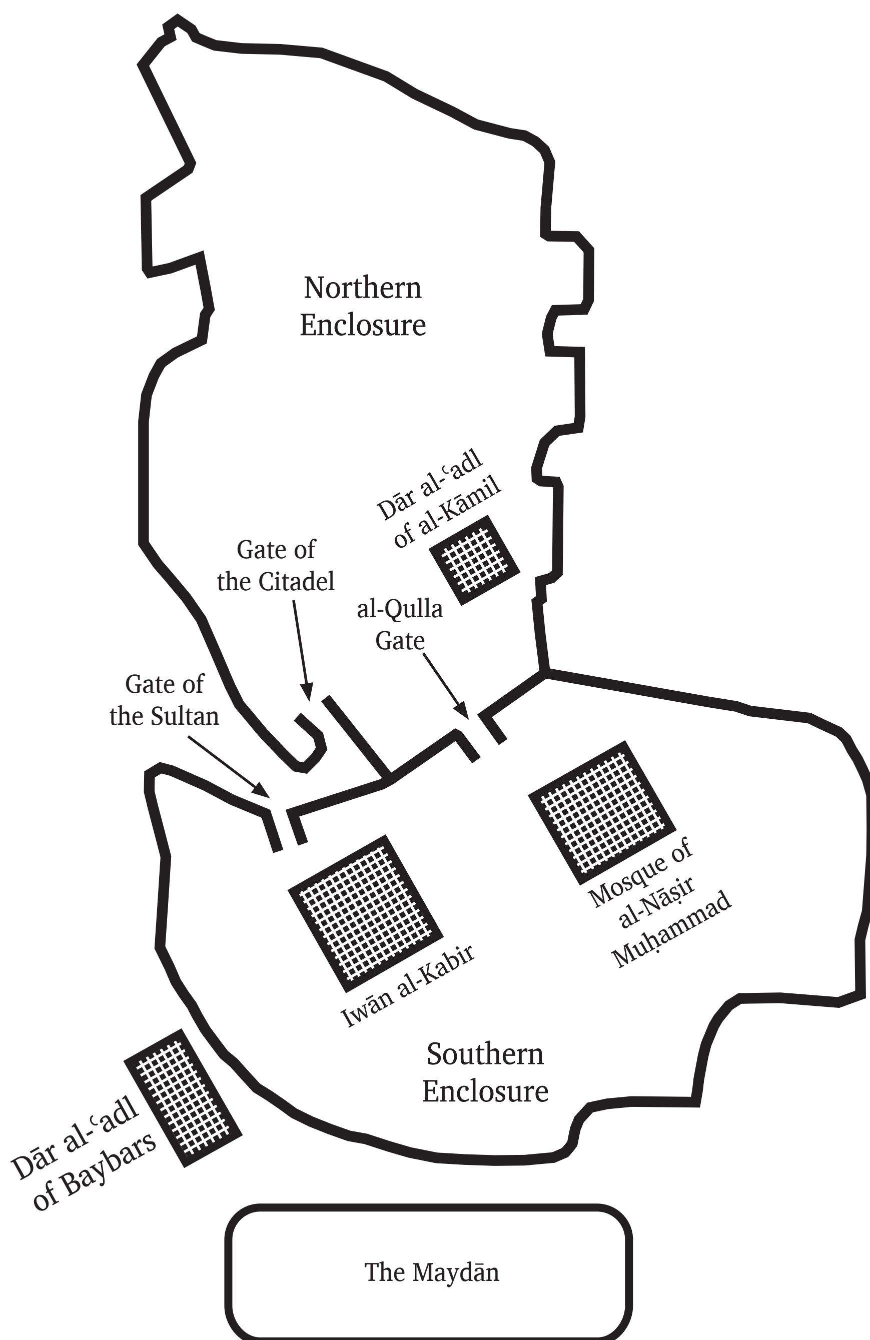


Fig. 3. The *dār al-ʿadls* at the Citadel (Redrawn based on Nasser O. Rabbat, "The Ideological Significance of the Dār al-ʿAdl in the Medieval Islamic Orient," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 27, no. 1 [1995]: 11.)

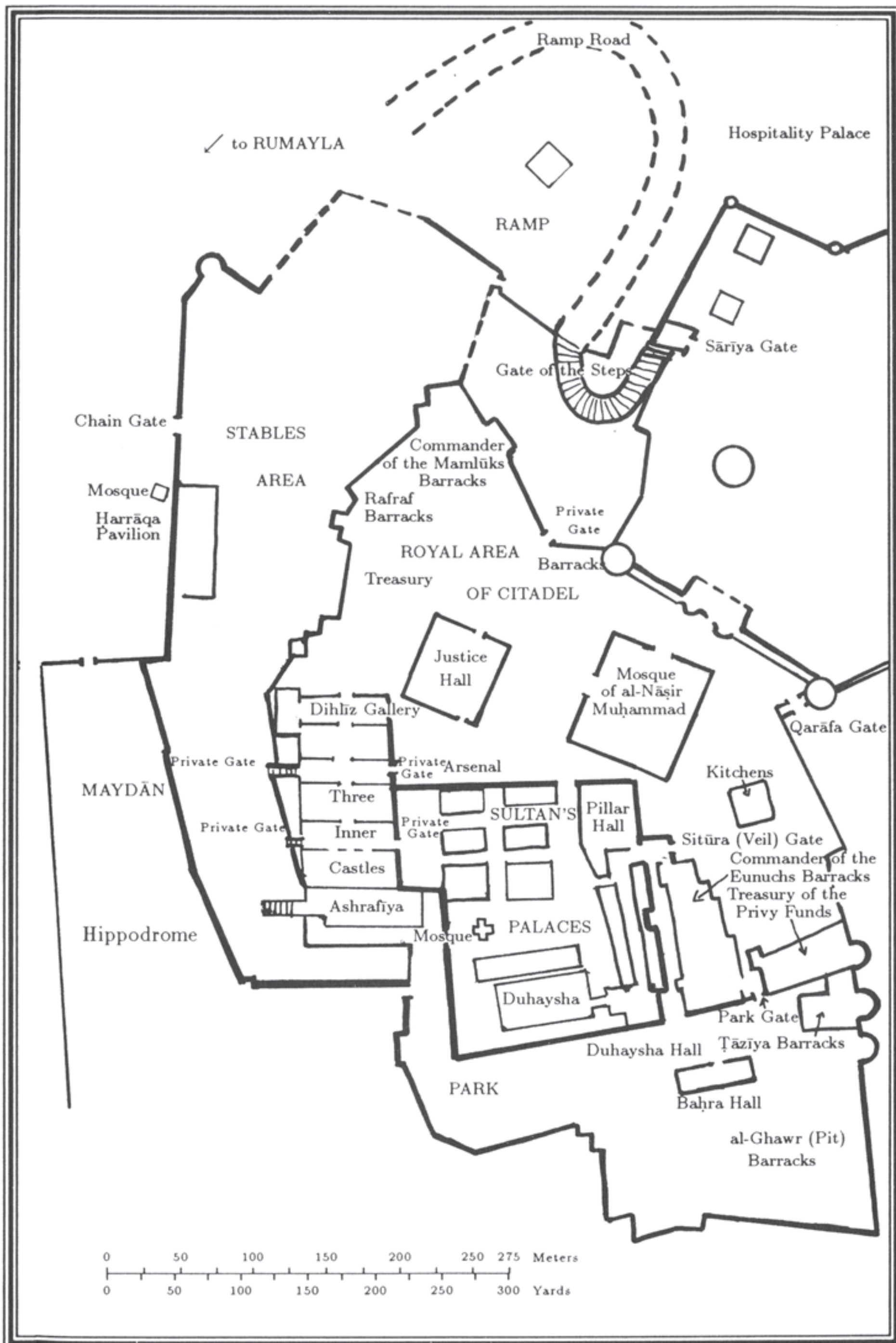


Fig. 4. The Citadel of Cairo (Carl Petry, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy in Egypt* [Seattle, 1993], xi. Courtesy of Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington.)



Fig. 5. Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (r. 901–4/1496–98) on the *dikkah* (Arnold von Harff, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff von Cöln durch Italien, Syrien, Aegypten, Arabien, Aethiopien, Nubien, Palästina, die Türkei, Frankreich und Spanien, wie er sie in den Jahren 1496 bis 1499 vollendet, beschrieben und durch Zeichnungen erläutert hat,* ed. Eberhard von Groote [Hildesheim, 2004], 90. Courtesy of Georg Olms Verlag.)

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Awqāf in Mamluk Bilād al-Shām

The thesis of this article is that the desire for political hegemony was the primary motivation for the *awqāf* policy adopted by the Mamluk elite.

During its first century in Syria and Egypt (1516–97), the Ottoman Empire carried out several cadastral surveys. The data gathered in these surveys were recorded and catalogued. Among the items listed in the Ottoman registers of each of the provinces are religious endowments, their founders, and their property.[1] Looking some centuries backward and comparing the information provided in the Ottoman lists with the data on the Islamic religious endowments *(awqāf)* in Bilād al-Shām at the end of the Latin Kingdom (1099–1291), we can get a clear picture of the remarkable number of endowments established by Muslims in Damascus, Lebanon, Transjordan, and Palestine during the Mamluk period (1250–1517).

Considering the abundant additional information found in inscriptions,[2] legal compendia, biographical works, and chronicles, we can clearly see that the *waqf* had an unmistakable presence in Mamluk society.[3] It was represented in almost

[1]Mehmet İpşirli and Muḥammad Dāwūd Tamīmī, eds., *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn fī al-Qarn al-ʿĀshir al-Hijrī ḥasab Daftar 522* (Istanbul, 1402/1982); Muḥammad ʿĪsá Ṣāliḥīyah, *Sijill Arāḍī Alawīyah Ṣafad Nābulus Ghazzah wa-Qaḍāʾ al-Ramlah ḥasab al-Daftar Raqm 312 Tārīkhuhu 963/1553* (Amman, 1419/1999); idem, *Sijill Arāḍī Liwāʾ al-Quds ḥasab al-Daftar 342 Tārīkhuhu 970/1562* (Amman, 1422/2002); Muḥammad ʿAdnān al-Bakhīt, *Daftar Mufaṣṣal Khāṣṣ Liwāʾ al-Shām 958/1551* [tapu daftari 275] (Amman, 1989), 27 *(waqf ḥaramayn sharīfayn),* 28, 29, 30, *(al-ʿushr ʿan māl al-waqf),* 36 *(al-ʿushr ʿan jumlat mutaḥaṣṣil al-awqāf),* 40, 46, 67 *(awqāf ḥaramayn wa-quds sharīf wa-khalīl al-raḥmān wa-jāmiʿ banī umayyah sharīf),* 69, 76, 82, 89, 126, 128; idem, *The Ottoman Province of Damascus in the Sixteenth Century* (Beirut, 1982), 147–48; Karl K. Barbir, *Ottoman Rule in Damascus, 1708–1758* (Princeton, 1980), 101; Alexandrine Guérin, "Interprétation d'un registre fiscal ottoman: Les territoires de la Syrie méridionale en 1005/1596–97," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 61 (2002): 6–8. On the Ottoman method of taxation of endowments, see Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Ḥawādith Dimashq al-Yawmīyah: Ṣafaḥāt Mafqūdah min Kitāb Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* ed. Aḥmad Ībish (Damascus, 2002), 246.

[2]*Répertoire Chronologique d'Épigraphie Arabe* (hereafter *RCEA*) 18:6–7 (784009), 27–28 (786003).

[3]Ulrich Haarmann, "Mamluk Endowment Deeds as a Source for the History of Education in Late Medieval Egypt," *Al-Abḥāth* 28 (1980): 31–47; Gilles Hennequin, "Waqf et monnaie dans l'Egypte mamluke," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 38 (1995): 305–12; Jean-Claude Garcin and Mustafa Anouar Taher, "Les waqfs d'une madrasa du Caire au XVe siècle: les propriétés urbaines de Ǧawhar al-Lālā," in *Le waqf dans l'espace islamique: outil de pouvoir socio-politique,* ed. R. Deguilhem (Damascus, 1995), 151–86; Rudolf Veselý, "Procès de la production et rôle du waqf dans les relations ville-campagne," in ibid., 229–41; Carl F. Petry "A Geniza for Mamluk Studies?

all aspects of urban and rural society as a means for accumulating wealth and influence. This leads to the crucial question: why did the military class[4] so eagerly pursue a policy that in effect transferred a considerable portion of agricultural land and urban property from the state treasury into religious endowments,[5] a development that seriously diminished the sultanate's resources?

It is not an easy task to solve this knotty problem, particularly as we possess no sound information as to the motives of the endowers, who couched their reasoning in general statements and citations from the Quran[6] and hadith.[7] In order to advance an answer to the question posited above, the present article aims to scrutinize the information concerning endowments, donors (particularly sultans, viceroys, and officers), beneficiaries, and *waqf* property that is preserved in various sources: endowment deeds *(kitāb al-waqf; waqfīyah),* inscriptions, juridical works, biographical works, and chronicles.

These sources clearly reveal Mamluk society as a contractual society, that is to say, a society that used legal documents to articulate personal relationships.[8] The

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Charitable Trust *(Waqf)* Documents as a Source for Economic and Social History," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 51–60; idem, "Waqf as an Instrument of Investment in the Mamluk Sultanate: Security vs. Profit?" in *Slave Elites in the Middle East and Africa: A Comparative Study,* ed. Miura Toru and John Edward Philips (London, 2000), 99–115; Sylvie Denoix, "A Mamluk Institution for Urbanization: the Waqf," in *The Cairo Heritage: Essays in Honour of Laila Ali Ibrahim,* ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Cairo, 2000), 191–202.

[4]On the so-called "royal *awqāf*" see Adam Sabra, "Public Policy or Private Charity—The Ambivalent Character of Islamic Charitable Endowments," in *Stiftungen in Christentum, Judentum und Islam vor der Moderne: auf der Suche nach ihren Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschieden in religiosen Grundlagen, praktischen Zwecken und historischen Transformationen,* ed. Michael Borgolte (Berlin, 2005), 96.

[5]ʿImād Badr al-Dīn Abū Ghāzī, *Fī Tārīkh Miṣr al-Ijtimāʿī: Taṭawwur al-Ḥiyāzah al-Zirāʿīyah Zaman al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah* (Cairo, 2000), 105; Adam Sabra, "The Rise of a New Class? Land Tenure in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: A Review Article," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (2004): 205, 207. The Ottoman policy of reincorporating decayed *awqāf* in the *kharāj* lands is another illustration of this development; see Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Ḥawādith Dimashq al-Yawmīyah,* 169.

[6]Frequently quoting Sūrat al-Tawbah (9), verse 18: "He only shall tend Allāh's sanctuaries who believes in Allāh and the Last Day and observeth proper worship and payeth the poor-due," and verse 60: "the alms are only for the poor and the needy, and those who collect them, and those whose hearts are to be reconciled, and to free the captives and the debtors, and for the cause of Allāh, and for the wayfarers; a duty imposed by Allāh." (trans. M. Pickthall).

[7]Commonly alluding to the tradition: "Only three things remain after death: a lasting charity, religious knowledge that teaches the next generations, and a righteous son that will pray for the deceased." *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* (Cairo, 1955), 3:1255 (no. 1631 *bāb mā yulḥaq al-insān min al-thawāb baʿd wafātihi*); ʿAbd Allāh al-Dārimī, *Sunan* (Cairo, 1398/1978), 1:139 (also printed as *Musnad al-Dārimī* [Mecca, 1421/2000], 1:462 [no. 578]); Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Biḥār al-Anwār* (Beirut, 1412/1992), 1:349 (no. 65) (in the 1983 edition 2:22).

[8]Norbert Rouland, *Legal Anthropology* (London, 1994).

ties between husband and wife, patron and client, or testator and inheritor were framed in legal contracts that were made public and verified by the qadi's court. In this context, a religious endowment should be seen as a contract between a benefactor and beneficiaries. In the *waqf* charter, the benefactor stipulates his intentions and the aims of the endowment. Moreover, he regulates the activities within the institution's walls, including instructions relating to accommodation, food, study, and prayer.

This aspect of the *waqf* as a legal tool in arranging financial relations among family members is well documented in the records I have studied.[9] These report on the role of *awqāf* in providing economic benefits to kin and others that the founder wished to support with cash payments,[10] salary *(jāmakīyah),*[11] food,[12] housing, etc. Administrators of *awqāf* were also beneficiaries of the endowment,[13] although it should be said that most Mamluk families varied from the ordinary civilian Muslim family in the fact that they were first generation families with no elders.[14] They thus found it difficult to claim nobility by birth.[15] Hence, by

[9]Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh Ibn al-Jazarī al-Musammá Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Anbāʾihi wa-Wafayāt al-Akābir wa-al-Aʿyān min Abnāʾihi al-Maʿrūf bi-Tārīkh Ibn al-Jazarī,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām al-Tadmurī (Beirut, 1419/1998), 2:157, 200–1 (the story of Ibn al-Dajajīyah), 282; Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Fatāwá al-Subkī* (Beirut, n.d.), 1:508. This is not the place to launch a general inquiry into the link between endowment and family bonds. It is sufficient to indicate that this line of explanation reflects early source data on *ḥabs;* Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futuḥ Miṣr,* ed. Charles Torrey (New Haven, 1921), 135–36.

[10]Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq, *Al-Taʿlīq: Yawmīyāt Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Ṭawq Mudhakkirāt Kutibat bi-Dimashq fī Awākhir al-ʿAhd al-Mamlūkī 885–908/1480–1502,* ed. Jaʿfar al-Muhājir (Damascus, 2000), 1:245 (A.H. 888); *RCEA* 13:71 (no. 4902).

[11]Aḥmad Darrāj, ed., *Ḥujjat Waqf al-Ashraf Barsbāy* (Cairo, 1963), clause 22.

[12]Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Qalāʾid al-Jawharīyah fī Tārīkh al-Ṣāliḥīyah,* ed. Muḥammad Aḥmad Duhmān (Damascus, 1401/1980), 1:266–68.

[13]ʿAbd al-Raʾūf ibn Tāj al-ʿĀrifīn al-Munāwī, *Kitāb Taysīr al-Wuqūf ʿalá Ghawāmiḍ Aḥkām al-Wuqūf* (Riyadh, 1418/1998), 1:213; al-Subkī, *Fatāwá,* 1:468, 2:526; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 2:405.

[14]I am not arguing that sons of mamluks *(awlād al-nās)* did not join the ruling military elite. See Stephan Conermann and Suad Saghbini, "*Awlād al-Nās* as Founders of Pious Endowments: The *Waqfīyah* of Yaḥyá ibn Ṭūghān al-Ḥasanī of the Year 870/1465," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 24–25. Later Mamluk sources report on sultans that sent emissaries to bring members of their families to the sultanate. See Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk fī Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1934–), 4:646 (A.H. 826); Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo and Wiesbaden, 1982–84), 4:88 (ll. 11–12, A.H. 911); Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 1962), 1:82.

[15]One of the stories on the emergence of Quṭuz relates that he claimed to be the offspring of a royal family. See Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1937), 7:85.

establishing *awqāf,* these manumitted slaves could preserve their wealth and reputation, for example in buildings that bore their names.[16]

The meticulous and extremely detailed clauses of the *waqfīyah* indicate that the endowment was not a random act of charity but a carefully calculated initiative, delineated in a meticulously formulated legal document. Thus, for example, the *kitāb* of *waqf al-maghāribah* in Jerusalem says: "This charity was established in support of the Maghribis who dwell in Jerusalem and those that will arrive." During the three sacred months (Rajab, Shaʿbān and Ramaḍān), "the *waqf*'s supervisor will prepare bread and distribute it among the inhabitants of the Maghribi lodge and all North Africans living in Jerusalem."[17] Another example that supports this line of reasoning is the *waqf* deed by al-Ashraf Qāytbāy that spells out the payments to the administrator and staff at the college he had built in Jerusalem. The thirty Sufis who resided in it would receive cash payments and food.[18]

Assuming that the Mamluk governing elite considered gifts to be a kind of personal transaction also leads us to view religious endowments as contracts.[19] The philanthropist presumably had faith that by providing material assistance he would be rewarded in the afterlife. In several records we come across formulas asking for reprieve *(ʿafw)* or pardon *(ghafar)*.[20] Benefactors asked God to accept their donation *(taqabbala Allāh minhu)* and requested his closeness *(qurbah)*.[21] Frequently, a paraphrase of verses from Sūrat Yūsuf (usually 12:88 or 90) or other Quranic verses was engraved on the walls of the *waqf*.[22]

There is no reason to discount the statements of men and women who believed that donations would contribute to keeping their memories alive.[23] Donors established endowments that paid for people who would come and pray for their

[16]Al-Munāwī, *Kitāb Taysīr al-Wuqūf,* 1:222; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 1:77.

[17]Muḥammad Asʿad al-Imām al-Ḥusaynī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣafī fī al-Waqf wa-Aḥkāmihi wa-al-Wathāʾiq al-Tārīkhīyah lil-Arāḍī wa-al-Ḥuqūq al-Waqfīyah al-Islāmīyah fī Filasṭīn* (Jerusalem, 1982), 73, 74; İpşirli and Tamīmī, *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn,* 28 (item 20).

[18]Al-Ḥusaynī, *Al-Manhal,* 76–77; İpşirli and Tamīmī, *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn,* 39–41 (item 52); cf. Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 2:6 (22)–7 (1).

[19]Kenneth Joseph Arrow, "Gifts and Exchanges," *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 1 (1972): 343–62.

[20]Heinz Gaube, *Arabische Inscriften aus Syrien* (Beirut and Wiesbaden, 1978), 78 (#146 l. 1), 84 (#159 l. 4), 86 (#163 l. 2), 92 (#176 l. 2); *RCEA* 18:185 (no. 796006).

[21]Gaube, *Arabische Inscriften,* 110 (#197).

[22]Ibid., 40 (#65 l. 3); 65 (#119 ll. 2–3), 89 (#170), 111 (#198); Solange Ory, *Cimetieres et inscriptions du Ḥawrān et du Ğabal al-Durūz* (Paris, 1989), 48.

[23]Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 2:287; Gaube, *Arabische Inscriften,* 115 (#208).

souls.[24] This partially explains the existence of donations to maintain tombs,[25] as these endowments generated among donors a sense that their well-being was guaranteed not only on earth but in the hereafter as well.[26]

Religious or philanthropic motives need not be completely ruled out, and in many cases an altruistic impulse can be found. However, the pietistic formulas reflect only one element among many in this complex phenomenon.[27] In addition to philanthropic motives, the Mamluk elite certainly also had materialistic motives for establishing religious endowments. My chief argument is that we should search in the political arena for motives that drove sultans, viceroys, governors, and other officials to endow property and resources to establish *awqāf*.

This thesis, at least as a partial explanation for the vast scope of the *waqf* phenomenon, is generally agreed upon. Yet I would take this thesis a step further, advocating that the *awqāf* served the Mamluk ruling elite not merely as a tool to uphold its prestige, but as a device to establish its hegemony. Hegemony in this case was not only power over the civilian masses but total dominance of society. The rulers aspired to hold the governing power that controlled culture and shaped the organization of society.

To achieve this aim, rulers could not restrict their activity merely to policing the public sphere or monitoring society. They had to invest in buildings that embodied their position. The religious endowments functioned in the urban landscape as signs representing the lofty position of the donors. They were employed to institutionalize social hierarchy and to demonstrate the relationship between donor and recipient. As such, the *awqāf* represented the ideology of the rulers.[28] This could not be accomplished by army officers alone. Sultans and governors needed the support of a religious establishment that benefited from the *awqāf*.[29] Without securing support from other sectors of society, Mamluk rulers could not fully establish their hegemony.

[24]Gaube, *Arabische Inscriften,* 21 (#20) and cf. 91 (#174 ll. 4–5), 116 (#210).

[25]Th. Emil Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, His Verse, and His Shrine* (Cairo, 2001), 60–62.

[26]Ṣāliḥīyah, *Sijill Arāḍī Alawīyah Ṣafad Nābulus Ghazzah wa-Qaḍāʾ al-Ramlah,* 107, 119. This assumption is supported by comparison to other cultures. See Jerome Blum, *Lord and Peasant in Russia* (Princeton, 1961), 190–91.

[27]For an opposite evaluation, see Moshe Gil, *Documents of the Jewish Pious Foundations from the Cairo Geniza* (Leiden, 1976), 11.

[28]R. Stephen Humphreys, "The Expressive Intent of the Mamluk Architecture of Cairo: A Preliminary Essay," *Studia Islamica* 35 (1972): 79–80.

[29]Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Wafayāt al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām al-Tadmurī (Beirut, 1419/1999), 1:80 *(kathīr al-maḥabbah li-ahl al-ʿilm wa-al-qurʾān wa-al-ṣulaḥāʾ wa-al-fuqarāʾ);* and see the description of a sultanic procession in Damascus by Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 2:15.

Waqf was probably the most prominent social and economic institution operating within the boundaries of the Mamluk sultanate. Considerable sums were invested in constructing impressive institutions and in financing their ongoing activity. The *waqf* acquired an image of an institution open to all. Theoretically, all social classes used the *awqāf,* utilizing one kind of *waqf* or another.[30] For this reason the *awqāf* conveyed the impression of being a social institution that supported the entire Islamic community without distinction, though practically speaking, most of the beneficiaries of the endowments belonged to the Mamluk elite.

Indeed, the *awqāf* may be classified in two categories. The great majority of the endowments supported a well-defined beneficiary. They were founded in order to provide family, associates, and the religious establishment with funds, assets, housing, and positions.[31] Considerably smaller was the number of *awqāf* that provided food, shelter, or money to the general public, let alone the poor and the needy. Moreover, in the *awqāf* documents, the meaning of the Quranic tags "*maskīn*" (needy; deprived) and "*faqīr*" (fakir = poor) lost its literal connotation and actually depicted a well-defined social group. The *fuqarāʾ* in Mamluk *awqāf* texts were Sufis, scholars, and other beneficiaries, not those suffering from hunger and misfortune.[32]

Looking at the religious endowments from this perspective, it seems proper to highlight two additional features of *awqāf*. First, the accommodation of Muslims at the *waqf* was supplemented by sustenance that was served ritually during the public gathering. Food was provided on a regular basis, together with lodging, to the chosen group of teachers and students that resided in the madrasahs and *zāwiyahs*. Communal consumption of food is an apparent vehicle for the diffusion of propaganda and for generating a sense of amity and community. In addition, scholars engaged in the study of law *(fiqh)* and Sufis busy with mystical rituals were supported by these *awqāf* that provided the means for payments and grants.

The economic advantage of being entitled to receive payments from the *awqāf* coffers is demonstrated by reports on people who paid to be named in endowment registers.[33] Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad bought his position in the Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ.[34] The

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[30] Al-Munāwī, *Kitāb Taysīr al-Wuqūf,* 2:411.

[31] L. A. Mayer, ed., *The Buildings of Qaytbay as Described in His Endowment Deed* (London, 1938), 84; *RCEA* 16: 83 (6116); Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:236, 244.

[32] For a late Ayyubid image of the poor, see ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jawbarī, *Al-Mukhtār fī Kashf al-Asrār wa-Hatk al-Astār* (Beirut, 1992), 57ff. (*La Voile arrache*, trans. René Khawam [Paris, 1980], 1:121ff., is based on a different manuscript).

[33] Al-Munāwī, *Kitāb Taysīr al-Wuqūf,* 1:173–76, 198; al-Subkī, *Fatāwá,* 1:509 *(dafaʿa ilá al-dawlah mālan)*.

[34] ʿAlī ibn Dāwūd al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1971–94), 1:142–43.

economic benefit of being attached to a *waqf* can also be inferred from accounts about conflicts among beneficiaries.[35] To facilitate the examination of *waqf* data on these issues, additional cases will be presented below.

Yet, before elaborating on *waqf* institutions let us make a short detour to look at how economic support for these religious endowments was provided. Substantial data on the urban and rural property endowed by the Mamluk military elite is furnished by *waqf* documents and wall inscriptions.[36] One example is the *waqf* founded by Baybars to support Ibrāhīm al-Armawī.[37] Other examples can be found above gates and windows.[38] But if early generations of Mamluk army officers could endow Latin property to support their *waqf*s, later generations of viceroys and governors seized farm lands to finance the army.

Instances of rural properties in Syria and Egypt being alienated to support *awqāf* are recorded during the pre-Mamluk period,[39] yet the use of *iqṭāʿ* property to support urban institutions acquired new characteristics during the age of the Mamluk sultanate. Although some Mamluk *fuqahāʾ* considered the endowment of the sultanate's lands *(waqf irṣād),*[40] particularly in those regions that were reconquered from the Franks and the Mongols, as illegal,[41] this ostensibly legal barrier did not prevent donors from endowing fields and gardens that were not

[35] Albert Arazi, "Al-Risāla al-Baybarsiyya d'al-Suyuti: Un document sur les problèmes d'un waqf sultanien sous les derniers Mamluks," *Israel Oriental Studies* 9 (1979): 329–54.

[36] Cf. ʿAbd al-Qādir ibn Muḥammad al-Nuʿaymī, *Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris,* ed. Jaʿfar al-Ḥasanī (Damascus, 1367/1948), 1:326 *(wa-raʾaytu marsūman bi-ʿatabatihā)*.

[37] Al-Subkī, *Fatāwá,* 1:496–99. On Ibrāhīm al-Armawī, see al-Nuʿaymī, *Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris,* 2:196; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Qalāʾid,* 1:284.

[38] *RCEA* 13:98–99 (4946 Damascus: Khān Iyāsh), 14:91 (5343), 18:6 (784008 Damascus: Masjid Ḥaydar al-ʿAskarī), 40 (787009 Mardin).

[39] Aḥmad ibn Mughīth al-Ṭulayṭulī, *Al-Muqniʿ fī ʿIlm al-Shurūṭ,* ed. Francisco Javier Aguirre Sadaba (Madrid, 1994), 208–9.

[40] Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Balāṭunusī, *Taḥrīr al-Maqāl fīmā Yaḥillu wa-Yuḥarramu min Bayt al-Māl,* ed. Fatḥ Allāh Muḥammad Ghāzī al-Ṣabbāgh (al-Manṣūrah, 1989), 105–9, 137–38; Baber Johansen, *The Islamic Law of Land Tax and Rent: the Peasants' Loss of Property Rights as Interpreted in Hanafite Legal Literature during the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods* (London, 1988), 81, 92; Sabra, "Public Policy or Private Charity," 100–1, 105–6; Murat Çizakça, *A History of Philanthropic Foundations: The Islamic World from the Seventh Century to the Present* (Istanbul, 2000), 74–75, 110–12.

[41] It seems that some Muslim scholars questioned the legal status of the territories taken by the Mamluks from the Latins and the Mongols, arguing that these lands were the collective property of the Muslim community *(fayʾ)*. By designating lands as *fayʾ* these jurists opposed its endowment by private donors. See Abū al-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī, *Al-Istikhrāj li-Aḥkām al-Kharaj* (Beirut, 1985), 15, 43–45, 111. On the early history of this concept, see Werner Schmucker, *Untersuchungen zu einigen wichtigen Bodenrechtlichen Konsequenzen der islamischen Eroberungsbewegung* (Bonn, 1972), 38–39, 127–32.

their private property *(jārin fī milkihi)*[42] but rather belonged to the *iqṭāʿ* farms.[43] The growth of these endowments put pressure on the sultanate's sources of income.[44]

The economic and political importance of *waqf* impelled the Mamluk administration to establish an exclusive state bureau *(dīwān al-awqāf)*[45] staffed by inspectors and controllers *(shadd al-awqāf; mushadd al-awqāf)*.[46] Among their duties was the inspection of the *awqāf*'s receipts and expenditures.[47] Examples of this are the numerous records from Jerusalem mentioning the post of *nāẓir al-ḥaramayn al-sharīfayn*.[48] A second example is an account of a thorough inspection *(kashf)* of the schools, which took place in Damascus in spring 725/1325.[49] The religious establishment of the city, along with the administrative staff, saw to the reimbursement of jurists and students.[50] Such measures were taken because some

[42]Kāmil Jamīl al-ʿAsalī, ed., *Wathāʾiq Maqdisīyah Tārīkhīyah* (Amman, 1983), 1:109 (l. 5); a related matter is when a property is owned jointly *(waqf al-mushāʿ)*. Cf. Najm al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim ibn ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Ṭarsūsī, *Anfaʿ al-Waṣāʾil ilá Taḥrīr al-Masāʾil,* ed. Muṣṭafá Muḥammad Khafājī (Cairo, 1344/1926), 77, 80–92.

[43]Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥanafī al-Ṭarābulusī, *Kitāb al-Isʿāf fī Aḥkām al-Awqāf* (Mecca, 1406/1985), 20 (l. 20: "It is appropriate to endow private land that the sultan has allocated or barren land that a person has developed, but it is improper to endow property that is possessed by the treasury.")

[44]Al-Munāwī, *Kitāb Taysīr al-Wuqūf,* 1:195–96 (780/1378), 217 (835/1432). Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?: The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994), 196–200.

[45]A narration from southeastern Anatolia elucidates the political dimension of *awqāf* management. A Christian called Ibn Shaliṭah was nominated by the Marwanids (983–1085) from Mayyafariqin (Silvan) to administrate a *waqf* (ca. 425/1033). Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn ʿAlī Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, *Tārīkh al-Fāriqī,* ed. Badawī ʿAbd al-Laṭīf ʿAwaḍ (Cairo, 1959), 164.

[46]Étienne Marc Quatremère, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Egypte* (Paris, 1845), 1:110–12 (n. 141); Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad Muʿawwaḍ and others (Beirut, 2001), 14:206 (744). Ahmet Halil Güneş, *Das kitab ar-raud al-ʿāṭir des Ibn Aiyūb: Damaszener Biographien des 10/16 Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1981), 19; Moshe Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae (*Leiden, 1997–), 3:46–47.

[47]Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 2:73–74, 197–98, 316–17, 320–21; Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Jamāʿah al-Ḥamawī, *Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām fī Tadbīr Ahl al-Islām,* ed. Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Munʿim Aḥmad (Qatar, 1988), 93; al-Nuʿaymī, *Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris,* 1:333 *(wa-raʾaytu fī qāʾimah bi-kashf al-awqāf sanata ʿishrīn wa-thamānimiʾah)*.

[48]Donald P. Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from al-Haram aš-Šarif in Jerusalem* (Beirut and Wiesbaden, 1984), index; *RCEA* 18: 91 (788054), 95–96 (789002).

[49]Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 2:73–74 (Damascus 725), 196, 197–98 (Damascus 727); Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 87, 88–89 (Damascus 893).

[50]For a later event, see Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 1:305 (891/1486).

people attempted to use the *awqāf* for their personal benefit.[51]

The Mamluk military elite founded a range of institutions, both for the benefit of the religious establishment and the general public. The religious endowments financed their construction and everyday operations. In order to demonstrate the salient presence of the *waqf* and its significant imprint on the landscape, what follows is a list of structures that made the religious endowment a visible phenomenon that cannot be ignored even by historians writing centuries after the fall of the Mamluk sultanate.

Monumental mosques had dotted Syria's map since early Umayyad times. The Frankish and Mongol invasions did not manage to erase the Islamic presence. Thus, when Baybars conquered Damascus and Aleppo, he entered territories that were replete with places where believers could congregate. Yet the victorious sultan and his successors did not refrain from constructing new houses of prayer.

In the closing days of the Mamluk sultanate, a considerable number of mosques adorned the streets of towns and cities of Bilād al-Shām from Gaza in the south[52] to Aleppo in the north.[53] A *waqf* in the coastal town of Tripoli included two villages in central Syria and two orchards near the city, as well as shops and houses. The incomes from these properties paid the personnel that maintained the mosque and readers who prayed. Money was allocated to buy oil, water, bread, candles, and clothes.[54] Similar examples from Baalbek[55] and Damascus illustrate the situation.[56]

Mentions of Muslims' visits to sacred tombs in Syria are found in geographical and historical writings going back to the Abbasid period. Following the expulsion of the Crusaders, many new shrines emerged in the territory governed by the Mamluk sultans.[57] Near the village of Ashdod (Azdoud; Isdud), at the mausoleum of Salmān al-Fārisī, the manumitted Balaban ordered the construction of a mosque (667/1269) and endowed a garden and a water fountain. The memorial inscription concludes with the ominous warning: "cursed be the person who changes or exchanges it."[58] In Homs, at a mausoleum dedicated to Khālid ibn al-Walīd, a

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[51] Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 2:320–21 (Damascus 729).

[52] *RCEA* 13: 68 (4898).

[53] Gaube, *Arabische Inscriften,* 38 (#60 Qara-Sunqur's mosque built in 757/1356), 55 (#99 Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad's mosque built in 806/1404).

[54] *RCEA* 16:215–16 (6324 = 760/1359); al-Subkī, *Fatāwá,* 1:509–12.

[55] *RCEA* 12:232 (4748 = 676/1277).

[56] Ibid., 12:157 (4637), 158 (4638); 13:57–58 (4885), 164 (5034); 14: 190 (5486); Gaube, *Arabische Inscriften,* 93–96 (#178), 100 (#179); Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 20, 143.

[57] Nimrod Luz, "Aspects of Islamization of Space and Society in Mamluk Jerusalem and its Hinterland," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 135, 147–48.

[58] *RCEA* 12:134 (4600). Next to it is the shrine of Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-Matbulī (d. 877/1472). See

long inscription narrates the deeds of Baybars, who is eulogized as the sultan of the Arabs, the Persians, and the Turks.[59] Baybars undertook a similar initiative in the Jordan valley, where he ordered the foundation of a cupola over the tomb of Abū ʿUbaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ. To maintain the mausoleum, the "lord of the Arab and Persian kings" endowed half of the revenues of Dayr Tubin, a settlement in the province of Homs that was in a territory controlled jointly *(munāṣafat)* by the Mamluks and the Franks.[60] Additional examples are unnecessary.[61]

Tombs *(turbah)* constructed by Mamluk army officers in preparation for their own deaths were entirely new types of buildings that emerged in the streets of Syrian towns.[62] In Ṣafad, Najm al-Dīn Fayrūz (741/1340–41) built a mosque and a tomb, and he endowed half a garden and a bath to maintain the foundation and to pay ten men, among them an imam, a muezzin, a custodian, and readers of Quran and hadith.[63] The chamberlain Ak-Turak constructed a mosque and a tomb in Tripoli (760/1359). He endowed two hamlets *(mazrāʿah)* in the district of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād (Krak des Chevaliers), orchards, shops, a public oven, and a house, together with other buildings. The income from this property provided the salaries of an imam and a muezzin and compensated readers of the Quran and hadith. Sums were also allocated to provide oil, food, water, and clothing.[64] The story of the Ẓāhirīyah (Baybars' tomb in Damascus) is well known: its inscription describes the foundation that the sultan had endowed.[65]

Religious endowments financed a considerable number of educational institutions (madrasah; *maktab; dār al-qurʾān; dār al-ḥadīth*)[66] that proliferated throughout Bilād al-Shām. *Awqāf* deeds stipulated the curricula for these schools and colleges. Occasionally, the endowment document arranged for the provision of food and distribution of clothing. In the al-ʿUmarīyah madrasah, the endowment provided bread and gateaux *(ṭulmah)*. Two clerks were in charge of feeding the five hundred pupils enrolled in this institute. In winter, cooked wheat *(jashīshah)* was served in addition to a daily ration of about one thousand loaves of bread. On

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Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae,* 1:124–28.

[59] *RCEA* 12:104–5 (4556, 4557 Homs, Mausoleum of Khālid ibn al-Walīd 664/1266; two inscriptions), and cf. 13:149 (5011 waqf al-Turbah al-Ṣāliḥīyah).

[60] Ibid., 12:208–9 (4714).

[61] Ibid., 13:127 (Tiberias = 4981) and cf. no. 4980.

[62] Al-Subkī, *Fatāwá,* 1:478.

[63] *RCEA* 15:201–2 (5926).

[64] Ibid., 16:215–16 (6324).

[65] Ibid., 12:229–30 (4743).

[66] Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, "Wathīqat Waqf al-Sulṭān Qāytbāy ʿalá al-Madrasah al-Ashrafīyah wa-Qāʿat al-Ṣilāḥ bi-Dimyāṭ," *Al-Majallah al-Tārīkhīyah al-Miṣrīyah* 22 (1975): 343–90; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Qalāʾid,* 1:139, 142.

Friday nights, oil and roasted chickpeas *(quḍāmah)* were supplied. During Rajab and Shaʿbān, sweets were provided,[67] and during the month of Ramaḍān, a dinner was served that included dishes of meat and wheat *(harīsah),* sweet rice, and pickled vegetables. In order to facilitate the provision of food, the sultan Qāytbāy (1468–96) ordered that Dārayyā, a village close to Damascus, provide sixty sacks of wheat flour. A ten-percent tax levied on farmers in the Lebanon Valley would pay for the sheep. On the 15th of Ramaḍān pastries were distributed, and the same was done on the 27th night (al-Qadar). During the great festival, meat was allocated to the inhabitants. Long underwear was given twice a year and a wool cloak once a year. Each house received a small rug. The *waqf* also paid for a collective circumcision banquet that was celebrated once a year. As a result of al-Ashraf Qāytbāy's initiative, a place was set up for readers to recite verses from the Quran and praise the sultan.[68]

Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Zayn al-Dīn al-Khawājakī (d. 847/1443–44) built the al-Dalāmīyah madrasah in the al-Ṣāliḥīyah quarter of Damascus. The institution was designated as a school for the instruction of the Quran. According to a synopsis of the endowment document, the founder installed an imam to read verses from the Quran and prophetic traditions from *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and to invoke God in favor of the donor, as well as an administrator who would serve as doorman and muezzin.[69] The institution accommodated six Sufis who arrived in Damascus from non-Arab lands, and six orphans. The Sufis' duties included ritual reading from the Quran, and their monthly stipend was 30 dirhams. The orphans received 10 dirhams. They were supervised by a shaykh who was paid 60 dirhams per month. Each Tuesday an instructor came to the school to read select books with them. Each year, money was allocated for the purchase of oil and candles, sweets, and two goats. Once a year each of the orphans was given a cotton gown, a long undershirt, and a kerchief. During the three sacred months of Rajab, Shaʿbān, and Ramaḍān, a reader was paid to read from al-Bukhārī's hadith collection. After the dawn and evening prayers, the residents of the madrasah could meditate and voice invocations on behalf of the donor.[70]

Some officers endowed schools specifically for orphans *(maktab lil-aytām)*. Thus, for example, an inkstand-holder *(dawādār)* who also served as the superintendent

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[67]Cf. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1977–97), 4:263.

[68]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Qalāʾid,* 1:226–28 (based upon a narrative by Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin Ibn Mibrad [1436–1503]).

[69]The salary of the first was 120 silver dirhams per month, and that of the second was 100. The endowment inspector earned 60 dirhams per month. The annual salary of a laborer who was in charge of maintenance was 600 dirhams.

[70]Its *kitāb al-waqf* was summarized by al-Nuʿaymī, *Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris,* 1:9–10; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Qalāʾid*, 1:125.

of the al-Yālbughā mosque (in Damascus) ordered the construction of such an institution, declaring that he was following the instructions of his late mother.[71] The list of institutions that housed students, teachers, and Sufis (occasionally under the same roof) is long, and it is not necessary to cite additional cases in order to demonstrate our argument.[72] We may now turn to look at the various institutions that housed Sufis.[73] The occupants of these lodges depended on endowments. Their donors took great pains to specify the distribution of food, clothing, and expenses that the Sufis and their shaykhs were to receive.[74]

The beneficiaries of *awqāf* were not confined to a narrow stratum. The ruling elite profited from the very fact that not all the religious endowments were conferred on professionals such as the jurists and Sufis. Sultans used *awqāf* to strengthen their reputation as impartial rulers. Those *awqāf* designated as institutions open to the general public surely contributed to achieving the goal of fortifying the image of the just sultan *(al-malik al-ʿādil)*.[75] Particularly instrumental were those religious endowments that provided relief services and other care for the needy, such as hospitals. Several sultans and viceroys financed the building and maintenance of hospitals *(bī-māristān; māristān),* institutions that were known in Syria prior to the victory at ʿAyn Jālūt (1260).[76] Yet the development of hospital facilities[77] in peripheral sites seems to be a new development that occurred after this turning point in the history of Syria. Examples of this development can be seen in remote places such as Gaza,[78] Ḥiṣn al-Akrād,[79] and Ḥamāh.[80]

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[71] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:137.

[72] *RCEA* 11:233 (4350), 249 (4380), 257 (4391); 13:55–56 (4883); 14:102 (5359); 15:115 (*Dār al-Qurʾān* = 5780); Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Qalāʾid,* 1:140, 164, 245–46 *(Dār al-Ḥadīth)*.

[73] Donald P. Little, "The Nature of Khanqahs, Ribats, and Zawiyas under the Mamluks," in *Islamic Studies Presented to Charles J. Adams,* ed. Wael B. Hallaq (Leiden, 1991), 91–106.

[74] *RCEA* 13:6 (4810), 146–47 (Jerusalem = 5009); İpşirli and Tamīmī, *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn,* 44 (Ribāṭ Qalāwūn al-Manṣūrī). Cf. *RCEA* 11:235 (Ayyubid Aleppo = 4353), 262 (Ayyubid Damascus = 4400).

[75] Ṣārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Aydamir Ibn Duqmāq al-ʿAlāʾī, *Al-Nafḥah al-Muskīyah fī al-Dawlah al-Turkīyah: min Kitāb al-Thamīn fī Siyar al-Khulafāʾ wa-al-Salāṭīn,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 1420/1999), 57, 134, 214.

[76] Cf. İpşirli and Tamīmī, *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn,* 45–46 (*waqf* al-Ṣāliḥīyah in Jerusalem).

[77] "Wathāʾiq Waqf al-Sulṭān Qalāwūn ʿalá al-Bīmāristān al-Manṣūrī," in Ḥasan Ibn Ḥabīb, *Tadhkirat al-Nabīh fī Ayyām al-Manṣūr wa-Banīhi,* ed. Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1976): 295–396 (Appendix).

[78] İpşirli and Tamīmī, *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn,* 6 (item 13 = the al-Nāṣirī *bīmāristān*).

[79] *RCEA* 13:13–14 (4820); 14:139 (5414 = Ḥiṣn al-Akrād 719/1319). Cf. 14:141 (5417).

[80] Ibid., 16:131–32 (6197 = Ḥamāh).

Even wider in scope were those endowments that provided drinking water to passersby. In Cairo, several water fountains *(sabīl)* were built by sultans and commanders. The *waqfīyah* of the endowment founded by the amir Sayf al-Dīn Qarāqujā al-Ḥasanī (d. 853/1449) contains clauses concerning a *sabīl* and payment to a water bearer *(sāqī)*.[81] Additional water fountains were constructed in Cairo by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Barsbāy (in Sūq al-Naḥḥāsīn), Jaqmaq, and Qāytbāy (in al-Azhar). In Jerusalem a *sabīl* was incorporated into the Ṭashtamurīyah. Qāytbāy restored a *sabīl* in the courtyard of the Dome of the Rock in 887/1482.[82] This *sabīl* would be used by every Muslim that entered the Ḥaram. The endowment of caravanserais for the benefit of travelers fulfilled a similar social function.[83] *Awqāf* also contributed to the general welfare of the Muslim community by financing the construction of bridges, renovation of fortifications and walls, and the ransoming of Muslims held in captivity by pirates *(fakk al-asīr)*.[84]

Following this partial list of *awqāf,* we can return to the primary question, i.e., what motivated the Mamluk rulers to donate sizeable properties to finance the construction and maintenance of religious endowments. Although in the following paragraphs the political dimensions of endowment will be emphasized, it should nonetheless be noted that the *waqf* was a complex phenomenon and hence there is no single answer to this question.

Sultans and governors invested considerable resources in buildings, streets, and squares *(maydān),* which helped support their claims to authority over the physical urban landscape. Absentee officers collected duties in goods and cash from villagers and city dwellers, and they funneled this income to support urban facilities.[85] *Awqāf* incomes were pooled, creating a network that bound farming communities together with the cities.[86]

Moreover, the alienated property did not finance nearby institutions exclusively. The *awqāf* supply lines stretched over thousands of miles. The Mamluks even constructed networks that linked cities and villages in Syria with *awqāf* in Cairo.[87]

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[81] ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm ʿAlī, "Silsilat al-Wathāʾiq al-Tārīkhīyah al-Qawmīyah," *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University* 18 (1956): 203–4 (ll. 56–59).

[82] Michael Hamilton Burgoyne, *Mamluk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study* (London 1987), 470, 606–12.

[83] Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae,* 2:232–34.

[84] Ibn Ṭawq, *Al-Taʿlīq*, 1:127, 128 (A.H. 887); Ibn al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh,* 2:155 *(waqf),* 192 (a synopsis of a legal decision); al-Balāṭunusī, *Taḥrīr al-Maqāl*, 102–5; al-Subkī, *Fatāwá,* 2:105.

[85] Darrāj, *Ḥujjat Waqf al-Ashraf Barsbāy,* 7–8, itemized shops in Damascus that contributed to the support of the founder's mosque in Cairo.

[86] Al-Nuʿaymī, *Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris,* 1:398–99, 427; al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq,* 1:176–80.

[87] Mayer, *The Buildings of Qaytbay as Described in His Endowment Deed,* 51 (Khān al-ʿAnbarī in Damascus); İpşirli and Tamīmī, *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn,* 16 (item 54 waqf Qānṣūh),

This apparatus helped create the impression that the sultanate was a unifying force that brought together a vast territory and connected ports, farmland, towns, and cities with the governing centers and the heartland of Islam. The *awqāf* that supported the Islamic sacred territory (the lesser Ḥaramayn) of Jerusalem and Hebron are examples of this.[88] Numerous endowments supported the al-Aqṣá Mosque and the Patriarchs' tombs. They were run by the *nāẓir al-awqāf,* who was responsible for collecting the incomes and allocating the resources to the personnel who operated these holy shrines, which attracted visitors from afar.

Moreover, Mamluk sultans alienated villages and urban property in Bilād al-Shām and Egypt to support the two holy sites in Arabia (al-Ḥaramayn al-Sharīfayn).[89] A single example should suffice. A long *waqf* deed illustrates the policy of al-Ashraf Shaʿbān towards the Ḥaramayn and his efforts to bolster his image.[90] To this end the sultan alienated (in 777/1375) villages in Transjordan, Syria, and Palestine, as well as a bath in the vicinity of al-Karak.[91] Shaʿbān's *waqf* was intended to support several foundations: the Kaʿbah in Mecca, the Prophet's tomb in Medina, and the rulers of these cities. In return, the rulers would not tax visitors. The sultan's deed also enumerates the personnel of the endowment and their assignments: six readers would assemble every morning and evening at the Kaʿbah, read chapters from the Quran, and invoke prayers during Shaʿbān. The *waqf* also supported a hadith teacher and ten students in Mecca, four law professors and forty law students, a teacher and ten orphans, an orator who would recite verses extolling the Prophet three times a week, eight individuals who would be in charge of cleaning the shrine, and two water carriers. All the people on the payroll of the *waqf* were to pray to God and appeal to Him to have

41 (53 Īnāl), 52 (90 Barqūq), 90 (10 al-Malik al-Muʾayyad Shaykh), 94 (1 Barqūq); al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 1:796.

[88] Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq,* 2:177–91; Ṣāliḥīyah, *Sijill Arāḍī Alawīyah Ṣafad Nābulus Ghazzah wa-Qaḍāʾ al-Ramlah,* 163; and the plentiful references in the Ḥaram documents found in Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from al-Haram aš-Šarif in Jerusalem.*

[89] İpşirli and Tamīmī, *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn,* 20–21; Ṣāliḥīyah, *Sijill Arāḍī Alawīyah Ṣafad Nābulus Ghazzah wa-Qaḍāʾ al-Ramlah,* 115 *(waqf ʿalá zayt al-madīnah).*

[90] Rāshid Saʿd Rāshid Qaḥṭānī, *Awqāf al-Sulṭān al-Ashraf Shaʿbān ʿalá al-Ḥaramayn* (Riyadh, 1414/1994).

[91] The village of Adar in the district of al-Shawbak [Crac de Montréal] (ll. 52–53) and an orchard near Karak (ll. 793–94); the village of Sāskūn in the district of al-Ḥamāh (l. 170); the village of ʿAyn Jārā (alt: ʿAyn Jārah) in Jabal Simʿān (ll. 263–64); the villages of Armanā (ll. 341–43) and Maʿar Ḥiṭāṭ (ll. 622–23) in Syria; the villages of Shaykh al-Ḥadīd (l. 562), Kūrīn (ll. 701–2) and Ḥīlān (ll. 763–64) near Aleppo; the village of Farʿatā (alt: Farʿatah) near Nablus (ll. 357–59); and a *ḥammām* near Karak (l. 705). Yūsuf Darwīsh Ghawānimah, *Dirāsāt fī Tārīkh al-Urdun wa-Filasṭīn fī al-ʿAṣr al-Islāmī* (Amman, 1983), 87, 94–100.

mercy on the donor.[92]

Sultans and viceroys drew on *awqāf* as a tool to influence the territory under their control. The endeavor to transform Crusader settlements into Islamic towns and villages is another aspect of this policy[93] and the alienation of property to support covering Bilād al-Shām with Islamic shrines is yet another.[94] It seems sufficient to name several well-known locations: Waqf Abū Ḥurayrah in Jabneh[95] and Waqf Nabī Mūsá[96] in Palestine are two such cases.

A third example is the mausoleum *(mashhad)* of Khālid ibn al-Walīd in the Syrian city of Homs. The endowment inscription praises Baybars: "the exterminator of the Franks, Armenians and Mongols, the king of the two seas (the Mediterranean and the Red Sea), the holder of Mecca and Jerusalem *(qiblatayn)* and servant of the two sanctuaries," and notes that the sultan alienated the village of Farʿam in northern Palestine/Israel in perpetuity (664/1266).[97] By securing sizeable funds in Syria and Egypt for the principal Islamic shrines, the sultans appeared not only as devoted Muslims but also as a unifying force.

In order to demonstrate their power and authority, rulers are inclined to invest considerable resources. The Mamluk ruling elite was no exception. Mamluk governors used *awqāf* to finance the construction of spaces that would embody the regime's ideology and spread the image of the sultanate as an everlasting, generous, and just power.[98]

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[92]Qaḥṭānī, *Awqāf al-Sulṭān al-Ashraf Shaʿbān,* ll. 844ff., 880, 891, 899, 915, 927, 943, 953.

[93]An example of this is an unpublished document (no. 306) in the Jerusalem Ḥaram collection. It is a copy of an endowment document bequeathed by al-Maʿālī Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn. The property of this endowment included the al-Burj (castle) district of Beirut. See Huwaydā al-Ḥārithī, ed., *Kitāb Waqf al-Sulṭān al-Nāṣir Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn* (Beirut, 2001), 3; Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1987–92), 2:340–41. See in addition to it the inscriptions republished in *RCEA* 14:136 (5412 719/1319), 137 (5413 719/1319), 139 (5414 719/1319), 141 (5417). Yehoshua Frenkel, "The Impact of the Crusades on the Rural Society and Religious Endowments: The Case of Medieval Syria," in *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th–15th centuries,* ed. Yaacov Lev (Leiden, 1997), 237–48.

[94]Hana Taragan, "The Tomb of Sayyidna-ʿAlī in Arsuf: the Story of a Holy Place," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 14 (2004): 83–102.

[95]İpşirli and Tamīmī, *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn,* 12 (item 35); L. A. Mayer et al., *Some Principal Muslim Religious Buildings in Israel* (Jerusalem, 1950), 20–24; Hana Taragan, "Politics and Aesthetics: Sultan Baybars and the Abū Ḥurayrah/Rabbi Gamliel Building in Yavne," in *Milestones in the Art and Culture of Egypt,* ed. Asher Ovadiah (Tel Aviv, 2000), 117–45; Andrew Petersen, *A Gazetteer of Buildings in Muslim Palestine* (Oxford, 2001), 313–16.

[96]Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq,* 3:119–21; idem, *Mawsim al-Nabī Mūsá fī Filasṭīn* (Amman, 1410/1990); İpşirli and Tamīmī, *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn,* 32 (item 29).

[97]*RCEA* 12:128–29 (4593).

[98]Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Qalāʾid,* 1:96.

One example is the inscriptions that the donors had engraved on the walls of their buildings. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad, who served as director of the chancellery of Bilād al-Shām, instructed the builders of a minaret (in Aleppo 830/1427) to engrave the Quranic verse: "And Say: Praise be to Allāh, Who has not taken unto Himself a son, and Who has no partner in Sovereignty, nor has He any protecting friend through dependence. And magnify Him with all magnificence." From the early years of Islam, Muslim rulers maintained that this verse contained a sharp criticism of the orthodox interpretation of Jesus' personality, and they used it to send an anti-Christian message.[99]

Moreover, these structures were not static. *Awqāf* often provided for activities which would contribute to the ongoing religious life in Mamluk towns.[100] Such, for example, is the long account of an event in Damascus in 897/1492. Accompanied by an entourage of jurists, an architect *(miʿmār),* and other officials, the amir Ibn Manjak went to inspect the tomb of his grandfather. At the site he examined the endowment's deed and checked the inscription on the wall above the door. The text specified the payments to the imam and to the readers, and it stipulated which reading from the Quran they should recite. In addition, the endowment paid a teacher and ten orphan children who were to meet early in the morning. A reciter would read hadith intermittently during the three sacred months, one year from *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* and the next year from *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. He would conclude the reading on the 27th night *(laylat al-qadar)*. During the two Islamic feasts *(ʿīd al-fiṭr; ʿīd al-aḍḥá)* money would be allocated to buy sweets.[101]

The governing elite nominated the religious personnel, who belonged to different law schools, to serve together under the same roof. This act sustained their claim that they constituted the cornerstone of the society under their charge.[102] In the madrasah al-Ṣābūnīyah, the donor stipulated that his offspring hold the position of the endowment's supervisor. This official would run the *waqf*'s budget and administration jointly with the chamberlain of Damascus and with the madrasah's imam. The imam was to be an adherent of the Hanafi school, while the preacher should adhere to the Shafiʿi *madhhab*.[103]

Many of the *waqf* institutions accommodated students of orthodox Islam as well as Sufis. They benefited from the hospitality of lodges that provided them with food and a stipend, in addition to living accommodations. The Tankizīyah in Jerusalem housed a madrasah and a Sufi lodge *(ribāṭ)*. On the ground floor

[99] Gaube, *Arabische Inscriften,* 80 (#151 ll. 1–3, Quran 17:111).

[100] Al-Subkī, *Fatāwá,* 2:61–66.

[101] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:148–50.

[102] Mayer, *The Buildings of Qaytbay as Described in His Endowment Deed,* 60, 64–83.

[103] Al-Nuʿaymī, *Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris,* 1:14, 543, 604.

eleven rooms housed law students *(fuqahāʾ ḥanafīyah),* while an additional eleven rooms on the second floor housed the Sufis. Next to this institution stood a *ribāṭ* for women.[104]

Supplying food for visitors flocking to festivals or other social gatherings helped to establish close relationships between the donor and the crowd. This idea was not foreign to Mamluk sultans, who were keen to strengthen their image as devoted Muslims and their role as lavish hosts. Army commanders used the *awqāf* funds to benefit the religious establishment, as can be inferred from several inscriptions.[105] Many *awqāf* deeds supplemented cash payments with a ration of bread *(khubz)* and occasionally with sweets and even meat. Some endowments provided a salary to a water carrier. Religious endowments seldom paid for the accommodation of visitors who gathered at a mosque, tomb, or other location.[106] In Hebron a local tradition had developed, connecting the practice of hospitality and visitation to Abraham (Khalīl Allāh).[107] Sayf al-Dīn Bulghaq supervised the building of a mill that was alienated to support a hospital, a lodge *(ribāṭ),* and an ablution room *(ṭahārah)* in the town of Hebron in 706/1307.[108] The amir Ṭaybars provided food for the visitors at the shrine *(simāṭ).*[109] Sultan Barqūq founded a *waqf* (796/1394) for the same purpose.[110]

The religious establishment almost unanimously backed the sultanate's *awqāf* policy. One reason for this attitude might have been the very fact that Sufis and jurists were among the greatest beneficiaries of the *awqāf*. Gaining their support was a considerable advantage to the Mamluk officers who attempted to radiate power and attain supremacy. The benefits from *awqāf,* combined with government policies designed to suppress Jews and Christians, enabled the Mamluk ruling elite to win the support of the Muslim religious establishment.

It would seem that the widespread suggestion that *awqāf* were instruments ("tax shelters")[111] employed by the Mamluk elite in order to protect property from confiscation cannot withstand the numerous reports concerning the seizure and abolition of religious endowments.[112] In addition, the argument that the *awqāf*

[104] Al-ʿAsalī, *Wathāʾiq,* 1:109–12.

[105] *RCEA* 16:84 (6117).

[106] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat,* 1:148–50 (quoting al-Nuʿaymī on Turbat Manjak).

[107] *RCEA* 12:257 (4787); 13:95–96 (4943); 14:4 (5205), 22–23 (5236).

[108] Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae,* 1:118–19.

[109] Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith,* 1:236.

[110] *RCEA* 18:179 (796001); Sharon, *Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum Palaestinae,* 3:63.

[111] Barbir, *Ottoman Rule in Damascus,* 32.

[112] Al-Munāwī, *Kitāb Taysīr al-Wuqūf,* 1:194, 196; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 2:163 (908); Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Ḥawādith Dimashq al-Yawmīyah,* 106. Al-Nuʿaymī composed his collection to commemorate those *awqāf* in Damascus that were in danger of being destroyed or confiscated; see *Al-Dāris fī*

were used to circumvent the Islamic inheritance law cannot be accepted as an adequate rationalization for the foundation of numerous institutions by rulers and army commanders.

The political reasoning presented above can provide better answers to the primary question of the motives that drove the governing Mamluk elite to endow such considerable resources. The religious endowments provided them with property through which to express their ideology. These *awqāf* were useful tools that a sultan could utilize in his efforts to present himself as the embodiment of the ideal Muslim ruler.

The alienation of urban and rural property to finance the *awqāf,* and the networks used to collect their proceeds, functioned alongside government tax collectors as a parallel system of revenue extraction. Using income from farmland, the Mamluks boosted their image as devoted Muslims and protectors of social harmony. Thus the sultanate surrounded the harsh reality of levies and corvée with the image of religious propriety. They were able to utilize *awqāf* assets as a tool in their efforts to overcome conflicts.

Endowing institutions, supplying food, and distributing gifts were among the most powerful tools at the Mamluks' disposal in their difficult quest to gain support and recognition. Obtaining the political support of the religious establishment was a crucial component in the sultans' endeavor to gain social acknowledgment and approval. By becoming generous donors, they were able to maintain control over social and religious practices and thus preserve their dominant position in society.

In a political system that distanced the second Mamluk generation *(awlād al-nās)* from the dominating central positions of the sultanate, the establishment of religious endowments gave the Mamluk elite a powerful mechanism to help them preserve their fame and memory. Within the buildings financed by the *awqāf,* worshippers, most of them men of religion, raised their voices in the invocation of God *(du'ā')* to protect the donors. Their prayers signaled that they shared with the rulers a vision of *awqāf* as the physical representation of sultanic ideology.

Tārīkh al-Madāris, 1:3, 5; Abū Ghāzī, *Fī Tārīkh Miṣr al-Ijtimāʿī,* 79.

Book Reviews

Li Guo, *Commerce, Culture, and Community in a Red Sea Port in the Thirteenth Century: The Arabic Documents from Quseir* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004). Pp. xx + 334.

Reviewed by Frédéric Bauden, Université de Liège

Our knowledge of the Red Sea trade, and consequently of the Indian Ocean trade, in the pre-modern period is hardly satisfactory. The main reason does not lie so much in the paucity of the data, provided either by historical sources or primary documents, as in the neglect of these sources. Until very recently, the documents of the Cairo Genizah had barely been studied from the point of view of maritime trade, though some scholars realized the importance of this source for this purpose.[1] The situation has changed since the appearance of Roxani Eleni Margariti's revised doctoral dissertation submitted at Princeton in 2002 (*Aden and the Indian Ocean Trade: 150 Years in the Life of a Medieval Port* [University of North Carolina Press, 2007]). As for historical sources, there is no doubt that the forthcoming publication of É. Vallet's doctoral dissertation on power, commerce, and merchants in Yemen during the Rasulid period (thirteenth–fifteenth centuries) will improve our understanding of trade in the region, too.[2]

The book under review expands our knowledge of this history, as it unveils a significant, though anecdotal, part of the history of Red Sea trade in the early thirteenth century on the basis of previously unpublished documents. These documents, mostly scraps of paper, were brought to light by the excavations carried out by the University of Chicago in 1982 in the Islamic residential complex of the site of Quseir (Quṣayr al-qadīm), a port later abandoned when ʿAydhāb

[1] Apart from Goitein's masterpiece, one can cite his articles entitled "From the Mediterranean to India: Documents on the Trade to India, South Arabia, and East Africa from the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Saeculum* 29 (1954): 181–97; "Arabic Documents on the Trade Between India and the Mediterranean Countries (11th and 12th centuries)," in *Proceedings of the Twenty-sixth International Congress of Orientalists* (New Dehli, 1970), 251–56; "From Aden to India: Specimens of the Correspondence of India Traders of the Twelfth Century," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 23 (1980): 43–66. Also worth a mention is the following study: H. M. Rabie, "Al-Baḥr al-Aḥmar fī al-ʿAṣr al-Ayyūbī," in *Al-Baḥr al-Aḥmar fī al-Tārīkh wa-al-Siyāsah al-Duwalīyah al-Muʿāṣirah* (Cairo, 1979), 105–23.

[2] A major source for the study of trade in this period started to appear in 2003: *Nūr al-Maʿārif fī Nuẓum wa-Qawānīn wa-Aʿrāf al-Yaman fī al-ʿAhd al-Muẓaffarī al-Wārif,* crit. ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Jāzim (Sanaa, 2003–5), 2 vols.

superseded it. The documents were discovered in what appeared to be a merchant's house, whose name, Abū Mufarrij, is found in several of them. The dates provided by a small number of documents confirm that his business was active during the first half of the thirteenth century (earliest document dated 612/1215, latest dated 633/1235), a fact substantiated by the numismatic findings. The excavated house proved to be a warehouse *(shūnah)* which also served as a residence for the family. Should we recognize in this discovery a genizah, as Mark Cohen recently suggested?[3] In his view, the archive, together with other material not necessarily connected with the family (official documents, religious texts, charms), was probably saved from oblivion for the same reason that led to the preservation of tens of thousands of fragments in the Cairo Genizah and other genizah-like findings in the Islamic tradition (the documents of the Ḥaram in Jerusalem, the fragments of Quranic manuscripts in the Great Mosque in Sanaa, the documents of the Great Mosque in Damascus): to preserve honorably fragments of the Quran, in the first place, and secondarily documents. These would have been placed in the attic of the shaykh's house and were scattered everywhere in the room when the building collapsed. Though this is a tempting explanation, it fails to address other problems. Guo does not consider the possibility that this cache was a genizah, as he speaks of clearly discarded trash which had not been deliberately kept and was in a state of disorder, and he even notices that a letter seemed to have been "kneaded into a ball and then tossed in [a] trash bin" (p. 158). In another case, an account was found torn into several pieces (p. 41). The main characteristic of the Cairo Genizah is that manuscripts and documents, sometimes even personal archives, were placed in a specific room over quite a long period. If the shaykh's house was used in this way, how can we explain that other documents were found thanks to later excavations in another place not connected with this building and identified as a *sibākh* (organic refuse)?[4] As the archeologists put it, "no significant difference in date or character of the deposits was noted between the material from within and outside the structure, or between different levels within the deposit. This suggests that the *sebakh* is not representative of *in situ* activity but rather accumulated through the deliberate dumping or redepositing of refuse from other parts of the Islamic town."[5] If genizah-like practices were current in Quṣayr al-qadīm, there is no reason that they would not have been applied to

[3] Mark Cohen, "Geniza for Islamicists, Islamic Geniza, and the 'New Cairo Geniza,'" *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review* 7 (2006): 129–45, 138.

[4] The University of Southampton carried out excavations from 1999 to 2003 (see http://www.arch.soton.ac.uk/Projects/default.asp?ProjectID=20). Anne Regourd is in charge of the study of the Arabic documents that surfaced during this new campaign of digging (see http://www.rqad.leeds.ac.uk/).

[5] See the interim report for 2003, trench 13 at the website indicated above.

other documents such as those uncovered in trench 13, for instance. At other sites in Egypt, too, documents have been found in layers that looked like refuse. On the other hand, it is known that the recycling of paper documents was a common occurrence.[6]

The book is divided in two sections. The first one is devoted to the study of the material deciphered in the second section. Guo succeeds in making the most of scraps of paper hardly decipherable not so much because of the nature of the handwriting, but rather because of the poor state of preservation. The author manages to reconstruct the social milieu revolving around the shaykh, Abū Mufarrij (chapter I), including his family (as it seems that Abū Mufarrij's business later became a family business, with one of his sons deeply involved), the company and its employees as well as its associates, and all the other categories of persons dealing with the house (clients, suppliers, buyers, but also officials, given that documents issued by this category surfaced together with the collection of business papers). Guo asks why official documents are found among the private business documents: he suggests that Abū Mufarrij's warehouse probably served as a postal address for the official documents or that he acted as a government agent. If so, why were these official documents unearthed in his house if he was supposed to transmit them to the authorities or other recipients? Guo does not answer this question. It might be that some of these official papers were intended for reuse of the blank verso, but in the end they were not.[7]

Chapter II is devoted to the economic problems raised by the business letters, accounts, and the like. The documents provide important data about the metrology in use in this remote part of the Muslim world which barely attracted the attention of medieval historians. As such, it is an incomparable source for the study of weights and measures in the Red Sea: similar data available for the holy cities provide an interesting comparison.[8] Importantly, the author also succeeds in demonstrating that the Quseir economy was first and foremost a credit one based on paper. This is not a surprise, rather it confirms a situation prevailing in the Near East at this time.

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[6] Either reused for the blank parts or recycled to produce new paper. See on this Jonathan M. Bloom, *Paper before Print* (New Haven, 2001), 76.

[7] For the reuse of some of the documents, see p. 110. Anne Regourd found, among the papers excavated at Quseir by the University of Southampton, a death certificate which was reused on the back to write a letter. See her article to appear in the proceedings of the Third Conference of the International Society for Arabic Papyrology held in Alexandria in 2006. This practice is also confirmed in other cases (documents of the Cairo Genizah or those excavated in Fustat).

[8] Since Guo's study was published, a book devoted to economic life in the Hejaz during the Mamluk period has appeared: Muḥammad Maḥmūd Anāqirah, *Al-Ḥayāh al-Iqtiṣādīyah fī al-Ḥijāz fī ʿAṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk, 648–923 h., 1250–1517 m.* (Riyadh, 2006).

Among the documents excavated, some were obviously not connected to business: sermons, prayers, block-printed amulets, magical texts, and astrological dials (chapter III). These improve our knowledge of popular culture in such a remote place. A major question is: are these documents related to the business ones and, consequently, with Abū Mufarrij? If we consider that they were unearthed in the shaykh's house and that the business section belonged to Abū Mufarrij, we should, as the author did, regard them as part of the family business. As Guo noticed (p. 84), Abū Mufarrij's son, Ibrāhīm, is described as a *khaṭīb* in a document, and it is probable that the sermons and the like are to be seen as connected to this activity. The block-printed amulets constitute another group (12 fragments) of highly attractive materials. Considered as a link between Chinese and European printing activities, the block-printed texts raise more questions than they answer. A thorough study of all the specimens preserved in various collections around the world could provide a good starting point. Those found in American and European institutions have recently been published.[9] Thanks to those studied by Guo in his book, there only remain those held in Middle Eastern collections (mainly Egypt) to be analyzed. The Quseir items corroborate that block-printed texts were spread throughout the Near East.

The second part of the book contains the decipherment and philological commentary on the documents. In this part, a selection of business letters, accounts, shipping notes, funeral texts, and amulets are published. These 84 fragments were selected from among several thousand (the exact number is not provided, see p. 104) for their interest and their state of preservation. This does not mean, however, that Guo neglects to analyze in the first part of the book those documents he decided not to publish in this second part. This part is introduced by chapter IV, which deals with the material analysis. Guo provides detailed remarks on the handwriting, including a paleographical study, a survey of the abbreviations and logograms (a particular case remains unsolved, see pp. 111–12), and of the numerals. As for language, most of the items published were written in a type of language that is now referred to as Middle Arabic (in this case, Muslim Middle Arabic), though this designation is not universally accepted.[10] Truly, most of these texts feature several traits generally noticed in modern dialects and found in many documents dated to the medieval period. Guo gives an exhaustive list of the linguistic characteristics of the documents studied and usually compares them to similar features noted in the scientific literature.

The edited texts (chapter V) are organized according to the typology established by the author (pp. 101–5). Guo was not content with only studying photographs

[9] See Karl R. Schaefer, *Enigmatic Charms: Medieval Arabic Block Printed Amulets in American and European Libraries and Museums* (Leiden and Boston, 2006).

[10] See, for instance, P. Larcher, "Moyen arabe et arabe moyen," *Arabica* 48 (2001): 578–609.

of the documents: he paid a visit to the Islamic Museum, where they are now kept. Scrutiny of the actual documents made it possible for him to describe precisely the writing material (color of the paper, dimensions, actual state, and color of the ink). Each document is introduced by a summary of its contents, then the text and the translation are provided together with a commentary on the words that require clarification or those with dubious meaning. Given the state of these fragments and the cursive script with which they were written, the author is to be praised for the result he managed to achieve. The reader must realize that a fragmentary text is in itself difficult to decipher because some parts, decisive for its understanding, may be missing. In this particular case, the difficulty is magnified by the nature of the texts, the language used, and the type of script. If a criticism has to be made, it should regard the fact that the documents edited are not reproduced. Of course, this may well be due to a decision by the publisher rather than the editor. Although four plates display some examples, the reproduced documents are so small that one can hardly compare the edited text with these photographs. Under these circumstances, the reader will have to take the edited text for granted. Fortunately, in the meantime, the documents have been introduced in the Arabic Papyrology Database, and some readings have been improved because the editors had access to scans of the documents. Consequently, the edition must now be read in conjunction with the website.[11]

To conclude, answers to the many questions these documents pose obviously remain conjectural due to the fragmentary state of this "archive," but the result is a convincing reconstruction of the activities of a family business at the dawn of the thirteenth century. Given the challenge presented by the Quseir fragments, Guo must be commended for the tremendous work he has accomplished on these scraps of paper. His book is indispensable for all those interested in economic and social history, Red Sea and Indian Ocean trade, numismatics, diplomatics, and documents.

[11] http://orientw.uzh.ch/apd/project.jsp. Select "papyri" and on the page that appears, scroll down ("choose an edition") to "P.QuseirArab."

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Mudayris al-Mudayris, *Al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī (648–923 H./1250–1517 M.): Dirāsah Tārīkhīyah* (Riyadh: Markaz al-Malik Fayṣal lil-Buḥūth wa-al-Dirāsāt al-Islāmīyah, 2001/1422). Pp. 438.

Reviewed by John L. Meloy, American University of Beirut

This book is not so much a historical study of Medina during the Mamluk period as it is a compendium of information on five aspects of the city gathered from primary sources. Readers interested in a new take on Medina or the Hijaz in the Mamluk period will not find it here. Al-Mudayris's overall approach is based on the received view that Mamluk power was the only effective force in the region, operating through direct control of Mecca.

Al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah seems to have been assembled according to a prescribed notion of what is necessary for a book to contain. Al-Mudayris divides his material into five chapters covering the fields of politics, economics, society, religion, and scholarship. These are systematically subdivided into descriptive subcategories. He rarely refers to secondary literature of any kind; the bibliography includes secondary works, mostly in Arabic along with two articles in English by Richard Mortel. The work includes a number of appendices, including three documents transcribed from al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá;* these are only briefly cited in the text, and they are not annotated. The author's including them seems to be simply because they are there. An unfortunate consequence of al-Mudayris's method is that connections between these various fields are overlooked or neglected. He does, briefly, acknowledge the importance of the connection between politics and economics (p. 106), but readers who are interested in the relationships of any of these areas will have to undertake their own analysis.

Given the author's approach and method, some of his conclusions are predictable. His view is that the political history of indigenous rulers of Medina is one of contention and weakness which allowed the Mamluks to dominate the region. The economy of the city was overshadowed by the florescence of Jedda, which is attributable to the Mamluks. Religious practice in the city shifted from Shiʿism to Sunnism as a result of Mamluk control, a topic discussed by Mortel. Some conclusions lack support. The author claims that the city's "social structure" underwent transformation as a result of the influx of scholars who settled in Medina. It is not clear that this trend started only in the second half of the thirteenth century, and the transformative impact of foreign *mujāwirūn* on local society is not altogether clear. Scholarly production increased and had an impact on the wider Islamic world; neither assertion is adequately proven.

Nevertheless, readers may find value in some of the book's descriptive information. While the chapters on politics and economics do not offer much new,

there are sections on somewhat unusual topics, such as marriage ties, customs and traditions, and even food, which may be useful to some researchers. The author's unwillingness to tackle the significance of any of the data may irritate the reader, along with the occasional judgmental comment about "bad" cultural practices, like the use of talismans (p. 158). Overall, *Al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah* is not particularly illuminating, but the selective reader may derive some value from parts of it.

JON HOOVER, *Ibn Taymiyya's Theodicy of Perpetual Optimism.* Islamic Philosophy, Theology, and Science, vol. 73 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007). Pp. xii + 276.

REVIEWED BY CATERINA BORI

This book is devoted to a specific theological topic, that of theodicy. Theodicy is that branch of theology that elaborates on divine justice and seeks to explain the existence of evil in relation to it. The opening question is: where does Ibn Taymīyah stand between the two main trends of Islamic theology concerning the relationship between evil and divine justice? These two trends are the so-called free will tradition, as represented by Muʿtazilī *kalām,* and the optimistic tradition, exemplified mainly by Ibn Sīnā. Jon Hoover's detailed and competent analysis of Ibn Taymīyah's writings leads to the conclusion that, while on the specific problem of evil Ibn Taymīyah is to be set along the optimistic trend of al-Ghazālī and Ibn Sīnā, his very original image of a dynamic and perpetually active God sets him apart both from the *mutakallimūn* and the philosophers' idea of God's perfection in its unchanging and timeless essence. This analysis emerges from Chapter 2, which focuses on Ibn Taymīyah's elaboration of God's wise purpose *(ḥikmah)* while preserving his self-sufficiency. Hoover examines Ibn Taymīyah's argument for the rationality of God's acts, demonstrating how he distanced himself from the Ashʿarī denial of God's wise purpose in creation, from the Muʿtazilī disassociation of any wise purpose from God *(al-ḥikmah al-maṭlūbah munfaṣilah ʿanhu),* and from Ibn Sīnā's stress on God's strong self-referentiality that finds its utmost expression in creation by emanation and in the eternity of the world. The unique idea of God's perpetual dynamism in acting and willing (already discussed by Hoover in two important articles) shapes a personal and "close" image of God that can be seen to set aside Ibn Taymīyah from the previous traditions.[1]

[1] It may be noted that at p. 79 (a quote from Ibn Taymīyah's *Majmūʿāt al-Fatāwá,* ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim and Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad [Cairo, n.d.], 8:84), it would be more appropriate to translate *maḥdhūrān* as "two things to be afraid of or to be

If things are so, Ibn Taymīyah then needs to explain how it is possible to maintain human accountability. This is the subject of Chapters 3 and 4. Hoover opens here with a commentary on a passage of the *Tadmurīyah* that presents a three-fold typology of human error in relation to the issue of compatibility between God's creation (of all human acts: *khalq*) and his command *(amr),* the former corresponding to God's decree *(al-qaḍāʾ wa-al-qadar)* and the latter to the revealed law *(al-sharʿ)*. He examines the "polemical" labels (p. 106) Ibn Taymīyah exploits to outline the error of these groups and notes the "oddity" (p. 112) of grouping together as *mushrikūn* Jahmīs, Jabrīs, Ashʿarīs, and antinomian mystics.

More could have been said in this regard. The topic is intriguing and the linguistic choices of Ibn Taymīyah reveal much of his originality and deserve further investigation. *Mushrik* is primarily the person who associates other beings with God as objects of worship or prayer. Next, *mushrik* is commonly taken to be an idolater (one who worships an *eidos,* literally an image [of God]), although the Arabic root *(sh.r.k)* is not semantically equivalent to that of idolatry. Yet, as Gerald Hawting has recently shown, both Muslim tradition (outside the Quran) and the secondary literature generally identify *mushrikūn* as idolaters/polytheists, whereas in the Quran the *mushrikūn* are presented as "imperfect monotheists."[2] Ibn Taymīyah proposes a strikingly similar view to this Quranic conception of *shirk*. In fact, here and elsewhere he takes the *mushrikūn* to represent those whose monotheistic faith is incomplete.[3] One has the impression that Ibn Taymīyah deploys a targeted communicational strategy here. On the one hand, he draws upon Quranic terminology for the labels of the three erring groups *(Majūs, Mushrik, Iblīs)*. On the other, he bends the original meaning of these words to serve his own needs and understanding of their error. Thus, his personal interpretation shapes three collective categories which are closely connected to scriptural language. Seen in this way, the "oddity" (p. 112) Hoover perceives in Ibn Taymīyah's

avoided," rather than "two prohibited things."

[2] Gerald Hawting, *The Idea of Idolatry and the Emergence of Islam: From Polemic to Histor*y (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). The expression "imperfect monotheists" is taken from Gerald Hawting, "Idolatry and Idolater," *The Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* 2:478.

[3] See for instance, *Majmūʿāt al-Fatāwá,* 10:264-65: the *mushrikūn* among the Arabs were those who professed the *tawḥīd al-rubūbīyah* (the uniqueness of God's lordship), but not the *tawḥīd al-ulūhīyah* (the uniqueness of God's divinity). They did not fully accept Muhammad's message and the priority of joining both the confessional and practical dimension of the proclamation of God's uniqueness *(wa-lā yajmaʿūna bayna al-tawḥīd al-qawlī wa-al-tawḥīd al-ʿamalī)*. In fact, they did not deny that God was the Creator, but "together with their recognition that Allah is the only Creator, they used to consider other Gods together with Him." Also translated by Yahya Michot, "La Foi et l'Amour: du *tawḥīd* théorique à sa mise en œuvre effective," *Textes Spirituels* VI, in *Le Musulman* 19 (Paris, 1992): 11–12.

grouping of *mushrikūn* is perhaps not so odd. Each of the three rubrics is both broad enough and clearly enough defined to embrace different theological stances with regard to the issue of compatibility between *khalq* and *amr*. Ibn Taymīyah's criterion is not that of the classical theological approaches to the problem of evil, but is strictly related to the strong ethical concern of neglecting God's command. Thus, the *mushrikūn* equally comprise Jahmīs, Jabrīs, Ashʿarīs (i.e., al-Rāzī) and antinomian Sufis. Their common denominator is their disregard towards the commanded aspect of divine creation (i.e., the law) by stressing the compulsion of God's will. They are incomplete in their *īmān*. While Hoover identifies their determinism as the common element characterizing their imperfect faith (pp. 12 and 114), he fails to highlight properly the ethical outlook that drives Ibn Taymīyah's categorization and his understanding of Islamic history and tradition that underpins the choice of his labels. This is all the more relevant considering that in the first chapter the author outlines Ibn Taymīyah primarily as a jurist even in his theological discourse. Thus, these people's dismissal of God's *amr* and their consequent nullification of the value of *sharʿ* are for Ibn Taymīyah a major concern and explain why the *mutaṣawwifah*, in their claim of attaining Reality *(al-ḥaqīqah)* are classified under this label. For the same reason, elsewhere Ibn Taymīyah violently attacks the epistemological validity of Aristotelian logic as a means of attaining metaphysical knowledge. As Wael B. Hallaq has rightly remarked, Ibn Taymīyah's final preoccupation is that of destroying the metaphysical foundation of speculative mysticism that nullifies the distinction between Commander and commanded, hence the value of the law. Hoover could usefully have used Hallaq's analysis in order to clarify Ibn Taymīyah's thinking on this point.

The second part of Chapter 3 tackles the causes of error and shows Ibn Taymīyah's concern with balancing out "creation" and "command." Hoover usefully familiarizes the reader with the key terminological accord between *khalq* and *amr* by which Ibn Taymīyah often describes these two branches of God's activity. He also illustrates Ibn Taymīyah's failure in elaborating a full argument for the compatibility between the two.

Chapter 4 examines the problem of human acts. Here Hoover exploits Western philosophical categories, moving away from previous interpretations of Ibn Taymīyah's thought on this issue by Laoust, Makari, and Gimaret. He classifies the Hanbali theologian as a "soft determinist" or a "compatibilist," that is, as admitting human choice within the framework of a strong determinism. Given the importance of al-Rāzī for the understanding of Ibn Taymīyah's doctrine, one would have expected the author to have made direct use of Rāzīyan texts rather than relying upon those quoted by Gimaret. A slip occurs at p. 170, where the

Sunnah of Abū Bakr al-Khallāl (d. 311/923) is quoted as no longer extant, whereas it has recently been published.[4]

The final two chapters get to the heart of the theodicean problem, and they deal respectively with evil and divine justice. What does Ibn Taymīyah make of evil? Hoover's attention to this issue is substantially new in the field of Taymīyan scholarship. In trying to make sense of the existence of evil, Ibn Taymīyah is shown to have echoed a series of Avicennan optimistic solutions, while embarking upon an edifying and spiritual understanding of evil's wise purpose that draws him close to Sufi and Muʿtazilī ideas. The other side of the coin is divine justice. Ibn Taymīyah confronts the two extremes (Muʿtazilī free-will theodicy and Ashʿarī voluntarism), setting himself apart by connecting divine justice to God's wise purpose and accepting Ibn Sīnā's optimism through al-Ghazālī's "best of all possible worlds." This analysis is especially interesting because it shows the connection of Ibn Taymīyah to the "optimism" of al-Ghazālī (and Ibn ʿArabī). It is a shame, however, that Hoover did not take this further and attempt a more detailed explanation of the reasons for the *shaykh al-islām*'s ambivalent attitude towards al-Ghazālī's dictum. This may have thrown further light on the development of the shaykh's thought on the issue and on his relationship with his own sources. Another important issue—beyond the scope of the book but interesting for future research—is that of Ibn Taymīyah's (or Ibn ʿArabī's?) contribution to the acceptance of al-Ghazālī's dictum from the fourteenth century onwards. This will give an idea of the impact of some Taymīyan ideas on the surrounding intellectual *milieux*.

From this book, Ibn Taymīyah emerges as a literalist theologian drawing upon elements of Islamic philosophy in order to provide a further rationale for revealed knowledge. By doing so, he produced a highly original synthesis of Islamic tradition that in terms of methodology aimed at keeping together reason and revelation, and in terms of ethics sought to guide the believer towards the right path to God. Hoover has done a good job in highlighting two key elements in Ibn Taymīyah's theory of God's acts and the Taymīyan way of talking about God: God's wise purpose and "the highest similitude." Both recur throughout the book and will hopefully be useful interpretative tools for further research. The purpose of the book is to shed new light on Ibn Taymīyah's theodicy through an analysis of the shaykh's own arguments and by contextualizing his thought in the main trends of Islamic philosophy and theology. While the first is fully accomplished, the second is less thoroughly achieved (the author is aware of this: see pp. 4 and 237). That said, Hoover has offered the reader a solid intellectual framework in which to set the topic of theodicy and has provided a stimulus for further research. A more

[4] Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Khallāl, *Al-Sunnah,* 5 vols., ed. ʿAṭīyah ibn ʿAtīq al-Zahrānī (Riyadh: Dār al-Rāyah, 1995).

complete appreciation of Ibn Taymīyah's originality as a theologian will emerge not only by exploring his appropriation of the doctrines of previous thinkers, but also by considering what the Hanbalis of his time were writing, studying, and discussing, as well as their position on the theological issues that animated late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century traditionalist circles.

That criticism aside, Hoover's book is the first in a Western language solely devoted to Taymīyan theology. While Chapters 2 to 6 will be of interest mainly to the specialist in theology, Chapter 1 provides an excellent grid of interpretation for the scholar interested in any of Ibn Taymīyah's fields of knowledge. It is an attempt to define the authentic quality of Taymīyan scholarship and activism. The latter is an aspect that deserves more consideration, not as something that dictates the shaykh's ideology, as Hoover rightly points out (p. 24), but as a concrete expression of a system where not only theology and jurisprudence but also action are intimately intertwined. Hoover's definition of Ibn Taymīyah's theology as a theological *fiqh* is penetrating.[5] It implies that *fiqh* is inclusive of theology and that Ibn Taymīyah's scholarship is to be seen as jurisprudential even when he is deeply preoccupied with specific theological questions. In this regard, it will be important to further investigate the shaykh's legal writings with attention to his views on theology in a non-theological context. By itself, this definition calls for a more vigilant interest in Ibn Taymīyah's engagement in the affairs of the society in which he lived.

As a framework in which to set Ibn Taymīyah's discourse on theodicy, Hoover's book represents an important contribution towards the understanding of the meaning of Ibn Taymīyah's scholarship. In a consistent and informative way, Hoover builds on the work of Yahya Michot in challenging the established idea of Ibn Taymīyah's strict traditionalism. In doing so, he does justice to the complexity of one of the most important thinkers in the Islamic tradition. By making available in a single volume a broad spectrum of hitherto underutilized sources, it paves the way for a new understanding of Taymīyan theodicy and related issues.

[5] It should be read in conjunction with Yossef Rapoport's contribution on Ibn Taymīyah's legal thought, which also draws attention to the deep correspondence between theology and *fiqh:* Yossef Rapoport, "Ibn Taymiyya's radical legal thought: Rationalism, pluralism and the primacy of intention," in *Ibn Taymiyya and his Times,* ed. Shahab Ahmad and Yossef Rapoport (forthcoming, Karachi: Oxford University Press).

Sami G. Massoud, *The Chronicles and Annalistic Sources of the Early Mamluk Circassian Period* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007). Pp. 477 + xii.

Reviewed by Paulina B. Lewicka

The corpus of annalistic literature dating back to the Circassian, or Burji, Mamluk period includes over seventeen titles, most of which constitute fundamental source material for all kinds of researchers dealing with the Mamluk epoch. As such, these sources—and particularly their published majority—are constantly read, re-read, reconsidered, and referenced. Oddly enough, until now we have had at our disposal only fragmentary studies discussing this corpus from a historiographical point of view. The research undertaken by Sami Massoud is, to use his own words, a result of his endeavor to "fill this lacuna," by which he means establishing "the value of the Burjī historical works in their own right [and] in relation to one another" (p. 6). Indeed, Massoud's *Chronicles and Annalistic Sources* is the first comprehensive critical analysis of the works written by the historians and chroniclers of the Burji Mamluk era.

In order to realize his objectives, Massoud applied, "albeit with some modifications," the methodology pioneered by Donald P. Little in his study of the sources for the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn. In practical terms, this means that Massoud's method, which he calls a "micro" approach to historiography, consists of word-by-word comparisons of individual accounts of particular events as recorded in chronicles and annalistic sources of the epoch. Indeed, there is probably no other way to detect the inter-relatedness and inter-dependence of the sources, identify borrowings, discover the original contribution of each historian, and explore the genesis and scope of reports and their impact on the construction of the narrative. By applying this textual collation in order to analyze his sources, Massoud also intended to provide "a detailed understanding of the events of a given year." This avowed intention might appear to be a gesture towards the limited circle of readers interested in the details of the developments of 778, 793, and 804 A.H. However, this is not the case: by providing a detailed understanding of particular events, Massoud wants to make it possible for "modern historians to revisit, reevaluate, and reconsider historical data" (p. 7).

Has Massoud achieved what he planned? The essential part of *Chronicles and Annalistic Sources* consists of three chapters, each of them devoted to a discussion of records relating to one historical annal. The choice of each of the three annals subjected to source analysis was not made at random. Chapter one deals with the annal of 778/1376-77, which was a year of mamluk rebellions against, and subsequent murder of, the sultan al-Ashraf Shaʿbān. It seems the annal was chosen by Massoud because the events surrounding the sultan's murder permeate all the

narratives about the year 778 produced by authors over the next century and beyond. The year 793/1390–91, to which chapter two is devoted, was the year of the "aftershock" of Barqūq's overthrow and his return to rule, as well as the year in which he consolidated his power. As Massoud observes, it would have probably been more interesting to study the accounts of the disturbances that accompanied Barqūq's resumption of power at the turn of 791 and in the early part of 792. Due to their multitude and diversity, however, analyzing the events and records of either of these years would have been too demanding to reach satisfactory conclusions. One of the reasons, therefore, why the annal of the year 793/1390–91 was subjected to analysis was simply that it was less complicated than the previous two. The third annal analyzed by Massoud, that of 804/1401–2, does not relate to any particular political or social event. From a historical point of view, the records making up this annal reflect, on the one hand, the ongoing strife within the Mamluk governing circles in Syria, and on the other, they echo the aftermath of the devastation which Syria suffered as a result of Tamerlane's incursion of 803/1400. From a historiographical point of view, the year 804/1401–2 represents, as Massoud puts it, "the end of a historiographical cycle" (p. 8), by which he means that the works of three authors who witnessed the emergence of the Circassian sultanate as mature historians conclude just before 804/1401–2. At the same time, the year 804 heralded the beginning of a new generation of self-conscious historians who were old enough to comprehend and record the events of their day. As such, the year 804 is, according to Massoud, pivotal from both historical and historiographical points of view, which apparently was the reason why he subjected it to analysis.

Within each chapter, the analysis of records related to a given annal is preceded by a concise presentation of crucial developments which took place in the year discussed. In each of the three chapters, the examined sources are divided into two main categories: the works of authors whose lives coincided with the events reported in a given annal, and the works of later historians. Each of these two categories is further subdivided into a section devoted to Egyptian historians and a section devoted to Syrian historians. In turn, each of these sections consists of subsections discussing individual historians and their works, many of which are still available only in manuscript form. Generally, the historians are introduced into the text according to their year of birth. The analysis of accounts written by a given historian is preceded by a concise presentation of his biography.

For example, in chapter three, in which the annal of 804/1401–2 is studied, first the appropriate accounts of contemporary Egyptian historians are discussed. The list includes Ibn Duqmāq, al-ʿAynī, al-Maqrīzī, and al-ʿAsqalānī. The analysis of their works is followed by an examination of accounts written by contemporary Syrian authors. In this case, the appropriate section includes the analysis of *Tārīkh*

Ibn Ḥijjī. Analogically, the subchapter dealing with "Later historians" includes a section on "Egyptian historians," and the list includes Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Ṣayrafī, al-Malaṭī, Ibn Iyās, and an anonymous author of a chronicle entitled *Jawāhir al-Sulūk fī al-Khulafāʾ wa-al-Mulūk*. In the section devoted to later Syrian historians, Massoud examines the accounts written by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah. As in the case of two previous chapters, chapter three ends with brief comments on "minor historians."

These three analytical chapters are followed by three appendices, one appendix supplementing each of the chapters. Generally speaking, these appendices include the English rendering of the individual reports which were subjected to analysis in the preceding chapters; each of the three appendices consists of entries referencing reports mentioned in the analysis. Each entry is numbered and organized according to four categories (political/military/administrative affairs, religious life, social history/ miscellany, and foreign affairs) and then identified by the abbreviation of its author's name. As a result, the reader can easily check the text of the reports referred to in the study, as well as find their location in the sources.

Due to its very particular nature, a study based on a word-by-word analysis of sources by means of textual collation can hardly be summarized. However, the intrinsic value of this kind of work consists not in its storyline, but in the details which fill it and which take the form of dozens of conclusions and hypotheses drawn by the author in the course of the Benedictine effort made in comparing the records. Therefore, to appreciate a study such as Massoud's *Chronicles and Annalistic Sources,* one has to savor its details (including the collated fragments of transcribed Arabic records inserted into the text) and recognize their value. Taking this into consideration, it seems that the most appropriate way to demonstrate the quality and significance of the discussed work is to indicate some of the most characteristic conclusions and hypotheses formulated by its author.

Generally speaking, the opinions and judgments expressed by Massoud can be divided into those that refer to micro-scale historiography and those that apply to a more universal context. The former are the direct result of Massoud's efforts to achieve one of the main objectives of his research, that is "to examine inside the confines of a single annal, the disposition of *akhbār* and their interrelation within sources" (p. 10). Meticulous, precise, and insightful, these opinions not only define a given historian's contribution to our knowledge about the events of a given year, they also constitute essential material without which formulating more universal comments would not be possible. Thus one can learn, for example, that Ibn al-ʿIrāqī's chronicle "is of little value for anyone interested in investigating the social and political scene in Egypt in 778" (p. 48); that "for the year 778 . . . [al-ʿAynī's] *ʿIqd al-Jumān* has absolutely nothing original to offer" (p. 40); or that "as regards the annal of the year 778, the primary significance of al-Maqrīzī

[i.e., his *Kitāb al-Sulūk*] is that he replicates the contents of Ibn al-Furāt's *Tārīkh al-Duwal*" (p. 49). One can also learn details such as the fact that Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr* "offers a rather poor account of the events of the year 778," that "it is a condensed summary of other people's work" (p. 59), and that it "does not add anything dramatically original to our knowledge of the year 793" (p. 118). A researcher can also read that "the annal of the year 778 in *Jawāhir al-Sulūk* does not reflect Ashtor's assertion that it contains original data not found in contemporary sources" (p. 77), and that generally "*Jawāhir al-Sulūk* is not a very useful source for the events of the year 778" (p. 81). As for Ibn Iyās, we can learn that "perhaps the most striking characteristic of the annal of the year 793 in *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr* is the extent to which it diverges in many parts of its narrative from the general consensus sketched by the other chronicles" (p. 137).

Naturally enough, a great many of Massoud's micro-scale conclusions result from his investigation of textual borrowings. Al-Sakhāwī, for example, relied mostly on Ibn Ḥajar's *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, but also on Ibn al-ʿIrāqī's *Dhayl,* at least for the year 778. As for Ibn Ḥajar's *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr*, "the highly condensed and disorganized nature of the narrative, coupled with his [Ibn Ḥajar's] propensity to rewrite other authors' *akhbār*" (p. 55), made it arduous to identify the sources from which Ibn Ḥajar borrowed. However, as far as his elaboration of the annal of 778 is concerned, it can be established with some degree of certainty that he relied on Ibn al-Furāt, Ibn Duqmāq, and Ibn Ḥijjī. Sometimes, as in the case of Ibn Khaldūn's *Kitāb al-ʿIbar,* the clues are so confusing that it is impossible to give a clear answer regarding borrowings. At other times, as in the case of certain data included in the annal of 793/1390–91 in the anonymous *Jawāhir al-Sulūk,* Massoud leaves it for others to determine "whether the author derived this information from an unknown source . . ." or "had recourse to artistic licence by simply inventing this account" (p. 142).

As for Massoud's more general assumptions, comments, and hypotheses, they refer to many different aspects of the works discussed. Most often, they concern a given historian, his style, his reliability, and the value of his work for modern historians. A typical example of such comments are the remarks referring to Ibn Duqmāq's *Nuzhat al-Anām:* the analysis of this chronicle brings Massoud to the fundamental conclusion that it is "the most original of sources in that it was copied extensively by other authors, such as Ibn al-Furāt and al-ʿAynī, and yet does not appear to contain major borrowings from any other works" (p. 34). From the section on Ibn al-Furāt one can learn that *Al-Muntaqá* (i.e., Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's selections from *Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt*) is "superior to all other chronicles in terms of wealth of information," and that "it contains a substantial number of in-depth additional data that appear to be original" (p. 36). Moreover, *Al-Muntaqá* "contains more accounts of political events than any other contemporary source,

and it also outdoes these with regard to social and religious affairs" (p. 38). As for the anonymous *Jawāhir al-Sulūk,* Massoud warns researchers that reading this chronicle "leaves one with the impression that its author was more interested in the form that his narrative would take than in the historical content it might provide. Moreover, he took some liberty in rewriting history" (p. 80).

Perhaps the most illustrative of Massoud's shrewd and expert style are the sections devoted to Ibn Iyās. Thus, all those who use, or intend to use, Ibn Iyās's *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr* can learn that one of the many narrative techniques used by Ibn Iyās was combining story elements from different sources. However, beyond the data he borrowed from others, the chronicle contains a "substantial amount of information found in no other source" (p. 72). Such a feature would generally be considered a positive quality. However, Massoud leaves no doubt as to the value of at least some of such pieces of information, which he describes as "likely to have been nothing but dramatic embroiderings" (p. 73). Massoud further devalues the quality of Ibn Iyās's accounts by stressing that the chronicler used to take "considerable liberty in rearranging the story line and plots of certain events" or, in other words, to romanticize certain events whenever these lent themselves to such a treatment, and to alter the storyline for dramatic purposes (p. 75). In practical terms, this means that "the fundamental narrative elements of some series of *akhbār* in *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr* are generally common to Ibn Iyās and to most other historians, but their order of appearance, chronological anchoring, circumstantial dimensions, and, more importantly, the dramatic results of the events they depict," (p. 138) frequently place "his narrative at odds with the accounts of most other historians" (p. 73). However, one should remember that "despite the profound changes to which Ibn Iyās subjected a number of his reports, the information he used to construct his narrative was made up of historical facts" (p. 75).

In other words, Ibn Iyās's *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr* is a mixture of history and fiction. The main problem with Ibn Iyās, however, is that he was the foremost chronicler to witness the decline of the Mamluk state and Egypt's transition from Mamluk to Ottoman rule. Consequently, modern historians dealing with this period are forced to rely on him as far as the source material is concerned; for this reason, Massoud's remarks should always be kept in mind. In fact, Massoud's *Chronicles and Annalistic Sources* is an extremely useful and indispensable guide to all Burji historiography. The textual collation applied by Massoud has resulted in the production of what Mamlukologists need most of all (and what D. P. Little sought to establish): "an analytical survey of the sources of the period that aims at classifying them in terms of their value to modern historians" (quoted on p. 7). Sami Massoud did his work perfectly. The few typing errors, such as misspelling Jo Van

Steenbergen's name as "Joe" (p. 42), are probably the only examples of imprecision or oversight in this book. The term "*muswadda*" as used by Massoud on p. 22 and defined as "foundation" (of a book) could be also spelled "*musawwadah,*" as it was in Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid's 1995 edition of al-Maqrīzī's *Musawwadat Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*. The form "*musawwadah*" is not the only correct form, but it is perhaps less Egyptian—and therefore more classical—in flavor. In general, due to its informativeness and uniqueness, the value of the book cannot be overestimated.

BERNADETTE MARTEL-THOUMIAN, *Catalogue des manuscrits historiques de la Bibliothèque nationale de Damas: Période mamlouke* (Damascus: Institut français du Proche-Orient, 2003). Pp. 336.

REVIEWED BY RENÉ-VINCENT DU GRANDLAUNAY, Institut dominicain d'Études orientales

The manuscript collection in the Damascus National Library has numbered over 40,000 titles ever since collections from various Syrian cities were assembled there in the 1980s. Catalogues previous to this date are perforce obsolete. Such is not the case for the catalogue reviewed here: though published in 2003, the author has personally told me that it was completed ten years earlier, in 1993. In this work, Bernadette Martel-Thoumian has compiled the catalogue of manuscripts concerning the Mamluk period (648–922/1250–1517) found in this sizeable and outstanding collection. She grounds her undertaking on previous works, in which she occasionally shows undue trust. We wish to mention specifically the two-volume *Fihris Makhṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhirīyah: al-Tārīkh wa-Mulḥaqātuhu,* published by the Majmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī bi-Dimashq, the first volume of which was edited by Yusuf Eche in 1947, and the second by Khālid al-Rayyān in 1973.

Note that manuscripts dating to the Mamluk period, but containing pre-Mamluk texts, have justifiably been omitted from this description. Likewise, from works on general history, only the manuscript sections related to the Mamluk period have been retained. Hence, manuscripts of *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* by Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) are not comprehensively described [26–27]:[1] only volume 10, covering the period from 617/1220 to 702/1303, has been included in this work. Similarly, from the anonymous manuscript of the *Tārīkh al-Islām* [38], only the specifically Mamluk sections 7, 8, and 9 have been described.

[1] The description number in Martel-Thoumian's catalogue is enclosed in square brackets.

This work begins with an introduction primarily concerned with the codicological content of the catalogue. It provides such information about the manuscripts as the type of ink utilized by the writer, the written symbols and ornaments, the catchwords and voweling, the paper, the types of annotation, and the quires and binding. Following the introduction, the main body of the work includes 237 manuscript descriptions, arranged by alphabetical order of title. Fifteen illustrations of specimens are then displayed, followed by a selected bibliography and indexes.

The 237 descriptions cover fewer than 160 titles. All in all, this is quite a small sample for a historical period spanning nearly 300 years and for such a large collection as this. Each description follows a uniform pattern:

1. The header: sheet number (we prefer the French term "notice" to Martel-Thoumian's "fiche"), manuscript number in the new collection (the previous call numbers of manuscript excerpts from the Ẓāhirīyah are mentioned), Arabic title of the work transliterated into Roman letters, name of the author transliterated into Roman letters, title of the work in Arabic, name of the author in Arabic.

2. Description: the nature of the work, the *incipit* followed by the *explicit,* a description of the manuscript, a codicological description, the place of origin of the manuscript, marks indicating the ownership or previous reading of the manuscript.

3. Reference to text editions

The indexes provided are numerous, but inconsistent in their presentation: they appear in Arabic script and in Roman transliteration. Thus, seven indexes are rendered in French: (1) Manuscripts (which might have been more accurately termed "Titles"), (2) Authors, (3) Copyists, (4) *Waqf* founders, (5) Owners, (6) Sellers and buyers, (7) Readers. Two indexes appear in Arabic: (1) *al-makhṭūṭāt* (understand *al-ʿanāwīn*) and (2) *al-mūʾallifūn.*

The Codicological Description

Martel-Thoumian's work, while inspired by her predecessors', is novel in that it takes into account the newly expanded collection of Damascus manuscripts. Most importantly, it undertakes a systematic codicological description, which has been heretofore lacking. In addition to being far superior to the descriptions included even in the best editions, it is above all more comprehensive than those included in similar catalogues. The precision which characterizes this work was made possible by the author's regular immersion in manuscript texts. Our gratitude must be extended to the directors of the Damascus National Library for authorizing the creation of such a catalogue.

Additional Remarks

The following remarks are meant both as an encouragement of and a contribution to a much-needed Arabic edition of this exquisite catalogue.

A. Romanization

It is regrettable that the Roman transliteration of the modern names cited in this catalogue is somewhat imprecise. As a rule, using abbreviations in Arabic is a perilous undertaking. Only specialists will recognize that, for instance, the designations A. M. Hilw [129] and F. M. Ḥilū [135] refer to the same individual, ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥilū. Likewise, A. Bigawi, the Egyptian editor of *Tabṣīr al-Muntabih fī Taḥrīr al-Mushtabih* by Ibn Ḥajar, becomes A. M al-Bagawi [189]. Another Egyptian editor, ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar, is called A. M. Umarau [145]. With regard to Arabic spelling, the *alif* in *ibn* is too often accompanied by a *hamzah* [71], [82], [138], [215].

B. The Text Editions

After listing the items which are to receive descriptions, Martel-Thoumian states in her introduction that she "might provide the text edition." We wish to elaborate on this point, which will hopefully be handled more carefully in future manuscript catalogues. This holds especially true when dealing with the Arabic-Islamic heritage, which is presently experiencing a proliferation of editing, not always of the highest quality.[2] An effort to mention text editions would have been expected within the framework of this catalogue; however, only forty descriptions provide satisfactory information in this regard. Obviously, to indicate every single edition of a given text is out of the question, for this is not the main purpose of a catalogue of manuscripts. Nonetheless, if a text has only one edition, however mediocre, it must be mentioned and qualified as such. Indeed, familiarity with poor editions provides incentive for the production of more thorough works. As stated at the beginning of this review, the catalogue was completed in 1993. Hence, its list of text editions appears somewhat outdated to readers in 2003. In 2007, the year of the present review, its datedness is more glaring still. Here, we

[2] Though these texts don't always deserve to be edited (i.e., descriptions 107, 183), we list hereunder those in the catalogue which have not been edited, at the date of the present review: [3], [4], [5, 6, 7], [12], [25], [30, 31], [32, 33], [34], [38–39], [41], [42], [53, 54], [55], [56], [57], [58], [59], [60], [61], [62], [63], [68], [69], [70], [71], [75], [80], [81], [82], [83], [84], [85], [91, 92], [96], [101, 102, 103], [105], [107], [108], [112], [119], [128], [137], [138], [143], [148] [148], [149], [150], [151], [152], [153], [155], [156], [157, 158], [179], [181], [182], [183], [187], [188], [190], [191], [192], [193], [194], [197], [198], [199], [200, 201], [202, 203], [207], [215], [216], [219], [235], [236], [237].

provide a list of editions with which Martel-Thoumian might have acquainted herself, in addition to those published after 1993.

[1] *Āthār al-Bilād wa-Akhbār al-ʿIbād* by al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283). This text was first edited by F. Wüstenfeld in *Zakarija ben Muhammed ben Mahmud el-Cazwini's Kosmographie* (Götingen: Verlag der Dietrichschen Buchhandlung, 1848–49). It has been reprinted twice: (1) Wiesbaden: M. Sändig, 1967; and (2) Frankfurt: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, 1994.

[2] *Kitāb Ikhbār al-Kirām bi-Akhbār al-Masjid al-Ḥarām* by al-Asadī (d. 1066/1656). A mediocre edition of this text has been produced by al-Ḥāfiẓ Ghulām Muṣṭafá (Cairo: Dār al-Ṣaḥwah, 1985.)

[3] *Irshād al-Sālik ilá Manāqib al-Mālik* by Ibn Mibrad (d. 909/1503). To be more precise, the author's *nasab* (the string of ancestors mentioned in a name) is Yūsuf ibn Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī. Reference number 6 to Brockelmann is mistaken: instead of II, pp. 130–31, read GII, 107–8, and SII, 130–31.

[8] *Asmāʾ Muʾallafāt al-Imām Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah* by Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah (d. 751/1350). Surprisingly, the author failed to connect this text with the manuscript later described in description [213], though they both share the same *incipit.*

[13] [14] [15] *Kitāb al-Iʿlām bi-Aʿlām Bayt Allāh al-Ḥarām* by al-Nahrawālī (d. 990/1582). It is regrettable that ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar fails to annotate the text in his edition (Cairo: Maktabat al-Thaqāfah al-Dinīyah, 2004).

[16] *Al-Iʿlām fī Wafayāt al-Aʿlām* by al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347). The first edition was published in Beirut in 1991 by ʿAbd al-Jabbār Zakkār and Riyyāḍ ʿAbd al-Majīd Murād.

[26][27] *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* (*al-juzʾ al-ʿāshir*) by Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373). One should now depend on ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī's edition (Cairo: Dār Hajar, 1999), which includes annotations and indexes.

[35][36][37] *Tāj al-Tarājim* by Ibn Quṭlūbughā (d. 879/1474). We can now rely on the edition by Muḥammad Khayr Ramaḍān Yūsuf (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 1992), which includes annotations and indexes.

[45][46][47][48][49] *Tuḥfat al-Anām fī Faḍāʾil al-Shām* by Ibn al-Imām (d. 1015/1606). A good edition, including annotations and indexes, has been made by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Fayyāḍ Ḥarfūsh (Damascus: Dār al-Bashāʾir, 1998).

[51][52] *Tuḥfat al-Ẓurafāʾ bi-Asmāʾ al-Khulafāʾ* by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). Al-Suyūṭī inserted this poem, which he composed in a traditional form, as a conclusion to his *Tārīkh al-Khulāfāʾ*. This poem is contained in the two manuscripts described here. It is located at the end of the extremely mediocre editions of the *Tārīkh al-Khulāfāʾ*. However, Maḥmūd Naṣṣār's edition of al-Suyūṭī's *Kitāb al-Tabarrī min*

Maʿarrat al-Maʿarrī (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1989) also contains an edition of the *Tuḥfat al-Ẓurafāʾ*.

[60] *Tarjamat al-Badawī* by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1448). This proves the existence of a second manuscript of this *Tarjamah* of Aḥmad al-Badawī written by Ibn Ḥajar. In her superb work, *Al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī, un grand saint de l'islam égyptien* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale [IFAO], 1994), Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen presumed that there was only one extant manuscript (p. 16). Apparently, this text has not yet been edited.

[76][77][78] *Tawḍīḥ al-Mushtabih* by Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Qaysī (d. 842/1438). The manuscript in this collection does not display the title or author's name. On page 196 of his *Fihrist Makhṭūṭāt Dār al-Kutub al-Ẓāhirīyah: al-Tārīkh wa-Mulḥaqātuhu*, published in Damascus, Yusuf Eche ascribes this text to Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, thus confusing it with another work by Ibn Ḥajar, *Tabṣīr al-Muntabih fī Taḥrīr al-Mushtabih*. However, in 1964, ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Bijāwī edited this *Tabṣīr al-Muntabih* (Cairo: Muʾassasah al-Miṣrīyah al-ʿĀmmah lil-Taʾlīf wa-al-Anbāʾ wa-al-Nashr). A simple comparison between both *incipit*s dispels all ambiguity: the *Tabṣīr al-Muntabih* must be distinguished from the *Tawḍīḥ al-Mushtabih*. Moreover, in 1986, Muḥammad Naʿīm al-ʿIrqūsī edited the latter text (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Risālah), which he attributed to its true author, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-Qaysī al-Dimashqī (d. 842), better known by his *shuhrah* Ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn. Hence, Martel-Thoumian's erroneous attribution is surprising inasmuch as she is familiar with the edition of the *Tabṣīr al-Muntabih* and probably with the *Tawḍīḥ al-Mushtabih*, re-edited in 1993.

[79] *Thabt al-Bulqīnī* by Ibn al-Bulqīnī (d. 868/1464). Note that this work is comprised of a list of the shaykhs of Sirāj al-Dīn Abū Ṣāliḥ ʿUmar ibn Raslān al-Bulqīnī (d. 805/1403), compiled by his son Sāliḥ (cf. Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Marʿashlī, *Muʿjam al-Maʿājim wa-al-Mashyākhāt* [Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd, 2002], 1:493).

[86][87][88] *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah fī Akhbār Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). Note ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar's very recent edition of *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khanjī, 2007), with notes and indexes.

[89] *Tārīkh al-Khamīs fī Aḥwāl Anfas Nafīs* by al-Diyārbakrī (d. 966/1559). The Beirut edition referred to in this catalogue is most likely the 1984 reprint by the Muʿassasat Shaʿbān lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ.

[101][102][103] *Dhayl Lawāqiḥ al-Anwār fī Ṭabaqāt al-Sādah al-Akhyār* by al-Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565). This is likely *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Ṣughrá,* the most recent edition of which, by Saʿīd Hārūn ʿĀshūr (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ādāb), completely ignores the three Damascus manuscripts.

[104] *Sukkardān al-Sulṭān* by Ibn Abī Ḥajalah (d. 776/1375). This has been edited by ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khanjī, 2001).

[111] *Al-Shamʿah al-Muḍīʾah fī Akhbār al-Qalʿah al-Dimashqīyah* by Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546). The information provided about the text edition is somewhat succinct. At the very least, we may add that this text was printed without notes on the basis of the Damascus manuscript by the Maktabat al-Qudsī wa-al-Budayr, Damascus, 1929. Dār Zāhid al-Qudsī, Cairo, recently reprinted this edition without dating it. However, we believe it was produced at the beginning of the 1990s.

[123][124][125][126][127] *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyah* by al-Ḥināʾī (d. 979/1571). Although unable to consult this text, we know of its existence; it has been edited in three volumes by Muḥyī al-Dīn Hilāl al-Sarḥān (Baghdad: Maṭbaʿat al-Waqf al-Sunnī, 2004).

[129] *Al-Jawāhir al-Muḍīʾah fī Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyah* by Ibn Abī al-Wafāʾ (d. 775/1373). The Cairo edition by ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥilū, with notes and indexes, is preferable (Giza: Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1993).

[134] *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah* by Abū Bakr al-Muṣannif (d. 1014/1605). This was first edited by Nuʿmān al-Aʿẓamī al-Kutubī (Baghdad: al-Maktabah al-ʿArabīyah, 1937), and then by ʿĀdil Nuwayhiḍ (Beirut: Dār al-Afāq al-Jadīdah, 1971).

[139][140] *Ṭabaqāt al-Lughawīyīn wa-al-Nuḥāh* by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). The second Cairo edition by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (ʿIsá al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī) was made in 1964, not in 1973 as Martel-Thoumian claims. A third Cairo edition was published in 2005. The editor, ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar, provides few annotations and, as usual, neglects both of these Damascus manuscripts.

[141] *Ṭabaqāt al-Mufassirīn* by al-Dāwūdī (d. 945/1539). ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar has produced an edition (Cairo: Maktabat Wahbah, 1972), with few notes, but some indexes.

[159][160] *Al-Kawākib al-Durrīyah fī Tarājim al-Sādah al-Ṣūfīyah* by al-Munāwī (d. 1031/1621). The most recent edition is likely that of Muḥammad Adīb al-Jādir (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1999). This edition mainly relies on the manuscript described in [159], and it includes notes and indexes.

[162] *Kawkab al-Rawḍah* by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). This text was edited by Muḥammad al-Shishtāwī in 2001 (Cairo: Dār al-Afāq al-ʿArabīyah) and is yet another example of an Egyptian editor's ignoring all manuscripts located outside of Egypt.

[163][164] *Lubb al-Lubāb fī Taḥrīr al-Ansāb* by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). We may also mention, with the utmost reservation, the edition by Muḥammad and Ashraf Aḥmad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz available at the Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah (Beirut, 1991).

[166]–[175] *Lawāqiḥ al-Anwār fī Ṭabaqāt al-Sādah al-Akhyār* by al-Shaʿrānī (d. 973/1565). ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ḥasan Maḥmūd prepared the latest edition (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ādāb, 1993 [vol. 1], 2001 [vol. 2]). However, a critical edition is still needed.

[176][177] *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassas lil-Muʿjam al-Mufahras* by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1448). Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Marʿashlī has indeed edited this text in 4 volumes (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifah, 1992). This edition takes into account the two manuscripts described in this work. The editor mentions another manuscript which should have been included in this catalogue since it belongs to Al-Maktabah al-ʿUthmānīyah of Aleppo, no. 241 (395 fols.), and dates back to the year 895. Neither the editor nor Martel-Thoumian were able to consult the manuscript—it seems to have disappeared.

[184] *Mudhakkirāt Yawmīyah* by Aḥmad ibn Ṭawq (d. 915/1509). Jaʿfar al-Muhājir completed the edition of this text between 2000 and 2004 at the Institut Français du Proche-Orient (IFPO) in Damascus (formerly the Institut Français d'Etudes Arabes de Damas [IFEAD]). The title in French is *Journal d'Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq, 834–915/1430–1509 : La vie quotidienne à Damas à la fin de l'époque mamelouke*. It includes notes and indexes.

[186] *[Dhayl] Mirʾāt al-Zamān* by al-Yunīnī (d. 726/1326). Note that the title of al-Yunīnī's work is *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān*, which continues Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī's (d. 1256/654) *Mirʾāt al-Zamān*.

[195] *Al-Maʿazzah fīmā qīla fī al-Mazzah* by Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546). Note the Egyptian re-edition in 2002 (Cairo: Dār Zāhid al-Qudsī) of the 1929 edition.

[196] *Al-Muqtaná fī al-Kuná* by al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347). This manuscript provided the basis for Ayman Ṣāliḥ Shaʿbān's edition (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 1997).

[204][205][206] *Manāqib Ibn Qawwām* (not Qawām), i.e., Abū Bakr ibn Qawwām (d. 659/1261), written by his grandson Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar ibn Abī Bakr Ibn Qawwām (d. 718/1318). We have grouped the descriptions 204, 205, and 206 in the same paragraph, since we believe them to be three manuscripts of a single text, authored by the same person. The manner of their presentation in this catalogue is misleading. A comparison with a similar manuscript belonging to the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo might explain their different *explicits*. Manuscript DK 2597 Tārīkh, which Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī "transcribed" in a recent commercial edition, resembles the manuscript portrayed in description 206. This manuscript comprises two distinct texts: (1) *Manāqib Ibn Qawwām*, then (2) *Manāqib Sayyidī Abī al-ʿAbbās al-Sabtī*. One might easily overlook the second text, the title of which adjoins the end of the *Manāqib Ibn Qawwām*. For this reason, the *explicit* of the *Manāqib Sayyidī Abī al-ʿAbbās al-Sabtī* is often taken to belong to the *Manāqib Ibn Qawwām*. We believe this to hold true in the present case, since the *explicit* provided in description 206 is identical to the one at the end of the *Manāqib Sayyidī Abī al-ʿAbbās al-Sabtī*. The *Manāqib Ibn Qawwām* has therefore been "edited," though very poorly, by Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 2005).

[208] *Al-Minhāj al-Sawī fī Tarjamat al-Nawawī* by al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). Note the existence of an edition one year older than the one indicated in this catalogue, by Aḥmad Shafīq Damj (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1998), with notes.

[209][212] *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* by al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442). Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid's edition must now be added (London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2002–4), with notes and indexes.

[213] *Muʾallafāt Ibn Taymīyah* by "Ibrāhīm, the author's student" (!): probably the same text as the one presented in [8]. The late copyist limited his undertaking to Quran-related works, for which he listed approximately twenty titles.

[217][218] *Nuzhat al-Anām fī Maḥāsin al-Shām* by Ibn al-Badrī (d. 894/1489). An edition based on manuscript 9210, portrayed in description [218], has since been made by Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ (Damascus: Dār al-Bashāʾir, 2006), with notes and indexes.

This fine research tool provided by Martel-Thoumian compels us to dream of a time when conscientious editors may gain easy access to such sources as these. If, for instance, the number of manuscripts consulted in some Egyptian editions is limited, it is probably simply because the task of collating all known manuscripts often proves discouraging. Yet, this is no justification—intellectual endeavors must be judged by their own standards. Admittedly, research conditions in Arab countries are not yet conducive to progress. The complicated process involved in accessing the Damascus manuscripts is a most significant example of this.

Let us conclude by saying that the usefulness of this work will only be felt when similar endeavors are initiated and related to one another. Indeed, the study of a manuscript in isolation contributes nothing, in and of itself, to its intelligibility. It must rather be understood within the wider context of manuscript production, in which texts can be categorized according to manufacturing techniques or places of production. Other similar works would create a corpus of codicological studies, making a worthwhile investigation of manuscript production possible.

Finally, we express the hope that an Arabic edition of this catalogue might be published, thus offering encouragement to the numerous Arab editors and historians of the Mamluk period. The French text will remain inaccessible to the majority of these scholars, whose thirst for progress we do not question

YOSSEF RAPOPORT, *Marriage, Money and Divorce in Medieval Islamic Society* (Cambridge University Press, 2005). Pp. 137 + xii.

REVIEWED BY LI GUO, University of Notre Dame

The book under review is, to my knowledge, the first monograph in a western language that "sets out to explain the economic, legal and social causes of Muslim divorce in the Middle Eastern cities of Cairo, Damascus and Jerusalem in the Mamluk period (1250-1517)" (p. 4). In doing so, the author has utilized an impressive array of primary sources and recent scholarship, all woven into a narrative that is graced with clarity, precision, and erudition. The result is a splendid blend of social history and Islamic Studies (Islamic law in particular), of macroscopic breadth and microscopic minutiae, of solid quantitative analysis and fine storytelling.

In his introduction to the subject, scope, and sources, the author is quick to warn us that this is not "a grand narrative about patriarchy and Islam" (p. 7), nor does it touch upon *all* the issues related to marriage and family, among these the choice of spouses, polygamy and concubinage, love and sexuality (p. 11). In other words, this is not just another book on marriage and divorce, or gender and women, in Islam in general. Five chapters—the first three on economic issues and the last two on legal discourse—constitute the main narrative, followed by a short conclusion. In a sense, each chapter can be read separately as an independent essay on the given topic. (As a matter of fact, earlier versions of chapters 4 and 5 have been published elsewhere as independent papers.) But they all relate to one another within a grand framework: while the first three chapters focus on "money," namely, money brought into marriage, money earned outside of marriage, and money managed within a marriage, the last two "legal" chapters examine divorce in practical procedures and divorce/repudiation in practice and theory, respectively.

Chapter 1, "Marriage, divorce and the gender division of property," deals with the nuts and bolts of the economics in a Muslim marriage and divorce. Various forms of financial and monetary deals that were brought into a marriage are on display, under the rubrics of "the dowry," "dowry and inheritance," and "land, cash and credit." Here we witness the exquisite method at work, a remarkable feature of the book. The chapter starts off with an intriguing divorce case, which leads to a thorough pondering of the sources and some in-depth discussion, winding down with succinct summation and conclusion. The presentation of the individual cases does not stop at what the sources have to offer, but extends to an interpretation, with a modern sensibility, of legal opinions from various schools of Muslim legal

tradition (for example, pp. 17, 21, 23–24, etc.). The author posits the interesting argument that the exclusion of Mamluk elite women from receiving landed revenue as trousseaux, a practice that had been common in the Ayyubid time, pushed them towards the credit market to gain economic independence (pp. 22–25). However, the gender (or gendered) division of property was sometimes challenged, not by legal thinking, but rather by natural disaster, such as the Black Death. In such cases, large fortunes were temporarily moved to elite daughters out of anxiety, resulting in elite women, married or single, becoming major patrons of religious buildings (pp. 26–29). The phenomenon of Mamluk elite women becoming major patrons of religious endowments has long been noted by historians—Stephen Humphreys, Carl Petry, Jonathan Berkey, among others—and now, thanks to the present book, we have a better idea as to how and why this happened.

It may initially come as a surprise that the ensuing Chapter 2, "Working women, single women and the rise of the female *ribāṭ*," seems to step away from the topic of marriage and divorce, and instead explores some of the unknown, or least investigated, aspects of salaried women in and out of wedlock. The rationale for such a "side tour" is explained by the author, in his Introduction, as follows: for the majority of working women, dowries were of less value, and therefore an investigation of women's employment and wages is "crucial for an understanding of the balance of power that existed between husbands and wives, as well as for a comprehension of the phenomenon of frequent divorce" (p. 6). This chapter is for me the most unexpected, ground-breaking, and thought provoking segment of the book, not least because the medieval sources are notoriously silent on women living on the margins of society, but also because the subject of "working women" has yet to be adequately addressed in modern scholarship. Once again, the author is in total control of his sources and has done an admirable job in combing through historical narratives as well as literary texts, such as poetry, for fragmentary piecemeal materials. He has also successfully avoided the easy pitfall of sensationalizing the gender-sensitive subject (the phrase "working women" alone would surely bring about a dubious wince from some corners) by focusing on three socio-economic arenas where single women either shone or made their presence keenly felt: the textile industry, the women's shelter *(ribāṭ)*, and women immigrants in Jerusalem. The three segments deal with these arenas from different angles: professional, institutional, and demographic. While the discussion of women in the textile industry (spinning and embroidery were "the female professions par excellence" in the Islamic Near East, as we are told [p. 34]) dwells heavily on the well-known sources, such as the Cairo Geniza and S. Goitein's monumental synthesis of it, it has also incorporated recent scholarship, such as Bethany Walker's discussion of Mamluk textiles (pp. 37–38). With regard to elite single women's shelter/lodging, Remie Constable's book on the *funduq*

appeared too late for the author to consult. It would be very interesting to see if some comparison between the two would yield a new understanding of this fascinating issue. The picture of the immigrant women in Jerusalem depicted in this chapter is an intriguing one: some of them were probably, judging from the descriptions in the sources, "part-time spinners, part-time beggars and part-time pilgrims" (p. 49). Again, the survey relies on well-known sources, such as the Ḥaram documents and Huda Lutfi's examination of them, but Rapoport has also utilized some new and/or little used sources—namely three literary works—that shed light on working women in Mamluk Syria (p. 49). Although he does not treat these sources extensively, one can hope that more investigation and study are to come from the author.

Chapter 3, "The monetization of marriage," takes us once again back to Muslim marriage per se, or the monetary arrangements within a marriage, to be more precise. Various forms of domestic monetary and financial arrangements are discussed, among them the marriage gift *(ṣadāq),* marital support, and a cash allowance—ranging from food money *(idam),* clothing *(kiswah),* to "bed-fee" (*ḥaqq al-firāsh*; one ought to read the book to find out what is at stake here; pp. 60–61). The thematic discussion is followed, and illustrated, by a case study of the saga of Zumurrud, a slave-girl in Mamluk Jerusalem whose revolving-door marriages drive home the many points elucidated herein (pp. 64–68). This is the most fun chapter to read. What makes it even more enjoyable is the fact that all the colorful anecdotal accounts (from sources no less than Ibn Ṭawq, whose Damascene diary offers an endless supply of such material, among others) are accompanied by the author's careful number crunching, based on the documents (contracts, legal opinions, etc.).

As the book takes the commonly high divorce rate in the Islamic Near East as its starting point, chapter 4, "Divorce, repudiation and settlement," and chapter 5, "Repudiation and public power," dive into the thick of Islamic legal discourse regarding the institutional aspects of divorce and repudiation procedures, as well as their impact on society as a whole. Chapter 4 begins with a general outline of the issues and questions at stake, and proceeds to deal with several carefully chosen topics. The topics in this chapter include the various steps in a divorce case, stemming from the initial repudiation and leading to the final showdown in court, in both the Islamic courts (pp. 74–78) and the military courts (pp. 79–82). The chapter winds up with a synthesis of divorce in fifteenth-century Cairo (pp. 82–88). Chapter 5 tackles the rift between the state and the religious scholars over the use of repudiation, and more specifically the Sunni law regarding the use of divorce oaths. The discussion proceeds in two directions: one historical (pp. 91–96), in a survey and narration of the societal, cultural, and even linguistic, functions of divorce oaths in Mamluk society, and one legal (pp. 96–105), through a retelling

and contextualization of the failed "reform" championed by Ibn Taymīyah, which eventually got him into serious trouble. On the widely practiced use of divorce oaths in daily life situations, the author weaves a tapestry of individual scenes where divorce oaths were used in such a "baffling variety of social contexts" (p. 92)—such as in connection with financial obligations, in the marketplace, during quarrels, and associated with gift giving in popular literature (by the way, the *Arabian Nights,* which is essentially a Mamluk text, is also full of such expressions uttered by the characters in all the above-mentioned situations)—that they lost their true meaning and judicial function. The discussion of the legal hair-splitting regarding the fine line between real divorce oaths and subterfuges designed to circumvent them is based on a thorough reading of the sources and a careful re-construction of how the jurists and Everymen handled the challenge (pp. 93–96). The discussion of Ibn Taymīyah's attempted reform of the divorce oath is enhanced by a clear and nuanced analysis of his writings on the subject and their theological background and doctrinal ramifications. In the final analysis, as the author has strongly argued, the Sunni doctrine on divorce oaths "withstood Ibn Taymiyya's attack" (p. 105), in part due to the efforts of the state authorities to suppress the Hanbali's extremist dogma, and, more importantly, due to the fact that it never gained currency among jurists, let alone the common people, who continued using non-committal "divorce" oaths in their daily life as they pleased. "Ibn Taymiyya's attempt to reform the Sunni law on divorce oaths," as the author puts it, "highlights the inextricable link between the patriarchal order of the domestic sphere and the patriarchal values at the heart of the political and social order. Perhaps more than any individual story of failed marriage, the reaction of the Mamluk state to the ideas of Ibn Taymiyya demonstrates the crucial role of the institution of divorce within medieval Islamic society" (pp. 109–10). Hence the significance of the subject, which has received a superb and well-deserved treatment in this magnificent book.

There are many reasons to admire this book. For a serious scholarly work that tackles such an important topic on such a large scale, it is pleasantly readable: exquisitely compact and clear, free of dreadful jargon, and oftentimes amusing and fun. Not a single page is dull, insofar as theoretical discourse is always illustrated by a slew of case studies full of dicey dilemma, colorful personality, and dramatic punch. And it is typo-free; no small feat for a work with extensive quotes from Arabic material. What a treat!

CATERINA BORI, *Ibn Taymiyya: una vita esemplare: Analisi delle fonti classiche della sua biografia* (Pisa and Rome: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 2003) (Supplemento n. 1 alla Rivista degli studi orientali volume LXXVI). Pp. 234.

REVIEWED BY ARAM SHAHIN, University of Chicago

This monograph, originally presented as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Rome, grew out of the author's research into Ibn Taymīyah's *fatāwá* against the Mongols. The aim of the study is to analyze the representation or the image of Ibn Taymīyah as propounded by the various biographers of his life. The author does not offer a study of Ibn Taymīyah's doctrines or his thought, nor does she aim for a historical reconstruction of his biography. The critical analysis of the biographical material focuses on the texts composed during the eighth/fourteenth century (p. 19). The premise is that this biographical material must be read as a reflection of the conflicts that arose around Ibn Taymīyah and his authority. The biography is thus seen as a polemical and political instrument. It becomes a battleground in which the focus is not simply the authority of Ibn Taymīyah himself, but rather that of the individual or group whom he represents and which legitimizes or perpetuates its own social status by taking advantage of the image of Ibn Taymīyah (p. 20).

The author lays out the required steps for the study of Ibn Taymīyah as follows: (1) a comparison of all available versions of a notice or report; (2) the contextualization of each report, taking into account the formation of the writer, his *madhhab,* the group that he represents, and his relation to Ibn Taymīyah or to his adversaries; and (3) the identification of the doctrinal and moral model which Ibn Taymīyah needed to fit in order to recognize the more personal and individual characteristics of his image. The author also points out the importance of identifying the individual(s) for whom the biography was intended (p. 24). Following this approach, the study of the biographical tradition of an individual ought to reveal important information concerning the biographers themselves and of the social, political, and cultural context in which the portrayal of the individual is created (p. 24).

The division of the various chapters of the book does not follow a chronological pattern, but rather proceeds according to themes. The monograph itself is divided into two parts. Part one (pp. 27–59) is a description of the sources utilized in the study. Part two (pp. 61–170), comprising the bulk of the work, is dedicated to the study of various aspects of the biographical tradition concerning Ibn Taymīyah.

The author divides the sources that she utilized for her study into three categories: (1) biographical monographs and biographical notices in biographical dictionaries and chronicles; (2) chronicles; and (3) polemical texts composed

against Ibn Taymīyah or against the ideas of which he was a proponent. In chapter one, which comprises the entirety of part one, the author gives a brief description of the sources that she deems most important and that she utilized most frequently. This is not simply a description of the contents of each work accompanied by a short biographical notice of its author, but also a description of the sources utilized by the author of the work. The reader is thus introduced to the interconnectedness of all of these sources, as many depend on others and derive from them while sometimes presenting the information from a different perspective and with different aims.

The second chapter (pp. 63–110) is an evaluation of how the biographical tradition developed the material for the biography of Ibn Taymīyah with the focus being placed on four aspects: (1) the intellectual formation of Ibn Taymīyah; (2) the moral ideal attributed to him; (3) his polemical image; and (4) the formation of his myth.

With regard to the intellectual formation of Ibn Taymīyah (pp. 63–77), Bori points out a number of aspects that do not conform to the list of conventional *topoi* that one finds given in biographies of Muslim scholars in Islamic literary sources. One of these is the lack of mobility of Ibn Taymīyah during this formative period. Unlike what is usually described of other scholars, once the family of Ibn Taymīyah moved to Damascus, Ibn Taymīyah himself never traveled in search of teachers and knowledge. He, therefore, did not embark on the *riḥlah fī ṭalab al-ʿilm,* which seems to have been an essential part of the career of a religious scholar (pp. 66–67). Despite this, Ibn Taymīyah wrote a number of treatises on hadith. Thus, he was, as Bori remarks, "a *muḥaddith* without *riḥlah*" (p. 68). As such, Ibn Taymīyah cannot be considered a true *muḥaddith,* but rather an expert in the use and citation of Prophetic hadith as proofs in argumentation (ibid.). This would put in doubt the true value of some of the titles that are ascribed to him by some biographers. It is possible that such titulature was given to him to impress rivals and strengthen his credibility (pp. 68–70).

The absence of the *riḥlah* in the formative period of Ibn Taymīyah lends weight to the hypothesis that he obtained his education entirely in Damascus. The majority of his teachers who are mentioned in his biographies were Hanbalis and Damascenes. Those who were not originally from Damascus had moved there or passed by there, imparting their knowledge to Damascene students, thereby creating an inversion of the *riḥlah* model (pp. 69–70).

One aspect of the intellectual creativity of Ibn Taymīyah was his poetical compositions. Apparently, he was a mediocre poet who did not compose much poetry. Some critical biographers, like al-Dhahabī, point this out, whereas more adoring students, like Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, omit any mention of it. Whether the poetic inadequacy of Ibn Taymīyah was due to his austere nature and the revulsion that he

might have had towards poetry or to some other factor, remains an open question (pp. 70–72). However, if we wanted to suppose that he, following the admonition of some sayings attributed to the Prophet, shunned poetry for religious reasons, we would need to wonder why he bothered to compose any poetry at all.

There are two tendencies in the biographical sources in depicting Ibn Taymīyah: one makes him follow the model of Ibn Ḥanbal, while the other depicts him as an independent scholar who did not follow any particular juristic *madhhab* (p. 73). In the latter case, hagiographers tend to present the independence of Ibn Taymīyah as a positive aspect of his juristic thought. However, others, like al-Dhahabī, saw this in a negative light and condemned his teacher's break with the four legal *madhhab*s (pp. 75–77).

The exemplary model on which the biography of Ibn Taymīyah is based is that of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, while the moral ideal attributed to Ibn Taymīyah is based on two intertwined aspects: (1) the idea of *zuhd,* understood as total dedication to knowledge, extreme religious devotion, and detachment from worldly material attractions; and (2) activism and polemic in the struggle for a rigid and literal interpretation of the Quran and the Sunnah, which is expressed in the participation in public life with the conviction that this action is in the best interests of the community (p. 77). The *zuhd* of Ibn Taymīyah was expressed and described mainly through three aspects of his lifestyle: (1) his parsimony in nourishing himself; (2) his abhorrence of expensive clothing that might make him stand out from common people; and (3) his disinterest in money (pp. 78–82).

One interesting aspect of Ibn Taymīyah's life is his celibacy. As the author points out, despite the existence of a number of precedents for this, it is quite unusual for a Muslim religious scholar not to marry, as marriage is considered a *sunnah* of the Prophet and the foundation block of Islamic society. Bori suggests that Ibn Taymīyah might have been of the opinion, shared by a few other scholars, that marriage and family were an impediment from the proper pursuit of knowledge. However, the biographers of the Damascene celibate inserted the information concerning his celibacy within a discussion of his asceticism, probably in an attempt to disguise an aspect of his life that did not conform well to the Islamic model of a Muslim scholar (pp. 82–86).

Some of the more endearing qualities of Ibn Taymīyah's character were his confrontational and aggressive attitude. Some of his students applauded his relentlessness in standing up for his beliefs, but others lamented his uncouth manners and his attachment to polemics. There might have been an attempt by later Hanbali scholars to distance themselves from this aspect of Ibn Taymīyah's opinions and scholarship (pp. 86–91).

Bori selects two episodes from the biographical narratives of Ibn Taymīyah to show the creation of the mythos surrounding his character. The first episode is his

funeral, whereas the second one is his meeting with the Ilkhanid ruler Ghāzān.

The reports about the funeral of Ibn Taymīyah emphasize the attendance of large numbers of people, both men and women. Ironically, the reports also give details of popular commotion, excessive manifestations of grief, and acts of veneration and mass hysteria that accompanied the funeral—the kinds of behavior that Ibn Taymīyah had fought against during his own lifetime. The model on which the narrative of the funeral is based is that of Ibn Ḥanbal himself. The absence of three individuals who were associated with the governor of Damascus and were responsible in some way or another for the imprisonment and eventual death of Ibn Taymīyah is mentioned in the reports. This seems to be done in order to contrast the overwhelming popular presence at the funeral with the absence of an official representation, establishing a dichotomy between the people and the administration (pp. 92–99).

The second episode which Bori studies in detail is the meeting between Ibn Taymīyah and the Ilkhanid sovereign Ghāzān. Here, the author contrasts the information presented in chronicles with that given in biographies of Ibn Taymīyah. As is to be expected, the latter are more detailed, more dramatic, and accentuate more the role and character of Ibn Taymīyah (pp. 99–108). Bori seems to give more credence to the chronicles than to the biographies and describes how al-ʿUmarī "constructs" an episode and an anecdote (pp. 106–7). That biographies of Ibn Taymīyah would tend to eulogize and aggrandize him and to exaggerate certain points in his favor is to be expected. However, I do not see why chronicles should be considered more impartial and objective or why chroniclers should be considered more trustworthy than biographers. In some instances, the chronicler and the biographer were the same individual.

The third chapter of the book discusses the activism of Ibn Taymīyah. Bori begins by giving us glimpses of the activism, both military and religious, of a number of individuals who lived in the thirteenth century in Damascus. This is done for the purpose of contextualizing the activism of Ibn Taymīyah himself and to show the existence of tensions between religious groups, in particular between Hanbalis and Shafiʿis (pp. 112–17). The activism of Ibn Taymīyah himself is divided into:

(1) military activism, including: exhortation of governors and sultans to defend the Muslims from the Mongols; negotiating with the Mongols to secure the release of prisoners or the sparing of bloodshed; and participation in campaigns against the Mongols and against the Shiʿites in Lebanon (pp. 118–23). Bori notes that the most significant of Ibn Taymīyah's initiatives in this regard occurred during the years 698–705/1298–1305 (p. 118). She also sees a difference in the perspective of Syrian and Egyptian historiography with regard to Ibn Taymīyah's role in military events. Syrian historiography, especially that based in Damascus, portrays

Ibn Taymīyah as a local hero. On the other hand, Egyptian historiography often neglects to mention his interventions and participation in these events (p. 123).

(2) civil activism, including: the smashing of wine containers; the destruction of stones and idols that attracted people; and the disruption of chess games (pp. 123–30). Bori points out that none of Ibn Taymīyah's activism was directed against the authorities themselves, rather, contrary to the practice of Ibn Ḥanbal, Ibn Taymīyah cooperated with them and in his writings urged obedience to rulers.

Some sources imply that the reason behind Ibn Taymīyah's activism was his political ambitions, and some accusations were leveled against him of plotting sedition against the governorate of Damascus. Some of Ibn Taymīyah's supporters, like Ibn Kathīr, attributed these accusations to envy (pp. 131–33). Bori argues that the accusations and tribulations that Ibn Taymīyah suffered have to be seen within the larger framework of the conflict and competition between the different *madhhab*s and religious factions (pp. 136–39).

A contradictory image of Ibn Taymīyah thus arises in the biographical sources. There is an oscillation between the image of the wise ascetic who abstains from any contact with the political world following the model of Ibn Ḥanbal, and the image of an activist who willfully cooperates with those in power, especially in cases of military emergencies. However, this contradiction is balanced by the coherence of Ibn Taymīyah's actions and his political thought that envisaged a position of intermediary power for the ulama in Islamic society. Although this is a break with the original Hanbali position, it is echoed in the local Damascene Hanbali activism of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (p. 139).

The fourth and last chapter of the book provides a biographical study of some contemporaneous adversaries of Ibn Taymīyah and authors of polemics against him. The objectives of this study are three: (1) to identify the dynamics of social competition in Damascus at the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth century in which to place some of the tensions that were focused around Ibn Taymīyah; (2) to point out the themes over which he was mostly attacked; and (3) to give a portrait of Ibn Taymīyah as depicted by his adversaries (p. 141). It would seem that the role, social position, and doctrinal position of the polemicists are often more revealing than the contents of their writings themselves, which were a vehicle and symbol of the conflict, not its true essence (ibid.).

Bori begins by arguing for the correctness of the attribution of *Al-Naṣīḥah al-Dhahabīyah,* a critical letter addressed to Ibn Taymīyah, to his disciple al-Dhahabī (pp. 142–48). The letter strongly criticizes Ibn Taymīyah's excessively polemical attitude. It also shows Ibn Taymīyah's involvement in the struggle among the ulama to acquire prestige and authority through the control of the religious institutions of Damascus (pp. 147–48).

Bori then presents brief biographical sketches of five of the adversaries of Ibn

Taymīyah: four Syrian residents in Damascus and one Egyptian, three of whom were Shafiʿis, one Hanafi, and one Maliki (pp. 148–54). The author argues that the intellectual polemic against Ibn Taymīyah and the traditionalist group led by him cannot be separated from the battles for the control of teaching positions at religious institutions (p. 154).

Most of the writings of the five individuals presented in the previous section have not survived. On the other hand, the numerous writings of Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355–56) against Ibn Taymīyah have survived, and this allows for a more in-depth study of the polemics aimed at Ibn Taymīyah. The rest of the chapter is dedicated exclusively to the polemics of al-Subkī (pp. 155–69).

The book concludes with four appendices: (1) a description of biographies of Ibn Taymīyah that were deemed of secondary importance by Bori due to their brevity or derivative content (pp. 177–81); (2) a table listing the teachers of Ibn Taymīyah as given in seven sources (pp. 183–86); (3) a table listing the titles given to Ibn Taymīyah in eight sources (pp. 187–90); and (4) a translation of *Al-Naṣīḥah al-Dhahabīyah* (pp. 191–94).

This is a very interesting study that highlights a number of aspects of Ibn Taymīyah's life and the way that they have been portrayed by various writers who were mostly his contemporaries. For those readers who are approaching Ibn Taymīyah for the first time, it is advisable that they start by reading a standard biography of the scholar before immersing themselves in Bori's work so that they may become familiar with the general outline of the events of Ibn Taymīyah's life. However, for all the Ibn Taymīyah enthusiasts out there, this will be required reading and a necessary reference point for all future research on the Damascene scholar's life as well as the religious and social milieu in which he lived.

Having said that, I must point out that this must be the worst edited book that I have read—either that or it is the first one that I have read with any diligence. In the 177 pages of text, from the preface to the last appendix, I have found at least one error in 116 pages, or in about 66% of the pages of the book. This is quite frustrating for the reader, especially since the majority of these errors are obvious slips or typographical errors that should have been easily corrected. In what follows, I will mention a number of the more salient errors.

• The word Ǧumādā [Jumādá] that appears in the names of two lunar Islamic months has two long vowels and not just one, Ǧumāda, as given on pp. 46, 51, 53, 68, 82 (note 89), 120, 131 (note 80), 134, and 151.

• The Arabic equivalent of the name David is Dāʾūd or Dāwūd, with two long vowels, not Daʾūd or Dawūd as it appears in the name of Abū Dāʾūd on pp. 92 (note 133), 95 (in text and in note 151), 98, 130 (note 74), 195 (the bibliography), and 215 (the index).

• The name of the city on the Mediterranean coast is ʿAkkā, with a long vowel, not ʿAkka as given on pp. 122 (in the text and in note 41), 123, and 215 (the index).

• The name Ibn Ruššayq al-Maġribī is found on pp. 40 (in text and in note 54), 148 (note 30), and 221 (the index), and as Ibn al-Ruššayq al-Maġribī on pp. 148 (in the text) and 163 (in the text and in note 129). The name of the student of Ibn Taymīyah is actually Ibn Rushayyiq al-Maghribī (d. 749/1348 or 9), as is clearly voweled by Shams and al-ʿImrān.[1]

• The title of the work by Ibn Taghrībirdī is *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* not *al-Manḥal al-Ṣāfī* as given on pp. 40 (note 52), 43 (in the text and in note 74), 44 (notes 74, 75, and 76), 149 (note 40), 198 (twice, in the bibliography).

• Marğ al-Rāhiṭ on pp. 100, 104, and 105 (twice) should be corrected to Marğ Rāhiṭ.

• There is some confusion in the name of Ğahm b. Ṣafwān. The name is given correctly twice on p. 162, note 124, but in the same note and in the text on the same page as well as on p. 164, the name is incorrectly given as Ğahm b. Ṣufyān.

• Two works that are cited in the book are not listed in the bibliography: Ibn al-Ḥāğğ, *al-Madḫal al-šarʿ al-šarīf* [sic] on p. 80 (note 80),[2] and M. Sakhy, "al-Wāsiṭ," on p. 116 (note 21), that should be corrected to M. Sakly, "Wāsiṭ."

• On p. 41, note 59, the title of a second article by de Somogyi and its page numbers has been completely omitted, although it is listed in the bibliography on p. 212. In the bibliographic entry, in the title of the article, it is "Adh-Dhahabī's record" not "Adh-Dhahabī record," and the article appears in the *Ignace Goldziher Memorial Volume,* not the *Goldziher Memorial Volume,* as correctly given in note 59 on p. 41.

• On p. 42, note 67, Ğamāl al-Dīn Āqqūš al-Afram is identified as governor, first of Damascus from 698 to 709 AH (1298–1309/1310 AD), and then of Kark. Within the text on the same page, his death date is given as ca. 720 AH/1320–21 AD. This information is repeated in an article by the author, except that the death date of al-Afram is given for certain as 720 AH.[3] Throughout the article, Bori

[1] See *Al-Jāmiʿ li-Sīrat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyah (661–728) (khilāl Sabʿat Qurūn),* collected by Muḥammad ʿUzayr Shams and ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-ʿImrān (Mecca: Dār ʿĀlam al-Fawāʾid lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 1420/[1999]), 10–13 and 220. For biographical information on Ibn Rushayyiq, see the references on p. 11, note 3. On pp. 10–13, Shams and al-ʿImrān argue that Ibn Rushayyiq al-Maghribī is the author of a short work entitled "Asmāʾ Muʾallafāt Ibn Taymīyah" that has been attributed to Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah by some other scholars.

[2] The name of Ibn al-Ḥāğğ in the index on p. 220 is not placed in the correct alphabetical order, and neither is Ibn Ḫallikān nor Ibn Ḫaldūn.

[3] Caterina Bori, "A New Source for the Biography of Ibn Taymiyya," *Bulletin of the School of*

identifies the second place of his governorate as Kark (on pp. 42, 148, and 222). The correct place name is al-Karak, in central Jordan. Reuven Amitai reads the name of the individual as Aqūsh al-Afram.[4]

There is one major complaint that I have, and that is in the method of citation of modern Arab authors. Bori has taken the approach of citing these authors by using initials for the first and middle names. I cannot recommend this method at all and must insist on seeing the full names of the authors to avoid any possible confusion in their identities. This might work for Western authors (although I would like to see the full name of these fellows as well), but for Arabic authors it can be nightmarish. What exactly is one supposed to do with the author identified simply as M. Y. Mūsā (p. 18, note 30)?[5] This system also fails to indicate compound names. For example, ʿA. ʿA. al-Marāġī (ibid.) is supposed to be the abbreviation for ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Marāġī. But how can the reader know whether the two *ʿayns* represent the initials of two separate names or whether they are indeed representing the given compound name? And what exactly happened to the definite article in front of the second *ʿayn*?[6] Bori herself is inconsistent, as she sometimes cites some scholars with their full name, while at other times she only gives the scholar's last name. As is to be expected, the use of abbreviated names has led her to commit some errors. For example, on p. 18, note 30, Ṣ. ʿA. al-Ḥāmid is supposed to stand for Ṣāʾib ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. The author of *Tarjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyah* is Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, not ʿA. al-Kurdī. On p. 24, note 56, the editor's name is not ʿA. Ğ. al-Faryawāʾī, but ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Faryawāʾī. I think that it is always best to give the full name of all cited scholars, especially those with Arabic names.

Oriental and African Studies 67, pt. 3 (2004): 344, note 35. This article is an edition, translation, and study of a biography of Ibn Taymīyah by his student Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347 or 48) given the title *Nubdhah min Sīrat Shaykh al-Islām Taqī al-Dīn ibn Taymīyah.*

[4] Reuven Amitai, "The Remaking of the Military Elite of Mamlūk Egypt by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn," *Studia Islamica* 72 (1990): 159–60.

[5] The full name of the scholar is Muḥammad Yūsuf Mūsá.

[6] The same problem arises with the name of the scholar Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, whose full name is cited a number of times, but at others is abbreviated as Ṣ. D. al-Munajjid.

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Arabic Transliteration System

Romanized Arabic in *Mamlūk Studies Review* follows the Library of Congress conventions, briefly outlined below. A more thorough discussion may be found in *American Library Association-Library of Congress Romanization Tables* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1991).

ء	’	خ	kh	ش	sh	غ	gh	م	m
ب	b	د	d	ص	ṣ	ف	f	ن	n
ت	t	ذ	dh	ض	ḍ	ق	q	ه	h
ث	th	ر	r	ط	ṭ	ك	k	و	w
ج	j	ز	z	ظ	ẓ	ل	l	ي	y
ح	ḥ	س	s	ع	‘				
		ة	h, t (in construct)			ال	al-		

ـَ	a	ـُ	u	ـِ	i
ـً	an	ـٌ	un	ـٍ	in
آ	ā	ُو	ū	ِي	ī
َا	ā	ُوّ	ūw	ـِيّـ	īy (medial), ī (final)
ى	á	َو	aw	َي	ay
				َيّ	ayy

Avoid using apostrophes or single quotation marks for ʿ*ayn* and *hamzah*. Instead use the Unicode characters ʿ (02BF) and ʾ (02BE).

Capitalization in romanized Arabic follows the conventions of American English; the definite article is always lower case, except when it is the first word in an English sentence. The *hamzah* is not represented when beginning a word, following a prefixed preposition or conjunction, or following the definite article. Assimilation of the *lām* of the definite article before “sun” letters is disregarded. Final inflections of verbs are retained, except in pausal form; final inflections of nouns and adjectives are not represented, except preceding suffixes and except when verse is romanized. Vocalic endings of pronouns, demonstratives, prepositions, and conjunctions are represented. The hyphen is used with the definite article, conjunctions, inseparable prepositions, and other prefixes. Note the exceptional treatment of the preposition *li-* followed by the article, as in *lil-sulṭān*. Note also the following exceptional spellings: Allāh, billāh, lillāh, bismillāh, miʾah, and ibn (for both initial and medial forms). Words not requiring diacritical marks, though following the conventions outlined above, include all Islamic dynasties, as well as the following terms: Quran, sultan, amir, imam, shaykh, Sunni, Shiʿi, and Sufi. Common place-names should take the common spelling in American English. Names of archaeological sites should follow the convention of the excavator.

MAMLŪK STUDIES REVIEW

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The University of Chicago

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Mamlūk Studies Review is a biannual refereed journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648–922/1250–1517). It appears in January and July. Beginning with volume XIII, no. 1, *Mamlūk Studies Review* will no longer appear in conventional print format, but will continue as an open-access online publication. The goals of Mamlūk Studies Review are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, nurture communication within the field, and promote further research by encouraging the critical discussion of all aspects of this important medieval Islamic polity. The journal includes both articles and reviews of recent books. Submissions of original work on any aspect of the field are welcome, although the editorial board will periodically issue volumes devoted to specific topics and themes. Mamlūk Studies Review also solicits edited texts and translations of shorter Arabic source materials (waqf deeds, letters, fatāwá and the like), and encourages discussions of Mamluk era artifacts (pottery, coins, etc.) that place these resources in wider contexts. Transliterated Middle Eastern languages should conform to the system utilized by the Library of Congress. All questions regarding style should be resolved through reference to The Chicago Manual of Style, 14th edition. Submissions should be composed with current word-processing software, and if possible should use a Unicode font, such as Charis SIL (see the website below for further information). Submissions may be made via email, but authors must also send a printed copy and a labeled CD-ROM which includes the article, all figures and illustrations, and any special fonts used. Articles which diverge widely from format and style guidelines may not be accepted, and illustrations which do not meet the requirements set forth by the editors may not be usable.

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The Bruce D. Craig Prize for Mamluk Studies

The Bruce D. Craig Prize, carrying a cash award of $1,000, is given annually by *Mamlūk Studies Review* for the best dissertation on a topic related to the Mamluk Sultanate submitted to an American or Canadian university during the preceding calendar year. In the event no dissertations are submitted, or none is deemed to merit the prize, no prize will be awarded. To be considered for the 2009 Prize, dissertations must be defended by December 31, 2009, and submitted to the Prize Committee by January 31, 2010. Submissions should be sent to:

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Previous Prize Winners:
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2005: Zayde G. Antrim, Harvard University, "Place and Belonging in Medieval Syria, 6th/12th to 8th/14th Centuries."

2006: Nahyan A. G. Fancy, University of Notre Dame, "Pulmonary Transit and Bodily Resurrection: The Interaction of Medicine, Philosophy and Religion in the Works of Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 1288)."

2007: No prize was awarded.

2008: No prize was awarded.

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BOOK REVIEWS



Bruce Craig
University of Chicago

Winslow W. Clifford, 1954–2009

The teachers, colleagues, and friends of Wyn Clifford at the University of Chicago regarded him as a young scholar of uncommon promise. Had his career not been interrupted some twenty years ago by the first in a series of recurring cancers, there is no doubt he would have produced a much larger body of important scholarship in the field of Mamluk studies. Instead, from his early thirties onward, his daily existence was dominated by his determined, stoic will to survive. That he managed to do so for so long is remarkable and is a tribute to his grit and valor. He died on February 6 in Whittier, California. With his passing, our field has lost someone special.

Winslow Williams Clifford was born on September 13, 1954, in the Army hospital at the Presidio in San Francisco, California. At the age of 5, he moved with his family to Japan, where his father, Carleton, a colonel in the Army Corps of Engineers, was sent to work in the reconstruction after World War II. When the family returned to the U.S. after a lengthy stay in Japan, they settled in Whittier, where Wyn graduated from La Serna High School. He then entered Pomona College, in Claremont, California, from which he graduated, with honors, in 1975, with a degree in Early Modern European (Economic) History.

Wyn arrived at the University of Chicago at the age of 22 in 1976. Even though he would eventually spend more than half his life in Chicago, he pointedly clung to his Californian persona. He had come to Chicago to study Byzantine history, and in 1978 he was awarded a Master's degree in History, after defending his thesis "The Life of St. Theodore of Sykeon: Socio-Economic Aspects of the Byzantine East on the Eve of the Muslim Conquest," which he wrote under the direction of Walter E. Kaegi.

At some point in his studies, he developed an interest in Arab history. He then embarked on the study of Syro-Egypt, focusing on the history of the Mamluk Sultanate. During the next few years he occupied himself with an intensive reading program, formal seminars on Middle Eastern history, and learning Arabic, a task at which he was entirely self-taught, owing to his impatience with the conventional way in which it was taught. During these years he also worked as a research assistant, instructor, and librarian.

In 1994, while still a graduate student, he published two important articles in the influential German journal Der Islam on the relations between the Mamluk Sultanate and the Safavid rulers of Iran. These articles were based on a research paper he wrote for a seminar conducted by his mentor, John E. Woods. They

displayed a striking level of intellectual maturity, and announced his arrival on the scholarly scene. The very next year he submitted his Ph.D. dissertation "State Formation and the Structure of Politics in Mamluk Syro-Egypt, 1250–1340." In his dissertation, he introduced a new level of analysis in Mamluk history based on social theory. His skillful interpretation of Mamluk politics using models of social theory, much of which had been developed by a group of sociologists of the so-called "Chicago School," was immediately recognized as ground-breaking and revolutionary, and established for him a unique niche in the field. It is a great pity that it was never published so that it could have reached a wider audience. His intention to expand and amplify it for publication was never realized.

In 19Ḻ̄7, he was among a handful of scholars at the University of Chicago who founded this journal. He served as book review editor of MSR for a number of years, and contributed several influential articles, most importantly "Ubi Sumus? Mamluk History and Social Theory," in which he called for a wider application of social theory to the analysis of Mamluk history.

Wyn was widely esteemed for his intellectual prowess and ability to articulate scholarly issues. His passing has deprived the field of one of its most promising voices. He was a man of refined taste; he loved vintage cars (especially BMWs), and appreciated the cut of a finely-tailored Italian wool suit. He was legendarily at home in the kitchen and knew his way around a wine cellar. Curiously, he never visited the Middle East. He is survived by his former wife, Mary Montgomery, of Chicago, and his fiancée, Elena Medellin, of Whittier.

Introduction

When Donald Little wrote his influential article on "Religion under the Mamluks" in 1983, his focus was on the religious beliefs and practices of the Mamluks themselves. Little comes to the conclusion that "out of religious conviction and personal piety in some instances but also with an acute sense of their own welfare," they strove "to keep diverse religious forces in Egypt and Syria in a state of equilibrium."[1] Since then great progress has been made, as Emil Homerin's detailed, comprehensive survey of the study of Islam in the Mamluk period demonstrates.[2] The ulama are now seen as a heterogeneous group exhibiting a wide range of religious opinions. Furthermore, Sufism as well as what could be called popular religion have attracted much interest in the last few years. Homerin thus summarizes that "a two-tier model of religion with a high faith of a literate elite above the vulgar superstitions of the masses is an inaccurate and misleading description of religion in the Mamluk period." Rather, "a wide array of regional and cultural interpretation and expression" of Islam could be found.[3]

It seems that recent study of religion in the Mamluk period has produced a quite nuanced and differentiated picture of Muslim society. However, Homerin was well aware of the fact that "in Mamluk domains, religion had three major instantiations: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam."[4] Indeed the Mamluk state as other states in the eastern Mediterranean was characterized by its multi-ethnic and multi-religious character. Only an interdisciplinary approach will make it possible to illustrate the complexity of its social reality.[5] The study of Sufism has already helped to widen Mamluk studies to include non-Muslim communities.[6] However, one of the best examples for a new cross-cultural approach is Tamer El-Leithy's still unpublished dissertation on Coptic culture and conversion in Mamluk Cairo. Using legal documents in addition to other sources, El-Leithy reconstructs everyday social practices and settlement patterns of converts and their families which quite often maintained their Christian faith.[7]

Thus, it is the goal of this theme issue of *Mamlūk Studies Review* to bring

[1] Donald P. Little, "Religion under the Mamluks," *Muslim World* 73 (1983): 181.

[2] Th. Emil Homerin, "The Study of Islam in the Mamluk Domain," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9, no. 2 (2005): 1-30.

[3] Ibid., 29.

[4] Ibid., 1.

[5] See Johannes Pahlitzsch, "Mediators Between East and West: Christians Under Mamluk Rule," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9, no. 2 (2005): 31-47.

[6] See Richard McGregor's contribution to this volume with further references.

[7] Tamer El-Leithy, "Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo, 1293–1524 A.D.," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2005).

together scholars working on Islamic history and scholars interested in the history of oriental Christian or Jewish communities as a first step for interdisciplinary research on religion and religious culture in the Mamluk period. For the Muslim part of the society, Jonathan Berkey examines in his article on "Mamluk Religious Policy" the complex and nuanced relationship between religious and political authority. The most consistent feature of what could be called the religious policy of the Mamluks was the cultivation of a symbiotic relationship of the Mamluks with the ulama. Besides defending Syria and Egypt against the Mongols, the Mamluks' main service to Islam consisted, according to Berkey, in embracing the active and munificent support of the religious establishment which in exchange validated the Mamluk regime.

While Berkey's paper deals mainly with the Mamluks, Daniella Talmon-Heller studies how the ulama, the ones who possess *ʿilm* (knowledge of the religious sciences) secured power and prestige under the Ayyubids and Mamluks. It seems that the mastery of religious knowledge implied also the authority to mediate and intercede *(shafāʿah),* and the capacity to bestow spiritual and material blessing *(barakah),* at times through the manifestation and manipulation of metaphysical power *(karamāt)*. Muslim sainthood was obviously not reserved to Sufism.

One of the most influential as well as controversial religious scholars of the Mamluk period was Ibn Taymīyah. However, without students who were engaged in activities of copying, abridging, and commenting on his work, he would not have achieved the prominent position he still has today for many Muslims. Caterina Bori studies the process of the formation of a circle of students and the transmission of Ibn Taymīyah's writings. Actually, by the time of his death the status of Ibn Taymīyah was more problematic and less consolidated than we are accustomed to considering it. So it is thanks to the action of a few determined students that his work was preserved and disseminated.

Ibn Taymīyah was a fervent advocate of his idea of Islam. However, to use the terms "orthodox" and "heretic" in this context is problematic. Richard McGregor points out that these terms have their roots in European intellectual history. For Islam it seems more appropriate to use the term "orthodox" as a historically determined qualifier indicating a position of relative dominance, rather than for signifying a supposedly unchanging and ahistorical core of doctrinal commitments. Especially with regard to Sufism these categories are of little analytical value.

Ibn Taymīyah also participated in the theological debate with an unknown Christian writer from Cyprus who sent his apologetic treatise to Ibn Taymīyah and his contemporary Muḥammad Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī at the beginning of the fourteenth century. This provoked both Muslim scholars to write long and disparaging replies which constitute the most substantial correspondence in the history of Christian-Muslim relations. David Thomas presents the Christian

text and al-Dimashqī's answer and analyzes the very different attitudes towards the respective opponent. While al-Dimashqī seems more concerned to appeal to Muslims and was not engaged on any deep level with the Christian treatise, the Christian author obviously hoped to start a serious debate in which his arguments were weighed dispassionately.

Contact between Christians and Muslims in the realm of art is studied by Lucy-Anne Hunt in her article on an illuminated Arab gospel book from the Coptic Museum in Cairo. The large size of the book and its pristine state indicates that it was intended to impress. Maybe one of its purposes was also to dissuade those who may have been tempted to convert to Islam. Its style of decoration points to a discourse representing Arab Christian culture within, and sensitive to, its Islamic environment.

The last contribution deals with the relations of the Jews with the ruling elite. Marina Rustow questions the stereotypical view of the Jews as passive victims of an oppressive Mamluk regime. Indeed this picture is based in many cases on the impression given by Muslim and Jewish sources, which both for different reasons tend to present the events as coming about on the initiative of the Muslims—be it the sultan and his amirs or the qadi—while in reality the Jews manipulated them to serve their own political aims.

Certainly the articles collected in this issue do not cover all aspects of the religious life of Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Mamluk period. Papers on the Coptic community, the Syrian Orthodox church or other Christian communities, as well as articles on Jewish religious beliefs and practices at the time would have been welcome. What is particularly missing are further studies on the relationship of Muslims with Christians from the Islamicists' side. There is a certain danger in seeing the society of Mamluk Egypt and Syria almost exclusively as an Islamic entity. The influence as well as the numbers of the non-Muslim communities might have declined from the thirteenth century on, but still these groups must be taken into account as important factors of social life under the Mamluks despite the partial view of the sources that were written in their majority by the ulama.

Johannes Pahlitzsch
Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz
Guest Editor

Jonathan P. Berkey
Davidson College

Mamluk Religious Policy

Al-Islām dawlah wa-dīn, runs a well-known adage in the Muslim world, one translated very imperfectly as "Islam is both a state and a religion." The relationship between political and religious authority has been subject to distinctive pressures in the Muslim world, and it consequently has developed along a very different course than that with which most societies in the West are familiar. At the time of Muḥammad and the very early caliphs, there was probably little if any separation between the two. The subsequent history of the relationship between political and religious authority is, however, much more complex. With the gradual emergence of a distinctive group of religious scholars, the ulama, a locus of authority arose which challenged the undifferentiated character of the caliphs' power. The failure of al-Maʾmūn's *miḥnah* in the ninth century is sometimes, and with reason, taken to mark a fundamental turning point: that the ulama and not the caliphs (or, indeed, subsequent Islamic rulers who held different titles) were recognized as the ultimate arbiters of matters of doctrine. But the fallout of the *miḥnah* entailed nothing like a separation of church and state, and political authority remained deeply entwined with the religious authority exercised by the ulama. The power of caliphs, amirs, and sultans was conceptualized and justified in explicitly religious terms, and the fundamental purpose of any Islamic state was to implement the shariʿah, the law articulated by the jurists.

By the time of the rise of the Mamluk regime in the middle of the thirteenth century, more than six hundred years had elapsed since the rise of Islam—more than six hundred years of complex development in the relationship between political and religious authority. From a certain standpoint (including that of the Salafists in the contemporary world), this development was largely one of linear decline. Each turn of Islamic history brought with it a further distancing from the norms and ideals established in the foundational narratives. The caliphs had adopted the trappings and attitudes of mere monarchs; the caliphs' political authority was supplanted by that of amirs and sultans; finally the caliphs, who in at least residual form marked a sort of chain of "apostolic" authority, were swept away by the Mongol tide. In this view, the rise of the Mamluk regime became a benchmark for what we could almost call a "secularization," unwanted and un-Islamic, of political authority. The Mamluks themselves were of non-Muslim origin; they frequently indulged in frankly un-Islamic behavior; and they had

overthrown a regime (that of the Ayyubids) that many Muslims had come to revere for its services in restoring the religion and the political fortunes of Islam in the eastern Mediterranean.

In fact, of course, the religious character of the Mamluk regime, and the relationship between religious and political authority under its rule, was much more complex and nuanced. One of the dominant themes of scholarship about the Mamluks over the last three decades has been to assert and trace the close and in many cases symbiotic relations between the political and religious establishments. For all that they might complain about the behavior of individual Mamluks, the ulama were generally appreciative of the regime and its services to the faith—whether that meant protecting it from external enemies, such as the Mongols and Crusaders, or providing the infrastructure of religious life at home. Through those moments at which political and religious authority intersected, we can trace the outlines of the religious policies of the Mamluk state.

Religious *policies*—although not, perhaps, a religious policy. It is difficult to discern an overriding, clearly-defined religious objective of the Mamluk state, or a coordinated series of sustained activities designed to accomplish a broad religious goal. It is much easier to detect such a coordinated policy in the earlier Sunni regimes which, to some degree, provided models for the Mamluks. The Saljuqs in Iraq and Iran, for example, particularly under their vizier Niẓām al-Mulk, deliberately sought to strengthen the institutional infrastructure and ideological matrix of Sunni Islam in the face of the challenge posed by both Ismaʿili and Twelver Shiʿism. The Ayyubids in Syria and Egypt, a more proximate model for the Mamluks, also left evidence of a coordinated religious policy. Their construction and endowment of madrasahs, and their efforts to promote and extend the authority of jurists and the various schools of law *(madhāhib),* served both to revitalize a Sunni community which (in Egypt) had atrophied under Fatimid rule, and to circumscribe the aspirations of a renascent Christian population emboldened by the prominence of Christian officers and soldiers under the later Fatimids—and also, perhaps, to provide a symbolic response to the perceived threat of the Christian Crusaders.[1] In both the Saljuq and Ayyubid cases, the religious challenges were clear—whether they emanated from Twelver crowds in the city of Baghdad, or Ismaʿili Assassins in their redoubts in Iran and the Jazirah, or Crusader principalities in Syria, or Armenian warriors controlling the apparatus of the state in Fatimid Egypt. Consequently, the responses of the new Sunni regimes to those challenges were equally clear.

[1] Ira M. Lapidus, "Ayyubid Religious Policy and the Development of the Schools of Law in Cairo," *Colloque internationale sur l'histoire du caire* (Cairo, 1969), 279–86; Gary L. Leiser, "The *Madrasa* and the Islamization of the Middle East: The Case of Egypt," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 22 (1985): 29–47.

By contrast, there is an ad hoc and pragmatic feel to the religious policies of the Mamluk sultans. Individual sultans responded to particular religious crises and questions, but continuity between the religious policies of one ruler and his successors was mostly fortuitous rather than planned. There are any number of reasons why this should have been the case. In part it simply reflects the limited and extemporaneous character of most pre-modern political structures. In part it reflects the long duration of Mamluk rule and the differing circumstances faced by Mamluk rulers over that long period of time. (A similar stretch at the beginning of Islamic history would lead from the state of the Prophet at Medina, through the rule of the "rightly-guided" caliphs, through that of the Umayyads and early Abbasids, to the time of the *miḥnah* and beyond. What "religious policy" could be discerned in that broad sweep of history?) Above all, perhaps, the absence of a continuous religious policy reflects the contentious and factional character of Mamluk politics. The overriding concern of individual Mamluks was to acquire and retain power; what we might call ideological or theoretical concerns were distinctly secondary.[2]

Not surprisingly, the clearest evidence of a deliberate religious policy can be found in accounts of the earliest Mamluk sultans, especially Baybars (r. 1260–77). It is possible that this is an optical illusion, generated by the fact that Baybars' reign has been studied more thoroughly than that of any other Mamluk ruler. But more likely it reflects Baybars' response to the particular circumstances he faced, which required a more conscious and deliberate religious policy. Baybars was not the first Mamluk to rule, but he was in many ways the effective founder of the Mamluk state and was responsible for justifying the Mamluk seizure of power; the policies he adopted continued, often simply through inertia, to serve his successors thereafter. Moreover, external religious challenges were still palpable in the mid and late thirteenth century, in the form of Christian Crusaders and pagan Mongols. Most importantly, Baybars operated under the shadow of Ayyubid rulers (the memory of whom was still fresh), and many of his religious policies can be viewed as building upon those of his predecessors.

Baybars cemented the centrality of jihad as a foundation of his state—a stance that was of course consistent with that of most medieval Sunni regimes. For Baybars, as for the Ayyubids, the principal threats were both external and religious: Christian Crusaders and pagan Mongols. That fortuitous combination tended to sharpen the ideological importance of jihad—that is, to mark this religious duty as an aspect of state policy. As one of the heroes of the Mamluk victory over the Mongols in Syria, Baybars stood out as a *mujāhid*. It was he who set in motion the series of campaigns which ultimately resulted in the final expulsion of the Crusaders from

[2] See Robert Irwin, "Factions in Medieval Egypt," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1986): 228–46, esp. 236–37.

Palestine. His status as a holy warrior made the defense of Islam through jihad one of the principal pillars of Mamluk legitimacy, which it remained to the end of the regime. The language of both the literary record, especially chronicles of the period, and also official documents and decrees, reinforced the ideal of the sultan as *mujāhid*. Subjects of the Mamluks were reminded of their rulers' status as wagers of jihad in myriad ways. As Stephen Humphreys has speculated, even the external decoration of the congregational mosque constructed by Baybars in the northern suburbs of Cairo, which reminds the observer less of a mosque than a fortress, may have been intended to link the Mamluk regime with the fortunes of "Sunni Islam militant and triumphant."[3]

But jihad was as broad and malleable a principle in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries as it is in the twenty-first, and the Mamluk regime's rhetorical and ideological commitment to it should not suggest that they engaged in a continuous policy of fighting Islam's external enemies. When threats appeared, the Mamluks responded to them. Qalāwūn continued and all but brought to fruition Baybars' campaign against the remaining Crusader forces in Palestine (he died just as the Mamluk army that would conquer Acre was leaving Cairo)—an event which the Muslim historians trumpeted as full of religious import, although from Qalāwūn's perspective the campaign may have loomed larger for its commercial significance and its strategic relationship to the Mamluk war against the Ilkhanids.[4] Even after the Crusaders had been driven from Palestine, the possibility of a new Crusader threat loomed over the Mamluks and their subjects—a threat that was not entirely fanciful, as the attack of Peter of Lusignan on Alexandria in 1365 would make clear. Concern over this perceived threat was one factor driving Barsbāy's invasion of Cyprus in 1426. But with the slow evaporation of the Crusader threat, and with the conversion of the Ilkhanids to Islam, the powerful and convenient concatenation of military and religious threats was broken. The strategic rivals of the later Mamluks were mostly Muslims—the Ak-Koyunlus, for example, or the Ottomans. In this altered environment, the obligation of struggling on behalf of religion might be understood differently—as confronting internal Muslim challenges to accepted Sunni norms or doctrines, for example, or even simply supporting the institutions and scholars who propagated the faith.[5]

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[3] R. Stephen Humphreys, "The Expressive Intent of the Mamluk Architecture of Cairo: A Preliminary Essay," *Studia Islamica* 35 (1972): 89–90.

[4] Donald Little, "The Fall of Akka," in *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon,* ed. Moshe Sharon (Leiden, 1986), 159–81; Linda Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689 A.H./1279–1290 A.D.)* (Stuttgart, 1998), 126–58, esp. 156–57.

[5] Cf. the remarks of Stephen Humphreys concerning the Ayyubids, "Ayyubids, Mamluks, and the Latin East in the Thirteenth Century," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 1–17.

A more concrete policy adopted by Baybars to legitimate his rule was his decision to recognize a member of the Abbasid family and refugee from the Mongol destruction of Baghdad as caliph in Cairo—or more accurately, to recognize in rapid succession two such Abbasid refugees. These two individuals, al-Mustanṣir and then al-Ḥākim, were the first of a series of Abbasids who reigned as caliphs in Cairo until its conquest by the Ottomans in 1517, although few outside Egypt recognized their authority. (There were some exceptions, foreign rulers who sought formal investiture from the caliphs, including the sultans of Delhi.) Few within Egypt took their authority seriously either, beyond recognizing the caliphs as titular heads of the Islamic community. For the most part, the caliphs of Cairo wielded no power; some lived under what amounted to house arrest. The historian al-Maqrīzī painted a dismissive portrait of the caliphs of Cairo, deprived of real power and reduced to flitting on holidays from the houses of the Mamluk amirs to those of the chief scribes and judges.[6] Their anomalous and marginal political position has given rise to a well-developed scholarly literature analyzing the historical significance of the Abbasid caliphate of Cairo.

For Baybars, the recognition of the Abbasid caliphs was a deliberate choice, taken with very specific objectives in mind. Most importantly, of course, it represented an effort to confer legitimacy on the new Mamluk regime in accordance with the tenets of traditional Islamic political theory—that is, to make the new regime more palatable in the eyes of the ulama and a pious public. Not only had the Mamluks only recently come to power by overthrowing the respected Ayyubids, but Baybars himself was responsible for the murder of his Mamluk predecessor, Quṭuz—a violent seizure of power which might well be attenuated by a stamp of caliphal approval. On this point most recent studies agree, although they differ on how significantly Baybars' recognition of the caliph figured in his broader effort to legitimize his regime. But a caliph sitting in Cairo could serve Baybars in more immediate ways, too, particularly in helping to draw the newly-converted ruler of the Golden Horde, Berke Khan, into an alliance against his Mongol cousins and the Mamluks' principal strategic rival, the Ilkhanids.[7] After this, however, the caliphs played little political role. Baybars' recognition of the Abbasid caliph was a decision which, once taken, became for later sultans simply part of the background fabric of political life in Mamluk Egypt—a product of political inertia, rather than a matter for conscious policy-making.

On the other hand, that inertia was not something the Mamluks could ignore, for all that they ignored the particular holders of the caliphal office. Chroniclers

[6] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk* (Cairo, 1934–73), 1:41.

[7] P. M. Holt, "Some Observations on the ʿAbbasid Caliphate of Cairo," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47 (1984): 501–50; Reuven Amitai-Preiss, "The Fall and Rise of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 116 (1996): 492.

of the period often mark the beginning of each reign, or each year, by listing the chief holders of political and religious offices, and the caliph routinely appears at the top of the list.[8] Some contemporary writers dismissed the traditional insistence of Islamic political theory that the authority of a Muslim government depended on the delegation of power from an imam or caliph of the Quraysh tribe—that is, that the only legitimate source of political authority was a Qurashī caliph, which the Abbasids were.[9] But others did not. The Shafiʿi jurist Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah, author of one of the most important Mamluk-era treatises on political authority, recognized that the caliphs might in fact have delegated all effective authority to the sultans; nonetheless he retained, at least as an ideal, the ancient principle that that authority should be properly delegated from a Qurashī imam.[10] After Baybars' re-establishment of the Abbasid line in Cairo, future sultans would mark their accession with a formal ceremony during which the caliph would delegate his powers to the new ruler and bestow on him a robe of investiture.[11] The residual hold of the idea of the caliphate on the Mamluks' Muslim subjects was profound—witness, for example, the historical writings of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, who even at the end of the Mamluk period could insist on the imperative of caliphal authority.[12] In the end, the position of the caliphs under the Mamluks was inherently anomalous: no Mamluk sultan could even contemplate a policy of completely dispensing with the caliph, but neither did any Mamluk sultan feel compelled to pay the caliph much attention.

A more proactive and innovative policy of Baybars concerns his decision to

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[8] For one example among many, see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1929–72), 15:222.

[9] Wilferd Madelung, "A Treatise of the Imamate Dedicated to Sultan Baybars I," *Proceedings of the 14th Congress of the Union européenne des arabisants et islamisants* (Budapest, 1995), Part 1:91–102.

[10] Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah, *Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām fī Tadbīr Ahl al-Islām,* ed. Hans Kofler, "Handbuch des islamischen Staats- und Verwaltungsrechtes von Badr-ad-Din Ibn Ǧamaʿah," *Islamica* 6 (1934): 349–414 and 7 (1935): 1–64. See esp. 6:355–65.

[11] For one example of such a ceremony, see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 10:4–5. However, the subordinate political position of the caliphs is often evident in the ceremonies of investiture, or in the language with which the historians describe them—in which, for example, the caliphs, along with the qadis and others, were "summoned" to participate. See, for example, ibid., 15:526.

[12] Especially in *Tārīkh al-Khulafāʾ* (Cairo, 1964) and *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah* (Cairo, 1967). Cf. Jean-Claude Garcin, "Histoire, opposition politique et piétisme traditionaliste dans le *Husn al-muhadarat* de Suyuti," *Annales islamologiques* 7 (1967): 33–89. On the continuing resonance of the *idea* of the caliphate with both the ulama and the common people, see Lutz Wiederhold, "Legal-Religious Elite, Temporal Authority, and the Caliphate in Mamluk Society: Conclusions Drawn from the Examination of a 'Zahiri Revolt' in Damascus in 1386," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31 (1999): 203–35.

appoint four qadis, one for each of the principal schools of Islamic law—a policy which has also generated considerable discussion in the secondary literature. In this matter, it is again possible to trace continuity between Baybars' action and developments under the Ayyubids and even earlier Sunni rulers. We are accustomed to thinking of the mutual recognition of the four *madhāhib* and their acknowledgement of the legitimacy of each as characteristic of Sunni Islam, although in fact it only gradually emerged as such over the medieval period.[13] Already in the twelfth century, the sultan Nūr al-Dīn had appointed qadis belonging to the four *madhāhib* in the territories he ruled in Syria.[14] The Ayyubid ruler al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ (r. 1240–49) established a madrasah in Cairo with provisions for the instruction of jurisprudence according to all four of the *madhāhib*—the first of its kind in Egypt, although many of those constructed and endowed by the Mamluks followed this pattern as well. Before formally appointing qadis according to all four schools, Baybars had instructed the Shafiʿi qadi Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz to appoint three deputies, one for each of the Hanafi, Maliki, and Hanbali *madhāhib*. Al-Maqrīzī saw Baybars' decision to appoint four chief qadis as a defining moment, the culmination of a long process through which the four Sunni schools emerged as the only acceptable forms of normative Sunni Islam.[15] After the formal appointment of the four chief qadis in Cairo, the pattern was extended to Damascus and other provinces in the Mamluk empire. Baybars' action did not end all tension between the *madhāhib*—the endowment deed of one Damascene madrasah stipulated that "no Jew, Christian, Magian, or Hanbali" should enter it, which certainly put the Hanbalis in their place.[16] But it did mark an important step in the emerging pattern of roughly equal status among the schools of law, if only because of the importance of the Mamluk capital of Cairo as a center of Islamic culture in the post-Mongol period.

Beyond fitting into an evolving pattern of mutual recognition among the four Sunni schools of law, what did Baybars' decision mean? Sherman Jackson has argued convincingly that the sultan's action had (again) a very specific and immediate goal: namely, overcoming the reluctance of Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz, in his capacity as Shafiʿi qadi, to implement decisions according to the other schools

[13] In the early medieval period, competition between the adherents of the different Sunni schools sometimes turned violent, as Richard Bulliet showed concerning the city of Nishapur in eastern Iran. *The Patricians of Nishapur: A Study in Medieval Islamic Social History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972).

[14] Nikita Elisséef, *Nur al-Din: un grand prince musulman de Syrie au temps des croisades (511–569h/1118–1174)* (Damascus, 1967), 3:826.

[15] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1853–54), 2:344.

[16] Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Damascus, 1190–1350* (Cambridge, 1994), 169.

of law. The Shafiʿi chief judge was too esteemed and powerful to be dispensed with, but his refusal to respect the rulings of the non-Shafiʿi *madhāhib* was a source of disruptive contention, and so Baybars' action served to unify the ulama belonging to the different schools of law and to attract their support for the new Mamluk regime.[17] More recently, Yossef Rapoport has pointed out that making judges of the four schools roughly equal in authority[18] had the effect of providing flexibility to an increasingly rigid legal system. As the authority of the *madhāhib* became more firmly established, and as the legal principle of *taqlīd* narrowed the scope of ruling acknowledged as acceptable according to the consensus of the jurists, a degree of flexibility in the outcome of legal disputes could be retained by judiciously selecting which judge (Shafiʿi, Hanafi, Maliki, or Hanbali) heard a particular case—although whether Baybars' reform of the judicial system deliberately "aimed" at this result is perhaps less clear.[19]

No later Mamluk sultan attempted any reform of the judicial system so sweeping as Baybars' action, but they did routinely intervene in matters judicial; moreover, Rapoport's analysis points to a broader conclusion, that under the Mamluks "the state was more actively involved in the legal sphere than is commonly assumed."[20] It is only to be expected that the Mamluks would keep a close watch on judicial matters: even if the formulation of the law was exclusively the preserve of the ulama, its application was a matter of intense interest to the political authorities. At the most obvious level, of course, the sultans retained the right to appoint the chief qadis of the different schools, and over the course of the Mamluk period they exercised their authority to appoint (or dismiss) qadis for a variety of reasons: competence, personality issues, policy differences.

But sultans also exercised a kind of supreme judicial authority of their own. The prerogative of the ruler to hold judicial sessions for those seeking redress of grievances is of course a very old one in the Middle East, one that was well-established at the rise of Islam, and one that was recognized by the early Muslim jurists under the rubric of *maẓālim,* that is, "the [righting of] wrongs." The pre-eminent historian of *maẓālim* under the Mamluks, J. S. Nielsen, is skeptical of the direct connection between the Mamluk sultans' administration of justice

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[17] Sherman Jackson, "The Primacy of Domestic Politics: Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz and the Establishment of Four Chief Judgeships in Egypt," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115 (1995): 52–65.

[18] Their positions after Baybars' reforms were not entirely equal. The Shafiʿi qadi remained a sort of *primus inter pares* and retained certain prerogatives, such as the responsibility of supervising the property of orphans.

[19] Yossef Rapoport, "Legal Diversity in the Age of *Taqlīd:* The Four Chief *Qāḍīs* under the Mamluks," *Islamic Law and Society* 10 (2003): 210–28. The comment about the deliberate nature of the reform is found on page 226.

[20] Ibid., 228.

and the theory of *maẓālim* as developed by earlier writers such as al-Māwardī.[21] But two things about the *maẓālim* as administered by the Mamluks are clear. In the first place, while the *maẓālim* has been viewed as a kind of "secular justice" (in Nielsen's phrase) and the prerogatives of the sultan's court allowed him to sidestep some of the niceties of Islamic law (involving, for example, rules of evidence), there was an unmistakably religious flavor to the proceedings, and the sultan's obligation to use them to administer justice was an important part of the ideological underpinnings of the Mamluk state. Ibn Jamāʿah cited the responsibilities of the ruler in dispensing justice, along with his obligation to wage jihad, as the most important duties of the sovereign.[22] Following Ayyubid precedent, the Mamluks at first supervised judicial sessions in a madrasah, an institution devoted to instruction in Islamic jurisprudence, although later they were transferred to a "house of justice" *(dār al-ʿadl)* constructed explicitly for this purpose.[23] Wherever they were held, the presence of the qadis and other religious scholars lent them a religious imprimatur.

In the second place, the Mamluks on the whole took their judicial responsibilities quite seriously. To be sure, there was a kind of bureaucratization of the sultan's responsibility to administer justice under the Mamluks.[24] But the highly-organized character of the process by which a subject might petition the ruler, and by which the ruler or his delegated subordinates would respond, could be read as a mark of the importance they attached to the subject. Not all Mamluk rulers took a keen personal interest in supervising *maẓālim* sessions—some, of course, especially those whose reigns were abortive either because of the ruler's youth or because of the brevity of his rule, had little opportunity to demonstrate an interest in the process—but others certainly did. Qāytbāy (r. 1468–96), for instance, cleverly used his *maẓālim* sessions to cultivate a reputation for delivering firm, swift, compassionate justice, and so to build a following among the masses. Despite his occasional public criticism or humiliation of a scholar or jurist, even the ulama on the whole were impressed by Qāytbāy's commitment to justice and to Sunni orthodoxy. Even al-Ghawrī (r. 1501–16), while not as politically nimble as Qāytbāy, understood the importance of his judicial responsibilities and actively

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[21] Jørgen S. Nielsen, *Secular Justice in an Islamic State: Maẓālim Under the Baḥrī Mamluks, 662/1264–789/1387* (Istanbul, 1985), 35.

[22] Ibn Jamāʿah, *Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām,* 6:369–74.

[23] The institution of the *dār al-ʿadl* itself had an ideological significance, giving concrete expression to the understanding of the medieval jurists (such as Ibn Jamāʿah) that the administration of *justice*—and a justice conceived in explicitly Islamic terms—was the fundamental purpose of the Muslim state. See Nasser O. Rabbat, "The Ideological Significance of the *Dār al-Adl* in the Medieval Islamic Orient," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 27 (1995): 3–28.

[24] Nielsen, *Secular Justice*, passim, esp. chapters 5 and 6.

exploited them.[25] Twice-weekly formal processions of the sultan and the officials who advised him to the madrasah or other institution where the *maẓālim* sessions were held were among the most prominent public spectacles in Mamluk Cairo. Clearly, the active and successful administration of their judicial responsibilities was a persistent cornerstone of Mamluk religious policy.

Given limitations on both their time and interest, the Mamluks seem not to have intervened across the broad gamut of matters regulated by the law. As a general rule, only those questions that had political ramifications regularly captured their attention—the malfeasance of officials, for example. But where the established order was threatened, the Mamluks were ready and willing to intervene. One of the more famous examples involves the ever-controversial Ibn Taymīyah, who in 1320 was arrested and imprisoned as a consequence of fatwas he had issued on the subject of divorce and oaths by which husbands would repudiate their wives. At first sight, such matters would seem to fall within a sphere of doctrine—the law of personal status—over which the political authorities had little or no authority. Ibn Taymīyah, however, had espoused positions on the force and legitimacy of oaths of repudiation which threatened the established order, either by brazenly challenging the jurisprudential consensus of the ulama, or possibly by implicitly undermining the oaths which the Mamluks themselves had sworn to obey the reigning sultan. The sultan's efforts to muzzle Ibn Taymīyah, therefore, served both to protect his own throne and to reinforce the authority of the ulama as a whole—that is, to defend the established order.[26] Sometimes the intervention itself became the issue—when, that is, the sultan's reputation and public responsibility as enforcer of the shariʿah needed reinforcement. So, for example, al-Ghawrī, not generally reckoned the most pious and scrupulous of Mamluk sultans, furiously rebuked all four of the chief qadis in a case involving adultery—again an apparently apolitical matter. The jurists had recommended lenience to the adulterers. Their reluctance to prescribe the *sharʿī* penalty, stoning, allowed al-Ghawrī to pose as defender of the shariʿah and reinforce his authority over the judicial sphere.[27]

Not surprisingly, many if not most of those legal cases in which the state intervened directly concerned issues involving theoretically inalienable

[25] Carl F. Petry, "Royal Justice in Mamluk Cairo: Contrasting Motives of Two Sultans," in *Saber Religioso y Poder Politico en el Islam,* ed. Manuela Marin and Mercedes Garcia Arenal (Madrid, 1994), 197–211.

[26] Yossef Rapoport, *Marriage, Money and Divorce in Medieval Islamic Society* (Cambridge, 2005), 96–105, and idem, "Ibn Taymiyya on Divorce Oaths," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society,* ed. Amalia Levanoni and Michael Winter (Leiden, 2004), 191–217.

[27] Petry, "Royal Justice in Mamluk Cairo," esp. 207ff; idem, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994), 149–58.

endowments (*awqāf*, sing. *waqf*).[28] This was a matter of vital concern to the Mamluk state, for two inter-related reasons. On the one hand, *waqf*s posed a potential threat to the fiscal health of the state, either by reducing the tax base or by threatening the economic productivity of the property included in the endowment. On the other hand, sultans and other Mamluks made extensive use of the Islamic law of *waqf* to protect their own property for themselves and for their heirs, and also to legitimize their rule—a point we will return to shortly. At the same time, endowments mattered tremendously to the ulama, both because the shariʿah was quite explicit about how *waqf*s were to be treated, and also because endowments provided the funds that supported the mosques and other religious institutions in which the ulama worked. The history of endowments under the Mamluks is essentially a balancing act, in which the competing religious and material pressures compelled Mamluks and ulama to negotiate solutions suiting the shifting contingencies of the moment.[29] It illustrates the fundamentally pragmatic character of Mamluk religious policies as clearly as any issue does.

Law was one area of religious concern where the sultan (and the political establishment) had a prescribed and necessary role. But over other religious matters, the Mamluks' authority was limited at best. This reflects, among other things, one practical consequence of the resolution of the ninth-century *miḥnah*—that the ulama, and not the rulers, were responsible for judging what was properly Muslim. Consequently, the Mamluks were generally reluctant to intervene in disputes over questions of a spiritual or doctrinal nature. Occasionally, accusations of blasphemy or other heretical behavior were brought to the sultan's attention. He might, for example, be asked to adjudicate disputes among the ulama themselves over the behavior of some mendicant Sufi, or the sermons of some controversial preacher.[30] Where an individual's offending behavior drew upon him a judgment of apostasy, the political authorities might be called upon to intervene, either to resolve differences among the qadis, or, more practically, simply to carry out a sentence of execution. Not infrequently, however, one senses a tired, almost exasperated reluctance on the part of the ruling authorities to involve themselves in complicated doctrinal issues.[31]

[28] As numerous scholars have observed. See, for instance, Joseph Escovitz, *The Office of the Qâḍî al-Quḍât in Cairo under the Baḥrî Mamlûks* (Berlin, 1984), 148–54, and Nielsen, *Secular Justice*, 45. Cf. Muḥammad M. Amīn, *Al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimāʿīyah fī Miṣr, 638–923/1250–1517* (Cairo, 1980), 125ff.

[29] One particularly clear moment of such negotiations occurred in a meeting of leading Mamluk amirs, including the future sultan Barqūq, and prominent ulama in 1379. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:345–47.

[30] Escovitz, *Office,* 134–47, surveys a number of such incidents.

[31] Consider, for example, the case of Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Murrah, a disciple of Ibn Taymīyah

With regard to religious communities that lay outside the Sunni norm, in particular various Shiʿi groups, Mamluk policies were more tolerant than has sometimes been supposed, or at least more indifferent and inconsistent. Whether or not there was such a thing as a "Sunni renaissance," that is, a sharpening of Sunni identity fostered by the predominantly Turkish regimes which came to power in the later Islamic Middle Period in response to the Shiʿi regimes (such as the Buyids and Fatimids) which had dominated the Middle East in the tenth and eleventh centuries, it is difficult to discern anything approaching an "inquisition" under the Mamluks.[32] To be sure, there were occasions when the Mamluks took measures, including violent measures, to oppose or suppress various manifestations of Shiʿism. This was especially true in Syria—not surprisingly, since Syria contained a larger proportion of Shiʿis than other provinces of the Mamluk empire. For the most part, however, these episodes resulted not from a systematic campaign to expunge Shiʿism from the realm, but from the perception of an immediate political threat—a rebellion by Shiʿis in conjunction with a Mongol invasion, for example.[33] At other times, Shiʿis moved reasonably freely in Mamluk society. Their number included prominent *ashrāf* in Damascus, and even the famous Shiʿi jurist Muḥammad ibn Makkī, executed under sultan Barqūq and known therefore to Shiʿis as *al-shahīd*, "the martyr," had traveled widely within the Mamluk realm, encountering, befriending, and studying with Sunni ulama.[34]

Indeed, the Mamluks themselves were often drawn to expressions of Islam that were not entirely kosher in the eyes of the leading Sunni ulama. Individual Mamluks submitted themselves to the spiritual direction of controversial religious figures—mendicants, renunciants, preachers, and others whose teaching or practices generated considerable skepticism and criticism from the more established religious elite. Many of those religious figures revered by the Mamluks, of course, were Sufis, and the devotion of the Mamluks to Sufism generally is by now well established. Their Sufi inclinations were not, however, in any way unusual, since

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whose attacks on Sufis aroused the anger of both leading religious scholars and their supporters among the ranks of the amirs. Ibn Murrah was brought before a council presided over by the sultan for judgment, at which Ibn Murrah's accusers and defenders almost came to blows. The sultan, according to the sources, unable to resolve the dispute, simply referred it to the *nāʾib* (deputy) for resolution. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:263; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah* (Cairo, 1966–67), 1:323.

[32] As Eliyahu Ashtor famously did in "L'inquisition dans l'état mamlouk," *Rivista deglie studi orientali* 25 (1950): 11–26.

[33] Henri Laoust, "Remarques sur les expéditions du Kasrawan sous les premiers Mamluks," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 4 (1940): 93–115.

[34] A history of Shiʿism under the Mamluks is an important *desideratum* of the field. For now, see Stefan Winter, "Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Makkī 'al-Shahīd al-Awwal' and the Shiʿah of Syria," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 149–82.

Sufism itself was widely accepted among Sunni Muslims in the Middle East by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. What was perhaps more notable about the Mamluks was the particular nature of some of the Sufis and other religious figures whom they admired. Baybars himself had a famous and psychologically complex attachment to a somewhat bizarre shaykh, Khāḍir al-Mihrānī, known especially for his divinatory powers.[35] Divination, in fact, was a common fascination of the Mamluks—perhaps, some have speculated, a legacy of the shamanism to which many were exposed as children and youth in the Central Asian homelands.[36]

But the Mamluks' attraction to marginal religious figures may reveal less about them as a distinctive cultural group than it does about the widespread and remarkable diversity of Islam in medieval Middle Eastern society. Take, for instance, Barak Baba, a flamboyant, antinomian Turkish ascetic whose appearance in Damascus in the early fourteenth century generated controversy. Donald Little has seen in the inconsistent reaction of the Mamluks to Barak Baba—the viceroy in the city at first welcomed him, other amirs were offended by the dervish's unruly asceticism, the sultan in Cairo finally forbade him from approaching that city—an ambivalence in their attitude toward religion: on the one hand they allied themselves with the normative Islam of the urban ulama, on the other they retained a more-than-vestigial interest in religious ideas and practices associated in a general way with Central Asian shamanism. But the truth is Barak Baba had followers among local Muslims as well.[37] Similarly, toward the end of the Mamluk period, several Mamluks, including the sultan Qāytbāy, became embroiled in a controversy over the legacy of the Sufi poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ. Some of the ideas expressed in Ibn al-Fāriḍ's verse were subjected to scathing criticism from scholars such as Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, who saw in them an un-Islamic monism. But the Mamluks who defended Ibn al-Fāriḍ were not alone: they took their cues from other local ulama, including the historian al-Suyūṭī and the esteemed jurist Zakarīyā al-Anṣārī.[38]

Whatever peculiar proclivities and sensibilities the Mamluks may or may not have brought to Islam as experienced under their rule, the most consistent feature of the relations of the Mamluk state with the religious establishment—the thing that came closest to a permanent religious policy—was the symbiotic relationship

[35] Louis Pouzet, "Hadir ibn Abi Bakr al-Mihrani (m. 7 muh. 676/11 juin 1277) şayh du sultan mamelouk al-Malik az-Zahir Baibars," *Annales islamologiques* 30 (1978): 173–83.

[36] See, for example, Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan,* 67, note 15.

[37] Compare Donald P. Little, "Religion under the Mamluks," *The Muslim World* 73 (1983): 165–81, and Ahmet T. Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period, 1200–1550* (Salt Lake City, 1994).

[38] Th. Emil Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, his Verse, and his Shrine* (Columbia, SC, 1994), 55–75.

they cultivated with the ulama. Each group was able to supply the other with something it needed. The Mamluks provided the ulama with the physical and financial infrastructure for their professional and religious activities. Not all mosques, madrasah*s*, and *khānqāhs* constructed in Cairo and other cities during the Mamluk period were constructed by the sultans and amirs, but the vast majority of them, and almost all of the largest institutions, were the product of Mamluk largesse.[39] Both within and beyond the world of religious institutions, patronage of the ulama by the ruling authorities constituted a central feature of their professional lives. Michael Chamberlain has brilliantly illustrated how the competition for the "monetized honors" offered by religious institutions shaped the social world of the ulama, and also how their social relations paralleled those within the Mamluk elite itself.[40] But there was a vertical as well as horizontal character to the struggle for place, position, and money, and patronage of individual scholars by individual Mamluks played an important role, particularly in the competition for positions at the disposal of the government, such as appointments as qadis.[41] This patronage was not necessarily venal—it was rather a natural by-product of the fact that the articulation and enforcement of Islamic law required the cooperation of both the ulama and the ruling authorities.[42]

In exchange, the Mamluks received a good deal from their relationship with the ulama. In the first place, and not to be dismissed as a motivating factor, there were perceived spiritual benefits to the relationship and to the ruling elite's patronage of the ulama and their institutions. Some Mamluks may have been only superficially Islamicized, but many others were sincerely committed to their adopted faith. Moreover, the benefits that might accrue as a result of being buried next to a mosque or madrasah—and many such institutions included tombs intended for the burial of their founders—were available to anyone, pious or not (although the efficacy of such benefits is not something that historians can measure!). In addition, of course, there were material advantages to establishing a foundation to support a religious institution, since by it a Mamluk could preserve at least a portion of his wealth from confiscation and pass on to his heirs that part of a foundation's income not committed to the institution's upkeep and expenses.

[39] For one study of this phenomenon, see Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton, 1992).

[40] Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice,* passim.

[41] See, for example, Joseph Escovitz, "Patterns of Appointment to the Chief Judgeships of Cairo During the Bahri Mamluk Period," *Arabica* 30 (1983): 147–68.

[42] The *fact* of such patronage is well known, but the overall parameters and consequences for Mamluk society of what the Ottomans would later call *intisap* await fuller study. On the Ottoman case, see Norman Itzkowitz, "Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Realities," *Studia Islamica* 16 (1962): 73–94.

Especially under the later Mamluks, religious endowments were employed not simply to preserve private wealth but to provide the sultan with the financial means to carry out political policies.[43] More generally, and more importantly, the ulama granted the Mamluks a sort of seal of approval. The scholars' willingness to receive appointments to remunerative posts as professors, prayer leaders, preachers, etc., in institutions founded by the Mamluks, and very often housing their tombs as well, worked to legitimate the regime itself as well as the rule and reputations of the individual Mamluk benefactors. There are signs that the Mamluks understood quite explicitly the political benefits their munificence promised—hence, for example, Qalāwūn soon after his accession as sultan embarked on a program of constructing and repairing religious institutions in the sacred towns of Medina, Jerusalem, and Hebron as a way of solidifying support for his new regime.[44]

This is not to say that the interests of the Mamluks and of the ulama were perfectly aligned. The political priorities of the Mamluks could trump the spiritual or material concerns of the ulama—as, for instance, when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad closed the recently-constructed *khānqāh* of his rival Baybars al-Jashankīr.[45] For all his devotion to Khāḍir al-Mihrānī, Baybars allowed himself to be persuaded that state security required the shaykh's imprisonment. At their accessions, Mamluk sultans sometimes announced plans to enforce shariʿah rules—for example, the suppression of non-*sharʿī* taxes, or enforcement of legal restrictions on the behavior of the *dhimmīs*—although the repetition of such proclamations over time suggest that the ruling authorities did not follow through consistently and whole-heartedly. One of the most important points of conflict between the interests of the Mamluks and the ulama concerned the religious minorities whom the Mamluks had reason to protect, especially those Copts who served in the government bureaucracies.[46] For all that they might admire and venerate the ulama, the Mamluks also feared them for their potential to mobilize opposition to the Mamluk regime. Upon the death of the respected shaykh Ibn ʿAbd al-Salām, Baybars is said to have remarked that only now was his kingdom secure, since Ibn ʿAbd Salām could have led the people to drive him from his throne.[47] The late-Mamluk/early-Ottoman Sufi and scholar al-Shaʿrānī recalled that his master, the illiterate but revered shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Matbūlī, so frequently opposed Qāytbāy on various matters that the sultan finally remarked, quite literally, that Egypt was

[43] A process outlined insightfully in Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?,* esp. 190–210.

[44] Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan,* 85–86.

[45] On which see Leonor Fernandes, "The Foundation of Baybars al-Jashankir: Its Waqf, History, and Architecture," *Muqarnas* 4 (1987): 21–42.

[46] See D. S. Richards, "The Coptic Bureaucracy under the Mamluks," *Colloque internationale sur l'histoire du caire* (Cairo, 1969), 373–81.

[47] Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Cairo, 1931), 5:302.

not big enough to hold both of them.[48]

Such moments of conflict, however, did little to affect the larger pattern of cooperation between the Mamluks and the ulama. Their tacit alliance lay at the foundation of contemporary justifications for Mamluk rule and appreciations of the Mamluks' place in history. As David Ayalon famously pointed out, no less an authority than Ibn Khaldūn understood the nature of their contribution and acknowledged their role in saving Islam, in particular from the Mongol onslaught.[49] But the Mamluks' service to Islam went well beyond military valor, to embrace the active and munificent support of the ulama establishment. In exchange, the ulama validated the Mamluk regime generally and the rule of individual sultans in particular. Like any good relationship, this one had its difficult moments, but it lasted for more than two and half centuries and may have helped to shape the character of relations between political and religious authorities in the Sunni Islamic Middle East long after the Mamluks themselves were gone.

[48] Al-Shaʿrānī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrá* (Cairo, 1965), 2:80.

[49] David Ayalon, "Mamlukiyyat: A First Attempt to Evaluate the Mamluk Military System," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 2 (1980): 321–49.

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ʿIlm, Shafāʿah, and *Barakah:* The Resources of Ayyubid and Early Mamluk Ulama

> We were attending al-Ḥāfiẓ's class outdoors, on a very hot day. He said: "Let us move away from this heat into the mosque." Just as we were getting ready to go, and perhaps some of us had already risen, a cloud suddenly covered the sun, and he told us to sit down again. I saw our friends looking at each other, the word spreading among them: "Why, this is a *karāmah;*[1] there was not a cloud to be seen in the sky!" And Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī told many things of this kind.[2]

This fascinating glimpse into the way medieval Muslims perceived the working of *barakah* is offered in Ibn Rajab's *Dhayl Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* an early fourteenth-century biographical dictionary of Hanbali scholars, as a quotation of the Damascene historian Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī (d. 643/1245). In the rest of the entry, Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn portrays al-Ḥāfiẓ ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī (d. 600/1203–4), his uncle, as an outstanding authority on hadith with a special expertise in *ʿilm al-rijāl* (the study of hadith transmitters), and as a stringent moralist and ascetic. Illustrating how ʿAbd al-Ghanī's reputation of sanctity sprang up, this little story also reveals how easily the ordinary and the extraordinary merged for these medieval men, as perhaps

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[1] A wonder or marvel of a holy man *(walī),* perceived as a token of God's special blessing *(barakah),* and differentiated from *muʿjizah:* the demonstrative miracles of prophets (see Louis Gardet, "Karāma," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 4:615–16), and *siḥr:* sorcery, attributed to heretics and infidels (see Michael Winter, *Society and Religion in Early Ottoman Egypt: Studies in the Writings of ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī* [New Brunswick and London, 1982], 188).

[2] Ibn Rajab, *Al-Dhayl ʿalá Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* ed. Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib Ḥamīd al-Fiqī (Cairo, 1952–53), 2:16–17.

for devout believers of all ages.

ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī was an *ʿālim,* a teacher of hadith in two central institutions: the Great Mosque of Damascus and the Hanbali mosque of the nearby suburb on Jabal Qāsyūn. He was a troublemaker who often confronted colleagues and political authorities and was made to pay the price,[3] but most ulama of his kind enjoyed unprecedented prosperity during the Ayyubid and early Mamluk periods. Members of the ruling elite extended their patronage to dozens of religious institutions in capital cities and in provincial towns. They constructed and refurbished mosques, madrasahs, colleges for the study of hadith, Quranic schools, Sufi lodges, commemorative shrines, and mausolea with sanctuaries and sacred relics. Laymen contributed money and labor to the building or reconstruction of numerous smaller religious institutions and donated funds for study circles and assemblies for the recitation of Quran or hadith in mosques and mausolea. Ulama who invested in reaching out to wider circles were rewarded with admiration, popularity, and economic benefits.[4] Evidently, *ʿilm* (knowledge of the religious sciences) secured identity, power, prestige, and livelihood in the medieval Middle East, not to speak of its spiritual rewards.

All this is well documented in the Arabic sources and has been studied by quite a few modern scholars.[5] Yet, the specific venues by which *ʿilm* served as a resource of power in medieval Muslim societies deserve further study and elaboration. My contention here is that for men of the Mamluk period the mastery of religious knowledge implied much more than the right to teach and the duty to expound the shariʿah. It carried with it also the authority to mediate and intercede *(shafāʿah)*[6] and the capacity to bestow spiritual

[3] For a summary of his biography, see Stefan Leder, "Charismatic Scripturalism: The Ḥanbalī Maqdisīs of Damascus," *Der Islam* 74 (1997): 297–300.

[4] Preoccupied as they were with networking within the scholarly class, ulama seem to have cared very much about their popularity in wider circles as well. They do not fail to mention the attendance of the *ʿāmmah* at their sermons, assemblies, and funerals, conveying the impression that the presence of men of plebeian classes was worthy of notice and added to the prestige of scholars.

[5] E.g., Ira Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1967; second edition 1984); Joan Gilbert, "Institutionalization of Muslim Scholarship and Professionalization of the *ʿUlamāʾ* in Medieval Damascus," *Studia Islamica* 52 (1980): 105–35; R. Stephen Humphreys, *Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry* (Princeton, 1991), 187–209; Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus 1190–1350* (Cambridge, 1994); Daphna Ephrat, *A Learned Society in a Period of Transition: The Sunni "Ulama" of Eleventh Century Baghdad* (New York, 2000).

[6] On *shafāʿah* in medieval sacred and secular contexts, see Shaun E. Marmon, "The Quality of

and material blessing *(barakah),*[7] at times through the manifestation and manipulation of metaphysical power *(karāmāt)*. The purpose of this article is to explore perceptions of the relationship between *ʿilm, barakah,* and *shafāʿah* in Ayyubid and early Mamluk times, and to analyze the discourse about wonder-working scholars. Surprisingly little attention has been given to these phenomena in modern scholarly literature, perhaps because a "symbiotic relationship between Muslim sainthood and Sufism" (to use Vincent Cornell's phrase)[8] has always been assumed, and therefore Muslim sainthood has been studied almost exclusively in Sufi contexts.[9] Another reason may be modern Western rationalism, which classifies belief in miracles as incompatible with "serious" learning or scholarship. This attitude is nicely illustrated in Fritz Meier's introduction to the hagiographical work of thirteenth-century Sufi authors: "A common characteristic of the three above-mentioned authors . . . is their credulity, their uncritical attitude in dealing with the subject and their unbridled interest in miracles. They are not unique in this respect . . . this is particularly astonishing in the case of so great a mind as Ibn al-ʿArabi."[10]

It is worth noting that the comparable case of the miracle-working Jewish sages of late antiquity has been studied with considerable methodological sophistication and has produced some very interesting insights on the

Mercy: Intercession in Mamluk Society," *Studia Islamica* 87 (1998): 125–40; in more recent religious imagination, see Catherine Mayeur, "L'Intercession des saints en islam Egyptian: autour de Sayyid al-Badawī," *Annales Islamologiques* 25 (1991): 363–88. For mediation as the essential component of the spiritual authority of Sufi shaykhs from the ninth century onwards, see Arthur F. Buhler, *Sufi Heirs of the Prophet: The Indian Naqshbandiyya and the Rise of the Mediating Sufi Shaykh* (Columbia, SC, 1998), 10–13.

[7] For a rich discussion of the concept, see Joseph W. Meri, "Aspects of *Baraka* (Blessings) and Ritual Devotion among Medieval Muslims and Jews," *Medieval Encounters* 5 (1999): 46–69.

[8] Vincent J. Cornell, *The Realm of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism* (Austin, 1998), xxxv.

[9] A quick look at the inventory of over 1700 titles listed by the *Index Islamicus* under the keyword "saints" strikingly indicates this state of affairs. For exceptions, see the short studies of the *muwallah* ("fool for God") in Michael W. Dols, *Majnūn: the Madman in Medieval Islamic Society* (Oxford, 1992), 378–410; Daniella Talmon-Heller, *Islamic Piety in Medieval Syria: Mosques, Cemeteries and Sermons under the Zangids and Ayyūbids (1146–1260)* (Leiden, 2007), 239–40; and of the rural wonder-working shaykh, in idem, "'The Cited Tales of the Wondrous Doings of the Shaykhs of the Holy Land' by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Abī ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Waḥīd al-Maqdisī (569–643/1173–1245): text, translation and commentary," *Crusades* 1 (2002): 111–54.

[10] Fritz Meier, "Ṭāhir al-Ṣadafī's Forgotten Work on Western Saints of the 6th/12th Century," in his *Essays on Islamic Piety and Mysticism* (Leiden, 1999), 431.

complex connections between knowledge, power, religion, and magic.[11] *Mutatis mutandis,* I hope to draw on some of these insights in my analysis of the medieval Arabic sources: primarily the biographical dictionaries of the Mamluk historians Ibn Rajab (d. 795/1393) and al-Subkī (d. 771/1369), and a few other contemporaneous historical and theological works.

Barakat al-ʿIlm

The study of the religious sciences and their transmission *(taʿallum and taʿlīm),* just like prayer and Quran recitation, were regarded as pregnant with *barakah* and were considered to affect circles far wider than those of learned shaykhs and their intimate disciples. This *barakah* was known to benefit also the passive attendants of large study assemblies, which included ordinary men who did not belong to the scholarly class and may have hardly been able to follow the lectures, and the community of Muslims as a whole.[12] These notions are clearly expressed already in the eleventh century, by Ibn Abī Yaʿlá (d. 458/1066), the compiler of the first Hanbali biographical dictionary. Writing about the close disciple of a great saintly scholar, he mentions the flow of *barakah:* "The blessing of his teacher reflected upon him, and he became learned, ascetic, and pious. He was popular and well-loved by the people, and known to have his prayers answered *(ʿādat barakatuhu ʿalayhi fa-sāra ʿāliman, zāhidan, ʿābidan, wa-ẓahara la-hu fī al-nās al-qubūl wa-al-maḥabbah wa-ijābat al-duʿāʾ).*"[13] Referring to his father,

[11] See Yuval Harari, "The Sages and the Occult," in *The Literature of the Sages. Second Part: Mysticism, Contracts, Inscriptions, Ancient Science and the Languages of Rabbinic Literature,* ed. Shmuel Safrai, Zeev Safrai, Joseph Schwartz, and Peter J. Tomson (Assen, 2006), 521–64; Chana Safrai and Zeev Safrai, "Rabbinic Holy Men," in *Saints and Role Models in Judaism and Christianity,* ed. Marcel Poorthius and Joseph Schwartz (Leiden, 2004); Zeev Safrai and Chana Safrai, "The Study of the Torah and its Values: the Birth of a Resource of Power Essential to the Status of Sages," in *Renewing Jewish Commitment: The Work and Thought of David Hartman,* ed. Avi Sagi and Zvi Zohar (Tel Aviv, 2001), 2:877–922 [in Hebrew]; David Levine, "Holy Men and Rabbis in Talmudic Antiquity," in *Saints and Role Models,* 45–57; Eli Yassif, "Legends and History: Historians read Hebrew Legends of the Middle Ages," *Zion* 64 (1999): 187–220; Jacob Neusner, "The Phenomenon of the Rabbi in Late Antiquity," *Numen* 16 (1969): 1–20; Joshua Levinson, "Borders and Witches: Conflicts between Rabbis and Sorcerers in the Literature of the Sages" [in Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 75 (2006): 295–328.

[12] See sayings in this vein regarding the study of hadith in Ibn al-Ṣalāh al-Shahrazūrī, *Al-Muqaddimah fī ʿUlūm al-Ḥadīth,* ed. D. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Hindawī (Sidon and Beirut, 2001), 123. For Seljuk Baghdad see Ephrat, *A Learned Society,* 144–47; for Ayyubid Damascus see Chamberlain, *Knowledge,* 122; for Mamluk Cairo, see Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo*: *A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton, 1992), ch. 7.

[13] Ibn Abī Yaʿlá, *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* ed. Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib Ḥamīd al-Fiqī (Cairo, 1952), 2:255–56. Al-Yūnīnī conveys a similar notion in the late thirteenth century, writing

Abū Yaʿlá Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn (d. 390/1000), whom he presents as a great scholar in all branches of *ʿilm* and who had assembled unprecedented audiences for his public classes of hadith, Ibn Abī Yaʿlá says that "the people received blessing by looking at him *(bi-al-naẓar ilayhi yatabarrakūna)*."[14] *Barakat al-ʿilm* was considered effective even for the dead. Hence, those who could afford it located their mausolea as close as possible to madrasahs. Founders of madrasahs asked to be buried in the institutions of study they had patronized and brought their relatives for burial within them. Nūr al-Dīn's funerary madrasah, constructed in Damascus in 1168, several years before the sultan's death, is an early example of such an arrangement.[15] The historian and qadi Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād (d. 632/1234) located his own *turbah* in between the two institutions of learning he had earlier endowed in Aleppo: a madrasah and a *dār al-ḥadīth*. The whole complex had connecting doors and seven inner grille windows on a single axis.[16] The biographer Ibn al-Wardī (d. 749/1348) quotes the people of Aleppo conjecturing that Ibn Shaddād "had hoped that the *barakah* of learning *(barakat al-ʿilm)* would affect him in death, as it had served him in life."[17] Berkey notes that in the later Mamluk period the connection between institutions of learning and places of burial was so natural that the terms madrasah and *turbah* could be conflated.[18]

Yet, as we can learn from our sources, ulama did not necessarily propagate *barakah* through teaching or by the direct utilization of religious knowledge. For one, there may have been a notion that *barakah* is inherent in some official or semi-official positions. Consider the following excerpt from Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, regarding the *barakah* of preachers (*khaṭīb*s). "Saladin

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about another disciple of another shaykh: "He became his student and was known by his companionship. . . . The light of the shaykh and his *barakah* reflected upon him and he acquires his virtues," al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān* (Hyderabad, 1954–61), 2:57; Chamberlain, *Knowledge,* 109, 118–19.

[14] Ibn Abī Yaʿlá, *Ṭabaqāt,* 2:201. Mentioning his father and forefathers he adds: "*wa-jaʿala dhikrunā la-hum barakah taʿūdu ʿalaynā*" [and may our recalling be a blessing for them, that returns to us], Ibn Abī Yaʿlá, *Ṭabaqāt,* 2:208.

[15] For other funerary mosques and madrasahs in Ayyubid Damascus see R. Stephen Humphreys, "Women as Patrons of Religious Architecture in Ayyūbid Damascus," *Muqarnas* 11 (1994): 38–49; for Mamluk Cairo, see John A. Williams, "Urbanization and Monument Construction in Mamluk Cairo," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 34–35; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo: an Introduction* (Leiden, 1989), 95–105.

[16] Donald S. Richards, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin or al-Nawādir al-Sulṭāniyya wa'l-Maḥāsin al-Yūsufiyya by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād* (Aldershot, 2001), 3.

[17] Ibn al-Wardī, *Tārīkh* (Beirut, 1996), 2:157.

[18] Berkey, *Transmission,* 144.

always sought out Fridays for his battles, especially the times of Friday prayer," he explains in his biography of the sultan, "to gain the blessing *(barakah)* of the preachers' prayers on the pulpits, for they were perhaps more likely to be answered."[19] The Shafiʿi ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn ʿAbd al-Salām al-Sulamī (d. 660/1262), one of the most important, learned, and assertive scholars of his age, seems to be combating the idea of such "automatic" *barakah* and *shafāʿah* in one of his fatwas. He warns *khaṭīb*s that if they phrase their supplications in false terms, using the laudatory titles *(alqāb)* of rulers without justification (calling a tyrant *al-ʿādil,* or an ignoramus *al-ʿālim,* for example) their *shafāʿah* would become null and void.[20]

Some ulama transmitted *barakah* by touch: the direct touch of their hand, or the mediated touch of their garment or seat, food they had partly consumed, the utterance of a phrase, a book or an amulet containing their handwriting *(bi-khaṭṭihi)*.[21] Talismans and amulets are rarely mentioned in narrative sources, but on the basis of extant medieval "magic material," as yet little researched, we have good reason to assume that they were in common use.[22] Talismans prepared by the very learned *muḥaddith* and *muftī* Abū Aḥmad al-Silafī of Alexandria (d. 576/1180), for example, were known to be particularly effective for women in labor.[23] The uncle of the Aleppan historian Ibn al-ʿAdīm, a copyist well versed in hadith and *fiqh*

[19] Richards, *The Rare and Excellent History,* 72. Nūr al-Dīn is quoted expressing a similar dependence on intercessory prayers *(duʿāʾ)*—those of jurists, Quran reciters, ascetics, and Sufis; see Yaacov Lev, "Piety and Political Activism in Twelfth Century Egypt," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 31 (2006): 225.

[20] ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAbd al-Salām al-Sulamī, *Fatāwá,* ed. Muḥammad Jumʿah al-Kurdī (Beirut, 1996), 400–1. True to himself, al-Sulamī refused to mention the title "al-Ṣāliḥ" (the righteous) of the Ayyubid ruler al-Malik Ismāʿīl ibn al-ʿĀdil II in his Friday sermon, holding him a traitor to the Muslim cause on account of the treaty he had concluded with the Franks in 638/1240. As a result, al-Sulamī's *shafāʿah* may have remained intact, but his pulpit was taken away from him, and after a short period in jail he was banished from Damascus. For the historical context, see R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyūbids of Damascus, 1193–1260* (Albany, 1977), 266–67.

[21] For Joseph Meri's typology of the transmission of *barakah,* see his "Aspects of *Baraka,*" 63–64.

[22] For a short introduction on amulets and talismans see Emilie Savage-Smith, "Introduction," in *Magic and Divination in Early Islam,* ed. idem (Aldershot, 2004), xxii–xxv. She claims that "the twelfth century, for whatever reason, saw a marked increase of interest in magic . . . and the production of magical texts began to increase dramatically," ibid., xxvii.

[23] One of his disciples reveals, sarcastically I think, that what the shaykh actually wrote was: "*Allāhumma, innahum qad aḥsanū ẓannahum bī, fa-lā tukhayyib ẓannahum fiyya"* [God, they think well of me. May they not be disappointed]. Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ,* ed. Bashshār ʿAwwād al-Maʿrūf and Muḥyī Hilāl al-Sirḥān (Beirut, 1981), 21:28.

who was extremely fond of the works of al-Tirmidhī and had collected most of his volumes, used to prepare charms *(taʿāwīdh)* from the pen parings *(barawāt al-aqlām)* he gathered during the months of Ramaḍān, which he spent copying the Quran and practicing *iʿtikāf* (seclusion in a mosque). The *barakah* of those charms was well known, according to Yāqūt.[24]

Finally, medieval biographers tell of ulama whose *barakah* was manifest in the performance of wonders *(karāmāt),* implying that they enjoyed the elevated status of *wilāyah*—sainthood emanating from intimacy with God.

THEORY OF *KARĀMĀT*

The first extant coherent theory of *wilāyah* was composed by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī, one of the greatest and most prolific Sufi authors of the ninth century. According to his theosophical system, the *awliyāʾ* are second to the prophets in the spiritual hierarchy of the cosmos. They, rather than the scholars, are the true heirs of the prophets,[25] and their proximity and direct access to God accord them second sight *(firāsah),* divine inspiration *(ilhām),* and the power to perform wondrous feats *(karāmāt)*. For al-Tirmidhī, all this was so self evident that he could not think of any motive other than envy behind the stand of those who denied the existence of the above-mentioned hierarchy.[26] Stories about the wondrous deeds of the friends of God have been collected and transmitted since the ninth century, one of the earliest compilations being *Kitāb al-Awliyāʾ* by Ibn Abī al-Dunyā (d. 281/894).[27] Eleventh-century Sufi authorities such as al-Hujwīrī, al-Qushayrī, and al-Ghazzālī repeated and developed those perceptions.[28]

At the same time, the notion of sainthood and the feasibility of *karāmāt*

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[24] David Morray, *An Ayyūbid Notable and his World: Ibn al-ʿAdīm and Aleppo as Portrayed in his Biographical Dictionary of People Connected with the City* (Leiden, 1994), 178; Yāqūt, *Irshād,* ed. David Samuel Margoliouth, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series, vol. 6 (Cairo, 1930), 34. The title of the first edition is: *The Irshād al-Arīb ilá Maʿrifat al-Adīb or Dictionary of Learned Men of Yāqūt,* ed. David Samuel Margoliouth, E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series (London, 1913), 6:34.

[25] Bernd Radtke, "Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī on Miracles," in *Miracle et Karāma,* ed. Denise Aigle (Turnhout, Belgium, 2000), 290–91; Bernd Radtke and John O'Kane, *The Concept of Sainthood in Early Islamic Mysticism: Two Works by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī* (Richmond, 1996), 8.

[26] Radtke, "Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī," 295; idem, "Walī," *EI*[2], 12:110. Another early creed professing similar ideas is that of the Egyptian Hanafi scholar Abū Jaʿfar al-Tahāwī (d. 321/933); see Joseph Meri, *The Cult of the Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford, 2002), 68.

[27] Radtke, "Walī," 109–10.

[28] Frederick M. Denny, "Prophet and Walī," in *Sainthood: Its Manifestations in World Religions,* ed. Richard Kieckhefer and George D. Bond (Berkeley, 1988), 91.

became widely acknowledged well beyond the Sufi milieu. In the tenth century most Ashʿaris and even some Muʿtazilis developed theological-scholastic arguments that supported the validity of *karāmāt.*[29] In the early thirteenth century, the renowned Hanbali jurist Ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī wrote the following paragraph in praise of the people of the Sunnah: "It is amongst them [the Sunnis] that one finds the observant ulama *(al-ʿulamāʾ al-ʿāmilūn),* the friends of God *(al-awliyāʾ),* and the righteous *(al-ṣāliḥūn)* . . . and *ahl al-walāyāt wa-al-karāmāt*. . . . They are a refuge to men afflicted by hardship, and kings and others of lesser ranks go out and visit them, and are blessed by their supplications *(yatabarrakūna bi-duʿāʾihim),* and appeal to God through their intercession *(yastashfaʿūna bi-him)*."[30] Whether Ibn Qudāmah is speaking of four separate categories, or of overlapping groups, it is clear that this excerpt (taken from his polemical anti-Muʿtazili treatise) unequivocally illustrates the wide recognition of *barakah* and its manifestation in *karāmāt* in all echelons of society. It also establishes a clear connection between piety, intercession, and wondrous deeds.[31]

In some circles, however, the notion of sainthood remained contested throughout the ages, due to different theological reasoning,[32] or because of the apprehension that charismatic, spiritual, non-scholarly, and potentially disruptive authority aroused among the established ulama.[33] In anti-Sufi

[29] Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies,* ed. and trans. Samuel Miklos Stern and C. R. Barber (London, 1967), 2:337–41; Gardet, "Karāma," 615–16.

[30] *Ibn Qudāma's Censure of Speculative Theology,* ed. and trans. George Makdisi (London, 1962), 14, (trans. partly used here) 10.

[31] See also Josef Van Ess, "Sufis and their Opponents," in *Islamic Mysticism Contested*: *Thirteen Centuries of Controversies and Polemics,* ed. Frederick De Jong and Bernd Radtke (Leiden and Boston, 1999), 35.

[32] For al-Andalus, see Maribel Fierro, "The Polemic about the *Karāmāt al-Awliyāʾ* and the Development of Sufism in al-Andalus (fourth/tenth–fifth/eleventh centuries)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 55 (1992): 236–49. Fierro finds that the polemic was imported into al-Andalus from Qayrawān in the second half of the fourth/tenth century, and was concerned mainly with the danger of discrediting prophets. Al-Sulamī, in sixth/thirteenth-century Syria, disputes with "the Muʿtazilis and others," who consign miracles and wonders to prophets only, denying *karāmāt al-awliyāʾ* (al-Sulamī, *Zabad Khulāsat al-Taṣawwuf al-musammá bi-Ḥall al-Rumūz wa-Mafātīḥ al-Kunūz* [Cairo, 1995], 77–78). See a short discussion of this theme in William M. Brinner, "Prophet and Saint: The Two Exemplars of Islam," in *Saints and Virtues,* ed. John S. Hawley (Berkeley, 1987), 36–51.

[33] Meri, *The Cult,* 66; Alexander Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabī in the Later Islamic Tradition* (New York, 1999), 53; Maribel Fierro, "Opposition to Sufism in al-Andalus," in *Islamic Mysticism Contested,* 183. For a live (and lively) contest between a wonder-worker (the Sufi shaykh Ibn Qawām, d. 658/1260) and anti-Sufi scholars and dignitaries in a northern Syrian town, see al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl,* 1:392–412, or al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah al-Kubrá,* ed. A. M. al-Hulūʾ and M. al-

polemics well into the Mamluk period, miracle-workers were unfavorably compared with men of intellectual and educational superiority, and their *karāmāt* were juxtaposed with the knowledge, rectitude, and piety of the scholars. A fine example may be quoted from ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī, the protagonist of our first anecdote. Asked why more tales of *karāmāt* are told about "shaykhs" *(mashāyikh)* than about scholars, he answers: "Can the scholars wish for a greater wonder than their being preoccupied with study *(ishtighālihim bi-al-ʿilm)*?"[34]

The apologia of the Egyptian scholar and Sufi Ibn Abī ʿAṭāʾ Allāh (d. 709/1309) "on the theme of saint's miracles" seems to indicate that he felt the need to defend "such things as the collapsing of the distance between one place and another, walking on water, flying through the air, cognizance of entities which used to exist [but exist no longer], or of entities which have not yet come into existence through supernatural means, multiplying food or drink, producing fruit out of season . . . etc." He also piously adds that "miracles of the spirit," e.g., constant observance of God and sincere reliance on him, are the greatest of wonders.[35]

While the realness of wondrous feats was hardly doubted (allegations of trickery are very rare in our sources), the sanctity of individuals who were known to perform them was not necessarily beyond doubt. It was questioned in sayings such as "Satan goes in one moment from the East to the West" (attributed to Abū Saʿīd ibn Abī al-Khayr of the tenth century),[36] or in Ibn Taymīyah's claim that "a premonition or inspiration about something, or supernatural deeds . . . allegedly occur [also] to many infidels, unbelievers, and heretical innovators."[37] Some wonder-workers were suspected of collaboration with jinn, rather than with divine grace.[38] ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Sulamī insists that a *karāmah* may occur only to a true believer and devout Muslim, neither by his choice, nor necessarily with his awareness. Moreover, the true saint was expected to conceal his *karāmāt*.[39]

The best indication of the near-consensus in favor of the recognition of sainthood and its wondrous manifestations may be found in the occurrences

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Tanāḥī (Cairo, 1971), 8:412–13 (trans. in Meri, *The Cult,* 161).

[34] Ibn Rajab, *Al-Dhayl,* 1:15–16.

[35] Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī, *The Subtle Blessings in the Saintly Lives of Abu Abbas al-Mursi and His Master Abul-Hasan,* trans. Nancy Roberts (Louisville, KY, 2005), 73–74.

[36] Quoted in Denny, "Prophet and Walī," 93.

[37] Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿ Fatāwá Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad al-ʿĀṣimī (Riyadh, 1990), 2:213–14, translated in Meri, *The Cult,* 69.

[38] See my "Cited Tales of the Wondrous Doings," 121, 137; Ibn Rajab, *Al-Dhayl,* 2:336–38.

[39] Al-Sulamī, *Zabad al-Khulāsah,* 77.

of *awliyāʾ* and *karāmāt* in non-Sufi literature, written by judicially trained ulama. General (as opposed to Sufi) biographical dictionaries, and the *wafayāt* sections of chronicles, relate anecdotes about wondrous feats. These include restoring health, assuring safety in perilous situations, thwarting sin and crime, securing the supply of water and grain, conveying knowledge of future events and things hidden from the eye, arbitrating with humans and with God, and bringing about conversion to Islam. In these genres scholars could be praised both for their literary production and for performing wonders in the same entry. A comparable mingling of the fields of scholarly work and magic, which secular men and women of the modern age usually find surprising, could be found on the institutional level in Mamluk cities. The *dār al-ḥadīth* constructed by the Ayyubid sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf (d. 635/1237) in Damascus was designated to serve a double purpose: the study of prophetic tradition, and the display of a sandal of the Prophet, a precious relic that was bequeathed to the sultan by one of his subjects. The combining of the cult of the Prophet as a saint and the "academic" study of his lore must have made perfect sense to al-Malik al-Ashraf and to his contemporaries.[40] Another institution that disseminated *ʿilm* and *barakah* simultaneously was the Madrasah al-Jawharīyah, established in Cairo some 300 years later, in which a magical pearl and a talismanic bowl were kept for healing purposes.[41]

Biographical Literature

The eleventh-century biographer Ibn Abī Yaʿlá, the author of the first comprehensive dictionary of Hanbalis (to which Ibn Rajab later added his *Dhayl*), glorifies God, saying: "He has made the scholars of this nation *(ummah)* absolutely the most virtuous among the scholars of all nations, and the most blessed. And he has provided them with wonders *(karāmāt)*."[42] Ibn Abī Yaʿlá does not mention any wonders in the entries dedicated to members of the first two generations of the Hanbali school. *Barakah* and *karāmāt* first appear in his book with scholars of the third generation, men of the fourth/tenth century, in the second volume of the modern edition of the work. The numbers are small: 10 of the 129 entries of the volume report about the *barakah* and *karāmāt* of their biographees. The first case appears in the biography of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Zāhid al-ʿArīf (d. 313/925). Moved by the misery of a student who is about to have his hand amputated by his

[40] For a full account of this story see my *Islamic Piety,* 203–5.

[41] Jonathan Berkey, "Tradition, Innovation, and the Construction of Knowledge in the Medieval Near East," *Past and Present* 146 (1995): 38–39.

[42] Ibn Abī Yaʿlá, *Ṭabaqāt,* 2:212.

physician, Abū al-Ḥasan beseeches God's mercy in a somewhat provocative manner, then "reads over" the sick man (most likely Quranic verses, but perhaps some other formulae), and the hand is cured. Interestingly, Abū al-Ḥasan's colleagues, who are quoted discussing his *shafāʿah*, *barakah,* and spiritual ranking, use the typically Sufi terms *awliyāʾ, abdāl* ("substitutes," an elevated saintly status),[43] and *mustakhlifūn* ("successors," here designating an even higher rank, equivalent to that of the prophets).[44] A similar scene is depicted in the biography of Shaykh Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Jaʿfar (d. 363/974), who was an author of varied scholarly works. Ibn Abī Yaʿlá's informant describes a group of people standing at the city gate, talking about *karāmāt al-awliyāʾ*.[45] Whether the voice speaking is that of the eleventh-century compiler or that of the tenth-century discussants at the gate (a feasible possibility, in my mind), *karāmāt* obviously formed a part of the religious imagination of scholars from an early stage, even if they were not often ascribed to men of their own circles.

Ibn Rajab's "appendix" to Ibn Abī Yaʿlá's work, *Al-Dhayl ʿalá Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* is comprised of 613 entries dedicated to Hanbalis who lived between ca. 400/1010 and 740/1340. Many entries are very short: merely 2–3 lines that supply minimal data. Some are several pages long (up to 38 pages), rich with anecdotes about the biographee, descriptions of his scholarly works, and summaries of the juristic and theological debates he took part in. *Karāmāt* are ascribed to 27 of the biographees. If we do not take into account some 40 entries which provide hardly anything more than names and dates of death (assuming that at least in some of those cases the dearth of material is due to the compiler's limited access to information, rather than to the biographee's insignificance),[46] five percent of shaykhs are portrayed as possessing *barakah* and *karāmāt*.

The seventh and eighth volumes of Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī's *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah al-Kubrá* include 480 entries dedicated to men who had died

[43] According to Sufi theory, a fixed number of *abdāl* are chosen by God to preserve universal equilibrium, especially during periods between prophets, and to perform *shafāʿah* for their brethren on the Day of Judgement (Jacqeline Chabbi, "Abdāl," *Encylopaedia Iranica* [London, 1985], 1:173–74).

[44] "*Al-mustakhlif fī al-arḍ makāmuhu makām al-anbiyāʾ*" (Ibn Abī Yaʿlá, *Ṭabaqāt,* 2:62–63). For more anecdotes, see the appendix.

[45] Ibn Abī Yaʿlá, *Ṭabaqāt,* 2:123.

[46] This is explicitly acknowledged by Ibn Rajab at the end of his very short entry about al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Hamadhānī: "*wa-lā aʿlamu min ḥālihi ghayr hādhā*" (Ibn Rajab, *Al-Dhayl,* 1:208; similar comment ibid., 2:481).

between 500/1106 and 700/1300 (excluding a hundred "empty"[47] and extremely brief entries). The vast majority of the biographees are scholars, but some members of the ruling and military elite are included as well. Most entries are very short and strictly informative. Some of the longer entries consist of anecdotes of sorts, poems, fatwas, and selected scholarly contributions, especially in the field of jurisprudence. Slightly more than six percent of the entries relate wondrous doings or occurrences, or explicitly mention *barakah* and *shafāʿah*.

Ibn Rajab and al-Subkī are much alike in their treatment of *barakah* and *karāmāt* not only number-wise, but also in the typology of their wonder-working scholars. Early and late wonder-working scholars in both works are constructed by similar characteristics: extraordinary piety expressed by devotional works, commitment to the service of fellow men, frugality and asceticism. Both dictionaries, however, also portray ascetics *(zuhhād)* and Sufis to whom no wonders are ascribed.[48]

The first wonder-working scholar in Ibn Rajab's dictionary is Abū al-Wafāʾ ibn al-Qawās (d. 476/1083–84), a member of the twelfth generation of Hanbalis, an ascetic who spent fifty years in retreat in his mosque. A student who used to study Quran with the shaykh narrates the wonder, referring to it, rather generously, as "remarkable." It is a rather unassuming version of *firāsah:* the shaykh astonished his student by offering him, at the end of the school day, the exact sum he needed for the return trip home, but had lost on his trip to town earlier that day.[49]

An unusually dense concentration of *karāmāt* is to be found in the biographies of scholars belonging to the Hanbali milieu of the Ṣāliḥīyah, a neighborhood that was established in the 1160s by emigrants from Jabal Nāblus.[50] Stephan Leder treated the outstanding members of this clan, known as al-Maqādisah, in a fine article in *Der Islam* (1997). He coined the term "charismatic scripturalism" to characterize their particular type of

[47] Entries that consist of nothing more than a name. Perhaps al-Subkī had meant to complete them at a later stage of his work, but never did; perhaps information was lost by copyists of later generations.

[48] For example: 7:112–14, 156–57. Abū al-Qāsim al-Ṣūfī, the nephew of the Shaykh Abū Najīb al-Suhrawardī, who was master to many novices, is not described as a wonder-worker, but his *barakah* is mentioned as the power that has led sinners to repentance and men to God (al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 8:340).

[49] Ibn Rajab, *Al-Dhayl,* 1:39.

[50] See Daniella Talmon-Heller and Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Did Muslim Survivors of the 1099 Massacre of Jerusalem Settle in Damascus? The True Origins of the al-Ṣāliḥīyah Suburb," *Al-Masāq* 17 (2005): 165–69.

religious leadership, highlighting their "extraordinary ability to combine two elements of religious experience which were often held distinct: the literalist aspect of traditionalist religious orientation, and charismatic religious leadership."[51] The *muḥaddith* ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Maqdisī, with whom we opened this paper, was one of them. His two cousins, shaykh Abū ʿUmar Ibn Qudāmah and Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāmah, enjoyed a similar, if not higher, reputation. Abū ʿUmar, the imam and *khaṭīb* of the Hanbali mosque in the Ṣāliḥīyah, was known for piety, *shafāʿah,* and *karāmāt*. His prayer for rain during a dry season (which he carried out with his female relatives on a holy site in the vicinity of Damascus) was instantly accepted. He could recognize indecency and read thoughts. People believed that he mediated *barakah* by the vocalization of certain verses from the Quran. A member of his community gives eloquent testimony to the efficacy of the shaykh's *barakah,* saying that Abu ʿUmar's custom of frequently reciting the *āyāt al-ḥaras* (Quran 2:284–86, 7:52–54, 7:109–11, 9:256, 37:1–11, 55:33–36, 59:212–14, 70:1–4) and *āyat al-kursī* (2:255) kept evil away from them in times of constant warfare, violence, and banditry. He also used to copy the Quran and certain works of exegesis, Hanbali theology and law, and Sufi biographies, and distributed them gratis among community members. Books in his handwriting were considered to carry *barakah* into the homes of those holding them. Likewise, petitions he addressed to local governors and officials on behalf of people who asked for his intercession in matters of this world were considered to be helpful not necessarily on account of their content, but rather due to the *barakah* contained in the document he had handled. A riot almost broke out at his funeral, as men and women fought over the water that had washed his body in preparation for burial.[52]

Muwaffaq al-Dīn, author of the first comprehensive compilation of Hanbali law, *Al-Mughnī,* and of several important theological treatises, was regarded as an extraordinary scholar by his contemporaries and throughout the centuries. His biography in Ibn Rajab's *Dhayl Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah* includes the following laudatory quotation of the Baʿlabakī Hanbali scholar ʿAbd Allāh al-Yūnīnī (d. 617/1220), who must have known him in person:

> I have seen his noble character, his fine companionship, his abundant forbearance, great knowledge and intelligence, his

[51] Leder, "Charismatic," 298.

[52] For a detailed portrait of shaykh Abū ʿUmar, see Daniella Talmon-Heller, "Ḥanbalite Islam in 12th–13th Century Jabal Nāblus and Jabal Qāsyūn," *Studia Islamica* 79 (1994): 103–20. Chamberlain suggests that copying had a talismanic power not only by transmitting the *barakah* of the copyist, but also of the author, whether alive or dead (*Knowledge,* 144).

> perfect manliness and great modesty and constant cheerfulness and his detachment from things of this world and its people and offices, to a degree that the greatest *awliyāʾ* hardly attain. The Prophet had said: "The greatest blessing that God can bestow upon his servant is to inspire him with constant remembrance of himself," which means that *ilhām al-dhikr* is worthier than *karāmāt,* and the worthiest *dhikr* is that which extends benefits to other men, namely the teaching of the religious sciences and the sunnah.[53]

Al-Yūnīnī seems to be engaging in a competition between scholars and Sufis. Himself at home in both traditions,[54] al-Yūnīnī praises scholars using Sufi discourse, especially the theme of *nafʿ*—benefit to the people. Here, he positions Ibn Qudāmah as more virtuous than most *awliyāʾ* in this respect and stresses his righteousness. A few lines down the page the compiler Ibn Rajab dedicates a paragraph to "the mention of some of his [Ibn Qudāmah's] wonders." There we find two rather pale examples of Ibn Qudāmah's penetrating insight and healing techniques, crowned by the following little anecdote, which is related by the *qawwām* (keeper) of the Damascene mosque Ibn Qudāmah used to frequent. The *qawwām* says: "When Ibn Qudāmah spends the night in the mosques, the doors open for him and close behind him by themselves."[55]

ʿImād al-Dīn al-Maqdisī was another renowned saintly figure of the Banū Qudāmah in thirteenth-century Damascus. Though learned, he preferred good works to scholarly work ("*wa-kāna min kuthrat ishghālihi wa-ishtighālihi lā yatafarraghu lil-taṣnīf wa-al-kitābah*"), and never completed his book on religious law.[56] His devotion and generosity to his students and to those who came to seek his guidance, advice, and help was legendary. Many *karāmāt* were attributed to him, such as the overwhelming effect his presence had on a sinner.[57] It was even said that he was one of "the seven who uphold

[53] Ibn Rajab, *Al-Dhayl,* 2:138. On the importance attached to *dhikr,* the memory of God, in Christian and Islamic non-Sufi contexts, see Johannes Pahlitzsch, "The Concern for Spiritual Salvation and *Memoria* in Islamic Public Endowments in Jerusalem (XII–XVI C.) as compared to the Concepts of Christiandom," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras,* vol. 3, ed. Urbain Vermeulen and Jo van Steenbergen (Leuven, 2001), 332–35.

[54] Al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl,* 2:57. See Li Guo, *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography* (Leiden, 1998), 1:15, about Sufism in the al-Yūnīnī family.

[55] Ibn Rajab, *Al-Dhayl,* 2:137–38.

[56] Ibid., 2:94–95.

[57] Ibid., 2:101.

the earth."[58] Another family member to whom *aḥwāl* (spiritual "states") and *karāmāt* (especially of multiplying food for the needy) are attributed is Aḥmad ibn Abī al-Makārim (d. 1225/622), the righteous imam and *khaṭīb* of the village of Mardā (Jabal Nāblus).[59]

The Banū Qudāmah correspond well to Ernst Gellner's category of "charismatic lineages," typical of the Moroccan Atlas.[60] *Barakah* "ran" in the family for at least four consecutive generations, perhaps due to the particular characteristics of the community that recorded its wonders. It was a community of emigrants from a rural area, with an extraordinarily dedicated and competent leadership,[61] and with a documented tendency towards the veneration of holy men and the production of a hagiographical tradition.[62] If we surmise that stories of *karāmāt* are told where there are not only charismatic shaykhs, but also needy communities and convincing storytellers, the case of the Banū Qudāmah is a combination of all three prerequisites.

A few other examples will take us away from the Banū Qudāmah. Speaking about the grammarian, poet, and expert on *qirāʾāt* Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim ibn Fīrruh al-Shāṭibī (d. 590/1194) of the Madrasah al-Fāḍilīyah in Cairo, the Damascene historian Abū Shāmah (d. 665/1267) notes that Shaykh al-Shāṭibī not only "combined learning with good works," but was also a saint of well-known miracles.[63] Muḥammad ibn al-Khiḍr Ibn Taymīyah (d. 622/1225) was the undisputable spiritual leader of Ḥarrān, on top of being the learned author of many works. He served as the *khaṭīb* and imam of the great mosque of Ḥarrān, he taught in one of its main madrasahs (al-Nūrīyah), and he held popular assemblies of exhortation *(majālis al-waʿẓ)* for both the elite and the commoners. Ibn Rajab notes that he was known to have performed wondrous deeds and supernatural feats *(karāmāt wa-*

[58] Ibid., 2:103.

[59] Ibid., 2:164.

[60] About "holy lineages" (albeit as an alternative to the ulama), see Ernst Gellner, *Muslim Society* (Cambridge, 1981), 116–17.

[61] See my "Islamic Preaching in Syria during the Counter-Crusade (Twelfth–Thirteenth Centuries)," in *In Laudem Hierosolymitani: Studies in Crusades and Medieval Culture in Honour of Benjamin Z. Kedar,* ed. Iris Shagrir, Ronnie Ellenblum, and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot, 2007), 65–66.

[62] See Talmon-Heller, "Hanbalite Islam"; idem, "The Cited Tales."

[63] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ismāʿīl Abū Shāmah, *Al-Bāʿith ʿalá Inkār al-Bidaʿ wa-al-Ḥawādith,* ed. H. Salmān (Riyadh, 1990), 223; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab,* ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnāʾūt and Muḥammad al-Arnāʾūt (Beirut, 1991), 6:494–95. Ibn al-ʿImād does not relate the *karāmāt,* but he stresses the righteousness of al-Shāṭibī and his special pious customs.

khawāriq), but he does not give specific examples. He does offer a detailed account of the shaykh's theological disputations with Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn Qudāmah, and of dreams attesting to the shaykh's elevated status post mortem.[64]

In the very long biographical entry dedicated to ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Sulamī in *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah al-Kubrá,* al-Subkī inserts short stories about al-Sulamī's *karāmāt* between the plot of a complicated theological debate in which the shaykh was involved, and a presentation of his *fatāwá* regarding highly contested political issues. In one anecdote, al-Sulamī recognizes the impurity of a piece of cheese brought to him as a present (and indeed it turns out that it had been bought from a *dhimmī* woman who had pork on her hands).[65] The most spectacular wondrous doing of his was performed during the battle of al-Manṣūrah in the winter of 647/1250. When the Frankish boats came dangerously near to the Muslim forces, al-Sulamī raised his hands towards the wind and ordered it, in a loud voice, to turn against the enemy. The wind immediately changed its course, the Frankish boats capsized, and many of their passengers drowned. The Muslims gave thanks to God "for giving them a man whom the wind obeys,"[66] "a man that, had he been in India, or at the very end of the world, the sultan should do his utmost to bring him to his country in order to secure his blessings for himself and for his country" *(law kāna fī al-Hind aw fī aqṣá al-dunyā kāna yanbaghī lil-sulṭān an yasʿa fī ḥulūlihi fī bilādihi li-tatimma barakatuhu ʿalayhi wa-ʿalá bilādihi)*.[67]

Claiming that it was superfluous to tell the *karāmāt* of al-Sulamī's contemporary and fellow Shafiʿi Yaḥyá ibn Sharaf al-Nawawī (d. 676/1278) since they were so well known, al-Subkī reproduces only a small hagiographical anecdote about the scholar's childhood. He quotes al-Nawawī's father, telling that when Yaḥyá was only seven years old, he was the only one in the household to be awakened by a glorious light in the middle of *laylat al-qadr*. Al-Subkī also comments that the impossibly huge volume of al-Nawawī's writing must be regarded as wondrous. Al-Nawawī himself, in his exemplary piety, was willing to recognize as wondrous only an answered prayer, a sip of water in the desert, or a piece of bread in the wilderness.[68]

The only shaykh whose *karāmāt* were transmitted *bi-al-tawātur,*

[64] Ibn Rajab, *Al-Dhayl,* 2:151–62.

[65] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 8:213.

[66] Ibid., 8:216, 84.

[67] Ibid., 8:96.

[68] Ibid., 8:396; Richard Gramlich, *Die Wunder der Freunde Gottes: Theologien und Erscheinungsformen des islamischen Heiligenwunders* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 298.

uninterruptedly (according to ʿIzz al-Dīn ibn ʿAbd al-Salām al-Sulamī), and to whom the largest number of *karāmāt* were attributed (according to Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāmah), was Shaykh ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 563/1166). Known by later generations as the founder of a Sufi *ṭarīqah,* in Ibn Rajab's biographical dictionary he is presented as a renowned preacher, connected with a large madrasah. Ibn Rajab relates only a few of his wonders (all demonstrating *firāsah*) and emphasizes that he was admired by both scholars and ascetics ("*akthar mashāyikh al-arḍ, min al-ʿulamāʾ wa-al-zuhhād*").[69]

Tales of the wondrous deeds of ulama may be found also in Mamluk pilgrimage guides to the cemetery of al-Qarāfah. Christopher Taylor, who worked on a collection of such manuscript guides, retells some of these stories. He mentions the jurist Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Raslān (d. 571/1175–76), who made a wheat merchant's business prosperous by touching his merchandise (until a Jew touched the wheat and ruined everything!), helped a woman in difficult childbirth by giving her a mirror with a line of his writing, and turned water into honey.[70] The Hanbali jurist Abū ʿAmr ʿUthmān ibn Marzūq (d. 564/1168–69) made the Nile rise when it was too low, or recede when it was too high, just by performing his ritual ablutions at the river's bank.[71] The jurist Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Marzūq Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Rudaynī (d. 1145–46) is reported to have flown like a bird to a disputation with a colleague. After his death, he answered the fervent prayers of a poor man who visited his tomb and miraculously supplied him with the 10,000 dirhams he needed in order to pay his creditor.[72] A house was robbed in a Cairene neighborhood and the frightened neighbors went to the jurist Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm, also known as Ibn Khallās al-Anṣarī, and asked him to pray on their behalf. Thanks to his prayer, local inhabitants were spared from beatings by the police; the robber confessed, repented, and was also spared.[73] The tombs of all these saintly ulama, so we learn from Christopher Taylor, were popular sites for visitation. Men wished to be buried in their proximity in pursuit of the *barakah* they believed would help them in this world, and ease their way to the hereafter.[74]

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[69] Ibn Rajab, *Al-Dhayl,* 1:292–93.

[70] Christopher Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous: Ziyāra and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt* (Leiden, 1999), 119, 134, 137.

[71] Ibid., 130.

[72] Ibid., 138, 144.

[73] Ibid., 143.

[74] Ibid., 27.

Conclusions

From the tenth century onwards, comments such as "he was [a man] of wonders *(kāna dhā karāmāt),*" and anecdotes that relate the wondrous doings of learned men, some of whom were madrasah professors and authors of scholarly volumes on jurisprudence, commentary, and theology, are integrated into biographical dictionaries and chronicles. Such a mixture of hagiography and supposedly realistic historical data about jurisconsults and theologians may be disturbing to our understanding of the world,[75] despite recent scholarship that repeatedly deconstructs previously assumed dichotomies between religion and magic, scholars and saints,[76] learned versus vulgar, or "high" culture versus "low" or popular culture.[77] As I have attempted to illustrate in this paper, this mixture of the miraculous and the mundane was perfectly congruent with the sensibilities of men of the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, learned and unlearned. In their minds—as mirrored in the biographical and theological works they have produced—knowledge of religious lore *(ʿilm),* successful intercession with God and with secular powers *(shafāʿah),* and spiritual metaphysical powers *(barakah)* were interconnected, intertwined, and even organically tied to each other.

At this stage, I would like to offer some further thoughts on the issue of hagiographies of scholars, in an attempt to enhance our understanding of the roles and images of ulama in Mamluk society from a rarely posed perspective. As we have seen, the discourse of ulama about themselves reflects the appropriation of Sufi terminology and the employment of the characteristic traits of ascetics and mystics. In Michael Chamberlain's words, "The learned associated themselves with other forms of ritual power [other than *ʿilm*] by linking their *ʿilm* to Sufism . . . by casting themselves as 'true' Sufis, and by using Sufi terms."[78] The impetus, I would like to add, could also have come from below. Namely, the disciples of ulama—ranging from the humble yet popular imam of a neighborhood mosque to a renowned jurist and author—and their admirers from among commoners attached some of the attributes of Sufi shaykhs onto them. The gatekeeper of the mosque Ibn Qudāmah used to frequent at night, the Muslim soldiers at al-Manṣūrah, and the crowd at the funeral of ʿImād al-Dīn Ibn Qudāmah (all

[75] As expressed in Stefan Leder's interpretation of ʿAbd al-Ghanī's rejection of his own saintliness, namely "that any other attitude would probably have been inconsistent with his serious, down-to-earth and toilsome work as a scholar" (Leder, "Charismatic," 299).

[76] See Cornell's refutation of Gellner's oppositional pairs: Cornell, *The Realm,* xxvii, 106.

[77] Regarding the inappropriateness of these dichotomies in Islamic context see Savage-Smith, *Magic and Divination,* iii. She contends that boundaries are indistinct and shifting.

[78] Chamberlain, *Knowledge,* 128–30.

of whom are mentioned as the informants of the biographers and compilers of written biographical material) certainly did.

Alternatively, or simultaneously, the discourse about wonder-working scholars may have been tied to a competition that took place within the ranks of the ulama, rather than between them and Sufis (who, according to most contemporary researchers, were separated from scholars by rather porous boundaries, with a significant overlap between the two categories).[79] In this context, *karāmāt* were the signifiers of impeccably pious and ethical men, scholars who thanks to their righteousness enjoyed the grace of unusual intimacy with God. The identity of ulama was first and foremost constructed on the acquisition and dissemination of *ʿilm,* of course.[80] The unusual authority scholars had in medieval Muslim societies drew also upon the *shafāʿah* and *barakah* (in varying combinations and degrees) that was attributed to them. *Karāmāt* were the "special ingredient" of the depiction of the saintly scholar, who outdid his peers in piety and good works.

[79] See, for example, Emil Homerin, "Sufis and their detractors in Mamluk Egypt," in *Islamic Mysticism Contested*, 226–27.

[80] I thank Yaacov Lev for stressing this for me.

APPENDIX

Selected anecdotes about wondrous doings of scholars from Ibn Abī Yaʿlá, Ibn Rajab, and al-Subkī:

1. The Prophet appears in a dream of an anonymous *muḥaddith,* who had spent years in search of an answer to some peculiar theological question that bothered him, and refers him to Shaykh Abū Bakr ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Jaʿfar, better known as Ghulām al-Khalāl (d. 363/974). The *muḥaddith* hastily departs for Baghdad, enters Jāmiʿ al-Khalīfah (as instructed), and easily recognizes the shaykh by his particular eyebrows and especially loud voice. Shaykh ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz approaches him first, and discreetly asks him if he is the fellow sent by the Prophet.[81] In a second anecdote the shaykh himself is the narrator. He tells of a wonder he had witnessed when accompanying his shaykh on a visit to the keeper *(nāṭūr)* of Bāb al-Ḥarb: the transformation of food into gold (supposedly, for his own sake). More interestingly, the scene depicted by the narrator is that of a group of people telling *karāmāt al-awliyāʾ*. After his death, a ray of light *(ʿamūd nūr)* was seen rising from his grave to the sky.[82] A Muslim who lived in the vicinity of the grave heard the Prophet in his dream, promising that a visit to shaykh Abū Bakr's grave secures God's forgiveness.[83] He is said to have foreseen the exact day of his own death: a Friday at the age of 78, just like Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and Abū Bakr al-Murūdī. Ibn Abī Yaʿlá notes that "*hādhihi karāmah ḥasana la-hu*."[84]

2. Abū al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Samʿūn (d. 387/997), known for his *zuhd fī al-dunyā,* tells the following story: on a visit to Jerusalem, after a sojourn in Medina, his *nafs* craved for fresh dates. He admonished it, and took out the dry dates he had put aside for his meal. To his great surprise, they were fresh! He did not touch them. By suppertime, he found that they had been restored to their former, dry, condition, so he ate some of them.

According to an anecdote told by a student of his, Abū al-Ḥusayn could read thoughts and predict the future. Thanks to his advice, the student did not sell his last belongings, despite his stressful economic situation, and waited patiently for God's succor. It indeed came. Another informant recalls that the shaykh had paused for an hour in the middle of one of his

[81] Ibn Abī Yaʿlá, *Ṭabaqāt,* 2:122–23.

[82] Ibid., 2:124–25

[83] Here the editor, Muḥammad al-Fiqī, adds a footnote, commenting in a typically modernist fashion that it is a shame that such pagan mausolea and sanctuaries were built.

[84] Ibn Abī Yaʿlá, *Ṭabaqāt,* 2:126–27.

sermons, so as not to disturb a student who had dozed off, explaining that the latter was enjoying the apparition of the Prophet in his dream.[85] Finally, Abū al-Ḥusayn predicted that some time after his death his body would be taken out of its grave, and then reburied. When this indeed happened, his shrouds were found intact.[86]

3. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Jaʿfar al-Radhānī (d. 494/1101) was an ascetic *muqriʾ* and *faqīh* whose prayers were answered ("*mujāb al-daʿwah*"). He was also a wonder-worker ("*ṣāḥib karāmāt*"). One of his wonders is spelled out: a deer came over to play with his little son one morning, in accordance with a promise he had given the child on the night before.[87]

4. The Bedouin shaykh *(baʿḍ ahl al-bādiyah)* Abū Ṭālib al-ʿAshārah, Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn al-Fatḥ (d. 451/1059), who was an ascetic and an expert on hadith, was known to pray for rain effectively in times of drought. Ibn Abī Yaʿlá adds: "*wa-la-hu karāmāt kathīrah.*"[88]

5. Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-ʿUlthī (d. 503/1109–1110), a student of Abū Yaʿlá, restored the health of a sick little boy (with the recitation of Quranic verses, and his saliva), and "not few of his [other] wonders became known."[89]

6. ʿUthmān ibn Marzūq al-Qurashī, known also as Abū ʿUmar al-Zāhid (d. 564/1168–69), described as "*al-faqīh, al-ʿārif al-zāhid,*" who taught both law and mysticism, was involved in theological debate (regarding *khalq al-afʿāl*) and had "*karāmāt wa-aḥwāl wa-maqāmāt wa-kalām ḥasan ʿalá lisān ahl al-ṭarīqah.*" Once, he stopped the Nile from flooding agricultural land, and in another year, he prevented a severe drought.[90]

7. Al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad Abū al-ʿAlāʾ, known as al-ʿAṭṭār Shaykh Hamadhān (d. 569/1173–74), is described as a prominent scholar of hadith, author of works on different branches of hadith studies and devotional treatises *(zuhdīyāt wa-al-raqāʾiq wa-ghayr dhālika)*. He was popular among scholars and commoners, including Muʿtazilis and Jews(!), and inclined towards asceticism. The preacher Nāṣiḥ al-Dīn ibn al-Ḥanbalī is quoted saying about him: "and his standing in the eyes of the common people and the elite is

[85] Ibid., 2:157.

[86] Ibid., 2:161–62.

[87] Ibn Rajab, *Al-Dhayl,* 1:92.

[88] Ibn Abī Yaʿlá, *Ṭabaqāt,* 2:192.

[89] Ibid., 2:255–56; Ibn Rajab, *Al-Dhayl,* 1:130–31. In Ibn Rajab's version, Abū al-Ḥusayn (Ibn Abī Yaʿlá) precedes the story with the somewhat apologetic "*akhbaranī man athiqu bi-hi.*"

[90] Ibn Rajab, *Al-Dhayl,* 1:306–11.

well known, as are his *karāmāt.*"[91]

8. Ismāʿīl ibn Ẓafar Abū Ṭāhir al-Mundhirī al-Dimashqī (d. 639/1241–42) traveled extensively for the study of hadith. Little else is said of him, except that he was pious, righteous, chivalrous, and humble, as well as *ṣāḥib karāmāt.*[92]

9. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Yūnīnī al-Baʿalbakī "*aḥad aʿlām wa-shuyūkh al-islām,*" (d. 658/1260), was a scholar versed in hadith and *fiqh*, and a Sufi, a disciple of shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Yūnīnī (also renowned for *karāmāt* and *aḥwāl),* who donned the Sufi mantle *(khirqah)* he had received from shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṭāʾiḥī. He had also attained mystical states and performed *karāmāt,* but he was reluctant to expose wondrous doing, claiming that: "God has commanded the prophets to exhibit their miracles *(muʿjizāt),* and the saints *(awliyāʾ)* to conceal their wonders."[93]

10. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Yaḥyá al-Suʿbī (d. 553/1158–59) was a pious Yemenite scholar and author. It was told about him that he was once attacked with swords (the circumstances are not revealed), but turned out to be immune to their edge. He himself recalled reciting *sūrat yāʾ sīn,* or according to another version, seven other specific verses. He claimed to have learnt of their protective power being a witness to a wondrous sight: a lamb playing at the side of a wolf, unharmed, thanks to a folded piece of paper which was tied around its neck, containing these very verses.[94]

11. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Ṭabarī (d. in the 530s/1135–45), *ṣāḥib al-aḥwāl wa-al-karāmāt wa-al-jidd fī al-ʿibādāt,* was a professor at the Niẓāmīyah, but resigned and settled in Mecca, where he spent the final forty years of his life in absolute poverty. A little pool or cistern would fill up with water exclusively for him, whenever he needed water for performing ablutions.[95]

12. Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Shaybānī al-Mawṣilī, known as al-Kawāshī (d. 680/1281–82), *al-mufassir, al-rajul al-ṣāliḥ, al-zāhid, al-wariʿ, dhū al-aḥwāl wa-al-karāmāt* (too many to tell!), resided in the mosque of Mosul for more than forty years. He was the author of a Quran exegesis in two versions, honored and sought by the sultan "and by his inferiors," and known to master "the greatest name of God *(ism Allāh al-aʿẓam)*."[96]

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[91] Ibid., 1:324–29.

[92] Ibid., 2:224.

[93] Ibid., 2:272.

[94] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 7:140–41.

[95] Ibid., 7:190–92.

[96] Ibid., 8:42. The penetration of the mystery of the Greatest Name of God—who is known to possess ninety-nine of the most beautiful names—is considered to be the source of the highest bliss in this world and the next, and of miraculous powers (Annemarie Schimmel,

13. ʿAbd al-Ghaffār ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qazwīnī, Najm al-Dīn (d. 665/1267), author of *Al-Ḥāwī* and other works, including a book on arithmetic *(Kitāb al-Ḥisāb),* "*kāna min al-ṣāliḥīn arbāb al-aḥwāl wa-al-karāmāt.*" He could write his work at night thanks to a wondrous light glowing from his finger. Al-Subkī adds that two other Qazwīnīs were blessed by the very same wonder: ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad al-Rāfiʿī and his father.[97] Al-Rāfiʿī's powers are attested in a separate entry,[98] where he is described as exceptionally learned and pious, an author of important works in jurisprudence, *tafsīr,* and hadith, and highly praised by contemporary scholars. Al-Nawawī is quoted as saying that al-Rāfiʿī (d. 623/1226) was "one of the local righteous men *(al-ṣāliḥīn al-mutamakkinīn),* who had many *karāmāt.*"[99]

Mystical Dimensions of Islam [Chapel Hill, 1975], 25, 177).

[97] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 8:276–78. For al-Rāfiʿī's light see ibid., 284.

[98] Ibid., 8:281–93.

[99] Ibid., 8:284.

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The Collection and Edition of Ibn Taymīyah's Works: Concerns of a Disciple

In the world of medieval Islam generally, and particularly in the Mamluk period with which we are concerned here, the transmission of knowledge was closely connected to the willingness and ability of a scholar's pupils to transmit his writings. This implies the existence of a circle of students and their engagement in activities of copying, abridging, and commenting on a scholar's work. In itself, this constituted a mark of recognition and affiliation.

In a book devoted to the formation of the four Sunni schools of law *(madhāhib)* in the ninth and tenth centuries, Christopher Melchert has significantly highlighted the pivotal moment of this process as the point when the students of the four imams started recognizing their doctrines, collecting and editing them, and then teaching them. The subsequent formal inclusion of the schools' adherents in collections of biographies organized according to school affiliation substantially contributed to the formalization of the schools, as did the development of a system of qualification for the transmission of knowledge in teaching institutions.[1] Although this discourse concerns the end of the formative period of Islam (ninth and tenth centuries A.D.), which is not the one involved in this article (first half of the fourteenth century A.D.), some of these observations can serve as theoretical focal points for the case presented in this contribution. Additionally, Michael Chamberlain has written a fascinating and rich book on the social dynamics that affected the production and reproduction of knowledge in medieval Damascus (1190–1350).[2] His arguments on the importance of personal affiliation and mechanisms of loyalty form the general framework of this article.

Despite the attention that the renowned Hanbali jurist and theologian Ibn Taymīyah (d. 728/1328) has attracted in recent years, Ibn Taymīyah's journey to modernity remains a fascinating and relatively unexplored subject of research. This article tackles the earliest stage of the long and complex process of the transmission of Ibn Taymīyah's works after his death. It will also bring to light

[1] All these issues are synthesized and critically presented by Christopher Melchert, "The Formation of the Sunni Schools of Law," in *The Formation of Islamic Law,* ed. Wael B. Hallaq (Aldershot, 2004), 351–66, and see the bibliography therein; idem, *The Formation of the Sunni Schools of Law, 9th–10th Centuries C.E.* (Leiden, 1997).

[2] Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (Cambridge, 1994).

some issues regarding the status of Ibn Taymīyah that have been discussed in greater detail elsewhere.[3]

A number of factors could affect the survival, transmission, and eventual circulation and success of somebody's corpus of knowledge in the Mamluk period. Among these, one can cite the position that a scholar enjoyed among the influential people who promoted a culture of patronage in important teaching institutions. Patronage of urban works and scholarly enterprise was indeed an important cultural and political feature of Mamluk society, as a good deal of modern scholarship devoted to this topic shows.[4] Another non-negligible aspect concerns the popularity of the ideas and practices endorsed by a given scholar, as well as the ability of his scholarship to offer appropriate responses to the religious and social demands of his time. The dynamics that the circulation of somebody's ideas created in the political, social, and religious arena in which he was located, and the consequent need to respond to his doctrines, should also be taken into account. This latter factor may be relevant when dealing with some of the controversial doctrines of Ibn Taymīyah. However, a thorough analysis of scholarly reactions to Taymīyan doctrines has yet to be carried out.[5]

As for the first two factors, I am of the opinion that neither played a relevant role in the transmission and dissemination of Ibn Taymīyah's scholarship. As far as patronage is concerned, the common idea that Ibn Taymīyah was at odds with the Mamluk authorities needs to be revisited.[6] Nevertheless, his closeness

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[3] Caterina Bori, "Ibn Taymiyya *wa-jamāʿatu-hu*: Authority, Conflict and Consensus in Ibn Taymiyya's Circle," in *Ibn Taymiyya and His Times,* ed. Shahab Aḥmad and Yossef Rapoport (Karachi, forthcoming), 23–52.

[4] For Mamluk patronage in teaching institutions and scholarly life, see Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo*: *A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton, 1992), 95–127, esp. 96–107; Mohammad Awad, "Sultan al-Ghawri: His Place in Literature and Learning (Three Books Written under His Patronage)," in *Actes du XXe congrès international des orientalistes, Bruxelles, 5–10 September 1938* (Louvain, 1940), 321–22; Carl F. Petry, "A Paradox of Patronage during the Later Mamluk Period," *The Muslim World* 73 (1983): 182–207; idem, "Scholastic Stasis in Medieval Islam Reconsidered: Mamluk Patronage in Cairo," *Poetics Today* 14 (1993): 323–48; Anne F. Broadbridge, "Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: Al-ʿAynī, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 85–107.

[5] The most notorious group of texts produced in refutation of some of Ibn Taymīyah's doctrines is that by Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355), *Al-Rasāʾil al-Subkīyah fī al-Radd ʿalá Ibn Taymīyah wa-Tilmīdhihi Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah,* ed. Kamāl Abū al-Mūná (Beirut, 1983). An analysis of polemical reactions to Ibn Taymīyah in the first half of the fourteenth century can be found in Caterina Bori, *Ibn Taymiyya: una vita esemplare*: *analisi delle fonti classiche della sua biografia,* Supplemento monografico n. 1 alla *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 76 (Pisa, 2003), 141–70.

[6] The idea of conflict between the Mamluk authorities and Ibn Taymīyah is upheld, for instance, in an influential article by Donald P. Little, "The Historical and Historiographical Significance of the Detention of Ibn Taymiyya," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 4, no. 3 (1973):

311–27. Biographical sources and chronicles report plenty of evidence regarding the relationship between Ibn Taymīyah and the Mamluk authorities. For instance, Ibn Taymīyah seems to have been on good terms with the amir Sayf al-Dīn Jāghān, the finance agent *(mushidd al-dawāwīn)* in Damascus between 697 and 702/1297 and 1303 and occasionally deputy of the viceroy (Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī [d. 744/1343], *Al-ʿUqūd al-Durrīyah min Manāqib Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyah,* ed. Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib Ḥāmid al-Fiqī [Cairo, 1938], 198–99). He had good relations with the governor of Damascus Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afram (d. ca. 720/1320–21) as well. Ibn Kathīr reports that he had accompanied al-Afram on one of the campaigns against the Shiʿi populations of Kasrawān in 699/1300 (Ibn Kathīr [d. 774/1373], *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah fī al-Tārīkh,* ed. Fuʾād ʿAlī al-Kurdī [Cairo, 1932–39], 14:12, ll. 12–20). In the year 700/1300 the viceroy and the amirs of Damascus are described as asking Ibn Taymīyah to go to Egypt to exhort the sultan to send his troops against the Tatars (Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah,* 14:15, ll. 15–20). According to Ibn Kathīr's version, in Cairo Ibn Taymīyah met with the sultan, the vizier, and the notables who consented to come to Syria (Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah,* 14: 6, ll. 11–13). Ibn Taymīyah's interventions regarding both the Mongol authorities and the Egyptian administration are recorded by several chronicles (al-Birzālī [d. 739/1339], *Al-Muqtafá,* in *Al-Jāmiʿ li-Sīrat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyah (661–728) khilāl Sabʿat Qurūn,* ed. Muḥammad ʿUzayr Shams and ʿAlī ʿImrān [Mecca, 1420 H], 149–50; Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah,* 14:8 and 14; al-Yūnīnī [d. 726/1326], *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography: Al-Yūnīnī's Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān,* ed. and trans. Li Guo [Leiden, 1998], 2:108–9, 119, 123–24; Ibn Dawādārī [d. ca. 736/1335], *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmiʿ al-Ghurar,* ed. Hans Robert Roemer [Cairo, 1960], 9:32–33, 36; Karl Vilhelm Zetterstéen, ed., *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensultane in den Jahren 690–741 der Higra nach arabischen Handschriften* [Leiden, 1919], 69–70, 76–79; al-Nuwayrī [d. 733/1333], *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,* ed. al-Bāz al-ʿArīnī [Cairo, 1992], 31:395). It is hard to believe that he acted only privately. According to al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349), al-Afram was not willing to let Ibn Taymīyah go to Egypt when summoned there in 705/1306 (al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār,* in *Al-Jāmiʿ li-Sīrat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyah,* 260: "*fa-manaʿa nāʾib al-shām . . .*"). The sultan Qalāwūn (d. 741/1341), after regaining power in 709/1310, asked Ibn Taymīyah to avenge his enemies with a fatwa, but the shaykh refused (Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *ʿUqūd,* 282–83). In the same year Ibn Taymīyah persuaded the sultan to maintain the status of *dhimmīs* as instituted by Baybars al-Jashnikīr (Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *ʿUqūd,* 281). In 711/1311–12 Ibn Taymīyah is reported to have advised Qalāwūn to appoint al-Afram to the vice-regency of Tripoli (Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah,* 14:60–61: "*intaqala al-Afram ilá niyābat Ṭarābulus bi-ishārat Ibn Taymīyah ʿalá al-sulṭān bi-dhālika*"). In the same year he went back to Damascus in the company of the sultan and the army (Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah,* 14:67, ll. 7–10), where he is reported to have aroused the envy of some of his fellow scholars "*li-taqaddumihi ʿinda al-dawlah*" (Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah,* 14:37, l. 7). Ibn Taymīyah himself declares his allegiance to the Mamluk regime in various instances: "There is no enmity or hatred between me and anybody in Egypt. I never stopped loving them (the Mamluks) and considering them as friends: their amirs, their scholars and judges" (Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿ Fatāwá Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Qāsim al-Najdī al-Ḥanbalī [Rabat, 1981], 3:259, ll. 5–7; see also 3:216, ll. 7–8). The very composition of his political treatise *Al-Siyāsah al-Sharʿīyah* is usually associated with Ibn Taymīyah's close connection with the sultan Qalāwūn (see Caterina Bori, "Thélogie politique et Islam, à propos d'Ibn Taymiyya [d. 728/1328] et du sultanat mamelouk," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 224, no.1 (2007): 10, n. 13, for all the references regarding the composition of the *Siyāsah* according to Henri Laoust. See also Ibn Taymīyah, *Les intermédiares entre Dieu et l'homme* [*Risâlat al-wâsita bayna l-khalq wa l-haqq*], *suivi de Le Shaykh de l'Islam Ibn Taymiyya: Chronique d'une vie de thélogien militant,* ed. Yahya

to some prominent men of the military elite does not imply any kind of direct patronage either from the Mamluk authorities themselves or from other powerful scholars of his time. This does not mean that he was beyond the dynamics of competition that characterized the scholarly life of his time. On a few instances he is reported as actively taking part in the struggles for control of stipendiary posts *(manāṣib)*.[7] Even so, generally speaking Ibn Taymīyah's teaching activities took place in peripheral institutions.[8] While some aspects of his scholarship and personal activism seem to have been appreciated—I am thinking mainly of both his physical and intellectual engagement in activities of jihad—nevertheless, many other aspects of his doctrines remained minority views.[9] I am referring to his unpopular positions on divorce oaths and triple divorce *(al-ḥilf bi-al-ṭalāq* and *al-ṭalāq al-thalāth)* and the visitation to tombs of pious men *(ziyārat al-qubūr)* in particular, but also to his open criticism of Sufi ideas and practices.[10]

Michot [Paris, 1996], 22). The letters that Ibn Taymīyah wrote to the sultan to support the war against the Mongols or to promote the Islamization of the Jabal Kasrawān populations also point in the same direction (see Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *ʿUqūd,* 182–94, and Ibn Taymīyah, *Risālah ilá al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Nāṣir fī Shaʾn al-Tatār,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid [Beirut, 1976]). It was the *fitnah* which broke out in Damascus in 718/1318 regarding divorce oaths that caused Ibn Taymīyah to lose the support of both the sultan and the governor of Damascus, Tankiz (d. 740/1339). In fact, as demonstrated by Yossef Rapoport, the position of Ibn Taymīyah on divorce oaths did not only challenge well-established social practices and issues of patriarchal authority, but also the sphere of public life. See Yossef Rapoport, *Marriage, Money and Divorce in Medieval Islamic Society* (Cambridge, 2005), esp. 89–110; and idem, "Ibn Taymiyya on Divorce Oaths," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Syrian and Society,* ed. Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni (Leiden, 2004), 191–217.

[7] See the reports about the deliberations (and subsequent strife) over the allocation of positions that took place at the death of the shaykh al-Fāriqī (d. 703/1304) (see Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah,* 14:28, and al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,* ed. Fahīm Muḥammad ʿUlwī Shaltūt [Cairo, 1998], 32:79–80) and at the death of the shaykh Kamāl al-Dīn al-Sharīsī (d. 718/1318) (see al-Dhahabī, *Thalāth Tarājim Nafīsah lil-Aʾimmah al-Aʿlām: Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyah, al-Ḥāfiẓ ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Birzālī, al-Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl al-Dīn al-Mizzī: Min Kitāb Dhayl Tārīkh al-Islām,* ed. Muḥammad ibn Nāṣir al-ʿAjmī [Kuwait, 1995], 56).

[8] See Bori, "Ibn Taymiyya *wa-jamāʿatu-hu,*" 31–32.

[9] Ibn Taymīyah's intervention during the Mongol invasions of Syria has been an important factor in the construction of his image as a paradigm of activism to this very day. The bio-hagiographical literature has doubtless exploited Ibn Taymīyah's activism in jihad as an undisputable point in his favor (see for instance al-Bazzār, *Al-Aʿlām al-ʿAlīyah fī Manāqib Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyah,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid [Beirut, 1976], 63–65; al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik,* 253–54, 258–59; Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *ʿUqūd,* 177–80; al-Marʿī ibn Yūsuf al-Karmī [d. 1033/1623–24], *Al-Kawākib al-Durrīyah fī Manāqib al-Mujtahid Ibn Taymīyah,* ed. Najm ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Khalaf [Beirut, 1986], 93–94). On jihad against the Mongols, now see Denise Aigle, "The Mongol Invasion of Bilād al-Shām by Ghāzān Khān and Ibn Taymīyah's Three 'Anti-Mongol' Fatwas," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 2 (2007): 89–120.

[10] On the *ṭalāq* controversy, see—as quoted above—Yossef Rapoport, *Marriage, Money and Divorce;*

With this in mind, the role of his circle of pupils must have been crucial in the process of transmission of his work. The massive 37-volume fatwa collection of Ibn Taymīyah, the many printed books of his writings available on the market today, and the large number of manuscripts lying scattered in libraries all over the world encourage one to imagine a steady, ongoing, and successful transmission throughout the centuries.[11] Contrary to these expectations, this article will show that just after Ibn Taymīyah's death, the issue of the collection and transmission of his *muʾallafāt* (writings) was a rather troublesome matter for one scholar in particular.

A Disciple's Practical Concerns

An impressive amount of biographical material on Ibn Taymīyah has survived. No other contemporary scholar was the subject of such a large number of biographical writings. Among these, two monographs written shortly after his death stand out, together with a third, later one, which does not impress the reader with its originality—in fact, it draws heavily on previous materials.[12] A series of biographical entries in collective dictionaries or obituaries in chronicles adds to

idem, "Ibn Taymiyya on Divorce Oaths"; and Abdul Hakim I. Al-Matroudi, *The Ḥanbalī School of Law and Ibn Taymiyyah: Conflict or Conciliation* (London and New York, 2006), 171–85. For Ibn Taymīyah's criticism of Sufi ideas and popular practices, see Jon Hoover, *Ibn Taymiyya's Theodicy of Perpetual Optimism* (Leiden, 2007), 108–14; Josef W. Meri, *The Cult of Saints among Muslims and Jews in Medieval Syria* (Oxford, 2002), 126–38, esp. 130–34; Alexander D. Knysh, *Ibn ʿArabī in the Later Islamic Tradition: The Making of a Polemical Image in Medieval Islam* (Albany, 1999), 87–111; Christopher S. Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous: Ziyāra and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt* (Leiden, 1999), 168–218; Thomas E. Homerin, "Ibn Taymiyya's *al-Ṣūfiyya wa-al-fuqarāʾ*," *Arabica* 32 (1985): 219–44; idem, "Sufis and their Detractors in Mamluk Egypt: a Survey of Protagonists and Institutional Settings," in *Islamic Mysticism Contested*: *Thirteen Centuries of Controversies and Polemics,* ed. Frederick De Jong and Bernd Radtke (Leiden, 1999), 225–45, esp. 231–35; Niels H. Olesen, *Culte des saints et pèlerinages chez Ibn Taymiyya (661/1263–728/1328)* (Paris, 1991); Thomas F. Michel, *A Muslim Theologian's Response to Christianity*: *Ibn Taymiyya's* al-Jawāb al-Saḥīḥ (Delmar, NY, 1984), 5–14 and 24–39; Paul Nwyia, "Une cible d'Ibn Taymîya: Le moniste al-Timlisânî (m. 690/1291)," *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales* 30 (1978): 127–45; Muhammad Umar Memon, *Ibn Taimīya's Struggle against Popular Religion* (The Hague, 1976).

[11] However, it should be noted that some of Ibn Taymīyah's most voluminous works are not included in the Saudi collection of his *fatāwá*. See, among others, Ibn Taymīyah, *Darʾ Taʿāruḍ al-Naql wa-al-ʿAql,* ed. Muḥammad Rashād Sālim, 11 vols. (Riyadh, 1981–83); and idem, *Minhāj al-Sunnah al-Nabawīyah fī Naqd Kalām al-Shīʿah al-Qadarīyah*, ed. Muḥammad Rashād Sālim, 9 vols. (Riyadh, 1986).

[12] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *ʿUqūd*. See also the new edition from a different manuscript, *Kitāb al-Intiṣār fī Dhikr Aḥwāl Qāmiʿ al-Mubtadiʿīn wa-Ākhir al-Mujtahidīn Taqī al-Dīn Abī al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad Ibn Taymīyah,* ed. Muḥammad al-Sayyid al-Jalaynad (Cairo, 2003). Al-Bazzār, *Al-Aʿlām al-ʿAlīyah;* al-Marʿī ibn Yūsuf al-Karmī, *Al-Kawākib al-Durrīyah.*

this bulk of texts.[13] To my knowledge, no other fourteenth-century scholar was inundated by such a cascade of bio-hagiographical attention, let alone the single-subject volumes composed for him in the style of *manāqib* (usually monographic biographical works of a laudatory nature). For instance, although the powerful Shafiʿi chief qadi Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355) received an impressively long and wordy *tarjamah* (biographical notice) composed by his son Tāj al-Dīn (d. 771/1369) that was inserted in his monumental *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah al-Kubrá,* no monographs were penned to enhance his personal and scholarly status.[14] Sultans did enjoy the privilege of being subjects of *sīrah*s, but this is a matter of an altogether different nature.[15]

Luckily, many epistles of Ibn Taymīyah to his family and companions have withstood the ravages of time, as have some letters written by members of his close circle of students and supporters. These materials do not usually share the language and purpose of the bio-hagiographical tradition, but they can still be considered biographical materials.[16] Some of them display an interesting personal flavor mixed with doctrinal issues that help contextualize and further our understanding of the vicissitudes of the *shaykh al-islām* and the cultural and political milieu of which he was a part. Among these letters is that of Ibn Murrī al-Ḥanbalī, to which I shall now turn my attention.

Ibn Murrī was a Hanbali scholar from Baʿlbak. This background in itself did not necessarily entail his being a follower of Ibn Taymīyah, but he indeed was. His name comes up in the sources in connection with some disturbances that

[13] For a critical survey of Ibn Taymīyah's biographical tradition, see Hasan Qasim Murad, "Miḥan of Ibn Taymiyya: A Narrative Account based on a Comparative Analysis of the Sources" (M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1968), 1–73; and Bori, *Ibn Taymiyya: una vita esemplare,* 29–59, 177–81. Al-ʿUlaymī (d. 927/1520–21), *Al-Manhaj al-Aḥmad fī Tarājim Aṣḥāb al-Imām Aḥmad,* ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnāʿūt et al. (Beirut, 1997), 5:24–44, should be added to the list of sources examined in the latter reference. I should like to thank Christopher Melchert for letting me have a copy of the text.

[14] Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah al-Kubrá,* ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāhī and ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥilw (Cairo, 1964–76), 10:139–340.

[15] See for instance Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Nāhiḍ (d. 841/1438), "Ibn Nāhiḍ's *as-Sīra aš-Šaykhiya* (Eine Lebensgeschichte des Sultans al-Muʾayyad Šaykh): Ein Beitrag zur Sīra-Literatur," ed. Rudolf Veselý, *Archìv Orientálnì* 67, no. 2 (1999): 149–220; Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (d. 692/1292), *Al-Rawḍ al-Ẓāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir,* ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1976). Paulina B. Lewicka, *Šāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī's Biography of the Mamluk Sultan Qalāwūn* (Warsaw, 2000), contains a critical edition of a biography of the sultan Qalāwūn (d. 689/1290) entitled *Al-Faḍl al-Maʾthūr min Sīrat al-Sulṭān al-Malik al-Manṣūr.*

[16] See Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *ʿUqūd,* 257–59, 259–67, 272–77, 284–85, 291–321; Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 3:202–10, 211–47, 249–77; 28:30–46, 47–48, 48–50, 50–57, 57–59. Some of the letters in *Majmūʿ Fatāwá* coincide with those in *ʿUqūd.* This list does not include the letters sent to the sultan Qalāwūn, which display, all in all, a different type of discourse.

took place in the year 725/1324–25 in Cairo, where he was tried and punished by the Maliki judge al-Ikhnāʾī (d. 732/1331–32) for preaching in support of Ibn Taymīyah's ideas on asking for the Prophet's aid and intercession *(al-istighāthah wa-al-tawassul)*. The affair concluded in his expulsion from Cairo together with his family.[17]

Ibn Murrī is the author of a *risālah* to Ibn Taymīyah's pupils. The letter was written shortly after the shaykh's death,[18] and it has the clear purpose of encouraging Ibn Taymīyah's students to engage in the collection and edition of their master's works. Ibn Murrī's concern regards the state of Ibn Taymīyah's *muʾallafāt*—which, he laments, are scattered, disordered, and full of lacunae—and their subsequent transmission.

He illustrates this painful situation as follows:

> I urge your sound endeavors to get hold of the notebooks *(karārīs)* of the "Refutation of the Doctrines of the Philosophers" *(Al-Radd ʿalá ʿAqāʾid al-Falāsifah),* as there is not a complete extant copy of this work except mine, which was stored in the northern cabinet *(al-khuristān al-shamālī)* of our shaykh's madrasah.[19] The shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn[20]—may God be compassionate to him—informed me that he had deposited the whole collection in a secure place, but he was loath to help me access these notebooks when he went to Damascus—God is the uniquely powerful. Abū ʿAbd Allāh [ibn Rushayyiq] took the fourth one from me, which is [now] with him,

[17] A biographical note on Ibn Murrī can be found in Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:178–79. For an account of his *fitnah,* see al-Jazarī (d. 739/1338–39), *Tārīkh Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Anbāʾihi wa-Wafayāt al-Akābir wa-al-Aʿyān min Abnāʾihi al-Maʿrūf bi-Tārīkh Ibn al-Jazarī,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 1998), 2:61–62. Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah,* 14:117; al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1441), *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Musṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1971), 2:1:263; Hasan Qasim Murad, "Ibn Taymiyya on Trial: A Narrative Account of his Mihan," *Islamic Studies* 18 (1979): 24–25; and idem, "Miḥan of Ibn Taymiyya: A Narrative Account based on a Comparative Analysis of the Sources," 110–11. Joseph H. Escovitz, *The Office of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt in Cairo under the Baḥrī Mamlūks* (Berlin, 1984), 141–43.

[18] Ibn Murrī, *Risālah,* in *Al-Jāmiʿ li-Sīrat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyah,* 97–104. One of the people mentioned in the letter as most suitable to revise and edit Ibn Taymīyah's work is the qadi Sharaf al-Dīn who died in 731. One may therefore assume that the letter was written between 728 and 731. Ibid., 100.

[19] Perhaps *al-madrasah al-ḥanbalīyah* where he last taught. For the history of the madrasah, see al-Nuʿaymī (d. 927/1521), *Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris,* ed. Ibrāhīm Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 1990), 2:50–62. For Ibn Taymīyah's teaching career there, see ibid., 57–58.

[20] It is unclear who the person in question is. Perhaps it is Ibn Taymīyah's brother, Sharaf al-Dīn, who died in 727/1326–27, i.e., before Taqī al-Dīn. Alternatively, perhaps it is the judge Sharaf al-Dīn mentioned below.

> while the original copy written by the shaykh is in a state of severe disarray *(fī al-qaṭʿ al-kabīr);* that one was also here [with me]. Less than one page remains of the other two copies. So let all this reach Abū ʿAbd Allāh that he may complete the copy until he says: "This is a chapter and that is a chapter. God knows best what is right."[21]

On the one hand, and as underscored elsewhere, this source demonstrates Ibn Murrī's close and active affiliation with Ibn Taymīyah. On the other hand, and more significantly for the purposes of this paper, it brings to light the issue of the written transmission of Ibn Taymīyah's works. In this regard, Ibn Murrī's practical concern is fascinating in its seemingly down-to-earth character. In fact, in its unusual nature, the *risālah* is an interesting text since it is not primarily concerned (at least apparently) with God's eternal attributes and the great theoretical debates that animated theological and religious scholarship in fourteenth-century Mamluk Egypt and Syria, but with the material survival of his teacher's books, obviously instrumental to the circulation and consolidation of his doctrine. For a number of concrete reasons, the issue was not at all banal.

Firstly, Ibn Taymīyah was renowned for being a very prolific author: "From one day to the next he would write four quires or more of exegesis, jurisprudence, the principles of Islamic religion, and refutation[s] of the philosophers and of the speculative sciences. It is no exaggeration [to say] that up to now his writings have reached five hundred volumes."[22] Al-Dhahabī also mentions "the utmost difficulty and obscurity" of his handwriting.[23] His most renowned biographer, Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī (d. 744/1343), was well aware of the difficulty of putting together a complete list of Ibn Taymīyah's *muʾallafāt,* and, with due caution, he warns that it is almost an impossible task due to the amount he wrote, the speed with which he wrote, and the fact that he used to write from memory without relying on any written texts *(wa-yaktubu min ḥifẓihi min ghayr naql).*[24] Yet, he promises he will make every effort to compile a comprehensive list. To a certain extent, the dismay of the shaykh's biographer can be understood, for even today it is not easy to acquire a systematic knowledge of the whereabouts of Ibn Taymīyah's

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[21] Ibn Murrī, *Risālah,* 99.

[22] Al-Dhahabī, *Nubdhah min Sīrat Shaykh al-Islām Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah,* in Caterina Bori, "A New Source for the Biography of Ibn Taymiyya," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 67, no. 3 (2004): 321–48, quotation is from p. 341. See also Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *ʿUqūd,* 64–65.

[23] Al-Dhahabī, *Nubdhah,* 340.

[24] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *ʿUqūd,* 64. One should not forget the hagiographical character of such statements. In this case memory *(ḥifẓ)* is emphasized as a most desirable quality for the good traditionist. As a matter of fact, in one of the letters sent to Damascus from Egypt, Ibn Taymīyah asks for some books to be brought to him; Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *ʿUqūd,* 285.

manuscripts and writings.[25]

Secondly, in the first half of the fourteenth century it is unlikely that any copyists would assure the reproduction and diffusion of somebody's work in exactly the way it was first conceived by its author. Moreover, Ibn Taymīyah did not have a systematic mind. Rather, he was unsystematically explosive both in the quantity and in the quality of his works. Anybody approaching his writings must cope with his digressive and repetitive style, with the immense number of authorities and past scholars he had in mind or to whom he directly refers, and with his polemical language and the targets it implicitly or explicitly strikes.

To this one may add that his mandatory travels and changes of residence (from Damascus to Cairo, from Cairo to Alexandria, from Alexandria back to Cairo, then finally to Damascus), combined with his ongoing intellectual activity, must have contributed to the dispersal. Ibn Murrī mentions several times. Furthermore, when he was imprisoned in 726/1326 in the Citadel of Damascus, his books were taken away and were only recovered after his death by the amir Sayf al-Dīn Quṭlūbughā al-Fakhrī (d. 742/1343). Ibn Taymīyah himself recalls the confiscation episode in two of his letters. He rejoices that his books were taken from the prison (Damascus, 728/1328), for they would be read and understood and his arguments would show the wrong charges of his enemies.[26] It seems that the recovery of Ibn Taymīyah's books was a bone of contention between the amir al-Fakhrī, who held Ibn Taymīyah in great esteem, and Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, the major detractor of Ibn Taymīyah. Once he had successfully retrieved them, al-Fakhrī is said to have handed them to over Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah and to Ibn Taymīyah's brother Zayn al-Dīn.[27]

Should we believe al-Bazzār (d. 749/1349) when he highlights the shaykh's great generosity by reporting that he gave his books away to whoever came to visit him and asked for one of them? The anecdotal and hagiographic character of these reports revolves around the idea that Ibn Taymīyah did not stop anybody from accessing religious knowledge, therefore complying with prophetic injunctions.[28] We read of him saying about the confiscation of his books in prison: "I have never

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[25]The following catalogs may be of use: *Majmūʿat Muʾallafāt Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyah al-Makhṭūṭah (al-Aṣlīyah wa-al-Matbūʿah) al-Maḥfūẓah fī al-Maktabah al-Sulaymānīyah bi-Istānbūl,* ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Shaybānī, pt. 1 (Kuwait, 1993); *Majmūʿat Muʾallafāt Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyah al-Makhṭūṭah (al-Aṣlīyah wa-al-Matbūʿah) al-Maḥfūẓah fī Markaz al-Makhṭūṭāt wa-al-Turāth wa-al-Wathāʾiq,* ed. idem, pt. 1 (Kuwait, 1993).

[26] Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 28:47 and 58.

[27] See Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah,* 14:197–98; and Henri Laoust, "Hanbalisme sous les Mamlouks Bahrides (658/784–1260/1382)," *Revue des Etudes Islamiques* 28 (1960): 60.

[28] Meaning not necessarily, or not only, the books he had written, but also the books he possessed. See al-Bazzār, *Al-Aʿlām al-ʿAlīyah,* 65–66.

written anything in order [for it] to be concealed from anybody."[29]

Moreover, we are informed that: "He would write an answer, and if somebody turned up to make a good copy of it, [it would be preserved], otherwise the person who asked for it *(al-sāʾil)* would take his writing and go," or: "Perhaps one of his disciples took it, so it was impossible to get it transcribed, [and furthermore] he did not return it, so it was gone."[30] This report points to the circumstantial nature of Ibn Taymīyah's scholarship, which is attested by the shaykh himself. In various instances, he affirms that he used to write (in matters of belief [*iʿtiqād*]) only at the request of a person that would present him with a query and press him for an answer.[31] The *mustaftī,* the person who demands a legal response *(fatwá),* is here defined as *mustarshid,* seeking (and being in need of) guidance. In this way the ethical value of conveying knowledge is also underlined.

It is the very circumstantial nature of his *fatāwá* (the occasions of their composition are often left unspecified) and the overwhelming quantity of Ibn Taymīyah's production that makes it hard even today to date Ibn Taymīyah's production. Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī was fully aware of this, as he explains:

> He was asked about something, so he would answer, "I have already written about this but do not remember where it is." So he turned to his disciples and told them, "Return my writing to me and show it to him (i.e., the *mustaftī*) so that it may be transmitted." But because of their own greed to keep it *(fa-min ḥirsihim ʿalayhi),* they would not bring it back, and because of their own inability, they would not transmit it, so his work got lost and its title remained unknown. For this and other reasons it is impossible to enumerate what he wrote and what he composed.[32]

In a somewhat dramatic picture, we are then informed that when Ibn Taymīyah was imprisoned, his followers were dispersed, as were his books *(tafarraqa atbāʿuhu wa-tafarraqa kutubuhu)*. His disciples were afraid of showing his books, so they fled with them, kept them hidden, sold them, and gave them away as gifts; some of their books were even stolen or their existence disavowed.[33] Loyalty turned into shameful behavior, it would seem.

This leads to the most relevant point of my argument: despite Ibn Taymīyah's

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[29] Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 28:47, see also 3:259, l. 1.

[30] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *ʿUqūd,* 65.

[31] Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 3:161, 243, 258–59.

[32] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *ʿUqūd,* 65.

[33] Ibid.

immense popularity, which is stressed by all of his biographical accounts, there seems to be a very limited number of people Ibn Murrī envisages as capable transmitters of the shaykh's thought and doctrines. He remarks, "There will be no substitute for any of the most important brothers once they have gone, after him" *(wa-kull man dhahaba baʿdahu min akābir al-ikhwān mā ʿanhu ʿiwaḍ)*.[34] What is more, and worse, Ibn Murrī seems to question the willingness of the shaykh's pupils to engage fully in this crucial activity. Hence, he composed the *risālah*.

In sum, the situation was dire enough to cause Ibn Murrī substantial worry. As a remedy, Ibn Murrī proposes to his addressees a communal editorial undertaking. Ibn Taymīyah's writings should be gathered and handed over to Ibn Rushayyiq (d. 749/1348), whom he considers the most competent and expert of the group, for "he is the one of the *jamāʿah* who best knows the possible locations of the individual benefits which have been cut off from their original source" *(huwa akhbar al-jamāʿah bi-maẓānn al-maṣāliḥ al-mufradah allātī qad inqaṭaʿa māddatuhā)*.[35] His efforts should next be checked by the best of the group *(jamāʿah)*, or collated with the original copy. A further revision should then be carried out by the traditionist al-Mizzī (d. 742/1341–42), the most trustworthy of them,[36] and then by Ibn Qayyim (d. 750/1351)[37] and the judge Sharaf al-Dīn,[38] who are the most proficient in the rational method *(al-manāhij al-ʿaqlīyah)* and theological research *(al-mabāḥith al-uṣūlīyah)*. A sound transmission will thus be guaranteed.[39]

The real protagonist of this procedure is the above-mentioned Ibn Rushayyiq, who emerges as the new face of this group of scholars. An attentive reading of the sources indicates that Ibn Rushayyiq, a Maliki, was a faithful disciple of Ibn Taymīyah, as well as the one who was most dedicated to the collection and edition of his works. Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) and Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī confirm Ibn Murrī's

[34] Ibn Murrī, *Risālah,* 100.

[35] Ibid. By *al-maṣāliḥ al-mufradah,* the author means any single-topic work (such as a *risālah* or a fatwa), or even a passage, paragraph, or sentence from such a work, which is beneficial for the *jamāʿah* or to readers in general. The meaning of this phrase, as well as the phrase *qad inqaṭaʿa māddatuhā,* is clarified in an earlier passage of Ibn Murrī's *risālah,* when he laments the loss of many of Ibn Taymīyah's works or parts of them: "We ask God for assistance in the recovery of these splendid benefits after their dispersal" *(. . . jamʿ shaml hādhihi al-maṣāliḥ al-jalīlah baʿda shatātihā)*. In his opinion, Ibn Rushayyiq is the only one capable of recovering these works or restoring the fragments to their original source material *(māddah)*. My gratitude goes to Livnat Holtzman for her help with this passage.

[36] For a lengthy biography of al-Mizzī, see al-Subkī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah,* 10:395–430.

[37] For a good introduction to Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, see now Birgit Krawietz, "Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah: His Life and Works," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10, no. 2 (2006): 19–64.

[38] Not identified.

[39] Ibn Murrī, *Risālah,* 100.

view.[40] For instance, it is reported that a small part of what the *shaykh al-islām* wrote during his last incarceration relating to Quranic exegesis was sent by him to Ibn Rushayyiq, whereas the rest remained with the judges. Then, according to Ibn Rushayyiq, "The shaykh died and his works are still with them, approximately fourteen bundles *(rizmah)*."[41] Ibn Murrī encourages his "brothers" (as he calls them) to support, help, and protect Ibn Rushayyiq, for "he has truly remained peerless in this skill *(li-annahu qad baqiya fī fannihi farīdan)* and no one of the *jamāʿah* can ever, in any way, replace him . . . so write down the works that he has with him and let him write what you have with you."[42]

On the basis of Ibn Murrī's letter combined with other evidence, the editors of the large collection of biographical materials on Ibn Taymīyah, Muḥammad ʿUzayr Shams and ʿAlī ʿImrān, believe that the list of Ibn Taymīyah's writings usually attributed to Ibn Qayyim and published by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid in 1953 should instead be attributed to Ibn Rushayyiq.[43] The point is well taken, but the issue is still open to further research. In any case, the letter brings to light somebody who was hardly known from previous studies, and it also offers a starting point for reflection over Ibn Qayyim's long-assumed role in the reception and transmission of his master's work.

What is at stake is quite clear: a sound and attentive transmission of Ibn Taymīyah's doctrines is obviously vital to the survival of his thought and of his understanding of Islam: "As the shaykh benefited from the scholarship *(kalām)* of the previous imams, similarly who comes after him will benefit from his scholarship. So, follow the divine command and engage in the collection of everything you can of the different types of his voluminous writings *(al-muʾallafāt al-kibār),* of the scattered pieces of his small questions, of the copies of his dispersed fatwas, and

[40] Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah,* 14:229; Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *ʿUqūd,* 27.

[41] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *ʿUqūd,* 28.

[42] Ibn Murrī, *Risālah,* 98.

[43] Shams and ʿImrān, *Al-Jāmiʿ li-Sīrat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyah,* 8–13, 98 n. 1, and 220ff. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Asmāʾ Muʾallafāt Ibn Taymīyah,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Damascus, 1953). Their argument is based on various observations: (1) a confusion created by the fact that the two authors (Ibn Rushayyiq and Ibn Qayyim) share the same *kunyah* (Abū ʿAbd Allāh); (2) that Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī and Ibn Kathīr make statements about Ibn Rushayyiq's engagement in the writing down of Ibn Taymīyah's works; (3) that Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī reports some parts of Ibn Rushayyiq's list of the shaykh's works (4) on the basis of Ibn Murrī's *Risālah.* As for point 3, it needs to be noted that Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī does not report the *Risālah* of Ibn Rushayyiq, but only some titles of Ibn Taymīyah's works on the authority of Ibn Rushayyiq. Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī reports the opening of a work called *Kitāb Tanbīh al-Rajul al-ʿĀqil ʿalá Tamwīh al-Jadal al-Bāṭil* (pp. 29–35), followed by a list of the shaykh's *muʾallafāt* which, however, is not attributed to Ibn Rushayyiq (pp. 35–67). See also Hoover, *Ibn Taymiyya's Theodicy of Perpetual Optimism,* 6, n. 14.

of the rest of his scholarship that has already been dictated."[44]

What is less obvious is the reason for Ibn Murrī's anxious concern over this issue. Was the problem simply that Ibn Taymīyah had been overly productive and, unfortunately, rather careless in the compilation of his works? Or was the sense of vacuum left by the death of the *shaykh al-islām* so overwhelming as to produce the urgent appeal of this text? The letter seems to follow shortly after Ibn Taymīyah's death. The passing of time (*al-fawt*) looms heavily in the *risālah* and hints at both the death of the shaykh and the threatened loss of his precious oeuvre unless a collective effort to preserve it is promptly undertaken.[45] But is the death of the shaykh enough to have caused Ibn Murrī's lack of confidence and gloomy state of mind? Or does the letter reflect something else about the status of Ibn Taymīyah (and of his scholarship) among his circle of scholars at the time of his death? I propose that the latter is true, for it seems that a subtext lurks behind the lines of Ibn Murrī's *risālah*.

In Search of Unchallenging Authorities: Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Bukhārī, and Ibn Taymīyah

If Ibn Taymīyah was such a popular scholar and his ideas were so widely known and accepted (except by those who persistently criticized him), what would inspire Ibn Murrī's urgent and insistent call to take action against the loss of his works? If his "circle of pupils" *(jamāʿah)* or his "brothers" *(ikhwān)* (both words are repeatedly used by Ibn Murrī) were the people most faithful to Ibn Taymīyah—those who had attended him, studied with him, shared with him his understanding of Islam (with its active implications) and experienced his grievances and sorrows—why would they need to be so strongly exhorted?

As noted above, Ibn Murrī is not confident about the eagerness of his "brothers" to commit to assuring Ibn Taymīyah's works the survival they deserve. Sorrow and mourning for Ibn Taymīyah's death are simply not enough to preserve his memory and do not do justice to Ibn Taymīyah's efforts. Spreading his knowledge is intended as a fulfilment God's command in a charismatic vision of activism that perfectly matches that of Ibn Taymīyah.[46] At some point, he admonishes them: "Do not behave at present as you have behaved in the past."[47] The allusion is not completely clear here, but it has recently been sufficiently demonstrated that Ibn Taymīyah's theological and legal choices created uneasiness even in his own circle of scholars. Ibn Taymīyah himself seems to be well aware of this when he writes in one of his letters from Egypt to his companions: "Even when someone

[44] Ibn Murrī, *Risālah,* 101.

[45] Ibid., 98, 99, 101.

[46] Ibid., 97, 104.

[47] Ibid., 98.

from the group has remained absent from us, or has come to us only now, his status in our eyes today is [nevertheless] greater, higher, and more honorable than it was before" *(wa-mā ghāba ʿannā aḥad min al-jamāʿah, aw qadima ilaynā al-sāʿah, illā wa-manzilatuhu ʿindanā al-yawm aʿẓam min mā kānat, wa-ajall, wa arfaʿ).*[48] The main idea running through the text is that of forgiveness towards those who have harmed him, be it his enemies or some of the people close to him.[49]

Ibn Murrī provides two authoritative examples from the past by which he presumably intends to motivate his addressees and to corroborate Ibn Taymīyah's stature. The first one is Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241/855). He mentions Ibn Ḥanbal's dislike of his opinions being recorded. But after his death, writes Ibn Murrī, his disciples *(aṣḥābuhu)* attended to this matter: "They transmitted his knowledge, clarified his objectives, and made his benefits known, so his way *(ṭarīqatuhu)* became victorious and his footsteps were followed."[50] In other words, Ibn Ḥanbal's opinions became the basis for a "school" *(madhhab),* although this is not what he would have liked.[51] Ibn Taymīyah's followers are therefore encouraged to imitate Ibn Ḥanbal's pupils' example, with the difference that Ibn Taymīyah does not seem to have been disturbed by the idea of his doctrines being written down; however, the parallel is evocative. Ibn Murrī then goes on to reassure any sceptics that Ibn Taymīyah's scholarship *(kalām)* will be accepted *(maqbūl)*.

The vicissitudes of the famous traditionist al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) are then mentioned as somebody who, despite the excellence of his knowledge, was banned (from Nishapur) and died as an outcast *(thumma māta baʿda dhālika gharīban)*. The allusion here is to the charge made against al-Bukhārī late in his life that he held that the uncreatedness of the Quran did not apply to its recitation: "The Quran is the uncreated speech of God, but the deeds of men are created." Or, more explicitly: "Al-Bukhārī . . . was among those who stated, 'my pronunciation of the Quran is created' *(lafẓī al-qurʾān makhlūq)*. For this reason he died in the

[48] See Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *ʿUqūd,* 264; on the previous page Ibn Taymīyah hints at dissent among his own companions concerning him. See Bori, "Ibn Taymiyya *wa-jamāʿatu-hu*" for plenty of other pieces of evidence.

[49] Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *ʿUqūd,* 259–67; also in Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 28:50–57.

[50] Ibn Murrī, *Risālah,* 101–2: "It is known that, in his life, al-Imām Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal prohibited the writing down of his opinions *(kalām)* so that the hearts may keep together on the original great source *(al-māddah al-aṣlīyah al-ʿuẓmá).*" On Ibn Ḥanbal's reluctance about his opinions being written down, see Melchert, *The Formation of the Sunni Schools of Law,* 137, 141, and idem, *Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal* (Oxford, 2006), 59, 81.

[51] On the formation of the Hanbali *madhhab,* see Melchert, *The Formation of the Sunni Schools of Law,* esp. 137–55; Nimrod Hurvitz, "Schools of Law and Historical Context: Re-examining the Formation of the Ḥanbalī Madhhab," *Islamic Law and Society* 7, no. 1 (2000): 37–64; and idem, *The Formation of Hanbalism: Piety into Power* (London, 2002): 103–12.

sorrow of hostility."[52] Yet, God compensated his misfortunes with success and wide acknowledgment of his works and skills. Great men are destined to meet with obstacles and grief, but it is part of God's plans to turn seeming defeats into victories. It is not difficult to detect here a pattern of prophetic lives in general, and of the Muḥammadan *sīrah* in particular.[53] Towards the conclusion, Ibn Murrī expresses his wish for Ibn Taymīyah's scholarship to enjoy a great share in this authentic heritage *(al-wirāthah al-ṣāliḥah),* referring to the above-mentioned al-Bukhārī.

Here Ibn Taymīyah is firmly placed in the most honored traditionist scholarly experience. In so doing, Ibn Murrī prepares the ground for the exposition of Ibn Taymīyah's rational theological method. He used correct tradition *(al-naql al-ṣaḥīḥ)* as the foundation for each of his scholarly statements, and then corroborated them by sound reasoning *(bi-al-ʿaqlīyāt al-ṣaḥīḥah)*. Ibn Taymīyah's ultimate goal, states Ibn Murrī, was to demonstrate the lack of contradiction between the two kinds of proofs while connecting his views back to the *salaf* (the early generation of pious Muslims).[54] In a letter written from Egypt in the month of Ramaḍān 706/1307 to an unspecified addressee, Ibn Taymīyah uses similar language when he refers to the lack of argument produced by his enemies against him:

> If they want to refute [my beliefs] with whatever they will of the rational and traditional arguments *(min ḥujaj ʿaqlīyah wa-samʿīyah),* I will answer them to all of it and I will explain by clear exposition—understandable both to the elite and the commoners—that my words are in agreement with what reason and constitutional nature have made necessary *(li-ḍarūrat al-ʿaql wa-al-fiṭrah)* and that they are in agreement with the Book, the Sunnah, and the Consensus of the Pious Ancestors of the community, and that the person who contradicts all this opposes clear reason and correct tradition *(sarīḥ al-maʿqūl wa-ṣaḥīḥ al-manqūl)*.[55]

[52] See al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071), *Tārīkh Baghdād aw Madīnat al-Salām* (Cairo, 1931), 2:4–34, esp. 30–33; al-Subkī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah,* 2:212–41, esp. 228–30, and 218–20 (quotations are from pp. 228, ll. 9–10, and 229, ll. 16–17); Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449), *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* (Hyderabad, 1907–9), 9:47–55, esp. 53–55, and 2:361–62.

[53] For instance, on the theme of Muḥammad's persecution, see Uri Rubin, *The Eye of the Beholder: The Life of the Prophet as viewed by the early Muslims: A Textual Analysis* (Princeton, 1995), 127–66.

[54] Ibn Murrī, *Risālah,* 103. For a competent exposition of his method, see now Hoover, *Ibn Taymiyya's Theodicy of Perpetual Optimism,* 19–69; Shahab Ahmed, "Ibn Taymiyya and the Satanic Verses," *Studia Islamica* 87 (1998): 67–124, esp. 112.

[55] Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 3:246, ll. 6–9. The letter is dated by Yahya Michot between Shawwāl and the beginning of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 706 (April–beginning of June 1307); see Yahya Michot, "Textes Spirituels d'Ibn Taymiyya IX: *«Moi, je ne vous ai pas demandé de me faire sortir*

A number of important recent studies have highlighted Ibn Taymīyah's combination of philosophical and traditionist discourses, which led him to support his literalist views with a selective and highly original application of rational argumentation.[56] Accordingly, the long-established image of Ibn Taymīyah as an uncompromising anti-rationalist is now undergoing a process of serious revision. Ibn Murrī was aware of the novelty that Ibn Taymīyah's views represented in the fourteenth-century Syrian and Egyptian traditionist milieu, and he therefore had to convince his addressees that, despite his trials and tribulations, Ibn Taymīyah could still be considered as having the same rank as Ibn Ḥanbal and al-Bukhārī and that his works were thus worthy of transmission.

The absolute prominence Ibn Taymīyah attributes to the *salaf* in his own theological and legal reasoning is crucial and can explain some of the tensions his doctrine created in his own environment. In this regard, it is worth mentioning that Ibn Murrī already defines the Taymīyan way as *al-ṭarīqah al-salafīyah* (the way of the pious ancestors).[57] Islam, like Christianity and Judaism, draws its concept of authority from the past. Identification with the *salaf* was therefore a very powerful weapon that allowed Ibn Taymīyah to support the incontestability of his arguments in the face of the condemning authorities, while simultaneously leading him to bypass the boundaries of the dominant theological and legal schools which were a significant component of the Mamluk legal system, a focal point of social identity, and an important form of professional network.[58]

Ibn Taymīyah's challenge is exemplified by the charge commonly levelled against him of contradicting the four schools of law, as well as by the sentiment

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d'ici…»," p. 2, n. 7, located at www.muslimphilosophyonline.com/it/index.html, under the heading "His Works" and the subheading "TEXTES SPIRITUELS I–XVI." Here Michot presents the translation of some excerpts of the letter. A summary of the letter can be found in Henri Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Taymiyya: La Wasitiyya* (Paris, 1986), 26–29.

[56] The best demonstration of this Taymīyan method is now that of Hoover, *Ibn Taymiyya's Theodicy of Perpetual Optimism*. See also Yahya Michot, "Vanités intellectuelles…L'impasse de rationalistes selon *Le Rejet de la contradiction* d'Ibn Taymiyya," *Oriente Moderno* 19 (2000): 597–617; idem, "A Mamluk Theologian's Commentary on Avicenna's *Risāla aḍḥawiyya*: Being a Translation of a Part of the *Darʾ al-Taʿāruḍ* of Ibn Taymiyya, with Introduction, Annotation and Appendices," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 14 (2003): 149–203, esp. 165–72, and 309–63. On different issues regarding Ibn Taymīyah's rational theology and methodology, see also the articles by Livnat Holtzman, Jon Hoover, Mehmet Sait Özervarli, and Racha el-Omari in *Ibn Taymiyya and His Times*.

[57] Ibn Murrī, *Risālah,* 101.

[58] On the meaning of the *salaf* in Ibn Taymīyah's thought, see the papers of Walid Salih and Rascha el-Omari in *Ibn Taymiyya and His Times* and the introduction to the volume. For Ibn Taymīyah's attitude to *madhāhib,* see the articles of Yossef Rapoport and Caterina Bori in the same volume. For Ibn Taymīyah versus his own school, see now Al-Matroudi, *The Ḥanbalī School of Law and Ibn Taymiyyah,* 40–45.

expressed in his own words:[59]

> In my life up to this point, I have never pushed anybody in the field of theology *(fī uṣūl al-dīn)* to join the school of Aḥmad or anybody else, and I have not supported this sort of attitude nor have I mentioned it in my doctrine. I only mention that upon which the Pious Ancestors of the community and its imams have agreed. In spite of this, I have told them [i.e., his opponents in the 706/1307 Egyptian trial] more than once: I am indulgent with he who has been contradicting me for [the last] three years [and I wait for him] to come about with one word on the authority of the imams of the first three centuries that contradicts what I have said.[60]

This attitude towards creed goes hand in hand with that towards jurisprudence in a logical correspondence between theological and legal reasoning.[61] In the same text, Ibn Taymīyah expounds on the ways the term *sharʿ* was understood in his day. Three basic meanings are highlighted: the revealed law *(al-sharʿ al-munazzal),* the interpreted law *(al-sharʿ al-muʾawwal),* and the distorted law *(al-sharʿ al-mubaddal).* The first consists of the Book and of the Sunnah of the Prophet. Adherence to it is compulsory *(wa-hādhā yajibu ittibāʿuhu)* and punishment *(al-ʿuqūbah)* must be inflicted on whoever contradicts it. The second consists of the activity of *ijtihād* and the opinions of the scholars. It is into this category that the various *madhāhib* fall, and adherence to them is permissible but not obligatory. Nobody can either compel the commoners to follow the opinions of a jurist or prevent them from doing so; *taqlīd* is not prohibited, but neither is it encouraged, especially for the majority of Muslims.[62] The distorted or substituted law consists of lies made in the name of God, the Prophet, or other religious figures, and propagated by means of false testimonies *(al-shahādāt al-zūr).* The person who engages in it is an unbeliever.[63] In this context, Ibn Taymīyah's organization of the meanings of law works in his defense and serves to invalidate the judgment of his prosecutor, Ibn Makhlūf. In

[59] For instance: Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 3:217, 253; but also Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah,* 14:67; Ibn Rajab (d. 795/1393), *Kitāb Dhayl ʿalá Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābilah,* ed. Muḥammad Hāmid Fiqī (Cairo, 1952–53), 2:389, 394.

[60] Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 3:229.

[61] On this point see Hoover, *Ibn Taymiyya's Theodicy of Perpetual Optimism,* 19–69, and Yossef Rapoport, "Ibn Taymiyya's radical legal thought: Rationalism, pluralism and the primacy of intention," in *Ibn Taymiyya and His Times,* 193–95.

[62] Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 11:265 and 431: "*wa-lā yajibu ʿalá ʿumūm al-muslimīn ittibāʿ aḥad bi-ʿaynihi illā rasūl Allāh"* (the polemic runs here towards those pseudo-Sufis and ascetics who blindly imitated their shaykhs).

[63] Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 3:268.

fact, he argues, no matter to which school Ibn Makhlūf (d. 718/1318) belongs, it is not his right to compel people to accept it. Before, he had strongly argued for the incompetence of Ibn Makhlūf in matters of creed, in order to explain his failure to produce a favorable verdict.[64] Yet, the debate over Ibn Makhlūf's competency has far-reaching implications. It reveals a contention over who is entitled to have the final word in cases involving religious issues. In the same letter, Ibn Taymīyah broaches the boundaries of both the sultan's and the judges' judicial power in matters of religious sciences; his imprisonment provided a crucial opportunity to reflect upon these matters. He argues that it does not devolve to the judge to resolve disputes concerning issues of universal religious knowledge *(fī masā'il al-ʿilm al-kullīyah),* such as Quranic exegesis, hadith, jurisprudence *(fiqh),* and so forth.[65] On the contrary, it is incumbent upon the sultan either to resolve these disputes by referring to the Book and the Sunnah (Q. 4:59 is the verse quoted) or to accept the way in which his subjects live, their doctrines *(madhāhib)* included. Yet, whenever innovations are manifestly opposed to the shariʿah, it is the sultan's duty to declare their reprehensible character *(ʿalá al-sulṭān inkāruhā).* Since the number of innovators is so high, it can happen that their doctrines are considered equivalent to those of righteous people (here *ahl al-ʿilm wa-al-sunnah*). In this case, the authority *(man yatawallá al-amr)* is in need of "somebody that brings to light the proof of God *(ḥujjat Allāh)* and explains it clearly so that after the proof there can be the punishment." The formulation of the punishment before the proof is presented is unlawful *(mashrūʿ).* Thus, the sultan is to be assisted by experts in religious science who help him produce legal proofs, without which no judgement is permissible and no punishment applicable. What does the qadi do, then? He basically ascertains what the disputants involved in the case have said or done, and he assesses the proofs, but he is not asked to produce a legal verdict on general statements that belong to the realm of doctrine.[66]

A broader look at Ibn Taymīyah's *fatāwá* shows that his differentiation of the three *sharʿ* types occurs a few other times.[67] He specifies that "the interpreted law" consists of the judgment of the person who is entitled to formulate it *(ḥukm al-ḥākim),* and this person may be right or wrong. What Ibn Taymīyah is trying to say here is that there is a high possibility for a judge to be wrong: "When a

[64] Ibid., 3:235–36, 255.

[65] Ibid., 3:238.

[66] Ibid., 3:240–41. These passages have been also translated and commented upon by Yahya Michot, "Textes spirituels d'Ibn Taymiyya X *« Je ne suis dans cette affaire qu'un musulman parmi d'autres...»,"* *Le Musulman* 23 (Paris, 1994): 27–29 (reproduced at the website www.muslimphilosophyonline.com/it/index.html; see n. 54 above).

[67] Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 11:262–65, 430–31, 506–9, in particular 506–7; 19:308–9; 35: 389 (for *al-sharʿ al-munazzal*) and 395–96.

judge judges according to something that he considers a legal proof *(al-ḥujjah al-sharʿīyah),* like a piece of indisputable evidence *(bayyinah)* or a confession *(iqrār),* and the inner meaning is in contradiction with the outward one, it is not permissible for the person in favor of whom the judgement was produced *(al-maqḍī lahu)* to follow it, and this should be agreed upon."[68] Thus, it is not only the doctrinal authority of the four schools, but also that of judges, that the *shaykh al-islām* is trying to define and, in the case of his own trial, to restrict.[69]

The theological controversy over the createdness of the Quran that is implicit in the mentioning of al-Bukhārī is also significant. Ibn Murrī seems to imagine an invisible thread joining the three vexed traditionists. The *miḥnah* regarding the createdness of the Quran *(khalq al-qurʾān)* initiated by the caliph al-Maʾmūn (d. 218/833) reflected some Hanafi and Muʿtazili positions.[70] The eventual defeat of al-Maʾmūn's position was not only a milestone in the consolidation of the ninth century ulama's religious authority[71] and in the formation of the dogma of the uncreated and eternal Quran,[72] but, more specifically, it marked the success of the party headed by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and established his fame once and for

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[68] Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿ Fatāwá,* 11:262–63.

[69] For an overview on the judges' competencies and activities during the Bahri period in Cairo, read Escovitz, *The Office of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt in Cairo under the Baḥrī Mamlūks*, 131–72, and esp. 133–47 for cases involving charges of *kufr, zandaqah,* and apostasy.

[70] Joseph Schacht was the first to suggest a connection between the issue of the created Quran and some fringes of Hanafi thinking rather than Muʿtazili doctrine. See Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muḥammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford, 1950), 258–59; Joseph van Ess, "Ḍirār b. ʿAmr und die 'Cahmīya': Biographie einer vergessenen Schule," *Der Islam* 13 (1967): 1–70, esp. 35; and idem, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra* (New York, 1992), 3:175–88. Martin Hinds' article "Miḥna," in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1993): 7:2–6, remains a good starting point on this fascinating episode of early Islamic history and contains a useful bibliography. More recent analyses of the *miḥnah* are to be found in John A. Nawas, "A reexamination of three current explanations for al-Maʾmūn's introduction of the Miḥna," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35 (1994): 615–29; Michael Cooperson, *Classical Arabic Biography: The Heirs of the Prophet in the Age of al-*Maʾmūn (Cambridge, 2000), 117–38; Nimrod Hurvitz, "Miḥna as self-defense," *Studia Islamica* 92 (2001): 93–111; idem, *The Formation of Hanbalism,* 115–57.

[71] The *loci classici* of this argument are Ira M. Lapidus, "The Separation of State and Religion in the Development of Early Islamic Society," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 6 (1975): 363–85; and Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds, *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First Centuries of Islam* (Cambridge, 1986). Muhammad Qasim Zaman has challenged the argument of the separation between state and religion in his *Religion and Politics under the early Abbasids: The Emergence of the Proto-Sunni Elite* (Leiden, 1997), 70–118.

[72] For an analysis of the early development of the dogma with reference to Ibn Taymīyah as well, see Wilferd Madelung, "The Origins of the Controversy Concerning the Creation of the Koran," in *Orientalia Hispanica sive Studia F. M. Pareja octogenario dicata,* ed. J. M. Barral (Leiden, 1974), 1:504–25.

all.[73] The highly respected traditionist al-Bukhārī was possibly as involved in this controversy concerning the physical recitation of the Quran as some other scholars of his time.[74] For his part, Ibn Taymīyah elaborated a dynamic vision of God's essence that led him to a similar conclusion, i.e., that God speaks from eternity by his will and power, that the Quran is uncreated, but its human recitation is created.[75] The issue was one that Ibn Ḥanbal apparently shunned, preferring that the matter be avoided.[76]

In connecting the life stories of Ibn Ḥanbal, al-Bukhārī, and Ibn Taymīyah, Ibn Murrī reveals not only his need to ground the soundness of Ibn Taymīyah's method and scholarship in the example and experience of eminent past authorities, but he also explicates his own understanding of Ibn Taymīyah's lack of consensus in his own time, which he attributes to theological factors.

Conclusions

In fourteenth-century Mamluk Syria and Egypt, knowledge was transmitted from master to student, and this process took place both inside and outside formal teaching institutions. At that time the qualification that granted somebody the authority to transmit a scholar's corpus of knowledge was sometimes formalized by written certification *(ijāzah),* and sometimes not. Yet, the *ijāzah* was not a *conditio sine qua non* for knowledge to be transmitted. As Michael Chamberlain has put it, the *ijāzah* represented a formal acknowledgement through which "shaykhs deemed disciples ready to represent a body of knowledge and to exemplify its carriers."[77] However, without a social network of loyal pupils willing to recognize their affiliation and legal or theological orientation openly, the process of transmission would have been severely hampered.[78]

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[73] See ibid. On Ibn Ḥanbal and his pious attitude towards the Quran, see Christopher Melchert, "Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal and the Qurʾān," *Journal of Qurʾanic Studies* 6, no. 2 (2004): 22–34.

[74] See al-Subkī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah,* 9:119, ll. 1–3; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb,* 2:361–62; and Christopher Melchert, "The Adversaries of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal," *Arabica* 44 (1997): 234–53, esp. 241–42.

[75] For a discussion of this issue in comparison also to Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, see Jon Hoover, "Perpetual Creativity in the Perfection of God: Ibn Taymiyya's Hadīth Commentary on the Creation of this World," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 15, no. 3 (2004): 296–99; and idem, "God Acts by His Will and Power: Ibn Taymiyya's Theology of a Personal God in his Treatise on the Voluntary Attributes," in *Ibn Taymiyya and His Times.*

[76] Al-Subkī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah,* 9:118–19 and 229–31. Melchert, "The Adversaries of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal," 241.

[77] Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Practice,* 89.

[78] On the *ijāzah* system in Damascus, see Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Practice,* 69–90, esp. 87–89; in Egypt see Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge,* 31–33; George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh, 1981), 140–52. For a complete bibliography

The letter of Ibn Murrī concerns exactly this topic. The text deals with the issue of the transmission of Ibn Taymīyah's writings and presents some practical concerns. Who was to carry out the work, and how? A group of followers is identified as apt to do the job, and some names are specified; Ibn Rushayyiq stands out among these names, and not Ibn Qayyim as one would normally expect. Ibn Murrī is rather direct about the method to be followed. He envisages it as a collective endeavor, but highlights the names of the most skilful. So far, no inconsistencies emerge except for the fact that, for some reason, the project seemed problematic to Ibn Murrī. Why was that? Two main reasons have been identified. The first is the state of disorder of Ibn Taymīyah's writings (confirmed by other sources); the second is an embarrassing reluctance on the part of those who would have normally performed the task.

As I have argued elsewhere, by the time of his death, the status of Ibn Taymīyah was more problematic and less established than we are accustomed to believe (as also the amount of his biographical writings confirm), and this is true even among the traditionist ulama of his circle. The letter of Ibn Murrī splendidly testifies to this situation. By recalling Ibn Taymīyah's rational method and the theological issue of the uncreated Quran, Ibn Murrī suggests that the uneasiness was theological. Here and elsewhere, I suggest that Ibn Taymīyah's detachment from the authority of the four *madhāhib* and his challenge to judicial authority became socially and politically inconvenient at some point, as his death in prison shows. These different factors do not contradict each other. On the contrary, they underline Ibn Taymīyah's scholarly consistency and complexity.

Finally, one must note that in spite of all the difficulties, the plea of Ibn Murrī did not go unheard. Ibn Rushayyiq seems to have done a good job, for we do possess today the large collection of *fatāwá* and many other fulsome volumes. How, to what extent, where, and in which circles and circumstances Ibn Taymīyah's ideas were eventually taught, discussed, and transmitted after his death remains an unexplored subject of research.[79] On a broader level, the letter sheds light on the patterns of transmission of religious knowledge among the civilian elite of fourteenth-century Mamluk society and confirms the logic of personal affiliation and social consensus to which it was subjected.

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on the subject, refer to Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge,* 30, n. 43.

[79] Al-Matroudi, *The Ḥanbalī School of Law and Ibn Taymiyyah,* devotes a chapter (pp. 129–70) to the influence of Ibn Taymīyah on later Hanbali jurists.

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The Problem of Sufism

Anyone visiting the modern city of Cairo will surely be struck with the impression that medieval Egypt, and particularly the capital city of the Mamluk empire, remains close at hand. In fact, it remains literally at arm's length through its monumental architecture, its ordering of the cityscape, and even its design aesthetic that in the twentieth century has been reborn as the "classical" style of Islamic Egypt. This neo-Mamluk design phenomenon may rightly be interrogated, among other things, for some of the easy assumptions it makes about "high" culture and our urge, even in the modern age, to streamline the past and oversimplify our historiography.

An even greater challenge to us as historians are the various phenomena that together constituted Sufism in the Mamluk period. I point to this as a problem because it appears that within our field there has recently been a significant increase in research relating to Sufism, and yet, as the following pages will show, in many instances we continue to labor under a methodology that is far from perfect and at times even misleading. By identifying the *problem of Sufism* as my object of study, I seek to bring to light the challenge Sufism continues to represent to our historiographical methods. I will briefly survey some of the more promising recent research in this area, and follow with an inquiry into one area of particular importance to the study of Sufism. Specifically, my aim will be to show that contemporary historians' use of terminology relating to the concept of "orthodoxy" in discussions of Mamluk Sufism has failed in its account of the particular historical examples it confronts and has steered us away from the deeper methodological challenge that the phenomenon of Sufism represents for historians.

The study of Sufism has recently contributed to a number of wider debates and thematic explorations within the field of Mamluk studies. One theme rather well developed in the historiography of the medieval West, but only recently taken up in earnest by students of the Mamluk period, centers on the tension between city and countryside. Contributions to this area have come from research on particular Sufi figures and, more widely, the religious topography of the Egyptian Delta.[1] Jean-Claude Garcin's work on the Upper Egyptian city of Qūṣ has recently

[1] Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen, *Al-Sayyid al-Badawî: un grand saint de l'islam égyptien* (Cairo, 1994); idem, "Maîtres, cheikhs et ancêtres: saints du Delta à l'époque mamelouke," in *Le développement du soufisme en Égypte à l'époque mamelouke,* ed. Richard McGregor and Adam Sabra (Cairo, 2006),

become available in a re-edition; elsewhere he has revisited a phenomenon he first addressed in 1969, namely that of rural Sufis and their integration into the urban fabric of Cairo.[2] Of particular significance are his observations that, although historians have often avoided using Sufi literature, this material can in fact provide unique perspectives on the diversity of social groupings as well as popular conceptions and critiques of Mamluk political authority. In the same direction, Adam Sabra has drawn on Sufi literature to animate certain dimensions of social history.[3]

Of singular importance in urban settings are the phenomena of procession and pilgrimage. These practices go back at least to the Fatimids in Cairo, and from early on they have been studied with emphasis on the roles, both actual and symbolic, of the ruling elite.[4] But recent research into the use of public space for Sufi parading, and the impact of pilgrimage routes and visitation sites on the urban topography, has continued to develop. Analysis of pilgrimage literature, itineraries, topography, and the range of personal titles associated with venerated Sufis has shed statistical and quantitative light on lesser-known dimensions of pilgrimage and procession.[5]

Mamluk society was of course multi-religious. To date, good research has been produced on this topic, although often from the wider perspectives of Jewish history or the history of Eastern Christianity. The study of Sufism has begun to help us here, widening Mamluk studies to include these minority communities. Comparison of saint-day *(mawlid)* celebrations in the Muslim and Coptic traditions has expanded our model of popular piety across religious boundaries.[6] The role sometimes played by prominent Sufis in anti-Christian public violence has recently

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[2] Jean-Claude Garcin, *Un centre musulman de la Haute Égypte médiévale: Qûs* (Cairo, 1976 and 2005); idem, "L'insertion sociale de Sha'rani dans le milieu cairote," in *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire* (Cairo, 1969), 159–68; idem, "Les soufis dans la ville mamelouke d'Égypte: Histoire du soufisme et histoire globale," in *Le développement du soufisme,* 26–32.

[3] Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1517* (Cambridge, 2000), 8–31.

[4] Paula Sanders, *Ritual, Politics, and the City in Fatimid Cairo* (Albany, 1994), 83–94; Boaz Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo* (Cambridge, 1993), 70–76.

[5] Tetsuya Ohtoshi, "*Tasawwuf* as Reflected in *Ziyâra* Books and the Cairo Cemeteries," in *Le développement du soufisme,* 299–329; May Al-Ibrashy, "Cairo's Qarafa as Described in the *Ziyâra* Literature," in *Le développement du soufisme,* 269–98; Christopher Taylor, *In the Vicinity of the Righteous: Ziyâra and the Veneration of Muslim Saints in Late Medieval Egypt* (Leiden, 1999), 65–69, 168–226.

[6] Catherine Mayeur-Jaouen "Pélerinages d'Égypte, mouleds coptes et mouleds musulmans," (Mémoire d'habilitation, Paris IV-Sorbonne, 2000).

been studied, shedding new light on inter-communal relations.[7] Finally, Paul Fenton has contextualized and illuminated important elements of the devotional life of Egyptian Jews by drawing on Sufi literature.[8]

This short list of recent work on the history of Sufism should make clear the substantial contribution of specialists in this lesser-known area to the wider field of Mamluk studies. Beyond its value to the broader historical themes outlined above, this research opens up significant new materials for analysis. Until recently, devotional and mystical literature, saintly *vitae (manāqib),* and pilgrimage manuals had rarely been exploited. It is as a corrective to this historiographical blind spot that I enumerate the studies above; however, my primary concern in this article is to refine the methodological basis upon which these and future historians will address the problem of Sufism. To this end, I will briefly explore the science of early and medieval *kalām,* paying particular attention to the boundaries of the concept "orthodoxy." For a second perspective, I will turn to the fourteenth-century historian Ibn Khaldūn, who will nuance this methodological landscape further. With these insights in mind, I will then explore some specific examples of historical research on Sufism that suffer because of their reliance on an overly simplified conception of "orthodoxy." This oversimplification has its roots in European intellectual history, and more specifically the complex phenomenon known in our field as Orientalism.

On Theology and Authority

As we turn to the methodological issues at stake in our discussion of Mamluk era Sufism, we must consider some of the underlying conceptual structures upon which such analysis rests. While a systematic survey of terms such as "orthodoxy" and "heresy" is well beyond the scope of this article, a summary comment is certainly in order. The issue may first be considered from the perspective of institutional authority. In the Christian West the categories of "orthodoxy" and "heresy" arose from the history of church doctrine. Through various institutions the Catholic Church honed its theological positions, defended them, and variously enforced them. By the Middle Ages, in European social and intellectual history "orthodoxy" had become more than simply a measure of proper belief: it had become synonymous with the authority of institutionalized religion. In short, the Church simply was "orthodoxy." Not surprisingly, this association of institution and doctrinal authority made its way into the religious conceptions and categories

[7] Tamer El-Leithy, "Sufis, Copts and the Politics of Piety: Moral Regulation in Fourteenth-Century Upper Egypt," in *Le développement du soufisme,* 75–120.

[8] Paul Fenton, "Juifs et soufis en Égypte mamelouke," in *Le développement du soufisme,* 121–35; idem, "Les traces d'al-Hallaj, martyr mystique de l'islam," *Annales Islamologiques* 35 (2001): 101–12.

of Western Orientalists as they produced knowledge of the Islamic world.[9] The implication of this for our present study is that modern scholarship maintains this inherited categorization. More particularly, as will be seen in detail in the final section of this article, historians have tended to project this pattern onto their analyses of the Islamic religious tradition, in essence treating the learned class (or ulama) as a functional equivalent to the Church.

Beyond this institutional association, a second issue is one of implementation. Certainly the history of synods, councils, and inquisitions in the Western tradition is complex, but for our purposes one simple point is that, in contrast to Mamluk Egypt, medieval Europe at its harshest moments asserted "orthodoxy" through Church tribunals. The situation in the Islamic context was rather different, in that questions of "orthodoxy," while also the concern of theologians and their supporters in the civil authority, were equally the concern of the jurists *(fuqahāʾ),* a class of religious functionaries that has no equivalent in the Christian context. The jurists played an essential role in translating any transgression, often articulated first by theologians in doctrinal terms, into points of religious law. One might be accused of "heresy" (e.g., *zandaqah, kufr, shirk,* etc.), and the case may have been strong, but the charge would eventually have to be put into legal terms if punishment were ever to be meted out. Despite his attacks elsewhere on the unacceptable theses of the philosophers, al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111) makes just such a point when he warns against the hasty use of *takfīr,* saying that unbelief is a purely legal category.[10] At the risk of overstating the distinction between theologians and jurists,[11] my point here is simply to underline the essential function of law in the Islamic equation.

This legal dimension is important to our consideration of terminology and method, in that it represents a point of significant divergence between what lies behind the common Orientalist usage of the term "orthodox" and the historical situation of medieval Egypt. Wielding the term uncritically, we evoke a process (albeit in vague non-historical terms) in which theological discourse has identified "heresy" and responded to it with censure. As carried over into the Islamic context, this picture is misleading in two important ways. First, as we have just seen, the uniquely Islamic institution of religious law will have been marginalized. But perhaps more significantly, this perspective will prevent us from understanding an important reality on the ground. In historical practice, the censure of questionable religious behavior and belief was carried out by political

[9] Carl W. Ernst, *The Shambhala Guide to Sufism* (Boston, 1997), xiii–xiv, 1–5.

[10] Josef van Ess, *The Flowering of Muslim Theology,* trans. J. M. Todd (Cambridge, MA, 2006), 39–40.

[11] They were often the same individuals, and jurists regularly generated their own cases against "heresy."

authorities, not as an implementation of a ruling of "heresy" as identified by theologians, but rather more typically in their role as protectors of public order, itself a concept defined within Islamic law. In other words, to echo al-Ghazzālī, the censure of "heresy" should stand primarily as a matter of law. If we as historians turn to such phenomena with the conceptual assumptions of "orthodoxy" and "heresy" transferred from the Christian context, our analysis will suffer due to an incongruity of categories and actors. Insisting, for example, on characterizing a censured miracle worker as a "heretic" will evoke a theological reflection and procedure that very likely never occurred, while blinding us to the much more plausible explanation that representatives of the regime were carrying out censure within a conceptual framework of response to infractions against public order.

Despite my somewhat abstract presentation so far, it should be noted that these methodological issues are in fact anchored in the history of texts, schools of thought, and religious movements. The danger, however, is that students of this history, if employing the terms "orthodoxy" and "heresy" uncritically, will produce analyses that, in the words of one historian, "disregard the intrinsic pluralism and complexity characteristic of the religious life of the Muslim community. . . ."[12] This overlooked complexity inheres in the discourse itself and calls for an open-ended historical elaboration. In other words, the attempts made to speak for "orthodoxy" in the Islamic tradition have always succeeded only temporarily. On the one hand, the essential elements of the discourse remain constant, but the competition to speak authoritatively for them continues. It is this ongoing process of negotiation that is in danger of being lost to us if our historiography insists on a static determination of "orthodoxy." The tenth-century heresiographer al-Shahrastānī reflects this reality in his typologies and descriptions of the *Religious and Philosophical Sects*.[13] His overarching presentation of Muslim debate on right belief describes "a perpetual collision of individual opinions over an invariant set of theological problems that eventually leads to a transient consensus that already contains the seeds of future disagreement."[14]

This insight into the continuously evolving historical reality of "orthodoxy" is not only a challenge to our methodology; it is also a challenge to much of the Islamic tradition's self-understanding. Joseph van Ess has recently made just such a point. In the context of a wide-ranging study of Islamic theology, he describes an early landscape in which "local orthodoxies" rose and fell. Developing one of these trends, he expands on the case of Muʿtazilism, attributing its success to its ability to extend its relevance beyond its original locale, Basra, largely by

[12] Alexander Knysh, "'Orthodoxy' and 'Heresy' in Medieval Islam: an Essay in Reassessment," *The Muslim World* 83, no. 1 (1993): 62.

[13] Muḥammad al-Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal wa-al-Niḥal,* ed. W. Cureton (Piscataway, NJ, 2002).

[14] Knysh, "'Orthodoxy' and 'Heresy' in Medieval Islam," 57.

broadening its theoretical base and making its rationalist approach relevant to several of the perspectives it was competing against. But this success was not a simple triumph—despite the *miḥnah*—nor was its eventual defeat ever complete. Not only when it was the "orthodox" position did it fail to do away with its rivals (e.g. the Shiʿah, Kharijites, Murjiʿites, Qadarites), but when replaced by other "orthodoxies" it continued to exert a significant influence on them and other subsequent movements. Van Ess's point as it relates to our concern here is that from a historical perspective, doctrinal positions and their authority over the determination of right practice and belief, far from being complete, unmoving or final, in reality adapt to the various realities they find themselves in. They rise and fall, wax and wane, compete and often compromise. Van Ess's study goes on to make clear that as historians we would do well to avoid the anachronistic and oversimplified narratives that later perspectives routinely impose upon earlier ones: "Theological problems may be eternal, but they are not static. The responses that befit a given situation at a given time quickly become rigid stereotypes."[15] These anachronisms, it should be restated, loom not only over the work of the historian, but are also well entrenched in the Islamic tradition itself.

In light of these comments from Knysh and Van Ess as to the rivalrous and diverse historical reality underlying these constructed "rigid stereotypes," we may expand further on the category of "orthodoxy." My argument here is that ultimately the only academically defensible use of the term "orthodox" is one that takes it simply as a qualifier, and not a signifier of any particular doctrine, school or practice. In other words, the terms "orthodox" and "orthodoxy" have no universal content to them, nothing outside of their immediate historical reality.

The Historian Ibn Khaldūn on Sufism

To conceive of a full history of Sufism is itself a daunting challenge. The variety of associated phenomena, institutions, texts, and practices, to say nothing of the social, political, and economic roles it played in Mamluk Egypt, together make for an object of study almost beyond circumscription. However, impressive studies have been completed, focusing on particular aspects of Sufism. One approach centers on the development of buildings dedicated to Sufism;[16] others have treated individual figures of the period.[17] By far the most wide-ranging study in the area to date is that of Éric Geoffroy, which is a work truly impressive in scope.[18]

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[15] Van Ess, *The Flowering of Muslim Theology,* 5–7.

[16] Leonor Fernandes, *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt: The Khanqah* (Berlin, 1988).

[17] Th. Emil Homerin, *From Arab Poet to Muslim Saint: Ibn al-Fāriḍ, his Verse and his Shrine* (Columbia, SC, 1994).

[18] Eric Geoffroy, *Le Soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie sous les derniers mamelouks et les premiers ottomans:*

However, for a discerning first-hand perspective on Mamluk-era Sufism we may turn to an author who, though not a Sufi himself, was directly involved with the phenomenon. This would be Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406),[19] who had traveled from Tunis to Cairo in the 1380s, took up the post of Grand Qadi of the Maliki school of law, and was appointed director of the Sufi hospice Saʿīd al-Suʿadāʾ (or *khānqāh* Sultan Baybars Jashankīr), the most prominent official institution of its kind. Although certainly best known today for his innovative philosophy of history, Ibn Khaldūn's detailed discussion of Sufism in his *Muqaddimah* preserves for us a careful and nuanced presentation, with particular emphasis on the position of Sufism among the other religious sciences.[20]

We are told from the start that Sufism is an essential dimension of the Islamic religious impulse: it is "one of the lawful sciences of the (Islamic) community. Its basis is the path that was established among the earliest ancestors and the most prominent companions (of the Prophet), their immediate successors, and those who followed. It is a true path that leads to devotion and divine worship, and freedom from the temptations and distractions of a worldly life. . . . All of this was common among the ancestors and companions."[21] For Ibn Khaldūn the origin of Sufism is clearly identified with the origin of the Islamic community itself; but as a good historian, he goes on to nuance its subsequent developments.

In addition, Ibn Khaldūn was clearly familiar with the practices of Sufism. He summarizes for his readers central concepts such as remembrance of God *(dhikr),* asceticism *(zuhd),* and spiritual retreat *(khalwah),* and he singles out the Sufi concern for the self-scrutiny and self-discipline that for them lay behind the common acts of worship and obedience to the Law. We are told that by the second century, worldly matters had become the primary concern of most Muslims. At that point a minority who devoted themselves fully to worship came to be designated

orientations spirituelles et enjeux culturels (Damascus, 1995).

[19] He was buried in Cairo in the northern section of the Qarāfah cemetery, but his tomb was destroyed in 2003 in the course of a road-widening project.

[20] The *Muqaddimah* was composed shortly before leaving the Maghreb for Egypt. Ibn Khaldūn had written even earlier on Sufism. For a discussion of his *Shifāʾ al-Sāʾil li-Tahdhīb al-Masāʾil,* ed. M. al-Tanjī (Istanbul, 1957), translated by R. Pérez as *La Voie et la voie, ou le maître et le juriste* (Paris, 1991), and more on his understanding of Sufism that with time seems to have hardened particularly against the school of thought identified with Ibn ʿArabī and Ibn al-Fāriḍ, see Alexander Knysh, *Ibn 'Arabi in the Later Islamic Tradition: the Making of a Polemical Image in Medieval Islam* (Albany, 1999), 187–97.

[21] *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn,* ed. Aḥmad al-Zuʿbī (Beirut, 2001), 517. Also in English translation as *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History,* trans. Franz Rosenthal, 3 vols. (Princeton, 1967), but cf. Fritz Meier, "Khurasan and the End of Classical Sufism," in *Essays on Islamic Piety and Mysticism,* trans. John O'Kane (Leiden, 1999), 189–90.

as Sufis *(al-ṣūfīyah wa-al-mutaṣawwifah)*.[22] Due to this concern, and the concepts and terminology specific to such reflections, the Sufis emerged as a distinct class among the ulama. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Sufis had become specialized in a kind of knowledge *(ʿilm)* that no other branch of the lawful sciences covered.[23] The Sufis systematized their field of inquiry, just as the jurists and exegetes did. We are told that, "Once the sciences *(ʿulūm)* were collected and recorded, and the jurists *(fuqahāʾ)* began writing on jurisprudence and its principles, as well as speculative theology, Quran exegesis, and similar things, the men of this path (i.e., Sufis) wrote on their discipline *(ṭarīqah)*."[24] Thus emerges a clear early division within the tradition, each branch with its own area of focus and expertise. The simple model here is one of increasing specialization among the Islamic sciences, and the attendant development of classes of religious specialists.

Ibn Khaldūn's historical analysis of Sufism continues with the introduction of a further distinction, that between ancient and recent Sufis. This distinction is largely, but not wholly, temporal. In a discussion of the various positions taken on the existential relationship of God to creation, Ibn Khaldūn surveys the jurists, the hadith scholars, the speculative theologians, and the philosophers. In this mix of opinions he identifies a mainstream position—one that emphasizes the distinctiveness and separateness of God's essence and attributes from those of creation—and ascribes it to most of the religious scholars, including the ancient Sufis. Interestingly, these "ancients" are identified as those represented in al-Qushayrī's *Risālah* and those who follow their example.[25]

According to Ibn Khaldūn, the recent Sufis include those who more closely identify God with creation, some even going as far as adopting the doctrine of divine indwelling or *ḥulūl*. Another distinction to be made is that between the ancients' commitment to cultivating speculation on spiritual matters, along with the language and terminology required for such, and the recent Sufis' concern with themes such as divine self-disclosure *(tajallī)* and manifestation *(maẓhar)*.[26] The latter category of recent Sufis is further divided between those who hold to this "oneness" shared by God and creation, and those who hold an even more integrative position identified in short by the term "absolute oneness."[27] Ibn Khaldūn further nuances his categories by identifying the Sufis of veracity *(al-*

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[22] *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn,* 517.

[23] Ibid., 519.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., 529. Al-Qushayrī wrote in the fifth/eleventh century.

[26] Ibid., 522.

[27] For more on the polemical context of some these doctrinal positions see Michel Chodkiewicz, "Le procès posthume d'Ibn ʿArabi," in *Islamic Mysticism Contested: Thirteen Centuries of Controversies and Polemics,* ed. Frederick De Jong and Bernd Radtke (Leiden, 1999), 101–3.

muḥaqqiqūn min al-mutaṣawwifah) among the recent Sufis. These are a later group whose doctrine allows them to bridge the earlier differences between the ancient and recent Sufis, specifically relating to the existential question of God's relationship to creation. These Sufis of veracity recognize the reality of the "oneness" perspective or experience; however, they move beyond this stage to reassert the distinction *(farq)* between the created individual mystic and God.[28] These categories and concepts would reward further inspection in light of the wider intellectual history of Mamluk-period Sufism, but for our present purposes the central point is one of the diversity within the science of Sufism. Ibn Khaldūn's breakdown of the Sufism of his day along temporal and doctrinal lines gives us an insight into the complexity of this religious discourse.

However, our historian is not content simply to describe the doctrinal hairsplitting that went on among Sufi theorists, nor does he shy away from condemning what he sees as unacceptable behavior. To his credit, and perhaps not surprisingly, Ibn Khaldūn presents a nuanced picture of one of the more controversial practices among Sufis (both ancient and recent), the ecstatic utterances known as *shaṭaḥāt*. These were the inspired statements, often cryptic or startling, that most branches of Sufism took to be a form of legitimate inspiration. Our historian opens his discussion by describing some of the responses to this issue from the wider ulama. We are told that, "Many of the jurists and muftis are intent on rejecting these recent Sufis . . . and insist that everything on the (Sufi) path is loathsome. However, the truth is that their discourse is quite complex."[29] Here Ibn Khaldūn is making the point that such blanket condemnations are a disservice, particularly where informed critique is vital for discerning which Sufi positions are to be challenged. To the *shaṭaḥāt* he argues that three responses are possible: approval, interpretation, and condemnation.[30] He claims that since Sufis are simply overcome by these inspirations, and that such unusual experiences cannot easily be put into common speech, we must judge the status and character of the individual, rather than the content of the utterances themselves. The premise is that, in this state, Sufis "are beyond the sensory realm and are overwhelmed by their spiritual inspirations such that they speak out in unintended ways. This enraptured individual is beyond reasoning with, and *he who is compelled is excused*."[31] Thus, Ibn Khaldūn argues that the character and sincerity of the individual Sufi are grounds for discerning when these utterances are objectionable. Those Sufis who are meritorious and worthy of emulation are not to be condemned for

[28] *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn,* 524.

[29] Ibid., 526.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid, 527.

their *shaṭaḥāt,* but those whose character and background are unknown should indeed be censured if they make such declarations, since there would be no basis for properly interpreting such speech. The instances that categorically require censure are those in which the individual is insincere by virtue of having retained his faculties—that is, he declares *shaṭaḥāt* while in control of his senses, and is thus indeed the author of his own speech. Such an individual then assumes responsibility for his transgression. Ibn Khaldūn makes it clear that such censure would come as much from other Sufis as from the jurists. Of the famous case of al-Ḥallāj, we are told that for this very reason the jurists and the prominent Sufis *(akābir al-mutaṣawwifah)* of the time together issued a legal opinion calling for his execution *(aftá . . . bi-qatl al-Ḥallāj).*[32]

The events surrounding the execution of al-Ḥallāj in 309/922 were hardly so neat, but that is not our historian's central point. What is of concern here is that questions of censure and legitimacy were not categorical; that is, Sufis condemned *some* Sufis, and the better jurists also condemned *some* Sufis.[33] Ibn Khaldūn extends this illustration to include other practices. Although some ulama express reservations, exercises for spiritual discipline and discussions of saintly miracles are for the most part sound *(ṣaḥīḥ)* and should not be criticized. Our historian again takes the middle ground when he comes to the question of mystical discourse on "realities of the higher order."[34] Here he suspends judgment, saying such language should be left un-interrogated and un-interpreted, much as the ambiguous passages *(al-mutashābihāt)* of the Quran are.[35]

Writing More Clearly

With Ibn Khaldūn's observations in mind, we turn now to the problem of Sufism as it has more recently appeared among modern historians of the Mamluk period. More precisely, my claim here will be that in applying the terms "orthodoxy" and "heresy" with little qualification, or as supposedly self-evident terms, our historical analyses can be seriously misdirected. In the remaining pages I will attempt to show exactly how this has happened.

In one particularly influential study of medieval Egyptian society, Boaz Shoshan throws light on what life would have been like for the popular classes.

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[32] Ibid.

[33] This diverse reality is reflected in the case of the third/ninth century ascetic Ghulām Khalīl, who led the persecution in Baghdad of the Sufi Abū al-Ḥasan al-Nūrī. See Josef van Ess, "Sufism and its Opponents: Reflections on Topoi, Tribulations, and Transformations," in *Islamic Mysticism Contested,* 26–27. On the complex relationship between Sufis, Hanbalis, and Muʿtazilites, see Florian Sobieroj, "The Muʿtazila and Sufism," in *Islamic Mysticism Contested,* 68–92.

[34] *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn,* 527.

[35] Here the reference is to Quran 3:7.

The essays presented in this study are innovative in conception and thorough in documentation; however, the treatment of Sufism undoes one of the central aims of the book. Shoshan's otherwise nuanced treatment of popular versus elite runs into trouble when it turns to an analysis of Sufism. The author makes clear that he is trying to substantiate "that there was 'another' Islam in medieval Cairo (as elsewhere)—an Islam practiced and experienced by the commoners."[36] This thesis is a worthy one, and the collection and presentation of such data relating to culture and religion on the popular level is a service in itself as a corrective to the more prevalent "top down" approach to social history. However, in this case the effort is undone by a flawed conception of Sufism. In the heart of his study he moves to nuance the high versus low dichotomy and identifies Sufism essentially with lower culture, in contrast to the elite who are the agents of "orthodoxy." However, the historical data will not cooperate, and Shoshan is left with a dilemma. The problem is (and Shoshan deserves credit for resisting any selective presentation of the facts) that the historian is quickly confronted with Sufis who do not belong to the popular class. That Sufis of this upper social class are prevalent undoes the earlier claim that Sufism is to be associated with the popular classes. Sufism among the elite of Cairo is in fact easily found; one thinks simply of the early Shādhilīyah (Ibn Bākhilā, Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī), or al-Shaʿrānī's beloved Wafāʾīyah.[37] But Shoshan, as a good historian who has committed himself to a less than perfect argument, tries to save his sinking thesis with a patch. He endeavors to explain away the historical inconsistencies by proposing that Sufism was allowed to "climb up the social ladder." That is, despite being essentially popular, Sufism had somehow obscured its origins and "found its way not only into the ruling body, but also into the world of orthodox scholars."[38] We will return to the problem of "orthodox scholars" in another context below, but here we can address this confusion of category by simply returning to Ibn Khaldūn. The latter clearly presents Sufism as a branch of religious knowledge *(sharīʿah)* and not as the religious pursuit of one social class or another. Ibn Khaldūn is not reductive in his analysis, nor is he idealistic in his account of Sufism; we noted earlier the series of distinctions he identifies within Sufi doctrine, and the variety of positions he entertains with regard to censure. Before running up against data that would not fit into his model, Shoshan would have done better to incorporate some of Ibn Khaldūn's insights, which would have forced Shoshan to nuance his stark untenable binary of popular Sufism versus elite "orthodoxy."

Shoshan is not alone in struggling under this burden. Other important studies

[36] Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo,* 10.

[37] Richard McGregor, *Sanctity and Mysticism in Medieval Egypt: The Wafāʾ Sufi Order and the Legacy of Ibn ʿArabī* (Albany, 2004), 56–61.

[38] Shoshan, *Popular Culture in Medieval Cairo,* 76.

of religious and social history of the Mamluk period are methodologically hamstrung by a messy and less than rigorous conception of Sufism. The following passage is illustrative of some of this: "It is extremely difficult to generalize about the connections between orthodoxy and Sufism, owing to the complexity and subtlety of these ties and the different nature of each of these two aspects of Islam. While orthodoxy was quite uniform, Sufism was amorphous and multifaceted. The education and attitudes of the ulama were similar everywhere throughout the (Sunni) Islamic world, despite local scholastic differences. By contrast, the Sufi movement revealed a confusing diversity. . . ."[39]

The first problem to note here is that of the category of "orthodoxy." It is presented simply as the antipode to Sufism, which in such an equation would constitute the "heretical" or "unorthodox." We may object to this inasmuch as "orthodox"—according to our arguments above—does not indicate a substantive category, but only primacy of position, and thus in this passage we are facing a false comparison. Further, and perhaps more substantively, we might appeal to Ibn Khaldūn's presentation of censure. As we saw above, he is careful to show that censure did not simply follow the dividing lines between the sciences. That is, censure (the identification of "heresy") was neither a distinguishing feature of any particular science, nor was it essential to the relationship between any of the sciences. Ibn Khaldūn is happy to expand on the distinctions between branches of religious knowledge, but "heresy" will not be part of such categorization. One might object further to Winter's statement above by asking about the other side of the equation, that is, who exactly is intended by the term "orthodox"? Ibn Khaldūn is of little help here, since in his schema the sciences were fundamentally present but undifferentiated in the earliest community, and were later distinguished from one another only as they became more systematized among later generations. In this analysis none is more or less "orthodox" than any other. The only remaining possibility would be to identify the "orthodox" as the adherents of all the other sciences put together. To speculate, this is likely the answer most in the spirit of Winter's passage quoted above. However, such a conception is unsustainable as a category since we can hardly say that all religious thought other than Sufism is to be automatically taken as "orthodox." Another point raised in the above passage points to the *unity* of the "orthodox" ulama, contrasting it to the *diversity* of Sufism. Here we would do well to recall Van Ess's warning (albeit specifically within the field of theology) against the blind spot that a stereotypical snapshot has for diversity of opinion. But beyond this, the deeper problem is that the passage assumes the religious culture of the "orthodox" is different from that of the Sufis. This is untenable historically. Sufis were very often the same people who were

[39] Michael Winter, *Egyptian Society Under Ottoman Rule 1517–1798* (London, 1992), 129.

muftis, judges, jurists, traditionists, theologians, etc.[40] The ulama class contained many Sufis, and every learned Sufi could claim membership in the ulama.

This use of "orthodoxy" as synonymous with the ulama, identified essentially by their common opposition to Sufism, is also problematic in that it retroactively projects clear distinctions that in fact were never there.[41] Following the quotation above, we read: "From earliest times, orthodoxy and Sufism were rivals." And more specifically, that this rivalry opposed "the mystics on the one hand and the theologians, jurists, and *madrasa* teachers on the other. . . ."[42] This characterization of permanent categorical conflict, as we saw above, runs contrary to Ibn Khaldūn's understanding of how the sciences are divided and how censure should be properly exercised. But just as importantly, this categorization fails to reflect the historical reality that a great many theologians, jurists, and madrasah teachers were themselves trained in Sufism and retained some affiliation with a Sufi order or teacher. Although we cannot quantify the numbers involved,[43] in the Mamluk period many prominent individuals embodied just such an overlap.[44] At least as significant is the fact that: "No single *ʿālim* [Ibn Taymīyah included] can be named as disapproving of Sufism in principle."[45] That is, this categorization was never even a rhetorical reality. The wider methodological problem represented here again rests in the use of the term "orthodox." The characterization is that Sufism is a category universally opposed to that of the "orthodox." The presentation of Sufism here is oversimplified, but more importantly the category of the "orthodox" is thrown up as if it were a historically identifiable entity. The reality is much more complex, rendering the category of the "orthodox" of little analytical value.

A strikingly different use of the term "orthodoxy" appears in discussions of some of the doctrinal (and ritual) disputes among Sufis of the Mamluk period. Here again, inappropriate terminology hinders analysis and argument. One such discussion opens with the question of the identification of the various Sufi

[40] In a study of urban elites of Damascus, Michael Chamberlain's categories of learned elites as distinct from Sufis leads him to the untenable claim that: "The learned elite were often Sufis themselves . . . but they still competed with Sufis for the capacity to represent ʿilm [religious knowledge]." Here of course epistemologies compete, not social classes. See *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (New York, 1994), 128.

[41] Th. Emil Homerin makes this point explicitly in "Sufis and Their Detractors in Mamluk Egypt: A Survey of Protagonists and Institutional Settings," in *Islamic Mysticism Contested*, 226.

[42] Winter, *Egyptian Society Under Ottoman Rule,* 129.

[43] For a quantitative study of such overlapping identities as represented in the Qarāfah, see Ohtoshi, "*Taṣawwuf* as Reflected in *Ziyâra* Books and the Cairo Cemeteries," 305–14, 327.

[44] Eric Geoffroy, *Le Soufisme en Égypte et en Syrie,* 145–65. See also his "La Voile des apparences, ou la double vie du grand Cadi Zakariyya al-Ansari (m. 926/1520)," *Journal Asiatique* 282, no. 2 (1994).

[45] Winter, *Egyptian Society Under Ottoman Rule,* 161.

orders, some being "orthodox" and others not.[46] However, at the same time these orders "were capable of transforming themselves from orthodoxy to heterodoxy and vice versa."[47] The context for this statement is the variety of doctrines and practices that could be found under a single order designation—in particular those of the Shādhilīyah and the Aḥmadīyah. Here some individuals within an order are described as agents of true and uncorrupted Islam, making them the "orthodox" Sufis. (At this point we are quite far from the juxtaposition of Sufism with "orthodoxy" we saw earlier.) In one sense, this recognition of dissent and diversity within single orders is welcome—and Ibn Khaldūn's argument for censure certainly resonates here. However I would argue that the utility of the term "orthodox" remains questionable. Ibn Khaldūn would not have understood proper censure (which we remember for him is not a simple binary of "heresy" versus "orthodoxy") as Sufis doing the job of non-Sufi ulama; rather, all the ulama, including educated Sufis, should engage in censure of objectionable practices or ideas. But more importantly, in these discussions the qualifying term "orthodox" is inconsistent. At times it is used to denote the practices of certain dominant Sufi groups, while in other instances it evokes the entire non-Sufi ulama.

The unfortunate assumptions behind such uses of the term "orthodoxy" can quickly lead us to historically indefensible positions. One such dead end is the argument tying Sufism to cultural decline. The reasoning here seems to be that "orthodoxy" is civilization's bulwark against chaos and barbarity. This methodological assumption, when fused with an amorphous and unchanging ulama identified as "orthodox" and pitted categorically against Sufism, can lead to clearly false conclusions. One analysis describes a rise in prominence of Sufism shortly after the establishment of Ottoman rule in Egypt. This ascendancy is apparently inversely proportionate to a "decline of the ulama." The argument is that this decline was precipitated by the Ottoman regime's removing the Egyptian elite from important positions such as judgeships, and appointing Turks to these key offices. The attendant rise of Sufism is described thus: "All these developments were the result of Egypt's relegation from an Empire to a province, which may have caused a widespread malaise that was favorable for Sufism. The strengthened position of Sufism may serve as a barometer of the Egyptian people's general cultural and intellectual decline during the Ottoman period."[48] Here the association of Sufism with cultural decay could not be stated more clearly. This argument, however, can only be sustained by an un-inspected assumption of Sufism as somehow anti-ulama—and thus a degenerate force—and certainly not by historical evidence.

[46] Ibid., 132.

[47] Ibid., 134.

[48] Ibid.

In fact, the latter speaks to the contrary, even in the pages of this same study. Sensibly, elsewhere we are told that Mamluk-era Sufism was well positioned, and that "there was no lack of support for Sufis among the Mamluk emirs. Although the Ottomans' patronage of the Sufis is well documented, Mamluk support for them did not lag far behind."[49] To assert that Sufism was present, even flourishing, in the Mamluk period is hardly contentious. However, to sustain the argument above, one would have to claim that the Mamluk period, in order to reach the cultural and intellectual heights it did, was instead free of Sufism, or at least had held such a destructive force at bay. This was clearly not the case. Simply put, the problem here is that in the Mamluk period Sufism and the ulama of the remaining branches of religion thrived under shared political and cultural conditions. The characterization above of an unchecked Sufism pulling society towards decline is contrary to the historical evidence. This argument fails because of its commitment to an untenable characterization of Sufism.

The wider intention of this study has been to set forth a more nuanced and accurate conception of Sufism, not by presenting new and better definitions, but rather by pointing out methodological bottlenecks that obstruct sound historical treatment of the subject. I have argued that the terms "orthodoxy" and "heresy" should not be used without first exploring the theological baggage they usually carry with them. My efforts here have also been aimed at illustrating how this baggage can tilt and even overturn the analyses of the best historians among us. Sufism becomes a problem for the historian when perspectives such as those of Ibn Khaldūn are pushed aside in preference for terminology and categories that are more familiar and easily applied. Ibn Khaldūn's portrayal of a Sufism diverse in both doctrine and practice, along with his wider view of the process of censure—one that places it above the lines dividing the various branches of the ulama—obliges us to nuance, if not abandon, our common use of the terms "orthodoxy" and "heresy." However, if we choose to preserve these categories, we would do well to incorporate Van Ess's observations on the fluid and impermanent historical reality of the "orthodox." In this spirit, my own proposal would be simply that we apply the term "orthodox" as a historically determined qualifier, one that indicates a position of relative dominance, rather than allowing it to continue to function as the signifier of a supposedly unchanging and ahistorical core of doctrinal commitments.

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[49] Ibid.

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Idealism and Intransigence: A Christian-Muslim Encounter in Early Mamluk Times

Sometime just before 1316 an unknown Christian author resident in Cyprus wrote a carefully composed letter in which he showed how his own faith was supported by the Quran. He wrote with the evident intention of opening a debate with Muslims, because in 1316 itself a copy was sent to Ibn Taymīyah in Damascus, and then five years later another was sent to Muḥammad Ibn Abī Ṭālib, a local celebrity in the Damascus area. It provoked both scholars to write long and disparaging replies, making what is undoubtedly the most substantial correspondence in the history of Christian-Muslim relations—few in number at only three items but containing two of the longest Muslim responses to any claims by Christians. The correspondence is unique in the detailed knowledge of the beliefs and doctrinal positions of the other that is shown by the three participants, but it is typical in many ways of the relations between followers of the two faiths that had developed over the seven centuries since the origin of Islam. Moreover, it eloquently represents the regard—or lack of it—that Christians and Muslims held towards one another in the turbulent times in which the letters were written.

The story of this correspondence actually begins about a century before the first letter was written. This was when the Melkite bishop of Sidon, Paul of Antioch, sent his politely worded but ingeniously subversive letter to a Muslim friend.[1] Writing in Arabic, he employed the personae of Christian scholars in Europe to demonstrate that in its own terms the Quran proves that Muḥammad was sent with an Arabic revelation to the pagan Arabs alone, and that its teachings give unmistakable indications that the main elements of Christian belief and practice are sound and God-given. Exactly when Paul wrote is not known,[2] but a date in the latter years of the twelfth century seems best to fit the available evidence.

This letter circulated widely among Christians,[3] and it evidently became known to Muslims as well because in the mid-thirteenth century the Egyptian jurist Aḥmad Ibn Idrīs al-Qarāfī (1228–85) targeted its arguments in his *Al-Ajwibah al-Fākhirah*

[1] Paul Khoury, *Paul d'Antioche, évêque melkite de Sidon (xiie s.)* (Beirut, 1964).

[2] On this see Samir Khalil Samir, "Notes sur la 'Lettre à un musulman de Sidon' de Paul d'Antioche," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 24 (1993): 179-95.

[3] Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Taymīyah, *Al-Jawāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ li-man Baddala Dīn al-Masīḥ,* ed. ʿAlī Ibn Ḥasan Ibn Nāṣir et al. (Riyadh, 1999), 1:101.

ʿ*an al-As*ʾ*ilah al-Fājirah,* though without identifying it.[4] Then, sometime in the early fourteenth century the anonymous Christian in Cyprus made Paul's letter the basis of his own initiative to encourage some debate with Muslim scholars about faith.

This unknown master worked carefully through Paul's letter and made subtle changes, additions, and omissions to turn it into a document with a rather altered character from the original.[5] It could be that a different temperament was responsible, or that changed political and social conditions demanded a new tenor, but the result is a work that invites agreement and acknowledgement rather than the provocation and assertiveness of Paul's original.

A close comparison of the two letters shows that the anonymous author approached Paul's letter conservatively, but with his own clear intentions; he went much further than simply editing it.[6] Put briefly, he completed quotations from the Quran that Paul had edited down in order to fit his arguments, he removed some of the more pointed exegeses of verses used by Paul to bring out Christian significances, and he added a long series of verses from the Quran and Bible, mainly the Old Testament. Thus, he removed quotations that might have caused unnecessary offense to Muslims, and reduced the chances of his version of the letter provoking disagreement. Whereas Paul might be said to compel his reader to admit the pure logic of his case, this author was more concerned to persuade and maybe to commend the point that Christianity and Islam were complementary faiths that need not compete.

Two features of his letter give strong indications that this was indeed the author's intention. The first is the long series of quotations from Old Testament books that show uncompromising prejudice against the Jews. These are added to Paul's original in a series of lengthy blocs,[7] which serve to demonstrate that although the Jews possessed in their scriptures clear indications that God would send Christ, they ignored them, and more seriously they ignored the commands he gave:

> When Moses withdrew from them onto the mountain to converse

[4] Edition by Bakr Zakī ʿAwaḍ (Cairo, 1987).

[5] Published in Rifaat Y. Ebied and David Thomas, ed., *Muslim-Christian Polemic during the Crusades: the Letter from the People of Cyprus and Ibn Abī Ṭālib al-Dimashqī's Response* (Leiden, 2005), 54–147.

[6] On this see ibid., 1–14, and more fully, David Thomas, "Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend* and *The Letter from Cyprus,*" in *Syrian Christians under Islam: the First Thousand Years,* ed. idem (Leiden, 2001), 203–21.

[7] Ebied and Thomas, *Muslim-Christian Polemic during the Crusades,* 76–81, 84–89, 98–107, and particularly 108–17.

with God the exalted, and took the Torah from the hand of God the exalted for them, they abandoned the worship of God and forgot all his acts, worshipping a heifer's head.

Then after this they worshipped idols, not once but many times. They made sacrifices to them, not inarticulate animals but their sons and daughters. This is according to what the prophets prophesied against them. All their acts are written in the chronicles of the People of Israel.

When God, blessed and exalted, saw the hardness of their hearts, their stubbornness and their disbelief in him, and their vile, abominable acts, he grew angry with them and made them contemptible and insignificant among all the nations, and they have had no king, priest or prophet ever again. This is as the prophets prophesied about them, and as their books, which they have in their possession today, bear witness.

To this effect is what God said to the prophet Isaiah, "Go, say to this people: You will hear but not understand, you will look but not see, because the minds of this people have been dulled and they understand little of what they hear; they have closed their eyes so that they cannot see or hear with their ears or understand with their minds or turn to me to save them."

Isaiah also said, "Likewise your sabbaths and new moons are abominable to me and have become despicable in my eyes"; God said: "On that day I will put an end to all sabbaths and festivals, and I will give you a new chosen law, not like the law I gave to my servant Moses on the day of Horeb, the day of the great assembly, but a new chosen law which I will enjoin and will send out from Zion." Now Zion is Jerusalem, and the new chosen law is the law which we Christians have received from the hands of the Apostles, the holy disciples. What demonstration could be clearer than this that we have quoted from the word of God the exalted, particularly since our enemies the Jews acknowledge to us that this is correct? If they did make a denial, this would be a denial among those who had no knowledge of their books, and this is due to their wickedness, ignorance and stubbornness. Just as these prophecies are in our possession, so they are in the possession of the Jews and also of all the Christians scattered over all the world and in all their languages, as they received them from the pure Apostles, to this day a single message.

As for the Jews' argument concerning these prophecies, they

> say and believe that they are true, and they do not deny that they are the word of God, blessed and exalted. But they say that they will be fulfilled and completed when the Messiah comes, though the Messiah has not come and is far off, and he who has come is not the Messiah. And not only do they not believe, but they want only to compound their unbelief by saying that he was a deceiver, for the Messiah is still to come, and the prophecies of the prophets' will be fulfilled. "And when he comes, we will follow him."
>
> This is what they think and believe about the lord Christ, though what greater disbelief could there be than theirs? It is because of this that the Quran has called them "those who earn thine anger," because of their dispute over the word of God which he uttered through the mouths of the prophets. And since we Christians adhere to the word of the prophets, and since we hold to what the pure Apostles commanded us, it calls us "those whom thou hast favoured."[8]

Clearly, the Jews have been superseded by the God-given truth of Christianity. In developing this idea at such length, the author is inviting his Muslim readers to acknowledge that his own faith is part of God's plan in history, and he is also perhaps appealing to them to unite in friendship with the Christians, as both of them express a common hatred of the Jews. Here he would have been inviting his Muslim correspondents to admit openly the same prejudices that four hundred years earlier the essayist and stylist Abū ʿUthmān al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 869) had resentfully mocked among the people of Baghdad. In the Abbasid capital al-Jāḥiẓ noted how Muslims admired Christians because of their senior positions in commerce and the professions, while both faiths despised the Jews because of their inferior trades and their physical ugliness.[9] The author of this letter appears to be appealing to a similar sentiment as he documents the stubbornness of the Jews and their condemnation by God, and thereby distinguishes the Christians, who by comparison are obedient and blessed by God, for commendation by Muslims.

The second feature is what the author says about Muḥammad and Islam. This is more implicit than direct, but he makes plain at the beginning that the Prophet, who was sent to the Arabs with an Arabic scripture, was clearly sent from God as an inspired messenger.[10] While he does not develop this point at any length,

[8] Ibid., 111–17.

[9] Al-Jāḥiẓ, *Fī al-Radd ʿalá al-Naṣārā,* in *Thalāth Rasāʾil li-Abī ʿUthmān al-Jāḥiẓ,* ed. Joshua Finkel (Cairo, 1926), [10–38] 13–19; trans. (in part) Joshua Finkel, "A Risāla of al-Jāḥiẓ," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 47 (1927): [311–34] 322–30.

[10] Ebied and Thomas, *Muslim-Christian Polemic during the Crusades,* 56–61.

his use of the Quran as the basis or support for many of his arguments in favor of Christianity presupposes that he accepts it as an authentic scripture.

Both these features are present in Paul of Antioch's original, but the anonymous author makes more of them by adding illustrative verses from the Bible and Quran to present by implication an argument that seeks to locate Christianity as a faith that commands respect and acceptance in a relationship with Islam in which both figure as inspired dispensations.

This much will, in theory, have attracted, or been intended to attract, Muslim readers to the letter, and warmed them towards the arguments it contains. The author ingeniously suggests a communion of spirit between the two faiths in their ascendancy over the Jews, and also finds a place for the Prophet and the Quran within a divine economy centered on Christianity. This is extremely unusual among Christians before the modern era, and it shows remarkable openness towards a figure who among Europeans at the time was conventionally cast as demonic and condemned to the lowest circles of hell. The conclusion can thus be understood as a sincere declaration of agreement between the faiths, and a well-meant invitation to constructive debate:

> This is what I was able to ascertain about the views of the people I met and conferred with, and about the arguments they were using on their own behalf. Praise and blessing be to God, for he has brought unanimity of view and put an end to suspicion between his servants the Christians and Muslims, may God protect them all!
>
> If he has found anything different from this, may our master the revered teacher (may God eternally protect him and prolong his existence) point it out so that I may inform them about it and determine what views they have on it. For they have asked me to do this and made me a mediator. Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds.[11]

This is a singular and in many ways startling composition. The positive attitude towards Islam it expresses leads one to ponder the author's intention in writing, though the investigation of what this may have been introduces less constructive implications than at first appear and relates this apparently enlightened initiative to the stubborn difficulties that waylaid Christian-Muslim relations from the start.

Nothing is known about the author apart from what is given in this letter,

[11] Ibid., 147.

which is very little.[12] Writing from Cyprus, he was obviously at home with Arabic, editing Paul of Antioch's letter and turning it into his own Arabic composition. This raises the question whether he was, in fact, a native of the island or had come there from the mainland. He knows the Quran intimately, and maybe by heart, so much so that he could change Paul's edited version of Q 57:25: "And we sent our messengers with clear proofs, with them the book, that mankind might observe right measure," to the correct: "Indeed, we sent our messengers with clear proofs, and we sent down with them the book and the balance, that mankind might observe right measure."

Paul's small omissions create the impression that the messengers sent with the book are the Apostles of Jesus, though the anonymous author's restoration shows this is a distortion of the original. He was also able to supply the names of surahs, as well as quote the Bible in Arabic. And lastly, he knew Damascus so well that he was able to identify as recipients of his letter not only the renowned scholar Ibn Taymīyah but also the more locally known Ibn Abī Ṭālib. Thus it is possible that he was originally from the Damascus area and may even have been a convert to Christianity from Islam.[13] This being so, his letter may not have had the pure intentions which the reading offered above suggests. For one thing, his portrayal of the Jews may not have been simply historical and literal, relating how they turned away from the signs and revelation given by God to follow their own intransigent ways. He may also have meant it symbolically to refer to Islam, with the veiled warning that if the Muslims ignore what is evident in their scripture about Christianity, which he spells out in the course of this letter, they risk the same fate as the Jews: religious rejection and social ostracism. And for another, his portrayal of Muḥammad and the Quran ranks them below Christ and Christianity. For, as the letter says at the start,[14] the Quran was not sent to people who already had a scripture, but as an Arabic revelation it was intended only for native Arabic speakers. Thus, the Prophet, although sent from God, possessed only local significance in Arabic-speaking areas, and coming after the revelation of Christianity he was secondary in status, a messenger sent to bring the pagans to a simple form of monotheism.

The apologetic purpose that is detectable in the letter may be taken as a reflection of the wider inter-religious context in which it was written.[15] This would be in the period after 1291 when the Crusader forces had lost their last possessions on the mainland and the refuges that many had sought in Cyprus had

[12] Ibid., 5–19, contains a full discussion of most of the following details.

[13] Of course, Paul of Antioch's intimacy with the Quran indicates that not only Muslims learnt it, though he does not show the evident respect for it that this author does.

[14] Ebied and Thomas, *Muslim-Christian Polemic during the Crusades,* 55–61.

[15] Ibid., 13–17.

become permanent homes—in fact, could the author have been a refugee (and if a convert, someone who had found it acutely necessary to escape from the incoming Mamluks)? Moreover, this was after the invading Mongols had dashed Christian hopes by failing to join an alliance against the resurgent Muslims, had been defeated at ʿAyn Jālūt in 1260, and had become Muslims. So there could have been an imperative, in some minds at least, to maintain an engagement of sorts with the Muslims in order to appear not to have surrendered completely. In fact, at the time of writing in the early fourteenth century, the author would have been aware of numerous plans to launch fresh crusading offensives against the eastern and southeastern shores of the Mediterranean with Cyprus as the marshalling point. Almost every few years a new plan was presented in the papal and royal courts of Europe, and in Cyprus rumors about these plans must have kindled hopes and expectations, though the lack of armies to put these plans into effect must have made them seem progressively hollow and fanciful, continually raising hopes and then dashing them.

The author of the letter may, therefore, have had in mind the plan to produce a sound theological argument that proved the ascendancy of Christianity in order to show to leading Muslims that his faith was not to be dispensed with easily, but commanded respect and careful consideration. Thus, while Christian forces may have suffered a temporary loss, the faith itself retained the integrity it had been given by God at the beginning. It is also possible that he wrote to encourage Christians who could read his words, especially the remnant communities who lived under Muslim rule, to remain loyal to their faith. This they would do when they were reminded that the faith of their rulers was in its essence a distorted form of an original that was not only compatible with Christianity, if a pale preliminary version of it, but also derived from a scripture that attested to Christian truth and that was intended only for the local audience of pagan Arabia. They might thus be able to put Islam in its proper relationship with Christianity and not give in to the temptation to convert.

Of course, the letter gives no indication of its purpose or its author's intention. But if the inferences drawn here are at all accurate then it can be seen as more a weapon of hostility or a defensive mechanism than its conciliatory and persuasive tone at first suggests. Offering discussion on grounds that Muslims would find familiar and presumably acceptable, with the implicit acknowledgement that the Quran and Muḥammad are authentic, it actually leads to the ascendancy of Christianity over Islam. No wonder the two scholars it is known to have reached replied so vehemently and at such inordinate length; they must have seen these dangers, and they took elaborate measures to counter them.

From very early times, Muslim attitudes towards Christianity were based on the acknowledgement that the earlier dispensation was given from God with a

scripture that agreed in essence with the Quran mediated by a messenger who was like Muḥammad. But it very quickly qualified these appraisals with the accusation that Christians had distorted the pure teachings about God, had divinized Jesus, and had mistaken or textually distorted the teachings of the Gospel. There was a strong element in their attitude that Islam had come not only to confirm but also to correct Christianity, and there was little that this fractured faith could give them in return. Added to this, for purposes of social relations, Christians, like other scriptural believers, were given client status and were governed by the set of regulations known as the Pact of ʿUmar, after the second caliph. The precise form that these took in the early centuries is not clear, but there is enough evidence in the documents that have survived to show that by the ninth century they theoretically imposed upon *dhimmī*s restrictions that separated them from Muslims in society and impressed upon them a clear sense of their own inferiority.

By the time this letter from Cyprus was written, it is likely that the regulations of the Pact of ʿUmar had become so internalized into Muslim consciousness that they formed the framework in which attitudes to matters of society and religion were expressed. An eloquent attestation of this is to be found in the *Refutation of the Client People and Those Who Follow Them,* which was probably written a few decades before the letter from Cyprus by a certain Ghāzī al-Wāsiṭī.[16] Originally from Iraq, as his name indicates, this author had served in northern Syria in the mid-thirteenth century before moving to Egypt where he wrote his refutation. The latest reference he gives is datable to 1292,[17] so his work may have appeared in Egypt within twenty years of the letter from Cyprus. It is a colorful portrayal of the place of *dhimmī*s in the society that al-Wāsiṭī knew.

Like the *Refutation of the Christians* of al-Jāḥiẓ, written more than four hundred years earlier about the Christians of Baghdad,[18] al-Wāsiṭī's work has the character of a resentful complaint against the liberties taken by Christians in Ayyubid and Mamluk Syria and Egypt and their ungrateful and deceptive ways. Although it shows no knowledge of the earlier diatribe, this thirteenth-century reply could almost have been framed on its predecessor.

Al-Wāsiṭī sets out his general attitude at the very start: "The protected people who, not being subjected to fear, have been allowed to live freely in Egyptian and Syrian regions, some of them unbelievers belonging to the Jewish faith and

[16] Richard Gottheil, "An Answer to the Dhimmis," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 41 (1921): 383–457. Moshe Perlmann, "Notes on Anti-Christian Propaganda in the Mamlūk Empire," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 10 (1942): 844, suggests 721/1321 as a possible date of composition but without offering an explanation.

[17] Gottheil, "Answer," 384.

[18] See n. 9 above.

others to sects of the Christians, are worse unbelievers and more stiff-necked than those who wield the sword *(ahl bi-al-sayf)* who have kept their hold over Islam by oppression and tyranny."[19] He draws a contrast between the client populations and the Crusaders, and he implicitly questions the attitude of the former, who show hostility even though they are given freedom and treated fairly. His understanding is evidently that they have no reason to be anything but compliant because their treatment is unexceptionable, and they are religiously in the wrong anyway.

Al-Wāsiṭī begins to build his case by quoting Quranic verses that condemn the People of the Book and counsel separation between them and Muslims—there is no mention of such positive verses as Q 5:82, where Christians are called the nearest in affection to the believers. He follows with prophetic hadiths, injunctions from the founders of the Sunni law rites, and stories of dealings between early caliphs and Christians, all showing that the authorities of Islam distanced themselves from Christians while treating them with fairness and respect. The underlying reason is religious, as he indicates early on in his argument: "Just as soon as any one of the People of the Book declares the law of Allah and of his Prophet to be untrue, and disobeys the demands as laid down by the Prophet of Allah, idolatry adheres to him *(fa-lazimahu al-shirk)*."[20] As *mushrikūn,* associators of other divinities with God, Christians among other People of the Book are religiously suspect and unclean. Therefore, as the stories from the Prophet and the caliphs describe, even the help offered in warfare and in bureaucratic jobs must be refused. The priority of doctrinal principle over practical considerations is so important to al-Wāsiṭī that even financial loss is better than allowing Christians to go on unimpeded. He makes his point with a well-known story from the Umayyad caliph ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who, when the governor of Egypt informed him that conversions from the client populations to Islam were reaching such a pitch that tax revenues from them were at risk of drying up, ordered the governor to be punished and expressed the hope that they would all be converted, for "Allah has sent Muḥammad as a preacher, not as a tax-gatherer."[21]

Al-Wāsiṭī builds upon this a series of stories from nearer his own time about the perfidiousness of Christians and Jews in Egypt, including one of the Christian Ibn Dukhkhān who spied for the Crusaders,[22] and another of Christians who dressed

[19] Gottheil, "Answer," 416 (quotations are from his translation with reference to the Arabic text).

[20] Ibid., 418. Al-Wāsiṭī's condemnation of Christians and Jews committing the sin of *shirk* (he may have in mind Q 9:30: "The Jews call ʿUzayr son of God and the Christians call Christ son of God") may seem extreme, but it is paralleled in al-Dimashqī, who habitually accuses his Christian opponents of committing this same sin; Ebied and Thomas, *Muslim-Christian Polemic during the Crusades,* e.g., 217, 291, 295, 385.

[21] Gottheil, "Answer," 424.

[22] Ibid., 435–38.

to look like Muslims and intentionally misled Muslims out of spite.[23] He goes on to complain about the Christians who profess to be Muslims for professional reasons but retain their own beliefs and practices in private, and he includes a story in which he was personally involved of Christians in Damascus who took advantage of the ruling Mongols' declaration that all faiths could be followed freely to write books exposing contradictions in the Quran.[24] Maybe his most telling point from his own times is his contrasting of Christians who amass wealth from public service which they use for their own enrichment and pleasure with Muslims who use the earnings from the same service "for the interests of the Sultanate and increasing its splendour. . . . Indeed, at the end of their life they are in debt and poor, because of the strength of mind they have shown and their fidelity [to the ruling house]."[25] The Christian is self-centered and ready to take personal advantage of the position granted him in society, while the Muslim is public-spirited and open to acknowledging his debt to society.

This refutation is, of course, a collection of arguments and illustrations intended to prove al-Wāsiṭī's point about the inferiority and untrustworthiness of Christians (and to some extent Jews). In this respect, it must be treated with care as a historical document, though it is evidently indicative of one attitude towards Christians that must have been recognizable and was maybe acceptable in early Mamluk society. Furthermore, at least some of the stories and appraisals it brings together must have been known to its intended readers. Thus, it can be taken as giving some indications of popular estimations of Christians in the society of the time, and as revealing an ingrained impression that, apart from any religious or doctrinal errors Christians preserved in their beliefs, they were social pariahs who took advantage of the privileges they were accorded by Muslims to betray the trust placed in them and harm wider society in whatever ways they could. The series of complaints brought together here point to rivalry and mistrust in all relations between the two faiths, arising from the moral failure that is consistently shown by Christians. The clear implication is that the faith they profess is fatally fractured, and there is little profit in taking them as colleagues and friends, or at all seriously.

This refutation gives some hints about Muslim attitudes towards Christians at the time the anonymous Christian author sent his letter from Cyprus. Interestingly,

[23] Ibid., 439–40.

[24] Ibid., 445–50. Al-Wāsiṭī's brief reference to one of these, entitled *Al-sayf al-murhaf fī al-radd ʿalá al-muṣḥaf,* "The sharp sword, in refutation against the Scripture" (447–49), shows it contained arguments long known in Christian anti-Muslim polemic. Its author's knowledge of the Quran shows none of the completeness of the author of the Letter from Cyprus, and certainly none of his respect.

[25] Gottheil, "Answer," 445.

it says little about the Crusaders themselves; they are on the margins of al-Wāsiṭī's concerns as a menace with whom the indigenous *dhimmī* Christians are often in conspiracy. It is as though they are a defining evil, against which the betrayals and malevolent acts of Christians within Muslim society can be gauged. If these latter are unworthy of anything but the harshest treatment, the Crusaders are beyond any fair treatment at all.

The date when the anonymous author in Cyprus wrote cannot be known exactly. But since his reworked version of Paul of Antioch's letter reached Ibn Taymīyah in 1316, having been sent to him expressly, it is unlikely that it was finished very much earlier. It was, of course, sent to him as the leading religious scholar of his day, and certainly the best known religious authority in Damascus. It was sent with the express intention of inviting a reply; as its conclusion, which has been quoted above, innocently says, let the recipient indicate any points on which he disagrees, so that there can be discussion between the two sides.[26] But if he thought he would start a serious debate in which the Muslim would weigh the points he had made and ponder them dispassionately, he was completely wrong.

Ibn Taymīyah replied with the *Jawāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ li-Man Baddala Dīn al-Masīḥ,*[27] a painstakingly detailed exposure of Christianity that is not rivalled in the whole of Islam for its detail and length. This text has been the subject of a number of studies,[28] although a full analysis of its contents remains to be made. In short, it can be said that Ibn Taymīyah pays little regard to the arguments from Cyprus, but rather uses the letter to show how Muslims can be led away from the path of true faith by distorted interpretations such as this. While he quotes the letter at length in the course of his reply, he does not so much give answers to it as employ it as a warning to fellow Muslims of the dangers of any deviation from the norms of the Quran. Thus, his *Jawāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ* is not addressed to the author from Cyprus or even to Christians, but to Muslims, and it ranks Christianity with forms of Shiʿi extremism as a faith that departs from true monotheism.

Whether this thundering reply was ever sent to Cyprus is not known. But about five years after the anonymous author sent his first copy to Ibn Taymīyah in Damascus, he sent another copy, this time to Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn

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[26] Ebied and Thomas, *Muslim-Christian Polemic during the Crusades,* 147 (quoted above).

[27] Ed. ʿAlī ibn Ḥasan ibn Nāṣir et al. (Riyadh, 1999); partial trans. Thomas Michel, *A Muslim Theologian's Response to Christianity: Ibn Taymiyya's al-Jawab al-Sahih* (Delmar, New York, 1984).

[28] Michel, *A Muslim Theologian's Response;* Mark Swanson, "Ibn Taymiyya and the *Kitāb al-Burhān*: a Muslim Controversialist responds to a Ninth-Century Arabic Christian Apology," in *Christian-Muslim Encounters,* ed. Yvonne Y. Haddad and Wadi Z. Haddad (Gainsville, 1995), 95–107; David Thomas, "Apologetic and Polemic in *The Letter from Cyprus* and Ibn Taymiyya's *Jawāb al-ṣaḥīḥ li-man baddala dīn al-Masīḥ,*" in *Ibn Taymiyya and his Times,* ed. Shahab Ahmed and Yossef Rapoport (Karachi, forthcoming).

Abī Ṭālib, a well-known scholar in the town and, like Ibn Taymīyah, someone whose response would be based on experience and sincere scholarship in faith. His reply, written in 1321, within a few months of receiving the letter, can be placed alongside Ghāzī al-Wāsiṭī's refutation as a prime example of the attitudes held among Muslims towards Christians in early Mamluk times, and an indication of the tremendous differences between the faiths that present obstacles not only at times of open hostility such as the Crusades but at all times.

While he apparently did not enjoy the international celebrity status of Ibn Taymīyah, al-Dimashqī was enough of a celebrity in Damascus to merit an entry in al-Ṣafadī's *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt* and again in his *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr wa-Aʿwām al-Naṣr.*[29] Al-Ṣafadī was, in fact, a personal friend of al-Dimashqī and remembered spending time at his home and being asked by him to revise one of his poems. He regarded al-Dimashqī as "one of the cleverest people alive, with the power to penetrate into every discipline and the boldness to write about every field."[30] Thus, to anyone in Cyprus who knew something about the intellectual and cultural life in Damascus, he would be the natural recipient of a letter that was intended to start a public discussion.

Al-Dimashqī followed Ibn Taymīyah in replying to the anonymous letter with one of the longest and most detailed exposés of Christianity that has survived, the *Jawāb Risālat Ahl Jazīrat Qubruṣ.*[31] He may, in fact, have known Ibn Taymīyah's *Jawāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ*—he certainly knew that Ibn Taymīyah had been sent another copy of the letter[32]—because a number of the illustrative arguments he employs are also found in the earlier work. But a close examination of the two remains to be made.[33]

Al-Dimashqī gives some details about the circumstances in which he received the letter from Cyprus, recounting that it was personally delivered to him by a

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[29] *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* vol. 3, ed. Sven Dedering, Bibliotheca Islamica vol. 6c (Wiesbaden, 1974), 163–64; *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr wa-Aʿwām al-Naṣr,* ed. ʿAlī Abū Zayd et al. (Beirut and Damascus, 1998), 4:475–80.

[30] *Wāfī,* 3:163.

[31] Ebied and Thomas, *Muslim-Christian Polemic during the Crusades,* 150–497.

[32] Ibid., 156–57.

[33] A full investigation of Ibn Taymīyah's *Jawāb al-Ṣaḥīḥ* and al-Dimashqī's *Jawāb Risālat Ahl Jazīrat Qubruṣ* should also include Ibn Taymīyah's *Risālat al-Qubruṣīyah,* which contains some of the same arguments; ed. and trans. (French) Jean Michot, *Lettre à un roi croisé = al-Risâlat al-Qubrusiyya)* (Louvain-la-Neuve and Lyon, 1995). This work, which was written to a noble in Cyprus to request fair treatment for Muslim prisoners, can be dated to just after 1300, a good fifteen years before the correspondence between the anonymous author in Cyprus and the two Damascus scholars began. It might be assumed that it forms part of the background reason for the Christian letter, but the latter shows no explicit or implicit awareness of it or of its contents.

certain Kilyām the merchant, chamberlain of the Watchtower *(wazīr al-Marqab)*.[34] Al-Marqab (Margat) was the great Crusader fortress along the shore road north of Latakia that was captured by Sultan Qalāwūn in 1285, and Kilyām (presumably Guillaume), if he was a real person, would have been one of the original garrison. He is mentioned a number of times in the *Jawāb,* though al-Dimashqī appears to use him as a persona to whom to attach questions and arguments in the letter from Cyprus that are otherwise awkwardly anonymous. If he was indeed real, he serves to show that in a period of open hostility, when papal edicts frequently forbade trade between Muslim and Christian areas, communications were still in fact maintained.

The letter reached al-Dimashqī in March 1321, and he completed his reply in June of the same year. Like Ibn Taymīyah, he follows the method of quoting a passage from the letter and using it as the basis for a demonstration of the truth of Islam and the impoverishment of Christianity. He finds no merit at all in what the letter attempts to set out, and he dismisses its arguments without any constructive response. A Muslim would find many familiar arguments in it, for while the *Jawāb* is directed at the Christians, it was clearly intended for a Muslim audience as well. His reply is a sustained attestation to Muslim self-confidence and the intolerance towards Christianity that Ghāzī al-Wāsiṭī exemplifies in his briefer refutation.

Al-Dimashqī divides his *Jawāb* into thirteen sections, each headed by a quotation from the letter, together with a short introduction. He makes his stance clear at the very start, where he explains his interpretation of the intention held by the people of Cyprus in writing the letter: "They were opening up means of seeking a confrontation through it, under the impression that they had mastered what they had been assured was teaching, or that this might lead straight to the religion by mention of it."[35] His realistic assessment of the letter, that all it is attempting to do is either to confuse Muslims or convert them, shows that he has seen through its politeness and irenic posturing and has sensed the danger implicit in what it proposes.

Al-Dimashqī gets into the main argument of the *Jawāb* in response to the first claim he identifies in the letter, namely that Muḥammad appeared without warning rather than after announcements from earlier prophets and the miraculous signs that were conventionally associated with each advent of a prophet. This section of the *Jawāb* is the longest,[36] and it affords an excellent insight into his approach, giving a perspective of the general Muslim attitude towards the supremacy of Islam at the time.

[34] Ebied and Thomas, *Muslim-Christian Polemic during the Crusades,* 154–55.
[35] Ibid., 156–57.
[36] Ibid., 158–227.

Al-Dimashqī expresses shock at this accusation and systematically presents a long string of proof texts and stories to counter it. He begins with a series of quotations from the Old and New Testaments that from the ninth century or earlier had been seen by Muslims to contain references to the Prophet.[37] Many of these were familiar by the fourteenth century, and some, such as the riders on the ass and the camel of Isaiah 21 and the promises of the coming of the Paraclete in the Last Supper discourses in John 15 and 16, were commonplace. But they serve his purpose more than adequately. He adds to them stories that had passed from legend into religious history, such as the discovery of portraits of the Prophet and Rightly-Guided Caliphs in the possession of the people of Sicily when the first Muslims landed there,[38] and the surrender of Jerusalem to the caliph ʿUmar when the people recognized him as the one foretold: "This would never have happened unless they had known about the mission of Muḥammad (may God bless him and give him peace) to all humankind and the pre-eminence of his religion over all others, and, from his particular description and bearing, that his caliph ʿUmar would be the conqueror of Jerusalem."[39]

Of course, there is no question of the veracity of these stories, but more importantly there is no evident need for al-Dimashqī to do much more than refer to them or summarize them for him to consider his point made. They are obviously so well known among Muslims that the simple reminder of what they say is enough. This is strongly suggestive of widely held prejudices throughout Muslim society at this time.

But al-Dimashqī does not leave the matter with this spectacular display of evidence in support of Muḥammad's being attested by prophecies and miracles. He goes on to explain why Christians have ignored them, locating the guilt for this in the early community. In a breathtaking rewriting of known historical facts, he recounts how Constantine was converted to Christianity and wanted to proclaim his new faith in the empire. So Christian teachings were put in order, and the emperor was informed about the Gospel references to the Paraclete, though the religious experts were afraid that he might abandon his faith if he knew the true identity of this being and said it was the Holy Spirit. "This became Constantine's conviction, for he had been a Ṣābian, a worshipper of idols and the spiritual forces of the stars. So he accepted what they claimed about the matter of the Holy Spirit because he himself was familiar with belief in spiritual forces."[40] This official acceptance of the misinterpretation of Jesus' true teachings is the starting

[37] Ibid., 162–75.

[38] Ibid., 174–76.

[39] Ibid., 178–79.

[40] Ibid., 184–85.

point of Christian errors and the reason why, in al-Dimashqī's explanation, the Quran contains condemnations of the distorted doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation.[41]

To say that this reinterpretation of well-known Christian history is contentious is to state the obvious. Christians would have challenged every detail and insisted upon its factual inaccuracy. Al-Dimashqī, however, is clearly untroubled by this eventuality. The version of this history he preserves, and particularly the key role played by Constantine in perverting original Christian truth, is so securely accepted among his fellow Muslims that any challenge would stand little chance of a hearing, let alone acceptance. It shows how fully Muslims at this time were provided with an explanation of the way in which Christianity originally presented true teachings, as the Quran states, but these were distorted through wilful misinterpretation by a power-seeking elite, and how Islam then came to restore the truth and expose the criminal distortions.

It cannot be assumed that this recasting of the history of Constantine and the early years of the emancipated church is al-Dimashqī's own composition. Certainly, Constantine is conventionally implicated in Muslim explanations of the distorted form of Christianity.[42] And judging by another story al-Dimashqī employs, it might well be the case that with Constantine as well he is drawing upon a well-recognized tradition. This other story concerns St. Paul and his part in the corruption of the faith.

According to al-Dimashqī, Paul, who lived about a hundred and fifty years after Christ, was at first a persecutor of the Christians but then "he showed a desire for Christianity." So he withdrew from the world and was served in his seclusion by four scholars. He took each of these aside in turn and fed him teachings about the nature of Christ, each slightly different, and "in this way they became four sects."[43]

This account is as neat as the story of Constantine, telling how historical Christianity split into the main denominations known within the Muslim world. Its historicity is, of course, entirely spurious since it conflates the ministry of Paul in the first century with the emergence of the non-Chalcedonian churches in the fifth century and after. But al-Dimashqī need not be troubled about questions of factual accuracy, because this etiology had been circulating in different forms since at least the eighth century.[44] And if the historian Sayf ibn ʿUmar (d. 796 or

[41] Ibid., 186–93.

[42] See Samuel M. Stern, "ʿAbd al-Jabbār's Account of How Christ's Religion was Falsified by the Adoption of Roman Customs," *Journal of Theological Studies,* new series 19 (1968): 142–45, 159–76.

[43] Ebied and Thomas, *Muslim-Christian Polemic during the Crusades,* 398–401.

[44] Ibid., 397–99, n. 23.

slightly later), who wrote one of the first accounts of the dissension within the earliest Muslim community, is to be believed, the account can be traced back to ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAbbās, the Prophet's cousin, in the seventh century.[45] In Sayf's version the fourth servant of Paul was a certain al-Muʾmin. He rejected what Paul said, and he and his successors preserved the true monotheistic teaching of Jesus until the coming of Muḥammad.

This example, from later in the *Jawāb,* serves to show how full al-Dimashqī's work is with tales and examples from Islamic polemic and apologetic history, and how by his time this history had achieved a complexity and substantiality that would withstand any attempts by Christians to suggest the facts might tell a different story.

Returning to the first section of the *Jawāb,* having now established to his own satisfaction that Muḥammad was foretold in Christian scripture, that his coming was accompanied by miraculous events, and that Christians only reject this because of distortions in their history, al-Dimashqī now adds eight anecdotes, as he calls them, to support and confirm his argument.[46] They contain further elucidations of Biblical verses to show that these refer to Muḥammad, a reconstruction of the events of the passion and crucifixion of Christ to indicate the truth of the Muslim belief that he himself was not executed, but Judas in his place, and a retelling of further details of Christian history to explain the theologizing attempted by Christians in their endeavor to explain why Christ was sent by God to die.

This great accumulation of arguments goes further than supporting the contention that Muḥammad was truly sent by God, for it gradually retells early Christian history and suggests why the account preserved by Christians is wrong in the places where it diverges from the Quran-based account. Al-Dimashqī exhibits supreme confidence in the approach he takes, with no acknowledgement that his rival reconstruction may not command the acceptance of his Christian opponents. His disdain for them is well demonstrated in his concluding comment to his examination of the Christian account of the death of Christ:

> People with understanding and compassion took some consideration for the Christians and said to advise and admonish them, "If anyone were to relate to you part of this tragic joke from other people, and reported that they had cut themselves off from humankind in a corner of the earth, and that this doctrine was theirs, this creed theirs, and this supposition about the Lord of the worlds was theirs, would you people regard them as reasonable, call them people

[45] Pieter van Koningsveld, "The Islamic Image of Paul and the Origin of the Gospel of Barnabas," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 20 (1996): 200–28.

[46] Ebied and Thomas, *Muslim-Christian Polemic during the Crusades,* 192–221.

> of religion, say that they followed the religion of any prophet, or had any serious purpose? No, by God! Instead, you would be amazed at God's gentleness and forbearance towards them, and you would conclude that they were in error and ignorance. And as a declaration that he is above all this you would say, 'Our God is holy, and is far above the things with which these people associate him and characterise him.'"[47]

He essentially dismisses the Christian doctrine of the atonement as an irrational fantasy.

Al-Dimashqī rounds off this long and variegated reply to the first point in the letter from Cyprus by dealing with the interpretations given there of Quran verses that refer to the specifically Arabic Quran. The anonymous author maintains that these verses indicate the Quran was not intended as a universal scripture but was sent only for Arabic speakers. However, al-Dimashqī shows, one by one, that the verses do have a universal reference, and so they actually destroy the Christian's case rather than support it. A single example from his response to this matter gives an indication of his uncompromising approach. The Christian has quoted Q 3:164, "By sending them a messenger of their own," as part of his point that Muḥammad was from the Arabs and for them, following the conventional vocalization of the last words, *min anfusihim* (pl. of *nafs*), to understand them as "from among themselves," with the implied restriction upon his activities and relevance. But al-Dimashqī challenges this, reading the last words as *min anfasihim* with the slightly changed vocalization to mean "from the most distinguished among them," in which *anfasihim* is taken as the elative form of the adjective *nafīs,* and the verse is open to mean that Muḥammad was the most distinguished person of his time.[48] This reading had substantial authority, in that the Prophet himself was supposed to have sanctioned it,[49] but it presumably did not have much currency in al-Dimashqī's own time or the anonymous author would not have risked the reading he did. But al-Dimashqī will not concede even this one point, and is prepared to challenge the received reading of this verse in order to maintain his resistance.

This response to the first point made in the letter from Cyprus comprises an onslaught that brings together a substantial variety of scriptural, historical, to some extent rational, and exegetical arguments. Al-Dimashqī evidently intends to remove all possibilities that might suggest his opponent's arguments have validity. He repeats this procedure in all the other twelve sections of his *Jawāb,* building up

[47] Ibid., 216–17.

[48] Ibid., 222–23.

[49] Cf. al-Zamakhsharī, *Kashshāf ʿan Ḥaqāʾiq Ghawāmiḍ al-Tanzīl,* ed. ʿĀdil Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Mawjūd and ʿAlī Muḥammad Muʿawwaḍ (Riyadh, 1998) ad Q 9:128.

one form of argument upon another to provide an unanswerable demonstration that the contents of the letter do not deserve any serious reception.

He is clearly incensed by what he reads in the letter (this is evident from the very start of his reply where he upbraids the author for not using the proper form of commendation when referring to Muḥammad),[50] and maybe he perceives the implicit intention to make Muḥammad and the Quran secondary in importance to Christianity and restricted in relevance to the Arabian peninsula and its inhabitants. His approach, with the confident arguments he adduces, perhaps has something in common with al-Wāsiṭī's refutation, in that it appears to assume from the start that the Christian approach is insincere and bound up with trickery, as well as having no validity in either reason or scripture. Again, words from the opening of his *Jawāb* strongly suggest this: "A letter came . . . exemplary in politeness but alien in intention and shocking in purpose."[51] Beneath its courteous surface he detects duplicity and cunning.

Whatever the true intention of the Christian, who may or may not have meant to imply that Muḥammad and the Quran were secondary to Christianity itself, al-Dimashqī's reply contains a degree of rejection that amounts to vehemence. He does not so much want to show where these particular points are wrong, or even where Christian doctrines and beliefs are wrong, but appears to want to prove that both Christianity as a faith and Christians as people are to be condemned and dismissed as valueless and contemptible. In this, his stance is the same as that of al-Wāsiṭī and Ibn Taymīyah, and it contrasts noticeably with the more measured approach of earlier Muslim masters.

Three or four centuries before al-Dimashqī's explosive reply to Christian claims, Muslim theologians such as al-Māturīdī, al-Bāqillānī, and ʿAbd al-Jabbār also wrote about Christianity. These three leaders of theological thinking left the first surviving treatises of Islamic theology, in which they combined in different forms demonstrations of their own theology with refutations of Christianity and other non-Muslim faiths.[52] With some subtlety they positioned these refutations in relation to their presentation of positive Muslim doctrine so as to make clear that the errors of logic in the way the practitioners of these faiths presented them both made them unviable and also proved the validity and inevitability of the strict monotheism of Islam. Thus, for example, the Muʿtazilī ʿAbd al-Jabbār (who died in 1025, three hundred years before this correspondence between Cyprus and Damascus), in his great theological compendium the *Mughnī,* places his refutation

[50] Ebied and Thomas, *Muslim-Christian Polemic during the Crusades,* 160–63.

[51] Ibid., 155.

[52] Cf. David Thomas, "Dialogue with Other Faiths as an Aspect of Islamic Theology," in *Religious Polemic in Context,* ed. Theo L. Hettema and A. van der Kooij (Assen, The Netherlands, 2004), 93–109.

of Christianity, together with attacks on dualist faiths, after his exposition of the Muʿtazilī doctrine of *tawḥīd*. Just as he proves that dualist versions of doctrine are wrong, so he proves that the Trinity, which fragments the being of God, and the Incarnation, which brings divinity into intimate proximity with creaturely humanity, are also wrong in that they cannot be given a rational foundation. According to the severely rational frame of reference he sets himself, his arguments disprove Christianity as uncompromisingly as al-Dimashqī's, but he does so in a measured, systematic way that Christians who observed the same logical method could appreciate and either accept or respond to with arguments of a similar character. The same applies to other tenth-century theological refutations, which forensically analyze the doctrines they have before them and expose their deficiencies with unrelenting logical rigor.

The dispassionate, abstract approach of these Muslim precursors is far from the arguments assembled by al-Dimashqī, not least in the way their argumentative cogency contrasts with the anecdotes and popular tales he employs. Their intention is manifestly to impress their religious opponents with points that must be accepted by rational minds, while al-Dimashqī seems more concerned to appeal to Muslims who would accept his accounts of Christian belief and history and traditions of the Prophet's veracity than to Christians who would decry them as unfounded. His stance is utterly different from his predecessors of a few centuries.

One can imagine that as an individual al-Dimashqī would be less concerned to win the minds of Christians than to display to local Muslims the strength of his case for rejecting the contents of the letter. But one must wonder whether, in the circumstances of the time, with the Christian West in retreat and Islam triumphant in lands that within living memory had been occupied by Crusaders and invaded by Mongol armies, there was a more widespread sense that Christians and their faith did not have to be taken seriously. There was no need to engage on any deep level with the claims of their faith, the intellectual battle had been won just as the military encounter had proved decisive, and it was now a matter of reminding oneself and one's fellow believers about the reasons for accepting the supremacy of Islam.

Al-Dimashqī says nothing to support such suppositions, and the relative superficiality of his huge response to the carefully worked letter cannot be finally explained. But in this instance of an apparently naïve and idealistic Christian constructing fragile possibilities and an intransigent Muslim countering with unconvincing stories is to be found one of the permanent traits of encounters between followers of the two faiths. True meeting of minds was a rare occurrence in this period, though it has hardly occurred between Christians and Muslims at any other.

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A Christian Arab Gospel Book: Cairo, Coptic Museum MS Bibl. 90 in its Mamluk Context

The illuminated manuscript of the Arabic Gospels (Cairo, Coptic Museum MS Bibl. 90) (figs. 1–6), written and illuminated in Mamluk Damascus in 1340, is a major expression of Christian religious and artistic practice and scholarship in the Mamluk period. This contribution aims to draw attention to the insight the manuscript offers into Christian cultural, artistic, and intellectual concerns of the middle of the fourteenth century. This will be undertaken through an assessment of the information that is known or can deduced about the book, and a discussion of aspects of its illumination, suggesting that its points of contact with both the Quran and other eastern Christian illuminated manuscripts indicate a discourse representing Arab Christian culture within, and sensitive to, its Islamic environment.

While the manuscript has been known through brief surveys in the catalogues of Marcus Simaika Pasha and Georg Graf before the mid-twentieth century, a fuller description of the illumination in the light of the text is timely (see appendix 1).[1] In

[1] I am grateful to Madame Samiha Abd al-Shaheed, Chief Curator of Manuscripts of the Coptic Museum, Old Cairo, for facilitating my study of the manuscript. I am also grateful to Dr. Filiz Çağman and Dr. Banu Mahir at the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi as well as Dr. Michel Garel at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris for enabling my study of other manuscripts discussed here. The work in Istanbul was made possible through a British Academy Grant in the Humanities. For MS Bibl. 90 see: Georg Graf, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes chrétiens conservés au Caire* (Vatican City, 1934), 77–80, no. 180; Marcus Simaika Pasha, assisted by Yassā ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, *Catalogue of the Coptic and Arabic Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum, the Patriarchate, the Principal Churches of Cairo and Alexandria and the Monasteries of Egypt* (Cairo, 1939), 1:10–11, no. 13, with pls. XVIII–XIX; Maria Cramer, *Koptische Buchmalerei: Illuminationen in Manuskripten des christlichen-koptischen Ägypten vom 4. bis 19. Jahrhundert* (Recklinghausen, 1964), 40, with Abb. 26–27, no. 51 (misnumbered); Robert S. Nelson, "An Icon at Mt. Sinai and Christian Painting in Muslim Egypt During the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," *Art Bulletin* 65, no. 2 (1983): 214, with fig. 24; David James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks* (London, 1988), 149; Samir Khalil Samir, "La version arabe des évangiles d'al-Asʿad ibn al-ʿAssāl," in *Actes du 4e congrès international d'études arabes chrétiennes (Cambridge, September 1992),* ed. Samir Khalil Samir = *Parole de l'Orient* 19 (1994): 465–67, no. 10; Lucy-Anne Hunt, "Introducing the Catalogue, in progress, of the illustrated Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum," *Parole de l'Orient* 19 (1994): 405, with fig. 4, reprinted in idem, *Byzantium, Eastern Christianity and Islam: Art at the Crossroads of the Medieval Mediterranean* (London, 2000), 2:355, with fig. 4. The manuscript is included in Lucy-Anne Hunt and Leslie MacCoull, with the collaboration of Fr. Wadi Abullif and others, *Catalogue of the Illustrated Manuscripts in the Coptic Museum, Old Cairo* (forthcoming, as part of the *Catalogue Général du Musée Copte*).

addition to the four Gospels, the book contains an Introduction and Canon Tables, as well as a Prologue and Tables of Chapters accompanying each Gospel. Each section has illuminated headpieces, and there is a double frontispiece page before St. Matthew's Gospel. A large book (its folios measure 36 x 25 cm) and aniconic in its illumination, it represents a counterweight to the large display Qurans produced under the Mamluks. There is a unity to the book, its organization, and its calligraphy, which points to its purpose as a Christian Arab textual exemplar and work of art. Made of fine, smoothly prepared paper, there is a consistency and finesse to its calligraphy, with its titles in *thuluth, muḥaqqaq,* and Kufic, with the vocalized text throughout in *naskh* against a red scrolled or hatched ground.

The manuscript is very informative (see appendix for description of folios 1–24r and pages numbered 1–624 following thereafter). The note at the end of the book (p. 624) records that it was copied during the primacy of Anbā Buṭrus, the metropolitan of the Copts of Jerusalem and Syria, by the priest Jirjis Abū al-Faḍl; the text was copied and collated with an autograph manuscript written by the Egyptian scribe al-Asʿad ibn al-ʿAssāl.[2] The copyist, Jirjis Abū al-Faḍl, points out that he has not included any of the words added in the Arabic manuscripts, as they do not appear in the Coptic, Greek, or Syriac. He goes on to say that the present manuscript was collated in the presence of this metropolitan and the monk Tūma, known as Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh. This monk is himself known as a copyist.[3] The manuscript's frontispiece page (fol. 20r) also includes the information that the book was made for the library of the lord and shaykh al-Asʿad. Fr. Samir Khalil Samir has suggested that this shaykh al-Asʿad might in fact have been al-Asʿad ibn al-ʿAssāl himself, the scribe of the prototype manuscript, and that this is evidence that his own library was maintained and replenished nearly forty years after his death.[4] This library would have been an important repository and resource for Coptic ecclesiastics and scholars and others, and it should be seen as comparable in importance and influence to the many Islamic libraries of the Mamluk period.

While the copyist's colophon provides, then, a clue to the variety of Christian books that al-Asʿad's library contained, it is necessary to step back to the thirteenth century to the formulation of this version of the Gospels and to the activity of al-Asʿad himself, his family, and intellectual circle. Al-Asʿad ibn al-ʿAssāl's critical version of the Gospels was completed during the course of 1253.[5] Written as an

[2] Samir, "Version arabe," 466, identifies this metropolitan as Buṭrus II (1340–62).

[3] Georg Graf, "Die koptische Gelehrtenfamilie der Aulād al-ʿAssāl und ihr Schrifttum," *Orientalia* 1 (1932): 54 with n. 1. Samir, "Version arabe," 466–67, 470–72, citing P. Khalil Marta's description of the Gospel book Jerusalem, Dayr Mar Jirgis of the Copts MS 2 of 1042 A.M./1326 A.D.

[4] Samir, "Version arabe," 465 with n. 71.

[5] Wadi Abullif, "Vita e opere del pensatore copto al-Ṣafī Ibn al-ʿAssāl (sec. XIII)," *Studia Orientalia Christiana: Collectanea* 20 (1987): 137; Samir Khalil Samir, "Version arabe," 450–51.

alternative to the available Arabic version of his day, the so-called "Egyptian Vulgate," al-Asʿad produced his version taking into account other Arabic versions, derived from Greek, Syriac, or Coptic, as well as returning to the original Greek, Syriac, and Coptic versions themselves.[6] He worked as a copyist in Damascus, as in 1230, where he acquired manuscripts for his library.[7] He was famed for his skill, and one of the brothers of the Awlād al-ʿAssāl, or their father, is credited with developing *al-khaṭṭ al-asʿadī,* the script identified by Georg Graf as being used in Bibl. 90.[8] The Coptic family Awlād al-ʿAssāl played a major role as intellectuals and leaders within the minority Coptic community with a residence in Cairo. They combined a mastery of Arabic with their knowledge of Coptic, Greek, and Syriac.[9] The commissioning of manuscripts for their libraries formed part of their intellectual activities. The scribe Gabriel (later Patriarch Gabriel III) wrote the bilingual text of a Copto-Arabic Gospel book (Cairo, Coptic Museum Bibl. 93) in 1257 in the household of shaykh al-Amjad ibn al-ʿAssāl, al-Asʿad's half brother, to which he had been attached, in Syria and Cairo, for the previous ten years.[10]

Bible translations were one aspect of the preservation of Coptic Christian culture in the face of the inevitable dominance of Arabic. This ran concurrently with the process of codification, including the writing of Copto-Arabic grammars and dictionaries to ensure the preservation of Coptic culture and also to ensure its future development through the medium of Arabic. An example of this type of synthesis is the Nomocanon, a work dealing with both canon and civil law written in ca. 1235 by al-Ṣafī Abū al-Faḍāʾil ibn al-ʿAssāl, another member of Awlād al-ʿAssāl and brother of al-Asʿad, for the patriarch Kīrillus Ibn Laqlaq.[11] Such a description could as well be applied to the Gospel book Bibl. 90.

Al-Asʿad's famous library in Cairo was enriched both from his acquisitions of manuscripts during his travels outside Egypt—including those to Syria—and the

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[6] Samir, "Version arabe," 444. Recent work suggests that al-Asʿad ibn al-ʿAssāl's version was closer to the Bohairic Coptic than others: see Hikmat Kachouh, "The Arabic Versions of the Gospels: A Case Study of John 1.1 and 1.18," in *The Bible in Arab Christianity,* ed. David Thomas (Leiden and Boston, 2007), 35, where he refers to the version as "Family 11."

[7] Samir Khalil Samir, "Al-Asʿad Ibn al-ʿAssāl copiste de Jean Damascène à Damas en 1230," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 44 (1978): 190–95.

[8] Abullif, "Al-Ṣafī," 136, with references, n. 35. Graf, *Catalogue,* 77, identifies it as "un très beau nasḫī (*sic*) asʿadī."

[9] Aziz S. Atiya, "Awlād al-ʿAssāl," in *The Coptic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1991), 1:309–11.

[10] George William Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect* (Oxford, 1898–1905), 1:xci–xcii.

[11] See the comments of Samir Khalil Samir, "Rôle des Chrétiens dans la civilisation arabe," in *Eastern Crossroads: Essays on Medieval Christian Legacy (Proceedings of the 1st International Congress on Eastern Christianity, University of Cordova 2005),* ed. Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala (Piscataway, NJ, 2007), 16.

production of manuscripts in his own house, and it remained a reference point for later writers.[12] It was not unique. An example of another Christian library of the fourteenth century is that of the son of the late Fakhr al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAlāʾ, for which the Istanbul Gospel book Topkapı Sarayı MS Ahmet III 3159 was made. Although undated, the colophon states that the Istanbul Gospels were made for this "old, Christian and venerable" library.[13] We do not know where this library was located, but either Damascus or Cairo is likely in the light of the present discussion. The manuscript has been attributed to Egypt or Syria in the middle or second half of the fourteenth century, with the middle to third quarter being the most likely.[14] It is a smaller manuscript than the Cairo Gospels (18.7 x 13.7 cm) and was surely made as a private prayer book for the inheritor of the library.[15]

The similarity of Bibl. 90 to Quran manuscripts raises the question of the parallel, and even inter-related functions, of Muslim and Christian libraries. This is dependent on contacts between Christians and Muslims, especially through the Mamluk administration, in the service of which Copts were useful as scribes, administrators, and intermediaries with foreign powers.[16] The educational function of Islamic libraries—including those of madrasahs and other institutions—has been highlighted, as has the role of the madrasah in upholding the supremacy of Sunni orthodoxy, not least in the light of Christian attempts to retain the independence

[12] Graf, "Die koptische Gelehertenfamilie," 54 with n. 2; Samir, "Al-Asʿad," 190–95; Abullif, "Al-Ṣafī," 136 with n. 36. .

[13] Jules Leroy, "Un évangélaire arabe de la bibliothèque de Topqapi Sarayi à décor byzantin et islamique," *Syria* 44 (1967): 123 with fig. 2 (colophon fol. 178r).

[14] Yildiz Demiriz, "Topkapı Sarayı III: Ahmed Kütüphanesinde bir arapça incil," *Sanat Tarihi Yilliği* 2 (1966–68): 94, attributed the manuscript to mid-fourteenth century Syria; Nelson, "Icon," 216, attributed it to Egypt or Syria in the middle or second half of the fourteenth century. Features of its illuminated frontispieces are comparable with some of those from the undated Cairene Quran, planned in thirty parts, which was later donated to a mosque in Cairo by Sultan Faraj ibn Barqūq, with surviving sections now in various locations. See, for example, Dublin, Chester Beatty Library MS 1465, for which see David James, *Qurʾans and Bindings from the Chester Beatty Library: A Facsimile Exhibition* (Catalogue of a photographic exhibition, The British Library, 1976) (London, 1980), 47, no. 31 with plate, where it is dated ca. 745/1345, and idem, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks,* 211, fig. 145 (cat. 35), where it is dated ca. 1370–75.

[15] Lucy-Anne Hunt, "Cultural Transmission: Illustrated Biblical Manuscripts from the medieval Eastern Christian and Arab Worlds," in *The Bible as Book: The Manuscript Tradition,* ed. John L. Sharpe III and Kimberly Van Kampen (London and New Castle, DE, 1998), reprinted in idem, *Byzantium, Eastern Christendom and Islam: Art at the Crossroads of the Medieval Mediterranean* (London, 2000), 2:20–21, with pl. 7.

[16] The attacks on Christians in the fourteenth century, including inciting the mob to violence, were not official Mamluk policy: see, recently, Johannes Pahlitzsch, "Mediators between East and West: Christians under Mamluk Rule," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9, no. 2 (2005): esp. 38–39 with bibliographical summary, n. 24.

they enjoyed under the Ayyubids.[17] The presence of a wide variety of books, including Qurans, in a Muslim Mamluk scholar's library is attested by the books itemized in the estate sale of the Sufi scholar and qadi Burhān al-Dīn al-Nāṣirī, who died in 790/1388.[18] But Christian books also found their way into Muslim libraries. When the library of the Bayt al-Māl of the Great Mosque of Damascus was finally reopened in 1317/1899 by the Ottoman sultan Abd al-Hamid II, it was reported that, in addition to Qurans, there were fragments with "[Biblical] hymns in the old Palestinian Aramaic language . . . treatises on [Christian] theology, literature, and stories dealing with monasticism—all transcribed in the Greek handwriting . . . full copies of the Bible and the Torah. . . . Even poems dating back to the Crusades were also located. These items were variously written in the Coptic, Kurji, Armenian, Hebrew, Samarian, Latin, and French vernaculars."[19]

The Illumination of MS Cairo, Coptic Museum Bibl. 90 (with Reference to Appendix and Figs. 1–6)

The close similarity between the illustration of Bibl. 90 and Quran manuscripts is evident. The large size of the manuscript, the script, type of geometric illumination, and use of gold, as well as ornamental features, penmanship, and bordering are all features in common. David James has even described the manuscript as "almost Islamic in conception" and pointed out that Coptic manuscripts with "Islamic" illumination "can be used to fill gaps in our knowledge of Islamic manuscript illumination, for there are no Qurans from the first fifty years of Mamlūk rule in Egypt."[20] He draws particular attention to a comparison with a Quran in the National (Iran Bastan) Museum in Tehran, written in 739/1338–39 by a named scribe, particularly in the appearance of gold strapwork, blossom design, and "gold-on-gold" decoration, the use of concave cartouches, and the accuracy of workmanship.[21] Indeed, it is on the basis of this comparison that he attributes this Quran, the earliest in the "classical" style following the dominance of the master-illuminator Abū Bakr known as Ṣandal, to Damascus. James also makes comparisons with two Qurans in the Nasser D. Khalili collection of Islamic art,

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[17] Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton, 1992), 24, 123, 131–32.

[18] Ulrich Haarmann, "The Library of a Fourteenth-Century Jerusalem Scholar," *Der Islam* 61 (1984): 327–33.

[19] Mohamed Makki Sibai, *Mosque Libraries: An Historical Study* (London and New York, 1987), 74 with n. 120, citing Muhammad Kurd Ali, *Khiṭaṭ al-Shām* (Damascus, 1944), 6:199–200; and Jirjī Zaydān, *Tārīkh Adab al-Lughah al-ʿArabīyah* (Cairo, 1965), 4:117–18.

[20] James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks,* 149.

[21] Ibid., 149. For the Quran, see ibid., 138–49, 217, 227 (cat. 20) with figs. 98–99.

one of which was written in Damascus by a scribe with an Iranian background.[22] Bibl. 90 is, therefore, a major plank in James' argument for the productivity and superiority of Damascus in relation to Cairo in the production of Quran manuscripts at the time.

And yet, there are also elements comparable with the work of the illuminator Muḥammad ibn Mubādir working in Cairo at the turn of the fourteenth century, again with Coptic links.[23] A section of a Quran, formerly attributed to Damascus in the 1340s, has recently been re-attributed to the hand of Ibn Mubādir working in Cairo for Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Jāshnakīr, either as vizier or sultan, in ca. 1298–1310.[24] If correct, the rounded cartouches, strapwork, and use of white beading here all preempt their appearance in Bibl. 90 by thirty to forty years.

Furthermore, alongside the inquiry into the close association with Quran manuscripts, it is also important to view this symbiosis in the light of the Copto-Arabic tradition, and to point to the internal structure and illumination of the manuscript and its decoration as a Christian Arab document. The case needs to be made for a more nuanced discourse to include awareness of Arab Christian visual culture in its own right, rather than assuming that it was merely subsumed into Islamic art. The close links between Cairo and Damascus of the al-ʿAssāl family, and subsequently of the Christian community in general, argue against thinking in terms of a dichotomy between manuscript production in Damascus and Cairo. Instead, it may well be that productivity in these centers was interconnected through family and institutional library networks with their origins in Ayyubid workmanship and scholarship, as well as absorbing Iranian and Iraqi innovations.

Illumination and enlightenment according to a Christian interpretation are stressed in the inscriptions and complement the golden illumination of Bibl. 90. The Kufic inscriptions in white in cartouches at the top and bottom of each of fols. 23v–24r, the dual frontispieces to St. Matthew's Gospel, read "The pure Gospel, the shining lamp which is the source of life and the ship of salvation according to the Holy Apostles" (fig. 4). The Quran terms itself as light, a theme which is borne out in Quranic illumination, including the verse numbering in the margins ringed in gold with golden rays, with examples in the Tehran Quran and another from 600/1203–4 in Istanbul (Turkish and Islamic Museum T 107).[25] This echoes the

[22] David James, *The Master Scribes: Qurʾans of the 10th to 14th centuries* (Oxford, 1992), no. 43 (The Umayyad Mosque, Damascus ca. 1330–1340, Accession no. QUR 807), 176 with plates pp. 177–78; no. 44 (Accession no. QUR 187), 180 with plates pp. 181–82.

[23] James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks,* 47.

[24] Marcus Fraser, *Geometry in Gold: An Illuminated Mamlūk Qurʾān Section* (London, 2005), *passim*, esp. 6, 34–35, 41 with references. See also n. 42 below.

[25] Martin Lings, *The Quranic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination* (London, 1976), 74 with plates 23 and 34 respectively.

divine light illumination suffused from Mamluk mosque lamps, especially of the late thirteenth to mid-fourteenth century, inscribed with the *ayat al-nūr* (Verse of Light, 34:35), and the appearance of the symbol of the lamp in prayer rugs and architectural sculpture and other forms of decoration.[26]

However, the idea of a lamp providing clarity and illumination is also central to Christian thought in the fourteenth century. This is exemplified in the work of the encyclopedist Abū al-Barakāt, known as Ibn Kabar (d. 1324), who codified canon law and church services in his twenty-four-volume work "The Lamp of Darkness for the Elucidation of the Service (of the Church)."[27] A priest at the church of al-Muʿallaqah in Old Cairo, as well as historian and secretary in Sultan Baybars al-Jāshnakīr's administration, Ibn Kabar's writing in the first quarter of the fourteenth century has been seen to typify the elegant use of Arabic by arabophone Christians who were determined, from the end of the twelfth century, to wrest the use of elegant literary Arabic from the sole domain of Muslim writers.[28] His work has been shown to draw directly on al-Asʿad ibn al-ʿAssāl's work.[29] It is not unreasonable to assume, therefore, that he for one had access to al-Asʿad's library.

Canon Tables

While the Introduction is opened (fol. 1v) with the *bismillāh* phrase in black and title in gold, the main illustrative process of the manuscript starts with the Eusebian canon tables. The preliminaries to the canon tables are headed by titling which employs three scripts (fol. 14v, fig. 1). The *bismillāh* phrase is in golden *thuluth* on a white-dotted blue ground, with the title below in *muḥaqqaq,* followed by the vocalized *naskh* text written in black ink and contained in cloud shapes on a red-hatched ground. A similar bold headpiece appears in the fourteenth-century Arabic book in Istanbul (Topkapı Sarayı Library Ahmet III 3519 fol. 176v) containing the *bismillāh* above the introduction to St. John's Gospel (fig. 9), even

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[26] Esin Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks* (Catalogue of an exhibition circulated by the Smithsonian Institution) (Washington D.C., 1981), 120 with nos. 52 (lamp), 53 (lamp made in ca. 1310–20 for Karim al-Dīn, a convert from Christianity), and 111 (plaque in the shape of a mihrab).

[27] Abū al-Barakāt Ibn Kabar, *Miṣbāḥ al-Ẓulmah fī Īḍāḥ al-Khidmah*, vol. 1, ed. Samir Khalil Samir (Cairo, 1971) (Arabic text); vol. 2, ed. Bishop Samuel (Cairo, 1992) (Arabic text). See Samir Khalil Samir, "L'Encyclopédie liturgique d'Ibn Kabar (+1324) et son apologie d'usages coptes," in *Crossroad of Cultures: Studies in Liturgy and Patristics in Honor of Gabriele Winkler,* ed. Hans-Jürgen Feulner, Elena Velkovska, and Robert F. Taft (Rome, 2000), 619–55.

[28] See the comments of Samir, "Rôle de chrétiens," 15–16. For Ibn Kabar see also Aziz S. Atiya, "Ibn Kabar," in *The Coptic Encyclopedia,* 4:1267–68.

[29] Samir, "Version arabe," 448 with n. 4, 457.

though *muḥaqqaq* is used and the cloud shapes surrounding the text itself are in beige.[30] Described as an "hieratic" ornamental script, it has been noted that *thuluth* is rarely used for the text of Qurans; it is rather used in titles, colophons, and headpieces, although a particular example of its use is found in the golden text of the seven-volume Quran in the British Library, written by the scribe Muḥammad ibn al-Waḥīd for Baybars al-Jāshnakīr in 704–5/1304–6.[31] So, while it does not appear again in Bibl. 90, its appearance here is an impressive statement early in the manuscript's illumination.

The canon tables of Bibl. 90 are gilded with lotuses in blue in the spandrels (fig. 1). There are several examples of the appearance of lotuses in Mamluk manuscripts, a feature which is often ascribed to Ilkhanid influence.[32] However, they appear considerably earlier, in thirteenth-century eastern Christian painting, including Copto-Arabic and Syriac manuscript painting. The curtain suspended above the head of St. Luke in the portrait of the evangelist in the mid-thirteenth century Copto-Arabic New Testament (now divided between Cairo and Paris), written by the aforementioned scribe Gabriel, displays a lotus design, as does the cloth draped over the table in the scene of the Supper at Emmaus in a thirteenth-century Syriac lectionary.[33] The lotus design also appears in a double frontispiece in the Istanbul Gospels, at the end of the chapter titles and the beginning of St. John's Gospel (fols. 10v–11r, fig. 8).[34] Relations between eastern Christians—especially Syrians and Armenians—and the Mongols might well explain the introduction

[30] Leroy, "Évangélaire arabe," 122–23 with pl. X, 2; Demiriz, "Topkapı Sarayı," 92 with fig. 8.

[31] Yasin Hamid Safadi, *Islamic Calligraphy* (London, 1978), 19, 52 with pl. 34 for London, BL Add. 22406; see also Lings, *The Quranic Art of Calligraphy,* 119 with color plate 62, and James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks,* 41–42, figs. 18–19 (cat. 1). For the British Library Quran (BL Additional MSS 22406–22413) as a whole, see also recently Colin F. Baker, *Qurʾan Manuscripts: Calligraphy, Illumination, Design* (London, 2007), 43–56 with color plates, and http://www.bl.uk/collections/treasures/quran/quran_broadband.htm?top (Turning the Pages).

[32] Martin Lings and Yasin Hamid Safadi, *The Qurʾān* (Catalogue of the exhibition at the British Library 3 April–15 August 1976) (London, 1976), nos 79–80 reproduced in color, plates XII–XIII of the frontispieces of two Qurans, the first donated in 769/1368 and the other attributed to the late fourteenth century. James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks,* points out that the Ilkhanid elements in Mamluk manuscripts precedes 1326, the usually ascribed date.

[33] Paris, Institut Catholique Copte-Arabe 1, fol. 105v (St. Luke), and London BL Add. 7171, fol. 163v (Supper at Emmaus), both conveniently reproduced in Lucy-Anne Hunt, "Christian-Muslim Relations in Painting in Egypt of the Twelfth to mid-Thirteenth Centuries: Sources of Wallpainting at Deir es-Suriani and the Illustration of the New Testament MS Paris, Copte-Arabe 1/Cairo Bibl. 94," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 33 (1985), reprinted in Lucy-Anne Hunt, *Byzantium, Eastern Christendom and Islam: Art at the Crossroads of the Medieval Mediterranean* (London, 1998), respectively 1:261 with fig. 11 and 263 with fig. 23.

[34] Leroy, "Évangélaire arabe," 121, 127 with pl. XI, 1; Dimiriz, "Topkapı Sarayı," 93 with fig. 13.

of this motif in advance of its appearance in Quran manuscripts.[35] Other eastern Christian parallels are apparent. The rounded arches of the canon tables in Bibl. 90 (fig. 1) give way to ogive-shaped arches on fol. 17v. A parallel for these more pointed arches is in the canon tables of an Armenian manuscript illustration of the thirteenth century, now Erevan, Matenadaran MS 9422.[36]

FRONTISPIECES

The frontispiece preceding the prologue to St. Matthew's Gospel (fol. 20r, fig. 2) continues the tripartite sequence established in fol. 14v. The phrase "The Holy Gospel and the Shining Star" is in gold *muḥaqqaq* on a blue ground with white foliage scrolls. This is followed by the phrase below introducing the four Gospels, with Matthew as the first, against the red scrollwork arabesque, with pointed medallions with a lotus design indicating the text. The latter are not unlike the floral motifs "floating" above the text of fol. 1v of a Quran produced in Cairo in 744/1344.[37] The statement that the manuscript was made for al-Asʿad's library comes at the bottom in gold *muḥaqqaq,* with the later inscriptions of patriarchal ownership above and below it.

The double-page frontispiece to St. Matthew's Gospel (fols. 23v–24r, fig. 4) with its structure of four octagons in the central field converging in a star-shaped center, Kufic text of "the pure Gospel, the shining lamp," is appropriately golden, with blue as the secondary color with some green. It is ambitious in its associations. A parallel for the geometric structure of the central field, as well as the floral border beyond the strapwork, is the double frontispiece to the second volume fols. 1v–2r of the Quran of Baybars al-Jāshnakīr illuminated by Ibn Mubādir in Cairo in 704–5/1304–6.[38] A nearer-contemporary example is the left-hand frontispiece of a Quran in Istanbul (Topkapı Sarayı Library 138.M5) dated 741/1341 and attributed to Damascus, in which four eight-pointed stars occupy the main field with Kufic inscription in cartouches above and below, surrounded by strapwork

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[35] For artistic relations between eastern Christians and the Mongols in the thirteenth century see Lucy-Anne Hunt, "Artistic Interchange in Old Cairo in the Thirteenth to Early Fourteenth Century: The Role of Painted and Carved Icons," in *Interactions: Artistic Interchange between The Eastern and Western Worlds in the Medieval Period,* ed. Colum Hourihane (University Park, PA, 2007), 59; and idem, "Eastern Christian Art and Culture in the Ayyubid and Early Mamluk Periods: Cultural Convergence between Jerusalem, Greater Syria and Egypt," in *Ayyubid Jerusalem: The Holy City 1187–1250,* ed. Sylvia Auld and Robert Hillenbrand (London, 2009), 339–44.

[36] Sirape Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century,* Dumbarton Oaks Studies, vol. 31 (Washington, 1993), vol. 2, figs. 510–11.

[37] Topkapı Sarayı Y 365: James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks,* 151 with fig. 102 (cat. 67).

[38] London BL Add. 22406–13, fols. 1v–2r: see James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks,* 44, fig. 22. For this manuscript see also above, n. 31. Nelson, "Icon at Mt. Sinai," 214 with figs. 24 and 27, draws a parallel between the Bibl. 90 frontispiece and London, BL Or. 848.

and a floral border.[39] Eight-pointed stars are also the main motif of the illuminated left-hand frontispiece to the Istanbul Gospels Topkapı Sarayı Library Ahmet III 3519 (fol. 2r, fig. 7 here), the inscriptions of which also refer to the pure Gospel and the shining lamp.[40] Here, too, there is elaborate bordering, white beading, and blue outlining, and Kufic inscriptions above and below, albeit in gold in the Istanbul Gospels. Also similar is the color balance. While the predominant colors are gold and blue, there is a noticeable mid-green presence in the petals of the eight-pointed stars and octagonal. Another Christian manuscript may be drawn into the discussion. The white Kufic text in blue cartouches and the strapwork with squares and floral border are also found in an Arabic Pentateuch of 1353 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Arabe 12).[41] This manuscript was written by the priest Abū al-Mufaḍḍal collating Greek, Hebrew, and Coptic against a manuscript written by Ibn Kabar.

Prologues

The text of St. Matthew's Prologue (fols. 20v–21v) does not have a titlepiece at the start of the text, but the tripartite formula of rectangular titlepiece with *muḥaqqaq* text on a blue background with gilded scrolls is followed across the openings of the Prologues of Mark (p. 162) and John (p. 470). These have rectangular frames at the top with the *bismillāh* phrase, the title below in gold *muḥaqqaq* against the red foliage scrollwork, and the text below in a cloud pattern against a red hatched ground. Luke (p. 276) reverses the upper and middle fields, with the rectangular blue title band in the center of the page.

An oval medallion on fol. 21v (fig. 3) marks the end of the Prologue to Matthew and the start of a new section. It takes up the bottom third of the page and is ornamented with a foliage scroll design in red penmanship, surrounded by borders of white strapwork and beading, completed by the ubiquitous blue frame. Similar oval section dividers are found in the margins of fourteenth-century Mamluk Quran manuscripts.[42] Another shaped motif, similar although in three parts, is

[39] Fol. 2r: James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks,* 143 fig. 95 (cat. 21), where, despite the attribution to Damascus, he makes a comparison with a Cairene Quran of 731/1132 (cat. 16).

[40] Leroy, ""Évangélaire arabe," 128 with pl. IX, 1. The parallel between the two frontispieces was noted by Nelson, "Icon," 214 with figs 24–25.

[41] Marie-Geneviève Guesdon entry in *L'Art Copte en Égypte: 2000 ans de christianisme* (Catalogue of an exhibition, Institut du monde arabe Paris, 15 May to 3 September 2000 and the Musée de l'Éphèbe au Cap d'Agde, 30 September to 7 January 2001) (Paris, 2000), 85 no. 63 with 57, color reproduction.

[42] Lings and Safadi, *The Qurʾān*, 55 no. 78, reproduces an example from a fourteenth-century Quran in a private collection, which was probably made in Egypt. An oval marking the beginning of a new section of the Quran text *(niṣf ḥizb)* placed vertically at the beginning of a surah in London BL Or 848, fol. 27r, is described and reproduced by Baker, *Qurʾan Manuscripts*, 65–66 with fig. 34.

found on page 163 marking the end of the Prologue to St. Mark's Gospel.

Titles of the Tables of Chapters

The title of the tables of chapters to St. Matthew's Gospel (fols. 21v–22r, fig. 3) is written in a rectangular frame in white *muḥaqqaq* on a gold ground, with small dark crosses in a checkered design at either end. This headpiece is marked with a gilded medallion, surrounded with blue, in the left margin. Thereafter, in the headpieces to the other Gospels, Kufic texts (mostly white) are the norm, in more colorful cartouches of different shapes. Page 164 (table of the chapters of St. Mark's Gospel) sees the introduction of a white Kufic title in a rounded-ended cartouche. Green is used with blue for the scrolled ground, with gilded foliage on a gilded ground at the four edges in the spandrels. A blue, green, and gold hasp extends into the left margin. The color scheme changes again for the headpiece to the table of chapters of St. Luke's Gospel (p. 278), which displays a red Kufic title with green and red foliage scrolls on a gold ground in an oval-ended cartouche. There is gold foliage on a red ground in the corners and the hasp is in gold, red, and blue. Finally, the title of the table of chapters of St. John's Gospel (p. 473, fig. 6) is in white Kufic contained in a cartouche of interlocking semicircular shapes drawn in white, blue, and gold. Behind the script are gold foliage scrolls on a blue ground. At the four corners of the rectangular frame is a design of gold foliage on a red ground, as in St. Luke, suggesting the same illuminator's hand. A blue and white hasp, with a triple leaf tinged with red, extends into the right margin. The interlocking shapes of this last headpiece are also found in the headpieces to the books of Exodus and Leviticus in the Paris Pentateuch, Paris Bibliothèque Nationale MS Arabe 12.[43] Such interlocking shapes reappear in the Eastern Kufic surah headings in a Quran illuminated in Cairo in 734/1334.[44]

Gospel Texts

The opening to St. Matthew's Gospel (pp. 1–2, fig. 5) displays white Kufic inscriptions against a blue ground with gilded foliage scrolls which compare with headpieces in the Pentateuch in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Arabe 12 of 1358.[45] It also very closely resembles a folio from the Quran in Tehran, National

Oval marginal markers are a special feature of the section of a Quran recently re-attributed to the workmanship of Muḥammad ibn Mubādir, ca. 1298–1310; see Fraser, *Geometry in Gold*, 16 with diagram F in color. See also n. 24 above.

[43] Fols. 72v–73r; 132v–133r.

[44] Cairo, National Library 81, fols. 375v–376r; Lings, *The Quranic Art of Calligraphy*, 119 with color plate 63.

[45] *L'Art Copte en Egypte,* no. 63 with 57, color plate of fols. 2v–3r, the titlepiece and beginning of Genesis.

(Bastan) Museum MS 2061 of 739/1339–39 in several further respects. These include the white Kufic inscriptions in rounded-ended cartouches linked to a floral medallion on either side, the strapwork border with intermittent squares, the framing of white beading and blue outlining, and medallions in the outer margins.[46] As noted earlier, very similar features appear in a Quran of contemporary date in the Nasser D. Khalili collection.[47] The use of color is also paralleled elsewhere, including the mid-green, with the white, blue, and gold in the frontispiece page in the fourteenth-century Quran in London (British Library Or. 848), later donated to a mosque in Cairo during the reign of Sultan Faraj ibn Barqūq.[48]

As with the titles to the table of chapters, a wider range of colors make an appearance in the headpieces preceding the Gospels of Saints Mark, Luke, and John. The gold *bismillāh* text in *muḥaqqaq* preceding St. Mark's and St. Luke's Gospels (pp. 166 and 281) is set against colorful red scrolls on a blue ground. The text numbering below, on a gray scrolled ground, has a pendant floral marker very similar to those in fol. 20r (fig. 2). The white *bismillāh* text preceding John (p. 475) reverts to the gold foliage scrolls on a blue ground, but the circles of the letters are filled in red, and the text below is in blue Kufic against beige foliage scrolls. The floral motif in the center of the gilded numbering text harks back to those at the center of the octagons in fols 23v–24r (fig. 4), and that in the circular medallion in the margin is similarly drawn and colored to the spandrels of the canon tables (fol. 15r, fig. 1). This similarity suggests that despite variety in the illumination—including the varied colored scheme of the titles of the tables of chapters—it probably represents the work of one illuminator, who was probably the scribe, the priest Jirjis Abū al-Faḍl ibn Luṭf Allāh.

Conclusion

The Gospel book Bibl. 90 raises a number of issues. Its colophon elucidates the planning and production of a major Christian Arab manuscript—the copy of al-Asʿad's autograph manuscript of the four Gospels—for the important library that bore his name. This is not unlike the combined effort of the production of a Mamluk Quran. Its illumination then provides an insight into the articulation of Christian Arabic calligraphy and illumination, subtly engaging with its Quranic counterparts while remaining distinct from them. The book itself emerges as an

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[46] James, *Qurʾāns of the Mamlūks,* 147, fig. 99.

[47] Idem, *The Master Scribes*, 180 with color plates, 181–82.5 (cat. 44). James related the manuscript to that produced from the Great Mosque in Damascus from the same collection: ibid., 176 with plates, pp. 177–79 (cat. 43.)

[48] Lings and Safadi, *The Qurʾān*, 55 no. 75 with cover plate in color; Baker, *Qurʾan Manuscripts,* 65 with fig. 33 in color. This manuscript was part of the same Quran as Dublin, Chester Beatty Library MS 1465, for which see n. 14 above.

instrument of Christian-Muslim debate and exchange in the Mamluk period.

The large size of the book and its pristine state (apart from the addition of the printed illustrations in 1915, for which see the appendix here) indicate that it was intended to stand as an exemplar, a definitive version, a display copy. Qurans too were designated to be copied.[49] Several people were also often involved in their making. Such a lavish Gospel book as Bibl. 90 must have been intended to impress, and it can be suggested that one of its purposes may also have been to dissuade those who may have been tempted to convert to Islam.

The fact that the three men—the copyist/priest, the monk, and the metropolitan of the Copts of Jerusalem and Syria—came together in Damascus for the purpose of copying and collating this manuscript indicates the importance of the project. One may speculate as to why this took place in Damascus. It may well have been due to the availability of books and libraries there; the copyist's note (p. 624) suggests that Coptic, Greek, and Syriac manuscripts were on hand. It may also be attributed to the presence of diverse Christian groups and their respective manuscript collections in Damascus in the fourteenth century.[50] Given their similarities with Bibl. 90, it is possible that the Paris Pentateuch and Istanbul Gospels may also have been made in Damascus, an avenue which needs further exploration, taking into account the Istanbul Gospel's figural evangelist portraits as well. The scribal tradition in Damascus may also have played a part; or perhaps it was for political reasons. However, given that both individuals and books can and did travel, and also given that close associations existed between Cairo and Damascus (as well as other centers such as Jerusalem), it may well be that artistic practices were similar in both places. Above all, Bibl. 90 demonstrates the role of the visual within our growing knowledge of Arab Christian culture operating within the Islamic Mamluk state.

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[49] Cairo, National Library 72 part 19, made in 713/1313 for a royal patron al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, was given as *waqf* in 726/1326 to a funerary foundation in Cairo with the intention that it be used as a model for copying; see Lings, *Quranic Art,* 119 with pl. 54.

[50] The existence of these groups is touched on by Juan Pedro Montferrer-Sala, "An Arabic-Muslim quotation of a biblical text: Ibn Kathīr's al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya and the construction of the arc of the covenant," in *Studies in the Christian Arabic Heritage in Honour of Father Prof. Dr Samir Khalil Samir S. J. at the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday,* ed. Rifaat Ebied and Herman Teule (Louvain, 2004), 265 with n. 5, 277. Johannes Pahlitzsch, "The Translation of the Byzantine *Procheiros Nomos* into Arabic: Techniques and Cultural Context," *Byzantinoslavica* 65 (2007): 19–29, esp. 22–23, points to Damascus as a center of Melkite Arabic learning in the thirteenth century on the grounds that several manuscripts of the *Procheiros nomos* were copied there anew by collating different Arabic and Greek manuscripts.

APPENDIX

Cairo, Coptic Museum Library MS Bibl. 90.

Contents:
Four Gospels in Arabic, written in Damascus in 1340 according to the recension of al-Asʿad ibn al-ʿAssāl. Prefaced by an introduction and canon tables, with a prologue and tables of chapters accompanying each Gospel.

1. Introduction
Fols. 1v–13r: Introduction to the Gospels, headed with the *bismillāh* phrase in black ink, and gilded title. Punctuation: blue rosettes.

2. Canon Tables
Fol. 14v (fig. 1): Preliminaries to the Eusebian canon tables. The tables are headed (fol. 14v) by the *bismillāh* phrase in *thuluth* script, gilded, on a blue ground with white dots in a rectangular frame. Below this, against a red cross-hatched ground, is the title in gold in *muḥaqqaq* script and explanatory text in vocalized black *naskh*. The page is completed by a survey of the ten canons, in tabular form, written in gold and black. The page is bordered with white beading, completed with a thin line of blue, with finials at the four corners. This framing is characteristic of the illuminated pages of the manuscript as a whole.

Fols. 15r (fig. 1)–18v: Canon tables. Each page is headed by the title in gold in *muḥaqqaq* in a rectangular cross-hatched red frame. Below this stands the framing device of the canons, with gilded columns with gilded capitals and column bases supporting spandrels of a lotus design on a blue ground, between which the names of the evangelists appear in gold. This structure is doubled up on fols. 17r, 18r, and 18v, while the arches of fol. 17v are ogive rather than rounded.

Base of fol. 18r–fol. 19r: Tabulated lists of texts particular to specific Gospels, with the title for each Gospel in *muḥaqqaq* in gold in a rectangular frame on a red cross-hatched ground.

3. 20r Frontispiece Page (Fig. 2)
The folio is divided into three: (1) At the top, written in *muḥaqqaq* in gold against white foliage scrolls on a blue ground, is the text "The Holy Gospel and the shining star." (2) Below, in *naskh* in black ink and drawn around with a fine red scrollwork arabesque, flanked by two pointed medallion lotus-style markers, acting as text markers, the text continues: "legislation of help and the source of

life, written by the four pure disciples in far-away countries and at different times, and they are Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; the first of these good tidings is that of the apostle Matthew." (3) At the bottom, written in *muḥaqqaq* in gold, is the text "For the sublime library of the lord and master, the shaykh al-Asʿad, may God conserve it."

Above and below this third text are later statements of ownership, in black ink (see below, Inscriptions and Stamps).

4. St. Matthew's Gospel

Fols. 20v–21v: Prologue to Matthew, written against a red-hatched ground, scattered with triple black dots, with gold rosette punctuation marks finished in red and blue, completed by an elliptical shape at the base of fol. 21v (fig. 3) containing a delicate foliage design in red and bordered with bands of white interlace and white beading.

Fols. 22r–23r: Table of chapters (85), written in three series in black ink, numbered in gold. Fol. 22r (fig. 3): title written in white *muḥaqqaq* on a gold ground within rectangular frame with decorative end pieces in gold and blue forming small crosses, and a circular medallion in the margin.

Fols. 23v–24r (fig. 4): Dual frontispieces to Matthew's Gospel. The Kufic inscriptions in white in cartouches at top and bottom of each page, against a blue ground with gold foliage tendrils, read "The pure Gospel, the shining lamp which is the source of life and the ship of salvation according to the Holy Apostles." At the heart of the page four large octagons and a smaller central one interlock. Each contain floral motifs and the whole design comes to rest at a central, floral-filled star.

Fol. 24v, modern Arabic page 1–page 161: Text of St. Matthew's Gospel.

Pages 1–2 (fig. 5): Beginning of text of St. Matthew's Gospel with white Kufic headings in blue cartouches with gold floral scrolling. These are linked, with white beading banding, to roundels which each contain a flower, with blue outer petals and green inner ones. The text is bordered with strapwork interspersed with small blue squares. Initial chapter numbering (Coptic) "a" is in dark red.

5. St. Mark's Gospel

Page 162–163: Prologue to St. Mark's Gospel.

Page 162 (recto page): The *bismillāh* phrase in gold *muḥaqqaq* at the top of the page is contained within a blue rectangular frame with gilded foliage scrolls. The title

of Mark's Gospel below is in gold *muḥaqqaq* on a red foliage scrollwork ground with small triple black dots. A floral marker stands to the left side of the rectangle. The main text below is written in black *naskh* in cloud patterning between red cross-hatching. Page 163 (verso page): completion of the text between the red cross-hatching with black dots. There is a tripartite shape at the bottom of the page in a rectangular band, with scrollwork arabesques in red.

Pages 164–165: Table of chapters (52).
Page 164 (recto page): In a cartouche, a white Kufic title ("translation of the divisions of Mark the Apostle") to the Prologue is written against blue-green scrolls, bordered with gold foliage on a red ground. A hasp in gold, green, and blue is attached to the left of the rectangular frame.
Pages 166–275: Text of St. Mark's Gospel.
Page 166 (recto page): The *bismillāh* phrase at the top appears in gold *muḥaqqaq* against a red and blue ground, with a gold and blue hasp to the left of the rectangular frame beaded in white. The *muḥaqqaq* title below is in gold against a gray finely scrolled, dotted ground, with a green, blue, and gold marker, with an initial (Coptic) "A" in the margin. Gilded rosettes encircled in red, gold, and blue form the punctuation in the text of Mark's Gospel.

6. St. Luke's Gospel
Pages 276–277: Prologue to St. Luke's Gospel.
Page 276 (recto page): The *bismillāh* phrase is in gold *muḥaqqaq* against a red scrollwork arabesque ground. In a band in the middle of the page is the title in red *muḥaqqaq* against a background of blue scrolls on a gold ground. The text, in *naskh* black ink against the red hatched, black dotted ground, completes the lower part of the page, and the next, between red hatching. Blue floral punctuation marks.

Pages 278r–280: Table of chapters.
Page 278 (recto page): At the top, the red Kufic title is in a gold ground, against green foliage scrolls in an oval-ended cartouche. Gold leaves on a red ground complete the rectangular frame, which is a simple blue line rather than the beading. Hasp in blue, gold, and red to the left.

Pages 281–468: Text of St. Luke's Gospel.
Page 281 (verso page): The *bismillāh* phrase at the top is in gold *muḥaqqaq*, against a background of red scrolls on a blue ground. The heading below is also in gold *muḥaqqaq,* against a red scrolled ground, with white beaded and blue bordering.

The gold rosette punctuation in Luke is sometimes encircled in red, gold, and blue.

7. St. John's Gospel

Pages 470–472: Prologue to St. John's Gospel.
Page 470 (recto page): The *bismillāh* phrase at the top is in a rectangular frame in red *muḥaqqaq* behind which are gold foliage scrolls on a blue ground, and a hasp to the left in gold, blue, and red. Below this is the title in gold *muḥaqqaq* against red scrollwork arabesque. Below and subsequent text of the table of chapters is written in black *naskh* in cloud patterning between red hatching with triple black dots.

Pages 473 (fig. 6)–474: Table of chapters (45).
Page 473 (verso page): Title written in white Kufic in interlocking shapes in a rectangular band with golden scrolls behind on a blue ground. In the corners are gold foliage motifs on a red ground. The tables have the same format as the tables preceding the other Gospels, also written in gold and black ink.

Pages 475–624: Text of St. John's Gospel.
Page 475: The *bismillāh* text is in white *muḥaqqaq* in a rectangular panel against gold scrolls on a blue ground, with some of the "eyes" of the letters filled in red. The heading below is in blue Kufic against beige scrollwork arabesque. The chapter numbering heading is in gold, with a floral star design in the centre, and there is an A marker in the margin. A circular hasp in the margin is in blue, red, and gold. Gold/blue bordering. Punctuation marks are ringed in red, gold, and blue.

Folios:
345 folios. Paper. Folios measure 36 x 25 cm. There are 9 binding pages in front, with one marbled page (opposite the binding) and the same in the back of the book. European numbering (which actually starts on the original second page of the manuscript) exists to fol. 24. The manuscript is thereafter (from fol. 24v to the end) numbered consecutively in modern Arabic numbering, pages 1 to 624. The earlier Arabic numbering, on the rectos, is partially preserved. Graf's correct numbering is followed in this description.

Ruling:
Ruled on verso, 11 lines of text in a single central column (26 x 17 cm), written through the ruled line, with an additional margin of 2.6 cm to contain numberings

Script:
Vocalized *naskh* in black ink, elegant, regular, and vocalized, with gilded rosettes as punctuation. There are blue rosettes as punctuation in the Introduction.

Quiring:
Quires are numbered in Arabic in red on the top left of rectos. The quiring is in quinions: 34 x 5 +5 folios (this excludes binding folios).

Binding:
Twentieth-century binding of red leather stamped with a gold decorated cross within two gilded borders.

Inscriptions and stamps:
Fol. 1r: titles and stamps of the Patriarch Cyril V.
Fol. 13v: The book is signed and sealed to left and right by the patriarch Cyril V A.D. 1915. The signature above the left seal reads "the 112th Patriarch of Alexandria."

Fol. 20r (fig. 2): In the centre of the lower part of the page is the original gilded dedication to the library of Shaykh al-Asʿad (see above, fol. 20r). Below it is a later inscription recording that the manuscript came into the possession of the patriarchal library in the month of Hatūr 1127 A.M. (November 1410 A.D.) and asserting that no one has the authority to remove it. Above it, with the stamps of Patriarch Cyril V and dated 15 Baramūda 1631 A.M. (23 April 1915 A.D.), is another inscription asserting that the book is the pious endowment of the Coptic Orthodox Patriarchate in Cairo and Alexandria.[51]

Page 624: A scribal note at the bottom of the page, at the end of St. John's Gospel, gives the information that the manuscript was completed in 1056 (era of the Martyrs), 1652 (Alexandrian era), 751 (A.H.), equivalent to 18 October 1340 A.D., during the primacy of Buṭrus, metropolitan of the Copts in Jerusalem and Syria. It was copied by the priest Jirjis Abu al-Faḍl ibn Luṭf Allāh and collated with the original manuscript written by the hand of the shaykh, the venerable master al-Asʿad Abū al-Faraj Hibat Allāh, the Egyptian scribe known as Ibn al-ʿAssāl. He here asks that everyone who uses the book beseech for him the mercy and pardon of God. He also notes that he has not included words added in Arabic manuscripts because these are not found in the Coptic, Greek, or Syriac.

[51] The Coptic Museum was founded in 1910 by Marcus Simaika Pasha. It is now under the authority of the Egyptian Ministry of Culture but was until 1931 under the control of the Coptic Patriarchate (http://www.copticmuseum.gov/english/internal/brief_history.asp).

The present manuscript was copied and collated in the presence of the above mentioned Buṭrus, metropolitan of Jerusalem, and the monk Tūmā, known as the monk Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh.

EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY NEW TESTAMENT RUSSIAN PRINTED ILLUSTRATIONS ADDED TO THE TEXT, 1915:
Last binding page verso: Nativity.
Fol. 19v: Crucifixion.
Page 275: Annunciation; Angels.
Page 469: Baptism; Last Supper.

Some of these accompany later inscriptions, e.g., Fol. 19v: the image of the Crucifixion is pasted onto the folio below the added text "In the name of the One God the Father the Son and the Holy Spirit, this book is read by the most miserable and shameful of servants." This and the other Russian images were added in 1915.

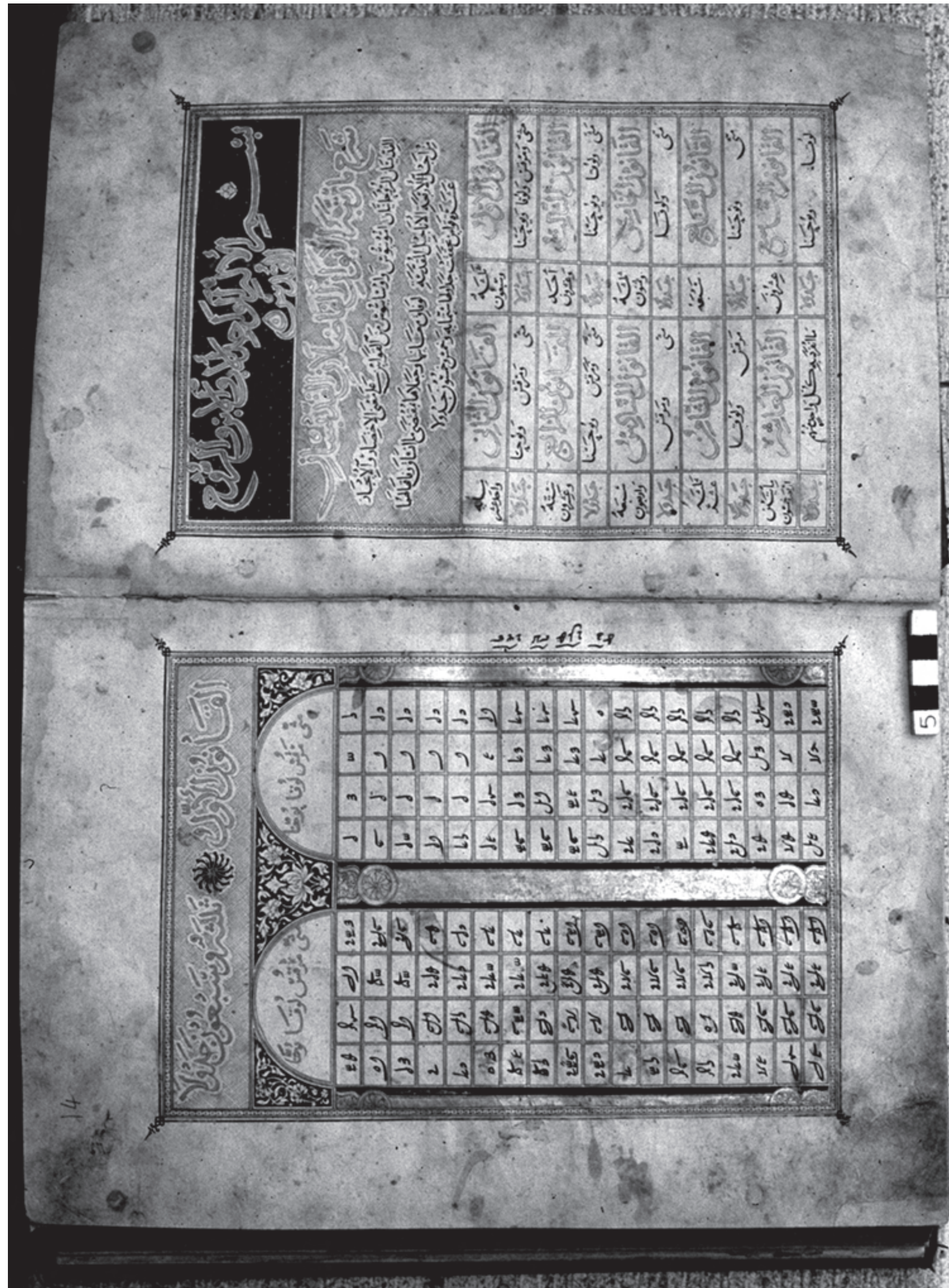


Fig. 1. Old Cairo, Coptic Museum MS Bibl. 90, fols. 14v–15r. Opening to canons and first canon table page. (Photo: L.-A. Hunt by permission of the Coptic Museum).

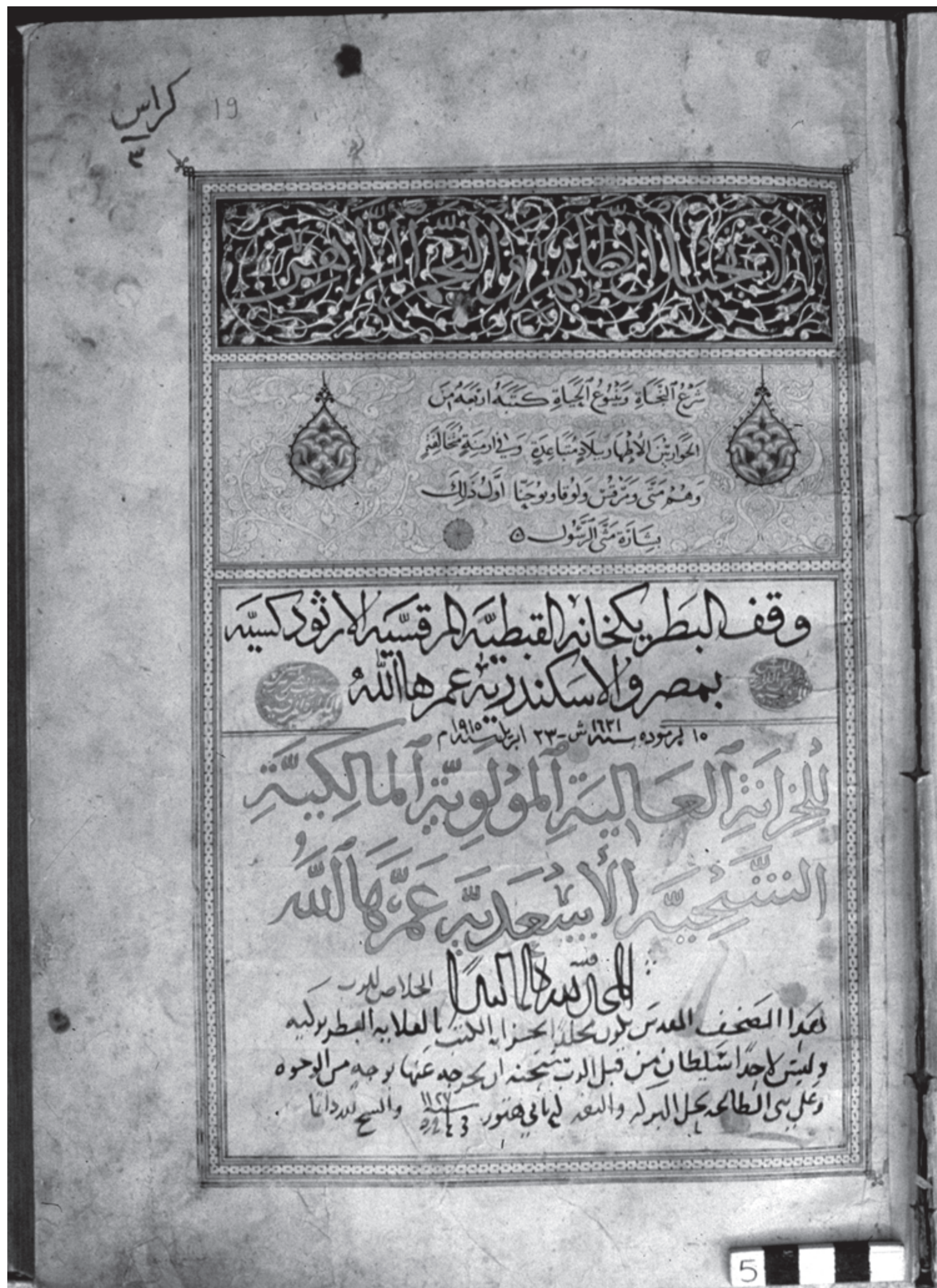


Fig. 2. Old Cairo, Coptic Museum MS Bibl., 90 fol. 20r. Frontispiece. (Photo: L.-A. Hunt by permission of the Coptic Museum).

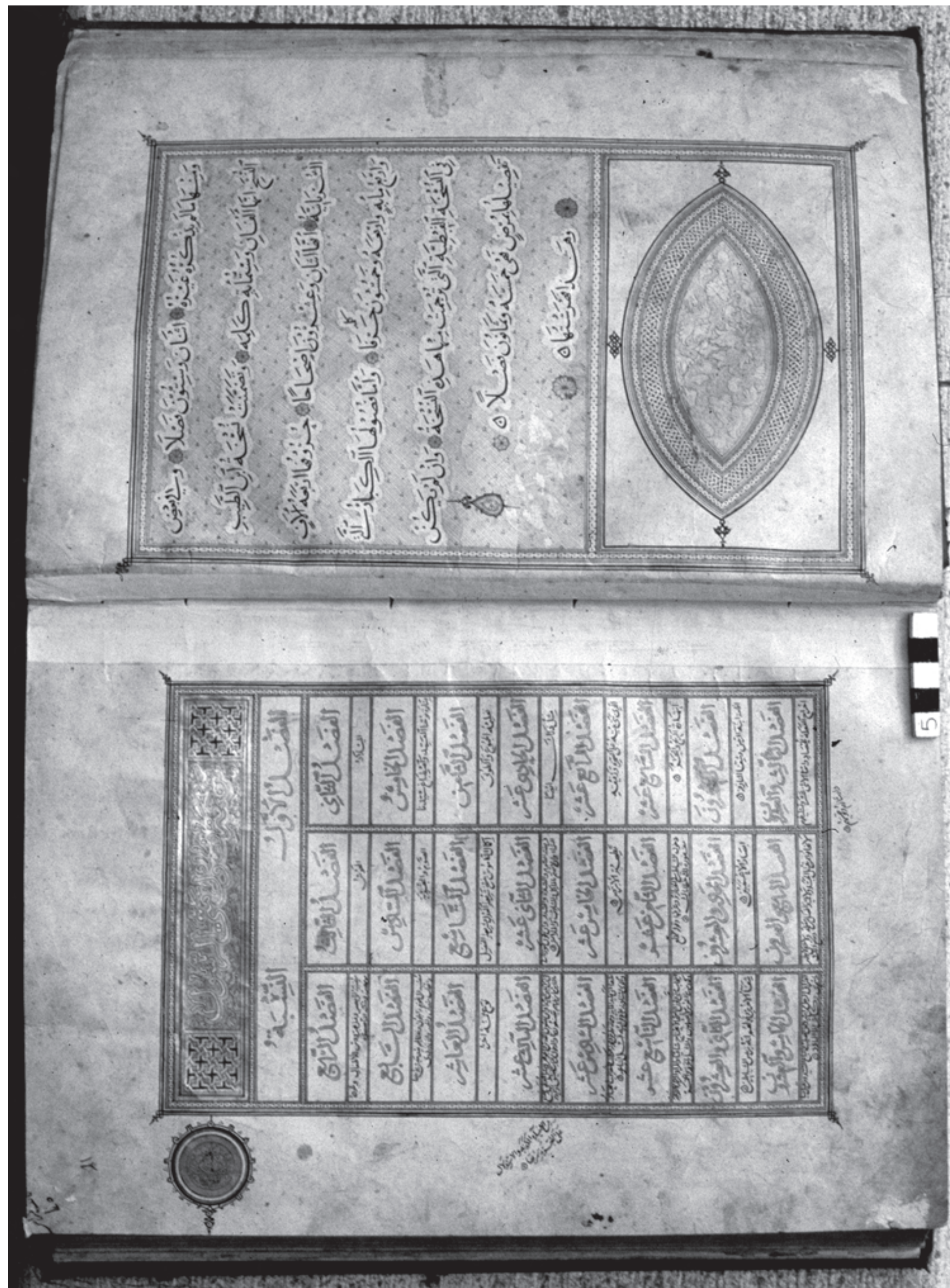


Fig. 3. Old Cairo, Coptic Museum MS Bibl. 90, fols. 21v–22r. End of prologue of St. Matthew and start of table of chapters. (Photo: L.-A. Hunt by permission of the Coptic Museum).



Fig. 4. Old Cairo, Coptic Museum MS Bibl. 90, fols. 23v–24r. Dual frontispieces to St. Matthew's Gospel. (Photo: L.-A. Hunt by permission of the Coptic Museum).



Fig. 5. Old Cairo, Coptic Museum MS Bibl. 90, pages 1–2. Opening of the Gospel of St. Matthew . (Photo: L.-A. Hunt by permission of the Coptic Museum).

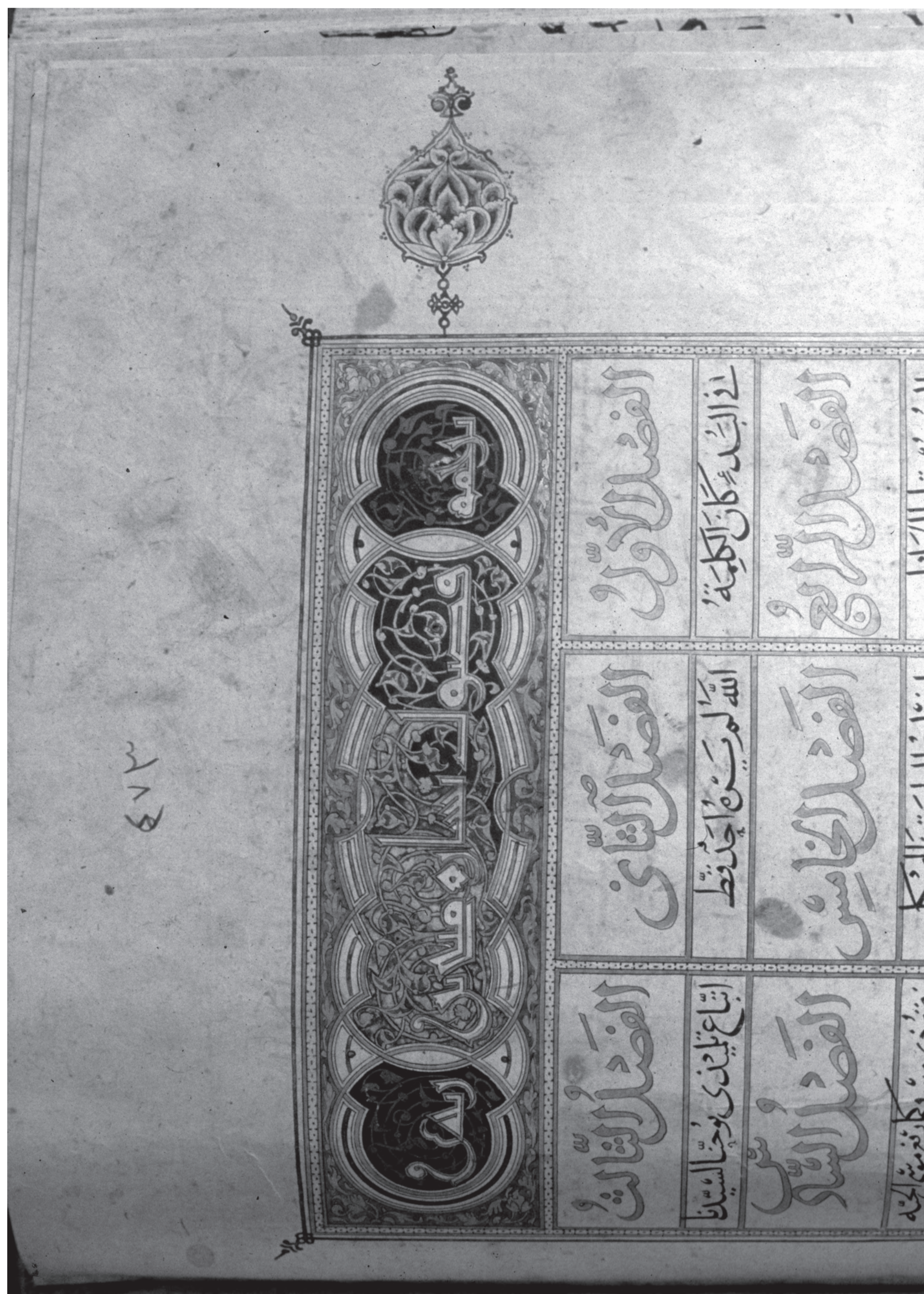


Fig. 6. Old Cairo, Coptic Museum MS Bibl. 90, page 473. Titlepiece to the table of chapters of St. John (detail). (Photo: L.-A. Hunt by permission of the Coptic Museum).



Fig. 7. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Library MS Ahmet III 3519, fol. 2r. Left-hand frontispiece. (Photo: L.-A. Hunt with permission of the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi).



Fig. 8. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Library MS Ahmet III 3519, fols. 10v–11r. Dual frontispieces marking the end of chapter titles and the opening of St. Matthew's Gospel. (Photo: L.-A. Hunt by permission of the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi).

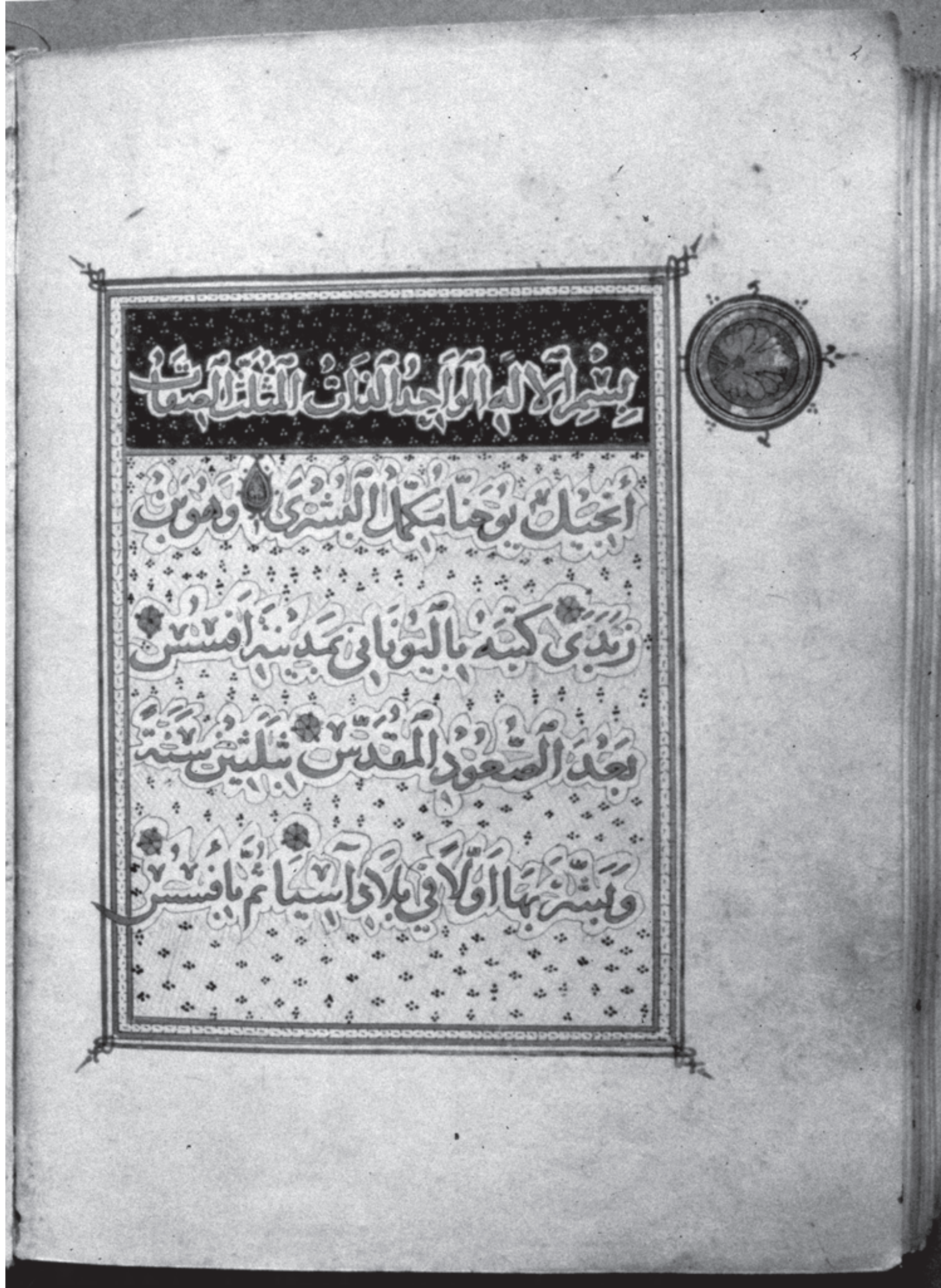


Fig. 9. Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Library MS Ahmet III 3519, fol. 176v. Introduction to St. John's Gospel. (Photo: L.-A. Hunt by permission of the Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi).

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At the Limits of Communal Autonomy: Jewish Bids for Intervention from the Mamluk State

The mid fifteenth century in Egypt witnessed an unusual concentration of state legislation in Jewish affairs. In 1442, inspectors looking for signs of illegal synagogue repairs discovered Arabic inscriptions on a synagogue minbar that they read as Aḥmad and Muḥammad and thus signs of blasphemy, since anyone ascending the minbar would have been forced to step on them. The investigation resulted in the destruction of the minbar and three confessions. Those who confessed were beaten publicly; two died of their wounds and the third converted to Islam. Churches and synagogues throughout the capital were subsequently inspected and fined.[1] Six years later, in 1448, an edict from Cairo prohibited Christian and Jewish doctors from treating Muslims, though in 1463, when the sultan reissued a previous ban on *dhimmī* employment in the state bureaucracy, he made the prudent exception of physicians and moneychangers.[2] Were Jews and Christians the hapless victims of a rapacious Mamluk state bent on interfering in their communal life and mulcting their property to the maximum extent possible?

In principle, premodern Jews held the twin prerogatives of judicial and administrative autonomy, which granted them the latitude to adjudicate court cases according to Jewish law and appoint leaders to administer public affairs. But a long-standing historiographic consensus has taken these twin prerogatives to indicate—sometimes despite evidence to the contrary—that in practice, Jews sought neither redress in Islamic courts nor the interference of state authorities, for fear of eroding their communal autonomy. Scholars have now questioned this consensus on the basis of Fatimid, Ottoman, and medieval Iberian records, and their questions might profitably be asked of Mamluk material as well: did *dhimmī*s jealously guard their communal autonomy, balking at the intervention of the chancery or the qadi courts in their affairs? Did they, in fact, actively

[1] For details and the sources, see Mark R. Cohen, "Jews in the Mamluk Environment: The Crisis of 1442 (a Geniza Study)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47 (1984): 425–48, and below.

[2] Prohibition: al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk* (Būlāq, 1896), 215; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Ẓuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden, 1931–72), 2:265. Exceptions: Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Ẓuhūr,* 4:412–13; Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *History of Egypt, 1382–1469 A.D.,* ed. William Popper (Berkeley, 1954–63), 7:721–22. All cited in Tamer El-Leithy and Marina Rustow, "Toledan Conversos in Late Medieval Cairo," paper presented at the 79th annual meeting of the Medieval Academy of America, Seattle, Washington, 2 April 2004.

protect their right to communal autonomy, and were they as loath to invite the state and Muslim judicial authorities into their affairs as the entrenched view has maintained?[3]

Jews in the Mamluk period stood heir to a long political tradition of both leaders and factions within the community utilizing the state to help promote personal or collective interests. The state, for its part, gladly interfered in their affairs when asked to do so, not because it felt nefariously compelled to control its *dhimmī* subjects, but because its interest in extending the domain of its administrative power coincided with the Jews' own desire to govern their community and be governed more effectively (i.e., with resort to stronger punitive sanctions against their co-religionists). Most often, then, the state intervened at the behest of the *dhimmī*s themselves and according to the agenda that they dictated.

This suggests the need to revisit the notion that the *dhimmī* communities lay locked in a struggle over their communal autonomy with the Mamluk state. Such a notion substitutes a set of presumptions about the structure of Mamluk-*dhimmī* relations for actual analysis of how power operated. It also fails to consider a tradition of Jewish politics, dating from well before the Islamic conquests, according to which Jews cultivated vertical alliances with the highest government authorities and negotiated both their status and their judicial and administrative privileges with them directly. Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi has commented at length on this "royal alliance" and noted that Jews in early modern Christian Europe, after the series of expulsions that culminated in their exile from the entire Iberian peninsula, continued to place their faith in it even after it had failed them.[4] The

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[3] For the first and most pointed criticism of this consensus, with examples from nineteenth- and twentieth-century historiography, see Joseph Hacker, "Jewish Autonomy in the Ottoman Empire: Its Scope and Limits: Jewish Courts from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries," in *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire,* ed. Avigdor Levy (Princeton, 1994), 153–202. See now also Elka Klein, *Jews, Christian Society, and Royal Power in Medieval Barcelona* (Ann Arbor, 2006), 26–51; Jonathan Ray, *The Sephardic Frontier: The Reconquista and the Jewish Community in Medieval Iberia* (Ithaca, 2006), 104–11; Marina Rustow, "Karaites Real and Imagined: Three Cases of Jewish Heresy," *Past & Present* 197 (2007): 35–74; Uriel Simonsohn, "Communal Boundaries Reconsidered: Jews and Christians Appealing to Muslim Authorities in the Medieval Near East," *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 14 (2007): 328–63; and Marina Rustow, *Heresy and the Politics of Community: The Jews of the Fatimid Empire* (Ithaca, 2008), chapter 3 *et passim*. All these critiques were preceded by the judicious remarks of Salo Wittmayer Baron, *The Jewish Community: Its History and Structure to the American Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1942), 1:21–25 and 2:221–24.

[4] Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, "'Serviteurs des rois et non serviteurs des serviteurs': Sur quelques aspects de l'histoire politique des Juifs," *Raisons politiques* 7 (2002): 19–52; see now the English version, Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *"Servants of Kings and not Servants of Servants": Some Aspects of the Political History of the Jews,* Tenenbaum Family Lecture Series in Judaic Studies at Emory University (Atlanta, 2007). See also Hannah Arendt, *Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York, 1958), quoted in ibid., 8–9; and further below, conclusion.

"royal alliance," as both an arrangement of political expediency and a topos sustained by habit, was a persistent feature of Jewish politics under Muslim rule as well.

This article will argue, first, that repeated state intervention in *dhimmī* affairs was not new to the Mamluk period, but continued a long-standing pattern of administrative relations between *dhimmī*s and the palace in Cairo. That pattern originated during the Fatimid period—a strange statement at first glance, since the Fatimids were notoriously laissez-faire in their dealings with *dhimmī*s, while medieval chronicles lauded the Ayyubids and Mamluks as having restored Sunni Islam and returned the *dhimmah* to their rightful place in the religious hierarchy. The Fatimids used chancery petitions and rescripts *(al-tawqīʿ ʿalá al-qiṣaṣ)* as a method of rule, effectively handing their subjects the latitude to arrange their own communities' administrative structures, which the chancery then ratified; the Ayyubids and Mamluks, on the other hand, are generally viewed as having tightened the reins of the administration and shifted power from the populace to the palace. This shift would seem to suggest a radical reconfiguration of the relationship between *dhimmī*s and the palace; how can the Mamluk pattern be seen as continuing an earlier Fatimid one?

The answer hinges on two questions. The first is whether one sees the initiative for Mamluk legislation as coming from the government or the *dhimmī*s themselves. In fact, it came from both, for different reasons at various times. Though the Mamluk era did witness a progressive deepening of state and judicial intervention, it did not necessarily lead to the administrative passivity of the Jewish community, let alone to the situation of persecution and decline that is a motif of modern historiography on Mamluk Jews. On the contrary: the Jews responded to centralization and intensified government control by utilizing the system in new and sometimes ingenious ways. The second question is how the Ayyubid and Mamluk chroniclers represented the regimes whose deeds they preserved for posterity. Precisely the desire to paint a picture of Sunni orthodoxy and *dhimmī* subservience sometimes led the medieval historians to overlook the fact that *dhimmī*s themselves often created and helped to maintain the state's interest in their affairs. The historians thereby made the regime seem more omnipotent than it really was.

All this, in turn, touches on the problem of what a trend in modern historiography has termed "agency": the extent to which subalterns are capable of acting in furtherance of their own interests or exerting pressure on those in power.[5] Subaltern agency under the Mamluks has recently been the subject of several important studies that have inspired the approach I take in this article. Yossef Rapoport

[5] The now classic theoretical statement of subaltern power is James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven and London, 1990).

has argued that when in 1265 Baybars (r. 1260–77) decreed the appointment of four chief qadis, one from each Sunni school, the effect was not just to regulate and organize the judiciary, but to allow claimants a modicum of flexibility in seeking justice, regardless of which school they claimed personally.[6] Rapoport has extended the search for agency to women, arguing that divorce in medieval Egypt was frequent and not merely the result of a patriarchal order in which men could repudiate their wives at will. "The majority of divorces in Mamluk society were consensual separations," he writes, demonstrating the economic independence of women sustained by dowries, banking instruments, and paid labor, particularly textile production.[7] Similarly, in an exhaustively researched dissertation, Tamer El-Leithy argues that *dhimmī* subjects of the Mamluks used to their advantage the legal multiplicity afforded by the four *madhāhib,* gaining economic and legal concessions by seeking different rulings from the qadis of one school or another. He demonstrates that Copts utilized an extraordinarily sophisticated set of techniques for manipulating the Islamic legal system to their advantage. One such strategy he discusses is single-generation conversion, whereby male heads of household converted to Islam while keeping their wives and children Christian or Jewish, thus both exempting themselves from the *jizyah* and preserving their family's inheritance.[8] These studies suggest the importance of considering power not just as a prerogative of the elite but as the product of negotiation between those on various levels of the social, judicial, and administrative hierarchy. To consider the elite point of view alone results in a distortion of the historical events under consideration—and of the meaning of power.

The second argument I will make, then, concerns the models with which historians have habitually understood religious hierarchies and, in particular, *dhimmī* communities in the medieval Near East. I will suggest that these models rest on the presumption that any act involving politics and the law served the interests of religious piety and communal unity. In fact, the evidence suggests that more prevalent motives were convenience, self-interest, and political advantage. The interests of elites on both sides dictated how the memory of Mamluk-*dhimmī* relations has been passed on for posterity. The pyramidal model of Muslim-*dhimmī* relations—or the rigid model of state power that pits the Mamluk state against its *dhimmī* subjects—might, then, be replaced with a more flexible one in which those

[6] Yossef Rapoport, "Legal Diversity in the Age of *Taqlid*: the Four Chief Qadis Under the Mamluks," *Islamic Law and Society* 10 (2003): 210–28.

[7] Yossef Rapoport, *Marriage, Money, and Divorce in Medieval Islamic Society* (Cambridge, 2005), quotation on 112.

[8] Tamer El-Leithy, "Coptic Culture and Conversion in Medieval Cairo, 1293–1524 A.D." (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2005), chapter two.

elites shared interests and did what they could to wield power over others.[9]

FATIMID PRECEDENTS

Beginning with Fatimid rule from Cairo—the first period in which there is substantial documentation about Jews under Islamic rule—Jewish elites utilized the caliph's chancery to further their pursuit of power over their followers and over each other. Both of the Jewish *madhhab*s, the Rabbanites and the Qaraites, proved capable of availing themselves of governmental authority and possessed a subtle understanding of high politics. That understanding increased progressively over their decades of experience with the caliphal court.[10]

Between 969 and 1041, Jews submitted no fewer than seventeen petitions to the Fatimid chancery or to local governors in Palestine seeking to support a particular leader or to check the rights and prerogatives of one political faction in the community and further the interests of another.[11] All of these decrees served them as instruments of power in communal conflicts, and all point to the same general pattern: Jews sought intervention in order to strengthen the hand of a reigning leader or in a situation of political deadlock, when neither of the Jewish factions managed to impose its will upon the other without resort to the state. This pattern is in keeping with the paradoxical nature of *dhimmī* administrative autonomy. Though in theory the Jewish community governed its members independently from the state, in fact it depended on the government for its exercise of power, and especially of physical coercion.

For this reason, too, Jewish courtiers played an enormously important role in communal life. They were the ones who offered their co-religionists access to the chancery. It is no accident that thirteen of the petitions date from the second quarter of the eleventh century, a period in which three Jews held formal or informal positions at court and also served as leaders within the Jewish community. All of them, coincidentally, were Qaraite: Abū Naṣr Ḥesed al-Tustarī and his brother Abū Sahl Ibrāhīm, in their capacity as long-distance traders and bankers, served the court of al-Ẓāhir (1021–36) as purveyors of luxury goods

[9] See the judicious comments of Simonsohn, "Communal Boundaries Reconsidered," 329–31.

[10] Jews used the term *madhhab* to refer to both the Rabbanites and Qaraites throughout the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk periods. On the former, see Rustow, *Heresy and the Politics of Community,* index, s.v. *madhhab,* and idem, "Karaites Real and Imagined," 46–48; on the latter, see ibid., 51, 56.

[11] Only seven of these seventeen petitions have been preserved (some as decrees, others in copies or drafts, all but one in the Cairo Geniza); the other ten appear as references in Geniza letters or in other petitions. Details in Marina Rustow, "Fatimid Decrees and Jewish Communal Politics," in *Reason and Faith in Medieval Judaism and Islam,* ed. María Ángeles Gallego (Leiden, forthcoming). The one non-Geniza manuscript was preserved in the archives of the Qaraite synagogue in Cairo, on which see below, n. 61.

and achieved concrete posts only under al-Mustanṣir (1036–94); and David ben Yiṣḥaq served as an appointee in one of the most important ministries, the *dīwān al-kharāj*. All three helped to procure caliphal investitures for the *gaʾon* of the Jerusalem yeshiva, who was recognized as the head of the Rabbanite Jews in the realm.[12]

One additional example from beyond this corpus illustrates the paradoxes of communal autonomy in practice. In 1027, a certain Ibrāhīm bar Shemuʾel al-Andalusī approached the rabbinical court of the Palestinian-rite synagogue of Fustat for litigation in some matter. One of the court's three judges, having heard his case in a previous session, excused himself from the case with the claim that he was too busy to hear it again. But al-Andalusī dug in his heels, refusing to have his case heard by anyone else. His next step was to petition an unspecified high-ranking Fatimid bureaucrat to issue a decree *(tawqīʿ)* to the governor *(qāʾid)* of Fustat-Cairo, presumably either ordering the judge in question to attend the session or allowing al-Andalusī to have his case heard in an Islamic court. When he returned to the court, the judges questioned him about his temerity in going over the heads of the court's members. Al-Andalusī retorted that he did so only to obtain what was rightfully his. And it worked: the court resolved that if it did not attend to al-Andalusī's case by the end of the month, he was free to seek justice in an Islamic one.[13] It seems highly paradoxical that a petition to the government should have resulted in his case being heard in a Jewish court, as though he needed to go outside the Jewish community to seek redress within the Jewish community. But in fact, this was the standard pattern: Jews called upon authorities outside the Jewish legal and administrative apparatus in order to solve problems within it.

The case, then, provides a concrete statement of the paradoxes of communal autonomy as it was established under the Fatimids. *Dhimmī*s did not regard the exercise of their autonomy as entailing a vacuum seal between themselves and non-Jews, but rather saw the ways in which their legal and administrative system

[12] Rustow, *Heresy and the Politics of Community,* with references to numerous previous studies.

[13] The record is from the legal court itself and is dated 16 Ṭevet 1339 Seleucid (December 18, 1027). Cambridge University Library, Taylor-Schechter Collection (hereafter T-S), 13 J 5.1, in Judeo-Arabic; S. D. Goitein's unpublished edition is available online through the Princeton Geniza Project (http://www.princeton.edu/~geniza/). See also the edition and Hebrew translation (with facsimile of verso) in Elinoar Bareket, *Shafrir Mitsrayim: ha-hanhagah ha-Yehudit be-Fusṭaṭ ba-maḥatsit ha-rishonah shel ha-meʾah ha-aḥat-ʿeśreh* (Tel Aviv, 1995), 215–18; and S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza* (Berkeley, 1967–93), 2:321–22, where he mentions a similar case from 1016 (Bodleian MS Heb. B 13.42), a fragmentary court record about a merchant from Palermo who had waited a month for a Jewish court to hear his case. When he complained to the police about this, they apprehended one of the Jewish judges for a night.

was dependent on the state and the Islamic courts. It also shows that Jews did not regard judicial and administrative autonomy as identical, nor were they likely to conflate the two types of redress—appealing to the government and appealing to the Islamic courts. (The blanket condemnations of Jews appealing to non-Jewish authorities that one finds in rabbinic literature and in some modern historiography are misleading: medieval Jews recognized that judicial and administrative redress differed in significant ways.)

This pattern was sustained throughout the Middle Ages in Egypt and Syria. Jews lodged appeals to the government to do three sorts of things: to confirm the appointment of some communal leader or to strengthen his hand politically; to compel their own leaders to do things they might not wish to do; or to oppose some prior government decree, usually one brought about at the behest of another Jewish leader or faction. Sometimes those situations overlapped, as when the *gaʾon* of the Palestinian-rite academy (1025–51) and head of the Rabbanite Jews in the Fatimid realm, Shelomoh ben Yehudah, asked the caliph to repeal an appointment he had granted to a rival, Yūsuf al-Sijilmāsī, the chief of an Iraqi-rite community of Jews that sought to escape the *gaʾon*'s jurisdiction.[14] This pattern continued through the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, with some important variations.

From Chancery to Qadi: the Ayyubid and Mamluk Periods

The importance of judicial and administrative appeal as political instruments continued throughout the Ayyubid period. While the Fatimids had been singularly unconcerned with the details of religious practices among their *dhimmī* subjects (on the reasoning, perhaps, that all non-Ismāʿīlīs were equally benighted), the Ayyubids styled themselves restorers of Sunni orthodoxy, and this changed the rules of the game. One might think that the self-styled Ayyubid restoration would have restricted the options for redress in Jewish factional conflicts, since notions of orthodoxy and heterodoxy now pervaded religious discourse, and there could be only one correct party. In fact, Jewish factions themselves now began to use the rhetoric of orthodoxy against one another.

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[14] New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Elkan Nathan Adler collection (ENA) 4020.65, Judeo-Arabic (probably a copy of an Arabic original), published in S. D. Goitein, "Congregation versus Community: An Unknown Chapter in the Communal History of Jewish Palestine," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 44 (1954): 291–304, with facsimile between pages 291 and 292; see his revised interpretation in idem, "Petitions to the Fatimid Caliphs from the Cairo Geniza," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 45 (1954): 30–38; document republished in Moshe Gil, *Erets-Yiśraʾel ba-teḳufah ha-Muslemit ha-rishonah (634–1099)* [Palestine during the first Muslim period (634–1099)] (Tel Aviv, 1983), doc. 312.

A Maimonidean Controversy

The incident from this period that best exemplifies the new rules is a protracted battle between factions of the Palestinian-rite synagogue in Fustat during the first decades of the thirteenth century. At the center of the conflict stood Moses Maimonides' son Avraham, who had followed in his father's footsteps as *raʾīs al-yahūd* of Egypt and Syria (1205–37). Like his father, Avraham also served as physician at the court of the Ayyubid sultan; and like his father, he faced repeated opposition over his position in the Jewish community.[15] His main opponents were from the same family who had forced his father to abandon his post temporarily (Moses Maimonides served 1171–ca. 1177 and ca. 1195–1204).

The pretext Avraham's opponents used to undermine his power had to do with the fact that, in keeping with his Sufi piety and a significant Sufi movement among Jews, he had made changes in the choreography of the synagogue ritual, adopting full prostration during prayer (which Jews had practiced but abandoned at some point in late antiquity). To condemn Maimonides and his liturgical innovations, his opponents queried a qadi in the service of the Ayyubid court regarding the permissibility of the innovations.[16]

The first and second drafts of the query have survived in the Cairo Genizah. Its author was the cantor of the synagogue—possibly a member of the opposing family, but his name is not mentioned.[17] In addressing the qadi, he enthusiastically and opportunistically deploys the rhetoric of religious conservatism, betraying his assumption that the qadi, as an Ayyubid appointee charged with defending orthodoxy, would find any liturgical innovation *(bidʿah)* reprehensible and declare

[15] He served as physician to both al-Malik al-ʿĀdil (1200–18) and al-Malik al-Kāmil (1218–38); see Goitein, *Mediterranean Society,* 5:493; cf. ibid., 476–77, quoting Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah's entry, which notes only that he served al-Malik al-Kāmil, but also that the author met him only in 631 or 632 A.H. (1231–33).

[16] See the comments of Naphtali Wieder, *Hashpaʿot Islamiyot ʿal ha-pulḥan ha-Yehudi* [Islamic influences on the Jewish worship] (Oxford, 1947), 65–68; Goitein, "New Documents from the Cairo Geniza," 707–12; Paul Fenton, *The Treatise of the Pool: Al-Maqāla al-Ḥawḍiyya* (London, 1981), 4–25; Goitein, *Mediterranean Society,* 5:491–92; Stefan C. Reif, *Judaism and Hebrew Prayer* (Cambridge, 1993), chapter 6; and Geoffrey Khan, *Arabic Legal and Administrative Documents in the Cambridge Genizah Collections* (Cambridge and New York, 1993), 292 and 293–94.

[17] T-S Ar. 41.105 (first–second decade of the seventh century A.H.), in Arabic, published in Paul Fenton, "Tefillah beʿad ha-rashut u-rashut beʿad ha-tefillah: zutot min ha-genizah," *Mi-mizraḥ u-mim-maʿarav* 4 (1983): 20–21, and republished with emendations to both the reading and translation in Khan, *Arabic Legal and Administrative Documents,* doc. 65; and the document from the Consistoire Israélite de Paris (now at the Alliance Israélite Universelle; I have not been able to verify the current shelf-mark) published in Richard J. H. Gottheil, "Some Genizah Gleanings," in *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg (1844–1908): Recueil de travaux d'érudition à la mémoire d'Hartwig Derenbourg par ses amis et ses élèves* (Paris, 1909), 97–99. These drafts are undated; my attempt at inserting them within the chronological narrative must be regarded as tentative.

it contrary to law. His query culminates in a series of loaded questions about the permissibility of Maimonides' liturgical innovations. He writes:

> A group of Rabbanite Jews have had a synagogue for a long stretch of time and numerous years engaging in the conduct *(sīrah)* and customs *(minhāj)* with which its builders built it.[18] Until now, it has maintained the customs *(minhāj),* rituals *(rusūm),* traditions *(sunan),* and conduct *(sīrah)* of readings and prayer throughout the year, on weekdays, Sabbaths, and festivals. It has a prayer leader administering its affairs in the wake of his predecessors *(khalf salaf)* and the community is content with this.
>
> Now a faction has joined forces to change its customs, abrogate its traditions, alter its prayers, and coerce the prayer leader regarding them, and to adopt something that has never before been practiced regularly. The congregation and the prayer leader are holding fast to that to which they are accustomed.
>
> Is it permissible for [these things] to be changed in opposition to them, for it [the faction] to adopt something that has never before been practiced regularly, and for the prayer leader to be forced to abandon that to which he is accustomed? Is it permissible for change and innovation to be made in the days of Islam—may God cause them to endure—even if those who effect the change are pious? What action should be taken with regard to them?
>
> Grant us your opinion, may God have mercy upon you.[19]

That the cantor attempted to coerce the *nagid* by appealing to the state fits the Fatimid pattern of redress. The key difference is that rather than appealing to a member of the ruling dynasty directly, he appealed to a qadi. One wonders what, precisely, the cantor hoped to achieve with a fatwa. Upon finding that a government-appointed jurist condemned his innovations, would Avraham Maimonides have desisted from them? Or did the cantor simply want him to feel shaken by the condemnation? Either way, in contexts such as this one, Jews understood Islamic law to have more of a say in internal Jewish religious affairs than has hitherto been admitted.

The Islamic judiciary, for its part, did not share this perception, and the cantor's traditionalist rhetoric failed to win him the fatwa he wanted. We learn this from a letter written by one of Maimonides' opponents in Fustat, addressing another

[18] T-S Ar. 41.105, lines 3–4: *qawm al-yahūd rabbānīn lahum kanīsah min al-duhūr al-madīdah wa-al-sanīn al-ʿadīdah ʿalá al-sīrah wa-al-minhāj alladhī banāhā bānūhā ʿalayhi.*

[19] T-S Ar. 41.105, beginning from the end of line 2; the translation is my own.

member of his faction currently in Damascus. The letter also reveals details about the methods that both sides employed on their own behalf.[20]

The letter explains that leaders of the opposition first approached a government appointee referred to only as "the *faqīh,*" apparently the qadi to whom the drafts of the query were addressed. However, he declined to adjudicate, claiming that during the month of Ramaḍān he was in retreat and would not hear petitions.[21] The *faqīh* hardly comes across as eager to interfere in Jewish communal matters. Maimonides' opponents, for their part, were unwilling to wait until after Ramaḍān (or assumed that even if they did, the *faqīh* would find some other reason to decline). They therefore addressed a written petition *(qiṣṣah)* to al-Malik al-ʿĀdil himself.

But the sultan, too, refused to take part in a battle against one of his own appointees. Instead of acting on the *qiṣṣah,* he provided Maimonides with a copy of it (or else a courtier called Sharaf al-Dīn Yaʿqūb did so, as some of his followers claimed; or perhaps it was a minor government functionary, *aḥad al-khuddām,* in the opinion of the letter's author).[22] Again, the picture is hardly one of a government eager to intervene in the affairs of the Jewish community. On the contrary, everyone whom Maimonides' opponents approached seems to have attempted to find some way out of involvement in the affair.

The letter goes on to explain that Maimonides, for his part, now understood the level on which his opponents conducted battle and filed a brief *(maḥḍar)* in his own defense in which he claimed that he had adopted the liturgical innovations in the privacy of his own home but had never attempted to impose them on his congregation. He, too, detailed his pious motivations (at least according to his opponent): he described himself as having given himself over to the service of God *(tabarraʿtu bi-taʿabbud allāh)* and gone beyond the call of duty in practicing genuflection, full prostration, and prayer *(wa-tanaffal[tu] bi-rukūʿ wa-sujūd wa-ṣalāh)*.[23] Perhaps aware that piety might not suffice in his own defense, he also called upon two hundred witnesses to confirm that he had never insisted that others adopt his reforms.[24]

In the opinion of the letter's author, however, both Maimonides and his two hundred witnesses were lying blatantly. Everyone knew that he had enforced his innovations in the synagogue.[25] S. D. Goitein points out in Maimonides' defense

[20] T-S Ar. 51.111, in Judeo-Arabic, published with Hebrew translation in S. D. Goitein, "New Documents from the Cairo Geniza," in *Homenaje a Millás-Vallicrosa* (Barcelona, 1954), 1:717–18.

[21] T-S Ar. 51.111, lines 8–9.

[22] Ibid., lines 9–11.

[23] Ibid., lines 11–13.

[24] Ibid., lines 13–16.

[25] Ibid., lines 16–17 and 24–25.

that one of his published responsa addresses a group of fellow pietists on whether prostration is permissible according to Jewish law; Maimonides states that it is permissible and he himself engaged in it, but he would never insist that his questioners adopt it, "for you are at liberty to do as you like."[26] But this hardly proves the case. Given that Avraham Maimonides was a charismatic and powerful leader, his opponents (and even his followers) may not have perceived such a clear difference between his permitting the changes and his mandating them.

But the use of sanctimonious rhetoric did not end there. In describing the controversy, the author of the letter accuses Maimonides and his supporters of "informing" on fellow Jews before the authorities (the word appears in Hebrew in the Judeo-Arabic letter, *masrut,* a variation of the standard Hebrew *mesirut*).[27] The insult was as ancient in Jewish tradition as its application was opportunistic in this instance: factions were often quick to brand their opponents *moserim,* informers, nearly demonic figures in rabbinic responsa, since they were thought to threaten the Jews' jealously guarded communal autonomy by collaborating with the government and disrupting the supposed unity of the Jewish community. In fact, like charges of heresy, charges of *mesirut* were leveled selectively against Jews whose enemies had some reason to object to their appeal to the government. After all, the same opponents who now called Maimonides a *moser* had approached the palace in Cairo first.

On the advice of his supporters, then, the *nagid* threatened to place his opponents under a ban of excommunication. Interestingly enough, however, the pretext he chose was not that they had approached the sultan's court against him, but that they had taken false oaths: apparently he would not have dared to excommunicate someone for seeking redress from the government, for the obvious reason that he himself had done so as well. Even Jewish leaders could not denounce the practice of petitioning the government—or perhaps especially Jewish leaders, who did so as a measure of frequent resort in sustaining their power over the community.

The letter ends *in medias res* and we do not know how this chapter of the dispute concluded. But in an undated Genizah letter, Maimonides' followers complain to him that their co-religionists—at the behest of an unnamed communal official,

[26] Goitein, "New Documents from the Cairo Geniza," 712, quoting Albert Freimann and S. D. Goitein, *Responsa Abraham Maimuni: ex codicibus librisque impressis* (Jerusalem, 1937), no. 62; see Goitein's further comments, 712–13; and cf. Avraham Maimonides' letter of reproof to a student in his yeshiva who was not sufficiently devoted to pietistic practices, T-S 10 J 13.8, in Judeo-Arabic, published in S. D. Goitein, "Documents on Abraham Maimonides and His Pietist Circle" [in Hebrew], *Tarbiẓ* 33 (1963): 187.

[27] T-S Ar. 51.111, line 17. On the form of the word, see Goitein's note, "New Documents from the Cairo Geniza," 711 n. 10. My interpretation of the pronouns in this sentence differs from his (ibid., 710–11).

again presumably a member of the opposing family—were persecuting them, preventing them from praying according to their preferred custom, and spreading malicious rumors about them.[28]

Nor did the controversy subside after Maimonides died (at age fifty-one, apparently in an epidemic). His son, David, now acceded to the office of *raʾīs al-yahūd,* but no sooner had he done so than the opposing family attempted once again to abolish his father's innovations. In retaliation, a supporter tried to place the innovations on firm legal ground. We learn this from a query, first identified and published by Geoffrey Khan, submitted to yet another qadi.[29] The supporter writes:

> A group of Jews whose word is authoritative, namely, the *raʾīs al-yahūd* and those of their sages who follow him, have established genuflection and prostration in their religious practice. They have stated that this was an ancient part of their revealed law, and that they have revived an aspect of religious practice that had fallen into desuetude. They established and practiced it over a long period, approximately twenty years.
>
> When their *raʾīs* died, a man who was not a sage rose up and spoke against their earlier sages and disapproved of genuflection and prostration. What action should be taken against him on account of his opposition, since he opposes [the practice]?
>
> Grant us your opinion, may God have mercy upon you.[30]

It is unclear whether a fatwa stating the permissibility of the practices might have convinced the chief opponent to cease and desist from harassing the pietists. But apparently the author of the query hoped for more. He attempted to sway the qadi to his side by claiming that the opponent was forbidding the practice of Judaism according to hoary tradition (much as the opponents had claimed to follow tradition in their own query), and he asked the qadi what kind of action should be taken against the perpetrator. Again, we are ignorant as to how this posthumous conflict was resolved, but a hint may lie in the fact that in 1237,

[28] T-S 10 J 13.14, published in Goitein, "Documents on Abraham Maimonides," 185. See also his comments in *Mediterranean Society,* 5:483.

[29] T-S AS 182.291, in Arabic, published in Khan, *Arabic Legal and Administrative Documents,* doc. 66, beginning from line 4.

[30] I have altered Khan's translation, especially at line 9 (*Arabic Legal and Administrative Documents,* 293), where Khan suggests that an opponent came to office on Avraham Maimonides' death. But as the letter of 1237 quoted below (T-S 10 J 16.12) indicates, his son David succeeded him without interruption.

Avraham Maimonides' son David succeeded his father and received the post by express permission of the government. The Jewish courtiers first cleared the matter with all the important palace officials; then one of those officials took the extra step of summoning ten elders of the Jewish community, to be sure that his decision represented the community's will.[31] With so much support for David's candidacy, it is likely that the instigator of the opposition was not heard from again. Indeed, the Maimonidean family continued to serve as *ruʾasāʾ al-yahūd* for several more generations.

The incident of Avraham Maimonides' liturgical innovations parallels the Fatimid appeals: in every instance, the initiative for government intervention came from the Jews themselves. There are, however, two significant differences between the documents from the Fatimid period and these. First, in the Fatimid period the conflicts were purely political and administrative, centering around political factions of the Jewish community, while here the authorities were invited to express their opinions on intimate matters of Jewish religious practice. Second, in the Fatimid period the Jews appealed to the state only, while here they appeal to the qadis as well.[32] This second difference was due in part to the nature of the Fatimid caliphate and its theopolitical claims: as implied in the Fatimid petition's standard closing formula, "to our master [the caliph] belongs the exalted decision," a Fatimid rescript had the force of a legal opinion.[33] It was also due to the expansion of the Sunni judiciary under the Ayyubids and Mamluks and those regimes' concomitant efforts to centralize it. One can, in fact,

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[31] T-S 10 J 16.12, in Judeo-Arabic, published with translation and commentary in S. D. Goitein, "A Letter to Maimonides and New Sources Regarding the Negidim from His Family" [in Hebrew], *Tarbiẓ* 34 (1965): 237–40. See also his comments in *Mediterranean Society,* 2:32; and cf. T-S Ar. 38.93, a copy of the charter appointing a Jewish official in Syria, dated Jumādá I 589/May–June 1193, first published in Geoffrey Khan, "A Document of Appointment of a Jewish Leader in Syria Issued by al-Malik al-Afdal ʿAli in 589 A.H./1193 A.D.," in *Documents de l'Islam médiévale: Nouvelles perspectives de recherche,* ed. Yūsuf Rāġib (Cairo, 1991), 97–116, and republished with a new translation in Khan, *Arabic Legal and Administrative Documents,* doc. 121.

[32] They appealed to qadis in less religiously charged cases, too: see, e.g., a fragment of a twelfth- or thirteenth-century query regarding the permissibility of dissolving or altering Jewish foundations for the poor. T-S NS 306.60, in Arabic, published in Khan, *Arabic Legal and Administrative Documents,* doc. 69.

[33] For the closing formula of petitions to Fatimid caliphs and viziers, *li-mawlānā al-raʾy al-ʿālī* (or *ʿālī al-raʾy*) *fī dhālik,* see, e.g., T–S Ar. 7.38, in Arabic, published in Khan, *Arabic Legal and Administrative Documents,* doc. 70, lines 14–15; T–S Ar. 30.273, in Arabic, published in ibid., doc. 77, lines 16–17; and Bodl. MS Heb. b 18.23v, in Arabic (I am currently preparing this document for publication), line 16. See also the analysis in Geoffrey Khan, "The Historical Development of the Structure of Medieval Arabic Petitions," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 53 (1990): 19–22; and the Ayyubid variation described in S. M. Stern, "Petitions from the Ayyubid Period," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 27 (1964): 9.

sense the shift from the chancery alone to a combination of the chancery and the judiciary during the Maimonidean incident itself: finding the *faqīh* unwilling to consider their case, the opponents resorted to the old method of petitioning the ruler himself. Under the Mamluks, as we shall see, the number of Jewish queries to Muslim qadis only increased.

Cooperation between the Government and Jewish Authorities

The reluctance of the chancery and judiciary to involve themselves in the Jews' liturgical and political factionalism should not be understood as a general reluctance to regulate Jewish communal affairs. On the contrary, the late Ayyubid and early Mamluk chanceries also required regular reports from the Jewish community on the death of Jews. The state was, then, willing to intervene when it came to the disposition and taxation of *dhimmī* estates. Khan has identified six such reports dated 1224–98 among the Genizah papers, all of them testifying to the deaths of women who had appointed heirs, along with one formulary to aid in the composition of what must have been routine documents.[34] Indeed, al-Nuwayrī attests that the heads of *dhimmī* communities stood obligated to notify the government of deaths, and al-Qalqashandī affirms that the *dīwān al-mawārīth* kept a register of them. Other sources confirm that, at least in the early Mamluk period, the government taxed estates even when there were heirs.[35] The witnesses to these transactions are all Jews, suggesting that Jews participated in this aspect of the administration of their affairs even though it deprived heirs of part of their inheritance. Since the alternative—not reporting the deaths—was equally viable, we must assume that the practice represented at least some modicum of cooperation with the authorities. It may well be that the level of cooperation decreased markedly with an edict of al-Ṣāliḥ in 1354 decreeing that estates without heirs reverted not to the Jewish community (as they had done before) but to the state.[36]

However, this kind of intervention does not indicate that the government's purposes were always confiscatory or nefarious. On other occasions, the state was more than willing to cooperate with communal leaders in keeping funds within the Jewish community—even if it meant depriving the sultan's coffers of

[34] T-S AS 182.278; TS NS J 469; Cambridge University Library, Or. 1081.2.25; T-S AS 121.229 (verso reused for Hebrew liturgical poetry); T-S Ar. 39.189 (verso and part of recto contain a Judeo-Arabic business account); T-S NS 297.1; and T-S Ar. 39.277 (the formulary; verso contains an Arabic letter). All published in Khan, *Arabic Legal and Administrative Documents,* docs. 125–31.

[35] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ* (Cairo, 1964), 3:464; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923–98), 8:242–45; both cited in Khan, *Arabic Legal and Administrative Documents,* 473 (see there for further references).

[36] El-Leithy, "Coptic Culture and Conversion," 96.

revenue. Thus in 1203, the estate of a certain Jew named Avraham al-ʿAṭṭār ibn Abū al-Karam had fallen into the hands of the *dīwān al-mawārīth*. A deed drawn up in a Jewish court attests that the Jewish elders refused to abide by the *dīwān al-mawārīth*'s confiscation of the estate and petitioned the qadi appointed over *(mutawallī)* the *dīwān* to transfer the estate to the Jewish community for a fee of thirty dinars payable to the qadi from the estate. The request was granted.[37] The deceased had been close to government circles—or so I gather from the fact that he owed money to someone titled Amīn al-Dawlah, a clerk in the *dār al-wakālah* (the port bureau). This account suggests that the government claimed estates only when it knew they existed, and it was more likely to know of large ones belonging to friends of the palace.[38]

Ongoing relations between the government and the Jewish community are also suggested by the number of reused chancery documents preserved in the Genizah. Frédéric Bauden has recently demonstrated that al-Maqrīzī reused official documents from the Mamluk archives as writing paper, and that one such document—a deed of *iqṭāʿ* for a government official—came into al-Maqrīzī's hands after a raid on the palace that sent hundreds or perhaps thousands of official documents into circulation as scrap writing paper for sale on the open market.[39] Something similar to Bauden's reconstruction of events may hold true for a few of the reused chancery documents from the Cairo Genizah, such as a once luxuriant Ayyubid or Mamluk decree that was cut into pieces and now contains a Hebrew writing exercise in an awkward hand;[40] another Judeo-Arabic letter written on the

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[37] Bodl. MS Heb c 28.54, in Judeo-Arabic. Goitein's unpublished edition is available online through the Princeton Geniza Project. He seems to have surmised the date from the receipts on verso for the payment of debts on the estate, which are dated 1203.

[38] The function of the *dār al-wakālah* was to store, sell, and otherwise assist merchants in disposing of their merchandise, and together with the *wakīl al-tujjār* (merchants' representative), it gained official standing and government backing under the Mamluks. See Goitein, *Mediterranean Society,* 1:186–92, and Roxani Eleni Margariti, *Aden and the Indian Ocean Trade: 150 Years in the Life of a Medieval Arabian Port* (Chapel Hill, 2007), chapter 6, and p. 299 n. 76.

[39] Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana I: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of his Working Method: Description: Section 1," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7 (2003): 21–68; idem, "The Recovery of Mamluk Chancery Documents in an Unsuspected Place," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society,* ed. Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni (Leiden and Boston, 2004), 59–78.

[40] Bodl. MS Heb d 74.38, in Judeo-Arabic and Arabic, unpublished, verso. My dating of the decree is based on paleography and must be regarded as tentative. The *ḥasbalah* in the last line (the fragment contains only the last five lines of the document) does not demonstrate without doubt that the document is a decree rather than an archival copy; cf. the discussion in Geoffrey Khan, "Copy of a Decree from the Archives of the Fatimid Chancery," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 49 (1986): 451.

back of part of a chancery decree;[41] or a collection of Hebrew liturgical poems, two pages of which each contain two lines from separate Mamluk (?) decrees.[42] That both decrees were cut into pieces suggests that they may have passed through the hands of stationers.

However, routes other than the paper market could have granted Jews access to chancery documents. There were a great many Jewish courtiers under the Fatimids and Ayyubids (though admittedly fewer under the Mamluks), and circumstantial evidence suggests that they carried drafts of chancery documents, disused petitions, and other non-archival documents out of the palace to serve the Jewish community as models for official correspondence.[43] Avraham Maimonides' grandson Yehoshuaʿ, who inherited the post of *raʾīs al-yahūd* from his father, is the author of at least one letter rigorously adhering to the protocols of the *sulṭānīyāt* genre of administrative correspondence (decrees making the ruler's will known by his meting out of rewards, chastisements, titles, and honors to his subjects).[44] This suggests that Jews had access to the modes and manners

[41] Bodl. MS Heb c 28.10, in Judeo-Arabic and Arabic, unpublished. Eliyahu Ashtor makes two attempts to derive a date for the Judeo-Arabic side: late eleventh century (the mid-eleventh century date he proposes can be dismissed since the office of *nagid* did not yet exist), and (implicitly) fourteenth century; Goitein corrects him. See Eliyahu Ashtor, "Le coût de la vie dans la Syrie médiévale," *Arabica* 1 (1961): 61; idem, "La recherche des prix dans l'Orient médiéval: sources, méthodes et problèmes," *Studia Islamica* 21 (1964): 140 n. 4; and Goitein, *Mediterranean Society,* 2:34. Neither author discusses the Arabic side of the document.

[42] Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, David Kaufmann Collection (DK) 147, in Hebrew and Arabic, unpublished. My thanks to Ezra Chwat for sharing his notes on this collection, and to the Friedberg Genizah Project for making high-resolution digital photographs of the collection available.

[43] This is an argument that I plan to present in a fuller form in an article tentatively entitled "From the Palace in Cairo to the Synagogue in Fustat: Petitions to the Fatimid Chancery Preserved in the Geniza." I have counted roughly thirty Jewish courtiers who served the Fatimids in the tenth and eleventh centuries only (in both al-Mahdīyah and Cairo), but the count should be continued into the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. See, e.g., a mid-thirteenth-century letter from Yehuda ibn al-ʿAmmānī, a court clerk, cantor, and schoolmaster in Alexandria, to a Jewish official in Cairo vouching for the character of a blind man from the Maghrib whom some tragedy (war? an earthquake?) forced to abandon his home and property. He arrived in Alexandria via Sicily and the writer now turned to wealthy potential benefactors to help him, including the government functionary addressed in the letter, who bears a series of exalted titles listed in the opening lines of the letter. T-S 16.287, in Judeo-Arabic, published in Eliyahu Ashtor, *Toldot ha-Yehudim be-Miṣrayim ve-Suryah taḥat shilṭon ha-Mamlukim* [History of the Jews in Egypt and Syria under the rule of the Mamluks], vol. 3, *Teʿudot min ha-genizah* [Geniza Documents] (Jerusalem, 1970), doc. 59, and incorrectly dated to 1408 C.E.; cf. Goitein, *Mediterranean Society,* 5:179, and idem, "Geniza Documents from the Mamluk Period" [in Hebrew], *Tarbiẓ* 41 (1971): 70.

[44] ENA 2559.11, in Judeo-Arabic, published in Mark R. Cohen, "Correspondence and Social Control in the Jewish Communities of the Islamic World: A Letter of the Nagid Joshua Maimonides,"

of official correspondence in use within government circles. Similarly, a decree issued by one of the four sultans titled al-Malik al-Nāṣir was preserved in its entirety in the Genizah, despite the fact that it has nothing to do with the Jews and was never reused for Hebrew writing exercises. That it found its way into the Genizah suggests that someone from the Jewish community carried it there from the palace.[45]

In sum, Jews had access to the chancery when they needed it, and one of the functions of the leaders of the Jewish community was to provide them with that access. No one could hope to lead the community without connections at court—a fact that Jews already understood well by the third decade of the eleventh century, and that continued to hold true throughout the Mamluk period.[46]

Cooperation with Jewish Individuals

This attitude of friendly cooperation between the Jews and the government extended from leaders of the community to individuals. This was the case when, for instance, Khaybarī Jews sought exemption from the *jizyah* via court-issued certificates. Since Muḥammad was said to have granted the Jews of Khaybar special privileges, their descendants claimed—and were granted—exemption from various *dhimmī* disabilities. Thus a fragmentary certificate dated Shawwāl 654 (October–November 1256) attests to the status of a certain Ibrāhīm ibn Ismāʿīl as a Khaybarī Jew—and to his proficiency in dealing with the government and the judiciary. That his certificate was preserved in the Genizah, despite its being written in Arabic characters, suggests that he deposited his entire archive there and this document along with it, and by extension that he was a regular,

Jewish History 1 (1986): 39–48. Cohen states that "it was doubtless from Arabic epistolographic manuals like this that Jews first became familiar with the forms and conventions of Arabic letter-writing which they subsequently incorporated into their own correspondence" (ibid., 40), but one might also imagine channels of transmission via courtiers with direct experience in *inshā*ʾ and other social contexts that lent themselves to the ongoing diffusion of epistolary style. On the *sulṭānīyāt* genre, see al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá,* 8:233–303 (cited in Cohen, "Correspondence and Social Control," 47 n. 6).

[45] DK 228.1, in Arabic, unpublished. The possibilities include: al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (ibn Qalāwūn, r. 1293–94, 1299–1309, 1310–41); al-Malik al-Nāṣir Aḥmad (ibn Muḥammad, r. 1342); al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (r. 1347–51, 1354–61); and al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad IV ibn Qāytbāy (r. 1496–98). The form of the petition is consistent with these dates (but I have excluded the Ayyubid sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, who bore the same title). I am grateful to Geoffrey Khan for alerting me to the presence of this decree in the Kaufmann collection.

[46] Not every government functionary who appears in Genizah documents was regarded in a friendly way by Jews: see Bodl. MS Heb. B 11.27, in Judeo-Arabic, unpublished, in which Luʾluʾ, the freedman of the Zengids of Mosul (d. 1259; see Claude Cahen, "Luʾluʾ, Badr al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍāʾil al-Malik al-Raḥīm," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 5:821), is cursed as one of the enemies of Israel (lines 2–3).

dues-paying member of the Jewish community of Fustat rather than a man on its margins; in this sense, he may be taken as broadly representative of the whole. Though avoiding paying the *jizyah* was not always difficult (in certain towns in the countryside the *jizyah* was not collected at all), instead of merely avoiding the tax collector, he sought official exemption. One can only speculate on what he presented as proof of his descent from the Jews of Khaybar, but his willingness to cooperate with the system and uphold its tenets was clear.[47]

Similarly, the Jewish physician Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Abī al-Sahl ibn Ibrāhīm was asked (by a prospective high-ranking patient?) for a certificate attesting to his professional qualifications and good conduct. Three separate drafts of the testimony have survived occupying the same sheet of paper (the drafts are undated and the witnesses are identified only as "free Muslim men"). Abū al-Ḥasan's attempt to procure the certificate suggests that he was adept at negotiating the channels of the Islamic judiciary, and the fact that the drafts survived in the Genizah suggests even more. Had a Muslim notary given Abū al-Ḥasan the drafts for some reason? Were witnesses not available the day he appeared in court, or was he traveling and had to take the texts to another jurisdiction? Abū al-Ḥasan may have written the drafts himself: physicians were literate; Jewish physicians were literate in Arabic; and many physicians served as scribes, courtiers, and court functionaries, all professions in which Abū al-Ḥasan may have learned to write such a document. Or he may have based the draft on a similar testimony that he had received previously.[48]

Physicians and courtiers at times, in fact, proved more capable of exercising power and more adept at negotiating the channels of government than the *raʾīs al-yahūd* himself. A Mamluk decree also preserved in the Genizah contains the story of a physician whom the *raʾīs* had prohibited from entering the synagogue of which he was a member. The physician got around the problem by seeking redress from the sultan. The *raʾīs* was forced to rescind his ban.[49]

Even individuals in the community knew how to navigate the channels of the government and judicial bureaucracy. While one of the functions of their leaders was to help them do this, some were capable of doing so without assistance. This

[47] T–S NS 327.2, in Arabic, published in Khan, *Arabic Legal and Administrative Documents,* doc. 49. On Khaybarī Jews and their exempt status, see his commentary there. On towns where the *jizyah* was not collected, see Mark R. Cohen, *Poverty and Charity in the Jewish Community of Medieval Egypt* (Princeton and Oxford, 2005), 138, citing evidence from the twelfth century.

[48] T-S NS 305.115, in Arabic, published in Khan, *Arabic Legal and Administrative Documents,* doc. 51. The document bears no date, since the sections with the dates in the first and third drafts are deliberately left blank; Khan dates it to the thirteenth century (for paleographic reasons?).

[49] T-S Ar. 38.131, in Arabic, unpublished (I am currently preparing an edition for publication). See also Goitein, *Mediterranean Society,* 2:168, 327.

corroborates El-Leithy's findings about Copts in the Mamluk period: many were perfectly capable of devising strategies for turning the apparent restrictions of *dhimmī* status to their advantage.[50]

Government Interference in the Late Mamluk Period

This brings us full circle to the affair of the blasphemous minbar of 1442. Mark R. Cohen has treated the incident and its literary and documentary sources exhaustively; here I wish to address only one lingering problem that the evidence presents.[51] The medieval Muslim chroniclers, including one eyewitness to the events, depicted the synagogue inspection (and the more general synagogue and church inspections that began in the wake of the minbar incident) as a routine round of government enforcement of discriminatory legislation against *dhimmīs*. But in fact, from a Genizah document discovered by Cohen, it emerges that the officials entered the Jewish synagogue in the first place in response to a complaint from its members, who had petitioned the chief qadis to depose their corrupt and incompetent *raʾīs al-yahūd,* a certain ʿAbd al-Laṭīf.[52] Why did the chroniclers record nothing of the Jewish initiative for the government's intervention?

The Silence of the Chroniclers

One of the synagogue inspectors was Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (1372–1449), the chief Shafiʿi qadi, who recorded the incident in his history *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr*. The narrative also appears with variations in the chronicle of his student al-Sakhāwī (1427–97). Both chroniclers imply that the initiative for the inspections came from the government. Ibn Ḥajar writes: "On the fourth day [of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 845/15 April 1442], the Shafiʿi and Hanafi qadis and the *muḥtasib* and a group of people went to the synagogue of the Jews in Qaṣr al-Shamʿ in Fustat"—as though the inspections were in the routine order of business. Having found the blasphemous minbar, they explain, the Hanafi qadi, Amīn al-Aqṣarāʾī, went on to undertake a general inspection of synagogues and churches in Fustat and Cairo. Sure enough, he found evidence of repairs that contravened the Pact of ʿUmar, and he proceeded to close some of them.[53]

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[50] El-Leithy, "Coptic Culture and Conversion."

[51] Cohen, "Jews in the Mamluk Environment."

[52] T-S AS 150.3, a Judeo-Arabic draft of the petition to Sultan Jaqmaq discussed below; published in Cohen, "Jews in the Mamluk Environment," 431–34, with English translation and facsimile between pages 434 and 435.

[53] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr,* ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān (Hyderabad, 1967–76), 9:169–70, 182–86; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk,* 36. Cohen compares the two passages (as well as an unpublished manuscript of Ibn Ḥajar, Istanbul MS Yeni Cami 814, fols. 282r, 283v, and 284r) in "Jews in the Mamluk Environment," 426–30; Ibn Ḥajar tells the story

Ibn Iyās (1448–1524) is even more laconic in his description of events. "In that year [845 A.H.]," he writes, echoing Ibn Ḥajar, "the shaykh Amīn al-Dīn al-Aqṣarāʾī al-Ḥanafī undertook the destruction of some of the houses of worship of the Jews and the Christians." For some reason he renders Ibn Ḥajar's "inspection" *(kashf)* as "destruction" *(hadm),* while in Ibn Ḥajar's account the inspection resulted in the closure of only some of the synagogues *(ubṭilat ʿiddatu kanāʾis)*. Further down the page, Ibn Iyās corrects himself, adding in equally lapidary fashion, "In it [the year 845], the sultan ordered the four qadis to go to Qaṣr al-Shamʿ to inspect the houses of worship there. So they went there and inspected."[54] The distinct impression the chroniclers offer is of government initiative for the incident in the normal course of pious regulation of *dhimmī*s.

Given the fact that Ibn Ḥajar was the Shafiʿi chief qadi at the time these events took place, one might expect his account to cling scrupulously to details of the events. In fact, the inspection was merely a pretext for the qadis to enter the synagogue—which they actually did at the behest of some of its leading members, who wished to end ʿAbd al-Laṭīf's misrule over the community. As in the Maimonidean affair, the Jews had approached the qadis as the first resort in resolving a conflict within the community. And as in the Maimonidean incident, the qadis failed to bring about the changes the Jews requested: the qadis did not depose the *nagid*. The Hanafi qadi merely extracted his confessions and moved on to other *dhimmī* houses of worship; the best course of further action became a matter of dispute between him and Ibn Ḥajar.

Having watched the qadis intervene to no avail, the Jews were left no other recourse than to petition Sultan Jaqmaq (1438–53) himself. The document that Cohen discovered is a Judeo-Arabic draft of the petition, likely a near-final one, since it follows the standard form and format of the late Mamluk petition. It also includes copious details of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf's wrongdoings—details, the petitioners are quick to add, with which the sultan's chief qadis are already quite familiar since they had brought them to their attention before. These wrongdoings included fiscal malfeasance, extortion, fraud, ruining the synagogue financially, violating both Jewish law and the Islamic laws of *waqf,* and general unsuitedness to speak on behalf of the community (which I read to mean his lack of strong connections at the palace, a key qualification for the office of *raʾīs al-yahūd*).[55] In the wake of

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twice, and his internal contradictions call for some explanation as well.

[54] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Ẓuhūr,* 2:22; cited in Cohen, "Jews in the Mamluk Environment," 427 n. 6.

[55] T-S AS 150.3. The references to the qadis appear on recto, lines 19–22 ("The lords the chief qadis, may God exalt and honor them, and the (other) qadis are well aware of his lack of ability and of the fact that he is un[fit] *(ghayr [ṣ]āl[iḥ])* to speak on behalf of a community of *ahl al-dhimmah*"); and verso, lines 18–21 ("Your slaves have informed you about this, intending that [the] qadi, may God honor him, would indicate to them wha[t] he would do, out of his bounty and for the sake of

the synagogue inspections—and the church inspections that followed them—the petitioners appended three additional accusations designed to place the blame for the entire affair squarely on their *raʾīs*. The first was "his defiance in proceeding with the matter of the synagogues"—that is, of their renovation—without the proper legal authority. The second was his responsibility for the blasphemies the inspector found on the minbar, "for which, at the very least, he should have been reproved and removed from office." That is not to say that ʿAbd al-Laṭīf himself really placed the inscriptions there; rather, they noted, "A group is prepared to testify against him that he was one of those who ascended the minbar." Apparently the petitioners were still undecided as to whether they wished to accuse him of having committed blasphemy wittingly or unwittingly. To this, they added the third complaint that "even the Christians have had wrongdoing perpetrated against them because of him," holding him responsible for the anti-*dhimmī* persecutions that followed the affair.[56]

Cohen characterizes these three added accusations as desperate measures inviting considerable risk, seeing government intervention as a threat to *dhimmī* communal autonomy. But the risks were apparently well past at the time of the petition: the qadis had already used the inspections for their own purposes, as an opportunity to exert tighter control over the *dhimmī* communities, and failed to deliver the result the Jews wanted. The qadis may even have begun their inspections at the behest of the Jewish community, who invited them there as an excuse to depose ʿAbd al-Laṭīf. The petitioners hint at this: "Your slaves have informed you about this, intending that [the] qadi, may God honor him, would indicate to them wha[t] he might do, out of his bounty and for the sake of God the exalted, so that this wrongdoing may be re[m]oved from them." I interpret this to mean that the Jews invited the qadis' intervention at some point in the affair. But when the qadis failed to deliver the results they wanted, they took their complaint to the sultan. They appear singularly untroubled by the prospect of risking their communal autonomy. In fact, at this point in the incident, by inviting government intervention they stood to lose nothing but their *raʾīs*.

Why do Ibn Ḥajar, al-Sakhāwī, and Ibn Iyās never mention the Jews' initiative in the denunciations? Al-Sakhāwī and Ibn Iyās can be excused the omission on the grounds that they may not have known the true cause of the events; they only inherited the narrative Ibn Ḥajar had bequeathed them. But Ibn Ḥajar, the Shafiʿi qadi whom the Jews approached, personally inspected the synagogue and was certainly aware that they had wanted to bring him there. Why is he silent on the

God the exalted, so that this wrongdoing may be re[m]oved from them"). For a detailed analysis of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf's misdeeds, see Cohen, "Jews in the Mamluk Environment," 437–44.

[56] T-S AS 150.3, recto, line 33 and margin; recto, line 15; verso, margin (added as an afterthought and meant to be inserted earlier in the petition?); and verso, lines 2–3.

matter?

Ibn Ḥajar's silence suggests that he had something to gain by implying that the events came about due to his own initiative and that of his colleagues. Indeed, making the inspections appear routine casts him and his Hanafi counterpart in the role of pious enforcers of the statutes regarding *ahl al-dhimmah*. At the end of his narrative, in fact, the qadis coax the Christians and Jews into supplicating them to reissue the Pact of ʿUmar, in a ritualized reenactment of the circumstances said to have produced the original pact when the Christians first drew it up as a petition to ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.[57] Thus were the qadis able to demonstrate their piety and effectiveness as defenders of the faith. Ibn Ḥajar also paints Amīn al-Dīn al-Aqṣarāʾī as the more zealous and uncompromising of the two, who when he heard of the minbar episode "wanted to cut off the feet of those who were involved in standing on that spot, as well as the hands of some others," while Ibn Ḥajar demurred. Thus Ibn Ḥajar appears as rigorous in his enforcement of the law but humane in its application, and thus both Ibn Ḥajar and al-Aqṣarāʾī appear as the enforcers of *dhimmī* subservience. But the petition demonstrates—in addition to the usual dangers of relying on literary evidence—that the Jews did not play the role of passive victims in this incident. Rather, they used the qadis' politics of piety to serve their own political aims.

Why All This Fuss over the *Dhimmī*s?

In his anatomy of the Jews and the "royal alliance," Yerushalmi asks why

> the highest authority not only tolerated the Jews and their alien faith, but allowed them such a wide latitude of autonomous privileges. Obviously it was not out of mere generosity. Among the many factors involved, certainly the most important was the overriding perception that on the whole the Jews were a useful element. Above all, they were an important source of revenue, paying for their privileges in the form of special taxes. Their internal self-government was convenient, for it relieved the ruler of many administrative and other burdens. They were potentially the most loyal element in the population since, especially after their loss of an independent state they were the most exposed and vulnerable, the most dependent on the ruler, those with the most to lose by betraying him. In short, the royal alliance was based on a reciprocity of interest.[58]

[57] Cohen, "Jews in the Mamluk Environment," 429 n. 8; and see idem, "What was the Pact of ʿUmar? A Literary-Historical Study," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 23 (1999): 100–58.

[58] Yerushalmi, *"Servants of Kings,"* 10.

To this catalogue of reasons why rulers might find the Jews useful, one must add another item: selective intervention in their affairs could make a ruler appear more powerful.

Indeed, as Cohen points out, in 1438 the office of *raʾīs al-yahūd* itself became a point of intense conflict within the Mamluk court. Following the death of Barsbāy (1438), his son and the amir Jaqmaq struggled over the succession and the latter besieged the citadel. A temporary lull in the fighting came about when a different conflict between the rivals distracted them from physical combat: Jaqmaq, at the recommendation of one of his amirs, appointed as *raʾīs al-yahūd* an Alexandrian Jew who had previously held the office but had apparently been deposed. The Jews immediately protested to a second amir, who removed the Alexandrian from office, a move that did not please Jaqmaq at all. Thus did the conflict over the *riʾāsat al-yahūd* temporarily eclipse the struggle over the sultanate itself.[59]

The amirs themselves could not have been particularly concerned with who filled the office of *raʾīs al-yahūd*. Rather, the ability to appoint leaders over protected minority communities served them as a way of gaining power over the populace via power's corollary, patronage. The situation parallels the conflicts between the church and the state over the Jews in high medieval Europe, when both institutions issued protective or persecutory edicts concerning the Jews depending on the political advantage to be gained by one or the other.

While the Jews used the rulers and their qadis to serve their ends, then, both the qadis and the rulers used the Jews to serve theirs.

Aftershocks of the Affair

During the conflict of 1442, the petitioners had complained that the only result the *dhimmī*s achieved from the thousands of dinars in fines that they and the Christians had been forced to pay the government was that they were "exposed to public view." The allusion was apparently to the ongoing suspicion cast upon all *dhimmī* houses of worship and their continued inspection.[60] In fact, the atmosphere of suspicion continued as late as 1456. In that year, further church and synagogue inspections revealed that a church had exceeded the lawful limitations placed on repairs, and several Christians were beaten. Some Muslims demanded even harsher punishment and more sweeping action against *dhimmī*s, on the argument that they had violated the pact they had renewed only fourteen years earlier. In this atmosphere, the head of the Qaraite community brought a petition before the Hanafi chief qadi explaining that synagogue property had been damaged in

[59] Abū Muḥammad Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad Al-ʿAynī (d. 1451), *ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,* cited in Cohen, "Jews in the Mamluk Environment," 444, from Istanbul MS Carullah 1591, fol. 817 b, *apud* Ashtor, *History of the Jews,* 2:86.

[60] As Cohen explains in "Jews in the Mamluk Environment," 444.

the recent riots and seeking permission for lawful repairs. In the course of his petition—whose wording is preserved in the *ḥukm tanfīdhī* that the Hanafi qadi wrote for him—the Qaraite had the good sense to mention the reconfirmation of the pact in 1442 along with the names of all the *dhimmī* chiefs who had agreed to it, the chief of the Qaraites among them. He also asked explicitly for reconfirmation of the royal covenant *(ʿahd sharīf)* of Sultan Īnāl regulating the mutual obligations of Muslims and *dhimmī*s, thus recapitulating the ritualized obeisance the Jews and Christians had made before the qadis in 1442.[61] That the Qaraite *raʾīs* had seen fit to petition the Hanafi qadi before undertaking repairs suggests the atmosphere of high tension that persisted in the wake of 1442 and 1456. But it also points to his resourcefulness in petitioning the chief qadi preemptively, even going so far as to supplicate the sultan for renewal of the Pact of ʿUmar before some officious qadi could coerce him to do so.

Such resourcefulness was hardly exceptional. In 1465, the Qaraites again exhibited their adroitness when a group of ex-conversos from Toledo arrived in Cairo and sent the Rabbanite and Qaraite *madhhab*s into a crisis of competition over which synagogue the newcomers would join. Rather than resolving the matter among themselves, the Qaraites helped the newcomers to query the chief qadis on the matter (one from each school plus a fifth, the Shafiʿi *qāḍī al-quḍāh*) as to whether the Toledans, who were Rabbanites on their arrival in Egypt, could become Qaraite—in other words, whether Rabbanite and Qaraite Judaism were to be considered one *dhimmī* religion or two. Though they had never been considered anything other than a single religion, the Qaraites, rather than running the risk of abetting an unlawful conversion, simply accepted Islamic legal regulation of internal Jewish religious affairs to the extent that they allowed the qadis to determine the matter for them. All the qadis but one ruled that the transfer was merely one of *madhhab;* but the second Shafiʿi caused them great consternation when he ruled that if members of each *madhhab* consider one another heretical, the only permissible change in religion was conversion to Islam. Paradoxically, this second Shafiʿi fatwa, which allowed the Qaraites the greatest degree of

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[61] Cairo, archives of the Qaraite synagogue, document D 20, a Hanafi *ḥukm tanfīdhī* 598 centimeters long (!), published in Richard J. H. Gottheil, “Dhimmis and Moslems in Egypt,” in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper,* ed. Robert Francis Harper, Francis Brown, and George Foot Moore (Chicago, 1908), 2:353–414 (Arabic text on 409; English on 384); reedited in D. S. Richards, “Dhimmi Problems in Fifteenth-Century Cairo: Reconsideration of a Court Document,” *Studies in Muslim-Jewish Relations* 1 (1993): 127–63. See also idem, “Arabic Documents from the Karaite Community in Cairo,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 15 (1972): 120–21 (doc. 9). I have not seen the originals of these documents but studied the set of photographs on deposit at the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem (these can be consulted on request from the manuscript librarians). The shelf-mark I use is marked on the photographs; Richards (who saw the documents in Cairo in 1969) records it as 20.

religious autonomy, was precisely the one that least served their purposes in this instance.[62]

Religious, judicial, and administrative autonomy was not, then, what the Jews always wanted. True, in an atmosphere of systematic religious subordination, their courses of action may have become increasingly limited. But they themselves had laid the groundwork for this kind of government intervention—in the long term, by means of their ongoing relationship with the palace; and in the short term, by hoping that the qadis and the sultan would depose their *nagid*.

At the Confluence of Motives

To see the late Mamluk regime as oppressively denying Jews their communal autonomy may appear, superficially, to be an argument in defense of medieval Jews; however, what they require is not defense but historical analysis. Without understanding the degree to which they, too, brought about the events the chronicles record, one has not offered them this.

In Yerushalmi's anatomy of the "royal alliance" and why rulers might have afforded the Jews such a wide range of autonomous privileges, he also explains why, in their turn, the Jews chose to place their destiny in the hands of governments who acted unpredictably and entirely in their own interests:

> On their side, Jewish perceptions of their relation to their non-Jewish rulers were based not only on their actual historical experience, but on their own inner religious traditions, beginning with Scripture itself which, studied and interpreted from one generation to the next, became an equally potent historical force in shaping Jewish mentalities. The need to come to terms with the reality of exile is already present in the famous letter sent by the prophet Jeremiah (ch. 29) to the first exiles carried off to Babylon a decade before the destruction of the First Temple, arguing against the other prophets and soothsayers who were blithely forecasting an imminent return: "Thus says the Lord of Hosts . . . unto all the captivity whom I have caused to be carried away captive from

[62] This account is preserved in three parallel Judeo-Arabic manuscripts, all of them Ottoman copies, of which Tamer El-Leithy and I are currently preparing a critical edition and translation together with a historical and literary commentary. Meanwhile, see Hartwig Hirschfeld, "A Karaite Conversion Story," in *Jews' College Jubilee Volume* (London, 1906), 81–100; William M. Brinner, "A Fifteenth-Century Karaite-Rabbanite Dispute in Cairo," in *The Majlis: Interreligious Encounters in Medieval Islam,* ed. Mark R. Cohen, Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, Sasson Somekh, and Sidney H. Griffith (Wiesbaden, 1999), 184–96; El-Leithy, "Coptic Culture and Conversion," 412, 418–21; Rustow, "Karaites Real and Imagined," 49–57.

> Jerusalem to Babylon: Build houses and dwell in them, plant gardens and eat the fruit of them; take wives and beget sons and daughters . . . and multiply there and be not diminished. And seek the peace of the city to which I have caused you to be carried away captive, and pray unto the Lord for it; for in the peace thereof shall you have peace. . . . Let not the prophets that are in the midst of you, and your diviners, beguile you, for they prophesy falsely in my name. I have not sent them."[63]

Yerushalmi's discussion covers a stretch of history that includes the exile in Babylonia, the Jewish mission to Caligula, the charters negotiated with the bishops of medieval Germany (remembered in Jewish chronicles as having been granted by Charlemagne himself), and nineteenth- and-twentieth century nation-states.[64] From the medieval world, he presents examples from Christendom. But instances from the Islamic Near East are hardly lacking.

The office of *raʾīs al-yahūd* itself is one example. A group of Egyptian Jewish courtiers and other grandees built the office gradually; in the 1060s, they accumulated prerogatives of leadership over the Jewish community and only then petitioned the chancery for recognition. Thus did the *raʾīs al-yahūd* become an Egyptian Jewish institution until the Ottomans did away with it in the sixteenth century. But the Jewish chroniclers of the Mamluk and Ottoman periods recorded the office as having been founded by the Fatimids themselves, presumably since royal initiative lent it an aura of greater authority.

The latter, more romanticized version of events first appeared in a responsum by the Egyptian Jewish jurist David ibn Abī Zimra (1479–1573), and was lent more elaborate form in the chronicle of the historian Yosef al-Sambarī (1640–1703).[65] According to them, the office was founded in the year 366/976–77, when the Abbasid caliph al-Ṭāʾiʿ gave his daughter in marriage "to the king of Egypt"; she, in turn, called for the establishment of a Jewish leader in Egypt on the model of

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[63] Yerushalmi, *"Servants of Kings,"* 10; my emphasis.

[64] For an analysis of the Charlemagne legends, see Ivan Marcus, "History, Story, and Collective Memory: Narrativity in Early Ashkenazic Culture," in *The Midrashic Imagination: Jewish Exegesis, Thought, and History,* ed. Michael Fishbane (Albany, 1993), 255–79.

[65] Shimon Shtober, "The Establishment of the Riʾasat al-Yahud in Medieval Egypt as Portrayed in the Chronicle Divrey Yosef: Myth or History?," *Revue des études Juives* 164 (2005): 33–54, with part of the passage in question translated into English, 36–37; Hebrew original in *Sefer divrey Yosef by Yosef ben Yitzhak Sambari: Eleven Hundred Years of Jewish History under Muslim Rule,* ed. idem (Jerusalem, 1994), 138–41; see also the English translation in Mark R. Cohen, *Jewish Self-Government in Medieval Egypt: The Origins of the Office of Head of the Jews, ca. 1065–1126* (Princeton, 1980), 7–9.

the exilarch in Iraq.[66] The legendary account received its fullest elaboration only after the Ottomans had abolished the office—perhaps even as a polemic against its abolition, as if to protest to the sultan by comparing him implicitly with the more generous caliph.

A host of other Jewish foundation myths set after some dynastic change also depicted the old ruler personally granting the Jews the authority to run their own communal affairs. Flavius Josephus had Alexander of Macedon bow before the high priest of the Jerusalem temple (which in Josephus' day the Romans had just destroyed).[67] The epistle of a tenth-century Iraqi Jew in Qayrawān named Natan ha-Bavli lavishly described the ceremony appointing the Iraqi Jewish exilarch in order to impress the Jews of Ifrīqiyah with the pomp of an Abbasid court now steeply in decline.[68] Like these foundation myths, the Ibn Abī Zimra/al-Sambarī account drew heavily upon the topos of the royal alliance.[69]

Like the Mamluk chroniclers of the events of 1442, these Jewish authors had a vested interest in emphasizing the administrative authority of the ruler and his or her court. The Muslim chroniclers wished to portray the regimes they served as upholders of the faith; the Jewish ones wished to portray themselves as clients of powerful states. And thus did a confluence of interests eclipse the subaltern actors preserved in the documents of the Genizah, furthering the impression that Jews were the hapless victims of all-powerful rulers. In fact, actors less visible on the stage of history established the terms and the tenor of the performance.

[66] As David Neustadt (later Ayalon) pointed out, al-Ṭāʾiʿ himself (r. 974–91) married the daughter of the Buyid *amīr al-umarāʾ;* see David Neustadt (Ayalon), "Problems Concerning the Negidate in Egypt during the Middle Ages" [in Hebrew], *Zion* 4 (1938–39): 126–49; and Shtober, "Establishment of the Riʾasat al-Yahud," 40.

[67] Flavius Josephus *Antiquities of the Jews* 11.8.5.

[68] Hebrew version in A. Neubauer, ed., *Mediaeval Jewish Chronicles and Chronological Notes, Edited from Printed Books and Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1887–95), 2:78–88; Judeo-Arabic fragments in Israel Friedlander, "The Arabic original of the report of R. Nathan Hababli," *Jewish Quarterly Review* o.s. 17 (1905): 747–61; and Menahem Ben-Sasson, "The Structure, Goals, and Content of the Story of Nathan Ha-Babli" [in Hebrew], in *Culture and Society in Medieval Jewry: Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson,* ed. Menahem Ben-Sasson, Roberto Bonfil, and Joseph Hacker (Jerusalem, 1989), 137–96.

[69] For an analysis of Jewish foundation legends in this period, see Arnold E. Franklin, "Shoots of David: Members of the Exilarchal Dynasty in the Middle Ages" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2001), chapter 6.

Book Reviews

MUḤAMMAD IBN AḤMAD AL-FARGHĀNĪ, *Muntahá al-Madārik fī Sharḥ Tāʾīyat Ibn al-Fāriḍ,* compiled by ʿĀṣim Ibrāhīm al-Kayyālī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 2007). Vol. 1, pp. 496; vol. 2, pp. 334.

REVIEWED BY TH. EMIL HOMERIN, University of Rochester

Saʿīd al-Dīn al-Farghānī (d. 699/1300) wrote what is believed to be the first commentary on ʿUmar Ibn al-Fāriḍ's famous Sufi poem the *Naẓm al-Sulūk,* also known as *Al-Tāʾīyah al-Kubrá* (Ode in T-major), since the poem rhymes in "t" and spans 760 verses. Al-Farghānī was a third-generation disciple of Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 637/1240), having studied with the latter's student and stepson Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d. 673/1274). Al-Qūnawī was a known admirer of Ibn al-Fāriḍ's verse, and he used to recite and comment on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's *Al-Tāʾīyah al-Kubrá*. His comments were then incorporated by his student al-Farghānī into the latter's commentary, *Muntahá al-Madārik* (The utmost perception), which al-Farghānī wrote first in Persian and then in an expanded Arabic version. The Persian edition, *Mashāriq al-Darārī* (The rising places of the shining stars), was edited and published by Jalāl al-Dīn Āshtiyānī,[1] while the Arabic version appeared as a lithograph in 1876.[2] Recently, ʿĀṣim Ibrāhīm al-Kayyālī has made a new Arabic edition of the work.

This new edition will be welcomed by scholars of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, and especially students of Ibn al-ʿArabī and his Sufi heirs. Scholars studying the religion of the Mamluk period will also appreciate this new printing of the commentary, as the *Muntahá al-Madārik* was read and admired by many scholars of the time, but denounced by others, including Ibn Taymīyah and Ibn Khaldūn. In fact, a public reading of the commentary sparked a major religious controversy in Cairo in 874–75/1469–70. However, al-Kayyālī's edition has several shortcomings. First, he does not provide any information on manuscript sources, and I suspect that he has only reformatted the 1876 litho edition. Al-Kayyālī provides little information about al-Farghānī's life or thought; he merely cites al-Farghānī's date of death, mentions that he was a follower of Ibn al-ʿArabī by way of al-Qūnawī and Rūmī, and that he

[1] Mashshad: Dānishghāh-i Firdawsī, 1980.

[2] Istanbul: Maktab al-Sanāʿī.

wrote several other works. Al-Kayyālī then lists latter commentators on the verse of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, some of whom were influenced by al-Farghānī's work (1:3–6). This scant introduction is then followed by a short "biography" of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, which al-Kayyālī drew from al-Munāwī's (d. 1031/1622) *Al-Kawākib al-Durrīyah fī Tarājim al-Sadāt al-Ṣūfīyah,* a hagiographical work on Sufi masters (1:7–12). While this account provides very few actual facts about the poet's life, it does offer a popular, reverential image of Ibn al-Fāriḍ, while mentioning and denouncing the controversies of the Mamluk period regarding his monistic views and those of others, including Ibn al-ʿArabī and al-Farghānī.

Al-Farghānī divides his commentary into two parts. First is a long introduction detailing his theosophy of emanation in four sections: (1) on the Divine Essence and the names and attributes engendered from It, with particular attention to the 99 Divine Names (1:18–69); (2) on the properties *(aḥkām)* of the Realm of Spirits and the World of Dominion *(ʿālam al-malakūt)* and how they are realized and engendered from the Presence of Invincibility *(ḥaḍrat al-jabarūt)* (1:70–78); (3) on the engendering of the World of Similitudes *(ʿālam al-mithāl),* the Realm of Corporeal Bodies, and the creation of Adam (1:79–101), and (4) on the origin of the human being, its phases and states, and how it returns by the path of mystical practice to its spiritual home and union in love (1:102–45).

Throughout this long introduction, al-Kayyālī identifies wherever possible the source of Quranic citations and those for hadith. Occasionally, he will define a Sufi technical term or an obscure word, or clarify an idea, but for the most part, he makes no attempt to present a systematic and analytical presentation of al-Farghānī's ontology, theology, or anthropology. For this the reader should consult the excellent article by Giuseppe Scattolin, "Al-Farghānī's Commentary on Ibn al-Fāriḍ's Mystical Poem *Al-Tāʾiyyat al-Kubrā.*"[3]

Turning to the commentary itself, we learn that al-Farghānī believed that Ibn al-Fāriḍ had attained the high mystical "Station of Muhammad" (*al-maqām al-Muḥammadī;* 1:145), which then served as the basis for *Al-Tāʾīyah al-Kubrá*. There, al-Farghānī observed, Ibn al-Fāriḍ explores aspects of mystical love and the Sufi path, offering guidance and instructions, and often speaking or "translating" from the Station of Muhammad. Proceeding to his verse by verse commentary, al-Farghānī first explains lexical and grammatical issues within each verse, and then provides an interpretation of the verse in terms of his mystical and theological ideas presented in his

[3] *Mélanges (Institut dominicain d'études orientales du Caire)* 21 (1993): 331–83.

introduction. He frequently suggests allusions to the Quran, hadith, and Sufi doctrines that may be present in a verse. At times, al-Farghānī will interrupt his commentary to clarify key points, such as on divine love or mystical annihilation, or to summarize what has occurred so far in the poem. Occasionally, al-Farghānī gives sub-headings to sections of the poem regarding their subject matter. Al-Farghānī also cites the "Saying of Willing Devotions," and this Divine Saying is, indeed, central to Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poem. However, to a large extent, al-Farghānī's interpretations of the verses in terms of his elaborate theosophy are not supported by the poem itself. Nevertheless, his *Muntahá al-Madārik* is an important Sufi work in its own right both for understanding developments in the "Ibn al-ʿArabī School" of Islamic mysticism, as well as important religious trends of the Mamluk period.

NŪR AL-DĪN ʿALĪ IBN ʿABD AL-RAḤĪM IBN AḤMAD AL-KĀTIB AL-MALAKĪ AL-MUẒAFFARĪ IBN AL-MUGHAYZIL, *Dhayl Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb,* edited by ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Sallām Tadmurī (Sidon and Beirut: Al-Maktabah al-ʿAsrīyah, 2004). Pp. 206.

REVIEWED BY PAUL M. COBB, University of Notre Dame

Appearances can be deceptive. As discrete forms of historical writing, Dhayls, or continuations, tend to be brief, even curt little things, and they give the impression that they merely offer scattered provincial afterthoughts to the "real" chronicles they claim to continue. But as the pioneering work of Li Guo has shown us, dhayls—perhaps especially Syrian dhayls—are not to be trifled with. Ibn al-Mughayzil's dhayl of Ibn Wāṣil's famous Ayyubid dynastic chronicle, the Mufarrij al-Kurūb, is a case in point. The edition under review here is a marvelous example of how this often misunderstood genre of historical writing can hold real treasures.

The editor of the text, ʿUmar Tadmurī, has done a very fine job of definitively identifying the author of the Dhayl, around whom a certain amount of confusion exists in the manuscript history and catalogues. Tadmurī has also fleshed out his portrait of the author with a sketch of the author's family, a task for which readers will thank him given the prominence that family gossip has in Ibn al-Mughayzil's work. As for the edition itself, it is based on two manuscripts of the work, attached to the two Paris manuscripts of Ibn Wāṣil's Mufarrij al-Kurūb (as one would expect), Bibliothèque Nationale fonds arabe 1702 and 1703. It is unclear from the introduction whether Tadmurī has examined the Cairo or Istanbul manuscripts of the Mufarrij to see if Ibn al-Mughayzil's Dhayl has been

appended there as well. In any case, the edition has left me with the unscientific impression of being a solid one: variants are reported, editorial readings seem sound, and the notes are filled with references to parallel accounts—this last feature a great boon to researchers.

Ibn al-Mughayzil (d. 701/1302) was born into a large notable family from Ḥamāh that included in their ranks a vizier, a qadi, a muftī, a muḥtasib, a khaṭīb, an imam, several traditionists, and a number of kuttāb, including our author. They provided their services to the Abbasid court in Baghdad, the Mamluk sultans in Cairo, and to various Ayyubid lords in Syria, especially that of Ḥamāh. In short, his family represents a cross-section of the medieval Syrian aʿyān. Ibn al-Mughayzil himself seems to have been raised in the household of his grandfather, the Maliki shaykh al-shuyūkh, and was sent on various missions with him or with other relatives. He was an eyewitness to Baybars' campaigns against Franks and Mongols in Syria, and so must have been part of the administrative corps attached to the army—he doesn't seem to be the warrior type himself. For the period 682–98/1283–99 he served as the kātib dīwān of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, the Ayyubid lord of Ḥamāh. At al-Muẓaffar's death in 1299, Ḥamāh briefly fell under the direct control of Mamluk Cairo. During this period, nothing is known of Ibn al-Mughayzil's activities, though it is perhaps telling that when we next encounter him, it is away from Ḥamāh in 701/1302, by which time he had joined the entourage of a Mamluk amir sent to govern Tripoli, where he died later that year.

The work, as Tadmurī has determined, was written sometime between 696/1297 and 697/1298, or, to be precise, before the death of al-Muẓaffar on 22 Dhū al-Qaʿdah 697/31 August 1298, just a few years after the expulsion of the Franks from the Levant. It covers—in no way completely—the events of some thirty-four years, from 662 to 695/1263 to 1297, focusing on major political events. But the real importance of the work lies in the fact that the author provides both his own completely unique eyewitness accounts and transcripts of chancery documents related to such events as the conquest of Antioch in 666/1268, Ḥiṣn Marqab in 684/1285, and Tripoli in 688/189, and the defeat of the Mongols at Elbistan in 675/1277, as well as unique accounts on the life and conduct of the sultan Baybars and other battles such as the conquest of Acre in 690/1291. It also includes a great deal of information on Ibn al-Mughayzil's family and intellectual networks, as the author drops names like they were going out of style, and is always ready to quote samples of his own poetry for us.

Part chronicle, part autobiography, part inshāʾ collection, part dīwān: there's a little something for everyone in Ibn al-Mughayzil's Dhayl. Historians interested in Mamluk Syria, conflicts with the Franks, Mamluk-Mongol relations, and the world of the "civilian elite" of medieval Syria will be rewarded in ways belied by the small size of this svelte volume. I recommend a copy for every Mamlukist's bookshelf.

Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras III: Proceedings of the 6th, 7th and 8th International Colloquium Organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 1997, 1998 and 1999, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 102, edited by U. Vermeulen and J. Van Steenbergen (Leuven: Peeters, 2001).

REVIEWED BY ALBRECHT FUESS, Universität Erfurt/Équipe Monde Arabe et Méditerranée, Centre national de la recherche scientifique, Université de Tours

This conference volume is the product of three international colloquia on Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk eras which were organized at the Catholic University Leuven in May 1997, 1998, and 1999. This annual conference series started in 1992 and has been organized since on a yearly basis by Urbain Vermeulen and Jo van Steenbergen. The seventeenth colloquium of this kind was held in May of 2008 at the University of Ghent. The continuity of this effort underlines the importance of Belgian scholars in current research on the Middle East in the medieval period. In this context, certainly Frédéric "Maqriziana" Bauden from the University of Liège with his innovative work on Mamluk historiography has to be named as well.

The third volume of proceedings of the series contains seventeen English, five French, and two German articles. The papers are arranged chronologically. You will find three articles concerning the Fatimids and five concerning the Ayyubids. The majority of the articles (fifteen) deal with the Mamluk era. The conference volume covers therefore a time period of over five hundred years (969–1517). Fortunately Egypt and Syria receive equal attention and the work is therefore not leaning solely towards Egyptian history.

There is no thematic restriction. This leads to a large variety of topics which allows the authors the utmost flexibility and elucidates the depth and diversity of contemporary research.

Two articles focus mainly on the role of women in Muslim medieval societies. Recently Carl Petry and Lucian Reinfandt have already shown the importance of women as supervisors of charitable trusts (awqāf) in the Mamluk era, but other aspects of the history of women in Muslim medieval societies receive increased interest as well. Yaacov Lev, for example, explains (pp. 1–31) the social life of common and royal women in the Fatimid period. He provides us with an insight into some aspects of the daily life of common women and shows how the Fatimid royal women tried to cope with the problem that the participation of women in political life was on the one hand restricted, but on the other hand there were the needs of dynastic politics, which also necessitated public involvement.

Amalia Levanoni (pp. 209–218) draws our attention to the most prominent woman of Mamluk times: Shajar al-Durr, the Mamluk sultana. As it is well known, she reigned as "queen of the Muslims" for three months in 1250 after the death of her husband al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb and the killing of the Ayyubid

heir al-Muʿaẓẓam Tūrān-Shāh. Although she had to leave the place of official ruler to a man after three months, the former Qipchaq slave girl played an extraordinary role in the ensuing power struggles until she was finally murdered in 1257. Amalia Levanoni explains this active role of Shajar al-Durr convincingly by the high status women were accorded in the Mongol regency of the Golden Horde, the homeland of the Qipchaq Turk Mamluks. Therefore the Mamluks accorded this prominent role to Shajar al-Durr in the formative period of the Mamluk Empire. Once they had found out that the Egyptian environment was fundamentally hostile to such experiments, the Mamluks never repeated it again.

Another important part of the conference volume deals with different forms of landownership, land taxes, and pious endowments. Stuart Borsch has recently worked out in his The Black Death in Egypt and England[4] that Egypt had an entirely agrarian economy in the Middle Ages and "derived almost all of its Gross National Product from agrarian revenue. . . . Long-distance trade played a subordinate role in the overall development of Egypt's economy."[5] When we take these findings into consideration than we can understand how important it was for Mamluk society to define the access to the revenues of agrarian income even in the provinces. Yehoshua Frenkel (pp. 193–208) explains therefore the different aspects of land tenure in Mamluk Palestine, especially as income for the military, and the same author (pp. 33–49) also draws attention to the ketubba (Jewish marriage document) as a source for the study of the economic history of the Fatimid period.

C. Morisot (pp. 309–28) explains that it was common practice for merchants to possess for pious foundations "waqf des commerçants" and he explains in detail the content of such waqf documents. Urbain Vermeulen reflects on the circumstances which led to the issue of a tax lowering document for fourteenth-century Damascus, while Johannes Pahlitzsch (329–44) elaborates on the more spiritual background of the endowment practice in Mamluk Jerusalem, thereby comparing it to contemporary Christian concepts.

Of course, such a conference volume broadens our knowledge about less-known manuscripts. Angelika Hartmann (pp. 89–100) does so with the Syrian chronicle Al-Tārīkh al-Manṣūrī of Ibn Naẓīf al-Ḥamawī from the thirteenth century, who is apparently one of best informed historiographers of the Ayyubid period, but the question remains if another copy of the manuscript is to be found in the future apart from the one in St. Petersburg. M. Aguiar Aguilar (pp. 163–70) discusses Arabic treatises on the sinical quadrant in the Mamluk period, which served to provide answers to problems of spherical trigonometry.

[4]Austin, 2005.

[5]Borsch, Black Death, 19.

Needless to say, aspects of archaeology and architecture form an integral part of the book. Lorenz Korn (pp. 123–37) demonstrates his broad expertise when explaining the attitude of contemporary historiography towards Ayyubid building activities, thereby stating that it was increasingly popular among authors of late Ayyubid and early Mamluk times to describe buildings, and that criticism from religious scholars for constructing profane buildings is hardly to be found. The same author (pp. 101–21) provides us with a detailed study of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's madrasah in Cairo.
The contributions of Hanisch (pp. 61–88) and Petersen (pp. 345–406) deal with the archaeological evidence for the planning of castles and towns in Ayyubid and Mamluk times. In these articles the military function of places and fortresses is explored as well.

There are three papers which deal mainly with military issues. P.-V. Claverie clarifies the role of the Templars of Catalonia in the final defense of the Frankish Crusader kingdoms up to the fall of the island of Arwād/Rouad opposite Tarṭūs in 1302 and the beginning of the juridical process against the Templars in Cyprus in 1310. The importance of the Templars in the diplomatic relations of Catalonia with the Mamluk Empire and the Persian Ilkhanate is explored as well.
David Nicolle's article (pp. 139–62) touches on a crucial point in the military history of the Near and Middle East, i.e., the scarcity of necessary raw materials from the tenth to the fourteenth century. He demonstrates how the especially vital iron had to be imported from Europe, Anatolia, and India. On the other hand, this scarcity of raw materials led to special forms of armament such as hardened leather. The article provides numerous further aspects dealing with the manufacture and storage of arms. Moreover it provides an excellent appendix of eleven pages for further reading on the topic.
Equally valuable is Dionisus Agius' (pp. 49–60) work on the Arab shalandī in the Fatimid era. Shalandī is the name given by the Arabs to a special type of Byzantine war vessel. Agius enlightens us here with a further insight into Arab shipbuilding, classifies the different types of ships used by Muslims, and discusses the scarcity of wood in the region. The shalandī seems to be originally a Byzantine warship and the name apparently derives from the Greek. It seems that the shalandī was decked and that we can see here a difference from other contemporary ship types. The Fatimids ordered the buildings of shalandīs in Egypt in order to be competitive with the Byzantines. However, it seems from my point of view that the shalandīs were as powerless as the rest of the Fatimid navy against the Crusaders. We do not hear of the shalandīs in later periods and especially not in Mamluk times. But the Mamluks did not have a navy worthy of the name anyhow.
The last cluster of themes which can be grouped together in the present conference volume deals with aspects of the civilian and military elites in

the Mamluk Empire. Bernadette Martel-Thoumian (pp. 271–308) reflects first on the role of the urban elites in the Circassian period, before describing in detail the life of Muḥibb al-Dīn Salāmah ibn Yūsuf al-Aslamī, a very prominent secretary in Damascus on the eve of the Ottoman conquest (pp. 219–70).

Another interesting double set of articles concerning members of the civilian elite in Mamluk Syria is provided by G. Schallenbergh, who explains the negative attitude of the famous Damascene scholar Ibn Taymīyah towards the Shiʿah (pp. 407–20), before elaborating on the most prominent disciple of Ibn Taymīyah, i.e., Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, and his spiritual way to healing "the diseases of the heart," in his second contribution (pp. 421–28).

Finally, Jo van Steenbergen (pp. 429–48) explains the functioning of the Mamluk governorship in Damascus from 1341 to 1382 and provides a list of all Mamluk governors of the period. In a second article (pp. 449–66) the same author examines the question of whether the powerful amir Qawṣūn was a statesman or a courtier. Van Steenbergen concludes that Qawṣūn was a pawn in the double policy of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Qawṣūn had been installed by the sultan to counterbalance other powerful Mamluk factions, but after the death of the sultan, Qawṣūn had not been capable of building enough alliances to hang on to power and therefore he was overthrown in 1342. (In this context I would like to point out the very good recent study of Henning Sievert, who has examined the structures behind Mamluk succession struggles in the Circassian period: Der Herrscherwechsel im Mamlukensultanat: Historische und historiographische Untersuchungen zu Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī und Ibn Taġrībirdī [Berlin, 2003]). Regarding the case of the succession of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, van Steenbergen concludes, alluding to the ambiguous role of the sultan: "But as soon as the puppeteer left his play, the system collapsed and chaos seemed about to ensue" (p. 466). But as van Steenbergen knows all too well himself, there will be always "Order Out of Chaos."

To sum up: All contributions to this conference volume are of high scholarly standard and display thematic depth and intellectual sharpness. Moreover, the book provides starting points for further research. It has to be clearly acknowledged that the Belgian conference series with the accompanying proceedings in Leuven, and nowadays Ghent, are one of the few established and vital scientific platforms where scholars of medieval Egypt and Syria can present their current research and intensify international academic contacts.

TAMĪM MAʾMŪN MARDAM BEK, *Al-Malik Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī al-Ashraf wa-al-Wazīr Lālā Muṣṭafá Bāshā Dhī al-Sayf al-Aḥnaf* (Damascus: Maktabat Dār Ṭulās, 2007).

REVIEWED BY IGARASHI DAISUKE, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, The Toyo Bunko

The title of this book is an arrangement of the names of Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī—the de facto last Mamluk sultan, who was killed in the Battle of Marj Dābiq, which was fought between the Mamluk Sultanate and the Ottoman Empire in 1516—and of Vizier Lālā Muṣṭafá Pasha, who held various governmental posts including the governorship of Damascus (1561–68) and took the command of the army in various campaigns such as the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus (1571) under the reign of the Ottoman sultan Suleyman I (r. 1520–66) and Selim II (r. 1566–74)—both of whom were prominent military rulers but appear to have no connection with each other. This title might sound strange until one studies the family tree of its author. The Mardam Bek family, one of Syria's most distinguished, traces its ancestry back to this very Lālā Muṣṭafá Pasha. Lālā Muṣṭafá Pasha was married to Fāṭimah, the daughter of al-Ghawrī's son al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad and his wife, the daughter of Amir Sībāy (the viceroy of Damascus under al-Ghawrī). This implies that the author of the book is a fifteenth-generation descendant of al-Ghawrī and, at the same time, a thirteenth-generation descendant of Lālā Muṣṭafá Pasha. In addition, the author's great-grandfather was married to a woman who was the eleventh-generation descendant of Sībāy. Therefore, this book is not so much an academic study as it is an introduction to the author's own great ancestors.

This book is comprised of the following six chapters: (1) The biography of Sultan al-Ghawrī, (2) the biography of Sībāy, (3) the biography of al-Nāṣirī Muḥammad al-Ghawrī, (4) the biography of Fāṭimah Khātūn al-Ghawrī (the wife of Lālā Muṣṭafá Pasha), (5) the biography of Vizier Lālā Muṣṭafá Pasha, and (6) the genealogical tree of the Mardam Bek family (an additional chapter).

Although this book contains some interesting information regarding these historical figures, unfortunately, we must state that it is inappropriate for academic use. This is because it disregards the basic principles of academic writing. For example, Chapter 1 includes al-Ghawrī's brief biography and the "edited" text of two Arabic sources—*Nafāʾis al-Majālis al-Sulṭānīyah fī Ḥaqāʾiq al-Asrār al-Qurʾānīyah* (by Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī) and *Al-Kawkab al-Durrī fī Masāʾil al-Ghawrī*. Both of these sources include dozens of questions (most of which pertain to religious matters) submitted by al-Ghawrī to the sultanic council *(majlis)* along with the ulama's answers.

However, almost the entire chapter is copied word for word from ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ʿAzzām's *Majālis al-Sulṭān al-Ghawrī: Ṣafḥāt min Tārīkh Miṣr fī al-Qarn al-ʿĀshir al-Hijrī* (Cairo: Maṭbaʿat Lajnat al-Taʾlīf wa-al-Tarjamah wa-al-Nashr, 1941), probably without referring to the original manuscripts of the two Arabic sources. In addition, the author has added some trivial information, including excerpts from Wikipedia. This problem applies not only to this chapter but to entire sections within the book. Due to the defectiveness of his annotation, it is impossible to know exactly what information and details are being relied on for authority. Moreover, the author has not clearly demarcated which descriptions he has written himself and which descriptions are quoted from papers written by other researchers.

Thus, it is hard to say that this book meets the acceptable levels for academic study. Nonetheless, it does not diminish the value of research on this unique family that originated through the formation of marital relationships among members of the military elite of the destroyed old regime and of the new empire at its peak. It is expected that the book will inspire further research on this family by specialists in Mamluk and Ottoman history.

Muḥammad ʿAlī Ṣuwayrikī, *ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah: Fāḍilat al-Zamān (865–922 H = 1460–1516 M)* (Amman: Wizārat al-Thaqafah, 2006). Pp. 203.

Reviewed by Th. Emil Homerin, University of Rochester

This book was published to coincide with UNESCO's commemoration of ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah and her contributions to human knowledge and culture approximately five centuries after her death. The book was compiled by Muḥammad ʿAlī Ṣuwayrikī, who offers a concise biography of ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah and a list of her writings (pp. 11–50), followed by a small sampling of her poetry with little commentary (pp. 51–67). The third section of the book contains two works by ʿĀʾishah in praise of the prophet Muḥammad, her famous badīʿīyah, Al-Fatḥ al-Mubīn fī Madḥ al-Amīn, and one of her mawlids, Al-Mawrid al-Ahná fī al-Mawlid al-Asná (pp. 69–184). The final section of the book contains brief proclamations by various Jordanian ministries and writers in support of UNESCO's recognition of ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah (pp. 185–98).

The book is clearly a commemorative volume aimed at a literate Arab public. Ṣuwayrikī openly acknowledges that he drew all of his material from Arabic secondary sources; he seems unaware of Western scholarship

on ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah[1] For his biography, bibliography, and selection of poems, Ṣuwayrikī relied heavily on Ḥasan Rabābiʿah's ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah: Shāʿirah (1997)[2]; while reprinting editions of ʿĀʾishah's works from Fāris Aḥmad al-ʿAlāwī's ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah al-Dimashqīyah (1994),[3] complete with notes, minor omissions, and typographical errors. It is clear that Ṣuwayrikī is not a scholar of Mamluk literature, and that the book under review offers no new scholarship, though it is a readable general introduction to the life and work of ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah, a very gifted Sufi poet of the Mamluk period.

DANIELLA TALMON-HELLER, *Islamic Piety in Medieval Syria: Mosques, Cemeteries and Sermons under the Zangids and Ayyūbids (1146-1260),* Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture (Leiden: Brill, 2007). Pp. 332.

REVIEWED BY ZAYDE ANTRIM, Trinity College

This meticulously researched and lucid monograph is a valuable contribution to ongoing investigations into the religious culture of medieval Muslims. In it, Daniella Talmon-Heller tackles two thorny and persistent questions faced by scholars in this area of inquiry: first, did the experience of communal worship create actionable corporate solidarities for medieval Muslims at an intermediate level between the *ummah* on the one hand and the family on the other? And second, is it appropriate to speak of a "popular" culture of worship in tension with the "high" or "orthodox" religious authority of the ulama? The answer to both questions, Talmon-Heller convincingly argues, is "no," though more emphatically in the latter case than in the former.

Although her theoretical framework for the study is far-reaching and comparative, informed by anthropologists of religion and cultural historians as well as works on late antique and medieval Christianity and Judaism, Talmon-Heller sets herself in most direct dialogue with scholars of Ayyubid and Mamluk Egypt and Syria, such as Stephen Humphreys, Louis Pouzet, Michael Chamberlain, Jonathan Berkey, and Charles Taylor. Talmon-Heller makes clear the particular influence on her thinking of works by Berkey and Taylor, which "place at the center of their inquiry the religious experience of the individual rather than power relations" (p. 21), although she does not always find herself in agreement with their conclusions, partly because both of them focus primarily on Egypt in the Mamluk period while she focuses on Syria in the earlier Zangid and Ayyubid

[1] E.g., *MSR* 7, [no. 1] (2003): 211–34.

[2] See ibid., 236–39.

[3] See *MSR* 6 (2002): 191–92.

periods. By elucidating aspects of the overlapping, and often intimately linked, ritual practices of the ulama, the ruling elite, and the unlettered masses, Talmon-Heller's research on the "hybrid religious orientations" (p. 1) of medieval Syrian society adds an important layer to the aforementioned studies of the complex religious life of this period.

Islamic Piety in Medieval Syria is divided into three sections, all of which draw from an extensive and diverse body of sources, including narrative histories and geographies, religious treatises, administrative manuals, and inscriptions, to occupy the spaces and observe the practices of medieval Syrian religiosity. The first section deals with mosques, their physical structures, their personnel, and the activities associated with them; the second moves from the mosque to the cemetery and the shrine, addressing similar issues and generally interpreting them as extensions and/or alternate sites of the same religious sensibilities expressed in and around mosques; the third section subjects the same sources from which she extracts empirical data in the first two sections to discourse analysis in order to gain a better understanding of the meaning of piety and impiety in Syrian society of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In all three sections, Talmon-Heller demonstrates an impressive facility with her wide-ranging source base as well as an uncompromising critical eye: she is as ready to assert her findings from the sources as she is to remind us of their limitations. While there is insight to be gained from all three sections, the first section represents the most comprehensive and original contribution to the existing literature.

The achievement of Talmon-Heller's in-depth study of mosques in medieval Syria is the portrait it paints of "truly popular and vibrant institutions, accommodating a loosely organized body of faithful, men, women and children" (p. 145). Mosques in this period were public spaces par excellence, marked by extreme inclusivity. Despite the admonitions of some (but by no means all) members of the ulama against inappropriate uses of mosques (for women's prayer, sleeping, selling, emotive displays, political dissent, special devotions) they were enthusiastically and repeatedly put to all of these uses and more. As the sheer number of mosques in both urban and rural areas increased considerably during the Zangid and Ayyubid periods, the concomitant increase in the amount of space available for such activities made possible an increase in the activities themselves as well as the number of people participating. Moreover, although some members of the ulama looked askance at some mosque activities, at least an equal number joined right in and/or furnished the leadership in the role of preacher *(khaṭīb)* or prayer leader *(imām)* necessary to produce and reproduce the "culture of pluralism and heterogeneity" in Syrian mosques (p. 144). Talmon-Heller skillfully weaves together anecdotes about mosque building, biographies of preachers, transcripts of sermons, and descriptions of the ever-popular "assembly of exhortation" *(majlis al-waʿẓ)* to evoke a culture of mosque-going in which ulama, commoners, and princes mingled, perhaps to different ends but by shared means. In this culture

the ulama acted more as mediators between social groups than as arbiters of an orthodox Islam.

Did this culture produce corporate solidarity in the form of local self-regulating and self-conscious congregations? In general, Talmon-Heller answers in the negative—at least in terms of what the extant sources allow us to see—with one important exception: the Hanbali communities of Syria, and Damascus in particular, tended to coalesce around strong leaders who created a sense of belonging to a community of worship, usually coterminous with a neighborhood or suburb. Nevertheless, Talmon-Heller is not willing to go as far as Michael Chamberlain in downplaying the importance of associative identities above the level of the individual family but below the level of the *ummah*. She suggests—and argues her sources suggest—the presence of a culture, a mosque-going culture, or a culture of piety, in medieval Syria that had the capacity to bind a broad range of people together, even if only for the length of time (admittedly, sometimes quite epic) of one of the assemblies of exhortation led by the famous preacher Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī in early thirteenth-century Damascus.

This sense of belonging to a culture of piety for which the mosque was the chief public space can also be extended to the spaces of the cemetery and the shrine. Just as the number of mosques in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Syria increased, so too did the number of shrines and cemeteries designated (whether officially or unofficially) as destinations for pious visitation *(ziyārah)*. In the second section of *Islamic Piety in Medieval Syria,* Talmon-Heller contributes to earlier studies of *ziyārah* in medieval Syria by including a discussion of the translation of relics in this process, by setting the visitation of tombs in the context of Crusade-era inter-faith encounter and conflict, and by observing the coexistence between, and occasional patronage of both, Shiʿi and Sunni sites of visitation. The invocation of blessing *(barakah)* and intercession *(shafāʿah)* on behalf of either the living or the dead, Talmon-Heller argues, was the primary goal of founding, preserving, and visiting cemeteries and shrines for people from across the social spectrum. In accordance with the book's overall argument, these sites should be seen as widely accessible and well-used "outlets for piety in a 'pious age'" (p. 207), rather than merely expressions of political propaganda or new doctrines of sainthood (though they could be these things as well).

In the final section of the book, Talmon-Heller turns to the meaning of piety in this period. She identifies two trends, moderate Sufism and moderate Hanbalism, converging in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Syria to produce an ecumenical understanding of piety that embraced both activism and asceticism. Particularly revealing of what constituted piety in this period, she argues, was the discourse on impiety that made up a good part of the scholarly production of the ulama. While Talmon-Heller does not dismiss interpretations of this discourse as a struggle over religious authority or power among elites, she insists that the *content* of the discourse was meaningful in and of itself to the individuals who participated in

the discourse and to those whom they led in worship at mosques, cemeteries, and shrines. "From the point of view of our medieval informants, correct belief, legitimate behavior, and the construction of boundaries between right and wrong indeed were at stake; not merely political benefits disguised as debates about religion" (p. 227). Thus, condemnations of astrology, philosophy, and antinomian Sufism should be seen as expressions of commitment to the shariʿah and the Quran as the most important moral standards for social and spiritual life. The Syria presented by Talmon-Heller was one in which the ulama, the ruling elite, and the unlettered masses shared a religiosity informed by this mainstream understanding of piety: "an outlook successfully disseminated in all echelons of society thanks to its highly inclusive character, and to the efficient activity of its agents in the central arenas of the mosque, the cemetery, the shrine, and the public assembly of exhortation" (p. 251).

In Islamic Piety in Medieval Syria, Daniella Talmon-Heller has given scholars of many fields, including cultural history, anthropology, and religion, a gift of meticulous research and lively prose. Reading the book is a delightful experience for the specialist, as the copious anecdotes Talmon-Heller relates from her sources (often with full Arabic transliteration) capture the sensibilities and senses of humor that pervade literary production from this period. Perhaps its greatest contribution is its presentation of an alternate vision of religious culture grounded in time and place that complicates assumptions about tensions between "high/elite" and "low/popular" versions of Islam.

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī al-Nawājī, *Taʾhīl al-Gharīb, edited by Aḥmad Muḥammad ʿAṭāʾ* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ādāb, 1425/2005). Pp. 1165.

Reviewed by Geert Jan van Gelder, University of Oxford

Taʾhīl al-Gharīb ("Familiarizing the Strange," or, if one prefers, "Making the Stranger Feel at Home") is a very large anthology, now edited for the first time, of longer poems on lyrical themes, mostly love, including introductory *nasīb* sections of panegyric poems. It was compiled by al-Nawājī (d. 859/1455), himself a poet but now better known as the author of the Bacchic anthology *Ḥalbat al-Kumayt*. The present collection, apparently made in emulation of an anthology with the same title by his friend (and later enemy) Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī, contains more than one thousand pieces, some 12,000 verses in all, mostly from the seventh/thirteenth, eighth/fourteenth, and ninth/fifteenth centuries, arranged alphabetically

according to rhyme-letter, each section subdivided into rhymes ending in *–ū*, *–ā*, *–ī*, *sukūn*, and rhymes with a suffix. This, incidentally, enables us at times to see how poems are based on earlier models in emulation *(muʿāraḍah)* or parody (see, e.g., poems nos. 767–774, with quotations from Imruʾ al-Qays's *Muʿallaqah*). The poet most often quoted is Ibn Nubātah, with 141 pieces, followed at considerable distance by Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Zuhayr, Ibn Sanāʾ al-Mulk, Ibn al-Nabīh, al-Nawājī himself, and Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī. The earliest periods are represented minimally: there is only one pre-Islamic poem (by Zuhayr) and seven from the Umayyad period. Abbasid times are better represented, but the great majority of poets and poems (727 of a total of 1068) date from the Mamluk period. Apart from the well-known poets mentioned above there are many others, including lesser known poets; 48 pieces are anonymous. The compiler has provided no commentary or context, apart from indicating, where appropriate, if the poem was made as a panegyric; in such cases the piece stops at the *takhalluṣ,* or transition from the lyrical introduction to the panegyric section. He set himself the task of including poems rhyming in every letter of the alphabet, even the less popular rhyme letters: there are only three pieces rhyming in *ẓ,* five in *gh,* and, as he tells us, he was forced to compose a poem in *kh* himself for the occasion, after searching for years in vain for a suitable piece in this rare rhyme (better suited to lampooning than to lyrical themes).

Perhaps surprisingly, no *muwashshaḥāt* or *azjāl* are included; the only strophic form represented is the *takhmīs,* with rhyming hemistichs of the pattern *a1a2a3a4a5 b1b2b3b4a6 c1c2c3c4a7 ,* etc., often embedding an earlier *qaṣīdah* (*a4a5 b4a6 c4a7* . . .); see nos. 198, 262, 264, 430, 555, 775, 1047. Love is the dominant theme, but there are wine poems too, such as the very first one, by Abū Nuwās (the famous *Daʿ ʿanka lawmī* . . .), one of the very few poems in the collection that could be classified as *mujūn* (see vs. 3). Wine and obscenity are also present in a sequence of poems (nos. 740 to 743) beginning with one by al-Nawājī inviting a friend to a party. Ibn al-Fāriḍ's famous wine poem *(Sharibnā ʿalá dhikri l-ḥabībi mudāmatan . . .)* is also quoted in its entirety, and one may justly wonder—as so often without arriving at an unambiguous answer—how many of the *ghazal* poems are to be taken in a mystical rather than (or in addition to) a profane sense. There is some descriptive poetry: Ibn Nubātah's depiction of a shooting trip with the crossbow (no. 430), Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh's description of Damascus (no. 662), Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī on a candle (no. 1006). Twelve poems take the form of a riddle, e.g., nos. 38 (on a water-skin), 217 (a pigeon), 233 (a prayer mat), 975 (the sweetmeats *kunāfah* and *qaṭāʾif*). One poem, by al-Nawājī (no. 763), is an acrostic in which the initial

letters of the ten verses spell "ʿAlī al-Zarkashī," the name of the boy whose praises are sung, a form less usual in Arabic than in Western literatures.

The editor, who must be thanked for making this rich collection accessible, has provided useful appendices on the poets and, in his introduction, some statistics on the poets and the periods represented in the anthology. Although *Taʾhīl al-Gharīb* is preserved in several manuscripts, the editor says (pp. 40–41) that only one was available to him (Cairo, Maʿhad al-makhṭūṭāt, no. 2406); his written requests for microfilms from other libraries (Paris, Topkapı, British Museum) were, apparently, not honored with answers. This is deplorable, but collating the various manuscripts and adding variants to the apparatus would have added considerably to the editor's efforts as well as to the size of the already bulky paperback. The Cairo manuscript, according to the editor, is riddled with scribal errors and the order of its folios is in some disarray. In his annotation the editor points out obvious errors in the manuscript and variants offered by *dīwān*s or other sources. Since the manuscript is unvoweled he has also provided nearly full vocalization.

This does not mean, unfortunately, that the edited text is as free from error as could be desired. It does not matter much, perhaps, if the meter of a poem is wrongly identified by the editor (no. 256 is not *rajaz* but *kāmil,* no. 1002 is not *sarīʿ* but *munsariḥ,* no. 1068 is not *madīd* but *ramal*); but it is another matter when such misidentifications, ignorance of the meter, or general carelessness results in faulty readings and vocalizations. Thus the fifteen verses of poem no. 1068, by Abū al-Faḍl Ibn Abī al-Wafā, contain a rich sprinkling of errors: *muhjatuhū* read *muhjatun, fīya* read *fī* (twice), *bulītu* read *baliyat, āhin* read *āhi, al-ḥayyā* read *al-ḥayā, arwāḥuhum* read *arwāḥahumū*, *abʿada tamuwwuhā* (?) read *abʿadtumūhā, wa-hiya* read *wa-hya, qaḍaytu muddata* read *quḍiyat muddatu*. Poem 256, by Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Makhzūmī, fares little better: *ḥumran* read *ḥamrāʾu*, *awdat baʿḍa l-bānati* read perhaps *aw dhāti ghuṣni l-bānati, jīdan* read *jaydāʾa, aw in / anshadat ghannat* read *aw anshadat / ghannat, lā taḥfalanna* read *lā taḥfilan, ṣufratan lawnihī* read *ṣufrata lawnihī, ghīdan* read *ghaydāʾu, la-aḍḥā* read presumably *lā ṣaḥbī, wa-ẓaltu* read *wa-ẓalilitu, lākinna dhawāʾiba* read *lākin dhawāʾibu*). These poems may not be representative, but there are other pages with a similar density of mistakes. The first five lines of a poem in *ṭawīl* (no. 354) by Ibn Makānis are unmetrical and have been left uncorrected (*li-hawāhu* read *lahwihī, min al-mudāmi kumaytan* read *mudāma kumaytin, fa-innahā* read *fa-inna, wa-l-Iskandarā* read—to make it scan!—*wa-l-Issikandarā, wa-qaṣrin Qayṣarā* read *wa-qaṣrin tuṣuwwirā*).

Within its self-chosen thematic limitation, the collection shows off so-called post-classical Arabic poetry at its best, or perhaps one ought to say at its most accessible to a modern readership: lyrical verse, without extremes of difficulty, artifice, fulsome panegyric, tedious piety, or dreary didacticism: a kind of *Golden Treasury* of Arabic verse (but one that, unlike Palgrave's English anthology, will not easily fit into any pocket).

IBN AL-JĪʿĀN, *Al-Qawl al-Mustaẓraf fī Safar al-Malik al-Ashraf Qāytbāy,* and ANONYMOUS, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Ashraf Qāytbāy,* edited by Muḥammad Zaynuhum (Cairo: al-Dār al-Thaqāfīyah lil-Nashr, 2006). Pp. 142.

REVIEWED BY LI GUO, University of Notre Dame

Two historical accounts of the reign of the Mamluk sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Qāytbāy (r. 901–3/1496–98) are published here. The first, the title of which is translated by Carl Petry as "The elegant report recounting the voyage of . . . the esteemed monarch," is a log of the sultan's journey that "describes conditions of rural life as well as receptions accorded the royal guests by provincial officials."[4] The author, Abū al-Baqāʾ Muḥammad Ibn al-Jīʿān, served as deputy to Qāytbāy's privy sectretary Zayn al-Dīn Ibn Muzhir and participated in the sultan's trip through Syria to the Euphrates frontier in 882/1477.[5] The work was published once before, with a French translation, by H. Devonshire, in the IFAO *Bulletin* 20 (1922): 2–40.

None of the above is mentioned in the Introduction to the present "edition." Worse, it did not even get the author right, claiming the author to be Abū al-Barakāt Ibn al-Jīʿān, "the brother of Abū al-Baqāʾ" (p. 6), instead. Since I have not seen the manuscript upon which the present edition is based—a hand copy from the Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabīyah in Cairo of a manuscript attributed to one "Ibn al-Jīʿān" housed in the Dār al-Kutub (tārīkh 210)—I am not in a position to determine whether the error has to do with the substandard catalogue system in the Dār al-Kutub, or with the less-than-diligent homework on the part of the editor. Of the several Ibn al-Jīʿāns, Abū al-Barakāt, who is *not* the author, seems to be an easy choice: anecdotes about his blind loyalty to the sultan are well documented in the chronicles[6] and are quoted verbatim, without naming the sources, in lieu of an adequate biography (even for the wrong person) in the Introduction. The Introduction does not shed light on the manuscript situation of the work either; there is therefore no way of knowing whether the Cairo manuscript used for this edition is among the ones listed by Carl Brockelmann[7] and utilized by the Devonshire 1922 edition, or not.

The next text is perhaps more interesting. Despite the fact that scholars have long been aware of it,[8] it has remained in manuscript form—and there is a good reason for that. This "précis of Qāytbāy's reign," in Carl Petry's assessment, does

[4]Carl Petry, *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (Seattle and London, 1993), 11–12; idem, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994), 8.

[5]Petry, *Twilight,* 11.

[6]See Petry, *Protectors,* 135.

[7]*Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur,* 2:38, S2:26.

[8]Ibid., 2:38.

not yield "any original information."[9] The present edition is based on a codex from the Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabīyah in Cairo, which in turn is a copy of a manuscript in the Dār al-Kutub (8554 ḥ). According to the Introduction (p. 5), the "manuscript" (of the Maʿhad or the DK?) consists of 82 folios *(waraqah)*. In the present edition the full text runs some 60 pages (pp. 41–117), with footnotes. The footnotes are very odd. They are too long on the things we already know, such as the hadith transmitters ranging from al-Bukhārī to Abū Hurayrah, but frustratingly short, or nearly absent, on the things we really want to know, namely persons and technical terms of the time in question. It seems that the editor tried hard to give the book a "scholarly" look: in addition to Introduction, text, and footnotes, which all turn out to be unscholarly, it includes several indexes and a bibliography. Upon closer examination, the seemingly scholastic apparatus again reveals its inadequacies. While some of the indexes are not totally unhelpful, some are inadequate. For example, the index of verses (p. 137) fails to cite the full *maṭlaʿ* (opening line) with the rhyme *(al-qāfiyah)* of any given poem; as a result, it is useless. The long bibliography (pp. 137–42) looks impressive for such a slim volume, but again, it lacks substance: the majority of it is made up of titles irrelevant to late Mamluk historiography, to say nothing of the recent publications on Sultan Qāytbāy.

[9] Petry, *Twilight,* 12; idem, *Protectors,* 8.

LIST OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

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Arabic Transliteration System

Romanized Arabic in *Mamlūk Studies Review* follows the Library of Congress conventions, briefly outlined below. A more thorough discussion may be found in *American Library Association-Library of Congress Romanization Tables* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1991).

ء	ʼ	خ	kh	ش	sh	غ	gh	م	m
ب	b	د	d	ص	ṣ	ف	f	ن	n
ت	t	ذ	dh	ض	ḍ	ق	q	ه	h
ث	th	ر	r	ط	ṭ	ك	k	و	w
ج	j	ز	z	ظ	ẓ	ل	l	ي	y
ح	ḥ	س	s	ع	ʻ				
		ة	h, t (in construct)			ال	al-		

ـَ	a	ـُ	u	ـِ	i
ـً	an	ـٌ	un	ـٍ	in
آ	ā	ُو	ū	ِي	ī
ـَا	ā	ُوّ	ūw	ـِيّـ	īy (medial), ī (final)
ى	á	َو	aw	َي	ay
				َيّ	ayy

Avoid using apostrophes or single quotation marks for ʿ*ayn* and *hamzah*. Instead use the Unicode characters ʿ (02BF) and ʾ (02BE).

Capitalization in romanized Arabic follows the conventions of American English; the definite article is always lower case, except when it is the first word in an English sentence. The *hamzah* is not represented when beginning a word, following a prefixed preposition or conjunction, or following the definite article. Assimilation of the *lām* of the definite article before "sun" letters is disregarded. Final inflections of verbs are retained, except in pausal form; final inflections of nouns and adjectives are not represented, except preceding suffixes and except when verse is romanized. Vocalic endings of pronouns, demonstratives, prepositions, and conjunctions are represented. The hyphen is used with the definite article, conjunctions, inseparable prepositions, and other prefixes. Note the exceptional treatment of the preposition *li-* followed by the article, as in *lil-sulṭān*. Note also the following exceptional spellings: Allāh, billāh, lillāh, bismillāh, miʾah, and ibn (for both initial and medial forms). Words not requiring diacritical marks, though following the conventions outlined above, include all Islamic dynasties, as well as the following terms: Quran, sultan, amir, imam, shaykh, Sunni, Shiʿi, and Sufi. Common place-names should take the common spelling in American English. Names of archaeological sites should follow the convention of the excavator.

MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW

XIV



2010

MIDDLE EAST DOCUMENTATION CENTER (MEDOC)
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Mamlūk Studies Review is an annual refereed journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648–922/1250–1517). It appears in January. Beginning with volume XIII, no. 1, *Mamlūk Studies Review* no longer appears in conventional print format, but continues as an open-access online publication. The goals of *Mamlūk Studies Review* are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, nurture communication within the field, and promote further research by encouraging the critical discussion of all aspects of this important medieval Islamic polity. The journal includes both articles and reviews of recent books. Submissions of original work on any aspect of the field are welcome, although the editorial board will periodically issue volumes devoted to specific topics and themes. *Mamlūk Studies Review* also solicits edited texts and translations of shorter Arabic source materials (*waqf* deeds, letters, *fatāwá* and the like), and encourages discussions of Mamluk era artifacts (pottery, coins, etc.) that place these resources in wider contexts. Transliterated Middle Eastern languages should conform to the system utilized by the Library of Congress. All questions regarding style should be resolved through reference to The Chicago Manual of Style, 15th edition. Submissions should be composed with current word-processing software, and if possible should use a Unicode font, such as Charis SIL (see the website below for further information). Submissions may be made via email, but authors must also send a printed copy and a labeled CD-ROM which includes the article, all figures and illustrations, and any special fonts used. Articles which diverge widely from format and style guidelines may not be accepted, and illustrations which do not meet the requirements set forth by the editors may not be usable.

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MAMLŪK STUDIES
REVIEW



The Bruce D. Craig
Prize for Mamluk Studies

The Bruce D. Craig Prize, carrying a cash award of $1,000, is given annually by *Mamlūk Studies Review* for the best dissertation on a topic related to the Mamluk Sultanate submitted to an American or Canadian university during the preceding calendar year. In the event no dissertations are submitted, or none is deemed to merit the prize, no prize will be awarded. To be considered for the 2010 Prize, dissertations must be defended by December 31, 2010, and submitted to the Prize Committee by January 31, 2011. Submissions should be sent to:

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2005: Zayde G. Antrim, Harvard University, "Place and Belonging in Medieval Syria, 6th/12th to 8th/14th Centuries."

2006: Nahyan A. G. Fancy, University of Notre Dame, "Pulmonary Transit and Bodily Resurrection: The Interaction of Medicine, Philosophy and Religion in the Works of Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 1288)."

2007: No prize was awarded.

2008: No prize was awarded.

2009: No prize was awarded.

Preface

I am honored to introduce this, my first issue as editor of *Mamlūk Studies Review*. I am excited to assume this role and will strive to maintain the high standards established by MSR's founding editor, Bruce Craig, who will continue as editor emeritus.

I am particularly pleased that this issue constitutes a Festschrift for the eminent Mamlukist (and member of MSR's editorial board), Carl F. Petry. For most readers of this journal, Carl needs no introduction. His groundbreaking studies on the social and political history of the Mamluk Sultanate have provided a foundation on which all subsequent work has been based. I join with his colleagues who have contributed to this issue in dedicating it to him with respect and affection.

Marlis J. Saleh
Editor



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Contents

BOOK REVIEWS

Jonathan P. Berkey
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Al-Subkī and His Women

The historiography of the Mamluk period has over the past four decades developed more thoroughly than that of most other eras of pre-modern Islamic history. There are a number of reasons for this, not least of which is the extraordinary literary legacy of the period. Chronicles, biographical dictionaries, and other sources relevant to the reconstruction of social, political, and cultural life survive from the Mamluk period in numbers that dwarf those of most earlier periods. No less important, perhaps, is the intrinsic interest of the Mamluks themselves. Several important Western historians have found themselves captivated by these slave soldiers who established a state in the middle of the thirteenth century that dominated much of the Middle East until they were eclipsed by the Ottoman Turks at the beginning of the sixteenth century. With the passing of David Ayalon and Ulrich Haarmann, no one has done more to advance our understanding of the Mamluk regime than Carl Petry, to whom this volume of the *Mamlūk Studies Review* is dedicated.

Of late, Petry's contributions have been devoted principally to political history. His studies of the Mamluk sultans Qaytbāy and Qanṣūh al-Ghawrī[1] are models for a type of book—that of the reigns of particular sultans—which now includes detailed investigations of Baybars, Qalāwūn, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, and Barsbāy.[2] But his first book was arguably more influential because it contributed to and served to strengthen an important emerging field of historiography. *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages*[3] was one of several monographs published in the wake of Ira Lapidus's ground-breaking study of *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages*.[4] These were the first books to bring to pre-modern Islamic studies the

[1] *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994); *Twilight of Majesty: The Reigns of the Mamlūk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāyt Bāy and Qanṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (Seattle, 1993).

[2] Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars of Egypt and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1992); Linda Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689 A.H./1279–1290 A.D.* (Stuttgart, 1998); Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341)* (Leiden, 1995); Ahmad Darrag, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbāy, 825–841/1422–1438* (Damascus, 1961).

[3] Princeton, 1981.

[4] Cambridge, Mass., 1967. Other important works included Richard Bulliet's *The Patricians of Nishapur: A Study in Medieval Islamic Social History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), and Roy Mottahedeh,

disciplines and conventions of social history as it was then developing, especially among historians of medieval and early modern Europe.

The Civilian Elite of Cairo concerned those individuals who represented and led the city's Muslim inhabitants in their religious and academic lives, and also those who administered the offices and institutions of the state under the rule of the mostly foreign-born Mamluk military caste. Essentially, the "civilian elite" represented the social group which Richard Bulliet, discussing a different medieval Islamic society, had earlier identified as the "patriciate." They included prayer leaders, preachers, and Quran readers in the mosques, professors and other functionaries in the city's many institutions of higher education, judges of the shariʿah courts, and leaders of the Sufi organizations which, by the later medieval period, played a dominant role in the spiritual lives of many if not most Muslims. They also included a cadre of men employed as scribes and administrators, both in the various offices of the government and also by the religious endowments *(awqāf,* sing. *waqf),* which supported religious and academic institutions and which proliferated throughout the Mamluk period.[5]

Obviously, this constituted a broad range of people, in terms of their background, training, wealth, status, and power. Indeed, the group is so varied that the term "elite" might be a little misleading. It is a fair question to ask whether the prayer leader of some minor mosque and the holder of a valuable and prestigious "chair" in, say, Shafiʿi jurisprudence at the grand madrasah established by Sultan Ḥasan below the Cairo citadel shared a sufficient community of interests that we can identify both as members of an analytically distinct social group. Beyond "vertical" social distinctions such as that separating the prayer leader and the professor lies an even more significant range of "horizontal" differences. Most importantly, the "civilian elite" included both those whose activities defined the religious and academic life of the city (i.e., those known in Arabic as the *ʿulamāʾ,* sing. *ʿālim*) and those whose careers focused on scribal and bureaucratic tracks.[6] Those two domains were not necessarily distinct; there was some overlap between them. But by the Mamluk period, there was a fair degree of specialization and

Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society (Princeton, 1980).

[5] These endowments are not directly relevant to this essay, but it is worth pointing out that the fortuitous survival of several hundred of them from Mamluk Cairo has been in the last several decades a leading catalyst behind the flourishing of historical studies of the city, and also that Petry has both pioneered their investigation and championed the use of the *awqāf* by other historians. The present author is not the only one who has benefited tremendously from his knowledge of and experience in the archives in which the endowment deeds are preserved.

[6] Cf. Petry's comment about the term "civilian elite," which included all "the nonmilitary personnel whom the biographers regarded as notables, but who may not be classified solely as ʿulamaʾ." *Civilian Elite,* 4.

professionalization, so that a religious scholar and a bureaucrat, although they might share their initial training, would soon find their career paths diverging.[7] Indeed, in the Egyptian case, the distinction between ulama and bureaucrats might be especially sharp since many of the latter were from Coptic families, and although they were generally formally converted to Islam, their credentials as Muslims, let alone as students and scholars of the Islamic religious sciences, were often suspect.

Nonetheless, there are good reasons for thinking of the "civilian elite" as a meaningful category of historical analysis. Not the least is the fundamental social division between the Mamluks and the local population. Of course, even here the boundary was sometimes blurred. Some Mamluks became learned in the religious and legal sciences; others served as administrators of *awqāf*.[8] Some offices, especially that of *muḥtasib* or "market inspector," were held at different times by both religious scholars and high-ranking amirs.[9] And of course the Mamluks often married into local families, and their sons and descendants were eventually assimilated into local social groups. Still, the social and cultural gap between the foreign-born, mostly Turkish or Circassian ruling elite, who held a virtual monopoly on political power, and their Arabic-speaking subjects was real and fundamental. In the Mamluks' case it was widened by their slave origins, but in its essence the gap which separated rulers and ruled in Mamluk Egypt and Syria was paralleled by others which cut across most Middle Eastern societies in the Middle Ages. Leading social groups from the "ruled" side of the divide—ulama and scribes, for example—thus found themselves in structurally similar relationships to the wielders of political power.

A more positive reason for thinking of the civilian elite as an identifiable if not unified social group has to do with the centrality of education and the transmission of the Islamic religious sciences to social and cultural life in Cairo, and indeed in all medieval Islamic cities.[10] Participation in the informal networks through which religious knowledge was transmitted carried value as a pious activity and conveyed considerable social prestige. Consequently, it was not simply professional academics who engaged in it; ulama status was widely shared

[7] Petry, *Civilian Elite,* 312f.; cf. Daphna Ephrat, *A Learned Society in Transition: The Sunni ʿUlamāʾ of Eleventh-Century Baghdad* (Albany, 2000), 95–124.

[8] On the Mamluks and education, see Jonathan P. Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A Social History of Islamic Education* (Princeton, 1992), 128–60. On Mamluks as *nāẓir*s of charitable endowments, see Petry, *Civilian Elite,* 214.

[9] Petry, *Civilian Elite,* 224; Jonathan P. Berkey, "The Muhtasibs of Cairo Under the Mamluks: Towards an Understanding of an Islamic Institution," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society,* ed. Amalia Levanoni and Michael Winter (Leiden and Boston, 2003), 243–76.

[10] Cf. Petry, *Civilian Elite,* 312.

throughout the population.[11] As this last point might suggest, it was the ulama, broadly speaking, who constituted the central component of the "civilian elite" and to whom the indigenous Muslim population looked most naturally for local leadership. This point has been recognized for some time. To some degree, the importance of the ulama may be an optical illusion produced by the fact that the biographical dictionaries *(tarājim),* which constitute one of the major literary sources for medieval Islamic history, dwell principally on the lives and careers of the ulama. Indeed, as Roy Mottahedeh once observed, we had better appreciate the social history of the ulama, as it is "almost all the Islamic social history we will ever have for this [pre-modern] period."[12] But the central social role of the ulama, in Mamluk Egypt and elsewhere, can hardly be doubted. For this reason, the strain of social history to which *The Civilian Elite of Cairo* was such an important contribution has sometimes been (lovingly) called "ulamalogy."

As preparation for what follows, I wish to draw attention to two themes that have emerged from the literature on the "civilian elite" as it has developed over the last several decades. The first—what we might call a "major theme"—concerns the persistent informality of Islamic education. The proliferation of institutions devoted to the transmission of religious knowledge was one of the most important and widespread developments in the cities of the medieval Islamic world. Madrasahs and their cognate institutions, especially Sufi convents and mosques with endowments that made provisions for instruction in the religious sciences, became a ubiquitous feature of the medieval Islamic urban fabric.[13] Nonetheless, the standards by which an education was measured remained informal and personal. No system of institutional degrees was ever established; rather, the ulama sought to control the transmission of knowledge through the personal attestation that a person had acquired command of (or at least exposure to) a text or a body of knowledge. That attestation, usually in the form of an *ijāzah,* could only be given by an individual who was himself already recognized as an authority over the text.[14] Consequently, the regulation of the transmission of knowledge, and also of access to ulama status, depended on a variety of mechanisms by which those personal relationships linking one authority to another, and linking teacher to student, were identified, recorded, and published to the wider community.

[11] On this, see Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge,* 210–18.

[12] Roy Mottahedeh, review of *The Patricians of Nishapur: A Study in Medieval Islamic Social History,* by Richard Bulliet, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 95 (1975): 495.

[13] On the madrasah, see George Makdisi's ground-breaking work, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh, 1981).

[14] On the persistent informality of education and on the networks of relationships which characterized the ulama, see Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge,* passim, and Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (Cambridge, 1994).

This was the public face of what was otherwise a very private matter (that is, the acquisition of knowledge), and its centrality to the system by which religious knowledge was preserved and handed on has enabled modern social historians to investigate the lives and experiences of the medieval ulama in some detail.

The second or "minor" theme has to do with the surprising importance of women in the social, institutional, and intellectual world of higher education. As with most other public activities, the transmission of religious knowledge was dominated by men. And in certain areas, women were excluded entirely: no woman, for example, was ever appointed *mudarris* in one of the many madrasahs in Cairo or, presumably, other medieval Islamic cities. Nonetheless, some women were able to carve out important roles for themselves. Women as well as men might possess wealth and develop the charitable instincts that led an individual to establish and endow a madrasah in the first place, and quite a few schools, in Cairo and elsewhere, owed their origins to acts of charity by women.[15] Perhaps more surprisingly, many women served as financial controllers of the endowments that supported the activities of madrasahs and other religious institutions.[16] But most importantly of all, women played an active and important role in the transmission of religious knowledge, especially of hadith. What made this possible was the persistent informality of the process, and the importance of those personal relationships by which authority over texts was transmitted. If a woman had, for example, acquired an *ijāzah* over a text from a particularly reputable individual, she as well as any man might become a valued link in the "chain" *(isnād)* of authorities stretching back to the original author of the text. Especially if the woman survived to become one of the last living people connected to that individual, she might acquire a reputation of her own and become someone with whom younger students sought to study.[17]

These two themes provide the framework for this minor contribution to the social history of the "civilian elite" of the Mamluk period. The fundamental importance of the networks between scholars and between teachers and pupils required that medieval Muslims, in various ways, preserve a memory of those networks and of the individuals who formed them. The most important mechanism for doing so was, of course, the biographical dictionary. These compilations

[15] Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge,* 162–64.

[16] Carl Petry, "A Paradox of Patronage During the Later Mamluk Period," *The Muslim World* 73 (1983): 182–207.

[17] Jonathan P. Berkey, "Women and Education in the Mamluk Period," in *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender,* ed. Nikki Keddie and Beth Baron (New Haven, 1992), 143–57. For a fuller exploration of the careers of two prominent female scholars of the Mamluk period, see the splendid article by Asma Sayeed, "Women and Hadith Transmission: Two Case Studies from Mamluk Damascus," *Studia Islamica* 95 (2002): 71–94.

of short biographies of prominent men (and some women) have a long history in the Islamic world; they were not new to the Mamluk period, nor did they focus only on scholars.[18] But quite a few compilations were published during the Mamluk era, including major works by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī,[19] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī,[20] and Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī,[21] who is the subject of this piece. Some recorded biographical data about many members of the ruling elites; that by Ibn Taghrībirdī is an essential source for the study of the Mamluks themselves. But by and large the authors of these books were scholars of hadith and jurisprudence, and so were interested especially in the interlocking lives of the ulama.

A related genre of works was the *muʿjam* or *mashyakhah.*[22] These were essentially lists of an individual's teachers or of those on whose authority he transmitted texts.[23] They were compiled by the individuals in question themselves, or by their students, or by some other interested party. Not every scholar compiled such a list, but many did; al-Sakhāwī, writing in the late fifteenth century, estimated that more than a thousand were extant.[24] These constitute a well-known but underutilized source for the social history of the ulama in the medieval period.[25] At first glance they seem to be somewhat superfluous as a source for social history. The biographical notices they contain tend to be fairly short and usually simply repeat or summarize accounts from the more comprehensive biographical dictionaries. There is, for example, little if any information about Ibn Ḥajar's teachers in his *muʿjam* that is not available in his better known account of academic and other luminaries of the eighth/fourteenth century, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah.*

Yet the very fact that scholars found it expedient not simply to write but to *publish* these collections—publish, that is, in the pre-printing sense of the term—is significant. They were not simply compiled for the personal use of the author, to record his own private account of his education. We know that the *muʿjam*s themselves were copied; even more, they were formally transmitted from the author

[18] On the biographical dictionary as genre and on its origins, see Michael Cooperson, *Classical Arabic Biography: The Heirs of the Prophets in the Age of al-Maʾmūn* (Cambridge, 2000).

[19] *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah* (Cairo, 1966–67).

[20] *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Cairo, 1934).

[21] *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah al-Kubrá* (Cairo, 1992).

[22] Other terms used to indicate comparable works include *fahrasah, barnamaj,* and *thabat*. See *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., articles "Fahrasa" and "Idjāza."

[23] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī compiled one as a list of the *books* he had studied, as well as one of the more usual type that listed his shaykhs.

[24] Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden, 1968), 451.

[25] Georges Vajda was their most enthusiastic student; his previously-published studies of several different *muʿjams* are collected in *La transmission du savoir en Islam (viie–xviii siècles),* ed. Nicole Cottart (London, 1983).

to others, from teacher to pupil, for many years after the original compilation.[26] Indeed, they continue to be read and studied; those compiled by Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, for example, have recently been printed.[27] At a minimum, they are a compelling witness to the importance of those networks of personal relationships on which the authority of the ulama rested. For the modern social historian, they provide the most comprehensive account of the training, the intellectual development, and the social networking of prominent scholarly members of the civilian elite.

The Dār al-Kutub in Cairo preserves a copy of the *muʿjam* of Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Subkī (d. 771/1370), perhaps the most illustrious member of a well-known family of Shafiʿi ulama from the Mamluk period.[28] His father, Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Kāfī al-Subkī (d. 756/1355), had been born in the family's ancestral village of Subk in the Nile Delta in Egypt but was raised in Cairo, where his own father taught hadith in a number of madrasahs. Taqī al-Dīn's teachers included some of the most prominent religious scholars of the day, such as the Shafiʿi qadi Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz, and the famous Shādhilī Sufi Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh. Taqī al-Dīn acquired an impressive reputation in a number of fields, and held professorships in several institutions of higher learning in the Mamluk capital. His most lasting work, perhaps, was a collection of fatwas which has been reprinted several times in recent decades. In 739/1338–39, the sultan Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad appointed Taqī al-Dīn Shafiʿi qadi in Damascus. During his service there over the next sixteen years, he also held teaching appointments as professor of *fiqh* and hadith in a number of the city's most prominent schools.[29]

The Subkī family was prominent in the intellectual life of Cairo and Damascus for six generations or more in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—a point of some relevance here. An academic career of course required an independent reputation. A scholar seeking preferment had to establish his bona fides through the usual channels: by publishing commentaries on legal and religious topics, and by acquiring status within the informal networks through which the ulama

[26] See, for example, Georges Vajda, "La transmission de la Mašyaḫa d'Ibn al-Buḫārī d'après le manuscrit Reisülküttab 262 de la Bibliothèque Süleymaniye d'Istanbul," *Rivista degli studi orientali* 18 (1974): 55–74. See also Fāṭimah bint Ibrāhīm (# 13), below.

[27] *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassas li-Muʿjam al-Mufahras* (Beirut, 1992), and *Al-Muʿjam al-Mufahras, aw, Tajrīd Asānīd lil-Kutub al-Mashhūrah wa-al-Ajzāʾ al-Manthūrah* (Beirut, 1998).

[28] Compiled by Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyá ibn Muḥammad ibn Saʿd [or: Saʿīd] al-Maqdisī (on whom see Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 5:54). Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah, Aḥmad Tīmūr Pāshā Collection, "Tārīkh" ms. 1446. I consulted a microfilm copy preserved at the Maʿhad al-Makhṭūṭāt al-ʿArabīyah, "Tārīkh" ms. 490.

[29] On Taqī al-Dīn ʿAlī, see Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah al-Kubrá,* 2nd ed. (Beirut, 1992), 10:139–70; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab fī Akhbār Man Dhahab* (Cairo, 1931–32), 6:180–81.

supervised the transmission of religious knowledge. Nonetheless, having an *ʿālim* for a father or grandfather or other close relative could be of enormous advantage to an individual seeking to carve out an academic career, not least because it gave an individual a head start in constructing those networks of personal and intellectual relationships through which a reputation was established. The proliferation of endowed institutions of learning in the medieval period gave an especially sharp edge to the advantage held by the sons and grandsons of established scholars. It was frequently possible for a scholar who held a teaching appointment in a madrasah or mosque to ensure that his position—that is, the income he drew from the institution's endowment—be inherited by his sons or other chosen relations.[30] More generally, an accomplished scholar was naturally more likely to ensure that his sons received the sort of training on which an academic career depended. This training would include instruction in the Quran, hadith, jurisprudence, and the other disciplines relevant to scholarly and academic life.

Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī was born in Cairo in 727/1327 or 728/1328, and like other sons of the ulama, he was educated at first by his father and then by some of the leading scholars of his day. When he was eleven, his father moved to Damascus, and Tāj al-Dīn naturally accompanied him there. It was principally in the Syrian capital that al-Subkī received the education that would establish him as one of the leading scholars of his age. His teachers included the great historian Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dhahabī and the jurist Shams al-Din Ibn al-Naqīb. Tāj al-Dīn was a precocious student. Already before the age of 18, he had begun to teach as a substitute for his shaykh Ibn al-Naqīb. In 754/1353, he began to assist his father as qadi of Damascus, and within two years he had been formally vested in the office. For most of the rest of his life, he served as chief qadi in the Syrian capital, although his tenure was controversial, and at one point he was dismissed and spent eighty days in jail, apparently on accusations that he had misappropriated funds intended for the support of orphans. He died at a relatively young age in 771/1370.

The education of Tāj al-Dīn is relatively familiar to historians of medieval Egypt and Syria, because in many resects it was typical of those of the leading ulama of the Mamluk period. But the survival of al-Subkī's *muʿjam* allows us to examine it in greater detail than most. One of the most striking things about the names recorded in that document is the number of women it includes, confirming the prominent position that female hadith scholars managed to carve out for themselves. Of the 172 names of shaykhs with whom al-Subkī had studied and on whose authority he transmitted texts, 20 belong to women. That proportion was

[30] See Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge,* 119–27.

not, in fact, atypical for the leading scholars of the day.[31]

What follows is an inventory of the women listed in al-Subkī's *muʿjam*. The list includes their names, as they appear in the *muʿjam,* and basic biographical information drawn from the *muʿjam* or (as indicated) other sources. The entries in the *muʿjam* itself include considerably more information concerning the women's teachers and their own pupils than is recorded here. I have included only the names of especially prominent shaykhs, or others worthy of note for one reason or another, and other information requiring comment. The number in brackets at the beginning indicates the number of the page (the manuscript has been paginated by hand) on which the biographical entry appears.

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(1) Asmāʾ bint Muḥammad ibn Sālim ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Hibbat Allāh ibn Maḥfūẓ ibn Ṣaṣrā al-Rabʿī al-Taghlibī, Umm Muḥammad, al-Dimashqīyah.[32] Born in 638/1240–41 or 639/1241–42, she died in Damascus in 733/1332–33. She issued an *ijāzah* to al-Subkī in 728/1327–28. She had begun to recite hadith already in the year 683/1284–85, and continued to do so until her death.

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(2) Āminah bint Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn Faḍl ibn al-Wāsiṭī, al-Dimashqīyah, Umm Muḥammad.[33] She was born around the year 664, and died in 740/1340 in Damascus. She held a *samāʿ* (a certificate of audition) from her father dated 665. She heard hadith from a number of prominent scholars, including the Hanbali scholar Zayn al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim (d. 668/1270)[34] and Zaynab bint Makkī (d. 688/1289).[35] Among those who recited hadith on her authority were her contemporaries the prominent *muḥaddithūn* Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿUthmān al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348),[36] who was also among al-Subkī's teachers (and who was also the author of the monumental *Tārīkh al-Islām*),

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[31] Cf. Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge,* 176.

[32] See also ʿUmar Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ fī ʿĀlamay al-ʿArab wa-al-Islām,* 4th ed. (Beirut, n.d.), 1:63–64; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:384–85.

[33] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 1:8; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:441–42.

[34] Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab,* 5:325–26.

[35] ʿAbd Allāh ibn Asʿad al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾat al-Jinān wa-ʿIbrat al-Yaqẓān fī Maʿrifat Mā Yuʿtabaru min Ḥawādith al-Zamān* (Hyderabad, 1337 A.H.), 4:207–8; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab,* 5:404; Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 2:116–19.

[36] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah,* 9:100–123; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab,* 6:153–57.

and al-Qāsim ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Birzālī (d. 739/1339).[37]

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(3) Ḥabībah bint ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Manṣūr al-Maqdisī, Umm ʿAbd al-Raḥmān.[38] Born around the year 650/1252–53,[39] she died in 733/1333. She heard Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim and others recite hadith, and she received *ijāzah*s from scholars throughout the Muslim world, including Baghdad, Egypt, Mecca, and Medina, as well as from towns in Syria. Both al-Dhahabī and al-Birzālī heard her recite hadith. Al-Subkī received an *ijāzah* from her in 728/1327–28.

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(4) Zāhidah bint Abī Bakr ibn Ḥamzah ibn Maḥfūẓ al-Ṣaḥrāwī, Umm Abī Bakr, al-Ṣāliḥīyah.[40] Born in 682/1283–84, she died during the plague in 749/1348–49. She also heard Zaynab bint Makkī recite hadith, and al-Dhahabī in turn heard her recite traditions.

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(5) Zahrah bint ʿUmar ibn Ḥusayn ibn Abī Bakr al-Khuthnī.[41] Al-Subkī heard her recite traditions in 729/1329.

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(6) Zaynab bint Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Manṣūr al-Maqdisī, Umm ʿAbd Allāh, known as Bint al-Kamāl.[42] One of the most prominent female hadith scholars of the medieval period, she was born in 646/1249–50 and died in 740/1339. She heard hadith recitations from numerous scholars in Damascus, including Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim, and received *ijāzah*s from "many people" *(khalq kathīr)* from Baghdad, Mosul, Mardin, Harran, Aleppo, and Egypt, as well as her home town of Damascus. Those

[37] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:321–23.

38 Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 1:241; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:85–86.

[39] Ibn Ḥajar gives her year of birth as 654/1256–57.

[40] I have not been able to locate other biographical notices for Zaynab bint Abī Bakr.

[41] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 2:42; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:208.

[42] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 2:46–51; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:209–10.

who heard her recite included, again, al-Dhahabī and al-Birzālī. Al-Subkī himself transmitted many volumes *(ajzāʾ)* of hadith and other subjects, on her authority, *bi-al-samāʿ wa-al-ijāzah*. She distinguished herself as the last person to relate traditions from the prominent *muḥaddith* Sibṭ al-Silafī and others *bi-al-ijāzah*.

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(7) Zaynab bint Ismāʿīl ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Sālim ibn Saʿd ibn Rikāb al-Anṣārīyah al-Dimashqīyah, Umm ʿAbd Allāh and Umm Muḥammad.[43] Born in 659/1261, she died in 749/1349. She heard Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim and others recite hadith, and she herself recited on the authority of a large number of shaykhs; al-Birzālī was among those who heard her do so. Al-Subkī says that he heard her recite a "volume" *(juzʾ)* by al-Anṣārī,[44] which she recited on the authority of twenty-eight different shaykhs whose recitations of the text she had heard *(samāʿan)*.

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(8) Zaynab bint Yaḥyá ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAbd al-Salām ibn Abī al-Qāsim ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Muhadhdhib al-Sulamī al-Dimashqī.[45] Born in 648/1250–51, she died in 635/1335. As a five-year-old girl, she attended hadith sessions with a number of shaykhs, and in 650/1252–53 she received *ijāzah*s from Egypt from Sibṭ al-Silafī *(ajāza la-hā . . . min al-diyār al-miṣrīyah)*—that is, apparently without her actually travelling to Egypt. Al-Birzālī heard her recite traditions, and al-Subkī received an *ijāzah* from her in 728/1327–28.

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(9) Safrā bint Yaʿqūb ibn Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Dimashqīyah, Umm Muḥammad, whose grandfather was known as Ibn Qāḍī al-Yaman.[46] Born sometime after 660/1261–62, she died in Damascus in 745/1245. Al-Birzālī heard her recite hadith. Al-Subkī heard her recite traditions on a chain of authority going back through her famous grandfather.

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[43] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 2:54–56; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:211–12.

[44] It is not clear to whom this refers.

[45] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 2:122–23; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:215.

[46] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 2:197; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:232.

(10) Ṣafīyah bint Aḥmad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿUbayd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī, Umm Aḥmad, whose father was the grandson of the famous Hanbali jurist Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn Qudāmah (d. 620/1223).[47] She died in 741/1341. She heard Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim recite the entirety of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim, one of the principal Sunni collections of hadith. She issued an *ijāzah* to al-Subkī in 728/1328–29.

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(11) Ṣafīyah bint Abī Bakr ibn Ḥamzah ibn Maḥfūẓ al-Ṣaḥrāwī, Umm ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣāliḥīyah.[48] She died of the plague in 749/1348–49, and was buried in the tomb of Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn Qudāmah. She heard Zaynab bint Makkī and others recite traditions. Al-Subkī heard her recite a volume by al-Anṣārī.

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(12) ʿĀʾishah bint Muḥammad ibn Musallam ibn Salāmah ibn al-Bahāʾ al-Ḥarrānī, Umm Muḥammad, al-Ṣāliḥīyah.[49] Born in 648/1250–51,[50] she died in 736/1336. She heard hadith from a number of scholars and recited them herself; al-Dhahabī and al-Birzālī were among those who heard her. Ibn Saʿd[51] compiled her *mashyakhah*. She issued an *ijāzah* to al-Subkī in 728/1328–9.

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(13) Fāṭimah bint Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī al-Ṣāliḥī, Umm Ibrāhīm[52]—like Ṣafīyah bint Aḥmad above, from the famed Banū Qudāmah dynasty of Hanbali scholars. Born in 654/1256–57, she died in 729/1329. She heard hadith from Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim and others; both al-Dhahabī and al-Birzālī heard her recite in turn. She received *ijāzah*s from her relation Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī (d. 658/1260).[53] As she aged, she became known as the last surviving individual to transmit hadith from several of those on whose authority she relied, including Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī

[47] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 2:230–31; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:306–7.

[48] I have not been able to locate other biographical notices for Ṣafīyah bint Abī Bakr.

[49] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 3:189; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:342.

[50] According to Ibn Ḥajar, 647/1249–50.

[51] The same Ibn Saʿd who compiled al-Subkī's *muʿjam*? See note 28.

[52] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 4:23–24; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:300.

[53] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī, also from the Banū Qudāmah. Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab,* 5:295.

"by *ijāzah*." According to al-Subkī, "she recited frequently, and many benefited from her." Al-Subkī read to her the *mashyakhah* of Shahdah bint Aḥmad ibn al-Faraj al-Dīnawarīyah (d. 574/1178),[54] a female Baghdadi hadith scholar of such prominence that she was known as "the support of Iraq" *(masnadat al-ʿirāq),* with Fāṭimah's *ijāzah* from Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, who was himself the last person to transmit "by *ijāzah*" from Shahdah.

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(14) Fāṭimah bint Abī Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn Turkhān ibn Abī al-Ḥasan ibn Raddād al-Dimashqī al-Ṣāliḥī, Umm Aḥmad.[55] Born around the year 653/1255–56, she died in 729/1329. She attended classes lead by Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim, and received *ijāzah*s from Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, among other scholars. She recited hadith, and al-Dhahabī and al-Birzālī both heard her do so. In his own *mashyakhah,* al-Birzālī noted that he heard from and recited hadith on the authority of this woman, and also her brothers, as well as their father and mother. She apparently distinguished herself by writing *ijāzah*s "in her own hand" *(bi-khaṭṭihā)*. Al-Subkī received an *ijāzah* from her in 728/1328–29.

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(15) Fāṭimah bint ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿUmar ibn ʿIwaḍ ibn Rājiḥ ibn Bilāl al-Maqdisī, Umm ʿAlī al-Ṣāliḥīyah.[56] Born in 650/1252–53, she died in 729/1328[57] after returning from the hajj. She heard traditions from Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim, and she recited them in turn to al-Dhahabī and al-Birzālī, among others. Al-Subkī received an *ijāzah* from her in 728/1328–29.

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(16) Fāṭimah bint ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿĪsá ibn al-Musallam ibn Kathīr al-Dimashqī, Umm Muḥammad, al-Ṣāliḥīyah.[58] Born in the 650s,[59] she died in 740/1339 and was buried in the tomb of Muwaffaq al-Dīn ibn Qudāmah. Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim was among those from whom she heard traditions, and she received

[54] Al-Yāfiʿī, *Mirʾat al-Jinān,* 3:400; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab,* 4:248; Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 2:309–12.

[55] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 4:36–37; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:303–4.

[56] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 4:69; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:305.

[57] Ibn Ḥajar gives a date of death of 734/1333.

[58] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 4:72; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:304–5.

[59] According to Ibn Ḥajar, 656/1258.

ijāzahs from Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī as well as his brother ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. Al-Birzālī heard her recite hadith, and al-Dhahabī mentioned her in his *muʿjam*.

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(17) Fāṭimah bint Fakhrāwar ibn Muḥammad ibn Fakhrāwar ibn Hindawīyah *[sic]* al-Kunjī al-Ṣūfī, Umm Maḥmūd.[60] Born in 659/1261,[61] she died in 733/1333 outside Cairo. Unlike most of the other women cited by al-Subkī, she lived in the Egyptian capital, where her father was a pious ascetic. She received *ijāzahs* from a number of scholars in the year 663—that is, when she was a young girl. She recited hadith, and also had a reputation for preaching to women. In Cairo in 731/1331, that is when he was four, al-Subkī heard her recite the *Kitāb al-Jumʿah* from the hadith collection of al-Nasāʾī (author of one of the six "canonical" collections of hadith) according to an *isnād* going back through al-Muʿīn [Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Yūsuf] al-Dimashqī[62] and Ismāʿīl [ibn ʿAbd al-Qawī ibn Abī al-ʿIzz] ibn ʿUzūn [?] (d. 667/1268)[63] to [Hibbat Allāh ibn ʿAlī ibn Masʿūd] al-Būṣīrī (d. 598/1201).[64]

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(18) Fāṭimah bint Muḥammad ibn Jamīl ibn Ḥamīd ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī ʿAṭṭāf ibn Aḥmad al-Baghdādīyah al-Ṣāliḥīyah, Umm Muḥammad.[65] Born in 646/1248–49,[66] she died in 730/1330. She attended recitations given by her father in Baghdad when she was just a year old. She received *ijāzahs* from a number of prominent Iraqi scholars and later recited hadith to al-Dhahabī and al-Birzālī among others.

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(19) Fāṭimah bint Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Jibrīl ibn Abī al-Fawāris ibn Jibrīl ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Darbandī, Umm al-Ḥasan, known as Sitt al-ʿAjam.[67] Born in 661/1263, she died in Cairo in 737/1337. She heard hadith from numerous scholars and received *ijāzahs* from Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim and others "from Damascus"—she herself lived in Cairo. In turn, she recited hadith to many people.

[60] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 4:89–90; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:308.

[61] According to Ibn Ḥajar, 658/1260.

[62] See Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab,* 5:331.

[63] Ibid., 5:324.

[64] Ibid., 4:338.

[65] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 4:100; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:308–9.

[66] 656/1258, according to Ibn Ḥajar.

[67] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 4:128; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:309.

When he was four, al-Subkī heard her recite al-Nasāʾī's *Kitāb al-Jumʿah* according to the same *isnād* held by Fāṭimah bint Fakhrāwar, above.

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(20) Nāranj bint ʿAbd Allāh al-Rūmīyah, the *ʿatīqah* of al-Ḥājj Mufliḥ, the *ʿatīq* of al-Ḥājj ʿAlī ibn Ḥusayn ibn Manāʿ al-Takrītī al-Tājir, Umm ʿĀʾishah.[68] She died in 741/1340. She heard recitations by Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim in 659/1261; al-Subkī received an *ijāzah* from her in 728/1328–29.

In many respects, much of the information contained in these short biographical notices in al-Subkī's *muʿjam* is unremarkable. That is, it parallels accounts of the lives of other (male) scholars, not just in this text, but in the biographical dictionaries more generally. This in itself is worthy of note, for it reaffirms just how thoroughly integrated women were into the world of textual, and especially hadith, transmission, both as teachers and as pupils.[69] A fuller reading of these notices in the context of a larger analysis of the entire *muʿjam* would provide the basis for a comprehensive intellectual biography of this major Mamluk-era scholar and jurist. But even a preliminary analysis confirms several important points.

The standards of hadith transmission recognized several different methods by which a pupil could acquire authority over a text. Close reading and analysis of the text in the presence of the shaykh was obviously preferred, but one could receive an *ijāzah* with less intimate contact. It was even possible to request and receive an *ijāzah* without actually encountering the individual issuing the certification, and when Zaynab bint Yaḥyá received an *ijāzah* from Sibṭ al-Silafī "*min al-diyār al-miṣrīyah,*" it is possible that she had not left her Damascene home.[70] Al-Subkī himself appears to have included the names of several women from whom he received *ijāzahs* in a similar way, the Damascene Asmāʾ bint Muḥammad, for example, who issued him an *ijāzah* in 728/1327–28, when he was an infant in Cairo.[71] This does not mean, however, that all transmission between women and men was accomplished at a distance, and it is clear from al-Subkī's *muʿjam* that many of his *shaykhahs* transmitted from their teachers *bi-al-samāʿ,* that is,

[68] Kaḥḥālah, *Aʿlām al-Nisāʾ,* 5:158; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 5:129.

[69] At least one of the women listed in al-Subkī's *muʿjam* had a *mashyakhah* of her own compiled; see ʿĀʾishah bint Muḥammad (# 12).

[70] # 8. Cf. Ḥabībah bint ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (#3) and others, who received *ijāzahs* from scholars in cities throughout the Muslim world.

[71] #1. Cf. Zaynab bint Yaḥyá (# 8), Ṣafīyah bint Aḥmad (# 10), ʿĀʾishah bint Muḥammad (# 12), Fāṭimah bint Abī Bakr (# 14), Fāṭimah bint ʿAbd Allāh (# 15), and Nāranj bint ʿAbd Allāh (# 20).

having themselves "heard" texts from male transmitters, and that al-Subkī himself physically encountered many of his female teachers and heard them recite texts. But virtually all of the women listed here were elderly at the point of contact, and al-Subkī himself was quite young—sometimes, as in the case of Asmāʾ bint Muḥammad, an infant. The advantage of hearing the recitation of hadith or receiving an *ijāzah* at such a tender age is that, all things being equal, it shortened the *isnād*—i.e., it reduced the number of links in the chain of transmission. Several of the women listed here died shortly after the young al-Subkī arrived in Damascus, meaning that he would be among the last individuals to recite texts on their authority.[72] In a similar vein, several of al-Subkī's *shaykhah*s distinguished themselves by aging until they became the last surviving transmitter from a particular shaykh of an earlier generation.[73] It is partly for this reason that, in general, older teachers were preferred. In the case of a superannuated woman transmitting a text to a very young male pupil, an added advantage was that the sexual tension implicit in an encounter between non-*maḥram* individuals was lessened.

A second point reaffirmed by al-Subkī's *muʿjam* is the advantage that birth into an academic family gave an individual seeking to establish a scholarly career. The infant al-Subkī did not think to request an *ijāzah* from Asmāʾ bint Muḥammad and others; it was his father's foresight which took the steps to lay the foundation for his son's later reputation. The young al-Subkī was also able to take advantage of his father's posting as qadi in Damascus in 739/1338–39 to make more direct contact with scholars, both male and female, in that city. On the "supply" side, it is striking how many of the women whom al-Subkī listed as *shaykhah*s themselves came from established and reputable scholarly families: those, for example, from the famous Banū Qudāmah dynasty of Hanbali scholars.[74]

It is clear, finally, that in a certain sense the community of scholars actively engaged in the transmission of hadith was a small world: small, that is, in the sense that the individuals who populated it formed a close-knit group. It is striking how frequently certain data replicates itself in most of the biographical notices: for example, that al-Dhahabī and al-Birzālī listed the *shaykhah* in question among those on whose authority they related traditions. Similarly, a high proportion of the women listed here included particular shaykhs of an earlier generation—especially Ibn ʿAbd al-Dāʾim and Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī—among their teachers. At their base, the networks through which the educated class established its reputation were broad and inclusive: they were broad and inclusive enough to

[72] See for example Āminah bint Ibrāhīm (#2), Bint al-Kamāl (#6), and Fāṭimah bint ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (#16).

[73] See, for example, Fāṭimah bint Aḥmad (# 13).

[74] For example, Ṣafīyah bint Aḥmad (# 10) and Fāṭimah bint Ibrāhīm (#13).

include members of social groups that might otherwise be marginalized, such as women. But the values and principles that governed the transmission of religious knowledge also brought certain individuals to the fore. The women listed in the *muʿjam* of al-Subkī had reached that exalted place, and in the process made an important contribution to the shaping of the "civilian elite."

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"Our Sorry State!" Al-Būṣīrī's Lamentations on Life and an Appeal for Cash

Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Būṣīrī is the most celebrated poet of the Mamluk period, having composed *Al-Burdah,* the "mantle ode" to the prophet Muḥammad. The *Burdah* has been the focus of many commentaries, imitations, and translations, and it is arguably the most famous poem in the Arabic language today.[1] Its author was born on 1 Shawwāl 608/7 March 1212 in Upper Egypt, at either Abū Ṣīr or Dalāṣ. As a young man, al-Būṣīrī studied Arabic and some religious sciences in Cairo, while following the Sufi teachings of Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad al-Murṣī (d. 686/1287) and the Shādhilīyah order. He settled for a time in the Delta city of Bilbays, where he was a minor administrator, serving as a steward *(mubāshir)*.[2] Al-Būṣīrī later returned to Cairo, where he composed poems in praise of the prophet Muḥammad, al-Murṣī, and various Mamluk officials. He died there sometime between 694/1294 and 696/1297.[3]

Al-Būṣīrī was regarded as a fine poet by several of his contemporaries, and his poems were collected in his *Dīwān*. This work contains over fifty poems employing a range of rhymes and meters as well as various literary devices *(badīʿ)* for clever word-plays. The influence of earlier poets, particularly the Egyptian Sufi poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235), is apparent in several poems, including the *Burdah* in praise of the prophet Muḥammad.[4] In this poem's 160 verses, al-Būṣīrī recounts events in the life of Muḥammad including his birth, the washing of his heart by

[1]Over the years, Professor Carl Petry has conveyed his high scholarly standards and enthusiasm for the Mamluks to his students at Northwestern University and at the University of Chicago, where I had the privilege of studying with him. His studies are always insightful and stimulating, and I dedicate the following essay and translation to him with gratitude.
For an English translation of the *Burdah* and brief analysis see that by Stefan Sperl in *Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa,* ed. S. Sperl and Christopher Shackle (Leiden, 1996), 2:388–411, 470–76.

[2] Concerning the profession of *mubāshir* in the Mamluk domains see Carl Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1981), 209–11.

[3] Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* ed. Sven Dedering (Wiesbaden, 1981), 3:105–13; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr,* ed. Muḥammad al-Yaʿlāwī (Beirut, 1991), 5:661–69; and also see Muḥammad Sayyid Kīlānī's useful introduction to al-Būṣīrī's *Dīwān,* 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1973), 5–24.

[4] Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 3:107, and al-Būṣīrī, *Dīwān,* 238–48. Regarding al-Būṣīrī's poems in praise of Muḥammad see Zakī Mubārak, *Al-Madāʾiḥ al-Nabawīyah fī al-Adab al-ʿArabī* (Cairo, 1935), and Kīlānī's introduction to al-Būṣīrī, *Dīwān,* 24–48.

angels, his receiving revelation from God, his ascension to heaven on the mythical steed al-Burāq, and his struggles with the infidel Meccans. Al-Būṣīrī also relates many of the Prophet's miracles and blessed virtues and then ends his poem by praising the Prophet's family and companions, while praying for Muḥammad's intercession on Judgment Day. As Suzanne Stetkevych has argued persuasively, al-Būṣīrī's *Burdah* lauds the eternal triumph of Islam over unbelief as manifest destiny.[5] More significantly for believers, perhaps, is that the poem also presents a ritual spiritual exchange, as the poet offers his prayers and praise to the Prophet, who in turn may grant his intercession on Judgment Day. The intercession invoked by the *Burdah* was extended to others in a frame story that came to accompany the poem within a century of its composition, no doubt enhancing the poem's popularity.[6]

According to this story, al-Būṣīrī once suffered a debilitating stroke. He prayed and cried out to God for help, and composed a new ode praising Muḥammad. Then he fell asleep and dreamed of the Prophet Muḥammad, who touched his face and wrapped him in his cloak *(burdah)*. Upon waking, al-Būṣīrī found that the effects of the stroke had vanished, and he had been restored to health. As he walked out of his house for the first time after his dream, he was met by a Sufi who asked him for a copy of his poem in praise of Muḥammad. Al-Būṣīrī had composed several such odes, so he asked the man which poem he meant. The Sufi replied that he wanted the poem that al-Būṣīrī had composed during his recent illness. Al-Būṣīrī was stunned because he had told no one about the new ode or the miracle. The Sufi replied that the night before he had dreamed of the Prophet and saw him listening to and enjoying the poem. After the recitation, the Prophet threw his cloak over its author. Al-Būṣīrī gave the man a copy of his new ode, and as word spread of this miracle, others made copies and recited the poem. Soon, more instances of prophetic intercession occurred after the poem's recitation; copies of al-Būṣīrī's ode, now named the *Burdah,* were believed to possess miraculous healing powers. As a result, this poem has been copied many times, and its verses have been used in amulets and inscribed on walls to ward off misfortune.[7]

In one of the earliest biographies of al-Būṣīrī, the biographer and litterateur Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī (696–764/1297–1363) cited the frame story of the *Burdah* in which al-Būṣīrī speaks in the first person. Unfortunately, al-Ṣafadī did not give a source for the story, though he did note that he had learned all of al-Būṣīrī's

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[5] Suzanne P. Stetkevych, "From Sīrah to *Qaṣīdah:* Poetics and Polemics in al-Būṣīrī's *Qaṣīdat al-Burdah* (Mantle Ode)," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 38 (2007): 1–52.

[6] Suzanne P. Stetkevych, "From Text to Talisman: al-Būṣīrī's *Qaṣīdat al-Burdah* (Mantle Ode) and the Supplicatory Ode," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 37 (2006): 145–89.

[7] Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 3:112–13. Also see al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 5:666–67, and Stetkevych, "Text to Talisman," 146–53.

poetry from his teacher Athīr al-Dīn Abū Ḥayyān (654–745/1256–1354), who had received the poems directly from al-Būṣīrī. Abū Ḥayyān also related that al-Būṣīrī was of Berber ancestry and was "short in stature, but of great nobility."[8] Al-Ṣafadī and most later biographers present al-Būṣīrī as an accomplished poet and pious supplicant blessed by the Prophet, but some sources also reveal another side to the man. The historian and biographer al-Maqrīzī depicted al-Būṣīrī as a frustrated poet who was forced to work as a scribe because he could not find sufficient patronage for his verse.[9] Significantly, al-Būṣīrī does not appear to have ever held one of the many teaching positions in the various educational establishments in Cairo or elsewhere in Egypt, suggesting that he either lacked an extensive training in the religious sciences or the proper contacts to secure a position as a religious scholar. As a result, he was forced to adapt his extensive Arabic poetic skills to menial secretarial work, which he hated. Supporting this view is one of al-Būṣīrī's poems in which he declared that he served as an administrator only to support his family. He then offered a scathing critique of minor bureaucrats, particularly Christians and Jews who, he claimed, were rapacious in order to support their opulent lifestyles replete with wine and fine clothes.[10]

Al-Būṣīrī harshly criticized the beliefs and practices of Jews and Christians in other verse as well, and perhaps this was due to a professional rivalry with Christian and Jewish scribes. But al-Būṣīrī's polemics may also reflect the religious tensions in Syria and Egypt during his lifetime, resulting from on-going Crusades and the Mongol invasion of Iraq and Syria.[11] Nevertheless, Muslims, too, felt the wrath of this misanthrope. Invective poetry was among al-Būṣīrī's specialties, and al-Maqrīzī quoted one of al-Būṣīrī's contemporaries, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-Thanāʾ Maḥmūd,[12] as saying: "Despite (al-Būṣīrī's) many virtues, he was loathed for loosing his tongue against people with any insult, and he would say

[8] Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 3:111. For Abū Ḥayyān see the *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 3rd ed., 1:40–41 (S. Glazner/T. E. Homerin). Al-Ṣafadī's account of al-Būṣīrī was slightly abridged by al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt,* ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1974), 3:362–69.

[9] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 5:666, 669.

[10] Al-Būṣīrī, *Dīwān,* 266–71, and see Kīlānī's introduction to it, 11–16.

[11] Al-Būṣīrī, *Dīwān,* 175–219. Also see Carl Petry, "Copts in Late Medieval Egypt," in *Coptic Encyclopedia,* ed. Aziz S. Atiya (New York, ca. 1991–), 3:618–35, esp. 618, 622–25; Norman A. Stillman, "The Non-Muslim Communities: The Jewish Community," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt, 640–1517,* ed. Carl Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 198–210, esp. 208–9; Linda S. Northrup, "The Baḥrī Mamluk Sultanate," in *Cambridge History of Egypt,* 242–89, esp. 265–73, and Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages* (London, ca. 1986), 54.

[12] This may be the poet and scholar Abū al-Thanāʾ Maḥmūd ibn ʿUmar al-Shaybānī, known as Ibn Daqīqah (564–635/1169–1238). See Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-Dhahab* (Cairo, 1931), 5:177, and ʿUmar Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-Muʾallifīn* (Damascus, 1957), 12:185.

bad things about them in the company of amirs and viziers."[13] Moreover, when Abū al-Thanāʾ Maḥmūd visited al-Būṣīrī, the latter complained bitterly about his poverty and many needs, and how one of his patrons was haughty and thought little of the scribal class.[14] In line with his account, al-Būṣīrī depicted himself in some of his poems as penniless and hen-pecked, with hungry children to feed and a nagging wife who gave him little respect:[15]

in zurtuhā fī-l-ʿāmi yawman antajat
wa-atat li-sittati ashhurin bi-ghulāmi

If I visit her for only a day per year, she gets pregnant
and brings forth a boy in six months!

Not surprisingly, al-Būṣīrī directed such poems and their complaints to perspective patrons among the Mamluk ruling elite, including Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad, known as al-Ṣāḥib Ibn Ḥannā. He had served as a vizier to the Ayyubids and was reappointed to that position by the Mamluk sultan Baybars I in 659/1261; Ibn Ḥannā held the position until his death in 677/1278.[16] Ibn Ḥannā was said to have been quite wealthy and generous, and this, together with his position and power, undoubtedly drew al-Būṣīrī to him. According to the frame story of the *Burdah*, al-Būṣīrī would compose poems in praise of the prophet Muḥammad for Ibn Ḥannā, who greatly admired the *Burdah.*[17] Moreover, al-Būṣīrī addressed several poems to him and recited a short elegy at the funeral of one of Ibn Ḥannā's sons.[18] In the following poem to Ibn Ḥannā, al-Būṣīrī describes his troubled family life and his desperate need for support, for which he begs the vizier:[19]

yā ayyuhā-l-mawlá-l-wazīru-lla-dhī
ayyāmuhu ṭāīʿatun amrah[20]

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[13] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá,* 5:664.

[14] Ibid., 5:664–66, and also see Kīlānī's introduction to al-Būṣīrī's *Dīwān,* 8–11.

[15] Al-Būṣīrī, *Dīwān,* 254, and also Kīlānī's introduction, 22–24.

[16] Al-Kutubī, *Fawāt,* 3:76–78; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1934–58), 1:2:447, 649; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt,* 5:358; and Irwin, *Middle East,* 20.

[17] Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī,* 3:112–13.

[18] Al-Būṣīrī, *Dīwān,* 135–44, 164–67, 280, and al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār (*Baghdad, 1970), 2:299.

[19] Al-Būṣīrī, *Dīwān,* 164–67; al-Ṣafadī also gives an abridged version of the poem, *Al-Wāfī,* 3:108–9.

[20] I follow al-Ṣafadī's reading of *ṭāīʿatun* for *ṭāʾiʿatun* to fit the meter *sarīʿ*. For the Arabic text, see

O my lord, the vizier,
 whose days obey his command,

Whose rank on high
 exhausts the mind to describe!

Your spotless character called us
 to make a plea unexpectedly,

For you still pardon those who offend
 and deem forgiveness with power to be wise.

So, perhaps, people do not know
 what it is you love and what you despise.

To you we appeal about our state:
 we are a family big as can be.[21]

I will speak to my lord in pen and ink
 telling the tale of what came to pass.

They fasted like others,
 but they are a warning for all who see.

When they drink, their well remains
 earthen jugs and jars of clay.

Everyday they eat boiled bread
 like dead grass revived by rain.

Whenever they gather round it, I say:
 "Tarry awhile amid the water on the green!"

The holiday drew near, and they had
 no pastry, no bread, no wheat.

the appendix.

[21] I follow al-Ṣafadī's reading of *ʿāilatun* for *ʿāʾilatun* to fit the meter.

Have mercy on them, for when they spy a child
with a little cake in hand, or see a date,

Their eyes fix on it, gasping,
followed by a sigh.

How oft I have suffered their torment;
how often I have felt their grief.

How often they have said: “Daddy,
You’ve cut off our bread again!

“You never give us money,
not a dollar, not a dime, not a cent.

“And you’re in service to the folk, daddy.
How can you serve them? You’re a joke!

“O, what a waste it is if we never get
your wages or the rent.”

I am amazed how sharp this boy is;
it comes to him so naturally.

Yet why shouldn’t he be clever,
for everyone born has their nature.

One day their mother called on her sister,
who is as jealous as a second wife,

And she came in complaining of her state
and her patience with me in our poverty.

Her sister said: “Why do women act with their husbands so?
O, such a disgrace![22]

“Get up and demand your rights from him.
Do it now; don’t wait,

[22] Following al-Ṣafadī who gives *yā ʿurrah* in place of *yā ghirrah*.

"And if he says no, then grab his beard,
and hair by hair jerk it out!"

Their mother said: "That's not my way;
my husband gets annoyed.

"I fear if I say a word, he'll divorce me."
"Bullshit!" her sister said.

So my wife thought less and less of me,
and when she came home was she ticked,

When she got in my face, I threatened her,
so she bashed my head with a brick.

Then from early eve till morning light,
we went round and round in a fight.

The slave never sees his salvation
until he cries himself dry,

So on one whose sorry state is this,
O, my lord, please cast your eye!

Al-Būṣīrī begins his poem in praise of the vizier whose authority is so grand that time itself submits to his decree.[23] Though powerful, the vizier rules with forbearance and forgiveness, and so the poet takes the liberty to plead his case to him (vv. 1–7). Al-Būṣīrī depicts his large family as destitute, lacking even fresh water, and forced to eat stale, moldy bread. Though they fast during Ramaḍān, this is due more to poverty than piety, and when the ʿĪd al-Fiṭr occurs, his family cannot enjoy the festivities and sweets because they have no flour; they can only look on in envy of others (vv. 8–14). Al-Būṣīrī concludes this section and moves to the next with his lamentations on their dire condition (vv. 15–17). Then one of his young children complains of their plight and their penniless father. His son points out that al-Būṣīrī is poorer than the Sufi ascetics *(qawm)* whom he claims

[23] Cf. a verse by Abū Tammām cited in S. Stetkevych, *Abū Tammām & the Poetics of the ʿAbbāsid Age* (Leiden, 1991), 24, from Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Kitāb al-Badīʿ,* ed. I. Kratchkovsky (London, 1935), 23, and also see Stefan Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic Poetry* (Cambridge, 1989), 9–27.

to serve, making him a laughingstock (***sukhrah;*** vv. 17–19). Al-Būṣīrī marvels at how perceptive his son is at such a young age, and then he ends this section with an allusion to the hadith that all children are born with a natural disposition (***fiṭrah;*** vv. 20–21).[24]

Al-Būṣīrī next moves from his children to their mother, who visits her sister and bemoans her impoverished life with her husband. Her sister denounces such ne'er-do-well men in general and tells his wife to stand up and demand her rights. When his wife frets that he may then divorce her, her sister rebukes her and urges her to disgrace al-Būṣīrī publicly by pulling out his beard (vv. 22–28). Buoyed by her sister, al-Būṣīrī's wife returns home angry and fired up, and when al-Būṣīrī does indeed threaten her with a divorce, she clobbers him with a brick, and they fight throughout the night (vv. 29–30). Al-Būṣīrī then concludes his poem, citing another maxim—that the slave is never set free until he has suffered greatly, perhaps unto death—and he begs the vizier to look upon him with mercy (vv. 32–33).

Although al-Būṣīrī's begins this poem as an ode of praise and supplication, his focus quickly shifts from the vizier and his exalted rank to al-Būṣīrī's own debased and desperate condition. The editor of al-Būṣīrī's *Dīwān,* Muḥammad Sayyid Kīlānī, cites this poem as evidence that al-Būṣīrī's home life was a living hell.[25] While that is always a possibility, al-Būṣīrī clearly intended the poem to be a humorous parody, as he reverses various family roles and relationships. Ideally, fathers should be wealthy and wise, and children happy and innocent; yet here the poet is poor and powerless, as his young son sagaciously discerns when he worries about the family's lack of food and rent. Traditionally, husbands are to be in charge of obedient wives and family members; yet here al-Būṣīrī is demeaned by his sister-in-law, who riles up his wife, leading to a nasty fight that leaves the poet reeling and feeling not like a king in his castle, but like a suffering servant desperately in need of the vizier's beneficence. The poem, then, is not so much a panegyric ***(madīḥ)*** as it is an example of a witty poem ***(mulḥah),*** which tells of a disagreeable wife and harried husband.[26] Given the references to fasting and the ʿĪd, perhaps al-Būṣīrī offered Ibn Ḥannā this poem as an amusing tale at the end of Ramaḍān, when Muslims are to give alms and be generous to the less fortunate. While the *Burdah* sought prophetic intercession on the Judgment Day, this poem on al-Būṣīrī's sorry state aimed for intercession of a more material sort. For al-Būṣīrī's sake, I hope he received it.

[24] Al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥsin Khān (Medina, n.d.), 2:249–50 ("*janāʾiz,*" 78, #443).

[25] Kīlānī's introduction to al-Būṣīrī's *Dīwān,* 22–24.

[26] See Geert Jan van Gelder, "Against Women and Other Pleasantries: the Last Chapter of Abū Tammām's Ḥamāsa," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 16 (1985): 61–72.

APPENDIX

يا أَيُّها المَولَى الوَزِيرُ ٱلذى   أَيَّامُهُ طايعَةٌ أَمْرَهْ
وَمَن لَهُ مَنْزِلَةٌ في العُلَى   تَكِلُّ عَنْ أَوْصافِها الفِكْرَهْ
أَخْلاقُكَ الغُرُّ دَعَتْنَا إِلَى ٱلـــــــإِدْلاءِ في القَولِ عَلَى غِرَّهْ
إِذْ لَمْ تَزَلْ تَصْفَحُ عَمَّنْ جَنَى   وَتُؤْثِرُ العَفْوَ مَعَ القُدْرَه
حَتَّى لَقَد يَخْفَى عَلَى النّاسِ ما   تُحِبُّ مِن أَمْرٍ وَما تَكْرَه
إِلَيكَ نَشْكُو حالَنا إِنَّنا   عايلةٌ في غايَةِ الكَثْرَه
أُحَدِّثُ المَوْلَى ٱلحَدِيثَ الذى   جَرَى لَهُم بِالخَيْطِ وَالإِبْرَه
صامُوا مَعَ النّاسِ وَلَكِنَّهُمْ   كانوا لِمَن يُبْصِرُهُم عِبْرَه
إِن شَرِبُوا فَالبِئْرُ زِيرٌ لَهُمْ   ما بَرِحَتْ وَالشَّرْبَةُ الجَرَّه
لَهُمْ مِنَ الخُبَّيْزِ مَسْلوقَةٌ   في كَلِّ يَومٍ تُشْبِهُ النَّشْرَه
أَقُولُ مَهما ٱجْتَمَعُوا حَولَها   تَنَزَّهُوا في الماءِ وَالخُضْرَه
وَأقبلَ العِيدُ وَما عِندَهُم   قَمْحٌ وَلا خُبْزٌ وَلا فَطْرَه
فَأَرْحَمْهُمُ إن أَبْصروا كَعْكَةً   في يَدِ طِفْلٍ أَوْ رَأَوْا تَمْرَه
تَشْخَصُ أَبْصارُهُمْ نَحْوَها   بِشَهْقَةٍ تَتْبَعُها زَفْرَه
فَكم أُقاسِي مِنهُمُ لَوْعَةً   وَكم أُقاسِي مِنهُمُ حَسْرَه
كَم قائلٍ يا أَبَتا مِنهُمُ   قَطَعْتَ عَنَّا الخُبْزَ في كَرَّه
ما صِرْتَ تَأْتِينا بِفَلْسٍ وَلا   بِدِرْهَمٍ وَرِقٍ وَلا نُقْرَه
وَأنتَ في خِدْمَةِ قَومٍ فَهَلْ   تَخْدُمُهُمْ يا أَبَتا سُخْرَه
يا خَيْبَةَ المَسْعَى إذا لم يَكُنْ   يَجْرِي لَنا أَجْرٍ وَلا أُجْرَه
لَقَد تَعَجَّبْتُ لَها فِطْنَةً   أَتى بِها الطِّفْلُ بِلا جَرَّه

وَكَيفَ يَخلُو الطِّفْلُ مِن فِطْنَةٍ   وَكُلُّ مَولُودٍ عَلَى الفِطْرَه
وَيَومَ زارَتْ أُمُّهُمْ أُخْتَها   وَالأُخْتُ فِي الغَيرَةِ كالضَرَّه
وَأَقْبَلَتْ تَشْكو لَها حالَها   وَصَبْرَها مِنِّي عَلَى العُسرَه
قالتْ لَها كيفَ تَكونُ النِّسا   كذا مَعَ الأزواجِ يا غُرَّه
قُومِي اُطْلُبِي حَقَّكِ مِنهُ بِلا   تَخَلُّفٍ مِنكِ وَلا فَتْرَه
وَإِنْ تَأَبَّى فَخُذِي ذَقْنَهُ   ثُمَّ اُنْتِفيها شَعْرَةً شَعْرَه
قالتْ لَها ما عادَتِي هكذا   فَإِنَّ زَوجِي عِندَهُ ضُجْرَه
أَخافُ إِنْ كَلَّمْتُهُ كِلْمَةً   طَلَّقَنِي قالتْ لَها بَعْرَه
فَهَوَّنَتْ قَدْرِيَ فِي نَفْسِها   فَجاءَتْ الزَّوْجَةُ مُحْتَرَّه
فَقابَلَتْنِي فَتَهَدَّدْتُها   فَاَسْتَقْبَلَتْ رَأْسِي بِآجُرَّه
وَباتَتْ الفِتْنَةُ ما بَينَنا   مِن أَوَّلِ اللَّيلِ إِلى بُكْرَه
وَما رَأى العَبْدُ لهُ مَخْلَصاً   إِلا وَما فِي عَينِهِ قَطْرَه
فَحَقَّ مَن حالتُهُ هذهِ   أَنْ يَنْظُرَ المَولَى لهُ نَظْرَه

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Spy or Rebel? The Curious Incident of the Temürid Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's Defection to the Mamluks at Damascus in 803/1400–1

The warlord Temür (d. 807/1405) is a figure who inspires not only great interest among historians, but usually a host of additional reactions ranging from admiration to revulsion. Reasons for these reactions include his ability to fuse the disparate political elements of late fourteenth-century Transoxanian society into an effective whole, the decades he spent and thousands of miles he covered in pursuit of military goals, and his complicated, charismatic, and probably magnetic character with its odd mix of contrary traits. Among these were the ability to express both great affection to his family and great cruelty to his enemies. Equally important was Temür's endless obsession with the history, legacy, and ideological challenge posed by the family of the Mongol conqueror Chingiz Khan (d. 1227), which occupied many of Temür's waking thoughts even though—or perhaps because—he did not rank among their number. It is no surprise, therefore, that much has been written about Temür's life and exploits, and scholarship on these topics will surely continue. Far less work, however, has been done on Temür's sons and grandsons, to say nothing of his wives, concubines, and daughters, who have been virtually ignored by historians so far. Yet these family members deserve attention too, both for their own activities and lives, and for the fact that they were often on the receiving end of Temür's complex interests, prejudices, and desires. This article will therefore present some ruminations on the life and stunted career of one of Temür's grandsons, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, in an effort to demonstrate the effect Temür may have had on the people closest to him.

In the winter of 803/1400–1, a curious incident happened in the Mamluk city of Damascus. At the time, the city lay caught between the fearsome attacking armies of Temür on one side and the defending armies of the Mamluk sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj (first r. 801–8/1399–1405) on the other.[1] Temür had arrived in Syria in the autumn, and in a bold and startlingly successful strike, had captured both Aleppo and all the Syrian Mamluk commanders who had gathered in the city to defend it. Temür had then worked his way south towards Damascus, acquiring the now helpless smaller Syrian cities along the way. Although Faraj and his advisors and

[1] For the locations of the respective forces see Walter J. Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn and Tamerlane: Their Historic Meeting in Damascus, 1401 A.D. (803 A.H.): A Study Based on Arabic Manuscripts of Ibn Khaldūn's "Autobiography," with a Translation into English, and a Commentary* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1962), 57, notes 18, 19.

armies had set out from Cairo too late to help Aleppo, they at least managed to arrive in Damascus first on 6 Jumādá I 803/23 December 1400, followed shortly thereafter by Temür's forces.[2] Once there, the two armies observed one another warily, exchanging messengers and demands and skirmishing periodically.

Many of the commanders in Temür's army were his sons and grandsons, whom he liked to provide with military opportunities. It is therefore no surprise that the Temürid forces in one skirmish on 25 December/8 Jumādá I were led by Temür's grandson through his daughter Agha Beki, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn.[3] The curious incident mentioned above took place a few days after the skirmish, possibly on 13 Jumādá I/30 December, when Sulṭān-Ḥusayn suddenly defected to Mamluk Damascus. Unfortunately, the details of his flight are completely unknown: did he leave his grandfather's camp openly or in secret? During the day or at night? Alone or accompanied, and if the latter, by whom? The histories do not reveal how Sulṭān-Ḥusayn made his way from his grandfather's camp into the city. What we do know, however, is that once in Damascus he was swiftly brought to meet with Sultan Faraj.[4]

It is not surprising that the sources present disparate views of this event. Temürid authors suggest variously that Sulṭān-Ḥusayn engaged in this strange behavior because he was drunk, misled by poor advisors, or simply reckless and foolish.[5] By contrast, Mamluk sources make no mention of alcohol, bad advice or stupidity, but they unfortunately do not attribute any other motive to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, either. But both sides can agree that the Mamluks were thrilled to see their unexpected guest, perhaps not only because of his identity, but also because

[2] For the date see Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn,* 55–56, note 15.

[3] ʿAlī ibn Dāwūd al-Khaṭīb al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970–94), 2:82. Persian sources do not mention the raid.

[4] The sources merely say, vaguely, that he went (Persian) or came (Arabic) to Damascus. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 2:82–83 (no date); Aḥmad Ibn ʿArabshāh, *ʿAjāʾib al-Maqdūr fī Nawāʾib Tīmūr,* ed. Aḥmad Fāʾiz al-Ḥumsī (Beirut, 1987), 243; and idem, *Tamerlane or Timur the Great Amir,* trans. J. H. Sanders (Lahore, 1936, repr. 1976), 140 (hereafter Ibn ʿArabshāh/Sanders, *ʿAjāʾib/Tamerlane*); Abū Bakr Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1977–), 4:165, possible date of 13 Jumādá I/30 December 1400; Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī, *Zafarnāmah: Tārīkh-i Futūḥāt-i Amīr Tīmūr Kūrkānī,* ed. Felix Tauer (Prague, 1937), 230–31, date of Jumādá I/December 1400–January 1401; Muʿīn al-Dīn Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh-i Muʿīnī,* ed. Jean Aubin (Tehran, 1957), 376, and ibid., ed. Parvīn Istakhrī (Tehran, 2004), 278–79 (no date); Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk fī Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Saʿīd ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1956–73), 3:1039 (news in a letter that arrived in Cairo in Jumādá II /January–February 1401), 3:1042 (date of 13 Jumādá I/30 December for the actual defection); Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, *Zafarnāmah,* ed. Muḥammad ʿAbbāsī (Tehran, 1957–58), 228.

[5] For drunkenness see Yazdī, *Zafarnāmah,* 228, and Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab,* 376/278; for bad advisors see Shāmī, *Zafarnāmah,* 231; for recklessness see Ibn ʿArabshāh/Sanders, *ʿAjāʾib/Tamerlane,* 243/140.

of his reportedly favorable appearance—he was tall, handsome, and, according to some, even wearing a jeweled crown (?).[6] At any rate, the Mamluks welcomed Sulṭān-Ḥusayn with high honors and gave him a glorious ceremonial robe, as well as a horse with a golden saddle and other impressive trappings.[7] Such gifts, especially the bedecked animal, were typically reserved for elevated members of the Mamluk aristocracy or extremely important foreign diplomats. In this context they demonstrated the great enthusiasm the Mamluk commanders felt about Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's arrival.[8] Then, in an unusual step during or perhaps after the gift-giving ceremony, the Mamluks cut off Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's hair, thereby making him conform to Mamluk norms. They may also have hoped to dissuade him from going back to his grandfather by providing visible evidence of his change of sides.[9] While meeting with Faraj and his commanders, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn provided them with intelligence about Temür's army—its numbers, its morale, and whether it might be defeated.[10] We may assume the Mamluks were very interested in this information, although they ultimately made poor use of it.

Meanwhile, messengers continued to pass back and forth between Faraj and Temür. Shortly after Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's defection (according to the Persian sources) or before it (according to the Mamluks), Temür wrote demanding the return of a prisoner the Mamluks had held in Cairo for several years, but the letter does not appear to mention Sulṭān-Ḥusayn.[11] At any rate, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn himself continued to live under Mamluk patronage during these few days.[12] The skirmishes between the two armies also continued until one larger battle took place on 19 Jumādá I 803/5 January 1401, during which Sulṭān-Ḥusayn fought for the Mamluks. On the Temürid side were none other than his own uncles, Temür's sons Mīrānshāh and Shāh Rukh. During the skirmish the Temürid forces encountered the runaway among the Mamluk soldiers. Sulṭān-Ḥusayn may have been unusually visible because of his height and because he was using his own standard; just in case,

[6] For the crown see Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 2:82; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 4:165; for the warm welcome see Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab,* 376/278; Shāmī, *Zafarnāmah,* 231; Yazdī, *Zafarnāmah,* 228; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 4:165; Ibn ʿArabshāh/Sanders, *ʿAjāʾib/Tamerlane,* 243/140.

[7] Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 2:82; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:1042.

[8] See Anne F. Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol Worlds* (Cambridge, 2008), 23.

[9] Ibn ʿArabshāh/Sanders, *ʿAjāʾib/Tamerlane,* 243/140; V. V. Bartold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia II: Ulugh Beg,* trans. V. and T. Minorsky (Leiden, 1963), 31.

[10] Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 2:82–83, Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab,* 376/278–79; Ibn ʿArabshāh/Sanders, *ʿAjāʾib/Tamerlane,* 243/140.

[11] Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 2:82; Shāmī, *Zafarnāmah,* 231; Yazdī, *Zafarnāmah,* 228.

[12] His host was the financial official (*nāẓir al-khāṣṣ,* controller of the sultan's fisc) Saʿd al-Dīn Ibn Ghurāb. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 4:165.

however, he identified himself to them once the fighting grew hot.[13] Eventually, a Temürid commander maneuvered close enough to seize the reins of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's horse and drag it and the prince over to the Temürid side.[14]

Sulṭān-Ḥusayn was swiftly sent back to Temür, who had him and some of his advisors chained and imprisoned.[15] It is unclear whether Agha Beki tried to help her son, but a few days after Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's capture Shāh Rukh interceded on behalf of his nephew. Temür accepted the intercession, pardoned Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, and reinstated him in the Temürid armies. Temür does not appear to have shown similar leniency to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's advisors, although their ultimate fate is unclear.[16] This is consistent with the scholarly claim that when Temürid princes behaved badly, Temür preferred to punish advisors, particularly bureaucratic ones, more harshly than the Temürids themselves.[17] Later Sulṭān-Ḥusayn was permitted to take part in campaigns on his grandfather's behalf throughout Iraq and Anatolia, although he was always accompanied by other Temürid princes.

Meanwhile, after Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's return to the Temürid side, the Mamluk leadership unexpectedly fled for Cairo on the eve of 21 Jumādá I 803/7 January 1401 to avert a potential coup there.[18] This forced the Mamluk armies to follow the next morning in great haste and disarray, while the helpless city of Damascus surrendered to Temür and thereafter suffered his detailed, painful and systematic methods of plunder.[19]

The curious incident of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's defection is no more than a tiny subplot in the larger narrative of Temür's devastation of Damascus and the complete Mamluk failure to defend the city. Small wonder, then, that the story earned no more than a few lines at most, and often considerably less, in the Persian and Arabic historical works. And yet the incident deserves more attention than this from modern historians, since it illuminates not only the ways in which Temür

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[13] For the height see Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab,* 377/279, for the standard see Yazdī, *Zafarnāmah,* 2:234; for Sulṭān-Ḥusayn identifying himself see Shāmī, *Zafarnāmah,* 233.

[14] Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab,* 376/278; Yazdī, *Zafarnāmah,* 2:234.

[15] Yazdī, *Zafarnāmah,* 2:234–35.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Beatrice Forbes Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane* (Cambridge, 1989), 114; for Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's advisors see Shāmī, *Zafarnāmah,* 233; Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab,* 377/279; Yazdī, *Zafarnāmah,* 2:234–35.

[18] This was the night between January 6 and 7; see Fischel, *Ibn Khaldūn,* note 22 on pp. 59–60 for the date.

[19] Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 2:83; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 4:166; Fischel/Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibn Khaldūn and Tamerlane,* 30 and note 19 on p. 57; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:1045; Shāmī, *Zafarnāmah,* 233–34; Yazdī, *Zafarnāmah*; Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab,* 378/279; Ibn ʿArabshāh/Sanders, *ʿAjāʾib/Tamerlane,* 245/141. For Temür's methods of plunder see Jean Aubin, "Comment Tamerlan prenait les villes," *Studia Islamica* 19 (1963): 83–122.

asserted and maintained control over his offspring, but also the way in which the question of succession to Temür as ruler of his empire—and especially the role played by women in determining that succession—affected the Temürid princes' opportunities for meaningful career advancement.

Before we examine these issues, however, we must first determine what Sulṭān-Ḥusayn was doing. It is possible that he was sent either to spy on the Mamluks or to spread falsehoods in order to demoralize and weaken them, since Temür routinely used such techniques to enhance the effectiveness of his military campaigns. This hypothesis, however, soon proves to be untenable. Temür preferred to employ religious men for this purpose, especially mystics, who could be highly mobile and whose frequent wanderings therefore were unlikely to seem unusual.[20] They were also generally not Temür's own relatives. In addition, the Mamluks were convinced that Temür had previously sent agents to Mamluk lands, and they thus had executed an entire embassy from Temür in 796/1394 on the suspicion that it was composed of spies. Mamluk territory was therefore a particularly dangerous place to anyone working for Temür.[21] It is out of the question that Temür would assign such a risky task to his grandson in this perilous region, especially when there were more expendable persons to do it.

Furthermore, if Sulṭān-Ḥusayn had gone to the Mamluks as Temür's agent of confusion, this would have rendered Temür's punishment of him after his return inexplicable, to say nothing of the disapproving tone used by the Temürid chroniclers when they described the incident: Niẓām al-Dīn Shāmī (fl. 806/1404), author of an official history of Temür's career, pointed out how strange Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's behavior was and explained that it had been brought on by the bad counsel of corrupt advisors *(mufassidān)*.[22] Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī (d. 858/1454), writing for Temür's grandson Ibrāhīm-Sulṭān ibn Shāh Rukh (d. 838/1435), echoed Shāmī regarding the advisors but added that Sulṭān-Ḥusayn was drunk, while Muʿīn al-Dīn Naṭanzī (fl. 816–17/1413–14), employed by Temür's grandson Iskandar ibn ʿUmar Shaykh (d. 818/1415), ignored the bad advisors and attributed Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's rash behavior entirely to drunkenness.[23] Given that these authors worked either for Temür or for his grandsons, it seems unlikely that they would have criticized Sulṭān-Ḥusayn so clearly if he had gone to Damascus on Temür's orders. Even a Temürid-era author who was hostile to the warlord, Ibn ʿArabshāh (d. 854/1450), attributed Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's defection not to any subterfuge from

[20] H. R. Roemer, "Tīmūr in Iran," *Cambridge History of Iran,* ed. P. Jackson (Cambridge, 1968), 6:49–50.

[21] Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology,* 180.

[22] Shāmī, *Zafarnāmah,* 231.

[23] Yazdī, *Zafarnāmah,* 2:228; Naṭanzī, *Muntakhab,* 376/278. For these authors see Woods, "Timurid Historiography," 89, 99–100.

Temür, but to Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's own foolish and reckless personality.[24] It is therefore more likely that Sulṭān-Ḥusayn went to Damascus of his own volition. If so, then a better hypothesis is that he was seeking the patronage of the Mamluk sultan in hopes of improving his opportunities for career advancement. But why might one of Temür's grandsons do such a thing? The answer lies in the complex ways in which Temür related to his family, especially the men in it, and the way Temür tended to squash the career opportunities of his offspring.

Like many of the other Temürids, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn was an ambitious young man. The clearest proof of this appeared in 807/1405, that is, a few years after his defection at Damascus, when he tried to take over Samarqand soon after his grandfather's death. But Sulṭān-Ḥusayn failed to capture the city, which became the possession of his cousin Khalīl-Sulṭān instead. Nevertheless Sulṭān-Ḥusayn remained undaunted, arranged to work for Khalīl-Sulṭān, and then later tried to use an army that Khalīl-Sulṭān gave him, not for Khalīl-Sulṭān's business but for his own purposes. Unfortunately for Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, he failed here, too, and fled to his uncle Shāh Rukh, who put a definitive end to his nephew's hopes by having him killed.[25] Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's ambitions were therefore unmistakable, although his ability to achieve them was low. It is reasonable to assume that he had been similarly ambitious those few years earlier when he found himself outside Damascus with his grandfather's armies.

In Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's case, however, the opportunity to pursue ambition was just as important as the mere presence of ambition itself. It is in this realm of opportunity that Temür's personality may have helped spur Sulṭān-Ḥusayn to his rebellious behavior. Temür appears to have loved his children and grandchildren, but does not seem to have trusted them. As a result, opportunities for the Temürids in general, and for Sulṭān-Ḥusayn in particular, were constrained because Temür liked to control his family members just as he controlled his followers and his forces.

Beatrice Forbes Manz has discussed this phenomenon at some length. Temür frequently gave his sons and grandsons important administrative and military positions, but while doing so he always took pains to limit their independence so that none could establish a base of support to rival his own. Thus, although he appointed some of his offspring as governors to rule particular regions in his absence, he also transferred them periodically to keep them from establishing themselves in any one place. Similarly, he furnished all the Temürids with appropriate entourages, including advisors, but then always ensured that some of

[24] Ibn ʿArabshāh/Sanders, *ʿAjāʾib/Tamerlane,* 243/140.

[25] Manz, *Rise and Rule,* 132; see also H. R. Roemer, "The Successors of Tīmūr," *The Cambridge History of Iran,* volume 6, *The Timurid and Safavid Periods,* ed. Peter Jackson (Cambridge, 1986), 100.

these advisors were his own followers, often related to him by marriage, whose status and authority rivaled that of the princes themselves. This allowed the advisors to keep the princes in line. Temür also gave armies to some of his sons or grandsons, especially those whom he made governors, but he then borrowed these armies to use on campaign and left temporary forces in their place. This limited the princes' ability to establish durable ties with the fighting men who worked for them, but strengthened the connections between the fighting men and Temür himself.[26] Likewise, when Temür sent out a military campaign under the leadership of his offspring, he usually appointed several different Temürid princes, each of whom was accompanied by advisors, which created a system of checks and balances not only on each prince, but among them as well. In this context of balanced opportunity and control, therefore, a Temürid like Sulṭān-Ḥusayn could win appointments or fight in campaigns, but only with other Temürids and advisors present to keep him in line. Surely Sulṭān-Ḥusayn knew that he, along with his cousins and uncles, was unlikely to realize any greater ambitions while his grandfather kept such a grip on them all.

To make matters worse, the limitations the Temürids felt were not merely a problem during their grandfather's lifetime, for the larger challenge they faced was the way they would still be restricted even after his death. But how could Temür control his relatives from beyond the grave? The answer lies in the question of succession to Temür as ruler of his empire. Succession was a thorny problem in Central and East Asian nomadic society, since an unusually wide range of factors made a man eligible for consideration as the next ruler when a beg or khan died. One important element of succession was the concept of seniority within a family, which meant that a dying or dead ruler's brothers, uncles, or cousins could legitimately assert their right to rule.[27] (In some cases a senior woman might also enter the fray, albeit not for herself but only acting as regent for a son.) This elder generation could therefore be pitted against the deceased ruler's sons, and the elders' superior experience and resources could give them an advantage over the ruler's younger, less practiced, and less powerful offspring. It was this principle of seniority that Temür's own role model and idol, Chingiz Khan, avoided by choosing to limit succession to his sons, which he did at a gathering of Mongol notables *(quriltay)* in 1218, and which effectively excluded the conqueror's brothers from consideration. Although Chingiz Khan's heir, his third son, Ögedei (r. 1229–41), ruled without challenge, it is not surprising that when Ögedei died, Chingiz Khan's brother Temüge-Otchigin sought to reestablish the principle of seniority and override the claims of Ögedei's sons and grandsons

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[26] For details see Manz, *Rise and Rule,* 84–88.

[27] Paul Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan: His Life and Legacy,* trans. T. N. Haining (Oxford, 1991), 125.

in favor of his own right to rule. Although Temüge-Otchigin's claim fit squarely within the structure of nomadic inheritance by following the principle of seniority, however, he failed to achieve his goal for military reasons, and this failure led to his censure, trial, and ultimate death.[28] Similarly, Chingiz Khan's grandson Batu (d. 1255), ruler of Central Asia and Russia, was seen as the senior member of his generation among Chingiz Khan's grandsons, and his word therefore carried great weight in struggles over succession in the 1240s. Batu helped delay the coronation of his cousin Güyük (r. 1246–48) for years, then allowed another cousin, Möngke, to become Great Khan (r. 1251–59) even though Möngke was from the weakest branch of the family and should not have had a chance.[29] Batu's seniority therefore helped him control the politics of the empire, although Batu never proposed himself as a candidate for Great Khan.

But even when succession deviated from the principle of seniority and was limited to a ruler's sons and grandsons, the wealth of possibilities here, too, made selection difficult. Khans could invoke primogeniture, ultimogeniture, or simply their own choice to determine their heir. Chingiz Khan used this last option, ruler's choice, in 1218 when designating Ögedei to be the next Great Khan, and Ögedei followed suit in selecting his grandson Shiremün (although Shiremün never actually managed to hold the position).

To complicate matters still further, one additional requirement for a man's sons to succeed him, which modern scholars sometimes fail to enumerate, was the identity of a son's mother. In nomadic ideology not all mothers were created equal, and thus the sons of some mothers enjoyed opportunities that the sons of other mothers did not, even when all the sons shared the same father. In general, the children of a principal wife (or principal wives) held greater status than the sons of secondary wives or concubines, and therefore enjoyed better career opportunities.[30] Thus, at the meeting of 1218, Chingiz Khan was not in fact choosing a new Great Khan from among all his sons, but was rather limiting his choice to those sons borne by his principal wife, Börte—his sons with other women did not enter into consideration. It was thus Börte's identity as Chingiz

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[28] Ratchnevsky, *Genghis Khan,* 125; Anonymous, *The Secret History of the Mongols,* trans. Igor de Rachewiltz (Leiden, 2006), 1:182–88; ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAtāʾ Malik Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān Gushā,* trans. J. A. Boyle as *The History of the World-Conqueror* (Seattle, 1997), 248, 255; Rashīd al-Dīn, *The Successors of Genghis Khan,* trans. J. A. Boyle (New York, 1971), 178, 182; Thomas T. Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism: The Policies of the Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia and the Islamic Lands 1251–59* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1987), 20.

[29] Juvaynī, *World-Conqueror,* 249; Rashīd al-Dīn, *Successors,* 180, 200–5; Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism,* 19–20. For the origins of the strife between Batu and Güyük see Anonymous, *Secret History,* 201–2, 205–9.

[30] On this point see Juvaynī, *World-Conqueror,* 40.

Khan's most important wife that determined which of his progeny were eligible to inherit the empire; the choice did not extend to all of Chingiz Khan's sons unilaterally.[31] At the other end of the spectrum, the Ottomans also recognized the importance of a mother's status in the politics of succession, but they responded by working to eliminate the question entirely. This they did by stipulating that the reproductive partners of the sultans be concubines, not wives, which meant that the status of these "royal mothers" depended entirely on their ability to bear sons of the Ottoman house, and not either on their marital positions or on their links to outside families. In fact, after the early years of the dynasty the Ottoman sultans stopped marrying anyone, since the presence of wives in the Ottoman family might have complicated succession by subjecting the imperial house to unwanted stresses from outside powers.[32]

It is this final principle, that of mother's identity, that seems to have most strongly affected Temürid succession, and through it, the opportunities available to individual Temürid princes like Sulṭān-Ḥusayn. Unlike the Ottomans, who required that the mothers of heirs be concubines, Temür appears to have required the opposite, namely that the mothers of heirs be wives (and therefore free). Although Temür had four sons who survived to adulthood—ʿUmar-Shaykh (d. 796/1394), Jahāngīr (d. 777/1376), Mīrānshāh (d. 810/1408), and Shāh Rukh (d. 850/1447)—only Jahāngīr's mother, Turmish Agha Khatun, was Temür's wife; the mothers of the other three sons were concubines. But Jahāngīr could not succeed his father as ruler, since he died during Temür's lifetime (as did Temür's oldest son, ʿUmar-Shaykh). This meant that when Temür came to choosing an heir he was left with only two sons, Mīrānshāh and Shāh Rukh, and numerous grandsons. Unfortunately for Mīrānshāh and Shāh Rukh, however, the fact that both of their mothers had been Temür's concubines appears to have eliminated them from consideration. Instead, Temür seems to have combined the principles of mother's identity and ruler's choice to skip over Mīrānshāh and Shāh Rukh entirely and designate a grandson as heir: Jahāngīr's son Muḥammad-Sulṭān.

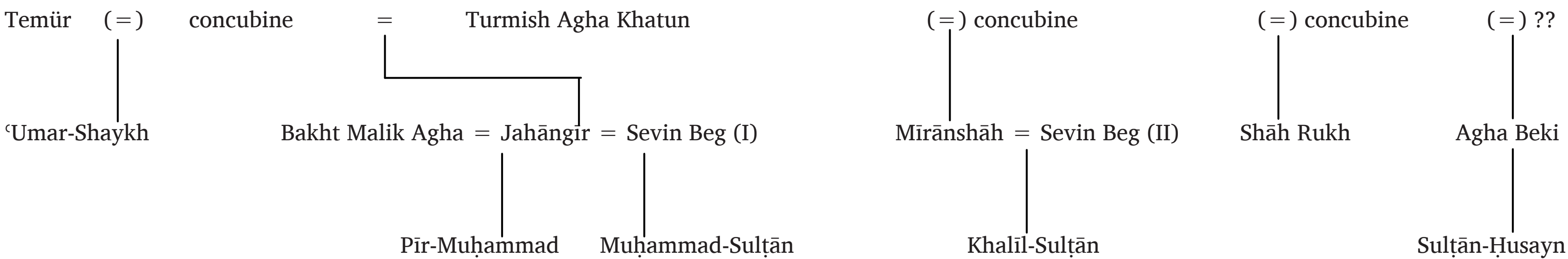
Temür seems to have decided that Muḥammad-Sulṭān was the best candidate to succeed him for two reasons. First, as explained above, his father Jahāngīr was the only one of Temür's sons whose mother was free and an actual wife to Temür. Second, Muḥammad-Sulṭān's own mother, Sevin Beg, was herself a free woman and lawful wife to Jahāngīr, and as an added attraction, she was

[31] Juvaynī, *World-Conqueror,* 40, claims that Chingiz Khan had many sons and daughters from Börte and from other wives and concubines, but specifies that only Börte's sons were eligible to succeed their father. On two sons of concubines who were never even considered for succession see Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism,* 18, note 1.

[32] Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford, 1993), 28–31, 37–42.

Partial Temürid Family Tree(s)

Traditional View



Revised View



maternally descended from the Jochid line of the Chingizid family, which Temür revered.[33] After Jahāngīr died, Sevin Beg married his brother Mīrānshāh and with him had another son, Khalīl-Sulṭān. Unfortunately for Temür, however, the heir Muḥammad-Sulṭān died in 805/1403, and he was forced to look for another candidate. When he did so, Temür did not choose Sevin Beg's second son Khalīl-Sulṭān (i.e., the deceased heir's uterine half-brother). Rather he settled on Pīr-Muḥammad, Jahāngīr's other son by a different wife who was also, of course, free, but who was not a Chingizid.[34] By limiting his choices to Jahāngīr's line, Temür demonstrated the importance of Jahāngīr's mother's status as a free and married woman; by choosing Muḥammad-Sulṭān before Pīr-Muḥammad, Temür demonstrated the importance of a Chingizid wife over a non-Chingizid. We may assume that Temür skipped over Khalīl-Sulṭān entirely, even though his mother was Muḥammad-Sulṭān's mother and a Chingizid, because Khalīl-Sulṭān's father, Mīrānshāh, had already been disqualified from succession as a result of his concubine mother's slave status.[35]

Clearly, therefore, the status of a son's mother in the question of succession was just as much a problem for the Temürids as for the Chingizids and other nomadic dynasties. Even though Temür had two experienced, full-grown sons, to say nothing of his numerous grandsons, the succession ideology to which he subscribed meant that very few members of the family actually qualified as contenders for rule. Since this was true for those Temürids who were connected to the conqueror in a direct paternal line, i.e., his sons and their sons, then how much more true was it for Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, whose relatively low status as the son of Temür's daughter Agha Beki surely disqualified him even more? Certainly Sulṭān-Ḥusayn himself felt he was a worthy candidate to rule his grandfather's empire, as his first major act after Temür's death was to try to take over the capital city, Samarqand. But it is likely that during Temür's lifetime Sulṭān-Ḥusayn understood that Temür's ideas about succession meant he had no real opportunity for overall rule. This hard truth must have been clear by 800–1/1398, at which point Temür had chosen Muḥammad-Sulṭān to succeed him, and which was at least two years before Sulṭān-Ḥusayn saw his opportunity to escape the system by running away at Damascus.[36]

Supporting the idea that Sulṭān-Ḥusayn was trying to defect to the Mamluks to

[33] Her own mother was Shakar Beg, daughter of the Jochid Janibeg Khan. See Woods, "Genealogy," 112.

[34] This was Bakht Malik Agha. See Woods, "Genealogy," 113, for a family tree.

[35] The details come from Woods, "Genealogy," 112–14; the concepts about the role of the mother in succession come from John Woods himself during class discussions in 1997 at the University of Chicago.

[36] Woods, "Genealogy," 113.

gain greater career opportunities is the fact that he was not the first or only prince to seek to elude Temür's control. A slightly earlier and more famous example of a rebellious Temürid had been Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's uncle Mīrānshāh, whose suddenly erratic behavior as governor of Azerbaijan around 801–2/1399 was characterized by official Temürid sources as a form of temporary insanity resulting from a fall from his horse.[37] The reality, however, was probably that Mīrānshāh was trying to establish himself as an independent ruler.[38] At the time of this episode Mīrānshāh was in his early thirties, and like Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, he already knew that Temür was passing over him as an heir to rule the entire empire. But Temür heard of his son's behavior from the advisors whom he had set to check the prince, as well as from Mīrānshāh's wife, and returned to Azerbaijan from campaigning in northern India to replace Mīrānshāh as governor and take him along on his final campaign in Iran, the better to keep an eye on him.[39] Similarly, Temür's grandson Pīr-Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar Shaykh avoided going on a campaign in 802/1399–1400, even though Temür had directly ordered him to do so; he, too, was punished for this insubordination.[40] Like Mīrānshāh and Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, Pīr-Muḥammad may have felt his opportunities under Temür to be limited because of the slave status of his grandmother, ʿUmar-Shaykh's mother, who had been Temür's concubine, not wife. And even Shāh Rukh, also passed over for rule because of his concubine mother, but who became Temür's unintended heir by defeating the other princes and taking control of a smaller version of the empire (r. 1411–47), deliberately rejected many of Temür's Turko-Mongol pretensions in favor of Islamic ideas in a sort of quiet rebellion against his father after his death.[41]

When we set Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's defection to the Mamluks at Damascus in the proper context of Temürid family ideology, therefore, it becomes clear that the opportunities for Sulṭān-Ḥusayn under the Mamluk sultan may have looked far more promising than they did under his own grandfather. Surely the situation must have seemed particularly appealing during the reigns of Faraj's father, al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (r. 784–91/1382–89, 792–801/1390–99), who was a strong sultan and ruled for nearly seventeen years. Those of Barqūq's exploits that arose from his interactions with Temür were hardly secret, and it can therefore be reasonably assumed that Sulṭān-Ḥusayn knew about them. For example, during

[37] John Woods, "Turco-Iranica II: Notes on a Timurid Decree of 1396/798," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 43, no. 4 (1984): 333–35; also see Manz, *Rise and Rule,* 72–73, 114. Bartold does not question the insanity conclusion in *Ulugh Beg,* 33–34.

[38] Woods, "Genealogy," 113.

[39] Bartold, *Ulugh Beg,* 34–35.

[40] See ibid., 35; Manz, *Rise and Rule,* 114.

[41] For Shāh Rukh's preference for Islamic norms and deliberate rejection of the Turko-Mongol ideas that Temür favored see Woods, "Genealogy," 115–16.

Barqūq's sultanate Temür had threatened to approach the northern Mamluk city of Aleppo, but had not actually done so because Barqūq demonstrated his own warlike qualities by leading out a sizable army and spending part of the summer of 796/1394 in Syria, simply waiting for Temür to appear. Barqūq also opposed Temür by being the single most important patron of other regional rulers; he counted among his protégés Qara Yusuf, leader of the Qara Qoyunlu Turkmen in northern Iraq, whom Temür fought multiple times during his second major Iran campaign (794–98/1392–96) without ever capturing him or permanently defeating his men. To add insult to this injury, Qara Yusuf later seized Temür's man Atlamish, commander of a fort near Tabriz, and sent him to Barqūq to show the Mamluk sultan his loyalty. Barqūq kept Atlamish in Cairo for years and refused to return him to Temür, despite Temür's repeated demands.[42] Another of Barqūq's protégés was the Jalayirid Sulṭān-Aḥmad, who fled from Temür at Baghdad in 795/1393 and ran directly to Cairo for help, where Barqūq welcomed him lavishly, housed him in style, showered him with gifts and honors, married his niece, and sent him off with an army to reinstate himself in Baghdad.[43] Barqūq also extended his patronage to other regional rulers like the Artuqids at Mardin, Qāḍī Burhān al-Dīn at Sivas, and the Ottoman ruler Beyazid in Anatolia, although with less dramatic results.[44] It was therefore clear that Barqūq was a sovereign of significant stature, enough to oppose Temür successfully when many others failed. Furthermore, the Mamluk Sultanate had a long history of welcoming refugees and immigrants, especially Turko-Mongol military men, who were generally incorporated into some level of the military forces. Certainly, many of these refugees to Mamluk territory had belonged to an earlier time period, that of Ilkhanid rule in Iran (1258–1335).[45] Nevertheless, if Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's knowledge of Mongol history was similar to Temür's, he is likely to have known something about these men and the fact that they were almost always welcomed into Mamluk society. It is understandable that Sulṭān-Ḥusayn may have rightly deduced that Mamluk territory was a place that held some promise, and Barqūq was surely a man who could protect and promote him, if only he could reach him.

Unfortunately for Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, however, by the time the opportunity for flight presented itself at Damascus, the situation had changed dramatically. Barqūq was dead, his son Faraj was not yet a teenager, and Faraj's advisors were of a far

[42] Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology,* 186–87, 189, 190, 192, 193.

[43] Ibid., 176, 180–81, 185–86.

[44] Ibid., 174–76.

[45] David Ayalon, "The Wafidiya in the Mamluk Kingdom," *Islamic Culture* 25 (1951): 89–104, reprinted in his *Studies on the Mamluks of Egypt (1250–1517)* (London, 1977); Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260–1281* (Cambridge, 1995), 108–9; Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology,* 31, 70–73, 102, 105, 106–7, 117–24.

lesser caliber than Barqūq had been. At the time of Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's defection, the Mamluk leadership's sorry decision to run back to Cairo to forestall a coup was still a few days away, but certainly the Mamluks had already demonstrated a significant lack of decisiveness by waiting so long to respond to rumors of Temür's advance that their delay had contributed to the loss of Aleppo and all the Syrian Mamluk commanders with it. For all we know, therefore, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn may indeed have been drunk, as Naṭanzī and Yazdī suggest, if only to give himself the courage to take such a drastic step when the rewards were suddenly so uncertain. And he was fortunate that Temür preferred to punish his family members only lightly when they disobeyed him, since otherwise the consequences of his flight and recapture might have been much more severe.

In sum, then, Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's curious defection earned little attention in either the Persian or Arabic histories, especially when considered against the dramatic backdrop of events at Damascus. Nevertheless, this tiny sub-plot in the larger narrative is important for what it can illuminate about the dynamics of the Temürid family. In particular it suggests that Sulṭān-Ḥusayn may have been seeking career advancement among the Mamluks, that is, outside the confines of his grandfather's system. This could have been a result not only of Temür's general policies of control, but also of his rigid and limited views on the question of legitimacy, rule, and succession. Nor was Sulṭān-Ḥusayn the only Temürid who chafed under the warlord's policies: Mīrānshāh, Pīr-Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar-Shaykh and, much later, Shāh Rukh all made attempts to resist Temür's dominance. Unfortunately for Sulṭān-Ḥusayn, his opportunity for flight came too late, after his would-be patron had died. His recapture sent him back to his grandfather for punishment, but he emerged relatively unscathed, only to wait until Temür's death to make yet another unsuccessful bid for power.

The incident also raises a question: why was Temür so lenient with his rebellious offspring? The repercussions for Mīrānshāh's attempt to establish himself independently were mild, as he was merely removed from office and forced to accompany Temür on campaign. This may have posed an emotional challenge—was it galling? Infuriating? Something to accept with resignation?—but Mīrānshāh's life and physical health do not appear to have been in danger from his grandfather. Sulṭān-Ḥusayn's defection at Damascus may even have been colored by his knowledge of this leniency, and his hope that if his attempt failed, his grandfather might not punish him too much. The reasons for Temür's complicated treatment of his sons and grandsons—encouraging them with jobs and opportunities, limiting them with watchdog advisors, and refusing to punish them seriously when they misbehaved—also deserve further study.

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Mamluk Historical *Rajaz* Poetry: Ibn Dāniyāl's Judge List and Its Later Adaptations

It is commonly held that one of the major sources for the study of the institution of judgeship in medieval Islam is Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's (d. 1449) biographical dictionary *Rafʿ al-Iṣr ʿan Quḍāt Miṣr*.[1] Little attention, however, has been paid to the fact that it was inspired by, and based on, a poem: Ibn Dāniyāl's (d. 1311) "The Ode on the Judges of Egypt,"[2] which consists of a roster of judges from the Muslim conquest of Egypt to his own time. "Commissioned" by Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Jamāʿah (d. 1333), the Shafiʿi chief judge in Mamluk Egypt and Syria,[3] the poem became hugely popular among later historians writing on the subject. Ibn al-Mulaqqin (d. 1401), for example, in his *Nuzhat al-Nuẓẓār fī Quḍāt al-Amṣār,* and al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), in his *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah fī Akhbār Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* all made direct use of it as a source and, more importantly, as a model of presentation. It is no surprise to have a chief judge commission an homage to law enforcement, and by extension, to his own legacy. But Ibn Dāniyāl's *urjūzah* is not a typical panegyric: with little verbal fanfare, it is basically a list of names in strict chronological order. Moreover, its success among historians of no less stature than Ibn Ḥajar and al-Suyūṭī is not the kind of reception a normal panegyric would usually command. To the modern student, the *urjūzah* in question amounts to no more than a laundry list wrought in formulaic, and mostly dull, verses. But the reception of Ibn Dāniyāl's poem in its own time must have been quite different.[4] So it boils down to two related questions: why did Ibn Dāniyāl's *rajaz*

[1] Joseph Escovitz, *The Office of Qâḍî al-Quḍât in Cairo under the Baḥrî Mamlûks* (Berlin, 1984), especially 5–7, 17–19; Rhuvon Guest, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt; or, Kitâb el ʾumarâʾ (el wulâh) wa Kitâb el qudâh of el Kindî, together with an appendix derived mostly from Rafʿ el iṣr by Ibn Ḥajar* (Leiden, 1912); Mathieu Tillier, *Vies des cadies de Miṣr 237/851–366/976: Extrait du* Rafʿ al-ʿiṣr ʿan quḍāt Miṣr *d'Ibn Ḥağar al-ʿAsqalānī,* edition with annotated translation (Cairo, 2002).

[2] Various "titles" are given: *Rajaz fī Dhikr Man Waliya al-Qaḍāʾ bi-al-Diyār al-Miṣrīyah* (Ibn Ḥajar), *Urjūzah fī Man Waliya Qaḍāʾ Miṣr* (al-Suyūṭī), and *Jawharat al-Niẓām (al-naẓẓām) fī Man Waliya Miṣr min al-Ḥukkām* (Ibn al-Mulaqqin).

[3] For his career and the prominent Ibn Jamāʿah "dynasty" of jurists, including his son ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (d. 1366) and grandson Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm (d. 1388), see "Ibn Djamāʿa" (K. S. Salibi), in *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed.; also Escovitz, passim.

[4] In some ways, our poet's legacy became the victim of his own success: he was erroneously identified as a "prominent judge" by medieval scribes; see Istanbul, Ayasofya MS 4880, fol. 131a, a *dīwān* attributed to "*al-qāḍī al-ajall* Muḥammad Ibn Dāniyāl." I thank Alidost Numan and Bruce

become popular among historians, and what do we know about historical *rajaz* poetry produced during the time? In the following pages an attempt will be made to answer these questions in the context of Mamluk historiography and literary culture. We will examine the historians' experimentations with new forms of presentation and trace possible traits, or trends, in the development of *rajaz* poetry as a narrative tool for historical discourse.

Name-Dropping in Style: Ibn Dāniyāl's *Urjūzah:*

The poem opens with a prologue (verses 1–15) in praise of the patron, Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah, and concludes with more praise of him (verses 105–112). The main content, the judge list, begins as follows:

> 16. The first man to preside over the judgeship was
> Qays, the servant of ʿAdī ibn Sahm.
>
> 17. It was then passed on to Kaʿb ʿAbs,
> then to ʿUthmān, without any doubt.[5]

The roster runs up to Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah, who rose to become Shafiʿi chief judge of Egypt for three terms, starting from the year 1291, under the Mamluk sultan Khalīl Ashraf, for whom Ibn Dāniyāl served as a court panegyrist.[6] The poem in question was, therefore, most likely composed during this time. Altogether, one hundred fifty names—some with multiple appearances—are enumerated in one hundred twelve verses. Overall, the list is straightforward. As a panegyric, its functionality is accompanied by some, albeit minimal, rhetorical embellishments. Some textual devices are employed, and they involve some kind of wordplay between personal names and laudatory descriptions. Typical is the following:

> 93. Then Muḥyī al-Dīn held the office,
> and then Ibn Razīn, with a judicious mind *(dhū al-ḥijā al-razīn)*.[7]

Craig, of the University of Chicago, for helping me obtain a digitized version of the manuscript.

[5] Qays: Ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣī; Kaʿb ʿAbs: Ibn Yasār ibn Ḍabbah; ʿUthmān: Ibn Qays ibn Abī al-ʿĀṣī. The focus here is on artistic features of the poem; therefore references to the persons, especially those prior to the Mamluk era, will be kept to a minimum. Brief biographical information for the Mamluk judges will be supplied when necessary. Verse numbers have not been given in the editions.

[6] For Ibn Dāniyāl's association with Khalīl, see Li Guo, "Reading *Adab* in Historical Light: Factuality and Ambiguity in Ibn Dāniyāl's 'Occasional Verses' on Mamluk Society and Politics," in *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East,* ed. Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn (Wiesbaden, 2006), 387–89.

[7] Muḥyī al-Dīn: ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn ʿAyn al-Dawlah (Fusṭāṭ

The name Ibn Razīn is paired with the adjective *razīn,* "judicious." More often, one finds the following:

> 59. Qāsim, then Abū al-Fatḥ, held the office;
> he was by no means isolated, even without the divider *(bi-ghayr qāsim)*.[8]

The name Qāsim and the word *qāsim,* "divider," are punned, but with a twist. Oftentimes one verse contains more than one name, and the adjectives then end up being applicable to other persons who happen to be "close by." In this case, the praise is actually for Abū al-Fatḥ, but the pun is on Qāsim. Again, consider the following:

> 23. After him, the office was held by ʿAbd al-Aʿlá,
> then Ibn Ḥudayj, who commanded the highest esteem *(dhī al-fakhr al-aʿlá)*.[9]

The reason for the use of *aʿlá,* "the highest esteem," for Ibn Ḥudayj seems only to be that it rhymes with the name of ʿAbd al-Aʿlá, who appears earlier. In a similar vein, we read the following:

> 32. Then the post went to Ismāʿīl, the son of al-Yasaʿ,
> succeeding him was Ghawth, again, the best successor *(khayr tabaʿ)*.
>
> 33. After that he who occupied the office was al-Mufaḍḍal,
> then it was Abū al-Ṭāhir; he was the best *(al-afḍal)!*
>
> 34. After him it was al-Tujībī,
> and then al-ʿUmarī; how excellent he was *(najīb)!*
>
> 35. Succeeding him was al-Bakrī, and Ibn al-Bakkā,
> then Ibn ʿĪsá; he was the most pious *(azká nuská)!*[10]

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only, 665–76 A.H.); Ibn Razīn: Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan (al-Qāhirah only, 665–76 A.H., then Egypt, 676–78 A.H.); see Escovitz, *The Office of Qâḍî al-Quḍât,* 62, 121.

[8] Qāsim: Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn al-Nuʿmān; Abū al-Fatḥ: ʿAbd al-Ḥākim ibn Saʿīd al-Fāriqī.

[9] ʿAbd al-Aʿlá: Ibn Khālid al-Fahmī; Ibn Ḥudayj: ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Muʿāwiyah.

[10] Ismāʿīl ibn al-Yasaʿ ibn al-Rabīʿ; Ghawth: Ibn Sulaymān al-Ḥaḍramī; al-Mufaḍḍal: Ibn Faḍālah;

Even someone who does not read Arabic can see the rhyme pattern here. Of the *urjūzah muzdawijah* type, the poem consists of rhyming couplets;[11] as a result, a concluding adjective is often used to describe any person's name that rhymes with it, no matter what. This kind of randomly-generated praise abounds.[12] All sorts of additional phrases and words are inserted to fill in the space with the rhyming scheme. An example can be seen in line 17, cited above, between the name ʿAbs and the word *labs,* "[without any] doubt." The following are also typical:

19. His successor was ʿĀbis al-Murādī,
and then Ibn al-Naḍr, in the country *(fī al-bilādi)*.[13]

29. During the time of the Abbasids *(banī ʿabbās),*
Naʿīm[14] returned to enforce law and order *(al-asās)*.

75. Then it was Ibn Badr; and Abū al-Faḍl ruled *(qaḍá),*
prior to al-Ṣiqillī. This Abū al-Faḍl did a satisfactory job *(al-riḍā)*.
76. After him Ibn Ẓāfir was in charge of the office *(tawallá),*
and Ibn al-Ḥusayn, who enjoyed the highest esteem *(al-aʿlá)*.[15]

87. Then Ibn ʿAṣrūn took over *(tawallá al-ḥukmā),*
then Ṣadr al-Dīn was re-appointed; he was the most superb *(al-asmá)*.[16]

95. Then Ibn Razīn was re-appointed to the office *(fa-ḥakam),*

Abū al-Ṭāhir: ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr Ibn Ḥazm; al-Tujībī: Muḥammad ibn Masrūq; al-ʿUmarī: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbd Allāh; al-Bakrī: Hāshim ibn Abī Bakr ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bakrī; Ibn al-Bakkā: Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Bajalī; Ibn ʿĪsá: Lahīʿah ibn ʿĪsá ibn Lahīʿah.

[11] With regard to rhyme requirement, the *rajaz* comes in two types: conventional monorhyme (*a a a . . .*) and rhyming couplet (*muzdawij, a a b b c c . . .*); see "Radjaz" (M. Ullmann and W. Heinrichs), in *EI*[2]; "Rajaz" (W. Stoetzer) in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature,* ed. Julie Meisami and Paul Starkey (New York, 1988).

[12] For examples, lines 28 (Khayr / *khayr*), 38 (Shaddād / *jād*), 65 (Asad / *dhū al-ḥukm al-asad*), 70 (al-Yāzūrī / *bi-ghayr zūri*), 72 (al-Qāsim / *khayr ḥākim*), 74 (Dhakā / *dhū dhakā*), 80 (al-Ruʿaynī / *bi-lā mayni*).

[13] Ibn Rabīʿah al-Murādī; Ibn al-Naḍr: Bashshār ibn al-Naḍr al-Muzanī.

[14] Khayr ibn Naʿīm.

[15] Ibn Badr: Muḥammad al-Ḥurrānī; Abū al-Faḍl: Niʿmah ibn Bashīr al-Nābulsī; al-Ṣiqillī: Aḥmad ibn Qāsim ibn Yazīd; Ibn Ẓāfir Muẓaffar.

[16] Ibn ʿAṣrūn: Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Saʿd ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAlī ibn Muẓhir; Ṣadr al-Dīn: ʿAbd al-Malik.

after Ṣadr al-Dīn; both did a superb job for the state *(al-umam)*.[17]

Taken together, it is hard to judge whether this kind of "commentary" bears any significant weight. Occasionally, though, statements like the following seem to reveal something substantial:

21. Yūnus was then put in charge *(waliya al-qaḍā),*
and then it was Aws, with a relentless grip *(bi-ʿazmin muntaḍá)*.[18]

26. Then ʿIyāḍ had a second go *(thāniya),*
then it was ʿAbd Allāh, in a tireless fashion *(ghayr wāniya)*.[19]

60. They replaced him with Abū Muḥammad,
and, prior to him, with Abū ʿAlī, the Fixer *(al-musaddid)*.[20]

88. Al-Sukkarī, to be followed by Abū Muḥammad,
before Ibn ʿAyn al-Dawlah, the Glorious One *(al-mumajjad)*. [21]

91. Then they brought back Yūsuf al-Sanjārī;
succeeding him was Tāj al-Dīn, the Magnificent *(dhū al-fakhāri)*.[22]

The glowing adjectives and flattering nicknames seem to suggest some kind of appraisal and judgment, but in light of the overall tendency of putting prosodic needs over narrative functionality, it is safe to say that they are more collective, formulaic, and generic than individual, genuine, and personal. In this connection, it is noted that the last part of the poem, covering the Mamluk period, is more "chatty" in that some details about the circumstances surrounding the judges' appointments and dismissals are provided (for example, verses 97–101; see Appendix). But overall, the historical value of the poem is, by today's standards,

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[17] Ibn Razīn, see note 6 above (reappointed for the third time, 679–80 A.H.); Ṣadr al-Dīn: Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz (678–79 A.H.).

[18] Yūnus: ibn ʿAṭīyah; Aws: ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn ʿAṭīyah.

[19] ʿIyāḍ: ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Azdī; ʿAbd Allāh: ibn Yazīd ibn Khudhāmir.

[20] Abū Muḥammad: al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Yāzūrī; Abū ʿAlī: Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥākim Ibn Saʿīd al-Fāriqī.

[21] ʿImād al-Dīn: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAlī Ibn al-Sukkarī; Abū Muḥammad: uncertain; Ibn ʿAyn al-Dawlah: Sirr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan al-Iskandarānī.

[22] Badr al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Ḥasan al-Sanjārī; Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz (663–65 A.H.).

questionable. What, then, was the use of such a text?

Why *Rajaz?*

In general terms, the goal of Ibn Jamāʿah's "commission" of the poem is obvious: a tribute to the institution of the Muslim judicial system, the evolution of the office of the qadi, reaching a milestone upon his own arrival. With regard to its particular contents, name-dropping *was* important. In an era of no government publications and archives, the record of appointments and dismissals constitutes an integral part of the written history. Considering that these names were associated with the court decisions tendered by the judges involved, the list is, in a way, part and parcel of the medieval Muslim legal tradition.

But why poetry, and why *rajaz* in particular? Our poet, Ibn Dāniyāl, had this to say:

> 5. I hereby present this poem, to recount
> the careers of all who have ruled the court in Egypt;
>
> 6. Of all the judges and magistrates *(al-quḍāh wa-al-ḥukkām)*
> since the Islamic era;
>
> 7. I mean, from the Muslim conquest,
> led by ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿĀṣ, onwards to this day.
>
> 8. I have chosen the form of *rajaz,*
> making the accounts short and concise *(lafẓan mūjazan)*.

"Short and concise," *lafẓan mūjazan,* says it all. Information contained in rhyming verses is easy to memorize, and the *rajaz* is an ideal vehicle for such purposes, due to its short meter and flexible rhyme requirements. Ibn Dāniyāl's *urjūzah* went on to become a model of presentation for later Mamluk historians. It has all the trimmings of a panegyric, but with more substance; it is informative, yet compact. Herein lies its popularity, which is attested by at least three later adaptations known so far. While overall the functionality of the *urjūzah* as a genre should be acknowledged, Ibn Dāniyāl's Shafiʿi-centric model of presentation must be seen here as the key to its appeal to later historians.

Among these historians is Ibn al-Mulaqqin, who, in concluding his biographical dictionary of Egyptian judges, remarked that when he was finishing up this book, he became aware *(raʾaytu)* that someone had put together materials about judges

of Egypt in the form of an *urjūzah*. He then went on to quote its full text.[23] Ibn al-Mulaqqin, nevertheless, did nothing with the material itself: he simply quoted it on the authority of ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah (in office 1340–65), the son of Badr al-Dīn, Ibn Dāniyāl's patron, who in turn quoted on the authority of Ibn Dāniyāl himself *(anbaʾnā)*. Ibn al-Mulaqqin's decision to cite the poem is a testimony to its attractiveness, in spite of his candid admission that the poem had come to his attention too late to be incorporated into the main narrative of his work and that its account differs somewhat from his own.[24] The appeal of the *rajaz* form, "short and concise," was good enough for the seasoned historian-cum-hadith scholar.

Ibn Ḥajar's and al-Suyūṭī's Adaptations

The other two historians involved in the business of adopting the *urjūzah,* namely Ibn Ḥajar and al-Suyūṭī, apparently intended to do something more with it. Instead of being merely an afterthought, as in the case of Ibn al-Mulaqqin, the poem takes center stage.

Ibn Ḥajar, himself a long time Shafiʿi chief judge, revealed that he once had come across *(waqaftu ʿalá)* a copy of the *rajaz* by Ibn Dāniyāl and was asked to supply biographical sketches *(suʾiltu an utarjima)* of the judges mentioned therein, hence his work.[25] In other words, Ibn Ḥajar, the consummate historian, was convinced that the widely circulated poem was a perfect springboard upon which to launch a grand program.

After a brief statement on structure and method, Ibn Ḥajar, a onetime student of Ibn al-Mulaqqin, goes on to list his sources. The bibliography further sheds light on why he decided to embark upon the project: the need to update monographs devoted to the lives and careers of judges. The "classics" of the genre, al-Kindī's (d. 961) *Kitāb al-Quḍāh* and Ibn Zūlāq's (d. 997) *Akhbār Quḍāt Miṣr,* a *dhayl,* were all written prior to the fourth/twelfth century. Of the Mamluk authors, only Ibn al-Mulaqqin's work, arranged in the *ṭabaqāt* fashion, followed the old genre of topical biographical presentation, but with unsatisfactory results in Ibn Ḥajar's

[23] *Nuzhat al-Nuẓẓār fī Quḍāt al-Amṣār,* ed. Madīḥah M. al-Sharqāwī (Cairo, 1996), 211–17. It is arranged in eight *ṭabaqah*s in chronological order, ending at the year 1384.

[24] *Nuzhat al-Nuẓẓār,* 211.

[25] I use the edition of *Rafʿ al-Iṣr ʿan Quḍāt Miṣr* by Ḥāmid ʿAbd al-Majīd et al. (Cairo, 1957). The more recent edition by ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar (Cairo, 1998) was based on different manuscripts and did not fully consult the Fayzullah MS, Istanbul, the only manuscript that contains line-by-line prose gloss of the verse. The poem is not found in Ibn Dāniyāl's anthology, edited by al-Ṣafadī in his *Al-Tadhkirah al-Ṣafadīyah*. The modern edition of the anthology, titled *Al-Mukhtār min Shiʿr Ibn Dāniyāl,* ed. al-Dulaymī (Mosul, 1979), included the poem, based on *Rafʿ al-Iṣr* and collated with the *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah* as a supplement, 289–99. Al-Dulaymī's "edition" contains several printing errors, while the biographical notes were largely taken from al-Majīd's edition.

view.[26] The remaining sources utilized by Ibn Ḥajar are all of the regional history type, namely the history of Islamic Egypt with bibliographical materials on the side, the likes of Ibn Muyassar (d. 1278), al-Ḥalabī (d. 1334–35), and al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442).[27]

The appeal of Ibn Dāniyāl's *urjūzah* can be noted at various levels. As far as the roster is concerned, it is far more accurate and complete than others. It fills the huge gap between the Ayyubid historian Ibn Muyassar and later Mamluk authors such as al-Ḥalabī and al-Maqrīzī. For the early Mamluk period, it is *the* most authentic, given Ibn Dāniyāl's personal involvement with the court. Then there is its form: the "short and concise," memorable, and hymn-like *rajaz*. Ibn Ḥajar liked it so much that not only did he quote the text verbatim, but also cited a *dhayl,* or continuation, modeled after it *(ʿalá minwāl)*.[28] Picking up where Ibn Dāniyāl left off and running all the way to Ibn Ḥajar's time, the end of the eighth/fifteenth century, the *dhayl* attests to the continuing enthusiasm for Ibn Dāniyāl's model. However, if Ibn Dāniyāl's poem is, as the analysis above reveals, mediocre artistically, the continuation is, in my opinion, quite bad. Its author was one Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 1471), of whom little is known. It retains Ibn Dāniyāl's laundry list format, but is even plainer and simpler. Stripped of any embellishments, it is more functional than flowery.

But there is one remarkable development in the *dhayl,* insofar as the verses are divided into four segments, according to the four branches of the judgeship, which had become official during Baybars' time. We may recall that in Ibn Dāniyāl's poem, the representation of the four law schools did not seem to be an issue at all: only the Shafiʿi chief judges are listed. One may argue that perhaps this was because it was too soon after the establishment of the four-part judiciary for the poet to have time to observe and reflect upon this new reality. Joseph Escovitz's thesis of an "evolutionary process" of the establishment of the four-judge system is tested here.[29] An alternate argument would be that Ibn Dāniyāl wrote the poem this way on purpose, if only because his project was a holistic overview of Egypt's judicial history, crowned at the Shafiʿi triumph with the blessing of Baybars. As far as his Shafiʿi patron is concerned, there was no need to share the spotlight with others. Given our poet's consistent critical stands regarding Baybars,[30] this Shafiʿi-centric homage can be read, in my opinion, as yet another indirect critique

[26] *Rafʿ al-Iṣr,* 3.

[27] Ibn Muyassar, *Al-Muntaqá min Akhbār Miṣr;* al-Ḥalabī, *Akhbār Miṣr* (in some 20 volumes, and a four-volume abridged version by "the two Muḥammads" (*Rafʿ al-Iṣr,* 2).

[28] *Rafʿ al-Iṣr,* 14–20.

[29] Escovitz, *The Office of Qâḍî al-Quḍât,* 27–28, 258.

[30] See Li Guo, "Paradise Lost: Ibn Daniyal's Response to Baybars' Campaign against Vice in Cairo," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 121, no. 2 (2001): 219–35.

of the sultan's policy and legacy.

But with Ibn Ḥajar, this must have been a trickier endeavor. Despite his own Shafiʿi favoritism, there was the savvy side of Ibn Ḥajar when it came to preserving his own legacy: his self-projection as a "consensus builder" among all the Sunni legal scholars.[31] The *dhayl* starts with the Shafiʿis and proceeds to deal with each group separately. Altogether, thirty-eight names—some with multiple appearances—of the Shafiʿis are listed in nine verses, thirty-five Hanafis in eight, thirty-eight Malikis in nine, and eighteen Hanbalis in merely four. And, lo and behold, after the list in verse come the biographies in prose.

Ibn Ḥajar wrote that he had arranged the material in the *ṭabaqāt* fashion, "dividing them according to annals *(ʿalá al-sinīn),*"[32] in accordance with the poem. A quick check, however, reveals that the organization of the biographical material is actually alphabetical. This obvious discrepancy was so scandalous that al-Sakhāwī (d. 1497) found it necessary to attach a note to the colophon of several manuscripts, which he personally copied (or supervised their copying).[33] According to the note, one of Ibn Ḥajar's students named ʿIzz [al-Dīn] al-Ḥanbalī was responsible for rearranging the entries from an earlier draft *(musawwadah)* by the author—who was too ill to revise it—into the current form, with Ibn Ḥajar's approval.[34] If this episode tells us anything, it is the fact that the *Rafʿ al-Iṣr* was completed near the end of Ibn Ḥajar's career, before his sudden death.

The *Rafʿ al-Iṣr* itself is a well-known and often-cited work that needs no introduction. It is the little-studied verse portion that interests us here. The first *dhayl* begins where Ibn Dāniyāl left off, that is, at Ibn Jamāʿah:

1. Al-Zarʿī and al-Badr and al-Qazwīnī
and al-ʿIzz and al-Bahā and ʿIzz al-Dīn.

The verse reads like a riddle, with nothing but a barrage of shorthanded honorifics. Even for those who might have some familiarity with the first-name-only celebrity status of the judges, this verse may prove to be a little too enigmatic.

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[31] To this day we still do not have a monograph treatment of Ibn Ḥajar's life and work in a Western language. The most detailed account remains "Ibn Ḥadjar" (F. Rosenthal), in *EI²*.

[32] *Rafʿ al-Iṣr,* 1.

[33] The 1998 Cairo edition, by ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar, is based on, among others, a manuscript hand-copied by al-Sakhāwī; see the editor's introduction, 22.

[34] Al-Sakhāwī's explanation should be viewed as credible insofar as not only was he a protégé of Ibn Ḥajar, but also, more importantly, the author of a continuation of *Rafʿ al-Iṣr* entitled *Bughyat al-ʿUlamāʾ wa-al-Ruwāh.* Judging from the title alone, al-Sakhāwī's continuation, in prose only, expanded Ibn Ḥajar's original scope to a much broader canvas. The question of sources and the "incompleteness" of *Rafʿ al-Iṣr* was discussed in Guest, 42–44.

Ibn Ḥajar was therefore compelled to supply, in at least one manuscript, a parallel text in prose underneath each verse. For the above verse, we have the following explanation:

> Sulaymān *al-Zarʿī* was put in charge [of judgeship], replacing Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah, for a year. Then he resigned, and *Badr* [al-Dīn] returned. Then Jalāl al-Dīn *al-Qazwīnī* ruled, then he was dismissed and *ʿIzz* al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah ruled instead. Then he, too, was dismissed, and *Bahāʾ* al-Dīn Ibn ʿAqīl decided [the cases] for eighty days, then *ʿIzz al-Dīn* Ibn Jamāʿah was brought back.[35]

Things got much worse later on. The revolving-door turnovers in the office of chief judge, which had intensified during this period, play out right in front of us,[36] in a repetitive verbal tango:

> 5. Then al-Ṣāliḥī with Jalāl al-Dīn,
> And al-Ṣāliḥī with Shams al-Dīn.
>
> 6. Then Jalāl al-Dīn and al-Ikhnāʾī,
> Then Jalāl al-Dīn and al-Ikhnāʾī.
>
> 7. Then Jalāl al-Dīn and al-Shams.
> Then Jalāl al-Dīn and al-Shams.

Only four men, in fact, are involved here: (1) Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥī (d. 1403), who was replaced by (2) Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bulqīnī (d. 1421), of the famous al-Bulqīnī clan,[37] who was replaced, for the second time, by the same al-Ṣāliḥī, who suddenly died and was succeeded by (3) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ikhnāʾī (b. 1356), who was replaced by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī, and made it back again, for the second, third, and fourth time, each time against

[35] *Rafʿ al-Iṣr,* 14. The manuscript is MS Istanbul, Feyzullah. The years these judges occupied the office are as follows (after Escovitz, *The Office of Qâḍî al-Quḍât,* 62): Jamāl al-Dīn al-Zarʿī (710–11 A.H.), Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah (711–27 A.H.), Jalāl al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī (727–38 A.H.), ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah (738–59 A.H.), Bahāʾ al-Dīn Ibn ʿAqīl (759 A.H.), ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah (759–66 A.H.).

[36] Escovitz has identified nepotism, *nāʾib* succession, patronage, and merit as the four main factors in a judge's appointment; among the reasons for end of tenure are death, retirement, resignation, and dismissal through political intrigue (*The Office of Qâḍî al-Quḍât,* 250, 259–60). His study deals with the early period (ending with Burhān al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah, 781–84 A.H.), but his findings should apply here as well.

[37] See "al-Bulḳīnī," (H. A. R. Gibb), in *EI*^{2}.

the same al-Jalāl, who in turn was eventually replaced by yet another Shams al-Dīn, namely (4) Muḥammad ibn ʿAṭāʾ al-Harawī (d. 1426). Perhaps the author of the *dhayl* was enjoying doing this; and one can almost detect a playful grin lurking behind the tedious repetitions. In this regard, he may have had too much fun in this entangling "Jalāl vs. Shams" wordplay, such that he left a factual flaw in the list: he dropped Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Bāʿūnī (d. 1413), who was appointed but did not actually rule between the last round of this never-ending saga.[38] Al-Bāʿūnī's name is mentioned in the prose text, presumably by Ibn Ḥajar who, probably having realized the nearly incoherent nature of the verse, supplied some intelligible background information.

After nearly thirty rounds of the ups and downs of the Badrs, Jalāls, Shamses, and Walīs, this portion of the poem ends with Shihāb al-Dīn, a.k.a. Ibn Ḥajar. In the manner of Ibn Dāniyāl, the author of the *dhayl* also attempted to pay homage to the master. Thus one reads at the end of the very dry and stoic poem a flowery panegyric in which Ibn Ḥajar is described as "the essence of being *(ʿayn al-wujūd),*" "he who consoles the weak heart *(muwāsī al-qalb al-ḍaʿīf),*" one who "offers rescue at crises *(awṣala al-ijdāʾ fī al-ijdāb)*" and "shows forbearance for annoyance *(istaʿmala al-ighḍāʾ fī al-ighḍāb),*" and "the persistent [star] rising high in the sky of bliss / as long as thunderstorms may bring pouring rains." (Ibn Ḥajar might have felt a little uncomfortable about these glowing paeans, insofar as some manuscripts of the *Rafʿ al-Iṣr* do not contain the panegyric. Or perhaps al-Sakhāwī, who was responsible for handling some of the surviving manuscripts of the text, deleted it.) The remaining three segments on the Hanafi, Maliki, and Hanbali judges proceed more or less in the same fashion, but without panegyric. The author of the *dhayl* also made a remarkable omission here, in that he downplayed Ibn Ḥajar's own saga of being repeatedly in and out of the office, which, as we will see later, was quite dramatic. In al-Suyūṭī's version, the story is given a whole new about-face, with many more details. It is to this version we turn now.

Al-Suyūṭī's project is different from Ibn Ḥajar's in many ways.[39] While both were inspired by Ibn Dāniyāl's *urjūzah,* their final products differ in genre: Ibn Ḥajar's monograph is a biographical dictionary dedicated to the lives and careers of Egyptian judges, whereas al-Suyūṭī's treatment of the subject represents only a chapter of his encyclopedic history of Egypt. The chapter, entitled *Dhikr Quḍāt Miṣr,* constitutes one segment of his topical descriptive presentations of all things Egyptian: from climate, geography, and flora and fauna, to maliks, sultans, viziers, amirs, judges, madrasahs, and shaykhs.[40] While Ibn Ḥajar gives

[38] For his career, see "al-Bāʿūnī" (W. A. S. Khalidi), in *EI*².

[39] I am using Khalīl al-Manṣūr's edition of *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah fī Akhbār Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* 2 vols. (Beirut, 1997).

[40] *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah,* 2:133–74.

detailed biographical information on each person, al-Suyūṭī's chapter consists of a slightly annotated checklist of names. The two also differ in their use of Ibn Dāniyāl's *urjūzah*. Instead of the *urjūzah* being a starting point of the discourse, as in Ibn Ḥajar's case, it is, quoted in full by al-Suyūṭī, sandwiched between the two blocks of the narrative: (1) a holistic overview of Egypt's judges from the Muslim conquest to the last Shafiʿi chief judge in al-Suyūṭī's lifetime and (2) a separate presentation of the judges from the other schools of law since Baybars' time to al-Suyūṭī's days. In other words, in al-Suyūṭī's presentation, Ibn Dāniyāl's poem sums up the mainstream narrative and ushers in a new era in which the four Sunni legal schools shared the spotlight, along with supplementary materials.

As far as the original *urjūzah* is concerned, al-Suyūṭī's version, compared with that of Ibn al-Mulaqqin and Ibn Ḥajar, shows heavy-handed editing. Entire lines were omitted (the panegyric to Ibn Jamāʿah, for example) and others added (lines 34, 75). Slight variants appeared in names as well (for which scribes might take the blame): Ibn Jurayḥ for Ibn Hudayj (line 23), Ibn al-Jalīs for Ibn al-Ḥusayn (line 76), and ʿUmar for ʿUthmān Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz (line 95).[41] In this connection, as far as the history of the transmission of the text goes, there are at least two recensions: one shared by Ibn al-Mulaqqin and Ibn Ḥajar, and another handed down by al-Suyūṭī. Ibn al-Mulaqqin's pedigree is solid, himself having been a student of ʿIzz al-Dīn, the son of Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah. Ibn Ḥajar's source of the *urjūzah* is a *ḥāfiẓ* named ʿAlī ibn Abī Bakr ibn Sulaymān, who received the orally transmitted *(mushāfahatan)* material from one Abū ʿUmar ibn Abī ʿAbd Allāh al-Kinānī, who, in turn, had heard the verses from Ibn Dāniyāl in person. Despite the variety in chains of transmission, a collation reveals that the texts of Ibn al-Mulaqqin and Ibn Ḥajar are virtually the same, with a few variants that might well be attributed to scribal errors.[42] In contrast, al-Suyūṭī's version must have taken a somehow different trajectory, coming from a very different codex tradition, as our analysis above has demonstrated.

Al-Suyūṭī did not care very much for Ibn Ḥajar's verse sequel to Ibn Dāniyāl's original, either, and decided to write his own instead.[43] There are a couple of things noticeable about al-Suyūṭī's verse *dhayl*. First, it deals only with the Shafiʿi chief judges, as judges from the other three legal schools are treated in prose only. Second, as far as the Shafiʿi list goes, it is much longer and more elaborate than

[41] *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah* has ʿUmar ibn Tāj al-Dīn Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz, but Tāj al-Dīn's son's name was ʿUthmān according to *Rafʿ al-Iṣr;* the surname al-ʿAllāmī was attributed in *Rafʿ al-Iṣr* to ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Ibn Khalaf.

[42] *Nuzhat al-Nuẓẓār* lists the *Rafʿ al-Iṣr* (1957 edition) as a main reference; therefore it's hard to say whether it has been "corrected." (The only significant variant is the verb *yanfaʿuhu* for *yunfiṣuhu,* line 9.)

[43] *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah,* 2:166–67.

Ibn Ḥajar's. A total of twenty-five lines (vs. Ibn Ḥajar's nine) cover all the Shafiʿi chief judges up to his time. Since Ibn Ḥajar and al-Suyūṭī lived not far apart, the two lists overlap for the most part; but al-Suyūṭī's longer version is much more interesting. Among his additions are some names that are missing from Ibn Ḥajar's list, such as al-Bāʿūnī, but also a more elaborate version of the Ibn Ḥajar vs. al-Bulqīnī saga, this time ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī, the younger brother of the aforementioned Jalāl al-Dīn; this saga was perhaps a little embarrassing for Ibn Ḥajar, who gave a much watered-down version in his own telling. Here, in al-Suyūṭī's pen, it becomes the epitome of revolving-door high dramas of the hiring and firing of Egyptian judges; Ibn Ḥajar becomes a main, and somehow burlesque, character:

16. Then al-ʿAlam al-Bulqīnī was appointed;
then the *ḥāfiẓ* of the age, Shihāb al-Dīn [Ibn Ḥajar].

17. al-Harawī was then brought back and stayed on;
after his dismissal, it was al-Shihāb Ibn Ḥajar.

18. Then our shaykh [ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī], then Ibn Ḥajar;
then our shaykh was back, and then Ibn Ḥajar.

19. Appointed after him was al-Qāyātī;
then the *ḥāfiẓ* of the *Sunnah* [Ibn Ḥajar] was reappointed.

20. Then our shaykh al-Bulqīnī was back again;
following him came Walī al-Dīn al-Safaṭī.

21. Ibn Ḥajar was called back again;
then our shaykh [al-Bulqīnī] made it back and stayed on.

Except for short intervals of al-Qāyātī and al-Safaṭī, here again we witness the playful rendering of the repeated dismissal from, and restoration to, office of Ibn Ḥajar and ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī (d. 1464), al-Suyūṭī's own teacher.[44] In this episode, the prose narrative precedes the verse and contains the dates of each round of hiring and firing.[45] In contrast to the version in verse, its utilitarian

[44] See "al-Bulḳīnī" (H. A. R. Gibb), in *EI²; *ʿAlam al-Dīn (d. 1464) was the brother of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī (d. 1421), also a Shafiʿi chief judge. ʿAlam al-Dīn's own record of appointment and dismissal was eight times. As for Ibn Ḥajar's saga, see Franz Rosenthal's amusing recounting in "Ibn Ḥadjar," in *EI²*.

[45] *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah,* 2:162–63.

blandness appears even more dull and tedious. It is the verse version that makes an impression on the reader, hence the special function of the *urjūzah* narrative: it sings. The high drama is perhaps always better when played out loud, in verse. Al-Suyūṭī continued Ibn Dāniyāl's, and Ibn al-Mulaqqin's, Shafiʿi-centric approach in presentation: his quotation of Ibn Dāniyāl's *urjūzah* and his own *dhayl* of it serve as the grand finale of the historical survey, while treating the three schools of law as lesser appendages. In doing so, al-Suyūṭī reaffirmed his long-held position of reproaching Baybars' four-chief-judge policy, considering it as a factor that had weakened the Shafiʿi rite, and ultimately, Islam.[46]

There is another element that makes al-Suyūṭī's project remarkable for our present investigation. Ibn Dāniyāl's is not the only *urjūzah* that was incorporated into al-Suyūṭī's work. One also finds there other similar texts, such as the *urjūzah* by al-Jazzār (d. 1280) on military generals.[47] Like Ibn Dāniyāl's paradigm, al-Jazzār's amir list starts with the Muslim conquest of Egypt led by ʿAmr Ibn al-ʿĀṣ and runs all the way to Baybars al-Jashnakīr (a.k.a. Sultan al-Malik al-Muẓaffar, r. 1309). The *urjūzah*, again, was utilized effectively by al-Suyūṭī as a narrative tool for his manual-like project, in which name-dropping was a key exercise.

Concluding Remarks: *Rajaz* as Historical Narrative

In concluding, now it is time to answer the two questions posed at the beginning of this study. Although our discussion is confined to one single case, some general observations still may be drawn, given the proliferation of the sample text, Ibn Dāniyāl's *urjūzah,* through multiple adaptations by major Mamluk historians.

Scholars have long observed the special features of the simple, rhythmical *rajaz* poetry as a vehicle for composing didactic and descriptive narratives. Up until recently, however, research has almost exclusively focused on the "classical period."[48] With regard to themes of the genre, the didactic *urjūzah*s (on astrology and astronomy, divination, music, alchemy, and medicine) and the descriptive

[46] See "al-Suyūṭī" (E. Geoffroy), in *EI*²; also Elizabeth Sartain, *Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī: Biography and Background* (Cambridge, 1975).

[47] *Ḥusn al-Muḥāḍarah,* 2:60–64. For Abū al-Ḥusayn Yaḥyá ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm, known as al-Jazzār, "The butcher," see Aḥmad al-Ṣādiq al-Jammāl, *Al-Adab al-ʿĀmmī fī Miṣr fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Cairo, 1966), 191–200. He is known to have written panegyrics to Mamluk amirs and viziers but returned to his original career as a butcher (hence his nickname), having realized that writing poetry could not sustain his livelihood. Al-Jammāl lists al-Jazzār, along with Ibn Dāniyāl and ʿAlī Ibn Sūdūn, as the representatives of the school of "self-mocking" *(al-mutaḥāmiqūn)* in Mamluk popular literature.

[48] The recent *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature* entry stops at the Abbasid period before jumping to the modern era, whereas the more extensive treatment of the subject to-date, the *EI*² entry (with extensive bibliography), mentions only one Mamluk poet, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 1349), for his *ṭardīyah*-hunting poems in the *rajaz* meter.

*urjūzah*s (such as the *ṭardīyah*-hunting poems) have received the most scrutiny,[49] whereas historical *rajaz* poetry has, to my knowledge, largely been overlooked.

It is true that the literary techniques of *naẓm* (versification) and *ḥall* (prosification), often used in popular religious manuals and dream manuals, had been deeply rooted in Arabo-Islamic culture from early on. But it is also safe to say that the Mamluk era saw a surge, or perhaps a proliferation, of such techniques. In this regard, one may argue that the period witnessed a flourishing of versified historical narratives, in both the *qarīḍ* and *rajaz* forms. Of the former, al-Buṣīrī's (d. 1296?) classic *al-Burdah* comes to mind immediately;[50] and of the latter, Ibn Dāniyāl's *urjūzah* sheds light on the influence of this lesser verse genre on mainstream historiography. Ibn Dāniyāl's historical *urjūzah* and its adaptations must have had a wide audience, given the numerous copies known to exist—a testimony to the demand, and perhaps market, for such material. For some reason, Who's Who in the *rajaz* form seems to be particularly popular. With regard to judges, we may add the *urjūzah* titled *Dhikr Quḍāt al-Diyār al-Miṣrīyah* by Aḥmad al-Kinānī (d. 1471), a Hanbali jurist,[51] among others. And the versified list is by no means confined to judges: al-Jazzār's aforementioned *urjūzah* on amirs aside, Ibn Ḥajar's father was the author of a hagiographical account of the saintly al-Ṣanāfirī (d. 1371) in the *rajaz* form.[52] Our case study demonstrates Mamluk historians' efforts to try new forms of presentation in order to reach out to a larger audience, or perhaps catering to the mass consumption of their products. In a sense, this is Mamluk Cairo's counterpart to today's paperback history-for-dummies. Mamluk historical *urjūzah*s emerged to meet the need of new changing cultural landscapes.

[49] For didactic *rajaz*, see Charles Burnett, "Learned Knowledge of Arabic Poetry, Rhymed Prose, and Didactic Verse from Petrus Alfonsi to Petrarch," in *Poetry and Philosophy in the Middle Ages: A Festschrift for Peter Dronke,* ed. John Marenbon (Leiden, 2001), 29–62, especially 42–47; for hunting *rajaz,* see Rex Smith, "Hunting Poetry," *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: ʿAbbasid Belles-Lettres* (Cambridge, 1990), 167–84 (primarily on Abū Nuwās's hunting *urjūzah*s); Philip Kennedy, in his *Abu Nuwas: A Genius of Poetry* ([Oxford, 2007], 109–20), mentions the hunting *urjūzah* by the Mamluk poet Ibn Nubātah (d. 1366); for "the *urjūza* miniatures," namely illustrated manuscripts with didactic *urjūzah*s as the main texts, see Anna Contadini, "A Question in Arab Painting: The Ibn al-Sufi Manuscript in Tehran and its Art-historical Connections," *Muqarnas* 23 (2006): 47–84. I have yet to see Livnat Holtzman's conference paper, "The Literary Value of Didactic Verses in the Islamic Scholarly Circles of the Mamluk Era," Arabic and Islam—Language, Culture, History—Conference, Bar-Ilan University, 21 June 2006.

[50] The poem is much studied in both Arab and Western scholarship; for the most recent attempt, see Suzanne Stetkevych, "From Text to Talisman: al-Busiri's *Qasidat al-Burdah* (*Mantle Ode*) and the Supplicatory Ode," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 37, no. 2 (2006): 145–89; idem, "From *Sirah* to *Qasidah*: Poetics and Polemics in al-Busiri's *Qasidat al-Burdah* (*Mantle Ode*)," *Journal of Arabic Literature* 38, no. 1 (2007): 1–52, especially 17–45 (versified historical narrative).

[51] Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Weimar and Leiden, 1989–1949), S2:57.

[52] See "Ibn Ḥadjar" (F. Rosenthal), in *EI*[2].

In this respect, the rising status of the profession of the historian and the growing demand for teaching material might well be viewed as yet another driving force behind the efforts. The Mamluk era is renowned for producing major historical-administrative manuals catering to the practical needs of the ever-expanding state bureaucratic apparatus. Within this context, the historical *urjūzah*s might have been designed as textbook material, similar to the *urjūzah*s produced at the time on Arabic grammar, *fiqh,* and medicine,[53] among other subjects.

More research is needed with regard to Mamluk patronage of literary activities. In our case, the circumstances under which Ibn Jamāʿah "commissioned" Ibn Dāniyāl to write the *urjūzah* remain unclear; the verb used here, *saʾala*, does not reveal much, if anything. But it is curious that he was the person responsible for putting *rajaz* as a historical/educational tool on the map, insofar as several historical *urjūzah*s known to have existed are associated with him: in addition to the poem in question, Ibn Jamāʿah also "commissioned" an *urjūzah* on Damascene judges (reported, again, by Ibn al-Mulaqqin), and another one on caliphs.[54] To think of the Shafiʿi chief judge as a history buff might be a stretch, but there is good reason to believe that the practical purposes of such a demand or request, other than the need for some ceremonial panegyric, could not be ruled out. Among these, his Shafiʿi-centric presentation of historical facts was apparently one major draw. After all, knowledge of, and schooling in, history was becoming essential for one's bureaucratic career advancement as far as the Mamluk era is concerned. Al-Nuwayrī (d. 1332?), a contemporary of Ibn Dāniyāl, names five "arts" *(funūn),* or expertise in five areas, as the qualifying requirements for a candidate applying for lucrative state job such as the *kātib*-clerk. Among the five, history tops all as the crown jewel. "The *kātib* [needs to know history]," al-Nuwayrī writes, "because he draws from it precedents and examples (*yastashhidu bihi*) in drafting communiqués and correspondence; also, he expands the scope of his writing by using it as a narrative tool."[55] Going through al-Nuwayrī's job description for a *kātib,*[56] one thing becomes clear: all the five "arts" were technical in nature; thus the *rajaz* was an ideal, and proven effective, narrative tool for transmitting knowledge in these fields.

However, as our analysis has amply shown, the *urjūzah* as a historical narrative mode has serious limits. It is evidently more effective and functional in displaying

[53] For example, Ibn Dāniyāl's own *urjūzah* on medicine: Istanbul MS Ayasofya 3645, fols. 84b–114a.

[54] *GAL* S2:80–81.

[55] *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1964–98), 13:1.

[56] The other four "arts" are: geography (*fī al-samāʾ wa-al-āthār al-ʿalawīyah wa-al-arḍ wa-al-maʿālim al-suflīyah,* namely astrology and astronomy, climate, seasons, etc.), humanities (*fī al-insān,* including language, physiology, etc.), zoology *(fī al-ḥayawān al-ṣāmit),* and botany *(fī al-nabāt)*.

simple facts, such as names, but less so in in-depth discourse. Perhaps this is why the *rajaz* as a didactic narrative tool was largely confined to fields other than "history." In other words, the *rajaz* verse alone never really took off to rival prose historical narrative. Of the more than one hundred *urjūzahs* listed by Carl Brockelmann,[57] only a handful can be perhaps categorized as of a historical nature. Among these, three were associated with Ibn Jamāʿah, whereas the others were all written in the pre-Mamluk era: one is a versified history of the Abbasids,[58] one a biography of the Prophet Muḥammad,[59] and one a list of the prophets.[60] Our present case study has proved that it is Ibn Dāniyāl, through the patronage of Ibn Jamāʿah, who revived the interest in using the *rajaz* form for historical narrative purposes, and that the later hybrid mode inspired by it, combining *rajaz* and prose—as seen in Ibn Ḥajar's and al-Suyūṭī's adaptations—became a popular form for "name dropping," a continuation of the thematic preoccupation of the lives and careers of the notables in medieval Muslim historiography.

[57] The sampling is based on the index entry *urjūzah* in *GAL*. It is by no means conclusive, insofar as some poems might bear titles other than *urjūzah*. But the sampling should be seen as representative of the trend and tendency of the narrative *rajaz*. Understandably, of the twenty *urjūzahs* listed in Sezgin's *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*—on astrology and astronomy, medicine, *fiqh,* grammar and language, and music—only two, *Urjūzah fī Ahl Badr* by al-Tirmidhī and *Urjūzah fī Tārīkh al-Muʿtaḍid* by Ibn al-Muʿtazz, are remotely "historical."

[58] *Urjūzah fī al-Tārīkh,* by Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Naṣībī (d. 1265); see *GAL* S1:590.

[59] *Urjūzah fī Sīrat al-Nabī,* by ʿAlam al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Hamadhānī (d. 1243); see *GAL* 1:410.

[60] *Urjūzah fī Ṭabaqāt al-Anbiyāʾ, GAL* SN2:111.

Appendix: Translation of the Part of Ibn Dāniyāl's *Urjūzah* that Covers the Mamluk Period[61]

91. Then Yūsuf al-Sanjārī was brought back,
succeeding him was Tāj al-Dīn, the magnificent.

92. He was followed by Burhān al-Dīn, namely, al-Khaḍr,[62]
then Tāj al-Dīn made a comeback.

93. Then Muḥyī al-Dīn held the office,
and then Ibn Razīn, with a judicious mind.

94. After his dismissal, ʿUmar,
I mean al-ʿAllāmī, took over. He ruled for justice.

95. Then Ibn Razīn was re-appointed,
after Ṣadr al-Dīn [ʿUmar]; both men did a super job for the state.

96. Then Wajīh al-Dīn al-Bahnasī[63] presided over the court,
having been put in charge to succeed Taqī al-Dīn.[64]

97. When he [the former] resigned, claiming that Cairo was too far
from his hometown, he [the latter] presided over in his stead.

98. Then Shihāb al-Dīn[65] was promoted,
and was summoned from his post in al-Maḥallah.

99. He stayed on until his death;
[Shihāb al-Dīn] Ibn Aḥmad had been a judge of Syria when young.

100. Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Khalaf[66] then held the office,
succeeding the by-now-gone Wajīh al-Dīn and Shihāb al-Dīn.

[61] Cf. Escovitz, *The Office of Qâḍî al-Quḍât,* 62.
[62] Al-Khaḍr ibn al-Ḥasan al-Sanjārī.
[63] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn al-Ḥusayn.
[64] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Abī al-Qāsim Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz.
[65] Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Khalīl ibn Saʿādah al-Khūbī.
[66] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb.

101. He was fired from the post in Cairo,
and replaced by the gentleman from al-Sanjār.[67]

102. Then Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān took over,
and it was time for Badr al-Dīn, the full moon, to shine!

103. Badr al-Dīn returned back to Syria,
the young al-ʿAllāmī[68] then presided over the judgeship.

104. He stayed on until his death,
and was succeeded by Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-Fatḥ.[69]

105. Then all of a sudden he passed way,
Badr al-Dīn rose [again].

* * *

106. A luminous full moon,
a spring of fresh, pure water.

107. The judges' judge, and magistrates' magistrate,
the mediator of contracts for the legal system.

108. The window of his rulings remains open.
The flowering days during his tenure will be everlasting.

109. The full moon will never go away,
its crescent will never vanish from sight.

110. Praise be to God for His grace,
for His blessings manifested in just rulings.

111. The best prayers and greetings,
go to the Prophet, the Master of the mankind,

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[67] Burhān al-Dīn al-Khaḍr ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sanjārī.

[68] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Maḥmūd Ibn Badr.

[69] Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, known as Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd.

112. To his household, his companions, and his clan,
to everyone who loves him!

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Who Were the "Salt of the Earth" in Fifteenth-Century Egypt?

I

The ulama class, the religious scholars, in Mamluk Egypt and Syria, as in other medieval Muslim communities, was not monolithic. Professionally it was a ramified class comprising numerous subgroups such as jurists, theologians, grammarians, and Quran commentators.[1] Rivalry and competition among the ulama over positions in the judicial system and academe, and their patronage relations with the Mamluk elite, fueled schisms and increased this sector's vulnerability to Mamluk oligarchic rule and its great political, military, and economic power, as the studies by Carl Petry, Jonathan Berkey, and Michael Chamberlain have shown.[2] In theory, however, the jurists continued to adhere to the fictive model of polarization in government between religion and power, or between ulama and *umarāʾ*. According to the traditional model of rulership, the ulama were granted the role of guardians of the Sacred Law and qualified guides for both the rulers and the population at large.

Prose narratives and archival materials have been the main source for the study of Mamluk society and culture, but only a scant part of the huge corpus of other literary texts, among them the *taqārīẓ* (s. *taqrīẓ*),[3]

I am most grateful to my colleague Professor Li Guo for reading this article and for his valuable comments on it. Thanks are also due to my assistant Miss Noam Jolles for her assistance in the preparation of the article.

[1] U. Haarmann, "Rather the Injustice of the Turks than the Righteousness of the Arabs—Changing *ʿulamāʾ* Attitudes towards Mamluk Rule in the Late Fifteenth Century," *Studia Islamica* 68 (1988): 73.

[2] Carl Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1981); idem, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994), chapters 5–6; Jonathan Berkey, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo* (Princeton, 1992); Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (Cambridge, 1994).

[3] *Taqrīẓ* (pl. *taqārīẓ*) was a statement praising a literary work. Works of this kind were generally written by obliged scholars of high reputation of the time in praise of their friends' newly published works. The purpose of the *taqārīẓ*, much like today's blurbs, was to promote the publication of the new work and its author. Franz Rosenthal, "'Blurbs' *(taqrīẓ)* from Fourteenth-Century Egypt," *Oriens* 27–28 (1981): 177–78.

has been utilized for this purpose.[4] The *taqārīẓ* are literary texts that can provide valuable information about the dynamics within the ulama social and educational networks.[5] In some cases, the *taqārīẓ* contain details that, together with others gleaned from the historical narrative sources, enable us to reconstruct events from which we can learn more about the strategies the ulama employed in their struggles for social survival. Such are the *taqārīẓ* written in praise of a panegyric biography composed by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Nāhiḍ (757–841/1356–1438) in 819/1416 for the Mamluk sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (815–21/1412–21) entitled *Al-Sīrah al-Sharīfah al-Muʾayyadīyah.*[6] Thus far we know of twenty one *taqārīẓ* composed for Ibn Nāhiḍ's *Al-Sīrah al-Muʾayyadīyah* and this number is not exhaustive.[7] Ibn Nāhiḍ's case is intriguing because of the unusually large

[4] Li Guo has impressively explored the dynamics between literary texts, poetry in particular, and historical reality, through the inquiry of the relevance of Ibn Dāniyāl's verses to specific historical events: "Reading Adab in Historical Light: Factuality and Ambiguity in Ibn Daniyal's 'Occasional Verses' on Mamluk Society and Politics," in *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Middle East,* ed. Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn (Wiesbaden, 2006), 383–403.

[5] Amalia Levanoni, "'Sīrat al-Muʾayyad Shaykh' by Ibn Nāhid," in *Texts, Documents and Artefacts: Islamic Studies in Honour of D. S. Richards,* ed. Chase Robinson (Leiden, 2003), 211–33.

[6] Two copies exist of *Al-Sīrah al-Sharīfah al-Muʾayyadīyah;* one is included in the manuscript of *Kitāb Qahwat al-Inshāʾ* housed in Tubingen Library (Handschrift Ma VI 70) and was therefore mistakenly attributed by C. Brockelmann to Ibn Ḥijjah. See edited version: Abū Bakr ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī, *Kitāb Qahwat al-Inshāʾ,* ed. Rudolf Vesely (Berlin and Beirut, 2005). The second copy of *Al-Sīrah al-Muʾayyadīyah,* together with a collection of the *taqārīẓ* written for it, is found in the Raza Library in Rampur under the title *Kitāb al-Dhakhīrah fī Taqārīẓ al-Sīrah,* a microfilm of which is housed in the Institute of Arabic Manuscripts of the Arab League in Cairo: *Fihris al-Makhṭūṭāt al-Muṣawwarah, Tārīkh, al-Qism al-Thālith* (Cairo, 1959), S. 151. For the edited version of Ibn Nāhiḍ's *Al-Sīrah al-Muʾayyadīyah* see: Rudolf Vesely, "Ibn Nāhiḍ's As-Sīra aš-Šaykhīya (Eine Lebensgeschichte des Sultans al-Muʾayyad Šaykh): Ein Beitrag zur *Sīra*-Literatur," *Archiv Orientalni* 67 (1999): 149–220. For the discussion on *Al-Sīrah al-Muʾayyadīyah,* see: idem, "Eine verkannte Sultansbiographie, As-Sīra aš-Šaykhīya," in *Zafar nāme, Memorial Volume of Felix Tauer,* ed. Rudolf Vesely and Eduard Gombar (Prague, 1996), 271–80; idem, "Ein Skandal in Kairo," *Ex Oriente: Collected Papers in Honour of Jiří Bečka (*Prague, 1995), 182–90.

[7] Sixteen of the *taqārīẓ* written for Ibn Nāhiḍ's *Al-Sīrah al-Muʾayyadīyah* are gathered in yet another manuscript by an anonymous author housed in the National Library in Berlin under no. 8645 (it was formerly included in the Imperial Museum under MS no. 1473). The manuscript bears the cumbersome title of "Al-Ajwibah al-Muʿtabarah ʿan al-Fatāyā al-Muʿtabirah allatī Anshaʾahā ʿAllāmat ʿAṣrihi wa-Farīd Shāmihi wa-Miṣrihi Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī." See: W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss der Arabischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1883), 9:580–81 (hereafter *Al-Ajwibah al-Muʿtabarah*). The manuscript of *Al-Ajwibah al-Muʿtabarah* generally deals with the famous polemics between Mamluk period authors, the majority of whom were religious scholars, who opposed or supported the writing of rhymed prose or panegyrics and in particular their inclusion in the historical narrative. Each of the

number of *taqārīẓ* composed by well-known ulama for an unsophisticated and unimportant work composed by a lower-ranked peer, and even more so because they united to mock him instead of to praise his work, as was the norm in their circles. The purpose of this article is to investigate the reasons for such unfair mockery by an elitist groups of scholars, especially the indigenous Shafiʿi leading class of scholars, who were partisans of Arabo-Islamic culture, against those they ranked as their lower-class peers like Ibn Nāhiḍ. An attempt will be made to place this case in the general context of the ulama rivalry over the hegemony of knowledge and religious power in the state and their struggle for social hierarchy and status.

II

Ibn Nāhiḍ was born in Aleppo in 757/1356 or thereabouts to an Arabized family of Kurdish origin. He became a passionate devotee of belles-lettres *(adab)* and attained adequacy in writing poetry and prose *(fa-balagha naẓman wa-nathran)*.[8] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) mentions in Ibn Nāhiḍ's entry that at a certain point in his life, he moved to Cairo where he joined (*tanazzala,* which also means to humble oneself) the Sufi order, or *khānqāh,* of al-Jamālīyah. He wrote panegyrics to the *khānqāh* leaders and composed *Al-Sīrah al-Sharīfah al-Muʾayyadīyah,* for which he received *taqārīẓ* from a number of his colleagues.[9] Quoting the historian ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1441), al-Sakhāwī relates that Ibn Nāhiḍ also lived for some time in Damascus where he made a living selling

three polemics included in our manuscript is constructed from a collection of short essays, mainly written in rhymed prose, that touch upon a specific controversial event. The manuscript title is drawn from the first collection of polemic between the famous poet and scholar Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Nubātah (686–768/1287–1366) and Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh (686–768/1287–1366), nephew of the historian Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (620–92/1223–92), who like his uncle was in charge of *dīwān al-inshāʾ,* the correspondence bureau. The third collection of polemics was written in Egypt in 795/1393 and dedicated to the work *Nuzūl al-Ghayth* by Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Qurashī al-Makhzūmī al-Iskandarī al-Mālikī, known as Ibn al-Damāmīnī. The second collection, the most interesting for my part, deals with Ibn Nāhiḍ's *Al-Sīrah al-Sharīfah al-Muʾayyadīyah* and covers seventeen folios of the manuscript (Nos. 9–25). The author of *Al-Ajwibah al-Muʿtabarah* mentions two other *taqārīẓ* that he knew of but could not find. Three *taqārīẓ* appear also in *Kitāb Qahwat al-Inshāʾ* by Ibn Ḥijjah (Ibn Ḥijjah, *Qahwat al-Inshāʾ,* 137–45). One of them, Ibn Ḥijjah's, does not appear in the Berlin Manuscript. Four of the *taqārīẓ* included in *Kitāb al-Dhakhīrah fī Taqārīẓ al-Sīrah,* those of Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Baʿūnī, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Rabbānī, and Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Zuʿayfrānī, do not appear in *Al-Ajwibah al-Muʿtabarah* nor in *Kitāb al-Dhakhīrah fī Taqārīẓ al-Sīrah* (Vesely, "Ibn Nāhiḍ's As-Sīra aš-Šaykhīya," 150–51).

[8] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Beirut, n.d.), 10:67.

[9] Ibid.

pottery. On his return to Cairo, he subsisted on donations he received for the panegyrics he composed for local dignitaries, until his death on 11 Shaʿbān 841/31 January 1438.[10] Al-Sakhāwī mentions neither the names of the religious scholars who wrote *taqārīẓ* for Ibn Nāhiḍ nor the fact that they had organized to mock him. Al-Sakhāwī does provide a comment about the *Sīrah* in one brief sentence: "he composed al-Muʾayyad Shaykh's biography and excelled in what he wanted" *(ʿamala Sīrat al-Muʾayyad Shaykh fa-ajāda mā shāʾa),*[11] probably implying Ibn Nāhiḍ's lack of competence in the art of history and his exaggerated flattery for Sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh. Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥijjah (d. 837/1434), the fifteenth-century writer, poet, and historian, relates that in 818/1415 Ibn Nāhiḍ composed a book written in a "strange manner" *(namṭ gharīb)* in which he included the events related to the Victorious al-Muʾayyad in unprecedented (*abdaʿa* means also to invent, implying heresy) prose and verse.[12] Upon completion of the book, Ibn Nāhiḍ approached Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Damāmīnī, who was a prominent figure among the scholars and intellectuals surrounding al-Muʾayyad, for a panegyric. With the purpose of keeping him away, al-Damāmīnī swore that he would not write a word for him unless Ibn Ḥijjah wrote first. However, al-Damāmīnī, who was a man of his word, could not evade writing the *taqrīẓ* for Ibn Nāhiḍ because the latter went to Ibn Ḥijjah with a number of scholars to intercede for him, leaving him no choice but to grant them their request.[13]

Let us now see who were the learned scholars who took part in the practical joke against Ibn Nāhiḍ. No distinction has been made between persons who held administrative or bureaucratic offices *(al-waẓāʾif al-dīwānīyah)* and religious offices *(al-waẓāʾif al-dīnīyah),* because all persons involved were trained, at least to a certain level, in the Islamic religious sciences and because it was quite normal during the Mamluk period to shift about among offices in search of advancement in any branch of the government bureaucracy.[14]

1. Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿUthmān Ibn al-Bārizī (769–832/1367–1428) was born in Ḥamāh to a Shafiʿi family of well-known scholars going back several generations. He received a traditional education in his native city and excelled in belles-lettres and composition. In

[10] Ibn Ḥijjah, *Qahwat al-Inshāʾ,* 137–45.

[11] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 10:67.

[12] Ibn Ḥijjah, *Qahwat al-Inshāʾ,* 137.

[13] Ibid., 137–38.

[14] J. H. Escovitz, "Vocational Patterns of the Scribes of the Mamlūk Chancery," *Arabica* 23, no. 1 (1976): 59–62.

796/1393 he was appointed as qadi of Ḥamāh and later as the secretary of its governor, Yashbak min Uzdamur. He became part of the coterie of Sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh when the latter was still governor of the province of Tripoli. Al-Muʾayyad extricated Ibn al-Bārizī from Yashbak who dismissed him from his posts and confiscated his property. Upon al-Muʾayyad's rise to power, Ibn al-Bārizī was appointed to the office of secretary to the sultan and became his close confidant. This relationship yielded much property to Ibn al-Bārizī and accorded him "reverence and prestige that no one of his kind [i.e., ulama or *fuqahāʾ*] had attained *(wa-nāla min al-ḥurmah wa-al-wajāhah mā lam yanalhu ghayruhu min abnāʾ jinsihi)*." Up to his death he held the office of preacher, *khaṭīb,* in the mosque built by al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, and was the curator of his library. Upon Ibn al-Bārizī's death, al-Muʾayyad nominated his son Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Bārizī in his place as the Shafiʿi chief qadi. Al-Sakhāwī mentions among Ibn al-Bārizī's intellectual talents his being a man of belles-lettres and a special talent in prose and poetry *(bāriʿan naẓman wa-nathran)*.[15]

2. Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Bārizī (796–856/1394–1452) was the son of Ibn al-Bārizī mentioned earlier. He was born in Ḥamāh and started his education with his father. He emigrated with his father to Egypt where he studied *fiqh* from the famous ulama of the age such as Aḥmad al-ʿIrāqī (see no. 5 below) and al-Bisāṭī (see no. 7 below). He served as chief officer *(kātib al-sirr)* of the correspondence bureau *(dīwān al-inshāʾ),* apparently thanks to his father.[16]

3. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿUmar ibn Raslān al-Bulqīnī (783–824/1361–1421), who was also a Shafiʿi scholar, was born in Cairo to an Egyptian family from Bulqīnah. His father, ʿUmar, had held numerous high religious offices, and his close relations to men of power paved the way for his sons to attain high office as well. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān belonged to the close circle of al-Muʾayyad's confidants. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān served as an official in the bureau of correspondence and later as *qāḍī al-ʿaskar*. After his father's death he was appointed chief *muftī,* the jurist authorized to hand down opinions in matters of religious law. He gained fame for his erudition in the various branches of religious law, his writing skills, and fluent style in prose and poetry.[17]

4. Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr Ibn Jamāʿah al-Shāfiʿī (749–819/1348–

[15] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 9:137–39.

[16] Ibid., 9:236–39.

[17] Ibid., 4:106–13; Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʿda al-Wāfī* (Cairo, 1984–99), 7:197; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk* (Cairo, 1943–72), 4:600.

1416) was born in Cairo. He was among a third generation of religious scholars in a Kinānī family from Ḥamāh. Among his teachers was ʿUmar al-Bulqīnī, father of the above-mentioned ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. His education was broad-ranged to the extreme; apart from the various fields of traditional Muslim law, it included medicine, astrology, philosophy, literature, and arts such as fencing, archery, and juggling *(shaʿūdhah)*. As a result of his encyclopedic education and tranquil disposition, he gained the admiration of his contemporaries. He was among Sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh's confidants and took part in the social gatherings he used to hold. Although he wrote excellent prose and poetry, he concealed this talent, and this is perhaps the reason the panegyric he wrote for Ibn Nāhiḍ does not appear in the manuscript, despite the fact that both the manuscript's author and al-Sakhāwī note its existence.[18]

5. Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-ʿIrāqī Abū Zurʿah, known as Ibn al-ʿIrāqī (762–826/1361–1423), was born in Cairo in a Kurdish family of religious scholars. His father insisted that his son be educated by the best of the contemporary religious scholars. His father used to take him to his academic and social gatherings, and it was in his early childhood that he was exposed to prominent and outstanding intellectuals in Cairo such as the above-mentioned jurist al-Bulqīnī, the father of the aforementioned ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and Ibn Jamāʿah and the famous poets Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār and Ibn Nubātah. At the age of three, his father took him to Damascus and then to Jerusalem to study with the best Quran reciters and other renowned teachers in the various branches of the religious sciences. He also stayed several times with his father in Mecca and Medina, where he benefited from famous teachers residing there at the time. Like the scholars mentioned earlier, his father ensured his advancement in various offices through his friend ʿUmar al-Bulqīnī. When the young Abū Zurʿah was left in Cairo to replace his father, who was nominated as the qadi and preacher of Medina, in all his teaching posts, ʿUmar al-Bulqīnī came to his aid against one of his father's opponents, who tried to extract the prestigious post of hadith teacher in al-Kāmilīyah. Abū Zurʿah's assertive struggle to retain this post brought him great prestige and consolidated his authority within the academe.[19] After his father's death, he was given his teaching posts in several colleges *(madāris)* in Cairo and became an authority on religious matters and an object of admiration for his knowledge and noble bearing. He was considered one of the best jurists and teachers in Cairo,

[18] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 7:171–74.

[19] Ibid., 1:338.

so much so that students from all schools of law gathered to learn from him. In 824/1421, he was appointed the Shafiʿi chief qadi in Egypt. His works cover religious issues and history. As was the norm in contemporary literary circles, he wrote poetry as well. It is worthy of mention that he was very offended when he was dismissed from his post as a Shafiʿi chief qadi and replaced by one of his students. Al-Sakhāwī relates that Abū Zurʿah said that he would have been much less offended had another scholar of his stature taken his post.[20] This case shows the importance attributed to hierarchy within scholarly circles.

6. Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Qalqashandī (756–821/1355–1418) was born in the small town of Qalqashandah, in the eastern Delta. It is unclear when he settled in Cairo. He was a Shafiʿi scholar who excelled in *fiqh,* and Arabic literature and language. He served as a qadi and a clerk in the correspondence bureau. He is best known as the author of *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ,* the vast encyclopedia on the art of clerkship in the Mamluk administration. Like the other scholars mentioned earlier, he was also outstanding in writing prose and poetry.[21]

7. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿUthmān al-Bisāṭī (760–842/1358–1438) was a Maliki scholar, born in the town of Bisāṭ in the Gharbīyah district located in the west Nile Delta. With the help of his uncle, he received education from the best scholars in Cairo, among them ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn and the above-mentioned Ibn Jamāʿah, who was his admired teacher. He was considered unique in his generation *(farīd dahrihi)* and as one "who had no peers." He specialized in Muslim law, linguistics, logic, medicine, mathematics, and architecture. His teacher in architecture was the Mamluk amir Jamāl al-Dīn al-Māridānī, who nominated him in 811/1408 as *fiqh* lecturer in the college he established in Cairo. With the mediation of Amir Ṭaṭar, who served at the time as vicegerent for the absent sultan, al-Bisāṭī was nominated as shaykh of the *khānqāh-turbah* al-Nāṣirīyah, established by Sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj and in 823/1420 as the Maliki chief qadi in Egypt. He served at the same time as head of the *madāris* of al-Barqūqīyah, al-Fakhrīyah, and al-Qamḥīyah.[22]

8. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh. The identity of this scholar is unclear. A certain Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh al-Ḥanafī is mentioned as one of Ibn Jamāʿah's venerated teachers.[23]

[20] Ibid., 1:336–44; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah fī al-Tarājim al-Mufīdah* (Beirut, 1992), 1:356–57.

[21] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 2:8; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd,* 2:361–63.

[22] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 7:5–8.

[23] Ibid., 7:172.

9. Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd al-ʿAjmī (777–833/1375–1429) was a Hanafi scholar with origins in Qaysarī in Anatolia. Like the others in our group of scholars, he was given the best traditional education. He was educated first by his father and later by teachers and educators, Persian *(ʿajam)* and others, brought in especially for this purpose. In his youth he was employed as, among other things, an official in the bureau of correspondence, an inspector of the army in Syria, and as a *muḥtasib* (market inspector) in Cairo; he was dismissed from the majority of his posts for embezzlement. Apart from these flaws in his character, he was a talented, eloquent literary person who stood out at the gatherings of intellectuals convened by Sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh. He was the sultan's drinking partner *(nadīm)* until his star waned because of a conflict with Ibn al-Bārizī. He was forced to go into hiding until al-Ashraf Barsbāy rose to power.[24]

10. Faḍl Allāh ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Makānis (769–822/1367–1419) was a Hanafi scholar. He grew up in a wealthy and intellectual atmosphere in a family of Coptic origin. His father was vizier of Damascus and "one of the excellent poets (*aḥad fuḥūl al-shuʿarāʾ*)."[25] His father and his friend Badr al-Dīn al-Bashtakī,[26] who was a renowned poet and belonged to the extreme *ẓāhirī* school of law, were his teachers, and thus from a tender age he excelled in prose and poetry. In Cairo, after his father's death, his financial situation deteriorated, and he resorted to making a living as a junior clerk in the bureau of correspondence. However, Ibn al-Bārizī (mentioned above), his long-standing friend, assisted him, and it was through his mediation that he became one of Sultan al-Muʾayyad's circle of confidants. He gained the sultan's special interest thanks to the panegyrics he wrote in his honor.[27] It is noteworthy that he had an enduring friendship *(mawaddah akīdah)*[28] with Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, the renowned historian and jurist of the time who also belonged to this group (see below).

11. Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Makhzūmī, known as Ibn al-Damāmīnī (763–827/1361–1424), was born in Alexandria to a Maliki family with origins going back to the Makhzūm clan of Quraysh. His education began in his family, and later he was among the pupils of well-known teachers in Alexandria and Cairo. He specialized in law, Arabic, and belles-lettres.

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[24] Ibid., 2:223–24.

[25] Ibid., 6:172.

[26] Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* ed. Ibrāhīm ʿAlī Ṭarḥān (Cairo, 1970), 15:143–44.

[27] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw*ʾ, 6:172; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr*, (Haydarabad, 1974), 7:368.

[28] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ,* 7:368.

He taught syntax at al-Azhar and on his return to Alexandria tried to make a living as a weaver and preacher. Following a fire that broke out in his home, destroying his looms, he was forced to flee his creditors to Upper Egypt. He was the only member of this group of scholars who tried his hand at manual labor in addition to his intellectual pursuits, but without success. When he returned to Cairo in 819/1416, like Ibn Makānis he was assisted by the mediation of Ibn al-Bārizī in obtaining the post of chief judge of the Maliki school of law in Egypt. In this way he became one of Sultan al-Muʾayyad's confidants and took part in the literary gatherings he held. It was in the same year that he wrote the derisory essay on the biography written by Ibn Nāhiḍ. It appears that he did not find much success in Cairo, and a short time later he went on the hajj. From Mecca he traveled to Yemen and on to India, where he taught and dabbled in commerce. He fell into debt there, but his death saved him from his creditors.[29]

12. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abī al-Wafāʾ (790–852/1388–1448) was the most famous member of the al-Wafāʾ family of noted Maliki religious scholars. He was also a member of the Shādhilī Sufi order. He was born in Cairo, where he received a traditional education with the most notable ulama of the time, among them Ibn Jamāʿah and al-Bisāṭī who, as noted above, belonged to the same social circle. He gained particular fame as a poet, and many, including these two scholars, came to hear his poetry at the literary gatherings he held.[30]

13. Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (773–852/1371–1448) was born in an Arab Kinānī family in Cairo. He was considered the greatest scholar of the fifteenth century in every field of Muslim law. Like other scholars in this group, he too was born into an educated family, which despite his being orphaned at a young age, ensured that he was educated by the best scholars in Egypt, Syria, and al-Ḥijāz. His principal teacher was Ibn Jamāʿah, who was his long-standing tutor in most sciences. He was also a student of Abū Zurʿah and the Mamluk amir Jamāl al-Dīn al-Māridānī, who taught him arithmetic and time keeping. He quickly gained prominence among his colleagues and became the guide and mentor of generations of students, among whom were prominent ulama from all schools of law and famous historians such as al-Sakhāwī and Yūsuf Abū al-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1469). Thanks to his eloquence, he served as preacher in the central mosques of al-Azhar and ʿAmr and served as lecturer in most of the important colleges in Cairo. He refused nominations for the post

[29] Al- Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 7:184–87.

[30] Ibid., 7:92–93.

of chief Shafiʿi qadi until he finally relented in 827/1423. He held this post alternately for about twenty-one years.[31] Among his historical works are *Rafʿ al-Iṣr ʿan Quḍāt Miṣr, Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr,* and *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah.*[32]

14. Yaḥyá ibn Aḥmad Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār (789–853/1387–1449) is the famous Shafiʿi jurist and poet whose family origins allegedly go back to the old tribe of Tanūkh. He was born in al-Karak, southeast of the Dead Sea, to a father who held an administrative office in the household of the Mamluk amir Maʾmūr al-Qalamṭāwī (d. 792/1389), who served as governor of the provinces of Ḥamāh and then al-Karak. Orphaned at the age of three, he moved to Cairo where he received his education in the same circles mentioned above, and among his teachers were Ibn Jamāʿah and Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Bārizī. He made no special achievements in his religious studies, but he did gain prestige because of his connection through marriage to Ibn al-Bārizī (the latter's two sons, Kamāl al-Dīn and Aḥmad, were married to his brother's two sisters), who treated him like a son and worked towards his advancement. At first he tried to gain an entrée into the military service, and when that failed he took on, without much success, bureaucratic and teaching posts at various colleges that taught Muslim law in Cairo. Thus, he needed the al-Bārizī family's support for a long time. On the other hand, his fame rests on his literary merits, for he was renowned as "one of the most perfect in poetry, prose, and calligraphy *(wa-huwa aḥad al-kamalah fī al-naẓm wa-al-nathr wa-al-khaṭṭ).*" He was considered to be the successor of the poet Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Nubātah (686–768/1287–1366).[33]

15. Aṣīl Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAlī al-Khaḍrī al-Mālikī. His biography is not found in the sources, but he is mentioned in Muḥammad Ibn Jamāʿah's biography as one of his teachers.[34]

16. Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī (760–845/1359–1441) was born in Cairo to a prestigious family of intellectuals on both his father's and his mother's side. His paternal grandfather, ʿAbd al-Qādir ibn Muḥammad (d. 732/1331), whose origins allegedly go back to the Fatimids and the tribe of Tamīm, was a Hanbali religious scholar from Syria, and his maternal grandfather, Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh (d. 776/1375), was a wealthy philologist and traditionist who served as a Hanafi judge. From an early age al-Maqrīzī was

[31] For his appointment decree as Shafiʿi chief qadi see: Ibn Ḥijjah, *Qahwat al-Inshāʾ,* 412–17.

[32] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 2:36–40

[33] Ibid., 10:217–21; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 15:544–45.

[34] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 7:172.

groomed to be a religious scholar, as befitted a wealthy, educated family, but he gained the lion's share of his fame and achievements from his work in history, to which he devoted all his time after withdrawing from public life in his last years. Al-Sakhāwī cites him as saying that his writings reached a hundred volumes that included history works, describing contemporary and preceding events, relying on first-hand evidence and earlier compilations. He held several religious posts in Cairo and Damascus such as *muḥtasib,* preacher in the ʿAmr mosque, the imam of the Ḥasan Madrasah, inspector of the al-Ḥākim mosque, and as lecturer of the Hanbali school of law in al-Muʾayyadīyah.[35]

17. Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Abī Bakr al-Mawṣilī al-Shāfiʿī (d. 844/1440). His father was a Shafiʿi scholar from Mosul who settled in Damascus, where ʿAbd al-Malik was born. ʿAbd al-Malik became a Sufi scholar, and many people came to believe in his holiness and visited him to receive his blessing *(al-istishfāʿ bi-hi)*.[36]

18. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Sindī. No information on this writer was found in the sources.

19. Taqī al-Dīn Abū Bakr ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥijjah (d. 767–837/1366–1434) was a Hanafi jurist and poet who was born in Ḥamāh and grew up as an apprentice of a silk and button maker. On reaching adolescence he started his religious education with the famous ulama in Ḥamāh, and soon he excelled in poetry, prose, and composition. He gained fame for his poems in *zajal* (pl. *azjāl*—popular Arabic poem in strophic form) and *mawwāl* (pl. *mawāwīl*—poem in colloquial language) and the panegyric he wrote for local dignitaries. Later he moved to Damascus, where he entered the circle of the qadi Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn Jamāʿah and composed a panegyric for him for which he received excellent *taqārīẓ.* Equipped with the panegyric and the *taqārīẓ,* he went to Cairo to the above-mentioned ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Makānis and his son Majd al-Dīn, who approved of his work and made him a member of their literary circle. During his stay in Cairo he composed a *qaṣīdah* (pl. *qaṣāʾid*—an Arabic poem having, as a rule, a tripartite structure) in praise of Ibn Makānis and his son. The sources show that he also had good relations with Muḥammad Ibn al-Damāmīnī. In 791/1389 he left Cairo for Ḥamāh, where he served as a clerk in the correspondence bureau through the good offices of the above-mentioned Muḥammad Ibn al-Bārizī, who served as the head of the bureau. He returned to Cairo during al-Muʾayyad Shaykh's reign, and it was through Ibn al-Bārizī's mediation that

[35] Ibid., 2:21–25; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 15:490; idem, *Manhal,* 1:415–20.

[36] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 5:84.

he was nominated as a scribe in the Egyptian correspondence bureau and introduced into the sultan's close circle of confidants. He became one of the well-known poets and writers of his time, but his star set when Dāwud Ibn al-Kuwayz was nominated as the new head of the correspondence bureau after al-Muʾayyad's and Ibn al-Bārizī's deaths. He returned to Ḥamāh in 830/1427 and died there in 837/1434.[37]

20. Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm al-Bāʿūnī (777–870/1375–1465) was a Shafiʿi scholar and poet who was born in Safad. He started his religious education with local scholars and then moved with his father to Syria, where he was educated by well-known scholars. He served as a preacher in the Umayyad Mosque and head of the Sufi al-Basiṭīyah in Damascus, and as inspector of the Holy Places in Mecca and Medina (al-Ḥaramayn). He adamantly refused the chief qadiship in Egypt in 812/1409 and dedicated his life to scholarship.[38]

21. Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Zuʿayfrānī (767–830/1365–1426) was a talented poet and a Shafiʿi scholar. He won the favor of the Mamluk amirs in Cairo by pretending to have the ability to foresee their future through the divine secrets hidden in the Quran, sought by the science of numerology *(ʿilm al-ḥurūf)*. He fell out of favor in Cairo in 812/1409 after he deceived the majordomo Jamāl al-Dīn into believing that the heroic poem *(malḥamah,* pl. *malāḥim)* he offered him was an ancient one forecasting his ascent, and that of his son after him, to rule in Egypt.[39] His misconduct with the amirs demonstrates how ulama often took advantage of the great reliance of the Mamluks on them in matters related to religious literature.

As we can learn from this list of ulama, the majority belonged to the Shafiʿi and Maliki schools of law, the dominant schools in Lower and Upper Egypt. Most of them were of Arab origin in Syria and Egypt, going back to pre- and early Islamic times. Thus, Ibn Jamāʿah's origin goes back to the Kinānah tribe and al-Damāmīnī's to the Makhzūm clan of Quraysh. Al-Maqrīzī claimed to be a descendant of the Fatimids, and Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār of the Tanūkhīs, the Yemeni tribe who dominated the area along the Euphrates in pre-Islamic and Umayyad times. There were only three Hanafis in this group of scholars, Ibn Makānis, al-ʿAjmī, and Ibn Ḥijjah, two of them of non-Arab origin, but their command of Arabic reached such a degree that they were considered among the best poets of their time, and their broad education and connections, so it seems, brought them into this elitist

[37] Ibid., 11:53–56; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 15:189–92.

[38] Al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 1:26–29.

[39] Ibid., 2:250–51.

circle of intellectuals. Most of these scholars were connected to one of two prominent ulama, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn al-Bārizī and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Bulqīnī, and it was through their connections that they were brought to al-Muʾayyad Shaykh's close circle of confidants and associates. Thus, Kamāl al-Dīn (Ibn al-Bārizī's son), Ibn Makānis, Ibn al-ʿAṭṭār, al-Damāmīnī, and Ibn Ḥijjah were identified with Ibn al-Bārizī. Al-Bulqīnī's group cohered around their acquaintanceship in academe. Al-Bulqīnī, Ibn Jamāʿah, and Abū Zurʿah all were students of al-Bulqīnī's father, ʿUmar ibn Raslān al-Bulqīnī, who was a close friend of Abū Zurʿah's father. ʿUmar was a close confidant of al-Muʾayyad, and it was through his mediation that all three became his close associates. Al-Maqrīzī was a student of ʿUmar ibn Raslān al-Bulqīnī and Abū Zurʿah's father. Al-Bisāṭī, Ibn Ḥajar, and al-Khaḍrī were all students of Ibn Jamāʿah and Ibn Abī al-Wafāʾ was al-Bisāṭī's student. Ibn Ḥajar was also a student of Abū Zurʿah. Besides his connections with al-Muʾayyad, al-Bisāṭī had close connections with the Mamluk amirs Ṭaṭar and al-Mārīdānī. It was through these connections inside academe and with the Mamluk elite that these ulama and *fuqahāʾ* attained academic posts and judicial and bureaucratic appointments. Some of these families, such as al-Bulqīnī, Ibn Jamāʿah, and Ibn Makānis, amassed great fortunes while holding key positions in the *qaḍāʾ* and *awqāf* management. Al-Bulqīnī owned one of the most splendid houses in Cairo.[40]

It would appear that all members involved in Ibn Nāhiḍ's case were born into educated, competitive families who gave them a broad education of the highest standard. Indeed, they were tuned into their unique position as a leading class among the local intellectuals. In a way their *taqārīẓ* are a bombastic declaration on the breadth of their education, literary skills, and refinement. Their style is replete with florid language and allusions to the Quran, hadith, and the vast body of Arabic literature through the generations. From the dates of most of the panegyrics noted in the manuscript, it is also evident that the writers responded to one another's words with no small measure of competitiveness. The *taqārīẓ* convey, to a certain measure, a statement of what they considered the true model of knowledge a Muslim scholar should possess. Obviously, scholars with education of a lower standard, certainly including foreigners, or *aʿjām,* could hardly measure up to this model. It was the domain preserved for the elitist Arab ulama, the true agents of the indigenous Muslim culture, or to use Haarmann's words, "the salt of the country."[41] It is in this context that

[40] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Cairo, 1987), 2:54.

[41] Haarmann, "Rather the Injustice of the Turks than the Righteousness of the Arabs," 65.

the Syrian and Egyptian ulama's obsession with digging into their peers' works for faults in grammar, style, and content can be explained. Thus, for example, Ibn Ḥajar mentions that in spite of the fine poetry of Ibn Makānis, who was of Coptic origin, minor and grave grammatical faults *(alḥān,* s. *laḥn)* slipped into it.[42]

The case of al-Muʾayyad's peace agreement with Nawrūz al-Ḥāfiẓī (d. 815/1412), the governor of Damascus and his enemy and protagonist in the civil war of 815/1412, confirms the disrespect the Arab scholars felt towards their non-Arab peers, especially the Turks.[43] Ibn Taghrībirdī presents the case as first-hand information he heard from Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bārizī, the son of the above-mentioned Muḥammad Ibn al-Bārizī. This ceremony was held to confirm with an oath Nawrūz's surrender and al-Muʾayyad's commitment to restore him to his position as governor of Damascus. Ibn Taghrībirdī reports that Muḥammad Ibn al-Bārizī administered the oath of allegiance, deliberately inserting linguistic errors that twisted its meaning and impaired its validity. When the Hanafi qadi turned to the Shafiʿi qadi al-Bulqīnī, who is also one of our *taqārīẓ* authors, and commented on al-Bārizī's mistakes in Arabic language and style, he was silenced immediately. Ibn Taghrībirdī clarifies that the Mamluk messengers and Turkish qadis who acted as Nawrūz's representatives at the ceremony did not catch on to the trick because of their lack of practice in Arabic. They brought the oath of allegiance to Nawrūz, confident of its validity. In this context, Ibn Taghrībirdī complains about the meager knowledge the Turkish jurists had in the various branches of Islamic science, not to speak of jurisprudence *(fiqh).* This story clearly reveals the idea the Arab ulama sought to convey about their position compared with the ruling Mamluks and the foreign ulama they employed. No matter how powerful the Mamluk *umarāʾ* were, the validity of their rule depended on the Arab ulama, who held the powerful key to knowledge.

III

Ibn Nāhiḍ was clearly not a member of that exclusive group of scholars. He did, after all, make a living only by writing panegyrics for local dignitaries. We do not know of any salaried position he held in the religious bureaucracy. Ibn Nāhiḍ's panegyric biography for al-Muʾayyad Shaykh is written with quite a simple vocabulary but in a manneristic style. It is written in rhymed prose, particularly florid language, rhetorical expressions from the sources,

[42] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ,* 7:368.

[43] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 14:20–21.

and exaggerated flattery of Sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, to the level of using the most sacred metaphors in Islam such as the Kaʿbah to describe his character and deeds or calling him the imam of the community, a role normally reserved for the ulama.[44] Important for the present discussion is that rhymed prose was rejected by the Arabs and continued to be considered as a typical Persian literary genre. The compiler of *Al-Ajwibah al-Muʿtabarah* does not leave room for guesswork and mentions clearly that Ibn Nāhiḍ's *Sīrah* offended "the kings among the distinguished scholars" *(mulūk al-ʿulamāʾ al-aʿlām)*. Lacking the self-criticism to realize his fault and tongue slips *(wa-lam yashʿur bi-khaṭʾihi wa-zalalihi),*[45] he requested "every religious scholar, litterateur, historian, and friend" *(kull ʿālim wa-adīb wa-muʾarrikh wa-ḥabīb)*[46] to write its praises. Moreover, when they "used double-edged language" *(istaʿmalū al-ibhām)*[47] that only appeared to praise his work, he accepted their words at face value. However, in spite of his recognition of Ibn Nāhiḍ's lack of sagacity, the manuscript's author criticizes the *taqārīẓ* as treatises of "low poetry and mean prose and poor and disgraceful style" *(naẓam sāfil nāzil wa-ʿibārah rakīkah mustahjanah)* written in "a respite from the pens" *(ʿalá ḥīn fatrah min al-aqlām),* i.e., *taqārīẓ* written while their pens rested from their truly worthy writing.[48] The question is: what caused so many distinguished scholars of the time to unite and attack Ibn Nāhiḍ so meanly and mercilessly? In other words, what they were actually defending?

Rivalry over leadership and hegemony over the judicial system and resources of pious endowments arose between the Mamluk elite and the local ulama and *fuqahāʾ,* especially the Shafiʿis, as early as the establishment of the Mamluk regime. The Shafiʿi *madhhab* (school of law) that had enjoyed absolute dominance in the Egyptian judicial system became, with the introduction of Baybars' reform of 665/1265, one of the four schools of law.[49] Baybars' reform was designed to increase the prestige of the Hanafi school of law, to which the Mamluks belonged, and to enhance approval

[44] Vesely, "Ibn Nāhiḍ's As-Sīra aš-Šaykhiyya," 174, 184.

[45] *Al-Ajwibah al-Muʿtabarah,* fol. 9L.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Jorgen S. Nielsen, "Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars and the Appointment of Four Chief Qāḍīs, 663/1265," *Studia Islamica* 60 (1984): 169–76; Joseph H. Escovitz, *The Office of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt in Cairo Under the Baḥrī Mamlūks* (Berlin, 1984), 53–61, 235–39; idem, "The Establishment of Four Chief Judgeships in the Mamluk Empire," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102 (1982): 529–31; Yaacov Lev, "Symbiotic Relations: Ulama and the Mamluk Sultans," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 13, no. 1 (2009): 14–17.

of their policies and alien life style. This reform did not stop in Egypt and Aleppo: Tripoli, Ḥamāh, and Safad followed suit.[50] In 749/1348 a Hanafi qadi was nominated next to the Shafiʿi in the army too.[51] Upon his ascension to power, Sultan al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (784–801/1382–99) initiated the post of Hanafi chief qadi in Jerusalem and Gaza. To these posts he appointed two foreign Sufis residing in the Shaykhūnīyah in Cairo.[52] We learn that in 812/1409, four chief qadis also stood at the head of the judicial system in Damascus.[53] Further erosion in the jurists' situation came when the social leveling of the religious and judicial institutions brought persons from the lower classes to prominent positions, such as the vizierate, *ḥisbah* inspection,[54] and qadiships, through patronage relations and the practice of payment for appointments.[55] The sources reveal that "people from respectable families *(dhūwī al-buyūtāt)*"[56] felt that they were discriminated against during Barqūq's reign, for he conducted a deliberate policy of advancing persons of lowly position to high offices that had been previously their privilege. The position of the qadis was also impinged upon when the jurisdiction of the *ḥujjāb* was extended to deal with matters beyond the military elite and the *dīwāns,* to matters traditionally dealt with according to the shariʿah. For this reason the number of *ḥujjāb* consistently increased during the fifteenth century, and by the middle of the century, senior amirs holding high posts such as *dawādār* acquired judicial knowledge and acted as judges among the civilian population. Even the *julbān,* the non-commissioned Mamluks, also accumulated judicial power and acted as arbiters in disputes between civilians who eschewed the *sharʿī* courts. Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī's (r. 906–22/1501–16) attempts to recentralize the judicial system and ban all courts but the *sharʿī* failed due to the amirs' pressure.[57] These processes

[50] Nielsen, "Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars," 171; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:519–20; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr* (Cairo, 1984), 1:2:349.

[51] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:772.

[52] Ibid., 3:480; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 11:228.

[53] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:91.

[54] Jonathan Berkey, "The *muḥtasibs* of Cairo under the Mamluks: Toward an Understanding of an Islamic Institution," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society,* ed. Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni (Leiden, 2004), 245–76.

[55] Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, "The Sale of Office and Its Economic Consequences during the Rule of the Last Circassians (872–922/1468–1516)," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9, no. 2 (2005): 49–83.

[56] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 11:291; Kosei Morimoto, "What Ibn Khaldūn Saw: The Judiciary of Mamluk Egypt," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 119–20.

[57] Robert Irwin, "The Privatisation of 'Justice' under the Circassian Mamluks," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 63–70.

of popularization and privatization in the academe and judicial systems obviously eroded the local *fuqahā*'s position. It is not a coincidence that the local Shafiʿi ulama were the sharpest critics of the Circassian regime.

When Baybars tried to include in his reform the division of the supervision over the *awqāf* in Egypt and Syria among the four *madhāhib,* he met stiff opposition from the Shafiʿi legists. Henceforth the Mamluk sultans and other figures of authority would repeatedly try to lay their hands on the great fortunes amassed in the *awqāf*.[58] In 775/1373 the supervision of the *aḥbās* (*awqāf* lands) [59] and *awqāf* in Egypt was given to the amir Manjak al-Yūsufī, one of the prominent Mamluk amirs of the time.[60] By Jaqmaq's reign (842–57/1438–53), the *aḥbās* lands and *waqf* institutions such as the colleges al-Muʾayyadīyah and al-Ashrafīyah were regularly put under the *dawādār*'s supervision.[61] In 844/1440 the inspection of the Ḥākimī Mosque and the *awqāf* donated for its maintenance, which were by long tradition in Shafiʿi hands, were given to the *dawādār* Dūlāt Bey.[62] During the fifteenth century, the inspection of the prestigious *waqf* of the Bīmāristān al-Manṣūrī, the hospital constructed in Cairo by al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn in 682–83/1283–84, was given regularly to the *atābak al-ʿasākir*. Furthermore, lands of pious endowments were increasingly transferred to the sultan's treasury. From Barsbāy's reign (825–42/1422–38) onward, legal techniques were used to transfer state lands, *iqṭāʿ,* into private hands and turn them into *awqāf*. The sultans benefited from these transactions because it was through *awqāf* manipulation that they channelled public funds to their families and gained covert incomes for their extra expenses in the army and maintenance of the important civilian sectors' support, as Carl Petry has shown in his seminal works on the reigns of Qāytbāy (873–901/1468–95) and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī.[63]

[58] Morimoto, "What Ibn Khaldūn Saw," 117–19; Nicolas Michel, "Les rizaq iḥbāsiyya, terres agricoles en mainmorte dans l'Egypte mamelouke et ottomane: Etude sur les Dafātir al-Aḥbās ottomans," *Annales islamologiques* 30 (1996): 114–17; Lev, "Symbiotic Relations," 22–26.

[59] *Rizaq* (s. *rizqah*) were the lands donated by sultans to prominent figures in their regime only for their lifetime. After their death the land returned to the sultan's treasury. Part of these lands were turned into *aḥbās* or *waqf* lands dedicated for the maintenance of urban religious and charitable foundations established by the Mamluks. See: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 11:166; Michel, "Les rizaq iḥbāsiyya," 107–8.

[60] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 11:65.

[61] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk,* ed. Aḥmad Zakī Bek (Cairo, 1896), 122.

[62] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:1223.

[63] Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?;* idem, *Twilight of Majesty, The Reign of the Mamluk Sultans al-Ashraf Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī in Egypt* (Seattle, 1993). See also Michel, "Les rizaq aḥbāsiyya," 118–19.

It should be noted that the ulama and *fuqahāʾ* laid their hands on the *awqāf* to a no lesser extent than the Mamluk ruling class, for in addition to their formal remuneration, they embezzled great fortunes from the incomes of public charitable endowments. An indication of the wealth they amassed is the large sums of money confiscated from them upon their dismissal. The sources are replete with such confiscation cases. Furthermore, the ulama often neglected the upkeep of the *awqāf* under their responsibility, and when the estates were priced much below their true value, they would lay their hands on them and buy them cheaply.[64] In 838/1434 Ibn Ḥajar, who it should be remembered served as the chief Shafiʿi judge and is the author of one of the *taqārīẓ* for Ibn Nāhiḍ, was summoned by Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy (825–42/1422–38) and ordered to check the *waqf* stipulations of *madāris* and *khānqāhs* in Cairo and see how they were carried out in practice, with the intention to dismiss the unnecessary office-holders. Accompanied by the other three chief judges, Ibn Ḥajar began investigating the *awqāf* and found that the office-holders took possession of their incomes and disposed of them as they wished. Obviously, part of the incomes disappeared into their own pockets and most probably into their patrons'. Under pressure exerted by the office-holders and their patrons, the sultan had to back down and leave the *awqāf* untouched. Ibn Taghrībirdī complains that if Barsbāy had sent one of the *fuqahāʾ* serving in the *umarāʾ* administration (he is probably implying the foreign Hanafi jurists) for this task instead of Ibn Ḥajar, his favor to the public would have measured up to his conquest of Cyprus.[65] However, al-Maqrīzī's comment on this case is positive. He mentions that the sultan did not like the way Ibn Ḥajar inspected the *awqāf,* but had to give up his plan. The people rejoiced when they learned that the sultan abolished his order of the *awqāf* inspection, for they anticipated "great changes" *(taghayyurāt kabīrah)* in them had it been carried out.[66] The increasing scrutiny of the informal *awqāf* management on the part of the sultans put the ulama under continuous risk of confiscation of their wealth and dismissal from their positions.

The Mamluks, as aliens, were generally interested in the moderation of orthodox Islam and the introduction of Sufism as an alternative to the indigenous Shafiʿi school of law. They invested particularly in the instruction of the Hanafi *madhhab* in the colleges they established for

[64] See, for example, al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:82.

[65] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 15:58–59.

[66] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:939.

the teaching of Muslim law, or *madāris,*[67] and in Sufi orders, due to their reverence for the Sufi shaykhs and also because they sought the support of the masses who preferred the practice of popular (Sufism) over orthodox Islam. Nevertheless, the Mamluks could not ignore the position held by the Shafiʿi *fuqahāʾ* and ulama as the leading upper class. Therefore, while the Mamluks dedicated *khānqāh*s for the instruction and rituals of Sufism, they stipulated their desire for an orthodox curriculum and invited mostly foreign ulama, generally Hanafis, to teach in them, and Sufis to instruct in the *madāris,* as Leonor Fernandes has shown.[68] Consequently, both orthodox and Sufi institutions underwent a process of moderation, and by the end of the fourteenth century the differences between them were blurred. Local *fuqahāʾ* and ulama were obviously the victims of this trend of popularization in academe, as increasing numbers of newcomers, especially Turkish and Persian Sufis from Anatolia and Iraq who had not mastered Arabic, were brought in by the Mamluks to take their place. Furthermore, interest in Turkish literature, both translated from Arabic or originally written in Oghuz Turkish, grew among the Mamluks during the Circassian period because of the increasing literary and intellectual influence from Turkish Anatolia.[69] Thus, for example, Muṣṭafá ibn ʿUmar al-Ḍarīr, the blind Mawlawi from Anatolia, was accepted in Cairo as a religious writer, irrespective of his confessed deficiency in learning. He composed for al-Ẓāhir Barqūq the Turkish biography of the Prophet Muhammad which is still appreciated in today's Turkey.[70] The Hanafi shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Sīrāmī was invited from the east (probably from Iraq) to serve as the head of the newly established Sufi order and college of the same sultan.[71] Yaʿqūb Shāh of Arzenjān, who studied in Ṭabrīz and held the post of chief of the chancellery of the Qaraqoyunlu ruler, was nominated as the director of the foreign chancellery in Egypt through the mediation of the grand *dawādār* Yashbak min Mahdī. Another Turk, Ḥusayn ibn Pīr Ḥājjī Abū Bakr from Shirāz, gained favor with Yashbak through his musical accomplishments and was nominated as administrator of his *qubbah* in Cairo. As a reward for composing the Turkish version of the *Shāhnāmah* for Sultan al-Ghawrī,

[67] Leonor Fernandes, "Mamluk Politics and Education: The Evidence from Two Fourteenth-Century Waqfiyya," *Annales islamologiques* 23 (1987): 87–98.

[68] Leonor Fernandes, *The Evolution of a Sufi Institution in Mamluk Egypt: The Khanaqah* (Berlin, 1988).

[69] B. Fleming, "Literary Activities in Mamluk Halls and Barracks," in *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet,* ed. Myriam Rosen-Ayalon (Jerusalem, 1977), 251–52.

[70] Ibid., 252.

[71] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 11:243.

Sharīf Ḥusayn ibn Ḥasan was appointed, over the heads of the Dayrī family, as the shaykh of the al-Muʾayyad Mosque.[72] Among the Arab ulama, the Mamluks held in high esteem those who were bilingual. Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī, the fifteenth-century historian who was the Hanafi chief qadi and drinking companion of Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbāy, mastered Arabic and Turkish. During their gatherings, he used to read to the sultan the history of Islam in Arabic and translate it into Turkish and answer Barsbāy's many questions on matters of religion "in words close to his understanding" *(bi-ʿibārah taqrubu min fahmihi)*.[73] Barsbāy admitted, Ibn Taghrībirdī contends, that without al-ʿAynī's guidance his knowledge of Islam would have been imperfect. Against this background, it is unsurprising that extremist Shafiʿi ulama opposed the Hanafis and the low Sufi orders that the Mamluks supported and were zealous to introduce their adherents to the judicial system and academe. Al-Maqrīzī was renowned for his fanatic opposition to the Mamluks, Sufis, and Hanafis in general.[74] Muḥammad Ibn al-Bārizī was known for being extremely hard on his enemies and a zealous benefactor to his friends and adherents.[75]

To cling to their continuously diminishing share in the power structure and the division of the country's resources, the upper class ulama thus had to navigate between contradicting tendencies: between cooperation with the Mamluks and criticism of their moderate and popular understanding of Islam and their rejection of the inequity of the division of the country's wealth. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, a scholar highly esteemed for his knowledge and piety, encapsulates the embarrassing experience these ulama had in the *sharʿī* judicial system. He testifies that he had much regret at his decision to accept the position of chief Shafiʿi qadi and felt he had denied his conscience *(janá ʿalá nafsihi)*. Among the reasons he mentions for his discomfort, he refers in the first place to the lack of distinction *(farq)* between the ulama and others. In the second and third place he mentions the Mamluks' interference in his judicial decisions and the necessity to treat them with flattery *(mudārāh)*. To soften the dissonance in his conduct, Ibn Ḥajar would apologetically announce that "there was not one hair on his body that approved his name" *(lam tabqá shaʿrah fī badanihi taqbal ismahu)*.[76] It is worthy of mention that in spite of these declarations, Ibn Ḥajar served

[72] Fleming, "Literary Activities," 252.

[73] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 16:10. See also: A. Schimmel, "Some Glimpses of the Religious Life in Egypt during the Later Mamluk Period," *Islamic Studies* 7 (1965): 356–57.

[74] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 1:417.

[75] Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 9:138.

[76] Ibid., 2:38.

for over twenty-one years as a Shafiʿi chief qadi, and at least one example of the compromises he had to make during his service has already been mentioned.

IV

Some of the scholars who criticized Ibn Nāhiḍ for his exaggerated flattery of those in power were guilty of the same sin. Ibn Makānis wrote poems of praise *(qaṣāʾid)* to Sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh[77] without incurring the censure given to Ibn Nāhiḍ. Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī wrote the biography of al-Muʾayyad under the title *Al-Sayf al-Muhannad fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Muʾayyad.* Moreover, writing biographical pieces of a clearly literary nature was an accepted norm, and works of this kind were written under the aegis of the sultan and those in positions of power throughout the Mamluk period. P. M. Holt has noted the literary characteristics of works of this kind, defining them as a "genre of courtly literature."[78] Contemporary historians found no flaw in the words of praise for the heroes of such biographies, nor in the selectivity employed in the presentation of the events recounted in them. What made the difference between a praiseworthy and disgraceful panegyric then? It was a matter of the right measure of flattery disguised as historical fact by a good knowledge of history, and above all proficiency in Arabic language and literature and religious sciences. These intellectual skills were the symbols of the upper class ulama's social distinction and certainly part and parcel of the code of conduct they adopted and used as a self-regulating standard that was so necessary for their social survival.[79] It fostered their image as independent religious scholars and men of letters and conveyed their ethical principles, and at the same time it left room for them to enjoy the privileges that close relations with the ruling Mamluks brought them.[80] They could not allow others, especially lower-grade peers like Ibn Nāhiḍ, who were not as fluent and eloquent in Arabic as they were, to use their distinctive symbols without compromising their already weakened sociopolitical status.

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[77] Ibid., 6:172; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ,* 7:368.

[78] P. M. Holt, "Literary Offerings: A Genre of Courtly Literature," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 3–16.

[79] See for example Ibn Iyās' criticism of al-Ṣayrafī's historical works: Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:309–10.

[80] Lev, "Symbiotic Relations," 9–10.

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The Evolution of the Sultanic Fisc and *al-Dhakhīrah* during the Circassian Mamluk Period

I have shown in a previous article that al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, the first sultan of the Circassian Mamluks (r. 784–91, 792–801/1382–89, 1390–99), possessed several private properties, especially landed estates, in such forms as *milk* (pl. *amlāk;* privately-owned land) or *waqf* (pl. *awqāf;* Islamic endowment) land, and that he organized their management through the establishment of a new bureau, the *Dīwān al-Amlāk wa-al-Awqāf wa-al-Dhakhīrah.*[1] Although it is unsurprising that the Mamluk sultans possessed private assets that were independent of the state purse, their inclination to hold private property—especially in the shape of agricultural lands—only became popular in the late fourteenth century. From Barqūq's reign onwards, successive sultans developed a variety of ways to increase the financial resources of the sultanic fisc. Eventually, the scale of the sultanic fisc would reach its apogee under the reigns of al-Ashraf Qāytbāy (r. 872–901/1468–96) and al-Ashraf Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (r. 906–22/1501–16), two prominent sultans from the late Mamluk period.[2]

Al-Dhakhīrah, a term that is frequently found in the sources from the Circassian Mamluk period, is key for understanding the sultanic fisc. *Al-Dhakhīrah,* which originally meant "treasure" in Arabic,[3] was a technical term that related to the sultan's finances during the Circassian Mamluk period, and which accrued new meanings over time. However, because little attention has been given to the term, the meaning of the term and its transformation are not clear. I believe that a more detailed investigation of *al-Dhakhīrah* is essential if we are to arrive at a proper understanding of the fiscal system of the Circassian Mamluk sultanate.

To this end, this article considers the state, role, and development of the sultanic fisc under the Circassian sultans, as well as the background that necessitated its establishment and development. Throughout the course of the article, I will

[1] Igarashi Daisuke, "The Private Property and *Awqāf* of the Circassian Mamluk Sultans: The Case of Barqūq," *Orient* 43 (2008).

[2] Igarashi Daisuke, "The Financial Reforms of Sultan Qāytbāy," *Mamlūk Studies Review* (*MSR*) 13, no. 1 (2009): 27–51; Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?: The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994), chaps. 6, 7; Miura Toru, "Urban Society in Damascus as the Mamluk Era was Ending," *MSR* 10, no. 1 (2006): 158, 168–76.

[3] Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab* (Beirut, n.d.), 4:302–3; al-Fīrūzābādī, *Al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* (Cairo, 1306 A. H.), 2:34; E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon* (London and Edinburgh, 1863–93), 3:956.

demonstrate that significant changes occurred in the financial system during the Circassian Mamluk period. I will make clear that the difficulties, restructuring, and eventual bankruptcy of the state's finances arose against the same background as the expansion and increasing role of the sultanic fisc—both phenomena were organically united and mutually influential. In addition, I will also outline the overall historical development that occurred in the structure of the Mamluk sultanate.

What is *al-Dhakhīrah?*

To begin, I will investigate how the term *al-Dhakhīrah* has been interpreted by contemporary scholars, and how it is explained in the chancery manual sources of the Mamluk period. As I indicated above, little attention has been given to the term; what is agreed upon is that some members of the sultan's financial staff bore *al-Dhakhīrah* in their titles (such as *nāẓir al-dhakhīrah*), and they have been regarded, somewhat obscurely, as managers of the sultan's own treasures.[4] However, beyond this rather vague common ground, scholars have presented differing interpretations of the meaning and role of *al-Dhakhīrah*. For instance, A. N. Poliak says, "The vacant fief (i.e., *iqṭāʿ*) was managed and exploited by the department designated as *dīwān al-dhakhīrah* until its grant by the sultan to another feudatory."[5] ʿĀmir Nāṣir has a different interpretation of this *dīwān* and suggests that it was a department responsible for managing the sultan's *iqṭāʿ* lands—all the revenues from which were designated to the sultan himself.[6] In addition, several studies that have been conducted on the spice trade between Mamluk Egypt and Venice have identified the "dacchieri"—the Mamluk governmental office that was in charge of the trade and that appears several times in the Venetian documentary sources—as cognate with the Arabic term *al-Dhakhīrah.*[7]

Disparate descriptions of *al-Dhakhīrah* also occur in the chancery manual sources from the Mamluk era. Judging from the fact that al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik* (written in

[4] William Popper, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Sultans 1382–1468: Systematic Notes to Ibn Taghrī Birdī's Chronicles of Egypt* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1955–57), 1:93, 98; Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration dans l'État militaire mamlūk (IXe/XVe siècle)* (Damascus, 1992), 54; Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn, *Al-Awqāf wa-al-Ḥayāh al-Ijtimāʿīyah fī Miṣr 648–923 A.H./1250–1517 A.D.* (Cairo, 1980), 119–21; Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250–1517* (Cambridge, 2000), 72.

[5] A. N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon, 1250–1900* (London, 1939; repr. Philadelphia, 1977), 22.

[6] ʿĀmir Najīb Mūsá Nāṣir, *Al-Ḥayāh al-Iqtiṣādīyah fī Miṣr fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Amman, 2003), 116–17.

[7] John Wansbrough, "A Mamluk Letter of 877/1473," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (*BSOAS*) 24 (1961): 206, 211, note 7; idem, "A Mamluk Ambassador to Venice in 913/1507," *BSOAS* 26 (1963): 528, note 3.

the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century)[8] and al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ* (written in 814/1412)[9]—two of the most important chancery manual sources—do not mention any offices or works that related to *al-Dhakhīrah,* it seems that, in the period of the late Bahri Mamluks and the beginning of the Circassian Mamluks, when these two sources were composed, *al-Dhakhīrah* had not yet been established as an organization or an office. Thereafter, there is an abridged description of the *Dīwān al-Dhakhīrah* which is found in al-Ẓāhirī's *Zubdah* (written in 846/1422),[10] as follows: "The *Dīwān al-Dhakhīrah.* This is one of the most important bureaus *(dawāwīn)*. The money *(māl)* of *al-Dhakhīrah* was collected from various resources *(jihāt)* to it. It has a *nāẓir* (manager) and members of staff *(mubāshirūn)*."[11] We are given no specific information about the institution in this simple explanation. However, another source—known as al-Khālidī's "Al-Maqṣad al-Rafīʿ" (hereafter cited as *Dīwān al-Inshāʾ*)—provides a more detailed description, as follows:

> The *naẓar al-amlāk wa-al-dhakhīrah*. These two (i.e., *amlāk* and *dhakhīrah*) are income sources bound together *(humā jihatāni mutaqāranatāni)*. *Al-amlāk* means [the assets] that are purchased for the sultan or his relatives *(aqāribhu),* such as arable lands *(ḍiyāʿ),* houses *(ribāʿ),* and others relating to them. *Al-Dhakhīrah* means [the assets] that are rented *(mā yustaʾjar)* for the sultan such as tax districts *(nawāḥī),* agricultural lands *(mazāriʿ),* water wheels *(dawālīb),* and others. A person appointed to this office takes charge of incomes such as [those from the assets that were] purchased for the sultan and [were] sold from [his hand], and those rented for him and leased out from him. He is an administrator *(mutaṣarrif)* who disburses [the money for] that which should be disbursed, and conveys [the money for] that which should be conveyed to the treasury *(khazāʾin)*. A military man sometimes holds the office.[12]

According to this description, *al-amlāk* referred to "the sultan's private real

[8] Al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār,* ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid (Cairo, 1985).

[9] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ* (Cairo, 1913–22). As for its date of composition, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., "Al-Ḳalḳashandī."

[10] As for its date of composition, see ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī, "Al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim fī Ḥawādith al-ʿUmr wa-al-Tarājim," Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MSS Vaticano Arabo 728, 729, 1: fol. 64r.

[11] Al-Ẓāhirī, *Kitāb Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik,* ed. Paul Ravaisse (Paris, 1894), 110.

[12] An anonymous chancery manual known as al-Khālidī's "al-Maqṣad al-Rafīʿ," Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS Arabe 4439 (hereafter cited as *Dīwān al-Inshāʾ*), fol. 137v. As for the source, see Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration,* 16.

estates" and *al-Dhakhīrah* referred to "the sultan's leasehold lands."

To sum up, there are discrepancies in the interpretation of *al-Dhakhīrah* among scholars and among sources. However, if we accept that *al-Dhakhīrah* underwent a transformation, then most of the interpretations presented above may be regarded as true. I will show in this article that, as the sultanic fisc evolved throughout the Circassian Mamluk period, so too did the term *al-Dhakhīrah,* taking on new meanings with time. I will start by examining instances where the word appears in the sources from the period between the late eighth/fourteenth century and the beginning of the ninth/fifteenth century.

During the period under consideration, the term *dhakhīrah* (pl. *dhakhāʾir*) usually connoted "movable property," in the ordinary sense of the word—cash, gold, silver, jewels, luxurious textiles, and other luxury items—and especially referred to the movable property held by sultans and amirs. On the other hand, private real estate such as lands and houses were distinguished from these goods and were referred to as *amlāk*. As for the sultan's *dhakhīrah,* the descriptions of the *nāẓir al-dhakhīrah,* i.e., the controller of the sultan's *dhakhīrah,* emerged during Sultan al-Ashraf Shaʿbān's reign (764–78/1363–77). After this, al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, who was enthroned in 784/1382, strived to increase his private wealth through the acquisition of private lands and the transformation of these into *waqf,* and then set up an organization for the management of the properties. Following the establishment of *Dīwān al-Amlāk*—a bureau responsible for administering his private lands—in 797/1395, he established the office of *ustādār al-amlāk wa-al-awqāf wa-al-dhakhīrah* in 799/1397. Consequently, his movable, unmovable, and *waqf* properties were regarded as "the sultan's private property" and thus came to be managed exclusively within this office.[13]

Judging from these examples, we may say that, during this period, the term *dhakhīrah* was used to refer to the private movable goods of powerful figures, especially the sultans. However, according to the description of *Dīwān al-Inshāʾ* mentioned above, after this time, the term came to be applied to "the sultan's leasehold lands." We shall now examine the circumstances under which the meaning of the word changed, by considering the problem of the land system in this period.

Starting in the late Bahri Mamluk period, the governmental domains—lands from which the Mamluk government collected land tax *(kharāj)*—came to be leased by powerful amirs for negligible amounts. This issue was seen as one of the main causes of the financial difficulties that the government of the time was experiencing. These leased lands *(mustaʾjarāt)* are often identified in the sources as one of the financial resources of powerful figures. For example, Shaykhū al-

[13] Igarashi, "The Private Property and *Awqāf,*" 171–75.

Nāṣirī (d. 758/1357), the *atābak al-ʿasākir* (commander-in-chief) of the late Bahri Mamluks, earned an income of over 200,000 dirhams per day from his *iqṭāʿ, amlāk,* and *mustaʾjarāt.*[14] The leasing of governmental domains seems to have become popular during the unstable political and economic circumstances that occurred during the reign of the late Bahri Mamluks, in the wake of changes such as the weakening of the sultan's power and the decrease of agricultural production caused by the Black Death and its adverse effect on the *iqṭāʿ* system.[15] If we consider that the lease of the governmental domain was popularly adapted by amirs as a way of supplementing their personal income, it is no wonder that the sultan—who himself was originally a Mamluk amir—held lands by lease just as other amirs did. Actually, Barqūq seems to have acquired leasehold land both before and after his enthronement as sultan.[16] His son Sultan al-Nāṣir Faraj (r. 801–8, 808–15/1399–1405, 1405–12) also had a special *dīwān* administering his *mustaʾjarāt* and *ḥimāyah* (protection fee; this will be discussed latter) "in the same way as other amirs do."[17]

How then did the term *al-Dhakhīrah* come to mean "the sultan's leasehold land"? The first instance where it clearly relates to agricultural land can be seen in the following description, which concerns the land survey that was carried out in 799/1397, late in Barqūq's reign: "On 2 Jumādá I 799 (1 February 1397), the sultan (Barqūq) ordered Amir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Gharsī, the *shādd al-dawāwīn* (superintendent of bureaus), to go to Upper Egypt and to survey *(miṣāḥah)* the state lands *(bilād al-dawlah al-sharīfah),* privately-owned lands *(amlāk),* and [lands of] *al-Dhakhīrah* [of the area]."[18]

It is clear that the term *al-Dhakhīrah* in this description does not refer to "the sultan's movables," the general meaning of this term in this period; however, it is unclear what the term actually does refer to here. While it is possible that it referred to "the sultan's leasehold land," this must be regarded as unlikely as the evidence suggests that it had not acquired such a meaning around this time. Table 1 lists those people who held the post of *ustādār* (director) or *nāẓir* (vice-director) in the *dīwān,* who were responsible for administering the sultan's private financial resources, such as *amlāk, awqāf,* and *dhakhīrah* during the period between Ibn al-Ṭablāwī's first appointment as *ustādār al-amlāk wa-al-awqāf wa-al-dhakhīrah* in

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[14] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʿda al-Wāfī* (Cairo, 1985–2006), 6:260.

[15] Igarashi Daisuke, "The Establishment and Development of *al-Dīwān al-Mufrad:* Its Background and Implications," *MSR* 10, no. 1 (2006): 123.

[16] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk* (Cairo, 1939–72), 3:402, 858–59; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah* (Damascus, 1977–97), 1:580, 621; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,* vols. 7–9 (Beirut, 1936–42), 9:438.

[17] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (London, 2002–4), 1: 299.

[18] Ibn al-Furāt, *Duwal,* 9:461.

799/1397 (mentioned above) and 844/1441, the beginning of the reign of Sultan al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq. However, as the table indicates, the historical sources written by roughly contemporary authors, such as Ibn al-Furāt, Ibn Ḥijjī, al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, Ibn Ḥajar, and al-ʿAynī, as well as those written by historians of a later generation, such as Ibn Taghrībirdī, al-Ṣayrafī, and al-Sakhāwī, disagree with each other over the title of their posts. Moreover, inconsistencies are found within different sources written by the same author, and sometimes even within a single source. In addition to *dhakhīrah,* this post was also associated with one or more of the types of agricultural property, such as *amlāk, awqāf, mustaʾjarāt,* and *ḥimāyah*. In a few cases, the post is simply referred to as "*ustādār al-khāṣṣ al-sulṭānī,*" i.e., the director of the sultan's private property. By way of example, Ibn al-Ṭablāwī, the first appointee of the post, is described as "*ustādār al-amlāk wa-al-awqāf wa-al-dhakhīrah*" by Ibn al-Furāt and Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah; in contrast, he is described as "*ustādār al-amlāk wa-al-awqāf*" by al-Maqrīzī, as "*ustādār al-dhakhīrah wa-al-amlāk*" by Ibn Ḥajar and al-Sakhāwī, and simply as "*ustādār al-dhakhīrah*" by al-ʿAynī and al-Ṣayrafī. He is also described as "*ustādār al-khāṣṣ*" by Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, as "*ustādār al-khāṣṣ al-sulṭānī*" by Ibn Ḥajar, and as "*ustādār khāṣṣ lil-sulṭān*" by al-Sakhāwī. To prevent confusion of the titles of the post, hereafter I will designate this office as "the sultan's private financier." Judging from the fact that this office was sometimes designated "*ustādār al-amlāk wa-al-dhakhīrah wa-al-mustaʾjarāt wa-al-awqāf al-sulṭānīyah,*" writing both *dhakhīrah* and *mustaʾjarāt* (Nos. 4, 7, 8) together, we cannot say that the term *dhakhīrah* was always used according to the particular sense of "leasehold land."

Among the 57 instances in which the sultan's private financiers are mentioned in the sources, most frequent are the cases in which only the two terms *amlāk* and *dhakhīrah* are attached to the title of office, such as *ustādār* or *nāẓir al-amlāk wa-al-dhakhīrah* (27 cases); the next most frequent are the cases in which only the term—*dhakhīrah*—is attached (8 cases). Among the 9 cases in which only one type of term is attached to the title of office, 8 cases include *dhakhīrah*. In contrast, there are rare cases in which the *dhakhīrah* is not mentioned in reference to the office (9 of 57). Such trends seem to be clearer in the sources that were written in the later period. From these examples, it seems reasonable to suppose that during the process through which various types of properties and resources were being administered under the sole control of the sultan's private financier, the term *dhakhīrah* lost its original sense of treasure (movables) and came to be used as a term that represented the sultan's properties, especially agricultural lands that were held in various ways and forms. We shall see each type of the sultan's financial resources in the following section.

THE SULTAN'S PRIVATE PROPERTY AND ITS ADMINISTRATION

As my previous article made clear, Barqūq held a large amount of real estate in the shape of *amlāk* and *awqāf*. This way of holding private assets became popular for those sultans who succeeded him, too. Table 2 lists the *milk* and *waqf* assets that were held by Barqūq, al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (r. 815–24/1412–21), and al-Ashraf Barsbāy (r. 825–42/1422–38), three sultans of the early Circassian period, on the basis of the archival sources. As the table shows, the number of each sultan's assets steadily increased (Barqūq: 33 → Shaykh: 43 → Barsbāy: 81). The list shows that all of these early Circassian Mamluk sultans held farm lands, urban estates, and other assets such as water-use facilities in villages throughout Egypt and Syria. The proportion of farm lands that each successive sultan held increased particularly sharply (Barqūq: 30.3% → Shaykh: 46.5% → Barsbāy: 50.6%). This is especially the case for farm land in Egypt; Barqūq held only three tracts (9.1%); however, Barsbāy's farm land accounted for about half the number of his total assets (39; 48.1%). It is possible that these assets included some that had been acquired personally in the period when they were amirs, before their enthronements, or that were acquired through fair transactions; however, I believe that their status as sultan facilitated their acquisition of assets on such a large scale, especially in the case of farm lands. As I described in my previous article, Barqūq acquired state lands *(amlāk bayt al-māl),* including governmental domains and *iqṭāʿ* lands, as his private property, or he converted them into his *waqf* properties.[19] The fact that the proportion of assets that were farm land continuously rose under the reigns of Shaykh and Barsbāy indicates that the conversion of state land into *amlāk* and *awqāf* steadily continued. In Rabīʿ II 835/December 1431 under Barsbāy's reign, some ulama (Islamic intellectuals) objected to the legality of Barsbāy's purchase of state lands through the *wakīl bayt al-māl* (the agent of the state treasury), who was appointed by Barsbāy himself, and the successive conversion of these lands to his *waqf* property. As the *waqf* deeds indicate, this episode also shows that the scale of state land privatization and transformation into *waqf* undertaken by Barsbāy was on a larger scale than any of his predecessors had engaged in. Indeed, it seems that it was on such an unprecedented scale that the ulama could not overlook it, despite the fact that they were dependent on the income generated from *awqāf* and usually tended to protect the *waqf* system. However, the objection was rejected and the legality of the sultan's establishment of *awqāf* through such means was confirmed.[20] The sultans' holding of property through *waqf* endowment would continue after him until the end of the Mamluk sultanate.

In common with other powerful figures of the government, such as amirs and

[19] Igarashi, "The Private Property and *Awqāf,*" 172–79.

[20] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr* (Cairo, 1969–98), 3:477–79.

civilians, the sultans leased the governmental domains for themselves. A large proportion of the sultan's *mustaʾjarāt* had existed in al-Ghawr, a fertile agricultural region in Syria, since the beginning of the Circassian period, although it seems likely that there were probably many leasehold lands in various regions across Egypt and Syria.[21] In addition, the *nāẓir al-mustaʾjarāt al-sulṭānīyah bi-al-Shām*—the controller of the sultan's leasehold lands in Syria—was appointed in 824/1421.[22] *Dīwān al-Inshāʾ,* which identified the *dhakhīrah* as the sultan's leasehold land, is likely to have been written around the reign of Barsbāy,[23] at the same time as the controversy about the legitimacy of the sultan's purchase of state lands and transformation of them into *waqf* arose. It is likely that, under such circumstances, the land that was accumulated through the lease of the state lands—the legality of which was unchallenged on the whole—constituted an increasingly large proportion of the sultan's private property. This seems to be an underlying cause of the transformation of these personally-held lands into "the sultanic domain," as will be discussed later. However, it is unlikely that the sultan actually paid the relevant rental fees or the cost of purchase to the financial bureaus of the Egyptian or Syrian government, even for land that was ostensibly "*mustaʾjarāt*" or "*amlāk.*"

The *ḥimāyah* was another important source of revenue connected with agricultural land. The sultan's private financier was also in charge of the sultan's *ḥimāyah*. The *ḥimāyah* represented powerful figures' private protection over local areas, and it involved their collecting protection fees in exchange for protecting the village against the "exploitation" of local governors *(wālī, kāshif),*[24] resulting in the exclusion of the governmental supervision by the local governors from the protected areas.[25] This was one of the private income sources of powerful figures

[21] Al-Qalqashandī*, Ṣubḥ,* 4:190. It is reasonable to suppose that special financial agents and civilians appointed to al-Ghawr were in charge of the sultan's *mustaʾjarāt* in the region. Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:268, 462, 603, 608; 4:150, 266; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:1008; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān* (Cairo, 1970–94), 3:390; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1990) (hereafter cited as *Ḥawādith*[1]), 1:224.

[22] Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 3:249–50. Barqūq also assigned a person to take charge of his own *mustaʾjarāt* and *matjar* (mentioned later) to Damascus (Ibn al-Furāt, *Duwal,* 9:438; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:858–59; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:580).

[23] Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration,* 16.

[24] The *ḥimāyah* also represented powerful figures' personal protection over commercial activities. As for the *ḥimāyah,* see al-Asadī, *Al-Taysīr wa-al-Iʿtibār wa-al-Taḥrīr wa-al-Ikhtibār fīmā Yajib min Ḥusn al-Tadbīr wa-al-Taṣarruf wa-al-Ikhtiyār* (Cairo, 1968), 95–96, 135–36; John L. Meloy, "The Privatization of Protection: Extortion and the State in the Circassian Mamluk Period," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 47, no. 2 (2004).

[25] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. William Popper (Berkeley,

such as amirs and high-ranking civilians that increased after Shaykh's reign.[26] This indicates the sultan's conflicting positions; while he dominated the Mamluk state through the governmental machinery in his official capacity, he himself gave private protection to the specific areas in his private capacity, interrupting the governmental supervision over the area.

We are now able to see that the Circassian sultans strove to accumulate agricultural land in various ways for their private income sources, and the scale of this accumulation grew steadily. The circumstances that led to their acquisition of private income sources were the chronic financial difficulties of the times, which were mainly caused by the alienation of the state lands since the late Bahri Mamluk period.[27] Despite this, the sultans took countermeasures against this alienation of state lands in their capacity as the head of the government, while simultaneously trying to acquire state land personally and transform it to *amlāk, awqāf, mustaʾjarāt,* and *ḥimāyah,* just as other amirs were doing, thereby contributing to the alienation of state land. How can we explain this baffling and contradictory behavior? It is hardly surprising that the sultans, who were originally amirs, continued to pursue the holding of private property, as the other amirs did. More noteworthy is the reorganization of the financial system of the government that occurred in the beginning of the Circassian Mamluk period. With the establishment of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, the state's finances began to be administered by three independent *dīwān*s, namely, the Dīwān al-Wizārah, the Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ, and al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, each of which was responsible for providing certain allowances from its own resources.[28] Although in theory, after paying expenses, the remainder of each *dīwān*'s income should have been delivered to the sultan, in practice this was actually impossible, due to the chronic financial difficulties of the times. Inevitably, in order to raise money that they needed for themselves for things such as purchasing slaves to increase the Royal Mamluk corps *(al-mamālīk al-sulṭānīyah),* paying bonuses, and granting rewards to political supporters, the sultans needed to generate their own revenue sources independently of the state's finances.

Next, we will examine the office that held control over the sultan's private properties. The *Dīwān al-Amlāk wa-al-Awqāf wa-al-Dhakhīrah* was the special financial bureau that was established under Barqūq's reign for this purpose. However, as Table 1 indicates, the *ustādār*s or *nāẓir*s of this *dīwān* were not mentioned in the sources until over twenty years after the death of Taqī al-Dīn

1930–42) (hereafter cited as *Ḥawādith*²), 458.

[26] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963–72), 16:160.

[27] Igarashi, "Establishment and Development," 120–24.

[28] Ibid., 127–28.

ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Abī Shākir in 819/1417; in fact, they do not occur until late in Barsbāy's reign. I suggest that this was due to the fact that the sultanic treasury *(al-khizānah al-sharīfah/khizānat al-sulṭān;* pl. *khazāʾin),* which kept the incomes in custody, only gradually became organized into its final form as its role expanded into the sphere of financial affairs and it came to supervise the sultan's private property directly. Although the term *khizānah*—meaning "treasury" in Arabic—occurs frequently in the sources throughout the Mamluk period, that to which the term actually referred transformed over time. In the Bahri Mamluk period, the state's income was delivered to the public coffers *(Bayt al-Māl/al-Khizānah [al-Kubrá])* in the Citadel *(Qalʿat al-Jabal)* in Cairo. Then, with the establishment of Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ in the third reign of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (709–41/1310–41), a large amount of tax revenue flowed into the private coffers *(Khizānat al-Khāṣṣ),* which were under the jurisdiction of *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ*, the director of the *dīwān*. As the result, the public coffers became redundant and were finally converted into a warehouse for the robes of honor *(khilʿah)* that the *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* was responsible for procuring and providing.[29] However, when the *majlis al-mashūrah* (the Supreme Council), consisting of seven high-ranking amirs, assumed the reins of government in 748/1347 in the wake of the sultan's loss of real political power, the private coffers were put under the jurisdiction of the *raʾs nawbat al-umarāʾ* (the head of guards of amirs).[30] Consequently, the Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ lost its original role as the special organization that was responsible for administrating the sultan's "private property," as the name indicated; hereafter, it became one of the official financial bureaus of the government.

Conversely, in the Circassian Mamluk period, the sultanic treasury was put under the direct control of the sultan, holding its own revenue sources independently of the financial bureaus of the government. This sultanic *khizānah* was located inside the sultan's private area in the Citadel and was superintended by a *khāzindār* (treasurer), a eunuch who had been appointed to the role, which acquired further importance as the treasury came increasingly under the sultan's direct control.[31] This office of *khāzindār* originated from the office of *khāzindār al-dhakhīrah,* which had been occupied by a eunuch, Sandal al-Manjakī, under

[29] Al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik,* 61; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:734; Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt A.H. 564–741/A.D. 1169–1341* (London, 1972), 144. After its conversion to the warehouse for *khilʿahs,* the public coffers came to be called "the supreme coffers *(al-Khizānah al-Kubrá),*" then "the coffers of the *Khāṣṣ (Khizānat al-Khāṣṣ)*" because it was under the jurisdiction of the *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* (al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 3:472). The coffers disappeared, being converted into a prison by Amīr Minṭāsh in 791/1389 (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:674; idem, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:734–35).

[30] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:750–51.

[31] Ibid., 3:1067–68; *Dīwān al-Inshāʾ,* fol. 127r.

Barqūq;[32] we must discriminate between this office and that of the *amīr khāzindār* (it is also usually referred to in the sources simply as *khāzindār*), a position which was filled by an amir of ten *(amīr ʿasharah)* or amir of forty *(amīr al-ṭablkhānah)* and was included among the military functionaries.[33] Thus, the sultanic treasury of the Circassian sultans was a new treasury in which the sultan's personal money and property, which had increased through Barqūq's establishment of the *Dīwān al-Amlāk,* were deposited, independent of the financial bureaus of the state.

Incidentally, with the enlargement of the sultan's private property in the period during and after Barqūq, the eunuch *khāzindār* in charge of the sultanic treasury gained importance and became influential over the government; this was especially the case when Zayn al-Dīn Marjān al-Hindī assumed the office of the *khāzindār* under Sultan Shaykh.[34] During his term of office, the sultanic treasury gained exclusive income sources and assumed new roles.[35] Around this time, the sources frequently mention the office of *nāẓir al-khizānah,* the accountant of the sultanic treasury.[36] In particular, members of the Jīʿān family (Banū al-Jīʿān) were employed in this area until the very end of the Mamluk sultanate.[37] The fact that the post of *nāẓir al-mustaʾjarāt al-sulṭānīyah bi-al-Shām* was concurrently held by

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[32] Ibn al-Furāt, *Duwal,* 9:128, 429; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 2:28; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 4:48; Igarashi, "The Private Property and *Awqāf*," 173.

[33] Whereas a eunuch held the post of *khāzindār,* at the same time another person was at the post as *amīr khāzindār*. For example, see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith¹,* 1:29–30, 106, 195, 333–34, 409–10.

[34] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Cairo, 1934–37), 10:153–54.

[35] In 816/1413, the Dīwān al-Mawārīth (the bureau of inheritances) was separated from the jurisdiction of the Dīwān al-Wizārah and the Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ; henceforth heirless estates came to be delivered directly to the sultanic treasury (al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,* ed. ʿAbd al-Rāziq al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Qarmūṭ [Cairo, 1985], 164; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:257; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 3:8; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 2:325). In 818/1415–16, the *nāẓir* of the sultanic treasury assumed the role of providing the *kiswah* for the Kaʿbah (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:382). In 823/1419, the Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ was put under the jurisdiction of Marjān (Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 3:224, 238; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 10:153–54). The first obvious instance wherein the sultanic treasury held its own revenue source was seen in 803/1401 under Sultan Faraj. At this time, a vacant *iqṭāʿ* piece of land was converted into an income source of the sultanic treasury. Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:1067–68.

[36] With the assumption of the post of *nāẓir al-khizānah* under Sultan Shaykh as a beginning, Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ henceforth held many offices such as *nāẓir al-jaysh* and became the most influential civilian under the reign of Sultan Barsbāy (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 7:137–39). We must discriminate between this office and the different office with the same name mentioned in the sources such as *Khiṭaṭ* and *Masālik al-Abṣār,* which had taken charge of the public coffers (mentioned earlier) but lost its role after the establishment of the office of *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* (al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 3:734; al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik,* 61; cf. Rabie, *Financial System,* 143–44).

[37] As for the Jīʿān family, see Martel-Thoumian, *Les civils et l'administration,* 295–319.

the *khāzindār* under Sultan Shaykh indicates that this sultanic treasury became actively involved in the administration of its sources of revenue, in addition to the work of keeping the sultan's money in custody.[38] Under Sultan Barsbāy, who strove to accumulate private assets in various ways, the sultanic treasury acquired additional income sources, and the *khāzindār* exerted increasing influence over the government. A eunuch, Jawhar al-Qunuqbāʾī (d. 844/1440),[39] who served as *khāzindār* throughout Barsbāy's long reign, advised the sultan to establish a monopoly over the spice trade, in order to increase the flow of money into the sultanic treasury.[40] During Jawhar al-Qunuqbāʾī's term of office, the sultanic treasury assumed responsibility for the Mint Bureau *(Dār al-Ḍarb),* which originally belonged to the Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ.[41] Finally, he also assumed responsibility for *al-Dhakhīrah* and collected the money that was generated from it.[42] He acquired an additional post, known as *zimām* (the chief-eunuch), under Sultan Jaqmaq (r. 842–57/1438–53), and he held these two posts until his death in 844/1440. Apart from the short time after his death when the sultan's private financier was appointed once again (Table 1, No. 9), the *khāzindār* serving concurrently as *zimām* continued to be in charge of *al-Dhakhīrah* and to assume the responsibility over the sultanic fisc throughout the greater part of Jaqmaq's reign.[43]

The Establishment of the Sultanic Finances

As we have seen above, the meaning of the term *al-Dhakhīrah* changed over time, from "treasure," to the sultan's sources of income—especially those relating to agricultural land during the reign of Sultan Barsbāy. However, the sultan's categorization of these properties as his "private property" gradually became obscured, as a large proportion of these properties were originally the state's property. After 844/1441 when Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Kuwayz was appointed as the sultan's private financier (Table 1, No. 9), the sources came to refer to *al-Dhakhīrah* independently, without referring to it together with *awqāf,*

[38] Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 3:249–50.

[39] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 5:38–42; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 4:167–69; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 3:82–84.

[40] Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 3:423.

[41] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 15:345. ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, "Rawḍ," 1: fol. 14v.

[42] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:1234; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 5:40; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 4:225–26; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, "Rawḍ," 1: fol. 14v. I interpret *al-Dhakhīrah* here to represent the sultan's lands privately held in the various shapes as we have seen above.

[43] Fayrūz al-Nūrūzī, who was the *zimām-khāzindār* during the period between the reigns of Jaqmaq and al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam (r. 865–72/1461–67), entrusted the work of *al-Dhakhīrah,* which was within his jurisdiction, to Yūnus ibn ʿUmar ibn Jarabughā, his private *dawādār,* as its *mutakallim* (the staff in charge of the work) (al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿAṣr* [Cairo, 1970], 467).

amlāk, or others. This is because it became the generic term for various kinds of official financial resources that were under the direct control of the sultan. In the period of Jaqmaq's reign in the middle of the ninth/fifteenth century, the lands of *al-Dhakhīrah (bilād al-dhakhīrah)* referred to the sultanic domains, i.e., lands officially designated as the sultan's exclusive financial resources, independent of the state's finances. According to Ibn al-Jīʿān's *Tuḥfah,* the lands of *al-Dhakhīrah* in Egypt were composed of forty-eight districts *(nāḥiyah)* around 885/1480, under Sultan Qāytbāy.[44] We have no definite information about how and when this development occurred. However, in view of the fact that the vast private holdings of the sultan consisted of *amlāk, mustaʾjarāt,* and other lands that had originally been diverted from the state domains, it seems reasonable to suppose that these lands gradually came to be recognized as under the sultan's direct control and for his exclusive use. That is, as the sultan collected ever more state lands for his own use, eventually all pretence was dropped, and these lands were acknowledged as belonging to the sultan himself rather than the state.

The sultans added various kinds of land (such as *milk, waqf,* and *mustaʾjarāt*) to *al-Dhakhīrah* at opportune times to increase their income sources.[45] The *iqṭāʿ* land was also targeted for this purpose.[46] However, some *iqṭāʿ*s were occasionally granted to amirs and mamluks from the land of *al-Dhakhīrah*. The first instance of this that appears in the sources involves al-Manṣūr ʿUthmān, who succeeded his father Jaqmaq as the sultan in 857/1453. He granted three of the *iqṭāʿ*s of the amirs of ten derived from the lands of *al-Dhakhīrah* to military men.[47] Henceforth, especially during the distribution of honors and reshufflings of personnel, or when the new sultan was enthroned, *iqṭāʿ*s were often distributed from the lands of *al-Dhakhīrah.*[48] When al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qāytbāy (r. 901–4/1495–98) was enthroned after the death of his father Qāytbāy in 901/1495, he distributed about one thousand *iqṭāʿ*s to amirs and mamluks—these were all the *iqṭāʿ*s which had been included in the lands of *al-Dhakhīrah* under his father's reign. He did

[44] Igarashi, "The Financial Reforms of Sultan Qāytbāy," 40–41.

[45] Al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār al-ʿAṣr li-Asrār Ahl al-ʿAṣr* (Riyadh, 1992–93), 1:211–12, 218; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith¹,* 1:300–1; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk* (Cairo, n.d.), 386; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr* (Wiesbaden, 1960–75), 3:13–14.

[46] In 863/1459: al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār,* 3:94. In 865/1461: ibid., 3:258. In 867/1463: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith²,* 770. In 882/1477: Badr al-Dīn Ibn al-Jīʿān, *Al-Qawl al-Mustaẓraf fī Safr Mawlānā al-Malik al-Ashraf* (Ṭarāblus, 1984), 74–75.

[47] Al-Sakhāwī, *Tibr,* 427–28; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith¹,* 1:339; idem, *Nujūm,* 16:29. Cf. Nāṣir, *Al-Ḥayāh al-Iqtiṣādīyah,* 116.

[48] In 865/1461 (al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam's enthronement): Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 16:258; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ al-Ḥanafī, *Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal* (Sidon and Beirut, 2002), 6:118–19; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 2:383. In 872/1467 (al-Ẓāhir Timurbughā's enthronement): Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 16:381. In 874/1470 (al-Ashraf Qāytbāy's enthronement): al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 159–60.

not keep any of them in reserve.[49] Furthermore, if the sultan's power became unsettled, then he became obliged to distribute some of the land of *al-Dhakhīrah* as *iqṭāʿ*s among the troops to placate them.[50] These examples, in which *iqṭāʿ*s were included in *al-Dhakhīrah* and distributed from it, provide the basis for Poliak's interpretation of the *Dīwān al-Dhakhīrah* as a department that was responsible for managing and exploiting the vacant *iqṭāʿ*s, as is mentioned above. However, these phenomena arose from circumstances wherein on the one hand, the sultan strove to add *iqṭāʿ*s into *al-Dhakhīrah* in order to increase his financial resources, yet on the other hand he was forced to use it as a pool from which he could distribute land depending on the political situation. In short, these phenomena resulted from the competition between the sultans and other ruling elites regarding the acquisition of land and the balance of power between them. To put it another way, the strength of the sultan's power base and the relationship between the sultan and other ruling elites, such as amirs and mamluks, decided the scale of *al-Dhakhīrah*'s land and whether the sultan was able to establish a firm source of revenue.

Because of the diversification that was occurring in the land held by Circassian Mamluks, *al-Dhakhīrah*'s land included many types of land. For example, many *rizqah*s (pl. *rizaq*) were added to *al-Dhakhīrah*[51] in addition to water wheels *(dūlāb,* pl. *dawālīb),* which were indispensable to agriculture.[52] Furthermore, when powerful figures who held a large amount of land in various forms, such as *iqṭāʿ, amlāk, awqāf, mustaʾjarāt,* and *ḥimāyah,* died or fell from power, these lands were often added to *al-Dhakhīrah*. Without returning these "leased" or "protected" lands to the governmental domain, these lands were continuously administered en bloc by an independent *nāẓir* who was newly appointed by the sultan, and the income generated from them was delivered to *al-Dhakhīrah.*[53] Moreover, the posts of the *nāẓir*s of various *awqāf* were often added to *al-Dhakhīrah*. For example, when two prominent amirs, Jānībak Nāʾib Juddah, the *dawādār kabīr,* and Tanam Ruṣāṣ, the

[49] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:335; Ibn al-Shiḥnah, *Al-Badr al-Zāhir fī Nuṣrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qāytbāy* (Beirut, 1983), 51.

[50] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:292. Cf. Nāṣir, *Al-Ḥayāh al-Iqtiṣādīyah,* 116.

[51] See note 49. *Rizqah* was the land assigned from the state land to retired amirs, widows and orphans of mamluks, religious institutions, and so on. See Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt,* 32–34; Ito Takao, "Aufsicht und Verwaltung der Stiftungen im mamlukischen Ägypten," *Der Islam* 80 (2003): 55–61.

[52] Al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 442–43; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith²,* 318.

[53] The case of the *kātib al-sirr* (chief secretary) Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Bārizī (in 854/1450): Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith¹,* 1:297; al-Sakhāwī, *Tibr,* 384. The case of the viceroy *(nāʾib al-salṭanah)* of Damascus Julbān al-Muʾayyadī (in 859/1455): al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār,* 2:93–94. The case of the *dawādār kabīr* Jānībak Nāʾib al-Juddah, the amir of a hundred *(amīr miʾah muqaddam alf),* and the *muḥtasib* Tanam Ruṣāṣ, the amir of forty (in 867/1463): Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith²,* 770.

muḥtasib, were killed during a political struggle in 867/1463, their *awqāf* were added to *al-Dhakhīrah* along with their *iqṭāʿ*s and other properties.[54] The post of the *nāẓir* of Nuri hospital *(al-Bīmāristān al-Nūrī)* in Damascus, which had been in the hands of the Shafiʿi judge of Damascus, was also included in *al-Dhakhīrah* before 917/1511.[55] *Al-awqāf al-zimāmīyah,* i.e., the *awqāf* established by the successive *zimām-khāzindār*s, were administered by the *nāẓir al-dhakhīrah.*[56] In these cases, these *waqf* properties were not "confiscated" and transferred to *al-Dhakhīrah;* on the contrary, by keeping their status as *waqf,* the posts of their *nāẓir*s, having the authority to collect fees from the *waqf*-endowed properties and to manage their own income, were put under the control of *al-Dhakhīrah* with regard to their financial interests. These posts were not permanently included in *al-Dhakhīrah,* but were given to other people according to their specific circumstances. At this stage, we should pay attention to one case when Sultan Muḥammad ibn Qāytbāy was enthroned in 901/1495. As we have seen above, as soon as he ascended to the sultanate, he allocated a large amount of *iqṭāʿ* lands that had been included in *al-Dhakhīrah* to amirs and mamluks, for the purpose of gathering support from them. At the same time, he also allocated to them the posts of the *nāẓir*s of various *awqāf* that had been included in *al-Dhakhīrah,* as they were similar to *iqṭāʿ*s.[57] This fact implies that the posts of the *nāẓir*s of *awqāf* were treated as a kind of income source, which was freely transferred among people.

The financial interests concerning commercial activities were also included in *al-Dhakhīrah*. We will begin by considering the spice trade, one of the most important income sources for the Circassian Mamluk sultans. As soon as Sultan Shaykh was enthroned in 815/1412, he started forcing Venetian merchants, who were visiting Alexandria to trade in spices, to purchase a fixed amount of spice from the sultan's private stock at a higher price than the market price.[58] Then, Sultan Barsbāy advanced this policy and set up a spice monopoly, excluding ordinary merchants from the spice trade. Although this monopoly did not continue to work long term, this way of forcing Venetian merchants to purchase the sultan's spices continued until the very end of the Mamluk sultanate, and the spice trade became one of the most important income sources for subsequent sultans.[59] In

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[54] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith²,* 770.

[55] Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Wafayāt al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān* (Beirut, 1999), 2:218.

[56] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:35, 82, 197. As for the eunuchs' *awqāf* of the times, see C. F. Petry, "From Slaves to Benefactors: The Ḥabashīs of Mamlūk Cairo," *Sudanic Africa* 5 (1994): 63–66.

[57] Ibn al-Shiḥnah, *Al-Badr al-Zāhir,* 52.

[58] Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 2:521; Eliyahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983), 276–77.

[59] As for the commercial policy of Sultan Barsbāy, see Aḥmad Darrāj, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbāy* (Damascus, 1961), chap. 6; John L. Meloy, "Imperial Strategy and Political Exigency: The

the late Mamluk period, after the enthronement of Sultan Qāytbāy, the sultan's merchants *(tājir al-sulṭān),* who were involved in spice dealing on behalf of the sultan, were also called "the *Dhakhīrah*'s merchants" *(tājir al-dhakhīrah al-sharīfah)*.[60] Moreover, as is noted above, the term "dacchieri" (i.e., *al-Dhakhīrah*) was often used in the documents when describing the commercial agreements that were concluded between Venice and the Mamluk government. According to studies using the documentary sources, Venetian merchants who were permitted to stay in Alexandria during a fixed period of time every autumn were obliged to purchase 210 sporte[61] of pepper from *al-Dhakhīrah* and to pay the price that had been allotted to it.[62] The price of *al-Dhakhīrah*'s pepper was decided after a consultation undertaken between four merchants, who were appointed by the Venetian consul in Alexandria, and the staff of *al-Dhakhīrah.* This committee then discussed the matter with the *tājir al-dhakhīrah.*[63] In exchange, precious metals that had been brought by the Venetians were exclusively bought by *al-Dhakhīrah.*[64] In addition to these agreements, *al-Dhakhīrah* also laid claim to a part of the customs that had been levied on imported and exported goods, the additional fees that had been levied for the extension of Venetians' permitted stay in Alexandria, and the confiscated property of offenders who overstayed the period of their resident permit.[65] The *nāẓir al-dhakhīrah* stayed in Alexandria to supervise the trade during the period,[66] and the keys of the coffers in which quality-checked

Red Sea Spice Trade and the Mamluk Sultanate in the Fifteenth Century," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123, no. 1 (2003); Eliyahu Ashtor, "Le monopole de Barsbay d'après des sources vénitiennes," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 9 (1974–79); idem, *Levant Trade,* 277–83. As for the spice trade between the Mamluk sultanate and Italian city-states, see Ashtor, *Levant Trade,* chap. 5; Nājlā Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Nabī, *Miṣr wa-al-Bunduqīyah: al-ʿAlāqāt al-Siyāsīyah wa-al-Iqtiṣādīyah fī ʿAṣr al-Mamālīk* (Cairo, 2001), 131–34; Horii Yutaka, "The Mamlūk Sultan Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (1501–16) and the Venetians in Alexandria," *Orient: The Reports of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan* 38 (2003).

[60] See Horii, "Mamlūk Sultan," 180–81. For example, the case of Muḥyī al-Dīn (or Zayn al-Dīn) ʿAbd al-Qādir ibn ʿUlaybah (d. 890/1485), the *tājir al-dhakhīrah* in Alexandria under Qāytbāy's reign: ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl,* 7:429; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 4:259–60; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:221.

[61] Sporta (pl. sporte) is a unit of mass, equivalent to 536 or 480 pounds (Wansbrough "A Mamluk Ambassador," 525, note 4). The unit "coufe" was also used (M. Reinaud, "Traités de commerce entre la république de Venise et les derniers sultans mameloucs d'Égypte, traduits de l'italien, et accompagnés d'éclaircissemens," *Journal Asiatique* 4, no. 19 [1829]: 25, 27, 35, 39).

[62] Reinaud, "Traités de commerce," 27, 33 (art. 4, 12); Wansbrough, "A Mamluk Ambassador," 525–26 (art. 2).

[63] Reinaud, "Traités de commerce," 24–25 (art. 1).

[64] Ibid., 35–36 (art. 14).

[65] Ibid., 26–27, 41, 42.

[66] Wansbrough, "A Mamluk Ambassador," 528 (art. 12). There was a secretary for *al-Dhakhīrah (kātib al-dhakhīrah)* in Alexandria regularly (Cairo, Wizārat al-Awqāf [WA], j483, v. [document

peppercorns were stored were kept by him and the Venetian consul.[67] These facts indicate that it was not only the revenues from the sultan's transactions in spice that came to be included in *al-Dhakhīrah,* but also some of taxes on commercial activities,[68] despite the fact that tax revenues collected from foreign merchants in Alexandria were originally a part of the income sources of the Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ.[69] In addition to spice, the sultans earned a high income from commercial activities such as speculation in grain, and by participating in trade in sugar, timber, etc. The sultan's warehouses *(al-ḥawāṣil al-sulṭānīyah)* and the granaries *(shuwan, ahrāʾ)* in which these goods were stored[70] came to be called "*Ḥawāṣil al-Dhakhīrah*" and "*Shuwan al-Dhakhīrah*" in the late Mamluk period, and special staff members were appointed for their administration.[71] The monthly tax *(mushāharah)* and the weekly tax *(mujāmaʿah)* that were collected from the markets *(sūq)* in Cairo also contributed to the revenue of *al-Dhakhīrah.*[72] Although the first obvious instance of a payment of these taxes to *al-Dhakhīrah* occurred in a case in 907/1502,[73] it is clear that merchants had been obliged to pay some taxes to *al-Dhakhīrah* regularly prior to that.[74]

Incidentally, although successive sultans intervened actively in commercial activities throughout the Circassian Mamluk period,[75] the term *al-Dhakhīrah*

on 15 Ramaḍān 899]).

[67] Wansbrough, "A Mamluk Ambassador," 528–29 (art. 15).

[68] In addition, "*al-Dhakhīrah*'s pepper *(filfil dhakhīratnā al-sharīfah)*" was mentioned in Qāytbāy's letter sent to Venice in 877/1473 (Wansbrough, "A Mamluk Letter," 206, 211). These spices were procured from merchants visiting Jiddah, a Red Sea port, through various ways such as the compulsory purchase of a third of their load of spice at their buying cost in Calcutta in India (Gabriel Ferrand, "Les Poids, Mesures et Monnaies des du Sud aux XVe et XVIIe siècle," *Journal Asiatique,* série 11, tome 16 [1920]: 19). Three decrees dated in 891/1486 and 892/1487, included in the documents of the monastery of St. Catherine, mention Sultan Qāytbāy's orders to his staff in al-Ṭūr, a coastal port at the Red Sea, to store "*al-Dhakhīrah*'s spice *(bahār al-dhakhīrah al-sharīfah)*" in warehouses *(ḥawāṣil)* (Hans Ernst, *Die mamlukischen Sultansurkunden des Sinai-Klosters* [Wiesbaden, 1960], 182, 184, 188).

[69] Al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdah,* 108.

[70] Ibid., 122–23.

[71] WA, j714, r. (document on 28 Jumādá II 906); al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-Kalām fī al-Dhayl ʿalá Duwal al-Islām* (Beirut, 1995), 971; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:413. As for the monopoly and the speculative buying, see al-Asadī, *Taysīr,* 138–46.

[72] As for the taxes, see Jonathan Berkey, "The Muḥtasibs of Cairo under the Mamluks: Toward an Understanding of an Islamic Institution," *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society,* ed. M. Winter and A. Levanoni (Leiden and Boston, 2004), 269–70.

[73] Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 2:145. Cf. Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:25.

[74] ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl,* 8:73–74.

[75] The latest study on Barsbāy's intervention in transactions in wheat and sugar is John L. Meloy's "Economic Intervention and the Political Economy of the Mamluk State under al-Ashraf Barsbāy,"

rarely appears in the contemporary sources in relation to the sultans' commercial activities before Qāytbāy's reign.[76] The first instance where the term *al-Dhakhīrah* was used in this way is, to my knowledge, Ibn ʿUraybah's assumption of the office of *tājir al-sulṭān* and *nāẓir al-dhakhīrah* in 877/1472 under Qāytbāy.[77] On the contrary, *al-Matjar al-Sulṭānī,*[78] an office that had been in charge of the sultan's private commercial activities beforehand, is rarely mentioned in the sources after Qāytbāy's enthronement. Therefore, it seems reasonable to suppose that the function and role of *al-Matjar* was included in *al-Dhakhīrah,* and that, as a result, *al-Dhakhīrah* became the generic term for all the sultanic financial resources. Moreover, the payment for the sale of governmental offices, and the confiscation of the property of officials who had died or lost their office, are usually expressed in the sources as money or property that had been "paid to the sultanic treasury." However, sometimes, especially in the sources written after the middle of the ninth/fifteenth century, they are referred to as being "paid to *al-Dhakhīrah,*"[79] where the term *al-Dhakhīrah* is used in the same way as *khizānah*. It seems that the sultanic treasury was regarded as a part of *al-Dhakhīrah*. Sometimes, other financial interests belonging to the government or officials, such as the rights and interests of the Mint Bureau, were added to *al-Dhakhīrah.*[80] Moreover, *al-Dhakhīrah* had many sources of income from various regions in Syria. For instance, in Ṣafar 857/February 1453, 95,000 dinars that had been collected from *al-Dhakhīrah*'s income sources in Syria were delivered to Cairo.[81] *Al-Dhakhīrah* had many financial interests, especially in the Nabulus region.[82] Yūnus ibn ʿUmar ibn Jarabughā, who was responsible for *al-Dhakhīrah* as *mutakallim* under the supervision of the *zimām-khāzindār* Fayrūz al-Nūrūzī during Jaqmaq's reign, and then officially assumed the office of *nāẓir al-dhakhīrah* at a certain time during al-Ashraf Īnāl's reign, took a tour of the Syrian regions and appointed a financial

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MSR 9, no. 2 (2005).

[76] The sources written after the late ninth/fifteenth century mention the term "*al-Dhakhīrah*" with relation to the sultans' commercial activities in the earlier times (cf. ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, "Rawḍ," 2: fol. 230r; idem, *Nayl,* 5:80) probably because this term was used in the new meaning given in the authors' days.

[77] Al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 489–90. He was also referred to as *tājir al-dhakhīrah* (ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl,* 7:429). At the time of his death, a part of his estate was confiscated by *al-Dhakhīrah* as its share (al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz,* 959–60, 965–66). As for him, see note 60.

[78] Ashtor, *Levant Trade,* 283.

[79] Al-Ṣayrafī*, Nuzhah,* 1:322, 372, 440; 3:177, 381, 398–99, 436; al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār,* 2:15; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 2:245–46.

[80] Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* 2:145.

[81] Al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār,* 1:317.

[82] Ibid., 3:241.

agent *(ustādār)* for *al-Dhakhīrah* in every region.[83]

Al-Dhakhīrah was usually administered by the *zimām-khāzindār,*[84] but the sultans sometimes entrusted it to an independent official[85] or a powerful figure in the government.[86] This was probably to consolidate its operation. After Qāytbāy's enthronement and the introduction of his policies on the expansion of the sultanic fisc, the responsibility for the sultanic finances was divided among people who were of a relatively low rank in the government but who had personal connections with the sultan.[87]

Ever since the sultans began accumulating land as their own private property, the main purpose in establishing the sultanic fisc had been to secure and increase independent revenue sources for the sultanate. Therefore, the income was basically distributed at the sultan's own discretion.[88] Although the specific details of its distribution are rarely mentioned in the sources, it seems reasonable to suppose that the income was used to award bonuses (*nafaqah*) for personnel involved in the ongoing military expeditions (which used to be distributed directly from the sultanic treasury),[89] for the purchase of slaves in order to organize the *mushtarawāt* (mamluks who were trained by the present ruling sultan), and for political funds to help secure and exercise his political power, etc.[90] However, under the deteriorating financial circumstances that occurred after the middle of the ninth/fifteenth century, the sultanic fisc extended its role in the administration and finance of the state; I believe that it was this that prompted the development

[83] Al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 431–32, 467–68. See note 43.

[84] For example, Fayrūz al-Nūrūzī, who took the two posts of *zimām* and *khāzindār* in 846/1442 and kept them under the five sultans until his death in 865/1461 (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 16:29; idem, *Ḥawādith¹,* 1:340; al-Sakhāwī, *Tibr,* 428; al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār,* 1:300).

[85] For example, Abū al-Khayr al-Naḥḥās (d. 864/1459): al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār,* 3:65; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith²,* 326, 392; idem, *Nujūm,* 16:132, 210–11; Richard T. Mortel, "The Decline of Mamlūk Civil Bureaucracy in the Fifteenth Century: The Career of Abū l-Khayr al-Naḥḥās," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 6, no. 2 (1995).

[86] For example, Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Kātib Jakam (d. 862/1458), the *nāẓir al-jaysh wa-al-khāṣṣ* under Jaqmaq and Īnāl: al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār,* 1:297, 300, 350; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith¹,* 1:370.

[87] Igarashi, "The Financial Reforms of Sultan Qāytbāy," 42–45.

[88] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ,* 3:453. Cf. Nāṣir, *Al-Ḥayāh al-Iqtiṣādīyah,* 116–17.

[89] Cf. al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 3:266.

[90] According to *Sulūk, nafaqahs* for the Royal Mamluk corps, presents *(silāt)* for amirs and Turkmen, and the expenses of the purchase of mamluk slaves and of military expeditions were referred to as "the sultan's expenditures *(nafaqāt al-sulṭān)*" paid by Sultan Jaqmaq (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:1228–29). According to another source, the expenses of military expeditions, the purchase of mamluk slaves, arms, horses, arrows, and lancers, constructions and repairs of buildings, rewards *(inʿām),* presents, charities *(birr),* and *ṣadaqah* were derived directly from the sultanic treasury (anon. "Tārīkh al-Malik al-Ashraf Qāytbāy," British Library MS Or 3028, fol. 15r–v).

of the sultanic fisc—the change in its character from the sultan's private property to the official revenue sources that were directly assigned to the sultanate. Compensation for the deficits of the financial bureaus of the government, such as the Dīwān al-Wizārah and al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, came from *al-Dhakhīrah*. The first instance of this can be seen in a case in Ṣafar 860/January 1456, under Īnāl. At this time, the vizier (*wazīr;* the chief of the Dīwān al-Wizārah) Faraj ibn al-Naḥḥāl had disappeared because of his failure, due to insufficient funds, to pay for the daily meat supplies that were required by the Royal Mamluk corps, for which the Dīwān al-Wizārah had responsibility. After returning, Īnāl requested that he stay in office on the condition that 40,000 dirhams per day were supplied to the Dīwān al-Wizārah from *al-Dhakhīrah*'s fund.[91] As the result of further cash injections from *al-Dhakhīrah*'s fund, the amount per day reached 70,000 dirhams.[92] The injection of *al-Dhakhīrah's* money into al-Dīwān al-Mufrad, which was responsible for the monthly stipends and other essentials required by the Royal Mamluk corps, had been carried out since before 863/1459.[93] In addition to this, in 867/1463, Sultan al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam agreed that 10,000 dinars per month would be injected from *al-Dhakhīrah*'s fund into al-Dīwān al-Mufrad.[94] Although this agreement was not fulfilled in the end, the injection of 8,000 dinars per month was maintained, as it had been before.[95] In 888/1484, Sultan Qāytbāy covered the deficit of the Dīwān al-Khāṣṣ that had been accrued by distributing sheep for sacrifice on the occasion of ʿĪd al-Aḍḥá.[96] While previous sultans had sometimes made temporary compensation for the deficits of these financial bureaus of the government,[97] it became far more commonplace during and after the reign of Īnāl.[98] This shows that *al-Dhakhīrah* had become indispensable for the management of the financial bureaus, especially as financial difficulties had reached their limit by this time.

Furthermore, *al-Dhakhīrah* undertook the responsibility of paying regular salaries and stipends. For instance, around 850/1446–47, a qadi regularly

[91] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith¹,* 1:492–93; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl,* 5:455. The next month, from the earnings from ex-*iqṭāʿ*s of amirs, 35,000 dirhams per day were added to the amount of money being injected into the Dīwān al-Wizārah. See Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith¹,* 1:494–95. Cf. ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl,* 5:456–57.

[92] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith²,* 321.

[93] Al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār,* 3:65, 93; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith²,* 392.

[94] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith²,* 757.

[95] Ibid., 449, 477, 770.

[96] ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ, *Nayl,* 7:363.

[97] Igarashi, "Establishment and Development," 130–31; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:966; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 3:370; al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār,* 1:420–21.

[98] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith²,* 292.

received 3,000 dirhams per month from *al-Dhakhīrah.*[99] During Qāytbāy's reign, *al-Dhakhīrah* was responsible for granting pensions to retired amirs *(ṭarkhān)* and was partly responsible for providing the meat supplies to the military, civilians, and scholars during ʿĪd al-Aḍḥá. Moreover, many amirs, including some amirs of a hundred, regularly came to receive monthly stipends and wheat rations from *al-Dhakhīrah* instead of holding *iqṭāʿ*s.[100] Such an expansion of the role of *al-Dhakhīrah* in the spheres of administration, finance, and military affairs shows the limitations of the traditional structure of the Mamluk state, which was based on the *iqṭāʿ* system and the state's landholding. Although the various endeavors of successive sultans to reconstruct state finances throughout the Circassian Mamluk period were successful to a certain degree, they tended to lack a long-term outlook and clearly never solved the fundamental financial difficulties, i.e., the weakening of the state's control over land management and the alienation of the state land. Under these circumstances, the sultanic fisc, which covered the revenue shortage of the government's purse, gradually came to be indispensable for the smooth management of the administration. Consequently, the financial burden placed on *al-Dhakhīrah* was growing,[101] and its financial troubles directly affected the state's finances,[102] inducing the expansion of the financial resources of *al-Dhakhīrah*. Finally, especially after the succession of Qāytbāy, and with the state's finances becoming increasingly subordinate to the sultanic finances, the latter came to play a pivotal role in the administrative, financial, and military affairs of the Mamluk state.[103]

However, it must be noted again that these phenomena occurred in parallel with the accumulation of properties by powerful amirs, who were anxious to hold onto their personal revenue sources, in addition to their *iqṭāʿ*s; they did this in various ways including holding *amlāk, awqāf, mustaʾjarāt, ḥimāyah,* and commercial activities, just as the sultans did. There was no essential difference between the form and character of the sultanic fisc and that of the amirs' private resources, aside from their scale. In other words, the expansion of the sultanic fisc that we have investigated in this article did not reflect a unilateral strengthening of the sultan's power, or a radical change of its character. Rather, it may be assumed that these trends were advancing in the wake of a situation wherein the ruling elite of the Mamluk state—the amirs, and the sultan as the principal among them—were personally accumulating various rights and interests and

[99] Al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār,* 2:176.

[100] Igarashi, "The Financial Reforms of Sultan Qāytbāy," 50–51.

[101] Al-Biqāʿī, *Iẓhār,* 3:258.

[102] Ibid., 3:67–68.

[103] Igarashi, "The Financial Reforms of Sultan Qāytbāy," 39–45, 49–51.

were forming their power bases outside the framework of the traditional state structure. The evolution of the sultanic finance system and *al-Dhakhīrah* resulted in the weakening of the ruling system of the government machinery; as the process developed, *al-Dhakhīrah* functioned as a means of maintaining the rule of the Mamluk regime.

Table 1: Names of People Who Were Appointed the Sultan's Private Financier and the Title of Their Posts[1]

	Date of Appointment	Name	U/N[2]	Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807)	Ibn Ḥijjī (d. 816)	al-Maqrīzī (d. 845)	Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (d. 851)	Ibn Ḥajar (d. 852)	al-ʿAynī (d. 855)	Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874)	al-Ṣayrafī (d. 900)	al-Sakhāwī (d. 902)
1	8/16/799	ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn al-Ṭablāwī	U	A/W/D [9:468]		A/W [3:878]	A/W/D [1:616] al-Khāṣṣ [4:129]	D/A [*IG*, 1:528; 2:172] al-Khāṣṣ al-Sulṭānī [*Dh*, 105]	D [ʿ*Iqd(3)*, 412]		D [1:448]	Khāṣṣ lil-Sulṭān/ D/A [*D*, 5:252]
2	1/2/800	Faraj al-Ḥalabī	U		A/M [244]	A/D [3:928]	A/M [1:621] A/D [1:646-47; 4:14, 233]		A/D [ʿ*Iqd(3)*, 440, 485]	D/A [12:98; 13:22]	A/D [1:457, 486]	A/D [*D*, 4:170]
3	5/2/801	Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Kuwayz	N						A/D [ʿ*Iqd(3)*, 484]		A/D [1:485]	
4	7/22/801	Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Sunqur	U		D/M [892]	A/W/D [3:930] D/A [3:1007]	A/W/D [4:15]	A [*IG*, 2:44]	D/A [ʿ*Iqd(3)*, 493]	D/A [12:99]	D/A [1:487; 2:49] D [2:98]	Ustādār [*D*, 7:263]
5	9/29/801	Tāj al-Dīn ibn Samakh	N						A/D [ʿ*Iqd(3)*, 487]		A/D [1:490]	
6	12/?/807	ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Baghdādī	U				D/A [4:416]					
7	5/?/812 7/?/816	Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn Abī Shākir	U			A/W [4:110] D/A [4:268]		A/D [*IG*, 2:432] D [*IG*, 3:10] A/D/M/W [*IG*, 3:110] A/D [*Dh*, 249]	D [ʿ*Iqd(1)*, 168] A/D/M/W [ʿ*Iqd(1)*, 278]	A/W [13:96]	D/A [2:255]	A/D/M/W [*D*, 5:102-3]
8	(?/?/841)	Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Fāqūsī	N									al-Khāṣṣ bi-Khāṣṣ al-Sulṭān/M/D [*D*, 7:222]
9	8/7/844	Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Kuwayz	U			D [4:1220]		al-Khāṣṣ bi-Khāṣṣ al-Sulṭān/M/D [*IG*, 4:85]	D/H [ʿ*Iqd(2)*, 562-3]	D [15:345]	D/A/H [4:209]	D/A [*T*, 45] D [*D*, 3:82]

[1] Abbreviations: A: *Amlāk* / D: *Dhakhīrah* / H: *Ḥimāyah*/ M: *Mustaʾjarāt* / W: *Awqāf*

The sources were as follows: Ibn al-Furāt: *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk*, vols. 7-9 (Beirut, 1936-42)./ Ibn Ḥijjī: *Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī,* ed. Abū Yaḥyá ʿAbd Allāh al-Kundurī (Beirut, 2003)./ al-Maqrīzī: *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk* (Cairo, 1939-72)./ Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah: *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah* (Damascus, 1977-97)./ Ibn Ḥajar: *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr* (Cairo, 1969-98) *(IG)./ Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāminah,* ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh (Cairo, 1992) (*Dh*)./ al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān* (1): ed. ʿAbd al-Rāziq al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Qarmūṭ (Cairo, 1985)./ (2): ed. idem (Cairo, 1989)./ (3): ed. Īmān ʿUmar Shukrī (entitled *Al-Sulṭān Barqūq: Muʾassis Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah 784-801 A.H./1382-1398 A.D.*) (Cairo, 2002)./ Ibn Taghrībirdī: *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963-72)./ al-Ṣayrafī: *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān* (Cairo, 1970-94)./ al-Sakhāwī: *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Cairo, 1934-37) *(D)./ Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk* (Cairo, n.d.) *(T).*

[2] U: *ustādār* / N: *nāẓir*

Table 2: Private and *Waqf* Assets of the Sultans

	Egypt				Syria				Total			
Name of Sultan	Farm Land	Urban Property	Other	Total	Farm Land	Urban Property	Other	Total	Farm Land	Urban Property	Other	Total
Barqūq[1]	3 (9.1)	17 (51.5)	3 (9.1)	23 (69.7)	7 (21.2)	3 (9.1)	0	10 (30.3)	10 (30.3)	20 (60.6)	3 (9.1)	33
Shaykh[2]	13 (30.2)	12 (27.9)	4 (9.3)	29 (67.4)	7 (16.3)	6 (14.0)	1 (2.3)	14 (32.6)	20 (46.5)	18 (41.9)	5 (11.6)	43
Barsbāy[3]	39 (48.1)	33 (40.7)	0	72 (88.9)	2 (2.5)	7 (8.6)	0	9 (11.1)	41 (50.6)	40 (49.4)	0	81

The figures in parentheses are the percentage of total assets

[1] Waqf Deeds, Dār al-Wathāʾiq al-Qawmīyah (DW), 9/51; Wizārat al-Awqāf (WA), j51, j67, j562, j704, j728, j736; Igarashi Daisuke, "The Private Property and *Awqāf* of the Circassian Mamluk Sultans: The Case of Barqūq," *Orient* 43 (2008): 175-76, 194-95.

[2] WA q938; partially edited by Fahmī ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm, *Al-ʿImārah al-Islāmīyah fī ʿAṣr al-Mamālīk al-Charākisah: ʿAṣr al-Sulṭān al-Muʾayyad Shaykh* (Cairo, 2003), 113-69.

[3] *Ḥujjat Waqf al-Ashraf Barsbāy*, ed. Aḥmad Darrāj (Cairo, 1963).

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From Ceramics to Social Theory: Reflections on Mamluk Archaeology Today

Nearly seventy publications by Carl Petry appear in the Chicago Online Bibliography of Mamluk Studies, covering themes as diverse as gender and economic reform.[1] Anyone with some anthropological or sociological training will immediately recognize and appreciate the degree to which a curiosity about all things "social" permeates his work. From *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1981) to his more recent studies on crime and punishment,[2] Petry has sought to describe the structure of Mamluk-era societies, and the functions of and relations among their components, by using a range of textual sources. It is in the spirit of his contributions to Mamluk social history that the following review article is presented. The value of archaeology today in Mamluk studies lies clearly in the realm of socio-economic history and social theory. Decade-long efforts at developing field methods and interpretive theory are resulting in a kind of archaeology that is meaningful to text-based historians and is fostering

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[1] For the former, note his "Class Solidarity versus Gender Gain: Women as Custodians of Property in Later Medieval Egypt," in *Women in Middle Eastern History,* ed. Nikki R. Keddie and Beth Baron (New Haven, 1991), 122–42, and "Conjugal Rights Versus Class Prerogatives: A Divorce Case in Mamluk Cairo," in *Women in the Medieval Islamic World: Power, Patronage, and Piety,* ed. Gavin R. G. Hambly (New York, 1998), 227–40. For the latter see "Fractionalized Estates in a Centralized Regime: The Holdings of al-Ashraf Qaytbay and Qansuh al-Ghawri According to their Waqf Deeds," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41, no. 1 (1998): 96–117, and "Waqf as an Instrument of Investment in the Mamluk Sultanate: Security or Profit?" in *Slave Elites in the Middle East and Africa: A Comparative Study,* ed. Toru Miura and John Edwards Philips (New York, 2000), 99–115.

[2] For example, his "'Quis Custodiet Custodes?' Revisited: The Prosecution of Crime in the Late Mamluk Sultanate," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 13–30; "Crime in Mamluk Historiography: A Fraud Case Depicted by Ibn Taghrībirdī," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10, no. 2 (2006): 141–51; and "The Hoax of the Miraculous Speaking Wall: Criminal Investigation in Mamluk Cairo," in *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in Honour of Michael Winter,* ed. David J. Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon (New York, 2006), 86–95.

dialogue between the two disciplines.

Islamic archaeology as a whole has undergone a process of self-critique and growth. Insoll's *The Archaeology of Islam,* published ten years ago, was appropriately critical of the narrow focus and theoretical weaknesses of the discipline at the time, too often producing technical reports that failed to engage the theoretical debates of the day and ceramic studies that rarely went beyond the technical issues of chronology and provenance.[3] Insoll was particularly concerned about the following, which in his mind threatened to marginalize Islamic archaeology within its own discipline and render it irrelevant to area studies and history:

> 1. the narrow, one-dimensional emphasis of contemporary research (p. 4);
>
> 2. its near obsession with monuments and elite art, which led it to neglect entire categories of data that did not service the study of art (p. 5);
>
> 3. the general lack of interest by the archaeologists themselves in the environment and land use (p. 5).

In order to address these problems, Insoll called for multi-disciplinary research projects (with deliberate attempts to incorporate the methods, models, and paradigms of anthropology, history, and sociology); development of an archaeologically sound social theory; expanding data sets to include such things as botanical and faunal remains and coarse wares relevant to analyses of climate, diet, and consumption; and expanding research agendas to include economic, demographic, landscape, and environmental studies. Moreover, Insoll expressed concern about "a perceived inferiority of archaeological evidence to the written word,"[4] referring to attitudes towards archaeological research among many text-based historians of the medieval periods. This latter point is an important one, as it reflected not only on the inability of archaeologists to articulate the relevance of their research but also on their circumvention of textual data. Their preference for cultural theory over textual analysis stems from differences in scholarly training between historians and archaeologists in the U.S., who usually receive their

[3] Timothy Insoll, *The Archaeology of Islam* (Oxford, 1999). For similar critiques, see Donald Whitcomb, "Mamluk Archaeological Studies: A Review," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 97, 105, and Marcus Milwright, *An Introduction to Islamic Archaeology* (Edinburgh, 2010).

[4] Insoll, *The Archaeology of Islam,* 4, referring to Timothy Champion, "Medieval Archaeology and the Tyranny of the Historical Record," in *From the Baltic to the Black Sea: Studies in Medieval Archaeology,* ed. David Austin and Leslie Alcock (London, 1990), 79–95.

training in anthropology and art history programs, rather than history, although this is changing.

Ten years later a different picture of the field is developing, one that is especially promising for new directions of research in Mamluk studies. Something that we may call a bona fide "Mamluk archaeology" has emerged: it more actively engages written sources; encourages cross-disciplinary and collaborative research; is genuinely concerned with issues related to the environment and resource management (reflecting the personal interest of many project directors in the contemporary issues of development and sustainability); is committed to developing theory; and is actively exploring the complex dynamics of local societies. In doing so, the archaeology of today is better equipped to make the written record more "human" by giving voice to the silent masses that are largely invisible in narrative and documentary sources. In combination with ethnographic analogy and anthropological theory, archaeological fieldwork can produce a more intimate picture of local (and particularly rural) society than ever before. Moreover, it has the potential of exploring, on a very human level, how poor the poor really were; what "luxury" meant to most people; what the common man ate and how he lived and died; what a drought could do to a settlement physically, economically, socially; and how people were impacted, in very tangible ways, by political turmoil. On the level of social theory, archaeology can document long-term developments (the *longue durée* of the Annalistes) in a way that written sources alone cannot. An archaeology of Mamluk society also delivers a spatial dimension for studying social structures and change. Most of the field projects described below are concerned not only with chronological depth but also spatial breadth, exploring the physical landscape of rural societies and their management of natural resources. Such issues as the degree to which the state invested in rural areas, the physical and functional relationships of centers of officialdom (forts, large mosques and shrines, aqueducts, roads, agricultural factories) with villages and towns, and what physically happened to settlements during periods of imperial collapse are best explored through landscape archaeology. As for economic history, new trends in Mamluk archaeology prioritize identifying producers and consumers and describing more clearly their complex relationships with one another, defining market structures and the local and regional networks that supported them, and highlighting ways in which local communities were economically dependent on the state and under what conditions they were most self-sufficient. Archaeology is, in essence, a history of "the social" that provides cumulative, deep-time, and spatial evidence, raising issues about the societies of the day that may not emerge from the written record. Ultimately, it has the potential to offer a very local perspective on the Mamluk state.

Some of the most innovative research along these lines is coming out of

projects based in the southern Bilād al-Shām. This is especially true for Jordan, which offers a particularly interesting and valuable environment for exploring the Islamic eras. Since the Transjordan was never the political center of a medieval Islamic state, scholars working here have naturally gravitated towards the study of local society—indigenous culture, the history of local villages and families, provincial and "frontier" studies—that is, micro-history at its best. And certainly in this sense, the archaeology of Jordan can deepen our understanding of Mamluk societies by providing this uniquely local perspective on social and political change. In recent years a renewed appreciation for written sources has enabled projects operating throughout southern Syria to incorporate Arabic sources into their research in more meaningful and creative ways, transforming their fieldwork into historically sound anthropology. Crossing disciplinary boundaries is, in my mind, quite healthy, and I believe the best field projects have taken this discipline in exciting new directions by doing "good history."

The following is a critical review of today's Mamluk archaeology, and it builds on the efforts of Whitcomb in his initial "state of the art" article of 1999.[5] This is not meant to be comprehensive in any sense; rather, it highlights research themes that illustrate the trends towards social and economic history described above. All of the projects described here make use of medieval Arabic sources, though to different degrees and to different purpose. They are collaborative and cross-disciplinary and have contributed new information on the rural societies of the Mamluk Levant.[6] My focus on the southern Bilād al-Shām is deliberate: archaeologists working today in Jordan, Palestine, and Israel, precisely because of their location on the "Mamluk frontier," are largely concerned with rural settlements and the cultures of the non-elite. Their work represents recent

[5] Whitcomb, "Mamluk Archaeological Studies."

[6] Several recent conferences have fostered collaborations between archaeologists and historians, with a special emphasis on the "Middle Islamic" (or Ayyubid-Mamluk) period. Noteworthy among these are the 3-year "Exercising Power in the Age of the Sultanates" project, jointly sponsored by the French and American research centers in Cairo. The Amman conference of 2005 (http://www.caorc.org/highlights/acor/acor-2005-05-16b.htm) tied to this initiative has been recently published as Bethany J. Walker and Jean-François Salles, ed., *Le pouvoir à l'âge des sultanats dans le Bilâd al-Shâm*, as *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 57 (2008), supplément. In a similar vein, volume 11, no. 1, of *Mamlūk Studies Review* (2007), the "Syria issue," highlighted cross-disciplinary work on Mamluk Syria. More recent international projects in this vein include the November, 2008, conference "La Transgiordania nei Secoli XII–XIII e le 'Frontiere' del Mediterraneo Medievale," sponsored by the University of Florence (http://www.frontierarchaeology.eu/); and the June–July, 2009 workshop on "Material Evidence and Narrative Sources: Interdisciplinary Studies of the History of Islamic Societies," under the sponsorship of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

research; many of the field projects are ongoing, and their publications largely span the last decade.

On "Text and Tell": Methods and Theory (Fig. 1)

The archaeology of the Mamluk period, as practiced today, is a form of historical archaeology heavily informed by anthropological models. One methodological development of the last decade has been in the engagement with the written record. The combination of written and material sources is the greatest challenge of any archaeology of historical periods, particularly so with the Mamluk period, which produced a wealth of texts. Many excavation and survey reports now include an explanation, however brief, of how historical sources are used. There has been a very gradual shift from dependence on texts for interpreting archaeological data to creating a dialogue between the two in ways that inform project design. Because written sources and archaeological data answer different sets of questions about human behavior and can differ in chronological scale of inquiry, they can and should be used in tandem to write a multi-faceted history of Mamluk societies. In short, one data set can inform the other. The challenge is to decide which kinds of sources are most appropriate to the subject at hand and to write a coherent, analytical narrative that uses them in complement with one another.

Archaeologists of the Mamluk period ("Middle Islamic" period in archaeological terminology)[7] have generally relied on written sources that are geographically and chronologically useful and readily available in print form (and frequently translated into European languages): narrative sources (primarily chronicles and geographies) and administrative manuals that help identify sites and provide a historical framework for their physical development. When used responsibly, such sources, in combination with archaeological evidence, can produce a rich narrative of Mamluk history.[8] What has been largely missing is an engagement

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[7] The terminology was first suggested by Whitcomb, who advocated an archaeological periodization over a political one in describing material culture (Donald Whitcomb, "Reassessing the Archaeology of Jordan of the Abbasid Period," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 4 (1992): 386–87).

[8] Some very readable surveys of the Mamluk period in this line for southern Syria include Jeremy Johns, "The *Longue Durée:* State and Settlement Strategies in Southern Transjordan across the Islamic Centuries," in *Village, Steppe and State: The Social Origins of Modern Jordan,* ed. Eugene Rogan and Tariq Tell (New York, 1994), 1–31; Myriam Rosen-Ayalon, "Between Cairo and Damascus: Rural Life and Urban Economics in the Holy Land During the Ayyubid, Mamluk, and Ottoman Periods," in *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land,* ed. Thomas Levy (New York, 1994), 512–23; Bethany J. Walker, "Militarization to Nomadization: The Middle and Late Islamic Periods," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 62, no. 4 (1999): 202–32; Alan Walmsley, "Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk Jordan and the Frankish Interlude," in *The Archaeology of Jordan,* ed. Burton MacDonald, Russell Adams, and Piotr

with contemporary documentary sources. One notable exception is the early Ottoman tax registers (singular, *daftar-i mufassal*) of the ninth/sixteenth century.[9] During the first century of Ottoman rule in Syria, many elements of the Mamluks' administration in the region were retained, including the general administrative structure, some personnel, and many of the larger landed endowments *(awqāf)*.[10] The registers document anticipated income from taxable commodities, though not actual taxes collected, and describe in some detail the status of rural property, whether a settled village *(qaryah),* a village formerly settled but now abandoned *(kharāb),* a piece of cultivated land (such as a garden, *qiṭʿah*), or a tract of cultivated land not associated with a village *(mazraʿah)*. Tax-liable commodities (summer crops, winter crops, livestock, processed agricultural goods and animal by-products such as honey, endowments) are listed along with their estimated revenues. Specific references to land tenure and use, along with incidental information, such as how a plot of land was acquired and what its access was to water, are occasionally included. The registers, moreover, are organized according by tax districts, yielding important details on the administrative structure of the region. The registers of 940/1534, 945/1538–39, 958/1551–52, and 1005/1596–97 are preserved in manuscript form, and from these several segments have been published for Palestine and Jordan. The majority of the publications are in Turkish with Arabic summary and commentary;[11] the most widely cited one, though, is in

Bienkowski (Sheffield, 2001), 515–59; Jumʿa Mahmoud H. Kareem, *The Settlement Patterns in the Jordan Valley in the Mid- to Late Islamic Period* (Oxford, 2000), 11–17, 294–95; and Marcus Milwright, *The Fortress of the Raven: Karak in the Middle Islamic Period (1100–1650)* (Leiden, 2008), 42–48. Such surveys are convenient entrées into the archaeological literature and should be consulted by text-based historians for accessible archaeological narratives on Mamluk history.

[9] Among the earliest registers relevant to southern Syria is *daftar* #340 of ca. 930/1523 in Istanbul (Muḥammad ʿAdnān al-Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah [Shamālī al-Urdunn] fī al-Qarn al-ʿĀshir al-Hijrī/al-Sādis ʿĀshir al-Mīlādī* [Amman, 1989], 6).

[10] It is possible that part of the tax structure was retained as well, but until written documentation of the late Mamluk tax system is identified, this cannot be verified. Certainly what were taxable commodities did not change from the end of the Mamluk to the beginning of Ottoman rule, so one can assume some degree of continuity in the kind of taxes collected and the method of collection.

[11] Those specific to Jordan (Liwa ʿAjlun) include Muḥammad ʿAdnān al-Bakhīt, *Tapu Defteri No. 275, Detailed Register of the Private-Khass of the Governor of the Province of Damascus 958 A.H./1551–2 A.D.* (Amman, 1989); Muḥammad ʿAdnān al-Bakhīt and Noufan Raja Hmoud, *The Detailed Defter of Liwaʾ ʿAjlun (The District of Ajlun) Tapu Defteri No. 970, Istanbul* (Amman, 1989); and idem, *The Detailed Defter of Liwaʾ ʿAjlun (The District of Ajlun) Tapu Defteri No. 185, Ankara 1005 A.H./1596 A.D.* (Amman, 1991). For the Hawran, see al-Bakhīt, *Nāḥiyat Banī Kinānah;* idem, "Nāḥiyat Banī al-ʿAṣr fī al-Qarn al-ʿĀshir al-Hijrī/al-Sādis ʿĀshir al-Mīlādī," *Al-ʿUlūm wa-al-Insānīyah* 15, no. 4 (1988): 149–266; and idem,

English.[12]

Unfortunately, these sources have not been used as fully as they could be: the general trend has been to look up an individual site name and determine whether the place was inhabited and its land continued to be cultivated after Ottoman annexation. The registers, however, yield much more important place-specific data than this. The estimated number of households in each location is included and the *dhimmī*s liable for the *jizyah* are mentioned in each entry of a *qaryah*. Although the numbers are not reliable for population statistics,[13] they do reflect the religious composition of villages, a demographic characteristic that is not readily recognizable in the archaeological record. The registers note, though inconsistently, abandoned villages, the location of roads and waterways, and the existence of facilities such as mills. In spite of this, their potential for studying environmental and land use changes has not been realized. Furthermore, because the Ottomans taxed many landed *awqāf* at a rate of 10%, endowments made during Mamluk rule that were retained as such by the Ottoman state are also named in the registers. In many cases these are the only references we have to these local endowments of grain fields, orchards, and gardens, as they have not been thus far identified in Mamluk-era *waqfīyāt* or chronicles. They attest to the continued economic viability of agricultural land in the region and provide invaluable data on cropping patterns during the transition from Mamluk to Ottoman rule; the value of this data has been largely overlooked.[14] The archaeological use of these

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"Nāḥiyat Banī Juhmah fī al-Qarn al-ʿĀshir al-Hijrī/al-Sādis ʿĀshir Mīlādī," in *Buḥūth wa-Dirāsāt Muhdāh ilá ʿAbd al-Karīm Maḥmūd Ghuraybah bi-Munāsabat Bulūghihi al-Khāmisah wa-al-Sittīn* (Damascus, 1989), 497–588. For those useful for Palestine, see Muḥammad ʿAdnān al-Bakhīt and Nūfān Rajā Ḥamūd, *Daftar Mufaṣṣal, Nāḥiyat Marj Banī ʿĀmir wa-Tawābiʿihā wa-Lawāḥiqihā allatī Kānat fī Taṣarruf al-Amīr Ṭurahbāy Sanat 945 A.H./1538 A.D.* (Amman, 1989).

[12] Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth and Kamal Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late 16th Century* (Erlangen, 1977).

[13] For critiques on calculating population size on the basis of Ottoman tax surveys, see Bekir Kemal Ataman, "Ottoman Demographic History (14th–17th Centuries): Some Considerations," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 35 (1992): 187–98, and Heath W. Lowry, "The Ottoman *Tahrir Defterleri* as a Source for Social and Economic History: Pitfalls and Limitations," in *Studies in Defterology: Ottoman Society in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Istanbul, 1992), 3–18.

[14] I have pulled heavily from the registers' endowment data for my own fieldwork, which is described later in this article. Some key publications in this regard include Bethany J. Walker, "Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilad al-Sham in the Eighth/Fourteenth Century: The Case of Hisban," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 62, no. 4 (2003): 241–61; idem, "Mamluk Investment in Transjordan: A 'Boom and Bust' Economy," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (2004): 119–47; idem, "Sowing the Seeds of Rural Decline?: Agriculture as an Economic Barometer for Late Mamluk Jordan," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 1 (2007):

registers is challenged by two other trends: site-specific focus and overreliance on a single published register in English. Identifying the tax status of a single site is less meaningful for a regional study, where one would trace the development of the larger geographical region or compare sites. Johns appropriately warns against expecting the registers, which describe a fiscal landscape, to reproduce a physical landscape recognizable archaeologically.[15] They are nonetheless useful in reconstructing that very fiscal landscape on a regional level in a way that reflects the economic life of sixteenth-century rural Syria. In short, such financial data can help refine the interpretation of the archaeological record and make site-specific studies much more relevant for regional history. On a final note, dependence on the English translation of the register of 1005/1596–97[16] is an issue of accessibility: the 1977 edition is in English, its data conveniently transformed into charts and maps by historical geographers. Nonetheless, reliance on a single register robs one of the opportunity to trace the development of a place or region over time (a full century, to be precise, is covered by these registers), the *longue durée* perspective most valued by archaeologists. One should also note that the reliability of this register has been questioned for Transjordan, at least, as it was not under direct government control after mid-century and may have pulled much of its data from an earlier register.[17]

These critiques aside, archaeological scholarship today is looking to Mamluk-era texts to answer broader questions than ever before about contemporary societies. Rural settlement history, which considers when and under what conditions villages emerge and disappear, is a case in point. Survey data suggests cycles of growth and abatement in settlement in the Islamic period as a whole (seventh through early twentieth centuries C.E.), with pronounced "gaps" in the archaeological record when there is no (generally ceramic) evidence for occupation. The Mamluk period, in this sense, is largely characterized by a spike in the number and size of villages in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, followed by a marked demographic decline by the fifteenth. Contemporary texts do not fully support this scenario, and instead suggest continued agricultural productivity in some regions. Reconciling the textual and archaeological records on this point has been

173–99; and idem, "The Role of Agriculture in Mamluk-Jordanian Power Relations," in *Le pouvoir à l'âge des sultanats,* 77–96. For a non-archaeological study of the same data for Palestine, see Mehmed İpşirli and Muḥammad Dāwūd al-Tamīmī, *Awqāf wa-Amlāk al-Muslimīn fī Filasṭīn* (Istanbul, 1982).

[15] Jeremy Johns, "Islamic Settlement in Arḍ al-Karak," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 4 (1992): 366.

[16] Hütteroth and Abdulfattah, *Historical Geography*.

[17] Robert Schick, "The Archaeology of Palestine/Jordan in the Early Ottoman Period," *ARAM* 10 (1998): 563–75.

a goal of many field projects in Jordan. In his review of survey data for the Kerak Plateau, Johns offers reinterpretations of the ceramic data on which this history is based that bring the archaeological record more in line with the picture painted by literary sources. What had been seen previously as "gaps" in the record of settlement after the Islamic conquest, at the end of the Mamluk period, and during the seventeenth–nineteenth centuries (when the region was nominally under Ottoman control) have been accounted for by: (1) inadequate knowledge of the ceramics of these periods (suggesting "gaps" in occupation where none exist), (2) a dispersal of population rather than merely demographic decline, and (3) different models of settlement that describe a range of options from sedentarism to nomadism (his "pre-settlement," "proto-settlement," and "full settlement"), respectively.[18] The result suggests agricultural productivity through the sixteenth century, and a generally prosperous rural economy, with episodes of disruption.[19] In this case, the literary sources are taken at face value, while the archaeological record is refined by anthropological models and new ceramic typologies.

Accounting for the marked and relatively rapid growth of villages in the Mamluk period is equally challenging. In her analysis of the settlement of southern Jordan in this period, Hamarneh draws on literary sources, pre-Islamic settlement data, and survey and excavation reports relevant to the Middle Islamic period to describe the settlement morphology of rural Mamluk Jordan and its transformation from Late Antiquity to the later medieval eras.[20] In her interpretation of both written and archaeological sources, she suggests that the Mamluks' settlement strategy in southern Jordan was initially economically motivated and primarily geared towards control of agricultural resources. She further analyses the use of legal terms in Arabic texts related to landed property to describe the function, administration, and tenure of rural land, with the ultimate goal of assessing to what degree the state adapted pre-existing land use structures and to what extent they introduced something new. Future research in this vein will address to what

[18] Johns, "Islamic Settlement." His work pulls on the work of many earlier archaeological projects in Jordan. The Mamluk sources that he consults directly include al-ʿUmarī *(Al-Taʿrīf bi-al-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf),* al-Ẓāhirī *(Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik),* and Ibn Taghrībirdī (Popper's notes to *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah*).

[19] This is an idea developed more fully in Johns' "The *Longue Durée."*

[20] Basema Hamarneh, "Rural Settlements in Southern Transjordan Prior and Throughout the Ayyubid-Mamluk Periods," unpublished conference paper, international conference on "La Transgiordania nei Secoli XII–XIII e la 'Frontiere' del Mediterraneo Medievale," Florence, Nov. 7, 2008. As the excavation of Nakhl near Kerak is a new project, the results have not yet been published. I am grateful to Dr. Hamarneh for sharing with me information regarding her project. (For a similar approach to urban development in Mamluk Palestine, with different results, see Andrew Petersen, *The Towns of Palestine under Muslim Rule, AD 600–1600* [Oxford, 2005], 379–89.)

degree a combination of factors—state-imposed and uniquely local—was behind the rise in the number and size of villages in the Mamluk period.

The archaeological record can, alternatively, breathe new life into the texts themselves. In their study of the northern Jordan Valley, Walmsley and McPhillips considered the socio-cultural context of the administrative structure imposed by the Mamluks on this region.[21] The map of provinces and districts described by al-Dimashqī and al-Qalqashandī is explored from the perspective of Ṭabaqat Faḥl (Pella), one of the districts *(iqlīm)* of the Sawad in the Province of Syria (Mamlakat Dimashq). Excavations here revealed an important rural center with an extensive village, mosque, and cemetery and a material culture that reflected the town's position as the "gateway" between coastal Palestine and the Jordanian highlands. The excavations, in my mind, reveal an administrative structure that was founded on communal structures predating the Mamluk period; the districts and their centers of administration reflect local identities, localized social and economic networks, and their own distinctive cultures (reflected in architecture and ceramics) that cannot be reconstructed from the written record alone. Mamluk administration in the region did grow out of the Ayyubid one, but both systems reveal a deeper cultural cohesiveness that could serve state interests. For the function(s) of smaller centers such as Faḥl, one must go beyond the literary sources and study the site itself, its physical relationship to the landscape and other sites around it. Its hot climate and good soil, ample water supplies, and easy access to transport corridors connecting the Jordanian interior with Mediterranean ports, in addition to a long history of village and urban development rooted in Antiquity, suggest the multiple strategic and economic functions of this rural center for the Mamluk state. Much can be learned about the structure and function of the Mamluks' rural administration in this manner.

Ultimately, a dialectical relationship exists between textual and archaeological sources in this kind of social history, with a critical "reading" of one source frequently resulting in a "re-reading" of the other. This kind of give-and-take can allow us to explore new themes not readily accessible from one source used alone. The Northern Jordan Project (hereafter the NJP), based in the hill country between Irbid and the Syrian border, has demonstrated ways in which the dialogue between "text and tell" refines our understanding of Mamluk social history. In order to more fully explore the nature and long-term impact of Mamluk rule in Jordan, the NJP has adopted a methodology that is rather new to Mamluk archaeology: research on contemporary documents in archives, done simultaneously with

[21] Alan Walmsley, "Settled Life in Mamluk Jordan: Views of the Jordan Valley from Fahl (Pella)," *ARAM* 9 (1997): 129–43; Stephen McPhillips and Alan Walmsley, "Faḥl during the Early Mamluk Period: Archaeological Perspectives," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 1 (2007): 119–56.

archaeological fieldwork and environmental studies. In addition to the regular mix of narrative (chronologies, geographies, and travelers' accounts, along with biographical dictionaries and legal treatises) and administrative (secretaries' manuals) sources, research designs aim at identifying and analyzing documentary sources (Mamluk-era *waqfīyāt*[22] and court documents related to property exchange and inheritance, as well as Ottoman-era shariʿah court documents, tax registers, and land settlement registers) to address a range of questions related to land use and local society that emerge from a critical "reading" of both texts and archaeological remains.

One focal research problem of the project has been identifying factors behind the settlement shifts of the fifteenth century. Outside of political events, climatic change (identified by long episodes of drought) has frequently been cited in archaeological literature as a catalyst behind the abandonment of villages and fields in this period. Fieldwork has aimed, in part, at determining whether climatic changes coincided with any decline in settlement and agricultural productivity on the village and regional levels and whether land use changed with the collapse of the Mamluk state.[23] The preliminary results have presented a different settlement history for the late Mamluk period than that which pervades the archaeological

[22] Endowment documents for rural land can be rich sources on village and agricultural history, as they frequently describe the physical limits of the village, location of roads that serviced it, sources of water, crops grown, local industries and public buildings, and buildings and fields that have fallen into neglect. Identifying Jordanian locales in these *waqfīyāt* is extremely difficult, a veritable "finding a needle in the haystack" experience. These documents do exist, however, and are already yielding important data relevant to village, economic, and agricultural history in the region. For published studies, see my "Sowing the Seeds" (and references therein) and my forthcoming *Transformation of the Mamluk Frontier*.

[23] The archaeological reports can be found in: Bethany J. Walker, "The Northern Jordan Survey 2003–Agriculture in Late Islamic Malka and Hubras Villages: A Preliminary Report of the First Season," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Studies* 339 (2005): 67–111; Bethany J. Walker, Ellen Kenney, Laura Holzweg, Lynda Carroll, Stéphanie Boulogne, and Bernhard Lucke, "Village Life in Mamluk and Ottoman Hubras and Saham: Northern Jordan Project, Report on the 2006 Season," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 51 (2007): 429–70. For the specifically textual studies, which include analyses of other Jordanian *waqfīyāt* in manuscript form, see Bethany Walker, "The Politics of Land Management in Medieval Islam: The Village of Malka in Northern Jordan," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 9 (2007): 253–61; idem, "Sowing the Seeds"; idem, "Boom and Bust"; and idem, "The Role of Agriculture." A project summary and list of project publications can also be found in my "Peasants, Pilgrims, and the Body Politic: The Northern Jordan Project and the Landscapes of the Islamic Periods," in *Crossing Jordan: North American Contributions to the Archaeology of Jordan*, ed. Thomas E. Levy, P. M. Michèle Daviau, Randall W. Younker, and May Shaer (London/Oakville, CT, 2007), 473–80.

and historical literature. Rather than the disruption of settlement viewed in other parts of Jordan, the villages of the northern hill country continued to be occupied and generally productive. Climatic conditions did change in the late Mamluk period, with dryer conditions than before, and some fields were abandoned for cultivation. Nonetheless, local villages appear to have adjusted by transforming their agricultural regime, through diversification of crops and smaller scale of production. (This latter point will be examined below.) In short, the collapse of the Mamluk state may have disrupted village life in some districts, but it certainly did not lead to the widespread decline of rural society or general dispersal of population, as suggested by archaeological surveys elsewhere. There is, in fact, evidence for a change in climatic conditions less conducive to export-oriented agriculture, but local communities in some areas were able to adapt effectively.

What, then, are the implications of such results for the use of Mamluk-era texts in local studies? The chronicles weave beautiful, heart-rending narratives about the immediate impact of drought and war. However, they seldom describe the recovery. They describe abandonment of villages, for example, but more often than not do not explain that the residents returned to them when conditions returned to normal. Documents such as *waqfīyāt* and tax registers describe land use and productivity at a moment in time but cannot trace, on their own, change or continuity on the long term. They do not account for the "whys" of land use. The benefit of the archaeological narrative, in this case combined with historical environmental studies, is in its potential to contextualize events and document their long-term impact. Together the written and archaeological narratives suggest that no single history of settlement can be written for southern Bilād al-Shām as a whole; rather there were distinctly regional patterns of growth and decline, adaption and dispersal.

A research theme intimately tied to that of settlement is agricultural history. Agricultural studies have recently taken two approaches. The first is concerned with the spottiness of the settlement record indicated by archaeological surveys and its disconnect with the written record. The inability to recognize different kinds of food systems (pastoralism, for example)[24] and diverse agricultural regimes (outside of village-based agriculture) has created a settlement map for the Mamluk period with geographical and temporal voids. McQuitty's study of vernacular architecture in Mamluk and Ottoman Jordan is one attempt to identify architecturally the various econo-residential strategies adopted by rural peoples, addressing these "voids" in the process.[25] Her work highlights the ambiguity

[24] For more on food systems, see Øystein S. LaBianca, *Sedentarization and Nomadization: Food System Cycles at Hesban and Vicinity in Transjordan* (Berrien Springs, MI, 1990).

[25] See, for example, Alison McQuitty, "The Rural Landscape of Jordan in the Seventh–Nineteenth Centuries AD: the Kerak Plateau," *Antiquity* 69 (2005): 327–38.

of medieval architecture in this region: not every stone building in the rural landscape is a farmhouse, and peasants do not always require a built environment. Agricultural communities in southern Syria have relied as much on caves, tents, and cisterns—which leave little trace on surveys—for residence and storage as stone buildings. Identifying cultivated fields is more problematic, as they leave an even fainter footprint in the landscape of the region. Nonetheless, documenting the more ephemeral remnants of settlement and farming will provide a more comprehensive picture of the rural landscape than is currently available from traditional archaeological surveys and most narrative sources.

In a second approach, the struggle for control over natural resources becomes an object of study in itself, as this struggle was a key factor in molding society and determined the destiny of settlements. Land was a mediator between village communities and the state, thus the study of land tenure and use sheds light on rural-imperial relations and Mamluk objectives in the region. It is an approach to agricultural history and settlement studies that necessitates the combination of texts and archaeological data. Political ecology—a research orientation that considers the political, social, and environmental factors in this struggle—provides one way of exploring the complexities of Jordanian-Mamluk relations. The NJP has adopted political ecology to frame several lines of inquiry related to the history of land use in northern Jordan, including such issues as evaluating the effectiveness of imperial administration and land use policies in the region;[26] assessing the local impact of *iqṭāʿāt* and *awqāf* and the extent of peasant prerogatives in land use;[27] and determining to what degree agricultural markets, and the financial incentives promised by them, impacted cropping and ultimately settlement in Mamluk Jordan.[28] For the latter, published studies on sustainable agriculture by NGOs in Jordan provided the intellectual and methodological framework for the project's focus on peasants' subsistence and marketing strategies during the Mamluk period. The preliminary results of this kind of research suggest that Jordanian peasants retained a large degree of autonomy in the management of their land throughout Mamluk rule (outside of the large "estates" in the Jordan Valley and *waqf* land), shifted to more traditional land use patterns with the collapse of the Mamluk state (diversified production for local markets; emergence of modest-sized privately held land, on the one hand, and the possible return to communally-held land, on the other), and were relatively self-sufficient in most periods. To what extent this

[26] Walker, "Sowing the Seeds."

[27] Walker, "The Role of Agriculture."

[28] Bethany J. Walker, "Regional Markets and their Impact on Agriculture in Mamluk and Ottoman Transjordan," in *On the Fringe of Society: Archaeological and Ethnoarchaeological Perspectives on Pastoral and Agricultural Societies,* ed. Benjamin Saidel and Evelyn van der Steen (Oxford, 2007), 117–25.

is true for the rest of Bilād al-Shām has yet to be determined.

Exploring how the state controlled rural lands and peoples is another promising venue of archaeological research requiring careful use of texts. Excavations at Faḥl, described above, suggested ways in which fieldwork can give meaning to Mamluk administrative structures. Ongoing excavations at another rural administrative center, Tall Ḥisbān in central Jordan, have demonstrated ways in which "text and tell" can provide a history of place that makes imperial administration come alive. I cite a single example from a recent field season.[29] Ḥisbān was the capital of the Balqāʾ region of the southernmost district of Mamlakat Dimashq during the first half of the eighth/fourteenth century. In 757/1356 the governorship of the district passed to Amman, along with its courts and bureaucracy. What is not clear from the chroniclers' brief accounts is why Ḥisbān lost its special administrative status, though they hint at financial reasons. Excavations present another possible scenario. The summit of the tell is dominated by the remains of a fourteenth-century complex, which has been identified as the residence of the governor of the Balqāʾ *(wālī al-Balqāʾ)*. This complex was destroyed in what appears to have been a mid-century earthquake, the contents of its storeroom abandoned in the rubble. There was no attempt to rebuild it, although the village below continued to be occupied and many homes were subsequently repaired. The fluidity of the Mamluks' provincial administration, with borders of provinces and districts changing and their capitals frequently transferred to other places, may, in part, be explained by local circumstances such as these, not retrievable from the written record.

How did Ḥisbān function as a rural "county seat"? Again, the written sources are silent on the matter; while narrative sources describe the multiple functions of large castles like Kerak and ʿAjlūn, smaller centers do not capture the attention of the chroniclers. The medieval site of Ḥisbān consists of a village at the base of the tell and the citadel at its summit. The tell in the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries took the form of a fortified hilltop with four corner towers and two gates. Inside the walled compound were domestic quarters, storerooms, a bathhouse, kitchen, and a raised *īwān* that may have served as an official meeting room. The storeroom is of particular interest for its contents: everyday kitchen ware, monumental-

[29] For detailed textual and archaeological analyses of the Ḥisbān citadel, see my "Mamluk Administration of Transjordan: Recent Findings from Tall Hisban," *Al-ʿUṣūr al-Wusṭá* 13, no. 2 (2001): 29–33; "Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilad al-Sham," 249–51; and "The Tribal Dimension in Mamluk-Jordanian Relations," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 13, no. 1 (2009): 13–14, as well as Bethany J. Walker and Øystein S. LaBianca, "The Islamic *Quṣūr* of Tall Ḥisbān: Preliminary Report on the 1998 and 2001 Seasons," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 47 (2004): 447–53. The conclusions that follow pull from these studies.

sized bowls with militarized inscriptions and blazons, fragments of a bronze bowl with the fragmentary name of an amir, bits and pieces of spear points and ballistas, and dozens of sugar storage/transport jars. Structurally, the complex and its constituent storeroom combine the characteristics of a fortification and a public administrative building. It appears to have served as a garrison, tribal meeting place (in the fashion of the traditional Early Islamic *quṣūr* of the region), and distribution point for sugar and sugar by-products. The Ḥisbān citadel illustrates the multiple functions administrative centers played in the control and development of rural areas of Bilād al-Shām. Current scholarship on the function of "castles" in the medieval Mediterranean is coming to appreciate the role of such rural fortifications in the administration of the imperial frontier.[30]

Making Pottery Relevant: Potentials for Refining Social and Economic History

Research on settlement, administrative centers, and land use is not only served by critical use of texts. Ceramics analysis, while still occupied with the meat-and-potato concerns of typology, chronology, trade, and provenance, is today expanding to investigate topics of relevance to non-specialists, such as networks of production and exchange, site function, and standards of living and diet. Because pottery played such an important role in food preparation, domestic storage, and certain agricultural industries in the pre-modern Middle East, it is uniquely positioned to describe the distribution of settlements, the operation of households, the workings of village industries, and the rural economy in general.

Debates over one ware in particular are impacting the way we understand settlement history: the Handmade Geometric Painted Ware (referred to as HMGP in most ceramic reports) that has come to be associated with rural Mamluk Syria. Wheel-thrown pottery throughout Bilād al-Shām was largely supplanted in the twelfth century by handmade jars and bowls with painted basket-weave patterns. The production and distribution of this pottery peaked in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries at a time of demographic and economic growth, a phenomenon likely tied to a thriving rural economy, safe roads, and expanding local and regional markets—all beneficiaries, in one way or another, of state initiative. On archaeological surveys, the ware is the most readily recognizable marker of Mamluk occupation, so that the distribution of HMGP ware has come to be more or less synonymous with Middle Islamic settlement. The growing prominence of this kind of pottery, which happened at a rapid pace during the Mamluk period, is considered by Johns to be "of potentially the greatest significance for the social

[30] The Florence conference on Transjordan and the Mediterranean frontier mentioned earlier addressed this theme. For published works on this topic see Roni Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories* (Cambridge, 2007).

and economic history of the region."[31] Debates over the reason(s) for its sudden and widespread popularity, the mechanisms by which it was distributed (through trade, imitation of a trade item in another medium, or itinerant potters), and its specific chronology (did it disappear, and when, or did it simply evolve into other handmade wares of the modern era, as Johns has argued) are relevant to furthering our understanding of village consumption, local and regional trade networks, and the factors behind settlement location and longevity.

As for its chronology, there is a general consensus today that HMGP ware (of the variety associated with the Mamluk period) likely continued to be produced into the sixteenth century, although stratigraphic evidence is largely lacking.[32] A notable exception, and one frequently cited in the archaeological literature, is the medieval village of Tiʿinnik, located 13 km west of Jenin. The excavations of Birzeit University in 1985–87 produced a stratified sequence of HMGP ware spanning the Mamluk and Ottoman periods and dated by smoking pipes (introduced into Palestine in the early seventeenth century) and thermoluminescence.[33] The pottery demonstrated continued occupation of the site from the fourteenth and fifteenth to the early twentieth centuries. Recent studies such as those on HMGP ware are relevant to Mamluk studies, as they suggest new avenues of inquiry on settlement history and the rural economy.

Moving from the scale of regional settlement to the individual village, a ceramic assemblage can illustrate site function and how it changed over time. Some of the most interesting work on Mamluk pottery in recent years has addressed this subject. A comparison of three sites in Syria, Jordan, and Israel and the pottery associated with them is informative in this regard. Recent French excavations inside the Damascus Citadel have identified stratified contexts for Ayyubid, Mamluk, and Ottoman ceramics.[34] François' analysis of the later Islamic wares is sophisticated, pulling from typological studies of the ceramic remains and a range of medieval Middle Eastern and European texts describing contemporary

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[31] Jeremy Johns, "The Rise of Middle Islamic Hand-made Geometrically Painted Ware in *Bilad al-Sham* (11th–13th Centuries AD)," in *Colloque international d'archéologie islamique, IFAO, le Caire, 3–7 fevrier 1993,* ed. Roland-Pierre Gayraud (Cairo, 1998), 84.

[32] For very recent studies on Ottoman HMGP ware, see Bethany J. Walker, ed., *Reflections of Empire: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on the Pottery of the Ottoman Levant* (Boston, 2009).

[33] Ghada Ziadeh, "Ottoman Ceramics from Tiʿinnik, Palestine," *Levant* 27 (1995): 209–45.

[34] Preliminary reports can be found in Sophie Berthier and Edmond El-Ajji, ed., *Études et travaux à la citadelle de Damas 2000–2001: Un premier bilan,* as *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 53–54 (2000), supplement. The final field reports on the French excavations in the Citadel, including analyses of the Mamluk pottery, are forthcoming.

pottery to raise important questions about the nature of ceramic assemblages.[35] In a recent study on ceramic exchange in the Frankish through Ottoman periods, she attributes the appearance of Italian imports in the Citadel after the fifteenth century to political networks, but the presence of Chinese imports to cultural factors.[36] The presence of imports, thus, is more than the mere measure of wealth; it has political and cultural/aesthetic meaning. The same could be said of the much smaller provincial capital of Kerak. In his analysis of the unstratified pottery from the Citadel and the Kerak survey, Milwright suggests multiple functions of the town, indicated by the wares themselves. Taking ceramics as "indicators of levels of economic activity and social complexity," he categorizes the Kerak assemblage by those wares with local (within southern Jordan), inter-regional (in Palestine and Jordan), and international distribution.[37] These, in turn, reflect the different economic roles of Kerak during the Middle Islamic period: as an economic center for rural communities in southern Jordan, as one of many regional markets servicing Palestine and Jordan in raw materials and manufactured goods, and a minor node in the larger exchange networks of the eastern Mediterranean, respectively.

How do these compare to rural assemblages? One expects in villages fewer imports and less diversity in wares and forms. This appears to be the case at several village sites excavated by the Israeli Antiquities Authority. Stern's systematic study of assemblages combines quantitative (comparing percentages of different wares in the assemblages, based on rim counts) and petrographic analyses (to determine provenance and thereby trace exchange networks) in describing the socio-economic networks of individual villages and changes in diet and cooking customs with Mamluk annexation. Khirbat Dinʿila is considered a "typical" Galilean village of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[38] The assemblage as a whole consisted largely of locally made pottery (both hand-made and wheel-thrown, the latter more expensive to produce), although many shapes of the latter were inspired by foreign wares. Imports are rare and limited to a few Syrian (underglaze-painted "frit") and Italian (miscellaneous glazed) wares. The locally produced tablewares, interestingly enough, came from different workshops. Stern

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[35] Véronique François, "Réalités des échanges en Méditerranée orientale du XIIe au XVIIIe siècles: l'apport de la céramique," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004): 241–49.

[36] The assemblage thus raises issues not apparent before that must be addressed by an analysis of the texts themselves. She suggests: "L'archéologue, à travers la présence ou l'absence de ces objets, pose alors des questions nouvelles aux historiens" (ibid., 249).

[37] Milwright, *Fortress of the Raven,* 20.

[38] The following pulls from Edna J. Stern, "Khirbat Dinʿila: The Crusader and Mamluk-Period Pottery," forthcoming in *ʿAtiqot* (2009). This is the first petrographic study of Mamluk pottery in the Galilee and one of only a handful of such studies for the southern Levant. I am grateful to Dr. Stern for sharing her manuscript with me.

highlights in her study decentralized production, the scarcity of imports, and the preference for wheel-thrown jugs and jars (22% of the assemblage, apparently manufactured at inland sites in the region). In comparing the pottery of the later Mamluk period with that of the earlier Frankish-era occupation, she notes that Mamluk-era bowls got bigger, cooking pots were of a different fabric and form, and jugs were also of a different form. These indicate important changes in dining customs, namely communal meals that required larger bowls and spouted jugs (for "cleaner" group use). The rural Mamluk assemblage, then, suggests active local ceramic industry, the introduction of new foods, and communal dining.

She makes similar conclusions about the assemblage at Khirbat Burin, a slightly earlier village (thirteenth–fourteenth centuries) in the eastern Sharon.[39] Here pottery was largely of local production, with the few imports at the site of an earlier (thirteenth-century Cypriot, Aegean, Syrian, and Italian—typical Frankish wares) or later (fourteenth–fifteenth century Italian wares) period. 42.2% of the pottery was handmade, but wheel-thrown jars and jugs were an important component (24%). 22% of the assemblage consisted of locally made glazed wares. The greater presence of imports, however, indicates that Burin had access to larger exchange networks than the residents of Dinʿila did. A comparison of the assemblages of several Mamluk-era villages in Israel (sites discussed in more detail below) reflects different scales and kinds of exchanges. Stern ranks rural sites accordingly: (1) rural sites with international connections (Givʿat Yasaf, near the port of Acre), (2) more isolated rural sites (largely inland) without international connections (Givʿat Dani, near Lod), and (3) rural sites that are somewhere in between, with limited international and intra-regional connections (such as Khirbat Burin). The typological scheme parallels that projected for Kerak and is a useful way to conceptualize village networks in the region.

At rural sites that contain both fortifications and "civilian" neighborhoods, a comparison of the ceramic assemblages associated with each can be informative about the relationship between the two communities, Mamluk and indigenous, or site transformations from defensive to domestic. Yoqneʿam (Frankish "Caymont"), located in northern Israel at a roughly equal distance between Haifa and Tiʿinnik, illustrates the latter. The Frankish fort here was abandoned by the time of Mamluk annexation in 1268. Mamluk occupation of the site began with the reuse of the old Frankish fort in the thirteenth century (Stratum IIb) with subsequent new construction in the fourteenth century (Stratum IIa) and abandonment, once again, in the fifteenth century. The Mamluk-era constructions transformed the former military structures into a farmhouse with mangers, silos, and tabuns. Avissar's ceramic evidence supports this scenario: the HMGP ware bowls and jars,

[39] Raz Kletter and Edna J. Stern, "A Mamluk-Period Site at Khirbat Burin in the Eastern Sharon," *ʿAtiqot* 51 (2006): 173–214.

Syrian fritwares, wheel-thrown and handmade cooking pots, and lamps are all appropriate to a domestic assemblage in a rural settlement within the Damascus exchange network.[40] Ḥisbān, on the other hand, presents a very different case. The pottery excavated in the Mamluk-era village below the tell and that recovered from the regional survey of the village's hinterland did not differ significantly from that in the Citadel storeroom, except in the relative percentages of glazed imports to locally produced wares. HMGP ware jars (normally associated with Syrian village life) were stored in the Citadel; small glazed relief ware bowls (considered "army issue") were identified in village homes. Only the most expensive luxury goods were restricted to the Citadel, such as pseudo-celadons and inscribed bowls of monumental size. Overall, the division between officialdom and the village is not so clear cut at Ḥisbān, the "military" and "civilian" assemblages suggesting participation in the same exchange networks and comparable consumption. From this observation, we might gather that the kind of relationship that existed in Ḥisbān between the local community and the state officials stationed in the Citadel was different than the community-state relationship at larger administrative centers, but at this preliminary stage of ceramic analysis such a notion remains conjectural.

Perhaps the greatest contribution of ceramics analysis is in the evidence it can provide for lifestyle on the household level. This is a relatively new area of inquiry in Mamluk ceramics research. Much can be learned in this regard from contemporary work on Ottoman pottery, where consumerism has been a focus of scholarship for many years.[41] Little is known about the diet and general standard of living of rural communities in the Mamluk Empire, so this is a promising direction of future research. In differentiating between Ottoman and Mamluk assemblages in Damascus, François notes the change in form and decoration in monochrome-glazed and underglazed-painted fritwares.[42] A change in form frequently indicates changes in diet, and the shift from deep bowls (a Mamluk form) to wider but shallower serving bowls (an Ottoman form) may reflect new dining/serving

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[40] Miriam Avissar, *Tel Yoqneʿam: Excavations on the Acropolis* (Jerusalem, 2005).

[41] On diet and foodways in medieval and Ottoman Cyprus, see Ruth Smadar Gabrieli, "Under the Surface: Decoration and Shape in the Coarse Ware of Medieval and Post-Medieval Cyprus," *Mediterranean Archaeology* 17 (2004): 287–98, and idem, "Silent Witnesses: The Evidence of Domestic Wares of the 13th–19th Centuries in Paphos, Cyprus, for Local Economy and Social Organisation" (Ph.D. diss., University of Sydney, 2006). For consumption measured by the Ottoman pottery in Damascus, see Véronique François, "Production et consummation de vaisselle à Damas, à l'époque ottoman," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 54 (2002): 157–74.

[42] Véronique François, "*Tabak*, *ibriq*, *fincan* et autres pots d'époque ottoman au Bilâd al-Châm,“ *Turcica* 37 (2005): 292–93.

customs or new foods (more soups, fewer stews).[43] Another way to approach the study of ceramics and consumerism is to comb literary sources for descriptions of vessels purchased in the markets and used in cooking and serving, as well as depictions of the same in illuminated manuscripts. Initial steps have been taken in this direction for Mamluk Egypt[44] and Syria.[45] The study of diet from non-ceramic sources, such as floral (pollen and microbotanical remains) and faunal (animal bones) evidence, combined with analysis of pottery from archaeological contexts, also holds promise, but this kind of data collection has been under-utilized to this point.[46]

Surveys and Settlement: Where Did All the People Go?

No narrative dominates the archaeological history of Mamluk Syria more than the decline of the countryside in the fifteenth century. There is a general consensus, based largely on contemporary chronicles and later tax registers (both selectively cited) and survey data (most of it generated by fieldwork done in central and southern Jordan),[47] that there was general demographic decline and abandonment of many (though not all) villages for full-time occupation, most pronounced in the

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[43] My suggestion—and a tentative one at that.

[44] Bethany J. Walker, "Ceramic Evidence for Political Transformations in Early Mamluk Egypt," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 1 (2004): 1–114. (This study pulls from my 1998 doctoral dissertation.)

[45] Marcus Milwright, "Pottery in the Written Sources of the Ayyubid-Mamluk Period (c. 567–923/1171–1517)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 62 (1999): 504–18.

[46] See LaBianca, *Sedentarization and Nomadization,* for one relevant study of diet based on the faunal data from Tall Ḥisbān.

[47] Robert D. Ibach, Jr., *Archaeological Survey of the Hesban Region: Catalogue of Sites and Characterization of Periods* (Berrien Springs, MI, 1987); J. Maxwell Miller, *Archaeological Survey of Central and Southern Moab* (Atlanta, 1981); idem, *Archaeological Survey of the Kerak Plateau* (Atlanta, 1991); Udo F. Worschech, *Northwest Ard el-Kerak 1983 and 1984* (Munich, 1985); Burton MacDonald, *The Wadi el-Hasa Archaeological Survey, 1979–1983, West-Central Jordan* (Waterloo, Ontario, 1988); idem, *The Southern Ghors and Northeast ʿArabah Archaeological Survey* (Sheffield, 1992); idem, *The Tafila-Busayra Archaeological Survey 1999–2001, West-Central Jordan* (Boston, 2004); and MacDonald et al., "The Ayl to Rās an-Naqab Archaeological Survey, Southern Jordan, Phase I (2005): Preliminary Report," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 49 (2005): 277–98. Recent data from the Madaba Plains Project hinterland survey is available on the web at: http://www.casa.arizona.edu/MPP. For the Dhībān Plateau Regional Survey, see Chango-Ho Ji and Jong Keun Lee, "A Preliminary Report on the Dhībān Plateau Survey Project, 1999: The Versacare Expedition," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 44 (2000): 493–506, and Chang-Ho Ji, "The ʿIraq al-Amir and Dhiban Plateau Regional Surveys," in *Crossing Jordan,* 137–42, and published field reports cited therein.

Transjordan.[48] However, there has been little systematic study of the issue in order to determine to what degree population levels dropped from the fourteenth century and how many settlements "disappeared." We have no population estimates at all, in fact, for rural regions, and no site numbers from different periods to compare. Statistics on settlement are impossible to obtain without thorough surveys in other regions of Syria; in Jordan, at least, the projection of survey data from the south to other parts of the country presents a picture of demographic decline that simply cannot be sustained there by either the historical or archaeological records. Another challenge has been the chronology of the HMGP ware described above, which is the most important dating criteria on surveys; it is likely that some of this pottery, previously dated to the Mamluk period, may be early Ottoman in date, in which case villages once thought to have been abandoned from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries would have continued to be occupied.

Much of the debate on this issue among archaeologists working in Jordan centers on how to characterize the reconfiguration of settlement indicated by surveys and what exactly the factors were behind it. Pulling on data from the Central Moab and Kerak Plateau surveys, Brown in her M.A. and doctoral theses argued for a dispersal of settlement, rather than disappearance of villages.[49] The surveys indicated that sites dating between 1400 and 1600 C.E. (dated on the basis of ceramics) fell into two categories: those continuously occupied from the early Mamluk period and new settlements, the latter largely distinguished by rudimentary architecture (or none at all) and fewer ceramic remains. She interpreted these patterns as evidence of population dispersal, or a move towards pastoralism, at the end of the Mamluk and beginning of the Ottoman eras.[50] She cites a concern for security as one reason for the marked shift in settlement in the fifteenth century from the central Kerak Plateau to its southwest rim, as this region was less vulnerable to attacks by Bedouin tribes.[51] Situating such a scenario in the larger history of the Mamluk state, one could argue today that with the breakdown of the state politically and militarily, and the withdrawal of important resources from the provinces, rural security and prosperity could not be maintained on the open plateaus and in large villages. Dispersal of larger

[48] There appears to have been less disruption of settlement in Palestine during this period. A systematic comparison of settlement on both sides of the Jordan River has yet to be done.

[49] Robin M. Brown, "Late Islamic Settlement Patterns on the Karak Plateau, Transjordan," (M.A. thesis, SUNY-Binghamton, 1984), and idem, "Late Islamic Ceramic Production and Distribution in the Southern Levant: a Socio-Economic and Political Interpretation," (Ph.D. dissertation, SUNY-Binghamton, 1992).

[50] See Johns' review in his "Islamic Settlement in Ard al-Karak," 365.

[51] Brown, "Late Islamic Ceramic Production," 440–41.

villages, with migration to less favorable environmental zones, was one response of local peoples to imperial collapse.

Movement of peoples into such less desirable lands could, alternatively, reflect demographic growth, economic development, favorable climatic cycles, and security. Fieldwork by Israeli archaeologists is bringing to light possible evidence for the expansion of villages into environmentally peripheral zones during the Mamluk period. Mamluk occupation in the Negev, as limited as the material evidence is, seems to have been concentrated in the west, where there was a general hiatus of occupation between the Early and Middle Islamic periods.[52] Recent excavations at Horbat Maʿon have investigated Mamluk-era reoccupation of a Byzantine-era village, where the old water systems and one mudbrick farmhouse were reused and many new constructions erected in stone.[53] In a similar fashion, a Mamluk village at Tall Jammah, in the northwestern Negev Desert, recycled ruins of the preexisting village dated to the Byzantine period.[54] Other sites were reoccupied in this period: at Ein Gedi a Mamluk village was built over the Roman ruins[55] and at Mezad Zohar the Frankish fort was reused for domestic use.[56] This does not, however, appear to have been a concerted, state-led effort to resettle this region. The cities that once flourished here in the Byzantine and early Islamic periods appear to have been largely abandoned by the eleventh century. Outside of a single site south of Gaza,[57] there is no settlement yet identified large enough to be considered a "town" in the Negev in the Middle Islamic period. This has led Petersen, in his study of medieval Muslim towns of Palestine, to suggest that the Mamluk state may have discouraged permanent settlement here, using the Negev instead as a political buffer zone and channeling traffic along its margins.[58]

For the purposes of comparison, the neighboring northern Sinai experienced continuous but uneven occupation from the Islamic conquest through the Ottoman era. Surveys there have documented an intensification of settlement

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[52] Personal communication, Dr. Tali Erickson-Gini, Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem (12/25/08).

[53] Gregory Seriy and Pirhiya Nahshoni, "Horbat Maʿon," *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 116 (2004). (electronic report www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp&id = 48&mag_id = 108).

[54] This was a Smithsonian Institution project of the 1970s: Jerry Schaefer, "Archaeological Remains from the Medieval Islamic Occupation of the Northwest Negev Desert," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 274 (1989): 33–60.

[55] Personal communication, Dr. Edna Stern, Israeli Antiquities Authority (12/24/08).

[56] Tali Erickson-Gini, Dov Nahlieli, and Edna Stern, "Mezad Zohar: A Crusader Fort near the Dead Sea," *ʿAtiqot* (forthcoming).

[57] Sit3 81/83, at 5.6 hectares: Schaefer, "Archaeological Remains," 55, 60.

[58] Andrew Petersen, *The Towns of Palestine under Muslim Rule, AD 600–1600* (Oxford, 2005), 47.

in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that, though not reaching the levels of the early Islamic period, may be related to the reorganization of the *barīd* route running parallel to the coast.[59] Characteristic of this region in the later Mamluk period was the dispersal of settlements from a handful of large centers to numerous smaller settlements, clustered together and many in the vicinity of *barīd* stops and contemporary fortresses. Qalʿat al-Tina represents the latter and was excavated by Ben Gurion University in 1974 and more recently by the Supreme Council of Antiquities in Egypt.[60] An expansion in settlement is further attested by the hundreds of constructed tombs from the Mamluk period identified near Tall al-Muḥammadīyah, on the western end of Lake Bardawil. As expected, the ceramic record for all of these sites suggests strong ties to Egypt, with the notable presence of pilgrims' flasks, semi-luxury wares (such as pseudo celadons), and emblazed sgraffito wares (normally associated with garrisons).[61] The distribution of settlements, the diversity of site types, and the Egyptian character of the material culture indicate a settlement history that contrasts with that of the Negev and suggests state initiative.

As many of the relevant projects are as yet unpublished and period-specific research in this region is relatively new, it is premature to deduce from the limited data at hand anything concrete about Mamluk settlement in the southernmost areas of Bilād al-Shām. If the data does, indeed, reflect a deliberate attempt by local peoples to (re)settle parts of the Negev and cultivate lands there once again, one determining factor may be sought in climate change. A recent study of climate and culture in the Levant has documented recurring patterns of agricultural expansion into the Negev, and other marginal farming zones, when several factors coincided: years of dependable rainfall, population growth, political stability, and security of travel and trade.[62] This happened in the Byzantine period and then again in the Mamluk. Rosen here looks beyond the very real challenges presented by limited rainfall to consider the benefits that imperial systems offer peasants seeking opportunities in new lands: new technologies of production

[59] The Northern Sinai Survey was conducted by Ben Gurion University in 1972–78; many project-related reports have only recently been published. For the study of the Islamic-era ceramics, see Katia Cytryn-Silverman, "The Settlement in Northern Sinai during the Islamic Period," in *Le Sinaï–de la conquête arabe à nos jours,* ed. J.-M. Mouton (Cairo, 2001), 3–36. My comments regarding the survey pull from this publication. The more complete ceramic study on which this article is based can be found in her "The Islamic Period in North Sinai: The Pottery Evidence," (M.A. thesis, Hebrew University, 1996).

[60] Reports related to both projects are being prepared for publication.

[61] For the latter, see Cytryn-Silverman, "Settlement in Northern Sinai," 30, Pl. 15 (far right).

[62] Arlene Miller Rosen, *Civilizing Climate: Social Responses to Climate Change in the Ancient Near East* (Lanham, MD, 2007).

and transport, access to international markets, extensive trade networks, and an infrastructure that facilitates "the transfer of subsistence resources from areas with more abundant surpluses to regions suffering failed crops."[63] Shaefer, in his field report on Tell Jemmeh, echoes the same sentiment: "political and economic conditions, rather than specific ecological determinant, permit(ted) the growth of a settled population" in the Negev.[64] Climate studies have documented a general trend towards wetter conditions more favorable for intensive agriculture in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This coincided with political and economic conditions that encouraged the expansion of settlement into formerly marginal zones.[65] The fifteenth century, on the other hand, is marked climatically by much drier conditions, punctuated by many years of drought (confirmed by written sources, as well).[66] The problems created by lack of rainfall were exacerbated by the political problems of the time. The emergence and disappearance of villages reflect these trends. Communities dissolve and individuals migrate for a variety of reasons. The settlement fluctuations of the Mamluk period were the result of many factors—political, socio-economic, climatic—that coincided in unpredictable ways.

Rural settlement, of course, was not limited to large villages occupied on a year-round basis. A range of residence strategies has been traditionally used by the populations of southern Syria, from seasonal campsites to residence in caves, permanently settled villages, and towns. Cemeteries, and most specifically those not found in association with village sites or any permanent structures, can act as windows on settlement in its various forms. Cemeteries were frequently used by tribes long after the local village was abandoned and may indicate not only that a settlement once existed nearby, but that the tribe maintained its associations with the locale, even if it had moved away or no longer cultivated the land.[67] The so-called Ottoman-era "Bedouin" graves fall into this category.[68] Recent

[63] Ibid., 101.

[64] Schaefer, "Archaeological Remains," 56.

[65] Future research on this interesting phenomenon should include a systematic comparison of the data from the Negev with that from ongoing surveys in the southern and eastern deserts of Jordan, along with careful study of narrative and documentary sources.

[66] For a summary of this topic on the basis of historical sources, see Yūsuf Ghawānimah, "Al-Ṭāʿūn wa-al-Jafāf wa-Atharuhumā ʿalá al-Bīʾah fī Junūb al-Shām (al-Urdunn wa-Filasṭīn) fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 2 (1995): 315–22.

[67] Schaefer, "Archaeological Remains," 55.

[68] On the difficulty of differentiating village cemeteries from those used seasonally by transhumant populations, see St. John Simpson, "Death and Burial in the Late Islamic Near East: Some Insights from Archaeology and Ethnography," in *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East,* ed. Stuart Campbell and Anthony Green (Oxford 1995), 240–51.

excavations by the Israeli Antiquities Authority have identified several Mamluk-period cemeteries on and near the southern coast and in the interior that are not physically associated with village ruins. The burials, according to the published reports, belong to two types: simple, individual cist graves, many of which were covered by beehive vessels (discussed below),[69] and built tombs lined and covered with clay bricks.[70] (There are no burial goods in either case.) Cemeteries such as these not only provide information on burial practices of the period, but they also may indicate settlement in regions where archaeological surveys have not identified villages, farmsteads, or pastoral presence.

Contemporary Archaeology and Alternative Narratives of Mamluk Society

Fieldwork at Mamluk sites in Syria has advanced in fits and spurts, mainly because the Middle Islamic period has not traditionally been a focus of research in the region. A specifically Mamluk archaeology has largely, and only recently, grown out of an interest in the Frankish era among Israeli scholars and in Ottoman societies among Palestinian archaeologists. In this regard, Jordan differs significantly from Syria. Targeted archaeological investigations on the Mamluk period have a twenty-year history in Jordan, and those of us in the field today certainly benefit from the important and pioneering work of a previous generation. These differences aside, archaeologists throughout southern Syria are exploring many of the same issues; interest in village life, industry and technology, and the impact of traditional and state-imposed agricultural practices on the land have generated much fieldwork in the last few years. Out of this research have emerged alternative narratives of Mamluk social history that challenge our traditional understanding of the state and its Syrian populations. We briefly consider four of these in what follows, citing examples from Jordanian, Palestinian, and Israeli excavations.

Narrative One: There was a dialectical and fluid relationship between the Mamluk state and local communities.

Scholarship on the Mamluk administration of Syria, aided by descriptions in contemporary chronicles and secretarial manuals, has been extensive.[71]

[69] For the use of beehive vessels at Azor and Kafr ʿAna, both near Jaffa, see Itama Taxel, "Ceramic Evidence for Beekeeping in Palestine in the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods," *Levant* 38 (2006): 208. For an example without the ceramic vessels, and dated by a single *fals* of Sultan Barqūq, consult Amir Gorzalczany, "Qanat Bint el-Kafir," *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 116 (2004). (electronic report: www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp&id=794&mag_id=114).

[70] Eli Yannai, "Bet Dagan," *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 110 (2008). (electronic report: www.hadashot-esi.orgwww.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp&id=867&mag_id=114).

[71] They include Maurice Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*

Archaeologists continue to cite such work, situating their individual sites within the larger administrative structure of Bilād al-Shām. While it has long been recognized that this structure developed over time, it has not been fully appreciated just how fluid it was and what accounts for the relatively frequent (and unexpected) changes of provincial and district borders and capitals. Recently, however, attention has been drawn to the possible factors behind and rationale for such fluidity.[72] Imperial administration reflects both state objectives in a region, which were more often than not captive to the vagaries of the Mamluk political scene, and relations between the state and local communities that ebbed and flowed with the currents of imperial politics. Decisions made in Cairo and Damascus to promote relations with a particular tribe, to promote one administrative center in order to strengthen its garrison in times of trouble, and to punish a recalcitrant village may have driven changes in administrative structure as much as long-term economic and military objectives. To illustrate, the promotion of al-Salṭ, the capital of the Balqāʾ, from a *wilāyah* to a *niyābah* in 678/1288 would have resulted in the stationing of a higher-ranking commander in the local garrison at a time when military reinforcements were needed to block the northward movement of rebel forces.[73] The interest of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in Ḥisbān, which was Wilāyat al-Balqāʾ during his third reign, is illustrated through his personal visits to the town and construction projects, for which there is some archaeological evidence, and is likely tied to his active patronage of local tribes loyal to him during his return to the throne.[74] Textual sources imply that the later transfer of the district capital from Ḥisbān to Amman, in 757/1356, was an economic move—to serve the financial interests there of Amir Ṣarghatmish.[75] As noted earlier, excavations suggest that earthquake destruction of the Ḥisbān citadel was another factor in this decision. On the provincial level, the collapsing of the administrations of the province of Kerak with that of the District of Jerusalem (Niyābat al-Quds) in 912/1506, then with the District of Ṣafad in 916/1510, and finally with the District of Ghazah in 918/1512—all during a period of political chaos in the region—resulted in stripping Kerak of its independent status and pulling its rebellious tribesmen under regional military control.[76] The ultimate

d'après les auteurs arabes (Paris, 1923); Nicola A. Ziadeh, *Urban Life in Syria under the Early Mamluks* (Westport, CT, 1970); Yūsuf Ghawānimah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Ḥaḍārī li-Sharqī al-Urdunn fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Amman, 1982); Ṭāhā Thaljī Ṭarāwinah, *The Province of Damascus during the Second Mamluk Period (784/1382–922/1516)* (Irbid, 1987), 17–26.

[72] Walker, "Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilad al-Sham."

[73] Ghawānimah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Ḥaḍārī*, 48.

[74] Ibid., 48–49.

[75] Walker, "Tribal Dimension in Mamluk-Jordanian Relations," 14 (note 54).

[76] Shawkat Ramaḍān Ḥujjah, *Al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī li-Minṭaqat Sharqī al-Urdun min Junūb al-*

objective of controlling a province that had been so troublesome to Cairo in the past was thus resolved through administrative fiat.

The relations between the state and local communities and their elites permeate Syrian chronicles, if not Egyptian ones, indicating how important clientage was in achieving the state's objectives in a region dominated by fiercely independent-minded tribesmen. Clientage did not guarantee automatic compliancy with imperial programs, however. The tribesmen of southern Syria—townsmen, peasants, pastoralists—were independent actors and could, on their own initiative, influence officials and mold policy, although the chroniclers tend to mask the autonomy of local societies.[77] The give-and-take that always existed between the state and local society may be perceived in the physical and functional relationships of administrative centers with nearby settlements. Kerak, a provincial capital, consisted of the fortified castle and the town, which exhibited some degree of interdependence. Historically the town housed the principle marketplace of southern Jordan and was transformed by the building of a large castle in the Frankish period.[78] With the eclipse of the Mamluk state and the eventual abandonment of the castle by both Mamluk and Ottoman authorities, the town itself returned to its original status—a regional market town. The ceramic record has documented the economic cycles of the town's development as the fortunes of the citadel waxed and waned. The same could be said of Ḥisbān, which grew from a village, with a modest agricultural market serving other villages in the Balqāʾ, to a town with urban institutions, such as a court and madrasah, when the regional capital was transferred there and the citadel expanded in the early fourteenth century.[79] With the abandonment of the citadel, a half century later, the town resumed its previous function as a village with a farmers' market. The presence of the citadel/administrative center appears to have made little impact on the village or its environs on the long term.

The Ḥisbān citadel is suggestive in other ways about imperial-rural relations.

Shām fī ʿAṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Thāniyah (Irbid, 2002), 33. Ḥujjah attributes this action to an effort to strengthen the defenses of southern Syria, although he goes on to describe the redistricting of southern Syria at the end of the fourteenth century as an effort to better control them.

[77] For more on this topic from a Jordanian perspective, see Walker, "Tribal Dimension in Mamluk-Jordanian Relations," and idem, "The Role of Agriculture."

[78] Milwright, *Fortress of the Raven,* 272.

[79] For a summary of the results of recent excavations at Ḥisbān and a bibliography of published reports, see Øystein S. LaBianca and Bethany J. Walker, "Tell Hesban: Palimpsest of Great and Little Traditions of Transjordan and the Ancient Near East," in *Crossing Jordan,* 111–20, as well as Walker and LaBianca, "Tall Hisban," in "Archaeology in Jordan, 2004 Season," ed. Stephen H. Savage, Kurt A. Zamora, and Donald R. Keller, *American Journal of Archaeology* 109 (2005): 536–39.

The small, three-room bathhouse that sits at the center of the acropolis has attracted scholarly attention, as it is an anomaly for Mamluk citadels. Most garrisons used public baths in nearby towns, as they were not equipped with their own. The *ḥammām,* moreover, does not fit in the overall organization of the "governor's house" of which it is one component: it occupies the space of what should have been an *īwān* facing the central courtyard and, moreover, faces the opposite direction. It, thus, appears to have been the remnant of an older complex. Its three-room linear plan belongs more to the local Roman-early Islamic forms of hypocaust bathhouses than the more familiar, centrally planned forms of the Mamluk period.[80] Excavations in 2007 have provided tantalizing evidence for dating this bath to the late Umayyad or early Abbasid period.[81] Its reuse and incorporation into the Mamluk governor's complex may be related to availability and necessity (as no other public baths have been identified in the medieval town)[82] or to other purposes. The early Islamic "desert castles" of Jordan combined administration with entertainment in reaching out to tribal leaders; recent excavation reports have suggested such a "*qaṣr* model" for the Ḥisbān citadel, the Mamluk governor stationed there entertaining tribal leaders in his residence and consolidating relations between the Mamluk state and the local elite in the process.[83] Although there is no textual evidence for such practice, the frequent meetings between Mamluk officials (including sultans) and local tribal leaders in this period suggest special arrangements to this end. The similarities among ceramic assemblages in citadel, village, and hinterland provide further support for regular exchanges between the administrative/military establishment and the Ḥisbāni community.

As important as co-opting and controlling Syrian tribes were, political programs in the region did not always translate into material investment in local communities. While textual sources laud the construction and repair of mosques, bridges, and markets by Mamluk sultans and amirs, there is little architectural evidence of committed and dependable investment in the region outside the large towns and castles. In rural areas, construction work appears to have been done

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[80] Walker and LaBianca, "The Islamic *Quṣūr* of Tall Ḥisbān," 463–64.

[81] A brief preliminary report on this season can be found in Bethany J. Walker and Øystein S. LaBianca, "Tall Hisban," in "Archaeology in Jordan, 2007 Season," ed. Stephen H. Savage, Donald R. Keller, and Christopher A. Tuttle, *American Journal of Archaeology* 112 (2008): 516–18.

[82] According to al-Muqaddasī (d. 375/985), there was once a public *ḥammām* in Ḥisbān (Ghawānimah, *Tārīkh al-Ḥaḍārī li-Sharq al-Urdunn fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī* [Amman, 1982], 148). However, I have come across no references to it in Mamluk sources, and no trace has been found of it archaeologically.

[83] Walker, "Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilad al-Sham," 255.

by local masons and at the lowest cost. We return again to the Ḥisbān citadel for evidence from fieldwork. Everything about the fortifications and buildings inside suggest haste, minimum effort, and minimum expense. The ruins on the summit of the acropolis—which include a Roman temple, Byzantine basilica, and quite ancient fortification walls and towers and gates—provided much of the building material for repairs to the castle walls and in constructing the "governor's complex." When the ruins failed to provide enough building material, the local limestone (which is rather soft and friable) was hewn into roughly cut blocks. (There is a striking contrast between the quality of the reused stones and the Mamluk-era blocks.) Ancient structures were reused as much as possible, as were cisterns and the bathhouse. Few new buildings were erected; when walls were newly built or repaired they were roughly faced and rubble-filled. Reinforcements to defensive structures appear, to our eyes, to have been half-hearted. The quality of construction in the Ḥisbān citadel is really no different from farmhouses of the period in other villages in central Jordan (Ḥisbān village, Khirbat Fāris, Dhibān—described below); there is little technologically to separate the buildings of officialdom from those of the Jordanian countryside. The same can be said of contemporary administrative centers in Palestine, such as Khirbat Birzeit.

Defensive works by the Mamluks at the Ḥisbān citadel betray the same standards. In an initial stage of reconstruction, dating to the mid-thirteenth century, the ancient enclosure wall was restored, the southwest tower extended to surround two stories of rooms (including the storeroom), and the south gateway (the main entrance to the citadel) developed by extending the old Roman-Byzantine staircase to a new vaulted passage inside the entrance and adding a plastered courtyard (perhaps a tethering station) outside (Fig. 2). The 2007 excavation season documented the physical development of the south gate and its defensive structures in the mid-fourteenth century, in a third phase of much poorer construction.[84] At this stage the inner corner of the massive southwest tower was enlarged even further with a small guard room and curtain wall, narrowing the south gate in the process, and the room was almost immediately thereafter filled in with rubble. The work does not seem to have served any effective defensive purpose except to give the visual appearance of a heavily fortified tower-gate. This phase of construction appears to have followed an earthquake and may have been part of the post-trauma repairs. This restoration work was of little value in the long run, as the citadel was abandoned soon afterwards. The summit of the tell was then used on and off domestically, as the former storeroom and guard rooms were converted to kitchens and refuse areas.

A similar history of construction has been recently noted at Safed, the center

[84] Walker and LaBianca, "Tall Hisban," (2008).

of commercial activity in the region and the administrative center of the Galilee.[85] Initial defensive reconstruction, initiated by Sultan Baybars after 1266, was done in earnest: a massive tower-gate complex with access ramp and a circular tower were built of solid masonry, adapting pre-existing building arrangements from the Frankish phase. An earthquake at the turn of the fourteenth century necessitated reconstruction and consolidation of walls, towers, and ramps, but maintenance from this point on was gradually neglected. By the end of the Mamluk period, the towers and gates were converted to installations for craft activities and cooking. Even at the most important Mamluk centers in the region, there is evidence for neglect of official structures, as military function gave way to domestic need.

Narrative Two: There was a marked regionalism in Syrian rural culture and a distinct autonomy in village life.

Village life has its own rhythm, interrupted here and there with the pressures, problems, and possibilities offered by the outside world. While the names of most medieval villages cannot be retrieved from the written record, and remain anonymous as a result, their rhythm can be partially recreated archaeologically. It is not easy, however, to describe the "typical" Syrian village of the period, as each region is culturally distinctive. They do, however, share characteristics that mark them as unique products of the Mamluk era. New villages emerged and old ones grew quite quickly in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. While the mechanisms behind this demographic growth/settlement expansion are not fully understood, whether pushed by imperial policy or the local response to economic opportunity, it is an important marker of the period. The material culture, settlement configuration, building styles, and land use differ in significant ways from the Frankish and even Ayyubid periods that preceded it. Moreover, such an intensive use of land had not been experienced at these levels since the Byzantine era. (The reuse of Byzantine ruins, including water installations, might be seen in the context of the state's attempt to maximize agricultural production at minimum effort.) The success of this agricultural experiment is indicated by the continued occupation of many of these "new" villages well into the sixteenth century. As a result of targeted investigations of rural sites, the character of village life in the Middle Islamic period is coming into sharper focus.

Two projects in Jordan were designed from the start to investigate "ordinary" villages of the Middle Islamic period: Khirbat Fāris (excavated between 1988 and 1994) and Tall Dhibān (on-going since 2004). The ruins of Khirbat Fāris lie just

[85] Final reports on the Israeli excavations at the Safed castle are not yet complete, but a preliminary field report can be found online: Hervé Barbé and Emanual Damati, "Zefat," *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 117 (2005) (www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp&id=214&mag_id=110).

west of the King's Highway, on the Kerak Plateau some 17 km north of Kerak.[86] A multi-period site, with occupation spanning over 4,000 years, it is the village of the twelfth–sixteenth centuries that concerns us here. At the west end of the site, the ruins of several stone buildings identified as the remains of the medieval village were uncovered. The single-room peasant homes were made entirely of stone, with earthen floors, and covered with barrel vaults. They were quite small (4x3 m on the sides and 2 m high), which led the excavators to conclude they were entirely residential and not used for storage. The side walls were substantial (a meter thick), wide enough to support the heavy vaults, and their construction rather simple, faced with fieldstones and filled with rubble and mud. The dwellings were clustered around shared courtyards, narrow alleys, and cisterns. McQuitty notes the continuity of this form and its wide distribution, suggesting it represents for Jordan and the Palestinian hill country a typical village construction from the thirteenth through mid-twentieth centuries, where it was used alternatively as peasant home, storage facility, oven house, and stable. It represents a change in rural house form from the preceding period, when village homes included storage space in the thickness of their walls. The reason for this change may have to do with changes in the control of agricultural surplus that resulted from developments in agricultural administration,[87] a hypothesis that, however, requires reference to administrative and economic texts.

Indeed, this vernacular house form can be readily identified at Mamluk sites throughout Jordan. At the modern village of Dhibān, on the Dhibān Plateau 70 km south of Amman, the remains of a late Mamluk/early Ottoman (Phase 2) village have been identified.[88] Occupation took the form of reoccupation of the ruins of an Early Islamic complex (on the tell's southeast corner) and construction of new buildings on the tell's east side and on its acropolis (Field L). Recent fieldwork is focusing on the architectural remains of Field L, consisting of adjacent barrel-vaulted rooms and a well-preserved doorway. Mamluk-era ruins in other fields of excavation are characterized by the same vaulted constructions, external courtyards, and cisterns as documented on the acropolis and at Khirbat

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[86] The following summarizes the results reported in McQuitty, "Rural Landscape of Jordan"; idem, "Khirbat Faris: Vernacular Architecture on the Kerak Plateau, Jordan," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 1 (2007): 157–72; and McQuitty et al., "Mamluk Khirbat Faris," *ARAM* 10 (1998): 181–226.

[87] McQuitty, "Vernacular Architecture on the Kerak Plateau," 164.

[88] The results of the Dhibān project can be found in Benjamin Porter et al., "Tall Dhiban 2004 Pilot Season: Prospection, Preservation, and Planning," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 49 (2005): 201–16; Benjamin Porter, Bruce Routledge, Danielle Steen, and Firas al-Kawamlha, "The Power of Place: The Dhiban Community through the Ages," in *Crossing Jordan,* 315–22.

Fāris. The excavators have identified three phases of occupation of the acropolis complex, the building used intermittently into the sixteenth century, suggesting a gradual abandonment of the site. The function of the acropolis is not entirely clear, although some indication of the status of the village in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is provided by textual sources: the lands of Dhibān constituted an *iqṭāʿ* bestowed by Sultan Baybars on the son of an Ayyubid prince in 1261,[89] and the village had a mosque beside which was built a shrine, the final resting place of two Mamluk amirs in the late fourteenth century.[90]

The Mamluk villages at Ḥisbān and Faḥl belong to the same tradition. Below the Ḥisbān citadel, on its western slopes and leading to the Wādī Majār (Field C), are the remains of the medieval village, occupied for the duration of the Mamluk period and perhaps through the sixteenth century. One structure, identified as a Byzantine farm house, was reoccupied in the Mamluk period. Other buildings, excavated in the 1970s, appear to have been fresh constructions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The stone houses are all barrel-vaulted (the vaults low-sprung and shallow, as on the summit) with thick walls (c. 1 m in diameter) and earthen floors, clustered around open courtyards and cisterns and divided by narrow alleys, indicating a settlement organized by extended families. In Field O, to the southwest, the same kinds of structures and spatial organization were associated with the nineteenth-century village, demonstrating longevity of this local settlement type. The Mamluk village at Faḥl (with cemetery) reveals similar patterns: courtyard houses (of stone and mudbrick) with beaten earth floors and enclosure walls and divided from one another by narrow streets.[91]

Mamluk village architecture in Jordan, as in Palestine and Israel, fell to two patterns: a distinctly regional style of vaulted stone farmhouse, and reuse of ancient structures. The reoccupation, and adaption, of Byzantine and early Islamic structures appears to have been particularly common, as they were frequently constructed of well-hewn blocks, their masonry ruins functional centuries later. At Shuqayrah al-Gharbīyah, 25 km southeast of Kerak, a fortified compound has been recently excavated, dated to the Umayyad and Abbasid periods.[92] After a

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[89] Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir* (Riyadh, 1976), 123. The recipient of the grant was al-ʿAzīz, the son of al-Mughīth, who was reinstated at Kerak that year.

[90] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh (Damascus, 1977), 1:390. The reference comes from an obituary of the year 793 A.H. for *amīr al-kabīr* Ibrāhīm ibn Manjak, the loyal officer of Sultan Barqūq, who chose to be buried with his brother (also a Mamluk officer) in a *turbah* beside the Dhibān mosque.

[91] McPhillips and Walmsley, “Fahl during the Early Mamluk Period.”

[92] The following is based on a recent preliminary report: Younis M. Shdaifat and Zakariya N. Ben Badhann, “Shuqayra al-Gharbiyya: A New Early Islamic Compound in Central

conflagration sometime in the ninth century, the compound was abandoned for several hundreds of years, to be reoccupied in the thirteenth. Following a pattern familiar in Jordan, the occupants settled in and on top of the ruins, without fully clearing out the earlier debris. Newly built walls were readily distinguished by the excavators from their early Islamic counterparts by their masonry ("clumsy walls" comprised of roughly hewn boulders). The original rooms were subdivided into smaller ones, transforming a complex that probably functioned like the so-called "desert castles" of the steppe into a typical farmhouse with stables. A similar phenomenon has been noted in the Ḥisbān citadel, where an early Islamic building inside the northern gate, destroyed by earthquake in the ninth century, was reused as a kitchen in the early Mamluk period. In the nineteenth century, it was adapted for a stable.[93]

There have been few studies of sacred architecture in rural Jordan, largely because few examples have been preserved, and archaeological investigations of them are logistically and legally challenging. Nonetheless, two published examples in Jordan hint at the potential of using sacred space to reconstruct vernacular life: the mosques at Faḥl and Ḥubrāṣ. The Faḥl mosque (30.2 x 20.5 m) follows a construction style and plan identified in other regions of Jordan in the Mamluk period: stone construction with reused columns, sunk into the ground and supporting arches, the interior space divided by three aisles, a projecting mihrab, earthen floor, and an exterior courtyard.[94] Ruins of the attendant settlement, described above, have been excavated. Architectural survey of the medieval mosques in Ḥubrāṣ (in 2003) and subsequent excavation (in 2006) aimed at tracing village history through the physical and functional development of the local mosque and its associated buildings.[95] The ruins consist of a small square sanctuary (12 x 15 m) with a black and white mosaic floor and sunken columns, originally an Umayyad construction, which doubled in size (to c. 12 x 30 m) in the thirteenth century, presumably to accommodate a growing population. The

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Jordan," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 71, no. 3 (2008): 185–88. The site has been excavated since 2002 by Muʿtak University.

[93] For the "Field N house," see Walker and LaBianca "The Islamic *Quṣūr* of Tall Ḥisbān," 453–55, and Walker, "Countering the Urban Bias in Islamic Studies: Final Report on MPP 2001: Tall Hisban, Jordan," *Newsletter of the American Center of Oriental Research* 13, no. 1 (2001): 3–4.

[94] Walmsley, "Settled Life in Mamluk Jordan," 132–36.

[95] Field reports on the Ḥubrāṣ mosques can be found in Walker, "The Northern Jordan Survey 2003"; Walker et al., "The Northern Jordan Project 2006"; Walker and Kenney, "Rural Islamic in Late Medieval Jordan"; Walker, "Imperial Transitions and Peasant Society"; and idem, "Sahm and Hubras," in "Archaeology in Jordan, 2006 Season," ed. Stephen H. Savage and Donald R. Keller, *American Journal of Archaeology* 111 (2007): 532–35.

Mamluk-era mosque received a minaret (that carried an inscription of dedication by Sultan Qalāwūn in 686/1287), a new floor, a cross-vaulted roof, and a second (and perhaps third) mihrab. It was built with a combination of semi-dressed block and blocks and columns reused from ruins nearby. It resembles, but does not mirror, the contemporary mosque at Faḥl. **The thirteenth-century mosque at Ḥubrāṣ appears to have remained in use for hundreds of years, belonging to a larger ritual complex (one room of which contained imported European porcelain) in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1931 a smaller mosque was built in the interior of the medieval ruins, the construction and plan of which resembled the Mandate-era houses nearby, and the twentieth-century sanctuary remained in use until 1970, when the mosque was officially closed for prayers (Fig. 3). Although no trace of the medieval village has appeared, its presence, longevity, history of expansion and contraction, and material culture and economic potential are documented in the local mosque.

In the West Bank, excavations by Birzeit University at Tiʿinnik (1985–87) and Khirbat Birzeit (1996–99, and renewed in 2006) have offered a glimpse into village life in the Mamluk era. Although the final report from Tiʿinnik has yet to be published, an indication of the kind of village it was can be surmised from Ziadeh's 1995 ceramic report.[96] Located in the northern West Bank, 13 km west of Jenin, Mamluk and Ottoman Tiʿinnik was a reoccupation of the Byzantine ruins, with the densest settlement in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Stratum 6)—a period normally associated with demographic decline. Over 60% of the pottery from this period was handmade and locally produced, with a reduction in wheel-thrown wares by 40% from earlier periods. Local products also included green-glazed bowls and wheel-thrown jars—the kind of assemblage identified in contemporary sites throughout the region. Demographic growth and a reliance on local industries characterize late Mamluk occupation at this site.

Khirbat Birzeit, in the central West Bank on the outskirts of Ramallah, has a different history.[97] Excavations in the 1990s focused on a large, two-floor complex,

[96] Final publication is now underway by Drs. Nancy Lapp (Concordia Seminary) and Hamed Salem (Birzeit University) and is affiliated with the Committee of Archaeological Policy of the American Schools of Oriental Research. For the ceramic report, see Ziadeh, "Ottoman Ceramics."

[97] Preliminary reports from the first phase of excavations can be found in Khaled Nashef, "Abḥāth wa-Tanqībāt fī Khirbat Bīrzayt 1996," *Journal of Palestinian Archaeology* 1, no. 1 (January, 2000): 4–27 (of Arabic section); idem, "Khirbet Birzeit 1996, 1998–1999: Preliminary Results," *Journal of Palestinian Archaeology* 1, no. 1 (January, 2000): 25–27; Khaled Nashef and Omar Abd Rabu, "Khirbet Birzeit Research and Excavation Project 1998: Second Season Excavation," *Journal of Palestinian Archaeology* 1, no. 1 (January, 2000): 4–12; Khaled Nashef and Omar Abd Rabu, "Abḥāth wa-Tanqībāt fī Khirbat Bīrzayt 1999," *Journal of Palestinian Archaeology* 1, no. 2 (July, 2000): 4–12. Ceramics reports can

dubbed the "Original Building" and tentatively identified during the first phase of excavation as the administrative center of a feudal lord (Fig. 4).[98] Built on top of and in the ruins of a Byzantine industrial complex (a wine press), the large stone building is Mamluk in date (Stratum III) and constructed of massive, well-dressed blocks forming 2-faced walls with a rubble and soil core, earthen floors, and vaulted superstructures. In the late Mamluk period (Stratum II) rooms were subdivided and floors replastered, as domestic or public spaces were converted to storerooms. Ottoman reuse of the building (Stratum I) consisted of the building of agricultural terraces in the upper floor, and the filling in of the ground floor. While the pottery included the same kind of assemblage described at Tiʿinnik and other rural sites in the region, the recovery of glazed relief bowls with formulaic inscriptions and glazed wares from Syria indicates wider exchange networks and perhaps a more formal function for the building. The "Original Building" is part of a larger settlement; more recent fieldwork (2006 and 2009 seasons) is investigating the physical and functional relationships between this building and the houses nearby, the results of which are forthcoming.[99]

Excavations by Israeli archaeologists have included such important sites as Safed (and the extra-mural settlement of al-Waṭṭah) and Jerusalem, where efforts have largely focused on fortifications and individual monuments. It is the research on village sites, however, that has described the character of local settlement, the longevity of occupation (not encountered in Jordan), and regional peculiarities that allow for comparison with other areas of southern Bilād al-Shām. Stern's categorization of rural sites on the basis of the exchange networks in which they participated is a useful one for describing settlement type. Givʿat Yasaf (Tall al-Raʾs) on the northern coast belongs to her first group: villages economically tied to coastal centers and international trade. The Mamluk village (Stratum 1) represents a reoccupation in the late thirteenth century of the Persian/Hellenistic site.[100] The settlement took the form of walled courtyards, a large central building (or complex of buildings), and numerous water channels (for irrigation, among other things). Wall construction appears quite similar to that noted throughout southern Syria: roughly hewn boulders of medium size. The central building yielded numerous imported glazed ceramics, to which it likely gained access by its proximity to Acre.

There were different types of villages in the southern Syrian landscape. However,

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be found in the same volumes.

[98] Nashef, "Khirbet Birzeit 1996, 1998–1999: Preliminary Results," 27.

[99] Personal communication (2/2/09), Dr. Hamed Salem, Birzeit University and Project Director.

[100] Arieh Rochman-Halperin, "Excavations at Givʿat Yasaf (Tell er-Ras): 1984–1985," *ʿAtiqot* 37 (1999): 84–121 (Hebrew), 172*–73* (English summary).

if one were to search for the "typical" village of the region, one might consider those with few international connections but that were nonetheless participants in regional socio-economic exchanges. Khirbat Burin, described earlier, falls into this category.[101] The late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century village appears to have consisted of clusters of well-built farmhouses surrounding shared outdoor courtyards and cisterns, a pattern repeated in villages in the region today. The houses were used for some time, with reduced occupation into the fifteenth century. The material culture associated with the structures betrayed regional (Greater Syrian), but no international, connections for the main period of occupation. The late Mamluk-era Galilean village of Khirbat Dinʿila, while small, reflected a common pattern: adaptation of Byzantine-era ruins (here the conversion of oil presses to housing, as at Khirbat Birzeit), continuous occupation (in this case well into the sixteenth century), and material culture characteristic of rural society (handmade cooking wares, wheel-thrown jars and jugs, and few, if any, imports). Stern's ceramic study demonstrated that households there acquired kitchen and table wares from different workshops throughout the Galilee and Golan.[102] On a final note, the site of Zuq al-Fauqani, in the Upper Galilee, contains the remains of a rural house occupied from the fourteenth through nineteenth centuries, transformed into a *khān* sometime in the seventeenth.[103] The architecture from the Mamluk levels is no longer extant—only the earthen floors remain—but the pottery as a whole reflects regional connections (reflected by pottery related to Rāshayyā al-Fukhkhār Ware of Lebanon, for example).

By comparison, the site of Givʿat Dani in central Israel, an agricultural settlement 7 km north of Lod, is more isolated economically and geographically. While the limited exposure of the excavations did not reveal architecture of the period, they did produce evidence of a "peripheral settlement" tied to a larger center: a meter and a half thick layer of refuse (Stratum 3—consisting of pottery, ash, and soil), was dated to the thirteenth–fourteenth centuries on the basis of the pottery and covered by a stone-paved floor in the Ottoman period.[104] The pottery revealed the typical range of glazed, handmade, and plain wheel-thrown vessels normally associated with a rural, landlocked site.

Archaeological investigations of Mamluk-era villages, as preliminary as they

[101] Kletter and Stern, "Mamluk-Period Site at Khirbat Burin."

[102] For the ceramic report, see Stern, "Khirbat Dinʿila." The excavation report is forthcoming in the same volume.

[103] Moshe Hartal, "Zuq al-Fauqani," *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 120 (2008): (www.hadashot-esi.org.il/report_detail_eng.asp&id=858&mag_id=114). See also note #3 in Stern, "Khirbat Dinʿila."

[104] Dorit Lazar, "A Mamluk and Ottoman Settlement at Givʿat Dani in the Ayalon Valley," *ʿAtiqot* 38 (1999): 127*–136* (Hebrew), 231–32 (English summary).

are, reveal patterns in rural culture and settlement that are worth revisiting on the basis of text-based research. These villages were by and large self-sufficient, relying more on local and limited regional exchange networks than on the kind of international ones maintained by the state. Most communities appear to have followed a mixed subsistence regime and, when not pushed by state initiatives, diversified their choice of crops. The widespread abandonment of and demographic decline in villages, which happened gradually in many (but not all) parts of Transjordan, are not repeated to the same degree in Cisjordan. The physical, and apparently functional, structures of villages were maintained through the Ottoman and Mandate eras. House construction was modest and followed distinctly regional methods and styles, using local building materials and likely erected quickly; if architectural ruins and abandoned installations could be reused, they usually were, instead of constructing anew. In terms of its geography and intensity, the expansion of Mamluk-era settlement largely mirrored that of the Byzantine period, when land (and water) was used intensively and extensively. If any broad theme can be extrapolated from these patterns, one could be that Syrian villages were poised to function in the absence of a strong, activist state, and demonstrated considerable resiliency in the process. Village life represents, in this manner, the *longue durée* of the Annalistes.

Narrative Three: Industrial production, both large- and small-scale, largely fell to traditional practice and social relations.

The Mamluk state was rarely directly involved in the day-to-day running of agricultural industries, outside of large-scale commercial enterprises such as sugar. Even there, the role of officials was limited.[105] For this reason, these industries reveal much about local social structure, organization of labor and resources, and traditional technologies and markets that provide another perspective on rural societies. Three agricultural enterprises—growing and processing cane sugar, producing olive oil, and making honey—have left strong archaeological footprints and speak to the strength of local traditions.

The lucrative sugar industry under the Mamluks became a state enterprise, as sultans and amirs came to monopolize production and some of the most fertile lands were dedicated to sugarcane cultivation. The best lands for growing sugarcane in Syria—well watered, well drained (the result of a combination of slope and soil texture), with light-textured soil (capable of holding water), and located in areas of abundant sunshine and warm temperatures[106]—are generally

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[105] On those occasions when officials attempted to interfere in the internal operations of the "estate"—diverting water and, in the process, disrupting traditional water sharing—peasants revolted (Walker, "The Role of Agriculture," 89).

[106] Effie Photos-Jones, Konstantinos D. Politis, Heather F. James, Alan J. Hall, Eichard E.

located in the Jordan Valley and its catchment system. They were among the most valuable *iqṭāʿāt,* and by the end of the fourteenth century they were converted to sultanic estates and *awqāf*.[107] Because the industry, when operating on a large scale, was so dependent on the state to provide adequate labor supplies, safe roads for transport, and dependable markets, its ups and downs reflected in many ways the economic health of the state and the region. Sugar production in Syria peaked in the Crusader and early Mamluk periods, declining significantly by the fifteenth century; evidence for production into the Ottoman period is rather rare but has been documented to the end of the sixteenth century.[108] The industry left behind the mills used to crush sugarcane, the refineries to convert juice to molasses, and the aqueducts that powered them[109]—some 43 sites in Israel alone[110]—as well as the earthenware vessels used to collect the crystals (called alternatively sugar pots, molds, or cones in the archaeological literature) and collect and store the syrup (molasses or syrup jars). Most archaeological studies of sugar production have focused on these architectural and ceramic remains.[111]

Jones, and Jerry Hamer, "The Sugar Industry in the Southern Jordan Valley: An Interim Report on the Pilot Season of Excavations, Geophysical and Geological Surveys at Tawahin as-Sukkar and Khirbat ash-Shaykh ʿIsa, in Ghawr as-Safi," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities* 46 (2002): 611.

[107] For documentation of this process in Jordan, see my "Sowing the Seeds of Rural Decline."

[108] Edna J. Stern, "The Excavations at Lower Horbat Manot: A Medieval Sugar-Producing Site," *ʿAtiqot* 42 (2001): 277–308.

[109] The date and function of the medieval and post-medieval aqueducts that punctuate the southern Syrian countryside have remained problems for the archaeological study of sugar production. Usually their identification as components of sugar mills is made on the basis of associated sugar pots, though this practice is far from consistent. It is possible that many aqueducts originally attributed to Mamluk-era sugar mills may have been part of Ottoman-era flour mills. For some technological studies of mills in Jordan, see Muhammad S. Malkawi, "The Water Mills of Wadi Kufranjeh during the Period between Late Mamluk and Early Ottoman: A Technological Study" (M.A. thesis, Yarmouk University, 1994); Joseph A. Greene, "The Water Mills of the ʿAjlun-Kufranja Valley: The Relationship of Technology, Society and Settlement," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 5 (1995): 757–65; and Alison McQuitty, "Water-Mills in Jordan: Technology, Typology, Dating and Development," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 5 (1995): 745–51.

[110] Reference to Edna J. Stern's M.A. thesis, "The Sugar Industry in Palestine during the Crusader, Ayyubid and Mamluk Periods in Light of the Archaeological Finds" (Hebrew University, 1999, in Hebrew) in Katherine Strange Burke, "A Note on Archaeological Evidence for Sugar Production in the Middle Islamic Periods in Bilad al-Sham," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (2004): 111.

[111] For an excellent summary of archaeological research on the Syrian sugar industry and a bibliography of published studies, see Burke, "Archaeological Evidence for Sugar

Five sugar mills have been excavated in southern Bilād al-Shām,[112] and several more have been architecturally and archaeologically surveyed in the wadis of Jordan.[113] The technology of these mills—how they operated and how sugar was physically processed—has been of focal interest in archaeological reports for many years. What is relatively new is the analysis of their industrial waste, which directly reflects technology, availability of natural resources, and exchange networks. It also can be a measure of the environmental impact of sugar refining, an issue not adequately investigated archaeologically. Excavation reports frequently mention the deposits of ash associated with sugar mills, but only recently has that ash been subjected to laboratory analysis. At Horbat Manot, a sugar production site north of Acre, palaeobotanical analysis of charred remains of wood and ash identified trees typical of Mediterranean zones (namely carob, evergreen oak, terebinth, and Cyprus oak—all local vegetation) as the fuel that fed the fireplace in the refinery.[114] Excavations at Tawāḥīn al-Sukkar, a contemporary sugar factory in Jordan southeast of the Dead Sea, included systematic analysis of the waste produced by sugar refining.[115] The purpose of the joint British-Greek project was to "place the sugar industry in the context of the landscape that generated and sustained it,"[116] producing some of the earliest comprehensive data on the technologies and resources that made sugar production possible in the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods. A large waste heap at the site (in Trench II) produced several layers of refuse, including charcoal and ash, sand and gravel, and a white powdery industrial waste. The latter was subjected to x-ray diffraction analysis, which

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Production."

112 In addition to those cited in Burke, we should add the recent fieldwork near Safi in southern Jordan (Photos-Jones et al., "Sugar Industry in the Southern Jordan Valley," 591–614) and the brief report on the Abu Sarbut mill in Margreet Steiner, "The Excavations at Tell Abu Sarbut, a Mamluk Village in the Jordan Valley," *ARAM* 10 (1998): 141–51.

113 Ṣāliḥ Ḥamārnah, "Zirāʿat Qaṣab al-Sukkar wa-Ṣināʿatuhu ʿinda al-ʿArab al-Muslimīn," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 22 (1977–78): 12–19; Rubá Abū Dalū, "Maʿāṣir al-Sukkar fī Ghawr al-Urdunn fī al-Qarnayn al-Thānī ʿAshar wa-al-Rābiʿ ʿAshar al-Mīlādiyīn fī Ḍawʾ al-Maṣādir al-Tārīkhīyah wa-al-Muktashafāt al-Atharīyah" (M.A. thesis, Yarmouk University, 1991), and idem, "Taqnīyah Maʿāṣir al-Sukkar fī Wādī al-Urdunn khilāl al-Fitrāt al-Islāmīyah," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 5 (1995): 37–48.

114 Stern, "Lower Horbat Manot," 293; Uri Baruch, "Charred Wood Remains from Lower Horbat Manot, Western Galilee," *ʿAtiqot* 42 (2001): 309–10.

115 85–90% of the cane processed into crystallized sugar ends up as waste by-products (Photos-Jones et al., "Sugar Industry in the Southern Jordan Valley," 593). For the potential environmental impact of the sugar industry, see Walker, "The Role of Agriculture in Mamluk-Jordanian Power Relations."

116 Photos-Jones et al., "Sugar Industry in the Southern Jordan Valley," 591.

identified several fine-grained minerals used in sugar refining: gypsum (an anti-caking agent), calcite (for the clarification of sugar crystals), bassanite, anhydrite, aragonite, and quartz, all of which occur naturally in the local Lisan sediments.[117] The laboratory results are historically relevant on two accounts: they demonstrate the use of local resources in sugar production, and they suggest ways in which sediments and refuse can help identify sugar refining sites where the architectural remains have disappeared.

As for the transport and marketing of sugar in Mamluk Syria, we know surprisingly little. Archaeologists have focused on production but not the subsequent processes of distribution and consumption. One site that has been identified as a sugar redistribution point is the Ḥisbān citadel. The storeroom of the governor's complex contained dozens of intact molasses jars. They appear to have been stored on wooden shelves and on the floor and were made in at least two standardized sizes. The shape of the jars is generally piriform, like the molasses jars found in sugar mills, but with a visible "waist" in the middle. The hourglass shape produced is ideal for wrapping ropes around the middle of the jar, and it is in this way that we should imagine how many sugar products were transported from mill to market: donkeys carried a jar or two on each side, secured by ropes.[118] It appears at this stage in fieldwork that sugar was transported here from some distance, the Jordan Valley being 24 km to the west as the crow flies but 101 km today by car (via the Allenby Bridge).[119] While Mamluk citadels functioned as repositories for weapons and food, the relatively large quantity of jars (in relation to the limited size of the storeroom and the estimated size of the garrison—likely only a handful of soldiers were stationed there) led the excavators to believe that the sugar, or molasses, was more likely brought to the citadel for redistribution to local markets (the one in Ḥisbān village included) than stored here for the

[117] Ibid., 606, 611.

[118] On the basis of camel bones at Tell Abu Sarbut, the excavators suggest that sugar was transported overland by pack animals (Steiner, "Excavations at Tell Abu Sarbut," 148–49). This kind of transportation may also have been supplemented by Dead Sea shipping; boats carried agricultural products between Transjordan and Palestine in this fashion throughout the Middle Ages (Joseph Greene, "From Jericho to Karak by Way of Zughar: Seafaring on the Dead Sea, Bronze Age to Ottoman," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 10 [2009] [forthcoming]).

[119] Ongoing fieldwork in the medieval village and its hinterland is contradicting earlier assumptions that sugar was grown and processed nearby: the water mills closest to the tell (in the Wādī Ḥisbān), at least, are Ottoman and Mandate-era in date and were almost certainly used for grinding grain (project archives, 2004 survey). The ash deposits on the acropolis will be subjected to palaeobotanical analysis shortly to determine what kind of industrial activity on site produced them. These deposits are described in Walker and LaBianca, "The Islamic *Quṣūr* of Tall Ḥisbān," 464, Fig. 32.

garrison or an *iqṭāʿ* holder.[120] Similar sugar jars were also found in the ruins of the village below the citadel. What were the contents of the storeroom worth?[121] A recent study, based on the holding capacity of the storeroom and that of the jars themselves, calculations of weight and density of processed cane sugar, and the price of Syrian sugar in fourteenth-century markets, estimated that the Ḥisbān stores, if full, potentially held 194 dinars worth of sugar at any one time. This alone would have contributed 10% of a cargo of sugar carried on a Venetian galley in this period.[122]

One important element in the success of the Mamluks' sugar production was securing an adequate work force in what was a very labor-intensive industry. The organization and size of the labor force cannot be determined on the basis of the mills/refineries alone. Burke appropriately highlighted the importance of studying sugar production in relation to supporting settlements, an area of inquiry that until very recently had not been systematically investigated.[123] Excavations at the sister sites of Tawāḥīn al-Sukkar (the sugar factory—hereafter TES) and Khirbat Shaykh ʿĪsá (its supporting village—hereafter KSI) in 1999–2002 were specifically designed to examine the relationship of sugar production to the villages and land that sustained it. A hybrid of landscape and industrial archaeology, the TES/KSI project demonstrated ways in which villages were pivotal to the maintenance and success of the industry. In addition to labor (and here the corvée labor of peasants is meant), villages supported the sugar mills by producing the sugar and molasses jars without which sugar crystal could not be generated from the syrup.[124]

Unlike the sugar industry, the production of olive oil was both a household industry and practiced commercially, as it is today. The processing of olive oil requires coordination of the efforts of cultivators, press owners, and merchants; study of the industry has real potential to reveal social patterns on the village level, if one can flesh this out in the archaeological record. The results of the 2003 season

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[120] For reports on the storeroom in general, see Walker, "The Late Ottoman Cemetery in Field L, Tall Hisban," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 322 (2001): 1–19, and idem, "Mamluk Investment in Southern Bilad al-Sham," 249–50.

[121] It is not certain what products were stored in these jars—the sugar crystals or the molasses—as no residue analysis has been done on the vessels to date. We cannot automatically assume that the same vessels used for processing were used for transport and storage, although this is possible.

[122] Walker, "Sowing the Seeds of Rural Decline," 191.

[123] Burke, "Archaeological Evidence for Sugar Production," 118. The sugar factory at Tell Abu Sarbut in the eastern Jordan Valley is a bit of an exception. Here excavators noted the transformation of the industrial site, after a period of abandonment, to a village engaged in a mixed agro-regime, with some continued cultivation of sugarcane, still in the Mamluk period (Steiner, "Excavations at Tell Abu Sarbut"). Research has focused more on the earlier factory, however, than the later settlement.

[124] Photos-Jones et al., "Sugar Industry in the Southern Jordan Valley," 610.

of the NJP in Malkā village produced some evidence of the social and economic mechanisms behind olive oil production in the fourteenth century.[125] Malkā was, according to an unpublished *waqfīyah* of 796/1393, the private property of Sultan Barqūq, who subsequently endowed the entire village in support of his madrasah in Cairo. The document describes in some detail the agricultural production of the village, emphasizing its extensive olive groves (apparently organized into numerous small plots among vegetable gardens) and presses *(maʿāṣir),* which remain the defining characteristics of Malkā's landscape today. Survey of the village and its hinterland resulted in the discovery of an underground, industrial-scale olive press, housed in a cave and used in the Byzantine and Mamluk periods. This "factory" was capable of producing a considerable profit. A recent economic study of the cave-press, based on calculations made for production capacity of presses in the western Galilee and export prices of the commodity provided by Ibn Kathīr, estimated the factory's annual income at 440 dinars, after the needs of the village were met, which was equivalent to 1/3 of a shipment of Spanish olive oil to Alexandria in 1405.[126] If modern production can be used to gauge the workings of the medieval industry, considerable cooperation was required to coordinate the harvest of olives and processing of oil produced on what were essentially family-run plots.

Wheat, olive oil, and sweeteners were staples of the average man's diet in the medieval Levant. Honey replaced sugar for families of limited means as a sweetener and was also used for medicinal purposes. Today beekeeping, and the sale of honey, is a common "small business" in Syrian villages, frequently supplementing incomes derived from other sources. The same was likely true in the Middle Islamic period. While perhaps a less prestigious product than sugar or olive oil, honey had ready markets and was essentially a local industry with no overt relation to state enterprise. Beekeeping is documented in Mamluk and Ottoman texts and is now appearing in unexpected archaeological contexts: cemeteries in Israel, as discussed earlier. [127] Ceramic beehives, in complete form, have been identified in several cemeteries of Mamluk and Ottoman date to mark graves, to seal graves, and (quite possibly) to bury infants. Although this phenomenon is not fully understood, it presents an opportunity to explore the study of household industry and traditions and taboos related to death in village society.

Narrative Four: The physical environment, local resources, and climate helped to mold rural societies in the Mamluk period in important ways.

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[125] The following relies on the field report found in Walker, "Northern Jordan Survey 2003."

[126] Walker, "Sowing the Seeds of Rural Decline," 192–93.

[127] Taxel, "Ceramic Evidence of Beekeeping."

Limited and unpredictable rainfall is a reality in much of Syria, and this in a region that largely relies on rain-fed agriculture. In Jordan, even today the wheat crop fails once every five years for lack of rain.[128] Floods were equally a present and serious danger: Mamluk chronicles frequently describe the loss of life and property caused by heavy rains and flooding.[129] Climate changed in dramatic ways over the course of Mamluk rule: the wetter conditions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries conducive to intensive agriculture contrast with the high temperatures and drier conditions that led to frequent droughts throughout the fifteenth. This has been documented by multiple lines of environmental research, but its impact on contemporary societies is not understood.[130] Similarly, we do not know how growing sugarcane, and other cash crop industries, transformed soils in the short or long terms or to what degree, if at all, deforestation and soil erosion have contributed to the vagaries of settlement and the rural economy in the Middle (Ayyubid-Mamluk) and Late Islamic (Ottoman) periods. Although the impact of climate change on the scale and intensity of settlement has been a fixture of archaeological literature on the Mamluk period for many years, new interest in the ecological aspects of cultural change has forced us to reevaluate

[128] Carol Palmer, "'Following the Plow': the Agricultural Environment of Northern Jordan," *Levant* 30 (1998): 132.

[129] To cite some examples for Jordanian towns and villages: two months of rain in the winter of 761/1359 caused flooding so severe in Ḥubrāṣ that the local qadi drowned and prices skyrocketed (Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah* [Damascus, 1994], 3:164); the great flood of 728/1328 destroyed much of the town of ʿAjlūn, taking away large sections of the marketplace (Yūsuf Ghawānimah, "Al-Tijārah al-Dawlīyah fī al-Urdun fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 3 [1987]: 328–29—citing al-Jazarī, Mufaḍḍal ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, and al-Nuwayrī); and in 790/1388 heavy rains blocked roads near Ḥisbān, preventing travel for days (Ibn Ḥijjī, *Tārīkh Ibn Ḥijjī* [Beirut, 2003], 1:106–7). The chroniclers rarely mention the abandonment (however temporary) of a village as a result, but in their accounts of the washing away of entire neighborhoods and severe damage to crops, it was likely that residents relocated for a while until they had a chance to rebuild. (This topic is dealt with in more detail in ch. 2 of my forthcoming *Jordan in the Late Middle Age: Transformation of the Mamluk Frontier.*)

[130] Methods of data collection have included palynology, sedimentology, dendrochronology, and isotope analysis. For a list of published studies relevant to Mamluk Syria, see B. Lucke, Z. al-Saad, M. Schmidt, R. Bäumler, S. O. Lorenz, P. Udluft, K.-U. Heussner; and B. J. Walker, "Soils and Land Use in the Decapolis Region (Northern Jordan): Implications for Landscape Development and the Impact of Climate Change," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins* 124, no. 2 (2008) (forthcoming); Walker, "Sowing the Seeds of Rural Decline," 197, note 119; and idem, "The Role of Agriculture in Mamluk-Jordanian Power Relations," 90, note 38. More recently, two monographs on the topic of climate, land use, and landscape have been published with data sets taken from Jordan and Israel: Rosen, *Civilizing Climate,* and Carlos E. Cordova, *Millennial Landscape Change in Jordan: Geoarchaeology and Cultural Ecology* (Tucson, 2007).

climate and natural resources as variables in the socio-political-economic history of the Mamluk state. The result has been the development of new methods of data collection and revised models for assessing the complicated relationships between climate, land use, and settlement.

It was, in part, to explore social adaptation to limited resources that the Dhībān Excavation and Development Project was launched in 2004.[131] Dhībān is a bit of an anomaly for medieval settlement history. In spite of the challenges presented by its geography (surrounded by canyons, and physically isolated as a result) and environment (poor soils, barely enough annual rainfall for dry farming, no natural springs), the site continued to be settled and resettled since Antiquity. In order to account for this local connection to place, and in a larger sense to understand the phenomenon of large-scale sedentarization in locales with poor environmental conditions, the project has embarked on a focused study of Dhībān in the Mamluk period, when the village was revived, settlement expanded, and land use intensified. The role of the state in reorganizing agriculture, and indirectly settlement, is considered in light of this rural renaissance and its subsequent, and quite gradual, decline. As this project is relatively new, and the excavation component has only recently begun, the results of the cultural ecology study are not yet available.[132] Nonetheless, it is a promising approach to the study of Mamluk villages, introducing new venues of research on the effects of imperial policies in marginal lands.

Originally interested in the roles of climate and land use in the abandonment of the Decapolis region, the Brandenburg Institute of Technology has expanded its field and lab work to include much larger regions of Syria through the medieval periods.[133] Methodologically the Brandenburg project uses soil genesis studies (documenting the factors behind the creation and transformation of soils) to measure the impact of climate change and land use (ranging from intensive agriculture to pastoralism) in the physical transformation of the landscape and in settlement fluctuations. This project, led by Dr. Bernhard Lucke, has collaborated with the NJP since 2005 in documenting the dialectical relations among land use, settlement, and climate. The political ecology approach to Mamluk studies adopted by the NJP, highlighting the competition between state and local society over natural resources, has necessitated a combination of methods in gathering climate proxy data: palynology, phytolith studies, textual analysis, and now

[131] See note 88 for project publications.

[132] We eagerly await the results of the 2009 field season.

[133] For an earlier report, see Bernhard Lucke, Michael Schmidt, Ziad al-Saad, Oliver Bens, and Reinhard Hüttl, "Abandonment of the Decapolis Region in Northern Jordan–Forced by Environmental Change," *Quaternary International* 135, no. 1 (2004): 65–82.

soil analysis and dendrochronology.[134] Preliminary results of soil study in 2006 eliminated soil erosion and deforestation as problems for local farmers in the Middle Islamic period, documented continuity in land use from pre-Mamluk times, and highlighted the role of winter floods in the transformation of the landscape and destruction of villages in pre-modern times.[135] The results of the other climate proxy studies are forthcoming.

The environmental approach is quite new in Mamluk studies. What is emerging from this Jordan-based fieldwork is an appreciation for how complex and ambiguous the Mamluks' management of natural resources was in southern Syria. Furthermore, the impact of climate on rural societies is not clear-cut, and local variations in the agricultural regime, the relation with state officials and local peoples, and the particular structure of local administration all came into play in determining the ways in which local communities responded to the limitations and possibilities offered by climatic variation. Of the research themes adopted in Mamluk archaeology today, this is arguably the most cross-disciplinary and theoretical.

Concluding Thoughts

It is not the purpose of archaeology to rewrite history or deliberately compete with narratives presented by written sources. The very tentative remarks about Mamluk Syria presented above have emerged from recent fieldwork that has sought to explain social change and settlement fluctuations, to flesh out the rural history not fully described by texts, and to acquire a greater knowledge of village life under Mamluk rule. The challenge for future archaeological research is to go beyond what has been done to include studies, for example, that identify more clearly the pastoralists of the rural landscape, consider the phenomenon of migration and resettlement in discourse on settlement "decline," and explore identity in the context of the distinctive regionalism in southern Syrian culture. In the process, it will deepen our understanding of Mamluk societies in their rich diversity and ability to adapt and develop.

[134] For more on political ecology and Mamluk archaeology in Jordan, see Walker, "Peasants, Pilgrims, and the Body Politic."

[135] For Dr. Lucke's report, see Walker et al., "Village Life in Mamluk and Ottoman Hubras and Saham," 464–67.

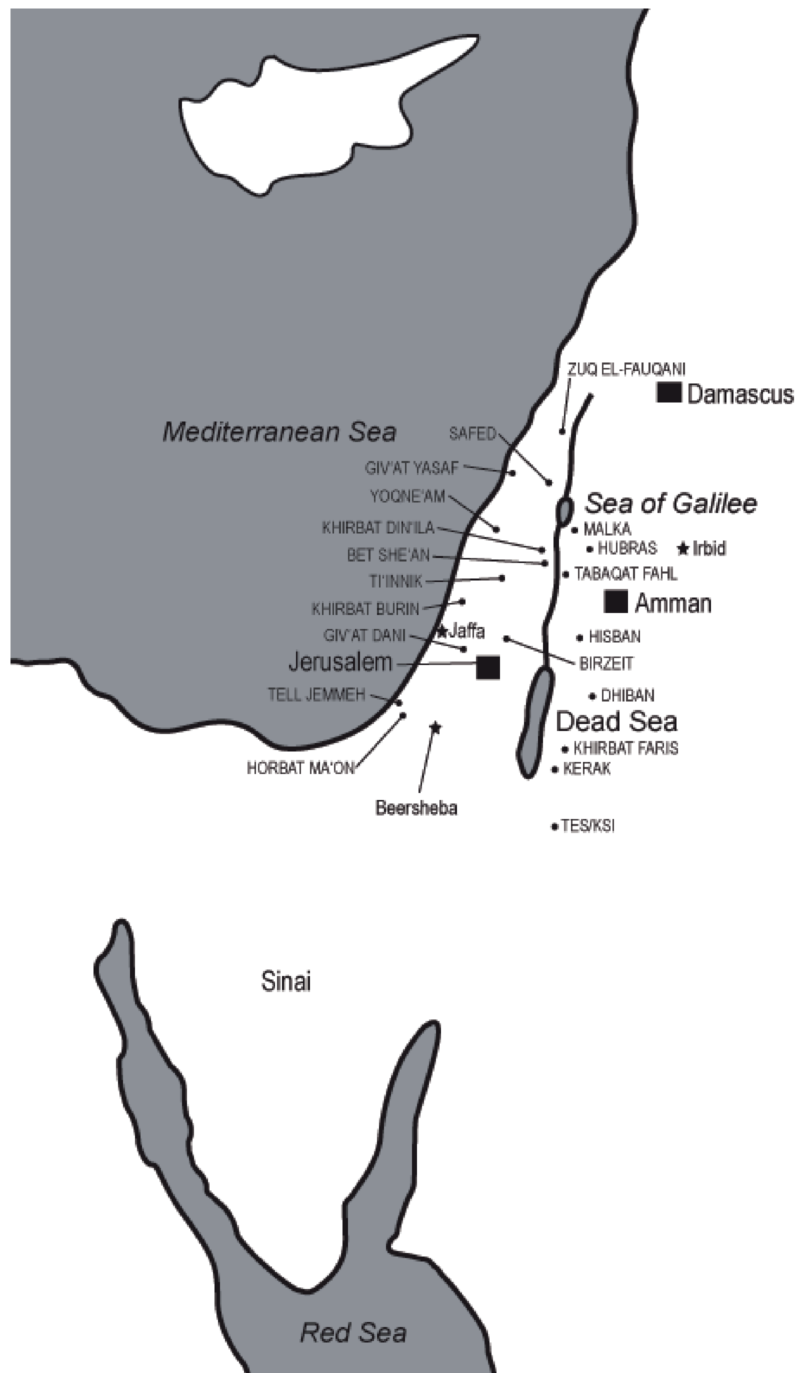


Fig. 1. Map of sites discussed in article.
(courtesy of Chris M. Cooper, Evolving Perspective, Springfield, MO)



Fig. 2. Entrance to Ḥisbān citadel, with enlarged southwest tower to the left. (photo by author)



Fig. 3. View of Old Ḥubrāṣ to southeast, mosques (background, center) are in middle of the early twentieth-century village and surrounded by olive groves. (photo by author)



Fig. 4. “Original Building” at Khirbat Birzeit.
(courtesy of Dr. Hamed Salem, Institute of Archaeology, Birzeit University)

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Maqriziana IX: Should al-Maqrīzī Be Thrown Out with the Bath Water? The Question of His Plagiarism of al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ* and the Documentary Evidence

Introduction

One of the most renowned scholars that Islamic civilization has produced, al-Maqrīzī is considered a major historian in his own right and is sometimes compared to the great thinker Ibn Khaldūn, with whom he was associated in the last years of the latter's life. Al-Maqrīzī's views on economics, history, and architecture still stimulate modern research in these fields; his ideas inform the way in which we look at certain questions, especially historiographical ones. His books are among the bestsellers of medieval literature, continuously copied in the age of manuscript culture, and then printed, reprinted, translated, and studied. As with every great figure, some criticisms, generated by contemporary envious colleagues or modern viewpoints based on anachronistic criteria, may tarnish the idyllic portrait. In this respect, al-Maqrīzī is no exception to the rule. Some scholars have questioned his integrity in historiographical terms. The case raised by Ayalon as regards al-Maqrīzī's position towards the *Yāsa,* the Mongol book of laws, probably surpasses all others in the modern period.[1] Ayalon's study did not stir up any controversy among the scholarly community because he based his aguments on irrefutable proofs, even though some remained conjectural.[2]

In his own time, al-Maqrīzī could not avoid the disparagement of his intellectual probity. The most derogatory remarks concern his alleged plagiarism of the work of his colleague and friend, al-Awḥadī. According to al-Sakhāwī, who vehemently

This article is based on the most complete version of a lecture that was first presented as the Mamlūk Studies Review Annual Lecture at the University of Chicago (24 February 2006), and later at the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montréal (8 April 2008). The discovery, made in May 2003, was officially announced at the 22nd Congress of the Union européenne des arabisants et islamisants, University of Krakow (29 September–4 October 2004). It is my pleasure to dedicate it to Carl Petry on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday.

[1]David Ayalon, "The Great *Yāsa* of Chingiz Khān: A Reexamination," *Studia Islamica* 33 (1971): 99–140, 34 (1971): 151–80, 36 (1972): 113–58, 38 (1973): 107–56.

[2] The present writer recently produced indisputable evidence of al-Maqrīzī's intellectual dishonesty in the affair of the *Yāsa,* thus closing this case opened by Ayalon in 1971. See F. Bauden, "Maqriziana VII: Al-Maqrīzī and the *Yāsa:* New Evidence of His Intellectual Dishonesty," in *The Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria: Aspects of a Medieval Muslim State,* ed. Reuven Amitai and Amalia Levanoni (forthcoming).

repeated his accusation on several occasions, al-Maqrīzī had supposedly laid hands on his colleague's drafts upon his death (811/1408) and clean-copied the whole lot, adding some data, but publishing it in his own name under the title *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār.* The treatment al-Maqrīzī reportedly applied to al-Awḥadī's text would thus be similar to what we now call "plagiarism." Such a charge must be taken seriously, even more so in the case of al-Maqrīzī given that the resulting book is considered his magnum opus. Though first opened five centuries ago, this case engendered a lively debate that started with the beginning of the last century. Several scholars have endeavored to elucidate the validity of this charge on the basis of the elements they had at their disposal: al-Sakhāwī's accusation and al-Maqrīzī's text.[3] Most of the time, these efforts have resulted in a justification of al-Maqrīzī, best exemplified by F. Rosenthal's position: "the accusation of plagiarism is much too harsh."[4] In their scrutiny of this charge, most scholars were influenced by al-Sakhāwī's well-known vindictiveness towards almost everybody in his works, and they rebutted his allegations.

The aim of this article is to reexamine the question in the light of new evidence that has surfaced only recently. In one of the two extant volumes of the first draft of al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ,* I noticed that 19 leaves are written in a different handwriting, though most of al-Maqrīzī's extant autograph manuscripts are in fact holograph.[5] Through a close analysis, both external and internal, I seek to

[3] In chronological order: Ighnāṭyūs Yūlyānūvitsh Krātshkūvskī [I. Y. Kratchkovsky], *Tārīkh al-Adab al-Jughrāfī al-ʿArabī,* trans. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ʿUthmān Hāshim (Cairo, 1963), 2:483–85; Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh ʿInān, "Khiṭaṭ al-Maqrīzī bayna al-Aṣālah wa-al-Naql," in *Dirāsāt ʿan al-Maqrīzī: Majmūʿat Abḥāth* (Cairo, 1971), 39–48; Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, "Remarques sur la composition des *Ḫiṭaṭ* de Maqrīzī d'après un manuscrit autographe," in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron, 1927–1976* (Cairo, 1979), 2:231–58; Saʿīd ʿĀshūr, "Aḍwāʾ jadīdah ʿalá al-muʾarrikh Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī wa-Kitābātihi," *ʿĀlam al-Fikr* 14, no. 2 (1983): 165–210; Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī, *Arbaʿat Muʾarrikhīn wa-Arbaʿat Muʾallafāt min Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Jarākisah* (Cairo, 1992), 222–24; Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, "Early Methods of Book Composition: al-Maqrīzī's Draft of the *Kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ,*" in *The Codicology of Islamic Manuscripts: Proceedings of the Second Conference of al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 4–5 December 1993,* ed. Yasin Dutton (London, 1995), 93–101; idem, "Muqaddimat al-Muḥaqqiq," in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (London, 2002–5), 1:59–66; Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī, "Al-Muʾarrikhūn al-Muʿāṣirūn lil-Maqrīzī wa-al-Nāqilūn minhu," in al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-Aʿyān al-Mufīdah* (Beirut, 2002), 4:37–40.

[4] Franz Rosenthal, "al-Maḳrīzī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 6:194.

[5] In May 2003, I received a copy of the manuscript (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi [Istanbul] MS E. Hazinesi 1405) and noticed the difference in the handwriting. Given that a new edition of the section covered by this manuscript was in preparation by Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, I had to await its publication to see if he had established the same fact. When vol. 4 appeared at the end of 2003, I realized that he had apparently not noticed the difference in the handwriting. Moreover, several

demonstrate that this section must be identified as the unique remnant of al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ* that has survived. As a consequence, this discovery allows me to reopen the case raised by al-Sakhāwī and to see whether or not the charge was justified. However, I do not claim to be an exponent or a proponent in this case: my aim is to try to answer the charge as fairly as possible, and for this, I will have to consider it in view of the perception of plagiarism in the context under study.

This newly-discovered section of al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ* needs further investigation: a critical edition together with a biography of al-Awḥadī and a study of the text will be published separately.[6]

The Charge

Without the charge brought by al-Sakhāwī (d. 902/1497) against al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), the whole affair would have completely faded into oblivion. Indeed, al-Sakhāwī repeatedly accused al-Maqrīzī of having plagiarized a book written by one of al-Maqrīzī's colleagues whose name was al-Awḥadī (d. 811/1408). On at least five occasions, he leveled this charge in different terms, but always in a very direct manner. The first of these is to be found in his *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk*, under the year in which al-Maqrīzī died, and in his biographical dictionary entitled *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ* (al-Maqrīzī's entry):[7]

passages found in al-Awḥadī's section and not included by al-Maqrīzī in his final version had been included in the edition, as supplementary data. A. F. Sayyid even reproduced the leaves where these additional data appear (4:123–29 of the introduction). Regarding the first two volumes, I had already stressed that this new edition could unfortunately not be considered as a critical one, due to the fact that A. F. Sayyid emended the texts with passages from the sources quoted by al-Maqrīzī or found in the draft of the *Khiṭaṭ* instead of sticking to the manuscripts of the final version (see my review in this journal, 11, no. 2 [2007]: 169–76). This bias is more visible in the last two volumes of his edition and even more with the section in al-Awḥadī's hand.

[6] See F. Bauden, "From Draft to Palimpsest: A Critical Edition of the Unearthed Part of al-Awḥadī's Autograph Book on the *Khiṭaṭ* of Cairo," forthcoming in *Mamlūk Studies Review*.

[7] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Cairo, n.d.; reprint of Cairo, 1934–36), 2:22; idem, *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk fī Dhayl al-Sulūk*, ed. Najwá Muṣṭafá Kāmil and Labībah Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 2002–5), 1:73. The quotation is from the former, but both texts are almost identical.

And he remained in his hometown, devoting his time to occupying himself with history to such an extent that he became renowned and celebrated for this. A number of books in this [field] are attributed to him, such as *Al-Khiṭaṭ* of Cairo, which is a useful [book] given that he discovered al-Awḥadī's draft, as already stated in the latter's biography. He appropriated it and made brief additions to it.

وأقـام ببلده عاكفا على الاشتغال بالتاريخ حتى اشتهر به ذكـره وبعد فيه صيته وصـارت له فيه جملة تصانيف كالخطط للقاهرة وهو مفيد لكونه ظفر بمسودة الأوحدي كما سبق في ترجمته فأخذها وزادها زوائد غير طائلة.

In a few words, al-Maqrīzī's reputation regarding the book that earned him fame until our time is demolished: it results from an appropriation of somebody else's work, only improved by adding a few data. The second denunciation is even more defamatory. Al-Sakhāwī wrote it, as he said, in al-Awḥadī's entry:[8]

He devoted his attention to history, of which he was passionately fond. He wrote a comprehensive draft about the topography of Miṣr[9] and Cairo on which he worked hard. [With this], he did a useful work and in an excellent manner. He made a fair copy of part of it. Then Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī made a fair copy of it [completely] and attributed it to himself [after he had made] additions.

واعتنى بالتاريخ وكان لهجا به وكتب مسودة كبيرة لخطط مصر والقاهرة تعب فيها وأفاد وأجاد وبيض بعضها فبيضها التقي المقريزي ونسبها لنفسه مع زيادات.

So, al-Maqrīzī had supposedly gotten hold of al-Awḥadī's draft—some parts of which had already been transcribed by the latter—made a fair copy of the whole thing, and finally written his name on the title page although he had only expanded it with a few additions. Moreover, we are told that al-Awḥadī's work, even though most of it still consisted of a draft, was a comprehensive book to which he devoted a lot of his time. Last but not least, it is clear that this was more than just a few notes scribbled on some quires: it constituted a really important contribution to the history of Cairo's architectural development. Not content with

[8] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 3:358–59.

[9] To be understood as the quarter of Cairo and not as referring to Egypt.

these two attacks, al-Sakhāwī reiterated his allegation in another of his books devoted to the defense of history as a science, *Al-Iʿlān bi-al-Tawbīkh,* where he provided the same details with, however, a reference to his informant in this affair:[10]

وكذا جمع خططها المقريزي وهو مفيد. قال لنا شيخنا إنه ظفر به مسودة لجاره الشهاب أحمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن الأوحدي بل كان بيض بعضه، فأخذها وزاد عليه زيادات ونسبها لنفسه.

In the same way, al-Maqrīzī compiled [a history] of its topography, and it is a useful [book]. Our master told us that he discovered it in draft form through his neighbor Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan al-Awḥadī who, however, had [already] made a fair copy of some parts. He [al-Maqrīzī] appropriated it after making some additions to what he [al-Awḥadī] had done and then attributed it to himself.

Though the words differ only slightly from the previous quotation, the mention of an informant is a clue to understanding on what grounds al-Sakhāwī presumed to bring forth this charge. The *shaykhunā,* in al-Sakhāwī's jargon, refers to the only person he ever considered his master and to whom he devoted a lengthy biographical monograph:[11] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449). This is a significant point because al-Sakhāwī was born in 830/1427, which means that he was only 15 years old when al-Maqrīzī died. It is unlikely that al-Sakhāwī would have heard or witnessed anything relating to this case before al-Maqrīzī's death, given his young age. On the other hand, it is reasonable to think that his master would have told him what he knew about this story when al-Sakhāwī got older, probably after al-Maqrīzī's death. Given that Ibn Ḥajar died seven years after al-Maqrīzī, his disciple was 22 years old by that time, a more credible age for a divulgence of that kind.[12]

[10] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Iʿlān bi-al-Tawbīkh li-man Dhamma Ahl al-Tārīkh,* in Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography,* rev. ed. (Leiden, 1968), 402; ibid., trans. Ṣāliḥ Aḥmad al-ʿAlī (Beirut, 1407/1986), 266.

[11] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar fī Tarjamat Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Ḥajar,* ed. Ibrāhīm Bājis ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Beirut, 1999).

[12] For instance, al-Sakhāwī did not get access to Ibn Ḥajar's dictionary of his authorities, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* before 850/1447. As we will soon see, this was a major source for al-Sakhāwī's charge against al-Maqrīzī. His reading note on *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* together with two others by renowned scholars (Ibn Fahd and Taghrī Barmish), found in Ibn Ḥajar's autograph copy held in al-Maktabah al-Azharīyah, Cairo (MS muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fol. 163a), is edited below.

Al-Sakhāwī confirmed that his informant in this case was Ibn Ḥajar in the biography he dedicated to his master, but he did not refer to an oral tranmission, asserting rather that he read Ibn Ḥajar's allegation in the dictionary of his authorities, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis lil-Muʿjam al-Mufahris:*[13]

وقرأت بخطه أيضا في ترجمة الأديب المؤرخ الشهاب أحمد بن الحسن بن عبد الله بن طوغان الأوحدي ما نصه: اعتنى بعمل خطط القاهرة ومات عنه مسودة فبيضه الشيخ تقي الدين المقريزي.

I also read in his [Ibn Ḥajar's] handwriting, in the biography of the man of belles-lettres, the historian Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Ṭūghān al-Awḥadī, what follows: "He devoted his time to working on the topography of Cairo but it was in draft form when he died. The shaykh Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī made a fair copy of it."

Whatever the case may be, the charge is undoubtedly a very serious one, as he claims that al-Maqrīzī's achievement in this case must be credited to al-Awḥadī. Before investigating if al-Sakhāwī's assertion was grounded on serious evidence and thus justified, it is necessary to turn to al-Awḥadī's biography and study his connection to al-Maqrīzī.[14]

It can be argued that without the incident discussed here, al-Awḥadī would have remained an obscure scholar. He was indeed largely unnoticed, as the data provided by the sources to recount his life are only found in three sources written by contemporaries who were acquainted with him or by a later historian who relied on these testimonies. In fact, the main sources are the very protagonists of this affair: al-Maqrīzī himself, Ibn Ḥajar, and al-Sakhāwī, the last not having had the opportunity to know al-Awḥadī, as he was born shortly after the latter's death. Thanks to the data provided by these authors,[15] we know that Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ṭūghān al-Awḥadī was born in

[13] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar,* 1:394. This is the fifth time al-Sakhāwī exposes al-Maqrīzī's plagiarism.

[14] A fuller account of al-Awḥadī's life will be found in "From Draft to Palimpsest."

[15] Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah fī Tarājim al-Aʿyān al-Mufīdah*, partial autograph copy in Forschungsbibliothek, Gotha, MS 1771, fols. 47b–49a = ibid., ed. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī (Beirut, 1992), 1:232–37; ibid., ed. Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī (Beirut, 2002), 1:185–90 (no. 120); Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1994–98; reprint of Cairo, 1969–72), 2:406; idem, *Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāminah,* ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh (Cairo, 1992), 195 (no. 316); idem, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis lil-Muʿjam al-Mufahris,* ed. Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Marʿashlī (Beirut, 1992–94), 3:38–39; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 1:358–59.

Cairo in 761/1360 in a family of eastern origin (probably Iraq or Iran). It was his grandfather who had come to Cairo, where he settled in 710/1310–11. He then entered the service of an influential Mamluk, Baybars al-Awḥadī, the governor of the citadel, and the latter's *nisbah* was attached to him, as frequently happened in the Mamluk milieu.[16] His grandson, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad, served in the army where he held several positions, after he had received a thorough instruction in the various Quranic readings. As a scholar, he compiled numerous notebooks *(majāmīʿ)* and composed at least two books: a *dīwān* of his own poetry and a topographical history of Cairo. The latter mostly remained in draft form, though he managed to make a fair copy of some parts of it before his death in his 48th year according to our calendar, in 811/1408. Incidentally, al-Maqrīzī, who was born in the sixties of the eighth century (probably in 766/1364–65, which means that al-Awḥadī was five years older than him), outlived him by more than 34 years, as he died in 845/1442. Even though al-Awḥadī died earlier, the two men were not strangers to one another: they were neighbors, living in the same quarter of Barjawān, in the Fatimid part of the city, close to the street of Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, and they met each other in their respective homes for sessions of transmission *(imlāʾ),* and this occurred in 810/1407, a year before al-Awḥadī's death:[17]

Our fellow, the expert reader [of the Quran], the historian, the man of letters, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ṭūghān al-Awḥadī, the soldier, the Shafiʿite, transmitted to me orally in my home of Cairo on Saturday, 7 [nights] before the end of Rajab in 810 [25 December 1407].[18]

وحدثني صاحبنا المقرئ المؤرخ الأديب شهاب الدين أحمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن طوغان الأوحدي الجندي الشافعي إملاء بمنزلي من القاهرة في يوم السبت لسبع[19] أن بقين من شهر رجب سنة عشر وثماني مائة.

Their bonds can even be appreciated by the fact that al-Maqrīzī's nephew, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī, attended al-Awḥadī's lectures,

[16] See J. Sublet, *Le Voile du nom* (Paris, 1991), 28–30.

[17] Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd,* MS 1771, fol. 48b = ed. ʿAlī, 1:235–36 = ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:188.

[18] This is the reading in the autograph copy. In both ʿAlī's and al-Jalīlī's editions: + ليال and the following أن missing. This shows that al-Jalīlī did not rely on his complete copy of the text, which belongs to his family (see Dāwud al-Čelebī al-Mawṣilī, *Kitāb Makhṭūṭāt al-Mawṣil* [Baghdad, 1927], 264, no. 5), and the partial autograph, but on ʿAlī's edition, at least for this part!

[19] See Manuel Ocaña Jiménez, *Tablas de conversión de datas islámicas a cristianas y viceversa* (Madrid, 1946), 42–43.

where he recited to him the Quran and another work he had learned by heart in 810/1407.[20] The relationship between the two scholars must have been friendly, as can be perceived in the biography al-Maqrīzī wrote about him, where some pieces of al-Awḥadī's poetry dedicated to him are provided. In these succinct examples of his mastery of the most appreciated literary genre in the Arab world, sympathy as well as kindness abound. Suffice it to quote the following distich:

شرفت قدري إذ أتيت لمنزلي وملكتني بالبر والمعروف
يابن الخلائف أنت عاضد عصرنا لا بدع إن أنعمت بالتشريف

You honored my rank when you came to my home
and conveyed to me kindness and friendliness.
O scion of the caliphs! You are the support of our times.
It is no heresy if you are vested in the title of sharīf.[21]

Reading the data, it can be inferred that al-Maqrīzī and al-Awḥadī struck up a strong relationship based on mutual respect and devoid of academic rivalry, as sometimes happened in other cases.[22]

Let us now come back to the charge brought by al-Sakhāwī against al-Maqrīzī, and more particularly to his source, Ibn Ḥajar, as he clearly indicated that he owed his knowledge of the case to him. Given this fact, it seems likely that al-Sakhāwī read something about the plagiarism in Ibn Ḥajar's writings. In three different places, Ibn Ḥajar devoted space to an account of al-Awḥadī's work on the *khiṭaṭ*. The first account appears in his chronicle entitled *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr:*[23]

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[20] See his biography in al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 9:150. He was born in 801/1399. Al-Sakhāwī cast doubt on his birth in that year, given that he already knew two books by heart at the age of 8. He died in 867/1462.

[21] There is an evident play here on the double meaning of *tashrīf:* to bestow upon somebody the title of *sharīf* (descendant of the Prophet) or a robe of honor. In the first case, it is a clear reference to al-Maqrīzī's alleged Fatimid ancestry. On this, see Paul Walker, "Al-Maqrīzī and the Fatimids," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7 (2003): 83–97, particularly 86–87. On *tashrīf* in the second meaning, see Werner Diem, *Ehrendes Kleid und erhendes Wort: Studien zu* "tashrīf" *in mamlūkischer und vormamlūkischer Zeit* (Würzburg, 2002). The first meaning fits better given the beginning of that verse.

[22] See Anne Broadbridge, "Academic Rivalry and the Patronage System in Fifteenth-Century Egypt: al-ʿAynī, al-Maqrīzī, and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (2003): 85–107.

[23] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 2:406.

This Shihāb al-Dīn was passionately fond of history. He wrote a comprehensive draft on the topography of Miṣr and Cairo, parts of which he made into a fair copy. He did a useful work and in an excellent manner.	وكان شهاب الدين هذا لهجا بالتاريخ وكتب مسودة كبيرة لخطط مصر والقاهرة وبيض بعضه وأفاد فيه فأجاد.

As is noticeable, Ibn Ḥajar did not say a word about al-Maqrīzī and the possible use he might have made of al-Awḥadī's work. On the other hand, it confirms that al-Sakhāwī is quoting from his master's work when speaking of al-Awḥadī's book, as the words provided here to describe it are found in the entry he devoted to him in his *al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ*.[24] Ibn Ḥajar's silence on the affair persists in the second source, *Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāminah:*[25]

His grandson, Shihāb al-Dīn, who had nice handwriting, compiled a book on the topography of Cairo on which he worked hard and which was in draft form when he died.	وجمع شهاب الدين حفيده—وكان حسن الخط—كتابا في خطط القاهرة تعب عليه ومات وهو مسودة.

Here again, not a shadow of an accusation is to be found in Ibn Ḥajar's report; but once more, this report can be identified as a source of al-Sakhāwī's data (in the use of the phrase *taʿiba ʿalayhi*[26]). However, Ibn Ḥajar became more explicit in the dictionary of his authorities, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* and revealed a bit more information:[27]

He compiled notebooks in belles-lettres, among them the topography of Cairo. He worked hard on it, but it was in draft form when he died. His friend, the shaykh Taqī al-Dīn al-Maqrīzī, made use of it.	وجمع مجاميع في الأدب منها خطط القاهرة تعب فيه ومات عنه مسودة فانتفع به رفيقه الشيخ تقي الدين المقريزي.

[24] See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 3:358–59.

[25] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 195.

[26] See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 3:358–59.

[27] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* 3:39.

Ibn Ḥajar has hit the nail on the head: "he made use of it" *(intafaʿa bi-hi)*. Interestingly, it must be noted that al-Maqrīzī probably knew what Ibn Ḥajar said about this in the dictionary of his authorities, given that he had read his own biography in it. This is proven by the corrections he added in the margins of the autograph manuscript of *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis*.[28] It is not known whether Ibn Ḥajar asked al-Maqrīzī to read his own entry and make corrections, if necessary, or let him borrow his book upon its completion,[29] but al-Maqrīzī undeniably leafed through the pages.[30] It is unlikely that he would have failed to notice al-Awḥadī's entry that lies just a leaf before (fol. 129b). If this is the case, he agreed with the fact that he "made use of it [al-Awḥadī's draft of the *Khiṭaṭ*]" *(intafaʿa bi-hi),* as he apparently did not modify Ibn Ḥajar's text.[31] Still, nowhere did Ibn Ḥajar say that al-Maqrīzī made a fair copy of it and then appropriated it, making some additions to it, as did al-Sakhāwī *(bayyaḍahā wa-nasabahā li-nafsihi maʿa ziyādāt)!* Should we conclude that this charge is just the result of al-Sakhāwī's intellectual envy towards someone who, even after his death, was still in the limelight? Truly, al-Sakhāwī managed to build his own reputation as a mudslinger, as he often dipped

[28] Cairo, al-Maktabah al-Azharīyah MS muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fol. 131a. This fact had not been noticed by the editor, al-Marʿashlī, who integrated these corrections in the text as if they were written by Ibn Ḥajar. The handwriting, though, is quite different. A critical edition of al-Maqrīzī's and al-Awḥadī's entries will be found in Appendix 1 at the end of this article. Al-Maqrīzī's additions are identified in the picture by a frame and an arrow. It must be added that Ibn Ḥajar also added, at a later date, at the end of al-Maqrīzī's marginal addition, some interesting data regarding his alleged Fatimid ancestry. These data had not been edited by al-Marʿashlī and were ignored by those who wrote on this subject.

[29] The actual copy was finished in Cairo on Thursday 16 Jumādá II 829/25 April 1426 (fol. 161a). Later on, Ibn Ḥajar added "save for what has been added after that" *(siwá mā ultuḥiqa fīhi baʿda dhālika),* which refers to the numerous marginal additions. It can thus be ascertained that al-Maqrīzī read his entry after 829/1426.

[30] His marginal notes are found on the following leaves: 11a (صوابه يوم الأحد ثالث عشر شوال), 12a (يوم الثلثاء ثاني صح), 50a (عبد الله بن), 111b (ولد في تاسع عشر شهر ربيع الأول سنة تسع عشرة وسبع مائة), 127a (ثاني عشري), 128b (يوم الأربعاء عاشر ربيع الآخر), 135b (أخبرني الثقة فتح الله عنه بما نسبح من ذكره), 137a (اسمه يوسف بن محمد بن عيسى ولقبه سيف الدين). One will conclude that al-Maqrīzī corrected mistakes and added data unknown to Ibn Ḥajar. Al-Sakhāwī noticed al-Maqrīzī's handwriting, as he says in the biography he gave of al-Maqrīzī in his *Al-Tibr al-Masbūk* (1: 77): "*wa-qad dhakarahu shaykhunā fī al-qism al-akhīr min muʿjamihi alladhī waqafa ṣāḥib al-tarjamah ʿalayhi.*"

[31] One will notice on the leaf (see Appendix 1), to the left of this information, an additional note consisting of a few words, which was later cancelled with circles that render the decipherment impossible nowadays (the note is identified in the picture by a frame). It is hard to say if this is even Ibn Ḥajar's handwriting. It could have been related to the question of plagiarism. I will come back to this note below.

his *qalam* in vinegar when depicting others.[32] It can be said that he was not very fond of al-Maqrīzī, as the following extract demonstrates:[33]

He had a good memory for history, but his knowledge of the Ancients was tiny. This is why he often made mistakes in their names [phonetic distortions and slips of letters], and sometimes he misplaced the diacritical marks in the texts *(matn)*. . . . As for the events of Islam, the knowledge of the transmitters and their names, the declaration of [their] dishonesty and integrity, [their] ranks, [their] lives, and all sorts of things which are part of the mysteries and beauties of history, he was incompetent. He had a limited knowledge of *fiqh,* hadith, and grammar.

وكان حسن المذاكرة بالتاريخ لكنه قليل المعرفة بالمتقدمين ولذلك يكثر له فيهم وقوع التحريف والسقط وربما صحف في المتون. . . . وأما الوقائع الإسلامية ومعرفة الرجال وأسمائهم والجرح والتعديل والمراتب والسير وغير ذلك من أسرار التاريخ ومحاسنه فغير ماهر فيه وكانت له معرفة قليلة بالفقه والحديث والنحو.

This is a pretty harsh depiction, and it partly misled modern scholars who dealt with the charge of plagiarism he brought against al-Maqrīzī because they considered that it was additional proof of al-Sakhāwī's envy toward al-Maqrīzī.

Given that al-Maqrīzī is the accused in this affair, it would be interesting to know what he said about al-Awḥadī—his friend *(rafīquhu),* according to Ibn Ḥajar—and his work. In fact, he drew his portrait in two of his books. In his biographical dictionary devoted to Egypt, *Al-Muqaffá,* the only useful data is the following:[34]

He compiled notebooks and copied [a lot] in his own hand. He was skillful in the Quranic readings, belles-lettres, and history.

وجمع مجاميع وكتب بخطه وبرع في القراءات والأدب والتاريخ.

[32] See Carl Petry, "al-Sakhāwī," *EI²,* 8:881.

[33] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 2:23.

[34] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Tārīkh al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Yaʿlāwī (Beirut, 1991), 1:513–14 (no. 498), 514.

In the dictionary of his contemporaries, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* he is more loquacious on the issue:[35]

He memorized a lot about history, particularly the history of Egypt, to such an extent that he hardly missed anything of the history of its rulers, caliphs, and amirs, of the events of its wars, the topography of its houses, and the biography of its notables . . . I have jotted down from him heaps of historical data, and I benefited from him a lot in the field of history. God assisted me in providing me with drafts in his own handwriting about the topography of Cairo that I incorporated in my comprehensive book entitled *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*. He also offered me the collection of his poems, which is a nice volume in his own hand.

وكان . . . حافظا للكثير من التاريخ، لاسيما أخبار مصر، فإنه لا يكاد يشذ عنه من أخبار ملوكها وخلفائها وأمرائها ووقائع حروبها وخطط دورها وتراجم أعيانها إلا اليسير. . . . علقت عنه جملة أخبار واستفدت منه كثيرا في التاريخ وأعانني الله بمسودات من خطه في خطط القاهرة ضمنتها كتابي الكبير المسمى بكتاب المواعظ والاعتبار في ذكر الخطط والآثار وناولني ديوان شعره وهو في مجلدة لطيفة بخطه.

Courtesy Forschungsbibliothek (Gotha), MS or. 1771, fol. 49a (featuring al-Maqrīzī's acknowledgment that he incorporated al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ* in his own book)

Of course, this represents a praiseworthy confession, but does it answer the allegation of plagiarism put forward by al-Sakhāwī? The problem does not lie so much in the fact that al-Maqrīzī incorporated a draft treating of the same subject as the book he was writing, but rather in the fact that he simply made a fair copy of it *(bayyaḍahā)* and then attributed it to himself *(nasabahā li-nafsihi)* after having made some additions to it *(maʿa ziyādāt)*. What about this grievance?

[35] Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:186.

Should we conclude, as some modern scholars have done, that al-Sakhāwī was liable to spin a yarn to bring such a scurrilous accusation? Here is how Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid appraised it:[36]

This confession . . . refutes the accusation brought by al-Sakhāwī and that many researchers have doubted. It confirms the malicious intent of al-Sakhāwī, who, in consulting al-Awḥadī's biography in al-Maqrīzī's *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* was only interested in the quotation and garbled al-Maqrīzī's words to give more weight to the accusation he brought against him.

وهذا الاعتراف . . . ينفي الاتهام الذي ساقه السخاوي وتشكك فيه الكثير من الباحثين ويؤكد سوء نية السخاوي الذي اطلع على ترجمة الأوحدي عند المقريزي في «درر العقود الفريدة» ولكنه توقف بالنقل وحرف كلام المقريزي ليؤكد الاتهام الذي ساقه ضده.

Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī, who also dealt with the charge of plagiarism at about the same time as Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, interpreted the data in a similar way:[37]

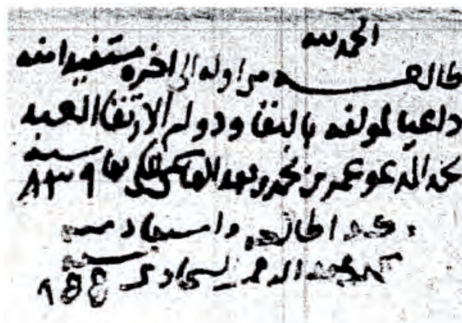
[36] Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, "Muqaddimat al-Muḥaqqiq," in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (London, 2002–4), 1:64.

[37] Maḥmūd al-Jalīlī, "Al-Muʾarrikhūn al-Muʿāṣirūn lil-Maqrīzī wa-al-Nāqilūn minhu," in al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* 4:38.

Furthermore, al-Sakhāwī had read the draft of al-Maqrīzī's *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* given that he wrote on it: "Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī also consulted it and took advantage of it in 855," as it appears on the published photograph and as [it is confirmed] by the fact that he borrowed from *Durar al-ʿUqūd* for several biographies in his book. This establishes a malicious intent of alteration and omission towards al-Maqrīzī, because there is a big difference between copying from the sources and making a fair copy of a complete book and then appropriating it.

ثم إن السخاوي كان قد قرأ مسودة درر العقود الفريدة للمقريزي إذ أنه كتب عليها «وكذا طالعه واستفاد منه محمد بن عبد الرحمن السخاوي سنة ٨٥٥» كما يظهر في الصورة المنشورة، كما نقل في تراجم كثيرة في كتابه عن درر العقود مما يدل على سوء القصد تجاه المقريزي بالتحوير والحذف، فهناك فرق كبير بين الأخذ من المصادر وبين تبييض كتاب كامل ونسبه لنفسه.

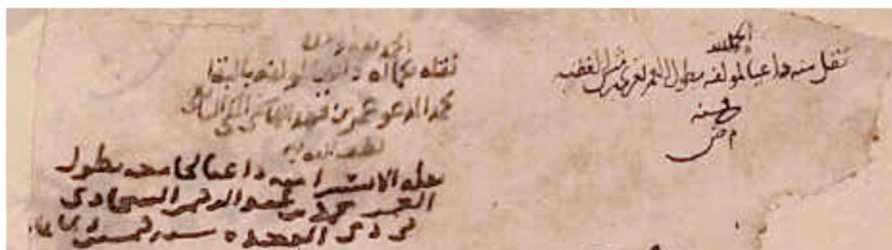
Both authors, writing at the same time, considered al-Sakhāwī's accusation to be a mere result of his "malicious intent" *(sūʾ al-nīyah/al-qaṣd)* given that, according to them, al-Sakhāwī made up the charge on the basis of al-Maqrīzī's confession in his biographical dictionary. Al-Jalīlī stressed that a proof of this maliciousness can be seen in the note of consultation al-Sakhāwī wrote on the title page of the autograph of *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah*, as is visible here:



Courtesy Forschungsbibliothek (Gotha), MS or. 1771, fol. 1a

الحمد لله || طالعه من أوله إلى آخره مستفيدا منه || داعيا لمؤلفه بالبقاء ودوام الارتقاء العبد || محمد المدعو عمر بن محمد بن فهد الهاشمي المكي بها سنة ٨٣٩ [١٤٣٥–٣٦].
وكذا طالعه واستفاد منه || محمد بن عبد الرحمن السخاوي سنة ٨٥٥ [١٤٥١–٥٢].

To this, two rebuttals can be made. First, al-Sakhāwī also read what Ibn Ḥajar had written in his *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis* regarding the fact that al-Maqrīzī made use of al-Awḥadī's draft on the *khiṭaṭ,* and this five years earlier, as is shown here:[38]



Courtesy al-Maktabah al-Azharīyah (Cairo), MS muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fol. 163a

الحمد لله || نقل منه داعيا لمؤلفه بطول العمر تغري برمش الفقيه || في سنة م ض [= ٨٤٠\٣٧–١٤٣٦].
الحمد لله وحده || نقله بكماله داعيا لمؤلفه بالبقاء || محمد المدعو عمر بن فهد الهاشمي المكي الشافعي || لطف الله به.
نقله إلا يسيرا منه داعيا لجامعه بطول || العمر محمد بن عبد الرحمن السخاوي || في ذي القعدة سنة خمسين وثمانما[ئة] [١٤٤٧\].

He was thus fully aware of the story thanks to these two sources. Second, it must be emphasized that al-Sakhāwī implicitly acknowledged his awareness of al-Maqrīzī's confession in the *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* a point apparently disregarded by Sayyid and al-Jalīlī:[39]

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[38] These reading notes were not published by the editor of this text, al-Marʿashlī. The first reader, Taghrī Barmish, was the *nāʾib al-qalʿah* and Ibn Ḥajar's student. Taghrī Barmish narrated a dream he had involving Ibn Ḥajar, on the same leaf, just above his reading note. This account, unpublished too, can be read in the biography of Ibn Ḥajar that al-Sakhāwī wrote, where he said he read it in one of his master's works (i.e., *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis*). See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar,* 1:309–10. Al-Sakhāwī reveals in the same work that he managed to consult the manuscript of *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* which was brought back by somebody else from Ibn Ḥajar's house, and that he took note of the biographies mentioned there in a very short time (maybe four days), before returning it to his master. See ibid., 3:1019 (*ʿāda wa-al-muʿjam maʿahu fa-surirtu bihi kathīran wa-rajaʿtu min fawrī fa-fakaktuhu min al-jild wa-tajarradtu fa-katabtu minhu al-tarājim dūna al-asānīd iktifāʾan bi-al-fihrist maʿa tanbīhī fī kull tarjamah ʿalá asmāʾ mā dhakara fīhā min al-marwīyāt wa-tamma fī ayyām yasīrah aẓunnuhā arbaʿah wa-jiʾtuhu bi-hi fa-qaḍá al-ʿajab min dhālika wa-saʾaltuhu fī fihrist al-kitāb bi-khaṭṭihi fa-faʿala*).

[39] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 1:359.

And there are interesting details in his [al-Awḥadī's] biography in al-Maqrīzī's *ʿUqūd* [= *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah*], [where] he [al-Maqrīzī] admitted that he took advantage of his drafts on the topography.

وفي ترجمته من عقود المقريزي فوائد واعترف بانتفاعه بمسوداته في الخطط.

Furthermore, al-Sakhāwī never claimed that Ibn Ḥajar had reported the offense committed by al-Maqrīzī in his own writings. The only thing we are sure of is that he said that Ibn Ḥajar told him *(qāla lanā shaykhunā)*. From this, it may be inferred that this was a testimony by word of mouth, transmitted by a master to his pupil. No doubt, al-Sakhāwī's conviction was strengthened by what he read in al-Maqrīzī's own handwriting in 855/1451–52, ten years after the latter's death, though al-Maqrīzī did not confess he had plagiarized his colleague's draft, but only that he had incorporated it into his own work. Consequently, Ibn Ḥajar's oral disclosure was critical, as we will see. Now, the time has come to leave the world of conjecture and to bring forth evidence.

The Evidence

No autograph copies of the final version of al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* have been reported thus far. However, two volumes, probably out of four, of the first draft have been preserved.[40] It must be stressed that it is quite rare that a draft of a first version would be preserved when a fair copy of a fuller version had been prepared and the book published; when a fair copy of a work had been made, there remained no reason for the draft *(musawwadah)* to survive. Once published, the draft usually disappeared on the author's death, or even earlier if he destroyed it himself.[41] In this particular case, we can explain this idiosyncrasy by the fame gained by al-Maqrīzī during his own lifetime, which gave some value to his autograph manuscripts, even if they were drafts of works already published.[42] After his

[40] They are now held in the library of the Topkapı palace in Istanbul under the shelfmarks E. Hazinesi 1405 and Hazinesi 1472. The latter was published by A. F. Sayyid under the title *Musawwadat Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (London, 1995).

[41] This kind of auto-da-fé is documented for Shujāʿ ibn Fāris ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Dhuhlī al-Suhrawardī al-Ḥarīmī (d. 507/1113). A renowned copyist, he had written a supplement to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Tārīkh Baghdād,* but he "washed" *(ghasala)* the manuscript when he knew that he would die *(fī maraḍ mawtihi)*. By washing, it must be understood that the leaves were washed with water or that the book was immersed in water. In both cases, it caused the ink to fade and rendered the text illegible. In this case, no fair copy had been made. See al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 1990–2000), 35:161.

[42] Twenty-one holograph volumes representing twelve different works have been located so far.

death, they became collectibles.[43]

Logically, as we are speaking of drafts, both volumes are holograph manuscripts from the first to the last leaf—with one exception. In the second volume (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi, MS E. Hazinesi 1405), nineteen leaves (82a–100b), corresponding to two quires[44] and dealing with the chapter devoted to the madrasahs, seem to bear both al-Maqrīzī's handwriting and a different one. The question is: does it correspond to the handwriting of a copyist hired by al-Maqrīzī to produce a fair copy of this section? We know indeed that al-Maqrīzī used a copyist for such a purpose at least once. At the end of his life, four years before passing away (841/1438), he hired a professional copyist[45] who was responsible for producing a fair copy of several small treatises, some of which al-Maqrīzī had finalized during his last stay in Mecca in 839/1435–36.[46] He was less than satisfied with the work accomplished, as he revealed in the comment he added to some colophons.[47] In any case, the handwriting of that copyist does not match with the one found in the section under study in the draft of the *Khiṭaṭ*. Furthermore, neither of the volumes representing the draft was in any way a definitive version, as is shown by the numerous additions in al-Maqrīzī's hand found on slips of paper, in the margins, or in the body of the text itself.

See F. Bauden, "Maqriziana II: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method: Analysis," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 12, no. 1 (2008): 115–16.

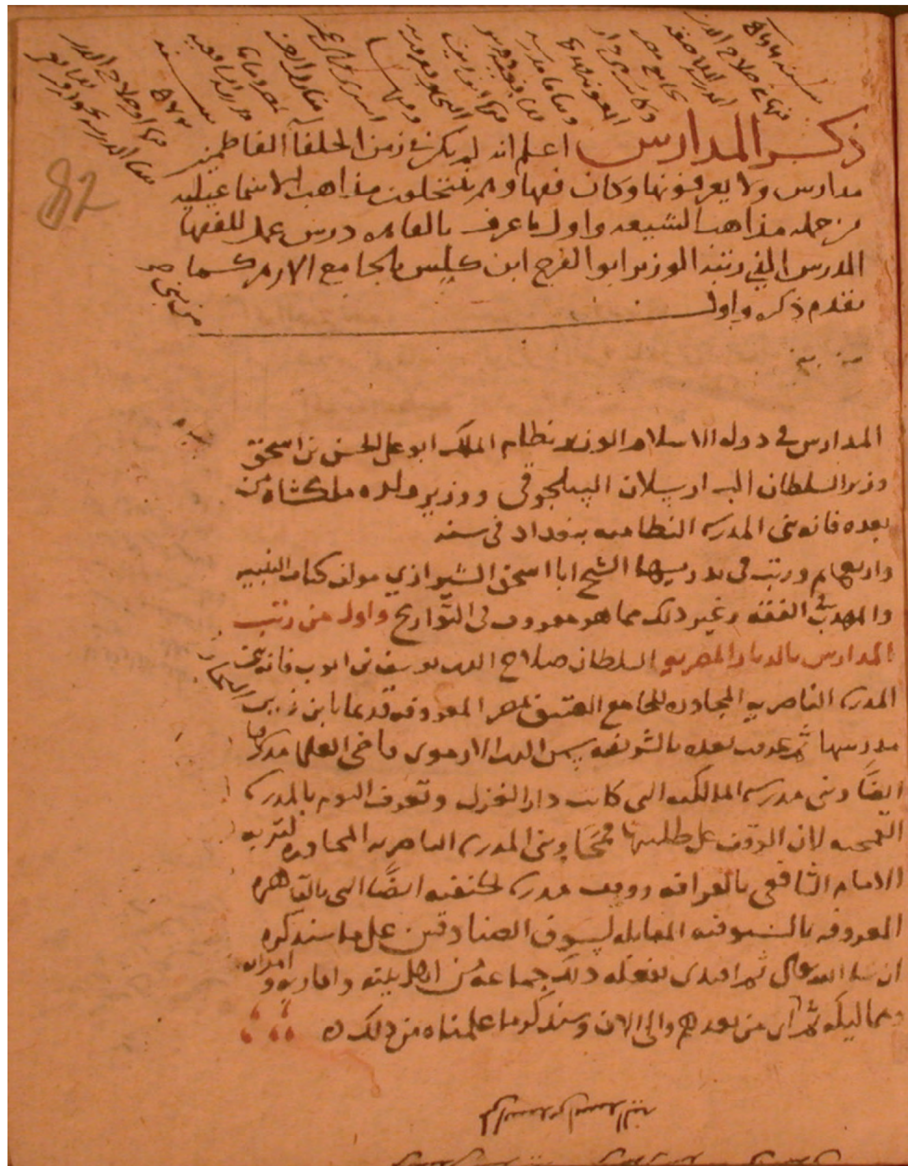
[43] There is no other way to explain why two of his notebooks would have survived. On autograph manuscripts as collectibles, see Houari Touati, *L'Armoire à sagesse: bibliothèques et collections en Islam* (Paris, 2003), 70–71.

[44] One leaf is obviously missing.

[45] The handwriting is clearly that of a clerk who worked at the chancellery. Some features are common with those found in documents produced at the same period. See, for instance, the closing formulas in the colophon on fol. 43a (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS or. 560).

[46] The MS is now in Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS or. 560. It was accurately described for the first time by Reinart P. A. Dozy, "Notice sur le manuscrit 560 de la Bibliothèque de Leyde, contenant les Opuscules d'al-Makrízí," in *Notices sur quelques manuscrits arabes,* ed. idem (Leyde, 1847), 17–28.

[47] For instance, fol. 61b: انتهى تصحيحه جهد الطاقة مع كثرة سقم النسخة جامعه ومؤلفه أحمد بن علي المقريزي في شهر رمضان سنة إحدى وأربعين وثمانمائة



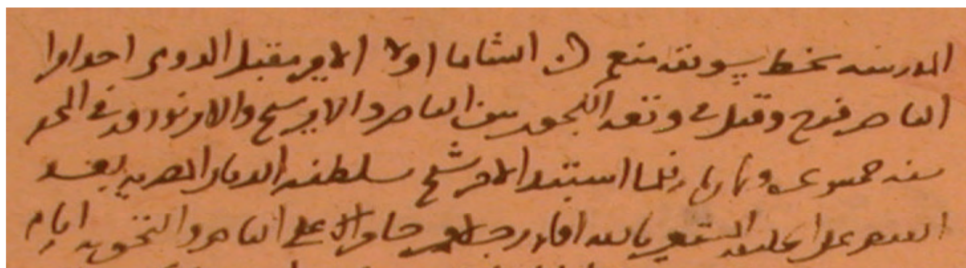
Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 82a (featuring al-Awḥadī's handwriting in the lower part and al-Maqrīzī's in the upper part (the first five lines) after he rubbed out part of al-Awḥadī's introduction).

Al-Maqrīzī would hardly have asked somebody to recopy these nineteen leaves if they were only a draft, as the rest of the manuscript is.[48] In the following pages,

[48] It must be remembered that none of the twenty-one autograph volumes mentioned earlier contains any handwriting other than al-Maqrīzī's—they are holograph manuscripts. The volume

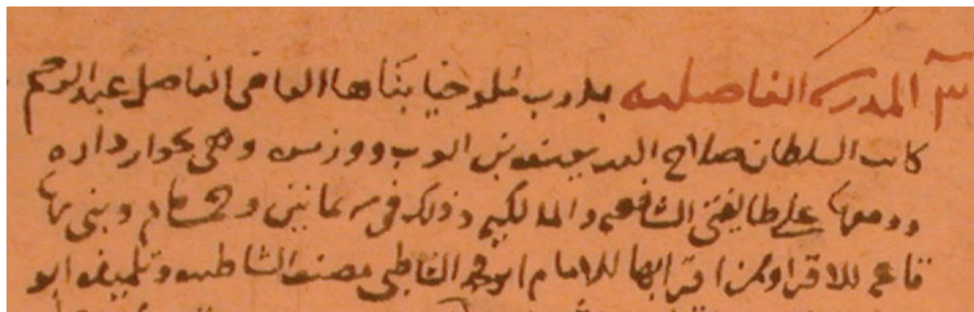
I argue that this is al-Awḥadī's handwriting and that these two quires must be regarded as the unique surviving part of the book he devoted to the topography of Cairo, a fact that will have consequences for the question of al-Maqrīzī's alleged plagiarism. In support of my allegations, I will produce several external and internal elements.

Thanks to Ibn Ḥajar, whose role was of the utmost importance in this affair, as we will see, we know that al-Awḥadī's handwriting was a nice one *(kāna ḥasan al-khaṭṭ)*.[49] By this, we must understand that he probably had an almost calligraphic script, as opposed to the more common scholar's *naskh.* Ibn Ḥajar wrote in a scholar's *naskh,* as did al-Maqrīzī, which means that the script was not so attractive:



Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 97a: al-Maqrīzī's scholar's *naskh*

The other handwriting featured on these nineteen leaves may indeed be described as beautiful:



Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 83a

One notices especially the final shape of the *kāf* (line 3: *wa-dhālika*) with its oblique stroke maintained and the curvy *wāw*. Some ligatures are also visible,

of treatises in Leiden already referred to is excluded from this figure.

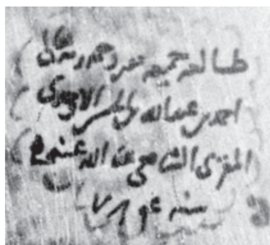
[49] Ibn Ḥajar, *Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 195.

most notably in words ending in a *tāʾ marbūṭah* or *hāʾ* (line 1: *al-madrasah,* line 2: *wazīruhu,* line 3: *al-shāfiʿīyah, al-mālikīyah,* line 4: *qāʿah, tilmīdhuhu*). But establishing that this is a pretty script and that it therefore corresponds to Ibn Ḥajar's description of al-Awḥadī's handwriting does not suffice to establish the truth. Ideally, it should be compared with a sample of al-Awḥadī's handwriting. Unfortunately, none of his autograph manuscripts are known to exist anymore,[50] but five very brief specimens of his script are still found on title pages of manuscripts he owned or consulted.[51] To these ownership and reading notes, he always appended the date, a practice also followed by his colleague, al-Maqrīzī.[52] They are all reproduced here:

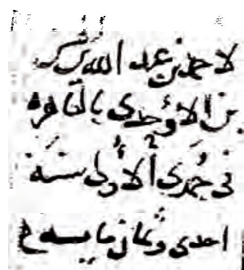
[50] His holograph *dīwān,* given to al-Maqrīzī (see al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:186 [*wa huwa fī mujalladah laṭīfah bi-khaṭṭihi*]), has not been discovered so far. Moreover, the resumé of the "Kitāb al-Hadāyā wa-al-Tuḥaf" (Afyon Karahisar, Gedik Ahmet Paşa Kütüphane Memurluğu, MS 17596), which is said to have been prepared by al-Awḥadī and later copied by Ibn Duqmāq, must in fact be attributed to Ibn Duqmāq. Al-Awḥadī only added a note to the original, complete manuscript of the "Kitāb al-Hadāyā wa-al-Tuḥaf," and Ibn Duqmāq took note of it at the end of his resumé. The attribution to al-Awḥadī is due to a misunderstanding of the note in question and is imputable to the editor of the text, Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh (who also wrongly attributed the book to al-Rashīd ibn al-Zubayr): *Kitāb al-Dhakhāʾir wa-al-Tuḥaf* (Kuwait, 1959). The same mistake was repeated by the translator: Ghādah al-Ḥijjāwī al-Qaddūmī, *Books of Gifts and Rarities* (Kitāb al-Hadāyā wa-al-Tuḥaf): *Selections Compiled in the Fifteenth Century from an Eleventh-Century Manuscript on Gifts and Treasures* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996). For more detail about this, see my "From Draft to Palimpsest."

[51] These are: (1) Muḥammad ibn Hilāl al-Ṣābiʾ, "Al-Hafawāt al-Nādirah," Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Ahmet III 2631, fol. 137a (the text is known to me thanks to F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography,* 479, n. 4, where he states that the reading note is dated to 784/1382: طالعه جميعه فقير رحمة ربه تعالى أحمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن الأوحدي المقرئ الشافعي عفا الله عنه هـ سنة ٧٨٤); (2) Ibn Ḥamdīs, "Dīwān," Biblioteca apostolica vaticana (Vatican City), MS ar. 447, fol. 1a (لأحمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الأوحدي بالقاهرة في جمادى الأولى سنة إحدى وثمان مائة); (3) Ibn Saʿīd, "Al-Mughrib fī Ḥulá al-Maghrib," Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah (Cairo), MS tārīkh 103 mīm, fol. 1a (طالعه أحمد بن عبد الله بن [الحسن] بن الأوحدي سنة ٢[٨٠]); (4) al-Musabbiḥī, "Akhbār Miṣr," Biblioteca de El Escorial (El Escorial) MS 534, fol. 132a (طالعه أحمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الأوحدي بالقاهرة سنة ٨٠٣); (5) al-Kindī, "Kitāb al-Wulāh wa-al-Quḍāh," British Library (London), MS add. 23.324, fol. 134a (لأحمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الأوحدي بالقاهرة في شهر رمضان المعظم من سنة خمس وثمان مائة). See also Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, "Muqaddimat al-Muḥaqqiq" in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār,* 1:61–62.

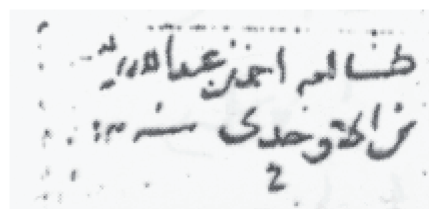
[52] To such an extent that al-Maqrīzī's reading notes are found on the title pages of two manuscripts consulted earlier by al-Awḥadī. On al-Maqrīzī's notes of consultation, see F. Bauden, "Maqriziana II," 117–18, where a list is provided.



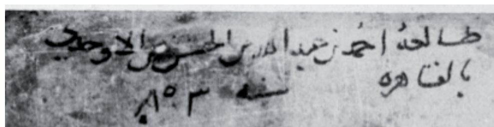
Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Ahmet III 2631, fol. 137a.



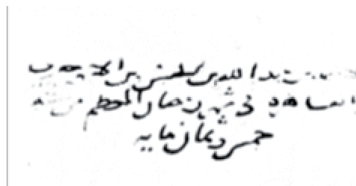
Courtesy Biblioteca apostolica vaticana (Vatican City), MS ar. 447, fol. 1a.



Courtesy Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah (Cairo), MS tārīkh 103 mīm, fol. 1a.

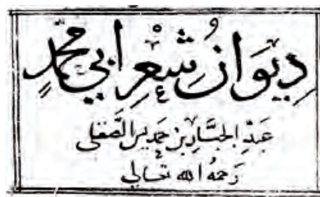


Courtesy Biblioteca de El Escorial (El Escorial), MS 534, fol. 132a.



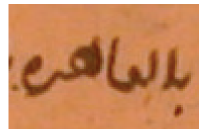
Courtesy British Library (London), MS add. 23.324, fol. 134a.

The following sample must also be considered to be in al-Awḥadī's handwriting. It appears on the title-page of the copy of Ibn Ḥamdīs' *Dīwān* that al-Awḥadī owned (see ownership note above).



Courtesy Biblioteca apostolica vaticana (Vatican City), MS ar. 447, fol. 1a.

A comparison between these brief specimens and the handwriting appearing in the draft allows us to notice a great similarity. The word *bi-al-Qāhirah* being present twice in these reading notes, it can be compared with the same word in the section of the draft bearing a different handwriting, for which two occurrences are also found:





Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fols. 82a and 93a.

Once again, the resemblance is striking. However, any specialist in Arabic paleography knows perfectly well how difficult and dubious it is to authenticate somebody's handwriting, even more so if the specimens compared are brief, as is the case here. To this *prima facie* evidence, it is thus necessary to bring forward other, internal, elements in order to corroborate the identification of this script as al-Awḥadī's. For this purpose, we must now turn to a textual analysis.

While reading this section, one notices cross references to other parts of the work. The author obviously planned to write a section dealing with houses *(al-ādur),* and from the text it is understood that this section was to come after the one devoted to madrasahs.[53] But in the final version of al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ,* the section on houses precedes the one on madrasahs. Though one could argue that, in the draft, al-Maqrīzī had yet to write down the section on houses and that he later modified the order, how can it be explained that, in the second reference, the author of this section refers to his forthcoming study of the house of Ibn Wakīl al-Wazīr al-Maʾmūn al-Baṭāʾiḥī and that this house is not even dealt with by al-Maqrīzī in his final version? If this is al-Awḥadī's script, it means that either he did not finish the section on houses or that, more probably, al-Maqrīzī ignored his data, as will become clear later regarding some of the madrasahs. Another cross reference, on fol. 99b, mentions the construction of al-Azhar mosque, and in this case, the author indicates that he had already dealt with this subject and the question of courses taught in that place.[54] Here again, the section is found neither

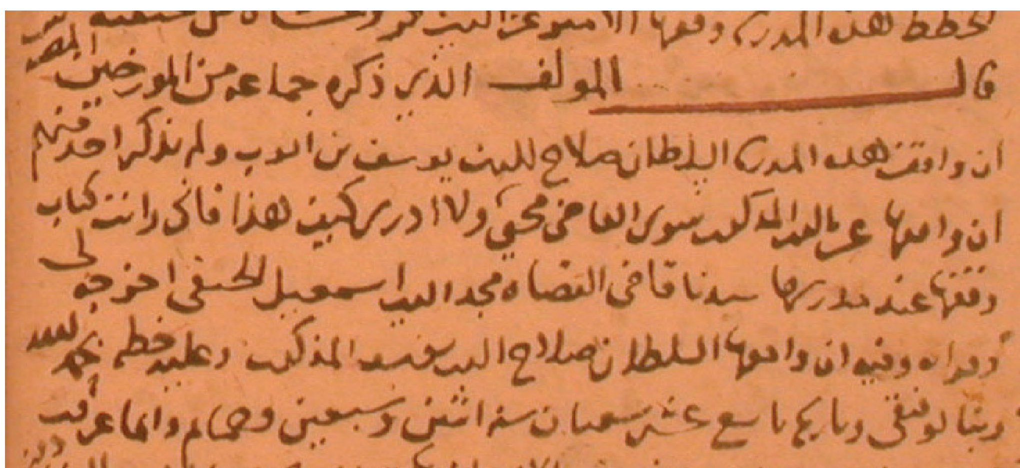
[53] Fol. 87a: *wa-sayaʾtī dhikr dhālika in shāʾa Allāh taʿālá fī dhikr al-ādur;* fol. 99a: *wa-sayaʾtī dhikr dhālika fī al-ādur.*

[54] Fol. 99b: *qad taqaddama fī dhikr bināʾ al-jāmiʿ al-azhar mā kāna qarrarahu fīhi al-wazīr Abū al-Faraj ibn Killis min al-dars bi-hi baʿda ṣalāt al-jumʿah . . .*

in the draft nor in the final version.[55] In this case too, al-Maqrīzī did not bother with this cross reference made by al-Awḥadī, as he knew that he would produce a fair copy and that he could modify these references at that time.

Furthermore, several personal testimonies are found in this specific section, where the author confirms that he visited the monuments whose history he is detailing, in order to verify the historical facts reported in other books he used. For this, we can provide three enlightening examples.

On fol. 82b, one reads the following text:



Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 82b.

It is striking that the first words of this paragraph, until *alladhī,* have clearly been rubbed out by al-Maqrīzī, who replaced them with the convenient *qāla al-muʾallif,* an impersonal way to refer to himself, thus attributing to himself the following words. The author of these lines explains that he had the opportunity to see the document of the *waqf* of the said madrasah (al-Suyūfīyah) and that he read it, then giving details that corroborated what he declared at the beginning of the paragraph. Let us compare this text with the one appearing in al-Maqrīzī's final version of the *Khiṭaṭ:*

[55] The draft just has a section entitled *dhikr al-jawāmiʿ allatī tuqām bi-hā al-jumʿah* (fol. 127a ff). That section has been reorganized in the final version.

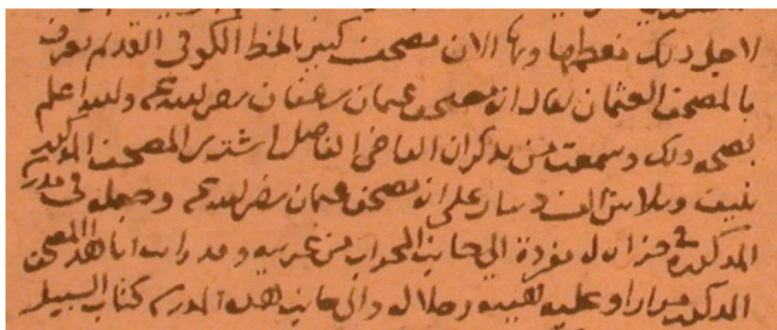
المسودة، و ٨٢ب.	المواعظ والاعتبار، مج ٢، ص ٣٦٥–٣٦٦ (ط. بولاق).[56]
قال المؤلف الذي ذكره جماعة من المؤرخين المصريين || أن واقف هذه المدرسة السلطان صلاح الدين يوسف بن أيوب ولم يذكر أحد منهم || أن واقفها عز الدين المذكور سوى القاضي محيي [الدين] ولا أدري كيف هذا فإني رأيت كتاب || وقفها عند مدرسها سيدنا قاضي القضاة مجد الدين إسمعيل الحنفي أخرجه لي || وقرأته وفيه أن واقفها السلطان صلاح الدين يوسف المذكور وعليه خطه بحمد الله ربنا توفيقي وتاريخه تاسع عشر شعبان سنة اثنتين وسبعين وخمسمائة.	وقد وهم القاضي محيي الدين عبد الله بن عبد الظاهر فإنه قال في كتاب الروضة الزاهرة في خطط المعزية القاهرة مدرسة السيوفية وهي للحنفية وقفها عز الدين فرحشاه[57] قريب صلاح الدين وما أدري كيف وقع له هذا الوهم فإن كتاب وقفها موجود قد وقفت عليه ولخصت منه ما ذكرته وفيه أن واقفها السلطان صلاح الدين || وخطه على كتاب الوقف ونصه الحمد لله وبه توفيقي[58] وتاريخ هذا الكتاب تاسع عشري شعبان سنة اثنتين وسبعين وخمسمائة.

The most conspicuous difference concerns his disregard of the name of the person who is supposed to have shown him the *waqf* document mentioned in the draft. We may wonder why al-Maqrīzī would have deleted such important data that would have confirmed his seriousness and scrupulousness, when he in fact resorted to this practice in other cases. The only possible interpretation is that al-Maqrīzī was reluctant to lie so explicitly about where he got his information (though the temptation to do so must have been strong); when he introduced al-Awḥadī's account with the vaguer and less authoritative "*qāla al-muʾallif,*" he felt no qualms about appropriating it as his own work. The same is true for the following passage, even more disturbing:

[56]I am referring here to the Būlāq edition, given that A. F. Sayyid replaced the text of the final version with the one found in the draft in his own edition of the *Khiṭaṭ* (London, 2002–4), 4:461.

[57]Read فرخشاه.

[58]A. F. Sayyid, *Khiṭaṭ,* renders the text in his edition in this way: الحمد لله ربنا وبه توفيقي. One understands that he combined what he found in the draft with the reading given by the Būlāq edition, thus creating a new motto for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn!



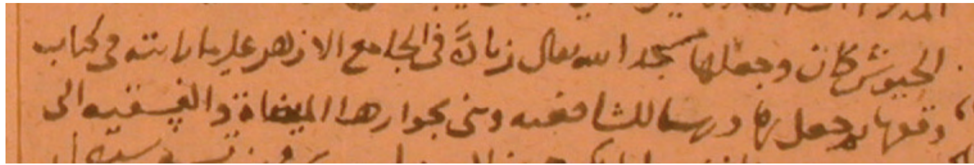
Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 83a.

As can be seen, this passage is totally devoid of al-Maqrīzī's handwriting. The author of these lines attests that he saw a copy of the Quran attributed to ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān in the madrasah al-Fāḍilīyah. If we compare this text with the one appearing in al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ,* it appears that, in this case too, al-Maqrīzī neglected to mention these personal data:

المسودة، ص ٨٣أ.	المواعظ والاعتبار، مج ٢، ص ٣٦٦ (ط. بولاق).[59]
وبها الآن مصحف كبير بالخط الكوفي القديم يعرف || بالمصحف العثماني. يقال إنه مصحف عثمان بن عفان رضي الله عنه والله أعلم || بصحة ذلك وسمعت من يذكر أن القاضي الفاضل اشترى المصحف المذكور || بنيف وثلاثين ألف دينار على أنه مصحف عثمان رضي الله عنه وجعله في مدرسته || المذكورة في خزانة له مفردة إلى جانب المحراب من غربيه وقد رأيت أنا هذا المصحف || المذكور مرارا وعليه هيبة وجلالة.	وبها إلى الآن مصحف قرآن كبير القدر جدا مكتوب بالخط الأول الذي يعرف بالكوفي تسميه الناس مصحف عثمان بن عفان ويقال إن القاضي الفاضل اشتراه بنيف وثلاثين ألف دينار على أنه مصحف أمير المؤمنين عثمان بن عفان رضي الله عنه وهو في خزانة مفردة له بجانب المحراب من غربيه وعليه مهابة وجلالة.

If this section of the draft was composed by al-Maqrīzī, why would he withdraw such personal testimonies (indicated here with an underline) in the final version? One final example will demonstrate that he did so because he was not at ease with material he had not written himself.

[59] A. F. Sayyid partially replaced the text of the final version with the one found in the draft in his own edition of the *Khiṭaṭ,* 4:462.


. الجيوش كان وجعلها مسجدا لله تعالى زيادةً في الجامع الأزهر على ما رأيته في كتاب
وقفها ثم جعل بها درسا للشافعية وبنى بجوارها الميضأة والفسقية التي

Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 87b.

Here is one more personal testimony attributable to the author of these lines where he states that he saw the document of the *waqf* of the madrasah al-Ṭaybarsīyah. Again, the comparison between the two texts is illuminating.

المسودة، ص٨٧ب.	المواعظ والاعتبار، مج ٢، ص ٣٨٣ (ط. بولاق).[60]
. . . الجيوش كان وجعلها مسجدا لله تعالى زيادةً في الجامع الأزهر على ما رأيته في كتاب ‖ وقفها ثم جعل بها درسا للشافعية وبنى بجوارها الميضأة والفسقية التي . . .	. . . الجيوش وجعلها مسجدا لله تعالى زيادة في الجامع الأزهر وقرر بها درسا للفقهاء الشافعية وأنشأ بجوارها ميضأة وحوض ماء سبيل . . .

Once more, the personal data have disappeared in al-Maqrīzī's version. This is upsetting because it betrays his determination never to refer to al-Awḥadī, as he could have simply introduced those words by *qāla al-Awḥadī.*

Last but not least, a decisive element in my opinion lies in the names of persons with whom the author of these lines cultivated a disciple-master relationship, calling them *shaykhunā*. Considering the nineteen leaves, four names are characterized in this way: Sirāj al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī (fols. 90a, 98b), Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿIrāqī (fol. 90b), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Bilbaysī (fols. 90b, 98b), and Taqī al-Dīn al-Baghdādī (fol. 100a). If we consider those who were common masters of both al-Awḥadī and al-Maqrīzī, we find only two of them (al-Bulqīnī and al-ʿIrāqī). Moreover, the remaining two (al-Baghdādī and al-Bilbaysī) are explicitly listed as having played a major role in al-Awḥadī's education, particularly in the field of Quranic readings, in which he excelled,[61] but they do not appear in al-Maqrīzī's curriculum:[62]

[60] A. F. Sayyid partially replaced the text of the final version in his own edition of the *Khiṭaṭ* on the basis of what is found in the draft (4:536).

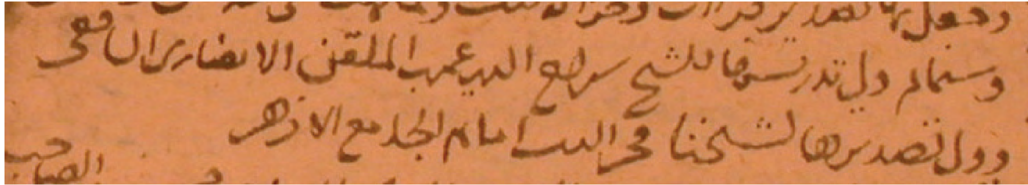
[61] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 2:406; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 1:358. Cf. al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:185–86.

[62] The four are mentioned by him in his dictionary of his contemporaries, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 2:421–42 (al-Bilbaysī, no. 726), 254–55 (al-Baghdādī, no. 584), 234–37 (al-ʿIrāqī, no. 563), 431–36 (al-Bulqīnī, no. 740). It is noteworthy that he devoted less space to the

وتلا بالسبع بل بالأربع عشرة على التقي البغدادي وكذا لازم الفخر البلبيسي الإمام في ذلك اثنتي عشرة سنة.

He [al-Awḥadī] recited [the Quran] according to the seven, and even the fourteen [readings] under the supervision of Taqī al-Dīn al-Baghdādī. Likewise, for twelve years, he was inseparable from Fakhr al-Dīn al-Bilbaysī, who was a master in this [field].

How, then, should we interpret the following passage, where two names are provided?



Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 90b.

ولي تدريسها للشيخ سراج الدين عمر بن الملقن الأنصاري الشافعي || وولي تصديرها لشيخنا فخر الدين إمام الجامع الأزهر.

The first one, Ibn al-Mulaqqin, is simply designated as *al-shaykh,* while the second, Fakhr al-Dīn [i.e., al-Bilbaysī], as *shaykhunā,* although the latter does not appear among al-Maqrīzī's masters.[63] However, about the first, al-Maqrīzī declares:[64]

first two men, who were not his masters, than the last two who were. About al-Bulqīnī, he says that he was "the most venerable man with whom I studied" *(ajall man akhadhtu ʿanhu al-ʿilm).* Ibid., 2:434. It is also worth mentioning that al-Maqrīzī wrote down al-Bulqīnī's death date on the first leaf of the first preserved volume of his draft of the *Khiṭaṭ* (Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Hazinesi 1472, fol. 1a). See also the list of his masters established by al-Jalīlī on the basis of the information provided by al-Maqrīzī in his biographical dictionary: al-Jalīlī, "Al-Muqaddimah," in al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:21–27 (neither al-Baghdādī nor al-Bilbaysī appears in this list).

[63] The fact that the author of these lines referred to his master only by his *laqab* is rather illuminating, in that the author did not feel the need to clarify who his master was because this was evident in his eyes.

[64] Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 2:431.

I was closely associated with him for several years and I studied with him numerous works he was authorized to transmit and several of his own books.	صحبته عدة سنين وأخذت عنه كثيرا من مروياته ومصنفاته.

In this case, should he not have called Ibn al-Mulaqqin *shaykhunā* in his draft, rather than applying this title to a person with whom he never studied? Of course, there was no need for him to change these personal data particular to al-Awḥadī in the draft, as they would be modified in the final version.

Thanks to all these elements, we can establish that the fragment covering nineteen leaves preserved in al-Maqrīzī's autograph draft is part of al-Awḥadī's own draft of his book on the topography of Cairo. Yet, we still have to address the accusation of plagiarism brought by al-Sakhāwī ("he made a fair copy of it and attributed it to himself"). For this, it is necessary to consider how plagiarism, a rather modern concept, was understood in the historical context under consideration.

Plagiarism: A Nebulous Concept or a Clearly Apprehended Notion?

Though it is almost as old as literature, plagiarism remains a complicated issue.[65] Conceptualized mainly during the modern period with the impulse of the Romantic movement, which promoted the vision of the inspired writer whose originality was interpreted in aesthetic words, the concept has seen its definition evolving through the ages.[66] When used nowadays, it is understood with moral and aesthetic implications that were not necessarily valid in earlier times and different cultures. Plagiarism, in its modern meaning, may be defined as the act of appropriating, rather faithfully, a textual element written by another author, and doing this without acknowledgement. Moreover, the intent to deceive people into thinking that the borrowed text is the result of one's own work is essential. Plagiarism nonetheless remains a hazy concept in literary terms. Nowadays, plagiarism in literature is better defined as intertextuality, meaning by this that

[65] The Latin word "plagiarius," designating a person who stole a slave or sold a free man as a slave, was used metonymically for the first time by the poet Martial (died in 104) for a person who had appropriated some of his verses. For Antiquity, see Anthony Grafton, "Plagiarism," in *Brill's New Pauly* (Leiden and Boston, 2007), 315. From the very beginning, the ideas of alienation and swindling were thus present. See Ch. Vandendorpe, "Introduction," in *Le Plagiat: Actes du colloque tenu à l'Université d'Ottawa du 26 au 28 septembre 1991,* ed. Ch. Vandendorpe ([Ottawa], 1992), 7. The following book was not available to me before the publication of this article: *Remploi, citation, plagiat: Conduites et pratiques médiévales (X^e–XII^e siècle),* ed. Pierre Toubert and Pierre Moret (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2009).

[66] M. Randall, "Critiques et plagiaires," in *Le Plagiat,* 91–104.

an author cannot help but find himself at the point where all his previous readings intersect, with each of them nurturing his ideas in their turn. In other fields, the term is perfectly well understood, and many universities around the world advise their students with regard to plagiarism and its negative effects.[67] It is thus important to keep in mind the difference that exists between the concept with its literary meaning and its use in the other fields such as the scientific, philosophical, or historical ones.

Looking at the past with this modern definition in mind may lead some scholars to identify striking similarities, either in words or in ideas, in works composed by contemporary (or non-contemporary) authors and, on that basis, to charge one of them—usually the one who wrote later—with plagiarism. When he read the *Disputa de l'Ase* of Anselm Turmeda (ca. 1352–ca. 1424), Miguel Asín Palacios, who knew the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ,* immediately saw the resemblance between the story developed by Turmeda and the structure of the 28th epistle of the Brethren of Purity ("The Case of the Animals versus Man before the King of the Jinn"). He concluded that Turmeda had plagiarized the epistle and that, consequently, his work was not original.[68] Recent research has shown that Turmeda had undoubtedly read the said epistle, but that "he took what he found useful in their work, adapted it to his own message and his intended audience."[69] In other words, this is a perfect case of intertextuality.

Such accusations expressed by modern critics towards medieval scholars exist for other fields too, such as history and the sciences. Regarding history, and particularly early Muslim history where the facts are reported on the basis of pieces of information *(khabar)* and traditions *(ḥadīth)* that by definition should not be considered as belonging to a given author, the case raised by J. Horovitz is indicative of this modern trend to identify such practices as plagiarism. Horovitz, following his predecessor, Wellhausen, noticed that al-Wāqidī and Ibn Isḥāq's works shared identical reports both in content and shape, and he concluded that, given that al-Wāqidī never quoted Ibn Isḥāq in his book and that the latter wrote at an earlier date, al-Wāqidī consequently was guilty of plagiarism.[70] J. M. B. Jones

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[67] Speaking of my own experience, I have already identified some cases of plagiarism in M.A. theses I was asked to supervise. Furthermore, the University of Liège has recently made software available to professors that is supposed to detect plagiarism in the written material submitted by students.

[68] M. A. Palacios, "El original árabe de la *Disputa del asno contra fray Anselmo Turmeda,*" *Revista de filología española* 1 (1914): 1–51.

[69] See L. M. Alvarez, "Beastly Colloquies: Of Plagiarism and Pluralism in Two Medieval Disputations between Animals and Men," *Comparative Literature Studies* 39 (2002): 196.

[70] See J. Horovitz, "The Earliest Biographies of the Prophet and Their Authors," *Islamic Culture* 2 (1928): 518.

reevaluated this assumption and concluded that if both versions were similar, this was the result of the kind of material available at their time.[71] In other words, the story was transmitted by the *quṣṣāṣ,* and both authors shared a common corpus from which they selected the material they found interesting. Though they might slightly modify the form of the material (words, structure of the sentence), they usually did not alter the overall structure or content. Jones could establish, for instance, that al-Wāqidī's version was closer to the story as it was told by the *quṣṣāṣ* because it still contains the characteristics of the literary processes used by these storytellers, which have been reduced by Ibn Isḥāq in his own version. In any case, the charge of plagiarism was out of context, once again.[72]

Similarly anachronistic statements have also been made regarding scientific texts. In the field of medicine, the case recently publicized by Khader Musa is interesting.[73] A comparison between two texts—the *Kitāb Khalq al-Janīn wa-Tadbīr al-Ḥabālah wa-al-Mawlūdīn* of ʿArīb ibn Saʿīd al-Qurṭubī (d. 370/980) and the *Siyāsat al-Ṣibyān wa-Tadbīruhum* of Ibn al-Jazzār (d. 369/979 or 360/970)—led him to conclude that 90% of the contents of the latter could be identified in the former, and this without quoting Ibn al-Jazzār at any time.[74] On the basis of the similarity he found in the contents and the fact that he tracked down one identical passage from the *Siyāsat al-Ṣibyān* in the *Kitāb Khalq al-Janīn,* Musa reckoned that al-Qurṭubī had plagiarized his contemporary's work, a charge that nobody had dared to put forward during the author's lifetime, or any time thereafter.

As in every case, the key elements that drive modern scholars to charge medieval authors with plagiarism are: similarity in either expression or content, the absence of reference to the "plagiarized" source (which points to intellectual dishonesty of the "plagiarist"), and the desire to deceive the reader by pretending that the "plagiarist" is the real author of the book. This is the typically biased view that results from a comparison between two books produced in a given period of the past, judged by a definition of a concept that cannot but be anachronistic when applied to the period in which the said "plagiarism" is detected.[75] Undoubtedly,

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[71] See J. M. B. Jones, "Ibn Isḥāq and al-Wāqidī: The Dream of ʿĀtika and the Raid to Nakhla in Relation to the Charge of Plagiarism," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 22 (1959): 41–51.

[72] Ibid., 51: "A more acceptable theory would be that the greater part of the *sīrah* was already formalized by the second century A.H. and that later writers shared a common corpus of *qāṣṣ* and traditional material, which they arranged according to their own concepts and to which they added their own researches."

[73] Kh. Musa, "La Paidología de ʿArīb al-Qurṭubī e Ibn al-Ŷazzār al-Qayrawānī: ¿Coincidencia o plagio?" *Anaquel de Estudios Árabes* 10 (1999): 97–132.

[74] Ibid., 127.

[75] As regards literature, see M. Peled, "On the Concept of Literary Influence in Classical Arabic

when dealing with books written in these times, an accusation of plagiarism remains controversial. In order to apprehend the phenomenon of plagiarism correctly, it is thus essential to try to understand how it was perceived in the context we are dealing with, i.e., the pre-modern Muslim culture. We have seen that there may be a difference in the way it was apprehended in literature and the non-literary fields, and we will therefore evaluate both situations independently.

As theorized by Muslim authors of the pre-modern period, plagiarism in literary criticism was a concept expressed through the word *sariqah*.[76] In this sense, it was mainly used for poetry and, to a lesser extent, epistolography.[77] Though many works have been devoted to this theme from an early period onwards,[78] a clear theory of what *sariqah* meant was never really developed.[79] Several works tried to categorize the different genres and the broader limits of plagiarism in poetry, but they resulted in a quite complicated and wide-ranging taxonomy of various kinds of "borrowings," from crude plagiarism to creative borrowing.[80] Even if crude

Literary Criticism," *Israel Oriental Studies* 11 (1991): 37: "A discussion of the concept of literary influence in classical Arabic literature has to contend with several obvious difficulties. First, the very notion as conceived by present-day criticism was unknown to the Arab critics, just as it was unknown to their Greek predecessors, whose ideas on intertextual relations are often discernible in Arabic critical thinking. Consequently the phenomenon of literary influence is never explicitly discussed in Arabic works dealing with problems of poetics. If, in spite of this difficulty, we can attempt to reconstruct their attitude toward it, it is because the results of such influence are nevertheless apparent in Arabic poetry. This was recognized by the medieval critics within another conceptual framework, namely, that of plagiarism *(al-sariqah al-adabīyah)*."

[76] For a very broad presentation of plagiarism in poetry and a good bibliography, see W. Heinrichs, "Sariḳa," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Supplement*, fascicules 9–10, 707–10.

[77] W. Heinrichs, "An Evaluation of *Sariqa,*" *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 5–6 (1987): 357: "One of the favorite pastimes of the medieval critic of arabic literature was to hunt for *sariqāt* ("thefts", "plagiarisms") in the works of the poets and, to a lesser extent, the epistolographers."

[78] The *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm, for instance, already listed several titles of books tackling this issue in poetry. See more particularly on this: D. Sturm, "Ibn an-Nadīm's Hinweise auf das Verhältnis zum geistigen Eigentum im Historikerkapitel des Kitāb al-Fihrist," *Hallesche Beiträge zur Orientwissenschaft* 13 (1990): 65–70.

[79] See W. Heinrichs, "An Evaluation of *Sariqa,*" 367: "By now it will have become abundantly clear that the *sariqāt* literature is less important to us for what, on the surface, it purports to be, namely collections of plagiarisms."

[80] With several technical words being applied to each of these kinds of "borrowings." For this, see specially the work of S. A. Bonebakker on al-Ḥātimī (d. 998): "Sariqa and Formula: Three Chapters from Ḥātimī's *Ḥilyat al-Muḥāḍara,*" *Annali dell'Istituto universitario orientale di Napoli* 46 (1986): 367–89; "Four Chapters from the *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara*—Arabic Texts," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 17 (1999): 29–52. See also his "Ancient Arabic Poetry and Plagiarism: a Terminological Labyrinth," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 15 (1997): 65–92; and A. Sanni, "From Value Judgment to Theoretical Formalism: The Development of Arabic Theory on *Sariqa* (Plagiarism)," *Proceedings of the 1989 International Conference on Europe and the Middle East held at the University of Durham,*

plagiarism existed (quotation word for word of the verse[s] of another poet), most of the forms it took encompassed a broad range of literary devices, from borrowing to quotation through evocation, to cite just a few. The idea of blameworthiness conveyed by the word *sariqah* ("theft") was however not instinctive in the mind of those who used that term. Some kinds of *sariqah* were laudable, others reprehensible. Hence the development of the concept of *akhdh,* more neutral, and also divided into two ethical categories: laudable and blameworthy.[81] Arab critics who devoted their time to identifying and classifying the borrowings in poetry relied on a binary system: that of the *lafẓ* (expression) and *maʿná* (poetical idea). If the poetical ideas were considered to be common property, the way they were expressed by a poet was regarded as personal and thus not permissible to be copied and reused in the same context.[82] Furthermore, *sariqah* was never considered from the legal point of view, as Islamic law does not recognize any legal value for the "theft" of intellectual property.[83] Nonetheless, it remains true that "the idea of intellectual property seems to have been well developed."[84] To conclude with this part, *sariqah* in literary criticism, as conceptualized by Arab critics of classical literature, does not fully equate with the word "plagiarism." Most of the cases registered by the treatises on *sariqah* have to do with what is now called intertextuality, though this was not expressed in those terms by Arab critics. However, they knew that a poet or a littérateur is inspired by his previous readings and cannot avoid the repetition of a theme or a metaphor.[85] Plagiarism,

9–12 July 1989 (Oxford, 1989), 384–94; idem, "Recomposition: An Aspect of Arabic Literary Theory," *Islamic Culture* 73 (1999): 105–20; idem, "The Arabic Theory of Originality and Imitation in a New Light," *Asiatische Studien/Études asiatiques* 54 (2000): 597–608.

[81] A. Sdiri, "Les théoriciens arabes et le plagiat," in *Le Plagiat,* 128. *Akhdh* was used for the taking over of a *maʿná* (poetical idea) of an earlier poet. See W. Heinrichs, "An Evaluation of *Sariqa*," 359.

[82] Peled, "On the Concept of Literary Influence," 37–38.

[83] It must be remembered here that in Western law, intellectual property was not recognized as such before the end of the eighteenth century (France, arrêts du Conseil du Roi, 30 August 1777), and was not protected by copyright before the end of the nineteenth century (the Bern convention of 1886). Even in this case, jurists prefer to speak of counterfeit rather than plagiarism. See A. Lucas, "Plagiat et droit d'auteur," in *Le Plagiat,* 199–200.

[84] W. Heinrichs, "Sariḳa," 707. The idea of the consciousness of intellectual property in Islam was expressed for the first time, as far as I know, by G. Schoeller, "Die Anwendung der oral poetry-Theorie auf die arabische Literatur," *Der Islam* 58 (1981): 222. For al-Ḥātimī's point of view, see also Sanni, "The Arabic Theory," 42–43: "He [al-Ḥātimī] dismisses the argument that all poetical ideas are common property and are therefore not subject to copyright. If this were so, he argues, al-Aʿshā (d. 7/629) would not have been imprisoned for his alleged appropriation of a work by another poet."

[85] Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1005) underwent such a situation: "This is something I have experienced myself and about which I have no doubt. Namely, I had composed something to

as we use the term nowadays, should rather be reserved for crude or slavish copying.[86]

If seldom established in literary works, especially poetry, this baser form of plagiarism is more likely to be recurrently used in the other fields of non-literary texts (hadith, history, sciences, etc.). And this is more pertinent for our purposes because the concept of intertextuality can hardly be invoked as a justification in these cases. Historical facts, for instance, would never be considered an author's intellectual property, but the words he chose to recount these facts could. We will see whether, in these cases, an author who slavishly copies from another without quoting his source is regarded as a plagiarist. It has repeatedly been said that authors in Islam very often quoted sources without paying their dues, i.e., citing the author or the title from which they were borrowing, but whether this behavior was evaluated, and if so in what manner (positively, neutrally, or negatively) has not really been approached from the point of view of the authors of these periods. For this, we will have to consider the evaluations and examples collected in several books dating to the period under consideration (eighth–ninth/fourteenth–fifteenth c.) and belonging to different genres, mainly hadith works, history and sciences.

The field of traditions (hadith) might appear to have eluded such practices, but the sources give a different picture. Here is what a renowned specialist of the field, al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348), had to say about *sariqah* with regard to hadith works:[87]

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describe women and said: '*safarna budūran wa-intaqabna ahlatā*.' I came to believe that nobody had already combined these two metaphors until I exactly found them [under the pen] of an author of Baghdad. I was really surprised and decided that I would never at all charge any modern poet of plagiarism regarding one of his predecessors" ("*wa-hādhā amr qad ʿaraftuhu min nafsī fa-lā amtarī fīhi wa-dhālika annī kuntu ʿamiltu shayʾan fī ṣifat al-nisāʾ fa-qultu 'safarna budūran wa-intaqabna ahlatā' wa-ẓanantu annī lam usbaq ilá jamʿ hādhayn al-tashbīhayn ḥattá wajadtu dhālika bi-ʿaynihi li-baʿḍ al-baghdādīyīn fa-kathura taʿajjubī wa-ʿazamtu ʿalá allā aḥkum ʿalá al-mutaʾakhkhir bi-al-sariqah min al-mutaqaddim ḥukman ḥatman*"). See al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ* (Cairo, 1913–20, reprint 1963), 2:303.

[86] See Sdiri, "Les théoriciens arabes et le plagiat," in *Le Plagiat,* 127.

[87] Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām,* 17:140.

Ibn Maʿīn said: "This [transmitter, i.e., al-Ḥusayn ibn Faraj], we know that he plagiarized traditions. I [al-Dhahabī] say: 'The plagiarism of traditions is less considerable than forging or inventing them. It consists in that a traditionist is the only one to transmit a given tradition, then the plagiarist comes and pretends that he heard it too from the same master. This is not similar to the plagiarism of the *ajzāʾ* [small compendia of hadith] and the books: this is far more disastrous than the plagiarism of the transmission, which is less wicked than the forgery of tradition because of his saying: "To tell a lie on my behalf does not equal a lie told on behalf of someone else."'"

قال ابن معين: ذاك نعرفه يسرق الحديث. قلت: سرقة الحديث أهون من وضعه أو اختلاقه وسرقة الحديث أن يكون محدث ينفرد بحديث فيجيء السارق ويدعي أنه سمعه أيضا من شيخ ذاك المحدث وليس ذاك بسرقة الأجزاء والكتب فإنها أنحس بكثير من سرقة الرواية وهي دون وضع الحديث في الإثم لقوله: إن كذبا علي ليس ككذب على غيري.

This very interesting passage posits several perceptions of the word *sariqah* not necessarily encountered so far in the context of literary texts. Thanks to it, we learn that traditionists identified people who attributed to themselves traditions that were known to be transmitted by only one person. This is similar to the appropriation of someone else's intellectual property.[88] However, it was regarded as less egregious *(ahwan)* than the forgery of traditions, which is more blameworthy because it implies that a lie is forged and put in the mouth of the Prophet. Obviously, to "steal" a tradition from someone who is its only transmitter is more easily forgiven. For the sake of understanding, al-Dhahabī wanted to make intelligible that there existed another kind of appropriation of someone else's words that was more harmful than the "theft" of a tradition: the plagiarism *(sariqah)* of works. Even speaking of *ajzāʾ*—the compendia of traditions (often on a certain theme) collected by a transmitter, which necessarily consisted only of hadiths and thus greatly obscured the transmitter's authorial voice—al-Dhahabī considered that to copy it and appropriate it was tantamount to an act of plagiarism. Authorship is nevertheless clearly discernible in these compendia because the transmitter selected those traditions, put them in a given order, and sometimes

[88] Al-Dhahabī provides two examples in other places: "*thumma saraqahu qawm ḍuʿafāʾ mimman yuʿrafūn bi-sariqat al-ḥadīth,*" *Tārīkh al-Islām,* 16:428; idem, *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ,* ed. Shuʿayb al-Arnaʾūṭ et al. (Beirut, 1401–9/1981–88), 10:601; "*uttuhima bi-sariqat ḥadīthayn,*" idem, *Tārīkh al-Islām,* 15:348.

appended a commentary for a difficult word found in a given tradition. Moreover, the personal approach is conspicuous in the *isnād,* which is very individualized.[89] Of course, he added that books *(kutub)* could be the subject of the same treatment, but this is far more to be expected. In al-Dhahabī's perception of the phenomenon, one understands that, on an ethical scale,[90] crude plagiarism (of compendia or books) is situated beneath the forgery of traditions (the worst) and above the appropriation of someone else's traditions (the least of all).

This perception concerning crude plagiarism emerges when reading the biography of a renowned *ʿālim* who was mainly a traditionist: Ibn al-Mulaqqin (d. 804/1401). Here is what a Syrian historian, himself a traditionist, had to say about him:[91]

After that, he wrote numerous books, but the Egyptians accuse him of plagiarism in his works. Indeed, he did not attend anything, he did not study thoroughly, and he composed many works in the sense that he copied the books of others.	ثم كتب بعد ذلك كتبا عديدة والمصريون ينسبونه إلى سرقة تصانيفه فإنه ما كان يستحضر شيئا ولا يحقق علما ويؤلف المؤلفات الكثيرة على معنى النسخ من كتب الناس.

What several authors reproached Ibn al-Mulaqqin for was the fact that his numerous works, amounting to more than three hundred, could only be produced in such quantities because he composed them by stealing what others had already written. We understand that Ibn al-Mulaqqin's books were not necessarily completely borrowed from others, but that the material he put in them mainly stemmed from others' production. One of Ibn Ḥajar's comments enlightens us in this matter. It is reported by al-Sakhāwī in the biography he devoted to his

[89] Al-Dhahabī elsewhere gives a telling example regarding Ibn Wadʿān (d. 494/1100) in this case: "*wa-rawá al-Arbaʿīn al-Wadʿānīyah al-mawḍūʿah allatī saraqahā ʿammuhu Abū al-Fatḥ ibn Wadʿān min al-kadhdhāb Zayd ibn Rifāʿah. . . . Wa-kitābuhu fī al-Arbaʿīn saraqahu min Ibn Rifāʿah wa-ḥadhafa minhu al-khuṭbah wa-rakkaba ʿalá kull ḥadīth rajulan aw rajulayn ilá shaykh Zayd ibn Rifāʿah wāḍiʿ al-kitāb*." See al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām,* 34:200.

[90] Cf. the words he used: *anḥas* (calamitous) and *ithm* (sin).

[91] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Khān (Beirut, 1987), 4:43. Cf. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 2:218: "*wa-ishtahara bi-kathrat al-taṣānīf ḥattá kāna yaqūl innahā balaghat thalāthamiʾat taṣnīf wa-ishtahara ismuhu wa-ṭāra ṣīyatuhu wa-kānat kitābatuhu akthar min istiḥḍārihi fa-li-hādhā kathura al-qawl fīhi min ʿulamāʾ al-Shām wa-Miṣr hattá qaraʾtu bi-khaṭṭ Ibn Ḥijjī: 'kāna yunsab ilá sariqat al-taṣānīf fa-innahu mā kāna yastaḥḍir shayʾan wa-lā yuḥaqqiq ʿilman wa-yuʾallif al-muʾallafāt al-kathīrah ʿalá maʿná al-naskh min kutub al-nās*.'" One will notice that in this case, the charge was uttered by a Syrian historian, Ibn Ḥijjī (d. 816/1413).

master, in a section entitled "Those who appropriated someone else's work and attributed it to themselves, adding or cutting out insignificant material, but the majority being mentioned in the words of the original." This section contains several cases of "plagiarism" or "borrowing" that Ibn Ḥajar could track down. Al-Sakhāwī gives the data regarding Ibn al-Mulaqqin on the basis of a note in Ibn Ḥajar's handwriting found on a supplement *(dhayl)* Ibn al-Mulaqqin wrote to his *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah:*[92]

I [al-Sakhāwī] saw in his [Ibn Ḥajar's] handwriting found on a Supplement of his master Ibn al-Mulaqqin . . . what follows:

"I examined this book from its beginning to its end and compared all the biographies it contains with *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Wusṭá* of the judge Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī. I found that almost everything is copied, word for word, from it. Likely, the small amount of additional material does not exceed ten biographies."

وقرأت بخطه أيضا على ذيل لشيخه ابن الملقن . . . ما نصه:

نظرت هذا الكتاب من أوله إلى آخره وقابلت التراجم جميعها على كتاب الطبقات الوسطى للقاضي تاج الدين السبكي فوجدت الجميع إلا اليسير منقولا منها بحروفها والقدر اليسير الزائد لعله عشرة تراجم لا يزيد على ذلك.

As is noticeable, Ibn Ḥajar's comment, written directly on a copy of this book,[93] does not characterize Ibn al-Mulaqqin's borrowing as plagiarism *(sariqah)*. But for someone who reads between the lines, that is precisely what he is saying. Hence al-Sakhāwī's remark:[94]

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[92] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar,* 1:391.

[93] Al-Sakhāwī explains, a few lines later (ibid., 392), that he managed to lay hands on a copy of Ibn al-Mulaqqin's *Ṭabaqāt* in the handwriting of someone who was acquainted with Ibn Ḥajar. The first volume consisted of the *Ṭabaqāt* while the second contained, among other things, the *Dhayl* Ibn Ḥajar examined. Al-Sakhāwī found Ibn Ḥajar's comment on that copy.

[94] Ibid., 392.

I remained astonished at my master's purpose in this matter. It would not have harmed him if he had said in his comment: "He gleaned it from the work of one of his predecessors." Did he think that Tāj al-Dīn's *Ṭabaqāt* would be buried with its author in his grave and would not be published? And that he would not have yet authorized another copy to be made? That is really strange!

ولقد طال تعجبي من شيخنا فيما اعتمده من ذلك فما كان يضره لو قال في خطبته: إنه التقطه من تصنيف من سبقه إليه. أتراه ظن أن طبقات تاج الدين تدفن معه في القبر فلا تظهر؟ وما جوز قط أن ينقل منها نسخة أخرى؟ إن هذا لشيء عجيب!

Even though al-Sakhāwī never speaks of plagiarism *(sariqah)* because the work contained some additional—albeit limited—original material, he considered that his master's judgment was too neutral and that he should have been more explicit in order to reveal Ibn al-Mulaqqin's bad behavior. Interestingly, his comment also demonstrates that a deceit such as this one would have been unmasked sooner or later, as copies usually survived their author and were always likely to be compared with someone else's work.

In the given section of Ibn Ḥajar's biography, al-Sakhāwī lists further cases of appropriation noticed by his master, most of the latter's comments having been found written on the incriminated books. In none of these comments does Ibn Ḥajar refer to the appropriation with the word "*sariqah,*" and his tone always remains almost neutral, with no hint of a moral judgment. He simply exposed what was wrong in the way they acted: the books they produced were just a collection of passages borrowed from others without quoting them; the material they added or omitted was insignificant in comparison with the amount of data they took from others; they copied almost word for word; and, finally, they deceived others by saying that this was their original work. Only once did he pour out his feelings about such behavior. Describing what al-Birmāwī (d. 816/1413) had done in a particular case, he declared: "This does not advance knowledge!"[95] which is, in our modern perception of the phenomenon, a justifiable criticism.

If Ibn Ḥajar was reluctant to use the word "*sariqah*" (plagiarism) in such cases, his remarks nevertheless imply that he did not at all appreciate the way these authors acted. His assessment of one of his colleague's books further corroborates that he felt this way even for verbatim quotations of passages without referring to the source, a practice generally observed in those days. This assessment, which

[95] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar,* 1:394 ("*wa-laysa dhālik min shukr al-ʿilm*").

brings us to the historical field,[96] refers to al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1451) and his *ʿIqd al-Jumān,* and Ibn Ḥajar placed it at the beginning of his chronicle entitled *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr:*[97]

I have consulted for it the *History* of the judge Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-ʿAynī, who mentioned that he based himself on the *History* of Ibn Kathīr, and that is indeed the case. However, when Ibn Kathīr['s *History*] ends, he relied mainly on the *History* of Ibn Duqmāq, to such an extent that he uninterruptedly copied almost a full page from it, sometimes following him blindly in his mistakes, even his grammatical mistakes like "*akhlaʿa ʿalá fulān.*" Even stranger, Ibn Duqmāq mentions that he witnessed an event, and al-Badr [al-ʿAynī] blindly reproduces his words although this event happened in Cairo while he [al-ʿAynī] was far away from it, in ʿAyntāb. I have not busied myself with following his slips. Rather, I copied from him things I believe he was aware of, things I did not witness myself but he did, and that were not at my disposal [elsewhere].

وطالعت عليه تاريخ القاضي بدر الدين محمود العيني، وذكر أن الحافظ عماد الدين ابن كثير عمدته في تارخيه وهو كما قال؛ لكن منذ قطع ابن كثير صارت عمدته على تاريخ ابن دقماق، حتى يكاد يكتب منه الورقة الكاملة متوالية، وربما قلده فيما يهم فيه حتى في اللحن الظاهر مثل "أخلع على فلان،" وأعجب منه أن ابن دقماق يذكر في بعض الحادثات على أنه شاهدها فيكتب البدر كلامه بعينه بما تضمنه، وتكون تلك الحادثة وقعت بمصر وهو بعيد في عينتاب، ولم أتشاغل بتتبع عثراته، بل كتبت منه ما ليس عندي مما أظن أنه اطلع عليه من الأمور التي كنا نغيب عنها ويحضرها.

Even if this criticism must be gauged in the light of an academic rivalry between both scholars, as A. Broadbridge stressed,[98] this passage is remarkable because it can be placed in a broader context, i.e., all the other cases Ibn Ḥajar tried to track down: as such, it definitely confirms his own apprehension, in negative terms, of the phenomenon.

[96] For the earlier periods, see particularly the following example mentioned by al-Masʿūdī about Ibn Qutaybah: "*wa-jarrada dhālika Abū Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī fī kitābihi wa-qad salaba dhālika Ibn Qutaybah fa-naqalahu ilá kutubihi naqlan wa-jaʿalahu ʿan nafsihi wa-qad faʿala dhālika fī kathīr min kutub Abī Ḥanīfah al-Dīnawarī hādhā.*" Al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab wa-Maʿādin al-Jawhar,* ed. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, rev. Charles Pellat (Beirut, 1966–74), 3:359.

[97] Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 1:4–5.

[98] See A. F. Broadbridge, "Academic Rivalry," 98 ff.

Al-Maqrīzī himself did not refrain from revealing the bad behavior of colleagues, and his reaction is just as significant:[99]

> He [Ibn Duqmāq] limited himself to copying what he found to such an extent that those who know the truth have accused him of negligence. Among this is that he borrowed my notebooks. When he died, I found the history of Timur Lang the tyrant in his handwriting and there, he had copied a section related to the seizure of Aleppo by Timur that I had written, where I said: "An unsuspicious person informed me that he witnessed" and he had written what he saw "An unsuspicious person informed," making the reader believe that he was the person who was telling this section though, by God, he did not find this section but in my handwriting.

> حسبه نقل ما يقف عليه حتى ربما ينسبه من علم حقيقة أمره إلى الغفلة فمن ذلك أنه كان يستعير مجاميعي التي بخطي فلما مات وقفت على أخبار الطاغية تيمورلنك من خطه فإذا هو قد كتب فصلا في أخذ تيمور لحلب من خطي قد قلت فيه: "أخبرني من لا أتهم أنه شاهد،" فكتب هو كما رأى "أخبرني من لا أتهم" فصار يوهم الناظر أنه هو الراوي للجزء ولا والله وقف على ذلك الجزء إلا من خطي.

In al-Maqrīzī's words, the appropriation of one of his texts, quoted word for word, without even modifying passages considered to be personal, was tantamount to negligence *(ghaflah)*.[100] If he was disturbed by the discovery of his own words attributed to someone else, he was more upset by seeing that a fact that was transmitted to him by a trustworthy informant, some sort of a scoop, was "stolen" from him because Ibn Duqmāq used the same words to introduce the informant. In this way, Ibn Duqmāq was becoming another possible source for this matter. Moreover, a comparison of both works would have raised the question of plagiarism and the conclusion reached by a reader would have been disadvantageous to al-Maqrīzī because he was younger than Ibn Duqmāq and

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[99] Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:102.

[100] The same word is used to define the way Ibn al-Furāt acted with the same section on Timur Lang: "*thumma baʿda dhālik shāhadtu fī* al-ghaflah *aʿjab min dhālik wa-huwa anna . . . Ibn al-Furāt kataba tārīkh kabīr . . . wa-yanqulu ʿanhu fī tārīkhihi kathīran. Fa-lammā māta waqaftu ʿalá qiṭʿah min tārīkhihi bi-khaṭṭihi fa-marra bī minhu hādhā al-mawḍiʿ bi-ʿaynihi wa-qad katabahu immā min khaṭṭ Ibn Duqmāq aw waqafa ʿalá khaṭṭī ʿindahu fa-qāla huwa ayḍan: 'akhbaranī man lā attahim.' Fa-ṣāra al-nāẓir fī khaṭṭ Ibn al-Furāt yaḥsabu annahu huwa rāwī al-juzʾ ayḍan wa-mā dhāka illā* ghaflah." Ibid.

more likely to have borrowed it from his predecessor.

From all this, we may conclude that authors of non-literary texts were acquainted with the concept of plagiarism in the sense that a text appropriated by someone else is sometimes slightly modified but, nevertheless, remains identifiable for a vigilant mind. It became a pastime for several authors of the Mamluk period to recognize such hoaxes. Sometimes, they were themselves the victims and did not appreciate that the result of several years of thorough study could be stolen by a dilettante. In such cases, their reaction could be measured, as with Ibn Ḥajar, or vehement, as with al-Sakhāwī or al-Maqrīzī. An author like al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) went further and did not refrain from publicly denouncing another author he accused of having plagiarized several of his works.[101] The title and several passages of his book clearly refer to the theft and the thief as *sariqah* and *sāriq* respectively, demonstrating that he understood that the appropriation of his personal work, slightly modified or not, was plagiarism and the author of this act was a plagiarist.[102]

At this point, we probably need to make a distinction between two different situations. The first is the quotation of passages in the body of a work considered as original without referring to the source. Though not appreciated, it appears that this was a rather common practice at all times. But, in this matter, there was undoubtedly a difference between a book written several decades or centuries before and another one published by a contemporary. Old books were considered a common heritage and as such could be plundered without paying one's debts towards their authors.[103] Older sources sometimes circulated for several centuries and were consequently widespread and known to the general readership. Anyone

[101] See al-Suyūṭī, *Al-Fāriq bayna al-Muṣannif wa-al-Sāriq,* ed. H. Nājī (Beirut, 1998).

[102] In the field of the sciences, which was no exception in this matter, a similar example may be quoted. This is the *Faʿalta fa-Lā Talum* (You have done it, so do not condemn) of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 710/1311), who wrote this treatise partly to denounce the fact that his contemporary, Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥimādhī, had substantially plagiarized his *Al-Tuḥfah al-Shāhīyah.* See J. Ragep, *Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's Memoir on Astronomy (al-Tadhkira fī ʿilm al-hayʾa)* (New York, 1993), 1:60. I wish to express my thanks to the author for pointing me to this example.

[103] Cf. Charles Nodier's words: "Le plagiat commis sur les auteurs modernes, de quelque pays qu'ils soient, a déjà un degré d'innocence de moins que le plagiat commis sur les anciens." Ch. Nodier, *Questions de littérature légale* (Paris, 1828), 4 (quoted by Ch. Vandendorpe, "Introduction", in idem, *Le Plagiat,* 8). Cf. the attitude of some websites where electronic copies of copyrighted works and manuscripts are put at the disposal of everybody because they are considered to be part of a cultural heritage and as such *waqf lillāh.* An instance of this attitude as regards ancient material can be given for al-Maqrīzī, who extensively exploited al-Kindī's works, as well as Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's *Kitāb Futūḥ Miṣr* and Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-Abṣār,* without quoting the source in most cases. For al-Kindī, see in particular G. Wiet, "Kindî et Maqrîzî," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 12 (1916): 61–73.

sharing a common cultural heritage could identify the sources without problem, and in this sense, the phenomenon was in no way comparable to plagiarism: the idea of deceit was generally absent. On the other hand, contemporary works took time to be circulated and become well-known. They could be defended by their own authors or their disciples and were regarded as a personal work normally to be quoted with full attribution. The second situation is the slavish copying and appropriation of somebody else's work by a later author, whether or not he made additions to it, a practice most of the authors condemned. The terms they chose to express their discontent with the phenomenon varied greatly, from the explicit *sariqah* or neutral *akhdh* to a more ambiguous *ghaflah*. Nevertheless, they always referred to the same practice, to be identified as plagiarism.

As Ibn Ḥajar is the central witness in the case at the core of this article, what would he have thought of al-Maqrīzī's plagiarism of al-Awḥadī, given that we can now speak of plagiarism in the light of the aforesaid elements? What Ibn Ḥajar saw in this part of the draft is: that al-Maqrīzī took al-Awḥadī's draft and erased some parts of the text that he then replaced with his own words, to establish that he was the author of these words, as is discernible in the introductory part of the section on the madrasahs; that he modified the personal references made by al-Awḥadī, as is conspicuously evident on fol. 82b where he erased some words and replaced them with *qāla al-muʾallif;* that in most cases he copied al-Awḥadī's words almost verbatim, without citing him in his final version; finally, a close analysis of the layout of this section, I mean the order in which the madrasahs are enumerated, shows conclusively that al-Maqrīzī followed it almost exactlty:[104] only eight madrasahs appear to have been moved to another place in al-Maqrīzī's plan,[105] which means that he stuck to al-Awḥadī's general organization of the section on buildings. This is another upsetting element.

Undoubtedly, it must have been worrisome for a colleague like Ibn Ḥajar to notice that the text composed by al-Awḥadī had been appropriated by his colleague al-Maqrīzī. However, in these conditions, it is better understood why al-Maqrīzī never referred to al-Awḥadī as an author in his *Khiṭaṭ,*[106] not even in the list of

[104] See Appendix 3.

[105] These are nos. 6, 9, 10, 11, 15, 25, 27, 67 according to their order of appearance in al-Awḥadī's draft and nos. 24, 25, 31, 30, 26, 41, 62, 71 according to their order of appearance in the final version of the *Khiṭaṭ*. Three additional madrasahs appearing in the draft have also been moved to another place in the final version, but these were added to al-Awḥadī's draft by al-Maqrīzī and must not be considered here, given that al-Maqrīzī placed them where he found blank spaces in the draft.

[106] Al-Maqrīzī mentioned al-Awḥadī only once for a *khabar* he transmitted to him on the authority of Ibn al-Furāt regarding the teaching sessions that took place in the mosque of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ in Fusṭāṭ before 749/1348. Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār,* Būlāq ed., 2:256 (see the Sayyid edition, 4:36, l. 22). The same *khabar* is given by al-Maqrīzī in al-Awḥadī's entry in his

authors who preceded him in this field, a list that he placed in his introduction to the book.[107] Sayyid recognized the unforgivable nature of this deliberate omission and noted that al-Maqrīzī should have mentioned al-Awḥadī's contribution, as he did in al-Awḥadī's biography in his biographical dictionary, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah.* Yet Sayyid justified al-Maqrīzī's behavior by claiming that al-Awḥadī's drafts at his death partly covered the material collected in al-Maqrīzī's own drafts: in other words, when al-Maqrīzī took possession of these drafts, he would have noticed that they were nothing more than a miscellany of unorganized extracts *(amshāj min al-nuqūl ulṣiqat janban ilá janb dūna mā ayy tamḥīṣ)*. Nonetheless, these extracts would have been indispensible for his own work, but rather than adding them to his own drafts, Sayyid argues that al-Maqrīzī would have gone back to the sources used by al-Awḥadī. Doing so, he was excused from quoting his name in the body of his work.[108]

Sayyid's argument belittles al-Awḥadī's work: nowhere is it said that his book was just a collection of notes, cards, slips, and extracts. On the contrary, we know for sure that he had already made a fair copy of part of it and that, according to al-Maqrīzī himself, there were several volumes of drafts.[109] Sayyid probably interprets the word *musawwadah* as designating a chaotic draft, but this was not the case. It already reflected the author's intentions toward his book. Consequently, the rough draft was more than a bunch of notes. Proof of this is that such drafts were sometimes prized by later authors. Several examples corroborate that drafts surviving their authors could be deemed useful enough to be sold and later on exploited.[110] The rough draft was often considered as a personal work and worth

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biographical dictionary. See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* Gotha MS 1771, fol. 48b = ed. ʿAlī, 1:235 = ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:188.

[107] See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār,* Būlāq ed., 1:4–5. The same is true of Ibn Duqmāq (d. 809/1407), another colleague with whom al-Maqrīzī was acquainted, and the author of an unfinished book dealing with the topography of Egypt entitled *Al-Intiṣār li-Wāsiṭat ʿIqd al-Amṣār*. Vols. 4 and 5 of the autograph were discovered and published by K. Vollers in 1893 (Būlāq).

[108] A. F. Sayyid, "Muqaddimat al-Muḥaqqiq," in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār,* 1:65.

[109] Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:186.

[110] Ibn al-Furāt's *Tārīkh,* of which he had time to make a fair copy of the last third only (still 20 vols.), was sold as a *musawwadah* by his son, who had no interest in it. Several historians took advantage of it, among them al-Maqrīzī himself. See al-Sakhāwī, *al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 8:51; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* 2:515–16; al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 3:227. See another example reported by al-Sakhāwī, ibid., 6:328 ("*wa-sharaḥa al-Ḥāwī sharḥan ḥasanan mabsūṭan bayyaḍa thulthahu al-awwal wa-māta ʿan bāqīhi musawwadah yuntafaʿ bi-hā ka-al-intifāʿ bi-al-mubayyaḍah wa-in kāna fī tilka ziyādāt kathīrah*"). Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī's rough draft of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* was also sold, but probably for another reason: it became a collectible. See Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Irshād al-Arīb ilá Maʿrifat al-Adīb,* ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1993), 4:1719.

being quoted,[111] even when a fair copy of the work existed.[112] More relevant for our purposes, the rough draft could, in some cases, be fair-copied by someone else, a disciple or a colleague; this is what happened with al-Jawharī's famous dictionary, *Al-Ṣaḥāḥ,* which was still a draft when its author became convinced that he could fly like a bird and died as a result. A fair copy of the unrevised rough draft was prepared by his disciple, who was apparently less knowledgeable and introduced many mistakes.[113]

Rough drafts were thus considered personal works in their own right, even though they were not published. They were valued as sources and quoted by others who did not hesitate to refer to them. Thus al-Maqrīzī had several options at his disposal. He could have prepared a fair copy of al-Awḥadī's drafts, even cutting off some parts and adding others, but published it in the name of his colleague, as others did in such cases. This option was disregarded by al-Maqrīzī, who rather decided to start his work on the *khiṭaṭ* thanks to the material collected and already prepared by al-Awḥadī, as I will demonstrate in the following pages. In this case, he could have quoted al-Awḥadī's draft, a solution adopted by several of his predecessors, but he chose not to do so. On the contrary, he completely obliterated al-Awḥadī's contribution to the field, except in the biography he devoted to him in his *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah*. However, his decision indicates his intent to deceive the readers of his *Khiṭaṭ*. Consequently, Sayyid's justification hardly stands up, particularly in light of the section identified as being in al-Awḥadī's handwriting. Indeed, it shows that we are not dealing with disorganized cards bearing unverified data, in fact not even a mere draft.

Al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ*: Just a Disorganized Draft?

A close analysis of the section on the madrasahs allows us to establish several facts, thanks to the external and internal elements it contains.

First of all, it may be argued that al-Awḥadī's work on the madrasahs was at a fairly advanced stage at the time of his death. The section begins with a preamble in which the author explains how and when the madrasah was instituted for the first time and who introduced this institution in Egypt.[114] Then, he proceeds

[111] See al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām,* 45:421 *("muṣannif Tārīkh al-Shīʿah wa-huwa musawwadah fī ʿiddat mujalladāt naqaltu minhu kathīran");* Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān wa-Anbāʾ Abnāʾ al-Zamān*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1968–72, reprint 1994), 6:42 *("naqaltuhā min khaṭṭ al-qāḍī Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm min musawwadat tārīkhihi")*.

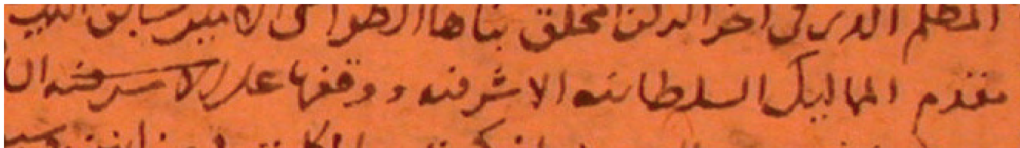
[112] See al-Dhahabī*, Tārīkh al-Islām,* 1:24 *("ṭālaʿtu musawwadat Tahdhīb al-Kamāl li-shaykhinā al-ḥāfiẓ Abī al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf al-Mizzī thumma ṭālaʿtu al-mubayyaḍah kullahā")*.

[113] See Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Irshād al-Arīb,* 2:658. For other examples, see Ibn Ḥajar*, Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 5:117; idem*, Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 1:345.

[114] This preamble was slightly modified by al-Maqrīzī. See the first five lines of text on fol. 82a

with the list of the buildings arranged chronologically according to the year of foundation, starting with the Ayyubid period and proceeding further into the Mamluk period until the end of the eighth/fourteenth century.[115] For almost every building, data about the location, the name of the founder, the year of construction, the furnishings, the *waqf*s dedicated by the founder, and the law schools to which it was devoted are provided. The section ends with an appendix dealing with the lessons that were also organized in the various mosques in Cairo, which demonstrates that, in al-Awḥadī's mind, the section on madrasahs dealt essentially with teaching.

Additionally, this section clearly indicates that al-Awḥadī's work was more than just miscellanies on the topic. In truth, it probably represents the partial fair copy referred to by Ibn Ḥajar and al-Sakhāwī, a fact confirmed by the following passage:



Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 90b.

مقدم المماليك السلطانية الاشرفية ووقفها على ~~الاشرفية~~ الشافعية.

In this passage, the first occurrence of the word *al-ashrafīyah* was right, but it was repeated a few words further on instead of *al-shāfiʿīyah,* a mistake he noticed immediately given that he had not even had the time to add all the diacritical dots. He drew a line through the word and wrote at its end the correct reading. This phenomenon *(homoioteleuton),* typical of the copying process, shows that al-Awḥadī was clean-copying his text.

Thus, al-Awḥadī's work was far from being a draft or a collection of disorganized quotations. The author organized the material according to the date of foundation, as already stressed above, numbered the buildings accordingly,[116] and used red

illustrated on p. 176.

[115] This chronological order is somewhat disrupted at the end with two madrasahs going back to the Ayyubid period that Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir did not mention in his work, *Al-Rawḍah al-Bahīyah,* though he should have, according to al-Awḥadī (fols. 98b–99b: al-Madrasah al-Nābulusīyah *(lam yadhkurhā Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir);* al-Madrasah al-Kuhārīyah *(wa-lam yadhkurhā Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir fī kitābihi wa-hiya min sharṭihi).*

[116] In its current state, the manuscript bears only a few figures placed in front of the names of the madrasahs, starting with no. 3 up to no. 10, then no. 13, where it stops. The fact that the first numbers and those between 10 and 13 are missing may be explained by the fact that they were

ink to write their names. His sources are quoted in the body of the text, while no marginal note in his handwriting nor any addition on a slip of paper is found in the section. Nevertheless, in some cases, he left blank spaces at the end of a building for future additions. In summary, the text is the result of a preliminary version, but it obviously shows that the author intended to revise it in the future. Cross references also confirm that the author had already written more than this section by the time he clean-copied it. He indicates that the section on mosques had already been dealt with[117] and that the one on houses was still to come or to follow, meaning by this that he had already written it in draft form.[118]

Finally, this preserved section proves that al-Awḥadī used several kinds of sources: works by predecessors, oral witnesses, documents, and visits to the monuments described. With all these he was very critical, in that he always tried to corroborate second-hand data with primary information such as documents or inscriptions.

Furthermore, an analysis of the text in al-Awḥadī's handwriting reveals that his book must have been particularly detailed. Through the comparison of this section with the equivalent in the final version of al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ,* we notice that the latter decided, quite strangely, not to take advantage of all the material he had at his disposal: 72 madrasahs were recorded by al-Awḥadī[119] against 72 by al-Maqrīzī.[120] Yet, 23 madrasahs present in al-Awḥadī's census were omitted by al-Maqrīzī, which means that he replaced them with new ones: in fact, those built mainly after al-Awḥadī's death (811/1408).[121] If the entirety of al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ* was as detailed as this surviving part is, then we can only imagine how many buildings al-Awḥadī recorded in the remaining parts of his book and that

presumably rubbed out by al-Maqrīzī. The lack of figures after no. 13 is either due to al-Awḥadī himself, who decided not to use this system until the end of the section, or must be attributed to al-Maqrīzī, who erased them in the same way he likely did at the beginning. Only a material analysis of the manuscript could reveal this.

[117] Regarding al-Azhar (fol. 99b): *"qad taqqadama fī dhikr binā' al-jāmiʿ al-Azhar mā kāna qarrarahu* . . ."; the mosque of al-Ḥākim (ibid.): "*qad qaddamnā mā rattabahu fīhi* . . ."; the mosque of Ibn al-Maghribī (fol. 89b): "*bi-jānib jāmiʿihi al-madhkūr.*"

[118] On one occasion, he referred to this section in the past (fol. 86a): "*kamā qaddamnā sharḥahu fī dhikr al-ādur.*" In the other cases, he always mentioned it in the future (fol. 87a): "*wa-sayaʾtī dhikr dhālik in shāʾa Allāh taʿālá fī dhikr al-ādur*" (the whole sentence has been cancelled with a stroke in red ink by al-Awḥadī himself); (fol. 99a) "*wa-sayaʾtī dhikr dhālik fī al-ādur.*"

[119] This figure does not include the eleven buildings added by al-Maqrīzī to al-Awḥadī's manuscript.

[120] Actually, al-Maqrīzī listed 73 buildings, but his list includes a duplication (nos. 20 and 58: al-Madrasah al-Muhadhdhabīyah; see Appendix 3).

[121] It must also be said that al-Maqrīzī overlooked six of the eleven madrasahs he added to al-Awḥadī's work!

al-Maqrīzī decided to omit in his own work![122]

In light of what has been substantiated and of other elements to be considered shortly, another question arises, one which might have an answer as disturbing as the fact just established: when did al-Maqrīzī start working on the topography of Cairo? Or, more perniciously, did he hit upon the idea of writing a book on this topic before al-Awḥadī's death, as is generally believed, or afterwards, upon acquiring his deceased neighbor's draft?

Dating the Draft of al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*

In order to try to answer this question, a chronologically arranged list of his writings would be necessary. Unfortunately, such a list does not exist, although proposals could be made on the basis of the autograph manuscripts and other elements.[123] Meanwhile, we must rely on the facts at our disposal, and these are al-Maqrīzī's biographical data, dated references in *Al-Khiṭaṭ,* dated notes in the autograph draft of the first version, and the order of the data on some leaves therein.

The earliest date referred to in the final version of the *Khiṭaṭ* is 818/1415, seven years after al-Awḥadī's death, and the last one is 843/1439; it is generally assumed that al-Maqrīzī composed this work between 1415 and 1424.[124] But before composing it, he had to collect most of the data he needed, and this is more problematic. Sayyid is convinced that al-Maqrīzī started to record and organize the material just after the year 806/1404, the year al-Maqrīzī identified as corresponding to the beginning of Cairo's collapse from an architectural point of view.[125] This hardly stands up with al-Maqrīzī's agenda. As a matter of fact, a few pieces of information on his early life as a scholar gathered from various sources

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[122] That he meant not to include them in the final version of the *Khiṭaṭ* is clearly visible in the manuscript. The names of the neglected buildings are not accompanied by the sign indicating that the data were copied *(nuqila),* while those found in the *Khiṭaṭ* are. On this sign, see Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana II," 109–12.

[123] The present writer will tentatively provide a chronology of al-Maqrīzī's works in his forthcoming study of al-Maqrīzī's working method.

[124] See Jean-Claude Garcin, "Al-Maqrîzî: un historien encyclopédique du monde afro-oriental," in *Les Africains,* ed. Charles-André Julien et al. (Paris, 1977), 9:210. According to Nasser Rabbat, the work was begun in 1417 and completed in 1439–40. See Nasser Rabbat, "Al-Maqrizi's *Khitat*, an Egyptian *Lieu de Mémoire*," in *The Cairo Heritage: Essays in Honor of Laila Ali Ibrahim,* ed. Doris Behrens-Abouseif (Cairo and New York, 2000), 22. According to Sabri Jarrar, the book was composed between 1415 and 1422. See Sabri Jarrar, "Al-Maqrizi's Reinvention of Egyptian Historiography through Architectural History," in ibid., 32. Obviously, al-Maqrīzī continued to add new material until very late in his lifetime, as shown by the elements added until three years before his death.

[125] A. F. Sayyid, "Muqaddimat al-Muḥaqqiq," in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār,* 1:66.

contradict this statement. First of all, the first work of history (more precisely, economic history) he wrote was published in 808/1405.[126] Secondly, we know for sure that, from 810 to 815, he was far away from Cairo (he lived in Damascus, sometimes travelling between the Syrian capital and his hometown).[127] Under these circumstances, he would hardly have had the time to produce a manuscript of the *Khiṭaṭ* in almost finished form, as represented by the two preserved volumes of the draft, before 811. It may be added that al-Maqrīzī knew perfectly well that Ibn Duqmāq and al-Awḥadī were working on that subject, as both of them were his colleagues. Eventually, Ibn Duqmāq died in 809/1407, leaving an unfinished draft, and al-Awḥadī followed him in 811/1408 with his work in the same stage. If al-Maqrīzī had ventured to write a book on the topography of Cairo shortly after 806/1404, the result would have been a third book on the topic, and at that time he obviously could not have known that the other two authors would die prematurely.

Yet, the two volumes of the draft can be accurately dated between 811[128] and 816, striking evidence that he had at his disposal most of his material at a very early date. For Sayyid, neither manuscript of al-Maqrīzī's draft help in this matter.[129] However, several autograph notes found at the beginning of the first volume, on the first leaves, provide a *terminus ante quem*. These notes refer to events that all took place in 816, although they are scattered on various leaves and were written at different moments as is shown by the color of the ink.[130] If we assume

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[126] *Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah*. The date is provided by al-Maqrīzī himself in his treatise. See John L. Meloy, "The Merits of Economic History: Re-Reading al-Maqrīzī's *Ighāthah* and *Shudhūr*," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, no. 2 (2003): 190.

[127] His stay in Damascus was generally thought to have lasted ten years, more or less between 810 and 820. It can now be fixed precisely thanks to the publication of his *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* where he states that he stayed in Damascus from 810 to 815. See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:154 *(wa-lammā waradtu Dimashq min sanat ʿashr wa-thamānī miʾah wa-ilá sanat khamsah ʿasharah)* and 34–35.

[128]Even 814 if we consider that he prepared a resumé of the *Tārīkh* of Ibn Muyassar during that year and that this source is quoted in the body of the text of the first volume of the draft.

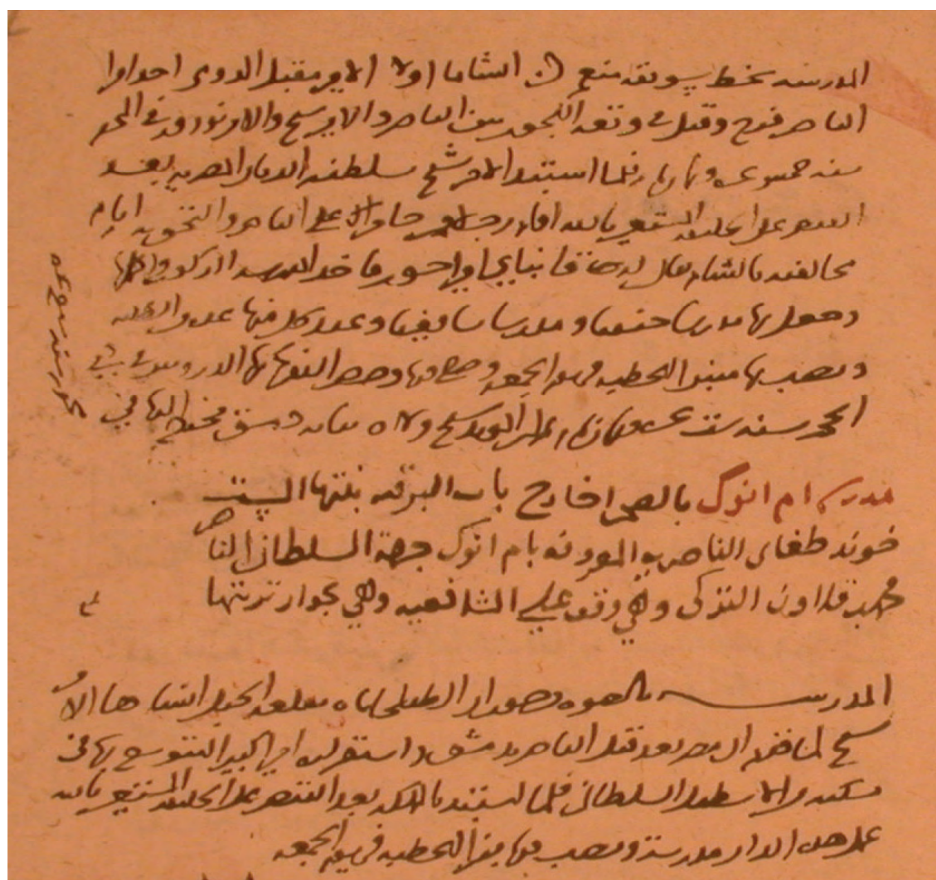
[129] A. F. Sayyid, "Muqaddimat al-Muḥaqqiq," in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār,* 1:66 *(wa-lā tuʿīnunā musawwadat al-Maqrīzī lil-kitāb—wa-allatī waṣalat ilaynā minhā qiṭʿaṭayn* [sic] *maḥfūẓatayn* [sic] *fī mathaf Ṭūbqabū Sarāy bi-Istanbūl—fī maʿrifat al-tārīkh al-ḥaqīqī li-bidāyat taʾlīf hādhā al-kitāb)*.

[130] Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Hazinesi 1472, fol. 1a (title-page providing the title in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting: *Al-Juzʾ al-Thānī min Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār*): note recording the death of Ṣadr al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn al-Ādamī on 8 Ramaḍān 816; fol. 1b (containing a list of contents): note recording the death of *ṣāḥibunā* Fakhr al-Dīn ʿUthmān ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Aḥmad al-Birmāwī 11 nights from the end of Shaʿbān 816); fol. 4a (containing a list of contents for the *kharāj*): note regarding the insurgence of Ṭūghān al-Dawādār on 16 Jumādá I 816.

that al-Maqrīzī wrote down these events shortly after they happened, these notes allow us to establish that, at that date, the first volume of this draft was already finished. On the other hand, one will notice that these leaves contain several parts of the table of contents:[131] from this, it can be deduced that the plan was complete as early as 816, and given that this table refers to contents included not only in this first volume, but also in the second, and probably a third (now lost), we may infer that those parts were also finished by that date.

Proceeding now to the second volume of the draft and, more particularly, to the section now identified as al-Awḥadī's draft, we can draw the same conclusion and even determine that it was completed before 811, which further corroborates the identification of this part with al-Awḥadī's work, as he died during that year. This is proven by the following examples selected from the section in al-Awḥadī's handwriting:

[131] These tables of contents were not published by A. F. Sayyid in his edition of this volume of the draft (al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadat Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār*). A critical edition of these tables will be found in Appendix 2.

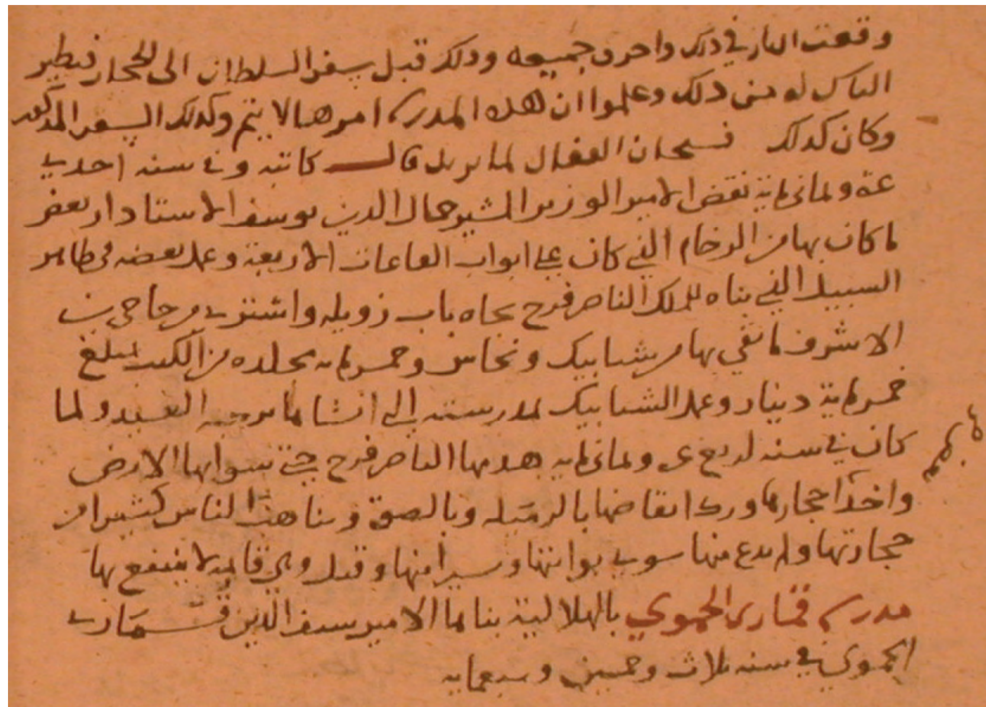


Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 97a.

On leaf 97a, a few lines in al-Awḥadī's handwriting dealing with Madrasat Umm Ānūk (founded by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn's wife at the beginning of the eighth/fourteenth century) can be read.[132] The space left blank, above and below, was used by al-Maqrīzī to add two madrasahs:[133] one in the quarter of the Suwayqat Munʿim for which a date is provided (817) and another one, the Madrasat al-Ṣuwwah, founded by the sultan al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, who reigned from 815/1412 to 824/1421. From this, it may be inferred that both additions were made after these dates. But the dating of this section can be better narrowed with leaf 95b:

[132] It is clearly visible that al-Maqrīzī rubbed out the space at the end of the first two lines as he completed the text afterwards (here in upper case: *al-siTT*; *al-sulṭāN AL-NĀṢIR*).

[133] In his final version, al-Maqrīzī neglected them. This is also confirmed by the absence, above each name, of the *nuqila* sign already referred to earlier.



Courtesy Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 95b.

Here, al-Maqrīzī added a note at the end of al-Awḥadī's text, which ends in the middle of the third line: one is dated to 811 and the following one, added immediately after it, to 814! We can hardly say if the information regarding the year 814 was added at a later stage, but that referring to the year 811 provides us with a very useful *terminus ante quem:* the preceding data was definitely written before that date.[134] Be that as it may, we can now establish that this section was written before 811.

All this implies that, at a very early date, al-Maqrīzī already had in hand a comprehensive version of his book. On this basis, my conviction is that he did not start working on the *Khiṭaṭ* before al-Awḥadī's death. In this case, he would have made a fair copy of his colleague's draft, surely improving and developing it[135] his whole life long;[136] but he largely based himself on what had already been

[134] Another case will strengthen this argument. Regarding the Madrasat Ibn al-Maghribī (fol. 89b), for which all the data is in al-Awḥadī's handwriting, al-Maqrīzī stated at the end that the madrasah was demolished and that its building material was sold in 814.

[135] The improvements are already visible in that section on the madrasahs.

[136] Though his efforts to expand his survey sensibly diminished roughly after 1420. See André

accomplished by another author, as was maintained by al-Sakhāwī.[137] There is insufficient evidence to prove this view, although the following striking features could help to bolster it.

One of the sources used by al-Awḥadī consisted of what he calls "the ancient books of estates" *(kutub al-amlāk al-qadīmah),* likely some archival material.[138] On at least one occasion, he refers to these to confirm the existence of a madrasah that must have been replaced by another building later on.[139] A striking feature regarding this archival material appears elsewhere in the same volume of the draft (this time in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting). On fol. 1a of the same volume, for the Darb al-Ṣufayrah, reference is made to this very source in the first person: "*wa-raʾaytu fī kutub al-amlāk al-qadīmah.*" In the final version of the *Khiṭaṭ,*[140] this became: "*hākadhā yūjad fī al-kutub al-qadīmah.*" The same applies to the other example, a little bit further down (fol. 8b): speaking about the Bāb al-Khūkhah, the author writes this time "*wajadtu fī kutub al-amlāk al-fāṭimīyah,*" which disappeared in the final version.[141] On fol. 39b, one reads: "*wa-raʾaytu fī kutub al-amlāk al-qadīmah allatī bi-ḥārat Barjawān mā yadullu ʿalá dhālika . . . wa-hādhā muwāfiq li-qawl Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir,*" a personal testimony that was completely omitted in the final version![142]

Raymond, "Al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* and the Urban Structure of Mamluk Cairo," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, no. 2 (2003): 148.

[137] It must be remembered here that al-Maqrīzī acknowledged (*Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:186) that he became the owner of several *musawwadāt* of al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ,* meaning by this several volumes.

[138] This source was also available to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār* (Būlāq ed.), 1:438, 445; 2:14. On one occasion, al-Maqrīzī referred to this source as *kutub ibtiyāʿāt al-amlāk al-qadīmah* (ibid., 1: 438) from which it may be concluded that these books recorded the sales of properties, probably dating back to the Fatimid period.

[139] Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS E. Hazinesi 1405, fol. 91b *(wajadtu dhikrahā fī kutub al-amlāk al-qadīmah).*

[140] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār* (Būlāq ed.), 2:41.

[141] Ibid., 2:45. This precious piece of information has been added by A. F. Sayyid to al-Maqrīzī's text in his recent edition, once again against al-Maqrīzī's intention! See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār,* ed. Sayyid, 3:140.

[142] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār* (Būlāq ed.), 2:101. The whole passage was introduced by A. F. Sayyid into al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* though the author had decided not to insert it in his final version! See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār,* ed. Sayyid, 3: 334.

Another passage may be added to this list. It appears on fol. 53a: "*qāla wa-raʾaytu fī baʿḍ kutub al-amlāk al-qadīmah.*" It is missing in the final version. See Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār* (Būlāq ed.), 2:115. Once again, it was included by A. F. Sayyid in the final version. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār,* ed. Sayyid, 3:381 (who erroneously attributed the passage to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir).

Another striking feature lies in the fact that on fol. 111b, a section completely in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting, one reads: "*shaykhunā Fakhr al-Dīn al-Bilbaysī,*" though he was not al-Maqrīzī's

Now, the question is: why would al-Maqrīzī modify this information, written in the first person in the draft, into an impersonal one in the final version of his book? Apparently, al-Maqrīzī was not able to see these books, given that in such cases he always replaced the personal reference in the draft with an anonymous one in the final version, or he simply omitted it altogether. Undoubtedly, he did not feel at ease with a source to which he had no access. Still, in the sections of the draft in his own handwriting, he appropriated the fact that "he saw himself." What induced him to act this way? Personally, I think that these sentences come from al-Awḥadī's draft and that al-Maqrīzī felt uncomfortable, in the end, with these personal testimonies that belonged to someone else. He thus rendered them with more anonymous references in the final version of his *Khiṭaṭ*. Consequently, we may surmise that large parts of the data found in the two preserved volumes of the drafts are likely to be identified as al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ*.

In order to demonstrate that this view is credible, we need to provide further evidence, still on the basis of the second volume of the draft. We know that before his death in 811/1408, al-Awḥadī had already composed several parts of his book on the topography of Cairo, having already clean-copied part of it. It may thus be inferred that he started working on this topic at a much earlier date. This is confirmed by his reading notes, found on the title page of five manuscripts already mentioned that are dated from 801 to 805.[143] It is reasonable to think that he collected data even during the last decade of the eighth/fourteenth century and that he started to write his work several years before his untimely death.[144] On the other hand, al-Maqrīzī is generally believed to have started collecting data on that topic after the year 806. Turning back to the second volume of the draft, the following quotation in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting is quite disturbing (fol. 127a): "*wa-ammā al-ṭilasm alladhī bi-hi fa-innahu ṣaḥīḥ wa-huwa bāqin mustamirr al-ʿamal ilá waqtinā hādhā wa-huwa sanat thamānin wa-tisʿīn wa-sabʿimiʾah*"! It is found at the beginning of the section dealing with the mosques where the Friday

master. On the contrary, he was al-Awḥadī's master, as stated earlier. If this material was also written by al-Awḥadī, this means that al-Maqrīzī copied it blindly, without taking pains to modify this word relevant only to al-Awḥadī.

[143] See note 51.

[144] Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1404) quoted al-Awḥadī in his *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,* where he asserted, on several occasions, that he read the information in his handwriting, meaning that he had access to his notes or books. Among these quotations, some may be identified as stemming from al-Awḥadī's work on the *Khiṭaṭ,* which confirms that al-Awḥadī's book was already in an advanced stage before 807, the year of Ibn al-Furāt's death. See the list provided by A. F. Sayyid, "Muqaddimat al-Muḥaqqiq," in al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār,* 1:64 (read 9/2: 425 instead of 9/2: 417 and 9/2: 450 instead of 451). The following quotations were overlooked by Sayyid: Ibn al-Furāt, *Tarīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,* ed. Qusṭanṭīn Zurayq and N. ʿIzz al-Dīn (Beirut, 1936–42, vols. 7–9), 4/1: 11, 9/1: 132, 9/2: 341, 354.

prayer was performed, starting with the al-Azhar mosque. In it, the author of these lines wanted to specify that the talisman *(ṭilasm)* that was found in that mosque to prevent birds from settling and nesting in the building, thus some sort of scarecrow, was still playing its role at the time he was writing those lines, i.e., in 798. How could al-Maqrīzī have written this at that time, as it would mean that he had already been working on the topography of Cairo well before the date of 798, given that this was part of a section dealing with the great mosques *(jawāmiʿ)?* However, al-Awḥadī could be the author of these lines, given that in the section on the madrasahs, still in his own handwriting, he stated that he had already discussed the great mosques, as we have already seen. Though in his preliminary draft al-Maqrīzī faithfully copied what he was reading, even if they were not his words, he totally disregarded this in his final version.[145]

This demonstration can be reinforced by a similar quotation found in the section on the madrasahs in al-Awḥadī's handwriting, a further element that will prove that this is part of his original clean-copied work. Speaking of al-Madrasah al-Suyūfīyah (fol. 82b), al-Awḥadī specified that he had access to the *waqf* document of this institution, which was shown to him by the scholar who was teaching there *(mudarris),* Majd al-Dīn Ismāʿīl al-Ḥanafī. This scholar must be identified as Ismāʿīl ibn Ibrāhīm al-Bilbaysī, who died in 802/1399.[146] In other words, al-Awḥadī saw this document before that date, proving, if still necessary, that he had been working on this topic well before 802. In the final version of the *Khiṭaṭ,* these personal details were forgotten, but al-Maqrīzī replaced them with his own personal testimony, as he stated that he had seen the very document; this is true, as he quoted some parts of it, though al-Awḥadī did not in his text. This establishes that al-Maqrīzī went back to the source exploited by his colleague and replaced al-Awḥadī's personal testimony with his own, but also that al-Maqrīzī worked on the topic of the *khiṭaṭ* well after 802.

So far we have established that, besides the section on the madrasahs now identified as being al-Awḥadī's autograph fair copy, some parts of the second volume of the draft in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting might originate in al-Awḥadī's work too: in this case, al-Maqrīzī faithfully copied data and left al-Awḥadī's personal testimonies unchanged until he elaborated the final version and the fair copy of the *Khiṭaṭ*. However, this same volume also includes material that was obviously drafted by al-Maqrīzī. The emendations added in the margins and on slips of paper must undoubtedly be credited to him. When a date is mentioned in these additions, it provides us with a *terminus ante quem* for the main text to which it was added. Three cases may be put forward in this respect: two of them

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[145] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār* (Būlāq ed.), 2:273.

[146] See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:408–13.

are dated to the year 818 and one to the year 813.[147] If we consider now the dates provided by al-Maqrīzī in the body of the text, these never go further than 815 when they are explicitly given, or 815–18 when they must be surmised.[148] Thanks to these elements, we are in a good position to date the second volume of the draft as having been copied sometime between 815 and 818. As we saw, the first volume of the draft may be dated at the earliest to the year 816;[149] this means that al-Maqrīzī had already finished most of that first version by 815. In this context, it is better understood why his appropriation of al-Awḥadī's draft was pivotal: between 811 and 815–18, he expanded his colleague's draft, copying several parts of it into his own new work.[150]

In light of this, al-Sakhāwī's words ("[he] made a fair copy of it [completely] and attributed it to himself [after he had made] additions") are better understood. Of course, it does not mean that everything in the actual version of al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* comes from al-Awḥadī's draft, as we have seen. Obviously, he completed the book, expanded its plan, and added data regarding the period between al-Awḥadī's death in 811 and the date of his own death in 845. Nonetheless, this was not originally his work, and a great part had already been written by someone else.

To conclude this section, we should remember that in al-Sakhāwī's eyes no excuse of any kind could justify this reprehensible way of acting, though Ibn Ḥajar himself, the key witness in this case, did not seem to mind it. Ibn Ḥajar maintained a high opinion of his colleague, al-Maqrīzī, as confirmed by the

[147] Fol. 40a: "*wa-jaddada hādhihi al-suwayqah al-qāḍī Fatḥ al-Dīn ibn Muʿtaṣim kātib al-sirr fī sanat thalāth ʿasharah wa-thamānīmiʾah*"; fol. 26b: "*fī sanat thamān* [sic] *ʿasharah wa-thamānīmiʾah*"; fol. 174a: "*wa-lammā kathura māʾ al-Nīl fī sanat thamān* [sic] *ʿasharah.*"

[148] Fol. 40b: "*wa-mā zāla kharāb ilá sanat iḥdá ʿasharah wa-thamānīmiʿah*"; fol. 77a: "*khaṭībuhu fīhā min ṣafar sanat 814*"; fol. 107b: "*ilá an qutila al-Malik al-Nāṣir fī sanat khamsah ʿasharah wa-thamānīmiʾah*"; fol. 152a: "*wa-baqiya qāʾim ilá shaʿbān sanat khamsah ʿasharah wa-thamānīmiʾah*"; fol. 27b: "*fa-lammā qutila al-Nāṣir Faraj* [815]"; fol. 18b: *"wa-kāna qabla zamaninā hādhā bi-naḥw thalāthīn sanah fī ḥudūd al-thamānīn wa-sabʿimiʾah qablahā* [circa 30 years earlier, at the end of the eighties]."

[149] See p. 206.

[150] When Ibn Ḥajar completed his work entitled *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis* (his dictionary of authorities), he had already included a biography of al-Maqrīzī which the latter read and even corrected for some details (see above, n. 28). Though this dictionary was started in 803/1400, it was not finished before 829/1426. However, the only work Ibn Ḥajar deemed worthy of mention regarding al-Maqrīzī's production was *Al-Ightibāṭ*. Though we do not know when Ibn Ḥajar wrote al-Maqrīzī's biography (sometime between 803 and 829), this means that al-Maqrīzī's project for the *Khiṭaṭ* was already known to Ibn Ḥajar, as he confirmed that al-Maqrīzī benefitted from al-Awḥadī's draft, but that the book was not yet completed.

following words:[151]

Our master, the most erudite, the scholar of his time [Ibn Ḥajar], revered him and showed him respect and awe. He used to go to his house and to spend time there with him.

كان شيخنا العلامة حافظ العصر [ابن حجر] يكرمه ويبجله ويعظمه ويتوجه إلى داره ويقيم عنده.

And indeed, in 829/1426, Ibn Ḥajar expressed his feelings towards al-Maqrīzī with warm words:[152]

[151] ʿAlī ibn Dāwūd al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970–94), 4:243.

[152] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* 3:60.

The friendship that exists between us is beyond words. May God—he is exalted—prolong his benefits.	وبيننا من المودة ما لا يسعه الورق فالله تعالى يديم النفع به.

Yet, Ibn Ḥajar was also acquainted with al-Awḥadī, as they met together during lessons with common masters:[153]

I met him on several occasions and he accompanied me to attend the lessons of some of my masters.	اجتمعت به مرارا ورافقنا في السماع على بعض شيوخنا.

Truly, he must have known him quite well. In the end, is it not he who informs us that al-Awḥadī had nice handwriting *(kāna ḥasan al-khaṭṭ)?*

The question remains: how did Ibn Ḥajar know about the misdemeanor? Once again, sources and manuscripts come to our rescue. Scholars could lend their works, finished or not, to colleagues, if they trusted them. We have a fairly good example concerning al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Duqmāq (d. 809/1407). Al-Maqrīzī declared in his biography, in the dictionary of his contemporaries, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah:*[154]

He borrowed my holograph notebooks. . . . I was closely associated with him for a while and he was my neighbor for many years. He frequently visited me at home.	كان يستعير مجاميعي التي بخطي . . . صحبته مدة وجاورني عدة سنين وتردد إلي كثيرا.

In the case of Ibn Ḥajar, it has already been established that he lent the dictionary of his authorities, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* to al-Maqrīzī, who did not hesitate to correct therein the data regarding his own biography or to make some marginal additions, which means that he had time to read it through at home. Al-Maqrīzī might have lent Ibn Ḥajar his own works too, but probably not his draft of the first version of the *Khiṭaṭ;*[155] it is unlikely that this is how Ibn Ḥajar discovered

[153] Ibn Ḥajar, *Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 195.

[154] Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:102–3. We have already seen that he was not at all pleased with the use Ibn Duqmāq made of his personal notes.

[155] In 829, he confessed that among al-Maqrīzī's writings he had consulted was *Al-Ightibāṭ bi-Aḥwāl al-Fusṭāṭ,* confirming that that book was already completed by that time, but did not say a word about *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār*. See Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* 3:60 ("*wa-mimmā waqaftu*

al-Maqrīzī's plagiarism.[156] On a scholar's death, his intellectual legacy could be coveted by his colleagues, particularly if he was a prolific author (the same thing can be said of his library). This is what happened, for instance, to the *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk* of Ibn al-Furāt (d. 807/1404), who had not had enough time to make a fair copy of the draft, except for the volumes covering the last three centuries. The draft was sold because his son had no interest in this matter.[157] Al-Maqrīzī made use of it, he said, by which he meant that he summarized it, when he managed to lay hands on it.[158]

As for al-Maqrīzī's legacy, there is an indirect reference to it in al-Sakhāwī's *Ḍawʾ:*[159]

> He [al-ʿUryānī] compiled a commentary on the *shawāhid* of *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah* by Ibn Mālik, as I saw in our master [Ibn Ḥajar]'s handwriting. It is a nice commentary that demonstrates a thorough study in grammar . . ., even though some pretend that a commentary on the same book by al-Ghammārī was found in al-Maqrīzī's bequest. If he [al-ʿUryānī] laid hands on it, he might have appropriated it and expanded it.

> وجمع شرح شواهد الكافية الشافية لابن مالك كما رأيته بخط شيخنا وهو شرح حسن يدل على اطلاع زائد في النحو . . . وإن زعم بعضهم أنه وجد بتركة المقريزي شرحها للغماري. فإن كان وقف عليه فيمكن أن يكون أخذه وزاد عليه.

ʿ*alayhi kitābuhu al-Ightibāṭ bi-Aḥwāl al-Fusṭāṭ*").

[156] In *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* 3:39 (al-Awḥadī's entry), he revealed that al-Maqrīzī took advantage of al-Awḥadī's drafts, which means that he already knew what happened, but he refrained from saying more about this. As already stated, al-Maqrīzī read the manuscript of *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis* but he did not correct Ibn Ḥajar's divulgation. He thus agreed with this view.

[157] About 20 volumes, out of 60 according to al-Sakhāwī, or 100 according to al-Maqrīzī. See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 3:227; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 8:51.

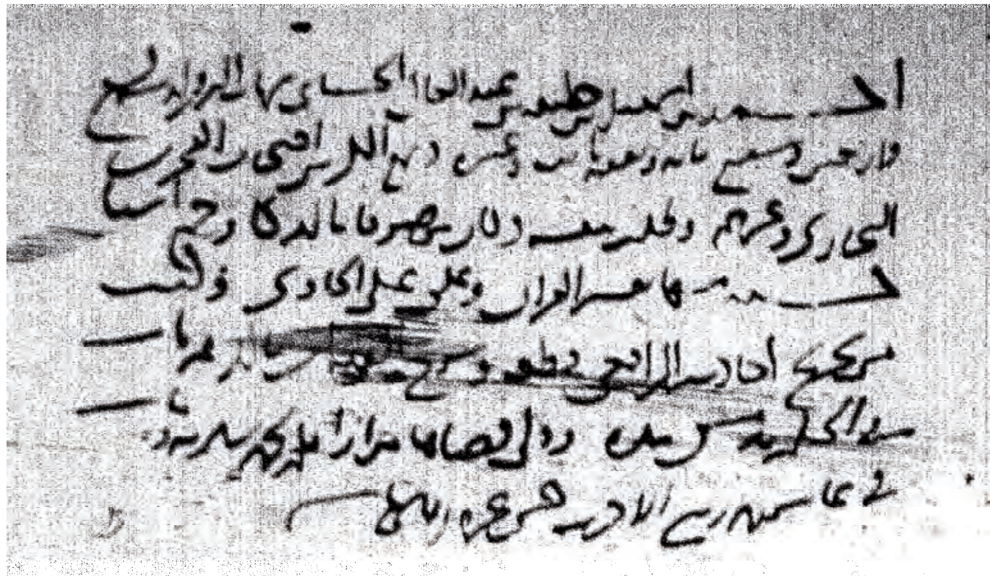
[158] Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 3:227 ("*waqaftu ʿalayhā wa-istafadtu minhā*"). Hence his notes of consultation (dated 818 to 819) found in three volumes of Ibn al-Furāt's holograph copy. See F. Bauden, "Maqriziana II," 117–18.

[159] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 1:70–71. Al-Maqrīzī's library, at least some of his holograph volumes, were inherited by his nephew, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Maqrīzī (801–67/1399–1462). (On him see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 9:150). His mark of ownership *(malakahu Muḥammad al-Maqrīzī)* is found in the following holograph manuscripts of his uncle: "Al-Khabar ʿan al-Bashar," vol. 1, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Ayasofya 3362, fol. 4a; ibid., vol. 3, MS Fatih 4338, fol. 1a; ibid., vol. 4, MS Fatih 4339, fol. 1a; ibid., vol. 5, MS Fatih 4340, fol. 1a; ibid., vol. 6, MS Fatih 4341, fol. 1a; "Al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk," vol. 1, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (Istanbul), MS Yeni Cami 887, fol. 3a.

In 845/1442, Ibn Ḥajar, who was to die seven years later, was probably the first to get access to al-Maqrīzī's private library (the drafts and the fair copies). The fact that he had access to the autograph manuscripts of his colleague is established by two elements: a report and material evidence. As for the report, it is provided by al-Sakhāwī:[160]

وترجمه شيخنا أيضا فيما استدركه على تاريخ مصر للمقريزي ولكنه عنده في عقوده.

Our master [Ibn Ḥajar] also wrote [al-Ḥusbānī's] biography in his additions to al-Maqrīzī's *History of Egypt [al-Muqaffá],* though [al-Ḥusbānī] is found in his *ʿUqūd.*[161]



Courtesy Universiteit Leiden (Leiden), Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS or. 14533, fol. 120b showing al-Ḥusbānī's biography in Ibn Ḥajar's handwriting, confirming al-Sakhāwī's statement.

This information would seem ambiguous if Ibn Ḥajar's handwriting were not found in several of al-Maqrīzī's autograph manuscripts, which definitely proves that he had access to them, most probably after the latter's death, as we are told that he supplemented *(istadraka)* his data. In at least three instances, Ibn

[160] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 1:239.

[161] One must understand that Ibn Ḥajar's addition to *Al-Muqaffá* was not pertinent given that al-Maqrīzī devoted some space to the biographee in his dictionary of his contemporaries. See al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* ed. al-Jalīlī, 1:366 (no. 286).

Ḥajar indeed added notes and data, consisting of additions and corrections, in the margins or in the body of the text: these are several volumes of *Al-Muqaffá,*[162] *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,*[163] and the final version of the *Khiṭaṭ.*[164] To his great surprise, he found (as did I) in a volume of the draft of the first version, nineteen folios in al-Awḥadī's handwriting where al-Maqrīzī had lined through, erased, and modified some words or sentences, adding some details in the margins or on slips of paper. Nevertheless, he hesitated to indicate his discovery in his writings, maybe because of his esteem for al-Maqrīzī. One must remark that Ibn Ḥajar revised his historical works almost until he passed away: al-Maqrīzī's death is recorded in his *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* and in this sense he could have added something about his discovery at that time.[165] Anyway, if he did not modify his appreciation of al-Maqrīzī in his books, he might have dropped a word into the ear of his pupil al-Sakhāwī, who had fewer scruples about writing the news down. Alternatively, al-Sakhāwī might have been content with Ibn Ḥajar's words found in his *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* which he interpreted as meaning, in his master's choice of words, that this was a case of plagiarism.[166] Whatever the case, al-Sakhāwī had

[162] His handwriting is found in almost every volume preserved, hence al-Sakhāwī's comment quoted above, which also confirms that al-Sakhāwī managed to consult the autograph volumes of *al-Muqaffá*. For the list of these volumes, see F. Bauden, "Maqriziana II," 115–16.

[163] His handwriting is found on fol. 152 (a biography added) of al-Maqrīzī's partially preserved autograph (Forschungsbibliothek [Gotha], or. 1771).

[164] The autograph of the final version is considered lost, but the copyist of one of the manuscripts used by A. F. Sayyid identified Ibn Ḥajar's handwriting in these notes and indicated it. See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār,* ed. Sayyid, 4:490 ("*wujida bi-khaṭṭ mawlānā qāḍī al-quḍāh Ibn Ḥajar ʿalá hāmish nuskhat al-muṣannif al-manqūl minhā mā naṣṣuhu*"). A. F. Sayyid did not indicate in which of the manuscripts he used he found this note.

[165] It is interesting to note that some words have been added to the right of the passage where he divulged that al-Maqrīzī benefitted from al-Awḥadī's drafts on the *khiṭaṭ* (Ibn Ḥajar, "Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis," al-Maktabah al-Azharīyah [Cairo], MS muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fol. 129b. See Appendix 1, al-Awḥadī's entry). These words were cancelled later on and are now illegible, and, as such, could have been related to this affair.

[166] That Ibn Ḥajar's words were understood in this sense is confirmed by two details. First, there is the fact that al-Sakhāwī included this case of plagiarism in the list of the other cases identified by Ibn Ḥajar himself. See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar,* 1:390–94 (*"faṣl fīman akhadha taṣnīf ghayrihi fa-iddaʿāhu li-nafsihi wa-zāda fīhi qalīlan wa-naqaṣa minhu wa-lākinna aktharahu madhkūr bi-lafẓ al-aṣl*"). Secondly, an anonymous reader of *Al-Muqaffá,* who had previously read al-Sakhāwī's words in his *Al-Iʿlān bi-al-Tawbīkh,* added to *Al-Muqaffá* a short biography of al-Awḥadī, in which he mentioned al-Sakhāwī's accusation (attributed to Ibn Ḥajar), and he concluded: "*hākadhā wajadtuhu maktūban bi-khaṭṭ al-ḥāfiẓ Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī raḥimahu Allāh wa-huwa thiqah fī dhālika li-annahu amīr al-muʾminīn fī ʿilm al-ḥadīth*"! See al-Maqrīzī, "Al-Muqaffá," Universiteitsbibliotheek (Leiden), MS 14533, fol. 225b. This proves that al-Jalīlī's opinion that *"law kāna hunāka adná shayʾ min al-ṣiḥḥah fī ittihām al-Sakhāwī lil-Maqrīzī fīmā yakhtaṣṣu bi-kitāb al-Khiṭaṭ, la kāna ashāra Ibn Ḥajar ilá dhālika"* is mistaken. See al-Jalīlī, "Al-Muʾarrikhūn al-Muʿāṣirūn

the merit to tell the truth, although Ibn Ḥajar probably never revealed to him all the details, which is why al-Sakhāwī could not give evidence to sustain his accusation. Whether jealousy *(ghayrah)* pushed him to reveal this *qīl wa-qāl* is not important: he did his job as a historian with professional integrity.

There remains one more worrying question: why did al-Maqrīzī not erase every bit of al-Awḥadī's handwriting in his draft by copying the only remaining section of al-Awḥadī's fair copy? And of course, we lay aside the possibility that this also occurs in the lost volumes of al-Maqrīzī's draft. The two-part answer, although completely conjectural, is quite simple. First of all, as already established, the draft was not meant to survive after al-Maqrīzī's death, as a fair copy of his work was already circulating in his lifetime. Secondly, al-Awḥadī died in 811, a long time before al-Maqrīzī's own death. With the passing of time, persons who were closely enough acquainted with al-Awḥadī to be able to identify his handwriting became rare. Even if the draft might have been seen by others, the probability of discovering the secret was almost nil.

Conclusions

The title of this article issues a challenge: should al-Maqrīzī be thrown out with the bath water? Obviously, the answer cannot but be negative. However he behaved, his work on the *khiṭaṭ* still remains the best source for the study of the history of the Egyptian capital from the very beginning down to his own period. This is partly because he used several sources that are now considered lost, but also because he benefitted from al-Awḥadī's work on which he built his own magnum opus. However, the modern historian must be conscious that his tremendous activity as a historian is partly explained by his having recourse to some dubious practices. Plagiarism was definitely one of them, and it is particularly noticeable in the *Khiṭaṭ*.

To conclude, I think that I have been able to establish that:

- the nineteen folios carrying a different handwriting in al-Maqrīzī's draft of the first version of his *Khiṭaṭ* represent one part of al-Awḥadī's fair copy on the *khiṭaṭ;*
- al-Maqrīzī utilized this part for his own book, sometimes modifying slightly al-Awḥadī's text;
- other parts of the *Khiṭaṭ* might have been based on other parts of al-Awḥadī's drafts;
- al-Maqrīzī did not begin working on the *Khiṭaṭ* prior to al-Awḥadī's death, and consequently he completed the work initiated by his colleague, without

lil-Maqrīzī," in al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-ʿUqūd al-Farīdah,* 4:40.

crediting him;

- the charge of "plagiarism"—as perceived in those times—brought against him by al-Sakhāwī, who relied on his master Ibn Ḥajar, was justified because he made a fair copy of al-Awḥadī's drafts, later expanding them and deleting some parts, but the result owed a great deal to al-Awḥadī's work.[167]

Thus, five centuries later, this case can finally be closed. But I would like to conclude with an ironic twist. In his *Laṭāʾif al-Minan,* al-Shaʿrānī recorded the following information:[168]

I also read aloud to him the commentary to the *Alfiyah* of al-ʿIrāqī by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, the great scholar. It is said that, in fact, it was [written] by Ibn Ḥajar, the great scholar. Al-Sakhāwī discovered the draft in the legacy of Ibn Ḥajar or of someone else, corrected it, made a fair copy of it, and published it.

وقرأت عليه أيضا شرح ألفية العراقي للجلال الحافظ السخاوي ويقال إنه للحافظ ابن حجر ظفر به السخاوي مسودة في تركة الحافظ ابن حجر أو غيره فضبطه وبيضه وأبرزه للناس.

The general moral of this story could be: people who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones. But one may also conclude that even the harshest critics of plagiarism were not always above the practice themselves.[169]

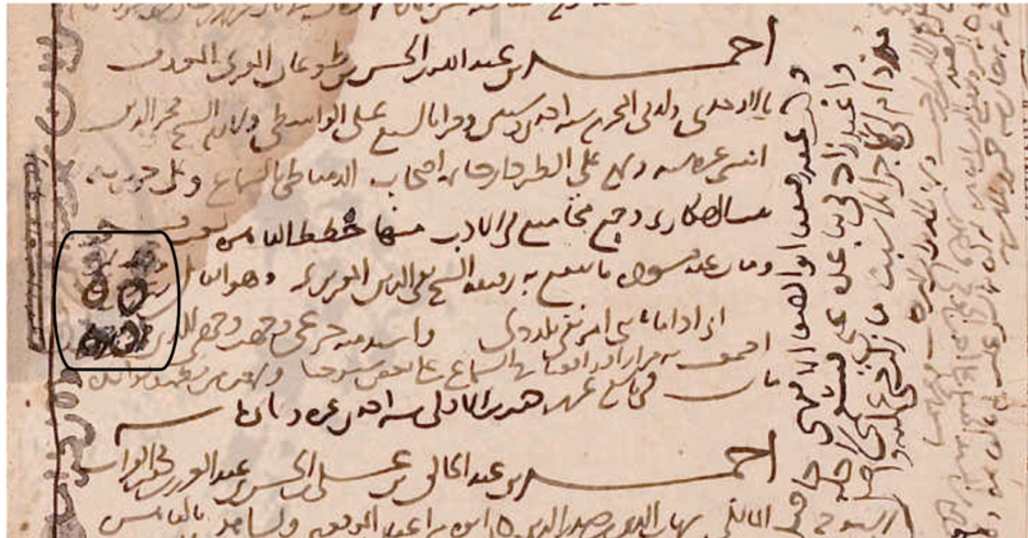
[167] It is noteworthy to mention that al-Sakhāwī opened another case against al-Maqrīzī regarding his *Tārīkh Miṣr* (i.e., *Al-Tārīkh al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr*). See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Jawāhir wa-al-Durar,* 1: 394 ("*qultu: wa-kadhā ʿamila fī Tārīkh Miṣr lil-Quṭb al-Ḥalabī. Fa-innahu lam yubayyiḍ minhu ghayr al-Muḥammadīn wa-baʿḍ al-hamzah. Fa-akhadha al-musawwadah bi-tamāmihā wa-lakhkhaṣa tarājimahā wa-lam yansub lahu fīmā raʾaytu wa-lā al-tarjamah al-wāḥidah*"). He is referring there to ʿAbd al-Karīm ibn ʿAbd al-Nūr al-Ḥalabī (d. 735/1334), who wrote a *History of the Egyptians* alphabetically organized. In his *Al-Iʿlān bi-al-Tawbīkh*, he did not say a word about this plagiarism, but he advanced that he owned ten volumes of the draft and a fair copy of the Muḥammads in four volumes, which confirms that he could compare this work with al-Maqrīzī's *Al-Tārīkh al-Muqaffá al-Kabīr*. See al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Iʿlān,* in Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography,* 401.

[168] ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Shaʿrānī, *Laṭāʾif al-Minan wa-al-Akhlāq fī Bayān Wujūb al-Taḥadduth bi-Niʿmat Allāh ʿalá al-Iṭlāq al-Maʿrūf bi-al-Minan al-Kubrá* (Cairo, 1976), 64.

[169] Cf. Ch. Vandendorpe, "Introduction," in *Le Plagiat,* 10: "Mais, si traquer le plagiat est une façon pour le critique d'affirmer une culture infiniment supérieure à celle du lecteur naïf, cette activité ne laisse pas d'apparaître dérisoire et virtuellement sans fin, car, pour parodier une formule célèbre, un plagiat peut en cacher un autre et l'on risque toujours de découvrir, avec Anatole France, que 'le volé était lui-même voleur.'"

Appendix 1: A Critical Edition of al-Awḥadī's and al-Maqrīzī's Entries in Ibn Ḥajar's "Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis lil-Muʿjam al-Mufahris" (Cairo, al-Maktabah al-Azharīyah, MS Muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fols. 129b, 131a).

Al-Awḥadī's entry (fol. 129b)[170]



Courtesy al-Maktabah al-Azharīyah (Cairo), muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fol. 129b.

أحمد بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن طوغان المقرئ المعروف || بالأوحدي. ولد في المحرم سنة إحدى وستين وقرأ بالسبع على الواسطي ولازم الشيخ فخر الدين || اثنتي عشرة سنة وسمع على الطبردار خاتمة أصحاب الدمياطي بالسماع وعلى جويرية || بنت الهكاري وجمع مجاميع في الأدب منها خطط القاهرة. تعب فيه || ومات عنه مسودة فانتفع به رفيقه الشيخ تقي الدين المقريزي. وهو القائل ||

إنـــي إذا مـــا نـــابـــني أمـــر نـــفـــى تلذذي واشـتـد منه[171] جـزعـي وجـهـت وجـهـي لـلـذي

|| اجتمعت به مرارا ورافقنا في السماع على بعض شيوخنا وسمعت من نظمه وفوائده. || مات في تاسع عشري[172] جمدى الأولى سنة إحدى عشرة وثمانمائة.

[170] Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* 3:38–39.

[171] In al-Marʿashlī's ed.: مني. The actual reading is confirmed by the quotation of the same verses by al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 1:359, who relied on Ibn Ḥajar's *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis* as evidenced by his reading note on fol. 163a.

[172] In al-Marʿashlī's ed.: عشر. The actual reading is confirmed by al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 3:359.

Added at a later date, in the right margin:

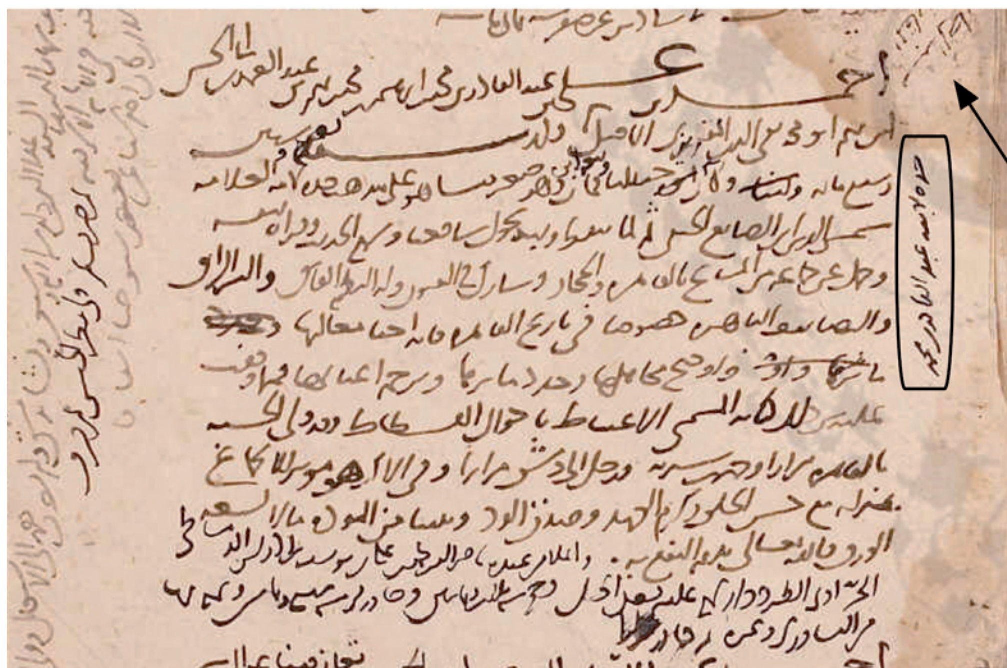
وكتب عنه رفيقنا أبو الصفاء الأقفهسي ||

وأغيد زاد في تباعده عني فسقمي لأجله حاصل

مذ دام لي هاجرا بلا سبب ما زلت حتى عملته واصل

Added at a later date, at the left of lines 5–6 (see the frame), are a few words on three lines that were later erased and are now illegible.

Al-Maqrīzī's entry (fol. 131a)[173]

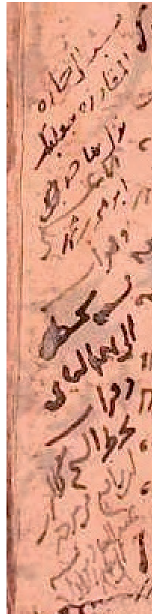


Courtesy al-Maktabah al-Azharīyah (Cairo), muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fol. 131a.

أحمد بن علي بن عبد القادر بن محمد بن إبرهيم بن محمد بن تميم بن عبد الصمد بن أبي الحسن || إبرهيم أبو محمد تقي الدين المقريزي[174] الأصل

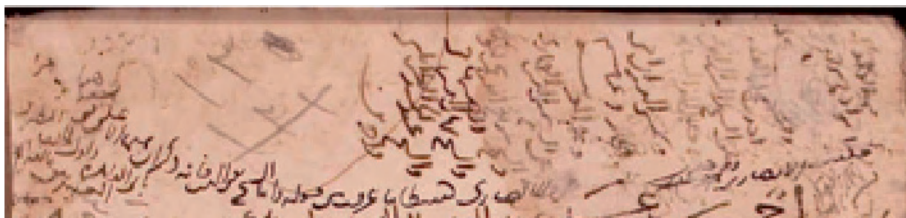
[173] Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Majmaʿ al-Muʾassis,* 3:58–60.

[174] The letters *rāʾ*, *yāʾ*, and *zāy* rewritten by al-Maqrīzī.



Courtesy al-Maktabah al-Azharīyah (Cairo), muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fol. 131a.

نسبة[175] إلى حارة || المقارزة ببعلبك. || نزل بها جدي[176] || الأعلى[177] || ابرهيم بن محمد. ||
وقرأت[178] || نسبه بخطـ[ـه] || إلى تميم الثاني || وقرأت || بخط الشيخ تقي الدين || ابن رافع في ترجمة || عبد القادر نسبه || إلى
تميم الأول.[179] ||



Courtesy al-Maktabah al-Azharīyah (Cairo), muṣṭalaḥ 1360, fol. 131a.

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[175] From نسبة to محمد: this data in the right margin is in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting.

[176] Corrected by Ibn Ḥajar in جده.

[177] This word was added by Ibn Ḥajar later on.

[178] This data is found at the end of this note, still in the right margin, in Ibn Ḥajar's handwriting and added at a later date.

[179] In al-Marʿashlī's edition, the last four words read: وقد نسبه أنصاريا!

فكتب[180] [؟] الأنصاري وتميم جد [؟] [...] [181]الأنصاري. كتبه ظانا. عرفت من قوله وأما الشيخ تقي الدين فإنه ذكر أن تميما الأعلى في نسبه هو ا[بن] [...][182]|| باني القاهرة وأول الخلفاء المصريين || العبيديين بالقا[هرة؟].

ولد سنة بضع و[183]ستين || وسبع مائة ~~ونيفا~~ وكان ~~أبوه~~[184] جده لأبيه عبد القادر بن محمد[185] حنبليا وتبعه أبوه[186] فمات وهو صغير فنشأ هو على مذهب جده لأمه العلامة || شمس الدين ابن الصائغ الحنفي ثم لما تيقظ ونبه تحول شافعيا وسمع الحديث وقرأه بنسفه وحمل عن جماعة من المشايخ بالقاهرة والحجاز وشارك في الفنون وله النظم الفائق والنثر الرائق || والتصانيف الباهرة خصوصا في تاريخ القاهرة فإنه أحيا معالمها ~~وجدد~~ || ~~مآثرها وأوضـ~~[187] وأوضح مجاهلها وجدد مآثرها وترجم أعيانها فمما وقفت || عليه من ذلك كتابه المسمى الاغتباط بأحوال الفسطاط وقد ولي الحسبة || بالقاهرة مرارا وحسنت سيرته ودخل إلى دمشق مرارا وفي الأكثر هو مؤثر للانجماع || بمنزله مع حسن الخلق وكرم العهد وصدق الود وبيننا من المودة ما لا يسعه || الورق فالله تعالى يديم النفع به.

وأعلى[188] من عنده ناصر الدين محمد بن علي بن يوسف بن إدريس الدمياطي || الحراوي الطبردار سمع عليه فضل الخيل وحج سنة ثلاث وثمانين وجاور في سنة سبع وثمانين وسمع بها || من النشاوري وغيره ثم جاور مرارا.[189]

---

180 This data up to [بالقا[هرة؟, added at a later date, is found in the top margin, in Ibn Ḥajar's handwriting. It is missing in Marʿashlī's edition.

181 Two words illegible now due to water stain.

182 One or two words illegible now, as the ink has faded.

183 بضع و: added at a later date by Ibn Ḥajar.

184 This word cancelled by al-Maqrīzī.

185 These words, from جده up to محمد, added by al-Maqrīzī in the right margin.

186 وتبعه أبوه: added by Ibn Ḥajar, above the line.

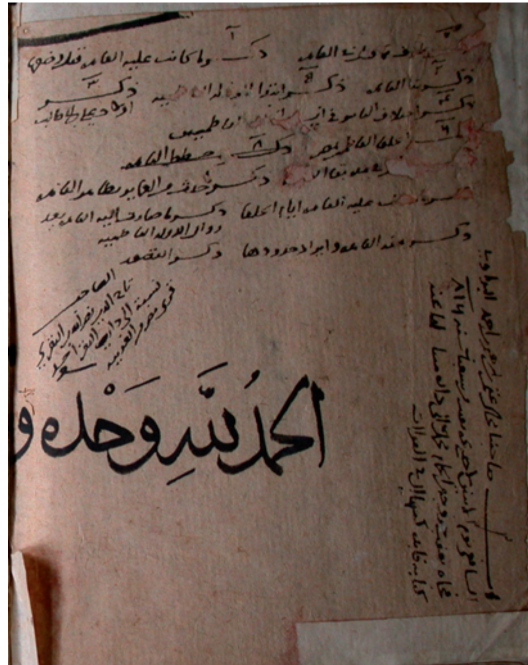
187 These words cancelled by Ibn Ḥajar during the writing process.

188 The following words were added by Ibn Ḥajar at a later date.

189 The last three words are missing in al-Marʿashlī's edition. The last word seems to be cancelled but this is due to the fact that the ink was not dry and it resulted in a blot as shown by the word that just precedes it.

Appendix 2: A Critical Edition of the List of Contents Found in the First Volume of the Draft of *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār* (Istanbul, Topkapi Sarayi Kütüphanesi, MS Hazinesi 1472).[190]

fol. 1b:



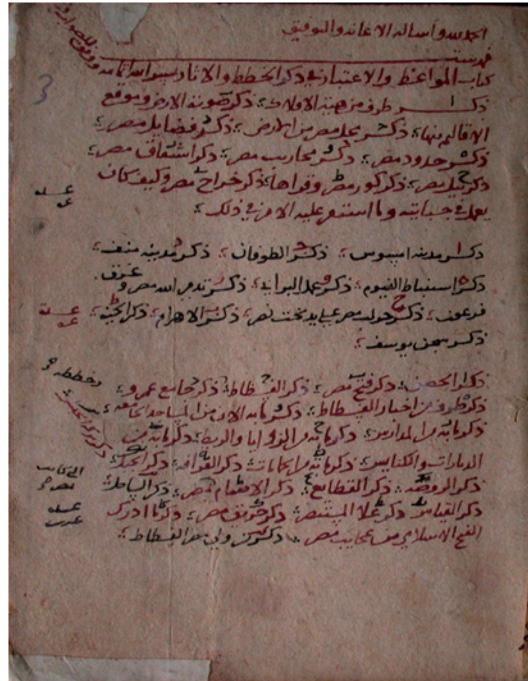
٧) [ذكر اختـ]ـلاف ما قيل في القاهرة
١) ذكر ما كانت عليه القاهرة قبل وضعها
٢) ذكر بناء القاهرة
٥) ذكر ابتداء الدولة الـ[ـفاطمـ]ـية
٣) ذكر اولاد علي بن أبي طالب

٤) ذكر اختلاف الناس في انسـ[ـاب] ا[لخلفاء ا]لفاطميين
٦)[ذ]كر الخلفاء الفاطميين بمصر
٨) ~~ذكر خطط القاهرة~~
[ذكر] في مدة بقاء الـ[ـقاهرة]
ذكر [مـ]ـا حدث من العمائر بظاهر القاهرة

[ذكـ]ـر [ما كانـ]ـت عليه القاهرة ايام الخلفاء
ذكر ما صارت اليه القاهرة بعد زوال الدولة الفاطمية
ذكر حد [؟] القاهرة وإيراد حدودها
ذكر القصور

[190] Not edited by Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid in his edition of this volume (al-Maqrīzī, *Musawwadat Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* [London, 1995]), nor in his edition of the *Khiṭaṭ* (London, 2002–4, 5 vols. in 6).

fol. 3a:



in red (numbers in black)

الحمد لله وأسأله الإعانة والتوفيق
فهرست كتاب المواعظ والاعتبار في ذكر الخطط والآثار يسر الله
إتمامه ووفق للصواب فيه
ا[=١] ذكر طرف من هيأة الأفلاك؛
ب[=٢] ذكر صورة الأرض وموقع الأقاليم منها؛
ج[=٣] ذكر محل مصر من الأرض؛
د[=٤] ذكر فضائل مصر؛
ه[=٥] ذكر حدود مصر؛
و[=٦] ذكر محاريب مصر؛
ز[=٧] ذكر اشتقاق مصر؛
ح[=٨] ذكر نيل مصر؛
ط[=٩] ذكر كور مصر وقراها؛
ي[=١٠] ذكر خراج مصر وكيف كان يعمل في جبايته وما استقر عليه الأمر في ذلك. عدة عشرة.

black ink, numbers in red:

ا[=١] ذكر مدينة أمسوس؛
ج[=٣] ذكر الطوفان؛
د[=٤] ذكر مدينة منف؛
ه[=٥] ذكر استنباط الفيوم؛
و[=٦] ذكر عمل البرابي؛
ز[=٧] ذكر تدمر الله مصر وغرق فرعون؛
ح[=٨] ذكر خراب مصر على يد بخت نصر؛
ب[=٢] ذكر الأهرام؛
ط[=٩] ذكر الجيزة؛
ي[=١٠] ذكر سجن يوسف.
عدة عشرة.

red ink, *abjad* letters in black:

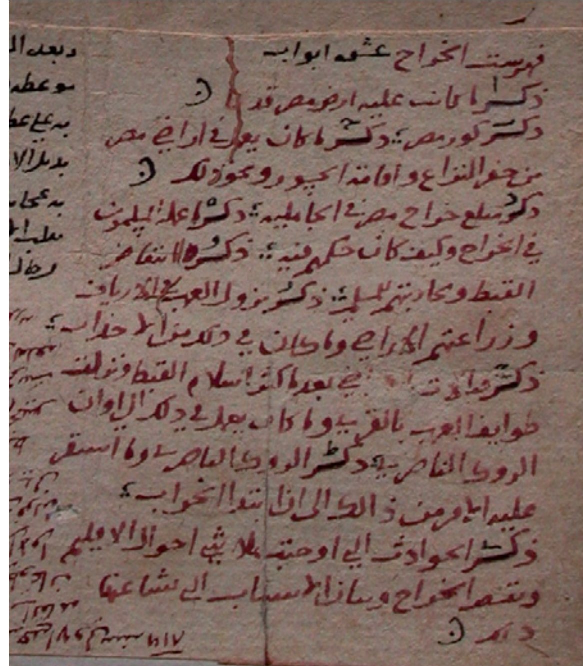
ا[=١] ذكر الحصن؛
ب[=٢] ذكر فتح مصر؛
ج[=٣] ذكر الفسطاط وخططه[191]؛
د[=٤] ذكر جامع عمرو؛
ه[=٥] ذكر طرف من اخبار الفسطاط؛
و[=٦] ذكر ما به الآن من المساجد الجامعة؛
ز[=٧] ذكر ما به من المدارس؛
ح[=٨] ذكر ما به من الزوايا والربط؛
ي[=١٠] ذكر ما به من الديارات والكنائس؛
ط[=٩] ذكر ما به من الحمامات؛
يه[=١٥] ذكر القرافة؛
يح[=١٨] ذكر الجبل؛
يز[=١٧] ذكر بركة الحبش[192]؛
يو[=١٦] ذكر الروضة؛
يج[=١٣] ذكر القطائع؛
يا[=١١] ذكر الأصنام التي كانت بمصر[193] بمصر [كذا]؛
يب[=١٢] ذكر الساحل؛
يد[=١٤] ذكر المقياس؛
يط[=١٩] ذكر غلاء المستنصر؛
ك[=٢٠] ذكر حريق مصر؛
كا[=٢١] ذكر ما أدرك الفتح الإسلامي من عجائب مصر؛
يب[=٢٢] ذكر من ولي مصر الفسطاط.
عدة عشرين.

191. في الهامش بخط المقريزي + صح: وخططه.

192. في الهامش بخط المقريزي: يز) ذكر بركة الحبش.

193. في الهامش بخط المقريزي + صح: التي كانت بمصر.

fol. 4a:



فهرست الخراج عشرة أبواب

ا[=١] ذكر ما كانت عليه أرض مصر قد[يمـ]ـا.

ب[=٢] ذكر كور مصر؛

ج[=٣] ذكر ما كان يعمل في أراضي مصر من حفر التراع وإقامة الجسور ونحو ذلك.

د[=٤] ذكر سلع خراج مصر في الجاهلية؛

ه[=٥] ذكر ما عمله المسلمون في الخراج وكيف كان حكمهم فيه؛

و[=٦] ذكر انتقاض القبط ومحاربتهم للمسلمين؛

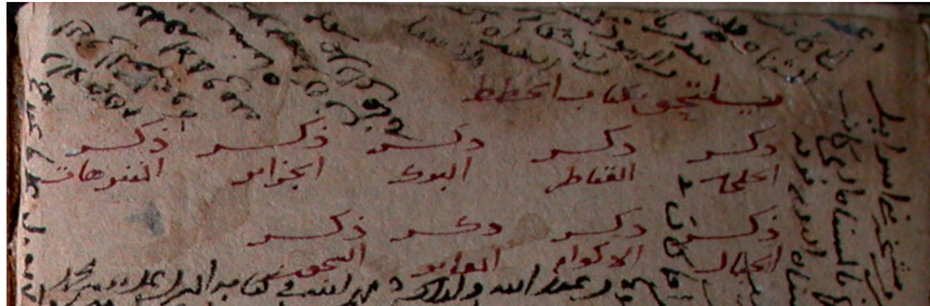
ز[=٧] ذكر نزول العرب في الأرياف وزراعتهم الأراضي وما كان في ذلك من الأجذاب؛

ح[=٨] ذكر قبالات ا[لأرا]ضـي بعد ما كثر إسلام القبط ونزلت طوائف العرب بالقرى وما كان يعمل في ذلك إلى أوان الروك الناصري؛

ط[=٩] ذكر الروك الناصري وما استقر عليه الأمر من ذالك إلى ان ابتدأ الخراب؛

ي[=١٠] ذكر الحوادث التي أوجبت تلاشي أحوال الإقليم ونقص الخراج وبيان الأسباب التي نشأ عنها ذلك.

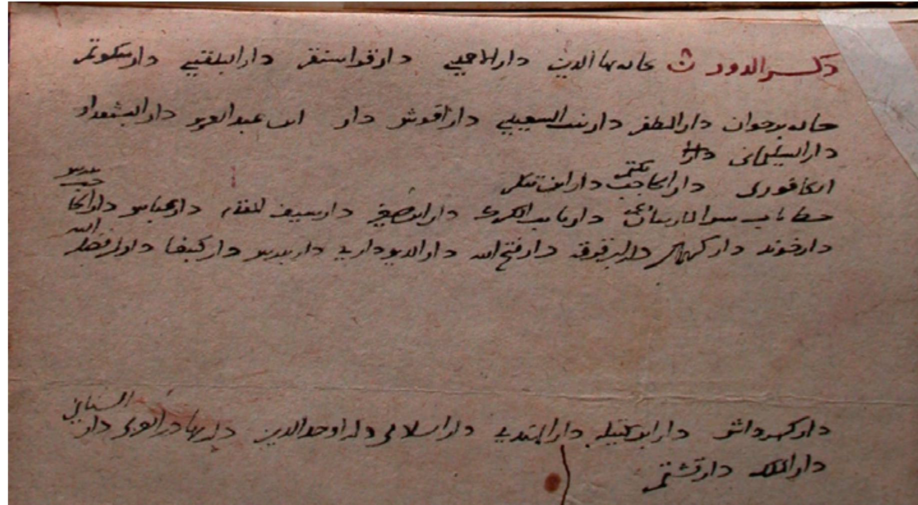
fol. 8b:



يلتحق بكتاب الخطط
ذكر الخلجان
ذكر القناطر
ذكر البرك
ذكر الجزائر

ذكر المنتزهات
ذكر الجبال
ذكر الأكوام
ذكر المقابر
ذكر السجون

fol. 14b:



ذكر الدور
حارة بهاء الدين
دار الأحمدي
دار قراسنقر
دار البلقيني
دار منكوتمر
حارة برجوان
دار المظفر
دار بنت السعيدي
دار آقوش
دار [بياض] ابن عبد العزيز
دار البشمقدار
دار السليماني
~~دار ا~~
[دار] الكافوري
دار الحاجب بكتمر[194]
دار ابن تنكز
خط باب سر المارستان وغيره
دار نائب الكرك
دار ابن صغير

دار سيف المقدم
دار عباس
دار الحاجب بيبرس
دار خوند
دار كريم الدين
دار ابن قرقة
دار فتح الله
دار الديوداري
دار بيبرس
دار كتبغا
دار ابن فضل الله
دار كهرداش
دار ابن كتيلة
دار الهندي
دار السلامي
دار أوحد الدين
دار بهادر العزي [كذا لـ "المعزي"]
دار السناني
دار آلملك
دار قشتمر

[194] فوق السطر: بكتمر.

Appendix 3: A Juxtaposition of the Sequence of the Madrasahs in al-Awḥadī's Draft and al-Maqrīzī's Final Version of *Al-Khiṭaṭ*

المسودة، مخ طوب قبو سراي ١٤٠٥.[195]	المواعظ والاعتبار، ط. بولاق، مج ٢، ص ٣٦٢-٤٠٥.[196]
١) المدرسة القطبية العتيقة	٩) المدرسة القطبية
٢) المدرسة المعروفة بالسيوفية	١٠) المدرسة السيوفية
٣) المدرسة الفاضلية	١١) المدرسة الفاضلية
٤) المدرسة الأزكشية	١٢) المدرسة الأزكشية
٥) المدرسة الفخرية	١٣) المدرسة الفخرية
٦) المدرسة الصاحبية	٢٤) المدرسة الصاحبية
٧) المدرسة السيفية	١٤) المدرسة السيفية
٨) المدرسة العاشورية	١٥) المدرسة العاشورية
٩) المدرسة الشريفة	٢٥) المدرسة الشريفية
١٠) المدرسة الحنفية	٣١) مدرسة بحارة الديلم
١١) المدرسة القوصية*	٣٠) المدرسة القوصية
١٢) المدرسة الكاملية	٢٧) المدرسة الكاملية
١٣) المدرسة الصيرمية	٢٨) المدرسة الصيرمية
١٤) المدرسة المسرورية	٢٩) المدرسة المسرورية
١٥) المدرسة الصالحية	٢٦) المدرسة الصالحية
١٦) المدرسة الظاهرية العتيقة	٣٢) المدرسة الظاهرية
١٧) المدرسة المنصورية	٣٣) المدرسة المنصورية
١٨) المدرسة الناصرية	٣٤) المدرسة الناصرية
١٩) المدرسة الظاهرية المستجدة	
٢٠) المدرسة الحجازية	٣٥) المدرسة الحجازية
٢١) المدرسة الطيبرسية	٣٦) المدرسة الطيبرسية
٢٢) المدرسة الآقبغوية	٣٧) المدرسة الآقبغاوية
٢٣) المدرسة الحسامية	٣٨) المدرسة الحسامية
[المدرسة الأبوبكرية]	٤٢) المدرسة البوبكرية
٢٤) المدرسة المنكوتمرية	٣٩) المدرسة المنكوتمرية
٢٥) المدرسة الغزنوية	٤١) المدرسة الغزنوية
٢٦) المدرسة القراسنقرية	٤٠) المدرسة القراسنقرية

[195] An asterisk indicates that the name of the madrasah has been modified by al-Maqrīzī in al-Awḥadī's text, while the square brackets point to the fact that the given madrasah has been added by al-Maqrīzī to al-Awḥadī's text. In the latter case, the madrasah is not numbered.

[196] Each madrasah is numbered according to its place in the final version of the *Khiṭaṭ*. Only those mentioned by al-Awḥadī or added by al-Maqrīzī to al-Awḥadī's draft are taken into consideration here.

٢٧) المدرسة الفارقانية	٦٢) المدرسة الفارقانية
٢٨) مدرسة ابن البقري	٤٣) المدرسة البقرية
٢٩) المدرسة القطبية الجديدة	٤٤) المدرسة القطبية
٣٠) مدرسة ابن المغربي	٤٥) مدرسة ابن المغربي
٣١) المدرسة البدرية	٤٦) المدرسة البيدرية
٣٢) المدرسة البديرية	٤٧) المدرسة البديرية
٣٣) المدرسة الملكية	٤٨) المدرسة الملكية
٣٤) المدرسة الجمالية	٤٩) المدرسة الجمالية
٣٥) المدرسة الفارسية	٥٠) المدرسة الفارسية
٣٦) المدرسة السابقية	٥١) المدرسة السابقية
٣٧) المدرسة القيسرانية	٥٢) المدرسة القيسرانية
٣٨) المدرسة الزمامية	٥٣) المدرسة الزمامية
٣٩) المدرسة الصغيرة	٥٤) المدرسة الصغيرة
[المدرسة الصحابية]	٢٣) المدرسة الصاحبية البهائية
[مدرسة ابن عرام]	٥٦) مدرسة ابن عرام
٤٠) المدرسة القيسرانية	
٤١) مدرسة محمود بن علي المؤذن	
٤٢) مدرسة محمود الأستاذدار	
٤٣) المدرسة المهذبية	٢٠ و٥٨) المدرسة المهذبية
٤٤) المدرسة السعدية*	٥٩) المدرسة السعدية
٤٥) المدرسة الطقجية	٦٠) المدرسة الطفجية (كذا)
[المدرسة الجاولية]	٦١) المدرسة الجاولية
٤٦) المدرسة الفارقانية	٦٢) المدرسة الفارقانية
٤٧) المدرسة البشيرية	٦٣) المدرسة البشيرية
٤٨) المدرسة المهمندارية	٦٤) المدرسة المهمندارية
٤٩) مدرسة ألجاي	٦٥) مدرسة ألجاي
٥٠) مدرسة أم السلطان	٦٦) مدرسة أم السلطان
٥١) المدرسة الأيتمشية	٦٧) المدرسة الأيتمشية
٥٢) مدرسة الذهبي	
٥٣) مدرسة ابن آقبغا أص	
٥٤) المدرسة الدوادارية	
[المدرسة الجمالية]	٧٢) مدرسة الأمير جمال الدين الأستادار

٥٥) المدرسة الأشرفية المستجدة
٥٦) مدرسة قماري الحموي
٥٧) المدرسة الصارمية
٥٨) المدرسة بميدان القمح
٥٩) مدرسة الحاجب بكتمر
[مدرسة قراجا]
٦٠) مدرسة بن كرائمي
[المدرسة الشميساطية]
[المدرسة بخط سويقة منعم]
٦١) مدرسة أم آنوك
[المدرسة بالصوة]
٦٢) مدرسة ابن غلامها
٦٣) مدرسة إبرهيم الزويمل
٦٤) مدرسة ألطنقش
٦٥) المدرسة الأشرفية
٦٦) المدرسة الصرغتمشية
٦٧) مدرسة إينال
[مدرسة ابن البابا]
٦٨) مدرسة أبي غالب
٦٩) المدرسة البلقينية
٧٠) المدرسة الشريفية
٧١) المدرسة النابلسية
٧٢) المدرسة الكهارية
[مدرسة مقبل الأشقتمري]

٧٣) المدرسة الصرغتمشية
٧١) مدرسة إينال

Book Reviews

ṢALĀḤ AL-DĪN KHALĪL IBN AYBAK AL-ṢAFADĪ, *Al-Faḍl al-Munīf fī al-Mawlid al-Sharīf wa-Yalīhi ʿIbrat al-Labīb bi-ʿAthrat al-Kaʾīb,* edited by Muḥammad ʿĀyish (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 2007). Pp. 136.

ZAYN AL-DĪN MANṢŪR IBN ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-ḤARĪRĪ AL-DIMASHQĪ, *Lawʿat al-Shākī wa-Damʿat al-Bākī,* edited by Samīḥ Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ (Damascus: Dār al-Bashāʾir, 2005). Pp. 134.

REVIEWED BY EVERETT K. ROWSON, New York University

The boom in publication of works by the prolific littérateur al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), which I remarked upon in two previous reviews for this journal,[1] continues unabated, not least because of the ongoing productivity of Muḥammad ʿĀyish. The first of the two volumes under consideration here is particularly welcome, as in it ʿĀyish presents two texts by al-Ṣafadī that have never appeared before in print in any form; but he has been busy with others as well. According to his own count, these are in fact the ninth and tenth of al-Ṣafadī's works that he has edited, and in his introduction to this volume he duly includes the other eight in a full list of all of al-Ṣafadī's oeuvre that has been published to date.

While this list is of some help in keeping up with the flood of recent Ṣafadiana, however, it is not as useful as it might be, since ʿĀyish informs us of only *one* edition for each work, and in particular avoids any mention of alternative editions of the works he has edited himself. Thus, while al-Ṣafadī's critique of the celebrated lexicon *Al-Ṣiḥāḥ* by al-Jawharī (d. ca. 396/1006), the *Nufūdh al-Sahm fīmā Waqaʿa lil-Jawharī min al-Wahm* (ed. Muḥammad ʿĀyish, Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir, 2006) is an *editio princeps,* as is the thematic anthology *Rashf al-Zulāl fī Waṣf al-Hilāl* (ed. Muḥammad ʿĀyish, Dār al-Awāʾil, in press), the other six are all works that had in fact already appeared under other editorial hands. The parodic *Ikhtirāʿ al-Khurāʿ* (ed. Muḥammad ʿĀyish, Amman: Dār ʿAmmār, 2004) was edited by Fārūq Asalīm (Damascus: Ittiḥād al-Kuttāb al-ʿArab, 2000);[2] the rhetorical study *Faḍḍ al-Khitām ʿan al-Tawriyah wa-al-Istikhdām* (ed. Muḥammad ʿĀyish, Amman:

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[1] Review of al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Kashf wa-al-Tanbīh ʿalá al-Waṣf wa-al-Tashbīh,* edited by Hilāl Nājī and Walīd ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Zubayrī (Leeds: Majallat al-Ḥikmah, 1420/1999), and of Nabīl Muḥammad Rashād, *Al-Ṣafadī wa-Sharḥuhu ʿalá Lāmīyat al-ʿAjam: Dirāsah Taḥlīlīyah* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Ādāb, 1421/2001), in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 1 (2004): 315–23; and review of al-Ṣafadī (attributed), *Lawʿat al-Shākī wa-Damʿat al-Bākī,* edited by Muḥammad ʿĀyish (Damascus: Dār al-Awāʾil, 2003), in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10, no. 1 (2006): 222–26.

[2] See the review by Vanessa De Gifis in *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10, no. 2 (2006): 204–8.

al-Dār al-ʿUthmānīyah, in press) was published (in very defective form, to be sure) by al-Muḥammadī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ḥinnāwī (Cairo, 1979); the thematic anthology *Tashnīf al-Samʿ bi-Insikāb al-Damʿ* (ed. Muḥammad ʿĀyish, Damascus: Dār al-Awāʾil, 2004) was edited by Muḥammad ʿAlī Dāwūd (Alexandria: Dār al-Wafāʾ li-Dunyā al-Ṭibāʿah wa-al-Nashr, 2000);[3] the *maqāmah Lawʿat al-Shākī wa-Damʿat al-Bākī* (of questionable authorship, as discussed below) has been repeatedly published in uncritical editions since the late nineteenth century; yet another thematic anthology, *Kashf al-Ḥāl fī Waṣf al-Khāl* (ed. Muḥammad ʿĀyish, Damascus: Dār al-Awāʾil, 2006), has been previously edited twice, once by Sihām Ṣallān (Damascus: Dār Saʿd al-Dīn, 1999) and again by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-ʿAqīl (Beirut: al-Dār al-ʿArabīyah lil-Mawsūʿāt, 2005); and al-Ṣafadī's extraordinary collection of his lifetime correspondence, *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ bayna al-Bādiʾ wa-al-Murājiʿ* (ed. Muḥammad ʿĀyish, Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 2007), has also appeared in two previous editions, one by Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ (Beirut: Dār al-Bashāʾir, 2004) and the other by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Sālim (Cairo: al-Hayʾah al-ʿĀmmah al-Miṣrīyah lil-Kitāb, 2006). One detects more than a hint of competitiveness here.[4]

Be that as it may, ʿĀyish's lists—he also surveys unpublished works by al-Ṣafadī surviving in manuscript, lost works, and works falsely attributed to him—provide us with some new and useful details, particularly about the false attributions. His treatment of al-Ṣafadī's biography is, on the other hand, perfunctory, although one would hardly expect him to include a detailed account of it in every single one of this galaxy of publications. The important thing is, of course, the two texts offered here themselves—which seem to be combined in a single volume purely as a matter of convenience, since al-Ṣafadī's monograph composed on the occasion of the Prophet's birthday really has nothing, except authorship, in common with the *maqāmah* he composed in his youth on a homoerotic theme.

That al-Ṣafadī did compose a work for *mawlid al-nabī* with the title *Al-Faḍl al-Munīf fī al-Mawlid al-Sharīf* has been known from bibliographical notices in later authors, but that the work survives in a Princeton manuscript (Garrett Yahuda 3570) has not. To my knowledge, only Marion Holmes Katz, in her recent monograph on the *mawlid,* has shown any awareness of it,[5] and it is certainly good to have the

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[3] It was first published in Cairo in 1321/1903. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Majīd Lāshīn announced in his major study *Al-Ṣafadī wa-Āthāruhu fī al-Adab wa-al-Naqd* (Cairo: Dār al-Āfāq al-ʿArabīyah, 2005), 154, that he has prepared his own edition, which is "in the course of publication," but to my knowledge has not yet appeared.

[4] ʿĀyish makes no mention of Lāshīn's major study of al-Ṣafadī (see note 3 above), which offers (pp. 93–161) the most detailed survey of al-Ṣafadī's works that has appeared to date.

[5] Marion Holmes Katz, *The Birth of the Prophet Muḥammad: Devotional Piety in Sunni Islam* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007). Katz has little to say about the work, but her fine study offers

text in print. ʿĀyish gives the essential information about the manuscript—which is an autograph, with a description of the occasion when it was read out publicly in the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus (Ṣafar 759/January–February 1358) and an *ijāzah* at the end—except for, frustratingly, any indication of what other works al-Ṣafadī included in this manuscript in his own hand. (The Princeton catalogues are not helpful in this respect, either; I did determine that the other works in the manuscript are not the author's own, but was unable to compile a full list.) The manuscript has suffered from some water damage, rendering some passages illegible—which, however, ʿĀyish has been able to restore (how accurately is debatable) from parallel passages in al-Nuwayrī's (d. 732/1332) *Nihāyat al-Arab*. In accordance with current scholarly norms, ʿĀyish provides facsimiles of the first and last pages, as well as one other random page, from the manuscript.

The content of the *Faḍl* is on the whole what one would expect, as is clear from Katz's investigation of the genre. The concentration is on the Prophet's birth and early life, with only cursory attention to later events. ʿĀyish has provided (in square brackets) headings that helpfully articulate the text. Primary topics are the Prophet's genealogy, predictions of his advent in the Old and New Testaments, miraculous events at the time of his birth, miracles associated with his mother's pregnancy and labor, his wet nurses, and his youthful journeys to Syria (and encounter with the monk Baḥīrā there, who recognized his prophetic status). Some attention is given to his marriage to Khadījah, the first revelation he received, his first public proclamation of the revelation, the first converts, his heavenly ascent *(isrāʾ* and *miʿrāj),* his letter to the Byzantine emperor Heraclius inviting him to convert to Islam, and the last verse of the Quran revealed to him. All of this is presented in fairly predictable style for al-Ṣafadī, heavily laden with *sajʿ* and interspersed with verses by both the author and others; the work ends with a 70-line poem by the author in praise of the Prophet, which is surprisingly jejune in style but also a bit startling in its explicit attacks on Shiʿis and Muʿtazilis, as well as its liberal use of wine imagery.

ʿĀyish can be presumed to have reproduced faithfully the text in the *unicum* on which he relies. The annotations he has supplied are, however, fairly minimal and occasionally embarrassing. When al-Ṣafadī quotes al-Kharāʾiṭī (d. 327/938) on the "trembling" of the Īwān Kisrā on the night of the Prophet's birth, ʿĀyish follows up appropriately with references to al-Kharāʾiṭī's *Hawātif al-Jinān* (albeit mispointing *al-jinān* as *al-jannān*). But he is completely at sea with the biblical prophecies, perhaps most distressingly when he misreads the place where Jesus grew up, al-Jalīl (Galilee), as al-Khalīl (Hebron), despite the fact that the text specifies the town there as Nazareth (al-Nāṣirah) and adds, in a touch of local

valuable contextualization for it.

color, that it is less than a day's journey distant from Ṣafad (al-Ṣafadī's birthplace). For "Kedar" (*Qāydhār,* Isaiah 42:11–13) ʿĀyish refers only to entries in the *Lisān al-ʿArab* and the *Tāj al-ʿArūs;* and for the Paraclete he footnotes a passage, again, in al-Nuwayrī.[6] While readers are thus left to do their own interpretive work, we can only be grateful that the text itself is now indeed available.

The *ʿIbrat al-Labīb* is quite a different kettle of fish. It is a scandal that this text, also known as *Al-Maqāmah al-Aybakīyah,* has not until now been made available to scholars, despite the fact that it seems to have put the young al-Ṣafadī on the literary map and is available in some half dozen manuscripts. ʿĀyish has no problems acknowledging the work's homoerotic theme ("*adab al-ghilmānīyāt*"), whose popularity in the Mamluk period he grants while pointing out that this *maqāmah* differs from most treatments of the subject by avoiding an explicitly libertine tone *(mujūn),* and stressing that the *ʿibrah* ("lesson") of the title is meant to warn men off from falling into this fatal trap (which by implication is homosexuality, although in fact al-Ṣafadī was probably thinking only of love passion *[ʿishq]* in general, regardless of the sex of the beloved).

In his introduction to the text, ʿĀyish reproduces al-Ṣafadī's own account of its genesis, according to which upon his arrival in Egypt in 727/1327 (at the age of thirty) he discovered that the literati there were enthralled by a *maqāmah* (or *risālah*—the two words are used interchangeably in our sources from this period) by the late ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (d. 717/1317) entitled *Marātiʿ al-Ghizlān fī Waṣf al-Ḥisān min al-Ghilmān* ("Pastures for gazelles describing beautiful boys") and acceded to a request by a friend, or friends, to produce an emulative work on the same theme.[7] ʿĀyish adds some brief comments on ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn (who was the grandson of the famous chancery official, littérateur, and historian Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir (d. 692/1292)), noting that he was the author of *Al-Mufākharah bayna al-Sayf wa-al-Rumḥ*[8] and *Tashrīf al-Ayyām wa-al-ʿUṣūr fī Sīrat al-Malik al-*

[6]Al-Ṣafadī's treatment of both Old and New Testament passages in this context is absolutely standard, as can easily be established by consulting the indices in Hava Lazarus-Yafeh, *Intertwined Worlds: Medieval Islam and Bible Criticism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), and Camilla Adang, *Muslim Writers on Judaism and the Hebrew Bible from Ibn Rabban to Ibn Ḥazm* (Leiden: Brill, 1996).

[7]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* vol. 22, edited by Ramzī Baʿlabakkī (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1983), 54, and idem, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,* edited by ʿAlī Abū Zayd et al. (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr al-Muʿāṣir and Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1998), 3:496.

[8]On this text see Adrian Gully, "The Sword and the Pen in the Pre-Modern Arabic Heritage: A Literary Representation of an Important Historical Relationship," in *Ideas, Images, and Methods of Portrayal: Insights into Classical Arabic Literature and Islam,* edited by Sebastian Günther (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 403–30. *Pace* Gully, I am not convinced that the attribution of a version of the text to al-Ṣafadī in al-Madanī's (d. 1066/1655) *Manhaj al-Tarjīḥ wa-al-Tajrīḥ* represents a *muʿāraḍah* rather than a simple misattribution (with a panoply of minor variants).

Manṣūr.[9] ʿĀyish points out that ʿAlāʾ al-Din's *Marātiʿ al-Ghizlān* is extant in a Cambridge manuscript, but it is not clear whether he (or anyone else) has actually looked at it; he in fact falls back on what he claims is an extract *(qiṭʿah)* from it in al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-Arab,* which he reproduces in full. This is an inference on ʿĀyish's part, and not necessarily a justified one.[10] Al-Nuwayrī presents, without title, what he simply calls a "*maqāmah ʿamilahā fī sanat 702,*" and the text (which runs to ten pages in the published *Nihāyah*) appears to be complete. Composed in a conventional mix of rhymed prose and poetry, it is put in the mouth of a "lover" who describes his quest for, and success at, finding a (male) beloved, identified (predictably) as a Turk, whose physical beauty is described at some length. The lover reveals his passion, which is initially welcomed by the beloved, until the "chaperone" *(raqīb)* discovers the affair and poisons the beloved's mind against his suitor, leading to separation. The disconsolate lover temporarily revives his hopes with the thought that the beloved's departure may have been coerced, but when his hopeful verses of "complaint" *(shakwá)* reach the latter they are rejected. Whether this is indeed the same *maqāmah* as the *Marātiʿ al-Ghizlān* can only be confirmed by examination of the Cambridge manuscript.[11]

Nor is it entirely clear whether the text in the *Nihāyah* can be considered an appropriate model for al-Ṣafadī's *ʿIbrah.* (ʿĀyish does not comment on this question, and in fact offers no discussion at all after reproducing the former.) Both texts are first-person narratives, in alternating rhymed prose and verse, by someone who has fallen in love with a beautiful Turk and been rejected, but beyond that they have relatively little in common. The *ʿIbrah,* which is much longer, is prefaced by an account of how it was inspired by the *Marātiʿ al-Ghizlān,*[12] followed—in only one of the two manuscripts utilized by ʿĀyish for his edition—by a dedication (and accompanying thirteen-line panegyric) to an obliquely-named patron.[13] The

[9]There has been some scholarly controversy about the authorship of this biography of the Mamluk sultan Qalāwūn, but the predominant opinion seems to be that it was authored by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's grandfather Muḥyī al-Dīn.

[10]Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila draws the same inference, although without apparently being aware of the Cambridge manuscript, in his *Maqama: A History of a Genre* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 386.

[11]And not necessarily then. The Cambridge catalogue assigns only the *Marātiʿ al-Ghizlān* to the 168-folio manuscript (of which the first folio is missing), which can hardly be the case for a single *maqāmah.*

[12]Al-Ṣafadī here calls the *Marātiʿ al-Ghizlān* a "*risālah*" and says he was asked to compose a "*risālah tumāthiluhā.*" In the *Wāfī* he refers to both works as *maqāmahs* and calls his own the "*naẓīr*" of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's. In the *Aʿyān* he says that he composed his own *risālah* on the "topic" *(māddah)* of Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's *maqāmah.*

[13]"*Wa-qad khadamtu bi-hā khizānat al-maqarr al-ʿālī al-makhdūmī al-qaḍāʾī al-Shihābī.*" This is unquestionably Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyá Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349), author

narrator begins by expounding, with considerable elaboration, on his fascination with love stories and his resulting desire to fall in love himself.[14] For this purpose he seeks, and finds, an appropriate adviser, who one day tells him of having seen a particularly beautiful young man, describing him so vividly that the narrator falls in love with him, sight unseen, on the spot. Begged to arrange a viewing, the friend does so, but there is no indication of any interaction between lover and beloved before the latter "flees" like a gazelle. The friend then suggests that they go together to observe the beloved hunting with his Turkish friends, and they repair to a garden where they expect to find them. Seven young men *(ghilmān),* including the beloved, appear on horseback, pursuing a herd of gazelles; each is garbed in a different color and riding a horse of a different color, and these are described one by one. They ride off in pursuit of the gazelles and then return, each with his prey. Urged on by his friend, the narrator expresses his "complaint" to the beloved, who rebuffs him, and continues to do so as the narrator pleads ever more desperately for his attention. Finally, God leads the narrator aright: he recovers from his passion and resolves to put his efforts into preparing for the afterlife, turning away from all worldly passions.

Of course, the point of this composition is not the "plot" (such as it is), but rather the rhetoric, which is elaborate, variegated, and sustained. In his edition ʿĀyish is quite helpful in catching instances of *taḍmīn* (incorporation into the poetry of verses by earlier poets, or of Quran or hadith quotations or paraphrases) as well of *ḥall al-naẓm* (recasting well-known verses in prose). On the other hand, he seems to be quite oblivious to meter, and less than fully attentive to the demands of prose parallelism in rhyme (which al-Ṣafadī is in fact quite careful about, and which thus serves—or should serve—as a control on the text). The result is a distressingly high frequency of impossible readings, some but by no means all of which can be corrected by an attentive reader from the information presented.

But the larger problem with this edition of the *ʿIbrat al-Labīb* is a methodological one. ʿĀyish has relied on two manuscripts (for which he gives full descriptions), MS ʿĀrif Ḥikmat (Medina) *majmūʿ ʿāmm* 3065 (dated 1001, with the title "Al-Risālah al-Mawsūmah bi-Damʿat al-Labīb bi-ʿIbrat al-Kaʾīb"), and MS Bodleian Sale 34, fols. 103–13 (no date [eleventh/seventeenth century?], titled "ʿIbrat al-Labīb bi-ʿAthrat al-Kaʾīb"). He has taken the former, which he considers the better of the two, as his "*aṣl,*" supplementing it (in brackets) with phrases missing in

of the *Masālik al-Abṣār* and al-Ṣafadī's patron and friend, to whom he refers as "*al-makhdūm al-Shihābī*" in a letter to the poet Ibn Nubātah (al-Ṣafadī, *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ* [ed. Ṣāliḥ], 2:219).

[14]One of the very few parallels in phraseology between Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's text as cited in the *Nihāyat al-Arab* and the *ʿIbrat al-Labīb* occurs here at the beginning, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's "*ḥakā alīf al-gharām wa-khalīf al-saqām . . .*" being echoed by al-Ṣafadī's "*ḥakā ḥalīf al-ḍaná wa-al-ʿaná wa-alīf nayl al-manūn lā nayl al-muná.*"

it but present in the Bodleian text[15] and occasionally adopting a better reading from the latter, with a clearly presented apparatus in such cases. Having recently obtained a copy of the Bodleian manuscript (for which I thank the staff at the Bodleian library), I was able to check on ʿĀyish's use of it, and the results were not happy ones. To be sure, this is not an impressive manuscript—the scribe makes frequent egregious errors and clearly was often not understanding what he was copying. But in his devotion to his "*aṣl*" ʿĀyish has essentially *ignored* all variants from the Bodleian manuscript that are not either simple additions to the ʿĀrif Ḥikmat text or (to his eyes) clearly superior readings. Much valuable information is thereby lost, and no picture of what is actually in the Bodleian manuscript emerges. Some (in fact) superior readings from it are not recorded at all, and where (as frequently) the sequencing of phrases differs in the two manuscripts ʿĀyish's choices appear arbitrary and fail to make clear the actual reading in either manuscript.

Given these problems, it is difficult to say how good (or bad) the ʿĀrif Ḥikmat manuscript actually is, and in any case a truly critical edition of the text will have to take into consideration additional manuscripts (of which there are known to be two in Cairo, one in Istanbul, and one in Ṣanʿāʾ). In the meantime, the *ʿIbrat al-Labīb* is now available to scholars in a reasonably complete, readable text (although it gets rather messy—in both manuscripts—in the final pages). ʿĀyish appends to his editions of both *Al-Faḍl al-Munīf* and *ʿIbrat al-Labīb* (combined) indices of Quran quotations, hadith quotations, and poetry; these are useful, but also misleading since a single index refers to two very disparate works. (He also misses a few Quran quotations in the *ʿIbrat al-Labīb*.) The book concludes with a list of references.

ʿĀyish has nothing to say about the *Lawʿat al-Shākī wa-Damʿat al-Bākī,* of which he published an edition in 2003, in his introductory material on the *ʿIbrat al-Labīb,* despite the questions raised by any juxtaposition of the two. Both are highly rhetorical narratives of a love affair (of sorts) with a Turkish young man. The *Lawʿat al-Shākī* is attributed to al-Ṣafadī in a majority of the many surviving manuscripts of the work, but in others it is attributed to no less than five other authors. In his edition of it, ʿĀyish argued that it actually does come from al-Ṣafadī's pen (and in my review of his edition I was inclined to agree, although I found his arguments inadequate). Surely the publication of the *ʿIbrat al-Labīb* offers an occasion to reconsider this issue.

Meanwhile, however, Samīḥ Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ has produced yet another edition of the *Lawʿat al-Shākī,* attributing it without question—on his title page—to Zayn

[15] Including the dedication to "al-Shihābī," noted above.

Dīn Manṣūr ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥarīrī (d. 967/1560).[16] In fact, being well aware of ʿĀyish's edition of the text—which he calls "the best so far"—he justifies his own re-edition precisely on the grounds of his re-attribution, although why an argument about authorship should be grounds for re-editing the text itself remains obscure. (There may be a clue to this in Ṣāliḥ's refutation of ʿĀyish's arguments for attributing the work to al-Ṣafadī, which include what he perceived as its stylistic similarity to al-Ṣafadī's letters in his collected correspondence, the *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ,* a similarity that Ṣāliḥ flatly denies. Ṣāliḥ questions how ʿĀyish could have compared the two anyway, since the *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ* was at the time as yet unpublished—it appeared, in an edition by Ṣāliḥ's father, Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ, in 2004. But there is no reason to believe that ʿĀyish—who in fact published his own edition of the *Alḥān al-Sawājiʿ* in 2007 [not available to me]—did not at the time have manuscripts of the work at his disposal.)

In the introduction to his edition of the text, Ṣāliḥ presents a fairly persuasive case for al-Ḥarīrī's authorship of it. Observing that it has been known all along that the bio-bibliographers Najm al-Dīn al-Ghazzī (d. 1061/1651) and Ibn al-ʿImād (d. 1089/1678) attribute a work of this title to al-Ḥarīrī (and that none of the bio-bibliographical sources on al-Ṣafadī do so, nor does al-Ṣafadī ever mention it in his own works, despite his predilection for cross-referencing his own works), he has traced al-Ghazzī's and Ibn al-ʿImād's entries to their primary source, the *Durr al-Ḥabab fī Tārīkh Aʿyān Ḥalab* of Ibn al-Ḥanbalī (d. 971/1563). He reproduces Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's biography of al-Ḥarīrī, noting that he states clearly that al-Ḥarīrī "composed a nice romantic *(ghazalīyah) maqāmah* which he titled *Lawʿat al-Shākī wa-Damʿat al-Bākī,*" and observes dryly that as al-Ḥarīrī's contemporary Ibn al-Ḥanbalī should know what he is talking about.

Ṣāliḥ also lists all previous printings of the *Lawʿat al-Shākī*—a dozen of them between 1857 and 1929, then nothing until ʿAbd al-Malik Aḥmad al-Wādiʿī's 1991 edition (Beirut: Dār al-Manāhil)[17] and ʿĀyish's 2003 edition—noting that they all attribute it to al-Ṣafadī. Concerned as he is to refute that attribution and to confirm al-Ḥarīrī's authorship, he pays scant attention to the other manuscript attributions, noting only two of them—Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī and al-Māridīnī. This is inadequate, since the total number of manuscript attributions is in fact *six:*

1. al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363): so the majority of manuscripts and all printings prior to Ṣāliḥ's.

2. Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 750/1349): one Cairo manuscript, possibly no others. No one has ever taken this attribution seriously.

[16] ʿĀyish was more cautious: the title page of his 2003 edition of the work has "attributed to" *(al-mansūb li-)* Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī.

[17] I have not seen this edition, and was unaware of it when I composed my review of ʿĀyish's 2003 edition.

3. Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Sulaymān, known as Ibn Khaṭīb Dārayyā (d. 811/1408–9): one of the (Cairo?) manuscripts utilized by ʿĀyish for his edition; possibly also an Istanbul manuscript attributing the work to "Jalāl al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb" (but cf. no. 6 below).

4. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥusayn/al-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Sharīf/al-Musharraf al-Māridīnī al-Ḥaskafī (d. 846/1442): one manuscript listed by Sarkīs, possibly identical with one of the manuscripts utilized by Ṣāliḥ for his edition.

5. Zayn al-Dīn Manṣūr ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥarīrī al-Dimashqī al-Shāfiʿī, known as Khaṭīb al-Saqīfah (d. 967/1560): authorship attested by Ibn al-Ḥanbalī and his successors, so attributed in manuscripts in the British Museum and Patna.

6. Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Khaṭīb al-Madanī al-Ṣāliḥī: so attributed in a Copenhagen manuscript that cites the year 988/1580.

We will probably never know why this work ended up being attributed to so many different people. Ṣāliḥ's case for al-Ḥarīrī is quite strong—the *only* external (non-manuscript) evidence points to him—and although his case against al-Ṣafadī is not as strong, it is supported by the evidence from Bodleian MS Sale 34, which he does not consider. That manuscript includes both al-Ṣafadī's *ʿIbrat al-Labīb* (whose authenticity there is no reason to contest), attributed explicitly to him ("*risālah ʿajībah laṭīfah gharībah lil-shaykh Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī*") and, immediately following it, the *Lawʿat al-Shākī,* unattributed ("*Damʿat al-Bākī wa-Lawʿat al-Shākī wa-hiya risālah ʿajībah gharībah*"). A comparison of the two, furthermore, makes it clear that they are not by the same author. The *ʿIbrat al-Labīb* is a rhetorically more sophisticated composition; the *Lawʿat al-Shākī* ties its prose and poetry together in a rather mechanistic fashion (prose passage usually followed by poetry expressing exactly the same thing with mostly identical vocabulary) that is foreign to the *ʿIbrat al-Labīb*. If the *Lawʿat al-Shākī* is not by al-Ṣafadī, surely al-Ḥarīrī is the most likely alternative candidate.

But comparing the two texts can also tell us more than this. As with the *Marātiʿ al-Ghizlān* (if that is what al-Nuwayrī is reproducing) and the *ʿIbrat al-Labīb,* we have with the *ʿIbrah* and the *Lawʿah* two first-person narratives of love passion for a young male Turk; but in this case the parallels are much closer. Like the *ʿIbrah,* the *Lawʿah* begins with the narrator expressing his general views on love before launching into his narrative. He then describes how one day he went out to a garden with a friend, and while they were enjoying the natural beauty there suddenly appeared seven Turkish young men, or, as the *Lawʿah* puts it (p. 35), "young men of the number of the planets" *(ghilmān ʿadad al-kawākib al-sayyārah);* the young men in the *ʿIbrah* (p. 106) are described as "*min al-ghilmah al-ḥisān ʿadad al-kawākib al-sayyārah.*" In the *Lawʿah* they "pushed aside the sun in (its) halo and shamed the moon in (its) halo" *(qad amālū al-shams fī al-hālah wa-akhjalū*

al-qamar fī al-dārah), while according to the *ʿIbrah* "among them was the source of my travail like the moon in (its) halo and the sun in (its) halo" *(wa-ṣāḥib balīyatī baynahum ka-al-qamar fī al-hālah wa-al-shams fī al-dārah)*. The following page in both texts offers several more such parallels in phraseology, and there are a number of others (I have found about half a dozen) scattered throughout the two works.

Once the Turks have put in their appearance and the narrator has fallen in love with one of them in particular, the plots of the two works do diverge. The *Lawʿah* has no hunt, nor any detailed description of the Turks' clothing and horses; and the beloved is far more accommodating than his counterpart in the *ʿIbrah*. On first meeting he takes the narrator aside, enthusiastically grants him kisses and embraces, and arranges an appointment for a longer and more private tryst. The friend, who plays a major role in the *Lawʿah,* is commissioned to prepare a room for this private party, with the necessary wine and other accoutrements. The beloved is delayed, but does finally show up, and after enjoying the wine lover and beloved retire to a night of embraces in bed (described in only vague, if highly rhetorical, terms; the friend sleeps outside the door). The next morning the beloved departs, apparently forever, and the narrator returns to the copious weeping in which he has indulged throughout the entire episode.

Despite the divergence in plot, it would appear to be fairly clear that the *Lawʿah* is in fact a direct emulation *(muʿāraḍah)* of the *ʿIbrah*—most likely one by al-Ḥarīrī. (Some misunderstanding of the relationship between the two works could perhaps lie behind the common attribution of the *Lawʿah* to al-Ṣafadī himself, although quite how that happened remains obscure.) What will require further research, however, is a fuller contextualization of these texts. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, al-Ṣafadī, and al-Ḥarīrī (?) were certainly not the only authors during the Mamluk and Ottoman periods who cultivated what Thomas Bauer has called the "erotic *maqāmah,*"[18] and there is a history of this genre yet to be written. One wonders what to make of the fact that al-Ṣafadī mentions having studied with Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh (among other works) the latter's *Damʿat al-Bākī wa-Yaqẓat al-Sāhir,* no manuscripts of which appear to have turned up.[19] Bare titles can, of course, be deceptive, and in particular there is the difficulty of sorting out from "erotic *maqāmah*s" the quite distinct genre of anthologies of epigrams on beautiful boys (and sometimes girls), of which one well-known (but unpublished)

[18]Thomas Bauer, "Mamluk Literature: Misunderstandings and New Approaches," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 9, no. 2 (2005): 115.

[19]Al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* ed. Muḥammad Yūsuf Najm, 8:255; idem, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,* 1:420; and cf. al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt,* ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1973), 1:160. Josef van Ess, "Safaḍī-Splitter," *Der Islam* 53 (1976): 259, considers these two separate titles, which seems unlikely (albeit possible) to me.

example by al-Nawājī (d. 859/1455) bears the title *Marātiʿ al-Ghizlān fī al-Ḥisān min al-Jawārī wa-al-Ghilmān*. One wonders about the content of Ibn al-Ḥanbalī's *Martaʿ al-Ẓibá wa-Marbaʿ Dhawī al-Ṣibá,* preserved in manuscript, and whether it has any connection with the *Lawʿat al-Shākī* that he admired by his contemporary al-Ḥarīrī. On the other hand, one might also wonder about the *Bushrá al-Labīb bi-Dhikrá al-Ḥabīb* by Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (d. 734/1334), if it were not known that this (unpublished) work is in fact a collection of his own poems in praise of the Prophet. There remains much sorting out to be done.

As for the *Lawʿat al-Shākī,* while Ṣāliḥ's arguments for al-Ḥarīrī's authorship of it appear to be strong, his edition of the text itself is a disappointment. There were reasons enough to try to improve on ʿĀyish's 2003 edition—but that does not seem to have been Ṣāliḥ's primary motivation, and he has certainly not succeeded in doing so. In fact, his edition may be considered a step backward. He relies on four sources: the 1301 Istanbul printing of the text, ʿĀyish's 2003 edition, and two Damascus manuscripts, one without a named author and the other attributing the work to al-Māridīnī. Why editors should treat published editions as independent text testimonies—and both ʿĀyish and Ṣāliḥ are guilty of this—remains inexplicable to me; but Ṣāliḥ has compounded the problem by taking the Istanbul printing, *de facto,* as his *aṣl.* (He says nothing about an *aṣl,* but from his apparatus it becomes clear that the Istanbul printing is his "default.") It gets worse: Ṣāliḥ not only treats the Istanbul printing as an independent witness to the text, he treats *ʿĀyish's* edition as one. This becomes very messy indeed, because ʿĀyish's edition included readings from a manuscript with a great many obvious interpolations (the scribe clearly prided himself on catching various allusions and interpolated his explanations of them into the text). ʿĀyish (unwisely) included much of this material in his edited text, although he did (prudently) put it in brackets; but Ṣāliḥ ignores the brackets and treats whatever appears in ʿĀyish's text as if it were an independent witness to the textual tradition. The Istanbul printing is almost as bad about interpolations, and Ṣāliḥ takes those at face value as well. The result is quite chaotic.

Where Ṣāliḥ has in fact made a real contribution is in tracking down attributions of the poetry cited in the *Lawʿat al-Shākī*. (An important question that no one, so far as I know, has addressed is the conventions of poetry in *maqāmāt,* specifically in the Mamluk and Ottoman periods. When al-Ṣafadī wrote a *maqāmah*—the *ʿIbrat al-Labīb*—all the poetry seems to have been his own; in the *Lawʿat al-Shākī* the poetry seems to be all someone else's, without any explicit attribution. Was this a diachronic change?) ʿĀyish had managed to identify the authors of numerous previously-anonymous verses in the *Lawʿat al-Shākī,* and Ṣāliḥ has gone much further in this regard, relying in particular on a number of recently published

late-Mamluk poetic anthologies.[20] What should be especially interesting is verses cited in the work that can be identified as being by poets who post-date al-Ṣafadī. But in fact the only such cases are one set of verses attributed to Ibn Khaṭīb Dārayyā (of all people; see above) and another attributed to Ibn Ḥijjah al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434), and both come exclusively from manuscripts that are obviously larded with interpolations.

On the other hand, if in fact the *Lawʿat al-Shākī* can be assigned to a late tenth/sixteenth-century author, and yet quotes no poetry later than the early eighth/fourteenth century, that is in itself of great interest, in terms of tracking the history of canon in the "late medieval" and "early modern" periods. But obviously there is yet a great deal more work to be done before we can rely confidently on such evidence as this.

Ṣāliḥ's book provides conventional end matter: Quran quotations, hadith quotations, verse index, references. The last of these is very much up to date (although only Arabic-language sources are considered), and I found it valuable in that respect.

In sum, we should be happy to have available, from Muḥammad ʿĀyish, the texts of two works by al-Ṣafadī that have never been published before, even if those texts are presented in less than optimal form; and Samīḥ Ibrāhīm Ṣāliḥ has given us the latest, and fairly convincing, word on who wrote the *Lawʿat al-Shākī,* even though his edition of the text itself gets us no nearer the original words of its author (whoever he was) than we were before.

Anne F. Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). Pp. 232.

Reviewed by Thomas T. Allsen

The Mongolian invasions resulted in the destruction or incorporation of numerous Muslim polities from Turkestan to Syria. When the dust settled in the mid-thirteenth century, there were only two Muslim states left standing along the frontiers of this enormous empire, the Delhi sultanate and the Mamluk kingdom. Not surprisingly, the subsequent history of these two "frontline states" became closely entwined with that of their Chinggisid neighbors. Their relationships with the Il-khans, Chaghadai Khanate, and the Golden Horde were multifaceted involving war,

[20]Most significantly al-Nawājī's *Taʾhīl al-Gharīb* (ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad ʿAṭā, Cairo: Maktabat al-Ādāb, 2005).

diplomacy, trade, and considerable ideological posturing. Anne Broadbridge's fine volume examines the Mamluks' sustained but variable ideological response to the Mongolian challenge.

More specifically, she documents the concepts of political legitimacy advanced by both parties, and discusses their intended audience and the effects of ideology on the actions of ruling elites in the period from the Mongolian conquests to the death of Temür. This she does through a careful analysis of diplomatic messages and exchanges that reveal the subtle, and not so subtle, ideological competition between the Mamluks and their Chinggisid rivals and allies.

Properly, and most helpfully, she begins with the basics, the creation and delivery of ideological messages. Chancelleries, of course, crafted these diplomatic documents, but the messages conveyed were never limited to the written word: the quality and size of the paper, the kind and color of the ink, as well as the method of presentation made important statements about a ruler's legitimacy and majesty. So, too, did the method of dating documents, since calendars of every kind carry with them much political-ideological baggage. This is readily apparent in the long-time practice of Chinese courts, including the Mongolian Yuan Dynasty, who insisted that all subordinate states accept their calendrical system as a condition of their submission. Naturally, the language in which diplomatic documents were written was an equally crucial issue. The Mamluks, she finds, regularly sent their letters in Arabic, expecting that they would be understood or translated by foreign courts. The Mongols, in contrast, had in this respect an advantage, for their chancelleries contained many multi-lingual personnel and could produce documents in a variety of languages and scripts. However, because of the relatively high survival rate of the Mamluk documents and the comparative rarity of those produced in Chinggisid chancelleries, Broadbridge's study relies of necessity on the Arabic materials, and thus in many cases on the translation of originals from Persian, Mongolian, and Turkic. This situation points to the substantial influence wielded by translators and interpreters in such environments who could alter both the tone and substance of diplomatic messages either through error or by design.

The treatment accorded embassies was yet another opportunity for conveying important information about a ruler's intentions and mood. Receptions could be extremely denigrating, as when the Mongols, particularly in the early phases of the empire, required foreign envoys to be purified by fire and to bow before images of the founding father, Chinggis Khan, a singularly distasteful act for monotheists of any stripe. Or, receptions could be marked by acts of great generosity and shows of wealth involving extensive gifts of food, clothing, and exotic goods, and thus served as stages for Mongolian and Mamluk rulers to advertise their resources and reach to visiting embassies.

While offering a picture of the whole context of diplomatic exchanges, emphasis is placed on the more explicit ideological formulas found in the extant diplomatic documents. She begins with the fundamentals of Mongolian political doctrine, their claim of a divine mandate from heaven, *tenggeri,* to rule the face of the earth and the equally vital notion of a special good fortune, *suu* or *sutu,* which attached to the Chinggisid line and assured the success of their imperial venture. This package of ideas, Broadbridge rightly notes, arose in the years following Chinggis Khan's death in 1227. It should be stressed, however, that it was hardly unique to the Mongols. The notion of heavenly mandates resonated in China, where it was an age-old doctrine, while the bestowal of special good fortune was similar to the Turkic concept of *qut* and the Iranian *farr,* "royal glory."

For the Mamluks, the Mongols, more particularly the Il-khan state, were the most challenging of their neighbors, not only in terms of their military power but also in terms of their ideological pretensions. As Broadbridge shows, the Mamluk counter-package of political doctrines can be accommodated into the following periodization scheme.

1260–93: In the initial period, the Mongols simply asserted their mandate to rule and the superiority of Mongolian law, *yasa/jasaγ*, over the shariʿah, while the Mamluks emphasized their guardianship over Islamic society and holy places. In their relationship with the Golden Horde they emphasized religious kinship with their khan, Berke (r. 1257–66), a recent convert to Islam, and solidarity in the struggle against their common enemy, the Il-khans, and thus established a stable alliance which lasted for decades, even when dealing with Jochid rulers who were not Muslims.

1293–1316: The Il-khans' permanent conversion to Islam substantially altered the Mamluk ideological line, since Ghazan now used his adherence to Islam "to invite" Mamluk submission. He posed as a defender of Islam and at the same time invoked Chinggisid dynastic legitimacy and majesty, in pointed contrast to the lowly, slave origins of the Mamluks. His ideological pronouncements were directed at Mamluk subjects in Syria and senior commanders, which were countered by claiming religious "seniority" by reason of their earlier conversion or by disputing the sincerity of the Il-khan's embrace of his new faith.

1317–41: Following the rise of Özbek in the Golden Horde and Abū Saʿīd in the Il-khan realm, Muslim ideological formulas came to dominate in interstate exchanges. With peace established, Mamluks and Il-khans were now rival Muslim rulers and competed with each other over patronage of the holy places as well as in acts of piety and religious patronage. Still older tensions surfaced, the Mamluks stressing their religious seniority and the Il-Khans their dynastic-genealogical superiority.

1335–82: After the rapid disintegration of the Il-khan regime, the Mamluks,

largely by default, enjoyed a period of regional predominance and presented themselves to the contending Il-khan successors as senior sovereigns and guardians of the wider Islamic world. Starting in 1341, the Mamluks' own time of troubles, characterized by political in-fighting and decentralization, undercut their power and prestige but their principle rivals, the Chobanids and Jalayirids, were unable to take advantage.

1382–1404: The advent of Temür, however, posed a new and imposing military and ideological threat. He, like the Il-khans, fused Islamic and Chinggisid political notions and disparaged the Mamluks' slave origins. For their part, the Mamluks reverted to older formulas emphasizing their guardianship of Islam.

Broadbridge's portrayal of this century-and-a-half competition is extensively documented and her conclusions convincing: both the Mongols and the Mamluks took their ideological confrontation seriously; and, while there were frequent shifts in emphasis and novel elements introduced, there was continuous sparring about matters of legitimacy and supremacy; finally, these formulas, although flexible, did force rulers on many occasions to act out, or at least appear to conform to, their ideological pronouncements.

To my mind, the value of any scholarly endeavor can be usefully measured not only on its contribution to its principle theme and subject, but also for the light it casts on neighboring or related fields. Broadbridge, I believe, advances our knowledge on several significant fronts. Among other things, she provides the first full account in a Western language of the diplomatic relations between the Golden Horde and the Mamluks and in the process much improves upon the earlier work of Russian scholars such as Zakirov. She also adds to our understanding of the pivotal role of provincial governors and viceroys in Il-khan politics and diplomacy. As one primarily concerned with the history of the Mongolian Empire, her treatment of the Parvanah and of Choban help establish that these notable episodes in Il-khan history reverberated across the continent: the Parvanah's execution in 1277 is reported in the Chinese sources in some detail and it is now clear that Choban's "personal diplomacy," which led to his fall and death in 1327, extended from Cairo to Beijing. On a related issue, her examination of the more or less permanent place of political defections in Mamluk-Il-khan relations points up the need to study more closely similar movements elsewhere within the empire and along its borderlands, from western China to northwestern India and the Balkans. Further, her detailed descriptions of diplomatic receptions staged by the Mamluks and Mongols reveal that these were occasions on which cultural wares were put on eye-catching display for the benefit of foreign audiences. And, since lavish and competitive bestowals were a regular component of these encounters, such receptions constituted important mechanisms in the exchange of material culture among elites across Eurasia. Lastly, Broadbridge raises essential questions

concerning the purpose and audience for all the ideological jousting. To what extent was the message for external consumption and to what extent was it altered for internal politics? All this suggests a number of interesting comparative studies for which Broadbridge's monograph can serve as a point of departure.

To sum up, this is a high-quality work which, as the publisher's blurb maintains, will indeed "appeal to scholars of Middle Eastern and Central Asian history, Mongol history, and Islamic history, as well as historians of diplomacy and ideology." In other words, Broadbridge has successfully situated one facet of Mamluk history in a wider Eurasian context.

Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Qadḥāt, *ʿĀʾilat al-Bāʿūnī wa-Dawruhā fī al-Ḥayāh al-ʿĀmmah fī al-Qarnayn al-Thāmin wa-al-Tāsiʿ al-Hijrīyayn* (Amman: Dār Ward al-Urdunīyah lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 2007). Pp. 125.

Reviewed by Th. Emil Homerin, University of Rochester

Over the past ten years, several books have been published in Arabic on the Mamluk Sufi poet and scholar ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah (see MSR 6 [2006]: 191–92; 7, no. 1 [2003]: 236–39; 13, no. 2 [2009]: 161–63). While they vary widely in terms of scholarship, these books are testimony to the renewed interest in this very erudite woman and author of the Mamluk period. In ʿĀʾilat al-Bāʿūnī, Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Qadḥāt widens the scope to provide a general overview of the family and its contributions to Mamluk society and culture over four generations.

Al-Qadḥāt sets the political and cultural scene in his brief depiction of the Mamluk sultans, their often violent rule and succession, and the general mayhem that they caused among the populace. He then contrasts this political instability with the flourishing intellectual life of the period. Al-Qadḥāt notes that Cairo, in particular, was a safe haven for many scholars who fled the Mongols in the east and the Reconquista in the west. These émigrés, together with native scholars, found ample support among the Mamluk sultans and amirs, who established pious foundations (*waqf*s) for madrasahs, *khānqāh*s, and other institutions that supported learning. Such patronage would well serve the al-Bāʿūnī family (pp. 7–16). Al-Qadḥāt then turns, in chapter one (pp. 17–23), to a quick survey of sources that have mentioned the town of al-Bāʿūn, located today in Jordan, a few kilometers northwest of ʿAjlūn.

In chapter two (pp. 24–48), al-Qadḥāt traces family members from four generations, beginning with al-Nāṣir (fl. ninth/fourteenth century) and ending with ʿĀʾishah (d. 922/1516), though without mentioning her five brothers and

many other nephews, nieces, and cousins. Al-Qadḥāt reviews the education that various family members received and some of their teachers, their subsequent positions as preachers, teachers, scholars of law, and judges, their membership in the Qadarīyah Sufi order, and the place of honor and respect held by the family among their peers. In chapter three (pp. 51–82), al-Qadḥāt lists some of the books written by family members, occasionally citing samples of prose and, especially, poetry composed by them. In his footnotes, al-Qadḥāt often lists existing manuscripts of some of these works, their locations and index numbers, but it is quite apparent that he has not accessed most or all of these sources, and that he has drawn all of his quotations from previously published works. This is most apparent when al-Qadḥāt deals with the works of ʿĀʾishah, as he relies heavily on Ḥasan Rabābiʿah's 1997 study of her, often repeating the latter's mistakes while adding a few more of his own.

Chapter four (pp. 83–104) is the most interesting portion of this short book, as al-Qadḥāt cites several occasions when members of the al-Bāʿūnī family had interactions with a Mamluk sultan and members of his court. These include Aḥmad al-Bāʿūnī (d. 816/1413), who, as chief qadi, refused to allow Barqūq to appropriate *waqf* funds, which resulted in Aḥmad's brief imprisonment, and ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah, who had an audience with al-Ghawrī in Aleppo shortly before his death in battle with the Ottomans. Perhaps most interesting is al-Qadḥāt's re-telling of a protracted dispute between ʿĀʾishah's father Yūsuf and several al-Bāʿūnī relatives over legal positions in Syria. Here, al-Qadḥāt draws most of his information from al-Biqāʿī's *Iṭḥār al-ʿAṣr,* but al-Qadḥāt never fully analyzes the incidents or several of the key players involved. This is typical for this book, for although al-Qadḥāt is to be commended for diligently citing his published sources, he never goes beyond them to form any opinions of his own. Moreover, as is apparent in his conclusion (pp. 105–10), al-Qadḥāt is often repetitive, some times repeating verbatim earlier statements and notes. In all, this book represents a wasted opportunity; al-Qadḥāt chose a family quite appropriate for a study of Mamluk intellectual and political history, yet, he failed to carry out the research and analysis required to make a significant contribution to Mamluk studies.

Hani Hamza, *The Northern Cemetery of Cairo*. Bibliotheca Iranica: Islamic Art & Architecture Series, no. 10 (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, Inc., 2001). Pp. viii + 58 + 26 figures (maps and plans) + 35 photographic plates.

Reviewed by John Rodenbeck

Its generalized title might seem to imply that this remarkable monograph follows the fortunes of Cairo's busy and much-frequented Northern Cemetery from some discernible beginning down to our own time; and that it might thus include a consideration not only of its celebrated Mamluk monuments, but also of a few belonging to later periods, such as the Qubbat Afandīnā, for example, which was recently reopened (6 May 2008) following extensive repair and restoration. Mamlukologists will be gratified, however, by the fact that the author's interests here are historical rather than purely architectural. His specific subject is the cemetery only during its Mamluk heyday, the period from 1250 to 1517, and though his concern is with monuments, it is much more with buildings erected in that period that have since disappeared than with the handful that are still standing.

A chemical engineer who runs his own business in Cairo, the author is a student of Islamic art and architecture by avocation; and it was the outstandingly rigorous M.A. program in Islamic art and architecture at the American University in Cairo that provided the scholarly training of which this book is a direct result. He has since achieved a Ph.D. in the subject at Cairo University.

The Northern Cemetery of Cairo was published as the tenth in a distinguished series of monographs in Islamic art and architecture, a pioneering effort overseen by an editorial board that includes Abbas Daneshvari, Bernard O'Kane (who was presumably one of Hamza's mentors at AUC), Robert Hillenbrand, and Ali Modarres. Mazda, the California-based publisher of the Bibliotheca Iranica and its Islamic Art and Architecture Series, is primarily interested in Iran and Persian culture, but occasionally ventures into other parts of the Muslim world, as is instanced by this book.

Hamza has inherited his investigative method from two classic works of scholarship, one of which is Doris Behrens-Abouseif's elegant article "The North-Eastern Extension of Cairo Under the Mamluks" (*Annales islamologiques* 17 [1981]). This article creates a general picture of Mamluk-era urban development northeast of al-Qāhirah from Bāb al-Naṣr in the direction of al-Maṭarīyah, an axis along which many Mamluk notables built palaces and pleasure domes. Because of its different character, however, Behrens-Abouseif quite carefully excluded from her purview the area south of the mausoleum of al-ʿĀdil. Hani Hamza's attention, on the other hand, is turned precisely upon that portion of the *ṣaḥrā*ʾ

that Behrens-Abouseif chose to omit, which became what we call the Northern Cemetery. It is bounded on the north by the tomb of Qānṣūh Abū Saʿīd, on the northeast by Jabal al-Aḥmar and the site of Qubbat al-Naṣr, on the northwest by al-Husaynīyah (with its own significant graveyard, al-Bayraqdār, last resting place of Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, al-Maqrīzī, J. L. Burckhardt, and—presumptively—Badr al-Jamālī), on the southwest by the Barqīyah, on the east by the Muqaṭṭam, and on the south by Bāb al-Wazīr and the Citadel. A complete notion of the entire northeastern and eastern corner of Mamluk Cairo could be had by putting these two pieces of intensive research together.

Like Behrens-Abouseif, Hamza has combed through the sources, both Arab and non-Arab, with utmost industry. The Arab sources they use are of course in general the same, but Behrens-Abouseif cites twenty-five travelers' accounts and Hamza only five: al-Maṭarīyah, with its Christian sites, was on every European travel itinerary, the Northern Cemetery on virtually none, with the consequence that references to it by travelers are comparatively rare. (It might also be noted here that in the "Arabic Sources" section of Hamza's otherwise careful bibliography the entries have been transliterated, but have remained alphabetized according to the Arabic alphabet. Four of the entries are not properly "sources," but secondary studies; and the first two lines of the first entry have been printed twice.) The purpose of Hamza's impressive preliminary labor was to establish what exactly stood or was built in the Northern Cemetery in Mamluk times. For such historical purposes mere physical remains are deeply deficient; and it is the written record that must supply the evidence of what once was substantial and real.

Mamluk politics and Mamluk building activity being profoundly interlinked, Hamza's opening chapter offers an overview of construction in the *ṣaḥrā*ʾ against the background of Mamluk political history. He is fully aware that any Muslim funerary structure in Cairo commonly housed and is still apt to house the remains of many people, some of them quite unrelated to the founder. The mere mention of someone in the sources as being buried in the Northern Cemetery he has therefore treated as insufficient evidence that a structure was actually founded by him or erected on his behalf. Despite the limitations imposed by such logical criteria, Hamza has nevertheless disclosed the existence of 106 structures, few of them still extant. Of 29 Bahri buildings, for example, all but one of them mausolea, only 4 now remain; of 77 Burgi buildings, a mere 28 are still standing. The Index of the Survey of Egypt identifies many of the buildings still extant, but whatever is standing at the present moment, quite obviously, is no guide to what was once the case. "It would be rash," Hamza writes,

> to claim that all the foundations in the *'sahara,'* whether surviving or not, have been listed, although it is probable that all the major

> examples are covered. But the corpus of monuments and the related information outlined so far [are] ample for analysis and drawing conclusions on the geographical, topographical and social aspects of development of the *sahara'* (p. 18).

The second chapter is a topographical analysis. It begins with a historical survey of the various names that have been applied to the *ṣaḥrāʾ,* ranging from Maydan al-Qabaq to Eastern Cemetery *(al-qarāfah al-sharqīyah)* to the Tombs of the Mamluks; and fixes an approximate site for the Qubbat al-Naṣr, a vital historical landmark that unfortunately no longer exists. Hamza then indicates the main arteries and street patterns, which are conveniently mapped. He traces four phases of urban growth under four different régimes or phases of government: (1) Bahri (648–784/1250–1382); (2) al-Ẓāhir Barqūq to the accession of al-Ashraf Barsbāy (784–825/1382–1422); (3) al-Ashraf Barsbāy to the accession of Qāytbāy (825–73/1422–68); (4) al-Ashraf Qāytbāy to the end of the Mamluk sultanate (873–922/1468–1517).

Hamza's phase-by-phase listings of foundations follow. Each building is identified, if possible, by either a number in the Survey of Egypt's Index, showing that it is still extant, or by a reference to a second classic work in the field: the late and much-lamented Michael Meinecke's heroic two-volume survey, *Die Mamlukischen Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien* (1992), his last published work, a survey that was intended in large part to supplement the Index by locating monuments that had disappeared. Meinecke thus found 33 new entries to add to the Index's 32 in the Northern Cemetery. In completing his own survey, however, Hamza found more than 40 additional foundations clearly attested.

An interim chapter follows on the patronage and typology of the buildings. The most numerous buildings were mausolea, of which 25 are still standing, many supplied with the remarkable carved stone domes that are one of the special boasts of Mamluk architecture. Several were also used as *khānqāh*s, which gave the area, as Hamza remarks, its "distinctive character." The only other important building type in the *ṣaḥrāʾ* appears to have been the *zāwiyah*.

These three building types reflect major activities in the *ṣaḥrāʾ,* the subject of Hamza's fourth chapter. Such activities certainly included visitations to the tombs of saints and Sufis, especially that of ʿAbd Allāh al-Manūfī, though the *ṣaḥrāʾ* otherwise had much less claim to sanctity than the *qarāfah*s to the south. Nine *khānqāh*s are still extant in the *ṣaḥrāʾ;* however, three or four more are known from the sources, and many other buildings served as *khānqāh*s even if not designated as such, so that by the end of the fifteenth century Sufi activity must have been quite evident. Residential quarters housed inhabitants of other kinds, including a large proportion of foreigners, but an experiment in economic

development earlier in the century had failed and at the time of the Ottoman conquest the population was sparse. Hamza concludes by demonstrating that the period of greatest building activity was during the third quarter of the fifteenth century. An appendix examines in detail the ruined mausoleum of Mankalībughā al-Fakhrī, excluded from the Index because of its artistic mediocrity, but perhaps therefore all the more representative of architectural norms in an area presently known chiefly for its surviving handful of large-scale Mamluk masterworks.

This book may well be the definitive treatment of its subject. One could wish, though, that Mazda had taken much more editorial care. Apart from the bibliographic defects noted parenthetically above, there are frequent typographical errors and some sentences need straightening out, despite the author's excellent English. The graphic material is all informative, though here there are likewise a few mistakes that should have been corrected at an early stage. And why has the sketch map reproduced as Figure 2 not been formalized and thus made much more useful?

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AMĀYIRAH, MUḤAMMAD ʿABDALLĀH. *Jaysh fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī al-Thānī, 784–923 H*. Amman: Dār Kunūz al-Maʿrifah al-ʿIlmīyah lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 2010. Pp. 240.

APPELANIZ RUIZ DE GALARRETA, FRANCISCO JAVIER. *Pouvoir et finance en Médeterranée pré-moderne: Le deuxième État mamelouk et le commerce des épices (1382–1517)*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2009. Pp. 301.

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ء	ʾ	خ	kh	ش	sh	غ	gh	م	m
ب	b	د	d	ص	ṣ	ف	f	ن	n
ت	t	ذ	dh	ض	ḍ	ق	q	ه	h
ث	th	ر	r	ط	ṭ	ك	k	و	w
ج	j	ز	z	ظ	ẓ	ل	l	ي	y
ح	ḥ	س	s	ع	ʿ				
		ة	h, t (in construct)			ال	al-		

ـَ	a	ـُ	u	ـِ	i
ـً	an	ـٌ	un	ـٍ	in
آ	ā	ُو	ū	ِي	ī
اَ	ā	ُوّ	ūw	ـِيّـ	īy (medial), ī (final)
ى	á	َو	aw	َي	ay
				َيّ	ayy

Avoid using apostrophes or single quotation marks for ʿ*ayn* and *hamzah*. Instead use the Unicode characters ʿ (02BF) and ʾ (02BE).

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Mamlūk Studies Review is an annual refereed journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648–922/1250–1517). Since volume XIII, no. 1, *Mamlūk Studies Review* has been published not in conventional print format, but as an open-access online publication. The goals of *Mamlūk Studies Review* are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, nurture communication within the field, and promote further research by encouraging the critical discussion of all aspects of this important medieval Islamic polity. The journal includes both articles and reviews of recent books. Submissions of original work on any aspect of the field are welcome, although the editorial board will periodically issue volumes devoted to specific topics and themes. *Mamlūk Studies Review* also solicits edited texts and translations of shorter Arabic source materials (*waqf* deeds, letters, *fatāwá* and the like), and encourages discussions of Mamluk era artifacts (pottery, coins, etc.) that place these resources in wider contexts. All questions regarding style should be resolved through reference to *The Chicago Manual of Style*. Transliterated Middle Eastern languages should conform to the system utilized by the Library of Congress (see the conversion chart near the end of this volume) using a Unicode font that contains all necessary diacritical marks (see the website below for further information). Submissions may be made via email, but authors may be required to send a printed copy and/or a CD-ROM which includes the article, all figures and illustrations, and any special fonts used. Please contact the editor (ideally before creating the files) for specifications relevant to illustrations, photos, maps and other graphics. Articles which diverge widely from format and style guidelines may not be accepted, and illustrations which do not meet the requirements set forth by the editors may not be usable.

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MAMLŪK STUDIES REVIEW



The Bruce D. Craig Prize for Mamluk Studies

The Prize Committee is pleased to announce that Nathan C. Hofer (Ph.D. 2011, Emory University) and Matthew B. Ingalls (Ph.D. 2011, Yale University) have jointly been named recipients of the 2011 Bruce D. Craig Prize for Mamluk Studies for their respective dissertations:

Nathan C. Hofer, "Sufism, State, and Society in Ayyubid and Early Mamluk Egypt, 1173-1309"

Matthew B. Ingalls, "Subtle Innovation Within Networks of Convention: The Life, Thought, and Intellectual Legacy of Zakariyya al- Ansari (d. 926/1520)"

Given the outstanding quality of the two dissertations submitted for the Bruce D. Craig Prize for Mamluk studies, the Committee unanimously decided to award it jointly to the two candidates. Both dissertations constitute major contributions to the study of Sufism in Egypt at two different periods (early and late Mamluk). The authors showed not only that they have a solid knowledge of the sources, but that they are also familiar with critical theory.

The focus of Hofer's dissertation is the study of two Sufi "organizations" (the Saʿid al-Suʿada khanqah and the Shadhiliyya tariqa) during the Ayyubid and early Mamluk periods (1173–1309). The author also considered two less-studied manifestations of Sufism (Upper Egypt, and Jewish Sufis of Fustat). His work is instrumental in demonstrating that Sufism was brought by the Sufis to the masses and not the other way around, as has been believed until now.

On the other hand, Ingalls' dissertation is centered on the study of the life and thought of one of the most important representatives of Sufism at the end of the Mamluk period: Zakariyyʾa al-Ansari (d. 926/1520). Perhaps more importantly, it also addresses a crucial issue in our field: should we still consider authors of late medieval Islam incapable of genuine creativity and innovation? The answer he brings forward will certainly invite us to reconsider positions that have been regarded as firmly grounded for a long time.

The Prize Committee for 2011 consisted of Frédéric Bauden (Université de Liège and Università di Pisa), Chair; Jonathan Berkey (Davidson College); and Michael Winter (Tel Aviv University).

The Bruce D. Craig Prize, carrying a cash award of $1,000, is given annually by *Mamlūk Studies Review* for the best dissertation on a topic related to the Mamluk Sultanate submitted to an American or Canadian university during the preceding calendar year. In the event no dissertations are submitted, or none is deemed to merit the prize, no prize will be awarded. To be considered for the 2012 Prize, dissertations must be defended by December 31, 2012, and submitted to the Prize Committee by January 31, 2013. Submissions should be sent to:

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2007: No prize was awarded.

2008: No prize was awarded.

2009: No prize was awarded.

2010: No prize was awarded.

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The Dhimmi's Question on Predetermination and the Ulama's Six Responses: The Dynamics of Composing Polemical Didactic Poems in Mamluk Cairo and Damascus

Introduction

Among the many epistles about predetermination and free will composed by the Damascene scholar Ibn Taymīyah (d. 728/1328), one stands out. This work is a lengthy poem which appears in the eighth volume of his epistles and *fatāwá* compilation *(Majmūʿat al-Fatāwá).* The poem, usually known as "A Question about Predetermination" *(Suʾāl ʿan al-Qadar),*[1] is also entitled *Al-Manẓūmah al-Tāʾīyah,* a didactic versification rhyming in *tāʾ* throughout the work.[2] And indeed, the monorhyme *tī* appears in all 124 verses of the poem. According to the prologue, penned by Ibn Rushayyiq (d. 749/1348), the copyist of Ibn Taymīyah's works,[3] Ibn Taymīyah composed this poem as a response to an eight-verse poem attributed to a dhimmi scholar. Ibn Rushayyiq introduces the poem as: "A question about predetermination set forth by one dhimmi scholar" *(aḥad ʿulamāʾ al-dhimmīyīn).*[4]

[1]The full text of the poem is available in both well-known and widely-used editions of Ibn Taymīyah's *fatāwá:* Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Taymīyah, "Suʾāl ʿan al-Qadar," in *Majmūʿat al-Fatāwá li-Shaykh al-Islām Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Taymīyah al-Ḥarrānī,* ed. ʿĀmir al-Jazzār and Anwar al-Bāz, 37 vols. (Riyadh and al-Mansura, 1419/1998), 8:149–54; idem, "Suʾāl ʿan al-Qadar," *Majmūʿ Fatāwá Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad Ibn Taymīyah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Qāsim and Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Qāsim, 37 vols. (Medina, 1425/2004), 8:246–55. This edition was originally printed in Riyadh, 1961–66, and has several reprints: Beirut, 1398–1403/[1978–1982]; Rabat, 1981; [Cairo], 1980; Cairo, [1990]. For several versions of the poem, see Appendix II, Part B, n. 163.

[2]Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah (d. 751/1350), Ibn Taymīyah's most celebrated disciple, mentions Ibn Taymīyah's *Al-Tāʾīyah* in three of his theological works: [Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr] Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Shifāʾ al-ʿAlīl fī Masāʾil al-Qaḍāʾ wa-al-Qadar wa-al-Ḥikmah wa-al-Taʿlīl,* ed. Al-Sayīd Muḥammad al-Sayīd and Saʿīd Maḥmūd (Cairo, 1414/1994), 475; idem, *Ṭarīq al-Hijratayn wa-Bāb al-Saʿādatayn,* ed. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muṣṭafá ibn al-ʿAdawī et al. (Cairo, 1421/2001), 115; idem, *Madārij al-Sālikīn bayna Manāzil Īyāka Naʿbudu wa-Īyāka Nastaʿīn,* ed. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb (Beirut, n.d.), 1:437.

[3]On Ibn al-Rushayyiq's role in copying Ibn Taymīyah's works, see: Caterina Bori, "Ibn Taymiyya wa-Jamāʿatuhu: Authority, Conflict and Consensus in Ibn Taymiyya's Circle," in *Ibn Taymiyya and His Times,* ed. Yossef Rapoport and Shahab Ahmed (Karachi, 2010), 47 endnote 46; idem, "The Collection and Edition of Ibn Taymīyah's Works: Concerns of a Disciple," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 13, no. 2 (2009): 53–68.

[4]Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿat al-Fatāwá* (1998) 8:149.

In 1956, Serajul Haque published a scientific edition of both the dhimmi's and Ibn Taymīyah's poems. This edition, based on two identical manuscripts penned by an anonymous copyist, is slightly different from the *Majmūʿat al-Fatāwá* edition. The prologue of Serajul Haque's edition clearly states that the dhimmi was in fact a Jew: "This is a question composed by one dhimmi Jew" *(hādhā su'ālu baʿḍi ahli al-dhimmati min al-yahūd).*[5] Both versions of Ibn Taymīyah's poem—the *Majmūʿat al-Fatāwá* version and Serajul Haque's version—contain similar prologues. According to both versions, when the poem (written either by an unspecified dhimmi or by a Jew) was presented to Ibn Taymīyah, "*Shaykh al-islām,* the most erudite imam Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah, responded in kind, in a poem he composed" either "in extempore" *(murtajilan)*[6] or "in a hurry" *(mustaʿjilan).*[7]

Ibn Rushayyiq and the anonymous copyist wrote the prologue with a dual-purpose: By adding the words *murtajilan* or *mustaʿjilan,* they emphasized Ibn Taymīyah's excellent command of Arabic; and they managed to give us, the readers, the impression that Ibn Taymīyah composed his poem publicly: either in an actual public debate, in which the two debaters stood facing each other, reciting their verses in front of an astonished crowd, or in a class, in which one of Ibn Taymīyah's disciples presented the poem to Ibn Taymīyah, and he responded immediately. The dhimmi or the Jewish scholar composed a well-structured poem, which stimulated the mind and presented a theological challenge. Immediately after hearing the poem, Ibn Taymīyah excelled by reciting more than 100 verses in extempore, a truly amazing achievement.[8]

A more fascinating possibility nevertheless emerges from the description of Abū ʿAlī Ḥafṣ ʿUmar ibn ʿAlī al-Bazzār (d. 749/ 1348), one of Ibn Taymīyah's biographers. Al-Bazzār quotes here an eyewitness to this exciting event:

> The righteous shaykh Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad known as Ibn al-Dawrī told me that he participated in one of the shaykh [Ibn Taymīyah]'s classes *(majlis).* A Jew asked Ibn Taymīyah a question on predetermination *(mas'alah fī al-qadar),* which he (i.e., the Jew) composed as an eight-verse poem. When Ibn Taymīyah read the question,

[5] Serajul Haque, "A Poem of Imām Ibn Taymiyya on Predestination," *Journal of the Asiatic Society* (Pakistan) 1 (1956): 2.

[6] Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿat al-Fatāwá* (1998) 8:149. *Irtijāl* is improvising or extemporizing a poem or a speech. The many quotations of improvised poetry in the *adab* sources, like *Kitāb al-Aghānī,* and the sources specializing in poetical theories and grammar, indicate that improvised poems were composed in various meters, and not solely in the inferior *rajaz* meter. S. A. Bonebakker, "Irtidjāl," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., 4:80.

[7] Serajul Haque, "A Poem of Imām Ibn Taymiyya," 2.

[8] Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿat al-Fatāwá* (1998) 8:149; Serajul Haque, "A Poem of Imām Ibn Taymiyya," 2.

> he contemplated for a brief moment, and then he started writing a response to that question. He wrote and wrote, and all the while we thought he was writing in prose. When he finished, his companions *(aṣḥāb)* who were present there looked at what he wrote, and to their astonishment they saw that he composed a poem in the same meter as the verses composed by the man who sought Ibn Taymīyah's opinion. Ibn Taymīyah's work was a rhymed poem of nearly 184 verses. The poem contained vast knowledge to such an overwhelming extent, that were it interpreted, its interpretation would have filled two huge volumes. The poem was truly an unprecedented legal response to a question *(jawāb fatwá).* [9]

This remarkably detailed anecdote is consistent with the aura which is often attributed to Ibn Taymīyah's personality, as the most prominent intellectual of his time. Al-Bazzār's description can be read as a direct confrontation between Ibn Taymīyah and a Jew, who dared enter his *majlis*. Still, as the scene reaches its narrative peak—with Ibn Taymīyah presenting his elaborate response—the mysterious anonymous Jew disappears. Ibn Taymīyah is not even described by al-Bazzār as reciting his fresh new response in verse. He merely gives the papers on which he wrote the poem to his companions, and leaves them to get acquainted with the text, while he himself withdraws to the background of the narrative. In this respect, al-Bazzār's story does not correspond completely with the succinct prologues of Ibn Rushayyiq and the anonymous copyist: although all three texts place the composition of Ibn Taymīyah's poem in the public sphere, Ibn Rushayyiq and the anonymous copyist aim at depicting a vibrant and excited Ibn Taymīyah, reciting a poem in the making, while al-Bazzār describes Ibn Taymīyah as meticulously writing a poem, and upon its completion tossing the papers to his disciples.

The questions arising from all three descriptions of this single event are highlighted especially when it becomes evident that prominent biographers of Ibn Taymīyah, such as Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1347-8) and Ibn Rajab (d. 795/1392), ignored it. Moreover, other prominent biographical sources present the dhimmi's poem and Ibn Taymīyah's poem differently: not as a memorable event which involved Ibn Taymīyah alone, but as part of a larger intellectual endeavor, in which several prominent ulama participated. This article, then, begins with the quest for the identity of the dhimmi or Jewish poet, and continues with an inquiry into the path his poem took until it reached Ibn Taymīyah and five other scholars of his time. The details of the exact circumstances about the composition

[9] Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar al-Bazzār, *Al-Aʿlām al-ʿAlīyah fī Manāqib Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyah,* ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid (Beirut, 1396/1976), 28.

of the dhimmi's question and the six responses to it enable us to place this case study in the context of the larger phenomenon of the composition of polemical didactic verses in Mamluk Cairo and Damascus. Furthermore, we are able to examine the role of this literary device in that setting. Why were didactic verses composed at all? What was the appeal of such a literary device to the ulama? I will examine these questions mainly through the biographical sources, which emerge as a rich reservoir of both historical data and theological texts of limited scale. I will also present the poems in question, although I will not delve too much into their content. The theological issues raised by these poems and the form of their theological argumentations, although touched upon in this article, certainly deserve further investigation, which remains for future research.

The Dhimmi's Question and His Identity

The poem of the dhimmi or the Jewish scholar (henceforth: the dhimmi's question) is a poetic presentation of a well-known Quranic concept. According to this concept, the infidels used the argumentation of predetermination in order to rationalize their refusal to join the Muslim community and the Islamic faith. The infidels in the Quran cite God's will in their argumentation, albeit—as Kate Zebiri comments in a recent article—"with questionable sincerity."[10] For example, in Q. 6:148: "The idolaters will say, 'Had God pleased, neither we nor our fathers would have served other gods beside Him; nor would we have declared anything lawful.'"[11] The same argumentative line characterizes the dhimmi's question:

1. Listen, you scholars of Islam! I, the non-Muslim under the protection of your religion *(dhimmī dīnikum),* am baffled, so please lead me towards the clearest theological proof.
2. If, as you claim, my Lord decreed my infidelity, although my infidelity did not please Him, what could I have done?
3. He urged me [to be a believer], but at the same time He blocked the entrance [leading to faith] for me. Is there a way that I can enter [your religion]? Please, explain this to me!
4. He decreed that I will go astray, and then He said: Be pleased with the decree! Should I not be pleased with the source of my misery *(shaqwatī)*?
5. Thus, ye people (i.e., Muslims), I am pleased with what has been decreed, while my Lord is not pleased with the misfortune which befell me.
6. Is it possible for me to be pleased with what my Lord is not pleased with? I am confused! Pray, tell me how am I to cope with this confusion.

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[10] Kate Zebiri, "Argumentation," in *The Blackwell Companion to the Qur'ān,* ed. Andrew Rippin (Malden, MA, 2006), 280.

[11] *The Koran with Parallel Arabic Text,* trans. N. J. Dawood (London, 1956; repr. London, 2000).

7. Since My Lord wished me to be an infidel by virtue of His divine volition *(mashīʾah),* how is it possible [to call me] disobedient, when all I did was to obey the divine volition?[12]
8. Do I have the choice *(ikhtiyār)* to disobey the Lord's decree? Do quench my thirst with theological proofs![13]

This brief poem defies the traditionalist notion of predetermination *(al-qaḍāʾ wa-al-qadar),* while presenting the familiar paradox of divine decree *(al-qaḍāʾ)* versus divine command *(al-amr)* and divine good pleasure *(al-riḍā).* From this presentation two more questions evolve: the question of human good pleasure (also called *al-riḍā*) and human choice *(ikhtiyār).* The essence of the paradox is as follows: God commands the individual to be a believer through His divine speech (the Quran). When the individual acts according to God's command, then he pleases God. Still, the individual's fate and conduct are predetermined by God. Thus, when the individual disobeys God's command, he nonetheless acts according to God's predetermination. When the sinner, i.e., the dhimmi narrator in this poem, refers to this paradox, he does not question the existence of God's divine command or God's predetermination; he merely asks whether this paradox allows his choice to exist, and whether he should be pleased with his preordained fate as a dhimmi, hence a sinner.

The text of the poem itself does not, unfortunately, disclose any information on the identity of its author, but merely states that the narrator, whose words are the words of the poem, is a dhimmi. But can we assume that there is a complete compatibility between the narrator (the *dhimmī dīnikum*) and the poet? In a key article on the identity of a poet (any poet), T. S. Eliot made the distinction between three possible voices the poet may adopt:

> The first voice is the voice of the poet talking to himself—or to nobody. The second is the voice of the poet addressing an audience,

[12] Here I follow the reading in *Majmūʿat al-Fatāwá,* while Serajul Haque's reading is slightly different; hence it slightly changes the meaning of the verse. The version of verse 7 in *Majmūʿat al-Fatāwá* is: *fa-hal anā ʿāṣin fī ittibāʿi al-mashīʾati.* Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿat al-Fatāwá* (1998) 8:149. The same reading appears in Tāj al-Dīn Abū Naṣr ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Kāfī al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah al-Kubrá,* ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭināḥī and ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥilw (Cairo, [1992]), 10:352. Serajul Haque's version is *fa-hal anā ʿāṣin fī ittibāʿi mashīʾatī.* Accordingly, Serajul Haque paraphrases this verse: "am I to be a sinner if I follow my own desire?" Serajul Haque, "A Poem of Imām Ibn Taymiyya," 2, 14. Since the meter is broken in both cases, both readings are acceptable. However, the dhimmi's argument is more precise according to the reading in the *Majmūʿat al-Fatāwá*'s version, because the theological problem is how to escape God's decree and volition, and not how to escape human volition.

[13] Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿat al-Fatāwá* (1998) 8:149; Serajul Haque, "A Poem of Imām Ibn Taymiyya," 2–3.

> whether large or small. The third is the voice of the poet when he attempts to create a dramatic character speaking in verse; when he is saying, not what he would say in his own person, but only what he can say within the limits of one imaginary character addressing another imaginary character. The distinction between the first and the second voice, between the poet speaking to himself and the poet speaking to other people, points to the problem of poetic communication; the distinction between the poet addressing other people in either his own voice or an assumed voice, and the poet inventing speech in which imaginary characters address each other, points to the problem of the difference between dramatic, quasi dramatic, and non-dramatic verse.[14]

The dhimmi's question is obviously addressed to other people, the "scholars of Islam." It can be defined as a dramatic verse because the oral element of performance in it is distinct. Even more so, when the dhimmi's question is read in the context of the circumstances surrounding its composition and later in the context of the six responses to it, this brief poem can certainly be reimagined as a dramatic scene. Following Eliot's definitions, what is needed here is first and foremost to establish which voice the poet uses in this poem: is it his own voice addressing an audience? Or does he speak from the mouth of an imaginary character, whose position he assumed in order to make his own point clearer or even stronger? These questions can be easily answered from the text of the poem itself.

The dhimmi's question, although simple at first glance, is quite sophisticated, because it juggles between the narrator's own position and the position of his audience, to whom he refers as "the scholars of Islam." The narrator does not spell out his beliefs in the poem, because he pretends to have adopted the position of "the scholars of Islam." However, this pretense is quite distinct, mainly because of the dramatized tone, in which the narrator refers to himself as a miserable and confused infidel. This tone obviously discloses the aim of the poem, which is to mock the Sunni belief in predetermination. According to the narrator, God decrees the infidel to be an infidel, but at the same time He is not pleased with his infidelity. This is the basic traditionalist position as reflected in numerous Quranic verses and hadiths, which were later processed in traditionalist creeds and treatises.[15] The narrator then continues with a series of questions, demonstrating the paradox which lies at the basis of the traditionalist position: Through

[14] T. S. Eliot, *The Three Voices of Poetry: The Eleventh Annual Lecture of the National Book League Delivered by T. S. Eliot, O.M., at the Central Hall Westminster on 19 November 1953* (Cambridge, 1953), 4.

[15] The most useful sources for Islamic creeds are Arent Jan Wensinck, *The Muslim Creed: Its Genesis and Historical Development* (London, 1932), and William Montgomery Watt, *Islamic Creeds: A Selection* (Edinburgh, 1994).

the Quranic message, God urged the infidel to become a believer, but at the same time He prevented him from complying with His command; another message, conveyed by God to the infidel, is to be pleased with the way he was created, namely as an infidel; in this contradictory message, human good pleasure does not correspond with divine good pleasure. As an infidel, the narrator subjects himself to the divine volition, and in any case, it is unclear whether his will is sufficient to reverse the decree of his infidelity.

The identification of the audience as Muslim traditionalists actually helps determine the identity of the poet himself (assuming there is a complete compatibility between the identities of the poet and the narrator). Although the narrator states that he is a dhimmi, it is more likely that he is a Muslim scholar with rationalistic tendencies, hence a Muʿtazili. That the narrator is a Muʿtazili scholar or a Muslim scholar with Muʿtazili tendencies is evident from the narrator's acquaintance with the basic outlines of the discussion on predetermination in the inner circles of Islamic theology, and his use of the relevant traditionalist vocabulary of predetermination. In verses 5–6, the narrator mentions the theme of feeling content with God's decree *(al-riḍā bi-al-qadar).* This notion, whose origins are tracked in the hadith literature, was thoroughly processed in Hanbali and Ashʿari treatises.[16] In verse 4, the narrator refers to the source of his misery, by which he means his heresy. This verse actually discloses the narrator's knowledge of Islamic theological texts, because the equation "heresy equals misery" *(shaqwah)* appears in the highly deterministic hadith literature.[17]

The key to the narrator's true position is hidden in the closing verse of the poem, where the narrator presents the concept of human choice *(ikhtiyār)* in the guise of a cry for help. "Do I have the choice to disobey the Lord's decree?"—he innocently questions, and then begs—"Do quench my thirst with theological proofs!" This question can be interpreted as doubting the effectiveness and indeed the existence of human *ikhtiyār,* but it can also be read differently: in verse 2, the narrator simply argues that human *ikhtiyār* cannot co-exist with divine predetermination. Verse 8 is simply a rhetorical question, which rephrases the same argument the narrator made in verse 2. This is a blunt attack on the traditionalist and indeed the Ashʿari claim, that human *ikhtiyār* co-exists with divine predetermination. In other words, the narrator expects the Ashʿari response.

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[16] W. M. Watt, *Free Will and Predestination in Early Islam* (London, 1948), 66; idem, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought* (Edinburgh, 1973), 232–33.

[17] See, for example, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū al-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn Nūr al-Dīn Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Fatḥ al-Bārī bi-Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī,* ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad (Beirut, 1408/1988), 11:404–16 *(Bāb al-Qadar),* and Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn ibn ʿAbd Allāh Abū Bakr al-Ājurrī, *Kitāb al-Sharīʿah* (Beirut, 1421/2000), 154–55, 188–92. There are, of course, other numerous relevant hadith references.

The poem's content therefore suggests that the narrator is a Muʿtazili scholar. But who was the poet who adopted the voice of a dhimmi in this poem? Was he indeed a dhimmi, hence his own person was identical to the voice of the narrator, or was he someone else, hence the narrator in the poem is a character he created for his own artistic or maybe theological and even political agenda? Fortunately, several medieval biographers and historians referred to the identity of the anonymous poet.

Two different assumptions appear in the biographical sources: the poet was either a dhimmi or a Jew; or he was a Muslim scholar with Muʿtazili-Shiʿi tendencies, who composed the poem as a part of the polemic with the Ashʿaris. The scholars who claimed that the poet was a dhimmi or a Jew assumed that a complete correlation between his actual identity and the identity of the narrator of the poem indeed existed. In other words, the poem was perceived by these scholars as an accurate reflection of its author's position.[18] On the other hand, the biographers and historians who believed that the poet was a Muslim scholar viewed the narrator as a literary fiction, designed to serve its creator's theological agenda. Here, scholars were divided between two possibilities: that the poet was either Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd Fatḥ al-Dīn Ibn al-Baqaqī (who was executed in the year 701/1301), or Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr al-Sakākīnī (d. Ṣafar 721/1321). Both poets have received some attention in previous studies. Most of the biographers attributed the poem to al-Sakākīnī, while only Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī attributed the poem's authorship to Ibn al-Baqaqī. Al-Subkī's treatment of the poem, its author, and the responses to the poem is remarkable, and his text is the basis of the present study.

Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) was probably the first historian to attribute the dhimmi's question to the shaykh of the Shiʿis *(shaykh al-imāmīyah)* al-Sakākīnī.[19] Al-

[18]Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿat al-Fatāwá* (1998) 8:149; al-Bazzār, *Al-Aʿlām,* 28; Serajul Haque, "A Poem of Imām Ibn Taymiyya," 2. Al-Ṣafadī ascribes the dhimmi's question to an anonymous Jew, "the Jew, who asked for a legal opinion in verses." Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr wa-Aʿwān al-Naṣr,* ed. ʿAlī Abū Zayd et al. (Beirut-Damascus, 1418/1998), 3:484 (the biography of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, no. 1210). Cf. ibid., 3:292 (the biography of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, no. 1122).

[19][ʿImād al-Dīn Abū al-Fidāʾ Ismāʿīl] Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* ed. Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Futayḥ (Cairo, 1418/1998), 14:228. Al-Ṣafadī, Ibn Ḥajar, and others cite Ibn Kathīr, giving him credit for the identification of the anonymous poet as al-Sakākīnī: "shaykh ʿImād al-Dīn Ibn Kathīr said that the verses that were addressed to shaykh Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Taymīyah, which begin with 'O you people of Islam, I, the non-Muslim under the protection of your religion (*ayā maʿsharu al-islām dhimmī dīnikum*)'...were composed by that al-Sakākīnī." Al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* ed. Aḥmad al-Arnāʾūṭ and Turkī Muṣṭafá (Beirut, 1420/2000), 2:193 (biography no. 689); idem, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,* 4:355–59 (biography no. 1525). For an almost identical reference, see Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Wārith Muḥammad ʿAlī (Beirut, 1418/1997), 3:249 (biography no. 3721). The nineteenth-century scholar al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834) also identified the dhimmi as al-Sakākīnī. Muḥammad ʿAlī ibn

Sakākīnī, as several biographers tell us, was born in 635/1237–38 at the foot of the Qāsiyūn Mountain, near Damascus, and moved to Damascus later in life.[20] He was a pleasant and amiable man, who was never caught—as other Shiʿis were—in abusing the memory of the Prophet's companions. On the contrary, he composed versifications on the virtues of the *ṣaḥābah.* As a learned man of culture *(fāḍil),* who was well-versed in the doctrines of the Shiʿah (which are, to a large extent, identical to the Muʿtazili doctrines), he used to argue *(nāẓara)* about predetermination, which was a major controversial issue between the traditionalists and the rationalists. The biographers do not mention with whom he argued; however, the phrase "he denied the existence of *jabr*" clearly indicates that his major rivals were the Ashʿaris, whose theory of *kasb* was often considered by their rivals as a rationalized version of *jabr.*[21] As a Shiʿi propagandist *(dāʿiyah),* al-Sakākīnī influenced many laymen from the villages surrounding Damascus to become Shiʿis. His propagandist activity is the subject of Ibn Taymīyah's pun on al-Sakākīnī: "He was one of those [scholars] who made the Shiʿi become a Sunni, and made the Sunni become a Shiʿi" *(huwa mimman yatasannanu bi-hi al-shīʿī wa-yatashayyaʿu bi-hi al-sunnī).*[22] Ibn Kathīr states that towards the end of his life, al-Sakākīnī

Muḥammad al-Shawkānī, *Al-Badr al-Ṭāliʿ bi-Maḥāsin Man baʿd al-Qarn al-Sābiʿ,* ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Ḥallāq (Damascus-Beirut, 1427/2006), 1:101, 704–5. The beginning of the verse as quoted in all these sources is slightly different from the version which appears in *Majmūʿat al-Fatāwá* and other sources: here, the audience is "the people of Islam"; in *Majmūʿat al-Fatāwá* the audience is "the scholars of Islam." Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿat al-Fatāwá* (1998) 8:149.

[20]Stefan Winter discusses the life of al-Sakākīnī's son, as an illustration to the persecution of Shiʿis in Damascus. Stefan H. Winter, "Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Makkī 'al-Shahīd al-Awwal' (d. 1384) and the Shiʿah of Syria," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 167–68.

[21]A recent discussion on the connection between *jabr* and *kasb* is: Livnat Holtzman, "Debating the Doctrine of *Jabr* (Compulsion): Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya Reads Fakhr al-Din al-Razi," in *Islamic Theology, Philosophy and Law: Debating Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya,* ed. Georges Tamer and Birgit Krawietz (Berlin, forthcoming).

[22]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* 2:192–94; idem, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,* 4:355–59; Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn ʿUthmān al-Dhahabī, *Dhuyūl al-ʿIbar fī Khabar Man Ghabar,* ed. Abū Hājir Muḥammad al-Saʿīd Ibn Basyūnī Zaghlūl (Beirut, 1405/1985), 4:60; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:249 (al-Sakākīnī's biography, no. 3721), and 1:94 (Ibn Taymīyah's biography, no. 409); Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Shams al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Tuḥfah al-Laṭīfah fī Tārīkh al-Madīnah al-Sharīfah,* ed. Asʿad Ṭarābizūnī al-Ḥusaynī (Cairo, 1399–1400/1979–80), 3:544–45; al-Shawkānī, *Al-Badr al-Ṭāliʿ,* 1:704–5 (al-Sakākīnī's biography, no. 305), and 1:101 (Ibn Taymīyah's biography, no. 40). In my translation of that sentence, which differs from Winter's translation (Winter, "Shams al-Dīn," 168), I paid special attention to the preposition *bi (tasannana bi-, tashayyaʿa bi-)* which frequently gives a causative meaning to a verb. Also, verbs in the fifth form often bear the significance of adopting a set of convictions: *tashayyaʿa*—to adopt the tenets of the Shiʿah, *tazarraqa*—to adopt the tenets of the Azāriqah, *tahawwada*—to convert to Judaism, *tanaṣṣara*—to convert to Christianity, etc. All these examples appear in the unsurpassed book by William Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language,* 3rd edition (Cambridge, repr. 1997), 1:36–37,

repented and became a Sunni. This made his son very angry with him, "and he wanted to kill his father, when the father pronounced his loyalty to the Sunnah."[23] Al-Sakākīnī made his reputation as a talented poet and a composer of questions on doctrinal issues, targeting the Sunni system of beliefs.[24] One of these questions, so believes Ibn Kathīr, was the poem attributed to a dhimmi scholar.[25] Al-Sakākīnī, however, never admitted to having written the dhimmi's question.

The story of another of al-Sakākīnī's literary works, related by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), sheds more light on al-Sakākīnī's purpose in composing the dhimmi's question (if he, as Ibn Kathīr claims, composed it). This other literary work, entitled *Al-Ṭarā'if fī Maʿrifat al-Ṭawā'if* (Curiosities about religious sects), was brought to the chief judge Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (the father of the historian Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, d. 756/1355) in the year 750 (1349–50), some twenty-nine years after al-Sakākīnī's death. The qadi was impressed by the content of the work: it was indeed a work which defamed the principles of Sunni Islam, yet the author of that work presented his profound knowledge of the hadith. Al-Subkī himself destroyed the work by cutting it to pieces, washing it, and then burning it, though not before several *muḥaddithūn* identified the handwriting in the work as al-Sakākīnī's.[26] If al-Sakākīnī was indeed the author of both works—the dhimmi's question and the *Ṭarā'if*—then he employed the same writing technique in both: in the short poem he made use of the character of the dhimmi, while in the *Ṭarā'if* he ascribed the work to a fictional dhimmi, whom he named ʿAbd al-Maḥmūd ibn Dāwūd al-Miṣrī.[27] In the short poem the dhimmi asks "the scholars of Islam" to help him in

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paragraph 47. Another illuminating example appears in the biography of the mystic al-Ḥallāj (d. 309/922): "From the outside he was a recluse, but when he saw that the people of his town considered the Muʿtazili convictions appropriate, he became a Muʿtazili. When they considered the Shiʿi convictions appropriate, he became a Shiʿi. When they considered the Sunni convictions appropriate, he became a Sunni *(aw yarawna al-tashayyuʿ tashayyaʿ aw yarawna al-tasannun tasannan)*." Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām wa-Wafayāt al-Mashahīr wa-al-Aʿlām,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 1413/1992), 23:36.

[23] Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:228.

[24] According to Ibn Kathīr, al-Sakākīnī composed questions "in the doctrinal style of the People of Good" *(ʿalá madhhabi ahli al-khayri).* Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:228. Three of al-Sakākīnī's poems are quoted by al-Ṣafadī. One of the poems is a praise of the human intellect, the light of which expels the darkness. Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* 2:192; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,* 4:358.

[25] Ibn Kathīr identifies the poem as "the one to which our shaykh Ibn Taymīyah responded." Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:228.

[26] Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* 2:192–93; idem, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,* 4:356–57. On the treatment given by the ulama to books containing "heresies," see: Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (Cambridge, 1994), 166–67.

[27] In Ibn Ḥajar's version of the story, the dhimmi's name is ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:249.

his predicament; in the opening of the *Ṭarāʾif,* Ibn Dāwūd al-Miṣrī also addresses the Muslim scholars. In fact, after writing only the first half of the *shahādah (lā ilāha illā allāh)* and omitting the second half *(wa-Muḥammadun rasūlu allāh)*[28]—a clear indication of his non-Muslim conviction—Ibn Dāwūd says: "I am a dhimmi man, and I do hold respect for Islam. Therefore, I beg of you not to shed my blood, before you hear what I have to say."[29] The rest of the work, which is unfortunately lost forever, revealed, according to al-Ṣafadī, its author's heresy *(zandaqah)* and Shiʿi convictions.[30] Last but not least, both works disclose their author's profound knowledge of Islamic theology and hadith.

Al-Sakākīnī, then, is a likely candidate to be the anonymous dhimmi scholar, but the candidacy of Ibn al-Baqaqī, whose name is mentioned by Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, should also be examined here. Al-Subkī was a bit hesitant about naming the poet, and he cautiously remarked that the dhimmi was a literary character invented by "a certain Muʿtazili, who concealed his name, and composed his poem on behalf of one dhimmi."[31] Thereafter, al-Subkī remarks, "Some say that the composer was Ibn al-Baqaqī, for whom there was solid evidence that he held heretical views *(zandaqah).* He was killed by the sword of the noble divine law in the time *(wilāyah)* of the shaykh Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd al-Qushayrī."[32] The cautious tone of al-Subkī discloses the fact that he was not at all sure that Ibn al-Baqaqī was the poet behind "the dhimmi's question." As far as I know, al-Subkī's suggestion to identify the poet as Ibn al-Baqaqī was adopted only by al-Murtaḍá al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1791) in his *Itḥāf al-Sādah,* although he named the poet Āmin al-Baqtī, which is obviously a misreading or a miscopying of Ibn al-Baqaqī.[33]

[28]This observation is made by al-Ṣafadī himself. Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* 2:192; idem, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,* 4:356.

[29]Al-Ṣafadī, *A-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* 2:192; idem, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,* 4:356.

[30]Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* 2:192; idem, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,* 4:356.

[31]Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:352.

[32]Ibid., 10:352–53.

[33]Al-Murtaḍá al-Zabīdī quotes the first two verses of the dhimmi's question, then he says: "Some say that the composer of these words is Āmin al-Baqtī, who was executed because of his heretical views in the time *(zamān)* of Shaykh al-Islām Taqī al-Dīn ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd." Muḥammad Murtaḍá ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Murtaḍá al-Zabīdī, *Itḥāf al-Sādah al-Muttaqīn bi-Sharḥ ʿUlūm Iḥyāʾ al-Dīn* (Beirut, 1326/2005), 3:279. I have not seen the manuscript of al-Murtaḍá al-Zabīdī's *Itḥāf al-Sādah;* however, replacing Ibn al-Baqaqī with Āmin al-Baqtī is understandable when considering the closeness between *tāʾ* and *qāf* in the Arabic script. Furthermore, al-Murtaḍá al-Zabīdī mentions Ibn al-Baqaqī in the entry *b.q.q.* in his monumental dictionary *Tāj al-ʿArūs.* Al-Murtaḍá al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-ʿArūs min Jawāhir al-Qāmūs,* ed. ʿAlī Shayrī (Beirut, 1414/1994), 13:44.

Fatḥ al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Baqaqī, with the strange *nisbah* which was a source of ridicule,[34] was a captivating provocateur and a condemned heretic. His flamboyant and misunderstood behavior led the legal establishment first to excommunicate him, and then to execute him. Ibn al-Baqaqī's activity and the story of his execution have been discussed in previous studies,[35] and especially by Joseph H. Escovitz, who offers an accurate reading in the biographical sources on Ibn al-Baqaqī.[36] However, since Escovitz's goal is to explore the activity of the Cairo judges, he is less interested in Ibn al-Baqaqī's religious views and poetic activity, which are crucial in order to determine whether or not Ibn al-Baqaqī is the poet behind the dhimmi's question. Hence, there is no choice but to re-read the same sources, and to describe yet again the complicated events that preceded Ibn al-Baqaqī's execution, but from a somewhat different angle than Escovitz offers.

Lengthy entries in several biographical dictionaries are dedicated to Ibn al-Baqaqī, while the description of the events leading to his execution is most fully elaborated in al-Maqrīzī's (d. 845/1442) *Sulūk,* Ibn Ḥajar's (d. 852/1449) *Durar,* and al-ʿAynī's (d. 855/1451) *ʿIqd al-Jumān.*[37] All these sources describe him as a scholar, whose training in Islamic law was thorough, and who was highly skilled in pub-

[34] Al-Dhahabī comments that it is a *nisbah* of the town Baqaq, near Ḥamāh. Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:182. Ibn Dānyāl (d. 711/1311) composed the following verse on Ibn al-Baqaqī: "Do not reproach al-Baqqī [sic!] for his actions when he diverts from the true conduct/Because had the Divine Law improved his behavior, then he would not have been called after a bedbug *(baqq)*!" Obviously, Ibn Dānyāl calls his protagonist al-Baqqī mainly to make the connection to the bedbug. In terms of meter, this verse seems to me a broken form of *Sarīʿ*. Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:182 (biography no. 784). This poem is also quoted in a modern study on poetry in the Mamluk era, and in a compilation of Ibn Dānyāl's poems. Yāsīn al-Ayyūbī, *Āfāq al-Shiʿr al-ʿArabī fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī* (Tripoli, 1415/1995), 365; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Mukhtār min Shiʿr Ibn Dānyāl,* ed. Muḥammad Nāyif al-Dulaymī (Mosul, 1399/1979), 9, 168. See also a reference in Li Guo, "Paradise Lost: Ibn Dāniyāl's Response to Baybars' Campaign against Vice in Cairo," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 121, no. 2 (2001): 227, n. 40.

[35] Ibn al-Baqaqī's story as it appears in al-Yūnīnī's (d. 726/1326) *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān* was translated fully by Li Guo in his *Early Mamlūk Syrian Historiography: Al-Yūnīnī's Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān* (Leiden-Boston-Köln, 1998), 1:200–1. Also, a description of Ibn al-Baqaqī's story, which relies heavily on Joseph Escovitz's description (see the following footnote), appears in: Knut S. Vikør, *Between God and the Sultan: A History of Islamic Law* (New York, 2005), 293–95. See below, n. 40.

[36] Joseph E. Escovitz, *The Office of Qâḍî al-Qudât in Cairo under the Baḥrî Mamlûks* (Berlin, 1984), 136–38. Escovitz reads Ibn al-Ḥajar's *Durar,* al-Ṣafadī's *Wāfī,* al-Maqrīzī's *Sulūk,* Ibn al-Dawādārī's *Kanz al-Durar,* and al-ʿAynī's *ʿIqd.*

[37] Ibn Ḥajar's *Al-Durar al-Kāminah* contains the most coherent account on Ibn al-Baqaqī. Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:181–83 (biography no. 784). Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭā (Beirut, 1418/1997), 2:350–51 (the events of the year 701/1301–2); Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1412/1992), 4:177–83 (the events of the year 701/1301–2). An account which basically contains the same details as the former sources appears

lic debates.[38] However, this brilliant, active, but controversial scholar[39] seemed to take religious matters rather lightly. For instance, he regularly ate during the days of Ramadan with no justifiable excuse. But worse than that: he was once seen by his dinner-guests stepping on a leather-chest *(rabʿah)* in which copies of the Quran were kept, in order to reach an object on a top shelf.[40] When his appalled guests reproached him, he called them a bunch of asses, and "said heretical words" *(talaffaẓa baʿda dhālika bi-al-kufri).* These guests were among those who testified against Ibn al-Baqaqī in front of the Maliki judge.[41]

According to al-ʿAynī, Ibn al-Baqaqī's general conduct indicated his total disparagement of the religious observances and his lack of belief *(wa-kāna qalīla al-dīni sayyiʾa al-iʿtiqādi).*[42] According to al-ʿAynī, Ibn al-Baqaqī delved in logic and philosophy, "and that corrupted his moral conduct" *(afsadat ʿalayhi niẓāmahu).*[43] The sources referred to Ibn al-Baqaqī as a *zindīq, kāfir,* or *murtadd* (heretic), terms

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in Ibn al-Dawādārī's *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmiʿ al-Ghurar, Die Chronik des Ibn Ad-Dawādārī,* ed. Hans Robert Roemer (Cairo, 1960), 1:9:76–78.

[38] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:181: "He taught a lot, and studied a lot. He was well-educated and participated in debates, until he became skillful in every branch [of knowledge]. He defeated his rivals in public debates *(wa-qaṭaʿa al-khuṣūma fī al-munāẓarati),* and surpassed his peers in lecturing *(wa-fāqa al-aqrāna fī al-muḥāḍarati).*"

[39] Abū al-Fatḥ al-Yaʿmurī said about Ibn al-Baqaqī: "He used to practice medicine and to educate others without any knowledge. He claimed to be using his reason, but he had no brains at all. He was devoid of any good quality." Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:182.

[40] Ibid. See Escovitz's note on *rabʿah.* Escovitz, *The Office of Qâḍî al-Quḍât,* 165, n. 33. Lane's translation of *rabʿah* follows al-Fīrūzābādī's definition *(al-rabʿatu…ṣundūqu ajzāʾi al-muṣḥafi).* Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Fīrūzābādī, *Al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ,* ed. Yūsuf al-Shaykh Muḥammad al-Biqāʿī (Beirut, 1424/2003), 647 *(r.b.ʿ.).* Even more, al-ʿAynī says that Ibn al-Baqaqī actually stepped on the Quran: "He put the Holy book under his feet, so he could reach for the top shelf." Al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd,* 4:179. Al-Maqrīzī records one of Ibn al-Baqaqī's slips of the tongue: "If al-Ḥarīrī, who authored the *Maqāmāt,* was lucky, I would have recited his *Maqāmāt* in the mosques." Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:350. Al-ʿAynī adds to the list of Ibn al-Baqaqī's misdeeds that he allowed sinful Turks and other ignorant people to drink wine and have homosexual intercourse. Al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd,* 4:177–78. This description of Ibn al-Baqaqī is probably drawn from Ibn Kathīr, who names him Ibn al-Thaqafī. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:20 (the events of the year 701/1301–2). See also: Louis Pouzet, *Damas au VIIe/XIIIe siècle: vie et structures religieuses dans une métropole islamique* (Beirut, 1991), 366; Everett K. Rowson, "Homoerotic Liaisons among the Mamluk Elite in Late Medieval Egypt and Syria," in *Islamicate Sexualities: Translations across Temporal Geographies of Desire,* ed. Kathryn Babayan and Afsaneh Najmabadi (Cambridge, MA, and London, 2008), 213–14.

[41] Al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd,* 4:179.

[42] Ibid., 178.

[43] Ibid. *Niẓām,* according to the *Lisān,* is behavior, as in the phrase *laysa li-amrihi niẓāmu,* which means that his conduct was not appropriate. [Muḥammad ibn Mukarram] Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-ʿArab* ([Beirut], n.d.), 6:4469 *(n.ẓ.m.).*

reserved for either Muslim or non-Muslim heretics.[44] Still, these labels, and especially the term *zindīq,* were officially granted to Ibn al-Baqaqī only after a legal procedure,[45] while he obviously saw himself as a part of the Sunni community. In other words, there is no doubt that to his mind Ibn al-Baqaqī was a Sunni, whose interpretation of Sunni behavior and the Sunni creed was completely different from that of his immediate environment.[46]

Apart from the anecdotal descriptions of Ibn al-Baqaqī's behavior, the sources detail his shaky relationship with the entire religious establishment. As an erudite scholar, he never concealed his belittlement of the ulama, whom he considered ignorant. He had a longtime dispute in verses with the Shafiʿi chief judge Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd (d. 702/1302),[47] and he also cursed the Maliki chief judge Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Makhlūf.[48] What led to Ibn al-Baqaqī's imprisonment in 701/1301 was his shaky relationship with that Maliki judge, Ibn Makhlūf. That, combined with Ibn al-Baqaqī's well-known lax religious conduct, provided the Maliki qadi with the necessary proof of Ibn al-Baqaqī's *zandaqah.* The Maliki qadi, having heard witnesses attest to Ibn al-Baqaqī's conduct, ruled that Ibn al-Baqaqī was a heretic, and sentenced him to death. When this ruling *(maḥḍar)* of the Maliki qadi arrived at the Shafiʿi chief judge, Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd, he refused to approve the Maliki judge's

[44] Al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd,* 4:180. F. C. de Blois, "Zindīḳ," *EI2,* 9:510, claims that the usage of the term *zindīq* "for Muslim or non-Muslim 'heretics' is clearly secondary, though widespread." This categorical statement should be re-evaluated, especially in view of different indications in the biographical sources. Vikør's treatment of *zindīq* seems to me more accurate. According to Vikør, the term *zindīq* "is used for someone who said he was a Muslim, but in reality presented ideas that were in opposition to the foundations of Revelation." Vikør, *Between God and the Sultan,* 292.

[45] A *sajʿ* description of Ibn al-Baqaqī, written by al-Ṣafadī, for instance, could be understood as an emphasis on the formalities of the procedure: "He demonstrated unacceptable disdain, and he exposed things that even the Christians deem inappropriate, until it became evident on the basis of a thorough investigation *(ʿan taḥqīq)* that he was a heretic *(zindīq)* who withdrew from the Islamic faith *(murtaddun ʿan al-islāmi).*" Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 1:356. Although the use of *ʿan taḥqīq* could be taken as a linguistic ornament with no substantial meaning, which is meant to rhyme with the other parts of the sentence, it is probably used here to denote a critical investigation of the evidence by the qadi or the mufti.

[46] Ibn al-Baqaqī was mistakenly identified as a Jew by Serajul Haque, whose mistake derives from combining two sources, without checking the biography of Ibn al-Baqaqī. The first source is the anonymous copyist of Ibn Taymīyah's poem, who attributes the poem to a Jew. The second source is al-Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, who attributes the poem to Āmin al-Baqtī, which is a misreading of Ibn al-Baqaqī. Serajul Haque, "A Poem of Imām Ibn Taymiyya," 1. A similar process of combining two different sources led Reuven Snir to include Ibn al-Baqaqī in an article which discusses the contribution of Jews to Arabic literature, and to identify Ibn al-Baqaqī as a Jewish poet. Reuven Snir, "The Emergence and Demise of Arab-Jewish Culture in Modern Times," *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies* 8, no. 9 (2005) 9:5.

[47] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:182; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd,* 4:182–83.

[48] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:350.

verdict, claiming that Ibn al-Baqaqī was not a heretic.[49] In doing so, Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd accepted Ibn al-Baqaqī's line of defense, as revealed in an appeal he wrote from his prison cell to Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd. This appeal, a pseudo-legal opinion *(ṣifat futyā)* commenting on Quran 8:38 ("Tell the unbelievers that if they mend their ways their past shall be forgiven"), was meant to emphasize Ibn al-Baqaqī's repentance and remorse, but also to provide the judges with the appropriate Quranic proof on the necessity to exonerate him. Obviously, Ibn al-Baqaqī thought he should be forgiven for his misdeeds, because the Quranic text specifically promises God's forgiveness to the unbelievers, if they repent. Ibn al-Baqaqī's line of defense was rejected by the Maliki judge, who thought that the Quranic verse referred only to born-heretics who converted to Islam and then regretted their conversion.[50] In the same vein, Ibn al-Baqaqī screamed this argument out loud in front of Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd, when he was taken to trial: "O Muslims! I was a heretic, and then I became a Muslim" *(yā Muslimūna anā kuntu kāfiran wa-aslamtu).*[51] When Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd received the *maḥḍar* prepared by the Maliki judge, he ruled: "I will not carry out the execution of a man who testifies that there is no God but Allāh, and that Muḥammad is the Messenger of God."[52] Thereafter, Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd discarded the *maḥḍar* without signing it.[53]

Another line of defense was then taken, this time with the intervention of the wali of Cairo, Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn al-Shaykhī, who was fond of Ibn al-Baqaqī.[54] The wali ordered that Ibn al-Baqaqī's case be transferred to Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd's court, thinking that it would be a more favorable venue for Ibn al-Baqaqī. This time, the wali ordered the Shafiʿi judge to prepare a different *maḥḍar,* in which Ibn al-Baqaqī was proclaimed insane and exempt from the charge of heresy. Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd took his time to read the new *maḥḍar,* and then said: "God protect me from that! I know this man and he is in full possession of his mental faculties."[55] This difference of opinion ignited another round of appeals, this time to the Maliki judge, urging him to execute Ibn al-Baqaqī. Finally, the sultan himself intervened: he assembled all the relevant parties, and the four chief judges of Cairo. The Maliki judge presented his case for execution. The Hanafi judge agreed with him, and said: "Kill him! His blood will be upon my head."[56] In Rabīʿ I 701 (November 1301) Ibn al-Baqaqī was executed in the Madrasah al-Ṣāliḥīyah in the Bayn al-Qaṣrayn

[49] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:183; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:350.

[50] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:181–82; Guo, *Early Mamlūk,* 1:200.

[51] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:181–82.

[52] Ibid., 183; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:351.

[53] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:183.

[54] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:350.

[55] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:183.

[56] Ibid.

area in Cairo.[57] A detailed description of the execution appears in several sources. Ibn al-Baqaqī continued to proclaim his innocence, and screamed: "Are you going to kill a man who testifies that his Lord is Allāh, and says the *shahādah*?" He then was beheaded; his head was stuck on a spear and displayed, while his body was hanged and crucified in Bāb Zuwaylah.[58]

The most important feature in Ibn al-Baqaqī's personality, which is relevant to our case, is his deep involvement in poetry: he was very well-read and knew volumes of poetry by heart in addition to composing his own poems.[59] His casual use of poems is reflected in the following anecdote, told by an eyewitness who was sitting in Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd's court when Ibn al-Baqaqī barged in, and asked the qadi about some unspecified issue. The qadi was prepared to answer, but before he had a chance to do so, Ibn al-Baqaqī turned away from him, mumbling: "My passion for you made me stop where you live" *(waqafa al-hawá bī ḥaythu anti)*. This is actually the opening verse of a love poem by the poet Abū al-Shīṣ al-Khuzāʿī (d. 196/811): "My passion for you made me stop where you live/and therefore I cannot go back or move forward/I think that my love for you makes the memories pleasant, so let the rebukers rebuke."[60] Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd responded calmly to Ibn al-Baqaqī's outburst, and predicted that Ibn al-Baqaqī's fate was doomed. Indeed, three weeks later Ibn al-Baqaqī was executed.[61] The poem is a key to understanding the special friendly relationship between Ibn al-Baqaqī and the respectable judge, although its message is not entirely coherent. I assume that the poem is meant to express Ibn al-Baqaqī's disappointment in his longtime friend, who did not help him in his time of distress.[62] At any rate, I would not connect this love poem to the evidence of Ibn al-Baqaqī's lenient approach towards homosexuality.[63]

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[57] Bayn al-Qaṣrayn is a square between the Great East Palace of the Fatimid Caliph al-Muʿizz (d. 365/975) and the Lesser West Palace, today a part of Khān al-Khalīlī. See Stanley Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1901), 109–11.

[58] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:183; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:351.

[59] Al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd,* 4:178.

[60] As quoted in Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:183; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:350; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd,* 4:178. For the rest of this four-verse poem, see: Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan al-Marzūqī, *Sharḥ Dīwān al-Ḥamāsah li-Abī Tammām,* ed. Gharīḍ al-Shaykh and Ibrāhīm Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 1424/2003), 3:961–62 (poem no. 565).

[61] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:183; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:350.

[62] This is al-Maqrīzī's interpretation. After quoting the verse, he adds: "It means that the qadi ceased to be [my friend]" *(yaʿnī anna al-qāḍīya inqataʿa)*. Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:350. Cf. "*inqaṭaʿtu ʿan baytihi* - j'ai cesse d'aller chez lui cesser d'etre aupres de quelqu'un le quitter. *inqaṭaʿū ʿan baʿḍihim* - cesser d'etre amis." Reinhart Pieter Anne Dozy, *Supplement aux dictionnaires arabes* (Leiden, 1967), 2:370.

[63] Al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd,* 4:178.

Prior to these events, at an unknown date, Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd composed a poem in which he criticized the ruling elite for neglecting the ulama. In this poem, Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd praised the knowledge and humility of the ulama, as opposed to the vanity of the people of governance. Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd called the ulama "the people of virtue" *(ahl al-faḍāʾil),* while he named the people of governance "the people of ranks" *(ahl al-marātib):*

1. As for the people of highest ranks in this world, to their mind the people of virtue are outcast.
2. They have no interest in protecting us from harm, nor do they have interest in improving our circumstances.
3. Indeed, they made us go lower and live in the dwellings of wild beasts, because we are not their kind, and because they neglect us.
4. I wish we could have let them know what we think of them, I wish they would have known
5. that they have comforts of ignorance and wealth, while we have the burdens of knowledge and the lack [of means].

Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd's poem, which was meant to be a political critique, received a poetic response from Ibn al-Baqaqī. Using the same vocabulary of Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd's poem, Ibn al-Baqaqī criticized him harshly:

1. Where are the highest ranks in this world? He who possesses knowledge is not among them.
2. There is no doubt that they have their good fortune, and that they and their kind have no interest in helping the likes of us.
3. They are the wild beasts and we are the civilized people. Our wisdom will lead them to wherever we want; while all they can say is "yes."
4. Only neglect from their part will keep us separated from them, because their passionate love is lacking.
5. We have the comforts of knowledge and the lack [of means], while they have the burdens of ignorance and servants.[64]

When Ibn al-Baqaqī's case was rejected at Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd's court, an anonymous enemy urged a poet by the name of Shihāb al-Fazzārī to write a poem to the Maliki judge. Al-Fazzārī wrote: "Tell the Maliki judge, the blessed, the revealer of all things ambiguous and obscure/Do not neglect the heretic, and treat him as a Muslim should." Ibn al-Baqaqī wrote to the Maliki judge from his prison cell:

[64] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:182; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd,* 4:182–83. The poems are quoted also in Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd's biography, written by al-Subkī. Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 9:215. Ibn al-Baqaqī's poem is quoted out of context, and hence improperly described in: Khālid Ibrāhīm Yūsuf, *Al-Shiʿr al-ʿArabī Ayyām al-Mamālīk wa-Man ʿĀṣarahum Dhawī al-Sulṭān* (Beirut, 2003), 479.

"You, who compelled me to obey and put on a dress, whose touch is as pleasant as the touch of a snake/You prepared for me chain-mail, whose weaving is very tight, and I am forced to tear its links with arrows."[65] Not only a prolific poet,[66] Ibn al-Baqaqī inspired others to write about him in verses. His predicament was documented by Ibn Dānyāl (d. 710/1310) in the following verses: "The hero al-Baqaqī thinks that he will escape the clutches of the Maliki/indeed, the Maliki will hand him over soon to the Mālik (i.e., God)."[67]

Was Ibn al-Baqaqī the poet behind the dhimmi's question, as only al-Subkī suggested? The biographers and historians did not connect the poem with Ibn al-Baqaqī, but with al-Sakākīnī. Still, al-Subkī's suggestion that Ibn al-Baqaqī's was the author of the dhimmi's question is not far-fetched. Given the abundant evidence in the biographical sources of his poetic activity on the one hand, and his unconventional "heretical" views on the other, Ibn al-Baqaqī is a very likely candidate to have been this anonymous poet: he was bold enough to defy Sunni convictions and standards for proper religious conduct, and he certainly possessed both the poetic skills and the mischievous character to assume the identity of a dhimmi, and to pose a tricky theological question to the smug Sunni ulama whom he so much despised. Ibn al-Baqaqī's attraction to logic and philosophy, although not specifically to Muʿtazilism, established another linkage between him and the dhimmi's question. In terms of poetic skills, the ability to say things with tongue in cheek, and his overall unconventional personality, Ibn al-Baqaqī is a more likely candidate to be the poet behind the dhimmi's question than al-Sakākīnī. When taken at face value, the dhimmi's question is an utterance of a Muʿtazili conviction. As such, both Ibn al-Baqaqī and al-Sakākīnī are likely candidates to have composed it. However, there is no way to determine which of the two is the author, and that is the meaning of al-Subkī's hesitation.

The Envy of Scribes

The dhimmi's question received responses from six ulama in Cairo and Damascus. The six responses (including a shorter version of Ibn Taymīyah's response) were collected by al-Subkī, who cited them in the biographical entry of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn

[65] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:183; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:351. I use here al-Maqrīzī's version, which is more comprehensible. See also: ʿAlī Ṣāfī Ḥusayn, *Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd Ḥayātuhu wa-Dīwānuhu* (Cairo, 1960), 183.

[66] For a two-verse love poem by Ibn al-Baqaqī, see: Jamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Dalīl al-Shāfī ʿalá al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī,* ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt (Cairo, 1998), 1:87 (biography no. 304). For more poems, see: Muḥammad ibn Shākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt wa-al-Dhayl ʿalayhā,* ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1973), 1:152–53 (biography no. 57); al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* 8:103–4 (biography no. 1238); idem, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,* 1:356–59 (biography no. 182).

[67] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:182; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Mukhtār min Shiʿr Ibn Dānyāl,* 169.

al-Bājī (d. 714/1314). Al-Bājī, a respectable Shafiʿi scholar, was credited for his immense knowledge of Ashʿari *kalām,* and his skills in public debates.[68] Apart from al-Bājī's and Ibn Taymīyah's, al-Subkī cites the poems of Nāṣir al-Dīn al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 730/1330), Ibn al-Labbān (d. 749/1348), Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (whom I identified as Ibn al-Rifʿah) (d. 710/1310),[69] and ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Qūnawī (d. 729/1329). This cluster of poems, recorded in al-Subkī's *Ṭabaqāt,*[70] addresses the dhimmi's question directly. These six poems were probably composed soon after the circulation of the dhimmi's question; however there is no indication as to the exact year in which they were written. It is safe to assume that the poems were composed before the year 710/1310, the year in which Ibn al-Rifʿah died. Ibn Taymīyah's poem was completed on the 3 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 712/1 April 1312.[71]

From the few background details which al-Subkī provides in the preface of this cluster of poems, we can determine with certainty that there was no open debate between Ibn al-Baqaqī and any of the above-mentioned ulama. Such a high-profile public debate would have been recorded in the sources. Furthermore, the uncertainty about the identity of the poet in the contemporary sources suggests that the dhimmi's question was circulated orally without being ascribed to a specific author. Still, the infrequent clues which al-Subkī occasionally inserts between the poems help us reconstruct the following narrative: When the poetic question of the dhimmi (composed by either an anonymous Shiʿi-Muʿtazili,[72] or the *zindīq* Ibn al-Baqaqī) started circulating in Cairo and Damascus, it was obvious that the author meant "to defame the Divine Law" *(al-ṭaʿn ʿalá al-sharīʿah).* Al-Subkī continues: "As a result, the most senior (or prestigious) ulama from Egypt and Syria were enthusiastic to respond to his poem in kind, through poems" *(jawābihi*

[68] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:353–54.

[69] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 9:25. The editors of the *Ṭabaqāt* do not identify Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī at all. I succeeded in associating Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī with Ibn al-Rifʿah based on the work of al-Murtaḍá al-Zabīdī, who refers to al-Najm Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī as one of the ulama who responded to "Āmin al-Baqtī's" poem. Al-Murtaḍá al-Zabīdī, *Itḥāf al-Sādah,* 2:279. This clue led me to Ibn al-Rifʿah's biography in the biographical dictionaries. Also, in his poem, Ibn al-Rifʿah inserts a few hints about his identity. Ibn al-Rifʿah identifies himself as Aḥmad of Ṭūs (verse 93). Then he inserts the word *rifʿah* (high position) when he refers to his shaykh (verse 97). See below, Appendix II, Part E.

[70] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:352–66. There are two additional poems which appear in a fifteenth-century Hanafi *kalām* manual and a fourteenth-century *adab* compilation. See below, Appendix III.

[71] This information appears in the colophon of the manuscript which Serajul Haque used for his article. Serajul Haque, "A Poem of Imām Ibn Taymiyya," 2. In Dhū al-Qaʿdah 712/February 1313 Ibn Taymīyah arrived in Damascus after his four-year stay in Egypt. Yahya Michot, *Muslims under Non-Muslim Rule: Ibn Taymiyya* (Oxford, 2006), 163.

[72] Al-Subkī attributed the dhimmi's question to a Muʿtazili who concealed his identity. Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:352.

naẓman).[73] In other words, the ulama composed their poems in order to rebut the outrageous words of a heretic.

However, the case study of the dhimmi's question and the responses it evoked necessitate a comprehensive, broad-based examination: the place of poetry in intellectual activities in Mamluk Cairo and Damascus. Composing poetry was always considered a desirable trait for a scholar in the eyes of the learned elite, from the early days of the Umayyad caliphate. The famous poet and scholar Ibn Rashīq (d. 456/1063–64 or 463/1070–71) dedicated a chapter in his *Kitāb al-ʿUmdah* to the poems written by caliphs, *quḍāh,* and *fuqahāʾ,* while indicating that the famous Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī (d. 204/820) "was one of the finest of all men who were subjected to the temptations of poetry."[74] Similar remarks about the composition of poetry appear in the biographical dictionaries from the Mamluk period. A typical example, one of many, is the biography of a fourteenth-century Shafiʿi scholar. This scholar's detailed biography in al-Sakhāwī's (d. 902/1497) *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ* lists the names of several poems he composed on various topics, among which is *Al-Manẓūmah al-Lāmīyah fī al-Jabr* (a didactic verse with the rhyme letter *lām* which discusses the doctrine of fatalism).[75]

We take the entry of al-Bājī in al-Subkī's *Ṭabaqāt* as another typical example: biographical entries of ulama contain hundreds of verses composed either by the subject of the biographical entry, or by his colleagues and friends. The poems cover a vast range of topics: they can be poems lamenting a scholar or praising his virtues, and also poems that the scholar himself composed for the purpose of teaching. The poetic activity of the ulama cannot be ignored, both because of the sheer volume of this poetry and its popularity, especially in Cairo and Damascus.[76] Michael Chamberlain's observation on the poetic ambitions of the intellectual elite hits the mark: "The aʿyān valued poetry highly as can be seen by the vast

[73] Ibid., 353.

[74] Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan Ibn Rashīq al-Qayrawānī, *Al-ʿUmdah,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (Cairo, 1353/1934), 1:24. Al-Shāfiʿī's poetry is cited in the bibliographical sources, and was also preserved in a *dīwān. Dīwān al-Imām al-Shāfiʿī,* ed. Īmān al-Biqāʿī (Beirut, 1421/2000). The thirteenth-century Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qifṭī describes al-Shāfiʿī's poetry as "splendid poetry of the jurisprudents" *(shiʿr ajall min shiʿr al-fuqahāʾ).* Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Yūsuf al-Qifṭī, *Al-Muḥammadūn min al-Shuʿarāʾ wa-Ashʿāruhum,* ed. Riyāḍ ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Murād (Damascus, 1975), 193.

[75] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ,* ed. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (Beirut, 1424/2003), 2:138 (biography no. 1331).

[76] This point is emphasized in Geert van Gelder's comprehensive discussion on didactic verses in Arabic. Geert Jan van Gelder, "Arabic Didactic Verse," in *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East,* ed. Jan Willem Drijvers and Alasdair A. MacDonald (London- New York- Köln, 1995), 106.

quantities of it quoted in the chronicles and biographical dictionaries, and many shaykhs tried to attain some distinction in it."[77]

Still, the belletrists and philologists did not think highly of the poems written by the ulama, because these poems were contaminated by legal jargon. Even when a jurist tried to write a proper *qaṣīdah* while sticking to the prosodic conventions, his language revealed his identity, as is illustrated in the following anecdote conveyed by Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) in his *Al-Muqaddimah*. According to Ibn Khaldūn, one of his colleagues tried to trick the leading philologist of his times. He recited a *qaṣīdah* which began with the conventional *nasīb:* "I did not know when I stood near the traces of the abandoned dwelling places/what the difference *(mā al-farq)* was between the new ones and those that were almost effaced." The philologist immediately recognized the poem as the work of a jurist, because the phrase *mā al-farq* was a juridical expression *(min ʿibārāt al-fuqahāʾ)* and not proper Arabic speech and style *(wa-laysat min asālīb kalām al-ʿarab).*[78] The term "the poetry of the jurisprudents" *(shiʿr al-fuqahāʾ)* and the phrase "composed poetry in the manner of the jurisprudents" *(qāla shiʿr ʿalá ṭarīqat al-fuqahāʾ)* were derogatory when used by a literary epicure like Ibn Khaldūn.[79] In the context of the biographies of the ulama, *shiʿr al-fuqahāʾ* was an indication of a desirable skill for scholars.[80]

Ibn Khaldūn's illuminating anecdote illustrates that the ulama's compositions were never regarded as real poetry. Indeed, the ulama may have not succeeded in composing *shiʿr* in the sense of "genuine poetry" or high literary poetry.[81] However, they certainly were skilled enough to compose instrumental verses and even full-scale poems "for the sake of providing explicit information on a particular

[77] Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice,* 85.

[78] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn,* ed. Ḥāmid Aḥmad al-Ṭāhir (Cairo, 1425/2004), 738; idem, *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History,* trans. Franz Rosenthal (Princeton, 1958), 3:395.

[79] Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddimat Ibn Khaldūn,* 737; idem, *The Muqaddimah,* trans. Rosenthal, 394–95. See also a reference to *shiʿr al-fuqahāʾ* in: George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh, 1981), 268, 342 n. 210.

[80] Al-Qifṭī, *Al-Muḥammadūn min al-Shuʿarāʾ,* 193.

[81] I adopted the definition of *shiʿr* as "genuine poetry" from Wolfhart Heinrichs' defining article "Literary Theory: The Problem of Its Efficiency," in *Arabic Poetry: Theory and Development,* ed. Gustav E. von Grunebaum (Wiesbaden, 1973), 26–27. Heinrichs states: "in many cases it is impossible to keep 'genuine' and didactic poetry apart."

branch of knowledge."[82] These were the mnemonic textbooks in the madrasahs;[83] they were often branded as *qaṣīdah,* but not in the classical sense of the term. Instead of *shiʿr,* the ulama wrote *naẓm* in a variety of scholarly fields, and therefore the term *manẓūmah* was more appropriate.[84] The authors of the *manẓūmāt* had the liberty to compose poems on any theme they desired, and their poems were also free from the strict conventions of writing a proper *qaṣīdah.* Sometimes the didactic poem disguised itself as a "genuine poem,"[85] but mostly the poems were direct and to the point, as is the case of the responses to the dhimmi's question.

Were the responses to the dhimmi's question indeed recited as part of a theological debate? Probably not, but one cannot ignore two clues which imply that these poems were composed orally, and recited to the disciples of the specific *ʿālim* who composed them. One of al-Bājī's students testified that al-Bājī's students overheard their teacher recite the poem to himself. Did al-Bājī recite the poem while composing it, or after completing it? Perhaps he was preparing himself for a public recitation of the poem? This we cannot know. But we have Ibn Ḥajar's description of Ibn Taymīyah. Ibn Ḥajar derived this description from previous sources. According to Ibn Ḥajar, when Ibn Taymīyah was informed *(waqafa ʿalá)* of the dhimmi's question, "he crossed his legs and responded in a *majlis*—responded in one sitting—without getting up, in a 119-verse poem, which begins:

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[82]Van Gelder, "Arabic Didactic Verse," 117. Studying the various branches of poetry was an essential part of the curriculum of the *ʿulūm al-ʿarabīyah,* the study of the Arabic language. Thus, the students were required to study *ʿarūḍ* (metrics), *qawāfī* (rhymes), and *ṣunʿat al-shiʿr* (prosody). Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges,* 79.

[83]Makdisi mentions the importance of didactic verses in grammar lessons. Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges,* 80–91.

[84]Geert Jan van Gelder, "Naẓm," *EI2,* 12:668. The term *shiʿr taʿlīmī,* which is used in several modern studies to denote didactic verses, is inaccurate, as van Gelder persuasively demonstrates in "Arabic Didactic Verse." This term is a translation of the English "didactic poetry," and is not drawn from Arabic sources. Van Gelder, "Arabic Didactic Verse," 104. For two important discussions on didactic verses, which use all the same the term *shiʿr taʿlīmī,* see: Ṣafāʾ Khulūṣī, "Didactic Verse," *Religion, Learning and Science in the ʿAbbasid Period,* ed. M. J. L. Young, J. D. Latham, and R. B. Serjeant (Cambridge, New York, Port Chester, Melbourne, Sydney, 1990), 498–509; Yāsīn al-Ayyūbī, *Āfāq al-Shiʿr al-ʿArabī,* 467–85.

[85]See, for instance, the traditional amatory prologue *(nasīb)* in Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah's 6000-verse didactic poem. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah fī al-Intiṣār lil-Firqah al-Nājiyah,* ed. ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad al-ʿUmayr (Riyadh, 1416/1996), 31–34 (verses 1–52). The fine line between "genuine" poetry and didactic versification is well reflected in Abū al-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī's (d. 449/1058) *Luzūmīyat.* A good example is his poem on predetermination. Khulūṣī, "Didactic Verse," 504. Another example is Ibn al-Wardī's (d. 749/1349) poem. Ibid., 505–6. See also van Gelder, "Arabic Didactic Verse," 111.

"Your question, hey you!"[86] So these poems were definitely recited orally to the ulama's disciples.

The six responses of the ulama served several purposes and satisfied several needs apart from their obvious didactic purpose: prominent scholars were expected to defend the pillars of Sunni Islam, which were severely attacked by a persuasive heretic. This defense should be as eloquent as possible. Since the attack was in verse, the defense was likewise. In this respect, the dhimmi's question dictated the meter and the rhyme: because the poem was written in the *ṭawīl* meter (considered a respectable meter),[87] and rhymed with *tī* throughout, all the six respondents retained the same prosodic structure. Last but not least, the dhimmi's question provided the six respondents with an opportunity to air their poetic skills and to boast about them.

We further cannot exclude the possibility that these poems also reflect the scholars' inclination to compete with each other. Al-Subkī himself and the scholars whose poems he cited came from the same milieu: they either permanently lived in Cairo or commuted between Damascus and Cairo. The biographical sources reveal extensive interaction between them. For example, al-Bājī taught al-Subkī's father the art of debating; Ibn Taymīyah (so we are told by al-Subkī) highly respected al-Bājī, and refrained from speaking in his presence; Ibn al-Labbān, a colorful although eccentric Sufi, resided in Cairo and studied *fiqh* from Ibn al-Rifʿah; Ibn al-Rifʿah, a prominent scholar with a reputation of never having lost a public debate, was once appointed as Ibn Taymīyah's opponent in a public debate; Nāṣir al-Dīn al-ʿAsqalānī, better known as Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī, a well-known man of letters and a historian with a reputation as a competent poet, corresponded regularly with al-Qūnawī; al-Qūnawī was a chief judge in Cairo, and maintained an amiable relationship with Ibn Taymīyah. In brief, these scholars were well acquainted with each other, often debated one another publicly, and occasionally wrote poetry.[88]

This close-knit relationship among the six scholars suggests that the scholars were familiar with each other's literary yield. At least, they were all familiar with al-Bājī's response. According to al-Subkī, al-Bājī was the first of the senior scholars in Cairo and Damascus who took the challenge of responding to the dhimmi's question. Al-Bājī's response was taken by his contemporaries as an example, and so other scholars participated in the endeavor to rebut the dhimmi's question. Al-Subkī emphasizes that all six scholars drew upon their poetic skills, and each

[86] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:94 (biography no. 409).

[87] *Ṭawīl* is one of the four meters which were of frequent usage in the classical pre-Islamic *qaṣīdah*s. O. Wright, "Music and Verse," in *Arabic Literature of the End of the Umayyad Period,* ed. A. F. L. Beeston et al. (Cambridge, 1983), 456–57.

[88] For the biographies and references to the biographical sources, see Appendix I.

wrote a poem according to his rank or level *(ʿalā ṭabaqātihim).*[89] This phrase may indicate that the scholars who belonged to various groups participated in the endeavor to rebut the dhimmi's claims. On the other hand, it may also indicate that, like in many other scholarly areas, the ulama who wrote poetry were evaluated, graded, and ranked by their peers. We find numerous references which rank the muse of poetry of this scholar or another in al-Sakhāwī's biographical dictionary. Poetry or *naẓm* is ranked by al-Sakhāwī as good *(ḥasan or jayyid),* acceptable or satisfactory *(maqbūl),* or mediocre *(wasaṭ).* [90] In the same vein, a scholar can be ranked "at a mediocre level in poetry…and at a high level in philosophy" *(wa-huwa fī al-shiʿr mutawassiṭ al-ṭabaqah…wa-kāna qawī al-ṭabaqah fī al-falsafah).*[91]

When al-Subkī remarks that the people of that time took al-Bājī's response and arranged it or composed it again according to their ranking in composing poetry *(fa-naẓamūhu ʿalá ṭabaqātihim fī al-naẓm),* he means that the ulama made their best efforts, and that the outcome was dependent upon the poetic skills of each scholar. Al-Subkī, however, does not rank the poems. He is more interested in the fact that the six had a unanimous response *(wa-al-kull mushtarikūn fī jawāb wāḥid),* and that al-Bājī's response represented "the essence of the theology of the Sunnis" *(ḥāṣil kalām ahl al-sunnah).*[92] Al-Subkī did not appreciate al-Bājī's poetry in general, but he considered the content of this particular poem good. Nevertheless, there is no way of telling which of the six responses was al-Subkī's favorite.[93]

[89] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:354.

[90] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 1:23 (biography no. 49). Ibn al-Qurdāḥ's (d. 841/1438) biography is a case in point. Ibn al-Qurdāḥ was a talented musician, who played the dulcimer *(sanṭīr)* and the lute *(ʿūd).* Al-Sakhāwī remarks: "He was skilled in many fields of art: he composed poetry and wrote prose and versified mediocre poetry and below that" *(wa-ḍaraba fī kathīr min al-funūn bi-naṣīb wa-naẓama wa-nathara al-naẓm al-wasaṭ wa-mā dūnahu).* Mediocre poetry or versification *(naẓm wasaṭ),* here and elsewhere, is actually categorized as good. Al-Sakhāwī also says about Ibn al-Qurdāḥ: "He composed poetry, which sometimes was perceived as mediocre and acceptable, while most of it was silly and inferior *(wa-kāna rubbamā yudraku minhu al-wasaṭ al-maqbūl wa-al-kathīr minhu safsāf).*" Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 2:125 (biography no. 1288). Ibn Taymīyah's poetry was also marked as "mediocre" *(shiʿr wasaṭ),* but I doubt whether this term means that his poetic skills were bad, as Caterina Bori claims in her comprehensive discussion of Ibn Taymīyah's biography. Caterina Bori, *Ibn Taymiyya: una vita essemplare: Analisi delle fonti classiche della sua biografia,* Supplemento no. 1 alla *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 76 (Roma-Pisa, 2003), 70–72.

[91] Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* 8:197 (biography no. 1373 of al-Nahrājūrī the poet).

[92] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:354.

[93] Al-Subkī's father heard a poem by al-Bājī whose topic was the divine attributes according to the Ashʿari doctrine. The poem goes like this: "His life and knowledge, potency and will, His hearing and seeing and word, His eternal existence. These are the eternal attributes of God's essence, praised be He, according to al-Ashʿarī, the most learned and pious." Al-Subkī comments: "the

To my mind, al-Qūnawī's poem, which is the most impressive of all six responses, has the highest poetical quality.

Theology in Verses

In examining the form and content of the dhimmi's question and its responses, I considered all the poems as parts of a single literary compendium. This compendium was created by different poets, who zealously retained the meter and rhyme of the poem which ignited this literary activity. The direct responses to the dhimmi's question form a magnificent although eclipsed work of a debate *(munāẓarah)* in verses,[94] with conspicuous common features in terms of language and argumentation. We should consider this poetic unit as an eclipsed *munāẓarah* simply because it does not actually reflect a dialogue between two or more disputants. This compendium is merely a single question and several responses. In this respect, it would have been much more enlightening to read the dhimmi's response to the responses of the ulama, had there been one. Furthermore, this poetic compendium cannot be classified as a dispute poem because it was written by several authors.[95]

All the poems were indeed written as responses to the dhimmi's question, because all six poems specifically address the literary character of the dhimmi.[96] These direct addresses to the dhimmi mostly appear in the beginning of the poems, but also as the poems proceed and reach their climax. Al-Bājī refers to the dhimmi as "you scholar" *(ayā ʿāliman).* Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī refers to the object of his poem as "O dhimmi" *(yā dhimmī),* and so does Ibn al-Rifʿah. Ibn Taymīyah rudely refers to the addressee of his poem as "hey, you!" *(yā hādhā).*[97] Apart from

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words of al-Shāṭibī (d. 790/1388) in his poem rhyming in *rāʾ* are more elegant or nicely put than al-Bājī's." Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:343.

[94]On the importance of *munāẓarah* in theological literature, see: E. Wagner, "Munāẓara," *EI2,* 7:565–68; G. J. H. van Gelder, "Debate Literature," *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature,* ed. Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (London and New York, 1998), 1:186. An analysis of a fully fledged literary *munāẓarah* in prose appears in: Livnat Holtzman, "Debating the Doctrine of Jabr" (forthcoming, see n. 21). For the art of debating and the place of *munāẓarah* in intellectual activity in Mamluk society, see: Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice,* 164–65; Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges,* 109–11, 128–29.

[95]Cf. Wolfhart Heinrichs, "Rose versus Narcissus: Observations on an Arabic Literary Debate," in *Dispute Poems and Dialogues in the Ancient and Mediaeval Near East,* ed. G. J. Reinink and H. L. J. Vanstiphout (Leuven, 1991), 180–81.

[96]All the references to the poems are from al-Subkī's *Ṭabaqāt*. For a complete translation of the poems, see Appendix II.

[97]Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:352 (Al-Bājī's Response, verse 1); ibid., 10:357 (The Response of Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī, verse 2); ibid., 10:359 (The Response of Ibn al-Rifʿah, verse 1); ibid., 10:354 (The Response of Ibn Taymīyah, verse 1).

these direct references, all the poems describe the dhimmi and his viewpoint. They mock, reproach, and try to educate the dhimmi, and finally they express their desperation and complete disgust with him and his views. Three references to the dhimmi's stubbornness are echoes of the descriptions of the heretics in the Quran.[98] In his poem, the dhimmi claimed that God blocked the entrance leading to the true faith for him. Three of the respondents chose to directly answer his claim, using his own words.[99]

Among the six responses, Ibn al-Labbān's presentation of the dhimmi is the richest. In the course of four verses, Ibn al-Labbān portrays the dhimmi as an ignoramus, who refuses to be persuaded by rational argumentation; but also as a hypocrite, who uses the excuse of predetermination to justify his improper deeds and false convictions. This hypocrite begs God to give him guidance, when he is not interested in it in the first place. His question does not reflect genuine perplexity and a sincere request for help, but is an artifice *(ḥīlah)*, which is meant to allow him to stick to his heretical convictions. Ibn al-Labbān, however, is willing to be generous with the dhimmi, and he indeed hopes that he will receive God's grace and mercy.[100]

But did the six ulama indeed consider their rival to be a dhimmi (a Jew, a Christian, etc.)? Apparently, even though the response to the dhimmi's question was unanimous, as al-Subkī claims, each response was custom-made for a different persona. Each response is dependent on the way the scholars interpreted the extreme fatalism which the dhimmi expressed in his question. Also, some of the scholars took the dhimmi's question at face value, and did not try to remove the fatalistic mask of the dhimmi's true identity. Here, the scholars had several possibilities: either they perceived the dhimmi the way he introduced himself in his poem, that is as a non-Muslim who seeks advice from Muslim scholars, or they perceived the dhimmi as a Muslim, who disguises himself as a dhimmi. As a Muslim, the dhimmi is either a Muʿtazili-Shiʿi, who upholds free will and opposes fatalism, or he is a fatalist. As an upholder of fatalism, it is somewhat difficult to pinpoint the dhimmi's affiliation to a specific theological trend.

Al-Bājī and Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī direct their responses to a Muʿtazili, because their addressee does not understand the essence of the belief in predetermination,[101] and he presumptuously assumes that he is a creator whose actions are not pre-

[98] Ibid., 10:354 (The Response of Ibn Taymīyah, verse 1); ibid., 10:364 (Ibn Rifʿah's Response, verse 85); ibid., 10:365 (Al-Qūnawī's Response, verse 5).

[99] Ibid., 10:352 (The Dhimmi's Question, verse 3); ibid., 10:352 (Al-Bājī's Response, verse 14); ibid., 10:364 (The Response of Ibn Rifʿah, verse 78); ibid, 10:366 (Al-Qūnawī's Response, verse 8).

[100] Ibid., 10:357–58 (Ibn al-Labbān's Response, verses 5–8).

[101] Ibid., 10:353 (Al-Bājī's Response, verse 12).

determined.[102] Ibn al-Labbān, al-Qūnawī, and Ibn al-Rifʿah, on the other hand, direct their responses to a rival who is outside the conventional circle of Islamic theology. Ibn al-Labbān's dhimmi is portrayed as an unconventional Muslim sinner, in the image of Ibn al-Baqaqī, who is pleased with his heresy. Ibn al-Labbān in his turn encourages him to repent. This summons to repent can only be directed to a Muslim.[103] According to al-Qūnawī, the dhimmi is a non-Muslim (he refuses to utter the Muslim profession of faith) with extreme fatalistic tendencies (he rejects the notion that man has the ability to act).[104] Ibn al-Rifʿah's dhimmi is also a Muslim sinner, whose arguments are sophistic.[105] The interesting turn in Ibn al-Rifʿah's attitude towards the dhimmi takes place after the middle of his long response, where he refers to his opponent as a sinner of dubious Jewish origin: he was a historical Jew in times immemorial prior to the Prophet's message. Ibn al-Rifʿah warns the dhimmi that his stance, as reflected in his question, raises the suspicion that he still has Jewish tendencies. If the dhimmi wishes to be considered a Muslim—adds Ibn al-Rifʿah—then he should follow the Islamic shariʿah.[106] Ibn Taymīyah addresses an extreme fatalist, who uses the excuse of predetermination in order to proceed with his sinful life. This position calls to mind Ibn Taymīyah's harsh attacks on Ibn ʿArabī's (d. 638/1240) followers, but also his wide-ranging polemics with the Ashʿaris.[107] Ibn Taymīyah's dhimmi is, then, either an Antinomian Sufi, or an Ashʿari, or both.

Following the conventions of the medieval *munāẓarah,* the six ulama insult the dhimmi in the course of their responses. Al-Qūnawī, for example, doubts

[102] Ibid., 10:357 (The Response of Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī, verse 2).

[103] Ibid., 10:358 (The Response of Ibn al-Labbān, verses 16, 19, 20).

[104] Ibid., 10:366 (Al-Qūnawī's Response, verse 14).

[105] Ibid., 10:364 (The Response of Ibn al-Rifʿah, verse 90).

[106] Ibid., 10:362–63 (The Response of Ibn al-Rifʿah, verses 61, 65, 67–68). In verses 67–68 Ibn al-Rifʿah raises the argumentation of *naskh* (the abrogation of Quranic verses), which was a fixed ingredient in the polemic between Muslims and Jews. A clarifying example appears in: Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Qurṭubī, *Al-Jāmiʿ li-Aḥkām al-Qurʾān,* ed. Sālim Muṣṭafá al-Badrī (Beirut, 1420/2000), 2:44 (interpretation of Q. 2:106). See also: Camilla Adang and Sabine Schmidtke, "Polemics (Muslim-Jewish)" *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, ed. Norman A. Stillman (Leiden, 2010)
Brill Online http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=ejiw_COM-0017750 (Last accessed March, 2011).

[107] From the vast literature on Ibn Taymīyah and his rivals, suffice it to mention: Ibn Taymīyah, "Fī al-Iḥtijāj bil-Qadar," *Majmūʿat al-Rasāʾil al-Kubrá,* ed. Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā ([Cairo], [1966]), 2:97–156. The epistle appears also in *Majmūʿat al-Fatāwá* (1998) 8:183–221. For an analysis of Ibn Taymīyah's epistle, see: Fritz Meier, "The Cleanest about Predestination: A Bit of Ibn Taymiyya," in *Essays on Islamic Piety and Mysticism,* trans. John O'Kane with the editorial assistance of Bernd Radtke (Leiden, 1999), 309–34. Translation of idem, "Das Sauberste über die Vorbestimmung," *Saeculum* 32 (1981): 74–89.

the dhimmi's ability to understand his response. He declares that he could have provided a much more elaborate and methodical response, but he knows that his opponent is incapable of understanding the subtleties of the kalāmic method. To that he apologetically adds that since his purpose was to persuade his opponent, his response is but a summary.[108] This apology of al-Qūnawī may hint that he was familiar with the much longer responses of his peers, and that he felt obligated to explain the brevity of his response. Ibn al-Labbān's attack on his opponent is less insulting: he refers to the deficiencies in the dhimmi's argumentation, and his lack of rational thinking. He also urges the dhimmi to get rid of his sophistic thinking.[109] Al-Bājī's attack on the dhimmi concentrates on the dhimmi's "tricks and snares" *(ḥabāʾil ḥīlati)*, which is a common description of false methods of theological speculation.[110] Even Ibn al-Rifʿah, whose poem is the most patient and polite attempt to convince the dhimmi, mocks the latter's verses, calls them "invalid and absurd," and opines that the dhimmi should be flogged with a whip.[111]

As al-Subkī claimed, the essence of the ulama's response to the dhimmi was the traditionalist concept of *al-riḍā bi-al-qadar*, that is, being satisfied with God's predetermination. According to al-Subkī, al-Bājī's response and the subsequent responses had the following message: "Be satisfied with God's predetermination and not with the consequence or the outcome of that action. You should be satisfied with the action of predetermining, since it comes from God. As for the outcome of this action: well, it is divided into things you should be satisfied with, like faith, and things you are forbidden to be satisfied with, like unbelief."[112] This message, one might add, is repeated in each of the six responses. Al-Subkī's understanding of the kernel of all six responses is, of course, correct. We can, however, add several observations to his analysis.

Although all six responses basically reject the dhimmi's attempt to blame God for his being a heretic and to therefore be held unaccountable for his actions, each scholar tackled this concept from a different angle. As literary texts, not all the poems are interesting or captivating. However, each poem has its conspicuous theme. The shorter poems of al-Bājī and Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī, and Ibn al-Labbān's poem, are direct answers to the question. They lack metaphors and other literary devices, and are generally dull. The longer poems, however, are well-developed, rich with metaphors, allusions, and images. These poems widen the theoretical discussion using numerous examples in a variety of areas, from the history of the world's faiths to everyday life. All these examples are typical of theological trea-

[108] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:366 (Al-Qūnawī's Response, verses 21–3).

[109] Ibid., 10:357–58 (The Response of Ibn al-Labbān, verses 6, 14).

[110] Cf. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Al-Kāfiyah al-Shāfiyah,* 331 (verse 4650).

[111] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:360, 364 (The Response of Ibn al-Rifʿah, verses 23, 94).

[112] Ibid., 10:354.

tises in prose. Ibn Taymīyah's response, for example, gives a survey of heretical faiths, like the views of the philosophers and the Zoroastrians.[113] When explaining to the dhimmi that his claims are bound to shake the foundations of society, Ibn Taymīyah depicts a horrendous situation, in which acts of murder, highway robbery, corruption of rulers, etc., will be dismissed as the outcome of God's will and predetermination.[114] Al-Qūnawī's poem gives two everyday examples to corroborate his claim (quenching one's thirst is dependent on drinking water; one should not starve himself to death thinking that this death was predetermined). Al-Qūnawī concludes his words with two vivid and captivating metaphors (the ship and the carpet).[115] Ibn al-Rifʿah's magnificent piece concentrates on the creation of the world, the creation of the human race, and the human spirit.[116] Ibn al-Rifʿah also plants hints to his identity and inclination to Sufism.[117]

The ulama's six responses represent a typical mixture of fourteenth-century traditionalism and rationalism. The traditionalist position is reflected both by the frequent references to the concept of predetermination, and also by direct and indirect reference to the concepts of *fiṭrah* and divine guidance, which are embedded in the Quran and hadith. According to these intertwined concepts, Islam is the natural disposition of every human being, and God guides every human being as He pleases: to the correct path of Islam or to the deviant path of heresy.[118] The *fiṭrah* is an axial theme in Ibn al-Rifʿah's poem. According to Ibn al-Rifʿah, had the dhimmi eliminated the artificial thinking of *kalām,* and listened to the sound mind and followed the pure instincts God had granted him, he would have reached the correct answer to the question he had asked.[119] The same idea, in different variations, also appears in other responses.[120]

The rationalist Ashʿari position is reflected by the use of kalāmic argumentations, and more so, by using explicit references to the Ashʿari theory of *kasb,*[121]

[113] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:355 (The Response of Ibn Taymīyah, verses 9–18).

[114] Ibid., 10:355–56 (The Response of Ibn Taymīyah, verses 20–29).

[115] Ibid., 10:366 (Al-Qūnawī's Response, verses 11, 15, 24, 25).

[116] Ibid., 10:360–62 (The Response of Ibn al-Rifʿah, verses 26–48).

[117] Ibid., 10:364–65 (The Response of Ibn al-Rifʿah, verses 95–98).

[118] For a recent discussion of the traditionalist concept of *fiṭrah,* see Livnat Holtzman, "Human Choice, Divine Guidance and the *Fiṭra* Tradition: The Use of Hadith in Theological Treatises by Ibn Taymiyya and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya," in *Ibn Taymiyya and His Times,* ed. Yossef Rapoport and Shahab Ahmed (Karachi, 2010), 163–88. For references to the rich literature on this topic, see ibid., 184, n. 11.

[119] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:361, 363 (The Response of Ibn al-Rifʿah, verses 44, 64–65).

[120] Ibid., 10:353 (Al-Bājī's Response, verse 5); ibid., 10:355 (The Response of Ibn Taymīyah, verse 19); ibid., 10:366 (Al-Qūnawī's Response, verse 10).

[121] This theory holds that the ability to perform an action does not exist in the human agent, until God creates this ability in him. The formula—God creates the ability to perform an ac-

as the ultimate tool for solving the problem of predetermination. The scholars emphasize that God creates the human action and the ability to perform the action. The human being acquires this ability, and then performs the action. The idea that the human being has a choice to act or to abandon the act also stands in the middle of the *kasb* theory. The scholars in general succeeded in dressing the fundamentals of *kasb* in a poetic garment, while maintaining the rhythmic tone of their poems. Al-Bājī presents the basic principle of *kasb* in the following words: "Both our actions and our essences are created by God. We do not create either of them, not really."[122] Another principle of *kasb* is stated well by Ibn al-Labbān: "God the All-Knowing created in the human being a choice between actions which entail God's satisfaction and His alienation. Through this [choice], God enabled the human being to perform what He predetermined for the human being; thus God's will always prevails."[123] Ibn al-Rifʿah specifically mentions *kasb* twice in his poem.[124] Apart from the *kasb* theory, the scholars refer to other subtle theological issues, like causality.[125] Ibn Taymīyah's poem, which indeed deserves special attention, is slightly at variance with the other poems, since it reflects Ibn Taymīyah's longtime adversity with the Ashʿaris, although not in the version that al-Subkī quotes. Rather, in the complete version of the poem, as it appears in *Majmūʿat al-Fatāwá,* Ibn Taymīyah used his response as a vehicle to indirectly criticize the Ashʿari concept of *kasb* and *ikhtiyār* (choice), and to promote his idea of real choice for the human being.[126]

Both traditionalism and rationalism are two sides of the same coin of highly theorized theology not meant for laymen. But since the six ulama share a common didactic purpose to educate both the "dhimmi" and their lay audiences, they also offer some advice (which the dhimmi initially requested in his poem). In addition to asking the dhimmi to listen attentively to their responses, and promis-

tion, and the human agent acquires *(kasaba)* the ability from Him—was glossed and refined by Ashʿari theologians in order to prove that the human agent's actions are not his, but also were not forced upon him. The *kasb* theory was perceived by its proponents as a golden mean between the Muʿtazili concept of free will, with the human agent as the creator of his actions, and the traditionalist position, which negated any possibility of the human agent being a creator of his actions. A definitive article on *kasb* is: Michael Schwarz, "Acquisition *(kasb)* in Early Kalām," in *Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition: Essays Presented by His Friends and Pupils to Richard Walzer on his Seventieth Birthday* (Columbia, SC, 1972), 355–87. For more references, see: Livnat Holtzman, "Human Choice," 183, n. 3.

[122] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:353 (Al-Bājī's Response, verse 6).

[123] Ibid., 10:358 (The Response of Ibn al-Labbān, verses 12–13).

[124] Ibid., 10:360–61 (The Response of Ibn al-Rifʿah, verses 17–18, 33–34).

[125] Ibid., 10:355 (The Response of Ibn Taymīyah, verses 10–11); ibid., 10:358–59 (The Response of Ibn al-Labbān, verses 9–11, 20, 26); ibid., 10:366 (Al-Qūnawī's Response, verses 9, 14).

[126] See Appendix II, B, Part 2 (a few more verses by Ibn Taymīyah).

ing him that if he follows their line of thinking he will reach the peace of mind that he is seeking,[127] the ulama mainly guide the dhimmi through the etiquette of religious discourse. They urge him to listen to their voice, which is the true voice. "Stop using this language of protesting!" suggests Ibn al-Labbān.[128] "You should be pleased with that predetermination," advises al-Bājī, "Abandon all your straying doubts and embrace the most apparent proof!"[129] Ibn Taymīyah's suggestions are similar: "Do not abandon the apparent truth. Do not turn your back to the upright idea."[130] The ulama's direct approach to the dhimmi represents a mixture of self-confidence and disdain. Each scholar is convinced that his advice is the ultimate guide for attaining the truth, and the dhimmi's success in reaching this truth is guaranteed (provided that he follows the scholar's advice). All six responses represent the practical aspect of theology; however, al-Qūnawī's apology is by far the most pragmatic and realistic of the six: knowing that the dhimmi will not listen to his sage advice, let alone understand it, al-Qūnawī decides to issue a brief response, and not to waste his time on the lost soul of a dhimmi.

Conclusion

The ample anecdotes in the biographical sources indicate that composing poetry was one of the favorite and most prestigious activities of the Damascene and Cairene ulama. The historian al-Ṣafadī, a distinguished poet himself, refers to didactic poems about grammar and prosody, but also about *fiqh* and the Quran, as a remarkable achievement, an indicator of the ulama's linguistic skills.[131] The ulama's six responses to the dhimmi's question indeed represent an important aspect of the intellectual life in Mamluk Damascus and Cairo.

The case-study of the dhimmi's question—although we have only partial and scanty textual evidence—demonstrates how an intellectual activity is ignited, and how a fashionable trend is established. First, a riddle in rhyme was orally circulated. Perhaps several students of Islamic law in Mamluk Cairo excitedly and amusingly recited the dhimmi's question in one of the *majālis,* without knowing how to correctly answer the paradox it posed. Perhaps laymen repeated the catchy short poem of the dhimmi. Finally, the dhimmi's question reached al-Bājī. The horrified scholar decided to confront the controversial poem, and composed his response. Al-Bājī's peers envied his literary endeavor, and challenged his re-

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[127] See, for example, al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:357 (The Response of Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī, verse 7).

[128] Ibid., 10:358 (The Response of Ibn al-Labbān, verses 14).

[129] Ibid., 10:353–54 (Al-Bājī's Response, verses 12, 14).

[130] Ibid., 10:356 (The Response of Ibn Taymīyah, verse 37).

[131] Al-Ṣafadī, *Nuṣrat al-Thāʾir ʿalá al-Mathal al-Sāʾir,* ed. Muḥammad ʿAlī Sulṭānī (Damascus, [1971]), 386–87.

sponse by composing their own responses. The anonymous "dhimmi" faded into oblivion, and his identity was never categorically defined. Still, the ulama added another academic achievement to their résumé: they defied the heretic while demonstrating their intellectual superiority.

The general framework of the medieval *munāẓarah* includes mainly lengthy debates in prose. The dhimmi's question and the ulama's six responses expanded the boundaries of this genre to include poetry. The use of poetry enables these theological works to become a powerful tool in polemics, simply because the texts are easily and orally proliferated. The theological argumentations, which are usually difficult to grasp, are molded into rhythmic texts with a clear enthusiastic tone. The medieval debates appear in abundance in the theological literature; while the *munāẓarāt* written in prose have received much attention in modern scholarship, those written in poetry were neglected. The stage is now set for researchers to turn their attention to the theological debates written in poetry—although these poems demand extra effort in order to understand their contents, and to study these challenging works of theology.

Appendix I: Notes on the Ulama

The following description contains some details about the ulama who wrote responses to the dhimmi's question, including the scholar's poetic skills, his experience in debating, and his relationship with other members of this group. Ibn Taymīyah's biography is not included, for obvious reasons.

1. **ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Bājī** (ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Khaṭṭāb, d. 714/1314): [132] A prominent Shafiʿi jurisprudent, who according to his own avowal was a close friend of the famous Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), the author of the famous commentary on Muslim's *Ṣaḥīḥ.*[133] According to al-Subkī, al-Bājī was a skilled and almost undefeated debater, and an expert in Ashʿari *kalām.*[134] An elliptical anecdote, told by an eyewitness, connects al-Bājī to a debate with a Jew: "We were at Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd's, and he said: 'O *fuqahāʾ*! A Jewish fellow came in and wanted to debate.' We stayed still, but al-Bājī did not hesitate and promptly said: 'Bring him over! With God's grace we will oppose his sophistic argument *(shubhah)!*'"[135] Unfortunately, there is no record of the debate itself. Al-Subkī's father, *al-imām al-wālid,* Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355), learned the art of debating from al-Bājī. The celebrated Ibn Daqīq al-ʿĪd admired al-Bājī, and treated him with an extraordinary measure of respect.[136] Al-Bājī was also treated with the utmost respect by Ibn Taymīyah: "Whenever Ibn Taymīyah saw him, he treated him with admiration. When in the presence of al-Bājī, Ibn Taymīyah dared not make an utterance. So ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn used to say: 'Speak so we can argue with you!' And Ibn Taymīyah said: 'The likes of me does not speak in your presence. It is my duty to benefit from you.'"[137] Al-Subkī

[132]For al-Bājī's biography, see: al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:339–67 (biography no. 1394); Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:60–61 (biography no. 2865); al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-Wafayāt,* 3:73–74 (biography no. 352); al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 3:483–87 (biography no. 1210).

[133]Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:341–42

[134]Ibid., 10:339–40. Al-Subkī describes al-Bājī as an undefeated lion *(wa-kāna asad lā yughālabu).* Ibid., 10:339. Al-Bājī's expertise in Ashʿari *kalām* is reflected by the names of the books for which he wrote abridgements, for example Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1209) *Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn.* His profound understanding of Shafiʿi *fiqh* is demonstrated by an anecdote which appears in *Al-Durar.* Apparently, as a youth he attended a class in which al-Ghazālī's (d. 505/1111) *fiqh* manual, *Al-Wasīṭ,* was studied. The young al-Bājī addressed one of the issues in the text, raising fifteen different questions and giving elaborate answers to each question. The astonished teacher asked al-Bājī his age, and conveyed his admiration at his knowledge. Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:60.

[135]Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:60; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 3:485. Al-Ṣafadī claims that al-Bājī was well versed in the Torah, and he used to argue with Jews about it.

[136]Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:339.

[137]Ibid., 10:342. Al-Bājī is mentioned as one of the six ulama who discussed Ibn Taymīyah's release from prison with the amir Salār. The ulama demanded that Ibn Taymīyah correct his creed.

establishes the reputation of al-Bājī as a poet by quoting two of al-Bājī's poems: one short autobiographical poem,[138] and a long *manẓūmah,* which al-Bājī's students memorized after hearing al-Bājī recite it to himself *(anshada li-nafsihi).* This 122-verse *manẓūmah* or *urjūzah* describes the happiest of all men as a believer whose knowledge of all branches of science, such as *fiqh, tafsīr,* history, languages, and medicine, is vast. In the poem, al-Bājī advises his listeners to travel in order to acquire knowledge.[139]

2. **Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn ʿAsākir al-ʿAsqalānī** (Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbbās al-Kinānī al-ʿAsqalānī al-Miṣrī, d. 730/1330):[140] A poet and historian, who wrote biographies of the Mamluk sultans. He was skilled in calligraphy and versification.[141] He was blinded by an arrow during the Mongol attack on Ḥimṣ in Rajab 680/October 1281.[142] An enthusiastic bibliophile, Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī, who had eighteen closets full of rare books, recognized each book by feeling it and touching it. Al-Ṣafadī, who was a personal acquaintance of Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī, lists his numerous works in various Islamic sciences, which include a *dīwān* of his poems, glosses of poetry, and a poem describing a dispute between the sword and the pen.[143] Al-Ṣafadī, however, does not associate

Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:46 (the events of 706/1306–7). Al-Bājī is also named among the many *fuqahāʾ* who attended Salār's residence in order to witness the debate between Ibn Taymīyah and the three qadis, a debate that never took place, as the qadis declined the invitation to attend. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:49. In the edition of *al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* that I use, the text incorrectly writes al-Bājī as al-Tājī, and also writes Ibn Al-Rifʿah as Ibn Rafʿ. These errors are corrected in the anthology: *Al-Jāmiʿ li-Sīrat al-Shaykh Ibn Taymīyah,* ed. Muḥammad ʿUzayr Shams and ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ʿImrān, with an introduction by Bakr Abū Zayd (Mecca, 1420/1999–2000), 363.

[138] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:344. According to al-Ṣafadī, al-Bājī himself told him that he made Ibn Taymīyah retract things that he wrote. Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 3:485.

[139] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:345–52.

[140] The identification is that of the editor of al-Subkī's *Ṭabaqāt,* 19:357, n. 1. Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī's biography appears in al-Ṣafadī, *Nakt al-Himyān fī Nakt al-ʿUmyān,* ed. Aḥmad Zakī Bak (Cairo, 1427/2007), 166–70. A similar biography appears in Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:109–10 (biography no. 1923). Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī is also mentioned in the events of the year 730/1329–30 in Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Beirut, 1413/1992), 9:207.

[141] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:109. For a short biography, which is mainly based on Ibn Ḥajar, see P. M. Holt, "Shāfiʿ b. ʿAlī," *EI2,* 9:180. Holt was interested in Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī because of the latter's biography of Baybars.

[142] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:109–10 (biography no. 1923).

[143] As far as I know, the poem is no longer extant. The theme of a debate between a pen and a sword is well known in Arabic poetry. Perhaps Shāfiʿ's poem preceded Ibn al-Wardī's dispute poem on the same theme, which drew van Gelder's attention. Geert Jan van Gelder, "The Conceit of Pen and Sword: On an Arabic Literary Debate," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 32, no. 2 (1987): 353–56.

Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī with responses to the dhimmi's question.[144] Here is a nice *khafīf* verse by him: "Whoever saw the morning brightness of white hair, which has broken in the blackness of my curls, asked me:/Pray, what is it? And I answered: This is a night of worries [about love], obliterated by the wise conviction of the morning."[145]

3. **Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Labbān** (Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Muʾmin, d. 749/1348, from the plague).[146] A gifted Sufi preacher of the Shādhilīyah order and teacher who conducted regular sessions of recitations *(majlis tadhkīr)* and sessions of academic sermons *(majlis al-waʿẓ)* in Cairo.[147] He also wrote a few treatises on Shafiʿi *fiqh,* grammar, and *tafsīr.* There are several references to Ibn al-Labbān's reputation in the brief entries which were written about him. Al-Subkī is subtle and does not disclose many details: "He sometimes uttered spontaneous words of which the literal meanings could raise doubts about him, but we are sure he was innocent of them. And also a dreadful thing happened to him."[148] Ibn Ḥajar volunteers a few more details: apparently, Ibn al-Labbān's reputation as a Sufi preacher preceded him; however, he was heard producing monist utterances *(kalimāt ʿalá ṭarīq al-ittiḥādīyah).* He was put on trial, but eventually rescued by the Maliki qadi.[149]

4. **Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī** (Shaykh al-Islām, Najm al-Dīn Abū al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn Murtafiʿ ibn Ṣārim Ibn al-Rifʿah, d. 710/1310). Al-Subkī refers to Ibn al-Rifʿah as the greatest Shafiʿi of his time, and adds various superlatives to his name. Ibn al-Rifʿah was a skilled debater, who had a reputation of never being defeated in debates, as he never met his equal on these occasions *(lā yuqāwamu fī majlis munāẓarah wa-lā yuqāwá).*[150] According to Ibn Ḥajar, Ibn al-Rifʿah

[144] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 3:484 (the biography of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, no. 1210); ibid, 3:292 (the biography of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Qūnawī, no. 1122).

[145] Al-Ṣafadī, *Nakt,* 168; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 2:109. Yāqūt ascribes the poem to someone else. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-Udabāʾ: Irshād al-Arīb ilá Maʿrifat al-Adīb,* ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut, 1993), 1163 (biography no. 406).

[146] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 4:300.

[147] Ibid.; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 9:94.

[148] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 9:94.

[149] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:201.

[150] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 9:25 (biography no. 1298). Ibn Rifʿah's biography in al-Subkī's *Ṭabaqāt* is brief (three pages long) for a scholar of his caliber. Cf. Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:66 (the events of the year 710/1310–11) and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʿda al-Wāfī,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1999), 2:82–83 (biography no. 256).

was appointed to be Ibn Taymīyah's rival in a debate. After the event was over (Ibn Ḥajar does not report who won the debate), people asked Ibn Taymīyah about Ibn al-Rifʿah. Ibn Taymīyah complimented Ibn al-Rifʿah's knowledge of Shafiʿi law: "I saw a shaykh from whose beard the laws and regulations of the Shafiʿis were flowing."[151] The well-to-do Ibn al-Rifʿah, who was appointed to several official positions in Cairo during his lifetime, was subjected to a slander campaign initiated by other scholars, but from which he was exonerated.[152]

5. ʿ**Alāʾ al-Dīn al-Qūnawī** (ʿAli ibn Ismāʿīl ibn Yūsuf, Qāḍī al-Quḍāh, d. 729/1329). Al-Qūnawī, born in Konya, was a Shafiʿi *faqīh* and a prominent Sufi, who lived and worked in Cairo for thirty years. He conducted a life of piety and poverty in Cairo, until he was appointed as a teacher in the Sharīfīyah, and as the director of the Ṣāliḥīyah *khānqāh.* Two years before his death, he was appointed as the Shafiʿi head judge of Damascus.[153] Al-Qūnawī was well-versed in Ashʿari *kalām,* logic, and polemics.[154] He also had poetic skills: apart from his response to "someone who meant to defame the divine law," al-Qūnawī composed a poem in the *ṭawīl* meter which discusses different kinds of head wounds *(shijāj).*[155] Al-Subkī also mentions a debate *(munāẓarah)* between al-Qūnawī and Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, but unfortunately the contents of this debate are no longer extant.[156] In 727/1328, prior to his departure from Cairo to take up his position as the new chief Shafiʿi judge in Damascus, al-Qūnawī was asked by the sultan al-Nāṣir ibn Qalāwūn to intervene with the governor of Syria to release Ibn Taymīyah from prison. The following is a description of these relationships, as it appears in al-Ṣafadī's *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr:* "Although he (i.e., al-Qūnawī) had disagreements with Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Taymīyah, and although he thought that Ibn Taymīyah was wrong in many issues, he praised Ibn Taymīyah, admired him, and defended him. However, when al-Qūnawī was about to leave Cairo [for his post in Damascus], the sultan said to him: 'When you arrive in Damascus, tell the governor of Damascus to free

[151] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:169 (biography no. 730). Cf. al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,* 1:325 (biography no. 169).

[152] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:169–70.

[153] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:132–34 (biography no. 1388); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʿda al-Wāfī,* 8:51 (biography 1568); Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:169 (the events of the year 729/1328–29); Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-Wuʿāh fī Ṭabaqāt al-Lughawīyīna wa-al-Nuḥāh,* ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1384/1965), 2:150 (biography no. 1674).

[154] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:133.

[155] Ibid., 10:134–35.

[156] Ibid., 10:135–36.

Ibn Taymīyah.' [Al-Qūnawī] asked: 'Your Excellency, on what grounds did you put him in jail?' The [sultan] replied: 'Because of his *fatāwá* on that issue.'" Al-Qūnawī indeed met the governor upon his arrival in Damascus;[157] however, his mission failed. It was probably the governor who made Ibn Taymīyah's release conditional on his retracting his *fatāwá,* although a lacuna in al-Ṣafadī's text does not allow us to determine this with a great deal of certainty. According to al-Ṣafadī, "He [probably the governor] said: 'If he retracts them, we shall set him free.'"[158] Ibn Ḥajar concludes: "Some say that this answer is the reason for the continuance of Ibn Taymīyah's stay in prison until he died, because it was unconceivable that he would retract."[159]

[157] Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Abī Bakr al-Jazarī, *Tārīkh Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Anbāʾihi,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Sidon-Beirut, 1419/1998), 2:196, 369; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:141 (the events of the year 727/1326–27).

[158] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 3:290 (biography no. 1122). The ambiguity in al-Ṣafadī's text (which was copied by Ibn Ḥajar) remains in Laoust's description of al-Qūnawī's intervention for Ibn Taymīyah. Henri Laoust, *Essai sur les doctrines sociales et politiques de Taḳī-d-Dīn Aḥmad b. Taimīya* (Cairo, 1939), 148, n. 1. See also Michot, *Muslims under Non-Muslim Rule,* 168.

[159] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:16 (biography no. 2687); al-Shawkānī, *Al-Badr al-Ṭāliʿ,* 1:479 (biography no. 305).

Appendix II: Translation of the Six Responses

Notes:

1. The translation is as accurate and literal as possible, although I often had to paraphrase text.
2. The terms *mashīʾah* and *irādah* are consistently translated as [divine] creative will and commanding will, respectively.

A. Al-Bājī's Response:[160]

1. Hear me out, you scholar, who exposed the signs of his embarrassment, who craves for the guidance of a small and selected group of notable men.
2. I was so pleased to see that you seek the truth. May a breath of truth coming from the clouds of His mercy reach you!
3. You know that truth is regained only by truth, so seek refuge at its doorstep, like other reasonable people, and abandon the tricks and snares.[161]
4. A long time ago did God decree who strays from the correct path and who walks in it. He did that through His power as an effective agent *(faʿʿāl).* So [do not look] for the restrictions of wise purpose [in creation].[162]
5. God created human reason, and more so, He created the action of thinking that God's actions are good *(taḥsīn).* The limitations of human beings do not apply to the Creator.
6. Both our actions and essences are created by God. We do not create either of them, not really.
7. But He granted those He created, the human beings, a guide to all these predetermined eternal actions.
8. Through that guide we were able to recognize the people of happiness, the believers, from the people of misery, the heretics. The same applies to us: what He had wished for us is solely by virtue of His creative will.
9. As we put on clothes for everyone to see, so we mark our actions. These actions were created either as actions that please Him, or actions that make Him angry.

[160] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:353–54.

[161] Trick and snares, here *ḥabāʾil ḥīlah.* What al-Bājī means here, obviously, is that the dhimmi is requested to abandon the incorrect reasoning and logical analogies which the Muʿtazilah usually use.

[162] Wise purposes, here *ḥukm ḥikmah.* Al-Bājī refers here to the Ashʿari notion according to which God did not create the world for a cause or a wise purpose. Cf. Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī, *Nihāyat al-Aqdām fī ʿIlm al-Kalām,* ed. Alfred Guillaume (Baghdad, [1960]), 397.

10. His relationship to us is like the relationship of a king, who is beyond asking "how" his actions are performed, and "what is the reason" for his actions.
11. It is He who ordains life and death. It is He who is exempt from any condemnation. What the weak minds think as good is but a shameful thing.
12. Thus, you should be pleased with that predetermination, while you shouldn't be mistaken and be pleased with the object of this predetermination, when it is a predetermined act of heresy.
13. That we are assigned commands and interdictions obliterates our excuses on the Day of Resurrection.
14. Therefore you should come through that entrance, whether it is blocked or open. Abandon all your straying doubts, and embrace the most apparent proof!
15. The commands and interdictions are clearly revealed, and there is no doubt about it and no delusion.

B. The Response of Ibn Taymīyah:[163]

1. Hey, you there! Your question is the question of a stubborn man, who argues with the Lord of the Throne, the Creator of all beings!
2. A long time ago, the devil Iblīs, who is the root of all evil, used this question in order to argue with [the angels], the most respectable creatures residing up above.[164]
3. The root of all errors that people make—regardless of the group or sect they are affiliated to—is to question the reasons for God's actions.[165]

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[163] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:354–57. This version of Ibn Taymīyah's poem is abridged, but all the same it retains the kernel of the complete version of the poem. There is no doubt that Ibn Taymīyah's poem should be studied for its own merit. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this study, Ibn Taymīyah's poem is presented as part of the six responses found in the original set of al-Subkī. When translating the poem, I consulted what seems to be the most complete version of the poem as it appears in: Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿat al-Fatāwá* (1998) 4:149–54 (here indicated as MF). This version contains 124 verses. I also consulted Serajul Haque's version (here indicated as SH), which contains 103 verses. Another version of the poem, which I have not consulted, appears in Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn ʿAbd al-Hādī, *Al-ʿUqūd al-Durīyah min Manāqib Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyah,* ed. Abū Muṣʿab Ṭalʿat ibn Fuʾād al-Ḥulwānī (Cairo, 1423/2003), 300–6. Serajul Haque's summary of the poem was of great help. In addition, the following studies on Ibn Taymīyah's poem also were of help: ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Nāṣir al-Saʿdī (d. 1376/1956), *Al-Durrah al-Bahīyah: Sharḥ al-Qaṣīdah al-Tāʾīyah fī Ḥall al-Mushkilah al-Qadarīyah,* ed. Abū Muḥammad Ashraf ibn ʿAbd al-Maqṣūd (Riyadh, 1419/1998); Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥamd, *Al-Qaṣīdah al-Tāʾīyah fī al-Qadar li-Shaykh al-Islām Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah* (Riyadh, 1424/2003).

[164] Cf. verses 1–2 in MF and SH.

[165] Cf. verse 6 in MF and SH.

4. The creative will of God, the Lord of the Throne and the Creator of all beings, necessitates the actual existence of all the creatures.
5. The essence of God is necessary, with its necessary and eternal attributes.[166]
6. Therefore, when you ask "why did He want [this and that from me]?" it is the same as asking "why did He exist from all eternity?"
7. Such a question negates every reason, and it was sanctioned by every religion.
8. In this reality, there are many particular phenomena or particularities *(takhṣīṣ).* Anyone with a certain degree of reason can point out the fact that these particularities came about by virtue of His will.
9. [The theory] that one existent emanates from another, and the theory that two creators are possible, are like shots that miss the mark.[167]
10. There is no doubt that every effect *(musabbab)* has its entailing cause *(ʿillah).*
11. However, causes—as you can very well see—emanate by virtue of His creative will.
12. Therefore, when you say: "why did God want [this and that from me]?" your words make people fall right into the pit.
13. The Zoroastrians believed that there is one creator who creates things that are good and benefit us, and one creator who creates things that are evil and harm us.
14. The ancient Zoroastrians stumbled and fell into this sophistic argument of dualism, because they inquired about the cause of evil.[168]
15. The heretical philosophers, who believe in the "eternal intellect" *(al-ʿaql al-qadīm)* as the [first] cause,
16. Were looking for a cause of existence after non-existence, and they failed to find it. Therefore they went astray.
17. The roots of evil in any nation which was blessed by the religion of the prophets
18. Were revealed when these nations delved into these questions and their idolatry was thus evident. As a result, the indisputable evidences were erased throughout the era of apostasy.

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[166] Verses 4–5 here correspond to verses 8–9 in MF and verses 7–8 in SH.

[167] Ibn Taymīyah refers here to the theory of *iṣdār* (emanation) of the philosophers, and the Muʿtazili view which allows *(tajwīz)* the existence of another creator (which is the human being) other than God. See: al-Saʿdī, *Al-Durrah al-Bahīyah,* 128–29.

[168] "The cause of evil": the text says *ʿillat al-sirr,* which is "the cause of the secret." However, Serajul Haque's version provides a better solution *(ʿillat al-sharr),* which I decided to adopt. Cf. verse 18 in SH.

19. We can easily contradict what you say, because this excuse that you seek can be easily refuted by anyone who possesses pure instincts.[169]
20. Let us assume that you stop blaming heretics and sinners who divert from the correct path.
21. This approach inevitably leads you to ignore every offender, whether he committed a murder, or stole property, or violated the sanctity of one's marriage.
22. In other words, you have no right whatsoever to be angry with a murderer or with a thief who robbed the needy.
23. You have no right to be angry with a man who abuses your well-guarded honor, even if he abuses you publicly. You have no right to be angry with the adulterer for fornicating.
24. You have no right to be angry with the highway robbers. You cannot be angry with the perpetrators of corruption in the land.
25. You cannot be angry with false witnesses who spread evil lies and slander. You cannot be angry with those who recklessly defame women of unblemished reputation on the basis of one single doubt.
26. You cannot be angry with those who purposefully annihilate the civilization of mankind, nor can you be angry with the corrupt ruler.
27. So stop condemning every perpetrator. Do not demand to punish the offender.
28. In sum, you must smooth the way of these liars and slanderers.[170]
29. Can people's minds or their innate nature accept the claim of this vile person, who says: "What could I have done?"[171]
30. When someone is administered a poison, this surely guarantees his death. And still, everything was predetermined by virtue of God's creative will.
31. In the same vein, your apostasy is like a poison you swallow. Its outcome is the punishment of hellfire, just as the outcome of gulping poison is death.
32. Don't you think that in this world, whoever perpetrates a crime is bound to be punished, either by predetermined punishment, or by a punishment as prescribed in the divine law?
33. The perpetrator is never pardoned, and this is God's predetermination. [The perpetrator will be punished] also in the hereafter. There is no doubt about that.[172]
34. If you wish to receive an answer, which may possibly save you from God's great fire,

[169] Verses 6–19 here correspond to verses 30–43 in MF and verses 11–23 in SH.

[170] Verses 20–28 here correspond to verses 47–55 in MF and verses 27–35 in SH.

[171] Verse 29 here corresponds to verse 69 in MF and verse 49 in SH.

[172] Verses 30–33 here correspond to verses 74–77 in MF and verses 54–57 in SH.

35. Beware of the Lord of creation! Go towards Him humbly, and implore Him that would He guide you to the truth.
36. Entrust the shackles of your soul in the hands of the truth, and listen attentively. Never defy whoever preaches for the sound divine law.
37. Do not abandon the apparent truth. Do not turn your back to the upright idea.[173]
38. We are content with God's decree, because we were ordered to be content, even with misfortunes,
39. Like diseases, poverty, humiliation, and exile. We are pleased with every hurtful thing, provided that it is not a crime.
40. As for the evil deeds that are considered reprehensible, there is no Quranic text which orders us to be pleased with these acts.[174]
41. The knowledgeable people said: We should not be pleased with acts of disobedience and hateful sins.
42. A group of people said: We are pleased with His decree, but we are not pleased with the outcome of this decree [when this outcome is bad deeds performed by the human being]. [These bad deeds] deserve the ugliest epithets.
43. Another group of people said: [These bad deeds] are attributed to Him, but since we perform them, we should be discontent with them.
44. We are pleased with these deeds because He created them. We are discontent because we acquire or perform these sins.[175]

C. A Few More Verses by Ibn Taymīyah:[176]

1. There is no escape for the human being from what God predetermined, but he can choose between a good act and a vile one.
2. He is not compelled to act, and he is not devoid of a will. But he wills because a will was created [for him].

[173] Verses 34–37 here almost correspond to verses 85–88 in MF and verses 65–68 in SH. However, the second hemistich of verse 36 corresponds to the second hemistich of verse 88 in MF and verse 68 in SH, while the second hemistich of verse 37 corresponds to the second hemistich of verse 87 in MF and verse 67 in SH.

[174] "There is no Quranic text": the text in al-Subkī actually says *fa-lā hunna matī,* which does not make sense. I therefore adopted Serajul Haque's version, which has: *fa-lā naṣṣun yatī*.

[175] Verses 38–44 here correspond to verses 99–104, 106 in MF and verses 79–84 and 86 in SH. In the case of verse 44 above, I preferred the version in MF; otherwise, the verse is incoherent.

[176] The above are verses 116–22 in MF and verses 96–102 in SH. Al-Subkī omitted these verses, but because they present the kernel of Ibn Taymīyah's approach, I decided to include them.

3. One of the most wonderful things is the creation of the will, by virtue of which the human being can choose the correct path from the erroneous path.
4. When you [O dhimmi] say: Do I have the choice to abstain from God's decree? it is as if you say: Do I have the choice to abstain from God's creative will?
5. [You could have said]: I choose not to choose to perform an erroneous act. If only you had taken this approach to abandon heresy, you could have earned redemption.
6. This approach is possible, although it is dependent on what God wills from the individual who has a will.
7. Be careful and make an effort to understand the significance of the many notions I conveyed to you. If you use your innate nature, you will surely grasp these notions.

D. The Response of Shāfiʿ ibn ʿAlī:[177]

1. You asked, however you did not express your words clearly. A small group of scholars conducted numerous inquiries about Him, who holds the truth.
2. You, O dhimmī, are not—as you are presumptuous to assume—a creator whose actions are not predetermined.
3. Indeed, everything necessarily exists by virtue of His predetermination, and for this there is the clearest evidence.
4. Is it possible that the things He does not want exist in His kingdom? Indeed, whoever holds this opinion goes astray.
5. So, you should be pleased with whatever He predetermined, and nothing else, so do not struggle with what He wanted by virtue of His creative will.
6. For He, the Most Sublime, has the ability to erase and confirm. So do not resist His judgment, and accept this as true.
7. If you follow my response, you will be a Muslim and resign yourself to the will of God. So, by following the truth, you will be a part of the best of all nations.

E. The Response of Shams al-Dīn Ibn al-Labbān:[178]

1. Hear me out! After praising God, the creator of all created, for giving us guidance through the Quran and Sunnah

[177] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:257.
[178] Ibid., 10:357–59.

2. And through the most virtuous messenger, who was sent to the best of all nations, carrying with him the purest greeting from the All-Merciful:
3. Indeed, things exist by virtue of God's creative will. Things which do not correspond with His will do not exist.
4. However, He was never pleased with heresy. He never liked that for the human being. Heresy is not praiseworthy.
5. Whosoever is not guided by God uses the following artifice *(ḥīlah):* at every moment, he emphasizes what cannot be done.
6. He ignores the thorn in the flesh of his thought. He does not let his intellect distract him from his destination.
7. But at the same time, he endeavors with all his might to appeal to his Lord, with a sincere, determined, and passionate prayer.
8. At that time, let us hope that the grace and mercy that he hopes for will be granted to him.
9. Still, God's predetermination applies at times to heresy, and at other times to belief. But this predetermination is concealed, because of God's wise purpose.
10. Many a time, what is predetermined for us occurs by virtue of a cause, which we are accustomed to perceive as conditional.
11. Thus we see, for instance, that the causal connection between poison and death, cure and good health, is like the causal connection between actions of obedience and happiness, and actions of disobedience and misery.
12. God the All-Knowing created in the human being a choice between actions which entail God's satisfaction and His alienation.
13. Through this [choice], God enabled the human being to perform what He predetermined for the human being, thus God's will always prevails.
14. So, stop using this language of protesting. Remove your locks of hair and pretty clothes. It is good to be patient in times of distress *(al-ṣabr ʿinda al-muṣībah).*
15. As for displaying our satisfaction with God's predetermination, it is obligatory, because it means subservience to the ruling of the divine creative will.
16. The fact that you are pleased with your misery is misery itself, because you do not recognize the miracle of predetermination.
17. This miracle will be revealed when you empty your heart of caprices, and be pleased with the right belief and conviction.
18. Then you will be pleased with what God is pleased with and with what He predetermined. That way you will eliminate one perplexity after the other.
19. You said: If my Lord wishes me to be an apostate, then I should wish it too. These words are true, provided that you wish to repent.

20. The effect of the cause is separated from the outcome. In the same vein, you should confirm that what He actually wants is for you to repent.
21. When you disobey the divine ordinance, you are considered a rebel, even though you act in accordance to God's will.
22. There is no doubt that the human being has a choice. One person believes that he can affect his action alongside the divine eternal power.
23. Another person says: human actions are varied and specific, like performing pilgrimage or adultery.
24. Therefore, the human agent can affect his action to be either adultery or pilgrimage. However, this action is actually predetermined.
25. According to the people of truth, the Ashʿaris, the human agent cannot affect the action with his created ability.
26. God has the power to create in the human being the action and the ability which accompanies it, in a mechanism of causality *(sababīyah).*
27. This is a choice in us, which has no effect on the action. The greatest proof is for God.
28. In a nutshell, we are submitted to the sovereignty of the Creator of the creation.

F. The Response of Ibn al-Rifʿah, Najm al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī:[179]

1. Lend me your ears, O dhimmi! If only you were able to hear the response to your question, a response backed up with proofs, a response which you sought!
2. Use your intelligence and try to decipher the secret of all that the Lord of Existence created.
3. He predetermined and compelled the creation of all the existents through His knowledge and power, entirely of His volition.
4. He dealt with His creation as He pleased. Nobody knows what He wishes. His goal is well-concealed.
5. Indeed, He created the entire existence, which had no shape in the beginning.
6. But, hey, you! Your question should have never been written down; because it implies that He causes every despicable thing to appear;
7. And that He, as a proprietor, causes the slave to act by creating his act, whether an act of kindness, or an act of evil;
8. And that He grants the human being the ability to understand all the facts, so he is able to distinguish between the various things he is given;

[179] Ibid., 10:359–65.

9. And that He has partners in His property and in the object of His will, and thus the evil deeds of some of His creatures should be ascribed to Him;
10. And that He creates in all mortals the incapability to act, and that He compels them to act.
11. According to what is known to all His creatures, this is sheer misery which demonstrates your slip of the tongue.
12. All the things that we quoted are from a poem rhyming with *tī*, which is the response of a despicable slave to the acts of his Lord. These things make our Lord angry.
13. An action whose benefit we cannot see, like the death of a dear friend bitten by a snake, is not necessarily reprehensible.
14. There is no injustice when He deprives His creatures of their ability and compels them to act *(ilzām)*,
15. Because He creates things by virtue of His knowledge, and He knows the invisible. He endows these things that He creates with life and existence through His generosity and mercy.
16. And so, He does with His creatures as He pleases, even though the external signs of His wisdom are concealed from us.
17. If God did not state that the acquisition of human acts *(kasb)* existed, then actions would not have been specifically attributed
18. To a specific creature, not metaphorically and not otherwise, because it was as if He categorically stated that there was no creative will.
19. People who claim to use their minds should not contemplate their regular false analogies;
20. For example, when they say that tying up a child and then commanding him to walk is an ugly act. This claim is adjacent to their stupidity.
21. This analogy to His actions is false, because everything exists by virtue of the divine will.
22. If this is their claim, then the reply to them should be: For what purpose did He create humankind, if after a while He makes them die in disgrace?
23. When He acts, He is above any benefit or damage. These are the words of a person who should be flogged with a whip.
24. He is the Creator, the All-Merciful, utterly and totally. When He created [the world] with His sound judgment, He made clear
25. What He wished: He wished for light and life, and He wished to lead His creatures through the darkest nights.
26. And so He arranged the parts of existence *(ajzāʾ al-wujūd)* and brought them to realization by His actions. All this came about when the spirits were at the beginning of creation.

27. When this was created, He brought to light a third substratum *(maḥall thālith),* in which even the strange and mysterious secrets became evident.
28. And after all was created, He created [a creature] whose attributes are manifested. By virtue of His power He made [this creature] perfect in his understanding and knowledge.
29. He informed [this creature] what He wanted him to be, and He also informed him that He wanted him to obey His continuous command.
30. This is Man, the crown jewel of His creation. He is more magnificent than any other being, because he is able to go higher and nearer [to God] than any other being.
31. He gave him a mind, with which he understood what goodness and piety were. When using the mind, this creature is able to prove the existence of his Creator, while using the clearest proofs.
32. He gave him knowledge and the ability to hear. He also granted him light, so he was able to distinguish between the various forms.
33. He made him choose from whatever he wished for himself the things which he needed in order to improve his posture and shape.
34. He made him acquire good deeds as he pleased, deeds the outcome of which is generous and scented.
35. He installed in him an irascible faculty *(quwwah ghaḍabīyah).* By using it he could push back anything harmful, like mortal sins and other calamities.
36. He also installed in him the lustful faculty. By using it he could obtain anything his instincts desired.
37. So, it is entirely up to this creature to acknowledge the deeds which his [Creator] wishes and loves, and to push back the deeds which his [Creator] hates and despises.
38. Therefore, the All-Merciful entrusted him with the divine law, after He expelled any possible flaw that was originally in him.
39. When this creature followed the desires of his heart, and dived into the ocean of ignorance without a doubt in his mind,
40. In came the messengers, carrying a message from his Creator to each soul. The message was about the illuminating roads, which the Creator made visible.
41. [The Creator] obligated mankind to follow the Messenger, and to acknowledge every religious duty and every Prophetic habit.
42. [The Creator] made clear that everything that came into existence came from Him. He also declared that every creature definitely must obey Him.
43. [The Creator] predetermined that a certain man would be an ignorant heretic, remote from his [Lord], and that even if he followed the divine law, it would not benefit him.

44. [The Creator] predetermined that another man would be created with a pure mental constitution. This man rigorously opposed what was perceived by the senses.
45. However, nobody knows what was predetermined for him, so he cannot graciously follow his destiny as he wishes.
46. But when a vile soul inclines to the road which is not the road of Islam and its followers,
47. She tends to ascribe the will that drove her to act to the Creator, without having a substantial knowledge about that.
48. That this soul remains in the state of heresy is not by virtue of a divine command. [This soul] was expelled from the doorstep of heresy, and all the same [it became a heretic].
49. It is possible that a man lives as a heretic all his life, and suddenly the happiness of the Islamic belief that was preordained for him will catch him.
50. And so he converts to Islam, and by doing so, he will erase his biggest sins. By virtue of God's grace, he will become one of the inhabitants of heaven.
51. Another man, who is a devout Muslim, praying night and day, constantly invoking God's name, and performing the pilgrimage to Mecca every year,
52. And suddenly what was preordained for him, by virtue of God's knowledge, will catch him, and so he will be led to be one of the inhabitants of hell.
53. This is the judgment that is always carried out. It is well-concealed even from the shrewdest heart.
54. And so, I clarified the highlights of the way this judgment is carried out from the beginning of this world until the very last generation.
55. So, you dhimmi! Do you acknowledge that according to the people of the divine law you are definitely a heretic?
56. That is because you stated, God forbid, that God predetermined your heresy, whereas God never wished that the people of any religious faith would be heretics!
57. Look, since He predetermined at the beginning of creation that people would be heretics, He will not change the verdict of His will.
58. That is what the Prophet of God, who never became silent, said: that things materialize by virtue of His creative will.
59. Therefore, we cannot be positively certain that you are a heretic, because there never is a final resolution at any epoch, if you turn to Islam.
60. However, the predetermined verdict only clarifies where a person is headed to, whether heaven or hell.
61. If you were predetermined to be one of the inhabitants of heaven, the fact that you were a Jew before the Prophet was sent did not do you any harm.

62. And if you were predetermined to be one of the inhabitants of hell, then your atonement would not benefit you at all.
63. The predetermined verdict is never known. Performing deeds which do not please God does not necessarily lead to hell.
64. He gave you a mind and an established understanding. He also showed you a way of natural behavior, a way which includes every natural disposition that you have.
65. So, pronounce the Muslim profession of faith, and walk under the flag of the divine law as a believer, using your power to do good deeds.
66. Furthermore, you choose for yourself anything that you wish to try, whether disturbing doubts or lustful desires.
67. If you do not believe in abrogation *(naskh),* then you consider the divine message and law that Moses brought a lie,
68. Because the message and law that Moses brought abrogated customs that some people used to have, such as the marriage of a sister to several of her brothers.
69. So, if you affirm the truthfulness of *naskh,* then you should follow the divine law, which contains every agreeable and nice rule.
70. But if you defame *naskh,* then there is no textual proof for the notion that you prefer *(tarjīḥ).*
71. When poverty strikes you, do you not make your best own effort in order to protect [yourself] from hunger?[180]
72. And when you are suddenly hit by a crime, like an attempt to kill you or rob you, or by any other evil deed or temptation,
73. Do you actually attribute all these, at any moment, to the All-Merciful Creator?
74. If you choose to strengthen your soul, preach to her the message of the Muslim profession of faith.
75. The particular is entailed from the general, without any exception. You can clearly see that from the various signs of the divine wisdom.
76. If, in your time of trouble, you make a speedy effort to shove away any sin that comes your way,
77. And at the same time you lie, and you are truly not pleased with God's actions,
78. Then know this: He called you, and He did not block the entrance for you. So seek refuge in Him, and ask Him to lead you to the good path.
79. If you were born just to burn in His hellfire, then following the divine law was of no avail.

[180]This translation is approximate given the fact that one of the words *(ḥūbīyā),* as the editor of al-Subkī's *Ṭabaqāt* comments, is unreadable and has no meaning.

80. Whether or not you are pleased is of no importance, because you are seized by the most evil grasp.
81. The Lord of all beings obligated you to be pleased with what He predetermined and created by virtue of His knowledge and power.
82. At the same time, He is not pleased that you are pleased with a certain thing that He predetermined. Therefore, He forbade you to refrain from vile deeds at any time.
83. Therefore, to be pleased with what He forbade you to be pleased with, does not please Him at all. He is pleased only when you follow His legislative will.
84. [He is pleased when you follow] what emerged after the world was created. [He is pleased when] you see the deeply hidden things in your natural disposition.
85. But since He wanted you to be a heretic, you became stubborn and did not accept and fear the divine law.
86. That you are pleased with what was predetermined for you does not please Him. Following the judgment of His creative will is not the correct way.
87. In time immemorial He shaped you in a form through which His judgment was carried out and His proof installed.
88. So actually there is no option to resist His firm judgment or to deviate from it.
89. But He granted you with the power and the ability to acquire your action. He generously granted you a great gift, which is the ability to achieve complete understanding.
90. So, O dhimmi, your argument is sophistical and cannot be considered as sound.
91. Do not meddle in God's words and actions. He chooses every action, as He pleases.
92. There is no good outcome to what you desire, because it is a distressful deed, which only miserable and sinful souls possess.
93. My answer to you, O dhimmi, includes ninety-six verses, the gems of my artistic skills.
94. You wished to refute the truth, woe unto you, by your invalid and absurd verses.
95. My Lord! Have compassion and mercy for your slave Aḥmad, who was born in Ṭūs.
96. Aḥmad plunged into the oceans of knowledge and wisdom. Knowledge is the ultimate goal. He plunged into the light of divine providence,

97. Equipped with the highest spiritual states *(aḥwāl rifʿah)* he acquired with the help of His shaykh: the spiritual states of passion *(wajd),* exaltation *(ijlāl),* and repentance *(inābah).*
98. Aḥmad is very knowledgeable and devout, because he recognizes the splendor of the divine grace.
99. Whoever bows sincerely to the divine presence, which is the ultimate haven of every soul,
100. Has a vast knowledge of secrets. When you travel there by night, you sense the gentle breeze of happy spirits.
101. You, who contemplates this response and tries to understand it, you should reflect on this knowledge and not dismiss it.
102. Place the meaning of each and every word in its right place. Note that we have included here numerous virtues.
103. Do not blame others before you accomplish in good faith what He created you for.
104. [Do not] act meanly towards Him, who created human mind and particularized it with the ability to understand, every hour of the day.
105. We send our prayer to the Prophet Muḥammad. This prayer will grant us closeness [to God] in the Day of Recompense.

G. The Response of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Qūnawī:[181]

1. I praised my Lord before every word I uttered. I prayed in order to glorify the Prophet, the best of humankind.
2. I tried to come up with sound advice for the person who sought a clarification in order to solve a sophistic argument.
3. The first thing that a person who seeks the truth and wishes to follow the truth should do
4. Is to grab every difficult puzzle and sophistic arguments by their halter and make them move away. These arguments interfere with our efforts to versify our proof.
5. Next, you should listen carefully and refrain from being stubborn, because there is no use in a stubborn-head who wishes to seek the truth.
6. If you truly wish to reveal the grief that was inflicted on you, then listen to me, and I hope that you will be guided to the correct path.
7. You are right: God the All-Knowing indeed predetermined by virtue of His creative will everything that was and everything that will be.
8. If you think about that seriously, you will realize that after He sent His prophet, He never blocked the entrance.

[181] Al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt,* 10:365–66.

9. It is a well-known fact that His predetermination is dependent on conditions.
10. And that is what a healthy mind sees as possible and never rejects. The same happens when you see how things are created after other things happen.
11. For example, you can quench your thirst each time you drink. And you can satisfy your appetite only after you eat.
12. No wonder that it is dependent on conditions. God, who created all beings, predetermined
13. That you will be a heretic, as long as you are in a state of committing injustice, and as long as you refuse to take [into consideration] the causes leading to divine guidance, and the capacity [to rightly act].
14. Among the causes that you rejected are divine ordinance, the ability to act, and the uttering of the Muslim profession of faith.
15. You are like a person who fasts for a very long time, thinking to himself: "I should die from starvation, since He predetermined that I would starve."
16. If you submissively turned to your Lord and surrendered to the true religion,
17. If you paid your dues to the good contemplation in full, and fixed your eyes attentively and willingly with every glance you have,
18. Then the good guidance that God wished for you would come true, and His predetermination would not be violated at all.
19. Hear me out! The effusions of God in eternity are plentiful. Address yourself to God so you win an effusion.
20. Or else trust the Lord and act, because every good deed is made easy for the man who is meant to perform it. There is no doubt about that.
21. Had I known that your mind is capable of understanding things which are vague and subtle,
22. I would have elaborated on this and gone on and on about it. I would have investigated the matter according to the methods of theology and philosophy.
23. But since my goal here is to persuade the likes of you, what I present is but a summary of long chapters.
24. The ship would have sunk in the depths of the sea had it not been forbidden to discuss these matters on which you had inquired.
25. Therefore I fold the carpet that I spread before, and I beg the Almighty God to forgive my slip of the tongue.

Appendix III: Two Additional Responses

The following two responses are not included in al-Subkī's account. The first response was composed by Abū Saʿīd Faraj ibn Qāsim ibn Aḥmad ibn Lubb al-Taghlibī (d. 782/1380–81). Ibn Lubb was the mufti of Granada and taught in al-Madrasah al-Naṣrīyah. His response is quoted by the Andalusian Maliki scholar Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Mūsá al-Shāṭibī al-Andalusī (d. 790/1388), in his *adab* compilation *Al-Ifādāt wa-al-Inshādāt*. According to al-Shāṭibī's account, Ibn Lubb was asked about the dhimmi's question, probably in a letter. Ibn Lubb signed his response with the following note: "These written verses are a response to the above six verses." The dhimmi's question in this version is, then, a six-verse question (verses 5–6 of the original do not appear in this version). Al-Shātibī, who provides a brief interpretation of Ibn al-Lubb's response, heard the author recite his response in Rajab 759/July 1358. [182]
The Response of Ibn Lubb:

1. The Lord predetermined the heresy of the heretics; however He did not determine that this heresy is an obligation, which pleases Him. This principle applies to all religions.
2. He forbade His creatures to perform the [bad] deeds that He all the same wished to occur. His sovereignty is the conclusive proof.
3. We are pleased with God's decree, while our hatred is reserved for sins.
4. You should not be pleased with a human act which was specifically forbidden by the divine law. However, you should commit your cause to the way He organized things and to the rule of His creative will.
5. He invited everyone to observe the practices of religion. He made some of them successful in performing their religious duties. In sum, the success was granted to a few, but the invitation to perform these duties was to all.
6. Therefore, when you take other routes than the route of His divine law, you are disobedient, even though you walk in the path of the divine creative will.
7. The choice of performing an act is yours, while God is the creator. His will is materialized in His creation.
8. What God does not want to exist, does not exist. God, who created creation, is exalted and sublime.
9. This is the answer to the questions of an ignoramus, a blind man who shouts:

[182] Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm ibn Mūsá al-Shāṭibī, *Al-Ifādāt wa-al-Inshādāt,* ed. Muḥammad Abū al-Ajfān (Beirut, 1403/1983), 172–75.

10. Listen, you scholars of Islam! I, the non-Muslim under the protection of your religion, am baffled, so please lead me towards the clearest theological proof.

The second response, that of Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Asʿad al-Tustarī (d. ca. 737/1336), appears in a Hanafi *kalām* manual written by Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid ibn Humām (d. 861/1457). The Persian al-Badr al-Tustarī visited Cairo in 727/1326–27, but there is no indication that he learned about the dhimmi's question during his stay there. Al-Tustarī's poem comprised two verses only:

1. God predetermines heresy, which means that He knows the most secret truths by virtue of His eternal knowledge.
2. Then He created things according to what He knows, by virtue of His eternal power.[183]

According to Ibn al-Humām, al-Tustarī "wrote a preface in prose in which he summarized the essence of his two-verse response. He wrote: the meaning of God's predetermining the heresy of the heretic is that God has knowledge of things."[184]

[183] Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn ʿAlī Ibn Abī Sharīf, *Al-Musāmarah: Sharḥ al-Musāyarah fī al-ʿAqāʾid al-Munjiyah fī al-Ākhirah li-Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Ḥanafī al-Maʿrūf bi-Ibn al-Humām wa-maʿahu Ḥashiyah ʿalá al-Musāyarah li-Zayn al-Dīn al-Qāsim ibn Quṭlūbughā al-Miṣrī al-Ḥanafī,* ed. Muḥammad ʿUmar al-Dumyāṭī (Beirut, 1423/2002), 136.

[184] Ibn Abī Sharīf (d. 905/1499–1500), the Shafiʿi scholar who glossed Ibn al-Humām's text, sees these verses as an explanation to the term *al-qaḍāʾ wa-al-qadar:* God's *qaḍāʾ* indicates God's eternal knowledge, while God's *qadar* indicates God's creating by virtue of His power. Ibn Abī Sharīf, *Al-Musāmarah,* 136.

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Mamluks and Their Relatives in the Period of the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)

The age of the Mamluk Sultanate is regarded as the period in which the "mamluk principles," as defined by David Ayalon, were most clearly expressed. These were: the mamluk's loyalty to his master, solidarity among mamluks serving the same master *(khushdāshīyah),* and the concept of "one generation nobility" (i.e., that sultans and amirs did not bequeath status, privileges, or property to their sons).[1] The prevalent view regarding the Mamluk Sultanate is that dynastic and hereditary tendencies were weak throughout its reign.[2] It is similarly believed that, under the Sultanate, blood ties, marital bonds, and ethnic solidarity were of marginal importance in comparison with the pseudo-familial ties between the master and the mamluk, and between mamluks of the same household.[3] Furthermore, it has been argued that in this era the right to rule and hold key positions in the Sultanate was reserved exclusively for mamluks. According to this argument, the ruling elite's main characteristic was its mamluk descent; all mamluks were of elite status; and mamluks were proud of their slave origin even after manumission.[4]

In my dissertation, I have examined a variety of social ties of sultans and amirs in the period of the Mamluk Sultanate. I argue that, throughout the period, blood ties, marital ties, and ethnic solidarity were of greater importance than what is commonly thought in scholarly research. Notwithstanding this, significant changes are evident in the patterns of social ties upon the transition from the Turkish to the Circassian ruling class (1382–1517). Only under the latter do we see the waning of the biological family, the decline of agnate lines, the enhanced

[1]See for example David Ayalon, "Mamlūk Military Aristocracy: A Non-Hereditary Nobility," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 10 (1987): 205–10.

[2]See for example P. M. Holt, "The Position and Power of the Mamlūk Sultan," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38 (1975): 237–49; Amalia Levanoni, "The Mamluk Conception of the Sultanate," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 26 (1994): 373–92.

[3]See for example Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Rāziq, "Al-ʿAlāqāt al-Usrīyah fī al-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Mamlūkī," *Al-Majallah al-Tārīkhīyah al-Miṣrīyah* 23 (1976): 155–81; David Ayalon, *L'esclavage du Mamelouk* (Jerusalem, 1951), 27–37.

[4]Linda S. Northrup, "The Baḥrī Mamlūk Sultanate, 1250–1390," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt,* vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517,* ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 245–51; Reuven Amitai, "The Mamlūk Institution, or One Thousand Years of Military Slavery in the Islamic World," in *Arming Slaves: From Classical Times to the Modern Age,* ed. Christopher Brown and Philip D. Morgan (New Haven and London, 2006), 62.

prestige of pseudo-familial ties, and the erosion in the dynastic and hereditary principles.[5] In what follows, I will focus on a specific type of mamluks' social ties: their relatives who resided within the territory of the Sultanate.

It is commonly held that the phenomenon of the importing or migration of relatives of mamluks into the territory of the Sultanate was characteristic of the Sultanate's Circassian period. According to Ayalon, during the second half of the fifteenth century, a large number of such relatives were brought into the Sultanate and received positions as amirs, without having to undergo military training. Ayalon even calls the second half of the Circassian period "the period of rule by brothers-in-law and relatives."[6] The fact that a marked presence of mamluks' relatives is evident specifically in a period in which the importance of blood ties seems to have declined remains unexplained. D. S. Richards points out that it is possible to find instances of the importation of mamluks' relatives into the Sultanate also during the fourteenth century (i.e., during the Turkish period).[7] In what follows, I will survey additional instances, which Richards has not mentioned, of the arrival of mamluks' relatives into the Sultanate during the Turkish period (1250–1382). I will examine the identity of the mamluks whose relatives were brought into the Sultanate, and analyze the patterns of bringing in relatives, during both the Turkish and Circassian periods. I will also discuss the changes that can be identified in these patterns after the transition to Circassian rule, and relate them to other changes that occurred in the change of ruling classes. Additionally, I will argue that only a small cadre of favored mamluks could bring their relatives into the Sultanate. This group of mamluks could shed the signs of slavery, the most important of which was the lack of family ties. Only this group, and not all the mamluks, can be regarded as elite.

The Turkish Period

In both the Turkish and Circassian periods, the bringing of relatives was the prerogative of the ruling sultan. It will be demonstrated that almost all of the family members brought into the Sultanate were relatives of the ruling sultans or of amirs related by marriage to the sultans. All the instances of bringing in the sultan's relatives occurred after he had taken power. As to amirs' relatives, they were almost always brought into the Sultanate after the amirs had married into the sultan's family.

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[5]Koby Yosef. "Ethnic Groups, Social Relationships and Dynasty in the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517)" (in Hebrew) (Ph.D. diss., University of Tel-Aviv, 2011).

[6]David Ayalon, "The Circassians in the Mamlūk Kingdom," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 69 (1949): 144.

[7]D. S. Richards, "Mamluk Amirs and Their Families and Households," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 36–37.

We cannot identify relatives of mamluk sultans or amirs who were brought into the Sultanate at the beginning of the Turkish period. We may assume this was because most of the mamluks in this period were Kipchaks whose families had been uprooted due to the Mongol invasion, and whose enslavement entailed complete detachment from their families. Due to the fact that during almost the entire Turkish period the Sultanate was not ruled by slaves, but by the Qalawunid family (1279–1382), the importation of relatives of the sultan is largely irrelevant, and in that period the phenomenon was effectively limited to the relatives of amirs. Nonetheless, we find instances in which the Qalawunid sultans brought their maternal relatives into the lands of the Sultanate. For example, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (d. 1341), beginning in 1304, brought in a number of his mother's relatives, at least two of whom immediately became senior amirs.[8]

The importation of mamluk amirs' relatives started only in the fourteenth century. It may be that locating the relatives of mamluks, in order to bring them into the Sultanate, only became possible at this time, since many of the mamluks in this period were Mongol captives (some from noble Mongol families), or Turco-Mongol slaves from the Golden Horde who had been sold by their families. The first relatives of a mamluk amir brought into Egypt were the relatives of the Mongol captive Salār al-Manṣūrī (d. 1310), whose father had been a senior amir in Anatolia. Salār's daughter married Mūsá ibn ʿAlī ibn Qalāwūn in 1299. The marriage was consummated in 1304, and shortly afterwards, in 1305, Salār's relatives were brought into Egypt and immediately became amirs.[9] This pattern of bringing in the relatives of a mamluk amir (and promoting them) after marital ties had been established with the Qalawunid family recurs throughout the Turkish period. All the mamluks whose relatives were brought into the Sultanate dur-

[8]Al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī wa-Awlādihi,* ed. Barbara Schäfer as *Die Chronik aš-Šujāʿīs* (Wiesbaden, 1977), pt. 1 (text), 33, 41, 175, 250–51; al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1934–73), 2:236, 283, 309, 324, 378; K. V. Zetterstéen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlūkensultane in den Jahren 690–741 der Hiǵra nach arabischen Handschriften* (Leiden, 1919), 196, 218; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Kitāb al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963–72), 9:57, 88, 103, 10:57, 236; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Wārith Muḥammad ʿAlī (Beirut, 1997), 1:281, 2:139–40; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr wa-Aʿwān al-Naṣr* (Beirut, 1998), 1:652–54, 2:635–36; al-Birzālī, *Tārīkh al-Birzālī,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 2006), 3:419; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1963–98), 33:203, 231, 225, 278; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmiʿ al-Ghurar,* ed. H. R. Roemer (Cairo, 1960–82), 9:393; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah* (Damascus, 1977–97), 2:207, 575.

[9]Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah* (Cairo, 1993), 410, 413; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1987–92), 4:75; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 32:127, 163, 170, 396; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:621; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge,* 152; al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh,* 44, 157, 220; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 2:51, 106–7; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 2:306–7, 393.

ing this period were Turkish/Tatar slaves, related by marriage to the Qalawunid family. In addition to the case of Salār, we know that the families of Baktamur al-Sāqī, Arghūn al-Kāmilī, Baybughā Urūs, Ṭāz al-Nāṣirī, and Jaraktamur al-Ashrafī were brought into the Sultanate after these amirs had married into the Qalawunid family (see the table below). The families of Bashtāk al-Nāṣirī, Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī, and Qawṣūn al-Nāṣirī probably also arrived in Egypt after these amirs had created marital bonds with the Qalawunid family.

Table: Mamluks Whose Relatives Were Brought into Egypt during the Turkish Period[10]

Name of Mamluk	*Year of Death, Age at Death*	*Year of Marital Tie with the Qalawunids*	*Age when Marriage Took Place*	*Year when Relatives were Brought In*
Salār al-Manṣūrī	(d. 1310, bit less than 50)	1299	About 38	1305
Baktamur al-Sāqī	(d. 1332, about 50)	Before 1313~	30 or less	1314–16
Qawṣūn al-Nāṣirī	(d. 1341, about 40)	1326	About 25	At latest 1330
Bashtāk al-Nāṣirī	(d. 1341, less than 40)	1332~	30 or less	1336
Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī	(d. 1347, 20–25)	Before 1340	Less than 18	At latest 1338

[10]For the relevant details about Salār, see footnote 9 above. For Baktamur, see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʿda al-Wāfī,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1984–2006), 6:330–3; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 33:239; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:746; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 3:154; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:497; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 1:183–86. For Qawṣūn, see al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:21; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 33:26; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:279; al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh,* 148, 192; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge,* 148, 192. For Bashtāk, see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 3:468; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 1:672, 709; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:281; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge,* 194, 218; al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh,* 131. For Yalbughā, see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:686–87, 4:61–62; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:473, 571, 799; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 2:563–64, 5:585–91; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:203, 2:148; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 12:155; al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh,* 45. For Arghūn Shāh, see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 1:457–62, 2:577; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 2:130; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:689; al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh,* 267; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 2:552, 574, 584. For Arghūn, see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 1:466–76; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:819, 895, 3:262. For Baybughā, see al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:689, 819, 905; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 10:90, 11:31; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 2:86–95. For Ṭāz, see al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:869, 886, 3:66, 736, 814, 840; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 10:247, 286, 302; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:370, 397–98; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 2:567–71; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:287–88; Zetterstéen, *Beiträge,* 206. For Jaraktamur, see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:522.

Arghūn Shāh al-Nāṣirī	(d. 1349)	Before 1340	Less than 30	?
Arghūn al-Kāmilī	(d. 1357, less than 30)	1344	Less than 17	1350
Baybughā Urūs	(d. 1353)	1344–45?	?	1350
Ṭāz al-Nāṣirī	(d. 1361)	Before 1349	?	1351
Jaraktamur al-Ashrafī	(d. 1376, less than 20)	Before 1376	Less than 20	After the marriage

As can be seen from the table, almost all the amirs whose families were brought into the Sultanate had married into the Qalawunid family at an early age. Throughout the Mamluk Sultanate's reign, mamluks rarely started a family before the age of thirty.[11] In this period almost all the mamluks who had children before this age had established marital ties with the sultans while still young. Some of these mamluks were only formally slaves,[12] while most of the rest were favored mamluks who had been raised from their youth by the sultan, or those whom he chose to advance from an early age due to his affection for them. This small unit of privileged mamluks constituted an important part of the ruling elite. They were distinct from the large body of mamluks, and shed the characteristics of slavery, most important of which was the lack of family ties. Unlike the majority of mamluks, the favored mamluks were not prevented from creating families. Not only did they become relatives of the royal family, they also

[11] I discuss this subject in detail in my dissertation. This assertion is based on data culled from the sources and gathered in a database including all the social ties of Mamluk sultans and amirs. Naturally, we have more information concerning sultans. In the Turkish period, almost all of the Turkish/Mongol mamluk sultans who ruled Egypt started a family while in their thirties, and usually around the age of 35 (except al-Muʿizz Aybek who started a family when he was 40 or even 45). Circassian mamluk sultans, by contrast, started families while in their forties or later, usually after the age of 45 (except al-Muʾayyad Shaykh, who started a family when he was about 35). There is no reason to believe that the data concerning the sultans is not representative of the general situation. However, data concerning a few dozen amirs reveals that in the Turkish period, only rarely did mamluk amirs start a family before the age of 30, while in the Circassian period they only rarely did so before the age of 35. It seems that the Circassians were perceived in a most negative manner during the Turkish period. They were discriminated against, manumitted at a later age, and thus delayed from starting their own families. Under those conditions, it seems that the Circassian mamluks developed a slave ethos and ascribed more importance to pseudo-familial ties.

[12] The best example of such a mamluk is Qawṣūn al-Nāṣirī. He was an adult when formally sold to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Qawṣūn was proud of not being a real slave, and of being exempt from the normal procedure of training and promotion; see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 4:138.

established families of their own, from a young age, and brought their own relatives into the territory of the Sultanate. Upon their arrival, these relatives became amirs. The sons of these favorite mamluks had quite a good chance of becoming amirs, both because their fathers were attached to the royal family, and because their fathers had parented them while young.[13]

The situation of the non-Turkish mamluks was worse than that of the majority of the Turco-Mongol mamluks. Since there is no evidence supporting the sale of non-Turkish mamluks by their families, we may assume that most of them were war captives, and therefore their enslavement was more traumatic than that experienced by their Turco-Mongol counterparts.[14] As soon as the non-Turkish mamluks entered the Sultanate, their connection to their families was severed forever. The Turco-Mongol mamluk, however, had the possibility of becoming a favored mamluk, marrying into the Qalawunid family, establishing a family while still young, and bringing his relatives into the Sultanate. This privilege was almost totally unavailable to non-Turkish mamluks, who were undoubtedly perceived by their contemporaries as being "more enslaved" than the Turco-Mongols.

By bringing in their in-laws *(aṣhār),* and promoting them to senior amirates, the Qalawunids definitely reinforced the idea that the right of being part of the ruling elite belonged to those who had a family (i.e., those who were not slaves), which thereby strengthened their legitimacy to rule. Beginning at least with the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (1310–41), until the Circassian period, the Mamluk Sultanate was ruled by a royal family, its relatives, and its in-laws.

The Circassian Period

There was a greater presence in the Sultanate of relatives of the sultans during the Circassian period. Nonetheless, I do not believe that the phenomenon of bringing in relatives was more characteristic of the Circassian ruling elite than of the Turkish one. One reason why more relatives of the sultans can be identified in the Circassian period is that, in contrast to the Turkish period, most of the sultans in this period were mamluks themselves and not descendants of sultans. While the Turkish period was typified by bringing relatives of amirs who had married

[13]See for example Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 12:152, 155; idem, *Al-Nujūm,* 10:194, 11:4; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:523; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 5:191; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:180, 301.

[14]For evidence that during the third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad non-Turks were enslaved in war while Turks were sold by their families, see al-ʿUmarī, *Kitāb Masālik al-Abṣār wa-Mamālik al-Amṣār: Mamālik Bayt Jinkiz Khān* (Wiesbaden, 1968), 69–70. Al-ʿUmarī states explicitly that the Circassians were war captives. Unfortunately, we cannot corroborate this information because biographies of Circassian mamluks from the Turkish period usually do not contain data concerning the method of their arrival into the Sultanate.

into the Qalawunid family, the Circassian period is characterized by bringing in relatives of the sultans themselves, with a decline in the arrival of relatives of the amirs. The dimensions of this phenomenon, however, should not be overstated, since only three sultans—al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (1382–99), al-Ashraf Barsbāy (1422–38), and al-Ashraf Qāytbāy (1468–96)—brought a large number of family members into the Sultanate and made them amirs, some of senior rank. Al-Ashraf Barsbāy brought his wife's relatives, as well as his own.[15] Al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (1412–21), al-Ẓāhir Ṭaṭar (1421), al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam (1461–67), al-Ashraf Īnāl (1453–61), al-Ẓāhir Yalbāy (1467), and al-Ẓāhir Timurbughā (1467–68) did not bring a single relative of theirs to Egypt, and al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq (1438–53) brought only his sister.[16]

The second reason as to why more relatives of the sultans can be identified in the Circassian period is related to changes in the patterns of the slave trade in this period. There is substantial evidence that, in the Circassian period, Circassian relatives were bought as slaves together or individually. We know, for example, that Qānībāy, the relative of al-Ẓāhir Ṭaṭar, was in Egypt before Ṭaṭar, and recognized the latter upon his arrival in the land; Jarkas al-Muṣāriʿ, the brother of al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq, was bought by al-Ẓāhir Barqūq before he purchased Jaqmaq; and Ṭawkh, the elder brother of al-Ashraf Īnāl, was purchased together with Īnāl by al-Ẓāhir Barqūq.[17] The phenomenon apparently assumed additional momentum beginning

[15]For the relatives of Barqūq, see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Cairo, n.d.), 2:326, 284–85, 6:221–22, 10:302–3, 12:59, 74, 115; al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz al-Kalām fī al-Dhayl ʿalá Duwal al-Islām* (Beirut, 1995), 1:376; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl al-Amal fī Dhayl al-Duwal,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut and Sidon, 2002), 2:387, 3:110; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:242–43, 4:255, 350–51; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 3:105–7, 217, 6:11–15, 9:37, 67; idem, *Al-Nujūm,* 14:144; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 4:188. For the relatives of Barsbāy and his wife, see Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr* (Cairo, 1960), 1:349, 412, 469, 504; al-Jawharī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr bi-Abnāʿ al-ʿAṣr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970), 80, 312; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 3:7, 21, 36–38, 63, 220, 6:85, 163–64, 218, 10:224, 280, 303–4, 12:17, 164; idem, *Wajīz,* 2:697; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl,* 4:186, 199, 278, 332, 369, 405, 418, 5:45, 50, 6:26, 90, 22, 377, 381, 434, 7:95, 183; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 3:6–7, 4:23–24, 217, 5:14–16, 326, 9:63–64, 12:134–35; idem, *Al-Nujūm,* 14:258, 15:246; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 4:646, 1132. For the relatives of Qāytbāy, see Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Wafayāt al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut and Sidon, 1999), 1:334, 382; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 1:613, 633, 636, 639, 650; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl,* 7:171, 207–8, 231, 279, 312, 381, 8:105, 107, 151–52, 231; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 2:315, 3:64, 6:227; idem, *Wajīz,* 3:1222.

[16]Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 2:272, 3:44, 6:168; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl,* 5:306, 6:382, 7:343, 8:146; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 1:413, 577, 2:906.

[17]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 14:197–98, 16:58; idem, *Al-Manhal,* 4:211, 275–76; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 2:328. For other relatives of sultans who apparently were not brought into the Sultanate by these sultans, but bought as slaves by others, see for example Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 11:168, 15:306; idem, *Al-Manhal,* 11:272; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 4:607–8, 1149; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 10:169. For mamluk relatives who were apparently bought together or one after the other, see for example Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 12:242, 15:141, 165, 172–73, 287, 16:282; idem, *Al-Manhal,* 8:257, 9:64, 12:138; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 3:43, 65; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl,* 7:268.

at the end of the reign of al-Ashraf Barsbāy or during the time of al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq. It took on graphic dimensions in the reign of al-Ashraf Qāytbāy, Barsbāy's mamluk, since the number of his relatives mentioned in the sources is unprecedented, even though Qāytbāy was not responsible for bringing most of them. Many of them came to Egypt as slaves before he became sultan.[18]

As in the Turkish period, in the Circassian period the importation of relatives was the sultan's prerogative. Al-Ashraf Barsbāy, al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq, and al-Ashraf Qāytbāy all brought members of their families into the Sultanate after each had become the sultan, and al-Ẓāhir Barqūq brought his relatives after becoming *atābek* (commander-in-chief and regent) and the de facto ruler of the Sultanate. Unlike the Turkish period, in the Circassian period we find hardly any instances of amirs bringing in their relatives. Similar to the Turkish period, the amirs who had established marital ties with the families of the sultans had the possibility of bringing their relatives into the lands of the Sultanate. The three most prominent instances of the bringing of an amir's relatives in the Circassian period are the bringing of the relatives of Īnāl al-Yūsufī (d. 1391), Taghrībirdī min Bashbughā al-Ẓāhirī (d. 1415), and Yashbak min Salmān Shāh al-Faqīh (d. 1473). The three were related by marriage to the family of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq or that of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh.[19]

Taghrībirdī min Bashbughā al-Ẓāhirī, the father of the famous historian Yūsuf ibn Taghrībirdī, was bought by Barqūq at about the time he became sultan (1382). Taghrībirdī was about 24 years old when his firstborn son was born in 1395.[20] In the Circassian period, it is not common to find mamluks who had offspring before the age of 35, and most began to have children while in their forties.[21] This said, in the Circassian period, as in the Turkish period, there was a small cadre of favorite mamluks who had married into the families of the sultans at an early age and had established their own families while still young.[22] At times, they were also able

[18]See for example al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 2:274, 3:36–38, 53, 65, 76, 6:227, 10:166, 11:276; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl,* 6:368, 7:138, 166–67, 172, 175, 254, 268, 358, 381; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 1:409, 455, 468, 504, 577, 622; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 16:364.

[19]For Īnāl al-Yūsufī, see Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:438; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 2:274, 10:270; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 2:349–51, 12:130–31. For Yashbak min Salmān Shāh, see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 3:65. For Taghrībirdī min Bashbughā al-Ẓāhirī, see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 2:200–1, 4:42, 46, 174, 5:316–23, 368, 6:316–17, 8:401, 9:54–57; idem, *Al-Nujūm,* 12:106, 13:118, 14:252, 15:135; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 2:329–30, 12:19, 132; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl,* 4:206.

[20]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 2:309, 4:40–41.

[21]See footnote 11 above.

[22]I found nine instances in the Circassian period in which mamluks had children before the age of 35 (including Taghrībirdī). In six of these instances the mamluks were related by marriage to the family of the Sultan, or were closely connected with it. For details, see al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 2:270–72, 315, 3:53–55, 7:131, 8:291, 11:234, 12:21, 25, 27, 59, 89, 90, 165, 167; idem, *Wajīz,* 1:332;

to bring their relatives into the Sultanate, although this phenomenon was much less widespread than it had been in the Turkish period. Taghrībirdī is the best example of such a favorite mamluk. He was the brother (or relative) of Shīrīn, the wife of Barqūq and the mother of Barqūq's son al-Nāṣir Faraj. Taghrībirdī also had numerous marital ties to the Barqūq family.[23] Taghrībirdī's relatives were brought into the Sultanate.[24] He also was related by marriage to the sultans al-Muʾayyad Shaykh and al-Ẓāhir Jaqmaq, since Shaykh was married to the daughter of Shīrīn, and Muḥammad ibn Jaqmaq married Taghrībirdī's granddaughter.[25]

The question arises, why did the phenomenon of bringing relatives of those bound by marriage to the sultan's family wane in the Circassian period? Two possible answers present themselves. First, because of the changes in the slave trade patterns, many mamluks already had relatives in the territory of the Sultanate. Second, during the Circassian period, the mamluk amirs who had marital ties to the sultan's family were fully "annexed" to the royal family. In that period, the status of the women of the sultan's family devolved to those amirs, who were often buried in the mausoleums of the sultans, together with their sons. The sources from the Circassian period contain many references to the sons of amirs who married daughters of sultans as descendants in a cognate line of the sultans *(asbāṭ),* and these sons were given a royal title *(sīdī).*[26] Family and marital ties in the Circassian period were a factor that balanced the erosion of the biological family, the decline of the agnate lines, and the decline of the dynastic and hereditary principles.

"Joseph's Law": A Reassessment

Ulrich Haarmann discovered that European travelers who visited Egypt at the end of the Circassian period had found an explanation for the almost exclusive rule of the Mamluk Sultanate by mamluks, in the Biblical precedent of Joseph (in Haarmann's terminology, "Joseph's Law"). For example, Arnold von Harff,

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al-Malaṭī, *Nayl,* 5:281, 301, 402, 7:84, 97, 186, 312; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 1:342, 570, 647, 650, 736, 2:994; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 14:254, 15:459, 16:319; idem, *Al-Manhal,* 2:346–47, 9:98–100; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 4:786.

[23]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 2:200–1, 4:42, 5:368, 12:131; idem, *Al-Nujūm,* 11:7, 13:118, 14:129, 252, 15:135; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 2:329–30, 10:270, 12:19, 132; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl,* 4:206.

[24]See footnote 19 above.

[25]Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal,* 3:476–80; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 2:316–17, 12:51; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl,* 5:284.

[26]See for example Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 1:349, 469, 574, 577, 736; Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith,* 2:66. In the Turkish period there are hardly any references to descendants in a cognate line of the sultans, and the use of the term *sīdī* is limited to sons of sultans. In that period, sons of amirs who had marital ties to the Sultan's family were buried with their fathers and not in the mausoleum of the sultan. I discuss this in detail in my Ph.D. dissertation.

who visited Egypt in 1496, maintained that the government in Egypt was in the hand of slaves because "since the time of Joseph, who was sold into slavery by his brothers and came to Egypt, it had never been doubted that the sultan had to be an infidel [that is, one not born a Muslim]." According to Haarmann, von Harff apparently deduced this idea from the comparison that Felix Fabri (who visited Egypt in 1483) had drawn between the mamluks and the Joseph narrative.[27] Haarmann regards these theories by European travelers in light of the travelers' overarching perceptions of the Mamluk Sultanate as exotic and strange, and he apparently does not think that these ideas were based in Egyptian/Mamluk concepts.[28] In addition to von Harff and Fabri, we could mention another European traveler who related the Biblical Joseph narrative to the Mamluk context. Pietro Martire de Anglería, the ambassador of the Granadan kings who visited Egypt in 1501, asked himself the question that had been asked by European travelers before him: how did slaves become the rulers of such a great empire? Pietro Martire indicated that there were a number of views regarding this question. One opinion that he set forth is that in order to show their gratitude for the benevolence of Joseph, who freed ("habia librado") Egypt by resolving the famine in the land, ever since the Egyptians have given the reigns of government in their country to slaves. Pietro Martire comments that, in his opinion, this was merely a fairy tale, but does not specify the sources of his information regarding this "fairy tale."[29] Our first inclination is to assume that these were other European travelers who had spent time in Egypt before him, but there is no unequivocal evidence of this. The tale that he relates is not mentioned by Fabri or von Harff, who connect the Biblical Joseph narrative and the mamluks. I will argue below that the connection between the mamluks and the Biblical Joseph is not a European invention. The European "fairy tales" are based on at least a nucleus of Egyptian (and Muslim) tales, and the mamluks themselves found some linkage between themselves and the Biblical narrative, although it appears that they emphasized parallels different from those highlighted by the Europeans. While the European travelers found an explanation in the Joseph narrative for the fact that only slaves were entitled to rule in Egypt, the mamluks themselves stressed the fact that some of them, like Joseph, had found redemption by being reunited with their families af-

[27]Ulrich Haarmann, "Joseph's Law—The Careers and Activities of Mamluk Descendants before the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* ed. Philipp and Haarmann, 61.

[28]Ulrich Haarmann, "The Mamluk System of Rule in the Eyes of Western Travelers," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5 (2001): 1–24.

[29]Pietro Martire de Anglería, *Una embajada de los Reyes Católicos a Egipto (Según la "Legatio Babylonica" y el "Opus Epistolarum" de Pedro Mártir de Anglería),* edited and translated by Luis García y García (Valladolid, Spain, 1947), 112–14.

ter a lengthy separation. The comparison that the mamluks drew between themselves and Joseph is indicative of the mamluks' self-perception, the importance they ascribed to the link with relatives, and their aspiration to reunite with their relatives as a way to shed their slave status.

The image of the Biblical Joseph was present in Mamluk Egypt. A number of places in Egypt, for instance, were named after Joseph, and there are numerous references to the Biblical character in the contemporary literature.[30] There are many instances in the sources of comparisons between Joseph and the mamluks or Mamluk-era Egyptian rulers. The comparison between the Biblical Joseph and the mamluks or rulers in Egypt was based on a number of motifs common to the story of Joseph's life and the life history of the mamluks/Egyptian rulers. Joseph was a stranger in Egypt, as were the mamluks; both Joseph and the mamluks had been sold into slavery; both Joseph and some of the mamluks had been so sold by their families; Joseph had been imprisoned in Egypt but succeeded in being freed from prison;[31] Joseph ruled in Egypt, like at least some of the mamluks; and Joseph was reunited with his family after not having seen them for as lengthy a period as at least some mamluks. The typical Joseph-mamluk comparison did not contain more than a single motif. This comparison apparently became more elaborate in the Circassian period, in which a large number of mamluk sultans ruled, and its emphases may have changed.

It appears that at least until the late Turkish period the comparisons between the Joseph narrative and the lives of the mamluks tended not to employ the "slave who rises to power" motif. The first Joseph-mamluk comparison that I found did not come from the territory of the Mamluk Sultanate. The Afghan al-Juzjānī, who in 1259 completed a biographical dictionary, the last parts of which are concerned with the Ghūrīs and the slaves who succeeded them, compares the mamluk sultan of Delhi, Aybek, with Joseph, because both had been sold into slavery by their brothers.[32] It should be noted that when von Harff compared Joseph to the mamluks he referred to the fact that both Joseph and the mamluks were sold into slavery by their families. The first association of Joseph with a mamluk in the territory of the Mamluk Sultanate is with al-Ẓāhir Baybars (d. 1277), which appears in Ibn al-Mughayzil (d. 1296). One of the amirs of the Ayyubid ruler al-Ṣāliḥ

[30] See for example al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandrānī, *Kitāb al-Ilmām,* ed. Etienne Combe and Aziz Suryal Atiya (Hyderabad, 1968–76), 5:49, 244, 6:412; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:1125; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar,* 8:4; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 5:600; and see also Ulrich Haarmann, "Regional Sentiment in Medieval Islamic Egypt," *BSOAS* 43 (1980): 56–57. The story of Joseph was a popular theme in Arabic and Persian literature and the first Turkish version of the story appeared in 1233; see S. L. West, "The Qiṣṣa-i Yūsuf of ʿAlī: the First Story of Joseph in Turkic Islamic Literature," *Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung* 37/1–3 (1983): 69–84.

[31] It is common for contemporary sources to refer to imprisonment as a metaphor for enslavement.

[32] Peter Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate: A Political and Military History* (Cambridge, 2003), 7, 63.

Ayyūb (d. 1249) is quoted as saying to al-Ẓāhir Baybars: "God put you in the place of Joseph, and put in your hand the souls of his servants."[33] The fact of Baybars being a mamluk is marginal in this comparison, and Baybars is compared to Joseph simply because both ruled in Egypt. An additional Joseph-mamluk comparison in Turkish-period sources is that between the amir Baybughā Urūs and Joseph, based on their both having been imprisoned and freed. In this instance, too, Baybughā's being a mamluk seems marginal.[34] In sources from the Turkish period, we also find a comparison between Joseph and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn is quoted as saying that he was a foreigner in Egypt, just like Joseph was a foreigner in that land.[35] In that case, the Egyptian ruler to whom Joseph is compared was not a mamluk. The most significant comparison between Joseph and mamluks in the Turkish period comes in the context of family reunification. The historian Baybars al-Manṣūrī (d. 1325) relates that Salār al-Manṣūrī's family arrived in Egypt in 1304. He adds that: "He was pleased by the reunification and his family's presence after a lengthy separation, and having despaired of meeting them. For since he had been separated from his family in the battle of al-Abulustayn during the reign of al-Ẓāhir Baybars in 1276, thirty years had passed. His family came to him from afar, and his desires were met by their closeness. As [God] had done for Joseph son of Jacob, their hearts rejoiced at the reunion."[36] At least in the Turkish period, the most prominent motif in the mamluk-Joseph comparison is connected to the fact that they were separated from their families, and were reunited after the great suffering caused by their being apart.

The Joseph-mamluk comparisons become markedly more frequent in the time of Barqūq. In the case of Barqūq himself, the comparison with Joseph was patently upon the initiative of this sultan, who had brought his father and his family to Egypt in 1380, when he was the *atābek.* According to al-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), Barqūq was the only Circassian mamluk sultan whose father was a Muslim: his father came to Egypt, converted to Islam, and died about a month before Barqūq assumed the throne.[37] Barqūq chose to meet his father upon the latter's arrival in Egypt at al-ʿIkrishah, which, according to Barqūq's confidant Ibn Duqmāq (d.

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[33] Ibn al-Mughayzil, *Dhayl Muffarij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 2004), 89–90; For a similar comparison between Baybars and Joseph, see al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandrānī, *Kitāb al-Ilmām,* 6:5.

[34] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 2:88.

[35] Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir,* ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ (Beirut, 1986), 297.

[36] Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikrah,* 413; see also Zetterstéen, *Beiträge,* 132.

[37] Al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-Muhāḍarah fī Tārīkh Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1967–68), 2, 120; see also al-Sakhāwī, *Wajīz,* 1:249.

1407), is where Joseph met his father when Jacob came to Egypt.[38] Al-Maqrīzī (d. 1441) tells us that Barqūq also established a religious trust for the tomb of Joseph's brothers.[39] Before the time of Barqūq, there are hardly any references in the sources to al-ʿIkrishah, and no source preceding the reign of this sultan mentions al-ʿIkrishah as the meeting place of Joseph and his father.[40] There are more references to al-ʿIkrishah in the sources beginning in the time of Barqūq.[41] In the Circassian period al-ʿIkrishah apparently was a ceremonial site.[42]

Barqūq clearly compared himself to the Biblical Joseph. As in the Turkish period, the comparison was based on their both having been separated from their families, with whom they were eventually reunited. Once Barqūq took power, the prevalent conception was that the ruler had to come from an established family. Barqūq's having made the effort to bring his family to Egypt before he crowned himself as sultan shows that he was compelled to take account of the conception that only those who had a family (that is, those who were not slaves) could legitimately rule, but might also attest to his comparing himself to Joseph as a slave who shed this status and assumed power. Barqūq's comparing himself to Joseph was not limited to their both having succeeded in reuniting with their families. Ibn Ṣaṣrá (d. after 1399) observes that, like Joseph, Barqūq was imprisoned and freed and takes this opportunity to mention that Barqūq returned to power, as had Solomon (!).[43] This comparison does not explicitly refer to Joseph and Barqūq as slaves who ascended the throne, but it comes very close to making such a statement.

There are additional indicators that, in the Circassian period, the mamluk-Joseph comparison might have been based on the "slave who rises to power" pattern. There is an instance in this period in which verse 12:21 from the Quran ("We have given Joseph an exalted place on earth") was read during the sultan's coronation.[44] Al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandrānī (who wrote his book in 1373) interprets this verse in the context of the Joseph narrative: according to him, Zulaykhah, Pharaoh's wife, bought Joseph and imprisoned him, but after his imprisonment

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[38] Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Nafḥah al-Miskīyah fī al-Dawlah al-Turkīyah,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 1999), 234–35; see also Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 11:182.

[39] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:944.

[40] For rare occurrences of al-ʿIkrishah in Turkish-period sources, see Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar,* 9:228; al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 1:563.

[41] See for example al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 4:385, 398.

[42] See al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 4:506; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 14:98; al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 1:53; al-Malaṭī, *Nayl,* 7:200.

[43] Ibn Ṣaṣrá, *Al-Durrah al-Muḍīʾah fī al-Dawlah al-Ẓāhirīyah,* ed. William M. Brinner (Berkley, 1963), 94.

[44] Al-Buqāʿī, *Tārīkh al-Buqāʿī* (Cairo, 1992–93), 1:305.

Joseph became a great king, just as the faithful believers go to Paradise after their "imprisonment" in this world. The meaning of this verse according to al-Nuwayrī is therefore: the Egyptians thought that Joseph was their slave, but he turned them into his slaves when he sold them food during the famine. Upon the arrival of Joseph's family in Egypt, he declares: "O people of Egypt, you are my slaves, but I free you today in honor of my meeting my father."[45] The reading of this verse during the coronation of a Mamluk sultan might attest that during the Circassian period it was the mamluks themselves who made the connection between the mamluks and Joseph the slave who rose to become the ruler.

Two observations should be made in this context. First, al-Nuwayrī's commentary on the Quran verse reveals a (confused) similarity to the tale heard by Pietro Martire. Both Martire's tale and al-Nuwayrī's commentary expressly mention Joseph as the one who acted beneficently with Egypt during a time of famine. But while Martire maintains that Joseph freed the Egyptians when he gave them food, al-Nuwayrī states that Joseph enslaved them by this act. Al-Nuwayrī nonetheless relates that Joseph freed the people of Egypt, but in the context of his family's arrival in Egypt. Second, the Joseph-mamluk comparison in Mamluk sources stresses the aspect of liberation that followed the distress *(al-faraj baʿda al-shiddah)* in the life stories of both—distress that ensued from enslavement, imprisonment, and separation from one's family. The most frequent motif in the comparisons to Joseph in the Mamluk sources is the reunion with one's family that leads to redemption and liberation. It is not incidental that the liberation of the people of Egypt is connected with the arrival of the family of Joseph, who freed them when he himself was redeemed. I found only a single instance in the sources from the Mamluk period in which an explicit comparison between Joseph and the mamluks is based on the fact of both having been slaves who became rulers. Even, however, in this instance, the aspect of redemption following distress is emphasized. Al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandrānī has al-Ẓāhir Baybars make the following declaration: "If it had not been for what Joseph's brothers had done, he would not have become king of Egypt. One who withstands travail will in the end prevail, since suffering is the key to rewards."[46]

The European travelers were not the first to compare the mamluks and Joseph. While, however, the Mamluk sources highlight the aspect of redemption in the narratives of Joseph and the mamluks who rose to power, the European travelers

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[45] Al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandrānī, *Kitāb al-Ilmām,* 2:121; Ibn Abī Ḥajalah (d. 1374) interprets this verse as following: Joseph became a king after suffering the hardships of imprisonment; see Ibn Abī Ḥajalah, *Sakardān al-Sulṭān,* ed. ʿAlī Muḥammad ʿUmar (Cairo, 2001), 121.

[46] Al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandrānī, *Kitāb al-Ilmām,* 4:79. According to al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandrānī, Aydekīn al-Bunduqdār, the master of Baybars, replied: "Because you withstood the rigors of enslavement, you became king of Egypt."

stress the mamluks' exclusive right to rule, based on the Biblical Joseph precedent. We cannot reject out of hand the possibility that, in the Circassian period, the mamluks themselves supported the idea that the right to rule of one who had been a slave was based on the Biblical Joseph precedent. Possibly, a Joseph-mamluk comparison based on a "slave who rose to assume power" narrative could be found in this period. But the most important lesson, in my opinion, to be learned from "Joseph's Law" is that the mamluks regarded the separation from their families as traumatic. Anyone who was reunited with his family after a period of distress was regarded as having been redeemed from servitude like Joseph in the Bible, and as becoming a legitimate ruler. Long before Orlando Patterson defined a slave as someone lacking family ties,[47] the mamluks perceived themselves as slaves because of the absence of such family ties. Even among the military slaves, only the outstanding few succeeded in completely freeing themselves of their slave status and becoming members of a ruling elite with family attachments. The other mamluks certainly cannot be regarded as an elite proud of its slave status.

[47] Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (Massachusetts and London, 1982), 4–13.

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Royal Justice and Religious Law: *Siyāsah* and Shariʿah under the Mamluks

Current studies of the legal history of the Mamluk Empire (1250–1517) are, by and large, depressing narratives of decay and corruption. One finds denunciations—often in remarkably moralistic language—of the rigidity of Islamic law, the corruptibility of the jurists, and the incursion of arbitrary sultanic justice at the expense of the shariʿah. In an influential monograph on law under the Bahri Mamluks (1250–1382), Nielsen states that:

> It is hardly necessary to point out that only in limited fields did the provisions of the Sharīʿa apply. Whatever criminal, fiscal and commercial provisions there existed were largely ignored. Sharīʿa lawyers had themselves contributed to this state of affairs, for when at an early stage its provisions were being left behind by practical developments they had accepted and developed stratagems...which avoided the intent of the law. Later they had accepted the recognition merely of the theoretical validity of the Sharīʿa and its symbolic supremacy...as being sufficient for the religious legitimacy of the state.[1]

According to Nielsen, the rigidity and impracticality of Islamic law led to the corruption of the legal establishment. This view is shared by almost all subsequent studies. Escovitz concludes that "many Chief Judges even compounded the difficulties of the Islamic community by adding their own varieties of corruption and fraud to the baser designs of the Mamluks."[2] In a recent study of Ibn Khaldūn's tenure as Maliki judge in Cairo, Morimoto remarks that "inevi-

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[1] Jørgen S. Nielsen, *Secular Justice in an Islamic State: Maẓālim under the Baḥrī Mamlūks, 662/1264–789/1387* (Leiden, 1985), 95. Historians of the Ottoman Empire quote this passage in order to demonstrate the difference between the Ottoman legal system and those which preceded it. See Haim Gerber, *State, Society, and Law in Islam: Ottoman Law in Comparative Perspective* (Albany, 1994), 61.

[2] Joseph H. Escovitz, *The Office of Qâḍî al-Quḍât in Cairo under the Baḥrî Mamlûks* (Berlin, 1984), 261.

tably, such an endeavor required him to take a scalpel to the degenerate world of Egypt's judiciary"[3] and that "in short, the *muftī*s were crooked lawyers."[4] The ideal theoretical law gave way not only to corruption, but also to arbitrary political power. L. Fernandes claims that rulers resorted to the *muftī*s whenever they wanted to legitimize action or behavior which would normally raise criticism, but ultimately "the Mamluk sultan listened to himself!"[5] The use of *maẓālim* courts by the sultans is seen solely in terms of a tool of political legitimacy, rather than from a legal perspective.[6] Finally, in a study on the encroachment of military courts on the jurisdiction of the qadis, Robert Irwin concludes that while some may have tried to judge in equity, "their 'justice' and 'protection' will not have differed very much from that offered by Don Corleone."[7]

These moralizing, caricature-like accounts of the Mamluk legal system take as their point of departure Schacht's model of a rigid and idealized Islamic law. In his *An Introduction to Islamic Law,* Joseph Schacht depicts the classical legal system, which took form under the Abbasids during the ninth and tenth centuries, as one in which Islamic law "became increasingly rigid and set in its final mould…not altogether immutable, but the changes that did take place were concerned more with legal theory and the systematic superstructure than with positive law."[8] In this system, the interaction between theory and practice was an uneasy truce between religious scholars and rulers. The traditional Islamic ruler could not legislate, but the scholars "half sanctioned the regulations which the rulers in fact enacted, by insisting on the duty…of obedience to the established authorities."[9]

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[3]Kosei Morimoto, "What Ibn Khaldūn Saw: The Judiciary of Mamluk Egypt," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 113.

[4]Ibid., 123.

[5]Leonor E. Fernandes, "Between Qadis and Muftis: To Whom Does the Mamluk Sultan Listen?" *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 108.

[6]Albrecht Fuess, "*Ẓulm* by *Maẓālim?* The Political Implications of the Use of *Maẓālim* Jurisdiction by the Mamluk Sultans," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 13, no. 1 (2009): 121–47.

[7]Robert Irwin, "The Privatization of 'Justice' under the Circassian Mamluks," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 6 (2002): 70. For another comparison of the late Mamluk political and judicial system with the Mafia, influenced by Irwin, see John L. Meloy, "The Privatization of Protection: Extortion and the State in the Circassian Mamluk Period," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 47, no. 2 (2004): 195–212, especially 207–10. Bernadette Martel-Thoumian similarly argues that the increasing jurisdiction of the Mamluk sultans was a result of the sale of judicial positions and mistrust in the judgment of qadis. See her "Pouvoir et justice sous les derniers sultans circassiens (872–922/1468–1516)," in *Continuity and Change in the Realms of Islam: Studies in Honour of Professor Urbain Vermeulen,* ed. Kristof D'Hulster and Jo Van Steenbergen, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 171 (Leuven, 2008), 454.

[8]J. Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford, 1964), 75.

[9]Ibid., 84.

There are two fundamental problems here. First, over the last three decades the model articulated by Schacht (but ultimately derived from Weber) has been refuted by literary and documentary evidence attesting to the continued development and application of Islamic law. We now know that Islamic legal theory never closed the door of *ijtihād,* and there are by now quite a number of studies demonstrating actual, significant shifts in positive law.[10] Change occurred through an articulation of new doctrine in a *fatwá* or a commentary, superseding the older doctrine preserved in the canonical texts.[11] We also know now that Schacht underestimated the practical application of Islamic law, especially with regard to commercial contracts.[12] *Fatwá*s were given in response to questions arising from real life, as shown by examples from within the Mamluk domains.[13] Changes introduced by Mamluk *muftī*s had implications for judicial practice.[14] Finally, the fourteenth-century archives of the Islamic court of Jerusalem, discovered in the 1980s, is a tangible testament both to the wide-ranging jurisdiction of Mamluk

[10] Wael Hallaq, "Was the Gate of Ijtihad Closed?" *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 16, no. 1 (1984), 3–4; idem, "Murder in Cordoba: Ijtihād, Iftāʾ and the Evolution of Substantive Law in Medieval Islam," *Acta Orientalia* (Oslo) 55 (1994): 55–83; Baber Johansen, *The Islamic Law on Land Tax and Rent: The Peasants' Loss of Property Rights as Interpreted in the Hanafite Legal Literature of the Mamluk and Ottoman Periods* (London, 1987). The pioneering work of Wael Hallaq has now culminated in his magisterial work on the history of the shariʿah, which brings together a wide range of evidence for the continuous pervasive relevance of Islamic legal norms to premodern Muslim societies (Wael B. Hallaq, *Sharīʿa: Theory, Practice, Transformations* [Cambridge, UK, 2009]).

[11] Wael Hallaq, *Authority, Continuity, and Change in Islamic Law* (Cambridge, U.K., 2001); idem, "From Fatwas to *Furūʿ*: Growth and Change in Islamic Substantive Law," *Islamic Law and Society* 1 (Feb 1994): 17–56; Sami Zubaida, *Law and Power in the Islamic World* (London, 2003), 26–27.

[12] Abraham L. Udovitch, *Partnership and Profit in Medieval Islam* (Princeton: Princeton, 1970).

[13] Nissreen Haram, "Use and Abuse of the Law: A *Muftī*'s Response," in *Islamic Legal Interpretation: Muftīs and Their Fatwas,* ed. Muhammad Khalid Masud, Brinkley Messick, and David S. Powers (Cambridge and London, 1996), 72–86; Seth Ward, "Sabbath Observance and Conversion to Islam in the 14th Century—A Fatwā by Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī," in *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies,* Division B, vol. 1, The History of the Jewish People from the Second Temple Period until the Middle Ages (Jerusalem, 1986), 47–54; Denise Aigle, "The Mongol Invasions of Bilād al-Shām by Ghāzān Khān and Ibn Taymīyah's Three 'Anti-Mongol' Fatwas," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 2 (2007): 89–120; D. S. Powers, *Law, Society, and Culture in the Maghrib, 1300–1500* (Cambridge, 2002).

[14] Lutz Wiederhold, "Blasphemy against the Prophet Muḥammad and his Companions (sabb al-rasūl, sabb al-ṣaḥābah): The Introduction of the Topic into Shāfiʿī Legal Literature and Its Relevance for Legal Practice under Mamluk Rule," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 32, no. 1 (1997): 39–70; Yossef Rapoport, "Ibn Taymiyya on Divorce Oaths," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian and Syrian Politics and Society,* ed. Amalia Levanoni and Michael Winter (Leiden, 2004), 191–217. This is also noted by Fernandes, "Between Qadis and Muftis," 101.

qadis, as well as the close link between actual judicial practice and the legal literature.[15]

A second problem is the dogmatic view of the Mamluk state as intruding into a pure, perfect sphere of Islamic law. According to the dominant paradigm, which has also been recently espoused by Wael Hallaq, the ideal form of Islamic law is independent of the state. The legal role of the state was merely to enforce the decisions of qadis, or limited to matters directly related to the machinery of government.[16] It follows that any intervention of the state in legislation or administration of the law is a corruption of the ideal shariʿah. Schacht and Hallaq adopt this view even though they both recognize that the Ottoman Empire, the one Islamic state for which we have abundant legal records, exemplifies synergy between the ruler's law and Islamic law. The Ottoman *kanun* added to the religious law in matters relating to public order, taxation, usury, and land tenure. Yet, at the same time, the *kanun* was accepted as an integral part of the legal culture required by the shariʿah; the two complemented each other.[17] The whole administration of justice was based on the shariʿah, the authority to administer justice was given to the qadi, and the office of the grand *muftī,* shaykh al-Islām, was responsible for assuring the observance of the sacred law in the state. While the Ottoman sultans issued positive laws in the form of the *kanun,* sultanic decrees were couched in the terms of Islamic law.[18]

For the Mamluk period, a first attempt to integrate sultanic authority into a legal framework, rather than an ethical or political one, was made by Kristen Stilt in her recent monograph on the Cairo *muḥtasib* (market inspector).[19] Stilt dem-

[15]Christian Müller, "A Legal Instrument in the Service of People and Institutions: Endowments in Mamluk Jerusalem as Mirrored in the Ḥaram Documents," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 12, no. 1 (2008): 173–91; idem, "Settling Litigation without Judgment: The Importance of a Hukm in Qadi Cases of Mamluk Jerusalem," in *Dispensing Justice in Islam: Qadis and Their Judgements,* ed. Muhammad Khalid Masud, Rudolph Peters, and David S. Powers (Leiden and Boston, 2005), 47–70; Donald P. Little, "Documents Related to the Estates of a Merchant and His Wife in Late Fourteenth-Century Jerusalem," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 2 (1998): 93–193; Wael Hallaq, "Model *Shurūt* Works and the Dialectic of Doctrine and Practice," *Islamic Law and Society* 2, no. 2 (1995): 109–34.

[16]Hallaq, *Sharīʿa,* 201–9.

[17]Ibid., 214–21.

[18]See also Colin Imber, *Ebu's-Suʿud: The Islamic Legal Tradition* (Edinburgh, 1997), 94–95, for a recent discussion of the Ottoman legal system in the sixteenth century. In standard accounts of the history of Islamic law, the Ottoman legal system is invariably seen as an exception. See Sherman Jackson, *Islamic Law and the State: The Constitutional Jurisprudence of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfī* (Leiden, 1996). Interestingly, Schacht remarked that royal legislation through *kanun* is attested for the Mamluks too (Schacht, *An Introduction,* 91n). Schacht does not provide evidence to support this claim.

[19]Kristen Stilt, *Islamic Law in Action: Authority, Discretion, and Everyday Experiences in Mamluk Egypt* (New York, 2011).

onstrates that the Mamluk *muḥtasib* functioned in what she calls a *fiqh-siyāsah* framework. By this she means that the sources of legal authority for the Mamluk *muḥtasib* were, on the one hand, the manuals of legal doctrine, i.e., scholarly jurisprudence *(fiqh);* as well as, on the other hand, the legal authority of the sultan, i.e., the ruler's *siyāsah*. The sultan's *siyāsah* power did not come with an extensive body of literature, and there is little record of sultanic policies. But when matters involved broad public policy that transcended particular rules of doctrine, sultanic authority played a key role.[20] Examples are decrees forbidding women from public outings, levying of local taxes for the building of a dike, or investigating fraud.[21] Rulers also had extensive punitive powers, in the form of discretionary *taʿzīr,* especially for crimes that could not be proven because of the strict rules of procedure applied by qadis. Following Frank Vogel's work in a modern context, Stilt argues that the shariʿah often encompassed both *fiqh* and *siyāsah*. Equating shariʿah with *fiqh,* and opposing them to a political or secular *siyāsah,* creates the misperception that rulers did not have religious concerns or influence, and that the jurists did not engage in considerations of public welfare.[22]

In this article, I aim to take this argument further. First, I will argue here that this symbiotic relationship between Islamic law and Mamluk *siyāsah* was subject to historical change over time. In the second half of the fourteenth century, and especially in the fifteenth century, we clearly see an expansion of the jurisdiction of royal courts and the courts of other military officers, especially the *ḥājib* (chamberlain) and the *dawādār*. The *maẓālim* courts of the pre-Mamluk classical tradition, which normally focused on abuses of power, were now transformed into courts with wide jurisdiction, parallel to the shariʿah courts of the qadis. These new institutions were called *siyāsah* courts, because of their emphasis on equity at the expense of the formalism of the shariʿah. It is important to emphasize that, unlike the public policy responsibilities of the *muḥtasib,* as studied by Stilt, the *siyāsah* courts of the fifteenth century had jurisdiction over cases that had little direct effect on public policy, such as reclamation of debts and matrimonial cases.

I will also hope to show that the evidence from the Mamluk era does not point to a corruption of an ideal and rigid Islamic law, but rather indicates a legal system in which the state takes an active role in adapting the sacred law, the shariʿah, to social practice. For many Mamluk jurists, the ruler's *siyāsah sharʿīyah*—governance according to Islamic law—is a requirement of the shariʿah, not an external intrusion. In this, the development of the Mamluk legal system has much in common with the later, more centralized and bureaucratized, Ottoman one. Under

[20] Ibid., 200–5.

[21] See examples in ibid., 105, 187, 196.

[22] Ibid., 26, citing Frank Vogel, *Islamic Law and Legal System: Studies of Saudi Arabia* (Leiden, 2000), 171–72.

the Mamluks we can also identify the emergence of important antecedents to Ottoman institutions, such as the Royal Hall of Justice, the Dār al-ʿAdl, with its associated state-appointed *muftī*s. These developments have also wider implications for the political history of the Mamluk Sultanate.

In terms of chronology, I am suggesting three distinct stages in Mamluk legal history. The first stage begins with the appointment of four chief qadis in 1265, one for each legal school *(madhhab),* and the construction of a royal Dār al-ʿAdl. In this period, the jurisdiction of the royal and military courts is largely limited to penal law, areas of the law where the shariʿah's strict evidentiary procedures often failed to secure conviction. Later, from around 1350, the jurisdiction of military officers, especially the chamberlains, expands significantly to include family law and debts. During this period the Dār al-ʿAdl is relocated outside of the Citadel and closer to the city (at least in Cairo), and a position of a dedicated *muftī Dār al-ʿAdl* is introduced. Despite initial objection from religious scholars to these infringements on the jurisdiction of the shariʿah, the expansion of the military-executive courts gathers pace over the course of the fifteenth century. Some religious scholars even come to accept them as beneficial and indeed integral elements in the application of Islamic law. Finally, the reigns of Qāytbāy (r. 1468–96) and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (r. 1501–16) see a concentration of all jurisdiction in the hands of the sultans, who present themselves as champions of the shariʿah and openly dispute the formalistic doctrines of the judiciary.

I

The foundation of the Mamluk sultanate was accompanied by one of the major legal reforms in the history of Islamic law. In 1265, shortly after assuming power, Baybars decided to appoint four chief qadis in Cairo, one from each of the Sunni schools of law, thereby adding Hanafi, Maliki, and Hanbali judges to the incumbent Shafiʿi. The judiciary of Damascus was similarly reformed the following year. Over the next century non-Shafiʿi chief qadis were appointed in other Mamluk towns and cities, including Aleppo, Tripoli, Hama, Safed, Jerusalem, and Gaza. The appointment of four chief qadis continued up to the Ottoman conquest.[23]

[23]The following paragraphs summarize the arguments of my "Legal Diversity in the Age of Taqlīd: The Four Chief Qāḍīs under the Mamluks," *Islamic Law and Society* 10, no. 2 (2003): 210–28. For earlier accounts of the establishment of this quadruple judiciary, see E. Tyan, *Histoire de l'organisation judiciare en pays d'Islam,* 2nd revised ed. (Leiden, 1960), 138–42; J. Escovitz, "The Establishment of Four Chief Judgeships in the Mamluk Empire," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102 (1982): 529–31; J. Nielsen, "Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars and the Appointment of Four Chief *Qādī*s, 663/1265," *Studia Islamica* 60 (1984): 167–76; S. Jackson, "The Primacy of Domestic Politics: Ibn Bint al-Aʿazz and the Establishment of the Four Chief Judgeships in Mamluk Egypt," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115 (1995): 52–65.

The purpose of the new quadruple structure of the judiciary was to create a uniform yet flexible legal system. The need for predictable and stable legal rules was addressed by limiting qadis' discretion and promoting *taqlīd,* i.e., adherence to established school doctrine. The establishment of chief qadis from the four schools of law, on the other hand, allowed for flexibility and prevented the legal system from becoming too rigid. The quadruple judiciary enabled litigants, regardless of personal school affiliation, to choose from the doctrines of the four schools one that would suit their particular case.

Judges were expected to pass judgment in conformity with their legal schools, in order to avoid suspicion of impartiality. The Shafiʿi jurist al-Fazārī, in response to a query sent from the royal encampment of Sultan Baybars in 662/1264, explains that "some of our colleagues prevent a judge who subscribes to one school of law from giving judgments according to another school, to avoid suspicion [of impartiality]. This rule is required by the administration of justice *(siyāsah)*...not by the Divine law *(sharʿ)*."[24] The regulation of qadis was explicit in appointment decrees, which instructed conformity to the dominant opinion of the school in order to guarantee predictability. This meant that a qadi was not allowed to go beyond the doctrine of the school to which he was appointed by the sultan. On the other hand, the introduction of a quadruple judicial system also allowed the state an active role in the legal system, through the selective use of the different doctrines of the four schools. By authorizing qadis from different schools to follow their doctrine on specified points of law, the state indirectly intervened in a variety of social and economic interactions.

This is clearly demonstrated in a royal decree appointing ʿAlī ibn Munajjā ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī (d. 750/1349) as the Hanbali chief qadi of Damascus in 732/1332:

> The people of Damascus are often in need of a judge from this [viz., the Hanbali] *madhhab* in most contracts of sale and lease, in sharecropping contracts of *muzāraʿah* and *musāqāh,* in settlements following damages caused by *force majeur (jawāʾiḥ samāwīyah)* according to the principle of *lā darar wa-lā dirār,* in marrying off a male slave to a free woman with the permission of his master, in stipulating that a bride should not be re-located from her hometown, in dissolving the marriage of a husband who deserted his wife without maintenance, and in the sale of an irreparable and dilapidated endowment that is of no use to its beneficiaries.[25]

[24] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Firkāḥ al-Fazārī, "Fatāwá," MS Chester Beatty 3360, fol. 107b.

[25] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ* (Cairo, 1913–18), 12:57. For the qadi's biography, see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr wa-Aʿwān al-Naṣr* (Beirut, 1998), 3:1285–86.

According to the decree, a Hanbali qadi is appointed because his school of law is the only one that can authorize some of the daily transactions made by the people of Damascus. The Hanbali school is the only one that allows sharecropping contracts in which the cultivator provides the seeds, while the other schools consider share-cropping contracts legal only if the proprietor provides the seeds.[26] Only the Hanbalis hold the seller liable for loss of crops due to *force majeur,* while the other schools maintain that the loss is incurred by the buyer.[27] Unlike other schools, the Hanbalis do not apply the concept of equality in marriage *(kafāʾah)* to difference in status between a slave and a free woman.[28] Only the Hanbalis assert the validity of stipulations in marriage contracts, including a stipulation that prohibits the husband from re-locating his wife.[29] The Hanbalis, together with the Malikis, allow for the dissolution of a marriage in case of desertion.[30] Similarly, only the Hanbalis permit the sale of a dilapidated endowment that is no longer reparable.[31] In sum, these opinions are, for the most part, held only by the Hanbalis, to the exclusion of the other schools.

Appointment decrees for Hanafi and Maliki chief qadis contain parallel guidelines. The Maliki chief qadi is enjoined to apply his school doctrine so as to allow an executor of a bequest to serve also as a guardian for the orphans of the deceased;[32] to permit the use of documentary evidence;[33] and, most importantly,

[26]Muwaffaq al-Dīn Ibn Qudāmah al-Maqdisī, *Al-Mughnī* (Beirut, 1984), 5:589–90 (no. 4142). See also Abū al-Walīd Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-Mujtahid wa-Nihāyat al-Muqtaṣid,* ed. Mājid al-Ḥamawī (Beirut, 1995), 4:1392.

[27]Hanbali doctrine also limits the definition of *force majeur* to damages caused by natural disasters, exclusive of damages caused by human agency, such as theft (*Al-Mughnī,* 4:233–34 [nos. 2941–43]). The Malikis hold that the seller is liable only if more than a third of the crops are damaged (Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-Mujtahid,* 3:1267–70).

[28]The Hanbali doctrine on this point is equivocal. The Hanbali jurist al-Khiraqī (d. 334/946) limited the criteria of equality in marriage *(kafāʾah)* to lineage and piety, while Ibn Qudāmah accepted all the additional criteria required by Hanafis and Shafiʿis, including freedom (*Al-Mughnī,* 7:374–76 [nos. 5190–92]). Maliki doctrine, on the other hand, limits the criteria of *kafāʾah* even further, holding that only the piety of the groom should be taken into consideration (Y. Linant de Bellefondes, *Traité de droit musulman comparé* [Paris and Le Haye, 1965], 2:179).

[29]Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-Mujtahid,* 3:1038.

[30]Ibn Qudāmah, *Al-Mughnī,* 8:247–48 (no. 6473).

[31]Ibid., 6:250–52 (no. 4410).

[32]For the appointment decree, see Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Al-Taʿrīf bi-al-Muṣṭalaḥ al-Sharīf* (Cairo, 1894), 121. On the Maliki position see Ibn Qudāmah, *Al-Mughnī,* 7:392 (no. 5215); Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-Mujtahid,* 3:955.

[33]On the Maliki position regarding documentary evidence, see W. Hallaq, "*Qādī*s Communicating: Legal Change and the Law of Documentary Evidence," *Al-Qanṭara* 20 (1999): 453ff.; E. Tyan, *Le notariat et le régime de la preuve par écrit dans le pratique du droit musulman* (Beirut, 1945), 76, 82–84; J. Wakin, *The Function of Documents in Islamic Law* (Albany, 1972), 8–9.

to facilitate the prosecution of heretics *(zanādiqah).* While the majority opinion in the other schools requires qadis to spare the lives of heretics who subsequently return to the fold of Islam, the Maliki doctrine requires the qadi to impose capital punishment in every case of proven heresy, regardless of subsequent repentance.[34] As many examples in the Mamluk chronicles show, cases of heresy were indeed regularly transferred to Maliki qadis to ensure that the death penalty was applied.[35] Appointment decrees for Mamluk *muḥtasib*s also contain a directive to follow Maliki law. As Kristen Stilt argues, this is because only the Malikis allow the ruler greater flexibility in the area of price-setting, and because the Malikis allowed rulers more flexibility in the application of discretionary *taʿzīr* punishment.[36]

Until the middle of the fourteenth century, the sultans or other military-executive officials exploited the differences between the doctrines of the different *madhhab*s. They did not usually directly intervene in the legal system, with two major exceptions concerning criminal law and *maẓālim* sessions. With regard to criminal law, some military officials, such as governors or police chiefs, had jurisdiction over criminal cases, such as theft and highway robbery, and they were competent to enforce the Quranic punishments for these offences *(ḥudūd)* or lesser punishments. This was a direct result of strict evidentiary requirements of the shariʿah judges, who required, for example, four eye-witnesses in cases of adultery. Ibn Taymīyah (d. 1326) explained the current division of jurisdiction between the qadi courts and the military-executive courts in the following way:

> According to the practice *(ʿurf)* in our time, in the regions of Egypt and Syria it is the military authority that carries out the prescribed punishments for criminal offences *(ḥudūd)* which involve mutilation, such as the amputation of the thief's hand or the punishment of the highway robber and similar things. It may also happen that the military authority imposes a punishment that does not involve mutilation, such as, for example, the flogging of a thief. It is competent also in litigations *(mukhaṣamāt),* commercial contracts (?) *(muḍarabāt),* and "trials of suspicion" *(daʿāwī al-tuham)* in which there are neither written documents *(kitāb)* nor witnesses. The of-

[34]Ibn Qudāmah, *Al-Mughnī,* 10:76–77 (no. 7088); Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Iʿlām al-Muwaqqiʿīn ʿan Rabb al-ʿĀlamīn,* ed. Ṭāhā ʿAbd al-Raʾūf Saʿd (Beirut, 1964), 3:129–33. Note that the rule applies only to the category of heretics *(zanādiqah),* and not to the category of apostates *(murtaddūn).*

[35]Rapoport, "Legal Diversity," 223ff.

[36]Stilt, *Islamic Law,* 54.

> fice of the qadi is competent in these matters if there are written documents and witnesses.[37]

According to Ibn Taymīyah's account of early fourteenth-century judicial practice, military courts had effective jurisdiction over criminal cases. In addition, they were also competent in "trials of suspicion," which did not depend on the claims of a private plaintiff, but were instigated by a governor or a *muḥtasib* (market inspector) in order to protect public law and order. According to Ibn Taymīyah and other fourteenth-century Mamluk jurists, such trials had very relaxed laws of procedure, allowing for torture to be used in order to extract confessions from thieves and robbers.[38] Finally, the military courts had competence when standard forms of evidence, i.e., written documents or witnesses, were not available. It is clear from Ibn Taymīyah's account that the jurisdiction of the military courts was limited to these legal cases in which the qadis' formalistic attitude to proof and evidence prevented the application of justice.

A second channel of direct political intervention in the administration of justice was through the *maẓālim* courts. Nielsen's study of actual cases brought before royal *maẓālim* sessions in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, as reported in Mamluk chronicles, suggests that most of the *maẓālim* sessions were concerned with usurpation of property, abuse of endowments by government officials, and disputes over *iqṭāʿ* (fief) allocation to soldiers. The royal *maẓālim* sessions also heard cases of blasphemy, apparently because the death penalty (at least for this offence) required the consent of the sultan and all the chief qadis. Until the middle of the fourteenth century there is no evidence that the royal *maẓālim* courts heard cases of family law or contracts, which appear to have been under the exclusive jurisdiction of qadi courts.[39]

The Islamic legal tradition delineates the legal procedure to be followed in *maẓālim* sessions, and it is clear that the Mamluk *maẓālim* was not arbitrary.[40] The *maẓālim* panel, described in detail in administrative manuals, included the four chief qadis, who not only gave legal advice but sometimes issued judgments at the request of the sultan. In many cases, and in virtually all *waqf* cases, qadis were consulted. The jurists often disagreed among themselves, and the sultan and the amirs may have sided with one faction against the other, but the even-

[37] Taqī al-Dīn Ibn Taymīyah, *Al-Ḥisbah fī al-Islām,* ed. M. Mubārak (Beirut, 1967), 8–9; translated by Baber Johansen in "Signs as Evidence: the Doctrine of Ibn Taymiyya (1263–1328) and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 1351) on Proof," *Islamic Law and Society* 9, no. 2 (2002): 184.

[38] Johansen, "Signs as Evidence," 185ff.

[39] Nielsen, *Secular Justice,* 41–47; See also Escovitz, "The Establishment," 137.

[40] Nielsen, *Secular Justice,* 17–33, 74–78.

tual result was based on sharīʿah reasoning, even if the jurists were not present.[41] Moreover, when a trial is reported in some detail, there is evidence of rules of procedure, such as the calling of witnesses, the taking of oaths, and presentation of documentary evidence.[42]

Significantly, Mamluk royal sessions of *maẓālim* were held in a purpose-built Dār al-ʿAdl (Hall of Justice), an Ayyubid innovation and a distinct Mamluk institution. The establishment of a Hall of Justice was introduced by the Ayyubid sultans, with the earliest known built in 1163 by Nūr al-Dīn ibn Zankī in Damascus, followed by another one in Aleppo in 1189. In Cairo, the Ayyubids built a Dār al-ʿAdl in the citadel by 1207. Baybars, upon assuming power, built a new Dār al-ʿAdl in 1262, in a location just under the Cairo Citadel. He personally presided in the Dār al-ʿAdl sessions on Mondays and Thursdays, to inspect *maẓālim* petitions and to review the troops.[43] These Halls of Justice were a new phenomenon in Islamic history, and Nasser Rabbat has linked them with the Islamic revival of the counter-Crusade, to which the rulers responded by offering royal justice as means of gaining legitimacy and popularity.[44] But, given Baybars' cotemporaneous reform of the judiciary, it seems obvious that Baybars' foundation of a new royal Hall of Justice also had important implications for the Mamluk legal system. In the context of legal history, the Dār al-ʿAdl seems to reflect a formalization of royal justice and a greater emphasis on the judicial functions of the sultan. Baybars established both a new Dār al-ʿAdl and a quadruple judiciary, and these two major developments marked a closer integration of the ruler in the administration of justice.

II

Around 1350, the jurisdiction of *siyāsah* courts expanded substantially to include cases of debt and matrimonial litigation. This expansion in *siyāsah* jurisdiction was linked to a shift in the role of the *ḥājib,* or chamberlain. Under the Ayyubids and the early Mamluks the *ḥājib* was responsible for dealing with disputes among

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[41] A point made by Carl F. Petry in his review of Nielsen's book (review of *Secular Justice in an Islamic State: Maẓālim under the Baḥrī Mamlūks, 662/1264–789/1387,* by Jørgen S. Nielsen, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 30 [1987]: 333–35).

[42] Despite this, Nielsen speculates that "it is safe to assume that the presentation of evidence in the *maẓālim* court was not bound by any consideration other than expediency" (*Secular Justice,* 76).

[43] Nasser Rabbat, "The Ideological Significance of the Dār al-ʿAdl in the Medieval Islamic Orient," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 27 (1995): 3–28; Nielsen, *Secular Justice,* 15; Linda T. Darling, "Medieval Egyptian Society and the Concept of the Circle of Justice," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10, no. 2 (2006): 1–17.

[44] Rabbat, "The Ideological Significance," 4, 19.

the amirs and the soldiers, with limited jurisdiction over government officials. As al-Maqrīzī explains, in the old days, the *ḥājib* could not overrule the court of a qadi, even with regard to government officials:

> The judgment *(ḥukm)* of the chamberlain did not go beyond litigations among the soldiers, their disagreements over *iqṭāʿ,* and so forth. In the past, none of the chamberlains sat in judgment in shariʿah matters, such as cases of matrimony or debt, as all these matters were under the exclusive jurisdiction of the qadis of the shariʿah. It was always the case that one of the clerks or the tax-farmers *(ḍummān),* or any similar office-holder, would run away from the court of the chamberlain to the court of one of the qadis and take refuge in the judgment of the shariʿah, and nobody would then attempt to seize him from the qadi's court. Some of them would remain for months and years in the qadi's jail, safeguarding themselves from the chamberlains.[45]

But around 1350, the jurisdiction of the chamberlains expanded substantially at the expense of the courts of the qadis:

> Then all of this changed. The title of chamberlain is nowadays given to a group of amirs who sit in judgment among the people… The chamberlain today gives judgments to the noble and the lowly, regardless of whether the judgment is according to the shariʿah or to what they call *siyāsah,* and if a qadi tries to seize a debtor from the court of the chamberlain he is unable to do so.[46]

Al-Maqrīzī traces the expansion in the jurisdiction of chamberlains to a case concerning commercial debt that occurred in Cairo in 1352–53:

> In the days of Sultan al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ṣāliḥ ibn Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, when the amir Sayf al-Din Jurjī was chamberlain, the sultan ordered him to take responsibility for the matter of creditors and settling their disputes with their debtors. Previously, it was not the practice of the chamberlains to sit in judgment on shariʿah matters. The reason for this was that a group of Persian merchants appeared before the sultan in the Dār al-ʿAdl in 752 [1352–53] and said that they had to flee their lands because of the injustice of the Mongols, and that the merchants in Cairo had bought from them

[45] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār,* ed. Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid (London, 2002), 3:713–14.

[46] Ibid., 3:714.

> some merchandise, but used the sale price of the goods for other purposes [lit., ate the prices, *akalū athmānahā*]. Then the [Cairene] merchants established before the Hanafi qadi that they were unable to pay, and he put them in his prison and declared some of them bankrupt. The amir Jurjī was then ordered to release the debtors from the prison, and to deliver what they owed to the [Persian] merchants. The sultan also rebuked the chief qadi Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh al-Turkmānī al-Ḥanafī for his actions, and banned him from sitting in judgment among merchants and debtors. Jurjī then took the debtors out of prison and punished them until he delivered their property to the [Persian] merchants bit by bit. Since then, the chamberlains were allowed to sit in judgment over the people.[47]

According to al-Maqrīzī, the legal situation here was as follows: Persian merchants sold merchandise in Cairo, but the buyers, apparently local merchants, resold the goods without paying the sale price to the sellers. The buyers then went to a Hanafi qadi in order to be proclaimed bankrupt, so that they would not have to pay. The Persian merchants then complained to the sultan, who ordered the chamberlain to take over the case and overrule the judgment of the Hanafi qadi. Rather than imprisoning the debtors or declaring them bankrupt, the chamberlain punished them, presumably torturing them, until they disclosed the whereabouts of money that they were hiding. It was then handed over to the sellers (the Persian merchants). The sultan then decided to transfer the jurisdiction over cases of debt from the Hanafi qadis to the courts of the chamberlains.

In terms of legal doctrine, the problem here is that most schools of law allow debtors to escape payment once they are declared bankrupt. Only the Hanafis take a stricter position, allowing a debtor to claim bankruptcy only after a period of imprisonment.[48] This strict position was highlighted in appointment decrees of Hanafi chief qadis, who were entrusted with imprisoning a debtor who claims bankruptcy.[49] It therefore seems that due to this strict position, matters of debt were brought before Hanafi qadis, who, following the dominant view in their school, would not declare a debtor bankrupt until he spent some time in jail. This appears to be the law applied in this case. However, Hanafi law still provided the buyers (the local merchants) a way out of payment, since they were prepared to stay in the qadi's jail until they would be declared bankrupt or until the Persian

[47] Ibid., 3:717–18. See also al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:863. This passage is also discussed by Irwin, "Privatization of Justice"; Escovitz, "The Establishment," 100; J. Nielsen, "Maẓālim and Dār al-ʿAdl under the Early Mamluks," *The Muslim World* 66 (1976): 127.

[48] Ibn Qudāmah, *Al-Mughnī,* 4:529 [no. 3446], 543 [no. 3463]; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-Mujtahid,* 4:1451, 1466.

[49] See Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Al-Taʿrīf,* 119–20; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá,* 11:95, 200.

merchants moved on. The fact these were foreign merchants clearly had some relevance in the case, as they were in greater need of protection, compared to local merchants bound by networks of trust and reputation.[50]

In effect, the sultan intervened in order to plug what he regarded as a legal loophole. He undoubtedly believed that the debtors had the means to pay up for the goods they had bought, and that the formalism of the qadi would allow them to escape payment. It is also significant that this case highlights the limits of the quadruple shariʿah judiciary. This case was heard before a Hanafi qadi precisely because Hanafi doctrine was the most severe with regard to debtors. However, when even Hanafi doctrine was not seen to be sufficiently strict, the sultan responded by transferring the case to the court of the chamberlain, who applied what was in effect *siyāsah* justice. Whether or not the expansion of the chamberlain's jurisdiction was indeed triggered by this one case, al-Maqrīzī's account is instructive with regard to the way the jurisdiction of the chamberlain was expanded when the quadruple *madhhab* system was no longer deemed adequate.

The expansion in the jurisdiction of the chamberlain was followed by reforms of the institution of the Dār al-ʿAdl. During the early 1360s we first hear of the appointment of an official of the state called the *muftī Dār al-ʿAdl,* whose responsibilities appeared to be giving legal opinions to the ruler during the sessions of royal justice.[51] Until that time, the granting of legal opinions was not considered a state activity, and, while many of the individual *muftī*s were also qadis or other state officials, they were not acting as official, state-appointed *muftī*s. Among the first jurists appointed to the position were former chief qadis, such as the Hanafi Ibn al-Ṣāʾigh (appointed in 765/1364) and the Shafiʿi Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Dār al-ʿAdl in Cairo and the one in Damascus had four official *muftī*s each, while Aleppo had only a Hanafi and a Shafiʿi.[52] The apparent similarity between the *muftī Dār al-ʿAdl* and the Ottoman shaykh al-Islām has already been noted.[53]

The appointment of an official *muftī Dār al-ʿAdl* was followed, at least in Cairo, by the relocation of the sessions of royal justice from the Dār al-ʿAdl to a new site. In 789/1387 Sultan Barqūq decided to receive petitions in the Royal Stables, further down the slope of the Citadel and closer to the residential quarters of Cairo. The functions of royal justice were thus separated from other official ceremonies that remained in the imposing Dār al-ʿAdl itself.[54] Ibn al-Furāt's account conveys

[50] A point suggested to me by James Baldwin.

[51] Nielsen, *Secular Justice,* 91–92; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá,* 11:207.

[52] Nielsen, *Secular Justice,* 171–73.

[53] Muhammad Khalid Masud, Brinkley Messick, and David S. Powers, "Introduction," in *Islamic Legal Interpretation,* 10; E. Tyan, "Fatwā," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition.

[54] Nielsen, *Secular Justice,* 53–59; Fuess, "Ẓulm," 126; al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ,* 3:666.

how the sultan's direct involvement in administering justice was perceived as a radical break with the past. Specifically, for the first time, the sultan's Hall of Justice became a court of appeals heard against judgments made by either qadis or chamberlains:

> At the end of the month of Ramaḍān it was announced by heralds in Cairo and Miṣr and their environs that whoever had been subject to injustice or had a complaint *(shakwá)* or a petition *(qiṣṣah)* could come on Sundays and Wednesdays to the royal stables. Al-Ẓāhir Barqūq started sitting in the stables on those days, accompanied by the *kātib al-sirr,* the *dawādār,* and *naqīb al-jaysh.* Whoever had a complaint or was subject to injustice could come before him in the stables. When someone came before him, the sultan asked whether he had already taken his affair before a qadi or a chamberlain *(ḥājib).* If the answer was no, the sultan had him beaten up and thrown out. But if he said yes, but that the magistrates had not satisfied him, he would be allowed to bring his adversary before the sultan and make an accusation against him, and the sultan would then personally pass judgment between them. This is something that we have never heard before regarding any king. The first time he sat in judgment was Monday, 23 Ramaḍān [789, 7 October 1387].[55]

The relocation of the Dār al-ʿAdl away from the Citadel and closer to the city completed a radical reconfiguration of the Mamluk legal system in the second half of the fourteenth century. It involved granting jurisdiction to chamberlains in commercial disputes (previously under the exclusive jurisdiction of qadis), creating a new position of *muftī Dār al-ʿAdl* as a legal advisor to military-executive magistrates, and positioning the sultan as a court of appeal against the decisions of both shariʿah and *siyāsah* magistrates. In doing that, he undertook a more direct responsibility for the administration of justice among the population at large. Al-Maqrīzī specifically comments that the purpose of the move to the stables was that the sultan would be able to pass judgment among the people *(lil-ḥukm bayna al-nās).*[56] While Baybars' intervention in the legal system was indirect, through the quadruple judiciary, Barqūq undertook a far more direct engagement with the administration of law and justice.

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[55]Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Furāt (1334 or 5–1405), *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,* ed. Qusṭanṭīn Zurayq and Najlā ʿIzz al-Dīn (Beirut, 1939), 17. See also the somewhat imprecise translation in Fuess, "Ẓulm," 138.

[56]Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ,* 3:662.

III

The legal reforms of the second half of the fourteenth century created an overlap of jurisdiction, and inevitable conflicts, between the *siyāsah* courts of the chamberlains and the shariʿah courts of the qadis. Nielsen does not find any reference to cases brought to the chamberlain's court during the period he studied (up to 1382),[57] but, as Robert Irwin rightly notes, the chronicles of the fifteenth century provide ample references to the justice offered by the chamberlains in commercial cases.[58] Attempts to re-introduce limitations on their jurisdiction were few and short-termed. In 823/1420, for example, a Hanafi qadi sent a messenger to the chief chamberlain, asking for a debtor held at his court. When the chamberlain refused to give up the prisoner, the Hanafi qadi, with the support of his Shafiʿi colleague, lodged a complaint with the sultan. Al-Muʾayyad Shaykh then ordered that *sharʿī* debts, i.e., debts that fall under the jurisdiction of the shariʿah, should only be brought before the qadis. The chamberlain and other amirs were dissatisfied, and indeed the edict was abolished two days later.[59] By the 1430s the chamberlains clearly had regained parallel jurisdiction in pursuing debtors. A royal edict of 833/1430, during an outbreak of the plague, instructed "qadis, chamberlains, and other officials" not to imprison debtors due to the widespread mortality.[60]

During the 1420s there is also clear evidence for the establishment of courts by other military officials, specifically the *dawādār*s.[61] Ibn Taghrībirdī states that that the first *dawādār* to pass judgment among the people, and to have orderlies *(nuqabāʾ)* at his door, was Qurqmās al-Shaʿbānī, around 824 or 825 (1421 or 1422).[62] A case from 826/1423 suggests that the *dawādār*s had acquired substantial judicial powers, and may have served as a court of appeal against the decisions of qadis. Ibn Ḥajar says that the grand *dawādār* Sūdūn min ʿAbd al-Raḥmān heard a case against a deputy qadi by the name of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ṭanbadī, known as Ibn ʿArab, who was alleged to have passed an improper judgment *(muḥākamah ghayr marḍīyah).* The *dawādār* ordered the Shafiʿi chief qadi to relieve this deputy from his post. In addition, the *dawādār* instructed the qadi to limit the number of deputies to no more than ten at any given time.[63]

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[57] Nielsen, *Secular Justice,* 83–85, 133.

[58] Irwin, "Privatization of Justice."

[59] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1969–), 3:219.

[60] Ibid., 3:419.

[61] See a brief discussion of the judicial responsibility of fourteenth-century *dawādār*s in Nielsen, *Secular Justice,* 92

[62] Irwin, "Privatization of Justice," 67; Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* ed. William Popper (Berkeley, 1909–36), 6:356; 7:255.

[63] Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr,* 3:305.

Another case of conflict of jurisdictions attests to the continuous authority of military courts in matters of commercial transactions. In 856/1452, a Muslim brought suit before a Maliki qadi against a foreign Jewish merchant, who was said to be "from among the merchants of the Circassians." The Muslim asked for a court order that would require the Jew to seek justice only through shariʿah courts *(anna-hu lā yuṭālibuhu bi-ḥaqqihi illā min al-sharʿ).* The qadi gave this injunction, but the Jewish merchant refused, saying that he would pursue his rights as he pleased. The qadi repeated the injunction through the translator, but the Jew did not hear (or obey), so the qadi had him beaten and imprisoned. Upon his release, the Jew complained to the sultan, who had the Maliki qadi brought before him. When the qadi protested that he only acted according to the shariʿah, the sultan told him that the *siyāsah* "runs the same course as the shariʿah" *(tajrī majrá al-sharʿ),* and rebuked him for passing judgment with partiality and anger.[64] Like the case of the Persian merchants reported by al-Maqrīzī, this case similarly indicates royal protection for foreign merchants. It also explicitly articulates the sultan's justification for the *siyāsah* courts: a parallel judiciary, which is as legitimate as that of the qadis, and one which ultimately derives its authority from the shariʿah.

Not only foreign merchants, however, appealed to *siyāsah* justice in order to reclaim their debts. In a case dated 876/1471, the wife of the Shafiʿi chief qadi of Egypt filed a complaint against her husband with the *naqīb al-juyūsh,* head of the police. She claimed that she gave her husband a loan of 250 gold dinars, and that he refused to pay her back. Given the strict division of property between spouses, such disputes were not uncommon, although the wife is said to have been incited to bring the suit by her brother, a former chief qadi himself. The head of the police, acting without permission from the sultan, sent four orderlies (*naqīb*s) to the qadi's house. The orderlies, using intimidating language, brought him before the head of the police and then placed him under house arrest. Only at the intervention of the *kātib al-sirr,* Ibn Muzhir, did the wife agree to resolve the dispute under the shariʿah.[65]

Furthermore, military-executive magistrates intervened in litigation between spouses, not only with regard to debts. As indicated by al-Maqrīzī, fifteenth-century chamberlains had acquired jurisdiction in matrimonial cases. In a case from Jerusalem, the family of a bride whose husband failed to consummate the mar-

[64]Irwin, "Privatization of Justice," 67; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. W. Popper (Berkeley, 1930), 1:129.

[65]ʿAlī ibn Dāwūd al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿAṣr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970), 365–66. On this woman and her economic activity as supervisor of a family endowment, see Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Cairo, 1934–36), 12:7.

riage (thereby depriving her of her rights to maintenance) complained to the amir Azbak al-Ẓāhirī, who was chief chamberlain in 868/1463–64. Azbak set a deadline for the consummation of the marriage, and threatened to issue a judicial divorce unless the groom complied.[66] In another case a husband complained before the grand *dawādār* Yashbak min Mahdī that one of the clerks in the bureau of escheats had seduced his wife. The man claimed that his marriage had collapsed as a result of this affair, that he had divorced his wife, and that the woman had now married her lover. The *dawādār* sent orderlies to bring the suspected couple from their home, and ultimately ruled that the couple should compensate the cuckolded husband with 1,000 dinars.[67] A contemporary legal opinion tells of a man who swore on pain of divorce that if his wife left home without his permission, he would complain about her to the military courts *(siyāsah)* and bring the police to arrest her.[68]

The authority of *siyāsah* magistrates was founded on popular notions of equity. For al-Qalqashandī, the chamberlain is responsible for establishing the rights of the oppressed, enforcing judgments, helping the weak, and judging by the laws of justice. He specifically equates the court of the chamberlain in his own time with the classical institution of *maẓālim.*[69] Some individual chamberlains did attempt to fulfill these roles. Sūdūn al-Ẓāhirī al-Maghribī (d. 843/1439–40), who acted as chamberlain in the first half of the fifteenth century, was ridiculed for being excessively concerned with the protection of the weak. Ibn Taghrībirdī claims that Sūdūn assumed that the weaker party is always in the right, and always suspected coercion on the part of the stronger party. So whenever a soldier and a peasant came before him, he would always favor the peasant and disparage the claims of the soldier. This would go on until the soldier would ask for a settlement *(muṣālaḥah),* or, if he had sufficient clout, would take his case somewhere else. The chamberlain's manner became so well known that the weak would come to seek him from afar.[70]

Chamberlains and other military-executive officials did not ignore the shariʿah. This meant a level of familiarity with Islamic law by *siyāsah* magistrates, and it is not surprising to find that several military officers indeed had training in Islamic law, or had shariʿah specialists in their courts. Timurbāy ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Shihābī (d. 798/1395–96), a chamberlain under Barqūq, is described as a pious man who loved scholarship and scholars, and who had learned Hanafi jurisprudence

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[66] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ,* 1:12. See also ibid., 2:271, for the biography of Azbak.

[67] Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 124.

[68] Zakariyā al-Anṣārī, *Al-Iʿlām wa-al-Ihtimām bi-Jamʿ Fatāwá Shaykh al-Islām,* ed. Aḥmad ʿUbayd (Damascus, 1936), 246.

[69] Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá,* 3:277. See also Nielsen, *Secular Justice,* 30.

[70] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 7:267; Irwin, "Privatization of Justice," 70.

with Ibn al-Furāt's father. During his tenure as chamberlain his judgments were based on thorough examination *(wa-ṣāra yuḥarriru fī aḥkāmihi)*. Whenever he was in doubt regarding a legal question, he inquired of scholars.[71] Ibn Taghrībirdī commends the justice enacted by military officials who had learned Hanafi law, including the future sultan al-Ẓāhir Ṭaṭar, who gave judgments in the Citadel as an amir.[72]

What made *siyāsah* magistrates so popular was that they were able to offer justice, not just law. Two final examples of conflicts between shariʿah and *siyāsah* illustrate this tension. One comes from a work by Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, dating to the 1360s, which describes the way military officers resolved cases of fornication. According to al-Subkī, one of the rules *(aḥkām)* set up by *wālī*s (police chiefs) is that a man who deflowered a woman and impregnated her was forced to marry her. They do so, al-Subkī explains, because they think that this is better for the child, who would otherwise carry the disgrace of fornication. This policy, explains al-Subkī, goes against the shariʿah, which rules that the child of fornication is not attached to the fornicator, and does not become his child. Yet, according to al-Subkī himself, the solution in the shariʿah is merely a fine, equal to the expected decrease in the bride's marriage gift *(mahr)*.[73] The shariʿah, as attested by a leading jurist, offers a limited financial penalty through a restitution of the financial damage caused by the removal of virginity. The police chiefs, on the other hand, offered a more effective form of justice, with a view to the future benefit of the child.

A second example of a conflict between shariʿah law and *siyāsah* justice comes from the diary of Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, a late fifteenth-century Cairene deputy qadi and chronicler. The case has been translated and discussed by Carl Petry in another context, but, as it is a first-hand account of the actual workings of the interaction between shariʿah and *siyāsah,* it is also relevant here.[74] The account begins with a verbatim extract from a petition filed with the chief Hanafi qadi, Muḥibb al-Dīn Ibn al-Shiḥnah. The petitioner was the maternal aunt of a twelve-year-old girl, whose parents were absent from Cairo:

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[71] Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh,* 9:1:446; Nielsen, *Secular Justice,* 85.

[72] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 6:484; Irwin, "Privatization of Justice," 69.

[73] Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Kitāb Muʿīd al-Niʿam wa-Mubīd al-Niqam,* ed. David Myhrman (London, 1908), 64.

[74] Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 226–29. See the translation and analysis by C. Petry, "Conjugal Rights Versus Class Prerogatives: a Divorce Case in Mamlūk Cairo," in *Women in the Medieval Islamic World,* ed. Gavin R. G. Hambly (London, 1999), 227–40; and discussion in my *Marriage, Money and Divorce in Medieval Islamic Society* (Cambridge, 2005), 79–80. My interpretation of the text is substantially different from Petry's, both in its details and its overall significance. According to Petry, the case demonstrates the prerogatives of the military elite.

> the slave, relative of such-and-such, who is a virgin adolescent girl, kisses the earth [before your feet] and states that she [the girl] is poor and weary of begging, and that her parents have been absent from Cairo and its environs for a period of more than three years. She asks that a noble permission would be granted to one of the deputy qadis to marry her off to someone who wishes to do so, for a fair marriage gift and for a suitable husband, as an act of charity towards her.

The maternal aunt's choice of a school of law was not random; only Hanafi doctrine allowed for the qadi to marry off a minor orphan.[75] The Hanafi qadi delegated this particular case to his deputy, our narrator Ibn al-Ṣayrafī himself, who then verified that the girl's parents were indeed absent, and married her off to a servant *(ghulām)* in the service of a royal mamluk. According to his account, he also inserted a clause forbidding the groom to consummate the marriage until the girl had attained puberty.

The marriage of this orphan girl, arranged by a Hanafi deputy qadi, ended in divorce and recrimination, and was subsequently, in 875/1470, the subject of complaint to the grand *dawādār,* who, as we have noted, may have acted as a court of appeal against decisions made by shariʿah qadis. While the events of the marriage were contested, it is clear that the marriage was consummated, and that the girl asked her husband for a divorce, which he granted only after demanding financial compensation from her maternal aunt. The aunt then raised an uproar in her Bulaq neighborhood, and the local people took the girl and went to the court of the grand *dawādār,* Yashbak min Mahdī.

The *dawādār* ordered the servant (i.e., the groom) and his master, the royal mamluk, to come to his court. The master protested that his servant "…has done nothing that was not authorized by the qadi and the witnesses," and so the *dawādār* then summoned Ibn al-Ṣayrafī to explain his actions. The following exchange, as recorded by the deputy qadi himself, merits a verbatim quotation, as it encapsulates the contrast between the formalism of the shariʿah law and the popular, "common sense" notions of equity that guide *siyāsah* justice:

> I [i.e., Ibn al-Ṣayrafī] entered, and stood before him.
>
> He said to me: "O qadi, did you marry this girl to that man?"
>
> I said, "Yes."
>
> He said, "How come?"

[75] Ibn Qudāmah, *Al-Mughnī,* 7:382 (no. 5201); Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-Mujtahid,* 3:944–46.

> I said, "The person who appointed me as his deputy permitted me to do so by a comprehensive deposition in his own handwriting."
>
> He said, "Should this girl be married off?" indicating that she is young.
>
> I said, "This is the law of my school [the Hanafi school], because the Prophet, pbuh, married ʿĀʾishah, the mother of believers, may God be pleased with her, when she was nine years old."
>
> He said, "Do you equate this girl with that one [ʿĀʾishah], or this man with that man [the Prophet]?"
>
> I said, "No, my lord. But the Prophet, pbuh, is our guide to religious law *(mashraʿ)* and we are his people, who follow his sunnah."
>
> He fell silent, ceasing to speak with me. Then he turned to the qadis and amirs attending the council, and said to them, "The qadi had this reply for me, and I have no further business with him, but only with the mamluk soldier and his servant."

As Ibn al-Ṣayrafī is keen to point out, he had done nothing improper. He was authorized to marry off the girl, by permission of the Hanafi qadi who appointed him. He had ascertained, by sufficient legal evidence, that the girl's parents were indeed not available to marry her off. The formalism of the qadi contrasts, however, with the perspective of the *dawādār;* for him, this was a case of a twelve-year-old girl being subjected to sexual intercourse and financial extortion, and it required an administration of *siyāsah* justice to protect the vulnerable and the defenseless. He summoned all the involved parties to another session in his court a few days later, and then had the husband flogged more than 100 times, and ordered him publicly humiliated across the city, "as an example to anyone who deflowers *(yaftaḥ)* girls." He also ordered a review of the financial aspects of the divorce settlement by the chief Hanafi qadi. As a result, the husband was to pay the girl four gold coins as her share of the marriage gift. It is important to note that the *dawādār,* despite his forceful intervention in the case, still regarded the settling of the monetary obligations of the husband as something that fell within the remit of shariʿah, not *siyāsah.*

While the different approaches of the qadi and *dawādār* are clearly distinguished, the justification for the punishment meted out to the husband remains vague. Neither the procedure by which these allegations were proven, nor the exact crime committed by the servant, is explicitly cited. But Ibn al-Ṣayrafī has a remarkable addendum, noting that, "The retribution by the amir *dawādār*—may God protect him—originated from proper authority against the right people"

(ṣadara min ahlihi fī maḥallihi), as this soldier and his servant were well-known thugs who terrorized their neighborhood. Despite the way his own actions were subject to scrutiny and criticism by the *dawādār,* Ibn al-Ṣayrafī still does not hesitate to support the implementation of *siyāsah* justice.

IV

As this example shows, not all members of the judiciary objected to the expanded jurisdiction of the *siyāsah* courts, even if it came at the expense of the courts of the qadis. Admittedly, other jurists and religious scholars condemned *siyāsah* justice as a symptom of decay and corruption, sometimes in very harsh words. But other, more nuanced, approaches are evident in writings of the ulama. The problem with *siyāsah* justice was usually not that *siyāsah* is illegitimate per se, but that it was left in the hands of incompetent and corrupt officials. The principle of *siyāsah* was acceptable or even necessary, but without the guidance of the shariʿah, it allowed significant room for abuse.

The first sustained account of *siyāsah* justice comes from the pen of Ibn Taymīyah, writing in the 1320s, i.e., before the great expansion in *siyāsah* jurisdiction. As the title of his important work "Al-Siyāsah al-Sharʿīyah" suggests, he attempted to resolve the duality between *siyāsah* courts and the qadi courts through a reform of the Islamic laws of proof and evidence, specifically advocating the use of circumstantial evidence in criminal cases.[76] This reform was required because the courts of the shariʿah were too weak, and the *siyāsah* courts of the military officials too arbitrary. For Ibn Taymīyah, the qadis focus on the formalities of the law rather than its intent. The *siyāsah* magistrates, on the other hand, do not have recourse to the Quran and sunnah at all, but rely only on personal opinion, and this opens the way to corruption:

> Those who claim to judge by divine law are in fact lacking in knowledge of the sunnah. So when they give judgments in many matters, they deprive people of their rights and fail to uphold criminal law *(ʿaṭṭalu al-ḥudūd),* so that blood is shed, property is usurped illegally, and prohibited activities become accepted as licit. On the other hand, those who judge by *siyāsah* resort to a kind of personal opinion without reliance on the Quran and the sunnah. The best of them would pass judgments with no bias and seek justice, but

[76]For a fuller discussion of Ibn Taymīyah's position, see Johansen, "Signs as Evidence"; and my "Ibn Taymiyya's Radical Legal Thought: Rationalism, Pluralism and the Primacy of Intention," in *Ibn Taymiyya and His Times: Proceedings of a Conference Held at Princeton University, 8–10 April 2005,* ed. Y. Rapoport and Sh. Ahmad (Karachi, 2010), 191–226, esp. 211–12.

> many are biased and give preference to the strong, those who give them bribes, and the like.[77]

Ibn Taymīyah does not in fact seek the abolition of *siyāsah* courts. Rather, he argues that the *siyāsah* of the ruler and Islamic law neither contradict nor compete with each other. Just rule is part and parcel of Islamic law, and if conflicts arise, it is only because Islamic law is understood too narrowly or because the rulers act unjustly. In this framework, the objective of political power should be the benefit of religion, and the improvement of the material well-being of the believers in those matters without which the religion cannot prosper—like the protection of property or the enforcement of a penal system. According to this view, the principles of good governance are religious principles on par with religious duties such as prayer and fasting, even though they are not necessarily part of the legal norms established by jurists; in fact, good governance take precedence over the non-binding juristic legal interpretation of non-fundamental legal points.

Ibn Taymīyah therefore calls for the incorporation of considerations of utility and political expediency within the norms of Islamic jurisprudence, and views the division of jurisdiction between qadis and other magistrates as a matter of expediency that is not enshrined in the law. All those who are in a position of authority—including rulers, governors, and market inspectors—participate in the implementation of Islamic law. In practical terms, this meant a reform in the Islamic laws of proof and evidence. Ibn Taymīyah's disciples argued that circumstantial evidence should play a much more prominent role in trial procedures. They viewed the role of the judge (whether a qadi or any other magistrate) not as an arbiter of conflicting claims, but as someone who is capable of establishing the truth by his ability to read signs and interpret them as proofs. In order to do so, judges should be able to read all the available signs—such as physical signs in things and property, known social hierarchies, prevailing customs—rather than depend solely on depositions of witnesses. Ibn Taymīyah, who, incidentally, was never employed by the state, nor was ever a qadi, supported a convergence of *siyāsah* and shariʿah justice through a relaxation of evidentiary procedures. In some respects, Ibn Taymīyah had presented a blueprint for the *siyāsah* justice that would subsequently emerge in the second half of the fourteenth century.

Other jurists reacted to *siyāsah* justice with strongly-worded opposition. Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, son of Taqī al-Dīn—himself the most prominent opponent of Ibn Taymīyah's religious reforms—presents a very different approach towards *siyāsah*. In "Muʿīd al-Niʿam," written in the 1360s, he calls on government officials to al-

[77]Ibn Taymīyah, *Majmūʿ Fatāwá Aḥmad ibn Taymīyah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Qāsim al-ʿĀṣimī wa-ibnuh Muḥammad (Beirut, 1997), 20:392–93. Translated by A. Bewley in Ibn Taymīyah, *The Madinan Way: the Soundness of the Basic Premises of the School of the People of Madina* (Norwich, 2000), 87.

ways rule by the shariʿah. For those who tell the ruler that applying the shariʿah is a sign of weakness, he warns of divine punishment.[78] In criminal cases, military officials are allowed to follow (taqlīd) the school of law that allows for the most severe discretionary punishment (taʿzīr) and long imprisonments, as long as they are motivated by public interest and not by personal whim. In blasphemy cases, they are allowed to adopt the strict view recently put forward even by non-Maliki jurists.[79] But they are not allowed to go beyond the limits of the shariʿah, by which al-Subkī means the doctrines set by the schools of law.

His most severe rebuke is reserved for the chamberlains, who, as we have seen, had their jurisdiction expanded substantially in the 1350s, a decade before the composition of the treatise:

> We say: the chamberlain should refer all affairs to the shariʿah, and should not think that the *siyāsah* brings any benefit. Rather, the *siyāsah* brings harm to the land and to the subjects and leads to chaos. The best interests of men are served by the laws handed down by their Creator, who knows best what brings them benefit and what brings them harm. The shariʿah of our Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) guarantees all the benefits to humanity in this world and the next, and only harm comes when it is set aside. But whoever follows it finds that his days are good and calm…
>
> If you like, look at the annals of the just and unjust kings and amirs, and see which of the two is more secure and which is longer lasting. I have observed these, and found that anyone who thought that he could better the world with his intellect, and rule the land through exercise of personal opinion and *siyāsah (bi-rayihi wa-siyāsatihi),* and go beyond the limits and warnings of God, had suffered ill fate, and his days were dark and troubled…
>
> And as for someone who thinks that his affairs will not succeed if he does not shed blood with no just reason and if he does not beat innocent Muslims, let him know that he is a rebel, an ignoramus, a stupid ass, whose dominion will soon perish and whose fall is imminent…
>
> If one of those asses says: "How should I know that? I am a Turkish simpleton *(ʿāmmī)* who knows not the Book and the Sunnah." Tell him that this would not help him with God. Ask someone who knows; otherwise you will come to the Day of Judgment with your adversaries, those you have beaten and punished, dragging you

[78] Al-Subkī, *Kitāb Muʿīd al-Niʿam,* 34.

[79] Ibid., 36–37.

> over the mountains face-down. Then, no excuse will help you. If it is impossible for you to understand, then what business do you have in taking on this job? Leave it.[80]

Like Ibn Taymīyah, al-Subkī equates *siyāsah* with personal opinion. However, al-Subkī is unequivocal in his support for the formalities of the shariʿah within the limits of the four-*madhhab* system.

Another strong condemnation of the *siyāsah* justice administered by the chamberlains is offered by al-Maqrīzī, writing in the 1420s. Al-Maqrīzī accuses the chamberlains of simple greed, saying that they have "no other purpose but to procure a daily income by the hands of the commander of the court guards *(ras nawbat al-nuqabāʾ).* Many of them have no *iqṭāʿ* to support their rank, and they make their living solely from the litigation *(maẓālim)* of God's servants." He labels the word *siyāsah* a "satanic term," claiming, rather fancifully, that it is derived from the word "Yāsa," the legal code of the Mongols:

> The judgments of the chamberlains are called judgment of *siyāsah,* which is a satanic term. Most of our contemporaries who do not know its origin employ it carelessly, saying that when a matter does not accord with the judgments of the shariʿah it must be according to the judgments of *siyāsah.* But while they take it lightly, it is a grave matter in the eyes of God, as I will explain, for this is a valuable section…
>
> Our contemporaries are wrong regarding its origin, for it is a Mongol word. It was originally "*yāsah,*" and was mispronounced by the Egyptians, who prefixed the letter "s" to pronounce "*siyāsah,*" and then added the definite article, so that the ignorant think it is an Arabic word, but the truth is what I have just told you.[81]

As David Ayalon has shown, there is no evidence for the application of the Mongol Yāsa under the Mamluks.[82] Moreover, a close reading of al-Maqrīzī's account actually reveals a principled acceptance of *siyāsah* justice as complementing shariʿah, echoing the views of Ibn Taymīyah a century earlier. After labeling *siyāsah* a "Satanic term," al-Maqrīzī then distinguishes between the correct, just *siyāsah,* which conforms to the shariʿah, and its corruption at the hands of incompetent individuals:

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[80] Ibid., 57–58.

[81] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Mawāʿiẓ,* 3:714–15.

[82] David Ayalon, "The Great Yāsa of Chingiz Khān: A Re-examination," *Studia Islamica* 33 (1971): 97–140; 34 (1971): 151–80; 36 (1972): 113–58; 38 (1973): 107–56; Irwin, "Privatization of Justice," 63.

> You should know that people in our days, and since the beginning of the Turkish dynasty in Egypt and Syria, divide judgments into two categories: judgment of shariʿah and judgment of *siyāsah*. The shariʿah is those religious duties which God has set, such as prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, and the remainder of charitable deeds… [On the other hand], the term *siyāsah* is used to describe the law *(qānūn)* laid down for guarding morals *(ādāb)* and public interest and setting public affairs in order.
>
> The *siyāsah* is of two kinds. One is the just *siyāsah* that extracts justice from the unjust sinner. This first kind is indeed part of the shariʿah, known to some and unknown to others, and this *siyāsah sharʿīyah* has been the subject of many books. The other kind is the unjust *siyāsah,* forbidden by the shariʿah.

Ibn Taghrībirdī, who repeats some of al-Maqrīzī's observations mentioned above, also makes a similar distinction between just and unjust *siyāsah* in his annals for the years 861 and 863 (1456–57 and 1458–59). According to his account, in this period every junior officer set out his own court, and would hear litigations, using no rules of evidence but raw intimidation and coercion. The result, Ibn Taghrībirdī laments, was that merchants and artisans could not pursue their trades, as they had no legal protection. Robert Irwin rightly recognizes this as "privatization of justice." However, Ibn Taghrībirdī is specifically concerned with the rough justice offered by junior officers. He is not objecting to *siyāsah* justice as such, nor to the justice offered by chamberlains or *dawādār*s. His concern is, more specifically, that the "authority of the magistrates of the shariʿah and the *siyāsah* is set at naught by the power of the purchased mamluks *(julbān)* of the sultan Īnāl."[83] Ibn Taghrībirdī groups together "the magistrates of the shariʿah and the *siyāsah,*" in effect the qadis, chamberlains, and *dawādār*s, and regards them as the pillars of a just legal system which is being threatened by the junior officers.

The reaction of jurists and scholars to the administration of *siyāsah* ranged from complete rejection, through acceptance and accommodation, to outright celebration of its role in complementing the shariʿah. An example of the latter attitude is the treatise "Taḥrīr al-Sulūk fī Tadbīr al-Mulūk," composed for Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī by Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn al-Aʿraj (d. 925/1519), a minor religious scholar in Cairo.[84] Much of the work consists of verbatim quotations from the classical text by al-Māwardī. But the author precedes the traditional narrative by

[83] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 7:494; Irwin, "Privatization of Justice," 68.

[84] Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad Ibn al-Aʿraj, *Taḥrīr al-Sulūk fī Tadbīr al-Mulūk,* ed. Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Munʿim (Alexandria, 1982). The work is discussed in Darling, "Medieval Egyptian Society and the Concept of the Circle of Justice."

offering remarkable guidelines for the use of intimidation and physical violence in *siyāsah* courts. For him, this is what makes *siyāsah* necessary to complement the shariʿah:

> He [i.e., the *nāẓir fī al-maẓālim*] can examine crimes and grievances prior to any complaint; he can intimidate *(irhāb)* a suspect of injustice and crime before the crime has been proved by admission or by conclusive evidence. He can also stimulate *(al-ḥaml ʿalá)* a confession of the truth, and imprison culprits for injustices. He can use physical force to gain a confession after circumstantial evidence of a crime has appeared, and he can chastise a defendant who denies guilt after the truth has been confirmed by evidence. He can also coercively encourage the criminals to repent. The qadis do not have recourse to these forms of *siyāsah:* they cannot examine injustice and litigations before they were brought to their attention, only after; and they have no means to pass judgment in them, other than their own personal knowledge, a confession, or fair evidence *(bayyinah ʿadilah).*"[85]

I do not believe that al-Aʿraj was trying to gain royal favor by legitimizing torture and physical intimidation; given the prevalence and indispensability of *siyāsah* justice in fifteenth-century Mamluk society, this was hardly necessary. Al-Aʿraj attempts here to address the lack of predictability in *siyāsah* justice, and to formally set out rules guiding *siyāsah* magistrates. These guidelines were most probably grounded in the actual praxis of *siyāsah* courts for more than a century, but here are incorporated into the juristic discourse.

V

The final decades of the Mamluk Sultanate, under the reigns of the sultans Qāytbāy (r. 1468–96) and Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (r. 1501–16), represent an unprecedented degree of royal intervention in the administration of justice. Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh did not see themselves as merely enforcers of Islamic law and justice, but also as its interpreters. They were, as Carl Petry aptly puts it, "champions of the shariʿah" against the formalistic attitude of the qadis and the *muftī*s.[86] They opened the gates of their court to an increasing number of litigants, and dealt

[85]Ibn al-Aʿraj, *Taḥrīr al-Sulūk,* 38. Compare ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Māwardī, *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah wa-al-Wilāyāt al-Dīnīyah* (Cairo, 1983), 71; *The Laws of Islamic Governance,* trans. Asadullah Yate (London, 1416/1996), 120. Elsewhere, Ibn al-Aʿraj outlines the difference between the *siyāsah* of the amirs and the judgments passed by qadis (*Taḥrīr al-Sulūk,* 57).

[86]Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians?: The Last Mamlūk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994), 198.

with an expanding range of civil cases. The sultans also settled disputes between the chief qadis by applying "common sense" interpretations. Finally, by the final years of Qānṣūh's reign, he appeared ready to publicly overrule the interpretations of the qadis, not in the name of *siyāsah* but rather in the name of the correct application of the shariʿah itself.

The above-mentioned deputy Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, who attended the bi-weekly court *maẓālim* sessions of Qāytbāy, presents the sultan as impatient with the indeterminacy of the chief qadis.[87] In a case involving an endowment of a madrasah, when the founder's stipulations and the alterations to the original structure were discussed, Qāytbāy rode to the building to see for himself.[88] In a legal dispute over the renovation of a synagogue in Jerusalem, Qāytbāy summoned qadis to review the case, but also expressed his own interpretation of the law, finally siding with the jurists who permitted the renovation.[89] In another case, the sultan acted as a court of appeal against the judgments of a qadi. After a divorcee had complained that her ex-husband, an ironsmith, refused to pay the remaining portion of her marriage gift, and that she had been refused justice by a Hanafi deputy, the sultan found the deputy guilty of bias.[90]

The royal dispensation of justice reached now a wider public through the building of a new Dār al-ʿAdl. Fifteenth-century sultans followed Barqūq's example and held sessions in the royal stables to adjudicate cases. Ibn Taghrībirdī reports this for Sultan Khushqadam in 871/1466, noting that in doing so he continued past traditions.[91] Qāytbāy appears to have gone further by experimenting with opening his *maẓālim* sessions to the petitions of commoners. He then became convinced of the futility of such an approach when a woman came to complain that her husband had taken a second wife.[92] Like Sultan Barqūq a century earlier, Qāytbāy then attempted to control the crowds at his door by ordering that his court would only hear appeals against the decisions of lower magistrates.[93] The increasing demand for litigation to be brought before the royal court was recognized by Sultan Qānṣūh, who demolished the old Dār al-ʿAdl and erected a new, more spacious building in 916/1511.[94] Qānṣūh, interestingly, also repeated earlier attempts to limit the power of lower *siyāsah* magistrates. In 910/1505 he banned

[87] Ibid., 199.

[88] Ibid., 204; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 379–82.

[89] Donald P. Little, "Communal Strife in Late Mamlūk Jerusalem," *Islamic Law and Society* 6, no. 1 (1999): 69–96.

[90] Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 153–56.

[91] Fuess, "Ẓulm," 127, citing Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 7:745.

[92] Petry, *Protectors,* 151–55; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 391.

[93] Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr,* 401.

[94] Petry, *Protectors,* 205.

all trials except those conducted according to the shariʿah, and he did so again in 919/1513–14, after an outbreak of the plague. Predictably, the bans failed, as the *siyāsah* magistrates argued that ordinary litigants had no other way of securing their rights. [95]

In criminal cases Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh applied very severe punishments, often beyond the Quranic punishments *(ḥudūd)* of the shariʿah.[96] Qānṣūh applied torture to a Jewish merchant, and refused to accept his conversion to Islam, in a display of royal, effective justice during one of his final public sessions on the racecourse *(maydān).*[97] Thieves were regularly condemned to death after suffering corporal punishment.[98] But a range of other public punishments were used. A slave who was convicted of stealing was beaten and then led by an earring in the nose like an animal.[99] The goriest public processions were reserved for Bedouin chiefs and highway robbers, who were marched through town after being amputated and blinded.[100] Female criminals were also led through town in humiliating processions, apparently an unprecedented form of punishment for women.[101] A survey of half a dozen cases of theft and forgery brought before the sultans found a variety of punishments, including amputation, public procession with bare heads, and jail sentences. There was no apparent codification, but, given that the offences are not clearly specified, this was not necessarily arbitrary justice.[102]

The severity of punishment in criminal cases, coupled with an active interpretation of the shariʿah against the views of the legal practitioners, led to an outright conflict between the sultan and qadis during the final years of the sultanate. In this famous case, dated 919/1513, a Cairene religious scholar came home to find his wife in bed with another man, who was, incidentally, a deputy qadi.[103] The

[95]Irwin, "Privatization of Justice," 69; Fuess, "Ẓulm," 141; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr* (Istanbul, 1931), 4:76, 312, 230.

[96]Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, "Pouvoir et justice sous les derniers sultans circassiens (872–922/1468–1516)," 462.

[97]Fuess, "Ẓulm," 128, citing Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:481. For another example of the direct intervention of Qānṣūh in a criminal case in 1515, see Carl F. Petry, "Disruptive 'Others' as Depicted in Chronicles of the Late Mamlūk Period," in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800),* ed. H. Kennedy (Leiden, 2001), 183.

[98]Bernadette Martel-Thoumian, "Voleurs et assassins à Damas et au Caire (fin IXe/XVe–début Xe/XVIe siècle)," *Annales islamologiques/Ḥawlīyāt Islāmīyah* 35, no. 1 (2001): 193–240, esp. 235–39.

[99]Martel-Thoumian, "Pouvoir et justice," 464ff.

[100]Ibid., 465–66.

[101]Ibid., 467. See Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:338, 4:72.

[102]Martel-Thoumian, "Pouvoir et justice," 457–58.

[103]The following account is based on Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:340–50. A short version is given by the Syrian historian Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Wafayāt al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān* (Sayda, 1999), 2:252. See also the summary in Petry, *Protectors,* 149–51; Fuess, "Ẓulm," 133; and in Rapo-

husband complained to the court of the chamberlain, and the latter gave orders that the two adulterers should be beaten severely, fined, and led through the city on donkeys, facing backwards. Sultan Qānṣūh, however, was dissatisfied with the leniency of the punishment. He blamed the qadis for appointing fornicating deputies, and demanded that the adulterers be punished in the way prescribed by Islamic law, i.e., by stoning. It was an unusual order; no stoning had taken place for many years, and apparently never during Qānṣūh's long years in power. But, while the sultan, representing secular authority, was pushing for an Islamic punishment, several jurists issued a *fatwá* against a death sentence, arguing that the fornicator had in the meantime retracted his confession. In an overt struggle over the right to interpret the law of the land, the jurists argued that the sultan was bound to act according to the Islamic law of evidence; execution would be a criminal offence, and the sultan liable for the blood money. At this point the sultan told them off as senseless fools, and dismissed all four chief qadis, paralyzing all legal and economic activity in Cairo for three days. He ordered that the two lovers be hanged, facing each other at the gate to the house of one of the jurists who objected to the death sentence. Their bodies remained on the gallows for two days, until the sultan gave permission to bury them.

VI

The final years of the Mamluk Sultanate witnessed a direct competition over the interpretation of the shariʿah between the sultan and the jurists. It was the culmination of a continuous rise in the state's control over the legal system, which started with the appointment of the four chief qadis by Baybars in 1265. During this early period of Mamluk rule, the quadruple shariʿah system allowed the state, in co-operation with the qadis, to pick and choose from the doctrines of the legal schools in order to promote social objectives. However, by the middle of the fourteenth century, the jurisdiction of the *siyāsah* magistrates, and specifically the chamberlain, was enhanced to include the redemption of debts, often by torture, and certain categories of matrimonial disputes. The expansion of *siyāsah* jurisdiction was designed to offer legal solutions that went beyond the doctrines of the Sunni schools of law. By and large, *siyāsah* justice was perceived as a necessary complement to the shariʿah, as it plugged loopholes in the schools' doctrines. *Siyāsah* magistrates believed that their justice was a necessary prerequisite for the implementation of the shariʿah, and not in opposition to it. This expansion in *siyāsah* jurisdiction, particularly in relation to the redemption of debts, bears

port, "Women and Gender in Mamluk Society: An Overview," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 2 (2007): 1–47.

striking similarity to the expansion of the jurisdiction of the English chancery in these same decades.[104]

The expanding role of the sultan in the administration of justice manifested itself in the increasing size and importance of Dār al-ʿAdl, an Ayyubid innovation which became a distinctly Mamluk symbol of sovereignty. The first Mamluk hall of justice was built by Baybars in 1262, and subsequent ones were both larger and closer to the Cairene urban population which they served. In the second half of the fourteenth century the institution also acquired its independent legal advisors, the *muftī*s of Dār al-ʿAdl. During the final decades of the Sultanate, Qāytbāy and Qānṣūh went further than any of their predecessors in centralizing the administration of law in their own hands, and often questioned the interpretation of the shariʿah by their qadis. In these final years the tension between the *siyāsah,* grounded in notions of equity but open to arbitrary implementation, and the formalistic and ineffective shariʿah, came to a head. It is only the Ottomans who would resolve this tension by enforcing a unified *kanun* based on the shariʿah.

The implications of this historical approach to the legal history of the Mamluk Sultanate are far-reaching, not only for the Sultanate itself, but for the entire narrative of the history of Islamic law. Wael Hallaq recently argued that the ruler's intervention in the legal sphere was minimal, limited to administrative regulation that mostly pertained to the regime's machinery of government. Thus, according to Hallaq, the civilian population was subject to the shariʿah, while the government's servants were subject to a more coercive code of the sultan; a dual system, where the rulers were subject to a different law from the ruled.[105] However, as we have seen, the evidence of the Mamluk period shows otherwise. There is ample evidence that the Mamluk *ḥājib* and other military officers sat in justice over all segments of the urban population from the middle of the fourteenth century until the demise of the Mamluk dynasty. There was no dual system of justice, one for the elite and one for the commoners. In fact, such a dual system would have impinged on the overarching superiority of the shariʿah, which is shown by Hallaq to be the hallmark of Islamic societies. The *siyāsah* of the sultans and the amirs was necessary for the continuous application of shariʿah norms; the expansion of the *siyāsah* jurisdiction set out to bolster the shariʿah rather than defeat it.

This fits with a much wider pattern in Muslim societies of the late Middle Ages and the Early Modern period. As said above, the Ottoman *kanun* added to

[104]Robert C. Palmer, *English Law in the Age of the Black Death, 1348–1381: A Transformation of Governance and Law* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1993).

[105]Hallaq relies on secondary literature regarding the legal history of the Mamluk Sultanate, and gets some of the facts wrong. In his discussion of the Mamluk *siyāsah* court he claims that the Mamluk *ḥājib* did not have any jurisdiction over the civilian population (*Sharīʿa,* 201), save rare exceptions at the end of the thirteenth century (ibid., 209).

the religious law in matters relating to public order, taxation, usury, and land tenure. Rather than viewing government intervention as an exception, it seems that, at least from the middle of the fourteenth century, rulers intervened quite heavily in legislating, modifying, and applying the shariʿah. We should forsake the long-held paradigm that views the state as essentially external to Islamic law, a paradigm that makes no sense at all for legal historians of other civilizations.[106] Rather, the evidence of the Mamluk legal system—the most highly developed system of Islamic law in the Middle Ages—shows that the *siyāsah* of the state was not only an integral and legitimate element of the shariʿah, but also an increasingly central one.

[106]Miriam Hoexter, "*Qāḍī, Muftī* and Ruler: Their Roles in the Development of Islamic Law," in *Law, Custom, and Statute in the Muslim World: Studies in Honor of Aharon Layish,* ed. Ron Shaham (Leiden, 2006), 67–86; Ido Shahar, "Legal Pluralism and the Study of Shariʿa Courts," *Islamic Law and Society* 15, no. 1 (2008): 112–41.

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Khubz as *Iqṭāʿ* in Four Authors from the Ayyubid and Early Mamluk Periods

Introduction

Iqṭāʿ is the delegation of "fiscal rights of the state over lands remaining juridically in the hands of their former owners."[1] *Iqṭāʿ* is a major question in studies of medieval Islamic society. In spite of the amount of previous research many points still need to be clarified. To date, the *iqṭāʿ* system has been studied mainly from a legal point of view: the assignment of *iqṭāʿ*, the duties and rights of the *muqtaʿ*, etc.[2] However, the emotional relations and loyalties underlying it, as well as relationships between levels of power, have been neglected.

While investigating these topics I have frequently come across the use of the term *khubz* in reference to *iqṭāʿ* in Ayyubid and early Mamluk chronicles. The question underlying this article is whether a semantic study of the term used to refer to the *iqṭāʿ*, above and beyond its intrinsic value, can contribute to a deeper understanding of the *iqṭāʿ* system and how it functioned. In spite of its repeated appearance, no comprehensive inquiries exist to date on this particular use of the term *khubz*. Brief notes on the topic can be found in the critical editions and translations of Arabic texts and in research on the *iqṭāʿ* system.[3]

The main issues to be considered in this article are, first of all, whether the use of the term changes from one author to another and whether the two terms are used interchangeably by the authors under discussion. Secondly, I will verify to what extent *khubz* was perceived and used as a substitute for *iqṭāʿ* and whether the main meaning of *khubz*—bread, subsistence—influences its use in a given context or expression. In order to investigate these issues, after an overview on the authors' uses of the term, I will concentrate on three particular cases. Although the article focuses on four works from the Ayyubid and early Mamluk periods, I will also give a brief overview of the use of *khubz* in later centuries. Through

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[1] Claude Cahen, "Iḳṭāʿ," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 3:1088–91.

[2] See for example Sato Tsugitaka, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam* (Leiden, 1997).

[3] Abraham N. Poliak, *Feudalism in Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and the Lebanon, 1250–1900* (Philadelphia, 1977), 18, 32; Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 46, n. 7; Claude Cahen, "L'évolution de l'iqtaʿ du IX au XIII siècle," *Annales, économies, sociétés, civilisations* 8 (1953): 25–52.

textual analysis I hope to contribute, first of all, to describing some features of the use of this term in referring to *iqṭāʿ,* not only in writing but also in the spoken language. Secondly, I hope to contribute to the understanding of the *iqṭāʿ* system and how it functioned. My final goal in both cases is not to paint a comprehensive picture, but rather to present some preliminary reflections based on the reading of texts from the period under review.

Before approaching the topic, it is worth considering two preliminary points. As far as the way the terms *iqṭāʿ* and *khubz* have been translated into European languages is concerned, a variety of solutions have been adopted. When translating al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb al–Sulūk* into French, Quatremère mostly kept the Arabic terms for both *iqṭāʿ* and *khubz,* while in Broadhurst's English translation of the same work *iqṭāʿ* is translated as "fief" and *khubz* sometimes as "emoluments."[4] In the French versions of Ibn Shaddād's *Al-Aʿlāq al-Khaṭīrah fī Dhikr Umarāʾ al-Shām wa-al-Jazīrah* (by A. Eddé) and al-Makīn Ibn al-ʿAmīd's *Al-Majmūʿ al-Mubārak* (by A. Eddé and F. Micheau) *iqṭāʿ* is not translated, while *khubz* has been expressed with the words "allocation" and "concession."[5] Jacqueline Sublet translated *iqṭāʿ* as "fief" in some cases, while in others she kept the Arabic word. The same can be said for *khubz,* which is occasionally translated as "dotation." [6] In this article I have chosen to keep the Arabic words because none of the modern terms fully correspond with what *iqṭāʿ* and *khubz* refer to in all their complexity.

Secondly, when I began analyzing the use of the term *khubz,* I focused on the dichotomy of *khubz/iqṭāʿ*. In the course of my inquiry, though, I realized that, particularly in some of the authors under review, the verbal noun—*iqṭāʿ*—is hardly used. In the part of Ibn Shaddād's work which I analyzed it is used only twice, and in Ibn al-ʿAdīm Kamāl al-Dīn's *Zubdat al-Ḥalab min Tārīkh Ḥalab* and Ibn Wāṣil's *Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb* it appears more frequently but is still not the most common term. All the authors, including al-Makīn, generally use a verb from the same root, *aqṭaʿa*. Consequently, this discussion will not be limited to the alternation between *khubz* and *iqṭāʿ,* but the use of the term *khubz* will be investigated in the wider context of *iqṭāʿ*-related phraseology.

[4]See Étienne Marc Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Egypte,* 2 vols. (Paris, 1837–45), and Ronald J. C. Broadhurst, *A History of the Ayyūbid Sultans of Egypt* (Boston, 1980).

[5]Anne Marie Eddé, *Description de la Syrie du Nord* (Damascus, 1984); Anne Marie Eddé and François Micheau, *Chronique des Ayyoubides (602–658/1205–6–1259–60),* Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades, no. 16 (Paris, 1994). On *khubz,* see for example *Description,* 55, 271, and *Chronique des Ayyoubides,* 121.

[6]Faḍl Allāh ibn Abī al-Fakhr al-Suqāʿī, *Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-Aʿyān (un fonctionnaire chrétien dans l'administration Mamelouke),* ed. Jacqueline Sublet (Damascus, 1974).

Sources

This article focuses on four works dating back to the seventh century. Three of them are historical writings, for example Ibn Wāṣil's *Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb.*[7] This is the story of the Ayyubids, covering the period from the rise of the Zangids to the ascension to power of al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars (658). It was composed in Hama around 670. My considerations are mainly based on vols. 3 and 4. Further quotations are also taken from vols. 2 and 5. The second of the works under discussion is al-Makīn Ibn al-ʿAmīd's *Al-Majmūʿ al-Mubārak,*[8] a universal history from creation to the Mamluks' rise to power. The third piece of historical writing I have considered is a local history, Ibn al-ʿAdīm Kamāl al-Dīn's *Zubdat al-Ḥalab min Tārīkh Ḥalab.*[9] This treats the history of Aleppo from its origins to 641. The last work I have analyzed is a historical topography of Syria, *Al-Aʿlāq al-Khaṭīrah fī Dhikr Umarāʾ al-Shām wa-al-Jazīrah,* composed between 671 and 680 by Ibn Shaddād (vols. 1 and 2).[10]

The authors mentioned share many similarities. First of all they lived in the same period and witnessed the dynastic transition between the Ayyubids and the Mamluks. Their works belong to the so-called "siyāsa oriented historiography."[11]

[7] Arabic text edited by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (vols. 1–3) and H. Ramīʿ S. Ashūr (vols. 4–5) (Cairo, 1953–1977). Vols. 2 and 3 do not include an analytical index. In the index to volumes 3 and 5 both *khubz* and *iqṭāʿ* are listed, while in the index to vol. 4 only *iqṭāʿ* is mentioned. In the index to vol. 3, a passage containing *khubz* is not mentioned (112–13). Following is a list of passages from the *Mufarrij* containing the terms *khubz* and *iqṭāʿ,* some of which will be mentioned in this article: *(khubz)* 2:265; 3:81, 108, 112–13; 5:69, 206, 337, 277; *(iqṭāʿ)* 3:14, 23, 54, 55, 131, 126, 204, 239, 251, 269; 4:23, 30, 70, 73, 88, 89, 110, 133, 226, 231, 284.

[8] Arabic text edited by Claude Cahen in *Bulletin de études orientales* 15 (1955–57): 109–84, and translated by Eddé and Micheau in *Chronique des Ayyoubides.* On this work see Johannes den Heijer, "Coptic Historiography in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Early Mamluk Period," *Medieval Encounters* 2, no. 1 (1996): 88–94. The passages from the text edited by Cahen containing *khubz* are: 134, 139, 143, 149, 152, 157, 161, 169, 176, and the ones containing *iqṭāʿ:* 133, 155, 159, 164, 176. The edition mentioned includes only an index of names of people and places.

[9] Arabic text edited by Sāmī al-Dahhān, 3 vols. (Damascus, 1951–68). The following passages contain the term *khubz:* 203v; and *iqṭāʿ* (or *aqṭaʿa*): 173v, 177r, 180r–v, 183r, 187r, 189v, 190r, 191r, 194v, 202v, 204v, 205r–v, 208r, 222v, 223r, 225v, 228r, 231r–v, 234r, 237v, 238r, 241v, 251v, 256r, 262r–v, 258v, 263r, 265v. The edition mentioned contains only an index of geographical names and names of people.

[10] Text edited by Anne Marie Eddé in *BEO* 22–23 (1980–81): 265–402, and translated, *Description de la Syrie du Nord.* In the part of the text edited by Eddé, *khubz* is used three times (382, 320, 299). For *iqṭāʿ* see pages: 292, 295, 299, 303, 304, 372, 373, 374, 375, 377–78, 380, 381, 382, 383, 387, 390, 393, 396–99. The edition mentioned contains only an index of people's names. On the *Al-Aʿlāq* see Zayde Antrim, "Making Syria Mamluk: Ibn Shaddād's *Al-Aʿlāq al-Khaṭīrah,*" *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 1 (2007): 1–18.

[11] Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period* (Cambridge, 1994), 184. On Ayyubid and Mamluk historiography, see Donald P. Little, *An Introduction to Mamluk Historiography*

Developing from the eleventh century, this new type of historiography focused mainly on issues related to governance. Like most of the historians of this period, all of the authors under review held positions in the administration and had close links with the court.[12] Ibn Wāṣil studied in Damascus and Aleppo, and during his life he held official positions in the service of various patrons including the Ayyubid ruler of Hama, Muẓaffar II, and the sultan Baybars. He also held teaching posts and judgeships in different places. He was in close contact with the ruling and administrative elites as well as with scholars. Like Ibn Wāṣil, Ibn al-ʿAdīm[13] also had close links with the leading group of his town, Aleppo. He was born in 588 and, like Ibn Wāṣil, he was given diplomatic missions by the Ayyubid ruler of the town. He served as secretary, judge, and vizier, and held teaching positions as well. In addition to the *Zubdat al-Ḥalab* he also wrote a biographical dictionary called *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīkh Ḥalab*. ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād served in the bureaucracy, first in Ayyubid Aleppo—as secretary of the chancellery of al-Malik al-Nāsir—and then in Cairo. He wrote a biography of Baybars and the *Al-Aʿlāq al-Khaṭīrah fī Dhikr Umarāʾ al-Shām wa-al-Jazīrah,* a historical topography of Syria. The last of the authors discussed, al-Makīn, was an Egyptian Copt. Like his father he was a high official of the army's *dīwān* in Syria, where al-Makīn moved for unknown reasons.[14]

In addition to the works of these authors, I have also considered the last volume of *Al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*[15] by Ibn al-Athīr ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī (d. 630), which was the model for the works of Ibn Wāṣil and al-Makīn. The period dealt with in this volume starts with the rise to power of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and ends in 628. Further examples have been taken from later historians: the *Dhayl Mirʿāt al-Zamān* of al-

(Wiesbaden, 1970); Franz Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography* (Leiden, 1952).

[12]On this topic see Donald P. Little, "Historiography of the Ayyubid and Mamluk Epochs," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt,* ed. M. W. Daly (Cambridge, 1998), 1:412–14; idem, *History and Historiography of the Mamluks* (London, 1986); Konrad Hirschler, *Medieval Arabic Historiography: Authors and Actors* (London and New York, 2006), 14; Yehoshua Frenkel, "Ayyubid and Mamluk Historiography: Eyewitness Accounts by Several Contemporaries," in *Continuity and Change in the Realms of Islam: Studies in Honor of Professor Urbain Vermeulen,* ed. K. D'Hulster and J. van Steenbergen (Leuven, 2008).

[13]On this author, see David Morray, *An Ayyubid Notable and his World* (Leiden, 1994), 1–11.

[14]Claude Cahen, "Al-Makīn Ibn al-ʿAmīd," *EI2*, 4:143–44.

[15]Arabic text edited by Carl J. Tornberg (1807–1877) (Beirut, 1965–67), vol. 12, and translated by Donald S. Richards, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fī'l-Tarīkh,* pt. 3, *The Years 589–629/1193–1231: The Ayyūbids after Saladin and the Mongol Menace* (Ashgate, 2008). The passages containing the term *iqṭāʿ* in this volume—some mentioned in this article—are on pages 125, 136, 137–38, 155, 163, 173, 342, 346, 412, 445, 446 of the Arabic text. This edition contains only an index of geographic and personal names.

Yūnīnī[16] and the biographical dictionary *Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-Aʿyān,* composed by the Christian Ibn al-Ṣuqāʿī,[17] both of whom died in 726; al-Nuwayrī's (d. 732) *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab;*[18] and al-Maqrīzī's (d. 845) *Kitāb al-Sulūk.*[19]

Khubz in Seventh-Century Works

It has already been pointed out that in this period *khubz* was used with the meaning of *iqṭāʿ,* and my research confirms this assumption. Clear evidence of this is that occasionally the two terms are used alternatively to refer to the same object, sometimes both in the same sentence or in different contexts. In the year 637, for example, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ distributed *iqṭāʿāt* to his mamluks. Both Ibn Wāṣil[20] and al-Makīn[21] report the episode, but the *iqṭāʿāt* are referred to as *akhbāz* by the former and *iqṭāʿāt* by the latter:

Mufarrij, 5:277

وكاما قطع خبز أمير أعطاه لمملوك من مماليكه وقدمه

al-Makīn, 152

و أمّر مماليكه وأعطاهم الإقطاعات

The choice of the term clearly results from the writers' phrasing and linguistic choices.

According to the analysis undertaken, all of the authors under review use *khubz* to refer to *iqṭāʿ* at least once. The use of the term, however, changes from one author to another. Ibn Shaddād, Ibn Wāṣil, and Ibn al-ʿAdīm do not use the word *khubz* often. In their works this term appears only in a small percentage of the sentences referring to the *iqṭāʿ* system. In Ibn Shaddād, for example, *khubz* is

[16] Quṭb al-Dīn Mūsá al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān,* 4 vols. (Hyderabad, 1954–61).

[17] Text edited and translated by Sublet, *Tālī Kitāb.* The passages containing the term *khubz* and *iqṭāʿ* in this text are the following: paragraphs: 2, 16, 43, 108, 127, 129, 130, 141, 167, 187, 253, 323 *(khubz)* and paragraphs: 82, 84, 128, 162, 138, 326 *(iqṭāʿ* and *aqṭaʿa).* In the index both the passages containing "*iqṭāʿ*" and the ones containing "*khubz*" are mentioned.

[18] Claude Cahen and Ibrahim Chabbouh, "Le Testament d'al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb," *BEO* 29 (1977): 97–144.

[19] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Ziyādah (Cairo, 1956).

[20] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 5:277.

[21] Al-Makīn, *Al-Majmūʿ al-Mubārak,* 152; from now on the page numbers given for al-Makīn's work refer to the Arabic text edited by Cahen (see above).

used three times[22] while the verb *aqṭaʿa* is used forty-one times and *iqṭāʿ* twice. In the third volume of the *Mufarrij, khubz* is used only three times[23] while terms coming from the root *q-ṭ-ʿ* are used fifteen times. In the *Zubdat al-Ḥalab, khubz* is used even less. At first glance it seems that *khubz* and *iqṭāʿ* are used interchangeably. In Ibn Wāṣil, for example, *khubz* and *iqṭāʿ* are used in the same narrative contexts and in almost identical sentences. See, for example, *khubz* in these passages: 2:265; 5:206, 269, 277; 3:112–13; and *iqṭāʿ* in these (verb and noun): 4:73, 89, 110. On pages 3:112–13 and 2:265, *khubz* refers to the *iqṭāʿ* given in a certain place, Aleppo in one case (2:265)[24] and the Orient in the other (3:112–13).[25] The term *iqṭāʿ* is used in a similar context in two passages: رجع الى مصر فأقطعه... بها إقطاعا and وأقطعه إقطاعًا ببلاده.[26]

An exception is al-Makīn, who, unlike the other authors, uses the term *khubz* copiously (*khubz* twelve times and *iqṭāʿ* seventeen times, both verb and verbal noun). The use of the term *khubz* by this author is complex, as in some cases he uses phrases related to the *iqṭāʿ* theme interchangeably, while in others the appearance of a given term depends on the narrative context. *Khubz* is usually used when the *iqṭāʿ* is taken from the enemy and given to the supporters of the prince. One example can be seen on page 162:

> واعتقل جماعة من الأمراء المماليك الصالحية ثم سيّرهم إلى الحصون
> واعتقلهم بها وأعطى أخبازهم للأمراء القيمريّة زيادة على ما بأيديهم
>
> Il [al-Malik al-Nāṣir] fit arrêter un certain nombre des émirs mamelouks Ṣāliḥīya qu'il envoya dans différentes forteresses où ils furent incarcérés; il donna leur concessions *(aḫbāz)* aux émirs Qaymarīya.[27]

In the same narrative context the term *khubz* is also used on page 149 [Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ] وأعطى أخبازهم للخوارزمية ("Il donna leurs concessions *(aḫbāz)* aux émirs khwārizimiens"), 134 [al-Malik al-Kāmil] وأمرهم أن يخرجوا من ديار مصر وأعطا أخبازهم لمماليكه ("Le sultan leur ordonna [aux émirs qui l'avait trahi] de quitter l'Egypte; il donna leurs concessions *(aḫbāz)* à ses mamlouks"),[28] and on page 176:

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[22] Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Aʿlāq,* 382, 320, 299.

[23] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 3:81, 112–13.

[24] وأقطعهم أخبازا كثيرة بحلب

[25] ولما استقر المُلْكُ بمصر للملك العادل استدعى أبنه الملكَ الكاملَ ناصر الدين محمدًا من الشرق, وجعله نائبًا عنه بالديار المصرية, وجعل خبزه الأعمال الشرقية، وهى التى كانت خبز الملك العادل لما كان نائبًا عن أخية السلطان الملك الناصر بمصر

[26] Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij,* 4:89, 110.

[27] The French translation is taken from Eddé and Micheau, *Chronique des Ayyoubides,* 91.

[28] A variety of phrases are used by the authors to say "to take away" or "confiscate" the *iqṭāʿ,* such as أخذ إقطاع See, for example, Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab,* 173v, where Nūr al-Dīn writes to the

[al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ṣayf al-Dīn Quṭuz]

واستمرّ بجماعة ممّن كان في خدمته من عسكر الشام على أخبازهم
وأقطع أخباز القيمريّة وابن يغمور ومن انفصل عن الخدمة اجماعة
ممّن وصل صحبته من الأمراء الصالحيّة والمعزّيّة وغيرهم

Il [al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Ṣayf al-Dīn Quṭuz] confirma leurs concessions *(aḫbāz)* à un certain nombre (d'émirs) de l'armée syrienne passés à son service; quant aux concessions *(aḫbāz)* de Qaymarīya,[29], d'Ibn Yaġmūr, et de ceux qui avaient abandonné son service il les donna en *iqṭāʿ* à des émirs Ṣāliḥīya, Muʿizzīya ou autres.[30]

In the expression "to give an *iqṭāʿ*" al-Makīn uses both *khubz* and either the verb *aqṭaʿa* or the noun *iqṭāʿ*. The latter is always followed by the phrase "through diploma" بمناشير.[31] As *khubz,* on the other hand, is never followed by such an expression, it is possible that a more technical term like *iqṭāʿ* was perceived by the author as more appropriate for the sentence. In two of the examples quoted, moreover, the author is talking about the administration of the kingdom. For example on page 159: وتولى فخر الدين ابن الشيخ تدبير المملكة وأقطع البلاد بمناشيره ("Faḫr al-Dīn Ibn al-Šayḫ assura l'administration du royaume et concéda lui même les *iqṭāʿ* par diplôme"),[32] and on page 155:

واستولي معين الدين على دمشق وأعمالها وحصونها وبلادها ودبّرها
تدبيراً جيّدًا وأقطع ملوك الخوارزميّة وأمراءهم أكثر بلاد الشام والساحل
بمناشير

Il [Muʿīn al-Dīn] les [Damas et sa province] administra d'excellente façon et concéda en *iqṭāʿ* par diplôme aux princes Khwārizmiens et à leurs émirs la plus grande partie de la Syrie et du littoral."[33]

As will be shown in the following paragraphs, *khubz* is also used by al-Makīn in the context of requests and complaints. The way al-Makīn uses the term *khubz* makes his work particularly interesting and suitable for an investigation into the use of the term. But what is the reason underlying the difference between

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prince of Damascus, accusing his amirs:
فكان يقول له في بعض الأوقات: "إنّ فلاناً قدْ كاتبني في تسلبم دمشق—يعني بعض أمراء مجيرالدّين— فكان يبعد ذلك عنه ويأخذ أقطاعه"

[29]Troops settled in Syria where they had *iqṭāʿāt.*

[30]Eddé and Micheau, *Chronique des Ayyoubides,* 121.

[31]Al-Makīn, *Al-Majmūʿ al-Mubārak,* 155, 159, 176; see also 164.

[32]Eddé and Micheau, *Chronique des Ayyoubides,* 86.

[33]Ibid., 78.

al-Makīn and the other authors? A biographical explanation may seem the most obvious one, though no certainty can be attributed to it. Looking at the biographies of the four authors under discussion, al-Makīn's is clearly the most unusual one. He was an Egyptian Copt, a high official of the army's *dīwān* in Syria. Moreover, as he was a Christian, unlike the others, he never held teaching positions or judgeships. However, the simpler explanation may be that the particularities in al-Makīn's use of *khubz* are merely due to the fact that his phrasing and semantic choices are different.

Khubz and Troops

In addition to the differences between the authors, there is one expression containing the term *khubz* that is used by three of them. This is *khubz* followed by the number of horseman that could be fed with it, to indicate the value of the *iqṭāʿ*.

In al-Makīn's work, for example, similar expressions are quite common. On the other hand, *iqṭāʿ* is never followed by words relating to value:

> و في سنة سبع وعشرين وستّمائة رتّب السلطان الطواشي شمس الدين العادلي نائبه في بلاد الشرق وأعطاه الموزّر خبز بمائة فارس مضافا إلى إقطاعه بالديار المصريّة وهي الأعمال الإخميميّة وما معها فتكمّل حبزه ثلثمائه وخمسين فارس[34]

> En 627, le sultan désigna l'eunuque *(ṭawāšī)* Šams al-Dīn al-ʿĀdilī comme lieutenant dans les territoires d'Orient et lui donna al-Muwazzar, concessions *(ḫubz)* correspondent à cent cavaliers; ceci s'ajoutait à ses *iqṭāʿ* d'Egypte, à savoir la province d'Iḫmīm et ses dépendances, ce qui au total représentait une concession *(ḫubz)* de trois cent cinquante (?) cavaliers.[35]

> وفيها بعث السلطان الملك الصالح صاحِب مِصر الصاحب جمال الدين يحي بن مطروح إلى دمشق وزيرا أميراً وأنعم عليه بخبز سبعين فارس ببلاد الشام[36]

> Cette même année là il [al-Ṣāliḥ, souverain du Caire] envoya al-Ṣāḥib Ğamāl al-Dīn Yaḥyā b. Matrūḥ à Damas avec les fonctions de vizir et d'émir, lui accorda une concession *(ḫubz)* de soixante-dix cavaliers en Syrie.[37]

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[34] Al-Makīn, *Al-Majmūʿ al-Mubārak,* 139.

[35] Eddé and Micheau, *Chronique des Ayyoubides,* 44.

[36] Al-Makīn, *Al-Majmūʿ al-Mubārak,* 157.

[37] Eddé and Micheau, *Chronique des Ayyoubides,* 81–82.

This expression is also used by Ibn Shaddād:[38] وقصد عزاز فأخذها من مظفّر الدين وعوّضه عنها خبز مائة فارس ("Il la [ʿAzāz] prit à Muẓaffar al-Dīn et lui donna en échange une allocation *(ḫubz)* de cent cavaliers"); and further:

وهي في عصرنا كورة تحتوي على ضياع يعمل خراجها خبز أربعين طواشيا

> [Qūrūs] À notre époque c'est un district qui comprend des domaines *(ḍiyāʿ)* dont l'impôt foncier *(ḫarāǧ)* représente une allocation *(ḫubz)* de 40 cavaliers.[39]

Similar expressions can be found in Ibn Wāṣil's work as well. Sometimes *khubz* is followed by the number of horsemen that could be fed with its income: "[The sultan] gives a *khubz* of two hundred horsemen in Egypt" (5:69). In other cases the value of the *iqṭāʿ* is counted in dinars: "Al-Ẓāhir [decided] to give [to Sayf al-Dīn] a *khubz* of 50,000 dinars" (3:81).

From the frequency of this use of *khubz,* mainly followed by the number of horsemen, it is reasonable to assume that it was a widespread expression in the period under discussion, especially in the bureaucracy and the administration.[40] This hypothesis is also corroborated by the fact that even in the works of Ibn Wāṣil and Ibn Shaddād, who do not use *khubz* very often, in a high percentage of cases the term is used in this expression. In the part of the *Al-Aʿlāq* I analyzed, for example, although there are fifty passages in which things related to the *iqṭāʿ* system are mentioned, *khubz* appears only three times. In two of those cases the term is followed by a sentence indicating its value. This is the only situation, moreover, where there is a clear correspondence between the use of the term by both al-Makīn and the two other authors.

As in al-Makīn, in the two volumes of the *Mufarrij* under review the passages containing the term *khubz* are the only ones that account for the value of an *iqṭāʿ*. On the other hand, Ibn Shaddād also uses other expressions for the same purpose; for example:[41]

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[38]Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Aʿlāq,* 382.

[39]Eddé, *Description,* 55, 279–280.

[40]Another common expression in that period must have been "possessions and *iqṭāʿāt*" الاموال والاقطاع. See al-Makīn, *Al-Majmūʿ al-Mubārak,* 145, 168; in both cases the verb used is أعطا ; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarrij*, 3:251; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab,* 238r.

[41]Ibn Shaddād, *Al-Aʿlāq,* 396. See also 377 (twice on the same page), 380 كان مقطعه + ب. The abundance of expressions indicating the value of the *iqṭāʿāt* in Ibn Shaddād might be related to the nature of his work. In fact, the author paid special attention to the economic details related to the places described.

وكانت القصبة وهذه القرى مقطعة لثمانين طواشيًا

In later centuries, *iqṭāʿ* followed by the number of horsemen became more common.[42] This evolution must have been a consequence of the change in the organization of the army in the fourteenth century, when a well-defined military organization was established in which the *iqṭāʿ* of hundreds, forties, and tens came to be connected with the ranks of the officer corps.[43] *Khubz* plus a number of horsemen, however, can still be found in the work of authors living in subsequent decades, such as Ibn al-Ṣuqāʿī:[44]

> ولما فتح الملك المظفر قطز الشام أعطى الامير فارس الدين المذكور خبز ناصر الدين القيمرى, وهو مائتى وخمسون فارسا فأعطى منها لبدر الدين بكتوت المذكور خبزمائة فارس بمنشور سلطانى, وسلم إليه باقى الاقطاع يحكم فيه
>
> [al- Malik al- Muẓaffar] octroya à l'émir Fāris al-Dīn la dotation de Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Qaymurī, qui était de 250 cavaliers. Il obtint par un édit sultanien. L'autorisation de concéder à Badr al-Dīn Baktūt ses droits sur une partie de sa dotation, soit 100 cavalier. Il garda le reste pour lui.[45]

The expression under discussion is also interesting because of the combination of the term *khubz* and the number of horsemen to be fed from it. The use of *khubz* in this expression seems to be connected to its meaning of bread. Although it refers to *iqṭāʿ*, a shadow of its principal meaning—bread subsistence—is highlighted in this context and might have made the use of the term particularly appropriate in a sentence referring to the number of troops that could be sustained by the

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[42] See, for example, al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 1:509: an *iqṭāʿ* of one hundred horsemen is inherited by the son of a Kurdish amir; al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān,* 3:85: Baybars gave to al-Qaymarī—another Kurdish amir—an *iqṭāʿ* of forty horsemen.

[43] See R. Stephen Humphreys, "The Emergence of the Mamluk Army, II," *Studia Islamica* 46 (1977): 147–82; Amalia Levanoni, "The Mamluks' Ascent to Power in Egypt," *SI* 72 (1990): 121–44. On the Mamluks' amirs and their ranks, see David Ayalon, "Studies in the Structure of the Mamluk Army II," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15 (1953): 203–28, 449–76; Reuven Amitai, "The Remaking of the Military Elite of Mamluk Egypt," *SI* 72 (1990): 145–63; idem, "The Mamluk Officer Class during the Reign of Baybars," in *War and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th–15th Centuries,* ed. Yaacov Lev (Leiden, 1996).

[44] See also paragraph 141,"Il leur conceda des dotations allant de 10 à 40 cavaliers"; paragraph 127 "*khubz* of 300"; paragraph 127 "[al-Malik al-Ẓāhir] gave him a *khubz* of 100 horsemen" (خبز مائي فارس).

[45] The same episode is reported in paragraph 16. The passage also describes the further division of an *iqṭāʿ* .

iqṭāʿ. The way *khubz* is used is also related to the idea of feeding in another case, albeit to a lesser extent.

Khubz: Complaints and Requests

Let us have a look at a couple of passages from al-Makīn:

> فخافت القيمريّة على أنفسهم فكاتبوا الناصر صاحب حلب بأن يحضر ليأخذ دمش واشترطوا الزيادات في أخبازهم
>
> Les Qaymarīya prirent peur et écrivirent à al-Nāṣir, souverain d'Alep, de venir prendre Damas à condition qui il leur augmentât leurs concessions *(akhbāz)*[46]
>
> فسيّر إليهم وطيّب قلوبهم وحمل إليهم الأموال وزاد في إقطاعاتهم
>
> [al-Malik al-Kāmil appris qu'un group d'émirs convinrent de le déposer]
>
> Il leur envoya un messager pour les apaiser, leur fit porter des présents et augmenta leurs *iqṭāʿ*[47]

In both cases the issue at stake is the increase of the *khubz/iq*ṭāʿ of an amir. The two sentences are similar to each other and the same verb is used in both of them (زاد) but on page 133 we find the word *iqṭāʿ*, while on page 161, *khubz*. In my opinion, in this case *khubz* is used because of the context of request. Although the episode is not reported in direct speech, by using the word *khubz* the author seems to be sympathetic to the amirs. *Khubz* is used in a request once again, by al-Makīn, on page 143:

> فبعث الملك الصالح إلى أخيه الملك الكامل يسأله أن يُنعم عليه ببعلبك وأعمالها مع خبزه المتقرّ له من أيّام أبيه
>
> Al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ fit demander a son frère al-Malik al-Kāmil de lui accorder Balbek et sa province en plus de la concession *(ḫubz)* qui lui avait été attribuée au temps de leur père.[48]

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[46] Al-Makīn, *Al-Majmūʿ al-Mubārak,* 161. The French translation is taken from Eddé and Micheau, *Chronique des Ayyoubides,* 90.

[47] Al-Makīn, *Al-Majmūʿ al-Mubārak,* 133. French translation from Eddé and Micheau, *Chronique des Ayyoubides*, 32.

[48] Eddé and Micheau, *Chronique des Ayyoubides,* 53.

I think that the use of the term *khubz* in a context of request is not fortuitous. The word *khubz,* with its implicit meaning of bread and subsistence, was probably perceived by the author as the most appropriate for a request. In the amir's speech the term *khubz* is meant to move the prince. In other words, I think that the choice of the word *khubz* in this case is a stylistic one. The same stylistic reason could lie behind the use of *khubz* in the context of a complaint on page 169: "les amirs se plaignent (شكوا) de leurs concessions, *aḫbāz.*"[49] In this case it is also reasonable to assume that the use of the term *khubz* represents a stylistic choice aimed at emphasizing the moment. This use is also linked to the meaning of subsistence and bread, which is connected to the term, making it particularly suitable in the context of complaints. The fact that *iqṭāʿ* is never employed by al-Makīn in similar contexts corroborates this hypothesis. Even more interesting is the fact that in the historical writing of another author *khubz* is used in a similar way. In the *Zubdat al-Ḥalab,* the only passage in which the term *khubz* is used is on 203v: "The Yārūqīy are concerned (خاف) for their *akhbāz.*" In this case the use of the word *khubz* could be a result of the author's desire to show his sympathy for the defeated amirs. It is a stylistic device, to emphasize the moment and to increase the intensity of the scene. Although *khubz* and *iqṭāʿ* are synonyms in al-Makīn's century, the former might have preserved a shadow of its original meaning, bread subsistence, which would make it suitable for putting emphasis on an episode, or in the context of a request.

It is not surprising that al-Makīn is the only one who uses *khubz* in this way. Using the term as a stylistic device is a choice which depends on the style and the language of each author. Obviously, these choices may be influenced by the author's life experience and cultural background. Ibn Wāṣil might have preferred to use different, rhetorical meanings, or he might have had a different perception of the term *khubz* itself.[50] In the case of Ibn Shaddād, his style might have been shaped by the nature of his work, which was a historical topography.

There is something that must be added on the use of *khubz* in the context of a request. It appears that *khubz,* with its implicit meaning of feeding, stresses the idea of mutual relations and dependence between the prince and the amir. Humphreys states that "The institution of the *iqṭāʿ* did not establish a tie of personal fealty between man and man. There is no evidence of any kind to suggest that the sovereign and his *muqṭāʿ* formally undertook a body of mutual obligations to each other…An *iqṭāʿ* was conceded through a decree *(manshūr)* issued by the

[49] Ibid., 106.

[50] On the rhetorical devices used by Ibn Wāṣil, see Hirschler, *Medieval Arabic Historiography,* 91–93.

prince, in the same manner as any other office of state would be conceded."[51] I think that this assumption takes into account only the contractual point of view, which does not exclude the existence of bonds of loyalty and dependence between the *muqṭāʿ* and the prince. With regard to this, the use of the term *khubz* referring to *iqṭāʿ,* and especially its use in the context of request, is significant. It suggests, in fact, the existence of a moral relationship of rights and duties, which in this context is evoked on purpose. The term chosen in the amir's speech is intended to emphasize this relationship and the legitimacy of the request. This hypothesis would also fit with what Mottahedeh says about acquired loyalties in the Buyid period: "these acquired loyalties are best seen in times of stress, when men were trying to make effective their demands on others by explicitly referring to the validity of such loyalties."[52]

The question is whether the term *khubz* is used by the protagonists, or if it is just a stylistic device used by the author. In fact, one assumption does not exclude the other. Since the authors wrote *khubz,* the term must have been in use during that period so it is reasonable to assume that the protagonists used it as well.

Iqṭāʿ/Khubz as an Estate

There is one more use of *khubz* that is worth analyzing: the use of the word to refer to estates. This use of the term is relevant from two points of view. First of all, it shows to what extent the word *khubz* was used with the same meaning as *iqṭāʿ*.

According to some scholars, *iqṭāʿ* is a polysemantic word. Both Humphreys[53] and Irwin argued convincingly that the term—in addition to its main administrative meaning—can refer to a large number of related institutions. Irwin mentions it "as a means of maintaining a garrison, as a mark of status, as a formal approval of a local notability, as recognition of *de facto* political authority, as a loose equivalent of the term *wilaya,* and very likely even to designate Frankish fief tenure under Muslim suzerainty."[54] What about *khubz*? Does it substitute for *iqṭāʿ* exclusively as a term for tax allocation, or is it also used in other cases? It is difficult to answer this question. Further research is needed. In the texts I examined there is one case in particular which is remarkable. It is a sentence taken

[51] R. Stephen Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols: The Ayyubids of Damascus, 1193–1260* (New York, 1977), 375.

[52] Roy P. Mottahedeh*, Loyalty and Leadership in an Early Islamic Society* (Princeton, 1980), 41.

[53] Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols,* 371–75.

[54] Robert Irwin, "Iqtaʿ and the End of the Crusader States," in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades,* ed. Peter M. Holt (Warminster, 1977), 72; Linda Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan* (Stuttgart, 1998), 276, n.130; Ulrich Haarmann, "The Sons of Mamluks as Fief-holders in Late Medieval Egypt," in *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East,* ed. Tarif Khalidi (Beirut, 1984), 141–68.

from Ibn Wāsil's *Mufarrij* (5:206): "The Khwarizmi amirs headed towards the east and settled in their *akhbāz*."

ثم رحلت الخوارزمية عن حمص وعادوا إلى الشرق فأقاموا به في أخبازهم

This sentence is very interesting, and not only because it shows to what extent—at least by this author—*khubz* was perceived as a synonym of *iqṭāʿ*. In this case the use of *iqṭāʿ* and its meaning are also relevant for an understanding of the *iqṭāʿ* system as a whole.

In the line by Ibn Wāṣil quoted above *khubz* clearly refers to a place, to a piece of land. In the passages I examined, *khubz* is used with this meaning only once, while *iqṭāʿ* recurs frequently with this meaning, generally combined with verbs of movement or state of being verbs, such as "to stay." Let me quote some examples from Ibn al-Athīr's *Al-Kāmil:*

وكان عسكره بمصر قد تفرّق عن الأفضل من الخشبيّ، فسار كلّ منهم إلى إقطاعه ليربعوا دوابّهم

> Al-Afḍal's army in Egypt had already parted from him…and every man had gone to his fief to put his horses on the spring grass.[55]

and

فهرب فخر الدين جركس وزين الدين قراجة الذي أعطاه الأفضل صرخد، فمنهم مَن دخل دمشق ومنهم مَن عاد إلى إقطاعه

> Fakhr al-Dīn Jahārkas and Zayn al-Dīn Qarāja, to whom al-Afḍal had given Ṣarkhad, fled and some there were who entered Damascus and others who returned to their fiefs.[56]

The term is used in the same sense in Ibn Wāṣil's *Mufarrij,* 4:70: نازل...في إقطاعاته and 3:126: ومنهم من ذهب الى إقظاعاته ("the ones who went to their *iqṭāʿ*"), and in Ibn al-ʿAdīm's *Zubdat al-Ḥalab,* الملك الأشرف في حرّان وابن المشطوب في اقطاعه رأس عين ("al-Malik al-Ashraf was in Ḥarrān and Ibn al-Mashṭūb in his *iqṭāʿ,* Rās ʿAyn").[57]

A further example is taken from the biographical dictionary *Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-Aʿyān,* by Ibn al-Suqāʿī. "He [al-Amīr Ḥusām al-Dīn Banjār] settled in Egypt in

[55] Ibn al-Athīr, *Al-Kāmil,* 155.

[56] Ibid., 163. The English translation of the two passages is taken from Richards, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr,* 50, 56.

[57] Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab,* 241v.

the *iqṭāʿ* given to him and to his father" (واقام بمصر باقطاع له ولولده).[58] Jacqueline Sublet translated the sentence in a different way: "il demeura en Egypte (vivant) d'un fief qu'on lui avait donné, a lui et a son fils." However, some doubts about this translation arise from the structure of the sentence: the parallel between the two objects of ب makes it clear that both "*iqṭāʿ*" and "Miṣr" refer to a locality. The IV form of the verb قام followed by the preposition ب, moreover, usually means to settle down. Sublet's reluctance to translate *iqṭāʿ* as a locality is understandable, as it implies an important deviation from its principal meaning. As I said above, *iqṭāʿ* is an allocation of taxes, mainly land taxes, that does not imply any change of ownership of the land. In consequence the use of the term to refer to an estate involves a deviation from its proper meaning and use. The same shift in meaning described for *iqṭāʿ* underlies the use of *khubz* in the passage of Ibn Wāṣil mentioned above (5:206). From the grammatical point of view this shift is not negligible, either. *Iqṭāʿ* is a verbal noun. Verbal nouns usually refer to the act of doing something; the term *iqṭāʿ* refers to a process. Its usage to indicate an estate implies the loss of its aspect of transitivity.

The frequency of this particular use of the term *iqṭāʿ* deserves some consideration, as it implies that it was common in the spoken language. Although its formal meaning was the allocation of taxes, mainly land taxes, *iqṭāʿ* must have come to be associated with land ownership and in some cases even with properties.[59] Beyond the semantic point of view, the use of the term *iqṭāʿ* as a locality is interesting for an understanding of how the *iqṭāʿ* system worked in reality, and how it was perceived by people at that time. This use of the term may lead to the conjecture that, although it was formally a temporary allocation of fiscal rights, *iqṭāʿ* must have been, at least in part, perceived as an estate. With regard to this, it is worth mentioning a lease concerning a portion of an *iqṭāʿ*, even though it comes from a later period. The contract is a document from al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf, Jerusalem.[60]

All this shows that the functioning reality of the *iqṭāʿ* system is not only far from being understood, but also too complex to be contained within the traditional definition of *iqṭāʿ*. It must have represented a variety of developments on the ground, according to different historical periods and places. In some cases

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[58] Al-Suqāʿī, *Tālī Kitāb,* paragraph 82.

[59] "L'assimilation entre muqṭāʿ et propriétaire devenait facile en cas d'*iqṭāʿāt* héréditaires et de longue durée. L'impôt foncier (ḫarağ) en effet était souvent payée, en partie du moins, en nature, comme la redevance du métayer et a peu près dans le même proportions." Anne Marie Eddé, *La Principauté Ayyubide d'Alep* (Stuttgart, 1999), 502.

[60] Donald P. Little, *A Catalogue of the Islamic Documents from al-Haram aš-Šarif in Jerusalem* (Beirut, 1984), 298. Most of the documents date to the period between 793 and 797.

these local developments may not have been too far from Western feudalism.[61] Evidence from the Ayyubid period, for example, shows that at that time *iqṭāʿāt* were often inherited, and that the *muqṭāʿ*s used to live in their *iqṭāʿāt* and enrich them with architectural works as a symbol of their power.[62]

Is it possible to say when this shift in the meaning of the term *iqṭāʿ* in the language occurs? Further research is needed on this topic. It is clear, however, that *iqṭāʿ* must already have been used in this sense before the time of Ibn al-Athīr, as testified by his use of the term as a locality.

Khubz in Later Centuries: An Overview

What about later centuries? Is *khubz* still in use? Do the meaning and the use of the term change? Although this article focuses mainly on sources from the thirteenth century C.E., I will now put forward a few considerations based on some quotations from authors of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The use of the term *khubz* as *iqṭāʿ* also continued in later centuries, but it came to be used with different meanings as well.

As in previous centuries, in this period the use of the term *khubz* changes from author to author. Some of them use the term both to indicate the *iqṭāʿ* of amirs, and with a new meaning, usually related to non-Mamluk soldiers. Gibb, for example, notes that "When al-Maqrīzī (d. 845) says (*Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 1:65) that Saladin after the battle at Mont Giscard, *qataa akhbaza jamaatin minal-akrad,* it is probable that *khubz* means here 'allowance of pay' rather than *iqṭāʿ,* as in later Mamluk usage."[63] The same author nevertheless uses *khubz* when referring to *iqṭāʿ,* as in the following passage:

وسبب ذلك أن السلطان استكثر أخباز المماليك أصحاب بيبرس
الجاشنكير وسلار النائب وبقية البرجية، وكان الخبز الواحد ما بين
ألف مثقال في السنة إلى ثمانمائة مثقال وخشى (السلطان) من وقوع
الفتنة بأخذ أخبازهم

The reason for this survey was as follows. The sultan regarded the *ahkbāz* (that is, the *iqṭāʿ*s) of the *mamlūk*s who were the retainers

[61] On the difference between the Muslim *iqṭāʿ* and the Western fief see Cahen, "L'évolution de l'iqtaʿ du IX au XIII siècle"; idem, "Iḳṭāʿ"; idem, "Réflexions sur l'usage de mot 'Féodalité,'" *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 3 (1960): 2–20. A different opinion is expressed by Irwin, "Iqtaʿ and the End of the Crusader States," 77.

[62] Eddé, *La Principauté Ayyubide d'Alep;* Benjamin Michaudel, "The Use of Fortification as a Political Instrument by the Ayyubids and the Mamluks in Bilād al-Shām and in Egypt (Twelfth–Thirteenth Centuries)," *MSR* 11, no. 1 (2007): 55–67.

[63] H. A. R. Gibb, "The Armies of Saladin," *in Studies on the Civilization of Islam* (London, 1962), 86, n.16.

> of Baybars al-Jāshankīr and *al-nāʿib* Salār, and of the surviving *al-Mamālīk al-Burjīya* to be excessive. That is to say, this was because one *iqṭāʿ* was between an annual revenue of 1000 mithqāls (1,000 dīnārs) and 800 mithqāls, but the sultan was afraid of provoking riots by confiscating their *khubz*."[64]

Also al-Yūnīnī, who lived before al-Maqrīzī, uses *khubz* with different meanings. In some passages of his *Dhayl Mirʿāt al-Zamān* the word *khubz* refers to *iqṭāʿ*. On 2:242, for example, when he accounts for the *iqṭāʿ* given to Baybars in 659, the author refers to the *iqṭāʿ* with the term *khubz*.[65] On the other hand, the same author uses the term with a different meaning in another passage:

> وفيها في يوم السبت سادس عشر جمادى الأول كان ابتداء الروْك والشروع في إقطاعات الأمراء وفي اخباز الحلقة والأجناد وجميع عساكر الديار المصرية

> In this year [697], on Saturday, Jumādā I 16 (March 1, 1298), the land redistribution *(al-rawk)* came into effect. Amīrs began to be granted fief lands *(iqṭāʿ)*, while the non-Mamluk *ḥalqa* troopers and all Egyptian soldiers received their fief-related allowance *(akhbāz)*.[66]

Al-Yūnīnī distinguished between the two terms; while *iqṭāʿāt* was given to the amirs, *khubz* is what non-Mamluk soldiers received. This is not the only case where *khubz* is related to soldiers rather than to amirs' *iqṭāʿāt*. In the work of a contemporary of al-Yūnīnī, al-Nuwayrī, *khubz* seems to be used in the same sense. In "Le Testament d'al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb"[67]:

> اذا كتب منشور لامير ياخذوا منه المايتي واكثر ومن الجندي من الماية ونازل ويكون الجندي خبزه الف دينار يفرقوا خبزه في خمس ست مواضع في قوص وفي الشرقية وفي الغربية فيزيد الجندي اربع وكلا تروح الخبز للوكلا وما يحصل للجندي من خبزه شي

> Si un diplôme était écrit pour un émir, ils lui prenaient 200 dinars et même plus, s'il l'était pour un soldat 100 et moins (?); le soldat dont l'allocation *khubz* est de 1000 dinars ils la dispersent entre

[64] Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 2:146. The translation is taken from Sato, *State and Rural Society,* 147. See also the following passages: 2:386 and 3:407; in the former the term *khubz* refers to the *iqṭāʿāt* of the Khāṣṣakīyah, and in the latter it refers to the *iqṭāʿ* of an amir.

[65] The term *khubz* has the same meaning also in 2:92. See also al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk,* 3:85.

[66] Li Guo, *Early Mamluk Syrian Historiography: Al-Yūnīnī's Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān* (Leiden, 1998), 1:106 (English translation), 2:11 (Arabic text).

[67] Cahen and Chabbouh, "Le Testament," 102 (Arabic text), 110 (French translation).

> cinq et six endroits à Qus et dans la Sharqiya et la Gharbiya il est obligé de nommer 4 gérants, auxquels va tout le *khubz,* et il ne lui revient rien à lui même…
>
> يا ولدي اكثر الاجناد اليوم عامة وباعة وقزازين كل من لبس قبا وركب فرس وجا الى امير من هاولاء الترك وقدم له قوس وبرطل واستاذداره على خبز جندي من جندي معروف بالشجاعة والحرب، طرده اميره واعطا خبزه لذلك العامي الذي لا ينفع، واكثرهم على هذه الحالة، فاذا عاينوا العدو وقت الحاجة هربوا وينكسروا العسكر لانهم ما يعرفوا ولا هو شغلهم فينبغي ان لا تستخدم
>
> O mon fils, la plupart des soldats de l'armée sont des gens du peuple, des boutiquiers et des tisserands (?). Quiconque revêt un *qabā,* monte un cheval et vient trouver un de ces Emirs turcs, on lui amène un cheval on corrompt le….et l'*ustādhdār,* pour avoir le *khubz* d'un soldat connu par sa vaillance et ses qualités de guerre, l'émir l'abandonne et donne le *khubz* à ce soldat commun, qui n'est d'aucune utilité (pour l'armé).[68]

According to Claude Cahen, who edited the text, *khubz* is "un des termes courents pour designer les *iqṭāʿāt* de dimensions modestes."[69] *Khubz* has also been used to refer to the *iqṭāʿāt* of the sons of Mamluk amirs in the *ḥalqah*. These *iqṭāʿāt* were usually inferior compared with those granted to the Royal Mamluks.[70]

I will conclude with a contemporary of al-Yūnīnī and al-Nuwayrī, who shares many similarities with al-Makīn, both in his biography and in his use of term *khubz:* Ibn al-Suqāʿī. Like al-Makīn, he was an Egyptian Copt. He worked in the Mamluk administration. He wrote a biographical dictionary, *Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-Aʿyān*. In this work the term *khubz* is used more than any other expression related to the concept of *iqṭāʿ* (fourteen times out of twenty). I have already quoted some passages of his work, talking about the use of *khubz* followed by the number of horsemen to be maintained by it. The copious use of the term by this author confirms its bureaucratic usage. Apparently, *khubz* and *iqṭāʿ* are used interchangeably in his writing. Although in the *Tālī Kitāb khubz* refers mainly to *iqṭāʿ,* in one

[68]Ibid., 102 (Arabic text), 111 (French translation).

[69]Ibid., 110.

[70]This passage is quoted in Amalia Levanoni, "Awlad al-Nas in the Mamluk Army during the Bahri period," in *Mamluks and Ottomans: Studies in Honor of Michael Winter,* ed. Ami Ayalon and David J. Wasserstein (London, 2006), 97.

case it is related to soldiers' wages: "[He promised] that he would appoint him as (give him the office of) soldier with a *khubz:* يجعله جندي بخبز"[71]

Some Final Remarks

The presence of the term *khubz* in the work of all the authors under review confirms its usage. The point now is to understand to which linguistic register the term *khubz* belonged. The frequent use of this term, in fact, could be related to a wider use of colloquialisms or bureaucratic terms, or to the author's familiarity with the latter. My opinion is that, although *iqṭāʿ* was the administrative term, *khubz* must have been widespread, especially in bureaucracy and administration and in certain expressions like "*khubz* of 100 horsemen." A very interesting point is that in Ibn al-Athīr the term *khubz* never appears. The fact that this term is not used cannot, in my opinion, be solely attributed to the chronological gap between him and the authors under review. Ibn al-Athīr was a professor who devoted most of his life to his literary work. His *Al-Kāmil,* moreover, is partly assembled from his students' notes.[72] If the language used in *Al-Kāmil* is the same language the author used for his lessons, the absence of the term *khubz* is not surprising; on the contrary, it would fit perfectly with the use of the term mainly in the spoken language and the vernacular of the administration. As *iqṭāʿ* was a technical term, the most correct one, in fact, it is not surprising that it was commonly used by teachers during their lectures. The absence of the term in Ibn al-Athīr does not prove that the term *khubz* was not in use at that time; it is rather a result of the author's linguistic and stylistic choices. It is true, however, that the decades between Ibn al-Athīr and the writers discussed in this article are not insignificant. The use of *khubz* might have become more common in the period that followed.

The use of the term in the narratives I have analyzed is not in conflict with the hypothesis that it was used particularly frequently in administration. It is well known that in the period under review the authors already enjoyed a certain independence from tradition and that their language contains colloquialisms.[73] What is more, all of the authors mentioned in this article held positions in the administration or had close ties with the courts and administrative and political groups, which may have shaped the language of their works.

The textual analysis of the works under discussion confirms that *khubz* was mainly used with the meaning of *iqṭāʿ,* even when the latter came to refer to lo-

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[71] Al-Suqāʿī, *Tālī Kitāb,* paragraph 187. *Jundī* means private soldier; see Ayalon, "Studies in the Structure," 473, n. 5.

[72] Chase Robinson, *Islamic Historiography* (Cambridge, 2002), 175.

[73] Ibid., 97. On this subject see Ulrich Haarmann, *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit* (Freiburg, 1969), 159.

cality. Nevertheless there are specific uses of *khubz* which might be connected to its meaning of bread: firstly al-Makīn's use of the term in the context of complaints and requests; secondly its use followed by the number of horsemen to be sustained by the *iqṭāʿ*.

The analysis of these particular cases also highlights the relevance of a semantic analysis for an understanding of the functioning of the *iqṭāʿ* system and of the way the latter was perceived in the period under discussion. Although further research is needed, I think that the use of the word *khubz* to indicate *iqṭāʿ* and its usage in contexts of complaint is relevant to the social and emotional relations that underlie the contractual aspect. Even more relevant for an understanding of both the local perception of the *iqṭāʿ* system and of its functioning on the ground is the use of both *iqṭāʿ* and *khubz* to mean an estate. Both these points, moreover, show that the local developments of the *iqṭāʿ* system might present particular features that are not congruent with the traditional definition of *iqṭāʿ* as a tax allocation and nothing more. In fact, these local developments might in some cases bring into question—at least in part—the assumptions about the differences between the Muslim *iqṭāʿ* and the Western fief.

To conclude, I would say that a semantic study can, to some extent, help us to go beyond a purely legal perspective, and can contribute to a better understanding of the features of the *iqṭāʿ* system and especially of its local developments.

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The 727/1327 Silk Weavers' Rebellion in Alexandria: Religious Xenophobia, Homophobia, or Economic Grievances

In Rajab 727/May 1327, Alexandria rebelled against the wali Rukn al-Dīn al-Karakī. This rebellion lasted nearly two months, and the sources describe it as a *fitnah*. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah says that he came to know of it when he was in Mecca that year. News of this event spread to other parts of the Islamic world.[1] The most detailed accounts of this rebellion are found in al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* and al-Maqrīzī's *Al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* two of the most important sources for the Mamluk period in Egypt.[2] At first glance, this rebellion seems to have been no more than a scuffle between Egyptians and Europeans on the corniche. However, a third report that sheds new light on this incident was recently found in al-Jazarī's *Ḥawādith al-Zamān.*[3] This report turns out to be an account of the events told to al-Jazarī by two merchants who had been in Alexandria during the rebellion and were interviewed by al-Jazarī in Damascus about five months later. Because they had lived through the event, and because they themselves were merchants, they provide significant details that are not mentioned elsewhere, and they shed more light on an episode which scholars,

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[1]See Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, *Tārīkh Madīnat al-Iskandarīyah fī al-ʿAṣr al-Islāmī* (Cairo, 1966), 107. I have found that there are too few sources, other than the ones cited in this study, that deal specifically with Alexandria during the Mamluk period, even though the city played a major part in that history.

[2]Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,* ed. Muṣṭafá Hijāzī (Cairo, 1997), 33:232–36; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* vol. 2, part 1, ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1934), 284–86. Al-Maqrīzī provides another account in his *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1270 A.H.), 1:326–27. Other primary sources give a brief notice of the incident, such as Zayn al-Dīn ibn Muẓaffar Ibn al-Wardī, *Tārīkh* (Beirut, 1996), 2:272–73; Faḍl Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd wa-al-Durr al-Farīd,* ed. Samira Kortantamer as *Agypten und Syrien Zwischen 1317 und 1341 in der Chronik des Mufaḍḍal b. Abī l-Faḍāʾil* (Freiburg, 1973), 37–38, where he refers to his source as *al-muʾarrikh,* most likely referring to al-Jazarī since his report about the incident seems to be a short summary of al Jazarī's account, often using the same vocabulary; Ibn Aybak al-Dawādārī, *Die Chronik des Ibn ad-Dawādārī,* ed. Hans Robert Roemer (Cairo, 1960), 1:342.

[3]Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith al-Zamān wa-Anbāʾihi wa-Wafayāt Akābir wa-al-Aʿyān min Abnāʾihi,* ed. ʿUmar Tadmurī (Beirut, 1998), 2:185–89.

relying on al-Nuwayrī and al-Maqrīzī, have described as a brawl between Europeans and Egyptians.[4] What is fascinating in these accounts is not that there are discrepancies in their story; variants are quite common in the sources and are to be expected, given that authors often provided brief and selective summaries and notices of what they chose to include in their chronicles. It is, however, the nature of those differences that proves to be unusual. Al-Nuwayrī offers religious grounds for the scuffle that marked the rebellion, while al-Maqrīzī provides a homophobic pretext for the same incident. It will be demonstrated in the following discussion that, according to the merchants' account, the rebellion was rooted in grievances held by the silk-weavers in Alexandria against economic policies imposed by al-Karakī. Further, while al-Nuwayrī and al-Maqrīzī reduce their narrative to an isolated incident, al-Jazarī's account shows that the scuffle is one of a series of related events. It will also be demonstrated that religious and homophobic grounds merely provided convenient tropes to justify the Egyptians' reaction and to lay the responsibility for this *fitnah* and its disastrous consequences squarely on the shoulders of the Europeans.

Alexandria's role in Mediterranean commerce cannot be overstated. Alexandria gradually assumed a greater role in the context of the increased volume of Mediterranean trade after the year 1000 and in the context of the competition between European and Muslim merchants in the following period. The hostilities of the Crusader era at once hindered and spurred commerce and competition. Saladin, for example, forced European merchants to evacuate from the Red Sea (ʿAydhāb) and Cairo and restricted their operations to Alexandria, especially after Reynald de Chatillon's 1183 failed naval expedition.[5] Commerce and cultural contacts in Alexandria must have peaked again after Damietta was demolished early in the Mamluk period due to repeated European attacks against it. Alexandria thus became Egypt's major outlet to Mediterranean trade. After the fall of Acre in 1291, commercial treaties with European powers were renewed and new ones were concluded that made Alexandria the principle port in the eastern Mediterranean for the exchange of goods brought from the East, especially by the Kārimī merchants.[6] In 1310 the sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad reconnected Alexandria

[4]Eliahu Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Latter Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983), 52–54. Following Ashtor, see also Linda Northrup, "The Bahri Mamluk Sultanate," in *Cambridge History of Egypt: Islamic Egypt 640–1517,* vol. 1, ed. Carl Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 285. The best current treatment of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's reign is Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn* (Leiden, 1995), 151–52. Curiously, Levanoni does not mention this incident, even though it is a prime example al-Nāṣir's policy of confiscations.

[5]Subhi Labib, "Iskandariyya," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* CD-ROM edition; Claude Cahen, "Ayyubids," ibid.

[6]Eliahu Ashtor, *Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1976), 299.

with the Nile by digging what came to be known as al-Khalīj al-Nāṣirī to facilitate trade and other economic activity in and around Alexandria.[7] Textiles were among the most important products of Alexandria, whether manufactured in the government's Dār al-Ṭīrāz or produced on private looms.[8] Textiles were made of various materials, such as wool, cotton, linen, flax, and silk. The silk industry flourished in Alexandria during the Mamluk period, especially the Bahri period. The ownership of the silk industry at this time was mixed: privately owned looms churned out their products alongside government-owned workshops, such as Dār al-Ṭīrāz.[9] Much of the trade in these commodities was conducted with European merchants and reached various parts of the world.[10] It is perhaps due to these extensive commercial contacts that the Alexandria mint, according to Schultz, produced at this time only gold coins.[11] Therefore, the immediate and wider historical background of the *fitnah* of 1327 was increased commercial and cultural contacts between Europeans and Muslims in Alexandria, a thriving market in which textiles figured prominently. It was al-Karakī's decree to restrict the sale of silk to the government's warehouse, as shown only by al-Jazarī, that caused the initial grievance: imposing a state monopoly on the sale of silk and other items had deleterious consequences for the fortunes of the merchants and textile producers of Alexandria at a time when the market was brimming with trade activity. Local grievances mounted against this policy as the Egyptians became more impoverished, to the extent that some textile producers could not repay European merchants for money they had either borrowed or received as advance on their goods. This, then, is the volatile environment in which the *fitnah* took place.

The following examination will help us reconstruct the rebellion of 1327. There is much agreement between the three authors, yet each account has its own nuanced retelling of the story, especially in the choice of terms used to identify the participants, in the specific event that sparked the discontent, and in the associated actions that the authors chose to include in their account, especially those taken by the central government. Taken altogether, it should be noted that the three accounts complement one another in the sense that they share cer-

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[7] Al-Shayyāl, *Tārīkh Madīnat al-Iskandarīyah,* 104–6.

[8] For references to the textile industry in Alexandria, see Muhammad Abdelaziz Marzouk, *History of Textile Industry in Alexandria: 331 B.C.–1517 A.D.* (Alexandria, 1955), 61 ff; See also Bethany Walker, "The Social Implications of Textile Development in Fourteenth-Century Egypt," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 4 (2000): 167–217; Louise Mackie, "Towards an Understanding of Mamluk Silks: National and International Considerations," *Muqarnas* 2 (1984): 127–46.

[9] Mackie, "Towards an Understanding of Mamluk Silks," 127; Walker, "Social Implications of Textile Development," 171 ff.

[10] Marzouk, *Textile Industry,* 79.

[11] Warren Schultz, "The Monetary History of Egypt," in *Cambridge History of Egypt,* 333.

tain events and settings, albeit not always in the same order, and provide details that fill in the gaps created by the selective summarizing. This examination, then, should provide a wider view of an expression of social discontent that, even though it appears limited, anticipates a larger turn in Mamluk economic policies and practices.

Of the three authors, al-Nuwayrī was the closest to the event; he was writing in Cairo, where he died five years later, in 1332. The similarities and differences between these authors, however, are not dictated by time or space; al-Jazarī interviewed the eyewitnesses in Damascus five months later, while al-Maqrīzī wrote his account more than a century later. As such, al-Maqrīzī had a larger pool of sources, perhaps even al-Nuwayrī's and al-Jazarī's, and was more selective in reconstructing his account. In order to appreciate the distinctive features of each account, the following analysis will examine the main points in the story: the reason for the rebellion and the government's reaction to it.

The Reason for the Fitnah

Al-Nuwayrī says:

> And on Thursday the 5th of the month of Rajab, of the year 727, a huge *fitnah* occurred in the port *(thaghr)* of Alexandria between the people of that city and its governor *(mutawallīh),* Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Karakī. And the cause of this *fitnah* is that a group of common folks *(jamāʿah min ʿawāmm al-thaghr)* gathered on that day for sightseeing as they habitually do *(li-yatafarrajū ʿalá ʿādatihim).* They stood at a storyteller's circle outside the port, between the two gates, the Green and the Sea Gate. In the circle there was a *Firanjī* who belonged to the emissaries of the Byzantine ruler *(rusul ṣāhib Isṭanbūl),* and whenever the storyteller mentioned the Prophet (prayer and peace be upon him) the people raised their voice in prayer as Muslims habitually do in that case. One of them said: get this *Firanjī* away from among us for we pray for the Prophet (prayer and peace be upon him) and he does not pray for him. So they wanted to get him away from the circle but he refused to leave. So he was pushed away from it. A foot soldier from the governorate of the city came to his aid *(fa-aʿānahu baʿḍ rajjālat al-wilāyah bi-al-thaghr)* and said that he belongs to the emissaries who had just arrived to [meet] the sultan. Some of the commoners beat the foot soldier who then sought help from a group of his comrade foot

> soldiers. The commoners outnumbered them and beat them and thereafter the *fitnah* rose up.[12]

At least two points relevant to the discussion should be noticed in al-Nuwayrī's description of this event. First, he uses the word *ʿawāmm* to describe the Egyptians who were sightseeing on that Thursday afternoon, and he uses the word *Firanj* to denote Europeans or Byzantines. Second, he reports that the incident around the storyteller's circle originated as a religious dispute, namely suspicion or misunderstanding of the European's failure to participate in the prayer. The suspicion aroused by the presence of the European at the storyteller's circle could be understood within the context of religious xenophobia. The perceived lack of respect for the Prophet, and as such also for Muslims, led to the desire to exclude him from the circle. The audience, or at least one in the crowd, wanted to remove the European from the circle on the grounds that he did not share in the blessing for the Prophet. This would seem to suggest that if the European willingly excluded himself from the circle, nothing would have happened. But since he had to be removed forcibly, the fault and the responsibility for the ensuing problems, the source would suggest, lies with the European.

Al-Maqrīzī reports on this incident in two of his works. In the *Sulūk* version, he does not mention the storyteller or the sightseeing activity, because, as he insists, he was giving a summary account *(mulakhkhaṣ)* of the incident. He says:

> On Thursday the 5th of the month [of Rajab] the *fitnah* took place in Alexandria and its summary [account] is that a *Firanjī* merchant had an exchange *(fāwaḍah)* with a Muslim and had hit him. And that [happened] because the *Firanjī* stood near a beardless youth (*ṣabī amrad,* a minor) to take him and do with him that act *(li-yakhudhahu wa-yafʿala bi-hi dhālika al-fiʿl)*. A Muslim man forbade him and told him: "that is not lawful." The *Firanjī* then hit the [Muslim's] face with a shoe. Other Muslims rose up against the *Firanjī* whose companions rose up to protect him. Evil fell between the two groups and they fought [each other] with weapons. The governor of the city, al-Karakī, rode [to the scene] to find that the people had banded together and [that they] had brought out their weapons. The people testified against the *Firanjī* with what necessitated his execution *(shahidū ʿalá al-firanjī bi-mā yūjību qatlahu)* and they carried him off to the qadi. The markets of the city and its gates were shuttered.[13]

[12] Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat,* 33:232–33.

[13] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 284.

In his version in the *Khiṭaṭ,* which is even more truncated, al-Maqrīzī mentions this incident with some modification and says that a *Firanjī* merchant went to the place by the sea where common folks go sightseeing. There, the European merchant approached a beardless youth and solicited sexual acts, as understood from al-Maqrīzī's words "*taʿarraḍa ilá ṣabī amrad yurāwiduhu ʿan nafsihi.*"[14]

Al-Maqrīzī, as we have read, is consistent in his reference to the *Firanj* as a party to the incident. However, he refers to them as merchants, not as emissaries. And instead of using the word *ʿāmmah* to describe the Egyptians, al-Maqrīzī described them as Muslims. We know, of course, that the emissaries could be merchants and vice versa and we know also that at the time the majority of the inhabitants of Alexandria were Muslims. Neither of the accounts is fundamentally flawed, but it is the choice of words and how they color the story that should be noted here. The most serious difference between the two accounts is the point of interaction between the two parties. Al-Nuwayrī describes a cultural scene: people sightseeing, a storyteller's circle on the corniche, and a fight motivated, as we have seen, by religious sentiments. Al-Maqrīzī cites inappropriate sexual advances towards a boy as the cause of the fight. This introduces a more nuanced conflict between the two sides, one that includes other issues, such as honor, morality, and cultural values, especially regarding homosexuality. This is problematic, given that contemporary Arabic sources speak of homosexuality as a practice recognized in certain social circles.[15] But although acknowledged in the literature, the practice was not necessarily condoned. It was also considered a serious crime to attack young boys. Al-Jazarī reports several cases that resulted in the castration and death of those accused of assaulting young boys.[16] Therefore, when the *Firanjī* merchant solicited the boy, it was regarded as an affront towards religious as well as cultural and moral sensibilities. Not only was it considered a "sinful" act (not *ḥalāl*); the objection could have been also on the grounds of homophobic reactions or even against pedophilia. That this exchange was perceived by the Muslim as an insult, perhaps even to his own honor, is reinforced by the

[14] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:326. For a more famous example, the expression, *yurāwiduhu ʿan nafsihi* is mentioned in the Quran, 12:23–61, in reference to the attempted seduction of Joseph.

[15] See, for example, Everett Rowson, "Two Homoerotic Narratives from Mamlūk Literature: al-Ṣafadī's Lawʾat al-Shākī and Ibn Daniyāl's al-Mutayyam," in *Homoeroticism in Classical Arabic Literature,* ed. J. W. Wright and Everett Rowson (New York, 1997). For a review of other recent literature on the subject of homosexuality see S. Schmidtke, "Homoeroticism and Homosexuality in Islam: A Review Article," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 62, no. 2 (1999): 260–66.

[16] See al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith,* 3:677, where a black slave was castrated in Cairo because he used to "*yataʿarraḍu li-awlād al-nās*." Two other cases involved young boys, but the executions resulted from their murder. See, for example, ibid., 2:346, 386.

account that the European hit the Egyptian's face with his shoe, a decidedly disrespectful thing to do to a Muslim.

For all we know, such effrontery as reported by al-Nuwayrī or as reported by al-Maqrīzī may or may not have occurred at all. But we are faced with two different versions for the same event. Could these variant explanations have been rumors circulated in the aftermath of Alexandria's troubles? Or could the religious and the sexual explanations serve as convenient tropes to describe "triggers" for social uprisings? Both authors reported what they deemed a sufficient pretext to explain or to justify people's anger against the European's perceived transgression, whatever it may have been. In the absence of any context other than that provided by al-Nuwayrī and al-Maqrīzī, these authors seem to suggest that the Egyptians were reacting to this or to that provocation only. Isolated and out of context, these versions of events could have misled modern historians to describe this incident merely as a brawl.

However, a brawl it was not, for "brawl" suggests a brief noisy quarrel that may involve a number of people. Al-Jazarī supplies information that points to city-wide and long term discontent and resentment based on specific economic grievances. And far from the price one pays for a brief quarrel, the people of Alexandria endured a month-long government extortion that severely punished the town.

Al-Jazarī, in the course of listing notable events of the year 727, says that he had a conversation with Muḥammad ibn Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Tānī, a traveling merchant *(tājir saffār)* and resident of Alexandria, along with Aḥmad ibn al-Ṣabbāb al-Ḥarrānī, also a traveling merchant who had been in Alexandria when the *fitnah* took place. They told him:

> When it was in the afternoon, on Thursday, the 6th of Rajab, emissaries on behalf of the *Firanj* had arrived and were staying inside the Sea Gate, between the two gates, where people *(al-khaliqu)* pour in for sightseeing. One of the *Firanj* went out sightseeing [also] and stood next to a group of people. There [among them] stood a beardless youth *(ṣabī amrad)* and [the *Firanjī*] stood next to him and stepped on his foot [intending that] as signal to him *(fa-daʿasa ʿalá rijlihi ishāratan ilayhi).* A man said to the *Firanjī* "this is not lawful." The *Firanjī* was carrying a leather shoe with which he hit the face of the man who disapproved [of his intent]. Another man came forth and disapproved [of what the European did] and then the talk widened. The discord intensified and there was much hitting [between them]. The news went to the governor, who rode out with his men and ordered the gates of the city shut. He sought those who

> caused the disturbance, but the people fled from his clutches. The wali then brought the *Firanj* [back] to the place of their residence and he returned to his own.[17]

So far, this is not much different from the previous accounts, except that the merchants supply a more exact location where the altercation took place, on the corniche and in the span between the two gates facing the sea. However, an important additional element in the merchants' account is the actual physical contact that was understood to be the solicitation when the *Firanjī* stepped on the boy's foot, intending it as a signal. A signal to do what, they did not say, but it is implied that he was seeking sex with the boy. It is not clear why stepping on the boy's foot was meant to be a signal for what al-Maqrīzī referred to in one instance as "to do with him that act" and in another "*yurāwiduhu ʿan nafsihi.*" Here again, the *Firanjī* hit the man's face with a shoe, now of leather, before others joined in the melee. Once again, the sexual trope is used as the basis of the quarrel, albeit taking place in an environment that combines al-Nuwayrī's location (now more precise) and al-Maqrīzī's sexual solicitation. As we shall see below, however, the Egyptians were reacting to more than hearsay "triggers" for their grievance against the Europeans and the government.

The Immediate Aftermath: Friday 6th of Rajab

Matters did not come to an end after al-Karakī secured the safety of the Europeans by taking them to their quarters. Al-Karakī had to deal with an angry town on the verge of insurrection. Yet, no further action against the Europeans is reported by any of the accounts. Resentment, discontent, and violence were directed, from now on, at al-Karakī and his aids. Armed clashes took place and resulted in death and injury. The government was on the retreat and al-Karakī seemed to lose his grip on the situation, prompting him to seek aid from Cairo. In reporting on this, here too the three reports are nuanced.

Al-Nuwayrī says that when al-Karakī rode out to repulse the people after they had overpowered the troops, the people stoned him and his aides, whereupon he ordered the city gates closed, preventing many people outside from going back home. An official with the title of *rayyis al-khilāfah* came around the corniche in a boat loaded with archers and began to shoot at the crowd, killing many of them. The chief judge of Alexandria, ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kindī, counseled al-Karakī to cease and desist *(ashāra ʿalá al-mutawallī bi-al-kaff),* but al-Karakī refused to listen. Al-

[17] Ibid., 2:185–86. According to calculations based on Freeman-Granville the 5th of Rajab falls on Thursday (G. S. P. Freeman-Granville, *The Muslim and Christian Calendars: Being Tables for the Conversion of Muslim and Christian Dates from the Hijra to the Year A D 2000,* 2nd ed. [London, 1977], 37, 62).

Nuwayrī adds here that "it was said" that ʿImād al-Dīn told the populace that it was therefore lawful to fight the government, fanning the flames of the *fitnah* to the extent that al-Karakī and his aides were besieged in their residences. In the meanwhile, a group of people attacked the residence of the *rayyis al-khilāfah,* where arms were stored, and looted everything in it. Another group went to the prison and broke its doors and let prisoners out. Al-Nuwayrī adds, in what seems to be an afterthought, that the people had intended to free the Mamluk commanders imprisoned there, but the latter refused to leave. This last act prompted al-Karakī to relay the news to the sultan in Cairo.[18]

Al-Maqrīzī does not mention any of this at all. Rather, he says that trouble started again after the late evening prayer, when al-Karakī opened the gates to let in those who had been locked out since the afternoon. He says that, in the crush of the people coming in, ten people perished and many others were injured, in addition to some loss of property. In a curious twist, al-Maqrīzī says that it was then that al-Karakī recognized the extent of the people's resentment against the Europeans. And, never mind that it was late at night and the Europeans were safely tucked away, al-Maqrīzī says that it was then that al-Karakī rode against the people but they stood their ground until they forced him to retreat after much blood was shed on both sides. In response, al-Karakī dispatched carrier pigeons to Cairo to inform the sultan of the news.[19]

The story as related by al-Jazarī seems to indicate that some calm was restored after al-Karakī delivered the Europeans to their quarters, except of course for those who were locked out of the city and were becoming increasingly anxious at the late hour. A group of city notables went later that night to al-Karakī requesting that he open the gates. Al-Karakī obliged and had the gates opened, and, according to the merchants, he also deployed a group of archers right then and there who proceeded to shoot at the people coming in and assaulted them, even with swords, so that more than ten people were killed and many were wounded. Thereafter, that is on Friday morning the 6th of Rajab, the people of Alexandria woke up lamenting the death and injury to their kin and slapping their faces in grief. Al-Karakī, coming to inspect the scene in the morning, faced a hostile crowed who stoned him all the way back to his residence, where he shut himself off from the angry crowd.[20]

But the merchants broke off their narrative here to say that problems had actually started twenty days earlier. They said:

[18] Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat,* 33:233.

[19] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 284–85.

[20] Al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith,* 2:186.

> Before all of this by about twenty days, there came to the governor two middlemen *(samāsirah*, sg. *simsār)* from the storehouse known as the Qaysārīyah of the ʿAjam and said: The middlemen of the *qaysārīyah* have agreed with the silk weavers, and likewise with the criers *(dallālīn,* sg. *dallāl)* that they would buy [the silk] from them [directly] and take their commission from the merchants *(yaʿtābūna min al-qazzāzīn wa-yakhudhū min al-tujjār al-samsarah).* The additional charge [thus] will fall on the strangers, especially the foreigners *(wa-an yaqaʿu al-ḥayf ʿalá al-gharīb, khuṣūṣan al-ʿajam).* [Accordingly] they had made most of the selling of goods, the buying of textiles, and the selling of crops in [other] bazaars and storehouses, and thus the revenue of the sultan and the people was lost in those [transactions]. So the governor decreed that nothing will be bought or sold except in the Qaysārīyah of the ʿAjam, and any one who sells in [other] storehouses will be disciplined.
>
> Ibn al-Ṣabbāb continued: [Thereafter] the affairs of the silk weavers were ruined. So, before this incident, they had gone [then] to the aforementioned gate and threw stones at the governor and he ordered it shut between him and the people, fearing [more] stoning and [further] disturbance. In the meanwhile, a man from Alexandria named Ibn Ruwāḥah came to the governor and apologized for those of the ignorant and of the silk weavers who acted in such a manner, and secured [from the governor] his decree that the [silk weavers] could conduct their business as they had done before. And the affair was settled. But [some informants] kept giving the governor information by saying [the proverb]: "*Oil is only extracted in the presses,*" and similar talk.[21]

Having given us the *casus belli,* the merchants resumed their account regarding the Friday morning events. They said that having driven al-Karakī back to his residence once more, two individuals set the gate that protected him on fire and broke the prison door, which happened to be adjacent, and let some prisoners out. The cells in which the Mamluk commanders were imprisoned were located on the second floor. When fire and smoke reached them they began to cry out for help. Al-Karakī and his archers climbed to the roof top and began shooting again at the people below, forcing them to retreat. From there, the people proceeded towards some official buildings, including the secretary's residence, and looted them. It was then that al-Karakī summoned help from Damanhūr, among other areas

[21] Ibid., 2:187.

around Alexandria, including Bedouin auxiliaries. He also wrote to the sultan informing him of the events. The merchants add that al-Karakī misrepresented the people and exaggerated their actions when he described them as declaring their disobedience to the sultan *(wa-ḥarrafa ʿalayhim wa-fakhkhama, wa-anna ahl al-balad kharajū ʿan al-ṭāʿah).* The secretary who wrote the letter, the merchants add further, is the one whose house was looted.[22]

Some observations are warranted here due to the issues raised and the discrepancies found among the three authors. Al-Nuwayrī's account leads one to believe the fighting was done on the outside, during the same afternoon, and that the flames of the *fitnah* were fanned by the qadi ʿImād al-Dīn after he deemed it lawful to fight the government. This *fatwá* emboldened the people, who besieged al-Karakī and then proceeded to loot *dār rayyis al-khilāfah* and to break the prison door. Clearly these were acts of civil disobedience, and al-Nuwayrī seems to blame ʿImād al-Dīn and the people for this turn of events. His interjection that the people had intended to set free the imprisoned Mamluk commanders reflects, as he once was a government official, the concerns of the central government, who, as we shall see below, took immediate steps to secure itself against a possible conspiracy. Al-Karakī, on the other hand, seems to be carrying out his official duties, however badly. Al-Maqrīzī also leans favorably toward al-Karakī, regardless of the discrepancies in his version. Al-Maqrīzī says that al-Karakī, without the intercession of the notables, had the gate opened. The death and injury that followed resulted from the crush of the people coming in and was not the fault of al-Karakī. The merchants' account, however, gives us the distinct impression that death and injury at the gate were not only unnecessary but also that they were due to the treachery of al-Karakī. They also clearly blame him for his lies and exaggeration in describing the people's actions. Thus, while al-Nuwayrī and al-Maqrīzī could blame the Europeans for starting the initial troubles, albeit based on hearsay and altogether different grounds, the two seem to cast their blame on the people for the ensuing trouble, not the state.

The merchants' account, as related to us by al-Jazarī, is decidedly on the side of the people. First and foremost, trouble had been brewing because of the economic loss that the people of Alexandria had endured due to the restrictions imposed by al-Karakī. Therefore, the initial grievance that created the resentment against the European merchants lies here, and it is the only concrete reason, from what had been reported, that may have led to the altercation on the corniche. For, as today the corniche in Alexandria is a very busy place, one can imagine that it was also a busy place on that Thursday afternoon, as understood from the choice of words in the merchants' account, *tanṣabbu al-khaliq lil-furjah,* "the throngs pour in for sightseeing." Could it be expected that the European should have been fluent in

[22] Ibid.

Arabic so as to recognize every mention of the Prophet by the storyteller? Could the European have been pushed out simply because the Egyptian was already ill-disposed to his presence because of the economic grievance? Also, could the European have accidentally stepped on the boy's foot, given the comings and goings on the corniche on Thursday afternoons? Is it possible to see that the ambiguity of this act is reflected in the ambiguity of the report, which said only that stepping on the foot was a "signal"? Was it this lacuna that prompted al-Maqrīzī to fill in his clarifications nearly a century later by explaining that the signal was "to do with him that act" or by adding the more unmistakable phrase "*yurāwiduhu ʿan nafsihi*?"[23] Furthermore, the religious and the sexual are *sui generis* explanations of the same incident. We understand that they are tropes because it is taken for granted that such reasons were sufficient to cause popular discontent. No doubt, it is possible that both explanations were mere rumors that began to circulate after the scuffle. Of course, rumors themselves could lead to misunderstandings and suspicion, among other reactions, including the action described above, whether based on this or that trigger. The inclusion of the sexual trope in the merchants' account supports this also, even though they were the source of the initial grievance. These merchants stayed in Alexandria for the next five months and were in touch with the people in its market place and thus picked up, so to speak, the talk of the town.

It is thanks to them that they provided a context when they rooted their story in a sequence of events beginning with the grievance of the silk weavers, a grievance that led then to similar social action played out in the same geographic location and with a similar pattern. If not for the merchants, the state's responsibility for the rise of popular discontent, at least in this case, would have remained unknown. Thus, the rebellion was based on concrete reasons, i.e., the effects of the tax/monopoly policy on the textile sector, especially the silk weavers. What amounts to a brawl in these accounts seems to have been one in a series of confrontations over a period of two months in the spring of 1327.[24] The great extent of the popular grievance could perhaps be gauged by taking into account that in 1380 fourteen thousand active looms were in Alexandria.[25] We do not have a figure for 1327 but we do for 1295, prior to the famine that devastated many areas in Egypt, including Alexandria. Al-Jazarī says that the number of looms then

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[23]It is very likely that al-Maqrīzī was summarizing from *Ḥawādith al-Zamān* and from *Nihāyat al-Arab*.

[24]The summary provided by Ibn Aybak al-Dawādārī, who provides a paraphrased account, also suggests this continuity. *Chronik,* 1:342.

[25]Mackie, "Toward an Understanding of Mamluk Silks," 127. The same figure for 1388 is given in Marzouk, *Textile Industry,* 79, and the same figure for 1394 is given in Walker, "Social Implications of Textile Development," 171.

was 12,000, a number that was severely reduced due to the disease and famine that caused so many deaths that year.[26] Alexandria's economy, however, recovered quickly, especially after 1310, and throughout al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's third reign. In 1324, Symon Simeones admired the fine quality and enormous quantity of silks, linens, and cottons that were being produced in Alexandria.[27] Thus, the number of looms in 1327 must have become high enough again to employ a wide social base, since the demand for the city's silks and other textiles was high. Furthermore, the fact that Egyptians had been dealing with Europeans before this event without incidents of this nature suggests that the resentment harbored by the Egyptians was not against Europeans per se. Rather, they were against dealing with those merchants (and they could have been of any origin) under the unfavorable conditions created by al-Karakī's decree, which was the source of the ill feeling in the first place.

The Response of the Central Government

Cairo stepped in roughly three days after the scuffle on the corniche. Al-Maqrīzī says that the carrier pigeons arrived in Cairo the following Sunday morning. The sultan became angry and very anxious, especially regarding the Mamluk commanders. According to al-Jazarī, he immediately convened a council which included judicial representatives, to give their *fatwá*s regarding subjects who rebel against the sultan. The sultan indeed suspected that this affair may have been a conspiracy and took immediate precautions in Cairo; the three sons of the imprisoned Mamluk commander Sayf al-Dīn al-Abū Bakrī were arrested. It is possible to reconstruct the reaction of the central government using the three accounts, keeping in mind that each author had his own biases and concerns. For example, the affair of the imprisoned Mamluk commanders seems to be the overriding concern of al-Nuwayrī and al-Maqrīzī. Between them, we have a list of the imprisoned commanders who were transferred to the citadel prison in Cairo, as well as the locations where they were eventually incarcerated. This attention to detail is contrasted with their vague references to the population. They use general designations like *jamāʿah, nās, ʿāmmah,* or *ahl al-thaghr.* As for the money extracted, they shared terms such as *ṣāḍara, akhadha, faraḍa.* Yet they give two different totals for the fines that were collected. Al-Jazarī does not mention anything regarding the Mamluk prisoners. Rather, attention is paid here to the extortions imposed on Alexandria and how the population suffered. Differences in their emphasis and detail notwithstanding, these accounts provide us a glimpse at the state in action and a measure of what happened after Cairo weighed in.

[26] Al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith,* 1:282.

[27] See Marzouk, *Textile Industry,* 79.

Command was promptly assigned to ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Mughalṭāy al-Jamālī, whose titles are given as *wazīr, mudabbir al-dawlah,* and *ustādh al-dār al-ʿāliyah,* and he was immediately dispatched to Alexandria. Mughalṭāy was accompanied by Sayf al-Dīn Aldamur *(amīr jandār)* and Sayf al-Dīn Ṭughān *(mushidd al-dawāwīn).* There was also Tāj al-Dīn Abū Isḥāq, *wakīl* and inspector of the privy purse *(wakīl al-sulṭān* and *nāẓir al-khawāṣṣ al-sharīfah)* who either came along or, according to al-Jazarī, came a week later. They left "in what remained of Sunday" and must have marched continuously, for they were ready to tackle the issues before them by Tuesday morning. According to al-Maqrīzī, this party left with *tadhākir,* memoranda regarding what to do in Alexandria. More instructions came later as communication with the central government continued for the next three weeks.

Mughalṭāy and his party took up their post in Dīwān al-Khums, the government's warehouse where it collected the duty of 1/5 *(khums)* from European merchants. Starting on Tuesday morning, Mughalṭāy took command of the situation and proceeded to undertake several measures to accomplish the tasks with which he was charged. In the following reconstruction, I will explain his actions in each area separately.

1. The Qadi ʿImād al-Dīn al-Kindī

All three accounts mention the punishment meted out to the qadi with some details added here and there. Al-Nuwayrī says that Mughalṭāy summoned the qadi, insulted him, declared him to be incompetent *(akhraqa bi-hi),* and then removed him from his post. Al-Nuwayrī added that the post was given to ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Ikhnāʾī. He recognized that ʿAlam al-Dīn was the first Shafiʿi ever to hold the post. Furthermore, the qadi and one of his deputies, Shams al-Dīn al-Mudhdhin al-Bulbaysī, who was also removed from his post, had to pay a fine. Al-Nuwayrī does not specify how much the fine was, but rather lumps it with the rest of the population and the Kārimī merchants. He says that the total collected here equaled 50,000 dinars, of which 20,000 dinars came from the Kārimī merchants.[28] Al-Maqrīzī does not mention any of this. His reference to the qadi is brief, mentioning only that he was about to be executed when Mughalṭāy changed his mind at the last minute, informing the sultan that he investigated the accusations against the qadi and found them to be false.[29]

The implied charges of sedition against the qadi were serious and it is from al-Jazarī's account that we get more information, including an exchange between Mughalṭāy and the qadi. When the qadi and his deputies were summoned, they were humiliated by having been brought over to Mughalṭāy in chains. Mughalṭāy

[28] Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat,* 33:234.

[29] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 286.

proceeded to berate the qadi and his deputies and charged them with dereliction of their duty, since they did nothing to calm the situation even though the cry went out in Alexandria that "whoever wants to fight in the path of Allah should come." The implication here is that there was a declared rebellion against the state since fighting against it was tantamount to fighting in (the ever legitimate) "path of Allah." Acquiescing to such a cry, or not responding to it, made the qadi and his deputies, according to Mughalṭāy, accomplices in such action. The qadi, however, responded that the rebellion took place without their orders or involvement and that even had they wished to stop it, they would not have been able to repulse the great masse of participants *(mā naqdiru narudda al-sāwad al-aʿẓam)*. Mughalṭāy, nonetheless, removed the qadi and his deputies, and the Malikis never recovered the post after that. The qadi's deputies each had to pay a fine; al-Bulbaysī paid five hundred dinars and Ibn al-Tinnīsī paid six hundred dinars.[30]

This must have been a serious setback for the Malikis. According to Jonathan Berkey, the latter Fatimids allowed the Maliki jurist al-Ṭurṭūshī to establish the first Sunni madrasah in Alexandria.[31] The post of chief qadi must have remained in their charge until this incident. Al-Ikhnāʿī, we know from a different context, was soon promoted to chief judge of Damascus.[32]

2. *Ibn Ruwāḥah, Chief of Dār al-Ṭīrāz*

Once again, all three authors mention Ibn Ruwāḥah in the course of their reports. Al-Jazarī, however, mentions him only in the context of the early disturbances, when he intervened on behalf of the silk weavers after they expressed their discontent regarding al-Karakī's decree to limit the sale of goods to the government's warehouse. Al-Nuwayrī and al-Maqrīzī imply serious charges of sedition and incitement against him. Al-Nuwayrī says that Ibn Ruwāḥah had come to Mughalṭāy and promised that he, along with his men (about four hundred strong), would protect the port with no additional stipend. However, all withdrew to a place called Munyat Murshid and sought the protection of a holy man, Muḥammad al-Murshidī. Thereafter, Mughalṭāy sought him out and brought him back to Alexandria, where he was executed along with others who met the same fate. Mughalṭāy informed the sultan that Ibn Ruwāḥah was the head of the rebellion

[30] Al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith,* 2:188

[31] Jonathan Berkey, "Culture and Society during the Late Middle Ages," *Cambridge History of Egypt,* 400–1. See also idem, *The Transmission of Knowledge in Medieval Cairo* (Princeton, 1992), 131, where he says that Riḍwān ibn al-Walakhshī, a Sunni vizier for the latter Fatimids, founded a Maliki madrasah in Alexandria in 1137–38 and another vizier, Ibn al-Sallār, followed with a Shafiʿi madrasah a decade later.

[32] Mahmood Ibrahim, "Practice and Reform in Fourteenth-Century Damascene Madrasahs," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 1 (2007): 75.

(ras fitnah). Al-Maqrīzī adds that Ibn Ruwāḥah gave weapons and other provisions to the people, inciting them against the Europeans.[33]

3. *Confiscations, Fines, and Other Acts of Extortion*

Al-Nuwayrī and al-Maqrīzī do not give precise figures regarding these activities even though they mention specific numbers, albeit different totals. Al-Nuwayrī, as mentioned above, says that Mughalṭāy collected a sum of 50,000 dinars from various people, including the qadi, his deputies, Kārimī merchants (20,000 dinars), and other townsmen. Al-Maqrīzī reports that Mughalṭāy imposed a fine of 500,000 dinars (could a zero have been added in error, or in exaggeration?) and proceeded to confiscate money for the next 20 days until he collected the lower figure of 260,000 dinars. Ibn al-Dawādārī puts the figure at 1,070,000 dirhams.[34]

Al-Jazarī provides more detail and specific information regarding Mughalṭāy's actions in this regard, although he does not give a final figure. The fines imposed on the qadi and his deputies have already been mentioned. Mughalṭāy then sought out the Kārimī merchants, the town notables, the silk weavers, and those who had property inside and outside of the town. Mughalṭāy took from each category of people an amount commensurate with their means. For example, Tāj al-Dīn ibn al-Kuwayk, the Kārimī merchant, paid 2000 dinars. Each silk loom paid a fine of 100 dinars. Each linen loom paid 50 dinars. Each *funduq* paid 3 months rent in advance.[35] Each orchard paid an amount commensurate with its produce. Although no final figure is given, al-Jazarī says that fines, confiscations, and loss affected everyone in Alexandria, "the large and the small, the high and the lowly. Calamity and harm spread to all the people of Alexandria so that no one was spared the loss, and many became impoverished, especially the silk weavers who could not pay back the European merchants their due."[36]

4. *Executions*

We have already seen that Ibn Ruwāḥah was executed along with others. There were many who were executed, in addition to the ten individuals who died at the gate earlier or during the fighting that ensued after the initial incident. Al-Nuwayrī says that Mughalṭāy executed (literally *waṣṣaṭa,* split in half) a group of

[33] See al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat,* 33:234–35; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 285; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Chronik,* 1:342.

[34] Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat,* 33:234; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 286; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Chronik,* 1:342.

[35] For a discussion of some of these *fanādiq* and other commercial and artisan establishments, see Niall Christie, "Reconstructing Life in Medieval Alexandria from an Eighth/Fourteenth-Century *Waqf* Document," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 2 (2000): 163–90.

[36] Al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith,* 2:188.

commoners. Al-Maqrīzī says that Mughalṭāy arrested a group of *ardhāl* (lowly) and split them in half. Others had their hands or legs cut off.[37]

Al-Jazarī gives a few more details regarding these executions. Apparently the town was under some sort of lockdown *(mahbūsīn fī al-balad)* and no one was allowed to leave the town except those who performed necessary functions, in addition to the Bedouins, perhaps the auxiliaries who had been summoned earlier. Tension and suspicion of Mughalṭāy's actions must have been high given the confiscations and other punitive measures. On Friday the 20th of Rajab Mughalṭāy executed 30 individuals outside the city gates, just before the Friday prayers. The news of this calamity spread quickly to the mosque and all the congregants began to flee in panic, fearing that they were to be attacked next. In their panic, many fled without their shoes and other property. Some merchants lost the gold coins that they had in their possession. It was a chaotic scene that was described as the "end of days" *(wa kānat ka-qiyāmah qad qāmat).* The tense atmosphere was eased somewhat when, according to al-Jazarī, Tāj al-Dīn, the sultan's *wakīl,* arrived and began to calm the people down and allowed them to move about.[38]

5. Miscellaneous Actions

There were other acts that only al-Nuwayrī and al-Maqrīzī report. Al-Nuwayrī says that the storehouse of the archers (Ibn Ruwāḥah's men) was emptied of its contents. He adds that Mughalṭāy arrested nearly 90 men, slaves and freemen, who were pressed into chain gangs and were later used for construction work.[39] Al-Maqrīzī says that Mughalṭāy counted the suits of armor usually stored in the town to be used in its defense in case of a foreign attack and found that there were six thousand pieces. He had them stored in a warehouse and sealed it.[40]

6. The Mamluk Prisoners

Only al-Nuwayrī and al-Maqrīzī report on the fate of the Mamluk prisoners at this time, and their lists are nearly identical.[41] According to al-Nuwayrī, these

[37] Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat,* 33:234; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 285.

[38] Al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith,* 2:188–89.

[39] Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat,* 33:234

[40] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 286.

[41] These Mamluks were arrested and released several times starting in 710, after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad came to power for the third time. Some of them were involved in the conspiracy of Baybars al-Jashnikīr against him; others were involved in later conspiracies or seem to have abused their authority. See Abū al-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963), 8:232 ff., 9:12–15; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat,* 32:165, 169, 175, 196, 199, 220–21. See also Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* (Carbondale, IL, 1986), 106–8.

prisoners were packed off to Cairo with a contingent to guard them, and everyone arrived on Sunday the 22nd of Rajab, 12 days after they were sent off. Al-Maqrīzī says that they arrived on the 18th of Rajab. These prisoners include:

- Sayf al-Dīn Baktamur al-Abū Bakrī (whose three sons had been arrested earlier). Al-Abū Bakrī was eventually sent to al-Karak to be imprisoned there.[42]
- Sayf al-Dīn Tamur al-Sāqī, former governor of Tripoli. He was also packed off to al-Karak, but may have been transferred back to Alexandria some time later.
- ʿAlam al-Dīn Sanjar al-Jāwilī. He was imprisoned in the Lions' Tower in the Cairo Citadel.
- Sayf al-Dīn Bahādur al-Maghribī. He was also imprisoned in the Lions' Tower.
- Sayf al-Dīn Tughluq.
- Ghānim ibn Atlas Khān.
- Sayf al-Dīn Qutlubak al-Miʿlāʾī, known also as al-Awshāqī.
- ʿIzz al-Dīn Aydamur al-Yūnisī.
- Sayf al-Dīn Kajkan.
- Fakhr al-Dīn Ayāz, formerly governor of Qalʿat al-Rūm, also called Qalʿat al-Muslimīn.

The last six commanders were thrown into the dungeons in the Cairo Citadel, but Fakhr al-Dīn Ayāz was later freed due to his advanced age and frailty.

Al-Maqrīzī adds a few more names to those who were thrown in the dungeons. These were Sayf al-Dīn Balāṭ al-Jūkandār, Sayf al-Dīn Burulghī al-Ṣaghīr, Ḥusām al-Dīn Lajīn Zīrbāj al-ʿUmarī, Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-ʿAlamī, and Sayf al-Dīn Ṭushtumur, brother of Batkhās (or Banhās) al-Manṣūrī. According to al-Nuwayrī, however, these men were held back in Alexandria's prison. Indeed, al-Jazarī says in the context of the events of 735 (8 years after the rebellion) that he received a letter from his colleague in Alexandria, Najm al-Dīn ibn al-Miḥaffdār, saying that 13 Mamluk commanders, among whom the above disputed names were mentioned, were transferred to Cairo, where they were set free.[43]

Mughalṭāy and his company returned to Cairo at the end of Rajab loaded with gold. He took up residence in the vizierate hall in the Citadel, which was newly

[42] According to Ibn Taghrībirdī, Baktamur died a year later in the Citadel prison; see: *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah,* 9:274.

[43] The lists appear in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat,* 33:235–36, and in al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 286. Al-Jazarī reports on their freeing in *Ḥawādith,* 3:764.

built opposite the Dār al-Inshāʾ (chancellery). Other officials came along that day and sat according to their rank in places that had been prescribed for them, and proceeded to execute the affairs of the state. According to al-Jazarī, the sultan Muḥammad did not take any of the confiscated money. Rather, he distributed it among his loyal commanders.[44]

Conclusion

The penchant of some Mamluk chroniclers to copy from one another, to summarize lengthy accounts according to their own interests, and to often reduce complex events to simple and brief descriptions poses a potential source of confusion and misunderstanding. The writing of history becomes, in part, a process of deconstruction and reconstruction. We are fortunate that bits and pieces of information can still be found to allow us a closer look at society, to recreate a fuller account of events under investigation, as we have learned from the above, and to correct false impressions that may have been constructed earlier. The three accounts, put together, give us a glimpse at a moment in the life of Alexandria under Mamluk rule, a moment rich with detail when the townspeople were up in arms against the state. These accounts, infused with realism, breathe life into that moment of social action. At first glance, this action could be described as a riot, brawl, or some similar term implying that the action was haphazard and based on a flimsy rationale. But upon further investigation, thanks to the merchants' reports related by al-Jazarī, we find that this social action, an uprising of sorts, was based instead on concrete economic grievances against a specific state policy. Rather than being haphazard or spontaneous, this rebellion reveals a degree of awareness which implies conscious and deliberate, rather than passive, participation. This was also a sustained social action that went on for a period of two months before the state brought its full weight to bear and crushed the uprising.

The state employed what seems to have been a disproportionately severe set of punitive measures that included the arrest and execution of many people, in addition to financial exactions that heavily burdened the economy and the people's livelihood. This was no punishment for a brawl, unless the brawl is seen as only the cover for the response to this heavy-handed appropriation of surplus wealth for the state's own ends (the government was then nearly bankrupt). Moreover, this was no isolated incident. Indeed, this attack on Alexandria could be considered the watershed that allowed al-Nashw, the sultan's new *wakīl,* to continue a feverish confiscation policy from 1332 to 1339 that damaged several sectors of the

[44] Al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith,* 2:189.

economy, not to mention those who were flogged to death in an effort to extract money from them.[45]

The Mamluk state, after the end of the Crusades and the disappearance of the Mongol threat, developed an apparent sense of insecurity. We have seen that the central government's immediate reaction was to treat the event as a conspiracy, as indicated by the arrest of the sons of al-Abū Bakrī. Conspiracies against the reigning sultan were in fact not unusual; indeed, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad had a long history of facing such conspiracies. He also became the subject of an assassination attempt a few years later, but he survived the assassin's dagger.[46] The Mamluks, having lost—or one might say fulfilled—their initial *raison d'être* as a military elite that defended the lands of Islam under their rule (largely the Arab Middle East), later shifted their energy inward and turned against each other, causing political instability at a time when greater powers were arising around them.[47] Attacks against the textile producers and the Kārimī merchants, among other productive sectors, would eventually undermine their whole economy. The third reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad represented at once the pinnacle of peace and the point at which the Mamluk system of government became redundant.[48] This must be one of the reasons that contributed to the eventual demise of the Mamluk system of governance.

[45] Almost every year in that period one or another sector of the market was attacked. For an accounting of what was extracted see Levanoni, *Turning Point,* 150–54.

[46] Al-Jazarī, *Ḥawādith,* 3:673.

[47] For an interesting analysis of how political violence served the Mamluk system, see Daniel Beaumont, "Political Violence and Ideology in Mamluk Society," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 8, no. 1 (2000): 201–25.

[48] This was raised by Linda Northrup, "The Bahri Mamluk Sultanate," 262, and it is the main point of Levanoni's *Turning Point.*

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Finding Meaning in the City: al-Maqrīzī's Use of Poetry in the *Khiṭaṭ*

A notable feature of the *Khiṭaṭ*[1] by al-Maqrīzī is the incorporation of poetry in many sections devoted to the structures or landscape features of Cairo.[2] This poetry is especially evident in the Bulaq edition, where the dense blocks of Arabic text are occasionally interrupted by columns of verses. The *Khiṭaṭ* has been mined by scholars as a source of information about elements of the historic city of Cairo; historical works on the cityscape of Cairo are indebted to the book for the who and when and how of its structures.[3] From the standpoint of documenting the history of Cairo, this emphasis has been useful, but has led to the poetry in the *Khiṭaṭ* being passed over, as these poems rarely contain anything in the way of objective historical facts. Li Guo, at the conclusion of an essay on the poet Ibn Dāniyāl, writes "…human emotions, collective sentiments, and public opinions all count; and the *adab* material, especially poetry, represents an ideal vehicle for such 'soft data.'"[4] The present article looks closely at what is added to the *Khiṭaṭ* and our understanding of Cairo by the inclusion of this poetry.

[1] *Al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Bulaq, 1854). In the translations for this article I make use of the edition of Ayman Fuʾād Sayyid, published by the Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation (London, 2002–4). Page numbers refer to the standard Bulaq edition.

[2] This use of poetry in the *Khiṭaṭ* comes as no surprise since it was a common feature of Mamluk histories, both chronicles and biographical dictionaries. Al-Maqrīzī should be understood as participating in what has been called the "literarization" of history writing in the Mamluk period, a notion developed by Ulrich W. Haarmann in *Quellenstudien zur frühen Mamlukenzeit* (Freiburg, 1969), and something of its growing importance among Mamluk historians is portrayed by Robert Irwin in "Mamluk History and Historians," in *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period,* ed. Roger Allen and D. S. Richards (Cambridge, 2006), 159–70. The redistribution of the poetic material into sections of the *Khiṭaṭ* relating to topographic features casts this material in a new light, allowing us to see relations between the poetry and features of the landscape that could be obscured by chronological or biographical methods of organization.

[3] The building by building approach to Cairo taken by Doris Behrens-Abouseif in *Islamic Architecture in Cairo: An Introduction* (Cairo, 1989) and more recently in *Cairo of the Mamluks: A History of the Architecture and Its Culture* (New York, 2007) is an example of an approach made possible by the wealth of information on each building collected by al-Maqrīzī.

[4] "Reading *Adab* in Historical Light: Factuality and Ambiguity in Ibn Dāniyāl's 'Occasional Verses' on Mamluk Society and Politics" in *History and Historiography of Post-Mongol Central Asia and the Mongol East,* ed. Judith Pfeiffer and Sholeh A. Quinn (Wiesbaden, 2006), 400.

The poetry in the *Khiṭaṭ* falls broadly into two categories. The first is poetry that occurs incidentally within a larger passage cited on a specific topic. An example of this would be a passage from the *Risālah* of Abū al-Ṣalt al-Andalusī (d. 528/1134), containing a record of poetry composed on the occasion of Abū al-Ṣalt's visit to the pyramids.[5] The second type of poetry in the *Khiṭaṭ* is that collected by al-Maqrīzī himself, presumably in much the same way that he excerpted other bits and pieces of geographical, religious, or historical information related to Egypt. The holograph notebook of al-Maqrīzī represents a sample of the method by which he collected the poetry.[6] The conclusion of the section in the *Khiṭaṭ* on the pyramids offers an example of al-Maqrīzī's editorial handling of poetry as it concludes with eight poems, in different meters and ranging from two to thirteen verses in length. The poems follow each other with no commentary or explanation.[7] Clearly al-Maqrīzī found poetry an important addition to the *Khiṭaṭ,* as it is not only incidentally included, but purposefully collected and organized.

The *Khiṭaṭ* as Social Text

We continue to learn much through the "Maqriziana" studies of Frédéric Bauden about al-Maqrīzī's editorial/authorial process for compiling the *Khiṭaṭ*. His compositional work included the use of notebooks and note cards to select passages drawn from a wide number of books that touched in some way on Egypt and Cairo. These studies have left us with a view of al-Maqrīzī as a lively curator of information, and as an editor able to deftly summarize and hone in on crucial passages.[8] In a serious charge as to the intellectual honesty of al-Maqrīzī, we learned how he incorporated into his own working manuscript large sections of a previous manuscript by his near contemporary al-Awḥadī, who died in 811/1408.[9] The natural emphasis in these inquiries has been on al-Maqrīzī as author, but we should perhaps not ignore a second result: a view of the *Khiṭaṭ* as a social text.

[5] *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:118 = *Risālah al-Miṣrīyah,* in *Nawādir al-Makhṭūṭāt,* vol. 1, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn (Cairo, 1951), 26–27.

[6] Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana I: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method: Section 1," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 7, no. 2 (2003): 21–68. For an example of the collection of poetry see section XXXIII in "Maqriziana I: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method: Section 2," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10, no. 2 (2006): 81–139.

[7] *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:121–22.

[8] In addition to Maqriziana I/1 and I/2, see "Maqriziana II: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method Analysis," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 12, no. 1 (2008): 51–118.

[9] Frédéric Bauden, "Maqriziana IX: Should al-Maqrīzī Be Thrown Out with the Bath Water? The Question of His Plagiarism of al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ* and the Documentary Evidence," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 14 (2010): 159–232.

That is to say, the *Khiṭaṭ* can now more than ever be understood as the product of a community rather than of a single author, somewhat more Wikipedia than *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. The *Khiṭaṭ* speaks with many voices, and was not so much the expression of one man as the result of a shared interest in Cairo and its history.[10]

If we approach the *Khiṭaṭ* as a social text, then the poetry gains a unique interest for us: it provides evidence for the contemporary experience of sites. The passages of poetry embedded in the *Khiṭaṭ* are other voices that ascribe value (beauty, piety, power) to sites independently of the author's insistence. As we will see when examining the poetry more closely, there is good evidence that much of this poetry was exchanged and circulated among its contemporary audience, and so the poetry gives us a glimpse of widespread views of sites. If we were able to read poetry from this era only in the context of a traditional *dīwān,* we would be forced to make many guesses as to its reception. In the *Khiṭaṭ* much of the poetry is embedded in historical contexts and lines of argument that allow us to see how it interacted with the social spaces of Cairo. If historical enquiry is broadened to include details about the experience of a city, then these poems, found throughout the *Khiṭaṭ,* can be invaluable. The lived experience evident here will of course be limited to the males who read and circulated this formal poetry.[11]

We learn something more about the audience for the *Khiṭaṭ* by sampling the placement of the poetry. If we step back and examine the sections in the *Khiṭaṭ* to which poetry is attached, we find in Cairo a select number of nodes of attention. These nodes are by no means limited to buildings, but include natural features such as the Nile and the ponds *(birak)* in the vicinity of Cairo. Poetic attention was not determined by the sheer splendor of a mosque. The mosque of the Citadel, built by Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 718/1318, was richly decorated in marble and unique in several aspects of its construction; al-Maqrīzī speaks highly of its

[10] Particularly suggestive in this direction is the way al-Maqrīzī can be understood as taking up a project begun by his two colleagues Ibn Duqmāq and al-Awḥadī, both of whom had the misfortune of dying before bringing their work to completion. See "Maqriziana IX," 205.

[11] The poetry cited in the *Khiṭaṭ* reflects the elevated register of the formal *qaṣīdah.* Although the *Khiṭaṭ* was written in the midst of what has been described as the "heyday of popular Arabic literature," the poetry here gives no glimpses of the rich popular tradition that was blossoming among the *ʿāmmah.* Nevertheless we should not confine the readership of even this formal poetry to a group of elites, but rather assume a wide circulation for many of these poems. See Margaret Larkin, "Popular Poetry in the Post-Classical Period" in *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period,* 191–242. Thomas Bauer underlines this point about the mixed audience for formal poetry in "In Search of 'Post-Classical Literature': A Review Article," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 11, no. 2 (2007): 153–55.

beauty.[12] But no poems are present in this section that would point us to discussions or arguments that revolved around this structure.

More broadly, the Citadel, while extensively described in the *Khiṭaṭ,* has little poetry attached to the sections that cover its structures, with the exception of two short poems on the great *īwān,* described as having been written at the point of its construction under Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.[13] These poems on the *īwān* are clever lines of propaganda for the rule of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, making use of the very visible *īwān* as a symbol of his power. It makes sense that the *īwān,* clearly visible from lower Cairo as we know from nineteenth-century representations, would be taken up in propagandistic praise poetry. But the Citadel as a whole appears to have been resistant to poetic use, likely reflecting the "exclusion" and "segregation" from the general populace of Cairo that was an important part of the Mamluk ruling ethos.[14] The absence of poetry tells us something about the nature of that space, indicating a lack of personal experience and knowledge of the individual sites on the part of civilians. Specific elements of this military complex were simply not available for poetic composition and popular discussion.

The concluding section of the *Khiṭaṭ* reviews places of worship for Jews and Christians. In contrast to the mosques and madrasahs, which can fairly bristle with passages of poetry, these final sections are devoid of poetry. The exception is again insightful: poetry is used on a several occasions as monasteries are being described. This is a result of the public nature of some monasteries. On some occasions a monastery served as an open park where individuals could take relaxation. Al-Maqrīzī notes that the Monastery al-Quṣayr was much beloved because of its overlook, and then cites a poet who wrote of the amusements here:

How often at the al-Quṣayr Monastery I had revelry
with every possessor of youthful passion and charm.
I amused myself there with a flirtatious fawn,
marvels of description falling far short of this place.[15]

[12] Al-Maqrīzī writes of the mosque of the Citadel: "He made it an excellent structure and had much on the interior crafted from splendidly colored marble...The mosque took its place as one of the most sublime and greatest mosques in Egypt,." *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:325.

[13] Ibid., 2:209.

[14] Nasser Rabbat uses these terms to describe the unique place of the Citadel in Cairo. As is well known, the Mamluk system provided few positions for native Egyptians in the upper levels of the state. Under Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad a somewhat more open version of the Citadel emerged with "semi-public" access being allowed for the mosque and the *īwān*. Presumably this would represent the point of maximum openness for the Citadel, and in times of stress it would revert to being characterized by "exclusion" and "segregation." See *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (Leiden, 1995), 283–87.

[15] *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:502.

It would seem that to attract poetic composition a site had to be on the map of the elite who composed this formal poetry. Undoubtedly there were Christians and Jews who wrote and circulated poetry about their repasts, but the poetry in the *Khiṭaṭ* represents that which the Muslim elite would have consumed.[16]

We will now examine some sections of the *Khiṭaṭ* that were rich in poetry.

Misfires of Panegyric

The amir Sarghitmish constructed his madrasah right next to the venerable mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, then nearing 500 years old. The madrasah of Amir Sarghitmish, completed in 757/1356, is remarkable for several elements of its design, and al-Maqrīzī is complimentary: "The madrasah became one of the most marvelous and beautiful structures, and one of the most delightful also on the interior."[17] Amir Sarghitmish appointed as teacher of Islamic law at the madrasah a man known as Qiwām al-Dīn, whose full name was Amīr Kātib ibn Amīr ʿUmar al-ʿAmīd ibn al-ʿAmīd Amīr Ghāzī al-Atqāʿī. At the grand opening, which in good Mamluk style took the form of a great repast in the new madrasah, Qiwām al-Dīn stood up and delivered a poetic panegyric for the founder¾and his appointer¾Amir Sarghitmish. As recorded in the *Khiṭaṭ* this eulogy is made up of 21 verses. The poem is introduced by al-Maqrīzī as being "in the height of odiousness" *(fī ghāyat al-samājah).* We immediately recognize the reason for this characterization as we read the poem, which truly is remarkable for its exaggerated praise:

> Have you seen the one who has strength
>   and arrives near to God and expels suspicion?
> He appears as a banner, lofty with nobility.
>   He advances having achieved victory!
> He races ahead with piety and bestows right guidance;
>   he gives generously and loves liberality.
> He exemplifies custom; he makes vivid the sunnah.
>   He sweetens our time with his excellent judgment.
> This one Sarghitmish, the days
>   of his princehood have sent forth nourishing rain clouds.
> He takes away barrenness to bring abundance,
>   and distress to bring a carefree heart.[18]

[16] The record for Jewish composition of poetry is strong thanks to the Geniza documents, through which we see an active community involved in poetry that has parallels to broader Islamic culture. See S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: An Abridgement in One Volume,* ed. Jacob Lassner (Berkeley, 1999), 165, 215.

[17] *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:403.

[18] Ibid., 2:404.

This is only the first third of the poem, and the remaining lines go on like this or even advance a notch in exaggeration. Amir Sarghitmish handsomely rewarded Qiwām al-Dīn 10,000 dirhams for these lines of praise.

A first point to make about this poem is simply that it has been cited at such length. It was such a standout example of exaggerated praise that a full 21 verses made it into the *Khiṭaṭ*¾quite a block of text for lines that add nothing factual, either about the mosque or the biography of Amir Sarghitmish. It is hard to resist the conclusion that this is an example of lines being included for the sole reason that it was a striking example of bad poetry¾and possibly thus entertaining for the reader.

This panegyric raises questions about composition. How did these lines, delivered orally in 757/1356, get placed with such accuracy into this particular historical event? As it happens, due to the amount of manuscript materials relating to the composition of the *Khiṭaṭ* we are able to trace with surprising precision how this poem came to be placed here.[19] Al-Maqrīzī found the poem in the biographical sketch of the poet Qiwām al-Dīn contained in *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr* by the historian al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363).[20] We know that al-Maqrīzī came across this poem some time after he had composed a draft of this section on the mosque of Amir Sarghitmish since we find in the margins of his rough draft the note *yudhkar madḥ Qiwām al-Dīn fīhā* ("panegyric of Qiwām al-Dīn should be cited here"). This note functioned as a reminder that the panegyric poem should be inserted in this section when a final copy was made, and in the manuscripts of the finished works we indeed find it here. Since the poem is not found in the biography of Amir Sarghitmish composed by the same al-Ṣafadī in another historical work, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,*[21] we can attribute to al-Maqrīzī the positioning of this poem in a place that was bound to get more readers than within the biographical sketch of a poet who was not well known. In this instance he is in no way following an earlier account of the mosque, but inserting a lengthy poem he had come across in his reading. The motivation for bringing this poem to the attention of readers was its inherent interest as an example of an odious praise poem.

Our knowledge of the social context in which this poem was delivered enhances our sense of the use and abuse of poetry in the Mamluk era. We can imagine coming across a eulogy like this in a *dīwān,* and wondering who could

[19]The following discussion is indebted to personal communication from Frédéric Bauden.

[20]Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr wa-Aʿwān al-Naṣr,* ed. ʿAlī Abū Zayd (Beirut, 1997–98), 1:622–27.

[21]Al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* ed. Sven Dedering (Wiesbaden, 1981). The extent to which al-Maqrīzī made use of this work by al-Ṣafadī, though without explicit citation, is demonstrated in Bauden, "Maqriziana XI: al-Maqrīzī et al-Ṣafadī: Analyse de la (Re)Construction d'un Récit Biographique," *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 4 (2009): 99–136.

possibly have been impressed with all this exaggerated praise, but the introduction by al-Maqrīzī marking the poem as "the height of odiousness" allows us to understand that the poem was by no means free from criticism among its audience. We might think of poems such as this in the *Khiṭaṭ* as embodied miniatures, giving us both a glimpse of actual context and reception.

In an introduction to the Arabic poetry of the "post-classical age" Salma Khadra Jayyusi remarks on the difficulty that later Arabic poets had in continuing the tradition of panegyric in an age of rulers who held sway over smaller regions: "The poet's enthusiasm was blunted; one can easily imagine his psychological difficulties and the artificiality that pervaded the writing of his panegyrics…The only innovation they could introduce was the pursuit of exaggeration, which diminished poetic appeal still further."[22] One way to approach this particular poem, then, is as a vivid example of this problem. The amir Sarghitmish¾powerful, but not sultan¾is praised with a couplet such as the final one above: "He takes away barrenness to bring abundance/and distress to bring a carefree heart." This was still a variety of poetry that was in demand from powerful men who wished to have words of praise directed at themselves, but it is now characterized by a social misfire, as it is received cynically by other elites. In fact, in this case it is held up to almost unbearable ridicule by being cited at length.

We should be cautious, however, in attributing this tension in praise poetry to the Mamluk era alone. Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych has shown in an essay on panegyric in the Abbasid era that such tensions were inherent in the genre. Indeed, al-Mutanabbī's poetry dedicated to Kāfūr, Ikhshidid ruler of Egypt in the fourth/tenth century raises some of the same questions. Stetkevych treats panegyric through the lens of ritualized exchange, in which praise and monetary reward mutually support each other. In a perfect world the excellence of the poetry and the patron are matched, but in fact this was rarely the case, and tension arose: "If the panegyrist is a bad poet, no amount of virtue and heroism on the part of the patron will enable him to produce a good poem, and as the poor or mediocre poem is consigned to oblivion, so, too, is the renown of the patron." [23]

Al-Maqrīzī provides us with a dramatic miniature that allows us to complicate this view of praise. By any reasonable account the praise poetry delivered by Qiwām al-Dīn should be judged successful. The poet delivered the bombastic lines and those lines were ratified by the generous reward from his patron, the amir Sarghitmish. This is exactly the ideal spelled out by Stetkevych. Despite that suc-

[22] Salma Khadra Jayyusi, "Arabic Poetry in the Post-Classical Age," in *Arabic Literature in the Post-Classical Period,* 33–34.

[23] Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych, "Abbasid Panegyric and Political Allegiance: Two Poems of al-Mutanabbī on Kāfūr," in *Qasida Poetry in Islamic Asia and Africa,* ed. Stefan Sperl and Christopher Shackle (Leiden, 1997), 1:40.

cess the poem was not well-received. Al-Maqrīzī counted the poem as a misfire. Reading the verses it is hard not to agree with al-Maqrīzī's characterization of them as "the height of odiousness." Even if the externals of this gift-giving situation were strictly followed by poet and patron, it is clear that for the audience something was lacking. This third party of the audience and their participation is not taken up by Stetkevych, but it is a necessary element for this ritual exchange.

We owe to the *Khiṭaṭ* a number of miniatures such as this in which we learn to read poetry within a fleshed-out context. Another panegyric misfire takes place in the madrasah of Sultan Qalāwūn, which as a grand building in the center of Cairo gets a lengthy section devoted to it in the *Khiṭaṭ*. Al-Ashraf Salāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl was the first successor to Sultan Qalāwūn, and his reign was a short three years (689–93/1290–93). Upon completion of a successful jihad against the Franks, he returned to Cairo and after a grand entrance to the city, came to the madrasah-mausoleum of Qalāwūn. Al-Maqrīzī sketches the mausoleum as "packed with judges, elites, readers, shaykhs, and legal scholars." In the midst of the ceremony in honor of the sultan's return, a poet[24] climbed the pulpit and began to declaim a poem written in honor of the sultan. The poem began with this verse:

> Visit your parents and stop by their tombs,
> It is as if you were transferred to them.[25]

This turned out to be a spectacularly ill-chosen line to begin his panegyric. Al-Maqrīzī notes that Sultan Khalīl understood the meaning of the line (which could not be taken for granted for a Turkish Mamluk) and rose immediately in outrage at the bad omen of these words (the mention of movement to tombs). Sultan Khalīl was calmed, but returned immediately to the Citadel. Al-Maqrīzī informs us that the poet did not get a reward.

We see again the misfire of panegyric, though this time on the more straightforward basis of unhappiness on the part of the patron. Words whose glory was to be found in ornamented elusiveness are brought crashing to the ground on account of a sultan who took the words literally and found them to be an ill omen. The story brings a dash of humor with it, as we read the expression of outrage from the sultan: "This guy couldn't find anything to say except that line?"[26]

Reading the *Khiṭaṭ* we enter a society in which event, place, and words were closely linked. Events were celebrated at monumental constructions whose very names specified the person they were meant to memorialize. Poetry was a vital part of an event, and in turn those poems came to be associated in social memory

[24] Al-Maqrīzī gives the poet's full name as Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Fatḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allah ibn Muhalhal ibn Ghayyāth ibn Naṣr, known as Ibn al-ʿAnbarī the exhorter.

[25] *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:381.

[26] The Arabic text is "*mā wajada hadhā shay'an yaqūluhu sawa hadhā al-bayt!*"

with those sites. The *Khiṭaṭ* as developed by al-Maqrīzī builds upon these interconnections and mimics the connections that were already present in society.

Falling Minarets

One delicate point in the architecture of medieval Cairo was the minaret, whose spindly form and vulnerability to earthquakes made it liable to collapse. The tragedy of a minaret failure was a major event in medieval Cairo, and in the case of the tumble of the minaret under construction at the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan, it could be quite a deadly event. Through the editorial addition of poetry into his *Khiṭaṭ,* al-Maqrīzī allows us to catch a glimpse of the social use of poetry in making sense of such an incident.

The *Khiṭaṭ* provides a superb example of a running dialogue conducted through poetry. This exchange surrounded the failure of a minaret during the construction of the madrasah-*khānqāh* of Sultan al-Muʾayyad in 821/1418. Since this construction took place within the lifetime of al-Maqrīzī and well after the point where he is known to have begun compiling the material for the *Khiṭaṭ,*[27] there should be no surprise that the stages in the construction of this large mosque are noted in detail. For example, we learn that on the 27th day of Shawwāl in 819/1416 the magnificent door originally installed in the madrasah of Sultan Ḥasan was transferred to the new construction. Then on the 17th day of Rabīʿ II there occurred an accident in which ten workers fell from the mosque, four of whom died. These are just two examples of the detailed nature of al-Maqrīzī's reporting on the construction of this mosque.

Shortly after the completion of the madrasah-*khānqāh* in 821/1418, a lean was discovered in a minaret that stood over Bāb Zuwaylah. This minaret was one of two built over the older gate in association with the new madrasah-*khānqāh.* In what turns out to be a fascinating account of the procedure in such an event, the engineers made a report to the sultan and then the sultan authorized the tearing down of the minaret. The engineers commenced a controlled destruction of the minaret, but two days later a portion of it fell, destroying some buildings and killing a man. At that point Bāb Zuwaylah was closed for a month, and al-Maqrīzī writes: "No collapse like this had been known since Cairo was founded."[28]

The response of the elite to this event was to chatter. Al-Maqrīzī writes: "The literary men of the age wrote lots of poetry about the collapse of this minaret." He goes on to give six samples of the poetic chatter that came about as a result of the collapse. In lining up these poems one after another al-Maqrīzī makes clear their

[27] With respect to the date for the composition of the *Khiṭaṭ,* Frédéric Bauden has argued that the rough drafts can be dated between 811 and 816/1408 and 1413 ("Maqriziana IX," 204–5).

[28] *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:329.

interrelationship. Introducing the second poem he notes that the person wrote "countering him" *(yuʿāriḍuhu).* Following another poem he writes: "the people circulated this poem" *(wa-tadāwala hadhā al-nās).* These poems were not isolated examples that came to light years later in poetic collections, but opinions exchanged in the immediacy of the event.

The first poem is by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, best known for his hadith scholarship and biographical compendia.[29] Here is Ibn Ḥajar's response to the failure of the minaret:

> The mosque of our master al-Muʾayyad is splendid;
> its minaret is radiant with beauty and adornment.
> It says, having leaned over them, "Go slowly,
> for there's nothing against my body more harmful than the eye."[30]

At the conclusion of these lines al-Maqrīzī points out a double entendre *(tawriyah)* that might otherwise elude us. On the one hand there is the obvious meaning that the "eye" *(al-ʿayn)* makes reference to "the eye that strikes things and thus ruins them"¾that is, the evil eye. The second meaning is that "the eye" is a reference to Shaykh Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-ʿAyntābī, the scholar better known by the shortened form of his name, al-ʿAynī. The people among whom this poem circulated had no trouble seeing in these lines the cut-down aimed at a man who had some connection to the new construction. That warranted a response on the part of al-ʿAynī:

> A minaret when revealed is like a handsome bridegroom;
> its destruction comes through the judgment of God and fate.
> They say: "It was struck by 'the eye.'" I say: "That's wrong!
> Nothing deserves destruction except worthless stone *(ḥajar)*."[31]

This poem is similar to the first. A gnomic comment on the handsomeness of the minaret is followed by a verse that points a finger of blame. The lines can be interpreted literally as turning back the notion that the evil eye could cause a minaret to collapse, but with an insider's reading we see that it is a statement of the author's own innocence (as "the eye") and then a shift of the rhetorical blame onto his accuser, whose name included the word "*ḥajar*" or stone. We should understand that Ibn Ḥajar is being equated with "worthless stone."

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[29]For an analysis of his poetic output see Thomas Bauer, "Ibn Ḥajar and the Arabic Ghazal of the Mamluk Age," in *Ghazal as World Literature I: Transformations of a Literary Genre,* ed. Thomas Bauer and Angelika Neuwirth (Beirut, 2005), 36–55.

[30]*Khiṭaṭ,* 2:329.

[31]*Khiṭaṭ,* 2:329.

This kind of word play is often mentioned as one of the characteristics of Mamluk-era poetry. In his review of contemporary criticism of Mamluk-era poetry, Th. Emil Homerin cites Bakrī Amīn Shaykh's opinion that Arabic poems of the age were marked by intricate word-play, and that this tendency is most visible in the area of invective, where tribes or society were no longer criticized, but only individuals.[32] The exchange captured by al-Maqrīzī so far conforms to this view. We see quibbling word play tied to invective aimed at individuals. These are not lines that would be anthologized and appreciated by a modern audience, as they are simply too local and personal in their concerns.

As it happens, al-Maqrīzī was in agreement with the above critique in his explicit judgment of the lines. This kind of comment from al-Maqrīzī is rare, and it gives us some clues as to the grounds of reception for poetry like this. Al-Maqrīzī writes: "Neither of these poets achieved his aim, for neither al-ʿAynī Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, overseer of pious donations, or Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Ḥajar had any real relation to the minaret so that he might serve as a useful double entendre."[33] In other words, these are examples of failed poems, whatever their popular currency, on account of their disconnect from the event at hand. This was an example of personal animosity being transferred to discussion of a current event with which neither man was appreciably involved. Thus the double entendre is labeled by al-Maqrīzī a failure. He then cites a third poem:

> Upon the tower *(burj)* of Bāb Zuwaylah was founded
> a minaret for the house of God and place of safety.
> That damn tower *(burj)* abandoned it, causing it to lean.
> So, people, shout: "Damnation to the tower *(al-burj)*!"[34]

These lines would again strike us as somewhat innocuous, except for the extra information supplied by al-Maqrīzī: the manager and overseer of the construction of the madrasah-*khānqāh* was a man by the name of Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn al-Burjī. Re-reading the short poem we can note that the three references to "the tower" *(al-burj)* can be understood as criticism of the man to whom construction was assigned. The final invective "damnation to the tower!" now has a more personal point to it. Because of the real connection between actual builder and poetic effect, al-Maqrīzī judges this to be effective in a way the previous two were not. This double entendre must have been striking since the next three poems cited by al-Maqrīzī employ variations of it. This is the poem that al-Maqrīzī specifies as being circulated by the people.

[32] Th. Emil Homerin, "Reflections on Arabic Poetry in the Mamluk Age," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 1 (1997): 70.

[33] *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:329.

[34] Ibid.

A second section in the *Khiṭaṭ* deals with the fall of another minaret. In this case it is a fall that resulted in a real tragedy: 300 lives were lost in the year 762/1361 when one of the minarets under construction for the madrasah of Sultan Ḥasan toppled. Most of the dead were orphans busy learning the Quran at the nearby *maktab al-sabīl,* though a few non-orphans were in that number. This was a momentous tragedy¾as it would be considered today. Al-Maqrīzī provides a snapshot of the public reaction: "When the minaret fell the general populace *(ʿāmmah)* of Fustat and Cairo talked continually *(lahijat)* about how it was a warning about the downfall of the state."[35]

As we have already noted in the much less tragic case of the failure of a minaret connected to the madrasah-*khānqāh* of Sultan al-Muʾayyad, one central use of poetry in this era was as a way to identify and set public meaning for an event. Al-Maqrīzī tells us that the people of Cairo "talked continually" about the event, leading to a popular interpretation of impending trouble for the current state. Poetry, as should be clear now, was another way for this society to talk about an occurrence, and al-Maqrīzī provides an example of how a poet tried to step in and even re-direct opinion concerning this one. The following is the full poem, consisting of 9 verses, cited by al-Maqrīzī:

Rejoice! For, O sultan of Egypt, a messenger
of your fortune brought a saying that circulated like a proverb.
The minaret did not fall because of any fault,
but because of a hidden secret that has been revealed to me.
Underneath were readers of the Quran, so the minaret listened
and its passion in this state led it to lean!
If God were to reveal the Quran upon a mountain
its peak would lift from the power of its emotion.
The stones of the minaret did not cease moving, and finally fell
from fear of God, not because of any weakness or fault.
Its sultan was absent, so it became despondent and threw
itself down from passion with heart ablaze.
So praise God, a fortune liable to envy vanished because of what
the Merciful One decreed in eternity.
No harm struck the madrasah after that day;
You built the edifice with knowledge and craft.
You continued until you saw this world by the madrasah
filled with knowledge, for there's no one in Egypt without work.[36]

[35] Ibid., 2:316.

[36] Ibid. The full name of the author of these lines was Shaykh Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Subkī.

The point of the lines is to exculpate the sultan from any possible wrongdoing in the death of the orphans. Building on the notion that Quran recitation was going on directly underneath the minaret, the poet gives us a vivid image of the minaret out of piety leaning to hear the Quran, and thus falling onto the school. This line of reasoning is bolstered with an allusion to the episode in the Quran in which Mt. Sinai is seen by Moses to crumble in the process of revelation.[37] Stones, apparently, are supposed to crumble when confronted with the Quran. A second, less fully developed reason for the fall is also given in the dejection of the minaret at the absence of its sultan. The last two verses praise the sultan for his construction and for filling the world with knowledge¾and, incidentally, providing work for everyone in Egypt.

This poem was clearly meant to defend the sultan and deflect the tongue-waggers that saw in this event a bad omen. But as it happened, those who saw in it a portent were proven correct when the sultan was killed a mere 33 days after this incident, according to al-Maqrīzī. That is a remarkable fact since it allows us to date this poem quite precisely to the immediate aftermath of the minaret's fall. This was not a poem written in repose and calmly meditating on a past event, but one written in the heat of public discussion of an event. The goal of the poem was to shift public discourse away from blaming the sultan and toward understanding the incident as actually in support of his piety, or, at least, as an act of God.

The poetry that came to surround these two minaret failures can be seen as contributing toward the social memory of these events. James Fentress and Chris Wickham write about the formation of social memory: "How does one make individual memory 'social,' then? Essentially by talking about it."[38] Poetry in medieval Cairo was one way for society to talk about the events that mattered to it and that demanded explanation. In both the above examples we see that major events were closely followed by the chatter of poetry assigning blame or excuses.

The Boat on the Shrine

The mausoleum of Imam al-Shāfiʿī is located in the southern cemetery of Cairo, known as al-Qarāfah. The official embrace of Sunni Islam by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and his Ayyubid successors paved the way for the monumental mausoleum built over the grave of Imam al-Shāfiʿī, who had died in Fustat several centuries before in 204/820. The massive domed structure that now marks the tomb was erected by a successor to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil, in 607/1211.

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[37] The well-known story is at 7:142–44.

[38] James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory: New Perspectives on the Past* (Oxford, 1992), ix–x.

Al-Maqrīzī treats the mausoleum under the heading of "tomb" *(qabr).*[39] The focus of the section is on the remains of Imam al-Shāfiʿī, beginning with a note about his death and burial in the cemetery outside Fustat, and then moving on to a story about the attempted relocation of his body to Baghdad during the Fatimid era. This planned relocation was foiled by the combination of popular unrest and a miraculous sign. Only after this earlier history does al-Maqrīzī mention the later Ayyubid construction of the mausoleum *(qubbah)* that now marks the tomb.

Although the section on the mausoleum is only of medium length (slightly over one page in the Bulaq edition), it is marked by an abundance of poetry. Seven short poems are included: three near the opening that lavish general praise on Imam al-Shāfiʿī, then four at the conclusion. These last four were explicitly written about the mausoleum itself, and in particular one feature that stirred interest: the copper boat that sits upon the dome.

Al-Maqrīzī introduces the four concluding poems with a short introductory gloss: "A number of poems have been written about this mausoleum." Multiple inclusions of a site in poetry is a positive sign of its cultural importance, demonstrating that social chatter centered on it, but what further makes these poems worthwhile to study is their engagement with a deeper cultural question about the confines of knowledge in this era. The mausoleum and its boat evidently afforded people of Cairo an opportunity to reflect on the development of Islam, from its early pure days to their own time.

Although the boat has undoubted links to ancient Egyptian religious practices,[40] J. M. F. Van Reeth points out how the boat took on a particular meaning as a result of the political/religious context of this mausoleum, arguing that in the context of the religious transformation of Egypt under the Ayyubids the boat becomes an allusion to the story of Noah. Just as in the story of Noah a small group remained faithful and were brought through the flood, so in the case of Imam al-Shāfiʿī we find an example of faithfulness and resistance to heresy. Van Reeth writes: "L'imām fournissait ainsi l'exemple, le modèle *par excellence* de la conversion. Comme lui, l'Egypte avait besoin de se disculper: elle¾ou du moins ses dirigeants¾avait été chiite; il fallait maintenant retourner à l'orthodoxie sous l'étendard de la théologie šāfiʿite."[41]

There can be no doubt that the story of Noah, in this circumstance, could easily serve as a metaphor for the changes in Egypt; the theme of fidelity to orthodoxy

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[39] *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:462–63. A mosque built beside the earlier tomb during the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn is briefly treated at 2:296.

[40] Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo: An Introduction* (Cairo, 1989), 85.

[41] "La Barque de l'Imām Aš-Ŝāfiʿī," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk Eras, II: Proceedings of the 4th and 5th International Colloquium Organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 1995 and 1996,* ed. U. Vermeulen and D. De Smet (Leuven, 1998), 258–59.

is strong in both. The specific connection of the boat on the mausoleum to the story of Noah is confirmed by many elements of later popular devotion, and this combined with the general note of restoration evident in the inscriptions from the mausoleum make for a plausible case that this is workable interpretation of the mausoleum at the time of its construction. Van Reeth pushes this too far, though, when he assumes that all references to the boat and the story of Noah reference the Ayyubid transformation. The poems compiled by al-Maqrīzī in the section on the mausoleum must be interpreted on their own, without the assumption that later poets could not have applied the same system of metaphors in a novel way.

The first of the four poems with which al-Maqrīzī concludes his section on the mausoleum is a description of a small group approaching the mausoleum:

> I passed near the dome of al-Shāfiʿī
> and my eye spotted upon it a river boat.
> So I said to my companions: "Now don't be amazed
> if there are boats above the water!"[42]

This is an effective way to begin this group of poems as it points out, from the vantage of a group of friends, the physical detail that will be central throughout this small group of poems: that odd boat upon the mausoleum. There is no attempt in these lines to set meaning, rather we find just a clever reference to a curious point of Cairo's topography. The lines serve as a reminder that the boat was a well-known feature, and as such open to creative re-use.

The second poem in the series is by ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Abū ʿAlī ʿUthmān ibn Ibrāhīm al-Nāblusī, and constructs a view of the importance of Imam al-Shāfiʿī in Egypt:

> Al-Shāfiʿī has become master *(imām);*
> among us his school of law is gold.
> He was truly a sea of knowledge when he departed,
> for atop his grave is a ship.

The first verse is a statement of fact: the legal school of Imam al-Shāfiʿī was indeed preeminent in Egypt, and had been since the rejuvenation of Sunni Islam under Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.[43] His school of law could plausibly be called "gold" *(mudhhab)* since it received wealthy endowments from Cairo's rulers. In this case the boat atop the mausoleum is used as a clue to Imam al-Shāfiʿī's importance: the fact that a boat is there is fitting, because it is over a man who can be considered a

[42] *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:462 = Muḥyī al-Dīn ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍah al-Bahīyah al-Zāhirah fī Khiṭaṭ al-Muʿizzīyah al-Qāhirah* (Beirut, 1996), 80.

[43] André Raymond provides a brief description of the changeover of Egypt to Sunni Islam, and the raising of the Shafiʿi school of law to a place of pre-eminence in Egypt, in *Cairo,* trans. Willard Wood (Cambridge, 2000), 102–4.

"sea of knowledge." Although the actual reasons for the boat's placement should be sought among the continuities between medieval popular religion and more ancient Egyptian practices, the poet in this case used the boat as an indicator for the nature of the person buried there.

The next poem is by a poet who is not named, but simply referred to as "someone else" *(akhar).*

I came to the tomb of al-Shāfiʿī to make visitation
but an ark stood opposite us even when there was no sea.
So I said, "God be exalted, this is a sign
indicating that his grave has drawn together the sea."

The context in this case is a "visitation," the technical word for a pious visit to a grave or other site viewed as having *barakah.* Except for the explicitly pious intention of the writer, these lines are similar to the first poem of the group. The word *fulk* ("ark") is used also in the Quran for Noah's ark,[44] which sets us unavoidably in the context of that story. The poet claims to discover in this sight a sign: the grave marked by the boat "embraces" or "draws together" *(ḍamma)* the sea. What "sea" means in this case is not wholly clear, but given the allusion to the story of Noah, we can begin by identifying it with the uncontrolled waters of the flood. Given the context of the poems immediately before and after this one, we might assume that again the "sea of knowledge" is in mind. In this case the boat is accorded tremendous power; it is a powerful organizer or even master of the chaotic sea. The sea of knowledge is envisioned as an unruly entity, but the religious thought of Imam al-Shāfiʿī, as represented by the boat on his tomb, is nevertheless able to master it.

The final poem of the series is by the famous Mamluk poet Sharaf al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Saʿīd ibn Ḥammād al-Būṣīrī, author of the *Burdah.*

On the dome of the grave of al-Shāfiʿī is a ship
that came to anchor on the sturdy construction above the rocks.
Ever since the deluge of knowledge receded to his grave
this ark sits firmly at the mausoleum as upon Mount Judi.

The first verse begins in the same place as the previous ones, pondering the significance of the boat. As earlier noted, the mausoleum of Imam al-Shāfiʿī lies toward the Muqaṭṭam Hills, and the poet makes use of this placement to communicate the idea of bedrock: the boat has anchored "above the rocks" *(fawq jalmūd).* These foundation rocks are immediately contrasted with the "deluge of knowledge"

[44]This word can be found in Quran 7:64.

(ṭūfān al-ʿulūm).[45] That is a surprisingly vivid metaphor for knowledge, or more precisely, the religious sciences.[46] These sciences are made to appear chaotic and uncontrollable as they are likened to the deluge. In the midst of that deluge is a boat, again connecting us to the story of Noah with the use of the Quranic word *fulk*. In this case the "ark" that provides safety for the righteous comes to rest not on a mountain but at the bedrock of the tomb of Imam al-Shāfiʿī. Mount Judi is the mountain in present-day Turkey upon which the ark was thought to have come to rest after the flood.[47] At this point we can recognize how the series of metaphors again underlines the scholarly mastery of Imam al-Shāfiʿī.

What al-Maqrīzī thought about these poems is difficult to know, beyond the obvious fact that he was so struck by their similarity that he lined them up one after another. By citing them in his section on the mausoleum of Imam al-Shāfiʿī he constructs what I have called a social text. These short poems break out of any fixed meaning that al-Maqrīzī brought to his presentation of the mausoleum and give us a glimpse of how the site was experienced by the elite more broadly. In this case we find a broad agreement on the cultural importance of Imam al-Shāfiʿī given metaphoric resonance through the incorporation of the well-known boat atop the mausoleum. This is perhaps what Th. Emil Homerin had in mind at the conclusion of his essay on Mamluk poetry when he wrote: "...reading poetry by Muslims in the Mamluk Age can heighten our perceptions of their lives by helping us to feel more sharply and with more understanding some of what they may have felt and believed in their own day..."[48] The meaning of this site can be seen to arise through the intertwining of a general understanding of the past with the physical presence of the mausoleum itself.

Concluding Thoughts

None of the poems considered in this essay are likely to make it into the next edition of the *Norton Anthology of World Literature*. In the creation of such an anthology the literatures of past and present cultures are sifted for texts that are deemed approachable by students in our own time. David Damrosch elucidated a three-point definition of world literature. His second point is of interest to us: "World

[45] The word here for deluge *(ṭūfān)* is used in Quran 7:133 and 29:14, the former in a list of plagues brought on Egypt in the time of Moses, the latter for the Deluge proper.

[46] How this image of a "deluge of the religious sciences" could be taken as a reference to Fatimid rule is not explained by Van Reeth ("La Barque de l'Imām Aš-Ŝāfiʿī"). Reference to the same story does not mean its application has remained stable, and in this case the details of the poem break down if the Ayyubid situation is applied with any rigor.

[47] Mount Judi is named as the resting place for Noah's boat in Quran 11:44. See also Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān* (Beirut, 1957), 2:179–80.

[48] Th. Emil Homerin, "Reflections on Arabic Poetry in the Mamluk Age," 85.

literature is writing that gains in translation." Discussing why some literature translates and other literature does not, he writes: "It is important to recognize that the question of translatability is distinct from questions of value. A work can hold a prominent place within its own culture but read poorly elsewhere, either because its language doesn't translate well or because its cultural assumptions don't travel. Snorri Sturluson's dynastic saga *Heimskringla* is a major document in medieval Nordic culture, but it only makes compelling reading if you are fairly knowledgeable about the political history of Norway and Iceland."[49]

This provides us with a frame for understanding what we encounter in the poetry that al-Maqrīzī has framed for us in the *Khiṭaṭ*. It is poetry that translates only with difficulty because it is so closely tied to its social and physical context. In other words, it is not poetry that abstracts easily into discussions of the universal human spirit, as its interest is in negotiating meaning for concrete events and places.

It is often exactly on the score of "universality" that Mamluk poetry is criticized. This can be seen in a recent essay on "Arabic Poetry in the Classical Age" in the last volume of the *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature:* "The poet seems incapable of capturing the particular, of exploring inner experience and so arriving at the essence of life. He does not see beyond the expected, the recurrent, beyond the conventional routine and formality of externalized living."[50] If we look closely at the terms we see that the author is reaching for some standard of universality in the poetry. The poet is supposed to look *through* the world to the underlying elements of the human condition. But if we have discovered anything in the poems analyzed here, it has been their unwillingness to forget about where they are. The framing of these poems by al-Maqrīzī attaches them to a time and place, and these dramatic miniatures in turn allow the poetry to stand out as lively and even artful texts that interact with their setting in an effort to create meaning.

One result of thinking of these poems so sharply within a particular context is to make us re-think the notion of universality. Here we can get some help from anthropologist Clifford Geertz, who addressed the notion of universal and particular in the study of human beings. He argued that the study of human beings does not consist in discovering universally shared traits (religion, marriage), but studying the particulars of different cultures. That particularity opens up the danger of losing touch with any hope for broader relevance or for connecting discrete facts about human beings back to some larger picture. Here Geertz points

[49] David Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?* (Princeton, 2003), 289.

[50] Salma Khadra Jayyusi, "Arabic Poetry in the Post-Classical Period," 29. I take this only as representative of a large body of negative opinions on Mamluk poetry. For an overview of the standard critical evaluation of this poetry see Th. Emil Homerin, "Reflections on Arabic Poetry in the Mamluk Age," 63–64.

us to another kind of universal: "...the mechanisms by whose agency the breadth and indeterminateness of his inherent capacities are reduced to the narrowness and specificity of his actual accomplishments."[51] That is to say, what should hold our attention are the universal mechanisms (cultural, psychological) by which human beings create their social worlds.

Thinking of the Mamluk poetry examined here in this light, we can acknowledge that it is not the sort of poetry that most readily translates into modern concerns; nevertheless, we find in it lively examples of human beings attaching meaning to their experience. This has been evident in each of the poems cited in this article, whether it be the panegyric and its interpretation, the attribution of blame for the failure of a minaret, or meditation on that boat sitting on top of the mausoleum. Each time, we see traces of lively public discussions seeking to find some frame for understanding events and the world. Each of these poets is busy at what Geertz describes (with use of a phrase from John Dewey) as a human being putting "a construction upon the events through which he lives, to orient himself within 'the ongoing course of experienced things...'"[52]

[51]Clifford Geertz, "The Impact of the Concept of Culture on the Concept of Man," in idem, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York, 1973), 45.

[52]Ibid., 45.

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An Arabic History of the Byzantine Empire

The pre-Islamic history of the Fertile Crescent barely occupied the medieval Muslim historians.[1] Their use of early non-Arabic sources to reconstruct the past of Egypt and Syria is minimal.[2] Hence it was a great surprise to discover that recently an Egyptian professor edited an Arabic chronicle of Byzantium.[3] It is not an original Arabic writing, but an adoption of an unknown Greek chronicle that tells the history of the East-Roman Empire from the days of Constantine (324–37) to the emperor Leo the Isaurian (717–41).

The text does not name the composer, nor the date and place of its writing. From internal data we may assume that this Arabic text was composed after the conquest of Constantinople (Istanbul 857/1453)[4] by the Ottomans but prior to their conquest of Syria and Egypt (1516–17).[5] The usage of Mamluk administrative terminology suggests that the composer was a contemporary.[6] His use of Syriac names of the months indicates that the he was a Syrian priest familiar with the Seleucid *(rūmī)* calendar.[7]

In October 1453 an ambassador sent by Muḥammad ibn ʿUthmān (Fatih Sultan Mehmed) arrived in Cairo and informed the sultan al-Ashraf Sayf al-Dīn Abū al-Naṣr Īnāl (or Aynāl) that on Tuesday the twentieth of Jumādá I (29 May 1453) the Ottomans had seized Constantinople (Istanbul).[8] It is likely that this news gener-

[1]Bernard Lewis, "The Use by Muslim Historians of Non-Muslim Sources," in P. M. Holt and Bernard Lewis, *Historians of the Middle East* (London and New York, 1962); reprinted in Lewis, *Islam in History: Ideas, People and Events in the Middle East* (London, 1973, 1993), 118.

[2]Michael Cook, "Pharaonic History in Medieval Egypt," *Studia Islamica* 57 (1983): 67–103.

[3]*Tārīkh Mulūk al-Qusṭanṭīnīyah,* ed. Ṭāriq Manṣūr (Cairo: Miṣr al-ʿArabīyah lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 1428/2008).

[4]P. 133: "Where stands today the mosque of the Sultan Muḥammad who conquered the city."

[5]P. 132: "It survived to these days in an elevated place [within the Hagia Sophia], where the leader of the [Ottoman] Turks is praying."

[6]*Kharāj* (p. 123); *manshūr* (p. 124).

[7]Tishrīn (p. 127); Shubāṭ (p. 128); Nīsān (p. 125); Āb (p. 85); Illūl (Aylūl) (p. 98). On these months see S. P. Brock, "A Dispute of the Months and some Related Syriac Texts," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 30 (1985): 193–96; George Saliba, "A Medieval Note on the Himyarite Dialect," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105 (1985): 715–17.

[8]Abū al-Maḥāsin Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī (813–74/1411–70), *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* ed. J. al-Shayyāl and F. M. Shaltūt (Cairo, 1427/2006), 16:70–71; idem,

ated mix reactions in Cairo. While the official response was a festive welcome, among the Christian subjects of the Mamluk Sultanate it evoked a nostalgic atmosphere. Hence, it seems sound to speculate that the dramatic information on the fate of the Byzantine capital city stimulated intellectual curiosity among the governing echelons of the sultanate, as well as among its Christian subjects. This anonymous chronicle reflects this mood.

Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr, ed. M. K. ʿIzz al-Dīn (Beirut, 1410/1990), 2:453–54; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥanafī Ibn Iyās (852–930/1448–1524), *Badaiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr [Die Chronik des Ibn Ijas],* ed. M. Muṣṭafá (Wiesbaden, 1975, repr. Cairo, 1429/2008), 2:316.

Book Reviews

Katia Cytryn-Silverman, *The Road Inns (Khāns) in Bilād al-Shām*. British Archaeological Reports, International Series, 2130 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010). Pp. vi, 290.

Reviewed by Olivia Remie Constable, University of Notre Dame

This new study of rural *khān*s in Mamluk Syria provides a very useful compilation of material on these road inns. The author brings new data to our knowledge of the buildings' patronage, architecture, and historical details, although the book does not add significantly to our overall understanding of these institutions. The most important new contributions made by Katia Cytryn-Silverman are laid out in Chapter 5 (pp. 83–159), a "Gazetteer" surveying twenty-three rural *khān*s and presenting data collected by the author during five years of field research, followed by one hundred pages of plates and figures (pp. 179–280) containing maps, plans, and photographs of these buildings, both in black and white and in color.

The volume is laid out in five chapters, starting with a short introduction (Chapter 1) and ending with the Gazetteer (Chapter 5), followed by a brief conclusion, a bibliography, and the extensive collection of images. The emphasis throughout is on Mamluk buildings, although the author includes a considerable amount of comparative evidence of Ayyubid, Saljuq, Ottoman, and Iranian *khān*s and other similar courtyard buildings and hostelries.

In Chapter 2, Cytryn-Silverman tackles the vexing question of terminology; she seeks to pin down the exact meaning of *khān,* and describes the chapter's aim as "to avoid taking misinterpreted structures into consideration by establishing clear parameters before commencing the proper sorting" (p. 2). The chapter is organized into sections on epigraphical evidence, from inscriptions on the buildings themselves, evidence from other written sources (both Islamic and European), and a survey of modern scholarship on the question of terminology. In general, this provides good coverage of the available evidence, although it does have some flaws. For instance, the author believes that Western sources are especially useful for terminology because their transcriptions can show "contemporary popular use." This was indeed sometimes the case, but she goes on to assert that these outsiders were "not biased by traditional uses of terminology" because "they were usually learning the terms for the first time" (p. 36). This seems unlikely. Not only were words like *fondaco* well known in Mediterranean Europe by the later Middle Ages , but most Western travelers came to Palestine and Syria by way of

Egypt, where they would have encountered all sorts of local hostelries and related institutions. Following her line of reasoning about local usage, Cytryn-Silverman cites Anselme Adorno's visit in the early 1470s to a recently-built *funduq* on the road to Damascus, and makes the point that "his spelling of the term according to Arabic phonetics *(très beau fondouk),* not in the Italianized manner *fondaco,* no doubt reflects what he heard" the building called (p. 38). But the French that she cites is the modern translation by Jacques Heers, while Adorno's original Latin *(pulcherrimo fundico)* does reflect the Italianized term.[1] In her survey of the modern scholarship on terminology, the author considers my 2001 article on Crusader *fondaco*s. However, my 2003 book (listed in the bibliography) would have been much more helpful, since it provides a considerably more detailed discussion of the topic.

Returning to the main point of Chapter 2, while the "proper sorting" of buildings and their terminology is a worthy objective, there is always a danger that such clarity of purpose will impose organization on a disorganized and inconsistent reality. The author dismisses as "simplistic and even misleading" R. Hillenbrand's warning that "it is worth emphasizing once more that the use of these various terms may imply no more than differences in regional vocabulary rather than connoting distinctive functions or types" (p. 5). My own research tends to support Hillenbrand's point that terminology can be flexible and contextual. Although Cytryn-Silverman is quite correct that *khān* was the dominant term used for the rural inns that she is studying during the Mamluk period, the word also appears in other settings—she admits that "the parallel use of the term *khān* for urban inns is…confusing" (p. 162)—and at times the term *khān* could be interchangeable with other words (*funduq, wakālah, qalʿah,* etc.). Sometimes, seeking regularized usage and meaning may itself be simplistic and misleading.

Chapter 3, on the patronage of Mamluk rural inns, looks at the patterns and chronology of *khān* foundations. At least twenty-seven such buildings were founded in greater Syria during the period between 1291 and 1477, by at least eighteen Mamluk patrons. Ten of these *khān*s were founded during the reign of Sultan Qalāwūn, and Cytryn-Silverman agrees with J. Sauvaget that these especially catered to the *barīd* service. Through an analysis of other foundations by the same patrons, the author finds a variety of motivations for the foundation of rural *khān*s, including piety, charity, wealth management, personal prestige, and financial gain. These motives for patronage are not surprising, but it is useful to have their foundations contextualized within the broader nexus of political, economic, and social events in Mamluk Syria.

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[1] *Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno en Terre sainte: 1470-1471,* ed. and trans. Jacques Heers (Paris, 1978), 322–23.

Chapter 4 is devoted to a consideration of architecture. *Khān*s built in the Mamluk period, together with counterparts built under the Ayyubids and Saljuqs, all shared a common courtyard plan, with access through a single entrance. Beyond this, Cytryn-Silverman identifies and describes a number of architectural features that particularly defined Mamluk road inns in Syria. Only twenty-three of these buildings still offer enough remaining material for an architectural analysis, but the author discusses layout, spatial organization, and evidence of fortification. Beyond the basic plan, we learn details about water supply, masonry, and the decoration of façades and other features. The chapter concludes with a summary of the architectural data, presented in table form, that allows comparison of Mamluk *khān*s with their Ayyubid predecessors (pp. 79–81). The next chapter, the Gazetteer, contains detailed information on each of the twenty-three Mamluk inns noted in Chapter 4.

The final third of the book, devoted to plates and figures, is impressive and interesting. These images provide visual evidence for many of the points that the author discusses in the text, especially architectural details. However, the images are of varying quality, reflecting their diverse origins. Many are copied from nineteenth- and twentieth-century publications and photographs, some are aerial images, while others are (presumably) the author's own photographs. Most of the pictures illustrate points made in the Gazetteer, so a considerable amount of flipping back and forth is necessary in order to link arguments and illustrations. Many of the images are quite small and crowded, sometimes laid out with more than ten to a page. The author includes numerous floor-plans of *khān*s and other similar courtyard buildings, collected together over several pages (pp. 182–85, 194–95), and it is sometimes hard to know what to make of these. The compilation of plans certainly confirms general similarities of form, but the different origins of the images mean that they differ in presentation and style. For instance, on the page, most of the *khān*s look to be much the same size, but this is misleading since many floor-plans have no scale indicated, while those that do have a scale indicator often use different formats depending on their source. This could have been corrected and regularized by the addition of a standard scale indicator (measurements were provided in the table at the end of Chapter 4).

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Kashf al-Ḥāl fī Waṣf al-Khāl.* Edited by Sihām Ṣallān (Damascus: Dār Saʿd al-Dīn, 1420/1999). Pp. 153, incl. 2 plates.

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Kashf al-Ḥāl fī Waṣf al-Khāl.* Edited by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-ʿUqayl (Beirut: al-Dār al-ʿArabīyah lil-Mawsūʿāt, 1426/2005). Pp. 367, incl. 12 plates.

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Kashf al-Ḥāl fī Waṣf al-Khāl.* Edited by Muḥammad ʿĀyish (Damascus: Dār al-Awāʾil, 2006). Pp. 173, incl. 5 plates.

Also: Copenhagen, Royal Library (Kongelige Bibliotek) MS Cod. Arab. 294, 58 ff., n.d., purchased in Cairo by Frederik Christian von Haven in 1763, available online at http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/manus/254/.

Reviewed by Adam Talib, University of Oxford

Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī (b. 696/1297 in Ṣafad, d. 764/1363 in Damascus) was the most important litterateur of the fourteenth century. He left a voluminous oeuvre, much of which remains in manuscript, so the publication of any of his works is cause for celebration.[2] The book under review may appear a tad peculiar at first glance. It is, after all, a narrow nevological study-cum-poetry anthology; but it is a most intriguing collection of fourteenth-century scientific, cultural, and poetic material on a common epidermal feature, which, when fortuitously placed, ineffably enhances beauty.[3] Another famous, and prolific, Mamluk author, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥasan al-Nawājī, produced his own nevi poetry anthology entitled *Ṣaḥāʾif al-Ḥasanāt fī Waṣf al-Khāl* (available in a critical edition edited by Ḥasan Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Hādī) in response to al-Ṣafadī's work. And yet despite al-Ṣafadī's importance as an *adīb* and the need to redress the legacy of neglect that continues to hinder the study of Mamluk literature, the publication of one of his works by three different editors in editions of varying quality within a decade strikes me as a bit excessive.

In 1999, Sihām Ṣallān published the first edition of *Kashf al-Ḥāl.* This edition, apparently the result of her master's thesis work, is clearly deficient and uncritical, but, as space is limited, I will direct the curious to the extensive criticism that

[2]For details of al-Ṣafadī's life and oeuvre, see the essay by Everett Rowson in the new collection *Essays in Arabic Literary Biography II: 1350–1850,* ed. Joseph E. Lowry and Devin Stewart (Wiesbaden, 2009), 341–57.

[3]I should make a disclosure of self-interest here: I am the possessor of a fairly prominent birthmark and the reader should be aware of a bias on my part. Yet I would just say that, although my birthmark does not deface my face, I am still waiting for it to make me very beautiful.

this edition has already attracted.[4] Proceeding chronologically, the next edition, published in 2005, is—in spite of its atrocious cover art—very good.[5] The editor, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar al-ʿUqayl, based his edition on Copenhagen MS 293 (copied in 996/1587), in consultation with three other versions of the text, which he calls abbreviations.[6] In early 2011, an older manuscript (dated to 847/1444) turned up in a Christie's auction, but it seems not to have been examined by scholars and its provenance is not explained.[7] Al-ʿUqayl's edition includes a comprehensive critical apparatus including footnotes containing textual variants, cross-references, glosses, and biographies, as well as six indexes of Quranic citations, *aḥādīth* and *āthār,* proper nouns, locations, and books. Unfortunately, the editor's outdated and uncritical appraisal of Mamluk poetry and his positivistic attitude toward modern pseudoscience and medieval epistemology is a blemish on the façade of his fine edition.

The editor's antiquated attitude toward the aesthetics of Mamluk poetry rehashes many of the shop-worn criticisms of Mamluk literary arts that still seem to circulate: "But al-Ṣafadī was a child of the Mamluk period and one of those poets that went around in a vicious cycle[:] emulating one another, recycling tropes, talking to themselves, and stealing from those who came before them. Like the other poets of his day, al-Ṣafadī was mad about excess in rhetorical arts like parallelism, emulation, double entendre, etc., which he overdid with the worst kind of hyperbole" (pp. 26–27). I understand that this conventional wisdom regarding the aesthetic value of Mamluk literature is a regrettably widespread tenet of faith among many scholars as well as laypeople, so one cannot indulge in too much

[4]See Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Junādī's review in *Majallat ʿĀlam al-Kutub* 23, No. 5–6 (Rabīʿ I–Jumādá II 1423/May–August 2002): 539–46; as well as in ʿUqayl's edition of the text in the section "Al-Nashrah al-sābiqah min al-kitāb," 96–100.

[5]The cover depicts an attractive young woman, complete with a *khāl* near her lips, turned a quarter toward the camera, but she is rendered horrifically ugly by the grossly inartistic embossing of her lips and pupils, which makes her look like a bogeyman.

[6]"*Wa-thalāth makhṭūṭāt mukhtaṣarah min al-kitāb*" (62): these are Cairo, Dār al-Kutub MS 221 *adab Taymūr*; Damascus, Ẓāhirīyah Library [presumably now in the Asad National Library] MS 6927 (used by Ṣallān for her edition); and Paris, Bibliothéque Nationale MS 3973. For more information on the Copenhagen MS Cod. Arab. 293, see *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts: Codices Arabici and Codices Arabici Additamenta, Book Three,* ed. Irmeli Perho (Copenhagen, 2007), 1137–41.

[7]I would like to thank Kristina Richardson of Queens College, The City University of New York, who alerted me to the presence of this manuscript. I tried to contact Christie's about the MS, but have yet to hear back from them. The MS is included in a codex along with two other works: Ṣamawʾal al-Maghribī's "Nuzhat al-Aḥbāb wa-Muʿāsharat al-Aṣḥāb" and Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥasan al-Shāfiʿī's "Dalīl al-Mujāz bi-Arḍ al-Ḥijāz," copied on 15 Rajab 843 22 December 1439 and 12 Rabīʿ I 859/2 March 1455 in Aleppo. See the Christie's lot description (lot 99/sale 7959: "Art of the Islamic and Indian Worlds," held in London on 7 April 2011), which—bafflingly, to me—is silent about the codex's provenance.

Mamluk-style *mubālaghah* in condemning it, but I do consider it even more regrettable when it is espoused by a scholar who has made a welcome contribution to the study of Mamluk literature.[8]

Having nitpicked the editor's introduction slightly, I must say that the edition he has produced is very good. The text itself is composed of two introductions—the first a lexical investigation of the word *khāl,* said to be one of the most polyvalent words in Arabic, the second a medical and physiognomic treatise on birthmarks, including answers to such questions as "Where's the best place to have a birthmark?" and "What does the color of a birthmark signify?" as well as a section on famous people who had birthmarks—and a large anthology of short poems (86% of the poems are two-liners and 97% of them are of four lines or less) on the theme at hand, organized alphabetically by rhyme-letter. In all, the book contains, according to al-ʿUqayl, "some 790 verses," ninety-five percent of which appear in the anthology section *(al-natījah),* with the other five percent sprinkled through the two introductions *(muqaddimah)* (pp. 68–69) (By my count, there are 800 verses in the *natījah* alone.) The editor also mentions the practice of copyists or owners adding verses on the topic to their copies; this in his eyes is rather inconvenient, though it must have been ubiquitous and even one of the great appeals of anthological texts.[9]

The most recent edition of this text was prepared by Muḥammad ʿĀyish and published in Damascus in 2006.[10] According to the editor, he took the same Copenhagen MS 293 as his primary witness and also compared it with the Damascus manuscript mentioned above. This edition is, therefore, in terms of manuscripts consulted alone less critical than the one prepared by al-ʿUqayl. Yet having fewer witnesses is not the only thing wrong with this edition. There are a few peculiarities in the edition that defy explanation as well as a healthy proportion of simple errors. I was able to compare a few pages of these two editions to each other as well as to Copenhagen MS 294, which neither editor used and which is

[8] Al-ʿUqayl writes that he is preparing an edition of the same author's *Ladhdhat al-Samʿ fī Waṣf al-Damʿ* (p. 44).

[9] Al-ʿUqayl criticizes the copyist of the Damascus Ẓāhirīyah MS for incorporating the verses of ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah (d. 922/1516), which were written in the margin of the Copenhagen MS 293; this poet lived a couple of centuries after al-Ṣafadī and therefore her verses could not have been included in the original work (pp. 66–67). It is a testament to the editor's respect for the text and the practice of critical editing that he includes these verses in a footnote (p. 259 n.), noting their spurious inclusion in the Ẓāhirīyah MS without suppressing them.

[10] ʿĀyish has also edited the same author's *Ikhtirāʿ al-Khurrāʿ fī Mukhālafat al-Naql wa-al-Ṭibāʿ* (Amman, 2004), *Tashnīf al-Samʿ fī Insikāb al-Damʿ* (Damascus, 2004), *Faḍḍ al-Khitām fī al-Tawrīyah wa-al-Istikhdām* (Amman, 2005), *Rashf al-Zulāl fī Waṣf al-Hilāl* (Damascus, 2009), and [pseudo-] Ṣafadī, *Lawʿat al-Shākī fī Damʿat al-Bākī* (Damascus, 2003).

available online at the website given above.[11] A comparison of ʿĀyish's text with even the few facsimile manuscript pages reproduced in both editions points to unnecessary errors.[12] Other deviations from al-ʿUqayl's version could either be the result of an unacknowledged preference for the Damascus manuscript variant over the Copenhagen manuscript or occasional paleographical or grammatical difficulties.[13] The unexplained deviations from the text of al-ʿUqayl's edition as well as the other Copenhagen manuscript raise questions as to the editor's working method, but belaboring this point is unnecessary.

In sum, the edition of *Kashf al-Ḥāl* prepared by al-ʿUqayl is the most dependable, and while the editor's narrow-minded literary estimations are unfortunate, they do not detract from the quality of his edition. He deserves many thanks for making available a very interesting text and adding to the still deficient, though growing, library of al-Ṣafadī's works available to researchers and readers. It is all the more fortuitous that the Danish Royal Library has provided a digital copy of MS 294, which was not consulted by any of the editors, on its website for researchers to use. With the combination of al-ʿUqayl's edition and Copenhagen MS 294, al-Ṣafadī's text can be studied by researchers interested in social history and popular culture, medieval Islamic medicine, belles-lettres and poetry, as well as readers who are interested in exploring the breadth and depth of this great scholar's literary output.

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[11] On this MS, see *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts: Codices Arabici and Codices Arabici Additamenta, Book Three,* 1142–43. The MS is undated, but its title page reads: "*bi-rasm al-khizānah al-ʿālīyah al-ʿalāʾīyah Ibn Faḍl Allāh ṣāḥib dawāwīn al-inshāʾ,*" and it is this vague reference that may link the MS with the Faḍl Allāh family of chancery secretaries who were so prominent in the Mamluk period. I admit that this identification is a guess.

[12] It is clear from the plates in al-ʿUqayl's edition, for example, that the Copenhagen MS ʿĀyish claims to have used as his main witness (MS 293) has "*nashhadu anna Muḥammadan* …" and this is also found in al-ʿUqayl's edition as well as the digital copy of Copenhagen MS 294 available online (cf. al-ʿUqayl's ed., 117). The Damascus MS has "*ashhadu,*" which may explain why ʿĀyish chose that reading, but it is unlike him not to have indicated that change in the footnotes, especially as he generously records the Damascus MS's variant readings throughout his edition (ʿĀyish's ed., 33; cf. plate in al-ʿUqayl's ed., 108). In my brief survey, I encountered only one error that al-ʿUqayl made and ʿĀyish did not. The first poem in the *natījah* section should begin "*wa-la-kam munītu* …" not, as al-ʿUqayl has it: "*wa-la-kam munnītu* …" as it does not fit the meter.

[13] E.g., *ʿadūwan la-hum* for *ʿadūw al-hamm; ka-anna al-Buḥturī* for *kāna al-Buḥturī; fa-mā aḥadan* for *fa-mā aḥadun; ʿamma bi-al-nās al-hudá* for *ʿamma al-nās bi-al-hudá.*

Mahdī Asʿad ʿArār, *Dīwān Fayḍ al-Faḍl wa-Jamʿ al-Shaml* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmīyah, 2010). Pp. 512.

Reviewed by Th. Emil Homerin, University of Rochester

ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah (d. 922/1517) was one of the most prolific woman authors in Islamic history. She composed panegyrics and *mawlid*s in Arabic to the prophet Muhammad and wrote works on Islamic mysticism, including several volumes of mystical and devotional poetry. Surviving among the latter is her collection *Dīwān Fayḍ al-Faḍl wa-Jamʿ al-Shaml* ("The Emanation of grace and the gathering union"), which contains over 370 poems. In this verse, ʿĀʾishah explored the full range of Arabic rhymes, meters, and poetic forms, including the quatrain *(dū bayt),* the ode *(qaṣīdah),* the love poem *(ghazal),* poems in praise of Muḥammad *(al-madīḥ al-nabawī),* as well as verse in praise of mystical wine *(khamrīyah).* ʿĀʾishah also composed in newer poetic forms including the quintain *(takhmīs),* the strophic forms of *musammaṭ, zajal,* and *muwashshaḥ,* and the *kān wa-kān,* a form using multiple internal rhymes and popular for sermons. This important collection has been recently edited and published for the first time by Mahdī Asʿad ʿArār.

Following his preface and acknowledgments, ʿArār provides a short introduction (pp. 11–25) on ʿĀʾishah's life growing up as the daughter of the chief Shafiʿi judge of Damascus, where she died in 922/1517. He recounts the story of ʿĀʾishah's trip with her son to Cairo during which highway men robbed their caravan and stole a dozen books that she had composed earlier in Damascus. Arriving destitute in Cairo, ʿĀʾishah was befriended by Ibn Ajā, the personal secretary to the sultan al-Ghawrī, who looked after her and her son. ʿArār also mentions that ʿĀʾishah led a religious life and was thoroughly familiar with Islamic mysticism thanks to her spiritual masters Ismāʿīl al-Hawwārī and Yaḥyá al-ʿUrmawī. However, ʿArār gives no information about either teacher, nor does he even mention that ʿĀʾishah and her extended family were members of the Qadarīyah Sufi order. Even more surprising, ʿArār says nothing about ʿĀʾishah's husband, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Ibn Naqīb al-Ashrāf (d. 909/1503), with whom she also had a daughter, Barakah (b. 899/1491). ʿArār does mention the friendly exchange of poems between ʿĀʾishah and the litterateur ʿAbd al-Raḥīm ʿAbbāsī (866–963/1463–1556) in Cairo, and then provides a brief inventory of ʿĀʾishah's writings, with a few comments on her by later historians. ʿArār's brief biography is adequate, though lacking important details to be found in recent scholarship on ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah. Though my work in English (including *MSR* 7:211–34) may not have been readily available to ʿArār, I was surprised that he did not mention the useful works by Ḥasan Rabābiʿah, including his study *ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah: Shāʿirah* (Irbid: Dār al-Hilāl lil-Tarjamah, 1997).

In his next section (pp. 26–55), ʿArār makes a number of observations on the collection *Fayḍ al-Faḍl wa-Jamʿ al-Shaml,* which he values for its literary quality and fine mystical poems. ʿArār notes that this collection contains a number of poems that had appeared in earlier works by ʿĀʾishah, though it is by no means a complete collection of her verse; among the missing poems are her quintain on al-Būṣīrī's *Burdah* and her most famous poem, the *Fatḥ al-Mubīn fī Madḥ al-Amīn* ("The Clear inspiration in praise of the trusted prophet"). Next, ʿArār reviews some of the poetic forms used by ʿĀʾishah in her verse and several elements of style, citing brief examples of each, along with some of her major themes, such as love of God and the need to live a pious life. He also touches on ʿĀʾishah's poetic influences, which included al-Ḥallāj, al-Būṣīrī, and Ibn al-Fāriḍ, among others. ʿArār then concludes this section with a review of some key Sufi terms frequently found in ʿĀʾishah's verse, such as *basṭ* ("exhilaration"), *jadhb* ("spiritual attraction"), *ḥāl* ("mystical state"), etc. ʿArār provides a brief definition for each term and cites their use in several verses. Here again, he could have profited from Rabābiʿah's *ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah,* particularly the latter's detailed discussion of ʿĀʾishah's poetic style and forms.

In the final section of his introduction (pp. 56–66), ʿArār lists and describes the three manuscripts from Egypt's Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah that he used for his published edition. He states that his primary manuscript ("A") was MS 581 Shiʿr Taymūr, dated 1031/1622. His two other manuscripts were ("B") MS 112 Shiʿr Taymūr and ("J") MS 431 Shiʿr Taymūr, both also dated 1031/1622, though ʿArār argues persuasively that this date for "B" and "J" most likely is the date of the original from which they were copied, probably "A."

For my own work on ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah, I have used and made copies of both "A" and "J," and in addition, I have two other copies of *Fayḍ al-Faḍl,* Cairo MS 4384 (Adab), dated 1341/1922, and Rabat's Bibliothèque Generale #734. Using these manuscripts, I read through ʿArār's edited edition. Unfortunately, I found many errors and discrepancies, too many to be listed in this review. The most common error was that ʿArār did not note many variant readings among the manuscripts, or note, in some cases, where he appears to be offering his own reading. An example of this problem is the following couplet as found in the printed edition (p. 74):

tawājadtu ḥattá lāḥa lī fī tawājudī
wujūdun ʿani-l-aghyāri lil-qalbi ṣārifu
fa-lā wājidun illā li-ḥālī wājidu
fa-lā ʿārifun illā bi-mā qultu ʿārifu

I was rapt, until in my rapture there appeared

an existence for the heart free from others.
So no one is ravished save he finds my state,
and there is no gnostic save he knows what I say.

The issue here is the term *wujūdun* in the nominative case, when all of the manuscripts that I have cite the word in the accusative case: *wujūdan*. This would lead to a different reading and translation, something like:

I was rapt, until in my rapture he appeared
with an existence for the heart free from others.
So no one is ravished save he finds my state,
and there is no gnostic save he knows what I say.

Now, it may be that ʿArār took his reading from MS "B," which I do not have, but he does not mention any variations whatsoever. In another poem (pp. 105–6), without a note, ʿArār omits verse 15 as found in "A":

wa-la yustamaʿ fīhi bi-sh-shāfaʿata shāfiʿin
siwāka yā khayra-l-khalqi min jinn wa-insin

No intercessor's word will be heard save yours,
you, the best of creation among humans and jinn.

While the vast majority of ʿArār's omissions are of minor textual variations, some may affect the reading of individual poems in subtle ways, and so serious scholars will still need to consult the manuscripts of the *Fayḍ al-Faḍl* in the course of any research on ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah that involves this work. Nevertheless, having edited manuscripts myself, I want to be clear that I am not disparaging the good intentions and dedicated efforts of the editor, Mahdī Asʿad ʿArār. Yet, had another reader given his manuscript close attention, ʿArār would have been in a position to publish a more rigorous edition. That being said, over the last few years, many publishers have reduced their staff and too frequently rely on authors to serve as their own copy editors. When one must read over a text many times, it is all too easy to read through and miss omissions and mistakes, and I believe this may have happened with ʿArār's published edition of the *Fayḍ al-Faḍl*. Still, Mahdī Asʿad ʿArār has made a useful contribution to Arabic literature in that he has provided wider access to the verse of an important Arab Sufi poet.

Alan Mikhail, *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt: An Environmental History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). Pp. xxv + 347.

Reviewed by Martyn Smith, Lawrence University

As is evident from the title, the focus of this book is on Egypt during the Ottoman period. Yet the book warrants attention from readers of this journal for its methodology as well as for details that throw light on the Mamluk period. Alan Mikhail is not the first to take up issues concerning water usage or commodities in Egypt during this time, but his approach to these topics through the theoretical lens of environmental history makes this an especially noteworthy work. The field of environmental history emerged in the 1970s and gained momentum through the 1980s and 1990s. Historians writing within this field have enriched our understanding of various regions and periods by emphasizing the dynamic interaction of human beings with the natural world. In their work the natural world is not simply a static backdrop for human events, but a dynamic actor in its own right.

Previous to this book the Middle East had not yet attracted a self-consciously environmental history on this scale. In an overview of the state of environmental history in 2003, J. R. McNeill writes: "…in Arab and Ottoman historiography, almost all researchers remain indifferent to the possibilities of environmental history…"[14] McNeill goes on to point out how the rich Ottoman archives could form the basis for an environmental history of the Middle East. Mikhail cites this passage in its entirety in the introduction to *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt* (p. 16), and it defines his project both in terms of aim and sources. This book fills a methodological gap in historical accounts of Egypt and challenges us to consider similar approaches to other periods of history.

Mikhail makes good use of archival records, which include documents from rural Egyptian courts, imperial orders, and local petitions, to tell a sweeping story of the changing relationship of the Ottoman Empire to the natural world. Broadly this change can be described as a transformation from a dependence on local knowledge and expertise in solving problems related to the natural world to the imposition of top-down projects that seek to control nature. Considering the present environmental challenges of Egypt, what comes first to mind are likely expansive projects such as the Aswan High Dam or recent efforts to engineer residential cities outside the Nile Valley. Mikhail traces this penchant for large-scale projects back to the construction of the Maḥmūdīyah Canal from 1817 to 1819. As many as 360,000 peasants labored in the construction of this canal, out of which

[14] J. R. McNeill, "Observations on the Nature and Culture of Environmental History," *History and Theory* 42 (December 2003): 30.

an astounding 100,000 died from disease and hardship. This attempt to engineer the landscape would turn out to be typical of the next two centuries of Egyptian history, but Mikhail demonstrates that this centralized approach to nature was not typical of the earlier Ottoman Empire.

The first three chapters of this book lay out in some detail the management of natural resources that prevailed in the first centuries of Ottoman rule. The first, entitled "Watering the Earth," is the most interesting with respect to implications for study of the Mamluks. In the decades after their conquest of Egypt in 1517 the Ottomans undertook a survey of Egypt's irrigation system. This survey contains fine-grained details of the irrigation practices in Egypt down to the level of the village. An important issue this survey attempted to define was whether a canal should be classed as *sulṭānī* or *baladī*. If the former, the maintenance of the canal was a public good undertaken by the state; if the latter, the local group that benefited from the canal was responsible for its maintenance. Any survey of irrigation practices from the early Ottoman period had to reflect practices and assumptions that extended back into the Mamluk period. This dependence on earlier practices in respect to irrigation is evident in the Ottoman law code for Egypt, the Kanunname, where frequent reference is made to what was done during the reign of the Mamluk sultan Qāytbāy (p. 12). This Ottoman way of going about the administration of the irrigation system of Egypt signaled a fundamental respect for local precedent, and that precedent was often inherited from the Mamluk period.

The two further chapters on the Ottoman management of the natural world have fewer implications for the study of the Mamluks since they detail the circulation of commodities (grains and wood, primarily) within the larger empire itself. This issue of the circulation of commodities has been a central interest for environmental historians, evident in a classic work of environmental history such as *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (1991) by William Cronon. Mikhail argues that the early Ottoman Empire developed remarkably efficient modes of distribution for these commodities, circulating Egypt's grain to meet the needs of pilgrims in the Hijaz or residents of Istanbul, and thus achieving "caloric parity across the empire" (p. 123). On the other hand, wood was quite scarce in Egypt but abundant in other parts of the Ottoman empire, so Egyptian grain was partially balanced by import of another commodity. Mikhail describes this circulation as "natural resource management" (p. 123). Although Mikhail early on cautions that his descriptions should not be seen as "romanticizing" elements of this early modern Ottoman system (p. 33), he provides us with a largely positive image of the early Ottoman state managing the natural world in a sustainable manner.

The big story that Mikhail tells in this book is the way this Ottoman system got out of whack in the later period, especially in its waning days under the ad-

ministration of Mehmet Ali. Making Egypt into a modern state in the nineteenth century was a wrenching experience, and that experience has been narrated in other books, such as *All the Pasha's Men* (1997) by Khaled Fahmy. Mikhail's view of the critical events of this era is inflected by environmental history, which he connects to a breakdown in the previous distribution system of commodities. His account of Mehmet Ali's invasion of Syria from 1831 to 1841 allows us to see more clearly his theoretical vantage point. Other historical works (such as that by Fahmy, for example) have pointed out the importance of Syria's wood in the calculus for the invasion. But Mikhail lends this need for wood a deep explanatory power: "Mehmet ʿAli's ten-year incursion into Syria and Anatolia was largely driven by his desire to acquire usable wood supplies for his province" (p. 167). Having already seen how the Ottoman state achieved a studied balance in commodities, we grasp that as Egypt became an independent power it would run against a fundamental imbalance in commodities, and this imbalance would push the state outward. This understanding of the circulation of commodities could be useful in trying to understand the forces that determined Mamluk territorial ambitions as well, and it is certainly to be hoped that this approach will be taken up further in the study of the Mamluks.

My criticism of the book is that while Mikhail has delivered a book that fills an important gap in modern scholarship on Egypt, to a surprising extent he is rediscovering the emphases of Egyptian historians themselves. This goes oddly unacknowledged even as Mikhail cites Egyptian historians in order to make his points. This appears most starkly in Chapter 3, which takes as its subject the circulation of wood. On pages 130 and 131 al-Jabartī is cited no less than nine times in the footnotes. A sample note from these pages reads: "The timber yards of Bulaq were at the base of al-Khurnub Tenement near a huge market complex built from stone and wood..." Details of Egypt's dependence on and use of wood are often drawn from this Egyptian historian. Something similar happens in the final chapter detailing the construction of the Maḥmūdīyah Canal, where Mikhail sketches the history of the canal and draws extensively from Mamluk historian al-Maqrīzī (pp. 264–65). It is evident that Egyptian historians shared this interest in commodities and the management of water. The central writers of history in the Egyptian tradition have themselves emphasized many of the principal themes of environmental history.

In the work of the Mamluk historian al-Maqrīzī we can find a view of history that has many parallels with the work of environmental historians, though obviously not expressed through modern assumptions. An example can be seen in his economic treatise known as the *Ighāthah,*[15] in which he advances a strident argu-

[15] *Mamluk Economics: A Study and Translation of al-Maqrīzī's Ighāthah,* ed. and trans. Adel Allouche (Salt Lake City, 1994).

ment against the Mamluk management of the natural world and the currency. In one section al-Maqrīzī recounts historical instances of *ghalāʾ*, or scarcity. Arriving at the Fatimid conquest of Egypt in 358/969, he emphasizes the crisis in commodity prices at that point.[16] He thus encourages the reader to understand a central historical event as a result of a crisis in resources, paralleling an approach to history that we have seen in the book by Mikhail. More broadly, the well-known *Khiṭaṭ* of al-Maqrīzī takes up many of the particular topics that are at the heart of Mikhail's book. In his section on Nilometers al-Maqrīzī describes how levees and canals are maintained by a percentage of the land tax and that the cutting of the levees takes place in accordance with the expertise of locals (1:61). Part of what animated al-Maqrīzī is that this system of precedents was failing, and he wrote in the midst of what he felt to be a crisis. But it is here that we should look for the forebears to an environmental approach to Egyptian history. An unexpected result of *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt* is that it allows us to better perceive the strengths of historians like al-Maqrīzī and al-Jabartī.

Leigh Chipman, *The World of Pharmacy and Pharmacists in Mamlūk Cairo* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010). Pp. viii + 318.

Reviewed by Li Guo, University of Notre Dame

The book under review sets out to analyze a popular medieval Arabic manual for pharmacists and, in light of this key text, to explore various related issues. The manual is the *Minhāj al-Dukkān*, "How to manage a [drug] store [hereafter: Handbook]," attributed to one Abū al-Muná Dāwūd al-Kūhīn al-ʿAṭṭār (fl. 1260), a Jewish druggist living and practicing in late Ayyubid and early Mamluk Cairo. Based on the author's Hebrew University dissertation (2006), this well-written book combines solid, old-fashioned textual research (materials in Arabic, Judeo-Arabic, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew) with sound technical synthesis and delicate historical contextualization. The result is a richly documented and carefully argued essay on the history, theory, and practice, as well as social and cultural impact, of pharmacy and pharmacists in what S. D. Goitein would call a "Mediterranean Society," where Arab, Jewish, and Christian physicians and pharmacists worked side by side, sharing common resources.

The book is divided into two main parts: Part One (3 chapters) deals with the textual and technical aspects of the Handbook, while Part Two (2 chapters) ad-

[16] Ibid., 30.

dresses issues pertaining to the practice of pharmacy and its scientific, social, and legal context. Four appendices provide information about the manuscripts of the Handbook, its recipes, tests as suggested by various sources, and a glossary of terminology.

Chapter 1 lays the groundwork for analysis with a description of the content and structure of the Handbook. Through an outline of its chapters with translated headlines, Chipman confirms the Handbook's affiliation within the *aqrābādhīn* (Greek *graphidion*) tradition, albeit with its own compositional features. This is followed by a comparative analysis of sources: a chain of transmission—from Ibn Jumayʿ (d. 1198), via Ibn Abī al-Bayān (d. 1236), to al-Kūhīn al-ʿAṭṭār—is established through painstaking correlations, taking into consideration other indirectly quoted sources.

Following the above discussion of continuity and discontinuity of the Handbook vis-à-vis the *aqrābādhīn* tradition, Chapter 2 highlights the non-technical elements added to the Handbook. These elements show, as Chipman argues, greater similarities to a medical encyclopedia than to a druggist's recipe collection. This is evidenced in the Introduction and Chapter 23 of the Handbook, which spell out concerns relating to medical ethics, showing an affinity to the Greek tradition as inherited and transmitted by medieval Arab, Persian, and Jewish medical practitioners. The addition of these segments to the Handbook thus demonstrates al-Kūhīn al-ʿAṭṭār's indebtedness to a long chain of "physicians' writings for physicians," as the author compares these segments with the key "classic" texts of the genre. These additions set the Handbook apart from other how-to pharmacy manuals, and delineate an environment in Cairo where medical (and by extension pharmaceutical) moral injunctions evidently gained currency among local practitioners.

For those interested in learning more about the nuts and bolts of pharmaceutical practice at the time as described in the Handbook, Chapter 3 is perhaps the highlight of the book. Instead of a laundry list, the discussion is grouped under various thematic rubrics. Chipman is quick to point out that of the thousands of pharmaceutical items mentioned in the documentary sources such as the Cairo Geniza, only a fraction were in common use. This gap, Chipman argues, stimulated the development of lists of drug substitutes and synonyms, which, alongside the related matter of weights and measures, constitute the focal point of this chapter. Another topic discussed is the identification and treatment of *materia medica*. Other practical aspects scattered throughout the Handbook are summarized in the following segment.

Part Two, "The Pharmacist and Society," consists of two chapters that deal with the scientific context and social impact of the pharmacy and pharmacists on society, respectively. Biographical dictionaries and documents (the Cairo Geniza,

waqf collections) are utilized effectively in Chapter 4. A brief summary of the current scholarship on pharmacy and medicine within the context of scientific research in the post-Mongol Islamic Near East leads to a detailed account of the role played by the pharmacist in Mamluk society. It is interesting to learn that the terms commonly used at the time to denote "pharmacist"—*ʿaṭṭār,* which also means "perfume seller," and *ʿashshāb,* "herbalist"—indicate the broadening range of the craft. Chipman points out that the classical term *ṣaydalānī,* "pharmacist" per se, had fallen out of use by that time. Combing through the massive volumes of major Mamluk biographical dictionaries, the life and career of some seventy-five *ʿaṭṭār*s (or *ʿashshāb*s) are surveyed. The segment on pharmacists in hospitals is extremely informative as well.

In some ways, Chapter 5, "The Pharmacist in the Marketplace," comes as a pleasant surprise, and for this reviewer, a treat. By utilizing materials usually considered irrelevant to the subject of "history of science," or "Islamic medicine," this chapter not only sheds rare light on hitherto seldom explored areas relating to the practice of medicine and pharmacy in the pre-modern Arab world, but also invites us to re-examine the value and use of non-historical sources for historical inquiry. The discussion of the fascinating topic of what we today might call "consumer protection" is based on a careful survey of an array of materials—legal and literary. There are so many things to learn from Chipman's reading of these unconventional materials. There are, for example, almost no references to pharmacists or drugs *per se* in major Mamluk fatwa collections, while moralist treatises touch upon the matter only briefly, often within the context of correct behavior. It is in the *ḥisbah* manuals that specific guidelines, rules, and appropriate procedures regarding quality control are to be found.

Refreshingly informative is also the segment on the "image" of the pharmacist presented in popular literature, such as *The 1001 Nights* and shadow plays. The remarkable thing about these literary texts, "fiction" by nature, is that in addition to, as one would expect, shedding light on mentality and psyche, and on society's attitudes and sentiments towards the perfumer-druggist, they also afford many *technical details* in relation to the pharmacy and pharmacist that are not found in "conventional" sources. This is particularly true with regard to the shadow plays. In one shadow play, a group of tricksters parade onto the stage; they represent a variety of "quacks," among them a *maʿājīnī,* "seller of medicinal pastes," and an *ʿashshāb*, "herbalist." A translation of their self-portraits, in the form of monologue and songs, is provided. Here, the "fiction" offers some technical details that conventional medical texts fail to provide; and Chipman is to be commended for tackling this extremely challenging material, providing the reader, for the first time, with a full English translation. Speaking of the translation, I have only one note to add. Regarding the lyric sung by the *ʿashshāb*-herbalist, the word

dashāsh ("a powder") in the Kahle edition would be better replaced by its variant, *ḥashāʾish,* "hashish, weed" (see Everett Rowson's review of the edition in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114 no. 3 [1994]). It not only fits the profile of an *herbalist,* but also is grammatically appropriate (feminine verbs follow), and scans the meter (which ought to be *mujtathth,* p. 167) as well. To use these kinds of literary sources is justified by the fact that the author of the shadow plays, Ibn Dāniyāl, was himself an eye doctor in Cairo. The technical accuracy of his description of the medicinal craft (including pharmacy) has been confirmed by modern Orientalist and practicing physician M. Meyerhof, among others. It is true that the theme of "quacks" becoming the butt of the joke had developed into a literary topos, but the reality and implication behind it cannot be denied. The figure of a druggist as a "greedy swindler" and trickster as represented in legal and popular literature, Chipman argues, may help to explain why we know so little about the pharmacist as a person: if chronicles are virtually silent on many an *ʿaṭṭār* when they appear in biographical dictionaries, it is because they were *literati* at the same time. Ibn Dāniyāl the eye doctor knew a thing or two about the sentiment against his fellow craftsmen in Cairo, insofar as his shadow plays and poetry are riddled with self-loathing while describing the profession of "health care" in general. As for al-Kūhīn al-ʿAṭṭār the druggist, not only was he ignored by biographical dictionaries, the "Hall of Fame" for medieval Muslim learned men, he was also shunned by his own kind: the best known figure in the history of Arab medicine, Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, in his comprehensive roster of Arab physicians, did not say a thing about the Jewish druggist, who was actually his contemporary and a fellow student. The silence is telling: the Jewish druggist was not a physician; this shows us a further divide from within, between doctors and pharmacists, in medieval Cairo. Such is the fascinating, and rather sad, story of the pharmacist in Mamluk Cairo. We owe Leigh Chipman for bringing it to life.

Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo of the Mamluks: A History of the Architecture and Its Culture* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007). Pp. xix + 359, illus.

Reviewed by J. M. Rogers, The Nour Foundation

The development of Fatimid al-Qāhirah into the great metropolis it became under the Mamluks was by no means a foregone conclusion. Under Baybars Fusṭāṭ was not entirely neglected, though his Friday mosque in its northern sector, the Jāmiʿ al-Jadīd (660/1261–62), was already abandoned by al-Maqrīzī's time, and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's mosque in the same area (no. 15), also called the Jāmiʿ al-Jadīd (711–

12/1312–13) survived for an even shorter time. Baybars' works on the island of Rawḍah were similarly impermanent, and heralded his successors' concentration upon al-Qāhirah, its citadel, and the port of Būlāq on the Nile. The present volume combines Doris Abouseif's long familiarity with the rich Mamluk historical and biographical tradition and her deep knowledge of the historical topography of Cairo to give a masterly account of the city and its architecture between 1250 and the Ottoman conquest.

Though she takes due account of earlier scholarship, and of Creswell's meticulous surveys, Professor Abouseif's originality lies in the importance she gives to foundation documents (*waqfīyah*s). They frequently offset the errors of the historians whom she justly criticizes for their ignorance of architectural styles and technicalities; the *awlād al-nās* (like the historian Ibn Taghrībirdī), who were often directly involved in construction and its management, were generally much better informed. In the last resort *waqfīyah*s could not guarantee immunity from confiscation, and they only rarely state what must often have been the case, namely that a particular foundation was ad hominem, a madrasah, say, for a respected teacher or a *khānqāh* for a particularly revered Sufi. But they otherwise give a clear idea of the patrons' intentions and their conception of their role in the development of the city.

Behrens-Abouseif's discussions of the individual monuments comprise a biography of the founder and the historical background of the structure; an analysis of the foundation document; and a description of the plan, fabric, and decoration. This last has often been complicated by the long-term activities of the Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe, which, understandably, did not have the funds to embark on large-scale operations and which for much of its existence was advised by experts whose standards of authenticity fell well short of present-day conservators. Behrens-Abouseif usefully records such arbitrary restorations, though lack of space precludes mention of routine maintenance and repairs which may be recorded in later copies of the *waqfīyah,* or detailed descriptions of major alterations in the Ottoman period, for example to the mosque of Aqsunqur al-Nāṣirī (no. 24).

The author begins her survey with the mausoleum of the Ayyubid al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Din Ayyūb (no. 1), who was the creator of the Bahri regiment and a pioneer in the development of Bahri funerary architecture. In this she follows the historians, who gave the prime role in the expansion of al-Qāhirah to al-Ṣāliḥ's successors, whose mosque-foundations led the way for courtiers and 'the people' to settle in their vicinity. These figure prominently among the sixty monuments Behrens-Abouseif discusses in detail,[17] and her survey is largely a social, eco-

[17]Unlike Michael Meinecke's 2 volumes (*Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien [649/1250 bis 923/1517]* [Glückstadt, 1992]), her chronological coverage is even—28 of the 60 monu-

nomic, and architectural study of sultans' pious foundations and their interaction with the urban fabric, as well as those of their amirs, with whom they often had ties of kinship or marriage. Periodization of architecture by reign is reasonable (with the obvious reservation that overlaps of some projects from reign to reign complicate a linear chronology), though Behrens-Abouseif observes that only al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and Qāytbāy can be said to have established a regnal style.

As foreign usurpers, and Hanafis at that, the Mamluk sultans were heavily dependent upon the goodwill of the ulama, and prudence might have led them to favor the Shafiʿis, the predominant *madhhab* in Egypt. This *madhhab,* however, did not recognize the Turkish dynasties, which naturally were not of Qurayshi stock, as legitimate. Baybars' solution was to replace the Shafiʿi imam with chief qadis for each of the four schools, a seeming even-handedness which in fact worked to the Hanafis' advantage. His successors also abandoned the immemorial Shafiʿi principle that there should be no more than one congregational mosque in each quarter *(khuṭṭ).* The multiple *khuṭbah*s, along with the lack of space available in central Cairo for major building projects, increasingly favored neighborhood mosques and funerary oratories with residential features, where a funerary dome and a minaret became virtually essential markers. The latter, which were the work of specialist builders, were transformed into highly decorative architectural features, as well as foci of structural development.[18] Understandably, prestige vied with piety, the tomb generally occupying the most conspicuous position on the street front and, for example in the case of the amir Shaykhū (no. 25), even prompting the suppression of the mihrab to allow for a window to overlook the street.

With few exceptions (among them the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan, no. 27), even royal founders deliberately chose modestly proportioned buildings and multiple foundations rather than a single colossal unit, a tendency which, especially in the fifteenth century, must have further decreased the cost to the patron. The available figures suggest that the average building cost of even a royal foundation was not much more than the monthly pay of a royal Mamluk, and could not compare with what the sultans spent on luxuries in the market, imported at prices which they could not dictate. It was the luxury of their furnishings, Behrens-Abouseif suggests, that accounted for the much greater cost of palace architecture, most of which, ironically, has disappeared without a trace.

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ments chosen for detailed discussion are Burji. Meinecke's volume 2 is a very full summary catalogue of the monuments, either extant or historically attested, but in his general discussion in volume 1 Burji architecture in Cairo is allotted a mere 26 pages.

[18] See now Doris Behrens-Abouseif, with contributions by Nicholas Warner, *The Minarets of Cairo: Islamic Architecture from the Arab Conquest to the End of the Ottoman Empire* (London and New York, 2010).

The degree to which Cairene architectural evolution was determined by the urban environment was unique in Islam, nor did the unification of Egypt and Syria under Mamluk rule lead to a merging of architectural styles. The sultans' limited intervention in Damascus and Aleppo gave even their viceroys' most splendid monuments a provincial air, well illustrated by Khayrbak's two mausolea in Cairo (no. 60) and in Aleppo (figs. 15–16), though the marked difference between them is also to be explained by the fact that the Cairene foundation was erected late in Khayrbak's life, when he was at the zenith of his career. Yet the cityscape was not just a haphazard agglomeration, and under al-Nāṣir Muḥammad urban planning and design were a conspicuous feature of his patronage. (In marked contrast to David Ayalon and his pupils, Behrens-Abouseif ascribes to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad a very positive role in the development of Cairo.) Architecture went hand in hand with civil engineering projects such as the building of canals, bridges, aqueducts, reservoirs, hippodromes, port installations, and maintenance of the Nile bed to keep the river navigable. Many later projects involved the exploitation of natural features, especially water,[19] and the fact that hunting lodges, palaces, grazing grounds, and amirs' residences were generally inside Cairo—along the Khalīj, around the large reservoirs, and on the banks of the Nile—added to the amenities of the city. Moreover, pious foundations like the domed mosques of Yashbak at Maṭarīyah and Ḥusaynīyah (nos. 48–49) were part of complexes of gardens with residences and religious buildings.

For most of the period the sultan's circle in central Cairo largely monopolized patronage. The caliphs were kept in modest seclusion, well away from the center, though their tomb (no. 6), which Professor Abouseif identifies as originally intended for the sons of Baybars, was magnificently decorated. The pious foundations of the civilian elites associated with the ruling establishment, including viziers and other high bureaucrats, tended to take the form of substantial contributions to the maintenance and repair of existing royal foundations, like the Māristān of Qalāwūn (no. 8). The foundations of merchants, even those as rich as the Kārimīs, were conspicuously few and seem to have been confined to increasingly run-down areas like Fusṭāṭ.

In Behrens-Abouseif's view, the markets of Cairo and Damascus with their well-developed artistic traditions tended to make court workshops superfluous, though this is not to say that there were no long-term builders' workshops, or still less that building projects were extemporized. This leads her to a perceptive discussion of the organization of construction, which, for the most part, can be attributed to the work of skilled craftsmen under the administration of favorite amirs or qadis. However, the problem of coordinating the virtually discrete parts

[19] Cf. Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Azbakiyya and its Environs: from Azbak to Ismāʿīl, 1476–1879* (Cairo, 1985).

of Sultan Ḥasan's complex (no. 27), for example, was real enough. Inescapably (in this case at least), the supervisor's functions must have closely approximated to those of a modern architect. The lavish marble revetment to the qiblah *īwān* added after the sultan's death strongly suggests, moreover, that the material (all obtained from earlier monuments) must have been acquired at an early stage in the project and drawings prepared to show how the panels were to be assembled. Elsewhere, the *embarras de choix* which faced craftsmen and builders when it came to vaulting, *muqarnas,* façade designs, portals, etc., was evidently resolved in largely practical terms, without any pattern books, let alone such detailed records as the Timurid scroll published by Gülru Necipoğlu.[20] This must explain why there is so little resemblance between the four minarets erected by Qāytbāy in Cairo—at his funerary foundation in the Cemetery (1474) (no. 47); at his madrasah on the Qalʿat al-Kabsh (1475); at his madrasah on the island of Rawḍah (1491); and at al-Azhar (1495)—when standardization would have saved much labor and expense.

The skilled staff associated with the courts of the sultans and their viceroys must have been constantly overstretched, which would have precluded concentration on the provinces, where Cairene architectural influence was sufficiently infrequent to evoke comment. Qāytbāy was exceptional in this respect, but the gang he dispatched to Jerusalem that built his *sabīl* in the Ḥaram[21] evidently did not include a specialist in dome construction, for research has shown that the dome's decoration is not fully adapted to the surface and some details were not executed, a diffidence which suggests both lack of supervision and inexperience on the workmen's part.

Construction was rapid and cheap. Oppression *(ẓulm)* was patently no bar to founding a *waqf:* the despoliation, confiscation, coercion, forced labor, and straightforward theft of which al-Maqrīzī complained all substantially reduced building costs. The recycling of material from earlier buildings, which was much decried because of the abuses to which it gave rise (even Ibn Taghrībirdī describes al-Muʾayyad's acquisitions for his funerary complex at Bāb Zuwaylah [no. 35] as "a want of good behavior and chivalry"), may not, however, invariably have involved illegality, for the materials could have come from *awqāf,* the revenues

[20] Gülru Necipoğlu, *The Topkapı Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture: Topkapı Palace Library MS H. 1956, with an Essay on the Geometry of the Muqarnas by Mohammad al-Asad* (Santa Monica, 1995).

[21] Michael Hamilton Burgoyne and Christel Kessler, "The Fountain of Sultan Qāytbāy in the Sacred Precinct of Jerusalem," in *Archaeology and the Levant: Essays for Kathleen Kenyon,* ed. Roger Moorey and Peter Parr (Warminster, 1978), 250–69; Michael Hamilton Burgoyne, with D. S. Richards, *Mamluk Jerusalem: An Architectural Study* (Jerusalem, 1987), 606–11.

of which were no longer adequate to keep the buildings in good repair, thereby permitting them to fall into ruin.[22]

It is generally agreed that, once the historians' stock invocation of the great arch of Ctesiphon is dismissed as a *topos,* foreign influence on Mamluk architecture in Egypt and Syria was limited to Iran and Anatolia. What about European influence, however? The Bahris, of course, were notorious for their conspicuous use of *spolia:* the doorway of the church of St. Andrew from Acre in the façade of the madrasah of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in the Naḥḥāsīn (no. 13), or the column carved with Palestinian monuments incorporated into the façade of the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan. However, the street façade of Qalāwūn's madrasah-mausoleum-hospital (no. 8) strongly suggests that Crusader prisoners-of-war, possibly from north Syria, may have had a hand in its design. Later, features like fenestration, as in the madrasah of Uljāy al-Yūsufī (Rajab 774/January 1373) (no. 31), and moulded cornices also look startlingly European. Unfortunately, even when one can establish a chronological sequence of these developments, it is difficult to say more. Unlike Damascus, access to Cairo for much of the Mamluk period was restricted for Western travelers and merchants, the free movement of craftsmen was unpredictable, and the supply of Frankish prisoners-of-war to work on building projects after the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad constantly fluctuated. Nor did Europeans necessarily build in their native styles: the two Mamluks from Oppenheim in the Palatinate who built the fortress of Qāytbāy in Alexandria (completed 1479), whom Felix Fabri met on the streets of Cairo, produced a building strongly reminiscent of fortress architecture in southern Italy.

Chapter 10 of Behrens-Abouseif's volume contains a useful Appendix by Philipp Speiser (pp. 101–5) surveying Mamluk building materials and construction methods. Considering the constant shortage of wood and the increasing shortage of marble and other building materials, the Mamluks, who relied upon techniques perfected in the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods, did well to maintain this skilled workmanship in increasingly unfavorable circumstances.

This volume is richly illustrated, and Nicholas Warner's plans and axonometric views are handsomely executed. It is, however, slightly let down by the copy-editing. The misprints are mostly benign, but it is much to be hoped that the confusion of "privy purse" with "privy" is corrected in subsequent editions.

[22] Sometimes, moreover, the ulama seem to have missed the point. When al-Ghawrī arbitrarily confiscated marbles for the decoration of his palace on the Citadel, the Baysarīyah, instead of denouncing his action out of hand, Ibn Iyās criticizes him for not using the marbles instead in his funerary foundation (no. 56) in central Cairo.

Emanations of Grace: Mystical Poems by ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah (d. 923/1517), edited and translated by Th. Emil Homerin (Louisville, KY: Fons Vitae, 2011). Pp. 151.

Reviewed by Richard McGregor, Vanderbilt University

The study of religious life in the Mamluk Empire has benefitted greatly over the last fifteen years from the work of Emil Homerin. His studies of the Sufi poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235), along with a number of fine translations, have illuminated the important intersection of high poetry and mysticism. The translation under review here of selections from *Fayḍ al-Faḍl wa-Jamʿ al-Shaml* (The Emanations of grace and the gathering of union) is a significant advance in our knowledge of this corner of medieval religious life. The author is ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah (d. 923/1517), a Syrian mystic and writer, who according to Homerin wrote more in Arabic than any other woman before the twentieth century. She was from a well-established family of scholars, most of whom spent their careers in Damascus. Several of her relatives were religious men of note; one great uncle was an ascetic, and an uncle a writer of devotional poems (p. 13). Her family were devotees of ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 561/1166) and associated with the Qadarīyah Sufi order. ʿĀʾishah's most immediate spiritual affiliation and training were with Jamāl al-Dīn Ismāʿīl al-Ḥawwārī (d. 900/1495) and Muḥyī al-Dīn Yaḥyá al-ʿUrmawī (fl. ninth–tenth/fifteenth–sixteenth c.). The Bāʿūnī family married a number of their daughters into the leading family of Sharifan descendants of the Prophet. ʿĀʾishah's husband Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Naqīb al-Ashrāf died in 909/1503, leaving behind one daughter and one son (p.14). It was with her son ʿAbd al-Wahhāb that ʿĀʾishah travelled to Cairo, in order to support his career in administrative service. She spent only three years there, but wrote several new poems and cultivated a network of contacts with the literati of Cairo. She travelled with ʿAbd al-Wahhāb to Aleppo, where she had an audience with Sultan al-Ghawrī in 922/1516, before returning finally to Damascus.

Although her connection to Ibn al-Fāriḍ is important, and will be treated below, her poetry is distinct in its focus on praise for the prophet Muḥammad. Beyond poetry, ʿĀʾishah also composed, copied, and epitomized works on Sufi theory; she drew on the great mystics of the tradition including al-Jurjānī (d. 816/1413), al-Kalābādhī (d. 385/995), al-Sulamī (d. 412/1021), ʿUmar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234), and Ibn ʿAṭā Allāh al-Iskandarī (d. 709/1309). Her acumen as a poet is well attested in her most famous work, *Fatḥ al-Mubīn fī Madḥ al-Amīn* (The Clear inspiration in praise of the trusted prophet), in which she engages the various complex schemes of verse known as *badīʿ*. Remarkably, she also composed a commentary on this work in which she refers to nearly fifty earlier poets. The manuscript history of the *Fayḍ al-Faḍl*—the collection Homerin has translated here—is murky because it

seems to have been composed and copied at various points throughout her career. Nevertheless, Homerin suggests a terminal date of 919/1513 for the collection, the point at which she left Damascus for Cairo.

Homerin presents us with forty-five short poems, and the longer *Ode in "T" (al-ṭaīyah al-Bāʿūnīyah)* at 252 verses, which is followed by a ten-page commentary entitled "Homage to Ibn al-Fāriḍ" composed by Homerin himself. A full-length study would be ideal, but this commentary serves as a very effective way of locating the two poets in relation to one another. Homerin highlights a number of passages from the *Ode in "T,"* connecting them with key texts from Ibn al-Fāriḍ's poem of the same name. Central concepts such as love of God, annihilation in the divine, spiritual submission, and poverty are examined. Parallels are also drawn between the two poets' use of devices such as wine, the drinking glass, and the seeker lost in drunkenness.

Homerin relies on both manuscript material and recently published editions of the poems (p. 10). He is currently at work on a critical Arabic edition of this material. My spot checks comparing the translations to a draft of Homerin's edition show that the care and skill displayed in these translations is consistent and impressive. Researchers in the field will benefit not only from ready access to this material, but also from the poetic sensibility captured in the translations.

Perhaps surprisingly, the same attention has not been paid to the many short subtitles that appear throughout the collection. These phrases vary in length, with some providing cues to either ʿĀʾishah's psychological state or to the circumstances in which the poems were composed. Occasionally a frame for reading is provided. For example, one poem is introduced with the following (p. 40): "From His inspiration upon her as was needed [to refute her critics]," and another (p. 45) "From His inspiration upon her as she stood before the Noble Stone (in Mecca)," and (p. 35) "From His inspiration upon her concerning the required mystical stages." The significance of these introductory (and perhaps linking?) statements should not be over-stated; the content of the poems themselves remains central. Yet Homerin's presentation does not do them justice, and they are at times awkwardly translated. The subtitle on page 35, for example, *(wa-min fatḥihi ayḍan wa-jadda al-wajdu)* appears as "Also from His inspiration, and rapture was intense." Perhaps easier on the ear would be to phrase the second half as "when the rapture was intense." On page 36, the subtitle runs, "From His inspiration upon her, and patience was gone as loving desire increased," which might better run, "Her inspiration when patience had given way to desire." The poem on page 46 is introduced by "*wa-min fatḥihi ʿalayhā thubutuhā bi-sharaf al-dhikr*," which Homerin translates, "From His inspiration upon her regarding her certainty of the nobility of recollection." While this is accurate, perhaps phrasing such as, "By inspiration of her high standing in divine remembrance" would resonate more

easily with an English reader. On page 66 the poem is introduced with, "From His inspiration upon her, indicating His blessing her with her exemplary faith," but a more felicitous phrasing would run, "From a divine inspiration blessing her as spiritual exemplar." In addition to these criticisms, the following should be addressed. Footnote 4 on page 54 is made redundant by the first footnote on page 34. Further, it would be helpful to identify the "axis al-Jīlī" as ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī on page 127 rather than later in the text on page 139. The source cited in footnote 17 on page 16, Mājid al-Dhahabī and Ṣalāḥ al-Khiyamī, "Dīwān ʿĀʾishah al-Bāʿūnīyah" in *Turāth al-ʿArabī* 4 (1981), should be added to the bibliography. These small technical errors aside, Homerin has given us an excellent introduction to an important yet underappreciated medieval poet.

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ʿAbd Al-Mahdī, Abd Al-Jalīl Ḥasan. *Aʿmāl al-Maqdīsīyah al-Kāmilah: Vol.* 1, Al-Madāris fī Bayt al-Maqdis fī al-ʿAṣrayn al-Ayyūbī wa-al-Mamlūkī, Dawruhā fī al-Ḥarakah al-Fikrīyah; Vol. 2, Al-Ḥarakah al-Fikrīyah fī Ẓill al-Masjid al-Aqṣá fī al-ʿAṣrayn al-Ayyūbī wa-al-Mamlūkī. Amman: Wizārat al-Thaqāfah, 2009. 2 vols.

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ء	ʾ	خ	kh	ش	sh	غ	gh	م	m
ب	b	د	d	ص	ṣ	ف	f	ن	n
ت	t	ذ	dh	ض	ḍ	ق	q	ه	h
ث	th	ر	r	ط	ṭ	ك	k	و	w
ج	j	ز	z	ظ	ẓ	ل	l	ي	y
ح	ḥ	س	s	ع	ʿ				
		ة	h, t (in construct)			ال	al-		

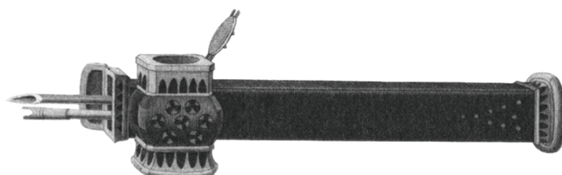
ـَ	a	ـُ	u	ـِ	i
ـً	an	ـٌ	un	ـٍ	in
آ	ā	ُو	ū	ِي	ī
َا	ā	ُوّ	ūw	ِيّ	īy (medial), ī (final)
ى	á	َو	aw	َي	ay
				َيّ	ayy

Avoid using apostrophes or single quotation marks for *ʿayn* and *hamzah*. Instead, use the Unicode characters ʿ (02BF) and ʾ (02BE).

Capitalization in romanized Arabic follows the conventions of American English; the definite article is always lower case, except when it is the first word in an English sentence or a title. The *hamzah* is not represented when beginning a word, following a prefixed preposition or conjunction, or following the definite article. Assimilation of the *lām* of the definite article before "sun" letters is disregarded. Final inflections of verbs are retained, except in pausal form; final inflections of nouns and adjectives are not represented, except preceding suffixes and except when verse is romanized. Vocalic endings of pronouns, demonstratives, prepositions, and conjunctions are represented. The hyphen is used with the definite article, conjunctions, inseparable prepositions, and other prefixes. Note the exceptional treatment of the preposition *li-* followed by the article, as in *lil-sulṭān*. Note also the following exceptional spellings: Allāh, billāh, lillāh, bismillāh, miʾah, and ibn (for both initial and medial forms). Words not requiring diacritical marks, though following the conventions outlined above, include all Islamic dynasties, as well as terms which are found in English dictionaries, such as Quran, sultan, amir, imam, shaykh, Sunni, Shiʿi, and Sufi. Common place-names should take the common spelling in American English. Names of archaeological sites should follow the convention of the excavator.

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XV



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MAMLŪK STUDIES REVIEW

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Mamlūk Studies Review is an annual refereed journal devoted to the study of the Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria (648–922/1250–1517). Since volume XIII, no. 1, *Mamlūk Studies Review* has been published not in conventional print format, but as an open-access online publication. The goals of *Mamlūk Studies Review* are to take stock of scholarship devoted to the Mamluk era, nurture communication within the field, and promote further research by encouraging the critical discussion of all aspects of this important medieval Islamic polity. The journal includes both articles and reviews of recent books. Submissions of original work on any aspect of the field are welcome, although the editorial board will periodically issue volumes devoted to specific topics and themes. *Mamlūk Studies Review* also solicits edited texts and translations of shorter Arabic source materials (*waqf* deeds, letters, *fatāwá* and the like), and encourages discussions of Mamluk era artifacts (pottery, coins, etc.) that place these resources in wider contexts. All questions regarding style should be resolved through reference to *The Chicago Manual of Style*. Transliterated Middle Eastern languages should conform to the system utilized by the Library of Congress (see the conversion chart near the end of this volume) using a Unicode font that contains all necessary diacritical marks (see the website below for further information). Submissions may be made via email, but authors may be required to send a printed copy and/or a CD-ROM which includes the article, all figures and illustrations, and any special fonts used. Please contact the editor (ideally before creating the files) for specifications relevant to illustrations, photos, maps and other graphics. Articles which diverge widely from format and style guidelines may not be accepted, and illustrations which do not meet the requirements set forth by the editors may not be usable.

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The Bruce D. Craig Prize, carrying a cash award of $1,000, is given annually by *Mamlūk Studies Review* for the best dissertation on a topic related to the Mamluk Sultanate submitted to an American or Canadian university during the preceding calendar year. In the event no dissertations are submitted, or none is deemed to merit the prize, no prize will be awarded. To be considered for the 2011 Prize, dissertations must be defended by December 31, 2011, and submitted to the Prize Committee by January 31, 2012. Submissions should be sent to:

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ANNE F. BROADBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST

Sending Home for Mom and Dad: The Extended Family Impulse in Mamluk Politics

With the exception of references to harem politics or marriage ties, scholars rarely spend much time discussing biological family in connection with the Mamluks, as the concept seems incompatible with the system of imported young slaves and the significance ascribed to surrogate familial relationships as the basis for political allegiance. Yet ideas about biological family may have mattered far more to individual mamluks than scholars currently acknowledge. An examination of the concept of biological family reveals two distinct types of biological relatives: first, biological offspring, particularly males, and second, the existing biological family every mamluk left behind in the old country.

The topic of male biological offspring has attracted plenty of scholarly attention, primarily because it is through sons that men attempt to establish dynasties. Scholars have investigated the importance of sultans' sons in Mamluk society, and their assessments of the relevance, or lack thereof, of the concept of dynasty in the Mamluk world can be divided into two general camps. The arguments made by one side of the discussion read as follows: scholars suggest that the desire of a sultan to form a dynasty by leaving his position to a biological son was inimical to the Mamluk system itself, with its hallmark one-generation aristocracy, its systematic political disenfranchisement of the children of mamluks (the *awlād al-nās*), and the ties of loyalty created among mamluks and their patrons or masters, which replaced biological ties. In this view, the Mamluk system was one in which the position of sultan passed primarily from mamluk to mamluk through factional maneuvering or struggle. Although the biological sons of sultans did inherit their father's positions, everyone, including the dying sultan and the son himself, knew that the son was functioning as a placeholder, since real power would then be assumed by one or even multiple commanders, either covertly, in which case the nominal sultan remained as a figurehead, or overtly, in which case the nominal sultan was deposed.[1]

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[1] Amalia Levanoni, "The Mamluk Conception of the Sultanate," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 26 (1994): 373–74, 377–83, 385; idem, "The Sultan's *Laqab*—A Sign of a New Order in Mamluk Factionalism?" in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* ed. Amalia Levanoni and Michael Winter (Leiden and Boston, 2004), 113; idem, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn (1310–1341)* (Leiden, 1995), 114–17; and also Robert Irwin, "Factions in Medieval Egypt," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1986): 232,

By contrast, other scholars have suggested that the Mamluk sultans were serious in trying to establish dynasties and thus made real efforts to set up their biological sons to take over after them.[2] Unfortunately for these nascent dynasties, however, the older, wiser, and more experienced mamluk colleagues of the dying sultan tended to thwart these attempts, which often relegated the son to the abovementioned position as placeholder. This latter assessment can be related to three major time periods: first, the initial fifty-odd years of the sultanate when the impulse to establish dynasties was particularly strong; second, the eighth/fourteenth century when the Qalāwūnid dynasty lasted for decades, although only a few Qalāwūnids held any real power; and third, the Circassian period beginning in the late eighth/fourteenth century and continuing throughout the ninth/fifteenth centuries, during which the impulse to form dynasties faded over time and ultimately died.[3]

Of these two schools of thought on what could be called the Dynastic Impulse, I myself follow the latter (i.e., the one arguing for a general interest in forming dynasties among Mamluk sultans). I base this choice on the evidence provided both by the specific actions of individual sultans such as Baybars (r. 658–76/1260–77), Qalāwūn (r. 678–89/1279–90), Khalīl (r. 689–93/1290–93), Shaʿbān (r. 764–78/1363–77), and Shaykh (r. 814–24/1412–21), among others, and on the ideas about dynasty they expressed to external rulers through diplomacy.[4] The primary

237–38. For the suggestion that non-hereditary succession was the rule and Qalāwūnid dynasty was an anomaly, see: Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* (Carbondale, 1986), 156–57, also 127, 132, 134, 144, 149; P. M. Holt, "Succession in the Early Mamluk Sultanate," *Deutscher Orientalistentag* 23 (Stuttgart, 1989), 146–47; idem, "The Structure of Government in the Mamluk Sultanate," in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades,* ed. P. M. Holt (Warminster, 1977), 46; idem, "Mamlūks," in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 6:323–24; and idem, "The Position and Power of the Mamluk Sultan," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38 (1975): 239–41.

[2] See David Ayalon, "From Ayyūbids to Mamlūks," *Revue des Etudes islamiques* 49 (1981): 55–56, reprinted in his *Islam and the Abode of War* (London, 1994); also idem, "Mamlūk Military Aristocracy—A Non-Hereditary Nobility," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 10 (1987): 209, reprinted in *Abode of War;* also idem, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army—II," *BSOAS* 15, nos. 2 and 3; 16, no. 1 (1953–54): 208, reprinted in his *Studies on the Mamluks of Egypt* (London, 1977); and idem, "The Circassians in the Mamluk Kingdom," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 69, no. 3 (1949): 145–46, reprinted in his *Studies on the Mamluks of Egypt*. Note that Ayalon believed the Mamluks gave up the hereditary principle for the sultanate by the Circassian period; see references in footnote 3 below. Also see Linda Northrup on Qalāwūn, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Mansur Qalāwūn and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689 A. H./1279–1290 A.D.)* (Stuttgart, 1998), 243–49.

[3] David Ayalon, "The Circassians in the Mamluk Kingdom," *Journal of the American Oriental Soc - ety* 69, no. 3 (1949): 139, note 32, 145–46, reprinted in his *Studies on the Mamluks of Egypt;* idem, "Non-Hereditary Nobility," 209–10; Holt, "Position and Power," 239–41.

[4] Anne F. Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol Worlds* (Cambridge, 2008), 12, 38, 39, 50, 56, 146, 147–48, 194, 200.

argument in favor of the existence of a Dynastic Impulse, I would contend, lies not in the lived reality of political power (whether a son managed to hold on as sultan), but in the intention of the dying monarch. Whether a designated successor succeeded or failed to retain power was ultimately less important than what the outgoing sultan was trying to achieve. I therefore consider the most significant aspect of this Dynastic Impulse to be the attempt by high-ranking mamluks to create a network of support based on a family conservatively defined by biology, not on a surrogate family of other mamluks. I hope soon to compose a longer study of the topic of the Dynastic Impulse and to explore these questions further there.

In addition there is a lesser-known phenomenon, closely related to the Dynastic Impulse, which supports my contention that biological relations mattered more to the Mamluks than scholars tend to acknowledge, but which is almost invariably passed over in favor of the topic of dynasty. This related topic is a mamluk's interest in reconnecting with those long-lost relatives he left behind when starting his career. I call this the Extended Family Impulse, and see it as evidence of a larger, general Mamluk interest in biological relations. The remainder of this article will suggest that the Extended Family Impulse appeared when, for personal and political gain, some mamluks attempted to reconnect with the biological families they had been forced to abandon. This phenomenon appeared most frequently as part of Mamluk success stories, in which certain commanders reached high political, military, and economic levels, and often had ambitions for the position of sultan. Then suddenly they sent home to the old country and brought their parents, siblings, cousins, nephews, nieces, and anyone else they could find to Cairo. Once the relatives arrived the Mamluk commanders found jobs for the men, usually somewhere in the military. The extent of the power these relatives held varied greatly: in some cases their careers were undistinguished, but in a few cases they attained considerable influence in Mamluk society and played important roles in major historical events.

This article will explore the Extended Family Impulse by looking at three case studies of successful men whose long-lost relatives joined them in Cairo at high points of their careers. First is the commander Salār (d. 710/1310), who was one of two men to control the sultanate throughout the second reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in the early 700s/1300s. The second is Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī (d. 748/1347), a great favorite of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad during the 730s/1330s, who held several governorates in Syria after Muḥammad's death, and rebelled twice against Muḥammad's sons, once successfully, once not. Third is the commander and then sultan Barqūq (d. 801/1399), whose implementation of the Extended Family Impulse was the most visible and successful of all three, and the most clearly connected to the concept of Dynastic Impulse, at least until the invader Temür (d. 807/1405) entered the picture and helped destroy Barqūq's forming Ẓāhirī dynasty. The article will present

each man's career in brief, discuss the timing of his relatives' arrival in Cairo and the careers they achieved, and outline the ultimate fate of each family. Thereafter I will draw some larger conclusions about these three cases, about the concept of the Extended Family Impulse, and about the Mamluk interest in biological relations in general.

Salār

The first case was the commander Sayf al-Din Salār, who was either an Oirat or, less likely, a Turk, acquired as a mamluk for the commander and later sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn after the battle of Abulustayn in 675/1277.[5] Initially Salār worked for Qalāwūn's son and first heir, al-Ṣāliḥ ʿAlī; then after ʿAlī's death from illness in Shaʿbān 687/September 1288, he ascended through the ranks of commanders during the reigns of al-Ashraf Khalīl (r. 689–93/1290–93) and al-Manṣūr Lājīn (r. 696–98/1296–99). Salār encouraged the overthrow of Lājīn in Rabīʿ II 698/January 1299, then rose to prominence along with another well-known commander, Baybars al-Jashnakīr. The two men led rival factions, which allowed them together to marshal broad support and control the sultanate throughout the second reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (second r. 698–708/1299–1309) with Salār as the vicegerent *(nāʾib)* and Baybars as the high steward *(ustādār)*.[6] Then in 704/1304–5, Salār's daughter married the amir Mūsá, who was the only son of Salār's former Qalāwūnid master, al-Ṣāliḥ ʿAlī. The lavish wedding included a grand public procession, in which all the important commanders participated.[7] This match, and the festivities that accompanied it, demonstrated how well Salār had done for himself politically, socially, and financially in Mamluk society.

A few years later in 708–9/1308–9, however, the situation changed when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad rebelled against his two jailers, withdrew to the desert stronghold of Karak, and reestablished himself from there with Syrian support. His success spelled doom for Baybars and Salār. First to fall was Baybars, who had become sultan in Muḥammad's absence, and who therefore fled when Muḥammad arrived outside Cairo. After reinstatement, Muḥammad had Baybars hunted down, brought back to Cairo, and strangled in his presence.[8] Salār lasted slightly longer. He cooperated with Muḥammad at first by letting him in to the citadel, and promptly stepped down as vicegerent. Later Muḥammad granted Salār's petition for a transfer to the

[5] P. M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517* (Harlow, Essex, 1986), 110; Irwin, *Mamluk Sultanate,* 70; also see Baybars al-Dawādār al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah,* ed. Donald S. Richards (Beirut, 1998), 155; and idem, *Kitāb al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah fī al-Dawlah al-Turkīyah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ṣāliḥ Ḥamdān (Cairo, 1987), 84.

[6] Holt, *Age of the Crusades,* 110. For the factions see Irwin, *Mamluk Sultanate,* 92.

[7] Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 382; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Saʿīd ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1956–73), 2:9.

[8] See Holt, *Age of the Crusades,* 111–12; Irwin, *Mamluk Sultanate,* 85–86.

desert fort of Shawbak in late 709/spring 1310, but this return to the sultan's good graces proved to be temporary. A few months later in Rabīʿ I–II 710/August 1310 Muḥammad had Salār forced back to Cairo. There he was tortured to reveal the location of his wealth and imprisoned in the citadel, where he died of starvation in particularly horrible fashion.[9]

Salār's story is not instructive because of his political rise and fall, since this, although dramatic, was unremarkable. Rather, Salār's career is interesting in the way it illustrates the Extended Family Impulse. Although Salār began his career as a mamluk after the battle of Abulustayn, and although mamluks are assumed to lose all ties to family upon the commencement of their careers, Salār had biological brothers, whom he left behind in Anatolia when he went to Egypt to work for al-Ṣāliḥ ʿAlī. During those many years in Egypt when Salār rose from a mamluk to a commander to the position of vicegerent, he had no contact with the relatives he had left behind.[10]

But he must either have wanted contact all along and been unable to establish it, or developed an interest in seeing his family again once he had achieved success, because eventually Salār felt confident enough to send messengers to Anatolia to find his family and invite them to Mamluk territory. The first contact took place during the reign of the Ilkhanid ruler Ghazan (r. 694–703/1295–1304), but it was not until after Ghazan's death in spring 703/1304 that Salār's relatives could make a surreptitious departure from Ilkhanid territory. Then in late fall 704/1304 two of Salār's brothers, Fakhr al-Dīn Dāwūd and Sayf al-Dīn Jabā, along with Salār's mother and about 200 other Mongol men and their families, arrived in Mamluk territory from Anatolia.[11] Salār also had at least one other brother, Samūk, who appears as a commander of unknown rank in the Mamluk forces, but there is no

[9] For a brief treatment see Holt, *Age of the Crusades,* 111–12; Irwin, *Mamluk Sultanate,* 86. For lengthier details see the events in 708–10 in Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab,* ed. Fahīm Muḥammad ʿAlawī Shaltūt (Cairo, 1998), 32:138–41, 144–59, 163–64; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 403–7, 414–17, 420–29; and idem, *Tuḥfah,* 187–91, 193–213, 214–15; Ibn Aybak al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmiʿ al-Ghurar,* ed. Hans Robert Roemer (Cairo, 1960), 9:167–204. For details of Salār's death see Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr wa-Aʿwān al-Naṣr,* ed. ʿAlī Abū Zayd et al. (Beirut and Damascus, 1998), 2:490–91.

[10] See Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 385; and idem, *Tuḥfah,* 178.

[11] A Mamluk raid on Cilicia may also have facilitated their getaway. Irwin, *Mamluk Sultanate,* 101; also see al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 32:96; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 385; idem, *Tuḥfah,* 178; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz,* 9:131; Author Z, *Tārīkh Salāṭīn al-Mamālīk or Beiträge zur Geschichte der mamlukensultane,* ed. K. V. Zetterstéen (Leiden, 1919), 132; Faḍl Allāh al-Ṣuqāʿī, *Tālī Kitāb Wafāyāt al-Aʿyān,* ed. and tr. Jacqueline Sublet (Damascus, 1974), 89 (Arabic text) and 113 (French translation); Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1987–92), 4:348–49 (citing the lost portion of Yūsufī's *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir*), also 4:377–78; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:5.

reference to his arrival in the sultanate. Did he arrive with Dāwūd, Jabā, and their mother, or did he enter the sultanate as a mamluk like Salār?[12] We do not know.

Salār was apparently overjoyed to see his siblings and mother, as he had not laid eyes on them since the battle of Abulustayn nearly thirty years earlier. He celebrated the occasion by having his brothers appointed *ṭablakhānah* commanders, or second-tier commanders rating their own military bands, and by building a house for his mother.[13] It is reasonable to assume that the family members enjoyed places of honor at the wedding of Salār's daughter to Amir Mūsá later that year, although the sources do not specify where they sat at the banquet or note the brothers' place in the grand public procession.[14]

After this initial flurry of excitement, the trajectory of the brothers' careers is difficult to discern, since the histories only occasionally refer to Dāwūd, Jabā, and Samūk. When they do, however, the brothers are always involved in Salār's endeavors. In 707/1307–8, for example, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was trying to rebel against Salār and Baybars. At one point many of the commanders loyal to Salār and Baybars were armed, mounted, and ready, waiting outside the citadel for signs of action. All three of Salār's brothers were among them, watching the door through which Muḥammad and his mamluks might come. After a number of hours some of Muḥammad's mamluks emerged to skirmish with the commanders, which caused Samūk to shoot an arrow that hit the frame of a citadel window in which Muḥammad was sitting (apparently to the great consternation of the sultan).[15] Next the populace appeared and began to berate the commanders, and the same brother, Samūk, had to be restrained from attacking in retaliation.[16] Ultimately the standoff was settled through negotiation, not violence, but the presence of all of Salār's brothers among the commanders at such a tense time shows their real connection to Salār's affairs.

Then in Jumādá II 709/November–December 1309, when al-Nāṣir Muḥammad was camped at Gaza with the Syrian forces preparing to march on Egypt, and important commanders were defecting to him from Cairo, Salār sent out a force to

[12] He appears only in brief text references, with no background given. See al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 32:127; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd,* 4:427; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:34, 35, 60, 86.

[13] Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 385; idem, *Tuḥfah,* 178; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd,* 4:348–49 and 4:377–78; see also al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 32:96, Author Z, *Beiträge,* 132 (in 705/1305–6, *sic*); for the house see al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd,* 4:348; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:5–6. For the ranks of commanders see Ayalon, "Army—II," 467–71.

[14] Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 382; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:9.

[15] Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyah,* 32:127–128, mentioning the "brothers" *(ikhwah)* but only Samūk by name; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd,* 4:427 (albeit in 1306–7/706, citing Ibn Kathīr and mentioning all three brothers by name); Ismāʿīl Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah fī al-Tārīkh,* ed. Maktab Taḥqīq al-Turāth (Beirut, 1993), 14:50, albeit without mentioning the brothers—clearly a different version from the one al-ʿAynī was citing; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:34–35.

[16] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:34–35.

pursue the defectors. This was composed of some of the commanders with their men, as well as Salār's own force of five hundred mamluks. Of the two leaders Salār appointed to this detachment, one was his brother Samūk.[17] Although Samūk did not manage to apprehend the defectors, the fact that Samūk participated in a campaign as important as this on Salār's behalf suggests that neither Salār's brothers nor Salār himself saw their posts as nepotistic sinecures.

But the brothers' connections to Salār carried a price, since Salār's relatives also participated in his misfortune. When in 709/1310 the newly reinstated al-Nāṣir Muḥammad permitted Salār to go to Shawbak, the sultan also sent Salār's brother Jabā to Aleppo.[18] But shortly thereafter when Muḥammad had Salār arrested, he also had all three of Salār's brothers detained, along with others of Salār's companions.[19] Unlike Salār, however, some of these prisoners were fed while incarcerated, since at least two of the brothers, Dāwūd and Jabā, remained alive in prison until they were freed in 715/1315–16 (we do not know the fate of Samūk). Only Salār's mother appears to have suffered nearly as much as her son, as she herself died only a few days after he did; although since there is no evidence that she was imprisoned and starved as well, it seems more likely that she perished of grief.[20]

Yalbughā

The second case is Yalbughā al-Yaḥyāwī, who was one of the Khāṣṣakīyah commanders (i.e., in the personal retinue) for al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.[21] Unfortunately the sources provide not a word about his origins—not the chronicles, not the biographical dictionaries, nothing. Rather he appears to have sprung, fully-formed, out of the pages of the histories in the late 730s/1330s. By this point he was very close to the sultan—in fact, one author claims that Yalbughā was one of if not the closest of Muḥammad's personal retinue to him.[22] Certainly signs of Muḥammad's favor towards Yalbughā were clear: in 738/1337–38 Muḥammad built a house and stable complex for Yalbughā below the citadel, even though it meant taking property away from other commanders.[23] On another occasion when Yalbughā fell seriously

[17] The other was one Qutuz al-Fāriqānī. Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:60.

[18] He and other commanders were sent out via Damascus, then when they reached Aleppo the *ṭablakhānah* commanders were ordered to stay there for a full year, while the commanders of ten were recalled. Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:76–77.

[19] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:86.

[20] Ibid., 2:88–8, 144.

[21] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 5:585.

[22] Ibid.

[23] See al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī wa-Awlādihi,* ed. Barbara Schaefer (Wiesbaden, 1977), 25, saying only that the dispossessed was the commander Aydughmish and unnamed others; he also put the cost at forty million silver coins. Al-Maqrīzī says that Muḥammad built another house at the same time for the favored commander Altunbughā al-

ill and seemed near death, Muḥammad demonstrated his devotion by personally nursing him, refusing to leave the sickbed and neglecting other important duties until Yalbughā recovered.[24] Muḥammad celebrated Yalbughā's return to health by throwing a great party, paying off 30,000 silver coins worth of debt for debtors, freeing one lucky political prisoner, and giving Yalbughā lavish presents as a "welcome back" gesture.[25] Nor was this generosity towards Yalbughā unusual, since Muḥammad routinely showered him with quantities of gifts, cash, robes of honor, and horses.[26]

After Muḥammad's death Yalbughā remained in favor for several years. First he requested and received the governorate of Hama from the sultan al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl (r. 743–46/1342–45) in 743/1342–43.[27] Thereafter he was promoted to governor of Aleppo in summer 744/1343, then governor of all Syria at Damascus in fall 746/1345.[28] Although his next move was to rebel in Damascus against Ismāʿīl's successor, the sultan al-Kāmil Shaʿbān (r. 746–47/1345–46), this turned out to be a shrewd decision, since his feelings were widely shared, and ultimately the Egyptian commanders replaced Shaʿbān with al-Muẓaffar Ḥājjī (r. 747–48/1346–47) in autumn 747/1346.[29]

Māridānī, and adds as dispossessed the commanders Qawsun and Tashtamur al-Sāqī. Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:438–39.

[24] Information about the event is scanty, and the dating is tricky. In his biography for Yalbughā, al-Ṣafadī claims that Muḥammad refused to go see his own son Ibrāhīm—ill with smallpox—while Yalbughā was sick; even when Ibrāhīm died, Muḥammad skipped the funeral in order to stay with the commander. In his biography for Ibrāhīm, however, al-Ṣafadī does not mention Yalbughā at all, but rather simply claims that Muḥammad refused to visit his son or let his other children visit, which implies that the isolation was motivated by fear of disease. Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 5:591–92 (Yalbughā's biography) and 1:120 (Ibrāhīm's biography). Since Ibrāhīm died in 1337–38/738, this would place Yalbughā's illness in that same year. By contrast, al-Maqrīzī puts Yalbughā's illness in 1339–40/740, does not mention Ibrāhīm, and instead claims that Muḥammad failed to go to the Palace of Justice (Dār al-ʿAdl) while Yalbughā was sick. Al-Maqrīzī also credits Yalbughā with taking the opportunity of his illness to convince Muḥammad to dismiss the extortionist financial official al-Nashw, despite al-Nashw's great influence and position in Muḥammad's administration. Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:477, 490. (For al-Nashw, dismissed in 1339/740, see Levanoni, *Turning Point*, 149–55.) Regardless, both authors manage to suggest that Yalbughā's health was of great importance to Muḥammad.

[25] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:491.

[26] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 5:585.

[27] Ibid., 5:586; al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh,* 240; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:627, 634.

[28] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 5:586; al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh,* 257; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2: 627, 634 (Hama), 645–46 (Aleppo), 681–82 (Damascus).

[29] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 5:586–87; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:696–97, 732–33; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* ed. Adnan Darwish (Damascus, 1977), 1:479; Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Jawhar al-Thamīn fī Siyar al-Mulūk wa-al-Salāṭīn,* ed. Muḥammad Kamāl ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī (Beirut, 1985), 185–86; see also Irwin, *Mamluk Sultanate,* 133–34.

Although Ḥājjī confirmed Yalbughā as governor of Syria, some months later Yalbughā became uneasy about the sultan's pattern of arresting commanders.[30] He therefore rebelled again in early 748/spring 1347, but this time less successfully, since Ḥājjī had indeed called for his arrest.[31] Yalbughā therefore fled north from Damascus with his entourage, hoping to reach the area around Tabriz in former Ilkhanid territory.[32] But his flight was a failure because the Bedouin of the region harassed him mercilessly, while the Syrian forces raced after him so closely that he was forced to abandon many of his supplies. After only a few days of this Yalbughā and his companions surrendered to the governor of Hama, who imprisoned some of them and sent Yalbughā and a few others to Cairo. Yalbughā did not make it to Egypt alive; he was intercepted and beheaded at Qāqūn in autumn 748/1347 by its governor, Manjak, who kept the body and forwarded only the head to the central authority.[33]

As in the case of Salār, it is not Yalbughā's political rise and fall that is of interest, but rather the way his actions during the successful portion of his career allowed him to exercise the Extended Family Impulse. Although the beginning of Yalbughā's story is obscure, certainly by the time Muḥammad's favor for him became apparent in the late 730s/1330s Yalbughā was in a position to find a place in Mamluk territory for the family he had left behind in his homeland, wherever it was. It is unclear who first contacted whom. Some historians say that Yalbughā sent for his father, mother, and two brothers, while others say that Yalbughā's family heard of his success and volunteered to emigrate.[34] Either way, Yalbughā's relatives eventually joined him in Cairo in a reunion that was joyous all around and financially fruitful for Yalbughā's kin. Muḥammad made Yalbughā's father, one Tabata or Tabuta, a *ṭablakhānah* commander in Cairo in Jumādá II 739/January 1339.[35]

[30] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 5:587–88.

[31] Ibid., 5:588; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:732–33.

[32] ʿUmar Ibn al-Wardī, *Tārīkh Ibn al-Wardī,* ed. Muḥammad Mahdī al-Sayyid Ḥasan al-Khurāsānī (Najaf, 1969), 2:494, says unspecifically that Yalbughā fled to the Mongols, which could mean the Chobanids or the Jalayirids in the Ilkhanid heartland or even, perhaps, the Uyghur Eretna in Anatolia. Ibn Kathīr, *Bidāyah,* 14:257, specifies a route that headed towards the Caucasus, not Anatolia (from Damascus towards al-Qaryatayn in the Syrian desert), which narrows it to the Chobanids or the Jalayirids. Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:733, specifies that a report of Yalbughā's intention places the Chobanids as his goal.

[33] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 5:588–90.

[34] For the argument that Yalbughā brought his family see Ibn al-Wardī, *Tārīkh*, 2:495, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʿda al-Wāfī*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Saʿīd ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1984–), 6:358; for the suggestion that they volunteered to come see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 2:563; Aḥmad Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Akhbār al-Miʾah al-Thāminah* (Beirut: 1993), 2:213.

[35] Al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh,* 45.

Later, once Yalbughā was established as governor of Aleppo, Tabuta became a commander of one hundred—the highest rank—in Aleppo, while Yalbughā's two brothers, Asandamur and Qarakuz, each became *ṭablakhānah* commanders as well, as did an unidentified male relative and Yalbughā's oldest son, Amir Muḥammad, even though this last was only a child.[36] Thereafter the entire family accompanied Yalbughā to Damascus when he was transferred, where his father received a new position (it is unclear whether his brothers did as well, or just held their old ones in Aleppo in absentia).[37]

Like Salār's family, Yalbughā's relatives shared in his misfortune: they joined him in his flight from Mamluk territory and were arrested with him by the governor of Hama. Yalbughā's father was even put in chains like his son and sent towards Egypt. But also as in Salār's case, the relatives did not suffer as much as the recalcitrant commander. When Yalbughā and his father reached Qāqūn, therefore, they were separated, with Tabuta going on first to Cairo and then to a three-month stint in prison in Alexandria, while Yalbughā's journey ended with his death in Qāqūn itself.[38]

Barqūq

The third and final case involves the best known man of all three: the commander and then sultan Barqūq, who ruled in two nearly-consecutive reigns at the end of the eighth/fourteenth century (r. 784–91/1382–89, 792–801/1390–99). Barqūq was a Circassian mamluk from a commander's household, not the sultan's household, but despite this handicap he managed to become the strongest person in the sultanate by 782/1380. In 784/1382 Barqūq had enough support to depose the reigning Qalāwūnid sultan, al-Ṣāliḥ Ḥājjī (r. 783–84/1381–84), and become sultan himself, with the regnal title of al-Ẓāhir. Barqūq weathered the storms of factional struggle within the sultanate until 791/1389, when he was forced out by rebel commanders coming from Syria with the support of Anatolian Turkmen. Although the rebels reached Cairo, captured Barqūq, and imprisoned him in Karak, Barqūq managed to reinstate himself as sultan by Ṣafar 792/February 1390. He deposed Ḥājjī again, and had his chief rival, a commander named Mintash, hunted down and killed. Barqūq then took the precaution of replacing many powerful commanders in Egypt and Syria with his own men, and thus enjoyed a strong grip on the sultanate until his death in Shawwāl 801/June 1399.[39]

Even more clearly than Salār and Yalbughā, Barqūq displayed a distinct interest in biological family. Evidence of this is found in the lengths to which he went to

[36] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 5:587, 591; 2:563.

[37] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 2:563.

[38] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 2:563–64.

[39] For an outline of Barqūq's rise to power see Holt, *Age of the Crusades,* 127–29.

establish his sons as his heirs and surround them with family, which suggests his invocation of the Dynastic Impulse.[40] In addition, in a clear case of the Extended Family Impulse, he exhibited an urge to reconnect with the biological family he had left behind when he entered the sultanate. This impulse appeared almost immediately after he took control in 782/1380, when he sent home to Circassia and summoned what appears to have been all of his surviving relatives to Cairo. They came in considerable numbers and were escorted by the same slave trader, Khwājā ʿUthmān ibn Musāfir, who had originally brought Barqūq himself to Egypt.[41] The delegation included Barqūq's elderly father, Anaṣ; at least two of Barqūq's sisters, one older than the sultan and one younger; and several of Barqūq's nephews, as well as assorted additional relatives whose precise relationships to Barqūq are unknown.[42]

The welcome that the delegation received was a public one, and it displayed a level of ceremony typically reserved for high-ranking members of the Mamluk administration, or for the most important foreign ambassadors. This set the tone for how Barqūq wanted the other Mamluk officers to view his family, and by extension himself. The focus of attention was Anaṣ, the patriarch, whom Barqūq met outside Cairo with an escort of all the Mamluk forces, dressed in their finest. After Barqūq greeted his father he conducted him to a tent that he had had set up, and seated Anaṣ in the highest place within it in the company of several important commanders. Since Barqūq at this point was still only a commander himself and not yet sultan, and perhaps in order to show respect to his father, he sat below Anaṣ as they all conversed (Anaṣ probably through a translator) and enjoyed a meal of fish, fruit, and sweets, which Barqūq had ordered for the occasion.[43] It is unclear where the rest of Barqūq's relatives were during this—perhaps they also entered the tent, or perhaps they were seated nearby in suitable accommodations. Regardless, thereafter everyone rested for a few hours, then rode into the city in a grand procession through streets lighted with candles, in front of the assembled population, which had turned out to witness the spectacle. Thereafter Anaṣ (and the rest of the party) arrived at their lodgings, at which point the Qalāwūnid sultan Ḥājjī gave Anaṣ a position as commander of one hundred, the highest of the commander ranks.[44]

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[40] Ibid., 178–79. I hope to address this example more fully in my upcoming article on the Dynastic Impulse.

[41] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 3:105; see also Ayalon, *L'Esclavage du Mamelouk* (Jerusalem, 1951), 2.

[42] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 6:112; 3:105; 3:482.

[43] It is a mystery why Barqūq chose to serve his father fish, since this was not a part of Circassian cuisine. Perhaps he wanted the novelty? For Circassian food in general see Amjad Jaimoukha, *The Circassians: A Handbook* (New York, 2001), 190.

[44] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 3:105–6.

Unfortunately for Barqūq, if he had intended his father to play any real political role in the sultanate, this hope was dashed by his father's death of old age within a year of his arrival—one historian mentions that Anaṣ did not live to see his son become sultan.[45] Barqūq's luck was better with his younger relatives, among them a nephew, Baybars, son of Barqūq's younger sister, and a nephew or great-nephew, Sūdūn, son or grandson of Barqūq's older sister.[46] Both boys were raised in the Royal Harem with Barqūq's sons until they were old enough for Barqūq to take their training in hand personally. Barqūq started Baybars as a commander of 10.[47] When Barqūq was ousted in 791/1389 Baybars was arrested for his loyalty to his uncle, but was then freed as Barqūq made his comeback.[48] Later, when Barqūq led the Mamluk armies to Syria to hold off the invader Temür in 796/1394, he not only took Baybars with him, but honored him by assigning him to the vanguard sent to Aleppo, which seemed to be where Temür was most likely to attack.[49] Before his death in 801/1399 Barqūq made Baybars lord of the audience *(amīr majlis),* and then secretary of state *(dawādār),* both of which were among the highest offices for commanders.[50] Barqūq also granted Sūdūn a series of (unspecified) military posts until he became a commander of one hundred in Egypt in Ṣafar 800/October 1397.[51]

Perhaps because of the excellent foundation their uncle had given them, neither man's career suffered after Barqūq's death. Their cousin Faraj took over immediately as sultan. But since he was too young at the time to assert himself, he was advised by a collection of commanders, one of whom was his cousin Baybars, who remained secretary of state *(dawādār).* During Faraj's early reign Sūdūn was promoted to master of the royal stables *(amīr akhūr),* but was removed from office on charges of rebellion and sent to prison in Alexandria for a few months. Upon his return to Cairo, however, he was reinstated and even promoted to senior secretary of state *(dawādār kabīr),* replacing his cousin Baybars, who had become chief military commander *(atābak).*[52] Shortly thereafter Sūdūn became governor of

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[45] Ibid., 3:106.

[46] See ibid., 3:481 (for Baybars) and 6:112 (for Sūdūn). Al-Maqrīzī calls Sūdūn nephew, not great-nephew, in *Sulūk,* 3:889, 921, 1072. Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Cairo, [n.d.]), 3:21 (for Baybars), 3:284 (for Sūdūn, whom he calls a great-nephew).

[47] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 3:482.

[48] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:691, 695.

[49] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:814; al-Jawharī ʿAlī ibn Dāwūd al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa al-Abdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1973), 1:388.

[50] Al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 1:460 *(amīr majlis)* and 1:461 *(dawādār);* Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 3:482; for the translation see Holt, "Structure," 56; for offices in the Circassian period see Ayalon, "Army—III," 68.

[51] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 6:112; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:889.

[52] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:999, 1012; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 2:133; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 6:112–13.

Syria, another strong position and one normally limited to mamluks, not their relatives. He held this post until he was killed in Temür's invasion of Syria in Rajab 803/February–March 1401.[53] Thereafter only Baybars remained as a major player in Mamluk politics until 1405–6/808, when he found himself caught opposing his ousted cousin Faraj. When Faraj made his comeback Baybars fought him as a representative of the new sultan, Faraj's younger brother ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, but he did so only halfheartedly. Perhaps as a result Baybars was captured and sent to Alexandria, where he died.[54]

Those were the case studies; now, the conclusions. The first conclusion concerns the Mamluk system. As we know, this allowed for many possible personal relationships and their corresponding emotional connections, whether between or among mamluks, between patrons and clients, and among biologically unrelated members of the same household. Nevertheless this variety of relationships among unrelated members of the military elite did not always completely replace relations with biological families—at least, not in the minds of all mamluks. Instead, many manifested a desire to reunite with their biological families by sending back for them and then incorporating them into political networks in Egypt and Syria. The three case studies presented here represent particularly successful and visible examples of this Extended Family Impulse, but other important mamluks sought out their kin as well. Similarly, lower-ranking mamluks may well have had these impulses, but we do not know whether they were able to implement them.

A few examples should demonstrate the popularity of bringing family from home. One example from the 750s/1350s is the governor of Aleppo, Arghun al-Kāmilī, whose brothers and relatives had come from "home" and been appointed commanders *(. . . kāna li-arbaʿah min ikhwatihi al-qādimīn min al-bilād wa-aqāribihi arbaʿah imrāt)*.[55] Another is the commander Ṭāz (d. 763/1362), lord of the audience *(amīr majlis)* and a major figure during the reigns of al-Muẓaffar Ḥājjī and al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (r. 748–52/1347–51), whose father, Quṭghāj, and brother, Jarkas, came from the "lands of the Turks ([?] *bilād al-turk*) to Cairo in 752/1351–52. Quṭghāj then headed back home to bring the rest of the family to Egypt.[56] In the Circassian period, the commander and then sultan al-Ẓāhir Barsbāy (r. 825–41/1422–38)

[53] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 6:113–15; see also Broadbridge, *Kingship and Ideology,* 190.

[54] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 3:482.

[55] Unfortunately we do not know any details about these positions. Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:895.

[56] He died on the way and was buried in Maʿarrah, where the governor of Aleppo built a tomb for him. Later Jarkas died and was interred in the same tomb; thereafter Ṭāz transferred both men's bodies to Cairo and constructed a new tomb for them there. The sources do not record whether the rest of the family ever arrived in Egypt. Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:886–87. For Ṭāz see al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 2:567–71. See also al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:892, for the betrothal of an unnamed brother of Ṭāz, and al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* for the troubles of yet another brother, Jartamur (?).

brought relatives to Cairo from Circassia, two of whom—his elder brother Yashbak and another relative named Jānim—became commanders of one hundred.[57]

Other mamluks clearly had family with them in Cairo, but we have no record of their arrival. One example from the 730s/1330s is the mamluk Almās (or Ulmās) the chamberlain *(ḥājib),* one of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's inner circle, who fell precipitously from favor and was executed in 734/1333, along with his brother, a commander of unknown rank named Qarā.[58] The death of their third brother, Mughulṭāy, who was known for building a mosque in Cairo, is unrecorded.[59] Apparently the family also included other relatives, but these were sent to Syria and "dispersed" *(ukhrija aqāribuhu ilá al-shām wa-furriqū)* at the time of Almās's disgrace; thereafter only one, Shaʿbān, appears in the historical sources when he was freed from prison in 740/1339–40.[60] Similarly, Baybughā Arūs (d. 754/1354), vicegerent during the first reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, made his brother Manjak *(akhuhu Manjak)* vizier and their careers intertwined significantly, but we do not know how or when Manjak came to Mamluk territory.[61]

Amalia Levanoni has collected numerous examples of the Extended Family Impulse among Circassian commanders.[62] She suggests that the Circassian cultural practice of the *ataliqate,* or the fostering of children with other families, may have contributed to this phenomenon among Circassian mamluks in particular.[63] As the case studies and examples here show, however, this impulse was not restricted to Circassians, since any successful mamluk could employ it, and many did. Despite the prevalent expression of the Extended Family Impulse, a word of warning is in order. Although it is usually clear in the sources when commanders brought relatives from home, discerning the status of commanders' brothers inside the sultanate is a far more complicated matter. Most recently Jo Van Steenbergen has cautioned

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[57] Levanoni, "Sultan's *Laqab*," 81, 104, and footnote 121, citing Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1963–72), 14:291, 15:165; see also Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 4:217–19; al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍaw',* 3:63–64.

[58] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 1:616–18, with "Almās" (on 616); al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:363, 365, 366, 375; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 3:89–91, with "Ulmās" (on 91).

[59] Al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh,* 116; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:545.

[60] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 1:617; for the prison release see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:491.

[61] See al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān,* 2:87; 2:532–33; 5:440. In all of these, the two are not described as being like brothers *(mithl),* but just as brothers.

[62] I reproduce here footnote 122 from Levanoni, "Sultan's *Laqab*," 104, which directs the rea - er to the following additional examples: Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn ʿIzz al-Dīn (Cairo, 1990), 2:476; Muḥammad Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr* (Cairo, 1982–84), 2:309, 319, 367, 369, 423, 430, 469; 3:104, 107, 110, 145, 153, 171, 175, 190, 213, 249, 276, 288, 298; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 3:258; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 2:346, 5:15, 327; 6:164–65, 186; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 8:396.

[63] Levanoni, "Sultan's *Laqab,*" 108, note 143.

that the word "*akh*" or "brother" was sometimes used to denote not a biological relationship between two men who shared parents, but a fraternal-style relationship between two biologically unrelated mamluks. The historical sources designate this mamluk-style, non-biological brotherhood by using such phrases as "they were like *(mithlu)* brothers," "he was like a brother to him," "between them there was brotherhood," etc.[64] By contrast, the designation of biological brotherhood seems to dispense with the "like brothers" phrasing. Nevertheless, a challenge for historians is discerning which type of "brother" is which when they encounter evidence of such relationships. Regardless, although mamluks did forge and maintain important relationships with other mamluks, some clearly refused to forget their original families. These reconnected with their kin as soon as they could, and they profited personally and even politically from the presence of biological relatives nearby.

The second conclusion is that for a relative, coming to join a mamluk promised at least a modest career. Rarely, however, were these careers glorious. One reason for the lack of significant career advancement was that the relatives' link to their mamluk family member was a double-edged sword: although the connection brought jobs, family members were routinely punished along with their mamluk relative in times of disgrace. Nevertheless families usually suffered less for the crimes of individual commanders than the commanders themselves did, and even when commanders were executed for bad behavior, their families tended to be pardoned sooner or later. Thus whereas Salār and Yalbughā both died for their political machinations, Salār's brothers were only imprisoned and later freed, while in Yalbughā's case the family remained unmolested, other than the three months Yalbughā's father spent in prison.

Another reason why male relatives of mamluk commanders did not advance to grand careers was their placement in the military hierarchy of the Mamluk Sultanate. As non-mamluks, they should only have received jobs in the auxiliary forces *(ḥalqah)*. In the early years of the sultanate this was a significant part of the armies, and the corps included numerous immigrants, who were often politically and militarily important in those years. Nevertheless, the auxiliary forces overall were not as prestigious, well-compensated, or well-trained as the mamluk forces; furthermore, the auxiliaries deteriorated in quality and remuneration over time.[65]

Unfortunately the sources do not always specify where relatives of mamluks were positioned; thus, although we may assume that their posts were in the auxiliaries in the absence of evidence to the contrary, we cannot be completely sure. It seems likely that Salār's relatives received positions in the auxiliaries, despite his

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[64] Jo Van Steenbergen, *Order out of Chaos: Patronage, Conflict and Mamluk Socio-Political Cu - ture, 1341–1382* (Leiden and Boston, 2006), 86–88, and especially footnotes 139 and 141.

[65] David Ayalon, "Army—II," 448–56; idem, "The Auxiliary Forces of the Mamluk Sultanate," *Der Islam* 65 (1988), 19–20, reprinted in his *Abode of War.*

own high position, because the auxiliaries were at their most prestigious then. And certainly Salār's brothers played active roles in factional struggles and were heavily involved with their brother's fortune, whether this was from the auxiliaries or not. The positions that Yalbughā's relatives received in Egypt and Syria may also have been in the auxiliary forces, but the information is too scanty to tell one way or the other. By contrast, Barqūq's nephew Baybars and great-nephew Sūdūn were an exception, since their jobs—constable *(amīr akhūr),* lord of the audience *(amīr majlis),* secretary of state *(dawādār),* chief military officer *(atābak),* governor of Syria—were reserved for the Mamluk military elite, not members of the auxiliaries. Such important positions did not normally go to relatives, and the fact that Baybars and Sūdūn held them attests to the strength of Barqūq's patronage.

The final conclusion, perhaps more tentatively drawn, is that individual mamluks maintained connections to the world outside the sultanate, despite their immersion in the complexity of the Mamluk system. In Salār's case, admittedly, contact with that world was limited—he lived during a time of open hostility between the Sultanate and the Ilkhanate, where his family was located, which may explain why he had no news of them for over thirty years. When he did contact them in Ilkhanid Anatolia, therefore, he had to do so secretly. By contrast, Barqūq lived in a time of relative peace, and appears to have maintained a link to his homeland, since he sent for his relatives openly as soon as he was in a position to do so, using the slave merchant who had brought him to Egypt.[66]

But it was Yalbughā who boasted the most complex interactions with the world outside the sultanate, as reflected in his relationship to his biological family. Yalbughā appears to have kept a link to his relatives throughout his career, since news went back and forth between him and them even before they migrated to Cairo. But where was Yalbughā's family? The histories are silent, except for one late source, which mentions their origin in the land of the Mongols *(bilād al-tatar* or *al-tatār).*[67] I read this as Ilkhanid territory, not the Golden Horde, since this latter was usually designated as *bilād qifjāq.* Nor do I read it as more distant Mongol territories, since these were less frequently the source of mamluks. The personal names in the family were Turkish—Yalbughā, Asandamur, Qarakuz, Tabuta. The Ilkhanate was therefore a likely place of origin for Yalbughā, especially the northwestern Caucasus region, which contributed Circassians and other peoples to the slave trade. It is possible to imagine that if Yalbughā and his family came from the Ilkhanate, he may have enjoyed additional connections in Ilkhanid territory that the histories do not reveal.

[66] For the close relationship between a mamluk and his slave trader see David Ayalon, "Mamlūk: Military Slavery in Egypt and Syria," in his *Abode of War,* 10 (first full publication, abridged version in *EI2* 6, fasc. 103–4).

[67] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 6:358.

But what would be the reason to imagine this? To answer, we must look more closely both at Yalbughā's career and at his other interactions with those outside the sultanate. From 744/1343 to 746/1345, Yalbughā was governor of Aleppo. This was an extremely important post for ambitious Mamluk commanders in the chaotic years after the death of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 741/1341, since the position was conductive to fomenting Syrian rebellions against Egypt. Earlier, during the first decades of the Mamluk sultanate, Mamluk commanders wishing to rebel against the sultan had looked to the Ilkhanids for military support.[68] But once the Ilkhanate began to disintegrate after 736/1335, it lost control of Anatolia, which allowed the Mamluks to acquire a number of useful vassals there, among them the Dulqadirid Turkmen. In the later eighth/fourteenth century every Mamluk rebel in Syria started as governor of Aleppo, which allowed him to call on Anatolian vassals such as the Dulqadirids for military support against Cairo. Commanders could also flee to Anatolia for refuge if events turned sour.

Yalbughā rebelled twice against the Mamluk sultan: once against al-Kāmil Shaʿbān in 746–47/1346, and later against al-Muẓaffar Ḥājjī in 748/1347. Unlike all other Mamluk rebels in this period, however, Yalbughā did not turn to the Dulqadirids for support, perhaps because he had badly damaged his relations with them while he was governor of Aleppo.[69] As a result, when his second rebellion went poorly and he was forced to flee, YalbughaYalbughā instead looked to the region from which his family may have come: former Ilkhanid territory. He turned in particular to the Chobanids, with whom he tried to take refuge in 748/1347.[70]

The Chobanids were a small dynasty of Mongols that emerged during the disintegration of the Ilkhanate. At the time of Yalbughā's flight from the sultanate, the Chobanids controlled the southern Caucasus and northwestern Iran, and maintained territorial interests in Anatolia.[71] In addition to their location in what may have been his own homeland, Yalbughā may also have fled to the Chobanids because he was already in contact with them. In late summer 744/1343, when Yalbughā was a governor in either Hama or Aleppo, an ambassador from the Chobanid ruler Ḥasan ibn Temürtash (d. 744/1343) traveled through Syria on his way to Cairo.[72] As a governor Yalbughā was responsible for hosting the ambassador both going to and

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[68] Examples here include Sunqur al-Ashqar (against Qalāwūn); Qipchak and Baktimur al-Sāqī (against Lājīn); Qarasunqur (against al-Nāṣir Muḥammad).

[69] Anne F. Broadbridge, "Mamluk Ideological and Diplomatic Relations with Mongol and Turkic Rulers of the Near East and Central Asia (658–807/1260–1405)" (PhD. diss, University of Chicago, 2001), 199–203.

[70] See footnote 32 above.

[71] Charles Melville and Abbas Zaryab, "Chobanids," *Encyclopedia Iranica* 5:496–502.

[72] He was made governor of Aleppo in June–July 1343/Ṣafar 744 after the death of the previous governor, Altunbughā al-Māridānī. Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:645–46.

coming from Egypt.[73] Since Mamluk protocol required him to interact with the ambassador, Yalbughā may have taken the opportunity to send a private message to Ḥasan.[74] His later attempt to flee with his family to the Chobanids suggests he believed in his chances of a good reception there.

Regardless of his destination, Yalbughā's situation suggests that he in particular, and individual mamluks in general, had more connections to the outside world than is usually acknowledged. These connections may have involved not only the extended families of mamluk commanders, but slave merchants, as in Barqūq's case, secret messengers, as in Salār's case, or perhaps formal ambassadors, as in Yalbughā's case. This indicates that scholars must look outside the sultanate even when investigating internal Mamluk politics. At times it is difficult to discern the outlines of these relationships, which makes the task harder. But since these connections did at times factor in to Mamluk political decisions, it is necessary to try.

To conclude: One previously understudied element in Mamluk politics is the category of biological relations that includes not a mamluk's offspring, but rather the biological family he left behind in the old country. I have called the interest that mamluks showed in reconnecting with their long-lost relatives the Extended Family Impulse, and I see it as a related, but relatively ignored subcategory within the general idea of what I have termed the Dynastic Impulse. I have suggested that some mamluks reconnected with their existing biological families for both personal and political gain. We see this phenomenon play out most frequently as part of Mamluk success stories, when commanders reached high political, military, and economic levels, then sent home to bring their families to Cairo. Once the relatives arrived, the Mamluk commanders found jobs for the men, who might attain considerable influence in Mamluk society, or, more often, remain undistinguished. Overall this suggests that while the Mamluk military system was inimical to the appeal of biological family, actual mamluks themselves were not, and in some cases they went to considerable lengths to surround themselves with their kin.

[73] Ambassadors from Ilkhanid or post-Ilkhanid territory usually entered the Mamluk Sultanate from the northeast, passing through Aleppo and the smaller cities to Damascus, from which they headed on to Cairo. For the ambassador see al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:648.

[74] Since Ḥasan died in 1343/744, his brother and successor, Malik Ashraf (r. 1343–57/744–58), would have received this.

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Climbing the Ladder: Social Mobility in the Mamluk Period

It is often said that the civilian sector of Mamluk society was relatively egalitarian with no strong barriers to social advancement. The social group of ulama (scholars) has been considered a particularly open group, whose membership was based on scholarly merit, whereas social origin played a less significant role.[1] This view was modified by Ulrich Haarmann, who showed that the ulama were not very eager to accommodate descendants of mamluks into their ranks. The sons of mamluks were wealthy enough to devote time to scholarship, but the established scholars tended to hold their foreign background against them.[2]

This article examines how difficult it was for sons of commoners to gain fame as scholars or to be included among the civilian notables through other merits. Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī's biographical dictionary *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah*[3] describes the lives and careers of notables of the eighth/fourteenth century. Among them there are individuals who were of commoner origin, but their number is quite small, which indicates that even though upward social mobility was possible, a commoner only rarely reached the status of a notable.

The fact that Ibn Ḥajar makes it a point to mention commoner origin of the person described clearly shows that the information was considered relevant. Especially the inclusion of the father's non-scholarly occupation shows that lineage did indeed matter. Why else should he mention that someone's father is "said to have been a porter?"[4] In addition, I found three occasions where Ibn Ḥajar describes the commoners in a way that shows clear prejudice. First, in his entry on the poet Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAlī al-Miʿmār Ghulām al-Nūrī, Ibn Ḥajar states that "even

[1]Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190–1350* (Ca - bridge, 1994), 64: "the recruitment of the learned elite was relatively open, and the circulation of individuals . . . was rapid." Also Ira Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA, 1967), 107–10, describes the ulama as a group that was open to anyone devoted to learning.

[2]Ulrich Haarmann, "Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage: Mamluks and their Sons in the Intelle - tual Life of Fourteenth-Century Egypt and Syria," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 33 (1988): 81–114; and idem, "Ideology and History, Identity and Alterity: The Arab Image of the Turk from the ʿAbbasid to Modern Egypt," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 20 (1988): 175–96.

[3] Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah,* ed. al-Shaykh ʿAbd al-Wārith Muḥammad ʿAlī (Beirut, 1997); idem, *Dhayl al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah,* ed. al-Shaykh Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī (Beirut, 1998).

[4] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 4:158.

though he was a commoner, Ibrāhīm was intelligent and talented and had a pleasant character."[5] Similarly, the poet Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd al-Ghālib is characterized as "a good poet, though a commoner."[6] Finally, an obviously unpopular *muḥtasib* Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī is described as "a commoner, uncouth and boorish."[7]

This leads to the question: how did the commoners manage to overcome social barriers and enter the ranks of the notables? To examine the individual strategies of social advancement, I looked into the career patterns of persons who started their lives as commoners or whose fathers had belonged to the common people.

The Commoners in Ibn Ḥajar's Dictionary

ʿĀmmah, the commoners, were a broad social group that Ira Lapidus has further subdivided into three categories. The first category consisted of respectable shopkeepers, physicians, craftsmen, and workers. Below them were the disreputable: those who engaged in trades that were considered to be morally suspect or were connected with substances seen as impure, for example usurers, money changers, butchers, tanners, etc. The lowest strata consisted of vagabonds, prostitutes, beggars, and others who lived on the fringe of society.[8]

In sifting through Ibn Ḥajar's material and selecting relevant biographical entries, I followed certain parameters. First, I limited my selection to persons living in Mamluk Syria and Egypt. Second, I picked out persons who themselves or whose fathers had earned their livelihoods by a trade, placing them in the social class of commoners. It must be underlined that I only selected the persons whose trades are explicitly mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar.[9] The same applies to the fathers' trades. I excluded the cases where the trade is only given as a patronymic forming a part of the person's name rather than mentioning the actual profession of the father.

It was easy to include the various artisans: the tailors *(khayyāṭ),* carpenters *(najjār),* stonemasons *(ḥajjār),* and porters *(ḥammāl)* clearly belong to the commoners. In addition, I selected those who worked as doorkeepers *(bawwāb),* sweepers *(farrāsh),* or caretakers *(qayyim)* in mosques, tombs, or madrasahs. They were the lowest paid employees of the religious institutions, but even though they worked among the scholars, they were not necessarily scholars themselves. I also included muezzins, when it is the only occupation given or when it occurs together with a craft.

Merchants *(tājir)* form a problematic group because the social status of a merchant depended on his wealth, and that again depended on what was traded. A

[5] Ibid., 1:35, no. 129.

[6] Ibid., 4:285, no. 5244.

[7] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Dhayl,* 212, no. 538.

[8] Ira Lapidus, *Muslim Cities,* 80–85.

[9] The trade appears together with verbs such as *kāna, iktasaba, taʿāná*, etc.

spice merchant or jeweler could easily be counted among the notables, whereas a trader in cotton or soap was less likely to become wealthy enough. I included as shopkeepers the merchants who were said to work in shops or who were reported to sell daily necessities, but I omitted the entries where Ibn Ḥajar does not specify the merchant's activities. Physicians *(ṭabīb)* and oculists *(kaḥḥāl)* are equally problematic because, like the merchants, they could belong either to the common people or the elite. Their social status depended on their clientele: those treating members of the elite had a higher status than those whose patients represented a more modest segment of the population. As Ibn Ḥajar does not usually give any details on the type of patients, I decided to exclude the two medical professions.

In this way, I managed to find ninety relevant biographies among the 5,962[10] persons portrayed in the dictionary. This number is not an exact figure, partly due to my own exclusions and partly due to the fact that Ibn Ḥajar does not always provide information on the livelihoods of the persons. However, even though the quantification remains inexact, the very small number clearly indicates that upward social mobility was difficult and infrequent. This is consistent with the conclusion presented in my earlier study of contemporary popular literature. The stories analyzed portray a rather rigid social system in which advancement was rare and social ambition was seen as a negative characteristic.[11]

Basis of Fame: Longevity

The overwhelming majority of the commoners included in Ibn Ḥajar's dictionary were *muḥaddith*s, transmitters of traditions. Their fame rested in their ability to memorize hadiths and to pass them on to others. To memorize hadiths was considered a religious merit, and according to one of the hadiths, the Prophet had said: "Anyone who preserves forty beneficial traditions for my *ummah* will be asked to enter paradise from any door he wishes."[12]

A *muḥaddith* needed a good retentive memory but, apart from basic literacy, no further learning was necessary. However, memorization alone was not enough to guarantee fame; to become truly successful, a *muḥaddith* needed an appreciative audience that found him or her worth listening to. Ibn Ḥajar mentions that Egyptian scholars crowded around Ḥasan ibn ʿUmar,[13] listening avidly to his transmission. They had realized his value as a transmitter in 713, when he had reached the age of eighty or eighty-one. According to Ibn Ḥajar, some students had come across Ḥasan's name in *isnād*s and, after ascertaining his advanced age, set out to find him.

[10] The four volumes of *Al-Durar* contain 5,323 entries, and *al-Dhayl* contains 639 entries.

[11] Irmeli Perho, "The Arabian Nights as a Source for Daily Life in the Mamluk Period," *Studia Or - entalia* 85 (1999): 139–62.

[12] Khalid Alavi, "Concept of Arbaʿīn," *Islamic Studies* 22, no. 3 (1983): 75–78.

[13] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 2:18–19, no. 1546: Ḥasan ibn ʿUmar ibn ʿĪsá ibn Khalīl ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kurdī Abū ʿAlī, d. 720/1320.

The scholars began frequenting Ḥasan, and for the last years of his life, he became a focus of scholarly attention.

The foundations for Ḥasan's fame were laid in his childhood by his father, a sweeper and a caretaker at a mausoleum *(turbah)* in Damascus. The father was aware of the prestige in being a *muḥaddith,* and he took care to introduce his son, at a very early age, to scholars. Ibn Ḥajar mentions ʿAlī ibn al-Lātī as the boy's first teacher and, according to al-Ṣafadī, Ḥasan was only three years old when he heard hadiths from al-Lātī.[14] Ḥasan not only learned hadiths but also memorized works on *fiqh* and *tafsīr*. Ḥasan's studies in these subjects also seem to have begun very early. Ibn Ḥajar informs us that Ḥasan learned al-Mālik's *Al-Muwaṭṭaʾ* from Mukarram ibn Muḥammad, who died in 635/1238 when Ḥasan was not more than five or six years old.[15]

It was important for an aspiring *muḥaddith* to listen to already-famous *muḥaddith*s and to secure an *ijāzah* to transmit the texts further. The teacher should preferably be a very old shaykh because this limited the number of transmitters included in the *isnād* of the hadiths. The length of the *isnād* was seen as an important factor guaranteeing the reliability of the transmission: the shorter the *isnād*, the closer the text was to the original. To reach this goal, old renowned *muḥaddith*s gave *ijāzah*s to very young children even though it is obvious that the children could not have earned them by actually memorizing the texts. In spite of this, the practice was considered acceptable because it was seen to enable the direct transmission of hadiths from a passing generation to an emerging one. The child who gained the *ijāzah* was expected to memorize the hadiths when growing up.[16] This must also have been the case with Ḥasan because he cannot have been able to learn any texts at the age of three, when he became a pupil of al-Lātī's.

As an adult, Ḥasan moved from Damascus to Cairo and opened a paper shop in Giza at the gate of the main mosque *(jāmiʿ).* He also functioned as a muezzin in a minor mosque. Then finally, he was "found" by the Egyptian scholars and gained a large scholarly audience. He had outlived many of his contemporaries and had become the last person in Egypt to transmit directly from the old Damascene shaykhs

[14] According to Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* vol. 12, ed. Ramaḍān ʿAbd al-Tawwāb (Wiesbaden, 1979), 195, the father took his son to hear Ibn al-Lātī when the son was in his fourth year *(fī al-rābiʿah).*

[15] Ḥasan ibn ʿUmar was born 629 or 630. Mukarram ibn Muḥammad's date of death (Rajab 2, 635/1238) is mentioned in Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dhahabī, *Siyar Aʿlām al-Nubalāʾ,* ed. Bashshār ʿAwād Maʿrūf and Muḥyī Hilāl al-Sirḥān (Beirut, 1998), 23:34, no. 85.

[16] Asma Sayeed, "Women and Hadith Transmission: Two Case Studies from Mamluk Damascus," *Studia Islamica* 95 (2002): 88. Sayeed refers to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1070) and Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī (d. 643/1245) as scholars who had considered the practice acceptable.

that he had listened to when he was still a child.[17] Ḥasan is a typical example of a famous *muḥaddith:* he started very young and had a very long life.

Ḥasan's *kunyah* was Abū ʿAlī, but Ibn Ḥajar does not record ʿAlī's biography. One of the problems in using a biographical dictionary as a source is the difficulty in finding the children. The biographies are organized according to the first name of the person, followed by his father's name, grandfather's name, etc. It is easy enough to go backwards along the lineage, whereas going forwards is practically impossible if the entry does not give the first name of the son or sons. The *kunyah* is sometimes given, but that is only helpful if it really does refer to the son who earned fame enough to be included in the dictionary. If one of the other sons became famous, or if the *kunyah* was just a cognomen that did not refer to any actual son, it leads to a blind alley.[18]

In Ḥasan's case, ʿAlī's biography is not included in the dictionary, and I skimmed the dictionary for sons with a different first name but found none. Ḥasan may—like his own father—have introduced his son or sons, at an early age, to scholars, but it seems that the sons were not as lucky as the father had been in combining longevity with interesting *ijāzah*s, a circumstance that would assure fame and prestige.

Gradual Mobility

Sometimes Ibn Ḥajar gives enough information to enable us to establish a family line of several generations and to examine the developments in the social status of the family members. In Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad's case, it is possible to follow a family of *muḥaddith*s from Ibrāhīm to his son Muḥammad and grandson ʿAbd Allāh. The biographies attest that the social advancement attained by the family in the three generations was modest, and that a family member's notability continued to rest on his activities as a *muḥaddith*. The slowness of the process and the very small steps taken presumably reflect the reality for most families attempting to climb the social ladder.

Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad[19] was the head of the muezzins in the Umayyad mosque of Damascus and was famous for his beautiful voice. Apart from his professional duties as a muezzin, he memorized hadiths and obviously managed to get some

[17] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 2:18.

[18] According to A. J. Wensinck, "Kunya," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 5:396, the *kunyah* could be given by parents to a child and therefore did not necessarily correspond to reality. Richard W. Bulliet, *The Patricians of Nishapur: A Study in Medieval Islamic Social History* (Cambridge, MA, 1972), 87, notes that euphony and historical connections often governed the choice of *kunyah*.

[19] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 1:38–39, no. 149: Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Wānī al-Khallāṭī al-Hamdānī Burhān al-Dīn al-Dimashqī. Year of death is not given here, but in the entry of the son (ibid., 3:178), the year 735/1334 is given as the year of death of both father and son.

fame as a transmitter because he is associated with some well-known scholars. Ibn Ḥajar mentions that his own teacher, Burhān al-Shāmī,[20] had gained an *ijāzah* from Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad.

Ibrāhīm's contacts with scholars enabled him to assure that his son, Muḥammad,[21] began to learn hadiths quite early. He is known to have attended transmission sessions in 694 when he was ten years old. Later, he travelled to Aleppo, Mecca, Medina, and Cairo to learn from the local *muḥaddith*s. Muḥammad gained a reputation as a hard-working student, and Ibn Ḥajar quotes Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahabī's positive comments on Muḥammad's intelligence and cheerful nature. Muḥammad seems to have acted as a muezzin like his father but, in addition, he broadened his scholarly activities by serving as *shāhid* (notary) for a short time. Muḥammad did not live to be very old but died at the age of fifty, in 735, only a month after his father's death. Ibn Ḥajar reports that, after his death, Muḥammad appeared to someone in a dream informing him about the situation of some others in heaven. The fact that this type of report is included in the biographical entry indicates that Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm had managed to gain a fair amount of prestige in his lifetime. A further indication of Muḥammad's fame is that al-Maqrīzī included an obituary about him in his chronicle *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk*.[22]

Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm's son ʿAbd Allāh[23] followed in the footsteps of his father and grandfather and built up a career as a *muḥaddith*, first by memorizing hadiths transmitted by local authorities and later by increasing his repertory through independent study. Ibn Ḥajar praises ʿAbd Allāh's keen wit and ability as a fast and fluent reader. Ibn Ḥajar's entry on ʿAbd Allāh is very short and gives little information, but there is some indication that ʿAbd Allāh occupied himself as a copyist.[24] Copying was a respectable scholarly occupation and may be considered an advancement if compared to the father's temporary employment as *shāhid*. In spite of this advancement, the extreme brevity of Ibn Ḥajar's entry indicates that ʿAbd Allāh's fame did not reach the level of his father's.

ʿAbd Allāh's *kunyah* is Abū Muḥammad, but no son of that name is included in Ibn Ḥajar's biography, nor can he be found in the dictionary covering the ninth/fif-

[20] Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn Dāʾūd al-Shāmī (d. 797/1395); his biography is in ibid., 1:22, no. 61.

[21] Ibid., 3:178–79, no. 3416: Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Wānī Amīn al-Dīn thumma al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanafī al-Muʾadhdhin Abū ʿAbd Allāh, d. 735/1334.

[22] Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1942), 2:388.

[23] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 2:172, no. 2197: ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Wānī Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī, d. eighth century. Only the century is given for the death year.

[24] Ibn Ḥajar, ibid., mentions that ʿAbd Allāh *"ʿamila Arbaʿīn Buldānīyah,"* which must mean that he made a copy of the book. Ibn Ḥajar does not explicitly mention that he made copying his trade.

teenth century written by Ibn Ḥajar's pupil, Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī.[25] ʿAbd Allāh was less famous than his father, but his son seems to have totally dropped out from the ranks of the notables.

The three biographies show a slow change in the status of the family, but for all of them—father, son, and grandson—the most important aspect of their careers was their activity as *muḥaddith*s. The shift from being employed as *shāhid* to occupying oneself as a copyist can be described as a slight advancement, but none of them took steps towards more demanding branches of scholarship, which could have led them to endowed positions within the madrasah system or judiciary. The reason cannot have been a lack of talent because Ibn Ḥajar has recorded the scholars' explicit praise for Muḥammad and ʿAbd Allāh.

The reason may have been that the family lacked the necessary network to secure appointments. As *muḥaddith*s, they had contacts with the scholarly world and even enjoyed some fame, but this was obviously not enough to attract the attention of patrons who would have promoted their scholarly careers. The necessity of such patronage is amply attested by a large number of biographies included in Ibn Ḥajar's dictionary. Further, the established scholarly families were able to promote their members; other studies have shown that some families formed dynasties that in practice monopolized certain high-status appointments.[26] Those common people able to enter the scholarly circles had to invest time in forming the necessary connections in order to move from the margins to more prestigious positions. The case of Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad and his son and grandson shows that even the span of three generations was not enough to create an effective scholarly network that would have secured the upward mobility of the family and finally established it as one of the scholarly families. As it is, the second generation—represented by Muḥammad—was the one to gain the highest acclaim, and the status was to some extent kept up by the third generation, whereas the fourth generation again disappears into anonymity.

THE IMPORTANCE OF NETWORKS: FROM TURNER TO QADI

The biography of Muḥammad ibn Salmān[27] presents a case where the information is detailed enough to explain how he managed to create a scholarly career in spite of his modest starting point as an artisan. According to Ibn Ḥajar, Muḥammad ibn Salmān came to Ḥamāh from the east as a child, together with his father. Muḥammad learned the trade of a turner (an artisan who crafts objects on a lathe) but later be-

[25] Muḥammad al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Cairo, n.d.).

[26] A well-known scholarly family dynasty was Banū Jamāʿah, who held the office of Shafiʿi *qāḍī al-quḍāh* in Egypt for more than half a century; see Kamal S. Salibi, "The Banū Jamāʿa: A Dynasty of Shāfiʿite Jurists in the Mamluk Period," *Studia Islamica* 9 (1958): 98.

[27] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Dhayl,* 96–97, no. 214: Muḥammad ibn Salmān ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥamawī thumma al-Ḥalabī Shams al-Dīn al-Kharrāṭ, d. 806/1403.

came interested in scholarship. Ibn Ḥajar reports that he became a proficient scholar in a short time. He married the sister of one of his teachers, Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn al-Ḥasan al-Ḥamawī (d. 809/1407).[28] He studied law and was appointed assistant judge *(nāʾib al-qāḍī)* in Aleppo in 776. After serving in that capacity for some time, he was appointed judge *(qāḍī)*. He was also an overseer *(wālī)* of several madrasahs. Ibn Ḥajar mentions further that Muḥammad ibn Salmān had two famous sons. Both of them, Muḥammad and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, were known as skilled poets, and one of the sons, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, inherited his father's position as a judge when the father died in 806.

Muḥammad ibn Salmān's remarkable advancement from artisan to judge deserves closer study. Ibn Ḥajar gives Muḥammad's name as Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Salmān ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥamawī thumma al-Ḥalabī. Al-Sakhāwī mentions Muḥammad ibn Salmān in *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* where he adds the *nisbah*s al-Ḥarrānī and al-Shāfiʿī to his name.[29] Further information on Muḥammad's ancestors is found in al-Sakhāwī's entries for Muḥammad's two sons. According to al-Sakhāwī, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was the eldest son, and his mother was Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf's sister. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's great-grandfather's father is given as al-Qāḍī al-ʿAllāmah Shams al-Dīn al-Marwazī.[30] The genealogy shows the family's origin in the east, first in Merv and then in Ḥarrān, and places it socially among the scholarly families. The advance of the Mongols must have forced the family to move westward and brought Muḥammad's father to Ḥamāh.

It is likely that Muḥammad's career was assisted by the fact that he belonged to a scholarly family. His father was a newcomer, and Muḥammad had to begin with learning an artisan trade but was soon able to devote himself to scholarship. His career was boosted by his marriage into a local scholarly family, an occurrence indicating that he was accepted as a member of the scholarly class. Otherwise, such a marriage between an artisan and a sister of a scholar would have been unlikely. It may well be that the scholarly credentials of Muḥammad's family were recognized and helped him to attain the marriage connection.[31] The new family alliance must have played a part in securing him his appointments in the judiciary.

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[28] Ibid., 129, no. 298. In Muḥammad ibn Salmān's biography, Ibn Ḥajar states only that he became related by marriage to Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf (ṣāharahu), but al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 7:255, no. 643, mentions that Muḥammad married Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf's sister.

[29] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 7:255.

[30] Ibid., 4:130, no. 343. The great-grandfather is given as Abū al-Faḍl Zayn al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh in ibid., but as Shams al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh in ibid., 9:83, no. 234.

[31] It is interesting to note that the earlier source, Ibn Ḥajar, does not mention the scholarly ancestry of Muḥammad ibn Salmān, but it is found in al-Sakhāwī's *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* a later source. It is possible that the family tree grew backwards only later and Muhammad's marriage depended only on his personal relationship to Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf.

The importance of family relationships is further underlined by the fact that Muḥammad's eldest son, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, inherited his father's position at the latter's death. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was also a poet and earned fame by his literary activities. He eventually settled in Cairo, and Ibn Taghrībirdī mentions that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān recited a *qaṣīdah* celebrating the conquest of Cyprus to Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Barsbāy in 829. In Cairo, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was able to attain high administrative positions,[32] but his fame seems to have rested mainly on his poetic talents; in the obituary, Ibn Taghrībirdī focuses on his abilities as a great poet.[33]

The younger son, Muḥammad, gained fame as a poet after settling in Cairo in 815.[34] Al-Sakhāwī's entry on Muḥammad is relatively short, but he reports that Muḥammad's poetry was appreciated by the scholars. He also mentions that Muḥammad entered into the administration in Cairo and gained a position in the *dīwān al-inshāʾ*. Muḥammad died of the plague in 823/1420.[35]

Presumably due to their family connections in Syria, the brothers were able to attain the notice of the Shafiʿi scholar Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn al-Bārizī (d. 823/1420). He was a friend of Amir al-Shaykh al-Maḥmūdī, who became sultan al-Malik al-Muʾayyad Shaykh in 815/1412.[36] According to al-Sakhāwī, the younger of the two brothers, Muḥammad, came to Cairo together with Ibn al-Bārizī and was his close companion *(muqarrab).* It must have been Ibn al-Bārizī who used his connections with the Mamluk elite to secure Muḥammad's first administrative appointment in Cairo.[37] When ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, the elder brother, arrived in Cairo, Ibn al-Bārizī seems to have also helped him to launch his administrative career in the *dīwān al-inshāʾ*.[38]

None of the sources that I have used mention the names of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's and Muḥammad's children, and this has prevented me from finding out information on the next generation. However, the children must have received a good education

[32] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt et al. (Cairo, 1963–72), 14:296, mentions that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān was *muwaqqiʿ al-dast*. Maya Schatzmiller, *Labour in the Medieval Islamic World* (Leiden, 1994), 155, translates the title *muwaqqiʿ al-dast* as "scribe for Royal Bench in the Palace of Justice."

[33] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 15:205–6.

[34] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 9:138.

[35] Ibid., 9:83–84, no. 234.

[36] Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Bārizī's biography is in al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 9:137–38, no. 350. His friendship with Amir al-Shaykh is mentioned in Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 13:80; and al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 9:137–38, mentions that Ibn al-Bārizī came to Cairo in the company of Amir al-Shaykh in 815.

[37] Al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ,* 9:83–34.

[38] Ibid., 4:130, no. 343. Al-Sakhāwī mentions that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān entered the *dīwān al-inshāʾ* "in the days of Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibn al-Bārizī."

and had ample opportunities to benefit from their fathers' networks and to continue in their footsteps in the scholarly world.

Talent Combined with Patronage

Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf[39] represents a case where talent, initial wealth, and timely patronage formed the ingredients of success. Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf was born in al-Jazīrah as a son of a money changer *(ṣayrafī)*. The trade of a money changer was one of the disreputable professions, carrying the taint of illegal gain. Ibn Ḥajar mentions the father's trade but then underlines that Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf came to Egypt alone *(mujarrad),* obviously leaving his disreputable father behind in al-Jazīrah. He settled in Qūṣ and began to pursue studies in various fields. Ibn Ḥajar is silent on Muḥammad's finances and does not mention his having any employment or learning any trade. Presumably, his father's trade had provided Muḥammad with enough wealth to enable him to concentrate on studies. Only when Muḥammad moved to Cairo did he attain endowed teaching appointments at various madrasahs. Muḥammad seems to have been quite a versatile scholar who was not only interested in religious sciences but also in *adab,* logic, and mathematics. It must have been these three last-mentioned subjects that he was teaching to Christian and Jewish students as well as to Muslim students.

In Cairo, Muḥammad became a companion of Amir Baybars al-Jāshnakīr (d. 709/1310), and Ibn Ḥajar mentions that Baybars' patronage improved Muḥammad's status. It must have been due to Amir Baybars that Muḥammad was appointed preacher at the Citadel's mosque. Patronage was often a necessary requirement for securing high-status appointments, but patrons could prove fickle. Amir Baybars had another favorite, Naṣr ibn Salmān al-Manbijī, who had founded a *zāwiyah* at Bāb al-Naṣr in Cairo. Naṣr was originally a *faqīh* but came to prefer the life of a Sufi ascetic, and according to Ibn Ḥajar, Naṣr had an influence over Baybars, who relied on him. Naṣr became very influential during the short period when Baybars was sultan (708–9/1309–10).[40] Ibn Ḥajar informs us that Naṣr conspired against Muḥammad. It may well be that Muḥammad's interest in non-religious subjects such as logic and mathematics, combined with the denominational diversity of his pupils, led Naṣr to dislike him. Naṣr's influence caused Baybars to abandon his protégé, and as a consequence Muḥammad was expelled from his position as the preacher at the Citadel's mosque. When Baybars's reign ended, Muḥammad's fortunes again improved, and he was appointed preacher at the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn.

[39] Ibid., 4:183, no. 4810: Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Jazarī.

[40] Ibid., 4:240, no. 5056.

ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad's[41] biography forms another case where Mamluk patronage explains at least some of the success. ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad was born in Baalbek as a son of a butcher *(laḥḥām)*. The father died when ʿAlī was a baby, and he was raised by his maternal uncle, who taught him to work with linen. According to Ibn Ḥajar, ʿAlī later became interested in scholarship and began to study Hanbali law. Ibn Ḥajar does not tell how it was possible for a linen worker to change his career in this way, but it can be assumed that ʿAlī had managed to gain enough wealth to be able to devote his time to studying. ʿAlī excelled in his studies, and he is known to have written books on *uṣūl al-fiqh*.[42] His talents were obviously recognized by the Damascene scholarly community because Ibn Ḥajar reports that he functioned both as a teacher and *muftī*. At some point, ʿAlī was appointed assistant judge *(nāba fī al-ḥukm)*. He was therefore already a well-established scholar when Timur Lenk's occupation of Aleppo in 803 made him leave Damascus and settle in Cairo. Upon his arrival in Cairo, he gained a teaching position at al-Manṣūrīyah, and a few months later, shortly before his death,[43] he was offered a position as judge, which he declined.

This last stage of his career is described by al-Maqrīzī, who reports that ʿAlī was acquainted with the Mamluk amir Yashbak al-Dawādār, who acted as his patron in Cairo, but he does not give any information on how ʿAlī had been able to attract the amir's attention.[44] Ibn Ḥajar does not mention any Syrian patrons or family connections that would explain ʿAlī's obvious success in Syria, but he reports that ʿAlī gave sermons *(waʿaẓa)* at the Umayyad mosque. It may well be that his preaching activities attracted the attention of local Mamluk notables, who then helped him to gain the appointment as assistant judge. These Mamluk contacts would then later have secured him the attention of Amir Yashbak.

Not all talented commoners were fortunate enough to attract the attention of well-connected patrons. Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar[45] was the son of a baker, but he had a paralyzed hand, a condition that prevented him from learning his father's trade. Instead, Muḥammad turned to scholarship at an early age. Muḥammad chose to study Shafiʿi law[46] and, like the above-mentioned ʿAlī, became so accomplished that he

[41] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Dhayl,* 62, no. 121: ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbbās ibn Fityān al-Baʿlī thumma al-Dimashqī al-Ḥanbalī ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Laḥḥām, d. 803/1401.

[42] Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *Al-Aʿlām* (Beirut, 1995), 5:7.

[43] According to Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Dhayl,* 62, he died on *ʿĪd al-Aḍḥá,* whereas al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 3:1072, places the death two months earlier, on *ʿĪd al-Fiṭr*.

[44] In al-Maqrīzī, ibid., 1059, his arrival to Cairo is noted as coming *"ilá ʿindi al-amīr Yashbak al-Dawādār."* The Amir was Yashbak al-Shaʿbānī who was Lālā of Sultan Faraj.

[45] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 4:72, no. 4293: Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Khabbāz al-Dimashqī, d. 752/1352.

[46] Ibn Ḥajar does not specifically mention the law school, but Muḥammad studied with the Shafiʿi scholars Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī Kamāl al-Dīn al-Zamlakānī (d. 727/1327) and ʿAbd al-Wahhāb ibn

was given permission to issue fatwas. Ibn Ḥajar further mentions that Muḥammad wrote books and praises the good quality of his work. In spite of these obvious assets, Muḥammad does not seem to have functioned as a teacher or judge, thus never attaining endowed positions. Muḥammad may just have been less lucky, or he may not have had as likeable a personality as ʿAlī and thus remained unable to form the connections required for gaining appointments. A possible reason for this could be Muḥammad's fame as a good impersonator, noted by Ibn Ḥajar *(la-hu qudrah ʿalá al-muḥākāh)*. This must have been a significant characteristic because Ibn Ḥajar includes it in the few lines that constitute the entry on Muḥammad's life. Muḥammad's impersonations may have caused offense and formed an impediment to his career.

Acquired Wealth as the Source of Fame

In some cases, the accumulation of wealth secured a commoner a place among the notables. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Manṣūr[47] was the son of a Jewish convert to Islam, and he began his career as a tailor. It was a profession that he may have learned from his father, though Ibn Ḥajar does not mention the father's occupation. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's customers seem to have been rather wealthy because tailoring brought him into contact with silk merchants. According to Ibn Ḥajar, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz realized that he would have a chance to improve his status if he involved himself in the silk trade; he therefore took up an offer to join a trade caravan traveling from Aleppo to northern China.[48] The tour was successful, and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz returned with a large quantity of silk, which formed the foundation of his subsequent wealth. The risk ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had taken in joining the trade expedition paid off; instead of remaining a poor tailor, he became a wealthy man, as evidenced by the fact that his income tax *(maks)* from one year amounted to forty thousand dinars. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz lived up to the expectations that society had of wealthy members by giving generously to charities, paying his *zakāt* dutifully, and establishing various pious foundations *(waqf)*.

Muḥammad ibn Musallim[49] also made his large fortune on trade. The foundations of Muḥammad's success were laid by his father, who started as a porter but managed somehow to gain some wealth and marry into a wealthy merchant family. Muḥammad was raised in circumstances that Ibn Ḥajar describes as respectable; as an adult he established himself as a merchant, obviously benefiting from his moth-

Muḥammad Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (d. 726/1326).

[47] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 2:233, no. 2452: ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Manṣūr al-Karīmī ʿIzz al-Dīn, d. 713/1313–14.

[48] The goal of the expedition is given as *"bilād al-Kh[i]ṭā."* According to C. E. Bosworth, "Ḳarā Khiṭāy," *EI²,* 4:581, Khiṭā and Khaṭā are used in Muslim sources to refer to northern China.

[49] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 4:158, no. 4692: Muḥammad ibn Musallim ibn Aḥmad al-Bālisī, d. 776/1374–75.

er's family connections. Muḥammad was successful in commerce and became one of the notable merchants of the century. His generosity increased his fame, and he gained the respect of scholars by establishing a madrasah in al-Fusṭāṭ. Muḥammad died in 776, and his sons—grandsons of a modest porter—inherited a huge fortune.

Three Commoners as Administrators

The position of the market inspector *(muḥtasib)* was precarious because he could easily become a focus of popular discontent. He was the person whom the sultan appointed to oversee and control the markets; in situations where food became scarce and prices high, the population tended to blame the *muḥtasib* for their hardships.[50] The *muḥtasib*s were often established *faqīh*s, but also lesser scholars, and sometimes even commoners, could be appointed to the office.

One of the *muḥtasib*s of commoner origin was Muḥammad ibn Ṣubayḥ,[51] who seems to have gained his appointment through Mamluk patronage. Muḥammad ibn Ṣubayḥ began his career as the chief muezzin in Damascus. He was famous for his beautiful voice, and it was presumably this characteristic that caught the attention of the *nāʾib al-salṭanah* and caused Muḥammad to become the *nāʾib's* imam. He was obviously able to build on this relationship because he was subsequently appointed as the *muḥtasib* of the Ṣāliḥīyah district in Damascus. Ibn Ḥajar's succinct entry does not give any information on Muḥammad's abilities as *muḥtasib,* but he must have been relatively competent because Ibn Ḥajar does not connect him with any scandals.

Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī,[52] who was the son of a seller of beverages, got the opportunity to purchase the office of *muḥtasib*. Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī learned his father's trade and seems to have had some education, even though Ibn Ḥajar does not mention it. However, the fact that Muḥammad was appointed an agent at the Maliki deputy court *(wakīl fī bāb nāʾib al-ḥukm al-mālikī)*[53] indicates that he must have acquired at least some basic scholarly skills. According to Ibn Ḥajar, the occupation led Muḥammad into trouble, and he ended up in prison. Ibn Ḥajar does not specify the nature of the trouble, but al-Maqrīzī reports that Muḥammad was

[50] About the relationship between *muḥtasib*s and the population, see Irmeli Perho, "Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī as Historians of Contemporary Events," in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800),* ed. Hugh Kennedy (Leiden, 2001), 110–14.

[51] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 3:278, no. 3864: Muḥammad ibn Ṣubayḥ ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Tiflisī al-Dimashqī, d. 725/1325.

[52] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Dhayl,* 211–12, no. 538: Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥibrī al-Sharrābī, d. 823/1420.

[53] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 4:543, reports that Muḥammad was *nāʾib al-qāḍī*. One of his *nisbah*s was al-Sharrābī, which refers to his father's trade as beverage seller; his other *nisbah* was al-Ḥibrī, which could refer to his own profession: someone who uses ink. Maya Schatzmiller, *Labour in the Medieval Islamic World* (Leiden, 1994), 168, translates *wakīl bi-abwāb al-quḍāh* as "agent in court."

accused of *kufr* and was threatened with death. In the end, his life was spared, and he was punished through beating and imprisonment.[54]

After being released from prison, Muḥammad opened a shop and began to sell sugar. He was obviously a good businessman because he prospered, but this did not satisfy his ambition. He seems to have been determined to obtain a public office and, finally, he managed to buy himself an appointment to the office of *muḥtasib* in 808/1405. Al-Maqrīzī expresses his abhorrence of the practice of selling offices,[55] and his description of Muḥammad himself is unflattering: he was stupid and impudent.[56] Ibn Ḥajar is equally negative in his portrayal, and according to him Muḥammad was not only impudent but also uncouth, boorish, and shameless. Ibn Ḥajar concludes his entry by stating: "and in this year [823] God freed [us] from him."[57]

It is possible that Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī really was an unpleasant person, but it is also possible that al-Maqrīzī's and Ibn Ḥajar's statements reflect their prejudice against a commoner's occupying a relatively important public office, which was usually held by scholars of law. To make things worse, the commoner had purchased the office, which was a practice that the Mamluks condoned but the scholars abhorred.

To some extent, Muḥammad bears a resemblance to a fictional character in the Arabian Nights. In the Hunchback cycle, there appears a one-eyed butcher who managed to prosper in his trade and began to invest in property. His financial and social advancement was cut short by the authorities, who confiscated his property on the basis of some false accusations. Later, the king had him beaten because he could not abide people who had only one eye. Soon he was caught and beaten again because the scars of the earlier beating were a proof that he was guilty of something.[58] Both the fate of the fictional butcher and the historical Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī show how difficult it was to advance socially; even if a person succeeded to climb up the ladder, it was very easy to fall down again. Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī's case shows that it was indeed possible to achieve a higher social status, but the scholarly elite did not necessarily view the achievement positively.

Some commoners were able to attain powerful administrative positions through personal relationships to members of the Mamluk elite. The Cairene dancer Khālid ibn al-Zarrād[59] is an example of a person who was able to use his status as the amirs' favorite to make a career. Ibn Ḥajar's entry does not give Khālid any ge-

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[54] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk*, 4:543, The incident took place in 796.

[55] Ibid., 4:11.

[56] Ibid., 4:543.

[57] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Dhayl,* 212, *"arāḥa Allāh minhu fī hādhihi al-sanah."*

[58] *Alf Laylah wa-Laylah,* ed. Muḥsin Mahdī (Leiden, 1984), 358–60.

[59] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 2:47, no. 1643: Khālid ibn al-Zarrād al-Muqaddam, d. 745/1344.

nealogy but only the patronymic Ibn al-Zarrād, son of the chainmail maker. The father's name is not given, nor is his trade specifically mentioned, but in this case the patronymic might actually refer to the father's profession. As the son of a chain-mail maker, Khālid would have had a good opportunity to form contacts with the Mamluk amirs. Khālid became a dancer and performed in the *wālī's* house in Cairo *(dār al-wilāyah)*. Amir Sanjar—the *wālī* of Cairo[60]—took a liking to him and promoted him to the position of the overseer *(muqaddam bayt al-wālī)*. After Sanjar, another amir, Ibn Hilāl al-Dawlah, took over the patronage of Khālid, and with his support Khālid's career advanced further; eventually, he was appointed *muqaddam al-dawlah*. Ibn Ḥajar notes that with this upward mobility both Khālid's wealth and corruption increased, and soon he became associated with Mamluk notables who stole state funds. Together with other offenders, Khālid was arrested in 735 and was ordered to pay a huge fine; still he seems to have had protectors because he was quickly released from prison. Khālid lost his position as *muqaddam al-dawlah* but managed to regain some of his earlier status by becoming the *wālī*'s overseer again. This was his title in 742, when he once again got into trouble. According to al-Maqrīzī, Khālid's greed and oppressive actions led the governor to confiscate his wealth. Three years later, in 745, he managed to bargain with the sultan and was reappointed *muqaddam al-dawlah*. The success was short-lived, however; only a few months later, Khālid was arrested and accused of oppression. He was punished, and this time the punishment was so harsh that he did not survive it.[61]

According to Ibn Ḥajar, Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī was an uncouth and boorish *muḥtasib,* but he does not seem to have been caught in any misconduct, whereas Khālid was punished both for stealing and oppression. The fact that he was able to pay the huge fines required of him indicates that Ibn Ḥajar's assessment of him as corrupt was accurate.

Notorious Rather than Notable

Ibn Ḥajar not only recorded persons whose career, wealth, or learning made them notables, but he also included persons who had become famous through some exceptional action. One of these persons is a commoner, a tailor called Waḍḍāḥ,[62] who was a native of Aleppo. Waḍḍāḥ became notorious in 753 when, according to Ibn Ḥajar, the Devil made him err and proclaim that he was a prophet. He was imprisoned for some days and was encouraged to repent. He did repent and was pardoned and released from prison. The occurrence obviously did not improve the

[60] Ibn Ḥajar gives only the name Sanjar, but he was presumably ʿAlam al-Dīn Sanjar ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Khāzān (d. 735/1335). Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 9:67–68, reports Sanjar as the *wālī* in 721 and Sanjar seems to have held the position until his death (cf. the obituary, ibid., 9:305).

[61] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk,* 2:370, 381–82, 565, 664, 670. Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 2:47.

[62] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar,* 4:251, no. 5102: Waḍḍāḥ al-Khayyāṭ al-Ḥalabī.

tailor's social status, but his action guaranteed him fame and immortalized him in an entry in Ibn Ḥajar's biographical dictionary.

Conclusions

Presumably, many commoners had modest successes and may have improved their social status within the ranks of the commoners, but their careers remain unrecorded and only the histories of those whose prestige, fame, or wealth earned them a notable status are included in Ibn Ḥajar's dictionary. This gives us only a partial view of the careers of the commoners and their chances of social advancement in Mamluk society. Even if the material does not give us the full picture, the very low number of entries portraying people of common origin clearly indicates that social advancement cannot have been easy, and a successful climb up the social ladder was an exception rather than a rule.

Social historians tend to view the scholarly class as an open career track, where individual merits weighed more than lineage or wealth, but my findings in Ibn Ḥajar's dictionary do not support this view. Theoretically, the scholarly world was indeed open to everybody, and merits were important; if one lacked the invaluable network of contacts, however, the prestigious appointments remained elusive. A baker's son could find a way to study with some of the well-known scholars of his day, but this did not secure him an endowed position in the madrasah system or the judiciary.

Ibn Ḥajar's dictionary shows that most of the commoners who gained prestige in scholarly circles were *muḥaddith*s. A literate person endowed with a good memory could gain a position as an authority on hadiths. This led the person into scholarly circles, and the possibilities of social advancement increased. Rubbing shoulders with esteemed scholars was a beginning in forming the network that was indispensable for building up a career. The scholars might recommend one's talents as a notary, or they could request one to prepare copies of books, or they could patronize one's paper shop; the records show, however, that even three generations were not necessarily enough to establish a family as one of the recognized scholarly families.

The number of commoners who managed to enter the scholarly circles was not very large, but Ibn Ḥajar's records show some examples of remarkable advancement within one generation. A son of a carpenter could first learn carpentry and then turn to studies and finally be promoted to an assistant judgeship. It seems that the positions of judge or assistant judge were the highest occupations in the judiciary reached by a commoner. Ibn Ḥajar reports on two artisans who were appointed assistant judges, whereas the only judge with a commoner origin proved to be a scion of an eastern scholarly family that had fled to Syria. The lists of scholars' occupational posts given in Carl Petry's study on the scholars in Cairo point in the same direction. An assistant judge was more likely than a judge to have had an artisan

occupation. It is also significant that none of those appointed as *qāḍī al-quḍāh,* the highest legal office, had ever had an occupation belonging to the artisan group.[63]

Moving from modest artisan professions to the circles of wealthy merchants seems to have been rare as well. Ibn Ḥajar mentions only one case where an artisan was able to build a large fortune through trade and one case where initial accumulation of wealth was combined with a judicious marriage, securing the next generation an economic head start. It may well be that a much larger number of commoners became affluent through trade, but their wealth did not reach the level of exceptional opulence that would have merited their inclusion among the dictionary entries.

Some commoners were able to attain powerful administrative positions through personal relationships with members of the Mamluk elite. The Cairene dancer is an example of a person who was able to use his status as the amir's favorite to make a career. The dancer's career was obviously a spectacular single occurrence and as such caught the attention of both chroniclers and biographers, who recorded it in their books.

It can be concluded that Ibn Ḥajar's biographical entries show a society in which lineage and networks were important ingredients of social advancement. Individual merits played an important role but did not suffice to guarantee any upward social mobility.

[63] Carl Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton 1981), 362–67, list of Category IV occupations in the artisan group: the numbers of artisans among *nāʾib al-qāḍī*s is 57, among *qāḍī*s 32, and among *qāḍī al-quḍāṭ* 0.

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The *Ḥalqah* in the Mamluk Army: Why Was It Not Dissolved When It Reached Its Nadir?

I

The *ḥalqah*[1] was held in high regard during Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's reign as the sultan's small elite bodyguard that was under his personal command on the battlefield.[2] According to Stephen R. Humphreys, there is little mention of the *ḥalqah* in the sources after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's death until it reappears in the last years of al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's reign (637–47/1239–49).[3] At that time the *ḥalqah* continued to enjoy elite status, but which units were included in it or the number of its troops is unclear.[4] The question of whether the Ayyubid *ḥalqah* had something in common with its immediate descendant in the Mamluk army is still open. Humphreys is of the opinion that the *ḥalqah* in its classic Mamluk form appeared no earlier than the first years of al-Ẓāhir Baybars' reign (658–76/1260–77) and had little in common with the elite royal guard of Ayyubid times. Its position in the army was made secondary to the Royal Mamluks and the amirs' mamluks who comprised the new ruling elite. However, as long as the *ḥalqah* retained professional and fully trained soldiers it enjoyed a prestigious position in the army.[5] David Ayalon, on the other hand, argues that although certain changes occurred in the army with the transition from Ayyubid to Mamluk rule, they did not affect the continuity existing between the two armies.[6] During the early period of the Mamluk Sultanate the *ḥalqah* maintained a considerable part of its power and high position from Ayyubid times. It was only later that it lost its prominence to the Royal Mamluks, mainly due to the cadastral surveys conducted by al-Manṣūr Lājīn (697/1297) and al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (713/1313; 715/1315). David Ayalon links the *ḥalqah*'s decline mainly with the fact that its

[1] Quatremère and David Ayalon were of the opinion that the name of the *ḥalqah* is derived from its function as the sultan's bodyguard and its central position around him in battlefield. A. N. Poliak, on the other hand, thought that the name came from the battle tactics employed by Turkish warriors of surrounding their enemies. Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army—II," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 16 (1954): 448.

[2] H. A. R. Gibb, "The Armies of Saladin," *Cahiers d'Histoire Egyptienne* 3 (1951): 305, reprinted in *Studies on the Civilization of Islam* (London, 1962), 74; Ayalon, "Studies on the Mamluk Army II," 448–49; Humphreys, "The Emergence of the Mamluk Army," *Studia Islamica* 45 (1977): 82–83.

[3] Humphreys, "The Emergence of the Mamluk Army," 82–83.

[4] Ibid., 98.

[5] Ibid., 162–65.

[6] David Ayalon, "From Ayyubids to Mamluks," *Revue des etudes islamiques* 49, no. 1 (1981): 50.

members were not mamluks and therefore lacked their military vigor and solidarity *(khushdāshīyah).*

The sources clearly show that from the time of its inception, the *ḥalqah* was a flexible military structure, open to change according to circumstances. Political, social, and moral considerations guided the decision-makers to include military and non-military groups in the *ḥalqah.* Later, patronage had a decisive influence on the *ḥalqah*'s makeup and its division of resources. The purpose of this article is to discuss the changes the *ḥalqah* in Egypt underwent in its makeup and structure, in light of the short- and long-term processes that took place in the Mamluk military and political systems.

II

When Baybars took power he inherited a patchwork army comprised of a large number of old and disorganized military units, both Egyptian Royal Mamluks from al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's reign up to his own time, and former Ayyubid armies. Since Humphreys has studied Baybars' army, mention of his main points will suffice here. Baybars was the first Mamluk sultan to reorganize the army, among other state institutions in the Mamluk Sultanate, according to new principles that marked the initiation of a new central government and the Mamluks' new status as the holders of power. The Mamluk army was divided into three groups: the Royal Mamluks *(al-mamālīk al-sulṭānīyah),* the amirs' mamluks *(mamālīk al-umarāʾ)*, and the *ḥalqah*. The Royal Mamluks included mainly mamluks from the Egyptian royal regiments, such as al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb's, al-Muʿizz Aybak's, and Baybars' own mamluks, and were to gain exclusive status. The amirs' mamluks remained under the direct command of their masters but were to be placed at the sultan's disposal when necessary, mainly on expeditions. The Egyptian *ḥalqah* included part of the former Ayyubid regiments in Syria—the freeborn Kurdish Shahrazūrīyah and the Mamluk ʿAzīzīyah and Nāṣirīyah—that were permitted to remain in Egypt after the battle of ʿAyn Jālūt (the Spring of Goliath, 658/1260), and the rest were absorbed into the *ḥalqah* corps of the Mamluk armies in the Syrian provinces. It should be noted that Turkmen, Kurdish, and Arab tribesmen served as auxiliaries in the army. The masses of Ayyubid freeborn and mamluk soldiers admitted to the *ḥalqah* strengthened the army when the Sultanate was in need of a well-prepared, qualified army for its wars against the Mongols and Crusaders. No less important was the need to institutionalize these disorganized military groups, which could have otherwise turned into anarchist elements in the realm. The *ḥalqah*'s secondary status in the Mamluk army was marked by the fact that although the *ḥalqah* was under the sultan's direct control, its troopers did not share a common living quarters

financed by the sultan, as was the case with his recruits.[7] The *ḥalqah* troopers also had to provide their own equipment, again unlike the sultan's mamluks. Therefore the sultan's effective control over them depended on the personal authority their commanders had on them, and this was formally restricted to expeditions only. The division between these three groups was not clear-cut. In addition to his mamluks, Baybars' Sultani regiment included Ayyubid mamluks and freeborn officers, some of whom inherited their military status and *iqṭāʿ* according to previous Ayyubid norms.[8] However, the domination of the new Mamluk elite in political and military institutions was made clear by the smaller *iqṭāʿāt* (s. *iqṭāʿ*), or fiefs, and lower ranks granted to the Ayyubid and other veterans, as well as the preference of appointing Baybars' colleagues and mamluks to the Sultani regiment and high offices.

Another group of enlistees into the *ḥalqah* were the Wāfidīyah, the thousands of Turko-Mongol tribesmen troops that had deserted the Mongol Ilkhanate for the Mamluk Sultanate since the 1260s.[9] The first wave of Wāfidis left the Ilkhanate, where they were stationed, in 660–62/1262–64 under the orders of their master, Berke Khan (654–65/1256–66), the ruler of the Golden Horde, as a result of an open conflict he had with Hülegü, ruler of the Ilkhanate. The first group of Wāfidis arrived in 660/1262 and included two hundred horsemen with their families. They were received in Egypt with great honor; their commanders were granted amirates, and the rest were incorporated into the Baḥrīyah, most probably *ḥalqah* units that at the time were assigned guarding duties in the Citadel of Cairo and other citadels in the Syrian provinces.[10] They embraced Islam and settled in the Lūq quarter of

[7] Every forty *ḥalqah* soldiers had a *ḥalqah* commander *(muqaddam al-ḥalqah*—pl. *muqaddamū al-ḥalqah)* whose commanding authority was limited to expeditions only. During war time both the *muqaddam al-ḥalqah* and his troops were stationed, together with other Sultani and amirs' mamluks, under the command of a *muqaddam alf,* an amir of one hundred who acted as commander of one thousand soldiers, or *ṭulb,* in battle order (Ayalon, "Studies on the Mamluk Army II," 450–51). The *muqaddamū al-ḥalqah* were responsible for the call-up to battle of the troops under their command.

[8] Humphreys, "The Emergence of the Mamluk Army," 156–58. Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Al-Rawḍ al-Zāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Khuwayṭir (Riyadh, 1976), 96; Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Abū al-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá Baʿda al-Wāfī,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1985–93), 2:494–95; Mūsá ibn Muḥammad al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl Mirʾāt al-Zamān* (Hyderabad, 1954), 3:232; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1957–73), 1:513, 629; Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf Abū al-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1929–72), 7:146.

[9] David Ayalon, "The Wāfidiyya in the Mamluk Kingdom," *Islamic Culture* 25 (1951): 89–104, reprinted in idem, *Studies on the Mamluks of Egypt (1250–1517)* (London, 1977).

[10] David Ayalon, "Le Regiment Bahriya dans l'armee mamelouke," *Revue des etudes islamiques* 19 (1951): 134–38.

Cairo, which was built by Baybars especially for them.[11] In 661/1263, more than thirteen hundred of Berke Khan's warriors arrived in Egypt and again their commanders were granted amirates, but the sources do not mention that their warriors were incorporated into the *ḥalqah.*[12] In 662/1264 a group of refugees arrived from Shiraz, headed by notables from the Khwarizmi and ancient Iraqi regimes and many chieftains of the Khafājah, the Iraqi Arab tribes. Their chief commander, Amir Sayf al-Dīn Baklak, was granted an amirate of forty, but the Arab tribesmen were sent back to their own country.[13] Baybars became concerned by the continuous influx of warriors from the Ilkhanate when in the same year another group of Tatars entered Mamluk territory seeking refuge. He ordered the army to keep watch until it became clear whether they were indeed refugees *(musta'minīn)*.[14] In 675/1276, sixteen Turkmen notables defected with their families from the Seljuk vassal principality of the Ilkhanid Mongols in East Anatolia. They were not granted amirates, and in the same year they joined Baybars on an expedition to Anatolia in an attempt to establish a Mamluk vassal principality in that region.[15] About thirty years would elapse from the first wave of immigration in the early 1260s until another group of three hundred Tatar troops arrived in Egypt in 691/1291.[16] In 695/1295, during al-ʿĀdil Kitbughā's reign (694–96/1294–96), eighteen thousand Oirat families (in the Arab sources they appear as *uwayrātīyah*), or ten thousand according to another version, left the Ilkhanate and entered the Mamluk Sultanate.[17] Only their commanders and notables, who numbered about two hundred (or one hundred and thirteen, depending on the source), including Hülegü's son-in-law, were received with great honor and were permitted to enter Cairo. Their commander Ṭurghāy was granted an amirate of forty; another amir, Alūṣ, received an amirate of ten; and the rest were appointed as *ḥalqah* commanders with *iqṭāʿāt*. The thousands of

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[11] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:473–75; Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, *Rawḍ,* 74.

[12] Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-Fikrah fī Tārīkh al-Hijrah*, ed. Donald Richards (Be - rut, 1998), 84–85; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:500–1; Badr al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān,* ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn (Cairo, 1987), 1:464–65.

[13] Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 88; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:512.

[14] Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 89; idem, *Kitāb al-Tuḥfah al-Mulūkīyah fī al-Dawlah al-Turkīyah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Ṣāliḥ Ḥamdān (Cairo, 1987), 146; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:515.

[15] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:625, 627.

[16] Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* (Beirut and Riyadh, 1966), 3:330.

[17] K. V. Zettersteen, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlūkensultane in den Jahren 690–741 der Hi ra, nach arabischen Handschriften* (Leiden, 1919), 39; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 309–10; Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, ed. Al-Bāzz al-ʿArīnī (Cairo, 1964–92), 31:296–97; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh al-Duwal wa-al-Mulūk,* ed. Qusṭanṭīn Zurayq (Beirut, 1942), 8:203; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:813; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd,* 3:304–7; Abū Bakr Ibn Aybak al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar wa-Jāmiʿ al-Ghurar,* ed. Hans Robert Roemer, ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr, and Ulrich Haarmann (Cairo, 1960–72), 8:362.

Oirats who came with them were ordered to settle on the Palestinian coast, in the environs of ʿAtlīth, and in al-Biqāʿ in south Lebanon.[18] These thousands of Oirats included women, children, and elderly and middle-aged men, with many of them making their way on foot. They were not allowed to enter the cities on their way from Syria to ʿAtlīth and al-Biqāʿ; instead, the town markets came out to them. The sultan also ordered Amir Sanjar al-Duwaydārī, who was in charge of them, to keep them in Syria until his arrival. Under these circumstances, many of their elders died and their young sons were taken into the amirs' service in Syria.[19] The rest were incorporated into the provinces' armies, where in time they embraced Islam.[20] In 704/1304, another group of two hundred Tatar warriors arrived in Cairo, among them the two brothers and mother of Salār, the amir who was the power behind the nominal sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. The two brothers received amirates and *iqṭāʿāt*, and others entered the amirs' service.[21] In 717/1317 another Mongol grand amir, Ṭāṭāy, reached Cairo with one hundred horsemen and their families. Up until 741/1340 the sources mention only a few Mongol soldiers who immigrated on an individual basis. A famine in the lands in 741/1341 caused multitudes to cross the Euphrates into Mamluk territories. They were allowed to stay in the vicinity of Aleppo, and only two hundred of them were allowed to enter Cairo. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad chose about eighty of them for his personal service. Some were sent to the barracks in the Citadel, some were housed in the Citadel or were allocated amirates, and the others entered the *ḥalqah* or were divided among the amirs.[22] This group completed the Wāfidīyah immigration into Mamluk territories.[23]

At first glance, the impression received from the events related to the Wāfidīyah is that there was a constant influx of Tatars into the Mamluk Sultanate over a long period. In fact, there were only two significant waves of immigration, one between 660/1262 and 662/1264, and the second in 695/1296. All other records on the arrival of Turko-Mongol warriors and notables in the Sultanate might be classified as trickles that totaled no more than a few hundred. When summing up the number of Wāfidis that immigrated to the Mamluk Sultanate according to the sources' reports, we find that it was actually not much more than fifteen hundred commanders and warriors during Baybars' rule.[24] Whereas the Turkmen and Arab tribesmen

[18] Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 31:299; Ayalon, "Wāfidiyya," 99–100.

[19] Zettersteen, *Beiträge,* 39; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 31:299.

[20] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:813; idem, *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Cairo, 1987), 2:23; Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh*, 8:205.

[21] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:5–6.

[22] Ibid., 2:515–16, 517–20.

[23] Ayalon, "Wāfidiyya," 103–4.

[24] Ayalon maintains that three thousand horsemen entered into the Mamluk Sultanate during Ba - bars' rule. Ayalon, "Wāfidiyya," 98.

were sent back to their own territories, the Mongol Wāfidis were incorporated into the army and were even settled in Cairo. We might assume that the majority were directed to the *ḥalqah,* although the sources do not explicitly indicate this. In the second wave of immigration in the 690s/1290s, the number of Wāfidis who were admitted into the *ḥalqah* in Cairo was about six hundred soldiers: three hundred in 691/1291 and another two hundred in 695/1296. The number of warriors among the thousands of Oirats that immigrated in 695/1296 is unclear, for this group included the elderly, women, and children. Only one hundred thirteen of their notables reached the *ḥalqah* in Cairo.[25] The majority of their warriors and youths were absorbed into the amirs' households in the Syrian provinces.

Another group of freeborn soldiers included in the *ḥalqah* was comprised of the mamluks' sons *(awlād al-nās).*[26] Baybars arranged subsistence grants for orphans of soldiers, in spite of their great numbers.[27] It is unclear whether the custom of admitting sons of amirs into the *ḥalqah* was initiated during Baybars' reign. However, during Sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn's reign (678–89/1279–90) the admission of amirs' sons was done according to professional standards. This is borne out in the story related by Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), the fifteenth-century historian, about Qalāwūn's refusal to grant fiefs in the *ḥalqah* to young and inexperienced sons of amirs. Al-Maqrīzī relates, without mentioning his source, that Amir Ḥusām al-Dīn Ṭurunṭāy, Qalāwūn's vicegerent *(nāʾib al-salṭanah),* and Amir Zayn al-Dīn Kitbughā, the vicegerent in absentia *(nāʾib al-ghaybah),* each married their sons to the daughters of the other and petitioned Qalāwūn to grant them *iqṭāʿāt* in the *ḥalqah*. Qalāwūn refused their request, arguing: "By God, had I seen them striking their swords or marching in front of me on the battlefield, I would find granting them fiefs in the *ḥalqah* unworthy for fear that it would be said: 'he had granted the fiefs to youths'" [*wa-Allāhi law raʾaytuhumā fī maṣāf al-qitāl yaḍribān bi-al-sayf aw kānā fī zaḥf quddāmī astaqbiḥu an uʿṭiya la-humā akhbāz fī al-ḥalqah khashyatan an yuqāla aʿtá al-ṣibyān akhbāz*].[28] Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī (d. 749/1349), who was a chancery official during al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's

[25] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:812.

[26] For more details on the *awlād al-nās* in the *ḥalqah* see: Ayalon, "Studies on the Mamluk Army—II," 456–59; Ulrich Haarmann, "The Sons of Mamluks as Fief-Holders in Late Medieval Egypt," in *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*, ed. Tarif Khalidi (Beirut, 1984), 142–44; Amalia Levanoni, "*Awlād al-nās* in the Mamluk Army during the Bahri Period," in *Mamluks and Ottomans*: *Studies in honour of Michael Winter,* ed. David J. Wasserstein and Ami Ayalon (London and New York, 2006), 96–105; idem, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History, The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn 1310–1341* (Leiden, 1995), 42–52; Jo Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos: Patronage, Conflict and Mamluk Socio-Political Culture, 1341–1382* (Leiden, 2006), 20–22.

[27] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 7:180.

[28] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:216.

third reign (710–41/1310–41), mentions in his account of the Mamluk army of his time that the sons of amirs were customarily allocated payment and provisions such as meat, bread, and fodder by the sultan until they became eligible for recruitment (*taʾahhala*) into the *ḥalqah*. The more fortunate among them were granted amirates of ten or forty.[29] There is no reference to a similar customary track for the sons of low-ranking mamluks in the sources. However, destitute sons of mamluks were admitted to the *ḥalqah* on moral grounds. For example, out of respect for his colleagues from the Baḥrīyah, Qalāwūn inaugurated a special unit in the *ḥalqah,* called al-Baḥrīyah, for their sons who were found dallying in Cairo or made their living as artisans and craftsmen.[30] When, in 738/1337, there were forty *ḥalqah* members among the many soldiers who died in the battle of Āyās, a port in Lesser Armenia, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad asked for their sons and granted them fiefs in the *ḥalqah.*[31]

The entry of mamluks from the amirs' households into the *ḥalqah* was done in the early Mamluk period on a limited scale. There are only a few references to amirs' mamluks who were permitted to enter the *ḥalqah,* most often after their master's death but very occasionally during his lifetime. It was only in 678/1279 that an amir's mamluk received an *iqṭāʿ* in the *ḥalqah* because he had brought about the arrest of two criminals who had bullied the Cairenes for quite a long time.[32] In 719/1319 a mamluk of Amir Baktāsh al-Fakhrī was made a *muqaddam* in the *ḥalqah.*[33] In 733/1332–33, after the death of Baktamūr al-Sāqī, one of the most prominent amirs at the time, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad took some of his mamluks into his service as Sultani Mamluks and granted others *iqṭāʿat* in the *ḥalqah*. It should also be mentioned that al-Nāṣir was accused of Baktamūr's assassination, which drove him to outdo himself to placate the latter's relatives, mamluks, and adherents.[34]

We have seen that during the first thirty years of its existence the *ḥalqah* was, in fact, a very flexible institution. It was dependent *a priori* on available qualified military manpower, from inside and outside the Sultanate's territories. Professionalism was the standard for admission into the *ḥalqah,* but political, social, and moral considerations also guided the sultans to include non-military groups,

[29] Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyá Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār,* ed. Dorothea Krawulsky (Beirut, 1986), 95. See also: Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ,* ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Shams al-Dīn (Beirut, 1987), 4:52–53; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:216.

[30] Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 173; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar,* 8:303; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:658; idem, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:217.

[31] Mūsá ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyá al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir,* ed. Aḥmad Ḥuṭayṭ (Beirut, 1986), 416; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:430.

[32] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:672–73.

[33] Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 31:227.

[34] Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 157; Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt* (Ista -bul, Damascus, and Wiesbaden, 1931–1983), 10:196.

such as the indigent sons of mamluks and Wāfidīyah notables. This makeup of the *ḥalqah* indicates that it was open to change according to circumstances; the sources do not reveal the total number of soldiers included in the *ḥalqah* and do not show that a manpower quota had been determined for all units in the Egyptian or Syrian armies. No reforms were made to reorganize the *ḥalqah* until al-Manṣūr Lājīn's (696–98/1296–99) cadastral survey of 697/1298, nor were any attempts made to determine the number of its troops before al-Nāṣir Muhammad's cadastral surveys of 713/1313 and 715/1315. New recruits, such as the sons of mamluks and Wāfidis, were admitted without purging the veterans from the ranks for about thirty years after the *ḥalqah*'s inception. The majority of those who were admitted into the *ḥalqah* at its inception were experienced soldiers, some of them adults in the middle or at the end of their military careers. This means that those who still survived in the 1290s must have been elders. Indeed, the *ḥalqah*'s makeup during the 1290s reflected its problematic and anachronistic position, for it included many of "those whose contribution equaled nothing" [*man lā yughná ʿanhu wa-lā yujdá majīʾuhu shayʾan*].[35] At the same time, new mamluk units of superior military quality had been founded—at least two of them, Baybars' Ẓāhirīyah and Qalāwūn's Burjīyah, were elite units—while Mamluk hegemony in the Sultanate became well established, legitimizing the diversion of more state resources into Mamluk hands. This situation came into the open in the cadastral survey initiated by al-Manṣūr Lājīn in 697/1298, which is called in the sources al-Rawk al-Ḥusāmī.

III

Lājīn rose to power (in 696/1296) after a struggle between two factions of Qalāwūn's mamluks, broadly divided into the Burjīyah, which included mainly Circassian mamluks who supported Lājīn, and the rest of the Manṣūrīyah, Qalāwūn's veteran mamluks to which Kitbughā, the deposed sultan, belonged. In 693/1294, when Kitbughā acted as vicegerent *(nāʾib al-salṭanah)* behind al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's nominal rule, this division between Qalāwūn's mamluks erupted into an open struggle.[36] Most of the *ḥalqah* soldiers, the Mongols, and the Shahrasūrīyah Kurds joined Kitbughā, who was himself of Mongol origin. It was because of the Burjīyah opposition that Kitbughā allowed only the Oirats' commanders and notables to enter Cairo out of the thousands that arrived in 695/1295–96 (see above). After Lājīn's rise to power, he launched a reform in the army through a cadastral survey with the aim of building a new *ḥalqah* (or according to another version, to create a new mamluk unit), as a power base for his rule, from among the unemployed soldiers *(baṭṭālūn)*.[37] In ei-

[35] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:800.

[36] Al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd,* 3:355–56; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 8:43–45, al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:798, 799–800.

[37] Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 31:347–48; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd,* 3:397; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 8: 92, 93.

ther case the *rawk* was intended to increase mamluk hegemony in the army, for the creation of a new military unit necessitated the purchase of fresh mamluk recruits, and the *baṭṭālūn* must have been veteran mamluks of earlier sultans and amirs, such as Baybars' Ẓāhirīyah or al-Ashraf Khalīl's (689–93/1290–93) Ashrafīyah.

No less important was Lājīn's aim of restricting the dependence of the *ḥalqah* on the dominant Manṣūrīyah amirs by means of abolishing their *ḥimāyah* (protection) services on the *iqṭāʿ*s held by the *ḥalqah* troops, or *ajnād*. Since the *ḥimāyah* prevailed in the army throughout the Mamluk period and had its roots in earlier periods in the Muslim world, a discussion of this practice is in order. Claude Cahen observed three kinds of *ḥimāyah* in classical Islam. One was the protection Bedouin tribes provided, with or without governmental approval, to settlers or travelers in their territories in return for payment. This procedure was identical to *khafārah* (guarding), which goes back to a nomadic pre-Islamic procedure. The more popular practice of *ḥimāyah* was related to the patronage institution that prevailed in the late Roman and Byzantine Empires and later in classical Islam. The *walāʾ,* the patronage relations between the Muslim conquerors and their non-Arab clients *(mawālī),* during the early centuries of Islam was one version of the *ḥimāyah*. Although Muslim jurisprudence did not recognize *ḥimāyah,* it did recognize *taljiʾah,* which was an identical practice and synonym of *ḥimāyah*. It was a tacit agreement whereby small separate landed properties were put under the protection of local potentates for payment, fictively registered under their names for all dealings with tax authorities. The small estates' holders did not cede their ownership on the property to the "protectors," but at the same time the latter could inherit the right to the *ḥimāyah* fees. The *ḥimāyah* practice easily led to the creation of vast domains by those in power and the rendering of small landholders into share-croppers. In addition to the *taljiʾah,* the *ḥimāyah* included, on occasion, a non-land-based fee for *khafārah* collected by the potentates for their protection of the roads and crops against bandits in the territory. With the advent of the Buyids and the enlargement of the *iqṭāʿ* system in the fourth/tenth century, which granted the new military aristocracy all administrative and fiscal rights on the land in their district, the *ḥimāyah* was abolished, both in terms of landed property and police work. Later, the term *ḥimāyah* continued for several centuries to designate the urban *ḥimāyah,* which was a tax levied by the chief of police of town quarters for ensuring public order. On occasion, undisciplined urban groups, such as the *futūwah* of Baghdad, imposed their protection on merchants.[38] Whether the *ḥimāyah* nevertheless persisted uninterruptedly into the Mamluk period is not clear. John L. Meloy addressed the issue of the power structure in Mamluk society in a focused discussion on *ḥimāyah* as a gauge of the state's control of coercive power. Meloy's main argument is that the *ḥimāyah* was

[38] Claude Cahen, "*Ḥimāya*," *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 3:394; idem, "Notes pour l'histoire de la *ḥimāyah,*" in *Melanges Louis Massignon,* vol. 1 (Damascus, 1956), 287–303.

ripe in the Mamluk sultanate during the fifteenth century in the form of a protection racket or the extortion of protection money levied from weak rural and urban sectors by powerful members of the elite. The providers of the *ḥimayah* formed private sources of power that rendered the sultan's grip on Mamluk society and economy tenuous.[39] While the present author has some doubts about the criminal features attributed to the *ḥimāyah* practice (see below), she shares Meloy's opinion that the private protection services, as much as private justice and public order services, diminished the state's authority. Sources from the Mamluk period furnish evidence that the *ḥimāyah* served as a crucial vehicle for maintaining patronage networks impinging on the sultan's authority. In spite of the efforts the sultans made to curb it, it survived throughout the Mamluk period and was used by both the sultan and the amirs to amass great fortunes and build their own patronage networks.

The *ḥimāyah* in the sense of *talji'ah* and *khafārah* was ripe in Mamluk Egypt before Lājīn's cadastral survey. Al-Maqrīzī confirms that fiefs of *ḥalqah* troops were registered in the amirs' bureaus and in fact became their *iqṭā'*s, so that the former gained nothing from their fiefs' income (*fa-lā yaṣilu ilá al-ajnād minhā shay'*).[40] Thus, for example, Sayf al-Dīn Mankūtimur (d. 698/1299), the sultan's vicegerent, amassed one hundred thousand *irdabb*s[41] of cereal per annum from the *ḥimāyah* alone. Al-Maqrīzī also refers to the confusion that prevailed in the *ajnād*-cultivated lands when law-breakers and rabble-rousers rendered the levying of official taxes *(al-ḥuqūq wa-al-muqarrarāt al-dīwānīyah)* impossible. Therefore these taxes became prey for the amirs' guards who did the policing work and their officials *(a'wān al-umarā' wa-mustakhdamīhim)* who harmed the peasants residing on the *iqṭā'* lands. Lājīn ordered the abolition of the *ḥimāyah* in the amirs' bureaus, making Mankūtimur's own *dīwān* an example to be followed by the rest of the amirs. Al-Maqrīzī relates that in the wake of Lājīn's action, *iqṭā'āt* were returned to their original holders and the practice of the *ḥimāyah* was stopped.[42] The amirs' encroachment on the sultan's authority through the control over the *ḥalqah* clearly stands out from this account, for the *ḥalqah* troops were formally under the sultan's direct control. It was the sultan's administration that should have been expected to provide the *ḥimāyah* services and the fees levied for it to flow to the sultanic treasury.

[39] John L. Meloy, "The Privatization of Protection: Extortion and the State in the Circassian Period," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 47, no. 2 (2004): 195–212.

[40] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:88. See also idem, *Ighāthat al-Ummah bi-Kashf al-Ghummah,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá Ziyādah and Jamāl al-Dīn Shayyāl (Cairo, 1957), 37, 70.

[41] A measure of capacity used during the Middle Ages for weighing grain that varied by time and place from ca. 70 kg. See E. Ashtor, "Levantine Weights and Standard Parcels: A Contribution to the Metrology of the Later Middle Ages," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 45 (1981): 479–80.

[42] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:88.

During the *rawk,* which took about eight months, from Jumādá I to Dhū al-Ḥijjah 697/March to October 1298, the registration of fiefs held by all sectors in the army was carried out, but since the staff was urged to conclude the *rawk* speedily, accurate registration followed by actual inspection of fiefs was only partially accomplished.[43] This information is significant because it indicates that the *ḥimāyah*'s abolition was not effectively carried out. Furthermore, the *ḥalqah*'s and the amirs' shares in the cultivated lands of Egypt *(qirāṭ* pl. *qarārīṭ)* were reduced to half in this r*awk,* while the sultan's share of four twenty-fourths remained untouched. The *ḥalqah* and the amirs had each held ten twenty-fourths of the lands, while after the survey they together held ten twenty-fourths, and one twenty-fourth was kept as a reserve to compensate those who were dissatisfied with their new allocations. The remaining nine twenty-fourths were assigned for the establishment of a new *ḥalqah* that was planned to be as big as the existing army.[44] Mankūtimur, who is described as a strict observer of the rules and an honest amir, conducted the *rawk* stringently, not allowing any petitions regarding the new allocation of *iqṭā*ʿs.[45] There were "soldiers who were fortunate and others who were unfortunate, and there were those who were unsuccessful and others who were successful with what they got" *[fa-min al-jund man saʿida wa-minhum man shaqiya wa-minhum man khāba wa-minhum man anjaḥa bi-mā laqiya].*[46] Although most of the *ḥalqah* soldiers were dissatisfied, they received their new *iqṭā*ʿs without protest. Only those "who still retained vigor and bravery" *[baqīyah min ahl al-quwwah wa-al-shajāʿah]* protested and threatened to move to the amirs' service or even remain unemployed.[47] They were imprisoned but thereafter released. This information confirms the impression that many of the *ḥalqah* soldiers, the survivors of those who had entered the *ḥalqah* during the early years of the sultanate, were in a miserable condition and unfit for service.

Lājīn's intention to initiate a new military unit was nipped in the bud when both he and his vicegerent were killed by the disaffected amirs. All the *iqṭā*ʿs saved by Lājīn were not returned to their original holders but were distributed among the amirs in addition to the *iqṭā*ʿs they already held.[48] The *ḥalqah* ranks were left with many unfit old soldiers with much smaller *iqṭā*ʿ resources, about one third or one half less than those they had held earlier. This *rawk,* then, strengthened the Mamluk amirs' position through the formal registration, under their names,

[43] Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 320; Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt, A.H. 564–741/A.D. 1169–1341* (London, 1972), 52.

[44] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 8:92; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:842.

[45] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:858.

[46] Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdah,* 320; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd,* 3:395.

[47] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 8:95; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:846; idem, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:387.

[48] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 8:95; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:875–76.

of the *ḥalqah iqṭāʿāt,* which had been previously exploited informally through the *ḥimāyah* arrangement. To add insult to injury, the *rawk* did not stop the practice of the *ḥimāyah,* but only replaced the previous prominent amirs with the emerging Burjīyah oligarchy.[49]

In his *rawk* of 715/1315 in Egypt, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad attained the targets that Lājīn had set for his cadastral survey, and beyond. Since updating the land registers was not successfully accomplished in the al-Rawk al-Ḥusāmī, part of the *iqṭāʿ* redistribution was based on figurative lists that survived from Ayyubid times. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad determined a permanent manpower quota for the army and a correlative remuneration scale as the basis for the *iqṭāʿ* redistribution.[50] Al-Nāṣir's manpower quota for the Mamluk army in Egypt included twenty four thousand troops organized in the following order:[51]

1. Twenty-four commanders of a thousand who had in their service two thousand four hundred mamluks.
2. Two hundred amirs of forty with eight thousand mamluks in their service.
3. Five hundred forty-seven prefects and inspectors in the various districts of Egypt, with five hundred sixty mamluks.
4. Two hundred amirs of ten with two thousand mamluks.
5. Seven regional prefects.
6. Forty *muqaddam mamālīk* over more than two thousand Sultani mamluks.
7. Eight thousand nine hundred thirty-two *ḥalqah* soldiers, with one hundred *muqaddamūn* and twenty-four *nuqabāʾ* (commanders of one thousand troops on the battlefield).

Al-Nāṣir's manpower quota shows that the *ḥalqah* was the largest body in the army, about thirty-seven percent of the army. Obviously, the resources designated to the *ḥalqah,* though divided into small shares of *iqṭāʿ,* amounted to a huge fortune. Al-Nāṣir started dismissing the surplus manpower already in 712/1312, when he ordered the mustering of the *ḥalqah* and the Sultani mamluks. Contemporary sources from al-Nāṣir's reign report that eight hundred, or one thousand two hundred according to another version, did not pass muster, among them the elderly, those unfit for service, and youths. The elderly received an allowance sufficient for their livelihood instead of their *iqṭāʿ*s. Their fiefs were distributed among salaried *(jāmakīyah)* Sultani mamluks. In 721/1321, again more than forty-three *ajnād* were dismissed.[52]

[49] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 1:875–76.

[50] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:218.

[51] Ibid., 217–18; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 14:70. For the detailed remuneration scale introduced in the *rawk* see: al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:218–19; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá,* 4:16.

[52] Shams al-Dīn al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī wa-Awlādihi,* ed. Barbara Schafer (Wiesbaden, 1977), 114; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar,* 9:244;

The land survey was conducted in all Egyptian districts on a basis of each and every village.[53] Al-Nāṣir himself spent two months in Upper Egypt to facilitate communication with the amirs who carried out the land registration.[54] Whereas Lājīn did not change the sultan's personal share in the *iqṭāʿ* division, al-Nāṣir increased it from four twenty-fourths to ten twenty-fourths. The remaining fourteen *qirāṭ*s of Egypt's cultivated lands were reserved for the amirs and *ḥalqah* soldiers. Al-Nāṣir also changed the *iqṭāʿ* system by limiting it to cultivated lands only; all *iqṭāʿ*s based on non-agricultural taxes and customs, such as the tax levied on the grain stores at al-Maqs port in Būlāq, were abolished or transferred to either the state bureaus or the sultan's private treasury *(khāṣṣ)*. The *muqṭaʿ,* or fief holder, was entitled to levy only the land tax *(kharāj)* and the poll tax paid by non-Muslims *(jizyah* or *jawālī),* while all other taxes were abolished.[55] All other payments that had been informally imposed on the peasants by fief holders, such as gifts *(ḍiyāfah* or *hadīyah),* were calculated in the *ʿibrah,* the formal and total revenues levied from the *iqṭāʿ*.[56] Even the *ḥimāyah* was calculated in the *iqṭāʿ ʿibrah*. Formally relinquishing the *ḥimāyah* money to the amirs by including it among the taxes the fief holders were formally authorized to levy might be regarded as part of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's plan to minimize the sultanic administration's dealing with fiscal matters. More significantly, this move illustrates that it was beyond the sultan's power to mandate the abolition of the *ḥimāyah*. Therefore he resorted to directing the *ḥimāyah*'s funds to the royal treasury, for their inclusion in the *ʿibrah* enabled the sultan to allocate smaller *iqṭāʿ*s to fief holders. As will be shown, this rivalry between the amirs and the sultan over control of the *ḥalqah*'s manpower and financial resources would last until the end of the Mamluk period and would entail changes in the *ḥalqah*'s makeup and structure.

In Dhū al-Ḥijjah 715/1315 al-Nāṣir distributed the *iqṭāʿ*s in person, and no advocacy of amirs on behalf of the *muqṭaʿ*s was permitted.[57] Since the *iqṭāʿ* was no longer based solely on the *kharāj* tax but now also included the *jizyah,* in practice the *muqṭaʿ*'s income became smaller. The Coptic peasants, who exploited the decentralization of tax collection, evaded the *jizyah* payment by moving from village to village, declaring that they had already paid it elsewhere. Also, the *iqṭāʿ* was divided in various locations in Upper and Lower Egypt in order to curb the *muqṭaʿ*'s influence and his regional power. While these reforms secured the sultan's grip over the amirs and eased the administrative burden connected with the collection

Zettersteen, *Beiträge*, 158; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 9:52.

[53] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:518; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 9:43.

[54] Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab,* 32:226.

[55] Ibid., 227–28; Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-Durar,* 9:286–87; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 9:43-48.

[56] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:87, 90; idem, *Sulūk,* 2:150-53; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 9:50.

[57] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 9:51, 54.

of the *jizyah,* they imposed a heavy burden on the amirs' administration because they had to increase the number of clerks to deal with these new tasks. The *ḥalqah* troops' income was reduced to below the *ʿibrah* that had been determined in the Ḥusāmī Rawk. Before the Ḥusāmī Rawk, the *ajnād al-ḥalqah* each held a full *iqṭāʿ,* which yielded an income of between ten thousand and thirty thousand dirhams per annum, according to rank. In addition to these incomes the *ajnād* also levied *ḍiyāfah,* which reached five thousand dirhams in the larger *iqṭāʿ*s. In the wake of the Ḥusāmī Rawk, their average income was reduced to twenty thousand dirhams, and after al-Nāṣir's, it fell to ten thousand or less, which meant that several *ajnād* shared the same *iqṭāʿ*.[58] The *muqaddamū al-ḥalqah* received nine thousand dirhams per annum, including fodder in the amount of nine hundred dirhams. Below them there were seven classes of *ajnād:* in the first there were fifteen hundred cavalryman with an income of nine thousand dirhams; the second included one thousand three hundred fifty *jundī*s with an income of eight thousand dirhams; the third had one thousand three hundred fifty *jundī*s with an income of seven thousand dirhams; the fourth had one thousand three hundred *jundī*s with six thousand dirhams; the fifth one thousand three hundred *jundī*s with five thousand dirhams; the sixth one thousand one hundred *jundī*s with four thousand dirhams; and the seventh one thousand thirty-two *jundī*s with three thousand dirhams.[59] The income of the lower-rank *ajnād* now reached a level that was insufficient for livelihood, and certainly not enough to pay for equipment.[60] Some of them were driven to selling their *iqṭāʿ*s. In 728/1328, a note was dropped in the sultan's stable condemning him for ruining the army because the *awlād al-nās* had sold their *iqṭāʿ*s out of need and had turned to begging. In response, al-Nāṣir ordered a review of the *ajnād al-ḥalqah* in order to discover those who had no horses or had sold their *iqṭāʿ*s. Fourteen sons of amirs were dismissed, some *ajnād al-ḥalqah* were beaten, and others were imprisoned for two months and upon their release were sent to Syria.[61] This incident proves that at this stage the *awlād al-nās* already constituted a weak sector in the *ḥalqah*.

The arrival of the Wāfidis in Cairo in 741/1341 (see above) was another opportunity for al-Nāṣir to muster the *ḥalqah*. The *ḥalqah* soldiers were invited to the muster on the pretext that those who had accumulated debts would be allowed to pay them off in three annual installments. The elders and disabled were told that they would be allowed to retire and still keep their *iqṭaʿ*s by registering them under the names of their sons or other relatives who would fulfill their duty when neces-

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[58] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:88–90.

[59] Ibid., 2:219.

[60] Al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad,* 97–98; Ibn Abī al-Faḍāʾil, *Al-Nahj al-Sadīd*, trans. and ed. by Samira Kortantamer as *Ägypten und Syrien zwischen 1317 und 1341 in der Chronik des Mufaḍḍal b. Abī l-Faḍāʾil* (Freiburg, 1973), 99–100; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:517–19.

[61] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:228–29.

sary. This might well be one of the ways by which second and third generations of Mamluks entered the *ḥalqah.* Those who sold their *iqṭāʿ*s were promised that they would be restored by paying the buyers one eighth of their value in three annual installments. All the elders, disabled, and those who had admitted to selling their *iqṭāʿ*s—sixty-five solders altogether—were dismissed. Some of the restored *iqṭāʿ*s were given to low-ranking Sultani mamluks and the newly arrived Wāfidis incorporated into the Sultani household, and the rest were returned to the state treasury.

The small number of those who were dismissed in 721/1321, 728/1328, and 741/1341, out of the inclusive number of the *ajnād al-ḥalqah,* indicates that the great and systematic purge in the *ḥalqah* had occurred earlier—as early as 712/1312. Most of the *iqṭāʿ*s released from the *ḥalqah* during al-Nāṣir's reign went to the low-ranking Sultani mamluks. In fact, al-Nāṣir followed Lājīn's original policy of increasing mamluk dominance over the *iqṭāʿ* resources. The "mamlukization" of the army was not only felt in the transferral of *iqṭāʿ* resources from the *ḥalqah* to the Sultani mamluks, but also in the makeup of the *ḥalqah,* in which veteran mamluks of previous sultans and amirs increasingly replaced freeborn soldiers. The ensuing decrease in the income of the *ajnād ḥalqah* in the wake of Lājīn's and al-Nāṣir's cadastral surveys, and the fee they had to pay for the *ḥimāyah,* pushed them to selling or leasing their small and unprofitable *iqṭāʿ*s. It was only al-Nāṣir's strong authority that prevented this practice, which, as will be shown below, would flourish under weaker rulers with the amirs' encouragement.

IV

After al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's demise (741/1341), the Mamluk Sultanate was afflicted by forty-one years of incessant struggle over effective power among the dominant amirs who held that power and acted as patrons of most of al-Nāṣir's descendants.[62] The sources record no less than forty-two political clashes between powerful amirs and the ensuing reshuffling of short-lived factional coalitions for power.[63] Important for our purposes here are the ramifications of the frequent disintegration of these power networks for the *ḥalqah* and its place in the power structure of the Mamluk army during this period.

From 741/1341 until the deposing of the house of Qalāwūn in 784/1382, the dominant amirs installed twelve sultans in the sultanate (one, al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, was in office twice, 748–52/1347–51 and 755–62/1354–61). All but one—al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, who died of an illness—were deposed by the amirs, and seven were murdered after their removal. The short reigns of the Qalawunid sultans and their dependence on their patrons prevented the foundation of new Sultani mamluk households, while the prominent amirs' resources and households grew increasingly. Qawṣūn

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[62] For the reasons and dynamics of these struggles see: Levanoni, *A Turning Point,* 81–132.

[63] Ibid. See also: Van Steenbergen, *Order out of Chaos,* 130, 100–22.

(742/1342), who held executive power immediately after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death, had seven hundred mamluks.[64] Bashtāk (741/1341), Qawṣūn's rival, had at least three hundred fifty mamluks of his own.[65] Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī (d. 767/1365), one of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's favorite mamluks who played a leading role in his master's murder, held a mamluk household that included over eighteen hundred recruits, *julbān* or *ajlāb,*[66] and it was from among them that Barqūq rose to power and deposed the Qalawunid house in 784/1382. Al-Nāṣir Ḥasan and al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (764–78/1363–77) were the only Qalawunid sultans who succeeded in recruiting mamluk households of their own, owing to their long reigns (by the standards of this period), and the executive power they exercised. Yet their mamluk households were smaller than those of the dominant amirs, and both were murdered when they attempted to rule autonomously, thus impinging on the amirs' power and patronage. Ḥasan was murdered by Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī, who then acted as vicegerent, attempting to create a counterbalance to the mamluk amirs by encouraging the advancement of *awlād al-nās* to prominent amirates and governorships in the provinces. Al-Ashraf Shaʿbān's murder came against the background of a land survey he carried out in 777/1376, in which members of the Qalawunid house, the *asyād*, were allocated *iqṭāʿāt* with rich revenues in Upper Egypt and the vicinity of Cairo.[67] Al-Ashraf's new distribution of state resources led to a rebellion against him by both loyalist and oppositionist Mamluks. In this context, the survey of state revenues and expenditure conducted by the amirs in 750/1349 is indicative of the power and wealth the amirs accumulated during this period. The purpose of this survey was originally to check the high expenditure of the Sultani household, which at the time reached 22,000 dirhams a day. Yet the same survey also revealed that the major part of the sultan's land revenues all over Egypt, including *iqṭāʿāt* and leased lands, were distributed as grants to the amirs or were registered in their names as beneficiaries.[68]

In spite of their great power, the dominant amirs were insecure in the face of the common and permanent danger of the disintegration of their support in favor of new power networks. In their bid for power expansion and the sequential conflicts over power, the amirs, who acted as patrons, placated other amirs and low-ranking mamluks with money and privileges to encourage them to shift their allegiance

[64] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:588; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 3:393; idem, *Nujūm,* 10:40; al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* 10:194; Aḥmad Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah,* ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Jādd al-Ḥaqq (Cairo, n. d.), 3:343.

[65] Al-Ṣafadī, *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt,* 10:143; al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad,* 76.

[66] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:139.

[67] Ulrich Haarmann, 'The Sons of Mamluks as Fief-holders," 141–69.

[68] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:808, 810. See also: 156, 163, 760.

from one patron to another.[69] As a result of the intensive mobility of mamluks between the factions and coalitions, power networks were continuously being formed and dissolved, leaving the amirs uncertain regarding the support they had organized as their power base. At the head of these coalitions stood two or more amirs who would temporarily put aside personal rivalries and join forces to expand their power networks and, no less important, to limit and inspect the political and economic power of their partner-rivals. Examples of this pattern abound in the sources dealing with this period.[70] As to the low-ranking mamluks, in general they benefited from the reshufflings in the power networks, for they improved their bargaining power; the atmosphere of an open market for support improved their remuneration and their socio-political position vis-à-vis the decision makers. However, on the personal level, the low-ranking mamluks, like the amirs, suffered uncertainty during the frequent political reshufflings. Most of the mamluks strove towards a timely move from the waning network to the ascendant one with the expectation of obtaining higher remuneration for their support. By contrast, those associated with the defeated amirs, especially those who belonged to their households and were quite numerous during this period, were excluded from the new power networks. Some received minor positions in the army, some were expelled from Cairo, and others were left unemployed *(baṭṭālūn).* Normally, the majority of the unemployed mamluks were given minor allowances and *iqṭāʿ*s in Egypt, mainly in the *ḥalqah*. Thus, for example, in 748/1347, when two hundred mamluks who had been in the amirs' service complained about unemployment, the amirs' council *(majlis al-mashūrah)* decided to divide them among the amirs.[71] Before his flight to Karak in 742/1342, al-Nāṣir Aḥmad intended to recruit Qawṣūn's and Bashtāk's unemployed mamluks and place them in the Citadel as his bodyguard against his vicegerent, Ṭashtamur. According to his abortive plan, these mamluks were to be paid by *iqṭāʿāt* in the *ḥalqah*.[72] After the Crusader attack on Alexandria in 766/1365 by Peter I of Lusignan, the king of Cyprus who was also titular king of Jerusalem, it was decided to send an expedition to Cyprus to curb Christian piracy based in that island and Rhodes. In 767/1365–66, Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī ordered a muster of the *ḥalqah* soldiers, which was interrupted after reviewing two thirds of the troops when the rebellion against him broke out. The muster was thereupon discontinued and the *ḥalqah* soldiers were asked to join his forces against the rebels.[73] After Yalbughā's assassina-

[69] For the mechanism of power networking creation during struggles for power see Van Steenbe - gen, *Order out of Chaos,* 123–46.

[70] Levanoni, *A Turning Point*, 81–106.

[71] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:751.

[72] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 10:64.

[73] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:114, 129, 131; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 1982–84), 1:2:28, 44.

tion, those who were dismissed from the *ḥalqah* during the muster were reinstated by the new holders of power, and their *iqṭāʿ*s were restored.[74] During al-Ashraf Shaʿbān's reign, a large number of mamluks from previous amirs' households were employed as *ḥalqah* soldiers in the service of royal family members *(asyād).* Barqūq, the future sultan al-Ẓāhir, and his coalition partner Barkah, were among the Yalbughāwīyah mamluks who had been exiled to Syria in 769/1368 for their part in the rebellion against their master and his murder.[75] They were summoned to Cairo by al-Ashraf Shaʿbān to serve under his sons for *iqṭāʿ*s in the *ḥalqah*. It was from this position that Barqūq would take part in future rebellions and pave his way to rule.[76] Qurṭāy al-Ṭāzī, Asandamur al-Dhabbāḥ al-Sirghitmushī, Balāṭ al-Ṣaghīr al-Sayfī, and Yalbughā al-Niẓāmī were all mamluks of amirs who rose to high rank from the position of *mufradī* (pl. *mafāridah*), i.e., *iqṭāʿ* holder in the *ḥalqah*.[77] In 784/1382, al-Ẓāhir Barqūq (784–801/1382–99) surveyed al-Ashraf Shaʿbān's mamluks with the intention of purging them from the army; those of them who held large *iqṭāʿ*s were made *muqaddamūn* in the *ḥalqah,* while the rest were reduced to simple *ḥalqah* soldiers. Then Barqūq inquired about other Ashrafi mamluks who earned ten thousand dirhams per annum, i.e., the largest *iqṭāʿāt* in the *ḥalqah*. He found that four hundred such mamluks had been admitted to the *ḥalqah* after their master's death; he also found one hundred mamluks who had held *jāmikīyah,* or an allowance, of this same amount of ten thousand dirhams in the sultan's bureau. The holders of *jāmikīyāt* were dismissed and their allowances were given to Barqūq's mamluks; the *ḥalqah* soldiers were relieved of their duties, although they were allowed to keep their fiefs for their livelihood.[78] In 782/1380, Barqūq called for the *ḥalqah* and the unemployed soldiers to fight for him against his partner-rival Barkah.[79] During this period, then, the *ḥalqah* was under the amirs' control and served as a sort of temporary occupation for many young mamluks from defeated factions until their fortunes changed and brought them back into an effective power network.

As was mentioned earlier, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad prevented the protection of amirs over *ḥalqah* soldiers and dealt severely with *ḥalqah ajnād* who had sold their *iqṭāʿ*s. By contrast, the prominent amirs who held effective power during this

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[74] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 1:2:55.

[75] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:155.

[76] Ibid., 3:305, 308; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 3:286; idem, *Nujūm,* 11:72, 159; ʿAlī ibn Dāwud al-Ṣayrafī (al-Jawharī), *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-Abdān fī Tārīkh al-Zamān,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970), 1:34–35.

[77] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:287–88; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 11:149–50. For *mufradī* in the *ḥalqah* see: al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* 1:87.

[78] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:479.

[79] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 1:2:258.

period often allowed the selling and exchanging of *iqṭāʿ*s in the *ḥalqah* for money. As early as 744/1343, the vicegerent Āl Malik al-Ḥājj, a man of moral integrity, forbade the relinquishing of *iqṭāʿāt (al-nuzūl ʿan al-iqṭaʿāt)* by *ḥalqah* soldiers or exchanging *(al-muqyāḍāt)* them for money. The practice of exchanging fiefs in the *ḥalqah* ceased for a while when Āl Malik demanded that monies paid in these transactions be transferred to the state treasury instead of the amirs' and clerks' pockets. [80] Only two years later, when a new power network was formed, the amir Ghurlū, who was in charge of the tax bureaus *(shādd al-dawāwīn),* introduced the norm of paying the state treasury for posts and for relinquishing or exchanging *iqṭāʿ*s.[81] Lack of strong control by the central government reached its peak during the Black Death (748–49/1348–49), allowing the admittance of civilians to the *ḥalqah*. A large number of *ḥalqah* soldiers were decimated in the Black Death, so much so that within a week an *iqṭāʿ* would move between six soldiers consecutively. This confusion was exploited by commoners who bought vacant *iqṭāʿ*s in the *ḥalqah*.[82] In 753/1352, when the amir Qublāy emerged as vicegerent of a newly formed power coalition, the phenomenon of *iqṭāʿ* sale and exchange reached a level whereby even the *muqaddamū al-ḥalqah* sold their commandership. A group of about three hundred agents *(muhayyisūn)* was formed during these years, moving among the *ajnād al-ḥalqah* and encouraging them to sell their *iqṭāʿ*s that were coveted by artisans.[83] Worthy of mention is that between 744/1343 and 754/1353 the wars between the Bedouin tribes of the ʿArak and Banū Hilāl over hegemony in Upper Egypt made travelling in the region impossible, damaged agriculture, and prevented the levying of land tax. The weakness of the government vis-à-vis the Bedouin reached such a level that Muḥammad Ibn Wāṣil came to depend on al-Aḥdab, the chief of the ʿArak tribe that controlled Upper Egypt, to collect the *kharāj*.[84] In 754/1353, when the economic crisis in the Sultanate reached its worst, the *majlis al-mashūrah*[85] authorized the amir Shaykhū, who acted as *al-amīr al-kabīr,* to take drastic measures to put an end to the disorder prevailing in the government. It was during this year that the Sultani harem that squandered the sultan's private treasury was eliminated, the Coptic clerks were purged from the state administration, the Coptic Church's estates were confiscated, and the Bedouin in Upper and Lower Egypt were dealt a heavy blow.[86] Unsurprisingly, this was also the year in which Shaykhū ordered the abolition of relinquishing and exchanging *iqṭāʿāt* in the army, and he also ordered

[80] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:643; idem, *Khiṭaṭ,* 2:219.

[81] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:687.

[82] Ibid., 873, 780, 781.

[83] Ibid., 860.

[84] Ibid., 908; Levanoni, *A Turning Point,* 183.

[85] Levanoni, *A Turning Point,* 194–95.

[86] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:908, 910–11, 913; Levanoni, *A Turning Point,* 173–96.

that clerks in the army bureau *(dīwān al-jaysh),* who amassed great fortunes from the frequent transactions of fiefs, would levy only three dirhams instead of twenty for issuing fief allocation decrees.[87] Shaykhū's measures terminated some fifteen years of disorder in the *ḥalqah* administration that was used by amirs and clerks to amass great wealth. After Shaykhū's murder, the amirs' grip over the *ḥalqah* was gradually renewed.

It was during the reign of al-Ẓāhir Barqūq that *ḥalqah iqṭāʿ*s were shared formally between the sultan and the amirs, probably as part of the arrangement he made to placate the amirs after deposing the House of Qalāwūn. That is to say, the *ḥalqah* was manned mainly by mamluks from the sultan's and the amirs' households. *Ḥalqah iqṭāʿ*s were allocated to recruits from the sultan's mamluk household registered in the *dīwān al-mufrad* (the bureau established by him especially for payment of the sultan's mamluks)[88] and to mamluks in amirs' households in addition to the incomes they already held.[89] In this way, considerable disparities in income level became widespread in the *ḥalqah* between increased income holders, who had a double and triple income, and others whose *iqṭāʿ* income remained so low that it was unfeasible to levy it.[90] In addition, the practice of collecting *ḥimāyah* fees and leases was widespread among the amirs in Egypt. Yalbughā al-Naṣirī (d. 817/1414) was outstanding in abstaining from levying them, so much so that al-Maqrīzī thought it was an important piece of information to be included in his obituary.[91] During the twelve-year civil war that prevailed in the sultanate after Barqūq's death, the amirs' patronage was also instrumental in the inclusion of their protégés in the *dīwān al-mufrad*. For example, in 805/1403, al-Nāṣir Faraj, Barqūq's son, decided to cut the salaries and fodder payments of twelve hundred mamluks who had been registered in the *dīwān al-mufrad* since his father's death. Due to the amirs' advocacy, they were reinstated, except for two hundred thirty "who had no one to protect them *[lam yūjad man yaʿtanī bi-him].*"[92] In 821/1418, when al-Muʾayyad Shaykh (815–24/1412–21) was preparing for an expedition against Qārā Yusūf, the Turkmen chieftain who then ruled northern Iraq, he used the *ḥalqah* survey as an opportunity to renew the separation between the amirs' households, the *ḥalqah,*

[87] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:890–91.

[88] For *Dīwān al-Mufrad* establishment and development see: Igarashi Daisuke, "The Establishment and Development of al-Dīwān al-Mufrad: Its Background and Implications," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10 (2006): 117–40.

[89] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:462; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 14:71; Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr* (Hyderabad, 1967), 3:169. See also: Igarashi, "Dīwān al-Mufrad," 136.

[90] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:462; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 14:71.

[91] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:295.

[92] Ibid., 3:1103.

and *dīwān al-mufrad*. Consequently the amirs' mamluks had to choose between service in their masters' households or the *ḥalqah*. Those who chose the *ḥalqah* but still complained about low income had their *iqṭāʿ*s increased, probably to prevent *ḥimāyah* payment to the amirs.[93] However, al-Muʾayyad's reforms did not last long, for the historians al-Maqrīzī and Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470) contend that the double position practice was the reason for the diminished number of soldiers in the army in their days, i.e., after al-Muʾayyad's reign.[94] The sources do not show that mamluks in the amirs' households held *iqṭāʿ*s in the *ḥalqah,* but they do show that many Sultani mamluks continued to hold both a *jāmikīyah* from the *dīwān al-mufrad* and an *iqṭāʿ* in the *ḥalqah*. While distributing salaries to Sultani mamluks in 827/1424, al-Ashraf Barsbāy (825–42/1422–38) decided to cut the *jawāmik* of those who also held *iqṭāʿ*s in the *ḥalqah*.[95] In 873/1468, *ḥalqah* soldiers who held both *jāmikīyah* and *iqṭāʿ* could choose between going on the expedition organized against Shāh Suwār, the rebelling Turkmen chief of the Dhū al-Qādirid vassal principality in eastern Anatolia, or paying one hundred dinars to cover the expenses of a substitute *(badīl)*.[96] In 890/1485, when news of the Ottoman invasion into Mamluk territories in eastern Anatolia arrived, the veteran mamluks *(qarāniṣah)* and *awlād al-nās* who were unable to go on the expedition were required to bring a fully-equipped substitute and a horse, and those who held a *jāmikīyah* and *iqṭāʿ* had to pay one hundred dinars in case they could not provide the substitute for the expedition.[97]

The exclusion of the mamluks in the amirs' service from the *ḥalqah* and *dīwān al-mufrad* obviously did not influence the amirs' informal patronage over the *ḥalqah* and Sultani mamluks. The sources reveal some personal testimonies of amirs' patronage in the *ḥalqah* and the *dīwān al-mufrad*. ʿAlī ibn Dāwud al-Ṣayrafī (d. 900/1495), a fifteenth-century historian and a grandson of a *ḥalqah jundī,* testifies that in 833/1430, when he was fifteen years old, the amir ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Āqbughā al-Jamālī (d. 837/1434) arranged a position in the official mint *(ṣarrāf)* for his father, and a *jāmikīyah* in the *dīwān al-mufrad* for ʿAlī himself, which he held until Āqbughā's death.[98] Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Ibn Iyās, the grandson of a fourteenth-century amir,[99] mentions that in 914/1508 he was among the *awlād al-nās* whose *iqṭāʿ*s in the *ḥalqah* were cut and given to the sultan's mamluks. His *iqṭāʿ* was allocated to four mamluks, which means that it was not a small one, but, he contends,

[93] Ibid., 4:462; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 14:69–71.

[94] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:462; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 14:71.

[95] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:661; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 2:92.

[96] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 2:26.

[97] Ibid., 3:219.

[98] Al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs,* 3:182, 285.

[99] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:47.

it was restored to him with Allāh's help.[100] A more vital indication of the amirs' patronage over *ḥalqah* and Sultani mamluks is borne out by the evidence that the practice of *ḥimāyah* was enlarged in the fifteenth century by both the increase in the number of fees levied for protection *(ḥimāyāt)* and its diffusion throughout most parts of Egypt, probably in reaction to the closing of the *ḥalqah* ranks to mamluks in the amirs' service. Ibn Taghrībirdī testifies that after al-Muʾayyad's reign the *ḥimāyah* increased in Egypt and became a norm *(sunnah),* reaching an unprecedented degree during al-Ashraf Īnāl's reign (857–65/1453–60) and bringing about the destruction of the cultivated lands in the country.[101] Al-Ashraf Barsbāy had considerable incomes from *ḥimāyah* levied on *iqṭāʿ* lands.[102] Both Barsbāy's son, al-ʿAzīz, and Īnāl's son, Aḥmad, amassed during their fathers' reigns a fortune from their *iqṭāʿ*s, *ḥimāyah* payments, and the leasing of estates.[103] In 919/1513, the whole army, except the fifth corps that was manned with very low-salaried soldiers equipped with firearms, was dissatisfied with Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī's (906–22/1501–16) payment policy, while the amirs considered deposing him. All the mamluks complained not only about the cuts in payment for fodder and meat, but more so about the ruin of their *iqṭāʿ*s because of the *ḥimāyāt* payments and the oppression of the tax officials and the local Bedouin chieftains.[104]

Except for al-Maqrīzī's aforementioned description of the *ḥimāyah* in the context of the thirteenth century, fifteen-century chronicles do not provide details on the nature of the new *ḥimāyāt.* Meloy brought to our attention a forgotten source from the fifteenth century, which was published already in 1968, that shed light on this issue.[105] It is a tract by Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khalīl al-Asadī, a clerk who served in *dīwān al-inshāʾ* (the correspondence bureau),[106] bearing the title *Al-Taysīr wa-al-Iʿtibār wa-al-Taḥrīr wa-al-Ikhtibār fīmā Yajibu min Ḥusn al-Tadbīr wa-al-Taṣarruf wa-al-Ikhtiyār,* which might be loosely translated as "The quest for and investigation about the right management, conduct, and experience of rulership." The tract advocates economic and administrative reform in line with Islamic principles to remedy the prevailing dire economic situation.[107] Although the tract

[100] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:136, 172; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 3:336.

[101] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 16:160.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:1139; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 16:225. See also: al- Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 3:199.

[104] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 1:2:319.

[105] Meloy, "The Privatization of Protection," 198–99.

[106] Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khalīl al-Asadī, *Al-Taysīr wa-al-Iʿtibār wa-al-Taḥrīr wa-al-Ikhtibār fīmā Yajibu min Ḥusn al-Tadbīr wa-al-Taṣarruf wa-al-Ikhtiyār,* ed. ʿAbd al-Qādir Aḥmad Ṭulaymāt (Cairo, 1968), 5–12.

[107] Meloy, "The Privatization of Protection," 199–200.

represents a moralistic and ideological outlook, it still provides vital information about how the economic patronage networks functioned and the role the *ḥimāyāt* played in them. Al-Asadī counts the *ḥimāyāt* among the defects resulting from the inadequate salaries paid to administrative officials and the purchase of government positions that had become a norm since the middle of the fourteenth century. Since offices were obtained by payment to the sultan and reshufflings in state administration to increase the sultan's income became frequent, office holders resorted to regain their investment to a harsh tax collection from the lower sectors of the population in both urban centers and villages. To repel complaints charged against them for their misconduct and to secure their interests, the office holders sought the protection of powerful patrons close to the ruler. On the other hand, the weak villagers and many *iqṭāʿ* holders and *ajnād* also sought the protection of influential elite members, marking their lands as *ḥimāyāt (wasamū bilādahum bi-al-ḥimāyāt)* for a sum of money *(jumlah min al-māl)* to relieve themselves of the administrators' oppression.[108] Al-Asadī contends that several kinds of *ḥimāyāt* were invented in arable lands and villages in accordance with the taxes the prefects in the provinces *(wulāh,* s. *wālī)* and inspectors in cultivated lands *(kushshāf,* s. *kāshif)* imposed on the villagers. For example, when the maintenance of the irrigation system was thrust upon the prefects and inspectors by the sultans, taxes were imposed on the peasants for cleaning the canals and conduits and repairing the dams in their districts. In reaction, the villagers and holders of small *iqṭāʿ*s were obliged to seek protection with prominent amirs, viziers, and others who held sway as men of influence with the sultan *(ahl al-shawkah).* Since *ḥimāyah* in urban centers is beyond the scope of the present article, it is sufficient to mention that protection fees were paid to the same top military and civilian elites by business owners such as millers, bakers, and brokers against the sultan's administrators. Under the protection of these potentates, business owners evaded paying taxes, escaped the inspection of *muḥtasib*s (who also paid for their own protection), raised prices, and hoarded cereals and other vital staples in order to make high and easy profits from price fluctuations they created in the market.[109]

While the *ḥimāyah* practice was admittedly immoral in terms of Islamic principles, which call for equity and universal and equal access to the state resources, it was not considered a criminal activity such as racket protection.[110] It was a formalized and widely recognized arrangement, encompassing most sectors in society and, as in classical Islam, it was considered the protector's *(ḥāmī)* right once it was agreed upon. Al-Asadī confirms that when the prefect and inspector were stronger than the protector, the latter was ignored and the oppression of the weak

[108] Al-Asadī, *Al-Taysīr wa-al-Iʿtibār,* 95–96, 136.

[109] Ibid., 136–37.

[110] See also: Meloy, "The Privatization of Protection," 201–2.

was doubled.[111] The protector then would neither listen to the peasants' complaints nor protect them. Nevertheless, he would levy the *ḥimāyah* because it became an obligatory custom *(ʿādah maqḍīyah).*[112] Al-Asadī's testimony proves that *ḥimāyah* providers did not come as a rule from among the most potent elite members of society, nor did they always hold coercive power sufficient to enforce protection rackets. Al-Asadī also testifies that in spite of the wide dispersion of the *ḥimāyāt,* there were areas that were not protected by the *ḥimāyāt* and therefore their populations were oppressed without hindrance by government officials.[113] Clearly traceable in al-Asadī's account is the rivalry that prevailed in the fifteenth century over the landed revenues between the Sultani tax collectors and the *ḥimāyah* providers, a situation reminiscent of the tension that had existed over the *ḥimāyah* between the sultan and the amirs in the early days of the sultanate.

Musters of the *ḥalqah* in the fifteenth century prove that many of its members were protégés of strong elite figures. Ibn Taghrībirdī relates that in 839/1435, the amir Arkamās unwisely conducted the *ḥalqah* muster, held in preparation for an expedition to Syria, wherein he instructed the soldiers to contribute each according to his ability without examining their true economic situation. As a result, those who held large *iqṭāʿ*s were untouched because they were protected by men of power *(ahl al-shawkah)* or paid for their *iqṭāʿ,* while the poor who had low-income *iqtāʿ*s "had no zealous supporter" *[lā ʿaṣabīyah la-hu]* to protect them from getting into trouble *(tawarraṭa).*[114] When the amir Ibn Taghrībirdī surveyed the *ḥalqah* in 844/1440 in order to form a force to be stationed in the Egyptian Mediterranean ports of Rashīd and al-Ṭīnā against anticipated Christian piracy, it was decided to choose only soldiers whose *iqṭāʿ* income was thirty thousand dirhams or more, i.e., the stronger *ḥalqah* soldiers. However, soon they were exempted from the expedition because of the widespread belief that "whoever stood against the *ḥalqah* soldiers, his rule would be terminated" *[man taʿarraḍa li-ajnād al-ḥalqah zālat dawlatuhu].*[115] These cases clearly show that musters of the *ḥalqah* were normally designated for its weak and helpless members, those who were easy prey *[ka-al-farīsah bi-yad fārisihā]* for the office holders.[116] This might be the reason for the small numbers indicated in the sources for the soldiers reviewed during fifteenth-century *ḥalqah* musters. Thus after al-Mu'ayyad's purge of the amirs' mamluks from the *ḥalqah* in

[111] Al-Asadī, *Al-Taysīr wa-al-Iʿtibār*, 136–37, 144–45.

[112] Ibid., 136.

[113] Ibid., 96, 136.

[114] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 15:69; al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs*, 3:306, 336.

[115] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:1228. See also: ibid., 2:721; 3:561; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 16:82–83.

[116] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 15:69.

821/1418, the number of its troopers was about one thousand. Only four hundred of them were mustered, most of whom were poor and unfit.[117]

The musters were used as opportunities for sultans to get rid of those who were not protected, the main group among them consisting of *awlād al-nās*. In the muster of 839/1435, mentioned above, among the penniless soldiers surveyed were elders, infants, and the blind.[118] In 868/1464 al-Ẓāhir Khushqadam cut the clothing payment for the weak *ajnād* and *awlād al-nās*.[119] In Ṣafar 873/October 1468, al-Ashraf Qāytbāy suspended payment of allowances to *awlād al-nās* until they proved their military ability in archery using a heavy bow. They were humiliated, and the *jāmikīyah* of a number of them was cut.[120] In Rabīʿ I/November, when Qāytbāy prepared for the expedition against Shāh Suwār, the *awlād al-nās* were put to an archery test again, this time with the test including three bows, each offering a different challenge. The *jāmikīyah*s of some of those who were incapable of shooting the bows were cut, and others were required to pay one hundred dinars each for a substitute who went into battle in his place. Some of the amirs interceded with the sultan on behalf of those who held a *jāmikīyah* of one thousand dirhams—which was a very low annual income—to retain their posts and others to pay fifty instead of one hundred dinars.[121] It might well be that the amirs' advocacy made Qāytbāy change his demands on the *awlād al-nās* in the following muster he held in Jumādá II/January 1468. Those who held both *jāmikīyah* and *iqṭāʿ* could choose between going on the expedition or paying one hundred dinars to cover the expenses of a substitute, and those who held a *jāmikīyah* of one thousand dirhams to pay twenty-five dinars.[122]

As we have seen, the majority of the *ḥalqah* troops were in fact either Sultani mamluks or the amirs' protégés, while the weaker ones, including many of the *awlād al-nās,* formed only a small part of the *ḥalqah*. The latter were not true soldiers but rather the weaker members of the Mamluk elite that were kept in the *ḥalqah* with very low monthly wages out of charity instead of being given alms *(ṣadaqah)* from the sultan's treasury.[123] Since the early days of the Mamluk sultanate the *ḥalqah* had served as the framework for absorbing the weaker sectors of the Mamluk elite. Veteran mamluks ended their military careers in the *ḥalqah* even

[117] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:63, 65; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ*, 2:40.

[118] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 15:69.

[119] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 2:419.

[120] Ibid., 20–21; see also 462, 470.

[121] Ibid., 22.

[122] Ibid., 26.

[123] ʿAlī ibn Dāwud al-Jawharī (al-Ṣayrafī), *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿAṣr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Ca - ro, 1970), 501–2.

when they reached old age and became disabled,[124] and mamluks' descendents, including orphans of both genders, inherited their father's *iqṭāʿ* or *jāmkīyah* out of moral considerations.[125] As mentioned above, destitute sons of Baḥrīyah mamluks were admitted to the *ḥalqah* by Qalāwūn on moral grounds. The sons of forty *ḥalqah* members who died in the battle of Āyās in 738/1337 were granted fiefs in the *ḥalqah.*[126] Providing for the needs of the poor was one of the traditional functions of government in Islam and fell into line with the Mamluk ethos of factional solidarity and the right of equal access to economic resources.[127] The sultans' fear of criticism for infringing upon that right of the poor and weak was the main reason for the measured purges of the unfit from the *ḥalqah* and the cuts in their meager payments. In 751/1350, al-Nāṣir Ḥasan wanted to get rid of the children and artisans who had purchased *iqṭāʿāt* in the *ḥalqah,* and he ordered the amir Baybughā Ṭaṭar to survey the *ḥalqah*. A group of artisans, babies carried by their mothers, children, and youths pleaded for mercy. After a consultation among the amirs, it was decided to abolish the muster.[128] When al-Muẓaffar Ḥājjī intended to inspect the *ḥalqah* (747/1346), Amir Aruqṭāy thwarted him.[129] On Sirāj al-Dīn ʿUmar al-Bulqīnī's advice, al-Ẓāhir Barqūq cancelled the *ḥalqah* survey he had decided upon and even begun to implement in 789/1387.[130]

Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī departed aggressively from those principles of protecting the poor when he started persecuting the weak members in the *ḥalqah,* diverting their resources to his plan for the introduction of firearms into the Mamluk army. Particularly notable is the absence of cases in which al-Ghawrī cut the income of the high-income members of the *ḥalqah*. Al-Ghawrī was confronted by the strong opposition of the Mamluk elite when he established the corps of harquebusiers, known in the sources as the "Fifth Corps." Therefore it was financed largely from

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[124] See for example the reasons the amir Ṭaṭar gave his rivals for the inclusion of his old veteran mamluks in the *ḥalqah* (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 14:184–85).

[125] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:25

[126] Al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir,* 416; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:430.

[127] For the issue of the inherent right of all sectors working in the same community to equal access to rank and economic resources see: William Barth and Robert Hefner, "Approaches to the Study of Social Conflict," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 1 (1957): 105–10; Seymour Martin Lipset, *Consensus and Conflict: Essays in Political Sociology* (New Brunswick and London, 1985). Ralph W. Nicholas, "Rule, Resources, and Political Activity," in *Local Level Politics,* ed. M. Swartz (Chicago, 1968), 295–321; Winslow W. Clifford, "State Formation and the Structure of Politics in Mamluk Syro-Egypt, 648–741 A.H./1250–1350 C.E." (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1995).

[128] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:830–31.

[129] Ibid., 721.

[130] Ibid., 3:561.

unofficial resources derived from the manipulation of *awqāf*[131] and the resources he cut off from *dīwān al-mufrad* and the weak sector in the *ḥalqah*.[132] In 907/1501 al-Ghawrī surveyed the holders of *jawāmik* from among the *awlād al-nās,* including orphans and women, and cut their wages. Later al-Ghawrī cut the salaries of many of the most respectable among the *awalād al-nās*.[133] In 910/1504, the sultan surveyed again a group of the same *awlād al-nās* and *sayfīyah* mamluks (mamluks of deceased amirs) whose *jawāmik* had been taken; part of them retained their *jawāmik* and others were given only half of their allowance.[134] In 914/1508, al-Ghawrī increased the scope of his purges when he cut off, for no obvious reason as Ibn Iyās reports, four hundred *iqṭāʿāt* and *waqf* allowances, most of them held by *awlād al-nās* serving in the *ḥalqah* and women supported by charitable trusts. In this event, the *awlād al-nās* were humiliated by the sultan's mamluks who attacked them in their homes.[135] While distributing the *jawāmik* in 918/1512, al-Ghawrī cut one third of the clothing allocation given to *awlād al-nās* and the elderly among the mamluks.[136] The allowances and *iqṭāʿ*s that had been saved were directed to the Fifth Corps, manned again by *awlād al-nās,* the sultan's mamluk recruits, and foreigners such as Turkmens and North Africans. Unlike the *ḥalqah* or *dīwān al-mufrad* in which the *iqṭāʿ*s and *jawāmik* had been allocated until al-Muʾayyad's reign as a second income, mainly to mamluks from the sultan's and amirs' households, payment in the Fifth Corps was the only allowance given to its members. Their allowances were low and reached only one thousand five hundred dirhams, approximately the same as the *jawāmik* that had been cut from the weak and poor *ḥalqah* soldiers.[137]

Conclusion

At its inception in the early 1260s, the *ḥalqah* was already characterized as a flexible and diverse military body, comprised of individuals from many backgrounds. Their secondary status in the Mamluk army was reflected by the smaller fiefs they were granted. At the same time the *ḥalqah* was the biggest body in the army, and the total sum of the relatively small fiefs held by its members was identical to the amirs' share of the state resources. The weakness of the *ḥalqah* soldiers induced the involvement of powerful patrons and clerks in the military administration, especial-

[131] Carl F. Petry, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (New York, 1994).

[132] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:206, 368–69.

[133] Ibid., 25.

[134] Ibid., 65–66.

[135] Ibid., 150.

[136] Ibid., 285, 321–22.

[137] Ibid., 324, 368–69, 436, 459, 460, 467.

ly in the absence of a strong central government. The *ḥimāyah* was used by amirs to include *ḥalqah* soldiers in their patronage network and lay their hands on part of their income. Since the amirs encroached on the sultan's control and authority in the *ḥalqah,* the *ḥimāyah* became an object of tension between the sultan and the amirs. From the amirs' perspective, denying them *ḥimāyah* over *ḥalqah* soldiers meant not only preventing them access to landed incomes but also harming their prestige as patrons of power networks, i.e., as their clients' advocates with the authorities. It is in this context that al-Manṣūr Lājīn's cadastral survey of 697/1298 should be viewed. Through this survey Lājīn intended to reclaim state resources from the power network that rivaled his own. He intended to stop the amirs' *ḥimāyah* and restore the sultan's control over the *ḥalqah*. This round in the conflict between the sultan and the amirs ended with the strengthening of the latter's power, since with Lājīn's murder all the *iqṭāʿ*s taken from the *ḥalqah* formally went to the amirs. The *ḥimāyah* was not abolished, but the old patrons of power networks were replaced by new ones. As a weak, unorganized military group, the *ḥalqah* remained with numerous unfit old soldiers with far fewer *iqṭāʿ* resources. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad attained the targets that Lājīn had set for his cadastral survey, not only because of his strong authority but also because he determined, for the first time in the Mamluk state, a permanent manpower quota for the army and a correlative remuneration scale as the basis for the *iqṭāʿ* distribution. The *ḥalqah*'s size was fixed as one third of the army, over eight thousand soldiers out of twenty-four thousand, and it held about thirty percent of the *iqṭāʿ* resources.

The frequent reshufflings of power after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's death, and the ensuing creation and disintegration of power networks headed by prominent amirs, tipped the balance in the tension between the sultan and the amirs over control of the *ḥalqah* in the amirs' favor. The *ḥalqah*'s makeup was changed when, in addition to the old members and artisans who bought *iqṭāʿ*s in the *ḥalqah* in the wake of the Black Death, it became a temporary haven for many young mamluks from defeated factions until their fortunes changed and brought them back to an effective power network. Thus the *ḥalqah* was again open to the patronage of powerful amirs and its involvement in power struggles over rule increased. The amirs' control over the *ḥalqah* soldiers reached its peak when al-Ẓāhir Barqūq formalized their patron-client status by allowing the registration of mamluks from the amirs' households as *iqṭāʿ* holders in the *ḥalqah* together with his own Sultani mamluks. Control over the *ḥalqah* was, in fact, divided between the sultan and the amirs, although the form of this division is unclear. Al-Muʾayyad restored the sultan's control over the *ḥalqah;* the amirs' mamluks were denied access to the *ḥalqah,* while Sultani mamluks continued to be numbered among the *ḥalqah* soldiers. Yet the amirs' patronage over the *ḥalqah* members and Sultani mamluks was not curbed but rather increased because in the fifteenth century their households played a central part in the state's econom-

ic, military, and political power networks. Thus, due to the dire economic situation, the sultans employed oppressive tax policies to increase their income, while the amirs and some civilian elite members provided protection, *ḥimāyah,* to the lower military and civilian sectors against the state officials, encroaching on the sultan's authority. The *ḥalqah*'s makeup reflected the Mamluk patronage system and power structure. In the main, it was manned by strong, protected persons: mamluks from the sultan's household and the amirs' protégés. In contrast, the weak and oppressed *ḥalqah* soldiers, who constituted a small part of the *ḥalqah,* remained unprotected. They were the soldiers who were mustered before expeditions, to go into battle or to pay a part of their already low salary, and dismissals from the *ḥalqah* were from their number. They were the soldiers to whom the seemingly sorry plight of the *ḥalqah* in the fifteenth century can be attributed.

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Hanafism and the Turks in al-Ṭarasūsī's *Gift for the Turks* (1352)

Wilferd Madelung's articles on the relationship between the spread of Hanafism and Maturidism and the expansion of Turkish political influence over the Near East underline "the militant Ḥanafism of the Turks."[1] During the reign of Ṭuğrul Bey (431–55/1040–63), for instance, the Seljuq state was strongly engaged in curbing the Shafiʿis, and the ruler himself stood behind the measures, as is evident from an open letter of Abū al-Qāsim al-Qushayrī written in defense of Ashʿarism, the theological school mostly identified with the Shafiʿis.[2] This strong Seljuqid interest in Hanafism, coupled with the fact that the Ottomans, who succeeded in establishing the longest lasting dominion over Muslim lands, were also Hanafis, leads one to wonder whether Hanafism might be in any way more "government-friendly" than other legal schools. Or, to put it differently, would it have affected the political success of the Turks had they been, let us say, Shafiʿis? This article is an attempt to answer this question negatively with a consideration of the Mamluk example.

The Turkish Mamluks, who ruled over Egypt and Syria for almost 150 years (648–784/1250–1382),[3] officially adopted the principle of the equality of the four

This study is the slightly revised and updated version of a paper that was written in 1996–97 for Michael Cook's graduate seminar on primary sources of Islamic Studies at Princeton University. I would like to thank Rifa'at Abou-El-Haj, Shahab Ahmed, Michael Cook, Hossein Modarressi, Yossef Rapoport, and the anonymous reviewer of *Mamlūk Studies Review* who read this piece in different versions since then and offered various suggestions. The responsibility for not following some of them is entirely mine.

[1] Wilferd Madelung, "The Spread of Māturīdism and the Turks," in *Actas do IV Congresso de Estudos Arabes e Islâmicos, Coimbra-Lisboa 1968* (Leiden, 1971), 109–68, reprinted in Madelung, *Religious Schools and Sects in Medieval Islam* (London, 1985); idem, "The Two Factions of Sunnism: Ḥanafism and Shāfiʿism," in *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran* (Albany, 1988), 26–38; idem, "The Early Murji'a in Khurāsān and Transoxania and the Spread of Ḥanafism," *Der Islam* 59 (1982): 32–39, reprinted in *Religious Schools and Sects;* and idem, "The Murjiʾa and Sunnite Traditionalism," in *Religious Trends in Early Islamic Iran,* 13–25, provide a plausible explanation of the Turkish attraction to the Hanafi school in the eastern provinces.

[2] Madelung, "The Spread of Māturīdism," 129. In 469/1077, however, the son of the same Abū al-Qāsim, Abū al-Naṣr Ibn al-Qushayrī, came to Baghdad to preach Ashʿarism, with the official support of Niẓām al-Mulk, the Shafiʿi grand vizier of the Seljuqs; Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Muntaẓam fī Tawārīkh al-Mulūk wa-al-Umam* (Beirut, 1995), 9:538–39.

[3] The personal religious affiliation of Turkish Mamluks, as a ruling class, is not easy to establish. Quṭuz (r. 657–58/1259–60) is blamed for being a Hanafi by Shafiʿi sources, and Baybars (r. 658–

Sunni schools of law.[4] The fact that they created three chief judgeships in addition to the Shafiʿi one might be considered an attempt to stunt the Shafiʿi position, yet they actually preserved the priority of the Shafiʿi school, as will be shown below.[5]

Within this framework where the Hanafis enjoyed a secondary rank at best, Najm al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAlī al-Ṭarasūsī (d. 758/1357), the Hanafi *qāḍī al-quḍāh* of Damascus (746–58/1346–57), authored a treatise called *Tuḥfat al-Turk fīmā Yajib an Yuʿmala fī al-Mulk,* in which he engaged in a deep effort to "sell" Hanafism to the Mamluk sultanate as the official law of the state.[6] In order to do this, the author strove to argue that Shafiʿism is not "government-friendly," especially toward

76/1260–77) is known to have shown personal favor to Hanafis; Jorgen S. Nielsen, "Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars and the Appointment of Four Chief Qāḍīs, 663/1265," *Studia Islamica* 60 (1984): 173–75. The appointment of mostly Hanafi *qāḍī al-ʿaskars* (Joseph H. Escovitz, *The Office of* Qâḍî al-Quḍât *in Cairo under the Baḥrî Mamlûks* [Berlin, 1984], 187–89) suggests that the military establishment was predominantly Hanafi. As to how Hanafism may have spread among them, it is clear that the young "slaves" were going through some sort of religious education (David Ayalon, "L'esclavage du Mamelouk," *Oriental Notes and Studies* 1 [1951]: 1–66, reprinted in Ayalon, *The Mamlūk Military Society* [London, 1979], 13). My colleague Adam Sabra suggested that this education would have been conducted by scholars who knew Turkish, and that condition would have been most easily met by Hanafi scholars who came from the eastern provinces as a result of the Seljuqid expansion and later the Mongol invasion. As to the Circassian Mamluks (784–922/1382–1517), I do not have any idea about their personal preference among legal schools, and that is why their period is excluded from this study. It is quite plausible, however, that they followed the Turks, since they even used to change their names to Turkish ones; David Ayalon, "Names, titles and 'nisbas' of the Mamlūks," *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975): 189–232, reprinted in Ayalon, *The Mamlūk Military Society*, 196.

[4] In 663/1265, Baybars established a chief judge for each of the generally-recognized Sunni schools of law, following the already established administrative practice of the Fatimids and Ayyubids (Nielsen, "Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars," 169–71). I do not agree with the author, however, in his underlying assumption that the establishment of four chief judgeships broke the Shafiʿi predominance.

[5] This, of course, does not mean that the Shafiʿis were happy with the new arrangement; see Ma -elung, "The Spread of Māturīdism," 165, n. 145.

[6] This text was first published by Riḍwān al-Sayyid (Beirut, 1992) with an extremely useful intr -duction (titled "Ṣirāʿ al-Fuqahāʾ ʿalá al-Sulṭah wa-al-Sulṭān fī al-ʿAṣr al-Mamlūkī min khilāl Kitāb 'Tuḥfat al-Turk' lil-Ṭarasūsī," 5–50) and notes throughout the text, which led me to most of the references I used for this study. Al-Sayyid's edition of the *Tuḥfat al-Turk* is based on MS Berlin 5614; the manuscript I checked it with is İstanbul Millet Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah Efendi collection, 2122, fols. 96b–105b (hereafter MK), for which I have to thank Rifa'at Abou-El-Haj once more. For the life and works of the author, see Appendix I; for a study of this work, see Michael Winter, "Inter-*Madhhab* Competition in Mamluk Damascus: Al-Tarsusi's Counsel for the Turkish Sultans," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 25 (2001): 195–211. Since I completed the first draft of this study, I have come across two other editions of the *Tuḥfat al-Turk,* one by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ḥasan Muḥammad Ḥasan Ismāʿīl (Beirut, 1995), and another one by Mohamed Menasri (Damascus, 1997), the latter of which includes a detailed study as well as a complete French translation of the work. All citations in this article refer to al-Sayyid's edition.

a government of Turks. Yet, a closer look into his arguments and an examination of Shafiʿi views in a Mamluk context—which he at times misrepresents—reveal that: first, principles of constitutional law held by legal schools, at least those of Shafiʿism, tend to accommodate political developments; second, in certain respects, Shafiʿism may at times be even more "government friendly" than Hanafism; and third, there is a considerable tension between the letter of the law and its practice, which renders theoretical limitations meaningless in effect.

The first chapter of the *Tuḥfat al-Turk,* or *Gift for the Turks,* "on the explanation (of the validity) of the sultanate of the Turks,"[7] will be the focus of this article. Here, the author first outlines the necessary conditions for an imam, as laid down by the Shafiʿi sources, which emphasize that the imam should be of Quraysh and a *mujtahid*. Hanafism, argues al-Ṭarasūsī, does not claim any of these conditions.[8] Yet when he finishes his quotations from the Shafiʿi sources, he twists his earlier exposition and concludes that for Shafiʿis the *sultan* should be of Quraysh and a *mujtahid,* in which case neither the Turks, nor the Persians, could be legitimate

[7] *Fī Bayān (Ṣiḥḥat) Salṭanat al-Turk; ṣiḥḥah* does not appear in the Berlin manuscript (see *Tuḥfat al-Turk,* 60, and W. Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften* [Berlin, 1893, reprinted: Hildesheim, 1980], 5:116), yet it is in the MK, fol. 96b, line 14.

[8] Al-Ṭarasūsī does not quote any Hanafi sources directly but states that Abu Ḥanīfah and his *aṣḥāb* see neither descent from Quraysh, nor the quality of being a *mujtahid,* nor justice as a requirement expected from a sultan and presents the fact that Muʿāwiyah was followed by the *ṣaḥābah,* despite his controversy with ʿAlī during the latter's rule, as an example supporting his point; *Tuḥfat al-Turk,* 63; MK, fol. 96b, lines 26–28. Yet descent from Quraysh as a condition for the imam had been accepted in Hanafi circles elsewhere. Even during the Ottoman era, the question had to be dealt with, when, for instance, Luṭfī Pasha (d. c. 970/1562–63) was confronted by people citing ʿUmar al-Nasafī (d. 537/1142) and Saʿd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 790s/1390s), asking whether they had a valid imam; Hamilton A. R. Gibb, "Luṭfī Pa a on the Ottoman Caliphate," *Oriens* 15 (1962): 287–95; see al-Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-ʿAqāʾid al-Nasafīyah* (Cairo, 1987), 98, where al-Nasafī states that the imam must be of Quraysh and al-Taftāzānī strenghtens it by citing the tradition of the Prophet (see below) to that effect. As for the Shafiʿi ones, he quotes [*Tuḥfat al-Turk,* 63–65; MK, fol. 96b, line 29–fol. 97a, line 3] al-Shāfiʿī through al-Rāfiʿī's (d. 623/1226) *Kitāb al-Jināyāt al-Mūjibah lil-ʿUqūbāt,* which I have not been able to locate; al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058), *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah* (Bonn, 1853), 5–6; and al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), *Rawḍat al-Ṭālibīn* (Beirut, 1992), 7:262—the quotations are not word-for-word, yet are in essence correct. He cites the Prophetic tradition *al-aʾimmah min quraysh* as the Shafiʿi justification of their position (among the six books examined by A. J. Wensinck, *Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane* [Leiden, 1936], 1:92, this hadith is only found in Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad* [Beirut, 1993], 3:163, no. 12292; 3:231–32, no. 12884; 4:565, no. 19722. But it is also found in al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1066), *Al-Sunan al-Kubrá* [Beirut, 1994], 3:172 and 8:247–48, most of the chains coming from Anas). Interestingly enough, al-Shāfiʿī himself does not cite this tradition when he deals with the qualification of the imams in the context of the prayer, though he does cite other traditions favoring Quraysh (*Kitāb al-Umm* [Beirut, 1993], 1:287–88), yet al-Muzanī (d. 264/878) puts it into the same section in his *mukhtaṣar;* ibid., 9:28.

rulers. Thus, declares al-Ṭarasūsī, Hanafism is more suitable for the Turks than Shafiʿism.[9]

Yet, as Riḍwān al-Sayyid points out, he not only misrepresents al-Māwardī, who actually engaged in an effort to justify the sultanate-by-force within the framework of Muslim constitutional law,[10] but also neglects Badr al-Dīn Ibn Jamāʿah's (d. 733/1333) constitutional theory,[11] which shows very well how constitutional law accommodated political developments. Let us look at the political developments first.

After the end of the caliphate in Baghdad in 656/1258, the Mamluk sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars (r. 658–76/1260–77) recognized the caliphate of an Abbasid prince in 659/1261,[12] creating a caliphate in Cairo, which brought some prestige and legitimacy to a sultanate of "slaves." Yet, the caliph became nothing more than a ceremonial figure;[13] in time, the *bayʿah,* which was traditionally given by the subjects to a superior power as a sign of recognition, began to be given by the caliph to the sultan.[14] Thus, the distinction between the sultanate and the caliphate became negligible, so much so that the Ottomans did not even bother to continue the institution

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[9] *Tuḥfat al-Turk,* 65; MK, fol. 97a, lines 4–8.

[10] Al-Sayyid, "Ṣirāʿ al-Fuqahāʾ," 26–27; al-Māwardī, *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah,* 54–57 *(faṣl . . . imārat al-istīlāʾ);* Tilman Nagel, *Staat und Glaubensgemeinschaft im Islam* (Zurich, 1981), 1:362–66; Ann K. S. Lambton, *State and Government in Medieval Islam, an Introduction to the Study of Islamic Political Theory: The Jurists* (New York, 1981), 100–2.

[11] Ibn Jamāʿah held the Shafiʿi chief judgeships of Jerusalem, Damascus, and Cairo several times throughout his life (see al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Muqaffá* [Beirut, 1991], 5:89–94) and authored, among other things, an important treatise called *Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām fī Tadbīr Ahl al-Islām* (ed. Fuʾād ʿAbd al-Munʿim Aḥmad, 3rd. ed. [Qatar, 1988)]); for a short assessment of this work, see Lambton, *State and Government,* 138–43; Nagel, *Staat und Glaubensgemeinschaft,* 1:436–40.

[12] David Ayalon, "Studies on the Transfer of the Abbasid Caliphate from Baghdad to Cairo," *Ar - bica* 7 (1960): 50–51, reprinted in Ayalon, *Studies on the Mamlūks of Egypt (1250-1517)* (London, 1977).

[13] "When in 709/1310 the usurper al-Muẓaffar Baybars was confronted with a general revolt and tried to reinforce his authority with a new diploma from the caliph, his act provoked only the jeering comment, 'Stupid fellow. For God's sake—who pays any heed to the caliph now?'" P. M. Holt, "The Position and Power of the Mamlūk Sultan," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 38 (1975): 248. According to al-Maqrīzī, the caliph "had no authority, not even the right of expressing his opinion. He spent his time among nobles, high officials, scribes, and judges, paying them visits to thank them for the dinners and entertainments to which they had invited him." Cited by Donald P. Little, "Religion under the Mamlūks," *Muslim World* 73 (1983): 173, reprinted in Little, *History and Historiography of the Mamlūks* (London, 1986).

[14] P. M. Holt states that the formula *bāyaʿahu al-khalīfah bi-al-salṭanah* "appears occasionally from the accession of al-Nāṣir Aḥmad (740/1342) to the end of the Qalawunid dynasty, and becomes usual with al-Ẓāhir Barqūq and the Circassian sultans." (P. M. Holt, "The Structure of Government in the Mamluk Sultanate," in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Period of the Crusades*, ed. P. M. Holt [Warminster, 1977], 45).

of the Abbasid caliphate after they conquered Egypt in 1517. Selim I brought the last caliph, Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Mutawakkil, to Istanbul where he first imprisoned him at the Seven Towers (Yedikule). In 1520, as Selim was approaching his death, he ordered the release of al-Mutawakkil and permitted him to move back to Egypt with a daily allowance of 60 *akçe*s, where the latter died in January 1539, leaving behind two sons who continued to receive allowances from the Ottoman treasury.[15] Clearly, the Ottomans did not regard the last caliph and his male heirs as a threat to their sovereignty.

Ibn Jamāʿah, writing during this process of marginalization of the caliphate, updated the constitutional theory by putting the sultanate on an equal footing with the caliphate. Whereas for al-Māwardī, what one can get by force was only an *imārah,* but not an *imāmah,* Ibn Jamāʿah states that there are two types of *imāmah,* one by election and one by force. When enumerating the conditions for the imam by election, he does count descent from Quraysh as one of them.[16] Yet, for the imam whose *bayʿah* is concluded as a result of his might and soldiers, no such condition is given; furthermore, it is stated that his being ignorant or sinful does not impair his *imāmah,* and anyone for whom the *bayʿah* is concluded deserves to be called *khalīfat rasūl Allāh.*[17] Moreover, while counting the rights of the ruler over the subjects and his responsibilities toward them, Ibn Jamāʿah uses the term *sulṭān* instead of *imām,* in contrast to al-Māwardī.[18] Thus, in the constitutional theory of

[15] Muṣṭafā Cenābī, "Gülşen-i Tevârîḫ," Dār al-Kutub al-Qawmīyah (Cairo) MS 170 Tārīkh Turkī Ṭalʿat, fol. 80b; Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf al-Qaramānī, *Akhbār al-Duwal wa-Āthār al-Uwal fī al-Tārīkh,* ed. Aḥmad Ḥaṭīṭ and Fahmī Saʿd (Beirut, 1992), 2:226.

[16] Ibn Jamāʿah, *Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām,* 51. An anonymous writer with strong Sufi leanings had argued, about half a century earlier, that Qurashi descent is not a necessary condition, in an effort to identify the imam with the ruling sultan Baybars; W. Madelung, "A Treatise on the Imamate dedicated to Sultan Baybars I," in *Proceedings of the 14th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants*, part one, ed. A. Fodor, in *The Arabist, Budapest Studies in Arabic* 13–14 (1995): 95; in this context I should note that Madelung's presentation of Ibn Jamāʿah, according to which the notion of a Qurashi representative head of the Muslim community is retained by Ibn Jamāʿah (ibid., 102), slightly disagrees with my presentation.

[17] Ibn Jamāʿah, *Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām,* 55, 57. It is interesting to note that Ibn Jamāʿah clearly prohibits the use of the term *khalīfat Allāh* (ibid., 57), whereas al-Māwardī mentions this prohibition only as the view of the majority, and he himself seems to be inclined to see it as permissible (*Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah,* 22–23).

[18] Ibn Jamāʿah, *Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām,* 61, 65; al-Māwardī, *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah,* 23, 25; it is also interesting to note that whereas in al-Māwardī the responsibilities come first, and the rights are only two, Ibn Jamāʿah first counts ten rights, and then ten responsibilities. Moreover, when explaining the meaning of the word *sulṭān* in the Arabic language, Ibn Jamāʿah, citing the Quran, 14:10 (. . . Bring to us then a clear *proof* [Ahmed Ali tr. (Princeton, 1994), 218]), states that the sultan is so called for his being the proof of God and his unity (*Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām,* 73); also indicated by Nagel, *Staat und Glaubensgemeinschaft,* 1:438.

Ibn Jamāʿah, we witness that the Shafiʿi principles change in order to accommodate political developments, invalidating al-Ṭarasūsī's claims that Shafiʿis do not recognize a government of the Turks.[19]

In the rest of the chapter, al-Ṭarasūsī discusses thirteen points of comparison between Hanafism and Shafiʿism, which are meant to strengthen his contention that Hanafism is better suited for the Turks. It is hard to categorize the issues, yet one may divide them roughly into five groups: finances, land management, criminal law, prayer, and war booty. Out of these, I chose to focus on the first two groups, as I believe they matter most for the smooth operation of a government.[20]

There are three points that pertain to land law. First, according to Abū Ḥanīfah, the sultan has the right to hire out *kharāj* land that belongs to someone who is unable to cultivate it and pay its *kharāj*, and to take the *kharāj* from the rent, whether the holder of the land consents or not; whereas al-Shāfiʿī does not bestow this right upon the ruler.[21] Second, the sultan is entitled, according to Abū Ḥanīfah, to confirm the conquered lands of the infidels in the hands of the current holders and levy *jizyah* on them, instead of dividing the lands among the soldiers, whether the soldiers consent or not. In contrast, for al-Shāfiʿī, the consent of the soldiers is necessary for the sultan to do that, otherwise he has to divide it among them.[22] And third, according to Abū Ḥanīfah, the person who revitalizes waste land may only own it with the permission of the ruler, whereas for al-Shāfiʿī, the permission of the sultan is not needed.[23]

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[19] That was certainly not the first modification of constitutional law; al-Juwaynī (d. 499/1105), for instance, already questioned the condition of descent from Quraysh in his *al-Irshād;* Lambton, *State and Government,* 106.

[20] The points that I left out are summarized in Appendix II.

[21] *Tuḥfat al-Turk,* 65; MK, fol. 97a, lines 9–11. Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī actually goes further and states that the sultan is entitled to sell the land as well, if nobody is found to rent it, and take its *kharāj* from the price (*Al-Intiṣār wa-al-Tarjīḥ lil-Madhhab al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (Madīnat Naṣr, n.d.), 17).

[22] *Tuḥfat al-Turk,* 66; MK, fol. 97a, lines 11–14; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Intiṣār wa-al-Tarjīḥ*, 17. This is a quite long debate stemming from the conquest of al-Sawād and how later jurists interpreted Caliph ʿUmar's action in not dividing the land among the soldiers, but levying *kharāj* on the current holders of the land. Al-Shāfiʿī is not against the levy of *jizyah,* but his real contention is that any land that is conquered by force should be considered as *ghanīmah,* and should be divided accordingly (one fifth for the ruler, and four-fifths to the soldiers) unless the soldiers consent otherwise; al-Māwardī, *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah,* 254–55, 302–3; al-Sarakhsī (d. 483/1090), *Kitāb al-Mabsūṭ* (Cairo, 1324), 10:15, 37; Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798), *Kitāb al-Kharāj* (Cairo, 1981), 73–91. There is an important financial issue at stake, as the land divided among the soldiers becomes *ʿushr* land, whereas the land left to its holders is considered *kharāj* land (Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj,* 149), the tax rate of which is higher.

[23] *Tuḥfat al-Turk,* 66–67; MK, fol. 97a, lines 19–20; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Intiṣār wa-al-Tarjīḥ*, 17; al-Māwardī, *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah,* 308–11. Al-Ṭarasūsī is actually not representing the general Hanafi view by quoting only Abū Ḥanīfah; see al-Marghīnānī (d. 593/1197), *Al-Hidāyah: Sharḥ*

None of these points had much significance for the Mamluk rulers. To begin with, the contemporary Shafiʿi viewpoint is slightly modified. Regarding the second point, for instance, Ibn Jamāʿah is ambivalent in stressing the consent of the soldiers: "Land conquered by force: it is divided among the 'capturers,' then the imam calls upon them to forgo it, then he satisfies them with a substitute *(ʿiwaḍ)* or without a substitute, and he institutes it as a *waqf (waqqafa)* for the benefit of Muslims and imposes upon it the *kharāj,* as ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him, did with the *sawād al-ʿirāq*. . . ."[24] Moreover, regarding the third point, Ibn Jamāʿah inserts a significant limitation and states that no one may "guard" *(yaḥmī)* a waste land "guarded" by the sultan, and he would not "own" it if he did that. This statement might very well be regarded as qualifying his earlier statement that anyone may revitalize a waste land without the permission of the sultan.[25]

Furthermore, what really mattered for the Mamluks was the *iqṭāʿ,* the basic principle of the exploitation of land by the "state." Al-Maqrīzī summarizes this point very well by stating that "from the days of Saladin Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb until today, all Egyptian cultivated land has been assigned in the form of *iqṭāʿ*s to the sultan, his *ajnād,* and his amirs."[26] And on this issue the Shafiʿi understanding of the law does not present any problems for the ruler, at least as presented by Ibn Jamāʿah, who states that this type of *iqṭāʿ* is the contemporary practice in the lands of Egypt and Syria.[27]

Moreover, even when the law presented difficulties for the ruler, it was not necessarily the Shafiʿis who caused the problems. The reconquest of territory from the Mongols, for instance, raised the question of whether the land reverted to the original owners and their heirs, or could be disposed of by the sultan. In 666/1267–68,

Bidāyah al-Mubtadī (Cairo, 1995), 6:199–203; and Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj,* 137–41, where it is clear that Abū Ḥanīfah's view was modified, as the tradition of the Prophet, *man aḥyā arḍan mawātan/maytatan fa-hiya lahu* is evoked; Wensinck, *Concordance,* 1:539, indicates that the tradition is mentioned in all the six books he examines.

[24] Ibn Jamāʿah, *Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām,* 102–3; actually, he treats the land conquered by force under *ʿushr* land as well, where he states that it is divided among the "capturers," and that it becomes their *milk* (ibid., 106). Then he discusses the issue once more and presents the views of all the four founders of legal schools, without making any judgment; Mālik's view is even stronger than Abū Ḥanīfah's, and Aḥmad's is not certain as there are versions that parallel all the three (ibid., 203–4). Hossein Modarressi Tabātabāʾi, *Kharāj in Islamic Law* (London, 1983), 124–25, states that "[w]hether the *imām* had the authority to divide the land or not, most Muslim jurists agreed that such an authority had never been exercised."

[25] Ibn Jamāʿah, *Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām,* 108, 117.

[26] Cited by Hassanein Rabie, *The Financial System of Egypt A.H. 564–741/A.D. 1169–1341* (Lo - don, 1972), 26, from al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa al-Iʿtibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Cairo, 1270), 1:97.

[27] Ibn Jamāʿah, *Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām,* 110. Al-Māwardī, on the other hand, had presented the permi - sibility of the *iqṭāʿ al-istighlāl* in a more limited way (*Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah,* 337–41).

lawyers supported the former view. Then "Baybars called a session in the Dār al-ʿAdl to force through recognition of his rights over the land. All duly agreed with him except the Hanafi chief qadi of Damascus."[28]

Regarding finances, al-Ṭarasūsī first asserts that even if a person has already paid the *zakāt* of his *sawāʾim,* the sultan is entitled, according to Abū Ḥanīfah, to take it for a second time and distribute it to the poor, whereas al-Shāfiʿī does not accord such a prerogative to the sultan.[29] The second issue is the *jizyah,* which brings more income if collected in accordance with the Hanafi practice: 48 dirhams from the rich, 24 dirhams from the "middle class," and 12 dirhams from the poor. According to al-Shāfiʿī, it is one dinar from everyone, which makes only 10 dirhams.[30] The third is about the distribution of the *ṣadaqāt*. For Abū Ḥanīfah, the ruler is entitled to keep the chattels *(aʿyān al-ṣadaqah)* and give its equivalent to the poor if he considers this to be in the public interest, whereas al-Shāfiʿī does not allow this.[31] Finally, al-Ṭarasūsī states that if the sultan needs to strengthen his army, he may take what is necessary from the *arbāb al-amwāl w*ithout their consent.[32]

These theoretical points of law do not have much relevance when one looks at the practice. To begin with the *jizyah,* the amount collected by the Shafiʿi Ayyubids in the sixth/twelfth century seems to be in line with what al-Ṭarasūsī presents as the Hanafi practice. In the first part of the seventh century, it is recorded as 2 dinars per head. And under the Mamluks, though there is no conclusive data, the *dhimmī*s "were frequently obliged to pay double the legal amount"; moreover, the one dinar per head was at times collected as an extra tax, in addition to the *jizyah.*[33] As for the late seventh and early eighth centuries, al-Qalqashandī remarks that the amount decreased quite a bit and is taken as 25 dirhams from the richest and 10 dirhams

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[28] "The matter was settled when the original owners agreed to pay an annual sum to Baybars to retain possession," and in 677/1279, al-Saʿīd Barka Khān succeeded in canceling this arrangement; Nielsen, "Sultan al-Ẓāhir Baybars," 174–75, and 175, n. 1.

[29] *Tuḥfat al-Turk,* 67, MK, fol. 97a, lines 23–26; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Intiṣār wa-al-Tarjīḥ*, 17.

[30] *Tuḥfat al-Turk,* 68; MK, fol. 97a, lines 31–34. Al-Ṭaḥawī (d. 321/933), *Mukhtaṣar al-Ṭaḥawī* (Cairo, 1370), 294; and al-Marghīnānī, *Al-Hidāyah,* 4:326–27, both cite the same amounts; the latter even states that the total is collected in monthly installments. Al-Shāfiʿī, on the other hand, depends on three traditions of the Prophet and states that it should be one dinar, or its equivalent, from everyone; al-Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, 4:253 (where nn. 2–4 identify the traditions).

[31] *Tuḥfat al-Turk,* 68–69; MK, fols. 97a, line 34–97b, line 1. As al-Sayyid points out, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī discusses this issue in his *Īthār al-Inṣāf fī Āthār al-Khilāf* (n.p., 1987), 67–71, providing several traditions to support the Hanafi point of view against the position shared by Mālik and al-Shāfiʿī; yet his discussion is concentrated on *collecting* the substitute of that which is supposed to be collected.

[32] *Tuḥfat al-Turk,* 69; MK, fol. 97b, lines 1–2.

[33] Rabie, *The Financial System,* 108–12.

from the poorest.[34] Though not as profitable as the Hanafi figures, this practice is certainly not in line with what al-Shāfiʿī states.

As for the *zakāt* on livestock, there is not much evidence pertaining to its collection. Yet, with regard to the *zakāt* on merchandise, the practice seems to have differed from the theory, and the taxpayers did pay double *zakāt* in one year.[35] And finally, regarding the strengthening of the army, there are two cases in the seventh century in which resources were extorted, once from the *raʿāyā,* and once from the wealthy and the merchants.[36]

Thus, most of the points raised by al-Ṭarasūsī become meaningless when compared with the actual practice, which was not in line with what he presents as the Shafiʿi stance. In addition to this discrepancy, there are certain issues in which the Shafiʿi stance is actually more profitable to the "state" than the Hanafi one, as the author himself discloses: "As for the idea of the common people—and that is deeply rooted in the minds of the Turks—that the *madhhab* of al-Shāfiʿī makes the state treasury an inheritor, this is not right. What is right about the *madhhab* of al-Shāfiʿī is that in these times, the treasury does not inherit from anybody; on the contrary, the "uterine relatives" *(dhawū al-arḥām)* inherit as in the *madhhab* of Abū Ḥanīfah."[37] Here again, al-Ṭarasūsī omits the practice of the Mamluks who actually had a special institution to deal with this matter: *dīwān al-mawārīth al-ḥashrīyah,* the bureau of escheat estates. This institution provided for the public treasury to claim, at the expense of the *dhawū al-arḥām,* either the whole of the estate of a deceased person if s/he died without legal heirs, or the residue of it if the heirs were not legally entitled to the whole of the estate.[38]

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[34] Al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418), *Die Geographie und Verwaltung von Ägypten* [an epitome of the author's *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ*], tr. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1879), 163.

[35] The way to do this was to collect it before it fell due; Rabie, *The Financial System,* 99.

[36] The first one was during the reign of Quṭuz (657–58/1259–60) and the second in 699; Escovitz, *The Office of* Qâḍî al-Quḍât, 160.

[37] MK, fol. 97b, lines 4–5; *Tuḥfat al-Turk,* 69, where al-Sayyid makes up for a missing part in the Berlin manuscript quite well. For the right of "uterine relatives" to inherit in Hanafism, see al-Sarakhsī, *Kitāb al-Mabsūṭ,* 30:2–13. Al-Ṭarasūsī bases his contention about the Shafiʿi viewpoint on his personal conversation with Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355), the Shafiʿi chief judge of Damascus (739–56), who said to him that there is no difference between the two *madhhab*s as to the priority of "uterine relatives" over the treasury in matters of inheritance, for the state treasury is corrupted; *Tuḥfat al-Turk,* 69; MK, fol. 97b, lines 5–7.

[38] Al-Qalqashandī, *Geographie und Verwaltung,* 164–65 ; Rabie, *The Financial System,* 127–32; Donald P. Little, "The Significance of the Ḥaram Documents for the Study of Medieval Islamic History," *Der Islam* 57 (1980): 189–219, reprinted in Little, *History and Historiography of the Mamlūks* (London, 1986), 203–5. It is interesting to note in this respect that the Hanafi theory, as presented by al-Ṭarasūsī, is in parallel to the Shiʿi one as it was applied in Fatimid Egypt; Rabie, *The Financial System,* 127.

This is not the only issue where the Hanafi stance is more disadvantageous for the public treasury. Al-Ṭarasūsī claims that the Hanafi judge should be made responsible for the properties of orphans so that they would receive a more favorable treatment, as Hanafism does not impose *zakāt* on such properties, whereas Shafiʿism does.[39] This is probably why the properties of the orphans were almost exclusively controlled by the Shafiʿi chief judge throughout the Turkish Mamluk period.[40]

A glance at the times of the Turkish Mamluks provides more examples of favors given to the Shafiʿis. Even after the establishment of the other three chief judgeships, the Shafiʿi chief judge preserved his predominance, as he "was put in charge of the moneys of the orphans, as well as verifying *waqfīyāt* and legacies."[41] Shafiʿis are also seen as viziers and occasionally even as *qāḍī al-ʿaskar*s.[42] And their priority over the Hanafis is symbolized by the seating arrangements in the Dār al-ʿAdl in Cairo, where all the four chief judges sat to the right of the sultan, the Shafiʿi one preceding the Hanafi chief judge. Though the latter was later moved next to the sultan on his left side, preceding the Hanbali judge, he was still inferior to the Shafiʿi one, who kept his original seat on the right side of the sultan.[43] In exchange, the Shafiʿi judges seem to have been quite cooperative with the political authority, as some of the "government-friendly" decisions they took bear witness.[44] Inciden-

[39] *Tuḥfat al-Turk,* 80; MK, fol. 98b, lines 10–15; the issue arises from the Hanafi viewpoint that the children, alongside "lunatics," are exempted from *zakāt,* which is seen as part of the *ʿibādah;* Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Īthār,* 72–75.

[40] Escovitz, *The Office of* Qâḍî al-Quḍât, 183.

[41] Ibid., 24.

[42] For viziers, see ibid., 175–77; for a Shafiʿi army judge, ibid., 189. The latter post was more gene - ally given to the Hanafis, as al-Ṭarasūsī himself points out; *Tuḥfat al-Turk,* 91; MK, fol. 100a, lines 12–14.

[43] Escovitz, *The Office of* Qâḍî al-Quḍât, 25.

[44] To cite one example among many: in 780, when the judges were summoned to discuss the abol - tion of all the *awqāf* of Egypt and Syria, the Shafiʿi chief judge, Badr al-Dīn al-Subkī, "took the most politically advantageous line by saying that all the land belonged to the sultan, and he could do whatever he liked." As a result a number of *awqāf* were turned into *iqṭāʿ*s (ibid., 153). Though in a different context, other Shafiʿi scholars, too, showed signs of a positive disposition toward Turkish Mamluk rule; Ibn al-Nafīs (d. 687/1288), a doctor and *faqīh,* for instance, presented the rule of Baybars as almost the outcome of a foreordained divine plan; Remke Kruk, "History and Apocalypse: Ibn al-Nafîs' Justification of Mamluk Rule," *Der Islam* 72 (1995): 331. There is also Abū Ḥāmid al-Qudsī's (d. 888/1483) later work in which he cited *ẓulm al-turk wa-lā ʿadl al-ʿarab,* yet he is too late for our purposes and does not seem to be a good representative of the Shafiʿites; Ulrich Haarmann, "Rather the Injustice of the Turks than the Righteousness of the Arabs—Changing ʿUlamāʾ Attitudes towards Mamluk Rule in the late Fifteenth Century," *Studia Islamica* 68 (1988): 61–77; Haarmann is extremely unfair toward Mamluk jurists when he claims that "[t]he radical changes the Mamluk system of government introduced were kept out of systematic speculation" (ibid., 61–62), and he seems to be unaware of Ibn Jamāʿah and Najm al-Dīn Ibrāhīm when he attributes a paucity of political writing to Mamluk Egypt and Syria.

tally, when the Ottoman sultan Murad II decided to attack the Karamanid dynasty of central Anatolia and sought legal opinions from Egyptian jurists that would legitimize his military enterprise against another Muslim power, the fatwa of the Shafiʿi judge, who happened to be the famous Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 1448), was much more permissive than that of his Hanafi colleague.[45]

Thus, in Egypt under the Turkish Mamluks, we witness an ethnically Turkish rule operating quite well without engaging in an effort to make Hanafism—the legal school adhered to by most of the military establishment—the law of the state. And we see a legal school, Shafiʿism, the foundations of which go back to the hadith movement that aimed at limiting the law-making capacity of the political authority, cooperating with and even legitimizing a political authority that did not necessarily follow the letter of the law as defined by al-Shāfiʿī. It seems not only that the theoretical limitations put on political authority do change with a view to accommodating new developments, but also that the guardians of the theory do cooperate with rulers who contravene that very theory with their practice; and this collaboration is by no means limited to a particular legal school. As argued by Yossef Rapoport, the state and jurists from all four schools of law "shared a common vision of the social good."[46] Therefore I would say it would not matter very much for the political success of the Turks had they been, let us say, Shafiʿis.

[45] İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, "Karamanoğulları devri vesikalarından İbrahim Beyin Karaman imareti vakfiyesi," *Belleten* 1 (1937): 118–19 and 129–33.

[46] Yossef Rapoport, "Legal Diversity in the Age of *Taqlīd*: *qāḍī*s under the Mamluks," *Islamic Law and Society* 10, no. 2 (2003): 227.

Appendix I: The Life and Works of Najm al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Ibn ʿAlī al-Ṭarasūsī (d. 758/1357)

There are a couple of small problems related to the identity of al-Ṭarasūsī. First, Ḥājjī Khalīfah mentions him in one of his entries as Burhān al-Dīn, and second, al-Qurashī identifies him as Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid. Al-Qurashī names his father once as ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, and once as ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, though talking about the same person in both cases. Probably because of the work of al-Qurashī, later biographers fall into some confusion.[47] Yet, the earliest sources available establish his identity quite firmly as Najm al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, though the question remains as to how al-Qurashī created this confusion despite his personal contact with the father ʿAlī.[48]

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[47] Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn ʿan Asāmī al-Kutub wa-al-Funūn* (Tehran, 1967, 3rd reprint), 1:183; ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Qurashī (d. 775/1373), *Al-Jawāhir al-Muḍīyah fī Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw (Cairo, 1978–), 1:213–14 (Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid); 2:535–36 (ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid); #2040 in the *ansāb* section of the work (ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid—I could not read this entry as it was not accessible to me during my research, yet the editor, to whom I owe a lot for leading me to most of the sources I used in this appendix, states that both entries talk about the same person, and give the name of the son as Aḥmad). Besides, Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalanī (d. 852/1449) has an entry for Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, yet it only gives the name without any biography (*Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah* [Hyderabad, 1348], 1:217); and he provides the biography of Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid on pp. 43–44. Moreover, Abū al-Maḥāsin ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 874/1470) has two entries describing our author in his *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʿd al-Wāfī,* ed. Aḥmad Yūsuf Najātī (Cairo, 1956), 1:110–11 and 379–80 (the latter entry is named for Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid, whereas the former is for Ibrāhīm ibn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid). Later sources are aware of the problem and state that the name should be Ibrāhīm; see Taqī al-Dīn Ibn ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Tamīmī (d. 1010/1601), *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Sanīyah fī Tarājim al-Ḥanafīyah,* ed. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw (Riyadh, 1983), 1:213–15; and ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Laknawī (d. 1304/1886), *Kitāb al-Fawāʾid al-Bahīyah fī Tarājim al-Ḥanafīyah* (Cairo, 1324), 10–11 [as indicated in the introduction, this work is for the most part an abridgement of Maḥmūd ibn Sulaymān al-Kaffawī's (d. 990/1582) *Katāʾib Aʿlām al-Akhyār*].

[48] The earliest sources for the life of the author are al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1363), *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr wa-Aʿwān al-Naṣr,* ed. F. Sezgin and M. Amawi (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), 1:23–24, where the author mentions a personal contact with Ibrāhīm in 757/1356; and Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī (d. 765/1363–64), "Al-Dhayl al-Thānī lil-Ḥusaynī," in *Min Dhuyūl al-ʿIbar lil-Dhahabī wa-al-Ḥusaynī,* ed. Muḥammad Rashād al-Muṭṭalib (Kuwait, n.d.), 269 (for the father), 315–16 (for the son). Al-Qurashī, *Al-Jawāhir al-Muḍīyah,* 2:536, mentions that the father visited them *(wa-qadima ʿalaynā al-Qāhirah ṣuḥbat al-quḍāt);* the editor of *Al-Manhal,* 379, n. 5, quotes probably another edition of al-Qurashī, which reads *qadima ʿalaynā min Dimashq ilá al-Qāhirah ṣuḥbat al-ʿaskar fī salṭanat al-malik al-Nāṣir Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Qalāʾūn,* which establishes the date of the visit of the father to Cairo as 742–43/1342.

Though the *nisbah* Ṭarasūsī refers to Tarsus,[49] Ibrāhīm's father ʿImād al-Dīn ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad actually came from Egypt. He was born in 669/1271 in Munyah ibn Khaṣīb in Upper Egypt.[50] His teaching career in Damascus seems to have begun in 720/1320 at the Qalʿah Mosque.[51] In 722/1322, upon the death of Shams al-Dīn ibn al-ʿIzz, the deputy of the Hanafi chief judge of Damascus, ʿImād al-Dīn succeeded the deceased, who happened to be his father-in-law as well, in office.[52] This led him to succeed the chief judge, when the latter died in 727/1327. He taught at a number of madrasahs, such as al-Nūrīyah and al-Qaymāzīyah.[53]

Chamberlain argues for a strong competition for *manṣib*s among the elite of Damascus in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[54] Teaching posts seem to have been a means of preserving the elite status of one's family in the future, and fathers worked hard for their sons to succeed them in their posts. Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī could do no more than wish for "just three things: that my son here take up my posts, that I see my [dead] son Aḥmad in a dream, and that I die in Cairo." Later he went to the tomb of Shaykh Ḥamād outside the Bāb al-Ṣaghīr and sought the

[49] Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān* (Beirut, 1955–57), 4:28, states: *madīnah bi-thughūr al-Shām bayna Anṭākiyah wa-Ḥalab wa-bilād al-rūm;* and al-Samʿānī, *Al-Ansāb* (Hyderabad, 1978), 9:65, reads: *bilād al-thaghr bi-al-Shām*. Gabriela Linda Guellil, *Damaszener Akten des 8./14. Jahrhunderts nach aṭ-Ṭarsūsīs* Kitāb al-Iʿlām: *Eine Studie zum arabischen Justizwesen* (Bamberg, 1985), 17, n. 3, takes it correctly to refer to Tarsus in modern Turkey, hence her title; yet she, too, is aware that in the sources the proper spelling is al-Ṭarasūsī.

[50] Al-Qurashī, *Al-Jawāhir al-Muḍīyah,* 2:535; al-Nuʿaymī (d. 927/1521), *Al-Dāris fī Tārīkh al-Madāris* (Damascus, 1948), 1:622; Ibn Ṭūlūn (d. 953/1546), *Quḍāt Dimashq* (Damascus, 1956), 196. Munyah ibn Khaṣīb is located, according to al-Nuʿaymī and Ibn Ṭūlūn, in upper Ṣaʿīd (Upper Egypt), whereas Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān,* 5:218, calls the town Munyah Abī al-Khuṣayb and indicates that it is in lower Ṣaʿīd. Al-Ḥulw states that this town is modern Minyā, located on the western bank of the Nile, the capital of the province of Minyā, one of the provinces of central Ṣaʿīd; al-Qurashī, *Al-Jawāhir al-Muḍīyah,* 2:535, n. 1.

[51] Al-Nuʿaymī (*Al-Dāris,* 1:622); Ibn Ṭūlūn (*Quḍāt Dimashq,* 196); Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373), *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* (Beirut, 1994), 14:7:77.

[52] That ʿImād al-Dīn was the son-in-law of Shams al-Dīn ibn al-ʿIzz is only mentioned by Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:7:81. Yet Najm al-Dīn Ibrāhīm does refer to him as his maternal grandfather in *Tuḥfat al-Turk,* 109, where the name appears wrongly because of the Berlin manuscript; see MK, fol. 102a, lines 14–15, where the name is correct; al-Sayyid misidentifies the person, reading Shams al-Dīn as Ṣadr al-Dīn (*Tuḥfat al-Turk,* 109, n. 2).

[53] For the location of these madrasahs, see Michael Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice in Medieval Damascus, 1190-1350* (Cambridge, 1994), map 2, p. xv. Besides these two, he also taught at al-Rayḥānīyah, the tenure of which he held even after giving up his chief judgeship, and al-Muqaddamīyah; Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:7:126, 175; al-Nuʿaymī, *Al-Dāris,* 1:622; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq,* 197; for a document about his appointment to al-Rayḥānīyah, see al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ* (Cairo, 1332-40), 12:78–80, cited by Guellil, *Damaszener Akten,* 18.

[54] Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice,* 91–107.

shaykh's intercession: "I have three sons, one of whom has gone to God, another is in Ḥijāz and I know nothing of him, and the third is here. I want him to take my posts."[55]

ʿImād al-Dīn seems to have operated in this framework as well. In 734/1334, his son Najm al-Dīn Ibrāhīm began teaching at al-Iqbālīyah al-Ḥanafīyah, when he was only 15 years old; and in 737/1337, he taught at al-Shiblīyah.[56]

A widely used method for securing the tenure of one's intimates was the *nuzūl,* or "resignation," of the office holder in favor of them, while he "had the power to do so."[57] That is exactly what ʿImād al-Dīn did in 746/1346; thus Najm al-Dīn, after a deputyship of about two years, became the chief Hanafi judge of Damascus and succeeded his father in the teaching position at al-Nūrīyah as well.[58] ʿImād al-Dīn died in 748/1348 in al-Mizzah, on the outskirts of Damascus.[59]

Najm al-Dīn Ibrāhīm was born in al-Mizzah, in 720/1320.[60] From 746/1346 onwards, he held the Hanafi chief judgeship and a teaching position at al-Nūrīyah. Among the interesting anecdotes about his life mentioned in the biographical dic-

[55] Cited by Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice,* 95 and n. 23, from al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfiʿīyah al-Kubrá* (Cairo, 1964–76), 6:175. What Taqī al-Dīn asked for was realized, as his son Tāj al-Dīn succeeded him in office; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq,* 103.

[56] Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah*, 14:7:133–34, 141. Al-Shiblīyah is on the foot of Mount Qāsyūn, northwest of Damascus; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Al-Qalāʾid al-Jawharīyah fī Tārīkh al-Ṣāliḥīyah* (Damascus, 1949), 128–29.

[57] Chamberlain, *Knowledge and Social Practice,* 93–94.

[58] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,* 23, uses the exact terminology: *nazala la-hu wāliduhu ʿan manṣib al-qaḍāʾ*. To arrange this affair, the father talks to the amir Sayf al-Dīn Yalbughā [*nāʾib* in Damascus, 746–48; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Iʿlām al-Wará bi-man Wulliya Nāʾiban min al-Atrāk bi-Dimashq al-Shām al-Kubrá* (Cairo, 1973), 19–20], who in turn writes to the sultan and gets his approval. See also Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah*, 14:7:175; and for a document about his appointment to al-Nūrīyah, see al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá* (Cairo ed.), 12:353–55, cited by Guellil, *Damaszener Akten,* 21. The way the father succeeds his father-in-law and is succeeded by his son is very much in line with the predominant practice of the age. Escovitz indicates that 25 out of 31 judges of Cairo under Turkish Mamluk sultans, whose reason for appointment can be discerned, came to office through nepotism, *nāʾib* succession, the combination of both, and patronage (see the chart of "Reasons for Appointments" in Escovitz, *The Office of* Qâḍî al-Quḍât, 82). This should lead us to consider carefully whether these informal ways of coming to office are anomalies, or the very basis, hence the norm, of the operation of public offices.

[59] For Mizzah, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān,* 5:122. Besides the sources cited, biographical information about ʿImād al-Dīn may also be found in al-Ḥusaynī, "Al-Dhayl al-Thānī," 269; Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 3:18–19; Abū al-Maḥāsin Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah* (Cairo, 1949), 10:181; and al-Laknawī, *Al-Fawāʾid al-Bahīyah,* 117.

[60] The date is given as 721 by al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,* 23, and Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 4:43, though this date does not agree with Ibn Kathīr, who states that Najm al-Dīn was 15 years old in 734/1334 (*Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:7:133–34). Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq,* 198, gives a precise date, 2 Muḥarram 720, which is closer to Ibn Kathīr's statement.

tionaries, there is one that supports Chamberlain's argument about the competition among the elite over available positions at madrasahs. Najm al-Dīn was challenged over the position at al-Khātūnīyah by someone called ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-Uṭrūsh, and some members of the scholarly elite got involved in the issue by writing letters in support of Najm al-Dīn. One of them, Abū al-Baqāʾ al-Subkī, later Shafiʿi chief judge of Damascus, claimed Najm al-Dīn to be the shaykh of Ḥanafīyah in all Syria (al-Shām).[61]

Najm al-Dīn seems to have had good relationships with the political authorities as well; in 750/1349, he received a robe of honor from Cairo.[62] And when he died in 758/1357, his funeral prayer was led by the amir ʿAlī al-Mārdānī, the deputy of the sultan in Damascus.[63] His works are many, and the following is a tentative list:

- *Tuḥfat al-Turk fīmā Yajib an Yuʿmala fī al-Mulk,* written in 753/1352, for which Brockelmann mentions three copies, among them the Berlin 5614, which is the manuscript used by al-Sayyid for publication. In addition to the ones mentioned by Brockelmann, at least two more copies exist, the second of which formed the basis for a draft translation into English by Rifa'at Abou-El-Haj.[64]
- *Al-Nūr al-Lāmiʿ fīmā Yuʿmalu bi-hi fī al-Jāmiʿ,* a short treatise about the administration of the Umayyad mosque in Damascus, inserted into the sixth

[61] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 4:43; al-Tamīmī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Sanīyah,* 1:214; the latter source is the fullest about Najm al-Dīn's life, as it makes use of almost all the biographical dictionaries written earlier. For Abū al-Baqāʾ al-Subkī, see Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Quḍāt Dimashq,* 106–7.

[62] Ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah,* 14:7:186. Actually, the text suggests that this occasion might be his official appointment as well: on Monday, 15 Jumādá II, . . . Najm al-Dīn . . . *ḥukkima/ḥakama*, *wa dhālika bi-tawqīʿ sulṭānī wa-khilʿah min al-diyār al-Miṣrīyah*. The date corresponds to the coming of the new *nāʾib* Aytamish; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Iʿlām,* 21. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie a L'époque des Mamelouks* (Paris, 1923), 160, states that the chief judges of Damascus were appointed by the *tawqīʿ sharīf* of the palace. If that was his official appointment, one wonders on what grounds he may have held his office until then.

[63] Al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,* 23, and following him, Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 4:43; al-Tamīmī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Sanīyah,* 1:214; al-Mardānī was the *nāʾib* of Damascus between 753 and 759; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Iʿlām,* 22–23.

[64] Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn,* 1:364, and Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal*, 1:111, both give the same date, suggesting the possibility that they saw the autograph version of the work. For the three copies, see C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* (Leiden, 1949), 2:95/79; idem, Supplementband II (Leiden, 1938), 87; Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis,* 5:116. A fourth copy is mentioned by al-Ziriklī, *Al-Aʿlām* (Beirut, 1979, 4th ed.), 1:51 (cited by al-Sayyid, "Ṣirāʿ al-Fuqahāʾ," 18, n. 2), as ʿĀrif Ḥikmat Library (in Medina), *fiqh ḥanafī,* n. 83; and the fifth one is in İstanbul, Millet Kütüphanesi, Feyzullah Efendi collection, 2122, fols. 96b–105b, ascribed to Feyzullah Efendi (d. 1115/1703), an Ottoman *şeyhülislâm,* of which Rifa'at Abou-El-Haj was kind enough to let me borrow the microfilm. Abou-El-Haj's unpublished English translation is a draft, though it greatly helped me in finding my way in the Arabic original.

chapter of the *Tuḥfah,* thus published by al-Sayyid as well.[65] Ḥājjī Khalīfah attributes it to Ibn al-ʿIzz al-Ḥanafī, a name mentioned as a pseudo-author in his entry for the *Tuḥfah* as well.[66]

- *Anfaʿ al-Wasāʾil ilá Taḥrīr al-Masāʾil,* or *Al-Fatāwá al-Ṭarasūsīyah,* the best-known work of the author. Several manuscripts exist; it was published in 1926, and it was abridged by at least three later authors.[67]
- *Al-Iʿlām bi-Muṣtalaḥ al-Shuhūd wa-al-Ḥukkām,* large parts of which have been published and translated into German by Guellil.[68]
- *Urjūzah fī Maʿrifat mā bayna al-Ashāʿirah wa-al-Ḥanafīyah min al-Khilāf fī Uṣūl al-Dīn,* a short poem, mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar, and already reproduced by al-Ṣafadī.[69]

Apart from these published works, there are six titles mentioned by al-Maqrīzī:[70]

- *Rafʿ al-Kulfah ʿan al-Ikhwān fī Dhikr mā Quddima fīhi al-Qiyās ʿalá al-Istiḥsān;*[71]

[65] *Tuḥfat al-Turk,* 102–5; MK, fol. 101a, line 26–fol. 101b, line 35; also see, Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis,* 5:393. Although Guellil, *Damaszener Akten,* 23, n. 32, thinks that the Berlin manuscript only includes a fragment of the work, as al-Sayyid points out, it contains all of it ("Ṣirāʿ al-Fuqahāʾ," 19–20, n. 1).

[66] Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn,* 1:364, 2:1983; Ahlwardt, *Verzeichnis,* 5:116, argues that Ibn al-ʿIzz and Najm al-Dīn should be the same person since the grandfather of Najm al-Dīn was called Shams al-Dīn al-ʿIzz. Yet, first of all, the grandfather is Shams al-Dīn *ibn* al-ʿIzz, and he is a maternal grandfather, as MK, fol. 102 a, lines 14–15 reads (see also note 52 above); and second, the Paris copy of the *Tuḥfat al-Turk* is ascribed to Aḥmad ibn al-ʿIzz al-Ḥanafī, not Ibrāhīm (Brockelmann, *GAL,* 2:95/79). Thus, this problem might be connected to the biographical issue with the name Aḥmad, mentioned above; however, none of this endangers the identification of the author of *Tuḥfat al-Turk* and *al-Nūr;* see the next footnote.

[67] *Al-Fatāwá al-Ṭarasūsīyah aw Anfaʿ al-Wasāʾil ilá Taḥrīr al-Masāʾil,* ed. Muṣṭafá Muḥammad Khafājī (n.p., 1344/1926). See Brockelmann, *GAL,* 2:95/79, and Supplementband II, 87, where it is mentioned that the two abridgements were made in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries; the third one is taken from Ḥājjī Khalīfah's entry on the book in *Kashf al-Ẓunūn,* 1:183, which does not give a date. The *Anfaʿ* is referred to by the author in the *Tuḥfat al-Turk* as his own work, clinching the case for Najm al-Dīn's authorship of the *Tuḥfat al-Turk* (*Tuḥfat al-Turk,* 136; MK, fol. 104b, lines 32–33).

[68] See n. 49 above. The four manuscripts examined by Guellil are described in *Damaszener Akten,* 29–32. The work is also attributed to a different author: see Brockelmann, Supplementband II, 87; and Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn*, 1:127. Guellil resolves the problem, *Damaszener Akten,* 29.

[69] Ibn Ḥajar, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah,* 1:44, and following him al-Tamīmī, *Al-Ṭabaqāt al-Sanīyah,* 1:215; they may have seen the poem in al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr,* 23–24.

[70] Al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk* (Cairo, 1970), 3:1:36; and following him, Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm,* 10:326, and idem, *Al-Manhal,* 1:110–11.

[71] Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn,* 1:830 and 910, both referring apparently to the same work.

- *Al-Ikhtilāfāt al-Wāqiʿah fī al-Muṣannafāt;*[72]
- *Manāsik al-Ḥājj;*[73]
- *Maḥẓūrāt al-Iḥrām;*[74]
- *Al-Ishārāt fī Ḍabṭ al-Mushkilāt;*[75]
- *Al-Fawāʾid al-Manẓūmah fī al-Fiqh.*[76]

Another important title might be *Wafayāt al-Aʿyān min Madhhab Abī Ḥanīfah al-Nuʿmān,* which seems to be at least three volumes.[77]
Two more works of his are available in manuscript form:

- *ʿUmdat al-Ḥukkām fīmā lā Yanfudhu min al-Aḥkām;*[78]
- *Al-Unmūdhaj min al-ʿUlūm li-Arbāb al-Fuhūm.*[79]

Other titles attributed to him are:

- *Al-Khiṣāl fī Furūʿ al-Ḥanafīyah;*[80]
- *Risālah fī Jawāz (al-Jumʿah) fī Mawḍiʿayn min Miṣr;*[81]

[72] Ibid., 1:33.

[73] Ibid., 2:1832, referred to as *Manāsik al-Ṭarasūsī,* yet the description of the book as *muṭawwal* parallels al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī.

[74] Ibid., 2:1616.

[75] Ibid., 1:97.

[76] This is the work referred to by Brockelmann as *Al-Fawāʾid al-Fiqhīyah al-Badrīyah,* written in 754/1352, composed in one thousand verses; see *GAL* 2:95/79, and Supplementband II, 87. Ḥājjī Khalīfah has two different entries, one called *Al-Fawāʾid al-Fiqhīyah,* described as a *manẓūmah* (*Kashf al-Ẓunūn,* 2:1300); and one called *Manẓūmah fī al-Furūʿ,* described as comprising a thousand verses. Ḥājjī Khalīfah adds that the author called it *Al-Fawāʾid al-Badrīyah al-Fiqhīyah,* then wrote a commentary on it, called *Al-Durrah al-Sanīyah,* which became a source for the *manẓūmah* of Ibn Wahbān (ibid., 2:1867); see also Ismāʿīl Pāshā al-Baghdādī, *Īḍāḥ al-Maknūn fī al-Dhayl ʿalá Kashf al-Ẓunūn* (Tehran, 1967, 3rd ed.), 1:615. This work is probably the second-best-known title of the author, as Ibn Quṭlūbughā (d. 879/1474), *Tāj al-Tarājim fī Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyah* (Baghdad, 1962), 4, only cites two works of the author in his short entry, namely *Al-Fawāʾid* and *Al-Fatāwá*.

[77] Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn,* 2:1098 and 2019, apparently both referring to the same work; al-Ziriklī mentions a copy of it in al-Ẓāhirīyah library in Damascus (*Al-Aʿlām,* 1:51, n. 9625); and Maḥmūd Ḥasan al-Tunkī, *Muʿjam al-Muṣannifīn* (Beirut, 1344), 3:243, mentions that he came across the first and third volumes of this work. This work might be the reason why Wüstenfeld included Najm al-Dīn Ibrāhīm among the historians of the Arabs in his *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Araber und ihre Werke* (Göttingen, 1882), 419.

[78] Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn,* 2:1166–67; Brockelmann, *GAL,* 2:95/79.

[79] Ismāʿīl Pāshā al-Baghdādī, *Īḍāḥ al-Maknūn,* 1:137; al-Ziriklī, *Al-Aʿlām*, 1:51, states this title is available in Awqāf Baghdād, no. 6470.

[80] Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn,* 1:705; Ismāʿīl Pāshā al-Baghdādī, *Īḍāḥ al-Maknūn,* 1:430.

[81] Ḥājjī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Ẓunūn,* 1:858; this treatise is written in response to *Risālah fī al-Jumʿah wa-ʿAdam Jawaz al-Ṣalāt fī Mawāḍiʿ Mutaʿaddidah* by a certain Qiwām al-Dīn Amīr Kātib ibn

- a *sharḥ* to the famous *Hidāyah* of al-Marghīnānī;[82]
- *Al-Sirāj wa-al-Wahhāj;*[83]
- *Rafʿ Kulfat al-Taʿab li-mā Yuʿmalu fī al-Durūs wa-al-Khuṭab;*[84]
- *Dhakhīrat al-Nāẓir fī Ashbāh wa-al-Naẓāʾir.*[85]

Amīr ʿUmar.

[82] Ibid., 2:2039, supposedly in five volumes.

[83] Ibid., 1:984, yet the identification of the author is far from certain, as only the *nisbah* al-Ṭarasūsī is mentioned. According to the description of Ḥājjī Khalīfah, the work seems to have been translated into Ottoman Turkish in the sixteenth century.

[84] Ibid., 1:910.

[85] Al-Ziriklī, *Al-Aʿlām*, 1:51.

Appendix II: Further Points of Comparison between Hanafism and Shafiʿism[86]

First, the application of a *ḥadd* punishment to a slave: according to al-Ṭarasūsī, Abū Ḥanīfah states that the owner of the slave is not eligible to apply the *ḥadd* without the permission of the ruler, whereas al-Shāfiʿī claims that the owner does not need the permission of the ruler. For the author, this is an offense against the sovereignty of the sultan because the Prophet said: "(The prerogative of) the *ḥudūd* belongs to the rulers."[87]

Second, according to al-Ṭarasūsī, whereas Abū Ḥanīfah does not hold the ruler responsible for a person who dies under a deserved *taʿzīr,* al-Shāfiʿī does.[88]

Third, if a person kills a *laqīṭ,* according to Abū Ḥanīfah, the sultan has the license to execute retaliation, whereas for al-Shāfiʿī, he does not.[89]

Fourth, for Abū Ḥanīfah, the feast prayer is permissible only if the sultan or his deputy is present, whereas al-Shāfiʿī does not see the sultan's or his deputy's presence as necessary.[90]

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[86] See n. 20 above.

[87] *Tuḥfat al-Turk,* 67; MK, fol. 97a, lines 20–23. Here, as in most of the other points, the source of al-Ṭarasūsī, as indicated by al-Sayyid, seems to be Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī's (d. 654/1256) *Al-Intiṣār wa-al-Tarjīḥ lil-Madhhab al-Ṣaḥīḥ* (Madīnat Naṣr, n.d.), 17. However, Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī never mentions al-Shāfiʿī as the opposing view; he states the other view as *wa-qāla ghayruhu,* or *wa-qāla man khālafahu* in all his nine points. Another Hanafi, al-Marghīnānī (al-Ṭarasūsī wrote a *sharḥ* of his *Al-Hidāyah;* see Appendix I), states that al-Shāfiʿī argues that the owner has absolute *wilāyah* over his slave; then he invokes the tradition of the Prophet that four (prerogatives) belong to the rulers, among them the *ḥudūd,* which is a version of the tradition that al-Ṭarasūsī employs (*Al-Hidāyah*, 4:119–20). Yet the tradition seems to be quite weak, as there are at least three versions of it where the four things mentioned differ, and one of them includes only three prerogatives; see Jamāl al-Dīn al-Zaylaʿī (d. 762), *Naṣb al-Rāyah, Takhrīj Aḥādīth al-Hidāyah* (published together with *al-Hidāyah*), 4:119–20, for the three versions the transmissions of which do not reach back to the Prophet; the tradition is not mentioned by Wensinck.

[88] *Tuḥfat al-Turk,* 66; MK, fol. 97a, lines 16–18; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Intiṣār wa-al-Tarjīḥ*, 17. Al-Marghīnānī, *Al-Hidāyah,* 4:175, states that al-Shāfiʿī holds the *bayt al-māl* responsible for blood money.

[89] *Tuḥfat al-Turk,* 68; MK, fol. 97a, lines 28–29; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Intiṣār wa-al-Tarjīḥ*, 18.

[90] *Tuḥfat al-Turk,* 67–68, MK, fol. 97a, lines 26–28. There is a disagreement over the presence of the sultan or his deputy at the Friday prayer, but I could not find any reference to the issue in feast prayer; see al-Ṭaḥawī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Ṭaḥawī,* 35; al-Marghīnānī, *Al-Hidāyah*, 2:233; al-Sarakhsī, *Kitāb al-Mabsūṭ,* 2:25, where the author states that if the sultan stays in his residence, then the people should find out whether its door is open or not, the open door indicating permission for the Friday prayer. The argument seems to depend on the weak tradition referred to above, as the Friday prayer is one of the four prerogatives mentioned. On the other hand, the Shafiʿi al-Shīrāzī (d. 476) recognizes the permission of the sultan for Friday prayer as a *sunnah;* and al-Māwardī, by dividing the mosques into two, the government mosques—which are big and hence host the Friday prayer—and the public mosques, and by giving the right of appointment of a prayer leader to the former

Fifth, in a funeral prayer where both the sultan and the relatives of the deceased are present, Abū Ḥanīfah says that the sultan should lead the prayer, while al-Shāfiʿī claims that the relatives have priority.[91]

Sixth, the booty of the killed does not belong to the killer according to Abū Ḥanīfah, unless the ruler specifies beforehand that whoever kills someone has the right to the booty of the killed; whereas for al-Shāfiʿī, the booty belongs to the killer whether the ruler stipulated so or not.[92]

exclusively to the sultan, in effect modifies the Shafiʿi view; Norman Calder, "Friday Prayer and the Juristic Theory of Government: Sarakhsī, Shīrāzī, Māwardī," *BSOAS* 49 (1986): 41, 44–45; al-Māwardī, *Al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭānīyah,* 172, 179–80.

[91] *Tuḥfat al-Turk,* p. 68; MK, fol. 97a, l. 29–31; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Intiṣār wa-al-Tarjīḥ*, 18. Al-Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, 1:461, sees this as a private matter, hence the priority of the relatives. See also al-Ṭaḥawī, *Mukhtaṣar al-Ṭaḥawī,* 41; and al-Marghīnānī, *Al-Hidāyah*, 2:315, who gives an elaborate line of succession according to which if the sultan is not present, then the *qāḍī* should lead the prayer; if he is not present either, then the imam of the neighborhood should lead the prayer; the relatives come only after him.

[92] *Tuḥfat al-Turk,* p. 66; MK, fol. 97a, lines 14–16; Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Al-Intiṣār wa-al-Tarjīḥ*, 17; al-Sarakhsī, *Kitāb al-Mabsūṭ,* 10:47–48. Al-Shāfiʿī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, 4:184, states that what the Prophet said at the battle of Ḥunayn, *man qatala qatīlan la-hu salabuhu,* is a *ḥukm* since the Prophet gave the booty to the killer on other occasions as well, as opposed to an *ijtihād* limited to this particular case, a view held by Mālik (see n. 2, p. 184). This becomes a trivial issue as that kind of booty is limited to the things that are on the body of the person who is killed, excluding his properties (Ibn Jamāʿah, *Taḥrīr al-Aḥkām,* 220); besides, there are five conditions which qualify whether the killer deserves the booty of the killed (ibid., 219–20).

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The Politics of Insult: The Mamluk Sultanate's Response to Criminal Affronts

Authority, to be acknowledged, requires a recognized capacity for enforcement of its edicts. But from a broader perspective, the effective implementation of edicts rests on respect. In medieval Muslim societies, such respect accrued to the governing agents pledged to rule as custodians of *sharīʿah* and *sunnah*, law and orthodoxy. The members of the oligarchy that stood at the apex of authority in the Mamluk state regarded themselves as the legitimate upholders of the revealed law, guardians of accepted canons of belief, and guarantors of that public order requisite to the function of God's commonwealth among the faithful. God had seen fit to grant them alone the means to serve in this singular role.

God's endorsement of their custodianship rested on a venerable foundation of legal theory. The learned establishment (ulama) concurred that the ruler and his retainers served legitimately as God's adjutants in this life. Obedience of their commands was equivalent to obedience to God himself.[1] The scholars' rationale behind such a sweeping delegation of legitimacy derived from their association of the power to enforce with the need for order. Humankind was prone to endemic conflict, and only through its resolution could order be maintained. No practical legal system can tolerate anarchy, and no divine injunctions readily sanction it. The classical jurists thus reasoned that the ruler acted as a successor to the Prophet, standing as a bulwark against anarchy by upholding order. The *sharīʿah* was applied as a divine dispensation to assure the welfare of Muslim believers. Their welfare required stability, while anarchy was antithetical to it. The ruling authorities, despite their temporal flaws, accordingly warranted obedience since they were essential to stability and thus welfare.[2] The Mamluk oligarchy took seriously their obligations as custodians of *sharīʿah* and guarantors of order, not the least because their own origins as independent rulers stemmed from usurpation. Keenly aware

[1] Khaled Abou El Fadl, *Religion and Violence in Islamic Law* (Cambridge, 2001), 15–16, discusses the analysis posed by Aziz al-Azmeh (*Muslim Kingship: Power and the Sacred in Muslim, Christian and Pagan Politics* [London, 1997], 123), who claims that commands from the legitimate ruler were to be obeyed as the equivalent of God's ordinances. Al-Azmeh relied on such theorists as al-Mawārdī and Ibn Jamāʿah.

[2] Abou El Fadl, *Religion and Violence,* 26: the legal system does not endorse anarchy; 27: the ruler succeeds the Prophet as upholder of order which is requisite to the function of the Islamic commonwealth. Order was essential to the welfare of Muslim believers.

that the founders of their regime had deposed and executed a legitimate member of the preceding dynasty, the Mamluks sought to justify their coup by standing as a bulwark against chaos. The coterie of senior officers who made up this oligarchy, first of whom was the sultan, expected the jurists and scholars to provide the ideological justification for their exercise of power. The latter supplied the requisite principles as expressed by the classical expounders of the law. According to them, the ruler possessed the discretion *(takhyīr)* to determine criminal penalties according to the severity of the crime.[3] More specifically, the ruler could decide the degree of heinousness of crimes committed via "banditry" *(muḥārabah)*—a term with a flexible definition, embracing a broad range of larceny and theft. Severity was measured according to stealth applied, value of commodities stolen, extent of injury inflicted, or number of lives taken.[4] While the ruler was in theory not free to impose punishments arbitrarily, the imperatives of assuring order and preserving God's commonwealth gave him a virtually free hand in practice—to the extent of his enforcement capacity and personal inclinations.

Mamluk sultans readily adopted the stance of severe but just arbiters of criminal litigation, particularly when attempting to solidify their reigns. Several chroniclers noted the discomfiture caused by al-Ẓāhir Barqūq in Ramaḍān 789/September–October 1387, when he announced his readiness to hear petitions twice a week from victims of crime at all social levels.[5] The authors elaborated on the trepidation this proclamation stirred among political notables *(ahl al-dawlah)* who, by implication, were responsible for much of the criminal predation suffered by the masses. But one commentator, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, went so far as to claim that this proclamation tempted "the lowest *(al-asāfil)* [in society] to assault the highest *(al-aʿālī)*." Al-Maqrīzī subsequently mused over Barqūq's stratagems that aimed cleverly at ameliorating the impression that he had acted for simple revenge. In Muḥarram 793/December 1390, the sultan imprisoned the amir Āqbughā al-Mārdīnī, former governor of Upper Egypt and a potential contender for the throne, on the grounds of his tyranny and oppression.[6] Al-Maqrīzī noted that Barqūq had waited patiently until the amir's cruelty necessitated his removal. The amir's manifest criminality

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[3] Ibid., 57: the ruler has discretion to decide the penalty appropriate to a crime's severity.

[4] Ibid., 138: Mālik stated that the ruler had the discretion to determine the most effective way to deal with bandits; 208: the Maliki jurist al-Bājī argued that the ruler's discretion to decide the penalty for banditry should not be open to whim; he should consult the jurists according to the circumstances of each case—therefore implying that the jurists should participate in criminal prosecution.

[5] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* vols. 1–2 ed. M. Muṣṭafá Ziyādah (Cairo, 1956–58), vols. 3–4 ed. Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ ʿĀshūr (Cairo, 1970–73), 3:566, line 3: sultan holds court twice a week to hear injustice appeals; Nūr al-Dīn ibn al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhat al-Nufūs wa-al-ʿAbdān fī Tawārīkh al-Zamān,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970–73, 1994), 1:157, line 1: same issue.

[6] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:734, line 3.

obscured any popular perception that the sultan was acting in his own self-interest. He struck down his rival when the latter's own acts merited reprisal in the cause of justice.

The Mamluk oligarchy often displayed its commitment to preserving public order by periodically demonstrating its rigorous enforcement of public morals. Restricting the movement of women outside the home was a reliable ritual imposed when natural crises such as plague signaled to many God's wrath over lapsed morals. Chroniclers on several occasions commented on edicts forbidding women to depart their dwellings even during festivals when they customarily went out to fulfill religious obligations.[7] Elaborate instructions setting the appropriate length for gowns, sleeves, and veils often accompanied these edicts. Penalties for ignoring these edicts were potentially severe and might even warrant bisection—for both the female offender and the conveying mule driver foolish enough to have disobeyed the sultan's warning. Yet chroniclers noted that these strictures inevitably lapsed, and women resumed their previous penchant for public egress, until the next crisis necessitated a re-imposition of control over their movements.[8]

An illuminating example of an individual whose behavior embodied qualities sought by the ruler seeking to curb crime by intimidation may be seen in the appointment of one Dawlāt Khujā al-Ẓāhirī by Sultan Barsbāy to the Cairo prefecture of police in Ramaḍān 836/April–May 1433.[9] Ibn Taghrībirdī discussed this individual's character at length, stressing his vulgarity and malice. Barsbāy had noticed his bellicosity when both were serving as line troopers during Barqūq's reign. Upon Barsbāy's own enthronement, he sent Dawlāt Khujā to inspect several provinces. When Dawlāt showed himself sufficiently formidable, the sultan made him inspector *(kāshif)* over all of Upper Egypt "where he devised diverse torments of criminal elements *(ahl al-fasād)* and highwaymen *(quṭṭāʿ al-ṭarīq)*. When he apprehended a criminal, he inflated him through his buttocks with a bellows so that his eyes popped out and his brain burst." Ibn Taghrībirdī did not intend his gruesome depictions of Dawlāt's ferocity to obscure the amir's astuteness upon his appointment to the pre-

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[7] Ibid., 3:751, line 5, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 793/October 1391: *nāʾib* cuts wide sleeves on women's gowns; 4:1209, line 11, Jumādá I 844/Sept.–Oct. 1440: women forbidden to go out; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Nuzhah,* 1:334, line 11, Jumādá II 793/May–June 1391: on prohibition of women's free movement; Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* ed. Fahīm Muḥammad Shaltūt et al. (Cairo, 1970–72), 12:30, line 5, Ramaḍān 792/Aug.–Sep. 1390: *nāʾib al-ghaybah* restricts women's movements; ibid., 15:94, line 9, Ramaḍān 841/Feb.–Mar. 1438: *muḥtasib* brutally limits women's movements; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ al-Zuhūr fī Waqāʾiʿ al-Duhūr,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá et al. (Cairo/Wiesbaden, 1960–63), 3:67, line 11, Rajab 876/Dec. 1471–Jan. 1472: sultan proclaims clothing rules for women.

[8] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:1033, line 13, Ramaḍān 841/Feb.–Mar. 1438: women again allowed to go out.

[9] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 14:359, line 23: on appointment of Dawlāt Khujā as *walī.*

fecture of Cairo. Dawlāt initiated his tenure by releasing most hardened criminals from Cairo's jails. His magnanimity was tempered by an ominous warning. After recording the names of all prisoners set free, the *wālī* informed them that any who were subsequently apprehended in thievery would be bisected—no exceptions, no chance for reincarceration. Ibn Taghrībirdī stated that Dawlāt inflicted a veritable reign of terror over Cairo's criminal classes. He also noted wryly that his methods were brutally effective; theft came to a virtual standstill during his prefecture. Although Dawlāt's savagery offended too many influential persons and led to his temporary dismissal, the sultan soon found his talents indispensable. In Ramaḍān 841/ March 1438, he appointed him market inspector *(muḥtasib),* commissioning him to apply similar tactics under the guise of a different office.[10] Ibn Taghrībirdī claimed that Barsbāy rejected a list of candidates submitted to him by his advisors, presumably as excessively humane. He then claimed "to know one who is not (a devout) Muslim, and does not fear God." Barsbāy summoned Dawlāt, bestowed his robe of office, and urged him to enforce his duties rigorously. Dawlāt was enjoined to focus his special attention on regulating women's public movements, even though his previous restrictions on them had forced his earlier dismissal. Rising alarm over successive plague epidemics apparently induced the ulama to sanction the sultan's re-imposition of strict regulations over women's dress and the circumstances under which they might leave their homes (primarily to purchase household supplies). Dawlāt enforced the sultan's commands so severely that he was alleged to have denied mothers the right to visit their children's gravesites upon interment.

The example of Dawlāt Khujā as police chief and market inspector may seem extreme, but he clearly manifested traits thought necessary for the effective curbing of violence and quelling of crime. Public outcry over the methods of such an individual might oblige his temporary dismissal. But he was invariably recalled when public alarm reached a critical stage that threatened the collapse of order. Such a calamity signaled the potential disintegration of society. The preservation of order was essential even if individual rights were compromised. But were the ruling authorities dedicated to upholding law and order solely on principle rather than self-interest? Their record on this issue was mixed.

The political system over which the Mamluk oligarchy presided accepted conspiracy and violence as normative to advancement. As a military caste whose origins in Egypt were steeped in supplanting rivals, the Mamluks eschewed a dynastic rationale for the political elite's legitimacy. Prowess in the martial arts ranked as perhaps the most esteemed skill a recruit could offer to earn his status in the dominant caste. And since the training to which young recruits were subjected upon their arrival from Turkestan or Circassia emphasized factional loyalties cemented in barracks drill units, the potential for rivalry or outright sedition was omnipresent.

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[10] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 15:94, line 9: Dawlāt Khujā appointed *muḥtasib*.

All the way through the promotional ranks from line soldier, medial officers, senior amirs, to the sultan himself, a pervasive sense of competition and potential deposition pervaded the military caste. This deeply imbedded attitude combined with an ingrained belief in personal immunity from laws governing the civilian masses to produce a mentality that eagerly anticipated violence as an opportunity rather than a liability. The Mamluk military system that evolved in Egypt and Syria during the later Middle Ages has been the object of detailed scholarship for more than half a century, and it requires no elaboration here.[11] The issue relevant to this discussion centers on the tie between the Mamluks' proclivity for conspiracy and violence, and the propensity of this caste to exploit its advantage in criminal ways. That the ruling oligarchy routinely indulged in certain kinds of crime while simultaneously justifying its military monopoly to protect civilians from criminals is a paradox of the ruling elite's stance.

This paradox becomes explicable if the Mamluk commitment to order is seen as a collective necessity while its proclivity for violence is recognized as a path to individual advantage.[12] The military elite realized that their primary sources of income were rents from landed estates (*iqṭāʿ*s), or taxes paid by commercially productive groups in urban centers. The regularized flow of revenue from these sources depended on the maintenance of order and stability. But as noted previously, the Mamluk procedure of advancement was highly individualized—pitting soldiers and officers against each other and even their own peers in endemic factional rivalry. Moreover, those who manifested aggressive traits and relished armed conflict were simply displaying the martial values most admired by the ruling caste. Persons who harbored a congenital aversion to conflict were unlikely to rise high in the Mamluk oligarchy. These people liked to fight.

And beyond the significance of personal inclinations, the Mamluk oligarchy discerned the substantial rewards to be gained by sponsoring, if not actually committing, profitable forms of crime. These officers were fully prepared to exploit the

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[11] See David Ayalon, "Aspects of the Mamluk Phenomenon: A. The Importance of the Mamluk Institution; B. Ayyubids, Kurds and Turks," *Der Islam* 53 (1976): 196–225; 55 (1977): 1–32; idem, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army—I," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15 (1953): 203–28; Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* (London, 1986), 85–104; Carl Petry, *The Civilian Elite of Cairo in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1981), 15–33; idem, *Protectors or Praetorians? The Last Mamluk Sultans and Egypt's Waning as a Great Power* (Albany, 1994), 72–101; Linda Northrup, "The Bahri Mamluk Sultanate, 1250–1390," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt,* vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517,* ed. Carl Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 242–89; Jean-Claude Garcin, "The Regime of the Circassian Mamluks," in *Cambridge History of Egypt,* 290–317.

[12] Guido Ruggiero noted the tension between group aversion to violence and individual proclivity to commit it in the context of the Venetian nobility. See *Violence in Early Renaissance Venice* (New Brunswick, 1980), 65–66.

prerogatives of their military status to pursue the illegal activities they were sworn to suppress.[13] This tendency was exacerbated by endemic cash shortfalls the ruling oligarchy encountered in the second half of the Mamluk period. As their demands for revenues relentlessly outdistanced the supply yielded from licit sources, the oligarchy turned increasingly to extra-legal means to make up the difference.[14] Elaborate programs of confiscation concocted by the sultan himself were only the most notorious strategy in this process. The sultan's subordinate officers devised their own extortion schemes, striking deals with a wide range of gang leaders and Bedouin chiefs. And at the oligarchy's base, trainees and recruits *(julbān)* staged riots almost routinely to demand stipend or bonus payments that had fallen into arrears. All of these factors combined to create a pragmatic inducement to violence among the military elite. Its occurrence was always a latent possibility. What then were the selective categories of criminality that the elite was not prepared to tolerate? The answer is those that challenged its primacy or diminished its sources of income.

The ruling oligarchy assumed a stance of absolute supremacy in the political hierarchy. In return for their defense of order, the oligarchy expected all subordinate elements to acknowledge their hegemony. They were prepared to confront and subdue any individual or group that challenged this primacy, the essence of which was a monopoly over military force. Any acts they perceived as threatening or otherwise compromising their primacy were met with vigorous reprisal—while other obstreperous behavior confined to lower classes was often ignored.[15] Al-Ẓāhir Barqūq, founder of the Circassian line of sultans, demonstrated an acumen for maintaining a balance between autocracy and magnanimity. While demanding submission from his subjects, Barqūq was solicitous of their interests and garnered widespread popular support. The historian al-Maqrīzī appreciated this acumen on the sultan's part, and gave him credit for much of his success among the masses as

[13] Barbara Hanawalt discussed "fur-collar" crimes committed by persons high placed in the En - lish military establishment in *Crime and Conflict in English Communities, 1300–1348* (Cambridge, 1979), 138–39. Hanawalt also described extortion and protection rackets overseen by English nobles (142–43), nobles and their household gangs (214), and nobles directing criminals responsible for the acts (215).

[14] See Petry, *Protectors,* chapters 6 and 7, for analysis of confiscation schemes devised by Mamluk sultans to ward off insolvency.

[15] Severe reprisals against regional crimes were meted out when the regime's reputation had been flaunted. Al-Maqrīzī (*Sulūk,* 2:383, line 9: Rajab 735/Feb.–Mar. 1335) observed that an individual, whose legacy of cruelty in Damascus qualified him for the inspectorship of the Delta, imposed draconian penalties on highwaymen who had discredited the government. The same author noted a similar appointment decades later (*Sulūk,* 3:352, line 2, Muḥarram 781/Apr.–May 1379) when tribal predation around Aswan exceeded tolerable limits. Al-Maqrīzī emphasized the negative consequences of the new governor's ferocity, since the tribes responded with increased raiding, to the extent that Aswan was temporarily isolated from Cairo's control.

a rejuvenator of the Mamluk oligarchy.[16] The interdependence between defense of stability and demand for acknowledged primacy was hardly unique to the Mamluk Sultanate. Historians who have pondered crime in medieval and renaissance Europe have noted a widespread tendency for ruling classes to reserve their most ruthless reprisals for those who disputed their authority. Guido Ruggiero, for example, noted that the Council of Ten, organized in fourteenth-century Venice to prosecute criminals regarded as inimical to the interests of the commercial elite in that city, concentrated its attention on speech crimes that slandered the motives behind governmental policies.[17] Overall, several commentators have observed that the steady rise of state control over crime in pre-modern Europe broadly paralleled a simultaneous intensification of the local regime's demand for recognition of primacy from its subjects.[18]

The ruling oligarchy of Cairo, and their civilian staff who administered the apparatus of government, therefore regarded as particularly odious crimes that: (a) compromised their control over society, (b) denigrated their status, (c) disrupted access to property, (d) alarmed custodians of religious belief, or (e) rattled moral sensibilities to the extent that order was threatened. The sources comment extensively on all of these categories. They are considered below seriatim to indicate the special characteristics of the threats they posed. The tension between formal principle and pragmatic interest is revealed in the rich roster of cases emerging in each category.

Civil disorder was the most brazen act of defiance the lower classes could carry out. Eruptions of mob violence starkly challenged the regime's ability to assert its authority. But despite their failure to prevent it, the regime could not let it pass unnoticed. Incidents of mob violence permeated the logs of all the chroniclers and were omnipresent in Ibn Ṭūlūn's reports on events in Damascus. This second city of the empire during the Sultanate's final decades appears to have been riven with clashes between rival gangs that had staked out their control over local districts. Although Cairo was no stranger to mob violence, the rate of cases mentioned involving civilians does not approach their frequency in Damascus. Whether this disparity

[16] Al-Maqrīzī (*Sulūk*, 3:352, line 13, Muḥarram 781/Apr.–May 1379) claimed that Barqūq "was ever solicitous of the masses' favor, defending their interests so that they admired him and fanatically supported him."

[17] Ruggiero (*Violence,* 131) observed that in Venice speech considered slanderous was condemned as a violation of communal honor and warranted the most vigorous repression.

[18] See *Crime and the Law: The Social History of Crime in Western Europe since 1500,* ed. V. A. C. Gatrell, Bruce Lenman, and Geoffrey Parker (London, 1980), 18, for intense reprisals inflicted on those who challenge the established social order. Juridical sources focus on crimes regarded as such threats, while neglecting crimes regarded as inconsequential to this issue. E. Muir and G. Ruggiero (*History from Crime* [Baltimore, 1994], 227) note this focus of sources emphasizing crimes that confront the ruling authorities.

is due to more effective control by the police forces in Cairo or to innate differences between the propensity of social elements to commit mob violence in each city is an issue weighed subsequently.

Mob violence was rarely indiscriminate; its outbursts reveal distinct perpetrators: organized criminal bands, rival gangs fighting for hegemony over local turf, or Mamluk recruits obstreperously defying commands to behave docilely from their officers—often following shortfalls in rations or delayed stipend payments. The regime's responses to these diverse patterns of disruption corresponded in severity to the perceived challenge they posed. Repeated assaults by criminals represented coordinated action calculated to profit from civil unrest. The authorities' reprisals against repeat offenders—when they succeeded in catching them—ranged from spectacular cruelty to resigned cooption. But indifference could not be an option in the face of defiance.

The eminent legal scholar Ibn Ḥajar, whose logs included only notorious criminal cases, reported a mass execution of repeat offenders profiting from riots in Damascus during Rajab 804/February–March 1402.[19] The group was "suspended from hooks driven through their orifices" and left to expire slowly. Ibn Ḥajar was keenly aware of the shock value posed by this grisly mutilation. But he hardly condemned it, noting that these hardened thieves "had assailed the populace, murdering, strangling, and plundering. The amount of clothing *(qumāsh)* they had seized was beyond calculation." Although the dry goods the authorities could locate were placed on display for victims to reclaim, Ibn Ḥajar also stated that this reprisal did not deter but in fact motivated the thieves' comrades to even further predation. This ambiguous outcome of an extreme punishment was echoed by all the chroniclers uniformly. Yet the regime persisted with such measures throughout the later medieval period.[20]

Gang warfare, as distinct from more random mob violence, was often described as a reaction to premeditated provocation. Depictions of incidents revealed evi-

[19] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1969–72), 2:204.

[20] Nūr al-Dīn ibn al-Jawharī al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ al-Haṣr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿAṣr,* ed. Ḥasan Ḥabashī (Cairo, 1970), 425, line 10, Ramaḍān 876/Feb.–Mar. 1472: sultan orders mutilation of repeat offenders; Shams al-Dīn Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahat al-Khillān fī Ḥawādith al-Zamān,* ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafá (Cairo, 1962, 1964), 1:257, line 23, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 907/May–June 1502: four repeat criminals hanged publicly; ibid., 1:374, line 2, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 918/Jan.–Feb. 1513: five criminals denounced and bisected; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:416, line 10, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 920/Jan. 1514: *walī* bisects two grooms for allegations of theft after dark; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 2:22, line 18, Jumādá II 922/July 1516: *nāʾib* of Damascus bisects four criminals for elaborate thievery operations; ibid., 2:43, line 4, Ṣafar 923/Feb.–Mar. 1517: *nāʾib* executes entire criminal gang for rampaging in aftermath of Mamluk defeat; ibid., 2:62, line 5, Jumādá I 923/May–June 1517: Ottoman sultan *(sūbāshī)* impales gang leader to curb mob action; ibid., 2:100, line 11, Rabīʿ I 926/Feb.–Mar. 1520: *nāʾib* builds five guard towers in Damascus to restrain criminals.

dence of long-standing, coordinated operational structures and hidden arms caches. As noted above, the overwhelming majority of such incidents were reported for Damascus.[21] The quarters of al-Shāghūr, Maydān al-Ḥaṣā, and al-Qubaybah emerged as hotbeds of armed conflict, brigades of their residents sallying forth to seek revenge for a slight from a rival district. Violence was invariably directed against the symbol of governmental restriction: the *nāʾib* governor. In Jumādá II 890/June–July 1485, Ibn al-Ḥimṣī reported a massive riot that began with the murder of a Shāghūrī.[22] The victim had himself instigated the incident by accosting an individual from another quarter with murderous intent. But the latter's son apprehended the Shāghūrī, who was then struck down by his intended victim. Ibn al-Ḥimṣī then stated that the residents of al-Shāghūr gathered to avenge the homicide of one of their own. After plundering the bowmakers' market (almost certainly not a coincidence since the regime had attempted to monopolize this weapon), the Shāghūrī brigade refused to disperse when confronted by a spokesman for the governor. Defying the *nāʾib*'s emblems displayed to demand surrender of weapons, the Shāghūrīs assumed "full battle gear" and marched against the governor's residence. Alarmed by this massive show of resistance, the *nāʾib* recalled companies deployed in the countryside to quell the Bedouin. When these units formed up in front of the *nāʾib*'s palace and charged the rebels, the Shāghūrīs retreated back to their district. However, the governor found himself incapable of further pursuit because the rebels broke down gates and bridges, barring access to their quarter. "The women perched on the roofs, casting stones from slingshots. Some of them were killed, some wounded. A devastating event that closed the markets."

This kind of incident, reported so often by chroniclers of Damascene politics, exhibits several common features. First, the inhabitants of al-Shāghūr were well-organized militarily and heavily armed. Second, their ulterior aim was theft rather than vengeance. They stood ready to seize upon any provocation to raid markets, in particular those containing weapons that were otherwise off-limits to civilians. Third, these rioters regarded themselves as rebels defending their autonomy from the regime. When the authorities displayed the ritual emblems calling for their submission, the rioters openly defied them. Finally, the regime itself, in the person of

[21] Of twenty-four incidents depicting gang actions that motivated the regime to respond, only two occurred in Cairo. The evidence indicates organized gang militias in several districts of Damascus. See in this context James Grehan, "Street Violence and Social Imagination in Late-Mamluk and Ottoman Damascus (ca. 1500–1800)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35, no. 2 (May 2003): 215–36; Miura Toru, "Urban Society in Damascus as the Mamluk Era was Ending," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 10, no. 1 (2006), in particular 176–89. Miura's discussion of gangs is the most informed on the subject to date.

[22] Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn al-Ḥimṣī, *Ḥawādithal-Zamān wa-Wafayāt al-Shuyūkh wa-al-Aqrān,* ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 1999), 1:300, line 15, Jumādá II 890/June–July 1485: riot in Shāghūr district of Damascus over murder plot.

the *nāʾib* governor, took whatever measures were necessary to put down the rebellion, even to the extent of recalling units sent on other military duties. But these measures could quash only the immediate incident, never its root cause. The rebels withdrew in the face of superior forces, yet blocked the regime's entrance into their district, regrouping to riot another day. The latent propensity continued unabated. Nonetheless, the regime did not contemplate passivity in the face of this endemic challenge.

While Cairo, as the seat of imperial power and the most heavily garrisoned city in the central Arab lands, did not endure the incessant conflicts of ward gangs that sapped Damascus, the capital suffered from near-endemic revolts by its own soldiers. These riots increased in frequency and intensity during the latter decades of the Mamluk Sultanate, fueled by heightened awareness on the troopers' part of their potential power to paralyze commerce until their demands were met and their discontent over delayed wages and short rations was allayed. But chroniclers aware of market forces discerned that many junior soldiers showed themselves quick studies who learned how to profit from their riots and matured into seasoned criminals. It was this transition from naive recruit to astute predator that the regime most feared and attacked most rigorously.

The perceptive historian Ibn Taghrībirdī described this ominous trend in the context of a sultanic proclamation forbidding recruit larceny.[23] "On Wednesday the twenty-third [of Ramaḍān 860/26 August 1456], the Mamluk recruits were ordered not to oppress the populace, traders, and merchants. But this proclamation had the force of a fiddler's bow or a fly's buzz. The recruits persisted with their seizure of the people's assets, their harshness causing prices to rise for all kinds of foodstuffs, clothing, cereals, and fodder. They initially went to the outskirts of Cairo and confiscated what they found of barley, hay, and clover, paying excessively low prices (for indeed they wanted to seize them without any payment). Those [cultivators] who suffered this abuse tended not to raise these commodities a second time unless compelled by dire need. Consequently, these crops became scarce. Even as their prices climbed, they were in short supply. The recruits then began to plunder storage magazines for summer melons and other produce. Ultimately, the recruits applied their tactics to cloth merchants and other retailers. Prices of many commodities thus rose in the wake of their assaults against prominent traders *(arbābihim),* producing a condition that adversely affected all the populace, elite and commons alike. This incident signaled the start of more sordid acts to follow."

Ibn Taghrībirdī's summary of this event depicted the recruits' learning curve as they progressed from simple confiscators to sophisticated plunderers whose actions depressed Cairo's commerce as the ninth/fifteenth century drew on. The historian brusquely dismissed the sultan's proclamation as inconsequential, a fruitless ges-

[23] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 16:98, line 1, Ramaḍān 860/Aug.–Sep. 1456.

ture in the face of a rising tide of lawlessness. The regime recognized the portent of this trend and did not limit its responses to proclamations. Troop revolts, in particular those between recruits and veterans of former rulers, were vigorously repressed after admonitions to desist were met with derision. But the propensity to rebel could not be eradicated, especially as the recruits perceived its lucrative potential. Troop rioting thus had a foreboding future. Suffice it to note that it constituted a significant aspect of resistance to the regime's authority. The regime could not ignore these challenges to its primacy, and it doggedly sought to put down each incident. While the Sultanate could not eliminate the root causes of threats to its primacy, those posing these threats never succeeded in supplanting the regime itself.[24] Until the arrival of the Ottomans in 923/1517, the Mamluk Sultanate retained its position at the apex of the political structure in Egypt and Syria. An uneasy equilibrium between disruption and stability prevailed. What about the Sultanate's reaction to those who denigrated its status as an affront?

Some incidents are described primarily in terms of the insult they dealt to the regime; these incidents aroused the regime's consternation over its consequent embarrassment, but also frustration over its incapacity to mete out effective reprisal. Chagrin stemmed as much from this frustration as from any injury done to victims. Events evoking the impression of an affront were especially associated with Bedouin raiding, rural and urban banditry, or rioting by civilians and recruits. The potential for disruption of agriculture and commerce by Bedouin *(al-ʿurbān)* long predated the Mamluk period. Ever since the migration of tribes from the Arabian Peninsula into the Nile Valley following the conquest, ruling authorities in Egypt had encountered their sporadic plundering and, on occasion, open revolt. In light of the Mamluk Sultanate's own history of usurpation, however, its pledge of security for at least the settled portions of the realm ranked high in its own scale of legitimacy. Chroniclers were thus sensitive to those episodes of resistance tinged with brazen contempt on the perpetrators' part.

[24] Analysts of criminal violence in western Europe during the later Middle Ages reached parallel conclusions about the obsession of governments to proclaim their primacy of control over all subordinate elements. Of course, their success varied considerably. B. Hanawalt noted how much of English criminal law evolved as a mechanism of social control from the top (*Crime and Conflict,* 3, 63). Esther Cohen summarized the intent of criminal court proceedings in fourteenth-century Paris as primarily the preservation of order ("The Hundred Years' War and Crime in Paris," in *The Civilization of Crime: Violence in Town and Country since the Middle Ages,* ed. E. Johnson and E. H. Monkkonen [Urbana, 1996], 121). Mary Perry's study of violent crime in sixteenth-century Seville discerned the authorities' incapacity to restrict arms bearing (*Crime and Society in Early Modern Seville* [Hanover, NH, 1980], 70). The regime resigned itself to using agents of law enforcement as a buffer between themselves and the instigators of violence. G. Ruggiero, in his analysis of crime in Venice, detected an elaborate process of control. The Venetian elites acknowledged that the root causes of violence were ineradicable. But they could be suppressed enough for the elites' primacy to be upheld. See *History from Crime,* 43–44, 82, 88, 121.

Al-Maqrīzī reported a spate of Bedouin raiding early in the Circassian period.[25] "During this month [Jumādá I 818/July–August 1415], repercussions from banditry increased throughout Egyptian territory, north and south. This was due to the Bedouin's departure from obedience, and their assaults on travelers by land and the river. Many were killed. The troops were prevented from touring the districts and thus could not collect their crop yields. This [condition] resulted from the Bedouin's lack of respect for the Sultanate, and the vigor of their boldness." Ire over a "lack of respect" at the least paralleled the authorities' consternation over interruptions in collection of rents from their rural estates. Reprisals that concluded with brutal executions of those offenders they could capture led at best to temporary respites. More often, they goaded the tribes to further predation. Yet the regime persisted with this reaction.

In Syria, where the Mamluk garrisons dealt with even more destructive raiding, reprisals were correspondingly savage. Ibn Ṭūlūn described a district inspector's response as unusually barbaric.[26] "On Friday the fourteenth [of Rabīʿ II 893/28 March 1488], the *kāshif* of Ḥawrān apprehended a band known as Haytham, after the *nāʾib* governor had honored them, and written an edict (*marsūm*: of safe conduct) for them. They had showed this edict to the *kāshif,* but he paid it no heed. [Rather], he executed some thirty of them. He [then] slashed the wombs of many pregnant women, killed many youths, and seized their sheep and cattle. He inflicted on them acts not committed [even] during war. There is no power save in God, for indeed it was claimed that they [the band] were merchants of the Bedouin." While Ibn Ṭūlūn's rendition of this reprisal was intended to reveal the inspector's excess, it underscores the authorities' frustration over their perception of the affront posed by incessant Bedouin raiding.

A more personally-focused incident occurred late in the Sultanate, during the reign of Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī. The chronicler Ibn Iyās described the Sultan's outrage over the theft of an Ottoman emissary's diplomatic pouch by Bedouin near Cairo. The incident occurred in Jumādá II 920/August 1514, as relations between the Mamluk and Ottoman regimes were progressively worsening. Al-Ghawrī was keen to preserve Cairo's neutral stance while simultaneously pursuing clandestine stratagems with the Safavid regime in Iran to curb Ottoman expansion.[27] Alarmed over the probable reaction by the Ottoman sultan Selim, already known for his irascible temper, al-Ghawrī was particularly piqued by the seizure of the pouch while the emissary slept at his encampment in al-Ṣāliḥīyah, just north of Cairo. The act signaled the regime's failure to assure the safe passage of an important foreign dignitary at the doorstep of its own capital, the alleged bastion of its security. Al-

[25] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 4:319, line 3.

[26] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 1:87, line 18.

[27] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:385, line 3.

Ghawrī allegedly tore at his mustache upon learning of the theft, and dashed off an ultimatum to the regional *shaykh al-ʿarab,* Aḥmad ibn Baqar, demanding immediate apprehension of the culprit and return of the pouch. If the emissary's letter went missing, the shaykh's life would be forfeit. Convinced apparently of the sultan's readiness to inflict this penalty, Ibn al-Baqar captured the offender and restored the pouch, letter intact, the same day.

Vivid incidents of this kind figured prominently in the chroniclers' reportage of Bedouin activity in Egypt and Syria. They emphasized bold raids or stealthy thefts in the vicinity of Cairo and Damascus to highlight the regime's inability to prevent them, despite the ferocity of its reprisals. But the continuous occurrence of both raids and reprisals, as noted by narrative historians over some 250 years of the Mamluk era, also indicates the authorities' profound need to make a dramatic show of response. Even if the Bedouin threat was irrepressible, it could not go unanswered. The Sultanate obviously felt obliged to mete out brutal punishments that involved torture and mutilation prior to execution. Such punishments seemingly gave the authorities a measure of satisfaction over the infliction of suffering, even if aware of their dubious efficacy. And the authorities seem to have believed that these reprisals genuinely bolstered their stance of primacy. By reacting ferociously to every provocation that defied this stance, the regime declared that Bedouin predation might embarrass but never supplant it.

Banditry that affected the ruling elite was regarded as an affront equivalent to Bedouin raids. While many accounts of larceny left both perpetrators and victims unnamed, accounts of larceny affecting notables and officials usually identified them, elaborated on articles stolen, and noted whether their assaulters were apprehended. That a majority of these bandits escaped with their loot caused the authorities their deepest chagrin. When perpetrators were caught, their execution was certain.[28]

[28] For incidents of banditry aimed at officials, see Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ,* 438, line 8, Dhū al-Ḥijjah 876/May–June 1472: *raʾs nawbah* and *ḥājib al-ḥujjāb* incensed over robbery of latter's wife by bandits, uncaptured; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:218, line 4, Jumādá I 890/May–June 1485: bandits pillage prominent visitors to Qarāfah cemetery; bandits not captured, victims stripped, veils taken, "disgusting event;" Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 1:161, line 15, Ṣafar 900/November 1494: bandits rob trousseau of eminent shaykh's wife, no sign of forced entry, no arrests; Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 3:319, line 1, Jumādá II 901/Feb.–Mar. 1496: *nāẓir al-khāṣṣ* of Cairo assaulted while visiting his own tomb; his valuables taken, no mention of capture; ibid., 4:181, line 19, Ṣafar 916/May 1510: groom of senior amir arrested for pilfering his master's gold inlay saddles and bridles, groom bisected; ibid., 4:417, line 10, Dhū al-Qaʿdah 920/Dec. 1514–Jan. 1515: mass thievery during fireworks display hosted by sultan at al-Raydanīyah, sultan's palanquin rifled, perpetrators not captured; ibid., 5:273, line 15, Ramaḍān 924/Sep.–Oct. 1518: Ottoman soldier catches pickpocket in the act of pilfering four *aṣnāf* coins; thief bisected by viceroy as warning to those who assault the occupiers; Ibn Iyās finds the penalty unjust.

Ironically, the most unsettling insults to the regime were dealt by its own soldiery: the *julbān* or recruits only recently manumitted from cadet status. The impact of this cadre of troops as an endemic criminal class has been noted previously. Throughout the economic troubles of the Circassian period, these recruits took to menacing their own officers along with the fiscal officials. Perceiving these individuals as oppressors who withheld their stipends, the *julbān* frequently threatened them lethally.

In Rabīʿ II 835/December 1431, Ibn Taghrībirdī described an assassination plot by recruits against Karīm al-Dīn ibn Kātib al-Munākh, currently serving as vizier and *ustādār* simultaneously, and thus responsible for paying troop stipends and overseeing their distribution.[29] The vizier, having picked up on the plot, managed to lock his house and escape. Missing their chance for homicide and robbery, the recruits rampaged through the neighborhood. Ibn Taghrībirdī wryly observed that Sultan Barsbāy, having ordered the *wālī* prefect to arrest the marauding soldiers, was taken aback when the prefect intended to bisect them. The sultan queried as to whether fellow Muslims should be treated in this way. The *wālī* brusquely disputed their status as true believers, whereupon Barsbāy mockingly threatened to arrest him. Whatever the prefect's fate, this incident disclosed the embarrassment felt over *julbān* criminality. It also provided a glimpse into the backbiting that erupted during arguments over appropriate responses.

These arguments were often heated because of the authorities' ambivalence regarding their fiscal officials' vulnerability. Compelled to implement the sultan's draconian reductions in stipend payments, such a figure as the vizier Karīm al-Dīn deflected the recruits' rage away from the autocrat. Yet if the *julbān* actually succeeded in murdering him, they would insult the regime and remove a skilled procurer of clandestine funds for the autocrat. The complexity of this dilemma resurfaced three years later, in Ṣafar 838/September 1434, when the *julbān* again raided Karīm al-Dīn's house in a sweep that included the home of the current *nāẓir al-jaysh*.[30] The sultan apparently held the vizier responsible for provoking the *julbān,* and consigned him in chains to the *wālī* prefect "until his wrath subsided." But the next day, he restored Karīm al-Dīn to his offices of *ustādār* and vizier, acknowledging his crucial role as a key player in the ruler's fiscal priorities. Throughout the later Mamluk period, the *julbān* would vent their anger over stipend cuts by attacking the sultan's agents they held accountable. The autocrat and his senior amirs had to

[29] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 14:356, line 1.

[30] Badr al-Dīn al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān*, ed. ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṭanṭāwī al-Qarmūṭ (Cairo, 1989), 455, line 3.

balance their impulse to scapegoat their officials against their need to protect such adroit minions and uphold the regime's facade of dignity.[31]

The realities of *julbān* fury rendered this stratagem problematic. In Ṣafar 846/June 1442, al-ʿAynī described a massive riot by the recruits that threatened to overwhelm the regime's capacity to subdue them.[32] The *julbān* climbed onto the roofs of their barracks, closing down the Citadel, and stoned anyone trying to enter or leave. They then managed to penetrate the arsenal, seizing 20,000 dinars worth of weapons. When Sultan Jaqmaq ordered his officers to confront them, they refused, claiming that they could not put down 2,000 armed rioters. An effective stand-off was settled only after two days of negotiation. Al-ʿAynī did not disclose whether the recruits received any back pay or delayed bonus money. But his depiction of the event, which nearly resulted in the *kātib al-sirr*'s death after he met with the *julbān* on the barracks roof, vividly indicated the regime's dilemma. They were forced to back away from an open clash with their recruits. In this instance, negotiation showed the only path to resolution. On-site bargaining may have reconciled this specific incident, but it cannot have enhanced the regime's prestige. For their part, the recruits may have sensed that their own future was tied to the regime's primacy, and therefore sullenly disbanded, albeit ready to riot again. Mutual recognition that undermining the primacy of the regime cut two ways—with the potential for denigration of the entire Mamluk corps if internecine strife exceeded certain limits—could have led both parties to call a truce. The murky expedient of a stand-off was resorted to when a decisive reprisal was not perceived as a viable option. For all their obstreperousness, the *julbān* recruits represented the future of the Mamluk elite, the reservoir from which new regime leaders and dominant factions would evolve. Mutual interdependence plus a stake in upholding caste supremacy, from which all members benefited, tempered the viability of violent suppression.

The ambiguities stemming from intra-caste violence were starkly exposed when control over property was compromised. Security of assets was a basic component of the regime's claim to legitimacy. Yet its own soldiers posed one of the most endemic threats to the security of property. The quandary imposed on the ruling authorities was not lost on contemporary chroniclers. Spoliation of markets during troop revolts outnumbered parallel rampages by civilian bandits in their reports of thievery that highlighted the authorities' discomfiture. The essence of the regime's

[31] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 15:232, line 4, Muḥarram 842/June–July 1438: prominent fiscal official openly attacked by Ashrafī Mamluks during sultan's court review; al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd,* 652, line 11, Shaʿbān 850/Oct.–Nov. 1446: *sulṭānī* Mamluks attempt to assassinate *ustadār;* Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith al-Duhūr fī Madá al-Ayyām wa-al-Shuhūr,* ed. William Popper (Berkeley, 1930–31), 8:21, line 14: same incident; ʿAbd al-Bāsiṭ ibn Khalīl al-Malaṭī, "Rawḍ al-Bāsim fī Ḥawādith al-ʿUmr wa-al-Tarājim," Vatican MS Arabo 729, fol. 186-b, line 14, Dhū al-Ḥijjah 872/Jun.–Jul. 1468: *julbān* assault vizier and *ustadār*.

[32] Al-ʿAynī, *ʿIqd,* 578, line 3.

predicament centered on agents of reprisal: upon whom could it rely to inflict penalty and reclaim property? Since the most persistent culprits were recruits, the sultan and senior amirs had little recourse but to summon line troops and veterans to curb them. Yet as noted above, assaults on recruits, particularly when sparked by grievances, weakened the solidarity that sustained the entire military system. Would trainees who felt betrayed by attacks from their superiors fight on their behalf in time of war? This quandary lurked in many of the chroniclers' depictions.

Rampages by recruits directed against markets and other large repositories of property became a fact of life in Cairo during the Sultanate's last decades. Ibn Taghrībirdī reported a ploy in Shaʿbān 861/June–July 1457 that *julbān* recruits exploited to limit access to desirable produce items such as summer melons *(baṭṭīkh ṣayfī).*[33] Initially offering sums in excess of what wholesalers could pay, recruits bought up the available supply and presumably hoarded it until re-sale at higher prices was feasible. Ibn Taghrībirdī chose the term "mockery" *(ʿabath)* to describe this scheme, implying the recruits' disdain for the commoners' welfare. That it occurred during the reign of Īnāl, known for his nepotism and placidity, was not happenstance. Even during more forceful administrations, *julbān* assaults on property increased in frequency and severity. Several years later, the same historian detailed a riot by recruits stemming from the breach of an arrangement over horse sales.[34] In Jumādá II 868/February 1464, a band of "low-ranking" recruits set upon merchants in the horse market whom they believed were violating a covert agreement to sell mounts to them at prices they could afford, rather than to amirs or manumitted soldiers *(jund)* who bid more. The recruits, angered over losing out on the better stock, attacked the horse merchants with daggers. They were joined by other brigades from the barracks and began pillaging the cloth market. Ibn Taghrībirdī claimed that the recruits dared to assault notables riding horses, forcing them off and confiscating their mounts. When reports of these excesses reached Sultan Khushqadam, they "troubled him" *(shaqqa ʿalayhi).* He invited anyone abused by recruits to ascend the Citadel and inform him personally, presumably for compensation. Ibn Taghrībirdī mentioned no direct reprisal against the offending recruits, however; only a proclamation which the historian admitted did produce a "timely benefit."

But only temporarily. Raids on markets launched to protest wages and rations the recruits found stingy continued to escalate. Despite the high marks accorded him overall by historians, Sultan Qāytbāy never dealt conclusively with these revolts. They exploded in epidemic proportions during the tenure of his ultimate successor, Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī. Perhaps the most devastating of these occurred at the height of al-Ghawrī's powers, during Muḥarram 916/April 1510.[35] Ibn Iyās dwelled at length

[33] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith,* 8:301, line 6.

[34] Ibid., 8:457, line 11.

[35] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:177, line 8.

on the circumstances behind this event. Recruits in the Citadel barracks had requested a bonus payment of 100 dinars per man (expected as their reward for training in anticipation of likely confrontations with Bedouin at home or the Ottomans abroad). When al-Ghawrī refused, and his supply master failed to deliver delayed meat rations, the recruits forced the *atābak* Qurqmās and several other officers to repeat their demands to the sultan in person. Upon his adamant rejection and threat of abdication, the recruits descended upon several of Cairo's busiest markets (in the Ṭūlūn, Taḥt al-Rabʿ, and Busṭiyīn districts) in a fury of pillage that lasted two days. They went so far as to confront the armaments officer, Dawlāt Bāy, at his home in al-Azbakīyah with a demand that he assume the sultanate (an ultimatum he flatly declined, instead joining al-Ghawrī in the Citadel). At the height of the riot, the recruits were joined by grooms and black slaves, indicating the propensity for indentured persons lower down the social ladder to seize upon the recruits' initiative to pillage items otherwise unavailable to them. This riot effectively shut down commerce in Cairo, since merchants in remaining markets bolted their gates and waited for eventual intervention. Ultimately, when the senior amirs rallied troops from their own companies and veterans, the *julbān* realized that they faced certain defeat and disbanded.

Now the regime faced the demands for reparations from outraged merchants. Ibn Iyās tallied the figure for despoiled shops, with damage claims totaling twenty thousand dinars. The amirs organized searches in the recruits' barracks to recover some of the stolen goods for return to their owners. Nonetheless, the sultan's accountants were called upon to make up the differences from his own resources. Whether al-Ghawrī and his personal enforcer, Zaynī Barakat ibn Mūsá, actually compensated the merchants in full Ibn Iyās did not say. He left the impression of smoldering dissatisfaction among all concerned parties (since no mention was made of al-Ghawrī acceding to the recruits' initial bonus request that sparked the disaster). The potential for incidents of this magnitude remained a reality, exercising a depressing effect over commerce in the capital (and other cities of the empire) up to the Ottoman conquest and beyond. The regime's inability to curb troop raids on property reveals limits on both its capacity and will to enforce order. Shows of reprisal were mandatory, but effective solutions may have proven unobtainable. Various interest groups in Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo thus began to adopt their own measures of security. Jewish merchants in the Zuwaylah district of Cairo who suffered heavy property losses during riots in Dhū al-Ḥijjah 902/July–August 1497 anticipated subsequent problems. When raids by occupying Janissaries were rumored twenty-four years later, they moved their goods elsewhere and barricaded entrances to their quarter.[36] Other marketers reacted in similar ways.

[36] Ibid., 3:375, line 9; 5:374, line 4.

The preceding remarks should not obscure assaults on property committed by persons outside the military hierarchy. Later discussions will analyze acts of larceny at the hands of individuals and gangs from both the civilian and military sectors. But in the context of culpability and reprisal, historians who weighed the damage in stolen goods and lost confidence clearly held the regime's recruits responsible for the worst ravages. To them, the most heinous criminality linked to theft was part and parcel of the recruits' legacy. The historians readily acknowledged the regime's difficulties as it contemplated responses to the outrages of its wayward cadets. They still made clear their skepticism over long-term efficacy.

Ibn Iyās, commenting on conditions in Cairo following the Ottoman occupation, saw few signs of improvement. He expressed his contempt for the behavior of the former officer in al-Ghawrī's service who had betrayed his cause to the Ottomans at Marj Dābiq and was rewarded for his treason with the viceroyship of Egypt. In Jumādá I 924/May–June 1518, he described the viceroy's brutal execution of a prayer caller (muezzin) for his theft of a medicinal herb.[37] Cultivation of this herb, *khiyār shanbar* (purging cassia), had been placed under the viceroy's control. When the prayer caller was arrested for cutting off two branches of the plant, he was turned over to the *wālī* prefect—who subsequently brought him before the viceroy. Because the muezzin violated the latter's prohibition, he ordered his bisection. The muezzin was led to the execution site with the basket containing the pilfered branches hanging from his neck. Ibn Iyās stated that the value of the stolen herb did not exceed four *aṣnāf,* bitterly musing over the disparity between a petty loss and severe punishment (the prayer caller left behind "children, a wife, and mother"). He went on to denounce the viceroy for personal immorality (drunkenness) and a disdain for equitable rule. Yet this incident amply demonstrated the issue of affront, the continuity of readiness on the regime's part to mete out reprisal—especially following theft by civilians outside its hierarchy.[38] Acts that alarmed custodians of

[37] Ibid., 5:254, line 21.

[38] Analyses of assaults on property in other societies reveal similar patterns of reprisal. V. Gatrell and G. Parker noted that, in later medieval Europe, commercial classes increasingly demanded rigorous deterrents against theft due to the heightened production of commodities. See *Crime and the Law*, 38; J. Given discerned a tie between a demand for prosecution of theft and the rise of trade in medieval England. See *Society and Homicide in Thirteenth-Century England* (Stanford, 1977), 111–12. He also noted the development of "entrepreneurial banditry" as a skilled craft unimaginable without a growing urban setting; B. Hanawalt discussed a link between organized thievery and economic depression, a parallel with the situation in fifteenth–sixteenth-century Egypt. See *Crime and Conflict*, 238; P. Huang found the most consistent expectation of the courts in Qing China focused on protection of property against thieves. See *Civil Justice in China; Representation and Practice in the Qing* (Stanford, 1996), 15; T. Gurr also concluded that the classes benefitting from "early capitalism" in western Europe were the most ardent advocates of tougher and more consistent laws, enforcement, and punishment for property offenses. See "Development and Decay: Their Impact on Public Order in Western History," in *History and Crime: Implications for Criminal Justice Policy,*

religious observance and accepted canons of belief posed dilemmas no less complex.

Events that riled the religious establishment in Cairo or Damascus enough to compel the regime to intervene involved disputes over Christian activism or allegations of aberrant views laid against prominent Muslims. Behavior by Christians in Egypt regarded as excessively assertive frequently stemmed from their attempts to restore churches, or complaints over religious services that impinged on Muslim sensibilities. Incidents that incited vigorous opposition from Muslim clerics sufficient to draw in the regime were clearly regarded as criminal acts, in that they entailed investigations to ascertain the veracity of the claim and subsequent imposition of a penalty. For example, al-Maqrīzī reported a petition by a delegation of Christians from the Delta province of Gharbīyah, submitted in the distant past (755/1354–55, no month given).[39] The delegation had requested the sultan to allow their restoration of a church, once titled al-Naḥrīrīyah, they claimed had been illegally converted to a mosque *(masjid).* Al-Maqrīzī did not provide details on why their suit was dismissed (possibly too remote for survival of background data). But he did state that the petitioners were evicted from the sultan's presence after being flogged, treatment usually reserved for convicts rather than failed litigants in a civil hearing. The delegates may have pressed their case belligerently, or a counter accusation from unnamed defenders of the mosque may have claimed they overstepped communal limits.

A case with known circumstances occurred a quarter century later in Jumādá I 780/August–September 1378.[40] Notorious enough for two historians to discuss, the incident focused on a claim by an unnamed Sufi esteemed for his piety, who complained of noise from hand bells *(nawāqīs)* rung at the church of Abū Numrus in Jiza province so loudly that they disrupted the Friday *khuṭbah* in an adjacent mosque. The Sufi alleged that the bells were sounded deliberately to drown out the Muslim sermon. The sultan, al-Ashraf Shaʿbān, found the Sufi's protest unsubstantiated. Undaunted, the Sufi proceeded to the Hijaz, from where he returned with documents certifying that he had sojourned at the Prophet's tomb pleading with God's

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ed. J. Inciardi (Beverly Hills, 1980), 34; M. Perry observed a sophisticated underworld active in sixteenth-century Seville, many of whose members were out-of-service soldiers more closely paralleling the status of unemployed Mamluks than anywhere else in Europe; see *Crime and Society,* 24. Finally, G. Ruggiero identified the Venetian social category of "important people" as those having the status of property or office holders without formal membership in the nobility. As the category most vulnerable to theft, they made the most consistent demands for protection against property crime. By contrast, the nobility were, as individuals, among the most violent elements in Venetian society, since they regarded themselves as personally beyond prosecution, similar to the Mamluk elite. See *Violence,* 59–61, 65, 84, 148.

[39] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:918, line 5.

[40] Ibid., 3:340, line 12; Ibn Ḥajar, *Inbāʾ,* 1:177, line 1.

messenger for an endorsement of the church's demolition. Appealing to the *atābak* and future sultan, Barqūq, the Sufi persuaded him to send the current *muḥtasib* to investigate his allegations. Upon his return the market inspector confirmed the Sufi's accusation, adding that the church's congregation had lavished money on its expansion. It was on these latter grounds, as concrete violations of *sharīʿah,* that the *atābak* ordered the church demolished. Following the *muḥtasib*'s report, Barqūq had summoned the Jacobite patriarch (to whose rite the church presumably belonged) and rebuked him for transgressing established law limiting churches to existing proportions. This case is interesting because the criminal offense that achieved the demolition had nothing formally to do with the disruptive bell ringing. Irritating as it may have been, the music emanating from Christian services did not constitute as clear a violation as did the church's enlargement. The persistent Sufi got his way, but only via indirect means.

Disputes erupting over allegations of blasphemy by Muslims were potentially more explosive than reactions to Christian activism because of the dissension the former caused within the majority community. Sultans and their adjutants often found the outcome problematic regardless of how they ruled, since partisans on both sides of a case had taken obdurate stands. When sultans or grand amirs convened councils of judges to review allegations, the qadis themselves often deadlocked over a decision. Yet the authorities, as ultimate agents of enforcement, were bound to demand a decision and impose the appropriate censure. And individuals who had already attracted a devoted following before their alleged deviance was brought to the authorities' attention posed risks of widespread disorder if they were arrested summarily. Al-Sakhāwī described a manumitted black slave from Damascus called Mubārak who was accused of corrupting the faith in Ramaḍān 899/June–July 1494.[41] Having previously established himself as a revered person *(muʿtaqad)* in Syria with a large following, this Mubārak arrived in Cairo with a reputation for rabble rousing. Making the rounds of venerated tombs in the Egyptian capital, he was denounced for preaching blasphemous views at such strongholds of orthodoxy as the Azhar. A group of senior ulama demanded his arrest, but Sultan Qāytbāy and his advisors were reluctant to imprison or execute him after their interrogation. They considered the revered Mubārak more incendiary as a potential martyr than as a public nuisance. However annoying his pronouncements may have been to the clerics, removing or eliminating him was more likely to inflame the masses and incite a riot.

Alleged blasphemers did not routinely escape unscathed, however. Persons who recklessly transgressed conventions of accepted conduct were convicted more often than popular preachers. Ibn Iyās discussed several incidents of such deviance

[41] Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, "Al-Dhayl al-Tāmm ʿalá Duwal al-Islām," Dār al-Kutub al-Waẓīfah (Tunis) MS 6856, fol. 245, line 30.

during Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī's reign. In Shaʿbān 911/December 1505–January 1506, a dervish from Upper Egypt behaved in ways that brought capital charges of atheism *(zandaqah)* and sorcery *(suḥūr)* against him.[42] Denounced for performing his ablutions with milk and other untoward acts "contrary to the *sharīʿah,*" he was turned over by the sultan to the chief Maliki qadi for questioning. After the judge found him guilty of unbelief, he was beheaded outside the Ṣāliḥīyah Madrasah, seat of the highest judicial tribunal in Cairo. This dervish's execution seems to have presented al-Ghawrī with few risks since the chronicler reported no mob of advocates who might riot in his defense.

A more complex case decided less to the sultan's liking occurred two years later in Jumādá I 913/September–October 1507.[43] The defendant in this incident was no fringe mendicant but a prominent Hanafi *khaṭīb*. Accused of making "impertinent remarks" about the prophet Abraham in his sermons, the *khaṭīb* was interrogated by a senior judge—who concluded that his statements did not warrant punishment for *kufr*. Al-Ghawrī thought otherwise. Partisan to the prophet Abraham, al-Ghawrī asserted that the *khaṭīb*'s comments indeed merited his execution. The sultan convened the four senior qadis and other eminent clerics to review the offensive statements. After a stormy debate, the council rejected al-Ghawrī's call for the *khaṭīb*'s beheading. According to precedents set by similar events in the past, if the accused sincerely retracted his depiction of Abraham, he should not pay the ultimate price. The council sentenced the *khaṭīb* to a jail term pending his recantation. Ibn Iyās stated that the council reached this verdict despite the sultan's demand for an execution. This case revealed tensions that often surfaced between clerical authorities charged with determining the veracity of blasphemy charges and the regime pledged to back their decisions, even if they disagreed. Incidents that the regime had presented on its own initiative were particularly galling when the ulama ruled contrary to its wishes—often to assert their own primacy in matters of religion. But regardless of whose agenda was favored, such cases were unlikely to go unprosecuted. Even if the defendant's stature mitigated against a conviction for deviance—whatever his guilt or innocence—both the regime and clerics felt obliged to subject him to a criminal investigation. The legitimacy of both groups rested on principles that required them to conduct a formal procedure. Events that shocked moral sensibilities imposed similar expectations on them.

Acts provoking hostile responses from turbulent sectors of the populace required rapid responses from the authorities to head off riots that might ignite city-wide conflagrations. While immediate reprisals were necessary, the volatility inherent in such acts presented the authorities with difficult choices. Their underlying goals were curbing further disorder and maintaining security. Their success at achieving

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[42] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 4:87, line 1.

[43] Ibid., 4:120, line 11.

them varied according to incident. Acts regarded as morally corrupt or threatening to sectarian identities were especially inflammatory. They were sufficiently notorious to warrant recording by historians long after they occurred. In Rajab 727/May–June 1327, al-Maqrīzī discussed an incident of sexual assault alleged against a European *(firanjī)* merchant in the port of Alexandria.[44] The merchant was apprehended in the act of soliciting a "beardless youth" to commit indecency. The intervener was an adult Muslim who charged the European with impermissible behavior. The merchant responded by striking his accoster in the face with his shoe, whereupon a mob set upon him. The European's community immediately rose in his defense. A pitched battle with drawn weapons threatened to erupt between the two factions, until the commandant of the Alexandria garrison interceded. The Muslims insisted that the merchant had committed acts meriting his execution. Yet al-Maqrīzī simply concluded the incident by stating that he was taken before a judge for questioning. But he also noted that the resultant tension necessitated closing gates and markets—a temporary stalling of the commerce basic to Alexandria's economy. Whether the European was actually terminated for this allegation (a response that might provoke a more serious reaction from the foreign mercantile community) remains unknown from al-Maqrīzī's depiction.

The chronicler Ibn al-Ṣayrafī described at length an incident with more damaging potential due to its incitement of sectarian conflict. In Shawwāl 876/March–April 1472, he detailed a case of attempted conversion of Christian children.[45] A Maghribī (otherwise unnamed) residing at a mosque in the Jiza district acquired renown for evocative preaching. Too evocative for local Christians, it would seem, since some of their children fell under the Maghribī's spell and converted to Islam. Their enraged parents fell upon the preacher, throttled him until his tongue came out, cut it off (perhaps a symbolic means of punishing the offending vehicle of speech), and then began to disembowel him. After failing to find a pit into which they might cast him, they were arrested by the Jiza inspector *(kāshif).*

At this stage, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's narrative becomes alert to the nuances of communal rivalries confronting the authorities. When the *kāshif* conveyed the Christians to the Cairo prefect *(wālī),* the latter decided that a senior officer should take charge of them. He therefore consigned the Christians to the *amīr akhūr al-kabīr* (grand officer of the horse), a member of the sultan's advisory council. But even he hesitated before ordering the Christians' execution, despite their brutal murder publicly witnessed. The amir elected to bring the offenders, who numbered six, before Sultan Qāytbāy himself. As the final arbiter of criminal cases, the sovereign opted for imprisonment. Seemingly convinced that the Maghribī had overstepped accepted boundaries of communal autonomy by actively proselytizing to minors and thus

[44] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:284, line 7.

[45] Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Inbāʾ,* 424, line 5.

unduly provoking their parents, Qāytbāy ruled the Christians' behavior justifiable homicide. But his decision was not met with equanimity by his co-religionists. A mob gathered at the base of the Citadel, seized the Christians from their Mamluk guards and stoned five of them to death. Only one of them converted to Islam on the spot to save himself and was spared. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī reported Qāytbāy's wrath upon learning of the mob's vigilantism. He caused the *wālī* to proclaim an edict forbidding ordinary subjects to take the law into their own hands, or to "seize the Mamluks' bridles." But he took no further action. Indeed, the caution and reluctance over assuming responsibility for the fate of these Christians at progressive stages of the ruling oligarchy underscores the regime's unease over the explosiveness of a case that put Christians and Muslims at odds. None of the officers charged with apprehending the Christians displayed any sympathy for the Maghribī who had sparked the incident. Charismatics who deliberately aggravated adherents of a rival faith were the true culprits in their eyes, responsible for unleashing forces that compromised their authority.

Although hesitant to prosecute members of their caste, the ruling oligarchy could not ignore assaults committed by Mamluks who wantonly disregarded public morality. Yet neither could they allow the masses free rein to take revenge. Ibn Ṭūlūn noted the arrest of an officer described as a European from Tripoli in Ramaḍān 906/March–April 1501.[46] This individual was accused of several murders for theft, concealment of his victims, raping women after stealing their jewelry, and casually eating after his debauchery. While the *nāʾib* governor of Damascus ordered the Mamluk's dismemberment, the masses got to him first. After stabbing the Mamluk multiple times, they dragged him to the gallows district and set him on fire. Infuriated by this mob action, the *nāʾib* ordered his troops to ride the offenders down indiscriminately. Those who survived were detained and fined. He also ordered the markets temporarily closed.

Incidents of this kind were not unique to Damascus. Cairo often witnessed similar events at the hands of soldiers. Ibn Taghrībirdī mentioned their plundering and "gross atrocities" against women attending Friday prayers at the Ibn al-ʿĀṣ mosque in Fusṭāṭ during Ramaḍān 863/July 1459.[47] Yet chroniclers provided more lurid descriptions of shocking behavior, especially during unsettled transitions within the regime itself. Ibn Iyās, who looked askance at the deportment of Qāytbāy's son, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, held up the depravity of a recently promoted recruit as an example of troop excess unhindered by a lax sovereign. In Shaʿbān 903/March–April 1498, while riding a spirited horse, this recruit encountered a funeral procession. His mount bucked in alarm, throwing off his rider. Angered by the pallbearers, the recruit threatened them and they ran off, abandoning the corpse. Venting his ire

[46] Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Mufākahah,* 1:235, line 10.

[47] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 16:135, line 5.

further, the recruit struck at the body several times with his dagger until he calmed down and departed. The body was left lying where it had fallen, unburied to the end of the day. Ibn Iyās mentioned no punishment of a single recruit for this incident. But he elaborated on more devastating cases involving whole units of soldiers, particularly during the early stages of the Ottoman occupation. In Muḥarram 924/February 1519, Ibn Iyās stated that the outrages committed by the Ottoman soldiery had become unbearable. Arrogantly ignoring time limits placed on plundering, they stripped several districts of wood and metal furnishings for use as tinder and tools in the Citadel barracks.[48]

Damaging as such pillage was, it was endured as the inevitable consequence of defeat. But the personal debaucheries of the occupiers were intolerable. The Ottomans were alleged to convene mass orgies in their barracks, enlivened with copious draughts of beer *(būzah).* Their assaults victimized both women and young boys. They went on drunken rampages through the town, seizing the turbans of passers-by and showering them with insults. Eventually, groups of notables petitioned the Ottoman "emperor"'s *(khandakar)* own head qadi, who now presided over the four chief justices, for redress. Upon hearing their complaints, he approached the most senior Mamluk officer remaining from the previous government, Qāytbāy al-Dawādār (no relation to the eminent sultan). The two ascended to the governor Khayrbak (referred to as the *malik al-umarāʾ*) and demanded an audience. The Ottoman judge accosted the governor as follows: "Pay heed to the Muslims' condition, for if you do not, Cairo *(Miṣr)* will be ruined totally. The state of affairs has gravely worsened, and if the *khandakar* were to learn of the situation, he would order our necks cut (i.e., decapitated). He would say: 'How have you dared to conceal from me Cairo's state, and to neglect the condition of the Muslims so that these events have occurred?'"

The governor's response conveyed, as a microcosm, the essence of his dilemma and political savvy. Apparently indifferent to the complaints of his civilian subjects (recall that Khayrbak was the renegade who betrayed Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī at the battle of Marj Dābiq), he could not dismiss an accusation from his patron's justice minister. Nor could he afford to alienate the Ottoman troops on whom he relied for his own survival (the indigenous Mamluks loathed him as a traitor). Thus, Khayrbak responded with a review of both the Janissary (*al-Inkishārīyah*) and the Sipahi (*al-Isbahanīyah*) units, interrogating them as to who were guilty of these acts. But Ibn Iyās mentioned no further reprisals. Rather, he noted that the governor confined women and youths to their houses for ten days, and named the shrines of al-Sayyidah al-Nafīsah, al-Ḥusayn, and the commercial district of Bayn al-Qaṣrayn as off-limits (possibly to the Ottomans, although this is unclear from the text). All

[48] Ibn Iyās, *Badāʾiʿ,* 5:233, line 2.

shops were to close after sundown. Khayrbak thereby sought to cool off the situation without personally penalizing those guilty of perpetrating it.

An incident at the hands of the occupiers even more repellent occurred four years later, and it disclosed Khayrbak's long memory over a slight. Ibn Iyās, in Jumādá I 928/March–April 1522, described a clash between Janissaries and Mamluks over the former's abuse of a Christian.[49] The Janissaries had impaled this Christian (cause not mentioned) and left him to expire. Passing by him subsequently, in the company of several Mamluks who served Qāytbāy al-Dawādār, the Janissaries refused him a draft of water. Appalled by their callousness, the Mamluks sought to relieve the Christian's pitiable state. After taking him down, they pulled out his stake and let him drink. Affronted, the Janissaries disputed the Mamluks' mercy. One of the latter stabbed a Janissary. The Mamluks then retreated to Qāytbāy's house, pursued by the Janissaries who threatened to set its gate on fire when the *bawwāb* barred their access. As word of the dispute spread, a full riot between Janissaries and Mamluks ensued. The *wālī* prefect sent his adjutant to re-impale the Christian, "who still breathed." The governor Khayrbak was informed of the incident the following day. Harboring his resentment of Qāytbāy, he demanded that he turn over the Mamluks involved. Qāytbāy sent his brother to remonstrate with him, but Khayrbak was adamant. The governor sent out an edict warning anyone who hid a guilty Mamluk in his house would be hanged "without recourse." But whoever intercepted a Mamluk who set off the riot would receive 100 dinars and a velvet caftan.

On the tenth of Ramaḍān/3 August, the governor descended to the Maydān to witness the punishment of two Mamluks arrested by the *wālī,* and the doorman who had denied the Janissaries access: bisection for all three. Khayrbak forced Qāytbāy to witness the mutilation of his own officers and servant, "since he despised him intensely." The Citadel commandant and one other officer stood up and interceded for the *bawwāb*, noting that he had children and an aged father. But Khayrbak "did not relent from his cruelty." As for Qāytbāy, the governor succeeded in tarnishing his prestige permanently, thus eclipsing his career. Ibn Iyās stated that Qāytbāy attempted to mollify the Janissary wounded by his Mamluk with a compensation of 100 dinars and a silk robe lined with squirrel fur to replace his robe slashed during the dispute. Ibn Iyās depicted this episode as "one of the most cruel and odious events."

Yet his anger cannot conceal Khayrbak's ultimate victory over a popular opponent surviving from their mutual careers under al-Ghawrī. Qāytbāy's diminution left Khayrbak in unfettered control over Cairo. His unswerving support of the occupiers cemented his own position with no meaningful opposition until his own death. Khayrbak triumphed because he understood the political necessity of maintaining

[49] Ibid., 5:445, line 19.

the support of his Ottoman troops, while Qāytbāy met defeat as a remnant of the old, defeated order. His presence had been a nagging reminder of personal betrayal. Khayrbak's response to the Ottomans' barbarity in Cairo overall was to act belatedly when confronted by the *khandakar*'s representative. Otherwise, he remained aloof to moral outrages inflicted on the commons.

Civilians who violated moral sensibilities could be dealt with more summarily. Ibn Iyās mentioned a tomb robber in Shawwāl 903/May–June 1498, who stole the deceased's shrouds, presumably for resale.[50] The sultan, Qāytbāy's minimally admired successor al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, ordered the thief's face flayed while he was still alive. His skin was left hanging down to his chest, the facial bones exposed. The thief was conveyed in this state to the Bāb al-Naṣr where he was hanged. Cairo's gravediggers were then warned to respect the shrouds of the deceased. Many of the sensational murders minutely recorded for their shock value by the chroniclers could be considered here as gruesome examples of moral depravity. Since these cases warrant analysis in the context of their complex motives, they are relegated to a separate discussion of homicide.

But one case of extraordinary fraud does indicate a degree of creativity so nefarious that it bemused as well as shocked. This incident was sufficiently famous that it was remembered and recorded a century after it occurred. Al-Maqrīzī discussed at length the antics of a charlatan who duped many into believing he had discovered a tomb containing several Companions of the Prophet. The incident happened in Rabīʿ II 744/August–September 1343, in the Lūq district outside Cairo.[51] Al-Maqrīzī described the site as a rubbish heap known as the Dung Hill *(Kawm al-Zibl).* He claimed that "people of iniquity, the worst riff-raff" repaired to it. While digging into the site, remains of previous structures—some containing fragments of documents—were uncovered. One of the excavators, named Shuʿayb, whom al-Maqrīzī condemned as "a devil among the masses," claimed that he received visions while asleep confirming that these ruins sat on top of a sepulcher where the Companions were interred. He went further, proclaiming that his dreams empowered him to cure the crippled and restore sight to the blind. His fellow ruffians eagerly heeded his words and began digging down two fathoms until they reached the remains of a mosque. This discovery evoked wild rejoicing among the mob and their uproar attracted wider notice in the vicinity. By dawn, some one thousand persons had gathered, all digging away at the rubbish heap. Shuʿayb announced that the excavated ruins indeed belonged to the Prophet's Companions. His powers of persuasion were acute, it would seem, since notables of both the military and civil elites now visited the site. Al-Maqrīzī observed that women were especially taken in by Shuʿayb's therapeutic promises, stating that the sultan's mother came herself.

[50] Ibid., 3:391, line 8.

[51] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 2:649, line 6.

Shuʿayb would conduct cure seekers personally into the now-vast pit, from whence they emerged shouting, amid cries of "God is Most Great!" that their maladies were remedied, their sight regained. All, of course, willingly paid the dinars or dirhams Shuʿayb and his comrades charged for this treatment.

As the notoriety of the alleged Companions' tomb spread, several amirs and qadis became alarmed over the presence of such a throng now attending the site night and day. They urged the *wālī* prefect to inspect the *kawm,* their missive noting reports that the ruffians had exhumed cadavers from legitimate graves to be passed off as the Companions' remains. When the prefect arrived at the hill, the mob greeted him with howls of "vile denunciations," their protest so intense that his soldiers shot arrows to disperse them. Shuʿayb and his cohort fled, leaving the *wālī*'s contingent to excavate until they reached bedrock and a sewer. No verifiable indications of a tomb were discovered and the huge pit was filled in. The mob eventually lost interest in the site and calm was restored. Nonetheless, Shuʿayb and his fellow charlatans made off with a trove of money and apparel.

A case involving individuals at the opposite end of the social spectrum took place just after al-Maqrīzī's lifetime, as observed by his disciple, Ibn Taghrībirdī. He reported a case following a stalled Nile flood in Shawwāl 866/June–July 1462, in which the son of a respected jurist was implicated in a sex scandal.[52] As was customary during crises affecting Egypt's sole source of water, the sultan (Khushqadam) enjoined the magistrates to demand abstinence of the populace "from sin" *(al-maʿasin).* The *wālī* prefect duly rode out to Būlāq, a quarter apparently known for its looseness, to carry out his orders. After arresting revelers there, he crossed over to an island that had emerged as a result of the low level of the river. A crowd had assembled there, and the prefect rounded up a large number of men and women, seemingly engaged in unchaperoned activities. These he placed on donkeys and paraded from Būlāq to Cairo. Among them was a son of the chief qadi Shams al-Dīn al-Qāyātī. The son had attempted to mask his face in order to conceal his identity while mounted ignominiously on the donkey. His humiliation greatly incensed the juristic establishment, and a delegation confronted the prefect with a complaint of inappropriate arrest. The famous shaykh and hadith scholar Amīn al-Dīn al-Āqsarāʾī took his denunciation of the *wālī* to the sultan himself. But the pious Khushqadam replied that he had so ordered the prefect personally. The jurists refused to desist, and again accused the prefect of defaming the scion of an esteemed family. The *wālī* responded: "Why does the son of al-Qāyātī sit with his [ad-hoc] harem among commoners *(al-ʿawāmm),* exposed to onlookers?" Although he did release the son, the damage to his family's reputation had been done. The jurists remained agitated *(fī harj marj).* The sultan saw no reason to budge from his stance of probity. He granted the prefect a splendid robe and congratulated him for

[52] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Ḥawādith,* 8:424, line 9.

his resolute enforcement of public decency. A second proclamation was read out, forbidding attendance at diversions *(muftarajāt).* All subjects were to shun "moral defilements" *(al-qadhūrāt).* "Thus was the stature of the *wālī* augmented, and everyone held his tongue about him."

This incident disclosed contention when a sweep to ensnare revelers whose behavior was deemed insulting to God unexpectedly trapped the offspring of a prominent family who had pledged to uphold morality. Quite prepared to endorse these sweeps when limited to commoners, the juristic elite, cream of the ulama, were acutely embarrassed when one of their own was exposed. They uniformly closed ranks to denounce the prefect and defend Ibn al-Qāyātī's honor (and that of his father). Sultan Khushqadam refused to relent in this instance and threw his promotion of the *wālī* in their faces. The readiness of the sovereign, whose status as legal arbiter granted him jurisdiction over even the chief qadis, to oppose them, while simultaneously winking at his recruits' excesses in other circumstances, suggests something of the paradox clearly evident in the regime's application of criminal justice.

All the preceding events, despite their diversity, highlight common trends that impelled the authorities to act, but often compromised their capacity to resolve. All either posed a challenge to the authorities' powers of control over subordinate elements, or aroused significant sectors of society by adversely affecting property rights or defying accepted canons of faith and moral conduct. Disturbances threatening public order or violating property rights repeatedly involved members of the ruling elite, notably its young recruits only recently promoted from cadet status. These troops precipitated many of the most turbulent episodes disrupting order and trade in the Sultanate's major cities, seats of its most influential social groups and wealthiest stores of capital assets. The authorities could not allow the disruptive criminality so ubiquitously associated with their own recruits to go unchecked. Yet neither could they take definitive steps to crush the cadres from whose ranks their successors would be drawn. Every senior amir, as well as the sultan, had invested substantial sums training the soldiers on whose loyalty his political future—and often physical survival—depended. These events therefore provided intriguing insights into the dilemmas faced by the authorities as they sought to contain the violence endemic to their troops within manageable limits.

It is worth noting that these troops were virtually absent from disputes over canons of belief, and only marginally visible in affronts to public morality—at least until the Ottoman occupation. These crimes occurred, in the main, within the civilian sectors of society. But the authorities rarely found themselves freer to assert themselves decisively, or to act without regard for the sensibilities and biases of competing factions. Nonetheless, however complicated the circumstances of crimes

affecting religion or morality, the authorities could not ignore them.[53] Their claims to primacy over preservation of order, and the foundations of their legitimacy as defenders of a Sunni Muslim polity and arbiters of its criminal suits, demanded their intimate involvement. The civilian sectors of society, whose numeric advantage was overwhelming and whose assets, taxed or confiscated, were essential to the ruling elite's support, submitted to that elite's political supremacy in return for the latter's enforcement of judgments emanating from the legists and clerics who served as custodians of faith and definers of morality. This symbiosis was visible in every salient case stemming from conflicts over religion and probity. It was this interdependence that shaped the context of authority over criminal matters in the Mamluk Sultanate. We can discern the disparate aspects of this context repeatedly as we analyze the several categories of crime reported by the narrative sources. Their authors were uniformly sensitive to them.

[53] Claude Gauvard noted that the French monarchy in the later Middle Ages was expected by the clergy to intervene in morals cases, depicted by the clergy as God's punishment for sin. Even though such crimes were interpreted as divine retribution, the king was required to protect his subjects from them. See "Fear of Crime in Late Medieval France," in *Medieval Crime and Social Control,* ed. B. Hanawalt and D. Wallace (Minneapolis, 1999), 3.

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On the Brink of a New Era? Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī (d. 1366) and the Yalbughāwīyah

Introduction

In the winter of the year 1366, the Mamluk political scene was all set for the rising star of the amir Sayf al-Dīn Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī al-Nāṣirī al-Khāṣṣakī (d. 1366) to reach its zenith.[1] The adolescent Qalāwūnid sultan, al-Malik al-Ashraf Shaʿbān (1353–77; r. 1363–77), was firmly patronized by this former mamluk of Shaʿbān's uncle, the sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (d. 1361; r. 1347–51 and 1354–61).[2] Furthermore, in February 1366, Yalbughā's gradual empowerment after Ḥasan's violent deposition in 1361 had reached a final stage when he managed to finish off the amir Ṭaybughā al-Ṭawīl (1325–68), the last of his rivals for effective power behind the Qalāwūnid throne.[3] Finally, a major setback to Yalbughā's increasing success, which had suddenly and quite unexpectedly emerged from the Latin West in October 1365—the "Alexandrian crusade" of Peter I of Lusignan, king of Cyprus—had been turned to his own advantage by late November 1366.[4] In that month, a large

[1] For a detailed account, analysis, and assessment of Yalbughā's career, within the larger framework of the Qalāwūnid sultanate and of Qalāwūnid political culture, see Jo Van Steenbergen, "The Amir Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī, the Qalāwūnid Sultanate, and the Cultural Matrix of Mamlūk Society: A Reassessment of Mamlūk Politics in the 1360s," *Journal of the American Oriental Society,* in press.

[2] See ibid.; idem, *Order Out of Chaos: Patronage, Conflict and Mamluk Socio-Political Culture, 1341-1382* (Leiden, 2006), 117, 158–60.

[3] See Van Steenbergen, "The Amir Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī"; idem, *Order Out of Chaos,* 159.

[4] Robert Irwin, on the other hand, considers this event a major factor in Yalbughā's downfall (Ro - ert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate 1250–1382* [London, 1986], 145). On this crusade, see Peter Edbury, "The Crusading Policy of King Peter I of Cyprus, 1359–1369," in *The Eastern Mediterranean Lands in the Periods of the Crusades,* ed. Peter M. Holt (London, 1977), 90–105; Peter Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991); Martina Müller-Wiener, *Eine Stadtgeschichte Alexandrias von 564/1169 bis in die Mitte des 9./15. Jahrhunderts: Verwaltung und innerstädtische Organisationsformen* (Berlin, 1992); Jo Van Steenbergen, "The Alexandrian Crusade (1365) and the Mamluk Sources: Reassessment of the *Kitāb al-Ilmām* of an-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī (d. 1372 AD)," in *East and West in the Crusader States: Context, Contacts, Confrontations, III. Acta of the congress held at Hernen Castle in September 2000,* ed. K. Ciggaar and H. G. B. Teule (Leuven, 2003), 123–37 (however, this paper should be treated with some caution [I consider it to demonstrate my callowness at the time!] in light of Otfried Weintritt, *Formen spätmittelalterlicher islamischer Geschichtsdarstellung: Untersuchung zu an-Nuwairī al-Iskandarānīs* Kitāb al-Ilmām *und verwandten zeitgenössischen Texten* [Beirut, 1992]).

revenge fleet's construction was completed, manned, and equipped for war against the island of Cyprus, and on Saturday 28 November its formidable combat capacities were demonstrated on the Nile outside Cairo, in a massively attended and awe-inspiring enactment of sea warfare, described by al-Maqrīzī as follows:

> The sultan, the amir Yalbughā and all the regime's amirs and notables rode out to view the warships *(al-shawānī).* They had been successfully completed and their crews were ready. . . . The sultan led his armies from the citadel to the island of Urwā [or Jazīrat al-Wuṣṭá, between the islands of Rawḍah and Ḥalīmah], and boarded the "fire ship" *(al-ḥarrāqah),* while the banks were filled with people. The warships came and their crews played with the war equipment, as one would do in an engagement with the enemy, with their drums being beaten, their trumpets being blown, and the naphtha bombs being released. It was a frightening but beautiful spectacle, and would have been a good thing if it had served its purpose *(law tamma)*.[5]

Commissioned by Yalbughā and constructed, as one contemporary author testified, "in less than a year, despite the lack of wood and material,"[6] this fleet of 100 warships—each manned by some 150 sailors[7] as well as by a handful from each of the amirs' mamluks, geared for war[8]—generally must have been considered a remarkable feat and a clear token of Yalbughā's promising capacities. Hence, its spectacular public presentation in late November 1366 washed off any stain left by the Alexandrian crusade on Yalbughā's public image as the legitimate power holder behind the ephemeral Qalāwūnid sultan Shaʿbān. When Yalbughā thereupon proceeded to go hunting on the Nile's west bank, near Giza, there was nothing and

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[5] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Sulūk li-Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk,* ed. M. M. Ziyādah et al. (Cairo, 1934–72), 3:129–30. For a detailed contemporary description of this public inauguration ceremony and of the strong impression it left, including on Catalan envoys, see Muḥammad al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī, *Al-Ilmām bi-Mā Jarat bihi al-Aḥkām wa-al-Umūr al-Muqḍīyah fī Waqʿat al-Iskandarīyah Sanata 767 H.*, ed. A. S. Atiya (Hyderabad, 1986–73), 3:231–34. On the types of ships mentioned here, see Dionisius A. Agius, *Classic Ships of Islam: From Mesopotamia to the Indian Ocean* (Leiden, 2008), 343–48. For the exact location of the island of Urwā, see the map in André Raymond, *Cairo: City of History* (Cairo, 2001), 150; on its whereabouts in the fourteenth century, see Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Mawāʿiẓ wa-al-Iʿtibār bi-Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-al-Āthār* (Beirut, 1998), 3:326.

[6] Aḥmad al-Bayrūtī, [unknown title], Oxford, Bodleian Ms. Marshall (or.) 36, fol. 2r. (See also n. 10 on this manuscript).

[7] See Dionisius A. Agius, "The Arab *Šalandī*," in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Ma -luk Eras,* Vol. 3, ed. Urbain Vermeulen and Jo Van Steenbergen (Leuven, 2001), 58–59.

[8] See al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:129.

no one left to vie with his status and authority. At least, that is what things looked like. But Yalbughā was soon to experience how appearances can be misleading!

As al-Maqrīzī suggested from hindsight, Yalbughā's fleet would never really serve its purpose. On the contrary: instead of setting sail to Cyprus, it remained on the Nile, between Cairo and Būlāq al-Takrūrī on the west bank, and was probably for the most part left to rot.[9] This, however, would only happen after it was deployed there one more time, about a fortnight after its promising inauguration. On this occasion, instead of being deployed as a mighty instrument of Muslim revenge against crusading infidels, it was used against fellow Muslims, the latter ironically including Yalbughā himself! On Tuesday 8 December Yalbughā narrowly escaped a murder attempt at his hunting camp near Giza, only managing to cross back to his residence near Cairo in the course of the following day. Subsequently, he tried to undo this rebellion by isolating it and preventing his opponents from crossing the Nile and returning to Cairo. But when the latter obtained part of their opponent's revenge fleet, the Nile between Cairo and Giza again witnessed an enactment of sea warfare, but now for real and between two groups of amirs and mamluks, one supportive of Yalbughā on the east side and on the island of Urwā, and another opposing him on the west bank, featuring the sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Shaʿbān as well as large numbers of Yalbughā's own mamluks, the Yalbughāwīyah. This spectacle surely must have been as impressive as the one that was staged two weeks earlier, at least according to historical reports like the following one by the mysterious contemporary chronicler Aḥmad al-Bayrūtī:

> [Yalbughā] remained on the Jazīrat al-Wusṭá [/Urwā] while al-Malik al-Ashraf and his company were on the bank of [Būlāq] al-Takrūrī. Someone known as Muḥammad ibn Bint Labṭah, the captain *(al-rāyis),* then came to al-Malik al-Ashraf, offered him about thirty of the newly-built ships, with crew, and he broke the ships' rigging *(burūq al-marākib),* thus flattening them so that they could cross over. A number of the amirs and mamluks of Yalbughā embarked upon them for the crossing, but Yalbughā shot naphtha bombs at them. Thereupon, they made the ships' crews bring them close to the river bank, shooting arrows at Yalbughā so as to hit his companions and drive them back to where they came from. But Yalbughā

[9] In fact, one of these ships is explicitly reported to have been used, in the course of 1368, by a sea captain (*rāyis al-baḥr*) known as Muḥammad al-Tāzī al-Maghrabī in a successful corsairing campaign against a ship of the "Franks" (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:159). Most of this Egyptian fleet's whereabouts, however, remain unknown, but it may indeed have shared in the fate of its Syrian counterpart, which was left to rot near Beirut (see Albrecht Fuess, "Rotting Ships and Razed Harbors: The Naval Policy of the Mamluks," *Mamlūk Studies Review* 5 [2001]: 52–53; on rotting ships, see also Agius, *Classic Ships of Islam,* 253–54, 260–62).

> and his companions shot at them with arrows and naphtha, without, however, impressing them.[10]

Thus, Yalbughā tried to regain control of the situation with a host of impressive strategic, military, and institutional maneuvers. These included not only his blockade of the Nile and his engagement in sea warfare, but also such remarkable measures as the installation of yet another Qalāwūnid sultan instead of the recalcitrant and absent Shaʿbān: al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ānūk ibn Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (d. 1391), mockingly referred to by commoners and chroniclers alike as "*sulṭān al-jazīrah,*" since he only held court for one day on the above-mentioned island.[11] When, however, on Saturday 12 December al-Ashraf Shaʿbān and his supporters eventually managed to cross the Nile and catch up with their Cairene supporters, Yalbughā's attempts to reverse the situation proved futile, and after his arrest the conflict ended in the following gruesome manner:

> [Yalbughā's] mamluks came, took him from the prison, and brought him down from the citadel. When he went through the Bāb al-Qalʿah and waited at the wall, they brought him a horse to ride. But when he intended to mount, a mamluk called Qarātamur hit him [with his sword], decapitating him, whereupon [others] jumped at him with their swords, cutting him to pieces. They took his head and held it in a burning torch for the bleeding to stop, though some of them refused to have anything to do with that. When they removed the torch, the bleeding had stopped and they wiped [the head] clean. They could no longer recognize him [in it] but for the scar he had under his ear. Then, they took his body and brought it to al-ʿArūsatayn to hide it there. But under cover of the night['s darkness], Ṭashtamur, [Yalbughā's] *dawādār,* came and took the head from them, and he looked for the body until he found it. He had it stitched, and then he buried it in the mausoleum which [Yalbughā] had constructed near

[10] Al-Bayrūtī, fol. 3r (for a single, extremely brief reference to this so-far untraceable chronicler and the unique 788 A.H. [1386 C.E.] manuscript [in 131 folia] of his very valuable chronicle for the years 769–779, see Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur: Zweite den Supplementbänden angepasste Auflage* [Leiden, 1943–49], 2:61 ["A. al-Bairūtī schrieb: Eine Geschichte der J. 768–80/1366–78 *(sic !)* mit Nekrologen"]). Another account of this engagement, with even more detail, may be found in al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:133–35. Thanks are due to Dionisius A. Agius for helping me with the translation of this passage.

[11] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:133–35; Aḥmad ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Al-Durar al-Kāminah fī Aʿyān al-Miʾah al-Thāminah,* ed. H. al-Nadawī (Beirut, 1993), 1:418–19; Abū al-Maḥāsin Yūsuf ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Manhal al-Ṣāfī wa-al-Mustawfá baʿd al-Wāfī,* ed. M. M. Amīn (Cairo, 1986–2009), 3:107–8.

> the mausoleum of Khwand Umm Ānūk, at al-Rawḍah, outside Bāb al-Barqīyah.[12]

AN ASSESSMENT OF HISTORIOGRAPHY

When Mamluk studies have awarded any attention at all to this drawn-out military engagement in early December 1366, it has been done indifferently and quite briefly within a larger historical or conceptual framework. Moreover, in their summary reconstructions, such studies have invariably identified either al-Ashraf Shaʿbān or a nameless mass of the Yalbughāwīyah, or both, as the culprits for this remarkable and abominable turn of events. Thus, in the 1960s, in William Brinner's preliminary attempt to make sense of late fourteenth-century power struggles, he entirely blamed the sultan, claiming that he was "determined to be ruler in fact as well as in name."[13] In the early 1980s, Werner Krebs's chronological reconstruction of Mamluk history between 1341 and 1382 accused Yalbughā's mamluks first and foremost, identifying them as "die Masse seiner namenlosen Mamluken."[14] In their historical surveys of "medieval" Islamic history, both published in 1986, Robert Irwin and Peter Holt generally agreed with this view, adding some more nuances. The former stated that "Yalbughā was killed in 1366 by some of his own mamluks who had been unable to endure their master's harsh discipline any longer," adding that "though the sultan approved their action, he was not fully master of the changed situation."[15] Agreeing about the Yalbughāwīyah's involvement, Holt, however, also repeated Brinner's accusation against Shaʿbān, claiming that "al-Ashraf Shaʿbān, now old enough to take a hand in politics, gave his patronage to a faction of malcontent Mamluks."[16] The last scholar who dealt with this conflict in any serious fashion was Amalia Levanoni, who in 1995 followed the arguments put forward by Krebs and Irwin, stating that:

> When the Yalbughāwīyah mamluks rebelled against their master, Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī, the idea of the rebellion had originated with

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[12] Al-Bayrūtī, fol. 3v; similar story in al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:136.

[13] William M. Brinner, "The Struggle for Power in the Mamlūk State: Some Reflections on the Transition from Baḥrī to Burjī Rule," in *Proceedings of the 26th International Congress of Orientalists. New Delhi, 4–10 January 1964* (New Delhi, 1970), 233.

[14] Werner Krebs, "Innen- und Außenpolitik Ägyptens, 741–784/1341–1382" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Hamburg, 1980), 101–2. At about the same time, Ḥayāt Nāṣir al-Ḥajjī came to a similar conclusion; see his "Al-Aḥwāl al-Dākhilīyah fī Salṭanat al-Ashraf Shaʿbān ibn Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn: 764–778 H/1362–1376 M," *ʿĀlam al-Fikr* 14, no. 3 (1983): 782–84.

[15] Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages,* 148

[16] Peter M. Holt, *The Age of the Crusades: The Near East from the Eleventh Century to 1517* (London, 1986), 127; repeated in idem, "Miṣr," *The Encyclopaedia of Islam,* 2nd ed., 7:171; and idem, "Shaʿbān. 2. al-Malik al-Ashraf," *EI2,* 9:155.

> the mamluks, and they were the ones who forced the senior amirs to join them, threatening those who would not unite with them with dire consequences. Following the success of the rebellion, the mamluks insisted that the sultan, al-Ashraf Shaʿbān, hand over to them their defeated master whom they then murdered.[17]

From all this, it has to be acknowledged that the analysis of this conflict has not really been furthered much beyond the eyebrow-raising views that were already formulated by the late nineteenth-century orientalist William Muir. In his "The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt," he stated that:

> Yelbogha . . . was at first the dominant Emir; but his atrocities so transcended even the barbarous precedents of the age as to arouse the hatred of the people, who rallied to the support of the young sultan when Yelbogha rebelled and would have raised another brother to the throne. The tyrant was defeated, and his head exposed upon a burning torch. His memlukes, however, remained dominant and in their wild excesses had the city at their mercy.[18]

Despite a flavor of historical inaccuracy in the latter statement, Muir's reading of the conflict, implicating the Yalbughāwīyah, has clearly remained the bottom line of scholarly consensus until this day. Moreover, just as Muir implied that "the tyrant" really had it coming, this idea that Yalbughā's harsh attitude towards his mamluks triggered their actions has remained the prevalent explanation for such a remarkable and radical breaking of the mutually beneficial bonds that tied rank-and-file mamluks to their master. Whereas the passing references to such harshness by Irwin and Holt suggested that, like Muir, they simply considered Yalbughā unfit for the job, Levanoni in 1995 took this moral argument one step further, by linking it to a "remamlukisation" project endeavored by Yalbughā in order to stem the tide of moral laxity in the military ranks, which allegedly had set in during the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad.[19] Hence, she not only blamed Yalbughā and "his crass atti-

[17] Amalia Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History: The Third Reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad Ibn Qalāwūn, 1310–1341* (Leiden, 1995), 119–20, also 89. Repeated in her "Rank-and-file Mamluks versus Amirs: New Norms in the Mamluk Military Institution," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* ed. Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge, 1998), 25.

[18] W. Muir, *The Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt: A History of Egypt from the Fall of the Ayy - bite Dynasty to the Conquest by the Osmanlis, A.D. 1260-1517* (London, 1896; repr. Amsterdam, 1968), 97.

[19] For an earlier passing reference to this "remamlukisation" thesis, see Holt, "Miṣr," 171. It was also repeated and elaborated by Linda S. Northrup in her "The Baḥrī Mamlūk Sultanate, 1250–1390," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt,* Volume 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640-1517,* ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 286–89. For a critical approach to such a concept of an ideal, normative "mamlūk phenomenon," as originating in the thirteenth century, see Peter Thorau, "Einige kritische Bemerkungen zum

tude towards [his mamluks], the humiliations they suffered at his hands, and the excessive punishments he meted out," but also the Yalbughāwīyah, who "had become too reliant on conditions of material permissiveness" and who were characterized by "disloyalty, lack of restraint, and greed."[20]

However, in limiting themselves to such dismissive, negative appreciations of this episode and its protagonists—Yalbughā wronged his own mamluks, and they were all rogues and up to no good—all modern studies alike demonstrate first and foremost how deeply embedded they are in the value judgments of near-contemporary historians (and it has been sufficiently demonstrated in recent years how such an approach entails many pitfalls).[21] Thus, Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406)—who had access to inside information on this as well as subsequent episodes because of his close friendship with the Yalbughāwī Alṭunbughā al-Jūbānī (ca. 1341–89)[22]—very succinctly assesses the background of the 1366 revolt as follows:

> Yalbughā's autocracy *(istibdāduhu)* had been lasting long for the sultan, and his cruelty *(waṭʾatuhu)* had been hard to bear for the amirs, for the regime's employees, and especially for his mamluks. He had been increasing the number of mamluks, disciplining them in an extreme fashion and overstepping all bounds when he beat them with the stick, until their noses were cut off and their ears were severed *(tajāwaza al-ḍarb fīhim bi-al-ʿaṣā ilá jadʿ al-unūf wa-iṣṭilām al-ādhān)*. . . . [That is why] they harbored [feelings of] disloyalty *(al-ghishsh)*.[23]

sogenannten 'mamlūk phenomenon,'" in *Die Mamlūke: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur: Zum Gedenken an Ulrich Haarmann (1942–1999),* ed. Stephan Conermann and Anja Pistor-Hatam (Hamburg, 2003), 367–78.

[20] Levanoni, *A Turning Point in Mamluk History,* 88–89, 90, 103.

[21] See, e.g., Amalia Levanoni, "Al-Maqrīzī's account of the Transition from Turkish to Circassian Mamluk Sultanate: History in the Service of Faith," in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800),* ed. Hugh Kennedy (Leiden, 2001), 93–105. On top of that, it can also be convincingly suggested that this pervasive uncritical and negative approach to the 1366 conflict owes an equal amount to the widespread tendency to assess Mamluk political history through a modern, Marxist and/or systems analysis prism, anachronistically applying modern conceptions of class, class consciousness and solidarity, and class struggle to a premodern society (i.e., the mamluk proletariat struggling for their emancipation from their control by the bourgeois amirs!). In this respect, see, for instance, Winslow W. Clifford's apt and stimulating analysis in his "*Ubi Sumus?* Mamluk History and Social Theory," *MSR* 1 (1997): 45–62.

[22] See Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar wa-Dīwān al-Mubtadaʾ wa-al-Khabar fī Ayyām al-ʿArab wa-al-ʿAjam wa-al-Barbar wa-man ʿĀṣarahum min Dhawī al-Sulṭān al-Akbar,* ed. N. al-Hārūnī (Cairo, 1867–68), 5:476.

[23] Ibid., 5:456.

Al-Maqrīzī, a student and well-known admirer of Ibn Khaldūn,[24] later repeated this general negative stance, claiming that this Yalbughā character would beat his mamluks with a whip and cut off their tongues.[25]

However, what has not been picked up so far, and what is very striking in this context, is that all other Mamluk chroniclers that discuss this episode in Mamluk history, including the contemporaries al-Bayrūtī (fl. latter half of the fourteenth century) and Ibn Duqmāq (ca. 1350–1407) refrain from making such value judgments. This "depreciation" of Yalbughā in particular is only present with Ibn Khaldūn (and with al-Maqrīzī after him), who actually justifies in unmistakable fashion the Yalbughāwīyah's actions against their master. Was this perhaps primarily how surviving Yalbughāwīyah—such as Ibn Khaldūn's source, Alṭunbughā, or Ibn Khaldūn's patron, the sultan Barqūq (r. 1382–89, 1390–99)—preferred to remember this black page in their history?

Nevertheless, it would be otiose to doubt that there may well be a kernel of truth in these assertions, that Yalbughā was an unpleasant man to work for, that there was a general feeling of physical maltreatment among Yalbughā's mamluks, and that the December 1366 revolt had much to do with that. Even so, it remains puzzling that these disgruntled mamluks had chosen to support Yalbughā on several earlier occasions, until just a few months earlier, in February 1366, against his peer Ṭaybughā, who at the time could count on a lot of support among the amirs and also among the commoners.[26] Why, or perhaps more appropriately, how did they change their mind and eventually turn against him, in December 1366? Was there more at stake, triggering these harbored feelings of disloyalty to erupt at this specific moment?

In all, this is one episode from a long list in Mamluk history that continues to generate many more questions than those that have been considered so far. Especially from a long-term historical perspective, it becomes increasingly relevant to pursue such questions and start digging beyond today's surface of Mamluk history. In the present context, for instance, the underlying assumption in modern historiography's face-value acceptance of Ibn Khaldūn's views seems to be that for nearly two centuries decline from an initial late thirteenth- and early-fourteenth century point of success was predominant in the sultanate's history. More precisely, the above perception of the December 1366 conflict as a total breakdown of the "natu-

[24] See for instance Robert Irwin, "Al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Khaldūn: Historians of the Unseen," *MSR* 7, no. 2 (2003): 217–25; Anne F. Broadbridge, "Royal Authority, Justice, and Order in Society: The Influence of Ibn Khaldūn on the Writings of al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī," *MSR* 7, no. 2 (2003): 231–45.

[25] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:130. See also Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fī Mulūk Miṣr wa-al-Qāhirah,* ed. Ibrāhīm ʿAlī Ṭarkhān (Cairo, 1963–72), 11:36.

[26] See Van Steenbergen, "The Amir Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī."

ral" relationship between mamluks and their master turns it into a telling exception to the alleged rule that there was a "Mamluk system" of unconditional loyalty to one's master *(ustādh)* and to one's peers *(khushdāsh)* dominating Mamluk politics at large, which had been responsible for the sultanate's initial successes, but which became increasingly strained thereafter.[27] Therefore, the conflict's perception as the breaking of this crucial taboo and normative code perfectly confirms and illustrates the idea of crisis and of the breakdown of norms and behavior in the quagmire of what must have been a horrible fourteenth century, from which the sultanate would never really manage to escape again, despite any attempts at "remamlukisation."

But does such a linear, comparative approach really do justice to what actually happened in that fourteenth century, let alone to what happened thereafter? As said, the time has definitely come to start delving beyond such static, judgmental, and negative views of Mamluk history, moving away from a focus on "what went wrong" and towards an appreciation of the many dimensions of Mamluk historical change in their own right. Therefore, in the second part of this article, the December 1366 conflict will be analyzed from one among quite a few possible alternative angles.[28] It will be claimed that prosopography, and a more accurate identification of Yalbughā's opponents and of their relationship with Yalbughā in general, opens up very interesting new perspectives. This will eventually allow for a more positive reading of the causes and consequences of this conflict, moving away from the depressing "Khaldūnian decline paradigm" that has perverted Mamluk studies for far too long now, and towards an understanding in its own right of the process of change and transformation that the Mamluk sultanate clearly was undergoing by the latter half of the fourteenth century, and which was to ensure its continued existence well into the sixteenth century![29]

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[27] On this "Mamluk system," as the static backbone of the Mamluk political economy, see esp - cially the various pioneering works by David Ayalon (mainly republished in his collected volumes: *The Mamlūk Military Society: Collected Studies* [London, 1979]; *Outsiders in the Lands of Islam: Mamluks, Mongols, and Eunuchs* [London, 1988]; *Islam and the Abode of War* [Aldershot, 1994]; and neatly summarised in Reuven Amitai, "David Ayalon, 1914–1998," *MSR* 3 [1999]: 1–12). For an updated, more dynamic (in a negative sense, though [see n. 29]) version, see Levanoni, *Turning Point,* esp. 4–27.

[28] Inspiration for these angles may (in fact, should) certainly be searched for in concepts, views, and ideas as developed in related fields of pre-modern historical research, such as (among others) in the works of Gerd Althoff (e.g., his *Die Macht der Rituale: Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter* [Darmstadt, 2003]); Marco Mostert (e.g., *New Approaches to Medieval Communication* [Turnhout, 1999]); and Geoffrey Koziol (e.g., *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* [Ithaca, 1992]).

[29] For the identification of a notion of "decline" permeating Levanoni's *Turning Point,* see the r - view by Winslow W. Clifford in *MSR* 1 (1997): 179–82. For a very stimulating survey of modern Ottoman historiography's recent move away from its "decline paradigm," see Donald Quataert, "Ottoman History Writing and Changing Attitudes Towards the Notion of 'Decline,'" *History Com-*

The Yalbughāwīyah: Veteran Amirs and Junior Mamluks

If one takes a closer look at the December 1366 conflict, and at Yalbughā's opponents in particular, there certainly are a number of factors that deserve much more attention than they have hitherto been awarded. As far as causes and consequences of the rebellion are concerned, the most important factor seems to be the sliding scale of multiple relationships between Yalbughā and his opponents, revealing how in many modern studies the latter so far have been unjustly reduced to generic terms such as "the Yalbughāwīyah mamluks." Certainly, Yalbughā's mamluks were deeply involved, but not all of them at the same time, nor for the same reasons, nor in similar fashion. There was indeed much more at stake than malcontent mamluks simply breaking up with their master!

Veteran Amirs

Continuing his above-mentioned account of the rebellion, Ibn Khaldūn actually explains how one amir's brother fell victim to Yalbughā's notorious temper one day; the brother then enjoined that amir, Asandamur al-Nāṣirī (d. 1368), to conspire with his peers and the sultan against Yalbughā.[30] The other extant contemporary accounts, by Ibn Duqmāq and al-Bayrūtī, give more details on this aspect of the rebellion. In almost identical wording, they both claimed that:

> it was agreed [to revolt] by the mamluks of Yalbughā who had been promoted amir by him, by their "brothers," and by the leading *ḥalqah* chiefs *(mamālīk Yalbughā alladhīna ammarahum wa-ikhwatuhum wa-ruʾūs al-bāshāt),*[31] including Aqbughā al-Aḥmadī, known as al-Jalab, Asandamur al-Nāṣirī, Qajmās al-Ṭāzī, Taghrī Birmish al-ʿAlāʾī, Aqbughā Jarkas Amīr Silāḥ, and Qarābughā al-

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pass 1 (2003): 1–9. The conceptual and practical parallels with Mamluk historiography, both modern and contemporary, are extremely striking, and call for a similar revision that may "offer a more nuanced view of the [Mamluk] experience, . . . discussing the realities of those experiences rather than [Mamluk] failures to follow particular patterns of change" (ibid., 3); if gradually implemented in Mamluk studies, also in light of a larger perspective offered by comparative and global history, such a revision will undoubtedly be as revealing as in the Ottoman case, where Quataert describes how "the emerging new scholarship is revealing an Ottoman state (society and economy) in the process of continuous transformation, rather than a decline or fall from idealized norms of the past. . . . In this new understanding, the Ottoman state underwent continuous modifications in its domestic policy, an ongoing evolution in which there is no idealized form, since change itself is understood as the norm" (ibid., 4).

[30] Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar,* 5:356.

[31] On the latter title, rarely encountered and therefore less well known, see Khalīl ibn Shāhīn al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdat Kashf al-Mamālik fī Bayān al-Ṭuruq wa-al-Masālik,* ed. Paul Ravaisse (Paris, 1894), 116: "every one hundred from a thousand [*ḥalqah* troopers] have a chief *(bāsh)* and a superintendent *(naqīb)*."

> Ṣarghitmishī, as well as those that had allied with them. They geared up [for combat], rode out and attacked their *ustādh,* the honorable *atābak* Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī, raiding his encampment [at Giza] and intending to kill him.[32]

Al-Maqrīzī, for his part, agreeing on the identity of these six as leaders of the revolt, explains their action further, incorporating these contemporary accounts and at the same time implementing, it would seem, an expanded version of Ibn Khaldūn's moralizing story line. He claims that the young recruits got fed up with Yalbughā's harsh treatment of them, whereupon these six amirs went to Yalbughā to plead their case, asking him to relent and to show them some mercy. Thereupon, however, Yalbughā supposedly insulted and threatened these amirs, which ultimately convinced them to attack Yalbughā's encampment in conjunction with those malcontent mamluks.[33]

Whatever the truth of the matter, this "gang" of six Yalbughāwī amirs clearly constituted a major factor in the conflict's initial phase, and, as it would turn out, they were also to figure prominently among its political and institutional benefi-

[32] Quoted from al-Bayrūtī, fol. 2v; also in Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Aydamur ibn Duqmāq, "N - zhat al-Anām fī Tārīkh al-Islām," Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek Gotha MS Orient A 1572, fol. 2v. In fact, this passage's version in the latter autograph manuscript, dated 784/1382, shows only three slight but reductive modifications to al-Bayrūtī's text, as it appears in the Bodleian manuscript from 788/1386: Ibn Duqmāq's text collapses the phrase (*wa-ruʾūs al-bāshāt minhum,* "by the leading *ḥalqah* chiefs, including . . .") into a less enigmatic variant (*wa-ruʾūsuhum* . . ., "and their leaders were . . .") and drops altogether the attributive relative clause (*al-maʿrūf bi-*, "known as") after the name of Aqbughā al-Aḥmadī, as well as the verb (*labisū*, "they geared up").

An identical fragment, also with slight modifications (but not as reductive as Ibn Duqmāq's), is in the fifteenth-century chronicle of Maḥmūd al-ʿAynī, "ʿIqd al-Jumān fī Tārīkh Ahl al-Zamān," Dār al-Kutub MS 1584 *tārīkh,* fol. 144r (in this version, the initial verb is put in the third person feminine singular *(ittafaqat)* instead of the third person masculine plural *(ittafaqū)* in al-Bayrūtī and Ibn Duqmāq; the verb *kabasū* ("they attacked/raided") is dropped (and not *labisū* as in Ibn Duqmāq); there are minor adjustments to certain names (twice adding al-Khāṣṣakī to Yalbughā's name, once changing his title from the official form of address (*al-maqarr al-atābakī,* "the honorable *atābak*") to the more functional *(al-atābak),* and once specifying that "Aqbughā al-Aḥmadī, known as Jalab, [was] *raʾs nawbah* [a mamluks' chief]"). On the problematic identity of this manuscript in relation to other extant copies of the work of this author, see my discussion with Sami Massoud as reconstructed in his *The Chronicles and Annalistic Sources of the Early Mamluk Circassian Period* (Leiden, 2007), 41–45.

An adjusted, but clearly related version of this passage may be found in the *Jawhar al-Thamīn,* the summary chronicle of Islamic history by the same Ibn Duqmāq, interestingly now denoting these six amirs as chiefs *[bāshātuhum]* (Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Jawhar al-Thamīn fī Siyar al-Khulafāʾ wa-al-Mulūk wa-al-Salāṭīn,* ed. S. ʿA. ʿĀshūr [Mecca, 1982], 415).

Finally, the version of Ibn Taghrībirdī is also clearly similar in substance, demonstrating obvious textual traces of a contemporary original (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 11:36).

[33] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:130–31.

ciaries. The morning after Yalbughā's murder, four amirs—including three out of these six initiators: Aqbughā al-Aḥmadī al-Jalab (d. 1367), Asandamur al-Nāṣirī (d. 1368), and Qajmās al-Ṭāzī (fl. 1360s)[34]—were even reported to have been "installed as the spokesmen for the untying and tying [of the regime's business], for the giving and taking [of the regime's wealth], and for the appointment and the dismissal [of the regime's functionaries]."[35] Soon thereafter, this shift was confirmed institutionally, when these "spokesmen" reshuffled al-Ashraf Shaʿbān's entourage of courtiers.[36] On the one hand, this re-organization of the court conspicuously benefited a handful of amirs and officials with clear pre-Yalbughā credentials, like Qashtamur al-Manṣūrī (ca. 1310–69), a long-standing veteran of the Qalāwūnid era;[37] Aydamur al-Shāmī, a veteran from al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's reign,[38] and Muḥammad

[34] The fourth amir, Ṭughāytamur al-Niẓāmī, a high-ranking member of the political elite for several years, had been siding with Yalbughā for most of the December 1366 conflict, but he had changed camps just in time not to be discredited by Yalbughā's downfall (al-Bayrūtī, fol. 3r–3v; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:74, 75, 134–35); his (brief) leadership after Yalbughā's murder is confirmed from his biography in Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 2:223.

[35] See al-Bayrūtī, fol. 4r; al-ʿAynī, "ʿIqd," fol. 147. Again in a reductive version in Ibn Duqmāq, "Nuzhat al-Anām," fol. 4r (the fourth "odd" amir, Ṭughāytamur al-Niẓāmī, is not mentioned, the verb [*istaqarra,* "to install"] is missing, and they were "spokesmen for the untying and tying" only). Clear traces of a contemporary original may again be found in Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:40–41 (including reference to Ṭughāytamur and use of the verb *istaqarra,* "to install"). A different version, but also referring to the three Yalbughāwī amirs, is in al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:137 ("they started managing the affairs of the regime *[akhadhū fī tadbīr umūr al-dawlah]*").

[36] Al-Bayrūtī, fol. 4r–4v; al-ʿAynī, "ʿIqd," fol. 147. Ibn Duqmāq, "Nuzhat al-Anām," fol. 4r–4v. Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:138–39. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:41. On the classification of Mamluk military offices, see Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos,* 38–41; in this case, the "local" nature of the December 1366 conflict, as well as the fact that power politics—including direct access to and influence with the sultan—was its main issue, is borne out by the fact that this re-organization only involved court offices and high military ranks "in the sultan's vicinity," leaving the executive offices and the administration of the realm untouched.

[37] He was a mamluk of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn, promoted to amir by Muḥammad's son and successor al-Manṣūr Abū Bakr (r. 1341), who between 1341 and 1366 performed a host of minor and major executive functions in Egypt and Syria; on 15 December 1366, he was made *ḥājib al-ḥujjāb* (chief chamberlain) (see Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Kitāb al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt* [Wiesbaden, 1949–(1999)], 24:246; Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 3:249; Abū Bakr ibn Aḥmad Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah,* ed. ʿAdnān Darwīsh [Damascus, 1977–1994], 3:353–54; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:138; al-Bayrūtī, fol. 4r; al-ʿAynī, "ʿIqd," fol. 147; Ibn Duqmāq, "Nuzhat al-Anām," fol. 4r; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:41). On the office of *ḥājib al-ḥujjāb,* see the references in Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos,* 40, n. 65.

[38] He had been made a high-ranking amir and senior *dawādār* (personal secretary) in the latter half of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's reign; on 15 December 1366, he was again made a high-ranking amir and senior *dawādār* (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:43, 138; al-Bayrūtī, fol. 4r; al-ʿAynī, "ʿIqd," fol. 147; Ibn Duqmāq, "Nuzhat al-Anām," fol. 4r; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:41). On the office of *dawādār,* see the references in Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos,* 40, n. 65.

ibn Qumārī (d. 1377), whose father had been a leading amir in the 1330s and '40s.[39] On the other hand, upon gaining pre-eminence, the new "spokesmen" obviously also made sure to cash in and to include themselves in this round of promotions and new entries into al-Ashraf Shaʿbān's court. Thus, Qajmās al-Ṭāzī, an amir of forty since March 1366, was appointed *amīr silāḥ* ("master of weaponry");[40] Aqbughā al-Aḥmadī al-Jalab, an amir of one hundred since March 1366, was awarded—according to at least one report—the title and senior status of *amīr kabīr,* "sitting in the audience hall above Asandamur al-Nāṣirī";[41] and the latter, equally an amir of one hundred since March 1366, at first remained a "spokesman" without an official title, but with court privileges concomitant with his newly acquired status, including, as just mentioned, the right to sit down in the sultan's presence. Furthermore, still in December 1366, a fourth member from that "gang" of six, the amir Qarābughā al-Ṣarghitmishī, was promoted to the highest rank—a very exceptional feat, as indicated by the explicit contemporary addendum that this happened "from the rank of amir of ten *(min al-ʿashrah)*."[42] Finally, other new or transferred court

[39] Muḥammad, an amir of forty since October 1363, was appointed *amīr shikār* ("master of the hunt") on 15 December 1366 (see al-Bayrūtī, fol. 4v; Ibn Duqmāq, "Nuzhat al-Anām," fol. 4r ["*amīr shikār al-sulṭān*"]; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:138; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:534). On the office of *amīr shikār,* see Aḥmad al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá fī Ṣināʿat al-Inshāʾ* (Cairo, 1913–19), 4:22, 5:461; al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdah,* 114, 126. On his father, Qumārī al-Nāṣirī al-Kabīr (d. 1346), see Khalīl ibn Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān al-ʿAṣr wa-Aʿwān al-Naṣr,* ed. ʿA. Abū Zayd et al. (Beirut-Damascus, 1998), 4:132–33; al-Ṣafadī, *Wāfī,* 24:275.

[40] Al-Bayrūtī, fol. 4v; Ibn Duqmāq, "Nuzhat al-Anām," fol. 4v; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:117, 138; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:41. On the office of *amīr silāḥ,* see the references in Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos,* 40–41, n. 66.

[41] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:298; his having been appointed *amīr kabīr* is confirmed from his biography in Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:391. On the position of *amīr kabīr,* see Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos,* 44, with additional references in n. 82.

[42] Al-Bayrūtī, fol. 4v; Ibn Duqmāq, "Nuzhat al-Anām," fol. 4v; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:139; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 11:41 (making this comment even more explicit: "at once from the rank of amir of ten *[dafʿatan wāḥidatan min imrat ʿashrah]*"; also Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos,* 36–37. As for the two remaining members of the "gang" of six, nothing further is mentioned in any source about the amir Aqbughā Jarkas Amīr Silāḥ, but Taghrī Birmish al-ʿAlāʾī, equally obscure, suddenly pops up once more in the accounts of March 1367, three months after the December 1366 conflict, when this "Taghrī Birmish put on his war gear and rode out; but the amirs rode against him and caught him," whereupon he was sent off to Alexandria (al-Bayrūtī, fol. 5r; Ibn Duqmāq, "Nuzhat al-Anām," fol. 5r [now with a longer (!) variant reading, and arguably more correct dating than al-Bayrūtī's]; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:42 [which is his own enhanced version of the same story, linking this to the preceding arrest of "gang" member Qarābughā al-Ṣarghitmishī]). It seems that the latter three amirs actually served in a more subordinate capacity as the "henchmen" of this "gang," considering the far less prominent role they were awarded in the conflict's aftermath, including their very direct, even brutal involvement therein, as with Qarābughā's bullying of one of Yalbughā's former civil servants to extract money from him, or with Taghrī Birmish's supervising the transfer

officers were the amir of one hundred Ṭaydamur al-Bālisī (d. 1377), the amir of forty Asanbughā al-Qawṣūnī (d. 1374), and Qarātamur al-Muḥammadī, an amir of forty, but again only since March 1366.[43] In all, this new, variegated composition of the court is certainly indicative of the fact that there were more amirs than just that "gang" of six actively involved in the preceding conflict, as also suggested in the following obituary notice of an amir known as Uzdamur al-ʿIzzī (d. 1367), promoted amir of ten by Yalbughā in March 1366: "he belonged to those that agreed to kill Yalbughā, and after his murder, he was given a rank of amir of forty."[44] Surely, this allegation similarly applied to more than just a handful of Yalbughāwī amirs for December 1366!

In due course, the amir Asandamur al-Nāṣirī, left without a functional court position on this occasion, also managed to acquire for himself a more formally defined stake in the sultan's court, for in the accounts for the summer of 1367 he starts appearing in the top office of *atābak al-ʿasākir* (commander of the army), formerly executed by Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī.[45] This, however, had everything to do with the fact that by that summer, the amir Asandamur had succeeded in overcoming and eliminating these former Yalbughāwī associates of his, as well as other peers and contenders for influence and authority. More precisely, two further political conflicts, one in March and one in June 1367, enabled Asandamur to finish off the authority of any other "spokesman" and, indeed, to "acquire the status of his *ustādh* Yalbughā, managing the affairs of the regime, issuing the appointments and dismissals of its officials, and living in Yalbughā's residence at al-Kabsh."[46]

Clearly, and whatever the motives of each of those who stood up against Yalbughā in December 1366 were, it was amirs who took a leading role in this conflict and benefited most prominently from it afterwards. Moreover, as most sources did not fail to notice, most of these amirs—the "gang" of six in particular—were

of a group of arrested amirs to the prisons of Alexandria (al-Bayrūtī, fol. 4v; Ibn Duqmāq, "Nuzhat al-Anām," fol. 4v; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:139).

[43] Ṭaydamur, an amir of one hundred since 1363 and formerly *amīr silāḥ,* was transferred to the o -fice of *ustādār* (majordomo); Asanbughā, an amir of forty since 1365, was made the sultan's *lālā* (tutor); Qarātamur was made the sultan's *khāzindār* (treasurer) (al-Bayrūtī, fol. 4v; Ibn Duqmāq, "Nuzhat al-Anām," fol. 4v; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:139; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:41). For biographies of these amirs, see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 7:39; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:456, 525–26. On the offices of *ustādār* and *khāzindār,* see the references in Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos,* 40–41, n. 66.

[44] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3: 326.

[45] See, e.g., al-ʿAynī, "ʿIqd," fol. 150; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:46; idem, *Manhal,* 2:440.

[46] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:141. On these conflicts, see Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos,* 161–62, 194.

of conspicuous Yalbughāwī signature; they had Yalbughā's patronage in common, and all "had been promoted amir by him."[47]

Surprisingly, perhaps, the latter rather enigmatic source quotation turns out to be extremely helpful in reconstructing the background of the December 1366 conflict. Indeed, almost every one of the above-mentioned amirs owed his last promotion to Yalbughā and his total re-organization of the regime's elites less than a year before!

At that time, in late February 1366, Yalbughā had managed—as mentioned at the beginning of this article—to remove one of the last remaining obstacles for his absolute pre-eminence, the amir Ṭaybughā al-Ṭawīl. After a violent confrontation outside Cairo between the supporters of both grandees, Ṭaybughā was sent to the prisons of Alexandria. As Ibn Kathīr put it, recounting how this "clash *(waqʿah)* between the amirs in Egypt" was conceived of in contemporary Damascus, "there was an enormous uproar *(khabṭah ʿaẓīmah)* in Egypt, during which the *amīr kabīr* Yalbughā managed to keep his strength, support, and backing."[48] Most importantly in the present context, Yalbughā's supporters were rewarded for their backing. Therefore, in early March 1366, after the arrest of dozens of Ṭaybughā's associates, Yalbughā appointed a host of new court officials, including the amir Ṭaydamur al-Bālisī, and at the same time he promoted two trusted fellows to the rank of amir of one hundred: Aqbughā al-Aḥmadī al-Jalab and Asandamur al-Nāṣirī.[49] In the case of Aqbughā, this was his very first appearance in the sources, suggesting that he was promoted to the regime's highest ranks from very humble origins, which was later explained as a result of "his belonging to Yalbughā's mamluks and of his having a privileged status with him."[50] Moreover, the sources describe how a few days later many mamluks and amirs were "all given a robe of honor and dressed with fur hats, upon which all came down from the Dār al-ʿAdl in the citadel [proceeding] to the Manṣūrīyah madrasah, in Cairo's Bayn al-Qaṣrayn, where they were made to swear, as is the custom [for the promotion of amirs]."[51] In fact, both al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī list with remarkable and conspicuous detail the names of all amirs who were thus rewarded:

> On Monday 9 March 1366, 38 amirs were promoted, among whom [the following were made] amirs of forty: Aqbughā al-Jawharī, Arghūn al-Qashtamurī, Aynabak al-Badrī, ʿAlī al-Sayfī Kashlā (the *wālī* of

[47] Al-Bayrūtī, fol. 2v; al-ʿAynī, "ʿIqd," fol. 144.

[48] Ismāʿīl ibn Kathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-Nihāyah* (Beirut, 1990), 14:318–19; detailed accounts in al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:115–16; al-ʿAynī, "ʿIqd," fols. 139–40; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:31; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:274–75.

[49] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:117.

[50] See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:298.

[51] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:118.

> Cairo), Ṭughāy Tamur al-ʿUthmānī, Alṭunbughā al-ʿIzzī, Qajmās al-Sayfī Ṭāz, Arghūn al-ʿIzzī Kunuk, Qarātamur al-Muḥammadī, Urūs Bughā al-Khalīlī, Ṭājār min ʿAwaḍ, Quṭlūbughā al-ʿIzzī, Aqbughā al-Yūsufī, Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī, Raṣlān al-Sayfī [Shaykhū] (who was established as *ḥājib* of Alexandria), ʿAlī ibn Qashtamur, Sūdūn al-Quṭluqtamurī, Quṭlūbughā al-Shaʿbānī, Ṭughāy Tamur al-ʿIzzī, and Muḥammad al-Tarjumān [al-Turkumānī]. The remainder [were made] amirs of ten; they were: Kakbughā al-Sayfī [Baybughā], Ṭanbak al-Azqī, Arghūn al-Aḥmadī, Arghūn al-Arghūnī, Sūdūn al-Shaykhūnī, Uzdamur al-ʿIzzī, Urūs al-Niẓāmī, Yūnus al-ʿUmarī, Durtbughā al-Bālisī, Ṭūr Ḥasan, Qarābughā al-Ṣarghitmishī, Ṭāz al-Ḥasanī, Qumārī al-Jamālī, Yūsuf Shāh, Ṭaqbughā al-ʿAlāʾī, Fīr ʿAlī, Qurqumās al-Ṣarghitmishī, and Ṭājār al-Muḥammadī.[52]

Comprehensive lists such as this one, with details one would normally only expect in the regime's administrative registers, are only rarely encountered in the era's chronicles.[53] In the case of this list, its survival is extremely fortunate, as it offers an unusual but insightful glimpse into the lower strata of the regime's military hierarchy and its socio-political allegiances. Many of the names mentioned here soon faded back into historiographical oblivion, a token of the distorting top-down view dominating the Mamluk narrative source material.[54] A handful of amirs, like Aqbughā al-Jawharī (1341–90), Aynabak al-Badrī (d. 1378), ʿAlī ibn Qashtamur (d. 1381), Arghūn al-Aḥmadī (d. 1374), and Sūdūn al-Shaykhūnī (d. 1396) were to surface again as leading characters in the 1370s and beyond, and they are encountered here for the very first time.[55] Finally, as seen above and similar to their fortunate high-

[52] Ibid., 3:117–18; also Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:33–34. This round of promotions is also referred to in Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar,* 5:455. No contemporary accounts of this conflict and its aftermath have survived, as extant fragments from the detailed chronicles of al-Bayrūtī and Ibn Duqmāq only start with the report for the hijri year 768 (starting in September 1366). Ibn Duqmāq's summary world history only mentions the arrest of "about twenty amirs," but not their replacement (Ibn Duqmāq, *Al-Jawhar al-Thamīn,* 413).

[53] On the administrative registers, large parts of which consisted of the detailed listings of the names of *iqṭāʿ* holders, i.e., primarily of amirs, see Shihāb al-Dīn al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1931–77), 8:200–13. For other examples of similar extant lists, see below, for the discussion of the June 1367 list and for the reference to later lists (nn. 69, 108).

[54] No further references in any of the contemporary sources were found to any of the following twelve amirs: ʿAlī al-Sayfī Kashlā, Arghūn al-ʿIzzī Kunuk, Raṣlān al-Sayfī, Sūdūn al-Quṭluqtamurī, Ṭughāy Tamur al-ʿIzzī, Muḥammad al-Tarjumān, Ṭūr Ḥasan, Qarābughā al-Ṣarghitmishī, Ṭāz al-Ḥasanī, Ṭaqbughā al-ʿAlāʾī, Fīr ʿAlī, and Ṭājār al-Muḥammadī.

[55] Aqbughā would serve as a governor in several Syrian cities in the late 1370s and 1380s (Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:391; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 2:474–76); Aynabak was party to the rebellion against al-Ashraf Shaʿbān in 1377 and briefly held power shortly thereafter (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 3:221–

ranking colleagues Ṭaydamur, Aqbughā, and Asandamur, there was a last group, including the fresh amirs of forty, Qajmās al-Ṭāzī and Qarātamur al-Muḥammadī, and the new amirs of ten, Uzdamur al-ʿIzzī and Qarābughā al-Ṣarghitmishī, whose names were to resurface much more quickly and prominently than anyone at the time might have expected.[56] Most importantly, it becomes clear from all this that most of those Yalbughāwī amirs who instigated the December 1366 conflict not only shared the fact that they were all promoted thanks to Yalbughā's patronage, but also that this had only happened very recently, in March 1366.

Moreover, the other rather striking feature common to those amirs who were opposing their patron in December 1366 is that despite such patronage none of them (apart from Yalbughā's mamluk Aqbughā) really had Yalbughā as his *ustādh* or original mamluk master, and that none of them therefore technically was a true member of the Yalbughāwīyah.[57] Thus, Asandamur's mamluk origins lay with an otherwise unknown Qalāwūnid, Mūsá ibn al-Qardamīyah ibn al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, from whom sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan had acquired him, turning him into one of his own mamluks (hence his *nisbah* al-Nāṣirī); only after the latter's deposition in 1361 had he been added to the mamluks of Yalbughā, who therefore technically was no more than Asandamur's patron or *makhdūm*, as well as his Nāṣirī peer *(khushdāsh),* instead of his master or *ustādh*.[58] Furthermore, as their *nisbah*s suggest, the other aforementioned "gang" members Qajmās al-Ṭāzī and Qarābughā al-Ṣarghitmishī originally had been mamluks with the great political rivals of the early 1350s, the amirs Sayf al-Dīn Ṭāz al-Nāṣirī (d. 1362) and Sayf al-Dīn Ṣarghitmish al-Nāṣirī (d. 1358) respectively.[59] Finally, also in the case of most of the other known partici-

24; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:558); ʿAlī was an amir of one hundred and court official between 1377 and 1381 (Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 3:96); the same goes for Arghūn, but from 1368 until 1374 (Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:351), and for Sūdūn, between 1381 and 1394 (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 6:104–9; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:596–97).

[56] Apart from Qajmās, Qarātamur, Uzdamur, and Qarābughā, whose whereabouts have been me - tioned, there were the amirs Arghūn al-Qashtamurī (d. 1368), who was an amir of one hundred for a few months in 1367 (Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:353–54); Ṭughāy Tamur al-ʿUthmānī (d. 1377), again amir of forty and then court official from 1368 onwards (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:228, 258, 161, 183); Ṭājār min ʿAwaḍ, arrested with Qarātamur al-Manṣūrī in June 1367 (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:143); Kakbughā al-Sayfī, briefly promoted amir of forty and court official in the summer of 1368 (al-Bayrūtī, fol. 40r; Ibn Duqmāq, "Nuzhat al-Anām," fol. 42v); and Ṭanbak (also referred to as Ṭanaybak) al-Azqī (d. 1369), similarly an amir of forty and court official, between 1368 and 1369 (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:161, 187).

[57] On the bond between mamluks and their *ustādh* (coined "ustādhīyah"), see Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos,* 88–92; for the classic study on the subject, see David Ayalon, *L'Esclavage du Mamlouk* (Jerusalem, 1951).

[58] Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:386.

[59] Biographical information on Qajmās and Qarābughā is very obscure, since they were not deemed important enough to be awarded individual entries in any of the era's biographical dictionaries, or

pating amirs in the December 1366 rebellion and its aftermath, such as Uzdamur al-ʿIzzī, Asanbughā al-Qawṣūnī, and Ṭaydamur al-Bālisī, it is attested that they conspicuously shared similarly twisted Yalbughāwī origins.[60]

Interestingly, the same may also be inferred for most of those on the March 1366 list of Yalbughā's newly promoted amirs. In most cases, specific information on an amir's origins remains wanting, and linking the various *nisbah*s in that list to those origins, as could be done for Qajmās and Qarābughā, quickly turns into an extremely hazardous exercise.[61] Nevertheless, such great variety already suggests that for the majority, just as for Qajmās and Qarābughā, their entry into Mamluk society has to be situated beyond the confines of Yalbughā's household, most probably in the secondary households of preceding amirs of lower profile, rank, or status. Nevertheless, for a handful of these amirs, information on their mamluk origins has been preserved, indeed again confirming, as in the case of Uzdamur al-ʿIzzī, such a non-Yalbughāwī background. It is more precisely the great households of Yalbughā's political predecessors from the 1350s that emerge as the cradles of the latter amirs' careers, most notably those set up by Qalāwūnid magnates like Baybughā Rūs al-Nāṣirī (d. 1353), Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī al-Nāṣirī (ca. 1303–57), the aforementioned Ṣarghitmish, and, once again, the Qalāwūnid sultan who managed to free himself from those magnates' reins in the late 1350s, Yalbughā's own master al-Nāṣir Ḥasan.[62]

obituaries in any of the era's chronicles. Their names are therefore all there is to reconstruct some biographical information (on Mamluk *nisbah*s and their uses, see D. Ayalon, "Names, Titles and 'Nisbas' of the Mamlūks," *Israel Oriental Studies* 5 (1975): 189–232, esp. 213–23).

[60] Uzdamur's *ustādh* was the amir Baktamur al-Muʾminī al-Wishāqī (d. 1370) (Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:355); Asanbughā was linked to the mamluk corps of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:456); Ṭaydamur's precise mamluk origins remain unknown, but the fact that he is said to have been "transferred in the executive offices before he became an amir of one hundred and commander of one thousand in the year 65 (1363)" suggests that his origins similarly lay beyond the Yalbughāwīyah (Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:525)

[61] These many *nisbah*s, derived from either the title *(laqab)* or the proper name *(ism)* of a mamluk's master (or occasionally of his slave dealer) (see Ayalon, "Names, Titles, and Nisbas," 213), are: al-Jawharī, al-Qashtamurī, al-Badrī, al-Kashlāwī, al-ʿUthmānī, al-ʿIzzī, al-Muḥammadī, al-Khalīlī, al-Yūsufī, al-Quṭlūqtamurī, al-Niẓāmī, al-Bālisī, al-Ḥasanī, al-Jamālī, al-Shaʿbānī, al-Azqī, al-Aḥmadī, al-Arghūnī, and al-ʿAlāʾī. They are all either too common or too vague to allow for any positive identification of the masters to whom they were referring.

[62] Three amirs, Raslān al-Sayfī, Yūnus al-ʿUmarī, and Sūdūn al-Shaykhūnī, may be positively linked to the household of Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī (al-Bayrūtī, fol. 40v; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:596–97; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:33; idem, *Manhal,* 6:104–9); apart from Qarābughā, Qurqumās' *nisbah* also unequivocally suggests that he originated in Ṣarghitmish's mamluk corps; Kakbughā al-Sayfī, also referred to as al-Sayfī Baybughā and al-Baybughāwī, originated most probably from among the mamluks of Baybughā Rūs (al-Bayrūtī, fol. 40r; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:161, 223); Alṭunbughā al-Māridānī was said to have been a mamluk of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:417–18); and, finally, the amir Arghūn al-Aḥmadī is suggested to have had a career of some sort predating

Apparently, in the 1360s there was a considerable pool of veteran mamluks available, stemming from a variety of high- and low-profile households that had dominated the preceding decades, but that all had ceased to exist one way or another due to one of the several purges of Qalāwūnid magnates in the 1340s and '50s, or that of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan in 1361.[63] While by the 1360s their masters had thus disappeared and their direct access to the regime's resources and to rank and status had therefore been blocked, these mamluks were obviously still around, undoubtedly looking for alternative avenues of subsistence and socio-political participation. In later times, the standard pattern for this would have been their re-employment in a secondary unit of the sultan's mamluks.[64] In the fourteenth century, however, such a formalized procedure is not yet attested, and considering the ephemeral status of the Qalāwūnid sultans of the 1360s, it is easy to imagine how at that time they ended up in the fresh but rapidly expanding corps of this decade's new magnates, including Yalbughā's, which were only being established in the wake of the ascendance of the latter in the late 1350s and early 1360s.[65] The fact that the numerical strength of these leaderless mamluks was supposedly still substantial by this time, stemming from regiments numbering from a handful to many hundreds of mamluks,[66] coupled with their status as "time-tested and battle-tried veterans"—as the sultan Mu'ayyad Shaykh (1412–21) was to explain his employment of similar uprooted mamluks in his service half a century later[67]—undoubtedly led their new masters to welcome them with open arms. They must have seemed extremely useful to these 1360s magnates in compensating for the evident lack of military and political experience in their own relatively fresh mamluk corps. These qualities were then clearly put to good use by these magnates to settle the new scramble for pre-eminence between 1361 and 1366, compensating those veteran mamluks for their support with promotions to military rank and status. Such is clearly borne out by one of the eventual outcomes of that scramble, the aforementioned March 1366 list naming Yalbughā's supporters who were thus compensated. That this prag-

Yalbughā by the statement that "he was transferred [in the services] until Yalbughā appointed him [in 1363] in the sultan's service" (Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:351; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:438). On these Qalāwūnid magnates and their whereabouts in the 1350s, see Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos,* 153–58.

[63] See Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos,* 153–58.

[64] On this fifteenth-century fate of an amir's mamluks after his disappearance from the Mamluk scene, see David Ayalon, "Studies on the Structure of the Mamluk Army, I," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 15 (1953): 204, 220–22, referring to al-Ẓāhirī; al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdah,* 116.

[65] See Van Steenbergen, "The Amir Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī."

[66] See Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos,* 89.

[67] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 14:112; quoted here from a paraphrase of this text in Ayalon, "Studies–I," 220.

matic utilization and compensation of veteran mamluks in the 1360s was a general policy, practiced also by patrons other than Yalbughā, may be further derived from the names that were mentioned at that same occasion for the arrested supporters of Yalbughā's opponent Ṭaybughā al-Ṭawīl, which hint at most of these associates' variegated pre-1360s origins. "[Ṭaybughā] was caught, as were his associates among the amirs, including Arghūn al-Isʿardī, Urūs al-Maḥmūdī, Kūkandāy, brother of Ṭaybughā al-Ṭawīl, Jariktamur al-Sayfī Manjak, Arghūn min ʿAbd Allāh, Jumaq al-Shaykhūnī, Kilim, brother of Ṭaybughā al-Ṭawīl, Tulak, brother of Baybughā al-Ṣāliḥī, Aqbughā al-ʿUmarī al-Bālisī, Jirjī ibn Kūkandāy, Uzramuk min Muṣṭafā, and Ṭashtamur al-ʿAlāʾī."[68]

Even after Yalbughā's removal and the ascent to power of veteran mamluks from his corps in December 1366, this pool continued to prove extremely apposite and appealing to these new patrons, who lacked more than ever the time and means to set up proper corps that could be of any value in the power struggles that immediately ensued. Eventually, as mentioned, by June 1367 the veteran amir Asandamur al-Nāṣirī emerged victorious, and the radical change he once more is reported to have instilled in Egypt's military hierarchy on this occasion—rewarding his supporters—reflects again the similarly variegated and predominantly pre-1360s, non-Yalbughāwī background of the latter:

> On 10 June 1367, a robe of honor was bestowed upon the following [newly promoted] amirs *muqaddam*s *alf*: Uzdamur al-ʿIzzī Abū Daqn, appointed *amīr silāḥ,* Jariktamur al-Sayfī Manjak, appointed *amīr majlis,* Alṭunbughā al-Yalbughāwī, appointed *raʾs nawbah kabīr* [and promoted] from the rank of amir of ten *(min al-ʿashrah)* [to the rank of *muqaddam alf*], Quṭlūqtamur al-ʿAlāʾī, [appointed] *amīr jāndār,* Sulṭān [Shāh] ibn Qārā, [appointed] *ḥājib thānī,* Bayram al-ʿIzzī, [appointed] *dawādār* [and promoted to the rank of] *muqaddam alf* from the rank and file *(min al-jundīyah),* and he was granted the *iqṭāʿ* of Ṭughāytamur al-Niẓāmī, as well as all the horses, textiles, mamluks, money, grain, etc., that had been the latter's. The following were made members of the sultan's *jūkāndārīyah* ("masters of the polo mallet"): Qarāmish al-Ṣarghitmishī, Mubārak al-Ṭāzī, and Īnāl al-Yūsufī. Tulaktamur al-Muḥammadī was confirmed as *khāzindār,* as usual, and Bahādur al-Jamālī was made *shādd al-*

[68] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:31; also listed with slight variations in al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:116–17. For most of these twelve amirs, any further prosopographical information again remains wanting; only the pre-1366 whereabouts of Urūs (d. 1373) and Jariktamur (d. 1375) are known, originating indeed in the corps of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan and of the long-standing amir Manjak al-Yūsufī (ca. 1315–75), respectively (Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:438, 490); additionally, it may be safely assumed that Jumaq's *nisbah* indicates that he stemmed from the household of the amir Shaykhū (d. 1357).

dawāwīn, instead of Khalīl ibn ʿArrām. Khalīl ibn Qawṣūn was offered the rank of *muqaddam alf,* and Qunuq al-ʿIzzī and Arghūn al-Qashtamurī were [also] granted the rank of *muqaddam alf*. . . . Muḥammad ibn Ṭayṭaq al-ʿAlāʾī, servant of Asandamur al-Nāṣirī, was granted a rank of *muqaddam alf*. The following were promoted to the rank of amir of forty by the sultan: Arghūn al-Muḥammadī al-Ānūkī al-Khāzin, Buzlār al-ʿUmarī, Arghūn al-Arghūnī, Muḥammad ibn Ṭaqbughā al-Mājārī, Bākīsh al-Sayfī Yalbughā, Sūdūn al-Sayfī Shaykhū, Aqbughā Āṣ al-Shaykhūnī, Kubak al-Ṣarghitmishī, Julbān al-Saʿdī, Īnāl al-Yūsufī, Kumushbughā al-Ṭāzī, Qumārī al-Jamālī, Baktamur al-ʿAlamī, Arslān Khujā, Mubārak al-Ṭāzī, Maliktamur al-Kashlāwī, Asanbughā al-ʿIzzī, Quṭlūbughā al-Ḥalabī, and Maʾmūr al-Qalamṭāwī. [The following were promoted to] the rank of amir of ten: Alṭunbughā al-Maḥmūdī, Qarābughā al-Aḥmadī, Kizil al-Arghūnī, Ḥājjī Bak ibn Shādī, ʿAlī ibn Baktāsh, Rajab ibn Khiḍr, and Ṭayṭaq al-Rammāḥ.[69]

[69] Al-Bayrūtī, fols. 5v–6. With only slight variation, indicating again an obvious textual interd - pendence, in Ibn Duqmāq, "Nuzhat al-Anām," fols. 5v–6. Very similar listings are also found in al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:144–45; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:44–45. Also present in al-ʿAynī, "ʿIqd," fol. 149, but in a summary format (referring only to the first three high-ranking amirs and their new positions). On the court offices of *amīr silāḥ, raʾs nawbah kabīr, amīr jāndār,* and *khāzindār,* see the references in Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos,* 40–41, nn. 65 and 66; on the secondary court positions of *ḥājib thānī, shādd al-dawāwīn,* and *jūkāndār,* see al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshá,* 4:22, 5:458; al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdah,* 114–15.

[This] June 1367 list indeed looks very similar to the March 1366 list as far as the diverse, pre-1360s background of the majority of these amirs is concerned. Both lists have many different pre-1360 *nisbah*s in common (besides the most conspicuous and suggestive *nisbah*s al-Ṣarghitmishī, al-Ṭāzī, and al-Shaykhūnī, these are al-Qashtamurī, al-Kashlāwi, al-ʿIzzī, al-Muḥammadī, al-Jamālī, al-Aḥmadī, al-Arghūnī, and al-ʿAlāʾī); they moreover also share the amirs Uzdamur al-ʿIzzī, Arghūn al-Arghūnī, Sūdūn al-Shaykhūnī, Qumārī al-Jamālī, and Jariktamur al-Sayfī Manjak, whose veteran status has been discussed before. Apart from all this, the origins for six more amirs on this list can moreover be positively located in preceding, vanished households; they are Bayram al-ʿIzzī (a former mamluk of the amir ʿIzz al-Dīn Tuqtay al-Nāṣirī [1319–58] who was now not just granted a high rank, but also the household means to perform that rank's demands [see Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:514; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:327]), Mubārak al-Ṭāzī (as his *nisbah* indicates, he stemmed from the household of the aforementioned Qalāwūnid magnate Ṭāz al-Nāṣirī [see Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Inbāʾ al-Ghumr bi-Abnāʾ al-ʿUmr fī Tārīkh,* ed. M. ʿAbd al-Muʿīd Khān (Beirut, 1986), 1:287], Bahādur al-Jamālī (whose mamluk origins went back to the household of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn [Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:496]), Khalīl ibn Qawṣūn (son of the illustrious Qawṣūn al-Nāṣirī [d. 1342], who made a career in the reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan [Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 5:280]), Arghūn al-Muḥammadī al-Ānūkī (as his *nisbah* indicates, he had been a mamluk of Ānūk ibn Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn [d. 1340] [Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:489]), and Buzlār al-ʿUmarī (a former mamluk of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan [Ibn Ḥajar, *Durar,* 1:476; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 3:361]). In all, this list of 39 beneficiaries of the June 1367 round of promotions still only mentions

Nevertheless, the employment of veteran mamluks also entailed some serious disadvantages. As suggested by Ibn Taghrībirdī on a similar, but much later situation, "they are as nothing, for they generally follow the majority; none of them is tied to any particular ruler, but they serve whoever happens to ascend the throne much in the manner of the popular dictum: 'Whosoever marries my mother, to him I cry: "O my father."'"[70]

The pragmatic, opportunist, and second-hand nature of the ties that bound most of these veteran mamluks and amirs to their new households seriously conditioned their loyalty to their patrons. Most importantly, new opportunities and a change of fortune were bound to affect those ties. Thus, one might speculate, there was little to prevent some from trying their luck against Yalbughā in December 1366, when differences of opinion on the treatment of his mamluks were emerging and an opportunity arose near Giza to attack him by surprise. Certainly, most amirs at first decided to join forces with Yalbughā to quell a rebellion that only a handful of them had started anyway and that seemed too remote and isolated to succeed. There even were a handful of rebellious amirs who regretted their initial actions against Yalbughā and who still managed to cross over to Cairo, including "some of his mamluks whom he had made amir, like Aqbughā al-Jawharī, Kumushbughā, and Yalbughā Shuqayr."[71] But when the rebels managed to involve the sultan and, quite unexpectedly, to return to the citadel with him and turn the conflict's tide, there similarly was little to prevent the great majority of amirs from changing sides, so that sources observed how eventually: "Yalbughā's associates slipped away, batch after batch, and Yalbughā was forced to flee. . . . He mounted his horse and left for his residence at al-Kabsh . . . while the common people were making fun of him and were calling him names, all the way until he reached his residence."[72]

four genuine members of the Yalbughāwīyah (Alṭunbughā al-Yalbughāwī, Īnāl al-Yūsufī, Bākīsh al-Sayfī Yalbughā, and Maʾmūr al-Qalamṭāwī [on their unambiguous Yalbughāwī origins, see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 3:70, 190; idem, *Nujūm*, 12:122; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:362, 3:327; Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *Al-Ḍawʾ al-Lāmiʿ li-Ahl al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ* (Beirut, 1992), 2:320]).

[70] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Extracts from Abû 'l-Maḥâsin ibn Taghrî Birdî's Chronicle Entitled Ḥawâdith ad-Duhûr fî Madâ 'l-Ayyâm wash-Shuhûr*, ed. William Popper, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, vol. 8 (Berkeley, 1930–42), 3:443; translation quoted from Ayalon, "Studies–I," 220.

[71] See al-Bayrūtī, fol. 3r; Ibn Duqmāq, "Nuzhat al-Anām," fol. 3r; al-ʿAynī, "ʿIqd," fol. 145. Aqbughā was a member of the Yalbughāwīyah (see Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Manhal,* 2:474), as Kumushbughā was also said to have been, though his mamluk origins really lay elsewhere (see al-Sakhāwī, *Ḍawʾ,* 6:230 "the son of the lord of Ḥamāh had bought him when he was a young boy; he raised him and then presented him to al-Nāṣir Ḥasan; after Ḥasan's murder Yalbughā al-ʿUmarī took him and made him a *raʾs nawbah* with him"). No further information has survived on Yalbughā Shuqayr.

[72] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:135–36. Variant reading in al-Bayrūtī, fol. 3v; Ibn Duqmāq, "Nuzhat al-Anām," fol. 3v.

JUNIOR MAMLUKS

While a composite group of freshly promoted veterans clearly took the lead in the December 1366 rebellion and its aftermath, this surely does not invalidate the assertion most commonly found, namely that it was Yalbughā's non-promoted mamluks who stood up against their master. Most importantly, all source descriptions of the conflict agree that it was mamluks who bore the brunt of the action, including Yalbughā's eventual lynching; as suggested above, Yalbughā's harsh disciplining undoubtedly convinced many of them to go along with those bold and defiant amirs and act against their master.

But as with the amirs above, and even more so in this context of Yalbughā's numerous mamluks, the question that remains to be answered is whether such an unusually insubordinate attitude was similarly adopted by all of them at the same time, for similar reasons, or in similar fashion. In fact, a detailed analysis of the sources' representations of the role those mamluks really played in the December 1366 conflict and its aftermath adds a number of significant nuances to the overall picture.

After Yalbughā had barely escaped the amirs' attack while he was encamped at Giza, al-Maqrīzī details the reaction of his mamluks in particular as follows:

> When they learned about Yalbughā's escape, they announced that "whoever wants his *makhdūm* Yalbughā should follow him, and who wants the sultan should stay with us." So a group *(ṭāʾifah)* followed Yalbughā, while most of them remained behind. The latter then hastened towards those who had defected from them and they overcame and enchained them, dividing everything they had brought with them among themselves.[73]

Clearly, not all of Yalbughā's mamluks had been equally ill-disposed towards their master at the start of the conflict, at least according to the later historian al-Maqrīzī. Furthermore, this author suggested in a similar vein that thereafter "a group of his intimates" *(nafar min khāṣṣatihi)* escaped to Cairo with him and that he then managed to rally "amirs and rank-and-file soldiers" *(min al-umarāʾ wa-al-ajnād)* around him in Cairo, spending the night with this "troop of his" *(bi-jamʿihi)* in his residence at al-Kabsh.[74]

Suggestions like these, that at least some of Yalbughā's mamluks maintained their loyalty, certainly gain credibility when Yalbughā's manifest and impressive resilience in the hours and days following the outbreak of the conflict—includ-

[73] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:132.

[74] Ibid., 3:131, 132. Very tellingly, Ibn Taghrībirdī explains the enigmatic "a group of his intimates" by clarifying that they were "his intimates from among his mamluks" (Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:36).

ing the enthronement of a new sultan—is taken into consideration. In the volatile Mamluk political climate of this era, where a "shortage of men" was considered "the worst possible merchandise" *(qillat al-rijāl akhass biḍāʿah),*[75] this would have been extremely difficult for anyone to effect without any numerically persuasive support from one's own mamluk regiment.

Finally, the same consideration similarly lends validity and weight to al-Maqrīzī's detailed representation of the conflict's final hours on Saturday 12 December 1366. Whereas, as referred to above, most sources flatly claim that Yalbughā's end was drawing nigh when all the amirs fled his party and "there was no one left with him,"[76] al-Maqrīzī adds that also "his mamluks fled one after the other *(farra mamālīkuhu shayʾan baʿda shayʾin)*" and that in spite of this "a mere hundred horsemen yet remained with him *(wa-lam yabqa maʿahu illā dūna al-mīʾah fāris)*" until he got arrested.[77]

It may therefore be convincingly argued that in December 1366 Yalbughā was not just opposed by, amongst others, mamluks who all identified themselves as members of his Yalbughāwīyah, but that at the same time a substantial number of the rank and file maintained their loyalty, and that the latter group undoubtedly equally included such Yalbughāwīyah. Only in the course of the four days that this conflict lasted, therefore, and in particular when al-Ashraf Shaʿbān decided to join the rebels' cause and managed to return to Cairo, did Yalbughā's chances to emerge victorious evaporate and did most of his supporters from the Yalbughāwīyah leave him, as did the amirs, deciding the conflict to the detriment of their patron.

Unlike those promoted veterans, however, Yalbughā's non-promoted mamluks did not benefit at all from the conflict's outcome, whatever their initial stand. Actually, the precipitate fall of their patron may have done them more harm than good, for with his decapitation, they may have solved the alleged problem of their maltreatment, but at the same time a new, much bigger problem appeared. Since Yalbughā, as their employer, had been the guardian of their access to income and further resources, their killing of him, almost in a moment of insanity, had in fact deprived them of legitimate leadership, social status, and secure income. They, as it were, had severed the links that had embedded them within Mamluk society and that had offered them warrants for their own future. There is a hint at a new round of promotions a few weeks after Yalbughā's death, when al-Maqrīzī, just as in March 1366, describes how "on Thursday 21 January 1367, the group of amirs came down from the citadel [proceeding] to the Manṣūrīyah madrasah, where they were made

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[75] Shams al-Dīn al-Shujāʿī, *Tārīkh al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn al-Ṣāliḥī wa-Awlādihi*, ed. B. Schäfer (Wiesbaden, 1977), 1:173; Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos,* 91.

[76] Al-Bayrūtī, fol. 3v; Ibn Duqmāq, "Nuzhat al-Anām," fol. 3v; al-ʿAynī, "ʿIqd," fol. 146; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:39.

[77] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:135, 136.

to swear and [where] they were dressed with the fur hats, as is the custom [for the promotion of amirs]."[78] Unfortunately, in this case no names are mentioned. Yet, considering the aforementioned pattern of promotions on similar occasions, as well as the corps' subsequent history, only a handful of Yalbughā's mamluks, if any at all, may have benefited from this round.

In the months after December 1366, therefore, the majority of Yalbughā's non-promoted mamluks were forced to try to find ways to overcome a certain destiny on the edge of Mamluk society, either spreading terror in Cairo's streets and looting what they could no longer legitimately acquire, or seeking new employment and hiring their services out to new patrons, hoping for suitable rewards.[79] Thus, to mention but one example, immediately after the conflict, on 16 December 1366, one close companion of Yalbughā, the amir Aynabak al-Badrī, avoided being arrested and obtained rehabilitation, not just by "sending a lot of money to the amirs," but also by "offering to every one of [Yalbughā's] mamluks 1000 silver dirhams, which at that time was equivalent to more than 50 *mithqāl* in gold," as a token of their aggressive, fearful reputation in those days, but also of the opportunities their precarious position offered.[80]

Eventually, the one who according to all sources best managed to make use of those opportunities was the aforementioned veteran Asandamur al-Nāṣirī, who succeeded more than any of his peers in portraying himself as a credible substitute for the Yalbughāwīyah mamluks' murdered *ustādh* and patron. Hence, by early June 1367, when this evolution of re-grouping and re-employment came full circle, Yalbughā's mamluks are all presented as playing a key role in Asandamur's aforementioned ousting of his veteran peers.[81]

Now, it has already been established that an important part within those Yalbughāwīyah ranks was reserved for mamluks of veteran status, who either gained rank and status in the course of the years 1366 and 1367, or were forced once again to seek new employment after December 1366, in both cases surely losing their Yalbughāwī-status for reasons of irrelevance. What is very interesting in the same context, however, is that source reports for what happened after the December 1366 rebellion hint with increasing explicitness at a crucial common identifying feature for those Yalbughāwīyah who continued to be labeled as

[78] Ibid., 3:140.

[79] For ample source references to their violent engagements in Cairo in the course of 1367, see al-Bayrūtī, fols. 5r–v, 37r–38r, 42; Ibn Duqmāq, "Nuzhat al-Anām," fols. 5r–v, 40r–41r; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar,* 5:457, 458, 461–62; al-ʿAynī, "ʿIqd," fols. 148–49, 152–54; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:141, 142–43, 150–51, 153–54; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:295, 296, 309–11, 326, 327; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:42–44, 47–49, 103.

[80] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:139.

[81] See al-Bayrūtī, fol. 5r–v; Ibn Duqmāq, "Nuzhat al-Anām," fol. 5r–v; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar,* 5:457; al-ʿAynī, "ʿIqd," fols. 148–49; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:142–43; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm,* 11:42.

such, even after their *ustādh*'s demise. In his account of the December 1366 rebellion, al-Maqrīzī, in fact, already defined the rebellious mamluks very precisely as Yalbughā's "*ajlāb* mamluks *(mamālīkuhu al-ajlāb),*" even clarifying at one point that their number had been no less than 1,800.[82] To my knowledge, this is in fact the very first time the sources generically apply the term "*ajlāb,*" which is well known from fifteenth-century Mamluk history to denote a royal corps' last import of mamluks, but quite unusual for preceding periods. Al-Maqrīzī, however, is the only one among the chroniclers to use the term in the context of this December 1366 rebellion, which suggests that it may well be an anachronism from the first half of the fifteenth century, when this historian was writing his chronicle and when use of the term, especially in the context of multifarious local problems with the sultan's junior mamluks, indeed became ubiquitous in the era's historiography.[83]

Nevertheless, also in his description of Yalbughā's mamluks' continued search for alternative patronage after December 1366, al-Maqrīzī persists in frequently applying the term "*ajlāb*."[84] Moreover, from the accounts on early June 1367 onwards, when this search ended in Asandamur's employing these mamluks' services to impose his authority, the term "*ajlāb*" gradually comes to be used by all sources alike. At first, in the course of those June 1367 actions of Asandamur against his peers, the contemporaries al-Bayrūtī and Ibn Duqmāq, and Ibn Taghrībirdī with them, still used the common denominator "Yalbughā's malicious mamluks *(mamālīk Yalbughā al-ashrār)*" for those whom al-Maqrīzī grouped in the same context under the term "*ajlāb.*"[85] After that point in the sources' historical chronologies, however, "*ajlāb*" seems the appropriate term, applied by all sources alike to denote Asandamur's new rank-and-file supporters who continued to prove extremely difficult to control.[86] Even Ibn al-Furāt (1134/5–1405), for instance, mentions how eventually "al-Ashraf Shaʿbān was victorious over the *'ajlāb'* mamluks of the amir Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī *(al-ajlāb mamālīk al-amīr Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī)*

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[82] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:130, 139.

[83] See Ayalon, "Studies–I," 204, 206–13 (207: "In the Circassian period, a new name for the ma - luks of the ruling sultan appears which becomes more frequent than *mushtarawāt,* without displacing it entirely, viz. *ajlāb,* or *julbān,* sing. *jalabī* or *jalab*"); Amalia Levanoni, "The Mamluk Conception of the Sultanate," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 26 (1994): 386–87; Jean-Claude Garcin, "The Regime of the Circassian Mamluks," in *The Cambridge History of Egypt, Volume 1, Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, ed. Carl F. Petry (Cambridge, 1998), 295, 300–2, 309–10; Amalia Levanoni, "The Sultan's *Laqab*: A Sign of a New Order in Mamluk Factionalism," in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society,* ed. Michael Winter and Amalia Levanoni (Leiden, 2004), 79–116.

[84] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:141, 142, 150, 152, 153–55.

[85] Al-Bayrūtī, fol. 5r; Ibn Duqmāq, "Nuzhat al-Anām," fol. 5r; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:42.

[86] Al-Bayrūtī, fol. 40r; Ibn Duqmāq, "Nuzhat al-Anām," fol. 40r; Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar,* 5:457, 458, 472; al-ʿAynī, "ʿIqd," fol. 152; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:47.

and arrested the amir Asandamur al-Nāṣirī."[87] Another contemporary, al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī (d. 1372), also used this term in a similarly telling way in his passing reference to these events of late 1367: "the common people had come to the aid of the sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Shaʿbān during the operation of the *ajlāb* mamluks *(fī ḥarakat al-mamālīk al-ajlāb)* . . ., when they intended to cause trouble for the sultan, in conjunction with the amir Asandamur al-Khāṣṣakī. . . . But the common people were mobilized, killing the *ajlāb* and making them bite the dust."[88]

In a very curious and puzzling addendum, the same author even explains such disturbing events by claiming that upon examination of these defeated "*ajlāb*," it turned out that "they had their foreskins intact and were not circumcised *(wa-hum ghulf bi-ghayr khitān),* by which it became known that they were Christians who kept away from the true faith *(naṣārá baʿīdūn ʿan al-īmān)*."[89]

It has been convincingly argued that one should be very wary of treating al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī and his literary compendium as a historical source, for its key event of the Alexandrian crusade as much as for any other contemporary occurrence.[90] This "islamicized" and at once also surprising explanation for the turmoil of the year 1367 certainly warrants this kind of historiographical wariness. At the same time, however, it is doubtful that such an explanation has no bearing whatsoever on the historical reality of the late 1360s, during which its author was living and writing; it should certainly not be denied that in essence it represents in one way or another a version of the story of these "*ajlāb*" as it was being told and retold in contemporary Alexandria.[91] At the very least, al-Nuwayrī's remark hints at the extremely negative perception of these "*ajlāb*" by contemporaries by the time he was writing up his work.[92] Furthermore, in conjunction with the other contem-

[87] Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Furāt, *Tārīkh Ibn al-Furāt,* ed. Qusṭanṭīn Zurayq and Najlā ʿIzz al-Dīn (Beirut, 1936–42), 9:319.

[88] Al-Nuwayrī al-Iskandarānī, *Kitāb al-Ilmām,* 6:18.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Weintritt, *Formen spätmittelalterlichen islamischer Geschichtsdarstellung*.

[91] Furthermore, in the context of literary *topoi,* there seems to exist an intriguing degree of similarity between this contemporary assessment of the "*ajlāb*" as Christians and reports by European travellers to the Mamluk sultanate that portray all mamluks as Christian renegades (cf. Ulrich Haarmann, "The Mamluk System of Rule in the Eyes of Western Travellers," *MSR* 5 (2001): esp. 6–16).

[92] Quite intriguingly, Robert Irwin, in his article "Mamluk Literature" (*MSR* 7, no. 1 [2003]: 12), stated that the term *ajlāb*, or rather its variant *julbān,* already occurred earlier, during the reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan, in the context of which it would have been used by the "jack-of-all-literary-trades" Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Abī Ḥajalah (1325–75) in his "account of the revolt of the *julbān* (newly imported mamluks) against that sultan." Closer inspection, however, reveals that this account, ominously entitled "Dawr al-Zamān fī Ṭaḥn al-Julbān," does not concern the reign of that sultan, but indeed, as would be expected from the argument presented here, it deals with Yalbughā's junior mamluks and their disturbing behavior in the timeframe between December 1366 and October 1367. In fact, this brief account as preserved in its Dār al-Kutub manuscript (5664 Adab)—contained in 9 folia, only

porary and later authors' common use of "*ajlāb*" in their accounts of the events of the summer and autumn of 1367, there can be no doubt that there was at the time a distinctive body at work in Cairo that was identifiable by a generic term that explicitly linked them to Yalbughā's leaderless junior mamluks and to the December 1366 rebellion and its chaotic aftermath.

In general, it should come as no surprise that the 1360s not only provided contenders for power with a recruitment pool of ready-made veteran mamluks of various stock, but also with sufficient opportunities to acquire the usual junior rank-and-file recruits, firmly tied to their own *ustādh*'s patronage only.[93] However, as far as Yalbughā is concerned, this traditional building block of a magnate's mamluk household was expanded to a giant scale, reaching massive dimensions of, allegedly, 1,500 to 1,800 juniors.[94] Numerically, therefore, his personal corps of mamluks, including veterans as well as these *ajlāb,* surely outdid those of any of his contemporaries, with the later historian Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah claiming that "one of [the contemporary historians[95]] stated that it was said that he had three thousand mamluks."[96] In fact, this more than anything else is what Yalbughā continued to be remembered for long after his death, so that eventually Ghars al-Dīn al-Ẓāhirī (d. 1468), in his administrative manual, considered it still apposite to include a reference to Yalbughā's corps rather than to any other historical number of mamluks, claiming that Yalbughā even had had "3,500 mamluks in his service, one of them being al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Barqūq who was still a junior *(ṣaghīran)* at the time."[97]

This quote reminds us once more of the fact that by 1366 these Yalbughāwīyah ranks were still made up in large part of juniors like Barqūq. In view of this junior status, not yet having completed their training, most of his corps surely was still

5 of which were actually used for this text—was according to the colophon written down by one ʿUmar al-Dumyāṭī al-Shāfiʿī in 1465–66 (870 AH) and annotated by a Muḥammad ibn Zayn al-Dīn al-Ḥamawī on Sunday 17 July 1611, and it was therefore only indirectly a text by Ibn Abī Ḥajalah, as suggested in the beginning of the text ("the high-minded *shaykh*, the *imām* Shihāb al-Dīn ibn Abī Ḥajalah said . . .). Most importantly in the present context, in its berating, even vituperative anti-"*ajlāb*" language, this short treatise in rhymed prose by an author who, like al-Nuwayrī, died before these juniors' partial rehabilitation in the second half of the 1370s, clearly also presents the same extremely negative perception of them as was still in vogue at the time.

[93] On the links between junior mamluks and their *ustādh,* see Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos,* 88–92; for the classic study on the subject, see Ayalon, *L'Esclavage du Mamlouk,* esp. 27–29.

[94] Al-Bayrūtī, fol. 37v; Ibn Duqmāq, "Nuzhat al-Anām," fol. 37v; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:151 (1500), 139 (1800).

[95] This may well refer to Ibn al-Furāt (d. 1405), whose chronicle for these years is lost, but who was a well-attested source for Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah (see David Reisman, "A Holograph MS of Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah's *'Dhayl,'" MSR* 2 (1998): esp. 29–42.)

[96] Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:306.

[97] Al-Ẓāhirī, *Zubdah,* 113, also repeated on 148.

more of a liability than an asset to Yalbughā, despite its numerical strength. Hence his and his colleagues' pragmatic employment of veterans in the same ranks, as detailed above. In fact, the questionable political and military usefulness of the junior mamluks that made up those ranks may be further inferred from the fact that many seem to have been acquired only shortly before 1366. Thus, according to one biographical note, Barqūq was only imported and bought from a slave merchant in the course of the year 1363.[98] Indeed, the generic term "*ajlāb*" (recent imports) by which Barqūq and the many hundreds of his cohorts eventually became known in the streets of Cairo and beyond suggests that his was not a unique case.

At the same time, however, Barqūq and the other "*ajlāb*" whose biographies have survived (such as Ibn Khaldūn's eyes and ears, Alṭunbughā al-Jūbānī, or the patron of today's famous Khān al-Khalīlī in Cairo, Jarkas al-Khalīlī) were surprisingly older than one would expect of junior mamluks like this, as they were all said to have been born around the year 1340 and were therefore already in their twenties when they became mamluks.[99] In view of the career of their *ustādh* Yalbughā and his quickly rising political star, especially after the murder of Sultan Ḥasan in 1361, it can be quite convincingly suggested that it must have been for reasons of impatient ambition, peer rivalry, and concomitant time pressures that Yalbughā acquired his own mamluks at such an advanced age, attempting to transform them into a useful army in the shortest time possible by subjecting these novices to spartan training methods and relentless discipline. Undoubtedly, Yalbughā's intentions and his *ajlāb*'s training were cut short by the December 1366 conflict. This policy's partial success would nevertheless show again when the survivors among these "*ajlāb*," including Barqūq, were allowed to return to Cairo in 1373 "to train [al-Ashraf Shaʿbān's] mamluks."[100]

Overall, however, by 1366 their training and experience were still deemed insufficient, despite their numerical usefulness for Yalbughā's political muscle. When therefore support and loyalty had to be rewarded and ranks redistributed in the course of Yalbughā's struggle for pre-eminence, as in March 1366, it was in general not these junior Yalbughāwīyah who benefited. As detailed above, in view of their expertise of considerable years, their more veteran status, and perhaps also their much more artificial household membership, it was Yalbughā's veteran mamluks who were almost automatically preferred for promotion. Only in a very few cases did juniors manage to break into the military ranks, but these are exceptions that rather seem to confirm the general rule. As mentioned before, Aqbughā al-

[98] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:223.

[99] See, for references to their age, al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:476; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 12:120; Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 1:308. On the issue of a mamluk's age, see Ayalon, *L'Esclavage du Mamlouk,* 13–14.

[100] Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar,* 5:462.

Aḥmadī (quite tellingly nicknamed "*al-jalab*"), for instance, was made an amir of one hundred in March 1366, but this seems primarily to have been the result of "his having a privileged status with Yalbughā."[101]

When this factor of numerous very junior Yalbughāwīyah mamluks is taken into consideration for the December 1366 conflict and its background, it becomes clear that dissatisfaction with their harsh training played an important role in inducing these "*ajlāb*" to take part in it. Moreover, a role was surely also played by the *ajlāb*'s frustrations with what those veterans in their corps were already achieving while, despite their mature age, most of the *ajlāb* were still reckoned too junior for such advancement.[102]

All in all, however, whatever the role of such *ajlāb* frustrations, it seems that all sorts of practicalities, including even the Nile, were surely as much of a decisive factor in the course the conflict took for the Yalbughāwīyah as Yalbughā's relentless and selective patronage may have been. First of all, considering that Yalbughā had only gone to Giza in December 1366 for a hunting party, it is highly unlikely that his entire corps of mamluks crossed the Nile with him, especially in view of its infamously giant size. Obviously, sufficient numbers had been left in or near his residence at al-Kabsh to prove extremely useful when, after the failed attempt against his life, he hastily returned with only a handful of his intimates. Secondly, changing camps was not made easy for those Yalbughāwīyah mamluks who had been left near Giza, considering Yalbughā's instant blockade of the Nile; as mentioned earlier, some amirs and "mamluks he had promoted" still did manage to cross and switch back to Yalbughā's side on Friday, but most who tried failed and, as stated by al-Maqrīzī, fell into the hands of their rebellious peers.[103]

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[101] See Ibn Qāḍī Shuhbah, *Tārīkh,* 3:298.

[102] In this context, it is worthwhile to compare the case of, for instance, the amir Uljībughā al-Muẓaffarī al-Khāṣṣakī, who was said to have been only nineteen when he died in 1349, and who despite that young age already had been a leading amir in Cairo and a governor of the province of Tripoli (al-Ṣafadī, *Aʿyān*, 1:594–98; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 10:216 ["his moustache had not yet come out"]); a less extreme, more mainstream, and equally interesting example concerns that of the amir Maliktamur al-Ḥijāzī (d. 1347), who was already mentioned as an amir in Cairo in 1333 (see Mūsá ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyá al-Yūsufī, *Nuzhat al-Nāẓir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Nāṣir*, ed. A. Ḥuṭayṭ [Beirut, 1986], 179), that is, when he was in his early twenties, as suggested by paleopathological investigations of his remains in his burial crypt in Cairo ("These bones belong to the male of massive morphological structure in good state of health, most probably of the White Variety, 173 cm tall. His age at death was 35–40 years." [Tadeusz Dzierzykray-Rogalski, Jerzy Kania, and Medhat al-Minabbawi, "The investigations of burial crypts in the mausoleum of princess Tatar al-Ḥiğāziyya in Cairo," *Annales Islamologiques* 23 (1987): 83–84]). That these examples date back to two or three decades from the situation of the "*ajlāb*" is, in fact, revealing for the profound changes that are occurring (see below).

[103] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:132.

In all this, however, fear of Yalbughā's retaliation rather than any type of maltreatment seems to have been the driving force behind these and most other actions of the mamluks who tried to return to Yalbughā. Anxieties about their treatment may have easily tricked many of the Yalbughāwīyah-mamluks in Giza into their promoted veteran colleagues' scheme, but when this failed and Yalbughā escaped, leaving them cut off from the center of power on the Nile's "wrong" side, the following painful observation by one later historian may indeed have guided their further actions: "When they realized that their *ustādh* had saved himself and [that] he had fled, they became extremely worried *(ishtadda takhawwufuhum)* that when he would overcome them thereafter, he would not leave any of them alive *(lā yubqī minhum aḥadan)*."[104]

Such fears, undoubtedly most vivid among those of Yalbughā's *ajlāb* who had been at Giza with him, obviously did not materialize. Nevertheless, they eventually did to some extent become a reality for all of Yalbughā's "*ajlāb*." With the loss of their *ustādh* and their training incomplete, they did as a matter of fact experience death in financial, social, and political terms. When they realized this, and when hiring out their numerically useful services to Asandamur and his peers in 1367 did not seem to result in any lasting change of fortune or sufficient tangible rewards—unlike once again for the veteran mamluks—the consequences were dearly felt in Cairo's streets and palaces. Going totally out of control, especially after June 1367 and another missed round of rewards and promotions, they started looting and attacking whatever and whomever they could lay their hands on, and no one, not even Asandamur, seemed willing or capable to rectify that situation. It is this process that goes a long way in explaining how there gradually was generated a public and very negative awareness of their distinctive identity as Yalbughā's junior mamluks, or his "*ajlāb,*" as attested by source reports. The immediate outcome of this parallel formation of a hateful public opinion of them surely can be read in the remarkably bad press they received from al-Nuwayrī.[105] In the longer run, however, this abusive tone was moderated, reflecting in fact the lasting change of fortune that a number of these *ajlāb* did eventually experience. Hence, in a much milder and rather functional account, al-Maqrīzī (once more inspired by the very similar remarks of Ibn Khaldūn) presents the final, but in his version also rather purifying, whereabouts of Yalbughā's junior mamluks as follows:

> On Thursday 14 [October 1367], the sultan drowned a group from the Yalbughāwīyah mamluks, who had agreed to kill him, in the Nile. . . . In the morning of this Thursday, 100 of the notables of these Yalbughāwīyah *ajlāb (al-ajlāb al-Yalbughāwīyah)* were

[104] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *Nujūm*, 11:36.

[105] And from Ibn Abī Ḥajalah (see n. 92)

> nailed and cut in two. A group of them were drowned. The remainder of them were banished to Syria and to Aswan. Among those of the Yalbughāwīyah that were banished were Barqūq, Barkah, Alṭunbughā al-Jūbānī, Jarkas al-Khalīlī, and Aqbughā al-Māridānī. The *sharīf* Baktamur, *wālī* of Cairo, took them and detained them in his house, their hands fixed in wood. His lunch came, but he did not give them anything to eat. He assigned over them someone to take them to Qaṭyā. The *wālī* of Qaṭyā took them and sent them to Ghazzah. Its governor sent them to al-Karak. They were imprisoned in a dark pit, in its citadel, for several years. Then they were released and they went to Damascus, where they served the amir Manjak, *nāʾib al-Shām,* until the sultan called for the Yalbughāwīyah mamluks to employ them in the service of his two sons. So Barqūq served amongst the others that were in the service of the two sons of the sultan, until the sultan got killed after his return from ʿAqabat Aylah. Then, the amir Aynabak led the regime, Barqūq becoming one of the amirs of forty. Thereupon, he took hold of the stable and remained there until he became sultan.[106]

On the Brink of a New Era?

In sum, in the course of the four days this conflict lasted, two clear-cut but fluctuating parties appear as opposing each other, including Yalbughāwīyah mamluks and amirs on both sides. This already seems quite surprising from a modern historiographical perspective, but even more surprising is the general observation that the friction between these two multifarious parties seems less to have been caused by any lack of morality or respect for traditional values in either camp, and rather to have been closely tied up with the actual composition of the Yalbughāwīyah, and, by extension, with the subtle but irrevocable changes the Mamluk political scene was undergoing. From this perspective, modern historiography was right after all to implicate the Yalbughāwīyah, but has failed so far to grasp the actual background and the deeper meaning of that allegation!

Most importantly, one of the more conspicuous lines along which friction developed in the 1360s was a generational one, with on one end mamluks of veteran status, stemming from households long gone and yet increasingly managing to improve their status, and on the other end their junior colleagues, recently imported and firmly tied to their *ustādh*s' current successes, but despite that only left with crumbs of benefit. Undoubtedly, the actual picture was less black and white than stereotyping like this allows for. Nevertheless, from the above discussion it is clear that at the time there generally were such pragmatic processes at work in the Mam-

[106] Al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:154–55; see also Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿIbar,* 5:458, 472.

luk sultanate, from veteran re-employment and rewarding to junior acquisition and frustration. Most importantly, the friction caused by the more striking extremes of these processes was a reality that should not be questioned and that became particularly apparent and relevant as time elapsed. Thus, in December 1366, Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī became the victim of a remarkable coinciding of these processes in the course of a rather classical Mamluk struggle for power. On that occasion, veteran ambitions concurred with junior frustrations to ignite a rebellious spark, and geographical circumstances, including the young sultan's presence on the rebellious side of the river, encouraged that spark to turn into a blaze that even the almighty Yalbughā proved incapable of fighting.

As seen above, this outcome did not mean the end of those processes, or of the subsequent friction. Quite to the contrary: whereas the processes were simply continued throughout 1367, the friction came increasingly to the forefront in the new struggles for power that ensued after Yalbughā's murder. In the end, Yalbughā's "*ajlāb*" themselves very prominently fell afoul of that friction, when al-Ashraf Shaʿbān's survival was at stake again and his reaction proved surprisingly astute (with due assistance, as all sources did not fail to notice, from Cairo's populace, fed up as they were with the havoc).

In the short run, therefore, the new social and political reality that emerged from this situation seriously advantaged veteran mamluks once more, when from the end of 1367 onwards al-Ashraf Shaʿbān turned—either deliberately, or simply by lack of any serious alternative, or perhaps even as a result of both—to such veterans to sustain his reign. Thus, in the course of the next few years, he signed up veterans to become the executive pillars of his regime, as with the amirs Uljāy al-Yūsufī (d. 1373), Manklī Bughā al-Shamsī (ca. 1320–72), ʿAlī al-Māridānī (ca. 1310–70), and Manjak al-Yūsufī (ca. 1315–75).[107] Even more striking, however, is the fact that Shaʿbān also chose to continue the more general line of policy vis-à-vis veterans that had been favored by Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī and his peers before, singling out mamluks with a clear pre-1360 background rather than his own recruits in any round of promotions, as may be gathered once more from another set of detailed lists of promoted amirs that has been preserved for the remainder of his reign, even up to its final year 1377.[108] Clearly, in the 1360s and 1370s power and authority remained closely linked to the fate and status of the many mamluks who had entered the regime in the 1350s, the 1340s, and even before.

In the long run, however, this situation did not last, and this was surely not just due to those veterans' natural life cycles. As summarized by al-Maqrīzī above, in

[107] See Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos,* 109, 162–63.

[108] For these lists, see al-Bayrūtī, fols. 40r–40v, 52v, 56v–57, 80–80v, 82, 84, 100, 107; Ibn Duqmāq, "Nuzhat al-Anām," fols. 43r, 60r, 83v, 85, 110v–111r; al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk,* 3:161–62, 176–77, 185, 216, 219, 225–26, 255, 270, 387–88.

March 1377 rehabilitated survivors from Yalbughā's "*ajlāb*" in particular suddenly managed to engage successfully in a program of estrangement between Shaʿbān and his supporters, finally generating their own access to rank and status and eventually culminating, in November 1382, in the dissolution of the Qalāwūnid sultanate and the enthronement of one of their own, Barqūq.

Surely, friction between veterans and their established interests on the one hand and juniors and their hunger for change on the other is nothing new in history, and this qualification is all the more valid for the Mamluk sultanate, in the era of the Qalāwūnid sultanate between 1279 and 1382 as well as in general. What is remarkable in this respect, however, offering insight into another conspicuous line along which that friction developed in the 1360s, is that these processes and the conflicts they fed into no longer took place within the confines of one royal household, be it fourteenth-century Qalāwūnid or thirteenth-century Ayyubid/Ṣāliḥīd. This was not a friction that involved the royal household and its members in any meaningful manner, despite the political nature of what was at stake. Rather, in the 1360s things revolved increasingly around the household of the amir Yalbughā al-Khāṣṣakī, without any royal involvement, but also without strictly being limited to Yalbughā's assorted environment. This was in fact not even a friction that took place within the confines of any one household, between its senior and junior members, as had happened so often in the past, from the Baḥrīyah's actions against Tūrān Shāh to al-Nāṣir Ḥasan's collisions with his father's mamluks and, eventually, with some of his own. Rather, there were two broad generational social categories at work that, especially as far as veterans are concerned, had little more in common than the insecure fate they were sharing and the pragmatic approach they took to circumventing that problem. As such, the December 1366 conflict and its aftermath was one of the very first political conflicts of substance in the fourteenth century that was fought outside of the umbrella of the Qalāwūnid sultanate, that is, by a majority of contenders for authority and status that had at most only very limited ties with the royal house. This was therefore a first, but ominous, breach of the Qalāwūnid political monopoly, originating in the fissioning of great households under the Qalāwūnid umbrella in the 1340s and 1350s.[109]

Moreover, this was also a first and ominous breach in Qalāwūnid household politics, when the friction and resulting conflict were no longer about realigning loyalties within the Qalāwūnid house or its offshoots, but about gaining support

[109] For more details on this fission, see Van Steenbergen, *Order Out of Chaos,* 147–58. On the or - gins of this process, and its consequences for the Qalāwūnids, see idem, "Caught between Heredity and Merit: The Amir Qawṣūn and the Legacy of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (d. 1341)," in *The Mamluk Sultanate: Political, Military, Social and Cultural Aspects,* ed. Reuven Amitai and Amalia Levanoni, forthcoming. For an assessment of the life and times of the Qalāwūnid political monopoly in general, see Van Steenbergen, "The Mamlūk Sultanate as Military Patronage State: Royalty, Household Politics and the Case of the Qalāwūnid *Bayt* (1279–1382)," forthcoming.

and status by a majority of outsiders to any such traditional framework of reference. In such a transforming environment, new political strategies had to be devised, including the tendency to give absolute priority to the alignment of those outsiders through material rewards, as opposed to the more traditional preference that used to be shown to those that were already firmly tied to one's social and political success.

The far more tiered and friction-prone political system which such strategies automatically gave rise to—with veteran amirs on one side of the political spectrum and junior mamluks or "*ajlāb*" on the other, tied through quite distinct sets of alliances to the political leaders of the day—is actually quite reminiscent of Mamluk politics as it has been described for the fifteenth century. In fact, the similarities are so striking that Jean-Claude Garcin's description of this aspect of that next century's political system in the *Cambridge History of Egypt* reminds one immediately of the historical processes described above for the December 1366 conflict and its aftermath:

> From 1428 . . . the problem first appeared of recruits who were unruly, not because they . . . would not have had a political future in the framework of their integration into the system, but because that integration could not happen fast enough. Faced with the recruits, the amirs, now with fewer mamluks, found themselves at a loss. The rift between the old troops and newcomers brought about a corresponding strengthening of the move to form the older ones into an aristocracy. . . . So a new political mechanism had gradually been imposed: any amir who rose to be sultan had first to remove his predecessor's recruits, relying on the previous age group that had been kept in the wings until that point, which marked their genuine entry into the political arena. The initial rhythm of Mamluk political life was thus much slowed down.[110]

Clearly, "the problem . . . of recruits" and the "new political mechanism" did not first appear in 1428 or thereabouts, but became increasingly apparent already from the December 1366 conflict onwards, filling the vacuum left by the slowly disintegrating Qalāwūnid house.

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[110] Garcin, "The Regime of the Circassian Mamluks," 300–1. The workings of this "mechanism," including the new types of alliances between non-promoted *julbān* and promoted amirs, were further explored by Amalia Levanoni in her very insightful "The Sultan's *Laqab*"; on p. 115, she in fact already seems to hint at earlier precedents for this "new order," without however naming them. This "rift between the old troops and newcomers" as a typical feature of fifteenth-century Mamluk politics was first fully formulated by Amalia Levanoni in her "The Mamluk Conception of the Sultanate," esp. 386–87.

Viewed from this perspective, however, the ascendancy of the *ajlāb,* Barqūq's ending of the Qalāwūnid sultanate in November 1382, and his deliberate attempt to impose his own Ẓāhirī household, including his own lineage and his own mamluks, as the new framework of social and political reference instead of the defunct Qalāwūnid one, actually suspended the emergence of such an entirely new political system. As such, the sultanates of Barqūq and his sons (1382–1412) were not so much a radical break from the past, as references traditionally tend to portray them, but rather an attempt to link up again with that past and to restore to pre-eminence the traditional royal household, as a comprehensive political unit that firmly monopolized the regime, its political economy, and Mamluk society at large, far beyond the limits of generational pragmatism.

Despite the fact that the latter observations and their background obviously need further qualification, it is already clear that this attempt at a reversal of historical processes that had first come to the surface in the 1360s did not, in the long run, manage to eradicate those processes. This was surely as much due to their innate resilience and embryonic presence in traditional Mamluk political practices (as in the cyclical or "generational" nature of rank-and-file acquisition, training, and employment, as well as in the aforementioned reliance on numerical strength), as to the many crises that the turn of the century witnessed. From 1412 onwards, therefore, change did eventually re-emerge, when a tiered, exclusive system of veteran amirs, junior mamluks and political (and financial!) pragmatism gradually came to supersede a more inclusive household system, and an overall process set in that unmistakably should be identified as one of Mamluk state formation, at the cost of traditional household politics.[111]

Processes of historical change such as these, then, originating in the middle of the fourteenth century, catching momentum from the 1360s onwards, and only temporarily suspended towards the end of the century, led the sultanate towards its own version of early modernity in the course of the fifteenth century. Clearly, no one in particular, not even Yalbughā or his mamluks, can or should be blamed individually for generating transformations that they were all subject to. They are rather a token of the dynamic nature of Mamluk history, as they were gradually yet irrevocably heralding a new era.

[111] A research project at Ghent University (financed by the European Research Council and by the university's Research Foundation) is currently involved in the detailed reconstruction and assessment of these transformations on the basis of prosopographical research. The overarching project's title is "The Mamlukisation of the Mamluk Sultanate: Political Traditions and State Formation in 15th Century Egypt and Syria."

Book Reviews

Muhsin J. al-Musawi, *The Islamic Context of* The Thousand and One Nights (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009). Pp. x, 334.

Reviewed by Robert Irwin

Muhsin J. al-Musawi is the author of several previous studies on literature, including *Scheherazade in England: A Study of Nineteenth-Century English Criticism of the Arabian Nights* (Washington, 1981). That book concluded by quoting an article by the American scholar of Hebrew Crawford Howell Toy in the *Atlantic Review* of June 1889. Toy characterised *The Thousand and One Nights* as follows: "The book is both the history of Moslem culture and the record of Moslem *esprit* in the palmy days of the Arabs in Asia; it gives a truer as well as a more vivid picture of their life than all the ordinary histories combined."

A study of the Islamic context of *The Thousand and One Nights* would in principle be very welcome. The relevant article on "Religion" in *The Arabian Nights Encyclopedia,* edited by Ulrich Marzolph and Richard van Leeuwen, noted the omnipresence of religion in the stories. "Religion governs the moral codes, the social relations, and the imaginations of the heroes. It is part of a social and individual notion of normality that is neither unduly stressed nor questioned." The article went on to discuss fate, trust in God, proselytizing stories, and inter-faith relations. Clearly the subject is an important one and hitherto rather neglected.

There is much of value in al-Musawi's book. He relates themes and practices in the stories to those found in other literary sources including *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah,* the essays of al-Jāḥiẓ, the table talk of al-Tanūkhī, the dos and don'ts of *hisbah* manuals, the law books, and other sources. The idea that the thoroughly urban tales of the *Nights* only became popular in Europe as that continent became more urban is attractive. The hitherto neglected importance of such motifs as tree climbing (this in the frame story) is brought out. It is also pleasant to learn of the lady mentioned by al-Jāḥiẓ, who had two of the attributes of Paradise, "coolness and width." One looks forward to al-Musawi's forthcoming annotated bibliography of *The Arabian Nights*.

In *The Islamic Context of* The Thousand and One Nights, al-Musawi has set out to develop Toy's verdict on the *Nights* in considerable detail. But there are some problems. The first is that al-Musawi seems afraid of being too easily understood. Consider, for example, this sentence: "The concomitance of the judicial and the narrative is significant here, as in many other cases, since jurisprudence is predicated on factual grounds that demand an answer in keeping with Islamic teaching

from the prime period of its social and economic expansion and growth." Or this one: "The premise falls short of Ibn Khaldun's historical and social perspective, for the association with the Islamic warning against the accumulation of riches and the neglect of piety and faith implies resignation and an acceptance of consequences."

Another problem is a pervasive vagueness about chronology. He repeatedly states that the oldest surviving manuscript of the *Nights,* the one used by Antoine Galland, dates from the thirteenth or fourteenth century, but, as I suggested in *The Arabian Nights: A Companion* and as Heinz Grotzfeld has conclusively demonstrated in essays about the endings of the *Nights* and about numismatic evidence within the *Nights,* the manuscript in question must have been compiled in the late fifteenth century. At times al-Musawi wants to use the *Nights* stories to illustrate Abbasid custom and practice and, correspondingly, to use Abbasid literature to highlight or clarify themes in the stories of the *Nights*. At other times he prefers to set the stories in an Ayyubid or Mamluk context, but most often he prefers to generalize about a changeless Islamic society. It is a pity he has neglected the painstakingly researched studies by Patrice Coussonnet on the dating of individual stories, most notably in *Pensée mythique, idéologie et aspirations sociales dans un conte des Mille et une nuits* (Paris, 1989). (That particular study dated the composition of "The Story of the Great Merchant ʿAlī of Cairo, Son of Ḥasan the Jeweller of Baghdad" to the fifteenth century. In another study Coussonnet conclusively dated the story of "Nūr al-Dīn and Shams al-Dīn" to the early fifteenth century.)

It is difficult to say how much stories that are ostensibly set in the Abbasid period do actually represent Abbasid realities. In an essay entitled "From History to Fiction: The Tale Told by the King's Steward" (published in volume three of Muhsin Mahdi's edition of the core tales as they appear in the manuscript of the *Nights* from which Antoine Galland translated), Mahdi pointed that while that particular tale, notionally set in the Abbasid period, might have pleased an audience in the Mamluk period, it would not have satisfied a tenth-century audience for "they would have found it silly and cold, not because they lacked imagination or were ignorant, but because they knew too much. It was a tale about their city and history and institutions and customs, and it was ridiculously inaccurate." Although al-Musawi points to the importance of the list of foodstuffs carried by the porter who has been hired for that purpose by the lady of Baghdad, he has not noticed how many of those foodstuffs have a Syrian or Egyptian provenance. Rather, he takes the list as evidence of nostalgia for Abbasid affluence.

Noting the absence of Shiʿis in the stories, al-Musawi argues that "the material as transmitted and accumulated obviously took a final form sometime in the twelfth century when Fatimid sentiments lingered only among the general populace but rarely in elitist scholarship, which subscribed to the official discourse." First, I do not think it at all obvious that the *Nights* took final form in the twelfth century. That

would have to be demonstrated. Secondly, the official discourse in Egypt was Fatimid and Ismaʿili for almost three quarters of the twelfth century. Because so much of the discussion in *The Islamic Context of the Thousand and One Nights* takes place in a chronological limbo, there is little that is specifically relevant to students of Mamluk social history.

The discussion is concentrated on the stories found in the Galland manuscript and therefore also in the Mahdi edition and the Haddawy translation. Only occasionally does al-Musawi focus on the additional stories that are found in the Bulaq edition. This means that there is little or no discussion of stories which were almost certainly composed in the Mamluk period, such as the crime stories featuring Crafty Dalīlah and Mercury ʿAlī, or "The Man of Upper Egypt and His Frankish Wife." According to al-Musawi, the Bulaq edition of 1835 "demonstrates the intervention of compilers, editors, and redactors in matters relating to the Islamic context of the tales. Especially in religious matters and poetic extracts, this edition can authenticate or debate the nature of poetic misreading or distortion and its historical relevance to the primacy of specific Islamic laws in certain periods." But this still leaves it unclear why the Bulaq version is to be preferred to the more comprehensive Calcutta II edition of 1839–42.

A close focus on religious issues in the stories would have been welcome, but al-Musawi uses "Islam" in a broad sense to encompass the culture of a vast region over many centuries. In this very broad sense, even wine drinking and adultery can be seen as Islamic. With reference to the sifting and collating of the tales, al-Musawi writes that "the outcome is a cultural repertoire, an inventory of many directions, that may be defined metaphorically as Islamic to account for life as it was desired or made available in talks, anecdotes, and, in some cases, lived."

At several points Musawi touches on Sufi themes in the *Nights*. Referring to the three tales told by one-eyed men that are boxed within "The Story of the Porter and the Three Ladies," he argues that the "emphasis placed on the figure of the *qalandar* and the transfer into the *Thousand and One Nights* of this characterization and naming could be used to date this set of Baghdadi tales to between the eleventh and twelfth centuries." Specifically he relates it to Aḥmad al-Ghazālī's brand of Sufism, with its combination of spirit and love, the internalization of "blame" and regret in surrender and devotion to the Beloved. But if one actually reads the stories told by the three one-eyed mendicants, they seem to be devoid of any spiritual content. Though the mendicants have repented their various importunities, there is no indication that they have turned to the "Beloved" or are following any specific spiritual discipline. Al-Musawi suggests that the mendicants finally attain "total contentment upon the immersion in the divine beatitude," but the stories they tell, tales of lost love and missed opportunities, do not suggest contentment at all.

It seems unlikely that medieval readers would have discovered Sufi messages in the tales the mendicants related about subterranean love and mutilation. So how Sufi are the alleged "*qalandar*s"? It is true that their shaven heads, beards, and eyebrows certainly conform to the appearance of the *qalandar* dervishes as attested in other sources, but the author of their stories seems to have had little actual knowledge of or interest in the ways of the *qalandar*s. On a point of chronology, the *qalandar* movement seems to have originated in Khurasan in the eleventh century, but only became widespread in the western Islamic lands in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, so the specific linkage to al-Ghazālī's Sufism seems implausible. As al-Musawi notes elsewhere, the second *qalandar* claims to have studied jurisprudence in a book by al-Shāṭibī, and this scholar died in 1388.

"What holds the collection together, and what upholds the concept of nationhood, Islamic or Arab, is the Islamic context," according to al-Musawi, but this is studiously vague, for he never explains what "concept of nationhood" is embodied in the extremely diverse stories. Indeed, it is doubtful whether it is appropriate to think in terms of nations in pre-modern times. It is of course a chronological paradox that this collection of Islamic tales is set within a frame story about Shahriyar, Shahzaman and Shahrazad that is situated in Sassanid times. Moreover, within this frame story there is a boxed set of stories (the Hunchback cycle) that are told to the king of China, who, it is implied, is a Muslim.

As his quotation of Crawford Howell Toy may suggest, al-Musawi tends to quote the judgements of nineteenth-century figures such as Leigh Hunt, Bernard Cracroft, Walter Bagehot, Thomas Carlyle, and James Mew as authoritative, but none of these writers knew Arabic or had made any serious study of the *Nights* and several of them were mediocrities. For the most part, their essays on the subject were under-researched, bookmanly chats designed to entertain a general readership. Leigh Hunt, in particular, was a specialist in enthusing in a perfectly uncritical way about the joys of reading. (As the apparently sunny and uncritical Harold Skimpole, he featured in Dickens's *Bleak House*.) In a discussion of "The City of Brass" al-Musawi cites a not very interesting article published in the *Spectator* in 1882 with reference to the alleged "mysticism of the Desert" in this story. Surely, it would have been more useful to have taken into consideration the views of Mia Gerhardt, Andreas Hamori, or Abdelfattah Killito?

Al-Musawi's enthusiasm for Victorian litterateurs sits oddly with his bleak view that to translate something or to study something from another culture is to appropriate it. "Galland made the East a property available to be possessed, accommodated and plundered." Though the British empire later "appropriated" Arab Islamic culture in the nineteenth century, al-Musawi declares that earlier Arab empires did not appropriate the cultures of others, but it is hard to follow his reasoning on this point.

Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras IV: Proceedings of the 9th and 10th International Colloquium Organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 2000 and May 2001. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 140. Edited by U. Vermeulen and J. Van Steenbergen (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2005). Pp. xii + 496.

Reviewed by Paul E. Walker, The University of Chicago

This volume, the fourth to present the papers of colloquia held in successive years at the Catholic University of Louvain, is like its predecessors a mixed bag of often fine scholarship on a broad range of topics. Here there are twenty-one articles by sixteen different experts on the Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk periods, the majority in English with four in French and two in German. (Unfortunately, a few of those in English could have benefited from the help of a competent editor; as printed they are barely intelligible.) Five cover the Fatimids, seven the Ayyubids, and nine the Mamluks. The subject matter of the individual contributions is diverse, likewise the methods employed. Michael Brett, for example, offers three pieces interpreting in grand style key problems of Fatimid rule: conversion to Islam, the role of the Coptic church, and the reign of Badr al-Jamālī. At the other end of the spectrum, Hanspeter Hanisch's report on the archaeology of the citadel of Harran runs a full 125 pages in great detail, complete with tables and a copious supply of photographs. Needless to say the other entries are more modest in size, though many hardly less so in importance. Heinz Halm's attempt to pin down the source and authorship of the two texts that make up the *Kitāb al-Dhakhāʾir wa-al-Tuḥaf*, Stefan Heidemann's theories concerning Numayrid al-Raqqa, Pierre-Vincent Claverie on the "mauvais chrétiens" in the Orient of the crusading period and, separately, on Philippe Mainebeuf in Cairo (1291), Nicholas Coureas on Christian attempts to control Cypriot trade with the Mamluks, Donald S. Richards on the office of *wilāyat al-Qāhirah,* and Jo Van Steenbergen's identification of a late medieval cadastral survey of Egypt are good examples. But there are others as well.

The rest of the contributions are just as varied. Taef El-Azhari writes on Ayyubid women and eunuchs; Yehoshua Frenkel writes about chains of transmission in first Ayyubid *samāʿāt* and then in Mamluk women's *samāʿāt;* Konrad Hirschler contributes on the sociology of medieval Arabic historical scholarship (Ibn Wāṣil and Abū Shāmah); Denys Pringle reports on the Ayla/ʿAqaba fortresses; Dionisius Agius describes an inscribed ostrich egg from Qusayr; Corinne Morisot, a *waqfīyah* of Jaqmaq in favor of Mecca; Gino Schallenbergh analyzes the Sufi terminology of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah; and finally U. Vermeulen offers a short piece on the official dress of the Mamluks.

With so much offered over a long span of time, dealing with such a spread of subjects, few readers, including this reviewer, will have an equal interest in each one. And not all are either major contributions or of a similar high standard. Even so it is certain that specialists in any or all of the three periods will find many items in this volume that are quite well worth their time.

Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras V: Proceedings of the 11th, 12th and 13th International Colloquium Organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 2002, 2003 and 2004. Orientalia lovaniensia analecta 169. Edited by U. Vermeulen and K. d'Hulster (Leuven: Peeters, 2007).

Reviewed by Yossef Rapoport, Queen Mary University of London

The publication of the proceedings of the Leuven annual colloquia has now become an established tradition in the field of Fatimid and Mamluk studies. This is the fifth volume in the series, and, like its predecessors, it is particularly strong on economic and political history. The following remarks are intended to highlight some of the outstanding contributions in the volume, out of a total of thirty-one.

Several of the contributions in the Fatimid section deal with the institutions of the *daʿwah*. S. Calderini's survey of the surviving manuals for Ismaʿili *dāʿī*s is particularly useful. Calderini notes the overall idealized character of these manuals, but she also indicates changes over time and space, especially after the establishment of the Fatimid state, when the *dāʿī* became a representative of the head of state in the Fatimid domains, and a leader of the local Ismaʿili community outside the Fatimid realms. The essay comprehensively covers the surviving literature and places it in its historical context. D. Cortese supplements the discussion of the *daʿwah* with a study of references to women in the same manuals, pointing out that *dāʿī*s were especially encouraged to target women.

Heinz Halm offers a new reading of the career of the Fatimid vizier Badr al-Jamālī (466–87/1074–94) as a precursor to the later military regimes. Al-Jamālī's personal biography, and even his personal name, is typical of slaves. He assumes titles and responsibilities which are far beyond that of earlier Fatimid viziers—most significantly, military functions. In these respects, his role resembles that of the Ayyubid and Mamluk sultans of the following centuries. Halm is also right to note that this development parallels the emergence of the Seljuk sultans in Baghdad a few decades earlier. Rather than viewing the transition from the rule of the caliph to the rule of the sultan as an exclusively Sunni development, the rise of Badr al-Jamālī suggests a deeper shift towards military rule throughout the Islamic

world during the eleventh century. J. Den Heijer complements the discussion with a study of the building activities of the Fatimid vizier, who populated Cairo with non-official civilian population, and his reconstructing the walls of the city. The inscriptions over the renovated Bāb al-Naṣr glorified Badr al-Jamālī on par with the Fatimid caliph, and even above him.

In two rich contributions, Yaacov Lev uses a variety of previously unexplored documentary sources to examine the economic significance of the transition from Fatimid to Ayyubid rule. When Saladin ordered the dismantling of the centralized, lavish Fatimid palace, one of the results was a decline in demand for luxury goods, and Lev interestingly suggests that the decreased demand for luxury textiles is the underlying reason for the disappearance of the textile center of Tinnīs. Moreover, in contrast to the Fatimid close regulation of trade, Saladin abolished a significant number of customs and fees on merchants in the capital, as part of a more general policy of relaxing state control of the economy. Lev utilizes al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil's *Al-Mutajaddidāt,* a daily diary quoted by al-Maqrīzī, and in particular the list of revenues and expenditures for 585/1189, as well as similar late Fatimid fiscal documents. The result is an impressive set of quantitative data, which suggests that the Ayyubids enjoyed increasing revenues from agricultural production. For the province of the Fayyum, for example, there is ample evidence to indicate a decidedly sharp rise in government revenues between 1170 and 1240. Thus, Lev is right to assert that neither the introduction of the Ayyubid *iqṭāʿ* system nor the diversion of funds towards military conquests have had any adverse impact on Egypt's economy. Moreover, by using al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil's diary, Lev is also able to put a price tag on Saladin's financial support of the scholars and the mystics: between 200,000 and 300,000 dinars, a good investment given the impeccable reputation they have given him over the centuries.

In a well-written contribution, which is also one of the most interesting in the volume, L. Richter-Bernburg highlights the unique sensibilities of ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī's account of his visit to Egypt. Unlike other medieval observers of Egypt's Pharaonic antiquities, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf's observations on architecture are resolutely naturalistic, and he refuses to resort to "jinn, primeval giants, magic whips or divine direct intervention" (p. 351). Indeed, ʿAbd al-Laṭīf's chief interest is in the ingenious craftsmanship which brought the monuments into existence, rather than in the occult or religious significance of the structure. The monument that impressed him most deeply was the great sphinx in Giza, where he most admired the technical achievement of blowing up the human features to gigantic scale, yet at the same time he shows himself to be appreciative of the monument's aesthetic value. Richter-Bernburg manages to provide a vivid portrayal of al-Baghdādī as a writer who works both within and outside the established tradition of medieval Islamic travel literature.

A. Petersen's contribution on new towns in Mamluk Palestine examines the distinct features of towns established in the Islamic world after 1000 C.E., and specifically those founded by the Mamluk authorities. While the cities of the early Islamic period have received much scholarly attention, new cities, such as the Almohad Qaṣr al-Ṣaghīr founded in 1184, or Sulṭānīyah built by Öljeitü in 1313, have been relatively neglected. In this essay, Petersen focuses on Majdal (near the destroyed port of Ascalon) and Safed. Compared to the cities of early Islam, these new urban centers were of moderate size, and of no apparent orthogonal plan. They were also based around the castle, or the *qalʿah,* which in many cases was a remnant of the Crusader period. And, finally, these new towns were built along the revived Cairo-Damascus coastal road, often replacing ports destroyed by the Mamluks during the second half of the thirteenth century.

Other contributions worthy of special note include a comprehensive, well-illustrated study of the architecture of the Citadel of Damascus under the Seljuks, Ayyubids, and Mamluks, written by H. Hanisch. This will surely be a useful reference work for the growing number of scholars interested in Mamluk military architecture. K. D'Hulster's erudite, polyglot comparison of several Turkish translations of Saʿdī's *Gülistān* offers a rare window into the cultural life of the Mamluk courts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, specifically highlighting the continued influence of the Persian literary canon on the Mamluk elite. Finally, Th. M. Wijntjes' study of the visit of Pedro Mártir, an ambassador of the Spanish court, to Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī deftly demonstrates that many European sources on the late Mamluk period are yet to be fully explored.

The editors of the volume should be commended for continuing to make the proceedings of the Leuven conferences available to all scholars working in the field, especially given the number of contributions and resulting size of the volume. However, several contributions really do suffer from weak copy-editing, and plans for providing indices in future volumes in the series would be very welcome.

Norman D. Nicol, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*. Vol. 6, *The Egyptian Dynasties* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2007). Pp. 21 + 82 plates.

Reviewed by Warren C. Schultz, DePaul University

In the mid-1990s, the Heberdon Coin Room of the Ashmolean Museum embarked upon an ambitious ten-volume plan to publish their collection of Islamic coins in sylloge format. The Ashmolean's own significant holdings had by that time been supplemented by the addition of the important Shamir Shama collection (via long-

term loan in 1994), and thus totaled some 13,500 coins. Under the series-editorship of Luke Treadwell, this volume is the fourth of the ten to appear. In it, Norman D. Nicol provides first a very brief introduction (pp. 11–13) and then detailed descriptions and images of 1584 coins (on 82 plates) from the major dynasties of Egypt and Syria for the period 254–692/868–1517: those of the Tulunids (coins 1–126); the Ikhshidids (127–217); the Fatimids (218–829); the Zengids (830–853); the Ayyubids (854–1153); and the Mamluks (1154–1584). As with the previous three volumes of the SICA series, the production values are high and the 1:1 coin images clear, precise, and detailed. The publication of these 1584 coins is a welcome addition to the monetary history of Egypt and Syria in general, and to the field of Mamluk numismatics in particular. The Heberdon holdings in Mamluk coins are particularly strong for copper *fulūs,* which, given the paucity of previously published images of these types of coins, is especially noteworthy. That said, non-numismatic specialists who will use this book should be aware of two wider contexts in which this volume appears. The first is the state of the field for the numismatic history of Egypt and Syria. The second is a wider debate on the best ways to organize numismatic material for publication.

Both contexts emerge from the following comment by Treadwell in his forward (p. 9): "This volume fills a need. To date the copious publications of medieval Egyptian and Syrian coinage *[context one]* have consisted of dynastic corpora and catalogues. This is the first catalogue to provide a regional overview of the dynasties concerned and will for this reason be of particular interest to historians and students of the medieval Near East *[context two]*." As Treadwell alluded, there is a prolific body of scholarship on the monetary and numismatic history of Egypt and Syria. Nicol, however, has provided only a very brief bibliographic introduction to this scholarship. While it is true that in sylloges the emphasis should be on the coins, as it is here, rather than an in-depth historiographic analysis of the field, users of this volume will need to turn elsewhere to get an appreciation of just how numerous these previous publications are. Mamlukists, in particular, may turn to the numismatic section of the Chicago Online Bibliography of Mamluk Studies to see the number of titles available, especially those published since the appearance of Paul Balog's seminal *The Coinage of the Mamluk Sultans of Egypt and Syria*, Numismatic Studies no. 12 (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1964).

The second context has to do with organizational schemas for presenting numismatic information. This volume is called a sylloge. This term may be unfamiliar to non-numismatists and thus some historical and terminological background is useful here. The frequent use of the term "usually," however, signals that exceptions to the following assertions may be encountered. The use of sylloges is relatively new in Islamic numismatics. The first institution to begin a sylloge series for Islamic coins was the Forschungstelle für islamische Numismatik in Tübingen, under the

directorship of Lutz Ilisch. The first volume of this institution's *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen*—or SNAT as it is commonly known—appeared in 1993. The Heberdon Coin Room was the second major collection to embark upon a sylloge series. As it is widely understood, sylloges publish the complete holdings of one institution, within the chronological and geographic parameters of the coinage singled out for study. Usually every coin in that collection is described and illustrated, subject to editorial and curatorial judgment, regardless of overall rarity or commonness, and independent of whether it is an example of which the institution has several specimens or only one. Thus the user of any sylloge volume will have access to information about all the pertinent coins which that collection holds, but depending on the strengths of the particular collection, will likely not see the entire range of any numismatic series. Additionally, sylloges are also usually organized by mint series, which means that coins are presented in chronological order by mint of issue. A sylloge's table of contents, for example, usually features mints as the primary organizational criterion, with regnal periods of any ruler serving as a secondary or tertiary criteria.

Sylloges are different from two other common methods of publishing coin collections, those which for better or worse can be called traditional catalogues and those known as corpora. Sylloges are different from the former in two fashions. The first is that traditional catalogues usually only describe and illustrate a sample of their collection. Duplicates, in particular, are usually just listed rather than illustrated. The second is that most traditional catalogues follow a dynastic organizational schema rather than one based upon mint series, meaning that the first level of organization is ruler's reign, as opposed to mints which are relegated to a subsidiary catalogue variable. Sylloges are also different from dynastic corpora, such as Balog's mentioned above, for the latter not only are usually organized by regnal period but aim for as complete as possible representation of the entire numismatic issues of a dynasty by drawing upon coins from many collections.

These distinctions between the regnal organization of traditional catalogues and corpora versus the mint organization of sylloges may strike the non-specialist as trivial, but they are not. To put it another way, numismatic works organized first by dynastic details primarily support the identification of individual coins, while those organized by mint series support the analysis of wider numismatic questions not specifically bound to an individual ruler or even dynasty. Moreover, one of the widely agreed aims of sylloges of collections is the publication of more specimens of coins to add to the archive of specimens readily accessible for analysis. These larger samples are necessary, to give but one example, in matters of die analysis, which in turn can shed more light on questions of mint issue output. This debate is clearly ongoing, and proponents of both organizational schemas will no doubt continue to argue their points.

This digression is pertinent since the forward to the first volume published of the SICA series (vol. 10, *Arabia and East Africa,* 1999, by Steve Album) contained the following statement:

> The choice of ordering by mint is becoming increasingly common in the field these days and for good reason: it allows the development of all aspects of a coin series to be studied in the sequence within which the coins were actually produced, i.e., in both their geographical and chronological contexts. The disadvantage of this method is that it tends to favour the reader who has some numismatic knowledge over the historian who does not. In order to facilitate the use of the catalogue by non-numismatists, careful attention has been paid to the compilation of indexes of names, titles, and dynasties (Treadwell, p. vi).

Volume 6, however, unlike the preceding three, is arranged differently:

> The catalogue is arranged in chronological sequence of the ruling dynasties subdivided by ruler. This is a departure from the procedure followed in the other volumes of this series. I find that the complex issues of several dynasties are easier to understand when the entire spectrum of each particular ruler's issues are described next to another (Nicol, vol. 6, p. 11).

Nicol is of course entitled to this view. The result, however, is a missed opportunity. By organizing by ruler rather than mint, this volume presents like a compilation of excerpts from those aforementioned "dynastic corpora and catalogues" rather than offering something that the field still lacks, namely an overview of the mint series over this long era. As it is, the reader moves from the Tulunids through the Mamluks, ruler by ruler, but does not easily see the processes which change over a chronological time span asynchronous to those regnal periods. Thus we end up with another work which is primarily an aid identification rather than a work that privileges wider analysis by situating the coins in those geographical and chronological contexts. Nevertheless, the addition of 1584 coins from this important collection to the published archive of Islamic numismatic evidence is still to be celebrated.

Abdallah Kahil, *The Sultan Ḥasan Complex in Cairo 1357–1364: A Case Study in the Formation of Mamluk Style*. Beiruter Texte und Studien 98 (Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut, 2008). Pp. 403, illustrations.

Reviewed by Bernard O'Kane, The American University in Cairo

It is strange that we should have waited so long for an art historical monograph on the greatest Mamluk monument. Despite Cairo's fame as a city with one of the most dense concentrations of pre-modern Islamic architecture, monographs on its buildings are few and far between, most having been written from the perspective of those involved in their architectural restoration.[1]

This book is a revised version of the author's doctoral dissertation, completed in 2002, and although in the preface Kahil apologises to the publication manager of the series for late delivery of the manuscript, the intervening time has been used profitably to expand and refine his text. One of his major findings, the extensive design input of the monument's building supervisor *(shādd al-ʿimāʾir)* (the amir Muḥammad ibn Bīlīk al-Muḥsinī, who was also a noted calligrapher), was published in the interim in the festschrift for Priscilla Soucek,[2] but the information is also included here, as it should be.

In his introduction Kahil gives the historical background, discusses previous interpretations of the complex, and sets out his main purpose, which is a meticulous documentation of the building's structure and decoration, backed by copious references and comparisons not only to monuments in Cairo but also to those in such Syrian centers as Damascus, Aleppo, and Tripoli. The author's obvious familiarity with the monuments from the whole of Mamluk territory makes these comparisons all the more pertinent.

His discussion (pp. 36–38) of the annexes of the monument, those areas situated behind the portal and which now contain ablutions facilities, clearly shows them to be fabrications of Herz and the Comité. Another surprise is the extent to which the tomb was envisaged to be an independent unit within the whole complex. Reminiscent of his grandfather Qalāwūn's tomb, the entrance was guarded by ten of his manumitted slaves. Doris Behrens-Abouseif has recently highlighted how Mamluk tomb chambers were often categorized as *masjid*s in *waqfīyah*s to legitimize prayers within them,[3] and in this case, to lead the five daily prayers, the tomb even

[1] E.g., the volumes on the Barqūq and Faraj ibn Barqūq complexes by Saleh Lamei Mostafa, and Max Herz's books on the Qalāwūn and Sultan Ḥasan complexes.

[2] "The Architect/s of the Sultan Ḥasan Complex in Cairo," in *Pearls from Water, Rubies from Stone: Studies in Islamic Art in Honor of Priscilla Soucek,* ed. Linda Komaroff and Jaclynne Kerner, *Artibus Asiae* 66, no. 2 (2006), 155-74.

[3] *Cairo of the Mamluks* (Cairo, 2008), 18. Kahil (p. 58) further shows how the *waqfīyah* chara - terized the burial space within the tomb as private property, further circumventing possible legal

had its own imam, different from the one who performed the same duties in the adjacent qiblah *īwān*. The scale of the mausoleum was reflected in the provision of a team of one hundred twenty Quran readers to provide round the clock recitation—Qalāwūn's tomb had a "mere" fifty. This makes the projection of the tomb on three sides of the Maydān Rumaylah more understandable, as the continuous chanting of the Quran would have reminded passersby to pray for the occupant of the tomb.

In his extensive discussion (pp. 53–58) of the anomalous placement of the tomb behind the qiblah *īwān* Kahil alludes to the parallel of the Turbat-i Shakyh Jām complex. His characterization of the dome chamber there as a tomb is incorrect (the tomb is an open one in front of the preceding *īwān*), although Kahil rightly dismisses the example as a parallel on the grounds that the *īwān* there, as in Ilkhanid Friday mosques such as that at Varamin, was conceived as an entrance to the dome behind, unlike the qiblah *īwān* of Sultan Ḥasan which totally obscures the view of the dome and which, with its depth and elaborate decoration, was the focal point of the congregational mosque of the complex.

The portal and its decoration are the subject of the third chapter. Kahil mentions the Seljuq and Iklhanid parallels for the original paired minaret design, although he also notes that a desire to surpass previous Cairene monuments with multiple minarets would probably have been a factor. But the fact that the one being built was so unstable as to fall down during construction supports Michael Rogers' contention that, unlike the Anatolian Seljuq examples on which it might have been loosely based, it was made of stone and was not buttressed from the side of the portal, denoting the work of a craftsman who had admired the form but was unfamiliar with the structural procedures.[4] The same craftsman might have designed one particular strapwork pattern (pl. 220), a dense ungrooved basket-weave that can be read as interlocking hexagons, whose only parallels are also in Seljuk Anatolia.[5]

With regards to the reused colonettes that adorn the plinth, Kahil plausibly notes (p. 83) that after the Mamluk raid on Adana in 1360 the portal of the church was sent to Cairo, and that these might have been part of this booty, especially given their similarities to Cilician manuscript illumination. He also brings out the parallels with contemporary Cairene Quranic illumination, particularly relevant considering the involvement, noted above, of the calligrapher Muḥammad ibn Bīlīk al-Muḥsinī as supervisor of the building.

Kahil also discusses in detail the chinoiserie decoration on the chamfering at the sides of the portal (pl. 23); it might have been useful to include in the analysis the findings of Rachel Ward, who has shown how such chinoiserie quickly became

objections.

[4] J. M. Rogers, "Seljuk Influences on the Monuments of Cairo," *Kunst des Orients* 7(1970–71): 47.

[5] Ibid., fig. 12, showing the great *īwān* of the hospital of Kaykāʾūs, Sivas, or on the mihrab of the Erzurum Friday Mosque: Ömür Bakırer, *Anadolu Mihrabları* (Ankara, 1976), pl. 30.

standard, at least in metalwork, after the establishment of trade relations between the Ilkhanids and the Mamluks in the 1320s.[6]

Throughout the book the meticulous descriptions of decoration bring into focus features that have otherwise not been noticed or discussed in the literature, such as the central recess on the northern side with an unusual six-pointed star with curving sides, and a square panel with an interlacing geometric design surrounding the oculus above it (pls. 15, 227, 261a). The appreciation of these details is greatly facilitated by the number of original drawings published by the author, helpfully grouped by him in related clusters. It is worth singling out two drawings that are notable for their virtuosity: those of the *muqarnas* of the portal and the vestibule (pls. 216–17), each of stunning complexity.

In his section (p. 126) on the living units of the madrasahs, Kahil compares them to Cairene *rabʿ*s, suggesting that the madrasah courtyards are a combination of the *rabʿ* and a *khānqāh* courtyard with an *īwān* such as that of Baybars al-Jāshankīr. However, I'm not sure that it is helpful to cite the *rabʿ* in this context, especially since one of the chief characteristics of the *rabʿ,* its arrangement of the living units in a duplex with a two-storey *īwān* unit facing the exterior, is not present at Sultan Ḥasan.

In discussing the bulbous dome of the Sultan Ḥasan fountain Kahil suggests (p. 132) that it may have derived from Fatimid prototypes at Aswan or that of the *mashhad* of al-Juyūshī. The Fatimid examples, however, even if they have a drum, are not truly bulbous. More plausible prototypes for the bulbous domes of Cairo, which appear there after the middle of the fourteenth century, might be the Muzaffarid tomb of Sultan Bakht Āghā at Isfahan datable to 752/1351, and a no longer extant dome at Isfahan from the first half of the fourteenth century that has been attributed to the Ilkhanid Sultan Abū Saʿīd.[7]

The tomb chamber receives a chapter to itself, and here as elsewhere the discussion of the formal and decorative parallels is as thorough as one could wish. Kahil notes that the painting on the pendentives was restored by Herz, but suggests (p. 160) that the painting has an Ottoman character. To me, however, the combination of arabesques on the main *muqarnas* units and of chinoiserie-inspired blossoms on the polylobed blind niches above them is fully in keeping with the original decoration of the complex. He also comments on the unusual legibility of the main inscription in the tomb chamber, and while this is certainly true, is was unfortunately achieved by large thick letters which are surprising for their lack of adherence to the usual canons that distinguish the finest Mamluk monumental epigraphy.

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[6] "Brass, Gold and Silver from Mamluk Egypt: Metal Vessels Made for Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 14 (2004): 66.

[7] Luṭfallāh Hunarfar, *Ganjīnah-'i āsār-i tārīkhī-i Iṣfahān* (Isfahan, 1350/1971), respectively pp. 318, 295 (the drawing he reproduces on p. 295 is not, as cited, after Dieulafoy, but after Flandin).

Editorially, a number of suggestions can be made. While the author's English is admirably clear, concise, and jargon-free, there are typographical errors, slips in grammar and translation, and references to incorrect plate numbers too numerous to list that should have been caught by an editor. The continental system of pluralizing Arabic nouns by adding hyphens after them (e.g. *madhhab*-s) is distracting—the hyphens should have been omitted. An index would also have substantially increased the usefulness of the work. Some of the plates are underexposed, a pity especially in the illustration of the vestibule (pl. 41), which is given the unusual luxury of a full page reproduction. I'm not sure of the utility of the photos (pl. 7) of the sun striking the upper row of *muqarnas* on the portal: the time and angle of this varies greatly with the seasons. With regard to the bibliography, Howayda al-Harithy's *The Waqf Document of Sultan al-Nāṣir Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn* (Beirut, 2001) is omitted. Even though the author himself provides the most pertinent extracts from the *waqfīyah*s in his publication, it should have been included, or we should have been told why it was omitted.

As well as being a compendium of all the information one could want on the building, including its complete epigraphic program, for instance, the book's discussion of comparative material is comprehensive. This is well illustrated by the discussion of the possible contributions of the architect al-Ḥujayj to the complex (pp. 181 ff.), an individual who had traveled to Ḥamāh to view a *qāʿāh* that had earlier been built in the city by its ruler Abū al-Fidāʾ, before building one for his patron at the citadel.[8] Kahil rightly points out the importance of this episode in indicating the receptiveness of patrons to emulating architecture in other areas.

In sum, this work shows an extremely impressive mastery of the primary and secondary literature on the subject and related areas. It will remain the definitive account of the building for the foreseeable future.

The City in the Islamic World. Salma Jayyusi, general editor, Renata Holod, Attilio Petrucciolo, and André Raymond, special editors. Handbuch der Orientalistik/Handbook of Oriental Studies, Section 1, The Near and Middle East, vol 94. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008). Two volumes. Pp. 1142 + 321 pp. of plates.

Reviewed by John Rodenbeck

Brill's blurb for this pair of hefty, expensive, and lavishly illustrated tomes quotes directly from the joint introduction by its three distinguished special editors. Both the blurb and the introduction tell us that the purpose of these volumes is "to draw

[8] Also mentioned in the contemporary publication of Behrens-Abouseif, *Cairo,* 43.

attention to the sites of life, politics and culture where current and past generations of the Islamic world have made their mark. Unlike many previous volumes dealing with the city in the Islamic world, this one has been specially expanded not only to include snapshots of historical fabric, but also to deal with the transformation of this fabric into modern and contemporary urban entities."

This latter claim is probably more or less true. The 7500-odd Western studies of "the Middle Eastern City and Islamic Urbanism" listed by Bonine, Ehlers, Krafft, and Stöber in their great bibliography (1994) do indeed divide generally into two sorts: those obviously intent on urban history and those preoccupied with urban fabric and morphology.

The general editor of these two Brill volumes is Salma Jayyusi, a scholar better known as a poet, literary anthologist, and champion of Arab culture than as an expert on cities. Her candid and graceful preface not only explains the genesis of these two books, but points to their most salient feature: the fact that they were written and edited by well-established specialists, but are intended for a far more general audience. This audience includes people who may be more or less ignorant of Middle Eastern languages and culture. It is surely for this reason that such an impressive collection found support at the cultural summit of the Muslim world, in this case funding from Prince ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Fahd ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. The venture was so risky that it is difficult to conceive of its being published otherwise.

"The single leading concept," as the special editors remark quite early in their joint introduction, "has been to consider the city as a living organism." Such words are clearly not to be taken as a rhetorical gesture towards a set of politically-correct pieties, but as signaling real attitudes that have been too rare in the past. In Cairo, for example, they were championed 30 years ago by Laila ʿAli Ibrahim, but she was virtually alone. During a conference on conservation of Cairo's Historic Zone in 1980, for example, an international expert toured the Darb al-Aḥmar checking off for demolition buildings that he thought were "un-Islamic," while a local design firm produced an elaborate and costly plan for enclosing the Darb al-Aḥmar and Fatimid al-Qāhirah in a *cordon sanitaire* of six-lane boulevards, expelling all "modern" activities, dressing the remaining inhabitants willy-nilly in medieval costume, and compelling them to turn out cheap tourist wares or perform in occasional folk-pageants.

One notes with relief that the special editors have also consciously avoided the pitfalls of deduction from some platonic idea of "the Islamic city," an abstraction built around a notion of exclusively Muslim needs. This inheritance from earlier scholars bedeviled thinking about cities and urbanism in the Muslim world for decades. The title the editors have thus carefully given these volumes suggests instead that the organic urban entities under examination and the varied elements that compose them have actually existed or do in fact still exist within the Muslim world.

Though these studies constitute a *tour d'horizon*, they do not attempt to take in the entirety of that world; and it is obvious that to have done so would have served no very useful purpose. A consideration of Indonesia, for example, is excluded completely; and out of 48 articles, only six (three each) concern the great cities of India and Persia. There is one article on Ottoman cities of the Balkans, one on Bukhara and Samarkand, one on sub-Saharan cities, while the Arabian Peninsula is represented only by an article on Sanaʿa and one on Dubai. Though references are made to scholarship at work on cities in Al-Andalus, there is no study here of Muslim urbanism in Western Europe. This reviewer, who lives in a region of southern France that had an Arab governor for 40 crucial years and where Arab rule still survives in local fact and legend, regrets the slow progress on that particular front.

Mamlukologists, though unlikely to learn anything new in their own field, will be gratified at the appearance here of important large-scale articles by scholars already well known for their work on Cairo or on specific questions about urbanism in a Mamluk context. André Raymond, for example, is not only one of the special editors, but also the author of three magisterial articles.

In an article called "The Mamluk City," Doris Behrens-Abouseif offers a parallel to Chapter VIII of her indispensable book, *Cairo of the Mamluks: A History of the Architecture and Its Culture* (2007). A significant difference, however, is that her book uses three illuminating maps, of which only two are reproduced here and in reductions of 60 per cent and 70 per cent, which limit their usefulness. Partial compensation is the addition of four stunning Orientalist views of Cairo, clearly aimed at a non-specialist audience, two by Louis-François Cassas (1756–1827) and two by K. L. Libay (1814–88). It is regrettable, incidentally, that illustrations referred to throughout this massive work had to be gathered at the end of the second volume, rather than appearing with the articles they illustrate. For the reader to locate illustrations thus requires reference to the names of the authors of particular articles as listed in the table of contents.

Sophie Denoix is represented by an article called "Founded Cities of the Muslim World," which contains separate sections on both Fusṭāṭ and al-Qāhirah. Nelly Hanna's "Guilds in Recent Historical Scholarship" wisely emphasizes what is really recent and ignores the vehemently authoritative conclusions of forty years ago to the effect that such organizations never existed. A penultimate article by Eric Denis, as circumlocutory as its subject matter would suggest, describes what is happening in the carcinopolis of present-day Cairo, which makes the Mamluk city seem like a golden dream.

List of Recent Publications

ʿAbd Allāh, Sulāfah. *Bināʾ al-Uslūb fī Muwashshaḥāt al-Mamlūkīyah.* Ḥimṣ: Dār al-Maʿārif, 2009. Pp. 308.

ʿAbd Allāh, Sulāfah. *Tiqanīyāt al-Taʿbīr ʿan Khamr fī al-Shiʿr al-Mamlūkī, Dirāsah Uslūbīyah fī Namādhij Shiʿrīyah Mutanawwiʿah.* Ḥimṣ: Dār al-Maʿārif, 2009. Pp. 233.

Aqsarāʾī, Muḥammad ibn ʿĪsá. *Kitāb Nihāyat al-Suʾl wa-al-Umniyah fī Taʿallum Aʿmāl al-Furūsīyah.* Edited by Khālid Aḥmad al-Mullā al-Suwaydī. Damascus: Dār Kinān lil-Ṭibāʿah wa-al-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 2009. Pp. 573.

Atīq, Nāhid bint ʿUmar. *Masāʾil al-Naḥwīyah fī Kitāb Fatḥ al-Bārī bi-Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī lil-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, Jamʿan wa-Dirāsatan*. Riyadh: Maktabat al-Rushd Nāshirūn, 2009. 2 vols.

Birzālī, al-Qāsim Muḥammad. *Muqtafī ʿalá Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn al-Maʿrūf bi-Tārīkh al-Birzālī.* Edited by ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām al-Tadmurī. Beirut: Al-Maktabah al-ʿAṣrīyah, 2006. 4 vols.

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Ghunaymān, Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd Allāh. *Juhūd Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyah fī Tawḍīḥ Tawḥīd al-ʿIbādah.* Medina: Al-Jāmiʿah al-Islāmīyah, 2009. 2 vols.

Ḥalīm, Ṣafwān Ṭāhā. *Tārīkh al-Ayyūbīyīn wa-al-Mamālīk.* Amman: Dār al-Fikr Nāshirūn wa-Muwazziʿūn, 2010. Pp. 304.

Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr. *Samāʿāt Ibn al-Qayyim min Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymīyah wa-Mushāhadātuhu wa-Ḥikāyātuhu li-Faḍāʾilihi wa-Manāqibihi wa-Aḥwālihi.* Edited by Suhayl ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-Sardī. Beirut: Dār al-Nawādir, 2010. Pp. 432.

Ibn Taymīyah, Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm. *Fatwá al-Ḥamawīyah al-Kubrá.* Edited by Ḥamad ibn ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Tuwayjirī. Riyadh: Maktabat Dār al-Minhāj lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 2009. Pp. 615.

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ibn Ibrāhīm Āl al-Shaykh. Edited by ʿĀdil ibn Muḥammad Mursī Rifāʿī. Riyadh: Dār al-ʿĀṣimah lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 2009. 2 vols.

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Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn. *Fann al-Hawá wa-al-Mutʿah bayna al-Unūthah wa-al-Rujūlah, al-mawsūm, Shaqāʾiq al-Utrunj fī Raqāʾiq al-Ghunj*. Edited by Ḥusayn ʿUmar Ḥamādah. Damascus: Dār al-Wathāʾiq, 2008. Pp. 160.

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Arabic Transliteration System

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ء	ʾ	خ	kh	ش	sh	غ	gh	م	m
ب	b	د	d	ص	ṣ	ف	f	ن	n
ت	t	ذ	dh	ض	ḍ	ق	q	ه	h
ث	th	ر	r	ط	ṭ	ك	k	و	w
ج	j	ز	z	ظ	ẓ	ل	l	ي	y
ح	ḥ	س	s	ع	ʿ				
		ة	h, t (in construct)			ال	al-		

ـَ	a	ـُ	u	ـِ	i
ـً	an	ـٌ	un	ـٍ	in
آ	ā	ُو	ū	ِي	ī
َا	ā	ُوّ	ūw	ـِيّـ	īy (medial), ī (final)
ى	á	َو	aw	َي	ay
				َيّ	ayy

Avoid using apostrophes or single quotation marks for *ʿayn* and *hamzah*. Instead, use the Unicode characters ʿ (02BF) and ʾ (02BE).

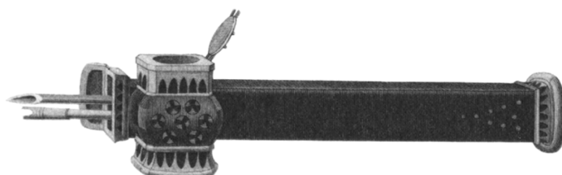
Capitalization in romanized Arabic follows the conventions of American English; the definite article is always lower case, except when it is the first word in an English sentence or a title. The *hamzah* is not represented when beginning a word, following a prefixed preposition or conjunction, or following the definite article. Assimilation of the *lām* of the definite article before "sun" letters is disregarded. Final inflections of verbs are retained, except in pausal form; final inflections of nouns and adjectives are not represented, except preceding suffixes and except when verse is romanized. Vocalic endings of pronouns, demonstratives, prepositions, and conjunctions are represented. The hyphen is used with the definite article, conjunctions, inseparable prepositions, and other prefixes. Note the exceptional treatment of the preposition *li-* followed by the article, as in *lil-sulṭān*. Note also the following exceptional spellings: Allāh, billāh, lillāh, bismillāh, miʾah, and ibn (for both initial and medial forms). Words not requiring diacritical marks, though following the conventions outlined above, include all Islamic dynasties, as well as terms which are found in English dictionaries, such as Quran, sultan, amir, imam, shaykh, Sunni, Shiʿi, and Sufi. Common place-names should take the common spelling in American English. Names of archaeological sites should follow the convention of the excavator.



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